

## Text

This monologue was recorded in Timbuktu in 1986. It describes the 1840 battle of Toya in which Tuaregs defeated a force from the Fula "Empire" which had its capital in Hamdallahi (near Mopti). The named personages are Sékou Amadou, the Fula leader in Hamdallahi, and Amadou Sambourou Kolado, who died at Toya. See Sanankoua (1990) for the historical background. Comments and section references are added in parentheses after the relevant lines.

*surgu di yo saa di kaa na i šinti— i hīsa ka din*  
 Tuareg Def Pl time Def Rel Ø 3PlS begin— 3PlS do-much Inf take  
 The Tuaregs, when they began—. They took a great deal of  
 (*saa di kaa (na)* ... 'when ...', §8.3.6; serial verb *hīsa ka* ... §9.7.6)

*gandoo alkaasu, i faraa-ndi gi nda laamu, i din*  
 this-land tax, 3PlS suffer-Caus 3PlO with rule, 3PlS take  
 this land's taxes, they oppressed them (=local people) with their iron rule. They took  
 (*gandoo* §4.2.2)

*alkaasu di hal i hīsa ka faraa-ndi boro di yo,*  
 tax Def until 3PlS do-much Inf suffer-Caus person Def Pl  
 taxes to the point that they oppressed the people very much.

*saa di i hantum i se i koy hamdallaay,*  
 time Def 3PlS write 3Pl Dat 3PlS go Hamdallahi  
 So, they (=people) wrote to them (=distant leaders). They went to Hamdallahi (a town).  
 (*saa di*, very end of §8.4.3)

*i har seeku se a ma faaba ŋgi-ye nda—,*  
 3PlS say Sékou Dat 3SgS Subju help LogoPlO with—,  
 They<sub>x</sub> told (=asked) Sékou (=a leader) to help them<sub>x</sub> with—,  
 (jussive §9.6.3; logophoric pronoun coindexed with quoted speaker §10.1.1-2; syntax  
 of *faaba* 'help' end of §9.7.3)

*ka yenje surgu di yo, seeku, a gar ŋgu wane taalib foo*  
 Inf fight Tuareg Def Pl, Sékou, 3SgS find 3ReflSg Poss pupil one  
 (help them) fight the Tuaregs. Sékou, he found one of his (own) pupils  
 (*a gar* .... often with abstract subject §6.1.1, §9.5.9, but here = Sékou)

*kaa se i-i har 'aamadu samburu koolado dursudi',*  
 Rel Dat 3PlS-Impf say 'Amadou Sambourou Kolado Dursudi'  
 whom they called 'Amadou Sambourou Kolado Doursoudi',  
 (dative relative with fronted postposition §8.3.3)

*nga wane taalib foo kaa a-a hīsa ka naaney ga,*  
 3SgF Poss pupil one Rel 3SgS-Impf do-much Inf trust 3SgO  
 (who was) a pupil of his (=Sékou's) whom he (=Sékou) had much confidence in.  
 (parenthetical, not in apposition to 'pupil' above, hence no 3ReflSg possessor; 3SgF  
 is facultative instead of 3Sg in possessor function §8.4.2)

*seeku har a se kaa aywa maa na a-a baa ?,*  
 Sékou say 3Sg Dat that well, what? Foc 3SgS-Impf want?  
 Sékou asked him (=Amadou), well, what did he (=Amadou) want?  
 (even reported speech often begins with *aywa* or similar exclamation; WH-  
 interrogatives usually fronted and focalized §8.2.2)

*wala a-a baa ngu ma koy yenje wala ?,*  
 or 3SgS-Impf want LogoSgS Subju go fight yes/no?  
 Did he (=Amadou) want to go (to the north) and fight (with the Tuaregs)?  
 (*baa* 'want' takes finite subjunctive clause even for coreferential subject §9.6.1; in *koy*  
*yenje* 'go to fight, go to battle', *yenje* can be construed as noun or verb)

*a har a se ngu goo, ngu o baa ngu ma koy*  
 3SgS say 3Sg Dat LogoSgS be, LogoSgS Impf want LogoSgS Subju go  
 He (=Amadou) told him (=Sékou), yes he did; he was willing to go  
 (*ngu goo* is logophoric version of echo answer 'yes I do' §8.2.1)

