Preface

These texts were recorded in Beni, near Douentza in eastern Mali, in 2005. They are offered here as a supplement to my A grammar of Ben Tey (Dogon of Beni), published online by the Language Description Heritage Library (Max-Planck Institute) in 2015. The transcribed original texts are presented in Part 1. Free English translations are in Part 2. The tapes (cassettes) were numbered 2005-1 and 2005-2, each with tracks A and B. The texts are numbered by tape number, track, and text number on that track, e.g. 2005-1a-03.

Text 2005-2a.08. “Beni and the sacrifice of Yasumoy,” is the central ethnohistorical narrative of Beni village. This text was re-edited and formatted with interlinears and additional commentary as the sample text at the end of the grammar.

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Several of the short documentary videos distributed on the videos page of our project website (www.dogonlanguages.org) were shot in and around Beni, including those on weaving, honey collecting, the grasshopper hunt, and preparation of several millet-based meals. Flora-fauna and geographical information, including images, relevant to Beni and other northern Dogon villages are also available on the project site, as is the comparative Dogon lexical spreadsheet.

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Part One, Ben Tey Transcriptions

Text 2005-1a.01  
Name-giving ceremony

O: jǐnjè ú jè:  
I: àwá→  
O: jàm  
I: jàm sày  
O: àlhámdùrùlả:y  
I: tà:ré  
O: bàré→  
I: á→  
O: ńšé→¹

I: inír"i:-gàyⁿ yè-y:.  
O: <xxx> bisímlà

I: wò:dì, inír"i:-gàyⁿ mà:ndày, kɔːⁿ túmdù-m, [úsú súyⁿɔy] dɔ:-rè dè, [nù: mâ:] tégé-yè, [nù kà::m wò] yè-m, [yù: pànjànûm]² jí-jè→ yè-yè, gǎm bú:dù pèr-pèrú jè-yè, [[yà-m kù] mà:] ní-yè, [[hjà nì:] wò] = m, [[[ér̃̃è pírⁿà-[nà-yⁿ]] nì:] wò] = m,  
lɔ = n̥ːyⁿ hâl lɔ [[úsú pè-ni:yⁿ] dɔ-ỹ],⁶ yà-yô:⁷  ěsé:-rè dè', [kù n̥ːyⁿ] dànàyⁿ gô-m, ǔgù = m', [[inír"i-gàyⁿ kù] mà:ndày] = ∅

¹ End of greeting sequence.
² yù: pànjànûm ‘small basket of millet grain spikes’. Treated tonally as an apposition.
³ Definite kù realized with high tone before ‘it is’ clitic = m.
⁴ dɔ̌-ỳ, variant of dàⁿ-ỳ ‘all’.
⁵ m₃b⁻ò: n̥ːyⁿ ‘food’ is a compound, literally “mouth-food.” With a possessor X it is bracketed [[X’s mouth] food’. Therefore ‘mouth’ has <HL> tone in á m₃b⁻ò: n̥ːyⁿ, lit. “[her (own) mouth’s food.”
⁶ Possessed form of dɔ-y ‘arriving’.
Choice of name for newborn

S: inir\text{"i}: kù, [an\text{"a}y\text{"a} n\text{"a}y\text{"a}] inir\text{"i}:-gāy\text{"a} bērē:-rā-\text{w}.:, [yī-m inir\text{"i}:] [an\text{"a}y\text{"a} n\text{"a}y\text{"a}] bērē:-rā-\text{w}.: O: inir\text{"i}:-gāy\text{"a}, mā:r-\text{y}.:, [[usú súy\text{"a}y] dō:-rē dē] mā:r-\text{y} = n\text{"a}y\text{"a} [inir\text{"i}: gāy\text{"a}:-\text{y}.:]

S: [yī-m inir\text{"i}: kù] [an\text{"a}y\text{"a} n\text{"a}y\text{"a}] bērē:-rā-\text{w}.:, inir\text{"i}: kù, [[ā-mā:n inir\text{"i}]: n\text{"a}y\text{"a}→ gāy\text{"a} jā:w\text{"a}] [kū [an\text{"a}y\text{"a} n\text{"a}y\text{"a}]] bērē:-rā-\text{w}.: O: [n\text{"a}y\text{"a}→ gāy\text{"a} jā:w\text{"a}w\text{"a}]] [kū [yī-m bō:] tēgē-\text{m}], [ū inir\text{"i}]:—, [[[ū yī-m] inir\text{"i}]:] an\text{"a}y\text{"a} an\text{"a}y\text{"a}
bū: gāy\text{"a}-\text{w} dē] jōrō-\text{w} mā, [[[yī-m 8 inir\text{"i}]:] an\text{"a}y\text{"a} an\text{"a}y\text{"a}bū: gāy\text{"a}-\text{w} dē] jōrō-\text{y}, an\text{"a}y\text{"a} usūrī-\text{y}

S: āsūw\text{"e}-[yī-tē:] [tūr\text{"u} bū: jē-\text{m} kū yā], [ŋhe gīn] 9 jē:-rā-\text{w}-bō
O: āsūw\text{"e}-[yī-tē:] [tūr\text{"u} bū: jē-\text{m} kū] [yā-yō-m [kū pāy\text{"a}]] gō: tālū-\text{m}, [kū pāy\text{"a}]] gō: tālū-\text{m}, hāl hāl [lō-\text{w} dē] [ūsū pē-n\text{"ia}:y\text{"a}], [ār\text{"a}m = 0 dē yā] [ūsū pē-tā:n], xxx yā-yō-m [tūr\text{"u} wō] lō bērē-\text{m}-dō, [kū gnīf] jē:-rā-\text{w}-bō
S: [[nūw\text{"a}y\text{"a} mā:lū ēw-\text{y} ē: nā:-rā-\text{w} kū], [kū yā] [kū kārrē] ŋhe: = 0
O: [[[nūw\text{"a}y\text{"a} mā:lū ē: ēw-\text{y} nā:-rā-\text{w} kū] kārrē] lá-\text{w} = 0 = rā 10 [āsūw\text{"e} yī-m kū] [ēr\text{"e} tū:-būnūŋgōy\text{"a}], 11 bū: [ā: kū:] mā:] [yē-\text{mā} dē] [nār\text{"u} wō] [ē:-n 12 dē] [inir\text{"i}:-gāy\text{"a} dē wōy\text{"a}], tē: sīrī-\text{yē}, cēmēn cēmēn-\text{yē}, sēyām, [yī-m bērē-\text{y}ē] sēyām, [ā-mā:n yī-m bērē-\text{y}ē] [yī-m nār\text{"a}tī:] [[jām nāy\text{"a}]] nār\text{"a}tī:] [[jām nāy\text{"a}]] sūsō:-rē [kū sēyām], [[kū cēlē-\text{rē}-m] gun] yē:-rā-\text{w}— kū:-rā-\text{w}-bō
S: 5\text{"h}: [ū yā →] ↓[dō:rū yā →] 13
O: birā →

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8 yī-m ‘my child’, with L+{HL} tones for 1Sg possessor.
9 ēn – ēn, variants of ēnī – ēnī ‘because of, for’. Related to the verb ‘say’.
10 Based on kārō lá-\text{w} ‘another reason’, plus ‘it is not’ clitics.
11 tū:-būnuŋgōy\text{"a}, compound of tū: ‘same-age group’ and būnuŋgōy or būnuŋgōy ‘group, pack’.
12 ē:- ‘yesterday’, variant ē\text{"a}. Often phrased with dē.
13 Lit., “you-Sg and fatigue.” Here the second conjunct as a whole has lower pitch than the first (symbol ↓ before the second conjunct).
Text 2005-1a.03  
Co-wifehood at a name-giving

I: yà-nɔ̀rⁿú: = Ø, [yà-nɔ̀rⁿú gûn] kàyⁿ-bô
S: [kú yà] [[[yì lâ-m kù] mà:] yà-nɔ̀rⁿú]¹⁵ mà→
I: [yà:-yî-m nɔ̀rⁿá-sò-w] wà, [àsùwⁿ-yî-m mègè jòré-yê = b-à:] wà, yà-nɔ̀rⁿú: = Ø¹⁶ [nè asùwⁿ-yî-m = Ø dè] [bû: ɔŋɡɔ̀rɔ] = mì, yà:-yî-m = Ø dè, yà-nɔ̀rⁿú: = Ø, [kú cèmnə] cèmnú-bô

¹⁴ tárá = ŋ, variant of tárá = ní, with same-subject subordinating clitic.
¹⁵ Possessive tone, after a dative “possessor.”
¹⁶ ‘it’s a co-wife’ (stem yà-nɔ̀rⁿú).
Text 2005-1a.04  Water at Beni

I: ní: kù, tàŋgásō: åŋą́yⁿ těmbí-y-:, [kúoyó: iː těmbí-w kù] wó], ní: kóró-m=bè, [hál ná-y-.


[ți yá dè] bólú sì-yè:-řè dè], jíŋjè ălbárkà, [mànì: ŋgü wóy] ní:= 0, yá: yè yá: kòwè-yè, [kú bù: káⁿ=m=báy] [dè:-řè-y-ː guńí], [i: yàː] dè:-ř: guní, tàŋásō: tòrō ʊrò sì-yè, [uró sì-yè] nüム bù:-0,

[[[mànì: ŋgü wóy] ní: jórś-y-ː] [[kóm-kúguřu gánjú-ráː]: lò-y-ː], kúúⁿ= 0, pégè→ dè-y-ː, [pégè→ dè-y-ː] [ní: gö-m-dó], dúw⁻t📸-y-ː,


káⁿ-káⁿ, ká:n样的→ dè:-ř-ː, dâm [kó:n lâ-w káy bël-li-y-ː].


[[[mànì: ŋgü wó] ní: jórś-ní tûnëm 10 iː bùː [dò-wóy kù=m]]= m]/


I: núwⁿ:yⁿ [ní: kù] jö [a⁻²¹ láwá-w] [kú dúwⁿ⁻š⁻m-dóː, [gànji bërë⁻m⁻dó⁻y-ː] = râ, [jâː = m dë] [kú dúwⁿ⁻š⁻w dë] gànji=m=bë-y-ː, iyé dúwⁿ⁻š⁻râ = râ, kú=m, [[ãà⁺rã⁻gúsù pëř⁻yëy bûː] káyⁿ= ní] [lỳyó, pùrè: ét⁻y⁻só⁻w⁻].

S: [ómdö: bùː gîⁿ⁻ř⁻w kù néy"] kú=m sóːy káⁿ⁻ř⁻w [kú nêy”] têrëw = 0 màː màː [nùː tê⁻y]= 0²³

I: à, [äną́yⁿ tẽgẽ-bó gá] [têrëw = 0 gûy⁻só⁻y⁻ː] [iː kûy”]

S: [[nìː kù⁻²⁴=m=dá dë] [[[uː màː] níː ɔ̌:rö gàⁿ⁻m] là⁻w⁻]²⁵ ŋgo má→

17 Purposive -ráː.
18 bërë- ‘get’, Perfective Negative 1Pl.
19 tûnëm (used in narratives to indicate continuation of an activity).
20 Cf. wò-wáy-i: ‘taking care (of sth)’, from wó- ‘take’ and wáy- ‘hold’. Here the entire compound verbal noun has L-tone as compound initial for -sò-ló: ‘lack, insufficiency’ (nominalization of sò⁻ló⁻ ‘not have’), which is followed by the ‘it is’ clitic. The same speaking turn ends with a similar compound based on the conjugatable Imperfective Negative stem bërë⁻m⁻dó⁻ ‘not be able to’.
21 Reflexive pronoun, in topic-indexing function.
22 ét⁻y⁻só⁻ ‘(has) sat’, here ‘was (firmly) settled, was established (in a place)’. Negation: ét⁻y⁻rė⁻.
23 Possessed form of têy ‘speech, talk’.

4
I: lâ-w yî-rî-û.: kôy
S: [lâ-w wôy] ŋô
I: lâ-w ŋô, [xxx kû nê:-râ-û:] [[nî: lâ-w] sò-lô-û.:]
I: [nûw“û” kûy] kû = m, [kû = m = dá dê] [(tâ: lâ-w wôy] sò-lô-û.:]

25 lâ-w ‘other’ follows and has semantic scope over ‘water that puts (=causes) sickness for you-Pl’. It has no tonal effect on the words in the relative clause. Here, as often, it is probably syntactically an adverb (‘otherwise’, ‘else’).
Text 2005-1a.05  Water projects


26 Inanimate partiple of stative verb ‘be standing’.
27 Verbal noun complement of ‘begin (to)’.
28 This quotative wà seems superfluous.
29 French barrage ‘dam’.
30 Noun birë ‘work’, here in possessed-noun form.
31 kù nî: here is a false start, omitted from translation.
32 kù bërë ‘get that’ here is superfluous.
33 Lit. “food (that) they eat”, i.e. ‘food to eat’.
34 = lâwà=n. Here the different-subject clause is postposed, as an afterthought.
S: [mûy”ë]:35 nì: ków-ë-yë] yå sô-lô-ô.:
O: [mûy”ë: nì: ków-ë-yë lâ-w] [kù:” ków-ô = nê’y”] [[kù-tógórë nê’y”] dû-rû-ô] [úrò nì: kù:” jë-ë] [[kù mûy”:” lâ-w]36 sô-lô-ê.:
S: núw”ôy” kây, [kù:” û: jórë-m wôy] [nì: sâ]
O: nì:, [[mâni: ñgù-rû] [nì: mà:] méjë iyë kù:” û: jórë-m wó:-wôy] ñgó, [nì: yà-à] ↓ [ósù ñà yà-à]
35 Fr moyens. Here with L-tone as relative-clause head, lexically mûy”.
36 Possessed form of noun-adjective combination mûy”:” lâ-w ‘other means’.

7
Text 2005-1a.06  
Field ownership

O: [tórð tângây], [tórð tângây] [dâ: tângây ðgú-rú] = ð mâ
S: [tórð kú dàw’-wôy], [ñgú bê→] [ñgú-dá: bú:-ñ0 ðgú dô:-wôy]

S: pôrbà [ñgú’ káy’ = nî] pôrbà tângî], [isè: dô:-wôy] lô mâ:ñu wô-bô mâ→] [mà→] [nú tûw’óy-m] [ir’é káy’ = nî] mâ→] [i: dô:-wôy], isè:— [bê:n nú-m] = mî’-ý’. 43 gn] pôrbà tâlû-bô

37 = ir’á ðgú ‘this field’.
38 On the tape there is a slight hesitation after tûw’óy-m, and the following ir’á (which has all-L tones in unbroken speech, as a possessed noun after L-tone) is heard as ir’á with initial H-tone. This is evidence that the {HL} contour is basic to possessed nouns.
39 Verbal noun in -î: of the verb-verb chain yè-éw-yè ‘come and sit (=settle)’. The first verb is low-toned as a compound initial.
40 Ir’á ‘my field’, with ‘it is’ clitic = ð.
41 Variant of pôrbà: ‘collective property, property held in common’. A regional word also in Bambara, etc., hence the variants.
42 Usually just kú mâ: ‘to/for that’.
43 = mî-ý’, variant = mû-ý’: ‘we are’ (copula). The younger interviewer feminates the m,
44 Variant of ñárr-á ‘they did not transform/convert’.
45 = ñgû ‘yesterday’.
46 Accusative of nú: bê ‘these’. 

mà→ [isê: gãm kù yà] [tiwè-jîyê bãy^n→] [yêŋ ɔ:ry bãy^n→] [pûlê:, [yê kâ:] nû: gő-gö^{47} jîyê-yê], [bû: nû: kû] dúw^nò:-r-à: dê, û: [kû cê:] àyí-w.:., û: = m bû: têmî dó wôy,^{48} [[ifrâ kû] cê:] ãyî-w.:.,


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^{47} Iteration of gô ‘jab’, with L-toned second occurrence. No spirantization to ɣ.

^{48} Variant of dê wôy ‘if’.

^{49} Hortative.

^{50} Negative counterpart: núw^n ɔny ánjày^n kày^n-sè-nê.
**Text 2005-1a.07**  
Villages and their fields

S: núwⁿyⁿ [írⁿ kú bè] [írⁿ wóy], [mú: kâⁿ=∅] [mú: kâⁿ=∅] [mú: kâⁿ=∅] [mú: kâⁿ=∅] [gúⁿ-ː] [kú yà] írⁿ ː-ː-ː bà mà→, mà→ ñáyⁿ kàyⁿ-bò


S: ú:= m yà: sòsú, [ñáyⁿ kàyⁿ=∅] [[gàwⁿ-rú nù:] kâⁿ=∅] tàngì

I: bù: kày$: yë, bù: tèmbí-y·.

S: [[tòró yàj] [bèlë án-dá:] bù, ú: [[tú: tòró]]


S: [[dûrë: tòró tòwⁿ kú] [kú=m] [[tú: kâⁿ]=∅]]

I: é:, [kú kàyⁿ]⁵³ [[kú=kâⁿ=∅]]


I: 3’h₅⁵₄, gà: è-ː-ː-ː-ː bò

S: è-ː-ː-ː-ː bò [tòró kú]


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⁵¹ [[X ní:] ñgó] ‘without X, in the absence of X, if X is absent’.
⁵² Sërn tû: ‘equal, peer’.
⁵³ kàyⁿ, Topic particle (less common than kày).
⁵⁴ wë::. ‘as well as’.
⁵⁶ = nì.
⁵⁷ pòs! is an intensifier (‘completely’).
S: nyòêwⁿ, [kl-kâː [ùː màː:] yê-mà胃肠 gi'n:-bô] [kl-kâː bûː:] [[ànjàyⁿ nàyⁿ] yê-bô]


58 mâ → màːn: ‘whether or not’ (interrogative disjunction).
59 hà:kôy ‘beware!’ (particle).
61 = wôy after nasal.
62 Past Perfect, with final -w as in Inanimate-subject relative clause.
63 Past clitic after Perfective-1a.
64 dô:-rê bê gûyⁿ-bô is a false start, corrected immediately by omitting the bê.
65 Pronoun [midî:]
66 ‘Where they had not come’, relative clause with Perfective Negative participle, inanimate head NP.
67 In French time-of-day phrases like une heure and sept heures, the numeral is pronounced with H-tone and heures(s) with F-tone. The form îrºîyⁿ, though it looks like the low-toned compound initial form of îrºîyⁿ ‘iron’, is modeled on French heure but precedes an expression like sept heures. A pure native version of ‘7 o’clock’ would be îrºîyⁿ sûyⁿbîyⁿ with just the numeral sûyⁿbîyⁿ ‘7’.
68 3Pl Perfective Negative of injîrî- ‘get up’. Also pronounced injîrî-r-à. 
[m̩á69 bè yà] yê-bó, [une heure n'ay] yê-bó, hâ: [une heure n'ay] [bû: kû] à: yê-w kû]
lô-râ, bû: = m [yê = n] kûwô-jê:
S: bon [kî-kâ: kû] [bû: yê = n] [mû: kû mâ:] ânajâ gû: n-bô, ânajâ [kû mâ:] mà:nû-â.: ...
O: bû: lârî-î.: 
kâyâââ.. [dê = n], [pàjâ bômp bê], kû nàrâ-ô mômô, âgû-rû [avion yê] = n] [gû-rû [î: mâ:] kû pômpê-m] [kû pômpê-m] [kû pômpê-m] [hûl lâ:sârâ dà] u, [kû:y: yê-mâ kû kôy], à:sàrâ kû dô = n, hà: [né:73 kàyâ], [[kî-kâ: kû] tiwê:-r-a:] [[là-w yê-m-n-ê], [[là-w yê-m-n-ê] tiwê:-r-a: mà:ni-à,.
S: [lô = n] lâ-w yê-r-à 
O: [lô = n] lâ-w yê-r-à 

69 m̩á, variant mâ.
70 Perfective Negative relative clause, Inanimate head NP.
72 Passive yi-wû- of yi- ‘see’.
73 né:, variant of nêy ‘now’.
74 th (with L-tone on preceding noun): shortened form of mú: ‘this’.
75 3Pl Perfect, with double 1Pl conjugation.
76 3Pl subject, Past Perfect (not Past Imperfective).
[yè-yè bù: yè-̀w kù] [i: lâr = nì] lô-r-à, [[kú ǹây"n] ìnjîrî = nî] [nù kà:"n-m] [kòsóy wò] nù, [nàr"ù wò] kòsí-̀yè', ōmò: kòsí-̀yè, [hâl lô-ló = nî] [[kòsóy dáy"n] dà],
[yè:-r-à: dé wòy], [yù: èwⁿèyⁿ-nî:], [yù: órú] kùwó-̀yè, [yù: dèm→ màyⁿá-̀wⁿ kù], [órú yá bù dé wòy] kùwó-m-n-è, [kú ǹây"n] [à: yè-̀w kù] [i: yù:] kùwó-j-è:-bò, 79
ñàyⁿ→ kàyⁿ

77 Verbal noun lâr-ì: ‘driving away, chasing out’. Here with following ‘they go’ in the sense ‘they go after/from being driven out’.
78 ‘while we were (=remained, continued)’. Compare 3Sg èrⁿè bù = bày.
79 -j-è:-bò 3Pl subject of Recent Perfect; more often -j-à:
Text 2005-1a.09   Honey


S: [ûrô ye:-rê-w tô] dë] [yêy kû mà:] ñânyⁿ kâ:-râ:-wⁿ:.


I: [gôngô wô] gâyⁿ, [êr'-mà:] nî:-yⁿ:, [brô-gû-m mà:], ñàyⁿ→ [kû wô] kâ:-râ:-yⁿ:

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80 gáⁿ-m is appropriate at the end of a clause. Here, since the clause is extended with bû: dûmdû-mña, my assistant suggests emending gá-m to the chaining form gâyⁿ.


82 Perfective-1b participle, Inanimate head.

83 Imperfective relative clause with Animate Plural head NP (here, the object). Can also be expressed with jôrú as the Animate Plural Imperfective participle, instead of jôr'-yè.

84 Inanimate Perfective Participial -w.
Text 2005-1a.10  
Farm work

S: núw"yâ [jû ñè [bîrè mà::]] 85 [[ër ə̀ n] tûmdî:-râ-á:: ]

I: liw.[[bàr-ì:] yà bû fà 88
bûl mírê-rê dê, pîniwë [kû nàyí ] tîyâ:tÔ-w, [kû mà:: ] [tîyâ: ə̀ mû gûâ-yê, yê [tîyâ kû tîyê:-rê = tÔ:, [tîyâ kû tîyê:-rê dê wôy] [[îsû [pêrê númû:n sà:] gûâ→], wôngôrô wàrâ-m-dô:-w, ânàâ bê:-y:: , [[[îsû [pêrê númû:n sà:] kû lâwà:-rê dê wôy] [tîyâ tîyê cêlê:-rê dê wôy], [bûl yê-yê-nê mírê-nì, [bûl yê-yê-nê mírê-rê dê] wôngôrô tûmdî-á:: ,
O: [[tîyâ ə̀ ñ tÔ-jê-w kû wô] mà
I: tîyâ-ôgô: lôgo-yê
S: [tôy dûw"s:-rê dê ] [né: ânàâ kà:n wí:-wí:: ]

85 Possessed form of noun-adjective sequence birè mà:: ‘dry work’, here with overlaid possessed-noun contour. Unpossessed [birè mà::] occurs in O’s first speaking turn just below.
86 Compound of kôngêxà ‘stem(s)’ and dûdânù: ‘root (of nonwoody plant)’, cf. wê:rí ‘tree root’.
87 Also pronounced tîyâ:biù.
88 Uncommon clause-final Emphatic yàyí.
89 For bû:: ‘be’ (relative-clause participial form), with tone dropped before gû ‘this’.
90 ây lô ‘take go’, i.e. ‘from …’, with following ‘(all the way) until …’ phrase. Here lô is L-toned before nâyí.
91 dàyí ‘limit, boundary’, here L-toned as possessed noun. The possessor is the preceding relative clause (Inanimate head NP, Imperfective, non-subject).
92 Clause-final mà:: ‘before …’.
93 Apocopated from tîyê-rí.
94 For bà-rí.
O: [tôy dûw°5:-rè dé wôy] [wôngóró kù dimbà-w] 95
S: wôngóró [tûw°5 bû] mà→ [yêy bû]
S: [wôngórò-kùnjú kù yà→] [sè:njè: yà→], ängû = n mégré nûm 96
S: bon, àlèy bè→, kò:n kà°-n bê→, [[kù yà] [wôngóró này°] wàrá-w.: mà→] [[tôy này°] bà:] 98 wàrá-yê
O: [wôngóró này°] wàrá-y.: hà [wôngóró wàrá-m = bê-ê-: dê] [dûwò-ti-ê-: dê] [lò [élèy wàrá-y.:]], [ gàm wôngórò tûmdí-êy-ê-: ] [lò [élèy wàrá-y.:], [ànây° wôngórò wàrá-y.:] [lò [[élèy kù] wàrá-jé-ê-: dê], [ar°a-gusû gàm yà] [wôngórò wàrá-m = bê-ê-: dê] [élèy wàrá-y.:]
S: [wôngórò wàrá-jé-w.: dê] [nê: nje kà°-w.:], sóy [kù yêy cêm] wàrá-jé-w.: dê
S: [nê: sè:njè: sè:njí-ê-ê-ê-: dê] [yù: ìré:-rè dê] [ànây° kà°-w.:]
S: [kôsşy kù] ànây° kôsú-w°.
S: [sr°a tûw°5:] tî-yê mà→, mà [sr°a bày°] tî-yê
O: [û sày dê] [sr°a-sî°] [û bërë-w wòy] tî-w] [ñëgù-rû [ësë mò:] â:nà máxima gù°-w°] [ñëgù-rû [ësë mò:] nî:y° gû°-w°] tî-tî-w° 99 dé wòy, [nû: yê:-mà dê] [bàrà bàrà bàrà bàrà [lò [[yû:-të:-rè dîy°-w° kû] wô] lô dà:-lî-yê
S: [kû 100 nû: yà] ànây° dëy°→ bì-bê:-n°-bô 101 mà→, mà ànây°

95 Focus construction with L-toned Stative verb.
96 Overlaid {HL} tone contour required by mégré ‘more’. Cf. adjective nûm ‘difficult’.
97 kà°-w° ‘it may happen (that …)
98 bà: ‘since, back at (an earlier time)
99 ï here is iterated (full-stem repetition), distinct from initial-syllable reduplication.
100 Example of prenominal Inanimate pseudo-possessor kù functioning as discourse-definite ‘that’ demonstrative.
101 Reduplicated 3Pl subject form of bû- ‘be’. Equated with Jamsay wî-wô:-bà.
102 Imperfective participle, Animate Plural head NP.
O: [kòsú-jé-ì:] dè [[Ìrù5 kù wò] = ò, [kòsú yù kù] [Ìrùà ò] 103 kòsú-jé-ì] dè [ŋú-rù dúwó jùwó5-ì-ì], [[Ìrùà ò 104 yá] ló kòsú-ì] [ŋú-rù dúwó jùwó5-ì-ì], [[Ìrùà ò yá] ló kòsú-ì] [ŋú-rù dúwó jùwó5-ì-ì], [kòsú yù kòsú-jé-ì:] dè wóy] [ànjàyọ yù: dú-ì-ì] 
I: sá dúwó-ì:] mà → dúwó-m-dó-ì. 
S: [kònùrù5 sá-ì:] dè dèwí-ì:] [Ìrùà gáì] 
I: ënìjì: gá-ì-dó-ì.] 105 
S: ënìjì: gá-ì-ì 
I: ënìjì: gá-ì-ì 
S: ënìjì: gá-ì-ì, ënìjì: [[kòsú yì nì:] wò] [ënìjì: kúyọ: írẹ-ì] 
I: [árùa gá-ì-ì mà →] [yá: gá-ì-ì] 
S: yá: →, árùa gá-ì-ì 
I: árùa gá-ì-ì 
S: mhm! [[kòsú yù kù nì:] wò] [ënìjì: kúyọ: írẹ-ì], [[ënìjì: kú gá-jé-ì:] dè] [[kòsú yù kù] ìnjàì ì-dù-ì.] 
I: [yá: kù] ò-rù hà → yù: jùrù: = ò 107 
I: [ësé òyà] tì-yá 
O: [ësé òyà] yè-w dè [[ësé òyà] tì-w] 
I: sòlóm 
O: [[kú mà:] yù:-jùrù gù-ì-yà] [sòlóm bù-w kù] 
I: [pètè → bù-w kù mà:] ìnjàì gù-ì-yà 
O: [kú mà:] yù:-rù hà gù-ì-yà, [gùrù ìnjàì] tì-yá kù 
I: jùw: ìnjàì] 
S: [úró [yù: kù] dú jè:-tì-yà dè] [ìnjàì ká:] ì-rù-ì-ì.. ] 

103 = [Ìrù4 ìgú] ‘this field’.
104 Inanimate Far-Distant demonstrative.
105 Verb gá- ‘harvest (by slashing stems with a sickle)’.
106 Good example of (truth-conditional) Emphatic yá: in response to a polar interrogative.
107 The ‘it is’ clitic (audible as a final low tone) is present with the final yù:jùrù but not (audibly) on the preceding disjunct tè:rù.
108 lám-dù ‘take past’, archaic causative of intransitive láwá ‘go past, pass by’.
109 Verbal noun of verb chain (dú- ‘carry on head’ plus jè:- ‘bring’). L-toned as possessed noun. (Absolute form is dú-jè-y.)
110 Relative clause based on ‘have’ quasi-verb só-. Cf. negation íré só-ló ‘it isn’t very ripe’.
S: bon, [kòṣòy kòṣí = ní] [yù: dú-jé-ũ:: dè] [(bùrè lā-w] sò-ló-w::] má lā-w
O: [kòṣòy kòṣí = ní] [yù: dú-jé-ỹ:: dè], [(bùrè lā-w] yá sò-ỹ:: yá::]
I: kòṣò-ũⁿ kò yá bù
S: bon, élé yàrà-ð:: gùⁿ₃-ð::, [(élé kú] wàrà-tù-ð:: dè] [yá: ãnáyⁿ dùwⁿ₃-ð:: mà] [úró jé-m-dó-ð::]:—
O: élé wòmbí-ỹ::¹³ yá::, élé wòmbí-ỹ::, [(élé wòmbí-ỹ:: dè] úró dú-dú jé-ỹ::, élé—
S [overlapping]: yá: wòmbí-yè má—, árⁿ₃ wòmbí-yè
O: árⁿ₃-m—, [yá-m [á kú:ⁿ] = Ǿ wàrà dè] wòmbú-m—, árⁿ₃-m [á kú:ⁿ] = Ǿ wàrà dè] wì-wòmbú-m¹, yá-m [érⁿ₃ yòṣò] [érⁿ₃ m: ] wòmbí-tí: dè] [jínjé érⁿ₃: a-ð],¹³ [kú kála] èsú õú: Ǿ, [ńú wòmbú-m] sò-ló-w dè] [yá-m [ńú kú:] ló-ð-w dè] [ú = m wòmbú-m]
S: wòmbú-jé-ð:: dè, kú-dá: pálú-w má—, úró pálú-ð

¹¹ L-toned irⁿ₃ from irⁿ₃ ‘field’, here as relative-clause head, not as possessed noun.
¹² Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) related to ùlù ‘a little’, but with ungeminated l.
¹³ wòmbí- ‘uproot by hand’ (i.e. by pulling up, esp. to harvest peanuts), contrast sá- ‘uproot with daba’ (millet, etc.).
¹⁴ Formulaic phrase (‘God has caught her’), i.e. ‘she has gotten some relief’. The phrase is also used when a woman has been relieved (of her pregnancy) by giving birth.
Text 2005-1a.11    Granaries

X: dḕw [njē̞ gîn] cêwⁿ̣è:-râ-vw.., [anûâⁿ ŋânyⁿ] kú cêwⁿ̣è-vw..
Y: dḕw, [i: má:nì:] [yū̞-gâyⁿ=ɔ,]₁¹⁵ ꜜũĭf cêwⁿ̣è-y.., kú tûmdî:-y.. dê wôy, bôlôc., ñr̦̣ò sêmbî-tî:-y.. dê, kûlûrû, kuyô: cêwⁿ̣è-y.., kú dëmbî-jê:-y.. dê, dêm→ kú mâyⁿâ:-rê dê, têmbêrû i: mâ-m dê, têmbêrû i: mâ-m dê, [kûlûrû i: kûlûrô:-w kû mâyⁿâ:-m, [têmbêrû bârà-jê:-y.. dê] [[kû dősù] wô] dêy dûwô-y..,

[bo:-úrô mâ:] sóy cîyê:-y.., ñye [i: dëw]—, [[ûsû ŋû] [ûsû nûmûyⁿ]] dë:-rê dê [[i: dëw] cêwⁿ:-i:], i bàrâ, [[nû kâ:-]] mà:] cîyê-tî:yà dê wôy, [kû úsû kû] dë:-rê dê wôy, ñsûwⁿè-yî-m wê→ ñsûwⁿè-yî-m, tâ: lô-m, nî: kôwô kôwô kôwô jë-m, [nî: jë:-tî-yà dê] [[lûw kû] tî:-yê,


U: ânâyⁿ=û=m
I: yû:-gâyⁿ=ɔ, [i: yû:] [i: bêrê-û] yà:] gâ:-yî:-.., ènî:] yà:] gâ:-yî:-.., hâl kôsû:] yà:] gâ:-yî:-..
U: yû: [[dêm wô]=û=m=dà dê] [bôlô: ãrnä-gûsû bêrê-j-ê:] dêm wô=û=m...
I: sî:sîlû:-m
U: sî:sîlû:-m nàwⁿ-â-m
I: [[kû nî:] wô] dêm [mànî:] wô] cêwⁿ̣è:-râ:-y..,
S: [kû dêm-bî:] kù yà] nû:] nàrⁿ-i-yê mà→, mà ânâyⁿ kà:-yê
I: ñsûwⁿè-yî: nàrⁿ-i-yê, yê [ú bàr=ûyⁿ] dêmî-û-yê
S: [ûrô dêm-bî:] ŋû=gâyⁿ→

₁¹⁵ Tones emended at assistant’s suggestion. On the tape, yû: has its lexical tones.
₁¹⁶ Plural subject relative clause, with verbal noun cêwⁿ:-i: ‘constructing’ as compound initial.
₁¹⁷ s.-ë:, relative-clause participial form (for plural head NP) of só- ‘have’.
₁¹⁸ Note the ordering [food go.down eat-3Pl]. ‘go down’ and ‘eat’ are chained together, and preceded by what is logically the complement of ‘eat’.
₁¹⁹ = wô ‘in’ (after nasal).
₁²⁰ Tone emended, tape has yû: ‘millet’, then a brief hesitation.
U: [démè wé → démè] [bɔː:-úrò mɔː:lì = náy”] démí-yè
I: démí-yè
S: [[bɔː:-úrò mɔː:lù = náy”] bú: démí:-râ-w] [kù kó:rè] âjë: = Ø
U: [ïyè kɔː] démù-w dë] [[ëy” yà] [ú kɔː”] démí-ýj, ájày tēmbí-ýj : yéngù

121 ‘my possession’, with {LHL} tone contour and segmentally zero 1Sg possessor pronominal.
Text 2005-1a.12    Cow-peas

S: núwⁿiⁿ, ánjayⁿ wárá-yè
I: núwⁿiⁿ déyⁿ→, [[kú ñ̃řⁿ][wí-wářú] yá b-èⁿ-bè→, [ířⁿä pířè] kálà iː—, pòršy pòršy pòršy

S: [kú tóy kú bèː→] [wàsà bèː→] tûwⁿɔ̂ːː = O mà
O: núwⁿiⁿ, [íř = n mà:yᵃ:-ː r dê] [ánjayⁿ kàː⁻y] [kú máː:]
S: núwⁿiⁿ, [kú má:yᵃ:-ː] nìŋ⁻yè
O: [kú má:yᵃ:-ː-máː] [pâl = nàyⁿ ně⁻yⁿːː, [kú mà:yᵃ:-ː-máː]
S: [úrọ jẹː-tú-wːː] dê [ánjayⁿ káː⁻nː-wːː]
O: [tèmbè-kúː wó] tʃ⁻yè, [[tèmbè-kúː wó] tʃ⁻yè] [hàl mà:yⁿ⁻m], [mà:yⁿ⁻dē dë wóy] sôyⁿ⁻yè,
[sɔːjṣ⁻m dë] [kú yː kú] [sà:kú 122 wó] gàyⁿ⁻gàyⁿ dëy⁻yè
O: tôngòm, dì-dèy⁻w dë [tôngòm bôː] 123 gâⁿ⁻w, dèyⁿ⁻yⁿ yáː→, sùmòy méːr;ːɛ yáː→, [kú yèy] gâːrⁿ ú lígísé⁻w dë, ánjayⁿ [tôngòm bôː] ánjayⁿ dëngú::-w [di-dèy⁻w dë], [kú = m = ñdà dë wóy] kṣy⁻m, [kú kòː] 124 [ùwɔ dš⁻r dë] kṣy⁻m,
S: tôngòm kú, [dèw wó] kàː⁻yè màː→, [írⁿɔ kòršy] wóː⁻m
O: tôngòm, [dèw pířè] kàː⁻yè, [írⁿɔ kòršy] wó kálà ki-kàː⁻wː, tôngòm nàyⁿːː dëłëːrë:m [kú kálà] [tèmbèrù nàyⁿ] céwⁿ⁻yè

122 Variant of sáːgù.
123 = wò "in".
124 [kú kòː], variant pronunciation of [kú kày] '(as for) that'.
125 {HL} contour on possessed noun after [noun + bè].
Text 2005-1a.13  Big families

S: [ŋjé děngéy] nū: ŋgú-rū [yi-tē: bāyⁿ→ɺ], bēr-ǐ: jórê-yè
O: yī-tē: jórô-yː. yāː, bon [iː maː] [brò³ birē kū] [iː birē kū] birē māw= ∅, ú [jú kūː] màː.
   [birē ú birē-m ú birē-m] [ʔarⁿ⁻a-gúsú pé-númûyⁿ] bērê-jê-w dê woyː [né: lā-w [birē pàngâ] sō-lō-w], yī-tē: yā sō-w dê woy, [ū yītē: kū] [bûː= m birē birē-m],
   wǒngôròː= ∅ [kàⁿ. [pâŋgô wàrâ] bērê-m-dō-w
   [[ʔarⁿ⁻a-gúsú pé-númûyⁿ] nū-m], [ū yītē: kū], [wǒngôrò wàrâ] ú bârî-yè, [bû: wârâ-w dê]
S: [kú=m= dā dē kāy] [yī-tē: bērê-wː. jórô-wː. —], [kú=m=dā dē kāy], [kōrô lâ-w] ŋgó má
O: [kōrô lâ-w] yā bú yāː, hàː [yī-tē: yē ŋtːn] bērê = n, tūwⁿ⁻₅-m lō gürâ:ná jângê-m⁸, tūwⁿ⁻₅-m lō lēkî jângê-m⁸; là [wǒngôrò wàrâ] ú bârû-m⁸, hàː [jângê-jângû-m kû] [ër⁸ [ër⁸ bîrê] cêːlː̤ːr̤ː], [ŋgà-dáː jângû-m kû yàː [ër⁸ bîrê] cêːlː̤ːr̤ː, [wǒngôrò wârâ ú bârû-m kû yàː [ër⁸ kâlâ] [ër⁸ bîrê] cêːlː̤ːr̤ː,
   [yī-m wǒː•wôyŋ sō-lō-w dê] [[ʔarⁿ⁻a-gúsú pé-númûyⁿ] bērê-jê-w dê] [[wǒngôrò wârâ] bērê-m-dō-w], [nù ú wârâ-bârû-m] ŋgô, [wǒngôrò wârâ-rû-w dē kâlâ] [nêyⁿ nē-m-dō-w], āː [né: kây] [ū kây] nē: lâ-w [amâ-sôyô nāyⁿ] wâsâː-rê-w
S: [yī-tē: bāyⁿ⇒ bēr-ǐ: kû] wâːjìbû = ∅ mā
I: kû=m [yāː yēy jē-yː] iː kâːⁿ-râ-w kû=m
dO: [yâː yēy jiː-jē-yːː] [yâː tā:n] jiː-jē-yːː] [yâː nî:yⁿ] jiː-jē-yːː], [bûː dâː•wôyŋ] nârⁿ⁻a-yê
   [[yī-tē: pèːtːmː nû sːeː] yâ bːeːː] [pèːrî-yêy nû sːeː] yâ bːeːːːbô
I: bú=m [mêgê yâː sùːrⁿ⁻a-sô-w, [birē kâːⁿ kâlâ] búː= n [mêgê yâː] sùːrⁿ⁻a sô-w
O: [[dôgûrû tūwⁿ⁻₅-m] [bîrê mânːː] bîrê-m-dō-w] [[yū yītē: bûː] lō bîrē-yê] [ûrô bî-yê·w tân], [[kâːⁿ-kâːⁿ] wôyŋ [ū yītē: bûː] lō bîrê-bîrê bûː jê⁻w dê] nê⁻w⁸, [yī-tē: nârⁿ⁻â = n] [bârkînːrːː k̡ː kû dê wôyŋ] [iː nː•r̤ːw],
   [[yû nârⁿ⁻a-rⁿ⁻u-m kû] [ábâdá sùːrⁿ⁻u-m-dâ-w] [[ʔarⁿ⁻a-gúsú têːmdêrê kâlâ] ú=m lô [[ū birē] birē-m]
I: [[ŋgú nː] wô] [yī-tē: jó⇒ m₃ᵃ.yi-sô-yːː.]

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126 -m suffix is present even with inanimate nouns in the sense ‘a certain’ (as opposed to ‘one’). Note that the preceding noun has lexical tones.
127 tán ‘only’, from Fulfulde.
128 Subject relative clause with Perfective Negative verb.
Betrothal and marriage

S: [ú: mà: dá:] [yà-m]-[jέ-γ] ànáy-to bù
O: [i: mà: dá:] yà-[jέ-γ] [yà-bírú yà bù]→, [ú gò = náy-to] yà:-yì-m [ú jós-rí-g] [é-γ e jós-rí-g] ú jé-mí bù129
S: [yà-bírú kú] ànáy-to, ànáy-to ká-go yè
O: [ú sáy] [[ú kú:] mà:] [ló-w dè] [yà:-yì-m kú] [é-γ e jós-rí-w] [[á mà:] ýe-γ e jós-rí-w] wà gù-to-w, [ú mi-rà]132 dé→ [ú mi-rà] gù-m, [ú jós-rí-jí: dè→] hà: [[ú é-γ e jós-rí-w] [ýe-γ e ú jós-rí-m]133 wò] bè::r134 dé wò-y, [[bò: yà→] [ná-á-yà→] mà:] tèg-e-w,

[[ná-á-m yà→] [bò:-m yà→]] kàlà [é-γ e mà:] ní-tí-yà, hà: ársìlà-m yè-mà dè, sè: dé gò-yè
I: [úsú gá-a-yè, úsú gá-a-yè]

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129 ýa bù ‘(it) exists, there is’ here takes a factive complement in the form of an ordinary main clause: “there is (a system/pattern/custom by which) …”
130 bá for quotative particle wá after nasal.
131 Demonstrative kú (Near-Distant, Inanimate).
132 Suppletive negative form of jós-rí- ‘want, like, love’.
133 Emended: tape has jós-rí-w.
134 bê- ‘remain, stay’ in the sense ‘it happens that …’.
135 dé here is not the ‘if’ particle, rather an Emphatic particle with an admonitive flavor, here translated “…, mind you!” This Emphatic particle occurs (as de or dey) in all local languages and is sometimes used in local French.
136 Object relative.
137 bá for wá (quotative particle) after nasal.
138 = wó-wó-wóy for the more common wó-wóy, already extended variant of of wóy ‘all’. Initial w hardened to b after a nasal.
yá [éȳ dè] sè:dè gò-m, à-má:n [à-má:n yà-m kù] [kú = m [kú sè:dè] = ∅], kú = m [i: marriage] = ∅
S: [bú:dú = rã dè] kò:ⁿ-kà:n ni-m-n-é mà
S: yà-m kù, ãsùwⁿ-yi-m kù, [nù jîrú-m kù] [[érⁿ = m sày]₁₃⁹ ló tègé-m] mà→ [[érⁿ átyá-m] tègé-m] nà→ [nù lá-m] tègé-m
I [overlapping]: [[ú sày] mà]₁₄⁰ ni-m-n-é, xxx
O: [[[yà:-yì-m kù bò:] ùrò] kàⁿ-yè
I: ló kàrwá gàⁿ-yè, [nú-m go-w dè] [ló-w dè] kàrwá gàⁿ-m, [yà-m yà:jí: bù: páyá-w] [[úsù pèrú] gàú wò], [nú-m p₄→ úrò ló-w dè] kàrwá gàⁿ-m,
[kàrwá étⁿ gàⁿ-w] túlù wò, [nú-m ìyà gò] [yà-m úrò-tí-n-i: ] = ∅₁₄² wà, lèmdé-yè, úsú gàⁿ-yè, [[úsù kúyó:] bò: gàⁿ-w kù] [yì-m-dó, [ná ìyè-né] gàⁿ-yè, kú = m ìyí-m, nàr³-ù wò, ló dim-dé-jé-yè, ãsùwⁿ-yè-yì: màrpa: tá-yè, [[[úrò kù] wò] yà: ló-w dè [nàm: ní: kòw³-jé-w dè] [yà: bè-m], [[úsù pèrú pèrí-yèy], bê-j-é: dè], ìyà [[[á bò:] ùrò] ló-m, [[ñú-gù’m, [yà-m]-[yè-y]] [ìyà dème→ núwⁿ₅:-rè],
[jàː = m dè kày] yí-nàrⁿ-i: = ∅, [yí nùwⁿ₅-m] nàrⁿ-á-tí-wː dè, lás-m ú nàrⁿ-á:-rè mà, nànjàː ŋàgr³-ùró yè tàŋg³-m, ánjàyⁿ kàⁿ-yè = b-áː, [ìyè něː] [kú bò:] gòyⁿ-i-m-n-é, érⁿ nàrⁿ-á:-rè bá, ŋàgr³-ùró lèmdé-yè,
[tàŋ-g-iː náː] yè:-rè dè wòy, lèmdé-yè hàl úsú gàⁿ-yè, [nù: wòy] màlì-yè, phíⁿ tòr³-yè, yè ëw-yè-yè, [yà-m yè:-rè dè] [dùwàw kàⁿ-yè], [jìnjè sèw jèmdé-y] [jìnjè ùrò nàyⁿ→ pⁿ:-wi-y] [jìnjè nàyⁿ = kàⁿ-yⁿ] wà,
[dùwàw: à: jìr³-m wòy]₁₄⁴ kàⁿ-mà dè, ŋàgrí sàyá-yè, hàyá, nèː kày, [kú wò] dùwⁿ₅-rⁿ⁻²
O: [kú wó] dúwⁿ⁻⁵⁻rè
I: [ŋgú wó] dúwⁿ⁻⁶=rá→, mà [ánhàyⁿ=m=dá] S
O: kú=m yà-tàl-iː = ∅
S: [cèmnè lā-w] ŋgór mà
I: ŋgú=m yà-tàlːː = ∅, yà:, [ā: jiyè] jiyé-yè [[dámary kù] wó], [kàyⁿ=m=dè] [kɔsúː
bárⁿ⁻yè=b-áː] kàrɔbà, [iyé nèː] kàrɔbà-bárⁿ⁻iː: dúw⁻⁶⁻tì-yː,
dûwâw kâⁿ⁻y-jːː dè] [înjîrî sàyá-yè]
S: [kú láwá⁻rè dè] [lā-w [cèmnè lā-w] ñgò]
I: lā-w ñgò
O: [lā-w ñgò] [yà-tàl-iː wò] [kú láwá⁻rè dè] [[cèmnè lā-w] ñgò]
I: dûmdó: kú=m
Text 2005-1a.15  Livestock

S: [3rọšá: bù: jò-ló:-rà-w kù] [hjè gùnì = ní]
S: [ýàrú] 150 gò:-rè dẹ̀, úrò yé-yè-mà→, [3rọšá: dà:] bê-yè
S: [ýàrú gò:-rè dë̀ yá] [anájù kà:-w [bù: mà:] ] 154
O: [á ársè:kù mà:] mà

145 Compare agentic noun bér-béré-m ‘herder’ (Pl bér-béré). The compound initial in these forms is bérù ‘goats’.
146 147 àyìf ‘pick up, take’ combines with following ló- ‘go’ in the sense ‘from (time X) to (time Y)’. 
Jamsay yànà ‘pick up, take’ occurs in similar phrases.
bê: Imperfective participle of bê- ‘remain’, with zero suffix for Animate Plural head NP. A 
reduplicated variant bí-bé: occurs later in this speech turn.
148 Note L-tone (compound-initial) form of 3rọšá: ‘(to the) bush’ in this (plural subject) relative clause.
149 Variant of [kù náfà:] ‘its value’, cf. náfà: ‘benefit, value, usefulness’.
150 yàrú ‘edge of rainy season’. With dó ‘arrive’ it denotes the period just before the rainy season, with 
gó ‘go out’ it denotes the period just after. The corresponding nouns are yàrú-dó: and yàrú-gó:.
151 Subject relative (plural) with L-toned locational adverb, elsewhere 3rọšá: dà: ‘in the bush over there’.
152 First of three parallel short phrases beginning with yá: ‘there (definite)’. Apparently a stylistic 
device, suggesting multiple locations.
153 tíném after Imperfective -m indicates prolongation.
154 Dative PP postposed to verb.
O: [yàrù gò = nǐ] [núwâ économique] [írâ wòyò birë] [yù: birë wòyò] dúwâ'o tò, dé [kòsù: birë] = ɔ, [[kòsù: birë wòyò] dúwâ'o tò dé wòyò] [árse: kù] [kù kày] lár tì-yè, 155
S: [[írâwâ yà →] [ùsù-bôr-sà yà →]] [árse: jêsù kù] tûtûwâ: mâ → déyâ-dëy = ɔ
S: [ùsù-bôr-sà lár-tì:] [kù = m mëgê bû: = nì awâ'-wù-û-rô] mà →, mà → [[bû: dimbi-û = nàyà]]
I: bày nù-m dimbi-û yô-lô dé yà nù:: [û yì-m]
O: [[ù yì-m] dimbi-û yô-lô dé] [nà:-m yàyâ sì-yê dë] [yë [û mà:] tégê-rô] [àmà:nà-m yàyâ sì-yê kôy], [lô [nù: mà:] tégê-wô] [lô ëy ínjíri-wû-yê]
I: kû = m [kù nèwë-ë:] kû = m
O: kû = m [kù nèwë-ë:] kû = m
I: [kù nì:] wô ùsù-bôr-sà lår tì-rô-n-ë, [nù kà:] [à: nà:] háybû 163 [[kù nì:] wô] [nà: kù] dimbà-w-bô

155 Verb-chain lâr tì ‘send away’. Cf. compound verbal noun lâr-[t-i:] later in this text.
156 From ësù ‘good’, with (HL) contour in comparatives.
157 Emended: taç has -pë-yë ‘eating’.
158 For /lâr-lârû/, reduplication of lârû ‘chase away, drive out’. Phonetically the final r assimilates
fully to the following t.
159 I take nàwâ ‘damage’ to be a kind of adverbal here, not the possessor of kà: ‘thing’, whose L-tone
I attribute to its relative-head function: ‘anything in the way of damage that they struck (= did).’
My assistant accepted a version of the same sentence with the order of kà: and nàwâ reversed.
160 Here, equivalent to Perfective sîyê-rë ‘it has gone down’.
161 /yì-rë ‘did not see’, with (optional) apocope to yì-r. Here phonetically [yïd] as the /r/ assimilates to the
following /d/.
162 Variant of yàyà = nr, with same-subject subordinator.
163 Relative clause with nù kà: ‘everyone, anyone’ as subject and head NP. Note that agreement is plural.
O: [[kú nî:] wò] ná: háybê:-rà-wód
I: kú = m [kú néwê:] wà
Text 2005-1a.16  Fulbe as herders

