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: jînjè ù jè:
I: ̀æwà→
O: ̀dà
I: ̀bà
O: ̀kàñà
I: ̀dà:ri
O: ̀à
I: ̀á→
O: ̀ǹsè→¹
I: ̀iını: `gày" ò-ò:
O: <xxx> bìsìmìlà


¹ End of greeting sequence.
² yù: pà:jnàmû ‘small basket of millet grain spikes’. Treated tonally as an apposition.
³ Definite kù realized with high tone before ‘it is’ clitic =m.
⁴ dò:wò, variant of dà”-wò ‘all’.
⁵ mò̲ò-ǹ̀y" ‘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 mò̲ò:] òyb", lit. “[her (own) mouth’s food.”
⁶ Possessed form of dà”-y ‘arriving’.
Choice of name for newborn

S: inirⁿi: kù, [anáyⁿ ɲáyⁿ] inirⁿi:-gáyⁿ béré:-rà-w , [yí-m ñirⁿi:] [anáyⁿ ɲáyⁿ] béré:-rà-w
S: [yí-m ñirⁿi:] kù] [anáyⁿ ɲáyⁿ] béré:-rà-w , ñirⁿi: kù, [[à-mà:n ñirⁿi:] ɲáyⁿ→ gáyⁿ jà:wⁿ] [kù [anáyⁿ ɲáyⁿ] béré:-rà-w ]
O: [ɲáyⁿ→ gáyⁿ jà:wⁿ] [kù [yí-m bò:] tégé-m], [ú ñirⁿi:] , [[[ú yí-m] ñirⁿi:] ɲáyⁿ ɲáyⁿ bù: gáyⁿ-wⁿ dê jór-d w má, [[yí-m 8 ñirⁿi:] , àmà:nù bù: gáyⁿ-wⁿ dê jór-d-ý, ɲáyⁿ úsúr⁻i-ş
S: ñúwⁿ-ê-[yí-tê:] [tííⁿ-u bù: jé-m kù yá], [ñé gín³  jé:-rà-w-bô
O: ñúwⁿ-ê-[yí-tê:] [tííⁿ-u bù: jé-m kù] [yá-yò-m [kú ɲáyⁿ] gò: táül-m], [kú ɲáyⁿ] gò: táül-m, hál hál [lò-w dê] [úsú pé-n:i:yⁿ], [árⁿ-a=m=Ø dè yá] [úsú pé-tá:n, xxx yá-yò-m [tííⁿ-u wó] lò béré-m-dó, [kú gúní] jé:-rà-w-bô
S: [[ñúwⁿ-áyⁿ mò:lu éw-yé ú: ná:-rà-w kù], [kú yá] [kú kó:kái] nhé: =Ø
S: ñáh: [í í yá=] [dó:rú yá=] 13
O: birá→

8 yí-m ‘my child’, with L+{HL} tones for 1Sg possessor.
9 gín ~ gún, variants of gí:ní ~ gú:ní ‘because of, for’. Related to the verb ‘say’.
10 Based on kó:kái là:w ‘another reason’, plus ‘it is not’ clitics.
11 tù:-búnuŋgôy, compound of tù: ‘same-age group’ and búnüngôy or búnüngôy ‘group, pack’.
13 Lit., “you-Sg and fatigue.” Here the second conjunct as a whole has lower pitch than the first (symbol ↓ before the second conjunct).
Co-wifehood at a name-giving)

I: yà-nòr\"ú: = Ø, [[yà-nòr\"ú gûn] kày\"n-bó
S: [kú yà] [[[yì lâ-m kù] mà:] yà-nòr\"ú]15 mà→
I: [yà:-yì-m nòr\"á-só-w] wà, [àsùw\"è-yï-m mègê jôrê-yê = b-â:] wà, yà-nòr\"ú: = Ø16 [nè àsùw\"è-yï-m = Ø dè] bû: ìngbá=f, yà:-yì-m = Ø dè, yà-nòr\"ú: = Ø, [kú cèmnê] cèmnù-bó
I: è: nè: kày, [yà-nòr\"ú mà:] [kò\" ìùsú] já:w\ò, èsù [ér\"é mà:] já:w\ò = rà, [[kú nì:] wò] bàrá jê:-bó

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

S: bèn [[i: išè:] ŋgú-rù] nì: [ànáy;

này;] käy;

, ànáy-

ànáy a kä.:"-rà-ù


[[ìyà dé] bóù sí-yè:-rè dé], jìnjè àlbárkà, [mànì: ñgú wòy] nì:=[ø], yà: yè yà: kòwé-yè, [kù bù: kà:-m=bày] [dè:-rè-yè günì], [ì: yà:] dè:-rà: gùnì, tàngásô: tòò úrò sí-yè, [ìrò sí-yè] nùm bù:-ø,

[[[mànì: ñgú] wò] nì: jòrù-ù] [[kòm-kúgûrù gànji-rà:] lò-ù ], kûrù-ù=ø, pégè→dé-ù, [pégè→dé-ù ] [nì: gò-m-dò], dúwö-tì-ù,


S: [kò:: ñjè:=[ø] [tàngásô: mà:] [nì: kù] lòyò käyù=ñì] [ñrò[y [ú: mà:] kà:-rà-w], [[wò-wàý-i:-ì:] [sò-lò:] =ø 20 mà→ mà: [ìàjè-[sò-lò:]]=ø mà→ [gànji:-bòré-m-dò:] =ø


I: à, [ànáy" tègè-bô gà] [tèrèw =ø gùš-yù-sò-y " [ì: kày]


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17 Purposive -râ:-
18 bòré- ‘get’, Perfective Negative 1PI
19 túnêm (used in narratives to indicate continuation of an activity).
20 Cf. wò-wàý-i: ‘taking care (of sth)’, from wò- ‘take’ and wàý- ‘hold’. Here the entire compound verbal noun has L-tone as compound initial for -sò-lò: ‘lack, insufficiency’ (nominalization of sò-lò- ‘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 bòré-m-dò- ‘not be able to’.
30 Reflexive pronoun, in topic-indexing function.
21 èw-yè-sò- ‘(has) sat’, here ‘was (firmly) settled, was established (in a place)’. Negation: èw-yè-rè-.
22 Possessed form of tèy ‘speech, talk’.
23 nì: kù ‘this water’, cf. nì: ‘water’.

4
lā-w yì-rí-ý kòy
S: [lā-w wôy] ŋó
I: lā-w ŋó, [xxx kú nā:-rā-ý ] [[nì: lā-w] sò-ló-ý ]
I: [núw"ny" kāy] kū = m, [kū = m = dá dé] [[tā: lā-w wôy] sò-ló-ý ]

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

O: núwⁿyⁿ [tànjásò: kù] [í: kú:] mâ: [ím: ɛ̃ sá:n̩ → dá bû] [á: m³: yâ: ká:-mī nù•] gayⁿ-bā] [yâ: îmâ: ɛ̃á-w] [kú jì-jè:k:] báyâ:bâyâ nù• w nin [kú = mâ] gâ•râ:-w-bâ] [târ=w = jùw= m-dô-y ] [kâ:n = jùw= m-dô-y], nî: [m³: sá:n̩ w] ɹ̃:r-b:] tûmdú-w wâ:w [mâ:nî: ãgú-rû],

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26 Inanimate participle of stative verb ‘be standing’.
27 Verbal noun complement of ‘begin (to)’.
28 This quotative wà seems superfluous.
29 French barrage ‘dam’.
30 Noun birê ‘work’, here in possessed-noun form.
31 kû nî: here is a false start, omitted from translation.
32 kû bêrê ‘get that’ here is superfluous.
33 Lit. “food (that) they eat,” i.e. ‘food (to eat).’
34 = láwâ = nî. Here the different-subject clause is postposed, as an afterthought.
S: [mûyë:]<sup>35</sup> nî: kâwâ-yê] yâ sô-lô-w
O: [mûyë: nî: kâwâ-yê lâ-w] [kâ:" kâwâ = ñây"] [[[kú-tûgôrû ñây") dù-rú-w] [ûrô nî: kâ:" jê-yê] [[[kú mûyë:" lâ-w]<sup>36</sup> sô-lô-ý] , [kú ëâwô] sô-lô-ý
S: nûw"yû" kây, [kâ:" ú: jârû-m wôy] [nî: sày]
O: nî:, [[mânî: ëgû-rû] [nî: mà:] mëgë ëyê kâ:" î: jârû-m wô:-wôy] ëgû, [nî: yà→] ↓[êsû yà→]

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<sup>35</sup> Fr moyens. Here with L-tone as relative-clause head, lexically mûyë:".
<sup>36</sup> Possessed form of noun-adjective combination mûyë:" lâ-w ‘other means’.
Text 2005-1a.06  
Field ownership

O: [tọ̀rò tàngày], [tọ̀rò tàngày] [dà:] tàngày ṣẹ́gú-rù] = m mà

S: [tọ̀rò kù dá”-wọ́y], [ịgwé bè→] [ịgwú dà:] bù:-O ṣẹ́gú dò:-wọ́y]

O: [tọ̀rò kù dá”-wọ́y], [[nụ tụw”-m] ìr”à=Ω],38 [[nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [[nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”-m] kà:=Ω] [nụ tụw”.38

37 = ì-r”à ṣẹ́gú ‘this field’.
38 On the tape there is a slight hesitation after tụw”-m, and the following ì-r”à (which has all-L tones in unbroken speech, as a possessed noun after L-tone) is heard as ì-r”à with initial H-tone. This is evidence that the {HL} contour is basic to possessed nouns.
39 Verbal noun in -ì- of the verb-verb chain ìɛ̀-ìw-à-ì ‘come and sit (=settle)’. The first verb is low-toned as a compound initial.
40 ì-r”à ‘my field’, with ‘it is’ clitic = O.
41 Variant of pòrbà: ‘collective property, property held in common’. A regional word also in Bambara, etc., hence the variants.
42 Usually just kù mà: ‘to/for that’.
43 = mì-ì, variant = mì-ì ‘we are’ (copula). The younger interviewer emanates the m,
44 Variant of tààl-à ‘they did not transform/convert’.
45 = ìyèngù ‘yesterday’.
46 Accusative of mù:bè ‘these’.

8
mà→ [isè: ɡǎm kù yà] [tiwèjiyé bāy→] [yèŋ 3:rô y bāy→] [pûl.;, [yè kâ:]] nũ: gɔ-gɔ³⁴⁷ jiýé-yè], [bũ: nũ: kũ] dûwⁿó: -r-à: dè, ū: [kû cê:”] ayí-w , ū: = m bũ: tēmbi dó wôy, ⁴⁸ [[fũà kũ] cê:”] ayí-w ,


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⁴⁷ Iteration of gɔ ‘jab’, with L-toned second occurrence. No spirantization to ɣ.
⁴⁸ Variant of dê wôy ‘if’.
⁴⁹ Hortative.
⁵⁰ Negative counterpart: núwⁿɔy” ánjáy” káyⁿ-sè-né.
Text 2005-1a.07  Villages and their fields

S: núw⁵⁴yⁿ [írⁿà kù̀ bè] [srⁿà wóy], [mùː kâⁿː=ɔ] [mùː kâⁿː=ɔ] [mùː kâⁿː=ɔ] [mùː kâⁿː=ɔ] [gûⁿ-ː wː.ː, [kù yà] írⁿà i-ène-bò mà→, mà→ ânáyô kàyⁿ-bô
[[kù nìː] ñgô] [[sláy bè kày] [nù kâⁿː-m] [ërⁿé céry=t=ɔ], [lày rè bëː] ë-ëwè-bô, [[yè=ñ] bùː ëwë-w kùː] [[nù kâⁿː-m] îyé [ërⁿé írⁿ] [tàngë-sò-w kù] kù=m,
[[gàwⁿ-tòrò kù] ú yì:-rÈ-w] ñgû=m, [tàrò dûgâ-w] ñgôy, îsèː [tàngáy yëy] bù, [gàwⁿ-rù dàː] [gàwⁿ-rù kâⁿː] kù האי [tàngáy ñgû=m, ñàyⁿ-> kàyⁿ=ɔ], ñàyñ ñgâ¹, [x:-yérè kâⁿː]=ɔ [[[tàrò tûwⁿ: kù], ânáyô bù
S: úː=m yàː sòsû, [ânáyô kàyⁿ=ní] [[gàwⁿ-rù nûː kâⁿː]=ɔ] tàngî
I: bùː kûyôː yèː bùː tèmbi-y
S: [[ùː tòrò yà] [bèlë àn-dà:] bùː [[ùː tòrò]
I: íː [[tàrò dîyⁿ-ː w kùː] tû-m] sòlo-y ¹, [[dûrëː tòrò] =râ] dë
S: [[dûrëː tòrò tûwⁿ: kù] [kû=m [[ùː kâⁿː]=ɔ]]
I: éː [[kû kûyⁿ=ɔ] [[ùː kâⁿː]=ɔ]
S: bò [[ùː yàː] [[îsèː kùː ñáyⁿ]] wàːw bù-w , lò i-ëwë-w mà→, màː lù-ː-w mà→, màː [[ùː nù-dîyⁿ] màː tèmbu-w
I: ɔ˘hⁿ, gàː ëwë-bô
S: i-ëwë-bô [tàrò kù]
I: éː [[tàrò kù ñéː.ː] [[kû ñrⁿà kù] [àyû-w dë] [bòlôː: sî-yè-y] [nù kâⁿː=ñ], [îsèː kùː bùː ëggé=n, [yàː bêː-re-w dë] [[àm kâⁿː]=ɔ], [bùː kày] sòỳ lùo-r-áː pû! [ú kâⁿː]=ɔ =râ', tì-tìwë-bô, ú yè tèmbû-jë-w dë, [[ù kâⁿː]=ɔ =r=à→, [[ñàyⁿ→ bùː tèmbû-w yà bù

51 [[x nìː] ñgô] ‘without X, in the absence of X, if X is absent’.
52 Stem tû: ‘equal, peer’.
53 kâyⁿ, Topic particle (less common than kày).
54 wëː: ‘as well as’.
56 ní.
57 pû! is an intensifier (‘completely’).
Text 2005-1a.08  
Locust invasion 2004

S: nîn^ëw^n, [kî-kâ:] [i: mà:] yê-mâ gi^n^bô] [kî-kâ: bû:] [nâna^ny^nâyn^] yê-bô]


58 nà→ mû-rà: ‘whether or not’ (interrogative disjunction).
59 hà:kôy ‘beware!’ (particle).
60 Compound agitative: ‘one who does like me’ = ‘my agemate’. -kâ-m (Pl kâ:) Agentive of kâ^n^- ‘do, make’. gâ^y^n→ ‘like’, here as compound initial and so without its usual intonational prolongation.
61 = wôy after nasal.
62 Past Perfect, with final -w as in Inanimate-subject relative clause.
63 Past clitic after Perfective-1a.
64 dês-rê bê gûy^n^-bô is a false start, corrected immediately by omitting the bê.
65 Pronounced [mîdî].
66 ‘Where they had not come’, relative clause with Perfective Negative participle, inanimate head NP.
67 In French time-of-day phrases like une heure and sept heures, the numeral is pronounced with H-tone and heure(s) with F-tone. The form ñr^ëy^n, though it looks like the low-toned compound initial form of ñr^ëy^n ‘iron’, is modeled on French heure but precedes an expression like sept heures. A pure native version of ‘7 o’clock’ would be ñr^ëy^n sûy^by^n with just the numeral sûy^by^n ‘7’.
68 3Pl Perfective Negative of injîrî- ‘get up’. Also pronounced injîrî-r-á.
I: [mə̚ã̚ bë yà] yè-bó, [une heure nàŷ] yè-bó, hà: [une heure nàŷ] [bû: kû] ã: yè-w kû]
lô-r-a, bû: = m [yè = n] kûwó-j-ë:
S: bon [kî-kâ: kû] [bû: yè = n] [nû: [kû mà:] ânâŷ gû:w-bô, ânâŷ [kû mà:] mà:nû-w , ...
O: bû: lâr-i-y
S: bon, par exemple, [kû mà:] [mûwûy kàj], [[âdûnà:rû nàwâ = n] yè-bô] mà:nû-w mâ→, bâlàw siyè mâ→ ìjê mâ:nû-w
O: [kî-kâ: kû] i: lârû-m, ì: lârû-m [îrû wò] yôwô lô-y dê] [yôwô yè-yû ], [ôwô lô-y dê] [yôwô yè-yû ], [kà:rû û lô:-rê dê wôy] [yù: kû ânâyû b:=bô: [dâyû a: bû-w gâyû→], injirî-m-n-ë,
[tiwûyû màni:] wô] ù tînî-ti: dê] [tiwûyû yî:-wî-m-dô], 72 [[yû: wô] ù tînî-ti: dê] [yû: yî:-wî-m-dô], [sùmôy wô] ù tînî-ti: dê] [yà: migli b:=bô:],
kàyû→ [dê = n], [pànà bông bê], kû nàrû-û:ômô:, [çû-rû avion yè, [avion yè = n] [çû-rû [i: mà:] kû pûmpû-m] [kû pûmpû-m] [hâl lâ:sârà dà], [ûyô: yè-mà kû kôy], ô: sàrà kû dâ = n, hà: [nê: 73 kàyû], [[kî-kâ: kû] tiwê:-r-à:] [lâ-w yè-m-n-ë], [lâ:w yè-m-n-ë] tiwê:-r-à: mà:nî-y ,
S: [lô = n] lâ-w yè-r-à
O: [lô = n] lâ-w yè-r-à
kú], [õrú yá bù dé wóy] kúwó-m-n-é, [kú náyⁿ] [á: yè-ð kú] [iː yú:] kúwó-j-é:-bú,³⁻⁹
ṇáyⁿ → káyⁿ

³⁷ Verbal noun làr-ï: ‘driving away, chasing out’. Here with following ‘they go’ in the sense ‘they go after/from being driven out’.
³⁸ ‘while we were (=remained, continued)’. Compare 3Sg èrⁿè bù = báy.
³⁹ -j-é:-bú 3Pl subject of Recent Perfect; more often -j-å.
Text 2005-1a.09       Honey

S: yéy anây^a gâ^n-râ-w , kòwî: anây^a cè:lè:-râ-w , [hál â:n nû] [dây^n bû: gâ^n-m 80 bû: dûmdû-m]
[[ûsú tän] [ûsú nî:y^n] dô:-rê dê] [gàm^bû-m dê] â:n yë nû-yê, nû:-r-à: dô wôy, [ûwô tân] lô-[dô-y] 81 â:n yë gây^n-tî-yâ,
S: [ûrô yê:-rê:-w dê] [yëy kû mà:] anây^a kà:-rê-w
I: [gôngô wô] gây^n , [ër^ë mà:] nî-û^n , [br:ry-gû-m mà:] , ñây^n=[kû wô] kà:n-rê-y

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80 gâ^n-m is appropriate at the end of a clause. Here, since the clause is extended with bû: dûmdû-m, my assistant suggests emending gân to the chaining form gâ^n.
82 Perfective-1b participle, Inanimate head.
83 Imperfective relative clause with Animate Plural head NP (here, the object). Can also be expressed with jôrû as the Animate Plural Imperfective participle, instead of jôrî-û.
84 Inanimate Perfective Participial -û-w.
Text 2005-1a.10  Farm work

S: ú núwⁿ³yⁿ⁺ [jīrⁿ⁺yⁿ [bîrè mā:]] ³⁵ [[ɜⁿ⁺ɔ̀ ãn] túmdî:-rà-w:.] ³⁵
I: liw-[bâr-i:] yá bû yây ³⁸
S: est-ce que— [[sàrî: nàyⁿ⁺] wàrâ-[nô-y] = râ dê kày , là-w tô-m-n-e mâ
O: [[tôy ɜⁿ⁺ ū tô-jê-w kû] wô] mâ
S: [[û tô = h] tîyë-r³³ dê] [[sàrî: nàyⁿ⁺] wârâ ú nô-w kû]
I: tôy-lôgô: lôgô-yê
O: [tôy dúwⁿ⁺-rê dê wôy] [wôngôrô kû dîmbà-w ³⁹

³⁶ Compound of kôngôrô ‘stem(s)’ and dûdûnîj ‘root (of nonwoody plant)’, cf. wé:rî ‘tree root’.
³⁷ Also pronounced tôy-bîsû.
³⁸ Uncommon clause-final Emphatic yây.
³⁹ For bû:-ç ‘be’ (relative-clause participial form), with tone dropped before ŋgû ‘this’.
⁴⁰ ây lô ‘take go’, i.e. ‘from …’, with following ‘(all the way) until …’ phrase. Here lô is L-toned before này.
⁴¹ dàyⁿ ‘limit, boundary’, here L-toned as possessed noun. The possessor is the preceding relative clause (Inanimate head NP, Imperfective, non-subject).
⁴² Clause-final mâ: ‘before …’.
⁴³ Apocopated from tîyë-rî.
⁴⁴ For bà-rî.
S: wóngró [túwⁿ-bú] má→ [yēy bū]
O: wóngró [yēy bū], [[kū mà:] wóngró-kùnjú gĩⁿ-yē] [[wóngró kúyō: kū] mà:],
S: [wóngró-kùnjú kū yà→] [së:një: yà→], ângû = ìh mëgë núm
S: bon, ëlë bë→, kãⁿ kà: n bë→, [[kù yà] [wóngró nỳyⁿ] wàrá-w mà→] [[.isPlayingGame 7 nỳyⁿ] bà:] [wàrá-yù]
O: [wóngró nỳyⁿ] wàrá-ỹ, hà [wóngró wàrá-m=b-y dë] [dùwš-tì-y dë] [ló [ëlë wàrá-ỹ ]], [gàm wóngró tùmdì-rì-y ] [ló [ëlë wàrá-ỹ ]], [ânyåⁿ wóngró wàrá-ỹ ] [ló [ëlë kù] wàrá-jë-y dë], [ânyåⁿ-gùsù gàm yà] [wóngró wàrá-m=b-y dë] [ëlë wàrá-ỹ ]
S: [wóngró wàrá-jë-w dë] [në: ñjë kãⁿ-w ] , sòy [kù yēy cëm] wárá-jë-w dë
S: [në: së:një: së:një-jë-w dë] [yu: írë:-rë dë] [ânyåⁿ kãⁿ-w ]
S: [kâsìy kù] ânyåⁿ kôsì-w
S: [.isPlayingGame 9 bûwⁿ:] tì-yë mà→, mà [.isPlayingGame 11 bû] tì-yë
S: [kù]100 nû: yà] ânyåⁿ dënyⁿ→ bì-bë:-n:ô bô 101 mà→, mà ânyå
S: bây, [kâsì-jë-w dë] [[.isPlayingGame 3 bû] = n] yà: dúwš-w mà→, ânyåⁿ kâⁿ-w

[95] Focus construction with L-toned Static verb.
[96] Overlaid {HL} tone contour required by mëgë ‘more’. Cf. adjective nûm ‘difficult’.
[97] kâⁿ-w ‘it may happen (that ….)’
[98] bà: ‘since, back at (an earlier time)’
[99] tì here is iterated (full-stem repetition), distinct from initial-syllable reduplication.
[100] Example of prenominal Inanimate pseudo-possessor kû functioning as discourse-definite ‘that’ demonstrative.
[102] Imperfective participle, Animate Plural head NP.
O: [kəsú-je-y ɗe] [[ɜ̃ƙ kʊ] wó] = Ø, [[kəsɔy kʊ] [ɪr̝ʰa ɲ] 103 kəsú-je-w ɗe] [ŋgú-ru ðuwa júw\(^\text{5-\text{-w}}\)], [ɪr̝ʰa ɲgá 104 yà] ló kəsú-w], [ŋgá-ru ðuwa júw\(^\text{5-\text{-w}}\)], [ɪr̝ʰa ɲgá yà] ló kəsú-w], [ŋgá-ru ðuwa júw\(^\text{5-\text{-w}}\)], [kəsɔy kəsú-je-y ɗe wóy] [əŋayw yú: ðu-w 1]

I: sá ðewú-w má → ðewú-m-dó-w

S: [kənɔr\^5 sá-y ɗe] ðewí-y [ɪr̝ʰa ɡám]

I: ěnjí: gá-rú-dó-w 105

S: ěnjí: gi-gá-y Ʉa. 106

I: ěnjí: gá-yè

S: ěnjí: gi-gá-yè , ěnjí: [[kəsɔy ɲi:] wó] [ɛnji: kuyó: ír̝-m]

I: [ár̝ʰa gá-yè mà →] [yà: gá-yè]

S: yà: —, ár̝ʰa gá-yè

I: [ár̝∗a gá-yè]


I: [yú: kʊ] tère má → yú:-júrs = Ø 107

O: yú:-júrs kí-kà-ñyu →, [tère kʊ] tí-tère:ří-y , [yú:-júrs kʊ] [ěsě ɲay]\(^\text{9}\) tí-yè

I: [ěsè ɲay]\(^\text{9}\) tí-yè

O: [[ěsè ɲay]\(^\text{9}\)] yè-w ɗe] [[ěsè ɲay]\(^\text{9}\)] tí-w]

I: sólóm

O: [[kʊ mà:] yú:-júrs ɡú-\(\text{-yè}\)] [sólóm bú-w kʊ]

I: [[pɛtɛ → bú-w kʊ mà:] əŋayw gú-\(\text{-yè}\)

O: [kʊ mà:] yú:-tère:řú ɡú-\(\text{-yè}\), [gər\^u ɲay\(^\text{9}\)] tí-yè kʊ

I: [jáw\^a: ɲay]\(^\text{9}\)] —

O: [gər\^u ɲay]\(^\text{9}\)] ɡənɔrɔ lɔ! lɔ! lɔ! lɔ! lɔ!, tí lám-dú-w, 108 [[mànì: wò] gáwà:-řè dè] [íyà yèy-nè tí lám-dú-w], [gáwà:-řè dè] [tíy-nè tí lám-dú-w]

S: [úrɔ [yú: kʊ] dú jɛ:-ři-yè dè] [əŋayw ká:n-rá-w ]


S: [[ðew kʊ] wó] [yú:-bùbùrù kʊ yà'] [yú:-ná: kʊ yà'] [[ɜ̃ƙ tůw\(^\text{5-\text{-s}}\): gá-\(\text{-yè}\) mà →] má déy\(^\text{3-\text{-déy}}\]

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103 = [ɪr̝ʰa ɲgú ‘this field’.

104 Inanimate Far-Distant demonstrative.

105 Verb gá- ‘harvest (by slashing stems with a sickle)’.

106 Good example of (truth-conditional) Emphatic yà: in response to a polar interrogative.

107 The ‘it is’ clitic (audible as a final low tone) is present with the final yú:-júrs but not (audibly) on the preceding disjunct tère.

108 lám-dú- ‘take past’, archaic causative of intransitive láwá’ go past, pass by’.

109 Verbal noun of verb chain (dú- ‘carry on head’ plus jɛ:- ‘bring’). L-toned as possessed noun.

(Absolute form is dú-jɛ-y.)

110 Relative clause based on ‘have’ quasi-verb só-. Cf. negation ír̝-só-ló ‘it isn’t very ripe’.
S: bon, [kɔsɔy kɔsí=ní] [yú: dù-jé-w dè] [bìrè là-w sò-ló-w ] mà là-w
O: [kɔsɔy kɔsí=ní] [yú: dù-jé-y dè], [bìrè là-w] yá sò-y yá:
I: kɔsù-ù reconcile
bèrè-m,
ha: [nè: kày] i:— kɔŋɔ́ɔ [kú nàñà] sà-jé-w dè wòy, dòrò tèrè tèrè tèrè tèrè sèwⁿù-wⁿ, hàl ló nùwⁿɔ̀-m, [kɔsù: kú] nàrⁿ-a-m,
ha: [nè: kɔyⁿ] iyá pìnìwⁿù [kú=m bìrè-ɔ̀ ], kɔsù-ù reconcile, hà: [nù kɔsù-ù reconcile sò-ló-m] = Ø [ẹ́rẹ̀ yá→], sàdìnì gáⁿ-m, hà: ñgú=m [i: bìrè] = Ø
S: bon, éléy wàrá-w gùⁿ-w:., [[éléy kú] wàrá-tú-w dè] [yá: ñàjáy” dúwò-w mà] [úrò jé-m-dò-w]
O: éléy wàmbí-y 113 yá:, éléy wàmbí-y , [éléy wàmbí-y ò] úrò dù-dù jé-y , éléy—
S [overlapping]: yá: wàmbí-yè mà→, árá wàmbí-yè
O: árá-m—, [yá-m [á kɔː] = Ø wàrá dè] wàmbú-m, árá-m [á kɔː] = Ø wàrá dè] wí-wàmbú-n¹, yá-m [ẹ́rẹ̀ ñgàr] [ẹ́rẹ̀ mà:] wàmbí-tí: dè] [jínjẹ́ ẹ́rẹ̀ à-w], 114 [kú kálà] èsù bù:Ø, [nù wàmbú-m] sò-ló-w dè] [yá-m [á kɔː] ló-w dè] [ú=m wàmbú-n]
S: wàmbú-jé-w dè, kú-dá: pàlú-w mà→, úrò pàlú-w

111 L-toned irⁿa from irⁿa ‘field’, here as relative-clause head, not as possessed noun.
112 Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) related to ülá ‘a little’, but with ungeminated l.
113 wàmbí- ‘uproot by hand’ (i.e. by pulling up, esp. to harvest peanuts), contrast să- ‘uproot with daba’ (millet, etc.).
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.
Text 2005-1a.11 Granaries

X: ðèw [ɲɛ́ gin] cèwⁿè:-rã-w, [ànâjyⁿ ñâyⁿ] kù cèwⁿè:-w
Y: ðèw, [iː mâ:nː]: [yù:-gãyⁿ = ə, 115 gun] cèwⁿè:-y, kù tûmdî:-y dé wòy, bôlô:, ərⁿô sèmbî-tî:-y dé, kûlûrû, kûyò: cèwⁿè:-y, kù dêmî:-jé:-y dé, dêm→ kù mâyⁿ:-rê dé, têmbèrû ñ: mā:-m dé, têmbèrû ñ: mā:-m dé, [kûlûrû ñ: kûlûró:-w kû] mâyⁿá:-m, [têmbèrû bàrâ-jé:-y dé] [kù dûsû] wô déy dûwô:-y, 
[bo:-ûrô mâ:] sóy cîyé:-y, iyé [iː ðèw]→, [usû ñgù] [usû númûyⁿ] dô:-rê dê] [iː ðèw] cèwⁿ:-iː, i bârâ, [nû kâː] màː cîyé-tî-yà dé wòy, [kù ñû kû] dô:-rê dé wòy, àsûwⁿè:-yî-m wë→ àsûwⁿè:-yî-m, tâː lô:-m, nîː kômô kômô jô:-m, [nîː jë:-tî-yà dé] [lèw kû] tî:-yê, 
[ârⁿa pèː], cèwⁿ:-iː-jùwû 116 kûː úrî:-yê, lôsîː kû, ëw-rê:-yê, âsûwⁿè:-yi jùwû-m, [bûː pîrê] nû:-m, pângâ s-eːn, 117 lèw tî:-yê→, têmbèrû pîtô:-yê, têmbèrû nî:-yê, têmbèrû bûː nî:-m dé, pîrêː ëw-rê:-j-àː dé, kû jù:-râ:-w [kû ñâyⁿ]→, 
[dôgûrû kàː] kù sûyâj-àː dé wòy, ñêⁿy gô:-rê, ñêⁿy sì:-yê ñê:-yê, 118 dém→ gâw kàː:-rê dé, ñà yûrî:-yê, [néː kâŋ], bûː cèwⁿ-ë:-m dé, bûː cèwⁿ-ë:-m dé, [hâl lô:-lô [nû:-m kûː] lːrː] = ə, dëbôgô:-m [[[érñè mbâː] ərⁿô wô] dô:-m, [têmbèrû mbûː kû] [ərⁿô wô] dô:-rê dé wòy, sirâm-nâː yâː dêmî:-yê, 
[pîrⁿa yàː gô:-uː, dëw cèwⁿ:-iː yâː dûwⁿ-ë:-yì, [sî-yê-mà dë] [nû kàː] [âː pîrⁿa] nô:-yê, ñùfûrî sàyâ:-yê, tûlû wô, dêm→ [uwô bâː] kû dô:-rê dé wòy, [mânîː kû] yä dêmî:-j-àː dé wòy, [yùː, 120 ú gâ:-m] yâ bû dé wòy, yâː gâⁿ-əwⁿ, ñgù=m [dëw cèwⁿ:-iː] = ə, ânâjyⁿ = m = dâː U
U: ânâjyⁿ=m
S: dëw [ɲɛ́ gin] cèwⁿè:-rã-w,.., [kôː ɲɛ́ gin] cèwⁿè:-rã-w,..
I: yùː-ğãyⁿ = ə, [iː yùː] [iː bêrê:-w] yâː gâⁿ-ə:-yì,.., ñùjîː yâː gâⁿ-ə:-yì,.., hâl kôsûː yâː gâⁿ-ə:-yì..
U: yùː [dëw wô] = m = dâ dé] [bôlôː ârⁿa-gûsû bêrê-j-ëː dë] jàwô-ə:-m...
I: sì:-sûlû:-m
U: .. sì:-sûlû:-m ñàwⁿ-à:-m
I: [kû nîː] wô déw [mânîː wô] cèwⁿè:-rã:-yː..
S: [kû dêmî:-iː kû yàː nûː ɲàr⁻iː yê màː→, mà ânâjyⁿ kàː:-yê
I: âsûwⁿè:-yêː ɲàr⁻iː:-yê, yê [ú bàːr = ñàyⁿ] dêmî:-yê
S: [ûró dêmî:-] ñgû= gâyⁿ→

