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## **A grammar of Nchane: A Bantoid (Beboid) language of Cameroon**

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## Chapter 17

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### Interlinearized text

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The text provided in this chapter was originally provided by a male speaker from Nkanchi village. It is a narrative text and can be further classified as a folk tale. As with so many folk tales, it serves a dual purpose of providing entertainment, while also teaching something. The moral of this story is that you reap whatever you sow, and comes in the form of parallel conditional clause constructions translated as, “You do good, then you do for yourself; you do bad, then you do for yourself.”

The moral is overtly stated in the final sentence, where it is also marked with focus. But it also appears several times throughout the story, as one of the main characters, a blind beggar, is quoted periodically singing a song consisting of the moral. In the sentence found at (17.17), the blind beggar is addressed by the parallel clause constructions. Later, in (17.28), the name is truncated, with just the first conditional construction used, as well as having the honorific title “Pa” at the front.

Although these parallel clause constructions have characteristic conditional syntax, their tonal behavior is not entirely consistent with conditional constructions, as described in §13.2.4. The verb appearing in these clauses is the mid-toned **gē** ‘do’, which is realized with a high tone in the protasis (as expected), but also in the apodosis (which is not necessarily expected). Furthermore, the apodosis introducer **tú** ‘then’ is usually realized with a mid tone, rather than the expected high tone. I attribute these discrepancies to the fact that, in all cases but the final occurrence, these parallel

conditional constructions are presented either as lyrics of a song or as a name. As such, it would not be surprising if the clauses are affected by prosodies associated with those contexts.

A final observation of interest is that in the original version of the text (and in the original telling), the second-person singular pronouns in the conditional constructions were given as **ā** rather than **wō**, except for the final iteration in (17.53). This pronominal form is rejected by some speakers, although it is still commonly used in some Nchane speaking locations in certain constructions like **ā jí** ‘You, eat!’. I assume this represents an archaic form which still occurs in some grammaticalized contexts, such as names, which in some cases are derived from clauses, such as **bānéwōmē** ‘The WORLD hates me’.

### Mr. What-goes-around-comes-around

#### By Soka Sylverius Dosi

- (17.1)    kì-nfê:            kī-mú        gē    jēp-í,            kī    lē-gè        mw-ē:  
          c7-blind.man    c7-some    P3    walk-PROG    c7    beg-PROG    c18a-thing

*‘A certain blind man was walking around and begging.’*

What-goes-around.1.1

- (17.2)    kì-nfê:            kī-nē        gē    jēp-í            lē    Ø-lá  
          c7-blind.man    c7-PROX    P3    walk-PROG    SET    c5-compound
- lē    Ø-lá,            kī    jēp-ì            kī    lē-gè        mw-ē:  
          SET    c5-compound    c7    walk-PROG    c7    beg-PROG    c18a-thing
- à-jú        à-chī    à-jú        à-chī  
          c6-day    c6-all    c6-day    c6-all

*‘This blind man was walking around from compound to compound and begging, day after day.’*

What-goes-around.1.2

(17.3) lē kī jèn-ì kī lēg-è mw-ē:,  
SET c7 walk-PROG c7 beg-PROG c18a-thing

kī jèn-ì kī yē:n-è Ø-ṛkè: lē, wō gé  
c7 walk-PROG c7 sing-PROG c1-song COMP 2SG do.COND

bvū-jōṛè, tū wō gé yē y-ō lē,  
c14-good then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

wō gé bvū-bēfè, tū wō gé yē y-ō lē  
2SG do.COND c14-bad then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

*'As he was walking around and begging, he was walking around and singing a song, "You do good you, do for yourself; you do bad, you do for yourself."'*  
What-goes-around.1.3

(17.4) Ø-kwēsé wú-mù gē bé yú wú gē  
c1-woman c1-some P3 <sup>P</sup>COP on.it c1REL P3

kāṅ-é mǎṅ-kàlǎ Ø-ṛtè wè lē  
fry-PROG c6a-cassava.puff c1-quarter up APPL

*'There was a woman who was frying cassava puff in that quarter.'*  
What-goes-around.1.4