S: dê, [â: nà:] bû: = m ñé:w¹ú-m mà →, mà: [pûlɔː mâ:] nî-yê, [pûlɔː mâ:] nî-yê dê kâl, [bû: nî-râ-w kû] [njé ~nây = m]
O: hâ:, [nûw"hy² kày] dê:, [nû: jô—] [â: nà:] [pûlɔː mâ:] nî-m-n-ê, [kûyô: dê: nà:-m jûwɔ́-n-n-ê] [nà:-m mãŋtí-fi-yà] [dê] [pûlɔː m-ê-w dê] [â mâ:] nî-yû wá gu³-m, [ër⁰ë] nî-yê = b-à:,
   hâ: [pûlɔː lô-mà dê] [üm nà:] [nà: tîwè-rî-m kû] tîyé njé-mà dê] [tîwè:-rê wà gu³-yê], [([nà: là-m] dûrɔ́) [u mâ:] cê: ð: yê-yê, hâ: [ú nà:-m] tîwè:-rê wà, [ër⁰ë dûrɔ́] ðgɔ́y] wâ, ([dê:-m yà] [nà: gûnûm kû] yî = này²] [jûwɔ́-m-dô wê:], [nà:-dûrɔ́ này²] mɔ́lù,
   [nà:-dûrɔ́ ðwû-y-dê] [â úrô] dêyì-m, [[[à bô:] yî-tê:] mà:] [[[à nà:] mû:] tîwè:-rê gûy²-bô] wà, [njày² → bû: kà⁰-m] [bû: kà⁰-m] [hâl [yê = ñ] dê: kû jîwɔ́-bê, hâ: [kû jîwɔ́ = ñ] [nûw"hy² [nû: jô—], [â: nà:] là-w [pûlɔ: mâ:] nî-m-n-ê],
   [[à: yî-tê:] nê:-wû-yê] [i: nà:] [i: = m sô-w],
S: [ûsu-dërî:w ò] nà:-m [nà à:ngà] éw³ë:-w :.
O: nà:-m, [ûsu-dërî:w] [nà às] yêy [ëw³ë:-yê, [ûn:m: yà—] [nàrɔ́: yà—]
S: [kôsû: ñày"] éw³ë:-w :. mà →, mà → [kô: nînje ñjé] 170 này²] éw³ë:-w :.
O: [[kôsû: ñày"] éw³ë:-yê] kàràwàl gû³-yê, [bi-béré kô.:] jàrí-yîy 171 yà bû, [kû ñày²] éw³ë:-yê,
   [[[gûmbò tê:] ñày"] kâlâ] i-ëw³ë:-yê

164 màngî- ‘take a handful of (food)’, here ‘accumulate, buy another (cow)’.
165 wê:y ‘a fortiori’
166 The tone of ñà: ‘cow’ is determined here by the preceding possessor, hence [â nà:] ‘his (own)
cow’, rather than by the following demonstrative. Compare unpossessed nà: mú: ‘this cow’ with
L-tone required by the demonstrative.
167 Plural subject relative with L-toned PP as compound initial, cf. [pûlɔː mâ:] ‘to/for the Fulbe’
in main clauses.
168 Plural subject relative consisting of verb only.
169 Òsú ‘overflow’ and ëwà- ‘pass’ are used here in a verb chain in the sense ‘(do) excessively, (do) to
an outrageous extent’. The verb nàmbàrá ‘trick, dupe’ contributes the main semantic substance.
170 ñjé ‘what?’”, here as adjective ‘which?’ with preceding L-toned nouns, cf. kô: ‘thing’ and
ñjë ‘gear’. The combination kô: ñjé “which thing?” is common in the sense ‘what?’. Here a more
precise noun ‘gear’ is added.
S: nùwⁿyⁿ ná:-m, [iri-[dùw-i:] dês:-rɛ] [iri-dùw-i: ãw-rí], [érⁿé mâ:] àŋàyⁿ káⁿ-w.:  

S: [[kò:] ŋè=∅] [ë[rí ár-i:] gá:lú-m] [kú gáyⁿ-tf-yà dê] [ë[rí é ár-i:] [àŋàyⁿ nàyⁿ] gá:lú-m  

I: hâl máyⁿá-m  
O: hâl máyⁿá-m

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172 Compound with initial based on nà: ná::m ‘adult cow’ (Pl nà::). The second stem is ná::, here ‘adult’ (not juvenile).  
174 héⁿ here is O’s idiosyncratic expression for ‘(not) a thing’. The widely used form is kà:"kà:n ‘anything’.
Text 2005-1a.17 Cattle

S: [[nà:.-m nàfá:] [kò:n ñjé: = ø]] [[àrsè:-m náfá: nàñànà:] [kò:n ñjé: = ø]]
I: bërù-m, [èr"èë år"è:] [bù: gôl-k:] 175 jò: = râ, ùrò èù-yé, [[ñjé ni:] wò = rù [ùrò, ñùwò èr"è sûwò m kù], bârâ = này n [år"èë jò=-lô-yé], kùyô: kù bù: kà"=m bây, [kù kù], [bîrè 176 jò=] kà"=rè, ìyé [[kü ni:] wò], [nù: jò=] [à: bërù], år"è:] òi-rè-yë, [ùrò yà b=-ø:"] ↓ [år"èë bë-yé], gà: [år"èë bë-m kù] [èr"èë = n mégw sûr"û só-ù-w], bërù-m kù, bërù sì-sùr"î-rî-m, [èwò=ìy èrëk kò:n = ø]], [lùw 177 dù-m-dô], [èr"à kù] wò: yà: bù, sûwò sûwò-m, [ìñù gùsù:] nì: wò-m
S: [[àrsè:-m náfá:] nàñànà:] ñjé = ø; náfá: ñjé = ø, ñrrè:-m ...
I [overlapping]: náfá—
S: … nàñànà:-m kù 178
I: èrsè: nàñànà:-m kù kà yà, [ù nùmùm] kîl-k, nùmùm [ù mà:] yë:-rè dë, yàjí: pâyà-w, [èr"èë tìyë = này n] pâyà-w, kò: yë:-rè, [èr"èë tìyë = này n] në-wë, ñgù = m [àrsè:-m nùmùm] kù = m, [ù lò:sù ëši-m], 79 yë:-rè, [èrët mà:] wò ni 180 bërè-w, gùsù-w dë, xxx
S: [[yì-m] nîr"ë:-ìyë:] gà"ë bë 81 òìyë kà"=wë:.
I: nîrë:-ìyë, nîrë:-ìyë: gà"ë yë:-rè dë, bërù-m, [[ùsù sûyë”më”] dò:-rè dë] bërù-m wò-ù-dë, dë, sëwë=ìyë:-ë, [èt-m nîrë] gà"ë”ë: përë-m mà bërù-m, [kù yëy] përë [ù mà:] kò:n nà"ë=ìyë:-ë] = ø wòy, nîrë:-ìyë gùsù = m kà"=yë:.
S: [kù = m = dà dë] [là-w ñgô]

175 Verbal noun with logical subject as possessor. The preceding object pronoun and adverbial have their normal tones.
176 Here birè ‘work’ drops tones before jò=, so here the latter functions as an adjective (often it is an adverb and does not induce tone-dropping).
177 Variant of ëw ‘manure’.
178 S’s broken phrase can be repaired as ërsè: nàñànà:-m, with nàñànà:-m functioning as modifying adjective.
179 The possessor (2Sg ë) forces {HL} tone contour on the noun-adjective combination as a whole. Cf. lò:sù ëši-m ‘a good (=important) visitor’.
180 ‘give’.
181 Lit. “name-puttings of a child.” Here ‘child’ is singular in form but it is generic.
182 áë=ìyë dë ‘if you-Sg take’ could be construed literally here, but this expression can also be used abstractly with the elements of a list or chronological sequence: ‘(starting with) X, (to) Y, (and on to) Z, …’. Such a sequence can be (but here is not) brought to an end by a final phrase with hálì ‘until, all the way to’. 
S: [àrsé-m náfà:] nànjànà: [kù = ṭ̀h bè]

I: náfà: ọ̀: tégé-wù kù kày, à ì, báří béré-̀wò dè [dém→ bàrú-̀wò gà]

O: èwⁿéyⁿ, [èwⁿéyⁿ ná:-m èwⁿéyⁿ] [èwⁿéy ní:-jǐ-ù-yⁿ.:], [báyⁿ→ dè] ńi:-ńìye-̀wà→,
ñí:-ńi-̀wà→, [ú kó-ò: jò] ní:-ńe:-wⁿú-̀wⁿ, hà: [èwⁿéyⁿ kù] náfà: [kálà] [ńgu kù = ṭ̀h]

I: [[[púlš-m yà→]] [ńgu yà→]], kâ:-ná láwá só-̀w., 186 púlš-m [ńi: mà:] mègè àrsé:-m wày béré:-m,
[[ńú kú:] mà:] [ńrⁿà: nü-m] = ꠕ, àrsé: [ńu: kálà]—, ńrⁿà:, wày-yè, ń: [[[ńrⁿà: bá: gärⁿà: ví] gáyⁿ→] [ńrⁿù: kú gärⁿà:-m-dó:=y::], hàl yé kálà,
[[ńú ní:] wò] [[ńu: àrsé:] mègè jó:-bò] [[ńu: = m mègè âwⁿá:-wⁿ béré:-n], [[ńu: bà:] àrsé:-m âwⁿá:-wⁿ béré:-m-dó:=y::, [[[ńi: yà→]] [ńú yak: yà→]] kà:-ná láwá só-̀w kù]
[ńgu kù = ṭ̀h]


I: wóngró kú:, [ńú yí-m] wóngró—, wà́r:-ń7 kú, wóngró rírèw rírèw, [ńú túnwⁿ:-m kú] [ńàrsé: ìrⁿé:-wⁿú:-wⁿ dengèy] [ńy:-ńwá:-ńrèw], [[[ńńgu màn-ń:] ní:] wò], ní-ńh-bé:=y::,
ń: tíím = ṭ̀h. 188 [wóngró kú dá:] rírèw ńńgo→, àrsé: kú = ṭ̀h màrã— [ńń: ná:] wò]
màra dùwⁿ:-rã:-w-̀bò, hà: ní: [ńí tíím = ṭ̀h] [ńńgu kày] [ńàwⁿú kú] [ńwⁿâ dáyí-m] = dá,

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183 bè ‘used to (do)’ after ‘it is’ copula.

184 Both instances of èwⁿéy ‘milk [noun]’ in this intonation group are superfluous. The normal phrasing is ná:-m èwⁿéy = náyⁿ ‘having milked the cow’.

185 Lit. “(which) has (a) distinction.” Negative counterparts are based on [káwá sò-ló-].

186 sè-nè ‘they don’t have’. Negation of s-ê: ‘they have’.

187 Slightly broken articulation of [ńú yí-m] wóngró-ráw-ń: ‘[your child’s] doing farm work’, with the logical subject as possessor of a verbal noun with incorporated object.

188 /ńtíím ‘look’.
Text 2005-1b.01  Collective and individual hunting

I: tárâ:—
S: dânnâ, ànâyâ' kâ-n-yê

I: dânnâ, t: kô: n' lîlâ i: têmbû-ù, dânnâ-m', [[á kû:] mà:], [[á nîng] élé-ré jéy] 189 nû:] wù], dânnâ tûmbû-m, êrê tâ-m dê, êrê dânnû-m dê, nâwâ': êrê tâ-m dê,
[usû tûwâ's-m] bô:-ùrô mòlû-ù dê, târâ: gâ-n-m bâ, 190 [ûwû sùyâ''û'yû'] mà→ [ûwû gâ'rây] âny', târâ: gâ-n-mà dê, [usû gô:-rê] [nê: ârâ'- nàwâ': [kû jây'] yôyô bêrê-m-n ê], bô:-ùrô mà:râ: = râ→ 191 [bêrê'-âtôw] = râ→ sà:mbâ: = râ, [nû kâ:-m] [[kô:] n sô-w'] 102 [âny'] lô-m,
û: ëgû-dá: bê: = nû, i: [tângây ëgû-rû] bê-y :, âsûwê'[yî-tê']:, mà:râ:-cênmê [nê: kây], [l: tü:] tâ-yê, mû: yè tâ-m, mû: tô tâ-m, mû: tô tô-m,
[[nàw'â: bôngô] 194 [â nàw'â: kû] jê-w dê] [mbâ bê: = h] 105 cêlîrî-m, [î nàwâ': bêrê-y] [û bêl-lû-w = rà:], cêlîrî-m, [àmô: yà] [kô: n tûwâ's-m] yà sô-w, gô-lô-m, [[êrê' yâ] yô'yô yê-w dê] [u cêlîrî-m],
mâ:râ: [kû wô] tâ-yê, [sà:mbâ: bôngô] yê-m, dûrê-m gây' → kà-sâ: [bêrê bôngô] yê-m, sùyô-s gây' → kà-sâ: [n'ày' → bû: kà-sâ dê] [hâl pùtûró nû-m],

189 Partitive ‘for, in order that’.
190 Hortative (‘let’s …’) -m followed by quotative wâ (here bà after a nasal). 
191 Negative = râ at the end of each of three items in a list of hypothetical examples (‘whether it be X, or Y, or Z’). Cf. French que ce soit X, ou Y, ou Z.
192 Object relative (‘what he has’), here as complement of a postposition.
193 ‘it is his animal’, i.e., ‘it (=animal) belongs to him’. Same syntax as e.g. êrê kô:n = O ‘it (=thing) is his’. In such possessive predicates, the classification of the possessed entity as animal (yê-s-m), thing (kô:n), including plants, and person (nû-m) is respected.
194 ‘owners of meat’, in plural (i.e. unsuffixed form), but here with nonspecific (hence ambiguously singular or plural) sense, and with singular concord.
195 Based on mbâ bê ‘the others’ (without clitic). mbâ or ámbâ is used to denote a counterparty or opposite number, presupposing a pairing of two individuals or groups.
196 nû kâ: ‘each person’, here in clear distributive sense, with singular concord.
Dogon week of five or six days is still recognized in parts of central Dogon country.

From mú̃rũ̀-sôngú (variant mú̃rũ̀-sûngú) ‘offspring, progeny (of a male apical ancestor)’. Compound of mú̃rũ̀ ‘pants’ and sûngú ‘rope’ (i.e. belt-cord for pants).

Verb pâlé-

iyé jú: ‘a week ago today’ (i.e. on the same day of the week). Cf. iyé pêrû: ‘two weeks ago today’. Jú: also means ‘neighbor’. The European seven-day week is operative here. A traditional Dogon week of five or six days is still recognized in parts of central Dogon country.

I-toned noun modified by tûwⁿ: ‘one’.

/ngû kõⁿ/ ‘this one’s’. In this passage, Proximal and Far-Distant demonstratives index the first and second hunts, respectively.

/ângû/ ‘which?’

Postposition náy in the context ‘(hide) from (X)’.

[Ì-ûyá-m] ‘while standing’ (invariable for pronominal person). Temporal adverbial related to the Reduplicated Stative.
O: kú = m [ánjáyⁿ bû]

I: báří bêrê-m-dò-w lá-w


S: [dânnâ kû] lâwâ:-rê dê, [[târå: kû] láwâ:-rê dê, [kû [ûsû nî:-nê]] mâ—, mà→ [ûsû yê-yê-nê] mà→ hâl lô' [numûy Ǿ bû-], kêmne [[kú gû-nàyⁿ sây], Ǿ cêmne kàⁿ-mû-n-e mà

O: [kû kêmne wôy] [û kày] yî-tà-li-y


S: kû gî-nàyⁿ sây

I: è: [kû gû-nàyⁿ sây] jijê jijê-yê = b-à:, ëuyô: kêyⁿ

O: [ìyô kây] [târå: kâlå dûwô-tî-y.:], târå: ëgô lâ-w

S: [ëji gîn] dûwô-bô [târå: kû] Ǿ


S: bây kû yê: [ëji gîn] dûwô-bô = b-à:


205 ‘your thing’ (=the animal), logically the direct object of sêwⁿ-ê- w ‘you-Sg slaughter, cut the throat of’.

206 kâlå ‘even’, here in sense ‘even if’. Combined with nû kâ:n ‘anyone’, the free translation is ‘if anybody at all …’.

207 For /pôngû ūgû/ ‘this neighborhood’.

208 Accusative Reciprocal tû: = nî is corrected to Dative [tû: mâ:] by the speaker.

209 Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) of yê ‘come’, with the second iteration L-toned. màrpû: ‘rifke’ here is object of tâ:- ‘shoot’.

210 hâl lô (lit. “until going …”) means ‘all the way to, as far as …’ in spatial contexts, and means ‘as late as, not until …’ in temporal contexts.

211 Direct-object NP following verb. Typical of afterthoughts.

212 Dative after factive clause with final Definite kû.

213 Lit. “the day of this day,” i.e., the same day (e.g. Wednesday) as today, next week.
214 Stacked possessive construction involving two verbal nouns (bir-ː ‘working’, túmd-ː ‘beginning’) and a cognate nominal biré ‘work’.

215 tá-ːw unclear on tape. Cf. yǐ-ːtá- ‘have seen (at some point)’, Experiential Perfect. The subject pronominal (3PI bù:) intervenes.

216 yá bèː-ː ‘there used to be’.

217 Assistant suggests emendation to yùː írɛ́ cɛːːɾù-ːm ‘millet will ripen and show (itself)’.

...
Hunting with dogs

I: injé-m dänná, injé kúy.sg bërë-jé-w, náw."(bú: bá:-l-tú-w.218 dè, êr."[bú: náy") gó-w, nú gám bôŋ bê, nár"u wò, [injé náy") gó-yè, náw."(ló yìliwè wó-yè, gám bôŋ bê, ōmá: [bú: náy") ló-yè, náw."(bú: náy") wó-yè, náw."—  
[bú: ló-m = báy] [náw."(dôgûrû kà:]"] gô:-rè-w wóy], sûr-s-yè [sûy gûn-yè], [injé kù] [kù téy kù] nú-yè, yỳs ló kôrô-yè, [lù"i wó] nú dèy→1, gûn jùw."-yè, bôŋš-m yè-rì, gânjì-yè, gânjì = n, êr."= m wó bërë sëw."dè, dùw."-rè,  
êr." gô:-rè dè, digûrè-yè, wó [pà: bôŋ mà:] wó ní-yè, [tìw."wó] ùrò dè kâlâ, gôngû wà-yè, bôŋš-m yè-rì, yè:-rè dè, [êr." lâr-ti: dè] [sì-yè:-rè dè], [êr." má:] wó ní-yè, sëw."-ë-m,  
̄nár"u bôŋ bê kôTy", bû: kày, dûrû yà s-ë:-bô, [[dûrû kù náy"] gû-yè, [bú: yà] náy" kù bì-ré-yè, [yù-m dänná kày], [í kày] [kù: n jùw.-ìn kày], [nùgù kù = m] [mà:mí-só-"y], [nù yà] bár bërë-w dè] [dèm→ [kù kú wó] bârâ.220  
O: [injé-m dänná kày] [nùw."by ù tègë-w ñgú] kù = m, [kù gù-náy"] êr." = n kù-kúyš-w, [kù gù-náy"] êr." = n kù-kúyš-w, dànná êr." = n dànni-w"û-w"n gû-náy", [ùsù kà:"] êr." = n ù kúyš-rì = mà:, hâkôy [dànná gùn] — nàw.": gûn — [dànná gùn sáy] ú kúyš:-râ-"y dè,221 [ù mà:] ânày" [êr." mà:] têgë-w dè,  
ànày" [êr." mà:] [ùsù kúyš: kù] ânày" êr." té:re-rì222 gûy."-bô, hà: [kù kâlâ] bî-bû:-lù-w, [injé-m dännâ] [bú: [ânsâ:-râ bë]] entrainement gûy."-yè [kù mà:], [nùw."by kày] [náw."(kù) yì:-jé-w dè, òdáy" ù gû"-w"n kù gáy"→, sûy sûr-s,  
[ùw."wó wó] têmbù-rú-w kàlâ→, [bîsîmë = n] sûr-s-w dè wô-wòy, [ló:-rè-w dè] kùwš-w, [ùw."wó wó] têmbù-rú-w kâlâ, hâ: [kù kâlâ] náy"→ = m gûy."-bô, [injé-m dännâ] [kù kù = m]  

218 = /bá:-l-tú-w/. Causative bà:-l- ‘teach (e.g. a trade)’.  
219 Negation: mà:mí só-ló-"y.  
220 Imperative Sg.  
221 This dè is the clause-final admonitive particle.  
222 French entrainer ‘train (dogs)’, cf. just below.  

37
Text 2005-1b.03   Trapping

O: *ǎhóⁿ* tégé, gúrgúsù đànnà kù, [[gúrgúsù ṣàyàn]] đànnà đànnù-yè] tégé
    tìw*rù tiw*rú tiw*rú célé-ë, tiw*rú-tú-ë wò wày, ánày* dúw*á-ë, [nàr*ù wò] ẹ́r*ë gò:-rè dè wày, [[yè-ë dè] [kù tò-m], 3m3: ü ló:-rè mà:, [[ẹ́r*ë wò-je:] témü-bë, nàw*á: bérè-je-w*.
    *bon* niy*ì: = dë yà, dúy*ér*ù wò, [árọ́: jò-→] [g5:* bù: síyí-m mà-→, niy*ì: árọ́: jò-→ bù: sí-yè-m, yá: lò [dùy*ér*ù wò] ló-ë dè, [g5:* wò] bì-yí-dúw*á-ë, [túlú wò] [wà:w wò] bë-ë, ü tìní-m dè,
    sì-yè-yè sì-yè-yè sì-yè-yè, bù: sì-yè-rè dè, tìw*rú-m = mà kàggà wò-m, ýyú láw*á-ë, tìw*í-rè-ë, iyà píniw*í gá*:n*á-w, lò bàngí-yí-ë, sì-yè-yè, júw*í-m*n-ë gá, iyà wò-m, iyà ẹ́r*í-ë-jë-w*;
    [dë:-rë-w dè] úró píniw*í yè-ë, dë-rë-ë wò dè yà, [[ùsù-dér*í: kù] nájànà:] [bù: kày] hál [bù: bi-yè:] 224 òd-rí dè wày, wò-m tùnëm 225 bè-m, [[á: kù mà:] kù júw*í-m-n-*é, àtìw kù = m

O: [átiw kù = m] [[dë: gúrgúsù] kù = m]
    [[ẹ́r*ë kày] [màyí-r*í dè] [[lò ó tèmb*í-] 227 jò: = rà] tiw*í-m, ánày* ánày* [t*à:n nìy*ë bà:-→], kày*-tú-ë dú wòy, nìy* 228 [t*à:n nìy*ë bà:] wò-m, lò gò-ló-ë, iyà tòsí tòsí tòsí célé dúw*á-ë
O: [kù nè:] [[sòm kùkùyɔ̀] ṣàyàn] bù: kà:*-m, kù = m mà

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223 If nár*ù 'night' were syntactically possessed by yèn 'yesterday, the previous day', it would be low-toned nár*ù here.
224 Possessed form of noun bì-yè: 'lying down, going to bed'.
225 Variant of tìním, used after Imperfective -m in durative temporal clauses.
226 Normally just jé-m (Imperfective participle, Inanimate head), but here exceptionally with an extra -b for 3Pl subject.
227 Verbal noun of second verb in chain, with overt subject pronominal (in possessor function): 'your going and finding (it)'.
228 This occurrence of nìy*ë 'four' appears superfluous.
I: béré sùyɔ-s-m
O: [kû má: ká] átfw gúⁿ-yè
I: [kû yà] átfw gúⁿ-yè
O: [kû nè:] [dɔ: gúrgúsû] mà→
í: kû = m gáⁿ-m = bè-ý::, gà: [í:rⁿ éyⁿ kõ:n kû] [ånsárà-m kõ:n] = Ø, í: kû júwɔ-m-dó-ý::, nàyⁿ→ = Ø [dàwⁿà bû-w] = rà:
O: ànjàyⁿ = Ø [dàwⁿà bû-w]
I: là-w báří-yè mà→ bá-rû-m-nè
O: [gúrgúsû dànnà ká] íígú kû = m
I: éyⁿ→232

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229 French voilà.
230 Sounds like àjíjù on tape, but word not recognized by assistants.
231 ’metal, iron’. There is also a variant írⁿém.
232 Variant of é: ‘yes!’.
Slaughtering and butchering

I: núwⁿyⁿ kày, [[pèrè-m]-[sèwⁿ-ì:]] = Ø
O: mhım

O: jà:ti
I: kù:, [àmbírì-m mà:] ní-yè, kùy:ɔ̀ ròsùm kò:, [lòsù-yò-m kò:n] = Ø, sò:ráyⁿ, [jèmbè-m mà:] ní-yè, nàròt:, [pò-yà: mà:] ní-yè, mà ànàyǔ = m = dá
O: ànàyǔ = m
O: ɔ̀hò, cèrìyê: dà:-rè kòy, ...
I [overlapping]: xxx
O: … núwⁿyⁿ ú gùⁿ-wò kù nè:, bèrú [ŋjè gin] [àrsè: sæwⁿé-yèy = ì:], núwⁿyⁿ ú gùⁿ-wò kù nè:, bèrú [ŋjè gin] [àrsè: sæwⁿé-yèy = ì:], núwⁿyⁿ ú gùⁿ-wò kù nè:, bèrú [ŋjè gin] [àrsè: sæwⁿé-yèy = ì:]
I: àrsè:—
O: láyá:rù mà→, àrsè: [ŋjè gin] sæwⁿé-yèy = ì:

233 Passive of sæwⁿé ‘slaughter, cut the throat of’.
234 Optional shift of Negative = rá to = rà when adjacent to another /s/ after syncope. Assistant also uses unshifted variants.
235 ynchronously, here as a linker: [X ɔ́ y Y] ‘from X to Y’, ‘whether it be X or Y’. 
236 kálá ‘sanction’. A villager may be punished for an infraction by having one of his animals slaughtered (without compensation). The sanction is imposed by a group of three elected men. Except for the chief’s meat section, there is no formal distribution of meat sections and organs as there is in a normal slaughter.
wásà kù kày, [láyyà bògò] kò:’n] = 0, [yà-m mà:] nàr’è: ní-yè, [ér’è cérìyè:] = 0, bò:-yì-m, [úrò [nù diy’à-m]], cèlè-yì:, [[úrò [nù diy’à-m]] mà:] ní-yè, [jèlè-kù: cir’è:] pà-mà dè, [kú kày] [hálù [nàw’à: kà:]’n] sèw’è-bò kálà] [nù diy’à-m] mà:] lò-m dé wòy’, [ér’è cèlè-yì:] = 0 [kú mà→ [jèlè-kù: cir’è: kày]] lò-m, [là: yèy] pìrè] [tùw’à-m kày] lò-m, kú yà, ñày’→ [kú òsù] kù=m, [là-w bári-yè dè] bárà
O: kú=m [láyà:rù gùní] àrsè: sèw’è-yè=m
I: [láyyà này’] sèw’è-yè=m
O: hà: cèlè:-rè
I: là-w àngú=m mà
O: hà: kú kú=m
I: kú=m dà
O: è: kú=m

237 This kò:’n kò:’n ‘any thing (which …)’ is unnecessary, since kò:’n ‘thing (which …)’ is repeated later in the clause.
Text 2005-1b.05  Land disputes

S: [ú: bè→] [nù: bè→] jáy ú: jáyá:-rā-w kù, [jáy kù] [[ñjé kù:] wô] = m
I: jáy kù, kɔ: n yě-rā-w, [kú jò:] 238 [[sùmọy kù:] wô] = m, [[yá-m kù:] wô] yá bú gá:, [yá-m děnɡẹ́] sùmọy mégẹ́ pánɡá sò-w,

sùmọy kù', i: [nú dìy"a], sùmọy [bù: kɔ:"] = Ø = bè, sùmọy [bù: kɔ:"] = Ø, sùmọy [bù: kɔ:"] = Ø →¹, tũú wô, mìáb bè, [ú ɔr̤ɔkù] bãy" → sọ-w dè, [ɔr̤ɔkù ɛ̀sù] ú sọ-w kù, [ú nè:] kù-dà: wárá-w, ú wárá-m dè, nùwɔ̌⁻:rè = rà;,

[ɛr̤ɔkù kù] [ɛr̤ɔkù = m, wárá-m], [wárá-m tìném] [wárá-m tìném] [ɛr̤ɔkù → nùwɔ̌⁻:rè = rà:], kɔ: nùwɔ̌⁻:rè dò wôy, [[ú kɔ:] wô] gò-m, [nù: í: wôy] jáy = Ø,

hà: nùwɔ̌⁻:rè dè, [ú lò-w dè] [ú yà] [úsù tùwɔ̌⁻:m], núnum [ú mà:] yè:-rè, [ɔr̤ɔkù ɛ̀kù] iyà nùwɔ̌⁻:yù, [yù: tɔ:-y] jɔr̤ɔ-yì, [lɛ̌ŋjì: mìs-i:] dɔ:-yì kù] gùỹ⁻:tù-w = rà:, [[nù kɔ:] ɛ̌nut̃à:-dà: [ú kɔ:] sò-m = bè-m kù] [kàrwá sò-m = bè-m kù], èr̤ɔkù ú, ɛ́gù kày, [á má:] [ɛ̌nut̃à kù] dùwɔ̀ béré-m-dò gù⁻:m,

[ɛ̌nut̃à kù] [á má:] [ɛ̌nut̃à kù] [á má:] [mò:] wô] ìmú w − nù] [á kɔ:] = Ø wà gù⁻:m, [[ñjù ɛ̌nut̃à kù] [ú kɔ:] = Ø wà gù⁻:m] è, [í:] 239 [ñjù ɛ̌nut̃à kù] [ú kɔ:] = Ø gù⁻:m] è, òw-rì-yì kòy,


[nú dìy"a] mɔ:-lì-yè, ú: [nù-m-dò-wè:- mà], [[ñjù ɛ̌nut̃à kù] [mà: ìb] [á:] kɔ:] = Ø gù = ì] tègè-bì = bìyì: yà] ìnàyù nù-wù:- mà, ày 246 gù⁻:l-á yày, ày gù⁻:l-á, ìr̤ɔkù kù, [bù: kɔ:] = Ø = rà,

238 jò⇒ here treated as a possessed noun.
239 í: here is an exclamation of surprise at the beginning of a quoted speaking turn: ‘huh?’ The preceding è means ‘yes!’.
240 Repair to: [ñjù ɛ̌nut̃à kù] kùyì: bà: ‘the field formerly’. Speaker O is imitating the excited, stuttering speech of the quoted speaker.
241 ‘We formerly had’. Negation: ... sò-lò = bè-γ. ‘We did not (use to) have’. /sàw ní/ is a phrase meaning ‘give in trust, entrust (property, money, etc.) to (someone)’.
242 ìnìjì ‘get up’ here is chained with yè-ɔ̀ ‘you-ŋ come’, over an intervening conditional antecedent.
243 Emphatic particle (insists on the truth of an assertion). Another occurrence just below.
244 Since pùrà:rù ‘such-and-such, so-and-so’ (cf. Arabic fulaam-) seems to refer to the village of the usurpers, one could emend to pùr:rí:nù: ‘the people of ...’.
245 Perfective Negative of gùỹ ‘say’.
246 ày ‘no!’ (as in other Malian languages). Distinct from àyì ‘take, pick up’ (often pronounced ày).
hà: [nuw^b5y^n kây] [tû: mà:], bâtu lô-yê, yê-yê, lô-yê, yê-yê, lô-yê yê-yê, [ir^n^3 à nghû] [û: kô:^n]==⊇= râ, [ir^n^3 à nghû] [kû láyri] ƙi = ñû, tirûf [ï: mà:] tir^n^-m = bè-w.\ldots, [ï: mà:] nâm cîfey=m = bè-w.\ldots

[iyê ú: nuw^b5.-rê-w. : nà\ldots] [ï: kô:^n]==⊇= kù], [[[mû:n yà\ldots] [mû:n yà\ldots]] dimbi-yî nû, bû: dimbi-yî nû\ldots, [iyê kâlâ] [ï: kô:^n] kây] [ï: kày] düw^s^-m-dô-y.\ldots [ï: kô:^n] dimbâ-ý.\ldots


hà: iyê làw láwâ, [û: gâsâ] yâ: nú:-rê = râ: ë:, bêr^n\ldots jë:-tî-w.\ldots, _svgû dimbâ-Á wô, _svgû dimbâ-w wô], [[tû: mà:] bâ-t:á: dé:-rê-w.\ldots dé wôy] [ïnù kâ:^n] lô [a úró] bê-m.\ldots

jîr^n^3 yî dô:-rê dé, û: tông-m-dô-ý.\ldots, tô-rê: nú yê:-rê-m kù', lô ér^n^3 têmbû-û\ldots.
O: ñbôs^5, [kù pày^\ldots kây] ñr^a
I: ñ: [jây kû]
O: [sumîy kây] [sumîy cî:tê] wô) nîw^b^s^y^n [ér^n^3 gû^-w^- ñgû] [kû kù=m], [ngû dimbâ-û wô sây] [sumîy cî:tê] yê-m, [tîw^b^s^-m bôngô] [kô:^n] kû] [ér^n^3 kô:^n]==⊗= rà kôy, ë: [nîw^b^s^-rê dê wôy] [ïá kô:^n]==⊗= wà gû^-m, [û [kô:^n] bôngô] yà\ldots 254 düw^s^-m-dô-yû^-wî\ldots [érr^e yà] düw^s^-m-dô gu^a^-m] [sumîy cî:tê ñgû] dimbi-yî yê=m [nîw^b^s^y^n đày^\ldots érr^e gu^a^-wî ñgû gîy^\ldots\ldots, [ï: kâlâ] [ï:

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247 IP1 subject Static form of dimbi-yî ‘follow’. 3Sg equivalent dimbâ-w.
248 Imperative plural, addressed by the field owners to the occupiers.
249 Normal phrasing: [iyê làwâ:-rê dê].
250 Also bôné. Cf. Fulfulde bone.
251 hà: “yes?” (response to a vocative).
252 For sîyê-rî = rà/. Phonetic [sîjêlâ:].
253 = /têmbî/.
254 Beginning of construction with parallel [X ãå\ldots [Y ãå\ldots with ãå ‘also, too’. In [û [kô:^n] bôngô]\] ‘you the owner’, the pronoun û ‘you-Sg’ is not seen (as can be seen from the tones), rather it is in apposition to the following nominal (‘owner of the thing’).


S: *bon jàyà:-rè:-w.:* dè, [ánày kà:n=này] [yè pînéi 3-yè:-w.: dé] [tù: mä:] dà—dàngù-rà:-w.:.


S: [jàyà:-jé-w.:] dè îyà pînéi 3:ù bûtù bàtà:-w.: dé, dè, â=m=Ø tèréw sô-w mà, â=m=Ø kù rù sô-w mà, ánày ùsùrù:-w:. mà O: [[kù rù sór-n yà →] [tèréw sô-r n yà →], yè yì:-w: jë:] 263 [kù rù bôngò] [á kù rù] dû-jë: dé [yà: là=r:w: yè-yë], hà: [mùy=kà:n=này] [îr3:à kù] [é:rè mà:] nì=này [é:rè wàrà=m:] 264 gûy= dé, [kà:n bôngò kù] ãyû-w dé [é:rè mà:] nì=m I: [b3:=-i:] là: là[r:w:] 265 yè-yë


I: jày jàyà:-rè-y:.

O: ... [kù dimbi-yì=này] ánày jày, ìr3:à [sùmûy jày] ánày yè:-m, [îr3:à jày] này→ yè:-m

255 Experiential Perfect: ‘has (ever, once) happened’.
256 Conjunction without overt coordinating conjunction, ending in wòy ‘all’.
257 Hortative with plural addressee.
258 Singular-subject prohibitive (imperative negative).
259 ’my field’.
260 Plural-subject prohibitive. Likewise gâ-lé-n ‘don’t put’ (from verb gâ:y) just below.
261 ìò: ‘foot’.
262 Assistant suggests emending to ñgà=n = bè without -rì:.
263 yì:-wì: ‘cause to see’.
264 Hortative with 3Sg subject. Cf. [[á ñr3:à wò] é:rè wàrà-m ‘let him plant in his (own) field’]
265 Plural-subject relative. Slightly simplified from a theoretical [...] [lsùw-wò:].wò:.
O: [[i: isè:] gô] [bîré birè = rê:][268] i: lô-rå-w bû, [i: [árª-m bè → árª-m]269 kây] [jôrô jôrô-ře:] lô-rå-w, lô = nî bèrê-w bêl-, jâwâdù jôrô = rê: lô-rå-w,
ỳâ, yîyô yâ lô-yê, [yâ: kû kây] [nâwâ bû: jô-lô-rå-w, [bû: lô-m] mî-rá-y:,, [i: kâlâ], gôîñ sô-lô-y: = râ dê wôy, [bû: yà] [i: yâ lô-y:,. nà → gûn] [yîyô lô-rå-w-bû]
S: [[û: màni:] wô] [nâwâ bû: jô-lô-rå-w] mà→², mà→ [bû: kây] [nî-nâwâ-à yê gîn] lô-rå-w-bô
S: [lô-:râ: dê] [nâwâ = râ dê kây] [ësû wô] yê-m-n-e—, [ësû wôy] jë-m-n-e
[nâwâ] = 0, [èngôrô sô-lô-nê] lô-:rê dê, à: [nûwâ:ô-rê dê] [bû: gâm pîrê này"] yê-yê, [[kû mâ:] mëgê nâwâ = 0 ñgô, kû = m [nàwâ bû: gû:"-râ-w::.] [kû kû = m]


S: [âr"à kày] lô=náy" nàw"a nàw"á-m-n-ê

[[ùùw-5 m bôngô] [mòtò: này"] yê=m, [ân= â gô:jê:] [ârë: gô:jê:], [ârë: dà:] này"→ bêrê-wù-m dè, [[ì kàlà] bîrê=f= bê=m dè kày] lô bîrê=này", jàrò-y, èrë=yà lô-rà-m, bêrê=m,

[â: lô-y jô: kû kày], bêrê yà bû, [yâ: [lô-y jô:] 281 kû"1, nàw"à=, [iy-rû]-nàw"à yà→, [yàjî: này") wà:s-s]: yà→, kû=m [yâ: lô-y jô: kû], 282 ñûgû=m [kû [nàw"à jô:]],

[âr"à-m jà:tû] [èrë:m nàw"à kày] jô=: râ, [sâbû dêy] nì+yâ: [âr"à [O dày" gû"-w" gày"→], nì+yâ: [âr”à ñûgô [nû: gàm bôngô bê] [cent-kilo pêrû], k-ì: kûwô-j-â:, [cent-kilo pêrû] nì-yê, nûmû:n nì-nì-yê, tûw"5 nì-nì-yê, [pècèrê nì-nì-yê] [yêy nì-nì-yê], ñêw"è=f= b=rà, 276

cent-kilo here functions as a noun (‘100-kilo sack’). It is possessor of cêrêy ‘money’, which in turn is possessor of tû-m ‘peer, something like’, as shown by tone modifications. ìsà: is not a possessor, rather an adjunct of cent-kilo, and neither undergoes or causes tone changes.

Better: nàwâ-s-ê:" ‘those who are ruined’. nàwâ is normally an abstract noun ‘ruin(ation), malfunction(ing)’.

Plural-subject relative clause based on Imperfective Negative verb.

As transcribed, abnormal combination of Definite kû with an already definite 3Pl pronoun. Perhaps misheard for topical [bû: kày], or a false start corrected by the following [bû: lô-y kû].

Forms of bîrê ‘get’ after a VP can be interpreted either as ‘be able to VP’ or as a simple sequence of the other VP plus ‘get, gain (e.g. money’).

Cf. lô-y jô: ‘much (=frequent) going’. This combination of verbal noun and modifying adjective is treated here as possessed, hence the tone contour.

Phrase kû=m [yâ: lô-y jô: kû] not clear on tape, as O speaks at the same time.
[yì-tê: jó→] lô:-râ-ê kù dâò-wôy, kù=m, [[i: kâlâ] bû: gây^nù-ĝ.œ] 283 [jînjê gây^n = nî], [kû kû] [i: mà:] [ösû dîy^nâ-Ê.ô = Ò] [ösû êsû: = Ò], êsî^n→ nêw^nê: yá sô-Ê, õgû = m [Ê.γ-[-lô-y] kû] jê:
O: [nû-m bôy] [[èr^nê yî-m] Œ.ô: lô:-rê dé wôy], yá gây^nâ-Ê.n
I: yá gây^nâ-Ê.n
O: [ûrô mò:-nê:Ê.ô Œgô] [kî-kâ: kûwô-j-û:] [nû-m bôy] [èrÊ.ê yî-m] Œ.ô: lô:-rê dê], [yî-m jê-Ê.w→ jê:-Ê.î cêw] 284 [yá gây^nâ-Ê.n] [nû kâ:^n-m],
[yî dûyô só-m kâlâ] ji-jê-m, [yî êsî-m kâlâ] jî-jê-m, [bôngôÈ-m jê:-Ê.î yî-jê-w dé wôy] [[yî-m kû] [kû-dâ: lô = Ê] [bîrê bèl-lû] mà→ Œ.ôy êr^nê = nê wô] 285 mà, nàwà = m mà,

nàwà = m = dà = m 286 bôy, [á bô:] = nî yá mà:n 287 — hâl [á sâ:rû:], [[á sâ:rû:] yá mà:nî-sô-w] [á bô: yà→] [á nàr^nà yà→], ûrô dày^n á dûwô-Ê, [kû kâlâ] õây^n→ bû

283 1Pl subject Stative form of gây^n ‘wait for’ (here: ‘rely on’). Low-toned since there is no preceding locational element and since the object bû: (arguably) functions as focalized. Compare high-toned gôy^nâ-Ê.n (3Sg subject) after Existential yá in the following speaking turn by O.

284 Willy-nilly conditional antecedent with Inanimate participle -Ê.w then Perfective Negative. jê:-Ê.î- is Perfective Negative of jê:- ‘bring’, which has a unique {LHL} lexical tone contour.

285 Unsuffixed Perfective of wô ‘catch’, here ‘(disease) afflict (person)’.

286 Unusual double occurrence of ‘it is’ clitic: ‘it’s (the case) that it’s not …’.

287 Cut off. See complete form just below.
Text 2005-1b.07 Going to school

O: 5\textsuperscript{th}, núw\textsuperscript{th}y\textsuperscript{th}, jángé jángé:-râ-\textsuperscript{w}, lêkâ\textsuperscript{288} jángé:-râ-\textsuperscript{w}, núw\textsuperscript{th}y\textsuperscript{th} kay, jâw\textsuperscript{th}lê tûmdû-\textsuperscript{w}, [jâw\textsuperscript{th}lê gô = nî] lô dô-sàn\textsuperscript{289} jángé-\textsuperscript{w}, [dô-sàn jángé-jê = nî] [núw\textsuperscript{th}y\textsuperscript{th} hâl lô lô sêwâ:rê jángé:-râ-\textsuperscript{w}], [núw\textsuperscript{th}y\textsuperscript{th} kay] [[jângé kû] jángé = nî] bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{w} dê, jê: = \textsuperscript{291} [u mà:nî:] S: [[jângé jángé = nî] bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{y} dê nûw\textsuperscript{th}y\textsuperscript{th} kày, [cêlê\textsuperscript{290} nà:y\textsuperscript{th}]] i mà:nû-sô-\textsuperscript{w}, jînî bîrê mà:\textsuperscript{291} nî-\textsuperscript{y}, \textsuperscript{292} [bîrê èsù] bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{y} = râ:, bô:-ùrô cêlê-\textsuperscript{y}, ãdûnà:rûú ci ci:cêlê-\textsuperscript{y}, kû = m jôrâ-sô-\textsuperscript{y}.

jângé i jàrà\textsuperscript{293} — [nî nà:mà:nà:] [ôsù î bû-\textsuperscript{w} kû] wô, kû kârê: kû, [kârê: jângé kû] ãh = \textsuperscript{291} [u] lô gô-m, èr'è = \textsuperscript{291} [u] lô = nà:y\textsuperscript{th} [juge wô] gô-m, ãh = \textsuperscript{291} [u] lô gô-m, èr'è = \textsuperscript{291} [u] lô = nà:y\textsuperscript{th} [[pà:nà bôgô bêkêsû] \textsuperscript{wô}] gô-m, ë:; gô bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{y} = râ: [kû = mâ:sû] [jînî mà:] jëmê:bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{y} = râ: bû:dû bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{y} = râ:, [kû, cêlê-\textsuperscript{y} dê] [tòw cêlê-\textsuperscript{y} dê] [bô:-ùrô cêlê-\textsuperscript{y} dê] [àrsilâm wôy] cêlê-\textsuperscript{y}, kû = m jôrâ-sô-\textsuperscript{y}.

O: àywa, [kûsû:] ã ár'îyê-sô-\textsuperscript{w} kû] [jînî ìy:ndâ:-m\textsuperscript{294} [u mà:] nî-\textsuperscript{y}] [jînî èsù kû tài:- tô], àywâ [tû bô: jà:-] [tû nàr'â yà:-] kày] jàngé ìy:ndâ:- tô-yû-[kày], [sù kày] [u mà:] dàwù-\textsuperscript{y} à-\textsuperscript{wâ}, [ù kàlâ] jînî ìy:ndâ:-m— bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{w} [bù: mà:] èsù kày:-tî:-w dô wôy] [[è:sù kû:] wô] èsù bâ:-tû-\textsuperscript{w},

kû = m [tû ár'îyê'ë] wô] bù dô wôy, [jînî ìy:ndâ:-m\textsuperscript{294} [u mà:] nî-\textsuperscript{y}, [u mà:] [kû dûwàw kàlâ] jëmê:bêrê-mà, [ù nàr'â yà:-] [ù bô: yà:-] [ù sà:rà: bê], sô[yâ] [mùsû mà:nû-sô-\textsuperscript{w} = bê-\textsuperscript{w} kàlâ] [jînî ù cêlê:-yû], hà: [yi,tê:-][nàr'â:-], yì-m nàr'â=nà:y, èr'è nàwë, [i: bi:bêrê:- tô:] mà: [i: mà:nû:-râ:-w kû] [[ù ànsâ:rà:-m] Jeff mà:] têgê: [i: [yi,tê:- nàwë,] [ìgû nê:] wô] kà:-, [yì-tê:- yêy tâ:n nàr'â:- tô:-] dê: [mù = n lô jàngë gà:-yû,] [ù = n lô [wôngorô wô] gà:-yû,] hà: bû: dà:- wôy, [jângë jàngë:-w dê] [ùrù î bû-\textsuperscript{w} dê] [ùsù tûw\textsuperscript{5} wû-s] yê:-w dê, [ù yì-m] ù nàfê-m, [môbîl ìyû] yê-m, [cmû:y nê:] nî tô-m, [ù kû nê:-w], [yì-m nàr'â-rû:-w dô wôy] [[àr'â-gúsû pé-nàwë] pêr-kùrîy] bêrê-jê-\textsuperscript{w} dô wôy], ù pà:nà dûw\textsuperscript{5} -rê, [nû: yitä:] [ù mà:] nî-m-n-ê] [[ù yà] bîrê bêrê-m-dô-w], [èw-yê:-w dê] [dô-yô nà:y] [kû, này] ànà:y tîwé-\textsuperscript{w}, hà: [ìgû nê:] wô] [i: mà:] yì-tê:- yêy tâ:n [ìgû nê:] wô] [i: mà:] yì-tê:- jôrâ-m bô,\textsuperscript{295} hà: jînî ìy:ndâ:-m—

\textsuperscript{288} French l’\textit{école}, denoting public schools (as opposed to koranic schools).

\textsuperscript{290} Douentza (town). Also pronounced dûw\textsuperscript{3} sâ:n, dûwânsâ:n.

\textsuperscript{291} 1Sg possessed form of cêlê ‘heart’, with {HL} possessed-noun contour plus an initial low-tone for

1Sg. Other 1Sg-possessor forms just below (same speaking turn): mà: ‘tô/for me’ (Dative mà:), bô:-ùrô ‘my village’ (lit., “my father-house,” elsewhere bô:-ùrô), kû: ‘myself’ (kû: ‘head’), tòw ‘my kin’ (tòw).

\textsuperscript{292} mà: ‘tô/for me’ (Dative).

\textsuperscript{293} Third person hortative (with ‘God’ as subject).

\textsuperscript{294} Mispronounced and cut-off, for jôrâ-m ‘I want/seek’.

\textsuperscript{295} Epithet used only with ‘God’. Also pronounced gônà:-m.

\textsuperscript{295} = wà.
I: hà: sèwà:rà kèýⁿ, ùrò-[sìy-ì:] nè:, [[ú nù-m ūrò] lò sí-yè-sò-ò w mà→ [àm úrò] sí-yè-sò-w
[ñgú-rù gò = nì] [bon [i mà:] dògùrù jàngè = nì [i mà:] [à hà:jè i bìrè-jè-ò w wòy]
ma→ [[[i mà:] vacances nè-tì yà dè] [ì í mà:] yè-ý]300 wà, òy: gî-y"n, ãnày lô-y, lô = nì
[i kày" = nì] [nì] [arã"-gúṣù í lô-w kù] (yà yà: pà:sè-ý),
ñjè: = ò mà, bon [à mà: kày] [ì í bìrè] ñgú-rù dû-dùw"ü-ñ-m, [nùw"y"ñ â bû-w kù] [à mà:] ërím = dá, [à mà:] yà: gô:rò bà, òyà [èrñè mà:] ãn lô-m mà, [arã" â lô-m] [à mà: kày] jùwà-sò-dò wà,
ãnày" bù, [kù dò wòy] ì = m mò-y-s, hà: yà-m kù, hà: [mà bè] lô-y bù: gîy"n = nì, [ì mà:] bày nùw"y"yn ãnày" kà-n"-m mà mà, mà: úsùrì, ìyà i sà-s, [ì í mà:] kày yà

296 Lit. ‘house (number) six’, i.e. ‘sixth grade’. Distinct in tones from ùrò kúròy ‘six houses’.
297 French passer, here in the sense ‘move up (to a higher grade or school)’.
298 Both nù-m and tòw-m have 1Sg possessor (the initial low-tone segment).
299 Emend as ‘work brought him here’ (deleting gìn).
300 Reported imperative, with third-person Hortative verb.
301 tì- ‘send’, with ‘telephone’ as direct object.
302 bù = b-è:/ here pronounced [b:è:].