115 Tones emended at assistant’s suggestion. On the tape, yûː has its lexical tones.
116 Plural subject relative clause, with verbal noun cèwⁿ:-iː: ‘constructing’ as compound initial.
117 s-eːn, relative-clause participial form (for plural head NP) of sóː ‘have’.
118 Note the ordering [food go.down eat-3PI]. ‘go down’ and ‘eat’ are chained together, and preceded by what is logically the complement of ‘eat’.
119 = wô ‘in’ (after nasal).
120 Tone emended, tape has yûː ‘millet’, then a brief hesitation.
U: [démdé wé→ démdé] [bɔː:-úrò mɔː:lì = nàyⁿ] dèmbí-yè
I: dèmbí-yè
S: [[bɔː:-úrò mɔː:lù = nàyⁿ] bù: dèmbí:-rà-w] [kù kó:̀rà] ñjèː = Ø
U: [ìyè kɔː⁷¹ dèmbù-́w dè] [[éyⁿ yà] [ú kɔː⁷¹] dèmbì-́y], ánjàyⁿ tèmbì-́y  yéngù

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

S: núwⁿⁱⁿ, ḃàɲá⁰ wárá-yè
S: [kú tóy kú bè→] [wàsà bè→] tòwⁿｶ: = Ø mà
S: núwⁿⁱⁿ, [íŕ̟ = ñ màyⁿᵃ-rë dé] [ànjá⁰ káⁿ-yè [kú mà:]]
O: ci-céwé-yè, tòwⁿⁿ tòwⁿⁿ tòwⁿⁿ tòwⁿⁿ cèwé-céwé [gɔ̩rⁿᵘ wó] [bà:-l]-[bà:-l] úrò jé-yè
I: [êrú ñayⁿ] pàlí nè-yè
O: [kú màyⁿᵃ:-rë mà:] [pàl = nàyⁿ nè-y˘⁰ n], [kú màyⁿᵃ:-rë mà:]
S: [úrù jë:-tú-w dé] [ànjá⁰ káⁿ-rà-w ]
S: [dèw wó] gãⁿ-yè mà→, mà→ [ènîj̀: kòⁿ ñjú gãyⁿ→] [[sùmɔ̀y wó] gàⁿ = nàyⁿ] biyⁿ-i-yè, tòń̟gɔ̀m wò
S: tòń̟gɔ̀m kú, [dèw wó] káⁿ-yè mà→, [[gɔ̀rⁿ dàrɔ̀y] wó]-m

12² Variant of sà:gù.
12³ = wò “in”.
12⁴ [kú kà], variant pronunciation of [kú kày] ‘(as for) that’.
12⁵ {HL} contour on possessed noun after [noun + bè].
Text 2005-1a.13  Big families

S: [kù=m=dà dé kày] [yi-té: béré-w jórš-w —], [kù=m=dà dé kày], [kòn lá-w] ḡgó má
O: [kòn lá-w] yá bò yà:, hà: [yì-té: yèy tā:n] béré=r, tűwⁿ-m ló gúr:a:ná jàŋgê-mⁿ', tűwⁿ-m ló lěk̄l jàŋgê-mⁿ', tűwⁿ-m [wóngóró wárá] ù bárum-th', hà: [jàŋgê-jàŋgú-m kù] [érⁿé [érⁿé bírè cèlè:-rè], [ŋgà-dá: jàŋgú-m kù rà:] [érⁿé bírè cèlè:-rè, [wóngóró wárá ù bárum-m kù yà] [érⁿé kálà] [érⁿé bírè cèlè:-rè]
[yì-m wǐ:-wòy só-ló-w dé] [ậrⁿ-a-gúṣú pé-númúyⁿ] béré-jé-w dé] [wóngóró wárá] béré-m-dó-wⁿ], [nù ú wárá-bárum-m] ḡgó, [wóngóró wárá-rú-w dé kálá] [nēⁿ nē-m-dó-w], à: [né: kày] [ú kày] né: lá-w [àmá-sô:jô náyⁿ] wásá:-rè-w
S: [yì-té: báyⁿ→ bér:i: kú wà:jibì=Œ mā
I: kú=m [yà: yèy jé-y ] [kà:-rú w kú=m
O: [[dògúrú tűwⁿ-m]¹²⁶ [bírè mānà:] bírè-m-dó-w] [ìú yîté: bù:] ló bírè-yè [úrò bi-yè-w tán], ¹²⁷ [kₙⁿ-kà:n wòy] [ú yîté: bù:] ló bírè-bírè bù: jë-w dé nèⁿ-wⁿ, [yì-té: nārⁿ=a=n] [bàrkíncé:-r: dé wòy], [nù: rë-w], [ú nārⁿ-a-rⁿ:m] kù ¹²⁸ [àbàdà sù:rⁿú-m-dó-w] [ậrⁿ-a-gúṣú tè:mdèrè kálá] ú=m ló [ú bírè] bírè-m
I: [[ŋgú nì:] wò] [yì-té: jò→ mⁿá:yí-só-y

¹²⁶ -m suffix is present even with inanimate nouns in the sense ‘a certain’ (as opposed to ‘one’). Note that the preceding noun has lexical tones.
¹²⁷ tán ‘only’, from Fulfulde.
¹²⁸ Subject relative clause with Perfective Negative verb.
Text 2005-1a.14  Betrothal and marriage

S: [ú: mà: dá:] [yà-m]-[jê-ý] ãnãyⁿ bù
O: [î: mà: dá:] yà-[jê-ý] [yà-bírú yà bù-→, [îú gò=náyⁿ] yà:-yître-[[ú jóró-ý] [érê jóró-ý] ú jé-nh] yà bù, 139
S: [yà-bírú kû] ãnãyⁿ—, ãnãyⁿ kâⁿ-yë
    [[nàrâ-m yà-→] [bô:-m yà-→]] kâlâ] [érê màn:] nî-tî-yà, hà: ãrsilà-më-mà dé, sê:dé gô-yë
I: ûsû gâⁿ-yë, ûsû gâⁿ-yë
    [bû:dû dâmà mà:nû]=Ø wà] [ñgù kû=m] bê, 137 hà: [nû nú-m bû-wô-wôy], 138 [érê

129 yà bù ‘(it) exists, there is’ here takes a factive complement in the form of an ordinary main clause:
   “there is (a system/pattern/custom by which) …”
130 b̀à for quotative particle wà after nasal.
131 Demonstrative kû (Near-Distant, Inanimate).
132 Suppletive negative form of jóró- ‘want, like, love’.
133 Emended: tape has jóró- wë.
134 bê- ‘remain, stay’ in the sense ‘it happens that …’.
135 dé here is not the ‘if’ particle, rather an Emphatic particle with an admonitive flavor, here translated
   “…, mind you!” This Emphatic particle occurs (as de or dey) in all local languages and is
   sometimes used in local French.
136 Object relative.
137 bà for wà (quotative particle) after nasal.
138 = wô-wô-wôy for the more common wô-wôy, already extended variant of of wôy ‘all’. Initial w
   hardened to b after a nasal.


"It’s he alone". The ‘it is’ clitic -ni is added to the pronoun, with sāy ‘only’ following.

Here sāy ‘only’ is treated as part of the pronominal NP, and is followed by the Dative postposition mà:

Definite kū at the end of a factive complement (in main-clause form) of ‘know’.

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.

kūy: here is an adverb ‘at first, initially’. The preceding noun drops its tones as head of an object relative clause.

In this relative clause, the final wō ‘all’ has logical scope over the head noun: “all the blessings that they (themselves) want.”
O: [kú wó] dúwⁿó-rè
I: [ŋú wó] dúwⁿó=rá→, mà [áñàyⁿ = m=dá] S
O: kú = m yà-tàl-i = ∅
S: [cènnè lá-w] ńgó má
[dúwåw káⁿ-y-j-á: dè] [ínjírí sàyá-yè]
S: [kú láwá-rè dè] [lå-w [cènnè lā-w] ńgó]
I: lā-w ńgó
O: [lå-w ńgó] [yà-tàl-i: wò] [kú láwá:-rè dè] [cènnè lā-w] ńgó]
I: dûmdò: kú = m
Text 2005-1a.15  Livestock

O: jir'ey^n dɔ:-rɛ dɛ, jir'ey^n dɔ:-rɛ [tɔ:]. [nɔ:] ãn-dɛ: [dʒə-r̥yɛ:-t̥.] [nɔ:] ãn-dɛ: [dʒə-r̥yɛ:-m], [jə ãr̥s:-m] tɛŋɛ:-m, [jə ãr̥s:-m] bɛr-bɛrɛ:\* 145 g̃ː-m, [rír̥ɔ wɔ:] nɔ:-w"u-m-dɔ:, lɔ jɲ-ne:-w"u-m, [hɔl ñjʊ-w ðɛ]\* 146 [lɔ mà dɛ] wɔŋgrɔ̀ wàrã-yɛ, [nù: - års:-m yä -= ] [ír̥a:yä -= ] dá:-y�-m-dɔ:, [kù ñu:-n̥áy'\*] nɛ:-w"u-yɛ
S: [ãr̥s:-kù n] ðwɔ, jir'ey^n wò, [ãr̥s:-bû:] úrɔ bũ: dũwɔ-yɛ mã -=, ñr⁶: bũ: jõ-lɔ-yɛ
O: [ãr̥s:-úrɔ bɛ̀]: 147 yá b=:-b'\* b, ñr⁶:-lɔ:- ñr⁶:-b, [nɛ:-w"u-w" dɛ] [úrɔ jë'-w], úrɔ jë'-w dɛ, [úrɔ jë': jàjé-wúw-dɛ] yá: ná-yɛ, [[ñr⁶:-dã:] kàlã bi-bɛ̀:] yá b=:-b\* S: [ñr⁶:-bũ: jõ-lɔ:-rã-w kû] [h̃e g̃í\* nĩ]
O: [ñr⁶:-bũ: jõ-lɔ:-rã-w kû] [kù:-lã-w gũnû] = m = dá, [ñr⁶:-bũ:-w dɛ wɔy] [[ãr̥s:-m mà:] ñr⁶:-irim] [ú kàlã bərïgĩ bì-bérɛ-w], [ãr̥s:-kù] sùwõ-bũ: sùwõ-fĩ: dɛ wɔy, bərïgĩ tãngú-m, åỹwà yû:, kàlã, [kù ñr⁶:kù] wàrà-tú-w dɛ, kû = m mgẽ yû: ìrm, [bərïgĩ ñjò dɛ] [yû: ìrm bérɛ-m-dɔ:], [ú wɔŋgrɔ̀] [d̃y⁵ mù kàm-dú-w wɔy] [[[bərïgĩ ñgʊ]: g̃̃ obligatory]] yû: bérɛ-m-dɔ-w ðɛ] [[ãr̥s:-mà:] kàlã] [ñr⁶:-mgẽ [kù nàfà] 149 [bũ: m:] bû, [kù gũn] ñr⁶:-jù: ló:-r-a-w-bô
S: [yàrû 150 gö:-rɛ dɛ] úrɔ yé-yɛ mã -=, [ñr⁶:-dã:] bɛ̀-yɛ
O: [[ãr̥s:-kù mà:] mà S: [jir'ey^n ká:] ñgû:jù gãý-= sóy] nɛ:-w"u-m tǐnẽm bɛ̀-yɛ mã -=, mà: ãnjã'yù ká-w-yê

\* Compare agentic noun bər-bərɛ-m 'herder' (Pl bər-bərɛ). The compound initial in these forms is bɛrù 'goats'.
\* åỹ- 'pick up, take' combines with following lõ- 'go' in the sense 'from (time X) to (time Y).'</n_js>  Jamsay yàn'ã 'pick up, take' occurs in similar phrases.
\* bɛ̀: Imperfective participle of bɛ̀- 'remain', with zero suffix for Animate Plural head NP. A reduplicated variant bĩ: occurs later in this speech turn.
\* Note L-tone (compound-initial) form of ñr⁶: 'to the' bush' in this (plural subject) relative clause. A Variant of [kù nàfà:] 'its value', cf. nàfà: 'benefit, value, usefulness'.
\* yàrû: 'edge of rainy season'. With dɔ́ 'arrive' it denotes the period just before the rainy season, with gö 'go out' it denotes the period just after. The corresponding nouns are yàrû-dɔ́: and yàrû-gö:.
\* Subject relative (plural) with L-toned locational adverb, elsewhere ñr⁶: dà: 'in the bush over there'.
\* First of three parallel short phrases beginning with yá: 'there (definite)'. Apparently a stylistic device, suggesting multiple locations.
\* tǐnẽm after Imperfective -m indicating prolongation.
\* Ñative PP postposed to verb.
S: [[jirⁿëyⁿ yâ→] [usù-bôrⁿ yâ→]] [åršë: jësù kú] tûwⁿ5ː mâː→ déyⁿ-déyⁿ= Ki
O: [[jirⁿëyⁿ yâ→] [usù-bôrⁿ yâ→]] [åršë: jësù tûwⁿ5ː kàyⁿ] bërë-m, [[jirⁿëyⁿ wô] [sâwâː brû] nëːyë] [usù-bôrⁿ bërû ḣgò] [sâwâː mäː] nëːyë], [[[sâwâː-mâː]-në-m yâ→] [sâwâː-brû]-në-m yâ→] tûwⁿ5ː kàyⁿ bërë-m-dô, usù-bôrⁿ mëgë bûː o sûː, [[jirⁿëyⁿ wô] rî mëgë [bûː jësû]= êsî]156
S: [usù-bôrⁿ lår-tːîː] [kú=m mëgë bûː= në awⁿᵃ-wⁿú-m] mâː→, mâː→ [bûː dimbi-yî= nàyⁿ] lô= nàyⁿ, nêː-wⁿ-iː]: [kú=m mëgë bûː= nî awⁿᵃ-wⁿú-m]
O: [[nû [dimbi-yî]-lôː] yà bːⁿ-bô] [dimbi-yî]-lôː,-wⁿ-iː] [kû=m mëgë—, dimbi-yî]-[lôː] [kû=m mëgë bûː= nû náfê-m], gàː [dimbi-yî]-[lôː]-yë bërë-m-n-,
[år-tː [û mː] awûⁿ-m-n-ː] [dimbi-yî-lôː]-yë mëgë-n-dô, [[yî mûː] nêː-wⁿú-m-dô]: [yî mûːː nêː-wⁿú-m-dô], hàː: [[[û yî]-m mː] nêː-wⁿ-iː]
gûⁿ-w kâːlâ] awû-m-dô, hàː: [kû=gû-nàyⁿ] [nîː kày] [nû kàː] lâːl-lâː tîː-rå-yːː, [[årynyː daː kâːlâ déyⁿ→ lô= nàyⁿ] [nûː mː] nàwâ=m kàː,159 bûː sûːs-m] ḣgò, [jirⁿëyⁿ kàː] gâː→, [yûː kóšuː-jː-àː] [birè dúwⁿ5ː-rë]
I: [àː sây] lô-yë dé yà, nàː-m yâyá sî-yë 160 đë mâː→, [ànjâyⁿ kàː=nâyⁿ] yî-w
O: [àː sây] lô-yë dé, nàː-m yâyá sî-yë dë, [[jînjë nú-m kû-dâ: yî-jëː dë] [yê [û mː] têgë-m], [jînjë nú-m] yî-r⁻¹ dë→, nàː-m yâyá=n, yâyá=n 162 [[nû kàː]-m] érᵗʸ yî-r dë
[tîwë-m sàːtːe-m] [[nàwâː kâːlâ] bërë kûwô-m-dô-w] múrsôː-rë-w
I: bây nú-m dimbi-yî lô-w dé yà nëː, [û yî-m]
O: [[û yî-m] dimbi-yî lô-w dë] [nàː-m yâyá sî-yë dë] [yê [û mː] têgë-m] [âmá:nú=nù-m yâyá sî-yë kôy], [lô [nûː mː] têgë-w] [lô ây ânjîrî-wú-yë]
I: kû=m [kû nêwⁿ-eː] kû=m
O: kû=m [kû nêwⁿ-eː] kû=m

155 Verb-chain lår tî ‘send away’. Cf. compound verbal noun lår-[tːîː] later in this text.
156 From èšù ‘good’, with {HL} contour in comparatives.
157 Emended: tape has -nê-ymology ‘eating’.
158 For /lârû-lârû/, reduplication of lârû ‘chase away, drive out’. Phonetically the final r assimilates
fully to the following t.
159 I take nàwⁿ ‘damage’ to be a kind of adverbial here, not the possessor of kôː ‘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 kôː and nàwⁿ reversed.
160 Here, equivalent to Perfective siyéːː-ː ‘it has gone down’.
161 /yî-rː ‘did not see’, with (optional) apocope to yî-r. Here phonetically [yîd] as the /r/ assimilates to
the following /d/.
162 Variant of yâyá = n, with same-subject subordinator.
163 Relative clause with nû kàː ‘everyone, anyone’ as subject and head NP. Note that agreement is
plural.
O: [[kú nǐ:] wò] nā: háybē:-rà-̀w-bò
I: kú = m [kú néwê:] wà
Text 2005-1a.16  Fulbe as herders

S: dɔː, [áː nàː] bèː = m ñɛ́-wⁿú-grow màː →, màː [pùlòː mːː] ní-yè, [pùlòː mːː] ní-yè dè kàlà, [bùː nː-rā-w kùː] [ñjɛ̀ gí-nàyⁿ = ी]
O: hàː, [nùwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] dɔːː, [nùː jóː→] [áː nàː] [pùlòː mːː] ní-m-n-ɛ, [kùyɔː dːː nː-m jùwɔ-ñ-m-n-ɛ¹⁶⁴] [nː-m mǎŋgí-tí-yà] dː [pùlɔː-m yɛ⁻w dɛː] [áː màː] ní-yⁿ wá gùⁿ-grow, [ɛ́rⁿɛ́] màː ní-yè = bː-āː,
  [nː-dùr³ àwù-w dɛː] [á ʊrɔ] dɛyí-m, [[[á bɔː] jɪː-tɛː] màː] [[[á nː] mːː] tiwɛː:rɛ̀ gùyⁿ-bɔː] wà, [nàyⁿ→ bʊː káⁿ-m] [bʊː káⁿ-m] [hːl [yɛː = nː dːː kʊ jùwɔː-bɔː, hàː [kʊ jùwɔː = nː] [nùwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [nː jóː→], [áː nː] lː-w [pùlɔː mːː] ní-m-n-ɛ], [[áː yɛ⁻tɛː] nɛː-wⁿʊyɔ yǐː [nː nːː] [iː = m sːʊ-w],
[[pùlɔː-ː-mːː]-nː]¹⁶⁷ ɣąː nː [nː jɪː = rǎ-bɔː], [pùlɔː iː = nː nάmbará lɔs bʊː láwɔ = nː]¹⁶⁹ ɪŋàyⁿ, [[[bʊː mːː] nːː = , nː-m-dɔː] [ɪŋàyⁿ tʊmɪdī]
S: [ụsù-dɛrº⁻i wɔ] nː-m [nː áː-ngá] éwⁿɛ́-w
O: nː-m, [ụsù-dɛrº⁻i wɔ] nː yɛː] éwⁿɛ́-yɛ, [ụmː yɔː→] [nárⁿʊ yà wː]
S: [kɔsʊː nàyⁿ] éwⁿɛ́-w màː →, màː → [kɔːn ninjɛ́ njɛ]¹⁷⁰ nàyⁿ] éwⁿɛ́-w
O: [nː:-ː]-bɛrɛ-m¹⁷² jyá bù, [nː:-ý]-bɛrɛ-m yá bù] [jyːrⁿɔ́yⁿ wɔ] = m nɛ̀ kày], [nː-nɔː kʊ] [yː-, dːːm bɛrɛ-w = rǎ-bɔː] [nː-m dǐmbɔ-w = rά] [nː:-ý-m kʊ yǐ:m dǐmbɔ-w = rά dɛ wɔy, [kʊ kày] [ɛ́rⁿɔː-dːː] dɑː:-ː-yː-jː dɛː árə-jy-ɛ,¹⁷³ hɛⁿ¹⁷⁴ bɛrɛ-mːdɔː-w

¹⁶⁴ mǎŋgí- ‘take a handful of (food)’, here ‘accumulate, buy another (cow)’.
¹⁶⁵ wɛy ‘a fortiori’
¹⁶⁶ The tone of /náː/ ‘cow’ is determined here by the preceding possessor, hence [á nː] ‘his (own) cow’, rather than by the following demonstrative. Compare unpossessed nː: mǔ ‘this cow’ with L-tone required by the demonstrative.
¹⁶⁷ Plural subject relative with L-toned PP as compound initial, cf. [pùlɔː mːː] ‘to/for the Fulbe’ in main clauses.
¹⁶⁸ Plural subject relative consisting of verb only.
¹⁶⁹ ɪŋàyⁿ ‘overflow’ and láwɔ- ‘pass’ are used here in a verb chain in the sense ‘(do) excessively, (do) to an outrageous extent’. The verb nάmbaría ‘trick, dupe’ contributes the main semantic substance.
¹⁷⁰ ʃjɛ̀ ‘what?’ here as adjective ‘which?’ with preceding L-toned nouns, cf. kɔːn ‘thing’ and ninjɛ́ ‘gear’. The combination kɔːn ʃjɛ̀ ‘which thing?’ is common in the sense ‘what?’. Here a more precise noun ‘gear’ is added.
S: núwⁿyⁿ ná:-m, [ĩr]-[dùw-ipay:] dʒː:-rɛ] [ĩr]-dùw-ipay: àw-ʁf], [ɛrⁿé má:] àŋayⁿ káⁿ-ʁ
S: [[kːⁿ ŋjː=Ç] [ɛrⁿé ář-ì:] gá:lú-m] [kú gáyⁿ-tí-yà dè] [ɛrⁿé ář-ì:] [àŋayⁿ nャyⁿ] gá:lú-m
I: hâl máyⁿá-m
O: hâl máyⁿá-m

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172 Compound with initial based on ná: ná:-m ‘adult cow’ (Pl ná: ná:). The second stem is ná:-, here ‘adult’ (not juvenile).

173 Verbal suffix -jɛ́ in sense ‘finish, do completely’, with imperfective ending.

174 hɛⁿ here is O’s idiosyncratic expression for ‘(not) a thing’. The widely used form is kà:"kà:" ‘anything’.

30
Text 2005-1a.17  Cattle

S: [[nà:-m náfà:] [kò:ⁿ hịjé: = ∅]] [[àrsè:-m náfà: nànjà:-m] [kò:ⁿ hịjé: = ∅]]
I: bérú-m, [é³ ê ³: [bú: gól-i:]175 jó = rú, úró bê-yê, [[hịjé nî:] wò = m [úró, súwò é³ súwò kù], bárà = náyⁿ [³: jó-lo-yê], kúyò: kú bú: kàⁿ-m = báy, [kú kù], [bërè jó→] kàⁿ-rê, iyé [[kú nî:] wò], [nú: jó→] [á: bérú], ³: bî-rê-yê,
[úró yá b-e:-nî] [³: bê-yê], gà: [³: bê-m kù] [é³ = m mègé súr³:sú so-ô], bérú-m kù, bérú si-sír³:-i-m, [é³:yê [é³ kàⁿ = ∅]], [lúw 177 dú-m-dó], [³: kàⁿ wó] já: bù], súwò súwò-m, [[ŋú nèw³:]] ní: wò-m
S: [[àrsè:-m náfà:] nànjà:-m] hịjé: = ∅; náfà: hịjé: = ∅, àrsè:-m …
I [overlapping]: náfà:—
S: … nànjà:-m kú178
S: [[yi-m]-ín³:-gày⁴ bê]181 ⁴: ápày⁴ kàⁿ-ôw
I: in³:-gày⁴, in³:-gày⁴ yé:-rê dê, bérú-m, [[úsú súy³:-ôyⁿ] dí:-rê dê] [bérú-m wó-ô dê], ⁴: súy³:-ôyⁿ [yi-m in³:-gày⁴ ] gà:yⁿ, pèrê:m mà→ bérú-m, [kú yê] píre] [ú mà:] kò:ⁿ nà:r³:-ôw⁴ = ⁴: wóy, in³:-gày⁴ ⁴: gú = m kàⁿ-ôw⁴
S: [[àrsè: gúsù] náfà: bê yà] hịjé: = ∅
S: [kú = m = dá dê] [là-ô ⁴:gó]

175 Verbal noun with logical subject as possessor. The preceding object pronoun and adverbial have their normal tones.
176 Here bírè ‘work’ drops tones before jó→, so here the latter functions as an adjective (often it is an adverb and does not induce tone-dropping).
177 Variant of lúw ‘manure’.
178 S’s broken phrase can be repaired as àrsè: nànjà:-m, with nànjà:-m functioning as modifying adjective.
179 The possessor (2Sg ú) forces {HL} tone contour on the noun-adjective combination as a whole. Cf. lò:sú ³:sú-m ‘a good (=important) visitor’.
180 ‘give’.
181 Lit. “name-puttings of a child.” Here ‘child’ is singular in form but it is generic.
182 ìyá-u-ô dê ‘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 hálí ‘until, all the way to’.

31
Both instances of éwⁿ'êyⁿ ‘milk [noun]’ in this intonation group are superfluous. The normal phrasing is ná-m éwⁿ'ê = náⁿ ‘having milked the cow’.

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

sè-né ‘they don’t have’. Negation of s-ë:ⁿ ‘they have’.

Slightly broken articulation of [ú yí-m] wôngórò-wàr-i: ‘[your child’s] doing farm work’, with the logical subject as possessor of a verbal noun with incorporated object.

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

183

184

/ódí/ ‘look’.

185
Collective and individual hunting

I: tārā:—
S: dānnā, ānāy“ ka“-yè

I: dānnā, i; kō.“ illa i: tēmbū-wój, dānnà-m‘, [[á kū:] mà:], [[á Níng] élé-ré jèy] 189 nü:] wō, dānnā tûnìdù-m, ēr“tē tá-rē dé, ēr“tē dānù-rē mí dé, nāw“ā: ēr“tē tá-rē dé,

[[ūsū tūw“s-m] bó:-úró mō:lú-w dé, tārā: gā“-m bā, 190 [[ūw“ sūy“-y“] mà→ [[ūw“ gā:rāy]] nāy“], tārā: gā“-má dé, [ūsū gō:-rē] [né: br“- nāw“ā: [kū nāy“] yōyš bērē-rē-m-n-ē], bó:-úró màrpa: = rā→ 191 [bērē-ätōw] = rā→ sà:mbara: = rā, [nū kā:-“m] [[kō“ á sō-w“] 192 [nāy“] lō-rē,

pōt“-m sūyš-yē“1, tá-yē gō-yē“1, lō-rē mō:lú kórō-yē, [ūsū 복지 wō, [yō kī-kisíyí-m] kisíyé bērē-m-dō, kóro bērē-jē: dé wōy, [nū kā:-m wōy] [ēr“tē bērē-rē-m] [[ēr“tē yē-m] = Ø] 193,

[màrpā: nāy“] tá bērē-w [[ū yē-m] = Ø], [bērē nāy“] pōt“ bērē-w [[ū yē-m] = Ø], [sà:mbara: nāy“] gō-w [[ū yē-m] = Ø], [nā: nāy“] wō-w [[ū yē-m] = Ø], kū kōy“n, bó:-úró mō:lí-y“ , yē:-rā: dé, lā:rā:; tū: kérīyé-yē,


189 Purposive ‘for, in order that’.
190 Hortative (‘let’s . . . ‘)-m followed by quotative wá (here bá after a nasal). Cf. French que ce soit X, ou Y, ou Z.
191 Object relative (‘what he has’), here as complement of a postposition.
192 ‘it is his animal’, i.e., ‘it (=animal) belongs to him’. Same syntax as e.g. ēr“tē kā“ = Ø ‘it (=thing) is his’. In such possessive predicates, the classification of the possessed entity as animal (yē-m), thing (kō“), including plants, and person (mū-m) is respected.
193 ‘owners of meat’, in plural (i.e. unsuffixed form), but here with nonspecific (hence ambiguously singular or plural) sense, and with singular concord.
194 Based on hēbā bē ‘the others’ (without clitic). hēbā or ámbā is used to denote a counterparty or opposite number, presupposing a pairing of two individuals or groups.
195 nū kā: ‘each person’, here in clear distributive sense, with singular concord.
I: mà bè yà [nù dīyⁿ-a-m] mà:] ló ní-yè, [[kú tárà: yè-y-nè] kú] ló:-r:-à: dè, [nù kâⁿ-a-m] [kâⁿ] èré bērè:-w [èré kâⁿ] = [mâ] [nù dīyⁿ-a-m mà:] ní-yè] ñgó, [nù kâⁿ-a-m] [à bērè:-jé-w làw] nê-m, kú = m [tàrà: yè-y-nè] = [mâ], dànnà kày
S: [ărⁿ-a-gùsú wó] [ná yèy] kâⁿ:-yè mà→ [nà tûwⁿ-s:] kâⁿ:-yè
I: [ná yèy] kâⁿ:-yè
O: [ìyé jú:]199 ñgú-dá: [ló yè:-r:-à: dè wóy], píñiwí [jú: yè-y-nè], [jú: tûwⁿ-s:] dûwɔs-mà dè
I: [ùsú [péré nùmúyⁿ sã:] lâwá-rí
tàrà:— 5ⁿ, nàwɔ: [nàrú wò] lû-bàngi-yì-tà-m [à kâⁿ-sú] ló bàngi-yí tá-n¹, [nù wó-m] ló wó-m, [kú dê:-rê mà:] [êː = m gâyⁿ] → ló wó-yè non?, [nù kâⁿ-sú] wó-yè, ñàyⁿ→ kâⁿ-yè tàrà;
ló— [[ñrⁿ-ú:n î ìrⁿé yî-m-dó-w] wò] ló dê:-rê-w dè wóy, [[[ñrⁿ-ú:] kày] 3ⁿh² f dê:-rê dè] [èrⁿé ñwⁿé-m kù] wò] [yà: bè-w dè] tâ-w, 5ⁿ³ [nûwⁿbý yú] kày], ú tîn = ní, ú yí-rí, [ú kûy̞: èrⁿé yî dè] [Ì-pù-ì-dàw²⁰⁴ tâ-w],
ñwⁿé-jé: dè, ñày̞a— [ú kâⁿ-sú]205 [gûgyɔ ló-w dê] [pò: gô-ló-w dê] sêwⁿé-w¹, [[ú èsè] wò] ìy gâⁿ-w, nùwⁿ: bèrè:-jé-w,

197 From mûrⁿ-ù-sôngú (variant mûrⁿ-ù-sûngû) ‘offspring, progeny (of a male apical ancestor)’. Compound of mûrⁿ-ù ‘pants’ and sûngû ‘rope’ (i.e. belt-cord for pants).
198 Verb pâlê.
199 [ìyé jú:] ‘a week ago today’ (i.e. on the same day of the week). Cf. [ìyé pérû] ‘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.
200 L-toned noun modified by tûwⁿ-s: ‘one’.
201 = /ñgú kâⁿ-/. ‘this one’s’. In this passage, Proximal and Far-Distant demonstratives index the first and second hunts, respectively.
202 = /ìngú/ ‘which?’
203 Postposition này” in the context ‘(hide) from (X)’.
204 [Ì-pù-ì-m] ‘while standing’ (invariable for pronominal person). Temporal adverbial related to the Reduplicated Static.
Lit. "the day of this day," i.e., the same day (e.g. Wednesday) as today, next week.

Direct
Accusative Reciprocal
Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) of ye 'come', with the second iteration L-toned. màrpà: 'rifles' here is object of tā- 'shoot'.

Lit. "the day of this day," i.e., the same day (e.g. Wednesday) as today, next week.
Stacked possessive construction involving two verbal nouns (bir-i: ‘working’, tüm-d-i: ‘beginning’) and a cognate nominal biré ‘work’.

tá:w unclear on tape. Cf. yí-tá: ‘have seen (at some point)’, Experiential Perfect. The subject pronounal (3Pl bû:) intervenes.

yá bé:-b ‘there used to be’.