(17.5) Ø-kwēsé wē-ē kāṅ-è mǎṅ-kàlǎ, kī-fè:  
c1-woman c1-ANA1 fry-PROG c6a-cassava.puff c7-blind.man

ky-ē: gēn-è kī lēg-è mǎṅ-kàlǎ à  
c7-ANA1 go-PROG c7 beg-PROG c6a-cassava.puff in

Ø-kwēsé wē-ē lē, à-jū ā-chī à-jū ā-chī  
c1-woman c1-ANA1 APPL c6-day c6-all c6-day c6-all

*'That woman continued frying cassava puffs and that blind man was always coming and begging cassava puffs from her, day after day.'*<sup>114</sup>  
What-goes-around.1.5

<sup>114</sup> The tone on the anaphoric demonstrative in the first clause of this sentence is expected to be mid-low rather than high-mid. Furthermore, the tone on the progressive suffix is expected to be high rather than low. Low tone on the progressive suffix is only expected when there is a grammatical high tone clitic preceding it. The translation provided indicates that this clause is interpreted as having Durative aspect. Therefore, I assume that the high tone on the anaphoric demonstrative is the realization of the high tone associated with the Durative marker **tū**.

- (17.6) lē kì-nfê: kē-ē dó kí t5-ò Ø-jú chí-mî,  
 SET c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 STIM c7 come-PROG c5-day c5-some

Ø-kwēsé wú kán-è màn-kàlà wē-ē,  
 c1-woman c1REL fry-PROG c6a-cassava.puff c1-ANA1

wù jù fó bē n̄sā y-è  
 3SG COP(N) there with c9.friend c9-3SG.POSS

*'As that blind man was coming one day, that woman who was frying cassava puff was there (in the neighborhood) with her friend.'*

What-goes-around.2.1

- (17.7) n̄sā y-ē bí: wù lē lâ:,  
 c9.friend c9-3SG.POSS ask 3SG APPL Q.COMP

kì-nfê: kī-nē tó kī tò-ò yànè té lè  
 c7-blind.man c7-PROX HAB c7 come-PROG here also APPL.QP

*'Her friend asked her, "(Does) this blind man also come here?"'*

What-goes-around.2.2

- (17.8) wù chfú lē, ē:, wù tó wù jā-à mē  
 3SG respond COMP yes 3SG HAB 3SG give-PROG 1SG.PRO

Ø-ŋgē, j̄chē: ségé-chī ségé-chī  
 c1-trouble true when-all when-all

*'She replied, "Yes. He is always giving me trouble, truly all the time.'*

What-goes-around.2.3

- (17.9) wù mō wù chfú Ø-ntāŋ lē, bē bē  
 3SG RES 3SG respond c1-suggest COMP 1PL <sup>P</sup>COP
- mē wū wò, tū mē m̄-bé j̄-yū wā  
 1SG.PRO 3SG 3SG then 1SG.PRO 1SG-P1 1SG-kill already

wù bē Ø-ńlò  
 3SG with c1-poison

*'She then suggested, "If I were you, I would have killed him with poison."'*

What-goes-around.3.1

- (17.10) *j̄nché:, mē lé bē j̄nchè yí yū bī-kfūnè*  
 true 1SG.PRO COP with c9.medicine c9REL kill c8-rat

*'In fact (or truly), I have medicine that kills rats.'* What-goes-around.3.2

- (17.11) *n̄-tó bē yī, wō gé: à m̄n-kàlà*  
 1SG-come with c9 2SG put.IMP in c6a-cassava.puff

*mā-nē lé, wó ná wù lē*  
 c6a-PROX APPL 2SG.HORT give 3SG APPL

*'I will bring it (poison) and you put it in this cassava puff and you should give [it] to him.'* What-goes-around.3.3

- (17.12) *ségé wū gè wū jí, wú mō wū kwé,*  
 when 3SG go 3SG eat 3SG.HORT RES 3SG die

