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**A grammar of Mankanya: An Atlantic language of Guinea-Bissau,
Senegal and the Gambia**
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Chapter 12 - Glossed Texts

12.1 Two women who had humps

The following text was written in 2003 by an unknown author connected to the Mankanya literacy program in Goudomp run by Pkumel (the Mankanya cultural association) and SIL. It was written to go into a booklet of folk tales and was edited to correct orthographic errors.

The initial number of each line indicates the paragraph number, the second the sentence within that paragraph.

Ñiinṭ na baharul batëb banwooṅ na mben ṭi feṭ

(A man and his two wives who had humps on their backs)

1.1 **Dka nantohi ajug katoh**
 d- ka na- ntohi a- jug ka- toh
 1s have C1S elder C1AS owner C3S house

anniimuṅ baat batëb .
 a- n- niim -uṅ b- aaṭ ba- tëb
 C1S COREF marry SEL C1P woman C1P two

“There was once an old man who had married two women”

1.2 **Naweeek awo Dama aṣë wo**
 na- week a- wo Dama a- ṣë wo
 C1S elder_sibling C1S be Dama SER SEQ be

aannuura ṭi bten , natëbëntën
 a- ën- nuura ṭ- i b- ten na- tëb -ëntën
 SER NEG be_good INT LOC.PROX C5S looks C1S two ORD

awooṅ nanuura maakan awo Naala .
 a- wo -oṅ na- nuura maakan a- wo Naala
 C1S be SEL C1S beauty very C1S be Nala

“The elder was Dama, and she was not beautiful; the second was very beautiful and was called Naala”

1.3 **Kë baat batëb bukun başë wo na**
 kë b- aat ba- tëb buk- un ba- şë wo na
 DS C1P woman C1P two C1P DEM.DIST C1P SEQ be with

mben ti feţ .
 m- BEN t- i feţ
 c6p swelling INT LOC.PROX back

“But these two women had humps on their backs”

1.4 **Anwoon naweek i katoh awo**
 a- n- wo -on na- week i ka- toh a- wo
 C1S COREF be SEL C1S big GEN C3S house C1S be

na pben pmpoţi .
 na p- BEN p- mpoţi
 with C6S swelling C6S small

“The one who eldest in the house had a small hump”

2.1 **Kë pi anwoon Naala pawoon**
 kë p- i a- n- wo -on Naala pa- wo -on
 DS C6S GEN C1S COREF be SEL Nala C6S be SEL

pweek , kë aşaaŋ akaana kanuura
 p- week kë a- şa -aŋ a ka -a -na ka- nuura
 C6S older DS SER SEQ SEL 1s rfx C3S beauty

maakan .

maakan

very

“Naala's hump was big, but she had great beauty”

2.2 **Ul i ñiint aţuun ti**
 ul i ñ- iint a- ţu -un t- i
 3s.subj DEM.PROX C1S man C1S place SEL INT LOC.PROX

uhaaş wi nul .

u- haaş w- i nul
 C2S soul C2S GEN 3s.POSS

“The husband loved her”

2.3 **Kë Dama aşë win kë ayin baka**
 kë Dama a- şë win kë a- yin baka
 DS Dama C1S SEQ see COMP C1AS husband C1P.OBJ

aŋal Naala apel a .

a- ŋal Naala a- pel a
 C1S like Nala SER be_more OBJ

“But Dama saw that their husband loved Naala more than her”

2.4 **Ṭi** **duṅ** **mēnṭan** **duṅ**
ṭ- i d- uṅ mēnṭan d- uṅ
INT LOC.PROX C9S DEM.DIST that C9S DEM.DIST
di **di** **Dama** **abaṅ** **kabi**
d- i d- i Dama a- ba -aṅ k- a- bi
C9S DEM.PROX C9S GEN Dama C1S finish SEL IMPERF SER PST
ṣoor **ṣoor** **Naala** **kakak** **ṭi** **a**
ṣoor ṣoor Naala k- a- kak ṭ- i a
hate hate Nala IMPERF SER return INT LOC.PROX OBJ
kakar **na** **ṅnuur** , **kakuut**
k- a- kar na ṅ- nuur k- a- kuut
IMPERF SER insult with C2P day IMPERF SER slander
kaji **na** **ñiintṣ** **me** **aṅal** **ṅal** **ñaṅ**
k- a- ji na ñ- iintṣ me a- ṅal ṅal ñaṅ
IMPERF SER laugh with C1S man know C1S like like person
anwoṅ **na** **pben** **pweek** **puṅ**
a- n- wo -oṅ na p- BEN p- week p- uṅ
C1S COREF be SEL with C6S swelling C4S older C4S DEM.DIST
“Because of this Dama began to hate Naala, and began to insult her every
day, slandering her, saying to her husband how could he love someone who
had such a big hump”