Assistant suggests emendation to yû: iré cé:rú-m ‘millet will ripen and show (itself).’
Hunting with dogs

I: injë-m dánmà, injë núyঃ bërë-jë-w, nàw=ā: búb- l-tū-w, \( \text{dè, } \varepsiloñ^\text{"} \): [bú: này"] gò-w, nù gám bôŋ bë, nú, injë núyঃ wò, [injë này"] gò-yè, nàw=ā: lo yëwë wò-yè, gám bôŋ bë, ëm̃: [bú: này"] lò-yè, nàw=ā: [bú: này"] wò-yè, nàw=ā:—

[bú: lò-m = báy] [nàw=ā: [dògùrù kà:" ] gò-ë-wò wòy], sûrs-yè [súy gùn-yè], [injë kù] [kù téy kù, nù-yè, ỹỹ súy ló kórỹ-yè, [l̃í wò] nù dëy=’t’, gòỹ jùw=ś-yè, bôŋš-m yè-m, gànjí-yè, gànjí=ñ, ér̃ë=ñ wò bërë sëw=ë dë, dëw=ś-rë, ér̃ë dô-ë dë, dëgïrë-yè, wò [pà: bôŋ] mà:] wò ní-yè, [lú wò” wò] úrò dë kàlâ, g̃ òngù wày-yè, bôŋš-m yè-m, yè-rë dë, [ér̃ë lë-rë: dë] [sí-yè-rë dë], [ér̃ë mà:] wò ní-yè, sëw=ë-rë,

nú injë núyঃ bôŋ bë k̃̃y”m, bú: kày, dûrû yà s-ë-’m-bó, [dûrû kù này"] gò-yè, [bú: yà] này=” kù bí-rë-yè, [yɔ–m dànmà kày], [í kày] [k̃̃a: n jùw=ś-m kày], [nîgú kù=ñ] [mà:ní-só-‘], 219 [ú yà] bàr bërë-rë wò dë [dëm→ [kù kù wò] bàrâ220 O: [injë-m dànnì kày] [nùw=ś” yû ñ têgë-w ŋgù] kù=ñ, [kù gù-này’] ér̃ë=ñ kù-kûy=š-w, [kù gù-này’] ér̃ë=ñ kù-kûy=š-w, dànnì ér̃ë=ñ dànnì-w=û-w=w gu=ñ=ñ, [ûsû kà:” ] ér̃ë=ñ ú kûy=š-rë=û bà=, hâkòy [dànmmà gün]=— nàw=ā: gün— [dànnì gün sày] ú kûy=š-rà-y dë, 221 [ú mà:] ànày” [ér̃ë mà:] têgë-rë dë,


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218 = /bà:-lì-tù-w/. Causative bà:-lì- ‘teach (e.g. a trade)’.
219 Negation: mà:ní sò–lò-‘.
220 Imperative Sg.
221 This dë is the clause-final admonitive particle.
222 French entrainer ‘train (dogs)’, cf. just below.
Trapping

O: ³hₙ⁰ tégé, gúrgúsù dànná kù, [[gúrgúsù ñàyⁿ]] dànná dànnù-yè] tégé
tiwⁿₙ tiwⁿₙ tiwⁿₙ c:ék-w, tiwⁿₙ-tú-w dè wòy, ângâ biwₙ-wò [ⁿₙ wò] ेtò gò:-rè dè wòy, [yè-w dè] [kù tₙ-m], ʒmₙ: ú lò:-rè mₙ:, [ेtò:w-jè:] tèmbu₁-wₙ, nàwⁿₙ: bëré-jè-w,

sì-yè-yè sì-yè-yè sì-yè-yè, bù: sì-yè:-rè dè, tiwⁿₙ-m = m kàggà wò-m, yòyɔ lò-w, årⁿi-jè-w, iyà piñiw"i gₖ:-ₙ-wⁿ, lò bàngi-yè-w, sì-yè-yè, jùwₙ-m-n-e gà, iyà wò-m, iyà årⁿi-jè-w,

[dè:-rè-w dè] ùró piñiw"i yè-w, dè-rù-w dè dè, [[ùsù-dër"i: kù] nànjàna:] [bù: kày] hál [bù: bi-yè:] ²²⁴ dʒ- rè dè wòy, wò-m túnem²²⁵ bè-m, [a: kù mₙ:] kú jùwₙ-m-nₑ, átìw kù=m
O: [atìw kù=m] [[dʒₙ: gúrgúsù] kù=m]
I: [dʒₙ: gúrgúsù] kù=m, [sùngù ñàyⁿ] pày'-s-eⁿ, yù:-tè:ré mₙ→, [ₚₖ:-kₙ:'] niy"i: ₚₖ: jò→ ñèyⁿ bù: nè-m-bₙ,²²⁶ ₚₖ: bù: sòyₙ-m, [yà: lò-w dè] [[sùngù ñàyⁿ] pàyá dòwₙ-w,] téyⁿ téyⁿ dòwₙ-tú-w dè wòy, yè:-r-a: dé wòy, [mò:-nèyⁿ gₖ:-ₙ-wò kù] [[a: mₙ:] sòyⁿ-yè] [ñàyⁿ→] [dògùrù kₙ:'] bù: sòyⁿ-tú-w wòy, [[bù: kòrₙₙ:] wò-m kù=m, [kòrₙₙ kù=m] pàrₙₙ-m,

[ेtò:kày] [màyni-r"i dè] [[[lò témₙb₀→]] ²²⁷ jò= rà] tiwⁿₙ-m, ângâⁿ ângâⁿ [t₃:n n½:yⁿ bₙ→], kàyⁿ-tú-w dò wòy, n½:yⁿ²²⁸ [t₃:n n½:yⁿ bₙ:] wò-m, lò gò-lò-w, iyà tòrₙ tòrₙ tòrₙ c:é-lé dòwₙ-w
O: [kù nè:] [[sòm kūkùyɔ] ñàyⁿ] bù: kₙⁿ-m kù=m mₙ

²²³ If ¶ₙu 'night' were syntactically possessed by yèn 'yesterday, the previous day', it would be low-toned ¶ₙu here.
²²⁴ Possessed form of noun bi-yè: 'lying down, going to bed'.
²²⁵ Variant of tìn-è, used after Imperfective -m in durative temporal clauses.
²²⁶ Normally just jé-rₙ (Imperfective participle, Inanimate head), but here exceptionally with an extra -bₙ for 3Pl subject.
²²⁷ Verbal noun of second verb in chain, with overt subject pronominal (in possessor function): 'your going and finding (it)'.
²²⁸ This occurrence of n½:yⁿ 'four' appears superfluous.

I: bëré sûyô-m
O: [kû mà: kâlî] âtìw gûⁿ-yê
I: [kû yà] âtìw gûⁿ-yê
O: [kû nê:] [dô: gûrgûsû] mā→
I: [dô: kôⁿ] = Ø, [kû yê yêm cêm kôyⁿ] [dô: kôⁿ] = Ø, [i:rⁿèyⁿ kôⁿ kû] [ànsâ:rá kôⁿ] = Ø, âtìw = Ø kû = m, [bëré kôⁿ kû] cêm, [âtìw kû] kû = m, [kû yê yêm cêm] âtìw = Ø, [kû dô:]—
   ï: kû = m gûⁿ-m = bê-ô , gû: [i:rⁿèyⁿ kôⁿ kû] [ànsâ:rá:m kôⁿ] = Ø, ï: kû jûwô-m-dô-ô , nàyⁿ→ = Ø [dàwⁿà bû-ô] = rā:
O: ânàyⁿ = Ø [dàwⁿà bû-ô]
I: lâ-w bàrï-yê mā→ bà-rû-m-nê
O: [gûrgûsû dànnà kây] [i]:gû kû = m
I: ëyô→ 232

229 French voilà.
230 Sounds like ãîjû on tape, but word not recognized by assistants.
231 ‘metal, iron’. There is also a variant ò:r⁵ëm.
232 Variant of ê: ‘yes!’.
Slaughtering and butchering

I: núwⁿʸⁿ kày, [[pèrê-m]-[sèwⁿ-i:]] = ∅
O: mhm

O: jà:tì
I: kù:, [ámb'iri-m mà:] ní-yè, kuyí: kó'rá, [lòsù-yò-m kò:ⁿ] = ∅, sè:ř³'yⁿ, [jèmbè-m mà:] ní-yè, nàń t:, [pò-yà: mà:] ní-yè, mà ánjàyⁿ = m = dà
O: ánjàyⁿ = m
O: ɔ̀hòⁿ, cèriyè: dò:-rè kòy, …
I [overlapping]: xxx
O: … núwⁿ'yⁿ ú gùwⁿ'-wò kù nè:, bérù [ńjè gîn] [ār'sè: sèwⁿ'-yèy = m], 233 kú cèriyè-yè, yè
I: ār'sè:—
O: láyá:rù mà →, ār'sè: [ńjè gîn] sèwⁿ'-yèy = m
I: láyá:r = lá, 234 núwⁿ'yⁿ kày, bɔ:-úrò', nù:, nú: núwⁿ'yⁿ [[dùsù nį:] wò] [nù: mà:] bèr bù: sèwⁿ'-m, [[dùsù nį:] wò] sèwⁿ'-bò', ăy, 235 [[kálá 236 nį:] wò] sèwⁿ'-bò,
  núwⁿ'yⁿ kày, [[[mù-m dùsù nį:] wò] kà:n'-wòⁿ:] mà →, [yà: mà:] sèwⁿ'-bò mà → kàyⁿ-tí: dè, núwⁿ'yⁿ [kò:ⁿ i gùwⁿ'-ũgù] [[[dùsù nį:] wò] sèwⁿ'-wò dò wòy], [ũgù dò: wòy] yà: gò-m,

O: kú = mà [láyà:rù günî] àrsè: sæwⁿé-yéy = mà
I: [láyyà ñàyⁿ] sæwⁿé-yéy = mà
O: hà: cèlè:-rè
I: là-w ìngú = mà mà
O: hà: kú=kú = mà
I: kú = mà = dá
O: éc: kú = mà

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

I: jáy kū, kō:n yē:-rā-w, [kū jò:] 238 [[sùmò yū:] wô]=ǹ, [[yà-m kū:] wô] yá bú gá, [yà-m dèŋgēy] sùmò mègé pāngā sō-w,


[ér⁴ kō:n] kū [ér⁴=rē=m, wārā-m], [wārā-m tînëm] [wārā-m tînëm] [èlîn→ nùwyⁿ.-rē = râ], kō:n ŋuwyⁿ.-rë dò wòy, [[ū kō:n] wô] gò-m, [nú: wóy] jáy =∅,

 hà: ŋuwyⁿ.-rē dë, [ú lò-w dë] [ú yà] [ûsú ūtwyⁿ.-m], nùnūm [ú mà:] yē:-rē, [ɔr³:k ë kūⁿ] iyâ nùwyⁿyⁿ, [yû: tō-ỹ] jôr³-ỹ, [lënjí: mës-í:] dî-ỹ kū] gûyⁿ.-tū-w = râ,; [[nû kō:n] ñgâ-dà: [ū kō:n] sō-m = bè-n kū] [kàrwâ sō-m = bè-n kū], èr⁴tî á, ñgû kày, [ã mà:] [ñgû kày] dûwô bërè-m-dô gûⁿ-m,

[ñgû kày] [ã má:] [kày], [ñgû ([ípà:] mò:) wô] á nù-wö] [ã kō:n] =∅ wà gûⁿ-m, [ír³[â ñgû]] [û kō:n]=∅ gûⁿ-wö mà] é; [î:; 239 ír³[â kûyỹ:]- kûyỹ: bâ; 240 ír³[â kû] [ú: mâ:] sàw nî sō-w = bë-ỹ , 241 nàm cîyé-m = bë-w [tîr³î jë-m = bë-w ], [îyé [ɔr³:k ñgû]] [û kō:n] =∅ gûⁿ-wö mà] é; áw-rî-y kòy,

Also Normal phrasing: Beginning of construction with par à kày ír hù yùmɛ́ nmbì î: jày kù rather it is in apposition to the following nominal ('owner of the thing').
[kù kù] lò bù: tèmbi-jè-w = rà:, hà: kù [ù: wòy] jáy [kù wò] gò-m, này^ n → bè-
S: bon jáyà:-rè-w de, [anjáy^ kà = này^ n] [fyè pínw^ ò yè-w de] [ù: mà:] dà— dàngú:-rà-w
S: [jàyà-jè-w de] fyà pínw^ ò bátù bátà-w dé, â-m = ð tèrèw sò-w mà, â-m = ð kòrù sò-w mà, ànjáy^ n úsúrú-w mà
O: [[kòrù sò-m yà→] [tèrèw sò-m yà→], yè yì-w-jè:] 263 [kòrù bôngò] [á kòrù] dú-jè: dé] [yà: lòsò-wò: wò-yè], hà: [mùy^ n kà = này^ n] [[Ir^ à kù] [ér^ è mà:] nì = này^ n] [ér^ è wàrà-rì] gùy^ n dé, [kò:] n bôngò kù] áyù-w dé] [ér^ è mà:] nì-m
I: [[bò:-i:] lâ:] lòsò-wò:] 265 yè-yè
O: [[bò:-i:] lâ:] lòsò-wò: wò-yè, bù: [ùrò-jëgì: bôngò bè] [bù: = m lòsò-wò: wò-m], értè [kù kù] áw-rí dé yà→, [kù kày] anjáy^ n bé-rì,
là-w [ú kàlá] [ér^ è mà:] nì-m-dò-w, yà: [ér^ è wàrà-wù-m-dò-w, fyè [á kà] n = ð gùy^ n dé, [ý ò kà:t] [á kà:] = ð gù-gù-rì-m, [ér^ è mà:] nì-m-dò-w, hà: [ŋgú bè→] [ŋgú bè tù-m kù bè→]
... I: jáy jàyà:-rà-y .
O: ... [kù dimbi:-yì] = này^ n] anjáy^ n jáy, ír^ à [sùmò y jày] anjáy^ n yè-rì, [Ir^ à jày] này^ n → yè-rì

255 Experiential Perfect: ‘has (ever, once) happened’.
256 Conjunction without overt coordinating conjunction, ending in wòy ‘all’.
257 Hortative with plural addressees.
258 Singular-subject prohibitive (imperative negative).
259 ‘my field’.
260 Plural-subject prohibitive. Likewise gá-lé-à ‘don’t put’ (from verb gáy^ n-) just below.
261 bás: ‘foot’.
262 Assistant suggests emending to gùy^ = bè without -rì:.
263 yì:-wì- ‘cause to see’.
264 Hortative with 3Sg subject. Cf. [[á Ir^ à] wò] értè wàrà-rì ‘let him plant in his (own) field’!
265 Plural-subject relative. Slightly simplified from a theoretical [... [ bás-wò]:-wò:].
Traveling for work

S: [kò:" ñéè] gínfi, [ú isè:] 266 gö-wò dè, [bîrë birè = rà:] 267 lô-râ-wô
S: [lô-râ: dè] [nàwâ" = râ dè kày] [ësù wò] yè-m-nè—, [ësù wòy] jè-m-nè
[àngàà sò-lô-mñ] lô-rà dè, à: [nûwâ"-râ dè] [bû: gàm [pìrë này"] yè-yè], [knù mâ:] mégè nàwâ" = ð ñgò, kû = m [nàwâ" ì: gù."-râ-w ] kl kû = m
S: bon, [àrâ yà] lô-r-rà: dè nèy", [bû: nèy" lô-r-rà: dè] [knù:n ñjè bê] [ñjè bê]} 275 jè-yè

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266 Since sentence-final lô-râ-wô is 2Pl, we may emend here to [ù: isè:] ‘your-Pl village’.

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.

268 Purposive -rê: (cf. variant -râ: just above).

269 Fixed expression, literally ‘man and man’, but without the second bè particle. Repeated below, near the end of the same speaking turn. 1Pi î: is appositional (not a possessor).

270 Perfective Negative, for /bêrè-rî/.

271 = wòy.

272 Possessed verbal noun, with 3Sg possessor ërè resuming yà-m bôy ‘any woman’. Could be streamlined as [[yà-m bôy] ërë:"-lô-ê] ‘any woman’s bush-go-VblN’.

273 Verb iteration with {L} tone contour on second stem.

274 Linking form of Perfective -tî. My assistant would prefer -tî = n in this context.

275 [[kò:" ñjè bê] [ñjè bê]} ‘what (sorts of) things?’, iterated form of [kò:" ñjè bê] ‘what (things?)’ (already plural in form).
O: [yá: ló:-r-á: dè] [yì-tè: èsì-yè kù] [bírê wó] nú-yè, núw̃âỹa kāy, [nù-m mà:] [bírê wó] nú-bò ìyú-dè, [bù: bírê-w dè] [tú[w̃ wó] bù: túsù-m] ìyú-w dè] [tú[sù-dërtì ìyú-w dè], [gàmbù yà] éwà: káⁿ-yè,


S: [árá] àkáy] lò = náyâ nàwâ] nàwâ]-m-n-ë
O: [árá nàwâ] ní-nàwâ]-yè kàlà, [árá-m káy] lò = n nàwâ]-m bùn bùn) tò: ì-bú = bày, lò bírê bìrê = nì, jìnjì [èrë-m mà:] òsù nì=nì, mòbí bérè-jë:, mòbí jì:mbú-jë: [á bù: isë:] ñgù-rù jë:-tù:, à: [nsùwë-yì: [u tû-m wóy]], árës: lò bérè 280 dè, ìyà lò bérè-ë, gù-gù=m = dà,

[tùwâ]-m bûngò] mòtò: nàyâ] yë=m, [àn = ço gë:jë:] [árës: gë:jë:], [árës: dà:] nàyâ→ bérè-wù=m dè, [[ì kàlà] bìrê= = ço dë käy] lò bìrê = nàyâ, jàròs-ë, èrë=yà lò=m, bérè=m,


[árá-m jà:tù:] [èrë=m nàwâ]-àyâ jò:=râ, [sàbù dëy] nì-yè: árò [O dàyâ gù=pɔ]-nàyâ→], nì-yè: árò ìgò [nú: gàm bôngò bè] [cent-kilo pûrë], kì-kà: kûwò-j-à:, [cent-kilo pûrë] nì-yè, ñùmùyâ nì-nì-yè, tûwâ]-s nì-nì-yè, [pëcërè nì-nì-yè] [yë'y nì-nì-yè], nèwë=f= = ço = râ,

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

277 Better: jàwà-s-ë:] ‘those who are ruined’. jàwâ is normally an abstract noun ‘ruin(ation), malfunction(ing)’.

278 Plural-subject relative clause based on Imperfective Negative verb.

279 As transcribed, abnormal combination of Définite kù with an already definite 3Pl pronoun. Perhaps misheard for topical [bù: käy], or a false start corrected by the following [[bù: ló-y kù].

280 Forms of bérè ‘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).

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

282 Phrase kú=m [yá: ló-y jò: kù] not clear on tape, as O speaks at the same time.

O: [nû-m bôy] [[êrⁿ-ë yi-m] ùrⁿ-s: láó:-rè dè wôy], yá gôyⁿ-á-wⁿ

I: yá gôyⁿ-á-wⁿ

O: [ùrò mò:-në:rb é ñôgô] [kì-kâ: kûwô-j-â:] [nû-m bôy] [êrⁿ-ë yi-m] ùrⁿ-s: láó:-rè dè], [yì-m jë:-w→ jè:-rí cèw] \(^{284}\) [yá gôyⁿ-á-wⁿ] [nû kâ:-n-m],
[yì dûjô só-m kâlà] jì-jè-mì, [yì èsì-m kâlà] jì-jè-mì, [bôngï-m jë:-rí yì-jè-èmesâ dè wôy] [[yì-m kû] [kû-dá: lò=n] [bîré bèl-li] mâ→ [ô:ráy èrⁿë=nì wè] \(^{285}\) mà, nàwà=mì mà,

nàwà=mì=ðà=mì \(^{286}\) bôy, [à bô:]=nì yá mà:nì \(^{287}\) — hâl [à sà:rà:], [[à sà:rà:] yá mà:nì-sô-wì] [à bô: yà→] [à nàrⁿ-à yà→], ùrò dàyⁿ á dûwô-èmesô, [kû kâlà] ñàyⁿ→ bù

\(^{283}\) 1Pl subject Stative form of gôyⁿ ‘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 gôyⁿ-á-wⁿ (3Sg subject) after Existential yá in the following speaking turn by O.

\(^{284}\) Willy-nilî conditional antecedent with Inanimate participle -w then Perfective Negative. jè:-’rí- is Perfective Negative of jè:- ‘bring’, which has a unique {LHL} lexical tone contour.

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

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

\(^{287}\) Cut off. See complete form just below.
Go to school


jàngë i járà²⁹³ — [í nànjànà:] [óssù í bù:-w kù] wò, kù [branche kù, [branche jàngë kù] ñn = ñ lò gò-m, èrⁿ = m lò = nàyº [juge wò] gò-m, ñn = ñ lò gò-m, èrⁿ = m lò = nàyº [[[pàjà bɔ̀bɔ̀ bë] kɔ:™] wò] gò-m,


O: áyówa, [[kò:™] ú ár’iyè:-sò:-w kù] [jìnjë ñỳ-nà:-m]²⁹⁴ [ú mà:] nî-y° [jìnjë èsù kú tàlì:-y], áyówá [tú bɔ: yà->] [ú nàr’nà yà->] kày] jàngë ú gàyⁿ-tì:-yà, [èss kày] [ú mà:] dàwù-nì:-yà, [ú kàlà] jìnjë ñỳ-nà:-m— bëré-jè:-w [bù: mà:] ësù kàyⁿ-tì:-w dò wòy] [èss kù:] wò èsù bàr-tù:-w,

kù = m [ú ár’iyè:™] wò bù dò wòy, [jìnjë ñỳ-nà:-m] [ú ár’iyè:-sò:-w kù] [ú mà:] nî-y°, [ú mà:] [kù dûwàw kàlà] lémèd-mà, [ú nàr’nà yà->] [ú bɔ: yà->] [ú sà:rà: bè], 5°y° [m̀sù mà:nî-sò:-w = bè:-w kàlà] [jìnjë ú cè:lé:-y],

hà: [yì-të:-][nàrⁿ-i:], yì-m nàr’nà = này°, èrⁿ nêwⁿ-e:, [ì: bì-bërë:-y mà:] [ì: mà:nì:- rà:-w kù] [[[ú ànsà:rà:-m] [Jeff] mà:] tégë:] [ì: [yì-të: nêwⁿ-e:] [[[ìgù nì:] wò] kà:™-rà:-y ] [yì-të: yè:y tà:n nàrⁿ-tì:-y dè, m̀ = h lò jàngë gà:-y°::, m̀ = h lò [wòngòrò wò] gà:-y°::, m̀ = h lò àrsìlâm wòy], dò ì:m nàrⁿ-tì:-w wòy],

[jàngë jàngë:-w dè] [ùru ú bù:-w dè] [ùsù tûwⁿ-m] yè:-w dè, [ú yì-m] ú nàfè-m, [mòbèlì ñày°] yè-m, [cèrèy [ú mà:] nî tí-m] [ú kù nè:-w], [yì-m nàrⁿ-rû:-w dò wòy] [áà:rⁿ-ñàusú pé-nùmuy° pèr-kúròy] bëré-jè:-w dò wòy], ú pàjà dûwⁿ⁻sè:-rò,

[[mà: yîtë:] [ú mà:] nî:m-n-ë] [[[ú yà] bìrë bërë:-m-dò:-w], [èw-yè:-w dè] [dɔ́y° này°] [kò:] này°] ánày° tìwè:-w, hà: [[[ìgù nì:] wò] [ì: mà:] yì-të: yè:y tà:n [kù nì:] wò] [ì: mà:] yì-të: jàrs-m bà,²⁹⁵ hà: jìnjë ñỳ-nà:-m—

²⁸⁸ French l’école, denoting public schools (as opposed to koranic schools).
²⁸⁹ Douentza (town). Also pronounced dúwⁿ-osàn, dúwânsàn.
²⁹⁰ 1Sg possessed form of célè ‘heart’, with {HL} possessed-noun contour plus an initial low-tone for 1Sg. Other 1Sg-possessor forms just below (same speaking turn): mà: ‘to/for me’ (Dative mà:), bɔ:-ùrò ‘my village’ (lit., “my father-house,” elsewhere bɔ:-ùrò), kù: ‘myself’ (kù: ‘head’), tsw ‘my kin’ (tsw).
²⁹¹ mà: ‘to/for me’ (Dative).
²⁹² Third person hortative (with ‘God’ as subject).
²⁹³ Mispronounced and cut-off, for jàrs-m ‘I want/seek’.
²⁹⁴ Epithet used only with ‘God’. Also pronounced gôná:-m.
²⁹⁵ = wà.
[ñgú-rù gò = nǐ] [bon [í mà:] dògùrù jàŋgè = ní [í mà:] [á hà:jè i bèrè-jè-wòý] mà→ [i: mà:] vacances ní-tì-yà dè [[i mà:] yè-ò] 300 wà, óy giº-yà, áŋàyà lò-yà, lò = ní [í kà:yà = ní] [ní [ár gà-gùsù ë lò-w kú] [ìyà yà: pà:sè-yà],
áŋàyà bù, [kù dò wòy] i = m mòy-ò-m, hà: yà-m kú, hà: [mà bè] lò-yè bù: giº = ní, [í mà:] báy núwº:òy” áŋàyà kò:-lò:-n mà wà, mà: üsùrù, íyà i sà-w, [í mà: kày]

S: [jàngẹ jì: lọ:-rè dè] [mùsél bè] ù súyš-ñ-m-è] [[ù=m [ù-kù:] súyš-r] túélù wò:], [ùsù go=ù nùwš÷y no lọ:-rè-w= rà:, [ù m:] billet d’entrée gin yá bù, [sèwè òwú-ù dè] [kù này] nù-w, kù nù:-rè-w=rà: [ù moyenne] [ù m:] moins deux gò-ló-yè, kù=m [condeute bù: gu=m-nì kù] impoli=mùw-wò mà=, mà→ règle(s) bù: ní-w òwú-m-dò-w quoi,


I: ìy nàwš÷m antennë yá wò yìyì lò-w


304 From lèkšl-ùrò ‘school’, literally ‘school-house’, compound of lèkšl (French l’école) and ùrò ‘house’, lèkšl has a variant ëkšl (see below).

305 bù:dù ‘money’, apocopated before an alveolar.

306 French perdrè.

307 múṣél = múṣétò ‘teacher’

308 Emended from bù: ‘they’ to ù: ‘you-Pl’.

bû: kây, [patron yî-têː] = bô, [pînîw”û kâlà] [nû: gâm] ýa b-k.”n, [[kô“ gîn] â:


[û nàr“a yàːː] [û bôː: yàːː] [û màːː] [bîrê kû] ýà bîrê“m gîn s-êː“-bô, [[bîrê kû] dûwâ“tû“w] [bîrê kû jîsê“tû“w], hà: [bûː cêlêː] bàr“a“w“û-tû“w, ë“ [òsû kàlà] yî-m-dô“w, û=m [yî nàw“ë“m] = ðû gû“yê [kû kû = m],


I: [français ñay“] bây [[kû yî-m kû] ënîr“i] anây“ gû“yê“-yê
S: [ër“ê màːː] impoli gîy“-yê
I: impoli
S: êhô
O: [impoli kû nêːː] dêː trê [kû kàrõ“] hêːː=÷
S: [û kûː diû“a-m] = ðû kûː diû“a“m = ðû [dàw“a àwú“m-dô“m]
O: [dàw“a àwú“m-dô“m]
I: [[ësû=m = ðû kû“ màːː] anây“ gû“-yê
S: poli gîy“-yê
I: poli gîy“-yê
S: êhô, [ër“ê=û ësû=m = ðû] kû = m
O: ër“ê=û ësû=m = ðû, [nùː-yà:gu“m kû] ër“ê=û = m, cêlː“rê

309 Postpositional relative, itself functioning as possessor.
310 Clause restarted here.
311 ‘you-Sg are’ (conjugated copula clitic).
Text 2005-1b.08  
Rats, mice, and shrews

S: gūgūsú-m  ànàyⁿ bù
I: gūgūsú-m, dúgú [ fists in fists ] wòj yá ná:-wⁿ,‚ 312 mà→ ërⁿë tágù=rà:, [ tágù tègi:]=rà:, gūgūsú-m gúrù-m=Ꝗ, gūgūsú-m [ fists in fists ] sàw bì-bárá-m, ëlý bì-bárá-m, gūgūsú-m, [ fists in fists ] yì-jé: dò wòy] dúwò=m-dò, né: [ ërⁿë nèyⁿ kày], sùwò bè→, ëlý bè→, misù-gó:ły bè→,
[kú bè kày] [bárá-w dè] [lò dì-dà-yí-m] [nàwⁿà sûyś-m] misù-gó:lymp kûⁿ, gūgūsú-m, ñgû=m [ ërⁿë tágù], [[ú rò] pirè], gànjú-w dè, yà: nú bè-w dè, [ ú mā:] nàwⁿà nàwⁿyⁿ i gûⁿ-nû ñgû wòy, [ ú mā:] sûyś-m tîném bè-m, [ gūgūsú-m tágù] [ ñgû kû=m], yà: mû: á=m=Ꝗ 313
S: bàrá-ó-m 314
I: bàrá-ó-m
S: ërⁿë=m nú mû: kû=m
kûs-kûkûrû kûwò-m, [ kûsù: lêmdè:] lò=m [ wⁿa:rⁿú lò=m-n ] [[ësû gün] ú só-w kû], kú cérî-m, nûgûrû-m [ hál lo dûmdû-m]
S: [ ërⁿë nàwⁿa:] kûwò-yë mà
I: [ ërⁿë nàwⁿa:] kûwò-yè
S: gūgūsú-m [ ë: yè] ci-céw
O: [ gūgūsú-m nàwⁿa:] kûwò-yè, [ yi-tè: kày] bù: dúwò=m-n-ë, [ nû dîyⁿa] dèm→ írëw=m rà: ànàyⁿ=m mà= rà 316 dé kày
S: [ ërⁿë nàwⁿa:]  yà
O: ò pilë-m yà
O: ò pilë-m, úrò bê-w dè, mànî: wò, bòlò: sî-yè-m-dò kâⁿ-ûⁿ dè, bòlò: sî-yè:-rè dò wòy, [ nî: nî-n mûnt] 317 sîyè, [ mànî: wò] bê-w dè, [ ú rò] bûgûsó-w dè, [ ú mû:] wò] lèw sîlê-m, ëlêy dúwò=m-dò, ñrⁿë a bû-w kû dà:, kûⁿ-n-kûⁿ nèyⁿ á nê-n mûnt[gû]→ bû-w wòy, nèyⁿ, nî-në-m, ú nê=n pé ú wasâ-w, ñgû wòy¹,
[ ërⁿë bîrè] [ ò pilë-m], yû:, [ kûwò dîrëⁿë-n] [ kûwò ná-m ] [ dëw kû] wò] gû=m-dò, gô:-rè dò wòy, [ nî: nî-n mûnt] sîyè, ërⁿë gô-w, [ kû=m=dá dè] [ ñrⁿë ñ è=në lò=m-n wòy] ñgô], [ ërⁿë yà] ñgû [ ërⁿë bîrè]= ꖗ,
S: [ ò sî:-lî-m] 318 yà
I: [ ò sî:-lî-m] bîrè [ kày], [ ò sî:-lî-m] bîrè [ kày], yû:-tè: ré lò mû:1-tû-w dò wòy [ ñrⁿë: dà:], [ kû pirè] bê-m, ā=m=dá, [ ò là] [ à gûyⁿ→ kû=m-n] nû=m-dò, [ Ò sày] bê-m,

312  Variant of ñy=nà=aw ‘it is put up on’ ( i.e. it is bigger than).
313  ã=m ‘who?’ is used for animals as well as humans, cf. ñjé ‘what?’ for plants and (other) inanimates.
314  Mouse sp. named after básá:, an area in the ravine beside Beni.
315  Apocopated < /bir律/, L-toned form of bir律 ‘bottom’.
316  mà= rà is obscure here. Perhaps yes/no interrogative followed by negative clitic with implied ‘or’.
317  Purposive clause.
318  Cf. sî:-lî, term used to describe unripe fruits, especially of kàmàkàrò (Leptadenia hastata).
yú: ló: bárá-m dè, [[gòr'ù wò] nù = n] yà: dimbi-yì yè dè' kù = m, yòyó [sàm
wò] nù dè kú = m, nè:, úrò yè' - rè dè, [ò: úrò b-e.][n] = n, làrì-m giý-bò, [bù: mà:] mòsú
bù-w, ètsya= bù: kùwó-m, èrtè kálà, ṣògú = m [èrtè biérè] = ð, [[èrtè jésù] jì.] èrì-m = dá, ô sèli-m
S: ò jèw'e-m yà
I: [ò jèw'e-m] [kò. ñùsù] = m = dá, ñèr'À-gúsù ñèr'è nàr're'ìy': - rè' - w, kà = ð gú'-yè, bù: jò:, yú:,
yú: kùwó-yè hâl èsìy- wà-yè, 319 yú: [dèw wò] bù-w, ù nì:, [ùrò, [nì: kà:] dèy ú sò- w
kù] [kù nò'-yè], nì: bère-m-n-e = rà:, yòyó-yè cè:,
yòyó-mà dè, [èr'ò là-w wò] lò [nì:, nò = này'] yè'- yè [nì:nàr'ù sóy dá-m-n-è], ò
jèw'e-m, ṣògú ki-kà' - m', ëlèy kú-kùwó- m', [[ù này'] wàsà] nì-né-m, hàl ù = n kùwó- m,
ò jèw'e mù:, [èrtè biérè] = ð, ṣògú = m [èrtè mà:] jùwó-
yù: ãnyà = m, [ò jèw'e-m] [ù này'à-m dè] [nàr'ù wò], [ù nà:-sì. ñ:] kùwó-m
S: ò dòró-m 320 yà
O: [[ò dòró-m] tèy] tégé
I [overlapping]: ò dòró-m, là:rà: èrtè yi-y, [èrtè kày] [[là:rà: dá:] kò:: bù-w bè] nè-m gà,
sùwó, ò dòró-m, èrtè sùwó-[nè-rì] = ð 321
S: bày, [èr'è mà:] ùrú-bísírì-m tàngû-m 322 gly'-bò, térèw = ð mà → kòrù: = ð
mùr'u bù-w, dòró-[kù-kà-yì] sì llá èrtè só- w kù dèngèy, rà: 323 dé wòy, èrtè [Ìà kù:] mà:] tàng béré-m-dò, ùrú-bísírì-m déy'ò-→ t [mù: ñì-m] déy'ò-→ ð, [kù kálà] [ì: jùwó-m]
ègú = m
O: ùrú-bísírì-m ñì-m nì-nàr'a-m, yì èrtè nàr'a-m, ìyè nàr'a kálà, [dòró này'] èrtè témbú- w,
[ò dòró-m] [èrtè kày] toujours là:rà: bù
I: èrtè là:rà: bù
O: là:rà: sùwó nè-rì
I: nà: tàngû-m-dò
O: sùwó nè-rì, [tiw'gy'-jèel:] nè-rì
I [overlapping]: [ãnyà kà' = này'] [tàng béré-m], [èrtè dùrò] ègú nè:] [kù dùmdò- w dè]
mà-→, ãnyà' kà' = này', tàngû-m-dò, kù tèrèw = ð = rà, èrtè yà, èrtè tòw, [bù: mà:] kò::
ì jùwó-m kày', [ì kày] [ègú kù = m], ù: bàr béré-w mà dém
O: kù = m, [[bù: biérè] [kù kú = m]] [[nùw'by' ù tégé-w]]

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

S: [yá-gúrú-m múmúrù-u mú: nêy"ú] ãnjá"ú bù
O: mú: [yá-gúrú-m múmúrù-u-m] [[kó:" ú-w] gün] [yá-gúrú-m múmúrù-u-m] [ër"ú má:] gâ-l-á kóy, yá-gúrú-m ër"ú tâm=ì ni, [[yá-gúrú-m mâ:] tiwè] wá, hâ: [[kú nú:] wô] yá-gúrú-m múmúrù-u-m] gúy"-bô

S: [kó:" ñjé bè] nê-m
O: ñgú pí:lúm bè, lèw, [kú bè→] nê-m, hâ: [kó:" [lá-w]-[lá-w] kálá] nê-m gúy"-bô, hâ: kú=m [ër"ú bîrz], [ër"ú tâmb-i: kú] ñbâ— [[[múmúrú-m ñbú] tâmb-i:] bâ→]úrúyô-m-dô, tâmbú-m kóy, tâmbú-m [ñhá tâmb-i:] bâ→ úrúyô-m-dô, gâ: yá-gúrú-m ër"ú tâmbî=ì, [yá-gúrú-m mâ:] tiwè wá, hâ: [yá-gúrú-m múmúrú-u-m] [[ër"ú ñmìr"ú kù] nânà:ki:] ñgú kú=m, mú: gôrôm-gômjó-m, [mú: mà:] gôrôm-gômjó-m [ër"ú-dâná: bù], gôngôrô bè→, [yô ká:"] [ër"ú yà] [kú bè→] dëgé-m, [p:ù-lúm bè] dëgé-m, ër"ú kála, pìyé: kálâ pìyé=m, pì=r: pìyé=m, pìyé: pìyé=m, hâ: [[jîr"éy wô]=m=dâ dë] [usù-bôr"ú-bé-m-dô], [jîr"éy wô sày] ër"ú yë:-wù=m

S: mú: yá, usù-bôr"ú kála ër"ú yë:-wù=m mà
O: [mú: kála] usù-bôr"ú, mú: usù-bôr"ú ër"ú yë:-wù=m, usù-bôr"ú ër"ú yë:-wù=m, [kú"ú bè→] nùw"ú yë llë-tù-w dô wóy, gám yá: ër"ú têmbù-w, usù-bôr"ú ër"ú yë:-wù=m, gâ: gôrôm-gômjó káy [usù-bôr"ú káy] ñgô, [jîr"éy wô]=m=dâ dë wóy, hâ: [kú kála] [ánjá"ú bù]

S: múmúrú-u múa yà

S: [kó:" ñjé bè] [ñjé bè] [ër"ú ñy"n]
O: múmûrû-m, [múmûrû-u nê:rê],328 [kòmbi: wô] bè→m, kó:" ñgû=m tê→ múmûrû-u-m [ì kày] kó:" ñgû=m tê→ nê=m ...