*yenje, a har a se, aywa nda a koy a si yee-kate,*  
 fight, 3SgS say 3Sg Dat, well if 3SgS go 3SgS ImpfNeg return-Centrip,  
 and fight. He (=Sékou) told him, well, if he (=Amadou) went, he would not come back.  
 (typical conditional with perfective antecedent and imperfective consequent §9.5.1)

*a har a se ngu o bey, saa di kaa a kani*  
 3SgS say 3SgS Dat LogoSgS Impf know, time Def Rel 3SgS lie-down  
 He (=Amadou) told him that he knew. When he (=Amadou) went to bed  
 (*kani* variously 'lie down, go to sleep, retire for the night, stay overnight')

*ka lelinde, nga nda ngu wane maabe di, i har*  
 Inf get-ready, 3SgF and 3ReflSg Poss griot Def, 3PlS say  
 and got ready (to travel), he and his griot, they (=Amadou and griot) said  
 ('griot' is a caste of bards who specialize in singing the praises of nobles)

*ngi-yo o koy yenje, nga wane wande di har a se kaa—*  
 LogoPlS Impf go fight, 3SgF Poss wife Def say 3Sg Dat that—  
 that they were going to fight, his (=Amadou's) wife said to him that—  
 ('said they were going to ...' can also mean 'were intending to ...')

*aamadou har 'm ?' a har a se kaa 'nda n koy,*  
 Amadou say 'huh?' 3SgS say 3Sg Dat Rel 'if 2SgS go,  
 Amadou said, 'what?' She said to him that, 'if you go,  
 (*kaa* ... 'that ...' can be used even with following direct quotation §9.5.8)

*ni si yee-kate, nda n koy no-o bun dooti,*  
 2SgS ImpfNeg return-Centrip, if 2Sg go 2SgS-Impf die there,  
 you won't come back; if you go, you'll die there.  
 (Centripetal suffix §6.3.3)

*a har a se kaa ngu guna ga jaa aljumaa di ċiji*  
 3SgS say 3Sg Dat that LogoSgS see 3SgO since Friday Def night  
 He (=Amadou) told her that he had (fore-)seen it since Friday evening,

*kaa ngu guna kaa ngu o bun, nda ngu koy*  
 that LogoSgS see that LogoSgS Impf die, if LogoSgS go  
 that he had (fore-)seen that he was going to die; (he knew that) if he went,  
 (first *kaa ...* 'that ...' either delayed complement of 'see', or perhaps used in sense 'such  
 that ...' or 'when ...' §8.3.10)

*ngu si yee-kate, a koy, a har ga*  
 LogoSg ImpfNeg return-Centrip, 3SgS go, 3SgS say 3SgO  
 he would not come back. He (=Amadou) went, (and) he told it

*baba di se, baba di har a se kaa ngu guna ga,*  
 father Def Dat, father Def say 3Sg Dat Rel LogoSgS see 3SgO,  
 to the (=his) father. The father told him that he (=father) had (fore-)seen it,

*nda a koy, a-a bun dooti a si yee-kate,*  
 if 3SgS go, 3SgS-Impf die there 3SgS ImpfNeg return-Centrip,  
 if he (=Amadou) went, he would die there without coming back.

*a har ngu guna ga, i ma gaara ngu se,*  
 3SgS say LogoSgS see 3SgO, 3PIS Subju bless LogoSgS Dat,  
 He (=Amadou) said he had (fore-)seen it, (and asked) that they bless him.  
 (seamless combination of indicative and subjunctive clauses complementing a single  
 instance of *har* 'say'; *gaara* 'bless' takes dative NP)

*maabe di moo koy ngu wande di doo a har ga a se,*  
 griot Def too go 3ReflSg wife Def chez 3SgS say 3SgO 3Sg Dat  
 The griot, for his part, went to his (own) wife, and he told it to her.  
 (typical use of *moo* 'too' indicating parallel action §8.5.5)