2.5 **Kë** **hënk** **di** **abaṅ** **kabi** **duka**
kë hënk d- i a- ba -aṅ k- a- bi duka
DS like_that C9S GEN C1S finish SEL IMPERF SER PST stay
duka **ṭi** **pdo** **na** **Naala** **te** **kë** **bado**
duka ṭ- i p- do na Naala te kë ba- do
stay INT LOC.PROX INF do with Nala until DS C1P INGR
bot **awo** **ṭi** **ploolan** **na**
bot a- wo ṭ- i p- loolan na
do_something_next SER be INT LOC.PROX C4S one with
ñiintṣ **kë** **ñaṅ** **aji** **bi** **duka** **duka**
ñ- iintṣ kë ñ- aaṅ a- ji bi duka duka
C1S man DS C1S woman C1S HAB PST stay stay
kañagan **ṭuṅ** **katoh**
k- a- ñagan ṭ- uṅ ka- toh
IMPERF SER be_sad INT LOC.DIST C3S house
“*She kept doing this to Naala until her husband agreed with her, and Naala
stayed unhappily in the house*”

3.1 **Kë ñaaṭ aloṅ naṭaf kë aṣë win**
 kë ñ- aaṭ a- loṅ na- ṭaf kë a- ṣë win
 DS C1S woman C1S INDEF C1S elderly DS C1S SEQ see

jibi Naala aṅagani ṭi katoḥ .
 jibi Naala a- ñagan -i ṭ- i ka- toḥ
 like Nala C1S be_sad CMPL INT LOC.PROX C3S house
 “Then an old lady saw how Naala was in the house, unhappy”

3.2 **Abi ajaka : « Woli iṅal pka**
 a- bi a- jak -a Woli i- ṅal p- ka
 C1S come SER tell C1S.OBJ if 2S like INF have

ukëra ṭuṅ ayinu , kya
 u- këra ṭ- uṅ a- yin -u k- ya
 C2S success INT LOC.DIST C1AS husband 2S.POSS IMPERF go
na utejan du kabaṅ ki unkintar
 na u- tejan d- u ka- baṅ k- i u- nkintar
 with C2S night EXT LOC.DIST C3S side C3S GEN C2S garden

wi nan .
 w- i nan
 C2S GEN 2P.POSS

“She said to her ‘If you want to have success with your husband, go at night to the side of your garden ”

3.3 **Iṭënk ṅntaayi da ṅado ptoof**
 i- ṭënk ṅ- ntaayi d- a ṅa- do p- toof
 C3P find C2P spirit C9S OBJ C2P do C4S half

kaki .
 k- a- ki
 IMPERF SER dance

“You’ll find spirits there, doing the circle dance”

- 3.4 **Işale ban da knaṭ**
 i- şa -le ban d- a k- naṭ
 2S SEQ irr arrive C9S OBJ 2S.ALT stand
- kanaakiir na ŋa , kakob**
 k- a- naaki -ir na ŋ- a k- a- kob
 IMPERF SER join RCP with C2P OBJ IMPERF SER hit
- iñen maakan , wal wi**
 i- ñen maakan w- al w- i
 C3P hand very C2S moment C2S GEN
- ŋakfoşaruṅ kaban ṭi**
 ŋa- k- foy -ş -ar -uṅ k- a- ban ṭ- i
 C2P IMPERF encircle CAUS BEN SEL IMPERF SER arrive INT LOC.PROX
- iwi , kşë ji na wi ikabiranuṅ**
 iwi k- şë ji na w- i i- kabir -an -uṅ
 2S 2S.ALT SEQ say with C2S GEN 2S be_next_to CAUS SEL
- , mēbanan napoṭ ŋji dkaaṅ pki (**
 mēb -an -an na- poṭ ŋji d- ka -aṅ p- ki
 attach CAUS IMP C1S child 1s 1s have SEL INF dance
- napoṭ mēnt awooṅ pben puṅ)**
 na- poṭ mēnt a- wo -oṅ p- BEN p- uṅ
 C1S child that C1S be SEL C6S swelling C4S DEM.DIST
- “When you arrive there, stop and join in with them and clap loudly. When the circling arrives with you, say to the person who is now next to you "hold the baby, it's my turn to dance" (this baby is that hump)”
- 3.5 **Wi kneejuṅ ptoof kaki ,**
 wi k- neej -uṅ p- toof k- a- ki
 when IMPERF enter SEL C4S half IMPERF SER dance
- kşë pën na bundu kabi**
 k- şë pën na b- undu k- a- bi
 2S.ALT SEQ go_out with C5S DEM.VDIST IMPERF SER FUT
- kado kaṭi ṭi pya katoh**
 k- a- do k- a- ṭi ṭ- i p- ya ka- toh
 IMPERF SER INGR IMPERF SER run INT LOC.PROX INF go C3S house
- . »
- “When you enter the middle of the dance, go out the other side, then start running to go home’ ”

