

Texts in Ben Tey
Dogon of Béni village, Mali

Jeffrey Heath
University of Michigan

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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.

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

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Part One, Ben Tey Transcriptions

Text 2005-1a.01 Name-giving ceremony

O: jǐnjè ú jě:

I: àwá→

O: jâm

I: jâm sày

O: kánjá-kánjà

I: àlhámdùrùlâ:y

O: tà:rè

I: jâm

O: jâm sày

I: [î: nù:] sé:w dèrⁿè-bó

O: àlhámdùrùlâ:y

I: tà:rè

O: bìrá→

I: â→

O: òsé→¹

I: ìnìrⁿî:-gǎyⁿ yè-yè.:

O: <xxx> bìsímilà

I: wó:dì, ìnìrⁿî:-gǎyⁿ mà:ndày, kò:ⁿ túmdú-m, [ùsú súyⁿòy] dǒ:-rè dè, [nú: mâ:] tégé-yè, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m wôy] yé-m, [yû: pàṅàṅm] ² jí-jè→ yé-yè, gǎm bú:dù pér-pérú jé-yè, [[yǎ-m kù] mâ:] ní-yè, [[ñjé nî:] wò] = m, [[[érⁿé pírⁿà-[nò-yⁿ]] nî:] wò] = m,

[bú:dù kú] = m, ³ [síkórò éwé-wè dè] [[pírⁿà wò] gǎyⁿ nó-m], [jèsú kù] cé:lé-m, yí-m ìrì-nî: bèrè árá-m, [yǎ: kù yà] gǎm ìsâ: jé-yè, sǎmnà jé-yè, nǐm jé-yè, kùnûm—pùrù-kùnûm jé-yè, [ṅgú dò-wôy⁴] [[yǎ-m kù] mâ:], ǎy ní-yè, érⁿé yà[†], [kú wó] [[[á m^bò:] nǐyⁿ]] ⁵ [kú nâyⁿ] bìrè jé-m],

lò = náyⁿ hâl ló [[ùsú pé-nì:yⁿ] dò-yè], ⁶ yà-yô:⁷ ésé:-rè dè[†], [kú nâyⁿ] dánáyⁿ gó-m, ṅgú = m[†], [[ìnìrⁿî-gǎyⁿ kù] má:ndày] = ∅

¹ End of greeting sequence.

² yû: pàṅàṅm ‘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-wôy, variant of dàⁿ-wôy ‘all’.

⁵ m^bò:-nǐyⁿ ‘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 m^bò:] nǐyⁿ, lit. “[her (own) mouth’s food.”

⁶ Possessed form of dǒ-yè ‘arriving’.

⁷ yà-yô: ‘40-day post-partum seclusion’ (Fr. quarantaine). Related forms: yà-yô-m ‘woman in post-partum seclusion’, Pl yà-yô: (note falling tone).

- S: ìnìrⁿî: kù, [àṅâyⁿ ṅàyⁿ] ìnìrⁿî:-gǎyⁿ bèrè:-rà-wò□, [yí-m ìnìrⁿî:] [àṅâyⁿ ṅàyⁿ] bèrè:-rà-wò□
 O: ìnìrⁿî:-gǎyⁿ, m̀:lí-ỳ□, [[ùsú súyⁿḍy] d̄s:-rè dè] m̀:lu = náyⁿ [ìnìrⁿî: gǎⁿ-ỳ. .]
 S: [yí-m ìnìrⁿî: kù] [àṅâyⁿ ṅàyⁿ] bèrè:-rà-wò□, ìnìrⁿî: kù, [[à-mâ:n ìnìrⁿî:] ṅâyⁿ→ gǎyⁿ jâ:wⁿ]
 [kù [àṅâyⁿ ṅàyⁿ] bèrè:-rà-wò□]
 O: [ṅâyⁿ→ gǎyⁿ jâ:wⁿ] [kù [yí-m b̄s:] tégè-m̀], [ú ìnìrⁿî:]—, [[[ú yí-m] ìnìrⁿî:] àṅâyⁿ àṅâyⁿ
 bù: gǎⁿ-ẁⁿ dè] jóró-ẁ mà, [[[yĩ-m⁸ ìnìrⁿî:], àmá:nù bù: gǎⁿ-ẁⁿ dè] jóró-ỳ, àṅâyⁿ úsúrí-ỳ
 S: àsùwⁿè-[yì-tê:] [tìrⁿú bù: jé-m̀ kù yà], [ṅjé gìn]⁹ jê:-rà-ẁ-^bó
 O: àsùwⁿè-[yì-tê:] [tìrⁿú bù: jé-m̀ kù] [yà-yô-m [kù ṅâyⁿ] ḡd̄: tálú-m̀], [kù ṅâyⁿ] ḡd̄: tálú-m̀,
 hâl hâl [ló-ẁ dè] [ùsú pé-nĩ:yⁿ], [árⁿà-m = ∅ dé yà] [ùsú pé-tá:n], xxx yà-yô-m [tìrⁿú
 ẁ] ló bérè-m̀-^dó, [kù gùnì] jê:-rà-ẁ-^bó
 S: [[núwⁿḍyⁿ m̀:lu éw-yé û: ná:-rà-ẁ kù], [kù yà] [kù kórò] ṅjê: = ∅
 O: [[núwⁿḍyⁿ m̀:lu î: éw-yé ná:-rà-ẁ kù] kòrò] lǎ-ẁ = ∅ = rá¹⁰ [àsùwⁿè-yí-m kù] [érⁿé
 tũ:-bùnùṅgòy],¹¹ bù: [[â: kù:] mà:] [yě-mà dè] [ṅárⁿù ẁ] [é:¹² dé] [ìnìrⁿî:-gǎyⁿ dé
 ẁy], tē: sírí-yè, cèmné cèmnú-yè, séyâm, [yí-m bèrè-jé-ỳ] séyâm, [à-mâ:n yí-m
 bèrè-jê:] [yí-m nàrⁿá-tí:] [[jâm ṅàyⁿ] nàrⁿá-tí:] [[jâm ṅàyⁿ] súsó:-rè] [kù séyâm], [[kù
 célè-èrù-m] gũn] yě:-rà-ẁ— ká:ⁿ-rà-ẁ-^bó
 S: òⁿhò: [[ú yá→] ↓[dó:rú yá→]]¹³
 O: bìrá→

⁸ yĩ-m ‘my child’, with L+{HL} tones for 1Sg possessor.

⁹ gĩn ~ gũn, variants of gìnì ~ gùnì ‘because of, for’. Related to the verb ‘say’.

¹⁰ Based on kòrò lǎ-w ‘another reason’, plus ‘it is not’ clitics.

¹¹ tũ:-bùnùṅgòy, compound of tũ: ‘same-age group’ and bùnùṅgòy or búnùgòy ‘group, pack’.

¹² é:ⁿ ‘yesterday’, variant éyⁿ. Often phrased with dé.

¹³ Lit., “you-Sg and fatigue.” Here the second conjunct as a whole has lower pitch than the first (symbol ↓ before the second conjunct).

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

S: íyé [[yà: pě:] yè=ń] [yâ: séwè tárá=ń],¹⁴ [[[dàwⁿà kó:ró] bû: káⁿ-m̀= b̀à] yí-ỳ= b̀è-ỳ]
[kú yà] [[kú kór̀] òjê: = Ø]

I: yà-ǹrⁿú: = Ø, [yà-ǹrⁿú gũn] kàyⁿ-b̀ó

S: [kú yà] [[[yì ilâ-m kù] mâ:] yà-ǹrⁿú]¹⁵ mà→

I: [yà:-yí-m nàⁿá-só-ẁ] ẁà, [àsùwⁿè-yí-m mégé jórè-yè= b-à:] ẁà, yà-ǹrⁿú: = Ø¹⁶ [né
àsùwⁿè-yí-m̀= Ø dè] [bû: òng̀òr̀] = m̀, yà:-yí-m̀= Ø dè, yà-ǹrⁿú: = Ø, [kú cémnè]
cèmnù-b̀ó

S: [yâ: b̀à] [gùsù kó:ró-kó:ró] bû: jě-ẁ kù yà] [kú yà] [[kú kór̀] òjê: = Ø]

I: è: né: kày, [yà-ǹrⁿú mâ:] [kò:ⁿ m̀sú] jâ:wⁿ, èsú [érⁿé mâ:] jâ:wⁿ= rá, [[kú ní:] ẁ] b̀àrá
jě:-b̀ò

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-ǹrⁿú).

Text 2005-1a.04 Water at Beni

S: bē:n [[î: isè:] ñgú-rù] nî: [àṅâyⁿ nâyⁿ] kâyⁿ, àṅâyⁿ-àṅâyⁿ ká:ⁿ-rà-w

I: nî: kù, tàṅàsô: àṅâyⁿ tēmbì-yè, [[kù:yó: î: tēmbú-w kù] wó], nî: kóró-m = bē, [hâl nó-yè dè] bíní: gó-m = bē, bíní: yá bú, m̀:1 = náyⁿ [isè: wóy] [[póngú yěy] m̀:1ú bǔy b̀:á-w dè] ló g̀anjí-yè, [g̀anjí-yè dè] íyà yá: nó-yè, [íyà dùwⁿ:rè dè] [píníwⁿí g̀anjí-yè], yá: nó-yè

[[íyà dè] b̀lú sí-yé:-rè dè], j̀njè àlbàrkà, [m̀nì: ñgú wóy] nî: = Ø, yá: yè yá: kówé-yè, [kú bú: káⁿ-m = b̀y] [dè:-rè-yè g̀uní], [î: yá:] dè:-r-à: g̀uní, tàṅàsô: tórò ùrò sí-yé, [ùrò sí-yé] nũm bú:-Ø,

[[m̀nì: ñgú] wó] nî: jóró-yè [[kòm-kúgúrú g̀anjù-rá:]¹⁷ l̀-è-yè], kúrⁿù = Ø, pégè→ dè-yè, [pégè→ dè-yè] [nî: gó-m-dó], dùwó-tí-yè,

íyà píníwⁿú [tà: lã-w] núwⁿdyⁿ [bàlá: dá:], b̀eré-só-yè, bàlá: kùn-tàwrá: = Ø, [dám nâyⁿ] [ùsù síyé-m wóy] àsùwⁿ-[yì-tè:], tá-yè, pégè-yè, tóró-yè [bàrà-mìrⁿí nâyⁿ] k̀:~kâ:ⁿ, káyⁿ→ dè:-r-à:, d̀m [k̀:~lã-w k̀y] b̀l-lí-yè,¹⁸

íyà núwⁿdyⁿ, [tàṅàsô: nì: kù], dúwó-m-dó, [núwⁿdyⁿ k̀y], g̀a: [nî: kù], lóyè = Ø, ò:rǔy [î: mà:] yá só-w, [m̀:~yó káⁿ-m] g̀:~rà-w-b̀→, [k̀:~kâ:ⁿ káⁿ-m] g̀:~rà-w-b̀→, [kú d̀-~wóy] [kú mà:] yá bú, [nũm yà] [nũm bú:], [[kú nî:] wò] [[[m̀nì: ñgú] wó] nî: jóró-m̀ túném¹⁹ î: bú: kù] [d̀-~wóy kú = m̀]

S: [k̀:~ǹ ñjè: = Ø] [[tàṅàsô: mà:] [nî: kù] lóyè káyⁿ = ní] [ò:rǔy [û: mà:] ká:ⁿ-rà-w], [[wò-wày-î:]-[sò-l̀:]] = Ø²⁰ mà→, mà→ [hà:jè-[sò-l̀:]] = Ø mà→ [g̀anjì- [b̀erè-m-d̀:]] = Ø

I: núwⁿdyⁿ [nî: kù] jó [á²¹ lãwá-w] [kú dúwⁿ:rè-dó], [g̀anjí b̀eré-m-d̀-è-yè] = rá, [jã: = m̀ dè] [kú dùwⁿ:rè dè] g̀anjí-m = b̀-è-yè, íyè dùwⁿ:rè = rá, kú = m̀, [[àⁿà-gúsú p̀erí-yèy bã:] káyⁿ = ní] [lóyè, p̀iré: éw-yé-só-w]²²

S: [òmdò: bú: g̀:~rà-w kù néyⁿ] kú = m̀ m̀:~yó ká:ⁿ-rà-w [kú néyⁿ] t̀erèw = Ø mà→ mà: [nũ: t̀-è-y] = Ø²³

I: à, [àṅâyⁿ t̀egè-bó gá] [t̀erèw = Ø g̀nyè-só-yè] [î: kǔyⁿ]

S: [[nî: kú]²⁴ = m̀ = dá dé] [[[û: mà:] nì: ò:rǔy gãⁿ-m] lã-w]²⁵ ñgó má→

¹⁷ Purposive -rá:

¹⁸ b̀eré- ‘get’, Perfective Negative 1Pl.

¹⁹ túném (used in narratives to indicate continuation of an activity).

²⁰ Cf. wò-wày-î: ‘taking care (of sth)’, from wó- ‘take’ and wǎy- ‘hold’. Here the entire compound verbal noun has L-tone as compound initial for -sò-l̀: ‘lack, insufficiency’ (nominalization of sò-l̀- ‘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 b̀eré-m-d̀- ‘not be able to’.

²¹ 3Reflexive pronoun, in topic-indexing function.

²² éw-yé-só- ‘(has) sat’, here ‘was (firmly) settled, was established (in a place)’. Negation: éw-yè-rí-.

²³ Possessed form of t̀yè ‘speech, talk’.

²⁴ nî: kú ‘this water’, cf. nî: ‘water’.

I: ǎ-w yì-rí-ỳ̀ kòy
 S: [ǎ-w wòy] ñgó
 I: ǎ-w ñgó, [xxx kú nǎ:-rà-ỳ̀] [[nì: ǎ-w] sò-ló-ỳ̀]
 S: bê:n [[tà: kú]-n] ú: hó:lé-só-wè] [[ú: isè:] kú-n] kú [kú = m sày]
 I: [núw"òy"n kày] kú = m, [kú = m = dá dé] [[tà: ǎ-w wòy] sò-ló-ỳ̀]

²⁵ ǎ-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: núwⁿɔyⁿ [tànàsò: kù] [[á kù:] mà:], [lɔyò èsíⁿ→ yá bú] [[mó:γó káⁿ-m] gùyⁿ-bò], [yâ: òmdò: íyà-w²⁶ bè] [[kú jí-jèlè:] bàyá-bàyá nú-wⁿ dè] [kú = m káⁿ-m gùⁿ-rà-w-bò], [térèw = ∅ júwó-m-dó-y[□]] [kòrù: = ∅ júwó-m-dó-y[□]], ní: [[òrⁿò lă-w] wó] jòr-í:²⁷ í: túmdú-w wă:w [mànì: ñgú-rù],

hâl [[*projet*, nù:] ñgú-rù] [í: mà:] bú: yě = ñ) [[[í: mà:] [[ñjé nú-nùm] [í: mà:] bù] wà²⁸ mà→] wà, [ní: nù-nùm] [í: mà:] yá bú, èsíⁿ→ [ní: nù-nùm] [í: mà:] yá bú, [ɲěyⁿ nú-nùm] [í: mà:] yá bú, [[í: mà:] àngú = m mégé [í: mà:] bù mà→] wà, [kò:ⁿ mégé-mégé í: jóró-m kù] [núwⁿɔyⁿ kú tégé-y] wá, ní: mégé jóró-y[□], [mégé-mégé jóró-m tégé-y] wá,

hà:, kú [í: mà:] bàrá:sù²⁹ káyⁿ = nì, [[bàrá:sù kù] bèrè-jé-y[□] dè] [[tànàsò: kòw-ì:] [kú wó] sú:rⁿí:-rè-y[□]], hà: [ñgú ñâyⁿ] [í: mà:] bàrá:sù tènghè-bò, bàrá:sù ténghé â: jé-w kù, hà: [í: mà:] [mànì: ñgú-rù] é: jóró-y[□], [í: tànàsò:] [í: nì: kù], [ní: kù] [nì: mòsù:] = ∅ [[[ò:ròy yá só-w] ní:] wò], [hà: [mànì: ñgú-rù] [â: mà:] [[é: gánj-ì:] pàngà] [â: mà:] ñgó] wá, [[â: mà:] bàrá: [í: mà:] é: gánj-ì-yè] wà,

hà: bàrá: [í: mà:] é: gànjú-bó, hà: núwⁿɔyⁿ [kú ê: kù], [[í: mà:] â: gànjú-w] [[tùlú wó] sárdínghè, [í: mà:] yâ: gǎyⁿ] wá gũn, [[sárdínghè dáyⁿ gǎⁿ-yè] bìrè]³⁰ bìrè-bìrè-bìrè-bìrè [í: mà:] dùwó = í, hà: ànyàⁿ dùwò-bò, hà: núwⁿɔyⁿ [[kú órⁿò] kù-ñ] sárdínghè-gǎⁿy kálà túmdú-tí-y[□],

[íyé úsù kálà] bì-béré-y[□] dé wôy, [[í: òlòy] ñgú-rù] [é: yěy] jóró-y[□] [kú ní:]³¹— [ñgá ní:] ñgó, [[ñgá ñâyⁿ] mó:lú [é: tǎ:n], bì-béré-y[□] dó wôy] jóró-y[□], [mànì: ñgú-rù kálà] é: jóró-y[□] [èsíⁿ→ èsíⁿ→ jóró-y[□]], hà:, [[kú ní:] wò] núwⁿɔyⁿ, [í: sày] [mànì: ñgú-rù] é: gánj-ì:-rà-y[□], hà: [kú pàngà] sò-ló-y[□], núwⁿɔyⁿ [ànàsà:rà-dâm kù] bèrè-y[□] dè, [írⁿí tóró→ tóró→ tóró→ tóró→ káⁿ-yⁿ :. dè] [bú: kàlyê:r bú: gùⁿ-m kù] [kú gǎⁿ-y[□]],

[gà: kú sò-ló-y[□]] núwⁿɔyⁿ [dò:-dâm ñâyⁿ sǎy] ká:ⁿ-rà-y[□], [àrⁿà-gúsú yěy] kú bìrè-tí-y[□] dôm, [ní: tèm] bèl-lí-y[□], [íyé úsù kálà] [bìrè kù] yá dímbá-y[□] kòy, [bìrè kù] yá dímbá-y[□], [kú bèrè]³² [[mànì: ñgú-rù] é: bèrè-jé-y[□] dò-wôy] jóró-y[□], tànàsò: [í: yà:] dè:-r-à:, [[í: yà:] dè:-r-à:] [[ní: kù] ò:ròy = ∅], hà: [kú kù] èsíⁿ→ èsíⁿ→ kú sáwté = í bù-y[□], [[[íyé [ní: mà:] mégé] kò:ⁿ í: jóró-m wò:-wôy] ñgó, [ɲěyⁿ ñé-yè]³³ lává = ñ³⁴

S: [[ú: yà:] dè:-r-à: dé néyⁿ] [ñjé gí = náyⁿ] [ú: yà:], [àñá-dá: [ú: mà:] bàrá: è: bú: gánj-ì-só-w kù] [bàrá:sù-órⁿò kú = ñ], [ñjé gí = náyⁿ] [kú ní: kù] kówó-m-n-é, [kú ní: kù] [kú = m èsù yà] gùⁿ-w[□] :.

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 *bìrè* ‘work’, here in possessed-noun form.

³¹ kú ní: here is a false start, omitted from translation.

³² kú bèrè ‘get that’ here is superfluous.

³³ Lit. “food (that) they eat,” i.e. ‘food (to eat)’.

³⁴ = /lává = nì/. Here the different-subject clause is postposed, as an afterthought.

- O: [kú = m̄ èsù] [[ě: kù] wǎ:w bú:-∅], [[[[kú: ɲàyⁿ] dù = náyⁿ] yě-y] wǎ:w bú:-∅] tórò = ∅, tórò úró-yè, wǎ:w bú:-∅, [[kú ní:] wò] [yǎ: kù] ló-m̄-n-é
- S: [m̄yⁿè:³⁵ ní: kówó-yè] yá sò-ló-w̄□
- O: [m̄yⁿè: ní: kówó-yè lǎ-w] [kò:ⁿ kòwò = náyⁿ] [[kù-tógórò ɲàyⁿ] dù-rú-ń] [úró ní: kò:ⁿ jé-yè] [[kú m̄yè:ⁿ lǎ-w]³⁶ sò-ló-ȳ□], [kú báwdò] sò-ló-ȳ□
- S: núwⁿɲyⁿ kày, [kò:ⁿ ú: jóró-m̄ w̄oy] [ní: sǎy]
- O: ní:, [[mànì: ɲgú-rù] [ní: mà:] mégé íyé kò:ⁿ í: jóró-m̄ wò:-w̄oy] ɲgó, [ní: yà→] ↓[ósù yà→]
- S: [[kú ní: kù] èsú bú:-∅ dè] [[kú = nì ú: kówó-w̄ dè] èsù] mà→ [[ɲgú-dá: tàɲàsò: kò:ⁿ kù] ú: kówó-w̄ dè] èsù]
- O: [[kú ní: kù] èsú bú:-∅] [[jórò kày] jóró-ȳ□ kòy, [[nì: n̄ó-yè] wò], gà: [[[wǎ:w bú:-∅] nì:] wò sǎy] [kú dùwó-só-ȳ□] [[léré-léré nù kówó:-rà] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò] [[nà t̄wⁿò:] kówó-jè→ yě:-rè-w̄ dè], [nà yèy-né] ló béré-m̄-dó-w̄, [[nì: n̄ó-yè] wò] léré-léré kú = nì yá kówó-ȳ□, [nà t̄wⁿò:] mà→ ↓[ná yèy] mà→ [n̄: kú = ñ yá kówó-yè]

³⁵ Fr *moyens*. Here with L-tone as relative-clause head, lexically m̄yè:ⁿ.

³⁶ Possessed form of noun-adjective combination m̄yè:ⁿ lǎ-w ‘other means’.

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Field ownership

- S: [û: nèyⁿ], [írⁿà kù] [û: kò:ⁿ] = Ø gĩ:ⁿ-rà-wò□, núwⁿɔyⁿ [tórò bè] úŋgòy [[isê: jàyⁿ] sòsú bù:-
 Ø] [[isê: kò:ⁿ] = Ø = rá], bày [kú kù] [njê: = Ø kú káyⁿ-sò-wò], gãm [ŋgù [mũ:
 kô:ⁿ] = Ø] gĩⁿ-yè, gãm [î: kò:ⁿ] = Ø [[írⁿà ɲ]³⁷ [nũ: kô:ⁿ] = Ø], [[nù tùwⁿɔ-m] kò:ⁿ] = Ø
 mà→ [[isê: dàⁿ-wòy] ðrⁿɔyⁿ-dànàyⁿ] = Ø
- O: [tórò tàngày], [tórò tàngày] [dã: tàngày ɲgù-rù] = ìn mà
- S: [tórò kù dàⁿ-wòy], [ŋgù bè→] [ŋgù bè→] [ŋgù-dá: bù:-Ø ɲgù dò:-wòy]
- O: [tórò kù dàⁿ-wòy], [[nù tùwⁿɔ-m] írⁿà = Ø]³⁸, [[nù tùwⁿɔ-m] kò:ⁿ] = Ø] [[nù tùwⁿɔ-m]
 kò:ⁿ] = Ø] [[nù tùwⁿɔ-m] kò:ⁿ] = Ø] [[nù tùwⁿɔ-m] kò:ⁿ] = Ø] [ánàyⁿ bù], yéŋgù nù:,
 [yè-[èw-y-íy]³⁹ jàyⁿ] bá:→, [nũ-m wò:-wòy] [[ŋgù yà] írⁿà = Ø]⁴⁰ [[ŋgù yà] írⁿà = Ø]
 [[ŋgù yà] írⁿà = Ø], [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m] tèm̀bù-r-á
 [írⁿà bù: lá-wò], hà: [kú írⁿà kù] [íyè úsù kálà] [ú yà] [ú kô:ⁿ] = Ø], ú ɲgù-rù sò-wò
 dè, [m^bá yà] ɲgá-rù sò-wò, [m^bá yà] ɲgá-rù sò-wò, [m^bá yà] [m^bá yà] ɲgá-rù sò-wò,
 gâ: núwⁿɔyⁿ [[î: tàngày] ɲgù], [ŋgù kù] [ðrⁿɔyⁿ-dánáyⁿ kù] [ðrⁿɔyⁿ-dànàyⁿ
 pòrbâ:] = Ø,⁴¹ [kú mâ: dá:]⁴² sé:nè gũⁿ-ỵ.:, [[gùnjò-gòròy tàngày] ɲgù] gũⁿ-ỵ.:,
 [kórⁿíyóm tàngày] gũⁿ-ỵ.:. [kú pòrbâ: = Ø], [[[kórⁿíyóm tàngày] ɲgù] [î: bè→] [pèrgé
 nù: bè→] ló-wò dè] [íyày gò-ló-m]
- S: pòròbá [[ánàyⁿ káyⁿ = ní] pòròbá tàngì], [[isê: dò:-wòy] ló mà:lú wò-bó má→] [mà→ [nù
 tùwⁿɔ-m] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì] má→] [î: dò:-wòy], isê:— [[bê:n nù-m] = mì-ỵⁿ□⁴³ gĩn]
 pòròbá tàlù-bò
- O: [[[bê:n nù] = mì-ỵⁿ□ gũn] pòròbá tàl-l-á]⁴⁴ [[isê: dàⁿ-wòy kálà] ló mà:lú wò-r-á kòy], [[kú
 tàngày] kù dá:], [[kú tàngày] kù dá:] [nũ: b-è:ⁿ = b-à:], hà: [nù b-é:ⁿ = b-â: kù] [yéŋ
 kù]⁴⁵ [isê: yè:-rè dé wòy] [isê: yè [nù mũ: bè] bù: tèm̀bù-j-â: dé wòy], [nũ: kù, [mũ:
 bé: = ñ]⁴⁶ ù-?úwá-wò-bó dé] [bù: yóyó-yè],

³⁷ = írⁿà ɲgù ‘this field’.

³⁸ On the tape there is a slight hesitation after tùwⁿɔ-m, and the following írⁿà (which has all-L tones in unbroken speech, as a possessed noun after L-tone) is heard as írⁿà with initial H-tone. This is evidence that the {HL} contour is basic to possessed nouns.

³⁹ Verbal noun in -î: of the verb-verb chain yè éw-yé- ‘come and sit (=settle)’. The first verb is low-toned as a compound initial.

⁴⁰ írⁿà ‘my field’, with ‘it is’ clitic = Ø.

⁴¹ Variant of pòròbâ: ‘collective property, property held in common’. A regional word also in Bambara, etc., hence the variants.

⁴² Usually just kú mâ: ‘to/for that’.

⁴³ = mì-ỵⁿ□, variant = mù-ỵⁿ□ ‘we are’ (copula). The younger interviewer geminates the m,

⁴⁴ Variant of tàlì-r-á ‘they did not transform/convert’.

⁴⁵ = yéŋgù ‘yesterday’.

⁴⁶ Accusative of mũ: bè ‘these’.

mà→ [isê: gǎm kù yà] [tìwè-jiyé bãyn→] [yêŋ ð:rǒy bãyn→] [púlǒ:, [yò kâ:ː] nǔ:
gó-gò⁴⁷ jíyè-yè], [bû: nù: kú] dùwⁿó:-r-à: dè, û: [kú cê:ː] àyí-w□, û: = m bû: tèm̀bì dó
wôy,⁴⁸ [[írⁿà kù] cê:ː] àyí-w□,

ày-jé-w□ dó wôy, [û: kò:ː] = Ø, gà: [írⁿà kù] [kú nû:] yá b-è:ː-bó kǒy, [[kú nû:]
yá b-è:ː-bó] gà: hà: [[[isê: dàⁿ-wôy] pòrbà] kàⁿ-mâyⁿ]⁴⁹ gǔn] [núwⁿòyⁿ áŋàyⁿ
káyⁿ-s-ê:ː],⁵⁰ [[isê: dàⁿ-wôy] mà:] áŋàyⁿ pòrbà:, áŋàyⁿ dùwó-s-ê:ː

⁴⁷ Iteration of gó ‘jab’, with L-toned second occurrence. No spirantization to y.

⁴⁸ Variant of dé wôy ‘if’.

⁴⁹ Hortative.

⁵⁰ Negative counterpart: núwⁿòyⁿ áŋàyⁿ káyⁿ-s-è-né.

- S: núwⁿdyⁿ [írⁿà kù bè] [óⁿ wôy], [mũ: kô:ⁿ=Ø] [mũ: kô:ⁿ=Ø] [mũ: kô:ⁿ=Ø] [mũ: kô:ⁿ=Ø] gũⁿ-w̄. ., [kú yà] írⁿà ì-éwè-bò mà→, mà→ ànyⁿ kàyⁿ-bò
- I: èwè-r-á núwⁿdyⁿ [[O dáyⁿ gũⁿ-w̄] gáyⁿ→] [bé:nù wôy] kò:ⁿ] [núwⁿdyⁿ éⁿé gũ:ⁿ-rà-w kù] pòròbâ: = Ø téréw = Ø, [[bé:nù wôy] pìrè] kálà, [nù mégé yá: sòsù-m] yá bú, [bù: kù][†], [[[m^bá bè] cê:ⁿ] [òrùmbö: nù: bú:] = m̄ ày dè], [bù: [pòròbá wó] káyⁿ-tí-yà dè] [bù: mà:] lémdé-yè,
- kórⁿíyóm, [tàngày lémdé-yè] yá bú, [[bê:n wôy] kò:ⁿ] = Ø [gà: pòròbâ: = Ø], dùrôy, [[tàngày lémdé-yè] yá bú] [[bê:n wôy] kò:ⁿ] = Ø pòròbâ: = Ø, sé:nè, [[òⁿ lémdé-yè] yá bú] [[bê:n wôy] kò:ⁿ] = Ø pòròbâ: = Ø, nyⁿ→ káyⁿ = ní [pòròbá kàyⁿ],
- [[kú ní:] ñgó]⁵¹ [ólóy bè kày] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [éⁿé cèrèy = Ø], [láyri bã:] è-éwè-bó, [[yè = n] bù: éwé-w̄ kù] [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m] íyé [éⁿé írⁿà] [tàngú-só-w̄ kù]] kú = m̄,
- [[gàwⁿ-tórò kù] ú yí:-rà-w̄] ñgú = m̄, [tòrò dùgú-w̄] úngòy, isê: [tàngày yèy] bù, [gàwⁿrú dá:] [gàwⁿrú kô:ⁿ kù][†], [tàngày ñgú] = m̄, [[gàwⁿrú kô:ⁿ] = Ø], tàngày ñgá[†], [ò:-yéru kô:ⁿ = Ø] [tòrò tùwⁿô: kù], ànyⁿ bù
- S: ù: = m̄ yá: sòsù, [ànyⁿ káyⁿ = ní] [[gàwⁿrú nù:] kò:ⁿ] = Ø tàngì
- I: bù: kù:yó: yè, bù: tèm̀bì-ȳ□
- S: [ù: tòrò yà] [bèlè án-dá:] bù, ù: [ù: tòrò]
- I: í: [[tòrò díyⁿ-à-w kù] tû-m]⁵² sò-ló-ȳ□[†], [[dùrê: tòrò] = rá] dé
- S: [dùrê: tòrò tùwⁿó kù] [kú = m̄ [[ù: kò:ⁿ] = Ø]]
- I: é:, [kú kǒyⁿ]⁵³ [í: kò:ⁿ = Ø]
- S: bò [ù: yà] [[isê: kù] nyⁿ] wǎ:w bú-w̄□, ló ì-éwè-w̄□ má→, mà: lì-lá-w̄□ má→, mà: [[ù: nù-diyⁿà] mà:] tèm̀bù-w̄□
- I: [isê: kù], [[í: nù-diyⁿà] mà:] tèm̀bì-ȳ□, [[í: nù-diyⁿà] mà:] tèm̀bì-ȳ□
- S: mais [[[â: mà:] ì-éwè-bò] gǐn] [[ù: mà:] tègè-r-á]
- I: òⁿhóⁿ, gà: è-éwè-bò
- S: ì-éwè-bò [tòrò kù]
- I: é:, [tòrò kù wé:.]⁵⁴ [kú írⁿà kù] [àyú-w̄ dè] [bòlò: sì-yè-ȳ]⁵⁵ [nù kâ:ⁿ-], [isê: kù] bù: éggé = ñ,⁵⁶ [yâ: ú bē:-rè-w̄ dè] [[ám kô:ⁿ] = Ø],
- [bù: kày] sóy ló:-r-à: pòs!⁵⁷ [ú kô:ⁿ] = Ø = rá[†], tì-tíwè-bò, ú yè témbú-jé-w̄ dè, [ú kô:ⁿ] = Ø = rá→, [nyⁿ→ bù: témbú-w̄] yá bú

⁵¹ [[X ní:] ñgó] ‘without X, in the absence of X, if X is absent’.

⁵² Stem tũ: ‘equal, peer’.

⁵³ kǒyⁿ, Topic particle (less common than kày).

⁵⁴ wé:. ‘as well as’.

⁵⁵ sí-yé-ȳ (noun) ‘going down’, here in possessed form.

⁵⁶ = ñ.

⁵⁷ pòs! is an intensifier (‘completely’).

S: níyⁿéwⁿ, [kì-kā: [û: mà:] yě-mà gî:ⁿ-bó] [kì-kā: bú:] [[ãnyâⁿ nâyⁿ] yè-bò]

O: hà:, kî-kā: kù→, [î: kày] [bú: = nî] [kì-kā: kîsîyé] gũⁿ-yè, [î: kày] bú: yî-tà-lí-ÿ□, [[kì-kā: kîsîyé-m] nyâⁿ→ yè = náyⁿ] [yû: kù-kúwó-mâ→ màrⁿá:]⁵⁸ yî-tà-lí-ÿ□, [àràjô: wò] [kì-kā: yá yé-yè] wà kòy, [kì-kā: yá yé-yè] wà kòy, hà:kóy⁵⁹ [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [[érⁿé yû:], dêm→ íré-w, dé wò:-wôy] kòsî-y wà [ùllá sǎy] [[èwⁿèy pílé] gǎⁿ-wⁿ dó wôy] kòsî-y wà,

[nyâⁿ→ î: nũ-m] [î: nũ-m] [î: nũ-m], hâl [yè = í] [kì-kā: kù] [î: mà:] yè-bò, [î-gàyⁿ]-kǎⁿ-m⁶⁰ bôy⁶¹ [kì-kā: kù] yî-tà-lí, [kì-kā: kù] bú: yé-w = bǎ-w,⁶² níyⁿéwⁿ [kú árⁿà-gùsù] [[pé-nùmũyⁿ nùmũyⁿ sâ:] dǒ:-rè = bè]⁶³ gùyⁿ-bò—⁶⁴, dǒ:-rè gùyⁿ-bó, [î: kày] bú: júwó-m-dó-ÿ□, hà: [[ngú ní:] wò kálà], [[yù: cèsú] kòs-ì:] àw-rí-ÿ□,

[nà túwⁿô:] jèsù] wò, [[ðsǒyⁿ wò] yè = í] [[î: kù] wò] siyè-bó, [ùsù ôw] tégé! tégé! tégé! tégé! tégé!, [[*midi trente* dògùrù ngú] nyâⁿ], [kú nyâⁿ] [yè = í] [[î: kù] wò] siyè-bó

S: [[[kì-kā: bú:] [ná yěy] yè] gî:ⁿ-bò] [[nà kùydò:] bú: yě-w kù] [ãnyâⁿ kâⁿ-w.:]

O: [[nà kùydò:] bú: yě-w kù], [*midi*⁶⁵ nâyⁿ] [[î: kù] wò] siyè-bò, [bú: yé = ñ cêm] [kòsǒy wò] lò-ÿ□, [î: kòsú-m] [î: kòsú-m] [î: kòsú-m] [î: kòsú-m] [òrⁿò bú: dǒ-rí: kù]⁶⁶ [[járⁿù wò] kálà] kòsú nà-ÿ□, [járⁿù wò] kòsú î: ná = ñ, [bú: ùrò = í] [tìwⁿéyⁿ wó] bì-yè-bó,

ðmô: íyà [píníwⁿú = ní] [î:rⁿèyⁿ *sept heures*]⁶⁷ dǒ = ñ cêm, íyà [írⁿà wò] siyè-bó, hà: [[kú írⁿà] wò] â: sí-yé-w kù] [lǎ-w ìnjìl-l-á],⁶⁸ [kò:ⁿ â: témbú-w nàjànà] [òrú-w dé wò:-wôy] jé-j-â:

S: [[ná yěy] yè-bó = bày] [[nà yèy-né] bú: yě-w kù yà]

O: [nà yèy-né] [kú kù] [â: ló-w kù], [[*midi* nâyⁿ] bú: kò:ⁿ káⁿ-w] [kú kù], [bú: kù] â: kúwó-jé-w, ngú-dá: làwà-bó, [ùsù yèy-né]!, [ùsù yèy-né kù] té! té! té! té! té! té!,

⁵⁸ mâ→ màrⁿá: ‘whether or not’ (interrogative disjunction).

⁵⁹ hà:kóy ‘beware!’ (particle).

⁶⁰ Compound agentive: ‘one who does like me’ = ‘my agemate’. -kǎ-m (Pl kǎ:ⁿ) Agentive of káyⁿ- ‘do, make’. gâyⁿ→ ‘like’, here as compound initial and so without its usual intonational prolongation.

⁶¹ = wôy after nasal.

⁶² Past Perfect, with final -w as in Inanimate-subject relative clause.

⁶³ Past clitic after Perfective-1a.

⁶⁴ dǒ:-rè bè gùyⁿ-bò is a false start, corrected immediately by omitting the bè.

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 ì:rⁿèyⁿ, though it looks like the low-toned compound initial form of í:rⁿéyⁿ ‘iron’, is modeled on French *heure* but precedes an expression like *sept heures*. A pure native version of ‘7 o’clock’ would be ì:rⁿèyⁿ súyⁿòyⁿ with just the numeral súyⁿòyⁿ ‘7’.

⁶⁸ 3Pl Perfective Negative of ìnjírí- ‘get up’. Also pronounced ìnjìrì-r-á.

[m^bá⁶⁹ bè yà] yè-bó, [une heure nàynⁿ] yè-bó, hà: [une heure nàynⁿ] [bú: kù] â: yě-w kù
lò-r-á, bú: = m̄ [yè = n̄] kúwó-j-ê:

S: bon [kì-kā: kù] [bú: yě = n̄] [nú: [kú mâ:] àṅâyⁿ gî:ⁿ-bò, àṅâyⁿ [kú mâ:] mà:nù-w̄□, ...

O: bú: làrì-ȳ□

S: ... hónò hálkéréè gâynⁿ→ mà:nù-w̄□ mà→, mà→ [kò:ⁿ àdùnà:rⁿù-náwⁿà] gâynⁿ→ mà:nù-w̄□
má→, àṅâyⁿ mà:nù-w̄□ [kú mâ:]

O: î: kày, kî-kā: kù, bú: yě = n̄, [ádúná:rⁿú kò:ⁿ î: mà:nì-rⁿî: wò:-wôy]⁷⁰ ṅgó], [hâl [yù:-
kòṅrò] [kú kálà] dúwó-m̄-n-é] mà:nì-ȳ□ [yě-mà dè] [[yù: kù] wó] mònggùyó-yè, [bú:
mònggùyó-w̄ dè] [[yù: kù] ló-w̄ dé] [sùmóy wó] píbgà yáyá-m̄

S: bon, par exemple, [kú mâ:] [núwⁿòyⁿ kày], [[ádúná:rⁿú nàwⁿá = n̄] yè-bó] mà:nù-w̄□ mà→,
bálâw siyè mà→ ṅjé mà:nù-w̄□

O: bálâw mà:nì-ȳ□, [ṅgú tû-m] yì-tà-lí-ȳ□, àbádá [bú: gǔⁿ-m̄ = bày] = m̄ = dá dé] [ṅgú tû-m]
yì-tà-lí-ȳ□, [î: kày] [bálâw lă-w], [î: kálà] lă-w, ádúnó—, ṅgú:ré-m̄-dó-ȳ□ mà:nì-ȳ□

S: kî-kā: bú: yě = n̄, [û: sày] [[û: kù] mà:] [û: = m̄ làr mà→[†]] mà→, [[pàṅá bójò bè] bār-î:]⁷¹
bèrè-w̄□

O: [kì-kā: kù] î: làrú-m̄, î: làrú-m̄, î: làrú-m̄ [[írⁿà wò] yòyó ló-ȳ□ dè] [yòyó yé-ȳ□], [yòyó
ló-ȳ□ dè] [yòyó yé-ȳ□], [ká:rú ú ló:-rè dé wôy] [yù: kù] àṅâyⁿ b-è:ⁿ-bó [dàynⁿ â: bú-w̄
gâynⁿ→], ínjírí-m̄-n-é,

[tìwⁿěyⁿ mánì:] wò] ú tìní-tí: dè] [tìwⁿěyⁿ yì-wí-m̄-dó],⁷² [[yù: wò] ú tìní-tí: dè]
[yù: yì-wí-m̄-dó], [[sùmóy wó] ú tìní-tí: dè] [yâ: mégé b-è:ⁿ-bò],

káyⁿ→ [dè = n̄], [pàṅá bójò bè], kú nárⁿà-ḍmò:, ṅgú-rù avion yè, [avion yě = n̄]
[ṅgú-rù [î: mà:] kú pómpe-m̄] [kú pómpe-m̄] [kú pómpe-m̄] [hâl lá:sàrà d̄], [kùyó:
yě-mà kú kòy], lá:sàrà kú d̄ = n̄, hà: [né:⁷³ kòyⁿ], [[kì-kā: kù] tíwé:-r-à:] [lă-w yé-m̄-n-
é], [lă-w yé-m̄-n-é] tíwé:-r-à: mà:nì-ȳ□,

[kú kù] íyà píníwⁿú [kì-kā:]-búnúngóy lă-w yè-bó, [une heure nàynⁿ] té! té! té! té!
té!, [[avion kù] ṅgòy ló-m̄] [kì-kā: kù] ṅgòy yé-yè, [avion [kì-kā: m̄⁷⁴ bè] pómpe = n̄]
[hâl [kì-kā: tùwⁿô-m] tíwè] kálà yì-rí-ȳ□

S: kî-kā: bú:, [[yù: kù] ṅjé-jè = n̄] lò-bó má→, mà→ [[bú: lò-y kú] d̄ = n̄] lò-bò

O: [[yù: kù] ṅjé-jè = n̄] lò-bò, lèrè-gèdew→ [[yù: kù] ṅjé-jè = n̄] lò-bò, [[òrù â: témbú-w̄ wôy]
ṅjé-j-â:] [[yù: òrù] wôy kày] ṅjé-j-â:, [ṅjé-jè = n̄] àṅâyⁿ lò-bò

S: [lò = ní] lă-w yè-r-á

O: [lò = ní] lă-w yè-r-á

I: kùyó:, làrì-ȳ□ = bè-ȳ□,⁷⁵ [kì-kā: kùyó: [î: mò:lí = n̄] lăr = ní] [î: káyⁿ = n̄], ló-m̄ = b-à:,⁷⁶
lì-ló-yè [né: kày] [kì-kā: làr-î:⁷⁷ ló-yè] mà:ní = ní] [î: bù = bày],⁷⁸

⁶⁹ m^bá, variant má.

⁷⁰ Perfective Negative relative clause, Inanimate head NP.

⁷¹ Verbal noun bàr-î: ‘helping’, here possessed.

⁷² Passive yì-wú- of yĩ- ‘see’.

⁷³ né:, variant of néyⁿ ‘now’.

⁷⁴ m̄ (with L-tone on preceding noun): shortened form of m̄: ‘this’.

⁷⁵ Past Perfect, with double 1Pl conjugation.

⁷⁶ 3Pl subject, Past Perfect (not Past Imperfective).

[yèy-né bú: yě-w kù] [î: lâr = nî] lò-r-á, [[kú nâyⁿ] ínjírí = ní] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [kòsòy wó] nù, [nárⁿù wò] kósí-yè⁷⁷, òmò: kósí-yè, [hâl ló-ló = ní] [[kòsòy dâⁿ] dò],

[yě:-r-à: dé wôy], [yù: èwⁿèyⁿ-ní:], [yù: òrú] kúwó-yè, [yù: dêm → màⁿá-wⁿ kù], [òrú yá bú dé wôy] kúwó-m-n-é, [kú nâyⁿ] [â: yě-w kù] [î: yù:] kúwó-j-ê:-bó,⁷⁹ ηâⁿ → kàⁿ

⁷⁷ Verbal noun làr-î: ‘driving away, chasing out’. Here with following ‘they go’ in the sense ‘they go after/from being driven out’.

⁷⁸ ‘while we were (=remained, continued)’. Compare 3Sg éⁿé bú = bày.

⁷⁹ -j-ê:-bó 3Pl subject of Recent Perfect; more often -j-â:.

Text 2005-1a.09 Honey

S: yěy àṅyáⁿ gǎ:ⁿ-rá-ẁ□, kòwí: àṅyáⁿ cé:lé:-rà-ẁ□, [hál á:ⁿ nú] [dàⁿ bú: gǎⁿ-m̀⁸⁰ bú: dùmdú-m̀]

I: kòwí:, kònjòy pómboy só-ẁ, ló téré-ỳ□, kú=ⁿ gò: gǎⁿ-ỳ□ dè, pómboy kám-dí-wí-ỳ□, kám-dí:-rè dó wòy, mò:-tímí: jóró-ỳ□, tímí-tí-ỳ□ dè, ù-?úgúró-ỳ□, [[gáw bè→] [kòngòl-yí: bè→], [nà:-sùwó bè→], náyⁿ] úgúró-ỳ□ [hál cé:lé-m̀], tímí dúwó-ỳ□, [lěw náyⁿ] tára-ỳ□, ló ày ló [tìwⁿéyⁿ wó] náyⁿ-í-ỳ□,

[[ùsú tǎ:n] [ùsú ní:yⁿ] dǒ:-rè dè] [gám^bú-m dè] á:ⁿ yě nú-yè, nú:-r-à: dó wòy, [ùwó tǎ:n] ló-[dǒ-y],⁸¹ á:ⁿ yěy gǎyⁿ-tí-yà,

[[dògùrù kà:n] yěy bú: gǎyⁿ-tú-ẁ⁸² wòy] [[[ú kú:] mà:] [nárⁿù wò] ló-ẁ dé] òmdò:-tòngöy páyá-ẁ dè, kòsú: wáyú-ẁ dè, ló bú: tэмбу-ẁ, [òmdò:-tòngöy wó] gò: péré gǎyⁿ-tú-ẁ dó wòy, [[mò: kù] wó] dè:-lú-ẁ, pú:rⁿú-ẁ, pú:rⁿú-ẁ, pú:rⁿú-ẁ, ñgá-dá: [mòlù ñgá-dá:] ló-yè [bú: sóy],

ñgú-dá:[†], [ú né:] [mò: ñgú-dá:] [ú bú-ẁ kù] pí:rⁿí-tú-ẁ dè, yèy yá: bú:bú-Ø kù, yèy tэмбу-ẁ dè, gò-ló-ẁ, [kòsú: wò] gǎⁿ-ẁ, gò-ló-ẁ, [kòsú: wò] gǎⁿ-ẁ, gò-ló-ẁ, [kòsú: wò] gǎⁿ-ẁ,

sì-sí: yá b-è:ⁿ dè, dùwó-tí-ẁ, [nòrⁿòyⁿ pí:rⁿà]=Ø dè, gò-ló-ẁ, yèy-ní: =Ø dè, gò-ló-ẁ, ú káⁿ-m̀ = bày, [[òrⁿò-[dǒ-y] jâ:wⁿ dǒ:-rè dé wòy] [yá: dúwó-ẁ], ày tímí dúwó-ẁ, [núwⁿòyⁿ kày], gò-ló-jé-ẁ, úrò píníwⁿí yé-ẁ

S: [úrò yě:-rè-ẁ dè] [[yèy kù] mà:] àṅyáⁿ ká:ⁿ-rà-ẁ□

I: [[yèy kù] mà:] úrò yě:-rè-ỳ□ dé wòy, [ú nú:] [[ú: wòy] m̀: lú éw-yé-ẁ□ dè] mírⁿé-ẁ□, [[ú úrò-jèngì:] mà:] ní-ẁⁿ, [[[nú èsì-yè] ú jóró-yè]⁸³ mà:] ní-ẁⁿ, tí-tíyé-ẁ cèrèy = Ø, [tíyé-ẁ⁸⁴ dè] cèrèy = Ø [kú náyⁿ] céríyí-ẁ, yèy, ñyáⁿ→ [kú mà:] ká:ⁿ-rà-ỳ□

O: nǔ-m [ò:róy é:rⁿé wò-jé: dè] [[á há:jè] gún] yě:-rè dè, [é:rⁿé mà:] ní-ẁⁿ

I: [góngó wó] gǎyⁿ, [é:rⁿé mà:] ní-ỳ□, [ò:rò-gú-m mà:], ñyáⁿ→ [kú wó] ká:ⁿ-rà-ỳ□

⁸⁰ gǎⁿ-m̀ is appropriate at the end of a clause. Here, since the clause is extended with bú: dùmdú-m̀, my assistant suggests emending gǎ-m̀ to the chaining form gǎyⁿ.

⁸¹ Verbal noun of verb-verb chain. Normally lò-[dǒ-y] but here with possessed-noun tone contour.

