Texts in Ben Tey

Dogon of Béni village, Mali

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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.

The original Jamsay-focused project, which included the first short visit to Beni, was funded by grant PA-50643-04 from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The larger Dogon project during which most of the work on Ben Tey has been done has been supported by the National Science Foundation: grants BCS-0537435 (2006-09), BCS-0853364 (2009-13), and BCS-1263150 (2013-16). Additional support has been obtained from the University of Michigan.

Several of the short documentary videos distributed on the videos page of our project website ([www.dogonlanguages.org](http://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.

I and my team were always warmly welcomed in Beni. We thank the following: Salif Morogoye, Boucar Morogoye, Amadou Ani Morogoye (chef de village), Ibrahime Morogoye, Ousmane Kagoye, Mamoudou Kagoye, Ali Morogoye, Aminata Kagoye, Fatoumata Morogoye, Dieneba Morogoye, Yanoum Pengoulba, Aissata Kamoko, and Kadidia Ongoiba.

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# Part One, Ben Tey Transcriptions

## Text 2005-1a.01 Name-giving ceremony

O: jǐnjɛ̀ ú jɛ᷈:

I: àwá→

O: jâm

I: jâm sày

O: kánjá‑kánjà

I: àlhámdùrùlâ:y

O: tà:ré

I: jâm

O: jâm sày

I: [î: nù:] sɛ́:w dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀‑bɔ́

O: àlhámdùrùlâ:y

I: tà:ré

O: bìrá→

I: â→

O: ǹsé→[[1]](#footnote-1)

I: ìnìrⁿì:‑gǎỳⁿ yɛ̀‑ỳ∴

O: <xxx> bìsímílà

I: wó:dì, ìnìrⁿì:‑gǎỳⁿ mà:ndày, kɔ̀:ⁿ túmdú‑m̀, [ùsú súyⁿɔ̀y] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, [nǔ: mâ:] tégé‑yɛ̀, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m wôy] yé‑m̀, [yû: pàŋànûm][[2]](#footnote-2) jí-jɛ̀→ yé‑yɛ̀, gǎm bú:dù pɛ́r-pɛ́rú jé-yɛ̀, [[yǎ‑m kù] mâ:] ní‑yɛ̀, [[ǹjé nî:] wò]=m̀, [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pírⁿà-[nɔ̀‑yⁿ]] nì:] wò]=m̀,

[bú:dù kú]=m̀,[[3]](#footnote-3) [síkɔ́rɔ̀ ɛ́wɛ́‑ẁ dè] [[pírⁿà wò] gǎyⁿ nɔ́‑m̀], [jèsú kù] cé:lé‑m̀, yí‑m ìrì‑nî: bɛ̀rɛ́ árá‑m̀, [yǎ: kù yà] gǎm ìsâ: jé‑yɛ̀, sǎmnà jé‑yɛ̀, nɛ̌m jé‑yɛ̀, kùnûm— pùrù‑kùnûm jé‑yɛ̀, [ŋ̀gú dò‑wôy[[4]](#footnote-4)] [[yǎ‑m kù] mâ:], ǎy ní‑yɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yàꜛ, [kú wó] [[[á ḿᵇô:] ɲɛ̀yⁿ][[5]](#footnote-5) [kú ɲâyⁿ] bìrɛ́ ɲɛ́‑m̀],

lò=náyⁿ hâl ló [[ùsú pɛ́‑nì:yⁿ] dɔ̀‑ỳ],[[6]](#footnote-6) yà‑yǒ:[[7]](#footnote-7) ɛ́sɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dèꜛ, [kú ɲâyⁿ] dánáyⁿ gó‑m̀, ŋ̀gû=mꜛ, [[ìnìrⁿì‑gǎỳⁿ kù] má:ndày]=∅

## Text 2005-1a.02 Choice of name for newborn

S: ìnìrⁿî: kù, [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] ìnìrⁿì:‑gǎỳⁿ bɛ̀rɛ́:‑rà-ẁ∴, [yí‑m ínìrⁿì:] [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] bɛ̀rɛ́:‑rà-ẁ∴

O: ìnìrⁿì:‑gǎỳⁿ, mɔ̀:lí-ỳ∴, [[ùsú súyⁿɔ̀y] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] mɔ̀:lù=náyⁿ [ìnìrⁿî: gǎⁿ‑ỳ∴]

S: [yí‑m ínìrⁿì: kù] [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] bɛ̀rɛ́:‑rà-ẁ∴, ìnìrⁿî: kú, [[à-mâ:n ìnìrⁿì:] ŋâyⁿ→ gǎỳⁿ jâ:wⁿ] [kú [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] bɛ̀rɛ́:‑rà-ẁ∴]

O: [ŋâyⁿ→ gǎỳⁿ jâ:wⁿ] [kú [yí‑m bɔ̂:] tégé‑m̀], [ú ínìrⁿì:]—, [[[ú yî‑m] ìnìrⁿì:] àŋâyⁿ àŋâyⁿ bû: gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] jɔ́rɔ́‑ẁ mà, [[[yi᷈‑m[[8]](#footnote-8) ìnìrⁿì:], àmá:nù bû: gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] jɔ́rɔ́‑ỳ, áŋàyⁿ úsúrí‑ỳ

S: àsùwⁿɛ̀‑[yì-tɛ᷈:] [tìrⁿú bû: jé‑m̀ kù yà], [ǹjé gìn][[9]](#footnote-9) jɛ᷈:-rà‑ẁ‑bɔ́

O: àsùwⁿɛ̀-[yì-tɛ᷈:] [tìrⁿú bû: jé‑m̀ kù] [yà‑yô‑m [kú ɲâyⁿ] go᷈: tálú‑m̀], [kú ɲâyⁿ] go᷈: tálú‑m̀, hâl hâl [ló‑ẁ dè] [ùsú pɛ́‑nǐ:yⁿ], [árⁿà‑m=∅ dé yà] [ùsú pɛ́‑tǎ:n], xxx yà‑yô‑m [tìrⁿú wó] ló bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó, [kú gùní] jɛ᷈:-rà‑w‑bɔ́

S: [[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ mɔ̀:lú éw-yé û: ná:‑rà‑ẁ kù], [kú yà] [kú kɔ́rɔ̀] ǹjê:=∅

O: [[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ mɔ̀:lú î: éw-yé ná:‑rà‑ẁ kù] kɔ̀rɔ̀] lǎ‑ẁ=∅=rá[[10]](#footnote-10) [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tû:‑bùnùŋgòy],[[11]](#footnote-11) bû: [[â: kù:] mà:] [yɛ̌‑mà dè] [ɲárⁿù wò] [ɛ́:ⁿ[[12]](#footnote-12) dé] [ìnìrⁿì:‑gǎỳⁿ dé wôy], tê: sírí‑yɛ̀, cɛ̀mnɛ́ cɛ́mnú‑yɛ̀, sɛ́yâm, [yí‑m bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ́‑ỳ] sɛ́yâm, [à-mâ:n yí‑m bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ̂:] [yí‑m nàrⁿá‑tî:] [[jâm ɲàyⁿ] nàrⁿá‑tî:] [[jâm ɲàyⁿ] súsɔ́:‑rɛ̀] [kú sɛ́yàm], [[kú cɛ́lɛ̀‑ɛ̀rù‑m] gǔn] yɛ̌:‑rà‑ẁ— ká:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ́

S: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ̂: [[ú yá→] ↓[dó:rú yá→]][[13]](#footnote-13)

O: bìrá→

## Text 2005-1a.03 Co-wifehood at a name-giving)

S: íyé [[yà: pɛ̌:] yɛ̀=ń] [yâ: sɛ́wɛ̀ tárá=ń],[[14]](#footnote-14) [[[dàwⁿà kó:ró] bû: káⁿ‑m̀=bày] yí-ỳ=bɛ̀‑ỳ] [kú yà] [[kú kɔ́rɔ̀] ǹjê:=∅]

I: yà‑nɔ̀rⁿû:=∅, [yà‑nɔ̀rⁿú gǔn] kàyⁿ‑bɔ́

S: [kú yà] [[[yì ìlâ‑m kù] mâ:] yà‑nɔ̀rⁿú][[15]](#footnote-15) mà→

I: [yà:‑yî‑m nàrⁿá‑só‑ẁ] wà, [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m mɛ́gɛ́ jɔ́rɛ́‑yɛ̀=b-à:] wà, yà‑nɔ̀rⁿû:=∅[[16]](#footnote-16) [nɛ́ àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m̀=∅ dè] [bû: ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀]=m̀, yà:‑yî‑m̀=∅ dè, yà‑nɔ̀rⁿû:=∅, [kú cɛ́mnɛ̀] cɛ̀mnù‑bɔ́

S: [yâ: bày [gùsù kó:ró‑kó:ró] bû: jɛ̌‑ẁ kù yà] [kú yà] [[kú kɔ́rɔ̀] ǹjê:=∅]

I: è: nɛ́: kày, [yà‑nɔ̀rⁿú mâ:] [kɔ̀:ⁿ mɔ̀sú] jâ:wⁿ, ɛ̀sú [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] jà:wⁿ=rá, [[kú nî:] wò] bàrá jɛ᷈:‑bɔ̀

## Text 2005-1a.04 Water at Beni

S: bê:n [[î: ìsè:] ŋ̀gú-rù] nî: [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] kàyⁿ, àŋâyⁿ‑àŋâyⁿ ká:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ

I: nî: kù, tàŋgàsô: áŋàyⁿ tɛ̀mbì-ỳ∴, [[kùyɔ́: î: tɛ́mbú‑ẁ kù] wó], nî: kóró‑m̀=bɛ̀, [hâl nɔ́-ỳ∴ dè] bíní: gó‑m̀=bɛ̀, bíní: yá bú, mɔ̀:l=náyⁿ [ìsê: wôy] [[póŋgú yěy] mɔ̀:lú bɔ̌y bàrⁿá‑ẁ∴ dè] ló gànjí‑yɛ̀, [gànjí-ỳ∴ dè] íyà yâ: nɔ́-ỳ∴, [íyà dùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀ dè] [píníwⁿí gànjí-ỳ∴], yâ: nɔ́-ỳ∴

[[íyà dè] bòlú sí-yé:‑rɛ̀ dè], jǐnjɛ̀ àlbárkà, [mànì: ŋ̀gú wôy] nî:=∅, yâ: yɛ̌ yâ: kɔ́wɛ́‑yɛ̀, [kú bû: káⁿ‑m̀=bày] [dɛ̌:‑rɛ̀-ỳ∴ gùní], [î: yà:] dɛ̌:‑r‑à: gùní, tàŋàsô: tɔ́rɔ̀ ùrɔ́ sí-yé, [ùrɔ́ sí-yé] nǔm bû:‑∅,

[[[mànì: ŋ̀gú] wó] nî: jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴] [[kǒm‑kúgúrú gànjù‑rá:][[17]](#footnote-17) lò-ỳ∴], kúrⁿù=∅, pɛ́gɛ́→ dɛ̀-ỳ∴, [pɛ́gɛ́→ dɛ̀-ỳ∴] [nî: gó‑m̀‑dó], dùwɔ́‑tí-ỳ∴,

íyà píníwⁿú [tà: lǎ-w] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [bàlâ: dá:], bɛ̀rɛ́‑só-ỳ∴, bàlâ: kùn-tàwrâ:=∅, [dâm ɲàyⁿ] [ùsù síyɛ́‑m̀ wôy] àsùwⁿɛ̀-[yì-tɛ᷈:], tá‑yɛ̀, pɛ́gɛ́‑yɛ̀, tóró‑yɛ̀ [bàrà‑mìrⁿí ɲâyⁿ] kɔ̀:ⁿ‑kâ:ⁿ, káyⁿ→ dɛ̌:‑r‑à:, dɔ̂m [kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w kày] bɛ̀l‑lí-ỳ∴,[[18]](#footnote-18)

íyà núwⁿɔ̀yⁿꜛ, [tàŋàsô: nì: kù], dúwɔ́‑m̀‑dó, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], gà: [nî: kù], lɔ́ɣɔ̀=∅, ɔ̀:rɔ̌y [î: mà:] yá só‑ẃ, [mɔ́:ɣɔ́ káⁿ‑m̀] gǔ:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ̀→, [kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ káⁿ‑m̀] gǔ:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ̀→, [kú dò-wôy] [kú mâ:] yá bú, [nǔm yà] [nǔm bû:], [[kú nî:] wò] [[[[mànì: ŋ̀gú] wó] nî: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀̀ túnɛ́m[[19]](#footnote-19) î: bû: kù] [dò-wôy kú=m̀]]

S: [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjê:=∅] [[tàŋàsô: mà:] [nî: kù] lɔ́ɣɔ̀ káyⁿ=ní] [ɔ̀:rɔ̌y [û: mà:] ká:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ], [[wò‑wày‑ì:]-[sò‑lô:]]=∅[[20]](#footnote-20) mà→, mà→ [hà:jɛ̀-[sò‑lô:]]=∅ mà→ [gànjì-[bɛ̀rɛ̀‑m̀‑dô:]]=∅

I: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [nî: kù] jó [á[[21]](#footnote-21) láwá‑ẁ] [kú dúwⁿɔ́‑m̀‑dó], [gànjí bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀-dó́-ỳ∴]=rá, [jâ:=m̀ dè̀] [kú dùwⁿɔ́‑ẁ dè] gànjí‑m̀=bɛ̀-ỳ∴, íyé dùwⁿɔ́:‑rà=rá, kú=m̀ꜛ, [[àrⁿà‑gúsú pɛ̀rí‑yèy bǎ:] káyⁿ=ní] [lɔ́ɣɔ̀, pìré: éw‑yé‑só‑ẁ][[22]](#footnote-22)

S: [òmdò: bû: gǐ:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ kù néyⁿ] kú=m̀ mɔ́:ɣɔ́ ká:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ [kú néyⁿ] térèw=∅ mà→ mà: [nǔ: tê‑y]=∅[[23]](#footnote-23)

I: à, [áŋàyⁿ tègè‑bɔ́ gá] [térèw=∅ gǔⁿỳ-só-ỳ∴] [î: kɔ̌yⁿ]

S: [[nì: kú][[24]](#footnote-24)=m̀=dá dé] [[[û: mà:] nì: ɔ̀:rɔ̌y gǎⁿ‑m̀] lǎ-w][[25]](#footnote-25) ŋ̀gó má→

I: lǎ-w yì‑rí-ỳ∴ kòy

S: [lǎ-w wôy] ŋ̀gó

I: lǎ-w ŋ̀gó, [xxx kú nɔ̌:‑rà-ỳ∴] [[nì: lǎ-w] sò‑ló-ỳ∴]

S: bê:n [[tà: kú]-ǹ] û: hɔ́:lɛ́-só‑ẁ] [[û: ìsè:] kú-ǹ] kú [kú=m̀ sày]

I: [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] kú=m̀, [kú=m̀=dá dé] [[tà: lǎ-w wôy] sò‑ló-ỳ∴]

## Text 2005-1a.05 Water projects

O: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [tàŋàsô: kù] [[á kû:] mà:], [lɔ́ɣɔ̀ ɛ̀síⁿ→ yá bú] [[mɔ́:ɣɔ́ káⁿ‑m̀] gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀], [yâ: òmdò: íyà‑ẁ[[26]](#footnote-26) bè] [[kú jí-jɛ̀lɛ̀:] bàɣá‑bàɣá nú‑ẁⁿ dè] [kú=m̀ káⁿ‑m̀ gǔ:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ̀], [térèw=∅ júwɔ́‑m̀-dó́-ỳ∴] [kɔ̀rû:=∅ júwɔ́‑m̀-dó́-ỳ∴], nî: [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ lǎ-w] wó] jɔ̀r-î:[[27]](#footnote-27) î: túmdú‑ẁ wǎ:w [mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù],

hâl [[*projet*, nù:] ŋ̀gú-rù] [î: mà:] bû: yɛ̌=ǹ] [[[î: mà:] [[ǹjé nú-nùm] [î: mà:] bù] wà[[28]](#footnote-28) mà→] wà, [nî: nù-nùm] [î: mà:] yá bú, ɛ̀síⁿ→ [nî: nù-nùm] [î: mà:] yá bú, [ɲɛ̌yⁿ nú-nùm] [î: mà:] yá bú, [[î: mà:] àŋgú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ [î: mà:] bù mà→] wà, [kɔ̀:ⁿ mɛ́gɛ́‑mɛ́gɛ́ î: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ kù] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kú tégé‑ý] wá, nî: mɛ́gɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴, [mɛ́gɛ́‑mɛ́gɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ tégé‑ý] wá,

hà:, kú [î: mà:] bàrá:sù[[29]](#footnote-29) káyⁿ=nì, [[bàrá:sù kù] bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè] [[tàŋàsô: kɔ̀w‑ì:] [kú wó] sú:rⁿí:‑rɛ̀‑ỳ∴], hà: [ŋ̀gú ɲâyⁿ] [î: mà:] bàrá:sù tèŋgè‑bɔ̀, bàrá:sù téŋgé â: jɛ́‑ẁ kù, hà: [î: mà:] [mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù] ɛ̌: jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴, [î: tàŋàsò:] [î: nì: kù], [nî: kù] [nì: mɔ̀sû:]=∅ [[[ɔ̀:rɔ̌y yá só‑ẃ] nî:] wò], [hà: [mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù] [â: mà:] [[ɛ̌: gánj‑ì:] pàŋgà] [â: mà:] ŋ̀gó] wá, [[â: mà:] bàrá: [î: mà:] ɛ̌: gànjí‑yɛ̀] wà,

hà: bàrá: [î: mà:] ɛ̌: gànjù‑bɔ́, hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [kú ɛ̂: kù], [[î: mà:] â: gànjú‑ẁ] [[tùlú wó] sárdíŋɛ̀, [î: mà:] yâ: gǎyⁿ] wá gǔn, [[sárdíŋɛ̀ dàyⁿ gǎⁿ‑yɛ̀] bìrɛ̀][[30]](#footnote-30) bìrɛ́‑bìrɛ́‑bìrɛ́‑bìrɛ́ [î: mà:] dùwɔ́=ń, hà: áŋàyⁿ dùwɔ̀‑bɔ̀, hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [[kú ɔ́rⁿɔ̀] kú-ǹ] sàrdìŋɛ̀‑gǎⁿỳ kálà túmdú‑tí-ỳ∴,

[íyé úsù kálà] bì‑bɛ́rɛ́-ỳ∴ dé wôy, [[î: ɔ̀lɔ̀y] ŋ̀gú-rù] [ɛ̌: yěy] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴ [kú nî:][[31]](#footnote-31)— [ŋ̀gá nî:] ŋ̀gó, [[ŋ̀gá ɲâyⁿ] mɔ́:lú [ɛ̌: tǎ:n], bì‑bɛ́rɛ́-ỳ∴ dó wôy] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴, [mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù kálà] ɛ̌: jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴ [ɛ̀síⁿ→ ɛ̀síⁿ→ jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴], hà:, [[kú nî:] wò] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ, [î: sày] [mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù] ɛ̌: gànjí:‑rà-ỳ∴, hà: [kú páŋgà] sò‑ló-ỳ∴, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [ànàsà:rà-dâm kù] bɛ̀rɛ́́-ỳ∴ dè, [ìrⁿí tóró→ tóró→ tóró→ tóró→ káⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴ dè] [bû: kàlyɛ̂:r bû: gǔⁿ‑m̀ kù] [kú gǎⁿ‑ỳ∴],

[gà: kú sò‑ló-ỳ∴] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [dɔ̀:-dâm ɲàyⁿ sǎy] ká:ⁿ‑rà-ỳ∴, [àrⁿà‑gúsú yěy] kú bìrɛ́‑tí-ỳ∴ dɔ̂m, [nî: tɛ̀m] bɛ̀l‑lí-ỳ∴, [íyé úsù kálà] [bírɛ̀ kù] yá dímbá-ỳ∴ kòy, [bírɛ̀ kù] yá dímbá-ỳ∴, [kú bɛ̀rɛ́][[32]](#footnote-32) [[mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù] ɛ̌: bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dò-wôy] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴, tàŋàsô: [î: yà:] dɛ̌:‑r‑à:, [[î: yà:] dɛ̌:‑r‑à:] [[nî: kù] ɔ̀:rɔ̌ỳ=∅], hà: [kú kù] ɛ̀síⁿ→ ɛ̀síⁿ→ kú sáwtɛ́=ń bù-ỳ∴, [[[íyé [nî: mà:] mɛ́gɛ́] kɔ̀:ⁿ î: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ wò:-wôy] ŋ̀gó, [ɲɛ̀yⁿ ɲɛ́‑yɛ̀][[33]](#footnote-33) láwá=ǹ[[34]](#footnote-34)

S: [[û: yà:] dɛ̌:‑r‑à: dé néyⁿ] [ǹjé gì=náyⁿ] [û: yà:], [àŋá‑dá: [û: mà:] bàrá: ɛ̀: bû: gànjí‑só‑ẁ kù] [bàrà:sù‑ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kú=ǹ], [ǹjé gì=náyⁿ] [kú nî: kù] kɔ́wɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́, [kú nî: kù] [kú=m̀ ɛ̀sù yà] gǔⁿ‑ẁ∴

O: [kú=m̀ ɛ̀sù] [[ɛ̌: kù] wǎ:w bû:-∅], [[[[kû: ɲàyⁿ] dù=náyⁿ] yɛ̌‑ỳ] wǎ:w bû:-∅] tɔ́rɔ̀=∅, tɔ́rɔ̀ úrɔ́‑yɛ̀, wǎ:w bû:-∅, [[kú nî:] wò] [yǎ: kù] ló-m̀-n-ɛ́

S: [mɔ̀yⁿɛ̀:[[35]](#footnote-35) nî: kɔ́wɔ́‑yɛ̀] yá sò‑ló-ẁ∴

O: [mɔ̀yⁿɛ̀: nî: kɔ́wɔ́‑yɛ̀ lǎ-w] [kɔ̀:ⁿ kɔ̀wɔ̀=náyⁿ] [[kù‑tógórò ɲàyⁿ] dù‑rú‑ẃ] [úrò nî: kɔ̀:ⁿ jé‑yɛ̀] [[kú mɔ́yɛ̀:ⁿ là-w][[36]](#footnote-36) sò‑ló-ỳ∴], [kú báwdò] sò‑ló-ỳ∴

S: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, [kɔ̀:ⁿ û: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ wôy] [nî: sǎy]

O: nî:, [[mànì: ŋ̀gú-rù] [nî: mà:] mɛ́gɛ́ íyé kɔ̀:ⁿ î: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ wò:-wôy] ŋ̀gó, [nî: yà→] ↓[ósù yà→]

S: [[kú nî: kù] ɛ̀sú bû:-∅ dè] [[kú=nì û: kɔ́wɔ́‑ẁ dè] ɛ̀sù] mà→ [[ŋ̀gú-dá: tàŋàsô: kɔ̀:ⁿ kù] û: kɔ́wɔ́‑ẁ dè] ɛ̀sù]

O: [[kú nî: kù] ɛ̀sú bû:-∅] [[jɔ́rɔ̀ kày] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴ kòy, [[nì: nɔ́‑yɛ̀] wò], gà: [[[wǎ:w bû:-∅] nì:] wò sǎy] [kú dùwɔ́‑só-ỳ∴] [[léré‑léré nù kɔ́wɔ́:‑rà] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀] [[nà tùwⁿɔ̂:] kɔ́wɔ́-jɛ̀→ yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ dè], [nà yèy‑nɛ́] ló bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ, [[nì: nɔ́‑yɛ̀] wò] léré‑léré kú=nì yá kɔ́wɔ́-ỳ∴, [nà tùwⁿɔ̂:] mà→ ↓[ná yèy] mà→ [nǔ: kú=ǹ yá kɔ́wɔ́‑yɛ̀]

## Text 2005-1a.06 Field ownership

S: [û: nèyⁿ], [írⁿà kù] [û: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ gǐ:ⁿ‑rà-ẁ∴, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [tɔ́rɔ̀ bè] úŋgòy [[ìsê: ɲàyⁿ] sɔ̀sú bû:-∅] [[ìsê: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅=rá], bày [kú kù] [ǹjê:=∅ kú káyⁿ‑só‑ẁ], gǎm [ŋ̀gú [mǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅] gǐⁿ‑yɛ̀, gǎm [î: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ [[ìrⁿà ŋ́][[37]](#footnote-37) [nǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅], [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ mà→ [[ìsê: dàⁿ-wôy] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀yⁿ‑dànàyⁿ]=∅

O: [tɔ́rɔ̀ tàŋgày], [tɔ́rɔ̀ tàŋgày] [da᷈: tàŋgày ŋ̀gú-rù]=m̀ mà

S: [tɔ́rɔ̀ kù dàⁿ-wôy], [ŋ̀gú bè→] [ŋ̀gú bè→] [ŋ̀gú-dá: bù:-∅ ŋ̀gú dò:-wôy]

O: [tɔ́rɔ̀ kù dàⁿ-wôy], [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] ìrⁿà=∅],[[38]](#footnote-38) [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] [áŋàyⁿ bù], yéŋgù nù:, [yɛ̀‑[èw-y‑îy][[39]](#footnote-39) ɲàyⁿ] bǎ:→, [nǔ‑m wò:-wôy] [[ŋ̀gú yà] ǐrⁿâ=∅][[40]](#footnote-40) [[ŋ̀gú yà] ǐrⁿâ=∅] [[ŋ̀gú yà] ǐrⁿâ=∅], [[nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] tɛ̀mbù‑r-á]

[ìrⁿà bû: lá‑ẁ], hà: [kú írⁿà kù] [íyé úsù kálà] [ú yà] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅], ú ŋ̀gú-rù sò‑ẁ dè, [m̀ᵇá yà] ŋ̀gá-rù sò‑ẁ, [m̀ᵇá yà] ŋ̀gá-rù sò‑ẁ, [m̀ᵇá yà] [m̀ᵇá yà] ŋ̀ga-́rù sò‑ẁ,

gà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [[î: tàŋgày] ŋ̀gú], [ŋ̀gú kù] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀yⁿ‑dánáyⁿ kù] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀yⁿ‑dànàyⁿ pɔ̀rbâ:]=∅,[[41]](#footnote-41) [kú mâ: dá:][[42]](#footnote-42) sɛ́:nɛ̀ gǔⁿ‑ỳ∴, [[gùnjɔ̀‑gòrǒy táŋgày] ŋ̀gú] gǔⁿ‑ỳ∴, [kɔ́rⁿíyɔ́m táŋgày] gǔⁿ‑ỳ∴ [kú pɔ̀rbâ:=∅], [[[kɔ́rⁿíyɔ́m táŋgày] ŋ̀gú] [î: bè→] [pɛ̀rgɛ́ nû: bè→] ló‑ẁ dè] [íyày gò-ló‑m̀]

S: pòròbá [[àŋâyⁿ káyⁿ=ní] pòròbá tàŋgì], [[ìsê: dò:-wôy] ló mɔ̀:lú wò‑bɔ́ má→] [mà→ [nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] má→] [î: dò:-wôy], ìsê:— [[bê:n nù-m]=mì-ỳⁿ∴[[43]](#footnote-43) gǐn] pòròbá tàlù‑bɔ̀

O: [[[bê:n nù]=mù-ỳⁿ∴ gǔn] pòròbá tàl‑l-á][[44]](#footnote-44) [[ìsê: dàⁿ-wôy kálà] ló mɔ̀:lú wò-r-á kòy], [[kú táŋgày] kù dá:], [[kú táŋgày] kù dá:] [nǔ: b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ=b‑à:], hà: [nù b‑ɛ́:ⁿ=b‑â: kù] [yêŋ kù][[45]](#footnote-45) [ìsê: yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] [ìsê: yɛ̌ [nù mǔ: bè] bû: tɛ́mbú‑j‑â: dé wôy], [nǔ: kù, [mǔ: bé:=ǹ][[46]](#footnote-46) ù-ʔúwá‑ẁ‑bɔ́ dé] [bû: yɔ́ɣɔ́‑yɛ̀],

mà→ [ìsê: gǎm kù yà] [tìwɛ̀-jìyé ba᷈yⁿ→] [yêŋ ɔ̀:rɔ̌y ba᷈yⁿ→] [púlɔ̌:, [yɔ̀ kâ:ⁿ] nǔ: gɔ́‑gɔ̀[[47]](#footnote-47) jíyɛ́‑yɛ̀], [bû: nù: kú] dùwⁿɔ́:‑r‑à: dè, û: [kú cɛ̂:ⁿ] àyí́-ẁ∴, û:=m bû: tɛ̀mbì dó wôy,[[48]](#footnote-48) [[írⁿà kù] cɛ̂:ⁿ] àyí-ẁ∴,

àý‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dó wôy, [û: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, gà: [írⁿà kù] [kú nû:] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́ kǒy, [[kú nû:] yá b‑è:ⁿ‑bɔ́] gà: hà: [[[[ìsê: dàⁿ-wôy] pɔ̀rbà] kàⁿ‑mâyⁿ][[49]](#footnote-49) gǔn] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ áŋàyⁿ káyⁿ‑s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ],[[50]](#footnote-50) [[ìsê: dàⁿ-wôy] mà:] áŋàyⁿ pɔ̀rbâ:, áŋàyⁿ dùwɔ́‑s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ

## Text 2005-1a.07 Villages and their fields

S: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [írⁿà kù bè] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ wôy], [mǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅] [mǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅] [mǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅] [mǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅] gǔⁿ‑ẁ∴, [kú yà] írⁿà ì‑ɛ́wɛ̀‑bɔ̀ mà→, mà→ àŋâyⁿ kàyⁿ‑bɔ̀

I: ɛ̀wɛ̀‑r‑á núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [[*O* dàyⁿ gǔⁿ-ẁ] gâyⁿ→] [bé:nù wôy] kɔ̀:ⁿ] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔ:ⁿ‑rà‑w kù] pɔ̀rɔ̀bâ:=∅ térèw=∅, [[bé:nù wôy] pìrè] kálà, [nù mɛ́gɛ́ yâ: sɔ̀sú‑m̀] yá bú, [bû: kù]ꜛ, [[[m̀ᵇá bè] cɛ̂:ⁿ] [òrùmbǒ: nû: bû:]=m̀ ày dè], [bû: [pɔ̀rɔ̀bá wó] káyⁿ‑tí‑yà dè] [bû: mà:] lémdé‑yɛ̀,

kɔ́rⁿíyɔ́m, [tàŋgày lémdé‑yɛ̀] yá bú, [[bê:n wôy] kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ [gà: pɔ̀rɔ̀bâ:=∅], dùrôy, [[tàŋgày lémdé‑yɛ̀] yá bú] [[bê:n wôy] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] pɔ̀rɔ̀bâ:=∅, sɛ́:nɛ̀, [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ lémdé‑yɛ̀] yá bú] [[bê:n wôy] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] pɔ̀rɔ̀bâ:=∅, ŋâyⁿ→ káyⁿ=ní] [pɔ̀rɔ̀bá kàyⁿ],

[[kú nî:] ŋ̀gó][[51]](#footnote-51) [ɔ́lɔ́y bè kày] [nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ cɛ́rɛ̀y=∅], [láyrì bǎ:] ɛ̀‑ɛ́wɛ̀‑bɔ́, [[yɛ̀=ń] bû: ɛ́wɛ́‑ẁ kù] [[nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] íyé [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ írⁿà] [táŋgú‑só‑ẁ kù]] kú=m̀,

[[gàwⁿ-tɔ́rɔ̀ kù] ú yǐ:‑rà‑ẁ] ŋ̀gú=m̀, [tɔ̀rɔ̀ dùgú‑ẁ] úŋgòy, ìsê: [táŋgày yěy] bù, [gàwⁿrú dá:] [gàwⁿrú kɔ̂:ⁿ kù]ꜛ, [tàŋgày ŋ̀gú]=m̀, [[gàwⁿrú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅], tàŋgày ŋ̀gáꜛ, [ɔ̀:‑yérú kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅] [tɔ̀rɔ̀ tùwⁿɔ̂: kù], áŋàyⁿ bù

S: û:=m̀ yâ: sòsù, [àŋâyⁿ káyⁿ=ní] [[gàwⁿrú nû:] kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] tàŋgì

I: bû: kùyɔ́: yɛ̀, bû: tɛ̀mbì-ỳ∴

S: [û: tɔ̀rɔ̀ yà] [bèlè án-dá:] bù, û: [û: tɔ̀rɔ̀]

I: î: [[tɔ̀rɔ̀ díyⁿà-w kú] tû‑m] [[52]](#footnote-52) sò‑ló-ỳ∴ꜛ, [[dùrɛ̂: tɔ̀rɔ̀]=rá] dé

S: [dùrɛ̂: tɔ̀rɔ̀ tùwⁿɔ́ kù] [kú=m̀ [[û: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅]]

I: é:, [kú kɔ̌yⁿ][[53]](#footnote-53) [î: kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅]

S: bɔ̀ [û: yà] [[ìsê: kù] ɲâyⁿ] wǎ:w bú-ẁ∴, ló ì‑ɛ́wɛ̀-ẁ∴ má→, mà: lì‑lá-ẁ∴ má→, mà: [[û: nù‑dìyⁿà] mà:] tɛ̀mbù-ẁ∴

I: [ìsê: kù], [[î: nù‑dìyⁿà] mà:] tɛ̀mbì-ỳ∴, [[î: nù‑dìyⁿà] mà:] tɛ̀mbì-ỳ∴

S: *mais* [[[â: mà:] ì‑ɛ́wɛ̀‑bɔ̀] gǐn] [[û: mà:] tègè‑r‑á]

I: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, gà: ɛ̀‑ɛ́wɛ̀‑bɔ̀

S: ì‑ɛ́wɛ̀‑bɔ̀ [tɔ́rɔ̀ kù]

I: é:, [tɔ́rɔ̀ kù wé∴][[54]](#footnote-54) [kú írⁿà kù] [àyú‑ẁ dè] [bòlô: sì-yè-ỳ],[[55]](#footnote-55) [nù kâ:ⁿ—], [ìsê: kù] bû: ɛ́ggɛ́=ǹ,[[56]](#footnote-56) [yâ: ú bě:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ dè] [[ǎm kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅],

[bû: kày] sóy ló:‑r‑à: pɔ́s!,[[57]](#footnote-57) [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅=ráꜛ, tì‑tíwɛ̀‑bɔ̀, ú yɛ̌ tɛ́mbú‑jɛ́‑ẁ dè, [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅=rá→, [ŋâyⁿ→ bû: tɛ́mbú‑ẁ] yá bú

## Text 2005-1a.08 Locust invasion 2004

S: níyⁿɛ́wⁿ, [kì‑ka᷈: [û: mà:] yɛ̌‑mà gì:ⁿ‑bɔ́] [kì‑ka᷈: bû:] [[àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̀‑bɔ̀]]

O: hà:, kì‑ka᷈: kù→, [î: kày] [bû:=nì] [kì‑kà: kísíyé] gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, [î: kày] bû: yì‑tà‑lí-ỳ∴, [[kì‑kà: kísíyé‑m] ŋâyⁿ→ yɛ̀=náyⁿ] [yû: kù‑kúwó‑m̀ mâ→ màrⁿá:][[58]](#footnote-58) yì‑tà‑lí-ỳ∴], [àràjô: wò] [kì‑ka᷈: yá yé‑yɛ̀] wà kòy, [kì‑ka᷈: yá yé‑yɛ̀] wà kòy, hà:kóy[[59]](#footnote-59) [nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yû:], dɛ̂m→ írɛ́‑ẁ, dé wò:-wôy] kɔ́sì-ỳ wà [ùllá sǎy] [[ɛ̀wⁿɛ̀y pílɛ́] gǎⁿ-ẁⁿ dó wôy] kɔ́sì-y wà,

[ŋâyⁿ→ î: nǔ‑m̀] [î: nǔ‑m̀] [î: nǔ‑m̀], hâl [yɛ̀=ń] [kì‑ka᷈: kù] [î: mà:] yɛ̀‑bɔ̀, [ì‑gàyⁿ]-kǎⁿ‑m[[60]](#footnote-60) bôy[[61]](#footnote-61) [kì‑ka᷈: kù] yì‑tà‑lí, [kì‑ka᷈: kù] bû: yɛ́‑ẁ=bɛ̌‑ẁ,[[62]](#footnote-62) níyⁿɛ́wⁿ [kú árⁿà‑gùsù] [[pɛ́‑nùmǔyⁿ nùmǔyⁿ sâ:] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀=bɛ̀][[63]](#footnote-63) gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀—[[64]](#footnote-64), dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ gùyⁿ‑bɔ́, [î: kày] bû: júwɔ́‑m̀‑dó-ỳ∴, hà: [[ŋ̀gú nî:] wò kálà], [[yù: cɛ̀sú] kɔ́s-ì:] àw‑rí-ỳ∴,

[nà túwⁿô:] jèsù] wò, [[ɔ̀sɔ̌ỳⁿ wò] yɛ̀=ń] [[î: kù] wò] sìyè‑bɔ́, [ùsù ɔ̂w] tégé! tégé! tégé! tégé! tégé! tégé!, [[*midi trente* dògùrù ŋ̀gú] ɲâyⁿ], [kú ɲâyⁿ] [yɛ̀=ń] [[î: kù] wò] sìyè‑bɔ́

S: [[[kì‑ka᷈: bû:] [ná yěy] yɛ̀] gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀] [[nà kùyɔ̀:] bû: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù] [àŋâyⁿ kàⁿ‑ẁ∴]

O: [[nà kùyɔ̀:] bû: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù], [*midi*[[65]](#footnote-65) ɲàyⁿ] [[î: kù] wò] sìyè‑bɔ̀, [bû: yɛ̌=ǹ cɛ̂m] [kɔ̀sɔ̌y wò] lò-ỳ∴, [î: kɔ́sú‑m̀] [î: kɔ́sú‑m̀] [î: kɔ́sú‑m̀] [î: kɔ́sú‑m̀] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: dɔ̀‑rî: kù][[66]](#footnote-66) [[ɲárⁿù wò] kálà] kɔ́sú nà-ỳ∴, [ɲárⁿù wò] kɔ́sú î: ná=ǹ, [bû: ùrɔ́=ń] [tìwⁿɛ́yⁿ wó] bì-yè‑bɔ́,

ɔ̀mɔ̂: íyà [píníwⁿú=ní] [ì:rⁿɛ̀yⁿ *sept heures*][[67]](#footnote-67) dɔ́=ǹ cɛ̂m, íyà [írⁿà wò] sìyè‑bɔ́, hà: [[kú írⁿà] wò] â: sí-yé‑ẁ kù] [lǎ-w ìnjìl‑l‑á],[[68]](#footnote-68) [kɔ̀:ⁿ â: tɛ́mbú‑ẁ nàŋànà] [ɔ̀rú‑ẁ dé wò:-wôy] ɲɛ́‑j‑â:

S: [[ná yěy] yɛ̀‑bɔ́=bày] [[nà yèy‑nɛ́] bû: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù yà]

O: [nà yèy‑nɛ́] [kú kù] [â: ló‑ẁ kù], [[*midi* ɲàyⁿ] bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ káⁿ‑ẁ] [kú kù], [bû: kù] â: kúwó‑jɛ́‑ẁ, ŋ̀gú-dá: làwà‑bɔ́, [ùsù yèy‑nɛ́]ꜛ, [ùsù yèy‑nɛ́ kù] té! té! té! té! té! té!, [m̀ᵇá[[69]](#footnote-69) bè yà] yɛ̀‑bɔ́, [*une heure* ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̀‑bɔ́, hà: [*une heure* ɲàyⁿ] [bû: kù] â: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù] lò‑r‑á, bû:=m̀ [yɛ̀=ń] kúwó‑j‑ɛ̂:

S: *bon* [kì‑ka᷈: kù] [bû: yɛ̌=ǹ] [nǔ: [kú mâ:] àŋâyⁿ gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀, àŋâyⁿ [kú mâ:] mà:nù-ẁ∴, …

O: bû: làrì-ỳ∴

S: … hɔ́nɔ̀ hálkɛ́rɛ̀ gâyⁿ→ mà:nù-ẁ∴ mà→, mà→ [kɔ̀:ⁿ àdùnà:rⁿù-ɲáwⁿà] gâyⁿ→ mà:nù-ẁ∴ má→, àŋâyⁿ mà:nù-ẁ∴ [kú mâ:]

O: î: kày, kì‑ka᷈: kù, bû: yɛ̌=ǹ, [ádúná:rⁿú kɔ̀:ⁿ î: mà:nì‑rⁿî: wò:-wôy][[70]](#footnote-70) ŋ̀gó], [hâl [yù:-kɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ́ [kú kálà] dúwɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́] mà:nì-ỳⁿ∴] [yɛ̌‑mà dè] [[yû: kù] wó] mòŋgùyó‑yɛ̀, [bû: mòŋgùyó‑ẁ dè] [[yû: kù] ló‑ẁ dé] [sùmóy wó] píbgà yáɣá‑m̀

S: *bon, par exemple*, [kú má:] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], [[ádúná:rⁿú ɲàwⁿá=ǹ] yɛ̀‑bɔ́] mà:nù-ẁ∴ mà→, bálâw sìyè mà→ ǹjé mà:nù-ẁ∴

O: bálâw mà:nì-ỳ∴, [ŋ̀gú tû‑m] yì‑tà‑lí-ỳ∴, àbádá [bû: gǔⁿ-m̀=bày]=m̀=dá dé] [ŋ̀gú tû‑m] yì‑tà‑lí-ỳ∴, [î: kày] [bàlàw lǎ-w], [î: kàlà] lǎ-w, ádúnɔ́—, ŋ̀gú:rɛ́‑m̀‑dó-ỳ∴ mà:nì-ỳ∴

S: kì‑ka᷈: bû: yɛ̌=ǹ, [û: sày] [[û: kù] mà:] [û:=m̀ làr mà→ꜛ] mà→, [[pàŋá bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] bár-ì:][[71]](#footnote-71) bɛ̀rɛ̀-ẁ∴

O: [kì‑ka᷈: kù] î: làrú‑m̀, î: làrú‑m̀, î: làrú‑m̀ [[írⁿà wò] yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ỳ∴ dè] [yɔ̀ɣɔ́ yé-ỳ∴], [yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ỳ∴ dè] [yɔ̀ɣɔ́ yé-ỳ∴], [ká:rú ú ló:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] [yû: kù] áŋàyⁿ b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́ [dàyⁿ â: bú-ẁ gâyⁿ→], ínjírí-m̀-n-ɛ́,

[tìwⁿɛ̌yⁿ mánì:] wò] ú tíní‑tî: dè] [tìwⁿɛ̌y yì-wí‑m̀‑dó],[[72]](#footnote-72) [[yû: wò] ú tíní‑tî: dè] [yû: yì-wí‑m̀‑dó], [[sùmóy wó] ú tíní‑tî: dè] [yâ: mɛ́gɛ́ b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀],

káyⁿ→ [dɛ̌=ń], [pàŋá bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè], kú nárⁿà‑ɔ̀mɔ̀:, ŋ̀gú-rù *avion* yɛ̀, [*avion* yɛ̌=ń] [ŋ̀gú-rù [î: mà:] kú pɔ́mpɛ́‑m̀] [kú pɔ́mpɛ́‑m̀] [kú pɔ́mpɛ́‑m̀] [hâl lá:sárà dɔ̀], [kùyɔ́: yɛ̌‑mà kú kòy], lá:sárà kú dɔ̌=ǹ, hà: [nɛ́:[[73]](#footnote-73) kɔ̌yⁿ], [[kì‑ka᷈: kù] tíwɛ́:‑r‑à:] [lǎ-w yé-m̀-n-ɛ́], [lǎ-w yé-m̀-n-ɛ́] tíwɛ́:‑r‑à: mà:nì-ỳ∴,

[kú kù] íyà píníwⁿú [kì‑kà:]-búnúŋgóy lǎ-w yɛ̀‑bɔ́, [*une heure* ɲàyⁿ] té! té! té! té! té!, [[*avion* kù] ŋ́gòy ló‑m̀] [kì‑ka᷈: kù] ŋ́gòy yé‑yɛ̀, [*avion* [kì‑kà: ḿ[[74]](#footnote-74) bè] pɔ́mpɛ́=ǹ] [hâl [kì‑kà: tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] tìwɛ̀] kálà yì‑rí-ỳ∴

S: kì‑ka᷈: bû:, [[yû: kù] ɲɛ́‑jɛ̀=ń] lò‑bɔ́ má→, mà→ [[bû: lò‑y kú] dɔ̌=ǹ̀] lò‑bɔ̀

O: [[yû: kù] ɲɛ́‑jɛ̀=ń] lò‑bɔ̀, lèrè-gèděw→ [[yû: kù] ɲɛ́‑jɛ̀=ń] lò‑bɔ̀, [[ɔ̀rù â: tɛ́mbú‑ẁ wôy] ɲɛ́‑j‑â:] [[yù: ɔ̀rú] wôy kày] ɲɛ́‑j‑â:, [ɲɛ́‑jɛ̀=ń] áŋàyⁿ lò‑bɔ̀

S: [ló=ní] lǎ-w yɛ̀‑r‑á

O: [ló=ń] lǎ-w yɛ̀‑r‑á

I: kùyɔ́:, làrí-ỳ∴=bɛ̀-ỳ∴,[[75]](#footnote-75) [kì‑ka᷈: kùyɔ́: [î: mɔ̀:lí=ń] lǎr=ní] [î: káyⁿ=nì], ló‑m̀=b‑à:,[[76]](#footnote-76) lì‑ló‑yɛ̀ [né: kày] [kì‑ka᷈: làr-î:[[77]](#footnote-77) ló‑yɛ̀] mà:ní=ní] [î: bù=bày],[[78]](#footnote-78)

[yèy‑nɛ́ bû: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù] [î: lǎr=nì] lò‑r‑á, [[kú ɲâyⁿ] ínjírí=ní] [nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] [kɔ̀sɔ́y wó] nù, [ɲárⁿù wò] kɔ́sí‑yɛ̀ꜛ, ɔ̀mɔ̂: kɔ́sí‑yɛ̀, [hâl ló‑ló=ní] [[kɔ̀sɔ̌y dâyⁿ] dɔ̀],

[yɛ̌:‑r‑à: dé wôy], [yù: ɛ̀wⁿɛ̀yⁿ‑nî:], [yù: ɔ̀rú] kúwó‑yɛ̀, [yù: dɛ̂m→ màyⁿá-ẁⁿ kù], [ɔ̀rú yá bú dé wôy] kúwó-m̀-n-ɛ́, [kú ɲâyⁿ] [â: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù] [î: yù:] kúwó‑j‑ɛ̂:‑bɔ́,[[79]](#footnote-79) ŋâyⁿ→ kàyⁿ

## Text 2005-1a.09 Honey

S: yěy àŋâyⁿ gǎ:ⁿ‑rá-ẁ∴, kòwî: àŋâyⁿ cé:lé:-rà-ẁ∴, [hâl â:ⁿ nú] [dàyⁿ bû: gǎⁿ‑m̀[[80]](#footnote-80) bû: dùmdú‑m̀]

I: kòwî:, kònjòy pómbóy só‑ẁ, ló tɛ́rɛ́-ỳ∴, kú=ǹ go᷈: gǎⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴ dè, pómbóy kám-dí‑wí-ỳ∴, kám-dí:‑rɛ̀ dó wôy, mò:‑tímbí: jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴, tímbí‑tí-ỳ∴ dè, ù‑ʔúgúró-ỳ∴, [[gâw bè→] [kòŋgòl‑yî: bè→], [nà:‑sùwɔ́ bè→], ɲâyⁿ] úgúró-ỳ∴ [hâl cé:lé‑m̀], tímbí dúwɔ́-ỳ∴, [lěw ɲâyⁿ] tárá-ỳ∴, ló ǎy ló [tìwⁿɛ́yⁿ wó] náyⁿí-ỳⁿ∴,

[[ùsú tǎ:n] [ùsú nǐ:yⁿ] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [gàmᵇû‑m dè] â:ⁿ yɛ̌ nú‑yɛ̀, nú:‑r‑à: dó wôy, [ùwɔ́ tǎ:n] ló‑[dɔ̀‑y],[[81]](#footnote-81) â:ⁿ yěy gǎyⁿ‑tí‑yà,

[[dògùrù kà:ⁿ] yěy bû: gǎyⁿ‑tú‑ẁ[[82]](#footnote-82) wôy] [[[ú kû:] mà:] [ɲárⁿù wò] ló‑ẁ dé] òmdò:‑tòŋgǒy páɣá‑ẁ dè, kɔ̀sû: wàyú‑ẁ dè, ló bû: tɛ́mbú‑ẁ, [òmdò‑tòŋgǒy wó] go᷈: pɛ́rɛ́́ gǎyⁿ‑tú‑ẁ dó wôy, [[mǒ: kù] wó] dɔ̀:‑lú‑ẁ, pú:rⁿú‑ẁ, pú:rⁿú‑ẁ, pú:rⁿú‑ẁ, ŋ̀gá‑dá: [mòlù ŋ̀gá‑dá:] ló‑yɛ̀ [bû: sóy],

ŋ̀gú‑dá:ꜛ, [ú nɛ́:] [mò: ŋ̀gú-dá:] [ú bú-ẁ kù] pí:rⁿí‑tú‑ẁ dè, yèy yâ: bû:bú-∅ kù, yěy tɛ̀mbù‑ẁ dè, gò-ló‑ẁ, [kɔ̀sû: wò] gǎⁿ‑ẁ, gò-ló‑ẁ, [kɔ̀sû: wò] gǎⁿ‑ẁ, gò-ló‑ẁ, [kɔ̀sû: wò] gǎⁿ‑ẁ,

sì‑sî: yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ dè, dùwɔ́‑tí‑ẁ, [nɔ̀rⁿɔ̀yⁿ pírⁿà]=∅ dè, gò-ló‑ẁ, yèy‑nî:=∅ dè, gò‑ló‑ẁ, ú káⁿ‑m̀=bày, [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀‑[dɔ̌‑ỳ] jâ:wⁿ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy] [yâ: dúwɔ́‑ẁ], ǎy tímbí dúwɔ́‑ẁ, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], gò-ló‑jɛ́‑ẁ, úrò píníwⁿí yé‑ẁ

S: [úrò yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ dè] [[yěy kù] mâ:] àŋâyⁿ ká:ⁿ‑rà-ẁ∴

I: [[yěy kù] mâ:] úrò yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀-ỳ∴ dé wôy, [ú nû:] [[û: wôy] mɔ̀:lú éw-yé-ẁ∴ dè] mírⁿɛ́-ẁⁿ∴, [[ú úrò‑jèŋgì:] mà:] ní‑ẁⁿ, [[[nù ɛ̀sì‑yɛ̀] ú jɔ́rɔ́‑yɛ̀][[83]](#footnote-83) mà:] ní‑ẁⁿ, tì‑tíyɛ́‑ẁ cɛ̀rɛ̂y=∅, [tíyɛ́‑ẁ[[84]](#footnote-84) dè] cɛ̀rɛ̂y=∅ [kú ɲâyⁿ] cɛ́ríyí‑ẁ, yěy, ŋâyⁿ→ [kú mâ:] ká:ⁿ‑rà-ỳ∴

O: nǔ‑m [ɔ̀:rɔ̌y ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wǒ‑jɛ̂: dè] [[á há:jɛ̀] gǔn] yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dè], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní‑ẁⁿ

I: [góŋgó wó] gǎyⁿ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-ỳⁿ∴, [ɔ̀:rɔ̀‑gú‑m mâ:], ŋâyⁿ→ [kú wó] ká:ⁿ‑rà-ỳ∴

## Text 2005-1a.10 Farm work

S: û: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ [bírɛ̀ mà:]][[85]](#footnote-85) [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ân] túmdí:‑rà‑ẁ∴]

O: [jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ [bírɛ̀ mà:]] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [wàɣàtù ŋ̀gú] túmdí-ỳ∴, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [wàɣàtù ŋ̀gú] [kú mâ:] [bìrɛ̀ mǎ:] gǔⁿ‑ỳ∴, [[[ú írⁿà] wò] kɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀‑dúdúnjù[[86]](#footnote-86) yá bú dé] ló sì‑sá‑ẁ, [dòró yá bú dé] [ló yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú mɔ̀:lú‑ẁ dè] go᷈: gǎyⁿ júwⁿɔ́‑ẁⁿ,

kú gǎyⁿ‑jɛ́‑ẁ dé wôyꜛ, áŋàyⁿ dɛ̂m→ bě‑ẁ, ú bú dè, dɛ̂m→ ká:ⁿ‑rɛ̀=rà:, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ *mai* [ùwɔ̀ ŋ̀gú bè] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy, [tòy mǎ:]ꜛ, [kú mâ:] tòy‑bìsí[[87]](#footnote-87) gúⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴

I: lìw-[bàr-î:] yá bú yáy[[88]](#footnote-88)

O: líw bárá-ỳ∴, térèw=∅ [lìw-[bàr-î:] kùyɔ́=m̀], líw bàrá‑jɛ́‑ẁ=rà:, hà núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [[sɛ́:nɛ̀ bè] [dàyⁿ bù:[[89]](#footnote-89) ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] kày] tòy‑bìsí bísé‑ẁ, [tòy mǎ:] gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, [tòy mǎ: kù] tɔ́‑jɛ́‑ẁ dé wò:-wôy, [[nɛ́: kày] ǎy lò=náyⁿ] [[90]](#footnote-90) [gìrⁿěyⁿ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀—] [[[tòy mǎ:] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ú tɔ́‑m̀] dàyⁿ][[91]](#footnote-91) [tɔ́‑jɛ́‑ẁ dé wò:-wôy], sɛ̌→ bé‑ẁ, [áŋàyⁿ ú bú dè] [hâl yɛ̌‑ẁ dè] [bǒl mírⁿɛ́‑m̀],

bǒl mìrⁿɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dè, píníwⁿí [kú ɲâyⁿ] tǒy tɔ́‑ẁ, [kú mâ:] [tòy ɔ̀rú] gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, yɛ̌ [tǒy kù] tíyɛ́:‑rɛ̀=rà:ꜛ, [tǒy kù] tíyɛ́:‑rɛ̀‑rà:ꜛ, [[tǒy kù] tíyɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dè wôy] [[ùsú [pɛ́rɛ́ nùmǔyⁿ sâ:]] gâyⁿ→], wóŋgóró wárá-m̀-dó-ỳ∴, áŋàyⁿ bé-ỳ∴, [[ùsú [pɛ́rɛ́ nùmǔyⁿ sâ: kù] láwá:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] [tǒy tíyɛ́ cé:lé:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy], [bòl yèy‑nɛ́] mírⁿɛ́‑m̀, [[bòl yèy‑nɛ́] mìrⁿɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dè] wóŋgóró túmdí-ỳ∴,

[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] ǎy ló [kú kù] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ mà:,[[92]](#footnote-92) ló wóŋgóró ú wàrá:‑rɛ̀ mà:, [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀‑kà:ⁿ kòrǒy] [[tǒy ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ú tɔ̀‑rî:] yá bú dé wôy] [[sàrî: ɲàyⁿ] wàrá wàrá wàrá wàrá wàrá nɔ́ júwⁿɔ́‑ẁⁿ], [ɛ́lɛ́y bè] wárá-ỳ∴, hà ŋâyⁿ→ î: káⁿ‑m̀ dè, wóŋgóró dɔ́‑m̀

S: *est-ce que*— [sàrî: ɲàyⁿ] wàrà‑[nɔ̀‑ý]=rá dé kày, lǎ-w tɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́ mà

O: [[tǒy ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ú tɔ́‑jɛ́‑ẁ kú] wó] má

S: [[ú tɔ́=ǹ] tìyɛ̀‑ŕ[[93]](#footnote-93) dé] [[sàrî: ɲàyⁿ] wàrá ú nɔ̌‑ẁ kù]

I: tòy‑lògô: lógó‑yɛ̀

O: [tòy‑lògô: lógó‑yɛ̀] [[ú írⁿà] ú ló=ǹ] [tǒy bà‑ŕ[[94]](#footnote-94) dé] [tòy‑lògô: lógó gáⁿ‑ẁ], [wòŋgòrò-tùmɔ̂yⁿ kù] wò, [tǒy bà‑ŕ dé] [tòy‑lògô: lógó gáⁿ‑ẁ]

S: [tǒy dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀ dè] [né: àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑ẁⁿ∴]

O: [tǒy dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] [wóŋgóró kú dìmbà‑ẁ][[95]](#footnote-95)

S: wóŋgóró [tùwⁿɔ́ bù] má→ [yěy bù]

O: wóŋgóró [yěy bù], [[kú mâ:] wòŋgòrò‑kùnjú gǐⁿ‑yɛ̀] [[wòŋgòrò kùyɔ́: kù] mâ:], [wòŋgòrò‑kùnjú kù] wàrá‑jɛ́‑ẁ=rà:ꜛ, [[ú írⁿà] dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀ dè] sɛ̀:njɛ̂:, sɛ̀:njɛ̂: sɛ́:njú‑ẁ

S: [wòŋgòrò‑kùnjú kù yà→] [sɛ̀:njɛ̂: yà→], àŋgú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ nûm[[96]](#footnote-96)

O: wòŋgòrò‑kùnjû:=∅ mɛ́gɛ́ nûm, wòŋgòrò‑kùnjû:=∅ mɛ́gɛ́ nûm, sɛ̀:njɛ̂:, [[[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ gàmbú] wó] ló‑ẁ dè] [sàwâ: [áŋàyⁿ bǎ:] tɛ̀mbù‑rú‑ẃ káⁿ‑ẁⁿ][[97]](#footnote-97) [kùyɔ́: ú wàrá láwá‑ẁ kù]

S: *bon*, ɛ́lɛ́y bè→, kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ bè→, [[kú yà] [wóŋgóró ɲâyⁿ] wárá-ẁ∴ mà→] [[[tǒy ɲâyⁿ] bǎ:][[98]](#footnote-98) wárá‑yɛ̀]

O: [wóŋgóró ɲâyⁿ] wárá-ỳ∴, hà [wóŋgóró wárá‑m̀=bɛ̀-ỳ∴ dè] [dùwɔ́‑tí-ỳ∴ dè] [ló [ɛ́lɛ́y wárá-ỳ∴]], [gǎm wóŋgóró tùmdì‑rí-ỳ∴] [ló [ɛ́lɛ́y wárá-ỳ∴]], [áŋàyⁿ wóŋgóró wárá‑ỳ∴] [ló [[ɛ́lɛ́y kù] wàrá‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè]], [àrⁿà‑gúsú gǎm yà] [wóŋgóró wárá‑m̀=bɛ̀‑ỳ∴ dè] [ɛ́lɛ́y wárá-ỳ∴]

S: [wóŋgóró wàrá‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] [né: ǹjé káⁿ‑ẁ∴], sóy [kú yěy cɛ̂m] wàrá‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè

O: wòŋgòrò‑kùnjú wàrá‑jɛ́-ỳ∴, sɛ̀:njɛ̂: sɛ́:njí‑jɛ́-ỳ∴, [[sɛ̀:njɛ̂: kù] î: sɛ́:njí‑m̀ dè] [hâl yû: írɛ́‑m̀], [yù:‑tɛ̀wⁿɛ̂yⁿ súŋúrⁿú kúwó‑m̀ kúwó‑m̀ kálà] [írⁿà gǎm] sɛ̀:njɛ̂: sɛ́:njú‑ẁ, [sàwâ: kù] bú‑ẁ kù

S: [né: sɛ̀:njɛ̂: sɛ́:njí‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] [yû: írɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dè] [àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑ẁ∴]

O: yû: írɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy kày, yǎ: yù:‑dó: téŋgé‑yɛ̀, [kú mâ:] yù:‑dǒ: gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, yù: jɛ́wⁿɛ̀‑wⁿ jɛ́wⁿɛ̀‑wⁿ jɛ́wⁿɛ̀‑wⁿ jɛ́wⁿɛ̀‑wⁿ kù, kú-yá: [yù:‑dèŋgɛ̀mbèrè dâ:‑w dâ:‑w kú-yá:], [kú mâ:] [yù:‑dò:]‑[tèŋg-î:] gǐⁿ‑yɛ̀ [yù:‑dǒ: téŋgé-ỳ∴], [yù‑dǒ: kù nàŋànà] téŋgé‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dé wôy, [[yû: kù] ló màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀] [nɛ́: kɔ̀sɔ̌y kɔ́sí-ỳ∴]

S: [kɔ̀sɔ̌y kù] àŋâyⁿ kɔ́sú-ẁ∴

O: kɔ̀sɔ̌y kù, pòrkìyá gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, pòrkìyá gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, [gǎm bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] [pǒ: ɲâyⁿ] kɔ́sí‑yɛ̀ꜛ, [gǎm‑bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] [pòrkìyá ɲâyⁿ] kɔ́sí‑yɛ̀ꜜ, ŋ̀gú-rù gɔ́‑ẁ [[ú nâ:‑sì:ⁿ] wò] gáⁿ‑ẁ, ɛ́sɛ́ dàrìyí‑ẁ, [kɔ́sú‑ẁ dè] [[ɛ́sɛ́ pírè] gáⁿ‑ẁ], [bǎ:‑rɛ̀ dè] ló tí dúwɔ́‑ẁ, bǎ:‑rɛ̀ ló tí dúwɔ́‑ẁ