324 Asymmetrical comparative.
325 High-pitched imitation of the sound.
326 Unnecessary repetition of this phrase.
327 d=ré-, Perfective Negative of ‘arrive’.
328 From nêr"é ‘food’.
I: kĩ-kã:-m wô-m
O: … jîwọ-m-dô-ỳ, hà: kĩ-kã:-m wô-m bà gûyⁿ-bô
I: kĩ-kã:-m kûwô-m
O: kĩ-kã:-m kûwô-m bà, [[kã:-n lâ-w kûwô-m mā→] jîwô-m-dô-ỳ] [kĩ-kã:-m kûwô-m gûyⁿ-bô], hà: érⁿê=m mûmûⁿû=m = Ø, mûmûⁿû-sâkêlë-m bû: gûⁿ-râ=m kû, sâkêlë-m [érⁿê yà] [mûmûⁿû déyⁿ→] = m, sâkêlë-m téğê-m-dô [ánàyⁿ bû-bû:], [mû: yî-m] [sâlah-m kû], [érⁿê mà:] [mûmûⁿû-ũ-yî-m]] gûⁿ-ỳê, érⁿê sâkêlë-m = đâ, sâkêlë-m téğê-m-dô, [érⁿê kày] àsû: [sâkêlë-m bô] bû, [[érⁿê tâmb-ì:] [ánàyⁿ bà→] úrûyô-m-dô] [[[mû: tâmb-ì:] bà→] úrûyô-m-dô], érⁿê [3rⁿ₃ ni: di-yë-yê], [[ni:-[di-y-ì:] bè:] wô], yà: bè-m, [[ni:-[di-y-ì:] wô] ú tí = ŏ] [ni: tí-tí-ô = râ:]. [[3rû kû] érⁿê nêwⁿ-ê-jê: dê] úrò yë-m, [úrò yë-ô dê] yà: ú kûwô-m
S: [á: yêy] [nêyⁿ ĭwⁿ⟩₃:] nê-yê mà
27th night of Ramadan

S: léylà [ǎnáyⁿ-ànáyⁿ káⁿ-ǹ]
hà: [kù:ⁿ-kà:ⁿ dà-ǹwòy] [jìnjè ỳɔⁿ-nà:m] [kù nàrⁿù kù] pàdè-m bà, àrência mûsû kù— ùwò mûsû kù, [([kù ɔ̀r-à-gùsù] i: lûwò = ñ] [àr-à-gùsù sàngû wò] [àr-à-gùsù tâ:nù:] = ṭà, hà: kù nàrⁿù kù, [kù bârâ:jù], [([kù = ñ] [ú mà:] nì-yê] wà]
S: [kù = ñ = dá dèl [kò:ⁿ lâ-w wòy] léylà ñùgu→
O: [kù kòrò lâ-w] ñùgu = ñ = dá dè] jùwò-ǹ-dò-ǹ
S: [léylà kà-nû-ǹ ₃₃₃ dé yà] ñjè: = ṭà

₃₂⁹ pèrì-yêy ‘twenty’ is uttered here with exaggerated lengthening of the syllable pè.
₃₃₀ Literally “on the day of the twenty-seventh night of the month.” Various emendations are possible
(‘on the twenty-seventh night of the month’, ‘on the night of the twenty-seventh day of the month’).
₃₃₁ Suffix -rà here is invariant across subject pronominal categories (relative-clause form).
₃₃₂ Combination of clitics = ñ (Focus) and = nì (Object Focus).
₃₃₃ kà-nû-, Perfective Negative of kàyⁿ- ‘do’.
₃₃₄ L-toned form of Perfective Negative, after a focalized constituent.
gá, [[kò:n Günf] ú dùwš-ŵ kù] [né: kày] tégé tíném. 336 [kà-ní kàyⁿ = nì] [ú dùwš-ŵ kù]  
I: ù [[nù kà:] 337 [[kò: yà-->] [nì-nòrnú yá-->]] [nù kà:] dá-mì  
tégé-ŷ]  
I: ŋó  
S: bon [léylà kà-nú-ŵ dé] [júnúbù 338 yá bù] má→ ŋó  
O: [sélél = ní bù-:[[kò:n-kà:]n [sélél = ní bù-[[339 ú ùrùyó-m-dò] [léylà kà-nú-ŵ dé] [zúnúbù  
yá só-w]. [[[jènè jì'nú-nà:m] ársilâ-m = nì tò:ri] [kàyⁿ 340 gyûⁿ]  
S: kú = m mà  
O: 3ⁿhò:, kú kú = m

335 = bà-rí.  
336 Also, with 2Sg imperative, tégé tíná. 2Pl equivalent: tégé tìná-n.  
337 2Sg independent pronoun ú in apposition to a subject relative clauses headed (internally) by nù kà:n  
‘one who’. The [nù kà:] is repeated (redundantly) after the NP conjunction.  
338 Variant zúnúgù. From Arabic vًdhb.  
339 Unnecessary repetition of [sélél = ní bù-:[[kò:n-kà:]n ‘(not) anything’ is logically the subject of … ú  
ùrùyô-m-dò ‘doesn’t hurt you-Sg’.  
340 Singular-subject imperative. 2Pl version would be kàyⁿ-nì.
This is the page of a document. It seems to be discussing Demons and Dwarves, but the text is in a mix of languages and is not clearly legible. It appears to be discussing fulfilling and human beings in Beni, Fulfulde and Arabic languages.

Text 2005-1b.11

Demons and Dwarves

S: [sëytâ:nù-m bîrê] ñë́jê: = Ø
O: [[sëytâ:nù-m bîrê] nû-jë-û dê] sëytâ:nù-m, [[jînâmâ:jù-m yà→] [sëytâ:nù-m yà→]]

Fulfulde for ‘son(s) of Adam’, i.e. ‘human being(s)’. Can be expressed in Beni as


bûn-yê, jînâmâ:jù-m kû,

hâyã, sâlã-m-nê: kû, [bû: cê:fê rê]: [[kû bê mà:] , sëytâ:n mûn-yê-hû, hà: ñgû = m bû: kâw-gû-lô-wô yê

S: bû: [mûsù sày] kàwâ-yê

S: bûy në:rê yà
ti: âwày-nà:344 bûy ërê ne:, ërê = m [kürù-tûmtû: wàyì = nàyû] [nû-m yè-m dë] dëy-jë-m gûn-wô dê] [ërê bû dê], [nû-m yè: rë dë] [jirë-në: ërêè àyâè-m] kû = m mà


në:rê=m kû, èrêè [û kû: mà:] [në:rê=m kû] [bû: ë: [ûrû bè:] wô bë:-n=bô],


341 Fulfulde for ‘son(s) of Adam’, i.e. ‘human being(s)’. Can be expressed in Beni as à:dàmà yî-tê: ‘children of Adam’.

342 Variant of jînâmâ:jù-m. The latter is based on Fulfulde jînnaajo, while jînî-m is more directly based on the Arabic.

343 For dà:ri-l/. Cf. i dà:ru-w ‘it pleases me’, i dà:ru-m-dô ‘it doesn’t please me’.

344 Obscure word, apparently a synonym of ìfè=rë.

345 This èrëè (referring to awaynam) is superfluous.

346 Also just [bû: kâlå] ‘they too, even they’.

dà: (perhaps cut off) is obscure. The Pl bê following bû: kâlå is disapproved of by my assistant, but recurs in the same speaker’s speech below (bû: kâlå bê).
The two 3Pl forms in this sentence have disjoint reference. If they were coindexed, we would have gotten [á: òròsù] ‘their (own) clothing’.

Term not recognized by other informants, apparently based on an Arabic phrase.

Third-person Hortative.

Arabic ‘in the name of God’. Pronounced distinctly from bisímîlà, a phrase of invitation (to join in a meal, to enter a house) of the same origin.

Singular-subject imperative.

Plural-subject imperative (cf. singular yá ‘come!’). See also bîrá-á ‘work-Pl!’ just below.

Expressed more regularly (in terms of tonological rules) as [kàŋŋe-gigôrò]-ní-m, with kàŋŋe ‘gold’ also subject to tone-dropping. Cf. kàŋŋe gigôrò ‘hat of gold’ (possessive), gigôrò ‘hat’.

Tape sounds like bû = b-á; but bû = b-é: is the correct 3Sg form.


S: [bú: kày] mòsù [nù: mà:] kàⁿ-m-n-é dé, —


S: íbî:í:sâ-m kû, ërë = m ánh = Ø kû = n

O: íbî:í:sâ-m ërë = m ërë = m ërë = m ërë = m sêytâ:n-ùm ërë = m ábâljinn-n-m,349 ërë = m núwɔñy, [Jeff [ërë má:] mínísti-m = Ø ërë gù-n ð] kû = n ërë = n, mòsû ërë kàⁿ-m-dó-w wô:-wóy] ñgô, [[ü cêlê] wô] [ësù wóy] gâⁿ-m-dô, [mòsû sày] [[ü cêlê] wô] gâⁿ-m, mòsû ü mà:nú-w”ù-m, [ú mà:] [[mòsù ñ] kày]350 wâ gû-n-m, [[mòsù ñ] kày] wà gû-n-m, pâ:yà wà gà, mòsû sày tò:ðú-m, ërë kày

S: ù dimbi-yí wàyú-w dé

O: ù dimbi-yí wàyú-w dé, [ërë má:] hàl [gôngôrò pîrè yëyô-m gûyⁿ-bô, xxx hà: kû kù, [bísímîlà:y gûⁿ-w dé wóy] [yá: ðòrô gô-m] bà, [[kù ní:] wô] ársilà-m [í mà:] kò:n ü kàⁿ-m bò] [bísímîlà:y gûny]351 wà, [bísímîlà:y gûⁿ-w dé] [yá: yëyô wàngû-m] bà


O: 5h6b

S: ërë má:, núwɔñy [ërë má:] [mò: injîrî:-rê dé] [sêytâ:n mú: bê: = n] tò:ðú-m wà [mû: ló] [mû: jîyá] mú:- [ló nú-m jîyé-w dé] yá-h,352 [ërë má:] nú-m jîyé bêrê-jê-m wòy mà → [kàŋŋe gigôrò-ní-m354 — ] [ërë = m ánh = bû = m] [á: yëyô pîrè]

S: sèytá:n-ùm—
O: sèytá:n-ùm = ∅ kù bìrè-m
S: bù: òm kù
O: òhòⁿ, ér"ë = ì kù bìrè-m
S: kù = m = bè
O: ñù = m [ér"ë bìrè]

356 [ér"ë mà:] is repeated (superfluously) in this VP chain.
Tale of Yasama

S: A, [ì: mà:] sè:njhè: gáýⁿ
A: 357 sè:njhè: bě:= n 358
S and others: nà:tè:
A: [[yà-sâmâ wà→] [érⁿé bò: wà→] [érⁿé nárⁿâ wà→]] kú: wò) gáýⁿ
S and others: dâyⁿ káyⁿ

[chanson en Jamsay]
yà-sâmâ nā: pò:→ sâmâ 367 bá:
yà-sâmâ bâ: pò:→ yà-sâmâ nā:
[dâ:ñà bårⁿ-ù nùŋò] yàŋá súnùnó-tù-m dê
yà-sâmâ [mi cê] = y jè-bê
gûnô dêyⁿ→ gun gân dêyⁿ

357 First few texts are by Aminata Kagoye.
358 Standard story opening. Translated by my assistant as ‘a story for you’. Partially Jamsay in form.
Followed by unanalysable audience response form nà:tè:.
359 sè-né-bó = sè-né ‘they don’t (=didn’t) have’.
360 Apocopated in this combination from sèngũ: ‘water jar’.
361 Pl Perfective Negative of bérë- ‘get’.
362 dámbû-m (Pl dambû) ‘one without fingers and toes’. Cf. perhaps Songhay dámbû ‘cut (off)’.
363 = wò ‘in’, after nasal. Can also be expressed with Definite kú as [[[érⁿé mà:] yà-sâmâ jôrś-m kú] wò] ‘in (the fact) that he loved Yasama.’
364 bě- ‘stay, remain’ plus factive complement (with Locative wò) in the sense ‘insist on …’.
365 3rd person Hortative.
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.
367 sâmâ here is short for yà-sâmâ, the girl’s name. There are slight variations in the repetitions of the stanza as to where the yà- is omitted.
jëŋër"é yànà-rí → bá

áŋjà" gi:n wà, ùrî: tûndì wà, dà:-wò ùrò á wàngú-w, píníw"ú = ní

yà-sámà nà: pò:→ sámà bá:
sámà bá: pò:→ yà-sámà nà:
[dà:ŋà bàr"ú núngò] yàŋà sùnúŋò-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cè]= y jè-bè
gùǹ déy"→ gün gán déy"

jëŋër"é yànà-rí → bá


yà-sámà nà: pò:→ sámà bá:
sámà bá: pò:→ yà-sámà nà:
[dà:ŋà bàr"ú núngò] yàŋà sùnúŋò-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cè]= y jè-bè
gùǹ déy"→ gün gán déy"

jëŋér"é yànà-rí → bá

e; sì-y-ì: tûndì wà ìyà, ìyà áŋjà" sì-yè-jè → sì-ye-jè → [[pècéřè kù] wò] yè á dò-w,

yà-sámà nà: pò:→ sámà bá:
sámà bá: pò:→ yà-sámà nà:
[dà:ŋà bàr"ú núngò] yàŋà sùnúŋò-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cè]= y jè-bè
gùǹ déy"→ gün gán déy"

jëŋér"é yànà-rí → bá


yà-sámà nà: pò:→ yà-sámà bá:
sámà bá: pò:→ sámà nà:
[dà:ŋà bàr"ú núngò] yàŋà sùnúŋò-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cè]= y jè-bè
gùǹ déy"→ gün gán déy"

jëŋér"é yànà-rí → bá
áŋgayⁿ érnè gìⁿ = nì, yà-sámà yɔ: tùmdìn wà, [[bɔ:]-m 368 yɔ: tùmdìn nà] [[nàrⁿ-á-m yɔ: tùmdìn] wà], dúmbù-m [bú: mÀ:] [[nì= nì, yà- sámà yɔ: tùmdìn wà]]


[yà:-yì-m [érnè mÀ:] ní-bò wà] [yà:-yì-m lò-ý òw-rí wà] [pàŋjá náyⁿ] búmbùm búmbùm búmbùm, [á yà-m] jìjè 371 áŋgayⁿ lò wà, [sè:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dúmdò:] ámélém]

O: [ú: cirⁿ-i-jémży 372] ló wáyá-ń

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

369 Inanimate participle of bú- ‘be’.

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

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

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

A: gâyⁿ
S: là-w gâyⁿ
A: sēnje: bē = n
S and others: ná:te;
A: ʔsùwⁿ-$[yître:] [yà:-yì: pò:-yà-m] ʔ: [yà:-yì: pò:-àŋⁿ-$à-m] [à-sàmá³⁷³ kú:] wò] gâyⁿ
S and others: [èrⁿ$: kú:] wò] dâyⁿ kâyⁿ³⁷⁴
A: à-sàmá yè = n [èrⁿ$: àŋⁿ$: wò] mǐⁿ gò wà
S: ná:m
żyà [yà:-yì tûwⁿ$-m bòŋ$] [ā gò-w] [[[á pò:-àŋⁿ-$à-m lâs$: kù] sù-sùs$n-m] túlù] wò], [ā mà:] [yàmjà-m dùr$] làrà-rà: lò-$m] qì: wà, [tûw$m bòŋ$] [á sà-w] [èrⁿ$: mà:] lò-rè-y³⁷⁵ wà dē, [yàmjà-m dùr$ mà:] [kù bê-n:] nûm bù-w] wà, [jìn$jé àw-jë: dë] [ī mà:] lì-lò-$m] bâ, ÿà [èrⁿ$: mà:] lì-lò-$m wò] bçi:-rè dë] [lò-w dē] [jâm nà:yⁿ$] yè-y³⁷⁶ wà, ʔ: wà,
[yàmjà ʔ: m], [èrⁿ$: yà$→] [èrⁿ$: dîmb$-yè yà$→] [bû: nîy'-m = bây] têmbû$ wà, [ā lò-w] [ʔ: m] dûr$ kù] wâmbû wà, wâmbî = nî [yàg$: tûm$] wà, [èrⁿ$: yỳ$l-$m] [èrⁿ$: yỳ$l-$m] [èrⁿ$: yỳ$l-$m] [èrⁿ$: yỳ$l-$m] [èrⁿ$: yỳ$l-$m], 
yàmjà-m [[ûsú sùyⁿ$:y] dâ-r³⁷⁷ dë], [jîrë nî: nî:yⁿ$:i-w] dë] yûr$-m-dó wà, ÿàyâ, 
[yỳ$l-$jë→, yè-$m bâ] [[kù:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ tòw mûl-o-y³⁷⁸ nî:y] [èrⁿ$: mà:] nî] wà yà-pë-m³⁷⁹ [èrⁿ$: lò-$m = bây],
kû'èng-$yj: gò-lò = ñ], pîtô wà, ÿàyâ kûr$'û-yî: èrⁿ$: pîtô = ñ, [kû'èng-nà:pînyâ³⁸¹] kâyⁿ wà, [kû'èng-kù] [bû: yà] [bû: gògô-$m] [bû: gògô-$m] [bû: gògô-$m] [bû: gògô-$m]

³⁷³ à-sàmá is a man’s name corresponding to the female name yà-sàmâ.
³⁷⁴ Third person Hortative.
³⁷⁵ Reported imperative negative. Cf. lò-rè ‘don’t go!’
³⁷⁶ Reported positive imperative. Cf. yà ‘come!’.
³⁷⁷ /dâ-r/: Perfective Negative.
³⁷⁸ mûlô- ‘wrap (sth) up’. Here mûlô-$y in adjectival function ‘wrapped’ modifies tòw ‘kind, sort’, which is in apposition to kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ‘(various) things’.
³⁷⁹ yà-pë-m ‘old woman’, here added as an afterthought, is the subject of the preceding clause.
³⁸⁰ nêyⁿ ‘now’ is bracketed with ‘the girl’. It seems to be a variant of nê ‘now’ as a quasi-topicalizing particle, and need not be translated.
Reported singular
Also pronounced
As modifier, ‘huge, enormous, monstrous’. From Songhay (e.g. Hombori).
[ğˤɔˈnɔː ɣu] yə=n mɔlɔ wə, ɣyə [ɛɾʰɛ tʊlʊ] wɔ, dimbì-yi-bɔ wə, ɣɔɣ=ɣ yə=ɣ [ɛɾʰɛ tʊlʊ] wɔ] sɔsɔˈlʊ bɔ wə,
pɨnɪw’u=n ɣyə tʊw’ɔ=m wɔsɔ wə, wɔɔrɔ-yː, úli káyə wɔ, [ʃʊli kʊ] tɛrɛ tì=náɣ][lɔwɔː-rː ɣu bː gliːn-eː màː wɔy] [ɣaː-yː-m] [ʃ ɔːː ləːːrːaː dːːń rɛ] wə, ləːrːaː yə ā dɔː w kʊ,
yə-ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɛɾɛ’ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
nəŋə mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
bɛɾu mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
səm mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɛɾɛ’ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→
[[ɪsɛː kʊ nùː] nʊ-rː ā wə, ɣyə yɛ-ɣɛ- ānɪə’ŋ nʊw’ɔ wə, háyə sɛw382 bɛ-ɣ383 wə dé, [ːː ləːːrːaː dːː núː kɔːrɔː ɣa̟ː go-m bə
tyə-ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɛɾɛ’ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
nəŋə mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
səm mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
bɛɾu mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɛɾɛ’ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→
yə-ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
yə-ɛɾɛ’ɪrɛ jǎllʊ→ bərə ᵃɔmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
nəŋə mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
səm mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,
bɛɾu mâ dʊɾʊ→, yəmpjə-dʊɾʊ→,

381 As modifier, ‘huge, enormous, monstrous’. From Songhay (e.g. Hombori).
382 Also pronounced sɛː→.
383 Reported singular-subject imperative. The verb is in third person Hortative form.
384 Arabic ʔin šaaʔ-a al-łaah-u ‘if God wished’. Cf. local French inchalla.
yà-frè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà-dúrò→,
yà-mèrè-èrè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà-dúrò→ wà

áŋjà-ni gí:n wà, [áŋjà-n yè érè nù = n] sù→gá yè á nù-ù cèw, háyà [érè pó:-àrè-m] érè
gí:n = nì, lòsò: [kò:→ pù→] kày on wà,

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.
386 Refers to the brother.
387 Expressive adverb referring to shooing flies (traditionally with a cow-
tail).
388 Construction with kò: ‘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’.

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

S: A, [là-w yà] [i: mà:] gàyⁿ
O: ɔ:, ñe:njè: bë = ɔ
S: nà:té:
A: [[árⁿ-a-m yà→] [érⁿ-e yî-m yà→] kù: wò] gàyⁿ
S: dáyⁿ kàyⁿ

A: árⁿ-a-m [yî-m á nárⁿ-a-ɔ] [yà-m á jé-ɔ], [yî-m á nárⁿ-a-ɔ], [yî-m kù] nárⁿ-a kù] lâr gò-lò wà, lâr á gò-lò-ɔ kù, [yî-m kù] jë¬n giⁿ wà, [yî-m kù yà] [á mà:] [á bë:] é-m-dó


kó dënné-flë dënné-flë
[dègné-dègné súgò:-yò] [dî: yàbi nò:], wùy ínà,
[ïndë ánnà] yà: mìn lârâ: bòdâ:
fyé mín ji-jìyⁿëdë,
[dî: gê] [yîmë-ní yày yô:] nò:-dëm→ bà

kàyⁿ→ dë: wà, háyà lò=n iyà, [á nárⁿ=ɔ = ɔ] nárⁿ-i jë: wà, nárⁿ-a-m kù yà, [sèsú-m kù yà] á yè-ɔ,

dënné-flë dënné-flë
[dègné-dègné súgò:-yò] [dî: yàbi nò:], wùy ínà,
[ïndë ánnà] yà: mìn lârâ: bòdâ:

389 There is a lexical distinction between é- ‘(woman) marry (man)’, as here, and jë- ‘(man) marry (woman)’, just above.
390 One could also say here: ... gö jë-yê ‘(she) must go away once and for all’.
391 ‘be put up on something’, Static form. Cf. transitive náyⁿ-‘put (sth) up on something’.
392 wó→, reply to a greeting.
íyé mìn ji-jíyⁿèdè,
[dì: gè] [yìmé-ní yáy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà

[ěrⁿé tò: bè] yè-bó wà,

dènè-flè dènè-flè
[dégé-dégé sùgó:-yó] [dì: yàbì nò:],
wùy jú:mà,
[ìndè ānná] yá: mìn làrâ: bòdà:
íyé mìn ji-jíyⁿèdè,
[dì: gè] [yìmé-ní yáy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà


dènè-flè dènè-flè
[dégé-dégé sùgó:-yó] [dì: yàbì nò:],
wùy má:nù,
[ìndè ānná] yá: mìn làrâ: bòdà:
íyé mìn ji-jíyⁿèdè,
[dì: gè] [yìmé-ní yáy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà

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

A: pínlwú yà, sè:nj→è: bê = ñ
S and others: nà:tè:
A: isè: [ya:-yí-m kù] wò] gàyn
S: dàyn kàyn
A: hà: [ya:-yí-m kù] [èrè=e=nì bù: nàrâ=a=nì] là-w [isè: kù] wò], [yà-gùrò gò=a=ñ] [èrè=kày=a=nì] [bólu mìr-i: àw-rí] wà, háyà [bólu mìr-i: àw-rí] [èrè=kàyn=a=nì], jàm mà bù: gì = nì, [èrè=má:] [yàrì: wò] ùrè-rí dé wòy, [[sùmùy wò] mà:] ból sì-yè-rè-dó gì,a-bò wà
S: [ya:-yí-m kù] [mànì: wò] ùrè-rí dé
] tègè-rè=ì wà dé, [[yì-m kù] nìrè=ì:] [à mà:] arà-yà-lógòrò gày”-sò=ì wà
S: arà-ỳ-lógòrò
A: arà-yà-lógòrò, [laughs] è: [à mà:] arà-yà-lógòrò gày”-sò=ì wà, 5: wà, [bólò: sì-yè=a=ñ] [èrè=kàyn=a=nì] [injë-m [[èrè=tùlú wò] dim-di-bỳ] wà, [èrè=mà:] ì=m dé] [ìgú lò-w dé] [tègè-rì kàny’a-nà-dò wà] [èrëtè tègè-tì: dé] [injë-m kù mà:] yè [à mà:] tègè-y wà,
[ì³: wà gí,n=a=nì] yè=a=nì [èrè=kàyn=a=nì], [nù kà:a=ñ] [ya-frè yè:-ë-rè wà] [ya-frè yè:-ë-rè wà], [[yà-rè=mà:] [yì-m nàrâ=a=nì] yè-sò=ì wà kòy] b°h° [à mà:] yì-m nàrâ=a=ì: wà, [èrè=yì-m] èrè=mà:] nìrè=ì:
] ànàyò gí,a-yè mà:] wà, èy [à kày] [ì³ yì-m] èrè=mà:] tègè-rì=dò wà dé, [mànì: dàì:] â=a=nì [tègè-rè=ì yìn [bólø: ì-sì-bò] wà] [ì³ kày] tègè-rì=dò wà,
[èrè=mà:] mìy”ò kàyn” wà [tègè-y wà] [à mà:] háyà [à mà:] [bù: mà: kày] tègè=rì bà, [ì³ yì-m] èrè=mà:] arà-yà-lógòrò gùy”-yè wà, [jàyà èrè [injë-m kù

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393 isè: ‘village’ here is locative in function, and is not the syntactic possessor of ‘girl’.

394 Most likely the (Logophoric) subject (parents) with QuotS particle, rather than Dative ‘to them (chiefs)’. In the latter case, the antecedent would have to be from the preceding clause.

395 ká- ‘eat (cream of millet, crushed millet, couscous)’. Contrast njé- ‘eat (cooked meal, millet cakes, fruits)’, kùwó- ‘eat (meat, peanuts), chew (kola nuts)’, pùwú- ‘eat (dry flour)’

396 ìlù-rú-, causative of ìrú- ‘go up’.

397 -tùnò repeated several times (backgrounded imperfective in narrative).
sérè] sò-ló] [[injê-m kù] [á yê-û] [dùyⁿurous wò] yá biyⁿá-w³⁹⁸, biyⁿ-rⁿ³⁹⁹ á gô-û,
[pôngû wò] á nû-û,

[céjé lé bê gâ:] cêjè,
[wɔyó lé bê gâ:] wɔyɔ
àrá-yà-lógòrò àrá-kálá-yà-lógòrò
jànj kòyⁿ, jànj kòyⁿ wà

[laughs] [né: kày], [[yà-ûrè gâli] érⁿè tîn = nî] injê-m = Ǿ, [pôngû érⁿè ló-û wò:-wôy] [ló-û dè]

[céjé lé bê gâ:] cêjè,
[wɔyó lé bê gâ:] wɔyɔ
àrá-yà-lógòrò àrá-kálá-yà-lógòrò
jànj kòyⁿ, jànj kòyⁿ wà

hâyà ânãyⁿ érⁿè káⁿ-m = bày, [á kày] né: û-ûró-m bà, [injê-m sérè] sò-ló→ [á má:] tégé:] [[injê-m à bêrⁿ jîyé-m] bà] [[mànî: dà:] á ûró-û dè] [á dúwⁿ-m-né] wà,

[céjé lé bê gâ:] cêje→,
[wɔyó lé bê gâ:] wɔyɔ
àrá-yà-lógòrò àrá-kálá-yà-lógòrò
jànj kòyⁿ, jànj kòyⁿ

[á má: yà] ânãyⁿ giⁿ wà, òⁿhó [érvⁿ má:] tégé-û mà→ wà, òⁿhó [á má:] tégé-û wà,
[érvⁿ = nî yà: ãy = nî] [bôlô: sî-lê-bô wà] [érvⁿ cîrⁿè:] yà: wàsà wà

³⁹⁸ biyⁿ- ‘lie low, lurk (unseen)’, cf. bângiyî- ‘hide (e.g., behind a wall)’. 3Sg Stative form.
³⁹⁹ bi:-rⁿ ‘come out of hiding, reveal oneself’; reversive of biyⁿí.
The drowned junior co-wife

A: pírⁿiwú kálà sè:njè: béː = ñ
S: ná:tː
t Á:
S: êːñ
S: êːñ
S: êːñ

"catch (something thrown or falling)"

tóngː- "catch (something thrown or falling)"

[nî: bérè] sàból bumbúm
á: = ñ bár"á:-r"á
mí àmà-ság = ñ:
[ìpè mà bën] = ñ: mà
ǎyilùm mà yà-dingé wɔ:-rò jè-bò
[kò bën] bár"á:-r"á-bò
núŋo-lú-m gà yà: tògò
[ìyá-yà:-čeré = ñ mí dàmá kúnó-sà nà]
núŋo-lú-m gà yà: tògò → wà

[[bù: mà:], ñ: wá], [[nî: kù] cè:ri wò] yè = ñ] [ér"è pó-àr"a-m kù] nàr"í-jè = yè-bò wá, [ér"è má:] dò mumbó tìni-y wà, mumb-i: tündi wà, ér"è mumbó-m = báy

[nî: bérè] sàból bumbúm
á: = ñ bár"á:-r"á
[nî:-bá: bérè] sàból bumbúm
á: = ñ bár"á:-r"á mà →
[mí àmà-ság = ñ]
[ìpè mà bën] = ñ: mà
ǎyilùm mà yà-dingé wɔ:-rò jè-bò
[kò bën] bár"á:-r"á-bò
núŋo-lú-m gà yà: tògò
[ìyá-yà:-čeré = ñ mí dàmá kúnó-sà nà]
núŋo-lú-m gà yà: tògò → wà

ɔ: wà gi:=", yèy-né bàr"á=— [[yè-yè ér"è gáy" = ní yà] [ánjáy" kày" wà], ánjáy" kú kày" = nì, háyà, [[nî: bôgb] mà:] [yà-m kù = ñ] á: lémdé-ù, [ér"è = nì gò-ló = nî] [úrò jì-jè = yè-yè gí:" = nî] bù: yè-m = báy,
Text 2005-2a.06  Hyena, hare, and lion

S: [fi mà:] sè→jè: gàyⁿ-ý
B: yà-pé-m tûwⁿ-3-m, [á kù:] mà:] [3rⁿ⁻:dáná: á bë-˝w] [àrsë: màŋgi=ní] [érⁿé kàyⁿ=ní], [hàl jò-bë] bèrû, àywà [érⁿé yà:-y¹-m], [[tàdùngü-m yà-m] bò] bù, kú bù nè, [[ti-tà:-m yà→] [jëⁿ-m yà→]] [kù sèrë] sè-në,


pënîwⁿù à: yë-˝w, [në-n pëyⁿ-n nà:-m] sügù-digë wà, [yà-pè-m [sù:-nàwⁿ-3-á:kù] gò-lò=ní] [bù: mà:] dë:-rì), [sù:-nàwⁿ-3-á:kù] à: ãwû-˝w kù, [[érⁿé mà:] ãw kùwô-˝y] wà, [hùgù mà:] sësû-mànù wà nà→, kù-dà: kú bà-rì wà gà,


𢀄y=ní [érⁿé gàyⁿ=ní], [érⁿé yî-m] [tàdùngü-m yà-m kù] [á yë-˝w] kù gò-lò kùwô-˝jë, àywà kùwô ërⁿé jë-˝w kù ñàyⁿ, [[úsù là-w] à: yë-˝w] [në-n gàn nà:-m], sügù-digë bù: gàyⁿ = ní, lùgùrò = m 404 yî-rí,

àywà [[érⁿé mà:] [sù:-díyày kù] yî-rí dé kày], wà:jìbì bèrû-m nì-ᵣ bà, [hû:n mà wà] 5: [è: wà] [yà-pé-m kù yà] [tëy jò:] mirà, hà: [bù:] mà: [bèr bà: jòr-s-ᵣ] dò wò-˝w wà, [bèrû-m kù] à: wò-˝w, ìnjìrì 3rⁿ⁻:dáná: à: lò-˝w, sëwⁿ<nì sîmbé kùwô à: jë-˝w,


hà: [bèr−yì bù:sù=m] wàyàtù wàsà-˝w [kù ñàyⁿ], [tìn=ní [bù: kàyⁿ=ní]] [[érⁿé bèrû kù] gój kù [dûwⁿ⁻:3-r-à:] [[bèr−yì bù:sù=m] bù: yì−, [érⁿé yì−r-a:m] 409 mç:, [[úsù là-w] à: yë-rë] [[tàdùngû-m dùgû] ñùgù dà-rí], [jâm wòy] [érⁿé mà:] ñùgù wà, yà-pé-m ìnjìrì = ní [kù yû:] yù-ᵣ tiném ërⁿé sô-˝w ní,
Demonstrative

After starting to utter a compound (verbal noun with incorporated object), the speaker produces a possessed verbal noun, cf. unpossessed nː:-wːː-iː ‘giving drink to; raising, bringing up (animal)’.