⁸² Perfective-1b participle, Inanimate head.

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

⁸⁴ Inanimate Perfective Participial -ẁ.

Text 2005-1a.10 Farm work

- S: \hat{u} : núwⁿɔ̃yⁿ [jɪrⁿɛ̃yⁿ [bírè mà:]]⁸⁵ [[ðrⁿð ân] túmdí:-rà-w̃.:.]
- O: [jɪrⁿɛ̃yⁿ [bírè mà:]] núwⁿɔ̃yⁿ [wàɣàtù ñgú] túmdí-ÿ□, núwⁿɔ̃yⁿ [wàɣàtù ñgú] [kú mâ:] [bírè mà:] gǔⁿ-ÿ.:, [[[ú írⁿà] wò] kòŋgòrò-dúdúnjù⁸⁶ yá bú dé] ló s̄i-sá-w̃, [dòró yá bú dé] [ló yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú yàwrú m̄:lú-w̃ dè] gô: gǎyⁿ júwⁿɔ̃-w̃ⁿ,
 kú gǎyⁿ-jé-w̃ dé wôy^t, áŋàⁿ dêm→ bẽ-w̃, ú bú dè, dêm→ ká:ⁿ-rè = rà:, núwⁿɔ̃yⁿ mai [ùwò ñgú bè] dõ:-rè dé wôy, [tòy mà:]*, [kú mâ:] tòy-bìsì⁸⁷ gǔⁿ-ÿⁿ .:
- I: lìw-[bàr-î:] yá bú yáy⁸⁸
- O: líw bárá-ÿ□, tètew = Ø [lìw-[bàr-î:] kùɔ́ = m̄], líw bárá-jé-w̃ = rà:, hà núwⁿɔ̃yⁿ [[sé:nè bè] [dàyⁿ bù:⁸⁹ ñgú gáyⁿ→] kày] tòy-bìsì b̄isè-w̃, [tòy mà:] gǔⁿ-yè, [tòy mà: kù] tó-jé-w̃ dé wò:-wôy, [[né: kày] ǎy lò = náyⁿ]⁹⁰ [gìrⁿɛ̃yⁿ dõ:-rè—] [[[tòy mà:] ðrⁿð ú tó-m̄] dáyⁿ]⁹¹ [tó-jé-w̃ dé wò:-wôy], s̄ẽ→ bé-w̃, [áŋàⁿ ú bú dè] [hál yẽ-w̃ dè] [bòl m̄íⁿé-m̄],
 bòl m̄íⁿé:-rè dè, píníwⁿí [kú ñâyⁿ] tóy tó-w̃, [kú mâ:] [tòy ðrú] gǔⁿ-yè, yẽ [tòy kù] t̄iyé:-rè = rà:*, [tòy kù] t̄iyé:-rè-rà:*, [[tòy kù] t̄iyé:-rè dè wôy] [[ùsú [péré nùmǔyⁿ s̄â:] gáyⁿ→], wónḡóró wára-m̄-dó-ÿ□, áŋàⁿ bé-ÿ□, [[ùsú [péré nùmǔyⁿ s̄â: kù] lává:-rè dé wôy] [tòy t̄iyé cé:lé:-rè dé wôy], [bòl yèy-né] m̄íⁿé-m̄, [[bòl yèy-né] m̄íⁿé:-rè dè] wónḡóró túmdí-ÿ□,
 [núwⁿɔ̃yⁿ kày] ǎy ló [kú kù] dõ:-rè mà:⁹² ló wónḡóró ú wára:-rè mà:, [[ðrⁿð-kà:ⁿ kòròy] [[tòy ðrⁿð ú tó-rí:] yá bú dé wôy] [[sàrí: ñâyⁿ] wára wára wára wára wára nó júwⁿɔ̃-w̃ⁿ], [éleý bè] wára-ÿ□, hà ñâyⁿ→ î: káⁿ-m̄ dè, wónḡóró dó-m̄
- S: *est-ce que*— [sàrí: ñâyⁿ] wàrà-[nò-ȳ] = rá dé kày, lă-w tó-m̄-n-é mà
- O: [[tòy ðrⁿð ú tó-jé-w̃ kú] wó] má
- S: [[ú tó = ñ] t̄iyè-r̄⁹³ dé] [[sàrí: ñâyⁿ] wára ú n̄-w̃ kù]
- I: tòy-lògô: lógó-yè
- O: [tòy-lògô: lógó-yè] [[ú írⁿà] ú ló = ñ] [tòy bà-r̄⁹⁴ dé] [tòy-lògô: lógó gáⁿ-w̃], [wòŋgòrò-tùmɔ̃yⁿ kù] wò, [tòy bà-r̄ dé] [tòy-lògô: lógó gáⁿ-w̃]
- S: [tòy dùwⁿɔ̃:-rè dè] [né: àŋâyⁿ káⁿ-w̃ⁿ .:]
- O: [tòy dùwⁿɔ̃:-rè dé wôy] [wónḡóró kù òmbà-w̃]⁹⁵

⁸⁵ Possessed form of noun-adjective sequence *bírè mà:* ‘dry work’, here with overlaid possessed-noun contour. Unpossessed [bírè mà:] occurs in O’s first speaking turn just below.

⁸⁶ Compound of *kòŋgòrò* ‘stem(s)’ and *dúdúnjù* ‘root (of nonwoody plant)’, cf. *wé:rí* ‘tree root’.

⁸⁷ Also pronounced *tòy-bìsú*.

⁸⁸ Uncommon clause-final Emphatic *yáy*.

⁸⁹ For *bù:-Ø* ‘be’ (relative-clause participial form), with tone dropped before *ñgú* ‘this’.

⁹⁰ *ǎy ló* ‘take go’, i.e. ‘from ...’, with following ‘(all the way) until ...’ phrase. Here *ló* is L-toned before *náy*.

⁹¹ *dǎyⁿ* ‘limit, boundary’, here L-toned as possessed noun. The possessor is the preceding relative clause (Inanimate head NP, Imperfective, non-subject).

⁹² Clause-final *mà:* ‘before ...’.

⁹³ Apocopated from *t̄iyè-rí*.

⁹⁴ For *bà-rí*.

- S: wóngóró [tùwⁿó bù] má→ [yěy bù]
- O: wóngóró [yěy bù], [[kú má:] wòngòrò-kùnjú gǐⁿ-yè] [[wòngòrò kùyó: kù] má:],
[wòngòrò-kùnjú kù] wàrà-jé-w = rà:^t, [[ú írⁿà] dùwⁿó:-rè dè] sè:njê:, sè:njê: sé:njú-w
- S: [wòngòrò-kùnjú kù yà→] [sè:njê: yà→], àngú = m mégé nùm⁹⁶
- O: wòngòrò-kùnjú: = Ø mégé nùm, wòngòrò-kùnjú: = Ø mégé nùm, sè:njê:, [[[ó^rò gàm bú]
wó] ló-w dè] [sàwá: [àṅyàⁿ bá:] tèm bù-rú-w káⁿ-wⁿ]⁹⁷ [kùyó: ú wàrà lává-w kù]
- S: *bon*, éléy bè→, kò:ⁿ ká:ⁿ bè→, [[kú yà] [wóngóró nâyⁿ] wàrà-w□ mà→] [[[tòy nâyⁿ] bá:]⁹⁸
wàrà-yè]
- O: [wóngóró nâyⁿ] wàrà-y□, hà [wóngóró wàrà-m = bè-y□ dè] [dùwⁿ-tí-y□ dè] [ló [éléy
wàrà-y□]], [gãm wóngóró tùm di-rí-y□] [ló [éléy wàrà-y□]], [àṅyàⁿ wóngóró wàrà-y□]
[ló [[éléy kù] wàrà-jé-y□ dè]], [àⁿà-gúsú gãm yà] [wóngóró wàrà-m = bè-y□ dè] [éléy
wàrà-y□]
- S: [wóngóró wàrà-jé-w□ dè] [né: ñjé káⁿ-w□], sóy [kú yěy cêm] wàrà-jé-w□ dè
- O: wòngòrò-kùnjú wàrà-jé-y□, sè:njê: sé:njí-jé-y□, [[sè:njê: kù] î: sé:njí-m dè] [hâl yù:
íré-m], [yù:-tèwⁿéyⁿ súnúⁿú kúwó-m kúwó-m kálà] [írⁿà gãm] sè:njê: sé:njú-w, [sàwá:
kù] bú-w kù
- S: [né: sè:njê: sé:njí-jé-w□ dè] [yù: íré:-rè dè] [àṅyàⁿ káⁿ-w□]
- O: yù: íré:-rè dé wôy kày, yá: yù:-dó: ténjé-yè, [kú má:] yù:-dó: gǐⁿ-yè, yù: jéwⁿè-wⁿ
jéwⁿè-wⁿ jéwⁿè-wⁿ jéwⁿè-wⁿ kù, kú-yá: [yù:-dèngèmbèrè dá:-w dá:-w kú-yá:], [kú
má:] [yù:-dò:]-[tèng-î:] gǐⁿ-yè [yù:-dó: ténjé-y□], [yù:-dó: kù nàṅàṅà] ténjé-jé-y□ dé
wôy, [[yù: kù] ló màyⁿá:-rè] [né: kòsǒy kósí-y□]
- S: [kòsǒy kù] àṅyàⁿ kósú-w□
- O: kòsǒy kù, pòrkíyá gǐⁿ-yè, pòrkíyá gǐⁿ-yè, [gãm bóṅgò bè] [pó: nâyⁿ] kósí-yè^t, [gãm-bóṅgò
bè] [pòrkíyá nâyⁿ] kósí-yè^t, ṅgú-rù gó-w [[ú ná:-sì:ⁿ] wò] gáⁿ-w, ésé dàrìyí-w, [kósú-w
dè] [[ésé píré] gáⁿ-w], [bá:-rè dè] ló tí dúwó-w, bá:-rè ló tí dúwó-w
- S: [ò^rò tùwⁿó:] tí-yè mà→, má [ó^rò báyⁿ→] tí-yè
- O: [ú sàw dè] [ó^rò-ó^rò [ú bèré-w wôy] tí-w] [ṅgú-rù [ésé mô:] tà:nú gâyⁿ→] [ṅgá-rù [ésé
mô:] ní:yⁿ gâyⁿ→] tí-tí-w⁹⁹ dé wôy, [nú: yě-mà dè] [bàrà bàrà bàrà bàrà [ló [[yù:-tè:rè
díyⁿà-wⁿ kù] wó] ló dò:-lí-yè]
- S: [kú¹⁰⁰ nú: yà] àṅyàⁿ déyⁿ→ bì-b-è:ⁿ-bò¹⁰¹ mà→, má àṅyàⁿ
- O: [[ú úrò] píré] [[yà-[yì-tè:] bè] yá b-è:ⁿ-bó dé] má→ [[ú ónjò bè] yá b-è:ⁿ-bó dé] [[nú ú
bì-bàrú]¹⁰² yá b-è:ⁿ-bó dé] [ú kósú-m dè] [bù: yà] bàrà bàrà, [ú tí-w kù] [bù: yà] bàrà
bàrà [[yù:-tè:rè wó] jò-ló-yè]
- S: bày, [kósú-jé-w□ dè] [[[ò^ró kù] = ñ] yá: dúwó-w] mà→, àṅyàⁿ káⁿ-wⁿ□

⁹⁵ Focus construction with L-toned Stative verb.

⁹⁶ Overlaid {HL} tone contour required by mégé ‘more’. Cf. adjective nùm ‘difficult’.

⁹⁷ káⁿ-wⁿ ‘it may happen (that ...)’.

⁹⁸ bà: ‘since, back at (an earlier time)’

⁹⁹ tí here is iterated (full-stem repetition), distinct from initial-syllable reduplication.

¹⁰⁰ Example of prenominal Inanimate pseudo-possessor kú functioning as discourse-definite ‘that’ demonstrative.

¹⁰¹ Reduplicated 3Pl subject form of bù- ‘be’. Equated with Jamsay wì-wô:-bà.

¹⁰² Imperfective participle, Animate Plural head NP.

O: [kósú-jé-ỳ□ dè] [[òrⁿó kù] wó] = Ø, [[kòsǒy kù] [ìrⁿà ń] ¹⁰³ kósú-jé-wè dè] [ńgú-rù dùwó júwⁿó-wⁿ], [[ìrⁿà ńgá ¹⁰⁴ yà] ló kósú-wè] [ńgá-rù dùwó júwⁿó-wⁿ], [[ìrⁿà ńgá yà] ló kósú-wè] [ńgá-rù dùwó júwⁿó-wⁿ], [kòsǒy kósú-jé-ỳ□ dé wòy] [áńyàⁿ yú: dú-ỳ□]

I: sá dèwú-wè□ má→ dèwú-m-dó-wè□

S: [kòńòrⁿó sá-ỳ□ dè] dèwí-ỳ□ [ìrⁿà ǵám]

I: ènjí: gá-m-dó-wè□ ¹⁰⁵

S: ènjí: gí-gá-ỳ□ yǎ: ¹⁰⁶

I: ènjí: gá-yè

S: ènjí: gí-gá-ỳ□, ènjí: [[kòsǒy ní:] wò] [ènjí: kùyó: íré-m]

I: [árⁿà gá-yè mà→] [yǎ: gá-yè]

S: yǎ: —, árⁿà gá-yè

I: árⁿà gá-yè

S: mhm! [[[kòsǒy kù] ní:] wò] [ènjí: kùyó: íré-m], [[ènjí: kù] gá-jé-ỳ□ dè] [[kòsǒy kù] áńyàⁿ túmdí-ỳ□]

I: [yú: kù] tètè:ré má→[†] yù:-jùró: = Ø ¹⁰⁷

O: yù:-jùró kì-káⁿ-ỳ□→, [tètè:ré kù] tì-té:rí-ỳ□, [yù:-jùró kù] [ésé nâyⁿ] tí-yè

I: [ésé nâyⁿ] tí-yè

O: [[ésé nâyⁿ] yě-wè dè] [[ésé nâyⁿ] tí-wè]

I: sólóm

O: [[kú mâ:] yù:-jùró ǵǎⁿ-yè] [sólóm bú-wè kù]

I: [[pétè→ bú-wè kù] mâ:] àńyàⁿ ǵúⁿ-yè

O: [kú mâ:] yù:-tètè:ré ǵúⁿ-yè, [ǵòrⁿú nâyⁿ] tí-yè kù

I: [jàwⁿâ: nâyⁿ]—

O: [ǵòrⁿú nâyⁿ] ǵòńòrⁿó ló! ló! ló! ló! ló!, tí lám-dú-wè, ¹⁰⁸ [[mànì: wò] ǵàwá:-rè dè] [íyà yèy-né tí lám-dú-wè], [ǵàwá:-rè dè] [tày-né tí lám-dú-wè]

S: [úró [yú: kù] dú jě:-tí-yè dè] [àńyàⁿ ká:ⁿ-rà-wè□]

O: [[úró [yú: kù] dù-[jè-y]] ¹⁰⁹ [kú kù], [[yú: kù] yá: ló dù-ré: ló:-rè-ỳ□ dè] yèmbí-ỳ□, yèmbí-ỳ□ dè [yú: kù], tùwⁿó-m yù:-bùbùrú ǵúⁿ-yè, [díyⁿá-wⁿ wó] ìrè-rí kù, [[èsíⁿ→ íré-só-wè kù] ¹¹⁰ mâ:] yù:-ná: ǵúⁿ-yè, úró dú jé-ỳ□, úró dú jě:-ỳ□ dè, [dǵew wó] ǵáⁿ-yè□]

S: [[dǵew kù] wó] [yù:-bùbùrú kù yà[†]] [yù:-ná: kù yà[†]] [[òrⁿó tùwⁿó:] ǵáⁿ-yè mà→] má déyⁿ-déyⁿ

¹⁰³ = [ìrⁿà ńgú] ‘this field’.

¹⁰⁴ Inanimate Far-Distant demonstrative.

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

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

¹⁰⁷ The ‘it is’ clitic (audible as a final low tone) is present with the final yù:-jùró but not (audibly) on the preceding disjunct tètè:ré.

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

¹⁰⁹ Verbal noun of verb chain (dú- ‘carry on head’ plus jě:- ‘bring’). L-toned as possessed noun. (Absolute form is dù-jè-y.)

¹¹⁰ Relative clause based on ‘have’ quasi-verb só-. Cf. negation íré sò-ló ‘it isn’t very ripe’.

O: déyⁿ-déyⁿ gáⁿ-yⁿ, yù:-ná: [tànày ñgú-rù] gǎⁿ-wⁿ dè[†], yù:-bùbùrú [tànày ñgú dá:] gáⁿ-wⁿ,
[[dèw yèy] sò-wⁿ dé yà] tùwⁿô-m— yù:-ná: [[dèw tùwⁿô:] wò] gáⁿ-wⁿ, yù:-bùbùrú [[dèw
tùwⁿô:] wò] gáⁿ-wⁿ

S: *bon*, [kòsɔy kósí = ní] [yû: dǔ-jé-wⁿ dè] [[bìrè lǎ-w] sò-ló-wⁿ] mà lǎ-w

O: [kòsɔy kósí = ní] [yû: dǔ-jé-yⁿ dè], [[bìrè lǎ-w] yá só-yⁿ yǎ:]

I: kòsù-írⁿà yá bú

O: kòsù: = Ø, tó-yⁿ, kòsù: tó-yⁿ, [[yû: írⁿà¹¹¹ î: gǎⁿ-wⁿ kù] wó] [yá: [[kòsù: kù] î: tó = ñ] yá
bú, yû: dǔ-jé-yⁿ dè, xxx ló [kòṅṅrò kù] sá tí-wⁿ, [kòṅṅrò kù] sá-tí-wⁿ dè, [[kòsù: kù]
wó] dêm→ dêm→ dêm→ ní: ú gáⁿ-m dè, érⁿé [á kù:] wì-wⁿà:rⁿú-m, ùlá-ùlá¹¹² [á kù:]
béré-m,

hà: [né: kày] î:— kòṅṅrò [kú nánà] sá-jé-wⁿ dé wôy, dòró téré téré téré téré
séwⁿú-wⁿ, hálì ló núwⁿó-m, [kòsù: kù] nárⁿá-m,

hà: [né: kɔyⁿ] íyà píníwⁿú [kú = m bírè-yⁿ], kòsù-írⁿà bìrè, hà: [nù kòsù-írⁿà
sò-ló-m] = Ø [érⁿé yà→], sárdíjè gáⁿ-m, hà: ñgú = m [î: bìrè] = Ø

S: *bon*, éléy wára-wⁿ gǔⁿ-wⁿ., [[éléy kù] wára-tú-wⁿ dè] [yá: ànyàⁿ dúwó-wⁿ mà] [úró
jé-m-dó-wⁿ—

O: éléy wòmbí-yⁿ¹¹³ yǎ:, éléy wòmbí-yⁿ, [éléy wòmbí-yⁿ dè] úró dǔ-dǔ jé-yⁿ, éléy—

S [overlapping]: yǎ: wòmbí-yè má→, árⁿà wòmbí-yè

O: árⁿà-m—, [yǎ-m [á kò:ⁿ] = Ø wàrà dè] wòmbú-m→, árⁿà-m [á kò:ⁿ] = Ø wàrà dè]
wì-wòmbú-m[†], yǎ-m [[érⁿé ṣṅṅrò] [érⁿé mâ:] wòmbí-tí: dè] [jǐnjè érⁿé à-wⁿ],¹¹⁴ [kú kálà]
èšú bú:-Ø, [[nù wòmbú-m] sò-ló-wⁿ dé] [yǎ-m [ú kò:ⁿ] ló-wⁿ dè] [ú = m wòmbú-m]

S: wòmbú-jé-wⁿ dè, kú-dá: pálú-wⁿ mà→, úró pálú-wⁿ

O: [gǎm góṅṅ bè] kú-dá: pálí-yè→, [gǎm góṅṅ bè] úró jê: pálí-yè, éléy kù

¹¹¹ L-toned írⁿà from írⁿà ‘field’, here as relative-clause head, not as possessed noun.

¹¹² Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) related to ùllá ‘a little’, but with ungeminated l.

¹¹³ wòmbí- ‘uproot by hand’ (i.e. by pulling up, esp. to harvest peanuts), contrast sá- ‘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: dẽw [ɲjé gìn] céwⁿé:-rà-w̃□, [àɲâyⁿ nâyⁿ] kú céwⁿé-w̃□

Y: dẽw, [í: mà:nì:] [yù:-gǎyⁿ=∅,¹¹⁵ gùnì] céwⁿé-ỹ□, kú túmdí-ỹ□ dé wôy, bòlô:, órⁿò sémbí-tí-ỹ□ dè, kùlúrù, kùyó: céwⁿé-ỹ□, kú dèmbí-jé-ỹ□ dè, dêm→ kú màyⁿá:-rè dè, tèmberù í: má-m dè, tèmberù í: má-m dè, [kùlúrù í: kùlúró-w̃ kù] máyⁿá-m, [tèmberù bàrá-jé-ỹ□ dè] [[kú dósù] wò] dẽy dúwó-ỹ□,

[bò:-úrò mà:] sóy cýé-ỹ□, íyé [í: dẽw]—, [[ùsù ñgú] [ùsù nùmũyⁿ] dǒ:-rè dè] [[í: dẽw] cèwⁿ-ì:], í bãrà, [[nù kâ:ⁿ] mà:] cýé-tí-yà dé wôy, [kú úsù kù] dǒ:-rè dé wôy, àsùwⁿè-yí-m wé→ àsùwⁿè-yí-m, tă: ló-m, nî: kówó kówó kówó jé-m, [nî: jê:-tí-yà dè] [[lẽw kù] tó-yè,

[[àrⁿà pè:], cèwⁿ-ì:-jùwú¹¹⁶ kù] úró-yè, lòsô: kù, éw-ré-yè, àsùwⁿè-yí jùwú-m, [bù: pìrè] nú-m, pàngá s-ê:ⁿ,¹¹⁷ lẽw tó-yè→, tèmberù pótó-yè, tèmberù ní-yè, tèmberù bù: ní-m dè, pìrè: éw-ré-j-â: dè, kú jú:rà-w̃ [kú nâyⁿ]—,

[dògùrù kâ:ⁿ] kú súyó-j-â: dé wôy, ñěyⁿ gǒ:-rè, ñěyⁿ sí-yé ñé-yè,¹¹⁸ dêm→ gáv ká:ⁿ-rè dè, íyà úró-yè, [né: kǒyⁿ], bù: céwⁿé-m dè, bù: céwⁿé-m dè, [hâl ló-ló [[nũ-m kù:] ì:-rì]=∅] dè] bǒngó-m [[[éⁿé m̀bâ:] òrⁿò] wò] dós-m, [tèmberù m̀bâ: kù] [óⁿò wò] dǒ:-rè dé wôy, s̀rà-m-nă: yâ: dèmbí-yè,

[[tè:súm bó]¹¹⁹ dèmbí:-rè dè] pèrú [pèré t̀wⁿó sâ:], [tèmberù-yí: [pèré t̀wⁿó sâ:] kú s̀ngǎy-s̀ngǎy] [[pèré t̀wⁿó sâ:] dǒ:-rè dé wôy], dẽw dǒ:-rè, né: kǒyⁿ, [nù kâ:ⁿ] pírⁿà bù:—, [yă: kù yà] pírⁿà tóró-yè,

[pírⁿà yà] gò-ý!, [dẽw céwⁿ-ì: yà] dùwⁿò-ỹⁿ, [sí-yé-mà dè] [nù kâ:ⁿ] [â: pírⁿà] nó-yè, ínjírí sáyá-yè, t̀lú wó, dêm→ [ùwó bà:] kú dǒ:-rè dé wôy, [mànî: kù] íyà dèmbí-yè, dèmbí-j-â: dé wôy, [yù:.,¹²⁰ ú gǎ-m] yá bú dé wôy, yâ: gǎⁿ-w̃ⁿ, ñgú = m̀ [dẽw céwⁿ-ì:] = ∅, àɲâyⁿ = m̀ = dá: U

U: àɲâyⁿ = m̀

S: dẽw [ɲjé gìn] céwⁿé:-rà-w̃.:, [kò:ⁿ ñjé gìn] céwⁿé:-rà-w̃.:.

I: yù:-gǎⁿỹ = ∅, [í: yù:] [í: bèrè-w̃] yâ: gǎⁿ-ỹⁿ.:, ènjî: yâ: gǎⁿ-ỹⁿ.:, hâl kòsù: yâ: gǎⁿ-ỹⁿ.:.

U: yù: [[dẽw wó] = m̀ = dá dé] [bòlô: àrⁿà-gúsú bèrè-j-ê: dè] ñávⁿá-m ...

I: s̀ì-s̀ó:lú-m̀

U: ... s̀ì-s̀ó:lú-m̀ ñávⁿá-m̀

I: [[kú nî:] wò] dẽw [mànî: wò] céwⁿé:-rà-ỹ.:.

S: [kú dèmb-ì: kù yà] nú: ñàrⁿí-yè mà→, mà àɲâyⁿ káⁿ-yè

I: àsùwⁿè-yí: ñàrⁿí-yè, yě [ú bàr = náyⁿ] dèmbí-yè

S: [úró dèmb-ì: ñgú] gǎyⁿ→

¹¹⁵ Tones emended at assistant's suggestion. On the tape, yù: has its lexical tones.

¹¹⁶ Plural subject relative clause, with verbal noun cèwⁿ-ì: 'constructing' as compound initial.

¹¹⁷ s-ê:ⁿ, relative-clause participial form (for plural head NP) of só- '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 = wó 'in' (after nasal).

¹²⁰ Tone emended, tape has yù: 'millet', then a brief hesitation.

U: [démédé wé→ démdé] [bò:-úrò m̀:li = náyⁿ] d̀embí-yè

I: d̀embí-yè

S: [[bò:-úrò m̀:li = náyⁿ] bú: d̀embí:-rà-w] [kú kórò] ñjê: = ∅

U: [íyè k̀:ˀⁿ¹²¹ d̀embù-ẁ d̀è] [[éyⁿ yà] [ú k̀:ˀⁿ] d̀embí-ỳ], áṅàⁿ t̀embí-ỳ □ yéṅù

¹²¹ ‘my possession’, with {LHL} tone contour and segmentally zero 1Sg possessor pronominal.

Text 2005-1a.12 Cow-peas

S: nùwⁿí:ⁿ, àṅâyⁿ wára-yè

I: nùwⁿí:ⁿ déyⁿ→, [[kú írⁿà] wì-wàrú] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò→, [írⁿà pìrè] kálà í:—, pòrɔy pòrɔy pòrɔy pòrɔy nây, [írⁿà pìrì] [kú mâ:] nùwⁿí:ⁿ-kâr-í: gǔⁿ-yè, [kú kálà] yâ: kálà kára-ỳ□, déyⁿ→ [kú írⁿà] kálà wì-wára-ỳ□, hà nùwⁿí:ⁿ àṅâyⁿ wára-ỳ□

S: [kú tɔy kù bè→] [wásà bè→] tùwⁿô: = Ø mà

O: [kú tɔy bè→] [wásà bè→] tùwⁿô: = Ø =rá, [wǎ:w wǎ:w wó] tɔ-yè, [[kú wì-wⁿà:rⁿú-m] nì:] wò], [[sòsú wó] tð-w dé wôy] [[yù:-írⁿà wò] = m dè] [yù: gó-m-dó], *mais* [kú sáy] wára-w dè, [kú kày] [sòsú-sòsú wó] tɔ-w, wⁿà:rⁿú yě [á tû-m] níngí-m], nárⁿá-m

S: nùwⁿí:ⁿ, [íré = í màyⁿá:-rè dè] [àṅâyⁿ káⁿ-yè [kú mâ:]]

O: cì-céwé-yè, tùwⁿó tùwⁿó tùwⁿó tùwⁿó tùwⁿó céwé-céwé [gòrⁿú wó] [bà:-lí]-[bà:-li] úrò jé-yè

I: [òrú nâyⁿ] pálí jé-yè

O: [kú màyⁿá:-rè mà:] [pàl = náyⁿ jé-ỳⁿ□], [kú màyⁿá:-rè mà:]

S: [úró jě:-tú-wò□ dè] [àṅâyⁿ ká:ⁿ-rà-wò□]

O: [tèmbè-kú: wò] tí-yè, [[tèmbè-kú: wò] tí-yè] [hâl máyⁿá-m], [màyⁿá:-rè dé wôy] sóyó-yè, [sóyó-mà dè] [kú yî: kù] [sá:kù¹²² wò] gǎyⁿ-gǎyⁿ dǎy-yè

S: [dǎw wó] gáⁿ-yè mà→, mà→ [ènjî: kò:ⁿ ṅgú gâyⁿ→] [[sùmòy wó] gâⁿ = náyⁿ] bìyⁿí-yè, tòngôm wò

O: tòngôm, dî-dèyí-w dè [tòngôm bò]¹²³ gáⁿ-w, dǎyⁿǎyⁿ yá→†, sùmòy mè:rⁿé yá→↓, [kú yěy] gà:rⁿú lígísé-w dè, àṅâyⁿ [tòngôm bò] àṅâyⁿ dèngú-w [dî-dèyí-w dè], [kú = m = ñdà dé wôy] kóyó-m, [kú kò]¹²⁴ [ùwó dǎ:-rè dè] kóyó-m,

[[sá:kù wò] gǎⁿ-wⁿ dè] [àyâ: yá bú] [[ànàsá:rà bè] áyâ:],¹²⁵ [[àyâ: kù] [sá:kù wò] gǎⁿ-wⁿ dè] [nùwⁿí:ⁿ [[kú kù:] wò] gáⁿ-wⁿ, [[ú kò:ⁿ] tî-tíyé-w dé yà] [[éwá: ló] [ú kò:ⁿ] tíyé dúwó-w]

S: tòngôm kù, [dǎw wó] káⁿ-yè mà→†, [[òrⁿò kòrɔy] wó]-m

O: tòngôm, [dǎw pírè] káⁿ-yè, [[òrⁿò kòrɔy] wó] kálà kî-káⁿ-wⁿ, tòngôm ṅâyⁿ→ dèlèrélé [kú kálà] [tèmbérù nâyⁿ] céwⁿé-yè

¹²² Variant of sá:gù.

¹²³ = wò ‘in’.

¹²⁴ [kú kò], variant pronunciation of [kú kày] ‘(as for) that’.

¹²⁵ {HL} contour on possessed noun after [noun + bè].

Text 2005-1a.13 Big families

S: [ɲé déŋgèy] nũ: ɲgú-rù [yì-tě: bãyn→], bèr-î: jórè-yè

O: yì-tě: jórò-ỳ□ yã:, bon [î: mà:] [ɔrⁿð bíré kù] [í: bírè kù] bírè màw = Ø, ú [[ú kù:] mà:] [bíré ú bíré-ɲ ú bíré-ɲ] [[àrⁿà-gúsú pé-nùmũyⁿ] bèrè-jé-w dé wôy] [né: læ-w [bíré pángà] sò-ló-w], yì-tě: yá só-w dé wôy, [ú yítè: kù] [bũ: = ɲ bíré bíré-ɲ],

wóngórô: = Ø [kò:ⁿ [pàngá ɲâyⁿ] wára-yè], [wóngóro wàrá] béré-ɲ-dó-w [[àrⁿà-gúsú pé-nùmũyⁿ] nũ-m], [ú yítè: kù], [wóngóro wàrá] ú bàrí-yè, [bũ: wàrá-w dè] ɲé-wⁿ, [tõy dè kálà] bũ:—, bũ: = ɲ tó-ɲ, [[kú nî:] wò], [yì-tě: bèrè-ỳ□ dè] jórò-ỳ□

S: [kú = ɲ = dá dé kày] [yì-tě: bèrè-w□ jórò-w□—], [kú = ɲ = dá dé kày], [kòrð læ-w] ɲgó má

O: [kòrð læ-w] yá bú yã:, hà: [yì-tě: yěy tá:n] bèrè = ɲ, tùwⁿô-m ló gùrá:nà jángé-ɲ†, tùwⁿô-m ló lèkól jángé-ɲ†, tùwⁿô-m [wóngóro wàrá] ú bàrú-ɲ†, hà: [jàngè-jàngú-m kù] [érⁿé [érⁿé bírè] cé:lé:-rè†], [ɲgá-dá: jàngú-m kù yà] [érⁿé bírè] cé:lé:-rè, [wóngóro wàrá ú bàrú-m kù yà] [érⁿé kálà] [érⁿé bírè] cé:lé:-rè,

[yĩ-m wò:-wôy sò-ló-w dé] [[àrⁿà-gúsú pé-nùmũyⁿ] bèrè-jé-w dè] [[wóngóro wàrá] béré-ɲ-dó-w†], [nũ ú wàrà-bàrú-m] ɲgó, [wóngóro wàrà-rú-w dé kálà] [ɲyèⁿ ɲé-ɲ-dó-w], â: [né: kày] [ú kày] né: læ-w [àmà-sòyó ɲâyⁿ] wàsá:-rè-w

S: [yì-tè: bãyn⇒ bèr-î: kù] wá:jíbì = Ø mà

O: [yì-tè: bãyn⇒ bèr-î: kù kày], [î: mà: kày] wá:jíbù = Ø, áywà Í:—[[î: òsù] wò], [î: dì:nà] wò, yì-tě: [ú má:] bãyn→ nàrⁿà-ýⁿ gũyⁿ, [bãyⁿ→-nàrⁿ-î: kù] wá:jíbù = Ø, [î: dì:nà] wò

I: kú = ɲ [[yã: yěy] jê-y] î: ká:ⁿ-rà-w kú = ɲ

O: [[yã: yěy] jì-jé-ỳ□] [[yã: tá:n] jì-jé-ỳ□] [[yã: ɲyⁿ] jì-jé-ỳ□], [[bũ: dàⁿ-wôy] nárⁿá-yè] [[[yì-tě: pé-tà:nú] nũ s-ê:ⁿ] yá b-ê:ⁿ] [pèrí-yěy nũ s-ê:ⁿ] yá b-ê:ⁿ], [pèrí nũ s-ê:ⁿ] yá b-ê:ⁿ-bò

I: bú = ɲ [mégé yà] sú:rⁿú só-w, [bíré kâ:ⁿ kálà] bũ: = ɲ [mégé yà] sú:rⁿú só-w

O: [[dógúru tùwⁿô-m]¹²⁶ [bíré màná:] bíré-ɲ-dó-w] [[ú yítè: bũ:] ló bíré-yè] [úró bì-yé-w tán],¹²⁷ [[kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ wôy] [ú yítè: bũ:] ló bíré-bíré bũ: jě-w dè] ɲé-wⁿ, [yì-tě: nàrⁿá = ɲ] [bárkíné:-r-à: dé wôy] [ǰ: nú:-rè-w],

[[ú nàrⁿà-rⁿú-ɲ kù]¹²⁸ [àbádá sú:rⁿú-ɲ-dó-w] [[àrⁿà-gúsú té:mdérè kálà] ú = ɲ ló [ú bírè] bíré-ɲ]

I: [[ɲgú nî:] wò] [yì-tě: jó→] m^bá:yí-só-ỳ□

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: [û: mà: dá:] [yà-m]-[jě-ỳ] àṅâyⁿ bù

O: [î: mà: dá:] yà:-[jě-ỳ] [yà-bíru yá bú], yà-bíru yá bú→, [[ú gò = náyⁿ] yà:-yî-m [[ú jóró-ỳ] [érⁿé jóró-ỳ] ú jé-m] yá bú¹²⁹

S: [yà-bíru kù] àṅâyⁿ—, àṅâyⁿ káⁿ-yè

O: [yà-bíru kù] sàlá: [érⁿé nàⁿá-tí-yà dé wôy] [[àmá:nù yà-m] bà¹³⁰ gùⁿ = náyⁿ] [kú kù] gù-gówó-yè, hà [mù: má:] [àmá:nù yà-m] bá gù-gówó-yè, hà kú gòwó-tí-yà dé wôy, ló [yǎ-m kù] [[á kù:] mà:] [àⁿà-gúsú gá:rày] mà→ bèré-j-ê: dé wôy, hà: [né: kày] sál bé→[†], láyà bé→[†] dǒ:-rè dè, sǎmnà bè→[†], [bù:dù dâ:-w] bè→ ní-yè, [àṅâyⁿ û: káⁿ-m dè] [hál ló-ló [[yǎ-m kù] ló-w dè] [yǎ-m dǒ-m]]

S: *bon*, [[ú sày] [[ú kù:] mà:] [tèg-i: kú]]¹³¹ [kú yà] àṅâyⁿ tégé-yè

O: [ú sǎy] [[ú kù:] mà:] [ló-w dè] [yà:-yî-m kù] [érⁿé jóró-w] [[á má:] érⁿé jóró-w] wà gúⁿ-w, [ú mì-rá¹³² dé→] [ú mì-rá] gú-m, [ú jòró-jê: dè→] hà: [[ú érⁿé jóró-w] [érⁿé ú jóró-m]¹³³ wò] bǎ:-rè¹³⁴ dé wôy, [[[bǒ: yá→] [nàⁿá yá→]] mà:] tégé-w,

hà: [bù: kálà] [ú mà:] ní-tí-yà dé wôy, [kú nâyⁿ] yà:jí: páyá-w, [yà:jì:-pàg-î: kù] [bù: ànàsá:rà bè] *mariage* = rá dé¹³⁵, ànàsá:rà bè *mariage* = rá, hà: àmá:nù, [yǎ-m—, mù:] [érⁿé jóró-m] gùyⁿ [yà:-yî-m mù:] [érⁿé jóró-m] gùyⁿ [àsùwⁿè-yî-m kálà] [érⁿé jóró-m] gùyⁿ,

[[[nàⁿǎ-m yá→] [bǒ:-m yá→]] kálà] [érⁿé mà:] ní-tí-yà, hà: ársilâ-m yě-mà dè, sé:dè gó-yè

I: ùsú gáⁿ-yè, ùsú gáⁿ-yè

O: ùsú gáⁿ-yè, [íyè úsù] yà:jì:-pàg-î: = Ø wà [júmà ùsù], ùsú gáⁿ-yè, àrsilâm yě mò:lí-yè [[[hà: [[[àmá:nù yá→] [àmá:nù yá→]] má:], tú: jóró-yè gùyⁿ-bó] wá] [yà:jì:-pàg-î: = Ø wà] [[sé:dè wày-î: = Ø] wà],

[cèrèy [kú wó] û: gǎⁿ-wⁿ kù]¹³⁶ [[cèrèy kù] ínìⁿî] nàⁿí-yè, [hà: [bù: sè:dè] [bù:dù dámà má:nù] = Ø wà] [ṅgú kú = m] bà,¹³⁷ hà: [nù nú-m bò-wò-wôy],¹³⁸ [érⁿé

¹²⁹ yá bú ‘(it) exists, there is’ here takes a factive complement in the form of an ordinary main clause: “there is (a system/pattern/custom by which) ...”

¹³⁰ bá for quotative particle wá after nasal.

¹³¹ Demonstrative kú (Near-Distant, Inanimate).

¹³² Suppletive negative form of jòró- ‘want, like, love’.

¹³³ Emended: tape has jóró-w.

¹³⁴ bǎ- ‘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 *dèy*) in all local languages and is sometimes used in local French.

¹³⁶ Object relative.

¹³⁷ bà for wà (quotative particle) after nasal.

¹³⁸ = wò-wò-wôy for the more common wò-wôy, already extended variant of wôy ‘all’. Initial w hardened to b after a nasal.

yà] [éyⁿ dé] sé:dè gó-m, à-mâ:n [à-mâ:n yà-m kù] [kú = m [kú sé:dè] = Ø], kú = m [î: mariage] = Ø

S: [bú:dù = rá dé] kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ní-m-n-é má

O: òrùsú nì-ní-yè→, tá: nì-ní-yè[†], [kú bè-lú-w dé] [[bú:dù kù] nâyⁿ sây kálà] páyá-w, [tá: ñgó[†]] [òrùsú ñgó[†]]

S: yǎ-m kù, àsùwⁿ-yí-m kù, [nù jòrú-m kù] [[érⁿé = m sǎy]¹³⁹ ló tégé-m] mà→ [[érⁿé átíyà-m] tégé-m] mà→ [nù lǎ-m] tégé-m

O: [ú sǎy] ló tégé—, [ú sǎy] ló tì-tégé-w→ [[ú sǎy] béré-m-dó-w dè] [ú bô:] = n tì-tí-w→, [ú póyà-m] tì-tí-w→, [ú tíyà-m] tì-tí-w[†], [ú sǎy] [[ú mâ:] ní-tí-yà dè] kálà kú = m, [gà: [[ú sǎy], lé-m→ lò = náyⁿ] [yǎ-m jóró-y] ú gǔⁿ-wⁿ dè] [[[ú mâ:] bû: nì-yⁿ kù] nǔm bû:-Ø]

I [overlapping]: [[ú sǎy] mâ:]¹⁴⁰ ní-m-n-é, xxx

O: [[isè: lǎ-w] wó], [hà: [ú bô:] yè-m] bá gúⁿ-yè, [núwⁿòyⁿ kày] [[ú bô:] jóró-m] kù]¹⁴¹ júwó-m—, jùwó-j-â:, ò:ⁿ [[[ú dèrè] jóró-m] kù] jùwó-j-â: dè] [[yǎ-m kù] ànyàⁿ ní-yè], [[nàⁿá tùwⁿó] [bô: tùwⁿó] yá:jì:] = Ø

S: yà:jì:-pàg-î: kù yà, [yà:-yí-m bô:] ùrò] káⁿ-yè mà→, [[àsùwⁿ-yí-m bô:] ùrò] káⁿ-yè

O: [[[yà:-yí-m kù] bô:] ùrò] káⁿ-yè

S: bon, yà:jì: páyá-tí-yà dè néyⁿ, ànyàⁿ-ànyàⁿ bé-yè [â: yèy]

O: yà:jì: páyá-tí-yà dé wôy, [[yǎ-m kù] lémdé-w] [[[á mâ:] ní-ýⁿ] gùⁿ = náyⁿ]

I: ló kàrwá gáⁿ-yè, [nǔ-m gó-w dè] [lò-w dè] kàrwá gáⁿ-m, [yǎ-m yà:jì: bû: páyá-w] [[ùsú pèrú] gálù wò], [nǔ-m pò→ úrò lò-w dè] kàrwá gáⁿ-m,

[kàrwá érⁿé gǎⁿ-w] túlù wò, [nǔ-m íyà gǒ] [yǎ-m ùrò-tìn-î:] = Ø¹⁴² wà, lémdé-yè,

ùsú gáⁿ-yè, [ùsú kùyó:¹⁴³ bû: gǎⁿ-w kù] íyí-m-dó, [nà yèy-né] gáⁿ-yè, kú = m íyí-m,

nárⁿù wò, ló òm-dí-jé-yè, àsùwⁿ-yí: màpâ: tá-yè, [[[ùrò kù] wó] yá: lò-w dè] [òmô: nî: kówó-jè-w dè] [yâ: bé-m], [[ùsú pèrú pèrì-yèy], bǎ-j-ê: dè], íyà [[á bô:] ùrò] lò-m, [ñgú-m[†], [yǎ-m]-[yǎ-y]] [íyà dêm→ nùwⁿó:-rè],

[jâ: = m dè kày] yì-nàⁿ-î: = Ø, [yì tùwⁿó-m] nàⁿá-tí-w□ dè, lǎ-m ú nàⁿá:-rè mà:, nànyàⁿ: ònyòrò-ùrò yě tǎngú-m, ànyàⁿ káⁿ-yè = b-â:, [íyè né:] [kú bǎ:] gòyⁿí-m-n-é, érⁿé nàⁿá:-rè bǎ:, ònyòrò-ùrò lémdé-yè,

[tǎng-ì: ná:] yè:-rè dé wôy, lémdé-yè hâl ùsú gáⁿ-yè, [nǔ: wôy] mò:lí-yè, píⁿà tóró-yè, yě éw-yé-yè, [yǎ-m yè:-rè dè] [dúwâw káⁿ-yè], [jǐnjè sǎw jémdè-y] [jǐnjè ùrò nyàⁿ→ pé:-wì-y] [jǐnjè nyàⁿ→ káⁿ-ýⁿ] wá,

[dùwâw â: jóró-m wôy]¹⁴⁴ káⁿ-mà dè, íngírí sáyá-yè, háyà, né: kày, [kú wó] dùwⁿò-rⁿí[†]

¹³⁹ ‘It’s he alone’. The ‘it is’ clitic -m is added to the pronoun, with sǎy ‘only’ following.

¹⁴⁰ Here sǎy ‘only’ is treated as part of the pronominal NP, and is followed by the Dative postposition mâ:.

¹⁴¹ Definite kù at the end of a factive complement (in main-clause form) of ‘know’.

¹⁴² Verbal noun with logical subject and object both present. The subject takes its normal tone. The object appears as a L-toned compound initial. There is no possessive tone contour.

¹⁴³ kùyó: here is an adverb ‘at first, initially’. The preceding noun drops its tones as head of an object relative clause.

¹⁴⁴ In this relative clause, the final wôy ‘all’ has logical scope over the head noun: “all the blessings that they (themselves) want.”

O: [kú wó] dùwⁿó:-rè

I: [̀̀gú wó] dùwⁿò = rá→, mà [á̀̀yⁿ = ì = dá] S

O: kú = ì yà-tàl-ì: = ∅

S: [cèmnè lă-w] ̀̀gó má

I: ̀̀gú = ì yà-tàl-ì: = ∅, yă:, [â: jiyè] jíyè-yè [[dámáy kù] wó], [kùyô: = ì dè] [kòsú:

bárⁿá-yè = b-à:] kòròbá, [íyè né:] kòròbà-bàⁿ-ì: dùwó-tí-ỳ□,

yă: [â: sày] [[[â: tàwⁿyⁿà] ùrò kù] wó] kòsú: bárⁿá-yè', búlù bárⁿá-yè', jíyè

jíyè-yè, [̀̀gú kày] íyè [[yă: kù] dáwⁿà] = ∅, [árⁿà kày] [[lă-w kò:ⁿ bú: káⁿ-m] ̀̀gó]

[dúwâw káⁿy-j-â: dè] [ínjírí sáyá-yè]

S: [kú lává:-rè dè] [lă-w [cèmnè lă-w] ̀̀gó]

I: lă-w ̀̀gó

O: [lă-w ̀̀gó] [yà-tàl-ì: wò] [kú lává:-rè dè] [[cèmnè lă-w] ̀̀gó]

I: dùmdó: kú = ì

Text 2005-1a.15 Livestock

- S: jìrⁿěyⁿ dǎ:-rè dè, [[àrsě: bû: = nì] án-dá: jò-ló-yè] [[ùsù-bórⁿó yà] án-dá: jò-ló-yè]
- O: jìrⁿěyⁿ dǎ:-rè dè, jìrⁿěyⁿ dǎ:-rè [tǒy tíyé:-rè dé wò-wôy] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m], [á àrsè:-m] ténjé-m, [[á àrsè:-m] bèr-bèré:¹⁴⁵ gáⁿ-m, [írⁿà wò] nú:-wⁿú-m-dó, ló jì-jé:-wⁿú-m, [hâl àyú-w dè]¹⁴⁶ [ló mà dè] wóngóró wára-yè, [nù— àrsě:-m yá→] [írⁿà yà→] dà:yí-m-dó, [kú gù-náyⁿ] jé:-wⁿú-yè
- S: [[àrsě: kù] nì:] wò, jìrⁿěyⁿ wó, [àrsě: bû:] úrò bû: dúwó-yè mà→, òrⁿó: bû: jò-ló-yè
- O: [àrsè: úrò bě:]¹⁴⁷ yá b-è:ⁿ-bó[†], òrⁿó:-lò:¹⁴⁸ yá b-è:ⁿ-bó, [jé:-wⁿú-wⁿ dè] [úrò jé-w], úrò jé-w dè, [úrò jē: já:jé-wú-w dè] yâ: ná-yè, [[òrⁿó: dá:] kálà bì-bě:] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò
- S: [òrⁿó: bû: jò-ló:-rà-w kù] [nìjé gìní = m]
- O: [òrⁿó: bû: jò-ló:-rà-w kù] [[kò:ⁿ lǎ-w] gùnù] = m = dá, [òrⁿó: bù-w dé wôy] [[àrsě:-m mâ:] òrⁿó: ìrèw] [ú kálà bírígí bì-béré-w], [àrsě: kù] sùwó bû: súwó-tí: dé wôy, bírígí tángú-m, áywà yû:, kálà, [kú órⁿò kù] wàrá-tú-w dè, kù = m mégé yû: íré-m, [bírígí ñgò dè] [yû: íré béré-m-dó], [ú wóngòrò] [dàyⁿ kù kám-dú-w wôy] [[[bírígí bóngò] gâyⁿ→] yû: béré-m-dó-w] [[àrsě: mâ:] kálà] [òrⁿó: mégé [kú náfàⁿà]¹⁴⁹ [bû: mà:] bù], [kú gùn] òrⁿó: jò-ló:-rà-w-bò
- S: [yàrú¹⁵⁰ gǒ:-rè dè] úrò yé-yè mà→, [òrⁿó: dá:] bé-yè
- O: yàrú gǒ:-rè dè→, [[[òrⁿó:-dà:]-bě:]¹⁵¹ yá b-è:ⁿ-bò[†]] [[ùrò-yě:] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò[†]], [àsú→ àrsè: [òrⁿó:-dà:]-bě:] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò, [[úrò b-è:ⁿ] kálà] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò, [úrò b-è:ⁿ kù] bû: = nì— [sùwò bû: súwó-w kù] [[bû: lìw kù] bàrá-mà dè] [òrⁿó: [írⁿà wò] jò-ló-yè], [òrⁿó: bù-w dè kálà] [ú kò:ⁿ] [yâ:¹⁵² hóggò] [yâ: básá-m tíném]¹⁵³ [yâ: bè-w]
- S: [yàrú gǒ:-rè dé yà] [ànyâⁿ káⁿ-w [bû: mà:]]¹⁵⁴
- O: [[àrsě: kù] mâ:] mà
- S: [[jìrⁿěyⁿ kò:ⁿ] ñgú] gâyⁿ→] sóy] jé:-wⁿú-m tíném bé-yè mà→, mà: ànyâⁿ káⁿ-yè

¹⁴⁵ Compare agentive noun bèr-bèré-m ‘herder’ (Pl bèr-bèré). The compound initial in these forms is bérù ‘goats’.