S: [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ tùwⁿɔ̂:] tí‑yɛ̀ mà→, má [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ ba᷈yⁿ→] tí‑yɛ̀

O: [ú sày dè] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀‑ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ [ú bɛ̀rɛ́‑ẁ wôy] tí‑ẁ] [ŋ̀gú-rù [ɛ́sɛ́ mô:] tà:nú gâyⁿ→] [ŋ̀gá-rù [ɛ́sɛ́ mô:] nǐ:yⁿ gâyⁿ→] tí‑tí‑ẁ[[99]](#footnote-99) dé wôy, [nǔ: yɛ̌‑mà dè] [bàrá bàrá bàrá bàrá [ló [[yù:‑tɛ̀:rɛ̀ díyⁿà‑wⁿ kù] wó] ló dɔ̀:‑lí‑yɛ̀

S: [kú[[100]](#footnote-100) nû: yà] áŋàyⁿ déyⁿ→ bì‑b-ɛ̂:ⁿ‑bɔ̀[[101]](#footnote-101) mà→, má àŋâyⁿ

O: [[ú úrò] pìrè] [[yà-[yì-tɛ᷈:] bè] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́ dé] má→ [[ú ónjò bè] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́ dé] [[nù ú bì‑bàrú][[102]](#footnote-102) yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́ dé] [ú kɔ́sú‑m̀ dè] [bû: yà] bàrá bàrá, [ú tí‑ẁ kù] [bû: yà] bàrá bàrá [[yù:‑tɛ̀:rɛ́ wó] jò‑ló‑yɛ̀]

S: bày, [kɔ́sú‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] [[[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́ kù]=ǹ] yâ: dúwɔ́‑ẁ] mà→, àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑ẁⁿ∴

O: [kɔ́sú‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè] [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́ kù] wó]=∅, [[kɔ̀sɔ̌y kù] [ìrⁿà ŋ́][[103]](#footnote-103) kɔ́sú‑jɛ́‑ẁ dè] [ŋ̀gú-rù dùwɔ́ júwⁿɔ́‑ẁⁿ], [[ìrⁿà ŋ̀gá[[104]](#footnote-104) yà] ló kɔ́sú‑ẁ] [ŋ̀gá-rù dùwɔ́ júwⁿɔ́‑ẁⁿ], [[ìrⁿà ŋ̀gá yà] ló kɔ́sú‑ẁ] [ŋ̀gá-rù dùwɔ́ júwⁿɔ́‑ẁⁿ], [kɔ̀sɔ̌y kɔ́sú‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dé wôy] [áŋàyⁿ yû: dú-ỳ∴]

I: sá dɛ̀wú-ẁ∴ má→ dɛ̀wú‑m̀‑dó-ẁ∴

S: [kɔ̀ŋɔ̀rⁿɔ́ sá-ỳ∴ dè] dɛ̀wí-ỳ∴ [írⁿà gǎm]

I: ènjî: gá‑m̀‑dó-ẁ∴[[105]](#footnote-105)

S: ènjî: gì‑gá-ỳ∴ yǎ:[[106]](#footnote-106)

I: ènjî: gá‑yɛ̀

S: ènjî: gì‑gá‑ỳ∴, ènjî: [[kɔ̀sɔ̌y nî:] wò] [ènjî: kùyɔ́: írɛ́‑m̀]

I: [árⁿà gá‑yɛ̀ mà→] [yǎ: gá‑yɛ̀]

S: yǎ:—, árⁿà gá‑yɛ̀

I: árⁿà gá‑yɛ̀

S: mhm! [[[kɔ̀sɔ̌y kù] nî:] wò] [ènjî: kùyɔ́: írɛ́‑m̀], [[ènjî: kù] gá‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè] [[kɔ̀sɔ̌y kù] áŋàyⁿ túmdí-ỳ∴]

I: [yû: kù] tɛ̀:rɛ́ má→ꜛ yù:‑jùrɔ̂:=∅[[107]](#footnote-107)

O: yù:‑jùrɔ́ kì‑káⁿ‑ỳ∴→, [tɛ̀:rɛ́ kù] tì‑tɛ́:rí-ỳ∴, [yù:-jùrɔ́ kù] [ɛ́sɛ́ ɲâyⁿ] tí‑yɛ̀

I: [ɛ́sɛ́ ɲâyⁿ] tí‑yɛ̀

O: [[ɛ́sɛ́ ɲâyⁿ] yɛ̌‑ẁ dè] [[ɛ́sɛ́ ɲâyⁿ] tí‑ẁ]

I: sólóm

O: [[kú mâ:] yù:‑jùrɔ́ gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀] [sólóm bú‑ẁ kù]

I: [[pɛ́tɛ̀→ bú‑ẁ kù] mâ:] àŋâyⁿ gúⁿ‑yɛ̀

O: [kú mâ:] yù:‑tɛ̀:rɛ́ gúⁿ‑yɛ̀, [gɔ̀rⁿú ɲâyⁿ] tí‑yɛ̀ kù

I: [jàwⁿâ: ɲâyⁿ]—

O: [gɔ̀rⁿú ɲâyⁿ] gɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ́ lɔ́! lɔ́! lɔ́! lɔ́! lɔ́!, tí lám‑dú‑ẁ,[[108]](#footnote-108) [[mànî: wò] gàwá:‑rɛ̀ dè] [íyà yèy‑nɛ́ tí lám‑dú‑ẁ], [gàwá:‑rɛ̀ dè] [tày‑nɛ́ tí lám‑dú‑ẁ]

S: [úrò [yû: kù] dú jɛ᷈:‑tí‑yɛ̀ dè] [àŋâyⁿ ká:ⁿ‑rà-ẁ∴]

O: [[úrò [yû: kù] dù‑[jɛ̀‑y]][[109]](#footnote-109) [kú kù], [[yû: kù] yâ: ló dù-rɛ́: ló:‑rɛ̀-ỳ∴ dè] yɛ̀mbí-ỳ∴, yɛ̀mbí-ỳ∴ dè [yû: kù], tùwⁿɔ̂‑m yù:‑bùbùrú gúⁿ‑yɛ̀, [díyⁿá-wⁿ wó] ìrɛ̀‑rí kù, [[ɛ̀síⁿ→ írɛ́-só‑ẁ kù][[110]](#footnote-110) mâ:] yù:‑ná: gúⁿ‑yɛ̀, úrò dú jé-ỳ∴, úrò dú jɛ̌:-ỳ∴ dè, [dɛ̌w wó] gáⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴

S: [[dɛ̌w kù] wó] [yù:‑bùbùrú kù yàꜛ] [yù:-ná: kù yàꜜ] [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ tùwⁿɔ̂:] gáⁿ‑yɛ̀ mà→] má déyⁿ‑déyⁿ

O: déyⁿ‑déyⁿ gáⁿ‑ỳⁿ, yù:‑ná: [tàŋày ŋ̀gú-rù] gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ dèꜛ, yù:‑bùbùrú [tàŋày ŋ̀gú dá:] gáⁿ‑ẁⁿ, [[dɛ̌w yěy] sò‑ẁ dé yà] tùwⁿɔ̂‑m— yù:‑ná: [[dɛ̀w tùwⁿɔ̂:] wò] gáⁿ‑ẁ, yù:‑bùbùrú [[dɛ̀w tùwⁿɔ̂:] wò] gáⁿ‑ẁ

S: *bon*, [kɔ̀sɔ̌y kɔ́sí=ní] [yû: dǔ‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] [[bìrɛ̀ lǎ-w] sò‑ló-ẁ∴] mà lǎ-w

O: [kɔ̀sɔ̌y kɔ́sí=ní] [yû: dǔ‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè], [[bìrɛ̀ lǎ-w] yá só-ỳ∴ yǎ:]

I: kɔ̀sù‑írⁿà yá bú

O: kɔ̀sû:=∅, tɔ́-ỳ∴, kɔ̀sû: tɔ́-ỳ∴, [[yû: ìrⁿà[[111]](#footnote-111) î: gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ kù] wó] [yâ: [[kɔ̀sû: kù] î: tɔ́=ǹ] yá bú, yû: dǔ‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè, xxx ló [kɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ́ kù] sá tí-ẁ∴, [kɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ́ kù] sá-tí-ẁ∴ dè, [[kɔ̀sû: kù] wó] dɛ̂m→ dɛ̂m→ dɛ̂m→ nî: ú gáⁿ‑m̀ dè, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [á kû:] wì‑wⁿà:rⁿú‑m̀, ùlá‑ùlá[[112]](#footnote-112) [á kû:] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀,

hà: [nɛ́: kày] î:— kɔ̀ŋɔ̀rɔ́ [kú náŋànà] sá‑jɛ́‑ẁ dé wôy, dòró tɛ́rɛ́ tɛ́rɛ́ tɛ́rɛ́ tɛ́rɛ́ sɛ́wⁿú‑ẁⁿ, hálì ló ɲúwⁿɔ́‑m̀, [kɔ̀sû: kù] nárⁿá‑m̀,

hà: [nɛ́: kɔ̌yⁿ] íyà píníwⁿú [kú=m̀ bírɛ́-ỳ∴], kɔ̀sù‑írⁿà bìrɛ̀, hà: [nù kɔ̀sù‑írⁿà sò‑ló‑m̀]=∅ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà→], sárdíŋɛ̀ gáⁿ‑m̀, hà: ŋ̀gú=m̀ [î: bìrɛ̀]=∅

S: *bon*, ɛ́lɛ́y wárá-ẁ∴ gǔⁿ‑ẁ∴, [[ɛ́lɛ́y kù] wàrá‑tú-ẁ∴ dè] [yâ: áŋàyⁿ dúwɔ́-ẁ∴ mà] [úrò jé‑m̀-dó́-ẁ∴]—

O: ɛ́lɛ́y wɔ̀mbí-ỳ∴[[113]](#footnote-113) yǎ:, ɛ́lɛ́y wɔ̀mbí-ỳ∴, [ɛ́lɛ́y wɔ̀mbí-ỳ∴ dè] úrò dǔ‑dǔ jé-ỳ∴, ɛ́lɛ́y—

S [overlapping]: yǎ: wɔ̀mbí‑yɛ̀ má→, árⁿà wɔ̀mbí‑yɛ̀

O: árⁿà‑m—, [yǎ‑m [á kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ wàrà dè] wɔ̀mbú‑m̀→, árⁿà‑m [á kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ wàrà dè] wì‑wɔ̀mbú‑m̀ꜜ, yǎ‑m [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ́ŋɔ̀rɔ̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] wɔ̀mbí‑tî: dè] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ à‑ẁ],[[114]](#footnote-114) [kú kálà] ɛ̀sú bû:-∅, [[nù wɔ̀mbú‑m] sò‑ló‑ẃ dé] [yǎ‑m [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] ló‑ẁ dè] [ú=m̀ wɔ̀mbú‑m̀]

S: wɔ̀mbú‑jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè, kú-dá: pálú‑ẁ mà→, úrò pálú‑ẁ

O: [gǎm gɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] kú-dá: pálí‑yɛ̀→, [gǎm gɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] úrò jɛ᷈: pálí‑yɛ̀, ɛ́lɛ́y kù

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X: dɛ̌w [ǹjé gìn] cɛ́wⁿɛ́:‑rà-ẁ∴, [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] kú cɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ∴

Y: dɛ̌w, [î: mà:nì:] [yù:‑gǎyⁿ=∅,[[115]](#footnote-115) gùní] cɛ́wⁿɛ́-ỳ∴, kú túmdí-ỳ∴ dé wôy, bòlô:, ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ sɛ́mbí‑tí-ỳ∴ dè, kùlúrù, kùyɔ́: cɛ́wⁿɛ́-ỳ∴, kú dɛ̀mbí‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè, dɛ̂m→ kú màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀ dè, tèmbérù î: má‑m̀ dè, tèmbérù î: má‑m̀ dè, [kùlùrù î: kúlúró‑ẁ kù] máyⁿá‑m̀, [tèmbérù bàrá‑jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè] [[kú dósù] wò] dɛ̌y dúwɔ́-ỳ∴,

[bɔ̀:‑úrò mà:] sóy cíyɛ́-ỳ∴, íyé [î: dɛ̀w]—, [[ùsù ŋ̀gú] [ùsú nùmǔyⁿ] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [[î: dɛ̀w] cɛ̀wⁿ-ì:], í bǎrâ, [[nù kâ:ⁿ] mà:] cíyɛ́‑tí‑yà dé wôy, [kú úsù kù] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy, àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m wé→ àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m, tǎ: ló‑m̀, nî: kɔ́wɔ́ kɔ́wɔ́ kɔ́wɔ́ jé‑m̀, [nî: jɛ᷈:‑tí‑yà dè] [[lěw kù] tɔ́‑yɛ̀,

[[àrⁿà pɛ̀:], cɛ̀wⁿ-ì:‑jùwú[[116]](#footnote-116) kù] úrɔ́‑yɛ̀, lɔ̀sɔ̂: kù, éw-ré‑yɛ̀, àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yì jùwú‑m, [bû: pìrè] nú‑m̀, pàŋgá s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ,[[117]](#footnote-117) lěw tɔ́‑yɛ̀→, tèmbérù pɔ́tɔ́‑yɛ̀, tèmbérù ní‑yɛ̀, tèmbérù bû: ní‑m̀ dè, pìré: éw-ré‑j‑â: dè, kú jú:rá‑ẁ [kú ɲâyⁿ]—,

[dògùrù kà:ⁿ] kú súyɔ́‑j‑â: dé wôy, ɲɛ̌yⁿ gǒ:-rɛ̀, ɲɛ̌yⁿ sí-yé ɲɛ́‑yɛ̀,[[118]](#footnote-118) dɛ̂m→ gáw ká:ⁿ‑rɛ̀ dè, íyà úrɔ́‑yɛ̀, [nɛ́: kɔ̌yⁿ], bû: cɛ́wⁿɛ́‑ḿ dè, bû: cɛ́wⁿɛ́‑ḿ dè, [hâl ló‑ló [[nǔ‑m kû:] ì:-rì]=∅] dè] bɔ̀ŋgɔ́‑m [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ m̀bâ:] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀] wò] dɔ́‑m̀, [tèmbèrù m̀bâ: kù] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ wò] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy, sìràm‑nǎ: yâ: dɛ̀mbí‑yɛ̀,

[[tè:súm bó][[119]](#footnote-119) dɛ̀mbí:-rɛ̀ dè] pɛ́rú [pɛ́rɛ́ tùwⁿɔ́ sâ:], [tèmbèrù‑yî: [pɛ́rɛ́ tùwⁿɔ́ sâ:] kú sìŋgǎy-sìŋgǎy] [[pɛ́rɛ́ tùwⁿɔ́ sâ:] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy], dɛ̌w dɔ̌:-rɛ̀, nɛ́: kɔ̀yⁿ, [nù kâ:ⁿ] pírⁿà bû:—, [yǎ: kù yà] pírⁿà tóró‑yɛ̀,

[pírⁿà yà] gò‑ýꜛ, [dɛ̌w cɛ́wⁿ-ì: yà] dùwⁿɔ̀‑ýⁿꜜ, [sí-yé‑mà dè] [nù kâ:ⁿ] [â: pìrⁿà] nɔ́‑yɛ̀, ínjírí sáyá‑yɛ̀, tùlú wó, dɛ̂m→ [ùwɔ́ bà:] kú dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy, [mànî: kù] íyà dɛ̀mbí‑yɛ̀, dɛ̀mbí‑j‑â: dé wôy, [yù:,[[120]](#footnote-120) ú gǎ‑m̀] yá bú dé wôy, yâ: gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ, ŋ̀gú=m̀ [dɛ̌w cɛ́w-ⁿì:]=∅, áŋàyⁿ=m̀=dá: U

U: áŋàyⁿ=m̀

S: dɛ̌w [ǹjé gìn] cɛ́wⁿɛ́:‑rà‑ẁ∴, [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé gìn] cɛ́wⁿɛ́:‑rà‑ẁ∴

I: yù:‑gǎⁿỳ=∅, [î: yù:] [î: bɛ̀rɛ́‑ẁ] yâ: gǎⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴, ènjî: yâ: gǎⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴, hâl kɔ̀sû: yâ: gǎⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴

U: yû: [[dɛ̌w wó]=m̀=dá dé] [bòlô: àrⁿà‑gúsú bɛ̀rɛ́‑j‑ɛ̂: dè] ɲáwⁿá‑m̀ …

I: sì‑sɔ́:lú‑m̀

U: … sì‑sɔ́:lú‑m̀ ɲáwⁿá‑m̀

I: [[kú nî:] wò] dɛ̌w [mànî: wò] cɛ́wⁿɛ́:‑rà‑ỳ∴

S: [kú dɛ́mb-ì: kù yà] nǔ: ɲàrⁿí‑yɛ̀ mà→, mà àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑yɛ̀

I: àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî: ɲàrⁿí‑yɛ̀, yɛ̌ [ú bàr=náyⁿ] dɛ̀mbí‑yɛ̀

S: [úrò dɛ̀mb-ì: ŋ̀gú] gâyⁿ→

U: [dɛ́mdɛ́ wé→ dɛ́mdɛ́] [bɔ̀:‑úrò mɔ̀:lì=náyⁿ] dɛ̀mbí‑yɛ̀

I: dɛ̀mbí‑yɛ̀

S: [[bɔ̀:‑úrò mɔ̀:lù=náyⁿ] bû: dɛ̀mbí:‑rà‑w] [kú kɔ́rɔ̀] ǹjê:=∅

U: [íyè kɔ᷈:ⁿ[[121]](#footnote-121) dɛ̀mbù‑ẁ dè] [[ɛ́yⁿ yà] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] dɛ̀mbì‑ỳ], áŋàyⁿ tɛ̀mbì-ỳ∴ yéŋgù

## Text 2005-1a.12 Cow-peas

S: nùwⁿî:ⁿ, àŋâyⁿ wárá‑yɛ̀

I: nùwⁿî:ⁿ déyⁿ→, [[kú írⁿà] wì‑wàrú] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀→, [írⁿà pìrè] kálà î:—, pɔ̀rɔ̌y pɔ̀rɔ̌y pɔ̀rɔ̌y pɔ̀rɔ̌y ɲây, [írⁿà pìrì] [kú mâ:] nùwⁿì:ⁿ‑kàr-î: gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, [kú kálà] yâ: kálà kárá-ỳ∴, déyⁿ→ [kú írⁿà] kálà wì‑wárá-ỳ∴, hà nùwⁿî:ⁿ áŋàyⁿ wárá-ỳ∴

S: [kú tôy kù bè→] [wásà bè→] tùwⁿɔ̂:=∅ mà

O: [kú tôy bè→] [wásà bè→] tùwⁿɔ̂:=∅=rá, [wǎ:w wǎ:w wó] tɔ́‑yɛ̀, [[kú wì‑wⁿà:rⁿú‑m̀] nì:] wò], [[sɔ̀sú wó] tɔ̀‑ẁ dé wôy] [[yù:‑írⁿà wò]=m̀ dè] [yû: gó‑m̀‑dó], *mais* [kú sǎy] wárá‑ẁ dè, [kú kày] [sɔ̀sú‑sɔ̀sú wó] tɔ́‑ẁ, wⁿà:rⁿú yɛ̌ [á tû‑m] níŋgí‑m̀], nárⁿá‑m̀

S: nùwⁿî:ⁿ, [írɛ́=ń màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀ dè] [àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑yɛ̀ [kú mâ:]]

O: cì‑céwé‑yɛ̀, tùwⁿɔ́ tùwⁿɔ́ tùwⁿɔ́ tùwⁿɔ́ tùwⁿɔ́ céwé‑céwé [gɔ̀rⁿú wó] [bà:-lí]‑[bà:-lì] úrò jé‑yɛ̀

I: [ɔ̀rú ɲâyⁿ] pálí ɲɛ́‑yɛ̀

O: [kú màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀ mà:] [pàl=náyⁿ ɲɛ́-ỳⁿ∴], [kú màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀ mà:]

S: [úrò jɛ᷈:‑tú-ẁ∴ dè] [àŋâyⁿ ká:ⁿ‑rà-ẁ∴]

O: [tèmbè‑kû: wò] tí‑yɛ̀, [[tèmbè‑kû: wò] tí‑yɛ̀] [hâl máyⁿá‑m̀], [màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] sɔ́ɣɔ́‑yɛ̀, [sɔ́ɣɔ́‑mà dè] [kú yî: kù] [sá:kù[[122]](#footnote-122) wò] gǎyⁿ‑gǎyⁿ dɛ̌y‑yɛ̀

S: [dɛ̌w wó] gáⁿ‑yɛ̀ mà→, mà→ [ènjî: kɔ̀:ⁿ ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] [[sùmǒy wó] gàⁿ=náyⁿ] bìyⁿí‑yɛ̀, tòŋgôm wò

O: tòŋgôm, dì‑dɛ̀yí‑ẁ dè [tòŋgôm bò][[123]](#footnote-123) gáⁿ‑ẁ, dɔ̀yⁿɔ̌yⁿ yá→ꜛ, sùmòy mɛ̀:rⁿɛ́ yá→↓, [kú yěy] gà:rⁿú lígísé‑ẁ dè, áŋàyⁿ [tòŋgôm bò] áŋàyⁿ dɛ̀ŋgú‑ẁ [dì‑dɛ̀yí‑ẁ dè], [kú=m̀=ǹdà dé wôy] kɔ́yɔ́‑m̀, [kú kɔ̀][[124]](#footnote-124) [ùwɔ́ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] kɔ́yɔ́‑m̀,

[[sá:kù wò] gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] [àyâ: yá bú] [[ànàsá:rá bè] áyà:],[[125]](#footnote-125) [[àyâ: kù] [sá:kù wò] gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] [nùwⁿî:ⁿ [[kú kû:] wò] gáⁿ‑ẁⁿ, [[ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] tì‑tíyɛ́‑ẁ dé yà] [[ɛ́wá: ló] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] tíyɛ́ dúwɔ́‑ẁ]

S: tòŋgôm kù, [dɛ̌w wó] káⁿ‑yɛ̀ mà→ꜛ, [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kɔ̀rɔ̌y] wó]‑m̀

O: tòŋgôm, [dɛ̌w pírè] káⁿ‑yɛ̀, [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kɔ̀rɔ̌y] wó] kálà kì‑káⁿ‑ẁⁿ, tòŋgôm ŋâyⁿ→ dèlèrélé [kú kálà] [tèmbérù ɲàyⁿ] cɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yɛ̀

## Text 2005-1a.13 Big families

S: [ǹjé dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y] nǔ: ŋ̀gú-rù [yì-tɛ᷈: ba᷈yⁿ→], bɛ̀r-î: jɔ́rɛ́‑yɛ̀

O: yì-tɛ᷈: jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴ yǎ:, *bon* [î: mà:] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bírɛ́ kù] [î: bìrɛ̀ kù] bìrɛ̀ mǎẁ=∅, ú [[ú kû:] mà:] [bírɛ́ ú bírɛ́‑m̀ ú bírɛ́‑m̀] [[àrⁿà‑gúsú pɛ́‑nùmǔyⁿ] bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ́‑ẁ dé wôy] [né: lǎ-w [bírɛ́ páŋgà] sò‑ló‑ẃ], yì-tɛ᷈: yá só‑ẃ dé wôy, [ú yítɛ̀: kù] [bû:=m̀ bírɛ́ bírɛ́‑m̀],

wóŋgórô:=∅ [kɔ̀:ⁿ [pàŋgá ɲâyⁿ] wárá‑yɛ̀], [wóŋgóró wàrá] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ [[àrⁿà‑gúsú pɛ́‑nùmǔyⁿ] nû‑m], [ú yítɛ̀: kù], [wóŋgóró wàrá] ú bàrí‑yɛ̀, [bû: wàrá‑ẁ dè] ɲɛ́‑ẁⁿ, [tǒy dè kálà] bû:—, bû:=m̀ tɔ́‑m̀, [[kú nî:] wò], [yì-tɛ᷈: bɛ̀rɛ̀-ỳ∴ dè] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴

S: [kú=m̀=dá dé kày] [yì-tɛ᷈: bɛ̀rɛ́-ẁ∴ jɔ́rɔ́-ẁ∴—], [kú=m̀=dá dé kày], [kɔ̀rɔ̀ lǎ-w] ŋ̀gó má

O: [kɔ̀rɔ̀ lǎ-w] yá bú yǎ:, hà: [yì-tɛ᷈: yěy tǎ:n] bɛ̀rɛ́=ń, tùwⁿɔ̂‑m ló gùrá:nà jáŋgɛ́‑m̀ꜛ, tùwⁿɔ̂‑m ló lèkɔ̂l jáŋgɛ́‑m̀ꜛ, tùwⁿɔ̂‑m [wóŋgóró wàrá] ú bàrú‑m̀ꜜ, hà: [jàŋgɛ̀‑jàŋgú‑ḿ kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀] cé:lé:‑rɛ̀ꜛ], [ŋ̀gá‑dá: jàŋgú‑ḿ kù yà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀] cé:lé:‑rɛ̀, [wóŋgóró wàrá ú bàrú‑ḿ kù yà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kálà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀] cé:lé:‑rɛ̀,

[yǐ‑m wò:-wôy sò-ló‑ẃ dé] [[àrⁿà‑gúsú pɛ́‑nùmǔyⁿ] bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ́‑ẁ dè] [[wóŋgóró wàrá] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁꜛ], [nù ú wàrà‑bàrú‑ḿ] ŋ̀gó, [wóŋgóró wàrà‑rú‑ẃ dé kálà] [ɲɛ̌yⁿ ɲɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ], â: [nɛ́: kày] [ú kày] nɛ́: lǎ-w [àmà‑sɔ̀ɣɔ́ ɲâyⁿ] wàsá:‑rɛ̀‑w

S: [yì-tɛ̀: ba᷈yⁿ⇒ bɛ̀r-î: kù] wá:jíbì=∅ mà

O: [yì-tɛ̀: ba᷈yⁿ⇒ bɛ̀r-î: kù kày], [î: mà: kày] wá:jíbù=∅, áywà Î:—[[î: òsù] wò], [î: dì:nà] wò, yì-tɛ᷈: [ú má:] ba᷈yⁿ→ nàrⁿà-ýⁿ gǔỳⁿ, [ba᷈yⁿ→‑nàrⁿ-î: kù] wá:jíbù=∅, [î: dì:nà] wò

I: kú=m̀ [[yǎ: yěy] jɛ̂-y] î: ká:ⁿ‑rà‑ẁ kú=m̀

O: [[yǎ: yěy] jì‑jɛ́-ỳ∴] [[yǎ: tǎ:n] jì‑jɛ́-ỳ∴] [[yǎ: nǐ:yⁿ] jì‑jɛ́-ỳ∴], [[bû: dàⁿ-wôy] nárⁿá‑yɛ̀] [[[yì-tɛ᷈: pɛ́‑tà:nú] nù s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ] [pɛ̀rí‑yěy nù s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ], [pɛ́rú nù s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀

I: bú=m̀ [mɛ́gɛ́ yà] sú:rⁿú só‑ẁ, [bìrɛ̀ kâ:ⁿ kálà] bû:=m̀ [mɛ́gɛ́ yà] sú:rⁿú só‑ẁ

O: [[dógúrú tùwⁿɔ̂-m][[126]](#footnote-126) [bírɛ́ màná:] bírɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ] [[ú yítɛ̀: bû:] ló bírɛ́‑yɛ̀] [úrò bì-yé‑ẁ tán],[[127]](#footnote-127) [[kɔ̀:ⁿ‑kâ:ⁿ wôy] [ú yítè: bû:] ló bìrɛ́‑bìrɛ́ bû: jɛ̌‑ẁ dè] ɲɛ́‑ẁⁿ, [yì-tɛ᷈: nàrⁿá=ń] [bárkíné:‑r‑à: dé wôy] [ɔ̌: nú:‑rɛ̀‑w],

[[ú nàrⁿà‑rⁿú́‑m̀ kù][[128]](#footnote-128) [àbádá sú:rⁿú‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ] [[àrⁿà‑gúsú tɛ́:mdɛ́rɛ̀ kálà] ú=m̀ ló [ú bírɛ̀] bírɛ́‑m̀]

I: [[ŋ̀gú nî:] wò] [yì-tɛ᷈: jó→] mᵇá:yí-só-ỳ∴

## Text 2005-1a.14 Betrothal and marriage

S: [û: mà: dá:] [yà‑m]-[jɛ̌‑ỳ] àŋâyⁿ bù

O: [î: mà: dá:] yà:‑[jɛ̌‑ỳ] [yà‑bírú yá bú], yà‑bírú yá bú→, [[ú gò=náyⁿ] yà:‑yî‑m [[ú jɔ́rɔ́‑ỳ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑ỳ] ú jɛ́‑m̀] yá bú[[129]](#footnote-129)

S: [yà‑bírú kù] àŋâyⁿ—, àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑yɛ̀

O: [yà‑bírú kù] sàlá: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nàrⁿá‑tí‑yà dé wôy] [[àmá:nù yà‑m] bà[[130]](#footnote-130) gùⁿ=náyⁿ] [kú kù] gù‑gɔ́wɔ́‑yɛ̀, hà [mǔ: má:] [àmá:nù yà‑m] bá gù‑gɔ́wɔ́‑yɛ̀, hà kú gɔ̀wɔ́‑tí‑yà dé wôy, ló [yǎ‑m kù] [[á kû:] mà:] [àrⁿà‑gúsú gá:rày] mà→ bɛ̀rɛ́‑j‑ɛ̂: dé wôy, hà: [nɛ́: kày] sâl bé→ꜛ, láyà bé→ꜛ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, sǎmnà bè→ꜛ, [bù:dù dâ:‑w] bè→ ní‑yɛ̀, [áŋàyⁿ û: káⁿ‑m̀ dè] [hâl ló‑ló [[yǎ‑m kù] ló‑ẁ dè] [yǎ‑m dɔ́‑m̀]]

S: *bon*, [[ú sày] [[ú kû:] mà:] [tèg-ì: kú]][[131]](#footnote-131) [kú yà] àŋâyⁿ tégé‑yɛ̀]

O: [ú sǎy] [[ú kû:] mà:] [ló‑ẁ dè] [yà:‑yî‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑ẁ] [[á má:] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑ẁ] wà gúⁿ‑ẁ, [ú mì-rá[[132]](#footnote-132) dé→] [ú mì-rá] gú‑m̀, [ú jɔ̀rɔ́‑jɛ̂: dè→] hà: [[ú ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑ẁ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ú jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀][[133]](#footnote-133) wò] bě:‑rɛ̀[[134]](#footnote-134) dé wôy, [[[bɔ̌: yá→] [nàrⁿá yá→]] mâ:] tégé‑ẁ,

hà: [bû: kálà] [ú mâ:] ní‑tí‑yà dé wôy, [kú ɲâyⁿ] yà:jí: páɣá‑ẁ, [yà:jì:‑pàg-î: kù] [bû: ànàsá:rá bè] *mariage*=rá dé[[135]](#footnote-135), ànàsá:rá bè *mariage*=rá, hà: àmá:nù, [yǎ‑m—, mǔ:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] gùyⁿ [yà:‑yì‑m mǔ:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] gùyⁿ [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m kálà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] gùyⁿ,

[[[nàrⁿǎ‑m yá→] [bɔ̌:‑m yá→]] kálà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní‑tí‑yà, hà: ársìlâ‑m yɛ̌‑mà dè, sɛ́:dɛ̀ gó‑yɛ̀

I: ùsú gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, ùsú gáⁿ‑yɛ̀

O: ùsú gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, [íyé úsù] yà:jì:‑pàg-î:=∅ wà [júmà ùsù], ùsú gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, àrsìlâm yɛ̌ mɔ̀:lí‑yɛ̀ [[[hà: [[[àmá:nù yà→] [àmá:nù yà→]] má:], tǔ: jɔ́rɔ́‑yɛ̀ gùyⁿ‑bɔ́] wá] [yà:jì:‑pàg-î:=∅ wà] [[sɛ́:dɛ̀ wày-ì:=∅] wà],

[cɛ̀rɛ̀y [kú wó] û: gǎⁿ‑ẁⁿ kù][[136]](#footnote-136) [[cɛ̀rɛ̂y kù] ínìrⁿì] ɲàrⁿí‑yɛ̀, [hà: [bû: sɛ̀:dɛ̀] [bú:dù dámà má:nù]=∅ wà] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀] bà,[[137]](#footnote-137) hà: [nù nú‑m̀ bò-wò-wôy],[[138]](#footnote-138) [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] [ɛ́yⁿ dé] sɛ́:dɛ̀ gó‑m̀, à-mâ:n [à-mâ:n yà‑m kù] [kú=m̀ [kú sɛ́:dɛ̀]=∅], kú=m̀ [î: *mariage*]=∅

S: [bú:dù=rá dé] kɔ̀:ⁿ‑kâ:ⁿ ní-m̀-n-ɛ́ má

O: òrùsú nì‑ní‑yɛ̀→, tǎ: nì‑ní‑yɛ̀ꜜ, [kú bɛ̀‑lú‑ẃ dé] [[bú:dù kù] ɲâyⁿ sày kálà] páɣá‑ẁ, [tǎ: ŋ̀góꜛ] [òrùsú ŋ̀góꜜ]

S: yǎ‑m kù, àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m kù, [nù jɔ̀rú‑m kù] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ sǎy][[139]](#footnote-139) ló tégé‑m̀] mà→ [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ átìyà‑m] tégé‑m̀] mà→ [nù lǎ‑m] tégé‑m̀

O: [ú sày] ló tégé—, [ú sày] ló tì‑tégé‑ẁ→ [[ú sày] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ dè] [ú bɔ̂:]=ǹ tì‑tí‑ẁ→, [ú póyà‑m] tì‑tí‑ẁ→, [ú tíyà‑m] tì‑tí‑ẁꜜ, [ú sày] [[ú mâ:] ní‑tí‑yà dè] kálà kú=m̀, [gà: [[ú sày], lém→ lò=náyⁿ] [yǎ‑m jɔ́rɔ́‑ỳ] ú gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] [[[ú mâ:] bû: nì-yⁿ kù] nǔm bû:-∅]

I [overlapping]: [[ú sày] mâ:][[140]](#footnote-140) ní-m̀-n-ɛ́, xxx

O: [[ìsè: lǎ-w] wó], [hà: [ú bɔ̂:] yɛ̀‑ḿ] bá gúⁿ‑yɛ̀, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [[ú bɔ̂:] jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] kù][[141]](#footnote-141) júwɔ́‑m̀—, jùwɔ́‑j‑â:, ɔ̀:ⁿ [[[ú dérè] jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] kù] jùwɔ́‑j‑â: dè] [[yǎ‑m kù] áŋàyⁿ ní‑yɛ̀], [[nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́] [bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́] yá:jì:]=∅

S: yà:jì:‑pàg-î: kù yà, [yà:‑yî‑m bɔ̀:] ùrò] káⁿ‑yɛ̀ mà→, [[àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m bɔ̀:] ùrò] káⁿ‑yɛ̀

O: [[[yà:‑yî‑m kù] bɔ̂:] ùrò] káⁿ‑yɛ̀

S: *bon*, yà:jí: páɣá‑tí‑yà dè néyⁿ, àŋâyⁿ‑àŋâyⁿ bé‑yɛ̀ [â: yèy]

O: yà:jí: páɣá‑tí‑yà dé wôy, [[yǎ‑m kù] lémdé‑ẁ] [[[á mâ:] ní-ýⁿ] gùⁿ=náyⁿ]

I: ló kàrwá gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, [nǔ‑m gó‑ẁ dè] [ló‑ẁ dè] kàrwá gáⁿ‑m̀, [yǎ‑m yà:jí: bû: páɣá‑ẁ] [[ùsú pɛ́rú] gálù wò], [nǔ‑m pɔ́→ úrò ló‑ẁ dè] kàrwá gáⁿ‑m̀,

[kàrwá ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǎⁿ‑ẁ] túlù wò, [nǔ‑m íyà gǒ] [yǎ‑m ùrò-tìn-î:]=∅[[142]](#footnote-142) wà, lémdé‑yɛ̀, ùsú gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, [ùsù kùyɔ́:[[143]](#footnote-143) bû: gǎⁿ‑ẁ kù] íyí‑m̀‑dó, [nà yèy‑nɛ́] gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, kú=m̀ íyí‑m̀,

ɲárⁿù wò, ló dìm‑dí‑jɛ́‑yɛ̀, àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî: màrpâ: tá‑yɛ̀, [[[úrò kù] wó] yâ: ló‑ẁ dè] [ɔ̀mɔ̂: nî: kɔ́wɔ́‑jɛ̀‑ẁ dè] [yâ: bé‑m̀], [[ùsú pɛ́rú pèrí‑yèy], bě‑j-ɛ̂: dè], íyà [[á bɔ̂:] ùrò] ló‑m̀, [ŋ̀gú‑m̀ꜛ, [yǎ‑m]-[yɛ̌‑ỳ]] [íyà dɛ̂m→ ɲùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀],

[jâ:=m̀ dè kày] yì‑nàrⁿ-î:=∅, [yì tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] nàrⁿá‑tí-ẁ∴ dè, lǎ‑m ú nàrⁿá:‑rɛ̀ mà:, nàŋàná: ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀‑úrò yɛ̌ táŋgú‑m̀, áŋàyⁿ káⁿ‑yɛ̀=b‑à:, [íyé nɛ́:] [kú bǎ:] gɔ̀yⁿí-m̀-n‑ɛ́, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nàrⁿá:‑rɛ̀ bǎ:, ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀‑úrò lémdé‑yɛ̀,

[tàŋg-ì: ná:] yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, lémdé‑yɛ̀ hâl ùsú gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, [nǔ: wôy] mɔ̀:lí‑yɛ̀, pírⁿà tóró‑yɛ̀, yɛ̌ éw‑yé‑yɛ̀, [yǎ‑m yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dè] [dúwâw káⁿ‑yɛ̀], [jǐnjɛ̀ sěw jémdè‑ỳ] [jǐnjɛ̀ úrò ŋâyⁿ→ pɛ́:-wì‑ỳ] [jǐnjɛ̀ ŋâyⁿ→ káⁿ‑ýⁿ] wá,

[dùwàw â: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ wôy][[144]](#footnote-144) káⁿ‑mà dè, íŋgírí sáyá‑yɛ̀, háyà, nɛ́: kày, [kú wó] dùwⁿɔ̀‑rⁿíꜛ

O: [kú wó] dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀

I: [ŋ̀gú wó] dùwⁿɔ̀=rá→, mà [áŋàyⁿ=m̀=dá] S

O: kú=m̀ yà‑tàl-î:=∅

S: [cɛ̀mnɛ̀ lǎ-w] ŋ̀gó má

I: ŋ̀gú=m̀ yà‑tàlî:=∅, yǎ:, [â: jìyè] jíyé‑yɛ̀ [[dámáy kù] wó], [kùyɔ̂:=m̀ dè] [kɔ̀sû: bárⁿá‑yɛ̀=b-à:] kɔ̀rɔ̀bá, [íyé nɛ́:] kɔ̀rɔ̀bà‑bàrⁿ-î: dùwɔ́‑tí-ỳ∴,

yǎ: [â: sày] [[[â: tàwⁿyⁿà] ùrò kù] wó] kɔ̀sû: bárⁿá‑yɛ̀ꜛ, búlù bárⁿá‑yɛ̀ꜛ, jìyé jíyé‑yɛ̀, [ŋ̀gú kày] íyé [[yǎ: kù] dáwⁿà]=∅, [árⁿà kày] [[lǎ‑w kɔ̀:ⁿ bû: káⁿ‑m̀] ŋ̀gó] [dúwâw káⁿy‑j‑â: dè] [ínjírí sáyá‑yɛ̀]

S: [kú láwá:‑rɛ̀ dè] [lǎ‑w [cɛ̀mnɛ̀ lǎ‑w] ŋ̀gó]

I: lǎ‑w ŋ̀gó

O: [lǎ‑w ŋ̀gó] [yà‑tàl-î: wò] [kú láwá:‑rɛ̀ dè] [[cɛ̀mnɛ̀ lǎ‑w] ŋ̀gó]

I: dùmdɔ́: kú=m̀

## Text 2005-1a.15 Livestock

S: jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, [[àrsɛ̌: bû:=nì] án‑dá: jò-ló‑yɛ̀] [[ùsù‑bórⁿó yà] án‑dá: jò-ló‑yɛ̀]

O: jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ [tǒy tíyɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dé wò‑wôy] [nù kâ:ⁿ‑m̀], [á ársɛ̀:‑m] téŋgé‑m̀, [[á ársɛ̀:‑m] bɛ̀r‑bèré:[[145]](#footnote-145) gáⁿ‑m̀, [írⁿà wò] nú:‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó, ló ɲì‑ɲé:‑wⁿú‑m̀, [hâl àyú‑ẁ dè][[146]](#footnote-146) [ló mà dè] wóŋgóró wárá‑yɛ̀, [nù— àrsɛ̌:‑m yá→] [írⁿà yà→] dà:yí‑m̀‑dó, [kú gù‑náyⁿ] ɲé:‑wⁿú‑yɛ̀

S: [[àrsɛ̌: kù] nî:] wò, jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó, [àrsɛ̌: bû:] úrò bû: dúwɔ́‑yɛ̀ mà→, ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bû: jò-ló‑yɛ̀

O: [àrsɛ̀: úrò bě:][[147]](#footnote-147) yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́ꜛ, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-lǒ:[[148]](#footnote-148) yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ́, [ɲɛ́:‑wⁿ́ú‑ẁⁿ dè] [úrò jé‑ẁ], úrò jé‑ẁ dè, [úrò jɛ᷈: já:jɛ́‑wú‑ẁ dè] yâ: ná‑yɛ̀, [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá:] kálà bì‑bě:] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀

S: [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bû: jò-ló:‑rà‑ẁ kú] [ǹjé gìní=m̀]

O: [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bû: jò-ló:‑rà‑ẁ kú] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ‑w] gùnú]=m̀=dá, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bù‑ẁ dé wôy] [[àrsɛ̌:‑m mâ:] ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ìrèw] [ú kálà bírígí bì‑bɛ́rɛ́‑ẁ], [àrsɛ̌: kù] sùwɔ́ bû: súwɔ́‑tî: dé wôy, bírígí táŋgú‑m̀,

áywà yû:, kálà, [kú ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] wàrá‑tú‑ẁ dè, kú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ yû: írɛ́‑m̀, [bírígí ŋ̀gó dè] [yû: írɛ́ bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó], [ú wóŋgòrò] [dàyⁿ kú kám-dú‑ẁ wôy] [[[bírígí bɔ́ŋgɔ̀] gâyⁿ→] yû: bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ] [[àrsɛ̌: mâ:] kálà] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: mɛ́gɛ́ [kú náfàɣà][[149]](#footnote-149) [bû: mà:] bù], [kú gùn] ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: jò-ló:‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ̀

S: [yàrú[[150]](#footnote-150) gǒ:-rɛ̀ dè] úrò yé‑yɛ̀ mà→, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá:] bé‑yɛ̀

O: yàrú gǒ:-rɛ̀ dè→, [[[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-dà:]-bě:[[151]](#footnote-151) yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ꜛ] [[ùrò-yɛ̌:] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ꜜ], [àsú→ àrsɛ̀: [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-dà:]-bě:] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀, [[úrò b‑ɛ̂:ⁿ] kálà] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀, [úrò b‑ɛ̂:ⁿ kù] bû:=nì— [sùwɔ̀ bû: súwɔ́‑ẁ kù] [[bû: lìw kù] bàrá‑mà dè] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: [írⁿà wò] jò-ló‑yɛ̀], [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bù‑ẁ dè kálà] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] [yâ:[[152]](#footnote-152) hóggò] [yâ: básá‑m̀ tínɛ́m][[153]](#footnote-153) [yâ: bè‑ẁ]

S: [yàrú gǒ:-rɛ̀ dé yà] [àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑ẁ [bû: mà:]][[154]](#footnote-154)

O: [[àrsɛ̌: kù] mâ:] mà

S: [[jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ kɔ̂:ⁿ] ŋ̀gú] gâyⁿ→] sóy] ɲé:‑wⁿú‑m̀ tínɛ́m bé‑yɛ̀ mà→, mà: àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑yɛ̀

O: [yàrú gò=ń] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [[írⁿà wôy] bìrɛ̀] [yû: bìrɛ̀ wôy] dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀, dé [kɔ̀sû: bìrɛ̀]=∅, [[kɔ̀sû: bìrɛ̀ wò‑wôy] dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] [àrsɛ̌: kù] [kú kày] lǎr tí‑yɛ̀,[[155]](#footnote-155)

nɛ́: ɲɛ̀:‑wⁿ-î: ŋ̀gó, [[kɔ̀:ⁿ bû: ɲàŋgùrú‑m̀] ŋ̀gó nî:] wò, [tǎ: yɛ̌‑mà dè] nɔ̀:‑wⁿú‑yɛ̀ [tǎ: bû: yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dè], [nɔ̀:‑wⁿú‑j‑â: dè] [ló [â: sày] ɲɛ́‑yɛ̀]

S: [[jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ yá→] [ùsù‑bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ yà→]] [àrsɛ̌: jésù kù] tùwⁿɔ̂: mà→ déyⁿ‑dêyⁿ=∅

O: [[jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ yá→] [ùsù‑bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ yà→]] [[àrsɛ̌: jésù] tùwⁿɔ̂: káyⁿ] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀, [[jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó] [sàwà: ɔ̀rú] ɲɛ́‑yɛ̀] [ùsù‑bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ bèrú ŋ̀gó] [[sàwà: mǎ:] ɲɛ́‑yɛ̀], [[[sàwà:‑mà:]‑ɲɛ̌‑m yá→] [[sàwà:‑ɔ̀rù]‑ɲɛ̌‑m yá→]] tùwⁿɔ̂: káyⁿ bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó, ùsù‑bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ mɛ́gɛ́ bû: òsù—, [jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó]=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ [bû: jèsù] ɛ́sù[[156]](#footnote-156)

S: [ùsù‑bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ làr‑t-î:] [kú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ bû:=nì áwⁿá‑wⁿú‑m̀] mà→, mà→ [[bû: dìmbì-yì=náyⁿ] lò=náyⁿ ɲɛ̀:‑wⁿ-î:] [kú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ bû:=nì áwⁿá‑wⁿú‑m̀]

O: [[nù [dìmbì-yì]‑lǒ:] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀] [[dìmbì-yì]‑lò‑ɲɛ̀:‑wⁿ‑î:][[157]](#footnote-157) kú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́—, [dìmbì‑yì]‑[lǒ‑ỳ] [kú=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ bû:=ǹ náfɛ́‑m̀], gà: [dìmbì-yì]‑[lǒ‑ỳ] bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-n-ɛ́,

[yì-tɛ᷈: [ú mâ:] áwú-m̀-n-ɛ́] [[dìmbì-yí ló‑ý] gùⁿ‑ẁ] kálà, [[yì mǔ:] ɲɛ́:‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó] [[yì mǔ:] ɲɛ́:‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó] [[yì mǔ:] ɲɛ́:‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó], hà: [[[[ú yî‑m] mà:] ɲɛ́:‑wⁿì-ỳ] gùⁿ‑ẁ kálà] áwú‑m̀‑dó, hà: [kú gù-náyⁿ] [nɛ́: kày] [nù kâ:ⁿ] lǎl‑lǎr[[158]](#footnote-158) tí:‑rà‑y∴,

[[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá:] kálà déyⁿ→ lò=náyⁿ] [[nǔ: mâ:] ɲáwⁿà kɔ̀:ⁿ[[159]](#footnote-159) bû: súyɔ́‑m̀] ŋ̀gó, [jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ kɔ̂:ⁿ] gâyⁿ→, [yû: kɔ́sú‑j‑â:] [bírɛ́ dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀]

I: [â: sǎy] ló‑yɛ̀ dé yà, nǎ:‑m yàɣá sì-yè[[160]](#footnote-160) dè mà→, [àŋâyⁿ kàⁿ=náyⁿ] yí-ẁ∴

O: [â: sǎy] ló-yɛ̀ dè, nǎ:‑m yàɣá sì-yè dèꜛ, [[jǐnjɛ̀ nù‑m] kú‑dá: yǐ‑jɛ̂: dè] [yɛ̌ [ú mâ:] tégé‑m̀], [jǐnjɛ̀ nù‑m] yǐ‑r[[161]](#footnote-161) dé→, nǎ:‑m yàɣá=ń—, yàɣá=ń[[162]](#footnote-162) [[nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yǐ‑r dé] [tíwɛ́‑m̀ sá:tɛ́‑m̀] [[nàwⁿâ: kálà] bɛ̀rɛ́ kúwó‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ] múrsó:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ

I: bày nǔ‑m dìmbì-yí ló‑ẁ dé yà nɛ́:, [ú yî‑m]

O: [[ú yî‑m] dìmbì-yí ló‑ẁ dè] [nǎ:‑m yàɣá sìyè dè] [yɛ̌ [ú mâ:] tégé‑m̀] [àmá:nù nǎ:‑m yàɣá sì-yè kòy], [ló [nǔ: mâ:] tégé‑ẁ] [ló ǎy ínjírí‑wú‑yɛ̀]

I: kú=m̀ [kú nɛ́wⁿɛ̀:] kú=m̀

O: kú=m̀ [kú nɛ́wⁿɛ̀:] kú=m̀

I: [[kú nî:] wò] ùsù‑bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ lǎr tí-m̀-n-ɛ́, [[nù kà:ⁿ] [â: nà:] hàybú][[163]](#footnote-163) [[kú nî:] wò] [nǎ: kù] dìmbà‑ẁ‑bɔ̀

O: [[kú nî:] wò] nǎ: háybɛ́:‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ̀

I: kú=m̀ [kú nɛ́wⁿɛ̀:] wà

## Text 2005-1a.16 Fulbe as herders

S: dɔ᷈:, [â: nà:] bû:=m̀ ɲé:‑wⁿú‑m̀ mà→, mà: [púlɔ̀: mâ:] ní‑yɛ̀, [púlɔ̀: mâ:] ní‑yɛ̀ dè kálà, [bû: ní:‑rà‑ẁ kù] [ǹjé gì-náyⁿ=m̀]

O: hà:, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] dɔ᷈:, [nǔ: jó→] [â: nà:] [púlɔ̀: mâ:] ní-m̀-n-ɛ́, [kùyɔ́: dɔ᷈: nǎ:‑m júwɔ́‑m̀‑n-ɛ́] [nǎ:‑m màŋgí‑tí‑yà[[164]](#footnote-164) dè] [púlɔ̌‑m yɛ̌‑ẁ dè] [á mâ:] ní‑ýⁿ wá gúⁿ‑m̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní‑yɛ̀=b‑à:,

hà: [púlɔ̌: ló‑mà dè] [[ú nâ:] [nà: tìwɛ̀‑rí‑m̀ kù] tíyɛ́ ɲɛ́‑mà dè] [tíwɛ́:‑rɛ̀ wà gúⁿ‑yɛ̀], [[[nà: lǎ‑m] dúrɔ̀] [ú mâ:] cɛ́sɛ́ jɛ᷈: yé‑yè, hà: [ú nâ:‑m] tíwɛ́:‑rɛ̀ wà, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dúrɔ̀] ŋ́gòy] wà, [[dɔ᷈:‑m yà] [nà: gúnúm kù] yì=náyⁿ] [júwɔ́‑m̀-dó́ wé∴[[165]](#footnote-165) [nà:‑dúrɔ̀ ɲàyⁿ] mɔ̀:lù,

[nà:‑dúrɔ̀ àwú‑ẁ dè] [á úrò] dèyí‑m̀, [[[á bɔ̂:] yì-tɛ̀:] mà:] [[[[á nâ:][[166]](#footnote-166) mǔ:] tíwɛ́:‑rɛ̀] gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀] wà, [ŋâyⁿ→ bû: káⁿ‑m̀] [bû: káⁿ‑m̀] [bû: káⁿ‑m̀] [hâl [yɛ̀=ń] dɔ᷈: kú jùwɔ̀‑bɔ́, hà: [kú jùwɔ̀=ń] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [nǔ: jó→]ꜛ, [â: nà:] lǎ-w [púlɔ̀: mâ:] ní-m̀-n-ɛ́], [[â: yì-tɛ̀:] ɲé:‑wⁿú‑yɛ̀] [î: nà:] [î:=m̀ sò‑ẁ],

[[pùlɔ̀:-mà:]-nǐ:[[167]](#footnote-167) yá‑b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ‑bɔ̀] [gà: nǐ:[[168]](#footnote-168) jò:=rá‑bɔ́], [púlɔ̌: î:=ǹ námbárá lɔ́ɣɔ́ bû: láwá=ǹ][[169]](#footnote-169) áŋàyⁿ, [[bû: mà:] nî:—, nì‑m̀-dó́] [áŋàyⁿ tùmdì]

S: [ùsù‑dɛ́rⁿí wó] nǎ:‑m [ná à:ŋgá] ɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ∴

O: nǎ:‑m, [ùsù‑dɛ́rⁿí wó] [ná yěy] ɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yɛ̀, [ɔ̀mɔ̂: yá→] [ɲárⁿù yà→]

S: [kɔ̀sû: ɲàyⁿ] ɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ∴ mà→, mà→ [[kɔ̀:ⁿ nìnjɛ̀ ǹjé][[170]](#footnote-170) ɲâyⁿ] ɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ∴

O: [[kɔ̀sû: ɲàyⁿ] ɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yɛ̀] káráwâl gúⁿ‑yɛ̀, [bì‑béré kɔ̂:ⁿ] járí‑yɛ́y[[171]](#footnote-171) yá bú, [kú ɲâyⁿ] ɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yɛ̀, [[[gùmbɔ̀ tɛ᷈:] ɲàyⁿ] kálà] ì‑ɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yɛ̀

S: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ bày, [[nǎ: bè] ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ló:‑r‑à: dè] yé‑m̀ yé‑m̀, [â: nàrⁿà] bé:=ǹ dì‑dà:yí‑yɛ̀, írì ì‑árá‑yɛ̀, [kú mâ:] àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑ẁ∴

O: [nà:‑nà:]‑bèré‑m[[172]](#footnote-172) yá bú, [nà:‑yì]‑bèré‑m yá bú] [[jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó]=m̀ dè kày], [nà: ná: kù] [yì-tɛ᷈: dìmbà‑ẁ=rà‑bɔ̀] [nǔ‑m dìmbà‑ẁ=rà] [nà:‑yî‑m kù] yî‑m dìmbà‑ẁ=rà dé wôy, [[kú kày] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá:] dà:yí‑j‑â: dè] árá‑jɛ́‑yɛ̀,[[173]](#footnote-173) hɛ́ⁿ[[174]](#footnote-174) bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ

S: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ nǎ:‑m, [ìrì‑[dùw-î:] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀] [ìrì‑dùw-î: àw‑rí], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] àŋâyⁿ káⁿ‑ẁ∴

O: [ìrì‑[dùw-î:] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀] [[dùw-î:] àw‑rí dé] [tɔ́:ɲɛ̀ gáⁿ‑yɛ̀], [[tɔ́:ɲɛ̀ bû: gúⁿ‑m̀ kù] yá bú] [tɔ́:ɲɛ̀ gáⁿ‑yɛ̀], bèrè‑yî: cɛ́gúrú‑mà dè, [[círⁿì kù] wó] gáⁿ‑yɛ̀, [gǎm yà] [círⁿì kù] gɔ́‑yɛ̀, [[círⁿì kù] gɔ́‑mà dè] [bèrè‑yî: yâ: gǎyⁿ dúwɔ́‑yɛ̀] [[kú kálà] bɛ̀rɛ́ árá‑m̀‑dó], [kú dàⁿ-wôy] tɔ́:ɲɛ̀ gúⁿ‑ỳ∴

S: [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjê:=∅] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ár‑ì:] gà:lú‑m̀] [kú gǎyⁿ‑tí‑yà dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ár‑ì:] [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] gà:lú‑m̀

O: [kú gǎyⁿ‑tí‑yà dè] [[[írì kù] wó] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dé wôy], [[írì kù] wó] [tɔ́:ɲɛ̀ kú=m̀ dè] [[dòró ɲâyⁿ] káⁿ‑yɛ̀], [[dòró ɲâyⁿ] bû: káyⁿ‑tî: dè] [[ŋâyⁿ→ árá‑m̀] gùyⁿ dé wôy] [[dòró kù] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nárⁿà] ìrì] gɔ́‑m̀], nàrⁿá‑m yɔ̀ɣɔ́ táŋgú‑m̀, [bì‑bèrè‑yî: kú=m̀ dè kálà] [ló [bì‑bèrè‑yî: kù] dìsì-yé‑jɛ́‑m̀] [írì kù dá:] [írì bɛ̀rɛ́ árá‑m̀‑dó]

I: hâl máyⁿá‑m̀

O: hâl máyⁿá‑m̀

## Text 2005-1a.17 Cattle

S: [[nǎ:-m náfà:] [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjê:=∅]] [[àrsɛ̌:-m náfà: nàŋànà:] [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjê:=∅]]

I: bɛ́rù-m, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: [bû: gòl-ì:][[175]](#footnote-175)] jò:=rá, úrò bé-yɛ̀, [[ǹjé nî:] wò]=m̀ [úrò, sùwɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ súwɔ́-m̀ kù], bàrà=náyⁿ [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: jò-ló-yɛ̀], kùyɔ́: kú bû: káⁿ-m̀=bày, [kú kù], [bìrɛ̀[[176]](#footnote-176) jó→] ká:ⁿ-rɛ̀, íyé [[kú nî:] wò], [nǔ: jó→] [â: bɛ̀rù], ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bì-ré-yɛ̀,

[úrò yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿꜛ] ↓[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bé-yɛ̀], gà: [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀: bě-m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ mɛ́gɛ́ sú:rⁿú só-ẁ], bɛ́rù-m kù, bèrú sì-sírⁿí-m̀, [ɛ́wⁿɛ̀y [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅]], [lúw[[177]](#footnote-177) dú-m̀-dó], [írⁿà kù] wó] yâ: bù], sùwɔ́ súwɔ́-m̀, [[ŋ̀gú nɛ́wⁿɛ̀:] nì: wò]-m

S: [[àrsɛ̌:-m náfà:] nàŋàná:] ǹjê=∅:, nàfâ: ǹjê:=∅, àrsɛ̌:-m …

I [overlapping]: nàfâ:—

S: … nàŋàná:-m kù[[178]](#footnote-178)

I: àrsɛ̀: nàŋàná:-m kù kày, [ú núnùm] kìl-ì:, nùnǔm [ú mâ:] yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, yà:jí: páɣá-ẁ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tìyɛ̀=náyⁿ] páɣá-ẁ, kɔ̂: yɛ̌:-rɛ̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tìyɛ̀=náyⁿ] ɲɛ́-ẁⁿ, ŋ̀gú=m̀ [àrsɛ̌:-m núnùm] kú=m̀, [ú [ló:sù ɛ̀sì-m]][[179]](#footnote-179) yɛ̌:-rɛ̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] wǒ ní[[180]](#footnote-180) bɛ́rɛ́-ẁ, gɔ́rⁿɔ̀-ẁ dè], xxx

S: [[yì-m]-ìnìrⁿì:-gǎỳⁿ bè][[181]](#footnote-181) àŋâyⁿ káⁿ-ẁⁿ∴

I: ìnìrⁿì:-gǎỳⁿ, ìnìrⁿì:-gǎỳⁿ yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, bɛ́rù-m, [[ùsú súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [bɛ́rù-m wǒ-ỳ∴ dè], sɛ́wⁿɛ́-ỳⁿ∴ [yí-m ínìrⁿì:] gáⁿ-ỳⁿ∴, pɛ̀rɛ̌-m má→ bɛ́rù-m, [[kú yěy] pírè] [[ú mâ:] kɔ̀:ⁿ ná:rⁿú-ẁⁿ]=∅ wôy, ìnìrⁿì:-gǎỳⁿ ŋ̀gú=m̀ káⁿ-ỳⁿ∴

S: [[àrsɛ̌: gúsù] nàfà: bé yà] ǹjê:=∅

I: gùsú kù, [î: nɛ̀wⁿɛ̀:]=∅, [kú ɲâyⁿ] nî: nù-nɔ́-ỳⁿ∴, bìrɛ̀=náyⁿ, kɔ̀sɔ̌y áyú-ẁ dèꜛ[[182]](#footnote-182), [kɔ̀:ⁿ bàŋgùrú úrò jé-yɛ̀] [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: lò=náyⁿ] [kɔ̀:ⁿ bàŋgùrú úrò jé-yɛ̀] áyú-ẁ dè] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ jò-ló-yɛ̀] áyú-ẁ dè] [yâ: gǎⁿ-wⁿ dè] bàŋgùrú-ẁ, [ɛ́sɛ́ nɛ́wⁿɛ̀: yà] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀]

S: [kú=m̀=dá dé] [lǎ-w ŋ̀gó]