*wō fú-dē ā-ŋgē-wù-bō*  
 2SG rest-COMPL c18-trouble-3SG-hand

*'When he goes and eats, he will just die, then you will rest from the trouble from him.'* What-goes-around.3.4

- (17.13) *bē té fū-dé, bā-mì bā-dùdē fū-dē tē:*  
 1PL also rest-COMPL c2-person c2-many rest-COMPL also

*ā-wù-bō, j̄jē kī-nfè: kī-nē lé*  
 c18-3SG-hand reason c7-blind.man c7-PROX COP

*kī fūŋ-sè wá bā-mī wèsè bē kī-lègè*  
 c7 worry-CAUS already c2-person very with c7-begging

*'We also (in addition to you) will rest, and many people also will rest from his hands (from his begging), because this blindman has already worried people too much with begging.'* What-goes-around.3.5

(17.14) lē bvū-chfū dó bvú-yú, lē wū tónj màn-kàlà  
 SET c14-day SIT c14-break SET 3SG fry c6a-cassava.puff

mā fwē mā-à, wù jō j̄chē chy-ē:,  
 c6aREL front c6a-ANA1 3SG take c10.medicine c10-ANA1

wù yéfē màn-kàlà mā-yú  
 3SG rub c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA2

*'The next morning (lit. as the day broke), as she fried the first cassava puff, she took that poison (lit. medicine) and she rubbed [it] on that cassava puff.'* What-goes-around.4.1

(17.15) wù chásè wù gē:  
 3SG pack 3SG put

*'She packed (or loaded) [it] and put [it] aside.'* What-goes-around.4.2

(17.16) lē nù gē shēgē, kì-nf̃: kē-ē jēp-i  
 SET COP(N) P3 small c7-blindman c7-ANA1 walk-PROG

kī tō-ò, kī nā-à Ø-ṅkè lē, wō gé  
 c7 come-PROG c7 give-PROG c1-song COMP 2SG do.COND

bvū-jōṅē, tū wō gé yē y-ō lē,  
 c14-good then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

wō gé bvū-bēfē, tū wō gé yē y-ō lē  
 2SG do.COND c14-bad then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

*'After a little while...that blindman was walking around, and coming, and singing a song that "You do good, you do for yourself; you do bad, you do for yourself."'* What-goes-around.4.3



- (17.17) lē wú yēn-è Ø-ŋkè: wù tó-ò  
 SET 3SG sing-PROG c1-song 3SG come-PROG
- m̄bémbé Ø-lā wù Ø-kwēsé wú kàn-é  
 near c5-compound c3AM c1-woman c1REL fry-PROG
- màn-kàlà wē-ē lē, Ø-kwēsé wē-è gē  
 c6a-cassava.puff c1-ANA1 APPL c1-woman c1-ANA1 cry.out
- lē, hēbê:, wō gé bvū-jòŋè, tū wō gé yē  
 COMP INTERJ 2SG do.COND c14-good then 2SG do on
- y-ō lē, wō gé bvū-bēfè  
 c9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG do.COND c14-bad
- tū wō gé yē y-ō lē, wō tō wā  
 then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG come already.QP

*'As he was singing and coming near to the compound of that woman who was frying cassava puffs, that woman called out, "Oh! You-do-good-then-you-do-for-yourself-you-do-bad-then-you-do-for-yourself, have you already come?"'*

What-goes-around.4.4

- (17.18) wǒ jí wā fy-ē:  
 2SG eat already c19-thing.QP

*"Have you already eaten something?"*

What-goes-around.4.5

- (17.19) mō ĵ-pǎ wò fy-ē: wò jílè lè  
 RES 1SG.HORT-give 2SG c19-thing 2SG eat APPL.QP

*"Should I give you something to eat?"*

What-goes-around.4.6

- (17.20) kì-nfē: kē-ē lē, m̄-bá fy-ē: ā jí gē  
 c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 COMP 1SG-still c19-thing in eat NEG2

*'The blindman said "I've eaten nothing."'*

What-goes-around.4.7

(17.21) wù jǒ màṇ-kàlà mā-ā mà  
 3SG take c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 c6aREL

wù bé yéfè wū gē:, wù ná wù lē  
 3SG <sup>P</sup>COP rub 3SG put 3SG give 3SG APPL