*i sarre, i kaa i jow i-i dira, hal i too—,*  
 3PIS set-off, 3PIS come 3PIS take 3PIS-Impf walk, until 3PIS reach—,  
 They (=Amadou and griot) set off, they went and began their trip, until they reached—,  
 (*jow* 'become actively involved in ...' is usually a serial verb followed by infinitival  
 VP, but for this speaker it has imperfective indicative complements §9.5.3)

*i too mopti i kani, i bisa hal i too—,*  
 3PISreach Mopti 3PIS lie-down, 3PIS pass until 3PIS reach—,  
 they reached Mopti. They lodged overnight. They went on until they reached—,

*surgu-saarey, saa di kaa i too kaa i honno surgu di yo,*  
 Tuareg-cemetery, time Def Rel 3PlS arrive when 3PlS espy Tuareg Def Pl,  
 Tuareg-cemetery (place). When they had arrived, when they espied the Tuaregs,  
 (*surgu-saarey*, name of a place near Toya in the province of Timbuktu)

*surgu di yo hīsa ka bow, saa di kaa i kaa*  
 Tuareg Def Pl do-much Inf be-much, time Def Rel 3PlS come  
 the Tuaregs became very numerous. When they (=Tuaregs) came,

*i šinti, i jow i-i yenje, mais a jow*  
 3PlS begin, 3PlS take 3PlS-Impf fight, but 3SgS take  
 they began, they launched into battle. But he (=Amadou) launched

*a-a yenje surgu di yo hal surgu di yo kul ben,*  
 3SgS-Impf fight Tuareg Def Pl until Tuareg Def Pl all finish,  
 into fighting the Tuaregs until all of the Tuaregs were wiped out.

*boro jongu hinja nda waranja čindi hinja boro di kaa*  
 person hundred three and thirty remainder three person Def Rel  
 Three hundred thirty men, the man (=men) who  
 (*boro di* here singular in form, but denoting a collectivity, cf. 3Pl below)

*goō a banda, a har i se kaa i ma yee,*  
 be 3Sg behind, 3SgS say 3Pl Dat that 3PlS Subju return,  
 were with him (=Amadou), he told them to go back,

*i ma koy har seeku se kaa a ma samba-kata*  
 3PlS Subju go say Sékou Dat that 3SgS Subju send-Centrip  
 and to go ask Sékou to send here

*ngu se boro ngu ta ngu o hima ka bun*  
 LogoSg Dat person LogoSg Top LogoSgS Impf ought Inf die  
 some people (=reinforcements) to him; as for himself, he was destined to die

*aljumaa di alaasara, saa di kaa boro di yo—,*  
 Friday Def afternoon-prayer, time Def Rel person Def Pl—,  
 on Friday at the late-afternoon prayer. When the people—,

*i sarre i koy, a kar alwalaa, a jirgar,*  
 3PlS set-off 3PlS go, 3SgS hit ablution, 3SgS pray,  
 (when) they had departed and gone, he (=Amadou) did the ablutions and prayed.

*a har ngu wane maabe di se a ma koy kate*  
 3SgS say 3ReflSg Poss griot Def Dat 3SgS Subju go bring  
 He (=Amadou) told his griot to go fetch

*ngu se hari, kaa ngu ñin, maabe di koy*  
 LogoSg Dat water, Rel LogoSgS drink, griot Def go  
 some water for him, for him (=Amadou) to drink. The griot went.  
 ('water [for X to drink]' construction often with perfective aspect §7.2.2)

*a gar woy hiŋka kaa— i-i, i-i ñumey-ndi,*  
 3SgS find woman two Rel— 3PlS-Imprf—, 3PlS-Imprf bathe-Caus,  
 He (=griot) encountered two women who—, they were—, they were washing clothes.

*i čilili i har a se—, a har i se*  
 3PlS ululate 3PlS say 3Sg Dat—, 3SgS say 3Pl Dat  
 They cried for joy (welcoming him). They asked him—, (or rather) he asked them

*i ma noo ngu se hari kaa ngu ñin*  
 3PlS Subju give LogoSg Dat water Rel LogoSg drink  
 to give him some water for him (=griot) to drink.