I: [ɛ́sɛ́ nɛ́wⁿɛ̀: kày] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀], yá:wá, nǎ: nî: bû: nɔ̀:-wⁿú-m̀ kálà, [kú ɲâyⁿ] cé:lé-ỳ∴, bɛ̀r‑gùsú ɲâyⁿ, nǎ: gúsùꜛ, tɛ́yí bì-bìyé-ỳ∴, nǎ: gúsùꜛ, tǎ: kì-káⁿ-ỳⁿ∴, [ŋ̀gú dò: wôy] [[nǎ: gúsù] ɲàyⁿ] káⁿ-ỳⁿ∴

S: [àrsɛ̌-m náfà:] nàŋàná: [kú=m̀ bɛ̀][[183]](#footnote-183)

I: nàfà: î: tégé-ẁ kù kày, á O, [bàrí bɛ́rɛ́-ẁ dè] [dɛ̂m→ bàrú-ẁ gà]

O: ɛ́wⁿɛ̀yⁿ, [ɛ́wⁿɛ̀yⁿ nǎ:-m ɛ́wⁿɛ̀yⁿ[[184]](#footnote-184) ɛ̀wⁿɛ̀=náyⁿ] [ɛ́wⁿɛ̀y ɲì-ɲɛ́-ỳⁿ∴], [ba᷈yⁿ→ dè] tì-tíyɛ́-ẁ→, ɲì-ɲɛ́-ẁ→, [ú kórò:jò] ɲì-ɲɛ́:-wⁿú-ẁⁿ, hà: [[ɛ́wⁿɛ̀yⁿ kù] náfà: kálà] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀]

I: [[[púlɔ̌-m yá→ꜛ] [î: yà→]], kɔ̀:ⁿ káwá só-ẁ],[[185]](#footnote-185) púlɔ̌-m [î: mà:] mɛ́gɛ́ àrsɛ̌:-m wǎy bɛ́rɛ́-m̀, [[á kû:] mà:] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: nû-m]=∅, àrsɛ̌: [bû: kálà]—, ɔ̀rⁿɔ́:, wǎy-yɛ̀, î: [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bû: gɔ́rⁿɔ́-m̀] gâyⁿ→] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: kú gɔ́rⁿɔ́-m̀-dó-ỳ∴], hâl íyé kálà,

[[kú nî:] wò] [[bû: àrsɛ̀:] mɛ́gɛ́ jô:-bɔ̀] [bû:=m mɛ́gɛ́ áwⁿá-wⁿú bɛ́rɛ́-m̀], [bû: bà:] àrsɛ̌:-m áwⁿá-wⁿú bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó-ỳ∴, [[[î: yà→ꜛ] [púlɔ̌: yá→]] kɔ̀:ⁿ káwá só-ẁ kù] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀]

S: [[kùyɔ́: dɔ᷈: yì-tɛ᷈: sɛ̀-nɛ́][[186]](#footnote-186) gǐ-n] [[púlɔ̀: mâ:] àrsɛ̌: ní-yɛ̀=b-à:] mà→ [ǹjé gìní=m̀]

I: wóŋgóró kùꜜ, [[ú yî-m] wòŋgòrò—, wàr-ì:[[187]](#footnote-187) kù], wóŋgóró ìrěw ìrěw ìrěw, [yì tùwⁿɔ̂-m kù] [àrsɛ̌: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲɛ́:-wⁿú-ẁⁿ dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y] [yù:-wàr-î: ìrèw], [[[ŋ̀gú má:n-ì:] nî:] wò], ní‑m̀‑bɛ̀‑ỳ∴,

î: tín=nì,[[188]](#footnote-188) [wóŋgóró kù dá:] ìrěw ŋ̀gó→, àrsɛ̌: kú=m̀ màrá— [[bû: nà:] wò] màrá dùwⁿɔ́:-rà-ẁ-bɔ̀, hà: nɛ́: [î: tíní=nì] [ŋ̀gú kày] [dàwⁿá kù] [dàwⁿà dàyí-m̀]=dá, ìrèw=rá cé∴, [î: yì-tɛ̀:] gò-ló gáⁿ-ỳⁿ∴ dè, [nɛ́: kày] [nǎ: kù] sày dìmbì-yí-ỳ∴, [[nǎ: kù] nɛ́wⁿɛ̀:] [ŋ̀gú ɲâyⁿ] yî-y tùmdì-ỳ∴

## Text 2005-1b.01 Collective and individual hunting

I: tàrá:—

S: dǎnnà, àŋâyⁿ káⁿ-yɛ̀

I: dǎnnà, î: kɔ̀:ⁿ ìllá î: tɛ́mbú-ẁ, dǎnnà-mꜛ, [[á kû:] mà:], [[á nÍŋgì] élé-ré jɛ̀y][[189]](#footnote-189) nî:] wò], dǎnnà túmdú-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tá-m̀ dè, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dànú-m̀ dè, nàwⁿâ: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tá-m̀ dè,

[ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂-m] bɔ̀:-úrò mɔ̀:lú-ẁ dè, tàrá: gàⁿ-ḿ bá,[[190]](#footnote-190) [[ùwɔ́ súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ] mà→ [ùwɔ́ gá:rày]] ɲàyⁿ, tàrá: gáⁿ-mà dè, [ùsú gǒ:-rɛ̀] [nɛ́: ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀- nàwⁿâ: [kú ɲâyⁿ] yɔ̀ɣɔ́ bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑n‑ɛ́], bɔ̀:-úrò màrpâ:=rá→[[191]](#footnote-191) [bèrè-àtôw]=rá→ sà:mbâ:=rá, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ á só-ẁ][[192]](#footnote-192) ɲàyⁿ] ló-m̀,

pɔ́tɔ́-m̀ súyɔ́-yɛ̀ꜛ, tá-yɛ̀ gɔ́-yɛ̀ꜜ, ló-m̀ mɔ̀:lú kóró-yɛ̀, [ùsù ɔ̂w] wò, [yɔ̀ kì-kìsìyí-m] kísíyé bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó, kóró bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ̂: dé wôy, [nù kâ:-m wôy] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ́-m̀] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ̂-m]=∅][[193]](#footnote-193),

[màrpâ: ɲàyⁿ] tá bɛ̀rɛ̀-ẁ [[ú yɔ̂-m]=∅ꜛ], [béré ɲâyⁿ] pɔ́tɔ́ bɛ̀rɛ̀-ẁ [[ú yɔ̂‑m]=∅ꜛ], [sà:mbâ: ɲàyⁿ] gɔ̀-ẁ [[ú yɔ̂-m]=∅ꜛ], [nǎ: ɲâyⁿ] wò-ẁ [[ú yɔ̂-m]=∅], kú kɔ̀yⁿ, bɔ̀:-úrò mɔ́:lí-ỳ∴, yɛ̌:-r-à: dè, là:rá:, tǔ: kéríyé-yɛ̀,

û: ŋ̀gú-dá: bě:=nì, î: [tàŋgày ŋ̀gú-rù] bé-ỳ∴, àsùwⁿɛ̀-[yì-tɛ᷈:]ꜛ, màrpà:-cɛ̀mnɛ́ [nɛ́: kày], [â: tù:] tá-yɛ̀, mǔ: yɛ̌ tá-m̀, mǔ: ló tá-m̀, mǔ: yɛ̌ tá-m̀, mǔ: ló tá-m̀,

[[nàwⁿâ: bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀][[194]](#footnote-194) [á náwⁿà: kù] jɛ̌-ẁ dè] [m̀bá bè:=ǹ][[195]](#footnote-195) cɛ́lírí-m̀, [í nàwⁿâ: bɛ̀rɛ̀-ỳ] [ú bɛ̀l-lú-ẃ=rà:], cɛ́lírí-m̀, [àmbá yà] [kɔ́:ⁿ tùwⁿɔ̂-m] yá só-ẃ, gò-ló-m̀, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] yɔ̀ɣɔ́ yɛ̌-ẁ dè] [ú cɛ́lírí-m̀],

màrpâ: [kú wó] tá-yɛ̀, [sàmbâ: bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀] yé-m̀, dúrɔ́-m̀ gâyⁿ→ káⁿ-m̀, [béré bɔ́ŋgɔ̀] yé-m̀, súyɔ́-m̀ gâyⁿ→ káⁿ-m̀, píníwⁿú-yɛ̀, [ŋâyⁿ→ bû: ká-m̀ dè] [hâl pùtúrò nú-m̀],

[kú tàrà: kú]—, [[tàrà: kú] náwⁿà:] â: bɛ̀rɛ́-ẁ kù, [ìsê: dìyⁿà-m] kèrìyè-y, yâ: gó‑m̀

S: [[nǔ: dàⁿ-wôy] kɔ̀:ⁿ kú=ǹ] gó-m̀ mà→, mà→ [[kú dàⁿ-wôy] mɔ̀:lú-ẁ dè] gò-ló-ẁ∴

I: ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀, [kù dò: wôy] mɔ̀:lú-m̀-n-ɛ́ kòy, bû: [[nù kâ:ⁿ][[196]](#footnote-196) jɛ́-m̀ wôy] [[[á úrò] dìyⁿà-m] mà:] ní-m̀, [[á úrò] dìyà-m] kɔ̀:ⁿ] ní-m̀, û: jɛ᷈:-tú-ẁ∴=rà:, [[û: mùrⁿù-sòŋgù[[197]](#footnote-197) kú] wó] [[nù díyⁿà-m] kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] ló ní-ẁ∴,

[má bè yà] [[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] ló ní-yɛ̀, [[kú tárà: yèy-nɛ̀] kú] ló:-r-à: dè, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [kɔ̀:ⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ́-ẁ] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅], [[[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:]] nî-yⁿ] ŋ̀gó, [nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] [á bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ wôy] ɲɛ́-m̀, kú=m̀ [tàrà: yèy-nɛ̂:]=∅, dǎnnà kày

S: [àrⁿà-gúsú wó] [ná yěy] káⁿ-yɛ̀ mà→ [ná tùwⁿɔ̂:] káⁿ-yɛ̀

I: [ná yěy] káⁿ-yɛ̀

S: [[ná yěy] kù] bɛ́rkɛ̀làw, [ùwɔ́ à:ŋgá] pálá-w[[198]](#footnote-198)̀

I: jú: má→ ùwɔ́ tùwⁿɔ̂:, jú:— [jú: yěy] [jú: tǎ:n] láwá-m̀-dó, [[jú: yěy] [jú: tǎ:n] kù] láwá‑m̀‑dó

O: [íyé jú:][[199]](#footnote-199) ŋ̀gú-dá: [ló yɛ̌:-r-à: dé wôy], píníwⁿí [jù: yèy-nɛ́], [jù: tùwⁿɔ̂:] dùwɔ́-mà dè] [íyé pɛ́rú], [ŋ̀gú-dá: ló-yɛ̀] [[[â: yěy] gálù] wò] [ùsú [pɛ́rɛ́ nùmǔyⁿ sâ:]] làwà-rí

I: [ùsú [pɛ́rɛ́ nùmǔyⁿ sâ:]] làwà-rí

S: [[kú dò: wôy] [ùsù[[200]](#footnote-200) tùwⁿɔ̂:], dàngì=náyⁿ] gáⁿ-yɛ̀ mà→ꜛ, mà→ [ŋ̀gú káyⁿ-jɛ́-mà dè] íyà [ùsù lǎ-w], [ŋ̀gá kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] dàngí-yɛ̀

I: ŋ̀gú gǎyⁿ-jɛ́-mà dè, ŋ̀gú ló-j-â: dè, [ŋ̌ kɔ̂:ⁿ][[201]](#footnote-201) gáyⁿ-yɛ̀, [tàrà: ŋ̀gú] máꜛ, [ǎŋ[[202]](#footnote-202) kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅] mà íyé, káyⁿ-j-â:=rà:, [ŋ̀gá kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] mà:, [íyé pɛ́rû:]=∅ wà, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] dâm tóró-m̀, [gùrgùsù-gǎⁿ-m] [á gúrgùsù] gáⁿ-m̀ꜛ,

tàrá:— ɔ́:ⁿ, nàwⁿâ: [ɲárⁿù wò] lò-bàŋgì-yì-tǎ-m [á kɔ̂:ⁿ] ló bàŋgì-yí tá-m̀ꜛ, [nù wǒ-m] ló wó-m̀, [kú dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ mà:] [ɛ́:=m̀ gâyⁿ→] ló wó-yɛ̀ *non?*, [nù kâ:ⁿ] wó-yɛ̀, ŋâyⁿ→ káⁿ-yɛ̀ tàrá:

S: dǎnnà màná:, [àŋâyⁿ dànní-yɛ̀] [dǎnnà màná:]

I: dǎnnà, dǎnnà màrpâ: àyú-ẁ, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-dáná: ló-ẁ, [[ósù wò] ló-m̀ ló-m̀] [nàwⁿâ: yǐ-jɛ́-ẁ dè], íyí-ẁ, ú=ǹ yǐ-jɛ̂: dè, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲâyⁿ][[203]](#footnote-203) bàŋgì-yí-ẁ, [[pìré kú] wò] bàw-yú-ẁꜛ, [[[pìré kú] wò] ú bàw-yí:-rɛ̀ dè] [ú yí-m̀-dó=rà:] [[[pìré kú] wò] bàw-yí-jɛ̂: ló-ẁ], bùmbú-jɛ̂: bùmbú-jɛ̂: ló-ẁ,

ló— [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ú=nì ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yí-m̀-dó-ẁ] wò] ló dɔ̌:-rɛ̀-ẁ dé wôy, [[[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ŋ̌] kày] ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ í dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nɛ́wⁿɛ́-m̀ kù] wó] [yâ: bé-ẁ dè] tá-ẁ, ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], ú tín=nì, ú yì-rí, [ú kùyɔ́: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì dé] [í-ʔíyà-m[[204]](#footnote-204) tá-ẁ],

nɛ́wⁿɛ́-jɛ̂: dè, yàɣá— [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ][[205]](#footnote-205) [yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ẁ dè] [pǒ: gò‑ló-ẁ dè] sɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁⁿ, [[ú ɛ́sɛ̀] wò] ǎy gáⁿ-ẁ, nàwⁿâ: bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ,

[[tàrá: kù] wó]=m̀ dè, nàwⁿâ: bû: tá=nì, yàɣá:-rɛ̀-ẁ wôy, tàrá: àjê:→ gùⁿ-yɛ̀, tàrá: àjê:→, [kú kày] nɛ́:, nàwⁿâ: bɛ̀rɛ́-j-â:, [[nù kâ:ⁿ]=m bɛ̀rɛ̀ kálà][[206]](#footnote-206) [[bû: dò: wôy] bɔ̀gùrú-yɛ̀],

gà: nɛ́: [[[ú sày] kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ gùⁿ-ẁ dé wôy] [[ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] tá-ẁ dè] [[[ú ɛ́sɛ̀] wò] ǎy gáⁿ-ẁ], [bì‑yí=ń] tà-ẁ→, [kú kày] [dàyⁿ ú=nì ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yí-m̀-dó] [bàŋgì-yì=náyⁿ tá-ẁ] [kú yò:r-î:], kɔ̀:ⁿ-[yò:r-î:] kú=m̀, ŋ̀gú=m̀=dá→, gù‑r-á

O: kú=m̀ [áŋàyⁿ bù]

I: bàrí bɛ̀rɛ́-m̀-dó-ẁ lǎ-w

O: áŋàyⁿ bù, àyí [bàr-î: bà-rí] [kú tàrá:‑‑] [dǎnnà dàyⁿ dànní-yɛ̀ kày] tégé-jɛ́-ẁ, [[tàrá: kálà] dàyⁿ tárí-yɛ̀] tégé-jɛ́-ẁ, hà: [tàrá: kù] [póŋgú yěy]=∅, [póŋgú yěy] káⁿ-mà dè, pòŋ ŋ̀gú[[207]](#footnote-207) yá→, pòŋ ŋ̀gú yá→↓, hà: ló nàwⁿâ: bɛ̀rɛ́-j-â: dé wôy, [póŋgú kù] [bû: yà] [[â: kù:] mà:] [[kú ɲâyⁿ] tǔ:=nì[[208]](#footnote-208)—, [tǔ: mâ:] cɛ́mnú-yɛ̀],

[î: bɛ̀rɛ́-ỳ∴] [û: bɛ̀l-lí-ẁ∴], à: [tàŋgày mǔ: bè] [pòŋgù ŋú dá:] bé-yɛ̀ꜛ, [pòŋ̀gù ŋú dá:] bé-yɛ̀ꜜ, hà: yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ẁ∴ dè, [màrpâ: yɛ̌-yɛ̀[[209]](#footnote-209) áŋàyⁿ [tǔ: mâ:] tá-ẁ∴], màrpâ: [áŋàyⁿ [tǔ: mâ:] tá-ẁ∴], [póŋgú yèy] káⁿ-mà dè, kú=m̀ tàrâ:=∅

S: [dǎnnà kù] láwá:-rɛ̀ dè, [tàrá: kù] láwá:-rɛ̀ dè, [kú [úsù nì:-nɛ̀]] mà→, mà→ [ùsù yèy-nɛ́] mà→ hâl ló[[210]](#footnote-210) [nùmǔyⁿ dɔ̀-ý], cɛ̀mnɛ́ [kú gù-náyⁿ sǎy], ɔ̀:ⁿ cɛ̀mnɛ́ káⁿ-m̀-n-ɛ́ má

O: [kú cɛ́mnɛ̀ wôy] [í kày] yì-tà-lí-ỳ

I: [ɲárⁿù wò] yà:-jìyé jìyé ná-yɛ̀, jɔ́rɔ́-yɛ̀, [kú ɲárⁿù kù] yà:-jìyé jìyé ná-yɛ̀=b-à:, íyé [tàrá: kálà] ŋ̀gó

S: kú gì-náyⁿ sǎy

I: é: [kú gù-náyⁿ sǎy] jìyé jíyé-yɛ̀=b-à:, kùyɔ́: kɔ̀yⁿ

O: [íyé kày] [tàrá: kálà dùwɔ́-tí-ỳ∴], tàrá: ŋ̀gó lǎ-w

S: [ǹjé gìn] dùwɔ̀-bɔ̀ [tàrá: kù][[211]](#footnote-211)

O: [[[dì:nà î: bú-ẁ kù yá→] [kú yá→] dà:yí-m̀-dó wá] kù] mà:[[212]](#footnote-212)

S: bày kùyɔ́: [ǹjé gìn] káⁿ-yɛ̀=b-à:

O: [[[ùsù ŋ̀gú] úsù[[213]](#footnote-213) té→] dɔ̌-ẁ dè] [tàrá: kù]=∅, [[dǎnnà kù kày] ɛ̀sú bû:-∅] wà, [[[ùsù ŋ̀gú] úsù té→] dɔ̌-ẁ dè], [[tàrá: gù-náyⁿ] cɛ́sɛ́ î: gǎyⁿ-só-ẁ kù] [[ùwɔ̀ ŋ̀gú té→] dɔ̌-ẁ dè] [[tàrá: gù-náyⁿ] cɛ́sɛ́ î: gǎyⁿ-só-ẁ∴ kù],

[[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [dì:nà î: bú-ẁ kù] yá→] [kú yá→] dà:yí-m̀-dó bû: gǔyⁿ=nì] [[kú dàⁿ‑wôy] dùwɔ́-tí-ỳ∴]

I: kùyɔ́: bû: káⁿ-m̀=bɛ̌-ẁ kù, dògùrù yû: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [[[yû: bìrɛ̀] bìr-ì:] tùmd‑ì:][[214]](#footnote-214) dɔ̌:-rɛ̀, gǎm [nàwⁿâ: tùwⁿɔ̂-m] bɛ̀rɛ́-j-â: dè, nàwⁿà: ŋ̀gú já:tì, yù: ìrɛ̌-ỳ=∅, [nàwⁿâ: tùwⁿɔ̂-m] bɛ̀rɛ́-j-â: dè, [nàwⁿâ: mà:] [[nàwⁿà: jó→] bɛ̀rɛ́-j-â: dè],

ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [nàwⁿà: jò: ŋ̀gú kɔ̀yⁿ] [níyⁿɛ́wⁿ kɔ̀yⁿ] [yù: ìrɛ̌-ỳ]=∅ kòy, bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ∴, yǐ‑tá-yɛ̀ [[kú tû-m] kɔ̀:ⁿ yǐ bû: tá-ẁ][[215]](#footnote-215) yá bɛ̂:-∅,[[216]](#footnote-216) tàrá: [[kú nî:] wò] tár-yɛ̀=b-à:,

[[nàwⁿà: ŋ̀gú] kú bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ∴ dé wôy] [[nàwⁿà: ŋ̀gú kày] jó→ bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ∴ dé wôy] [yû: níyⁿɛ́wⁿ yû: írɛ́-m̀ kòy], [kú ɲâyⁿ] [â: bìrɛ̀] bírɛ́-yɛ̀, [[â: cɛ̀lɛ̀-ɛ̀rù-m] ɲàyⁿ]

S: yɔ́ bɛ̀rɛ̀=náyⁿ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ∴ dè] ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [[yɔ̀ mǔ: kày] bɛ̀rɛ̀-wú-jɛ̂: dè] [yù:-ìr-î: cɛ́:rú-m̀][[217]](#footnote-217) [[kú yɔ̂-m kù] yá bú] má→ ŋ̀gó

I: yá bú

S: ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ [yɔ̀ ǹjé]=m̀

I: *cɛ̀m‑sɛ̀ŋɛ́*

S: [cɛ̌m ɲàŋǎyⁿ→] sò-ẁ

I: cɛ̌wⁿrⁿɛ̀-m, úrú-bìsírì-m, mǔ: bè wò-wôy, dòró dàyⁿ bû: só-ẁ gâyⁿ→, bû: bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ dé wôy, [yû: kálà áŋàyⁿ írɛ́-m̀] bà

O: dɔ᷈: [[bû: mà:nì:]=∅ kòy], [bû: mà:nì:]=∅

I: má:nî:=∅ kòy, hà: [áŋàyⁿ ɲâyⁿ] [bû: kày] [â: cɛ̀mnɛ̀] cɛ́mní-yɛ̀=b-à:, íyé [kú dò: wôy] [î: kày] dùwɔ́-tí-ỳ∴

S: [kú néyⁿ] [û: tàrà:]=∅ mà→ [[[ìsê: dàⁿ-wôy] tàrà:]=∅] [áŋàyⁿ bù]

I: [[[ìsê: wôy] tàrà:]=∅] [áŋàyⁿ bù], [[ìsê: wôy] tàrà:] mà:ni:̀ ŋ́] kú=m̀

## Text 2005-1b.02 Hunting with dogs

I: ìnjɛ̌-m dánnà, ìnjɛ́ kúyɔ́ bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ, nàwⁿâ: bû: bǎ:-l-tú-ẁ[[218]](#footnote-218) dè, ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: [bû: ɲàyⁿ] gó-ẁ, nù gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè, ɲárⁿù wò, [ìnjɛ́ ɲâyⁿ] gó-yɛ̀, nàwⁿâ: ló yìlìwé wó-yɛ̀, gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè, ɔ̀mɔ̂: [bû: ɲàyⁿ] ló-yɛ̀, nàwⁿâ: [bû: ɲàyⁿ] wó-yɛ̀, nàwⁿâ:—

[bû: ló-m̀=bày] [nàwⁿâ: [dògùrù kà:ⁿ] gǒ:-rɛ̀-ẁ wôy], súrɔ́-yɛ̀ [súy gúⁿ-yɛ̀], [ìnjɛ́ kù] [kú têy kù] nú-yɛ̀, yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló kóró-yɛ̀, [ìrⁿí wó] nù déy→ꜛ, gɔ̌yⁿ júwⁿɔ́-yɛ̀, bɔ̀ŋgɔ̌-m yé-m̀, gànjí-yɛ̀, gànjí=ń, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ wǒ bɛ̀rɛ́ sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ dè, dùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀,

ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǒ:-rɛ̀ dè, dìgìré-yɛ̀, wǒ [pâ: bɔ̀ŋɔ̀] mà:] wǒ ní-yɛ̀, [tìwⁿɛ́yⁿ wó] ùrɔ̀ dè kálà, gɔ̀ŋgú wǎy-yɛ̀, bɔ̀ŋɔ̌-m yé-m̀, yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ lǎr‑tî: dè] [sí-yé:-rɛ̀ dè], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] wǒ ní-yɛ̀, sɛ́wⁿɛ́-m̀,

ɲárⁿù bòŋò bé kɔ̌yⁿꜛ, bû: kày, dùrú yá s-ɛ́:ⁿ-bɔ́, [[dùrú kù] ɲâyⁿ] gɔ́-yɛ̀, [bû: yà] ŋâyⁿ→ kú bì‑ré-yɛ̀, [yɔ́-m dánnà kày], [í kày] [kɔ̀:ⁿ í júwɔ́-m̀ kày], [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀] [mà:ní-só-ỳ],[[219]](#footnote-219) [[ú yà] bǎr bɛ́rɛ́-ẁ dè] [dɛ̂m→ [[kú kú] wò] bǎrâ[[220]](#footnote-220)

O: [ìnjɛ̌-m dánnà kày] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ú tègè-ẁ ŋ̀gú] kú=m̀, [kú gù-náyⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ kù-kúyɔ́-ẁ, [kú gù-náyⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ kù-kúyɔ́-ẁ, dǎnnà ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ dànnì-wⁿú-ẁⁿ gù-náyⁿ, [ùsù kà:ⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ ú kúyɔ́-m̀=bà:, hàkóy [dǎnnà gǔn]— nàwⁿâ: gǔn— [dǎnnà gǔn sǎy] ú kúyɔ́:-rà-ỳ dè,[[221]](#footnote-221) [ú má:] áŋàyⁿ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] tégé-ẁ dè,

áŋàyⁿ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] [ùsù kùyɔ́: kù] áŋàyⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ té:ré-m̀[[222]](#footnote-222) gùyⁿ-bɔ̀, hà: [kú kálà] bì‑bà:-lú-ẁ, [ìnjɛ̌-m dánnà] [bû: [ànsá:rá bè]] *entrainement* gúyⁿ-yɛ̀ [kú mâ:], [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [nàwⁿâ: kù] yǐ-jɛ́-ẁ dè, dàyⁿ ú gǔⁿ-ẁⁿ kù gâyⁿ→, súy súrɔ́-ẁ,

súrɔ́-tú-ẁ dè, ló [nàwⁿâ: kù] bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ̂:, ló [úwⁿó wó] tɛ̀mbù-ẁ=rà:, [bísímɛ́=ń] sùrɔ̀-ẁ dé wò-wôy, [úwⁿó wó] tɛ̀mbù-ẁ dèꜛ, cé:lé:-rɛ̀ sɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ,

[úwⁿɔ́ wó] tɛ̀mbù-rú-ẃ kálà→, [bísímɛ́=ń] sùrɔ̀-ẁ dé wò-wôy, [ló:-rɛ̀-ẁ dé] kúwɔ́-ẁ, [úwⁿɔ́ wó] tɛ̀mbù-rú-ẃ kálà, hà: [kú kálà] ŋâyⁿ→=m̀ gùyⁿ-bɔ̀, [ìnjɛ̌-m dánnà] [kú kú=m̀]

## Text 2005-1b.03 Trapping

O: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ tégé, gúrgúsù dànnà kù, [[gúrgúsù ɲàyⁿ] dǎnnà dànnú-yɛ̀] tégé

I: [gúrgúsù ɲàyⁿ] kɔ̀:ⁿ dǎnnà bû: dànnú-m̀, gúrgúsù, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ló-ẁ∴ dè] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ túmbò] ɔ̀mɔ̂:, yêŋ [ɲárⁿù wò][[223]](#footnote-223) [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kà:ⁿ] bû: láwá-ẁ, [ósù kù] tíní-ẁⁿ, [òsù ŋ̀gú kɔ̀yⁿ] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-nàwⁿâ: yá láwá-yɛ̀ kòy,

tíní cé:lé-ẁ dè, [dènè-ùsú wó] ló-ẁ, [ú gúrgùsù] jíjɛ̀→ ló-ẁ dè, ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ gànjú-ẁ, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: tɔ́-m̀ kù té→, [[ŋ̀gú kày] tɔ̀-r-á dé] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: láwá-m̀-dó-ẁ] gànjú-ẁ dè, yâ: bì‑yⁿí-ẁⁿ,

tíwⁿrú tíwⁿrú tíwⁿrú tíwⁿrú cé:lé-ẁ, tíwⁿrú-tú-ẁ dé wôy, áŋàyⁿ dúwɔ́-ẁ, [ɲárⁿù wò] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǒ:-rɛ̀ dé wôy, [yɛ̌-ẁ dè] [kú tɔ́-m̀], ɔ̀mɔ̂: ú ló:-rɛ̀ mà:, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wǒ-jɛ̂:] témbú-ẁ, nàwⁿâ: bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ,

*bon* nìyⁿî:=∅ dé yà, dùyɔ́rⁿù wò, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ jó→] [gɔ᷈:ⁿ bè] bû: síyí-m̀ mà→, nìyⁿî: ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ jó→ bû: sí-yé-m̀, yâ: ló [dùyɔ́rⁿù wò] ló-ẁ dè, [ɔ̀yⁿɔ̌yⁿ wó] bì-yⁿí dúwɔ́-ẁ, [tùlú wó] [wǎ:w wó] bé-ẁ, ú tíní-m̀ dè,

sí-yé-yɛ̀ sí-yé-yɛ̀ sí-yé-yɛ̀, bû: sí-yé:-rɛ̀ dè, tùwⁿɔ̂-m=nì kággà wó-m̀, yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ẁ, á:rⁿí-jɛ́-ẁ, íyà píníwⁿí gáⁿ-ẁⁿ, ló bàŋgì-yí-ẁ, sí-yé-yɛ̀, júwɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́ gá, íyà wó-m̀, íyà á:rⁿí-jɛ́-ẁ,

[dɛ̌:-rɛ̀-ẁ dè] úrò píníwⁿí yé-ẁ, dɛ̀-rú-ẃ dé yà, [[ùsù-dɛ́rⁿí: kù] náŋànà:] [bû: kày] hâl [bû: bì-yè:][[224]](#footnote-224) dɔ̀-rí dé wôy, wó-m̀ túnɛ́m[[225]](#footnote-225) bé-m̀, [[â: kù] mà:] kú júwɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́, átîw kú=m̀

O: [átîw kú=m̀] [[dɔ᷈: gùrgùsù] kú=m̀]

I: [dɔ᷈: gùrgùsù] kú=m̀, [sùŋgú ɲâyⁿ] páɣá-s-ɛ̂:ⁿ, yù:-tɛ̀:rɛ́ má→, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kâ:ⁿ] nìyⁿî: ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ jó→ ɲɛ̌yⁿ bû: ɲɛ́-m̀-bɔ̀,[[226]](#footnote-226) ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: sɔ́ɣɔ́-m̀, [yâ: ló-ẁ dè] [[sùŋgú ɲâyⁿ] páɣá dúwɔ́-ẁ], tɛ́yⁿ tɛ́yⁿ dùwɔ́-tú-ẁ dé wôy, yɛ̌:-r-à: dé wôy, [mò:-ɲɛ̀yⁿ gǎyⁿ ú só-ẁ kù] [[â: mà:] sɔ́ɣɔ́-yɛ̀] [ŋâyⁿ→ [dògùrù kà:ⁿ] bû: sɔ́ɣɔ́-tú-ẁ wôy, [[bû: kɔ̀rɔ̀] wó-m̀ kù] kú=m̀, [kɔ̀rɔ́ kù=m̀] pɔ́rɔ́-m̀,

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kày] [màynì-rⁿí dé] [[ló ú tɛ́mb-ì:][[227]](#footnote-227) jò:=rá] tíwⁿɛ́-m̀, áŋàyⁿ áŋàyⁿ [tǎ:n nǐ:yⁿ bà:→], káyⁿ-tú-ẁ dó wôy, nǐ:yⁿ[[228]](#footnote-228) [tǎ:n nǐ:yⁿ bà:] wó-m̀, ló gò-ló-ẁ, íyà tɔ́rɔ́ tɔ́rɔ́ tɔ́rɔ́ cé:lé dúwɔ́-ẁ

O: [kú nɛ́:] [[[sǒm kúkùyɔ̀] ɲàyⁿ] bû: káⁿ-m̀] kú=m̀ mà

I: [sòm-sâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] káⁿ-yɛ̀, wálà:[[229]](#footnote-229) [[sǒm sâyⁿ] ɲàyⁿ] káⁿ-yɛ̀, íyà ló bàŋgì-yú-ẁ, ú ló:-rɛ̀ mà:, íyà wó-m̀, ba᷈yⁿ→ wó-m̀, [[nǐ:yⁿ nùmǔyⁿ kúròy bà:] kɔ̀:ⁿ dɔ́-m̀] [[hâl pɛ́rú kɔ̀:ⁿ dɔ́-m̀ bà:] wó-m̀],

íyà ló gò-ló-ẁ, ùsú dɛ̀rⁿɛ́:-rɛ̀ dè, íyà ɛ́yⁿ gɔ̀yⁿú-ẁ, dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-rⁿí— [bû: kòy] [átîw kɔ̀yⁿ] [ɔ̀mɔ̂: sǎy] bírɛ́-yɛ̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̀yⁿ], àjíjù[[230]](#footnote-230) jú‑jǔ:rò, nɛ́: kú [ɲárⁿù dá:] kɔ̀yⁿ, wó-m̀-dó

O: [[béré ɲâyⁿ] bû: káⁿ-m̀] [átîw bû: gúⁿ-m̀ kálà] yá bú=rà:, [yɛ̌-ẁ dè] [[béré ɲâyⁿ] ŋâyⁿ→ bû: káyⁿ-tî: dè], [yɛ̌-ẁ dè] [[béré kù] ɲâyⁿ]—

I: béré súyɔ́-m̀

O: [kú mâ: kálà] átîw gúⁿ-yɛ̀

I: [kú yà] átîw gúⁿ-yɛ̀

O: [kú nɛ́:] [dɔ᷈: gùrgùsù] mà→

I: [dɔ᷈: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [kú yěy cɛ̂m kɔ̀yⁿ] [dɔ᷈: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [í:rⁿɛ́yⁿ[[231]](#footnote-231) kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] [ànsá:rá kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅, átîw=∅ kú=m̀, [béré kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] cɛ̂m, [átîw kù] kú=m̀, [kú yěy cɛ̂m] àtîw=∅, [kú dɔ᷈:]—

î: kú=m̀ gáⁿ-m̀=bɛ̀-ỳ∴, gà: [í:rⁿɛ́yⁿ kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] [ànsá:rá-m kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅, î: kú júwɔ́‑m̀-dó-ỳ∴, ŋâyⁿ→=∅ [dàwⁿà bú-ẁ]=rà:

O: áŋàyⁿ=∅ [dàwⁿà bú-ẁ]

I: lǎ-w bàrí-yɛ̀ mà→ bà-rú-m̀-nɛ̀

O: [gúrgúsù dànnà kày] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀]

I: éyɔ́→[[232]](#footnote-232)

## Text 2005-1b.04 Slaughtering and butchering

I: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, [[pɛ̀rɛ̀-m]-[sɛ̀wⁿ-î:]]=∅

O: mhm

I: xxx sɛ́wⁿɛ́-tú-ẁ dè, lòsù-yô: yé-yɛ̀, pɛ̀rɛ̌-m úrɔ́-yɛ̀, úrɔ́-j-â: dè, [gùsú kù] gò-ló-tí-yà dé wôy, [pìrè-kɔ́rɔ̀ kù] kárá-yɛ̀, [pìrè-kɔ́rɔ̀ déyⁿ→ gò-ló-tí-yà dè] pɔ́rɔ́-yɛ̀,

kú pɔ́rɔ́-j-â: dè, mùló dɛ̌y dúwɔ́-yɛ̀, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] díyáy díyáy díyáy [kú dàⁿ-wôy] gò-ló-yɛ̀, gùgùwɔ́ gò-ló-yɛ̀ꜛ, [jɛ̀lɛ̀-kù→ cìrⁿé:] gò-ló-yɛ̀ꜛ, [dò: kɔ̀mbɔ̂y] gò-ló-yɛ̀ꜛ, nàrⁿî: gò-ló-yɛ̀ꜜ,

gò-ló-j-â: dó wôy, hà: nɛ́: cílí:-rɛ̀ wà, [nù díyⁿà-m] yé-m̀, [nɛ́: dùwⁿɔ́-jɛ́-ẁ∴ mà] é:, [jɛ̀lɛ̀-kù: cìrⁿé:] [[nù díyⁿà-m] kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] ní-yɛ̀=rà:

O: já:tì

I: kû:, [ámᵇírì-m mà:] ní-yɛ̀, kùyɔ́: kɔ̀rɔ́, [lòsù-yô-m kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, sɔ̌:rⁿɔ̀yⁿ, [jɛ́mbɛ̀-m mà:] ní-yɛ̀, nàrⁿî:, [pò-yǎ: mâ:] ní-yɛ̀, mà áŋàyⁿ=m̀=dá

O: áŋàyⁿ=m̀

I: nàwⁿà:-wásà kù, pìrè-kɔ́rɔ̀ bè→, wásà bè→, [[yǎ: mâ:] nì=náyⁿ] [úrò ɲɛ̀yⁿ-[bìr-î:]=∅], wásà, [kú kú=m̀=dá] kú— [cèrìyê: lǎ-w dɔ̌-ẁ] mà dɔ̀-rí

O: ɔ́ⁿhɔ̀ⁿ, cèrìyê: dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ kòy, …

I [overlapping]: xxx

O: … núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ú gǔⁿ-ẁⁿ kù nɛ́:, bɛ́rù [ǹjé gìn] [àrsɛ̀: sɛ́wⁿɛ́-yɛ́y=m̀],[[233]](#footnote-233) kú céríyé-yɛ̀,

I: àrsɛ̌:—

O: láyá:rù mà→, àrsɛ̌: [ǹjé gìn] sɛ́wⁿɛ́-yɛ́y=m̀

I: láyâ:r=lá,[[234]](#footnote-234) núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, bɔ̀:-úròꜛ, nǔ:, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [[dùsú nî:] wò] [nǔ: mâ:] bɛ̀r bû: sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑m̀, [[dùsú nî:] wò] sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀-bɔ̀ꜛ, ǎy,[[235]](#footnote-235) [[kálá[[236]](#footnote-236) nî:] wò] sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀-bɔ̀,

núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kálâ:=∅, [[kálá nî:] wò] sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀-bɔ̀ dé kálà, [nù kà:ⁿ] mɔ̀sú ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, bû: sɛ́wⁿɛ́-m̀ kù, gùgùwɔ́ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅, kû: [ámbírì-m kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, gùsú [ámbírì-m kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [wásà kù] [[nù kà:ⁿ] tɛ́mbú-mà wôy] bàrá kúwó-yɛ̀, kálâ:=∅, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̀yⁿ,

núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, [[[nǔ-m dúsù] nì:] wò] kàⁿ-ẁⁿ∴ mà→, [yǎ: mâ:] sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀-bɔ́ má→ káyⁿ-tî: dè, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [kɔ̀:ⁿ í gùⁿ-ẁ ŋ̀gú] [[[dùsú nî:] wò] sɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ dó wôy], [ŋ̀gú dò: wôy] yâ: gó-m̀,

[láyyà kɔ̀:ⁿ] kày, [láyyà gǔn] bɛ̀r bû: sɛ́wⁿɛ́-m̀, yâ: [kɔ̀:ⁿ kà:ⁿ][[237]](#footnote-237) [[nù lǎ-m] mâ:] kɔ̀:ⁿ ló-m̀ kàyꜛ, lòsù-yô-m kɔ̀rɔ́, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ cérìyè:]=∅, ló:tôl, kì-káⁿ-m̀,

wásà kù kày, [[láyyà bɔ̀ŋɔ̀] kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [yǎ-m mâ:] nàrⁿî: ní-yɛ̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ cérìyè:]=∅, bɔ̀:-yî-m, [úrò [nù dìyⁿà-m]], cɛ̀lɛ̀-yî:, [[úrò [nù dìyⁿà-m]] mà:] ní-yɛ̀,

[jɛ̀lɛ̀-kù: cìrⁿé:] pá-mà dè, [kú kày] [hálù [nàwⁿà: kâ:ⁿ] sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀-bɔ́ kálà] [[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] ló-m̀ dé wôyꜛ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ cɛ́lɛ̀-yì:]=∅ [kú má→ [jɛ̀lɛ̀-kù: cìrⁿé: kày]] ló-m̀, [[â: yěy] pírè] [tùwⁿɔ̂-m kày] ló-m̀, kú yà, ŋâyⁿ→ [kú ósù] kú=m̀, [lǎ-w bàrí-yɛ̀ dè] bárâ

O: kú=m̀ [láyá:rù gùní] àrsɛ̀: sɛ́wⁿɛ́-yɛ́y=m̀

I: [láyyà ɲàyⁿ] sɛ́wⁿɛ́-yɛ́y=m̀

O: hà: cé:lé:-rɛ̀

I: lǎ-w àŋgú=m̀ mà

O: hà: kú kú=m̀

I: kú=m̀=dá

O: é: kú=m̀

## Text 2005-1b.05 Land disputes

S: [û: bè→] [nǔ: bè→] jáy û: jàyá:-rà-ẁ kù, [jáy kù] [[ǹjé kû:] wò]=m̀

I: jáy kù, kɔ̀:ⁿ yɛ̌:-rà-ẁ, [kú jô:][[238]](#footnote-238) [[sùmǒy kû:] wò]=m̀, [[yǎ-m kû:] wò] yá bú gá:, [yǎ-m dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y] sùmǒy mɛ́gɛ́ pàŋgá só-ẁ,

sùmǒy kùꜛ, î: [nù dìyⁿà], sùmǒy [bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅=bɛ̀, sùmǒy [bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, sùmǒy [bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅→ꜛ, tùlú wó, mᵇá bè, [ú ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] ba᷈yⁿ→ sò-ẁ dè, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ɛ̀sù] ú só-ẁ kù, [ú nɛ́:] kú-dá: wárá-ẁ, ú wárá-m̀ dè, ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀=rà:,

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀, wárá-m̀], [wárá-m̀ tínɛ́m] [wárá-m̀ tínɛ́m] [ɛ̀síⁿ→ ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀=rà:], kɔ́:ⁿ ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀ dó wôy, [[ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] wò] gó-m̀, [nǔ: î: wôy] jày=∅,

hà: ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀ dè, [ú ló-ẁ dè] [ú yà] [ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂-m], nùnǔm [ú mâ:] yɛ̌:-rɛ̀, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ŋ́ kɔ̀yⁿ] íyà núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ, [yû: tɔ̌-ỳ] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ, [[ènjî: màs-ì:] dɔ́-ỳ kù] gǔyⁿ-tú-ẁ=rà:, [[nù kà:ⁿ] ŋ̀gá-dá: [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ] só-m̀=bɛ̌-m̀ kù] [kàrwá só-m̀=bɛ̌-m̀ kù], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ á, ŋ̀gú kày, [á má:] [ŋ̀gú kày] dùwɔ́ bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó gúⁿ-m̀,

[ŋ̀gú kày] [á má: kày], [ŋ̀gú [[[á pâ:] mò:] wò] á nǔ-ẁⁿ] [á kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ wà gúⁿ-m̀, [[ìrⁿà ŋ̀gú] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ gùⁿ-ẁⁿ mà] é:, [í:,[[239]](#footnote-239) írⁿà kùyɔ́:— kùyɔ́: bà:,[[240]](#footnote-240) [írⁿà kù] [û: mà:] sǎw ní só-ẃ=bɛ́-ỳ∴,[[241]](#footnote-241) nám cíyɛ́-m̀=bɛ̀-ẁ∴ [tìrⁿí jé-m̀=bɛ̀-ẁ∴], [íyé [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ŋ̀gú] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ gùⁿ-ẁ màꜛ] é:, àw-rí-ý kòy,

[ú yà] ínjírí[[242]](#footnote-242) [[û: yěy] lá:rí dɛ̌:-rɛ̀-ẁ∴ dè] [bɔ̀:-úrò yé-ẁ], á, [bɔ̀:-úrò nù:]ꜛ, nù:— nɛ́:, [î: [nù dìyⁿà]], térèw=∅ yà:,[[243]](#footnote-243) [[ìrⁿà ŋ̀gú] têy] ŋâyⁿ→ ló í tégé=nì, [[ìsè: ŋ̀gú] nû:] [pùrá:rù bè][[244]](#footnote-244) [â: kɔ̀:]=∅ gùyⁿ-bɔ̀,

[[írⁿà kù] mà] é:, ńʔǹ, [írⁿà kù] bû: gù-ní,[[245]](#footnote-245) gǔⁿ-ẁⁿ yà:, [íyé í gǔyⁿ=nì] [írⁿà kù mà:] [[[â: [nù dìyⁿà]] mò:] wò] [â: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ gùyⁿ [â: sàrⁿà]]=∅ gùyⁿ, ǎy [pìrú ùrɔ́‑só‑ẁ] [[nà: kòrǒy] káⁿ-m̀-dó],

[nù díyⁿà] mɔ̀:lí-yɛ̀, û: [nú-m̀-dó-ẁ∴ mà], [[ìrⁿà ŋ̀gú] [mâ:n bè] [â: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ gù=ń] tègè-bɔ́=bày, [û: yà] àŋâyⁿ nù-ẁⁿ∴ mà, ǎy[[246]](#footnote-246) gù-l-á yáy, ǎy gù-l-á, írⁿà kù, [bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅=rá,

hà: [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [tǔ: mâ:], bàtú ló-yɛ̀, yé-yɛ̀, ló-yɛ̀, yé-yɛ̀, ló-yɛ̀ yé-yɛ̀, [ìrⁿà ŋ̀gú] [û: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅=rá, [ìrⁿà ŋ̀gú] [kú láyrì] î:=m̀, tìrⁿí [î: mà:] tírⁿɛ́-m̀=bɛ̀-ẁ∴, [î: mà:] nám cíyɛ́-m̀=bɛ̀-ẁ∴,

[íyé û: ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀-ẁ∴ nà→] [[û: kɔ̀:ⁿ=∅] kù], [[[mâ:n yà→] [mâ:n yà→]] dìmbì-yí nù], bû: dìmbì-yí nù̀→, [íyé kálà] [î: kɔ̀:ⁿ kày] [î: kày] dúwɔ́-m̀-dó-ỳ∴ [î: kɔ̀:ⁿ] dìmbà-ỳ∴,[[247]](#footnote-247)

[kú yà] hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ áŋàyⁿ bě:-rɛ̀ dèꜛ, [[kú dò: wôy] nám cíyɛ́-tí-ỳ∴] dúwɔ́-ǹ,[[248]](#footnote-248) [û: só-ẁ kù wôy] dúwɔ́-ǹ, [[ŋ̀gú ày=náyⁿ] ŋ̀gú-rù ló dɔ̌-y wôy] [î: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅, [wàrà‑jùwⁿ-î:] wàrá jùwⁿɛ́:-rà-ẁ∴, àwú-m̀-dó-ỳ∴,

hà: íyé lǎw láwá,[[249]](#footnote-249) [û: gàsà] yâ: nú:-rɛ̀=rà: é:, bɔ̀rⁿɔ́[[250]](#footnote-250) jɛ᷈:-tí-ẁ∴, ŋ̀gú dímbá-ẃ wó, ŋ̀gú dímbá-ẃ wó], [[tǔ: mâ:] bàt-á: dɛ̌:-rɛ̀-ẁ∴ dé wôy] [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m] ló [á úrò] bé‑m̀],

jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, û: tɔ́wú-m̀-dó-ỳ∴, tɔ̀-rɛ́: nù yɛ̌:-rɛ̀-m̀ kùꜛ, ló ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ́mbú-ẁ∴, [jáy yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [kú dìmbì-yí-m̀], hà: [à-mâ:n wàrà-[jùwⁿ-î:]=∅ nà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅=rá, [[[ìsè: ŋ̀gú] kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ nà→] [[ìsè: ŋ̀gá] kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅=rá,

ŋ̀gú dímbá-ẃ wó, [hâl yɛ̌ [tǔ: mâ:], [sàmbâ: ǎy-yɛ̀ꜛ] [màrpâ: ǎy-yɛ̀ꜛ] [béré ǎy‑yɛ̀ꜜ]], [pàŋgá mâ:] ló-yɛ̀, pàŋgá sáríyɛ́-m̀, píníwⁿú-ẁⁿ dè, bû: [[â: kù:] mà:] júwɔ́-yɛ̀, [sùmòy ŋ̀gú] [mǔ: súmòy]=∅, ŋ̀gú [mǔ: súmòy]=∅=rá, júwɔ́-yɛ̀,

térèw jɔ́rɔ́-yɛ̀ dè kòy, hà: má:nù hǎ:ⁿ,[[251]](#footnote-251) ú [[mǔ: kû:] wò] sí-yé:-rɛ̀-ẁ, [sùmǒy [mǔ: kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅, nà→] [ú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅=rá, [ŋ̀gú wó] těỳ sí-yé:-rɛ̀ dè, dà:yí:-rɛ̀,

[kú wó] líy-ɛ́: dɛ̌:-rɛ̀ sìyě-l=là:,[[252]](#footnote-252) [pàŋgá nû:] [û: mà:] [bɔ̀:-úrò ǹjé tɛ̀m[[253]](#footnote-253) màꜛ] wá, [î: kày] bìrⁿá tɛ̀mbì-ỳ∴, [bìrⁿá nɔ̀-ẁ∴ mà] é:,

[pàŋgà nù: ɛ̀sú-yɛ̀]=∅ dè, bìrⁿá û: nɔ̀:-wⁿú-yɛ̀, bìrⁿá û: nɔ̀:-wⁿú-tí-yà=rà:, [yâ: kày] ɲúwⁿɔ́-m̀-dó, bɔ̀ŋgɔ́ gó-m̀, [kú ɲâyⁿ] [nù kâ:ⁿ] [[kú túlù] wò] gó-yɛ̀,

[sùy-î: ɲàyⁿ] [[kú túlù] wò] gò-bɔ́ má, [pàŋgá ɲâyⁿ] nɛ́: [bìrⁿà-[nɔ̌-ỳⁿ] ɲàyⁿ] [[kú túlù] wò] láwá gó-mà mà, ŋ̀gú yé-m̀, àŋâyⁿ yì-ẁ, …

O: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, [kú ɲâyⁿ kày] írⁿà

I: … [î: jày kù]

O: [sùmǒy kày] [[sùmǒy cí:tɛ̀] wò] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gùⁿ-ẁⁿ ŋgú] [kú kú=m̀], [ŋ̀gú dímbá-ẃ wó sày] [[sùmǒy cí:tɛ̀] yé-m̀], [tùwⁿɔ̂-m bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀] [kɔ́:ⁿ kù] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅]=rá kòy, é: [ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀ dé wôy] [[á kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ wà gúⁿ-m̀],

[[ú [kɔ́:ⁿ bɔ́ŋgɔ̀] yà][[254]](#footnote-254) dúwɔ́-m̀-dó-ẁ gùⁿ-ẁ] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] dúwɔ́-m̀-dó gúⁿ-m̀] [[sùmǒy cí:tɛ̀ ŋ̀gú] dìmbì-yí yé-m̀] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ dàyⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gùⁿ-ẁ ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→], [î: kàlà] [î: mà:] [kú tû-m] káyⁿ-tá-ẁ,[[255]](#footnote-255) [ŋ̀gú bè→] [[ŋ̀gú bè] tû-m kù] [mùrⁿû: wò] sày] [nǔ: î: wôy][[256]](#footnote-256) áŋàyⁿ lá:rú-m̀=bɛ̀-ỳ∴

S: *bon, par exemple* [jáy kù] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ŋâyⁿ→ ká:ⁿ-rⁿɛ̀ dé néyⁿ, [tǔ: mâ:] ùsú gàⁿ=náyⁿ, [ùsù ŋ̀gú] [ùsú pùrá:rù] tǔ: césé-mâyⁿ[[257]](#footnote-257) gùⁿ-ẁⁿ∴ mà→, *ou bien* [[sɛ́rɛ́ sò-ló-ẁ∴] û: bú-m̀ dè] [yɛ̌ [[û: kù:] wò] sí-yé-yɛ̀]

O: [û: ìsè:] yɛ̌ [[û: kù:] wò] sí-yé-m̀-n-ɛ́ kǒy, [ú [írⁿà bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ kù]] [[írⁿà wò] [íyé láwá:-rɛ̀ dé wôy] yɛ́-rɛ́], [[ú kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅=rá gá], yɛ́-rɛ́[[258]](#footnote-258) [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [mᵇá yà] àwú-m̀-dó],

á, ǐrⁿâ[[259]](#footnote-259) ŋ̀gú-rù yɛ̌:-rɛ̀-ẁ [íyé láwá:-rɛ̀] [ŋ̀gú-rù ú=ǹ í yǐ=ǹ] [[ú mâ:] jâm ŋ̀gó], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] àwú-m̀-dó, hà: [[kú kù] ɲâyⁿ] yâ: [û: yěy] ló tǔ: césé-jɛ́-ẁ∴ dé wôy, [kú ɲâyⁿ] [û: yěy] jáyá-ẁ∴,

ɔ̂:ⁿ bɔ̀:-úrò yɛ̌ ú tégé=ǹ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] ló [á bɔ́:-ùrò] tégé-m̀, [ú yà] yɛ̌ [ú bɔ́:-ùrò] tégé-ẁ, [hà: [[î: kɔ̀:ⁿ] wò] lǎ-w yɛ́-rɛ́-nì][[260]](#footnote-260) [î: ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-dànà:]=∅, [[î: ìrⁿà kù] wó] lǎ-w [û: lɔ̀sɔ̀][[261]](#footnote-261) gá-lɛ́-ǹ,

[kú kù] ló bû: tɛ́mbí-jɛ́-ẁ∴=rà:, hà: kú [û: wôy] jáy [kú wó] gó-m̀, ŋâyⁿ→ bé-‑

S: *bon* jàyá:-rɛ̀-ẁ∴ dè, [àŋâyⁿ kàⁿ=náyⁿ] [yɛ̌ píníwⁿí yɛ̌-ẁ∴ dè] [tǔ: mâ:] dà— dàngú:‑rà‑ẁ∴

O: [jáy jàyá:-jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] sèytâ:n û: gàyⁿ=bɛ̀-rî:,[[262]](#footnote-262) [kɔ̀rú bɔ́ŋgɔ̀] [á kɔ́rù] ǎw dǔ-jɛ̂: dé wôy, [tǔ: mâ:] dàngí-ẁ∴, [kɔ̀rú bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ kù] [á kɔ́rù] ǎw dù-rí dé wôy, [kú kálà] àsú→ áŋàyⁿ bè-ỳ∴ júwⁿɔ́-ẁⁿ

S: [jàyá-jɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] íyà píníwⁿú bàtú bàtá-ẁ∴ dè, ǎ-m=∅ térèw sò-ẁ mà, ǎ-m=∅ kɔ̀rú sò‑ẁ mà, áŋàyⁿ úsúrú-ẁ∴ mà

O: [[kɔ̀rú só-m̀ yà→] [térèw só-m̀ yà→], yɛ̌ yì:-ẃ-jɛ̂:][[263]](#footnote-263) [kɔ̀rú bɔ́ŋgɔ̀] [á kɔ́rù] dǔ-jɛ̂: dè] [yâ: lɔ̀sɔ̀-wô: wó-yɛ̀], hà: [mùyⁿɔ́ kàⁿ=náyⁿ] [[írⁿà kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] nì=náyⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wàrà-ḿ[[264]](#footnote-264) gùyⁿ dè, [[kɔ́:ⁿ bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ kù] àyú-ẁ dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-m̀

I: [[bɔ̀:-ì: là:] lɔ̀sɔ̀-wǒ:][[265]](#footnote-265) yé-yɛ̀

O: [[bɔ̀:-ì: lǎ:] lɔ̀sɔ̀-wô: wó-yɛ̀, bû: [ùrò-jéŋgí: bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] [bû:=m lɔ̀sɔ̀-wô: wó-m̀], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [kú kù] àw-rí dé yà→, [kú kày] áŋàyⁿ bé-m̀,

lǎ-w [ú kálà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-m̀-dó-ẁ, yâ: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wàrà-wú-m̀-dó-ẁ, íyé [á kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ gùyⁿ dè, [ɛ́yⁿ kálà] [á kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅ gù-gúⁿ-m̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-m̀-dó-ẁ, hà: [ŋ̀gú bè→] [ŋ̀gú bè tû-m kù bè→], …

I: jáy jàyá:-rà-y∴

O: … [kú dìmbì-yì=náyⁿ] áŋàyⁿ jáy, írⁿà [sùmǒy jây] áŋàyⁿ yé-m̀, [írⁿà jày] ŋâyⁿ→ yé-m̀

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S: [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé] gìní], [ú ìsè:][[266]](#footnote-266) gǒ-ẁ∴ dè, [bírɛ́ bìrɛ̀=rá:][[267]](#footnote-267) ló:-rà-ẁ∴

O: [[[î: ìsɛ̀:] gǒ] [bírɛ́ bìrɛ̀=rɛ́:][[268]](#footnote-268) î: ló:-rà-ẁ kù], [î: [árⁿà-m bè→ árⁿà-m][[269]](#footnote-269) kày] [jɔ́rɔ̀ jɔ̀rɔ̀‑rɛ́:] ló:-rà-ẁ, ló=ní bɛ̀rɛ́-ẁ bɛ̀l-lí,[[270]](#footnote-270) jáwdù jɔ̀rɔ̀=rɛ́: ló:-rà-ẁ,

[[àrⁿà gǎm] ló-mà dè] [hâl ŋ̀gú-rù gò=náyⁿ]ꜛ, àbíjà lù-ló-yɛ̀ꜛ, gánà lù-ló-yɛ̀ꜛ, nì:žèríyà lù-ló-yɛ̀ꜛ, hâl [gǎm bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] *en France* lù-ló-yɛ̀, [[ànàsá:rá ónjòy] wò] [kú=m̀=ndà kálà] lù-ló-yɛ̀, jáwdù jɔ̀rɔ̀=rɛ́: ló:-rà-ẁ-bɔ̀,

yǎ:, yɔ̀ɣɔ́ yá ló-yɛ̀, [yǎ: kù kày] [ɲáwⁿà bû: jò-ló:-rà-ẁ], [bû: ló-m̀] mì-rá-ỳ∴, [î: kálà], gɔ́rⁿɔ̀ sò-ló-ỳ∴=rá dé wôy, [bû: yà] [î: yá ló-ỳ∴ nà→ gǔn] [yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló:-rà-ẁ-bɔ̀]

[[kùyɔ́: [[î: sàlà] ɲàyⁿ]] [[yǎ-m bôy][[271]](#footnote-271) ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ló-ỳ]][[272]](#footnote-272) tɛ̀mbì-rí-ỳ∴] [árⁿà=m̀=dá dé], gà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ yà:-yî: yɔ̀ɣɔ́ yɔ̀ɣɔ̀[[273]](#footnote-273) yá ló-yɛ̀, [bû: ɲàwⁿà] bû: jò‑ló:‑rà‑ẁ, [árⁿà-m bè→ árⁿà-m] jáwdù jɔ̀rɔ̀=rɛ́: ló:-rà-w

S: [[û: mà:nì:] wò] [ɲáwⁿà bû: jò-ló:-rà-ẁ] mà→ꜛ, mà→ [bû: kày] [ɲì-ɲáwⁿá-yɛ̀ gìn] ló:‑rà‑ẁ-bɔ̀

O: bû: [ɲì-ɲáwⁿá-yɛ̀ gùn] ló:-rà-ẁ-bɔ̀, [bû: lò=náyⁿ] [ló:-r-à: dè] [bû: ɲàwⁿá:-rà-ẁ kù] yá yǐ:-rà-y∴, tùwⁿɔ̂=m̀=dà→ yěy=rà→ tǎ:n=dá, kɔ̀:ⁿ bû:—

S: [ló:-r-à: dè] [ɲáwⁿà=rá dé kày] [ɛ̀sú wó] yé-m̀-n-ɛ́—, [ɛ̀sú wôy] jé-m̀-n-ɛ́

O: [ɛ̀sù bû: jɛ᷈:-rà-ẁ] yǐ:-rà=rá-ỳ∴, [ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ́ bɔ́ŋgɔ̀] ló=ń, [[á ɔ́ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀] úrò dùwɔ́ tí][[274]](#footnote-274) [àrⁿá yěy] [àrⁿá tǎ:n], kú-dá: ló bě:-rɛ̀, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ɛ̀sû:=∅ kálà] [[[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ́ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀] mà:] kày] ɲáwⁿà]=∅,

[ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ́ sò-ló-m̀] ló:-rɛ̀ dè, à: [ɲùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀ dè] [bû: gǎm [pìré ɲâyⁿ] yé-yɛ̀], [[kú mâ:] mɛ́gɛ́ ɲáwⁿà=∅] ŋ̀gó, kú=m̀ [ɲàwⁿà î: gǔ:ⁿ-rà-ẁ∴] [kú kú=m̀]

S: *bon*, [árⁿà yà] ló:-r-à: dé néyⁿ, [bû: néyⁿ ló:-r-à: dè] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé bè] [ǹjé bè]][[275]](#footnote-275) jé-yɛ̀]