49


I: [mô: jîre-sîyôôwô wô] yàyô lô-û


I: bûy [û jàwôà-nô] [mûajyû kà-nô]


303 ûrô-siyê-m 'host', here with 1Sg possessor.
304 From lêkôl-ûrô ‘school’, literally ‘school-house’, compound of lêkôl (French l’école) and ûrô ‘house’, lêkôl has a variant ûkôl (see below).
305 bû:du ‘money’, apocopated before an alveolar
306 French perdre.
307 mûsêl = mûsêlô ‘teacher’
308 Emended from bû: ‘they’ to û: ‘you-Pl’. 50
dǎ: ānày⁰ giyⁿ-bò [yà:-pàhú-m mà:] táw⁰ȳⁿá jírê-m giyⁿ-bò, ū=ⁿ lár gò-lò-yè, [ū: dò: wòy] lár gò-ł̣-ẉ.:, gò:-rè-ẉ.: = rà: [dànayⁿ gö] [ū màñí-yè], [ā: sigirè:ti] nò-yè, ānàyⁿ bú: bù-m dè,


O: à: [[[kú yì-m kù] lèk³³¹ — [èr̡'è nàr̡'à = nú] [lèḳḷ èr̡'è gàⁿ-ẉⁿ dè] [yàyà siyè-ẉ], [èr̡'è nàr̡'à yà→] [èr̡'è bò: yà→] yàyà siyè-bò, [ū bò: yà→] [ū nàr̡'à yà→] [ū nàr̡'à = ṇ] [[bîrè ūgū wò] ú gàyⁿ-bò dò wòy], [ū yà] pínív²ú = ṇ, [bîrè kù] [kú nàfàyà] jùẉ-ẉ dò wòy, [yì èsù-m] = mú-ẉ³³¹ dè wòy, [yì-[dùẉ-bọŋḍ]] = mú-ẉ dè wòy, [bîrè kù] bîrè-ẉ,

[ū nàr̡'à yà→] [ū bò: yà→] [ū mà:] [bîrè kù] yà bîrè-m gìn s-èⁿ-bò, [[[bîrè kù] dùẉ-tù-ẉ] [bîrè kù jìsè-tù-ẉ], hà: [bú: cèlè] bàr̡'à-ẉⁿ-tù-ẉ, èⁿ: [òsù kàlá] yì-m-dò-ẉ, ū=m [yì-nàẉⁿ-ṃ] = ∅ gùⁿ-yè [kú kù = ṃ],

I: [francês này⁰] bày [[[kú yì-m kù] mìr̡"i]i] ānàyⁿ gàyⁿ-yè
S: [èr̡'è mà:] impoli giyⁿ-yè
I: impoli
S: sè'hö
O: [impoli kú né:] dè:-tèy [kú kòr̡ɔ] hàj̣e = ∅
S: [yì kú:-diyⁿ-a-m] = ∅, kú:-diyⁿ-a-m = ∅ [dàẉⁿ-a àwú-m-dò-m]
O: [dàẉⁿ-a àwú-m-dò-m]
I: [[[èsù-m = ∅ kù] mà:] ānàyⁿ gùⁿ-yè
S: poli giyⁿ-yè
I: poli giyⁿ-yè
S: sè'höⁿ, [èr̡'è = ṃ èsù-m = ∅] kú = ṃ
O: èr̡'è = ṃ èsù-m = ∅, [nû:-yà-gù-m kù] èr̡'è = ṃ, cèlè:-rè

³³⁰ Postpositional relative, itself functioning as possessor.

³³¹ Clause restarted here.

³³² ‘you-Sg are’ (conjugated copula elitic).
Rats, mice, and shrews

S: gùgùsú-m ãñâyⁿ bù
I: gùgùsú-m, dùgú ([ó-m kù] wój yá náː-wⁿ, 312 mà → érⁿé tágú=ràː, [tágú tègìː]=ràː, gùgùsú-m gùrú=m=∅, gùgùsú-m [ú kùː] màː] sàw bì-bárá=m, èlèy bì-bárá=m, gùgùsú-m, [èlèy káy yì-jèː dò wòy] dúwš=m-dó, nêː [érⁿé nèyⁿ kày], sùwó bèː, èlèy bèː, mìsù-góː:by bèː=∅,
[kú bè kày] [bàrá-w dè] [ló dì-dìayí=m] [náwⁿ sùyš=m] mìsù-góː:by kòyⁿ, gùgùsú-m, ñgu=m [érⁿé tágú], [ú òrò] pìrè], gànjú-w dè, yáː nú bè-w dè, [ú màː] nàwⁿ sùyš=m tíném bê=m, [gùgùsú-m tágú] [ñgu kù=m], iyà múː [ã=m=∅]
S: bàrâ-ó-m 314
I: bàrâ-ó-m
S: érⁿé=ã=m múː kú=m
I: ñrⁿɔː bùː érⁿé [sém pìrè] bê-w dè, kùsúː [ú sëwⁿ-tìː dè, [kùsúː bìn] tâgú=rú=m, [ú kùsúː, tâgú=rú=m] nàŋgù-rú=m, [érⁿé yàː] ñgu [érⁿé bìrë]=∅,
kòs-kúkùrù kúwó=m, [kùsúː lèmdëː] ló=m [wⁿ: ñrⁿú ló=m] [[éssú gün] ú só-w kù], kú cèrä=m, nàŋgù-rú=m [hâl ló dúmùdú=m]
S: [érⁿé nàwⁿ:aː] kúwó-yè mà
I: [érⁿé nàwⁿ:aː] kúwó-yè
S: gùgùsú-m [ãː yéy] ci-céw
O: [gùgùsú-m nàwⁿ:aː] kúwó-yè, [yì-tìː kày] bùː dúwš=m-n-e, [nù àyí:n] dèm=m ĭrëw = ràː ãñâyⁿ=ã=m màː=ã=316 dé kày
S: [ó plé=m] yá
O: ó plé=m, úro bê-w dè, màːːnìː wò, bòlòː sì-yè-m-dó káⁿ=⁻wⁿ dè, bòlòː sì-yèː=⁻rè dò wòy, [níː ní=m günì] 317 sìyè, [màːːnìː wò] bê-w dè, [ú úrò] bùgùsó⁻w dè, [ú kùː wò] lèw sìlë=m, èlèy dúwš=m-dó, ñrⁿɔː á bù-w kù dáː, kòː⁻kàːⁿ nèyⁿ á nè-m gàyⁿ=⁻bù=w wòy, nèyⁿ, ní⁻nè=m, ù ñèyⁿ nè wàsà⁻w, ñgu wóyⁿ,
[érⁿé bìrë] [ó plé=m], yùːː [kúwó dìrⁿe=m] [kúwó nà=m] [dëw kù wò] gò=m-dó, gò⁻rè dò wòy, [níː ní=m günì] sìyè, érⁿé gö=w, [kú=m dá=dè] [[ñrⁿɔː é=⁻në ló=m wòy] ñgò], [érⁿé yàː] ñgu [érⁿé bìrë]=∅
S: [ó sì:li=m] yá
I: [[ó sì:li=m] bìrë kày], [[ó sì:li=m] bìrë kày], yùː⁻tëːrè ló mòːl⁻tû=w dò wòy [ñrⁿɔː dàːː], [kù pìrè] bê=m, â=m=dà, [[ó là] [á gàyⁿ=⁻ká=m=m]] nú=m-dó, [á sây] bè=m,

312 Variant of yá náyⁿ⁻w “it is put up on” (i.e. it is bigger than).
313 ã=m “who?” is used for animals as well as humans, cf. ñje “what?” for plants and (other) inanimates.
314 Mouse sp. named after bárá:, an area in the ravine beside Beni.
315 Apocopated < /birⁿi/, L-toned form of birⁿi ‘bottom’.
316 màː=rá is obscure here. Perhaps yes/no interrogative followed by negative clitic with implied ‘or’.
317 Purposive clause.
318 Cf. sì:li, term used to describe unripe fruits, especially of kàmàkàrò (Leptadenia hastata).
S: ò jèw'è-m yà
O: ìb'hò ànjày = m, [ò jèw'è-m] [ù nìy-à-m dè] [nàrù wò], [ù ná–si:] kùwò-m
S: ò dòrò-m 320 yà
O: [[ò dòrò-m] tèy] tègè
I [[overlapping]: ò dòrò-m, là:rà: ërè yì–y, [ërè kày] [ìlà:rà: dá:] kò: bù-w bè] nè–m gà, sùwò, ò dòrò-m, ërè sùwò-[nè–m] = ð 321
S: báy, [[ërè mà:] úrú-bisírì-m tàgwà-m 322] gùy-bò, tèrèw = ð mà → kòrù: = ð
O: úrú-bisírì-m yì–m ni–nàrá–m, yì ërè nàrá–ì–m, iyé nàrá–kàlà, [dòrò náy] ërè tèmbù–w, [[ò dòrò–m] [ërè kày] toujous là:rà: bù
I: ërè là:rà: bù
O: là:rà: sùwò nè–m
I: nà: tàngù–m-dò
O: sùwò nè–m, [tiwìyì–jèlè:] nè–m
I [[overlapping]: [ànjày kò: = náy] [tàng bérè–m], [[ërè dùrè] ñgù nè:] [kú dùmdò–w dè] mà →, ànjày kò: = náy, tàngù–m-dò, kù tèrèw = ð = rà, ërè yà, ërè tòw, [bú: mà:] kò: ì jùwó–m kày], [ì kày] [ìgù kú = m], ú: bà bérè–w:. mà dèm
O: kú = m, [bú: bìrè] [kú kú = m] [[nàwìby ì tégè–w]]

319 lỳṣ-wù- ‘cause to overflow’ (here, ‘to do excessively’).
320 Cf. dòró ‘thorn’.
321 Agentive compound sùwò-[nè–m] plus ‘it is’ clitic.
322 Variant of tàngù.
323 = rà:, usually cliticized, but here after a pause.
Scorpions and other critters

324 Asymmetrical comparative.
325 High-pitched imitation of the sound.
326 Unnecessary repetition of this phrase.
327 dà-rí-, Perfective Negative of ‘arrive’.
328 From nér"e ‘food’.
I: ki-kà:-m wó-m
O: … júwó-m-dó-ỹ, hà: ki-kà:-m wó-m bà guyⁿ-bɔ
I: ki-kà:-m kúwó-m
O: ki-kà:-m kúwó-m bà, [[kɔⁿ lā-w kúwó-m mà→] júwó-m-dó-ỹ] [ki-kà:-m kúwó-m guyⁿ-bɔ], hà: ě̀rⁿé=m mûmûⁿũ=m = ∅, mûmûⁿ-sâkkëlë-m bû: gu:ⁿ-râ=m kû, sâkkëlë-m [ě̀rⁿé yã] [mûmûⁿũ déyⁿ→] = m, sâkkëlë-m tègë-m-dó [ányayⁿ bû-bû:], [mû: yî-m] [sâlâm kû], [ě̀rⁿé mà:] [mûmûⁿũ-[yî-m]] guⁿ-yè, ě̀rⁿé sâkkëlë-m = dá,
S: [ā: yēy] [nèyⁿ tûwⁿ⁻5ː] nê⁻yè mà
O: [āː yēy] [nèyⁿ tûwⁿ⁻5ː] nê⁻yè, hà: [sâkkëlë⁻m tâmb⁻i: kû] [[tîmà tâmb⁻i:] bà→] úrûyô⁻m-dó, [[mûmûⁿũ diyⁿ⁻a⁻m] tâmb⁻i:] bà→] úrûyô⁻m-dó, [sô⁻m mûmûⁿ⁻ũ⁻m] yà bû, dûgû bû⁻w ěsîⁿ→, gà: ěgû⁻rû ě̀rⁿé bël-li⁻yːː, ě̀rⁿé yî⁻rî⁻yːː, ě̀rⁿé [sô⁻m mûmûⁿ⁻ũ⁻m], [Ě̀rⁿé kày] [nû⁻m tâmb⁻tîː] dé wôy], [mû⁻m màː] jàm nûrⁿ⁻ã⁻m⁻dó, ěsîⁿ→ úrûyô⁻m guyⁿ⁻bɔ, hà: [mûmûⁿũ: problème] ěgû kû = m
27th night of Ramadan

S: léylà [ànàyən-ànàyə ná-kà-m]  
O: léylà, kú [(mú:-[pàg-t:] úwɔ] nàyən], [kú nàyən] léylà nú-m, [úwɔ [nàrù [pè-àp-yə (; suy\"yə sà:] ðúá]-wó]-há:] [[kú úsù] wó]-léylà gúyə-yə, [[lêylà pòrbà] [kú kày] [kú kú=m], gà: [tìtir-lò-m] [[jinjè ðyə-ná:m] tìtir-lò-m kày], [pèrì-yèy bò-rè-àp-yə.: de wóy] [[úsù pèru wàdà-w] [kù nàjnà:nà:] léylà = ə] wà gúyə,  
[úwò múšù], [kú nàrù kù] bà-rà:jù [ù mà:] bù: ní-m kù, [nùw\"yən kày] [nùw\"yən ayù-w dé] [lò nàngùrù dà-ù-y] ú tè-mbù-m, [kú nàrù kù] cèrìyè-yà wà, [kù:n-ñùgú nùw\"yən òy ñà] [[ú tíwè-à] gàlù]-wò]— nàngùrù dà:-bê bò-rè-m dò-wò, [kú nàrù kù] cèrìyè-yà wà, àrzhàgù,  
hà: [kù:n-kà:-n] dà-àp-wò] [jinjè ðyə-ná:m] [kú nàrù kù] pàdè-m bà, àr\-à múshi kù— úwò múshù kù, [[kù ãr\-à-gùsù] í: lòwò = n] [[ãr\-à-gùsù sòngù wò] [ãr\-à-gùsù tà:nù:] = ə, hà: kú nàrù kù, [kú bà-rà:jù], [[kù = n] [ù mà:] nì-yë] wà]  
[màlèykè bê] hál hál hál yè bù: bù: xxx, bà-rà:jù— [[ú: mà:] dùwà:w bù: nàrù-m dè] [bù: nàrù-m dè] [bù: nàrù-m dè], hál yè-w dè, cinq heures 5mè:-  
S: [kù = n = dá dè] [kù:n-] lá-w wòy]-léylà ñùgú—  
O: [kú kà:rò lá-w] [ñùgú = n = dá dè] jùwò-m-dò-y  
S: [lêylà kà-nú-w] 331 dé yà] ñèjë: = ə  

329 pèrì-yèy ‘twenty’ is uttered here with exaggerated lengthening of the syllable pè.

330 Literally “on the day of the twenty-seventh night of the month.” Various emendations are possible  
(on the twenty-seventh night of the month”, ‘on the night of the twenty-seventh day of the month”).

331 Suffix -rà here is invariant across subject pronominal categories (relative-clause form).

332 Combination of clitics = n (Focus) and = n (Object Focus).

333 kà-nì-, Perfective Negative of kàyə- ‘do’.

334 L-toned form of Perfective Negative, after a focalized constituent.
gá, [[kà:n gùní] ú dùwís-ð kù] [nè: kày] tégé tìném, [336] [kà-ní kàyⁿ = ní] [ú dùwís-ð kù]
l: ú [[nù kà:] [337] [[kà: yà→] [nì-nòrür evá→]] [nù kà:] dá→n]
l: ñgó
s: bon [léylà kà-nú-ð dé] [júnúbù [338] yà bù] má→ ñgó
o: [sèlè = ñ bù-ð] kà:n-kà:n [sèlè = ñ bù-ð] [339] [ú úrùyó-m-dó] [léylà kà-nú-ð dé] [júnúbù yà só-ð], [[jùnì èyìn-rà:m] ársilà-m = ní tò:ri] [kàyⁿ [340] gùyⁿ]
s: kú = ñ mà
o: ñhò:, kú kú = ñ

335 = bà-rí.
336 Also, with 2Sg imperative, tégé tìnà. 2Pl equivalent: tégé tìnà-n.
337 2Sg independent pronoun ú in apposition to a subject relative clauses headed (internally) by nù kà:ⁿ ‘one who’. The [nù kà:] is repeated (redundantly) after the NP conjunction.
338 Variant zúnúgù. From Arabic ñdb.
339 Unnecessary repetition of [sèlè = ñ bù-ð]. kà:n-kà:n ‘(not) anything’ is logically the subject of … ú úrùyó-m-dó ‘doesn’t hurt you-Sg’.
340 Singular-subject imperative. 2Pl version would be kàyⁿ-ní.

57
Text 2005-1b.11  Demons and dwarves

S: [sèytà:nù-m bìrè] ǹjé: = Ø
O: [[sèytà:nù-m bìrè] nù-jé-w dè] sèytà:nù-m, [[jìnná:jò-m yà→] [sèytà:nù-m yà→]] tùwⁿ: = Ø [nàⁿà tùwⁿ: [bò: tùwⁿ:]
S: [ǹjé gìn] [mù: jìnná:jò-m = Ø] [mù: sèytà:nù-m = Ø] gìyⁿ-bò

S: bù: [mìsù sày] kàyⁿ-yè
S: bày nè:r⁹è yà
I: ìwày-ì-nà³ 344 bày ér⁹é nè:, ér⁹é = m [kùrⁿ-ù-túmbí: wàyì = nàyⁿ] [nù-m yè–m dè] dèy-jé–m gùⁿ-wⁿ dè] [ér⁹é bù dè], [nù-m yè–rè dè] [jìrè:nì: ér⁹é áyì–m] kù = m mà


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³ 341 Fulfulde for ‘son(s) of Adam’, i.e. ‘human being(s)’. Can be expressed in Beni as à:dàmà yì–tè: ‘children of Adam’.
³ 342 Variant of jìnná:jò-m. The latter is based on Fulfulde jìnnàajo, while jìmní-m is more directly based on the Arabic.
³ 343 For /dà:rì/-. Cf. i dà:rú–w ‘it pleases me’, i dà:rú–m–dò ‘it doesn’t please me’.
³ 344 Obscure word, apparently a synonym of nè:r⁹è.
³ 345 This ér⁹é (referring to awaynak) is superfluous.
³ 346 Also just [bù: kàlå] ‘they too, even they’.
³ 347 dò– (perhaps cut off) is obscure. The Pl bù following bù: kàlå is disapproved of by my assistant, but recurs in the same speaker’s speech below (bù: kàlå bè).

S: [bù: ký] mèṣù [nù: má:] kâⁿ-m-n-e dé, —
O: ibílì:sâ-m kù, èrⁿë=m làn=m = O kù=m

O: ibílì:sâ-m èrⁿë=m èrⁿë=m èrⁿë=m èrⁿë=m = m sèytá:n-ùm èrⁿë=m èm ảbàlìnnë=m, 349 èrⁿë=m nùwⁿyⁿ, [Jeff] [èrⁿë má:] mìnìṣì-n=m = O èrⁿë gùnⁿ-h] kù=m èrⁿë=m, [mìṣù èrⁿë kâⁿ-m-dó-w wò:-wóy] ǹgò, [ú cèlè] wò [ètù wóy] gáⁿ-n-dó, [mìṣù sày] [ú cèlè] wò] gáⁿ-n, mìṣù ú mà:nú-wⁿ-ùm, [ú má:] [[mìṣù ŋ] kýâ] 350 wà gùⁿ-n, [[mìṣù ŋ] kýâ] wá gùⁿ-n, pà:yà wà gà, mìṣù sày tôrô-m, èrⁿë ký
O: ù dímbì-yí wàyú-w dè

S: èrⁿë má:, nùwⁿyⁿ [èrⁿë má:] [mì: ǹjìrfì:-rë dè] [sèytá:n mú: bë: = n] tôrô-m wà [mú: ló] [mú: jìyá] mú:— [ló nù-m jìyé-w-. dè] yá-n, 353 [èrⁿë má:] nù-m jìyé bërè-jë-m wóy mà— [kànjé ìgíòrò-ní-m 354—] [èrⁿë=m làn=m = O kù=m] [à: yèjí pìrè]


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348 The two 3Pl bù: pronouns in this sentence have disjoint reference. If they were coindexed, we would have gotten [à: òròṣù] “their (own) clothing”.
349 Term not recognized by other informants, apparently based on an Arabic phrase.
350 Third-person Hortative.
351 Arabic ‘in the name of God’. Pronounced distinctly from bisímítá, a phrase of invitation (to join in a meal, to enter a house) of the same origin.
352 Singular-subject imperative.
353 Plural-subject imperative (cf. singular yá ‘come!’). See also bírá-á ‘work-PI!’ just below.
354 Expressed more regularly (in terms of tonological rules) as [kànjé-ggíòrò]-nî-m, with kànjé ‘gold’ also subject to tone-dropping. Cf. kànjé gigóró ‘hat of gold’ (possessive), gigóró ‘hat’.
355 Tape sounds like bù= b-à, but bù= b-ë: is the correct 3Sg form.
[ mú: yà] yě-ｗ dè áŋjayⁿ guⁿ-m bà, à [ú kłyⁿ] kɔⁿ lâ-w bîrè-rû-ｗ, diyⁿá-w wò, [tỳâm yâ→ ↓ tỳâm yâ→ nāngirì-ý] [ā [ú kâlā] kɔⁿ lâ-w] bîrè-rû-ｗ, [[[â-mâ:n yà→ ] [â-mâ:n yà→]] i jâ:r = nî] [ât: yèy] ū: sùyś = nî] [tùwⁿɔ-m bângś] tiwé:-rê,
à: [[[kâŋŋę gòrò] âyú-ｗ dè] [nû nû-m jiyé-m kù] mà:], hà: jâ:r = nî [ū kâyⁿ = nî] [nû-m [ā tâwⁿyⁿ-à-m] jiyé-tî:], [ērⁿé mà:] 356 [[[kâŋŋę gòrò] âyú-ｗ dè] [ērⁿé mà:] nî-m bà
S: sëytâ:n-ûm—
O: sëytâ:n-ûm = ∅ kû bîrè-m
S: bû: ɔm kù
O: ɔⁿh⁵ⁿ, ērⁿé = m kû bîrè-m
S: kû = m = bè
O: ŋû = m [ērⁿé bîrè]

356 [ērⁿé mà:] is repeated (superfluously) in this VP chain.
S: A, [iː mɑː] sɛːnːɛ: gãyⁿ
A: 357 sɛːnːɛ: bɛː = ñ 358
S and others: nàːtɛː
A: [[yà-sàmã yà→] [ɛrⁿé bɔː yà→] [ɛrⁿé nàrⁿå yà→]] kù: wò) gãyⁿ
S and others: dáyⁿ kàyⁿ
A: hàyà, yà-sàmã [[ɛrⁿé bɔː yà→] [ɛrⁿé nàrⁿå yà→] [ɛrⁿé nàrⁿå = nɪ] yà:-yi-m [ɛrⁿé = m = dá dè] [[yà:-yi lâ-m bɔy] sɛː-né-bɔ 359] wá, [₃sùwⁿ-yi-m kù] [nù: kàː] ɛ́rⁿé [yà:-yi-m kù]— ([nù: kàː wá] ɛ́rⁿé tège-reː yì-yëː wò:-wòy) [ɛ́rⁿé = n bù: tège-w dè] ní-m-n-ɛ gíⁿ-yè wà,

[chanson en Jamsay]
yà-sàmã nàː pɔːːː sâmâ 367 bãː
yà-sàmã bãː pɔːːː yà-sàmã nàː
dàːŋ hà bårⁿ ɛnʃ jàː sùnṹŋɔ-ῦ-tû-m dè
yà-sàmã [mì cè] = ŋ jè-bè
gunakan déyⁿ-gûn gân déyⁿ

357 First few texts are by Aminata Kagoye.
   Followed by unaanalysable audience response form nàːtɛː.
359 sè-né-bɔ = sè-né ‘they don’t (=didn’t) have’.
360 Apocopated in this combination from sèŋgù: ‘water jar’.
361 PI Perfecitve Negative of bérɛ- ‘get’.
362 dûmbû-m (Pl dûmbû) ‘one without fingers and toes’. Cf. perhaps Songhay dûmbû ‘cut (off)’.
363 = wò ‘in’, after nasal. Can also be expressed with Definite kù as [[[ɛ́rⁿé màː] yà-sàmã jórš-n kù] wò] ‘in (the fact) that he loved Yasama.’
364 bɛː ‘stay, remain’ plus factive complement (with Locative wò) in the sense ‘insist on …’.
365 3rd person Hortative.

This instance of Quotative wò could be tale-internal (‘he said’), or the usual hearsay marker that
recurs constantly in tales. The particle is not usually doubled at the end of a single phase.
367 sâmâ here is short for yà-sâmâ, the girl’s name. There are slight variations in the repetitions of
the stanza as to where the yà- is omitted.
jẹ́gẹ́rẹ́ yànjà-ńfọ bá

áníyí gi:ní wà, úrí: tùmði wà, dá:-wó úrọ á wànjú-ńw, pínìwú=ní

yà-sármà ná: pó:→ sármà bá:
sármà bá: pó:→ yà-sármà ná:
[dà:ṇà bá rè níŋ] yànjà súnúŋọ-tù-m dè
yà-sármà [mì cè] = y mẹ bè
günü dèy= gà nànn dèy
jẹ́gẹ́rẹ́ yànjà-ńfọ bá

yà-sármà ná: pó:→ sármà bá:
sármà bá: pó:→ yà-sármà ná:
[dà:ṇà bá rè níŋ] yànjà súnúŋọ-tù-m dè
yà-sármà [mì cè] = y mẹ bè
günü dèy= gà nànn dèy
jẹ́gẹ́rẹ́ yànjà-ńfọ bá
e; si-γé: tùmðì wà ńyà, ńyà ánìyí sì-yë-jè→ sì-ye-jè→ [[pècèrè kù] wò] yè å dà-ńw,

yà-sármà ná: pó:→ sármà bá:
sármà bá: pó:→ yà-sármà ná:
[dà:ṇà bá rè níŋ] yànjà súnúŋọ-tù-m dè
yà-sármà [mì cè] = y mẹ bè
günü dèy= gà nànn dèy
jẹ́gẹ́rẹ́ yànjà-ńfọ bá

yà-sármà ná: pó:→ yà-sármà bá:
sármà bá: pó:→ sármà ná:
[dà:ṇà bá rè níŋ] yànjà súnúŋọ-tù-m dè
yà-sármà [mì cè] = y mẹ bè
günü dèy= gà nànn dèy
jẹ́gẹ́rẹ́ yànjà-ńfọ bá

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368 bõ:-m ‘father’ and the following nàrⁿā-m ‘mother’ are absolute forms of kin terms, i.e. with implied possessor that is not expressed overtly.

369 Inanimate participle of bû- ‘be’.

370 tì- ‘send’ or perhaps Perfective-1b -tì- separated from the preceding verb.

371 [X jìjë→] ‘going with X, taking X along’, preceding a following motion verb.

372 Literally, ‘your-Pl nose-shard’.
Tale of Asama

S: A [ú sénjè: ŋgú] érú-m kòy, [iː mąː] [là-w yà] gáyⁿ
A: gáyⁿ
S: là-w gáyⁿ
A: sénjè: bér = n
S and others: náːtëː
S and others: [[érⁿ̄ë kùː] wò] dàyⁿ káyⁿ 374
A: â-sáma yè = n [[érⁿ̄ë lòsë] wò] mǐⁿ gò wà
S: náːm
A: [mǐⁿ kùː] jôngí → bûː dë = n, sùs-ìː âw-ri wà, [âsùwⁿ̄-ë-yì-m kùː] [érⁿ̄ë sây→], yàː-yì-m kùː → ẑ: [âsùwⁿ̄-ë-yì-m kùː] [érⁿ̄ë sây→] [yàː-yèː kùː] [yàː-yèː sùyⁿ̄y]= ū, [ŋgò yâ lòsë: mǐː] â gò-w kùː [ŋgò yâ lòsë: nàwⁿ̄-âː-rë] wà, [[[ãː-tòw njëː]= ū] érⁿ̄ë sús⁻m mà] 𝗴ῖⁿ: bô· [yàmjá-m dûrɔ́] nàyⁿ 376 sùs⁻m giⁿ: bô wà,
â gò⁻w,[ ôsù wò] lô⁻y tûmðlì, lô-jëː lô-jëː lô⁻jëː lô⁻jëː [érⁿ̄ë lô⁻rë màː] [yàmjá 5⁻m], [érⁿ̄ë yàː→] [érⁿ̄ë dîmbâ⁻yë yàː→] [[bûː nîyá⁻m = bây] têmbû µ wà, [ã lô⁻w] [5⁻m kûː dûrɔ́ kùː wàmûbû wà, wàmbì = nî [yàg⁻iː tûmðlì] wà, [érⁿ̄ë yûg⁻m] [érⁿ̄ë yûg⁻m] [érⁿ̄ë yûg⁻m] [érⁿ̄ë yûg⁻m], yàmjá⁻m [[ûsû sùyⁿ̄y] dɔ⁻r 377 dë], [jîrë nîː nîːy⁻i⁻w dë] yûrṣ⁻mège wà, hàyâ,[yûg⁻jëː, yê⁻m bàː] [[kôn⁻kôː] tûw múlô⁻y 378 nîːy] [érⁿ̄ë màː] nî wà yà⁻pê⁻m 379 [érⁿ̄ë lô⁻m = bây],
 hàyâ, [[ûsû sùyⁿ̄y] kû dî-dî⁻m’, yû-yûrṣ⁻m, [bûː yà] [[érⁿ̄ë tûlû] wò] dîmbi⁻yî⁻bô wà, [[[érⁿ̄ë tûlû] wò] dîmbi⁻yî⁻nî] [[àː wûy] yûg⁻jëː yûg⁻jëː] [yûg⁻w bêː gâː [yàː-yì⁻m kû nêy’] 380 dëː⁻rëː [gôlî ërⁿ̄ë tînːː⁻rë yàː→] [[érⁿ̄ë tûlû] wò] sîsì⁻lîː⁻r⁻àː, [kûrⁿ̄⁻yː gô⁻lô = n], pòtô wà, hàyâ kûrⁿ̄⁻yː ërⁿ̄ë póš = n, [kûrⁿ̄⁻nàːpînîy NAND] kâyⁿ wà, [kûrⁿ̄⁻kû] [bûː yà] [bûː gógô⁻m] [bûː gógô⁻m] [bûː gógô⁻m]

373 à-sáma is a man’s name corresponding to the female name yà-sáma.
374 Third person Hortative.
375 Reported imperative negative. Cf. lô⁻rë ‘don’t go!’
376 Reported positive imperative. Cf. yá ‘come!’.
377 /dɔ⁻r/ Perfective Negative.
378 múlô⁻ ‘wrap (sth) up’. Here múlô⁻y in adjectival function ‘wrapped’ modifies tîw ‘kind, sort’, which is in apposition to kôn⁻kôː ‘(various) things’.
379 yà⁻pê⁻m ‘old woman’, here added as an afterthought, is the subject of the preceding clause.
380 nêy’ ‘now’ is bracketed with ‘the girl’. It seems to be a variant of nê ‘now’ as a quasi-topicalizing particle, and need not be translated.
Reported singular
Also pronounced
As modifier, 'huge, enormous, monstrous'. From Songhay (e.g. Hombori).

\[^{381}\text{As modifier, ‘huge, enormous, monstrous’. From Songhay (e.g. Hombori).}\]
\[^{382}\text{Also pronounced } \rightarrow.\]
\[^{383}\text{Reported singular-subject imperative. The verb is in third person Hortative form.}\]
\[^{384}\text{Arabic } ?\text{in šaa?-a al-jaah-u ‘if God wished’. Cf. local French } \text{inchalla.}\]
ànjày\textsuperscript{0} gi:\textsuperscript{n} wà, [ànjày\textsuperscript{n} yē \textsuperscript{ê} nū = \textsuperscript{n} sù\textsuperscript{385} yē á nū-\textsuperscript{w} cēw, háyà [\textsuperscript{ê} r\textsuperscript{ê} pó:-\textsuperscript{ê} r\textsuperscript{ê} m] \textsuperscript{ê} r\textsuperscript{ê}\textsuperscript{386} bi-yē-\textsuperscript{w} = bāy tēmbù wà, [ji-ji:\textsuperscript{n} [[lōsō: kū] wō] bū: bū = bāy] yē-yē\textsuperscript{387} \textsuperscript{ê} r\textsuperscript{ê} gi:\textsuperscript{n} = nī, lōsō: [kō:-\textsuperscript{ê} pū\textsuperscript{388} ] kāy\textsuperscript{n} wà,

[sēnji: ámèlèm] [[sēnji: dūmdō:] ámèlèm]

\textsuperscript{385} sù\textsuperscript{385} gā is an adverb ‘abruptly’, not obviously segmentable, with the exaggerated lengthening limited to the initial syllable. It is used with the verbs ’go in’ and ’go out’. Anxious to help her brother, the sister runs into the house without ceremony.

\textsuperscript{386} Refers to the brother.

\textsuperscript{387} Expressive adverb referring to shooing flies (traditionally with a cow-tail).

\textsuperscript{388} Construction with kō: ‘scab’ and expressive adverbial pū\textsuperscript{388} → ‘flying off’. Cf. ūsū pū\textsuperscript{388} → ’heat (i.e. steam) bursting out (e.g. from a cooking pot whose lid has just been taken off”.

66
**Text 2005-2a.03  Girl and incestuous father**

S: A, [là-w yà] [i: mà:] gàyⁿ
O: ɔ́, sè:njè: bè = ŋ
S: nà:té:
A: [[àrⁿá-m yà→] [érⁿé yî-m yà→] kù: wò] gàyⁿ
S: dàyⁿ kàyⁿ

A: árⁿá-m [yî-m á närⁿá- Gwen, [yî-m á jé- Gwen, [yî-m kù] närⁿá- kù] lår gò-lo wà, lår á gò-lo- Gwen, [yî-m kù] jê-m giⁿ wà, [yî-m kù yà] [á mà:] [á bò:] é-ɪm-dó³⁸⁹
úrò á ló- Gwen, mò:-nèy á bír- Gwen, [[[sì:m kù] bírⁿí kù] wò] á yè- ŋ

 kó dëné-nilè dëné-nilè
[déngé-déngé sùgō:-yō] [díː yàbi nòː],
wùy ìnáː,
[ìndè ìnná] yàː mìn làrá: bòdàː
dỳe mín jì-jì-yě=ëdë,
[díː gè] [yìmé-nilì yày yóː] nòː-dèm→ bà

kàyⁿ→ dèː wà, háyà ló = ŋ ìyà, [á närⁿà = h] närⁿí jèːː: wà, närⁿá-m kù yà, [sèsú-m kù yà] á yè- ŋ,
dëné-nilè dëné-nilè
[déngé-déngé sùgō:-yō] [díː yàbi nòː],
wùy ìnáː,
[ìndè ìnná] yàː mìn làrá: bòdàː

³⁸⁹ There is a lexical distinction between éː '(woman) marry (man)', as here, and jéː '(man) marry (woman)', just above.
³⁹⁰ One could also say here: ... gó jè-yí '(she) must go away once and for all'.
³⁹¹ 'be put up on something', Stative form. Cf. transitive nàyⁿ'- 'put (sth) up on something'.
³⁹² wò→, reply to a greeting.
íyé mîn ji-jíyⁿèdê,
[dí: gê] [yímé-ní yây yō:] nò:-dèm→ bà

[érⁿé túb: bè] yê-bô wá,

dêné-ôlè dêné-ôlè
[dégé-dégé sùgô:-yô] [dí: yâbî nô:],
wûy jù:mà,
[îndê anná] yá: mîn lârâ: bôdâ:
íyé mîn ji-jíyⁿèdê,
[dí: gê] [yímé-ní yây yō:] nò:-dèm→ bà

kâyⁿ→ dê:-bô wá, sî-y-î: ãw-rí wá, hà: [[tîwⁿéy kù] dûtö-yî] gîⁿ-bô wá, [[tîwⁿéy kù] bû: dûtö-m] [bû: dûtö-m] [yâyà-râ: kû dô=ǹ], [kû dôsû] wô] [tîwⁿéy lâ-w] yá jêngê-wá,

dêné-ôlè dêné-ôlè
[dégé-dégé sùgô:-yô] [dí: yâbî nô:],
wûy má:nà,
[îndê anná] yá: mîn lârâ: bôdâ:
íyé mîn ji-jíyⁿèdê,
[dí: gê] [yímé-ní yây yō:] nò:-dèm→ bà

[kâyⁿ→ dê: wá] [sî-y-î: ãw-rí wá], [[tîwⁿéy kù] bû: dûtö-m] [bû: dûtö-m] [[tîwⁿéy kù] yà-yâyà-m] [[érⁿé yâ] yá-dâ: pî-pêrê-m], [yê=ń [érⁿé yâ] pêrê sî-yè wá] [tîwⁿéy kù] yâyà wá, yá: [érⁿé cîrⁿê:] wásâ wá,
Text 2005-2a.04     Ya-Ire and the canine spy

A: pînîw‘ũ yà, sé:nj→è: bè: = ñ
S and others: nà:tè:
A: isè: 393 [[yà:-yî-m kù] wò] gàyⁿ
S: dàyⁿ kàyⁿ
A: hà: [yà:-yî-m kù] [èʳ³=ni bù: nàrⁿ=ni] lâ-w [[isè: kù] wò], [yà-gùrọ gò=ñ] [èr³ kàyⁿ=ni] [bòlú mîrⁿ⁻i: ãw⁻ři] wà, hàyà [bòlú mîrⁿ⁻i: ãw⁻ři] [èr³ kàyⁿ=ni], jàm mà bù: gĩ: = ni, [èr³ mâ:] [yàří: wò] ùrⁿ-rì dè wòy, [[súmọw yò] má:] bòl sì-yè⁻m-dò gĩⁿ⁻bò wà
S: [yà:-yî-m kù] [mà:nì: wò] ùrⁿ-rì dè
[yû: gò⁻lò=ni] [sàrgà ă: tòrò⁻w] [à: kɔ 395⁻jê⁻w], [yà:-yî-m kù=ñ] [mà:nì: wò] ànàyⁿ ìlù⁻rũ⁻396⁻bò wà, [mà:nì: wò] á ùrⁿ⁻w, hàyà [yû: bútũn³] bútũn⁻bútũn⁻ bútũn bútũn⁻ yà dè, [yî-m kù] [àrî⁻nîⁿ⁻i:] [á mà:] àrâ-yà⁻lògòrò gàyⁿ⁻só⁻w wà

S: ará-yà⁻lògòrò,
[laughs] è: [á mà:] àrâ-yà⁻lògòrò gàyⁿ⁻só⁻w wà, ʒ: wà, [bòló: sî-yè=ñ] [èr³ kàyⁿ=ni] [ìnje⁻m [èr³ tûlú wò] dim⁻di⁻bɔ] wà, [èr³ mâ: = m dè] [ŋû lò⁻w dè] [tègè⁻rì kàsⁿ⁻m⁻dò wà] [èr³ tègè⁻tî⁻: è] dè] [ìnje⁻m kù mà:] yè [à: mà:] tègè⁻y wà,
[ʒ: wà giⁿ⁻=ni] yè = ñ [èr³ kàyⁿ=ni], [nù kɔⁿ⁻] [yà⁻frè yè⁻rè wà] [yà⁻frè yè⁻rè wà], [[yà⁻frè mâ:] [yî⁻m nàrⁿ=ñ] yè⁻só⁻w wà kovy] bɔh⁵ [á mà:] yî⁻m nàrⁿ⁻a⁻tî⁻ wà, [èr³ yî⁻m] [àrî⁻nîⁿ⁻i:] ànàyⁿ giⁿ⁻yè mà:] wà, ìy [á ký [à] yî⁻m] àrî⁻nîⁿ⁻i:] tègè⁻m⁻dò wà dè, [mà:nì: dâ:] á = ŋ [tègè⁻rè⁻y gîn] [bòló: á sî⁻lè⁻bɔ] wà [á ký] tègè⁻m⁻dò wà, [èr³ mâ:] mûyⁿ⁻5 kàyⁿ wà [tègè⁻y wà] [à: mà:] hàyà [á mà:] [bù: mà:] kày tègè⁻m bà, [[à yî⁻m] àrî⁻nîⁿ⁻i:] mà:] àrâ-yà⁻lògòrò gûyⁿ⁻yè wà, [jàyà èr³ [ìnje⁻m kù]

393 isè: ‘village’ here is locative in function, and is not the syntactic possessor of ‘girl’.
394 Most likely the (Logophoric) subject (parents) with QuotS particle, rather than Dative ‘to them (chiefs)’. In the latter case, the antecedent would have to be from the preceding clause.
395 kàṣ‘ eat (cream of millet, crushed millet, couscous)’. Contrast në‘- ‘eat (cooked meal, millet cakes, fruits)’, kùwò‘- ‘eat (meat, peanuts), chew (kola nuts)’, pûwɔ‘- ‘eat (dry flour)’
396 ìlù⁻rû-, causative of ùrṣ‘ ‘go up’.
397 -tünš repeated several times (backgrounded imperfective in narrative).
sèrè] sò-ló] [[ìnjè-m kù] [á yè-̣w] [dúy"5r"ù wò] yá bìy"á-w\textsuperscript{398}, bìy"-r\textsuperscript{399} á gò-̣w, [pòngú wò] á nù-̣w,

[céjè lé bè gà:] céjè,
[wóγó lé bè gà:] wóγó
árá-yá-lógòrò árá-kálá-yá-lógòrò
nànj kóy" nànj kóy" wà

[laughs] [né: kày], [[yà-̣rè gǎlì] ér"é tán = nì] injè-̣m = O, [pòngú ér"é ló-̣w wò:-wòy] [ló-̣w dé]

céjé lé bè gà:] céjè,
wóγó lé bè gà:] wóγó
árá-yá-lógòrò árá-kálá-yá-lógòrò
nànj kóy" nànj kóy" wà

háyà ánjayn ér"é ká-̣m = bás, [á kày] né: ̣ù-̣úrò-̣m bà, [ìnjè-m sèrè] sò-ló→ [á má:] tégé:] [[ìnjè-m á bòr-̣5 jì̀yé-̣m] bás] [[mānī: dà:] á úrò-̣w dé] [á dúwò-̣m-nè] wà,

hà: injìrì = ní [mānī: wò] úrò = ní [ér"é kóy" = ní] [ér"é má:] [yí-m inir"i:] tégé-̣w = bè má: tègè-rí má-̣ wà, [á má:] kày, tègè-rí wà, injè-m [ér"é má:] tégé-̣w wà dé, [ér"é má:] tégé-rí-̣ yú: gí: = ní, [ér"é má:] tégé-̣m-dó gúy" = bás śínf] [yí-m kù] inir"i:] árá-yá-lógòrò gúy"→, á má: yà

céjé lé bè gà:] céje→,
wóγó lé bè gà:] wóγó
árá-yá-lógòrò árá-kálá-yá-lógòrò
nànj kóy" nànj kóy" wà

[á má: yà] ánjay" gí:" wà, ̣3hò [ér"é má:] tégé-̣w mà→ wà, ̣3hò [á má:] tégé-̣w wà,
[ér"é = ní yà: ̣áy = ní] [bòlò: sì-lè-bò wà] [ér"é cír"ei:] yà: wásà wà

\textsuperscript{398} bìy"- ‘lie low, lurk (unseen)’, cf. bàngiyì- ‘hide (e.g., behind a wall)’. 3Sg Stative form.
\textsuperscript{399} bì:-r"í ‘come out of hiding, reveal oneself’; reversion of biy"í.
The drowned junior co-wife

A: pír⁴wú kálá sénjè: bëː = ñ
S: nástë:
A: [[[yá-m yá→] [ér⁶é yá-nó rè'-u m yá→]] kú] wò] gâyⁿ
S: [[bú: kú] wò] dàyⁿ kâyⁿ
  āː = ã bâr'âː:-r'â
  [nîː:-bâː bërë] sàbôl bûmbûm
  āː = ã bâr'âː:-r'â māːː
  mî âmâ-sâg = ìː
  âmâ-sâgû yá: [êmë ânà-bëñ] yâ gôː = kò
  jâm [înë mà bëñ] = ìː māː
  ãy'ûlûm mà yâ-dîpë wôː-ːrô bëy
  [kô bëñ] bâr'âː:-r'â-bô
  nûnjô-lú-m gâ yâ: tôgô
  [ânyː-yaː:-èrë = ã má dàmâ kûnô-sà nà]
  nûnjô-lú-m gâ yâ: tôgô → wà

⁴⁰⁰ tôgô- 'catch (something thrown or falling)'
ánjáy\textsuperscript{n} gi:\textsuperscript{n} wà, àsúw\textsuperscript{è}-yí-m séw→ bè wà, á: [[[nì: ñgú] pírè] má: käy] jàm = dá wá dé, ìyà yèy-né [nì: kù] múmb-ì: tòmdì wà,

[[nì: bérë] sàbbôl bùmbùm
á: = ì y bàr\textsuperscript{a}-r\textsuperscript{a}

mí âmà-ság = î:


[nì: bù mà bèn] = î: mà

â yà-gi: [kó bèn] bàr\textsuperscript{a}-r\textsuperscript{a}-bò

nùnô-lú-m gà yà: tògò

[âyà-yà:-çèrè = ì y mí dáma kùnò-sà nà]

nùnô-lú-m gà yà: tògò→ wà

ínjírî = nì lò [èr\textsuperscript{è} mà:] tègè-bò wà, [ùm-m mà:] búa: tègè = ní, háyà [ùm-m ìyà píníw\textsuperscript{ù} = ní] isè: nàr\textsuperscript{i} mò:lí = ní, háyà [âmà-ságú mà:] [[á pó-yà-m] [nì: wà] yà bù gi:→, [nì: kày] dáy\textsuperscript{n} gòlò-yè dáwù [â mà:] nù-y gi\textsuperscript{n} wà

[[bù: mà:], è: wà], [[nì: kù] cèrì wò] yè = ní [èr\textsuperscript{è} pò-àr\textsuperscript{à}-m kù] nàr\textsuperscript{i}-jè→ yè-bò wà, [èr\textsuperscript{è} mà:] dò múmbò tínsì-yà wà, múmb-ì: tòmdì wà, èr\textsuperscript{è} múmbò-m = bày

[[nì: bérë] sàbbôl bùmbùm
á: = ì y bàr\textsuperscript{a}-r\textsuperscript{a}

[nì: bá: bérë] sàbbôl bùmbùm
á: = ì y bàr\textsuperscript{a}-r\textsuperscript{a} mà→

[mí àmà-ság = î]


[nì: bù mà bèn] = î: mà

â yà-gi: [kó bèn] bàr\textsuperscript{a}-r\textsuperscript{a}-bò

nùnô-lú-m gà yà: tògò

[âyà-yà:-çèrè = ì y mí dáma kùnò-sà nà]

nùnô-lú-m gà yà: tògò→ wà

è: wà gi\textsuperscript{n}, yèy-né bàr\textsuperscript{à}— [yèy-né èr\textsuperscript{è} gài\textsuperscript{n} = ní yà] [ánjáy\textsuperscript{n} kày\textsuperscript{n} wà], ánjáy\textsuperscript{n} kù kày\textsuperscript{n} = ní, háyà, [[nì: bòbò] mà:] [yà-m kù = ní] ā: lèmdé-àw, [èr\textsuperscript{è} = ní gòlò = ní] [ùrò jí-jè→ yè-yè gi\textsuperscript{n} = ní] búa: yè-ì = bày,

[[nì: bòbò] yà] [arsè: yà→] gùls→ só→, [èr\textsuperscript{è} mà:] ánjáy\textsuperscript{n} dim-dí tí wà, [dim-dí èr\textsuperscript{è} tí = ní] [[èr\textsuperscript{è} yà-nùr\textsuperscript{ò}-m yà] [nàr\textsuperscript{à} àmò:] á yè-àw] [[[nì: wò] pírè] nù] wà [[kù-kùmbò pìfè] gò] wà,

Text 2005-2a.06  Hyena, hare, and lion

S: [jì: mà:] sè→jè: gàyⁿ-y
B: yà-pè-m tünⁿ-m, [á kù:] mà: [ʒrⁿ-h:-dáná: á bè-ⁿ] [àrs: màngí=ní] [ɛ́rⁿ kéyⁿ=ní], [hàl jò-b] bèrù, áywà [ɛ́rⁿ yà:-yí-m], [[tàngù-n yà:m] bù] kú bú nè, [[t]-tā:-m yà→] [jɔⁿ-m yà→] [kú sèrè] sè-nê,

āy=ní [ɛ́rⁿ gàyⁿ=ní], [ɛ́rⁿ yí-m] [tàngù-n yà:m kú] [à yè-ⁿ] kú gò-ló kúwó-jè:, áywà kúwó ɛ́rⁿ jîw=ní yà, [[úsu lá-w] [á: yè-ⁿ] [nè-n gán nà:-m], sùgù-digé bù: ěuⁿ=ní, lúgùrò=m 404 yí-rí,


[[úsu yèy] [úsu tàn:n láwà=ní, ínjírí yà 405 yè-yè, [ìyà á: sàw kú dè] [nè-n gán nà:-m] sùgù-digé wá, yà-pè-m sù:-diyá ŋgò=rà: 406 [ìyà yà] [bù: mà:] bèrù-m wò-ⁿ wá, [bù: wò-n nè] 407 [bù: wò-n nè] [àw: wò-n nè] [bèr kú kày] yè=ní] [nè: kày] [bèrì-yì bù:sú=m nà:y] yè wásà,

After starting to utter a compound (verbal noun with incorporated object), the speaker produces a possessed verbal noun, e.g., "giving drill to raising, bringing up animal."
[dê: jõgò bè úrò mîr'nè] [pê: yá gö: kɔ] wà
[dê: tá: mà úrò] [tòm bòjów-bòjów]\(^{416}\) wà
ùrùbúgúrù jám bûgù nà: lì wà

ηây\(^{n}\)→ ér\(^{t}\)è kà\(^{n}\)-m nè, jõ\(^{n}\)-m úr\(^{s}\)-jè = ǹ, [[tî-tâ::-m kù] órù-m'òː] wò] yè, yè = ní, wò dà:yâ pòː wá, [tín = ní ér\(^{t}\)è kà\(^{n}\) = ní] [tî-tâ::-m kù] úr\(^{s}\)-jè⇒, [jõ\(^{n}\)-m kù] tâdùnqú-m úr\(^{s}\)-jè⇒ yè:-râ-w, kù jày\(^{m}\), áywà [bū: mà:] sèw dòlō-y wá, [yà: kù bè→ yi-të: kù bè→], [sèw dòló wà-y = ní] bù: bù=bày,
tu\(^{n}\)-m bònò á sá-w [êné mì nùmó dè:'yè] wà, [wò mîr'è] sèréwè sùgò wá, [sà:' yò wò dè] nàr'à:-∅ wà, yàyá si-yè, tâdùnqú-m áy kùwó-jè:, hâl yè = ní, [yà-m kù kâlà] yàyá,

\(^{416}\) Variant of Jamsay pâjá-pâjá, intensifier for 'cold'.

\(^{417}\) = sùngù 'rope'.
Text 2005-2a.07

Hare, hyena, antelope, and aardvark

B: [[[j³ⁿ-m yá→] [tí-tá:m yá→]] kù:] wò] gàɣⁿ

S: dàɣⁿ káɣⁿ


kú kù yè= r̩ê], têwè j³ⁿ-m á sá=-w kù, [kòrò kù] kúngò tì=m go, érêɣé gú=-w wù, [j³ⁿ-m kù] [yú: kù=ní] érêɣé tôy gà] [érêɣé kúngò=-w kù], [tí-tá:-m kù] [wàrù:-m yí-m] kòrò kù=ní] [tòy gà] kúngò, á sá=-w kù dè [fú cè= yá ràx sày= ] wà, gô=ngô bûnô [á mâ:] érêɣé [fɔ̀ wò cè= yá gùrà sày= ] dè, kù=m ní, [yè= ní [nàr=ní] bù= m áy gà] gôlô=-y wà, [kù náyⁿ] [j³ⁿ-m kù] [á éshë bir=ðí] wò=ní] [yìgéc= ní érêɣé káɣⁿ=ní], [wàrù:-m yí-m] pérêlëm, lò [á nàr=ní] kògìyí, [tí-tá:-m mâ:] gôlô=-y wà, gôlê:-aw, [érêɣé kû:] wò] ʔgù=ní, [éshë bir=ðí] wò yìgéc= érêɣé káɣⁿ=ní] cèm, bûrà, [wàrù:-m yí-m] tìwë=-m, wàrù=m [hùgù káɣⁿ] [á yà→] [érêɣé yà=ní] gàlû wò] kò= nìlë=m wò] ðgù wà, [kù náyⁿ] injírî=ní, kàrû gô, ðyðy, wàrù=m [érêɣé tûlû] wò] dîmbí=yí, ðyðy=m ðyðy=m [á lò=-w kù dè] [[åw=ní kòmbí:] wò] lò=ní mèrë= ðnë= ní yìgë=ní, ðyðy= érêɣé nù=ní, yà=m, wàrù=m lò=ní, kú gûnì=m, [érêɣé gûnì=m bà] [tòrù:m yè=ní] yè=ní, érêɣé têmbì, ðjë=m mà=m wà, [ár=ní=m tûwⁿ= m mà:] [á yì=m] ðày= ðrû= jìë, [á [érêɣé tûlû] wò] dîmbà= w] [érêɣé mà:] [kòmbí: ðgù] ðirë=yà] bù wà, [tòrù:m mà:] må=m yù= sà=tì= kà=ní= wà [kù yà] ja=bà=-w wà [sà=w [ir= bô nú] érêɣé=m] bà, tòrù=m [kù náyⁿ] [á dàngì=ní], [ir= kú] érêɣé gûnì=m nè, érêɣé gûnì=m nè,

j³ⁿ-m yè=dì:, [yè á dì=-w kù dè] [érêɣé mà:] ðgù-rù=nú mà], érêɣé gàɣⁿ [é→ wà], hà: [yì=yì=wà [kù kày, [á mà:] nú [dàw=ní tûwⁿ= m kàɣⁿ=ní, à gò=, [érêɣé mà:] sà=sì-li= ré gàɣⁿ → bê:-rè dè wòy, [érêɣé mà:] ðsì=rà=dà wà, défà=m mà=ní [[kòmbí: wò] bù=m kù mà:] èsì=rà=wà, 5→ wà,

^181 Variant 3Sg Percetive with final i. Verb is dür"ö 'he followed (tracks)'.