4.1 **Kë hënk di Naala ayaan na utejan**
 kë hënk d- i Naala a- ya -aŋ na u- tejan
 DS like_that C9S GEN Nala C1S go SEL with C2S night
aŋenk ŋntaayi kë ŋado ptoof aki , kë
 a- ŋenk ŋ- ntaayi kë ŋa- do p- toof a- ki kë
 C1S find C2P spirit DS C2P do C4S half SER dance DS
aşë ban anaŋ akob iñen na ŋa
 a- şë ban a- naŋ a- kob i- ñen na ŋ- a
 SER SEQ arrive SER stand SER hit C3P hand with C2P OBJ
 “So Naala went at night, found the spirits that were doing the circle dance,
 and went up to them, stood and clapped hands with them.”

4.2 **Wi ŋakiŋ aban ŋi a**
 w- i ŋa- ki -iŋ a- ban ŋ- i a
 C2S GEN C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ
kë aşë ji na wi akabiranuŋ
 kë a- şë ji na w- i a- kab -ir -an -uŋ
 DS C1S SEQ say with C2S GEN SER be_near_to RCP CAUS SEL
 : « **Mëbanan napoŋ i , nji dkaan**
 mëb -an -an na- poŋ i nji d- ka -aŋ
 attach CAUS IMP C1S child DEM.PROX 1S 1S have SEL
pki
 p- ki
 INF dance

“When their dancing arrived with her, she said to the person who was now next to her “hold this baby, it's my turn to dance””

5 **Kë untaayi uşë yeenk pben**
 kë u- ntaayi u- şë yeenk p- BEN
 DS C2S spirit C2S SEQ receive C6S swelling
amëban , kë Naala aşë neej aki
 a- mëb -an kë Naala a- şë neej a- ki
 SER attach CAUS DS Nala C1S SEQ enter SER dance
 “So the spirit took the hump and held it, and Naala entered the dance”

6.1 **Aban ŋuŋ aşë pën na bgah**
 a- ban ŋ- uŋ a- şë pën na b- gah
 C1S arrive INT LOC.DIST SER SEQ go_out with C5S way
bloŋ , aşë bi kaŋi ŋi
 b- loŋ a- şë bi k- a- ŋi ŋ- i
 C5S INDEF SER SEQ FUT IMPERF SER run INT LOC.PROX
pya katoh
 p- ya ka- toh
 INF go C3S house
 “She arrived there, then left by another path, and began to run to come home”

6.2 **Aban aneej meet apiinṭ** .
 a- ban a- neej meet a- piinṭ
 C1S arrive SER enter room SER lie_down
 “She arrived, entered inside and slept”

6.3 **Kë ḡntaayi ḡaduka ki ki ṭuṅ**
 kë ḡ- ntaayi ḡa- duk -a ki ki ṭ- uṅ
 DS C2P spirit C2P leave MID dance dance INT DEM.DIST
te kë unuur udo jinṭ kë ḡaşë jun
 te kë u- nuur u- do jinṭ kë ḡa- şë jun
 until DS C2S day C2S INGR be_clean DS C2P SEQ begin
pwayşër .
 p- wayşër
 INF disperse
 “The spirits stayed dancing until day broke and then they began to leave”

6.4 **Unşaaṅ ayeenk pben ṭi**
 u- n- şa -aṅ a- yeenk p- BEN ṭ- i
 C2S COREF SEQ SEL SER receive C6S swelling INT LOC.PROX
Naala kë uşë kak ala ḡnaaṅ anwuluṅ
 Naala kë u- şë kak a- la ḡnaaṅ a- n- wul -uṅ
 Nala DS C2S SEQ turn SER seek person SER COREF give SEL
wa napoṭ .
 w- a na- poṭ
 C2S OBJ C1S child
 “The spirit who had taken the hump from Naala began to go around looking for the person who had given him the baby”

6.5 **Wi uwooṅ uunwina aşë ya**
 w- i u- wo -oṅ u- un- win -a a- şë ya
 C2S GEN C2S be SEL C2S NEG see C1S.OBJ SER SEQ go
na pa .
 na p- a
 with C6S OBJ
 “When it couldn't see her, it left with it”