410 Hortative of káyː ‘do’.
411 Lit. ‘the day’s day’.
412 Demonstrative kú (Near-Distant, Inanimate). Forces tone-dropping on the noun, and has high tone itself.
413 gá, clause-final Emphatic particle, expressing displeasure.
414 Possessed form of tėgú ‘full size’, cf. verb tėgė- ‘reach full size, mature’.
415 After starting to utter a compound (verbal noun with incorporated object), the speaker produces a possessed verbal noun, cf. unpossessed nː:-wːː-iː ‘giving drink to; raising, bringing up (animal)’.
[dè: jọ́gó bè úrò mír“è] [pè: yá gó: kò] wá
[dè: tá: mà úrò] [tòm bójòw-bójòw\textsuperscript{416}] wá
ùrù́búgú́rú já́m bùgù nà: li wá


túw“-m bòŋà á sá-w [ěnè mà nùmò dè:“-yè] wà, [wó mír“è] séréwé súgò wá, [sà:“ yò wò dè] nàr“á:-∅ wá, yáyá si-yè, tàdùngú-m áy kúwó-jé:, hál yè = ŋí, [yá-m kù kálà] yàyá,

Hare, hyena, antelope, and aardvark

B: [[[jɔː-m yà→] [ti-tɐ:-m yà→]] kù:] wò] gàyi
S: dây kàyi


418 Variant 3Sg Perfective with final 'he followed (tracks)'.

419 Clause is restarted. A smoother version: [yè ní] [[[nũ: yëy] kù:] wò] gò,

420 Hortative. Also kûngò-m.
Distant demonstrative 'that one', here used in a discourse-obviative sense 'the other one [of two paired protagonists]'.

As second of three chained verbs, dú ‘carry’ has somewhat lower pitch than the preceding verb páŋ, but this does not appear to constitute a phonological tone shift as such.

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421 Perfective Negative of gûy- ‘say’.
422 Harmonized from =bê.
423 Far-Distant demonstrative ‘that one’, here used in a discourse-obviative sense ‘the other one [of two paired protagonists]’.
424 As second of three chained verbs, dú ‘carry’ has somewhat lower pitch than the preceding verb páŋ, but this does not appear to constitute a phonological tone shift as such.
Text 2005-2a.08  Beni and the sacrifice of Yasumoy

S: ū: bê:n àŋjâyⁿ = ∅ èw-ê
C: hà: B dërⁿé-ýⁿ
B: dërⁿúwⁿà:
C: jâm dërⁿé-ŵⁿ
B: jâm sây
C: hénjân 425 dërⁿé-ŵⁿ
B: jâm sây
C: [t]: nù:] sê:w dërⁿé-ë
B: àlhâmdûrūllâ:y
C: [bâ:s kâ:] dërⁿé-rⁿi→
B: jâm sây
C: tà:rê:yô: 426
B: jâm dërⁿé-ŵⁿ
C: jâm sây
B: [ú kórò:jū] jâm dërⁿé-bà
C: jâm sây
B: [bâ:s kâ:] dërⁿé-rⁿi→
C: jâm sây
B: tà:→ré
C: àwá:
B: bisîmlâ
C: háyà wó:dì yà
B: [úsúrî wó] = n yë:-râ-ŷ.:n
C: rînh
C: jà:tì
B: ú: [nù dyfⁿà] [jînjê sâw] = ∅ dé [ú: sâw] = ∅
C: jînjê ɣyô-nâ:m sâw = ∅, [bê:n ñrû-mô:kú kây], [jînjê sâw] = ∅ [ú: sâw] = ∅, gâ: dê:, mãndé gô = ní, ...
B: wó:dì
B: wó:dì
C: [kú bûnûgóy ýêy kù], à: kâwâ-ŵ kù
B: wó:dì

425 hénjân occurs in archaic greetings used by older people. jâm ‘peace’ and sê:w ‘health’ (definitions very rough) are now more current.
426 Embellished variant of tà:rê. This particle ends one greeting sequence with C asking questions of B; B will now begin a reciprocal sequence.
427 -mû with agentive plural (archaic).
C: [[nì: lósù] dimbì-yì-mù kù, [píníwⁿú yà] [káwrà yěy] kàwà-bò
B: wò:dì
C: [né: kāy] tā:n láté:-rè, áywà, áyí-m áyí-m yě = ní, [ú yi:-rà ñ̄gù] ú: [bé:n nú:], [dàyⁿ ñ: nů:-wⁿ] [màndé ã: gó:-w],
B: ná:m
C: éw-yé-m éw-yé-m yě múnwíl
B: múnwíl, wò:dì
B: wò:dì
S: [múnwíl kù] [bèlè án-dá:] = m
C: [múnwíl kù] [wá:lè ló:-rè:-w dè] [múnwíl ló:-w]
B: wò:dì pámé-yⁿ
C: ìyé [[kú múnwíl kù] wò], [ôyé üsù kálà] [pò: kù] yá déyá-w,
B: wò:dì
C: ìyé [úrò kù] wò], [ásùwⁿ èm = Ǿ] dùmdσ:-m = Ǿ 432 mà, [pùmbèrè dö:-m dè] [ôyé kálà] [pò: kú] dàrìyí-w dè] érⁿ-e = m pùmbèrè ló:-m
B: wò:dì
C: kú = m lèrìlèrì-kúrèyè pò: kú = m
C: áywà, kárá gó:-m kù yà→
B: wò:dì
C: áywà, ñ̄gú-dá: yě:-m kù yà→
B: ná:m
C: [nàrⁿù tùwⁿf¹] [bô: tùwⁿ]
B: jà:tì
C: áywà yě lò:-m bá, [mⁿá kù kày] [[á má: kày] [ú yi:-rà:-w ñ̄gú] kárá:-rè nà→] [á má: kày] lò béré:-m-dó wá
B: xxx
C: [ñ̄gú wò] [kú nàyⁿ] hèddè
B: wò:dì
C: kú érⁿé héddè = nè, 431 [ì: lòsù bê] [má:bà bè] …
B: wò:dì

428 kà:gòy (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 not perform an action.
430 Jamsay
431 Static related to transitive dèyí: ‘put down, set’.
432 3Sg ‘it is’ form of dàmdσ:-m ‘last (person)’.
433 For héddè = nì (different-subject subordinated form).
C: ... yê [[bû: dòsû] wô] èw-yè-bô
B: jâ:ti
C: áywâ xè:-dànâ', [bê:n nû:] là:mè-bô', x; [î: lòsû bê] là:mè-bô,
B: wô:di
C: hál [îyé úsù-dèr'î: ðgû], [î: lòsû bê:] = Ø 5: bô
B: wô:di
B: jâ:ti, pâ:mé-yː. kôy
C: [bê:n dâ:] yè:-rê dê, mârgôy', kâ:gôy kû = m bû
B: wô:di
C: [wà:lê kû] wô, â: wândû', mê:má
B: mû: bè yêy
C: bû: = m kâsârû', ð:dûrò: yà
B: wô:di
C: [î kây] ðgû = m jù:w344
C: áywâ, û: [bê:n nû:] ðgôy bû:-wː. gà, [kû kây] [jînji sàw'] [û: sàw] kôy
B: [î kâlà dê] [kâ:n yà: i nû-wⁿ dêy346]
C: kârâ:-rê kû, [î dê:]347 ú yî:-rê-w ðgû→ [ûrô-mⁿô: pîrê] kârâ:-rê kôrô nû-jè-w tán, í [nû áw-sô-lô-m] = m-i:
B: ârⁿ-â-m tâng:-rê
C: [nû-m gûnâyⁿ] lâ-w [kâ:n kâ:n] [î injîrî-m] bôy yà: ðgô, kû = m kârâ:-rê,
B: pâ:mé-wⁿ-û-wⁿ
C: âhâ8
C: jâ:ti
C: jâ:ti
B: [mà'nî: kû kâlà dê] [ûrⁿ'ê èw-yè jîyê-yê], hâ: [ûgû kû] kû lâ:tê = nî, áywà yà: [têmbèrû tûwⁿ'î], â mâ-ûⁿ, [[tângày ðgû] wô] á dûwô-w kû', injîrî = nî, là [[ûnjô-m] têmî, [ûnjô-m kû] á têmbû-w kû, áywâ têrêw = Ø wà, [ã mà:] [ûrⁿ'ê kû-dá: yà yî-sô-w348 wà, [ûrⁿ'ê èw-yè-yê kû-dá: yà yî-sô-w wà,

344 Sg possessor form.
345 yà ‘also’ added to the right conjunct.
346 Pre-quotative particle (‘that ...’), generally at a pause before the quoted matter begins.
347 dê: with a pronoun (phrasing typical of this speaker).
348 Low-toned form of yî-sô-w ‘he/she saw’.
éřēâte guýⁿ=ní, [óŋjó-m kù yà] á sá-ò wù kù dë, [á dérë] mà:, [ńúwⁿ’yⁿ káy] [á dũwọ tì=náyⁿ] ló-ré-y wà, [éřēᵉ má:] lëmëdë: š: wá; [bú: bú nè] [bú: bú nè] [bú: bú nè], [őŋjó-m kù kàlā] [usú tũwⁿ-m] yárá-m yárá-m á yè-₃ wù kù dë, [éřēᵉ kàlā] [ńrⁿ kù] yì, sëⁿ→ á tímí-wⁿ kù,

[[á dérë mà:] á sá-ò wù kù dë, [[éřēᵉ má:] tɛrɛw tɛɡé-m bà] [ńrⁿ éw-yè éśù] [ńrⁿ éřēᵉ gùyⁿ-rà-w kù], [[á má:] kàlā] iyè yà: d₃-₃ wà, áywà ṣgúpànyⁿ, ínjirí=n [usú tũwⁿ-m], [[á: yèy yà:] yè-bà,

yà: bú: yè-rë¹, [[dérë-m kù] [[á sè: kè] dũwọ-ti:] kù=m [kásårú nũ-m]=Ø kù=m, [éřēᵉ sè: kè] yà: tɛmù-wù, [ló-ỹ kù káy⁴⁴⁹] gàⁿ-m-dò kòy], [[éřē sè: kè] kù] yà: tɛmù-wù, ḥà: [kù pàyⁿ⁴⁴⁰], [[á sá-₃] [ńrⁿ kù] [yàři mⁿ’áyó:] [sùmòy nⁿ’áyó:] wà, ṣgú pàyⁿ⁴⁴⁰, [ńrⁿ kù] hěwètë,


[kú yà] [[á: mà:] dà:-wó dbró sgú-dá:] ùrⁿ-m bá, [kú wàyàtù] [kú pàyⁿ], [[ńrⁿ ṣgú] nànjànà:] [kùn-tàwrá:] =Ø sòy, sùmòy ṣgò, hà: [kú pàyⁿ] [[kùn-tàwrá kù] wòⁿ], yè=ní yà: úrⁿ cěwⁿ-è-bó, cěwⁿ-è=ní bù: bù nè,

yà: kàlά býy, áywà wàjíbì péyí pègè-r-à dë, péyí pègè-r-à dë wóy, [[ńrⁿ kù] éw-yè⁴⁴¹] núm bú-w wà, áywà wò⁴⁴² bë:-rë dë, [[ńrⁿ bóŋ₃] á sá-₃ wù kù dë, [[kásårí bóŋ₃] mà:]

wàjíbì [[péyí kù] éřēⁿ=m pègè-m bá kóy, sàbù [[[ńrⁿ lá-jë:] ūlù] wò] [péyí éřēⁿ=m pègè-m] bá, [[yà-gúrù kà:’n] ūr gö cèlë=ní bù:-Ø]⁴⁴⁴ sèlë sò-m, áywà [ńuⁿ’yⁿ káy] [ŋàyⁿ wò] bë:-rë dë, [[á mà:] [[péyí kù] dū:] dù:-jë: wà, [[ńrⁿ kù] ]


C: jà:ti
C: jà:ti
B: [[ńrⁿ pàyⁿ] n’l], bè:mì bë-rë èw-yè, [[ïyé úsù kàlà] [ńrⁿ wò] bù-y:].
C: jà:ti
B: [[ŋú gùyⁿ→] nû-yⁿ, [[ńù yà] [[jìn菁 sàw dë:] [ńu kàlà] [ńu sàw]
C: [[jìn菁 ŋⁿ-nám:] sàw, ánjáyⁿ=m
B: nám:

⁴⁴³ káyⁿ, a variant of Topic káy.
⁴⁴⁰ A fixed phrase used to declare that a place is claimed (reserved). yàři is a variant of yàři: ‘sky’.
⁴⁴¹ éw-yè- ‘sit’, here functioning as a possessed noun ‘sitting (=dwelling’).
⁴⁴² Reduction of [ńrⁿ wò] ‘in that’ or the like.
⁴⁴³ Not a possessor relative.
⁴⁴⁴ Combination of = nàyⁿ ‘and then’ (same-subject subordinator) with a morpheme nì (doutfully related to different-subject ‘and’ subordinator = n).
C: jëntë j: su:rë-ë
B: âm:n
D: [á ná:-w"n\-iy\-y\n kù] gùn-w
C: z"h\n, â ná:-, â ná:-w"n\-iy\-y\n ërn\ë gùn-w kù
B: ê: kù ëy ò\-bò
C: háyà, â ná:-w"n\-iy\-y\n ërn\ë gùn-w kù
B: jà:tì
C: háyà, kù kù=m
B: jà:tì
C: [tuw"n-m kù mà:] [ú yì:-râ-ë ãgù] [kù tégè-m kù mà:]
B: wò:di
C: jõngù-m = Ø bà
B: jõngù-m = Ø
C: jõngù-m
B: wò:di
C: [ërn\ë = m = n] kára:kíndé: kù = m
B: kára:kirí: kù = m, ërn\ë = m jõngù-m = Ø
C: ê→
B: wò:di, wò:di
C: âm\'a kù yà-sùm\öy = m, háyà [yär kóró:-rë tán] [á ná:-w"n\-iy\n] wà
B: wò:di
C: [[[á ná:-w"n\-iy\n kù] nî:] wô], iyé [kù dâw"nà] kù yë:-rë dë, áywà ñjë = Ø kù = m,

[chanson:] iyé yà-sùm\öy ãngùrò wà
B: jà:tì

C:

[chanson:] kára:kíndé: ãngùrò wà,
[yà yà:-y] [yà yëré-ë]
kára:kíndé: ãngùrò wà
yà-sùm\öy hà:hày wà
yà-sùm\öy hà:hày
pùl\-kómò lè: [bön lè] sá: kómò wà

B: jà:tì, té→ ân\ë=m kòy, [[ãgù gây"n\ë=té→] nù-ën:] [[nù díy"n à kù] m\ö:o:] kù = n
C: [ãgù gây"n\ë] giy"n-bò
B: inšã:la:w ër\ë jiyë-m [núw"n\ì\ë kày]
D [445]: ër\ë gë:w-Ø, ër\ë gë:w-Ø
B: nâ:m
D: áywà [mégé mégé [yà-m kù] dây\ë ërn\ë = nì [dây\ë nà:"n] tángù-ë] yà-sùm\öy kù
B: wò:di
D: áywà, nù-m yà: nù:-rë dë, [âwá kù] [446] kùwò-[jìy-ë:], kù núm-dó:-rë nì

B: wó:di
D: kú = m

446 Subject of verbal noun, but here not treated as possessor.
Text 2005-2a.09  Sister villages Beni and Walo

S: ṣ̀hóọ̀ lọ-māyá


[[ínjírí-mà dè] [[wà:lè kù]— lò-yè], [bò:-yi-tiùwè kù] yà: [úsù yèy], hál lò-ló [úsù tà:n], 451 l: lò:-rè dè, nà: sèw<ní>-yà 452, bèr sèw<ní>-yà, pèrè sèw<ní>-yà, èw<ní> yé-yè [hál ló bá-m], áywà [nù-m wòy] [dáyà à jòrós-m gáy→] né-m,


nè:rè yè kày, úsú-úsù tà:n, dàmb:f l: lò-m-dó, [bìrígié-mà dè] [bò:-yi-tiùwè kù], ánjà 456 [[ínjírí-mà dè] lò-yè, ánjà = n 456 ] [i: bí nè] [i: bí nè] [i: bí nè]

[ìyé yè [[ànùnà nùn]] yè nú = ní, áywà [bò:-yi-tiùwè kù], [kú = ní kày] [núw<ní>yà kày] ìwàs-tí:-yè, gà: wà:jìbì [[nù èsù-m] tìwé:-rè dè] [ìyé úsù kàlà tù = nì ìwàs-sòló-yà::, [[bò: tûw<ní>] [nàr<ní> tûw<ní>]], hà: jìyè-tí:-yà wà

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447 Plural hortative (speaker and two or more others).
448 Delayed conjunction yà→ as the speaker decides to add a second conjunct.
449 Variant of dàw<ní>-wòy ‘all’.
450 Relative clause based on verb with = bè ‘used to’. Define kù follows the participle.
451 Sentence is not completed. Could be completed by adding bè:-yà: ‘we remained’.
452 -yà, variant of 3Pl imperfective -yè.
453 hsnà ‘such as’ or ‘for example’ (Fulfulde word for ‘like’).
454 ‘Fleet-footed’, a bahuvrihi compound.
455 ìyú-rú ‘here’ as adjective, forcing L-tone on the preceding noun.
456 Unusual combination of ánjà ‘thus’ and clause-final = n(i).
Text 2005-2b.01  Fulbe and French domination

B: ³hôⁿ, [nûwⁿyⁿ kà⁵yⁿ] [káⁿ kàⁿ] i: jîrô-sô-ðò dë’, [[kàbà:r kàⁿ]— kàyⁿ=nì [dàyⁿ [i: kù:] jàm] i: bërë-ðë] [kàbà:r=nì nûwⁿyⁿ kàⁿ]-râ-y’]. kà=m nàngû=m’ê’, [îyô yë-rë’] [i: nû diy³a] lâwá-mà, ñwà, gûlò wò, nù=nì yà mà-ré-yë=b-a; [ânsârá yë=nì] [gûlò kù] gô-y’.’


D: sàmbà:
B: sàmbà:, kû=m bó: bërë-átwòw, kû=m bó ñgû-rû bó: bàrà-mà dë, lô [wàyàdûgû tû-m⁴⁵⁷]
lô-tî-yà gày⁴º→ bë:-rë dë wòy, tûs=bà yû, [[nù kày]-m] lô-y jîrô-m] ñwâ sîyë:-rë më’,⁴⁵⁹ îyô—, ñwà bërëmbô, ñwâ [sôdâ:sû kù] bërë-wû-m-dô, ñgû gày⁴º→ látë-sô-w, ñwà têy [jînje sàw dë] [ú sàw], D
B: wÔ:ðì
B: jàtì
D: ñwà, [dà:-l dà:-l kû] ñgàyº tè→ bó, gà: [ërë=ànûr:rá:m kû] [[ërë yà] [tûlû wò] yë=nì], sè:kû [ñjë gûººº mâ] [sè:kû=m ni gòlô], pû:të=â gòlô, ânsà:rá-m kû, pû:të=â [ërë

⁴⁵⁷ As possessed noun with possessor X, tô-m ‘agemate’ (also the Reciprocal word) is used abstractly to mean ‘something of the same type or dimension as X’.

⁴⁵⁸ 3P: Perfective Negative bërë- ‘get, obtain’. 3Sg bël-lí-Ø.

⁴⁵⁹ French mais ‘but’.

⁴⁶⁰ This ñwà is superfluous. bërëmbô ‘freely, haphazardly’ belongs with the following phrase.

B: jà:tì, nà:m, coupe!

461 gô here is a variant of kû at the end of a subordinated clause.
462 Perfective of the causative of sù:r"û- ‘rest, relax’
463 Demonstrative kû preceded by tone-dropped cognate nominal (gôr"ûs). 3Sg counterpart: [[êr"ê kû:] gôr"ûs kû].
464 This word is not understood by other speakers. It is apparently from an Arabic word meaning ‘fix, settle (an issue)’.
465 Complete as: [kʰ:n̄ ñgû] = m = bây [kʰ:n̄ bû: ûsûrû-li: wô: wôy] ñgò ‘it’s this thing, there was nothing that they did not ask about.’ This would normally come at the end of the list. Halfway through this passage, the speaker realized that the list was not yet complete and broke off.
466 This speaker sometimes uses = nê (different-subject) and = nê (same-subject) subordinators, = nî and = nî (respectively).
467 Fr. indépendance.
468 1P Dative, apparently the indirect object of ‘he was saying’ (êr"ê gûy̌ nê)
469 ‘What would you-Sg say it was?’ inserted as parenthesis in the larger sentence. [i: kû:] is logically bracketed with bërô:-yê, i.e. ‘(he told) us to take (charge of) ourselves.’
467 Variant of = nî (same-subject subordinator).
469 The demonstrative ñ (= ñgû) follows the participle but has scope over the relativized noun: ‘this way (in which) we are today’. The participle (elsewhere bû:-ê) drops tones before the demonstrative.
470 là ‘other’. Cf. [nû lâ-m] ‘another person’. Singular -m (especially with the noun ‘person’) is optionally dropped in relative-head position (which also forces tone-dropping).
Text 2005-2b.02  
Ravaging Fulbe

B: áywà, [dàyɔ̀ kàːn] [nà kýyː:] láwá-w dé→, i: ònjòy kú, áywà [dɔ̀-bàː-j]sèː=∅, [ádùnɔ̀ kù] nùː [jìgù bá→] kàlà jì:-r-á-bá=b-a.473 [kù náy"], áywà nù [árɔ́: árɔ́-m] tàngi-rí-m wùy, [jìgù-rù gò=ny] [á:mäː tú-m] lò béré-m-dó,474 [jìgù-rù gò=ny] [hùnɔ̀ dúwànsàn tú-m] lò béré-m-dó, njè=m475 kú=m, pùlɔ̀-bɔw báyɔ́-bá476

D: nùː [jìgù bá→] yùrɔ̀-r-á= b-á:

B: [nùː kù] èsì⁴⁶⁴→, 477 áywà [búː hàkìlè] sàlå búː;478 [kú ýéy-nè kàlà bè→], ár̩-á-m=∅=dá→’ yà=m=∅=dá’, [árɔ́: bírɛ̃⁷⁷⁷ sày] bírɛ́-yɛ [búː dà⁵⁻wùy], [bírɛ́ wò] lò-yɛ gáy⁴⁴⁰→ bɛ̀-rè dé wùy, [yì-téː yà→], [àrɔ́:gù-yà yà→], [kàː nù mùrɔ́-u⁴⁸⁰ dëⁿ⁻wùy]) úrò dúwò tì-mà dè] [ɪnjìrì-mà dè] [(bírɛ́ kù wò) lò-yɛ,


D: [ình⁵ⁿ: kù] wò jègèrë múṣò-yè

B: [[bùrùgù tû-m] lò] búː jìyɛ⁻tː dè, [búː yá] [kù kú=n] ëwë ëwë ëwë mòːl-mà dè, [ànsàːrà ònjòy] wò jò-lò-yɛ,


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

474 Can also be expressed in this context as bérɛ⁻m-dó=b-ɛː.

475 More often njèː=∅ ‘what is it?’

476 Predicative form of báy⁴⁴⁰→ ‘many’, with 3Pl subject. Negation: báy⁴⁴⁰=rá-bó ‘they were not numerous’.

477 Èsì⁴⁶⁴→ ‘very’ (adverb) has scope over sàlå ‘small’.

478 Adjectival predicate.

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

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

481 Normally báːrã-báːrã without a further iteration.

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

483 3Pl subject conjugated form of jìjìː→ ‘taking along’ (which is usually restricted to nonfinal position in chains).
S: [átèwû kù] njè::= Ø
D: [átèwû=Ø dê] gûⁿ-yâ, [gûⁿ-i:] gûⁿ-i-m, sîⁿ bû: àtèwû gûⁿ-i-m=Ø
B: gârdîɲèh.⁴⁸⁸
   dî::-m kày, [gûl5-m=Ø gû=yâⁿ] [pûl5-m bêrê-jê: dê] màrê-m-dô, [ló-mà dê] gû jîyé-mà mâ=¹, ãyàw [nhè mà gûⁿ-wû dê] ⁴⁹⁰ bù::— tâ jîyé-mà mâ¹, [sùyô jîyé-mà dê] jisè ʧ-î,yê¹,
   [pûl5: kù] [bù: yâ] ⁴⁹² bêrê-j-à: dê, [jà-ló-mà dê] tíyé-yê, ãyàw ñgàyⁿ=m nî kàyⁿ-yê=b-à: gûyⁿ-bò, ãyàw [né: kày], [tèy gûⁿ-w-kû]=m [là-w ú yà sô-w dê] [dà::-wô gûⁿ]
I: hà: nûwⁿyⁿ ɲgú kù=m
S: hà: nûwⁿyⁿ [nû bû:] bêrê-j-à: dê, [[âm bê'])? ⁴⁹³ mà:] jò-ló-yê=b-à:
B: bù::—

⁴⁸⁴ The clitic =nî is optional here (after a PP). Locative postposition wô is added in this phrase to a plural agentive ‘robber, thief’ with the object of theft as possessor. Singular counterpart: [ârsè: gûrû-m bû=nî] là:tè.
⁴⁸⁵ Imperative singular (< ày). Likewise bárà ‘help!’ (< bàrì) just below. The high tone element in such forms is audible on the first syllable and may extend onto the first part of the following vowel.
⁴⁸⁶ Manner relative clause with demonstrative ɲgú. Cf. (without the demonstrative) [B nûwⁿyⁿ yê dayⁿ tégè-ʍ].
⁴⁸⁷ The second wô ‘take’ has lower pitch than the first.
⁴⁸⁸ Fr gardien. The form (common in languages of the zone) may have been distorted by confusion with Fr jardinier ‘gardener’.
⁴⁸⁹ Direct object (Fulbe).
⁴⁹⁰ The full form of this common parenthetical (suspense-building and audience-involving) expression is [[nhè gûⁿ-w mâ] [gûⁿ-w dê]] ‘what would you say if you said it?’
⁴⁹¹ Ends in verb ‘t send’. 3Sg subject counterpart: [sûyô jîyé-w dê] jisè t-î.
⁴⁹² 3Pl here refers to Fulbe.
⁴⁹³ Pl of âm ‘who?’, followed by Dative postposition.
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 pronoun The Pl bû: following the participle is
B [overlapping]: [nègrô: bû: giːⁿ-rà kù bû:] [ànjàyⁿ tí:-yéy⁴⁹⁵ kù] bûː = m

D: [kù kù yà→] kòmbó⁴⁹⁶ [núwⁿ³yⁿ käy] [njèːː= Ø mà gûⁿ-wⁿ dë] [tá-yé⁴⁹⁷ gûyⁿ = nî] [yà-dáː jɔː-ló = nî] [bûː kàyⁿ nè], gâmbû [kòmbó kù] òwⁿ₅-rè nî], [nû: gâm] mà nàː⁴⁹⁸ [gâmbû kù], [njèːː= Ø mà gûⁿ-wⁿ dë] yà-dáː [Amérique kù dàː] yà-dáː: yà-dáː: wàsà-bò³;


[kâmbó òwⁿ₅-rè nî] [bûː kày] ànjàyⁿ bûː ëw-re-bô, kú = m libérè kú = m Libé—

[njèːː= Ø mà] [Libéria kù], yàː: ànjàyⁿ = nì bûː ëw-re òwⁿ₅-bô

B: jàːːti
D: ñ⁴⁹⁹⁸h⁵⁰
B: l’histoire—

D: jàːːti, [l’histoire kù] [núwⁿ³yⁿ käy] [iːː— nú:-rà-ì wù kù] ñâyⁿː = Ø [iːː màːː]— [iːː nù gûnû]

ñâyⁿː = Ø [iːː màːː] tï̀lːeː:-rà-ì-bô wá

B: hàː jiyé-tí

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in definite function, with scope over the head NP ‘black people’. The equivalent with a singular head NP would be … [nù jèwⁿê] bûː giːⁿ-rà-m kù.

⁴⁹⁵ Variant pronunciation of passive tïyé-yé ‘be sold’. Passive with -yé, in a relative clause.

⁴⁹⁶ kâmbó ‘war’ seems to be preposed topic, but it is then treated as object of tá- ‘shoot’ (the combination means ‘fight a war’).

⁴⁹⁷ tâ ‘wage (war)’. Object is kâmbó ‘war’.

⁴⁹⁸ [[nû: gâm] mà nàː], stylistic embellishment of nû: gâmbû ‘certain people’.