^189 Clause is restarted. A smoother version: [yè ní] [[[nú: yéy] kù:] wò] go,

^200 Hortative. Also kúngò=m.
Perfective Negative of Far

but this does not appear to constitute a phonological tone shift as paired protagonists.

Distant demonstrative 'that one', he

Harmonized from = bè.

Far-Distant demonstrative ‘that one’, here used in a discourse-obviative sense ‘the other one [of two paired protagonists].’

As second of three chained verbs, dú ‘carry’ has somewhat lower pitch than the preceding verb pál, but this does not appear to constitute a phonological tone shift as such.
S: ù: bè:n ànjây" = ∅ èw-yê
C: hà: B dër"é-ýⁿ
B: dër"úwⁿà:
C: jâm dër"é-wⁿ
B: jâm say
C: hénján → dër"é-wⁿ
B: jâm say
C: [í: nù:] së:w dër"é-bô
B: àlhámdùrùllâ:y
C: [bà:s kà:"] dër"é-rⁿi→ B: jâm say
C: tà:ré:yò:.
B: jâm dër"é-wⁿ
C: jâm say
B: [ú kórò:jù] jâm dër"é-bà
C: jâm say
B: [bà:s kà:"] dër"é-rⁿi→ C: jâm say
B: tà:→ré
C: àwá:
B: bisífmìa
C: háyà wó:dî yà
B: [úsúřì wó] = ñ yê:-râ-y.: C: mhîm
B: ú: [nù dîyˈà] [jînjè såw] = ∅ dé [ú: såw] = ∅
C: jînjè ọyô-nà:m såw = ∅, [bè:n ọrù-môô: kú kày], [jînjè såw] = ∅ [ú: såw] = ∅, gà: dê:, mândé gô = ní, ...
B: wó:dî
B: wó:dî
c: [kú búnúgóy yèy kù], à: káwá-wä kù
B: wó:dî

425 hénján occurs in archaic greetings used by older people. jâm ‘peace’ and së:w ‘health’ (definitions very rough) are now more current.
426 Embellished variant of tà:ré. This particle ends one greeting sequence with C asking questions of B; B will now begin a reciprocal sequence.
427 -mù with agentive plural (archaic).
C: [[n̪iː ɬɛ̆s̪ʊ] dimb̥-ẏ-m̥-kʊ, [p̥i̥ni̊w^nʊ ɣa] [k̆àw̥r̥à y̥ɛ̆] k̆àw̥à-b̥]  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  
C: [n̥eː k̆ày] t̥aːn l̥áːt̥eː-ːr̥eː, ̄ȳ̂w̥̄̃, áȳ̥-m̥ ̄ȳ̃=n̥, [ú ȳː-ːr̥a ɣ̄ḡu] ̆u: [b̥eːn̥ n̥ːː], [d̥aːy^n ūː n̥ːː] [m̥ändé ̄a: ḡʊ-ːw̥].  
B: n̥ːm  
C: ̄w̥-ȳ-m̥ ̄w̥̃-m̥ ȳe m̥únw̥̃l  
B: m̥únw̥̃l, w̥ò:d̥i  
C: m̥únw̥̃l, kʊ= m̥ n̥ː, n̥úw^nʊ [b̥eːn̥ t̥iːr̥aː w̥oːn], k̆à:ɡ̄oːy ̄428  m̥ɔːʁ̥ḡoːy, k̆àːk̆-k̆ùn-w̥ãː-n̥âːm ̄429 b̥ãː, s̥eːn̥ér̥eː-ːs̥é-b̥ɛr̥ẽ ̄w̥̃ãː, [ã-n̥=iː l̥ɔːr̥ɔ ̄430 máː] [n̥eː-n̥=iː l̥ɔːr̥ɔ m̥ãː] l̥ɔr̥û-l̥ɔr̥û-k̆ùr̥ẽː p̥ɔː kʊ, ̄ȳe m̥únw̥̃l  ȳá ̄d̥éȳ-w̥.  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  
S: [m̥únw̥̃l kʊ] [b̥eːl̥è ːn̥-d̥áː] = m̥  
C: [m̥únw̥̃l kʊ] [w̥áːl̥eː l̥òː-ːr̥eː-ːw̥ d̥eː] [m̥únw̥̃l l̥òː-ːw̥]  
B: w̥ò:d̥i p̥áːm̥eː-̄ȳ̃̄n  
C: ̄ȳ̃w̥ [(k̆ú m̥únw̥̃l kʊ w̥òː], [iː ̄ȳe ̄ʊ̄s̪ʊ k̆áːl̥à] [p̥ɔː kʊ] ȳá ̄d̥éȳ-w̥,  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  
C: ̄ȳ̃e [(ùr̥õ kʊ w̥òː], [ãs̪uːw^nʊ ̄ãm = ɔ] d̥ûm̥d̥-ːm̥ = ɔ ̄432 m̥ãː, [p̥ûm̥b̥èr̥ẽ ̄d̥-ːm̥ d̥eː] [(iː ̄ȳe k̆áːl̥à] [p̥ɔː kʊ] d̥âːr̥ȳ-w̥ d̥eː ẹr̥^ẹː = m̥ p̥ûm̥b̥èr̥ẽ l̥òː-ːm̥  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  
C: kʊ= m̥ l̥érf̥l̥èr̥-k̆ùr̥êȳẽː  p̥ɔː kʊ = m̥  
B: b̥ãː [iː n̥ː k̆ú n̥̄y^n] ̄, [ãn̥ãy^n ̄n̥àːy^n] k̆áw̥ã = n̥, [[ḡãm kʊ] k̆áːr̥ã ̄ɛ̆w̥-ȳ-b̥ã] [[ḡãm kʊ] [ȳûli w̥ò] ̄ɛ̆w̥-ȳ-b̥ã]  
C: ̄ȳ̃w̥, k̆áːr̥ã ̄ḡʊ-ːm̥ kʊ ȳá ̄ḡàː  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  
C: ̄ȳ̃w̥, ̄ɡ̄ú-d̥áː: ȳ-m̥ kʊ ȳá ̄ḡàː  
B: n̥ːm  
C: [n̥ãr^nâ t̥uːw^nʊ 5̥] [b̥ɔː t̥uːw^nʊ 5̥]  
B: j̥àːt̥i  
C: ̄ȳ̃w̥ ȳè ̄l̥òː-m̥ b̥ãː, [m̥b̥á kʊ k̆áːy] [[ã m̥ãː k̆áːy] [ú ȳː-ːr̥a-ːw̥ ̄ɡ̄ú] k̆áːː-ːr̥eː n̥=n̥ː] [ã m̥ãː k̆áːy] l̥ò b̥êr̥ě-ːm̥-d̥o w̥á  
B: xxx  
C: [̄ɡ̄ú w̥òː] [k̆ú n̥àːy^n] h̥êdd̥ê  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  
C: kʊ ̄ɛ̆r̥^eː h̥êdd̥ê = n̥, ̄431 [iː l̥öːs̪ʊ b̥ê] [m̥âːb̥ã b̥ê] …  
B: w̥ò:d̥i  

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428 k̆à:ɡ̄oːy (a patronymic family name) is interpreted as (Jamway) kÁ: ‘mouth’ plus Verbal Noun of ḡó: ‘go out’, i.e., ‘coming out of the mouth’. This is associated with irrevocable oaths to perform or not to perform an action.


430 Jamsay

431 Stative related to transitive d̥éȳ- ‘put down, set’.

432 Sg ‘it is’ form of d̥ûm̥d̥-m ‘last (person)’.

433 For hêddê = nî (different-subject subordinated form).
C: ... yě ([bú: dòsù] wò) èw-yè-bó
B: jàːtì
C: áywá árⁿⁿ:-dáná’, [bèːn nù:] làːmè-bó’, šː; [ɪː lòsù bèː] làːmè-bó,
B: wòːdī
C: hál [iye úsù-dèrⁿːiː ŋú], [ɪː lòsù bèː]= Ø ʃː bò
B: wòːdī
C: [[árⁿⁿ:-dáná yá→] [těʃ̂ yáw yá→] cèm] [[[bèːn nù:] nà→] wò] bú
B: jàːtì, páːmè-ŷː. kóy
C: [bèːn dàː] yèː-řè dè, mə̀rgóy’, kâːgóy kú = n bú
B: wòːdī
C: [wáːlè kú] wó, àːwändú’, méːmá
B: múː bè yéy
C: búː = m kásárú’, ʃːdúróː yá
B: wòːdī
C: [ɪ káy] ŋú = m jǔw̥434
B: [[ʃːdúróː kú yá→], [kásárú kú yá→ yá435] [[nàːrⁿ tòwⁿ ʃ’ː] [bɔː tòwⁿ ʃ] ] gùyⁿ-bó báy [kú yá] ʃːnàyⁿ = m mā
C: áywá, ùː [bèːn nùː] ŋóy bùː-wː. gàː, [kú káy] [jínjè sàw’] [ù: sàw] kóy
B: [ɪ kàlā dè] [kɔⁿ nː yǎː i nù-w⁴⁴ dáy436] ʃː
S: wày, [[täːm:] káːrː-ře nà→] lòː-m-dó gùyⁿ, [[káːrː-ře kú kóːr] ŋjèː= Ø
B: árⁿⁿ-ǎːm táŋːiː-ře
C: [núː- m gùnáyⁿ] lā-w [kɔⁿ kɔːⁿ] [ɪ īnjířiː-m] bòy yáː ŋó, kú = m káráː-ře,
B: páːmė-wⁿ-u-wⁿ
C: ǎːhá⁴⁴
C: jàːtì
C: jàːtì
B: [māːnː kú kàlā dè [ɔrⁿⁿ ēw-yè jǐỹ-yè], hàː [ŋú kú] kú lāːtě = ŋi, áywá yáː [təmbębũ tòwⁿ ʃ], á māː-w⁴⁴, [[təŋɡày ŋú] wó] á dúwóː-w kú, īnjířiː = ŋi, lɔ [ǎ Ĭnjóː-m] təmɓi, [ɔnjoː-m kú] á təmɓú-w kú, áywá tɛɾɛw = Ø wà, [ā mː] ɔrⁿⁿ kúːdáː yá yį-sò-w⁴⁴ wà, ɔrⁿⁿ ēw-yè-yè kúːdáː yá yį-sò-w wà,

434 1Sg possessor form.
435 yá ‘also’ added to the right conjunct.
436 Pre-quotative particle (‘that . . . ’), generally at a pause before the quoted matter begins.
437 dě: with a pronoun (phrasing typical of this speaker).
438 Low-toned form of yį-sò-w ‘he/she saw’.

¹⁴³ kàyⁿ, a variant of Topic kày.
¹⁴⁴ A fixed phrase used to declare that a place is claimed (reserved). Yàrí is a variant of yàrì: ‘sky’.
¹⁴⁵ èw-yè ‘sit’, here functioning as a possessed noun ‘sitting (=dwellings’).
¹⁴⁶ Reduction of [kù wó] ‘in that’ or the like.
¹⁴⁷ Not a possessor relative.
¹⁴⁸ Combination of = nàyⁿ ‘and then’ (same-subject subordinator) with a morpheme ní (doutfully related to different-subject ‘and’ subordinator = n).
Mamoudou Abdou Kagoye, born 1941.
B: wó:di

446 Subject of verbal noun, but here not treated as possessor.
S: ɗih5o lò-màny\(^{447}\)
B: àywà [wà:lò yà→ ] [bè:nì yà→ ] [bò: tòw\(^n\)5→ ] [nà:r\(^n\)à tòw\(^n\)5\(^5\)] ɗà, àywà [wà:kàtù kà:] yé yè-rè, [[[nù dìy\(^n\)à m\(^m\):ò:] wò] iː nù-\(^{448}\)wò, yà→] [kò:,\(^n\) ilà] iː jùwò=m yà→] cèm, [wà:lò kù wò] [[kàsà=m tìwè::rè wò] bè::rè dè:], [kàsà=m kùsù tà:n] lò làwà::rè dè, [bù\(^5\)mà dè] cìyè-yè, ár\(^r\):àm = ð= dá → ðà=m = ð = dà, [èr\(^r\): lòs\(s\) tà:lè èr\(^r\): jì-jòlù=m dè\(^n\):wò,] \(^{449}\) mà:li-yè, sòː ày-jèː dè, [ sû:ò-r̥ngɔːː ɔ́ː ɔ́ː] dàː [nà kùyɔːː] kò:,\(^n\) iː ðùsù=m \(=\) bè::wù\(^{450}\), kù kòy\(\) kù=m, [ínjírì-mà dè] [[wàːlè kùː] → lò-yè], [bò::yi-tìwè kù] yàː [úsù yèː], hàl lò-lò [úsù tà:n], \(^{451}\) iː lò:-rè dè, nàː sèw\(^n\):è-yà\(^5\), bèr sèw\(^n\):è-yà, pèrè sèw\(^n\):è-yà, èw\(^n\):è-yè-yè [hàl lò bà=m], àywà [nù=m wò] [dày\(n\) ì jòr\(r\):m gày\(n\)→] nè=m, hàl lò-lò [úsù tà:n] dà:m, [ínjírì-\(\) ɔ́ː nèː yèː yèːː ðà=m yèː yèːː ðà=m\(\) èw\(n\):è-yà\(\) ðà=m èw\(n\):è-yà\(\) ðà=m èw\(n\):è-yà, hàl lò lò nàsù=m yàː [úsù yèː], hàl lò lò [úsù tà:n] nàsù=m yàː [úsù yèː] nàsù=m yàː [úsù yèː], hàl lò lò [úsù tà:n] nàsù=m yàː [úsù yèː] nàsù=m yàː [úsù yèː]

pèːn\(^r\):è kàːsù, ðàs-ūsù tà:n, dàːm-bìː lò:m-dò, [bìrìgè: mà dè] [bò::yi-tìwè kù], ànjà\(y\) [ínjírì-mà dè] lò-yè, ànjà\(y\) = n\(^{5}\)  [iː bú nè] [iː bú nè] [iː bú nè]

[ìyè yè [àdùn\(u\) nùn] yè nù=m ni, àywà [bò::yi-tìwè kù], [kù=m àn kàːsù=m tìwè:-rè dè] [ìyè ðàsú=kàːsù=m tìwè:-rè dè] tò=m nì dùwò:sò:-lò-yːː, [bò: tòw\(^n\)5] [nà:r\(^n\)à tòw\(^n\)5]], hàː jìyè:-tì:-y ŋà

\(^{447}\) Plural hortative (speaker and two or more others).

\(^{448}\) Delayed conjunction yà→ as the speaker decides to add a second conjunct.

\(^{450}\) Relative clause based on verb with = bè ‘used to’. Definite kù follows the participle.

\(^{451}\) Sentence is not completed. Could be completed by adding bè-\(\) \(\) ‘we remained’.

\(^{452}\) -yà, variant of 3PL imperfective -yè.

\(^{453}\) lò=m ‘such as’ or ‘for example’ (Fulfulde word for ‘like’).

\(^{454}\) ‘Fleet-footed’, a bahuvrihi compound.

\(^{455}\) ðà=m ‘here’ as adjective, forcing L-tone on the preceding noun.

\(^{456}\) Unusual combination of ànjà\(y\) ‘thus’ and clause-final = n(i).
This French 3Pl Perfective Negative as possessed noun with possessor X, "something of the same type or dimension as X".

As possessed noun with possessor X, tū-m ‘agemate’ (also the Reciprocal word)

French 

This āywà is superfluous. bērēmbō ‘freely, haphazardly’ belongs with the following phrase.

B: jámt [i: mà:] ní
d: [sú:rú=ń i] [jámt [i: mà:] ní], [áŋjáy\(n\) bù→ tún\ å]\ [i=ń dá:-wò [k\(b\):\ ká:\(n\)]] bà:-lí=ní], éř\"é káy\"=ń, [bú: yà] d\(w\)ú\(a\) à: yí-̀w kú\', [á: kú:] g\(s\)úr\(à\)-yè gúy\(a\)-bó, [[bú: kú:] g\(s\)úr\(à\) kú]\(^{463}\) [k\(b\):\ ká:\(n\) kú] d\(à\)-wò yó t\(à\)bb\(à\)dè,\(^{464}\) [áywà gúr\(à\)-m nè] [hà: bú: dúw\-tì-yà dè] [[[bú: mà:] úrò-dú: gúr\(à\)-m-n-è] gúy\(a\)-bó] [[i: mà:] gúr\(à\)-yè] wà,

áywà ḳjé=[\(bú: mà:] nínjé t\(w\)ú\(n\)-\(t\)wú\(n\)-[bú: mà:] úsùrú-bó, gi-góró úsùrú-bó d\(ò\):-, d\(ò\):-òròsú bù:--- éř\"é cè:ri, [súg\(ù\) úsùrú-bó] [d\(ò\):-òròsú cè:ri-bó], mûr\(ù\) úsùrú, [d\(ò\):-òròsú cè:ri-bó], [k\(b\):\ ̀n\(g\)ú]=m=bày kó:]\(^{465}\) — t\(á\): úsùrú-bó, gûsû-tá: cè:ri-bó, áywà úrò cè:m-ùȳ a\(y\) cè:ri-bó, gò: úsùrú-bó, gò:-pèrǐ: a\(y\) cè:ri-bó,

[[kú dá\(ò\) wòy] áñây\(ò\) káy\(ò\)=ǹ] yè=ní [núw\(ò\)-\(w\)úy\(ò\) káy], áywà gúr\(à\)-yè bú: gú=nè,\(^{466}\) [ánsá:rá-m yè=ní] [núw\(ò\)-\(y\)úy\(ò\) káy] [ǹjé→=\(ò\) gú\(à\)-\(w\)ú dé wòy] [éř\"é frá:"s\(ù\)], [\(éndèp\(à\)nd\(à\)m\)]\(^{467}\) [éř\"é nà:] wòy ǹjé=ní [i: mà:]\(^{468}\) — [i: kú:]— [ǹjé→=\(ò\) gú\(à\)-\(w\)ú dé]\(^{469}\) bër̂-ȳ éř̂é gú=ǹ, [kú ǹjáy\(ò\)] [nú=nè]\(^{470}\) [ǹjé gú\(à\)-\(w\)ú dé] [[[i: kú:] này\(ò\)] i: ëw-ỳè-\(w\) kú] kú=m, [[ǹ\(y\)è dáy\(ò\) i: bù:] j]\(^{471}\) kú=m̄, [[[nù] l\(à\) m\(à\)272\) sò-m̄] yà bú dè ëyí-ȳ, [tèy gûr\(ò\)-w] [nù t\(ù\)w\(ò\)-m̄ sày] t\(é\)gê-m̄ t\(ù\)m̄ b̄-m̄-dó

B: já:tì, ná:m, coupe!

\(^{461}\) gò here is a variant of kù at the end of a subordinated clause.

\(^{462}\) Perfective of the causative of sú:rú- ‘rest, relax’

\(^{463}\) Demonstrative kú preceded by tone-dropped cognate nominal (gúr\(à\)\(h\)) 3Sg counterpart: [[éř\"é kú:] gúr\(à\) kú].

\(^{464}\) This word is not understood by other speakers. It is probably comes from an Arabic word meaning ‘fix, settle (an issue)’.

\(^{465}\) Complete as: [k\(b\):\ ̀n\(g\)ú]=m=bày [k\(b\):\ bú: úsùrú-li: wò: wòy] ñgò ‘it’s this thing, there was nothing that they did not ask about.’ This would normally come at the end of the list. Halfway through this passage, the speaker realized that the list was not yet complete and broke off.

\(^{466}\) This speaker sometimes uses =nè (different-subject) and =nè (same-subject) subordinators, =nì and =nì (respectively).

Fr. indépendance.

\(^{467}\) Dative, apparently the indirect object of ‘he was saying’ (éř\"é gúy\(ò\) nè)

\(^{468}\) ‘What would you-Sg say it was?’ inserted as parenthesis in the larger sentence. [i: kú:] is logically bracketed with bër̂-ȳ, i.e. ‘(he told) us to take (charge of) ourselves.’

\(^{469}\) Variant of =nì (same-subject subordinator).

\(^{470}\) The demonstrative ñ (= ñgú) follows the participle but has scope over the relativized noun: ‘this way (in which) we are today’. The participle (elsewhere bú:-\(ò\)) drops tones before the demonstrative.

\(^{471}\) là ‘other’. Cf. [nù là-m] ‘another person’. Singular -m (especially with the noun ‘person’) is optionally dropped in relative-head position (which also forces tone-dropping).
B: áywà, [dàyⁿ kà:] [nà kúyɔ:] láwá-w dé→, i: ònjɔ̀y kù, áywà [dè:-bà:]isè:= 0, [áðùnò kù] nú: [ŋgú bà→] kàlà jò:-r-á-bà=b-à. árⁿa=m [kù nàyⁿ], áywà nù [árⁿ: árⁿa-m] tàŋgí-rí-m wɔ́y, [ŋgú-ŋú gò=náy] [a:mⁿaː tů-m] ló béré-m-dó, árⁿa=m [ŋgú-ŋú gò=náy] [hònɔ dúwánsán tů-m] ló béré-m-dó, ńjë=m 475 kù=m, pǔlɔ-bɔw báyⁿ-bà.476

D: nú: [ŋgú bà→] yùrⁿ-r-á=b-à:


D: [{hîⁿ: kù] wò] jëgërés múso-yë


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473 Variant of jò:-r-á=b-à: (which my assistant strongly prefers) with an extra syllable (probably 3Pl subject). -r-á (3Pl Perfective Negative) and = b-à: (3Pl Past) are both already marked for 3Pl.

474 Can also be expressed in this context as béré-m-dó=b-ë::

475 More often një=: 0 ‘what is it?’

476 Predicative form of báyⁿ→ ‘many’, with 3Pl subject. Negation: báyⁿ=rî-bà: ‘they were not numerous’.

477 èsîⁿ ‘very’ (adverb) has scope over sàlà ‘small’.

478 Adjectival predicate.

479 bìrΨ ‘work’ is not here treated tonally as a possessed noun. ərⁿ: ‘the bush, the outback’ is therefore interpreted as adverbial.

480 Possessed form of múrⁿu ‘resemblance, what (something) resembles’.

481 Normally bàrà-bà:rà without a further iteration.

482 në ‘they are not (there), they are absent’, optional suppletive 3Pl subject form of əgò- ‘not be, be absent’.

483 3Pl subject conjugated form of jìjë→ ‘taking along’ (which is usually restricted to nonfinal position in chains).
D: bú: bàrâ, [pùlś-m kày] [pùlś-m kày] [pùlś-m = ∅ ní], [ì: wóy kày] [ì: dàⁿ-wóy] [gùsi-jèwè] = ∅ [bò: tùwàⁿ] [nàr'à tùwàⁿ] [pùlś-m dé →] jàmbâ-jàmbù-m = ∅, [jàmbá gùⁿ-yè = b-à:] [B núwⁿy ñè dayⁿ tègè ñgú] 486 gáyⁿ→, āñayⁿ té→ bù, pùlś: [bò: kày], bíré bíré-n-é, [àrse:-bèrè: gùⁿ-mà dè] [[á: kú:] wò] kòrù kòrù gùⁿ-mà dè, lò yìlìwé yìlìwé, nú:= ní wó wó 487 nàyⁿ sày i:= ní kàⁿ-m tîném t:= ní dè::wù-yè = b-à:, [í: nú:] [[[kú sàbà:bú ní:] wò], 5rⁿó ló-yè dè kálà, àtèwù ëw-re-yè, àtèwù ëw-re-ti-yà dè, [pùlś: kú] [sò: nàyⁿ] 3rⁿó bù: sàr—
S: [àtèwù kú] hàjé: = ∅
D: [àtèwù = ∅ dè] gùⁿ-yà, [gùyⁿ-ì:-gùyⁿ-ì-m, 3hⁿò àtèwù gùyⁿ-ì:-gùyⁿ-ì-m = ∅
B: gârdînè: 488
I: hà: núwⁿy ñì ñgú kú=m
S: hà: núwⁿy ñì [nù bù:] bîrè-j-à: dè, [[[ám bù] 493 mà:] jò-lo-yè = b-à:
B: bù:—

484 The clitic =nì is optional here (after a PP). Locative postposition wò is added in this phrase to a plural agentive ‘robber, thief’ with the object of theft as possessor. Singular counterpart: [àrse: gùrù-m bò = nì] là:tè.
485 Imperative singular (< àyá). Likewise bàrâ ‘help!’ (< bàrì) just below. The high tone element in such forms is audible on the first syllable and may extend onto the first part of the following vowel.
486 Manner relative clause with demonstrative ñgu. Cf. (without the demonstrative) [B núwⁿy ñè dayⁿ tègè-ñ].
487 The second wò ‘take’ has lower pitch than the first.
488 Fr gardien. The form (common in languages of the zone) may have been distorted by confusion with Fr jardiner ‘gardener’.
489 Direct object (Fulbe).
490 The full form of this common parenthetical (suspense-building and audience-involving) expression is [[ñië gùⁿ⁻w mà] [gùⁿ⁻w dè]] ‘what would you say if you said it?’
491 Ends in verb tı ‘send’. 3Sg subject counterpart: [súyò jiye⁻w dè] jìsè tì-m.
492 3P1 here refers to Fulbe.
493 Pl of ám ‘who?’, followed by Dative postposition.
494 Object relative clause with ‘the black people’ as head NP, and with (referentially vague) 3P1 subject. The 3P1 bù: before the participle is the subject pronoun The Pl bù: following the participle is
B: nègrô: bû: gîⁿ-rà kù bû:] [ánjayⁿ tî:-yéy¹⁴⁹⁵ kù] bû:= m
B: já:ti
D: 3⁹hô⁹
B: l’histoire—
B: hà: jîyé-tî

in definite function, with scope over the head NP ‘black people’. The equivalent with a singular head NP would be … [nû jèwⁿè] bû: gîⁿ-rà-m kû.
⁴⁹⁵ Variant pronunciation of passive tîy-ephy ‘be sold’. Passive with -yèy, in a relative clause.
⁴⁹⁶ kòmbô ‘war’ seems to be preposed topic, but it is then treated as object of tá- ‘shoot’ (the combination means ‘fight a war’).
⁴⁹⁷ tá ‘wage (war)’. Object is kòmbô ‘war’.
⁴⁹⁹ gi-râ ‘they said’. Irregular variant of gûyⁿ-bô ‘they said’.
Text 2005-2b.03  Implantation of Islam in Beni

S: ñâñá: ñë: [u: ñë:] [áñayà, ñë:y"n] yë
B: ñâñá: ñë: [á ñë:y"n] [pàñà ñë:y"n] yë, [pàñà ñë:y"n] yë
S: [pàñã ñâ:y"n], áñayà yë
B [overlapping]: jò:lò-y, 500 jò:lò-y mà, áyâw [nû: kû dë"n-wô:y"n], tò:rù, kû = m [bû: bîrè = b-è]
D: 3mdò
D: sè:kû á:mádù = m
B: sè:kû á:mádù = m, sè:kû á:mádù = m, [ïsè: wô] yë:-rë dë, misí:dë, dì:dë-r-á témâ:b-jë:
  gây"n → bë:-rë dë wôy, áyâw jàm nâr"ñ-w"ù-n-dô, sëy bû: sëyí-wû-m, bû: jùkké-m, kû = m [kò:" kà:"n] tò:si-yà,
  pînìw"û = nî, [tò:ru gây"n] → 3rò á yì-jë-w wôy kàlâ, [là-ô dë] [kû = ñ sùyô dårù-m], sùyô dår tì: dë wôy, [ïsè: kû mà:] [bû: mà:] élë:-rë-w mà →], [ërì-m = dà mà] ñùsùrù-m, ërì-m = dá gù"ñ-wë dë wôy, bènô û: = n cè:ù:m, ërì-m gûy"ñ-tù:-w dë wôy, misí:dë yà:, [ïsè: kû wô] cè:lè dúwà:-m,
  hâl [ï: ïsè: ñgû] [misí:dë kûyô:], nûw"ñy"n, [[yàtòm hámàdù] mà:] û lò-m dë, [3rò kû = ñ] [bèdà:rù ërû kû] [3rò kû = ñ], misí:dë kûyô: kû, yà: = n 503 èw-rë-bà wà, yà pà:mè-w,
  ñgû-rû á gô-ô wàlâ', pînìw"û ïsè: lô ñ témâ:b-w wôy, tâwà û: nô-w"ù-m-dô, 504 tâwà, hâmpé-wû-m-dô, [bàngìyì = này"n] = ðà 505 dë, tâwà bërë hâmpé-wû-m-dô, [tâwà ù hâmpé-m nè] yì-j-à: dë wôy, jàm [û mà:] nàr"ñ-w"ù-m-n-ë, pînìw"û = nî [û ïsè: kû] = ñ [mi:sí:rë ãïðàw]-rà, [kû kàlâ dë] [jàm nàr"ñ-w"ù-m-n-ë], hâ [ñgû gây"n], [ï: kày] [kò:" ï: nû-ô wô], [di:nà kûyô: kû ñày] [ër"ô = m jë: mà:mù-sô-ë→], [jì:njà ñàw dë] [û sàw]

500 Imperative with 1Sg subject (taking the perspective of other persons).
501 yò:y' ‘run’ is the verb used with ‘idol’ as object; free translation ‘worship idols’.
502 ‘name’, here with the entire long NP (including relative clause) as possessor.
503 yà: = n ‘there’ (focus form) resurnes [5rò kû = ñ] ‘that place’ (focus).
504 Causative in the sense ‘allow X to VP’.
505 /rà/ ‘it is not’.
506 òsù-tèrëw ‘true path, path of truth’. In form, a compound with ‘path’ (unexpectedly) as compound initial, hence literally ‘path-truth’. 

90

àywâ i: nûwⁿyⁿ kû = m wô-sô-ŷ:., [fê kâlå] [kû wô] = nî wô-sô-ŷ:., kû = m hâl:le-sô-ŷ:. 507, àywâ [jîgûⁿ-w mâ gûⁿ-w dê] kû = m kâlå dìmbà-ŷ:., ârsilâ: mâ:kû [i: må:] ndyⁿ = nî yê, nâm

[inaudible whispered discussion]

D: nà:m, [bê:n ârsilâ: mâ:kû [nû kà:ⁿ] jê-m] [i: nû-m kày], [i: tê:rⁿè] = Ç àkilé gûⁿ-yê

B: àkilé


S: âcilé [ànàyⁿ nàyⁿ] ârsilâ: mâ:kû jê:

D: [ârsilâ: mû:] kû—

S: [ànàyⁿ kàyⁿ = nî] kû = nî jê:


B: [èrⁿè] bàŋnàgarà = nî bû = b-ê:

D: já:ti

B: àkilé kû

D: nà:m

B: bàŋnàgarà bê: nî, ...

D: já:ti

B: [ârsilâ: mû:kû] yà: = nî bà

D: nà:m

B: bàŋnàgarà

D: já:ti


D: là:n-bô

B: là:n-bâ, hâl [tû: nàyⁿ] là:n-bà, áywâ [kûⁿ-m tîném] [kûⁿ-m tîném] [jîně ñyⁿ-nà:m] [[á bâwôdô] nàyⁿ] „…

D: bû: = nî bàrû-m

507 è→ here is not a “real” word, just an vocalization extending hâl ‘until, up to’.
508 dôgûrû ‘time’ as relative head, as in Jamsay.
509 This pronoun denoting the people is treated as including the quoted speaker Akile, and so is 3Reflexive Plural.
D: á:mû:

510 ‘the side of (sb, in a dispute)’. Not ‘father’. Used with verb nû- ‘go in’.
Text 2005-2b.04  Beni and neighboring villages

S: [bê:n kôrò kù] ñjé: = Ø
[5tâa kù] èsù bù:-Ø, [yê = n kâlà] èw-yè:-bô] [isê: kâlà] têmbi], [à áwù-m-dô kù] 511
èyé gô-rí,
B: jà:ti
T: [á ýê ðô-ð cêm] áwù-m-dô [kù = m [èrâ-et mâ:] bù], [isê: kú dâ:] ã gô ýê-ð [kù wó kâlà]
[âwù-m-dô kù] kú = m ërâ-et gô-lô, [ýê úsù kâlà] kú = m bà
B: jà:ti
T: nû-m ërâ-et gô-râ, [bê:n nû-m] kù ãw-ðí
B: ñêy
B: jà:ti
T: kù bê:ni = nî bê:-wû-m bâ
B: jà:ti
T: ... [dày-ì: kù] núm bû:-Ø, òrô-dànày: yà s-è":, [kèlê mà:] yà s-è":, [òrô kû] èsú bû:-Ø
B: jà:ti
T: háyà ñgû = m bê:n bê:-wû-m bà
B: ñây [isê: ñgâ] = nî, ýê = nî kû têmbi mà →', [kù ýê = nî] [isê: kù] têmbi
T: ñay isê: yê kû têmbû-ð, ñgû-rû kày, jîmbê = n tî-têm 517
B: wô:dì
T: gàwânyô = nî tî-têmbi
B: wô:dì
S: álà ñû ñà → gàwârû bû → jîmbê ñû → [bû: = m bê:n ýê têm 519] mà → [bê:n bû: = nî ýê têmbi]

511 Factive clause with 3Reflexive possessor (=subject) and a final demonstrative kù. Compare unpossessed [àwû-m-dô kù] just below.
512 “Passive” -wû- ‘used here for generalized (impersonal) subject.
513 dânày” here is a toponym, denoting the flat stony area at the entrance to Beni. Distinct from dânày "(the) outside”.
514 kîrêy ‘empty, bare’, hence ‘for no reason’. Here with ‘it is not’ clitics = Ø = râ, where = Ø consists of a low tone.
515 Bahuvrihi compound ‘(having) good sitting’.
516 Oumar Abdou Kagoye, born 1950.
517 = tî-têmbi.
518 = bè-rí.
Title: T: bé:nì = m yë bù: tèmbì
Translator: T: 5hô

Body: B: bày [[kápëmdë = nì yà] tèmbù] mà → tèmbì-rì
Title: T: tèmbù
Subtitle: B: [[titángåy = nì yà] tèmbù] mà → tèmbì-rì
Title: T: tèmbù
Subtitle: B: bày [ànjåy" này"] [bè:n dùwô tl = nì] búsqueda yòvò tåŋ 520 bò
Title: T: ayàwà [fì kày] [kù mà:] jùwô 521 sàlà bù: -Ø
Translator: B: téégé diïya 522
Title: T: ãy, [kù mà: kày] [jùwô kù] sàlà bù: -Ø, [kù mà: kày] jùwô sàlà
Translator: B: [kù mà:] [ú jùwô] sàlà
Subtitle: D: [[ú yà] téégé gáy"] [ú jùwô-w dè]

Text:
[ MODULE ] [bèn bònd kù [kù này"] tâ: yà só, [tà: kù] [í:r:ëy" tâ:] = ì: [kù mà:] yàrî-kâ: 525 gù₃-yë [[tâ: kù mà:], yàrî-kâ:, [[yàrî-kâ: ŋgù] này"], bëngë-m [nàr" [hëjiërè]
injirï = nì [[ú [sé:] lò = nì], [[s:šr"-nìŋ grou [wôj] [kù = nì gàngi-rì = nì] lâwà:-rë,
ą:r"-kùsù sùy"-øy, [kò::në:] bëre-m-dô-ù: : ,
[kù này"] injirï = nì gö-yà, ánjày₃ ánjày₃ ánjày₃ injirï bù: gö = nì, [[ 【țùrọ kòrọy
Subtitle: S: yàrî-kâ: kù, [[tà: kù] ínîr"i:] = Ø
Translator: T: [[tà: ínîr"i:] = Ø
Subtitle: S: í:r:ëy₃ tâ:
Translator: T: í:r:ëy₃ 528 tâ:, yàrî-kâ:, [jìnjè sàw dë] [ú sàw]

B: hâ: kù=m yà, [[nà kùy:] i téégé-w kù kâlà] [kù=m kòy] [bèn nùm mà:] [[nù àw-rú-m] = Ø gù₃-y
Translator: T: D!

Footnotes:
519 = tèmbì.
520 For tángi ‘did definitively, once and for all’.
521 ‘my knowledge’, 1Sg possessor form of noun jùwà.
522 Post-imperative particle, following positive singular imperative.
523 Plural of gù-gò-m ‘one who has a propensity to leave; quitter’.
524 = tèmbì.
525 Name of the iron shoe. Cf. yàrî ‘sky’.
526 = sèsrâ-níngi ‘baobab-leaf sauce’.
527 3Pf Perfective Negative -r-à, not subject to Nasalization-Spreading.
528 Note the variant forms of ‘iron’: f:r"ëy" (archaic), and f:r"ém (used by younger speakers).
Perfective of Passive -wù- (here, -wù- after Nasalization-Spreading from the stem).

529 tā: ‘pair of shoes, (single) shoe’ here denoting a single shoe. lās̄-nēy” ‘foot-right’ here functions as a (compound) modifying adjective for ‘shoe’. The full NP is followed by the ‘it is’ clitic, audible in the form of a final falling tone.

530 1Sg hortative.

531 gl̥-r̥ “they said”, archaic form, equivalent to gūy”-bō.

532 3Sg equivalent nū-w. An unusual type of unsuffixed Perfective with lexical tone and distinct 3Sg and 3Pl endings (-w̄- , -mā)

533 Perfective of Passive -wū-
Text 2005-2b.05  Fight with a lion

T: áywà núwⁿyⁿ kò:n tègè-ràː—
S [overlapping]: bě:n, [ṭam yáː→] [tàďúŋú-m yáː→]— jàː yàyá-bò
T: [tàːmáɗú ǧi-téyⁿ] yáː→, [tàďúŋú-m yáː→] = ní jàyá-bò
S: [âːŋyàⁿ náyⁿ] = ní bè:
S: [yàː yáː→] [árⁿ à yáː→]
E: ìyà [nà yèy-né] gà̪ yò
T: pîńwⁿu = ní [nà yèy-né], [kɔːrⁿ ę̪ táppé = ní] [ę̪ ę̪ káyⁿ = ní], [ńuː [gâm bòŋò bè]] [tiwⁿyⁿ mântː] wò] úrːː-ːː = hòw
S: hàⁿ
T: [ńuː gâm] [tiwⁿyⁿ wò] úrːː-ːːː, [á:amádú titéyⁿ], [á sâː-w kù de] [núwⁿyⁿ káy], [âːŋyàⁿ wò] běːː-ː rë dë wòy, [kɔːːrⁿ kàː] āː nùː-râ-w ñgù, jàwːːː [kɔːː [ę̪ ę̪ ę̪ náyⁿ] jàyá-m] = dâ wà déː, [ńuː tûwⁿ-m yàː→] [ę̪ ę̪ yáː→] = m,

534 Cut off. Perhaps tègè-ràː: īː yěː-ː-ʳ ˒ ‘what we are coming to say’.
535 Name of man, long deceased. The personal name is Amadou. This is followed (in this and the following text) by variations on (Jamsay) téyⁿ ‘small (=young), including reduplicated tí-téyⁿ and the combination dě téyⁿ with (Jamsay) děː ‘elder brother’. Such additions would have originally served to distinguish two persons with the same personal name.
536 nāː ‘hand’. Homonym nāː ‘cows’ occurs above, same speaking turn.
537 Hortative Negative. Usually -rë-m, but -lë-m with CvN- stems like gà̪ yⁿ- ‘put’.
538 dînyⁿwò wò, adverbial phrase ‘greatly, a great amount/measure’, here modifying wàː w ‘far, distant’.
539 = náyⁿ is usually a same-subject subordinator. Here the following clauses are impersonal (presentative) but might be taken as reflecting the perspective of the audience.
540 Two parallel cases of Presentative ṹ gòy ‘here is’ following a dě clause. The parallel construction presents alternative possibilities: ‘either …, or …’.
541 Imperfective relative clause with Inanimate subject (participle -m).

S: dù dá:
B: kû-dá: ló kô:r"ô gûy^n
T: [kû-dá: kô:r"ô gûy^n] hâ: wângi:-rè wâ
B: píníw"ú gûy^n
T: kû này^n = nì, injîrî = nì, [ń: kû] píníw"ú = ní ájày^n injîrî = nì úrò yê-bô

542 This passage abounds in jussive clauses, specifically reported hortatives and imperatives (suffixes -nây^n, -m, -ỳ ~ -ý. See section on jussives in grammar.

543 Variant of dûw"ânsàn ‘Douentza’ (town).
Text 2005-2b.06  
Fight with a hyena

T: háyà ti-tá:-m kù:ⁿ kú [jínjé sàw dè] [ú sàw]
B: áywà, [kú túlu] wò, ḣgu-rù, [kú kày] [[[i: jírè] júwò] này"], ti-tá:-m, ḣgu-rù yè,  
E: [günjá-göröy wò] î: lò = ń
S: ñọ́
B: [[günjá-göröy dá:] î: lò = ń] [ti-tá:-m á yé-w] yá-dá: [pèrgé nù:] [ér"è dì-digitè-ñ] [î: mà:] dá:] késé nì-bú, késé bù: nì = nè, [kñr"úyⁿsm gù-ní yá bú] [yá-dá: [ti-tá:-m î: wòy] tū: î: áyú-w], kúrgòm kúrgòm kúrgòm tạŋásọ: yé-y ':,
[[kú túlu] wò kála] tì-tá:-m bèrè-bò  
E: günjá-göröy wó lò = ní
B: günjá-göröy wó lóní
E: [isè:] î: wòy] [làrà: làlà:] yá bù = b-è:⁵⁴⁷
E [overlapping (unclear): này] → ér"è jiè-bò  
B: nù:-râ-w, ná yèy  
D: [ti-tá:-m này]" ìjèrù wò-bò  
B: [ná yèy] [ti-tá:-m nàyⁿ]" ìjèrù wò-bò  
E: [jiyè kála] jìyè-bò  
B: [jìyè kála] jìyè-bò  
B: [[cèlè: kú] = m tàp̄-bò]⁵⁴⁸

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⁵⁴⁴ ér"è (animate 3Sg pronoun) here refers to the hyena, who is also referred to by (usually inanimate) kù in this passage.
⁵⁴⁵ Singular equivalent: ... bù-m kù.
⁵⁴⁶ Reduplicated Perfective.
⁵⁴⁷ Phonetically [jábbè:].
D: jáːtì
B: gɔ̃ːŋɔ, áⁿ hàⁿ

táppé- is a semantically vague verb used in phrases suggesting surprising or unusual force.
Part Two, English Translations

Text 2005-1a.01 Name-giving ceremony

O: God [focus] has brought you-Sg.
I: Yes\(^{549}\)
O: Health.
I: Just health.
O: How are you?
I: Praise God.
O: Greeting.
I: Peace.
O: Just peace.
I: Our people have spent the day in peace?
O: Praise God.
I: Greeting.
O: Greeting.
I: Greeting.
O: Greeting.
I: Name-giving [focus] is what we have come (for).
O: xxx welcome.
I: Fine. The meaning of name-giving, that which begins (= to begin with), when seven days (after the birth) have arrived, they will say (it) to the people. Everybody will come. They (=some of them) will bring a small basket of millet (grain spikes), others will bring ten riyals (=50 francs) each, they will give it to the woman (=mother of the newborn). It’s because of what? It’s for her cream-of-millet drinking.

It’s the money. When she has bought sugar, she will put it in the millet cream and she will drink. Her body will recover (from childbirth). The child will get breastmilk, it will suckle. The women too, some of them will bring (millet) grains, they will bring soap, they will bring salt, they will bring macari—soumbala (spice), all that (=all those things) they will take and give to the woman. She too, in that (=thereby), she will cook the meal(s) for her mouth and she will eat.

(This) goes on until the arrival (=elapse) of forty days. When the period of seclusion is cleaned (=completed), then she will go outside. That [focus] is the meaning of name-giving.

\(^{549}\) The sense of some of the single-word greetings (àwá→, birá→, å→, ǹsé→, tàːrè) is vague, and the translations are rough.
Choice of name for newborn

S: The name, how do you get (=determine) the putting (=giving) of the name? The child’s name, how do you get it?
O: We assemble (for) the name-giving. When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), having assembled, we give the name.
S: How do you get the child’s name, the name. (That) the name So-and-So, (that) establishing\(^{550}\) (the name) thus [focus] is appropriate, how do you find it?
O: Establishing (it) thus [focus] is appropriate, that the father of the child will say. “Your name—, the name of your child, how do you-Sg want them to establish it?” “I want them to establish my child’s name as So-and-So, thus I have asked.”
S: The boys, the fact that they bring firewood (bundles), why do they bring it?
O: The boys, the fact that they bring firewood, the new mother will light (=build) fire with it, she will light fire with it, until eventually the forty days (have elapsed). If it’s a male (child), thirty days. xxx the new mother cannot (herself) go looking for wood, it’s for that reason [focus] that they bring it.
S: The fact that you get together now to sit and spend the night, as for that, its meaning is what?
O: The fact that we get together now to sit and spend the night, it’s (=it has) no other meaning (than the following). The boy (=the new father), his (=the father’s) age-mates, they themselves come, at night, if the name-giving is the next day (=on the eve of the name-giving), they heat (=make) tea, they have fun, (there is) pleasure. “I have gotten a child.” Pleasure. “So-and-So (=father) has gotten a child.” “She has given birth to a child.” “She has given birth in good health.” “She has been cured (=has recovered from childbirth).” The pleasure of that. It’s because of the pleasure of that [focus] that they come—, that they do (it).
S: Uh-huh. You-Sg and fatigue (=thank you for your effort).
O: You’re welcome.

\(^{550}\) Literally ‘putting (name)’.
Text 2005-1a.03  Co-wifehood at a name-giving

S: Today the old women came and posted a paper there.\footnote{Like the preceding text, this one was recorded shortly after observing a name-giving ceremony. The interviewer had noticed the paper posting.} I had seen them earlier doing something frivolous (=fooling around). That too, what is its meaning?
I: It’s (about) co-wifehood. It’s because of co-wifehood [focus] that they did it.
S: That too, (is it) for the (christened) child, or the co-wife?
I: They say she (=new mother) has given birth to a girl, (whereas) they said that they would have preferred a boy. It’s a co-wife. But if it were a boy, it would be their husband. If it’s a girl, it’s (their) co-wife. They had fun of (=about) that.
S: The fact that they brought worn-out hides, that too, what is its meaning?
I: Well now indeed, (for) to a co-wife, (giving/doing) something bad is normal. (To give) something good to her isn’t normal. It’s for that reason [focus] that they gathered and brought (the hides).
S: (In) Beni, our town here, water, how did it (=the water situation) happen? How is it done?
I: The water, we found it thus at Tangaso (location in the ravine). In the way we found it long ago, water used to dry up (seasonally), to the point that when we would drink, the ladder would come out (=be used). There was a ladder. Having gathered together, when two neighborhoods in each village would come together and you-Pl would strike the bell, they would go and dig (for water). When we dug, again there we would drink. When it (=water) ended (=dried up), we would dig again, and there we would drink.

When the rain came down again, thanks to God, up here it’s (=there was) water. They came there and poured it (into containers) there. When they were doing that, we got tired, and our women got tired. At Tangaso (down) the hill, going (=climbing) up and coming down, going up and coming down was hard.

We wanted the water up here (on the stony shelf). We went in order to dig (a well) at Komkuguru. It’s rock. We got tired (from) hammering (with a pick-ax). We got tired (from) hammering. The water didn’t come out. We abandoned (it).

Again, at another water source, now at Bala, we got (water). Bala is a flat stony area. Each morning, the young men would fire (=make explosions) with gunpowder, (then) they would hammer and pound (the rock) with the large lever and so forth. Doing that at length, they would get tired. To this day, we haven’t gotten anything else.

Again now, the water of Tangaso, it doesn’t end (=dry up), now. But the water, it’s dirty. It (=water) has a sickness for us. It does (=causes) schistosomiasis (worm disease), they say, it does various things, they say. There is all that in the water. A difficulty, it’s difficult. It’s for that reason [focus] that we keep seeking water up here, it’s all (because of) that.

S: What thing is it that makes the water at Tangaso dirty, and makes (=causes) the sickness for you-Pl? Is it a lack of care (=maintenance)? Or is it a lack of interest (=neglect)? (Or) the inability to dig?
I: Now the water is abundant and overflows, it doesn’t end (=dry up). It isn’t that we can’t dig. Before (=long ago), when it ended, we used to dig (some more). Nowadays it doesn’t cease (=run out). It’s (because of) that, going on since twenty years, the dirtiness has sat (=taken root) inside.

S: Now what they call “tamarind,” it’s that [focus] that makes (=causes) schistosomiasis; that too, is it the truth? Or is it (just) people’s talk (=false popular belief)?
I: Ah, it’s thus [focus] that they have spoken. We have said (=we think) it’s the truth, as for us anyway.

S: If it’s not (=aside from) this water, is there any other water that puts (=causes) the disease for you-Pl?
I: We have indeed not seen (=experienced) another.
S: There is no other at all.

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552 Lit. “each day/sun that would break.”
553 Lit. “the tamarind that they say,” with ‘tamarind’ as head of the relative clause.
I: There is no other. xxx we drink that. We have no other water.
S. This pond in Beni that you trust (=rely on) in your village, it’s just that one.
I: Nowadays, it’s that. If it’s not (=aside from) that, we have no other pond (water source) at all.
O: Now, (in) Tangaso itself, there is a lot of dirtiness. They have said that it makes (=causes) schistosomiasis. The tamarind trees that are standing there, when their leaves begin to fall, they say that that [focus] is what makes (=causes) it. We don’t know if it’s the truth, we don’t know if it’s a falsehood. Up here we began far away (=since long ago) to look for water in other places.

Even the people of (=from) the project here, when they came to us, they asked us what (kind of) difficulty⁵⁵⁴ there was for us. (We said:) there is the problem of water for us, there is very much the problem of water for us, (and) there is the problem of food for us. They asked, which is more (important) for us? The thing that we want (=need) the most, we should say that (to them) now, they said. (We said:) we want water more (than anything). They asked us to say (what) (we) wanted the most.

(We said:) well, (as for) that, (after they) make a dam for us, if we have gotten the dam, drawing water at Tangaso, we’ll have rested (=desist) from it (=drawing water at Tangaso). With that (=on that basis) they blocked off (=constructed) a dam for us. After they finished damming up the dam, well, we want a well up here. (In) our Tangaso, our water, our water, the water is bad water, because it has (=contains) sickness. Well, they themselves, there was not for them (=they didn’t have) the power (=capability) to dig a well up here, they said. They would dig a well for us at Bara,⁵⁵⁵ they said.