7.1 **Kë Dama aşë naṭa na nfa awin Naala**
 kë Dama a- şë naṭa na nfa a- win Naala
 DS Dama SER SEQ get_up with morning C1S see Nala
jibi ahetuṅ aşë ji akak
 jibi a- het -uṅ a- şë ji a- kak
 like C1S straighten_up SEL SER SEQ HAB SER become
apënan pben pi nul .
 a- pën -an p- BEN p- i nul
 SER go_out CAUS C6S swelling C6S GEN 3s.POSS
 “When Dama got up in the morning, she how Naala was straightened up, and how she had become, and that she had removed her hump”

7.2 « **Ayinun** **afiyaar** **kadukin**
 a- yin -un a- fiyaar k- a- duk -in
 C1AS husband 1P.OBJ C1S believe IMPERF SER leave 1S.OBJ
 » ; **aşë** **deebaṭ** **ado** **jot** **afiita** .
 a- şë deebaṭ a- do jot a- fiita
 C1S SEQ be_angry C1S INGR fall SER faint

“‘Our husband will think of leaving me!’ and she got so angry that she fainted.”

8.1 **Kë Naala na pjoob bkow pi nul**
 kë Naala na p- joob b- kow p- i nul
 DS Nala with INF cool C5S head C4S GEN 3s.POSS
aṭupa **jibi adoluṅ** **kë pben pi**
 a- ṭup -a jibi a- dol -uṅ kë p- BEN p- i
 C1S speak C1S.OBJ like C1S do SEL DS C6S swelling C6S GEN
nul pado pën .
 nul pa- do pën
 3s.POSS C6S INGR go_out

“But Naala was kind, and told her how she had made her hump go”

8.2 **Kë hënk di Dama akaaṅ aya na**
 kë hënk d- i Dama a- ka -aṅ a- ya na
 DS like_that C9S GEN Dama C1S REP SEL SER go with
utejan aya ṭënk ṅntaayi kë ṇado ptoof
 u- tejan a- ya ṭënk ṅ- ntaayi kë ṇa- do p- toof
 C2S night SER go find C2P spirit DS C2P do C4S half
aki , kë aşë ban abi ya ya
 a- ki kë a- şë ban a- bi ya ya
 SER dance DS SER SEQ arrive SER PST go go
di wi Naala awuluṅ pben
 d- i w- i Naala a- wul -uṅ p- BEN
 C9S DEM.PROX C2S GEN Nala C1S give SEL C6S swelling
anaṭ akob iñen .
 a- naṭ a- kob i- ñen
 SER stand SER hit C3P hand

“So Dama also went at night and found the spirits doing circle dancing; she arrived and went straight to the place where the spirit to whom Naala had given her hump was, stood and clapped her hands”

8.3 **Wi** **ɲakiin** **aban** **ɿ** **a** **kë**
w- i ɲa- ki -in a- ban ɿ- i a kë
C2S GEN C2P dance SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX OBJ DS
aşë **ji** **na** **wa** **umëbana**
a- şë ji na w- a u- mëb -an -a
SER SEQ say with C2S OBJ C2S attach CAUS MID
napoɽul **akiina** , **akaan** **pki**
na- poɽ -ul a- ki -in -a a- ka -an p- ki
C1S child 3s.POSS SER dance CAUS MID C1S REP SEL INF dance

“When the dancing arrived at her, she asked it to hold her baby as it was her turn to dance, so that she could dance”

9.1 **Kë** **untaayi** **uşë** **ji** : « **Yow** !
kë u- ntaayi u- şë ji yow
DS C2S spirit C2S SEQ like yes!

“And the spirit said "Wait a minute!" ”

9.2 **Hënk** **di** **aloŋ** **ajaknuŋ**
hënk d- i a- loŋ a- jak -n -uŋ
like_that C9S GEN C1S INDEF C1S tell 1s.OBJ SEL
mmëbana **napoɽ** **takal** **aşë** **ɿ**
m- mëb -an -a na- poɽ takal a- şë ɿ
1s.SUB attach CAUS MID C1S child yesterday SER SEQ run
adukaraan **a** , **naam** **iwi** **a** ?
a- duk -ar -aan a naam iwi a
SER leave BEN 1s.OBJ OBJ resemble 2s OBJ

“ "It was like this that someone asked me to carry their baby yesterday, and ran, leaving it with me - don't you look like her?" ”

9.3 **Nje** **a** **awi** . »
nje a a- wi
take OBJ C1S here_is

“ "Take him, here he is" ”

9.4 **Kë Dama ayeenk anaakrën na pi**
 kë Dama a- yeenk a- naakrën na p- i
 DS Dama C1S receive SER mix with C6S GEN
nul , ado pweek , aşë kowa pya
 nul a- do p- week a- şë kowa p- ya
 3s.POSS SER do C6S older SER SEQ be_ashamed INF go
na pa katoh , aşë bi kați ti
 na p- a ka- toh a- şë bi k- a- ti ti
 with C6S OBJ C3S house SER SEQ PST IMPERF SER run run
pya kajot di bdëk kakeț .
 p- ya ka- jot d- i b- dëk k- a- keț
 INF go C3S fall EXT LOC.PROX C5S sea IMPERF SER die

“So Dama received it, and mixed it with hers, which became big; she was ashamed to go with it to the house and so straight away ran to throw herself in the sea, in order to die.”