⁴⁹⁹ gi-rⁿ ‘they said’. Irregular variant of gûyⁿ-bô ‘they said’.
Implantation of Islam in Beni

S: ársilà:mà:kú [uː iːsːɛː] [ǎnjáyə nàjáyə] yë
S: [pàŋjá này], ǎnjáyə yë
B [overlapping]: jò-lò-ɣ, 500 jò-lò-ɣ mà, áywà [núː kù dëː-wù-wò-y], tòːrù, kù=m [bùː bìrɛ=bɛː]
D: 3mdδ
B: 3mdδ, kù=m yòɣɔ́-gorm=y=ɔːː; bùː yòɣɔ́-m ꜞ nɛ́, ñɛ́ŋ ãː m ìʃ=m; [pùː ər”m àkà”]
ársilà:mà:kú jì-m kù m [ìnì:ː] 502 jùwɔ́-w, [hiːdú úmbàɾú] màː=ɔ̀m=Ø
D: sɛːkú á:mádú=mì
ɡà=:bː rɛ dɛ, áywà jàm nàr”à-w”ù-m-dö, sɛː bùː sɛyí-ù-ù-m, bùː jùkkë=mì, kù=m [kàː màː] tɛsː-ya,
pinwú=ɔː niː, [tòːrù ɡàːyjoʊ] ñɔː tə lɔː dëː [kù=m sùyɔ dàrú-ɗ], sùyɔ dàr tː dɛ dɔː ny, [isːɛː kù màː]; [bùː màː]; ñɛ́ːrɛː-w àmː]; [ɛː nɛː-dà wɔ̀-wù wëy, bëññ őː=ä cɛː:rú=m, ɛː ñɔː tù:-wù-wù-wù:-wù wëy, mìʃːdɛ yəː, [isːɛː kù wò] cɛː:lɛ dùwɔː-ɗ,
hàl [iː isːɛː ḣgüː] [mìʃːdɛ ɡüyː], nùw”ɔẙ”oː, [ñylɔːt hàmàdú=m] màː=mì lɔ-ɾ m dɛ, [ɔː kù=ŋ] [bèdà:rù ðòrǔ kù] [ɔː kù=ŋ], mìʃːdɛ ɡüyːɔː kù, yāː=ŋ503 èw-ɾɛː-bá wá, yá pàːmɛ-w,
ḥgüː-rù á gɔː-ʋ kàlàː, pinwú isːɛː lɔː ò tɛmbú:-wù wëy, tàwà ʊː nɔː-wù-ù-m-dö, 504 təwà, hàmpɛ-ʋu-m-dö, [bàŋgiyː ñày] = ɗ505 dɛ, tàwà bɛːɾɛ hàmpɛ-ʋu-m-dö, [tàwà ʊ hàmpɛ-m ɔː niː lɔː vəː-ɛ:j, hà [ŋù ɡàːyjoʊ], ]iː kàyː [kɔː: ɔː nʊː-ʊ-ʊ wʊ], [dːnà kù qiːyɔː kù kày] [ɛː rɛː=mì jɛː mːnú-só-ɣ=ɔː [jìnðì sàw dɛː [uː sàw]
D: ánɔːyə=mì nì, [isːɛː kù á:mádúːm] ánɔːyə yë=nì] [iː nʊ ꜞ gùnù=mì kàlàː] [áŋjáyə yë=nì] ñgüː-rù yë təmbɛliː, yë=n [dàwɔː-kú] [iː nʊ ꜞ gùnù=mì] [bùː yàː] [núː yɛː] [núː tən] áŋjáyə [go ɣyìliw těi=mì bùː kàyjured=mì] 500 [aːdːnà kù] õsù=mì kù [ɔːsù térɛːw]-[506 yì-bó, (áŋjáyə nàyə)] [bùː yàː] jàŋɡɛ-bó,
500 Imperative with 1Sg subject (taking the perspective of other persons).
501 yòɣ ‘run’ is the verb used with ‘idol’ as object; free translation ‘worship idols’.
502 ‘name’, here with the entire long NP (including relative clause) as possessor.
503 yāː=ŋ ‘there’ (focus form) resolves [504 ‘that place’ (focus).
504 Causative in the sense ‘allow X to VP’.
505 ‘it is not’.
506 ᵒsū-terew ‘true path, path of truth’. In form, a compound with ‘path’ (unexpectedly) as compound initial, hence literally ‘path-truth’.
[I: ná:m, [bè:n àrsílà:mà:kú] jé-m] [i: nú-ǹ kày], [i: tè:ò°è] = àkílè gùⁿ-yè
S: àcìlè [ánjáyⁿ náyⁿ] àrsílà:mà:kú jé:
D: [àrsílà:mà:kú] —
S: [ánjáyⁿ kày = ní] kú = n jé:
pañwⁿ = ní [ér°é kála] [ǹjé gùⁿ-w mà gùⁿ-w dè] [bú: lò = ní å pàm = wó kú, áywa [[á kú:] náyⁿ] nú:, [[á yîté: gò-lò = ní kála] [àrsílà:mà:kú kú] jànginë, [jàngë dógurú ⁵⁰⁸ á: bâ- wó kú náyⁿ] [bè:n yë = ní] sàygì bá wá
B: [ér°é kú] bàngágará = ní bù = b-è:
D: já:ti
B: àkílè kú
D: ná:m
B: bàngágará bë: ní, ...
D: já:ti
B: [àrsílà:mà:kú kú] yá: = ní bà
D: ná:m
B: bàngágará
D: já:ti
D: là:r-bó
B: là:r-bó, hál [tú: náyⁿ] là:r-bó, áywa [kâⁿ-m tìnmë] [kâⁿ-m tìnmë] [jìnjë ɔ̀t-nà:m] [á bàwòdó] náyⁿ°, ...
D: bù: = ní bàrú-n

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

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

S: [bê:n kôrò kû] ājè: = Ø
B: jà:ti
T: [ā yê dê-w cêm] àwù-m-dô [kû = m [èr"è mà:] bû], [isè: kû dà:] a gô yê-w [kû wô kàlà]
    [[àwù-m-dô kû] kû = m èr"è gô-lô, [ìyè úsù kàlà] kû = m bû
B: jà:ti
T: nú-m èr"è gôrã, [bê:n nú-m] kû àw-ří
B: pêy
B: jà:ti
T: kû bè:nî = nî bè::wût-m bâ
B: jà:ti
T: [[[isè: kû] [dânày] wô] [kû èw-yè-w űgû] kôrôy = Ø = râ wà dé], [[rù:kû wôy]
    dàrbâlâ: = Ø [[[isè: jò → wô] li-lô-wí] [isè: űgû gây"n →] isè: [èw-yè: èsù]] ... Œ
    : jò:-râ
T: ... [dà:y-i: kû] núm bût::Ø, ñr"ô-dânà: yá s-é:"n, [kèlè mà:] yá s-é:"n, [ñr"ô kû] èsù bût::Ø
B: jà:ti
T: háyà űgû = m bê:n bè::wût-m bâ
T: ñày isè: yê kû têmbû-w, űgû-rû kày, jîmbè = n ti-têm
B: wô:ðì
T: gâw"û=û = nî ti-têmbî
B: wô:ðì
T: ñàlà, tê-têmbî, ñàyâ wàsà, wàsà, bû: tê-têmbî, [èr"è yà], yê á têmbû-w kàlà', [àr"ô àwú-ñ]
    bè-r618 dé, [isè: á yê têmbû-w = nî kàlà] àw-ří, űgû = nî bè:n

511 Factive clause with 3Reflexive possessor (=subject) and a final demonstrative kû. Compare
    unpossessed [àwú-ñ-dô kû] just below.
512 “Passive” -wô- ‘used here for generalized (impersonal) subject.
513 dânàý” here is a toponym, denoting the flat stony area at the entrance to Beni. Distinct from dânàý”
    ‘(the) outside’.
514 kôrîy ‘empty, bare’, hence ‘for no reason’. Here with ‘it is not’ clitics = Ø = râ, where = Ø consists
    of a low tone.
515 Bahuvrihi compound ‘(having) good sitting’.
516 Oumar Abdou Kagoye, born 1950.
517 = ti-têmbî.
518 = bè-ří.
T: bè:nì = m yē bū: tēmbì
S: bè:nì [ŋgú-rū yē = n] bū: = n tēmbì
T: 5ʰhā
B: bāy [(kāpēmdē = nī yā) tēmbū] mā → tēmbi-rī
T: tēmbū
B: [[tītāngāy = nī yā] tēmbū] mā → tēmbi-rī
T: tēmbū
B: bāy [ānāyⁿ nāyⁿ] [bē:n dūwō tī = n] bū: īnjīrī yīyō tān
T: āywā [ī kāy] [kū mā:] jūwō  sālà bū:-Ø
B: tēgē diyā
T: āy, [kū mā: kāy] [jūwō kū] sālà bū:-Ø, [kū mā: kāy] jūwō sālā
B: [kū mā:] [ū jūwō] sālā
D: [[ū yā] tēgē gāyⁿ] [ū jūwś-w dē]

T: hà: iyā [(kāⁿ kā:) i nū-w] dēy, [bē:n kū], ā yē-āw, [ŋr³ ŋgū-rū] yē kū ēw-yē = n,
tītāngāy = nī tī-tēmbi, āywā jēmēsō: r₃-tūrū = nī tī-tēmbi, kāpēmdē = nī tī-tēmbi,
[dā: = nī kālā] tī-tēmbi, [kū bēr-kēlā:] yē kū ēw-yē = nī, [ŋr³ kū] kū = nī yāwē = nī
s-ē: = b-a, āy: [yē bū: ēw-yē = nī kū] [(ŋr³ kū) [ŋr³ ēsū] tāŋg: -rē,
[bū: mā:] īnjīr ēg-yā wā, ā: [ā: ŋr³ ŋgū] [ŋr³ bē: -wū-m] bā, kū = m bē:nī, ā: mā:], ēg-gō: ī = rā-bō wā kōy, ŋgū-rū, āywā [kū nāyⁿ], [tū: nāyⁿ] lārī-m tīnē,
[bē:n bōd kū] [kū nāyⁿ] tā: yā sō, [tā: kū] īr³ ēyⁿ tā:] = Ø, [kū mā:] yārī-kā:
ɡūⁿ-yē [(tā: kū mā:), yārī-kā:, [(yārī-kā: ŋgū nāyⁿ), bōng: m [nār³ ŋhējērē] īnjīrī = nī [ū śē:] lō = nī], [(ŋsr³ nǐ ŋgī:] wō] [kū = nī ɡāngi-rī = nī lāwā:-rē, ār³-ā-ksū sūyⁿy, [kō:n:] nē:] bērē-m-dō-w::,
S: yārī-kā: kū, [tā: kū] īnjīrⁿ:] = Ø
T: [tā: īnjīrⁿ:] = Ø
S: īr³ ēm tā:
T: īr³ ēyⁿ tā:, yārī-kā:, [jīnjē saw dē] [ū saw]
B: hà: kū = m yā, [[nā kūy:n:] i tēgē-w kū kālā] [kū = m kōy] [bē:n num mā:] [[nū
āw-rū-m] = Ø ɡūⁿ-yⁿ
T: D!

519 = tēmbi.
520 For tāŋg ‘did definitively, once and for all’.
521 ‘my knowledge’, 1Sg possessor form of noun jūwā.
522 Post-imperative particle, following positive singular imperative.
523 Plural of ēg-gō-m ‘one who has a propensity to leave; quitter’.
524 = tīmēn.
525 Name of the iron shoe. Cf. yārī ‘sky’.
526 = ŋsr³-nǐngi ‘baobab-leaf sauce’.
527 3Pf Perfective Negative -r-ā, not subject to Nasalization-Spreading.
528 Note the variant forms of ‘iron’: īr³ ēyⁿ (archaic), and īr³ ēm (used by younger speakers).
D: \(\text{tà: lōsō-nḗy}^n\) = \(\emptyset\) \(\Rightarrow\) lōsō-bànā́y\(\emptyset\) = \(\emptyset\)
B: [kù yẹ́ yèm] yà bú
T: \([\text{tà: ká}:\text{̀}]\) bú: gá\(\emptyset\) = náy\(],\) lò = náy, [isè: gōngùrú] bú: láwá-m kù, [tà: kù] [tà: lōsō-bànā́y\(\emptyset\)]= \(\emptyset\)
B: já:ti
T: [lōsō-bànā́y\(\emptyset\) kù] [lōsō-nḗy\(n\)] wó] kù gá\(\emptyset\)-w, [lōsō-nḗy kù] = m âyù-w dé yá, [[lōsō-bànā́y\(\emptyset\)] wó]\) kù gá\(\emptyset\)-w
D: [[kó:\(n\) dá:-w] ú nù-м] yá bú, [ú nù-м] yá bú
T: ânày\(\emptyset\) = nì gōngùrú-w [isè: kù] = n, í ŋù gáy\(\emptyset\) = ní kù nù-й\(n\)
D: já:ti
T: ãsá:llá:w
B: [[ì sè:]} gó-m dé dày\(\)] [ì ká:k\(n\)\)] [êsé wó] gáy\(\emptyset\)-jë\(\) gó-m kòy
T: [[êsé kála] múṣùyó-w dé] gó-m, [[êsé kála] múṣùyó-m kòy, [óròsú wóy]\) á táwá-m-dó, ése = n múṣùyó-m
S: báy érë́ sé sùngóy gá-m-dó má
T: sùngóy gá-m-dó kòy, sùngóy gá-m-dó
D: [kù káy\(\)] [nù gùnú káy]\) dàw\(\emptyset\)á yá s-é:\(n\) = b-á: kòy
T: sùngóy gá-m-dó, ŋù gáy\(\emptyset\) = ní bírë-yë = b-á:
E: [isè: kù] = n nèy gi-gōngùrú-m = bè mà\(\), [nà tuw\(\emptyset\):]\) ló [ŋày\(\) tó-tí: dë] áy-jé-m = bè
T: [isè: kù]\) [nár-ù wó]\) ló:-rë dë—
E: xxx—— tégë tégë tégë
T: gōngùrú-w dë, [\(\text{à} \text{r}^n\) á tûmdú-w kù = n]\) yè [lōsō: tà:] kà-m, kùyó: á tò-w kù, yè [[kù kù:] wó]\) tó→ tó-tí: dë wóy, gãlí tînì-m-dó, hàl [injírë-w dë] [[à isè: kù]\) wó]\) yé-m, ŋù gáy\(\emptyset\) = nù-ý\(n\)
D: nà:m, [ù yà]\) [kó:\(n\) ú nù-ý\(n\)] yá bú, [í kálà]\) [yà: ùllá i nù-ý\(n\)] [[ùllá sát]\) yá: bârù-m\(530\]
T: wó:di
D: [èrë́dë káy]\) yá: dëm→ ló:-rë dë wóy, [isè: kù]\) bérêlê: [lōsō bânấy\(n\) kù], [ŋày\(n\)→ tó gáy\(\emptyset\)-tí: dë wóy]\) [[lâ-w wóy]\) sî-lé-m-dó], [yè-yè né-pá-m-dó]\) [[lâ-w pá-m-dó], ânày\(\) = m [gó-m = bè káy]\) gí-r\(\) à, \(531\) [í kála]\) [ŋù gú káy]\) nù-ý\(532\) dá:-wó, [ú mà:] bârù-m
T: wó:di, pà:më-w\(\)ú-w\(\\)\(\), \(533\) [kù dò: wóy]\) ár\(\) à-bérù tán, pà:më-w\(\)ú-w\(\)
D: nà:m
T: ò\(\)h5\(\), nà:m

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

530 1Sg hortative.

531 gí-r\(\) à ‘they said’, archaic form, equivalent to gúy\(\) -bô.

532 3Sg equivalent nù-\(\). An unusual type of unsuffixed Perfective with lexical tone and distinct 3Sg and 3PI endings (-\(\)w-, -mà)

533 Perfective of Passive -w\(\)- (here, -w\(\)- after Nasalization-Spreading from the stem).
Text 2005-2b.05  
Fight with a lion

T: áywà núwⁿbyⁿ kòⁿ tègè-ráːː—

S [overlapping]: bèːnː, [ám yáːː] [tàdùngú-m yáːː]— jáy jáyà-bò

T: [[á:mádú ti-téyⁿ] yáːː], [tàdùngú-m yáːː]= nít jáyà-bò

S: [áñáyⁿ, náyⁿ]= ní bèː


S: [yáːː yáːː] [árⁿá yáːː]

T: [yáːː yáːː María Planificación] [áːmádú titíyⁿ], [[érré jèːsú wò] gá-lé-míː bá pêy,] yè= ní bërⁿú gò-ló-bòː, bùː gò-ló= níː, [ásuùⁿ-yíː yáːː] [yàːː-íyà yáːː] ñğú-rù yè= níː, [áː= ní sæːrⁿí= níː] ìnjíːr= níː, [tàdùngú-m kù] màːː] pùː-ñòndè-bá tàn, [wàqàː tìt kàːː] ló= níː, tàdïyá tání= níː, [érré màːː] [ñéː kày] [dîyⁿ-áwⁿ wò] wáː w= ráː būː bù nèː,

E: ìyá [nà yèy-nèy] gáyⁿ

T: pînîwⁿú= ní [nà yèy-nèyː], [kâːrⁿ tâppé= níː] [érré kàyⁿ= níː], [núː [gàm bônjò bèː]] [[tíwⁿéyⁿ mànjíːː] wò] ùrːː-ːːː díːːː hòw

S: háº


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534 Cut off. Perhaps tègè-ráːː fː yèː-ːː-ː w ‘what we are coming to say’.

535 Name of man, long deceased. The personal name is Amadou. This is followed (in this and the following text) by variations on (Jamsay) téyⁿ ‘small (=young)’, including reduplicated ŋ-téyⁿ and the combination dè téyⁿ with (Jamsay) dè: ‘elder brother’. Such additions would have originally served to distinguish two persons with the same personal name.

536 náː ‘hand’. Homonym náː: ‘cows’ occurs above, same speaking turn.

537 Hortative Negative. Usually -rê-řm, but -lê-řm with CwN- stems like gáyⁿ- ‘put’.

538 dîyⁿ-áwⁿ wò, adverbial phrase ‘greatly, a great amount/measure’, here modifying wàː w ‘far, distant’.

539 = náyⁿ is usually a same-subject subordinator. Here the following clauses are impersonal (presentative) but might be taken as reflecting the perspective of the audience.

540 Two parallel cases of Presentative ñgòy ‘here is’ following a dè clause. The parallel construction presents alternative possibilities: ‘either …, or …’.

541 Imperfective relative clause with Inanimate subject (participle -m).
bû: gûyⁿ=nì, ló bû: sísí-lí=nì, píníwⁿú=ní kó:rⁿó gàyⁿ; ṣê ṣê [dàyⁿ dà:-wú-ṁ
wôy] ṣôgó], [[á:mádû téyⁿ] tîn=nì] ṣê [rⁿé káyⁿ=nì], [ŋû wô] jâm ṣôgó, kú náyⁿ, sûmôy
á sô-â, [sûmôy kû] ṣây→ rⁿé nêrⁿîyⁿï=nì, rⁿé pû:rⁿú-â [kú cêm], áywâ [tàdûngú-m
S: dû dà:
T: dû dà:, háyà [kú náyⁿ], [tàdûngú-m kû] kèsé rⁿé gô=nì, [[sûn kû] wô] ló dê-mà gà:,
[śê lêsô bê→] ló yî-mà gà:, [tàdûngú-m kû] nî bëre yî-r-â, [[injírî=nì] ló:-rê
B: kú-dá: ló kó:rⁿó gûyⁿ
T: [kú-dá: kó:rⁿó gûyⁿ] hà: wânɡí:-rê wà
B: píníwⁿú gûyⁿ
T: kú náyⁿ=nì, injírî=nì, [nû: kû] píníwⁿú=ní ánajâyⁿ injírî=nì úrò yê-bô

542 This passage abounds in jussive clauses, specifically reported hortatives and imperatives
(suffixes -nâyⁿ, -rû, -y ~ -y. See section on jussives in grammar.
543 Variant of dúwⁿânsâ ‘Douentza’ (town).
**Text 2005-2b.06**  
**Fight with a hyena**

T: háyà tí-tà:-m kù:a [jínjé sawà dè] [ú sawà]  
B: áywà, [kù túlù] wò, ñgu-rù, [kù kày] [[í: jìrè jùwò] ñày", tí-tà:-m, ñgu-rù yè,  
E: [gúnjá-góròw wò] í: lò = ní  
S: ñnám


[[kù túlù] wò kálà] tí-tà:-m bêrê-bò  
E: gúnjá-góròw wò lò = ní  
B: gúnjá-góròw wò lóní  
E: [isè: í: wòy] [là:rà: là:là:] yà bù = b-è: 547

E [overlapping (unclear)]: ñày → ér"é jìyè-bò  
B: nú:-ra-w, nà yèy  
D: [tí-tà:-m ñày"] àjèrù wò-bò  
B: [nà yèy] [tí-tà:-m ñày"] àjèrù wò-bò  
E: jìyè kálà] jìyè-bò  
B: jìyè kálà] jìyè-bò  
B: [[màb = h kày] wò = ní] [cèlè: kù] sùyá = ní] [[ér"é úrò] dàr-bò]  
B: [[cèlè: kù] = m t̀ppè-bò 546

544 ér"é (animate 3Sg pronoun) here refers to the hyena, who is also referred to by (usually inanimate) kù in this passage.

545 Singular equivalent: ... bù-m kù.

546 Reduplicated Perfective.

547 Phonetically [jábbè:].
D: já:tı
B: g5:ŋgɔ̀, áⁿ hàⁿ

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

Text 2005-1a.01  Name-giving ceremony

O: God [focus] has brought you-Sg.
I: Yes.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{549} The sense of some of the single-word greetings (àwá→, birá→, ā→, ūsè→, tâːrē) is vague, and the translations are rough.
Choice of name for newborn

S: The name, how do you get (=determine) the putting (=giving) of the name? The child’s name, how do you get it?
O: We assemble (for) the name-giving. When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), having assembled, we give the name.
S: How do you get the child’s name, the name. (That) the name So-and-So, (that) establishing\(^{550}\) (the name) thus [focus] is appropriate, how do you find it?
O: Establishing (it) thus [focus] is appropriate, that the father of the child will say. “Your name—, the name of your child, how do you-Sg want them to establish it?” “I want them to establish my child’s name as So-and-So, thus I have asked.”
S: The boys, the fact that they bring firewood (bundles), why do they bring it?
O: The boys, the fact that they bring firewood, the new mother will light (=build) fire with it, she will light fire with it, until eventually the forty days (have elapsed). If it’s a male (child), thirty days. xxx the new mother cannot (herself) go looking for wood, it’s for that reason [focus] that they bring it.
S: The fact that you-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.

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

S: Today the old women came and posted a paper there.\footnote{Like the preceding text, this one was recorded shortly after observing a name-giving ceremony. The interviewer had noticed the paper posting.} I had seen them earlier doing something frivolous (=fooling around). That too, what is its meaning?

I: It’s (about) co-wifedhood. It’s because of co-wifedhood [focus] that they did it.

S: That too, (is it) for the (christened) child, or the co-wife?

I: They say she (=new mother) has given birth to a girl, (whereas) they said that they would have preferred a boy. It’s a co-wife. But if it were a boy, it would be their husband. If it’s a girl, it’s (their) co-wife. They had fun of (=about) that.

S: The fact that they brought worn-out hides, that too, what is its meaning?

I: Well now indeed, (for) to a co-wife, (giving/doing) something bad is normal. (To give) something good to her isn’t normal. It’s for that reason [focus] that they gathered and brought (the hides).
S: (In) Beni, our town here, water, how did it (=the water situation) happen? How is it done?
I: The water, we found it thus at Tangaso (location in the ravine). In the way we found it long ago, water used to dry up (seasonally), to the point that when we would drink, the ladder would come out (=be used). There was a ladder. Having gathered together, when two neighborhoods in each village would come together and you-Pl would strike the bell, they would go and dig (for water). When we dug, again there we would drink. When it (=water) ended (=dried up), we would dig again, and there we would drink.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even the people of (=from) the project here, when they came to us, they asked us what (kind of) difficulty 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 they said.

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

Even today, if we (can) get (it), here in our Oloy 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 (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

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

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

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

559
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 Dâ here (near the mountain)?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Or (in) a certain village, death dances562 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

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

When you-PI had taken it, it was your-PI property. But the field, its people (=original owners) are (still) there. Its people are (still) there, but they say, “well, let’s make it collective (property) of the whole village.” Now they have done thus. For the whole village, like that, collective (property). Thus they left it (to later generations).
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.\(^{563}\) They (=new people), if it’s the people of a clan\(^ {564}\) [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 Koriyum, 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.\(^{565}\) 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.

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

\(^{564}\) Descended from an apical ancestor.

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

As for them, (if) they have all gone. Does it not belong to you-Sg? If they have died (off), (and) you-Sg have come and you have found (it), does it not belong to you-Sg? There is (land) that they found (=took over) in that way.
S: This year, they said the locusts\textsuperscript{566} came to you-Pl. The locusts, (as for) them, how did they come?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O: We (tried to) drive them away.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S: The locusts, was it after they had eaten (all) the millet that they went away? Or was it (because) the time for their going had arrived that they went away?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 The first time, we had chased them. We had been getting together and had been driving the locusts out the first time, we had been doing (that), (and) then they had gone away.

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

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

When they (=locusts) came, they ate the (half-ripe) millet with milky liquid (and) the unripe millet. The millet that has dried (=hardened) a little, as long as there is (also) some fresh millet, they won’t eat it (=dry millet). With that, when they came, they ate up our millet. It happened like that.
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.\(^{571}\) 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\(^{572}\) 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).

\(^{571}\) Only a barrel-sized section of the tree trunk is used.

\(^{572}\) úgúró- usually means ‘burn incense’, but here it has a more general sense ‘give a smell to’.
Text 2005-1a.10  Farm work

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

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

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

When the rain has fallen, again you sow seeds then; they call that “wet sowing.” When the seeds have come and sprouted, when the seeds have sprouted, when the seeds have sprouted, like (=approximately) fifteen days, we don’t do farm work, we (just) stay 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, do they not sow otherwise (=with any other method)?
O: In a place where you-Sg have already sowed seeds?
S: (Suppose) you have sowed (but) it hasn’t sprouted, (where) you-Sg have plowed and seeded (“drunk”) using a plow.
I: They do over-sowing.
O: They do over-sowing. (Suppose) you go to your-Sg field, if the sowing was not enough, you will over-sow and put down (the seeds), in the mounds (where seeds are dropped), you will over-sow and put down (the seeds).

573 I.e. lines of earth are turned over by a plow pulled by a beast of burden with one farmer, and another person drops seeds in the turned-over earth. This cannot be used in (selective) over-sowing since it would disrupt the crop plants that have sprouted.
S: When the sowing is completed, now how (=what) do you-Pl do?
O: When all the sowing is completed, farming work (=weeding) [focus] is what follows it (=sowing).
S: Farming work, is there one (period of it), or two?
O: Farming work (=weeding) is (in) two (periods). 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 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). They call that yu-

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. Wongoro ‘farming, farm work’ and the related verb wàrà- 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.

575 The verb wàrà-, 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.

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

S: How do you-Pl do the (millet) harvest?
O: The (millet) harvest, they call it portkïya (hand-knife).\footnote{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.} 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)? Or 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\footnote{Lit., “three skin mouth.”} 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.\footnote{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.}

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?\footnote{Hibiscus sabdariffa (cultivated). In local French oseille or dah.}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{587} Lit. “it gets its (own) head.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

589 A room with low ceiling (about head high) that the granary will be built on top of. Not all granaries have this lower room but all are raised above ground to avoid insect infestation.
590 The granary must be above ground to keep insects out. The foundation is a low wall (often rectangular) on which the granary proper is built.
591 Each brick is laid on top of another.
592 Wooden block laid horizontally at the top of the doorway.
593 Construction with two paired clauses each with a third-person Hortative.
the upper part furthermore. When they have roofed it, if there is millet for you-Sg to put (=store), you-Sg will put (it) there (=in the granary). That [focus] is granary building. Isn’t it so, U?
U: It is so.
S: Why do you-Pl build granaries? For what thing (=purpose) do you-Pl build (it)?
I: (For) putting (=storing) millet. We put our millet that we have gotten there. We put roselle there. We even put calabash (fruits) there.
S: Millet, if it isn’t in a granary, if it spends a year below (=on the ground), it will go bad …
I: It will get cool (and damp).
U: … it will get cool.
I: For that reason, we build the granary up high.
S: The roofing of it (=granary) too, do they summon people (to help), or how (=what) do they do?
I: They will summon the boys (=young men). They (=young men) will come to help you-Sg, they will do the roofing.
S: As with this roofing of houses?
U: From (one) roof-building to (another) roof-building, the villagers will get together and do the roofing.
S: (That) the villagers get together and they do the roofing, what is its meaning (=point)?
U: If youu have roofed mine today, tomorrow likewise I will roof yours. That is how we did the roofing yesterday (=in the past).
Cow-peas

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

S: When cow-peas have ripened and dried (=fully ripened), what do they (=farmers) do with them? 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: Do they put (cow-peas) in granaries? Or, like the one (used) for roselle, do they put (them) down on the ground and bury them, in a shelf? O: A shelf. If you-Sg store (cow-peas), you-Sg put (them) in a shelf. Ashes and fine earth, when you-Sg have mixed and stirred those two together, you-Sg will tamp them down like this in the shelf (to pack the earth firmly), if you-Sg are storing (the cow-peas). If it isn’t that (=otherwise), they will become infested (with insects), as for that, when a month has arrived (=elapsed), they will be infested.

If you-Sg store (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?

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594 The locally cultivated bean (Fr. haricot) is the cow-pea, Vigna unguiculata.
595 In this “ripping” technique, cow-peas are planted in the channels between rows of millet plants.
596 /tòŋgôm/ is a dresser-like construction inside a house, with cell-like sections, one of which can be used for storing cow-peas.
597 Lit., “in an empty place.”
O: The enclosure, they make it inside a granary. You-Sg (can) make (it) also in any place. Circular enclosures like this (gesture), it too they build with bricks.
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

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

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

O: Having many children is obligatory?
S: Having many children, for us anyway it is obligatory. Well, us—, in our path (=tradition), in our religion (=Islam), (as for) children, it (=religion) says to you-Sg to bear many (of them). Bearing many children is obligatory, in our religion.
I: That [focus] (is why) we do (=practice) marrying two women, that’s it.
O: We (=men) marry two women, we marry three women, we marry four women. All of them will bear (children). There are some people (=men) who have thirty children, there are some people who have twenty, there are some people who have ten.
I: It’s they [focus] who have more rest (=have an easier life). Whatever work (they do), it’s they [focus] who have more rest.
O: (At) one time (=when you are old), you-Sg won’t do any work at all. Your children will go and work, you-Sg will just lie down at home. All sorts (of work), your children will go and work and work, (and) when they bring (something) you-Sg will eat. (You) having sired children, if they are blessed (=successful and well-behaved), you will enter (the state of) a chief (=a wealthy person).

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

598 Lit., “if we have had many children, we want (=like it).”

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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 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 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 well, now, when the holy day of Ramadan and the Feast of the Ram arrive, they give some soap and a little money. 602 It’s thus [focus] that you-Pl do, until later the woman goes and attains womanhood.

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.

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599 A religiously sanctioned marriage agreement requiring the consent of the girl’s parents, prior to the wedding.

600 lit. “when they give birth to her.”

601 Lit., “eight years or.”

602 The prospective husband gives periodic gifts to the family of the girl.
S: If it isn’t (=other than) money, they don’t give anything (else)?
O: They give fabric (=clothing), (and) they give shoes. If you-Sg didn’t get that, you (may) tie (=contract marriage) also (=alternatively) with just money, (so) there are no shoes or clothes.
S: The woman, (and) the man. (If he’s) one who wants (to), is it he alone who goes and speaks (=negotiates)? Is it his friend (=a friend of his) who speaks? Is it another person who speaks?
O: Just you-Sg go and speak—, just you-Sg will go and speak. If you alone cannot, you-Sg will send your father, (or) you will send your sister, (or) you will send your friend. Just you, if they (=girls’ parents) gave (her) to you, furthermore, that’s it. But if just you-Sg all alone have gone and said “I love a woman,” their giving (her) to you is difficult (=rare).
I [overlapping]: They won’t give (her) to just you (alone). xxx
O: In another village, they will say, “well, may your-Sg father come!” Now, he knows—, if they (=girl’s parents) have known (=been assured) that your father wants (the marriage), (and) uh, if they have known that your elder brother wants (the marriage), (then) they give the woman in this way. It’s betrothal of one mother, one father (=among blood relatives).
S: The betrothal, is it at the house of the girl’s father [focus] that they do it? Or is it at the house of the boy’s father that they do it?
O: Fine. When they have tied (=contracted) the betrothal now, how do they remain, the two of them?603
S: When they have contracted the betrothal, you-Sg (=bridegroom) ask for the woman, telling (them) to give (her) to yourself.
O: They go and entrust (the bride, to her parents).604 When a person (=friend of the bridegroom) goes out and goes (there), he entrusts (her). The woman that they have contracted (=given) in marriage, between (=within) ten days, when the person goes straight to the house (of the bride), he entrusts (her).

After he has entrusted (her), a person (=another friend of the bridegroom) goes out again. They ask for her, saying, “it’s the woman(’s) looking at the (new) house.” They will set a date. The date that they set initially, it won’t stand (=is false). They will set (a date) a second time, that [focus] is what will stand (=is fulfilled).
At night, they will go with (the bride, to her new house). The boys will shoot rifles (in the rifle dance). When she has gone to the (new) house there, when she has drawn water in the morning, she will remain there (at the new house). When she has remained there ten to twenty days, again she goes to her father’s house. It’s this, a woman’s coming (to her new house). Again it remains (like this) for a fairly long time.

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

603 Lit., “their two.”
604 The bride has already been “given” to the future husband, but she is then “entrusted” to her own parents for a time.
605 Lit. “if it is (was) in the past.”
move to the husband’s house. They used to do thus. Nowadays, they don’t wait until that (=until a child is born). Even before she bears a child, they ask for her (to go to) the husband’s house.

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

“They say.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O: (The fact) that they lead (the animals) into the bush, it isn’t for anything else (=any other reason than), if you-Sg are in the bush, the bush is better (than the village) for an animal. You-Sg, furthermore, you’ll get manure. If the animals have defecated, it becomes manure.

Well, millet, also, if you plant (it) in the place of that (=where the animals have defecated), it’s (in) that [focus] that the millet will ripen better. If there is no manure, the millet cannot ripen (well). Your farming (=field), (no matter) how spacious (=vast) it is, you-Sg cannot get millet like one who has manure. For animals too, the bush, its benefit (=value) is greater for them (=animals). It’s for that reason [focus] that they take (animals) to the bush.

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

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

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

O: For the animals?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

608 Lit., “if a person of God has not seen it.” I.e., the negative has wide scope.
609 Muslims cannot eat meat of an animal that has died without being properly slaughtered (with the throat cut).
O: When your-Sg child goes and accompanies (the animals), if a cow falls down, he will come and tell you-Sg, “So-and-So (vocative), a cow has fallen down.” You-Sg will go and tell the people. They will go and take and lift (the fallen cow).
I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, that’s it.
O: That [focus] is the best thing for it, that’s it.
I: For that reason, in the hot season they don’t send away (the animals). (People) who watch over their cows, it’s for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cattle.
O: It’s for that reason [focus] that they watch over (the) cattle.
I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, it is said.
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.

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

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

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

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

O: Until it dries.

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612 /tɔ́ɲɛ̀/ is related to a Fulfulde word meaning ‘provoke, tease, pester’.

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

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

S: 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. For example, if having worked (at) the harvest (you have) something to conceal and bring home, (or) if having gone to the bush (you have) anything to conceal and bring home, (or) if (you have) anything to take away (from the field or bush), when you-Sg put it there you-Sg will conceal (it). This [focus] is the usefulness of the hide shoulderbag for its part.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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616 ‘Eat’ instead of ‘drink’ here, since milk is often mixed with millet cakes ( tô) and eaten.
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 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

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

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

S: In a year, do they do it (=collective hunt) twice? Or do they do it once?
I: They do it twice.
S: Between the two times, how many months intervene?
I: They do it twice.
S: A week or one month. A week—, it doesn’t pass (=exceed) two weeks (or) three weeks. It doesn’t pass (=exceed) the two weeks (or) three weeks.
O: If they have gone and come (back) here (since) a week ago today, again a second week, they will leave(=delay it) again (for) a week, (so it is) two weeks ago (=separation). They go here. (The time) between the two (collective hunts) doesn’t exceed fifteen days (two weeks).
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. 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

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619 Lit. “stand across (road).”
620 Speaker I speaks overlappingly in the first part of O’s turn, but I’s words are not clear on the tape.
621 Cf. French quinze jours ‘fifteen days’ = ‘two weeks’.
622 I.e., some men who fear they may be humiliated by not killing any animals during the collective hunt will shoot an animal in secret the night before, then flaunt it after the hunt.
on the belly, if it doesn’t (=can’t) see you-Sg, you-Sg will go having lain down on the belly. You will go along dragging yourself (=crawling on your belly).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S: (They used to dance) just because of it (=collective hunt).

I: Yes, just because of it they used to dance the dance, formerly.

O: Nowadays, they have even abandoned (=stopped doing) the collective hunt. There is no collective hunt any longer.

S: Why did they abandon (it), the collective hunt?

O: It’s for (=because) of the fact that it is said (=considered) that the religion (=Islam) that we are in, and it (=collective hunt), do not meet (=mix well).

S: So, why did they use to do (that) formerly?

O: When precisely the same day (of the week) would arrive (i.e., one week later), it was the collective hunt. (As for) the (regular) hunt, it is good (=allowed by Islam), it is said. When precisely the same day (as this day) the following week would arrive, the fact that we would cut (=pick out) and set (that day) for the collective hunt, (or) when precisely this (particular) month would arrive, the fact that we would have fixed (“cut”) and set (that month) for the collective hunt.626

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

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

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

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

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

I: It exists.

S: Which animal is it?

I: Porcupine.628

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

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

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

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629 *Atelerix albiventris.*

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

They (=people) go. Whenever an animal comes out, they set loose (the dogs, on the animal), they say “suy!”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 they stab with a hooked pole. As for them (=night hunters), thus they bring them (=animals in trees) to the ground.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 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 Well, that too, they said it’s like this. Hunting with a dog, that is it.