Well, they dug a well for us at Bara. Well, now, that well,⁵⁵⁶ they dug it for us. They told us to put (=establish) a (vegetable) garden there afterwards. They kept working at the work of how to put a garden, they worked and worked. Leaving it (=making the garden) to us, well, thus [focus] is how they left (it). Well, now, we have even begun to put the garden in that place.

Even today, if we (can) get (it), here in our Oloy⁵⁵⁷ we want (=would like) two (more) wells, not (including) that one’s (=Bara’s) water. With that (=Bara), we would like to get (=have) all together three wells. Even up here, we want a well, we very much want (it). Well, for that reason now we alone (=without help) up here are digging a well. Well, we don’t have the capability of (doing) it. Now if we get some of the white people’s gunpowder (=dynamite), if we do a lot of pounding (with pick-axes), what they call « calière »⁵⁵⁸ (explosive charge), we’ll put (=use) that.

But we don’t have (any of) that. Now, we do (it) just with Dogon (=traditional) gunpowder. For two years, we have been working on that up until now. We haven’t gotten any presence (=manifestation) of water. Even today, we continue that work, we

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⁵⁵⁴ Lit. “difficulty of what?”
⁵⁵⁵ Both Tangaso and Bara are locations in the long ravine running from Beni toward Dianwely Maoudé.
⁵⁵⁶ Lit., “the well of that” (possessive).
⁵⁵⁷ Oloy is the name of the flat area at the bottom of the ravine at Beni.
⁵⁵⁸ Spelling approximate. A French word not known to me.
continue that work. We would like to have gotten a well up here. Our women are tired of Tangaso, our women are tired, (and) the water (there) is (=has) sickness. Well, as for that, we are very much sick and tired of it. There is nothing that we want more than water today, other than food to eat.

S: If your-PI women are tired, why do your-PI women, (at) the well that they have dug for you-PI there at Bara, at the place of the dam, why do they not draw the water of that (place)? You-PI said that the water of that (place), that [focus] is what is good.

O: That [focus] is what is good, (but) the well is far away. (For) carrying (water) with (=on) the head and coming (back), it’s far away. It’s a (stone) hill, they go up the hill, it’s far away. For that reason, the women don’t go.

S: You-PI don’t have any (other) means for them to draw water?

O: Another means for them to draw water, something that (you-Sg) draw (water with) and (so) you-Sg don’t carry (water) on the head, something (with which) they bring water home, we don’t have any other means (than the head). We have no power of (capability for) that.

S: Now, all that you-PI want, it is just water.

O: It’s water. There is nothing that we want more today than water up here. Water, and a road.

S: If that water is good, is for you-PI to draw it [focus] good (=better)? Or is for you-PI to draw that (water) of Tangaso over there [focus] good (=better)?

O: That water is good, we like it indeed, in (=as) water to drink. But simply because it’s far away, we have abandoned it. There are some people who draw it (water of Bara) from time to time. If you-Sg been drawing (water) and have come (back here) once, you can’t go (back there) a second time. We draw it from time to time as drinking water. One time, (or) two times, the people draw it.

Lit., “water that they drink,” with nonreferential 3Pl pronominal.
Field ownership

S: As for you-Pl now, you-Pl will say, the field is yours-Pl. Now, the hills, here (they are), (the ones) that near the village, they do not belong to the village. Well, as for that, what has made it? In some cases they say, this (land) belongs to this one (=village). In some (other) cases, it belongs to us, (but) this field belongs to (other) people. Does it (=land) belong to one person (as private property), or is it the territory (=property) of the whole village?

O: Is it (=do you mean) the side (=area) of the mountain? Is it the side of the mountain, or the side of Da 560 here (near the mountain)?

S: The whole mountain, this (area) and this (area), all these (ones) that are around here.

O: (In) the whole mountain, it’s one person’s field, it belongs to one person, it belongs to one person, it belongs to one person, it’s like that. 561 The people of yesterday (=former times), we’ve heard, ever since (their) coming and sitting (=settling), every person (said) “this too is my field,” “this too is my field,” “this too is my field.” They didn’t find anyone (there).

The fields that they claimed, well, that field, even today, you-Sg too, it (=a field) belongs to you-Sg too. If you-Sg have (one) here, that (other one) too has (one) there, that (other one) too has (one) there, that (other one) (or) that (other one) has (one) there.

But now, (in) this side (=area) of ours, this, the bush (=uninhabited) territory, it’s collective territory. We call that (area) “Sene.” We say “this Gunjo-goroy side (=area).” We say, “this Koriyom side,” this is collective (property). If this Koriyom side (=area) goes (=extends) between us (=Beni) and the people of Pergué (a village), it (=Koriyom) brings out (=sets) the boundary.

S: Collective (property), what happened so that it became collective? Did the whole village [focus] go and take (=claim the land) together? Or one person, it was he [focus] who did it, saying that (=because) all of us, the village—, we are people of Beni, and they converted it to collective (property)?

O: They didn’t convert it to collective property on the grounds that we are all people of Beni. Nor did the whole village go and take (=claim it) together. (In) that side (=area) over there, (and) in that (other) side over there, there were people (living). Well, the people who were there, yesterday (=long ago), if a village (=group of people) came, if a village came and these (new) people found (=came across) them (=the original natives), (then) the (original) people, if they feared these (new people), they would flee.

Or (in) a certain village, death dances 562 were many, (because) yesterday (=long ago) sickness was abundant, (and) Fulbe (and) creatures (=wild animals) used to stab (=attack) and kill the people, if their people there were finished (=decimated), you-Pl

560 dâ: is the name of a rocky shelf near Gamni village.
561 Each field is individual property.
562 Colorful expression denoting disastrous years in which large numbers of people died (in famines, etc.). It should be noted that jîyé ‘dance’ (verb or noun) is only slightly distinct phonetically from the verb jîyé ‘kill’.
would take their inheritance (=land). If it was you-PI [focus] who found them (=original people), you-PI would take the inheritance (=possession) of the field.

When you-PI had taken it, it was your-PI property. But the field, its people (=original owners) are (still) there. Its people are (still) there, but they say, “well, let’s make it collective (property) of the whole village.” Now they have done thus. For the whole village, like that, collective (property). Thus they left it (to later generations).
S: Now, the fields everywhere, it (=a field) belongs to this one, it (=another field) belongs to this one, (another) belongs to this one, (another) belongs to this one, you-Pl say. That too, did they buy the fields? Or how (=what) did they do?
I: They didn’t buy (them). As O said now, the property of all Beni, what he (=O) was saying just now, it (=land) is collective (property), it’s the truth. Even among all (the people of) Beni, there is someone who is closer to (=more closely involved) there.\textsuperscript{563} They (=new people), if it’s the people of a clan\textsuperscript{564} [focus] who have taken over the property of those (other) ones as inheritance, if they made it (=property) in common (=collective), they (=other villagers) will request it of them (=clan).

At Koriyom, there is a side (=area) that they ask for, it belongs to all of Beni, but it’s collective (property). At Dure, there is a side (=area) that they ask for, it belongs to all of Beni, it’s collective. At Sene, there is a place that they ask for, it belongs to all of Beni, it’s collective. Doing like that (=in that way), it was made (=became) collective (property).

Without (=other than) that, as for Oloy (location in the plains) and others, it’s each person (with) his (own) money. Ever since ancient times, they have bought (land). What they have come and bought, nowadays that is what has become everyone’s field.

Gamni Mountain that you (can) see, it’s this one, here’s a big mountain, villages are on both sides. Over by Gamni, it belongs to Gamni (village), it’s (on) this side, it belongs to Gamni. On that (=far) side, it belongs to Ogoyeru (a Jamsay village), (on) one (=the same) mountain. It is like that.

S: It’s you-Pl who are close (=involved) there. How did it happen that it came to belong to the people of Gamni?
I: It’s they [focus] who came first. We found them (here).
S: Your-Pl (=Beni’s) mountain too, it’s on which side (=area)? You-Pl, your-Pl mountain.
I: (As for us), we don’t have anything like the big mountain (=Gamni Mountain), unless it’s Dure Mountain.
S: Dure Mountain alone, that’s what belongs to you-Pl?
I: Yes, as for that, it belongs to us.
S: So you-Pl too, you-Pl are far from the village\textsuperscript{565} Did you go and buy (it)? Or did you claim it? Or did you find (=inherit) it from your ancestors?
I: The village, we found it (already) for our ancestors. We found it for our ancestors.
S: But they didn’t say to you-Pl that they had bought it for themselves?
I: Uh-huh. But they bought (it).
S: They bought (it), the mountain.

\textsuperscript{563} Some people are actively involved in exploiting particular areas of collective land, with the authorization of descendants of the original owners.

\textsuperscript{564} Descended from an apical ancestor.

\textsuperscript{565} S meant to say ‘from the mountain’.
I: Yes, if it takes (=including) the mountain along with its field(s), going all the way down below (on the plains). Everyone—, the village, (if) they have gone away for good, (and) you-Sg remain there, who does it (=land) belong to?

As for them, (if) they have all gone. Does it not belong to you-Sg? If they have died (off), (and) you-Sg have come and you have found (it), does it not belong to you-Sg? There is (land) that they found (=took over) in that way.
Text 2005-1a.08     Locust invasion 2004

S: This year, they said the locusts\textsuperscript{566} came to you-Pl. The locusts, (as for) them, how did they come?

O: Well, the locusts, as for us, they call them “flying grasshoppers.” As for us, we had never seen them. We had never seen flying grasshoppers come and amazingly eat up the millet. On the radio it was said that the locusts were coming, the locusts were coming. Beware, each person, if his millet was a little (=partially) ripe, they told us to harvest (it), just a little (=as much as we could), if it (=millet) has put (=grown) white milk (latex in half-ripe grains), they told us to harvest (it).

In that way we waited,\textsuperscript{567} we waited, we waited, until the locusts came to us. Everyone of the same age as me had never seen the locusts. The locusts had come (many years earlier). This year was the 55th year since they had (last) arrived, they said. As for us, we didn’t know (about) them. Well, because of this too, we did not agree to harvest the unripe millet.

All at once (=suddenly), they (=locusts) came in the daytime and descended upon us. In the hottest time of the day, at 12:30. At that time they came and descended upon us.

S: They said that the locusts, as for them, they came twice. The first time that they came, what did you-Pl do?

O: When they came the first time, they descended upon us at noon. As soon as they came, we went to the harvest. We were harvesting, we were harvesting, we were harvesting, in places where they (=locusts) had not arrived. Even at night, we stayed up at night harvesting. After we spent the night harvesting, they (=locusts) went up and lay down (=rested for the night) in the trees.

In the morning again, when it was 7:00, they again came down into the fields. Well, (as for) them, when they came down into those fields, they didn’t get up (=fly off) any more. Whatever they found, if it was fresh (vegetation), they ate up (completely).

S: They came twice. (What about) the second time when they came?

O: The second time, as for that, when they (=locusts) went away, what they did at mid-day, as for that, they had finished eating. They passed (=moved on) over this way. The second day, precisely on the second day, the others too (=another swarm of locusts), they came, at 1:00 they came. Well, at 1:00, as for them, when they came, they didn’t go away. It’s they [focus] who came and ate (completely).

S: Fine. The locusts, when they came, what did the people say about them? What did you-Pl think about them? …

O: We (tried to) drive them away.

\textsuperscript{566}ki-ká: ‘grasshopper, locust’ denotes any acridian species. The reference here is to \textit{Schistocerca gregaria}, in itsgregarious (locust) form, which devoured the millet harvest throughout the local region in 2004.

\textsuperscript{567}Lit. “heard.”
S: ... For example, did you-Pl think it was like (divine) destruction? Or did you-Pl think it was some kind of ruination of (=from) the world (of the living)? Or how (=what) did you-Pl think, about it?

O: As for us, the locusts, when they came, there was nothing in this world that we didn’t think of (=imagine). We thought that they also would not leave the millet stems. They came and piled onto each other on top of the millet (plants). When they piled onto each other, and the millet (plants) would go (=topple) onto the ground, they (=plants) would fall with a thud!

S: Fine. For example, (about) that now, did you-Pl think that the world was ruined so they came? Or did you-Pl think that a (divine) disaster had come down?

O: We thought it was a (divine) disaster. We had never seen anything equal to it. Never, other than (hearing) what they (=old people) said, had we seen anything equal to it. As for it, another (divine) disaster, we too, we thought we wouldn’t survive any more in this world.

S: When the locusts came, you-Pl only, did you-Pl try to drive them out by yourselves, or did you get help of (=from) the powerful ones (=government)?

O: We kept trying to drive the locusts out. We would go running into the field and we would come back running. We would go running and we would come back running. When you-Sg went tearing (running hard), they (=locusts) were (doing) like this (on) the millet, the way they were, they didn’t get up (=fly away).

If you-Sg looked up at the top of the trees, the trees could not be seen (=were covered with locusts). If you looked at the millet, it couldn’t be seen. If you looked at the ground, there were (even) more of them there.

Doing that, we got tired. The powerful ones (=government), the day after that, the airplane came here. The airplane came and it was pumping (insecticide) at them for us there, it kept pumping at them until the 4 PM prayer. When the first one (=airplane) came, when it was time for the 4 PM prayer, well now, the locusts are dead, they will not come (back) again, they are dead, we thought.

Then, again a further swarm of locusts came, at exactly 1:00 PM. Here was the airplane going, here were the locusts coming. The airplane was pumping at these locusts. We didn’t see a single locust die.

S: The locusts, was it after they had eaten (all) the millet that they went away? Or was it (because) the time for their going had arrived that they went away?

O: They went away after they had eaten the millet. When they had eaten every last bit of millet, they went away. Everything fresh that they found, they had eaten. All of the fresh millet they had eaten. When they had eaten, thus [focus] they went away.

S: They went and did not come (back) any more?

O: They went and did not come (back) any more.

I: The first time, we had chased them. We had been getting together and had been driving the locusts out the first time, we had been doing (that), (and) then they had gone away.

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568 I.e. humanity has behaved wickedly and has been punished.
569 Did they leave because there was no millet left to eat, or did they go on their own schedule?
570 I’s first contribution to this text.
We stayed (thus), thinking that they will go now, they will go away having being driven out.

When they came the second time, we tried to drive them out but they didn’t go. At that point, everyone got up and went into the harvest. They were harvesting at night, they were harvesting in the morning. This went on, until the end of the harvest arrived.

When they (=locusts) came, they ate the (half-ripe) millet with milky liquid (and) the unripe millet. The millet that has dried (=hardened) a little, as long as there is (also) some fresh millet, they won’t eat it (=dry millet). With that, when they came, they ate up our millet. It happened like that.
S: How do you put (=get) honey? How do you fix up man-made apiaries, in such a way that the bees will go in (to the apiaries) and finish putting (=making honey)?

I: Apiaries. A balanzan tree that has a cavity (hollow interior), we go and cut it down. When we have set fire to it, we widen the cavity. When it has become wider, we look for a covering (to close up the opening). When we have covered (the opening), we give it (=apiary) a smell. We give it a smell using onion, and doum-palm nuts, and cow manure, until it’s good. We’ll cover it (=opening) and leave it. We’ll slap mud on it. We’ll go and take it (=mud) and we’ll put it on the tree.

When three days, or four days, have arrived (=elapsed), maybe some bees have come and gone in. If they have gone in, (upon) three months’ going and arriving (=elapsing), the bees have put (=made) honey.

When they (=bees) have made honey, you-Sg yourself, at night you-Sg will go and tie a straw torch, you will hold a calabash, you will go and find them. You will strike a fire and put it on the straw torch, and you’ll bring it close to the opening (of the apiary). You’ll keep blowing (so smoke goes in), on that side. They (=bees) will all go (=fly) away through the hole on that (other) side (of the apiary).

Over here, you-Sg now, at the opening on this side, where you-Sg are, you’ll open it (=apiary) up. The honey that is there, when you-Sg find the honey, you-Sg will take it out and put it in the calabash, you-Sg will take it out and put it in the calabash, you-Sg will take it out and put it in the calabash.

If there are worms (=larvae), you-Sg have left them (there). If it’s the yellow stuff, you-Sg will take it out (=collect it). If it’s liquid honey, you-Sg will take it out. You-Sg keep doing that, then when the right situation (=time) to arrive (=finish) has arrived, you will leave there (=that place). You-Sg will take (honey) and cover up (the hole) and leave (the place). Now, you-Sg take (it) out, (and) you-Sg come home again.

S: When you-Sg have come home, what do you-Sg do for (=with) the honey?

I: For the honey, when we come back home, you-Sg people, all of you-Sg will sit down together and you-Sg will swallow (=eat some). You-Sg will give (some) to your-Sg neighboring house (=neighbors). You-Sg will give (some) to the good people that you love. You-Sg will sell (some), it’s money. (You) having sold it, it’s money, with that you will accumulate (=save). Honey, that [focus] is what we do with it.

O: If a disease has caught (=afflicted) a person, if he has come for his need (=for medical help), you-Sg give (some honey) to him.

I: We put it in a a tin can and give it to him, to (the) sick person. We do thus in that (case).

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571 Only a barrel-sized section of the tree trunk is used.
572 úgúró- usually means ‘burn incense’, but here it has a more general sense ‘give a smell to’.
Text 2005-1a.10 Farm work

S: You-Pl now, at which place do you-Pl begin the dry (farming) work of the rainy season?
O: The dry work of the rainy season, we begin now at this time (of year). Now at this time of year, we call that “dry work.” If there are stems and roots in your-Sg field, you-Sg will go and uproot (them). If there are thorns, you will go and keep raking them together, then you will proceed to put (=set) fire (in them).

When you have already put them (in the fire), (and) you are (=remain) like that for a little while, if you-Sg are (=remain) there, when a little while happens (=passes), now when May (and) these months (=May and neighboring months) have arrived, (there is) dry sowing. We call that “toy-bisi.”

I: There is manure gathering.
O: We gather manure, it is the truth. Manure gathering is first (=ahead of time). When you-Sg have gathered up the manure, well, now, (because of) the way (places like) the sandy plains are, you do the dry sowing (there). They call it “dry sowing.” If you-Sg have done the dry sowing, from then until the rainy season has arrived—, at the boundary of the place (=part of the field) where you are doing the dry-sowing, when you have completely sowed (it), you-Sg remain at rest. You-Sg are like that, until it (=rainy season) has come, (and) the rain falls.

When the rain has fallen, again you sow seeds then; they call that “wet sowing.” When the seeds have come and sprouted, when the seeds have sprouted, when the seeds have sprouted well, a second rain falls. When the second rain has fallen, we begin the farming (=weeding).

Now, before that (=weeding) has arrived, before you-Sg go and do the farming (=weeding), if there is an empty (=fallow) area, a place where you-Sg haven’t sowed, you-Sg will proceed to keep plowing (the earth) with a plow and drop (the seeds) (“drink”). We grow peanuts and the like. Well, that’s how (=what) we do, (until) the farming work (=weeding) arrives.

S: If it isn’t (=other than) plowing and dropping (seeds) using a plow, do they not sow otherwise (=with any other method)?
O: In a place where you-Sg have already sowed seeds?
S: (Suppose) you have sowed (but) it hasn’t sprouted, (where) you-Sg have plowed and seeded (“drunk”) using a plow.
I: They do over-sowing.
O: They do over-sowing. (Suppose) you go to your-Sg field, if the sowing was not enough, you will over-sow and put down (the seeds), in the mounds (where seeds are dropped), you will over-sow and put down (the seeds).

573 I.e. lines of earth are turned over by a plow pulled by a beast of burden with one farmer, and another person drops seeds in the turned-over earth. This cannot be used in (selective) over-sowing since it would disrupt the crop plants that have sprouted.
S: When the sowing is completed, now how (=what) do you-Pl do?
O: When all the sowing is completed, farming work (=weeding) [focus] is what follows it (=sowing).
S: Farming work, is there one (period of it), or two?
O: Farming work (=weeding) is (in) two (periods).\textsuperscript{574} They call it, the first (period of) farming “wongoro-kunju.” When you have already done the wongoro-kunju, if (weeding) your field is finished, (then) it’s “senje.” You will do the senje (second round of farming work).
S: (Between) the wongoro-kunju and senje, which (of them) is more difficult?
O: Wongoro-kunju is harder, wongoro-kunju is harder. (As for) senje, if you-Sg go to certain spots, it may be that you-Sg haven’t found that the grasses (=weeds) are as many as when you passed through doing farm work (=weeding) the first time.
S: Fine. Peanuts and other things, do you-Pl plant\textsuperscript{575} those during the (millet) weeding? Or do they plant (them) back during the sowing (of millet)?
O: We plant (peanuts) during the (millet) weeding. Well, (sometimes) when we have been doing the weeding, and we have left (=completed) it, we will go and plant peanuts. Some (other) times, (when) we haven’t yet begun the (millet) weeding, we go and plant peanuts. In that way we do the (millet) weeding, when we have already finished planting the peanuts. (In) some years, when we have been doing the (millet) weeding, we plant peanuts.
S: When you-Pl have done the weeding, now what do you-Pl do, if you-Pl have already planted both of them (millet and peanuts)?
O: We have done the first round of weeding, (and) we have done the second round of weeding. When we are doing the second round of weeding, (while waiting) until the millet ripens, you-Sg will remove (by hand) some half-ripe millet grains and you-Sg will be chewing them, (and) in some fields you will do (more of) the second round of weeding, where the grass (=weeds) is.
S: Now if you-Pl have done the second round of weeding, (and) the millet has ripened, what do you-Pl do?
O: When the millet has all ripened, the women harvest (with a sickle) the yu-do (a small, early-ripening variety of millet). They call that yu-do, (it’s) the very dark millet. That and the very small yu-dengembere (another early-ripening variety).\textsuperscript{576} They call that yu-

\textsuperscript{574} The heaviest farm work is the two rounds of weeding (and thinning) done around July and early August, done by hand, bending over, using a daba (hoe) that is pulled in toward the body. wóngóró ‘farming, farm work’ and the related verb wàrá- refers prototypically to this pulling action. The first round is the most laborious, as weeds are uprooted and shaken off, crop seedlings are thinned out, and some spot-oversowing is done where the seedlings have not sprouted or have died. By the second round, the millet plants are taller and the weeding is less difficult.

\textsuperscript{575} The verb wàrá-, which focally denotes the act of turning over earth while pulling the daba in toward one’s body, here means ‘plant (peanuts)’, which is done with the daba.

\textsuperscript{576} yu-do is described as being tall but thin (stem and spike). yu-dengembere is described as having a short but thick stem and spike. These are the two first varieties to ripen.
do breaking-off, we break off (grain spikes of) yu-do. When they have broken off all of the yu-do, the (regular) millet will become dry (=hard), (and) now we will harvest (it) (by cutting).

S: How do you-Pl do the (millet) harvest?
O: The (millet) harvest, they call it porkiya (hand-knife). They call it hand-knife. Certain people harvest with a (regular) knife, (and) certain (other) people harvest with the hand-knife. Here you-Sg jab (=make a hole in the handle), you-Sg put it on your finger(s). You-Sg (also) sling a shoulderbag over your shoulder (by its strap). When you-Sg harvest (=cut off the grain spikes), you put (them) in the shoulderbag. When it’s full, you-Sg go dump and leave it (in a small pile). When it’s full (again), you-Sg go dump and leave it.

S: Do they dump (the spikes) in one place (=in a big heap)? Of do they dump (it) in numerous places (=in several small piles)?
O: If (it’s) just you-Sg (in the field), you-Sg dump in various places that you have found. When you-Sg have dumped about three shoulderbags full here, and around four shoulderbags full over there, the people will come, and keep gathering (the dumped millet ears), and go and bring them near (=together) into the big millet pile.

S: Those people too (who carry millet ears to the big pile), how are they distinct (=specialists in that job)? Or how is it?
O: In your-Sg house, some girls are there, or if your-Sg younger brothers are there, if there are people who will help you-Sg, when you are harvesting, they too will gather (millet), they too will gather what you have dumped, and they will transport it (=millet) out of the field) into the large millet-ear pile.

S: Well, when you-Pl have harvested, is it in the field [focus] that you-Pl leave (the millet) there? Or how (=what) do you-Pl do?
O: When we have harvested, (it’s) in the field. When you-Sg have harvested in this field, you will proceed to leave (the millet) here for now. (If) you-Sg go and harvest in (another) field over there, you-Sg will leave it there for now. (If) you-Sg go and harvest in (another) field over there, you-Sg will leave it there for now. When we have harvested (completely), we will carry the millet (in baskets on our heads) like this.

I: Do you-Pl uproot (millet stems) and cover (the millet grain spikes in the pile)? Or do you-Pl not cover (them)?
S: When we have uprooted the stems, we cover (the millet spikes), in some fields.
I: Don’t you-Pl (also) slash (=harvest with a sickle) roselle?

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577 A small knife with a hole in the handle for one’s finger to go through, used for cutting off the seed spike (ear) of millet.
578 Lit., “three skin mouth.”
579 yu-tere ‘(large) millet pile’ on the side of a field consists of several heaps of millet ears, laid horizontally on top of each other. The individual heaps are rectangular, but several such heaps are positioned in spoke-like fashion around a central point. When this has been piled high, outer rings of individual heaps are added. As a whole, this large pile represents the bulk of the millet crop for the year. The millet will later be carried in baskets to granaries in the village.
580 Hibiscus sabdariffa (cultivated). In local French oseille or dah.
S: Indeed we slash roselle.
I: They slash roselle?
S: We slash roselle. Roselle, with respect to the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first.
I: Do men slash (it)? Or do women slash (it)?
S: Women— (or rather) men slash it.
I: Men slash (it).
S: Uh-huh! With respect to the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first. When we have slashed the roselle, (then) we begin the (millet) harvest like that.
I: The (harvested) millet. The big (horizontal) heap? Or is it the small vertical pile?\footnote{yu-juro is a smaller pile on the side of a field for grain spikes (ears) of millet, planted vertically in the sand (rather than laid down horizontally), and usually kept as seedstock for the following year’s sowing.}
S: We make the small vertical millet-spike pile, (and) we make the large horizontal heap.
They make the small vertical millet-spike pile with shoulderbags.
I: They dump (the millet spikes) with (=from) the shoulderbags?
O: If you-Sg have come (with) the shoulderbags, you-Sg will dump (the ears) with the shoulderbags.
I: Erect (vertically).
O: They call that yu-juro, the (small) one which is erect.
I: The (other) one that is flat (with spikes laid horizontally), how (=what) do they call it?
O: They call it yu-teere (large horizontal pile), what they dump with (=out of) baskets.
I: With a crowd (of people)—
O: With baskets, going all around, you-Sg will dump (millet spikes) and keep going with (the basket).\footnote{This speaking turn describes the concentric rings made in the yu-teere.}
When it (=heap) is tall at the top (=millet has been piled high in an inner ring), you dump and keep going with (the basket) again, a second time (to form an outer ring of the pile). When it is tall, you dump and keep going with (the basket) a third time (to form another outer ring).
S: When they have carried the millet (in baskets on their heads) and brought it to the house(s), what do you-Pl do (then)?
O: The carrying and bringing of the millet to the houses, as for that, when we have gone in order to carry the millet, we separate it (into categories). One they call yu-buburu (partially ripe millet), (the kind) that isn’t greatly\footnote{Lit. “in big(-ness),” here as adverb ‘to a great extent’.} (=especially) ripe. They call the one that has fully ripened yu-na (normal millet).\footnote{yu-na (normal millet) has hard grains that are suitable for long-term storage in granaries. The yu-buburu (semi-ripe millet) is softer and is consumed first.} We carry it and bring it to the houses. When we have carried and brought it to the houses, we put it in granaries.
S: In the granaries, do they put the yu-buburu and the yu-na in one (=the same) place? Or separated?
O. We put (=store) them separately. If you-Sg have put the yu-na on this side (of the granary), you-Sg will put the yu-buburu on that (other) side. If you-Sg have two granaries also,
one—, you-Sg will put the yu-na in one granary, and you-Sg will put the yu-buburu in one (=the other) granary.

S: Fine. Having done the (millet) harvest, when you-Pl have finished carrying the millet (to the houses), do you-Pl not have any further work?

O: Having done the (millet) harvest, when we have carried the millet, we indeed do have further work.

I: There’s the calabash field.

O: It’s calabashes,\(^585\) we sow (them). We sow calabashes. In a field in which we (earlier) put (=planted) millet, when we sow the calabash plants, they are there.\(^586\) When we have gone and carried (the millet), xxx you-Pl will go and uproot the stems (with e.g. a daba). When you-Pl have uprooted the stems, if you-Sg put a little water on the calabashes, it (=calabash vine) will spread by itself, it will propagate\(^587\) a little.

Well, now (when) we—, when you-Sg have finished uprooting all of the (millet) stems, you-Sg cut some thorns (=thorny branches) and you-Sg make a thorn-branch fence (to keep animals out). When it is (like that) for a long time, the calabashes (=plants) will bear fruit.

Well, now, again, that [focus] is what we will work, the work of (leveling) a (new) calabash field. Well, if it’s someone who doesn’t have a calabash field, he too, he will put (=plant) a garden.\(^588\) Well, that [focus] is our work.

S: Fine. You-Pl have said that you-Pl grow peanuts. When you-Pl have grown the peanuts, do you-Pl leave them there like that? You-Pl don’t bring them home—

O: We indeed uproot (=harvest) peanuts. We uproot peanuts. When we have uprooted the peanuts, we carry and bring (them) to the houses. Peanuts—

S [overlapping]: Do women uproot? Or do men uproot (peanuts)?

O: A man—. If it’s for herself [focus] that a woman has grown (peanuts), she will uproot. If a man grows his own, he will uproot. A woman, if her husband has uprooted (peanuts) for her, (so that) God catches her (=gives her rest), that too is good. If you-Sg (=a woman) don’t have a person who uproots (for you), if you-Sg (as) a woman go to your own (field), it’s you-Sg [focus] who will uproot.

S: When you have uprooted (the peanuts), do you-Sg pick (peanut pods from the plants) there (in the field)? Or do you-Sg pick (them) at the house?

O: Certain people pick (them) there (in the field), (and) certain (other) people bring them to the houses and pick (them), the peanuts.

\(^585\) I.e. the calabash or gourd plant (\textit{Lagenaria siceraria}), a trailing vine of the melon family. A calabash is a semi-spherical container (e.g. for milk) consisting of a sawed-off half of a gourd fruit.

\(^586\) When the millet has been removed, the furrows and ridges in the field are leveled to prepare for planting the calabash (gourd) vines.

\(^587\) Lit. “it gets its (own) head.”

\(^588\) French \textit{jardin}, i.e. vegetables (onions, lettuce, etc.), generally sold for cash. Such off-season gardening is possible in villages with a dry-season source of water such as a large pond or a mountain spring.
Text 2005-1a.11  Granaries

X: Granaries, why do you-Pl build them? How do you-Pl build them?

Y: (In) our thinking, we build (granaries) in order to put (=store) millet. When we begin (building), down below, when we have swept the place, the (square) base structure, we will build (it) first. When we have covered (=roofed) it, when it has dried out a little, while we mold bricks (of mud-gravel mix), while we mold bricks, the base structure that we build will dry out. When we have gathered the bricks, we put (them) down next to it and leave (them).

We say to all of the villagers, “today our granary—, (as of) today when five days have arrived (=elapsed), it’s (time for) building our granary. (You-Sg) help me!” When they have said that to everyone, when that (aforementioned) day arrives, each boy (=young man) in succession goes to a water source (e.g. pond), (and) he gets water and brings (it). When they have brought the water, they will stomp on the earth (to mix it with the water, for bricks).

The old men who know how to build will go up, they will set up the (raised) foundation. A young man who knows (=who has experience) will go in among them (=old men). Those who have strength (=are strong) will stomp on the earth, (and) they will toss the bricks up (to the others), they will give bricks (to them). While they are giving bricks, when they have set (the bricks) in the interior, you-Sg will superimpose with that—.

When they have struck them (=overlapped the bricks), a meal has come out (=is ready to be served). They will come down and eat. When the (meal) break has gone on for a little while, again they go up. Now, they keep building. When it goes (up), (so that) it is the height of a person’s head, it reaches the place (=height) that the owner wishes, when it reaches the desired place (height) for the bricks, they will cover that place (=the bricks) with the facade recesses.

When it is covered by nine (=layers of bricks), (it’s layers) ten and eleven, eleven (layers of) bricks, they lay them (=layers) on top of each other. When (layer) eleven has arrived, the granary has reached (its full height). Now, each person’s millet cream they—. The women also pound (millet for) millet cream.

When the millet cream goes out (=is ready to be served), the building of the granary is finished (simultaneously). When they (=builders) come down, each person, they drink their millet cream, (and) they get up and disperse (=go their separate ways). A short time later, when a month has arrived (=elapsed), they will cover (=roof) the granary with a wooden block laid horizontally at the top of the doorway.

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589 A room with low ceiling (about head high) that the granary will be built on top of. Not all granaries have this lower room but all are raised above ground to avoid insect infestation.

590 The granary must be above ground to keep insects out. The foundation is a low wall (often rectangular) on which the granary proper is built.

591 Each brick is laid on top of another.

592 Wooden block laid horizontally at the top of the doorway.

593 Construction with two paired clauses each with a third-person Hortative.
the upper part furthermore. When they have roofed it, if there is millet for you-Sg to put (=store), you-Sg will put (it) there (=in the granary). That [focus] is granary building. Isn’t it so, U?

U: It is so.

S: Why do you-Pl build granaries? For what thing (=purpose) do you-Pl build (it)?

I: (For) putting (=storing) millet. We put our millet that we have gotten there. We put roselle there. We even put calabash (fruits) there.

S: Millet, if it isn’t in a granary, if it spends a year below (=on the ground), it will go bad …

I: It will get cool (and damp).

U: … it will get cool.

I: For that reason, we build the granary up high.

S: The roofing of it (=granary) too, do they summon people (to help), or how (=what) do they do?

I: They will summon the boys (=young men). They (=young men) will come to help you-Sg, they will do the roofing.

S: As with this roofing of houses?

U: From (one) roof-building to (another) roof-building, the villagers will get together and do the roofing.

S: (That) the villagers get together and they do the roofing, what is its meaning (=point)?

U: If you have roofed mine today, tomorrow likewise I will roof yours. That is how we did the roofing yesterday (=in the past).
Text 2005-1a.12  Cow-peas

S: Cow-peas, how do they plant them?
I: Cow-peas are apart (=different). There are those (people) who plant fields of it. Even within a field we—, in long row after long row (of plants), within the field they call it “cow-pea ripping.” That too, we “rip” (plant them in millet fields). We plant them separately in their (own) fields also. Well, that’s how we plant cow-peas.

S: Sowing them (cow-peas), and the remainder (=ways of sowing other crops), are they one (=the same)?
O: Sowing them (cow-peas), and the remainder, they are not the same. They (=farmers) sow (cow-peas) far apart. Because it (=cow-pea plant) spreads out (as a trailing vine), if it’s close together [focus] that you-Sg have sowed (it), if it is in a millet field, the millet won’t come out (=grow). But if you-Sg plant it (=cow-peas) alone, then you-Sg will sow it close together, and they (=cow-pea plants) will spread out (as a vine) and will come and tangle with each other, (and) they will bear (fruit).

S: Cow-peas, when they have ripened and dried (=fully ripened), what do they (=farmers) do with them?
O: They collect them. One at a time, they collect them, they fill (=stuff) (them) into baskets, and they bring (them) to the houses.
I: Before they dry (=rip fully), we pick (them) and eat (them).
O: Before they dry. Before they dry.
S: When you-Pl have brought them to the houses (=the village), how (=what) do you-Pl do?
O: They dump them on the roofs. They dump them on the roofs, until they dry. When they have dried, they shell them (=pound them to remove the pods). When they have shelled them, they put the grains (=peas) in sacks and put them down (=store them).
S: Do they put (cow-peas) in granaries? Or, like the one (used) for roselle, do they put (them) down on the ground and bury them, in a shelf?
O: A shelf. If you-Sg store (cow-peas), you-Sg put (them) in a shelf. Ashes and fine earth, when you-Sg have mixed and stirred those two together, you-Sg will tamp them down like this in the shelf (to pack the earth firmly), if you-Sg are storing (the cow-peas). If it isn’t that (=otherwise), they will become infested (with insects), as for that, when a month has arrived (=elapsed), they will be infested. If you-Sg have put (cow-peas) in sacks, there is a medicine (=insecticide), a medicine of the whites. If you-Sg have put that medicine in sacks, the cow-peas, you-Sg will put (the insecticide) on them (“on its head”). If you-Sg sell yours (=your cow-peas), furthermore, you-Sg will go to the market and sell yours and leave them.
S: The shelf (structure), do they make it in a granary? Or is it in any place?

594 The locally cultivated bean (Fr. haricot) is the cow-pea, Vigna unguiculata.
595 In this “ripping” technique, cow-peas are planted in the channels between rows of millet plants.
596 /tɔŋgɔm/ is a dresser-like construction inside a house, with cell-like sections, one of which can be used for storing cow-peas.
597 Lit., “in an empty place.”
O: The enclosure, they make it inside a granary. You-Sg (can) make (it) also in any place.
   Circular enclosures like this (gesture), it too they build with bricks.
S: Why do the people here want to have many children?
O: We indeed want children. Well, for us, the work of the place (farming), our work is hard (“dry”) work. You-Sg yourself, you-Sg work and work. When you have (the age of) fifty years, from then on you don’t have the strength to work. If you-Sg have children, your-Sg children, it’s they [focus] who will work.

It’s farming work (weeding), something that they do with (their) strength. You-Sg can’t do the farm work, (as) a person of fifty years (age). Your-Sg children will help you do the farm work. When they have done the farming, you-Sg will eat. Even sowing, they—, it’s they [focus] who sow. For that reason, we want to have (many) children.598

S: If it’s not that (=other than that), you-Pl want to have children—. If it’s not that, is there no other reason?
O: There is indeed another reason. Well, if (you) have two or three children, one will go and study the Koran, one will go and study at the (public) school, (and) one will help you-Sg do the farming. Well, the one who is studying (Koran), (as for) him, he will do his work well (=will be successful); the one who is studying over there (at the public school) will do his work well, (and) the one who is helping you to do the farming, he too, he will do his work well.

If you-Sg have no children at all, when you-Sg have fifty years (of age), you-Sg won’t be able to do the farming, there will be nobody who helps you farm. If you-Sg haven’t farmed, furthermore, you won’t eat meals. Ah, now, as for you-Sg, now on the contrary you will remain in a pitiful state.

O: Having many children is obligatory?
S: Having many children, for us anyway it is obligatory. Well, us—, in our path (=tradition), in our religion (=Islam), (as for) children, it (=religion) says to you-Sg to bear many (of them). Bearing many children is obligatory, in our religion.

I: That [focus] is why we do (=practice) marrying two women, that’s it.
O: We (=men) marry two women, we marry three women, we marry four women. All of them will bear (children). There are some people (=men) who have thirty children, there are some people who have twenty, there are some people who have ten.

I: It’s they [focus] who have more rest (=have an easier life). Whatever work (they do), it’s they [focus] who have more rest.

O: (At) one time (=when you are old), you-Sg won’t do any work at all. Your children will go and work, you-Sg will just lie down at home. All sorts (of work), your children will go and work and work, (and) when they bring (something) you-Sg will eat. (You) having sired children, if they are blessed (=successful and well-behaved), you will enter (the state of) a chief (=a wealthy person).

(But) you-Sg who have not had children, you-Sg will never rest. Even (aged) one hundred, it’s you-Sg [focus] who will go and do your (own) work.

598 Lit., “if we have had many children, we want (=like it).”
I: For this reason, we have wanted (to have) many children.
Betrothal and marriage

S: For (=among) you-Pl over there, how is marrying a woman (done)?
O: Among us over here, (as for) marrying women, there is (marriage by) betrothal of a woman. There is betrothal, and there is (the practice by which) you-Sg marry (a woman) by you-Sg going out and (saying) (to) a girl “I love you-Sg” (and) “I love her.”
S: Betrothal, how—, how (=what) do they do?
O: Betrothal, (at) a young age, when she is born, saying “it is the woman (=future wife) of So-and-So,” as for that, they promise (=bestow her). Saying “well, this (girl) is the woman of So-and-So (=future husband),” they promise (her). Well, when they have promised that, later when the woman herself has gotten (=attained the age of) approximately eight years, well, now, when the holy day of Ramadan and the Feast of the Ram arrive, they give some soap and a little money. It’s thus [focus] that you-Pl do, until later the woman goes and attains woman(-hood).
S: Fine. That talk (=negotiating) of you-Sg (=the prospective husband) alone by yourself, it too, how do they speak?
O: If you-Sg go just you-Sg yourself, you will say to the girl that you love her, (that) you yourself love her. If she doesn’t love you-Sg, she will say that she doesn’t love you-Sg. If she has fallen in love with you-Sg, well, if it happens that (both) you-Sg love her and she loves you-Sg, you will speak to the father and the mother (of the girl).

Well, they, furthermore, if they have given (=promised) (her) to you-Sg, at that point you-Sg tie (=contract) the betrothal (=marriage agreement). The betrothal, it isn’t the white people’s marriage, mind you! Well, So-and-So (=the woman) has said, this woman, she loves him. This woman has said that she loves him. The boy too has said that he loves her.

The mother and the father (of the girl), furthermore, they have given (her) to him. Well, when the Muslim (community) has come, they will go out to (bear) witness.
I: They will set a date (“put a day”), they will set a date.
O: They will set a date. They will say, “today, it’s a betrothal.” They will set a date, on a Friday. The Muslim (community) will come and assemble. They will say “well, So-and-So and So-and-So have said that they love each other.” They will say, “there is a betrothal.” They will say, “there is a witness-bearing.”

The money that you-Pl (=bridegroom and others) have put down, they will call out the name (=amount) of the money. They say “well, their witnessing (is), such-and-such amount of money, that is what it is.” Well, any person who has heard, he too will go out to bear witness the next day. So-and-So, and the woman of So-and-So, that [focus] is the witnessing of it, that [focus] is our marriage.

599 A religiously sanctioned marriage agreement requiring the consent of the girl’s parents, prior to the wedding.
600 lit. “when they give birth to her.”
601 Lit., “eight years or.”
602 The prospective husband gives periodic gifts to the family of the girl.
S: If it isn’t (=other than) money, they don’t give anything (else)?

O: They give fabric (=clothing), (and) they give shoes. If you-Sg didn’t get that, you (may) tie (=contract marriage) also (=alternatively) with just money, (so) there are no shoes or clothes.

S: The woman, (and) the man. (If he’s) one who wants (to), is it he alone who goes and speaks (=negotiates)? Is it his friend (=a friend of his) who speaks? Is it another person who speaks?

O: Just you-Sg go and speak—, just you-Sg will go and speak. If you alone cannot, you-Sg will send your father, (or) you will send your sister, (or) you will send your friend. Just you, if they (=girls’ parents) gave (her) to you, furthermore, that’s it. But if just you-Sg all alone have gone and said “I love a woman,” their giving (her) to you is difficult (=rare).

I [overlapping]: They won’t give (her) to just you (alone). xxx

O: In another village, they will say, “well, may your-Sg father come!” Now, he knows—, if they (=girl’s parents) have known (=been assured) that your father wants (the marriage), (and) uh, if they have known that your elder brother wants (the marriage), (then) they give the woman in this way. It’s betrothal of one mother, one father (=among blood relatives).

S: The betrothal, is it at the house of the girl’s father [focus] that they do it? Or is it at the house of the boy’s father that they do it?

O: Fine. When they have tied (=contracted) the betrothal now, how do they remain, the two of them?[^603]

S: When they have contracted the betrothal, you-Sg (=bridegroom) ask for the woman, telling (them) to give (her) to yourself.

O: They go and entrust (the bride, to her parents).[^604] When a person (=friend of the bridegroom) goes out and goes (there), he entrusts (her). The woman that they have contracted (=given) in marriage, between (=within) ten days, when the person goes straight to the house (of the bride), he entrusts (her).

After he has entrusted (her), a person (=another friend of the bridegroom) goes out again. They ask for her, saying, “it’s the woman(‘s) looking at the (new) house.” They will set a date. The date that they set initially, it won’t stand (=is false). They will set (a date) a second time, that [focus] is what will stand (=is fulfilled).

At night, they will go with (the bride, to her new house). The boys will shoot rifles (in the rifle dance). When she has gone to the (new) house there, when she has drawn water in the morning, she will remain there (at the new house). When she has remained there ten to twenty days, again she goes to her father’s house. It’s this, a woman’s coming (to her new house). Again it remains (like this) for a fairly long time.

In the past,[^605] it was child-bearing (that sealed the marriage). When you-Pl had one child, before you had another (child), she (=bride) would definitively come and

[^603]: Lit., “their two.”

[^604]: The bride has already been “given” to the future husband, but she is then “entrusted” to her own parents for a time.

[^605]: Lit. “if it is (was) in the past.”
move to the husband’s house. They used to do thus. Nowadays, they don’t wait until
that (=until a child is born). Even before she bears a child, they ask for her (to go to) the
husband’s house.

When the (time for) the main (=definitive) moving out comes, they ask for (her),
until they set a date. All the people gather, they pound (grain for) millet cream, they
come and sit. When the woman comes, they make (=pronounce) blessings. “May God
blacken the cross-beams (of the house).” 606 “May God make the house old like this.”
“May God do this (and that),” they say.

When they have made (=pronounced) all the blessings that they want, they get up
and disperse (=go home). Well, now, is it not finished on (=with) that?

O: It is finished on that.
I: Is it not finished on this? Or is it not thus, S?
O: That is the moving out of the woman.
S: Is there no other fun (=celebration)?
I: This is the moving out of the woman. The women, they dance their dance in the courtyard.

If it was in the past (=formerly), they used to beat calabash (drums) in the koroba (a
musical style). Nowadays, we have left (=abandoned) playing the koroba.

Just the women beat calabash (drums) in the house of their neighbors. They (also)
beat bulu drums (made with cloth), they dance a dance. This today is the women’s
matter (=role). As for men, there is nothing else that they do (=nothing else for them to
do). As soon as they have made the blessings, they get up and disperse.

S: When that has passed, there is no other fun (=celebration) otherwise?
I: There is nothing else.
O: There is nothing else, in the moving out of the woman. When it has passed, there is no
other fun.
I: It’s the final one.

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606 I.e., may the marriage last a long time. The cross-beams of the roof will turn black from many years
of smoke from cooking below.
Text 2005-1a.15   Livestock

S: When the rainy season has arrived, where do they take the animals (livestock)? In the hot season also, where do they lead (them)?

O: When the rainy season has arrived, if the rainy season has arrived and the seeds sown have sprouted, each person guards his animals. He puts his animals into herding (under the care of a herder). He does not allow them (=animals) to go into (cultivated) fields. He goes and has (them) eat (=takes them to pasture). This goes on until they do the farm work (=weeding). Animals (=livestock) and (cultivated) fields do not meet (=must stay apart). Because of that, they have (the animals) eat (in pastures).

S: Because of the animals, in the rainy season, (as for) the animals, do they (=people) leave them (=animals) at home (=in the village)? Or do they lead them into the bush?

O: There are (some) animals who stay at home, (and) there are (some) who go to the bush. When you-Sg have (them) eat, you-Sg bring (them) home. When you-Sg bring them home, when you-Sg bring them home and have them return (in the afternoon), they (=animals) will spend the night there. There are (also) some who stay out in the bush.

S: (The fact) that they lead (the animals) into the bush, why is it?

O: (The fact) that they lead (the animals) into the bush, it isn’t for anything else (=any other reason than), if you-Sg are in the bush, the bush is better (than the village) for an animal. You-Sg, furthermore, you’ll get manure. If the animals have defecated, it becomes manure. Well, millet, also, if you plant (it) in the place of that (=where the animals have defecated), it’s (in) that [focus] that the millet will ripen better. If there is no manure, the millet cannot ripen (well). Your farming (=field), (no matter) how spacious (=vast) it is, you-Sg cannot get millet like one who has manure. For animals too, the bush, its benefit (=value) is greater for them (=animals). It’s for that reason [focus] that they take (animals) to the bush.

S: When the end of the rainy season has gone out (=ended), do they (=animals) come to the houses (=village)? Or do they remain out in the bush?

O: When the end of the rainy season has gone out, there are some who remain out in the bush, (and) there are some who come home (=to the village). There are some animals who always stay out in the bush, (and) again there are some who stay at home. The ones who stay home, them—. The excrement that they (=animals) make, when they (=people) gather their manure, they will take (=transport) (the manure) to the fields out in the bush. If you-Sg are in the bush, furthermore, you-Sg will keep pulling (=shifting the location of) your things there (such as) the animal pen.607

S: When the end of the rainy season has gone out, how (=what) do you-Pl do for (=with) them?

O: For the animals?

S: Do they remain (=continue) feeding them entirely like this thing (=method) of the rainy season? Or how (=what) do they do?

607 The animal pen (with thorn-branch fencing) is shifted when it has too much dung.
O: The end of the rainy season having gone out, now when the work of all the fields, when all the work of (growing) millet has ended, (then) it’s the work of (growing) calabashes. When all the work of calabashes has ended, the animals, as for them (=animals), they (=people) send away (=let them loose).

Now there is no feeding (=tending the animals), because there is nothing that they (=animals) (can) damage. When they (=animals) come to a water source (e.g. pond), they (=people) let them drink. When they have come to (the) water source, (and) when they (=people) have let them drink, they (=animals) will go and eat (=graze) by themselves.

S: In the rainy season and in the hot season, is the body (=physical state) of animals one (=the same), or is it different?

O: In the rainy season and in the hot season, can the body of animals be the same? In the rainy season they eat fresh (=green) grass. In the hot season there is no (fresh) fodder, they eat dry grass. One who eats dry grass and one who eats fresh grass cannot be the same. In the hot season their route is more—. It’s in the rainy season [focus] that their body is better (=healthier).

S: Sending them away in the hot season, is that [focus] what keeps them in good condition? Or (the herder’s) accompanying them and going and letting them feed (=graze), is that [focus] what keeps them in good condition?

O: There are people who accompany them and go. Accompanying and going and letting (them) eat, that [focus] is more—. Accompanying and going, that is what benefits them (=animals) more. But they don’t have (=can’t manage) accompanying and going.

The children will not consent to you-Sg, even if you-Sg have told them, “go accompany (the animals)!” This child won’t have (them) eat (=tend them); this child won’t have them eat; this child won’t have them eat. Well, even if you-Sg tell your (own) child “have (them) eat!,” he will not consent. Well, for that reason, now, everyone of us sends away (the animals).

Furthermore, having gone out to the bush, apart (=away from the village), there is nothing in the way of damage that they (can) hit (=do) for the people, like (they do) in the rainy season, (since) they have already harvested the millet (and) the (farming) work is completed.

I: When they (=animals) go along by themselves, if a cow has fallen down, doing what (=in what way) do you-Pl see (=find) it?

O: When they go along by themselves, if a cow has fallen down, (then) if a person of God (=a good Muslim) has seen (it) there, he will come and tell you-Sg. If it is not the case that a person of God has seen (it), 608 if a cow has fallen—, has fallen, (and) nobody saw it, it dies while being unslaughtered, you-Sg don’t even get and eat the meat, 609 you-Sg have lost.

I: Well, (what about) when someone goes and accompanies (the animals) now, (like) your-Sg child?

608 Lit., “if a person of God has not seen it.” I.e., the negative has wide scope.
609 Muslims cannot eat meat of an animal that has died without being properly slaughtered (with the throat cut).
O: When your-Sg child goes and accompanies (the animals), if a cow falls down, he will come and tell you-Sg, “So-and-So (vocative), a cow has fallen down.” You-Sg will go and tell the people. They will go and take and lift (the fallen cow).

I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, that’s it.

O: That [focus] is the best thing for it, that’s it.

I: For that reason, in the hot season they don’t send away (the animals). (People) who watch over their cows, it’s for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cattle.

O: It’s for that reason [focus] that they watch over (the) cattle.