9.5 **Wi abanuț aşë jot di meel**
 w- i a- ban -uț a- şë jot d- i meel
 C2S GEN C1S arrive SEL SER SEQ fall EXT LOC.PROX water

“When she arrived, she threw herself in the water.”

9.6 **Kë meel mankak alutana**
 kë meel man- kak a- lut -an -a
 DS water C8 REP SER jump CAUS C1S.OBJ
apënan bdig aşë jaka , nji ,
 a- pën -an b- dig a- şë jak -a nji
 SER go_out CAUS C5S outside SER SEQ tell C1S.OBJ 1s
mnnkyeenk ñaaņ nado bwuțaan .
 mn- n- k- yeenk ñaaņ na- do b- wuțaan
 C8 NEG IMPERF receive person C1S doer c7s evil

“But the sea threw her back again, out of the water and said to her “Me, I don't accept evil people!” ”

12.2 A voyage to the Casamance

The following text was transcribed from an oral recording with the help of the speaker. He had been asked to relate an incident that involved him, and he told the story of the first time he had returned with his brother to the Casamance area of Senegal as a teenager. The story is being told in Dakar.

1 **Wi** **ŋwoon** **i** **pya** **duuŋ** , **pya**
 wi ŋ- wo -on i p- ya duuŋ p- ya
 when 1P be SEL GEN INF go up_there INF go
pme **duuŋ** , **kë** **aşınun** **kë** **aşë**
 p- me duuŋ kë a- şın -un kë a- şë
 INF know up_there DS C1AS father 1P.OBJ DS SER SEQ
piitun **kakaarta** **pa** **ŋmeena**
 piit -un ka- kaarta pa ŋ- me -an -a
 write 1P.OBJ C3S card in_order_to C2P know CAUS MID
bgah **bnuura**
 b- gah bnuura
 C5S way well

“When we had to go to the Casamance, to get to know the Cassamance, our father drew us a map, so that we would know the right route”

2 **Wi** **ŋyeenkun** **kakaarta** **mënŋën** **kun**
 wi ŋ- yeenk -un ka- kaarta mënŋën k- un
 when 1P receive SEL C3S card that C3P.cnt DEM.DIST
aya **ala** **ukaaru** **apaya** **atool** **aya**
 a- ya a- la u- kaaru a- paya a- tool a- ya
 SER go SER seek C2S car C1S climb SER leave SER go
 “When we had received this map, we went and looked for a minibus, climbed in and straight away we left”

3 **Wi** **ŋyaan** **aban** **ŋi** **Gambi**
 wi ŋ- ya -an a- ban ŋ- i Gambi
 when 1P go SEL SER arrive INT LOC.PROX Gambia
awala **ŋi** **pmuur** **bdëk**
 a- wala ŋ- i p- muur b- dëk
 SER come_down INT LOC.PROX INF cross C5S sea
 “When we had gone a while, we arrived in Gambia, and got out to cross the river”

4 **Wi** **ɲwaliɲ** **kë** **bapayan** **ɲkaaru**
 wi ɲ- wala -iɲ kë ba- pay -an ɲ- kaaru
 when 1P come_down SEL DS C1P raised CAUS C2P car
kë un **ɲpaya** **bak** **na** **ihoɗ** , **ado** **nug**
 kë un ɲ- paya bak na i- hoɗ a- do nug
 DS 1P.subj 1P climb ferry and C3P leg SER INGR buy
iko **yi** **de** **ɕuɲ** , **ade**
 i- ko y- i de ɕ- uɲ a- de
 C3P thing C3P GEN eat INT LOC.DIST SER eat
 “When we had got out, they embarked the minibus, and we got onto the
 ferry on foot, then bought some things to eat there, and ate.”