O: [yâ: ló:-r-à: dè] [yì-tɛ̀: èsí-yɛ̀ kù] [bírɛ́ wó] nú-yɛ̀, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, [nǔ-m mâ:] [bírɛ́ wó] nú‑bɔ̀ àyú-ẁ dè, [bû: bìrɛ́-ẁ dè] [[[ùwɔ́ wó] bû: tɔ́sú-m̀] àyú-ẁ dè] [ùsù-dɛ́rⁿí àyú-ẁ dè], [gàmbú yà] ɛ́wá: káⁿ-yɛ̀,

hà: [gǎm bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] bú:dù bɛ́rɛ́-yɛ̀, [cɛ̀rɛ̂y jɛ᷈:] [[â: bɔ̀: bé] mâ:] ní-yɛ̀, níyⁿɔ́: tú-m̀, [ló:-r-à: dé wôy] [gǎm bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ jìrⁿɛ̌yⁿ sí-yé-ẁ dè] [yé-yɛ̀ dé wôy], [[[â: bɔ̀: bé] mâ:] [[[ìsâ: [*cent-kilo* yěy]], cɛ́rɛ̀y] tù-m],[[276]](#footnote-276) jì-jé-yɛ̀] [[[[*cent-kilo* tǎ:n] cɛ́rɛ̀y] tù‑m] jì-jé-yɛ̀] [[[[*cent-kilo* tùwⁿɔ́] cɛ́rɛ̀y] tù-m] jì-jé-yɛ̀],

hà: [ú mâ:] ìrěw bú-ẁ, hà: [ŋ̀gú gǔn] àsùwⁿɛ̀-yî: ló:-rà-ẁ-bɔ́, [[yì-tɛ᷈: jó→] kálà] [[àsùwⁿɛ̀-yì: jó→] kálà] ló:-r-à:

S: [árⁿà kày] lò=náyⁿ ɲáwⁿà ɲáwⁿá-m̀-n-ɛ́

O: árⁿà ɲáwⁿà ɲì-ɲáwⁿá-yɛ̀ kálà, [árⁿà-m kày] ló=ń [ɲàwⁿá-ẁⁿ ɲàwⁿà-rⁿí cɛ̂w] [[jáwdù jɔ̀rɔ̀-rɛ́:] lì-ló:-rà-ẁ-bɔ́], [ló bɛ̀rɛ́-m̀ yà→] [bɛ̀l-lí-m̀ yà→], [[bû: pìrè] ɲáwⁿà[[277]](#footnote-277) yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ́ kòy]

[[bɛ̀rɛ̀=náyⁿ ɲì-ɲàŋgìrí] yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ́] [bɛ̀rɛ̀=náyⁿ ɲàŋgìrí-m̀-n-ɛ̂:][[278]](#footnote-278) yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ̀, àsùwⁿɛ̀-yî: kálà, à [bû: kù][[279]](#footnote-279) [[bû: lò-y kù] [î: mà:] wá:jíbù=∅], [bû: lò-ỳ kù kày] [áŋàyⁿ bù]

I: [bû: lò-y] [jó→ kù wôy] cé:lè yâ: bù, [sábù dè] [tùwⁿɔ̂-m bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀], úrò ú bú=bày, ló bírɛ́ bìrɛ́=ní, jǐnjɛ̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ósù ní=ń, mòbílì bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ̂:, mòbílì jɔ̀:mbú-jɛ̂: [á bɔ̂: ìsè:] ŋ̀gú‑rù jɛ᷈:-tî:, á: [àsùwⁿɛ̀-yî: [ú tû-m] wôyꜛ], ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ló bɛ̀rɛ̀[[280]](#footnote-280) dè, íyà ló bɛ́rɛ́-ỳ, gù‑gúⁿ‑m̀=dá,

[tùwⁿɔ̂-m bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀] [mòtô: ɲàyⁿ] yé-m̀, [ân=∅ gǒ-jɛ̂:] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: gǒ-jɛ̂:], [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá:] ŋâyⁿ→ bɛ̀rɛ̀-wú-m̀ dè, [[í kálà] bírɛ̂:=∅ dè kày] ló bìrɛ̀=náyⁿ, jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà ló-m̀, bɛ́rɛ́-m̀,

[â: lò-y jò: kú kày], bɛ́rɛ̀ yá bú, [yǎ: [ló-y jò:][[281]](#footnote-281) kú]ꜛ, ɲáwⁿà=∅, [yì-nɔ́rⁿú]-ɲáwⁿà yà→, [yà:jí: ɲâyⁿ] wà:s-î: yà→, kú=m̀ [yǎ: ló-y jò: kù],[[282]](#footnote-282) ŋ̀gú=m̀ [kú [ɲáwⁿà jò:]],

[árⁿà-m já:tì] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲáwⁿà kày] jò:=rá, [sábù dèy] níyⁿɔ́: árⁿà [*O* dàyⁿ gǔⁿ-ẁⁿ gâyⁿ→], níyⁿɔ́: árⁿà ŋ́gòy [nǔ: gǎm bɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè] [*cent-kilo* pɛ́rú], kì-ka᷈: kúwó-j-â:, [*cent-kilo* pɛ́rú] ní-yɛ̀, nùmù̌yⁿ nì-ní-yɛ̀, tùwⁿɔ́ nì-ní-yɛ̀, [pɛ́cɛ́rɛ̀ nì-ní-yɛ̀] [yěy nì-ní-yɛ̀], nɛ̀wⁿɛ̂:=∅=rà:,

[yì-tɛ᷈: jó→] ló:-rà-ẁ kù dàⁿ-wôy, kú=m̀, [[î: kálà] bû: gɔ̀yⁿà-ỳⁿ∴][[283]](#footnote-283) [jǐnjɛ̀ gɔ̌yⁿ=ní], [kú kù] [î: mà:] [òsù díyⁿà-wⁿ=∅] [òsù ɛ̀sû:=∅]ꜛ, ɛ̀síⁿ→ nɛ̀wⁿɛ̂: yá só-ẃ, ŋ̀gú=m̀ [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-[lǒ-ỳ] kù] jɛ᷈:

O: [nǔ-m bôy] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî-m] ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ló:-rɛ̀ dé wôy], yá gɔ́yⁿá-ẃⁿ

I: yá gɔ́yⁿá-ẃⁿ

O: [úrò mò:-ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ́ ŋ̀gó] [kì-ka᷈: kúwó-j-â:] [nǔ-m bôy] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî-m] ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ló:-rɛ̀ dè], [yǐ-m jɛ̌‑ẁ→ jɛ̌:-ꜜrí cɛ̂w][[284]](#footnote-284) [yá gɔ́yⁿá-ẃⁿ] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m],

[yì dɔ̀ɣɔ́ só-m̀ kálà] jì-jé-m̀, [yì ɛ̀sí-m kálà] jì-jé-m̀, [bɔ̀ŋgɔ̌-m jɛ̌:-rì yǐ-jɛ́-ẁ dé wôy] [[yǐ-m kù] [kú-dá: ló=ń] [bírɛ́ bɛ̀l-lí] má→ [ɔ̀:rɔ̌y ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì wò][[285]](#footnote-285) mà, ɲáwà=m̀ mà,

ɲáwà=m̀=dá=m̀[[286]](#footnote-286) bôy, [á bɔ̂:]=nì yá mà:ní[[287]](#footnote-287)— hâl [á sá:rà:], [[á sá:rà:] yá mà:ní-só-ẁ] [á bɔ̂: yà→] [á nárⁿà yà→], úrò dàyⁿ á dùwɔ́-ẁ, [kú kálà] ŋâyⁿ→ bù

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O: ɔ̂:ⁿ, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ, jáŋgɛ̀ jáŋgɛ́:-rà-ẁ, lèkɔ̂l[[288]](#footnote-288) jáŋgɛ́:-rà-ẁ, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, jáwⁿlè túmdú-ẁ, [jáwⁿlè gò=ń] ló dóⁿsán[[289]](#footnote-289) jáŋgɛ́-ẁ, [dóⁿsán jáŋgɛ́-jɛ̀=ǹ] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ hâl ló ló sɛ̀wá:rɛ̀ jáŋgɛ́:-rà-ẁ], [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [[jáŋgɛ̀ kù] jáŋgɛ́=ń] bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ dè, ǹjê:=∅ [ú má:nì:]

S: [[jáŋgɛ̀ jáŋgɛ́=ń] bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ dè] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày, [cɛ̌lɛ̂[[290]](#footnote-290) ɲàyⁿ] í mà:nú-só-ẁ, jǐnjɛ̀ bírɛ́ ma᷈:[[291]](#footnote-291) ní-ýⁿ,[[292]](#footnote-292) [bìrɛ̀ ɛ̀sú] bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ=rà:, bɔ᷈:-ùrò cé:lé-ỳ, ádúná:rⁿú cì-cé:lé-ỳ, kú=m̀ jɔ̀rɔ́-só-ỳ,

jáŋgɛ̀ í jàrá[[293]](#footnote-293) — [í náŋànà:] [òsù í bú-ẁ kù] wó, kú *branche* kù, [*branche* jáŋgɛ̀ kù] ǎǹ=∅ ló gó-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ lò=náyⁿ [*juge* wò] gó-m̀, ǎǹ=∅ ló gó-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ lò=náyⁿ [[[pàŋá bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] kɔ̂:ⁿ] wò] gó-m̀,

yâ: gó bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ=rà: [kú=m̀ sǎy] [jǐnjɛ̀ mà:] lémdé:-rà-y, jáŋgɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ=rà: bú:dù bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ỳ=rà:, [ku᷈: cé:lé-ỳ dè] [tɔ̌ẁ cé:lé-ỳ dè] [bɔ᷈:-ùrò cé:lé-ỳ dè] [ársìlâm wôy] cé:lé-ỳ, kú=m̀ jɔ̀rɔ́-só-ỳ

O: áywà, [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ú árⁿíyɛ́-só-ẁ kù] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:-m] [[294]](#footnote-294) [ú mâ:] ní-ýⁿ] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɛ̀sú kú tálì-ỳ], áywà [[ú bɔ̂: yà→] [ú nárⁿà yà→] kày] jáŋgɛ̀ ú gǎyⁿ-tí-yà, [ɛ̀sú kày] [ú mâ:] dàwrú‑tí‑yà, [ú kálà] jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:-m— bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ [[bû: mà:] ɛ̀sú káyⁿ-tí-ẁ dó wôy] [[ɛ̀sú kû:] wò] ɛ̀sú bǎr-tú-ẁ,

kú=m̀ [[ú árⁿìyⁿɛ̀] wò] bù dó wôy, [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:-m] [ú árⁿíyⁿɛ́-só-ẁ kù] [ú mâ:] ní-ýⁿ, [ú mâ:] [kú dúwàw kálà] lémdé-mà, [ú nárⁿà yà→] [ú bɔ̂: yà→] [ú sá:rà: bè], ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ [mɔ̀sú mà:ní-só-ẃ=bɛ́-ẁ kálà] [jǐnjɛ̀ ú cé:lè-ỳ],

hà: [yì-tɛ̀:]-[nàrⁿ-î:], yǐ-m nàrⁿà=náyⁿ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nɛ́wⁿɛ̀:, [î: bì-bɛ́rɛ́-ỳ∴ mà] [î: mà:ní:-rà-ẁ kù] [[[[ú ánsà:rà-m] *Jeff*] mà:] tégé] [î: [yì-tɛ᷈: nɛ̀wⁿɛ̀:] [[ŋ̀gú nî:] wò] ká:ⁿ‑rà-ỳ∴] [yì-tɛ᷈: yěy tǎ:n nàrⁿá-tí-ỳ∴ dè], mǔ=ǹ ló jáŋgɛ̀ gáⁿ-ỳⁿ∴, mǔ=ǹ ló [wóŋgóró wó] gáⁿ-ỳⁿ∴, mǔ=ǹ ló àrsɛ̀:-bèré: gáⁿ-ỳⁿ∴, hà: bû: dàⁿ wò-wôy,

[jáŋgɛ̀ jáŋgɛ́-ẁ dè] [úrò ú bú-ẁ dè] [ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂-m] yɛ̌-ẁ dè, [ú yî-m] ú náfɛ́-m̀, [mòbílì ɲàyⁿ] yě-m̀, [cɛ̀rɛ̂y [ú mâ:] ní tí-m̀] [ú kú ɲɛ́-ẁⁿ], [yǐ-m nàrⁿà-rⁿú-ẃ dó wôy] [[àrⁿà-gúsú pɛ́-nùmùyⁿ pɛ̀r-kúròy] bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ dó wôy], ú páŋà dùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀,

[[nǔ: yítɛ̀:] [ú mâ:] ní-m̀-n-ɛ́] [[ú yà] bìrɛ́ bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó-ẁ], [éw‑yé-ẁ dè] [dɔ̀ɣɔ́ ɲâyⁿ] [kɔ̂: ɲàyⁿ] áŋàyⁿ tíwɛ́-ẁ, hà: [[ŋ̀gú nî:] wò] [î: mà:] yì-tɛ᷈: yěy tǎ:n [[kú nî:] wò] [î: mà:] yì-tɛ᷈: jɔ́rɔ́-m̀ bà,[[295]](#footnote-295) hà: jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:-m—

I: hà: sɛ̀wá:rà kɔ̀yⁿ, ùrò-[sìy-î:] nɛ́:, [[ú nû-m] ùrò] ló sí-yé-só-ẁ mà→ [ǎm úrò] sí-yé-só-ẁ

S: *bon*, [í kày] ŋ̀gú-rù jáŋgɛ̀ jáŋgɛ́=ń, ùrò-kúròy[[296]](#footnote-296) bɛ̀rɛ́=ní, áŋàyⁿ lò-ỳ, dúwⁿósán, [dúwⁿósán ló=ní] yâ: jàŋgɛ̀-ỳ, [yâ: jáŋgɛ́=ń] sɛ̀wá:rɛ̀ [sɛ̀wá:rɛ̀ dá:] pá:sɛ́-ỳ[[297]](#footnote-297) ùrò‑pɛ́rú, yâ: pà:sɛ̀-ýꜛ,

[yâ: nù í sí-yé-só-m̀] [nu᷈-m=dá, tɔ᷈w-m=dá,[[298]](#footnote-298) [î: wôy] těỳ [kú kálà] tùwⁿɔ̂:=∅=rá, [jǐnjɛ̀ nù-m̀]=∅, [ŋ̀gú-rù [bírɛ́ gǐn] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɛ̂:][[299]](#footnote-299) [[í yá] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá] tǔ: yì‑ỳ∴],

[tǔ: yǐ=ń] [ínírⁿì: ma᷈: ùsùrì] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ínìrⁿì:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ùsùrì-ỳ], [tǔ: ínìrⁿì:] tègè‑ỳ∴ [í yá→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá→] tǔ: jùwɔ̀-ỳ∴, [bìrɛ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔⁿ-ẁⁿ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] bìrɛ̀-ỳ, [káyⁿ=ní] hâl [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ cɛ́lɛ̀] tàwⁿyⁿì, [kú ɲâyⁿ] nǔ-m kù ŋ̀gú-rù gò,

[ŋ̀gú-rù gǒ=ń] [*bon* [í má:] dògùrù jáŋgɛ́=ń [í má:] [á há:jɛ̀] í bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ wôy] mà→ [[î: mà:] *vacances* ní-tí-yà dè] [[í má:] yɛ̀-ý][[300]](#footnote-300) wá, ó:y gìⁿ-ỳⁿ, áŋàyⁿ lò-ỳ, ló=ní [í káyⁿ=nì] [jǐnjɛ̀ káyⁿ=nì] [àrⁿà-gùsù í ló-ẁ kù] [íyà yâ: pá:sɛ́-ỳ],

kú pá:sɛ́=ń— [í pá:sɛ́=ǹ] [í má:] sɛ̀wá:rà yɛ̀-ý wá, ó:y gìⁿ-yⁿ̀, áŋàyⁿ yâ: lò-ỳ, [nǔ-m kù tɔ̌ẁ-m=dá dé], [yâ: [î: yěy] [î: bú-m̀] [î: bú-m̀]] [[àrⁿà-gùsù tùwⁿɔ̂:] kà:‑ỳⁿ∴], [àrⁿà-gùsù tùwⁿɔ̂:] kú=m̀ jɛ̂yⁿ kú=m̀, *donc* [àrⁿà-gùsù yèy-nɛ́] lò-ỳ,

yèy-nɛ́ í ló=ǹ, [[í bé→] [bû: bè→]] [î: bú=bày] [ùwɔ́ tǎ:n], [[ùwɔ̀ tày-nɛ́ kù] wó] té→ té→, [î: mà:] *congé* nì-bɔ̀, [î: mà:] *congé* bû: ní=ǹ, hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [í má:] ló:‑rɛ̀ dè, á, [á má: kày] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ma᷈: gǐyⁿ bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó wá dé, [[[í má:] ùrò-[sìy-î:] lúgúró--m̀ ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̀-ý] wá,

ǹjê:=∅ mà, *bon* [á má: kày] [[á bírɛ̀] ŋ̀gú-rù dù-dúwⁿɔ́-m̀], [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ á bú-ẁ kù] [á mâ:] ɛ̀rìm=dá, [á má:] yâ: gó-m̀ bà, íyà [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] ǎǹ ló-m̀ mà, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ á ló-m̀] [á má: kày] júwɔ́-m̀-dó wá,

kú yà, [í má:] ùrò-sìy-î: lúgúrò-ỳ wà, ó:y gìⁿ-ỳⁿ, kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ gì-ní-ỳⁿ, yɛ̀=ń [[î: nù:] mà:] tègè-rí-ỳ, kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ gì-ní-ỳⁿ, [[î: nù:] kú-dá: [nù lǎ-m wôy] sɛ̀-nɛ́] júwɔ́-ỳ, [ku᷈: mà:] [í ku᷈: mà:] í=m̀ lùgùrò-rí dé, gò-ỳ, yâ: lò-ỳ píníwⁿú,

[dóⁿsân dɔ̀-ỳ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] *telephone* tì-ỳꜛ,[[301]](#footnote-301) ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [á má: kày] [bìrɛ̀ lǎ-w] bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ̂: wà, ŋ̀gú-rù gì-gó-m̀ bà, kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ gì-ní-ỳⁿ, [í kày] sɛ̀wá:rà lò-ỳ, [yâ: í ló=nì] [jǐnjɛ̀ káyⁿ=nì] [[ǔrô kù] ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù=ǹ] [yǎ-m tùwⁿɔ̂-m] yá bú=b-ɛ̂:,[[302]](#footnote-302) ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà, [[á ɔ́ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀] sɛ́— [bàmàkɔ́ dá:] dùwɔ́-tí=ń] [[á yítɛ̀:] dùwɔ́-tí=ń] [[á sày] yâ: bù],

yâ: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bú=bàyꜛ, [[á títìrì wôy] í=ǹ tí-m̀] [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m̀] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dósù] wò] ŋ̀gó], gǎm [á má:] íyé [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ bè] ló-m̀ dè] [[[á úrò] tà:ⁿ-yì:] ma᷈: ní dùwɔ́-ẁ dè] [[[í má:] yâ: ná-ýⁿ] gǐⁿ-m̀], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ úrò] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ná-ỳⁿ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] gɔ̀yⁿí-ỳⁿ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mótò:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] mɔ́ɣɔ́-ỳ,

áŋàyⁿ bù, [kú dò wôy] í=m̀ mɔ́ɣɔ́-m̀, hà: yǎ-m kù, hà: [má bè] ló-yɛ̀ bû: gǐyⁿ=nì, [í má:] bày núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ àŋâyⁿ káⁿ-m̀ mà wà, ma᷈: ùsùrì, íyà í sá-ẁ, [í má: kày] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má: kày] [í má:] [ùrò-[sìy-ì:] lǎ-w] lúgúrò-ỳ gìyⁿ, [í má: kày] [[[kú=m̀ lúgúró-ỳ kù] wó] bù-ỳ],

hà: [kú=m̀ dè kày] [lùgùr-î: bà-rí] [[í má:] yâ: bè-ý] wá, ó:y gìyⁿ-ỳⁿ, yâ: bè-ỳ, yâ: í bě:=nì, [íyà píníwⁿú ŋ̀gá-dá: ló tíní=ní] [í káyⁿ=nì], [ǔrô‑sìyè-m kú]=ǹ,[[303]](#footnote-303) [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ínìrⁿì] G gíyⁿ-yɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: jò-ló-ẁ kù yà→ꜛ, sɛ̀wá:rà yà→↓, wà:w=rá, *mais* [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yítɛ̀: bû:] [lèkɔ̀l-ùrò][[304]](#footnote-304) bú-ẁ kù] ɛ̀síⁿ→ pàŋá yá só-ẃ,

[[pàŋá bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] lékòl-ùrò]]=∅ bû:d[[305]](#footnote-305) tɔ́sí-yɛ̀, [ùwɔ́ wó] [bú:dù [mùsú nǐ:yⁿ]] [nù tùwⁿɔ̂-m wôy] bû: [nǔ: yěy]=∅, ŋ̀gá-dá: [kú ékɔ̀l] [kú tû-m] ŋ̀gó, [ló:-r-à: dè] [â: jáŋgɛ́-ẁ kú náŋànà:] pɛ́rdɛ́-yɛ̀,[[306]](#footnote-306) íyà yɛ̌, [*français* wò] pàŋá sɛ̀-nɛ́ káⁿ--yɛ̀,

*bon* [[kú nî:] wò], [á má: kày] yâ: bé-m̀ bà, [[í má:] jɔ́rɔ́-m̀ dè] [[ɔ̌rⁿɔ̂ wò] yɛ̌ bɛ̀rɛ́-m̀] bà, ɛ́rⁿɛ́— ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́:ⁿ gìyⁿ-ỳⁿ, lǎ-w [[yǎ-m kù] mâ:] gò-rí-ỳ, [í ló-m̀ kálà] [[yǎ-m kù] mâ:] ɛ̀rì=m̀=dá, hâl [íyé úsù] [ɔ̌rⁿɔ̂ wò] bù-ỳ

I: bày, mùsêl[[307]](#footnote-307) bèꜛ, jáŋgɛ̀ ú ló:-rɛ̀ dè, û:, [àŋâyⁿ-àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] û: mà: káⁿ-yɛ̀, û: sù-súyɔ́-yɛ̀ mà→, àŋâyⁿ [û: mà:] ká:ⁿ-rà-ẁ-bɔ̀

S: [jáŋgɛ̀ î: ló:-rɛ̀ dè] [[mùsêl bè] ú súyɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́] [[[ú=m̀ [ú kû:] sùyɔ̀-rí] túlù] wò], [ùsú gó=ǹ] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ló:-rɛ̀-ẁ=rà:, [ú mâ:] *billet d’entréee* gìn yá bú, [sɛ́wɛ̀ àwú-ẁ dè] [kú ɲâyⁿ] nú-ẁⁿ, kú nú:-rɛ̀-ẁ=rà: [ú *moyenne*] [ú mâ:] *moins deux* gò-ló-yɛ̀, kú=m̀ [*conduite* bû: gúⁿ-m̀ kù] *impoli*=mù-ẁⁿ mà→, mà→ *règle(s)* bû: ní-ẁ àwú-m̀-dó-ẁ *quoi*,

[kú kù] [î: mà:] yâ: *moins deux* gò-ló-yɛ̀, [kú dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y] [nǔ-m wôy] [[ú kû:] mà:] ɔ̀mɔ̂: ló-ẁ, èkɔ̀l-úrò nù-rⁿú-ẃ=rà:, [[ú kû:] mà:] ú=m̀ [ú kû:] súyɔ́-m̀, [kú=m̀=dá dé] [nǔ-m nǎ: ày=náyⁿ] ú súyɔ́-m̀-dó, [kú-dá: [î: mà:] lǎ-w [sùy-î: lǎ-w]— sùy-î: jìyɛ́‑tí-yà] [sùy-î: ŋ̀gó]

I: [ɔ̀mɔ̂: jìrè-síyⁿàwⁿ wò] yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ẁ

S: [[ɔ̀mɔ̂: jìrè-síyⁿàwⁿ wò] yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ẁ] [ínjírí:-rɛ̀-ẁ dé wôy], [[bìrɛ̀ kâ:ⁿ wôy] sò-ló-ẃ] [[kú gìn sǎy] yɛ̀-ẁ] [[kù gì-náyⁿ] [jìrè-síyⁿàw wò] yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ló-ẁ], [[kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w ú=ǹ [ùsú gò‑wú‑m̀] wôy] ŋ̀gó] [[kú árⁿìyɛ̀] [ú mâ:] yá bú dé]

I: bày [yì ɲáwⁿà-m] [kú wó] àŋâyⁿ káⁿ-m̀

S: [yì ɲáwⁿà-m] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kú=m̀]— [bû: kù] yé-yɛ̀, bû: yɛ̌:-r-à:=rà:, lèkɔ̀l-úrò nú-m̀-n-ɛ́, hâl ùsù â: nú-ẁⁿ kálà, [â: kù:] tɔ́rrɛ́-yɛ̀ꜛ, [nù lǎ-m] tɔ́rrɛ́-yɛ̀ꜛ, [î: mùsèlì-m] cɛ́lɛ̀ bàrⁿà-wⁿú-yɛ̀, *parce que* nú-mà dè, [ú mâ:] ú [nù jíyɛ̀ mì-rá-m̀ kù] [pàŋá ɲâyⁿ] jíyɛ̀ ú jìyɛ̀-wú-yɛ̀, ú [nù [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dósù] wò] bú-m̀ kù], ú [nù dìl-î: jɔ̀rú-ḿ kù], [[bû: jìyɛ̀ kù] dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y] dìlé bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó-ẁ,

[gá:jɛ̀ gǎyⁿ gǎyⁿ bû: gá:jɛ́-m̀ dè] [kú dìlé-ẁ], [cé:rí wó] ú gáⁿ-yɛ̀, [kú áŋàyⁿ bû: káⁿ-m̀] [bû: káⁿ-m̀] màdâm bû:=n lǎr gò-ló-tî:=rà:, [bû:=n lǎr gò-ló=ní] dùwɔ́-tí-yà dé wôy, [ú=ǹ kálà tɔ́:ɲɛ́-yɛ̀] [ú bé→] [â: bè→] dàyⁿ û:[[308]](#footnote-308) gó-m̀,

dɔ᷈: àŋâyⁿ gìyⁿ-bɔ̀ [yà:-pàlú-m má:] táwⁿyⁿá jɔ́rɔ́-m̀ gìyⁿ-bɔ̀, ú=ǹ lǎr gò-ló-yɛ̀, [û: dò: wôy] lǎr gó-ẁ∴, gǒ:-rɛ̀-ẁ∴=rà: [dánáyⁿ gǒ] [ú màní-yɛ̀], [â: sìgìrè:tì] nɔ́-yɛ̀, áŋàyⁿ bû: bú-m̀ dè,

bû: kày, [*patron* yì-tɛ̀:]=bɔ́, [píníwⁿú kálà] [nǔ: gǎm] yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ, [[[kɔ̀:ⁿ gìn] â: yɛ̌‑ẁ][[309]](#footnote-309) mànà:] júwɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́, xxx bû: lǎr gò-ló-tí-yà dè, [*année* dùwⁿɔ́:-rɛ̀ dè] bɛ̀l‑l‑á=rá: [yâ: *redoubler* káⁿ-yɛ̀], [[bû: hà:jɛ̀] mà:] ŋ̀gó, áŋàyⁿ yâ: yì-yárà-bɔ̀, [kú nû: yà], [[kú nû: bû:] dǎ:y-jɛ́-ẁ=rà:] [[dàyⁿ ú ló-m̀ bôy] ŋ̀gó]

O: à: [[kú yî-m kù] lèkɔ̂l[[310]](#footnote-310)— [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nàrⁿá=ń] [lèkɔ̂l ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gáⁿ-ẁⁿ dè] [yàɣá sìyè-ẁ], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nárⁿà yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɔ̂: yà→] yàɣá sìyè-bɔ̀, [ú bɔ̂: yà→] [ú nárⁿà yà→] [ú nàrⁿá=ń] [[bìrɛ̀ ŋ̀gú wó] ú gàyⁿ-bɔ́ dó wôy], [ú yà] píníwⁿú=ní, [bírɛ́ kù] [kú náfàɣà] júwɔ́-ẁ dó wôy, [yì ɛ̀sú-m]=mú-ẁⁿ[[311]](#footnote-311) dé wôy, [yì-[dúwàw-bɔ̀ŋɔ̀]]=mù-ẁⁿ dé wôy, [bírɛ́ kù] bírɛ́-ẁ,

[ú nárⁿà yà→] [ú bɔ̂: yà→] [ú má:] [bírɛ́ kù] yá bírɛ́-m̀ gìn s-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ̀, [[bírɛ́ kù] dùwɔ́-tú-ẁ] [bírɛ́ kù jìsé-tú-ẁ], hà: [bû: cɛ̀lɛ̀] bàrⁿà-wⁿú-tú-ẁ, ɛ́:ⁿ [ósù kálà] yí-m̀-dó-ẁ, ú=m̀ [yì ɲáwⁿà-m]=∅ gúⁿ-yɛ̀ [kú kú=m̀],

hà: [kú kù] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ́-ná:m] [[yì ɛ̀sú-m wôy] mà:] pógó-ỳ, hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ú gùⁿ-ẁⁿ ŋ̀gú, à: áŋàyⁿ bù-ẁ dé wôy, [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] áŋàyⁿ ú bɛ́sì-ỳ, [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] jìré: [ú mâ:] jó-lò-ỳ, [î: cɛ̀lɛ̀] sɛ́yɛ́-ẁ hâl

I: [français ɲàyⁿ] bày [[kú yî-m kù] ínìrⁿì] àŋâyⁿ gúyⁿ-yɛ̀

S: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] *impoli* gíyⁿ-yɛ̀

I: *impoli*

S: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́

O: [*impoli* kú nɛ́:] dɔ̀:-têy [kú kɔ́rɔ̀] ǹjê:=∅

S: [yì kû:-díyⁿà-m̀]=∅, kû:-díyⁿà-m̀=∅ [dàwⁿá àwú-m̀-dó-m̀]

O: [dàwⁿá àwú-m̀-dó-m̀]

I: [[ɛ̀sú-m̀=∅ kù] mà:] àŋâyⁿ gúⁿ-yɛ̀

S: *poli* gíyⁿ-yɛ̀

I: *poli* gíyⁿ-yɛ̀

S: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ɛ̀sí-m̀=∅] kú=m̀

O: ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ɛ̀sú-m̀=∅, [nù:-yà:gǔ-m kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀, cé:lé:-rɛ̀

## Text 2005-1b.08 Rats, mice, and shrews

S: gùgùsú-m àŋâyⁿ bù

I: gùgùsú-m, dùgú [[ô-m kù] wó] yá ná:-wⁿ,[[312]](#footnote-312) mà→ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tágù=rà:, [tágù tègì:]=rà:, gùgùsú-m gùrú-m̀=∅, gùgùsú-m [[á kû:] mà:] sǎw bì-bárá-m̀, ɛ́lɛ́y bì-bárá-m̀, gùgùsú-m, [ɛ́lɛ́y kɔ̀yⁿ yǐ-jɛ̂: dó wôy] dúwɔ́-m̀-dó, nɛ́: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲɛ̂yⁿ kày], sùwɔ́ bè→, ɛ́lɛ́y bè→, mìsù-gɔ́:lɔ̀y bè→,

[kú bè kày] [bàrá-ẁ dè] [ló dì-dàyí-m̀] [ɲáwⁿà súyɔ́-m̀] mìsù-gɔ̌:lɔ̀y kɔ̀yⁿ, gùgùsú-m, ŋ̀gú=m̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tágù], [[ú úrò] pìrè], gànjú-ẁ dè, yâ: nú bě-ẁ dè, [ú mâ:] ɲàwⁿà núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ í gùⁿ-ẁⁿ ŋ̀gú wôy, [ú mâ:] súyɔ́-m̀ tínɛ́m bé-m̀, [gùgùsú-m tágù] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀], íyà mǔ: ǎ-m̀=∅[[313]](#footnote-313)

S: bàrà-ô-m[[314]](#footnote-314)

I: bàrà-ô-m

S: ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ mǔ: kú=m̀

I: ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bù, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [sɛ́m pírè] bě-ẁ dè, kɔ̀sû: ú sɛ́wⁿ-tî: dè, [kɔ̀sû: bìn][[315]](#footnote-315) tɔ́gúrú-m̀, [ú kɔ́sù], [tɔ́gúrú-ẁ dè] ɲàŋgù-rú-m̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] ŋ̀gú [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀]=∅,

kɔ̀s-kúkúrù kúwó-m̀, [kɔ̀sû: lɛ̀mdɛ̀:] ló-m̀ [wⁿà:rⁿú ló-m̀] [[ɛ̀sú gǔn] ú só-ẁ kù], kú céré-m̀, ɲàŋgù-rú-m̀ [hâl ló dùmdú-m̀]

S: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ náwⁿà:] kúwó-yɛ̀ mà

I: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ náwⁿà:] kúwó-yɛ̀

S: gùgùsú-m [â: yèy] cì-cɛ́w

O: [gùgùsú-m náwⁿà:] kúwó-yɛ̀, [yì-tɛ᷈: kày] bû: dúwɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́, [nù díyⁿà] dɛ̂m→ ìrěw=rà: àŋâyⁿ=m̀ mâ:=rá[[316]](#footnote-316) dé kày

S: ò pílɛ́-m yà

O: ò pílɛ́-m, úro bě-ẁ dè, mànî: wò, bòlô: sí-yé-m̀-dó káⁿ-ẁⁿ dè, bòlô: sí-yé:-rè dó wôy, [nî: nɔ́-m̀ gùní][[317]](#footnote-317) sìyè, [mànî: wò] bě-ẁ dè, [ú úrò] bùgùsó-ẁ dè, [[ú kû:] wò] lěw sílé-m̀, ɛ́lɛ́y dúwɔ́-m̀-dó, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ á bú-ẁ kù dá:, kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ɲɛ̀yⁿ á ɲɛ́-m̀ gâyⁿ→ bú-ẁ wôy, ɲɛ̌yⁿ, ɲì‑ɲɛ́-m̀, ú ɲɛ̀yⁿ ɲɛ́ ú wàsá-ẁ, ŋ̀gú wôyꜛ,

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀] [ò pílɛ́-m], yû:, [kúwó dɛ́rⁿɛ́-m̀] [kúwó ná-m̀] [[dɛ̌w kù] wó] gó-m̀-dó, gǒ:-rɛ̀ dó wôy, [nî: nɔ́-m̀ gìn] sìyè, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǒ-ẁ, [kú=m̀=dá dé] [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ɛ́→ⁿɛ́ ló-m̀ wôy] ŋ̀gó], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] ŋ̀gú [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀]=∅

S: [ó sǐ:lì-m][[318]](#footnote-318) yà

I: [[ó sǐ:lì-m] bìrɛ̀] kày], [[ó sǐ:lì-m] bìrɛ̀] kày], yù:-tɛ̀:rɛ́ ló mɔ̌:l-tú-ẁ dó wôy [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá:], [kú pírè] bé-m̀, á=m̀=dá, [[ò là] [à gâyⁿ→] káⁿ-m̀]] nú-m̀-dó, [á sǎy] bé-m̀,

yû: ló û: bárá-m̀ dè, [[gɔ̀rⁿú wó] nú=ń] yǎ: dìmbì-yí yɛ̀ dèꜛ kú=m̀, yɔ̀ɣɔ́ [sǎm wó] nù dè kú=m̀, nɛ́:, úrò yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè, [ò: úrò b-ɛ̂:ⁿ]=ǹ, làrí-m̀ gìyⁿ-bɔ̀, [bû: mà:] mɔ̀sú bú-ẁ, ɛ̀síⁿ→ bû: kúwó-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kálà, ŋ̀gú=m̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀]=∅, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jésù] jì:ⁿ] ɛ̀rì‑m̀=dá, ó sǐ:lì-m̀

S: ò jɛ́wⁿɛ̀-m yà

I: [ò jɛ́wⁿɛ̀-m] [kɔ̀:ⁿ ɛ̀sú]=m̀=dá, àrⁿà-gùsù ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nàrⁿìyⁿí:-rɛ̀-ẁ, kɔ̂:=∅ gúⁿ-yɛ̀, bû: jò:, yû:, yû: kúwó-yɛ̀ hâl lɔ́ɣɔ́-wú-yɛ̀,[[319]](#footnote-319) yù: [dɛ̌w wó] bú-ẁ, ú nî:, [úrò, [nì: kà:ⁿ] dɛ̌y ú só-ẁ kù] [kú nɔ́-yɛ̀], nî: bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-n-ɛ́=rà:, yɔ́ɣɔ́-yɛ̀ cê:,

yɔ̀ɣɔ́-mà dè, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ lǎ-w wó] ló [nî:, nɔ̀=náyⁿ] yé-yɛ̀ [nì:-nɔ̀rⁿú sóy dá-m̀-n-ɛ́], ò jɛ́wⁿɛ̀-m, ŋ̀gú kì-káⁿ-m̀ꜛ, ɛ́lɛ́y kù-kúwó-m̀ꜛ, [[ú ɲɛ̂yⁿ] wàsà] ɲì-ɲɛ́-m̀, hâl ú=ǹ kúwó-m̀, ò jɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ mǔ:, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀]=∅, ŋ̀gú=m̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] júwɔ́-ỳ

O: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ áŋàyⁿ=m̀, [ò jɛ́wⁿɛ̀-m] [ú níyⁿá-m̀ dè] [ɲárⁿù wò], [ú ná:-sì:ⁿ] kúwó-m̀

S: ò dòró-m[[320]](#footnote-320) yà

O: [[ò dòró-m] têy] tégé

I [overlapping]: ò dòró-m, là:rá: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì-ỳ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ kày] [[là:rá: dá:] kɔ̀:ⁿ bú-ẁ bè] ɲɛ́-m̀ gà, sùwɔ́, ò dòró-m, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sùwɔ̀-[ɲɛ̌-m̀]=∅[[321]](#footnote-321)

S: bày, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] úrú-bìsírì-m táŋú-m̀[[322]](#footnote-322)] gìyⁿ-bɔ̀, térèw=∅ mà→ kɔ̀rû:=∅

I: táŋú-m̀-dó, úrú-bìsírì-m ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nì-nárⁿá-yɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɔ̂w] déyⁿ→, [kú kày] kɔ̀rû:=∅, [úrú-bìsírì-m táŋí bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó] [[dàyⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ táŋú-m̀] ŋ̀gó],

mùrⁿú bú-ẁ, dòrò-[kù-kúyɔ́] ìllá ɛ́rⁿɛ́ só-ẁ kù dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y, rà:[[323]](#footnote-323) dé wôy, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [[á kû:] mà:] táŋí bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó, úrú-bìsírì-m déyⁿ→ꜛ [mǔ: yî-m] déyⁿ→↓, [kú kálà] [î: júwɔ́-m̀] ŋ̀gú=m̀

O: úrú-bìsírì-m yǐ-m nì-nárⁿá-m̀, yì ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nàrⁿá-m̀, íyé nàrⁿà kálà, [dòró ɲâyⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ́mbú-ẁ, [ò dòró-m] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kày] *toujours* là:rá: bù

I: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ là:rá: bù

O: là:rá: sùwɔ́ ɲɛ́-m̀

I: nà: táŋú-m̀-dó

O: sùwɔ́ ɲɛ́-m̀, [tìwⁿɛ̀yⁿ-jɛ̀lɛ̂:] ɲɛ́-m̀

I [overlapping]: [àŋâyⁿ kàⁿ=náyⁿ] [táŋí bɛ́rɛ́-m̀], [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dúrɔ̀] ŋ̀gú nɛ́:] [kú dùmdó-ẁ dè] mà→, àŋâyⁿ kàⁿ=náyⁿ, táŋú-m̀-dó, kú térèw=∅=rá, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɔ̂w, [bû: mà:] kɔ̀:ⁿ í júwɔ́-m̀ kàyꜛ, [í kày] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀], û: bǎr bɛ́rɛ́-ẁ∴ mà dɛ̂m

O: kú=m̀, [[bû: bìrɛ̀] [kú kú=m̀]] [[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ú tégé-ẁ]

## Text 2005-1b.09 Scorpions and other critters

S: [yà-gùrɔ̂-m mùmùrⁿù mǔ: néyⁿ] àŋâyⁿ bù

O: mǔ: [yà-gùrɔ̂-m mùmùrⁿù-m] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w] gǔn] [yà-gùrɔ̂-m mùmùrⁿù-m] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] gà-l-á kòy, yà-gùrɔ̂-m ɛ́rⁿɛ́ támí=nì, [[yà-gùrɔ̂-m mà:] tìwɛ̀] wá, hà: [[kú nî:] wò] yà-gùrɔ̂-m mùmùrⁿù-m] gùyⁿ-bɔ̀

S: [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé bè] ɲɛ́-m̀

O: ŋ̀gú pɔ́:lùm bè, lěw, [kú bè→] ɲɛ́-m̀, hà: [kɔ̀:ⁿ [lǎ-w]-[lǎ-w] kálà] ɲɛ́-m̀ gùyⁿ-bɔ̀, hà: kú=m̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ támb-ì: kù] m̀bá— [[[mùmùrⁿù-m m̀bá] támb-ì:] bà→][[324]](#footnote-324) ùrùyó-m̀-dó, támbú-m̀ kòy, támbú-m̀ [[m̀bá támb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m̀-dó, gà: yàgùrɔ̂-m ɛ́rⁿɛ́ támbí=nì, [yàgùrɔ̂-m mà:] tìwɛ̀ wá, hà: [yàgùrɔ̂-m mùmùrⁿù-m] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ínìrⁿì kù] náŋànà:] [ŋ̀gú kú=m̀],

mǔ: gòrǒm-gómjó-m̀, [mǔ: mâ:] [gòròm-gòmjò jɛ́wⁿɛ̀-m] gúⁿ‑ỳⁿ∴, hà: [[á kû:] mà:] gòrǒm-gómjó-m̀ [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-dáná: bù], gòŋgórò bè→, [yɔ̀ kâ:ⁿ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] [kú bè→] dɛ́gɛ́-m̀, [pɔ́:lùm bè] dɛ́gɛ́-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kálà, pìyê: kálà píyé-m̀, pí→[[325]](#footnote-325) píyé-m̀, pìyê: píyé‑m, hà: [[jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó]=m̀=dá dé] [ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ bé-m̀-dó], [jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó sǎy] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:‑wú-m̀

S: mǔ: yà, ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kálà ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:-wú-m̀ mà

O: [mǔ: kálà] ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀, mǔ: ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:-wú-m̀, ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:-wú-m̀, [kúrⁿù bè→] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ íllé-tú-ẁ dó wôy, gǎm yâ: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ́mbú-ẁ, ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:-wú-m̀, gà: [gòrǒm-gómjó kày] [ùsù-bɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kày] ŋ̀gó, [jìrⁿɛ́yⁿ wó]=m̀=dá dé wôy, hà: [kú kálà] [áŋàyⁿ bù]

S: mùmùrⁿù mᵇá yà

O: mùmùrⁿù m̀bá, mùmùrⁿû-m, nǔ-m=nì támbú-m̀, [ú támbú-tî: dè] ùrùyó-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [ùrùyì-ý kù][ [[àwǎ-m úrùyì-ỳ] mà:] [[àwǎ-m úrùyì-ỳ] mà:][[326]](#footnote-326) mɛ́gɛ́ ùrùyó-m̀, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gâyⁿ→] kɔ̀:ⁿ ùrùyó-m̀] gò:-gúnúm [[ú lɔ́sɔ̀] wò] ǎy kɔ̀:ⁿ bû: náyⁿ-só-ẁ gâyⁿ→] [áŋàyⁿ sǎy ùrùyó-m̀],

[nǔ: gǎm] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ bû: támbú-tî: dè, ɛ́yⁿ núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ dógúrú dɔ̌-r[[327]](#footnote-327) dé wôy, ùrùyì-ý dɛ̀rí-m̀-dó, lɛ́:rɛ́ [pèrí-yěy nǐ:yⁿ sâ:] [kú dɔ̌-r dé] ùrùyì-ý dɛ̀rí-m̀-dó, [[gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] támbú-tî:y dé wôy] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ùrùyó-m̀ túnɛ́m hâl hâl [ɛ́yⁿ ɔ̀mɔ̂:],

[[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [àyâ: pìrè] [àyà: ŋ̀gú]=m̀ [yɛ̀=ń] bû: káyⁿ=nì] [mùmùrⁿû-m— tàmb-ì: kù], sóy [nà tùwⁿɔ̂:] táwⁿyⁿú-m̀ [kú áyà: kày] dɔ̂m yì-rí‑ỳ∴ [[[nà tùwⁿɔ̂:] jèsù] wò] táwⁿyⁿí:-rɛ̀ kày, [àyà: ìrěw káⁿ-m̀] yá bú=rá dé wôy, hà: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mùmùrû-m mà:, kú bɛ̀rɛ̀-wì

S: [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé bè] [ǹjé bè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲɛ̂yⁿ]

O: mùmùrû-m, [mùmùrû-m ɲɛ̀:rⁿɛ̀],[[328]](#footnote-328) [kòmbí: wó] bé--m̀, kɔ̀:ⁿ ŋ̀gú=m̀ té→ mùmùrⁿû-m [í kày] kɔ̀:ⁿ ŋ̀gú=m̀ té→ ɲɛ́-m̀ …

I: kì-ka᷈:-m wó-m̀

O: … júwɔ́-m̀-dó-ỳ, hà: kì-ka᷈:-m wó-m̀ bà gùyⁿ-bɔ̀

I: kì-ka᷈:-m kúwó-m̀

O: kì-ka᷈:-m kúwó-m̀ bà, [[kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w kúwó-m̀ mâ→] júwɔ́-m̀-dó-ỳ] [kì-ka᷈:-m kúwó-m̀ gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀], hà: ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ mùmùrⁿû-m=∅, mùmùrⁿù-sákèlê-m bû: gǔ:ⁿ-rà-m̀ kù, sákèlê-m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] [mùmùrⁿù déyⁿ→]=m̀, sákèlê-m tɛ́gɛ́-m̀-dó [áŋàyⁿ bù-bû:], [mǔ: yî-m] [sàlâ-m kù], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] [mùmùrⁿù-[yí-m]] gúⁿ-yɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sákèlê-m=dá,

sákèlê-m tɛ́gɛ́-m̀-dó, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kày] àsú: [sákèlê-m bò] bù, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ támb-ì:] [áŋàyⁿ bà→] ùrùyó-m̀-dó] [[[mǔ: támb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m̀-dó], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ nî: dì-yé-yɛ̀], [[nì:‑[dì-y-î:] bé:] wó], yâ: bé-m̀, [[nì:-[dì-y-î:] wò] ú tí=ǹ] [nî: tí-tí-ẁ=rà:], [[ɔ̀rú kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nɛ́wⁿɛ́-jɛ̂: dè] ùrɔ́ yé-m̀, [ùrɔ́ yɛ̌-ẁ dè] yâ: ú kúwó-m̀

S: [â: yěy] [ɲɛ̀yⁿ tùwⁿɔ̂:] ɲɛ́-yɛ̀ mà

O: [â: yěy] [ɲɛ̀yⁿ tùwⁿɔ̂:] ɲɛ́-yɛ̀, hà: [sákèlê-m tàmb-ì: kù] [[[m̀bá támb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m̀-dó, [[[mùmùrⁿù díyⁿà-m] tàmb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m̀-dó, [sǒ-m múmùrⁿù-m] yá bú, dùgú bú‑ẁ ɛ̀síⁿ→, gà: ŋ̀gú-rù ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɛ̀l-lí-ỳ∴, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì-rí-ỳ∴, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [sǒ-m múmùrⁿù-m], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kày] [nǔ-m támbí-tî: dé wôy], [nǔ-m mâ:] jâm nárⁿá-m̀-dó, ɛ̀síⁿ→ ùrùyó-m̀ gùyⁿ-bɔ̀, hà: [mùmùrⁿû: *problème*] ŋ̀gú kú=m̀

## Text 2005-1b.10 27th night of Ramadan

S: léylà [àŋâyⁿ--àŋâyⁿ káⁿ-m̀]

O: léylà, kú [[mò:-[pàg-î:] ùwɔ̀] ɲàyⁿ], [kú ɲâyⁿ] léylà nú-m̀, [ùwɔ́ [ɲárⁿù [pè→rí-yěy[[329]](#footnote-329) súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ sâ:]] ùsù] wò],[[330]](#footnote-330) hà: [[kú úsù] wò] léylà gúyⁿ-yɛ̀, [lèylà pɔ̀rbá] [kú kày] [kú kú=m̀], gà: tìtìr-lǒ-m [[jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] títìr-lò-m kày], [pèrí-yěy bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-ẁ∴ dé wôy] [ùsú pɛ́rú wàsá-ẁ] [[kú náŋànà:] léylà=∅] wà gùyⁿ,

[[ùsù ŋ̀gú] úsù] té→, léylà ɲàrⁿù, [málɛ́ykɛ̀ bû: gǔ:ⁿ-rà[[331]](#footnote-331) kù bè] sí-yé-yɛ̀, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] jùwɔ̀-ẁ-r-á, [[[jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] jùwɔ̀-ẁ-rí] wá] [gà: [[[ɲárⁿù pɛ́rú kù] pírè] bù] wà], hà: [mó:díbò bè] [â: sǎy] ló, jáŋgɛ́ jáŋgɛ́ jáŋgɛ́ jáŋgɛ́ tín=ní, [ɲárⁿù [pè→rí-yěy súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ sâ:] kù] wó]=m̀=nì[[332]](#footnote-332) mà:nù-wⁿú-m̀ bà,

hà: [kú gùn] [kú ɲárⁿù] léylà ká:ⁿ-rà-ẁ-bɔ̀, [kú ɲárⁿù] sâl sálá-ẁ, jáŋgɛ̀ jáŋgɛ́-ẁ, [jìnjɛ̀-dímbáý wó] bù-ẁ dé wò:-wôy, [kú ɲárⁿù kù] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m]— málɛ́ykɛ̀ sí‑yé‑yɛ̀ wà, [[nù kà:ⁿ] [jìnjɛ̀-dímbáy wó] â: témbú-m̀] mà→ [[sâl wò] â: tɛ́mbú-m̀], [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [[jìnjɛ̀-dímbáy náŋànà:] wò] ú tɛ̀mbì-bɔ́ dé wôy, [kú ɲárⁿù kù] bàrà:jù ú bɛ́rɛ́-m̀ kù, [[[ùwɔ́ mùsú] bárà:jù] mà:] mɛ́gɛ́ wá,

[ùwɔ́ mùsú], [kú ɲárⁿù kù] bàrà:jù [ú mâ:] bû: ní-m̀ kù, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [[núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ àyú-ẁ dè] [ló nàŋgúrù dɔ̀-ý]] ú tì-tɛ́mbú-m̀, [kú ɲárⁿù kù] céríyé-yɛ̀ wà, [kɔ̀:ⁿ ŋ̀gú] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ǎy ló [[[ú tíwɛ́-m̀] gàlù] wò]— nàŋgúrù dɔ̌:-rɛ̀ bì-bɛ́rɛ́-ẁ bɛ́rɛ́-m̀-dó-ẁ, [kù ɲárⁿù kù] céríyé-yɛ̀ wà, árzúgù,

hà: [kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ dàⁿ-wôy] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] [kù ɲárⁿù kù] pɔ́dɛ́-m̀ bà, àrⁿá mùsú kù— ùwɔ́ mùsú kù, [[kú árⁿà-gùsù] î: lúwó=ǹ] [[àrⁿà-gúsú sòŋgú wó] [àrⁿà-gúsú tà:nû:]]=∅, hà: kú ɲárⁿù kù, [kú bárà:jù], [[kú=m̀ [ú mâ:] ní-yɛ̀] wà]

[málɛ́ykɛ̀ bè] hâl hâl hâl hâl yɛ̌ bû: bû: xxx, bárá:jù— [[û: mà:] dúwâ:w bû: ɲàrⁿú-m̀ dè] [bû: ɲàrⁿú-m̀ dè] [bû: ɲàrⁿú-m̀ dè], hâl yɛ̌-ẁ dè, *cinq heures* ɔ̀mɔ̀:-[sàl‑sàl‑î:] dɔ̀-ý, [kú ɲâyⁿ] ùrɔ́ ló-yɛ̀ wà, hà: ŋ̀gú=m̀, [léylà, bàrkè [mó:díbò bè] î: mà cíyɛ́-ẁ] ŋ̀gú kú=m̀

S: [kú=m̀=dá dé] [kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w wôy] léylà ŋ̀gó→

O: [kù kɔ́rɔ̀ lǎ-w] [ŋ̀gú=m̀=dá dé] júwɔ́-m̀-dó-ỳ

S: [léylà kà-nú-ẃ[[333]](#footnote-333) dé yà] ǹjê:=∅

O: [léylà kà-nú-ẃⁿ] ársìlâ-m [ùsú pèrí-yěy súyⁿɔ̂y sâ:], [ùwɔ́ mǒ: páɣá=ń] [léylà kànú-ẃⁿ dó wôy], [ú mâ:] ɲákɛ́:-rɛ̀, kà-nú-ẃⁿ nɛ́: [[ǹjé gìn] kà-nù-ẁ],[[334]](#footnote-334) [[bàrà:jù dìyⁿàw] bû: gǔⁿ‑ẁ kù] mì-rá-ẃ má→, àrjɛ́nɛ̀ mì-rá-ẃ má→, [mì-rá-ẃ dé kày] mò:-[pàg-î:] bǎ-r[[335]](#footnote-335) gá, [[kɔ̀:ⁿ gùní] ú dùwɔ́-ẁ kù] [nɛ́: kày] tégé tínɛ́m,[[336]](#footnote-336) [kà-ní káyⁿ=ní] [ú dùwɔ́-ẁ kù]

I: ú [[nù kà:ⁿ][[337]](#footnote-337) [[kɔ̂: yà→] [nì-nɔ̀rⁿú yá→]] [nù kà:ⁿ] dá-m̀]

O: [[kú kù] ú tégé-tî: dè] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ gǔn] ú kà-nî:] [[íyà nɛ́:] [kú gâyⁿ→] júwɔ́-ỳ dè] [[ú mâ:] tégé-ỳ]

I: ŋ̀gó

S: *bon* [léylà kà-nú-ẃ dé] [júnúbù[[338]](#footnote-338) yá bú] má→ ŋ̀gó

O: [sɛ́llɛ́=ń bù-ẁ] kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ [sɛ́llɛ́=ń bù-ẁ][[339]](#footnote-339) [ú ùrùyó-m̀-dó] [léylà kà-nú-ẃ dé] [zúnúbù yá só-ẃ], [[jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] ársìlâ-m=nì tɔ̀:rì] [káyⁿ[[340]](#footnote-340) gùyⁿ]

S: kú=m̀ mà

O: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́:, kú kú=m̀

## Text 2005-1b.11 Demons and dwarves

S: [sèytá:nù-m bìrɛ̀] ǹjê:=∅

O: [[sèytá:nù-m bìrɛ̀] nǔ-jɛ́-ẁ dè] sèytá:nù-m, [[jínná:jò-m yà→] [sèytá:nù-m yà→]] tùwⁿɔ̂:=∅ [nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́] [bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́]

S: [ǹjé gìn] [mǔ: jínná:jò-m=∅] [mǔ: sèytá:nù-m=∅] gìyⁿ-bɔ̀

O: jínná:jò-m nǔ-jɛ́-ẁ dè, [[á kû:] mà:] jínná:jò-m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ársìlâ-m]=∅ [bû: ársìlà: [kú mâ:] jínná:jò gúⁿ-yɛ̀], [sâl nǔ: sálá-m̀ dè] [î: bî:-á:dámà[[341]](#footnote-341) sâl î: sálá-m̀ dè] [î: dìmbì-yí sálá‑yɛ̀], [tìtìrì-lǒ-m kálà] dɛ́yⁿ→ [bû: mà:] sì-lè-r-á, [î: tìtìrì-lò-m] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ [bû: tìtìrì-lò-m]=∅, bû: sâl sálá-yɛ̀, [[sàl-sàlǐ-m wôy] mà:] jínná:jò-m gúyⁿ-yɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jímnì-m[[342]](#footnote-342) gúyⁿ-yɛ̀, jínná:jò-m kù,

hàyà, sálá-m̀-nɛ̂: kù, [bû: cɛ́:fɛ́:rɛ̀] [[kú bè] mâ:], sèytâ:n gúyⁿ-yɛ̀, hà: ŋ̀gú=m̀ bû: káw-gú-só-ẁ

S: bû: [mɔ̀sú sǎy] káyⁿ-yɛ̀

O: bû: [mɔ̀sú sǎy] káyⁿ-yɛ̀, nǔ: [ú ló-m̀ dè] [dà:l-lí[[343]](#footnote-343) dé] [ú=ǹ, súyɔ́-yɛ̀], [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: gɔ́ŋgà-ẁ wò] ló nú:-rà-ẁ dè, bû:—, [bû: î: yí-yɛ̀] [î: bû: yí-m̀-dó-ỳ∴], [dàyⁿ nǔ-m=nì î: yì:-rà‑ẁ ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] [bû: áŋàyⁿ î: yí-yɛ̀], î: bû: yí-m̀-dó-ỳ∴, hà: [bû:=m̀ sèytâ:n] [tɔ̀:ɲɔ̀‑tɔ̀:ɲú kù] [bû:=m̀ sèytâ:n]

S: bày ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ̀ yà

I: àwày-ná:m[[344]](#footnote-344) bày ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nɛ́:, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ [kùrⁿù-túmbí: wàyì=náyⁿ] [nǔ-m yé-m̀ dè] dɛ̌y-jɛ́-m̀ gǔⁿ-wⁿ dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bú dè], [nǔ-m yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [jìrè-nî: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ àyí-m̀] kú=m̀ mà

O: *non*, jìrè-nî:, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [ú yɛ̌:-rɛ̀ dè] [[ŋ̀gú [ú mâ:] kì-kâyⁿ] gùyⁿ dé wôy], [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀‑ná:m] ɛ́rⁿɛ́[[345]](#footnote-345) cɛ̀lɛ̀-ìrɛ̌y [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] gáⁿ-m̀, yɛ̌ [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dósù] wò] dɔ̌:-rɛ̀-ẁ dé wôy, ìrɛ́:‑rɛ̀, [kú=m̀=dá dé wôy] nǔ:— [ádúná:rⁿú nǔ: dúwɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́] [nǔ: yàrìyì-wú-m̀-n-ɛ́], hà: [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m sǎy] bû: wǒ-só-ẁ,

ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ̀-m kù, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [[á kû:] mà:] [ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ̀-m kù] [bû: yɛ̌ [[úlì bé:] wó] b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ̀], [[úlì bè] àyú-ẁ dè] [[kùrⁿù-tɔ́rɔ̀ bè] àyú-ẁ dè] [yâ: b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ̀], hà: [bû: kálà bè][[346]](#footnote-346) dú[[347]](#footnote-347)—] [[dàyⁿ bû: gǔ:ⁿ-rà-ẁ] wò], [bû: î: yí-yɛ̀] [î: bû: yí-m̀-dó-ỳ∴], [ú má:] ló-m̀ ló-m̀, [bû: nìnjɛ̀ bè] [ú má:], [[bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ gǎm] lɔ̀sɔ̂: gǎyⁿ-tú-ẁ dó wôy] [[ú lɔ́sɔ̀] ǎy pɔ́tɔ́‑tí‑yɛ̀] wà ɔ́́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ [nà tùwⁿɔ̂:] ló [bû: pìrè] cúbgà nú:-rɛ̀-ẁ dé wò:-wôy,

[bû: kálà bè] ɛ̀sú [ú mâ:] má:yí-j-â: dé wôy, ɛ̀sú [ú mâ:] nì-ní-yɛ̀ gùyⁿ-bɔ̀, hâl ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:-dánáyⁿ yáràm-yáràm, [nǔ: gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] [yì-tɛ᷈: gâyⁿ→] [nù dâ: dàⁿ-wôy], [[bû: òròsù] bû:[[348]](#footnote-348) mɔ̀ɣɔ́ dɛ̀yú-ẁ dè] yí-yɛ̀ wà, tǎ:, [[bû: tà: bé wôy] nî: yí-yɛ̀] wà

[yɛ̌ nǔ-m, ló ɲàrⁿí cɛ́́:rú-ẁ gùⁿ-wⁿ dè] yé-m̀-dó-ẁ, màr-gí-tí-yɛ̀, [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀-ná:m] [[[î: wôy] gàlù] wò] dídɛ́w gǎyⁿ-só-ẁ, hà: bû:=m̀ ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ̀, [bû: î: yí-yɛ̀] [î: bû: yí‑m̀‑dó‑ỳ∴], [bû: kálà] [bû:=m̀ ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ̀], [gɔ̌-wꜛ gɔ̌-wꜜ] [gɔ̌:-yɛ̀ gɔ̌:-yɛ̀]

S: [bû: kày] mɔ̀sú [nǔ: mâ:] káⁿ-m̀-n-ɛ́ dé, —

O: [bû: kày] mɔ̀sú [nǔ: mâ:] bû: kàyⁿ] jò:-rá, [bû: kày], [bû: kày]

