PARALLELISM AND ELIPSIS IN CHATINO SPEECH:
THE BORDERS OF POETRY AND GRAMMAR
Hilaria Cruz and Anthony C. Woodbury, University of Texas at Austin

§0. INTRODUCTION

(1) The borders of poetry and grammar
Extending a theme long championed by Roman Jakobson (e.g., Jakobson 1968) Joel Sherzer, in his book Speech Play and Verbal Art, develops a series of examples involving reduplication and other phenomena in which patterns of play and poetry interpenetrate into grammar, concluding (2002:25):
“As overwhelmingly formal and foreboding a structure as grammar is, as any linguist or student of a foreign language well knows, there is also play, and indeed humor and art, right at its core, as I have illustrated here. Play and art are both inherent and potential in linguistic structure; they are an important part of what language is all about.”

(2) Goals
• To show a similar case of poetry-grammar interpenetration with respect to a common type of parallelism and elipsis found in formal as well as everyday speech in the Eastern Chatino of San Juan Quiahije, Oaxaca, Mexico;
• To ask and answer the question, How are grammatical knowledge and poetic ability to be related in a theoretically principled way, with respect to these phenomena? What is the division of labor?

(3) Eastern Chatino of San Juan Quiahije (SJQ)
• Chatino is a shallow language family spoken in the Pacific coastal mountains of the Juquila and Sola de Vega districts in the southwestern portion of Oaxaca, Mexico
• Together with Zapotec, it forms the Zapotecan branch of Otomanguean
• Boas (1913:78) posited three ‘dialects’ for Chatino—now seen as languages—corresponding respectively to the speech of:
  o the municipality of Zenzontepc (Sola de Vega district)
  o the municipality of Tataltepec (Juquila district)
  o (as it were) all the rest, which comprise an internally diverse set of varieties that we term Eastern Chatino (Woodbury 2008).
• San Juan Quiahije (SJQ) Chatino is one such Eastern Chatino variety, spoken in the municipality of San Juan Quiahije (Juquila district) by nearly all of the 4000 or so inhabitants (2005 census)
• Notation conventions: Graphemes as in table; Stem = (n)(C)(i)(7)CV,(V)_(7)+Tone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Tones (0-4 = hi-lo)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>Velar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop/n_</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td>Lr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w, jw</td>
<td>y, jy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Relevant prior work
• Grammar: Rasch (2002), on the Eastern Chatino of Santiago Yaltepec
• Dictionary: Pride and Pride (2004), on the Eastern Chatino of San Miguel Panixtlahuaca; E. Cruz et al. (2009), on SJQ
• Phonology and orthography: E. Cruz 2004, E. Cruz & Woodbury (2006), on SJQ
• Oratory: Cordero Avendaño de Durand (1986), H. Cruz (2009), both on SJQ

(5) **Documentary sources on SJQ**
Audio- and video-recordings made, transcribed, translated, and analyzed by Emiliana Cruz, Romelia Cruz, and ourselves under the auspices of the Chatino Language Documentation Project (CLDP), U Texas*

§1. A PATTERN OF PARALLELISM AND ELIPSIS IN SJQ

**Fig. 1**: Traditional oratory, from H. Cruz (2009)
**Figs. 2,3**: Prayers by Gonzalo Cortés Cruz and Margarita Baltazar García
**Fig. 4**: Conversation, from audio-recorded examples, 2006-2007