¹⁴⁶ àyí- ‘pick up, take’ combines with following ló- ‘go’ in the sense ‘from (time X) to (time Y)’. Jamsay yàṅá ‘pick up, take’ occurs in similar phrases.

¹⁴⁷ bē: Imperfective participle of bē- ‘remain’, with zero suffix for Animate Plural head NP. A reduplicated variant bì-bē: occurs later in this speech turn.

¹⁴⁸ Note L-tone (compound-initial) form of òrⁿó: ‘(to the) bush’ in this (plural subject) relative clause.

¹⁴⁹ Variant of [kú náfà:] ‘its value’, cf. nàfà: ‘benefit, value, usefulness’.

¹⁵⁰ yàrú ‘edge of rainy season’. With dó ‘arrive’ it denotes the period just before the rainy season, with gó ‘go out’ it denotes the period just after. The corresponding nouns are yàrù-dò: and yàrù-gò:.

¹⁵¹ Subject relative (plural) with L-toned locational adverb, elsewhere òrⁿó: dá: ‘in the bush over there’.

¹⁵² First of three parallel short phrases beginning with yâ: ‘there (definite)’. Apparently a stylistic device, suggesting multiple locations.

¹⁵³ tíném after Imperfective -m indicating prolongation.

¹⁵⁴ Dative PP postposed to verb.

- O: [yàrú gò=ń] [núwⁿòyⁿ kày] [[írⁿà wôy] bìrè] [yú: bìrè wôy] dùwⁿó:-rè, dé [kòsù: bìrè] = Ø, [[kòsù: bìrè wò-wôy] dùwⁿó:-rè dé wôy] [àrsé: kù] [kú kày] lǎr tí-yè,¹⁵⁵
 né: jè:-wⁿ-î: ñgó, [[kò:ⁿ bú: nàṅgùrú-m] ñgó ní:] wò, [tǎ: yě-mà dè] nò:-wⁿú-yè
 [tǎ: bú: yě:-rè dè], [nò:-wⁿú-j-â: dè] [ló [â: sày] jé-yè]
- S: [[jìrⁿéyⁿ yá→] [ùsù-bórⁿò yà→]] [àrsé: jésù kù] tùwⁿó: mà→ déyⁿ-dèyⁿ = Ø
- O: [[jìrⁿéyⁿ yá→] [ùsù-bórⁿò yà→]] [[àrsé: jésù] tùwⁿó: káyⁿ] béré-m, [[jìrⁿéyⁿ wó] [sàwà: òrù] jé-yè] [ùsù-bórⁿò bèrú ñgó] [[sàwà: mǎ:] jé-yè], [[[sàwà:-mà:] -jě-m yá→] [[sàwà:-òrù]-jě-m yá→]] tùwⁿó: káyⁿ béré-m-dó, ùsù-bórⁿò mégé bú: òsù—, [jìrⁿéyⁿ wó] = m mégé [bú: jèsù] ésù¹⁵⁶
- S: [ùsù-bórⁿò lǎr-t-î:] [kú = m mégé bú: = nì áwⁿá-wⁿú-m] mà→, mà→ [[bú: òsù-bòrⁿ-yì = náyⁿ] lò = náyⁿ jè:-wⁿ-î:] [kú = m mégé bú: = nì áwⁿá-wⁿú-m]
- O: [[nù [dìmbì-yì]-lò:] yá b-è:ⁿ-bò] [[dìmbì-yì]-lò-jè:-wⁿ-î:]¹⁵⁷ kú = m mégé—, [dìmbì-yì]-[lò-ý] [kú = m mégé bú: = n náfé-m], gà: [dìmbì-yì]-[lò-ý] béré-m-n-é,
 [yì-tě: [ú mǎ:] áwú-m-n-é] [[dìmbì-yì ló-ý] gùⁿ-w] kálà, [[yì mǔ:] jé:-wⁿú-m-dó] [[yì mǔ:] jé:-wⁿú-m-dó] [[yì mǔ:] jé:-wⁿú-m-dó], hà: [[[ú yí-m] mà:] jé:-wⁿí-ý] gùⁿ-w kálà] áwú-m-dó, hà: [kú gù-náyⁿ] [né: kày] [nù kâ:ⁿ] lǎl-lǎr¹⁵⁸ tí:-rà-y.:,
 [[òrⁿó: dá:] kálà déyⁿ→ lò = náyⁿ] [[nù: mǎ:] jǎwⁿà kò:ⁿ]¹⁵⁹ bú: súyó-m] ñgó,
 [jìrⁿéyⁿ kò:ⁿ] gáyⁿ→, [yú: kósù-j-â:] [bíré dùwⁿó:-rè]
- I: [â: sǎy] ló-yè dé yà, nǎ:-m yàṅá sì-yè¹⁶⁰ dè mà→, [àṅâyⁿ kâⁿ = náyⁿ] yí-w□
- O: [â: sǎy] ló-yè dè, nǎ:-m yàṅá sì-yè dè^{*}, [[jǐnjè nù-m] kú-dá: yǐ-jê: dè] [yě [ú mǎ:] tégé-m], [jǐnjè nù-m] yǐ-r¹⁶¹ dé→, nǎ:-m yàṅá = ní—, yàṅá = ní¹⁶² [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m] érné yǐ-r dé] [tíwé-m sá:té-m] [[nàwⁿâ: kálà] bèré kúwó-m-dó-w] múrsó:-rè-w
- I: bày nǔ-m dìmbì-yí ló-w dé yà né:, [ú yí-m]
- O: [[ú yí-m] dìmbì-yí ló-w dè] [nǎ:-m yàṅá sìyè dè] [yě [ú mǎ:] tégé-m] [àmá:nù nǎ:-m yàṅá sì-yè kòy], [ló [nù: mǎ:] tégé-w] [ló ãy ínǐrì-wú-yè]
- I: kú = m [kú néwⁿè:] kú = m
- O: kú = m [kú néwⁿè:] kú = m
- I: [[kú ní:] wò] ùsù-bórⁿò lǎr tí-m-n-é, [[nù kâ:ⁿ] [â: nà:] hàybú]¹⁶³ [[kú ní:] wò] [nǎ: kù] òsù-bòrⁿ-w-bò

¹⁵⁵ Verb-chain lǎr tí ‘send away’. Cf. compound verbal noun lǎr-[t-î:] later in this text.

¹⁵⁶ From èsù ‘good’, with {HL} contour in comparatives.

¹⁵⁷ Emended: tape has -jě-ýⁿ ‘eating’.

¹⁵⁸ For /lǎrú-lǎrú/, reduplication of lǎrú ‘chase away, drive out’. Phonetically the final r assimilates fully to the following t.

¹⁵⁹ I take jǎwⁿà ‘damage’ to be a kind of adverbial here, not the possessor of kò:ⁿ ‘thing’, whose L-tone I attribute to its relative-head function: ‘anything in the way of damage that they struck (=did).’ My assistant accepted a version of the same sentence with the order of kò:ⁿ and jǎwⁿà reversed.

¹⁶⁰ Here, equivalent to Perfective síyè:-rè ‘it has gone down’.

¹⁶¹ /yǐ-rí/ ‘did not see’, with (optional) apocope to yǐ-r. Here phonetically [yǐd] as the /r/ assimilates to the following /d/.

¹⁶² Variant of yàṅá = ní, with same-subject subordinator.

¹⁶³ Relative clause with nù kâ:ⁿ ‘everyone, anyone’ as subject and head NP. Note that agreement is plural.

O: [[kú nî:] wò] nǎ: háybé:-rà-w-bò
I: kú = m̄ [kú néwⁿè:] wà

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- S: dō:, [â: nà:] bû: = m̄ jé:-wⁿú-m̄ mà→, mà: [púlò: mà:] ní-yè, [púlò: mà:] ní-yè dè kálà, [bû: ní:-rà-w̄ kù] [ñjé gi-náyⁿ = m̄]
- O: hà:, [núwⁿdyⁿ kày] dō:, [nũ: jó→] [â: nà:] [púlò: mà:] ní-m̄-n-é, [kùyó: dō: nã:-m̄ júwó-m̄-n-é] [nã:-m̄ màngí-tí-yà¹⁶⁴ dè] [púlò-m̄ yě-w̄ dè] [á mà:] ní-yⁿ wá gúⁿ-m̄, [érⁿé mà:] ní-yè = b-à:,
 hà: [púlò: ló-mà dè] [[ú nã:] [nà: tìwè-rí-m̄ kù] tìyé jé-mà dè] [tíwé:-rè wà gúⁿ-yè], [[[nà: lã-m̄] dúrò] [ú mà:] césé jē: yé-yè, hà: [ú nã:-m̄] tíwé:-rè wà, [[érⁿé dúrò] ñgòy] wà, [[dō:-m̄ yà] [nà: gúnúm kù] yì = náyⁿ] [júwó-m̄-dó wé:.¹⁶⁵ [nà:-dúrò nàyⁿ] m̄:lù,
 [nà:-dúrò àwú-w̄ dè] [á úrò] dèyí-m̄, [[[á bô:] yì-tè:] mà:] [[[[á nã:]¹⁶⁶ m̄:] tíwé:-rè] gùyⁿ-bò] wà, [ñâyⁿ→ bû: káⁿ-m̄] [bû: káⁿ-m̄] [bû: káⁿ-m̄] [hâl [yè = í] dō: kú júwò-bó, hà: [kú júwò = í] [núwⁿdyⁿ [nũ: jó→]†, [â: nà:] lã-w [púlò: mà:] ní-m̄-n-é], [[â: yì-tè:] jé:-wⁿú-yè] [î: nã:] [î: = m̄ sò-w̄],
 [[púlò:-mà:] -ní:¹⁶⁷ yá-b-è:ⁿ-bò] [gà: ní:¹⁶⁸ jò: = rá-bó], [púlò: î: = ñ námbará lóyó bû: lává = ñ]¹⁶⁹ àñâyⁿ, [[bû: mà:] ní:—, ñi-m̄-dó] [áñâyⁿ tùm̀dì]
- S: [ùsù-dérⁿí wó] nã:-m̄ [ná à:ngá] éwⁿé-w̄□
- O: nã:-m̄, [ùsù-dérⁿí wó] [ná yéy] éwⁿé-yè, [òm̄: yá→] [járⁿù yà→]
- S: [kòsù: nàyⁿ] éwⁿé-w̄□ mà→, mà→ [[kò:ⁿ ñinjè ñjé]¹⁷⁰ ñâyⁿ] éwⁿé-w̄□
- O: [[kòsù: nàyⁿ] éwⁿé-yè] káráwâl gúⁿ-yè, [bi-béré kò:ⁿ] jári-yéy¹⁷¹ yá bú, [kú ñâyⁿ] éwⁿé-yè, [[[gùmbò tē:] nàyⁿ] kálà] ì-éwⁿé-yè
- S: núwⁿdyⁿ bày, [[nã: bè] òrⁿó: ló:-r-à: dè] yé-m̄ yé-m̄, [â: nàⁿà] bé: = ñ di-dà:yí-yè, írì ì-ará-yè, [kú mà:] àñâyⁿ káⁿ-w̄□
- O: [nà:-nà:] -bèré-m̄¹⁷² yá bú, [nà:-yì] -bèré-m̄ yá bú [[jìrⁿéyⁿ wó] = m̄ dè kày], [nà: ná: kù] [yì-tē: òmbà-w̄ = rà-bò] [nũ-m̄ òmbà-w̄ = rà] [nà:-yì-m̄ kù] yì-m̄ òmbà-w̄ = rà dé wôy, [[kú kày] [òrⁿó: dá:] dà:yí-j-â: dè] árá-jé-yè,¹⁷³ héⁿ¹⁷⁴ béré-m̄-dó-w̄

¹⁶⁴ màngí- ‘take a handful of (food)’, here ‘accumulate, buy another (cow)’.

¹⁶⁵ wê:y ‘a fortiori’

¹⁶⁶ The tone of /ná:/ ‘cow’ is determined here by the preceding possessor, hence [á nã:] ‘his (own) cow’, rather than by the following demonstrative. Compare unpossessed nà: m̄: ‘this cow’ with L-tone required by the demonstrative.

¹⁶⁷ Plural subject relative with L-toned PP as compound initial, cf. [púlò: mà:] ‘to/for the Fulbe’ in main clauses.

¹⁶⁸ Plural subject relative consisting of verb only.

¹⁶⁹ lóyó ‘overflow’ and lává- ‘pass’ are used here in a verb chain in the sense ‘(do) excessively, (do) to an outrageous extent’. The verb námbará ‘trick, dupe’ contributes the main semantic substance.

¹⁷⁰ ñjé ‘what?’, here as adjective ‘which?’ with preceding L-toned nouns, cf. kò:ⁿ ‘thing’ and ñinjé ‘gear’. The combination kò:ⁿ ñjé ‘which thing?’ is common in the sense ‘what?’. Here a more precise noun ‘gear’ is added.

¹⁷¹ Passive. Negative counterpart: jári-yéy = rà.

- S: núwⁿỳⁿ nǎ:-m, [ìrì-[dùw-î:] dǎ:-rè] [ìrì-dùw-î: àw-rí], [érⁿé má:] àṅâyⁿ káⁿ-w□
- O: [ìrì-[dùw-î:] dǎ:-rè] [[dùw-î:] àw-rí dé] [tǎ:ṅè gáⁿ-yè], [[tǎ:ṅè bù: gúⁿ-m kù] yá bú] [tǎ:ṅè gáⁿ-yè], bèrè-yî: cégúrú-mà dè, [[círⁿì kù] wó] gáⁿ-yè, [gǎm yà] [círⁿì kù] gó-yè, [[círⁿì kù] gó-mà dè] [bèrè-yî: yâ: gǎyⁿ dúwó-yè] [[kú kálà] bèrè árá-m-dó], [kú dàⁿ-wôy] tǎ:ṅè gúⁿ-y.:
- S: [[kò:ⁿ òjê: = Ø] [érⁿé ár-ì:] gà:lú-m] [kú gǎyⁿ-tí-yà dè] [érⁿé ár-ì:] [àṅâyⁿ ṅâyⁿ] gà:lú-m
- O: [kú gǎyⁿ-tí-yà dè] [[[írì kù] wó] dǎ:-rè dé wôy], [[írì kù] wó] [tǎ:ṅè kú = m dè] [[dòró ṅâyⁿ] káⁿ-yè], [[dòró ṅâyⁿ] bù: káyⁿ-tí: dè] [[ṅâyⁿ→ árá-m] gùyⁿ dé wôy] [[dòró kù] [érⁿé nárⁿà] ìrì] gó-m], nàⁿá-m yòyó táṅgú-m, [bì-bèrè-yî: kú = m dè kálà] [lò [bì-bèrè-yî: kù] disì-yé-jé-m] [írì kù dá:] [írì bèrè árá-m-dó]
- I: hâl máyⁿá-m
- O: hâl máyⁿá-m

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

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

¹⁷⁴ hếⁿ here is O’s idiosyncratic expression for ‘(not) a thing’. The widely used form is kò:ⁿkâ:ⁿ ‘anything’.

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- S: [[nǎ:-m náfâ:] [kò:ⁿ ñjê: = Ø]] [[àrsě:-m náfâ: nàṅàná:] [kò:ⁿ ñjê: = Ø]]
- I: bérù-m, [érⁿé òrⁿó: [bú: gòl-i:]¹⁷⁵] jò: = rá, úrò bé-yè, [[ñjé ní:] wò] = ìm [úrò, sùwò érⁿé súwó-ì kù], bàrà = náyⁿ [òrⁿó: jò-ló-yè], kùyó: kú bú: káⁿ-ì = bày, [kú kù], [bìrè¹⁷⁶ jó→] ká:ⁿ-rè, íyè [[kú ní:] wò], [nú: jó→] [â: bèrù], òrⁿó: bì-ré-yè,
[úrò yá b-è:ⁿ] ↓[òrⁿó: bé-yè], gâ: [òrⁿò: bě-m kù] [érⁿé = ìm mégé sú:rⁿú só-w],
bérù-m kù, bèrù sù-sírⁿí-ì, [éwⁿèy [érⁿé kò:ⁿ = Ø]], [lúw¹⁷⁷ dú-ì-dó], [írⁿà kù] wó] yâ:
bù], sùwó súwó-ì, [[ṅgú néwⁿè:] ñi: wò]-m
- S: [[àrsě:-m náfâ:] nàṅàná:] ñjê = Ø:, nàfâ: ñjê: = Ø, àrsě:-m ...
- I [overlapping]: nàfâ:—
- S: ... nàṅàná:-m kù¹⁷⁸
- I: àrsè: nàṅàná:-m kù kày, [ú núnùm] kíl-ì:, núnùm [ú mâ:] yě:-rè dè, yà:jí: páyá-w, [érⁿé tìyè = náyⁿ] páyá-w, kò: yě:-rè, [érⁿé tìyè = náyⁿ] ṅé-wⁿ, ṅgú = ìm [àrsě:-m núnùm] kú = ìm, [ú [lò:sù èsì-m]]¹⁷⁹ yě:-rè, [érⁿé mâ:] wò ní¹⁸⁰ béré-w, góⁿò-w dè], xxx
- S: [[yì-m]-ìrⁿí:-gǎyⁿ bè]¹⁸¹ àṅâyⁿ káⁿ-wⁿ□
- I: ìrⁿí:-gǎyⁿ, ìrⁿí:-gǎyⁿ yě:-rè dè, bérù-m, [[ùsú súyⁿḍyⁿ] dǒ:-rè dè] [bérù-m wò-ỳ□ dè],
séwⁿé-ỳⁿ□ [yì-m ìrⁿí:] gáⁿ-ỳⁿ□, pèrè-m má→ bérù-m, [[kú yěy] pírè] [[ú mâ:] kò:ⁿ
ná:rⁿú-wⁿ] = Ø wôy, ìrⁿí:-gǎyⁿ ṅgú = ìm káⁿ-ỳⁿ□
- S: [[àrsě: gúsù] nàfâ: bé yà] ñjê: = Ø
- I: gúsù kù, [í: nēwⁿè:] = Ø, [kú ṅâyⁿ] ní: nù-nó-ỳⁿ□, bìrè = náyⁿ, kòsǒy áyú-w dè¹⁸², [kò:ⁿ
bàngùrú úrò jé-yè] [[òrⁿó: lò = náyⁿ] [kò:ⁿ bàngùrú úrò jé-yè] áyú-w dè] [[kò:ⁿ jò-ló-yè]
áyú-w dè] [yâ: gǎⁿ-wⁿ dè] bàngùrú-w, [ésé néwⁿè: yà] [ṅgú kú = ìm]
- S: [kú = ìm = dá dé] [lǎ-w ṅgó]
- I: [ésé néwⁿè: kày] [ṅgú kú = ìm], yá:wá, nǎ: ní: bú: nò:-wⁿú-ì kálà, [kú ṅâyⁿ] cé:lé-ỳ□,
bèr-gúsù ṅâyⁿ, nǎ: gúsù†, téyí bì-bìyè-ỳ□, nǎ: gúsù†, tǎ: kì-káⁿ-ỳⁿ□, [ṅgú dò: wôy] [[nǎ:
gúsù] ṅâyⁿ] káⁿ-ỳⁿ□

¹⁷⁵ Verbal noun with logical subject as possessor. The preceding object pronoun and adverbial have their normal tones.

¹⁷⁶ Here bíré ‘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 líw ‘manure’.

¹⁷⁸ S’s broken phrase can be repaired as àrsè: nàṅàná:-m, with nàṅàná:-m functioning as modifying adjective.

¹⁷⁹ The possessor (2Sg ú) forces {HL} tone contour on the noun-adjective combination as a whole. Cf. lò:sù èsù-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 áyú-w dè ‘if you-Sg take’ could be construed literally here, but this expression can also be used abstractly with the elements of a list or chronological sequence: ‘(starting with) X, (to) Y, (and on to) Z, ...’. Such a sequence can be (but here is not) brought to an end by a final phrase with háli ‘until, all the way to’.

- S: [àrsě-m náfà:] nàhàná: [kú = m bè]¹⁸³
- I: nàfà: î: tégé-w kù kày, á O, [bàrí béré-w dè] [dêm→ bàrú-w gà]
- O: éwⁿèyⁿ, [éwⁿèyⁿ nǎ:-m éwⁿèyⁿ¹⁸⁴ èwⁿè = náyⁿ] [éwⁿèy nì-jé-yⁿ□], [bǎyⁿ→ dè] tì-tíyé-w→, nì-jé-w→, [ú kórò:jò] nì-jé:-wⁿú-wⁿ, hà: [[éwⁿèyⁿ kù] náfà: kálà] [hǎgú kú = m]
- I: [[[púlǎ-m yá→[†]] [î: yà→]], kò:ⁿ káwá só-w],¹⁸⁵ púlǎ-m [î: mà:] mégé àrsě:-m wǎy béré-m, [[á kú:] mà:] [òrⁿó: nû-m] = ∅, àrsě: [bû: kálà]—, òrⁿó:, wǎy-yè, î: [[òrⁿó: bû: góⁿó-m] gâyⁿ→] [òrⁿó: kú góⁿó-m-dó-yⁿ□], hâl íyé kálà, [[kú nî:] wò] [[bû: àrsê:] mégé jô:-bò] [bû: = m mégé áwⁿá-wⁿú béré-m], [bû: bà:] àrsě:-m áwⁿá-wⁿú béré-m-dó-yⁿ□, [[[î: yà→[†]] [púlǎ: yá→]]] kò:ⁿ káwá só-w kù [hǎgú kú = m]
- S: [[kùyó: dǎ: yì-tě: sè-né]¹⁸⁶ gǐ-n] [[púlò: mà:] àrsě: ní-yè = b-à:] mà→ [hǎjé gíní = m]
- I: wóngóró kù[†], [[ú yî-m] wòngòrò—, wàr-ì.¹⁸⁷ kù], wóngóró ìrèw ìrèw ìrèw, [yì tùwⁿô-m kù] [àrsě: éⁿé jé:-wⁿú-wⁿ dèngèy] [yù:-wàr-î: ìrèw], [[[hǎgú má:n-ì:] nî:] wò], ní-m-bè-yⁿ□, î: tìn = nì,¹⁸⁸ [wóngóró kù dá:] ìrèw hǎgò→, àrsě: kú = m màrá— [[bû: nà:] wò] màrá dùwⁿó:-rà-w-bò, hà: né: [î: tìní = nì] [hǎgú kày] [dàwⁿá kù] [dàwⁿà dàyí-m] = dá, ìrèw = rá cé. ., [î: yì-tè:] gò-ló gáⁿ-yⁿ .: dè, [né: kày] [nǎ: kù] sày òmbì-yí-yⁿ□, [[nǎ: kù] néwⁿè:] [hǎgú nǎyⁿ] yî-y tùmđì-yⁿ□

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

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

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

¹⁸⁶ sè-né ‘they don’t have’. Negation of s-é:ⁿ ‘they have’.

¹⁸⁷ Slightly broken articulation of [ú yî-m] wòngòrò-wàr-ì: ‘[your child’s] doing farm work’, with the logical subject as possessor of a verbal noun with incorporated object.

¹⁸⁸ /tíní/ ‘look’.

I: tàrà:—

S: dännà, àṅâyⁿ káⁿ-yè

I: dännà, î: kò:ⁿ illá î: témbú-w, dännà-m^t, [[á kú:] mà:], [[á níṅgì] élé-ré jèy]¹⁸⁹ nî:] wò],
dännà túmdú-m, érⁿé tá-m dè, érⁿé dànú-m dè, nàwⁿâ: érⁿé tá-m dè,

[ùsú tùwⁿô-m] bò:-úrò mò:lú-w dè, tàrà: gáⁿ-m bá,¹⁹⁰ [[ùwó súyⁿdyⁿ] mà→ [ùwó
gá:rày]] jàyⁿ, tàrà: gáⁿ-mà dè, [ùsú gò:-rè] [né: ðrⁿð- nàwⁿâ: [kú jâyⁿ] yðyó
bére-m-n-é], bò:-úrò màrpâ: = rá→¹⁹¹ [bèrè-àtôw] = rá→ sà:mbâ: = rá, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m]
[[kò:ⁿ á só-w]¹⁹² jàyⁿ] ló-m,

pótó-m súyó-yè^t, tá-yè gó-yè^t, ló-m mò:lú kóró-yè, [ùsú ôw] wò, [yð kî-kìsiyí-m]
kísiyé bére-m-dó, kóró bère-jê: dé wôy, [nù kâ:-m wôy] [érⁿé bère-m] [[érⁿé yð-
m] = Ø]¹⁹³,

[màrpâ: jàyⁿ] tá bèrè-w [[ú yð-m] = Ø^t], [bére jâyⁿ] pótó bèrè-w [[ú
yð-m] = Ø^t], [sà:mbâ: jàyⁿ] gò-w [[ú yð-m] = Ø^t], [ná: jâyⁿ] wò-w [[ú yð-m] = Ø], kú
kòyⁿ, bò:-úrò mó:lí-yè□, yě:-r-à: dè, là:râ:, tû: kériyé-yè,

û: ṅgú-dá: bē: = nî, î: [tàṅgây ṅgú-rù] bé-yè□, àsùwⁿè-[yì-tē:]^t, màrpâ:-cèmné [né:
kây], [â: tù:] tá-yè, mû: yě tá-m, mû: ló tá-m, mû: yě tá-m, mû: ló tá-m,

[[nàwⁿâ: bòṅgò]¹⁹⁴ [á nàwⁿâ: kù] jě-w dè] [m̀bá bè: = n̄]¹⁹⁵ célírí-m, [í nàwⁿâ:
bèrè-yè] [ú bèl-lú-w = rà:], célírí-m, [àm̀bá yà] [kó:ⁿ tùwⁿô-m] yá só-w, gò-ló-m, [[érⁿé
yà] yðyó yě-w dè] [ú célírí-m],

màrpâ: [kú wó] tá-yè, [sàmbâ: bòṅgò] yé-m, dúró-m gâyⁿ→ káⁿ-m, [bére bóṅgò]
yé-m, súyó-m gâyⁿ→ káⁿ-m, píníwⁿú-yè, [ṅâyⁿ→ bú: ká-m dè] [hâl pùtúrò nú-m],

[kú tàrà: kú]—, [[tàrà: kú] nàwⁿâ:]: â: bèrè-w kù, [isè: diyⁿà-m] kèriyé-y, yâ:
gó-m

S: [[nú: dàⁿ-wôy] kò:ⁿ kú = n̄] gó-m mà→, mà→ [[kú dàⁿ-wôy] mò:lú-w dè] gò-ló-w□

I: ʒⁿð, [kù dò: wôy] mò:lú-m-n-é kòy, bú: [[nù kâ:ⁿ]¹⁹⁶ jé-m wôy] [[[á úrò] diyⁿà-m] mà:]
ní-m, [[[á úrò] diyⁿà-m] kò:ⁿ] ní-m, û: jê:-tú-w□ = rà:, [[û: mùⁿù-sòṅgù]¹⁹⁷ kú] wó] [[nù
díyⁿà-m] kò:ⁿ] = Ø, [[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] ló ní-w□,

¹⁸⁹ Purposive ‘for, in order that’.

¹⁹⁰ Hortative (‘let’s ...’) -m̀ followed by quotative wá (here bá after a nasal).

¹⁹¹ Negative = rà at the end of each of three items in a list of hypothetical examples (‘whether it be X, or Y, or Z’). Cf. French *que ce soit X, ou Y, ou Z*.

¹⁹² Object relative (‘what he has’), here as complement of a postposition.

¹⁹³ ‘it is his animal’, i.e., ‘it (=animal) belongs to him’. Same syntax as e.g. érⁿé kò:ⁿ = Ø ‘it (=thing) is his’. In such possessive predicates, the classification of the possessed entity as animal (yð-m), thing (kó:ⁿ, including plants), and person (nũ-m) is respected.

¹⁹⁴ ‘owners of meat’, in plural (i.e. unsuffixed form), but here with nonspecific (hence ambiguously singular or plural) sense, and with singular concord.

¹⁹⁵ Based on m̀bá bè ‘the others’ (without clitic). m̀bá or àmbá is used to denote a counterparty or opposite number, presupposing a pairing of two individuals or groups.

¹⁹⁶ nù kâ: ‘each person’, here in clear distributive sense, with singular concord.

- [má bè yà] [[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] ló ní-yè, [[kú tára: yèy-nè] kú] ló:-r-à: dè, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [kò:ⁿ éⁿé bèr-è-w] [[éⁿé kô:ⁿ] = Ø], [[[nù díyⁿà-m] mà:] nî-yⁿ] ñgó, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] [á bèr-è-jé-w wôy] jé-m, kú = m [tára: yèy-nê:] = Ø, dännà kày
- S: [àrⁿà-gúsú wó] [ná yěy] káⁿ-yè mà → [ná tùwⁿô:] káⁿ-yè
- I: [ná yěy] káⁿ-yè
- S: [[ná yěy] kù] bérkèlâw, [ùwó à:ngá] pálá-w¹⁹⁸
- I: jú: má → ùwó tùwⁿô:, jú: — [jú: yěy] [jú: tã:n] lává-m-dó, [[jú: yěy] [jú: tã:n] kù] lává-m-dó
- O: [íyé jú:]¹⁹⁹ ñgú-dá: [ló yě:-r-à: dé wôy], píníwⁿí [jù: yèy-né], [jù: tùwⁿô:] dùwó-mà dè [íyé pèrú], [ñgú-dá: ló-yè] [[[â: yěy] gálù] wò] [ùsú [péré nùmüyⁿ sâ:]] làwà-rí
- I: [ùsú [péré nùmüyⁿ sâ:]] làwà-rí
- S: [[kú dò: wôy] [ùsú²⁰⁰ tùwⁿô:], dàngì = náyⁿ] gáⁿ-yè mà → †, mà → [ñgú káyⁿ-jé-mà dè] íyà [ùsú là-w], [ñgá kô:ⁿ kù] dàngì-yè
- I: ñgú gǎyⁿ-jé-mà dè, ñgú ló-j-â: dè, [ǎ kô:ⁿ]²⁰¹ gáyⁿ-yè, [tára: ñgú] má†, [ǎ]²⁰² kô:ⁿ = Ø mà íyè, káyⁿ-j-â: = rà:, [ñgá kô:ⁿ kù] mà:, [íyé pèrú:] = Ø wà, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] dâm tóro-m, [gùrgùsù-gǎⁿ-m] [á gùrgùsù] gáⁿ-m†, tára: — ó:ⁿ, nàwⁿâ: [nárⁿù wò] lò-bàngì-yì-tǎ-m [á kô:ⁿ] ló bàngì-yì tá-m†, [nù wǒ-m] ló wó-m, [kú dǒ:-r-è mà:] [é: = m gáyⁿ →] ló wó-yè non?, [nù kâ:ⁿ] wó-yè, ñâyⁿ → káⁿ-yè tára:
- S: dännà màná:, [àñâyⁿ dänní-yè] [dännà màná:]
- I: dännà, dännà màrpá: àyú-w, òrⁿò:-dáná: ló-w, [[ósù wò] ló-m ló-m] [nàwⁿâ: yí-jé-w dè], íyí-w, ú = ñ yí-jé: dè, [éⁿé nâyⁿ]²⁰³ bàngì-yí-w, [[pìré kú] wò] bàw-yú-w†, [[[pìré kú] wò] ú bàw-yí:-r-è dè] [ú yí-m-dó = rà:] [[[pìré kú] wò] bàw-yí-jé: ló-w], bumbú-jé: bumbú-jé: ló-w, ló — [[òrⁿò ú = ñ éⁿé yí-m-dó-w] wò] ló dǒ:-r-è-w dé wôy, [[[òrⁿò ñ] kày] òⁿhó í dǒ:-r-è dè] [éⁿé néwⁿé-m kù] wó] [yâ: bé-w dè] tá-w, óⁿ?òⁿ [núwⁿòyⁿ kày], ú tìn = ñ, ú yì-rí, [ú kùyó: éⁿé yì dé] [í-íyà-m]²⁰⁴ tá-w], néwⁿé-jé: dè, yàyá — [ú kô:ⁿ]²⁰⁵ [yòyó ló-w dè] [pǒ: gò-ló-w dè] séwⁿé-wⁿ, [[ú ése] wò] ày gáⁿ-w, nàwⁿâ: bèr-è-jé-w,

¹⁹⁷ From mùrⁿù-sòngú (variant mùrⁿù-sùngú) ‘offspring, progeny (of a male apical ancestor)’. Compound of mùrⁿú ‘pants’ and sùngú ‘rope’ (i.e. belt-cord for pants).

¹⁹⁸ Verb pálé-.

¹⁹⁹ [íyéy jú:] ‘a week ago today’ (i.e. on the same day of the week). Cf. [íyéy pèrú] ‘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 tùwⁿô: ‘one’.

²⁰¹ = /ñgú kô:ⁿ/ ‘this one’s’. In this passage, Proximal and Far-Distant demonstratives index the first and second hunts, respectively.

²⁰² = /àñgú/ ‘which?’

²⁰³ Postposition nâyⁿ in the context ‘(hide) from (X)’.

²⁰⁴ [í-íyà-m] ‘while standing’ (invariable for pronominal person). Temporal adverbial related to the Reduplicated Stative.

[[tàrá: kù] wó] = m̄ dè, nàwⁿâ: bú: tá = nì, yàyá:-rè-w̄ wôy, tàrá: àjê:→ gùⁿ-yè, tàrá: àjê:→, [kú kày] né:, nàwⁿâ: bèrè-j-â:, [[nù kâ:ⁿ] = m̄ bèrè kálà]²⁰⁶ [[bù: dò: wôy] bògùrú-yè],

gà: né: [[[ú sày] kô:ⁿ] = ∅ gùⁿ-w̄ dé wôy] [[[ú kô:ⁿ] tá-w̄ dè] [[[ú ésè] wò] ày gáⁿ-w̄], [bì-yí = n̄] tà-w̄→, [kú kày] [dàyⁿ ú = nì éⁿé yí-m-dó] [bàngì-yì = náyⁿ tá-w̄] [kú yò:r-î:], kò:ⁿ-[yò:r-î:] kú = m̄, ñgú = m̄ = dá→, gù-r-á

O: kú = m̄ [áñàⁿ bù]

I: bàrí bèrè-m̄-dó-w̄ lă-w

O: áñàⁿ bù, àyí [bà-rî: bà-rî] [kú tàrá:--] [dännà dàyⁿ dänní-yè kày] tégé-jé-w̄, [[tàrá: kálà] dàyⁿ tá-rí-yè] tégé-jé-w̄, hà: [tàrá: kù] [póngú yěy] = ∅, [póngú yěy] káⁿ-mà dè, pòn ñgú²⁰⁷ yá→, pòn ñgú yá→↓, hà: ló nàwⁿâ: bèrè-j-â: dé wôy, [póngú kù] [bù: yà] [[â: kù:] mà:] [[kú nâyⁿ] tũ: = nì²⁰⁸ —, [tũ: mà:] cémnú-yè],

[î: bèrè-ÿ□] [ú: bèl-lí-w̄□], à: [tàngày m̄: bè] [pòngù nú dá:] bé-yè^t, [pòngù nú dá:] bé-yè^t, hà: yòyó ló-w̄□ dè, [màrpâ: yě-yè²⁰⁹ áñàⁿ [tũ: mà:] tá-w̄□], màrpâ: [áñàⁿ [tũ: mà:] tá-w̄□], [póngú yèy] káⁿ-mà dè, kú = m̄ tàrá: = ∅

S: [dännà kù] lává:-rè dè, [tàrá: kù] lává:-rè dè, [kú [úsù nì:-nè]] mà→, mà→ [úsù yèy-né] mà→ hâl ló²¹⁰ [nùmũyⁿ dò-ý], cémné [kú gù-náyⁿ sây], ò:ⁿ cémné káⁿ-m̄-n-é má

O: [kú cémné wôy] [í kày] yì-tà-lí-ȳ

I: [nárⁿù wò] yà:-jìyè jìyè ná-yè, jóró-yè, [kú nárⁿù kù] yà:-jìyè jìyè ná-yè = b-à:, íyè [tàrá: kálà] ñgó

S: kú gù-náyⁿ sây

I: é: [kú gù-náyⁿ sây] jìyè jìyè-yè = b-à:, kùyó: kòyⁿ

O: [íyè kày] [tàrá: kálà dùwó-tí-ÿ□], tàrá: ñgó lă-w

S: [ñjé gìn] dùwò-bò [tàrá: kù]²¹¹

O: [[[dì:nà î: bú-w̄ kù yá→] [kú yá→] dà:yí-m-dó wá] kù] mà:²¹²

S: bày kùyó: [ñjé gìn] káⁿ-yè = b-à:

O: [[[úsù ñgú] úsù²¹³ té→] dǎ-w̄ dè] [tàrá: kù] = ∅, [[dännà kù kày] èsú bú:-∅] wà, [[[úsù ñgú] úsù té→] dǎ-w̄ dè], [[tàrá: gù-náyⁿ] césé î: gǎyⁿ-só-w̄ kù] [[ùwò ñgú té→] dǎ-w̄ dè] [[tàrá: gù-náyⁿ] césé î: gǎyⁿ-só-w̄□ kù],

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

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

²⁰⁷ For /pòngù ñgú/ ‘this neighborhood’.

²⁰⁸ Accusative Reciprocal tũ: = nì is corrected to Dative [tũ: mà:] by the speaker.

²⁰⁹ Iteration (=full-stem reduplication) of yě ‘come’, with the second iteration L-toned. màrpâ: ‘rifle(s)’ here is object of tá- ‘shoot’.

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

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

²¹² Dative after factive clause with final Definite kù.

²¹³ Lit. ‘the day of this day,’ i.e., the same day (e.g. Wednesday) as today, next week.

- [[núwⁿɔyⁿ [dì:nà î: bú-w̃ kù] yá→] [kú yá→] dà:yí-m-dó bú: gǔyⁿ=nì] [[kú dàⁿ-wôy] dùwó-tí-ỳ□]
- I: kù:yó: bú: káⁿ-m̃=bě-w̃ kù, dògùrù yú: núwⁿɔyⁿ [núwⁿɔyⁿ kày] [[[yú: bìrè] bìr-ì:] tùmd-ì:]²¹⁴ dǔ:-rè, gám [nàwⁿâ: tùwⁿô-m] bèrè-j-â: dè, nàwⁿâ: ñgú já:tì, yù: ìrě-ỳ=∅, [nàwⁿâ: tùwⁿô-m] bèrè-j-â: dè, [nàwⁿâ: mà:] [[nàwⁿâ: jó→] bèrè-j-â: dè], ðⁿhóⁿ [nàwⁿâ: jò: ñgú kàyⁿ] [níyⁿéwⁿ kàyⁿ] [yù: ìrě-ỳ]=∅ kòy, bèrè-jé-ỳ□, yǐ-tá-yè [[kú tú-m] kò:ⁿ yǐ bú: tá-w̃]²¹⁵ yá bē:-∅,²¹⁶ tàrá: [[kú ní:] wò] tár-yè=b-à:, [[nàwⁿâ: ñgú] kú bèrè-jé-ỳ□ dé wôy] [[nàwⁿâ: ñgú kày] jó→ bèrè-jé-ỳ□ dé wôy] [yú: níyⁿéwⁿ yú: írè-m̃ kòy], [kú nâyⁿ] [â: bìrè] bírè-yè, [[â: cèlè-èrù-m] nâyⁿ]
- S: yó bèrè=náyⁿ, [érⁿé=ñ bèrè-jé-ỳ□ dè] ðⁿhóⁿ [[yò mǔ: kày] bèrè-wú-jê: dè] [yù:-ìr-î: cé:rú-m̃]²¹⁷ [[kú yô-m kù] yá bú] má→ ñgó
- I: yá bú
- S: érⁿé=m̃ [yò ñjé]=m̃
- I: cêm-sèñé
- S: [cēm nàñâyⁿ→] sò-w̃
- I: cěwⁿrⁿè-m, úrú-bìsírì-m, mǔ: bè wò-wôy, dòró dáyⁿ bú: só-w̃ gâyⁿ→, bú: bèrè-jé-w̃ dé wôy, [yú: kálà áñâyⁿ írè-m̃] bà
- O: dǔ: [[bú: mà:nì:]=∅ kòy], [bú: mà:nì:]=∅
- I: má:nî: =∅ kòy, hà: [áñâyⁿ nâyⁿ] [bú: kày] [â: cèmnè] cémní-yè=b-à:, íyé [kú dò: wôy] [î: kày] dùwó-tí-ỳ□
- S: [kú néyⁿ] [ú: tàrà:]=∅ mà→ [[[isê: dàⁿ-wôy] tàrà:]=∅] [áñâyⁿ bù]
- I: [[[isê: wôy] tàrà:]=∅] [áñâyⁿ bù], [[isê: wôy] tàrà:] mà:nî: ñj kú=m̃

²¹⁴ Stacked possessive construction involving two verbal nouns (bìr-î: ‘working’, tùmd-î: ‘beginning’) and a cognate nominal bírè ‘work’.

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

²¹⁶ yá bē:-∅ ‘there used to be’.

²¹⁷ Assistant suggests emendation to yù: ìrè cé:rú-m̃ ‘millet will ripen and show (itself)’.

I: ìnjě-m dǎnnà, ìnjé kúyó bèrè-jé-w, nàwⁿâ: bú: bá:-l-tú-w²¹⁸ dè, ðrⁿó: [bú: nàyⁿ] gó-w, nù gǎm bóŋò bè, nárⁿù wò, [ìnjé náyⁿ] gó-yè, nàwⁿâ: ló yìlìwé wó-yè, gǎm bóŋò bè, ðmò: [bú: nàyⁿ] ló-yè, nàwⁿâ: [bú: nàyⁿ] wó-yè, nàwⁿâ:—

[bú: ló-m = bày] [nàwⁿâ: [dògùrù kà:ⁿ] gǒ:-rè-w wôy], súrⁿ-yè [súy gúⁿ-yè], [ìnjé kù] [kú tēy kù] nú-yè, yòyó ló kóró-yè, [ìrⁿí wó] nù déy→[†], gǒyⁿ júwⁿó-yè, bòŋgǒ-m yé-m, gǎnjí-yè, gǎnjí = n, éⁿé = m wǒ bèrè sèwⁿè dè, dùwⁿó:-rè,

érⁿé gǒ:-rè dè, ðìgìrè-yè, wǒ [pâ: bòŋò] mà:] wǒ ní-yè, [tìwⁿéyⁿ wó] ùrò dè kálà, gòŋgú wǎy-yè, bòŋgǒ-m yé-m, yé:-rè dè, [érⁿé lǎr-fí: dè] [sí-yé:-rè dè], [érⁿé mâ:] wǒ ní-yè, séwⁿé-m,

nárⁿù bòŋò bé kǒy^{n†}, bú: kày, dùrú yá s-è:ⁿ-bó, [[dùrú kù] náyⁿ] gó-yè, [bú: yà] ñâyⁿ→ kú bì-ré-yè, [yó-m dǎnnà kày], [í kày] [kò:ⁿ í júwⁿó-m kày], [ŋgú kú = m] [mà:ní-só-yè],²¹⁹ [[ú yà] bǎr béré-w dè] [dêw→ [[kú kú] wò] bǎrâ²²⁰

O: [ìnjě-m dǎnnà kày] [núwⁿðyⁿ ú tégè-w ñgú] kú = m, [kú gù-náyⁿ] éⁿé = n kù-kúyó-w, [kú gù-náyⁿ] éⁿé = n kù-kúyó-w, dǎnnà éⁿé = n dǎnni-wⁿú-wⁿ gù-náyⁿ, [ùsù kà:ⁿ] éⁿé = n ú kúyó-m = bà:, hàkóy [dǎnnà gǔn]— nàwⁿâ: gǔn— [dǎnnà gǔn sǎy] ú kúyó:-rà-yè dè,²²¹ [ú má:] áŋàyⁿ [érⁿé mâ:] tégé-w dè,

áŋàyⁿ [érⁿé mâ:] [ùsù kúyó: kù] áŋàyⁿ éⁿé té:rè-m²²² gùyⁿ-bò, hà: [kú kálà] bì-bà:-lú-w, [ìnjě-m dǎnnà] [bú: [ànsá:rà bè]] *entrainement* gúyⁿ-yè [kú mâ:], [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [nàwⁿâ: kù] yí-jé-w dè, dáyⁿ ú gǔⁿ-wⁿ kù gáyⁿ→, súy súrⁿ-w,

súrⁿ-tú-w dè, ló [nàwⁿâ: kù] bèrè-jé:, ló [úwⁿó wó] tèm̀bù-w = rà:, [bísímé = n] sùr̀-̀w dé wò-wôy, [úwⁿó wó] tèm̀bù-w dè[†], cé:lé:-rè séwⁿé-w,

[úwⁿó wó] tèm̀bù-rú-w kálà→, [bísímé = n] sùr̀-̀w dé wò-wôy, [ló:-rè-w dé] kúwⁿ-w, [úwⁿó wó] tèm̀bù-rú-w kálà, hà: [kú kálà] ñâyⁿ→ = m gùyⁿ-bò, [ìnjě-m dǎnnà] [kú kú = m]

²¹⁸ = /bà:-lí-tú-w/. Causative bà:-lí- ‘teach (e.g. a trade)’.

²¹⁹ Negation: mà:ní sò-ló-yè.

²²⁰ Imperative Sg.

²²¹ This dè is the clause-final admonitive particle.

²²² French *entraîner* ‘train (dogs)’, cf. just below.

Text 2005-1b.03 Trapping

O: ð^hóⁿ tégé, gúrgúsù dànnà kù, [[gúrgúsù nàⁿ] dànnà dànnú-yè] tégé

I: [gúrgúsù nàⁿ] kà:ⁿ dànnà bù: dànnú-m, gúrgúsù, [ð^ró: ló-w□ dè] [núwⁿðyⁿ túmbò] ðmð:, yêŋ [nárⁿù wò]²²³ [ð^rò kà:ⁿ] bù: lówá-w, [ósù kù] tíní-wⁿ, [òsù ñgú kòyⁿ] ð^rò:-nàwⁿâ: yá lówá-yè kòy,

tíni cé:lé-w dè, [dènè-ùsú wó] ló-w, [ú gúrgúsù] jíjè→ ló-w dè, ó^rò gànjú-w, ð^rò bù: tó-m kù té→, [[ñgú kày] tò-r-á dé] [ð^rò bù: lówá-m-dó-w] gànjú-w dè, yâ: bì-yⁿí-wⁿ,

tíwⁿú tíwⁿú tíwⁿú tíwⁿú cé:lé-w, tíwⁿú-tú-w dé wôy, áñàⁿ dúwó-w, [nárⁿù wò] é^ré gò:-rè dé wôy, [yě-w dè] [kú tó-m], ðmð: ú ló:-rè mà:, [é^ré wò-jê:] témbú-w, nàwⁿâ: bèré-jé-w,

bon nìyⁿí: = ∅ dé yà, dùyó^rù wò, [ð^rò jó→] [gð:ⁿ bè] bù: síyí-m mà→, nìyⁿí: ð^rò jó→ bù: sí-yé-m, yâ: ló [dùyó^rù wò] ló-w dè, [ðyⁿðyⁿ wó] bì-yⁿí dúwó-w, [tùlú wó] [wã:w wó] bé-w, ú tíní-m dè,

sí-yé-yè sí-yé-yè sí-yé-yè, bù: sí-yé:-rè dè, tùwⁿô-m = nì kággà wó-m, yòyó ló-w, á:^rní-jé-w, íyà píníwⁿí gáⁿ-wⁿ, ló bàngì-yí-w, sí-yé-yè, júwó-m-n-é gá, íyà wó-m, íyà á:^rní-jé-w,

[dè:-rè-w dè] úrò píníwⁿí yé-w, dè-rú-w dé yà, [[ùsù-dérⁿí: kù] nánà:ⁿ] [bù: kày] hâl [bù: bì-yè:]²²⁴ dè-rí dé wôy, wó-m túném²²⁵ bé-m, [[â: kù] mà:] kù júwó-m-n-é, átíw kù = m

O: [átíw kù = m] [[dð: gùrgúsù] kù = m]

I: [dð: gùrgúsù] kù = m, [sùŋgú nâⁿ] páyá-s-é:ⁿ, yù:-tè:rè má→, [ð^rò kâ:ⁿ] nìyⁿí: ð^rò jó→ ñěyⁿ bù: ñé-m-bò,²²⁶ ð^rò bù: sóyó-m, [yâ: ló-w dè] [[sùŋgú nâⁿ] páyá dúwó-w], téyⁿ téyⁿ dùwó-tú-w dé wôy, yě:-r-à: dé wôy, [mò:-ñěyⁿ gǎyⁿ ú só-w kù] [[â: mà:] sóyó-yè] [ñâⁿ→] [dògùrù kâ:ⁿ] bù: sóyó-tú-w wôy, [[bù: kòrò] wó-m kù] kù = m, [kòró kù = m] póró-m,

[é^ré kày] [màynì-rⁿí dé] [[ló ú témb-ì:]²²⁷ jò: = rá] tíwⁿé-m, áñàⁿ áñàⁿ [tã:n nì:yⁿ bà:→], káyⁿ-tú-w dó wôy, nì:yⁿ²²⁸ [tã:n nì:yⁿ bà:] wó-m, ló gò-ló-w, íyà tóró tóró tóró cé:lé dúwó-w

O: [kú né:] [[sòm kúkùyò] nàⁿ] bù: káⁿ-m kù = m mà

²²³ If nárⁿù ‘night’ were syntactically possessed by yêŋ ‘yesterday, the previous day’, it would be low-toned nàⁿù here.