S: íbílí:sà-m kù, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ǎm̀=∅ kú=m̀

O: íbílí:sà-m ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ sèytá:n-ùm ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ àbàljínnɛ̀-m,[[349]](#footnote-349) ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ, [*Jeff* [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] mínísírì-m=∅ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔⁿ-m̀] kú=m̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀, [mɔ̀sù ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káⁿ‑m̀-dó-ẁ wò:-wôy] ŋ̀gó, [[ú cɛ́lɛ̀] wò] [ɛ̀sú wôy] gáⁿ-m̀-dó, [mɔ̀sú sǎy] [[ú cɛ́lɛ̀] wò] gáⁿ-m̀, mɔ̀sú ú mà:nù-wⁿú-m̀, [ú má:] [[mɔ̀sù ŋ̌] káyⁿ][[350]](#footnote-350) wá gúⁿ-m̀, [[mɔ̀sù ŋ̌] káyⁿ] wá gúⁿ-m̀, pá:yà wà gà, mɔ̀sú sǎy tɔ́:rú-m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kày

S: ú dìmbì-yí wàyú-ẁ dè

O: ú dìmbì-yí wàyú-ẁ dè, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] hâl [gòŋgòró pírè] yɔ́ɣɔ́-m̀ gùyⁿ-bɔ̀, xxx hà: kú kù, [bísìmìlâ:y gùⁿ-ẁ dé wôy] [yâ: dɔ̀rɔ́ gó-m̀] bà, [[kú nî:] wò] ársìlâ-m [[ú má:] kɔ̀:ⁿ ú káⁿ-m̀ bôy] [bísìmìlâ:y[[351]](#footnote-351) gǔyⁿ][[352]](#footnote-352) wá, [bísìmìlâ:y gùⁿ-ẁ dè] [yâ: yɔ̀ɣɔ́ wàngú-m̀] bà

S: [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ bû: gǔⁿ-m̀=bày] nǔ:-rà-y] sèytá:n-ùm=∅ gǐ:ⁿ-yɛ̀ mà→ [í kày], jínná:jò-m kú=m̀ gǐ:ⁿ-yɛ̀ mà→, ɔ̀:ⁿ íbílí:sà-m kú=m̀ gǐ:ⁿ-yɛ̀ mà→

O: ɔ́ⁿhɔ̀ⁿ

S: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [ɔ̀mɔ̂: ínjírí:-rɛ̀ dè] [sèytà:n mǔ: bé:=ǹ] tɔ́:rú-m̀ wà [mǔ: ló] [mǔ: jíyá] mǔ:— [ló nǔ-m jíyɛ́-ẁ∴ dè] yá-ǹ,[[353]](#footnote-353) [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] nǔ-m jìyɛ́ bɛ̀rɛ́-jɛ́-m̀ wôy mà→ [káŋŋɛ̀ gìgòrò-nǐ-m[[354]](#footnote-354)—] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ ǎm̀=∅ kú=m̀] [[â: yěy] pírè]

O: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kù jínn—, ò: [sèytá:n-ùm kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀, ɔ̀mɔ̂: ínjírí:-rɛ̀ dé wôy, [á nû:] ɲàrⁿú mɔ̀:lú-m̀, hà: û: [ŋ̀gú-dá: ló-ẁ dè] [ŋ̀gú kù] bírá-ǹ, û: [ŋ̀gú-dá: ló-ẁ dè] [ŋ̀gú kù] bírá-ǹ, û: [ŋ̀gú-dá: ló-ẁ dè] [ŋ̀gú kù] bírá-ǹ, áŋàyⁿ [á nû:] tɔ́:rú-m̀ bà,

ló mà dè, ú [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̀-ẁ, wí [[à-mâ:n yà→] [à-mâ:n ya→]] jǎ:r=ní í káyⁿ=nì, [â: yěy] ɛ́rú-m bú=b-ɛ̂:[[355]](#footnote-355) [â: yěy] ɲàwⁿá:-r-à:, [[yǎ-m ya→] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ́ŋɔ̀rɔ̀] yà→]] jǎ:r=ní í káyⁿ nì, [â: yèy] ɛ́rú-m bú=b-ɛ̂: [yǎ-m gǒ:-rɛ̀],

[mǔ: yà] yɛ̌-ẁ dè áŋàyⁿ gǔⁿ-m̀ bà, à [ú kɔ̀yⁿ] kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w bìrɛ̀-rú-ẃ, diyⁿá-w wó, [tìyǎm yá→ ↓tìyǎm yá→ ɲàŋgìrì-ỳ] [à [ú kálà] [kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ-w] bìrɛ̀-rú-ẃ], [[[à-mâ:n yà→] [à-mâ:n yà→]] í jǎ:r=ní] [[â: yěy] tǔ: súyɔ́=ń] [tùwⁿɔ̂-m bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀] tíwɛ́:-rɛ̀,

ú=m̀ bírɛ́ bìrɛ̀, [[káŋŋɛ̀ gòrò] àyú-ẁ dè] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-m̀] bà, [[káŋŋɛ̀ gòrò] àyú-ẁ dè] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-m̀] bà, [nù ú jà:rú-mà kù] [[[lɔ̀sɔ̀-wò:]-wǒ: yá b-ɛ̀:ⁿ-bɔ̀] yì-rú-ẃ] [[tìwɛ̀-r-á dé] [lɔ̀sɔ̀-wô: wì-wó-yɛ̀]], [ú kày] bírɛ́ bìrɛ̀-rú-ẃ,

à: [[káŋŋɛ̀ gòrò] àyú-ẁ dè] [[nù nǔ-m jìyɛ́-m̀ kù] mâ:], hà: jǎ:r=ní [ú káyⁿ=nì] [nǔ-m [á táwⁿyⁿà-m] jìyɛ́-tî:], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:][[356]](#footnote-356) [[káŋŋɛ̀ gòrò] àyú-ẁ dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní-m̀ bà

S: sèytá:n-ùm—

O: sèytá:n-ùm=∅ kú bírɛ́-m̀

S: bû: ɔ̀m kù

O: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ kú bírɛ́-m̀

S: kú=m̀=bɛ̀

O: ŋ̀gú=m̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bírɛ̀]

## Text 2005-2a.01 Tale of Yasama

S: A, [î: mà:] sé:njè: gǎyⁿ

A:[[357]](#footnote-357) sé:njè: bé:=ǹ[[358]](#footnote-358)

S and others: nà:tɛ́:

A: [[yà‑sámà yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɔ̂: yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nárⁿà yà→]] kû: wò] gàyⁿ

S and others: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: hàyà, yà‑sámà [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɔ̂: yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nárⁿà yà→]] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nàrⁿá=ní] yà:‑yî‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀=dá dé] [[yà:‑yì lǎ‑m bôy] sɛ̀‑nɛ́‑bɔ́[[359]](#footnote-359)] wá, [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m kù] [nù: kà:ⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [yà:‑yî‑m kù]— [[nù: kà:ⁿ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tègè‑rɛ́:] yì‑yɛ̌: wò:‑wôy] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ bû: tégé‑ẁ dè] ní‑m̀‑n‑ɛ́ gǐ:ⁿ‑yɛ̀ wà,

sèŋ tɛ̀:[[360]](#footnote-360) bárⁿà‑w, [[sím mánì:] wò] â: náyⁿú‑ẁ, [nù: kà:ⁿ yɛ̌=ń kú ǎy sí‑lé bɛ̀rɛ́‑m̀ wôy] [yà‑sámà [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ]=∅] gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ wà, [nù kâ:ⁿ] yɛ̌‑mà dè, ùrɔ́‑jɛ̂: ùrɔ́‑jɛ̂: ùrɔ́‑jɛ̂:, [[pɛ́cɛ́rɛ̀ wò] dɔ́‑mà dè] sí‑yé‑yɛ̀ wà, bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑n‑ɛ́ wá, [áŋàyⁿ káⁿ‑m̀ tínɛ́m] [káⁿ‑m̀ tínɛ́m] [káⁿ‑m̀ tínɛ́m] [[àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yì jó:] yɛ̌=ń lò‑bɔ́] wá, [ùrɔ́ gǔn] bɛ̀l‑l‑á[[361]](#footnote-361) wá,

dúmbù‑m[[362]](#footnote-362) yɛ̀ wà, dúmbù‑m á yɛ̌‑ẁ, hàyà [á má:] yà‑sámà jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ bà, [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] yà‑sámà jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀̀] bò[[363]](#footnote-363)] bě:‑rɛ̀[[364]](#footnote-364) dé wôy, [[[[sím kù] mánì:] wò] ùrɔ́‑ẁ dè] [[sèŋgù bárⁿà‑w kù] ǎy sí‑lè‑ỳ][[365]](#footnote-365) gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ wà, ɔ́→ wá[[366]](#footnote-366), yâ: á ló‑ẁ, [yà:‑yî‑m kù=ǹ] á tíní‑ẁ, [[[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] bínì kù] wó] á dɔ̌‑ẁ, hàyà [[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] wó] ùrî: tùmdì wà, [[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] á táwá‑ẁ kù,

*[chanson en Jamsay]*

yà‑sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà[[367]](#footnote-367) bâ:

yà‑sámà bâ: pó:→ yà‑sámà nâ:

[dà:ŋà bàrⁿù núŋò] yàŋá súnúŋó‑tù‑m dè

yà‑sámà [mì cé]=ỳ jɛ̀‑bè

gǔnǹ déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ

jɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ́ yàŋà‑ḿ→ bá

áŋàyⁿ gì:ⁿ wà, ùrî: tùmdì wà, dá:‑wó ùrɔ́ á wàngú‑ẁ, píníwⁿú=ní

yà‑sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà bâ:

sámà bâ: pó:→ yà‑sámà nâ:

[dà:ŋà bàrⁿù núŋò] yàŋá súnúŋó‑tù‑m dè

yà‑sámà [mì cé]=ỳ jɛ̀‑bè

gǔnǹ déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ

jɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ́ yàŋà‑ḿ→ bá

cɛ́lɛ̀ cíwⁿɛ́:‑rà‑ẁ, ɔ́→ wá, ùrɔ́ gò wà, [ùrɔ́ á gǒ‑ẁ] [[sèŋgû: kù] á àyú‑ẁ] [[[á kû:] wò] á náyⁿú‑ẁ], [nǎ: ɲâyⁿ] tàwà‑rí wá, píníwⁿú=ní, sí‑yé‑m̀ bà gǐ:ⁿ=ń, [á kû:] á símígé‑ẁ

yà‑sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà bâ:

sámà bâ: pó:→ yà‑sámà nâ:

[dà:ŋà bàrⁿù núŋò] yàŋá súnúŋó‑tù‑m dè

yà‑sámà [mì cé]=ỳ jɛ̀‑bè

gǔnǹ déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ

jɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ́ yàŋà‑ḿ→ bá

é:, sì‑y‑î: tùmdì wà íyà, íyà áŋàyⁿ sí‑yé‑jɛ̀→ sí‑ye‑jɛ̀→ [[pɛ́cɛ́rɛ̀ kù] wó] yɛ̌ á dɔ̌‑ẁ,

yà‑sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà bâ:

sámà bâ: pó:→ yà‑sámà nâ:

[dà:ŋà bàrⁿù núŋò] yàŋá súnúŋó‑tù‑m dè

yà‑sámà [mì cé]=ỳ jɛ̀‑bè

gǔnǹ déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ

jɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ́ yàŋà‑ḿ→ bá

káyⁿ‑jɛ̀⇒ yɛ̀=ń hâl bòlô: sí‑yé yɛ̀ wà, [[bòlô: kù] wó] sí‑yé á yɛ̌‑ẁ, [sèŋgû: kù] á dǔ‑ẁ, [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɔ̂:] ɔ̀rù‑m̀bò:] wò] á ló‑ẁ,

yà‑sámà nâ: pó:→ yà‑sámà bâ:

sámà bâ: pó:→ sámà nâ:

[dà:ŋà bàrⁿù núŋò] yàŋá súnúŋó‑tù‑m dè

yà‑sámà [mì cé]=ỳ jɛ̀‑bè

gǔnǹ déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ

jɛ̀ŋɛ̀rⁿɛ́ yàŋà‑ḿ→ bá

áŋàyⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǐ:ⁿ=nì, yà‑sámà yɔ̌: tùmdì wà, [[bɔ̌:‑m[[368]](#footnote-368) yɔ̌: tùmdì] wà] [[nàrⁿǎ‑m yɔ̌: tùmdì] wà], dúmbù‑m [bû: mà:] [[[ǹjé yɔ̂:] yɔ́‑m̀] mà→] wà,

[á má:] [[bû: m̀bó:‑sùŋgù] ɲàyⁿ] bû: bàsà wà, [sèŋgû: kù mà:] [mànî: wò] bù wá, [á má:] nà:‑sî: sò‑ló wá, lɔ̀sɔ̀‑sî: sò‑ló wá, bû: yà:‑yì‑m jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ gì:ⁿ, [[mànî: kù wò] sèŋgù bû:[[369]](#footnote-369) kù] ǎy sí‑lé‑mà dè, yà‑sámà jɛ̀‑ý gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀, [á má:] [sèŋgû: kù] ùrɔ́:‑rɛ̀, ǎy sí‑lé‑tî:, [bû: sèŋgù] ŋ́gòy wà, [nɛ́: kày] [[[yǎ‑m kù] têy kù] tègè=náy] á lò‑ḿ bá, hàyà [sèŋgû: kù] ǎy sí‑lé á tí‑ẁ,[[370]](#footnote-370)

[yà:‑yî‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] nì‑bɔ̀ wà] [yà:‑yî‑m lǒ‑ỳ àw‑rí wá] [pàŋá ɲâyⁿ] búmbùm búmbùm búmbùm, [á yâ‑m] jíjɛ̀→[[371]](#footnote-371) áŋàyⁿ lò wà, [sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdɔ́:] ámélém]

O: [û: cìrⁿì‑jɛ̀mɛ̀y[[372]](#footnote-372)] ló wáyá‑ǹ

## Text 2005-2a.02 Tale of Asama

S: A [ú sé:njè: ŋ̀gú] ɛ́rú‑ḿ kòy, [î: mà:] [lǎ‑w yà] gǎyⁿ

A: gǎyⁿ

S: lǎ‑w gǎyⁿ

A: sé:njè: bé:=ǹ

S and others: nà:tɛ́:

A: àsùwⁿɛ̀-[yì-tɛ᷈:] [yà:‑yî: pò:‑yà‑m] ɔ̀: [yà:‑yî: pò:‑àrⁿà‑m] [[à‑sámà[[373]](#footnote-373) kù:] wò] gàyⁿ

S and others: [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kû:] wò] dǎyⁿ káyⁿ[[374]](#footnote-374)

A: à‑sámà yɛ̀=ń [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ lɔ́sɔ̀] wò] mi᷈:ⁿ gò wà

S: ná:m

A: [mi᷈:ⁿ kù] jɔ̀ŋgí→ bû: dɛ́=ǹ, sùs‑î: àw‑rì wà, [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sǎy→], yà:‑yî‑m kù— ɔ̀: [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sǎy→] [yà:‑yî: kù] [yà:‑yî: súyⁿɔ̀y]=∅, [ŋ́gòy hâl lɔ̀sɔ̂: mi᷈: á gǒ‑ẁ kù] [ŋ́gòy hâl lɔ̀sɔ̂: ɲàwⁿá:‑rɛ̀] wà, [[[àyà:‑tɔ̀w njê:]=∅ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ súsɔ́‑m̀ mà] gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀] [[yámjá‑m dúrɔ̀] ɲàyⁿ] súsɔ́‑m̀ gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ wà,

hàyà [yà:‑yì tùwⁿɔ̂‑m bɔ̀ŋɔ̀] [[á gǒ‑ẁ] [[[[á pó:‑àrⁿà‑m lɔ̀sɔ̀ kù] sù‑súsɔ́‑m̀] tùlù] wò], [á má:] [yámjá‑m dúrɔ̀] làrà‑rá: ló‑m̀] gì:ⁿ wà, [tùwô‑m bɔ̀ŋɔ̀] [á sá‑ẁ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] ló‑rɛ́‑ý[[375]](#footnote-375) wá dé, [yámjá‑m dúrɔ̀ mà:] [[kú bɛ́r‑ì:] nǔm bú‑ẁ] wà, [jǐnjɛ̀ ǎw‑jɛ̂: dè] [[á má:] lì‑ló‑m̀] bà, hàyà [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] lì‑ló‑m̀ wò] bě:‑rɛ̀ dè] [[ló‑ẁ dè] [[jâm ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̀‑ý[[376]](#footnote-376)] wá, ɔ́: wá,

á gǒ‑ẁ, [ósù wò] lǒ‑ỳ tùmdì, ló‑jɛ̀→ ló‑jɛ̀→ ló‑jɛ̀→ ló‑jɛ̀→ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ló:‑rɛ̀ mà:] [yámjá ɔ̂:‑m], [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dímbà‑yɛ̀ yà→] [[bû: níyá‑m̀=bày] tɛ̀mbù] wà, [á ló‑ẁ] [[ɔ̂:‑m̀ kù] dúrɔ̀ kù] wɔ̀mbù wà, wɔ̀mbí=ní [yɔ̀g‑î: tùmdì] wà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀],

yámjá‑m [[ùsú súyⁿɔ̀y] dɔ̌‑r[[377]](#footnote-377) dé], [jìré nî: ní:yⁿí‑ẁ dè] yúrɔ́‑m̀‑dó wá, háyà, [yɔ̀ɣɔ́‑jɛ̀→, yé‑m̀ bà] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ‑kâ:ⁿ tɔ̀w mùlò‑ý[[378]](#footnote-378) nǐ:y] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] nì] wà yà‑pɛ̌‑m[[379]](#footnote-379) [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ló‑m̀=bày],

háyà, [ùsú súyⁿɔ̀y] kú dì‑dɔ́‑m̀ꜛ, yù‑yúrɔ́‑m̀, [bû: yà] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] dìmbì‑yì‑bɔ́ wá, [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] dìmbì‑yí=ní] [[â: wôy] yɔ̀ɣɔ́‑jɛ̀→ yɔ̀ɣɔ́‑jɛ̀→] [yɔ̀gɔ́‑ẁ bɛ̀] gà: [yà:‑yî‑m kù néyⁿ][[380]](#footnote-380) dɛ̌:‑rɛ̀, [gɔ̀lí ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tíní:‑‑rɛ̀ yà→] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] sɔ́sí‑lí:‑r‑à:,

[kùrⁿù‑yî: gò‑ló=ń], pɔ̀tɔ̀ wà, háyà kùrⁿù‑yî: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pɔ́tɔ́=ǹ, [kùrⁿù ɲá:pìníyà[[381]](#footnote-381)] kàyⁿ wà, [kúrⁿù kù] [bû: yà] [bû: gógó‑m̀] [bû: gógó‑m̀] [bû: gógó‑m̀] [bû: gógó‑m̀] [kúrⁿù kù] yɛ̌=ń mòlò wà, íyà [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] dìmbì‑yì‑bɔ̀ wà, yɔ̀ɣɔ́=ń yɛ̌=ń [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] sɔ̀sùlù bɔ̀ wà,

ɔ̀sɔ̀rɔ̀‑pìnǎm yá só‑ẃ=bɛ̂: wà, kú màsà wà, yɛ̌=ń nì:‑bá: kàyⁿ wà, [[nì:‑bá: kù] nɔ́ dùmdí tí=ń] [[pù‑pɔ̀tú kù] dɛ̀gɛ́ tí=ń] [bû: ló:‑rɛ̀ mà: wôy] [íyà wàngí:‑rɛ̀] wà, píníwⁿú=ní íyà yɔ̀g‑î: tùmdì wà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ̀gɔ́‑m̀=bày] yɛ̌=ń [hâl ló [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] sɔ̀sùlù‑bɔ̀] wà,

píníwⁿú=ní íyà tùwⁿɔ̂‑m wàsà wà, wɔ̀rɔ̀‑yî:, úlì kàyⁿ wà, [[úlì kù] tɛ́rɛ́ tì=náy] [láwá:‑r‑à: bû: gǐ:ⁿ‑lè mà: wôy] [yà:‑yî‑m [[á bɔ̂:] là:rà:] dɔ̌:‑rɛ̀] wà, là:rá: yɛ̌ á dɔ̌‑ẁ kù,

yà‑írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑mɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ìrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

nàŋá mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

bɛ̀rú mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

sǒm mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑mɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ìrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→ wà

[[ìsê: kù] nû:] nù‑r‑á wá, íyà yèy‑nɛ́ áŋàyⁿ nùwⁿò wà, hàyà séw[[382]](#footnote-382) bè‑ý[[383]](#footnote-383) wá dé, [â: là:rà: dá: má:] kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ yá gó‑m̀ bà

yà‑írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑mɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ìrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

nàŋá mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

sǒm mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

bɛ̀rú mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑mɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ìrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→ wà

áŋàyⁿ gì:ⁿ wà, ŋ̀gú kày yà‑írè‑m sárá só‑ẁ wà dè, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nárⁿà] yì-tɛ̀:] gàmbú nî: kɔ̀wɔ̀‑bɔ̀ wà, gàmbú ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ́ ày‑bɔ̀ wà, hà: [áŋàyⁿ gó=ń] [ósù wò] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kèsè‑bɔ̀ wà,

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] yá yé‑m̀ mà: wà, sá‑álâw[[384]](#footnote-384) [á má:] yá yé‑m̀ bà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] bɛ̀rɛ́‑ẁ mà: wà, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [á má:] bɛ̀rɛ́‑ẁ wà, [[á bɔ̂:] òrù‑m̀bò:] yɛ̌ á dɔ̌‑ẁ

yà‑írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑mɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ìrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

nàŋá mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

sǒm mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

bɛ̀rú mà dúrɔ̀→, yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→,

yà‑mɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ìrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà‑dúrɔ̀→ wà

áŋàyⁿ gì:ⁿ wà, [áŋàyⁿ yɛ̌ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nú=ǹ] sù→gá[[385]](#footnote-385)́ yɛ̌ á nú‑ẁ cɛ̂w, háyà [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pó:‑àrⁿà‑m] ɛ́rⁿɛ́[[386]](#footnote-386) bí‑yé‑ẃ=bày tɛ̀mbù wà, [jì‑jɛ̂:ⁿ [[lɔ̀sɔ̂: kù] wó] bû: bú=bày] yɛ́y‑yɛ́y[[387]](#footnote-387) ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gì:ⁿ=nì, lɔ̀sɔ̂: [kô:→ pù→][[388]](#footnote-388) kàyⁿ wà,

[sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdɔ́:] ámélém]

## Text 2005-2a.03 Girl and incestuous father

S: A, [lǎ‑w yà] [î: mà:] gǎyⁿ

O: ɔ́:, sé:njè: bé:=ǹ

S: nà:tɛ́:

A: [[árⁿà‑m yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî‑m yà→] kû: wò] gàyⁿ

S: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: árⁿà‑m [yí‑m á nàrⁿá‑ẁ] [yǎ‑m á jɛ́‑ẁ], [yí‑m á nàrⁿá‑ẁ], [[yí‑m kù] nárⁿà kù] lǎr gò‑lò wà, lǎr á gò‑ló‑ẁ kù, [yí‑m kù] jɛ́‑m̀ gì:ⁿ wà, [yí‑m kù yà] [á má:] [á bɔ̂:] ɛ́‑m̀‑dó[[389]](#footnote-389) gì:ⁿ wà,

hà: [bɔ̌:‑m kù] [[[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] á ɛ́‑m̀‑dó] wó] bě:‑rɛ̀ dè] [[á úrò] ló gò‑ý[[390]](#footnote-390)] gì:ⁿ wà, ɔ́: gì:ⁿ, á yɔ̀ɣɔ́‑ẁ kù, [[sím mánì:] wò] ùrɔ̀ wà, [[[[sím mánì:] wò] ùrɔ́=ní] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] [nàrⁿá‑m ìsê: gó yɛ̌=ní], [á yî‑m] jɔ̀rɔ́→ yì‑rí,

[[yí‑m bɔ̂:] mà:] [yí‑m àŋâyⁿ kàyⁿ mà→] wà, [á má:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sɛ́rɛ̀] sò‑ló gì:ⁿ wà, [[póŋgó wó] ló=ń] [[yì-tɛ̌: mà:] ùsùrù] wà, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî‑m mà:] [[sím mánì:] wò] yá náyⁿa‑ẃ[[391]](#footnote-391)] gì:ⁿ bɔ̀ wà, [[sím kù] bírⁿì] wò] á yɛ̌‑ẁ kù, [[yà:‑yî‑m kù] ínìrⁿì:] dènnéy gì̀:ⁿ‑yɛ̀, [dènnéy wá ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǐ:ⁿ=nì], wó→[[392]](#footnote-392) wá,

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [[sím kù] wó] ǹjê:=∅ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɛ̂: mà: wà, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ [[á bɔ̂:] mà:] á jɛ́‑m̀ gǔyⁿꜛ, [[á má:] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì ɛ́ bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó gì:ⁿ] [[[úrò kù] wó] gò‑ý gì:ⁿ wà] [á má:] kú=m̀ [[[sím kù] mánì:] wò] ùrɔ́‑só‑ẁ wà, [[hɔ̂:ⁿ mà] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gì:ⁿ] [é: wá] [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] yɛ̌ sí‑yé‑ý] wá] sí‑yé‑m̀‑dó wà,

úrò á ló‑ẁ, mò:‑ɲɛ̌y á bìrɛ́‑ẁ, [[[sím kù] bírⁿì kù] wó] á yɛ̌‑ẁ

kó dèné‑ílè dèné‑ílè

[dégé‑dégé sùgó:‑yó] [dí: yàbì nɔ̀:],

wûy ínâ:,

[ìndɛ̀ ànná] yá: mîn làrá: bòdà:

íyé mîn jì‑jíyⁿɛ̀dɛ̀,

[dí: gɛ̀] [yímɛ́‑ní yǎy yó:] nɔ̀:‑dɛ̀m→ bà

káyⁿ→ dɛ̂: wà, háyà ló=ń íyà, [á nárⁿà=ǹ] ɲàrⁿí jɛ̂: wà, nàrⁿá‑m kù yà, [sèsú‑m kù yà] á yɛ̌‑ẁ,

dèné‑ílè dèné‑ílè

[dégé‑dégé sùgó:‑yó] [dí: yàbì nɔ̀:],

wûy ínâ:,

[ìndɛ̀ ànná] yá: mîn làrá: bòdà:

íyé mîn jì‑jíyⁿɛ̀dɛ̀,

[dí: gɛ̀] [yímɛ́‑ní yǎy yó:] nɔ̀:‑dɛ̀m→ bà

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tû: bè] yɛ̀‑bɔ́ wá,

dèné‑ílè dèné‑ílè

[dégé‑dégé sùgó:‑yó] [dí: yàbì nɔ̀:],

wûy jú:mɔ̀,

[ìndɛ̀ ànná] yá: mîn làrá: bòdà:

íyé mîn jì‑jíyⁿɛ̀dɛ̀,

[dí: gɛ̀] [yímɛ́‑ní yǎy yó:] nɔ̀:‑dɛ̀m→ bà

káyⁿ→ dɛ̂:‑bɔ̀ wà, sì‑y‑î: àw‑rí wá, hà: [[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] dùlò‑ý] gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ wà, [[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] bû: dùló‑m̀] [bû: dùló‑m̀] [bû: dùló‑m̀] [[yàɣà‑rá: kú dɔ́=ǹ], [[kú dósù] wò] [tìwⁿɛ̀y lǎ‑w] yá jéŋgé‑ẃ wá,

[[nà:‑sî: kù] á dìmbì‑yí‑ẁ] [[lǎ‑w kù wò] tàŋgù] wà, [[[lǎ‑w kù] wó] táŋgí=ní] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yìⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tégé:‑rà‑m̀], ɲàrⁿí‑jɛ̂:‑bɔ̀ wà, ɲàrⁿá bû: jɛ̂:=ǹ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] á yɛ̌‑ẁ,

dèné‑ílè dèné‑ílè

[dégé‑dégé sùgó:‑yó] [dí: yàbì nɔ̀:],

wûy má:nù,

[ìndɛ̀ ànná] yá: mîn làrá: bòdà:

íyé mîn jì‑jíyⁿɛ̀dɛ̀,

[dí: gɛ̀] [yímɛ́‑ní yǎy yó:] nɔ̀:‑dɛ̀m→ bà

[káyⁿ→ dɛ̂: wà] [sì‑y‑î: àw‑rí wá], [[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] bû: dùló‑m̀] [bû: dùló‑m̀] [[tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] yà‑yáɣá‑m̀] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] yá‑dá: pì‑péré‑m̀], [yɛ̌=ń [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] péré sì‑yè wà] [tìwⁿɛ̌y kù] yàɣà wà, yâ: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ círⁿè:] wàsà wà,

[sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdɔ́:] ámélém]

## Text 2005-2a.04 Ya-Ire and the canine spy

A: píníwⁿú yà, sé:nj→è: bé:=ǹ

S and others: nà:té:

A: ìsê:[[393]](#footnote-393) [[yà:‑yî‑m kù] wó] gàyⁿ

S: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: hà: [yà:‑yî‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì bû: nàrⁿá=nì] lǎ‑w [[ìsê: kù] wó], [yà‑gùrɔ́ gò=ń] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] [bòlú mìrⁿ‑î: àw‑rí] wá, háyà [bòlú mìrⁿ‑î: àw‑rí] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], jâm mà bû: gǐ:=nì, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [yàrí: wó] ùrɔ̀‑rí dé wôy, [[sùmǒy wó] má:] bǒl sí‑yé‑m̀‑dó gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ wà

S: [yà:‑yî‑m kù] [mànî: wò] ùrɔ̀‑rí dé

A: é:, [yà:‑yî‑m kù] [mànî: wò] ùrɔ̀‑rí dé, [[[yà:‑yî‑m kù] [mànî: wò] ùrɔ̀‑rí dé] bǒl sí‑yé‑m̀‑dó má→ wà] [ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ bǒl sí‑yé‑m̀‑dó wá], háyà, [ɔ̂: bè] mɔ̀:lí=ń, [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɔ̂: yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nárⁿà yà→]] mâ:] ló=ń, hà: [â: ìsè:] ŋâyⁿ→ bòlú màyⁿá:‑rɛ̀→, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá:‑yì‑m kù mà:] [mànî: wò] ùrɔ̀‑rí dé] [bòlú sí‑yé‑m̀‑dó] gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀,

[yî‑m kù] [á mâ:] ní‑ý wá, ɔ̂:‑m, bɔ̌:‑m hɔ̂:ⁿ mà: wà, é: wá, [nàrⁿǎ‑m yà] hɔ̂:ⁿ mà: wà, é: wá, háyà, [ní‑ý gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ dè] [â:[[394]](#footnote-394) mà:] ní‑yⁿɛ̀ wà, [â: mà:] [[nì:‑nɔ̀rⁿú yá→] [kɔ̂: yà→]] [àrsɛ̌: má:] [[nì:‑nɔ̀rⁿú yá→] [kɔ̂: yà→]], [[â: yì‑m kù] [yàrí: wó] ùrɔ́:‑rɛ̀ dè] [bǒl mì‑mírⁿɛ́‑m̀ dè kày], [â: mà:] [yí‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ní‑tí‑yà wà, ɔ́: wá,

[yû: gò‑ló=ní] [sárgà â: tóró‑ẁ] [â: kɔ́[[395]](#footnote-395)‑jɛ́‑ẁ], [yà:‑yî‑m kù=ǹ] [mànî: wò] áŋàyⁿ ùlù‑rù[[396]](#footnote-396)‑bɔ́ wá, [mànî: wò] á ùrɔ́‑ẁ, háyà [yâ: bú‑túnɔ́[[397]](#footnote-397)] bú‑túnɔ́ bú‑túnɔ́ bú‑túnɔ́ bú‑túnɔ́, [yà‑gùrɔ́ gò=ń] hâl ló yɛ̌=ń, yí‑m nàrⁿà wà,

yí‑m nàrⁿá=ní, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, [bòlô: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sí‑lé‑yɛ̀ gǐ:ⁿ=ní] [[yí‑m kù] àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m=∅] bà, hà: [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] ló:‑rɛ̀ dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî‑m kù] ínìrⁿì:] tégé‑rɛ́‑ý wá dé, [[yî‑m kù] ínìrⁿì:] [á má:] àrá‑yà‑lógòrò gǎyⁿ‑só‑ẁ wà

S: àrá‑yà‑lógòrò

A: àrá‑yà‑lógòrò, [*laughs*] é: [á má:] àrá‑yà‑lógòrò gǎyⁿ‑só‑ẁ wà, ɔ́: wá, [bòlô: sí‑yé=ń] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] [ìnjɛ̌‑m [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] dìm‑dì‑bɔ́] wá, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:=m̀ dè] [ŋ̀gú ló‑ẁ dè] [tègè‑rí káⁿ‑m̀‑dó wá] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tégé‑tî: dè] [ìnjɛ̌‑m kù mà:] yɛ̌ [â: mà:] tégé‑ý wá,

[ɔ́: wá gǐ:ⁿ=ní] yɛ̌=ń [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [nù kâ:ⁿ] [yà‑írè yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ wà] [yà‑írè yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ wà], [[yà‑írè mà:] [yí‑m nàrⁿá=ń] yɛ̌‑só‑ẁ wà kòy] ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [á má:] yí‑m nàrⁿá‑tî: wà, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî‑m] ìnìrⁿì:] àŋâyⁿ gǐ:ⁿ‑yɛ̀ mà:] wà, ǎy [á kày] [[á yî‑m] ìnìrⁿì:] tégé‑m̀‑dó wá dé, [mànî: dá:] á=ǹ [tégé‑rɛ́‑ý gìn] [bòlô: á sì‑lè‑bɔ́] wá [[á kày] tégé‑m̀‑dó] wá,

[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] mùyⁿɔ́ káyⁿ wá] [tégé‑ý wá] [â: mà:], háyà [á má:] [bû: mà: kày] tégé‑m̀ bà, [[á yî‑m] ìnìrⁿì: mà:] àrá‑yà‑lógòrò gǔyⁿ‑yɛ̀ wà, [jàɣà ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [[ìnjɛ̌‑m kù] sɛ́rɛ̀] sò‑ló] [[ìnjɛ̌‑m kù] [á yɛ̌‑ẁ] [dùyⁿɔ́rⁿù wò] yá bíyⁿá‑wⁿ[[398]](#footnote-398), bìyⁿ‑rⁿí[[399]](#footnote-399) á gǒ‑ẁ, [póŋgú wó] á nú‑ẁ,

[cɛ́jɛ́ lɛ́ bè gâ:] cɛ̀jɛ̀,

[wɔ̀ɣɔ́ lɛ́ bè gâ:] wɔ̀ɣɔ̀

àrá‑yà‑lógòrò àrà‑kàlá‑yá‑lógòrò

ɲàŋ kɔ́yⁿꜛ ɲàŋ kɔ̀yⁿ wà

[*laughs*] [nɛ́: kày], [[yà‑írè gɔ̀lí] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tín=nì] ìnjɛ̌‑m̀=∅, [pòŋgù ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ló‑ẁ wò:‑wôy] [ló‑ẁ dè]

[cɛ́jɛ́ lɛ́ bè gâ:] cɛ̀jɛ̀,

[wɔ̀ɣɔ́ lɛ́ bè gâ:] wɔ̀ɣɔ̀

àrá‑yà‑lógòrò àrà‑kàlá‑yá‑lógòrò

ɲàŋ kɔ̀yⁿꜛ ɲàŋ kɔ̀yⁿ wà

háyà áŋàyⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káⁿ‑m̀=bày, [á kày] nɛ́: ù-ʔúrɔ́‑m̀ bà, [ìnjɛ̌‑m sɛ́rɛ̀] sò‑ló→ [á má:] tègé:] [[ìnjɛ̌‑m á bɔ̀rⁿɔ́ jíyɛ́‑m̀] bà] [[mànî: dá:] á ùrɔ́‑ẁ dè] [á dúwɔ́‑m̀‑nɛ̀] wà,

hà: ínjírí=ní [[mànî: wò] ùrɔ́=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [yí‑m ínìrⁿì:] tégé‑ẁ=bɛ̀ má: tègè‑rí má→ wá, [á má:] kày, tègè‑rí wá, ìnjɛ̌‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] tégé‑ẁ wà dè, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] tégé‑rɛ́‑ý bû: gǐ:ⁿ=nì, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] tégé‑m̀‑dó gǔyⁿ=bɛ̀ síní] [[yî‑m kù] ínìrⁿì:] àrá‑yà‑lógòrò gùyⁿ→, á má: yà

[cɛ́jɛ́ lɛ́ bè gâ:] cɛ̀jɛ→,

[wɔ̀ɣɔ́ lɛ́ bè gâ:] wɔ̀ɣɔ̀

àrá‑yà‑lógòrò àrà‑kàlá‑yá‑lógòrò

ɲàŋ kɔ̀yⁿꜛ ɲàŋ kɔ̀yⁿ

[á má: yà] áŋàyⁿ gì:ⁿ wà, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] tégé‑ẁ mà→ wà, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ [á má:] tégé‑ẁ wà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì yâ: ǎy=ní] [bòlô: sì‑lè‑bɔ́ wá] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ círⁿè:] yâ: wàsà wà

## Text 2005-2a.05 The drowned junior co-wife

A: pírⁿíwú kálà sé:njè: bé:=ǹ

S: nà:tɛ́:

A: [[[[yǎ‑m yá→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá‑nɔ̀rⁿù‑m yà→]] kú] wò] gàyⁿ

S: [[bû: kù] wò] dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: háyà [[yǎ‑m ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ́ ɛ́=ń] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [yà‑gùrɔ̀‑kàlá ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì jɛ̂:‑bɔ̀] wà [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì bû: jɛ̂:=nì] [yà‑díyⁿà‑m=nì úrò tɛ̀mbì] wà, [â: yèy] tǎ: ló‑ý gì:ⁿ‑bɔ̀ wà, [nɛ́: kày] tǎ: â: ló‑ẁꜛ,

[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kù] [mànî: wò] á bé‑ẁ] [lò:sú‑m kù] bòlô: sì‑lè wà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nî:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] kɔ́wɔ́ dɛ̀:r wà, [á kɔ̂:ⁿ] ǎw‑jɛ̂: wà, [[á kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] ǎw dɛ̌y á dùwɔ́‑ẁ kù] [yà:‑yì lò:sú‑m kù] [á kɔ̂:ⁿ kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ́wɔ́‑m̀=bày, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì á dàmbú‑ẁ tǎ: gàyⁿ wà,

[tǎ: gǎyⁿ=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], nùmbú‑m ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tógó[[400]](#footnote-400)‑jɛ̂: wà, tógó=ní ɛ́rⁿɛ́ só‑ẃ=bày, [yǎ‑m kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pó‑àrⁿà‑m] àmà‑sàgú gǐ:ⁿ‑yɛ̀ yá bú wá, àrsɛ̀:‑bèrě‑m̀=∅ bà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá‑nɔ̀rⁿù‑m kù] [á nínjɛ̀] ǎy á dǔ‑ẁ ló:‑rɛ̀ wà̀,

àrsɛ̀:‑bèrě‑m—, [[yǎ‑m kù] ló=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ́ŋgɔ̀rɔ̀] [á yá‑dà:‑m] néy má: wá, [[á kày] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yâ‑m] yì‑rí wá dé] [[[â: yèy] gò‑bɔ́ wá] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] là:rá: wàŋgí‑m̀ gǐn] wàŋgì→, [á yà] [[á nî:] kɔ́wɔ́=ní] yɛ̌:‑rà‑ẁ] [á kày] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sɛ́rɛ̀] sò‑ló wá,

î→, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [yǎ‑m kù] lò:sú‑m̀=∅ [là:rá: wàŋgì→] [là:rá: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wàŋgí=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má: kày] lǎ‑w, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ̀wⁿɲɛ̀‑rⁿí má→ wá, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [á má: kày] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ̀wⁿɲɛ̀‑rⁿí wá kòy, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yâ‑m] là:rá: wàŋgí=ní] yɛ̀‑rí→ [á má:] [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ́wⁿɲɛ́‑m̀ mà→ wà, ɔ́: wà,

háyà ìsê: bɔ̀rⁿú ǎy=ní, [yǎ‑m kù] jɔ̀rɔ̀‑rɛ́: gò‑bɔ́ wá, [ùsù‑dɛ́rⁿí jɔ̀rɔ́ dɛ̀rⁿɛ́=ní] [yì‑r‑á wá] [áŋàyⁿ nà‑bɔ́ wá] [yì‑r‑á wá], [nárⁿà ɔ̀mɔ̂: kù] yǎ‑m— àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pó‑àrⁿà‑m] àmà‑sàgú [tǎ: á ló‑ẁ], [sàbɔ̌l ɲâyⁿ] nî: kɔ́wɔ́‑m̀ bà gǐ:ⁿ=ní, nî: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ múmbó‑m̀=bày, [pìré: dá:] á bé‑ẁ,

[ní: bɛ́rɛ̀] sàbɔ̌l búmbúm

ǎ:=ỳ bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà

[nì:‑bá: bɛ́rɛ̀] sàbɔ̌l búmbúm

ǎ:=ỳ bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà mà→

mí àmà‑sàg=î:

àmà‑sàgú yá: [ɛ́mɛ́ ànà‑bɛ̌n] yá gó:=kɔ̀

jâm [ìɲé mà bɛ̀n]=î: mà

ɔ̀ɣɔ̀lúm mà yà‑dìŋɛ́ wɔ̀:‑rɔ́ bɛ̀y

[kó bɛ̌n] bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà‑bɔ̀

nùŋò‑lú‑m gà yǎ: tògò

[àɣà‑yà:‑èré=ỳ mí dàmá kúnó‑sà nà]

nùŋò‑lú‑m gà yǎ: tògò→ wà

áŋàyⁿ gì:ⁿ wà, àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî‑m séw→ bè wà, â: [[[nì: ŋ̀gú] pírè] má: kày] jâm=dá wá dé, íyà yèy‑nɛ́ [nî: kù] mùmb‑î: tùmdì wà,

[ní: bɛ́rɛ̀] sàbɔ̌l búmbúm

ǎ:=ỳ bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà

mí àmà‑sàg=î:

àmà‑sàgú yá: [[ɛ́mɛ́ ànà] bɛ̌n] yá gó:=kɔ̀ bây

[ìɲé mà bɛ̀n]=î: mà

ɔ̀ɣɔ̀lúm mà yà‑dìŋɛ́ wɔ̀:‑rɔ́ jɛ̀‑bɔ̀

[kó bɛ̌n] bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà‑bɔ̀

nùŋò‑lú‑m gà yǎ: tògò

[àɣà‑yà:‑èré=ỳ mí dàmá kúnó‑sà nà]

nùŋò‑lú‑m gà yǎ: tògò→ wá

ínjírí=ní ló [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] tègè‑bɔ́ wá, [ɔ̂:‑m mà:] bû: tégé=nì, háyà [ɔ̂:‑m íyà píníwⁿú=ní] ìsê: ɲàrⁿí mɔ̀:lí=ń, háyà [àmà‑sàgú má:] [á pó‑yà‑m] [nî: wò] yá bú gì:ⁿ→, [nɛ́: kày] dàyⁿ gò‑ló‑yɛ̀ dǎwrù [á mâ:] nù‑ý gì:ⁿ wà

[[bû: mà:], ɔ́: wá], [[nî: kù] cé:rì wò] yɛ̌=ń] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pó‑àrⁿà‑m kù] ɲàrⁿí‑jɛ̀→ yɛ̀‑bɔ́ wá, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] dɔ́ mùmbó tínì‑ỳ wà, mùmb‑î: tùmdì wà, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ múmbó‑m̀=bày

[ní: bɛ́rɛ̀] sàbɔ̌l búmbúm

ǎ:=ỳ bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà

[nì:‑bá: bɛ́rɛ̀] sàbɔ̌l búmbúm

ǎ:=ỳ bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà mà→

[mí àmà‑sàg=î:]

àmà‑sàgú yá: [[ɛ́mɛ́ ànà] bɛ̌n] yá gó:=kɔ̀ bây

[ìɲé mà bɛ̀n]=î: mà

ɔ̀ɣɔ̀lúm mà yà‑dìŋɛ́ wɔ̀:‑rɔ́ jɛ̀‑bɔ̀

[kó bɛ̌n] bàrⁿá:‑rⁿà‑bɔ̀

nùŋò‑lú‑m gà yǎ: tògò

[àɣà‑yà:‑èré=ỳ mí dàmá kúnó‑sà nà]

nùŋò‑lú‑m gà yǎ: tògò→ wá

ɔ́: wá gì:ⁿ, yèy‑nɛ́ bàrⁿá— [yèy‑nɛ́ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǎyⁿ=nì yà] [áŋàyⁿ káyⁿ wà], áŋàyⁿ kú káyⁿ=nì, háyà, [[nî: bɔ̀ŋɔ̀] mà:] [yǎ‑m kù=ǹ] â: lémdé‑ẁ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì gò‑ló=ní] [úrò jí‑jɛ̀→ yé‑yɛ̀ gǐ:ⁿ=ní] bû: yé‑m̀=bày,

[[nî: bɔ̀ŋɔ̀] yà] [àrsɛ́: yá→] gùlɔ́→ sǒ:→, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] áŋàyⁿ dìm‑dí tì wà, [dìm‑dí ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tí=nì] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá‑nɔ̀rⁿù‑m yà] [nárⁿà ɔ̀mɔ̂:] á yɛ̌‑ẁ] [[[nî: wò] pírè] nù] wà [[kù‑kùmbò pílɛ́] gò] wà,

[sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdɔ́:] ámélém]

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

S: [î: mà:] sé:→jè: gàyⁿ‑ý

B: yà‑pɛ̌‑m tùwⁿɔ̂‑m, [[á kû:] mà:] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑dáná: á bé‑ẁ] [àrsɛ̌: màŋgí=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [hâl jò‑bɔ́] bɛ́rù, áywà [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yâ:‑yì‑m], [[tàdùŋgú‑m yâ‑m] bò] bù, kú bú nɛ̀, [[tì‑ta᷈:‑m yà→] [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m yá→]] [kú sɛ́rɛ̀] sɛ̀‑nɛ́,

[ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] sû:‑m â: jìyɛ́‑ẁ, [sù:‑nàwⁿâ: kù] jí‑jɛ̀⇒ â: yɛ̌‑ẁ, [yà‑pɛ̌‑m kù mâ:] nì‑bà[[401]](#footnote-401), [[[á ná:mù] nìnjɛ̀] wò] pɔ́tɔ́ gàyⁿ, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dósù] wò] ɛ́wⁿrⁿí→ â: dɛ́‑ẁ, ínjírí=ní, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑dáná: lò‑bà, ló kú‑dá: běy â: dɛ́‑ẁ,

píníwⁿú â: yɛ̌‑ẁ, [ɲɛ̀‑n pɛ̌yⁿ‑n ná:‑m] sùgù‑dìgɛ́ wá, [yà‑pɛ̌‑m [sù:‑nàwⁿâ: kù] gò‑ló=ní] [[bû: mà:] dɛ̀:rì], [sù:‑nàwⁿâ: kù] â: àwú‑ẁ kù, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] ǎw kúwó‑ý] wá, [ŋ̀gú má:] sèsù‑mánù wà nà→,[[402]](#footnote-402) kú‑dá: kú bà‑rí wá gá,

ɔ́:→ wá, [íyà ǎw=ní] [[nà:mù nìnjɛ́] wó] gǎyⁿ dùwɔ̀, ínjírí=ní [íyà ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑dáná lò‑bà], [ùsù yèynɛ́] â: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù dèꜛ, [ɲɛ̀‑n gǎn ná:‑m] sùgù‑dìgɛ́ wá, sù:‑díyáy [bû: mà:] gò‑ló nî:[[403]](#footnote-403), [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [â: mà:] ɛ̀wⁿrⁿɛ̂:=∅ â: gúⁿ‑ẁ kù] [kɔ̀rû: mà:ní‑só‑ẁ mà→] wà, kúwó‑ý wá [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bàndè], ɔ́→ wá,

ǎy=ní [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǎyⁿ=nì], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yî‑m] [tàdùŋgú‑m yâ‑m kù] [á yɛ̌‑ẁ] kú gò‑ló kúwó‑jɛ̂:, áywà kúwó ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jɛ́‑ẁ kú ɲâyⁿ, [ùsù lǎ‑w] [â: yɛ̌‑ẁ] [ɲɛ̀‑n gǎ‑n ná:‑m], sùgù‑dìgɛ́ bû: gǔⁿ=nì, lúgúró=ní[[404]](#footnote-404) yì‑rí,

áywà [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [sù:‑díyáy kù] yì‑rí dé kày], wá:jíbì bɛ́rù‑m ní‑m̀ bà, [hɔ̂:ⁿ mà→ wà] [é: wá] [yà‑pɛ̌‑m kù yà] [tèy jó:] mìrá, hà: [bû: mà:] [bɛ̀r bû: jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] dɔ́ wò‑ý wá, [bɛ́rù‑m kù] â: wó‑ẁ, ínjírí ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑dáná: â: ló‑ẁ, sɛ́wⁿɛ́=ní símbé kúwó â: jɛ́‑ẁ,

[ùsú yèy] [ùsú tǎ:n] láwá=nì, ínjírí yá[[405]](#footnote-405) yé‑yɛ̀, [íyà â: sá‑ẁ kù dè] [ɲɛ̀‑n gǎ‑n ná:‑m] sùgù‑dígɛ́ wá, yà‑pɛ̌‑m sù:‑díyáy ŋ̀gó=rà:,[[406]](#footnote-406) [íyé yà] [bû: mà:] bɛ́rù‑m wò‑ý wá, [bû: wó‑m̀ nɛ̀][[407]](#footnote-407) [bû: wó‑m̀ nɛ̀] [bû: wó‑m̀ nɛ̀] [[bɛ́r kù kày] yɛ̌=ń] [[nɛ́: kày] [bɛ̀rì‑yì bù:sú‑m sǎy] yɛ̌ wàsà],

hà: [bɛ̀rì‑yì bù:sú‑m] wàɣàtù wàsá‑ẁ [kú ɲâyⁿ], [tín=ní [bû: káyⁿ=nì]] [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɛ́rù kù] gó] kú[[408]](#footnote-408) dùwⁿɔ́:‑r‑à:], [[bɛ̀rì‑yì bù:sù] bû: yì—, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:‑rà mǔ:][[409]](#footnote-409) mâ:, [[ùsù lǎ‑w] â: yɛ́‑rɛ̀] [[tàdùŋgú‑m dúgù] ŋ̀gú dɔ̀‑rí], [jâm wôy] [ɛ́rɛ́ mâ:] ŋ̀gó wá, yà‑pɛ̌‑m ínjírí=ní [kú yɔ̂:] yɔ́‑m̀ tínɛ́m ɛ́rⁿɛ́ só‑ẁ nɛ̀,

[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ́wⁿrⁿù] [tàdùŋgú‑m kù] [íyé kày] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pò‑rɛ́: yɛ̀, tàdùŋgú‑m á yɛ̌‑ẁ kù dèꜛ, [[á ɔ́wⁿrⁿù] má:] pǒ:→ wá, cìwɛ́rù káyⁿ jɛ̀=ǹ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] ǹjé=m̀ dɔ̀ŋgí=ní, yɔ̌: yɔ́‑m̀ tínɛ́m bù mà→ꜛ wá,

[térèw=∅ wà] [bɛ̀r‑hòggò kà:ⁿ, [[á nâ:] wò] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dùwɔ́‑ẁ kù nàŋàná:], [[tì‑tǎ:‑m̀ yà→] [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m yá→]], á=ǹ námɛ́rɛ́=ń, kú dò wôy, dúrùgà kúwó j‑â: wà, [bɛ̀rì‑yì bù:sù] wàsà mǔ:, tèwá, [bû: yɛ́‑rɛ̀] [tàdùŋgú‑m dàyⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bù‑ẁ ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] [kú kàⁿ‑ḿ[[410]](#footnote-410)] gì:ⁿ wà, kú yɔ̂: yɔ̌:‑rà‑ẁ wà,

áywà [kú=m̀ dè kày] [nà:rⁿá bú‑ẁ] wà, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [bɛ̀rì‑yî‑m kù] [á mâ:] ní‑ý wá, [ɔ̀wⁿrⁿú‑m kù yà] [bɛ̀rì‑yî‑m kù] ǎw‑jɛ̂:, ǎw á jɛ́‑ẁ kù dè, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bú nɛ̀, [[ùsú kù] úsù][[411]](#footnote-411) [jǐnjɛ̀ pɔ́ttɛ́=ǹ], bòlú yɛ̌:‑rà‑ẁ, áywà [bû: yà] yá yé‑yɛ̀,

hà: yà‑pɛ̌‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [kùlùrù ŋ̀gú dá:] nú bàŋgí‑yì‑y wà, tàdùŋgú‑m kú‑dá: nú ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bàŋgá‑ẁ nɛ̀, [[tì‑ta᷈:‑m yà→] [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m yá→]] â: yɛ̌‑ẁ kù dè, [ɲɛ̀‑n gǎ‑n ná:‑m] sùgù‑dígɛ́ wá, áywà [â: mà:] yɛ̌:‑r‑à: wà, [â: bɛ̀rì‑yì‑m kù] wò‑rɛ́:, [hɔ̂:ⁿ mà→ wà] [é: wá],

áywà [[bû: bɛ̀rì‑yì‑m má:] [[kùlùrù kú][[412]](#footnote-412) pírè] yá bú gá][[413]](#footnote-413) [dɔ́ wò‑ý] wá, ɔ́rɔ̀=∅ bòlú mírⁿɛ́‑m̀ tínɛ́m bù, dɔ́ táwá bû: tín=ní, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ́gù[[414]](#footnote-414) kù] lɔ́ɣɔ́:‑rɛ̀,

áywà térèw=∅ wà, î:, [yà‑pɛ̌‑m kù má:] bɛ̀r‑nɔ̀:’{wⁿ‑î:}— [bɛ̀rì‑yí‑m nɔ́:‑wⁿ‑ì:][[415]](#footnote-415) júwɔ́‑m̀ bà dè, bɛ̀rù‑yì mǔ: já:tì kày, [[â: yèy cɛ̂m kálà] dá‑m̀] bà ùrɔ̀=náy [â: dìyⁿà ɲàyⁿ] ló‑yɛ̀ wà, ɔ́→ wá, bàsá gò‑lò bà, gɔ́:ŋgɔ̀, jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù, [jìré: dá:] èw‑yèꜛ, [tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] [tùlú wó] èw‑yèꜜ,

[bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀] bǒl cɛ̀rⁿì‑yⁿì, kú cɛ́rⁿù kù ɲâyⁿ, [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù] tín=ní [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù] tàdùŋgú‑m̀=∅, á sá‑ẁ kù dè, [á má: kày] ɔ̀mjú ɔ́mjú‑m̀ bà, péré sì‑yè, [á sí‑yè‑ẁ kù dè] yɔ̀g‑î: tùmdì, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀] [ló á wàngú‑ẁ] [kú ɲâyⁿ], *[dê: ta᷈: yɛ̀‑î:]* wà, *nâ:m* bà,

*wó ɛ̀nɛ́ yá ɛ́:‑rà mà→* wà, *[dáɣà: dáɣà: là: dè] [wó ɛ́:‑tɔ́ɣɔ̀ wɔ̀:‑rɔ́]* wà, háyà, *[cɛ̀: wó ùrɔ́ jìnè kù] [[ɛ̀nɛ́ bé] báŋà=ỳⁿ]* wà, *[àrⁿá wàyⁿâ: gà bé: yà fú:] [wó jǎg kò‑rú jɛ̀ŋɛ̀‑rⁿɛ́]* wà, áywà [kú ɲâyⁿ], bǒl cɛ́n=nì, tín=ní ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, tàdùŋgû‑m=∅,

*léjù* wà, há:ⁿ wá, *ɛ̀nɛ́ bɛ́: bɛ̌:‑∅* wà, *wó [nì‑dî:ⁿ cè] sùgò‑gó‑∅* wá, *[ùsùrⁿó sû:ⁿ‑∅* wà] *[nì‑dî:ⁿ cè] sùgò‑gó‑∅* wá, gɔ́:ⁿgɔ̀ káyⁿ dɛ̂:,

m̀bá á yɔ̀ɣɔ́‑ẁ kù dè, ínjírí=ní, ló:‑rɛ̀, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù]=m̀ yɔ̀ɣɔ́=ń lò, ló:‑rɛ̀, [á ló‑ẁ kù dè] [[[á yâ:] mà:] á sá‑ẁ kù dè]ꜛ, [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m má:] [á nárⁿà] ɲàrⁿí‑jɛ̂: wà, [â: yèy] ŋâyⁿ→ tàdùŋgú‑m ùrɔ́ yé‑yɛ̀ bà, [á má: kày] [bǒl cɛ́rⁿí‑yⁿí=nì] yì=ń, là:rá: wàŋgú‑m̀ ɲàyⁿ, [á má:] [yɔ̀ɣɔ́=ń ɛ̀rɛ̀ wá, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] íyé bɔ̀nɔ́ bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ̂: wà, [á úrò] á nú‑ẁ kù dèꜛ, gɔ́:ŋgɔ̀,

*[dê: jɔ̀ŋɔ́ bè úrò mìrⁿɛ̀] [pě: yá gó: kɔ̀] wà*

*[dê: tá: mà úrò] [tòm bɔ́jɔ́w-bɔ́jɔ́w[[416]](#footnote-416)] wá*

*ùrùbúgúrù jám búgù nà: lì wà*

ŋâyⁿ→ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káⁿ‑m̀ nɛ̀, jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m ùrɔ́‑jɛ́=ǹ, [[[tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] ɔ́rù‑mᵇò:] wò] yɛ̀, yɛ̌=ní, *wó dà:ɣá pǒ:* wá, [tín=ní ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] [tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù] ùrɔ́‑jɛ̀⇒‑‑, [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù] tàdùŋgú‑m ùrɔ́‑jɛ̀⇒ yɛ̌:‑rà‑w, kú ɲâyⁿꜛ, áywà [bû: mà:] sěw dòlò‑ý wá, [yǎ: kù bè→ yì-tɛ᷈: kù bè→], [sěw dòló wǎy=ní] bû: bú=bày,

tùwⁿɔ̂‑m bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ á sá‑ẁ *[ɛ̀nɛ́ mà nùmó dɛ́:ⁿ‑yɛ̀]* wà, *[wó mírⁿɛ́] sɛ́rɛ́wɛ́ súgó* wá, *[sâ:ⁿ yɔ́ wɔ̀ dè] nàrⁿâ:‑∅* wà, yàɣá sì‑yè, tàdùŋgú‑m ǎy kúwó‑jɛ̂:, hâl yɛ̌=ní, [yǎ‑m kù kálà] yàɣà,

hâl yɛ̌=ń [árⁿà‑m kù kálà] [[yà:wà kó:ró] wó] bù] [sǔŋ[[417]](#footnote-417) kù] ŋ́gòy pálú‑m̀, [sìsì‑nî: tútú káⁿ‑ẁ dè] [sǔŋ kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɔ́lú‑rú‑m̀=bày, [yà:wà kó:ró] á pálú‑ẁ bòlô:, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì yà, [ǎy=ní] kúwó‑jɛ̂:,

[sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdɔ́:] ámélém]

## Text 2005-2a.07 Hare, hyena, antelope, and aardvark

B: [[[[jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m yá→] [tì‑ta᷈:‑m yà→]] kû:] wò] gàyⁿ

S: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

B: áywà [bû: yèy] ínjírí=ní, yɛ̌ [tǔ: ɲâyⁿ] â: mɔ̀:lú‑ẁ kù dè, jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m á sá‑ẁ [tì‑ta᷈:‑m mà:] tèré á bá:‑lì‑ỳ wà, [hɔ̂: mà: wà] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gùyⁿ [é: wá], áywà hà: kú=m̀ ínjírí dàwɛ̀‑ḿ bá,

[[â: yèy] [â: ɛ̀sɛ̀] ǎy] [â: dàrìyí‑ẁ] [wàgàtì bû: gó‑m̀ kù], [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù]ꜛ, [[yù:‑yì: gùrɔ́‑ẁ yěy] á gò‑ló‑ẁ] [[á ɛ́sɛ̀] wò] yá gǎyⁿ‑só‑ẃ, [[tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] ɛ́sɛ̀ kù] kòrǒỳ=∅, [bû: yèy] [bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀ꜛ], [bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀ꜛ], [bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀ꜛ],

[[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ tùwⁿɔ̂‑m bò] dɔ̀=ń] [bû: káyⁿ=nì] wàrú‑m, áywà [á yî‑m] á nàrⁿá‑ẁ [yì‑tɛ᷈: yèy], [[kòmbí: wó] á gǎyⁿ dùwɔ́‑ẁ] ɲɛ̀‑rɛ́: ló:‑rɛ̀, ló=ní yâ: kú dà:y‑bà, [â: dà:yú‑ẁ] [[nù kâ:ⁿ‑m wôy] tùwⁿɔ́‑tùwⁿɔ́ â: àyú‑ẁ] [[â: ɛ̀sɛ̀] wò] gàyⁿ bà, gǎyⁿ=ní [[â: ùsù‑nî:] dìmbì‑yí‑bá], bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀ꜛ, bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀ꜛ, bû: ló‑m̀ nɛ̀ꜛ,