*'She took that cassava puff, which she had rubbed [with poison] and set aside, and gave [it] to him.'* What-goes-around.4.8

(17.22) wù dú, kó là màṇ-kàlà mā-nē,  
 3SG say catch.IMP CONCESS c6a-cassava.puff c6a-PROX

wó jí  
 2SG.HORT eat

*'She said (with irritation), "Take this cassava puff, you should eat [it]."'* What-goes-around.4.9

(17.23) kì-nfê: kē-ē kī fí màṇ-kàlà  
 c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 c7 receive c6a-cassava.puff

mā-ā, kī gē bá jí gē,  
 c6a-ANA1 c7 P3 still eat NEG2

nō kī gè jí wá mw-ē: kī fū:  
 like.that c7 P3 eat already c18a-thing c7 satisfy

*'The blind man took the cassava puff and did not eat it as he had already eaten something and was satisfied.'* What-goes-around.5.1

(17.24) kí jǒ màŋ-kàlà mā-ā, kī gē: à-kē, kī já  
 c7 take c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 c7 put c18-bag c7 leave

kī gēn-è, kī nā-à Ø-ŋkè lē, wǒ gé  
 c7 go-PROG c7 give-PROG c1-song COMP 2SG do.COND

bvū-jǒŋē tū wǒ gé yē y-ǒ lē, wǒ gé  
 c14-good then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG do.COND

bvū-bēfè tū wǒ gé yē y-ǒ lē  
 c14-bad then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

*'He took that cassava puffs and put it in his bag and left and was going and singing his song, "You do good, you do for yourself; you do bad, you do for yourself."'*  
 What-goes-around.5.2

(17.25) lē kí gēn-è kī fēsè fē-jǒ:, kī shī fǒ kī  
 SET c7 go-PROG c7 reach c16-water c7 sit there COMP(K)

fúf-è shēŋ, kī nù fǒ, kī nù fǒ  
 rest-PROG c9.liver c7 COP(N) there c7 COP(N) there

*'As he was going and reached the water, he sat there to rest, and was there (for an extended period of time).'*  
 What-goes-around.6.1

(17.26) lē dǒ nù kī-fē kì bǒ: bā Ø-ŋwà  
 SET SIT COP(N) c7-time c7REL c2.child c2AM c1-book

tǒ bǒ jí mw-ē:, bǒ: bǎ gē tǒ  
 come 3PL eat c18a-thing c2.child c2REL P3 come

fwé gē bé bǒ: bā Ø-kwēsé wē-è  
 front P3 <sup>P</sup>COP c2.child c2AM c1-woman c1-ANA1

*'When it was time that school children come to eat something, the children who came first were the children of the woman.'*  
 What-goes-around.7.1

- (17.27) lē bós dós bós tós, bō yéŋ wō gé bvū-jōŋē,  
 SET 3PL SIT 3PL come 3PL see 2SG do.COND c14-good
- tū wō gé yē y-ō lē, wō gé bvū-bēfè,  
 then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG do.COND c14-bad
- tū wō gé yē y-ō lē, wú shì-ì fè-jō  
 then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL 3SG sit-PROG c16-water

*'As they came, they saw You-do-good-then-you-do-for-yourself-you-do-bad-then-you-do-for-yourself, sitting at the water.'*

What-goes-around.7.2

- (17.28) bós yěsè lē, Ø-bā:, wō lé wō shì-ì wō  
 3PL greet COMP c1-pa 2SG COP 2SG sit-PROG 2SG
- fúf-è shéŋ, Ø-bā: wō gé bvū-jōŋē,  
 rest-PROG c9.liver c1-pa 2SG do.COND c14-good
- tū wō gé yē y-ō lē  
 then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

*'They greeted him "Pa, are you sitting and resting, Pa You-do-good-then-you-do-for-yourself?"*