²²⁴ Possessed form of noun bì-yê: ‘lying down, going to bed’.

²²⁵ Variant of tíném, used after Imperfective -m in durative temporal clauses.

²²⁶ Normally just ñé-m (Imperfective participle, Inanimate head), but here exceptionally with an extra -bò 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 nì:yⁿ ‘four’ appears superfluous.

I: [sòm-sâyⁿ nàyⁿ] káⁿ-yè, wálà:²²⁹ [[sòm sâyⁿ] nàyⁿ] káⁿ-yè, íyà ló bànḡì-yú-w, ú ló:-rè mà:, íyà wó-m, bãⁿ→ wó-m, [[ní:yⁿ nùmũyⁿ kúròy bà:] kò:ⁿ dó-m] [[hâl pèrú kò:ⁿ dó-m bà:] wó-m],
 íyà ló gò-ló-w, ùsú dèrⁿé:-rè dè, íyà éyⁿ gòyⁿú-w, dèrⁿè-rⁿí— [bú: kòy] [átîw kòyⁿ] [ðmô: sây] bíré-yè [érⁿé kòyⁿ], àjǐjú²³⁰ jú-jú:rò, né: kú [nárⁿù dá:] kòyⁿ, wó-m-dó
 O: [[bére nâyⁿ] bú: káⁿ-m] [átîw bú: gúⁿ-m kálà] yá bú=rà:, [yě-w dè] [[bére nâyⁿ] nâyⁿ→ bú: káyⁿ-tí: dè], [yě-w dè] [[bére kù] nâyⁿ]—
 I: bére súyó-m
 O: [kú mâ: kálà] átîw gúⁿ-yè
 I: [kú yà] átîw gúⁿ-yè
 O: [kú né:] [dô: gùrgùsù] mà→
 I: [dô: kò:ⁿ] = Ø, [kú yěy cêm kòyⁿ] [dô: kò:ⁿ] = Ø, [í:rⁿéyⁿ²³¹ kò:ⁿ kù] [ànsá:rà kò:ⁿ] = Ø, átîw = Ø kú = m, [bére kò:ⁿ kù] cêm, [átîw kù] kú = m, [kú yěy cêm] átîw = Ø, [kú dô:]—
 î: kú = m gáⁿ-m = bè-y□, gà: [í:rⁿéyⁿ kò:ⁿ kù] [ànsá:rà-m kò:ⁿ] = Ø, î: kú júwó-m-dó-y□, nâyⁿ→ = Ø [dàwⁿà bú-w] = rà:
 O: ànàyⁿ = Ø [dàwⁿà bú-w]
 I: lǎ-w bàrí-yè mà→ bà-rú-m-nè
 O: [gúrgùsù dànnà kày] [nḡú kú = m]
 I: éyó→²³²

²²⁹ French *voilà*.

²³⁰ Sounds like àjǐjú on tape, but word not recognized by assistants.

²³¹ ‘metal, iron’. There is also a variant í:rⁿém.

²³² Variant of é: ‘yes!’.

Text 2005-1b.04

Slaughtering and butchering

I: núwⁿɔyⁿ kày, [[pèrè-m]-[sèwⁿ-î:]] = ∅

O: mhm

I: xxx séwⁿé-tú-w̄ dè, lòsù-yô: yé-yè, pèrè-m úró-yè, úró-j-â: dè, [gùsú kù] gò-ló-tí-yà dé wôy, [pìrè-kórò kù] kára-yè, [pìrè-kórò déyⁿ→ gò-ló-tí-yà dè] póró-yè, kú póró-j-â: dè, mùlò dëy dúwó-yè, [núwⁿɔyⁿ kày] díyáy díyáy díyáy [kú dàⁿ-wôy] gò-ló-yè, gùgùwó gò-ló-yè†, [jèlè-kù→ cìrⁿé:] gò-ló-yè†, [dò: kòmbòy] gò-ló-yè†, nàrⁿî: gò-ló-yè†, gò-ló-j-â: dó wôy, hà: né: cílí:-rè wà, [nú díyⁿà-m] yé-m, [né: dùwⁿó-jé-w̄□ mà] é:, [jèlè-kù: cìrⁿé:] [[nú díyⁿà-m] kò:ⁿ] = ∅, [[nú díyⁿà-m] mà:] ní-yè = rà:

O: já:tì

I: kù:, [ám^bírì-m mà:] ní-yè, kùyó: kòró, [lòsù-yô-m kò:ⁿ] = ∅, sǎ:rⁿɔyⁿ, [jém̀bè-m mà:] ní-yè, nàrⁿî:, [pò-yǎ: mà:] ní-yè, mà ányànⁿ = m̄ = dá

O: ányànⁿ = m̄

I: nàwⁿà:-wásà kù, pìrè-kórò bè→, wásà bè→, [[yǎ: mà:] nì = náyⁿ] [úró jèyⁿ-[bìr-î:] = ∅], wásà, [kú kú = m̄ = dá] kú— [cèrìyè: lǎ-w dǎ-w̄] mà dǎ-rí

O: óⁿhòⁿ, cèrìyè: dǎ:-rè kòy, ...

I [overlapping]: xxx

O: ... núwⁿɔyⁿ ú gǔⁿ-w̄ⁿ kù né:, bérù [h̄jé gìn] [àrsè: séwⁿé-yéy = m̄],²³³ kú céríyè-yè,

I: àrsè:—

O: láyá:rù mà→, àrsè: [h̄jé gìn] séwⁿé-yéy = m̄

I: láyá:r = lá,²³⁴ núwⁿɔyⁿ kày, bò:-úró†, nú:, núwⁿɔyⁿ [[dùsú nì:] wò] [nǔ: mà:] bèr bù: séwⁿé-m̄, [[dùsú nì:] wò] sèwⁿè-bò†, äy,²³⁵ [[kálá²³⁶ nì:] wò] sèwⁿè-bò,

núwⁿɔyⁿ kálá: = ∅, [[kálá nì:] wò] sèwⁿè-bò dé kálà, [nú kà:ⁿ] m̀sú éⁿé káyⁿ = nì, bù: séwⁿé-m̄ kù, gùgùwó [éⁿé kò:ⁿ] = ∅, kù: [ám^bírì-m kò:ⁿ] = ∅, gùsú [ám^bírì-m kò:ⁿ] = ∅, [wásà kù] [[nú kà:ⁿ] témbú-mà wôy] bàrá kúwó-yè, kálá: = ∅, éⁿé kòyⁿ,

núwⁿɔyⁿ kày, [[[nǔ-m dúsù] nì:] wò] kàⁿ-w̄ⁿ .: mà→, [yǎ: mà:] sèwⁿè-bó mà→ káyⁿ-tí: dè, núwⁿɔyⁿ [kò:ⁿ í gùⁿ-w̄ h̄gú] [[[dùsú nì:] wò] séwⁿé-w̄ dó wôy], [h̄gú dò: wôy] yá: gó-m̄,

[láyà kò:ⁿ] kày, [láyà gǔn] bèr bù: séwⁿé-m̄, yá: [kò:ⁿ kà:ⁿ]²³⁷ [[nú lǎ-m] mà:] kò:ⁿ ló-m̄ kày†, lòsù-yô-m kòró, [éⁿé céríyè:] = ∅, ló:tòl, kì-káⁿ-m̄,

²³³ Passive of séwⁿé ‘slaughter, cut the throat of’.

²³⁴ Optional shift of Negative =rá to =rá when adjacent to another /r/ after syncope. Assistant also uses unshifted variant.

²³⁵ äy ‘take’, here as a linker: [X äy Y] ‘from X to Y’, ‘whether it be X or Y’.

²³⁶ kálá ‘sanction’. A villager may be punished for an infraction by having one of his animals slaughtered (without compensation). The sanction is imposed by a group of three elected men. Except for the chief’s meat section, there is no formal distribution of meat sections and organs as there is in a normal slaughter.

wásà kù kày, [[láyyà bònò] kò:ⁿ] = Ø, [yǎ-m mâ:] nàⁿî: ní-yè, [érⁿé cériyè:] = Ø,
 bò:-yî-m, [úró [nù díyⁿà-m]], cèlè-yî:, [[úró [nù díyⁿà-m]] mà:] ní-yè,

[jèlè-kù: cìrⁿé:] pá-mà dè, [kú kày] [hálù [nàwⁿà: kâ:ⁿ] sèwⁿè-bó kálà] [[nù
 díyⁿà-m] mà:] ló-m dé wôy^t, [érⁿé cèlè-yì:] = Ø [kú má→ [jèlè-kù: cìrⁿé: kày]] ló-m,
 [[â: yèy] píré] [tùwⁿò-m kày] ló-m, kú yà, ηâyⁿ→ [kú ósù] kú = m, [lǎ-w bàrí-yè dè]
 bárá

O: kú = m [láyá:rù gùnì] àrsè: séwⁿé-yéy = m

I: [láyyà nàyⁿ] séwⁿé-yéy = m

O: hà: cé:lé:-rè

I: lǎ-w àngú = m mà

O: hà: kú kú = m

I: kú = m = dá

O: é: kú = m

²³⁷ This kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ ‘any thing (which ...)’ is unnecessary, since kò:ⁿ ‘thing (which ...)’ is repeated later in the clause.

Text 2005-1b.05 Land disputes

S: [û: bɛ→] [nũ: bɛ→] jáy û: jáyá:-rà-w̃ kù, [jáy kù] [[ñjé kù:] wò] = m̃
 I: jáy kù, kò:²³⁸ yě:-rà-w̃, [kú jò:]²³⁸ [[sùmöy kù:] wò] = m̃, [[yã-m kù:] wò] yá bú gá:, [yã-m dɛŋgɛy] sùmöy mégé pàngá só-w̃,
 sùmöy kù†, í: [nù diyⁿà], sùmöy [bù: kò:ⁿ] = Ø = bɛ, sùmöy [bù: kò:ⁿ] = Ø,
 sùmöy [bù: kò:ⁿ] = Ø→†, tùlú wó, m^bá bɛ, [ú órⁿò kù] bãyⁿ→ sò-w̃ dɛ, [òrⁿò èsù] ú só-w̃ kù, [ú né:] kú-dá: wára-w̃, ú wára-m̃ dɛ, ñuwⁿó:-rɛ = rà:,
 [érⁿé kò:ⁿ kù] [érⁿé = m̃, wára-m̃], [wára-m̃ tíném] [wára-m̃ tíném] [èsíⁿ→ ñuwⁿó:-rɛ = rà:], kó:ⁿ ñuwⁿó:-rɛ dó wôy, [[ú kò:ⁿ] wò] gó-m̃, [nũ: í: wôy] jáy = Ø,
 hà: ñuwⁿó:-rɛ dɛ, [ú ló-w̃ dɛ] [ú yà] [ùsú tùwⁿò-m], nùnũm [ú mâ:] yě:-rɛ, [òrⁿò ñ kòyⁿ] íyà núwⁿòyⁿ, [yú: tš-ỳ] jóró-ỳ, [[ɛnjí: màs-ì:] dó-ỳ kù] gũyⁿ-tù-w̃ = rà:, [[nù kà:ⁿ] ñgá-dá: [ú kò:ⁿ] só-m̃ = bɛ-m̃ kù] [kàrwá só-m̃ = bɛ-m̃ kù], érⁿé á, ñgú kày, [á má:] [ñgú kày] dùwó béré-m̃-dó gúⁿ-m̃,
 [ñgú kày] [á má: kày], [ñgú] [[[á pá:] mò:] wò] á nũ-w̃ⁿ [á kò:ⁿ] = Ø wà gúⁿ-m̃, [[ìrⁿà ñgú] [ú kò:ⁿ] = Ø gùⁿ-w̃ⁿ mà] é:, [í:, ²³⁹ írⁿà kùyó:— kùyó: bà:, ²⁴⁰ [ìrⁿà kù] [ú: mà:] sǎw ní só-w̃ = bɛ-ỳ, ²⁴¹ nám cíyɛ-m̃ = bɛ-w̃ [tìrⁿí jé-m̃ = bɛ-w̃], [íyɛ [òrⁿò ñgú] [ú kò:ⁿ] = Ø gùⁿ-w̃ mà†] é:, àw-rí-ý kòy,
 [ú yà] ínjírí²⁴² [[ú: yɛy] lá:rí dɛ:-rɛ-w̃ dɛ] [bò:-úrò yé-w̃], á, [bò:-úrò nù:]†, nù:— né:, [í: [nù diyⁿà]], tɛrɛw = Ø yà:, ²⁴³ [[ìrⁿà ñgú] tɛy] ñâyⁿ→ ló í tégɛ = nì, [[isè: ñgú] nù:] [pùrà:rù bɛ]²⁴⁴ [á: kò:] = Ø gùyⁿ-bò,
 [[ìrⁿà kù] mà] é:, í?h̃, [ìrⁿà kù] bù: gù-ní, ²⁴⁵ gũⁿ-w̃ⁿ yà:, [íyɛ í gũyⁿ = nì] [ìrⁿà kù mà:] [[[á: [nù diyⁿà] mò:] wò] [á: kò:ⁿ] = Ø gùyⁿ [á: sàrⁿà]] = Ø gùyⁿ, ǎy [pírú úrò-só-w̃] [[nà: kòrɔy] káⁿ-m̃-dó],
 [nù díyⁿà] mò:lí-yɛ, û: [nú-m̃-dó-w̃ mà], [[ìrⁿà ñgú] [mâ:n bɛ] [á: kò:ⁿ] = Ø gù = ñ] tɛgɛ-bó = bày, [ú: yà] àñâyⁿ nù-w̃ⁿ mà, ǎy²⁴⁶ gù-l-á yáy, ǎy gù-l-á, írⁿà kù, [bù: kò:ⁿ] = Ø = rá,

²³⁸ jò⇒ here treated as a possessed noun.

²³⁹ í: here is an exclamation of surprise at the beginning of a quoted speaking turn: ‘huh?’ The preceding é: means ‘yes!’.

²⁴⁰ Repair to: [ìrⁿà kù] kùyó: bà: ‘the field formerly’. Speaker O is imitating the excited, stuttering speech of the quoted speaker.

²⁴¹ ‘We formerly had’. Negation: ... sò-ló = bɛ-ỳ ‘we did not (use to) have’. /sǎw ní/ is a phrase meaning ‘give in trust, entrust (property, money, etc.) to (someone)’.

²⁴² ínjírí ‘get up’ here is chained with yé-w̃ ‘you-Sg come’, over an intervening conditional antecedent.

²⁴³ Emphatic particle (insists on the truth of an assertion). Another occurrence just below.

²⁴⁴ Since pùrà:rù ‘such-and-such, so-and-so’ (cf. Arabic *fulaan-*) seems to refer to the village of the usurpers, one could emend to pùrà:rù nù: ‘the people of ...’.

²⁴⁵ Perfective Negative of gũyⁿ ‘say’.

²⁴⁶ ǎy ‘no!’ (as in other Malian languages). Distinct from àyí ‘take, pick up’ (often pronounced ǎy).

hà: [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ kày] [tú: mâ:], bàtù ló-yè, yé-yè, ló-yè, yé-yè, ló-yè yé-yè, [írⁿà ñgú] [ú: kò:ⁿ] = Ø = rá, [írⁿà ñgú] [kú láyri] í: = ì, tírⁿí [í: mà:] tírⁿé-ì = bè-w, [í: mà:] nám cíyè-ì = bè-w,

[íyè ú: jùwⁿɔ̀:-rè-w nà→] [[ú: kò:ⁿ] = Ø] kù], [[[mâ:n yà→] [mâ:n yà→]] òmbì-yí nù], bú: òmbì-yí nù→, [íyè kálà] [í: kò:ⁿ kày] [í: kày] dúwɔ̀-ì-dó-y, [í: kò:ⁿ] òmbà-y,

[kú yà] hà: núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ ànyàⁿ bè:-rè dè', [[kú dò: wôy] nám cíyè-tí-y] dúwɔ̀-ì,²⁴⁸ [ú: só-w kù wôy] dúwɔ̀-ì, [[ñgú ày = náyⁿ] ñgú-rù ló dǔ-y wôy] [í: kò:ⁿ] = Ø, [wàrà-jùwⁿ-í:] wàrà jùwⁿé:-rà-w, àwú-ì-dó-y,

hà: íyè lǎw lǎwá,²⁴⁹ [ú: gàsà] yà: nú:-rè = rà: é:, bǎrⁿɔ̀²⁵⁰ jè:-tí-w, ñgú dímbá-w wó, ñgú dímbá-w wó], [[tú: mâ:] bàt-á: dǔ:-rè-w dé wôy] [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m] ló [á úrò] bɛ-ì],

jírⁿɛyⁿ dǔ:-rè dè, ú: tówú-ì-dó-y:., tǔ-ré: nù yè:-rè-ì kù', ló éⁿé témbú-w:., [jáy yè:-rè dè] [kú òmbì-yí-ì], hà: [à-mâ:n wàrà-[jùwⁿ-í:] = Ø nà→] [éⁿé kò:ⁿ] = Ø = rá, [[isè: ñgú] kò:ⁿ] = Ø nà→] [[isè: ñgá] kò:ⁿ] = Ø = rá,

ñgú dímbá-w wó, [hâl yè [tú: mâ:], [sàmbâ: ày-yè'] [màrpâ: ày-yè'] [béⁿé ày-yè']], [pàngá mâ:] ló-yè, pàngá sáríyè-ì, píníwⁿú-wⁿ dè, bú: [[â: kù:] mà:] júwɔ̀-yè, [sùmòy ñgú] [mũ: sùmòy] = Ø, ñgú [mũ: sùmòy] = Ø = rá, júwɔ̀-yè,

térèw jǔrɔ̀-yè dè kòy, hà: má:nù há:ⁿ,²⁵¹ ú [[mũ: kù:] wò] sí-yé:-rè-w, [sùmòy [mũ: kò:ⁿ] = Ø, nà→] [ú kò:ⁿ] = Ø = rá, [ñgú wó] tǔy sí-yé:-rè dè, dà:yí:-rè,

[kú wó] líy-é: dǔ:-rè sǔyè-ì = là:²⁵² [pàngá nú:] [ú: mà:] [bò:-úrò ñjé tèm²⁵³ mà'] wá, [í: kày] bírⁿá tèmbi-y, [bírⁿá nò-w mà] é:,

[pàngá nù: èsú-yè] = Ø dè, bírⁿá ú: nò:-wⁿú-yè, bírⁿá ú: nò:-wⁿú-tí-yà = rà:, [yâ: kày] jùwⁿɔ̀-ì-dó, bǎngó gó-ì, [kú nâyⁿ] [nù kâ:ⁿ] [[kú túlù] wò] gó-yè,

[sù-y-í: jâyⁿ] [[kú túlù] wò] gò-bó má, [pàngá nâyⁿ] né: [bírⁿá-[nǔ-yⁿ] jâyⁿ] [[kú túlù] wò] lǎwá gó-mà mà, ñgú yé-ì, ànyàⁿ yì-w, ...

O: ðⁿhⁿ, [kú nâyⁿ kày] írⁿà

I: ... [í: jây kù]

O: [sùmòy kày] [[sùmòy cí:tè] wò] núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ [éⁿé gùⁿ-wⁿ ñgú] [kú kú = ì], [ñgú dímbá-w wó sày] [[sùmòy cí:tè] yé-ì], [tùwⁿɔ̀-ì bǎngò] [kó:ⁿ kù] [[éⁿé kò:ⁿ] = Ø] = rá kòy, é: [jùwⁿɔ̀:-rè dé wôy] [[á kò:ⁿ] = Ø wà gúⁿ-ì],

[[ú [kó:ⁿ bǎngò] yà]²⁵⁴ dúwɔ̀-ì-dó-w gùⁿ-w] [[éⁿé yà] dúwɔ̀-ì-dó gúⁿ-ì] [[sùmòy cí:tè ñgú] òmbì-yí yé-ì] [núwⁿɔ̀yⁿ dàyⁿ éⁿé gùⁿ-w ñgú gâyⁿ→], [í: kálà] [í:

²⁴⁷ 1Pl subject Stative form of òmbì-yí 'follow'. 3Sg equivalent òmbà-w.

²⁴⁸ Imperative plural, addressed by the field owners to the occupiers.

²⁴⁹ Normal phrasing: [íyè lǎwá:-rè dè].

²⁵⁰ Also bǎnó. Cf. Fulfulde *bone*.

²⁵¹ há:ⁿ 'yes?' (response to a vocative).

²⁵² For /sǔyè-rí = rà:/. Phonetic [sǔjè:l:à].

²⁵³ = /tèmbi/.

²⁵⁴ Beginning of construction with parallel [X yà] ..., [Y yà] ..., with yà 'also, too'. In [ú [kó:ⁿ bǎngò]] 'you the owner', the pronoun ú 'you-Sg' is not a possessor (as can be seen from the tones), rather it is in apposition to the following nominal ('owner of the thing').

- mà:] [kú tú-m] káyⁿ-tá-w, ²⁵⁵ [ɲgú bè→] [[ɲgú bè] tú-m kù] [mùrⁿú: wò] sày] [nú: í: wôy] ²⁵⁶ áɲàⁿ lá:rú-m = bè-ỳ□
- S: *bon, par exemple* [jáy kù] núwⁿɲyⁿ ɲâyⁿ→ ká:ⁿ-rⁿè dé néyⁿ, [tú: mâ:] ùsú gáⁿ = náyⁿ, [ùsù ɲgú] [ùsú pùrá:rù] tú: césé-mâyⁿ ²⁵⁷ gùⁿ-wⁿ□ mà→, *ou bien* [[séré sò-ló-w□] ú: bú-m dè] [yě [[ú: kù:] wò] sí-yé-yè]
- O: [ú: ìsè:] yě [[ú: kù:] wò] sí-yé-m-n-é kǒy, [ú [írⁿà bǒngò kù]] [[írⁿà wò] [íyé lává:-rè] dé wôy] yé-ré, [[ú kô:ⁿ] = Ø = rá gá], yé-ré ²⁵⁸ [érⁿé [m^bá yà] àwú-m-dó], á, írⁿà ²⁵⁹ ɲgú-rù yě:-rè-w [íyé lává:-rè] [ɲgú-rù ú = ñ í yí = ñ] [[ú mâ:] jâm ɲgó], [érⁿé yà] àwú-m-dó, hà: [[kú kù] ɲâyⁿ] yá: [ú: yěy] ló tú: césé-jé-w□ dé wôy, [kú ɲâyⁿ] [ú: yěy] jáyá-w□, ð:ⁿ bò:-úrò yě ú tégé = ñ, [érⁿé yà] ló [á bó:-úrò] tégé-m, [ú yà] yě [ú bó:-úrò] tégé-w, [hà: [[í: kò:ⁿ] wò] lǎ-w yé-ré-nì] ²⁶⁰ [í: ðrⁿð-dà: = Ø, [[í: ìrⁿà kù] wó] lǎ-w [ú: lòsò] ²⁶¹ gá-lé-ñ, [kú kù] ló bú: témbí-jé-w□ = rà:, hà: kú [ú: wôy] jáy [kú wó] gó-m, ɲâyⁿ→ bé--
- S: *bon* jàⁿyá:-rè-w□ dè, [àɲâyⁿ kàⁿ = náyⁿ] [yě píníwⁿí yě-w□ dè] [tú: mâ:] dà— dàngú:-rà-w□
- O: [jáy jàⁿyá:-jé-w□ dè] sèytá:n ú: gàyⁿ = bè-rí:, ²⁶² [kòrú bǒngò] [á kórù] ǎw dǔ-jê: dé wôy, [tú: mâ:] dàngí-w□, [kòrú bǒngò kù] [á kórù] ǎw dù-rí dé wôy, [kú kálà] àsú→ áɲàⁿ bè-ỳ□ júwⁿɲ-wⁿ
- S: [jàⁿyá-jé-w□ dè] íyà píníwⁿú bàtú bàtá-w□ dè, ǎ-m = Ø téréw sò-w mà, ǎ-m = Ø kòrú sò-w mà, áɲàⁿ úsúⁿ-w□ mà
- O: [[kòrú só-m yà→] [téréw só-m yà→], yě yì:-w-jê:] ²⁶³ [kòrú bǒngò] [á kórù] dǔ-jê: dè] [yá: lòsò-wò: wó-yè], hà: [mùyⁿɲ kàⁿ = náyⁿ] [[írⁿà kù] [érⁿé mâ:] ñ = náyⁿ] érⁿé wàrà-rí ²⁶⁴ gùyⁿ dè, [[kò:ⁿ bǒngò kù] àyú-w dè] [érⁿé mâ:] ní-m
- I: [[bò:-ì: là:] lòsò-wò:] ²⁶⁵ yé-yè
- O: [[bò:-ì: là:] lòsò-wò: wó-yè, bú: [ùrò-jéngí: bǒngò bè] [bú: = m lòsò-wò: wó-m], érⁿé [kú kù] àw-rí dé yà→, [kú kày] áɲàⁿ bé-m, lǎ-w [ú kálà] [érⁿé mâ:] ní-m-dó-w, yá: érⁿé wàrà-wú-m-dó-w, íyé [á kô:ⁿ] = Ø gùyⁿ dè, [éyⁿ kálà] [á kô:ⁿ] = Ø gù-gúⁿ-m, [érⁿé mâ:] ní-m-dó-w, hà: [ɲgú bè→] [ɲgú bè tú-m kù bè→], ...
- I: jáy jàⁿyá:-rà-y.:
- O: ... [kú òm̀bì-yì = náyⁿ] áɲàⁿ jáy, írⁿà [sùmǒy jây] áɲàⁿ yé-m, [írⁿà jày] ɲâyⁿ→ yé-m

²⁵⁵ Experiential Perfect: ‘has (ever, once) happened’.

²⁵⁶ Conjunction without overt coordinating conjunction, ending in wôy ‘all’.

²⁵⁷ Hortative with plural addressee.

²⁵⁸ Singular-subject prohibitive (imperative negative).

²⁵⁹ ‘my field’.

²⁶⁰ Plural-subject prohibitive. Likewise gá-lé-ñ ‘don’t put’ (from verb gàyⁿ-) just below.

²⁶¹ lòsò: ‘foot’.

²⁶² Assistant suggests emending to gàyⁿ = bè without -rí:.

²⁶³ yì:-wí- ‘cause to see’.

²⁶⁴ Hortative with 3Sg subject. Cf. [[á írⁿà] wò] érⁿé wàrà-rí ‘let him plant in his (own) field!’

²⁶⁵ Plural-subject relative. Slightly simplified from a theoretical [... [lòsò-wò:]-wò:].

Text 2005-1b.06 Traveling for work

- S: [[kò:ⁿ ñjé] gini], [ú isè:]²⁶⁶ gò-wò□ dè, [bíré bírè = rá:]²⁶⁷ ló:-rà-wò□
- O: [[[í: isè:] gò] [bíré bírè = ré:]²⁶⁸ î: ló:-rà-wò kù], [í: [árⁿà-m bè→ árⁿà-m]²⁶⁹ kày] [jòrò jòrò-ré:] ló:-rà-wò, ló = ní bèrè-wò bèl-lí,²⁷⁰ jáwdù jòrò = ré: ló:-rà-wò,
 [[árⁿà gãm] ló-mà dè] [hâl ñgú-rù gò = náyⁿ], àbíjà lù-ló-yè†, gánà lù-ló-yè†, ñi:žèríyà lù-ló-yè†, hâl [gãm bóngò bè] *en France* lù-ló-yè, [[ànàsá:rà ónjòy] wò] [kú = m = ndà kálà] lù-ló-yè, jáwdù jòrò = ré: ló:-rà-wò-bò,
 yǎ:, yòyó yá ló-yè, [yǎ: kù kày] [návⁿà bú: jò-ló:-rà-wò], [bú: ló-m] mì-rá-yò□, [í: kálà], górⁿò sò-ló-yò□ = rá dé wòy, [bú: yà] [í: yá ló-yò□ nà→ gũn] [yòyó ló:-rà-wò-bò]
 [[kùyó: [[í: sàlà] náyⁿ]] [[yǎ-m bôy]²⁷¹ ðrⁿó: [érⁿé ló-yò]²⁷² tèm̀bì-rí-yò□] [árⁿà = m = dá dé], gà: núwⁿòyⁿ yà:-yí: yòyó yòyò²⁷³ yá ló-yè, [bú: nàwⁿà] bú: jò-ló:-rà-wò, [árⁿà-m bè→ árⁿà-m] jáwdù jòrò = ré: ló:-rà-w
- S: [[ú: mà:nì:] wò] [návⁿà bú: jò-ló:-rà-wò] mà→†, mà→ [bú: kày] [nì-návⁿá-yè gìn] ló:-rà-wò-bò
- O: bú: [nì-návⁿá-yè gùn] ló:-rà-wò-bò, [bú: lò = náyⁿ] [lò:-r-à: dè] [bú: nàwⁿá:-rà-wò kù] yá yí:-rà-y.:, tùwⁿò = m = dà→ yěy = rà→ tǎ:n = dá, kò:ⁿ bú:—
- S: [lò:-r-à: dè] [návⁿà = rá dé kày] [èsú wó] yé-m-n-é—, [èsú wòy] jé-m-n-é
- O: [èsú bú: jè:-rà-wò] yí:-rà = rá-yò□, [ðngòrò bóngò] ló = ní, [[á ðngòrò] úrò dùwó tí]²⁷⁴ [àrà yěy] [àrà tǎ:n], kú-dá: ló bè:-rè, [[érⁿé mà:] èsú: = Ø kálà] [[[[érⁿé ðngòrò] mà:] kày] návⁿà] = Ø,
 [ðngòrò sò-ló-m] ló:-rè dè, à: [nùwⁿó:-rè dè] [bú: gãm [pìrè náyⁿ] yé-yè], [[kú mà:] mégé návⁿà = Ø] ñgó, kú = m [nàwⁿà í: gũ:ⁿ-rà-wò□] [kú kú = m]
- S: *bon*, [árⁿà yà] ló:-r-à: dé néyⁿ, [bú: néyⁿ ló:-r-à: dè] [[kò:ⁿ ñjé bè] [ñjé bè]]²⁷⁵ jé-yè]

²⁶⁶ Since sentence-final ló:-rà-wò□ is 2Pl, we may emend here to [ú: 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 -ré: (cf. variant -rá: 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. 1Pl î: is appositional (not a possessor).

²⁷⁰ Perfective Negative, for /bèrè-rí/.

²⁷¹ = wòy.

²⁷² Possessed verbal noun, with 3Sg possessor éⁿé resuming yǎ-m bôy ‘any woman’. Could be streamlined as [[yǎ-m bôy] ðrⁿò:-lò-yò] ‘any woman’s bush-go-VblN’.

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

²⁷⁴ Linking form of Perfective -tí-. My assistant would prefer -tí = ní in this context.

²⁷⁵ [[kò:ⁿ ñjé bè] [ñjé bè]] ‘what (sorts of) things?’, iterated form of [kò:ⁿ ñjé bè] ‘what (things)?’ (already plural in form).

O: [yâ: ló:-r-à: dè] [yì-tè: èsí-yè kù] [bírè wó] nú-yè, núwⁿdyⁿ kày, [nũ-m mâ:] [bírè wó] nú-bò àyú-w dè, [bû: bîrè-w dè] [[[ùwó wó] bû: tósú-m] àyú-w dè] [ùsù-dérⁿí àyú-w dè], [gàmbú yà] éwá: káⁿ-yè,

hà: [gám bóṅgò bè] bú:dù béré-yè, [cèrèy jê:] [[â: bò: bé] mâ:] ní-yè, níyⁿó: tú-m, [lò:-r-à: dé wôy] [gám bóṅgò bè] [núwⁿdyⁿ jìrⁿěyⁿ sí-yé-w dè] [yé-yè dé wôy], [[[â: bò: bé] mâ:] [[[isâ: [cent-kilo yěy]], cérèy] tù-m],²⁷⁶ jì-jé-yè] [[[[cent-kilo tã:n] cérèy] tù-m] jì-jé-yè] [[[[cent-kilo tùwⁿó] cérèy] tù-m] jì-jé-yè],

hà: [ú mâ:] ìrěw bú-w, hà: [ṅgú gũ] àsùwⁿè-yí: ló:-rà-w-bó, [[yì-tè: jó→] kálà] [[àsùwⁿè-yì: jó→] kálà] ló:-r-à:

S: [árⁿà kày] lò = náyⁿ nájwⁿà nájwⁿá-m-n-é

O: árⁿà nájwⁿà nì-nájwⁿá-yè kálà, [árⁿà-m kày] ló = n [nájwⁿá-wⁿ nájwⁿà-rⁿí cêw] [[jáwdù jòrò-ré:] lì-ló:-rà-w-bó], [lò bèrè-m yà→] [bèl-lí-m yà→], [[bû: pìrè] nájwⁿà²⁷⁷ yá b-è:ⁿ-bó kòy]

[[bèrè = náyⁿ nì-nàṅgìrì] yá b-è:ⁿ-bó] [bèrè = náyⁿ nàṅgìrì-m-n-é:]²⁷⁸ yá b-è:ⁿ-bò, àsùwⁿè-yí: kálà, à [bû: kù]²⁷⁹ [[bû: lò-y kù] [î: mà:] wá:jíbù = Ø], [bû: lò-y kù kày] [ṅṅàyⁿ bù]

I: [bû: lò-y] [jó→ kù wôy] cé:lè yâ: bù, [sábù dè] [tùwⁿô-m bòṅgò], úró ú bú = bày, ló bîrè bîrè = ní, jǐnjè [érⁿé mâ:] ósù ní = n, mòbílì bèrè-jê:, mòbílì jò:mbú-jê: [á bô: ìsè:] ṅgú-rù jê:-tí:, á: [àsùwⁿè-yí: [ú tũ-m] wôyⁿ], ðrⁿó: ló bèrè²⁸⁰ dè, íyà ló béré-y, gù-gúⁿ-m = dá,

[tùwⁿô-m bòṅgò] [mòtò: nàyⁿ] yé-m, [ân = Ø gô-jê:] [ðrⁿó: gô-jê:], [ðrⁿó: dá:] ṅâyⁿ→ bère-wú-m dè, [[í kálà] bîrè: = Ø dè kày] ló bîrè = náyⁿ, jóró-y, érⁿé yà ló-m, béré-m,

[â: lò-y jò: kù kày], bère yá bú, [yâ: [lò-y jò:]²⁸¹ kù]ⁿ, nájwⁿà = Ø, [yì-nórⁿú]-nájwⁿà yà→, [yâ:jí: nâyⁿ] wá:s-î: yà→, kù = m [yâ: lò-y jò: kù],²⁸² ṅgú = m [kù [nájwⁿà jò:]],

[árⁿà-m já:tì] [érⁿé nájwⁿà kày] jò: = rá, [sábù dèy] níyⁿó: árⁿà [O dàyⁿ gũⁿ-wⁿ gâyⁿ→], níyⁿó: árⁿà ṅgòy [nũ: gám bóṅgò bè] [cent-kilo pèrú], kì-kã: kúwó-j-â:, [cent-kilo pèrú] ní-yè, nùmũyⁿ nì-ní-yè, tùwⁿó nì-ní-yè, [pécèrè nì-ní-yè] [yěy nì-ní-yè], nèwⁿé: = Ø = rà:,

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

²⁷⁷ Better: *nàwá-s-è:*ⁿ 'those who are ruined'. *nájwⁿà* 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 Definite *kù* with an already definite 3PI pronoun. Perhaps misheard for topical [bû: kày], or a false start corrected by the following [[bû: lò-y kù].

²⁸⁰ Forms of *bèrè* '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. *lò-y jó:* 'much (=frequent) going'. This combination of verbal noun and modifying adjective is treated here as possessed noun, hence the tone contour.

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

[yì-tě: jó→] ló:-rà-w̃ kù dàⁿ-wôy, kú=m̃, [[î: kálà] bù: gɔyⁿà-ỹⁿ□]²⁸³ [jĩnjè gɔyⁿ=ní], [kú kù] [î: mà:] [òsù díyⁿà-wⁿ=∅] [òsù èsù: =∅]†, èsìⁿ→ nèwⁿé: yá só-w̃, ñgú=m̃ [ðrⁿð:-[lǒ-ỹ] kù] jě:

O: [nũ-m bôy] [[érⁿé yî-m] ðrⁿó: ló:-rè dé wôy], yá góyⁿá-w̃ⁿ

I: yá góyⁿá-w̃ⁿ

O: [úrò mò:-jé:rⁿé ñgó] [kì-kã: kúwó-j-â:] [nũ-m bôy] [érⁿé yî-m] ðrⁿó: ló:-rè dè], [yĩ-m jě-w̃→ jě:-⁺rí cêw]²⁸⁴ [yá góyⁿá-w̃ⁿ] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m],

[yì dɔyó só-m̃ kálà] jì-jé-m̃, [yì èsì-m kálà] jì-jé-m̃, [bòngɔ-m̃ jě:-rì yĩ-jé-w̃ dé wôy] [[yĩ-m kù] [kú-dá: ló=ń] [bíré bèl-lí] má→ [ð:rɔy éⁿé=nì wò]²⁸⁵ mà, náwà=m̃ mà,

náwà=m̃=dá=m̃²⁸⁶ bôy, [á bô:] =nì yá mà:ní²⁸⁷ — hâl [á sá:rà:], [[á sá:rà:] yá mà:ní-só-w̃] [á bô: yà→] [á nárⁿà yà→], úrò dáyⁿ á dùwó-w̃, [kú kálà] ñâyⁿ→ bù

²⁸³ IPI subject Stative form of gɔyⁿí ‘wait for’ (here: ‘rely on’). Low-toned since there is no preceding locational element and since the object bù: (arguably) functions as focalized. Compare high-toned góyⁿá-w̃ⁿ (3Sg subject) after Existential yá in the following speaking turn by O.

²⁸⁴ Willy-nilly conditional antecedent with Inanimate participle -w̃ then Perfective Negative. jě:-⁺rí- is Perfective Negative of jě:- ‘bring’, which has a unique {LHL} lexical tone contour.

²⁸⁵ Unaffixed Perfective of wǒ ‘catch’, here ‘(disease) afflict (person)’.

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

²⁸⁷ Cut off. See complete form just below.

Text 2005-1b.07 Going to school

- O: ɔːⁿ, núwⁿɔyⁿ, jángè jángé:-rà-w, lèkól²⁸⁸ jángé:-rà-w, núwⁿɔyⁿ kày, jáwⁿlè túmdú-w,
 [jáwⁿlè gò = ń] ló dóⁿsán²⁸⁹ jángé-w, [dóⁿsán jángé-jè = ń] [núwⁿɔyⁿ hâl ló ló sèwá:rè
 jángé:-rà-w], [núwⁿɔyⁿ kày] [[jángè kù] jángé = ń] bèré-jé-w dè, ñjê: = Ø [ú má:nì:]
- S: [[jángè jángé = ń] bèré-jé-y dè] núwⁿɔyⁿ kày, [célê²⁹⁰ ɲàyⁿ] í mà:nú-só-w, jǐnjè bíré mà:²⁹¹
 ní-yⁿ,²⁹² [bíré èsú] bèré-jé-y = rà:, bɔ̃:-ùrò cé:lé-y, ádúná:rⁿú cì-cé:lé-y, kú = ɲ jòró-só-
 y,
 jángè í jàrà²⁹³ — [í nánà:nà:] [òsù í bú-w kù] wó, kú *branche* kù, [*branche* jángè
 kù] àñ = Ø ló gó-m, érné = ɲ lò = náyⁿ [*judge* wò] gó-m, àñ = Ø ló gó-m, érné = ɲ
 lò = náyⁿ [[[pàṅá bóṅò bè] kô:ⁿ] wò] gó-m,
 yá: gó bèré-jé-y = rà: [kú = ɲ sǎy] [jǐnjè mà:] lémdé:-rà-y, jángé bèré-jé-y = rà:
 bú:dù bèré-jé-y = rà:, [kũ: cé:lé-y dè] [tɔ̃w cé:lé-y dè] [bɔ̃:-ùrò cé:lé-y dè] [ársilâm
 wôy] cé:lé-y, kú = ɲ jòró-só-y
- O: áywà, [[kò:ⁿ ú árⁿíyé-só-w kù] [jǐnjè ðyð-ná:-m]²⁹⁴ [ú mà:] ní-yⁿ] [jǐnjè èsú kú táli-y],
 áywà [[ú bô: yà→] [ú nárⁿà yà→] kày] jángè ú gǎyⁿ-tí-yà, [èsú kày] [ú mà:]
 dàwrú-tí-yà, [ú kálà] jǐnjè ðyð-ná:-m — bèré-jé-w [[bù: mà:] èsú káyⁿ-tí-w dó wôy]
 [[èsú kù:] wò] èsú bãr-tú-w,
 kú = ɲ [[ú árⁿíyⁿè] wò] bù dó wôy, [jǐnjè ðyð-ná:-m] [ú árⁿíyⁿé-só-w kù] [ú mà:]
 ní-yⁿ, [ú mà:] [kú dúwàw kálà] lémdé-mà, [ú nárⁿà yà→] [ú bô: yà→] [ú sá:rà: bè],
 ɔⁿɔ̃ⁿ [mòsú mà:ní-só-w = bé-w kálà] [jǐnjè ú cé:lè-y],
 hà: [yì-tê:]-[nàrⁿ-î:], yǐ-m nàrⁿà = náyⁿ, érné néwⁿè:, [î: bì-béré-y□ mà] [î: mà:ní:-
 rà-w kù] [[[[ú ànsà:rà-m] *Jeff*] mà:] tégé] [î: [yì-tê: nèwⁿè:] [[ṅgú ní:] wò] ká:ⁿ-rà-y□
 [yì-tê: yèy tǎ:n nàrⁿá-tí-y□ dè], mǔ = ɲ ló jángè gáⁿ-yⁿ .:, mǔ = ɲ ló [wóngóró wó] gáⁿ-
 yⁿ .:, mǔ = ɲ ló àrsè:-bèré: gáⁿ-yⁿ .:, hà: bù: dàⁿ wò-wôy,
 [jángè jángé-w dè] [úró ú bú-w dè] [ùsú tùwⁿɔ-m] yě-w dè, [ú yî-m] ú náfé-m,
 [mòbílì ɲàyⁿ] yě-m, [cèrêy [ú mà:] ní tí-m] [ú kú ɲé-wⁿ], [yǐ-m nàrⁿà-rⁿú-w dó wôy]
 [[àrⁿà-gúsú pé-nùmùyⁿ pèr-kúròy] bèré-jé-w dó wôy], ú pánà dùwⁿó:-rè,
 [[nũ: yítè:] [ú mà:] ní-m-n-é] [[ú yà] bíré béré-m-dó-w], [éw-yé-w dè] [dòyó
 ɲâyⁿ] [kô: ɲàyⁿ] áṅàyⁿ tíwé-w, hà: [[ṅgú ní:] wò] [î: mà:] yì-tê: yèy tǎ:n [[kú ní:] wò]
 [î: mà:] yì-tê: jòró-m bà,²⁹⁵ hà: jǐnjè ðyð-ná:-m—

²⁸⁸ French *l'école*, denoting public schools (as opposed to koranic schools).

²⁸⁹ Douentza (town). Also pronounced dúwⁿósán, dúwánsán.

²⁹⁰ 1Sg possessed form of *célê* ‘heart’, with {HL} possessed-noun contour plus an initial low-tone for 1Sg. Other 1Sg-possessor forms just below (same speaking turn): *mǎ*: ‘to/for me’ (Dative *mâ*:), *bɔ̃:-ùrò* ‘my village’ (lit., ‘my father-house,’ elsewhere *bò:-ùrò*), *kũ*: ‘myself’ (*kù*: ‘head’), *tɔ̃w* ‘my kin’ (*tɔ̃w*).

²⁹¹ *mǎ*: ‘to/for me’ (Dative).

²⁹² Third person hortative (with ‘God’ as subject).

²⁹³ Mispronounced and cut-off, for *jòró-m* ‘I want/seek’.

²⁹⁴ Epithet used only with ‘God’. Also pronounced *gòná:-m*.

²⁹⁵ = *wà*.

I: hà: sèwá:rà kòyⁿ, ùrò-[sìy-î:] né:, [[ú nú-m] ùrò] ló sí-yé-só-w mà→ [ám úrò] sí-yé-só-w
S: *bon*, [í kày] ñgú-rù jángè jángé=ń, ùrò-kúròy²⁹⁶ bèré=ńí, ányàⁿ lò-y, dúwⁿósán,
[dúwⁿósán ló=ńí] yâ: jángè-y, [yâ: jángé=ń] sèwá:rè [sèwá:rè dá:] pá:sé-y²⁹⁷
ùrò-pérú, yâ: pà:sè-ý[†],
[yâ: nù í sí-yé-só-m] [nũ-m=dá, tǔw-m=dá,²⁹⁸ [î: wôy] tǔy [kú kálà]
tùwⁿô: = Ø = rá, [jǐnjè nù-m] = Ø, [ñgú-rù [bírè gǐn] éⁿé jê:]²⁹⁹ [[í yá] [éⁿé yá] tú:
yì-y□],
[tú: yǐ=ń] [íníⁿ: mǎ: ùsùrì] [[éⁿé ínìⁿ:] [éⁿé mǎ:] ùsùrì-y], [tú: ínìⁿ:]
tègè-y□ [í yá→] [éⁿé yá→] tú: jùwò-y□, [bìrè éⁿé gǔⁿ-wⁿ] [éⁿé mǎ:] bìrè-y,
[káyⁿ=ńí] hǎl [éⁿé céⁿlè] tàwⁿyⁿì, [kú ñâyⁿ] nũ-m kù ñgú-rù gò,
[ñgú-rù gǒ=ń] [*bon* [í má:] dògùrù jángé=ń [í má:] [á há:jè] í bèré-jé-w wôy]
mà→ [[î: mà:] *vacances* ní-tí-yà dè] [[í má:] yè-ý]³⁰⁰ wá, ó:y gíⁿ-yⁿ, ányàⁿ lò-y, ló=ń
[í káyⁿ=ní] [jǐnjè káyⁿ=ní] [àⁿà-gùsù í ló-w kù] [íyà yâ: pá:sé-y],
kú pá:sé=ń— [í pá:sé=ń] [í má:] sèwá:rà yè-ý wá, ó:y gíⁿ-yⁿ, ányàⁿ yâ: lò-y,
[nũ-m kù tǔw-m=dá dé], [yâ: [î: yèy] [î: bú-m] [î: bú-m]] [[àⁿà-gùsù tùwⁿô:]
kâ:-yⁿ :], [àⁿà-gùsù tùwⁿô:] kú = ìn jêyⁿ kú = ìn, *donc* [àⁿà-gùsù yèy-né] lò-y,
yèy-né í ló = ìn, [[í bé→] [bú: bè→]] [î: bú=bày] [ùwó tǎ:n], [[ùwò tày-né kù]
wó] té→ té→, [î: mà:] *congé* nì-bò, [î: mà:] *congé* bú: ní=ń, hà: núwⁿòyⁿ [í má:]
lò:-rè dè, á, [á má: kày] [núwⁿòyⁿ kày] kòⁿ-kâⁿ mǎ: gǐyⁿ bèré-m-dó wá dé, [[[í má:]
ùrò-[sìy-î:] lúgúró--m ñâyⁿ] yè-ý] wá,
ñjê: = Ø mà, *bon* [á má: kày] [[á bírè] ñgú-rù dù-dúwⁿô-m], [núwⁿòyⁿ á bú-w
kù] [á mà:] èrìm=dá, [á má:] yâ: gó-m bà, íyà [éⁿé má:] àn ló-m mà, [òⁿò á ló-m] [á
má: kày] júwó-m-dó wá,
kú yâ, [í má:] ùrò-sìy-î: lúgúró-y wá, ó:y gíⁿ-yⁿ, kòⁿ-kâⁿ gí-ní-yⁿ, yè=ń [[î:
nù:] mà:] tègè-rí-y, kòⁿ-kâⁿ gí-ní-yⁿ, [[î: nù:] kú-dá: [nù lǎ-m wôy] sè-né] júwó-y,
[kũ: mà:] [í kũ: mà:] í = ìn lùgúró-rí dé, gò-y, yâ: lò-y píníwⁿú,
[dòⁿsân dò-y] [éⁿé mǎ:] *telephone* tì-ý[†],³⁰¹ òⁿhóⁿ [á má: kày] [bìrè lǎ-w] bèré-jê:
wá, ñgú-rù gí-gó-m bà, kòⁿ-kâⁿ gí-ní-yⁿ, [í kày] sèwá:rà lò-y, [yâ: í ló=ń] [jǐnjè
káyⁿ=ní] [[ùrò kù] óⁿò kù = ìn] [yǎ-m tùwⁿô-m] yá bú = b-ê:,³⁰² éⁿé yâ, [[á óngòrò]
sé— [bàmàkó dá:] dùwó-tí = ń] [[á yítè:] dùwó-tí = ń] [[á sày] yâ: bù],
yâ: éⁿé bú = bày[†], [[á títìrì wôy] í = ìn tí-m] [[nù kâⁿ-m] [[éⁿé dòsù] wò] ñgò],
gǎm [á má:] íyè [óⁿò bè] ló-m dè] [[[á úrò] tàⁿ-yì:] mǎ: ní dùwó-w dè] [[[í má:] yâ:
ná-yⁿ] gíⁿ-m], [éⁿé úrò] [éⁿé mǎ:] ná-yⁿ, [éⁿé mǎ:] gòyⁿí-yⁿ, [éⁿé mótò:] [éⁿé mǎ:]
móyó-y,
ányàⁿ bù, [kú dò wôy] í = ìn móyó-m, hà: yǎ-m kù, hà: [má bè] ló-yè bú:
gǐyⁿ = ìn, [í má:] bày núwⁿòyⁿ ànyàⁿ káⁿ-m mà wá, mǎ: ùsùrì, íyà í sá-w, [í má: kày]

²⁹⁶ Lit. ‘house (number) six’, i.e. ‘sixth grade’. Distinct in tones from *úrò kúròy* ‘six houses’.