§2. Observations and an account

(6) **Gross anatomy of the pattern, and some terminology:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Fig. 1)</th>
<th>XP</th>
<th>FRAMEi</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>FOCUS</th>
<th>FRAMEj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phrase1: “ROOT”</td>
<td>[s] ngwa² wan¹</td>
<td>[N] ya7²</td>
<td>7na⁴²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>were you</td>
<td>hands</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase2: “SUPPLEMENT”</td>
<td>[s] ngwa² wan¹</td>
<td>[N] kya³⁴</td>
<td>7na⁴²</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>were you</td>
<td>feet</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase3: “FRAME TAG”</td>
<td>[s] ngwa² wan¹</td>
<td>[N] 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>were you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fig. 4,#16) | XP | FRAMEi | F | FOCUS | FRAMEj |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phrase1: “ROOT”</td>
<td>[cp] cha⁷³ na⁷⁴</td>
<td>[v] lon⁴</td>
<td>7in⁰</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because I</td>
<td>roused</td>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase2: “SUPPLEMENT”</td>
<td>[cp] cha⁷³ na⁷⁴</td>
<td>[v] kan⁷⁴</td>
<td>7in⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because I</td>
<td>did that to</td>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrase3: “FRAME TAG”</td>
<td>[cp] cha⁷³ na⁷⁴</td>
<td>[v] 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>because I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*We gratefully acknowledge support for our work through Endangered Language Documentation Programme grant MDP0153 to the University of Texas at Austin, offered by the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project at the School of Oriental and African Languages, University of London. Hilaria Cruz thanks the NSF Graduate Fellowship Program for support during the early phase of her research. We thank an ever-growing group of San Juan Quiñahije orators who have lent their time and thought to us in the course of this work, including those whose oratory is represented here. We also thank Emiliana Cruz and Isabel Cruz for their help with data for this paper.*
(7) **Observations about the pattern**

a. Each new parallel phrase seems to **supplement** or add to the prior phrase;

b. A series can consist of a **root**, one or more **supplements**, and, optionally, one **frame tag**; in informal conversation, a frame tag can follow a single prior root.

c. Repeating phrases can be S or CP (complementizer phrase) as above; also NP (Fig. 4, #5; Fig. 3, #13), VP (Fig. 3, #6); and AdvP’s (Fig. 3, #2); but there are no clear examples where the repeating phrase is anything less than a maximal projection.

d. The changing figure, or **focus** can be N or V as above, or any other single constituent; there appears to be no restriction on bar-level (i.e., lexical categories and maximal projections are equally well attested);

e. The focus has features typical of ordinary grammatical focus: in the context of the construction each new focus marks new information that is implicitly contrasted with the prior focus;

f. The **frame tag** appears to include only the material up to the focus, even when the result is grammatically incomplete;

g. The **frame tag**’s grammatical incompleteness implies, in context, either a generalization of the focus series, or an emphatic summary of the phrase series.

(8) **Production rule for parallelism**

On completion of a maximal phrase XP, start a new maximal phrase XP’ that supplements XP in context (i.e., it means: and XP’ or also XP’ or XP’ as well.) XP’ must be structurally, lexically, and functionally identical to XP, except in respect to an included corresponding constituent F, termed the focus, which the speaker chooses to make partly or wholly different from its predecessor.

(Definition: A maximal phrase is a maximal projection, e.g., S, NP, VP, AdjP; but, e.g., not N, V, N’, which are subordinate projections within maximal phrases).

(9) **Production rule for frame tags**

Follow the production rule for parallelism but stop and utter nothing when the focus is reached. It implies, in context, a generalization of the focus series or an emphatic summary of the phrase series.

---

1 Bright (1990:443), writing about parallelism in Classical Nahuatl texts from the year 1524, offers an antecedent analysis with similarities:

“If one wished to think of the embedding mechanism in abstract terms, one could say that it is a recursive rule which operates on any phrase X that contains at least one word belonging to a lexical category—i.e., a noun, a verb, or an adverbial, but not a particle. The rule then operates optionally on X to generate X X’ (or X’ X, since it is not clear that order is significant in this formulation). Here X’ has greater parallelism to X, i.e., greater similarity in morphosyntactic and semantic structure, than to any other adjacent unit. This produces a couplet, but then either X or X’ can serve as input for a reapplication of the rule, again subject to the requirement of parallelism.”
(10) **Locality and recursion**

The rules (8) and (9) are \textit{local} in that at any point a speaker can choose to supplement a phrase to any degree. This accounts for the extemporaneity of Chatino parallelism. Likewise, just as (8) and (9) imply, parallelism is recursive, see e.g., Fig. 2, #1; Fig. 3, #1-2.

\section*{§3. Borders of Poetry and Grammar}

(11) **Restatement of the question**

How are grammatical knowledge and poetic ability to be related in a theoretically principled way, with respect to these phenomena? What is the division of labor?

(12) **A useful principle for navigating the borders of grammar and poetry**

Kiparsky (1973:235) posits that “[t]he linguistic sames which are potentially relevant in poetry are just those which are potentially relevant in grammar.”