I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, it is said.
S: The Dogon, their cattle, is it they (=Dogon) [focus] who feed them? Or do they give (them) to Fulbe? If they give (them) to the Fulbe, furthermore, the fact that they give (them), why is it? 610

O: Well, now, the Dogon, many people do not give their cows to the Fulbe. At first (=formerly), the Dogon didn’t know a cow (well). If they acquired a cow, when the Fulbe man came, he (=Fulbe) would say, give it to him! They (=Dogon) used to give it to him.

Well, when the Fulbe would go, if they sold your-Sg cow, a cow that had not died, and were eating (=spending the money), they would say “it died.” They would cut off the tail of another cow for you-Sg and come. “Well, your cow died,” they would say, “here is its tail.” The Dogon person for his part would not know (=recognize it) if he had seen the entire cow, never mind (just) with the cow tail.

When he (=Dogon man) took the cow tail, he would lay it down at his home. He would say to the children of his father, “this cow of mine died, they say.” They (=Fulbe) kept doing thus, until the Dogon came and knew (=learned about) that. (Now) that they knew, now many people do not give their cattle to the Fulbe any longer. Their (=Dogon’s) children have them (=cattle) eat. Our cattle, it’s we [focus] who have them.

There are (still) some (Dogon people) who give (their cattle) to Fulbe, but those who give are not numerous. The Fulbe having tricked us beyond the limits (=outrageously) that way, (the practice) of giving—(or rather) of not giving (cattle) to them (=Fulbe) began like this.

S: How many times a day do you-Pl milk a cow?
O: They milk a cow twice a day, morning and night.

S: Do you-Pl milk (cows) with a calabash (as container)? Or do you-Pl milk with what (special) gear?
O: They milk with a calabash? There is (also) what they call karawal, a thing that is carved out of wood. 611 They milk with it. They also milk with small wooden bowls.

S: Now, when cows have gone to the bush (=to pasture), as they come along, their mothers encounter them, (and) they suckle. How (=what) do you-Pl do for (=with regard to) that?
O: There is a herder of (=for) the adult cows, (and) there is a herder of the calves. If it’s (in) the rainy season, the adult cows, (if) children don’t follow (them), (if) someone doesn’t follow them, if a child doesn’t follow the calf, if with that they (=calves) encounter (their mothers) in the bush, they will suckle thoroughly. You-Sg won’t get anything (=any milk).

S: Now when a cow (=calf) has reached (the age of) weaning, (and) it refuses weaning (=keeps trying to suckle). How (=what) do you-Pl do for (=with) it?

610 The Fulbe are the cattle-herding people of the zone. Many Dogon who own cattle entrust them to Fulbe, who consume or sell the milk in exchange for tending the animals.

611 A “milk bucket” carved out of a single block of wood.
O: When it has reached weaning, if it refuses weaning, they put on (=apply) a muzzle(-stick). There is what they call “muzzle.” They put on a muzzle. After they cut off a stick, they put (it) on its (=calf’s) nose. Sometimes they jab (=puncture) the nose. When they have jabbed the nose, they put the stick there and leave it. That (way) too, it (=calf) gets nothing to suckle. All that we call “muzzle.”

S: What thing prevents its suckling? When they have put it (=muzzle) on, how does it prevent its suckling?

O: When they put it (=muzzle) on, when it reaches the nose, if it’s (=there is) a muzzle, they do it with thorns. When they have done it with thorns, when it (=calf) says (=thinks) it is going to suckle like that, the thorns prick its mother’s milk (=udder). The mother (cow) will break into a run. Even if its (just) the stick, the stick will hit hard, (in) the udder there, (and) it (=calf) gets nothing to suckle.

I: Until it (=milk) dries (=is depleted, i.e. by being milked).

O: Until it dries.

612 /tɔːɲɛ̀/ is related to a Fulfulde word meaning ‘provoke, tease, pester’.
613 Lit., “does not get (=obtain) and suckle.” The negation has scope over both verbs.
S: What is the value of a cow? What is the value of an animal overall?
I: A goat, their (=people’s) taking it out to the bush is not common. They remain at home. It is because of what? The excrement that it defecates at home, they (=people) gather it and they take (=transport) it to the bush (=fields). First (=formerly) they used to do that. As for it, it makes a lot of work. Nowadays, for that reason, many people have their goats lie down (for the night) in the bush.

They (=some goats) are at home, others remain in the bush. But the one that stays in the bush, it [focus] is the one that has more ease (=lives better). The goat is sated from (eating) fodder (=grass), milk is its thing (=it has a lot of milk). He (=goat’s owner) doesn’t carry manure, it (=manure) is already there in the field. It (=goat) defecates. It’s because of the usefulness of that.

S: What is the value of an animal overall (=of any kind) is what? The usefulness is what? An animal …
I [overlapping]: Usefulness—.
S: … overall.
I: As for an animal overall, fixing (=satisfying) your-Sg need(s). If a need comes to you-Sg, (for example) you contract a betrothal (=marriage), having sold it (=animal) you-Sg contract (=pay the brideprice). (If) a famine comes, having sold it (=animal) you-Sg eat. This is it, it is the need of (=for) an animal. (If) a good (=important) guest of yours-Sg comes, you-Sg can take (it) and give (it) to him, if you can afford (to). xxx

S: (At) child(ren)’s name-givings, how (=what) do they do?
I: Name-giving(s), if a name-giving comes, (it’s) a goat. When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), when we have taken a goat, we slaughter (it), we put (=give) the child’s name. A sheep or a goat, it’s in (=a choice between) those two. Whatever is easy (=convenient) for you-Sg. A name-giving, this [focus] is what we do.

S: The value of an animal hides too, it is what?
I: The hide, it’s our usefulness (=it’s useful to us). We drink with that. For example, if having worked (at) the harvest (you have) something to conceal and bring home, (or) if having gone to the bush (you have) anything to conceal and bring home, (or) if (you have) anything to take away (from the field or bush), when you-Sg put it there you-Sg will conceal (it). This [focus] is the usefulness of the hide shoulderbag for its part.

S: If it isn’t (=other than that), there is nothing else?
I: This [focus] is the usefulness of the hide shoulderbag. A well-bag, (with which) they (=people) let cattle drink, we make (it) with that (=animal hide), with a goat hide. (As for) cow hide (=leather), we lay it (=spread it on the ground) and lie down (on it). Cow hide, we (also) make shoes (with it). We do all that with cow hide.

S: The usefulness of an animal overall, that’s what it used to be.

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614 Waterskins from the entire hide of a goat kid (or lamb).
615 A long, thin hide bag (French gibecière), worn under the arm and held by a strap over the shoulder, part of the normal “bush gear” taken by men to the fields or into the bush.
I: The usefulness that we talked about. Ah, O, if you-Sg can add (anything), you will add a little.

O: Milk. Milk, having milked a cow, we eat milk. If there is a lot of it, you-Sg sell it, (and) you-Sg eat it, (and) you-Sg feed your family (with it). Well, the usefulness of milk too, this [focus] is it.

I: The thing that has (=makes) a distinction between a Fulbe person and us (is that), a Fulbe person can keep (=tend) an animal better than we (can). He himself is a person of the bush. Animals (=livestock) also—, they (=Fulbe) keep (animals) in the bush. (As for) us (Dogon), (anything) like what they (=Fulbe) can do in the bush, we cannot do that in the bush, even today.

For that reason, their (=Fulbe’s) animals are more numerous. They (=Fulbe) can make (the animals) plump more (than we can). We cannot make an animal plump as much as they (can). What has (=makes) a distinction between us and the Fulbe, this is it.

S: (Was it) because first (=formerly) the Dogon did not have (many) children (that) they used to give animals to the Fulbe? Or why was it?

I: The farming, your-Sg child’s farming, farming is better. (If there is) a single child, instead of him having the animals eat (=tending the herd), farming millet is better. Because of the thought of this, we used to give (animals to Fulbe).

When we looked, there was nothing better (=no better way) in farming. It was the animals [focus] that were lost—. In their (=Dogon children’s) hand they (=animals) would be lost, (as for) that, they would be finished (=would die out). Well, now, when we look, that thing (=practice), it is not a thing that is possible (=acceptable). It isn’t better, hey! We take out and put (our children), now, we simply follow (=tend) cows. The value of the cows, with that (=at that point) we have begun to see.

616 ‘Eat’ instead of ‘drink’ here, since milk is often mixed with millet cakes ( tô) and eaten.
I: The collective hunt—
S: The (regular) hunt, how do they do it?
I: The hunt, (as for) us, the little thing that we found (=inherited from elders). A hunter, himself, in order to make his sauce (=meal) good-tasting, he begins a hunt. He shoots, he hunts, he shoots meat (=game).

One day the village assembles, they say “let’s put (=carry out) a collective hunt.” Between the seventh and the eighth month (of the year). They will fix (the date of) the collective hunt. The sun has come out now, with that (=at that point) the wild animals cannot run. The villagers, 617 be it rifles, be it (wooden) clubs, be it spears, everyone goes with what(-ever) he has.

They throw (stones) and they hit (with clubs), they shoot (with rifles), they stab (with knives). They go and get together and surround (the animals), in the hottest time of the day. A flying animal cannot fly. If (we) are able to surround (them), everyone, whatever he gets is his (wild) animal (=belongs to him). 7

If you-Sg were able to shoot (it) with a rifle, it’s your animal. If you-Sg were able to strike it with a (thrown) stick, it’s your animal. If you-Sg pierced it with a spear, it’s your animal. If you caught it by hand, it’s your animal. The village, we get together. When they have come, at the edge of the village, they (=villagers) will divide up (into groups).

While you-Pl stay over there, we will stay on this side here. The boys (=young men), the rifle dance now, they shoot at each other (with gunpowder but no bullets). (For example,) this one comes (forward from his group) and shoots (at the opposite group), (and) this one goes (from the other group) and shoots (at the opposite group).

Anyone who has meat brings his meat and taunts the others (in the opposite group), (saying) “I got some meat, you-Sg didn’t get (any)!” He taunts (them). If the other one (=someone from the other group) has something, he takes it out, comes running (forward) and taunts you-Sg.

They shoot the rifle over it (=meat). Anyone who has a spear comes (forward), he does like (=pretends to) heave (them). Anyone who has a stick (=club) comes (forward), he does like (=pretends to) hit. They go back (to their groups). They keep doing that until the twilight comes in.

That (meat), that collective hunt—the meat that they have gotten in that collective hunt, the portion of (=reserved for) the oldest (man) of the village will come out (=be offered).

S: Will something (=a portion of meat) of each person come out (=be offered)? Or will you-Pl take it (a portion) out together.618

617 Generally men only.
618 I.e., will the oldest man of the village get a small portion of each animal carcass, or some other portion taken from the overall quantity of meat?
I: Nope, they don’t put all of it together (=meat). They, each person (=man) who brings (meat), he gives it to the oldest (man) of his house (=family), he gives the thing (=share) of the oldest (man) of his house. When you-Pl have brought (it), it belongs to the oldest (man) in your-Pl extended family (=clan). You-Pl go and give (it) to the oldest (man).

They (on the other side) too will go and give (a share) to the oldest (man) (of their extended family). When they have gone (on) the second collective hunt, each person (=man), what(-ever) he gets, it is his. There is no giving to the oldest (man). Each person (=man) eats what(-ever) he has gotten. That is the second collective hunt. The hunt.

S: In a year, do they do it (=collective hunt) twice? Or do they do it once?
I: They do it twice.

S: Between the two times, how many months intervene?619
I: They do it twice.

S: In a year, do they do it (=collective hunt) twice? Or do they do it once?
I: They do it twice.

S: Between the two times, how many months intervene?619
I: A week or one month. A week—, it doesn’t pass (=exceed) two weeks (or) three weeks. It doesn’t pass (=exceed) the two weeks (or) three weeks.

O: If they have gone and come (back) here (since) a week ago today, again a second week, they will leave (=delay it) again (for) a week, (so it is) two weeks ago (=separation). They go here. (The time) between the two (collective hunts) doesn’t exceed fifteen days (two weeks).621
I: It doesn’t exceed fifteen days.

S: Do they prepare (=plan) and set both (dates for collective hunts) on a single (=the same) day? Or do they do this one (=the first collective hunt) completely, then again on another day they prepare (plan) that one’s (=set the date for the second one)?
I: After having set (the date for) this, when they have gone to this (=first collective hunt), they will set (the date for) this (=second hunt). “This hunt, it’s of which (=which kind of hunt) today? When they have finished doing (it), the one of that other (=the second hunt), it will be (in) ten days (=two weeks),” (they) say. Everyone pounds (=crushes) gunpowder. A trap-setter will set his trap(s).

The collective hunt—, uh, one who goes and shoots in secret will go at night and shoot his thing (=meat) in secret.622 One who catches (by hand) will catch (an animal). Before it (=daytime collective hunt) arrives, like (=for example) (if) it’s tomorrow, they will go and catch (an animal tonight), no? Everyone catches. It’s thus (=this) [focus] that they do, the collective hunt.

S: The (regular) hunt, how do they hunt, (in) the (regular) hunt?
I: The hunt. (In) the hunt, you-Sg take a rifle. You-Sg go (to) the bush. You-Sg keep going (=walking). If you see a wild animal, you-Sg stop. If it has seen you-Sg, you-Sg will hide from it. You-Sg will lie down on the (=your) belly. When you-Sg have lain down

619 Lit. “stand across (road).”

620 Speaker I speaks overlappingly in the first part of O’s turn, but I’s words are not clear on the tape.

621 Cf. French quinze jours ‘fifteen days’ = ‘two weeks’.

622 I.e., some men who fear they may be humiliated by not killing any animals during the collective hunt will shoot an animal in secret the night before, then flaunt it after the hunt.

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on the belly, if it doesn’t (=can’t) see you-Sg, you-Sg will go having lain down on the belly. You will go along dragging yourself (=crawling on your belly).

(You) go—When you-Sg have gone and arrived at a place where it can’t see you-Sg, (in) that place, (thinking) “uh-huh, when I have arrived (there), where it (=bullet) will hit it (=animal),” you-Sg will stay there and shoot. Nope, now, you-Sg have looked (and) it hasn’t seen you-Sg, if you-Sg see it first (=before it sees you), you will shoot while standing.

If it (=bullet) has hit, (it) fall(s)—, when you-Sg go running (and) you-Sg take out a knife, you-Sg will slaughter (=cut the throat of) your thing (=meat). You-Sg take it and put it in your-Sg shoulder-bag. You-Sg have gotten some meat.

If it’s in the collective hunt, the animals (=meat) that they shoot, everything that fell (=dead), they say (of it): tara aje, tara aje. With that now, they have gotten some meat. If anyone at all [focus] has gotten (an animal), they all will shout.

But now, if you-Sg say that it’s (exclusively) yours, when you shoot your thing (=animal) you take (it) and put (it) in your shoulder-bag. (If) you-Sg have lain down and shot, with that (=that way), without it seeing see-Sg, you will hide (from it) and shoot, that is (called) lying in wait. That is (called) lying in wait for a thing. If it’s not that (=other than that), they (=animals) haven’t gone out.

O: That is is, it is thus.
I: You-Sg can’t add anything else?
O: It is thus. No, it’s not worth adding (anything). That, the collective hunt—, you-Sg have spoken of how they hunt the (regular) hunt, (and) you-Sg have spoken of how they hunt the collective hunt. Well, the collective hunt, it’s (done by) two neighborhoods (of the village). When they make (=organize themselves into) two neighborhoods, this neighborhood and this (other) neighborhood, well, when they have gone and gotten some meat (=killed some wild animals), the neighborhood (people), they too, themselves, with that (=meat) they have some fun for (=with) each other.

“We got (some), you-Pl didn’t get (any)!” Ah, (as for) the (=people) of this side, this neighborhood along here remains, (and) this (other) neighborhood along here remains (=they face each other). Well, when you-Pl go running (toward the opposing side), you-Pl keep coming and shooting the rifles at each other like that, you-Pl shoot at each other like that. They make (=organize themselves into) two neighborhoods. That is the collective hunt.

S: When the (regular) hunt has passed, (and) the collective hunt has passed, on the fourth day of that, or on the second day, or all the way (=as late as) five (days) arriving (=elapsing), do they not, uh, some fun, don’t they have some fun (=celebrate) just because of that (=the hunting)?

O: That celebration, as for me, I have never seen (=witnessed) it.

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623 i.e., a place that provides camouflage but is also close enough to the animal for a shot.
624 This phrase (tárà: ‘collective hunt’ plus an obscure particle) is shouted out by any hunter who has brought down an animal.
625 I.e., is there not a further celebration a few days after the hunt?
I: At night, they spend the night dancing the women’s dance. They like (it). That night (=the night of that same day), they used to dance the women’s dance all night. Nowadays there is not even the collective hunt.

S: (They used to dance) just because of it (=collective hunt).
I: Yes, just because of it they used to dance the dance, formerly.
O: Nowadays, they have even abandoned (=stopped doing) the collective hunt. There is no collective hunt any longer.

S: Why did they abandon (it), the collective hunt?
O: It’s for (=because) of the fact that it is said (=considered) that the religion (=Islam) that we are in, and it (=collective hunt), do not meet (=mix well).
S: So, why did they use to do (that) formerly?
O: When precisely the same day (of the week) would arrive (i.e., one week later), it was the collective hunt. (As for) the (regular) hunt, it is good (=allowed by Islam), it is said. When precisely the same day (as this day) the following week would arrive, the fact that we would cut (=pick out) and set (that day) for the collective hunt, (or) when precisely this (particular) month would arrive, the fact that we would have fixed (“cut”) and set (that month) for the collective hunt.626

As they have said that the religion that we are in now and that (practice) do not meet (=mix well), we have abandoned all of that.

I: What they used to do formerly (was), at the time when the millet now—, as for now, it’s (time for) beginning to do the work of (growing) millet. Sometimes if they have gotten (=hunted) a certain (kind of) meat, exactly this (kind of) meat, it’s (=it means) millet-ripening.627 If they have gotten a certain (kind of) meat, for the meat, if they have gotten a lot of meat.

“Uh-huh, as for that large amount of meat, (it means that) this year it’s millet-ripening! We (will) have gotten (a good harvest).” They have (at some point) seen, there used to be something that they had (at some point) seen of that sort. They hunted the collective hunt for that reason.

“If we have gotten this (kind of) meat, if we have gotten a lot of this meat, (then) the millet, this year the millet will ripen (well).” With that they do their work, with (=in) their happiness.

S: Having gotten an animal, when we have already gotten it, if this (particular) animal has been gotten, (then) it shows (=is a presage of) millet-ripening. Does that animal exist, or doesn’t it?
I: It exists.
S: Which animal is it?
I: Porcupine.628

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626 i.e., the reason the collective hunt is counter to Islam is the fact that a day (or month) must be specifically reserved for the hunt.

627 If certain (totemic) animals were taken in the collective hunt, it was formerly thought to presage a good millet harvest.

628 *Hystrix cristata*. cêm-sèŋé is really the Jamsay word. The Beni term is given in I’s next speaking turn.
S: It has a lot of spines?
I: Porcupine, (and) hedgehog. All (= both of) these, the way that they have spines, if you-
Sg get them, the millet too will ripen (well) like that, it is said.
O: The Dogon (people), it’s their thinking (=belief). It’s their thinking.
I: It’s thinking (=a belief). Well, it’s like this that, as for them, they used to have their fun
 (=celebration). Nowadays, as for us, we have abandoned all that.
S: That now, is it (just) your-Pl (=of Beni) collective hunt? Or is it the collective hunt of all
the villages, it’s like that?
I: It’s the collective hunt of all the villages, it’s like that. It is this thinking of (=about) the
collective hunt of all the villages.

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629 *Atelerix albiventris.*
630 A millet stem has a single erect grain spike (like a corn ear), which resembles the spine of a
porcupine or hedgehog.
I: Hunting of (=with) dogs. (Suppose) you-Sg have been able to raise dogs. If you-Sg taught them meat (=wild animals), you-Sg will go out with them into the bush. Some people go out with dogs at night, they will go walking around catching animals. Some (other) people go with them in the morning, they catch animals with them. An animal—

They (=people) go. Whenever an animal comes out, they set loose (the dogs, on the animal), they say “suy!” The dogs hear that word, they go running and surround (the animal). If it goes into a hole, they will proceed to wait (=stand). The master (=hunter) comes. They will dig. When they have dug, if it is he [focus] who is able to catch (it) and he slaughters (it), it is finished.

If it (=animal) comes out, they (=dogs) will follow it. They catch it and give it to their master. Even if it goes up into a tree, they surround and keep (it there). The master comes. When he comes, when he has driven (the animal) out and it (=animal) comes down, they (=dogs) will catch (it) and give (it) to him. He will slaughter it.

As for the night people (=night hunters), as for them, they have a hooked pole. They stab with a hooked pole. As for them (=night hunters), thus they bring them (=animals in trees) to the ground. As for the hunt of animals, as for me, what I know, this is it, I think. You-Sg too, if you-Sg can add (anything), add a little to that.

O: As for hunting with a dog, now this that you-Sg have said is it. You-Sg raise it (=dog) for that (=hunting), you-Sg raise it for that, in order to have it (=dog) hunt. Since (=from) the (first) day you-Sg raise it, “watch out!, it’s for hunting—, for (wild) animals—, it’s only for hunting that I am raising you-Sg.” You-Sg will speak to it like this.

They have said that you-Sg will train it (=dog) like this on (=from) the first day. Well, you-Sg will teach it that too. (In) hunting with a dog, they the whites call that “entrainement” (=training). Now, when you-Sg see a (wild) animal, just as you-Sg said, you will set it (on the animal), “suy!”

When you-Sg have set it, (if) it has gone and gotten the animal, if you-Sg find it (=animal) alive, having said “bisimillahi” (“In the name of God”), if you-Sg set (the dogs on the animal), if you-Sg find it alive, it’s good, you-Sg will slaughter it.

Even if you-Sg do not find it alive, if you-Sg said “bisimillahi” and (then) set (the dogs on the animal), when you-Sg go (to the dead animal) you-Sg (may) eat it, even if you-Sg did not find it alive. Well, that too, they said it’s like this. Hunting with a dog, that is it.

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631 Cf. English *sic!*
632 A pole with a hooked end, to which a blade may be attached. Also used for knocking fruits out of trees.
633 Lit., “(cause to) lie down.”
634 Said, figuratively, to a puppy.
635 Reference is to an Islamic prohibition on eating hunted animals that have not been slaughtered (by cutting the throat), unless “In the name of God” is uttered before the dogs are set on them.
O: Uh-huh, speak! Trap-hunting. They do the hunt with traps, speak (about it!)
I: What (game) they hunt with traps. A trap. When you-Pl go to the bush, right then in the
morning, where they (=animals) passed by the night before, you-Sg will look at
(=notice) the path (=tracks). On this route, wild animals go past (you realize).

When you-Sg have had a good look, you-Sg will go in the late afternoon (before
sunset). When you-Sg have gone taking your-Sg trap with you, you-Sg will dig (in) a
place, right (there) where they (=animals) will step. When you have dug where they do not
(=cannot) pass by without stepping here, there [focus] you-Sg will cover up (the
trap, with sand).

You-Sg will smooth out (traces of the trap) well. When you-Sg have wiped (it)
away, you-Sg will leave (it) like that. When it (=animal) comes out at night, when it has
come (there) it will step on it. Before (=by the time that) you-Sg go (there) in the
morning, you-Sg will find that it (=trap) has caught it (=animal), you-Sg have gotten
some meat.

Well, if it’s birds furthermore, in the grain-pounding place,636 a place where
pigeons come down (=alight) a lot, or a place where lots of birds come down. When
you-Sg have gone to the grain-pounding place, you-Sg will cover (the trap) in chaff and
leave it. Afterwards, you-Sg stay far away, (and) you-Sg watch.

They (=birds) keep coming down. When they have come down, it (=stap) will
suddenly catch one (of the birds). You-Sg will go running. You-Sg will remove it from
the trap. Again you-Sg will set (the trap), you-Sg will go hide (yourself). They (=birds)
will come down, they don’t know (=are not wary), it (=trap) will catch (a bird) again,
you will remove (it) again.

When you-Sg get tired, you-Sg will come to the house again. If again (=on the
other hand) you-Sg do not get tired, all day long, as for them, as long as their (time for)
sleeping has not arrived, it (=trap) will remain (there) and (will) keep catching (them).
As for them (=birds), they don’t know. That is a bird-trap (atiw).

O: That is a bird-trap. That is a Dogon (=native) trap.
I: A Dogon trap. They have it tied with a string. At the (place for) the millet-spike pile (at the
side of a field), or any place where the birds do a lot of eating, a place where they peck.
When you go there, you will tie (it) with a string and leave (it). When you-Sg have
fettered (put in cords to prevent the bird’s escape) and left it, when they (=birds) come,
the food that you-Sg have put down (there), they themselves (=birds) will peck (it). In
that way, when they peck, that [focus] is what catches their neck(s). The neck [focus] is
what it squeezing.

If it isn’t energetic (i.e. so it escapes), it’s not a lot (=it’s rare) that you-Sg go and
find it (alive), it dies. Like that, from three to four (times), when you-Sg have done it

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636 A spot at the edge of the village where women come together to pound grain in mortars. Birds come
to eat the chaff and other debris from the grain.
(=set it), four (or) three (or) four (times) it will catch (a bird), (and) you-Sg go and take it out. Again you keep stretching it (=string) out well and leaving it.

O: That now, is it what they make with horse hairs?
I: They make it with long tail hairs of a horse. That’s it, they make it with long tail hairs of a horse. You-Sg go again and hide (yourself). Before you go (hide), it catches (a bird) again, it catches a lot (of them), that which (=number of birds) reaches four, five, up to six, as much as that which reaches ten, it (=trap) catches.

Again you-Sg take (them) out. When the sun sets, again you-Sg wait until the next day. (If) the sun hasn’t set (yet)—. As for them, the bird-trap, they work (=use) it only in the morning, as for it. It (just) grazes (the birds). Now, that (=bird-trap) doesn’t catch (birds) at night.

O: There is also what they made with a stick (and) that they call atiw (bird-trap).637 They (=people) come and they make it like this with a stick. They come and with the stick—
I: The stick strikes (the bird).
O: They call that atiw (bird-trap) too.
I: They call it also atiw.
O: That now, is it a Dogon (=native) trap?
I: It’s a Dogon (=native) trap. Both of them (=both kinds of atiw) are of the Dogon. The metal one (=iron animal trap) is of the whites. That is atiw, (it and) the one with the stick. That is atiw. Both of them are atiw. It is a Dogon—.

(As for) us, it [focus] is what we used to put (=set). But the metal one is of the white person, we didn’t know it. Is not the thing that exists like that?

O: The thing that exists is like that.
I: Do they (=shall we) add something else? Or do then (=shall we) not add?
O: As for trap-hunting, that is it.
I: Yeah.

637 A different kind of bird-trap, called by the same name (atiw) as the one described above.
I: Now, it’s slaughtering a sheep.
O: Mhm.
I: xxx if you-Sg have slaughtered (=cut the throat), the nephews (=sister’s children) come, they will skin and butcher the sheep. When they have removed the skin, they cut open (“rip”) the intestines. When they have removed the intestines separately (from the rest), they wring (it) out.

When they have wrung it out, they fold (it) and put (it) down and leave (it). Now they remove (cut off) all of the large meat sections. They remove the (two) upper foreleg sections, they remove the (two) rib sections, they remove the rump section, (and) they remove the (two) kidney sections.

When they have removed (them), well, now, (they) say that it is finished. The oldest man comes. (He asks:) “have you-Pl finished?” “Yes.” The rib section belongs to the oldest man, they give it to the oldest man.

O: Exactly.
I: They give the head to the Chief. Formerly the neck belonged to (=was for) the nephew. The upper back section they give to the blacksmith. The kidney section(s) they give to the sisters. Or is it not thus?
O: It is thus.
I: (As for) the rest of the meat, the intestines and the rest, having given (them) to the women, it is (=there is) meal-cooking at the house. The rest. Is it not so? Did any further division arrive (=take place), or did it not arrive?
O: Uh-huh. The division arrived, …
I [overlapping] xxx
O: … now what you-Sg said now. A goat, for what (reason) is a slaughtered animal they divide (it) up?
I: Animals—
O: (As) a sacrificial animal? Why is an animal slaughtered?
I: (If) not (as) a sacrificial animal. The villagers now, the people, it’s due to respectfulness (i.e. honoring someone) that (there is) a goat that they slaughtered for (other) people, either that or they slaughtered due to a sanction (against someone).

Now it’s the sanction. When they have slaughtered due to a sanction, the person who committed the offense, when they have slaughtered, the upper foreleg section

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638 i.e., they make an incision in the belly and remove the entrails.
639 Water is introduced into the intestines, which are then cleaned by squeezing.
640 There are about 8-9 large sections of the carcass, excluding entrails and organs. diyáy also means ‘joint’.
641 The oldest man of the extended family.
642 I.e., for the Feast of the Ram (see below). láyá:rù (Sg láyá:rù-m) ‘sacrificial animal (sheep or goat) for the Feast of the Ram’. The related term láyà can denote the Feast of the Ram, or the sacrificial animal.
belongs to him. The head belongs to the Chief, (and) the skin belongs to the Chief. The remainder (of the meat and organs), everyone who finds (=happens to get some) will gather (it) up and eat (it). It’s the sanction, as for it.

Now, if you-Pl have done (it) out of respect for a person (=man), or if they slaughtered (it) for a woman, if it was done (happened), now what I said (before), if you-Sg slaughter out of respectfulness (for someone), all of that (=the precise distribution of parts) comes out (=is carried out) there.

As for the thing (=sacrificial animal) of the Feast of the Ram, the goat that they slaughter because of the Feast of the Ram, whatever (meat cuts and organs) are going to someone else, the nephew, the neck is his portion. He (=nephew) will (also) make lotol.643

(As for) the remainder, it belongs to the owner of the slaughtered animal. They give the kidney section to the woman (=the owner’s wife), it is her portion. A kinsman (agnatically related), the oldest man of the house (=family), they give the heart to the oldest man of the house.

When they have paired (some of) the rib section (with the liver), regardless of what meat (=what kind of animal) they slaughtered, when it has gone (=been given) to the oldest man, it is its heart. Either that (=heart) or the rib section goes (to him), one (or other) among the two will go. It too (=slaughter for the Feast of the Ram), its path (=practice) is like that. If they add (=do) anything else, (please) add (it).

O: That is (how) an animal is slaughtered as a sacrificial animal.
I: It is slaughtered with (=on the occasion of) the Feast of the Ram.
O: Well, it’s good.
I: What else is there (to say)?
O: Well, that is it.
I: That is is, no?
O: Yes, that’s it.

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643 A roll-up consisting e.g. of the second stomach (reticulum) into which chunks of intestinal and stomach fat are stuffed. Among the first items to be cooked and eaten after an animal is slaughtered.
S: When you-Pl have a fight, you-Pl and (other) people, the fight is about what?
I: The fight, the thing (=fight) that comes, most of it is about land. There is also (fighting) about a woman, but (disputes about) land have more force than (those about) a woman.

(As for) the land, our ancestors, the land used to belong to them. The land belongs to them. Afterwards, other (people), if you-Sg have a lot of your-Sg places (=areas), the good (=best) place that you-Sg have, you-Sg now, you-Sg will farm that (good place) over there. You keep farming, (and) it has gone on for a long time.

His one (=other person’s area), it’s he [focus] who farms it. He keeps farming. When it has lasted a very long time, when the thing (=situation) has lasted a long time, it (=land used by the other person) goes out from (=ceases to be) yours-Sg. It’s a fight of (=between) the (other) people and us.

Well, when it has lasted a long time, if you-Sg go, you-Sg too, one day, a difficulty comes to you-Sg, this place now, I want to sow millet (here). When you-Sg say (to him), “I will arrive (at the field) and scatter (=plant) roselle,”644 the person there who had (the use of) your-Sg thing (=land) entrusted (to him), he will say, ah, he himself, he cannot leave this (field).

As for it (=field), as for him himself, it was in (=from) the mouth of his grandfather he heard this, (namely that) it belongs to him. “You said that this field belongs to you?” “Yes.” “Huh? We used to give the field to you-Pl in trust (=for temporary use); you-Pl used to acknowledge (each year), you-Pl used to bring firewood;645 today you-Sg have said that this place belongs to you?” “Yes!” “I do not consent.”

You-Sg also get up, if the two of you have argued (until) you got tired, and you-Sg go to the villagers, (you say:) “Ah, the villagers, people—, now, our oldest people, it’s definitely the truth, I have gone and spoken about the field like this. The people of that village, the (people of) Such-and-Such (village), said that (the field) belongs to them.”

(Village elders:) “the field?” (You:) “Yes.” (Elders, incredulously:) “No, (about) the field, they didn’t say (that)!” (You:) “He did say that. I spoke (to him) today, that very field, in (=from) the mouth of his old person (=grandfather), he said it belonged to him, he said it was his boundary.” (Elders:) “He has gone crazy.”646 “It’s not empty-handed (=without a cause) that he did (it).”

The elders assemble. (One elder:) “You-Pl, don’t you-Pl hear? So-and-So’s (plural) have spoken, saying that that field belongs to them. You-Pl also, how did you-

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644 A conventional formula by which the owner of a field takes back the use of a field that he has previously allowed another man to farm.
645 Each year, a man given the use of a field by its owner would bring a load of firewood to the owner, and would acknowledge the latter’s ownership.
646 Lit., “he has gone up (in) craziness.”
Pl hear (that)?" (One elder:) “No, they didn’t say (that).” (Another elder:) “No, they
didn’t say (that). The field, it isn’t theirs.”

Well, now they go to meetings for each other (=at each other’s villages). They
come, they go, they come, they go and come. “That field does not belong to you-Pl.”
“That field, its origin is (with) us.” “You-Pl used to get firewood for us.” “It’s to us that
you-Pl used to (come and) acknowledge.”

“Today, merely because you-Pl have been (here) for a long time, (you claim) it is
your-Pl property. It (=agreement) was made\(^\text{648}\) by So-and-So and So-and-So. Even
today, as for us, we do not abandon (=give up our ownership rights to it), we follow
(=keep it) (as) our property.

“That too, if it has stayed like that now, we have said a greeting (i.e. good-by) to
all that. You-Pl abandon (the field)! Abandon everything that you-Pl have! From this
(spot) all the way to (over) here, it all belongs to us. You-Pl are farming (the field) on a
temporary basis. We refuse (to cede the land).

“When today has passed (=after today), if your-Pl pick-hoe has gone into there,
uh-huh, you-Pl will have brought trouble.” This (argument) keeps going on and on,
then when you-Pl are mutually tired of meeting with each other, everyone will go and
stay at his home.

“When the rainy season arrives, you-Pl will not sow.” (If there is) anyone who
comes to sow, you-Pl will go and encounter (=accost) So-and-So,\(^\text{649}\) it’s just farming
on a temporary basis (in someone else’s field), it doesn’t belong to him; it (=field)
simply belongs to this village, it doesn’t belong to that village (over there).”

This goes on, until they come and take spears, they take rifles, (and) they take
sticks (=clubs) for (=against) each other. They go for (=to) the authority (=judge). The
authority makes a judgement. Again, they (=judges) themselves know (that) this land is
the land (=property) of this (person), this is not the land of this (other person), they
know.

If they want the truth, (the judges say): “Well, So-and-So (vocative).” (Other:)
“Yes?” (Judges:) “You-Sg went down on (=trespassed against) this (person); the land
belongs to this (person), it doesn’t belong to you-Sg.” If the talking goes down (=ends)
on this, it is fine.

(If) it drags on a long time\(^\text{650}\) and has not gone down (=finished) on that
(judgement), the people of the authority (=judges) will say to (=ask) you-Pl, what did
the villagers encounter (=inhabit)?\(^\text{651}\) (You say:) “as for us, we encountered (=inherited)
the sacred place.” (Judges:) “Did you-Pl drink (at) the sacred place?” “Yes.”

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\(^{647}\) I.e., what is your-Pl recollection of that?
\(^{648}\) Lit. “followed and entered [X and Y].”
\(^{649}\) Indirect-speech vocative.
\(^{650}\) Lit., “if it stirs up until it gets tired.”
\(^{651}\) I.e., what was the situation handed down by ancestors.
\(^{652}\) Animist ritual site where solemn oaths were sworn (an untruth sworn to was thought to lead to
annihilation of the family or village concerned).
If they are good (=honest, competent) authorities, they will make you-Pl drink from the sacred object. When they have made you-Pl drink (from) the sacred object, it won’t be long there (before) the (true) owner comes out (=is revealed). With that, everyone will settle\textsuperscript{653} it (=the issue of the field).

Either they will have settled it with hitting (=fighting), or with force (=weapons) now, or they settle it once and for all\textsuperscript{654} it by drinking from the sacred object (=by sacred oaths).\textsuperscript{655} It’s one or the other (of these).\textsuperscript{656} (To O:) How did you-Sg see (it), …

O: Uh-huh, with that, a field—
I: … our fighting?

O: As for the land, a dispute (about) land now, this that he (=I) said, that is it. Only when it goes on (a long time), a land dispute comes (=happens). Some person, the thing (=land) doesn’t belong to him, (but) if it (=his using the land) lasts a long time, he says (=claims) that it belongs to him.

You-Sg the (rightful) owner have said that you won’t abandon (=cede it), and he too says he won’t abandon (it). The land dispute follows this, just like this way he (I) said now. We too, that sort of thing has happened to us. Only in (=on the basis of) these (situations) and the likes of these (situations), the (other) people and we used to argue like that.

S: Fine, for example, if fighting is done like that now, do you-Pl mutually set a date, and say (for example) “on this same day (next week), on such-and-such a day, let’s meet each other (to fight)”? Or do they come and go down on (=attack) you-Pl when you-Pl are unaware (=not expecting it)?

O: They don’t come to your-Pl village and go down on (=attack) you-Pl. You-Sg the owner of the field say, “after today passes, don’t come to the field! It doesn’t belong to you, (so) don’t come!” He, the other (person), does not accept (=refuses).

(You say:) “Ah, if you-Sg come to my field here, (when) today has passed, when I see you-Sg, there will be no peace for you-Sg.” He for his part refuses. Well, with that (=at that point), if the two of you go there and encounter each other, with that you two will fight.

Ah, when you-Sg come and speak to (your) village, he will go speak to his village (and) you-Sg will come speak to your-Sg village. (You say:) “Don’t you-Pl come again to ours (=our field), it is our territory; don’t you-Pl put your feet again in our field.”

(As for) that, if you-Pl go and encounter them (there), well that (is when) the fight will come out (=break out) between the two of you, it will be like that.

S: Fine. When you-Sg have fought, by doing how (=what) do you-Pl come back again and come to an agreement?

\textsuperscript{653} ‘settle (it)’, literally “go out behind (it).”

\textsuperscript{654} Lit. “pass go and go out behind (it).”

\textsuperscript{655} ‘Either … or …’ here translates a construction with parallel polar questions: “Do they …? Or do they …?”

\textsuperscript{656} Lit., “this comes.”
O: If you-Pl have fought, it’s Satan [focus] who put you-Pl (up to it). If the one who is at fault has accepted\(^{657}\) (=recognized) his fault, you-Pl will be reconciled. If the one who is at fault does not accept his fault, on the other hand, we will always remain like that (=in conflict) indefinitely.

S: If you-Pl have fought, when you-Pl have held another meeting again, do you-Pl ask: “who has (=is in) the right, who has (=is in) the wrong?”

O: If they have come and showed who is in the wrong and who is in the right, if the one in the wrong carries (=recognizes) his fault, there they will make peace. If he (=man at fault) says (=requests): “be patient (tolerant), give the field to him, let him plant (crops)!,” the owner of the thing (=field) will take (it) and give (it) to him.

I: Other villagers who seek to reconcile the guilty party come.

O: Other villagers will seek to reconcile the guilty party. The members of the neighboring families, it’s they [focus] who seek to reconcile (on behalf of the man who occupied the field). Him (=man who occupied field), if at that point he refuses (to make peace), it remains like that (=in dispute).

Furthermore, (if) you-Sg (=field owner) for your part won’t give him (the field), you-Sg won’t let him do farming there, (saying:) “if today he says it belongs to him, tomorrow too he will say it belongs to him.” You-Sg won’t give him (the field). This and things like it,\(^{658}\) …

I: We will fight.

O: … following it, a fight like that, a field, a land fight comes (=happens) like that. A field fight comes like that.

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\(^{657}\) Lit., “has taken and carried (on head).”

\(^{658}\) Lit. “this and the companion of (=something resembling) this.”
**Text 2005-1b.06  Traveling for work**

S: Why is it that you leave your village and go seek work far away?

Y: The fact that we leave our village and go seek work far away. The fact that all of us men go in order to search (for work). The fact that (we) go and get (work) or don’t get (work), that we go in order to seek wealth (=make a living).

Some years, they go and they even leave here and go to Abijan (capital of Côte d’Ivoire), (or) they go to Ghana, (or) they go to Nigeria, even some people go to France. Even if it’s not that, they go to the land of the white people. They go in order to seek wealth.

Women, they run away without permission. As for the women, immorality takes them away, we don’t want them to go, for our part, (but) if we have no power (to stop them). As for them too, because we go, they also run away.

Formerly, in our childhood, we did not find any woman going to the bush, other than a man. But now girls keep running away. It’s their immorality that makes them leave. All the men go to seek wealth.

S: In your thinking, is immorality [focus] what makes them go? Or is it to become immoral [focus] that they go?

O: Them, it’s to become immoral [focus] that they go. They having gone, when they go, we see that they become immoral. It’s not one, two, or three (=it’s many). What they——

S: When they have gone (away), if not the immorality, they don’t come (back) in goodness (=with anything good), they don’t bring any good (back)?

O: We don’t see anything good that they bring (back). One who has a husband (=a married woman) having gone, she has left her husband at home. If she goes and stays (away) for two years (or) three years, even if it’s good for her, it’s harm(ful) to her husband.

If she goes away while having a husband, ah, if it’s a long time (away from home), some of them come (back) in a state of pregnancy. There is nothing more ruinous than that. That’s the immorality (=ruin) that we speak about, that’s it.

S: When men go, on the other hand, when they now go, what things do they bring?

O: When they go there, the good children (=young men) go into work. Now, once they have gone into work for someone (=a boss), when they work, (some) they pay them by the month, (or) by the day, (and) some also practice commerce.

Well, some people get (=make) money. They bring money and give (it) to their fathers. Like this year, if they went, some people, now the rainy season has come down (=begun), when they are coming, they bring something like (=approximately) the

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659 Lit. “run and go.”

660 ṭāwà means ‘damage, ruin, malfunction’.

661 Could also be translated ‘we don’t like the fact that they go’. Young women travel to big cities to seek work as housemaids.

662 I.e., do preexisting bad morals induce them to go, or do they go (for other reasons) and develop bad morals away from home? The sense of ‘to behave badly’ here is not purposive, rather to locate the change in a future time.
money for two hundred-kilo (bags) of grain (=millet), (or) they bring something like the money for three hundred-kilo (bags), (or) they bring something like the money for one hundred-kilo bag.

Well, it’s better for you-Sg (=the father). Well, the boys go for this (reason). Many children, many boys have gone.

S: The men, when they go, they don’t become ruined (immoral)?

O: The men (can) be ruined too. As for a man, when he goes, whether he will be ruined or he will not be ruined, they (=men) will go to seek wealth. He has gone and gotten (wealth), and he (=another boy) has not gone and gotten (wealth), among them (=both groups) there are some who are ruined.

There are some who get (wealth) and waste (it), (and) there are some who get (wealth) and don’t waste (it), (among) the boys too. Ah, (as for) them, their going (to seek work) is obligatory for us, their going is like that.

I: Their going, there is a lot of success there. Because one person, you-Sg are at home, (thinking:) “he (=another young man) has worked, God has given (=showed) him the (right) path, he has gotten a motor vehicle, he has driven and brought the vehicle here into his father’s village; every boy (=young man) of your age; if he (=another young man) has gone to the bush (=the big city) (for work) and gotten (wealth), I too will go and get (wealth),” he will say (=think), no?

One person comes (back) with/on a motorcycle. “Where did it (=motorcycle) come from?” “It came from the bush (=the big city).” If (something) like that is obtainable in the bush (=the big city), if it’s work [focus] (that produces it), I too would like to go and work. He will go too, (and) will get (wealth).

(With) their frequent going (to the city), there is (in general) a gain. The frequent going of women, is ruination. Abortion and being missing from the marriage (=from the husband), the frequent going of women, this is (the cause of) that frequent ruination.

Specifically (for) a man, his ruination is not frequent (=is rare). Because this year, the men, (just) the way O said, this year the men, look!, some people (gave) ten hundred-kilo (sacks)—, the locusts ate up (the harvest), (so) they (=men working in the cities) will give ten hundred-kilo (sacks), (or) they will give five, (or) they will give one, (or) they will give a half (sack), (or) they will give two (sacks) (to their fathers). It’s beneficial.

The fact that many children (=young men) go, that’s it. We too (=fathers), we wait for (=rely on) them (and) we wait for (=rely on) God. That is the big path (and) the good path (=what is best) for us. It very much has a benefit (=is beneficial). This [focus] is what has brought (about) that going away (for work).

O: Every person (=father), if his child (=son) went away (for work), he (=father) waits for (him) (=relies on something from him).

I: He waits (for him).

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663 I.e., for the most part, it’s good.
664 Here ɓɛ̃ɔː: ‘the bush, outback’ means ‘far away (from the village)’, implicitly ‘the big city (e.g. Bamako)’.
O: There is nothing for the mouth to eat, the locusts ate up (the harvest). Every person (=man), if his child went away (for work), whether the child (eventually) brings (something) or does not bring (anything), he (=father) waits for (something), everybody.

A child (=son) who has courage (=is industrious) too will bring (something), a good child too will bring (something). If you-Sg see that the fellow (=child) has not brought (anything), (you assume that) when the child went there, either he didn’t find any work, or a disease caught him, or it’s ruination (=bad behavior).

If it’s not ruination (=if he’s not immoral), he will have thought of his father, he will have thought of his parents (mother and father), his father and his mother, the way he left them at home. It’s like that also.

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665 i.e. the father waits to see whether or not the child will bring something.
O: Uh, now, you-Sg are studying, you-Sg are studying at (the public) school. Now, you-Sg will begin (school) at Dianwely. When you leave Dianwely, you-Sg will go and study in Douentza. When you-Sg have finished studying in Douentza, now you-Sg will go all the way to Sévaré and study. Now when you-Sg have finished studying, if you-Sg get (a good job), what is your-Sg thought (=plan)?

S: When I have finished studying now, what I have been thinking in my heart (is), may God give me work (=a job). When I have gotten a good job, I will fix (=build up) my (native) village. I will fix (=build up) the world (=people). That’s what I seek.

I want to study—, (as for) me, on the path where I am, that field (of study), that field of study, (I wonder) where will it go and come out (=what will it lead to)? It (=my [field] [focus] is what will go and come out in (=lead to a career as) judge. Where will it go and come out? It will go and come out in something of the ones with power (=a career in government).

If I have been able to go out (=graduate) there, just that [focus] is what I ask from God. If I have been able to study (and) if I have gotten (=made) some money, (then) I will fix up (=build for) myself, I will fix up my kin, I will fix up my village, (and) I will fix up every Muslim. That [focus] is what I want.

O: Well, may God give you-Sg what you-Sg envisage, may almighty God transform it into (something) good. Well, as for your-Sg father and your-Sg mother, they put you-Sg into studying (=enrolled you in school). They have planned (something) good for you-Sg. You-Sg too, (may) almighty God—, (if) you have gotten (=wealth), if you-Sg do (something) good for them, you-Sg (will) have added good on top of good.

If that [focus] is what is in your-Sg plan, may almighty God give you-Sg that which you-Sg plan. They (=your parents) have asked (God) for this blessing too, your-Sg mother and your-Sg father, your-Sg parents. Nope, even if you-Sg were to think (something) evil, may God make (it) good.

Well, having children, having given birth to a child, it’s benefit (is), (the question) “will we get (wealth)?” Tell your-Sg white man Jeff what we are thinking of. (As for) us, the benefit of (having) children, because of that [focus] we do (thus). If we have given birth to two or three children, (we decide) we will put this one in studying (=enroll him in school), we will put this (other) one in farming, we will put this (other) in herding animals. Well, all of them.

When he has studied, when you-Sg are at home, one day, when he comes (back), your-Sg child will benefit you-Sg. He will come with (=in) a motor vehicle, he will send (“give and send”) money to you-Sg, you-Sg will eat (=live off) it. If you haven’t

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666 The primary school (first cycle, grades 1 to 6) serving Beni was in Dianwely Maoudé, a 4 km walk. For the next level (second cycle), a pupil would go to Douentza. To continue at a lycée, a pupil would go to Sévaré or Bandiagara.

667 French branche ‘branch’, referring to higher education (in Bamako): law, medicine, etc.
given birth to a child, when you-sg get (=reach the age of) fifty (or) sixty years, your-sg strength will have ended.

The children of (other) people won’t give you-sg (anything). You-sg also won’t be able to work. If you-sg sit (=remain thus), you-sg will die like that in an abject state and in hunger. Well, that [focus] is why we (want) two (or) three children, that [focus] is why we want children. Well, (may) great God—

I: Well, in Sévaré, lodging now, are you lodging 668 at (the house of) your relative(s)? Or at whose house are you lodging?

S: Well, as for me, I studied here (Dianwely), I had the the year six (=sixth grade), I went (away) then, (to) Douentza. I went to Douentza and studied there. After I studied there, Sévaré, I moved on (=advanced) to year ten (=tenth grade) over in Sévaré. I moved on there.

The person (at whose home) I lodged there, it wasn’t my person (=relative), it wasn’t my kinsman. All of us (=I and they), the language(s) (that we speak), even they are not one (=the same). It’s a person of God.669 Work brought him here (to Beni) once. He and I saw (=met) each other.

We saw each other, (then) he asked me (for) my name, (and) I asked him (for) his name. We said each other’s name(s). We liked each other. I did the work that he said (=asked me to do). That went on until his heart was cooled (=refreshed). At that point, the person went away.

When he went away, he said well, when(-ever) I was studying and had need of him, or (when) they gave us (=pupils) a vacation, I should come (to him). I said, all right! I went like that. When I went, God made (it happen that) the year when I went, I moved up (a grade) there again.

When it moved up—, when I moved up, he said that I should come to Sévaré. I said, all right! I went there like that. That person (=man) was not my kinsman. The two of us kept being (=living) there, we spent one year. It was that one year, it was last year. So then, I went (there) for a second year.

When I went for the second (year), I and they, we stayed (together) for three months. In the third month, they gave us a vacation. When they gave us the vacation, he said: well, when I went (home for vacation), as for him, now, he couldn’t say anything (=about hosting me in the future), (so) I should come (=back from vacation) looking for (another) lodging.

(I asked:) why? He said: well, as for him, his work (=job) here was going to end; he did not like 670 (the situation) where he was now; he was going to go away from there (=Sévaré). (I asked:) (as for) him furthermore, where was he going? He said, he himself didn’t know where he was going.

With that, he told me that I should look for a (new) lodging. I said, all right. I didn’t say anything (else). When I came (to Beni), I didn’t speak to our people (=kin), I didn’t say anything. I know that our people had no other person there (in Sévaré),

668 Lit. “going down” (i.e., going home after work or school).
669 I.e., one who hosts out-of-town school pupils as a good deed, not as an obligation to kin.
670 Lit. “… was not sweet (=pleasing) to him.”
unless it was I myself [focus] who looked for (a host). I went away (from Beni), I went back there (=to Sévaré).

I arrived in Douentza, I telephoned him. He said: yes, he had gotten another job, he was going to leave here (=Sévaré). I didn’t say anything. As for me, I went to Sévaré. When I went there, God made (it happen that) in the place (=area) of my house, there was a woman. She furthermore had left her husband behind in Sévaré—(or rather) in Bamako, she had left her children behind (in Bamako), only she was there (in Sévaré).