²⁹⁷ French *passer*, here in the sense ‘move up (to a higher grade or school)’.

²⁹⁸ Both *nũ-m* and *tǔw-m* have 1Sg possessor (the initial low-tone segment).

²⁹⁹ Emend as ‘work brought him here’ (deleting *gǐn*).

³⁰⁰ Reported imperative, with third-person Hortative verb.

³⁰¹ tí- ‘send’, with ‘telephone’ as direct object.

³⁰² /bú = b-ê:/ here pronounced [b:ě:].

[érⁿé má: kày] [í má:] [ùrò-[sìy-ì:] lă-w] lúgúrò-ỳ giyⁿ, [í má: kày] [[[kú = m̄ lúgúró-ỳ kù] wó] bù-ỳ],

hà: [kú = m̄ dè kày] [lùgùr-î: bà-rí] [[í má:] yâ: bè-ý] wá, ó:y giyⁿ-ỳⁿ, yâ: bè-ỳ, yâ: í bē: = nì, [íyà píníwⁿú ñgá-dá: ló tını = ní] [í káyⁿ = nì], [ürò-siyè-m kú] = ñ,³⁰³ [érⁿé ìnrⁿì] G giyⁿ-yè, érⁿé = nì ðrⁿð bú: jò-ló-w kù yà→[†], sèwá:rà yà→[↓], wà:w = rá, mais [[érⁿé yítè: bú:] [lèkòl-ùrò]³⁰⁴ bú-w kù] èsⁿ→ pàṅá yá só-w,

[[pàṅá bójò bè] lékòl-ùrò] = Ø bú:d³⁰⁵ tósí-yè, [ùwó wó] [bú:dù [mùsú nǐ:yⁿ]] [nù tùwⁿô-m wôy] bú: [nũ: yěy] = Ø, ñgá-dá: [kú ékòl] [kú tũ-m] ñgó, [lò:-r-à: dè] [â: jáṅgè-w kú nánà:] pérdé-yè,³⁰⁶ íyà yě, [français wò] pàṅá sè-né káⁿ--yè,

bon [[kú nǐ: wò], [á má: kày] yâ: bé-m̄ bà, [[í má:] jóró-m̄ dè] [[ðrⁿô wò] yě bèrè-m̄] bà, érⁿé— ðⁿhó: giyⁿ-ỳⁿ, lă-w [[yă-m kù] mâ:] gò-rí-ỳ, [í ló-m̄ kálà] [[yă-m kù] mâ:] èrì = m̄ = dá, hâl [íyè úsù] [ðrⁿô wò] bù-ỳ

I: bày, mùsèl³⁰⁷ bè[†], jáṅgè ú ló:-rè dè, ú:, [añâyⁿ-añâyⁿ pâyⁿ] ú: mà: káⁿ-yè, ú: sù-súyó-ye mà→, añâyⁿ [ú: mà:] káⁿ-rà-w-bò

S: [jáṅgè î: ló:-rè dè] [[mùsèl bè] ú súyó-m̄-n-é] [[[ú = m̄ [ú kũ:] sùyò-rí] túlù] wò], [ùsú gó = ñ] núwⁿòyⁿ ló:-rè-w = rà:, [ú mâ:] *billet d'entrée* gìn yá bú, [sèwè àwú-w dè] [kú pâyⁿ] nú-wⁿ, kú nú:-rè-w = rà: [ú *moyenne*] [ú mâ:] *moins deux* gò-ló-yè, kú = m̄ [conduite bú: gúⁿ-m̄ kù] *impoli* = mù-wⁿ mà→, mà→ *règle(s)* bú: ní-w àwú-m̄-dó-w quoi,

[kú kù] [î: mà:] yâ: *moins deux* gò-ló-yè, [kú déṅgèy] [nũ-m wôy] [[ú kũ:] mà:] ðmô: ló-w, èkòl-ùrò nù-rⁿú-w = rà:, [[ú kũ:] mà:] ú = m̄ [ú kũ:] súyó-m̄, [kú = m̄ = dá dé] [nũ-m nǎ: ày = náyⁿ] ú súyó-m̄-dó, [kú-dá: [î: mà:] lă-w [sùy-î: lă-w]— sùy-î: jiyè-tí-yà] [sùy-î: ñgó]

I: [ðmô: jìrè-síyⁿàwⁿ wò] yòyó ló-w

S: [[ðmô: jìrè-síyⁿàwⁿ wò] yòyó ló-w] [ínjírì:-rè-w dé wôy], [[bìrè káⁿ wôy] sò-ló-w] [[kú gìn sǎy] yè-w] [[kù gì-náyⁿ] [jìrè-síyⁿàw wò] yòyó ló-w], [[kò: lă-w ú = ñ] [ùsú gò-wú-m̄] wôy] ñgó] [[kú árⁿiyè] [ú mâ:] yá bú dé]

I: bày [yì náyⁿà-m] [kú wó] añâyⁿ káⁿ-m̄

S: [yì náyⁿà-m] [érⁿé kú = m̄]— [bú: kù] yé-yè, bú: yè:-r-à: = rà:, lèkòl-ùrò nú-m̄-n-é, hâl ùsù â: nú-wⁿ kálà, [â: kù:] tórré-yè[†], [nù lă-m] tórré-yè[†], [î: mùsèlì-m] cèlè bàⁿà-wⁿú-yè, *parce que* nú-mà dè, [ú mâ:] ú [nù jiyè mì-rá-m̄ kù] [pàṅá pâyⁿ] jiyè ú jiyè-wú-yè, ú [nù [[érⁿé dósù] wò] bú-m̄ kù], ú [nù ðil-î: jòrú-r̄m̄ kù], [[bú: jiyè kù] déṅgèy] ðilé béré-m̄-dó-w,

[gá:jè gǎyⁿ gǎyⁿ bú: gá:jé-m̄ dè] [kú ðilé-w], [cé:rí wó] ú gáⁿ-yè, [kú añâyⁿ bú: káⁿ-m̄] [bú: káⁿ-m̄] màdâm bú: = n lǎr gò-ló-tí: = rà:, [bú: = n lǎr gò-ló = ní] dùwó-tí-yà dé wôy, [ú = ñ kálà tó:ṅé-yè] [ú bé→] [â: bè→] ðâyⁿ ú:³⁰⁸ gó-m̄,

³⁰³ ùrò-siyè-m ‘host’, here with 1Sg possessor.

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

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

³⁰⁶ French *perdre*.

³⁰⁷ mùsèl = mùsèlò ‘teacher’

³⁰⁸ Emended from bú: ‘they’ to ú: ‘you-Pl’.

dõ: àṅṅàⁿ gíyⁿ-bò [yà:-pàlú-m má:] táwⁿyⁿá jóró-m gíyⁿ-bò, ú = ñ lǎr gò-ló-yè, [ú: dò: wôy] lǎr gó-wò□, gǒ:-rè-wò□ = rà: [dánáyⁿ gǒ] [ú màní-yè], [â: sigirè:tì] nó-yè, àṅṅàⁿ bû: bú-m dè,

bû: kày, [patron yì-tè:] = bó, [píníwⁿú kálà] [nũ: gǎm] yá b-è:ⁿ, [[[kò:ⁿ gìn] â: yě-wò]³⁰⁹ mànà:] júwó-m-n-é, xxx bû: lǎr gò-ló-tí-yà dè, [année dùwⁿó:-rè dè] bèl-l-á = rá: [yâ: redoubler káⁿ-yè], [[bû: hà:jè] mà:] ṅgó, àṅṅàⁿ yâ: yì-yàrà-bò, [kú nû: yà], [[kú nû: bû:] dǎ:y-jé-wò = rà:] [[dàyⁿ ú ló-m bôy] ṅgó]

O: à: [[kú yî-m kù] lèkòl³¹⁰ — [érⁿé nàⁿá = ní] [lèkòl érⁿé gáⁿ-wⁿ dè] [yàṅá sîyè-wò], [érⁿé nàⁿá yà→] [érⁿé bô: yà→] yàṅá sîyè-bò, [ú bô: yà→] [ú nàⁿá yà→] [ú nàⁿá = ní] [[bîrè ṅgú wó] ú gàyⁿ-bó dó wôy], [ú yà] píníwⁿú = ní, [bírè kù] [kú náfàṅá] júwó-wò dó wôy, [yì èsú-m] = mú-wò³¹¹ dé wôy, [yì-[dúwàw-bòṅò]] = mù-wòⁿ dé wôy, [bírè kù] bîrè-wò,

[ú nàⁿá yà→] [ú bô: yà→] [ú má:] [bírè kù] yá bîrè-m gìn s-è:ⁿ-bò, [[bírè kù] dùwó-tú-wò] [bírè kù jîsè-tú-wò], hà: [bû: cèlè] bàⁿà-wⁿú-tú-wò, é:ⁿ [ósù kálà] yì-m-dó-wò, ú = m [yì nàwⁿà-m] = Ø gúⁿ-yè [kú kú = m],

hà: [kú kù] [jǐnjè ðṽó-ná:m] [[yì èsú-m wôy] mà:] pógó-ÿ, hà: núwⁿḍyⁿ ú gùⁿ-wòⁿ ṅgú, à: àṅṅàⁿ bù-wò dé wôy, [jǐnjè ðṽò-ná:m] àṅṅàⁿ ú bési-y, [jǐnjè ðṽò-ná:m] jîrè: [ú mà:] jó-lò-ÿ, [î: cèlè] séyè-wò hâl

I: [français nàⁿ] bày [[kú yî-m kù] ìnìⁿì] àṅṅàⁿ gúyⁿ-yè

S: [érⁿé mà:] *impoli* gíyⁿ-yè

I: *impoli*

S: ðⁿhó

O: [*impoli* kú né:] dò:-tèy [kú kórò] ṅjè: = Ø

S: [yì kù:-díyⁿà-m] = Ø, kù:-díyⁿà-m = Ø [dàwⁿá àwú-m-dó-m]

O: [dàwⁿá àwú-m-dó-m]

I: [[èsú-m = Ø kù] mà:] àṅṅàⁿ gúⁿ-yè

S: *poli* gíyⁿ-yè

I: *poli* gíyⁿ-yè

S: ðⁿhóⁿ, [érⁿé = m èsí-m = Ø] kú = m

O: érⁿé = m èsú-m = Ø, [nù:-yà:gũ-m kù] érⁿé = m, cé:lé:-rè

³⁰⁹ Postpositional relative, itself functioning as possessor.

³¹⁰ Clause restarted here.

³¹¹ ‘you-Sg are’ (conjugated copula clitic).

S: gùgùsú-m àṅṅyⁿ bù

I: gùgùsú-m, dùgù [[ô-m kù] wó] yá ná:-wⁿ,³¹² mà→ érⁿé tágù=rà:, [tágù tègì:] =rà:,
gùgùsú-m gùrú-m=∅, gùgùsú-m [[á kù:] mà:] sǎw bì-bàrá-m, éléy bì-bàrá-m,
gùgùsú-m, [éleý kòyⁿ yí-jê: dó wôy] dúwó-m-dó, né: [érⁿé jèyⁿ kày], sùwó bè→, éleý
bè→, mìsù-gó:lòy bè→,

[kú bè kày] [bàrá-w dè] [ló di-dàyi-m] [nàwⁿà súyó-m] mìsù-gó:lòy kòyⁿ,
gùgùsú-m, ṅgú = m [érⁿé tágù], [[ú úrò] pìrè], gànjú-w dè, yâ: nú bẽ-w dè, [ú mâ:]
nàwⁿà núwⁿḡyⁿ í gùⁿ-wⁿ ṅgú wôy, [ú mâ:] súyó-m tìném bé-m, [gùgùsú-m tágù] [ṅgú
kú = m], íyà mǔ: ǎ-m = ∅³¹³

S: bàrà-ô-m³¹⁴

I: bàrà-ô-m

S: érⁿé = m mǔ: kú = m

I: òrⁿó: bù, érⁿé [sém pírè] bẽ-w dè, kòsú: ú séwⁿ-tí: dè, [kòsú: bin]³¹⁵ tógurú-m, [ú kòsù],
[tógurú-w dè] nàṅgù-rú-m, [érⁿé yà] ṅgú [érⁿé bírè] = ∅,

kòs-kúkúru kúwó-m, [kòsú: lèmdè:] ló-m [wⁿà:rⁿú ló-m] [[èsú gǔn] ú só-w kù],
kú cére-m, nàṅgù-rú-m [hâl ló dùmdú-m]

S: [érⁿé nàwⁿà:] kúwó-yè mà

I: [érⁿé nàwⁿà:] kúwó-yè

S: gùgùsú-m [â: yèy] cì-céw

O: [gùgùsú-m nàwⁿà:] kúwó-yè, [yì-tè: kày] bù: dúwó-m-n-é, [nù díyⁿà] dêm→ ìrèw = rà:
àṅṅyⁿ = m mâ: = rá³¹⁶ dé kày

S: ò pílé-m yà

O: ò pílé-m, úro bẽ-w dè, mànì: wò, bòlò: sí-yé-m-dó káⁿ-wⁿ dè, bòlò: sí-yé:-rè dó wôy, [nì:
nó-m gùní]³¹⁷ sìyè, [mànì: wò] bẽ-w dè, [ú úrò] bùgùsú-w dè, [[ú kù:] wò] lèw sílé-m,
éleý dúwó-m-dó, òrⁿò á bú-w kù dá:, kò:ⁿ-ká:ⁿ jèyⁿ á jé-m gáyⁿ→ bú-w wôy, jèyⁿ,
nì-jé-m, ú jèyⁿ jé ú wàsá-w, ṅgú wôy[†],

[érⁿé bírè] [ò pílé-m], yû:, [kúwó dérⁿé-m] [kúwó ná-m] [[dèw kù] wó] gó-m-dó,
gò:-rè dó wôy, [nì: nó-m gù] sìyè, érⁿé gò-w, [kú = m = dá dé] [[òrⁿò é→érⁿé ló-m wôy]
ṅgó], [érⁿé yà] ṅgú [érⁿé bírè] = ∅

S: [ó sí:lì-m]³¹⁸ yà

I: [[ó sí:lì-m] bírè] kày], [[ó sí:lì-m] bírè] kày], yù:-tè:rè ló mǎ:l-tú-w dó wôy [òrⁿó: dá:], [kú
pírè] bé-m, á = m = dá, [[ò là] [à gáyⁿ→] káⁿ-m]] nú-m-dó, [á sǎy] bé-m,

³¹² Variant of yá náyⁿá-wⁿ ‘it is put up on’ (i.e. it is bigger than).

³¹³ ǎ-m ‘who?’ is used for animals as well as humans, cf. ñjé ‘what?’ for plants and (other) inanimates.

³¹⁴ Mouse sp. named after bàrá:, an area in the ravine beside Beni.

³¹⁵ Apocopated < /bìrⁿi/, L-toned form of bìrⁿí ‘bottom’.

³¹⁶ mâ: = rá is obscure here. Perhaps yes/no interrogative followed by negative clitic with implied ‘or’.

³¹⁷ Purposive clause.

³¹⁸ Cf. sí:lì, term used to describe unripe fruits, especially of kàmàkòró (*Leptadenia hastata*).

yû: ló û: bára-m̄ dè, [[gòrⁿú wó] nú = n̄] yă: ðimbì-yí yè dè' kú = m̄, yòyó [săm wó] nù dè kú = m̄, né:, úrò yě:-rè dè, [ò: úrò b-ê:ⁿ] = ñ, làrì-m̄ gìyⁿ-bò, [bû: mà:] mòsú bú-w̄, èsⁿ → bû: kúwó-m̄, éⁿé kálà, ñgú = m̄ [éⁿé bírè] = Ø, [[éⁿé jésù] jì:ⁿ] èrì-m̄ = dá, ó sǐ:lì-m̄

S: ò jéwⁿè-m yà

I: [ò jéwⁿè-m] [kò:ⁿ èsú] = m̄ = dá, àrⁿà-gùsù éⁿé nàⁿiyí:-rè-w̄, kô: = Ø gúⁿ-yè, bû: jò:, yû:, yû: kúwó-yè hâl lóyó-wú-yè,³¹⁹ yû: [dèw wó] bú-w̄, ú n̄:, [úrò, [nì: kà:ⁿ] dèy ú só-w̄ kù] [kú nó-yè], n̄: béré-m̄-n-é = rà:, yóyó-yè cê:,

yòyó-mà dè, [àrⁿò lă-w wó] ló [n̄:, nò = náyⁿ] yé-yè [nì:-nòrⁿú sóy dá-m̄-n-é], ò jéwⁿè-m, ñgú kì-káⁿ-m̄†, éléy kù-kúwó-m̄†, [[ú n̄yⁿ] wàsà] n̄-ñé-m̄, hâl ú = ñ kúwó-m̄, ò jèwⁿè m̄., [éⁿé bírè] = Ø, ñgú = m̄ [éⁿé m̄a:] júwó-ȳ

O: òⁿhó àyàⁿ = m̄, [ò jéwⁿè-m] [ú n̄yⁿá-m̄ dè] [nárⁿù wò], [ú ná:-sì:ⁿ] kúwó-m̄

S: ò dòró-m³²⁰ yà

O: [[ò dòró-m] t̄y] tégé

I [overlapping]: ò dòró-m, là:rà: éⁿé yì-ȳ, [éⁿε kày] [[là:rà: dá:] kò:ⁿ bú-w̄ bè] ñé-m̄ gà, sùwó, ò dòró-m, éⁿé sùwò-[ñě-m̄] = Ø³²¹

S: bày, [[éⁿé má:] úrú-bìsírì-m t̄n̄jú-m̄³²²] gìyⁿ-bò, téréw = Ø mà → kòrú: = Ø

I: t̄n̄jú-m̄-dó, úrú-bìsírì-m éⁿé n̄-nárⁿá-yè, éⁿé yà, [éⁿé t̄w] déyⁿ →, [kú kày] kòrú: = Ø, [úrú-bìsírì-m t̄n̄jí béré-m̄-dó] [[dàyⁿ éⁿé t̄n̄jú-m̄] ñgó],

mùrⁿú bú-w̄, dòrò-[kù-kúyó] illá éⁿé só-w̄ kù déngèy, rà:³²³ dé wôy, éⁿé [[á kù:] mà:] t̄n̄jí béré-m̄-dó, úrú-bìsírì-m déyⁿ → † [m̄: yí-m] déyⁿ → †, [kú kálà] [î: júwó-m̄] ñgú = m̄

O: úrú-bìsírì-m yǐ-m n̄-nárⁿá-m̄, yì éⁿé nàⁿá-m̄, íyè nàⁿà kálà, [dòró ñâyⁿ] éⁿé t̄embú-w̄, [ò dòró-m] [éⁿé kày] *toujours* là:rà: bù

I: éⁿé là:rà: bù

O: là:rà: sùwó ñé-m̄

I: nà: t̄n̄jú-m̄-dó

O: sùwó ñé-m̄, [t̄iwⁿèyⁿ-jèlê:] ñé-m̄

I [overlapping]: [àñâyⁿ kàⁿ = náyⁿ] [t̄n̄jí béré-m̄], [[éⁿé dúrò] ñgú né:] [kú dùmdó-w̄ dè] mà →, àñâyⁿ kàⁿ = náyⁿ, t̄n̄jú-m̄-dó, kú téréw = Ø = rá, éⁿé yà, éⁿé t̄w, [bû: mà:] kò:ⁿ í júwó-m̄ kày†, [í kày] [ñgú kú = m̄], û: bãr béré-w̄ □ mà dêm

O: kú = m̄, [[bû: bírè] [kú kú = m̄]] [[núwⁿòyⁿ ú tégé-w̄]

³¹⁹ lóyó-wú- ‘cause to overflow’ (here, ‘do excessively’).

³²⁰ Cf. dòró ‘thorn’.

³²¹ Agentive compound sùwò-[ñě-m] plus ‘it is’ clitic.

³²² Variant of t̄n̄jú-.

³²³ = rà:, usually cliticized, but here after a pause.

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

S: [yà-gùrô-m mùmùrⁿù mǔ: néyⁿ] àṅyàⁿ bù

O: mǔ: [yà-gùrô-m mùmùrⁿù-m] [[kò:ⁿ lǎ-w] gǔn] [yà-gùrô-m mùmùrⁿù-m] [érⁿé mâ:] gà-l-á kòy, yà-gùrô-m érⁿé támí = nì, [[yà-gùrô-m mà:] tìwè] wá, hà: [[kú nî:] wò] yà-gùrô-m mùmùrⁿù-m] gùyⁿ-bò

S: [kò:ⁿ ṅjé bè] jé-m

O: ṅgú pò:lùm bè, lěw, [kú bè→] jé-m, hà: [kò:ⁿ [lǎ-w]-[lǎ-w] kálà] jé-m gùyⁿ-bò, hà: kú = m [érⁿé bírè], [érⁿé tám-b-ì: kù] m̀bá— [[[mùmùrⁿù-m m̀bá] tám-b-ì:] bà→]³²⁴ ùrùyo-m-dó, tám-bú-m kòy, tám-bú-m [[m̀bá tám-b-ì:] bà→] ùrùyo-m-dó, gà: yàgùrô-m érⁿé tám-bí = nì, [yàgùrô-m mà:] tìwè wá, hà: [yàgùrô-m mùmùrⁿù-m] [[érⁿé ínìrⁿì kù] nánà:] [ṅgú kú = m],

mǔ: gòròm-gómjò-m, [mǔ: mâ:] [gòròm-gòmjò jéwⁿè-m] gúⁿ-yⁿ .: , hà: [[á kù:] mà:] gòròm-gómjò-m [èrⁿé-dána: bù], gòṅgòrò bè→, [yò ká:ⁿ] [érⁿé yà] [kú bè→] dégé-m, [pò:lùm bè] dégé-m, érⁿé kálà, pìyè: kálà pìyé-m, pí→³²⁵ pìyé-m, pìyè: pìyé-m, hà: [[jìrⁿéyⁿ wó] = m = dá dé] [ùsù-bórⁿò bé-m-dó], [jìrⁿéyⁿ wó sǎy] érⁿé yì:-wú-m

S: mǔ: yà, ùsù-bórⁿò kálà érⁿé yì:-wú-m mà

O: [mǔ: kálà] ùsù-bórⁿò, mǔ: ùsù-bórⁿò érⁿé yì:-wú-m, ùsù-bórⁿò érⁿé yì:-wú-m, [kúrⁿù bè→] núwⁿòyⁿ ìllé-tú-w dó wôy, gǎm yâ: érⁿé témbú-w, ùsù-bórⁿò érⁿé yì:-wú-m, gà: [gòròm-gómjò kày] [ùsù-bórⁿò kày] ṅgò, [jìrⁿéyⁿ wó] = m = dá dé wôy, hà: [kú kálà] [áṅyàⁿ bù]

S: mùmùrⁿù m̀bá yà

O: mùmùrⁿù m̀bá, mùmùrⁿù-m, nǔ-m = nì tám-bú-m, [ú tám-bú-tí: dè] ùrùyo-m, érⁿé [ùrùyo-y kù] [[àwǎ-m úrùyo-y] mà:] [[àwǎ-m úrùyo-y] mà:]³²⁶ mégé ùrùyo-m, [[érⁿé gâyⁿ→] kò:ⁿ ùrùyo-m] gò:-gúnúm [[ú lósò] wò] ǎy kò:ⁿ bú: náyⁿ-só-w gâyⁿ→] [áṅyàⁿ sǎy ùrùyo-m],

[nǔ: gǎm] núwⁿòyⁿ bú: tám-bú-tí: dè, éyⁿ núwⁿòyⁿ dógúⁿú dǎ-r³²⁷ dé wôy, ùrùyo-y dèrì-m-dó, lé:rè [pèrì-yěy ní:yⁿ sâ:] [kú dǎ-r dé] ùrùyo-y dèrì-m-dó, [[gǎm bóṅò bè] tám-bú-tí:y dé wôy] núwⁿòyⁿ ùrùyo-m túném hâl hâl [éyⁿ òmô:],

[[núwⁿòyⁿ kày] [àyâ: pìrè] [àyâ: ṅgú] = m [yè = n] bú: káyⁿ = nì] [mùmùrⁿù-m— tám-b-ì: kù], sóy [nà tùwⁿò:] táwⁿyⁿú-m [kú áyâ: kày] dôm yì-rí-yè: .: [[[nà tùwⁿò:] jèsù] wò] táwⁿyⁿí:-rè kày, [àyâ: ìrèw káⁿ-m] yá bú = rá dé wôy, hà: érⁿé mùmùrⁿù-m mà:, kú bèrè-wì

S: [kò:ⁿ ṅjé bè] [ṅjé bè] [érⁿé jéyⁿ]

O: mùmùrⁿù-m, [mùmùrⁿù-m jè:rⁿè],³²⁸ [kòmbí: wó] bé--m, kò:ⁿ ṅgú = m té→ mùmùrⁿù-m [í kày] kò:ⁿ ṅgú = m té→ jé-m ...

³²⁴ Asymmetrical comparative.

³²⁵ High-pitched imitation of the sound.

³²⁶ Unnecessary repetition of this phrase.

³²⁷ dè-rí-, Perfective Negative of ‘arrive’.

³²⁸ From jè:rⁿè ‘food’.

I: kî-kã:-m wó-m

O: ... júwó-m-dó-ý, hà: kî-kã:-m wó-m bà gùⁿ-bò

I: kî-kã:-m kúwó-m

O: kî-kã:-m kúwó-m bà, [[kò:ⁿ lă-w kúwó-m mâ→] júwó-m-dó-ý] [kî-kã:-m kúwó-m gùⁿ-bò], hà: éⁿé = m mùmùⁿù-m = Ø, mùmùⁿù-sákèlê-m bù: gǔ:ⁿ-rà-m kù, sákèlê-m [éⁿé yà] [mùmùⁿù déyⁿ→] = m, sákèlê-m tégè-m-dó [ájàyⁿ bù-bù:], [mǔ: yî-m] [sàlâ-m kù], [éⁿé mâ:] [mùmùⁿù-[yî-m]] gúⁿ-yè, éⁿé sákèlê-m = dá, sákèlê-m tégè-m-dó, [éⁿé kày] àsú: [sákèlê-m bò] bù, [[éⁿé tãmb-ì:] [ájàyⁿ bà→] ùrùyó-m-dó] [[[mǔ: tãmb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m-dó], éⁿé [òrⁿò ní: ò-yé-yè], [[ní:-[ò-y-î:] bé:] wó], yâ: bé-m, [[ní:-[ò-y-î:] wò] ú tí = ò] [ní: tí-tí-w = rà:], [[òrú kù] éⁿé néwⁿé-jê: dè] ùró yé-m, [ùró yè-w dè] yâ: ú kúwó-m

S: [â: yěy] [jèyⁿ tùwⁿô:] jé-yè mà

O: [â: yěy] [jèyⁿ tùwⁿô:] jé-yè, hà: [sákèlê-m tãmb-ì: kù] [[[má tãmb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m-dó, [[[mùmùⁿù díyⁿâ-m] tãmb-ì:] bà→] ùrùyó-m-dó, [sǒ-m múmùⁿù-m] yá bú, dùgú bú-w èsⁿ→, gà: ñgú-rù éⁿé bèl-lí-ý□, éⁿé yì-rí-ý□, éⁿé [sǒ-m múmùⁿù-m], [éⁿé kày] [nǔ-m tãmbí-tí: dé wôy], [nǔ-m mâ:] jâm nárⁿá-m-dó, èsⁿ→ ùrùyó-m gùⁿ-bò, hà: [mùmùⁿù: *problème*] ñgú kú = m

S: léylà [àṅâyⁿ--àṅâyⁿ káⁿ-m̄]

O: léylà, kú [[mò:-[pàg-î:] ùwò] jànyⁿ], [kú jànyⁿ] léylà nú-m̄, [ùwó [járⁿù [pè→rí-yěy³²⁹ súyⁿðyⁿ sâ:]] ùsù] wò],³³⁰ hà: [[kú úsù] wò] léylà gúyⁿ-yè, [lèylà pòrbá] [kú kày] [kú kú = m̄], gà: títir-lò-m̄ [[jǐnjè ðyò-ná:m] títir-lò-m̄ kày], [pèrí-yěy bèré-jé-w̄] dé wôy] [ùsù pèrí wàsá-w̄] [[kú nánà:nà:] léylà = Ø] wà gùyⁿ,

[[ùsù ṅgú] úsù] té→, léylà jànyⁿ, [máléykè bû: gũ:ⁿ-rà³³¹ kù bè] sí-yé-yè, [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] jùwò-w̄-r-á, [[[jǐnjè ðyò-ná:m] [nù kâ:ⁿ-m] jùwò-w̄-rí] wá] [gà: [[[járⁿù pèrí kù] pírè] bù] wà], hà: [mó:dífbò bè] [â: sǎy] ló, jángé jángé jángé jángé tín = ní, [járⁿù [pè→rí-yěy súyⁿðyⁿ sâ:] kù] wó] = m̄ = nì³³² mà:nù-wⁿú-m̄ bà,

hà: [kú gùn] [kú járⁿù] léylà ká:ⁿ-rà-w̄-bò, [kú járⁿù] sál sálá-w̄, jángé jángé-w̄, [jǐnjè-dímbáy wó] bù-w̄ dé wò:-wôy, [kú járⁿù kù] [jǐnjè ðyò-ná:m]— máléykè sí-yé-yè wà, [[nù kâ:ⁿ] [jǐnjè-dímbáy wó] â: témbú-m̄] mà→ [[sál wò] â: témbú-m̄], [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [[jǐnjè-dímbáy nánà:nà:] wò] ú tèm̄bi-bó dé wôy, [kú járⁿù kù] bàrà:jù ú béré-m̄ kù, [[[ùwó mùsú] bàrà:jù] mà:] mégé wá,

[ùwó mùsú], [kú járⁿù kù] bàrà:jù [ú mâ:] bû: ní-m̄ kù, [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [[núwⁿðyⁿ àyú-w̄ dè] [ló nàngúrù dò-ý]] ú tí-témbú-m̄, [kú járⁿù kù] cériyé-yè wà, [kò:ⁿ ṅgú] núwⁿðyⁿ ãy ló [[[ú tíwé-m̄] gâlù] wò]— nàngúrù dǒ:-rè bì-béré-w̄ béré-m̄-dó-w̄, [kú járⁿù kù] cériyé-yè wà, árzúgù,

hà: [kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ dàⁿ-wôy] [jǐnjè ðyò-ná:m] [kú járⁿù kù] pódé-m̄ bà, àrⁿá mùsú kù— ùwó mùsú kù, [[kú árⁿà-gùsù] î: lúwó = n̄] [[árⁿà-gùsú sòṅgú wó] [árⁿà-gùsú tà:nú:]] = Ø, hà: kú járⁿù kù, [kú bàrà:jù], [[kú = m̄ [ú mâ:] ní-yè] wà]

[máléykè bè] hâl hâl hâl hâl yě bû: bû: xxx, bàrá:jù— [[ú: mà:] dúwâ:w bû: jànyⁿ-m̄ dè] [bû: jànyⁿ-m̄ dè] [bû: jànyⁿ-m̄ dè], hâl yě-w̄ dè, *cing heures* òmò:-[sàl-sàl-î:] dò-ý, [kú jànyⁿ] ùró ló-yè wà, hà: ṅgú = m̄, [léylà, bàrkè [mó:dífbò bè] î: mà cíyé-w̄] ṅgú kú = m̄

S: [kú = m̄ = dá dé] [kò:ⁿ lǎ-w wôy] léylà ṅgò→

O: [kù kórò lǎ-w] [ṅgú = m̄ = dá dé] júwó-m̄-dó-ý

S: [léylà kà-nú-w̄³³³ dé yà] ṅjê: = Ø

O: [léylà kà-nú-w̄ⁿ] ársilâ-m̄ [ùsù pèrí-yěy súyⁿðyⁿ sâ:], [ùwó mǒ: páyá = n̄] [léylà kà-nú-w̄ⁿ dó wôy], [ú mâ:] náké:-rè, kà-nú-w̄ⁿ né: [[ṅjè gùn] kà-nù-w̄],³³⁴ [[bàrà:jù diyⁿàw] bû:

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

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

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

³³² Combination of clitics = m̄ (Focus) and = nì (Object Focus).

³³³ kà-ní-, Perfective Negative of káyⁿ- ‘do’.

³³⁴ L-toned form of Perfective Negative, after a focalized constituent.

gǔⁿ-w̄ kù] mì-rá-w̄ má→, àrjénè mì-rá-w̄ má→, [mì-rá-w̄ dé kày] mò:-[pàg-î:] bã-r³³⁵
gá, [[kò:ⁿ gùní] ú dùwó-w̄ kù] [né: kày] tégé tíném,³³⁶ [kà-ní káyⁿ = ní] [ú dùwó-w̄ kù]
I: ú [[nù kà:ⁿ]³³⁷ [[kò: yà→] [nì-nòrⁿú yá→]] [nù kà:ⁿ] dá-m̄
O: [[kú kù] ú tégé-tí: dè] [[kò:ⁿ gǔn] ú kà-nî:] [[íyà né:] [kú gâⁿ→] júwó-ȳ dè] [[ú mâ:]
tége-ȳ]
I: ñgó
S: *bon* [léylà kà-nú-w̄ dé] [júnúbù³³⁸ yá bú] má→ ñgó
O: [séllé = ní bù-w̄] kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ [séllé = ní bù-w̄]³³⁹ [ú ùrùyó-m̄-dó] [léylà kà-nú-w̄ dé] [zúnúbù
yá só-w̄], [[jǐnjè ðyò-ná:m] ársilâ-m = nì tò:rì] [káyⁿ³⁴⁰ gùyⁿ]
S: kú = ìn mà
O: ðⁿhó:, kú kú = ìn

³³⁵ = bà-rí.

³³⁶ Also, with 2Sg imperative, tégé tînâ. 2Pl equivalent: tégé tînâ-n.

³³⁷ 2Sg independent pronoun ú in apposition to a subject relative clauses headed (internally) by nù kà:ⁿ ‘one who’. The [nù kà:ⁿ] is repeated (redundantly) after the NP conjunction.

³³⁸ Variant zúnúgù. From Arabic √ðnb.

³³⁹ Unnecessary repetition of [séllé = ní bù-w̄]. kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ ‘(not) anything’ is logically the subject of ... ú ùrùyó-m̄-dó ‘doesn’t hurt you-Sg’.

³⁴⁰ Singular-subject imperative. 2Pl version would be káyⁿ-nì.

Text 2005-1b.11

Demons and dwarves

S: [sèytá:nù-m bìrè] òjê: = Ø

O: [[sèytá:nù-m bìrè] nũ-jé-w dè] sèytá:nù-m, [[jínna:jò-m yà→] [sèytá:nù-m yà→]]
tùwⁿô: = Ø [nàⁿá tùwⁿô] [bô: tùwⁿô]

S: [òjê gìn] [mũ: jínna:jò-m = Ø] [mũ: sèytá:nù-m = Ø] gíyⁿ-bò

O: jínna:jò-m nũ-jé-w dè, [[á kù:] mà:] jínna:jò-m [érⁿé ársilâ-m] = Ø [bù: ársilâ: [kú má:]
jínna:jò gúⁿ-yè], [sâl nũ: sálá-m dè] [î: bì:-á:dámà³⁴¹ sâl î: sálá-m dè] [î: òmbì-yí
sálá-yè], [títirì-lò-m kálà] déyⁿ→ [bù: mà:] sì-lè-r-á, [î: títirì-lò-m] érⁿé = ò [bù: títirì-
lò-m] = Ø, bù: sâl sálá-yè, [[sâl-sàlì-m wôy] mà:] jínna:jò-m gúyⁿ-yè, érⁿé jímni-m³⁴²
gúyⁿ-yè, jínna:jò-m kù,

hàya, sálá-m-nê: kù, [bù: cé:fé:rè] [[kú bè] mà:], sèytâ:n gúyⁿ-yè, hà: ògú = ò
bù: káw-gú-só-w

S: bù: [mòsú sáy] káyⁿ-yè

O: bù: [mòsú sáy] káyⁿ-yè, nũ: [ú ló-m dè] [dà:l-lí³⁴³ dé] [ú = ò, súyó-yè], [òrⁿò bù: góngà-w
wò] ló nú:-rà-w dè, bù:—, [bù: î: yí-yè] [î: bù: yí-m-dó-y□], [dàyⁿ nũ-m = ò î: yì:-
rà-w ògú gáyⁿ→] [bù: àngàⁿ î: yí-yè], î: bù: yí-m-dó-y□, hà: [bù: = ò sèytâ:n]
[tò:ò-tò:ò kù] [bù: = ò sèytâ:n]

S: bày jé:rⁿè yà

I: àwà-ná:m³⁴⁴ bày érⁿé né:, érⁿé = ò [kùrⁿù-túmbí: wàyì = náyⁿ] [nũ-m yé-m dè] dèy-jé-m
gũⁿ-wⁿ dè] [érⁿé bú dè], [nũ-m yé:-rè dè] [jìrè-nî: érⁿé àyí-m] kú = ò mà

O: non, jìrè-nî:, [núwⁿòyⁿ kày] [ú yé:-rè dè] [[ògú [ú má:] kì-kâyⁿ] gúyⁿ dé wôy], [jìnjè
òyò-ná:m] érⁿé³⁴⁵ cèlè-ìrèy [érⁿé mà:] gáⁿ-m, yé [[érⁿé dósù] wò] dō:-rè-w dé wôy,
ìrè:-rè, [kú = ò = dá dé wôy] nũ:— [ádúná:rⁿú nũ: dúwó-m-n-é] [nũ: yàrìyì-wú-m-n-é],
hà: [jìnjè òyò-ná:m sáy] bù: wò-só-w,

jé:rⁿè-m kù, érⁿé [[á kù:] mà:] [jé:rⁿè-m kù] [bù: yé [[úli bé:] wó] b-è:ⁿ-bò],
[[úli bè] àyú-w dè] [[kùrⁿù-tòrò bè] àyú-w dè] [yâ: b-è:ⁿ-bò], hà: [bù: kálà bè]³⁴⁶
dú³⁴⁷—] [[dàyⁿ bù: gũⁿ-rà-w] wò], [bù: î: yí-yè] [î: bù: yí-m-dó-y□], [ú má:] ló-m ló-
m, [bù: nìnjè bè] [ú má:], [[bù: kò:ⁿ gãm] lòsô: gáyⁿ-tú-w dó wôy] [[ú lósò] ày
pótó-tí-yè] wà òⁿòⁿ [nà tùwⁿô:] ló [bù: pìrè] cúbgà nú:-rè-w dé wò:-wôy,

³⁴¹ Fulfulde for ‘son(s) of Adam’, i.e. ‘human being(s)’. Can be expressed in Beni as á:dámà yì-tè: ‘children of Adam’.

³⁴² Variant of jínna:jò-m. The latter is based on Fulfulde *jinnajo*, while jímni-m is more directly based on the Arabic.

³⁴³ For /dà:rì-rí/. Cf. í dà:rú-w ‘it pleases me’, í dà:rú-m-dó ‘it doesn’t please me’.

³⁴⁴ Obscure word, apparently a synonym of jé:rⁿè.

³⁴⁵ This érⁿé (referring to *awaynam*) is superfluous.

³⁴⁶ Also just [bù: kálà] ‘they too, even they’.

³⁴⁷ dú-- (perhaps cut off) is obscure. The Pl bé following bù: kálà is disapproved of by my assistant, but recurs in the same speaker’s speech below (bù: kálà bè).

[bû: kálà bè] èsú [ú má:] má:yí-j-â: dé wôy, èsú [ú má:] nì-ní-yè gùyⁿ-bò, hâl òrⁿð:-dánáyⁿ yáram-yáram, [nú: gãm bóηð bè] [yì-tê: gáyⁿ→] [nú dá: dàⁿ-wôy], [[bû: òròsù] bú:³⁴⁸ mðγó ðèyú-w ðè] yí-yè wà, tá:, [[bû: tà: bé wôy] ní: yí-yè] wà

[yě nŭ-m, ló òrⁿí cê:rú-w gùⁿ-wⁿ ðè] yé-m-dó-w, màr-gí-tí-yè, [jǐnjè ðγð-ná:m] [[[í: wôy] gâlù] wò] dídéw gáyⁿ-só-w, hà: bú: = m òrⁿ:é, [bû: í: yí-yè] [í: bú: yí-m-dó-ÿ□], [bû: kálà] [bû: = m òrⁿ:é], [gǒ-w[†] gǒ-w[†]] [gǒ:-yè gǒ:-yè]

S: [bû: kày] mðsú [nú: má:] káⁿ-m-n-é dé, —

O: [bû: kày] mðsú [nú: má:] bú: kàyⁿ] jò:-rá, [bû: kày], [bû: kày]

S: íbílí:sà-m kù, éⁿé = m àm = Ø kú = m

O: íbílí:sà-m éⁿé = m éⁿé = m éⁿé = m éⁿé = m sèytá:n-ùm éⁿé = m àbàljinnè-m,³⁴⁹ éⁿé = m núwⁿðyⁿ, [Jeff [éⁿé má:] mínísírì-m = Ø éⁿé gùⁿ-m] kú = m éⁿé = m, [mðsù éⁿé káⁿ-m-dó-w wò:-wôy] ηgò, [[ú céìè] wò] [èsú wôy] gáⁿ-m-dó, [mðsú sáy] [[ú céìè] wò] gáⁿ-m, mðsú ú mà:nù-wⁿú-m, [ú má:] [[mðsù ñ] káyⁿ]³⁵⁰ wá gúⁿ-m, [[mðsù ñ] káyⁿ] wá gúⁿ-m, pá:yà wà gâ, mðsú sáy tó:rú-m, éⁿé kày

S: ú ðimbì-yí wàyú-w ðè

O: ú ðimbì-yí wàyú-w ðè, [éⁿé má:] hâl [gòngòró píré] yóγó-m gùyⁿ-bò, xxx hà: kú kù, [bísimilá:y gùⁿ-w dé wôy] [yâ: ðòró gó-m] bà, [[kú ní:] wò] ársilâ-m [[ú má:] kò:ⁿ ú káⁿ-m bôy] [bísimilá:y³⁵¹ gǔyⁿ]³⁵² wá, [bísimilá:y gùⁿ-w ðè] [yâ: yòγó wàngú-m] bà

S: [núwⁿðyⁿ bú: gùⁿ-m = bày] nú:-rà-y sèytá:n-ùm = Ø gǐ:ⁿ-yè mà→ [í kày], jinná:jò-m kú = m gǐ:ⁿ-yè mà→, ò:ⁿ íbílí:sà-m kú = m gǐ:ⁿ-yè mà→

O: óⁿhòⁿ

S: éⁿé má:, núwⁿðyⁿ [éⁿé má:] [òmô: ínjírí:-rè ðè] [sèytá:n mŭ: bé: = ñ] tó:rú-m wà [mŭ: ló] [mŭ: jíyá] mŭ:— [ló nŭ-m jíyè-w ðè] yá-ñ,³⁵³ [éⁿé má:] nŭ-m jiyé bèrè-jé-m wôy mà→ [káηηè gìgòrò-nŭ-m³⁵⁴ —] [éⁿé = m àm = Ø kú = m] [[â: yèy] píré]

O: éⁿé kù jinn—, ò: [sèytá:n-ùm kù] éⁿé = m, òmô: ínjírí:-rè dé wôy, [á nú:] òrⁿú mò:lú-m, hà: ú: [ηgú-dá: ló-w ðè] [ηgú kù] bírá-ñ, ú: [ηgú-dá: ló-w ðè] [ηgú kù] bírá-ñ, ú: [ηgú-dá: ló-w ðè] [ηgú kù] bírá-ñ, àηàyⁿ [á nú:] tó:rú-m bà,

lò mà ðè, ú [àηàyⁿ òrⁿú] yè-w, wí [[â-mâ:n yà→] [â-mâ:n ya→]] jǎ:r = ní í káyⁿ = nì, [â: yèy] éⁿé-m bú = b-ê:³⁵⁵ [â: yèy] òrⁿú-á:-r-à:, [[yâ-m ya→] [[éⁿé òrⁿòrò] yà→]] jǎ:r = ní í káyⁿ nì, [â: yèy] éⁿé-m bú = b-ê: [yâ-m gǒ:-rè],

³⁴⁸ The two 3Pl bú: pronouns in this sentence have disjoint reference. If they were coindexed, we would have gotten [â: òròsù] ‘their (own) clothing’.

³⁴⁹ Term not recognized by other informants, apparently based on an Arabic phrase.

³⁵⁰ Third-person Hortative.

³⁵¹ Arabic ‘in the name of God’. Pronounced distinctly from bísimilá, a phrase of invitation (to join in a meal, to enter a house) of the same origin.

³⁵² Singular-subject imperative.

³⁵³ Plural-subject imperative (cf. singular yá ‘come!’). See also bírá-ñ ‘work-Pl!’ just below.

³⁵⁴ Expressed more regularly (in terms of tonological rules) as [káηηè-gìgòrò]-nŭ-m, with káηηè ‘gold’ also subject to tone-dropping. Cf. káηηè gìgòrò ‘hat of gold’ (possessive), gìgòró ‘hat’.

³⁵⁵ Tape sounds like bú = b-â:, but bú = b-ê: is the correct 3Sg form.

[mũ: yà] yě-wè dè áṅà̀yàⁿ gǔⁿ-m̀ǹ bà, à [ú kòyⁿ] kò:ⁿ lǎ-w b̀rè-rú-ẁ, diyⁿá-w wó,
 [tìyǎm yá→ ↓tìyǎm yá→ ǹàṅgìrì-ỳ] [à [ú kálà] [kò:ⁿ lǎ-w] b̀rè-rú-ẁ], [[[à-mâ:n yà→]
 [à-mâ:n yà→]]] í jǎ:r = ní [[â: yěy] tú: súyó = ní] [tùwⁿḡ-m b̀ṅgḡ] tíwé:-rè,

ú = m̀ b̀rè b̀rè, [[káṅṅè gòrò] àyú-wè dè] [[érⁿé mâ:] ní-m̀] bà, [[káṅṅè gòrò] àyú-
 wè dè] [[érⁿé mâ:] ní-m̀] bà, [nù ú jà:rú-mà kù] [[[lòsḡ-wò:]-wò: yá b-è:ⁿ-bḡ] yì-rú-ẁ]
 [[tìwè-r-á dé] [lòsḡ-wò: wì-wó-yè]], [ú kày] b̀rè b̀rè-rú-ẁ,

à: [[káṅṅè gòrò] àyú-wè dè] [[nù nǔ-m jìyè-m̀ kù] mâ:], hà: jǎ:r = ní [ú káyⁿ = nì]
 [nǔ-m [á táwⁿyⁿà-m] jìyè-tí:], [érⁿé mâ:]³⁵⁶ [[káṅṅè gòrò] àyú-wè dè] [érⁿé mâ:] ní-m̀ bà

S: sèytá:n-ùm—

O: sèytá:n-ùm = ∅ kú b̀rè-m̀

S: bú: òm kù

O: òⁿhóⁿ, érⁿé = m̀ kú b̀rè-m̀

S: kú = m̀ = bè

O: ṅgú = m̀ [érⁿé b̀rè]

³⁵⁶ [érⁿé mâ:] is repeated (superfluously) in this VP chain.