(A similar principle is defended in Sherzer, 1976)

(13) **Is a frame tag a Kiparskian “linguistic same...potentially relevant in grammar”?**

No; but it is a linguistic left-over that is \textit{derived} entirely by the manipulation of linguistic sames relevant in grammar (XP’s, focused constituents, and “everything following the focus”).

\textit{The frame tag is, nevertheless, an immanent figure of production whose local reality is salient and perhaps enforced by the rhythm of repetition (including repetition of a tonal sequence)}

(14) **Frame tags and Gapping**

English Gapping: \textit{John saw Bill and Susan, Jane}.

- Involve elipsis under parallelism
- Yet grammarians treat them as related by a grammatical process to reconstructed forms, e.g., \textit{John saw Bill and Susan saw Jane}.
- Quirk et al. 1985:884: “To distinguish elipsis from other kinds of omission, it is important to emphasise the principle of \textit{verbatim recoverability} that applies to elipsis.”
- SJQ Chatino \textit{has} conventional Gapping; e.g., Fig. 3, #3
- Gapping and Frame tag formation are opposites in one sense: \textit{Gapping eliminates the verbatim-recoverable constituent, while Frame tag formation eliminates the only constituent that is by definition not recoverable—the focus.} (This could explain our feeling that Gapping isn’t poetry, despite its use of parallelism and omission)
- But they are similar in another sense: \textit{For both, the grammatical category, configurationality, and function of the eliminated item is recoverable}
- \textbf{Thus:} No especially clear case (so far) for grammatical treatment of Frame tags

(15) **The case against grammatical treatment of frame tags (or parallelism)**

- Works the same within and across sentences
- Grammar can’t easily or naturally generate frame tag sentences (compare to S’s with discourse-bound anaphora, which are easy to generate)
- Involves a non-structure-preserving multiplication of XP nodes (thus hard to constrain)
(16) **Consequences of the analysis**

- Poetic principles (like the parallelism and frame tag rules) and the associated cultural aesthetic can carry a heavy load in accounting for bread-and-butter language output.
- Languages may differ greatly in the degree to which poetic principles govern the surface shape of speech, with SJQ Chatino representing a case where the degree is very great (see Fox 1977 on **canonical parallelism**).

**REFERENCES**


Figure 1: Ricardo Cruz Cruz (Mende), speech, Changing of the authorities, San Juan Quihije, 31 December, 2004-1 January 2005

In order for you to have forgiveness within you.
In order for you to be called by us [tonight], hm?
As your heart permits you, hm?
Where we sat
where we stood, hm?
you were our hands
you were our feet
you were.
You went [to carry out]
any task
any work we ordered, hm?
Sometimes we scolded you
sometimes with kindness we spoke
sometimes wrongly we spoke
sometimes.

Figure 2: From a recitation of a prayer by Margarita Baltazar García, 2009, to HC

1 ngα2 7ya2 lo1,
you are a visible mountain,
ngα2 7ya2 tykan71,
you are an adorned mountain,
t7α2 kti1,
group of seven (mountains),
t7α2 ty7yu42,
group of lakes,
t7α2 7wa1 t7o1,
group of seas,
nty7α24 kwan32,
all sunlight,
nty7α24 xa3,
all light,
nty7α24 xa3-lyu32,
all the world,
nty7α24 in209
all, hm?
7wen1 ngα2.
you, you are.

2 7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Jya2 ne2,
you, you are Jya72 Mountain now,
7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Tan24 ne2,
you, you are Tan24 Mountain now,
7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Lo1 Jne32 ne2,
you, you are Lo1 Jne32 Mountain now,
7wen1 ngα2.
you, you are.

3 7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Lo1 Jne32 ne2 in209,
you, you are Lo1 Jne32 Mountain now hm?
7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Ke74 Ko42 ne2 in209,
you, you are Ke74 Ko42 Mountain now hm?
7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Jne1 ne2 in209,
you, you are Jne1 Mountain now hm?
7wen1 ngα2 7ya2 Sa10 ne1 in209,
you, you are Sa10 Mountain now hm?
7wen1 ngα2.
you, you are.