[wàrú‑m ínjírí=ní] [[[[á yítɛ̀:] ɔ̀rɔ̀] wò] yɛ̌=ń] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, [yì-tɛ᷈: kù=ǹ] tɛ̀mbì‑rí, gà: lɔ̀sɔ̂: yâ: dɔ̌‑ẁ, áywà [lɔ̀sɔ̂: kù] dùrⁿì[[418]](#footnote-418), [kú tɛ́wⁿɲɛ́=ń] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀ nɛ̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀ nɛ̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀ nɛ̀] yɛ̌=ń [nǔ: yěy] yɛ̌ [[bû: kù:] wò][[419]](#footnote-419) gò, kú=m̀, [[jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m yá→] [tì‑ta᷈:‑m yà]=m̀, áywà bû:=nì á fálɛ́‑ẁ kù dè, térèw=∅ wà [á má:] [bû: lɔ̀sɔ̀=ǹ] dìmbà‑ẁ wà, [bû: mà:] [[[á úrò] kù:] wò] dɔ̌‑ẁ wà, [á yítɛ̀: kálà] bû:=m̀ ǎy‑só‑ẁ wà,

kú kù yɛ́‑rɛ̀ꜛ, tɛ̀wɛ̀ jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m á sá‑ẁ kù, [kɔ̀rɔ́ kù] kúŋgó tì‑ḿ[[420]](#footnote-420) gùyⁿ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔ:ⁿ‑ẁ kùꜛ, [jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù] [[yû: kù=ǹ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tôy gà] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kúŋgó‑ẁ kùꜛ], [tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] [[wàrú‑m yî‑m] kɔ̀rɔ̀ kú=ǹ] [tɔ̂y gà] kùŋgò, á sá‑ẁ kù dè *[ù cé=ỳ gá:rá sɔ̀ɣɔ̀rɔ̀]* wà, gɔ́:ŋgɔ̀ bɔ̀nɔ́ [ú mâ:] yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ *[wò čé=ỳ gá:rá sɔ̀ɣɔ̀rɔ̀]* dè,

kú=m̀ ní, [yɛ̌=ń [nàrⁿá‑m kù] bû:=ǹ á fálɛ́‑ẁ] [[á yítɛ̀: kù] bû:=m̀ ày gà] gólò‑ỳ wà, [kú ɲâyⁿ] [[jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m kù] [[á ɛ́sɛ̀] bìrⁿì] wò=ń] [yìgé=ń ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [wàrú‑m yî‑m] pérélêm, ló [á nárⁿà] kɔ̀gìyì, [tì‑ta᷈:‑m mà:] gólò‑ỳ wà, gòl‑î: àw‑rí,

[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kû:] wò] ɔ̀gù‑rì, [[ɛ́sɛ́ bírⁿì] wó yìgé ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì] cɛ̂m, búrà, [wàrú‑m yî‑m] tíwɛ́‑m̀, wàrú‑m [ŋ̀gú kày] [[[á yá→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá→]] gálù wò] kɔ̀:ⁿ bíltɛ́‑m̀ wôy ŋ̀gó wá, [kú ɲâyⁿ] ínjírí=ní, ká:rú gô:, yɔ̀ɣɔ̀, wàrú‑m [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] dìmbì‑yì, yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀ [á ló‑ẁ kù dè] [[[[àwⁿǎ‑m kómbì:] wò] ló=ń] mɛ́rⁿɛ́nɛ́ yɔ̀ɣɔ́ nù],

yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nú=ǹ, wàrú‑m ló=ní, kú gànjí‑m̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀=bày] [tórú‑m yɛ̌=ń] yâ: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tɛ̀mbì, ǹjé=m̀ mà→ wà, [árⁿà‑m tùwⁿɔ̂‑m mà:] [á yî‑m] ǎy→ pɔ́rɔ́ jìyɛ̀, [á [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ túlù] wò] dìmbà‑w] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [[kòmbì: ŋ̀gú] pírè] yá bú wá, [tórú‑m má:] mùyⁿɔ́ káⁿ‑ẁ dè [kú yà] á bárì‑ỳ wà [sábù [ìrⁿí bɔ́ŋɔ̀] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀] bà, tórú‑m [kú ɲâyⁿ] [á dàngí=ń], [ìrⁿí kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀,

jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m yɛ̌ dɔ̂:, [yɛ̌ á dɔ̌‑ẁ kù dè] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] ŋ̀gú‑rù nù màꜛ], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gùyⁿ [é→ wá], hà: í:‑yì‑ỳ wà [kú kày], [á má:] nú [dàwⁿá tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] káyⁿ=nì, á gò‑rí, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] sɔ́sí‑lí:‑rɛ̀ gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ɛ̀sì‑rá wá dé, [á tíyà] [[kòmbí: wó] bú‑m̀ kù mà:] ɛ̀sì‑rá wá, ɔ́→ wá,

jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m nú á ló‑ẁ, nɛ̌m á wɔ̀ɣɔ́‑ẁ, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mᵇô:] wò] gǎⁿ‑ẁ dè] úmgó wáyì‑ỳ wà, [tórú‑m kù] gánjì‑m̀ gánjì‑m̀ gánjì‑m̀ yɛ̌ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] sɔ́sí‑lí:‑rɛ̀=rà:, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jírè] wò] písé gàⁿ‑ý wá, [[[jìré kù] wò] písé gǎyⁿ‑tî:] gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] pì‑píníwⁿí gó‑m̀ bà gà, ɔ́→ wá,

tórú‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀] dɔ̀‑rá: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dɔ́=nì, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ písé‑ẁ kù jàɣá→, [nɛ̌m kù=ǹ] mìrⁿɛ́‑jɛ̂:, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mᵇô:] wò] ŋ̀gó, háyà, jɔ̌:ⁿm táykɛ́=nì, tórú‑m [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dósù] wò] sɔ́sí‑lí:‑rɛ̀ꜛ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ árⁿà‑m] sá‑m̀‑dó, íyà í:‑yì‑ỳ wà, jɛ᷈: á tìnì‑ḿ bá gá,

ló nú‑ẁ, nɛ̌m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] nì, [á mᵇô:] wò] ùmgò, [úmgó=ń] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bú nɛ̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gànjí‑m̀ nɛ̀] [yɛ̌ sɔ́sí‑lí:‑rɛ̀ dè] písé‑ý wá, gànjí [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sɔ́sú‑ló‑ẁ kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ písé‑ẁ kù], hà: [kú kálà] [nɛ̌m kù] ɛ́rɛ́:‑rɛ̀=bɛ̀, [kɔ̀:ⁿ ìlâ:] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jírè] wò] nù,

[á sá‑ẁ kù dè] [[á jírè] wò] kɔ́:ⁿ nú:‑rɛ̀ wà yɛ̌ gô:, jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m [á má:] gù‑ní[[421]](#footnote-421) má→ wá, [á nú=ń] [á dáwⁿà kù] bìrɛ̀‑rí gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀=bɛ̀ dé wôy, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jírè‑yì ŋ̀gú] [yèy cɛ̂m] pósó‑m̀=bè[[422]](#footnote-422) wà, gà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ— [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [wàrú‑m má:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] pú:rⁿì‑ỳ wà, [[jìré kù] wò] lɔ́ɣɔ̀ bù mâ:,

wàrú‑m pú:rⁿú=nì, [nɛ̌m kù] á ɛ́rɛ́‑ẁ [[wàrú‑m mᵇô:] wò] nù, [kú ɛ́rìm kù] lɔ́ɣɔ́ láwá táŋgì, [yěy mâ:] mɛ́gɛ́ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ɛ́rímꜛ, [nàwⁿâ: mà:] mɛ́gɛ́ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] ɛ́rím, á sá‑ẁ kù dè, hě: [tórú‑m má:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jírè‑nì: ŋ̀gú má:] ɛ́rím bá, jɔ̌:ⁿ‑mꜛ, [á sá‑ẁ kù dè] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] jù‑júwɔ́‑m̀‑dó wá kòy, [tórú‑m náwⁿà: mà:], [jìrè‑nì: ŋ̀gú mâ:] mɛ́gɛ́ ɛ́rím bá, háyà kú=m̀=bɛ̀ cê→, [wàrú‑m [[tórú‑m túlù] wò] dìmbì‑yì], tórú‑m [â: yèy] tǔ: ǎy‑jɛ̀⇒ làwà‑bà,

jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m á sá‑ẁ kù dè, [tì‑ta᷈:‑m mà:] yɛ̌ gò‑ý wá núwⁿɔ̀y kày, tèré bá jɛ̂: wà gà, tì‑ta᷈:‑m yɛ̌ gô:, m̀ᵇá[[423]](#footnote-423) [á ló‑ẁ kù dè] [tórú‑m=nì á jìyɛ́‑ẁ]ꜛ, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ náwⁿà:] pál dú[[424]](#footnote-424) ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yɛ́‑rɛ̀ wôy, tì‑ta᷈:‑m—, jɔ̌:ⁿ‑m, [á táwⁿyⁿà‑m] dìm‑dí jí‑jɛ̀→ á gǒ‑ẁ, ínjírí=ní ló:‑r‑à:,

[sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdɔ́:] ámélém]

## Text 2005-2a.08 Beni and the sacrifice of Yasumoy

S: û: bê:n àŋâyⁿ=∅ èw‑yè

C: hà: *B* dɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ýⁿ

B: dɛ́rⁿúwⁿâ:

C: jâm dɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ẁⁿ

B: jâm sày

C: hɛ́njân[[425]](#footnote-425) dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀‑ẁⁿ

B: jâm sày

C: [î: nù:] sɛ́:w dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀‑bɔ̀

B: àlhámdùrùllâ:y

C: [bà:s kâ:ⁿ] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀‑rⁿi→

B: jâm sày

C: tà:ré:yò:[[426]](#footnote-426)

B: jâm dɛ̀rⁿɛ́‑ẁⁿ

C: jâm sày

B: [ú kórò:jù] jâm dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀‑bà

C: jâm sày

B: [bà:s kâ:ⁿ] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀‑rⁿi→

C: jâm sày

B: tà:→ré

C: àwá:

B: bìsímílà

C: háyà wó:dì yà

B: [úsúrí wó]=ǹ yɛ̌:‑rà‑ỳ∴

C: ḿhm̀

B: áywà î: bé:nì kù→, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kà:ⁿ] gǒ=ní, ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̌=ń, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kà:ⁿ] î: éw‑yé‑ẁ kù, [[kú kábà:r] [ú mâ:] bɛ̀rɛ̀-ỳ∴ dè] jɔ́rɔ́-ỳ∴

C: já:tì

B: û: [nù díyⁿà] [jǐnjɛ̀ sàw]=∅ dé [û: sàw]=∅

C: jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀‑ná:m sâw=∅, [bê:n òrù‑mᵇò: kú kày], [jǐnjɛ̀ sàw]=∅ [û: sàw]=∅, gà: dɔ᷈:, màndé gǒ=ní, …

B: wó:dì

C: … búnúgóy yěy, [[mǎ: lɔ́sɔ̀] dìmbì‑yí‑mù[[427]](#footnote-427) yà→ꜛ] [[nî: lɔ̀sɔ̀] dìmbì‑yí‑mù yà→]

B: wó:dì

C: [kú búnùgòy yèy kù], â: káwá‑ẁ kù

B: wó:dì

C: [[nî: lɔ̀sɔ̀] dìmbì‑yí‑mù kù, [píníwⁿú yà] [káwrà yěy] kàwà‑bɔ̀

B: wó:dì

C: [nɛ́: kày] tǎ:n lá:tɛ́:‑rɛ̀, áywà, áyí‑m̀ áyí‑m̀ yɛ̌=ní, [ú yì:‑rà ŋ̀gú] û: [bé:nì nù:], [dàyⁿ î: nú‑ẁⁿ] [màndé â: gǒ‑ẁ],

B: nâ:m

C: éw‑yé‑m̀ éw‑yé‑m̀ yɛ̌ múnwîl

B: múnwîl, wó:dì

C: múnwîl, kú=m̀ ní, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [bê:n tì:rà: wòꜛ], kà:gǒy[[428]](#footnote-428) mɔ̀rɔ̀gǒy, ká:‑kùn‑wà‑nàm[[429]](#footnote-429) bà, séŋérⁿé‑ìsé‑bɛ̀rɛ̀ wà, [à‑n=î: lòrò[[430]](#footnote-430) má] [ɲɛ‑n=î: lòrò má] lórú‑lòrú‑kúrê: pǒ: kù, íyé múnwîl yá dé́yá‑ẃ[[431]](#footnote-431)

B: wó:dì

S: [múnwîl kù] [bèlè án‑dá:]=m̀

C: [múnwîl kù] [wá:lè ló:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ dè] [múnwîl ló‑ẁ]

B: wó:dì pá:mɛ́‑ỳⁿ

C: áywà [[kú múnwìl kù] wó], [íyé úsù kálà] [pǒ: kù] yá déyá‑ẃ,

B: wó:dì

C: íyé [[úrò kù] wò], [àsùwⁿɛ̀ ǎm̀=∅] dùmdɔ́:‑m̀=∅[[432]](#footnote-432) mà, [púmbɛ́rɛ̀ dɔ́‑m̀ dè] [[íyé kálà] [pǒ: kù] dàrìyí‑ẁ dè] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ púmbɛ́rɛ̀ ló‑m̀

B: wó:dì

C: kú=m̀ lérílèrì‑kúréyé pǒ: kù=m̀

B: bày [î: nù: kú néyⁿ], [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] káwá=ń, [[gǎm kù] kárá èw‑yè‑bà] [[gǎm kù] [yúlì wò] èw‑yè‑bà]

C: áywà, kárá gǒ‑m̀ kù yà→

B: wó:dì

C: áywà, ŋ̀gú‑dá: yɛ̌‑m̀ kù yà→

B: nâ:m

C: [nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́ꜛ] [bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́]

B: já:tì

C: áywà yɛ̌ lò‑ḿ bá, [m̀ᵇá kù kày] [[á má: kày] [ú yì:‑rà‑ẁ ŋ̀gú] kárá:‑rɛ̀ nà→] [á má: kày] ló bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó wá

B: xxx

C: [ŋ̀gú wó] [kú ɲâyⁿ] hɛ̀ddɛ̀

B: wó:dì

C: kú ɛ́rⁿɛ́ hɛ́ddɛ́=nɛ̀,[[433]](#footnote-433) [î: lòsù bé] [má:bà bè] …

B: wó:dì

C: … yɛ̌ [[bû: dòsù] wó] èw‑yè‑bɔ̀

B: já:tì

C: áywà ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑dánáꜛ, [bê:n nù:] là:mɛ̀‑bɔ́ꜛ, ɔ̌:, [î: lòsù bé] là:mɛ̀‑bɔ̀,

B: wó:dì

C: hâl [íyé úsù‑dɛ̀rⁿì: ŋ̀gú], [î: lòsù bê:]=∅ ɔ̂: bɔ́

B: wó:dì

C: [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑dáná yá→] [těỳ sàw yà→] cɛ̂m] [[[bê:n nù:] nà→] wò] bù

B: já:tì, pá:mɛ́‑ỳ∴ kòy

C: [bê:n dá:] yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dè, mɔ̀rɔ̀gǒyꜛ, kà:gǒy kú=m̀ bù

B: wó:dì

C: [wá:lɛ̀ kù] wó, à:wàndúꜛ, mé:má

B: mǔ: bè yěy

C: bû:=m̀ kásárúꜛ, ɔ̀:dúró: yá

B: wó:dì

C: [í kày] ŋ̀gú=m̀ jǔwɔ̀[[434]](#footnote-434)

B: [[ɔ̀:dúró: kù yà→], [kásárú kù yà→ yà[[435]](#footnote-435)] [[nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́ꜛ] [bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́]] gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀ bày [kú yà] àŋâyⁿ=m̀ mà

C: áywà, û: [bê:n nù:] ŋ́gòy bù‑ẁ∴ gà, [kú kày] [jǐnjɛ̀ sàwꜛ] [û: sàw] kòy

B: [í kálà dè] [kɔ̀:ⁿ yâ: í nǔ‑ẁⁿ déy[[436]](#footnote-436)]

S: wâ:y, [[á má:] kárá:‑rɛ̀ nà→] ló‑m̀‑dó gùyⁿ, [[kárá:‑rɛ̀ kù] kɔ́rɔ̀] ǹjê:=∅

C: kárá:‑rɛ̀ kù, [í dê:][[437]](#footnote-437) ú yì:‑rà‑ẁ ŋ̀gú→ [ùrò‑mᵇǒ: pírè] kárá:‑rɛ̀ kɔ́rɔ̀ nǔ‑jɛ́‑ẁ tán, í [nù ǎw‑sò‑ló‑m̀]=m‑ì:

B: árⁿà‑m táŋgí:‑rɛ̀

C: [nǔ‑m gùnáyⁿ] lǎ‑w [kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] [í ínjírí‑m̀] bôy yâ: ŋ̀gó, kú=m̀ kárá:‑rɛ̀,

B: pá:mɛ́‑wⁿú‑ẁⁿ

C: àⁿháⁿ

B: [í kálà] í nǔ‑ẁⁿ déy, [kárá kù] wó, [gǎm kù] yâ: dùwɔ̀‑bɔ̀, [gàm kà:ⁿ] ínjírí‑mà [ònjǒ‑m yá→] [dèrě‑m ya→] ínjírí‑mà kù, [[bû: mà:] [yúlì wò] yɛ̌=ń] èw‑yè‑bɔ́ wá

C: já:tì

B: [yúlì wò] yɛ̌=ń] bû: éw‑yé=nì, áywà [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kù] [dèré‑m kù], dǎnnà‑m=∅ bà, dǎnnà‑m yárá‑m̀ yárá‑m̀ yárá‑m̀ ínjírí=níꜛ, [[ɔ́lɔ́y ló:lù ŋ̀gú] pírè] á sí‑yé‑ẁ, [úlì wò] sóró á láwá‑ẁ, [[tɔ́rɔ̀ kù] wò] yɛ̌ ùrɔ́=ní ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, [bòlô: kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tín=nì, [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] ɛ́ndɛ̂m→, ɛ̀sú bû: sánnɛ́, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ wárá‑yɛ̀] ɛ̀sú bû:

C: já:tì

B: [mànî: kù kálà dè] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ éw‑yé jíyɛ́‑yɛ̀], hà: [ŋ̀gú kù] kú lá:tɛ́=nì, áywà yâ: [tèmbèrù tùwⁿɔ́], á mǎ‑ẁⁿꜛ, [[tàŋgày ŋ̀gú] wó] á dù̀wɔ́‑ẁ kùꜛ, ínjírí=ní, ló [á ónjò‑m] tɛ̀mbì, [ònjǒ‑m kù] á tɛ́mbú‑ẁ kù, áywà térèw=∅ wà, [á má:] ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kú‑dá: yá yì‑sò‑ẁ[[438]](#footnote-438) wà, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ éw‑yé‑yɛ̀ kú‑dá: yá yì‑sò‑ẁ wà,

ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔyⁿ=nì, [ònjǒ‑m kù yà] á sá‑ẁ kù dè, [á dérè] mà:, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [á dùwɔ́ tì=náyⁿ] ló‑rɛ́‑ý wá, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] lèmdè, ɔ́: wá, [bû: bú nɛ̀] [bû: bú nɛ̀] [bû: bú nɛ̀], [ònjǒ‑m kù kálà] [ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂‑m] yárá‑m̀ yárá‑m̀ á yɛ̌‑ẁ kù dè, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kálà] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] yì, sɛ́ⁿ→ á tíní‑ẁⁿ kù,

[[á dérè] mà:] á sá‑ẁ kù dè, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] térèw tégé‑m̀ bà] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ èw‑yè ɛ̀sú] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔyⁿ‑rà‑ẁ kù], [á má: kálà] íyé yâ: dɔ̌‑ẁ wà, áywà ŋ̀gú ɲâyⁿꜛ, ínjírí=ń [ùsú tùwⁿɔ̂‑m]ꜛ, [â: yěy] yâ: yɛ̀‑bà,

yâ: bû: yɛ́‑rɛ̀ꜛ, [[dèrě‑m kù] [á sɛ́:dɛ̀] dùwɔ́‑tî:] kú=m̀ [kásárú nû‑m]=∅ kú=m̀, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sɛ́:dɛ̀ kù] yâ: tɛ̀mbù‑wù, [[lǒ‑ỳ kù kɔ̀yⁿ][[439]](#footnote-439) gáⁿ‑m̀‑dó‑ý kòy], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sɛ́:dɛ̀ kù] yâ: tɛ̀mbù‑wù, hà: [kú ɲâyⁿꜛ], [á sá‑ẁ] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] [yàrí m̀ᵇàyô:] [sùmǒy m̀ᵇàyô:][[440]](#footnote-440) wà, ŋ̀gú ɲâyⁿꜛ, [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] hɛ̀wtɛ̀,

[kú‑dá: ló] [â: nìnjɛ̀] â: bàrá‑ẁ kù dè, ínjírí=ní, áywà yɛ̌=ní, úrò cɛ̀wⁿɛ̀‑bɔ́, [úrò cɛ́wⁿɛ́=ní] yâ: bû: bú nɛ̀, àwá lɔ́ɣɔ́:‑r‑à:, kù‑kɔ̀sú, kù‑kɔ̀sú lɔ́ɣɔ́:‑r‑à:, kúwó‑tî: dé wôy, nì:‑tɛ̀gìr‑î: sò‑ló, hé→, [ŋ̀gú kày] dàyⁿ dà:yí‑m̀ wôy ŋ̀gó wá,

[kú yà] [â: mà:] dá:‑wó dɔ̀rɔ́ ŋ̀gú‑dá: ùrɔ̀‑ḿ bá, [kú wáɣàtù] [kú ɲâyⁿ], [[ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ŋ̀gú] náŋànà:] [kùn‑tàwrâ:]=∅ sóy, sùmǒy ŋ̀gó, hà: [kú ɲâyⁿ] [[kùn‑tàwrá kù] wò]ꜛ, yɛ̌=ń yâ: úrò cɛ̀wⁿɛ̀‑bà, cɛ́wⁿɛ́=ní bû: bú nɛ̀,

yâ: kálà bèy, áywà wá:jíbì péyí pɛ̀gɛ̀‑r‑á dé, péyí pɛ̀gɛ̀‑r‑á dé wôy, [[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] éw‑yè][[441]](#footnote-441) nǔm bú‑ẁ wà, áywà wò[[442]](#footnote-442) bě:‑rɛ̀ dè, [ɔ̀:‑dùró bɔ́ŋɔ̀] á sá‑ẁ kù dè, [[kásárí bɔ́ŋɔ̀] mà:],

wá:jíbì [péyí kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ pɛ́gɛ́‑m̀ bà kòy, sábù [[[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ lá‑jɛ̂:] tùlù] wò] [péyí ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ pɛ́gɛ́‑m̀] bà, [[yà‑gùrɔ̀ kà:ⁿ] írì gǒ célé=ń bû:‑∅][[443]](#footnote-443) sɛ́llɛ́ só‑m̀, áywà [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [áŋàyⁿ wò] bě:‑rɛ̀ dè, [á má:] [[péyí kù] dû:] dǔ‑jɛ̂: wà,

[dǔ‑jɛ̂: wà] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔyⁿ=nì, [nù díyⁿà] [áŋàyⁿ wò] bě:‑rɛ̀ dè, [jìyɛ̀=náyⁿ nì][[444]](#footnote-444) pɛ́gɛ́-m̀-n-ɛ́ wá kǒyꜛ, [úwⁿɔ́ wó] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ gànjí‑yɛ̀] wà [hâl ló wⁿɔ̀nù‑rⁿú‑m̀] bà, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì yâ: gáⁿ‑yⁿɛ̀ wà, hâl [ŋ̀gú dâyⁿ] dɔ́‑m̀ bà, bìyⁿǐ dúwɔ́‑yɛ̀ wà, [ìsê: kù mà:] [á jâm] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀ bà

C: já:tì

B: ɛ̀sú bú‑ẁ wà, [á bɔ̂:‑ùrò̀ ŋ́] jâm bì‑bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀ dé wôy, [á kálà] [[kú kù] kû:‑dù:] dǔ‑jɛ̂: wà, hà: [ŋ̀gú ɲâyⁿ], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kásárí yá:‑yì‑m kù=ǹꜛ, [[yà‑sùmǒy tâ:yⁿ kù] wó], yâ:=ǹ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pɛ̀gɛ̀‑bà

C: já:tì

B: [kú ɲâyⁿ nì]ꜛ, bé:nì bɛ̀rɛ́ èw‑yè, [íyé úsù kálà] [kú wó] bù‑ỳ∴

C: já:tì

B: [ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] nù‑ỳⁿ, [kú yà] [jǐnjɛ̀ sàw dé:] [ú kálà] [ú sâw]

C: [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀‑ná:m] sâw, áŋàyⁿ=m̀

B: nâ:m

C: jǐnjɛ̀ î: sú:rɛ̀‑ỳ

B: àmî:n

D: [á ná:‑wⁿì‑ỳⁿ kù] gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ

C: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, á ná:—, á ná:‑wⁿì‑ỳⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ kù

B: é: kú ǎy dɔ̀‑bɔ̀

C: háyà, á ná:‑wⁿì‑ỳⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ kù

B: já:tì

C: háyà, kú kú=m̀

B: já:tì

C: [tùwⁿɔ̂‑m kù mà:ꜛ] [ú yì:‑rà‑ẁ ŋ̀gú] [kú tégé‑m̀ kù mà:]

B: wó:dì

C: jòŋgú‑m̀=∅ bà

B: jòŋgú‑m̀=∅

C: jòŋgú‑m

B: wó:dì

C: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀=nì] kárá:kíndè́: kú=m̀

B: kárá:kìrí: kú=m̀, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ jòŋgú‑m̀=∅

C: é→

B: wó:dì, wó:dì

C: àmᵇá kù yà‑sùmǒy=m̀, háyà [yǎr kóró:‑rɛ̀ tán] [á ná:‑wⁿì‑ỳⁿ] wà

B: wó:dì

C: [[[á ná:‑wⁿì‑ỳⁿ kù] nî:] wò], íyé [kú dáwⁿà] kù yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dè, áywà ǹjê:=∅ kú=m̀,

[chanson:] *íyé yà‑sùmǒy úŋgúró* wá

B: já:tì

C: [chanson:] *kárá:kìndé: úŋgúró wá,*

*[yá yǎ:‑ỳ] [yá yɛ̀rɛ́‑ỳ]*

*kárá:kìndé: úŋgúró wá*

*yà‑sùmǒy hà:hây wà*

*yà‑sùmǒy hà:hây*

*pùlɔ̀‑kɔ̀mɔ́ lè: [bɔ̌n lè] sá: kɔ́mɔ̀ wà*

B: já:tì, té→ áŋàyⁿ=m̀ kòy, [[ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→ té→] nù‑ỳⁿ∴] [[nù díyⁿà kù] mᵇô:] kú=ǹ

C: [ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] gìyⁿ‑bɔ̀

B: ìnšá:lâ:w ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jìyɛ̀‑ḿ [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày]

D[[445]](#footnote-445): ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ gɔ᷈:w-∅, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ gɔ᷈:w-∅

B: nâ:m

D: áywà [mɛ́gɛ́ mɛ́gɛ́ [yǎ‑m kù] dɔ̀ɣɔ́ ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì [dàyⁿ kà:ⁿ] táŋgú‑ẁ] yà‑sùmǒy kù

B: wó:dì

D: áywà, nǔ‑m yâ: nú:‑rɛ̀ dè, [àwá kù][[446]](#footnote-446) kùwò‑[jìy‑î:], kú núm‑dó:‑rɛ̀ nì

B: wó:dì

D: áywà térèw=∅ wà, ìsê: [bû: kɔ̀:ⁿ]=∅ gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀, bû:=m̀ làꜛ, íyà [bû: mà:] [[ìsê: kù] pírè], [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [péyí pɛ́gɛ́-m̀-n-ɛ́] [nǔ:=nì àwá kúwó jíyɛ́‑yɛ̀] [kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ nǔ: dɛ̌:‑w‑yɛ̀] [bû: màní‑m̀ nɛ̀] [[tǎ: ló‑mà dè] màní‑yɛ̀] [dùyⁿɔ́rⁿù màní‑yɛ̀] [bû: bɔ̀gùrú‑m̀ nɛ̀],

[kú ɲâyⁿ]=nì [[á bɔ̂:] mà:] dɔ̀ɣɔ̂:=∅ gà] [[á kû:] wò] pɛ́gɛ́‑ý wá, yǎr gǒ:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, [[á tíwɛ̀ kù] yɔ̀‑ý wá] [ìrɛ́‑rɛ́‑ý wá], [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] áŋàyⁿ gùyⁿ wàꜛ,

B: já:tì já:tì pá:mɛ́‑wⁿú‑ẁⁿ, té→ áŋàyⁿ sɛ̀llɛ̀, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jìyɛ́ jùwⁿɔ̀‑ḿ

D: kú=m̀

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S: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ lò‑mâyⁿ[[447]](#footnote-447)

B: áywà [[wá:lò yà→] [bé:nì yà→]] [[bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́→ꜛ] [nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́ꜜ]], áywà [wàkàtù kà:ⁿ] íyé yɛ́‑rɛ̀, [[[[[nù díyⁿà] m̀ᵇò:] wò] î: nǔ‑ẁⁿ, yá→[[448]](#footnote-448)] [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ìlà] î: júwɔ́‑m̀ yá→]] cɛ̂m,

[[wá:lò kù] wò] [[kásà‑m tíwɛ́:‑rɛ̀ wò] bě:‑rɛ̀ dé], [àrⁿà‑kúsú tǎ:n] ló láwá:‑rɛ̀ dè, [bɔ̀rⁿɔ́‑mà dè] cíyɛ́‑yɛ̀, árⁿà‑m̀=∅=dá→ yǎ‑m=∅=dá, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ lɔ́sɔ̀] wá:lè ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jì‑jòlú‑m dɛ̀ⁿ‑wôy,[[449]](#footnote-449) mɔ̀:lí‑yɛ̀, sǒ: ǎy‑jɛ̂: dè, [súrú‑bɔ̀ŋgɔ̂: ǎy‑jɛ̂: dè] [[nà kùyɔ́:] kɔ̀:ⁿ î: ùrɔ́‑m̀=bɛ̌‑ẁ[[450]](#footnote-450) kù kɔ̀yⁿ] kú=m̀,

[ínjírí‑mà dè] [[wá:lè kù]— ló‑yɛ̀], [bɔ̀:‑yì‑tìwɛ́ kù] yâ: [ùsú yèy], hâl ló‑ló [ùsú tà:n], [[451]](#footnote-451) î: ló:‑rɛ̀ dè, nǎ: sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yà[[452]](#footnote-452), bɛ̌r sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yà, pɛ̀rɛ́ sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yà, ɛ́wⁿɛ̀y jé‑yɛ̀ [hâl ló bá‑m̀], áywà [nǔ‑m wôy] [dàyⁿ á jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ gâyⁿ→] ɲɛ́‑m̀,

hâl ló‑ló [ùsú tǎ:n] dɔ́‑m̀, [ínjírí‑ỳ∴ dè] ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̌‑ỳ∴, ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀‑ỳ∴ gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀ dè, ŋ̀gú‑rù kálà, [nù dìyⁿà ɛ̀sú‑m] má→ hɔ́nɔ̀[[453]](#footnote-453) [kásà‑m tû‑m], yàɣá:‑rɛ̀ dè, [[bû: kálà] ló àyú‑ẁ dè], àrⁿà‑kúsú tǎ:n dɛ̀ⁿ‑wôy, â:=ǹ dànìgí‑m̀ tínɛ́m bé‑yɛ̀,

ló [àrⁿá tǎ:n kù] híbbɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dè, [bɔ̀rⁿɔ́‑mà dè] cíyɛ́‑yɛ̀, [ǎy‑jɛ̂: dè] dɛ́bɛ́:rɛ̀ tómbórù [nù kâ:ⁿ] [lɔ̀sɔ̂: césì‑m][[454]](#footnote-454) dɛ̀ⁿ‑wôy, [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ùrɔ́‑yɛ̀ dɛ̀ⁿ‑wôy] ɲàyⁿ] [ínjírí‑mà dè] [bè:nì ŋ̀gú‑rù][[455]](#footnote-455) yé‑yɛ̀, ŋ̀gú‑rù bû: yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, nǎ: sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yàꜛ, bɛ̌r sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yàꜛ, pɛ̀rɛ́ sɛ́wⁿɛ́‑yàꜛ, ɛ́wⁿɛ̀y,

ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ́ kày, ùsú‑ùsú tǎ:n, dàmb‑î: ló‑m̀‑dó, [bìrìgé‑mà dè] [bɔ̀:‑yì‑tìwɛ́ kù], áŋàyⁿ [ínjírí‑mà dè] ló‑yɛ̀, áŋàyⁿ=n[[456]](#footnote-456)̀ [î: bú nɛ̀] [î: bú nɛ̀] [î: bú nɛ̀]

[íyé yɛ̌ [àdùnà nǔm̀] yɛ̌ nú=nì, áywà [bɔ̀:‑yì‑tìwɛ́ kùꜛ], [kú=ǹ kày] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] dùwɔ́‑tí:‑ỳ, gà: wá:jíbì [[nù ɛ̀sú‑m] tíwɛ́:‑rɛ̀ dè] [íyé úsù kálà] tǔ:=nì dùwɔ́‑sò‑ló‑ỳ∴, [[bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́] [nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́]],

hà: jìyɛ́‑tí‑ý wá

## Text 2005-2b.01 Fulbe and French domination

B: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kàyꜛ] [kɔ̀:ⁿ kà:ⁿ] î: jɔ̀rɔ́‑só‑ẁ déꜛ, [[kàbà:r kà:ⁿ]— káyⁿ=ní [dàyⁿ [[î: kù:] jàm] î: bɛ̀rɛ́‑ẁ] [kábâ:r=nì núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ká:ⁿ‑rà‑ỳ∴], kú=m̀ àŋgú=m̀ꜛ, [íyé yɛ́‑rɛ̀] [î: nù dìyⁿà] láwá‑mà, áywà, gùlɔ́ wó, nǔ:=nì yá márɛ́‑yɛ̀=b‑à:, [ànsá:rá yɛ̌=nì] [gùlɔ́ kù] gò‑ỳ∴,

[[[kú î: gǒ‑ẁ] tùlù] wò], [î: wôy] mɔ̀:lú bú‑túnɔ́ꜛ, áywà yɛ̌=nìꜛ, [[gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bèꜛ], yɛ̌‑mà dèꜛ] [nǔ:=nì wó‑mà dè] ló jáy jàyà‑wú‑yɛ̀, áywà [kú wákátù kù] màrpâ: ŋ̀gó, kùbùkúbù, kú=m̀ bù

D: sàmbâ:

B: sàmbâ:, kú=m̀ bù, bèrè‑àtôw, kú=m̀ bù, ŋ̀gú‑rù bû: bàrá‑mà dè, ló [wàɣàdúgù tû‑m][[457]](#footnote-457) ló‑mà dè, jàyà‑wú‑yà [[dé:dúgù tù‑m] ló‑mà dè], jàyà‑wú‑yà, tíwɛ́:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ dé→ꜛ, kú=m̀, [píníwⁿú yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀‑ẁ dèꜛ] kú=m̀,

áywà bû: [gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] jàyá‑mà, hâl bármɛ́‑mà, gàmbú [[nà: tùwⁿɔ̂:] ŋ̀gó] yɛ̀‑bà, [[lɔ̀sɔ̀ tùwⁿɔ̂:] ŋ̀gó] yɛ̀‑bà, [bû: [gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] tɔ̀sɔ̂: bɛ̀rɛ́‑màꜛ] [gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] tɔ́sɔ̂: bɛ̀l‑l‑á,[[458]](#footnote-458) áywà hâl ǎy=ní [íyé yɛ̌=nìꜛ], íyé [kú kày] wá:jíbì, sárú‑úsù ú jò-ló‑tí‑yà gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, tɔ̀sɔ̂: yá bú,

[[nù kâ:ⁿ‑m] lǒ‑ỳ jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀] ùsù síyɛ́:‑rɛ̀ mɛ̌:,[[459]](#footnote-459) íyé—, áywà bɛ́rɛ̀mbò, áywà[[460]](#footnote-460) [sòdà:sú kù] bɛ̀rɛ̀‑wú‑m̀‑dó, ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→ lá:tɛ́‑só‑ẁ, áywà těỳ [jǐnjɛ̀ sàw dè] [ú sàw], *D*

D: áywà áŋàyⁿ=m̀ nì, [íyé kálà] wá:jíbì lîllá:hì, àlhámdùlìllá:hì, ɛ́rⁿɛ́→, [frá:ns kù] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kálà] [î: mà:] yɛ̌=ń, [tùlú wó] màyní‑ẁ, ǹjê:=∅, jìré: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [dàyⁿ kà:ⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́— [dàyⁿ *B* ɛ́rⁿɛ́ tégé‑ẁ gâyⁿ→] [áŋàyⁿ té→ bù kòy], [î:=nì gùlɔ́ gâyⁿ→ wó‑mà dè] [ló‑mà dè] [[î: nù:=nì] ǎy‑mà dè] tíyɛ́‑yɛ̀, sàbù dè gúⁿ‑mà [sé:kù mà:] ŋ̀gú‑rù [nǔ: tɛ́:mdɛ́rɛ̀ súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ‑súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ] [[ná tǎ:n] tû‑m] bàrá=ní] sì‑lè gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀

B: wó:dì

D: [kú ɲâyⁿ nì] [î:=nì ǎy=ní] [[î: ìnìrⁿì:] ló ɲàŋgùrú dùwɔ̀‑bɔ̀] [[î: [nù: jɛ́wⁿɛ̀‑yɛ̀ kù=nìꜛ], áywà [[kú túlù] wò] nì→, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sé:kù pú:tɛ̀ ínjírí=ní á yɛ̌‑ẁ→, áywà [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [dɔ᷈: kù mà:] á=ǹ bárì‑ỳ wà, á bǎr‑tî: dè→, [á má:] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [dàyⁿ bû: [m̀ᵇâ: gâyⁿ→]] bú‑ẁ] dúwɔ́‑m̀ bà,

ɛ́rⁿɛ́=nì bàr‑bɔ̀ꜛ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [sé:kù ǹjé gǔ:ⁿ‑bɔ̀] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [sé:kù á:mádù kù]=ǹ gò‑lò‑bɔ̀, áywà [kú kù] bû: gò‑ló‑ẁ kù, [tùlú wó] sé:kù [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [ǹjé gùⁿ‑ẁⁿ] mò:dìbò sé:kù tìjá:nìꜛ, á:má tìjá:ní [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kàyꜛ], [ǹjé gùⁿ‑wⁿ] [nǔ‑m bôy] [dàyⁿ [á mᵇâ:] ɛ́rìm gâyⁿ→], î:=n dùwɔ̀, [[kú nî:] wò] [àrsìlà:mà: kú] [î: mà:] pàŋgá gàⁿ‑ní

B: já:tì

D: áywà, [dɔ̀‑lí dɔ̀‑lí kù] áŋàyⁿ té→ bù, gà: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ànsá:rá‑m kù] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] [tùlú wó] yɛ̌=ní], sé:kù [ǹjé gùⁿ‑ẁⁿ mà] [sé:kù=nì gò‑lò], pú:tɛ̀=ǹ gò‑lò, ànsá:rá‑m kù, pú:tɛ̀=ǹ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] á gò‑ló‑ẁ gɔ̀,[[461]](#footnote-461) [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà] [[á kû:] ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̌ èw‑yèꜛ, [tùlú wó] yɛ̌=ní, áywà [[î: [nù gùnù] kú=ǹ] dá:‑wó dɛ̀:‑wú‑ẁ] gà:ꜛ, [tùlú wó] yɛ̌=ní, íyà î:=nì sù:rⁿù‑wì[[462]](#footnote-462)

B: jâm [î: mà:] nì

D: [sú:rⁿú=ní] [jâm [î: mà:] nì], [áŋàyⁿ bú→ túnɔ́] [î:=nì dá:‑wó [kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] bà:‑lí=ní], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì, [bû: yà] dàwⁿá â: yǐ‑ẁ kùꜛ, [â: kù:] gɔ́rⁿɔ́‑yɛ̀ gùyⁿ‑bɔ́, [[bû: kù:] gɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kú][[463]](#footnote-463) [kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ kù] dàⁿ‑wôy tábbídɛ̀,[[464]](#footnote-464) [áywà gɔ́rⁿɔ́‑m̀ nɛ̀] [hâ: bû: dùwɔ́‑tí‑yà dè] [[[bû: má:] ùrò‑dǔ: gɔ́rⁿɔ́-m̀-n-ɛ́] gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀] [[â: mà:] gɔ́rⁿɔ́‑yɛ̀] wà,

áywà ǹjê:=∅ [bû: mà:] nìnjɛ́ tùwⁿɔ́‑tùwⁿɔ́ [bû: mà:] ùsùrù‑bɔ́, gì‑góró ùsùrù‑bɔ́ dɔ̀:—, dɔ̀:‑òròsú bû:— ɛ́rⁿɛ́ cɛ̀:rì, [sùŋgɔ̌y ùsùrù‑bɔ̀] [dɔ̀:‑òròsú cɛ̀:r‑bɔ̀], mùrⁿú ùsùrì, [dɔ̀:‑òròsú cɛ̀:r‑bɔ̀], [kɔ̀:ⁿ ŋ̀gú]=m̀=bày kɔ̀:ⁿ[[465]](#footnote-465)— tǎ: ùsùrù‑bɔ̀, gùsù‑tǎ: cɛ̀:r‑bɔ̀, áywà úrò cɛ̀m‑bôy ǎy cɛ̀:r‑bɔ̀, go᷈: ùsùrù‑bɔ̀, gò:‑pèrî: ǎy cɛ̀:r‑bɔ̀,

[[kù dàⁿ wôy] áŋàyⁿ káyⁿ=nì] yɛ̌=ń [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], áywà gɔ́rⁿɔ́‑yɛ̀ bû: gú=nɛ̀,[[466]](#footnote-466) [ànsá:rá‑m yɛ̌=ní] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [ǹjê→=∅ gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dé wôy] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ frá:ⁿsì], [ɛ́ndépándàm[[467]](#footnote-467) [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ nâ:] wò] ǎy=ní] [î: mà:][[468]](#footnote-468)— [î: kù:]— [ǹjê→=∅ gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè][[469]](#footnote-469) bɛ̀rɛ̀‑ý ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔⁿ=nɛ̀,

[kú ɲâyⁿ] [nú=nɛ́][[470]](#footnote-470) [ǹjé gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] [[[î: kù:] ɲàyⁿ] î: éw‑yé‑ẁ kù] kú=m̀, [[íyé dàyⁿ î: bù:] ŋ́][[471]](#footnote-471) kú=m̀, [[[nù là[[472]](#footnote-472)] só‑m̀] yá bú dé] áyì‑ỳ, [tèy gùrɔ̂‑w] [nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m sày] tégé‑m̀ túnɔ́ bé‑m̀‑dó

B: já:tì, nâ:m, *coupe!*

## Text 2005-2b.02 Ravaging Fulbe

B: áywà, [dàyⁿ kà:ⁿ] [nà kùyɔ́:] láwá‑ẁ dé→, î: ònjòy kú, áywà [dɔ̀:‑bà:‑]ìsê:=∅, [ádúnɔ́ kù] nǔ: [ŋ̀gú bà→] kálà jò:‑r‑á‑bá=b‑â:[[473]](#footnote-473) [kú ɲâyⁿ], áywà nù [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: árⁿà‑m] tàŋgì‑rí‑m̀ wôy, [ŋ̀gú‑rù gò=náy] [à:mᵇá: tû‑m] ló bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó,[[474]](#footnote-474) [ŋ̀gú‑rù gò=náy] [hɔ́nɔ̀ dúwánsán tû‑m] ló bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó, ǹjé=m̀[[475]](#footnote-475) kú=m̀, pùlɔ̀‑bɔ̌w ba᷈yⁿ‑bà[[476]](#footnote-476)

D: nǔ: [ŋ̀gú bà→] yùrɔ̀‑r‑á=b‑â:

B: [nǔ: kù] ɛ̀síⁿ→,[[477]](#footnote-477) áywà [bû: hàkìlɛ̀] sàlá bû:,[[478]](#footnote-478) [kú yéy‑nɛ̀ kálà bè→], árⁿà‑m̀=∅=dá→ꜛ yǎ‑m̀=∅=dáꜜ, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: bírɛ́[[479]](#footnote-479) sày] bírɛ́‑yɛ̀ [bù: dàⁿ‑wôy], [bírɛ́ wó] ló‑yɛ̀ gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, [[yì-tɛ᷈: yà→], [ɔ̀:rɔ̀‑gú‑yɛ̀ yà→], [kɔ̀:ⁿ kú múrⁿù[[480]](#footnote-480) dɛ̀ⁿ‑wôy]] úrò dùwɔ́ tí‑mà dè] [ínjírí‑mà dè] [[bírɛ́ kù] wò] ló‑yɛ̀,

áywà [bírɛ́ wó] bû: ló:‑rɛ̀ dèꜛ, bɔ̀gù‑bɔ̀gú yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ, î: [bû: mà:] pùlɔ̀‑bɔ̌w, pùlɔ̀‑bɔ̌w gúⁿ‑ỳ∴, bû: kù, [bû: gàm bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ bè] sǒ: yá s‑ɛ́:ⁿ, [bû: gàm bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ bè kálà] [sàmbâ:=∅=rá dé] [kɔ̀:ⁿ lǎ‑w] sɛ̀‑nɛ́, [là:rá: yɛ̌] bá:rà‑bá:rà‑bá:rà[[481]](#footnote-481) bû: káⁿ-m̀-n-ɛ́,

árⁿà, [nù nínáy bû:] úrò ɲɛ́=rà:ꜛ,[[482]](#footnote-482) [yì-tɛ᷈: bɛ̀rɛ́‑j‑â: dè] wó‑yà, [[[sǒ: kù] mánì:] wò] náyⁿ‑yà, jíjɛ́‑mà[[483]](#footnote-483) dè, [[bùrúgù tù‑m] ló] tíyɛ́‑yɛ̀

D: [[m̀ᵇǒ: kù] wò] jègérè músó‑yɛ̀

B: [[bùrúgù tùm] ló] bû: tíyɛ́‑tî: dè, [bû: yà] [kú kù=ǹ] ɛ́wɛ́ ɛ́wɛ́ ɛ́wɛ́ mɔ̀:lú‑mà dè, [[ànsà:rà ònjǒy] wó] jò-ló‑yɛ̀,

kú‑dá: bû: tíyɛ́‑tî: dè, [bàtô: wò] bû:=nì bàrá gǎⁿ‑mà dè, [bû: kálà bè] íyà ǎy‑mà dè, jìré: jò-ló‑yɛ̀, gùlɔ̂:=∅‑bá, kú‑dá: ló tíyɛ́‑yɛ̀, hâl bû: káⁿ‑m̀ nɛ̀, hâl bû: káⁿ‑m̀ nɛ̀,

áywà [àdùnɔ̀ ɛ́rìm] yɛ̀, [[àdùnɔ̀ ɛ́rìm] yɛ̌=ní] [kú káyⁿ=nìꜛ], [[kú túlù] wò] [gó‑m̀ nɛ̀] mà:nì‑bà, [[kú wó] kày] bû: gò‑lò‑bá kòy, [[kú dúmdɔ̀: kù] íyé yɛ̌=níꜛ], [àrsɛ̌: gúrù] wò=nì[[484]](#footnote-484)] là:tɛ̀‑bà, púlɔ̌: kù, kú=m̀ nì [bû: bìrɛ̀]=∅, těỳ ǎyà[[485]](#footnote-485)

D: bû: bǎrà, [púlɔ̌‑m kày], [púlɔ̌‑m kày] [púlɔ‑m=∅ nì], [î: wôy kày] [î: dàⁿ‑wôy] [gùsú‑jɛ́wⁿɛ̀]=∅ [bɔ̌: tùwⁿɔ́] [nàrⁿá tùwⁿɔ́] [púlɔ̌‑m dé→] jàmbà‑jàmbú‑m̀=∅, [jàmbá gúⁿ‑yɛ̀=b‑à:] [B núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ yɛ̌ dàyⁿ tègè ŋ̀gú][[486]](#footnote-486) gâyⁿ→, áŋàyⁿ té→ bù,

púlɔ̌: [bû: kày], bírɛ́ bírɛ́-m̀-n-ɛ́, [àrsɛ̀:‑bèré: gǔⁿ‑mà dè] [[â: kù:] wò] kɔ̀rú kɔ́rɔ́ gǎⁿ‑mà dè, ló yìlìwé yìlìwé, nǔ:=nì wó wó[[487]](#footnote-487) ŋâyⁿ→ sày î:=nì káⁿ‑m̀ tínɛ́m î:=nì dɛ̀:‑wú‑yɛ̀=b‑à:, [î: nù:] [[[kú sábà:bù] nì:] wò], ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ ló‑yɛ̀ dè kálà, àtéwrù éw‑ré‑yɛ̀, àtéwrù éw‑ré‑tí‑yà dè, [púlɔ̌: kù] [sǒ: ɲâyⁿ] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bû: sár—

S: [àtéwrù kù] ǹjê:=∅

D: [àtéwrù=∅ dè] gɔ́ⁿyà, [gɔ̀yⁿ‑ì:]‑gòyⁿí‑m, ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ àtéwrù gɔ̀yⁿ‑ì:‑gòyⁿí‑m̀=∅

B: gárdíɲɛ̂:[[488]](#footnote-488)

D: gárdíɲɛ̂:, àtéwrù éw‑ré‑tí‑yà dé wôy, bírɛ́ bû: bírɛ́‑m̀ dè, bû: [sǒ: ɲâyⁿ] mà→ yá‑dá: [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ dàⁿ‑wôy] sàrá:‑rà: dé wôy, bû: [tǔ: mâ:]— [àté́wrù bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ mǔ:] tégé‑m̀, [kú ɲâyⁿ] ínjírí‑mà dèꜛ, [púlɔ̌: kù] [tùlú wó] sɛ́rɛ̀ bɛ̀rɛ́ yɔ̀ɣɔ́:‑r‑à: dé wôy, bû:[[489]](#footnote-489) dìmbì‑yí ló‑mà dè,

dɔ᷈:‑m kày, [gùlɔ́‑m̀=∅ gù=náyⁿ] [púlɔ̌‑m bɛ̀rɛ́‑jɛ̂: dè] márɛ́‑m̀‑dó, [ló‑mà dè] gɔ̌ jìyɛ́‑mà mà→ꜛ, áywà [ǹjé mà gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè][[490]](#footnote-490) bû:— tá jìyɛ́‑mà màꜜ, [súyɔ́ jìyɛ́‑mà dè] jìsé tí‑yɛ̀,[[491]](#footnote-491)

[púlɔ̌: kù] [bû: yà][[492]](#footnote-492) bɛ̀rɛ́‑j‑â: dè, [jò-ló‑mà dè] tíyɛ́‑yɛ̀, áywà ŋâyⁿ=m̀ nì káyⁿ‑yɛ̀=b‑à: gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀, áywà [nɛ́: kày], [tèy gɔ᷈:w-∅ kù]=m̀ [lǎ‑w ú yá só‑ẃ dé] [dá:‑wó gǎyⁿ]

I: hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ŋ̀gú kú=m̀

S: hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [nù bû:] bɛ̀rɛ́‑j‑â: dè, [[ǎm bè][[493]](#footnote-493) mâ:] jò-ló‑yɛ̀=b‑à:

B: bû:—

D: [*américain* dá:], gǎm yá‑dá: jò-ló‑mà dè, [ànsá:rá ónjòy dà:] jò-ló‑tí‑yà dè, *américain* núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [nìgrô: dè] [nìgrô: dè] [nù jɛ̀wⁿɛ̀] bû: gǐ:ⁿ‑rà bû:[[494]](#footnote-494)

B [overlapping]: [nègrô: bû: gǐ:ⁿ‑rà kù bû:] [áŋàyⁿ tí:‑yɛ́y[[495]](#footnote-495) kù] bû:=m̀

D: [kú kù yà→] kɔ̀mbɔ́,[[496]](#footnote-496) [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [ǹjê:=∅ mà gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] [tá‑yɛ̀[[497]](#footnote-497) gǔyⁿ=ní] [yá‑dá: jò-ló=nì] [bû: káyⁿ nɛ̀], gàmbú [[kɔ̀mbɔ́ kù] dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀ nì], [[nǔ: gǎm] mà nà:][[498]](#footnote-498) [gàmbú kù], [ǹjê:=∅ mà gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] yá‑dá: [*Amérique* kù dá:] yá‑dá: yá‑dá: yá‑dá: wàsà‑bɔ́ꜛ,

[gǎm kálà] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [ǹjé gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ mà gǔⁿ‑ẁⁿ dè] î: [*Afrique* pìrè], *Libéria* gù=ní, núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [ǹjé gǔⁿ‑ẁ dè] *Monrovia*, [[[kú súmòy kù] wò] jɛ᷈:=ní] [yâ:=ǹ bû:=nì éw‑ré dùwɔ̀‑bɔ̀], gí‑rⁿà,[[499]](#footnote-499) [[kú nî:] wò] bû:, [ànsá:rá kù] bû: là:mɛ̀‑r‑á wá,

[kɔ̀mbɔ́ dùwⁿɔ́:‑rɛ̀ nì] [bû: kày] áŋàyⁿ bû: èw‑rè‑bɔ̀, kú=m̀ *libéré* kú=m̀ *Libé*—[ǹjê:=∅ mà] [*Libéria* kù], yâ: áŋàyⁿ=nì bû: éw‑ré dùwɔ̀‑bɔ̀

B: já:tì

D: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ

B: *l’histoire*—

D: já:tì, [*l’histoire* kù] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [î:— nú:‑rà‑ẁ kù] ŋâyⁿ→=∅ [î: mà:]— [î: nù gùnù] ŋâyⁿ→=∅ [î: mà:] píllɛ́:‑rà‑ẁ‑bɔ́ wá

B: hà: jìyɛ́‑tí

## Text 2005-2b.03 Implantation of Islam in Beni

S: àrsìlà:mà:kú [û: ìsè:] [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] yɛ̀

B: àrsìlà:mà:kú [á yɛ̌‑ỳ] [[pàŋá ɲâyⁿ] yɛ̀], [[pàŋá ɲâyⁿ] yɛ̀]

S: [pàŋá ɲâyⁿ], àŋâyⁿ yɛ̀

B [overlapping]: jó-lò‑ỳ,[[500]](#footnote-500) jó-lò‑ỳ mà, áywà [nǔ: kù dɛ̀ⁿ‑wôyꜛ], tó:rù, kú=m̀ [bû: bìrɛ̀=b‑ɛ̀]

D: ɔ̀mdɔ́

B: ɔ̀mdɔ́, kú=m̀ yɔ́ɣɔ́‑yɛ̀=b‑à:, bû: yɔ́ɣɔ́‑m̀[[501]](#footnote-501) nɛ̀ꜛ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ǎm kú=m̀ jɛ᷈:, [[[pùlɔ̀: àrⁿà kà:ⁿ] àrsìlà:mà:kú jɛ̌‑m̀ kù] ínìrⁿì:][[502]](#footnote-502) júwɔ́‑ẁ, [hù:dì úmbárù] má→ ǎm̀=∅

D: sé:kù á:mádù=m̀

B: sé:kù á:mádù=m̀, sé:kù á:mádù=m̀, [ìsê: wò] yɛ̌:‑rɛ̀ dè, mísí:dɛ̀, dì:dɛ̀‑r‑á tɛ́mbú‑jɛ̂: gâyⁿ→ bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, áywà jâm nàrⁿà‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó, séy bû: sɛ́yí‑wú‑m̀, bû: júkkɛ́‑m̀, kú=m̀ [kɔ̀:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] tɔ́sí‑yà,

píníwⁿú=ní, [tó:rù gâyⁿ→] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ á yí‑jɛ́‑ẁ wôy kálà, [ló‑ẁ dè] [kú=ǹ súyɔ́ dàrú‑m̀], súyɔ́ dǎr tî: dé wôy, [[ìsê: kù] mà:] [[bû: mà:] élé‑ré‑ẁ mà→], [ɛ̀rì‑m=dá má] úsúrú‑m̀, ɛ̀rì‑m=dá gǔⁿ‑ẁ dé wôy, bɔ̀nɔ́ û:=ǹ cɛ́:rú‑m̀ꜛ, ɛ́rí‑m gǔyⁿ‑tú:‑ẁ dé wôy, mísí:dɛ̀ yâ:, [ìsê: kù wò] cé:lé dúwɔ́‑m̀,

hâl [î: ìsè: ŋ̀gú] [mìsì:dɛ̀ kùyɔ́:], núwⁿɔ̀yⁿꜛ, [[yàtôm hámàdù] mà:] ú ló‑m̀ dè, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kú=ǹ] [bɛ́dá:rù ùrò kù] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù=ǹ], mìsì:dɛ̀ kùyɔ́: kù, yâ:=ǹ[[503]](#footnote-503) èw‑rè‑bá wá, yá pá:mɛ́‑ẁ,

ŋ̀gú‑rù á gǒ‑ẁ kálàꜛ, píníwⁿú ìsè: ló á tɛ́mbú‑ẁ wôy, táwà û: nɔ̀‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó,[[504]](#footnote-504) táwà, hámpɛ́‑ẃu‑m̀‑dó, [bàŋgìyì=náyⁿ]=dá[[505]](#footnote-505) dé, táwà bɛ̀rɛ́ hámpɛ́‑wú‑m̀‑dó, [táwà ú hámpɛ́‑m̀ nɛ̀] yí‑j‑â: dé wôy, jâm [ú mâ:] nàrⁿà‑wⁿú-m̀-n-ɛ́,

píníwⁿú=ní [ú ìsè: kú]=ǹ [mísí:rɛ̀ dìdàw]‑rá, [kú kálà dè] [jâm nàrⁿà‑wⁿú-m̀-n-ɛ́], hà [ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→], [î: kày] [kɔ̀:ⁿ î: nǔ‑ẁⁿ wò], [dì:nà kùyɔ́: kù kày] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ jɛ̂: mà:nú‑só‑ỳ→, [jǐnjɛ̀ sàw dè] [ú sàw]

D: áŋàyⁿ=m̀ nì, [[sé:kù á:mádù] áŋàyⁿ yɛ̌=ní] [[î: nù gùnù=nì kálà] [áŋàyⁿ yɛ̌=ní] ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̌ tɛ̀mbì], yɛ̌=ń [dàwⁿá kù] [î: nù gùnù kú] [bû: yà] [nǔ: yěy] [nǔ: tǎ:n] gâyⁿ→ [gó yìlìwé tíní=ní bû: káyⁿ=nì], ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ [[àdí:nà kù] ósù kù] [òsù térèw]‑∅[[506]](#footnote-506) yì‑bɔ́, [áŋàyⁿ ɲâyⁿ] [bû: yà] jàŋgɛ̀‑bɔ́,

jáŋgɛ́=ń â: bǎ‑ẁ kù, [térèw kù] â: yǐ‑ẁ kù, [bû: yà] ínjírí yɛ̀‑bɔ́ꜛ, [[î: ìsè: kú] nû: kù=ǹ] pàmmìnɛ̀‑bɔ́, bû: pámmínɛ́=nì, [î: nù: kú yà] jàŋgɛ̀‑bɔ́→, [dàwⁿá kù] yì‑bɔ́, kú=m̀ àdí:nátù ìslá:mù, àrsìlà:mà:kú dí:nà òsù, [kú=m̀ nì] î:=nì cɛ̀:rù‑bɔ́,

[íyé úsù kálà] [î: kày] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ, wá:jíbì lîllâ:y kú=m̀ jáŋgɛ́:‑rà‑y∴, jìré: dàyⁿ î: nú‑ẁⁿ kày, hâl è→[[507]](#footnote-507), gìré: gìré: gìré: gìré: [[àrⁿà‑gúsú tɛ́:mɛ́dɛ́rɛ̀] jírè], àrsìlà:— [î: nù gùnù] [àrsìlà:mà:kú wó] bû: nú‑ẁⁿ,

àywà î: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kú=m̀ wǒ‑só‑ỳ∴, [íyé kálà] [kú wó]=nì wǒ‑só‑ỳ∴, kú=m̀ hɔ́:lɛ́‑só‑ỳ∴ꜛ, áywà [ǹjé gùⁿ‑ẁ mà gǔⁿ‑ẁ dè] kú=m̀ kálà dìmbá‑ỳ∴, àrsìlà:mà:kú [î: mà:] ŋâyⁿ=nì yɛ̀, nâ:m

[inaudible whispered discussion]