*i har a se kaa ŋgi-ye si hin ka noo ga hari*  
 3PlS say 3Sg Dat that LogoPlS ImprfNeg can Inf give 3SgO water  
 They (=women) told him that they could not give him water

*kaa a ñin, maa se, ŋgi-yo o ta duu yow yo*  
 Rel 3SgS drink, what? Dat, LogoPlS Imprf Fut get guest Pl  
 for him to drink, because they were going to have (=were expecting) some guests,

*kaa či, aamadu samburu koolado dursudi nda ngu wane maabe di,*  
 Rel be, Amadou Sambourou Kolado Doursoudi and 3ReflSg Poss griot Def,  
 namely, Amadou Sambourou Kolado Doursoudi and his griot;  
 (reflexive possessor in conjoined NP of type '[X and his<sub>x</sub> Y]' §10.2.4)

*i hima ka gulli a! čijoo alaaxara,*  
 3PlS ought Inf come-in-evening ah! tonight Hereafter,  
 they (=Amadou and griot) were destined for the Hereafter that evening;  
 (here the griot learns that he too is destined to die with Amadou)

*ŋgi-yo boro hiŋka di ŋga či ŋgi-ya wane wande di yo,*  
 LogoPl person two Def SFoc be 3PlF Poss wife Def Pl  
 the two of them (=women) were their (=Amadou's & griot's) wives;  
 (for 'the two of them' see §5.4.8)

*saa di ŋgi-ye goo čeñe kuna ŋgi-ye si hin ka noo ga*  
 time Def LogoPlS be hurry Loc LogoPlS ImprfNeg can Inf give 3SgO  
 so, they (=women) were in a hurry and they couldn't give him (=griot)  
 ('be [in hurry]' is a marked progressive construction §7.2.6)

*hari, maabe di koy a har ga aamadu se,*  
 water, griot Def go 3SgS say 3SgO Amadou Dat,  
 any water. The griot went and told it (=this) to Amadou.  
 ('any water' is the end of the long indirect quotation beginning 'they said ...')

*a har a se, jaka nga ta a-a bey kaa*  
 3SgS say 3Sg Dat, lo! 3SgF Top 3SgS-Impf know that  
 He (=griot) told him, lo!, (in reality) he (=Amadou) knew that

*ngu o bun, a si har ga ngu se,*  
 LogoSgS Impf die, 3SgS ImpfNeg say 3SgO LogoSg Dat  
 he (=griot) was going to die, (but) he (=Amadou) wasn't telling it to him;  
 (the first *ngu* denotes the griot, though grammatically it could also denote Amadou)

*a-a jamba, aamadu har a se kaa ngu nga o bun,*  
 3SgS-Impf deceive, Amadou say 3Sg Dat that LogoSg SFoc Impf die,  
 he was being deceptive. Amadou told him that it was he (=Amadou) who would die;  
 ('he was being deceptive' is arguably still within the griot's reported speech; subject-  
 focus with *nga* §8.1.1 stresses that Amadou, hence implicitly not the griot, will die)

*ngu o baa nga ta ma koy a ma si bun,*  
 LogoSgS Impf want 3SgF Top Subju go 3SgS Subju Neg die,  
 he (=Amadou) wanted him (=griot) to go (afterwards) and not die.  
 (weak Topic morpheme *ta* in *nga ta* §8.4.3)

*maabe di jow ngu wane yenje jiney di yo*  
 griot Def take 3ReflSg Poss fight implement Def Pl  
 The griot took his battle gear.  
 (*yenje jiney* is a tight compound §4.6.1, could be hyphenated)

*a kow ngu tira di yo a jur a hirow*  
 3SgS take-out 3ReflSg amulet Def Pl 3SgS run 3SgS enter  
 He (=griot) took out his amulets (of protection). He (=griot) rushed into

*surgu di ye ra, surgu di yo wii ga,*  
 Tuareg Def Pl Loc, Tuareg Def Pl kill 3SgO,  
 the midst of the Tuaregs. The Tuaregs killed him.