Figure 3: Recollection of a prayer by Gonzalo Cortés Cruz, in conversation with HC, 2010

1 nde2 ngyan20, [sna2 lo4, sna2 kya742],
here I come [before your face before your feet],
sna2 xtya9 [7yu kla24 7an kla24] 7in42
here where the old men old women place you.

2 ni2 kwa2 no1 xtya20 7in42,
All those that placed you [here],
ni2 kwa1 no1 nya14 no7a3 7in42,
all those [that made that tuned] you,
ti2 wra1 ndyi2 tykwa4 7ya0,
from the time the mountains took their place,
ti2 wra1 ndyi2 tykwa4 kchin4,
from the time the community took its place,
ti2 wra1 ndyi2 tykwa4 la42,
from the time the church took its place,
ti2 wra1 ndyi2 tykwa4 7an0 tynya3.
from the time the city hall took its place
it was then when the what's-it, 
the old man \textit{placed you}, 
the old woman \textit{placed you}.

\textit{so that you can be} father \textit{you can be} mother] to us, 
\textit{so that you can cry}, 
\textit{so that you can speak} 
on behalf of those who...

\textit{what's-it,} 
\textit{you have to cry,} 
\textit{you have to speak,} 
\textit{you have to.} 
on behalf of those who 
\textit{come make you} cry, 
\textit{come make you} rise, 
\textit{come to speak to you}, 
\textit{come to do to you,} 
\textit{come to.} 

\textit{That,} 
\textit{that which is what...} 
what we would say 
with that which is the bell there 
\textit{you know,} 
\textit{you saw,} 
\textit{you heard,} 
\textit{you} 
the old people \textit{placed you} 
the grand people \textit{placed you} 
[0] \textit{placed} [you].

\textit{From the time} the mountain \textit{took its place,} 
\textit{from the time} the community \textit{took its place,} 
\textit{from the time} the church \textit{took its place,} 
\textit{from the time} the city hall \textit{took its place.} 
Then it remained that to you, 
so that, 
\textit{you will be father mother of} the mountains 
\textit{you will be father mother of} the community. 
\textit{go to you,} 
\textit{the one that comes to} \textit{notify you}, 
\textit{the one that comes to} \textit{ask you}, 
\textit{the one that comes.} 
\textit{so that you can cry}, 
\textit{so that you can speak.} 
\textit{you must not cry,} 
\textit{if the time is not right yet,} 
\textit{what is granted--} 
\textit{how long that is granted} 
the plan \textit{that is granted} 
by god.
H. Cruz & Woodbury, Figures, page 3

Figure 4A: Conversational examples
Fig. 4A. Luisa Baltazar, Plant walk, June, 2007, Excerpts

1. \( \tan^{20} \) \( \text{roon}^{242} \) \( \text{ska}^{4} \) \( \text{ku}^{32} \) \( \text{re}^{2} \) \( \text{7in}^{1} \)
\( \tan^{20} \) \( \text{roon}^{242} \) \( \text{ska}^{1} \) \( \text{tyi}^{1} \) \( \text{re}^{2} \) \( \text{7in}^{1} \)
\( \tan^{20} \) \( \text{roon}^{242} \) \( \text{ska}^{4} \) \( \text{ti}^{-3} \) \( \text{ke}^{42} \) \( \text{re}^{2} \) \( \text{7in}^{1} \)
\( \tan^{20} \) \( \text{roon}^{242} \) \( \text{ska}^{1} \).

Let’s give one net bag to him,
Let’s give one machete to him,
Let’s give one tumpline to him,
Let’s give one.

2. \( \text{ndan}^{4} \) \( \text{ska}^{4} \) \( \text{ti}^{-1} \) \( \text{kna}^{3} \) \( \text{7in}^{24} \)
\( \text{ndan}^{4} \) \( \text{ska}^{4} \) \( \text{ku}^{32} \) \( \text{7in}^{4} \)
\( \text{ndan}^{4} \) \( \text{ska}^{1} \).

I gave one rope to him,
I gave one net bag to him,
I gave one.

3. \( \text{7nen}^{1} \) \( \text{k7un}^{2} \) \( \text{k7u}^{42} \)
\( \text{7nen}^{1} \) \( \text{k7un}^{2} \) \( \text{kwe}^{742} \)
\( \text{7nen}^{1} \) \( \text{k7un}^{2} \).