5 **Wi** **ɲmuuruɲ** **bdëk** **umba** **wundu**
 w- i ɲ- muur -uɲ b- dëk u- mba w- undu
 C2S GEN 1P cross SEL C5S sea C2S side C2S DEM.vdist
akak **ajej** **ukaaru** **mënɕan** **haɲ** **aɗool** **pya**
 a- kak a- jej u- kaaru mënɕan haɲ a- ɗool p- ya
 SER REP SER take C2S car that DEM SER leave INF go
duuɕ
 duuɕ
 up_there

“When we had crossed the river to the other side, we again took that
 minibus, and set off to go the Casamance”

6 **Wi** **ɲdoonɲ** **aya** **aban** **kañog**
 w- i ɲ- do -oɲ a- ya a- ban k- a- ñog
 C2S GEN 1P INGR SEL SER go SER arrive IMPERF SER be_close
duuɕ **kë** **ɲpaɕ bgah** **ɲi** **Diaroume** ,
 duuɕ kë ɲ- paɕ bgah ɲ- i Diaroume
 up_there DS 1P junction C2P GEN Diaroume

“When we had arrived in the Casamance, at the Diaroume junction,”

7 **ime** **iko** **yi** **duuɕ** , **iko**
 i- me i- ko y- i duuɕ i- ko
 2S know C3P thing C3P GEN up_there C3P thing

ide **yi** **duuɕ**
 i- de y- i duuɕ
 C3P edible C3P GEN up_there

“(you know the Casamance, the things that are eaten in the Casamance”

8 **woli iwo ʈi iji tam baloŋ**
 woli i- wo ʈ- i i- ji tam ba- loŋ
 if C3P be INT LOC.PROX C3P HAB be_hard C1P INDEF
baanji bahil pnug ya kë ado
 ba- an- ji ba- hil p- nug y- a kë a- do
 C1P NEG HAB C1P be_able INF buy C3P OBJ DS SER do
ya bnuura
 y- a bnuura
 C3P OBJ well

“if they are here, they are expensive, some people cannot buy them and prepare them well)”

9 **Kë ɲšë jun pnug uliik kë**
 kë ɲ- šë jun p- nug u- liik kë
 DS 1P SEQ begin INF buy C2S peanuts COMP
unjuŋi kë ɲbi kanug nug ,
 u- n- juŋ -i kë ɲ- bi k- a- nug nug
 C2S COREF cook SEL DS 1P FUT IMPERF SER buy buy
anug mnaana anugran iko atuman
 a- nug m- naana a- nug -r -an i- ko a- tuman
 C1S buy c6p banana SER buy DIST CAUS C3P thing SER fill
uʈak wi ɲwoonaanug
 u- ʈak w- i ɲ- woona -an -uŋ
 C2S bag C2S GEN 1P come_from CAUS SEL

“We began to buy cooked peanuts, and we were buying here and there, we bought bananas, we bought things everywhere, and we filled the sack that we had brought with us”

10 **Wi ɲyaan aban du karat ki**
 wi ɲ- ya -aŋ a- ban d- u karat k- i
 when 1P go SEL SER arrive EXT LOC.DIST garage C3S GEN
ɲkaaru kë ukaaru kë unaʈi kë
 ɲ- kaaru kë u- kaaru kë u- naʈ -i kë
 C2P car DS C2S car DS C2S stand CMPL DS
ɲwala
 ɲ- wala
 1P come_down

“When we arrived at the bus garage, the minibus stopped, and we got out”

11 **kë** **ɲşë** **pënan** **kakaarta** **ki**
 kë ɲ- şë pën -an ka- kaarta k- i
 DS 1P SEQ go_out IMP C3S card C3S GEN
aşinun **apiituŋ** **un** **apiituŋ**
 a- şin -un a- piit -uŋ un a- piit -uŋ
 C1AS father 1P.OBJ C1S write SEL 1P.subj C1S write SEL
bgah **bti** **jibi** **ɲwoonŋ** **kaşaş** **bgah**
 b- gah bti jibi ɲ- wo -oŋ k- a- şaş b- gah
 C5S way all like 1P be SEL IMPERF SER follow C5S way
 “we got out the map that our father had drawn us, on which he drawn the whole route that we had to follow”

12 **kë** **aya** **kaban** **te** **ɲënkhepar**
 kë a- ya k- a- ban te ɲ- an- k- hepar
 DS SER go IMPERF SER arrive until 1P NEG IMPERF ask
 “for us to arrive without asking.”