What-goes-around.7.3

- (17.29) kì-nfē: kē-ē bē:ŋ, ñ-fūf-é wá shēŋ,  
 c7-blindman c7-ANA1 agree 1SG-rest-PROG already c9.liver
- bō: b-āŋ  
 c2.child c2-1SG.POSS

*'The blindman agreed, "I am already resting, my children."'*

What-goes-around.7.4

- (17.30) Ø-bā:, wō gé bvū-jōŋē, tū wō gé yē y-ō  
 c1-pa 2SG do.COND c14-good then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS
- lē, wō lé bē fy-ē: wó ná bè yû:  
 APPL 2SG COP with c19-thing 2SG.HORT give 1PL on.it.QP

*'"Pa You-do-good-then-you-do-for-yourself, do you have something to provide us with?"'*

What-goes-around.7.5

- (17.31) Ø-bā wē-è lē mē lé bé màn-kàlà yānē  
 c1-pa c1-ANA1 COMP 1SG.PRO COP with c6a-cassava.puff here

à kī-kē: lē, mà n-lēgé à Ø-kwēsé wū-mù lē  
 in c18-bag APPL c6aREL 1SG-beg in c1-woman c1-some APPL

*‘That pa [said], “I have some cassava puff here in [my] bag, which I begged from some woman.”’*  
 What-goes-around.7.6

- (17.32) bēŋ tǔ bēŋ kó, bēŋ jí,  
 2PL come.IMP 2PL catch 2PL.HORT eat

bēŋ mú jò fó  
 2PL.HORT drink c9.water there

*“‘Come and take [the cassava puff], you should eat [it] and drink water.”’*  
 What-goes-around.7.7

- (17.33) bē: bā-ā gè bé bō tó, wū ná bō  
 c2.child c2-ANA1 P3 <sup>P</sup>COP 3PL come 3SG give 3PL

màn-kàlà mā-ā mǎn-tēdé, wū ná wú-nē,  
 c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 c6a-three 3SG give c1-PROX

wū ná wú-nē  
 3SG give c1-PROX

*‘Those children came and he gave them those three cassava puffs; he gave to each one.’ (lit. he gave to this one and he gave to this one)*  
 What-goes-around.7.8

- (17.34) lē bē: bā-ā jí, bó já bō kwē:d-è  
 SET c2.child c2-ANA1 eat 3PL leave 3PL be.home-PROG

*‘After those children ate, they left and were returning home.’*  
 What-goes-around.8.1

(17.35) b́ó kwě̀è b́ó gē: b́ó fésè fē-b́ó-kfúŋ, ɲù  
 3PL be.home 3PL go 3PL arrive c16-3PL-home COP(N)

bṵ: bā Ø-kwēsé wē-è wū bé ɲā  
 c2.child c2AM c1-woman c1-ANA1 c1REL P1 give

kì-nfè: kē-è m̀àŋ-kàlà mā-ā  
 c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1

*'They went and arrived at their home, being the children of that woman who gave that blindman those cassava puffs.'*

What-goes-around.8.2

(17.36) lē b́ó d́ó b́ó gē: b̄ b̄ lē:, b̄ gwē  
 SET 3PL SIT 3PL go 3PL enter 3PL fall

lē à-shēŋ, lē à-shēŋ yú-ú b́ó  
 COMP c18-liver COMP c18-liver kill-PROG 3PL

*'As the children entered [the house], they felt that (their) stomachs were killing them.'* (lit. *they fell so that [their] liver was killing them*)

What-goes-around.8.3

(17.37) Ø-bwē b́ó t́ó wù bí: b̄ lē  
 c1-mother 3PL.POSS come 3SG ask 3PL APPL

là: lé lá, bṵ: b-āŋ  
 COMP.Q COP Q c2.child c2-1SG.POSS

*'Their mother came and asked them, "What is (the problem), my children?"'*

What-goes-around.9.1

(17.38) bṵ: bā-ā lē, à-shēŋ  
 children that COMP c18-liver

*'The children [replied], "(Our) stomachs."'*

What-goes-around.9.2

- (17.39) Ø-bwē bós chinè bō: bā-ā lé fós  
c1-mother 3PL.POSS leave c2.child c2-ANA1 APPL there

wù légē wù gē:, wū lá Ø-bá wù-bō,  
3SG run 3SG go 3SG go.goal c1-pa c1-3PL.POSS

lē bō: bā-nē bēd-é bā lē à-shēŋ  
COMP c2.child c2-PROX cry-PROG c2 COMP c18-liver