Text 2005-2a.01 Tale of Yasama

S: A, [î: mà:] sé:njè: gǎyⁿ

A: ³⁵⁷ sé:njè: bé: = ñ ³⁵⁸

S and others: nà:té:

A: [[yà-sámà yà→] [érⁿé bô: yà→] [érⁿé nárⁿà yà→]] kù: wò] gàyⁿ

S and others: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: hàya, yà-sámà [[érⁿé bô: yà→] [érⁿé nárⁿà yà→]] [érⁿé nàⁿá = ní] yà:-yî-m [érⁿé = ì = dá dé] [[yà:-yî lǎ-m bôy] sè-né-bó³⁵⁹] wá, [àsùwⁿè-yî-m kù] [nù: kà:ⁿ] érⁿé [yà:-yî-m kù]— [[nù: kà:ⁿ] [érⁿé tègè-ré:] yî-yě: wò:-wôy] [érⁿé = ñ bû: tégè-w dè] ní-m-n-é gǐ:ⁿ-yè wà,

sèŋ tè:³⁶⁰ bārⁿà-w, [[sím mánì:] wò] â: náyⁿú-w, [nù: kà:ⁿ yě = ñ kú ǎy sí-lé bère-m wôy] [yà-sámà [érⁿé kô:ⁿ] = Ø] gî:ⁿ-bò wà, [nù kâ:ⁿ] yě-mà dè, ùró-jê: ùró-jê: ùró-jê:, [[pécère wò] dó-mà dè] sí-yé-yè wà, bère-m-n-é wá, [àŋàyⁿ káⁿ-m tíném] [káⁿ-m tíném] [káⁿ-m tíném] [[àsùwⁿè-yî jó:] yě = ñ lò-bó] wá, [ùró gǔn] bèl-l-á³⁶¹ wá,

dúmbù-m³⁶² yè wà, dúmbù-m á yě-w, hàya [á má:] yà-sámà jóró-m bà, [[[érⁿé má:] yà-sámà jóró-m] bô³⁶³] bē:-rē³⁶⁴ dé wôy, [[[sím kù] mánì:] wò] ùró-w dè] [[sèŋgù bārⁿà-w kù] ǎy sí-lè-ÿ]³⁶⁵ gî:ⁿ-bò wà, ó → wá³⁶⁶, yâ: á ló-w, [yà:-yî-m kù = ñ] á tíní-w, [[[tìwⁿěy kù] bínì kù] wó] á dǎ-w, hàya [[tìwⁿěy kù] wó] ùrí: tùmđi wà, [[tìwⁿěy kù] á táwá-w kù,

[*chanson en Jamsay*]

yà-sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà³⁶⁷ bâ:

yà-sámà bâ: pó:→ yà-sámà nâ:

[dâ:ŋà bārⁿù núŋò] yàŋá súnúŋó-tù-m dè

yà-sámà [mì cé] = ÿ jè-bè

gǔnñ déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ

³⁵⁷ First few texts are by Aminata Kagoye.

³⁵⁸ Standard story opening. Translated by my assistant as ‘a story for you-PI’. Partially Jamsay in form. Followed by unanalysable audience response form nà:té:.

³⁵⁹ sè-né-bó = sè-né ‘they don’t (=didn’t) have’.

³⁶⁰ Apocopated in this combination from sèŋgù: ‘water jar’.

³⁶¹ 3PI Perfective Negative of bère- ‘get’.

³⁶² dúmbù-m (PI dúmbù) ‘one without fingers and toes’. Cf. perhaps Songhay dúmbú ‘cut (off)’.

³⁶³ = wò ‘in’, after nasal. Can also be expressed with Definite kù as [[[érⁿé má:] yà-sámà jóró-m kù] wò] ‘in (the fact) that he loved Yasama.’

³⁶⁴ bē- ‘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 sámà here is short for yà-sámà, the girl’s name. There are slight variations in the repetitions of the stanza as to where the yà- is omitted.

jèṅṅèⁿé yàṅà-ím→ bá

áṅàyⁿ gí:ⁿ wà, ùrí: tùmḍì wà, dá:-wó ùró á wàngú-w, píníwⁿú = ní

yà-sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà bà:
sámà bà: pó:→ yà-sámà nâ:
[dâ:ṅà bàⁿù núṅò] yàṅá súnúṅó-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cé] = yè jè-bè
gǔnnè déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ
jèṅṅèⁿé yàṅà-ím→ bá

célè cíwⁿé:-rà-w, ó→ wá, ùró gò wà, [ùró á gǒ-w] [[sèṅgú: kù] á àyú-w] [[[á kù:] wò] á náyⁿú-w], [nâ: ṅâyⁿ] tàwà-rí wá, píníwⁿú = ní, sí-yé-m bà gí:ⁿ = ní, [á kù:] á símígé-w

yà-sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà bà:
sámà bà: pó:→ yà-sámà nâ:
[dâ:ṅà bàⁿù núṅò] yàṅá súnúṅó-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cé] = yè jè-bè
gǔnnè déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ
jèṅṅèⁿé yàṅà-ím→ bá

é:, sì-y-í: tùmḍì wà íyà, íyà áṅàyⁿ sí-yé-jè→ sí-ye-jè→ [[pécérè kù] wó] yě á dǒ-w,

yà-sámà nâ: pó:→ sámà bà:
sámà bà: pó:→ yà-sámà nâ:
[dâ:ṅà bàⁿù núṅò] yàṅá súnúṅó-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cé] = yè jè-bè
gǔnnè déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ
jèṅṅèⁿé yàṅà-ím→ bá

káyⁿ-jè⇒ yè = ní hâl bòlô: sí-yé yè wà, [[bòlô: kù] wó] sí-yé á yě-w, [sèṅgú: kù] á dǔ-w, [[[érⁿé bô:] òrù-mbò:] wò] á ló-w,

yà-sámà nâ: pó:→ yà-sámà bà:
sámà bà: pó:→ sámà nâ:
[dâ:ṅà bàⁿù núṅò] yàṅá súnúṅó-tù-m dè
yà-sámà [mì cé] = yè jè-bè
gǔnnè déyⁿ→ gùn gân déyⁿ
jèṅṅèⁿé yàṅà-ím→ bá

áṅàḃⁿ é^ré gǐ:ⁿ = nì, yà-sámà yǒ: tùm̀dì wà, [[bǒ:-m³⁶⁸ yǒ: tùm̀dì] wà] [[nà^rǎ-m yǒ: tùm̀dì] wà], dúmbù-m [bù: mà:] [[[̀nǐjé yǒ:] yǒ-m] mà→] wà,

[á má:] [[bù: m̀bó:-s̀ng̀g̀] ǹỳⁿ] bù: bàsà wà, [s̀ng̀g̀: kù mà:] [m̀ànì: wò] bù wá, [á má:] nà:-s̀í: s̀ò-ló wá, l̀s̀ò-s̀í: s̀ò-ló wá, bù: yà:-ỳi-m j̀ó-ró-m̀ g̀i:ⁿ, [[m̀ànì: kù wò] s̀ng̀g̀ bù:³⁶⁹ kù] ǎy sí-lé-mà dè, yà-sámà j̀è-ỳ g̀i:ⁿ-b̀ò, [á má:] [s̀ng̀g̀: kù] ùró:-r̀è, ǎy sí-lé-t̀í:, [bù: s̀ng̀g̀] ǐg̀òy wà, [nè: k̀ày] [[[yǎ-m kù] t̀éy kù] t̀èg̀è = ǹáy] á l̀ò-m̀ bá, hàyà [s̀ng̀g̀: kù] ǎy sí-lé á t̀í-ẁ,³⁷⁰

[yà:-ỳi-m [é^ré m̀a:] ǹi-b̀ò wà] [yà:-ỳi-m l̀ò-ỳ àw-r̀í wá] [p̀àṅá ǹỳⁿ] búmbùm búmbùm búmbùm, [á ỳa-m] j̀íj̀è→³⁷¹ áṅàḃⁿ l̀ò wà, [s̀é:nj̀è: ámélé^m] [[s̀è:nj̀è: dùm̀d̀ó:] ámélé^m]

O: [ú: c̀ìⁿì-j̀è^mèy³⁷²] l̀ó ẁáyá-ǹ

³⁶⁸ bǒ:-m ‘father’ and the following nà^rǎ-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 t̀í- ‘send’ or perhaps Perfective-1b -t̀í- separated from the preceding verb.

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

³⁷² Literally, ‘your-Pl nose-shard’.

Text 2005-2a.02 Tale of Asama

S: A [ú sé:njè: ñgú] éru-m kòy, [î: mà:] [lǎ-w yà] gǎyⁿ

A: gǎyⁿ

S: lǎ-w gǎyⁿ

A: sé:njè: bé: = ñ

S and others: nà:té:

A: àsùwⁿè-[yì-tê:]: [yà:-yí: pò:-yà-m] ò: [yà:-yí: pò:-àrⁿà-m] [[à-sámà³⁷³ kù:] wò] gàyⁿ

S and others: [[érⁿé kù:] wò] dǎyⁿ káyⁿ³⁷⁴

A: à-sámà yè = ñ [[érⁿé lósò] wò] mĩ:ⁿ gò wà

S: ná:m

A: [mĩ:ⁿ kù] jòṅgí→ bú: dé = ñ, sùs-î: àw-rì wà, [àsùwⁿè-yí-m kù] [érⁿé sǎy→], yà:-yí-m kù— ò: [àsùwⁿè-yí-m kù] [érⁿé sǎy→] [yà:-yí: kù] [yà:-yí: sùyⁿòy] = Ø, [ṅgòy hál lòsò: mĩ: á gò-w kù] [ṅgòy hál lòsò: nàwⁿá:-rè] wà, [[[àyà:-tòw njè:] = Ø éⁿé súsó-m mà] gì:ⁿ-bò] [[yámjá-m dúrò] nàyⁿ] súsó-m gì:ⁿ-bò wà,

hàya [yà:-yì tùwⁿò-m bòṅò] [[á gò-w] [[[á pò:-àrⁿà-m lòsò kù] sù-súsó-m] tùlù] wò], [á má:] [yámjá-m dúrò] làrà-rá: ló-m] gì:ⁿ wà, [tùwò-m bòṅò] [á sá-w] [érⁿé má:] ló-ré-y³⁷⁵ wá dé, [yámjá-m dúrò mà:] [[kú bér-ì:] nũm bú-w] wà, [jĩnjè áw-jê: dè] [[á má:] lì-ló-m] bà, hàya [[[érⁿé má:] lì-ló-m wò] bẽ:-rè dè] [[lò-w dè] [[jám nàyⁿ] yè-y³⁷⁶] wá, ó: wá,

á gò-w, [ósù wò] lõ-y tũmḍi, ló-jè→ ló-jè→ ló-jè→ ló-jè→ [érⁿé ló:-rè mà:] [yámjá ò:-m], [[érⁿé yá→] [érⁿé dímbà-yè yà→] [[bú: níyá-m = bày] tẽmbù] wà, [á ló-w] [[ò:-m kù] dúrò kù] wòmbù wà, wòmbí = ní [yòg-î: tũmḍi] wà, [érⁿé yóyó-m] [érⁿé yóyó-m] [érⁿé yóyó-m] [érⁿé yóyó-m],

yámjá-m [[ùsú sùyⁿòy] dǒ-r³⁷⁷ dé], [jĩrè ní: ní:yⁿí-w dè] yúró-m-dó wá, háya, [yòyó-jè→, yé-m bà] [[kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ tòw mùlò-y³⁷⁸ ní:y] [érⁿé mà:] nì] wà yà-pě-m³⁷⁹ [érⁿé ló-m = bày],

háya, [ùsú sùyⁿòy] kú ò-dó-m[†], yù-yúró-m, [bú: yà] [[érⁿé tùlù] wò] òmbì-yì-bó wá, [[[érⁿé tùlù] wò] òmbì-yí = ní] [[á: wòy] yòyó-jè→ yòyó-jè→] [yògò-w bè] gá: [yà:-yí-m kù néyⁿ³⁸⁰ dẽ:-rè, [gòlí éⁿé tíní:-rè yà→] [[érⁿé tùlù] wò] sósí-lí:-r-à:,

[kùrⁿù-yí: gò-ló = ñ], pòtò wà, háya kùrⁿù-yí: éⁿé pótó = ñ, [kùrⁿù ná:píníyà³⁸¹] kàyⁿ wà, [kùrⁿù kù] [bú: yà] [bú: gógó-m] [bú: gógó-m] [bú: gógó-m] [bú: gógó-m]

³⁷³ à-sámà is a man's name corresponding to the female name yà-sámà.

³⁷⁴ Third person Hortative.

³⁷⁵ Reported imperative negative. Cf. ló-ré 'don't go!'

³⁷⁶ Reported positive imperative. Cf. yá 'come!'.

³⁷⁷ /dò-rí-/ Perfective Negative.

³⁷⁸ mùlò- 'wrap (sth) up'. Here mùlò-y in adjectival function 'wrapped' modifies tòw 'kind, sort', which is in apposition to kò:ⁿ-kâ:ⁿ '(various) things'.

³⁷⁹ yà-pě-m 'old woman', here added as an afterthought, is the subject of the preceding clause.

³⁸⁰ néyⁿ 'now' is bracketed with 'the girl'. It seems to be a variant of nè 'now' as a quasi-topicalizing particle, and need not be translated.

[kúrⁿù kù] yě = ní mòlò wà, íyà [[érⁿé túlù] wò] òm̀bì-yì-b̀ò wà, ỳòỳó = ní yě = ní [[érⁿé túlù] wò] s̀òs̀ùlù b̀ò wà,

òs̀òr̀ò-pìnam yá só-w = b̀ê: wà, kù màsà wà, yě = ní nì:-bá: kàyⁿ wà, [[nì:-bá: kù] nó dùmdí tí = ní] [[p̀ù-p̀òtù kù] d̀èg̀é tí = ní] [b̀ù: ló:-r̀è mà: ẁòy] [íyà wàngí:-r̀è] wà, p̀íníwⁿú = ní íyà ỳòg̀-í: t̀ùmdì wà, [érⁿé ỳòg̀ó-m̀ = b̀ày] yě = ní [h̀âl ló [[érⁿé túlù] wò] s̀òs̀ùlù-b̀ò] wà,

p̀íníwⁿú = ní íyà t̀ùwⁿò-m wàsà wà, ẁòr̀ò-yí:, ùlì kàyⁿ wà, [[ùlì kù] t̀éré tì = náy] [l̀áwá:-r̀-à: b̀ù: g̀í:-l̀è mà: ẁòy] [yà:-yí-m [[á b̀ò:] là:r̀à:] d̀ò:-r̀è] wà, là:r̀à: yě á d̀ò-ẁ kù,

yà-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-m̀èrⁿé-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
ǹàṅá mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
b̀èrú mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
s̀òm mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-m̀èrⁿé-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò → wà

[[ìs̀è: kù] nú:] ǹù-r-á wá, íyà ỳèy-né àṅàyⁿ ǹùwⁿò wà, hàyà séw³⁸² b̀è-y³⁸³ wá dé, [â: là:r̀à: dá: má:] k̀ó:rⁿò yá g̀ó-m̀ bà

yà-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-m̀èrⁿé-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
ǹàṅá mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
s̀òm mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
b̀èrú mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-m̀èrⁿé-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò → wà

àṅàyⁿ g̀í:ⁿ wà, ṅ̀g̀ú kày yà-írè-m sárá só-ẁ wà d̀è, [[érⁿé nárⁿà] yì-t̀è:] g̀àmbú nì: k̀òẁò-b̀ò wà, g̀àmbú ǹé:rⁿé ày-b̀ò wà, hà: [àṅàyⁿ g̀ó = ní] [òs̀ù wò] éⁿé k̀ès̀è-b̀ò wà,

[érⁿé má:] yá yé-m̀ mà: wà, sá-álâw³⁸⁴ [á má:] yá yé-m̀ bà, [érⁿé má:] b̀èrè-ẁ mà: wà, òⁿh̀óⁿ [á má:] b̀èrè-ẁ wà, [[á b̀ò:] òr̀ù-m̀b̀ò:] yě á d̀ò-ẁ

yà-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
yà-m̀èrⁿé-írè jállù → bàrá yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
ǹàṅá mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
s̀òm mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,
b̀èrú mà d̀úr̀ò →, yàmjà-dúr̀ò →,

³⁸¹ As modifier, ‘huge, enormous, monstrous’. From Songhay (e.g. Hombori).

³⁸² Also pronounced ṣè →.

³⁸³ Reported singular-subject imperative. The verb is in third person Hortative form.

³⁸⁴ Arabic ?in šaa?-a al-ḷaah-u ‘if God wished’. Cf. local French *inchalla*.

yà-írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà-dúrò→,
yà-mèrⁿé-írè jállù→ bàrá yàmjà-dúrò→ wà

ájà̀yⁿ gí:ⁿ wà, [ájà̀yⁿ yě é^ré nú = ò] sù→gá³⁸⁵ yě á nú-w cêw, háyà [é^ré pó:-àⁿà-m]
é^ré³⁸⁶ bí-yé-w = bày tèm̀bù wà, [jì-jê:ⁿ [[lòsô: kù] wó] bú: bú = bày] yéy-yéy³⁸⁷ é^ré
gí:ⁿ = nì, lòsô: [kô:→ pù→]³⁸⁸ kàyⁿ wà,
[sé:njè: ámélem] [[sè:njè: dùmdó:] ámélem]

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 kô: ‘scab’ and expressive adverbial pù→ ‘flying off’. Cf. úsù pù→ ‘heat (i.e. steam) bursting out (e.g. from a cooking pot whose lid has just been taken off’.

Text 2005-2a.03

Girl and incestuous father

S: A, [lǎ-w yà] [î: mà:] gǎyⁿ

O: ó:, sé:njè: bé: = ñ

S: nà:té:

A: [[árⁿà-m yà→] [érⁿé yî-m yà→] kù: wò] gàyⁿ

S: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: árⁿà-m [yí-m á nàⁿá-w] [yǎ-m á jé-w], [yí-m á nàⁿá-w], [[yí-m kù] nárⁿà kù] lǎr gò-lò wà, lǎr á gò-ló-w kù, [yí-m kù] jé-m gi:ⁿ wà, [yí-m kù yà] [á má:] [á bô:] é-m-dó³⁸⁹ gi:ⁿ wà,

hà: [bô:-m kù] [[[[érⁿé má:] á é-m-dó] wó] bǎ:-rè dè] [[á úrò] ló gò-ý³⁹⁰] gi:ⁿ wà, ó: gi:ⁿ, á yòyó-w kù, [[sím máni:] wò] ùrò wà, [[[[sím máni:] wò] ùrò = ní] érⁿé káyⁿ = ñ] [nàⁿá-m ìsê: gó yě = ní], [á yî-m] jǎró→ yì-rí,

[[yí-m bô:] mà:] [yí-m ànyâⁿ kàyⁿ mà→] wà, [á má:] [érⁿé sérè] sò-ló gi:ⁿ wà, [[póngó wó] ló = ní] [[yì-tǎ: mà:] ùsùrù] wà, [[érⁿé yî-m mà:] [[sím máni:] wò] yá náyⁿa-w³⁹¹] gi:ⁿ bò wà, [[sím kù] bíⁿì] wò] á yě-w kù, [[yà:-yî-m kù] ìnìⁿì:] dènnéy gi:ⁿ-yè, [dènnéy wá érⁿé gi:ⁿ = ñ], wó→³⁹² wá,

[érⁿé má:] [[sím kù] wó] ñjê: = Ø érⁿé jê: mà: wà, ðⁿhó [[á bô:] mà:] á jé-m gǔyⁿ, [[á má:] érⁿé = ñ] é béré-m-dó gi:ⁿ] [[[úró kù] wó] gò-ý gi:ⁿ wà] [á má:] kú = ñ [[[sím kù] máni:] wò] ùrò-só-w wà, [[hò: mà] érⁿé gi:ⁿ] [é: wá] [[[érⁿé má:] yě sí-yé-ý] wá] sí-yé-m-dó wà,

úró á ló-w, mò:-jǎy á bíⁿé-w, [[[sím kù] bíⁿì kù] wó] á yě-w

kó dèné-ílè dèné-ílè
 [dégé-dégé sùgó:-yó] [dí: yàbì nò:],
 wúy ínâ:,
 [ìndè ànná] yá: mìn làrà: bòdà:
 íyé mìn jì-jíyⁿèdè,
 [dí: gè] [yímé-ní yǎy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà

káyⁿ→ dè: wà, háyà ló = ní íyà, [á nárⁿá = ñ] jàⁿí jê: wà, nàⁿá-m kù yà, [sèsú-m kù yà] á yě-w,

dèné-ílè dèné-ílè
 [dégé-dégé sùgó:-yó] [dí: yàbì nò:],
 wúy ínâ:,
 [ìndè ànná] yá: mìn làrà: bòdà:

³⁸⁹ There is a lexical distinction between é- '(woman) marry (man)', as here, and jě- '(man) marry (woman)', just above.

³⁹⁰ One could also say here: ... gó jè-ý '(she) must go away once and for all'.

³⁹¹ 'be put up on something', Stative form. Cf. transitive náyⁿí- 'put (sth) up on something'.

³⁹² wó→, reply to a greeting.

íyé mîn jì-jíyⁿèdè,
[dí: gè] [yímé-ní yǎy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà

[érⁿé tû: bè] yè-bó wá,

dèné-ílè dèné-ílè
[dé-gé-dé-gé sùgó:-yó] [dí: yàbì nò:],
wûy jú:mò,
[ìndè ànná] yá: mîn làrà: bòdà:
íyé mîn jì-jíyⁿèdè,
[dí: gè] [yímé-ní yǎy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà

káyⁿ→ dè:-bò wà, sî-y-î: àw-rí wá, hà: [[tìwⁿěy kù] dùlò-ý] gî:ⁿ-bò wà, [[tìwⁿěy kù]
bû: dùlò-m] [bû: dùlò-m] [bû: dùlò-m] [[yàgà-rá: kú dós= n], [[kú dósù] wò] [tìwⁿěy
lǎ-w] yá jéngé-w wá,

[[nà:-sî: kù] á dìm-bì-yí-w] [[lǎ-w kù wò] tàngù] wà, [[[lǎ-w kù] wó] tángí= ní]
érⁿé káyⁿ= nì, [àsùwⁿè-yìⁿ érⁿé té-gé:-rà-m], jàrⁿí-jê:-bò wà, jàrⁿá bû: jê: = n, [érⁿé yà]
á yě-w,

dèné-ílè dèné-ílè
[dé-gé-dé-gé sùgó:-yó] [dí: yàbì nò:],
wûy má:nù,
[ìndè ànná] yá: mîn làrà: bòdà:
íyé mîn jì-jíyⁿèdè,
[dí: gè] [yímé-ní yǎy yó:] nò:-dèm→ bà

[káyⁿ→ dè: wà] [sî-y-î: àw-rí wá], [[tìwⁿěy kù] bû: dùlò-m] [bû: dùlò-m] [[tìwⁿěy kù]
yà-yáyá-m] [[érⁿé yà] yá-dá: pì-péré-m], [yě= n [érⁿé yà] péré sî-yè wà] [tìwⁿěy kù]
yàgà wà, yâ: [érⁿé círⁿè:] wàsà wà,

[sé:njè: ámé-lém] [[sè:njè: dùmdó:] ámé-lém]

A: píníwⁿú yà, sé:nj→è: bé: = ñ

S and others: nà:té:

A: ìsê:³⁹³ [[yà:-yî-m kù] wó] gàyⁿ

S: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: hà: [yà:-yî-m kù] [érⁿé = nì bû: nàⁿá = nì] lǎ-w [[ìsê: kù] wó], [yà-gùró gò = n] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì] [bòlú mìrⁿ-î: àw-rí] wá, háyà [bòlú mìrⁿ-î: àw-rí] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì], jām mà bû: gí: = nì, [érⁿé má:] [yàrí: wó] ùrò-rí dé wòy, [[sùmöy wó] má:] bõl sí-yé-m-dó gí:ⁿ-bò wà

S: [yà:-yî-m kù] [mànî: wò] ùrò-rí dé

A: é:, [yà:-yî-m kù] [mànî: wò] ùrò-rí dé, [[[yà:-yî-m kù] [mànî: wò] ùrò-rí dé] bõl sí-yé-m-dó má→ wà] [ðⁿhóⁿ bõl sí-yé-m-dó wá], háyà, [ô: bè] mð:lí = n, [[[érⁿé bô: yà→] [érⁿé nàⁿà yà→]] má:] ló = n, hà: [â: ìsê:] ñâyⁿ→ bõlú màyⁿá:-rè→, [[érⁿé yá:-yî-m kù mà:] [mànî: wò] ùrò-rí dé] [bòlú sí-yé-m-dó] gí:ⁿ-bò,

[yî-m kù] [á mà:] ní-y wá, ô:-m, bô:-m hô:ⁿ mà: wà, é: wá, [nàⁿǎ-m yà] hô:ⁿ mà: wà, é: wá, háyà, [ní-y gí:ⁿ-bò dè] [â:³⁹⁴ mà:] ní-yⁿè wà, [â: mà:] [[nì:-nòrⁿú yá→] [kô: yà→]] [àrsê: má:] [[nì:-nòrⁿú yá→] [kô: yà→]], [[â: yî-m kù] [yàrí: wó] ùrò:-rè dè] [bõl mì-mírⁿé-m dè kày], [â: mà:] [yî-m kù] [érⁿé mà:] ní-tí-yà wà, ó: wá,

[yû: gò-ló = n] [sárgà â: tóro-w] [â: kó³⁹⁵ -jé-w], [yà:-yî-m kù = n] [mànî: wò] àñâyⁿ ùlù-rù³⁹⁶ -bó wá, [mànî: wò] á ùrò-w, háyà [yâ: bú-túnó³⁹⁷] bú-túnó bú-túnó bú-túnó, [yà-gùró gò = n] hâl ló yè = n, yî-m nàⁿà wà,

yî-m nàⁿá = ní, érⁿé káyⁿ = nì, [bòlô: érⁿé sí-lé-yè gí:ⁿ = ní] [[yî-m kù] àsùwⁿè-yî-m = Ø] bà, hà: [[érⁿé má:] ló:-rè dè] [érⁿé má:] [[érⁿé yî-m kù] ìnìrⁿì:] tégé-ré-y wá dé, [[yî-m kù] ìnìrⁿì:] [á má:] àrà-yà-lógòrò gǎyⁿ-só-w wà

S: àrà-yà-lógòrò

A: àrà-yà-lógòrò, [laughs] é: [á má:] àrà-yà-lógòrò gǎyⁿ-só-w wà, ó: wá, [bòlô: sí-yé = n] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì] [ìnjě-m [[érⁿé túlù] wò] òm-dì-bó] wá, [érⁿé má: = m dè] [ñgú ló-w dè] [tègè-rí káⁿ-m-dó wá] [érⁿé tégé-tí: dè] [ìnjě-m kù mà:] yè [â: mà:] tégé-y wá,

[ó: wá gí:ⁿ = ní] yè = n [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì], [nù kâ:ⁿ] [yà-ìrè yè:-rè wà] [yà-ìrè yè:-rè wà], [[yà-ìrè mà:] [yî-m nàⁿá = n] yè-só-w wà kòy] ðⁿhóⁿ [á má:] yî-m nàⁿá-tí: wà, [[érⁿé yî-m] ìnìrⁿì:] àñâyⁿ gí:ⁿ-yè mà:] wà, ày [á kày] [[á yî-m] ìnìrⁿì:] tégé-m-dó wá dé, [mànî: dá:] á = n [tégé-ré-y gìn] [bòlô: á si-lè-bó] wá [[á kày] tégé-m-dó] wá,

[[érⁿé má:] mùyⁿó káyⁿ wá] [tégé-y wá] [â: mà:], háyà [á má:] [bû: mà: kày] tégé-m bà, [[á yî-m] ìnìrⁿì: mà:] àrà-yà-lógòrò gǎyⁿ-yè wà, [jàyà érⁿé] [[ìnjě-m kù]

³⁹³ ìsê: ‘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 kó- ‘eat (cream of millet, crushed millet, couscous)’. Contrast pé- ‘eat (cooked meal, millet cakes, fruits)’, kúwó- ‘eat (meat, peanuts), chew (kola nuts)’, púwó- ‘eat (dry flour)’

³⁹⁶ ùlù-rù-, causative of ùrò- ‘go up’.

³⁹⁷ -túnó repeated several times (backgrounded imperfective in narrative).

sérè] sò-ló] [[injě-m kù] [á yě-w] [dùyⁿóⁿù wò] yá bíyⁿá-wⁿ398, bìyⁿ-rⁿíⁿ399 á gǒ-w, [pòṅgú wó] á nú-w,

[cějé lé bè gâ:] cèjè,
 [wòṅó lé bè gâ:] wòṅò
 àrá-yà-lógòrò àrà-kàlá-yá-lógòrò
 ṅàṅ kòyⁿ ṅàṅ kòyⁿ wà

[laughs] [né: kày], [[yà-irè gòlì] éⁿé tìn = nì] injě-m = Ø, [pòṅgù éⁿé ló-w wò:-wôy] [ló-w dè]

[cějé lé bè gâ:] cèjè,
 [wòṅó lé bè gâ:] wòṅò
 àrá-yà-lógòrò àrà-kàlá-yá-lógòrò
 ṅàṅ kòyⁿ ṅàṅ kòyⁿ wà

háya àṅàyⁿ éⁿé káⁿ-m = bày, [á kày] né: ù-?úró-m bà, [injě-m sérè] sò-ló → [á má:] tégé:] [[injě-m á bòⁿó jíyé-m] bà] [[mànî: dá:] á ùró-w dè] [á dúwó-m-nè] wà,

hà: ínjírí = ní [[mànî: wò] ùró = ní] [éⁿé káyⁿ = nì] [éⁿé má:] [yí-m ínìⁿ:] tégé-w = bè má: tégè-rí má → wá, [á má:] kày, tégè-rí wá, injě-m [éⁿé má:] tégé-w wà dè, [éⁿé má:] tégé-ré-y bú: gíⁿ = nì, [[éⁿé má:] tégé-m-dó gùyⁿ = bè síní] [[yí-m kù] ínìⁿ:] àrá-yà-lógòrò gùyⁿ →, á má: yà

[cějé lé bè gâ:] cèjè →,
 [wòṅó lé bè gâ:] wòṅò
 àrá-yà-lógòrò àrà-kàlá-yá-lógòrò
 ṅàṅ kòyⁿ ṅàṅ kòyⁿ

[á má: yà] àṅàyⁿ gíⁿ wà, ðⁿhó [éⁿé má:] tégé-w mà → wà, ðⁿhó [á má:] tégé-w wà, [éⁿé = nì yâ: äy = ní] [bòlô: sì-lè-bó wá] [éⁿé cíⁿè:] yâ: wàsà wà

³⁹⁸ bìyⁿí- ‘lie low, lurk (unseen)’, cf. bàṅgìyí- ‘hide (e.g., behind a wall)’. 3Sg Stative form.

³⁹⁹ bì:-rⁿí ‘come out of hiding, reveal oneself’; reversive of bìⁿí.

Text 2005-2a.05

The drowned junior co-wife

A: píⁿíwú kálà sé:njè: bé: = ñ

S: nà:té:

A: [[[yǎ-m yá→] [érⁿé yá-nòⁿù-m yà→]] kú] wò] gàyⁿ

S: [[bú: kù] wò] dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

A: háyà [[yǎ-m òngòrò é = ní] érⁿé káyⁿ = nì], [yà-gùrò-kàlá érⁿé = nì jê:-bò] wà [érⁿé = nì bú: jê: = nì] [yà-díyⁿà-m = nì úrò tèm̀bì] wà, [â: yèy] tǎ: ló-y gí:ⁿ-bò wà, [né: kày] tǎ: â: ló-w̃[†],

[[érⁿé kù] [mànî: wò] á bé-w̃] [lò:sú-m kù] bòlò: sî-lè wà, [érⁿé nî:] [érⁿé mâ:] kówó dè:r wà, [á kô:ⁿ] ǎw-jê: wà, [[á kô:ⁿ kù] ǎw dǎy á dùwó-w̃ kù] [yà:-yì lò:sú-m kù] [á kô:ⁿ kù] érⁿé kówó-m̃ = bày, érⁿé = nì á dàmbú-w̃ tǎ: gàyⁿ wà,

[tǎ: gǎyⁿ = ní] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì], nùmbú-m érⁿé tógó⁴⁰⁰-jê: wà, tógó = ní érⁿé só-w̃ = bày, [yǎ-m kù] [érⁿé pó-àⁿà-m] àmà-sàgú gí:ⁿ-yè yá bú wá, àrsè:-bèrè-m̃ = Ø bà, [érⁿé yá-nòⁿù-m kù] [á nínjè] ǎy á dũ-w̃ ló:-rè wà,

àrsè:-bèrè-m̃—, [[yǎ-m kù] ló = ní] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì], [érⁿé òngòrò] [á yá-dà:-m] néy má: wá, [[á kày] [érⁿé yâ-m] yì-rí wá dé] [[[â: yèy] gò-bó wá] [[érⁿé má:] là:rà: wàngí-m̃ gín] wàngí→, [á yà] [[á nî:] kówó = ní] yê:-rà-w̃] [á kày] [érⁿé sérè] sò-ló wá,

î→, [érⁿé má:] [yǎ-m kù] lò:sú-m̃ = Ø [là:rà: wàngí→] [là:rà: érⁿé wàngí = ní] [érⁿé má: kày] lǎ-w, érⁿé tèwⁿjè-rⁿí má→ wá, òⁿhóⁿ [á má: kày] érⁿé tèwⁿjè-rⁿí wá kòy, [[érⁿé yâ-m] là:rà: wàngí = ní] yè-rí→ [á má:] [àṅâyⁿ jàyⁿ] érⁿé tèwⁿjè-m̃ mà→ wà, ó: wà,

háyà ìsê: bòrⁿú ǎy = ní, [yǎ-m kù] jòrò-ré: gò-bó wá, [ùsù-dérⁿí jòrò dèrⁿé = ní] [yì-r-á wá] [ánṅayⁿ nà-bó wá] [yì-r-á wá], [nárⁿà òm̃ô: kù] yǎ-m— àsùwⁿè-yî-m [érⁿé pó-àⁿà-m] àmà-sàgú [tǎ: á ló-w̃], [sàbǒl jâyⁿ] nî: kówó-m̃ bà gí:ⁿ = ní, nî: érⁿé múmbó-m̃ = bày, [pìrè: dá:] á bé-w̃,

[ní: bérè] sàbǒl búmbúm

ǎ: = ỹ bàrⁿá:-rⁿà

[nî:-bá: bérè] sàbǒl búmbúm

ǎ: = ỹ bàrⁿá:-rⁿà mà→

mí àmà-sàg = î:

àmà-sàgú yá: [émé ànà-běṅ] yá gó: = kò

jâm [jèné mà bèn] = î: mà

òyòlúm mà yà-dīṅé wò:-ró bèy

[kó bèn] bàrⁿá:-rⁿà-bò

nùṅò-lú-m gà yǎ: tògò

[àyà-yà:-èré = ỹ mí dà má kúnó-sà nà]

nùṅò-lú-m gà yǎ: tògò→ wà

⁴⁰⁰ tógó- ‘catch (something thrown or falling)’

ánà̀yⁿ gí:ⁿ wà, à̀sùwⁿè-yí-m séw→ bè wà, â: [[[nì: ñgú] pírè] má: kày] jâm = dá wá dé,
íyà yèy-né [nì: kù] mùmb-î: tùm̀dì wà,

[nì: bérè] sà̀bõl búmbúm
ǎ: = ÿ bàⁿá:-rⁿà
mí à̀mà-sàg = î:
à̀mà-sàgú yá: [[émé à̀nà] bẽn] yá gó: = kò bày
[ñé mà bèn] = î: mà
ðỳðlúm mà yà-dìñé wò:-ró jè-bò
[kó bẽn] bàⁿá:-rⁿà-bò
nùñò-lú-m gà yǎ: tògò
[à̀yà-yà:-èré = ÿ mí dàmá kúnó-sà nà]
nùñò-lú-m gà yǎ: tògò→ wá

ínjírí = ní ló [érⁿé mà:] tègè-bó wá, [ô:-m mà:] bú: tégé = nì, háyà [ô:-m íyà
píníwⁿú = ní] ìsè: ñà^rí m̀ò:lí = í, háyà [à̀mà-sàgú má:] [á pó-yà-m] [nì: wò] yá bú
gí:ⁿ→, [né: kày] dà̀yⁿ gò-ló-yè dǎwrù [á mà:] nù-y gí:ⁿ wà
[[bú: mà:], ó: wá], [[nì: kù] cé:rì wò] yě = í [érⁿé pó-à̀rⁿà-m kù] ñà^rí-jè→ yè-bó
wá, [érⁿé má:] dó mùmbó tíni-ÿ wà, mùmb-î: tùm̀dì wà, érⁿé múmbó-m = bày

[nì: bérè] sà̀bõl búmbúm
ǎ: = ÿ bàⁿá:-rⁿà
[nì:-bá: bérè] sà̀bõl búmbúm
ǎ: = ÿ bàⁿá:-rⁿà mà→
[mí à̀mà-sàg = î:]
à̀mà-sàgú yá: [[émé à̀nà] bẽn] yá gó: = kò bày
[ñé mà bèn] = î: mà
ðỳðlúm mà yà-dìñé wò:-ró jè-bò
[kó bẽn] bàⁿá:-rⁿà-bò
nùñò-lú-m gà yǎ: tògò
[à̀yà-yà:-èré = ÿ mí dàmá kúnó-sà nà]
nùñò-lú-m gà yǎ: tògò→ wá

ó: wá gí:ⁿ, yèy-né bàⁿá— [yèy-né érⁿé gǎyⁿ = nì yà] [ánà̀yⁿ káyⁿ wà], ánà̀yⁿ kú
káyⁿ = nì, háyà, [[nì: b̀òñò] mà:] [yǎ-m kù = ñ] â: lémdé-ẁ, [érⁿé = nì gò-ló = ní] [úró
jí-jè→ yé-yè gí:ⁿ = ní] bú: yé-m̀ = bày,

[[nì: b̀òñò] yà] [à̀rsé: yá→] gùlò→ sò:→, [érⁿé mà:] ánà̀yⁿ òm-dí tì wà, [òm-dí
érⁿé tí = nì] [[érⁿé yá-ǹòrⁿù-m yà] [nárⁿà òmò:] á yě-ẁ] [[[nì: wò] pírè] nù] wà
[[kù-kùmbò pílé] gò] wà,

[sè:ñjè: ámélem] [[sè:ñjè: dùmdó:] ámélem]

S: [î: mà:] sé:→jè: gàyⁿ-ý

B: yà-pě-m tùwⁿô-m, [[á kû:] mà:] [ðrⁿð:-dáná: á bé-w] [ãrsě: mànǵí= ní] [érⁿé káyⁿ= nì],
[hâl jò-bó] bérù, áywà [érⁿé yâ:-yì-m], [[tadùṅgú-m yâ-m] bò] bù, kú bú nè, [[tî-tâ:-m
yà→] [jǒ:ⁿ-m yá→]] [kú sérè] sè-né,

[ùsú tùwⁿô-m] sù:-m â: jìyé-w, [sù:-nàwⁿâ: kù] jí-jè⇒ â: yě-w, [yà-pě-m kù mâ:]
nì-bà⁴⁰¹, [[[á ná:mù] nìnjè] wò] pótó gàyⁿ, [[érⁿé dósù] wò] éwⁿrⁿí→ â: dé-w,
ínjírí= ní, ðrⁿð:-dáná: lò-bà, ló kú-dá: bëy â: dé-w,

píníwⁿú â: yě-w, [jè-n pëyⁿ-n ná:-m] sùgù-dìgé wá, [yà-pě-m [sù:-nàwⁿâ: kù]
gò-ló= ní] [[bû: mà:] dè:rì], [sù:-nàwⁿâ: kù] â: àwú-w kù, [[érⁿé má:] áw kúwó-ý] wá,
[ṅgú má:] sèsù-mánù wà nà→,⁴⁰² kú-dá: kú bà-rí wá gá,

ó:→ wá, [íyà áw= ní] [[ná:mù nìnjé] wó] gǎyⁿ dùwò, ínjírí= ní [íyà ðrⁿð:-dáná
lò-bà], [ùsù yèyné] â: yě-w kù dè', [jè-n gǎn ná:-m] sùgù-dìgé wá, sù:-díyáy [bû: mà:]
gò-ló nì:⁴⁰³ [[érⁿé má:] [â: mà:] èwⁿrⁿé: = Ø â: gúⁿ-w kù] [kòrú: mà:ní-só-w mà→] wà,
kúwó-ý wá [érⁿé bàndè], ó→ wá,

ǎy= ní [érⁿé gǎyⁿ= nì], [érⁿé yì-m] [tadùṅgú-m yâ-m kù] [á yě-w] kú gò-ló
kúwó-jê:, áywà kúwó éⁿé jé-w kú nǎyⁿ, [ùsù lǎ-w] [â: yě-w] [jè-n gǎ-n ná:-m],
sùgù-dìgé bû: gǔⁿ= nì, lúgúró= ní⁴⁰⁴ yì-rí,

áywà [[érⁿé má:] [sù:-díyáy kù] yì-rí dé kày], wá:jíbì bérù-m ní-m bà, [hò:ⁿ
mà→ wà] [é: wá] [yà-pě-m kù yà] [tèy jó:] mìrá, hà: [bû: mà:] [bèr bû: jóró-m] dó
wò-ý wá, [bérù-m kù] â: wó-w, ínjírí ðrⁿð:-dáná: â: ló-w, séwⁿé= ní símbé kúwó â:
jé-w,

[ùsú yèy] [ùsú tǎ:n] lává= nì, ínjírí yá⁴⁰⁵ yé-yè, [íyà â: sá-w kù dè] [jè-n gǎ-n
ná:-m] sùgù-dìgé wá, yà-pě-m sù:-díyáy ṅgó= rà:,⁴⁰⁶ [íyè yà] [bû: mà:] bérù-m wò-ý
wá, [bû: wó-m nè]⁴⁰⁷ [bû: wó-m nè] [bû: wó-m nè] [[bér kù kày] yě= n] [[né: kày]
[bèrì-yì bù:sú-m sǎy] yě wàsà],

hà: [bèrì-yì bù:sú-m] wàyàtù wàsá-w [kú nǎyⁿ], [tín= ní [bû: káyⁿ= nì]] [[[érⁿé
bérù kù] gó] kú⁴⁰⁸ dùwⁿó:-r-à:], [[bèrì-yì bù:sù] bû: yì—, éⁿé yì:-rà mǔ:]⁴⁰⁹ mâ:, [[ùsù
lǎ-w] â: yé-rè] [[tadùṅgú-m dúgù] ṅgú dò-rí], [jâm wòy] [éré mâ:] ṅgó wá, yà-pě-m
ínjírí= ní [kú yò:] yó-m tìném éⁿé só-w nè,

⁴⁰¹ This speaker pronounces the 3Pl suffix as -bà (-bá), as in Jamsay, rather than -bò (-bó).

⁴⁰² Clause-final particle nà→ ‘only, merely’.

⁴⁰³ Falling-toned alternative 3Sg Perfective of ní- ‘give’.

⁴⁰⁴ Sounds like low-toned = nì on tape, but it should be = ní (same-subject subordinator).

⁴⁰⁵ Existential yá.

⁴⁰⁶ Assistant suggests dropping = rà:.

⁴⁰⁷ -m nè ‘kept ...-ing’, with invariant Imperfective -m and preparticipial subject pronoun (Sg éⁿé
wó-m nè ‘he kept taking’). Used like -m dè.

⁴⁰⁸ This kú ‘it’ can be omitted here.

⁴⁰⁹ Repair as [[bèrì-yì bù:sù] éⁿé yì:-rà mǔ:]. Demonstrative mǔ: induces tone-dropping on the
preceding Imperfective-1 participle.

[érⁿé ówⁿrⁿù] [tàdùngú-m kù] [íyé kày] érⁿé pò-ré: yè, tàdùngú-m á yě-w kù dè^t, [[á ówⁿrⁿù] má:] pǒ:→ wá, cìwérù káyⁿ jè = ò, [érⁿé má:] òjé = ò dònjí = ní, yǒ: yó-m tìném bù mà→^t wá,

[térèw = Ø wà] [bèr-hòggò kà:ⁿ, [[á nâ:] wò] érⁿé dùwó-w kù nàjànà:], [[tì-tǎ:-m yà→] [jǒ:ⁿ-m yá→]], á = ò náméré = ò, kú dò wóy, dúrùgà kúwó j-â: wà, [bèrì-yì bù:sù] wàsà mú:, tèwá, [bù: yé-rè] [tàdùngú-m dáyⁿ érⁿé bù-w ògú gáyⁿ→] [kú kàⁿ-m⁴¹⁰] gì:ⁿ wà, kú yô: yǒ:-rà-w wà,

áywà [kú = ò dè kày] [nà:rⁿá bú-w] wà, [érⁿé má:] [bèrì-yì-m kù] [á mà:] ní-y wá, [òwⁿrⁿù-m kù yà] [bèrì-yì-m kù] ǎw-jê:, ǎw á jé-w kù dè, érⁿé bú nè, [[úsú kù] úsù]⁴¹¹ [jǐnjè pǒtté = ò], bòlú yě:-rà-w, áywà [bù: yà] yá yé-yè,

hà: yà-pě-m [érⁿé má:] [kùlùrù ògú dá:] nú bàngí-yì-y wà, tàdùngú-m kú-dá: nú érⁿé bàngá-w nè, [[tì-tǎ:-m yà→] [jǒ:ⁿ-m yá→]] â: yě-w kù dè, [jè-n gǎ-n ná:-m] sùgù-dígé wá, áywà [â: mà:] yě:-r-à: wà, [â: bèrì-yì-m kù] wò-ré:, [hò:ⁿ mà→ wà] [é: wá],

áywà [[bù: bèrì-yì-m má:] [[kùlùrù kú]⁴¹² pírè] yá bú gá]⁴¹³ [dó wò-y] wá, òrò = Ø bòlú mírⁿé-ò tìném bù, dó táwá bù: tìn = ní, [érⁿé tégù⁴¹⁴ kù] lóyó:-rè,

áywà térèw = Ø wà, î:, [yà-pě-m kù má:] bèr-nò:’{wⁿ-î:}— [bèrì-yì-m nó:-wⁿ-î:]⁴¹⁵ júwó-m bà dè, bèrù-yì mú: já:tì kày, [[â: yèy cém kálà] dá-m] bà ùrò = náy [â: diyⁿà nàyⁿ] ló-yè wà, ó→ wá, bàsá gò-lò bà, gó:ògò, jǒ:ⁿ-m kù, [jìré: dá:] èw-yè^t, [tì-tǎ:-m kù] [tùlú wó] èw-yè^t,

[bù: ló-m nè] bǒl cèrⁿi-yⁿi, kú cèrⁿù kù nâyⁿ, [jǒ:ⁿ-m kù] tìn = ní [érⁿé káyⁿ = ò], [jǒ:ⁿ-m kù] tàdùngú-m = Ø, á sá-w kù dè, [á má: kày] òmjú òmjú-m bà, péré sì-yè, [á sí-yè-w kù dè] yòg-î: tùmù, [érⁿé yóyó-m] [érⁿé yóyó-m] [érⁿé yóyó-m] [ló á wàngú-w] [kú nâyⁿ], [dè: tǎ: yè-î:] wà, nâ:m bà,

wó èné yá é:-rà mà→ wà, [dáyà: dáyà: là: dè] [wó é:-tǒyò wò:-rò] wà, háyà, [cè: wó ùrò jìnè kù] [[èné bé] bàjà = yⁿ] wà, [àrⁿá wàyⁿâ: gá bé: yà fú:] [wó jǎg kò-rú jèjè-rⁿé] wà, áywà [kú nâyⁿ], bǒl cén = ò, tìn = ní érⁿé káyⁿ = ò, tàdùngú-m = Ø,

léjù wà, há:ⁿ wá, èné bé: bé:-Ø wà, wó [nì-dí:ⁿ cè] sùgò-gó-Ø wá, [ùsùrⁿó sù:ⁿ-Ø wà] [nì-dí:ⁿ cè] sùgò-gó-Ø wá, gó:ⁿgò káyⁿ dè:,

òbá á yòyó-w kù dè, ònjírì = ní, ló:-rè, òⁿhóⁿ [tì-tǎ:-m kù] = ò yòyó = ò lò, ló:-rè, [á ló-w kù dè] [[[á yâ:] mà:] á sá-w kù dè]^t, [jǒ:ⁿ-m má:] [á nárⁿà] nàrⁿi-jê: wà, [â: yèy] nâyⁿ→ tàdùngú-m ùrò yé-yè bà, [á má: kày] [bǒl cèrⁿi-yⁿi = ò] yì = ò, là:rà: wàngú-m nâyⁿ, [á má:] [yòyó = ò èrè wá, [érⁿé má:] íyé bònó bèrè-jê: wà, [á úrò] á nú-w kù dè^t, gó:ògò,

⁴¹⁰ Hortative of káyⁿ ‘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 tégú ‘full size’, cf. verb tégé- ‘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 nò:-wⁿ-î: ‘giving drink to; raising, bringing up (animal)’.