She was (living) there. It was me [focus] whom she sent (on) all her errands, there was nobody (else) next to her. Sometimes, if she was going (to some) places today, she would give and leave me the keys to her house, (and) she would tell (=ask) me to spend the night there, I would spend the night in her house for her, I would guard (it) for her. I would wash her motorcycle.

It was like that, it was I [focus] who washed everything. Well, that woman, when the others (=my host and his family) said they were going (away), she asked me, so what was I going to do now? I answered too: as for me, he (=previous host) had told me to look for another lodging; as for me, that [focus] is what I would seek.

She said, well, if it’s that, there was no point in looking (further), I should stay there (in her house). I said, all right. I stayed there. When I had stayed there, I went and looked over there (at the previous house) again, my (previous) host, they say his name (=they call him) G, the place where they took him and Sévaré are not far apart, but the school (in Sévaré) where his children are is very strong.671

It’s the school of the powerful (=rich) ones, they pay money (for tuition), 4000 royals (=20,000 CFA) per month (for) each person, they (=his children) are two. There (where he is now), there is no school equal to that school. If they were to go (=leave their school in Sévaré), they would lose everything that they had studied, they would become weak in French.

Well, for that reason, as for him, he was staying (=still living) there, he said. If I wanted, I could come (back) to my place (at his house), he said. I said, uh-huh, (but) I did not leave (the house of) the woman again. Were I to go, furthermore, it would displease the woman. Even today I am in my place (at her house).

I: Well, the teachers, when you-Sg go to study (at school), as for you-Pl (=pupils), how (=what) do they (=teachers) do with you-Pl? Do they beat you-Pl,672 or what do they do?

S: If we go to school, the teachers don’t hit you-Sg, (if) it’s not after (=unless) you-Sg hit (them). If you-Sg go when the sun has come out (=arrive late), there is an “entry ticket” for you-Sg. You-Sg take the paper and you-Sg go in with it. When you-Sg go in with it, they take two points off your score. What they call “conduct,” (they will say) you-Sg are ill-behaved, or you-Sg don’t accept (=follow) the rules that they give.

671 Lit. “… has a lot of strength.”
672 Corporal punishment in public schools was formerly common but was officially prohibited several years before the time of the recording.
At that (point), they will take off two points for us. Because of that, everybody himself goes (early) in the morning. If you-Sg haven’t gone in to the school, it’s you yourself [focus] who will hit (=harm) yourself. If not that (=other than that), no person will raise an arm and hit you-Sg. Over there (=at school), any more hitting—, they have killed (=abolished) hitting, there is no hitting.

I: You-Sg go running (to school) early in the morning?

S: You-Sg go running early in the morning, if you-Sg have gotten up. You-Sg will go running for that early in the morning. There is nothing (=no other work) else that will make you-Sg late, if you-Sg have the will of (=to do) that.

I: Well, a spoiled (“ruined”) child, how (=what) does he/she do in that (respect)?

S: A spoiled child, it’s he—, they (=spoiled children) come. When they come (to school), they don’t go into the classroom. Even on a day when they do go in, they disturb themselves, they disturb (any) other person, they anger our teacher. Because they go in, you-Sg who do not like noisy talk they will force to engage in noisy talk, you-Sg who are near him (=one of them), you-Sg who like to listen (to the lesson), because of their noisy talk you cannot follow (it).

They keep making conversation, you-Sg will listen (to them). They will put you-Sg to the side (=cause you to fail). They keep doing that, When Madame (=female teacher) has chased them out, if she has chased them out and left them (outside), they (=noisy students) will provoke you-Sg too, so you-Sg and they go out (together).

How (=what) do the Dogon say? They say (proverbially), a widow wants (to have) a companion. They (=teachers) will chase you-Sg out (with them). All of you-Pl will be chased out. When you-Pl have gone out, they (=bad students) will go outside and laugh at (=make fun of) you-Sg. They will smoke their cigarettes. They stay (=keep doing) like that.

As for them, they are the children of a boss (=rich person). There are also certain persons (=students), they don’t even know the reason for which they came (to school), xxx they (=teachers) have chased them out. When the (school) year is finished, when they don’t get (=pass), they repeat (a year) there, their need isn’t there (=they don’t care). They go around (=circulate) like that. Those people (=students), when you-Sg encounter those people, there is no way you-Sg (can) go.

O: Ah, that child (=such a child), if you-Sg (=father) give birth to him and you-Sg put him in school, you-Sg will fall down (=be ruined). His mother and his father will have fallen down. If you-Sg mother and you-Sg father have given birth to you-Sg and they have put you-Sg in this work (=schooling), you-Sg too, (as for) that work, if you know (=appreciate) its value, if you-Sg are a good child, if you-Sg are a child who has the blessing (of his father), you-Sg will do that work.

(If) your-Sg mother and you-Sg father think that you-Sg are doing that work, (but in fact) you-Sg have left (=dropped out of) that work, you-Sg have thrown (away) that work, well (then) you-Sg will anger them. Tomorrow (=in the future) you-Sg will not see the path, they (=parents) will say it’s you-Sg [focus] who are the spoiled (=ruined) child. That’s it.
Well, may great God knock that (away) from all good children. Well, what you-Sg have said now, if you-Sg are like that, may great God leave you-Sg like that, may great God take you-Sg forward (in your schooling). It pleases our hearts to (no end).

I: In French, so how do they say the name (=word) of that (kind of) child?
S: They call him impoli.\(^{673}\)
I: Impoli.
S: Uh-huh.
O: That (word) impoli, what is it’s meaning (=translation) in Dogon language?
S: He’s a big-headed (=arrogant) child. He is big-headed, he doesn’t accept (=obey) things.
O: He doesn’t accept things.
I: How do they say (=call) the one who is good?
S: They say, poli.
I: They say, poli.
S: Uh-huh. It’s he [focus] who is good, that’s it.
O: It’s he [focus] who is good. The one who respects (other) people, it is he. It (=behavior) is well done.

\(^{673}\) Lit., “impolite (one)” or “unpolished (one),” but used in local French as a strong insult for a badly-behaved young person.
Rats, mice, and shrews

S: The giant pouched rat, how is it?
I: The giant pouched rat, its size is superimposed on (=exceeds that of) the mouse. Or is it (about) its behavior? Is it talking of (=about) behavior? The rat is a thief. It gathers up dried wild-grape pits, it gathers up peanuts. If it sees (=gets) peanuts, it won’t leave (them). As for its food (=diet), (it is) excrement, peanuts, karité pits.

As for those, it gathers (them) and goes and deposits (them). It causes (“hits”) damage, regarding karité pits. The Giant pouched rat, this is its behavior. In your-Sg house, it digs, it goes in and stays there. All the damage that I said to you-Sg now, it keeps doing (“hitting) to you-Sg. The behavior of the Giant pouched rat, this is it. This one also, who (=what) is it?

S: The unstriped grass rat.
I: The unstriped grass rat.
S: This one is it.
I: It’s in the bush (not the village). It stays in (=inhabits) fenced enclosures (=vegetable gardens). If you-Sg have fenced off calabashes (=gourd plants), it (=rat) makes cavities in the bottom of the calabashes (=gourd fruits). When it makes holes in your-Sg calabashes, it damages (them). It (=rat) too, this is its work (=behavior).

It eats the soft parts of the calabash (=gourd fruit). The calabash (plant’s) tongue (=vine) goes, it spreads out (on the ground), what you-Sg think is good, it (=rat) cuts it. It damages it, to the point that it (=calabash plant) is finished.

S: Do they (=people) eat its meat?
I: They eat its meat.
S: (It and) the Giant pouched rat, the two of them are the same (=both eaten)?
I: They eat the meat of the Giant pouched rat. Children don’t leave it (=they eat it avidly).

Adults, (wonder) whether it’s best (=appropriate, to eat) a little (=occasionally) or how (=what to do).
S: White mouse too.
O: White mouse, it stays in houses, up above (=in the roofing). It doesn’t come down below.

If it comes down below, it’s in order to drink that it comes down. It stays up above, it pokes around in your-Sg house (=ceiling), it makes the earth (in the ceiling) come down on your head. It doesn’t leave (=it constantly eats) peanuts. Over there where it

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674 The large local rat is *Cricetomys gambianus* (about 1-2 kilos). The tail is half black, half white. It is much larger than any local mouse or shrew, and is caught and (avidly) eaten by children.

675 *Lannea microcarpa* (wild-grape tree). The berry-like fruits have a little flesh that is eaten by people.

The pits can be pressed for oil.

676 *Vitellaria paradoxa* (karité tree). The fruits have a large oily pit (from which shea-butter is made) covered with some flesh that is eaten by people.

677 *Arvicanthis niloticus*, a moderately large field mouse. Killed specimens of this and other mice were present at the recording.

678 *Myomis daltoni* (small light-colored house mouse, tail longer than body, belly hairs all-white).
(=mouse) is, anything that is like the food that it eats (=whatever it can eat), it eats a meal (of that), the food that you-Sg have eaten and have left over (=your leftovers).

This is its work (=behavior), white mouse. (As for) millet, it eats all day and it eats all night, it doesn’t go out of the granary. If it goes out (of the granary), it’s in order to drink water that it has gone down, it has come out. If it’s not that (=other than to drink), there is no place that it goes (to). As for it (=white mouse), this is its work.

S: The white-toothed shrew\(^\text{679}\) too.

I: As for the work of the white-toothed shrew, as for the work of the white-toothed shrew, when you-Sg have gathered millet ears into a large pile (at the harvest), in the bush (=fields), it (=shrew) will stay inside it. If not itself (=a shrew of the same species), no other mouse that is like itself (=of similar size) will go in.

When you-Pl go to gather millet, if it has gone into the baskets and has come (to the houses) following the women (who carry the baskets), that’s it. (Or) if it has run into an uncultivated field, that’s it. Now, when it comes to the house, it chases out the mice that are in the house, they say. It is nasty to them, it bites them a lot. It too, this is its work. The odor of its body is not sweet (=fragrant).

S: The black mouse\(^\text{680}\) also.

I: The black mouse, it is not a good thing. A(ny) year where it is abundant, they say it’s a (year of) famine, (in) their abundance. Millet, they eat millet to an excessive degree, the millet that is in the granaries. Your-Sg water, the water that you-Sg have put (=stored) in the house, they (=black mice) will drink it. If they can’t get water, they will run away.

When they have run (away), they will go to another place. After drinking water, they will come (back). They cannot stand thirst at all. The black mouse, it does this, (and) it eats peanuts. It eats the remainder (=leftovers) of your-Sg food. It even bites you-Sg, this black mouse, it is its work (=behavior). This is what I know for (=about) it.

O: Uh-huh. The black mouse, if you-Sg are asleep, at night, it will bite your finger(s).

S: The spiny-haired mouse\(^\text{681}\) too.

O [to I]: speak about the spiny-haired mouse.

I [overlapping]: the spiny-haired mouse, I saw it on the edge of the village.\(^\text{682}\) It eats things that are over on the edge of the village, (such as) excrement. The spiny-haired mouse, it is an eater of excrement.

S: Well, they say that it transforms itself into a hedgehog.\(^\text{683}\) Is it the truth, or is it a falsehood?

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679 *Crocidura* sp. (perhaps *Crocidura cinderella*). Small mouse-like mammal, insectivorous, with pointed snout. An aggressive animal capable of chasing away larger field mice.

680 Black-furred variety of *Mastomys natalensis*, a house mouse somewhat larger than the “white mice,” and typically on the ground rather than on roofs The species also occurs locally in a variety with light gray-brown fur.

681 *Acomys johannis*. The hairs on its back are indeed slightly spiny.

682 Area at the edge of the rocky shelf on which the village (Beni) is located, sloping down with many large boulders, where people go to defecate.

683 Hedgehogs (like porcupines) have thorn-like spines on their bodies.
I: It (=spiny-haired mouse) doesn’t transform itself. The hedgehog, it is born (naturally). It (=hedgehog) too, its kind (=species) is apart (=distinct). That (=what you asked about), it’s a falsehood. It (=spiny-haired mouse) cannot transform itself into a hedgehog. There is no manner by which it transforms itself.

They are (merely) similar, because of that fact that it (=spiny-haired mouse) has spine-hairs a little. It itself, it can’t transform itself. The hedgehog is separate, this one’s (spiny-haired mouse’s) child is separate. That one (=spiny-haired mouse) too, what we know (about it) is this.

O: The hedgehog gives birth to a child (=its young). The child that it has borne, even if it has given birth today, you-Sg will find it (=young) with spines. The spiny-haired mouse, as for it, it is always at the edge of the village.

I: It’s at the edge of the village.

O: It eats excrement at the edge of the village.

I: But it doesn’t transform itself.

O: It eats excrement, it eats tree leaves.

I [overlapping]: By doing what does (=could) it (=spiny-tailed mouse) transform itself? Its tail here, if it is cut off? (Or) by doing what? It cannot transform itself. That (=what you suggested) is not the truth. It too, its kind (=species). As for what I know about them (=spiny-tailed mice), as for me, this is it. Can you-Pl add, a little?

O: That is it. Their work (=behavior), that is it. What you-Sg said now, that is it.
S: This young girl’s scorpion now, what is it like?
O: This one, the young girl’s scorpion, they didn’t set (the name) for it “young girl’s scorpion” for nothing. It (once) stung a young girl, and the young girl died.

S: What things does it eat?
O: This, rotten (=slimy) things, earth (in fields). Those things it eats. They say that it eats various other things also. Well, that is its work. Its stinging doesn’t hurt as much as the other (=real) scorpion’s stinging. (But) it does sting. It stings, (but) it doesn’t hurt as much as the other one’s stinging. But it stung a young girl, and she died, they say. It’s name is “young girl’s scorpion,” this is it (the reason).

This millipede, we call this one the “black millipede.” Well, it itself, the (black) millipede, it is in the bush (=outback). Ants and other things, as for it, those are what it licks (=eats). It licks rotten (=slimy) things. It makes a cry too, it goes “pi:!”; it makes a cry. If it’s not in the rainy season, it doesn’t remain in the hot (dry) season. Only in the rainy season is it seen.

S: This one (=young girl’s scorpion) too, is it also seen in the hot season?
O: This one too, in the hot season, this one is seen in the hot season. It is seen in the hot season. The stones, if you-Sg lift (them) up now, sometimes you-Sg will find it there. It is seen in the hot season. But as for the millipede, it isn’t (present) in the hot season, if it’s not in the rainy season. Well, that one too, it is thus.

S: The other scorpion, too.
O: The other scorpion. The scorpion, it stings a person. If it has stung you-Sg, it hurts. (As for) it, the painfulness, it is greater than the painfulness of a snake (bite). (The only) thing as painful as it, (is) embers of fire (=hot coals), what they take (=embers) and put on your-Sg foot, it hurts only like that.

If it (=scorpion) has stung certain people now, tomorrow if the (same) time (of day) has not arrived now, twenty-four hours, if that hasn’t arrived, the painfulness won’t subside (“calm down”). If it has stung certain (other) people, now it will keep hurting until tomorrow morning.

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684 Term denoting a biting centipede (scolopender), not really a scorpion. Chilopoda, family Scolopendridae.
685 i.e., for no reason. Lit. “for (an)other thing (=reason).”
686 Lit. ‘kicked’, term used for the sting of the scorpion’s tail.
687 The local giant millipede is a soft-bodied, dark brown, non-biting, herbivorous creature that reaches full growth in the late wet season. Diplopoda, Iulida, Odontopygidae. There is also a much smaller scarlet-red millipede that is commonly seen scurrying across fields at the end of the rainy season. The term gòrôm-gôm-jó is used for either.
688 More or less literal translation, clumsy in English. ‘if it’s not …’ in opposition to a parallel phrase may mean ‘it’s only …’.
689 I.e. the true scorpion. The dominant local sp. is Androctonus amoreuxi.
Now, among the medications, when it’s this medication [focus] they come and make, anything at all that relieves it (all) at once, as for that medication, we haven’t seen it up to now. As for what (=a medication that) relieves it all at once, unless (=except that) there is a medication that makes it (somewhat) better. Well, for (=concerning) the scorpion, that’s what is found.

S: What (sorts of) things are its food (=diet)?
O: The scorpion. The scorpion’s food. It stays in a hole. Exactly what that (=its food) is, the scorpion, as for me, exactly what is this [focus] that it eats …
I: It catches grasshoppers.
O: … I don’t know. Well, it catches grasshoppers, they say.
I: It catches grasshoppers.
O: It eats grasshoppers, it is said. I don’t know what else it (may) eat. It eats grasshoppers, they say. Well, it [focus] is the scorpion. What (=the one that) they call “sakelem scorpion,” the sakelem, as for it, it is a scorpion apart (=another type). The sakelem doesn’t get big, it is like that (=small). The child (=young) of this (other) one (=ordinary scorpion), the young one, they call it “scorpion-child,” it isn’t the sakelem.

A sakelem doesn’t get big, as for it, it is always in (the form of) sakelem. Its sting isn’t as painful as (like) that (=it isn’t terribly painful); it isn’t as painful as the sting of this (=ordinary scorpion). It, where they (=people) bathe, in the bathing areas, it (=sakelem) stays there. When you-Sg pour (water) in the bathing area, when you have poured water, if the wetness touches it (=sakelem), it will come up. When it has come up, it will bite you-Sg there.

S: The two of them (=ordinary scorpion and sakelem), do they eat one (=the same) food?
O: The two of them eat one (=the same) food. Well, the sting of sakelem is not as painful as the sting of the other one, it’s not as painful as the sting of the large scorpion. There is (also) the “horse’s scorpion,” it is very big. But we haven’t got it here, we haven’t seen it. It, the horse’s scorpion, as for it, if it has bitten a person, it will give no peace to the person. Well, the matter of scorpions, this is it.

690 It is said (in Beni and elsewhere) that sakelem is a different species. However, the specimens collected turned out to be juveniles of Androctonus.
691 The speaker uses kúwó- ‘bite, eat (meat)’ instead of tánbi- ‘kick; (scorpion) sting’, with reference to sakelem.
692 I.e. in the collection of specimens present at the time of the recording.
693 Lit. “bear, give birth to.”
27th night of Ramadan

S: The leyla, how is it?
O: Leyla, it (is) in the month of fasting (=Ramadan), layla enters (=occurs) in it. On the twenty-seventh night of the month. Well, on that day, they call (it) leyla. As for it, it is the public (=for everybody) leyla. But the Envoy, the Envoy of God (=the Prophet Muhammad), said: when you-Pl have had twenty days (of Ramadan), the ten days that remain, all of it is leyla.

That very day (“the day of this day”), the night of leyla, what they call “the angels” will come down. It is said that they (=angels) haven’t let anyone know (when), God hasn’t let anyone know (when), but it is said that it’s (some time) during the ten nights. Well, the (Muslim) holy men went by themselves and studied a great deal and looked, they say: it is thought that it’s the twenty-seventh night.

It’s because of that [focus] that they make that night leyla. That night you-Sg pray, you recite (Koranic verses). If you-Sg are in the path of God, that night great God—, the angels will come down, it is said. Anyone whom they find in the path of God, or whom they have found in prayer, now if they have found you-Sg in any (activity of) God’s path, the (divine) reward that you-Sg will get that night is greater than the (divine) reward of a thousand months (of ordinary living).

A thousand months. The (divine) reward that they give you-Sg that night. Now, (the whole time) from now until (=through) next year will find you-Sg (alive). It is said that on that night they divide up (good and bad fates). This thing, from now until before you-Sg die—, (from now until) next year arrives, you-Sg will get (something good), (or) you will not get (it), on that night they will divide (it) up, (their) fate(s), it is said.

Well, God ordains all those things on that night, it is said. The thousand years— (or rather) the thousand months, we have added up its (equivalent in) year(s), (and) it’s eighty-three years. Well, that night, its (divine) reward, that [focus] is what they give you-Sg, it is said.

The angels (do that) to the point that they come and xxx. (Divine) reward—, they keep calling out blessings for you-Pl. Until five o’clock, (at) the time for the morning prayer, at that point they (=angels) will go (back) up, it is said. Well, this is it, the benefit of leyla that the holy men tell us (about), this is it.

S: If it’s not that (=other than that), there is nothing else in leyla?
O: I don’t know any other meaning of it, if it’s not that.
S: Also if you-Sg don’t do (=stay up for) leyla, what is it?

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694 layl-a is the Arabic word for ‘night’. In Mali, leyla (or variant) denotes the night of the 27th of Ramadan (fasting month). People try to stay up all night, hoping that angels will come by (distributing good fortune).

695 Same verb (jangé) translated ‘study’ above. The common thread is ‘read (the Koran)’.

696 I.e., you will learn your fate for the coming twelve months.
O: (If) you don’t do leyla, a Muslim, twenty-seven days, a month you-Sg have fasted (“tied your mouth”), (but) if you-Sg didn’t do leyla, (something) is missing for you-Sg. You-Sg didn’t do (it) now, why didn’t you-Sg do (it)? The big (divine) reward that they (=holy men) spoke (of), don’t you-Sg want it? Don’t you-Sg want (to go to) paradise? If you-Sg don’t want it, there’s no point in fasting. For what reason will (=would) you-Sg omit (doing leyla)? Speak! Why will (=would) you-Sg omit (it), not doing it?

I: You-Sg, one who (can) endure hunger and thirst.

O: If you-Sg have said (=explained) that, (namely) why you-Sg didn’t do (leyla), (then) if I know something like that (=on that subject) now, I will say (it) to you-Sg.

I: There isn’t (anything).

S: Fine. If you-Sg don’t do leyla, is there (=does it count as) a sin? Or is there not?

O: (If) you-Sg are in good health, (and) nothing is hurting (=ailing) you-Sg, (then) if you-Sg don’t do leyla, you-Sg have a sin. Great God commanded (each) Muslim, He said “do (it)!.”

S: Is that it?

O: Uh-huh, that is it.

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697 I.e., ‘you have missed out’ (not gotten the proper reward for the effort of fasting).
Text 2005-1b.11  Demons and dwarves

S: What is the work (=behavior) of a seytan?698
O: If you-Sg have heard (about) the work of a seytan, (as for) a seytan, a djinn699 and a seytan
are one (=are the same), (from) one mother and one father.

S: Why have they said, this one is a djinn and this (other) one is a seytan?

O: If you-Sg hear (about) a djinn, he himself, the djinn, he is a Muslim.700 They the
Muslims701 call that one djinn. When people pray a prayer, when we the children of
Adam pray a prayer, they pray following (=along with) us. They likewise didn’t send
down a separate envoy (=Prophet) for them (djinns). Our Envoy (=the Prophet
Muhammad), He [focus] is their Prophet (too). They (=djinns) perform prayers. They
(=people) call one who prays a djinn. They call him djinn, the djinn.

Well, they (=people) call the ones who do not pray, them the kefirs (non-
Muslims). seytans. Well, this [focus] is what distinguishes them.

S: They (=seytans) do only (=nothing but) evil.
O: They do only evil. People, if you-Sg (=a person
) go (there), they don’t welcome it, they
will strike you-Sg. If you-Sg enter a place where they are surrounding (you), they—,
they see us (but) we don’t see them. Just like this way we see a person, they see us like
that, (but) we don’t see them. Well, they are the seytans. The ones who provoke (=pick
fights), they are the seytans.

S: Well, the nyere (dwarves) too.
I: A dwarf, well, he now, it’s he [focus] who holds (up) a boulder, and thinks, if somebody
comes, he’ll have put down (=dropped the boulder). He is (=remains) (there). When
someone comes, sleepiness takes hold of him. Is that him?
O: No. Sleepiness, now, if you-Sg come, (and) if he says (=intends) to do this to you-Sg,
(then) great God puts forgetfulness on him. When you-Sg come and arrive near him, he
has forgotten. If it’s not that (=if it weren’t for that), people—, in this world (of the
living) he (=dwarf) doesn’t leave people (alone), he doesn’t let people walk around.
Well, it’s great God alone [focus] who holds (=restrains) them.

The dwarf, he himself, the dwarf, they (=dwarves) come and stay in the (dense)
forests. From the dense forests to the stone caverns, they are there. They too, in
(=according to) the way that they (=people) say, they (=dwarves) see us, (but) we don’t
see them. When you-Sg go, their gear (=belongings), if you-Sg put (your) foot in
certain of their thing(s), they will catch your-Sg foot and throw it, it is said. Uh-oh,
once you barge in on them.

They too (=on the other hand), if they wish (something) good for you-Sg, they
will give you-Sg something good, they (=people) say. Even going into the deep bush,
certain people, like children (and) small people, they (=dwarves) wash and put down their (=short people’s) clothing, they (=short people) see (it). They (=short people) even see water in their (=dwarves’) ponds.

If you-Sg say (=intend) that you’ll come and go and call a person and show (the dwarf to him), you-Sg won’t (be able to) come (back to the pond). They (=dwarves) will have made it disappear. God has put (=established) a shield (=invisibility) between all of us (=us and them). Well, those are the dwarves. They see us, (but) we don’t see them. They too, they are the dwarves. Short, short; short ones, short ones.

S: As for them, if they don’t do anything evil to people, —
O: As for them, that they do anything evil to people is not common (=is rare), as for them, as for them.
S: That iblis, 703 who (=what) is that?
O: Iblis, it’s he [focus] who is the seytan. He is abaljinne (chief of demons). It’s he [focus] now who Jeff said was the (cabinet) minister, 704 it’s him. There is no evil that he doesn’t do. He puts (=does) nothing good for your-Sg heart (=spirit), he puts (=does) only evil to your-Sg heart. He makes you-Sg think of evil, he tells you-Sg, “do this evil thing! Do this evil thing! It is nothing (=it won’t hurt you),” he says. He orders evil only.
S: He follows after you-Sg.
O: He follows after you-Sg. They say, as for him, he even runs in the blood. 705 xxx well, (as for) that, if you-Sg say “in the name of God,” he will move away from there, they say. For that reason, as a Muslim, whatever you-Sg do, say “in the name of God,” it is said. If you-Sg say “in the name of God,” it will run far away, it is said.
S: I hear them (=people) saying, either they say it’s a seytan, as for me, or they say it’s a djinn, uh, or they say it’s an iblis.
O: Uh-huh.
S: It is said of him, of him now, if he gets up in the morning, he gives orders to these seytans (pointing): “This one, go!” “This one, kill!” “This one, —” “(You-Pl) go kill a person and come (back)!" 706 He who has been able to kill a person, the one who gives a hat of gold—, that one, who is it, among those two? 707
O: He is the djinn—, or rather he is the seytan. When he gets up in the morning, he calls his people (=devils) together. “Well, you-Pl go this way and work (=do) this!” “You-Pl (others) go that way and work (=do) this!” “You-Pl (others) go that way and work (=do) this!” Thus he instructs his people, it is said.

702 I.e., the dwarfish sprites (nyere) feel an affinity to human midgits.
703 Arabic ?ibliis-, another type of devil.
704 I.e., a high “official” among devils. The speaker alludes to a discussion prior to the recording, perhaps misunderstood.
705 Expression meaning ‘stick closely to, be inseparable from’.
706 Lit., “if/when you-Pl kill a person, come!.” Only the final verb is (plural-subject) imperative in form, but the series of verbs is interpreted as a single complex command.
707 S is asking which of the categories of devil is the commander who sends the other devils out to do harm to people.
They go. (When they return, he asks:) “How (=with what result) have you-Sg come?” “Oh, I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; there used to be friendship between the two of them, (now) the two are ruined (=have broken up). I stirred up trouble between a woman and her husband; there used to be friendship (=love) between them, (now) the woman has left.”

This (=other) one too comes and says (something) like that. (Seytan:) “Ah, as for you-Sg, you-Sg haven’t done anything else, of any bigness (=significance).” “I have ruined (=broken up the friendship of) a friend and a friend.” (Seytan:) “Ah, you-Sg too, you-Sg haven’t done anything else.” “I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; the two of them hit each other (=fought) and one of them died.”

(Seytan:) “You-Sg [focus] are the one who has done some work!” He (=seytan) picks up a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said. He (=seytan) picks up a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said. (To thr first:) “The people that you-Sg stirred, haven’t you-Sg seen that there are some who will present excuses (=be reconciled); if they don’t die, they will present their excuses. As for you-Sg, you-Sg haven’t done any work.”

Well, he (=seytan) takes a hat of gold, and (gives it) to the person (=devil) who had killed a person: “After you-Sg stirred (him) up, (the) person killed his friend.” He (=seytan) takes a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said.

S: The seytan—.
O: It’s the seytan [focus] who does that.
S: Their chief.
O: Uh-huh. It’s he [focus] who does that.
S: That was it?
O: Uh-huh. This is his work.
S: A [vocative], tell us a story.
A: A story for you-Pl.
S: Tell it.
A: It was put on (=told about) Yasama, her father, and her mother.
S: May the boundary be made.\(^708\)
A: Well, Yasama, her father and her mother gave birth to her. If it wasn’t her (=other than her), they had no other daughter, it is said.\(^709\) The boy (=young man), anyone who (came for) her, the daughter— anyone (=young man) who came in order to speak (=ask for) her (in marriage), when they (=young men) would speak (=ask for) her, they (=parents) said they would not give (her, to them), it is said.

They took a small red water jar up to the top of a borassus palm tree. They (=parents) said, anyone (=any young man) who could come, take it, and bring it down, Yasama would belong to him, it is said. When everyone came, they would go up and up, (but) when they reached the middle (of the tree), they would come down, it is said. They couldn’t (do it), it is said. They kept doing like that. Many boys came and went. They went up but didn’t get (it), it is said.

One with no fingers (or toes) came, it is said. The fingerless one, he came. Well, he loved (=fell in love with) Yasama, it is said. They (=parents) said, if he insisted that he loved her, he must go up to the top of the tree, and take and bring down the red water jar, it is said. Okay, he said. He went and looked at the girl. He arrived behind the tree. Well, he began to go up the tree, it is said. When he touched the tree:

\[\text{[song:]} \]
Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.\(^711\)
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

Thus he spoke, it is said. He went up the tree a little. When he went up a short distance, he repeated:

\[\text{[song:]} \]
Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,

\(^708\) i.e., “may the story be about them.”
\(^709\) The quotative (i.e. hearsay) particle occurs liberally in tales.
\(^710\) The song is sung in Jamsay.
\(^711\) Lit. “behind is different, among (=the middle of) behind is different.” Perhaps the sense is something like ‘things are not what they seem to be.’
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

His heart was trembling. Okay, he said. He went all the way up, it is said. When he had gone all the way up, he took the water jar and placed it on top of his head. He did not touch it with his hand(s), it is said. Saying, “let me go (back) down,” he lowered his head.

[song:] Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

He began to go down, it is said, again. He kept going down. When he came and reached the middle:

[song:] Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

Doing (that), he came until he had come down below (=to the ground), it is said. When he came down below, he carried the water jar (on his head). He went to the door of her (=Yasama’s) father.

[song:] Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

When he did that, Yasama began to weep, it is said. The father began to weep, (and) the mother began to weep, it is said. The fingerless one asked them, why were they weeping?\footnote{Lit. “… weep [the weeping of what?]?”}

He said, he had pulled them by their (own) mouth-rope;\footnote{713} the water jar was up on top; he had no fingers, he had no toes, he said that he loved their daughter; they
(had) said that he should take and bring down the water jar that was up (in the tree) and marry Yasama, and he went up and took and brought the water jar down; here was their water jar, he said; now he would talk about (=discuss) the matter of the woman and then go, he said; well, (now) that he had taken and brought down the water jar.

They gave him the girl, (but) the girl refused ("did not accept") to go, it is said. Dragging (her) by force, he went with his woman like that. The story is over, the last story is over.\(^7_{14}\)

O: (You-Pl) go and keep possession of your-Pl success.\(^7_{15}\)

\(^{713}\) I.e., the reins attached to a donkey’s mouth.

\(^{714}\) Standard story-ending formula.

\(^{715}\) Standard compliment from audience at the end of a story.
S: A [vocative], that tale of yours was indeed good. (Please) put (=tell) another one for us.
A: Shall I put (=tell)?
S: Put (=tell) another.
A: A story for you-Pl.
S and others: Tell it.
A: It was put on (=told about) boys, about the sister of some girls [error], or rather the brother of some girls, (named) Asama.
S and others: May the boundary be made on him.716
A: Asama, a cut (=wound) came and appeared on his foot.
S: Yes.
A: That cut, they (=people) treated it (until) they were weary, (but) it refused to heal. The boy was alone. The girl— (or rather) the boy was alone. The girls were seven in number.717
Here718 the wound had appeared on the foot, here the foot was ruined, it is said. They asked, what kind of remedy will make him heal? They (=others) said, he will heal with the tail of a giraffe.719

Well, one of the girls went out; she said, if her brother’s foot was to be healed, she would go in order to pull off a giraffe’s tail. One (other girl) replied, telling her (=first girl) not to go, (since) getting a giraffe’s tail is difficult. She (first girl) said, if God consents, she would go. She (=second girl) said, well, if she insisted on going, she should go and come back in health.720 She (=first girl) said, all right.

She went out, she began to go (=set off) on the path. She kept walking. Before she went, the Chief of the giraffes, he (=Chief) and his followers, she found them sleeping, it is said. She went and pulled (it) off (“uprooted”) the tail of the Chief. When she had pulled (it) off, she began to run, it is said. She kept running.

A giraffe, if seven days haven’t arrived (=elapsed), when it goes to sleep, it doesn’t wake up, it is said. She kept running, then she came, it is said. She (=old woman) had given her (=girl) four kinds of things wrapped up, an old woman, earlier when she (=girl) had been about to go (the first time).

Well, the seven days arrived (=elapsed), they (=giraffes) woke up. They too, they followed after (=pursued) her. They all (=girl and giraffes) kept running. She (=girl) had been running, but the girl now was tired. Just as she turned around to look, now they had gotten close.

716 A standard phrase by the audience when the subject of the tales is announced. Since many tales involve misfortunes, the audience expresses the wish that the events remain within the story and not intrude into their own reality.
717 Lit., “the girls (are/were) seven girls.”
718 Presentative (cf. French voici que …).
719 As we see later, the giraffe tail is used to shoo flies away from the infected wound. In real life a cow-tail is used.
720 i.e., she wishes her a safe trip (cf. bon voyage).
She took out a little stone and threw it, it is said. Well, when she had thrown the little stone, it turned into a huge boulder (blocking the giraffes’ passage). They (=giraffes) too, they kept gnawing into the rock. The rock now had a hole in it. They (=giraffes) followed after her again, it is said. They ran and came close behind her, it is said.

She had some baobab flour, it is said. She tossed it (on the ground). It came and turned into a large body of water. Having drunk up the body of water, and having lapped up the mud, before they (could) go (forward). she had again (already) gone far away, it is said. She began to run again, it is said. She was running, (but) they came until they went and got close behind her, it is said.

Again she tossed (something), it is said, a seed of scrub-acacia tree. It became a dense thicket. When they had cut (through) it, before they could get past (it), the girl reached the edge of her father’s village. When she came and reached the edge of the village, (she sang):

[song] Ya-Ire™ snatched, collected a giraffe tail; Ya-Mere-Ire™ snatched, collected a giraffe tail; The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail; The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail; The tail of a horse, a giraffe tail; Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail; Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

The people in the village did not hear, it is said. Again, a second time, she sang like this, it is said. (Villagers) told each other: well, be quiet, a voice had come out (=appeared) at the edge of their village over there.

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail; Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail; The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail; The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail; Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail; Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

721 Lit., “the rock, it came and was punctured.”
722 wàr5 is the general term for scrubby acacias with particularly nasty thorns, often in impenetrable thickets (locally *Acacia erythrocalyx* and *A. ataxacantha*).
723 lit., “before they said they had passed.”
724 Sung in Jamsay. However, the normal Jamsay word for ‘giraffe’ is wìlwìl.
725 The girl’s name, but it means ‘the best woman’.
726 Alternative version of the girl’s name. Cf. mër“é ‘kinship relation’, hence literally ‘best woman of the kinship group’ (or the like).
727 The ordering of lines in the middle of the stanza is slightly different in this repetition.
She said (=sang) like that, it is said. They said, as for this, (it seems that) Ya-Ire has appeared. Some of the children of her mother (=her sisters) scooped up some water (from a jar), it is said, (and) some (others) picked up some food, it is said. Well, going out like that, they met her on the path.

They asked, had she come (back) there? She said, by the grace of God, she had come. They asked, had she gotten (it)? She said, yes, she had gotten (it). She came and arrived at the door of her father (and sang):

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail;
The tail of a horse, a giraffe tail;
The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail;
Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

She said (=sang) thus. Having come and gone in (the house) like that, when she went in abruptly, well, her brother, she found him lying down (=in bed), it is said, and some flies were on his foot. She shooed (the flies), and the foot was suddenly healed (the scab flying off).

The story is over, the last story is over.
S: A [vocative], do (=tell) for us another one.
A: All right. A story for you-Pl.
S: Tell it.
A: It was put (=told) about a man and his child.
S: May the boundary be made.
A: A man, he gave birth to (=sired) a child (=daughter). He married a woman, and he gave birth to a child. He drove away the child’s mother, it is said. When he drove (her) away, he said (=intended that) he would marry the child, it is said. The child, for her part, said that she would not marry her father, it is said.

The father said, well, if she insisted that she wouldn’t marry him, she must go away from his house forever, it is said. She said, all right. When she had run (away), she went up (=climbed) on top of a borassus palm, it is said. When she had gone up on top of the borassus palm, the mother left her village and came. She kept looking for her child, (but) she didn’t see (=couldn’t find) (her).

She asked the child’s father, what had become of the child? He said, he was not aware (=did not know) where she was. She (=mother) went (around) in the neighborhood and asked the children (=young people), it is said. They said that her child was up on top of a borassus palm, it is said. When she (=mother) came under the borassus palm, the girl’s name was Denney, when she (=mother) said (called out) “Denney,” she (=girl) said “yes?”

She (=mother) asked, what had brought her (up) in the borassus palm? She said: uh-huh, her father had said that he would marry her, (but) she had said that she couldn’t marry him, (whereupon) he had told her to go away from the house; (as for) her, that [focus] was why dhr had gone up to the top of the borassus palm. Huh? she (=mother) asked. Yes, she (=girl) said. She (=mother) told her to come down, (but) she (=girl) said she would not come down.

She (=mother) went home. She cooked some food. She came to the bottom of the borassus palm (and sang:).

[song]  She (=mother) said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile  After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water! (Girl’s reply:) Oh mother! A man gave birth to me yesterday (And) today he will marry me. I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

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728 *Borassus aethiopicum*. This palm has a very long, straight trunk that is difficult to climb.
729 Sung in Tommo-So (=Tombo-So). Transcription and morpheme breaks are approximate.
730 =Denney, the girl’s name.
731 Lit. ‘gave birth to (=sired) and left (there)’. To avoid confusion, ‘left’ is omitted from the free translation.
She (=mother) did (that until) she was tired, it is said. She (=mother) went and called her (own) mother, the mother too. The (girl’s) grandmother too, she came (and sang:).

She said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water! (Girl’s reply:) Oh mother! A man gave birth to me yesterday (And) today he will marry me. I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

Her (=girl’s) agemates came, it is said.

Dene-ile, Dene-ile After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water! (Girl’s reply:) Oh my neighbors! A man gave birth to me yesterday (And) today he will marry me. I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

They did (that until) they were tired, it is said. She (=girl) did not consent (=refused) to come down, it is said. They told (each other) to chop down the tree. They kept chopping the tree, (and) when it was about to fall, there was another tree right up next to it, it is said.

She (=girl) followed (=went along) the branch, she moved over to the other (tree), it is said. When she had moved over to the other (tree), they called a boy who was speaking (=courting) her. They called and brought (him), he too came (and sang:).

Dene-ile, Dene-ile After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water! (Girl’s reply:) Oh So-and-So! A man gave birth to me yesterday (And) today he will marry me. I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

He did (that) until) he was tired, it is said. She did not consent to come down, it is said. They kept chopping the tree, the tree was falling, she (=girl) was jumping from there (=up in the tree). She came jumping down, it is said, and the tree fell, it is said. Her bones remain there.

The story is over, the last story is over.

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732 i.e., “I will drink in the Afterworld.”
733 =Denney, the girl’s name.
734 One would expect “Oh grandmother!” here.
A: Again, a story for you-Pl.
S and others: Tell it.
A: It was put on (=told about) the girl in the village.
S: May the boundary be made.
A: Well, the girl, they gave birth to her (=she was born). In the village moreover, when she became an adolescent girl, when she did (that), the rain did not consent to fall, it is said. Well, when the rain did not consent to fall, (when) it (=rain) did that, they said (=asked each other), is everything all right? They said, if she (=girl) didn’t go up into the sky, the rain wouldn’t come down on the earth, it is said.
S: If the girl didn’t go up above?
A: Yes, if the girl didn’t go up above. They asked, if the girl doesn’t go up above, the rain won’t come down? They said (=answered), uh-huh, the rain won’t come down. Well, the chiefs assembled, they went for (=to the home of) her father and her mother, and they said: well, the rain has dried up like this in their village; if his (=father’s) daughter doesn’t go up above, the rain won’t come down.

He (=chief) said to give him (=chief) the girl, the chief. The father said, huh? He (=chief) said, yes! The mother too said, huh? He (=chief) said, yes! (The parents) said, well, if they have said to give (her), they will give (her); they themselves (=parents) (had) thirst and hunger, the animals (had) thirst and hunger; if the girl goes up into the sky and (then) the rain falls, they (=parents) will have given the girl to him (=chief). All right, he (=chief) said.

They took out some millet (from the granary), and they pounded (millet grain) (as) a sacrifice, they ate (it). In this way they caused the girl to go up above, it is said. She went up above. Well, they continued to be there for a long time. (Eventually) she grew up to become a young woman, until she gave birth to a child, it is said.

When she gave birth to a child, when she had done that, when they said (=decided) they would bring her down (to the ground), the child was a boy, it is said. They told her, when she went (down), she was not to utter the name of her child. The child’s name, itself, they put (=called) Arayalogoro, it is said.
S: Arayalogoro?
A: Arayalogoro, [laughs] yes, She put (=called him) Arayalogoro, it is said. All right, she said. When she came down, when she did that, they made a dog follow after her, it is said. (They) said (=thought): if it is her, when this (=secret name) goes (down), she

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735 Lit., “is it peace?” A question typically asked of a visitor arriving at a home, for example. Pragmatically: ‘is something wrong?’
736 Here, a meal offered to everyone, to earn a blessing from higher powers.
737 Lit. “until she went and came and gave birth …”. Here ‘went’ is associated with ‘until’, and ‘came’ frames the event. Neither verb denotes actual motion by the protagonist.
738 ‘they’ here refers to beings in the upper world.
won’t be able to avoid uttering it. 739 If (=when) she has uttered (it), the dog should come and tell (it) to them, (they) said (to the dog).

All right, she said. When she came (down), everyone said: Ya-Ire 740 has come! Ya-Ire has come! Ya-Ire has borne a child and has come! She said: uh-huh, she had borne a child. (They) asked, what do they call her child? 741 But she said: no, as for her, she would not utter her child’s name; up there, they had sent her down below, telling her not to utter (it), and she would not utter (it).

(They) told her to relent, to utter (the name), to them. She said: well, she, as for them, she would utter (it); her child was called Arayalogoro. Lo, she was not aware of the dog. The dog came, and was lurking unseen in the millet-pounding area. (Now) it came out of hiding, and it went into the neighborhood (singing):

[song] 742 They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy. 743

[laughs] Now Ya-Ire turned her head and looked at it, and (she saw that) it was the dog. Every neighborhood where she (=girl) went, it (=dog) went (and sang):

They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.

Well, it (=dog) did like that. As for her, now she was going to go (back) up, she said; (she said) she was (previously) unaware of the dog, she had spoken (the name of the child), the dog was calling and wailing (=barking loudly) at her; if she goes up above, they will not leave her (alone), (she) said.

Well, when she got up and went (back) up above, (they asked:) had she uttered the name of the child, or had she not uttered (it)? (She) said: as for her, she had not uttered (it). The dog said: she had uttered (it); they had told her not to utter (it), she had said that she would not utter (it), (but) she had said the name of the child Arayalogoro, he (=dog) too (sang):

They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.

739 Lit. “she won’t do [she didn’t say].”
740 name of the girl (now a young woman).
741 Lit. “how do they say the name of …”.
742 sung in Jamsay. The prosody here is prose-y, unlike the singing by the same speaker in the previous texts.
743 Words with no discernible sense.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.

He (=dog) spoke (=sang) like that, it is said. Uh-huh. (They) asked, had she uttered (it)? She said, uh-huh, she had uttered (it). They took her there and they made her go (back) down, it is said. Her bones have remained there, it is said.
A: Again, a story for you-Pl.
S: Tell it.
A: It was put on (=told about) a woman and her stepmother. 744
S: May the boundary be made on them.
A: Well, a woman married a husband, and they (=villagers) brought her (in a procession) to her new home, it is said. When they brought her, she found the senior wife in the house. They told the two of them to go to a pond. 745 Now they went to the pond.

She (=senior wife), she remained up above; she made the stranger (=new wife) go down. She (=new wife) drew her water (in a bucket), and held it out to her (=senior wife). She (=senior wife) took her (own) thing (=water). After she took her own, and put (it) down, 746 when the new girl was drawing her (own), she (=senior wife) pushed her (=new wife) into 747 the pond.

When she put (=pushed) her into the pond, Nommo 748 caught her (as she was falling). He (=Nommo) caught her and was holding her. The woman, there was her brother whom they called Amasagu, 749 it is said. He was a herder, it is said. Her co-wife (=the senior wife) took her gear, loaded it (on her head), and went.

The herder—. When the woman (=senior wife) went, her husband asked: (=what about) his junior wife now? (She) said that indeed she hadn’t seen his (junior) wife; the two of them had gone out (to get water), she (=new wife) had said she was turning (changing direction) to the edge of the village (=toilet area), and she had gone away (there); she (=senior wife) had drawn her water and had come; she (=senior wife) was unaware of her (=where the junior wife was).

(He) said: eh?, she, the woman, she was new (=a stranger), (yet) she went away to the edge of the village, 750 (and) when she had gone away to the edge of the village, she (=senior wife) for her part had not gone looking for her? (She) said: uh-huh, as for her, indeed she had not gone looking for her; his (new) wife had gone away to the edge of the village, and had not come (back); how was she (=senior wife) going to go looking for her? All right, he said.

Well, the village (=villagers) took the tomtom(s), they went out in order to search for the woman, it is said. They spent the daytime searching for her, (but) they didn’t see (=couldn’t find) her, it is said; they spent the night that (same) way, it is said, (but) they

744 Term applied to a second (or third) wife of one’s father (i.e., one’s mother’s co-wife). Stepmothers are proverbially protective of their own offspring, at the expense of their stepchildren.
745 tǎ “water source (well, pond, etc.).”
746 Lit. ‘put down and left (it)’.
747 Lit. ‘pushed and put (in) …’
748 Dogon water god, associated with rainbows.
749 Lit., ‘entrusted to God’. Name given to a first son.
750 The reference is to a particular spot on the edge of the village used for defecating. The place is not marked and must be pointed out to a visitor.
didn’t see her, it is said. The next morning, the woman’s—, the boy, her brother Amasagu went to the pond. He said (=intended) that he would draw water with (=into) a small gourd. She (=woman) was inside (=underwater) (and sang:).

song: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes bum-bum! Who is beating it? In the body of water, the gourd goes bum-bum! Who is beating it?”
(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”
(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out, (Is it) peace? It’s drums of what?”
(Man:) “Ogolum’s (wife) Yadinge is not there? That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”
(Woman:) “I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water), I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!”

She said (=sang) like that. The boy was speechless (=surprised). He said: ah, inside (=under) this water, it is not peace (=something is afoul).” Again, a second time he began to draw water (into the gourd).

song: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes bum-bum! Who is beating it?
(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”
(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out, It’s drums of what?”
(Man:) “Ogolum’s (wife) Yadinge is not there, they said. That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”
(Woman:) “I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water), I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!”

They (=people) got up and went and told him (=husband), it is said. When they told the chief, well, the chief again summoned the village (=villagers), and said: Amasagu had told (him) that his (=Amasagu’s) sister was in (=under) the water; they (=villagers) must now seek a stratagem for him (=chief) how to get (the woman) out (of the water), it is said.

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751 sâbôl is a very small gourd with a narrow neck that opens wide at the top, good for carrying small quantities of curdled milk and other liquids.

752 sung in Jamsay.

753 as in ‘beat (tomtom)’.

754 The village’s drums are beaten to summon the villagers for important matters, including war.

755 Lit. ‘go in (to), enter’.
They said, all right. They came and summoned her brother beside (=at the edge of) the water. They told him to approach (the water), draw water (into the gourd), and look. He began to draw water (into the gourd), it is said. He was drawing water.

song:  
(Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*  
Who is beating it?  
In the body of water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*  
Who is beating it?”

(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”

(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out,  
It’s drums of what?”

(Man:) “Ogolum’s (wife) Yadinge is not there, they said.  
That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”

(Woman:) “I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!  
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water),  
I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!”

All right, he said. A second time he beat— A second time he put (the gourd) again, it (=song) happened like that (=was repeated). They asked the owner of the water (=Nommo) for the woman. They got her out (of the water), they said (=intended) to bring her to the house, they were coming (with her).

The owner of the water too sent animals (=livestock), slaves, and horses following her like that. When he had sent (all that) following (her), her co-wife (the husband’s senior wife) came the next day, she went into (=under) the water, it is said, (and) white smoke (steam?) came out, it is said.

The story is over, the last story is over.
S: Tell us a story.
B: One old woman. She herself, she was in the bush (=outback), she had accumulated animals, to the point that they were numerous, the goats. Her daughter was the wife of Lion. She (=daughter) was like that (=married to Lion). Hyena and Hare were not aware of that.

One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin. They came bringing the francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman. She tossed it into her cotton gear. They chatted near her (=old woman) until they were tired. They got up and went into the bush. They went and remained there (until) they were tired.

Again they came. They said (in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman took out the francolin meat, and held it out to them. When they had taken hold of the francolin meat, they told her to take hold of it (=take it back from them) and eat (it); that was merely fun (=kidding) with the grandmother (by her grandchildren), it wasn’t (intended to) go that far.

All right, she said. She again put it and left it in her cotton gear. They got up and went into the bush again. A second day they came (and said, in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” She took out and gave them the francolin thigh. They said to her, as for them, it was (just) chatting (=not serious); did she think it was a lie?; she should eat (it), as for her. All right, she said.

After she took it and put it (back) in (the cotton gear), her daughter, the wife of Lion, came, took (the meat) out and ate it (all) up. Well, when she had eaten it all up, the next day they (=Hyena and Hare) came. When they said “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” she looked for (it) (but) she didn’t see it.

Well, if she couldn’t see (=find) the francolin thigh, she obligatorily would give (them) a goat, (they) said. She said, huh? They said, yes! The old woman, for her part, didn’t like a lot of talk. She said to them, they should approach and take hold of the goat that they wanted. They took the goat, and they got up and went (back) into the bush. They slaughtered (=cut its throat), roasted (it), and ate it up.

Two (or) three days passed. They got up and were coming. Again they repeated: “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman didn’t have a francolin thigh, (so) she told them to take a goat this day too. They kept taking (goats). As for the goats, there came to remain of them now only one skinny goat kid.

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756 Lit., ‘was in the wife(-hood) of …’.
757 partridge-like bird. *Francolinus* sp.
758 Doum-palm basket containing implements and materials used in spinning cotton thread (card, rolling stick, etc.).
759 Lit. “grandparent-laughter.”
760 Hyena and Hare playfully go through the motion of demanding francolin meat from the grandmother. Later the demands become serious.
Well, when the skinny goat kid remained, they (=Hyena and Hare) (came and) looked, (and saw that) her goats had gone out (=diminished), they had (nearly) come to an end. (They) said (to her): for this skinny goat kid that they saw (=that were right there), by the time they (=Hyena and Hare) came on another day, if this (goat kid) had not attained the size of a lion, there would be no peace for her. The old woman got up, she kept weeping over that.  