D: nâ:m, [bê:n àrsìlà:mà:kú [nù kà:ⁿ] jɛ̌‑m̀] [î: nǔ‑m̀ kày], [î: tɛ̀:rⁿɛ̀]=∅ àkìlé gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀

B: àkìlé

D: àkìlé, [àkìlé kù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀=nì→, [ǹjé gǔⁿ‑ẁ dè] [kùyɔ́: kày] [[î: mà:] ínjírí [bê:n pìrè] jɛ᷈: kòy] [[áŋàyⁿ kày] nù‑ỳ∴], [[î: kù:] ɲàyⁿ], [á má:] [î: kày] [[î: kù:] ɲàyⁿ], [kú pírè] î: nàrⁿà‑bɔ́, gò=ń áŋàyⁿ tɛ̀mbì‑ỳ∴, gà: [[[î: [nù gùnù]] m̀ᵇô:] wò] àkìlé=m̀ jɛ̂: áŋàyⁿ nù‑ỳ∴, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=m̀ jɛ᷈:=ní î:=nì pàmmìnɛ̀ gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀

S: àcìlé [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] àrsìlà:mà:kú jɛ᷈:

D: [àrsìlà:mà: kú]—

S: [àŋâyⁿ káyⁿ=ní] kú=ǹ jɛ᷈:

D: ɛ́rⁿɛ́ [àrsìlà:mà: kú], ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà, [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], [sé:kù á:mádù— cìwɛ̀rù] á nǔ‑ẁ, [kú ɲâyⁿ] píníwⁿú=ní [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kálà] [ǹjé gùⁿ‑ẁ mà gǔⁿ‑ẁ dè] [bû: ló=ǹ] á pá:mɛ́‑ẁ kù, áywà [[á kû:] ɲàyⁿ] nǔ:, [[á yítɛ̀:] gò‑ló=ní kálà] [àrsìlà:mà:kú kù] jàŋgìnɛ̀, [jáŋgɛ́ dògùrù[[508]](#footnote-508) â: bǎ‑ẁ kù ɲàyⁿ] [bê:n yɛ̌=ń] sàygì‑bɔ́ wá

B: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kù] bàɲàgàrá=nì bú=b‑ɛ̂:

D: já:tì

B: àkìlé kù

D: nâ:m

B: bàɲàgàrá bé: ní, …

D: já:tì

B: [àrsìlà:mà:kú kù] yâ:=nì bà

D: nâ:m

B: bàɲàgàrá

D: já:tì

B: hà: [kú dímbá‑ẃ wó], [bè:nì ŋ̀gú‑rù] yɛ̀, ŋ̀gú‑rù [kú kù] dímbá‑ẃ wó kálà, [àrsìlà:mà:kú kù], [â:[[509]](#footnote-509) dàⁿ‑wôy] kú dìmbì‑yì‑ḿ bá, [kú wó kálà] yɛ̌ m̀ᵇǒ: kàwà, hâl [tǔ: ɲâyⁿ kálà] jàyà‑bá,

D: là:r‑bɔ́

B: là:r‑bá, hâl [tǔ: ɲâyⁿ] là:r‑bà, áywà [káⁿ‑m̀ tíném] [káⁿ‑m̀ tíném] [jǐnjɛ̀ ɔ̀ɣɔ̀‑ná:m] [[á báwdò] ɲàyⁿꜛ], …

D: bû:=nì bàrú‑m̀

B: … [bû:=nì bàr=ní], [nù jó→ kù wôy] yɛ̌=ní, áywà [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bɔ̂:[[510]](#footnote-510)] wò] nù‑bà, kú dímbá‑ẃ wóꜛ, î: gàmbú=nì kàyꜛ, àrsìlà:mà:kú [kú pírè] î:=nì nàrⁿà‑bá, [íyé kálà] [kú pírè] bù‑ỳ∴, jǐnjɛ̀ [î: àrsìlà:mà:kù] jìré: jó-lò‑ỳ

D: á:mî:

## Text 2005-2b.04 Beni and neighboring villages

S: [bê:n kɔ̀rɔ̀ kù] ǹjê:=∅

T: bê:n, ìsè: bè:‑wú‑m̀ bà, [[bê:n kù] kɔ́rɔ̀] dêy, [ìsê: mà:] bè:‑wú‑m̀ bà, [ǹjê:=∅ [kú kɔ́rɔ̀]] [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] ɛ̀sú bû:‑∅̀, [[yɛ̌=ń kálà] èw‑yè‑bɔ́] [[ìsê: kálà] tɛ̀mbì], [á áwù‑m̀‑dò kú][[511]](#footnote-511) íyé gò‑rí,

B: já:ti

T: [á yɛ̌ dɔ̌‑ẁ cɛ̂m] àwú‑m̀‑dó [kú=m̀ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] bù], [ìsè: kú dá:] á gǒ yɛ̌‑ẁ [kú wó kálà] [àwù‑m̀‑dó kù] kú=m̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gò‑lò, [íyé úsù kálà] kú=m̀ bù

B: já:ti

T: nǔ‑m ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gɔ̀rⁿɔ̀, [bê:n nù‑m] kú àw‑rí

B: pɛ́y

T: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ dɔ̂m î: gǒ‑ẁ wôy, [[[î: pà: bé] m̀ᵇô:] wò] nù‑rⁿí‑ỳⁿ∴ [[[î: tɛ̀:rⁿɛ̀ bè] m̀ᵇô:] wò] nù‑rⁿí‑ỳⁿ∴, hà: [íyé kálà] bû: gɔ̀rⁿɔ̀‑wⁿú‑m̀‑dó[[512]](#footnote-512)

B: já:ti

T: kú bé:nì=nì bè:‑wú‑m̀ bà

B: já:ti

T: [[ìsê: kù] [dànǎyⁿ[[513]](#footnote-513) wó] [kú èw‑yè‑ẁ ŋ̀gú] kòrǒỳ=∅=rá[[514]](#footnote-514) wá dé], [[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kú wôy] dàrbálâ:=∅] [[[ìsè: jó→] wó] lì‑ló‑ẁ] [ìsè: ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] ìsè: [èw‑yê: ɛ́sù][[515]](#footnote-515) …

E[[516]](#footnote-516): jò:‑rá

T: … [dà:y‑î: kù] nǔm bû:‑∅, ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀‑dáná: yá s‑ɛ́:ⁿꜛ, [kɛ̀lɛ̀ mǎ:] yá s‑ɛ́:ⁿꜜ, [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] ɛ̀sú bû:‑∅

B: já:ti

T: háyà ŋ̀gú=m̀ bê:n bè:‑wú‑m̀ bà

B: bày [ìsê: à:ŋgá]=nì, yɛ̌=ní kú tɛ̀mbì mà→ꜛ, [kú yɛ̌=ní] [ìsê: kù] tɛ̀mbì

T: áywà ìsɛ̀: yɛ̌ kú tɛ́mbú‑ẁ, ŋ̀gú‑rù kày, jímbè=ǹ tì‑tɛ̂m[[517]](#footnote-517)

B: wó:dì

T: gàwⁿrⁿú=nì tì‑tɛ́mbì

B: wó:dì

T: álà, tɛ̀‑tɛ́mbì, áywà wásà, wásà, bû: tì‑tɛ́mbì, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yà], yɛ̌ á tɛ́mbú‑ẁ kálàꜛ, [àrⁿà àwú‑m̀] bě‑r[[518]](#footnote-518) dé, [ìsè: á yɛ̌ tɛ́mbú‑ẁ=nì kálà] àw‑rí, ŋ̀gú=m̀ bê:n

S: álà bè→ gàwⁿrⁿú bè→ jímbè bè→ [bû:=m bê:n yɛ̌ tɛ̀m[[519]](#footnote-519)] mà→ [bê:n bû:=nì yɛ̌ tɛ̀mbì]

T: bé:nì=m̀ yɛ̌ bû: tɛ̀mbì

S: bé:nì [ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̌=ń] bû:=ǹ tɛ̀mbì

T: ɔ́ⁿhɔ̀ⁿ

B: bày [[kápěmdè=nì yà] tɛ̀mbù] mà→ tɛ̀mbì‑rí

T: tɛ̀mbù

B: [[tìtàŋgǎy=nì yà] tɛ̀mbù] mà→ tɛ̀mbì‑rí

T: tɛ̀mbù

B: bày [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ] [bê:n dùwɔ́ tí=ń] bû: ínjírí yɔ̀ɣɔ́ tâŋ[[520]](#footnote-520) bɔ̀

T: áywà [í kày] [kú mâ:] jǔwɔ̀[[521]](#footnote-521) sàlá bû:‑∅

B: tégé dìyà[[522]](#footnote-522)

T: ǎy, [kú mâ: kày] [jǔwɔ̂ kù] sàlá bû:‑∅, [kú mâ: kày] jǔwɔ̀ sàlá

B: [kú mâ:] [ú júwɔ̀] sàlá

D: [[ú yà] tégé gǎyⁿ] [ú júwɔ́‑ẁ dè]

T: hà: íyà [[kɔ̀:ⁿ kà:ⁿ] í nǔ‑ẁ] dêy, [bê:n kù], á yɛ̌‑ẁ, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ŋ̀gú‑rù] yɛ̌ kú éw‑yé=nì, tìtàŋgǎy=nì tì‑tɛ́mbì, áywà jɛ̀mɛ̀sɔ̀:rⁿɔ̀:‑túrù=nì tì‑tɛ́mbì, ká:pěmdè=nì tì‑tɛ́mbì, [dâ:=nì kálà] tì‑tɛ́mbì, [kú bɛ́r‑kɛ̀là:] yɛ̌ kú éw‑yé=nì, [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù→] kú=nì yáwɛ́=ní s‑ɛ́:ⁿ=b‑â:, gà: [yɛ̌ bû: éw‑yé=ní kù] [[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ɛ̀sú] táŋgí:‑rɛ̀,

[bû: mà:] ínjírí gò‑ý wá, â: [â: ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ŋ̀gú] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ bè:‑wú‑m̀] bà, kú=m̀ bé:nì, [â: mà:] gù‑gô:[[523]](#footnote-523)=rá‑bɔ́ wá kòy, ŋ̀gú‑rù, áywà [kú ɲâyⁿ]ꜛ, [tǔ: ɲâyⁿ] lá:rí‑m̀ tínɛ́ꜛ,[[524]](#footnote-524)

[bê:n bɔ̀ŋɔ̀ kú] [kú ɲâyⁿ] tǎ: yá só, [tǎ: kú] [í:rⁿɛ́yⁿ tâ:]=∅, [kú mâ:] yàrí‑ka᷈:[[525]](#footnote-525) gǔⁿ‑yɛ̀ [[tǎ: kù] mâ:], yàrí‑ka᷈:, [[yàrì‑kà: ŋ̀gú] ɲâyⁿꜛ], bɔ̀ŋgɔ̌‑m [ɲárⁿù hɛ́jjɛ́rɛ̀] ínjírí=ní [[ú ísè:] ló=ní], [[ɔ̀sɔ̀rɔ̀‑nǐŋ[[526]](#footnote-526) gɔ́ŋgì:] wò] [kú=nì gɔ̀ŋgì‑rí=ń] láwá:‑rɛ̀, àrⁿà‑kúsú súyⁿɔ̀y, [kɔ̀:ⁿ ɲɛ̂:] bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ẁ∴,

[kú ɲâyⁿ] ínjírí=ní gó‑yà, áŋàyⁿ áŋàyⁿ áŋàyⁿ ínjírí bû: gó=ní, [[[[ùrò kòrǒy] nǐ:yⁿ nùmǔyⁿ] tû‑m] bôy] ŋ́gòy, [kú nû: kù] tì‑tíwɛ́ dùwⁿɔ̀‑r‑á[[527]](#footnote-527) kòy, [kú nû: kù] yá b‑ɛ̀:ⁿ, yàrí‑ka᷈: kú=m̀ nì [bû:=nì làrí=ń] gò‑lò, íyà ŋ̀gú áŋàyⁿ nù‑yⁿ

S: yàrí‑ka᷈: kù, [[tǎ: kù] ínìrⁿì:]=∅

T: [[tǎ: kù] ínìrⁿì:]=∅

S: í:rⁿɛ́m tâ:

T: í:rⁿɛ́yⁿ[[528]](#footnote-528) tâ:, yàrí‑ka᷈:, [jǐnjɛ̀ sàw dé] [ú sàw]

B: hà: kú=m̀ yà, [[nà kùyɔ́:] í tégé‑ẁ kù kálà] [kú=m̀ kòy] [bê:n nùm mà:] [[nù àw‑rú‑m̀]=∅ gùⁿ‑yⁿ

T: D!

D: [tà: lɔ̀sɔ̀‑ɲɛ̌ỳⁿ]=∅[[529]](#footnote-529) mà→ lɔ̀sɔ̀‑bànǎỳⁿ=∅

B: [kú yěy cɛ̂m] yá bú

T: [[tà: kà:ⁿ] bû: gàⁿ=náy], lò=náy, [ìsê: gɔ̀ŋgùrú] bû: láwá‑m̀ kù, [tǎ: kù] [tà: lɔ̀sɔ̀‑bànǎỳ]=∅

B: já:tì

T: [lɔ̀sɔ̀‑bànǎyⁿ kù] [[lɔ̀sɔ̀ ɲɛ̌yⁿ] wó] kú gáⁿ‑ẁ, [lɔ̀sɔ̀‑ɲɛ̌y kù]=m̀ àyù‑ẁ dé yà, [[lɔ̀sɔ̀ bànǎyⁿ] wó] kú gáⁿ‑ẁ

D: [[kɔ̀:ⁿ dà:‑w] ú nǔ‑m̀] yá bú, [ú nǔ‑m̀] yá bú

T: áŋàyⁿ=nì gòŋgùrú‑ẁ [ìsê: kù]=ǹ, í ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ=nì kú nù‑ỳⁿ

D: já:tì

T: ǹšâ:llâ:w

B: [[á ísè:] gó‑m̀ dè kày] [[á kɔ̂:ⁿ] [ɛ́sɛ́ wó] gǎyⁿ‑jɛ̀→ gó‑m̀ kòy

T: [[ɛ́sɛ́ kálà] mùsùyó‑ẁ dè] gó‑m̀, [[ɛ́sɛ́ kálà] mùsùyó‑m̀ kòy, [òròsú wôy] á táwá‑m̀‑dó, ɛ́sɛ́=ń mùsùyó‑m̀

S: bày ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sùŋgǒy gá‑m̀‑dó má

T: sùŋgǒy gá‑m̀‑dó kòy, sùŋgǒy gá‑m̀‑dó

D: [kú kày] [nù gúnú kày] dàwⁿá yá s‑ɛ́:ⁿ=b‑â: kòy

T: sùŋgǒy gá‑m̀‑dó, ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ=nì bírɛ́‑yɛ̀=b‑à:

E: [ìsê: kù]=ǹ nèy gì‑gɔ̀ŋgùrú‑m̀=bɛ̀ mà→, [nà tùwⁿɔ̂:] ló [ŋây→ tɔ́‑tî: dè] ǎy‑jɛ́‑m̀=bɛ̀

T: [ìsê: kù] [ɲárⁿù wò] ló:‑rɛ̀ dè—

E: xxx— tégé tégé tégé

T: gɔ̀ŋgùrú‑ẁ dè, [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ á túmdú‑ẁ kù=ǹ] yɛ̌ [lɔ̀sɔ̂: tà:] ká‑m̀, kùyɔ́: á tɔ́‑ẁ kù, yɛ̌ [[kú kû:] wò] té→ tɔ́‑tî: dé wôy, gɔ̀lí tíní‑m̀‑dó, hâl [ínjírí‑ẁ dè] [[á ísè: kù] wò] yé‑m̀, ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→ nù‑ỳⁿ

D: nâ:m, [ú yà] [kɔ̀:ⁿ ú nǔ‑ẁⁿ] yá bú, [í kálà] [yâ: ùllà í nǔ‑ẁⁿ] [[ùllá sày] yâ: bàrù‑ḿ[[530]](#footnote-530)]

T: wó:dì

D: [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kày] yâ: dém→ ló:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, [ìsê: kù] bɛ́rkɛ̀là: [lɔ̀sɔ̀ bànǎyⁿ kù], [ŋâyⁿ→ tɔ́ gǎyⁿ‑tî: dé wôy] [[lǎ‑w wôy] sí‑lé‑m̀‑dó], [yèy‑nɛ́ pá‑m̀‑dó] [lǎ‑w pá‑m̀‑dó], áŋàyⁿ=m̀ [gó‑m̀=bɛ̀ kày] gí‑rⁿà,[[531]](#footnote-531) [í kálà] [ŋ̀gú kày] nǔ‑ỳⁿ[[532]](#footnote-532) dá:‑wó, [ú mâ:] bàrù‑ḿ

T: wó:dì, pá:mɛ́‑wⁿú‑ẁⁿ,[[533]](#footnote-533) [kú dò: wôy] àrⁿà‑bérù tán, pá:mɛ́‑wⁿú‑ẁⁿ

D: nâ:m

T: ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, nâ:m

## Text 2005-2b.05 Fight with a lion

T: áywà núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kɔ̀:ⁿ tègè‑rá:—[[534]](#footnote-534)

S [overlapping]: bê:n, [[ǎm yá→] [tàdùŋgú‑m yá→]]— jáy jàyà‑bɔ̀

T: [[á:mádù ti‑̀tɛ̌yⁿ][[535]](#footnote-535) yá→], [tàdùŋgú‑m yá→]]=nì jàyà‑bɔ̀

S: [àŋâyⁿ ɲàyⁿ]=nì bê:

T: [dàyⁿ kà:ⁿ] bě‑ẁ dê:, áywà [tàdùŋgú‑m kù] ínjírí=ní, î: lò:lù ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̀, [nǎ: tâ:] yɛ̌=ní, [tàdùŋgú‑m kù] yâ: kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ gàyⁿ, [kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǎⁿ‑ẁ kù] [[ìsê: kù náŋànà:] mà:] bàŋgì‑yì‑rí hâl ìllá, gɔ́:ŋgɔ̀ yɛ̌=ní, [yà:‑yî: yà→] [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî: yà→ cɛ̂m] [â: mà:] ínjírí ló [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wì‑wó‑yɛ̀] wà, [tàdùŋgú‑m kù] [nǎ:[[536]](#footnote-536) ɲâyⁿ] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wó‑yɛ̀ wà,

S: [yǎ: yá→] [árⁿà yà→]

T: [yǎ: yá→] [árⁿà yà→], í:rⁿɛ́m [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jésù] wò] gǎ‑lɛ̀‑m̀[[537]](#footnote-537) bà pɛ́y!, yɛ̌=ní bɔ̀rⁿú gò‑lò‑bɔ̀, bû: gò‑ló=nì, [àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yî: yà→] [yà:‑yî: yà→] ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̌=ní, [â:=nì sá:rⁿí=ní] ínjírí=ní, [[tàdùŋgú‑m kù] mâ:] pù‑pɔ́ndɛ̀‑bà tán, [wàgàtì kà:ⁿ] ló=ní, dàdíyà táŋí=ní, [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] [nɛ́: kày] [díyⁿáwⁿ wó][[538]](#footnote-538) wà:w=rá] bû: bú nɛ̀,

E: íyà [nà yèy‑nɛ́] gàyⁿ

T: píníwⁿú=ní [nà yèy‑nɛ́], [kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ táppɛ́=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [nǔ: [gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè]] [[tìwⁿɛ̌yⁿ mánì:] wò] ùrɔ́:‑r‑à: hôw

S: háⁿ

T: [nǔ: gǎm] [tìwⁿɛ̌yⁿ wó] ùrɔ́:‑r‑à:, [á:mádù tìtɛ̌yⁿ], [á sá‑ẁ kù de] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày], [áŋàyⁿ wò] bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, [kɔ̀:rⁿɔ̀ kà:ⁿ] â: nù:‑rà‑ẁ ŋ̀gú, jàwⁿâ: [kɔ̀:ⁿ [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲâyⁿ] jàyá‑m̀]=dá wá dé, [[nù tùwⁿɔ̂‑m yà→] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yá→]]=m̀,

[jàwⁿâ: ínjírí=ní] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] pɔ́ndɛ́:‑rɛ̀ wò] bě:‑rɛ̀ dé wôy, [ɲàwⁿà [â: mà:] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ súyɔ́‑m̀] mɛ̀gɛ̀ wàꜛ, [â: ìnìrⁿì:‑[bɛ̀r‑ì:]] dɛ́ŋgɛ̀y, [kú yà], sǎw [á mâ:] nì=náyⁿ,[[539]](#footnote-539) [á jì‑jáyá‑m̀ dè] ŋ́gòy, [pù‑pú:rⁿí tí‑m̀ dè] ŋ́gòy,[[540]](#footnote-540)

áywà [gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] sǎw [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] nì‑ḿ bá, [gǎm bɔ́ŋɔ̀ bè] [â: dàⁿ‑wôy] lò‑náyⁿ, [kɔ̀:ⁿ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲàŋgìrí‑m̀][[541]](#footnote-541) ɲàŋgírì‑ỳ, [â: kàlà dè] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jìyɛ̀‑ý,[[542]](#footnote-542) tɛ̀wɛ̀ [[â: hùnè] ɲàyⁿ] yé‑yɛ̀,

bû: gǔyⁿ=nì, ló bû: sɔ́sí‑lí=nì, píníwⁿú=ní kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ gàyⁿ, ǎy [[dàyⁿ dɔ̀:‑wú‑m̀ wôy] ŋ̀gó], [[á:mádù tɛ̌yⁿ] tín=ní] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ káyⁿ=nì], [ŋ̀gú wó] jâm ŋ̀gó, kú ɲâyⁿ, sùmǒy á sɔ́‑ẁ, [sùmǒy kù] ŋây→ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ ɲɛ̀rⁿìyⁿí=ní, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ pú:rⁿú‑ẁ [kú cɛ̂m], áywà [tàdùŋgú‑m kù] [[á jírè] á àyú‑ẁ kù cɛ̂m] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔyⁿ=nì, [[dúwⁿán[[543]](#footnote-543) ósù] wò] gàyⁿ

S: dù dâ:

T: dù dâ:, háyà [kú ɲâyⁿ], [tàdùŋgú‑m kù] kɛ́sɛ́ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gó=nì, [[ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù] wò] ló dɔ́‑mà gà:, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ lɔ́sɔ̀ bè→] ló yí‑mà gà:, [tàdùŋgú‑m kù]=nì bɛ̀rɛ́ yì‑r‑á, [ínjírí=ní] ló:‑rɛ̀

B: kú‑dá: ló kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ gàyⁿ

T: [kú‑dá: kɔ́:rⁿɔ̀ gàyⁿ] hà: wàngí:‑rɛ̀ wà

B: píníwⁿú gàyⁿ

T: kú ɲâyⁿ=nì, ínjírí=ní, [nǔ: kù] píníwⁿú=ní áŋàyⁿ ínjírí=ní úrò yɛ̀‑bɔ̀

## Text 2005-2b.06 Fight with a hyena

T: háyà tì‑ta᷈:‑m kɔ̀:ⁿ kú [jínjɛ́ sàw dè] [ú sàw]

B: áywà, [[kú túlù] wò], ŋ̀gú‑rù, [kú kày] [[[ î: jìrè] jùwɔ̀] ɲàyⁿ], tì‑ta᷈:‑m, ŋ̀gú‑rù yɛ̀,

E: [gùnjɔ̀‑gòrǒy wó] î: ló=ń

S: ŋŋŋ

B: [[gùnjɔ̀‑gòrǒy dá:] î: ló=ń] [tì‑ta᷈:‑m á yɛ̌‑ẁ] yá‑dá: [pɛ̀rgɛ́ nû:] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dì‑dìgìré‑m̀] [î: mà: dá:] késé nì‑bɔ̀, késé bû: ní=nɛ̀, [kɔ́rⁿúyⁿɔ́m gù‑ní yá bú] [yá‑dá: [tì‑ta᷈:‑m î: wôy] tǔ: î: àyú‑ẁ], kúrgòm kúrgòm kúrgòm tàŋàsó: yɛ̌‑ỳ∴,

[î: yɛ̌=nɛ̀ cɛ̂m] [[î: àsùwⁿɛ̀‑yì:] [kú mâ:] â: húyɛ́‑ẁ] tì‑ta᷈:‑m [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ célèy] súyɔ́=ní, ɛ́rⁿɛ́=ǹ â: wǒ‑ẁ, pɛ́rù! sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀‑bɔ̀, [á:mádù dè tɛ̌yⁿ] ɲɛ̀rⁿìyⁿí‑m̀ kù, [úrò wò] úrò— kú bé:nì=m̀, [[bé:nì kù] wò] [kú árⁿà] wàyrɛ̀‑r‑á, [cɛ̀lɛ̀ mǎ: kù] kú=m̀ [nà kùyɔ́: kálà] tì‑tɛ́mbì‑ỳ∴] [í gǔⁿ‑ẁ kù] kú=m̀,

[kú ɲâyⁿ] [[tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] â: wǒ‑ẁ] [ɛ́rⁿɛ́[[544]](#footnote-544) pɛ́rù!] [kú sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀‑bɔ̀], ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ, pɛ́rù! ɛ́rⁿɛ́ sɛ̀wⁿɛ̀‑bɔ̀, ŋ̀gú‑rù [kú ɲâyⁿ] sɛ́wⁿɛ́=ní pál=ní [kú dú jɛ̀:] yɛ̀‑bɔ̀, [kú ɲâyⁿ kù] [àrsìlà:mà:kú dá:‑wó [tǔ: ɲâyⁿ] lígísé=ní] b‑ɛ́:ⁿ=b‑â:, [kúwó-m̀-n-ɛ́ wá bû: gǔyⁿ nɛ̀] [[kú nû:] gàmbù] [[pá:mɛ́=ń] b‑ɛ̂:ⁿ kù][[545]](#footnote-545) ǎy kùwò‑bɔ̀, gàmbú jì‑jísè‑bɔ̀,[[546]](#footnote-546) ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→ kàyⁿ,

[[kú túlù] wò kálà] tì‑ta᷈:‑m bɛ̀rɛ̀‑bɔ́

E: gùnjɔ̀‑gòrǒy wó ló=ní

B: gùnjɔ̀‑gòrǒy wó lóní

E: [ìsê: î: wôy] [là:rà: ìlâ:] yá bú=b‑ɛ̂:[[547]](#footnote-547)

B: [ìsê: î: wôy] kálà [là:rà: ìlâ:] yá bú=b‑ɛ̂:, [[kú túlù] wò] kálà [tì‑ta᷈:‑m kàbà:rù] â: bɛ̀rɛ́‑ẁ, háyà tɛ́wɲɛ́=ní, yá‑dá: â: ló‑ẁ kù, [[tì‑ta᷈:‑m kù] dì‑dìgìré‑m̀], yɛ̌=ní [pìrìyěm gǔyⁿ=ní] ŋ̀gú‑rù yá bú, [kòmbí: wó] ló nǔ‑ẁ, ɛ́rⁿɛ́ dìmbì‑yí nǔ lô:‑bɔ́,

[á má:] [ŋ̀gú gâyⁿ→] [[á má:] nɛ́: jáwɛ́‑ẁ dè] [[nǔ: mâ:] gó‑m̀] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gùⁿ [kú ɲâyⁿ], [[â: mɔ̀rɔ̀‑yì:] â: tí‑ẁ cɛ̂m] [ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ ló nú‑ýⁿ bû: gǔⁿ‑ẁ] [[kú wó] ló nû:], [[gìrè‑yî: kù] wò], tì‑ta᷈:‑m yâ: gòlòró yàgà, [kú ɲâyⁿ] [[kòmbǐ: kù] wò] â: nû:, bàsá gò‑lò‑bɔ̀, ŋ̀gú kú=m̀

E [overlapping (unclear)]: ŋây→ ɛ́rⁿɛ́ jìyɛ̀‑bɔ̀

B: nǔ:‑rà‑ẁ, ná yèy

D: [tì‑ta᷈:‑m ɲàyⁿ] àjèrú wò‑bɔ̀

B: [ná yèy] [tì‑ta᷈:‑m ɲàyⁿ] àjèrú wò‑bɔ̀

E: [jíyɛ̀ kálà] jìyɛ̀‑bɔ́

B: [jíyɛ̀ kálà] jìyɛ̀‑bɔ́

S: [[m̀bǎ=ǹ kày] wǒ=ń] [[cèlê: kù] súyɔ́=ń] [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ úrò] dàr‑bɔ́]

B: [[cèlê: kù]=m̀ tàppɛ̀‑bɔ̀[[548]](#footnote-548)

D: já:tì

B: gɔ̂:ŋgɔ̀, áⁿhàⁿ

# Part Two, English Translations

## Text 2005-1a.01 Name-giving ceremony

O: God [focus] has brought you-Sg.

I: Yes.[[549]](#footnote-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.

## Text 2005-1a.02 Choice of name for newborn

S: The name, how do you-Pl 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]](#footnote-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-Pl 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.

## Text 2005-1a.03 Co-wifehood at a name-giving

S: Today the old women came and posted a paper there.[[551]](#footnote-551) 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).

## Text 2005-1a.04 Water at Beni

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,[[552]](#footnote-552) 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,”[[553]](#footnote-553) 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.

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.

## Text 2005-1a.05 Water projects

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) difficulty[[554]](#footnote-554) 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]](#footnote-555) they said.

Well, they dug a well for us at Bara. Well, now, that well,[[556]](#footnote-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 Oloy[[557]](#footnote-557) 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]](#footnote-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 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-Pl women are tired, why do your-Pl women, (at) the well that they have dug for you-Pl there at Bara, at the place of the dam, why do they not draw the water of that (place)? You-Pl 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-Pl 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-Pl 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-Pl to draw it [focus] good (=better)? Or is for you-Pl 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.[[559]](#footnote-559) 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.

## Text 2005-1a.06 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 would take their inheritance (=land). If it was you-Pl [focus] who found them (=original people), you-Pl would take the inheritance (=possession) of the field.

When you-Pl had taken it, it was your-Pl 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).

## Text 2005-1a.07 Villages and their fields

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.[[563]](#footnote-563) They (=new people), if it’s the people of a clan[[564]](#footnote-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.[[565]](#footnote-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.

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[[566]](#footnote-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,[[567]](#footnote-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, 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.

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[[568]](#footnote-568) 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 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?[[569]](#footnote-569)

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:[[570]](#footnote-570) 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. 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.

## Text 2005-1a.09 Honey

S: How do you-Pl 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.[[571]](#footnote-571) 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[[572]](#footnote-572) 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-Pl have come home, what do you-Pl do for (=with) the honey?

I: For the honey, when we come back home, your-Sg people, all of you-Pl will sit down together and you-Pl 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).

## 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, like (=approximately) fifteen days, we don’t do farm work, we (just) stay like like that (=we rest). When the fifteen days have passed, 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,[[573]](#footnote-573) 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).

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).[[574]](#footnote-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[[575]](#footnote-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).[[576]](#footnote-576) They call that *yu-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).[[577]](#footnote-577) 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[[578]](#footnote-578) 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.[[579]](#footnote-579)

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?[[580]](#footnote-580)

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?[[581]](#footnote-581)

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).[[582]](#footnote-582) 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[[583]](#footnote-583) (=especially) ripe. They call the one that has fully ripened *yu-na* (normal millet).[[584]](#footnote-584) 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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.

## 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,[[589]](#footnote-589) 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.[[590]](#footnote-590) 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[[591]](#footnote-591) 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.[[592]](#footnote-592)

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).[[593]](#footnote-593) 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 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 yoou 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,[[594]](#footnote-594) 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.”[[595]](#footnote-595) 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: With the moist (not fully ripe) ones, they pick (them) and eat (them).

O: Before they dry (=ripen fully), we pick (them) and then eat (them). 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?[[596]](#footnote-596)

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?[[597]](#footnote-597)

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.

## Text 2005-1a.13 Big families

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]](#footnote-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.

I: For this reason, we have wanted (to have) many children.

## Text 2005-1a.14 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,[[599]](#footnote-599) 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,[[600]](#footnote-600) 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,[[601]](#footnote-601) well, now, when the holy day of Ramadan and the Feast of the Ram arrive, they give some soap and a little money.[[602]](#footnote-602) 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.

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 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]](#footnote-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.

## 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]](#footnote-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?

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-609) you-Sg have lost.

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

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.

## Text 2005-1a.16 Fulbe as herders

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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?

O: When it has reached weaning, if it refuses weaning, they put on (=apply) a muzzle(‑stick).[[612]](#footnote-612) 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.[[613]](#footnote-613) 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.

## Text 2005-1a.17 Cattle

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: 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 animal hides too, it is what?

I: The hide, it’s our usefulness (=it’s useful to us). We drink with that.[[614]](#footnote-614) 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. [[615]](#footnote-615)

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.

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.[[616]](#footnote-616) 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.

## Text 2005-1b.01 Collective and individual hunting

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]](#footnote-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).’

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]](#footnote-618)

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]](#footnote-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:[[620]](#footnote-620) 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 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),”[[623]](#footnote-623) 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*.[[624]](#footnote-624) 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)?[[625]](#footnote-625)

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

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-628)

S: It has a lot of spines?

I: Porcupine, (and) hedgehog.[[629]](#footnote-629) 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.[[630]](#footnote-630)

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.

## Text 2005-1b.02 Hunting with dogs

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!”[[631]](#footnote-631) 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,[[632]](#footnote-632) they stab with a hooked pole. As for them (=night hunters), thus they bring them (=animals in trees) to the ground.[[633]](#footnote-633) 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.”[[634]](#footnote-634) 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.[[635]](#footnote-635) Well, that too, they said it’s like this. Hunting with a dog, that is it.

## Text 2005-1b.03 Trapping

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]](#footnote-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 squeezes.

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 (=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]](#footnote-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.

## Text 2005-1b.04 Slaughtering and butchering

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.[[638]](#footnote-638) When they have removed the intestines separately (from the rest), they wring (it) out.[[639]](#footnote-639)

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.[[640]](#footnote-640) 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[[641]](#footnote-641) 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.[[642]](#footnote-642) 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 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]](#footnote-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.

## Text 2005-1b.05 Land disputes

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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-Pl hear (that)?”[[647]](#footnote-647) (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[[648]](#footnote-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-bye) 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,[[649]](#footnote-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[[650]](#footnote-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 (=inherit)?[[651]](#footnote-651) (You say:) “as for us, we encountered (=inherited) the sacred place.[[652]](#footnote-652) (Judges:) “Did you-Pl drink (at) the sacred place?” “Yes.”

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[[653]](#footnote-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[[654]](#footnote-654) it by drinking from the sacred object (=by sacred oaths).[[655]](#footnote-655) It’s one or the other (of these).[[656]](#footnote-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?

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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.

## Text 2005-1b.06 Traveling for work

S: Why is it that you-Pl leave your-Sg 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/they) 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[[659]](#footnote-659) (without permission). As for the women, immorality[[660]](#footnote-660) takes them away, we don’t want them to go,[[661]](#footnote-661) for our part, (but) if we have no power (to stop them). As for them (=women) too, because we go, they (also) run away.

Formerly, in our childhood, we did not find (=experience) any woman going to the bush (=running away), other than (=only) 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-Pl thinking (=opinion), is immorality [focus] what makes them go? Or is it to become immoral [focus] that they go?[[662]](#footnote-662)

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 (=aside from) 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. Fine. 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 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.[[663]](#footnote-663) 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)[[664]](#footnote-664) (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).

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),[[665]](#footnote-665) 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.

## Text 2005-1b.07 Going to school

O: Uh, now, you-Sg are studying, you-Sg are studying at (the public) school. Now, you-Sg will begin (school) at Dianwely.[[666]](#footnote-666) 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[[667]](#footnote-667) (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 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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), 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 Sé{varé}— (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]](#footnote-671)

It’s the school of the powerful (=rich) ones, they pay money (for tuition), 4000 riyals (=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]](#footnote-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.

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 have no other work (=activity), you-Sg came only (=strictly) for that (=school). 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 your-Sg mother and your-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 your-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]](#footnote-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.

## Text 2005-1b.08 Rats, mice, and shrews

S: The giant pouched rat,[[674]](#footnote-674) how is it?

I: The giant pouched rat, it’s 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[[675]](#footnote-675) 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[[676]](#footnote-676) 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.[[677]](#footnote-677)

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[[678]](#footnote-678) 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 (=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[[679]](#footnote-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[[680]](#footnote-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[[681]](#footnote-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.[[682]](#footnote-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.[[683]](#footnote-683) Is it the truth, or is it a falsehood?

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.

## Text 2005-1b.09 Scorpions and other critters)

S: This young girl’s scorpion[[684]](#footnote-684) 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.[[685]](#footnote-685) It (once) stung[[686]](#footnote-686) 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.”[[687]](#footnote-687) 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.[[688]](#footnote-688) 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,[[689]](#footnote-689) 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.

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 eats grasshopppers.

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,”[[690]](#footnote-690) 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[[691]](#footnote-691) 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,[[692]](#footnote-692) we haven’t seen it. It, the horse’s scorpion, as for it, if it has bitten a person, it will give[[693]](#footnote-693) no peace to the person. Well, the matter of scorpions, this is it.

## Text 2005-1b.10 27th night of Ramadan

S: The *leyla*, [[694]](#footnote-694) 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).[[695]](#footnote-695) 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),[[696]](#footnote-696) 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?

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.[[697]](#footnote-697) 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.

## Text 2005-1b.11 Demons and dwarves

S: What is the work (=behavior) of a *seytan*?[[698]](#footnote-698)

O: If you-Sg have heard (about) the work of a *seytan*, (as for) a seytan, a *djinn*[[699]](#footnote-699) 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]](#footnote-700) They the Muslims[[701]](#footnote-701) 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 Prohet 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,[[702]](#footnote-702) 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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.

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 up, 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.

## Text 2005-2a.01 Tale of Yasama

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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:

[song:][[710]](#footnote-710) 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]](#footnote-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:

[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).

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?[[712]](#footnote-712)

He said, he had pulled them by their (own) mouth-rope;[[713]](#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.[[714]](#footnote-714)

O: (You-Pl) go and keep possession of your-Pl success.[[715]](#footnote-715)

## Text 2005-2a.02 Tale of Asama

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-717) Here[[718]](#footnote-718) 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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 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.

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.[[721]](#footnote-721) 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.[[722]](#footnote-722) It became a dense thicket. When they had cut (through) it, before they could get past[[723]](#footnote-723) (it), the girl reached the edge of her father’s village. When she came and reached the edge of the village, (she sang):

[song][[724]](#footnote-724) Ya-Ire[[725]](#footnote-725) snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

Ya-Mere-Ire[[726]](#footnote-726) 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 horse, a giraffe tail;

The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail;[[727]](#footnote-727)

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

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.

## Text 2005-2a.03 Girl and incestuous father

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,[[728]](#footnote-728) 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][[729]](#footnote-729) She (=mother) said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile[[730]](#footnote-730)

After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!

(Girl’s reply:) Oh mother!

A man gave birth to me[[731]](#footnote-731) yesterday

(And) today he will marry me.

I will go to die, and drink the water (there).[[732]](#footnote-732)

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[[733]](#footnote-733)

After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!

(Girl’s reply:) Oh mother![[734]](#footnote-734)

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.

## Text 2005-2a.04 Ya-Ire and the canine spy

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?[[735]](#footnote-735) 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,[[736]](#footnote-736) 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[[737]](#footnote-737) 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[[738]](#footnote-738) made a dog follow after her, it is said. (They) said (=thought): if it is her, when this (=secret name) goes (down), she won’t be able to avoid uttering it.[[739]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-742) They said not to cut, she cut.

They said not to scratch, she scratched.

Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,

Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.[[743]](#footnote-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.

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.

## Text 2005-2a.05 The drowned junior co-wife

A: Again, a story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) a woman and her stepmother.[[744]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-746) when the new girl was drawing her (own), she (=senior wife) pushed her (=new wife) into[[747]](#footnote-747) the pond.

When she put (=pushed) her into the pond, Nommo[[748]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 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.[[751]](#footnote-751) She (=woman) was inside (=underwater) (and sang:).

song[[752]](#footnote-752): (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*

Who is beating[[753]](#footnote-753) 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?”[[754]](#footnote-754)

(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[[755]](#footnote-755) a strategem for him (=chief) how to get (the woman) out (of the water), it is said.

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.

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

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[[756]](#footnote-756) 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.[[757]](#footnote-757) They came bringing the francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman. She tossed it into her cotton gear. [[758]](#footnote-758) 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),[[759]](#footnote-759) it wasn’t (intended to) go that far.[[760]](#footnote-760)

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.

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 s{aw}—, that she 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.[[761]](#footnote-761)

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.[[762]](#footnote-762) 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.

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.[[763]](#footnote-763) 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[[764]](#footnote-764), 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.

## Text 2005-2a.07 Hare, hyena, antelope, and aardvark

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[[765]](#footnote-765) 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, [[766]](#footnote-766) 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.”[[767]](#footnote-767) 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).[[768]](#footnote-768)

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.

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[[769]](#footnote-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.

## 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]](#footnote-770).

B: Yes.

C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil.[[771]](#footnote-771)

B: Munwil. Yes.

C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and) Morogoy. [[772]](#footnote-772) Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth,[[773]](#footnote-773) Sengere[[774]](#footnote-774)-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 knife[[775]](#footnote-775) 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]](#footnote-776)

B: Yes, I understand.

C: Well, in that Munwil, [[777]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-778) even today when he carries the knife on his shoulder, it’s he [focus] who goes to the ritual ground.[[779]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 see[[781]](#footnote-781) was stubborn (*kárá:‑rɛ̀*[[782]](#footnote-782)), he couldn’t go.

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 (patrononymics), 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 *kárá*‑ed and he wouldn’t go. What is the meaning of that (word) *kárá*?

C: That *kárá*, 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).”[[783]](#footnote-783)

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).

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-785) too, an excellent place for them to settle.[[786]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-788) if they haven’t performed the sacrifice, settling in that place is difficult (=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[[789]](#footnote-789) 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.

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,[[790]](#footnote-790) 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;[[791]](#footnote-791) 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;[[792]](#footnote-792) they should implant her (=bury her alive as a sacrifice);[[793]](#footnote-793) when the rainy 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.

## Text 2005-2a.09 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[[794]](#footnote-794) 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. [[795]](#footnote-795)

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.[[796]](#footnote-796) 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.[[797]](#footnote-797)

Well, (you may) tell him (=the linguist) to turn (it) off.

## Text 2005-2b.01 Fulbe and French domination

B: Uh-huh. What we want now, the history that— how[[798]](#footnote-798) we got our own peace, it’s the history (of that) [focus] 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.[[799]](#footnote-799) 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,[[800]](#footnote-800) 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[[801]](#footnote-801) 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[[802]](#footnote-802) 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.

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?[[803]](#footnote-803) 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[[804]](#footnote-804) did not use force against (=oppress) us.

B: Exactly.

D: Well, the *dolidoli[[805]](#footnote-805)* 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[[806]](#footnote-806) 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?[[807]](#footnote-807) 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!

## Text 2005-2b.02 Ravaging Fulbe

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]](#footnote-808) What was it (=the reason for that)? The marauding Fulbe were numerous.

D: People did not use to be as enlightened[[809]](#footnote-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 it if wasn’t spears.[[810]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-811) and sell them.

D: They would stuff rags in the(ir) mouths.[[812]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-813) The Fulbe, that is their work (=habitual activity). (To D:) take over the word (=speak)!

D: Help them![[814]](#footnote-814) 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, they 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;[[815]](#footnote-815) (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.

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.[[816]](#footnote-816) 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[[817]](#footnote-817) (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 (=traveled 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).

When they had studied thoroughly[[818]](#footnote-818), 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.

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.

## Text 2005-2b.04 Beni and neighboring villages

S: What is the meaning of Beni?

T: Beni (means), “a village where one may remain,” it is said. The village, one may remain.[[819]](#footnote-819) 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[[820]](#footnote-820) (=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,[[821]](#footnote-821) 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[[822]](#footnote-822) 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?[[823]](#footnote-823) Or did it not find (it)?

T: It found it.

B: Did it (=Beni) find Titangay too?[[824]](#footnote-824) 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, [[825]](#footnote-825) it found Kapemde, (and) it also found Da. [[826]](#footnote-826) 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[[827]](#footnote-827) 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.

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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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]](#footnote-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 off[[831]](#footnote-831) on the way to Douentza.

S: Eastward.

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]](#footnote-832)

B: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy over there. The hyena came. Over there, the people of Pergué (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]](#footnote-833) With much hubbub we came to Tangaso. [[834]](#footnote-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 Piriyem.[[835]](#footnote-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.

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.[[836]](#footnote-836)

B: It was the cheek(s) [focus] that they whapped.

D: Exactly.

B: Yes, uh-huh.