[dê: jòŋɔ̀ bɛ̀ úrò mírⁿè] [pě: yá gó: kò] wà
 [dê: tá: mà úrò] [tòm bɔ́jɔ̀w-bɔ́jɔ̀w⁴¹⁶] wá
 ùrùbúgúrù jám búgù nà: lì wà

ŋâyⁿ→ é^ré káⁿ-m̄ n̄è, jɔ̀:ⁿ-m̄ ùrɔ̀-jé = ò, [[[tì-tã:-m̄ kù] ɔ̀rù-m^bò:] wò] yè, yě = ní,
 wó dâ:yá pɔ̀: wá, [tín = ní é^ré káyⁿ = nì] [tì-tã:-m̄ kù] [jɔ̀:ⁿ-m̄ kù] ùrɔ̀-jè⇒--, [jɔ̀:ⁿ-m̄
 kù] tàdùŋgú-m̄ ùrɔ̀-jè⇒ yě:-rà-w, kú ŋâyⁿ, áywà [bú: mà:] sěw dòlò-y wá, [yã: kù
 bɛ̀⇒ yì-tě: kù bɛ̀⇒], [sěw dóló wăy = ní] bú: bú = bày,

tùwⁿɔ̀-m̄ bòŋò á sá-w̄ [èné mà nùmó dé:ⁿ-yè] wà, [wó mírⁿé] séréwé súgò wá,
 [sá:ⁿ yó wò dè] nârⁿâ:-∅ wà, yàgá s̄i-yè, tàdùŋgú-m̄ äy kúwó-jê:, hâl yě = ní, [yã-m̄ kù
 kálà] yàgá,

hâl yě = ní [árⁿà-m̄ kù kálà] [[yà:wà kó:ró] wó] bù] [sũŋ⁴¹⁷ kù] ŋgòy pálú-m̄,
 [s̄i-s̄i-n̄i: tútú káⁿ-w̄ dè] [sũŋ kù] é^ré ɔ̀lú-rú-m̄ = bày, [yà:wà kó:ró] á pálú-w̄ bòlò:,
 é^ré = n̄i yà, [äy = ní] kúwó-jê:,

[sé:njè: ámélém] [[sè:njè: dùmdó:] ámélém]

⁴¹⁶ Variant of Jamsay pájá-pájá, intensifier for ‘cold’.

⁴¹⁷ = sũŋgú ‘rope’.

B: [[[jǒ:ⁿ-m yá→] [tì-tǎ:-m yà→]] kù:] wò] gàyⁿ

S: dǎyⁿ káyⁿ

B: áywà [bû: yèy] ínjírí= ní, yě [tú: nǎyⁿ] â: mǎ:lú-w kù dè, jǒ:ⁿ-m á sá-w [tì-tǎ:-m mà:] téré á bá:-lì-y wà, [hô: mà: wà] éⁿé gùyⁿ [é: wá], áywà hà: kú= m ínjírí dàwè-m bá,

[[â: yèy] [â: èsè] äy] [â: dàriyí-w] [wàgàtì bû: gó-m kù], [jǒ:ⁿ-m kù][†], [[yù:-yì: gùrǒ-w yèy] á gò-ló-w] [[á èsè] wò] yá gǎyⁿ-sò-w, [[tì-tǎ:-m kù] èsè kù] kòrǒy= Ø, [bû: yèy] [bû: ló-m nè[†]], [bû: ló-m nè[†]], [bû: ló-m nè[†]],

[[ó^rǎ tòwⁿǎ-m bò] dǎ= ní] [bû: káyⁿ= nì] wàrú-m, áywà [á yí-m] á nàⁿá-w [yì-tè: yèy], [[kòmbí: wó] á gǎyⁿ dùwǒ-w] jè-ré: ló:-rè, ló= ní yâ: kú dà:y-bà, [â: dà:yú-w] [[nù kâ:ⁿ-m wôy] tòwⁿǎ-tùwⁿǎ â: àyú-w] [[â: èsè] wò] gàyⁿ bà, gǎyⁿ= ní [[â: ùsù-ní:] òmbì-yí-bá], bû: ló-m nè[†], bû: ló-m nè[†], bû: ló-m nè[†],

[wàrú-m ínjírí= ní] [[[á yítè:] òrǎ] wò] yě= ní] éⁿé káyⁿ= nì, [yì-tè: kù= n] tèm̀bì-rí, gâ: lǎsǎ: yâ: dǎ-w, áywà [lǎsǎ: kù] dùⁿǎ[†]⁴¹⁸, [kú téwⁿǎ= ní] [éⁿé yǒyǒ-m nè] [éⁿé yǒyǒ-m nè] [éⁿé yǒyǒ-m nè] yě= ní [nú: yèy] yě [[bû: kù:] wò]⁴¹⁹ gò, kú= m, [[jǒ:ⁿ-m yá→] [tì-tǎ:-m yà]= m, áywà bû: = nì á fálé-w kù dè, téréw= Ø wà [á má:] [bû: lǎsǎ= n] òmbì-w wà, [bû: mà:] [[[á úrò] kù:] wò] dǎ-w wà, [á yítè: kálà] bû: = m äy-sò-w wà,

kú kù yé-rè[†], tèwè jǒ:ⁿ-m á sá-w kù, [kǎrǒ kù] kúnǒgò tì-m⁴²⁰ gùyⁿ, éⁿé gǔ:ⁿ-w kù[†], [jǒ:ⁿ-m kù] [[yù: kù= n] éⁿé tǒy gâ] [éⁿé kúnǒgò-w kù[†]], [tì-tǎ:-m kù] [[wàrú-m yí-m] kǎrǎ kú= n] [tǒy gâ] kúnǒgò, á sá-w kù dè [ù cé= y gá:rá sǎyǎrǎ] wà, gó:ǎgò bǎnǎ [ú má:] yé:-rè [wò cé= y gá:rá sǎyǎrǎ] dè,

kú= m ní, [yě= ní [nàⁿá-m kù] bû: = n á fálé-w] [[á yítè: kù] bû: = m ày gâ] gólò-y wà, [kú nǎyⁿ] [[jǒ:ⁿ-m kù] [[á èsè] bǐrⁿǎ] wò= ní] [yìgè= ní éⁿé káyⁿ= nì], [wàrú-m yí-m] pérélém, ló [á nàⁿá] kǎgìyì, [tì-tǎ:-m mà:] gólò-y wà, gòl-î: àw-rí,

[[éⁿé kù:] wò] ògù-rì, [[ésè bǐrⁿǎ] wó yìgè éⁿé káyⁿ= nì] cém, búrà, [wàrú-m yí-m] tǐwé-m, wàrú-m [ǎgú kày] [[[á yá→] [éⁿé yá→]]] gálù wò] kǎⁿ bǐlté-m wôy ògò wá, [kú nǎyⁿ] ínjírí= ní, ká:rú gô:, yǎyǎ, wàrú-m [[éⁿé túlù] wò] òmbì-yì, yǒyǒ-m yǒyǒ-m yǒyǒ-m [á ló-w kù dè] [[[àwⁿǎ-m kómbì:] wò] ló= ní] méréⁿéⁿé yǎyǎ nù],

yǎyǎ éⁿé nú= n, wàrú-m ló= ní, kú gǎnjí-m, [éⁿé gǎnjí-m= báy] [tórú-m yě= ní] yâ: éⁿé tèm̀bì, òjé= m mà→ wà, [árⁿà-m tòwⁿǎ-m mà:] [á yí-m] äy→ pórǒ jìyè, [á [[éⁿé túlù] wò] òmbì-w] [éⁿé má:] [[kòmbì: ògú] pírè] yá bú wá, [tórú-m má:] mùyⁿǎ káⁿ-w dè [kú yà] á bǎrì-y wà [sábù [ǐrⁿǎ bǎyǎ] éⁿé= m] bà, tórú-m [kú nǎyⁿ] [á dǎngí= ní], [ǐrⁿǎ kù] éⁿé gǎnjí-m nè, éⁿé gǎnjí-m nè,

jǒ:ⁿ-m yě dǎ:, [yě á dǎ-w kù dè] [[éⁿé má:] ògú-rù nù mà[†]], éⁿé gùyⁿ [é→ wá], hà: í:-yì-y wà [kú kày], [á má:] nú [dàwⁿǎ tòwⁿǎ-m] káyⁿ= nì, á gò-rí, [éⁿé má:] sósí-lí:-rè gáyⁿ→ bè:-rè dé wôy, [éⁿé má:] èsì-rá wá dé, [á tǐyà] [[kòmbí: wó] bú-m kù mà:] èsì-rá wá, ó→ wá,

⁴¹⁸ Variant 3Sg Perfective with final i. Verb is dùⁿǎ ‘he followed (tracks)’.

⁴¹⁹ Clause is restarted. A smoother version: [yě ní] [[[nú: yèy] kù:] wò] gò,

⁴²⁰ Hortative. Also kúnǒgò-m.

jǒ:ⁿ-m nú á ló-w, něm á wòyó-w, [[érⁿé má:] [[érⁿé m^bô:] wò] gǎⁿ-w dè] úmgó wáyì-y wà, [tórú-m kù] gánjì-m gánjì-m gánjì-m yě [érⁿé mâ:] sósí-lí:-rè = rà:, [[érⁿé jírè] wò] písé gǎⁿ-y wá, [[[jírè kù] wò] písé gǎyⁿ-tí:] gǎyⁿ→ bĕ:-rè dé wôy] [érⁿé má:] pì-píníwⁿí gó-m bà gǎ, ó→ wá,

tórú-m [érⁿé gánjì-m nè] [érⁿé gánjì-m nè] [érⁿé gánjì-m nè] dè-rá: érⁿé dós = nì, érⁿé písé-w kù jàyá→, [něm kù = n] mǐrⁿé-jê:, [[érⁿé m^bô:] wò] ñgó, háyà, jǒ:ⁿm táyké = nì, tórú-m [[érⁿé dósù] wò] sósí-lí:-rè', [érⁿé árⁿà-m] sá-m-dó, iyà í:-yì-y wà, jĕ: á tìni-rí bá gǎ,

ló nú-w, něm [érⁿé mâ:] nì, [á m^bô:] wò] ùmgò, [úmgó = n] érⁿé bú nè, érⁿé gánjì-m nè, [érⁿé gánjì-m nè] [yě sósí-lí:-rè dè] písé-y wá, gánjì [[érⁿé mâ:] érⁿé sósú-ló-w kù] [érⁿé písé-w kù], hà: [kú kálà] [něm kù] éré:-rè = bè, [kò:ⁿ ìlà:] [[érⁿé jírè] wò] nù,

[á sá-w kù dè] [[á jírè] wò] kó:ⁿ nú:-rè wà yě gô:, jǒ:ⁿ-m [á má:] gù-ní⁴²¹ má→ wá, [á nú = n] [á dáwⁿà kù] bǐrè-rí gǎyⁿ→ bĕ:-rè = bè dé wôy, [érⁿé jírè-yì ñgú] [yèy cĕm] pósó-m = bè⁴²² wà, gǎ: núwⁿòyⁿ— [núwⁿòyⁿ kày] [wàrú-m má:] [érⁿé mâ:] pú:rⁿi-y wà, [[jírè kù] wò] lóyò bù mâ:,

wàrú-m pú:rⁿú = nì, [něm kù] á éré-w [[wàrú-m m^bô:] wò] nù, [kú érim kù] lóyò lává tángì, [yĕy mâ:] mégé [érⁿé mâ:] érim', [nàwⁿà: mà:] mégé [érⁿé mâ:] érim, á sá-w kù dè, hĕ: [tórú-m má:] [érⁿé jírè-nì: ñgú má:] érim bá, jǒ:ⁿ-m', [á sá-w kù dè] [érⁿé má:] jù-júwó-m-dó wá kòy, [tórú-m nàwⁿà: mà:], [jírè-nì: ñgú mâ:] mégé érim bá, háyà kú = m = bè cĕ→, [wàrú-m [[tórú-m túlù] wò] òmbì-yì], tórú-m [â: yèy] tú: äy-jĕ⇒ làwà-bà,

jǒ:ⁿ-m á sá-w kù dè, [tì-tǎ:-m mà:] yĕ gò-y wá núwⁿòy kày, téré bá jĕ: wà gǎ, tì-tǎ:-m yĕ gô:, m^bá⁴²³ [á ló-w kù dè] [tórú-m = nì á jìyĕ-w]†, [érⁿé nàwⁿà:] pál dú⁴²⁴ érⁿé yĕ-rè wôy, tì-tǎ:-m—, jǒ:ⁿ-m, [á táwⁿyⁿà-m] òmbì-dí jí-jĕ→ á gò-w, ínjírí = ní ló:-r-à:,

[sè:njè: ámélem] [[sè:njè: dùmdó:] ámélem]

⁴²¹ Perfective Negative of gǎyⁿ- 'say'.

⁴²² Harmonized from = bè.

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 pál, but this does not appear to constitute a phonological tone shift as such.

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

S: û: bê:n àŋâyⁿ = Ø èw-yè

C: hà: B dèrⁿé-ýⁿ

B: dérⁿúwⁿâ:

C: jâm dèrⁿé-wⁿ

B: jâm sày

C: hénjân⁴²⁵ dèrⁿé-wⁿ

B: jâm sày

C: [î: nù:] sé:w dèrⁿè-bò

B: àlhámdùrùllâ:y

C: [bà:s kâ:ⁿ] dèrⁿè-rⁿi→

B: jâm sày

C: tà:ré:yò:⁴²⁶

B: jâm dèrⁿé-wⁿ

C: jâm sày

B: [ú kórò:jù] jâm dèrⁿè-bà

C: jâm sày

B: [bà:s kâ:ⁿ] dèrⁿè-rⁿi→

C: jâm sày

B: tà:→ré

C: àwá:

B: bìsímílà

C: háyà wó:dì yà

B: [úsúrí wó] = ñ yě:-rà-ý:.

C: ríhî

B: áywà î: bé:nì kù→, [ðrⁿð kà:ⁿ] gǒ = ní, ñgú-rù yě = ní, [ðrⁿð kà:ⁿ] î: éw-yé-w kù, [[kú kábà:r] [ú mâ:] bèrè-ý: .: dè] jóró-ý: .:

C: já:tì

B: û: [nù díyⁿà] [jǐnjè sàw] = Ø dé [û: sàw] = Ø

C: jǐnjè ðyð-ná:m sâw = Ø, [bê:n òrù-m^bò: kú kày], [jǐnjè sàw] = Ø [û: sàw] = Ø, gà: dǒ:, mǎndé gǒ = ní, ...

B: wó:dì

C: ... búnúgòy yěy, [[mǎ: lósò] òmbì-yí-mù⁴²⁷ yà→†] [[nî: lósò] òmbì-yí-mù yà→]

B: wó:dì

C: [kú búnùgòy yèy kù], â: káwá-w kù

B: wó:dì

⁴²⁵ hénjân occurs in archaic greetings used by older people. jâm ‘peace’ and sé:w ‘health’ (definitions very rough) are now more current.

⁴²⁶ Embellished variant of tà:ré. This particle ends one greeting sequence with C asking questions of B; B will now begin a reciprocal sequence.

⁴²⁷ -mù with agentive plural (archaic).

C: [[ní: lòsò] òm̀bì-yí-m̀ù k̀ù, [píníwⁿù yà] [kàwrà yěy] kàwà-bò
 B: wó:dì
 C: [né: kày] tǎ:n lá:té:-rè, áywà, áyí-m̀ áyí-m̀ yě = ní, [ú yì:-rà ògú] ú: [bé:nì nù:], [dàyⁿ í: nù-wⁿ] [màndé á: gǒ-ẁ],
 B: nà:m
 C: éw-yé-m̀ éw-yé-m̀ yě m̀únwíl
 B: m̀únwíl, wó:dì
 C: m̀únwíl, k̀ú = m̀ ní, ǹúwⁿòyⁿ [bê:n tì:rà: wò[†]], kà:gǒy⁴²⁸ m̀òrògǒy, ká:-k̀ùn-wà-nàm⁴²⁹ bà, séjérⁿé-ísé-bèrè wà, [à-n = í: l̀òrò⁴³⁰ má] [jɛ-n = í: l̀òrò má] l̀órú-l̀órú-k̀úrê: pǒ: k̀ù, íyè m̀únwíl yá déyá-w⁴³¹
 B: wó:dì
 S: [m̀únwíl k̀ù] [bèlè án-dá:] = m̀
 C: [m̀únwíl k̀ù] [wá:lè l̀ó:-rè-ẁ dè] [m̀únwíl l̀ó-ẁ]
 B: wó:dì pá:mé-yⁿ
 C: áywà [[k̀ú m̀únwíl k̀ù] wó], [íyè úsù kálà] [pǒ: k̀ù] yá déyá-ẁ,
 B: wó:dì
 C: íyè [[úró k̀ù] wò], [àsùwⁿè àm = Ø] d̀ùmdó:-m̀ = Ø⁴³² mà, [p̀úmbèrè dó-m̀ dè] [[íyè kálà] [pǒ: k̀ù] d̀àriyí-ẁ dè] éⁿé = m̀ p̀úmbèrè l̀ó-m̀
 B: wó:dì
 C: k̀ú = m̀ l̀érílèrì-k̀úrèyè pǒ: k̀ù = m̀
 B: bày [í: nù: k̀ú néyⁿ], [àṅâyⁿ jàyⁿ] káwà = ǹ, [[gǎm k̀ù] kárà èw-yè-bà] [[gǎm k̀ù] [yúli wò] èw-yè-bà]
 C: áywà, kárà gǒ-m̀ k̀ù yà→
 B: wó:dì
 C: áywà, ògú-dá: yě-m̀ k̀ù yà→
 B: nà:m
 C: [nàⁿá t̀ùwⁿó[†]] [bǒ: t̀ùwⁿó]
 B: já:tì
 C: áywà yě l̀ò-m̀ bá, [m̀^bá k̀ù kày] [[á má: kày] [ú yì:-rà-ẁ ògú] kárà:-rè nà→] [á má: kày] l̀ó béré-m̀-dó wá
 B: xxx
 C: [ògú wó] [k̀ú jâyⁿ] hèddè
 B: wó:dì
 C: k̀ú éⁿé hèddé = nè,⁴³³ [í: l̀òsù bé] [má:bà bè] ...
 B: wó:dì

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

⁴²⁹ Quasi-Jamsay expression, cf. Jamsay ká: ‘mouth’, kúnó ‘put’, nãm ‘difficult’.

⁴³⁰ Jamsay

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

⁴³² 3Sg ‘it is’ form of d̀ùmdó:-m̀ ‘last (person)’.

⁴³³ For hèddé = nì (different-subject subordinated form).

C: ... yě [[bû: dòsù] wó] èw-yè-bò
 B: já:tì
 C: áywà òrⁿò:-dáná', [bê:n nù:] là:mè-bó', ǎ:, [í: lòsù bé] là:mè-bò,
 B: wó:dì
 C: hâl [íyé úsù-dèrⁿi: ñgú], [í: lòsù bê:] = Ø ô: bó
 B: wó:dì
 C: [[òrⁿò:-dáná yá→] [tèy sàw yá→] cêm] [[[bê:n nù:] nà→] wò] bù
 B: já:tì, pá:mé-ỳ.: kòy
 C: [bê:n dá:] yě:-rè dè, mòrògöy', kà:göy kú = m bù
 B: wó:dì
 C: [wá:lè kù] wó, à:wàndú', mé:má
 B: mũ: bè yěy
 C: bú: = m kásárú', ò:dúró: yá
 B: wó:dì
 C: [í kày] ñgú = m jüwò⁴³⁴
 B: [[ò:dúró: kù yá→], [kásárú kù yá→ yá⁴³⁵] [[nàr^a tùwⁿó'] [bǒ: tùwⁿó]] gùyⁿ-bò bày [kú yà] àñyáⁿ = m mà
 C: áywà, ú: [bê:n nù:] ñgòy bù-w.: gâ, [kú kày] [jǐnjè sàw'] [ú: sàw] kòy
 B: [í kálà dè] [kò:ⁿ yâ: í nǔ-wⁿ déy⁴³⁶]
 S: wâ:y, [[á má:] kára:-rè nà→] ló-m-dó gùyⁿ, [[kára:-rè kù] kórò] ñjê: = Ø
 C: kára:-rè kù, [í dè:]⁴³⁷ ú yì:-rà-w ñgú→ [ùrò-m^bò: píré] kára:-rè kórò nǔ-jé-w tán, í [nù ǎw-sò-ló-m] = m-ì:
 B: árⁿà-m tángí:-rè
 C: [nǔ-m gúnáyⁿ] lǎ-w [kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] [í ñjírí-m] bôy yâ: ñgó, kú = m kára:-rè,
 B: pá:mé-wⁿú-wⁿ
 C: àⁿháⁿ
 B: [í kálà] í nǔ-wⁿ déy, [kára kù] wó, [gǎm kù] yâ: dùwò-bò, [gàm kà:ⁿ] ñjírí-mà [ònjò-m yá→] [dèrè-m ya→] ñjírí-mà kù, [[bû: mà:] [yúli wò] yě = ní] èw-yè-bó wá
 C: já:tì
 B: [yúli wò] yě = ní] bú: éw-yé = nì, áywà [érⁿé kù] [dèré-m kù], dǎnnà-m = Ø bà, dǎnnà-m yára-m yára-m yára-m ñjírí = ní, [[ólóy ló:lù ñgú] píré] á sí-yé-w, [úli wò] sóró á lǎwá-w, [[tórò kù] wò] yě ùró = ní érⁿé káyⁿ = nì, [bòlò: kù] érⁿé tìn = nì, [órⁿò kù] èndêm→, èsú bú: sánné, [òrⁿò wára-yè] èsú bú:
 C: já:tì
 B: [mànî: kù kálà dè] [òrⁿò éw-yé jíyé-yè], hà: [ñgú kù] kú lá:té = nì, áywà yâ: [tèmbèrù tùwⁿó], á mǎ-wⁿ, [[tàngây ñgú] wó] á dùwó-w kù', ñjírí = ní, ló [á ónjò-m] tèmbì, [ònjò-m kù] á témbú-w kù, áywà térèw = Ø wà, [á má:] órⁿò kú-dá: yá yì-sò-w⁴³⁸ wà, òrⁿò éw-yé-yè kú-dá: yá yì-sò-w wà,

⁴³⁴ 1Sg possessor form.

⁴³⁵ yà 'also' added to the right conjunct.

⁴³⁶ Pre-quotative particle ('that ...'), generally at a pause before the quoted matter begins.

⁴³⁷ dè: with a pronoun (phrasing typical of this speaker).

⁴³⁸ Low-toned form of yí-sò-w 'he/she saw'.

érⁿé gǔyⁿ = nì, [ònjǒ-m kù yà] á sá-w kù dè, [á dérè] mà:, [núwⁿdyⁿ kày] [á dùwó tì = náyⁿ] ló-ré-y wá, [érⁿé mà:] lèmdè, ó: wá, [bû: bú nè] [bû: bú nè] [bû: bú nè], [ònjǒ-m kù kálà] [ùsú tùwⁿô-m] yára-m yára-m á yě-w kù dè, [érⁿé kálà] [ó^rò kù] yì, séⁿ → á tíní-wⁿ kù,

[[á dérè] mà:] á sá-w kù dè, [[érⁿé mà:] téréw tégé-m bà] [ò^rò èw-yè èsú] [ò^rò é^ré gǔyⁿ-rà-w kù], [á mà: kálà] íyé yâ: dǒ-w wà, áywà ñgú ñâyⁿ†, ínjírí = ní [ùsú tùwⁿô-m]†, [â: yèy] yâ: yè-bà,

yâ: bú: yé-rè†, [[dèrè-m kù] [á sé:dè] dùwó-tí:] kú = m [kásárú nû-m] = Ø kú = m, [érⁿé sé:dè kù] yâ: tèm̀bù-wù, [[lǒ-y kù kòyⁿ]⁴³⁹ gáⁿ-m-dó-y kòy], [érⁿé sé:dè kù] yâ: tèm̀bù-wù, hà: [kú ñâyⁿ†], [á sá-w] [ó^rò kù] [yàrí m̀âyô:] [sùmǒy m̀âyô:]⁴⁴⁰ wà, ñgú ñâyⁿ†, [ó^rò kù] hèwtè,

[kú-dá: ló] [â: ñinjè] â: bàrá-w kù dè, ínjírí = ní, áywà yě = ní, úrò cèwⁿè-bó, [úró cèwⁿé = ní] yâ: bú: bú nè, àwá lóyó:-r-à:, kù-kòsú, kù-kòsú lóyó:-r-à:, kúwó-tí: dé wôy, nì:-tègír-î: sò-ló, hé →, [ñgú kày] dàyⁿ dà:yí-m wôy ñgó wá,

[kú yà] [â: mà:] dá:-wó dǒrò ñgú-dá: ùrò-m bá, [kú wáyàtù] [kú ñâyⁿ], [[ò^rò ñgú] nánà:nà:] [kùn-tàwrâ:] = Ø sóy, sùmǒy ñgó, hà: [kú ñâyⁿ] [[kùn-tàwrá kù] wò]†, yě = ní yâ: úrò cèwⁿè-bà, cèwⁿé = ní bú: bú nè,

yâ: kálà bèy, áywà wá:jíbì péyí pègè-r-á dé, péyí pègè-r-á dé wôy, [[ó^rò kù] èw-yè]⁴⁴¹ nùm bú-w wà, áywà wò⁴⁴² bē:-rè dè, [ò:-dùró bóñò] á sá-w kù dè, [[kásárí bóñò] mà:],

wá:jíbì [péyí kù] é^ré = m̀ pégé-m̀ bà kòy, sábu [[ó^rò lá-jê:] tùlù] wò [péyí é^ré = m̀ pégé-m̀] bà, [[yà-gùrò kà:] ìrì gǒ célé = ní bú:-Ø]⁴⁴³ séllé só-m̀, áywà [núwⁿdyⁿ kày] [ánàyⁿ wò] bē:-rè dè, [á mà:] [[péyí kù] dù:] dù-jê: wà,

[dù-jê: wà] é^ré gǔyⁿ = nì, [nù díyⁿà] [ánàyⁿ wò] bē:-rè dè, [jìyè = náyⁿ nì]⁴⁴⁴ pégé-m̀-é wá kòy†, [úwⁿó wó] [ó^rò gánjí-yè] wà [hál ló wⁿònú-rⁿú-m̀] bà, é^ré = nì yâ: gáⁿ-yⁿè wà, hál [ñgú dáyⁿ] dó-m̀ bà, biyⁿí dúwó-yè wà, [isê: kù mà:] [á jâm] béré-m̀ bà

C: já:tì

B: èsú bú-w wà, [á bô:-ùrò ñ] jâm bì-béré-m̀ dé wôy, [á kálà] [[kú kù] kù:-dù:] dù-jê: wà, hà: [ñgú ñâyⁿ], é^ré kásárí yá:-yì-m kù = ǹ†, [[yà-sùmǒy tá:yⁿ kù] wó], yâ: = ǹ é^ré pègè-bà

C: já:tì

B: [kú ñâyⁿ nì]†, bé:nì bèré èw-yè, [íyé úsù kálà] [kú wó] bù-yè:.

C: já:tì

B: [ñgú gáyⁿ →] nù-yⁿ, [kú yà] [jǐnjè sàw dé:] [ú kálà] [ú sâw]

C: [jǐnjè òyò-ná:m] sâw, ánàyⁿ = m̀

B: nâ:m

⁴³⁹ kòyⁿ, a variant of Topic kày.

⁴⁴⁰ A fixed phrase used to declare that a place is claimed (reserved). yàrí is a variant of yàrí: ‘sky’.

⁴⁴¹ èw-yé- ‘sit’, here functioning as a possessed noun ‘sitting (=dwelling)’.

⁴⁴² Reduction of [kú wó] ‘in that’ or the like.

⁴⁴³ Not a possessor relative.

⁴⁴⁴ Combination of = náyⁿ ‘and then’ (same-subject subordinator) with a morpheme nì (doutfully related to different-subject ‘and’ subordinator = n).

C: jǐnjè î: sú:rè-ỳ
 B: àmî:n
 D: [á ná:-wⁿî-ỳⁿ kù] gǔⁿ-wⁿ
 C: òⁿhóⁿ, á ná:—, á ná:-wⁿî-ỳⁿ éⁿé gǔⁿ-wⁿ kù
 B: é: kú äy dè-bè
 C: háyà, á ná:-wⁿî-ỳⁿ éⁿé gǔⁿ-wⁿ kù
 B: já:tì
 C: háyà, kú kú = ò
 B: já:tì
 C: [tùwⁿô-m kù mà:†] [ú yì:-rà-w ñgú] [kú tégé-m kù mà:]
 B: wó:dì
 C: jòṅgú-m = ∅ bà
 B: jòṅgú-m = ∅
 C: jòṅgú-m
 B: wó:dì
 C: [éⁿé = ò = ò] kára:kíndé: kú = ò
 B: kára:kírí: kú = ò, éⁿé = ò jòṅgú-m = ∅
 C: é→
 B: wó:dì, wó:dì
 C: àm^bá kù yà-sùmöy = ò, háyà [yǎ kóró:-rè tán] [á ná:-wⁿî-ỳⁿ] wà
 B: wó:dì
 C: [[[á ná:-wⁿî-ỳⁿ kù] ní:] wò], íyé [kú dáwⁿà] kù yě:-rè dè, áywà ñjê: = ∅ kú = ò,

[chanson:] *íyé yà-sùmöy úṅgúró wá*

B: já:tì

C: [chanson:] *kára:kíndé: úṅgúró wá,
 [yá yǎ:-ỳ] [yá yèré-ỳ]
 kára:kíndé: úṅgúró wá
 yà-sùmöy hà:hây wà
 yà-sùmöy hà:hây
 pùlè-kòmó lè: [bǒn lè] sá: kómò wà*

B: já:tì, té→ áṅyàⁿ = ò kòy, [[ṅgú gâyⁿ→ té→] nù-ỳⁿ.:] [[nù díyⁿà kù] m^bô:] kú = ò

C: [ṅgú gâyⁿ→] gìyⁿ-bè

B: ìṣá:lâ:w éⁿé jìyè-m [núwⁿòyⁿ kày]

D⁴⁴⁵: òⁿḡ gǔ:w-∅, òⁿḡ gǔ:w-∅

B: nâ:m

D: áywà [mégé mégé [yǎ-m kù] dǒyó éⁿé = ò [dâyⁿ kà:"] táṅgú-w] yà-sùmöy kù

B: wó:dì

D: áywà, nǔ-m yâ: nú:-rè dè, [àwá kù]⁴⁴⁶ kùwò-[jìy-î:], kú núm-dó:-rè ò

⁴⁴⁵ Mamoudou Abdou Kagoye, born 1941.

B: wó:dì

D: áywà térèw = Ø wà, ìsê: [bû: kò:ⁿ] = Ø gǔⁿ-yè, bú: = ìn là†, íyà [bû: mà:] [[ìsê: kù] pírè],
[núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [péyí pégé-m-n-é] [nú: = nì àwá kúwó jíyè-yè] [kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ nú: dǎ:-w-yè]
[bû: mànì-m nè] [[tǎ: ló-mà dè] mànì-yè] [dùⁿóⁿù mànì-yè] [bû: bògùrú-m nè],
[kú nâyⁿ] = nì [[á bô:] mà:] dǒyô: = Ø gà] [[á kù:] wò] pégé-ý wá, yǎr gǒ:-rè dé
wôy, [[á tíwè kù] yò-ý wá] [ìrè-ré-ý wá], [érⁿé má:] áṅàⁿ gùⁿ wà†,

B: já:tì já:tì pá:mé-wⁿú-wⁿ, té→ áṅàⁿ sèllè, [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] érⁿé jiyé jùwⁿò-m

D: kú = ìn

⁴⁴⁶ Subject of verbal noun, but here not treated as possessor.

S: òⁿhóⁿ lò-mâyⁿ⁴⁴⁷

B: áywà [[wá:lò yà→] [bé:nì yà→]] [[bǒ: tùwⁿó→†] [nàⁿá tùwⁿó†]], áywà [wàkàtù kà:ⁿ] íyé yé-rè, [[[[[ⁿù díyⁿà] m^bò:] wò] î: nǔ-wⁿ, yá→⁴⁴⁸] [[kò:ⁿ ìlà] î: júwó-m yá→]] cêm,

[[wá:lò kù] wò] [[kàsà-m tíwé:-rè wò] bǐ:-rè dé], [àⁿà-kúsú tǎ:n] ló lává:-rè dè, [bòⁿó-mà dè] cíyé-yè, àⁿà-m = Ø = dá→ yǎ-m = Ø = dá, [érⁿé lósò] wá:lè érⁿé jì-jòlú-m dèⁿ-wôy,⁴⁴⁹ mǎ:lí-yè, sǒ: äy-jê: dè, [súⁿú-bòṅgò: äy-jê: dè] [[nà kùyó:] kò:ⁿ î: ùró-m = bǐ-wⁿ⁴⁵⁰ kù kòyⁿ] kú = m,

[ínjírì-mà dè] [[wá:lè kù]— ló-yè], [bò:-yì-tìwé kù] yá: [ùsú yèy], hâl ló-ló [ùsú tǎ:n],⁴⁵¹ î: ló:-rè dè, nǎ: séwⁿé-yà⁴⁵², bǐr séwⁿé-yà, pèré séwⁿé-yà, éwⁿèy jé-yè [hâl ló bá-m], áywà [nǔ-m wôy] [dàyⁿ á jóró-m gâyⁿ→] jé-m,

hâl ló-ló [ùsú tǎ:n] dó-m, [ínjírì-y.: dè] ṅgú-rù yě-y.:, ṅgú-rù yě:-rè-y.:. gâyⁿ→ bǐ:-rè dè, ṅgú-rù kálà, [nù dīyⁿà èsú-m] má→ hónò⁴⁵³ [kàsà-m tú-m], yàyá:-rè dè, [[bù: kálà] ló àyú-w dè], àⁿà-kúsú tǎ:n dèⁿ-wôy, â: = ñ dānìgí-m tìném bé-yè,

ló [àⁿá tǎ:n kù] híbbé:-rè dè, [bòⁿó-mà dè] cíyé-yè, [äy-jê: dè] débé:rè tómbòrù [nù kâ:ⁿ] [lòsò: césì-m]⁴⁵⁴ dèⁿ-wôy, [[kò:ⁿ ùró-yè dèⁿ-wôy] nàyⁿ] [ínjírì-mà dè] [bè:nì ṅgú-rù]⁴⁵⁵ yé-yè, ṅgú-rù bù: yě:-rè dé wôy, nǎ: séwⁿé-yà†, bǐr séwⁿé-yà†, pèré séwⁿé-yà†, éwⁿèy,

jé:rⁿé kày, ùsú-ùsú tǎ:n, dāmb-î: ló-m-dó, [bìrìgè-mà dè] [bò:-yì-tìwé kù], áṅyàⁿ [ínjírì-mà dè] ló-yè, áṅyàⁿ = n⁴⁵⁶ [î: bú nè] [î: bú nè] [î: bú nè]

[íyé yè [àdùⁿà nǔm] yè nú = nì, áywà [bò:-yì-tìwé kù†], [kú = ñ kày] [núwⁿòyⁿ kày] dùwó-tí:-yè, gà: wá:jíbì [[nù èsú-m] tíwé:-rè dè] [íyé úsù kálà] tǔ: = nì dùwó-sò-ló-yè.:, [[bǒ: tùwⁿó] [nàⁿá tùwⁿó]],

hà: jiyé-tí-y wá

⁴⁴⁷ Plural hortative (speaker and two or more others).

⁴⁴⁸ Delayed conjunction yá→ as the speaker decides to add a second conjunct.

⁴⁴⁹ Variant of dàⁿ-wôy ‘all’.

⁴⁵⁰ Relative clause based on verb with = bǐ ‘used to’. Definite kù follows the participle.

⁴⁵¹ Sentence is not completed. Could be completed by adding bè-y.: ‘we remained’.

⁴⁵² -yà, variant of 3Pl imperfective -yè.

⁴⁵³ hónò ‘such as’ or ‘for example’ (Fulfulde word for ‘like’).

⁴⁵⁴ ‘Fleet-footed’, a bahuvrihi compound.

⁴⁵⁵ ṅgú-rù ‘here’ as adjective, forcing L-tone on the preceding noun.

⁴⁵⁶ Unusual combination of áṅyàⁿ ‘thus’ and clause-final = n(i).

B: ð^hóⁿ, [núwⁿðyⁿ kày[†]] [kò:ⁿ kà:ⁿ] î: jòró-só-w ðé[†], [[kàbà:r kà:ⁿ— káyⁿ = ní [dàyⁿ [[î: kù:[†] jàm] î: bère-w] [kábà:r = nì núwⁿðyⁿ ká:ⁿ-rà-ÿ.:], kú = ì àngú = ì[†], [íyé yé-rè] [î: nù ðiyⁿà] láwá-mà, áywà, gùló wó, nú: = nì yá márè-yè = b-à:, [ànsá:rà yě = nì] [gùló kù] gò-ÿ.:, ,

[[[kú î: gò-w] tùlù] wò], [î: wôy] mò:lú bú-túnó[†], áywà yě = nì[†], [[gãm bóηò bè[†], yě-mà dè[†]] [nú: = nì wó-mà dè] ló jáy jàya-wú-yè, áywà [kú wákátù kù] màrpà: ηgó, kùbùkùbù, kú = ì bù

D: sàmbà:

B: sàmbà:, kú = ì bù, bèrè-àtòw, kú = ì bù, ηgú-rù bù: bàrà-mà dè, ló [wàyàdúgù tù-m]⁴⁵⁷ ló-mà dè, jàya-wú-yà [[dé:dúgù tù-m] ló-mà dè], jàya-wú-yà, tíwé:-rè-w ðé→[†], kú = ì, [píníwⁿú yě:-rè-w dè[†]] kú = ì,

áywà bù: [gãm bóηò bè] jáyá-mà, hâl bármé-mà, gàmbugù [[nà: tùwⁿò:] ηgó] yè-bà, [[lòsò tùwⁿò:] ηgó] yè-bà, [bù: [gãm bóηò bè] tòsò: bèrè-mà[†]] [gãm bóηò bè] tòsò: bèl-l-á,⁴⁵⁸ áywà hâl äy = ní [íyé yě = nì[†]], íyé [kú kày] wá:jíbì, sárú-úsù ú jò-ló-tí-yà gáyⁿ→ bè:-rè dé wôy, tòsò: yá bú,

[[nù ká:ⁿ-m] ló-ÿ jóró-m] ùsù síyé:-rè mē:,⁴⁵⁹ íyé—, áywà bèrèmbò, áywà⁴⁶⁰ [sòdà:sù kù] bèrè-wú-ì-dó, ηgú gáyⁿ→ lá:té-só-w, áywà tēy [jínjè sàw dè] [ú sàw], D

D: áywà ànyàⁿ = ì nì, [íyé kálà] wá:jíbì líllá:hì, àlhámduílillá:hì, éⁿé→, [frá:ns kù] [éⁿé kálà] [î: mà:] yě = í, [tùlú wó] màyní-w, ñjê: = Ø, jiré: núwⁿðyⁿ [dàyⁿ kà:ⁿ] éⁿé— [dàyⁿ B éⁿé tégè-w gáyⁿ→] [ànyàⁿ té→ bù kòy], [î: = nì gùló gáyⁿ→ wó-mà dè] [lò-mà dè] [[î: nù: = nì] äy-mà dè] tíyé-yè, sàbù dè gúⁿ-mà [sé:kù mà:] ηgú-rù [nú: té:mdèrè súyⁿðyⁿ-súyⁿðyⁿ] [[ná tã:n] tù-m] bàrà = ní] sè-lè gùyⁿ-bò

B: wó:dì

D: [kú jâyⁿ nì] [î: = nì äy = ní] [[î: ìnìrⁿî:] ló nàngurú dùwò-bò] [[î: [nù: jéwⁿè-yè kù = nì[†]], áywà [[kú tùlù] wò] nì→, éⁿé sé:kù pú:tè ìnjírí = ní á yě-w→, áywà [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [dð: kù mà:] á = ñ bàrì-ÿ wà, á bàr-tí: dè→, [á má:] [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [dàyⁿ bù: [m^bâ: gáyⁿ→]] bú-w] dúwó-m bà,

éⁿé = nì bàr-bò[†], éⁿé [sé:kù ñjé gùⁿ-bò] éⁿé [sé:kù á:mádù kù] = ñ gò-lò-bò, áywà [kú kù] bù: gò-ló-w kù, [tùlú wó] sé:kù [éⁿé yà] [núwⁿðyⁿ kày] [ñjé gùⁿ-wⁿ] mò:dìbò sé:kù tìjá:nì[†], á:má tìjá:ní [éⁿé kày[†]], [ñjé gùⁿ-wⁿ] [nú-m bôy] [dàyⁿ [á m^bâ:] érim gáyⁿ→], î: = n dùwò, [[kú nî:] wò] [àrsilà:mà: kú] [î: mà:] pàngá gàn-ní

B: já:tì

D: áywà, [dò-lí dè-lí kù] ànyàⁿ té→ bù, gà: [éⁿé ànsá:rà-m kù] [[éⁿé yà] [tùlú wó] yě = ní], sé:kù [ñjé gùⁿ-wⁿ mà] [sé:kù = nì gò-lò], pú:tè = ñ gò-lò, ànsá:rà-m kù, pú:tè = ñ [éⁿé

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

⁴⁵⁸ 3Pl Perfective Negative bèrè- ‘get, obtain’. 3Sg bèl-lí-Ø.

⁴⁵⁹ French *mais* ‘but’.

⁴⁶⁰ This áywà is superfluous. bèrèmbò ‘freely, haphazardly’ belongs with the following phrase.

yà] á gò-ló-wè gò,⁴⁶¹ [érⁿé yà] [[á kù:] nàⁿ] yě èw-yè', [tùlú wó] yě = ní, áywà [[î: [nú gùnú] kù = ñ] dá:-wó dè:-wú-wè] gá:†, [tùlú wó] yě = ní, íyà î: = nì sù:rⁿù-wì⁴⁶²

B: jâm [î: mà:] nì

D: [sù:rⁿú = ní] [jâm [î: mà:] nì], [ájàⁿ bú → túnó] [î: = nì dá:-wó [kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] bà:-lí = ní], érⁿé káyⁿ = nì, [bù: yà] dàwⁿá â: yí-wè kù†, [â: kù:] gó^ró-yè gù^y-bó, [[bù: kù:] gò^rò kù]⁴⁶³ [kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ kù] dàⁿ-wô^y tábbídè,⁴⁶⁴ [áywà gó^ró-m nè] [hâ: bù: dùwó-tí-yà dè] [[[bù: má:] ùrò-dù: gó^ró-m-n-é] gù^y-bò] [[â: mà:] gó^ró-yè] wà,

áywà ñjê: = Ø [bù: mà:] ñìnjé tùw^ó-tùw^ó [bù: mà:] ùsùrù-bó, gì-gó^ró ùsùrù-bó dò:—, dò:-òròsú bù:— érⁿé cè:rì, [sùŋgòy ùsùrù-bò] [dò:-òròsú cè:r-bò], mù^rú ùsùrì, [dò:-òròsú cè:r-bò], [kò:ⁿ ñgú] = ñ = bà^y kò:ⁿ⁴⁶⁵ — tá: ùsùrù-bò, gùsù-tá: cè:r-bò, áywà ùrò cèm-bô^y äy cè:r-bò, gò: ùsùrù-bò, gò:-pèrî: äy cè:r-bò,

[[kù dàⁿ wô^y] ájàⁿ káyⁿ = nì] yě = ní [núwⁿò^y kà^y], áywà gó^ró-yè bù: gú = nè,⁴⁶⁶ [ànsá:rà-m yě = ní] [núwⁿò^y kà^y] [ñjê → = Ø gùⁿ-wèⁿ dé wô^y] [érⁿé frá:ⁿsì], [éndépándàm⁴⁶⁷ [[érⁿé nâ:] wò] äy = ní [î: mà:]⁴⁶⁸ — [î: kù:] — [ñjê → = Ø gùⁿ-wèⁿ dè]⁴⁶⁹ bèrè-ý érⁿé gùⁿ = nè,

[kù nâⁿ] [nú = né]⁴⁷⁰ [ñjé gùⁿ-wèⁿ dè] [[[î: kù:] nàⁿ] î: éw-yé-wè kù] kù = ñ, [[íyè dàⁿ î: bù:] ñ]⁴⁷¹ kù = ñ, [[[nú là⁴⁷²] só-m] yá bú dé] áyì-yè, [tèy gùrò-w] [nú tùwⁿò-m sà^y] tégé-ñ túnó bé-ñ-dó

B: já:tì, nâ:m, *coupe!*

⁴⁶¹ gò here is a variant of kù at the end of a subordinated clause.

⁴⁶² Perfective of the causative of sù:rⁿú- ‘rest, relax’

⁴⁶³ Demonstrative kù preceded by tone-dropped cognate nominal (gó^rò). 3Sg counterpart: [[érⁿé kù:] gò^rò kù].

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

⁴⁶⁵ Complete as: [kò:ⁿ ñgú] = ñ = bà^y [kò:ⁿ bù: ùsùrù-lí: wò: wô^y] ñgò ‘it’s this thing, there was nothing that they did not ask about.’ This would normally come at the end of the list. Halfway through this passage, the speaker realized that the list was not yet complete and broke off.

⁴⁶⁶ This speaker sometimes uses = nè (different-subject) and = né (same-subject) subordinators, = nì and = ní (respectively).

⁴⁶⁷ Fr. *indépendance*.

⁴⁶⁸ IPI Dative, apparently the indirect object of ‘he was saying’ (érⁿé gùⁿ nè)

⁴⁶⁹ ‘What would you-Sg say it was?’ inserted as parenthesis in the larger sentence. [î: kù:] is logically bracketed with bèrè-ý, i.e. ‘(he told) us to take (charge of) ourselves.’

⁴⁷⁰ Variant of = ní (same-subject subordinator).

⁴⁷¹ The demonstrative ñ (= ñgú) follows the participle but has scope over the relativized noun: ‘this way (in which) we are today’. The participle (elsewhere bù:-Ø) drops tones before the demonstrative.

⁴⁷² là ‘other’. Cf. [nú là-m] ‘another person’. Singular -m (especially with the noun ‘person’) is optionally dropped in relative-head position (which also forces tone-dropping).

B: áywà, [dàynⁿ kà:ⁿ] [nà kùjó:] lává-w dé→, î: ònjòy kú, áywà [dò:-bà:-]isê: = Ø, [ádúnó kù] nú: [ŋgú bà→] kálà jò:-r-á-bá = b-â:⁴⁷³ [kú nâyⁿ], áywà nù [ðrⁿó: árⁿà-m] tãngì-rí-m wôy, [ŋgú-rù gò=náy] [à:m^bá: tû-m] ló béré-m-dó,⁴⁷⁴ [ŋgú-rù gò=náy] [hónò dúwánsán tû-m] ló béré-m-dó, ñjé = m⁴⁷⁵ kú = m, pùlò-bõw bãynⁿ-bà⁴⁷⁶

D: nú: [ŋgú bà→] yùrò-r-á = b-â:

B: [nú: kù] èsín→,⁴⁷⁷ áywà [bú: hàkìlè] sàlá bú:,⁴⁷⁸ [kú yéy-nè kálà bè→], árⁿà-m = Ø = dá→† yã-m = Ø = dá†, [ðrⁿó: bíré⁴⁷⁹ sây] bíré-yè [bù: dàⁿ-wôy], [bíré wó] ló-yè gâynⁿ→ bẽ:-rè dé wôy, [[yì-tê: yà→], [ð:rò-gú-yè yà→], [kò:ⁿ kú múrⁿú⁴⁸⁰ dèⁿ-wôy]] úrò dùwó tí-mà dè] [ínjírì-mà dè] [[bíré kù] wò] ló-yè,

áywà [bíré wó] bú: ló:-rè dè†, bògù-bògú yá b-è:ⁿ, î: [bú: mà:] pùlò-bõw, pùlò-bõw gúⁿ-y.:, bú: kù, [bú: gàm bõgò bè] sò: yá s-é:ⁿ, [bú: gàm bõgò bè kálà] [sambâ: = Ø = rá dé] [kò:ⁿ lã-w] sè-né, [là:rà: yě] bá:rà-bá:rà-bá:rà⁴⁸¹ bú: káⁿ-m-n-é,

árⁿà, [nù nínáy bú:] úrò jé = rà:[†],⁴⁸² [yì-tê: bèrè-j-â: dè] wó-yà, [[[sò: kù] mánì:] wò] náynⁿ-yà, jíjé-mà⁴⁸³ dè, [[bùrúgù tû-m] ló] tíyè-yè

D: [[m^bõ: kù] wò] jègèrè músó-yè

B: [[bùrúgù tùm] ló] bú: tíyè-tí: dè, [bú: yà] [kú kù = ñ] éwé éwé éwé mò:lú-mà dè, [[ànsà:rà ònjòy] wó] jò-ló-yè,

kú-dá: bú: tíyè-tí: dè, [bàtò: wò] bú: = nì bàrà gǎⁿ-mà dè, [bú: kálà bè] íyà äy-mà dè, jìrè: jò-ló-yè, gùlò: = Ø-bá, kú-dá: ló tíyè-yè, hâl bú: káⁿ-m nè, hâl bú: káⁿ-m nè,

áywà [àdùnò érim] yè, [[àdùnò érim] yě = ní] [kú káyⁿ = ní†], [[kú túlù] wò] [gò-m nè] mà:nì-bà, [[kú wó] kày] bú: gò-lò-bá kòy, [[kú dúmdò: kù] íyè yě = ní†], [àrsè: gúrù] wò = nì⁴⁸⁴] là:tè-bà, pùlò: kù, kú = m nì [bú: bìrè] = Ø, tẽy àyà⁴⁸⁵

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

⁴⁷⁴ Can also be expressed in this context as béré-m-dó = bẽ:.

⁴⁷⁵ More often ñjé: = Ø ‘what is it?’