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⁶³¹ Cf. English *sic*!
⁶³² A pole with a hooked end, to which a blade may be attached. Also used for knocking fruits out of trees.
⁶³³ Lit., “(cause to) lie down.”
⁶³⁴ Said, figuratively, to a puppy.
⁶³⁵ Reference is to an Islamic prohibition on eating hunted animals that have not been slaughtered (by cutting the throat), unless “In the name of God” is uttered before the dogs are set on them.
**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, 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). 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.

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637 A different kind of bird-trap, called by the same name (atiw) as the one described above.
I: Now, it’s slaughtering a sheep.
O: Mhm.

I: xxx if you-Sg have slaughtered (=cut the throat), the nephews (=sister’s children) come, they will skin and butcher the sheep. When they have removed the skin, they cut open (“rip”) the intestines.\(^{638}\) When they have removed the intestines separately (from the rest), they wring (it) out.\(^{639}\)

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.\(^{640}\) 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\(^{641}\) 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.\(^{642}\) The villagers now, the people, it’s due to respectfulness (i.e. honoring someone) that (there is) a goat that they slaughtered for (other) people, either that or they slaughtered due to a sanction (against someone).

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

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\(^{638}\) i.e., they make an incision in the belly and remove the entrails.

\(^{639}\) Water is introduced into the intestines, which are then cleaned by squeezing.

\(^{640}\) There are about 8-9 large sections of the carcass, excluding entrails and organs. diyáy also means ‘joint’.

\(^{641}\) The oldest man of the extended family.

\(^{642}\) I.e., for the Feast of the Ram (see below). láyá:rù (Sg láyá:rù-m) ‘sacrificial animal (sheep or goat) for the Feast of the Ram’. The related term láyà can denote the Feast of the Ram, or the sacrificial animal.
belongs to him. The head belongs to the Chief, (and) the skin belongs to the Chief. The remainder (of the meat and organs), everyone who finds (=happens to get some) will gather (it) up and eat (it). It’s the sanction, as for it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

644 A conventional formula by which the owner of a field takes back the use of a field that he has previously allowed another man to farm.
645 Each year, a man given the use of a field by its owner would bring a load of firewood to the owner, and would acknowledge the latter’s ownership.
646 Lit., “he has gone up (in) craziness.”
Pl hear (that)?”

(One elder:) “No, they didn’t say (that).” (Another elder:) “No, they didn’t say (that). The field, it isn’t theirs.”

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

“Today, merely because you-Pl have been (here) for a long time, (you claim) it is your-Pl property. It (=agreement) was made 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, “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 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)? (You say:) “as for us, we encountered (=inherited) the sacred place.” (Judges:) “Did you-Pl drink (at) the sacred place?” “Yes.”

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

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653 ‘settle (it),’ literally “go out behind (it),”
654 Lit. “pass go and go out behind (it),”
655 ‘Either … or …’ here translates a construction with parallel polar questions: “Do they …? Or do they …?”
656 Lit., “this comes.”
O: If you-Pl have fought, it’s Satan [focus] who put you-Pl (up to it). If the one who is at fault has accepted\(^{657}\) (=recognized) his fault, you-Pl will be reconciled. If the one who is at fault does not accept his fault, on the other hand, we will always remain like that (=in conflict) indefinitely.

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

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

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

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

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

I: We will fight.

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

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

\(^{658}\) Lit. “this and the companion of (=something resembling) this.”
Traveling for work

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

Y: The fact that we leave our village and go seek work far away. The fact that all of us men go in order to search (for work). The fact that (we/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 (without permission). As for the women, immorality takes them away, we don’t want them to go, for our part, (but) if we have no power (to stop them). As for them (=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 thinking (=opinion), is immorality [focus] what makes them go? Or is it to become immoral [focus] that they go?

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

S: When they have gone (away), if not (=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

659 Lit. “run and go.”
660 ñaw à means ‘damage, ruin, malfunction’.
661 Could also be translated ‘we don’t like the fact that they go’. Young women travel to big cities to seek work as housemaids.
662 I.e., do preexisting bad morals induce them to go, or do they go (for other reasons) and develop bad morals away from home? The sense of ‘to behave badly’ here is not purposive, rather to locate the change in a future time.
money for two hundred-kilo (bags) of grain (=millet), (or) they bring something like the money for three hundred-kilo (bags), (or) they bring something like the money for one hundred-kilo bag.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I: He waits (for him).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I: Well, in Sévaré, lodging now, are you lodging 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. 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 (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),

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I: You-Sg go running (to school) early in the morning?
S: You-Sg go running early in the morning, if you-Sg have gotten up. You-Sg 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
I: Impoli.
S: Uh-huh.
O: That (word) impoli, what is it’s meaning (=translation) in Dogon language?
S: He’s a big-headed (=arrogant) child. He is big-headed, he doesn’t accept (=obey) things.
O: He doesn’t accept things.
I: How do they say (=call) the one who is good?
S: They say, poli.
I: They say, poli.
S: Uh-huh. It’s he [focus] who is good, that’s it.
O: It’s he [focus] who is good. The one who respects (other) people, it is he. It (=behavior) is well done.

673 Lit., “impolite (one)” or “unpolished (one),” but used in local French as a strong insult for a badly-behaved young person.
The giant pouched rat, its size is superimposed on (=exceeds that of) the mouse. Or is it (about) its behavior? Is it talking of (=about) behavior? The rat is a thief. It gathers up dried wild-grape pits, it gathers up peanuts. If it sees (=gets) peanuts, it won’t leave (them). As for its food (=diet), (it is) excrement, peanuts, karité pits.

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

The unstriped grass rat. 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.

Do they (=people) eat its meat?

(It and) the Giant pouched rat, the two of them are the same (=both eaten)?

Adults, (wonder) whether it’s best (=appropriate, to eat) a little (=occasionally) or how (=what to do).

White mouse too.

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

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

*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.

*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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{681}\) Acomys johannis. The hairs on its back are indeed slightly spiny.

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

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

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

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

I: It’s at the edge of the village.

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

I: But it doesn’t transform itself.

O: It eats excrement, it eats tree leaves.

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

O: That is it. Their work (=behavior), that is it. What you-Sg said now, that is it.
Text 2005-1b.09 Scorpions and other critters)

S: This young girl’s scorpion now, what is it like?
O: This one, the young girl’s scorpion, they didn’t set (the name) for it “young girl’s scorpion” for nothing. It (once) stung a young girl, and the young girl died.
S: What things does it eat?
O: This, rotten (=slimy) things, earth (in fields). Those things it eats. They say that it eats various other things also. Well, that is its work. Its stinging doesn’t hurt as much as the other (=real) scorpion’s stinging. (But) it does sting. It stings, (but) it doesn’t hurt as much as the other one’s stinging. But it stung a young girl, and she died, they say. It’s name is “young girl’s scorpion,” this is it (the reason).

This millipede, we call this one the “black millipede.” Well, it itself, the (black) millipede, it is in the bush (=outback). Ants and other things, as for it, those are what it licks (=eats). It licks rotten (=slimy) things. It makes a cry too, it goes “pi:!”; it makes a cry. If it’s not in the rainy season, it doesn’t remain in the hot (dry) season. Only in the rainy season is it seen.
S: This one (=young girl’s scorpion) too, is it also seen in the hot season?
O: This one too, in the hot season, this one is seen in the hot season. It is seen in the hot season. The stones, if you-Sg lift (them) up now, sometimes you-Sg will find it there. It is seen in the hot season. But as for the millipede, it isn’t (present) in the hot season, if it’s not in the rainy season. Well, that one too, it is thus.
S: The other scorpion, too.
O: The other scorpion. The scorpion, it stings a person. If it has stung you-Sg, it hurts. (As for) it, the painfulness, it is greater than the painfulness of a snake (bite). (The only) thing as painful as it, (is) embers of fire (=hot coals), what they take (=embers) and put on your-Sg foot, it hurts only like that.

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

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

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

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

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

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690 It is said (in Beni and elsewhere) that sakelem is a different species. However, the specimens collected turned out to be juveniles of Androctonus.

691 The speaker uses kúwó- ‘bite, eat (meat)’ instead of támbi- ‘kick; (scorpion) sting’, with reference to sakelem.

692 I.e. in the collection of specimens present at the time of the recording.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

696 I.e., you will learn your fate for the coming twelve months.
O: (If) you don’t do leyla, a Muslim, twenty-seven days, a month you-Sg have fasted (“tied your mouth”), (but) if you-Sg didn’t do leyla, (something) is missing for you-Sg.\(^697\) 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.

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

S: What is the work (=behavior) of a seytan?\(^{698}\)
O: If you-Sg have heard (about) the work of a seytan, (as for) a seytan, a djinn\(^{699}\) 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 have heard (about) the djinn, he himself, the djinn, he is a Muslim.\(^{700}\) They the Muslims\(^{701}\) 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 Prophet Muhammad), He [focus] is their Prophet (too). They (=djinns) perform prayers. They (=people) call one who prays a djinn. They call him djinn, the djinn.

Well, they (=people) call the ones who do not pray, them the kefirs (non-Muslims). seytans. Well, this [focus] is what distinguishes them.

S: They (=seytans) do only (=nothing but) evil.
O: They do only evil. People, if you-Sg (=a person) go (there), they don’t welcome it, they will strike you-Sg. If you-Sg enter a place where they are surrounding (you), they—, they see us (but) we don’t see them. Just like this way we see a person, they see us like that, (but) we don’t see them. Well, they are the seytans. The ones who provoke (=pick fights), they are the seytans.

S: 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,

\(^{698}\) From Arabic šaṭṭān-, cf. Satan.
\(^{699}\) From Arabic jinn-, cf. genie.
\(^{700}\) i.e., looks and acts like a normal person.
\(^{701}\) Lit. “their Muslims.”
certain people, like children (and) small people,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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)!\textsuperscript{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?\textsuperscript{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.

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\textsuperscript{702} I.e., the dwarfish sprites (nyere) feel an affinity to human midgits.

\textsuperscript{703} Arabic ?ibliis-, another type of devil.

\textsuperscript{704} I.e., a high “official” among devils. The speaker alludes to a discussion prior to the recording, perhaps misunderstood.

\textsuperscript{705} Expression meaning ’stick closely to, be inseparable from’.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{707} S is asking which of the categories of devil is the commander who sends the other devils out to do harm to people.
They go. (When they return, he asks:) “How (=with what result) have you-Sg come?” “Oh, I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; there used to be friendship between the two of them, (now) the two are ruined (=have broken up). I stirred up trouble between a woman and her husband; there used to be friendship (=love) between them, (now) the woman has left.”

This (=other) one too comes and says (something) like that. (Seytan:) “Ah, as for you-Sg, you-Sg haven’t done anything else, of any bigness (=significance).” “I have ruined (=broken up the friendship of) a friend and a friend.” (Seytan:) “Ah, you-Sg too, you-Sg haven’t done anything else.” “I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; the two of them hit each other (=fought) and one of them died.”

(Seytan:) “You-Sg [focus] are the one who has done some work!” He (=seytan) picks up a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said. He (=seytan) picks up a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said. (To thr first:) “The people that you-Sg stirred, haven’t you-Sg seen that there are some who will present excuses (=be reconciled); if they don’t die, they will present their excuses. As for you-Sg, you-Sg haven’t done any work.”

Well, he (=seytan) takes a hat of gold, and (gives it) to the person (=devil) who had killed a person: “After you-Sg stirred (him) up, (the) person killed his friend.” He (=seytan) takes a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said.

S: The seytan—.
O: It’s the seytan [focus] who does that.
S: Their chief.
O: Uh-huh. It’s he [focus] who does that.
S: That was it?
O: Uh-huh. This is his work.
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.\(^{708}\)
A: Well, Yasama, her father and her mother gave birth to her. If it wasn’t her (=other than her), they had no other daughter, it is said.\(^{709}\) The boy (=young man), anyone who (came for) her, the daughter— anyone (=young man) who came in order to speak (=ask for) her (in marriage), when they (=young men) would speak (=ask for) her, they (=parents) said they would not give (her, to them), it is said.

They took a small red water jar up to the top of a borassus palm tree. They (=parents) said, anyone (=any young man) who could come, take it, and bring it down, Yasama would belong to him, it is said. When everyone came, they would go up and up, (but) when they reached the middle (of the tree), they would come down, it is said. They couldn’t (do it), it is said. They kept doing like that. Many boys came and went. They went up but didn’t get (it), it is said.

One with no fingers (or toes) came, it is said. The fingerless one, he came. Well, he loved (=fell in love with) Yasama, it is said. They (=parents) said, if he insisted that he loved her, he must go up to the top of the tree, and take and bring down the red water jar, it is said. Okay, he said. He went and looked at the girl. He arrived behind the tree. Well, he began to go up the tree, it is said. When he touched the tree:

[\text{s\(ong\):}]\(^{710}\) 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.\(^{711}\)
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

Thus he spoke, it is said. He went up the tree a little. When he went up a short distance, he repeated:

[\text{s\(ong\):}] Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father; Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,

\(^{708}\) i.e., “may the story be about them.”
\(^{709}\) The quotative (i.e. hearsay) particle occurs liberally in tales.
\(^{710}\) The song is sung in Jamsay.
\(^{711}\) Lit. “behind is different, among (=the middle of) behind is different.” Perhaps the sense is something like ‘things are not what they seem to be.’
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

His heart was trembling. Okay, he said. He went all the way up, it is said. When he had gone all the way up, he took the water jar and placed it on top of his head. He did not touch it with his hand(s), it is said. Saying, “let me go (back) down,” he lowered his head.

[song:]
Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

He began to go down, it is said, again. He kept going down. When he came and reached the middle:

[song:]
Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

Doing (that), he came until he had come down below (=to the ground), it is said. When he came down below, he carried the water jar (on his head). He went to the door of her (=Yasama’s) father.

[song:]
Greetings to Yasama’s mother, (and) Yasama’s father;
Greetings to Yasama’s father, (and) Yasama’s mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

When he did that, Yasama began to weep, it is said. The father began to weep, (and) the mother began to weep, it is said. The fingerless one asked them, why were they weeping?712

He said, he had pulled them by their (own) mouth-rope;713 the water jar was up on top; he had no fingers, he had no toes, he said that he loved their daughter; they

712 Lit. “… weep [the weeping of what?]?”
(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

O: (You-Pl) go and keep possession of your-Pl success. 715

713 I.e., the reins attached to a donkey’s mouth.
714 Standard story-ending formula.
715 Standard compliment from audience at the end of a story.
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.\(^{716}\)
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.\(^{717}\)
Here\(^{718}\) 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.\(^{719}\)

Well, one of the girls went out; she said, if her brother’s foot was to be healed, she would go in order to pull off a giraffe’s tail. One (other girl) replied, telling her (=first girl) not to go, (since) getting a giraffe’s tail is difficult. She (first girl) said, if God consents, she would go. She (=second girl) said, well, if she insisted on going, she should go and come back in health.\(^{720}\) She (=first girl) said, all right.

She went out, she began to go (=set off) on the path. She kept walking. Before she went, the Chief of the giraffes, he (=Chief) and his followers, she found them sleeping, it is said. She went and pulled (it) off (“uprooted”) the tail of the Chief. When she had pulled (it) off, she began to run, it is said. She kept running.

A giraffe, if seven days haven’t arrived (=elapsed), when it goes to sleep, it doesn’t wake up, it is said. She kept running, then she came, it is said. She (=old woman) had given her (=girl) four kinds of things wrapped up, an old woman, earlier when she (=girl) had been about to go (the first time).

Well, the seven days arrived (=elapsed), they (=giraffes) woke up. They too, they followed after (=pursued) her. They all (=girl and giraffes) kept running. She (=girl) had been running, but the girl now was tired. Just as she turned around to look, now they had gotten close.

\(^{716}\) A standard phrase by the audience when the subject of the tales is announced. Since many tales involve misfortunes, the audience expresses the wish that the events remain within the story and not intrude into their own reality.

\(^{717}\) Lit., “the girls (are/were) seven girls.”

\(^{718}\) Presentative (cf. French voici que …).

\(^{719}\) As we see later, the giraffe tail is used to shoo flies away from the infected wound. In real life a cow-tail is used.

\(^{720}\) i.e., she wishes her a safe trip (cf. bon voyage).
She took out a little stone and threw it, it is said. Well, when she had thrown the little stone, it turned into a huge boulder (blocking the giraffes’ passage). They (=giraffes) too, they kept gnawing into the rock. The rock now had a hole in it. \(^{721}\) 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. \(^{722}\) It became a dense thicket. When they had cut (through) it, before they could get past \(^{723}\) (it), the girl reached the edge of her father’s village. When she came and reached the edge of the village, (she sang):

\[\text{[song]}^{724}\]

Ya-Ire\(^{725}\) snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire\(^{726}\) 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; \(^{727}\)
Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

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\(^{721}\) Lit., “the rock, it came and was punctured.”
\(^{722}\) \(\text{wɔ̀rɔ́}\) is the general term for scrubby acacias with particularly nasty thorns, often in impenetrable thicket (focally \textit{Acacia erythrocalyx} and \textit{A. ataxacantha}).
\(^{723}\) lit., “before they said they had passed.”
\(^{724}\) Sung in Jamsay. However, the normal Jamsay word for ‘giraffe’ is \textit{wilwil}.
\(^{725}\) The girl’s name, but it means ‘the best woman’.
\(^{726}\) Alternative version of the girl’s name. Cf. \(\text{mɛ̀rɛ́}\) ‘kinship relation’, hence literally ‘best woman of the kinship group’ (or the like).
\(^{727}\) The ordering of lines in the middle of the stanza is slightly different in this repetition.
She said (=sang) like that, it is said. They said, as for this, (it seems that) Ya-Ire has appeared. Some of the children of her mother (=her sisters) scooped up some water (from a jar), it is said, (and) some (others) picked up some food, it is said. Well, going out like that, they met her on the path.

They asked, had she come (back) there? She said, by the grace of God, she had come. They asked, had she gotten (it)? She said, yes, she had gotten (it). She came and arrived at the door of her father (and sang):

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail;
The tail of a horse, a giraffe tail;
The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail;
Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

She said (=sang) thus. Having come and gone in (the house) like that, when she went in abruptly, well, her brother, she found him lying down (=in bed), it is said, and some flies were on his foot. She shooed (the flies), and the foot was suddenly healed (the scab flying off).

The story is over, the last story is over.
S: A [vocative], do (=tell) for us another one.
A: All right. A story for you-Pl.
S: Tell it.
A: It was put (=told) about a man and his child.
S: May the boundary be made.
A: A man, he gave birth to (=sired) a child (=daughter). He married a woman, and he gave birth to a child. He drove away the child’s mother, it is said. When he drove (her) away, he said (=intended that) he would marry the child, it is said. The child, for her part, said that she would not marry her father, it is said.

The father said, well, if she insisted that she wouldn’t marry him, she must go away from his house forever, it is said. She said, all right. When she had run (away), she went up (=climbed) on top of a borassus palm, it is said. When she had gone up on top of the borassus palm, the mother left her village and came. She kept looking for her child, (but) she didn’t see (=couldn’t find) (her).

She asked the child’s father, what had become of the child? He said, he was not aware (=did not know) where she was. She (=mother) went (around) in the neighborhood and asked the children (=young people), it is said. They said that her child was up on top of a borassus palm, it is said. When she (=mother) came under the borassus palm, the girl’s name was Denney, when she (=mother) said (called out) “Denney,” she (=girl) said “yes?”

She (=mother) asked, what had brought her (up) in the borassus palm? She said: uh-huh, her father had said that he would marry her, (but) she had said that she couldn’t marry him, (whereupon) he had told her to go away from the house; (as for) her, that [focus] was why dhr had gone up to the top of the borassus palm. Huh? she (=mother) asked. Yes, she (=girl) said. She (=mother) told her to come down, (but) she (=girl) said she would not come down.

She (=mother) went home. She cooked some food. She came to the bottom of the borassus palm (and sang:).

[song][729] She (=mother) said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile[730]
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl’s reply:) Oh mother!
A man gave birth to me[731] yesterday
(And) today he will marry me.
I will go to die, and drink the water (there).[732]

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728 Borassus aethiopicum. This palm has a very long, straight trunk that is difficult to climb.
729 Sung in Tommo-So (=Tombo-So). Transcription and morpheme breaks are approximate.
730 =Denney, the girl’s name.
731 Lit. ‘gave birth to (=sired) and left (there)’. To avoid confusion, ‘left’ is omitted from the free translation.
She (=mother) did (that until) she was tired, it is said. She (=mother) went and called her (own) mother, the mother too. The (girl’s) grandmother too, she came (and sang:).

She said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl’s reply:) Oh mother!
A man gave birth to me yesterday
(And) today he will marry me.
I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

Her (=girl’s) agemates came, it is said.

Dene-ile, Dene-ile
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl’s reply:) Oh my neighbors!
A man gave birth to me yesterday
(And) today he will marry me.
I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

They did (that until) they were tired, it is said. She (=girl) did not consent (=refused) to come down, it is said. They told (each other) to chop down the tree. They kept chopping the tree, (and) when it was about to fall, there was another tree right up next to it, it is said.

She (=girl) followed (=went along) the branch, she moved over to the other (tree), it is said. When she had moved over to the other (tree), they called a boy who was speaking (=courting) her. They called and brought (him), he too came (and sang:).

Dene-ile, Dene-ile
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl’s reply:) Oh So-and-So!
A man gave birth to me yesterday
(And) today he will marry me.
I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

He did (that) until) he was tired, it is said. She did not consent to come down, it is said. They kept chopping the tree, the tree was falling, she (=girl) was jumping from there (=up in the tree). She came jumping down, it is said, and the tree fell, it is said. Her bones remain there.

The story is over, the last story is over.

732 i.e., “I will drink in the Afterworld.”
733 =Denney, the girl’s name.
734 One would expect “Oh grandmother!” here.
A: Again, a story for you-Pl.
S and others: Tell it.
A: It was put on (=told about) the girl in the village.
S: May the boundary be made.
A: Well, the girl, they gave birth to her (=she was born). In the village moreover, when she became an adolescent girl, when she did (that), the rain did not consent to fall, it is said. Well, when the rain did not consent to fall, (when) it (=rain) did that, they said (=asked each other), is everything all right? They said, if she (=girl) didn’t go up into the sky, the rain wouldn’t come down on the earth, it is said.
S: If the girl didn’t go up above?
A: Yes, if the girl didn’t go up above. They asked, if the girl doesn’t go up above, the rain won’t come down? They said (=answered), uh-huh, the rain won’t come down. Well, the chiefs assembled, they went for (=to the home of) her father and her mother, and they said: well, the rain has dried up like this in their village; if his (=father’s) daughter doesn’t go up above, the rain won’t come down.

He (=chief) said to give him (=chief) the girl, the chief. The father said, huh? He (=chief) said, yes! The mother too said, huh? He (=chief) said, yes! (The parents) said, well, if they have said to give (her), they will give (her); they themselves (=parents) (had) thirst and hunger, the animals (had) thirst and hunger; if the girl goes up into the sky and (then) the rain falls, they (=parents) will have given the girl to him (=chief). All right, he (=chief) said.

They took out some millet (from the granary), and they pounded (millet grain) (as) a sacrifice, they ate (it). In this way they caused the girl to go up above, it is said.

She went up above. Well, they continued to be there for a long time. (Eventually) she grew up to become a young woman, until she gave birth to a child, it is said.

When she gave birth to a child, when she had done that, when they said (=decided) they would bring her down (to the ground), the child was a boy, it is said. They told her, when she went (down), she was not to utter the name of her child. The child’s name, itself, they put (=called) Arayalogoro, it is said.

S: Arayalogoro?
A: Arayalogoro, [laughs] yes, She put (=called him) Arayalogoro, it is said. All right, she said. When she came down, when she did that, they made a dog follow after her, it is said. (They) said (=thought): if it is her, when this (=secret name) goes (down), she

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735 Lit., “is it peace?” A question typically asked of a visitor arriving at a home, for example. Pragmatically: ‘is something wrong?’
736 Here, a meal offered to everyone, to earn a blessing from higher powers.
737 Lit. “until she went and came and gave birth …”. Here ‘went’ is associated with ‘until’, and ‘came’ frames the event. Neither verb denotes actual motion by the protagonist.
738 ‘they’ here refers to beings in the upper world.
won’t be able to avoid uttering it.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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?\textsuperscript{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):

\textbf{[song]\textsuperscript{742}}

They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{739} Lit. “she won’t do [she didn’t say].”
\textsuperscript{740} name of the girl (now a young woman).
\textsuperscript{741} Lit. “how do they say the name of …”.
\textsuperscript{742} sung in Jamsay. The prosody here is prose-y, unlike the singing by the same speaker in the previous texts.
\textsuperscript{743} Words with no discernible sense.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro, Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.

He (=dog) spoke (=sang) like that, it is said. Uh-huh. (They) asked, had she uttered (it)? She said, uh-huh, she had uttered (it). They took her there and they made her go (back) down, it is said. Her bones have remained there, it is said.
A: Again, a story for you-Pl.
S: Tell it.
A: It was put on (=told about) a woman and her stepmother. 
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. 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, when the new girl was drawing her (own), she (=senior wife) pushed her (=new wife) into the pond.

When she put (=pushed) her into the pond, Nommo caught her (as she was falling). He (=Nommo) caught her and was holding her. The woman, there was her brother whom they called Amasagu, 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, and when she had gone away to the edge of the village, she (=senior wife) for her part had not gone looking for her? (She) said: uh-huh, as for her, indeed she had not gone looking for her; his (new) wife had gone away to the edge of the village, and had not come (back); how was she (=senior wife) going to go looking for her? All right, he said.

Well, the village (=villagers) took the tomtom(s), they went out in order to search for the woman, it is said. They spent the daytime searching for her, (but) they didn’t see (=couldn’t find) her, it is said; they spent the night that (same) way, it is said, (but) they

744 Term applied to a second (or third) wife of one’s father (i.e., one’s mother’s co-wife). Stepmothers are proverbially protective of their own offspring, at the expense of their stepchildren.
745 tǎ ‘water source (well, pond, etc.).’
746 Lit. ‘put down and left (it)’.
747 Lit. ‘pushed and put (in) …’
748 Dogon water god, associated with rainbows.
749 Lit., ‘entrusted to God’. Name given to a first son.
750 The reference is to a particular spot on the edge of the village used for defecating. The place is not marked and must be pointed out to a visitor.
didn’t see her, it is said. The next morning, the woman’s—, the boy, her brother Amasagu went to the pond. He said (=intended) that he would draw water with (=into) a small gourd. She (=woman) was inside (=underwater) (and sang:).

song: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes bum-bum! Who is beating it? In the body of water, the gourd goes bum-bum! Who is beating it?”

(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”

(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out, (Is it) peace? It’s drums of what?”

(Man:) “Ogolum’s (wife) Yadinge is not there? That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”

(Woman:) “I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)! Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water), I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!"

She said (=sang) like that. The boy was speechless (=surprised). He said: ah, inside (=under) this water, it is not peace (=something is afoul).” Again, a second time he began to draw water (into the gourd).

song: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes bum-bum! Who is beating it?

(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”

(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out, It’s drums of what?”

(Man:) “Ogolum’s (wife) Yadinge is not there, they said. That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”

(Woman:) “I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)! Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water), I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!"

They (=people) got up and went and told him (=husband), it is said. When they told the chief, well, the chief again summoned the village (=villagers), and said: Amasagu had told (him) that his (=Amasagu’s) sister was in (=under) the water; they (=villagers) must now seek a stratagem for him (=chief) how to get (the woman) out (of the water), it is said.

751 sàböl is a very small gourd with a narrow neck that opens wide at the top, good for carrying small quantities of curdled milk and other liquids.

752 sung in Jamsay.

753 as in ‘beat (tomtom)’.

754 The village’s drums are beaten to summon the villagers for important matters, including war.

755 Lit. ‘go in (to), enter’.
They said, all right. They came and summoned her brother beside (=at the edge of) the water. They told him to approach (the water), draw water (into the gourd), and look. He began to draw water (into the gourd), it is said. He was drawing water.

song:  
(Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes bum-bum!  
Who is beating it?  
In the body of water, the gourd goes bum-bum!  
Who is beating it?”

(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”

(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtooms came out,  
It’s drums of what?”

(Man:) “Ogolum’s (wife) Yadinge is not there, they said.  
That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”

(Woman:) “I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!  
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water),  
I did not die, (he) went and caught (me)!”

All right, he said. A second time he beat— A second time he put (the gourd) again, it (=song) happened like that (=was repeated). They asked the owner of the water (=Nommo) for the woman. They got her out (of the water), they said (=intended) to bring her to the house, they were coming (with her).

The owner of the water too sent animals (=livestock), slaves, and horses following her like that. When he had sent (all that) following (her), her co-wife (the husband’s senior wife) came the next day, she went into (=under) the water, it is said, (and) white smoke (steam?) came out, it is said.

The story is over, the last story is over.
S: Tell us a story.
B: One old woman. She herself, she was in the bush (=outback), she had accumulated animals, to the point that they were numerous, the goats. Her daughter was the wife of Lion. She (=daughter) was like that (=married to Lion). Hyena and Hare were not aware of that.

One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin. They came bringing the francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman. She tossed it into her cotton gear. They chatted near her (=old woman) (until) they were tired. They got up and went into the bush. They went and remained there (until) they were tired.

Again they came. They said (in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman took out the francolin meat, and held (it) out to them. When they had taken hold of the francolin meat, they told her to take hold of it (=take it back from them) and eat (it); that was merely fun (=kidding) with the grandmother (by her grandchildren), it wasn’t (intended to) go that far.

All right, she said. She again put it and left it in her cotton gear. They got up and went into the bush again. A second day they came (and said, in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” She took out and gave them the francolin thigh. They said to her, as for them, it was (just) chatting (=not serious); did she think it was a lie?; she should eat (it), as for her. All right, she said.

After she took it and put it (back) in (the cotton gear), her daughter, the wife of Lion, came, took (the meat) out and ate it (all) up. Well, when she had eaten it all up, the next day they (=Hyena and Hare) came. When they said “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” she looked for (it) (but) she didn’t see it.

Well, if she couldn’t see (=find) the francolin thigh, she obligatorily would give (them) a goat, (they) said. She said, huh? They said, yes! The old woman, for her part, didn’t like a lot of talk. She said to them, they should approach and take hold of the goat that they wanted. They took the goat, and they got up and went (back) into the bush. They slaughtered (=cut its throat), roasted (it), and ate it up.

Two (or) three days passed. They got up and were coming. Again they repeated: “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman didn’t have a francolin thigh, (so) she told them to take a goat this day too. They kept taking (goats). As for the goats, there came to remain of them now only one skinny goat kid.

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756 Lit., ‘was in the wife(-hood) of …’.
757 partridge-like bird. Francolinus sp.
758 Doum-palm basket containing implements and materials used in spinning cotton thread (card, rolling stick, etc.).
759 Lit. “grandparent-laughter.”
760 Hyena and Hare playfully go through the motion of demanding francolin meat from the grandmother. Later the demands become serious.
Well, when the skinny goat kid remained, they (=Hyena and Hare) (came and) looked, (and saw that) her goats had gone out (=diminished), they had (nearly) come to an end. (They) said (to her): for this skinny goat kid that they saw (=that were right there), by the time they (=Hyena and Hare) came on another day, if this (goat kid) had not attained the size of a lion, there would be no peace for her. The old woman got up, she kept weeping over that. 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 When he had gotten down, he began to run. He kept running. When he had gone far away, he said (in Jamsay): Daddy, Hyena, should come! He (=Hyena) said, yes!

He (=Hare) said (in Jamsay): could he (=Hyena) see him? He (=Hyena) said (in Jamsay): he could only see him (=Hare) dimly. He (=Hare) said: well, the thing that he (=Hyena) had mounted on, it was their master; when the lightning flashed, he (=Hyena) should look at its mane. When the lightning flashed, he (=Hyena) looked, (and saw that) it was Lion.

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761 Lit. ‘wept [the weeping of that]’.
762 As we see later, the speaker has the characters reversed. It was actually Hyena who got off Lion, leaving Hare on Lion’s back.

183
He (=Hyena) said: “Uncle!” He (=Lion) said: “yes?” He (=Hyena) said that he (=Hyena) was going to defecate, (but) he (=Lion) said that he (=Hyena) would not come down at that place. He (=Hyena) (then) said that he was going to urinate, (but) he (=Lion) said that he (=Hyena) would not come down at that place. He (=Hyena) did like that until he was tired.

The other (=Hare) got up and ran far away (=fled). Uh-oh, it was (rather) the hyena who ran away, he went. When he (=Hyena) went and spoke to his wives, he said: Hare has called his mother [insult]; the two of them had been coming mounted on Lion like that, when the lightning had flashed he (=Hyena) had seen; by (saying) he was going to the edge of the village (=toilet area), he had run away and escaped; he (=Hyena) had gotten (into) trouble that day. He (=Hyena) went into his house, yes (and sang):

[song (Jamsay)]

In the house of Daddy Hares, shouts come out.
The house of Daddy Hyena, it’s cold (=peaceful).
(Despite) the noise of tomtoms, peace comes to us.

He (=Hyena) was doing that. Hare rode on Lion and came to the door of the hyena. He (=Hare) came, and said (to Hyena): good evening! He looked (and saw that) the hyena rode the hare--., (or rather) the hare came riding on a Lion. He (=Hyena) told them, the women (=his wives) and the children, to hang from the ceiling cross-sticks. They were there clinging closely to the ceiling cross-sticks.

One (of the hyena children) spoke (in Jamsay), saying: his arm was getting tired. He (=Hyena) told (the child, in Jamsay): hey, fucker, he should come down (and be eaten by Lion); if San (=name of mother hyena) was there, she would bear a child (to replace him). He (=child) fell down, and Lion took and ate (him). Eventually the (hyena) woman too fell.