I raised turkeys,
I raised pigs,
I raised.

4. \( \text{7ne}^{42} \) \( \text{k7u}^{2} \) \( \text{wa}^{42} \) \( \text{kwe}^{742} \)
\( \text{7ne}^{42} \) \( \text{k7u}^{2} \) \( \text{wa}^{42} \) \( \text{pi}^{20} \)
\( \text{7ne}^{42} \) \( \text{k7u}^{2} \) \( \text{wa}^{42} \).

We raised pigs,
We raised turkeys,
We raised.

5. \( \text{nda}^{4} \) \( \text{ki}^{42} \)
\( \text{nda}^{4} \) \( \text{nk7a}^{1} \)
\( \text{nda}^{4} \) \( \text{nta}^{3} \)
\( \text{nda}^{4} \) \( \text{ksi}^{2} \)
\( \text{nda}^{4} \) \( \text{ngwa}^{42} \) \( \text{lo}^{32} \) \( \text{nda}^{4} \) \( \text{nty}^{70} \) \( \text{re}^{2} \)

black-eyed beans
red beans
black beans
yellow beans
beans

All kinds of beans grow here.

Fig. 4B, Middle aged woman, in shop, June, 2007

6. \( \text{nty}^{70} \) \( \text{ya}^{24} \) \( \text{7a}^{1} \) \( \text{7ne}^{42} \) \( \text{kwa}^{1} \), \( \text{in}^{20} \) ?
\( \text{kwe}^{7} \) \( \text{ti}^{4} \) \( \text{ndwi}^{7} \) \( \text{ja}^{12} \)
\( \text{kwe}^{7} \) \( \text{ti}^{4} \) \( \text{tsan}^{7} \) \( \text{nya}^{3} \)
\( \text{kwe}^{7} \) \( \text{ti}^{4} \).

that thing is really cute, hm?,
on its own it’s talking,
on its own it’s informing,
on its own.

Fig 4C, Justa Orocio, conversation, June, 2007

7. \( \text{ja}^{12} \) \( \text{la}^{12} \) \( \text{ti}^{2} \) \( \text{yli}^{42} \) \( \text{sen}^{42} \) \( \text{tsan}^{4} \) \( \text{no}^{4} \) \( \text{yji}^{42} \) \( \text{ren}^{7} \) \( \text{7in}^{1} \) \( \text{jan}^{742} \).
\( \text{ja}^{12} \) \( \text{la}^{12} \) \( \text{yli}^{42} \),
\( \text{ja}^{12} \) \( \text{la}^{12} \) \( \text{ntyj}^{7} \),
\( \text{ja}^{12} \) \( \text{la}^{12} \) \( \text{7a}^{42} \) \( \text{jan}^{7} \), \( \text{in}^{20} \) ?

He did not return the day he was killed.
He did not return,
He was not found,
Not indeed, hm?

8. \( \text{ya}^{42} \) \( \text{ren}^{7} \) \( \text{7xwen}^{3} \) \( \text{kwa}^{2} \) \( \text{ren}^{7} \) \( \text{7in}^{24} \),
\( \text{no}^{4} \) \( \text{nga}^{24} \) \( \text{ju}^{32} \) \( \text{dici}^{13} \),
\( \text{no}^{4} \) \( \text{nga}^{24} \) \( \text{po}^{2} \) \( \text{icia}^{24} \),
\( \text{no}^{4} \) \( \text{nga}^{24} \).

They went to lift him up,
The ones who are judiciales,
The ones who are police,
The ones who are.
Fig. 4D, Rufina Orocio, conversation, June, 2007

9  ya\(^{42}\) wa\(^{42}\) la\(^{4}\) 7o\(^{1}\)
ya\(^{42}\) wa\(^{42}\)  
*We went* to pray with him,
*we went.*

10  7ne\(^{42}\) ren\(^{74}\) cha\(^{7}\) yjwi\(^{3}\) 7o\(^{24}\)
11  7ne\(^{42}\) ren\(^{74}\) cha\(^{7}\).*
*They caused that* they marry,
*they caused that.*

12  ye\(^{42}\) 7a\(^{24}\) tny\(^{3}\)
ye\(^{42}\) 7a\(^{24}\).*
*Too much* work,
*too much.*