13 **Wi** **ɲtenuŋ** **kakaarta** **mëntan** **kuŋ**
 wi ɲ- ten -uŋ ka- kaarta mëntan k- uŋ
 when 1P look_at SEL C3S card that C3P.cnt DEM.DIST
bti **aşë** **tool** **aşaş** **bgah** **bi**
 bti a- şë tool a- şaş b- gah b- i
 all SER SEQ leave SER follow C5S way C5S DEM.PROX
ayuujuŋ **ti** **kakaarta**
 a- yuuŋ -uŋ ti- i ka- kaarta
 C1S show SEL INT LOC.PROX C3S card
 “When we had looked at the map, we straight away followed the route that he had showed us on the map”

14 **aşaş** **şaş** **bgah** **te** **ado** **ya** **aneej**
 a- şaş şaş b- gah te a- do ya a- neej
 SER follow follow C5S way until SER INGR go SER enter
du **katoŋ** **ki** **aninun** **niintŋ**
 d- u ka- toŋ k- i a- nin -un n- iintŋ
 EXT LOC.DIST C3S house C3S GEN C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man
 “and followed it until we arrived and entered our uncle's house”

15 **Wi** **ɲbanuŋ** **awul** **mnteeña**
 wi ɲ- ban -uŋ a- wul m- nteeña
 when 1P arrive SEL SER give C8 greetings
 “When we arrived, we gave our greetings”

16 **Nin aloŋ ɕi katoŋ**
 nin a- loŋ ɕ- i ka- toŋ
 NEG C1S INDEF INT LOC.PROX C3S house

aanyikrënun

a- ën- yikrën -un
 C1S NEG recognise 1P.OBJ

“No-one in the house recognised us”

17 **Aninun ñiinɕ aando yikrënun**
 a- nin -un ñ- iinɕ a- an- do yikrën -un
 C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man C1S NEG INGR recognise 1P.OBJ

parce que **wi awinuŋ un ujon**
 wi a- win -uŋ un u- jon -i
 when C1S see SEL 1P.subj C2S last CMPL

“Our uncle didn’t even recognise us, because it was a long time since he had last seen us”

18 **ŋhoj wori mënɕan bapoɕ bampoɕi**
 ŋ- hoj wori mënɕan ba- poɕ ba- m- poɕ -i
 1P be_still time that C1P child C1P COREF be_small PTCP

te ado ya adëm
 te a- do ya a- dëm
 until SER INGR go SER grow

“We were still, at that time, small children and since then we had been growing”

19 parce que **wori mënɕan ŋji dka ŋɕubal iñeen**
 wori mënɕan ŋji d- ka ŋ- ɕubal i- ñeen
 time that 1S 1S have C2P year C3P ten

na ŋpaaj na uloolan
 na ŋ- paaj na u- loolan
 and 1P six and C2S one

“because I was seventeen at that time”

20 **ukaaj kë baanyikrën un**
 u- ka -aŋ kë ba- an- yikrën un
 C2S have SEL DS C1P NEG recognise 1P.subj

“and so that’s why they didn’t recognise us”

21 **Wi ŋji kapënuŋ da , dka wori**
 wi ŋji ka- pën -uŋ d- a d- ka wori
 when 1S 1S.ALT go_out SEL C9S OBJ 1S have time

mënɕan ŋɕubal paaj
 mënɕan ŋ- ɕubal paaj
 that C2P year six

“When I left there I had been six years old”

22 **Baṭoo** **ṅṣubal** **iñeen** **na** **uṣubal** , **kë**
 ba- ṭo -o ṅ- ṣubal i- ñeen na u- ṣubal kë
 C1P sit CMPL C2P year C3P ten and C2S rain DS

baanwinën **ukaṅ** **kë** **baanyikrënën**
 ba- an- win -ën u- ka -aṅ kë ba- an- yikrën -ën
 C1P NEG see 1S.OBJ C2S have SEL DS C5S NEG recognise 1S.OBJ

na aṭa **naan** **bṭi**
 na a- ṭa naan bṭi
 and C1AS young_sibling 1S.GEN all

“Eleven years had passed without them seeing me and this is why they didn't recognise either me or my brother”

23 **kë mbaa** **ṭoo** **ṭuṅ** **aṭup** **bakan**
 kë m- baa ṭo -o ṭ- uṅ a- ṭup bakan
 DS 1S.SUB tmtv sit CMPL INT LOC.DIST C1S speak C1P.OBJ

bṭi dko **di** **ṅpënuṅ** **kë babaa**
 bṭi d- ko d- i ṅ- pën -uṅ kë ba- baa
 all C9S place EXT LOC.PROX 1P go_out SEL DS C1P tmtv

leṣ

leṣ

remember

“I ended up staying there and telling them all where we came from and they finally remembered”

24 **aninun** **ñiinṭ** **kë alilani**
 a- nin -un ñ- iinṭ kë a- lil -an -i
 C1AS mother 1P.OBJ C1S man DS C1S be_good CAUS CMPL

na aharul **bṭi**
 na a- har -ul bṭi
 and C1AS wife 3s.POSS all

“Our uncle was very pleased and so was his wife”