1. End of greeting sequence. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. yû: pàŋànûm ‘small basket of millet grain spikes’. Treated tonally as an apposition. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Definite kù realized with high tone before ‘it is’ clitic =m̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. dò‑wôy, variant of dàⁿ‑wôy ‘all’. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. m̀ᵇò:‑ɲɛ̌yⁿ ‘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 ḿᵇô:] ɲɛ̀yⁿ, lit. “[her (own) mouth’s food.” [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Possessed form of dɔ̌‑ỳ ‘arriving’. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. yà‑yǒ: ‘40-day post-partum seclusion’ (Fr. quarantaine). Related forms: yà‑yô‑m ‘woman in post-partum seclusion’, Pl yà‑yô: (note falling tone). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. yi᷈‑m ‘my child’, with L+{HL} tones for 1Sg possessor. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. gǐn ~ gǔn, variants of gìní ~ gùní ‘because of, for’. Related to the verb ‘say’. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Based on kɔ̀rɔ̀ lǎ‑w ‘another reason’, plus ‘it is not’ clitics. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. tù:-búnuŋ́góy, compound of tǔ: ‘same-age group’ and búnúŋgóy or búnúgóy ‘group, pack’. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. ɛ́:ⁿ ‘yesterday’, variant ɛ́yⁿ. Often phrased with dé. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Lit., “you-Sg and fatigue.” Here the second conjunct as a whole has lower pitch than the first (symbol ↓ before the second conjunct). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. tárá=ń, variant of tárá=ní, with same-subject subordinating clitic. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Possessive tone, after a dative “possessor.” [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. ‘it’s a co-wife’ (stem yà-nɔ̀rⁿú). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Purposive ‑rá:. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. bɛ̀rɛ́‑ ‘get’, Perfective Negative 1Pl. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. túnɛ́m (used in narratives to indicate continuation of an activity). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Cf. wò-wày-î: ‘taking care (of sth)’, from wó‑ ‘take’ and wǎy‑ ‘hold’. Here the entire compound verbal noun has L‑tone as compound initial for ‑sò‑lô: ‘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 bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó‑ ‘not be able to’. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. 3Reflexive pronoun, in topic-indexing function. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. éw-yé-só- ‘(has) sat’, here ‘was (firmly) settled, was established (in a place)’. Negation: èw-yè-rí-. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Possessed form of těỳ ‘speech, talk’. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. nì: kú ‘this water’, cf. nî: ‘water’. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. lǎ‑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’). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Inanimate participle of stative verb ‘be standing’. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Verbal noun complement of ‘begin (to)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. This quotative wà seems superfluous. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. French *barrage* ‘dam’. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Noun bìrɛ́ ‘work’, here in possessed-noun form. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. kú nî: here is a false start, omitted from translation. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. kú bɛ̀rɛ́ ‘get that’ here is superfluous. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Lit. “food (that) they eat,” i.e. ‘food (to eat)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. = /láwá=nì/. Here the different-subject clause is postposed, as an afterthought. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Fr *moyens*. Here with L-tone as relative-clause head, lexically mɔ́yɛ̂:ⁿ. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Possessed form of noun-adjective combination mɔ̀yɛ̀:ⁿ lǎ‑w ‘other means’. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. = ìrⁿà ŋ̀gú ‘this field’. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. On the tape there is a slight hesitation after tùwⁿɔ̂-m, and the following ìrⁿà (which has all‑L tones in unbroken speech, as a possessed noun after L‑tone) is heard as írⁿà with initial H‑tone. This is evidence that the {HL} contour is basic to possessed nouns. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Verbal noun in ‑î: of the verb-verb chain yɛ̌ éw‑yé‑ ‘come and sit (=settle)’. The first verb is low-toned as a compound initial. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. ǐrⁿâ ‘my field’, with ‘it is’ clitic =∅. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Variant of pòròbâ: ‘collective property, property held in common’. A regional word also in Bambara, etc., hence the variants. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Usually just kú mâ: ‘to/for that’. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. =mì-ỳ∴, variant =mù-ỳ∴ ‘we are’ (copula). The younger interviewer geminates the m, [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Variant of tàlì‑r‑á ‘they did not transform/convert’. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. = yéŋgù ‘yesterday’. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Accusative of mǔ: bè ‘these’. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Iteration of gɔ́ ‘jab’, with L-toned second occurrence. No spirantization to ɣ. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Variant of dé wôy ‘if’. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Hortative. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Negative counterpart: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ áŋàyⁿ káyⁿ-sɛ̀-nɛ́. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. [[X nî:] ŋ̀gó] ‘without X, in the absence of X, if X is absent’. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Stem tǔ: ‘equal, peer’. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. kɔ̌yⁿ, Topic particle (less common than kày). [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. wé∴ ‘as well as’. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. sí‑yé‑ý (noun) ‘going down’, here in possessed form. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. = nì. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. pɔ́s! is an intensifier (‘completely’). [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. mâ→ màrⁿá: ‘whether or not’ (interrogative disjunction). [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. hà:kóy ‘beware!’ (particle). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Compound agentive: ‘one who does like me’ = ‘my agemate’. ‑kǎ‑m (Pl kǎ:ⁿ) Agentive of káyⁿ‑ ‘do, make’. gâyⁿ→ ‘like’, here as compound initial and so without its usual intonational prolongation. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. = wôy after nasal. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Past Perfect, with final ‑ẁ as in Inanimate-subject relative clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Past clitic after Perfective‑1a. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. dɔ̌:‑rɛ̀ bɛ̀ gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀ is a false start, corrected immediately by omitting the bɛ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Pronounced [mìdî:]. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. ‘Where they had not come’, relative clause with Perfective Negative participle, inanimate head NP. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. In French time-of-day phrases like *une heure* and *sept heures*, the numeral is pronounced with H‑tone and *heure(s)* with F‑tone. The form ì:rⁿɛ̀yⁿ, though it looks like the low-toned compound initial form of í:rⁿɛ́yⁿ ‘iron’, is modeled on French *heure* but precedes an expression like *sept heures*. A pure native version of ‘7 o’clock’ would be ì:rⁿɛ̀yⁿ súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ with just the numeral súyⁿɔ̀yⁿ ‘7’. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. 3Pl Perfective Negative of ínjírí‑ ‘get up’. Also pronounced ìnjìrì‑r‑á. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. m̀ᵇá, variant má. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Perfective Negative relative clause, Inanimate head NP. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Verbal noun bàr‑î: ‘helping’, here possessed. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Passive yì‑wú‑ of yǐ‑ ‘see’. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. nɛ́:, variant of néyⁿ ‘now’. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. ḿ (with L‑tone on preceding noun): shortened form of mǔ: ‘this’. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Past Perfect, with double 1Pl conjugation. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. 3Pl subject, Past Perfect (not Past Imperfective). [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Verbal noun làr‑î: ‘driving away, chasing out’. Here with following ‘they go’ in the sense ‘they go after/from being driven out’. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. ‘while we were (=remained, continued)’. Compare 3Sg ɛ́rⁿɛ́ bú=bày. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. ‑j‑ɛ̂:‑bɔ́ 3Pl subject of Recent Perfect; more often ‑j‑â:. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. gǎⁿ‑m̀ is appropriate at the end of a clause. Here, since the clause is extended with bû: dùmdú‑m̀, my assistant suggests emending gǎ‑m̀ to the chaining form gǎỳⁿ. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Verbal noun of verb-verb chain. Normally lò‑[dɔ̌‑ỳ] but here with possessed-noun tone contour. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Perfective‑1b participle, Inanimate head. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Imperfective relative clause with Animate Plural head NP (here, the object). Can also be expressed with jɔ̀rú as the Animate Plural Imperfective participle, instead of jɔ́rɔ́‑yɛ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Inanimate Perfective Participial ‑ẁ. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Possessed form of noun-adjective sequence bìrɛ̀ mǎ: ‘dry work’, here with overlaid possessed-noun contour. Unpossessed [bìrɛ̀ mǎ:] occurs in O’s first speaking turn just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Compound of kɔ̀ŋgɔ̀rɔ́ ‘stem(s)’ and dúdúnjù ‘root (of nonwoody plant)’, cf. wé:rí ‘tree root’. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Also pronounced tòy‑bìsú. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Uncommon clause-final Emphatic yáy. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. For bû:‑∅ ‘be’ (relative-clause participial form), with tone dropped before ŋ̀gú ‘this’. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. ǎy ló ‘take go’, i.e. ‘from …’, with following ‘(all the way) until …’ phrase. Here ló is L‑toned before náy. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. dǎyⁿ ‘limit, boundary’, here L‑toned as possessed noun. The possessor is the preceding relative clause (Inanimate head NP, Imperfective, non-subject). [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Clause-final mà: ‘before …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Apocopated from tìyɛ̀‑rí. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. For bà‑rí. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Focus construction with L-toned Stative verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Overlaid {HL} tone contour required by mɛ́gɛ́ ‘more’. Cf. adjective nǔm ‘difficult’. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. káⁿ‑ẁⁿ ‘it may happen (that …’). [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. bà: ‘since, back at (an earlier time)’ [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. tí here is iterated (full-stem repetition), distinct from initial-syllable reduplication. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Example of prenominal Inanimate pseudo-possessor kú functioning as discourse-definite ‘that’ demonstrative. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Reduplicated 3Pl subject form of bù‑ ‘be’. Equated with Jamsay wì‑wɔ̂:‑bà. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Imperfective participle, Animate Plural head NP. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. = [ìrⁿà ŋ́gú] ‘this field’. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Inanimate Far-Distant demonstrative. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Verb gá‑ ‘harvest (by slashing stems with a sickle)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Good example of (truth-conditional) Emphatic yǎ: in response to a polar interrogative. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. The ‘it is’ clitic (audible as a final low tone) is present with the final yù:‑jùrɔ́ but not (audibly) on the preceding disjunct tɛ̀:rɛ́. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. lám‑dí‑ ‘take past’, archaic causative of intransitive láwá’ go past, pass by’. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Verbal noun of verb chain (dú‑ ‘carry on head’ plus jɛ᷈:‑ ‘bring’). L‑toned as possessed noun. (Absolute form is dù‑jɛ̂‑y.) [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Relative clause based on ‘have’ quasi-verb só‑. Cf. negation írɛ́ sò-ló ‘it isn’t very ripe’. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. L‑toned ìrⁿà from írⁿà ‘field’, here as relative-clause head, not as possessed noun. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) related to ùllá ‘a little’, but with ungeminated l. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. wɔ̀mbí‑ ‘uproot by hand’ (i.e. by pulling up, esp. to harvest peanuts), contrast sá‑ ‘uproot with daba’ (millet, etc.). [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. 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. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Tones emended at assistant’s suggestion. On the tape, yû: has its lexical tones. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Plural subject relative clause, with verbal noun cɛ̀wⁿ-î: ‘constructing’ as compound initial. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. s‑ɛ̂:ⁿ, relative-clause participial form (for plural head NP) of só‑ ‘have’. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
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’. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. = wó ‘in’ (after nasal). [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Tone emended, tape has yû: ‘millet’, then a brief hesitation. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. ‘my possession’, with {LHL} tone contour and segmentally zero 1Sg possessor pronominal. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Variant of sá:gù. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. = wò ‘in’. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. [kú kɔ̀], variant pronunciation of [kú kày] ‘(as for) that’. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. {HL} contour on possessed noun after [noun + bè]. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. tán ‘only’, from Fulfulde. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Subject relative clause with Perfective Negative verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. yá bú ‘(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) …” [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. bá for quotative particle wá after nasal. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Demonstrative kú (Near-Distant, Inanimate). [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Suppletive negative form of jɔ̀rɔ́‑ ‘want, like, love’. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Emended: tape has jɔ́rɔ́‑ẁ. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. bě‑ ‘remain, stay’ in the sense ‘it happens that …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Object relative. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. bà for wà (quotative particle) after nasal. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. = wò-wò-wôy for the more common wò-wôy, already extended variant of of wôy ‘all’. Initial w hardened to b after a nasal. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. ‘It’s he alone’. The ‘it is’ clitic ‑m̀ is added to the pronoun, with sǎy ‘only’ following. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Here sǎy ‘only’ is treated as part of the pronominal NP, and is followed by the Dative postposition mâ:. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Definite kù at the end of a factive complement (in main-clause form) of ‘know’. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Verbal noun with logical subject and object both present. The subject takes its normal tone. The object appears as a L‑toned compound initial. There is no possessive tone contour. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. kùyɔ́: here is an adverb ‘at first, initially’. The preceding noun drops its tones as head of an object relative clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. In this relative clause, the final wôy ‘all’ has logical scope over the head noun: “all the blessings that they (themselves) want.” [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Compare agentive noun bɛ̀r‑bèré‑m ‘herder’ (Pl bɛ̀r‑bèré). The compound initial in these forms is bɛ́rù ‘goats’. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. àyí‑ ‘pick up, take’ combines with following ló‑ ‘go’ in the sense ‘from (time X) to (time Y)’. Jamsay yàŋá ‘pick up, take’ occurs in similar phrases. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. bě: Imperfective participle of bě‑ ‘remain’, with zero suffix for Animate Plural head NP. A reduplicated variant bì‑bě: occurs later in this speech turn. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Note L‑tone (compound-initial) form of ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ‘(to the) bush’ in this (plural subject) relative clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Variant of [kú náfà:] ‘its value’, cf. nàfâ: ‘benefit, value, usefulness’. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. yàrú ‘edge of rainy season’. With dɔ́ ‘arrive’ it denotes the period just before the rainy season, with gó ‘go out’ it denotes the period just after. The corresponding nouns are yàrù‑dɔ̂: and yàrù‑gô:. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Subject relative (plural) with L‑toned locational adverb, elsewhere ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: dá: ‘in the bush over there’. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. First of three parallel short phrases beginning with yâ: ‘there (definite)’. Apparently a stylistic device, suggesting multiple locations. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. tínɛ́m after Imperfective ‑m̀ indicating prolongation. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Dative PP postposed to verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Verb-chain lǎr tí ‘send away’. Cf. compound verbal noun làr‑[t‑î:] later in this text. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. From ɛ̀sú ‘good’, with {HL} contour in comparatives. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Emended: tape has ‑ɲɛ̌‑ỳⁿ ‘eating’. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. For /làrú‑làrú/, reduplication of làrú ‘chase away, drive out’. Phonetically the final r assimilates fully to the following t. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. I take ɲáwⁿà ‘damage’ to be a kind of adverbial here, not the possessor of kɔ̀:ⁿ ‘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 kɔ̀:ⁿ and ɲáwⁿà reversed. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Here, equivalent to Perfective síyé:‑rɛ̀ ‘it has gone down’. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. /yì‑rí/ ‘did not see’, with (optional) apocope to yǐ‑r. Here phonetically [yǐd] as the /r/ assimilates to the following /d/. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. Variant of yàɣá=ní, with same-subject subordinator. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Relative clause with nù kâ:ⁿ ‘everyone, anyone’ as subject and head NP. Note that agreement is plural. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. màŋgí‑ ‘take a handful of (food)’, here ‘accumulate, buy another (cow)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. wê:y ‘a fortiori’ [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. The tone of /nǎ:/ ‘cow’ is determined here by the preceding possessor, hence [á nâ:] ‘his (own) cow’, rather than by the following demonstrative. Compare unpossessed nà: mǔ: ‘this cow’ with L‑tone required by the demonstrative. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Plural subject relative with L‑toned PP as compound initial, cf. [púlɔ̀: mâ:] ‘to/for the Fulbe’ in main clauses. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Plural subject relative consisting of verb only. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. lɔ́ɣɔ́ ‘overflow’ and láwá‑ ‘pass’ are used here in a verb chain in the sense ‘(do) excessively, (do) to an outrageous extent’. The verb námbárá ‘trick, dupe’ contributes the main semantic substance. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. ǹjé ‘what?’, here as adjective ‘which?’ with preceding L‑toned nouns, cf. kɔ́:ⁿ ‘thing’ and nìnjɛ́ ‘gear’. The combination kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé ‘which thing?’ is common in the sense ‘what?’. Here a more precise noun ‘gear’ is added. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Passive. Negative counterpart: járí‑yɛ́y=rà. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Compound with initial based on nà: ná:‑m ‘adult cow’ (Pl nà: ná:). The second stem is ná:‑, here ‘adult’ (not juvenile). [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Verbal suffix ‑jɛ́‑ in sense ‘finish, do completely’, with imperfective ending. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. hɛ́ⁿ here is O’s idiosyncratic expression for ‘(not) a thing’. The widely used form is kɔ̀:ⁿkâ:ⁿ ‘anything’. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Verbal noun with logical subject as possessor. The preceding object pronoun and adverbial have their normal tones. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. Here bírɛ́ ‘work’ drops tones before jó→, so here the latter functions as an adjective (often it is an adverb and does not induce tone-dropping). [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Variant of líw ‘manure’. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. S’s broken phrase can be repaired as àrsɛ̀: nàŋàná:-m, with nàŋàná:-m functioning as modifying adjective. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. The possessor (2Sg ú) forces {HL} tone contour on the noun-adjective combination as a whole. Cf. lò:sù ɛ̀sú-m ‘a good (=important) visitor’. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. ‘give’. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Lit. “name-puttings of a child.” Here ‘child’ is singular in form but it is generic. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. áyú‑ẁ dè ‘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’. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. bɛ̀ ‘used to (do)’ after ‘it is’ copula. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Both instances of ɛ́wⁿɛ̀y ‘milk [noun]’ in this intonation group are superfluous. The normal phrasing is nǎ:-m ɛ̀wⁿɛ̀=náyⁿ ‘having milked the cow’. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Lit. “(which) has (a) distinction.” Negative counterparts are based on [káwá sò‑ló‑]. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. sɛ̀‑nɛ́ ‘they don’t have’. Negation of s‑ɛ́:ⁿ ‘they have’. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Slightly broken articulation of [ú yî‑m] wòŋgòrò‑wàr‑ì: ‘[your child’s] doing farm work’, with the logical subject as possessor of a verbal noun with incorporated object. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. /tíní/ ‘look’. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. Purposive ‘for, in order that’. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Hortative (‘let’s …’) ‑ḿ followed by quotative wá (here bá after a nasal). [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Negative =rà 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*. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Object relative (‘what he has’), here as complement of a postposition. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. ‘it is his animal’, i.e., ‘it (=animal) belongs to him’. Same syntax as e.g. ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kɔ̂:ⁿ=∅ ‘it (=thing) is his’. In such possessive predicates, the classification of the possessed entity as animal (yɔ̌-m), thing (kɔ́:ⁿ, including plants), and person (nǔ-m) is respected. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. ‘owners of meat’, in plural (i.e. unsuffixed form), but here with nonspecific (hence ambiguously singular or plural) sense, and with singular concord. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Based on m̀bá bè ‘the others’ (without clitic). m̀bá or àmbá is used to denote a counterparty or opposite number, presupposing a pairing of two individuals or groups. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. nù kâ: ‘each person’, here in clear distributive sense, with singular concord. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. From mùrⁿù-sòŋgú (variant mùrⁿù‑sùŋgú) ‘offspring, progeny (of a male apical ancestor)’. Compound of mùrⁿú ‘pants’ and sùŋgú ‘rope’ (i.e. belt-cord for pants). [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. Verb pálɛ́‑. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. [íyéy jú:] ‘a week ago today’ (i.e. on the same day of the week). Cf. [íyéy pɛ́rú] ‘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. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. L‑toned noun modified by tùwⁿɔ̂: ‘one’. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. = /ŋ̀gú kɔ̂:ⁿ/ ‘this one’s’. In this passage, Proximal and Far-Distant demonstratives index the first and second hunts, respectively. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. = /àŋgú/ ‘which?’ [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. Postposition ɲâyⁿ in the context ‘(hide) from (X)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. [í-ʔíyà-m] ‘while standing’ (invariable for pronominal person). Temporal adverbial related to the Reduplicated Stative. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. ‘your thing’ (=the animal), logically the direct object of sɛ́wⁿɛ́-ẁ ‘you-Sg slaughter, cut the throat of’. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. kálà ‘even’, here in sense ‘even if’. Combined with nù kâ:ⁿ ‘anyone’, the free translation is ‘if anybody at all …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. For /pòŋgù ŋ̀gú/ ‘this neighborhood’. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Accusative Reciprocal tǔ:=nì is corrected to Dative [tǔ: mâ:] by the speaker. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) of yɛ̌ ‘come’, with the second iteration L‑toned. màrpâ: ‘rifle(s)’ here is object of tá‑ ‘shoot’. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. hâl ló (lit. “until going …”) means ‘all the way to, as far as …’ in spatial contexts, and means ‘as late as, not until …’ in temporal contexts. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. Direct-object NP following verb. Typical of afterthoughts. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Dative after factive clause with final Definite kù. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Lit. “the day of this day,” i.e., the same day (e.g. Wednesday) as today, next week. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. Stacked possessive construction involving two verbal nouns (bìr-î: ‘working’, tùmd-î: ‘beginning’) and a cognate nominal bírɛ́ ‘work’. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. tá-ẁ unclear on tape. Cf. yǐ-tá- ‘have seen (at some point)’, Experiential Perfect. The subject pronominal (3Pl bû:) intervenes. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. yá bɛ̂:-∅ ‘there used to be’. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Assistant suggests emendation to yû: ìrɛ́ cɛ́:rú-m̀ ‘millet will ripen and show (itself).’ [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. = /bà:‑lí‑tú‑ẁ/. Causative bà:‑lí‑ ‘teach (e.g. a trade)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. Negation: mà:ní sò‑ló‑ỳ. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Imperative Sg. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. This dè is the clause-final admonitive particle. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. French *entrainer* ‘train (dogs)’, cf. just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. If ɲárⁿù ‘night’ were syntactically possessed by yêŋ ‘yesterday, the previous day’, it would be low-toned ɲàrⁿù here. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. Possessed form of noun bì‑yê: ‘lying down, going to bed’. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Variant of tínɛ́m, used after Imperfective ‑m in durative temporal clauses. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Normally just ɲɛ́‑m̀ (Imperfective participle, Inanimate head), but here exceptionally with an extra ‑bɔ̀ for 3Pl subject. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Verbal noun of second verb in chain, with overt subject pronominal (in possessor function): ‘your going and finding (it)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. This occurrence of nǐ:yⁿ ‘four’ appears superfluous. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. French *voilà*. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Sounds like àjíjù on tape, but word not recognized by assistants. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. ‘metal, iron’. There is also a variant í:rⁿɛ́m. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Variant of é: ‘yes!’. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Passive of sɛ́wⁿɛ́ ‘slaughter, cut the throat of’. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. Optional shift of Negative =rá to =rá when adjacent to another /r/ after syncope. Assistant also uses unshifted variant. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. ǎy ‘take’, here as a linker: [X ǎy Y] ‘from X to Y’, ‘whether it be X or Y’. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. This kɔ̀:ⁿ kà:ⁿ ‘any thing (which …)’ is unnecessary, since kɔ̀:ⁿ ‘thing (which …)’ is repeated later in the clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. jó⇒ here treated as a possessed noun. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. í: here is an exclamation of surprise at the beginning of a quoted speaking turn: ‘huh?” The preceding é: means ‘yes!’. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Repair to: [írⁿà kù] kùyɔ́: bà: ‘the field formerly’. Speaker O is imitating the excited, stuttering speech of the quoted speaker. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. ‘We formerly had’. Negation: … sò-ló=bɛ́-ỳ∴ ‘we did not (use to) have’. /sǎw ní/ is a phrase meaning ‘give in trust, entrust (property, money, etc.) to (someone)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. ínjírí ‘get up’ here is chained with yé‑ẁ ‘you-Sg come’, over an intervening conditional antecedent. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Emphatic particle (insists on the truth of an assertion). Another occurrence just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Since pùrá:rù ‘such-and-such, so-and-so’ (cf. Arabic *fulaan*‑) seems to refer to the village of the usurpers, one could emend to pùrá:rù nù: ‘the people of …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Perfective Negative of gǔyⁿ ‘say’. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. ǎy ‘no!’ (as in other Malian languages). Distinct from àyí ‘take, pick up’ (often pronounced ǎy). [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. 1Pl subject Stative form of dìmbì‑yí ‘follow’. 3Sg equivalent dìmbà-ẁ. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. Imperative plural, addressed by the field owners to the occupiers. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Normal phrasing: [íyé láwá:-rɛ̀ dè]. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. Also bɔ̀nɔ́. Cf. Fulfulde *bone*. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. hǎ:ⁿ ‘yes?’ (response to a vocative). [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. For /sìyè‑rí=rà:/. Phonetic [sìjěl:à]. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. = /tɛ̀mbì/. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Beginning of construction with parallel [X yà] …, [Y yà] …, with yà ‘also, too’. In [ú [kɔ́:ⁿ bɔ́ŋgɔ̀]] ‘you the owner’, the pronoun ú ‘you-Sg’ is not a possessor (as can be seen from the tones), rather it is in apposition to the following nominal (‘owner of the thing’). [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. Experiential Perfect: ‘has (ever, once) happened’. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. Conjunction without overt coordinating conjunction, ending in wôy ‘all’. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. Hortative with plural addressee. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. Singular-subject prohibitive (imperative negative). [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. ‘my field’. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Plural-subject prohibitive. Likewise gá‑lɛ́‑ǹ ‘don’t put’ (from verb gǎyⁿ‑) just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. lɔ̀sɔ̂: ‘foot’. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. Assistant suggests emending to gàyⁿ=bɛ̀ without -rî:. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. yì:‑wí‑ ‘cause to see’. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. Hortative with 3Sg subject. Cf. [[á írⁿà] wò] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wàrà-ḿ ‘let him plant in his (own) field!’ [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. Plural-subject relative. Slightly simplified from a theoretical [… [lɔ̀sɔ̀-wò:]-wǒ:]. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Since sentence-final ló:‑rà‑ẁ∴ is 2Pl, we may emend here to [û: ìsè:] ‘your-Pl village’. [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. Expression denoting the act of leaving the village to seek work far away (in Bamako, in another country, etc.). Local French *partir en exode*. The men of the generation of S and O often undertook the long journey to Ghana or Nigeria and stayed for many years. Younger men (and women) now often go to southern Mali (especially Bamako), Côte d’Ivoire, and Equatorial Guinea for work. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. Purposive ‑rɛ́: (cf. variant ‑rá: just above). [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. Fixed expression, literally ‘man and man’, but without the second bè particle. Repeated below, near the end of the same speaking turn. 1Pl î: is appositional (not a possessor). [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. Perfective Negative, for /bɛ̀rɛ̀‑rí/. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. = wôy. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. Possessed verbal noun, with 3Sg possessor ɛ́rⁿɛ́ resuming yǎ‑m bôy ‘any woman’. Could be streamlined as [[yǎ‑m bôy] ɔ̀rⁿɔ̀:‑lò‑ỳ] ‘any woman’s bush-go-VblN’. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. Verb iteration with {L} tone contour on second stem. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. Linking form of Perfective ‑tî‑. My assistant would prefer ‑tí=ń in this context. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. [[kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé bè] [ǹjé bè]] ‘what (sorts of) things?’, iterated form of [kɔ̀:ⁿ ǹjé bè] ‘what (things)?’ (already plural in form). [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. *cent-kilo* here functions as a noun (‘100-kilo sack’). It is possessor of cɛ̀rɛ̂y ‘money’, which in turn is possessor of tû-m ‘peer, something like’, as shown by tone modifications. ìsâ: is not a possessor, rather an adjunct of *cent-kilo*, and neither undergoes or causes tone changes. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. Better: ɲàwá-s-ɛ̂:ⁿ ‘those who are ruined’. ɲáwⁿà is normally an abstract noun ‘ruin(ation), malfunction(ing)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. Plural-subject relative clause based on Imperfective Negative verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. As transcribed, abnormal combination of Definite kù with an already definite 3Pl pronoun. Perhaps misheard for topical [bû: kày], or a false start corrected by the following [[bû: lò-y kù]. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. Forms of bɛ̀rɛ́ ‘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)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. Cf. lò-y jó: ‘much (=frequent) going’. This combination of verbal noun and modifying adjective is treated here as possessed noun, hence the tone contour. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. Phrase kú=m̀ [yǎ: ló-y jò: kù] not clear on tape, as O speaks at the same time. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. 1Pl subject Stative form of gɔ̀yⁿí ‘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 góyⁿá‑ẃⁿ (3Sg subject) after Existential yá in the following speaking turn by O. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. Willy-nilly conditional antecedent with Inanimate participle ‑ẁ then Perfective Negative. jɛ̌:‑ꜜrí‑ is Perfective Negative of jɛ᷈:- ‘bring’, which has a unique {LHL} lexical tone contour. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. Unsuffixed Perfective of wǒ ‘catch’, here ‘(disease) afflict (person)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. Unusual double occurrence of ‘it is’ clitic: ‘it’s (the case) that it’s not …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. Cut off. See complete form just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. French *l’école*, denoting public schools (as opposed to koranic schools). [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. Douentza (town). Also pronounced dúwⁿósán, dúwánsán. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. 1Sg possessed form of cɛ́lɛ̀ ‘heart’, with {HL} possessed-noun contour plus an initial low-tone for 1Sg. Other 1Sg-possessor forms just below (same speaking turn): ma᷈: ‘to/for me’ (Dative mâ:), bɔ᷈:-ùrò ‘my village’ (lit., “my father-house,” elsewhere bɔ̀:-úrò), ku᷈: ‘myself’ (kû: ‘head’), tɔ̌ẁ ‘my kin’ (tɔ̌w). [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. ma᷈: ‘to/for me’ (Dative). [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. Third person hortative (with ‘God’ as subject). [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. Mispronounced and cut-off, for jɔ̀rɔ́-m̀ ‘I want/seek’. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. Epithet used only with ‘God’. Also pronounced gɔ̀ná:-m. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. = wà. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. Lit. ‘house (number) six’, i.e. ‘sixth grade’. Distinct in tones from úrò kúròy ‘six houses’. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. French *passer*, here in the sense ‘move up (to a higher grade or school)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. Both nu᷈‑m and tɔ᷈w‑m have 1Sg possessor (the initial low-tone segment). [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. Emend as ‘work brought him here’ (deleting gǐn). [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. Reported imperative, with third-person Hortative verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. tí‑ ‘send’, with ‘telephone’ as direct object. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. /bú=b-ɛ̂:/ here pronounced [b:ɛ̌:]. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. ùrò-sìyê-m ‘host’, here with 1Sg possessor. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. From lèkɔ̀l-úrò ‘school’, literally ‘school-house’, compound of lèkɔ̂l (French *l’école*) and úrò ‘house’. lèkɔ̂l has a variant èkɔ̂l (see below). [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. bú:dù ‘money’, apocopated before an alveolar. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. French *perdre*. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. mùsêl = mùsélò ‘teacher’ [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. Emended from bû: ‘they’ to û: ‘you-Pl’. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. Postpositional relative, itself functioning as possessor. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. Clause restarted here. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. ‘you-Sg are’ (conjugated copula clitic). [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Variant of yá náyⁿá‑wⁿ ‘it is put up on’ (i.e. it is bigger than). [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. ǎ-m ‘who?’ is used for animals as well as humans, cf. ǹjé ‘what?’ for plants and (other) inanimates. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. Mouse sp. named after bàrá:, an area in the ravine beside Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. Apocopated < /bìrⁿì/, L-toned form of bìrⁿí ‘bottom’. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. mâ:=rá is obscure here. Perhaps yes/no interrogative followed by negative clitic with implied ‘or’. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. Purposive clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. Cf. sí:lì, term used to describe unripe fruits, especially of kàmàkɔ̀rɔ́ (*Leptadenia hastata*). [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. lɔ́ɣɔ́-wú- ‘cause to overflow’ (here, ‘do excessively’). [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. Cf. dòró ‘thorn’. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. Agentive compound sùwɔ̀‑[ɲɛ̌‑m] plus ‘it is’ clitic. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. Variant of táŋgú‑. [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. =rà:, usually cliticized, but here after a pause. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. Asymmetrical comparative. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. High-pitched imitation of the sound. [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. Unnecessary repetition of this phrase. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. dɔ̀‑rí‑, Perfective Negative of ‘arrive’. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. From ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ́ ‘food’. [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. pèrí-yèy ‘twenty’ is uttered here with exaggerated lengthening of the syllable pè. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
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’). [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. Suffix ‑rà here is invariant across subject pronominal categories (relative-clause form). [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. Combination of clitics =m̀ (Focus) and =nì (Object Focus). [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. kà-ní-, Perfective Negative of káyⁿ‑ ‘do’. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. L‑toned form of Perfective Negative, after a focalized constituent. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. = bà-rí. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. Also, with 2Sg imperative, tégé tínâ. 2Pl equivalent: tégé tínâ-n. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. 2Sg independent pronoun ú in apposition to a suject relative clauses headed (internally) by nù kà:ⁿ ‘one who’. The [nù kà:ⁿ] is repeated (redundantly) after the NP conjunction. [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. Variant zúnúgù. From Arabic √ðnb. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. Unnecessary repetition of [sɛ́llɛ́=ń bù-ẁ]. kɔ̀:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ‘(not) anything’ is logically the subject of … ú ùrùyó-m̀-dó ‘doesn’t hurt you-Sg’. [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. Singular-subject imperative. 2Pl version would be káyⁿ-nì. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. Fulfulde for ‘son(s) of Adam’, i.e. ‘human being(s)’. Can be expressed in Beni as á:dámà yì-tɛ̀: ‘children of Adam’. [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. Variant of jínná:jò-m. The latter is based on Fulfulde *jinnaajo*, while jímnì-m is more directly based on the Arabic. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. For /dà:rì-rí/. Cf. í dà:rú-ẁ ‘it pleases me’, í dà:rú-m̀-dó ‘it doesn’t please me’. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. Obscure word, apparently a synonym of ɲɛ́:rⁿɛ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. This ɛ́rⁿɛ́ (referring to *awaynam*) is superfluous. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. Also just [bû: kálà] ‘they too, even they’. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. dú‑‑ (perhaps cut off) is obscure. The Pl bé following bû: kálà is disapproved of by my assistant, but recurs in the same speaker’s speech below (bû: kàlà bè). [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. The two 3Pl bû: pronouns in this sentence have disjoint reference. If they were coindexed, we would have gotten [â: òròsù] ‘their (own) clothing’. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. Term not recognized by other informants, apparently based on an Arabic phrase. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. Third-person Hortative. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. Arabic ‘in the name of God’. Pronounced distinctly from bìsímílà, a phrase of invitation (to join in a meal, to enter a house) of the same origin. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. Singular-subject imperative. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. Plural-subject imperative (cf. singular yá ‘come!’). See also bírá-ǹ ‘work-Pl!’ just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. Expressed more regularly (in terms of tonological rules) as [kàŋŋɛ̀-gìgòrò]-nǐ-m, with káŋŋɛ̀ ‘gold’ also subject to tone-dropping. Cf. káŋŋɛ̀ gìgòrò ‘hat of gold’ (possessive), gìgóró ‘hat’. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. Tape sounds like bú=b-â:, but bú=b-ɛ̂: is the correct 3Sg form. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. [ɛ́rⁿɛ́ mâ:] is repeated (superfluously) in this VP chain. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. First few texts are by Aminata Kagoye. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. Standard story opening. Translated by my assistant as ‘a story for you-Pl’. Partially Jamsay in form. Followed by unanalysable audience response form nà:tɛ́:. [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. sɛ̀‑nɛ́‑bɔ́ = sɛ̀‑nɛ́ ‘they don’t (=didn’t) have’. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. Apocopated in this combination from sèŋgû: ‘water jar’. [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. 3Pl Perfective Negative of bɛ̀rɛ́‑ ‘get’. [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. dúmbù‑m (Pl dúmbù) ‘one without fingers and toes’. Cf. perhaps Songhay dúmbú ‘cut (off)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. = wò ‘in’, after nasal. Can also be expressed with Definite kù as [[[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ má:] yà‑sámà jɔ́rɔ́‑m̀ kù] wò] ‘in (the fact) that he loved Yasama.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. bě‑ ‘stay, remain’ plus factive complement (with Locative wò) in the sense ‘insist on …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. 3rd person Hortative. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. This instance of Quotative wá 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 phrase. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. sámà here is short for yà‑sámà, the girl’s name. There are slight variations in the repetitions of the stanza as to where the yà‑ is omitted. [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. bɔ̌:‑m ‘father’ and the following nàrⁿǎ‑m ‘mother’ are absolute forms of kin terms, i.e. with implied possessor that is not expressed overtly. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. Inanimate participle of bú‑ ‘be’. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. tí‑ 'send' or perhaps Perfective‑1b ‑tî‑ separated from the preceding verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. [X jíjɛ̀→] 'going with X, taking X along', preceding a following motion verb. [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. Literally, ‘your-Pl nose-shard’. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. à‑sámà is a man’s name corresponding to the female name yà‑sámà. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. Third person Hortative. [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. Reported imperative negative. Cf. ló‑rɛ́ ‘don’t go!’ [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. Reported positive imperative. Cf. yá ‘come!’. [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. /dɔ̀‑rí‑/ Perfective Negative. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. mùló‑ ‘wrap (sth) up’. Here mùlò‑ý in adjectival function ‘wrapped’ modifies tɔ̌w ‘kind, sort’, which is in apposition to kɔ̀:ⁿ‑kâ:ⁿ ‘(various) things’. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. yà‑pɛ̌‑m ‘old woman’, here added as an afterthought, is the subject of the preceding clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. néyⁿ ‘now’ is bracketed with ‘the girl’. It seems to be a variant of nɛ̀ ‘now’ as a quasi-topicalizing particle, and need not be translated. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. As modifier, ‘huge, enormous, monstrous’. From Songhay (e.g. Hombori). [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. Also pronounced sɛ̌→. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. Reported singular-subject imperative. The verb is in third person Hortative form. [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. Arabic ʔin šaaʔ‑a aḷ-ḷaah‑u ‘if God wished’. Cf. local French *inchalla*. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. sù→gá 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. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. Refers to the brother. [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. Expressive adverb referring to shooing flies (traditionally with a cow-tail). [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. Construction with kô: ‘scab’ and expressive adverbial pù→ ‘flying off’. Cf. úsù pù→ ‘heat (i.e. steam) bursting out (e.g. from a cooking pot whose lid has just been taken off’. [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. There is a lexical distinction between ɛ́‑ ‘(woman) marry (man)’, as here, and jɛ̌‑ ‘(man) marry (woman)’, just above. [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. One could also say here: … gó jɛ̀‑ý ‘(she) must go away once and for all’. [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. ‘be put up on something’, Stative form. Cf. transitive náyⁿí‑ ‘put (sth) up on something’. [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. wó→, reply to a greeting. [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. ìsê: ‘village’ here is locative in function, and is not the syntactic possessor of ‘girl’. [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. kɔ́‑ ‘eat (cream of millet, crushed millet, couscous)’. Contrast ɲɛ́‑ ‘eat (cooked meal, millet cakes, fruits)’, kúwó‑ ‘eat (meat, peanuts), chew (kola nuts)’, púwɔ́‑ ‘eat (dry flour)’ [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. ùlù‑rú‑, causative of ùrɔ́‑ ‘go up’. [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. -túnɔ́ repeated several times (backgrounded imperfective in narrative). [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. bìyⁿí‑ ‘lie low, lurk (unseen)’, cf. bàŋgìyí‑ ‘hide (e.g., behind a wall)’. 3Sg Stative form. [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. bì:‑rⁿí ‘come out of hiding, reveal oneself’; reversive of bìyⁿí. [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. tógó‑ ‘catch (something thrown or falling)’ [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. This speaker pronounces the 3Pl suffix as ‑bà (‑bá), as in Jamsay, rather than ‑bɔ̀ (‑bɔ́). [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. Clause-final particle nà→ ‘only, merely’. [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. Falling-toned alternative 3Sg Perfective of ní‑ ‘give’. [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
404. Sounds like low-toned =nì on tape, but it should be =ní (same-subject subordinator). [↑](#footnote-ref-404)
405. Existential yá. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. Assistant suggests dropping =rà:. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
407. ‑m̀ nɛ̀ ‘kept …‑ing’, with invariant Imperfective ‑m̀ and preparticipial subject pronoun (Sg ɛ́rⁿɛ́ wó‑m̀ nɛ̀ ‘he kept taking’). Used like ‑m̀ dè. [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
408. This kú ‘it’ can be omitted here. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. Repair as [[bɛ̀rì‑yì bù:sù] ɛ́rⁿɛ́ yì:‑rà mǔ:]. Demonstrative mǔ: induces tone-dropping on the preceding Imperfective‑1 participle. [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. Hortative of káyⁿ ‘do’. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. Lit. ‘the day’s day’. [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. Demonstrative kú (Near-Distant, Inanimate). Forces tone-dropping on the noun, and has high tone itself. [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. gá, clause-final Emphatic particle, expressing displeasure. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. Possessed form of tɛ̀gú ‘full size’, cf. verb tɛ́gɛ́‑ ‘reach full size, mature’. [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. After starting to utter a compound (verbal noun with incorporated object), the speaker produces a possessed verbal noun, cf. unpossessed nɔ̀:‑wⁿ‑î: ‘giving drink to; raising, brining up (animal)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. Variant of Jamsay pájá-pájá, intensifier for ‘cold’. [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. = sùŋgú ‘rope’. [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. Variant 3Sg Perfective with final i. Verb is dùrⁿò ‘he followed (tracks)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. Clause is restarted. A smoother version: [yɛ̌ ń] [[[[nǔ: yěy] kû:] wò] gò, [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. Hortative. Also kùŋgò‑ḿ. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. Perfective Negative of gǔyⁿ‑ ‘say’. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. Harmonized from =bɛ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. Far-Distant demonstrative ‘that one’, here used in a discourse-obviative sense ‘the other one [of two paired protagonists]’. [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. 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. [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
425. hɛ́njân occurs in archaic greetings used by older people. jâm ‘peace’ and sɛ́:w ‘health’ (definitions very rough) are now more current. [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-426)
427. ‑mù with agentive plural (archaic). [↑](#footnote-ref-427)
428. kà:gǒy (a patronymic family name) is interpreted as (Jamway) ká: ‘mouth’ plus Verbal Noun of gó: ‘go out’, i.e., ‘coming out of the mouth’. This is associated with irrevocable oaths to perform or to not perform an action. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
429. Quasi-Jamsay expression, cf. Jamsay ká: ‘mouth’, kúnó ‘put’, nǎm ‘difficult’. [↑](#footnote-ref-429)
430. Jamsay [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. Stative related to transitive dɛ̀yí‑ ‘put down, set’. [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. 3Sg ‘it is’ form of dùmdɔ́:‑m ‘last (person)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. For hɛ́ddɛ́=nì (different-subject subordinated form). [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. 1Sg possessor form. [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. yà ‘also’ added to the right conjunct. [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
436. Pre-quotative particle (‘that …’), generally at a pause before the quoted matter begins. [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
437. dê: with a pronoun (phrasing typical of this speaker). [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. Low-toned form of yí‑só‑ẁ ‘he/she saw’. [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. kɔ̀yⁿ, a variant of Topic kày. [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
440. A fixed phrase used to declare that a place is claimed (reserved). yàrí is a variant of yàrî: ‘sky’. [↑](#footnote-ref-440)
441. éw‑yé‑ ‘sit’, here functioning as a possessed noun ‘sitting (=dwelling)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-441)
442. Reduction of [kú wó] ‘in that’ or the like. [↑](#footnote-ref-442)
443. Not a possessor relative. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. Combination of =náyⁿ ‘and then’ (same-subject subordinator) with a morpheme nì (doutfully related to different-subject ‘and’ subordinator =n). [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
445. Mamoudou Abdou Kagoye, born 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-445)
446. Subject of verbal noun, but here not treated as possessor. [↑](#footnote-ref-446)
447. Plural hortative (speaker and two or more others). [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
448. Delayed conjunction yá→ as the speaker decides to add a second conjunct. [↑](#footnote-ref-448)
449. Variant of dàⁿ‑wôy ‘all’. [↑](#footnote-ref-449)
450. Relative clause based on verb with =bɛ̀ ‘used to’. Definite kù follows the participle. [↑](#footnote-ref-450)
451. Sentence is not completed. Could be completed by adding bè‑ỳ∴ ‘we remained’. [↑](#footnote-ref-451)
452. ‑yà, variant of 3Pl imperfective ‑yɛ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-452)
453. hɔ́nɔ̀ ‘such as’ or ‘for example’ (Fulfulde word for ‘like’). [↑](#footnote-ref-453)
454. ‘Fleet-footed’, a bahuvrihi compound. [↑](#footnote-ref-454)
455. ŋ̀gú‑rù ‘here’ as adjective, forcing L‑tone on the preceding noun. [↑](#footnote-ref-455)
456. Unusual combination of áŋàyⁿ ‘thus’ and clause-final =n(ì). [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. As possessed noun with possessor X, tǔ‑m ‘agemate’ (also the Reciprocal word) is used abstractly to mean ‘something of the same type or dimension as X’. [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. 3Pl Perfective Negative bɛ̀rɛ́‑ ‘get, obtain’. 3Sg bɛ̀l‑lí‑∅. [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. French *mais* ‘but’. [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. This áywà is superfluous. bɛ̀rɛ̀mbò ‘freely, haphazardly’ belongs with the following phrase. [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. gɔ̀ here is a variant of kù at the end of a subordinated clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. Perfective of the causative of sú:rⁿú‑ ‘rest, relax’ [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. Demonstrative kú preceded by tone-dropped cognate nominal (gɔ́rⁿɔ̀). 3Sg counterpart: [[ɛ́rⁿɛ́ kû:] gɔ̀rⁿɔ̀ kú]. [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. This word is not understood by other speakers. It probably comes from an Arabic word meaning ‘fix, settle (an issue)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. Complete as: [kɔ̀:ⁿ ŋ̀gú]=m̀=bày [kɔ̀:ⁿ bû: ùsùrù‑lî: wò: wôy] ŋ̀gò ‘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. [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. This speaker sometimes uses =nɛ̀ (different-subject) and =nɛ́ (same-subject) subordinators, =nì and =ní (respectively). [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. Fr. *indépendance*. [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. 1Pl Dative, apparently the indirect object of ‘he was saying’ (ɛ́rⁿɛ́ gǔyⁿ nɛ̀) [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. ‘What would you-Sg say it was?’ inserted as parenthesis in the larger sentence. [î: kù:] is logically bracketed with bɛ̀rɛ̀‑ý, i.e. ‘(he told) us to take (charge of) ourselves.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. Variant of =ní (same-subject subordinator). [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. The demonstrative ŋ́ (= ŋ̀gú) follows the participle but has scope over the relativized noun: ‘this way (in which) we are today’. The participle (elsewhere bû:‑∅) drops tones before the demonstrative. [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. là ‘other’. Cf. [nù lǎ‑m] ‘another person’. Singular ‑m (especially with the noun ‘person’) is optionally dropped in relative-head position (which also forces tone-dropping). [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. Variant of jò:‑r‑á=b‑â: (which my assistant strongly prefers) with an extra syllable (probably 3Pl subject). ‑r‑á (3Pl Perfective Negative) and =b‑â: (3Pl Past) are both already marked for 3Pl. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Can also be expressed in this context as bɛ́rɛ́‑m̀‑dó=bɛ̂:. [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. More often ǹjê:=∅ ‘what is it?’ [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. Predicative form of ba᷈yⁿ→ ‘many’, with 3Pl subject. Negation: ba᷈yⁿ=rá‑bɔ́ ‘they were not numerous’. [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. ɛ̀síⁿ→ ‘very’ (adverb) has scope over sàlá ‘small’. [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. Adjectival predicate. [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. bírɛ́ ‘work’ is not here treated tonally as a possessed noun. ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ‘the bush, the outback’ is therefore interpreted as adverbial. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. Possessed form of mùrⁿú ‘resemblance, what (something) resembles’. [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. Normally bárà‑bá:rà without a further iteration. [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. ɲɛ́ ‘they are not (there), they are absent’, optional suppletive 3Pl subject form of ŋ̀gó‑ ‘not be, be absent’. [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. 3Pl subject conjugated form of jíjɛ̀→ ‘taking along’ (which is usually restricted to nonfinal position in chains). [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
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: [àrsɛ̌: gúrù‑m bò=nì] là:tɛ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. Imperative singular (< àyí). Likewise bǎrà ‘help!’ (< bàrí) 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. [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. Manner relative clause with demonstrative ŋ̀gú. Cf. (without the demonstrative) [B núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ yɛ̌ dàyⁿ tégé‑ẁ]. [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. The second wó ‘take’ has lower pitch than the first. [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. Fr *gardien*. The form (common in languages of the zone) may have been distorted by confusion with Fr *jardinier* ‘gardener’. [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. Direct object (Fulbe). [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. The full form of this common parenthetical (suspense-building and audience-involving) expression is [[ǹjé gǔⁿ‑ẁ mà] [gǔⁿ‑ẁ dè]] ‘what would you say if you said it?’ [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. Ends in verb tí ‘send’. 3Sg subject counterpart: [súyɔ́ jìyɛ́‑ẁ dè] jìsé tí‑m̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. 3Pl here refers to Fulbe. [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. Pl of ǎm ‘who?’, followed by Dative postposition. [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. Object relative clause with ‘the black people’ as head NP, and with (referentially vague) 3Pl subject. The 3Pl bû: before the participle is the subject pronominal The Pl bû: following the participle is in definite function, with scope over the head NP ‘black people’. The equivalent with a singular head NP would be … [nù jɛ̀wⁿɛ̀] bû: gǐ:ⁿ‑rà‑m kù. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. Variant pronunciation of passive tíyɛ́‑yɛ́y ‘be sold’. Passive with ‑yɛ́y, in a relative clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. kɔ̀mbɔ́ ‘war’ seems to be preposed topic, but it is then treated as object of tá‑ ‘shoot’ (the combination means ‘fight a war’). [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. tá ‘wage (war)’. Object is kɔ̀mbɔ́ ‘war’. [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. [[nǔ: gǎm] mà nà:], stylistic embellishment of nǔ: gàmbú 'certain people'. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. gí‑rⁿà ‘they said’. Irregular variant of gùyⁿ‑bɔ̀ ‘they said’. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. Imperative with 1Sg subject (taking the perspective of other persons). [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. yɔ̀ɣɔ́ ‘run’ is the verb used with ‘idol’ as object; free translation ‘worship idols’. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. ‘name’, here with the entire long NP (including relative clause) as possessor. [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. yâ:=n ‘there’ (focus form) resumes [ɔ́rⁿɔ̀ kù=ǹ] ‘that place’ (focus). [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. Causative in the sense ‘allow X to VP’. [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. /=rá/ ‘it is not’. [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. òsù‑térèw ‘true path, path of truth’. In form, a compound with ‘path’ (unexpectedly) as compound initial, hence literally ‘path-truth’. [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. è→ here is not a “real” word, just an vocalization extending hâl ‘until, up to’. [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. dógúrú ‘time’ as relative head, as in Jamsay. [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. This pronoun denoting the people is treated as including the quoted speaker Akile, and so is 3Reflexive Plural. [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. ‘the side of (sb, in a dispute)’. Not ‘father’. Used with verb nú‑ ‘go in’. [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. Factive clause with 3Reflexive possessor (=subject) and a final demonstrative kú. Compare unpossessed [àwú‑m̀‑dó kù] just below. [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. “Passive” ‑wú‑ ’used here for generalized (impersonal) subject. [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. dànǎyⁿ here is a toponym, denoting the flat stony area at the entrance to Beni. Distinct from dánáyⁿ ‘(the) outside’. [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. kòrǒy ‘empty, bare’, hence ‘for no reason’. Here with ‘it is not’ clitics =∅=rá, where =∅ consists of a low tone. [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. Bahuvrihi compound ‘(having) good sitting’. [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. Oumar Abdou Kagoye, born 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. = tì‑tɛ́mbì. [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. = bè‑rí. [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. = tɛ̀mbì. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. For táŋgì ‘did definitively, once and for all’. [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. ‘my knowledge’, 1Sg possessor form of noun júwɔ̀. [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. Post-imperative particle, following positive singular imperative. [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. Plural of gù‑gô‑m ‘one who has a propensity to leave; quitter’. [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. = tínɛ́m. [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. Name of the iron shoe. Cf. yàrí ‘sky’. [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. = ɔ̀sɔ̀rɔ̀‑nìŋgí ‘baobab-leaf sauce’. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. 3Pl Perfective Negative ‑r‑á, not subject to Nasalization-Spreading. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. Note the variant forms of ‘iron’: í:rⁿɛ́yⁿ (archaic), and í:rⁿɛ́m (used by younger speakers). [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. tǎ: ‘pair of shoes, (single) shoe’ here denoting a single shoe. lɔ̀sɔ̀‑ɲɛ̌yⁿ ‘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. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. 1Sg hortative. [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. gí‑rⁿà ‘they said’, archaic form, equivalent to gùyⁿ‑bɔ́. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. 3Sg equivalent nǔ‑ẁ. An unusual type of unsuffixed Perfective with lexical tone and distinct 3Sg and 3Pl endings (‑ẁ, ‑mà) [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. Perfective of Passive ‑wú‑ (here, ‑wⁿú‑ after Nasalization-Spreading from the stem). [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. Cut off. Perhaps tègè‑rá: î: yɛ̌:‑rà‑ẁ ‘what we are coming to say’. [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. Name of man, long deceased. The personal name is Amadou. This is followed (in this and the following text) by variations on (Jamsay) tɛ̌yⁿ ‘small (=young)’, including reduplicated tì‑tɛ̌yⁿ and the combination dè tɛ̌yⁿ with (Jamsay) dě: ‘elder brother’. Such additions would have originally served to distinguish two persons with the same personal name. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. nǎ: ‘hand’. Homonym nǎ: ‘cows’ occurs above, same speaking turn. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. Hortative Negative. Usually ‑rɛ̀‑ḿ, but ‑lɛ̀‑ḿ with CvN‑ stems like gǎyⁿ‑ ‘put’. [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. díyⁿáwⁿ wó, adverbial phrase ‘greatly, a great amount/measure’, here modifying wǎ:w ‘far, distant’. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. Two parallel cases of Presentative ŋ́gòy ‘here is’ following a dè clause. The parallel construction presents alternative possibilities: ‘either …, or …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. Imperfective relative clause with Inanimate subject (participle ‑m̀). [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. This passage abounds in jussive clauses, specifically reported hortatives and imperatives (suffixes ‑nâyⁿ, ‑ḿ, ‑ỳ ~ ‑ý. See section on jussives in grammar. [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. Variant of dúwⁿánsán ‘Douentza’ (town). [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. ɛ́rⁿɛ́ (animate 3Sg pronoun) here refers to the hyena, who is also referred to by (usually inanimate) kú in this passage. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. Singular equivalent: … bú‑m̀ kù. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. Reduplicated Perfective. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. Phonetically [jábbɛ̂:]. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. táppɛ́‑ is a semantically vague verb used in phrases suggesting surprising or unusual force. [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. The sense of some of the single-word greetings (àwá→, bìrá→, â→, ǹsé→, tà:ré) is vague, and the translations are rough. [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. Literally ‘putting (name)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. Like the preceding text, this one was recorded shortly after observing a name-giving ceremony. The interviewer had noticed the paper posting. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. Lit. “each day/sun that would break.” [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Lit. “the tamarind that they say,” with ‘tamarind’ as head of the relative clause. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. Lit. “difficulty of what?” [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. Both Tanga-so and Bara are locations in the long ravine running from Beni toward Dianwely Maoudé. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. Lit., “the well of that” (possessive). [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. ɔ́lɔ́y is the name of the flat area at the bottom of the ravine at Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. Spelling approximate. A French word not known to me. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. Lit., “water that they drink,” with nonreferential 3Pl pronominal. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. da᷈: is the name of a rocky shelf near Gamni village. [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. Each field is individual property. [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. Colorful expression denoting disastrous years in which large numbers of people died (in famines, etc.). It should be noted that jìyé ‘dance’ (verb or noun) is only slightly distinct phonetically from the verb jìyɛ́ ‘kill’. [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. Some people are actively involved in exploiting particular areas of collective land, with the authorization of descendants of the original owners. [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. Descended from an apical ancestor. [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. S meant to say ‘from the mountain’. [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. kì‑ká: ‘grasshopper, locust’ denotes any acridian species. The reference here is to *Schistocerca gregaria*, in its gregarious (locust) form, which devoured the millet harvest throughout the local region in 2004. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Lit. “heard.” [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. I.e. humanity has behaved wickedly and has been punished. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. Did they leave because there was no millet left to eat, or did they go on their own schedule? [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. I’s first contribution to this text. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. Only a barrel-sized section of the tree trunk is used. [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. úgúró‑ usually means ‘burn incense’, but here it has a more general sense ‘give a smell to’. [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
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. wóŋgóró ‘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. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. Lit., “three skin mouth.” [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. *Hibiscus sabdariffa* (cultivated). In local French *oseille* or *dah*. [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. *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. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. This speaking turn describes the concentric rings made in the *yu-teere*. [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. Lit. “in big(‑ness),” here as adverb ‘to a great extent’. [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. *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. [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. I.e. the calabash or gourd plant (*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. [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. When the millet has been removed, the furrows and ridges in the field are leveled to prepare for planting the calabash (gourd) vines. [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. Lit. “it gets its (own) head.” [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. French *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. [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. Each brick is laid on top of another. [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. Wooden block laid horizontally at the top of the doorway. [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. Construction with two paired clauses each with a third-person Hortative. [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. The locally cultivated bean (Fr. *haricot*) is the cow-pea, *Vigna unguiculata*. [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. In this “ripping” technique, cow-peas are planted in the channels between rows of millet plants. [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. /tòŋgôm/ is a dresser-like construction inside a house, with cell-like sections, one of which can be used for storingcow-peas.. [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
597. Lit., “in an empty place.” [↑](#footnote-ref-597)
598. Lit., “if we have had many children, we want (=like it).” [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
599. A religiously sanctioned marriage agreement requiring the consent of the girl’s parents, prior to the wedding. [↑](#footnote-ref-599)
600. lit. “when they give birth to her.” [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. Lit., “eight years or.” [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. The prospective husband gives periodic gifts to the family of the girl. [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. Lit., “their two.” [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. The bride has already been “given” to the future husband, but she is then “entrusted” to her own parents for a time. [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. Lit. “if it is (was) in the past.” [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. The animal pen (with thorn-branch fencing) is shifted when it has too much dung. [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. Lit., “if a person of God has not seen it.” I.e., the negative has wide scope. [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. Muslims cannot eat meat of an animal that has died without being propertly slaughtered (with the throat cut). [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. A “milk bucket” carved out of a single block of wood. [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. /tɔ́:ɲɛ̀/ is related to a Fulfulde word meaning ‘provoke, tease, pester’. [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. Lit., “does not get (=obtain) and suckle.” The negation has scope over both verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. Waterskins from the entire hide of a goat kid (or lamb). [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. ‘Eat’ instead of ‘drink’ here, since milk is often mixed with millet cakes (tô) and eaten. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Generally men only. [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
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? [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. Lit. “stand across (road).” [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. Speaker I speaks overlappingly in the first part of O’s turn, but I’s words are not clear on the tape. [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. Cf. French *quinze jours* ‘fifteen days’ = ‘two weeks’. [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. i.e., a place that provides camouflage but is also close enough to the animal for a shot. [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. This phrase (tàrá: ‘collective hunt’ plus an obscure particle) is shouted out by any hunter who has brought down an animal. [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. I.e., is there not a further celebration a few days after the hunt? [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. If certain (totemic) animals were taken in the collective hunt, it was formerly thought to presage a good millet harvest. [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. *Hystrix cristata*. cɛ̀m‑sɛ̀ŋɛ́ is really the Jamsay word. The Beni term is given in I’s next speaking turn. [↑](#footnote-ref-628)
629. *Atelerix albiventris*. [↑](#footnote-ref-629)
630. A millet stem has a single erect grain spike (like a corn ear), which resembles the spine of a porcupine or hedgehog. [↑](#footnote-ref-630)
631. Cf. English *sic!*. [↑](#footnote-ref-631)
632. A pole with a hooked end, to which a blade may be attached. Also used for knocking fruits out of trees. [↑](#footnote-ref-632)
633. Lit., “(cause to) lie down.” [↑](#footnote-ref-633)
634. Said, figuratively, to a puppy. [↑](#footnote-ref-634)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-635)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-636)
637. A different kind of bird-trap, called by the same name (*atiw*) as the one described above. [↑](#footnote-ref-637)
638. i.e., they make an incision in the belly and remove the entrails. [↑](#footnote-ref-638)
639. Water is introduced into the intestines, which are then cleaned by squeezing. [↑](#footnote-ref-639)
640. There are about 8-9 large sections of the carcass, excluding entrails and organs. díyáy also means ‘joint’. [↑](#footnote-ref-640)
641. The oldest man of the extended family.l [↑](#footnote-ref-641)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-642)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-643)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-644)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-645)
646. Lit., “he has gone up (in) craziness.” [↑](#footnote-ref-646)
647. I.e., what is your-Pl recollection of that? [↑](#footnote-ref-647)
648. Lit. “followed and entered [X and Y].” [↑](#footnote-ref-648)
649. Indirect-speech vocative. [↑](#footnote-ref-649)
650. Lit., “if it stirs up until it gets tired.” [↑](#footnote-ref-650)
651. I.e., what was the situation handed down by ancestors. [↑](#footnote-ref-651)
652. Animist ritual site where solemn oaths were sworn (an untruth sworn to was thought to lead to annihilation of the family or village concenred). [↑](#footnote-ref-652)
653. ‘settle (it)’, literally “go out behind (it).” [↑](#footnote-ref-653)
654. Lit. “pass go and go out behind (it).” [↑](#footnote-ref-654)
655. ‘Either … or …’ here translates a construction with parallel polar questions: “Do they …? Or do they …?” [↑](#footnote-ref-655)
656. Lit., “this comes.” [↑](#footnote-ref-656)
657. Lit., “has taken and carried (on head).” [↑](#footnote-ref-657)
658. Lit. “this and the companion of (=something resembling) this.” [↑](#footnote-ref-658)
659. Lit. “run and go.” [↑](#footnote-ref-659)
660. ɲáwⁿà means ‘damage, ruin, malfunction’. [↑](#footnote-ref-660)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-661)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-662)
663. I.e., for the most part, it’s good. [↑](#footnote-ref-663)
664. Here ɔ̀rⁿɔ́: ‘the bush, outback’ means ‘far away (from the village)’, implicitly ‘the big city (e.g. Bamako)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-664)
665. i.e. the father waits to see whether or not the child will bring something. [↑](#footnote-ref-665)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-666)
667. French *branche* ‘branch’, referring to higher education (in Bamako): law, medicine, etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-667)
668. Lit. “going down” (i.e., going home after work or school). [↑](#footnote-ref-668)
669. I.e., one who hosts out-of-town school pupils as a good deed, not as an obligation to kin. [↑](#footnote-ref-669)
670. Lit. “… was not sweet (=pleasing) to him.” [↑](#footnote-ref-670)
671. Lit. “… has a lot of strength.” [↑](#footnote-ref-671)
672. Corporal punishment in public schools was formerly common but was officially prohibited several years before the time of the recording. [↑](#footnote-ref-672)
673. Lit., “impolite (one)” or “unpolished (one),” but used in local French as a strong insult for a badly-behaved young person. [↑](#footnote-ref-673)
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 caughte and (avidly) eaten by children. [↑](#footnote-ref-674)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-675)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-676)
677. *Arvicanthis niloticus*, a moderately large field mouse. Killed specimens of this and other mice were present at the recording. [↑](#footnote-ref-677)
678. *Myomis daltoni* (small light-colored house mouse, tail longer than body, belly hairs all-white). [↑](#footnote-ref-678)
679. *Crocidura* sp. (perhaps *Crocidura cinderella*). Small mouse-like mammal, insectivorous, with pointed snout. An aggressive animal capable of chasing away larger field mice. [↑](#footnote-ref-679)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-680)
681. *Acomys johannis*. The hairs on its back are indeed slightly spiny. [↑](#footnote-ref-681)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-682)
683. Hedgehogs (like porcupines) have thorn-like spines on their bodies. [↑](#footnote-ref-683)
684. Term denoting a biting centipede (scolopender), not really a scorpion. Chilopoda, family Scolopendridae. [↑](#footnote-ref-684)
685. i.e., for no reason. Lit. “for (an)other thing (=reason).” [↑](#footnote-ref-685)
686. Lit. ‘kicked’, term used for the sting of the scorpion’s tail. [↑](#footnote-ref-686)
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 gòrǒm-góm-jó is used for either. [↑](#footnote-ref-687)
688. More or less literal translation, clumsy in English. ‘if it’s not …’ in opposition to a parallel phrase may mean ‘it’s only …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-688)
689. I.e. the true scorpion. The dominant local sp. is Androctonus amoreuxi. [↑](#footnote-ref-689)
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*. [↑](#footnote-ref-690)
691. The speaker uses kúwó‑ ‘bite, eat (meat)’ instead of támbí‑ ‘kick; (scorpion) sting’, with reference to *sakelem*. [↑](#footnote-ref-691)
692. I.e. in the collection of specimens present at the time of the recording. [↑](#footnote-ref-692)
693. Lit. “bear, give birth to.” [↑](#footnote-ref-693)
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). [↑](#footnote-ref-694)
695. Same verb (jáŋgɛ́) translated ‘study’ above. The common thread is ‘read (the Koran)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-695)
696. I.e., you will learn your fate for the coming twelve months. [↑](#footnote-ref-696)
697. I.e., ‘you have missed out’ (not gotten the proper reward for the effort of fasting). [↑](#footnote-ref-697)
698. From Arabic šayṭaan-, cf. *Satan*. [↑](#footnote-ref-698)
699. From Arabic jinn‑, cf. *genie*. [↑](#footnote-ref-699)
700. i.e., looks and acts like a normal person. [↑](#footnote-ref-700)
701. Lit. “their Muslims.” [↑](#footnote-ref-701)
702. I.e., the dwarfish sprites (*nyere*) feel an affinity to human midgits. [↑](#footnote-ref-702)
703. Arabic ?ibliis‑, another type of devil. [↑](#footnote-ref-703)
704. I.e., a high “official” among devils. The speaker alludes to a discussion prior to the recording, perhaps misunderstood. [↑](#footnote-ref-704)
705. Expression meaning ‘stick closely to, be inseparable from’. [↑](#footnote-ref-705)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-706)
707. S is asking which of the categories of devil is the commander who sends the other devils out to do harm to people. [↑](#footnote-ref-707)
708. i.e., “may the story be about them.” [↑](#footnote-ref-708)
709. The quotative (i.e. hearsay) particle occurs liberally in tales. [↑](#footnote-ref-709)
710. The song is sung in Jamsay. [↑](#footnote-ref-710)
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.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-711)
712. Lit. “… weep [the weeping of what?]?” [↑](#footnote-ref-712)
713. I.e., the reins attached to a donkey’s mouth. [↑](#footnote-ref-713)
714. Standard story-ending formula. [↑](#footnote-ref-714)
715. Standard compliment from audience at the end of a story. [↑](#footnote-ref-715)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-716)
717. Lit., “the girls (are/were) seven girls.” [↑](#footnote-ref-717)
718. Presentative (cf. French *voici que …*). [↑](#footnote-ref-718)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-719)
720. i.e., she wishes her a safe trip (cf. *bon voyage*). [↑](#footnote-ref-720)
721. Lit., “the rock, it came and was punctured.” [↑](#footnote-ref-721)
722. wɔ̀rɔ́ is the general term for scrubby acacias with particularly nasty thorns, often in impenetrable thickets (focally *Acacia erythrocalyx* and *A. ataxacantha*). [↑](#footnote-ref-722)
723. lit., “before they said they had passed.” [↑](#footnote-ref-723)
724. Sung in Jamsay. However, the normal Jamsay word for ‘giraffe’ is wìlwîl. [↑](#footnote-ref-724)
725. The girl’s name, but it means ‘the best woman’. [↑](#footnote-ref-725)
726. Alternative version of the girl’s name. Cf. mɛ̀rⁿɛ́ ‘kinship relation’, hence literally ‘best woman of the kinship group’ (or the like). [↑](#footnote-ref-726)
727. The ordering of lines in the middle of the stanza is slightly different in this repetition. [↑](#footnote-ref-727)
728. *Borassus aethiopicum*. This palm has a very long, straight trunk that is difficult to climb. [↑](#footnote-ref-728)
729. Sung in Tommo-So (=Tombo-So). Transcription and morpheme breaks are approximate. [↑](#footnote-ref-729)
730. =Denney, the girl’s name. [↑](#footnote-ref-730)
731. Lit. ‘gave birth to (=sired) and left (there)’. To avoid confusion, ‘left’ is omitted from the free translation. [↑](#footnote-ref-731)
732. i.e., “I will drink in the Afterworld.” [↑](#footnote-ref-732)
733. =Denney, the girl’s name. [↑](#footnote-ref-733)
734. One would expect “Oh grandmother!” here. [↑](#footnote-ref-734)
735. Lit., “is it peace?” A question typically asked of a visitor arriving at a home, for example. Pragmatically: ‘is something wrong?’ [↑](#footnote-ref-735)
736. Here, a meal offered to everyone, to earn a blessing from higher powers. [↑](#footnote-ref-736)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-737)
738. ‘they’ here refers to beings in the upper world. [↑](#footnote-ref-738)
739. Lit. “she won’t do [she didn’t say].” [↑](#footnote-ref-739)
740. name of the girl (now a young woman). [↑](#footnote-ref-740)
741. Lit. “how do they say the name of …”. [↑](#footnote-ref-741)
742. sung in Jamsay. The prosody here is prose‑y, unlike the singing by the same speaker in the previous texts. [↑](#footnote-ref-742)
743. Words with no discernible sense. [↑](#footnote-ref-743)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-744)
745. tǎ˘ ‘water source (well, pond, etc.).’ [↑](#footnote-ref-745)
746. Lit. ‘put down and left (it)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-746)
747. Lit. ‘pushed and put (in) …’ [↑](#footnote-ref-747)
748. Dogon water god, associated with rainbows. [↑](#footnote-ref-748)
749. Lit., ‘entrusted to God’. Name given to a first son. [↑](#footnote-ref-749)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-750)
751. sàbɔ̌l 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. [↑](#footnote-ref-751)
752. sung in Jamsay. [↑](#footnote-ref-752)
753. as in ‘beat (tomtom)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-753)
754. The village’s drums are beaten to summon the villagers for important matters, including war. [↑](#footnote-ref-754)
755. Lit. ‘go in (to), enter’. [↑](#footnote-ref-755)
756. Lit., ‘was in the wife(‑hood) of …’. [↑](#footnote-ref-756)
757. partridge-like bird. *Francolinus* sp. [↑](#footnote-ref-757)
758. Doum-palm basket containing implements and materials used in spinning cotton thread (card, rolling stick, etc.). [↑](#footnote-ref-758)
759. Lit. “grandparent-laughter.” [↑](#footnote-ref-759)
760. Hyena and Hare playfully go through the motion of demanding francolin meat from the grandmother. Later the demands become serious. [↑](#footnote-ref-760)
761. Lit. ‘wept [the weeping of that]’. [↑](#footnote-ref-761)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-762)
763. The slender branches laid across the ceiling. [↑](#footnote-ref-763)
764. Traditionally, a goatskin waterbag lowered by a rope into a well to draw water. [↑](#footnote-ref-764)
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*. [↑](#footnote-ref-765)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-766)
767. Slightly different from the sound of the millet spikes (=ears) being snapped. [↑](#footnote-ref-767)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-768)
769. Lit. ‘caught each other’. [↑](#footnote-ref-769)
770. The famous Mande Empire of Sundjata. [↑](#footnote-ref-770)
771. A village somewhere between Mande and Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-771)
772. Two founding brothers. [↑](#footnote-ref-772)
773. This and the following are archaic expressions, partially in Jamsay, that are called out by griots. [↑](#footnote-ref-773)
774. Said to mean ‘mutual agreement’, but not otherwise in use. [↑](#footnote-ref-774)
775. Lit. “are set down.” [↑](#footnote-ref-775)
776. I.e., Munwil is located beyond Walo. [↑](#footnote-ref-776)
777. Lit. “in the Munwil of that.” [↑](#footnote-ref-777)
778. The area just outside the village where the community gathers in the morning for major rituals (nowadays, the two primary Islamic holy days). [↑](#footnote-ref-778)
779. The youngest boy of the original family carries the knife to the ritual ground. [↑](#footnote-ref-779)
780. Village near Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-780)
781. The quotation is a mix of “direct” discourse (hence ‘you-Sg’) and “indirect” discourse (hence Logophoric á representing the quoted speaker). [↑](#footnote-ref-781)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-782)
783. I.e., I will no longer take orders from an adult. [↑](#footnote-ref-783)
784. An area at the bottom of the ravine next to Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-784)
785. I.e. on the flat rocky shelf above the ravine, where the current village of Beni is. [↑](#footnote-ref-785)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-786)
787. The point of this phrase is not clear. [↑](#footnote-ref-787)
788. péyí pɛ́gɛ́‑, 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)’. [↑](#footnote-ref-788)
789. Name of the covered shelter. Literally “woman-sand”. [↑](#footnote-ref-789)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-790)
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. [↑](#footnote-ref-791)
792. dɔ̀ɣɔ́ ‘abject state (impoverished, miserable, lowly)’, with the connotation of being ashamed in the presence of others. [↑](#footnote-ref-792)
793. The girl volunteers to be sacrified to save the village. [↑](#footnote-ref-793)
794. I.e. the oldest of all living men in either Beni or Walo. [↑](#footnote-ref-794)
795. ‘Long ago’, literally “first time.” Jamsay pɔ́:rɔ́ has the same usage. [↑](#footnote-ref-795)
796. Phrase indicating extreme abundance. [↑](#footnote-ref-796)
797. Again referring to Beni and Walo. [↑](#footnote-ref-797)
798. Lit., “doing [it].” [↑](#footnote-ref-798)
799. Lit. “fight a fight.” [↑](#footnote-ref-799)
800. sárú-úsù, perhaps an adaptation of Fr *service*. [↑](#footnote-ref-800)
801. Sekou Amadou, leader of the Fulbe Empire based in Hamdallaye near Mopti in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. [↑](#footnote-ref-801)
802. Sekou from Fouta Diallo, a rival of Sekou Amadou. [↑](#footnote-ref-802)
803. This speaker frequently interpolates questions of this type with ‘say’ into his discourse. [↑](#footnote-ref-803)
804. I.e. the Fulbe Empire, which was fervently Muslim. [↑](#footnote-ref-804)
805. Obscure word, perhaps ‘chiefhood’ or the like. [↑](#footnote-ref-805)
806. I.e. Dogon-style clothing made from locally woven cotton cloth. [↑](#footnote-ref-806)
807. Lit., “what is it? if you-Sg say.” [↑](#footnote-ref-807)
808. I.e. on the order of 8 to 18 kilometers. [↑](#footnote-ref-808)
809. Lit. “awake.” Used here like local French *éveillé*. [↑](#footnote-ref-809)
810. I.e., what they had was none other than spears. [↑](#footnote-ref-810)
811. Village near Mopti, in predominantly Fulbe territory. [↑](#footnote-ref-811)
812. They would gag the children so they wouldn’t shout. [↑](#footnote-ref-812)
813. Lit. “they became [in [thieves of livestock]].” [↑](#footnote-ref-813)
814. D asks the listeners to chime in, but there are no takers, so D himself proceeds. [↑](#footnote-ref-814)
815. The Dogon would have had the right to keep an apprehended Fulbe livestock thief as a slave. [↑](#footnote-ref-815)
816. ɔ̀mdɔ́ ‘misfortune’ is a sort of tó:rù ‘idol, fetish’. [↑](#footnote-ref-816)
817. Lit. “cause to give birth to.” [↑](#footnote-ref-817)
818. Lit. “having studied, they were sated.” [↑](#footnote-ref-818)
819. Lit. “a village that causes (people) to remain.” [↑](#footnote-ref-819)
820. Beni, and inanimate pronouns referring to it, are used extensively in this passage to refer to the population of the village. [↑](#footnote-ref-820)
821. I.e. they are strong-willed (determined), in a good sense. The adjective mǎ: can mean ‘dry’ or ‘hard(ened)’, but [↑](#footnote-ref-821)
822. 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. [↑](#footnote-ref-822)
823. An abandoned village near Beni, on the track leading to Gamni. [↑](#footnote-ref-823)
824. Another abandoned village near Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-824)
825. Abandoned village west of Beni. [↑](#footnote-ref-825)
826. Abandoned village between Beni and Gamni. [↑](#footnote-ref-826)
827. Millet cakes (tô) are served in bowls, surrounded by baobab-leaf sauce. [↑](#footnote-ref-827)
828. Lit. “[who? and lion] *[focus]* fought a fight?” [↑](#footnote-ref-828)
829. Name of a rocky area with some caverns, near the ravine. [↑](#footnote-ref-829)
830. i.e. by fighting with it single-handedly. [↑](#footnote-ref-830)
831. Lit. ‘took its eye(s) [=face].’ [↑](#footnote-ref-831)
832. A oued (usually dry stream bed that becomes a torrent after a rain). [↑](#footnote-ref-832)
833. Lit. “caught each other.” [↑](#footnote-ref-833)
834. Place where people of Beni draw water. [↑](#footnote-ref-834)
835. A forested area. [↑](#footnote-ref-835)
836. Lit. “broke its house.” A common phrasing in languages of the zone, including Songhay. [↑](#footnote-ref-836)