*'Their mother left those children there and ran to their pa and [said]  
that these children are crying, they [are saying] "(Our) stomachs."'*  
What-goes-around.9.3

- (17.40) lē Ø-chǐjì bós tós chēgē, wú tós,  
COMP c1-father.HORT 3PL.POSS come quickly 3SG.HORT come

wú yéŋ fy-ē: fī lé lē  
3SG.HORT see c19-thing c19.REL COP APPL

*'[They said] that their father should come quickly and see what is  
happening.'* What-goes-around.9.4

- (17.41) wù tós wù yéŋ fy-ē: fī-yú nù  
3SG come 3SG see c19-thing c19-ANA2 COP(N)

à jè yí-mì lē  
in c9.road c9-some APPL

*'He came and saw that thing was in a bad way.'* (lit. *in other or  
different path*) What-goes-around.9.5

- (17.42) hǎy hǎy, fī ghá wù, wù tú: bō:  
INTERJ INTERJ c19 surpass 3SG 3SG carry c2.child

bā-ā wù gē: fè Ø-mū wù jchē lé  
c2-ANA1 3SG go at c1-person c1AM c10.medicine APPL

*""Hey, hey!" It (their illness) was beyond his ability to give aid, and he  
took them to a doctor.'* What-goes-around.9.6

(17.43) lē Ø-mù-nché wé-é gē: wú jīŋē, wù yéŋ  
 SET c1-person-medicine c1-ANA1 go 3SG watch 3SG see

lē lé Ø-nlò wù bō: bā-ā jí  
 COMP COP c1-poison c1REL c2.child c2-ANA1 eat

*'When the doctor looked, he saw that it was POISON that those children ate.'*  
 What-goes-around.9.7

(17.44) à Ø-nlò wē-ē nù wū gē: wá bō: bā-ā  
 in c1-poison that COP(N) c1 go already c2.child c2-ANA1

yē lē wèsè, wù bí: bō: bā-ā lé là:,  
 c9.body APPL much 3SG ask c2.child c2-ANA1 APPL Q.COMP

lé lǎ fī bēŋ bé jì  
 COP Q c19REL 2PL P1 eat

*'Since the poison had already spread through their bodies too much, he asked those children, "What is it that you ate?"'*  
 What-goes-around.9.8

(17.45) bō: bā-ā lē, bō bé jí nù mǎŋ-kàlà  
 c2.child c2-ANA1 COMP 3PL <sup>P</sup>COP eat COP(N) c6a-cassava.puff

má-mù mà kì-mfē kí-mí bé ná bō lē,  
 c6a-some c6a.REL c7-blind.man c7-some <sup>P</sup>COP give 3PL APPL

kì-mfē kē-ē kí tó kī jèmè lē, wō  
 c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 c7REL HAB c7 talk COMP 2SG

gé bvū-jōŋē, tū wō gé yē y-ō lē, wō  
 do.COND c14-good then 2SG do on c9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG

gé bvū-bēfè, tū wō gé yē y-ō lē  
 do.COND c14-bad then 2SG do-PROG on c9-2SG.POSS APPL

*'Those children [said] that they had eaten SOME CASSAVA PUFF, WHICH A CERTAIN BLINDMAN HAD GIVEN THEM, that blindman who always says that you do good, then you do for yourself; you do bad, then you for yourself.'*  
 What-goes-around.9.9



(17.46) Ø-bā wē-è bé wù dú lē, wù bé légé lò  
 c1-pa c1-ANA1 P1 3SG say COMP 3SG P1 beg FOC

à Ø-kwēsé wú-mù lē, wú tó  
 in c1-woman c1-certain APPL c1REL HAB

wū kāŋ-è màŋ-kàlà  
 3SG fry-PROG c6a-cassava.puff

*‘That Pa said that he begged from a certain woman who is always  
 frying cassava puffs.’* What-goes-around.9.10