25 **Kë bapënan** **iko** **yi** **de** , **iko**
 kë ba- pën -an i- ko y- i de i- ko
 DS C1P go_out CAUS C3P thing C3P GEN eat C3P thing

yi **de yi** **duuṭ**
 y- i de y- i duuṭ
 C3P GEN eat C3P GEN up_there

“They got out things to eat, things to eat from the Casamance”

26 **unkaara** , **mkonkombra** , **mnkem** **kë** **ɲde**
 u- nkaara m- konkombra mn- kem kë ɲ- de
 C2S peanuts C6P cucumber C6P palm_nut DS 1P eat

ɕuɲ **bti** **kë** **balilani**
 ɕ- uɲ bti kë ba- lil -an -i
 INT LOC.DIST all DS C1P be_good CAUS CMPL

“Peanuts, cucumbers, palm nuts, and we ate from them all and they were happy”

27 **Faan** **kë** **afiɲarun** **unkuma** , **adu**
 faan kë a- fiɲ -ar -un u- nkuma a- du
 tomorrow DS C1S kill BEN 1P.OBJ C2S pig SER call

bañaanɲ **ado** **mnlilan**
 ba- ñaanɲ a- do mn- lilan
 C1P person SER do C8 happiness

“The following day he killed a pig for us, and called people to show their happiness”

28 **Wi** **ɲtoonɲ** **ɕuɲ** **ɲnuur**
 wi ɲ- ɕo -onɲ ɕ- uɲ ɲ- nuur
 when 1P sit SEL INT LOC.DIST C2P day

ɲanduki **kë** **pwin** **bayiɕun**
 ɲa- n- duk -i kë p- win ba- yiɕ -un
 C2P COREF leave PTCP DS INF see C1P relative 1P.OBJ

“While we stayed there the rest of the days that were left for seeing our relatives”

29 **kë** **ɲšë** **ji** **ɲya** **ɕi** **ɲntabanka**
 kë ɲ- šë ji ɲ- ya ɕ- i ɲ- ntabanka
 DS 1P SEQ HAB 1P go INT LOC.PROX C2P village

ɲmpoɕi **ɲuɲ**
 ɲ- mpoɕi ɲ- uɲ
 C2P small C2P DEM.DIST

“we went to those little villages”

30 **Antidi** **ɲba** **pnoorfën** **pi** **ɲyaanɲ**
 antidi ɲ- ba p- noorfën p- i ɲ- ya -anɲ
 before 1P tmtv C4S rest C4S GEN 1P go SEL

ɲñaay **bayiɕun** **bti** **Fugtor** **ame**
 ɲ- ñaay ba- yiɕ -un bti Fugtor a- me
 1P walk_about C1P relative 1P.OBJ all Ziguinchor SER know

bakan **bti** .
 bakan bti
 C1P.OBJ all

“Before we finished the holiday we had taken, we went around all our Ziguinchor relatives to know them all” (*antidi* is a Creole word)

31 **Unuur wi ηk̄t̄īṣuŋ , baando**
 u- nuur w- i η- k- t̄īṣ -uŋ ba- an- do
 C2S day C2S GEN 1P IMPERF go_home SEL C1P NEG INGR

ηal ηt̄īṣ

ηal η- t̄īṣ

like 1P go_home

“The day that we left, they didn't even want us to go”

32 **ηtaalad na bakan tuŋ bti ,**
 η- taal -ad na bakan t̄- uŋ bti
 1P get_used_to RCP and C1P.OBJ INT LOC.DIST all

wi ηk̄t̄īṣuŋ , un ηendo ηal
 w- i η- k- t̄īṣ -uŋ un η- an- do ηal
 C2S GEN 1P IMPERF go_home SEL 1P.subj 1P NEG INGR like

pt̄īṣ

p- t̄īṣ

INF go_home

“We had got know all of them there and when we were going home, we also didn't want to leave”

33 **Parce que baतालad bi ηतालadun**
 ba- taalad b- i η- taal -ad -uŋ
 C1P relationship C1P GEN 1P get_used_to RCP SEL

na bakan , ηbi ηal ηal pto da .
 na bakan η- bi ηal ηal p- to d- a
 and C1P.OBJ 1P PST like like INF sit C9S OBJ

“Because of the relationships we had made, we just wanted to stay”

34 **Ma ηdohara pli ploodan aṣe t̄īṣ**
 ma η- do -hara p- li p- loolan a- ṣe t̄īṣ
 but 1P do CONC C4S month C4S one SER SEQ go_home

kē bañaan kē balilan tuŋ bti

kē ba- ñaan kē ba- lil -an t̄- uŋ bti

DS C1P person DS C1P be_good CAUS INT DEM.DIST all

“But even though we had stayed only a month before leaving, they were all happy there”