Her son-in-law, the lion, came that day in order to greet her. When Lion came, he said to his mother-in-law: greetings! After finishing the greetings, he asked: why was it that she had become so skinny and she was there weeping?  

She said: it was true; the whole herd of goats that he (=Lion) had left in her hand(s), Hyena and Lion had tricked her, they had mercilessly eaten everything; they had said that this skinny goat kid, well, before they come, must become like him, Lion; she was weeping over that.  

(Lion) said: all right, if that’s it (=the situation), it was easy; she should give him the goat kid. The son-in-law for his part took the goat kid. When he had taken it, he remained there. On that day, God having ordained (it), the rain came. Well, they too (=Hyena and Hare) came.  

Well, the old woman told him (=Lion) to go into that shack there and hide. While the Lion had gone in and was hiding there, Hyena and Hare came, (and) said: “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” They said: well, they had come, in order to take their goat kid. She said, huh? They said, yes.  

She said: well, their goat kid was in that shack over there, they should go to (the shack) and take (the goat kid). It was darkness (=dark), and rain kept falling. They (=Hyena and Hare) approached, touched (=felt with their paws), and looked. Its full size was excessive.  

They said: well, it’s true, hey, the old woman really knows goat raising— the raising of a goat kid; as for this goat kid indeed, it could manage (bearing) both of them; they (two) could mount (it) and go at their pleasure. (The other) said, all right. They pulled (it) out. Yes. The hare sat in front, the hyena sat in back.  

When they went, the rain was flashing (lighting). By means of (=by the light of) that lightning flash, when the hare looked, the hare (saw) that it was a lion. He spoke up, he said he was going to urinate. He jumped down.  

When he had gotten down, he began to run. He kept running. When he had gone far away, he said (in Jamsay): Daddy, Hyena, should come! He (=Hyena) said, yes!  

He (=Hare) said (in Jamsay): could he (=Hyena) see him? He (=Hyena) said (in Jamsay): he could only see him (=Hare) dimly. He (=Hare) said: well, the thing that he (=Hyena) had mounted on, it was their master; when the lightning flashed, he (=Hyena) should look at its mane. When the lightning flashed, he (=Hyena) looked, (and saw that) it was Lion.  

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761 Lit. ‘wept [the weeping of that]’.

762 As we see later, the speaker has the characters reversed. It was actually Hyena who got off Lion, leaving Hare on Lion’s back.
He (=Hyena) said: “Uncle!” He (=Lion) said: “yes?” He (=Hyena) said that he (=Hyena) was going to defecate, (but) he (=Lion) said that he (=Hyena) would not come down at that place. He (=Hyena) (then) said that he was going to urinate, (but) he (=Lion) said that he (=Hyena) would not come down at that place. He (=Hyena) did like that until he was tired.

The other (=Hare) got up and ran far away (=fled). Uh-oh, it was (rather) the hyena who ran away, he went. When he (=Hyena) went and spoke to his wives, he said: Hare has called his mother [insult]; the two of them had been coming mounted on Lion like that, when the lightning had flashed he (=Hyena) had seen; by (saying) he was going to the edge of the village (=toilet area), he had run away and escaped; he (=Hyena) had gotten (into) trouble that day. He (=Hyena) went into his house, yes (and sang):

[song (Jamsay)]

In the house of Daddy Hares, shouts come out. 
The house of Daddy Hyena, it’s cold (=peaceful).  
(Despite) the noise of tomtoms, peace comes to us.

He (=Hyena) was doing that. Hare rode on Lion and came to the door of the hyena. He (=Hare) came, and said (to Hyena): good evening! He looked (and saw that) the hyena rode the hare--, (or rather) the hare came riding on a Lion. He (=Hyena) told them, the women (=his wives) and the children, to hang from the ceiling cross-sticks. They were there clinging closely to the ceiling cross-sticks.

One (of the hyena children) spoke (in Jamsay), saying: his arm was getting tired. He (=Hyena) told (the child, in Jamsay): hey, fucker, he should come down (and be eaten by Lion); if San (=name of mother hyena) was there, she would bear a child (to replace him). He (=child) fell down, and Lion took and ate (him). Eventually the (hyena) woman too fell.

Eventually the (hyena) man too, he was there in a worn-out well-bag, and lo the rope was being pulled off (=was fraying badly). He made (the sound) “tutu!” (with) saliva (=by spitting lightly). While he was moistening the rope (hoping to prevent its snapping), the worn-out well-bag broke off (and fell) down. Him (=Hyena) too he (=Lion) ate.

The story is over, the last story is over.

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763 The slender branches laid across the ceiling.
764 Traditionally, a goatskin waterbag lowered by a rope into a well to draw water.
B: It was put on (=told of) Hare and Hyena.
S: May the boundary be made.
B: Well, when the two of them got up, came, and met together, Hare spoke, asking Hyena to teach him intelligence (=craftiness). He (=Hyena) said, huh? He (=Hare) said: yes! He (=Hyena) said, well, if that’s it (=the situation), they should leave very early in the morning (=at the crack of dawn).

At the time when the two of them had taken their animal-hide shoulder-bags and slung (them, i.e. the straps) over their shoulders and had gone out, the hare took out two long grain spikes of millet, and he put (them) in his shoulder-bag. The hyena’s shoulder-bag was empty. The two of them kept going along.

They came up to a place. The antelope, well, she had given birth to two children, she put and left them in a hole and went away to eat. They (=Hyena and Hare) went along and they happened to encounter it (=the hole). They ran into (it), both of them (Hyena and Hare) took one each (antelope child), and they put (them) into their bags. They put (them in) and they continued (on) their way.

Antelope got up and went to the place of (=where she had left) her children. She didn’t find the children, but tracks (=footprints) arrived there (=led in that direction). Well, she followed the tracks. She went after (them). She kept running. She came and emerged on (=encountered) two individuals. It was Hare and Hyena. Well, she blocked their way. She said: it’s true, it was their tracks [focus] that she had been following; they (animals) had arrived at her home; it was they [focus] who had taken her children.

Before it (antelope) came, well, it happened that Hare had spoken (to Hyena): they should snap (=break) the necks (of the children). When he said (that), the hare snapped the millet (spikes) in half, making the noise “toy!” The hyena snapped the neck of the antelope’s child, making the noise “tɔy.” He (=Hyena) said (in Jamsay): “yours (=your noise) is louder (than mine).” Indeed, a problem has come to you (=Hyena), if his (=Hare’s) is louder (than yours).

That’s is (when) the mother (antelope) came and blocked their route. She said: it was they [focus] who had taken her children, (now) they must take them out (of the shoulder-bags). At that point, the hare took hold of the bottom of his shoulder-bag, and shook it. The antelope child bounded (out), it went and clung to its mother. She (antelope) told Hyena to take (his) out, (but) he did not consent (=he refused) to take (it) out.

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765 A long thin goat- or sheepskin bag worn under the shoulder, held by a cord over the shoulder. This is the normal bag carried by men into fields or the bush. Local Fr gibecière.

766 Tentatively identified as the roan antelope, *Hippotragus equinus*. Large antelopes like this (and the topi) have not been seen in the zone for decades because of desertification.

767 Slightly different from the sound of the millet spikes (=ears) being snapped.

768 The narrator comments, in the form of a statement addressed to a protagonist in the story. The segment “his is louder” is spoken in Jamsay.
She pressed (=harassed) him. He took the bottom of the shoulder-bag and simply shook it, (and) thud! The antelope child was dead. The (mother) antelope said: as for this (event), there was nothing that would end (the hostility) between herself and him (=Hyena). At that point, he (=Hyena) arose and got the hell out of there, he ran. Antelope followed after (=chased) him. He kept running, he went to the burrow of an aardvark and ran headlong into it.

When he ran in, antelope went (there), she dug it (=burrow). While she was digging, a warthog came and found her there. It (=warthog) said: “what is it?” She said: a man had taken and strangled to death her child; she had followed him, and he was inside this hole; Warthog should have the patience (=kindness) to help her with that (problem), because he (=Warthog) was the owner of teeth (=had powerful teeth). Warthog thereupon got ready (=got in position), (with) the teeth, he kept digging.

Hare came and arrived. When he had come and arrived, he asked: had he (=Hyena) gone in there? He (=Warthog) said, yes. (Hare) said: they should stand (=hold off for a while); with that, (if) he (=Hare) didn’t go in and do something and come out (first), if he (=Warthog) got close to him (=Hyena) and stayed that way (for a while), it wouldn’t be good for him (=Warthog); his (=Hare’s) acquaintance who was in the hole (=Hyena) wasn’t nice. He (=Warthog) said, all right.

Hare went in, took a handful of salt out (of his bag), and said: he (=Hyena) should stuff it (=salt) into his mouth and hold it (in his cheeks); the warthog was digging and digging; when he (=Warthog) came up close to him (=Hyena), he (=Hyena) should spray it (=salt, by spitting) into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s); when he (=Hyena) had spit it into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s), he (=Warthog) would back up and go out.

The warthog kept digging. When he had finally come close (to Hyena), when he (=Hyena) spat, lo! he had swallowed the salt, (so) there was none of it in his mouth. Well, Hare observed that Warthog had approached close to him (=Hyena), (but) his man (=Hyena) was not responding (=doing anything). He (=Hare) said again: he (=Warthog) should stand (=hold off for a moment), and let (=Hare) take a look (first).

He (=Hare) went in, he gave him (=Hyena) some (more) salt, he (=Hyena) stuffed it into his mouth. He (=Hyena) was there, holding (it) in his mouth. He (=Warthog) kept digging. He (=Hare) told him (=Hyena) to spit (the salt) when he (=Warthog) had gotten close. He (=Warthog) dug, he got close to him (=Hyena). When he (=Hyena) spat, well, that too, (some of) the salt had been lost (=swallowed). A little bit (of salt) got into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s).

He (=Warthog) spoke: something had gotten into his eye(s). He (=Warthog) came out. He (=Hare) asked: had he (=Hare) not said (that if) he (=Hare) didn’t go in and perform his thing, these (=Warthog’s) eyes would both burst; but now Antelope should blow on him (=Warthog), perhaps there was a bit of dirt in his eye(s).

Antelope blew (on Warthog’s eye), and the salt escaped (=came out) and (somehow) got into Antelope’s (own) mouth. Its tastiness was extreme. It was tastier to her (=Antelope) than honey, it was tastier to her than meat. Antelope spoke: hey, Warthog, these tears of his (=Warthog’s) were tasty! Rabbit, he spoke: he (=Antelope) didn’t know (anything); warthog meat was tastier than these tears. Well, that was that,
huh. Antelope followed after (=chased) Warthog. She (=Antelope) and Warthog got into a chase\textsuperscript{769} and went by.

Hare spoke, saying that Hyena should come out now; he (=Hyena) had finished learning intelligence (=craftiness). The other one (=Antelope) went and killed Warthog. Before she (=Antelope) had skinned and carried away its (=Warthog’s) meat, Hyena—(or rather) Hare went out leading his companion (=Hyena), they got up and went.

The story is over, the last story is over.

\textsuperscript{769} Lit. ‘caught each other’.
Text 2005-2a.08  Beni and the sacrifice of Yasumoy

S: You-Pl, how did Beni get settled?
C: B [name], good evening.
B: Good evening to you.
C: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
B: Only peace.
C: Have you spent the daytime in good health?
B: Only peace.
C: Have our people (=kin) spent the daytime safely?
B: Praise God.
C: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
B: Only peace.
C: Fine.
B: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
C: Only peace.
B: Did your-Sg family spend the daytime in peace?
C: Only peace.
B: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
C: Only peace.
B: Fine.
C: Fine.
B: Please.
C: Well, all right.
B: We come on (=because of) a request.
C: Uh-huh.
B: Well, we (people of) Beni, the place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in which) we settled, we would like to have its story from you-Sg.
C: Exactly.
B: You-Pl the old people, it (=telling the story) is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
C: It’s entrusted to Great God. The opening (“doorway”) of Beni, it is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl. But the Dogon, leaving Mande…
B: Yes.
C: … two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river).
B: Yes.
C: Those two groups, they separated.
B: Yes.
C: The ones who followed the water route, again they separated into two divisions.
B: Yes.
C: Now they had actually come to be three (groups). That went on. Eventually, this (village) that you-Sg see, you-Pl the people of Beni, how we came in (here), they left (=came from) Mande.770

B: Yes.

C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil.771

B: Munwil. Yes.

C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and) Morogoy.772 Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth,773 Sengere774 got-the-village, Is-it-a-boy-that-she-is-pregnant-with-or-Is-it-a-girl-that-she-is-pregnant-with. The pregnant-belly-rip knife775 is set down (=exists) even today in Munwil.

B: Yes.

S: That Munwil, it’s in the area of where (=in what area)?

C: That Munwil, if you-Sg have gone to Walo, you-Sg will go (on) to Munwil.776

B: Yes, I understand.

C: Well, in that Munwil,777 even today, the knife is set down (=exists).

B: Yes.

C: Today in the house, who(-ever) is the last boy, when he goes to the ritual ground,778 even today when he carries the knife on his shoulder, it’s he [focus] who goes to the ritual ground.779

B: Yes.

C: That is the knife of Leri-Leri-Kure.

B: Well, those people of ours now, how did they separate? One settled in Kara, (the other) one settled in Youli.780

C: So, the one who left Kara, …

B: Yes.

C: … yes, and the one who came around here, …

B: Yes.

C: … one mother, one father (=they were full brothers).

B: Exactly.

C: Yes, he said: come, let’s go! As for the other, he said: as for himself, this one whom you-Sg see781 was stubborn (kárá:-rɛ̀), he couldn’t go.

770 The famous Mande Empire of Sundjata.
771 A village somewhere between Mande and Beni.
772 Two founding brothers.
773 This and the following are archaic expressions, partially in Jamsay, that are called out by griots.
774 Said to mean ‘mutual agreement’, but not otherwise in use.
775 Lit. “are set down.”
776 I.e., Munwil is located beyond Walo.
777 Lit. “in the Munwil of that.”
778 The area just outside the village where the community gathers in the morning for major rituals (nowadays, the two primary Islamic holy days).
779 The youngest boy of the original family carries the knife to the ritual ground.
780 Village near Beni.
B: xxx
C: In that (place), with that he stayed put.
B: Yes.
C: When he stayed put there, our (maternal) uncles the Maba …
B: Yes.
C: … came and settled next to them.
B: Exactly.
C: Well, the people of Beni governed the territory, our (maternal) uncles commanded the chiefhood.
B: Yes.
C: Up until today, it’s our (maternal) uncles [focus] who are chiefs.
B: Yes.
C: Both the territory and the entrusting of the words are in the hand(s) of the people of Beni.
B: Exactly. We understand.
C: When it came to Beni, Morogoy and Kagoy (patronymics), that’s what there was.
B: Yes.
C: In that Walo, Awandu and Mema (neighborhoods).
B: These two.
C: They are (=correspond to) Kasaru and Oduro (neighborhoods in Beni).
B: Yes.
C: As for me, this is my knowledge.
B: That Oduro and that Kasaru, (they have) one mother (and) one father, they said. So, that too, how is it?
C: Well, you the people of Beni, here you are. That (matter), it is entrusted to God, and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is …).
S: Grandpa, he said that he had kará-ed and he wouldn’t go. What is the meaning of that word kará?
C: That kará, if you-Sg have only heard (=understood) the meaning of “I whom you see here have kárá-ed (=am independent) in a household (=family), I am a person who has not consented (=who has refused).”
B: He has become a man.
C: There is no longer anything of people saying “I will get up because of someone (else).”
B: Is it understood?
C: Uh-huh.
B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is), in Kara, they left some (people) there. Some (others) who got up, the younger brother and the elder brother who got up, it is said that they came to Yuli and settled (there).

781 The quotation is a mix of “direct” discourse (hence ‘you-Sg’) and “indirect” discourse (hence Logophoric á representing the quoted speaker).
782 An uncommon word describing one who is stubborn (e.g. a child who refuses to carry out orders, etc.). S will later inquire about its meaning.
783 I.e., I will no longer take orders from an adult.
C: Exactly.

B: When they came and settled at Yuli, well, he the elder brother, he was a hunter, it is said. The hunter kept going around. He got up and went down into the valley (=bottom) of Oloy\(^{784}\), he went through the dense forest and emerged on the other side. He came and went up the rocky slope. When he looked down, (he saw) the place was pleasant, it was very good, the place (=land) for them to farm was good.

C: Exactly.

B: On top\(^{785}\) too, an excellent place for them to settle.\(^{786}\) When that had taken place, well, he made one brick there, he left it on this side. He got up and went, and found his younger brother. When he found his younger brother, he said: it’s true, he had seen a place over there, he had seen a place for them to settle over there.

When he had spoken, the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: now, he (=elder) should not go away, having left him (=younger) now. He pleaded with him. He (=elder) said, all right. They continued to be there. The younger brother too, one day, when he was walking around and he came (there), he too saw the place, he had a good look at it.

He spoke to his elder brother: he (=elder) was speaking the truth; the good place for settling, the place that he (=elder) had spoken of; he too (=younger) had arrived there this day. Well, with (=after) that, the two of them got up one day and came there.

Before they came (=arrived) there, the elder brother left his marker. It’s he who is the person of Kasaru (neighborhood). His marker was found there. I won’t put (=recount) the going (away).\(^{787}\) His marker was found there. He spoke up: that place, the sky is claimed, the earth is claimed. With that, he recuperated (=went back to) the place.

They (=two brothers) went and gathered up their baggage over there (at Yuli). They got up, well, they came and built a house. They built a house and were (living) there. Snakes were plentiful (there). Vipers, vipers were plentiful (there). If it bites, there is no antidote. Hey, there is no way for that to be suitable.

That being the case, (they) said: let’s move up a little this way (to the rocky shelf above the ravine). At that time, then, this whole area was just a flat rocky shelf. There was no soil. Well, at that time, they came and built a house there on the shelf. They built (it) and they were (living) there.

(They) said: there too, well, necessarily, if they haven’t performed the sacrifice,\(^{788}\) if they haven’t performed the sacrifice, settling in that place is difficult

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\(^{784}\) An area at the bottom of the ravine next to Beni.

\(^{785}\) I.e. on the flat rocky shelf above the ravine, where the current village of Beni is.

\(^{786}\) Lit. “a place (where) they will sit and kill.” The verb ‘kill’ is used in phrases like this praising an excellent place, an excellent meal, etc.

\(^{787}\) The point of this phrase is not clear.

\(^{788}\) péyí pégé-, literally ‘drive a post into the ground’, refers semi-literally to the original act of sacrificing (and burying) a girl. The phrase can also be used in the sense ‘utter sacred words (to ward off calamities)’.
(=dangerous). Well, it went on like that. The one of (=from) Oduro (neighborhood) (=younger brother) spoke to the one of Kasari (=elder).

(Younger brother said:) He (=elder) [focus] would obligatorily perform the sacrifice, because after he (=older) was the first to claim the place, he (=elder) [focus] would perform the sacrifice; a young woman whose breasts are fully going out (=developed), she was healthy. (Elder brother said:) well, now, that being the case, he (=elder) bore the burden (=responsibility) of performing the sacrifice.

When he said that he would bear (the burden), the old people said: if that was indeed the case, they wouldn’t kill (the girl) (first) and then stick her in (the hole); (instead) in life (=while she was alive) they would dig the spot until it (=hole) became deep; they would put her there (=in the hole), until it reached this level, and they would cover (her) up; the village would get its well-being (back).

C: Exactly.
B: He (=older brother) said, fine; if this village of his father would get well-being, he would bear the burden (head-load) of that. After that, she the girl of Kasari, in the Yasumoy shed, there [focus] they stuck her in.

C: Exactly.
B: It was after that [focus] that Beni was able to be settled. Even today, we are in it.
C: Exactly.
B: I learned (it) like this. That too, it is entrusted to God (and) it is entrusted to you-Sg.
C: It is entrusted to great God. It is thus.
B: Yes.
C: May God preserve us.
B: Amen.
D: She told them to visit her (i.e. pay respects at her burial site).
C: Uh-huh, the fact that she asked them to greet her).
B: Yes, they took and burned it.
C: Well, the fact that she asked them to greet her.
B: Exactly.
C: Well, that is it.
B: Exactly.
C: One person, this (thing) that you-Sg see, the one who (had) said that.
B: Yes.
C: He said, he was a healer.
B: He was a healer.
C: A healer.
B: Yes.
C: It’s he [focus] who was Karakinde [name].
B: Karakiri, that was it,, it’s he [focus] who was the healer.
C: Yes.
B: Yes, yes.

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789 Name of the covered shelter. Literally “woman-sand”.

192
C: The other one was Yasumoy. She (=girl) had said (before being buried): as soon as the rains ended (=after the harvest), they should greet (=pay respects to) her.

B: Yes.

C: Because of that (request) they greet her, today if (the time for) that matter (=paying respects) has come. What is that?

[song in Jamsay] Today, Yasumoy, get up!

B: Exactly.

C: [song in Jamsay] Karakinde, get up!
We are going, we are coming.
Karakinde, get up!
Yasumoy, hah-hey!
Yasumoy, hah-hey!
In the war of the Fulbe, the reply is by tomtoms.

B: Exactly. It’s just like that. We heard (it) just like that, (from) the mouth(s) of the old people.

C: They said (it) like that.

B: If God wills, let him (=the linguist) turn off (the tape recorder) now.

D: A short matter, a short matter.

B: Yes.

D: Well, the way the woman came to be more abject, Yasumoy.

B: Yes.

D: Well, if a person goes in there (=Beni), the snake’s biting and killing, it became difficult (=intolerable).

B: Yes.

D: Well, it’s true, they (=you) say that the village belongs to them; it was they who reserved (=first claimed it); again, they in the villages, they aren’t performing the sacrifice now; (therefore) the snakes are biting and killing people; the things (snakes etc.) are wearing (the) people out; they (=people from other villages) are mocking (them); if they go to a pond (to draw water), they (=others) are constantly mocking (them); they (=others) are mocking (them) at the grain-pounding place (at the edge of the village); they are constantly making a hubbub (=gossiping).

It was in that (situation) that she (=girl) said to her father, it’s an abject situation; they should implant her (=bury her alive as a sacrifice); when the rainy

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790 This passage is from the point of view of visitors, complaining to the local people (at the time) about the latters’ failure to make a sacrifice.

791 The annual human sacrifice provided protection to the village against dangerous snakes, and since the sacrifices were no longer performed the protection had lapsed.

792 dɔ̀ɣɔ́ ‘abject state (impoverished, miserable, lowly)’, with the connotation of being ashamed in the presence of others.
season was over, they should weep for her death; they must not forget. She said (=spoke) like that.

B: Exactly, exactly. It (=what you say) has been understood, it is healthy (=valid) exactly like that. Now, let him (=the linguist) proceed to turn it off.

D: That is it.

\[793\] The girl volunteers to be sacrificed to save the village.
Sister villages Beni and Walo

S: Uh-huh, let’s go.
B: Well, Walo (village) and Beni, (they are of) one father and one mother. Well, (at) the time before now (=long ago), as we heard from the mouth(s) of the old people, and the little that we (ourselves) know.

If it was true that the oldest man had died in Walo, when three years had passed, they would make an announcement: not (just) a man, not (just) a woman, (rather) anyone (male and female) whose leg(s) can deliver them to Walo, they will assemble. Taking horses, taking donkeys, that [focus] is what we used to ride on long ago.

They would get up and go to that Walo. (For) the death (=funeral) in the (extended) patrilineal family, (we would stay) there two days, up to three days. When we went, they would slaughter cows, they would slaughter goats, they would slaughter sheep. They would bring milk in plentiful amounts. Every person would eat as (much as) they wanted.

When eventually three days would arrive (=elapse), we would get up and come (back) here (=to Beni). When we had in fact come (back) here, here too, if a good (=respected) old person (=man), or for example someone of the same age group as the oldest man, had fallen (=died), they (=people of Walo) too, during the full three years, they would be getting themselves ready.

When the three years had been completed, they would make an announcement: from Debere (village) to Tomboru (village), everyone fleet-footed, with (=on) whatever thing one could mount, would get up and come here to Beni. When they would come here, they would slaughter cows, they would slaughter goats, they would slaughter sheep, milk.

As for the food, for three days at a time it would not be pushed and go. They would have activities, (for) the death in the patrilineal family, in that way they would get up and go. We were (=did) like that for a long time.

Nowadays, hard times having come in, well, the (rituals for) a death in the patrilineal family, as for it, now we have abandoned it. However, necessarily, when a good (=important) person has died, even nowadays, we have not abandoned (the rites for) each other. One father, one mother.

Well, (you may) tell him (=the linguist) to turn (it) off.

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794 I.e. the oldest of all living men in either Beni or Walo.
795 ‘Long ago’, literally “first time.” Jamsay p3:n3 has the same usage.
796 Phrase indicating extreme abundance.
797 Again referring to Beni and Walo.
B: Uh-huh. What we want now, the history that— how we got our own peace, it’s the history (of that) that we will do (=tell) now. That is which (=what)? Before today came (=in the old days), our old people who have passed (=died), in (the era of) slavery, it was people [focus] that they kept (as slaves). When the whites came, we exited (=abandoned) slavery.

After we exited that, we came together and remained (like that). Well then, some people would come, they would take some people, and they would go and make them fight. Well, at that time there were no rifles. Machete blades, that [focus] was there.

D: Spears.

B: Spears, that [focus] was there. Staffs (=sticks with curved ends), that [focus] was there. They assembled them (=people) here. They went (on foot) like (the distance to) Ouagadougou, they would make them fight. They went like (the distance to) Dedougou. If you-Sg died, that was it. If you-Sg came back (alive), that was it.

Well, some (of them) fought, to the point that they were wounded. Some came (back) with one arm missing, (or) they came (back) with one leg missing. Of them, some received pay, some (others) did not receive pay. Up to this day, as for today, necessarily, if it’s the case that they have taken you-Sg away (for) something like military service, there is pay.

The day has broken (=arrived) (that) everyone wants to go (into military service). Today—. Well, military service isn’t obtained just freely (=haphazardly). It becomes reality like that. Well, the talk is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg, D [vocative].

D: Well, it’s like that. Nowadays, definitely by God, praise God. It, France, it (=France) came and did good things for us after that. What was (that)? The way he—, the way B said (=described) it just previously, it was exactly like that. They (=slave traders) took us like slaves, they went and took our people and sold them. Because they said, Sekou collected and sent down (=sold into slavery) seven hundred people each, on roughly three occasions.

B: Yes.

D: With that, they took us, they went and ruined and left our name, we the black people. Well, after that, Sekou Fouta got up and came. Well, he told the Dogon(s) to help him now; when he (=they) had helped him, he now would leave them (=Dogon) as they wished.

798 Lit., “doing [it].”
799 Lit. “fight a fight.”
800 sárú-úsù, perhaps an adaptation of Fr service.
801 Sekou Amadou, leader of the Fulbe Empire based in Hamdallaye near Mopti in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.
802 Sekou from Fouta Diallo, a rival of Sekou Amadou.
They helped him, Sekou Whatchamacallit (=Sekou Fouta). They removed Sekou Amadou (from power). When they had removed that, after that, Sekou (Amadou), him too now, what did (=would) you say? The holy man Sekou Tijani, Amadou Tijani, as for him, what did (=would) you say?, he left us (with) each person as they wished. Because of that, Islam did not use force against (=oppress) us.

B: Exactly.

D: Well, the *dolidoli* was precisely like that. But the white man, he too came afterward. Sekou, what did (=would) you say?, he (=white man) removed Sekou (Amadou), he removed (Sekou) Fouta. The white man, when he removed him (=Sekou Fouta) too, he (=white man) too came himself and settled. Well, he tired (=oppressed) our old people a little (at first), but later he came again and let us rest.

B: He gave us peace.

D: He rested and gave us peace. We were like that (for a long time), he taught us various things a little. They (=villagers) too saw (some) things, they said they would take charge of them. Their capability of doing various things definitively, they could not, well, if they left them (=villagers) (alone), they (=whites) said that they were not capable of (managing) households, (but) they (=villagers) said they were capable (=self-sufficient).

Well, it was what? They (=whites) asked them (=villagers) about various types of gear. They (=whites) asked about hats. He (=a villager) showed the traditional clothing to them—to him (=white). They (=whites) asked about boubous (=upper-body garments), they (=villagers) showed traditional clothing. He (=white) asked about pants, they showed traditional clothing. Anything that—. They asked about shoes, they showed leather shoes. They asked about fire, they took and showed flint lighters.

Well, they (=villagers) came and kept saying, yes, they were capable (=self-sufficient). The white came. Now, what would you-Sg say it was? He the Frenchman, taking independence in his hand, he told us to take—what would you-Sg say it was?—(charge of) ourselves.

At that point, the fact that we came in—what would you-Sg say it was?—and we settled (=lived) by ourselves, that was that. It is this way we are today. If there is someone else (here) who has (something to say), let him take (over). A long speech (=story), just one person cannot keep telling (it).

B: Exactly, yes. Cut!

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803 This speaker frequently interpolates questions of this type with ‘say’ into his discourse.
804 I.e. the Fulbe Empire, which was fervently Muslim.
805 Obscure word, perhaps ‘chiefhood’ or the like.
806 I.e. Dogon-style clothing made from locally woven cotton cloth.
807 Lit., “what is it? if you-Sg say.”
B: Well, the way it passed (=was) long ago, that territory of ours. Well, it was a village of poor people. (In) the world (here), people also did not use to be as many as this (=as they are now). Well, any person (=man) who had not become a (true) man of the bush, he could not walk (a distance) like leaving here (=Beni) and going to Amba (village), (or) like leaving here and going to Douentza. 808 What was it (=the reason for that)? The marauding Fulbe were numerous.

D: People did not use to be as enlightened 809 as this (=as now).

B: Those people, well, their mind (=sophistication) was very small. The second (=other) thing of it too, it wasn’t (just) a man, it wasn’t (just) a woman, they (=men and women) would do only (=nothing but) work of (=in) the bush (=farming), all of them. When they would go to work, they would leave at home the children, the sick people, and the like, and they would get up and go to work (in the fields).

Well, when they went to work, there were raiders. We call them the marauding Fulbe, the marauding Fulbe. They (=Fulbe), some of them had horses, some (others) too had nothing if wasn’t spears. 810 They would come to the edge of the village, they would do some running around (hustle and bustle).

The men, when the able-bodied people (=Dogon men) were not at home, if they (=Fulbe) found children, they would take (=kidnap) them. They would put them up on the horses. Taking them (=children) along, they would go for example to Bourougou (village) 811 and sell them.

D: They would stuff rags in the(ir) mouths. 812

B: When they had gone to some place like Bourougou and sold (them), they too (=people at Bourougou), they would keep buying them up (=accumulating them), and they would export them to the land of the whites.

When they sold (the children) there, they (=whites) would gather them and put them (=children) in boats, they too (=whites) took them again, they exported them onwards (=abroad). They were slaves. They (=whites) went there and sold (them). They kept doing that.

Well, the good world (=better times) came. When the good world came, they (=Fulbe) thought that after that they would not exit (=desist from raiding), (but) they (=whites) made them exit from that (practice). Its latest (version) is that today they have gone into livestock rustling. 813 The Fulbe, that is their work (=habitual activity). (To D:) take over the word (=speak)!

808 I.e. on the order of 8 to 18 kilometers.
809 Lit. “awake.” Used here like local French éveillé.
810 I.e., what they had was none other than spears.
811 Village near Mopti, in predominantly Fulbe territory.
812 They would gag the children so they wouldn’t shout.
813 Lit. “they became [in [thieves of livestock]].”
D: Help them! As for the Fulbe person, as for the Fulbe person, he is the Fulbe person. All of us (=Dogon and Fulbe), we are all black-skinned ones (=Africans), (of) one father (and) one mother. The Fulbe, he is a betrayer (of trust). They used to call (it) “betrayal.” This (same) way that B has come and spoken (just) now, it was exactly like that.

The Fulbe, as for them, didn’t work (in the fields). They said that they were (=they claimed to be) livestock herders, (but) they would tell falsehoods on (=about) themselves. They would keep going around, they would keep taking (=kidnapping) people, they would keep doing like that to us, they used to weary (=make life hard for) us. Our people (=kin), because of that, even if they (=our people) would go (away) somewhere, they would place (“make sit”) a sentry (atewru) (at home). When they had placed the sentry, where the Fulbe (…) with (=on) horses—

S: That atewru is what?
D: If it’s an atewru, stand watch! A watchman (guard), uh-huh, atewru is a watchman.
B: gardien (in French).
D: gardien. When they had placed the watchman, when they worked (in the field), if they (=Fulbe) appeared on horses or (whatever) anywhere over there, they would (…) for each other—, this watchman would speak. At that point if the Fulbe got up and became aware (of the danger) and fled, they (=Dogon) would chase after them.

A Dogon (man), if he has gotten a Fulbe (in this fashion), he would not keep him as a slave; instead they (=Dogon) would stab and kill him (with a spear or dagger) or—what do (=would) you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—or they (=Dogon) would shoot and kill them (=Fulbe thieves, with a rifle), or they would beat them to death and throw them away (=dump their bodies in the bush).

The Fulbe, they too (for their part), if they got (children), they would take (them) away and sell (them). Well, it was like that [focus] that they used to do, they say. Well, as for now, this was (just) a short talk (=comment). If you-Sg have anything else, put (=speak) a little.

I: Well now, this is it.
S: Well now, if they (=Fulbe) got (=captured) those people, to whom-Pl did they use to export (them)?
B: They—
D: (To) America there. They would take some (of the captured children) over there, they would export them to the land of the whites there. (In) America now, the black people whom they call “negro(es).”
B [overlapping]: The ones whom they call “negro(es),” the ones who were sold like that were them.
D: That (=those sold into slavery), and, now—what would you-Sg say?—they would say (=plan) that they would fight a war, they would export them (=captives) there. Some people, when the war was over, some—what would it be if you-Sg said (it)?—there in America they would remain.

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814 D asks the listeners to chime in, but there are no takers, so D himself proceeds.
815 The Dogon would have had the right to keep an apprehended Fulbe livestock thief as a slave.
Some (others) too now—what would you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—we in
Africa, we say Liberia, now—if you say what?—Monrovia, they would bring (them) to
that land and they would settle them and leave them there, they said For that reason
they (=whites), the whites did not govern them, it is said.

When the war was over, as for them (=blacks), it’s thus [focus] that they
(=whites) settled them. That is “liberated”—what is it (that you-Sg would say)?—
Liberia. It’s thus [focus] that they settled them and left them there.

B: Exactly.
D: Uh-huh.
B: History—
D: Exactly, history, now, what we hear, it’s thus. Our grandparents recount (it) to us thus, it is
said.
B: Well, turn it off.
Text 2005-2b.03  Implantation of Islam in Beni

S: Islam, how did it come to your-Pl village?
B: Islam, its coming, it came by force. It came by force.
S: How did it come by force?
B [overlapping]: Shall I bring (it)? Well, all the people, idol(s), that [focus] was what they used to do (=practice).
D: Misfortune.
B: Misfortune. They used to worship (“run”) them. They worshiped them. It (=Islam), who brought it? Do you-Sg know the name of the Fulbe man who brought Islam? Houdi Oumar, or who?
D: It was Sekou Amadou.
B: It was Sekou Amadou. It was Sekou Amadou. When he came into a village, if he found that they had not marked out (the foundation of) a mosque, well, he would not give (them) peace. He made them contribute. He assessed a fine (=tax) on them, that is what they paid for the various things with.

Furthermore, if (there was) a place like (=suggestive of) an idol that he saw, he would go and hit and smash (=destroy) it. After he hit and smashed it, he asked the village (population): did it (=his action) please them, or was it not good (=pleasing)? If (you-Pl said) it wasn’t good, he would show (=give) you-Pl trouble. If you-Pl had said that it was good, he would build and leave a mosque there in the village.

Even this village of ours, (its) first mosque, now, if you go to (the house of) Yatom Hamadou (a woman), that place over there, the house of Bedaru (a man), that place [focus], there [focus] they put the first mosque, it is said. Did you-Sg understand?

When he left here also, (in) every village that he went and encountered further, he would not allow you-Pl to consume tobacco, he would not allow (you) to chew tobacco. Other than hiding (=smoking in secret), he would not allow (you) to get and chew tobacco. If he had seen that you-Sg were chewing tobacco, they would not give you-Sg peace.

Furthermore, if it wasn’t (=if there wasn’t) the mark (=foundation outline) of a mosque in your-Sg village, in that event too, they would give (you) no peace. Well, in that way, as for us, in (=according to) what we have heard, we believe that it was he [focus] who brought the first (Muslim) religion. It (=the discussion) is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.

D: It was like that (=as you said). Sekou Amadou came like that, and he came and found our ancestors here like that. The thing (=Islam) came, those ancestors of ours, they too, like two or three (at a time), they went out and circulated (=travelled around) and observed. Uh-huh, they saw that the path (=way) of that religion was the path of truth. In that way, they too studied (Islam).

816 ɔmdɔ́ ‘misfortune’ is a sort of tɔ:w rè ‘idol, fetish’.
817 Lit. “cause to give birth to.”
When they had studied thoroughly, when they had seen the truth, they too arose and came. They helped the people of this village of ours understand (=explained it). When they had helped (them) understand, our people too studied, and they saw the thing (=Islam). This is the religion of Islam, the path (=way) of the religion of Islam. That [focus] is what they showed to us.

Even today, as for us now, necessarily that [focus] is what we are studying. The way we went into (=adopted religion) before (=long ago), (it was) long ago, long ago, a hundred years ago, (that) the Mus—, (that) our ancestors went into (=adopted) Islam.

Well, (as for) us now, that [focus] is what we have taken (=adopted). Nowadays too we have taken (it) in that. That [focus] is what we trust (=have faith in). Well—what would you say if you said (it)?—, that [focus] is what we follow (=adhere to) also. Islam came to us like that. Yes.

[inaudible whispered discussion]
D: Yes. The person (=man) who brought Islam to Beni, (so) we have heard, was our great-grandfather (whom) they called Akile.
B: Akile.
D: Akile. That Akile, it was he [focus]—if you said (it)—who long ago arose and brought (it) to us in Beni, we heard (the story) like that, we ourselves. Him, as for us, ourselves, we were born in that (religion), we came out and found (=inherited) (it) like that, but we heard from the mouth(s) of our old people that it was Akile [focus] who brought (it), they said that it was he [focus] who brought (it) and let us understand.
S: How did Akile bring Islam?
D: Islam—
S: By doing what (=how) did he bring it?
D: He, Islam, he too, now, he heard the news about Sekou Amadou. At that point, he too again—what would you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—, when they (=Fulbe) went, he understood, well, he himself brought people—his children out, and taught (them) Islam. When they had studied thoroughly, they came (back) to Beni and spread (Islam), it is said.
B: Him, he was at Bandiagara.
D: Exactly.
B: That Akile.
D: Yes.
B: Staying in Bandiagara, …
D: Exactly.
B: … it’s there [focus] that he learned Islam.
D: Yes.
B: Bandiagara.
D: Exactly.
B: Well, following (=after) that, he came to Beni here. After (doing) that here, that Islam, he told all of them (=his people) to follow (=adopt) it. In that also, the mouths (=opinions of the people) were divided, to the point that they fought each other.

818 Lit. “having studied, they were sated.”
D: They argued.
B: They argued, to the point that they argued with each other. Well, they kept doing that.
   Great God, with His might, …
D: He was helping them.
B: … helped them, and most of the people came and, well, went into (=took) his side.
   Following that, some of us were born in Islam (=brought up as Muslims). Even today,
   we are in that (religion). May God take (=lead) our Islam forward.
D: Amen.
S: What is the meaning of Beni?
T: Beni (means), “a village where one may remain,” it is said. The village, one may remain.\footnote{Lit. “a village that causes (people) to remain.”} What is the meaning of that? That place is good. They came too and settled, a village was found (=created) too. That (fact that) it\footnote{Beni, and inanimate pronouns referring to it, are used extensively in this passage to refer to the population of the village.} (=Beni) doesn’t accept (being pushed around), it didn’t come out (=just begin) today.
B: Exactly.
T: Since it (=Beni) came and arrived, it does not not accept (being pushed around), that [focus] is what there is (=the situation) for it (=Beni). That (original) village that it came from, the fact that it would not accept (being pushed around), that [focus] is what made it leave (the original village), even today that [focus] is what there is.
B: Exactly.
T: (That) someone (else) has dominated (=been stronger than) him, the person (=man) of Beni did not accept that.
B: (Not) at all.
T: Now, ever since we came out (=were born), we haven’t heard from the mouth(s) of our grandfathers, we haven’t heard from the mouth(s) of our great-grandfathers (that anyone from Beni was dominated). Well, even today one cannot dominate them (=men of Beni).
B: Exactly.
T: That (means), they can remain in Beni, it is said.
B: Exactly.
T: This fact that the village is sitting on Danay (a flat stone shelf), it isn’t for nothing (=accidental), they say. All of the places (=areas near Beni) are arid flatlands. You-Sg may go to many villages, a village that is settled as nicely as this village …
E: It (=such a village) is rare.
T: … encountering (such a village) is difficult. They (=people of Beni) have a territory, they have a hard (=tough) heart,\footnote{I.e. they are strong-willed (determined), in a good sense. The adjective mà: can mean ‘dry’ or ‘hard(ened)’, but} the place is good.
B: Exactly.
T: Well, they say, this is it, one can remain at Beni.
B: Well, how many villages have come to find\footnote{Here ‘X find Y’ (X and Y names of villages) means ‘X was settled after Y’. The image is of a group of settlers entering a new country and observing older villages.} it, or else it (=Beni) find the (other) village?
T: Well, the (older) village that it (=Beni) came and found it. It found Jimbel.
B: Truly.
T: It found Gamni.
B: Truly.
T: It found Anda. Well, the rest, the rest, they (=other villages) found (Beni), it too. When it (=Beni) came and found them (Jimbel, Gamni, Anda), furthermore, there was no man who accepted (being dominated by Beni), and it (=Beni) did not accept (being dominated by) any village that it (=Beni) came and found.
S: Anda, Gamni, and Jimbel. Was it they [focus] who came and found (=came after) Beni? Or did Beni come and find them?
T: Beni [focus] came and found them.
S: (So) Beni came here and found them.
T: Uh-huh.
B: Well, did it (=Beni) find Kapemde too? Or did it not find (it)?
T: It found it.
B: Did it (=Beni) find Titangay too? Or did it not find (it)?
T: It found it.
B: Well, how was it that they (Kapemde and Titangay) got up and fled once and for all, having left Beni (behind)?
T: Well, as for me, my knowledge of that is small (=limited).
B: Speak!
T: No. About that, my knowledge is small. About that, my knowledge is small.
B: Your-Sg knowledge about that is small.
D: You-Sg too, speak and put (=add) If you-Sg know (something).
T: Well, again, (here is) what I have heard. Beni, it came. When it came and settled here, it found Titangay. Well, it found Jemesornoturu, it found Kapemde, (and) it also found Da. When it (=Beni) came and settled in the middle of (all) that, the place, they had a low estimation of it. But when they came and settled, the place became a good place.

They (=Beni) were told to get up and go away. They (=Beni) replied: as for them (=Beni), this place of theirs was a place where one could stay; this was Beni; they (=Beni) were not people who would go away, (from) there. Well, at that point they just kept arguing.

The one (=population) of Beni, it had a shoe. The shoe was an iron shoe. They called it Yari-ka, the shoe. Yari-ka. With the Yari-ka, its possessor may get up in the middle of the night, go to your-Sg village, (when) he has gone around it in (the manner of) baobab-leaf sauce going around and goes past, for seven years you-Pl won’t (be able to) get anything to eat; in view of that, they (=the affected villagers) will go away.

In that way, they (=inhabitants of some other villages) got up and went away. Here are something like four or five empty (=abandoned) houses. Their people did not die off! Their people are (still) present (=living). Yari-ka, that [focus] is what drove them out. I too heard this (story) like that.

823 An abandoned village near Beni, on the track leading to Gamni.
824 Another abandoned village near Beni.
825 Abandoned village west of Beni.
826 Abandoned village between Beni and Gamni.
827 Millet cakes ( tô ) are served in bowls, surrounded by baobab-leaf sauce.
S: Yari-ka, it’s the name of the shoe?
T: It’s the name of the shoe.
S: An iron shoe?
T: An iron shoe. Yari-ka. It is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.
B: Well, that’s it. What I said previously too, that’s it. I said, a person (=man) of Beni is a person who does not accept (being dominated).
T: D! [vocative]
D: It’s a right-footed shoe? Or it’s left-footed?
B: There are both.
T: Whatever shoe they put on and go around the village and keep going. The shoe, it’s a left-footed shoe.
B: Exactly.
T: The left-footed (shoe), you-Sg (will) put it on (your) right foot. Likewise, if it’s the right-footed (shoe) [focus] that you-Sg have taken, you-Sg (will) put it on (your) left foot.
D: There’s the little bit that you-Sg have heard, that you-Sg have heard.
T: It’s in that way that you-Sg go around the village. I heard this (story) like that.
D: Exactly.
T: If it pleases God.
B: If he (=the man with the iron shoes) leaves his village, he regularly puts his things in a shoulderbag and leaves.
T: He stops up (=closes) a (goatskin) shoulderbag too and he goes away. He stops up a shoulderbag too. He does not touch any cloth.
S: So he doesn’t put (=use) any cords?
T: He certainly doesn’t use any cords. He doesn’t use cords.
D: As for that, the old people certainly used to have some things.
T: He doesn’t use cords. They used to work this in that way.
D: The village now, did he use to go (all the way) around (it)? Or did he use to go and put his foot down on it and pick it (=foot) up again (just) once like that?
T: When he has gone to the village at night—
E: xxx—. Speak, speak, speak!
T: He goes (all the way) around, and (at the end) he comes and puts his foot where he began, where he stepped previously (in his own footprint). When he has stepped right on top of that (=his initial footprint), he does not look back, until he gets up and comes into his village. I heard it like that.
D: Yes. You-Sg too, there is something that you-Sg heard. I too, what little I have heard there (=about that), let me add (=help) just a little there.
T: All right.
D: As for him, if he has gone straight there, in the middle of the village, when he has put the (=his) left foot like that, he doesn’t bring anything else down. He doesn’t put the second (foot) on top of it, he doesn’t put anything else on top of it. He used to go out like that, they said. I too, as for that, I have heard a little. Let me help you-Sg.
T: Yes. It is understood. All that is just helping. It is understood.
D: Yes.
T: Uh-huh. Yes.
Text 2005-2b.05    Fight with a lion

T: Well, now, what (we will) say—
S [overlapping] In Beni, who was it who fought with a lion?828
T: Amadou Titey and the lion fought.
S: How was it?
T: The way that it was (=happened), well, the lion got up and came into our ravine here.
     Coming into the cows’ pond, the lion roared there. When it roared, it was not hidden
     from (=unnoticed by) the whole village, (not) even a little. The young women and
     young men, they all got up, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it, saying
     (=intending) that they would go and catch it by hand.
S: Women and men?
T: Women and men. They said not to put any iron in its body at all. They came and brought
     out the tomtoms. When they had brought (them) out, the young men and young women
     came here, they embellished themselves, they got up and headed for the lion. When
     they went, they crossed Dadia.829 Now they were not greatly far away from it (=lion).
E: It put (out a roar) again, a second time.
T: Again, a second time, it gave out a roar. Some of the people had already gone up to the top
     of trees.
S: Huh?
T: Some people had gone up in trees. Amadou Titey spoke up now: if things were like that,
     (with) this roar that they were hearing, a crowd (of people) was not what would fight
     with it (=lion); it was (=would be) one person (=man) and it (=lion);
     if it were the case that a crowd got up and headed for it, the destruction
     (=casualties) that it (=lion) would cause to them would be greater, instead of gaining a
     (good) name;830 (with) that too, (they) having entrusted (the fight) to him; if he would
     fight (with it), there it is!: if he would blow (on it, magically), there it is!
     Well, some people said, let’s entrust (it) to him! Other people (said), all of them
     going (=rushing the lion en masse), let it (=lion) destroy whatever (=however many
     people) it (=lion) might destroy, they for their part, let them kill it, then they would
     come (back) with their triumph.
     Having said (that), they went and approached. Again it put out a roar. No, there
     was no way to get close to (it). Amadou Titey was looking (=considering), (but) there
     was no peace (=easy solution). At that point, he scooped up some sand (in his hand),
     and let it slip through his fingers like this. He blew, all of it. Well, the lion took off831
     on the way to Douentza.
S: Eastward.

828 Lit. “[who? and lion] [focus] fought a fight?”
829 Name of a rocky area with some caverns, near the ravine.
830 i.e. by fighting with it single-handedly.
831 Lit. ‘took its eye(s) [=face].’
T: Eastward. Well, at that point, the lion having abandoned the place, they (=people) came to the place, and went and saw its tracks, but they were not able to see the lion. They got up and went.

B: It put out a roar over there.

T: It put out a roar over there. Well, it has gone far away, they said.

B: It did it (=roared) again.

T: At that point, they got up, the people got up again like that and came home.
Text 2005-2b.06    Fight with a hyena

[begins after 2005-2b.05 without a break on the tape]

T: Well, the thing (=story) of the hyena, it is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.
B: Well, after that (=the fight with the lion), here, as for it, with our own visual knowledge (=experience), a hyena came here.
E: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy. 832
B: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy over there. The hyena came. Over there, the people of Perguë (village), pursuing it to the edge of their territory, turned (the next stage of pursuit) over to us. When they turned it over (to us), there is a place called Koruyom, there the hyena and we were in a chase. 833 With much hubbub we came to Tangaso. 834

When we came (=arrived), our young men were energized (=excited) about it (=hyena). The hyena, they slapped its cheek(s). They caught it. They cut its throat, slash! Amadou De Tey let some sand slip through his fingers (as an act of magic). In the house(s), the house(s)—, that is (=meaning) Beni, in that Beni, men of (=like) that are not lacking (rare). It was that (kind of) toughness (“dry heart”) that we found (=observed) before (=in the old days), as well. What I said, that is it.

With that, they caught the hyena and slash!, they cut its throat. Uh-huh. Slash! They cut its throat. Here, at that point, having cut its throat and skinned it, they came (home) with it. At that time, Muslims used to be thinly interspersed with others. They (=Muslims) said, they (=people in general) don’t eat it. Some people of that (type), those who understood, took (it) and ate (it), (while) some others discarded (it). That happened like that.

After that, moreover, they got a hyena.
E: They went to Gunjo-Goroy.
B: They went to Gunjo-Goroy.
E: There had been a small disagreement between the village and us.
B: There had been a small disagreement, too, between the village and us. After that, too, they got the news (of) a hyena. They went out to meet it. They went over there, pursuing the hyena. There is a place here that is called Piriym. 835 It went into a hole (=den). They followed it in and went in.

It (=hyena) said (=intended) that it would get angry and come out for (=attack) the people. At that point, they (=people) sent (=shot) their bullet(s), (and) it (=bullet) went in where they said (=intended) that it go in, (namely) in the eye(s). The hyena fell on its back there. At that point, they went in, they pulled it out. That’s it.

X [overlapping (unclear)]: That is how they killed it.
B: Do you-Sg hear? A second time.

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832 A oued (usually dry stream bed that becomes a torrent after a rain).
833 Lit. “caught each other.”
834 Place where people of Beni draw water.
835 A forested area.
D: They wrestled with a hyena.
B: A second time, they wrestled with a hyena.
D: They killed it too.
B: They killed it too.
S: (They) caught the other one, they slapped its cheek(s), and they destroyed it.\textsuperscript{836}
B: It was the cheek(s) [focus] that they whapped.
D: Exactly.
B: Yes, uh-huh.

\textsuperscript{836} Lit. “broke its house.” A common phrasing in languages of the zone, including Songhay.