Eventually the (hyena) man too, he was there in a worn-out well-bag, and lo the rope was being pulled off (=was fraying badly). He made (the sound) “tutu!” (with) saliva (=by spitting lightly). While he was moistening the rope (hoping to prevent its snapping), the worn-out well-bag broke off (and fell) down. Him (=Hyena) too he (=Lion) ate.

The story is over, the last story is over.

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763 The slender branches laid across the ceiling.
764 Traditionally, a goatskin waterbag lowered by a rope into a well to draw water.
B: It was put on (=told of) Hare and Hyena.
S: May the boundary be made.
B: Well, when the two of them got up, came, and met together, Hare spoke, asking Hyena to teach him intelligence (=craftiness). He (=Hyena) said, huh? He (=Hare) said: yes! He (=Hyena) said, well, if that’s it (=the situation), they should leave very early in the morning (=at the crack of dawn).

At the time when the two of them had taken their animal-hide shoulder-bags and slung (them, i.e. the straps) over their shoulders and had gone out, the hare took out two long grain spikes of millet, and he put (them) in his shoulder-bag. The hyena’s shoulder-bag was empty. The two of them kept going along.

They came up to a place. The antelope, well, she had given birth to two children, she put and left them in a hole and went away to eat. They (=Hyena and Hare) went along and they happened to encounter it (=the hole). They ran into (it), both of them (Hyena and Hare) took one each (antelope child), and they put (them) into their bags. They put (them in) and they continued (on) their way.

Antelope got up and went to the place of (=where she had left) her children. She didn’t find the children, but tracks (=footprints) arrived there (=led in that direction). Well, she followed the tracks. She went after (them). She kept running. She came and emerged on (=encountered) two individuals. It was Hare and Hyena. Well, she blocked their way. She said: it’s true, it was their tracks [focus] that she had been following; they (animals) had arrived at her home; it was they [focus] who had taken her children.

Before it (antelope) came, well, it happened that Hare had spoken (to Hyena): they should snap (=break) the necks (of the children). When he said (that), the hare snapped the millet (spikes) in half, making the noise “toy!” The hyena snapped the neck of the antelope’s child, making the noise “toy.”

That’s is (when) the mother (antelope) came and blocked their route. She said: it was they [focus] who had taken her children, (now) they must take them out (of the shoulder-bags). At that point, the hare took hold of the bottom of his shoulder-bag, and shook it. The antelope child bounded (out), it went and clung to its mother. She (antelope) told Hyena to take (his) out, (but) he did not consent (=he refused) to take (it) out.

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765 A long thin goat- or sheepskin bag worn under the shoulder, held by a cord over the shoulder. This is the normal bag carried by men into fields or the bush. Local Fr gibecière.
766 Tentatively identified as the roan antelope, *Hippotragus equinus*. Large antelopes like this (and the topi) have not been seen in the zone for decades because of desertification.
767 Slightly different from the sound of the millet spikes (=ears) being snapped.
768 The narrator comments, in the form of a statement addressed to a protagonist in the story. The segment “his is louder” is spoken in Jamsay.
She pressed (=harassed) him. He took the bottom of the shoulder-bag and simply shook it, (and) thud! The antelope child was dead. The (mother) antelope said: as for this (event), there was nothing that would end (the hostility) between herself and him (=Hyena). At that point, he (=Hyena) arose and got the hell out of there, he ran. Antelope followed after (=chased) him. He kept running, he went to the burrow of an aardvark and ran headlong into it.

When he ran in, antelope went (there), she dug it (=burrow). While she was digging, a warthog came and found her there. It (=warthog) said: “what is it?” She said: a man had taken and strangled to death her child; she had followed him, and he was inside this hole; Warthog should have the patience (=kindness) to help her with that (problem), because he (=Warthog) was the owner of teeth (=had powerful teeth). Warthog thereupon got ready (=got in position), (with) the teeth, he kept digging.

Hare came and arrived. When he had come and arrived, he asked: had he (=Hyena) gone in there? He (=Warthog) said, yes. (Hare) said: they should stand (=hold off for a while); with that, (if) he (=Hare) didn’t go in and do something and come out (first), if he (=Warthog) got close to him (=Hyena) and stayed that way (for a while), it wouldn’t be good for him (=Warthog); his (=Hare’s) acquaintance who was in the hole (=Hyena) wasn’t nice. He (=Warthog) said, all right.

Hare went in, took a handful of salt out (of his bag), and said: he (=Hyena) should stuff it (=salt) into his mouth and hold it (in his cheeks); the warthog was digging and digging; when he (=Warthog) came up close to him (=Hyena), he (=Hyena) should spray it (=salt, by spitting) into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s); when he (=Hyena) had spit it into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s), he (=Warthog) would back up and go out.

The warthog kept digging. When he had finally come close (to Hyena), when he (=Hyena) spat, lo! he had swallowed the salt, (so) there was none of it in his mouth. Well, Hare observed that Warthog had approached close to him (=Hyena), (but) his man (=Hyena) was not responding (=doing anything). He (=Hare) said again: he (=Warthog) should stand (=hold off for a moment), and let (=Hare) take a look (first).

He (=Hare) went in, he gave him (=Hyena) some (more) salt, he (=Hyena) stuffed it into his mouth. He (=Hyena) was there, holding (it) in his mouth. He (=Warthog) kept digging. He (=Hare) told him (=Hyena) to spit (the salt) when he (=Warthog) had gotten close. He (=Warthog) dug, he got close to him (=Hyena). When he (=Hyena) spat, well, that too, (some of) the salt had been lost (=swallowed). A little bit (of salt) got into his (=Warthog’s) eye(s).

He (=Warthog) spoke: something had gotten into his eye(s). He (=Warthog) came out. He (=Hare) asked: had he (=Hare) not said (that if) he (=Hare) didn’t go in and perform his thing, these (=Warthog’s) eyes would both burst; but now Antelope should blow on him (=Warthog), perhaps there was a bit of dirt in his eye(s).

Antelope blew (on Warthog’s eye), and the salt escaped (=came out) and (somehow) got into Antelope’s (own) mouth. Its tastiness was extreme. It was tastier to her (=Antelope) than honey, it was tastier to her than meat. Antelope spoke: hey, Warthog, these tears of his (=Warthog’s) were tasty! Rabbit, he spoke: he (=Antelope) didn’t know (anything); warthog meat was tastier than these tears. Well, that was that,
huh. Antelope followed after (=chased) Warthog. She (=Antelope) and Warthog got into a chase\textsuperscript{769} and went by.

Hare spoke, saying that Hyena should come out now; he (=Hyena) had finished learning intelligence (=craftiness). The other one (=Antelope) went and killed Warthog. Before she (=Antelope) had skinned and carried away its (=Warthog’s) meat, Hyena—(or rather) Hare went out leading his companion (=Hyena), they got up and went.

The story is over, the last story is over.

\textsuperscript{769} Lit. ‘caught each other’.
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.  

B: Yes.  

C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil.  

B: Munwil. Yes.  

C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and) Morogoy. Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth, 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 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.  

B: Yes, I understand.  

C: Well, in that Munwil, 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, even today when he carries the knife on his shoulder, it’s he [focus] who goes to the ritual ground.  

B: Yes.  

C: That is the knife of Leri.  

B: Well, those people of ours now, how did they separate? One settled in Kara, (the other) one settled in Youli.  

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 was stubborn (kárá:-rɛ̀), he couldn’t go.

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770 The famous Mande Empire of Sundjata.  
771 A village somewhere between Mande and Beni.  
772 Two founding brothers.  
773 This and the following are archaic expressions, partially in Jamsay, that are called out by griots.  
774 Said to mean ‘mutual agreement’, but not otherwise in use.  
775 Lit. “are set down.”  
776 Lit. “in the Munwil of that.”  
777 I.e., Munwil is located beyond Walo.  
778 The area just outside the village where the community gathers in the morning for major rituals (nowadays, the two primary Islamic holy days).  
779 The youngest boy of the original family carries the knife to the ritual ground.  
780 Village near Beni.
B: xxx
C: In that (place), with that he stayed put.
B: Yes.
C: When he stayed put there, our (maternal) uncles the Maba …
B: Yes.
C: … came and settled next to them.
B: Exactly.
C: Well, the people of Beni governed the territory, our (maternal) uncles commanded the chiefhood.
B: Yes.
C: Up until today, it’s our (maternal) uncles [focus] who are chiefs.
B: Yes.
C: Both the territory and the entrusting of the words are in the hand(s) of the people of Beni.
B: Exactly. We understand.
C: When it came to Beni, Morogoy and Kagoy (patronymics), that’s what there was.
B: Yes.
C: In that Walo, Awandu and Mema (neighborhoods).
B: These two.
C: They are (=correspond to) Kasaru and Oduro (neighborhoods in Beni).
B: Yes.
C: As for me, this is my knowledge.
B: That Oduro and that Kasaru, (they have) one mother (and) one father, they said. So, that too, how is it?
C: Well, you the people of Beni, here you are. That (matter), it is entrusted to God, and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is …).
S: Grandpa, he said that he had 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).”
B: Is it understood?
C: Uh-huh.
B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is), in Kara, they left some (people) there. Some (others) who got up, the younger brother and the elder brother who got up, it is said that they came to Yuli and settled (there).

781 The quotation is a mix of “direct” discourse (hence ‘you-Sg’) and “indirect” discourse (hence Logophoric á representing the quoted speaker).
782 An uncommon word describing one who is stubborn (e.g. a child who refuses to carry out orders, etc.). S will later inquire about its meaning.
783 I.e., I will no longer take orders from an adult.
C: Exactly.

B: When they came and settled at Yuli, well, he the elder brother, he was a hunter, it is said. The hunter kept going around. He got up and went down into the valley (=bottom) of Oloy\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{785} too, an excellent place for them to settle.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{788} if they haven’t performed the sacrifice, settling in that place is difficult

\textsuperscript{784} An area at the bottom of the ravine next to Beni.

\textsuperscript{785} I.e. on the flat rocky shelf above the ravine, where the current village of Beni is.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{787} The point of this phrase is not clear.

\textsuperscript{788} pëyï pëgê-, literally ‘drive a post into the ground’, refers semi-literally to the original act of sacrificing (and burying) a girl. The phrase can also be used in the sense ‘utter sacred words (to ward off calamities)’. 
(=dangerous). Well, it went on like that. The one of (=from) Oduro (neighborhood) (=younger brother) spoke to the one of Kasari (=elder).

(Younger brother said:) He (=elder) [focus] would obligatorily perform the sacrifice, because after he (=older) was the first to claim the place, he (=elder) [focus] would perform the sacrifice; a young woman whose breasts are fully going out (=developed), she was healthy. (Elder brother said:) well, now, that being the case, he (=elder) bore the burden (=responsibility) of performing the sacrifice.

When he said that he would bear (the burden), the old people said: if that was indeed the case, they wouldn’t kill (the girl) (first) and then stick her in (the hole); (instead) in life (=while she was alive) they would dig the spot until it (=hole) became deep; they would put her there (=in the hole), until it reached this level, and they would cover (her) up; the village would get its well-being (back).

C: Exactly.
B: He (=older brother) said, fine; if this village of his father would get well-being, he would bear the burden (head-load) of that. After that, she the girl of Kasari, in the Yasumoy shed, there [focus] they stuck her in.

C: Exactly.
B: It was after that [focus] that Beni was able to be settled. Even today, we are in it.
C: Exactly.
B: I learned (it) like this. That too, it is entrusted to God (and) it is entrusted to you-Sg.
C: It is entrusted to great God. It is thus.
B: Yes.
C: May God preserve us.
B: Amen.
D: She told them to visit her (i.e. pay respects at her burial site.
C: Uh-huh, the fact that she asked them to greet her).
B: Yes, they took and burned it.
C: Well, the fact that she asked them to greet her.
B: Exactly.
C: Well, that is it.
B: Exactly.
C: One person, this (thing) that you-Sg see, the one who (had) said that.
B: Yes.
C: He said, he was a healer.
B: He was a healer.
C: A healer.
B: Yes.
C: It’s he [focus] who was Karakinde [name].
B: Karakiri, that was it., it’s he [focus] who was the healer.
C: Yes.
B: Yes, yes.

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789 Name of the covered shelter. Literally “woman-sand”.
C: The other one was Yasumoy. She (=girl) had said (before being buried): as soon as the rains ended (=after the harvest), they should greet (=pay respects to) her.
B: Yes.
C: Because of that (request) they greet her, today if (the time for) that matter (=paying respects) has come. What is that?

[song in Jamsay] Today, Yasumoy, get up!

B: Exactly.
C: [song in Jamsay] Karakinde, get up!
We are going, we are coming.
Karakinde, get up!
Yasumoy, hah-hey!
Yasumoy, hah-hey!
In the war of the Fulbe, the reply is by tomtoms.

B: Exactly. It’s just like that. We heard (it) just like that, (from) the mouth(s) of the old people.
C: They said (it) like that.
B: If God wills, let him (=the linguist) turn off (the tape recorder) now.
D: A short matter, a short matter.
B: Yes.
D: Well, the way the woman came to be more abject, Yasumoy.
B: Yes.
D: Well, if a person goes in there (=Beni), the snake’s biting and killing, it became difficult (=intolerable).
B: Yes.
D: Well, it’s true, they (=you) say that the village belongs to them; it was they who reserved (=first claimed it); again, they in the villages, they aren’t performing the sacrifice now; (therefore) the snakes are biting and killing people; the things (snakes etc.) are wearing (the) people out; they (=people from other villages) are mocking (them); if they go to a pond (to draw water), they (=others) are constantly mocking (them); they (=others) are mocking (them) at the grain-pounding place (at the edge of the village); they are constantly making a hubbub (=gossiping).

It was in that (situation) that she (=girl) said to her father, it’s an abject situation; they should implant her (=bury her alive as a sacrifice); when the rainy

790 This passage is from the point of view of visitors, complaining to the local people (at the time) about the latters’ failure to make a sacrifice.
791 The annual human sacrifice provided protection to the village against dangerous snakes, and since the sacrifices were no longer performed the protection had lapsed.
792 Đây ‘abject state (impoverished, miserable, lowly)’, with the connotation of being ashamed in the presence of others.
season was over, they should weep for her death; they must not forget. She said (=spoke) like that.

B: Exactly, exactly. It (=what you say) has been understood, it is healthy (=valid) exactly like that. Now, let him (=the linguist) proceed to turn it off.

D: That is it.

793 The girl volunteers to be sacrificed to save the village.
Sister villages Beni and Walo

S: Uh-huh, let’s go.
B: Well, Walo (village) and Beni, (they are of) one father and one mother. Well, (at) the time before now (=long ago), as we heard from the mouth(s) of the old people, and the little that we (ourselves) know.

If it was true that the oldest man had died in Walo, when three years had passed, they would make an announcement: not (just) a man, not (just) a woman, (rather) anyone (male and female) whose leg(s) can deliver them to Walo, they will assemble. Taking horses, taking donkeys, that [focus] is what we used to ride on long ago.

They would get up and go to that Walo. (For) the death (=funeral) in the (extended) patrilineal family, (we would stay) there two days, up to three days. When we went, they would slaughter cows, they would slaughter goats, they would slaughter sheep. They would bring milk in plentiful amounts. Every person would eat as (much as) they wanted.

When eventually three days would arrive (=elapse), we would get up and come (back) here (=to Beni). When we had in fact come (back) here, here too, if a good (=respected) old person (=man), or for example someone of the same age group as the oldest man, had fallen (=died), they (=people of Walo) too, during the full three years, they would be getting themselves ready.

When the three years had been completed, they would make an announcement: from Debere (village) to Tomboru (village), everyone fleet-footed, with (=on) whatever thing one could mount, would get up and come here to Beni. When they would come here, they would slaughter cows, they would slaughter goats, they would slaughter sheep, milk.

As for the food, for three days at a time it would not be pushed and go. They would have activities, (for) the death in the patrilineal family, in that way they would get up and go. We were (=did) like that for a long time.

Nowadays, hard times having come in, well, the (rituals for) a death in the patrilineal family, as for it, now we have abandoned it. However, necessarily, when a good (=important) person has died, even nowadays, we have not abandoned (the rites for) each other. One father, one mother.

Well, (you may) tell him (=the linguist) to turn (it) off.
B: Uh-huh. What we want now, the history that—how 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. Well, at that time there were no rifles. Machete blades, that [focus] was there.

D: Spears.

B: Spears, that [focus] was there. Staffs (=sticks with curved ends), that [focus] was there. They assembled them (=people) here. They went (on foot) like (the distance to) Ouagadougou, they would make them fight. They went like (the distance to) Dedougou. If you-Sg died, that was it. If you-Sg came back (alive), that was it.

Well, some (of them) fought, to the point that they were wounded. Some came (back) with one arm missing, (or) they came (back) with one leg missing. Of them, some received pay, some (others) did not receive pay. Up to this day, as for today, necessarily, if it’s the case that they have taken you-Sg away (for) something like military service, there is pay.

The day has broken (=arrived) (that) everyone wants to go (into military service). Today—. Well, military service isn’t obtained just freely (=haphazardly). It becomes reality like that. Well, the talk is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg, D [vocative].

D: Well, it’s like that. Nowadays, definitely by God, praise God. It, France, it (=France) came and did good things for us after that. What was (that)? The way he—, the way B said (=described) it just previously, it was exactly like that. They (=slave traders) took us like slaves, they went and took our people and sold them. Because they said, Sekou collected and sent down (=sold into slavery) seven hundred people each, on roughly three occasions.

B: Yes.

D: With that, they took us, they went and ruined and left our name, we the black people. Well, after that, Sekou Fouta got up and came. Well, he told the Dogon(s) to help him now; when he (=they) had helped him, he now would leave them (=Dogon) as they wished.

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798 Lit., “doing [it].”
799 Lit. “fight a fight.”
800 sárú-úsù, perhaps an adaptation of Fr service.
801 Sekou Amadou, leader of the Fulbe Empire based in Hamdallaye near Mopti in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.
802 Sekou from Fouta Diallo, a rival of Sekou Amadou.
They helped him, Sekou Whatchamacallit (=Sekou Fouta). They removed Sekou Amadou (from power). When they had removed that, after that, Sekou (Amadou), him too now, what did (=would) you say? The holy man Sekou Tijani, Amadou Tijani, as for him, what did (=would) you say?, he left us (with) each person as they wished. Because of that, Islam did not use force against (=oppress) us.

B: Exactly.

D: Well, the *dolidoli* was precisely like that. But the white man, he too came afterward. Sekou, what did (=would) you say?, he (=white man) removed Sekou (Amadou), he removed (Sekou) Fouta. The white man, when he removed him (=Sekou Fouta) too, he (=white man) too came himself and settled. Well, he tired (=oppressed) our old people a little (at first), but later he came again and let us rest.

B: He gave us peace.

D: He rested and gave us peace. We were like that (for a long time), he taught us various things a little. They (=villagers) too saw (some) things, they said they would take charge of them. Their capability of doing various things definitively, they could not, well, if they left them (=villagers) (alone), they (=whites) said that they were not capable of (managing) households, (but) they (=villagers) said they were capable (=self-sufficient).

Well, it was what? They (=whites) asked them (=villagers) about various types of gear. They (=whites) asked about hats. He (=a villager) showed the traditional clothing to them—to him (=white). They (=whites) asked about boubous (=upper-body garments), they (=villagers) showed traditional clothing. He (=white) asked about pants, they showed traditional clothing. Anything that—. They asked about shoes, they showed leather shoes. They asked about fire, they took and showed flint lighters.

Well, they (=villagers) came and kept saying, yes, they were capable (=self-sufficient). The white came. Now, what would you-Sg say it was? He the Frenchman, taking independence in his hand, he told us to take—what would you-Sg say it was?—(charge of) ourselves.

At that point, the fact that we came in—what would you-Sg say it was?—and we settled (=lived) by ourselves, that was that. It is this way we are today. If there is someone else (here) who has (something to say), let him take (over). A long speech (=story), just one person cannot keep telling (it).

B: Exactly, yes. Cut!
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. What was it (=the reason for that)? The marauding Fulbe were numerous.

D: People did not use to be as enlightened 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. 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) and sell them.

D: They would stuff rags in the(ir) mouths.

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. The Fulbe, that is their work (=habitual activity). (To D:) take over the word (=speak)!

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808 I.e. on the order of 8 to 18 kilometers.
809 Lit. “awake.” Used here like local French éveillé.
810 I.e., what they had was none other than spears.
811 Village near Mopti, in predominantly Fulbe territory.
812 They would gag the children so they wouldn’t shout.
813 Lit. “they became [in [thieves of livestock]].”
D: Help them! As for the Fulbe person, as for the Fulbe person, he is the Fulbe person. All of us (=Dogon and Fulbe), we are all black-skinned ones (=Africans), (of) one father (and) one mother. The Fulbe, he is a betrayer (of trust). They used to call (it) “betrayal.” This (same) way that B has come and spoken (just) now, it was exactly like that.

The Fulbe, as for them, 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,812 (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.

814 D asks the listeners to chime in, but there are no takers, so D himself proceeds.
815 The Dogon would have had the right to keep an apprehended Fulbe livestock thief as a slave.
Some (others) too now—what would you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—we in Africa, we say Liberia, now—if you say what?—Monrovia, they would bring (them) to that land and they would settle them and leave them there, they said For that reason they (=whites), the whites did not govern them, it is said.

When the war was over, as for them (=blacks), it’s thus [focus] that they (=whites) settled them. That is “liberated”—what is it (that you-Sg would say)?—Liberia. It’s thus [focus] that they settled them and left them there.

B: Exactly.
D: Uh-huh.
B: History—
D: Exactly, history, now, what we hear, it’s thus. Our grandparents recount (it) to us thus, it is said.
B: Well, turn it off.
S: Islam, how did it come to your 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 was what they used to do (=practice).
D: Misfortune.
B: Misfortune. They used to worship (“run”) them. They worshiped them. It (=Islam), who brought it? Do you know the name of the Fulbe man who brought Islam? Houdi Oumar, or who?
D: It was Sekou Amadou.
B: It was Sekou Amadou. It was Sekou Amadou. When he came into a village, if he found that they had not marked out (the foundation of) a mosque, well, he would not give (them) peace. He made them contribute. He assessed a fine (=tax) on them, that is what they paid for the various things with.

Furthermore, if (there was) a place like (=suggestive of) an idol that he saw, he would go and hit and smash (=destroy) it. After he hit and smashed it, he asked the village (population): did it (=his action) please them, or was it not good (=pleasing)? If (you-Pl said) it wasn’t good, he would show (=give) you 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 they put the first mosque, it is said. Did you 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-Pl were chewing tobacco, they would not give you peace.

Furthermore, if it wasn’t (=if there wasn’t) the mark (=foundation outline) of a mosque in your 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 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).

816 ŋmdó ‘misfortune’ is a sort of tô:rù ‘idol, fetish’.
817 Lit. “cause to give birth to.”
When they had studied thoroughly, when they had seen the truth, they too arose and came. They helped the people of this village of ours understand (=explained it). When they had helped (them) understand, our people too studied, and they saw the thing (=Islam). This is the religion of Islam, the path (=way) of the religion of Islam. That [focus] is what they showed to us.

Even today, as for us now, necessarily that [focus] is what we are studying. The way we went into (=adopted religion) before (=long ago), (it was) long ago, long ago, a hundred years ago, (that) the Mus—, (that) our ancestors went into (=adopted) Islam.

Well, (as for) us now, that [focus] is what we have taken (=adopted). Nowadays too we have taken (it) in that. That [focus] is what we trust (=have faith in). Well—what would you say if you said (it)?—, that [focus] is what we follow (=adhere to) also. Islam came to us like that. Yes.

[inaudible whispered discussion]

D: Yes. The person (=man) who brought Islam to Beni, (so) we have heard, was our great-grandfather (whom) they called Akile.

B: Akile.

D: Akile, 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.

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818 Lit. “having studied, they were sated.”
D: They argued.
B: They argued, to the point that they argued with each other. Well, they kept doing that. Great God, with His might, …
D: He was helping them.
B: … helped them, and most of the people came and, well, went into (=took) his side. Following that, some of us were born in Islam (=brought up as Muslims). Even today, we are in that (religion). May God take (=lead) our Islam forward.
D: Amen.
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.  
   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  
   (=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,  

   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 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 Gami.

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819 Lit. “a village that causes (people) to remain.”
820 Beni, and inanimate pronouns referring to it, are used extensively in this passage to refer to the 
   population of the village.
821 I.e. they are strong-willed (determined), in a good sense. The adjective mǎː can mean ‘dry’ or 
   ‘hard(ened)’, but 
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.
B: Truly.
T: It found Anda. Well, the rest, the rest, they (=other villages) found (Beni), it too. When it (=Beni) came and found them (Jimbel, Gamni, Anda), furthermore, there was no man who accepted (being dominated by Beni), and it (=Beni) did not accept (being dominated by) any village that it (=Beni) came and found.
S: Anda, Gamni, and Jimbel. Was it they [focus] who came and found (=came after) Beni? Or did Beni come and find them?
T: Beni [focus] came and found them.
S: (So) Beni came here and found them.
T: Uh-huh.
B: Well, did it (=Beni) find Kapemde too? Or did it not find (it)?
T: It found it.
B: Did it (=Beni) find Titangay too? Or did it not find (it)?
T: It found it.
B: Well, how was it that they (Kapemde and Titangay) got up and fled once and for all, having left Beni (behind)?
T: Well, as for me, my knowledge of that is small (=limited).
B: Speak!
T: No. About that, my knowledge is small. About that, my knowledge is small.
B: Your-Sg knowledge about that is small.
D: You-Sg too, speak and put (=add)! If you-Sg know (something).
T: Well, again, (here is) what I have heard. Beni, it came. When it came and settled here, it found Titangay. Well, it found Jemesornoturu, it found Kapemde, (and) it also found Da. When it (=Beni) came and settled in the middle of (all) that, the place, they had a low estimation of it. But when they came and settled, the place became a good place.

They (=Beni) were told to get up and go away. They (=Beni) replied: as for them (=Beni), this place of theirs was a place where one could stay; this was Beni; they (=Beni) were not people who would go away, (from) there. Well, at that point they just kept arguing.

The one (=population) of Beni, it had a shoe. The shoe was an iron shoe. They called it Yari-ka, the shoe. Yari-ka. With the Yari-ka, its possessor may get up in the middle of the night, go to your-Sg village, (when) he has gone around it in (the manner of) baobab-leaf sauce going around and goes past, for seven years you-Pl won’t (be able to) get anything to eat; in view of that, they (=the affected villagers) will go away.

In that way, they (=inhabitants of some other villages) got up and went away. Here are something like four or five empty (=abandoned) houses. Their people did not die off! Their people are (still) present (=living). Yari-ka, that [focus] is what drove them out. I too heard this (story) like that.

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823 An abandoned village near Beni, on the track leading to Gamni.
824 Another abandoned village near Beni.
825 Abandoned village west of Beni.
826 Abandoned village between Beni and Gamni.
827 Millet cakes ( tô ) are served in bowls, surrounded by baobab-leaf sauce.
S: Yari-ka, it’s the name of the shoe?
T: It’s the name of the shoe.
S: An iron shoe?
T: An iron shoe. Yari-ka. It is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.
B: Well, that’s it. What I said previously too, that’s it. I said, a person (=man) of Beni is a person who does not accept (being dominated).
T: D! [vocative]
D: It’s a right-footed shoe? Or it’s left-footed?
B: There are both.
T: Whatever shoe they put on and go around the village and keep going. The shoe, it’s a left-footed shoe.
B: Exactly.
T: The left-footed (shoe), you-Sg (will) put it on (your) right foot. Likewise, if it’s the right-footed (shoe) [focus] that you-Sg have taken, you-Sg (will) put it on (your) left foot.
D: There’s the little bit that you-Sg have heard, that you-Sg have heard.
T: It’s in that way that you-Sg go around the village. I heard this (story) like that.
D: Exactly.
T: If it pleases God.
B: If he (=the man with the iron shoes) leaves his village, he regularly puts his things in a shoulderbag and leaves.
T: He stops up (=closes) a (goatskin) shoulderbag too and he goes away. He stops up a shoulderbag too. He does not touch any cloth.
S: So he doesn’t put (=use) any cords?
T: He certainly doesn’t use any cords. He doesn’t use cords.
D: As for that, the old people certainly used to have some things.
T: He doesn’t use cords. They used to work this in that way.
D: The village now, did he use to go (all the way) around (it)? Or did he use to go and put his foot down on it and pick it (=foot) up again (just) once like that?
T: When he has gone to the village at night—
E: xxx—. Speak, speak, speak!
T: He goes (all the way) around, and (at the end) he comes and puts his foot where he began, where he stepped previously (in his own footprint). When he has stepped right on top of that (=his initial footprint), he does not look back, until he gets up and comes into his village. I heard it like that.
D: Yes. You-Sg too, there is something that you-Sg heard. I too, what little I have heard there (=about that), let me add (=help) just a little there.
T: All right.
D: As for him, if he has gone straight there, in the middle of the village, when he has put the (=his) left foot like that, he doesn’t bring anything else down. He doesn’t put the second (foot) on top of it, he doesn’t put anything else on top of it. He used to go out like that, they said. I too, as for that, I have heard a little. Let me help you-Sg.
T: Yes. It is understood. All that is just helping. It is understood.
D: Yes.
T: Uh-huh. Yes.
T: Well, now, what (we will) say—
S [overlapping] In Beni, who was it who fought with a lion? 828
T: Amadou Titey and the lion fought.
S: How was it?
T: The way that it was (=happened), well, the lion got up and came into our ravine here. Coming into the cows’ pond, the lion roared there. When it roared, it was not hidden from (=unnoticed by) the whole village, (not) even a little. The young women and young men, they all got up, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it by hand.
S: Women and men?
T: Women and men. They said not to put any iron in its body at all. They came and brought out the tomtoms. When they had brought (them) out, the young men and young women came here, they embellished themselves, they got up and headed for the lion. When they went, they crossed Dadia. 829 Now they were not greatly far away from it (=lion).
E: It put (out a roar) again, a second time.
T: Again, a second time, it gave out a roar. Some of the people had already gone up to the top of trees.
S: Huh?
T: Some people had gone up in trees. Amadou Titey spoke up now: if things were like that, (with) this roar that they were hearing, a crowd (of people) was not what would fight with it (=lion); it was (=would be) one person (=man) and it (=lion);
if it were the case that a crowd got up and headed for it, the destruction (=casualties) that it (=lion) would cause to them would be greater, instead of gaining a (good) name; 830 (with) that too, (they) having entrusted (the fight) to him; if he would fight (with it), there it is! if he would blow (on it, magically), there it is!
Well, some people said, let’s entrust (it) to him! Other people (said), all of them going (=rushing the lion en masse), let it (=lion) destroy whatever (=however many people) it (=lion) might destroy, they for their part, let them kill it, then they would come (back) with their triumph.
Having said (that), they went and approached. Again it put out a roar. No, there was no way to get close to (it). Amadou Titey was looking (=considering), (but) there was no peace (=easy solution). At that point, he scooped up some sand (in his hand), and let it slip through his fingers like this. He blew, all of it. Well, the lion took off 831 on the way to Douentza.
S: Eastward.

828 Lit. “[who? and lion] [focus] fought a fight?”
829 Name of a rocky area with some caverns, near the ravine.
830 i.e. by fighting with it single-handedly.
831 Lit. ‘took its eye(s) [=face].’
T: Eastward. Well, at that point, the lion having abandoned the place, they (=people) came to the place, and went and saw its tracks, but they were not able to see the lion. They got up and went.

B: It put out a roar over there.

T: It put out a roar over there. Well, it has gone far away, they said.

B: It did it (=roared) again.

T: At that point, they got up, the people got up again like that and came home.
T: Well, the thing (=story) of the hyena, it is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.
B: Well, after that (=the fight with the lion), here, as for it, with our own visual knowledge (=experience), a hyena came here.
E: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy. 832
B: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy over there. The hyena came. Over there, the people of 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 With much hubbub we came to Tangaso. 834

When we came (=arrived), our young men were energized (=excited) about it (=hyena). The hyena, they slapped its cheek(s). They caught it. They cut its throat, slash! Amadou De Tey let some sand slip through his fingers (as an act of magic). In the house(s), the house(s)—, that is (=meaning) Beni, in that Beni, men of (=like) that are not lacking (rare). It was that (kind of) toughness (“dry heart”) that we found (=observed) before (=in the old days), as well. What I said, that is it.

With that, they caught the hyena and slash!, they cut its throat. Uh-huh. Slash! They cut its throat. Here, at that point, having cut its throat and skinned it, they came (home) with it. At that time, Muslims used to be thinly interspersed with others. They (=Muslims) said, they (=people in general) don’t eat it. Some people of that (type), those who understood, took (it) and ate (it), (while) some others discarded (it). That happened like that.

After that, moreover, they got a hyena.
E: They went to Gunjo-Goroy.
B: They went to Gunjo-Goroy.
E: There had been a small disagreement between the village and us.
B: There had been a small disagreement, too, between the village and us. After that, too, they got the news (of) a hyena. They went out to meet it. They went over there, pursuing the hyena. There is a place here that is called Piriyem. 835 It went into a hole (=den). They followed it in and went in.

It (=hyena) said (=intended) that it would get angry and come out for (=attack) the people. At that point, they (=people) sent (=shot) their bullet(s), (and) it (=bullet) went in where they said (=intended) that it go in, (namely) in the eye(s). The hyena fell on its back there. At that point, they went in, they pulled it out. That’s it.

X [overlapping (unclear)]: That is how they killed it.
B: Do you-Sg hear? A second time.

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832 A oued (usually dry stream bed that becomes a torrent after a rain).
833 Lit. “caught each other.”
834 Place where people of Beni draw water.
835 A forested area.
D: They wrestled with a hyena.
B: A second time, they wrestled with a hyena.
D: They killed it too.
B: They killed it too.
S: (They) caught the other one, they slapped its cheek(s), and they destroyed it. \(^{836}\)
B: It was the cheek(s) [focus] that they whapped.
D: Exactly.
B: Yes, uh huh.

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\(^{836}\) Lit. “broke its house.” A common phrasing in languages of the zone, including Songhay.