*aamadu jow-kata maabe di, a jingar a beene*  
 Amadou take-Centrip griot Def, 3SgS pray 3Sg on-top  
 Amadou took (the body of) the griot. He prayed over him.

*a kar alwalaa a jingar a beene a jisi ga,*  
 3SgS hit ablution 3SgS pray 3Sg on-top 3SgS put-down 3SgO,  
 He (=Amadou) did the ablutions and prayed over him. He put him (=corpse) down,

*a kasanče ga a koy a fiči ga,*  
 3SgS enshroud 3SgO 3SgS go 3SgS bury 3SgO,  
 He put a shroud around him, he went and he buried him.

*a duu ka goro hal a jingar aljumaa di alaasara,*  
 3SgS get Inf sit until 3SgS pray Friday Def afternoon-prayer  
 He then sat (=waited) until he prayed the afternoon Friday prayer.

*a jingar alaasara a duu ka kar alwalaa,*  
 3SgS pray afternoon-prayer 3SgS get Inf hit ablution,  
 He prayed the afternoon prayer. He proceeded to do the ablutions, (then)

*a jingar, a duu ka kow ngu wane tira di yo*  
 3SgS pray, 3SgS get Inf take-out 3RefSg Poss amulet Def Pl  
 he prayed. He proceeded to take out his (own) amulets.

*a jisi gi, a kata ngu wane kasanče di*  
 3SgS put-down 3PIO, 3SgS bring 3RefSg Poss shroud Def  
 He deposited them (=amulets). He brought his (own) shroud.  
 (we learn later that the amulets were put in the horse's saddlebags as a message)

*a hirow a kuna a kani, a har surgu di yo se*  
 3SgS enter 3Sg Loc 3SgS lie-down, 3SgS say Tuareg Def Pl Dat  
 He got into it (=shroud). He lay down. He told the Tuaregs

*i ma hay ngu, surgu di yo hay ga,*  
 3PlS Subju jab LogoSgO, Tuareg Def Pl jab 3SgO  
 to pierce him (with a sword). The Tuaregs pierced him.

*a bun, bari di jur a koy hirow hamdallaay—*  
 3SgS die, horse Def run 3SgS go enter Hamdallahi  
 He died. The (=his) horse galloped, it went and entered Hamdallahi (town).

*a na too hala hamdallaay kala*  
 3SgS Neg reach as-far-as Hamdallahi except  
 It didn't reach Hamdallahi until  
 ('not ... except' construction §8.5.4)

*suba di wane adduhaa di ra, a gar seeku aamadou*  
 tomorrow Def Poss morning Def Loc, 3SgS find Sékou Amadou  
 in the mid-morning of the next day. It happened that Sékou Amadou  
 (Sékou Amadou = full name of Sékou, distinct from the other Amadou; 3SgS *a* in *a*  
*gar* could conceivably denote the horse but here it is probably abstract)

*nda aamadu woo wane baba di, i-i boyrey ganji di ra,*  
 and Amadou Dem Poss father Def, 3PIS-Impfconverse wilderness Def Loc  
 and this Amadou's father, they were conversing out in the bush.  
 ('this Amadou' = the protagonist Amadou Sambourou ...; 'the bush' here means  
 anywhere outside of settled areas)

*woo di har a se, 'seeku?' a har 'm?'*  
 Dem Def say 3Sg Dat, 'Sékou?' 3SgS say 'huh?'  
 That one (=Amadou's father) said to him, 'Sékou?' He (=Sékou) said, 'what?'

*'jaa ije-meyre di yo koy yer na duu ngi wane alxabar,'*  
 'since child-small Def Pl go 1PIS Neg get 3PIF Poss news,'  
 (Father:) 'Ever since the boys went away (to fight), we haven't had news of them.'