(17.47) lē fí dó fí nùmè nō:, Ø-kwēsé wē-è  
 SET c19 STIM c19 COP(N) like.that c1-woman c1-ANA1

m̩bū: bé kwè, wù bēd-ě  
 burst with c9.death 3SG cry-PROG

*‘As it was so, that woman started crying and crying.’*  
 What-goes-around.9.11

(17.48) Ø-jwē bí: là: lé lá fí wò bēd-é là  
 c1-husband ask COMP.Q COP Q c19REL 2SG cry-PROG Q

*‘The husband asked, “Why are you crying?”’* What-goes-around.9.12

- (17.49) Ø-kwēsé wé-é chfú lē, bɔ̃: bā-nē dú lē,  
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 reply COMP c2.child c2-PROX say COMP
- bɔ̃ lé bɔ̃ jí màn-kàlà mà Ø-kwēsé wú-mù  
 3PL COP 3PL eat c6a-cassava.puff c6aREL c1-woman c1-some
- chí tō wú lé: bē mē lē bē gɔ̃  
 P2 come c1REL deceive with 1SG.PRO SET 1PL.HORT search
- jè yì bē yú-yé kì-nfɛ: kī-nē kí  
 c9.path c9REL 1PL kill-DISTR.COND c7-blind.man c7-PROX c7REL
- jèj-ī kī lēg-ē mw-ē:, kī-nē yú  
 walk.around-PROG c7 beg-PROG c18a-thing c7-PROX on.it

*'The woman answered that "These children are saying that they have eaten cassava puffs, which a certain woman came who deceived me that we should look for a way to kill this blindman who is going around begging things, [kill] this one with it."'* What-goes-around.9.13

- (17.50) lē Ø-kwēsé wé-ē dú nō, mē mō gɛ:  
 SET c1-woman c1-ANA1 say like.that 1SG.PRO then go
- mē j̃-jò j̃chē yī bā yú-yí  
 1SG.PRO 1SG-take c9.medicine c9REL they kill-DIST.PROG
- bī-kfūnè yú mē j̃-gɛ: à màn-kàlà mā-ā lé  
 c8-rat on.it 1SG.PRO 1SG-put in c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 APPL
- 'As that woman said so, I went and brought medicine that kills rats and put [it] in that cassava puff.'* What-goes-around.9.14

- (17.51) lé mó mà mē bē já kī-mfɛ: kē-ē lé,  
 COP RES c6aREL 1SG.PRO P1 give c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 APPL
- kí gɛ: kī nā bɔ̃: bā-nē lé, bó jí,  
 c7REL go c7 give c2.child c2-PROX APPL 3PL eat
- fē à-shén kē á yù-ù bó  
 make c18-liver begin c18 kill-PROG 3PL
- 'That is the very cassava puff that I gave to the blind man, who went and gave [it] to these children for them to eat, that made (their) stomach to begin hurting them.'* What-goes-around.9.15

(17.52) lē fí dó fí nù nɔ̃,  
 SET c19 SIT c19 COP(N) like.that

bɔ̃: bā-ā gē kwī-yè bā-chī  
 c2.child c2-ANA1 P3 die-DISTR c2-all

*'As it was so, all those children died (one after another).'*

What-goes-around.10.1

(17.53) fī-mánǎ fī-nē dūŋ-í lē, wɔ̃ gé bvū-jɔ̃ŋē,  
 c19-story c19-PROX show-PROG COMP 2SG do.COND c14-good

tū wò gé nù yē y-ɔ̃ lē, wò gé  
 then 2SG do COP(N) on C9-2SG.POSS APPL 2SG do.COND

bvū-bēfè, tū wò gé nù yē y-ɔ̃ lē  
 c14-bad then 2SG do COP(N) on C9-2SG.POSS APPL

*'This story is teaching that, if you do good, then you do FOR  
 YOURSELF; if you do bad, then you do FOR YOURSELF.'*

What-goes-around.10.2