13  s7i\(^{l}\) cha\(^{7}\) knyi\(^{l}\)
s7i\(^{l}\) kwe\(^{3}\) ntu\(^{10}\)
s7i\(^{l}\)
*Not* a lie,
*Not* gossip,
*Not.*

14  ndyi\(^{4}\) tykan\(^{1}\) 7nya\(^{24}\),
ka\(^{24}\) 7a\(^{1}\) ndwi\(^{0}\) ran\(^{3}\) yne\(^{24}\) ne\(^{2}\),
nde\(^{20}\) 7a\(^{24}\) kwi\(^{1}\) ran\(^{3}\) yne\(^{24}\),
ndyi\(^{4}\) kan7\(^{42}\) ylu\(^{24}\),
ndyi\(^{4}\) na\(^{3}\) ndywi\(^{20}\) skan\(^{20}\),
ndyi\(^{4}\) na\(^{3}\).*
*All* my necklaces,
like now on my neck,
*All* that was lost,
*all of* my earings,
*all of* [them].

15  si\(^{l}\) s7wi\(^{d}\) nten\(^{14}\) no\(^{1}\) xku\(^{20}\) 7na\(^{42}\)
si\(^{l}\) s7wi\(^{d}\) nten\(^{14}\) no\(^{1}\) nt7an\(^{32}\) sen\(^{42}\) 7na\(^{42}\)
s7wi\(^{f}\)
*If there was* a person to grow food for us,
*If there was* a person to provide for us,
*there was.*

16  cha\(^{7}\) na\(^{72}\) lon\(^{4}\) 7in\(^{1}\),
cha\(^{7}\) na\(^{72}\) kan\(^{72}\) 7in\(^{4}\),
cha\(^{7}\) na\(^{72}\).*
*because I* roused them,
*because I* did that to them,
*because I.*

Fig. 4E, Kitchen conversation, June, 2007, between two women, excerpts:

Speaker 1

17  kw1\(^{74}\) wan\(^{0}\) 7a\(^{24}\) ndween\(^{2032}\) re\(^{2}\), in\(^{20}\)?,
si\(^{0}\) no\(^{1}\),
s7we\(^{3}\) ti\(^{24}\) pensa\(^{24}\) 7in\(^{1}\),
s7we\(^{3}\) ti\(^{24}\) ty\(^{a}\),
s7we\(^{3}\) ti\(^{24}\) 7ne\(^{24}\) tny\(^{3}\),
s7we\(^{3}\) ti\(^{24}\).*
*I agree with you, hm?*
*as long as,*
*he behaves* well,
*reaches his destination* well,
*works* well,
*well.*
2-3 minutes later, same speaker

18  
t7a1 ti1 ntyo20,  
t7a1 ti1 nt7an32,  
t7a1 ti1.  
Frequently he goes out,  
Frequently he is out,  
frequently.

Speaker 2

19  
7na3 7a24 ri72 jan742 sni74,  
7na3 7a24 ri72 jan742,  
That one cares about his children,  
that one cares about, hm?

20  
xka1 la1 na3 ngwa2 7in1,  
xka1 la1.  
Whatever else may happen to him,  
whatever else.

Fig. 4F, Mende, in conversation with Hilaria Cruz, 2007

22  
ja4 la32 tkwen32 7u14 7nya0,  
cha73 no24 lyu20 ten24,  
ngwan2 skan1,  
ngwan2.  
No one taught me,  
Since young age,  
I was a guardian,  
I was.

23  
7o1  
ja4 la42 lyu74 lye4 ren720,  
ja4 la42.  
And  
I was not into mischief,  
Not.

24  
Ndwa14 skan20  
cha73 ndwi724 nten14,  
cha73,  
ska4 yu4 jla4 ti2 7a1,  
ska4 nten14 nga24 jnya4 ti2 7a4  
ska4.  
I had my ears open to  
things people said,  
things  
a/one old man for instance,  
a/one person who is a leader,  
a/one.

25  
ty7o20 ton32  
ka42 jnya 7na42  
ka42 ya72 7na42  
ka42 kya74 7na42  
ka42.  
When you get elected,  
you become a representative,  
you become our hand,  
you become our feet,  
you become.