*a har a se kaa 'ije-meyre di yo*  
 3SgS say 3Sg Dat that 'child-small Def Pl  
 He (=Sékou) replied to him, '(concerning) the boys,

*ni si hãã i-kur parce que ni ije foo di*  
 2SgS ImpfNeg inquire AbsolPl-all because 2Sg child one Def  
 you're not (really) asking about all of them; (it's) because your son (=Amadou) alone

*kaa goo i ra, woo di se na no-o hãã ga,'*  
 Rel be 3Pl Loc, Dem Def Dat Foc 2SgS-Impf inquire 3SgO,'  
 who is among them (=boys), that's why you are asking about it.'  
 (*woo di se* is focalized postpositional phrase)

*a har a se kaa a na či—, a na či*  
 3SgS say 3Sg Dat Rel 3SgS Neg be—, 3SgS Neg be  
 He (=father) replied to him that it wasn't—, it wasn't

*ngu wane ije foo di, aljamaa kaa koy, ngi-ye na duu*  
 LogoSg Poss child one Def, group Rel go, LogoPlS Neg get  
 his own son alone; the group (=army) that had gone, they (two) had not had

*ngi alxabar ngu si bey i bun wala i huna,*  
 3PIF news LogoSgS ImpfNeg know 3PIS die or 3PIS live,  
 any news of them; he (=father) didn't know whether they were dead or alive.

*haya keyna bari di kaa, a kaa ta gar a jow*  
 thing small horse Def come, 3SgS come Inf find 3SgS take  
 Shortly thereafter the horse arrived. It happened that he (=Amadou) had taken  
 (*haya keyna* 'little thing' often has temporal sense 'a while')

*ngu wane čitaab di, a kan-ndi a beene,*  
 3RefISg Poss book Def, 3SgS lie-Caus 3Sg on-top,  
 his (own) Koran, (and) he had laid on top of it (=book)  
 (*čitaab-kitaaw* denotes a Koran as a physical object)



*ngu bomo di, seeku har a se*  
 3RflSg head Def, Sékou say 3Sg Dat

his own head. Sékou had told him

(This seems to be a report of an earlier dialogue between Sékou and Amadou)

*'kow čitaab di beene ni bomo di,' a har a se*  
 'take-off book Def on-top 2Sg head Def,' 3SgS say 3Sg Dat  
 'take your head from off the top of the book.' He (=Amadou) had said to him

*kaa ngu bomo di nga nda čitaab di kul*  
 that LogoSg head Def 3SgF and book Def all  
 that his (own) head, it (=head) and the Koran were

*čj a-foo, parce que haya kul kaa goo čitaab di kuna,*  
 be Absol-one, because thing all Rel be book Def in,  
 one and the same, because everything which was (written) in the Koran,

*a goo ngu bomo di ra, a har a se*  
 3SgS be LogoSg head Def Loc, 3SgS say 3Sg Dat  
 it was (also) in his head. He (=Sékou?) said to him (=father)  
 (i.e., Amadou claims that he has memorized the Koranic text and has thus become  
 mystically consubstantial with the tome)

*kaa aywa bari di kaa bari di kaa i koy*  
 Rel well, horse Def come horse Def come 3PlS go  
 that, well, the horse had come, the horse had come. They (=Sékou and father) went

*i feer ga i fuoney, nga wane dangaa di woo*  
 3PlS open 3SgO 3PlS search, 3SgF Poss saddlebag Def Dem  
 They untied it (=saddlebag) and they searched. This saddlebag of his (=Amadou's)

*kaa goo jere di yo beene, i gar a kuna*  
 Rel be side Def Pl on-top, 3PlS find 3Sg in  
 which was up on the (horse's) sides, they found in it  
 (long 'saddlebag' NP including relative clause is a preposed topic NP)

*tira di kaa aamadu bun, ngu maabe di bun*  
 amulet Def that Amadou die, LogoSg griot Def die  
 the amulet (indicating) that Amadou had died; (first) his griot had died,  
 ('amulet' is treated as a message from Amadou, hence logophoric possessor in *ngu*  
*maabe di* coindexed with Amadou; /aamadu bun/ is chronologically out of order and  
 the narrator will repair this)

*woo di banda aamadu kaa ta bun, bari di kaa,*  
 Dem Def behind Amadou come Inf die, horse Def come,  
 (and) Amadou had died after that. The horse came (as a messenger).  
 (*kaa ta* ... 'come and ...' often used to indicate a brief lapse of time §9.7.7)