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

⁴⁷⁷ èsín→ ‘very’ (adverb) has scope over sàlá ‘small’.

⁴⁷⁸ Adjectival predicate.

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

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

⁴⁸¹ Normally bá:rà-bá:rà without a further iteration.

⁴⁸² jé ‘they are not (there), they are absent’, optional suppletive 3PI subject form of ñgò- ‘not be, be absent’.

⁴⁸³ 3PI subject conjugated form of jíjè→ ‘taking along’ (which is usually restricted to nonfinal position in chains).

- D: bû: bãrà, [púlǎ-m kày], [púlǎ-m kày] [púlǎ-m = Ø nì], [î: wôy kày] [î: dàⁿ-wôy] [gùsú-jéwⁿè] = Ø [bǎ: tùwⁿó] [nàⁿá tùwⁿó] [púlǎ-m dé→] jàmbà-jàmbú-m = Ø, [jàmbá gúⁿ-yè = b-à:] [B núwⁿðyⁿ yě dàyⁿ tègè ñgú]⁴⁸⁶ gâyⁿ→, áñàyⁿ té→ bû,
 púlǎ: [bû: kày], bíré bíré-m-n-é, [àrsè:-bèré: gǔⁿ-mà dè] [[â: kù:] wò] kòrú kóró gǎⁿ-mà dè, ló yìliwé yìliwé, nú: = nì wó wó⁴⁸⁷ ñâyⁿ→ sày î: = nì káⁿ-m tìném î: = nì dè:-wú-yè = b-à:, [î: nù:] [[[kú sábà:bù] nì:] wò], órⁿò ló-yè dè kálà, àtéwrù éw-ré-yè, àtéwrù éw-ré-tí-yà dè, [púlǎ: kù] [sǒ: ñâyⁿ] ðrⁿò bû: sár—
- S: [àtéwrù kù] ñjê: = Ø
- D: [àtéwrù = Ø dè] góⁿyà, [gòyⁿ-ì:] -gòyⁿí-m, ðⁿhóⁿ àtéwrù gòyⁿ-ì: -gòyⁿí-m = Ø
- B: gárdíjê:⁴⁸⁸
- D: gárdíjê:, àtéwrù éw-ré-tí-yà dé wôy, bíré bû: bíré-m dè, bû: [sǒ: ñâyⁿ] mà→ yá-dá: [óⁿò dàⁿ-wôy] sàrà:-rà: dé wôy, bû: [tú: má:]— [àtéwrù bòñò mǔ:] tégé-m, [kú ñâyⁿ] ínjírí-mà dè[†], [púlǎ: kù] [túlú wó] séré bèré yòyó:-r-à: dé wôy, bû:⁴⁸⁹ ðimbì-yí ló-mà dè,
 dǎ:-m kày, [gùlǎ-m = Ø gù = náyⁿ] [púlǎ-m bèré-jê: dè] mǎré-m-dó, [ló-mà dè] gǒ jìyé-mà mà→[†], áywà [ñjé mà gǔⁿ-wè dè]⁴⁹⁰ bû:— tá jìyé-mà mà[†], [súyó jìyé-mà dè] jìsé tí-yè,⁴⁹¹
 [púlǎ: kù] [bû: yà]⁴⁹² bèré-j-â: dè, [jò-ló-mà dè] tíyé-yè, áywà ñâyⁿ = m nì káyⁿ-yè = b-à: gùyⁿ-bò, áywà [né: kày], [tèy gǎ:w-Ø kù] = m [lǎ-w ú yá só-w dé] [dá:-wó gǎyⁿ]
- I: hà: núwⁿðyⁿ ñgú kú = m
- S: hà: núwⁿðyⁿ [nù bû:] bèré-j-â: dè, [[ǎm bè]⁴⁹³ má:] jò-ló-yè = b-à:
- B: bû:—
- D: [américain dá:], gǎm yá-dá: jò-ló-mà dè, [ànsá:rà ónjòy dà:] jò-ló-tí-yà dè, *américain* núwⁿðyⁿ [nigrò: dè] [nigrò: dè] [nù jèwⁿè] bû: gí:ⁿ-rà bû:⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁴ The clitic =nì is optional here (after a PP). Locative postposition wò is added in this phrase to a plural agentive ‘robber, thief’ with the object of theft as possessor. Singular counterpart: [àrsè: gúrù-m bò = nì] là:tè.

⁴⁸⁵ Imperative singular (< àyí). Likewise bãrà ‘help!’ (< bàrí) just below. The high tone element in such forms is audible on the first syllable and may extend onto the first part of the following vowel.

⁴⁸⁶ Manner relative clause with demonstrative ñgú. Cf. (without the demonstrative) [B núwⁿðyⁿ yě dàyⁿ tégé-wè].

⁴⁸⁷ The second wó ‘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 [[ñjé gǔⁿ-wè mà] [gǔⁿ-wè dè]] ‘what would you say if you said it?’

⁴⁹¹ Ends in verb tí ‘send’. 3Sg subject counterpart: [súyó jìyé-wè dè] jìsé tí-m.

⁴⁹² 3Pl here refers to Fulbe.

⁴⁹³ Pl of ǎm ‘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 pronominal The Pl bû: following the participle is

B [overlapping]: [nègrô: bû: gí:ⁿ-rà kù bû:] [áṅàⁿ tí:-yéy⁴⁹⁵ kù] bû: = m̀

D: [kú kù yà→] kòmbó,⁴⁹⁶ [núwⁿḍyⁿ kày] [ṅjê: = ∅ mà gǔⁿ-w̃ⁿ dè] [tá-yè⁴⁹⁷ gǔyⁿ = ní] [yá-dá: jò-ló = nì] [bû: káyⁿ nè], gàmbú [[kòmbó kù] dùwⁿḍ:-rè nì], [[nú: gǎm] mà nà:]⁴⁹⁸ [gàmbú kù], [ṅjê: = ∅ mà gǔⁿ-w̃ⁿ dè] yá-dá: [Amériq^e kù dá:] yá-dá: yá-dá: yá-dá: wàsà-bó',

[gǎm kálà] núwⁿḍyⁿ [ṅjê gǔⁿ-w̃ⁿ mà gǔⁿ-w̃ⁿ dè] î: [Afriq^e pìrè], Libéria gù = ní, núwⁿḍyⁿ [ṅjê gǔⁿ-w̃ⁿ dè] Monrovia, [[[kú sùmòy kù] wò] jê: = ní] [yâ: = ǹ bû: = ǹ] éw-ré dùw̃ⁿ-bò], gí-rⁿà,⁴⁹⁹ [[kú ní:] wò] bû:, [ànsá:rà kù] bû: là:mè-r-á wá,

[kòmbó dùwⁿḍ:-rè nì] [bû: kày] áṅàⁿ bû: èw-rè-bò, kù = m̀ libéré kù = m̀ Libé— [ṅjê: = ∅ mà] [Libéria kù], yâ: áṅàⁿ = ǹ bû: éw-ré dùw̃ⁿ-bò

B: já:tì

D: ðⁿhóⁿ

B: *l'histoire*—

D: já:tì, [*l'histoire* kù] [núwⁿḍyⁿ kày] [î:— nú:-rà-w̃ kù] ṅâyⁿ→ = ∅ [î: mà:]— [î: nù gùnù] ṅâyⁿ→ = ∅ [î: mà:] pílélé:-rà-w̃-bó wá

B: hà: jiyé-tí

in definite function, with scope over the head NP 'black people'. The equivalent with a singular head NP would be ... [nù jèwⁿɛ̃] bû: gí:ⁿ-rà-m kù.

⁴⁹⁵ Variant pronunciation of passive tíyè-yéy 'be sold'. Passive with -yéy, in a relative clause.

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

⁴⁹⁷ tá 'wage (war)'. Object is kòmbó 'war'.

⁴⁹⁸ [[nú: gǎm] mà nà:], stylistic embellishment of nú: gàmbú 'certain people'.

⁴⁹⁹ gí-rⁿà 'they said'. Irregular variant of gùyⁿ-bò 'they said'.

S: àrsilà:mà:kú [û: ìsè:] [àṅâyⁿ ṅâyⁿ] yè

B: àrsilà:mà:kú [á yě-ỳ] [[pàṅá ṅâyⁿ] yè], [[pàṅá ṅâyⁿ] yè]

S: [pàṅá ṅâyⁿ], àṅâyⁿ yè

B [overlapping]: jó-lò-ỳ,⁵⁰⁰ jó-lò-ỳ mà, áywà [nú: kù dèⁿ-wôy[†]], tó:rù, kú = ì [bû: bìrè = b-è]

D: òmdó

B: òmdó, kú = ì yóyó-yè = b-à:, bû: yóyó-ì⁵⁰¹ nè[†], éⁿé àm kú = ì jê:, [[[pùlò: àrⁿà kà:ⁿ] àrsilà:mà:kú jě-ì kù] ìnìrⁿi:⁵⁰² júwó-w, [hù:dì úmbárù] má → àm = Ø

D: sé:kù á:mádù = ì

B: sé:kù á:mádù = ì, sé:kù á:mádù = ì, [ìsè: wò] yě:-rè dè, mísí:dè, dì:dè-r-á témbú-jê: gâⁿ → bē:-rè dé wôy, áywà jâm nârⁿà-wⁿú-ì-ì-dó, séy bû: séyí-wú-ì, bû: júkké-ì, kú = ì [kò:ⁿ kâ:ⁿ] tósí-yà,

píníwⁿú = ní, [tó:rù gâⁿ →] òrⁿò á yí-jé-w wôy kálà, [lò-w dè] [kú = ì súyó dârú-ì], súyó dâr tí: dé wôy, [[ìsè: kù] mà:] [[bû: mà:] élé-ré-w mà →], [èrì-m = dá má] úsúrú-ì, èrì-m = dá gũⁿ-w dé wôy, bònó ù: = ì cé:rú-ì[†], érí-m gũⁿ-tú:-w dé wôy, mísí:dè yâ:, [ìsè: kù wò] cé:lé dúwó-ì,

hâl [î: ìsè: ṅgú] [mìsì:dè kùyó:], núwⁿòyⁿ, [[yâtôm hámàdù] mà:] ú lò-ì dè, [òrⁿò kú = ì] [bédá:rù ùrò kù] [óⁿò kù = ì], mìsì:dè kùyó: kù, yâ: = ì⁵⁰³ èw-rè-bá wá, yá pá:mé-w,

ṅgú-rù á gò-w kálà[†], píníwⁿú ìsè: lò á témbú-w wôy, táwà ù: nò-wⁿú-ì-ì-dó,⁵⁰⁴ táwà, hámpé-wú-ì-ì-dó, [bàngìyì = náyⁿ] = dá⁵⁰⁵ dé, táwà bèré hámpé-wú-ì-ì-dó, [táwà ú hámpé-ì nè] yí-j-â: dé wôy, jâm [ú mà:] nârⁿà-wⁿú-ì-ì-n-é,

píníwⁿú = ní [ú ìsè: kù] = ì [mísí:rè dídàw]-rá, [kú kálà dè] [jâm nârⁿà-wⁿú-ì-ì-n-é], hà [ṅgú gâⁿ →], [î: kây] [kò:ⁿ î: nũ-wⁿ wò], [dì:nà kùyó: kù kây] [éⁿé = ì jê: mà:nú-só-ỳ →], [jǐnjè sàw dè] [ú sàw]

D: àṅâyⁿ = ì ì, [[sé:kù á:mádù] àṅâyⁿ yě = ní] [[î: nù gùnù = ì kálà] [àṅâyⁿ yě = ní] ṅgú-rù yě tèm̀bì], yě = ì [dàwⁿá kù] [î: nù gùnù kù] [bû: yà] [nú: yěy] [nú: tã:n] gâⁿ → [gò yìlìwé tíní = ní bû: káyⁿ = ì], òⁿhóⁿ [[àdí:nà kù] ósù kù] [òsù téréw]-Ø⁵⁰⁶ yì-bó, [àṅâyⁿ ṅâyⁿ] [bû: yà] jàngè-bó,

jàngé = ì â: bã-w kù, [téréw kù] â: yí-w kù, [bû: yà] ìnjírí yè-bó[†], [[î: ìsè: kù] nù: kù = ì] pàm̀m̀ì-ì-bó, bû: pàm̀m̀íné = ì, [î: nù: kù yà] jàngè-bó →, [dàwⁿá kù] yì-bó, kú = ì àdí:nátù ìslá:mù, àrsilà:mà:kù dí:nà òsù, [kú = ì ì] î: = ì cè:rù-bó,

⁵⁰⁰ Imperative with 1Sg subject (taking the perspective of other persons).

⁵⁰¹ yóyó ‘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 yâ: = n ‘there’ (focus form) resumes [óⁿò kù = ì] ‘that place’ (focus).

⁵⁰⁴ Causative in the sense ‘allow X to VP’.

⁵⁰⁵ / = rá/ ‘it is not’.

⁵⁰⁶ òsù-téréw ‘true path, path of truth’. In form, a compound with ‘path’ (unexpectedly) as compound initial, hence literally ‘path-truth’.

[íyé úsù kálà] [î: kày] núwⁿðyⁿ, wá:jíbi líllâ:y kú = m̀ jánjé:-rà-y.:, jiré: dàyⁿ î: nú-wⁿ kày, hâl è→⁵⁰⁷, gíré: gíré: gíré: gíré: [[àⁿà-gúsú té:médérè] jírè], àrsilà:— [î: nù gùnù] [àrsilà:mà:kú wó] bú: nú-wⁿ,

áywà î: núwⁿðyⁿ kú = m̀ wǒ-só-y.:, [íyé kálà] [kú wó] = nì wǒ-só-y.:, kú = m̀ hó:lé-só-y.:, áywà [h̄jé gùⁿ-w̄ mà gǔⁿ-w̄ dè] kú = m̀ kálà ðimbá-y.:, àrsilà:mà:kú [î: mà:] ñâyⁿ = nì yè, nâ:m

[inaudible whispered discussion]

D: nâ:m, [bê:n àrsilà:mà:kú [nù kà:ⁿ] jě-m̀] [î: nǔ-m̀ kày], [î: tè:rⁿè] = Ø àkìlé gǔⁿ-yè

B: àkìlé

D: àkìlé, [àkìlé kù] éⁿé = m̀ = nì→, [h̄jé gǔⁿ-w̄ dè] [kùyó: kày] [[î: mà:] ínjírí [bê:n pìrè] jě: kòy] [[àñyàⁿ kày] nù-y.:], [[î: kù:] jàyⁿ], [á má:] [î: kày] [[î: kù:] jàyⁿ], [kú pírè] î: nàⁿà-bó, gò = n̄ àñyàⁿ tèm̀bì-y.:, gà: [[[î: [nù gùnù]] m̀^bò:] wò] àkìlé = m̀ jé: àñyàⁿ nù-y.:, éⁿé = m̀ jě: = ní î: = nì pàm̀m̀nè gùyⁿ-bò

S: àcìlé [àñyàⁿ jàyⁿ] àrsilà:mà:kú jě:

D: [àrsilà:mà: kú]—

S: [àñyàⁿ káyⁿ = ní] kú = n̄ jě:

D: éⁿé [àrsilà:mà: kú], éⁿé yà, [núwⁿðyⁿ kày], [sé:kù á:mádù— cìwèrù] á nǔ-w̄, [kú jâyⁿ] píníwⁿú = ní [éⁿé kálà] [h̄jé gùⁿ-w̄ mà gǔⁿ-w̄ dè] [bú: ló = n̄] á pá:mé-w̄ kù, áywà [[á kù:] jàyⁿ] nǔ:, [[á yítè:] gò-ló = ní kálà] [àrsilà:mà:kú kù] jàngìnè, [jánjé dògùrù⁵⁰⁸ â: bá-w̄ kù jàyⁿ] [bê:n yě = n̄] sàygì-bó wá

B: [éⁿé kù] bàñagàrá = nì bú = b-ê:

D: já:tì

B: àkìlé kù

D: nâ:m

B: bàñagàrá bé: ní, ...

D: já:tì

B: [àrsilà:mà:kú kù] yâ: = nì bà

D: nâ:m

B: bàñagàrá

D: já:tì

B: hà: [kú ðimbá-w̄ wó], [bè:n̄ ñgù-rù] yè, ñgù-rù [kú kù] ðimbá-w̄ wó kálà, [àrsilà:mà:kú kù], [â:⁵⁰⁹ dàⁿ-wóy] kù ðimbì-yì-ím bá, [kú wó kálà] yě m̀^bò: kàwà, hâl [tǔ: jâyⁿ kálà] jàyà-bá,

D: là:r-bó

B: là:r-bá, hâl [tǔ: jâyⁿ] là:r-bà, áywà [káⁿ-m̀ t́ném] [káⁿ-m̀ t́ném] [j̄njè ðyð-ná:m] [[á báwdò] jàyⁿ], ...

D: bú: = nì bàrú-m̀

⁵⁰⁷ è→ here is not a “real” word, just an vocalization extending hâl ‘until, up to’.

⁵⁰⁸ dógùrú ‘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.

B: ... [bú: = nì bàr = ní], [nù jó → kù wôy] yě = ní, áywà [[érⁿé bô:⁵¹⁰] wò] nù-bà, kú dímbá-w wó^t, î: gâmbú = nì kày^t, àrsilà:mà:kú [kú píré] î: = nì nàⁿà-bá, [íyé kálà] [kú píré] bù-ȳ ∴, jǐnjè [î: àrsilà:mà:kù] jiré: jó-lò-ȳ

D: á:mî:

⁵¹⁰ ‘the side of (sb, in a dispute)’. Not ‘father’. Used with verb nú- ‘go in’.

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Beni and neighboring villages

S: [bê:n kòrò kù] ñjê: = Ø

T: bê:n, isè: bè:-wú-m bà, [[bê:n kù] kórò] dêy, [isè: mà:] bè:-wú-m bà, [ñjê: = Ø [kù kórò]]
[órnò kù] èsú bú:-Ø, [[yě = í kálà] èw-yè-bó] [[isè: kálà] tèmbi], [á áwù-m-dò kù]⁵¹¹
íyè gò-rí,

B: já:ti

T: [á yě dǒ-w cêm] àwù-m-dó [kù = m [érⁿé mà:] bù], [isè: kù dá:] á gǒ yě-w [kù wó kálà]
[àwù-m-dó kù] kù = m érⁿé gò-lò, [íyè úsù kálà] kù = m bù

B: já:ti

T: nǔ-m érⁿé gòrⁿò, [bê:n nù-m] kù àw-rí

B: péy

T: núwⁿòyⁿ dóm î: gǒ-w wôy, [[[î: pà: bé] m^bô:] wò] nù-rⁿí-yⁿ .: [[[î: tè:rⁿè bè] m^bô:] wò]
nù-rⁿí-yⁿ .:, hà: [íyè kálà] bú: gòrⁿò-wⁿú-m-dó⁵¹²

B: já:ti

T: kù bé:nì = nì bè:-wú-m bà

B: já:ti

T: [[isè: kù] [dànǎyⁿ⁵¹³ wó] [kù èw-yè-w ñgú] kòròy = Ø = rá⁵¹⁴ wá dé], [[órnò kù wôy]
dàrbálà: = Ø] [[[isè: jó→] wó] lì-ló-w] [isè: ñgú gâyⁿ→] isè: [èw-yè: ésù]⁵¹⁵ ...

E⁵¹⁶: jò:-rá

T: ... [dà:y-î: kù] nǔm bú:-Ø, òrⁿò-dáná: yá s-é:ⁿ, [kèlè mǎ:] yá s-é:ⁿ, [órnò kù] èsú bú:-Ø

B: já:ti

T: háyà ñgú = m bê:n bè:-wú-m bà

B: bày [isè: à:ngá] = nì, yě = ní kù tèmbi mà→[†], [kù yě = ní] [isè: kù] tèmbi

T: áywà isè: yě kù témbú-w, ñgú-rù kày, jímbè = ñ tì-têm⁵¹⁷

B: wó:dì

T: gàwⁿrⁿú = nì tì-témbi

B: wó:dì

T: álà, tè-témbi, áywà wásà, wásà, bú: tì-témbi, [érⁿé yà], yě á témbú-w kálà[†], [àrⁿà àwù-m]
bè-rⁿ⁵¹⁸ dé, [isè: á yě témbú-w = nì kálà] àw-rí, ñgú = m bê:n

S: álà bè→ gàwⁿrⁿú bè→ jímbè bè→ [bú: = m bê:n yě tèm⁵¹⁹] mà→ [bê:n bú: = nì yě tèmbi]

⁵¹¹ Factive clause with 3Reflexive possessor (=subject) and a final demonstrative kù. Compare unpossessed [àwù-m-dó kù] just below.

⁵¹² “Passive” -wú- used here for generalized (impersonal) subject.

⁵¹³ dànǎyⁿ here is a toponym, denoting the flat stony area at the entrance to Beni. Distinct from dánáyⁿ ‘(the) outside’.

⁵¹⁴ kòròy ‘empty, bare’, hence ‘for no reason’. Here with ‘it is not’ clitics = Ø = rá, where = Ø consists of a low tone.

⁵¹⁵ Bahuvrihi compound ‘(having) good sitting’.

⁵¹⁶ Oumar Abdou Kagoye, born 1950.

⁵¹⁷ = tì-témbi.

⁵¹⁸ = bè-rí.

T: bé:nì = ì yě bú: tèm̀b̀ì
 S: bé:nì [̀̀g̀ú-r̀ù yě = ́] bú: = ì tèm̀b̀ì
 T: ́h̀òⁿ
 B: bày [[kápěmdè = ì yà] tèm̀b̀ù] mà → tèm̀b̀ì-r̀í
 T: tèm̀b̀ù
 B: [[tìtàngǎy = ì yà] tèm̀b̀ù] mà → tèm̀b̀ì-r̀í
 T: tèm̀b̀ù
 B: bày [à̀ṅ̀ầyⁿ ̀̀yà̀yⁿ] [bê:n dùwó tí = ́] bú: ìnjírí yòyó t̀̀ṅ̀ ⁵²⁰ b̀ò
 T: áywà [í k̀̀y] [kú mâ:] j̀ẁò ⁵²¹ sàlá bú:-Ø
 B: tégé dìyà ⁵²²
 T: ǎy, [kú mâ: k̀̀y] [j̀ẁò k̀̀] sàlá bú:-Ø, [kú mâ: k̀̀y] j̀ẁò sàlá
 B: [kú mâ:] [ú j̀ẁò] sàlá
 D: [[ú yà] tégé ǎyⁿ] [ú j̀ẁò-ẁ d̀è]
 T: hà: íyà [[k̀:.ⁿ k̀:.ⁿ] í nũ-ẁ] d̀éy, [bê:n k̀̀], á yě-ẁ, [̀̀r̀ò̀ ì̀g̀ú-r̀ù] yě kú éw-yé = ì, tìtàngǎy = ì tì-tèm̀b̀ì, áywà j̀m̀è̀s̀ò̀:.^{r̀ò̀}-túru = ì tì-tèm̀b̀ì, ká:pěmdè = ì tì-tèm̀b̀ì, [d̀á: = ì kálà] tì-tèm̀b̀ì, [kú bér-kèl̀à:] yě kú éw-yé = ì, [̀̀r̀ò̀ k̀̀ →] kú = ì yáwé = ì s-é:ⁿ = b-â:., g̀à: [yě bú: éw-yé = ì k̀̀] [[̀̀r̀ò̀ k̀̀] [̀̀r̀ò̀ è̀s̀ú] t̀̀ṅ̀g̀í:-r̀è,
 [bú: mà:] ìnjírí g̀ò-ỳ wá, â: [â: ̀̀r̀ò̀ ì̀g̀ú] [̀̀r̀ò̀ b̀è:-ẁú-̀̀m̀] bà, kú = ì bé:nì, [â: mà:] g̀ù-g̀ò:⁵²³ = rá-bó wá k̀̀y, ì̀g̀ú-r̀ù, áywà [kú ̀̀yà̀yⁿ]^{*}, [t̀̀: ̀̀yà̀yⁿ] l̀̀á:r̀í-m̀ t̀̀ǹé⁵²⁴,
 [bê:n b̀ò̀ṅ̀ò k̀̀] [kú ̀̀yà̀yⁿ] t̀̀: yá só, [t̀̀: k̀̀] [í:r̀ⁿéyⁿ t̀̀:] = Ø, [kú mâ:] yàrí-k̀̀:⁵²⁵
 gũⁿ-yè [[t̀̀: k̀̀] mâ:], yàrí-k̀̀:, [[yàrí-k̀̀: ì̀g̀ú] ̀̀yà̀yⁿ]^{*}, b̀ò̀ṅ̀ò-m̀ [̀̀r̀ò̀ h́éj̀j̀é̀r̀è] ìnjírí = ì [[ú ísè:] ló = ì], [[̀̀s̀ò̀r̀ò̀-̀̀ṅ̀g̀í ⁵²⁶ g̀ò̀ṅ̀g̀í:] ẁò] [kú = ì g̀ò̀ṅ̀g̀í-r̀í = ́] l̀̀wá:-r̀è, à̀r̀à-k̀̀s̀ú s̀̀ỳò̀y, [k̀̀:.ⁿ ̀̀é:] b́é-è-m̀-dó-ẁ ..,
 [kú ̀̀yà̀yⁿ] ìnjírí = ì g̀ó-yà, à̀ṅ̀à̀yⁿ à̀ṅ̀à̀yⁿ à̀ṅ̀à̀yⁿ ìnjírí bú: g̀ó = ì, [[[[̀̀r̀ò̀ k̀̀ò̀r̀ò̀y] ǹ̀:.^{ỳ} ǹ̀m̀ũ̀yⁿ] t̀̀-^m] b̀òy] ì̀g̀ò̀y, [kú ǹ̀: k̀̀] t̀̀-t̀̀wé dùwⁿ-r-á ⁵²⁷ k̀̀y, [kú ǹ̀: k̀̀] yá b-è:ⁿ, yàrí-k̀̀: kú = ì ì [bú: = ì l̀̀r̀í = ́] g̀ò-lò, íyà ì̀g̀ú à̀ṅ̀à̀yⁿ ǹ̀-^{ỳ}
 S: yàrí-k̀̀: k̀̀, [[t̀̀: k̀̀] ì̀ǹr̀ò̀:] = Ø
 T: [[t̀̀: k̀̀] ì̀ǹr̀ò̀:] = Ø
 S: í:r̀ⁿém t̀̀:
 T: í:r̀ⁿéyⁿ ⁵²⁸ t̀̀:, yàrí-k̀̀:, [j̀̀ǹj̀è s̀̀ẁ d̀é] [ú s̀̀ẁ]
 B: hà: kú = ì yà, [[nà k̀̀yó:] í tégé-ẁ k̀̀ kálà] [kú = ì k̀̀y] [bê:n ǹ̀m̀ mà:] [[ǹ̀ àw-r̀ú-̀̀m̀] = Ø g̀ùⁿ-^{ỳ}
 T: D!

⁵¹⁹ = tèm̀b̀ì.

⁵²⁰ For t̀̀ṅ̀g̀í ‘did definitively, once and for all’.

⁵²¹ ‘my knowledge’, 1Sg possessor form of noun j̀ẁò.

⁵²² Post-imperative particle, following positive singular imperative.

⁵²³ Plural of g̀ù-g̀ò-m̀ ‘one who has a propensity to leave; quitter’.

⁵²⁴ = t̀̀ǹém.

⁵²⁵ Name of the iron shoe. Cf. yàrí ‘sky’.

⁵²⁶ = ̀̀s̀ò̀r̀ò̀-̀̀ṅ̀g̀í ‘baobab-leaf sauce’.

⁵²⁷ 3Pl Perfective Negative -r-á, not subject to Nasalization-Spreading.

⁵²⁸ Note the variant forms of ‘iron’: í:r̀ⁿéyⁿ (archaic), and í:r̀ⁿém (used by younger speakers).

D: [tà: lɔ̀sɔ̀-ɲě̀ỹⁿ] = Ø⁵²⁹ mà → lɔ̀sɔ̀-bà̀nǎ̀ỹⁿ = Ø
 B: [kú yě̀ỹ cēm] yá bú
 T: [[tà: kà:ⁿ] bú: gáⁿ = náy], lò = náy, [isê: gò̀ŋgùrú] bú: láwá-m kù, [tǎ: kù] [tà: lɔ̀sɔ̀-bà̀nǎ̀ỹ] = Ø
 B: já:tì
 T: [lɔ̀sɔ̀-bà̀nǎ̀ỹⁿ kù] [[lɔ̀sɔ̀ ɲě̀ỹⁿ] wó] kú gáⁿ-w̃, [lɔ̀sɔ̀-ɲě̀ỹ kù] = m̃ àyù-w̃ dé yà, [[lɔ̀sɔ̀ bǎ̀nǎ̀ỹⁿ] wó] kú gáⁿ-w̃
 D: [[kò:ⁿ dà:-w] ú nǔ-m̃] yá bú, [ú nǔ-m̃] yá bú
 T: á̀ŋà̀ỹⁿ = nì gò̀ŋgùrú-w̃ [isê: kù] = ñ, í ñgú gầỹⁿ = nì kú nù-ỳⁿ
 D: já:tì
 T: ñšâ:llá:w
 B: [[á isê:] gó-m̃ dè kày] [[á kò:ⁿ] [ésé wó] gǎ̀ỹⁿ-jè → gó-m̃ kòy
 T: [[ésé kálà] mùsùyó-w̃ dè] gó-m̃, [[ésé kálà] mùsùyó-m̃ kòy, [òròsú wòy] á táwá-m-dó, ésé = í mùsùyó-m̃
 S: bày éⁿé sù̀ŋgòy gá-m̃-dó má
 T: sù̀ŋgòy gá-m̃-dó kòy, sù̀ŋgòy gá-m̃-dó
 D: [kú kày] [nù gúnú kày] dàwⁿá yá s-é:ⁿ = b-â: kòy
 T: sù̀ŋgòy gá-m̃-dó, ñgú gầỹⁿ = nì bíré-yè = b-à:
 E: [isê: kù] = ñ nèy gì-gò̀ŋgùrú-m̃ = bè mà →, [nà tùwⁿò:] ló [ŋây → tó-tí: dè] ǎ̀y-jé-m̃ = bè
 T: [isê: kù] [ɲárⁿù wò] ló:-rè dè—
 E: xxx— tégé tégé tégé
 T: gò̀ŋgùrú-w̃ dè, [òròsú á túmdú-w̃ kù = ñ] yě [lɔ̀sɔ̀: tà:] ká-m̃, kùyó: á tó-w̃ kù, yě [[kú kù:] wò] té → tó-tí: dé wòy, gòlì tìnì-m̃-dó, hâl [ínjírì-w̃ dè] [[á isê: kù] wò] yé-m̃, ñgú gầỹⁿ → nù-ỳⁿ
 D: nâ:m, [ú yà] [kò:ⁿ ú nǔ-w̃ⁿ] yá bú, [í kálà] [yâ: ùllà í nǔ-w̃ⁿ] [[ùllá sày] yâ: bàrù-m̃⁵³⁰]
 T: wó:dì
 D: [éⁿé kày] yâ: dém → ló:-rè dé wòy, [isê: kù] bérkèlâ: [lɔ̀sɔ̀ bǎ̀nǎ̀ỹⁿ kù], [ŋâyⁿ → tó gǎ̀ỹⁿ-tí: dé wòy] [[lǎ-w wòy] sí-lé-m̃-dó], [yèy-né pá-m̃-dó] [lǎ-w pá-m̃-dó], á̀ŋà̀ỹⁿ = m̃ [gó-m̃ = bè kày] gí-rⁿǎ,⁵³¹ [í kálà] [ñgú kày] nǔ-ỳⁿ⁵³² dá:-wó, [ú mâ:] bàrù-m̃
 T: wó:dì, pá:mé-wⁿú-w̃ⁿ,⁵³³ [kú dò: wòy] àrⁿà-bérù tán, pá:mé-wⁿú-w̃ⁿ
 D: nâ:m
 T: òⁿhóⁿ, nâ:m

⁵²⁹ tǎ: ‘pair of shoes, (single) shoe’ here denoting a single shoe. lɔ̀sɔ̀-ɲě̀ỹⁿ ‘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-rⁿǎ ‘they said’, archaic form, equivalent to gù̀ỹⁿ-bó.

⁵³² 3Sg equivalent nǔ-w̃. An unusual type of unsuffixed Perfective with lexical tone and distinct 3Sg and 3Pl endings (-w̃, -mà)

⁵³³ Perfective of Passive -wú- (here, -wⁿú- after Nasalization-Spreading from the stem).

Text 2005-2b.05 Fight with a lion

T: áywà núwⁿɔyⁿ kò:ⁿ tègè-rá:—⁵³⁴

S [overlapping]: bē:n, [[ám yá→] [tādùngú-m yá→]]— jáy jàyà-bò

T: [[á:mádù tì-těyⁿ]⁵³⁵ yá→], [tādùngú-m yá→]] = nì jàyà-bò

S: [ànyâyⁿ nâyⁿ] = nì bē:

T: [dâyⁿ kà:ⁿ] bē-w̄ dē:, áywà [tādùngú-m kù] ínjírí = ní, î: lò:lù ñgú-rù yè, [nǎ: tâ:] yě = ní, [tādùngú-m kù] yâ: kó:rⁿò gàyⁿ, [kó:rⁿò éⁿé gǎⁿ-w̄ kù] [[isê: kù nánà:à:] mà:] bāngì-yì-rí hâl ìllá, gó:ngò yě = ní, [yâ:-yî: yà→] [àsùwⁿè-yî: yà→ cēm] [â: mà:] ínjírí ló [éⁿé wì-wó-yè] wà, [tādùngú-m kù] [nǎ:⁵³⁶ nâyⁿ] éⁿé wó-yè wà,

S: [yǎ: yá→] [árⁿà yà→]

T: [yǎ: yá→] [árⁿà yà→], í:rⁿém [[éⁿé jésù] wò] gǎ-lè-m̄⁵³⁷ bà péy!, yě = ní bòrⁿú gò-lò-bò, bû: gò-ló = nì, [àsùwⁿè-yî: yà→] [yâ:-yî: yà→] ñgú-rù yě = ní, [â: = nì sá:rⁿí = ní] ínjírí = ní, [[tādùngú-m kù] mâ:] pù-póndè-bà tán, [wàgàtì kà:ⁿ] ló = ní, dàdíyà táñí = ní, [[éⁿé mà:] [né: kày] [díyⁿáwⁿ wó]⁵³⁸ wà:w = rá] bû: bú nè,

E: íyà [nà yèy-né] gàyⁿ

T: píníwⁿú = ní [nà yèy-né], [kó:rⁿò táppé = ní] [éⁿé káyⁿ = nì], [nũ: [gǎm bóñò bè]] [[tìwⁿěyⁿ mání:] wò] ùrò:-r-à: hòw

S: háⁿ

T: [nũ: gǎm] [tìwⁿěyⁿ wó] ùrò:-r-à:, [á:mádù títěyⁿ], [á sá-w̄ kù de] [núwⁿɔyⁿ kày], [ánàyⁿ wò] bē:-rè dé wôy, [kò:rⁿò kà:ⁿ] â: nù:-rà-w̄ ñgú, jàwⁿâ: [kò:ⁿ [éⁿé nâyⁿ] jàyá-m̄] = dá wá dé, [[nù tùwⁿò-m yà→] [éⁿé yá→]] = m̄,

[jàwⁿâ: ínjírí = ní] [[éⁿé mà:] póndé:-rè wò] bē:-rè dé wôy, [jàwⁿâ [â: mà:] éⁿé súyó-m̄] mēgè wà', [â: ìnìrⁿì:-[bèr-ì:]] déngèy, [kú yà], sǎw [á mà:] nì = náyⁿ,⁵³⁹ [á jì-jáyá-m̄ dè] ñgòy, [pù-pú:rⁿí tí-m̄ dè] ñgòy,⁵⁴⁰

áywà [gǎm bóñò bè] sǎw [éⁿé mà:] nì-m̄ bá, [gǎm bóñò bè] [â: dàⁿ-wôy] lò-náyⁿ, [kò:ⁿ éⁿé nàñgìrì-m̄]⁵⁴¹ nàñgìrì-ȳ, [â: kàlà dè] éⁿé jìyè-ȳ,⁵⁴² tēwè [[â: hùnè] nâyⁿ] yé-yè,

⁵³⁴ Cut off. Perhaps tègè-rá: î: yě:-rà-w̄ ‘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) tějⁿ ‘small (=young)’, including reduplicated tì-tějⁿ and the combination dè tějⁿ with (Jamsay) dē: ‘elder brother’. Such additions would have originally served to distinguish two persons with the same personal name.

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

⁵³⁷ Hortative Negative. Usually -rè-m̄, but -lè-m̄ with CvN- stems like gǎyⁿ- ‘put’.

⁵³⁸ díyⁿáwⁿ wó, adverbial phrase ‘greatly, a great amount/measure’, here modifying wà: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 -m̄).

bû: gǔyⁿ = nì, ló bû: sósí-lí = nì, píníwⁿú = ní kó:rⁿò gàyⁿ, äy [[dàyⁿ dò:-wú-m wôy] ñgó], [[á:mádù tǔyⁿ] tìn = ní] [érⁿé káyⁿ = nì], [ñgú wó] jâm ñgó, kú ñâyⁿ, sùmöy á só-w, [sùmöy kù] ñây → érⁿé ñèⁿiyⁿí = ní, érⁿé pú:rⁿú-w [kú cêm], áywà [tàdùngú-m kù] [[á jírè] á àyú-w kù cêm] érⁿé gǔyⁿ = nì, [[dúwⁿán⁵⁴³ ósù] wò] gàyⁿ

S: dù dâ:

T: dù dâ:, háyà [kú ñâyⁿ], [tàdùngú-m kù] késé érⁿé gó = nì, [[óⁿò kù] wò] ló dó-mà gà:, [érⁿé lósò bè →] ló yí-mà gà:, [tàdùngú-m kù] = nì bèrè yì-r-á, [ínjírí = ní] ló:-rè

B: kú-dá: ló kó:rⁿò gàyⁿ

T: [kú-dá: kó:rⁿò gàyⁿ] hà: wàngí:-rè wà

B: píníwⁿú gàyⁿ

T: kú ñâyⁿ = nì, ínjírí = ní, [nú: kù] píníwⁿú = ní áñâyⁿ ínjírí = ní úrò yè-bò

⁵⁴² This passage abounds in jussive clauses, specifically reported hortatives and imperatives (suffixes -nâyⁿ, -m, -y ~ -y. See section on jussives in grammar.

⁵⁴³ Variant of dúwⁿánsán ‘Douentza’ (town).

Text 2005-2b.06

Fight with a hyena

T: háyà tì-tǎ:-m kò:ⁿ kú [jínjé sàw dè] [ú sàw]

B: áywà, [[kú túlù] wò], ñgú-rù, [kú kày] [[[í: jìrè] jùwò] nàyⁿ], tì-tǎ:-m, ñgú-rù yè,

E: [gùnjò-gòröy wó] í: ló = ní

S: ñññ

B: [[gùnjò-gòröy dá:] í: ló = ní] [tì-tǎ:-m á yě-w] yá-dá: [pèrgé nú:] [érⁿé dì-dìgìré-m] [í: mà: dá:] késé nì-bò, késé bú: ní = nè, [kórⁿúyⁿóm gù-ní yá bú] [yá-dá: [tì-tǎ:-m í: wòy] tú: í: àyú-w], kúrgòm kúrgòm kúrgòm tàñàsó: yě-y:.,

[í: yě = nè cêm] [[í: àsùwⁿè-yì:] [kú má:] â: húyé-w] tì-tǎ:-m [érⁿé célyè] súyó = ní, érⁿé = ñ â: wò-w, pèrù! sèwⁿè-bò, [á:mádù dè tǔyⁿ] nèrⁿiyⁿí-m kù, [úrò wò] úrò— kú bé:nì = ñ, [[bé:nì kù] wò] [kú árⁿà] wàyè-r-á, [cèlè mã: kù] kú = ñ [nà kùyó: kálà] tì-témbì-y:.] [í gǔⁿ-w kù] kú = ñ,

[kú nâyⁿ] [[tì-tǎ:-m kù] â: wò-w] [érⁿé⁵⁴⁴ pèrù!] [kú sèwⁿè-bò], ðⁿhóⁿ, pèrù! érⁿé sèwⁿè-bò, ñgú-rù [kú nâyⁿ] séwⁿé = ní pál = ní [kú dú jè:] yè-bò, [kú nâyⁿ kù] [àrsilà:mà:kú dá:-wó [tú: nâyⁿ] lígísé = ní] b-é:ⁿ = b-â:, [kúwó-m-n-é wá bú: gǔyⁿ nè] [[kú nú:] gàmbù] [[pá:mé = ní] b-ê:ⁿ kù]⁵⁴⁵ äy kùwò-bò, gàmbú jì-jísè-bò,⁵⁴⁶ ñgú gâyⁿ→ kâyⁿ,

[[kú túlù] wò kálà] tì-tǎ:-m bèrè-bó

E: gùnjò-gòröy wó ló = ní

B: gùnjò-gòröy wó lóní

E: [ìsè: í: wòy] [là:rà: ilâ:] yá bú = b-ê:⁵⁴⁷

B: [ìsè: í: wòy] kálà [là:rà: ilâ:] yá bú = b-ê:, [[kú túlù] wò] kálà [tì-tǎ:-m kàbà:rù] â: bèrè-w, háyà téwⁿé = ní, yá-dá: â: ló-w kù, [[tì-tǎ:-m kù] dì-dìgìré-m], yě = ní [pìrìyèm gǔyⁿ = ní] ñgú-rù yá bú, [kòmbí: wó] ló nǔ-w, érⁿé ðìmbì-yí nǔ lô:-bó,

[á má:] [ñgú gâyⁿ→] [[á má:] né: jáwé-w dè] [[nú: mâ:] gó-m] érⁿé gùⁿ [kú nâyⁿ], [[â: mǎrò-yì:] â: tí-w cêm] [ðⁿò ló nú-yⁿ bú: gǔⁿ-w] [[kú wó] ló nú:], [[gìrè-yì: kù] wò], tì-tǎ:-m yâ: gòlòró yàgà, [kú nâyⁿ] [[kòmbí: kù] wò] â: nú:, bàsá gò-lò-bò, ñgú kú = ñ

E [overlapping (unclear)]: ñây→ érⁿé jìyè-bò

B: nǔ:-rà-w, ná yèy

D: [tì-tǎ:-m nàyⁿ] àjèrú wò-bò

B: [ná yèy] [tì-tǎ:-m nàyⁿ] àjèrú wò-bò

E: [jìyè kálà] jìyè-bó

B: [jìyè kálà] jìyè-bó

S: [[mǎ = ñ kày] wò = ní] [[cèlè: kù] súyó = ní] [[érⁿé úrò] dâr-bó]

B: [[cèlè: kù] = ñ tàppè-bò⁵⁴⁸

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

⁵⁴⁵ Singular equivalent: ... bú-m kù.

⁵⁴⁶ Reduplicated Perfective.

⁵⁴⁷ Phonetically [jábbè:].

D: já:tì
B: gô:ŋgò, áⁿhàⁿ

⁵⁴⁸ táppé- is a semantically vague verb used in phrases suggesting surprising or unusual force.

Part Two, English Translations

Text 2005-1a.01 Name-giving ceremony

O: God [focus] has brought you-Sg.

I: Yes.⁵⁴⁹

O: Health.

I: Just health.

O: How are you?

I: Praise God.

O: Greeting.

I: Peace.

O: Just peace.

I: Our people have spent the day in peace?

O: Praise God.

I: Greeting.

O: Greeting.

I: Greeting.

O: Greeting.

I: Name-giving [focus] is what we have come (for).

O: xxx welcome.

I: Fine. The meaning of name-giving, that which begins (= to begin with), when seven days (after the birth) have arrived, they will say (it) to the people. Everybody will come. They (=some of them) will bring a small basket of millet (grain spikes), others will bring ten riyals (=50 francs) each, they will give it to the woman (=mother of the newborn). It's because of what? It's for her cream-of-millet drinking.

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

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

⁵⁴⁹ The sense of some of the single-word greetings (àwá→, birá→, â→, ñsé→, tà:ré) is vague, and the translations are rough.

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

- S: The name, how do you-Pl get (=determine) the putting (=giving) of the name? The child's name, how do you get it?
- O: We assemble (for) the name-giving. When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), having assembled, we give the name.
- S: How do you get the child's name, the name. (That) the name So-and-So, (that) establishing⁵⁵⁰ (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-wifehood at a name-giving

S: Today the old women came and posted a paper there.⁵⁵¹ I had seen them earlier doing something frivolous (=fooling around). That too, what is its meaning?

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

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

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

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

I: Well now indeed, (for) to a co-wife, (giving/doing) something bad is normal. (To give) something good to her isn't normal. It's for that reason [focus] that they gathered and brought (the hides).

⁵⁵¹ Like the preceding text, this one was recorded shortly after observing a name-giving ceremony. The interviewer had noticed the paper posting.

Text 2005-1a.04 Water at Beni

S: (In) Beni, our town here, water, how did it (=the water situation) happen? How is it done?

I: The water, we found it thus at Tangaso (location in the ravine). In the way we found it long ago, water used to dry up (seasonally), to the point that when we would drink, the ladder would come out (=be used). There was a ladder. Having gathered together, when two neighborhoods in each village would come together and you-PI would strike the bell, they would go and dig (for water). When we dug, again there we would drink. When it (=water) ended (=dried up), we would dig again, and there we would drink.

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

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

Again, at another water source, now at Bala, we got (water). Bala is a flat stony area. Each morning,⁵⁵² 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-PI? Is it a lack of care (=maintenance)? Or is it a lack of interest (=neglect)? (Or) the inability to dig?

I: Now the water is abundant and overflows, it doesn't end (=dry up). It isn't that we can't dig. Before (=long ago), when it ended, we used to dig (some more). Nowadays it doesn't cease (=run out). It's (because of) that, going on since twenty years, the dirtiness has sat (=taken root) inside.

S: Now what they call "tamarind,"⁵⁵³ 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-PI?

I: We have indeed not seen (=experienced) another.

S: There is no other at all.

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.

Text 2005-1a.05 Water projects

O: Now, (in) Tangaso itself, there is a lot of dirtiness. They have said that it makes (=causes) schistosomiasis. The tamarind trees that are standing there, when their leaves begin to fall, they say that that [focus] is what makes (=causes) it. We don't know if it's the truth, we don't know if it's a falsehood. Up here we began far away (=since long ago) to look for water in other places.

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁵⁴ Lit. "difficulty of what?"

⁵⁵⁵ Both Tanga-so and Bara are locations in the long ravine running from Beni toward Dianwely Maoudé.

⁵⁵⁶ Lit., "the well of that" (possessive).

⁵⁵⁷ *ólóy* 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.⁵⁵⁹ But simply because it's far away, we have abandoned it. There are some people who draw it (water of Bara) from time to time. If you-Sg been drawing (water) and have come (back here) once, you can't go (back there) a second time. We draw it from time to time as drinking water. One time, (or) two times, the people draw it.

⁵⁵⁹ Lit., "water that they drink," with nonreferential 3Pl pronominal.

Text 2005-1a.06 Field ownership

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

O: Is it (=do you mean) the side (=area) of the mountain? Is it the side of the mountain, or the side of Da⁵⁶⁰ 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

⁵⁶⁰ dǎ: 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 jiyé 'dance' (verb or noun) is only slightly distinct phonetically from the verb jiyé '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).

Text 2005-1a.07 Villages and their fields

S: Now, the fields everywhere, it (=a field) belongs to this one, it (=another field) belongs to this one, (another) belongs to this one, (another) belongs to this one, you-Pl say. That too, did they buy the fields? Or how (=what) did they do?

I: They didn't buy (them). As O said now, the property of all Beni, what he (=O) was saying just now, it (=land) is collective (property), it's the truth. Even among all (the people of) Beni, there is someone who is closer to (=more closely involved) there.⁵⁶³ They (=new people), if it's the people of a clan⁵⁶⁴ [focus] who have taken over the property of those (other) ones as inheritance, if they made it (=property) in common (=collective), they (=other villagers) will request it of them (=clan).

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

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

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

S: It's you-Pl who are close (=involved) there. How did it happen that it came to belong to the people of Gamni?

I: It's they [focus] who came first. We found them (here).

S: Your-Pl (=Beni's) mountain too, it's on which side (=area)? You-Pl, your-Pl mountain.

I: (As for us), we don't have anything like the big mountain (=Gamni Mountain), unless it's Dure Mountain.

S: Dure Mountain alone, that's what belongs to you-Pl?

I: Yes, as for that, it belongs to us.

S: So you-Pl too, you-Pl are far from the village.⁵⁶⁵ 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.

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.

Text 2005-1a.08 Locust invasion 2004

S: This year, they said the locusts⁵⁶⁶ came to you-Pl. The locusts, (as for) them), how did they come?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O: We (tried to) drive them away.

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

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 ruined⁵⁶⁸ so they came? Or did you-Pl think that a (divine) disaster had come down?

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

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

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

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

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

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

S: The locusts, was it after they had eaten (all) the millet that they went away? Or was it (because) the time for their going had arrived that they went away?⁵⁶⁹

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.

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 smell⁵⁷² 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 like that (=we rest). When the fifteen days have passed, when the seeds have sprouted well, a second rain falls. When the second rain has fallen, we begin the farming (=weeding).

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

S: If it isn’t (=other than) plowing and dropping (seeds) using a plow,⁵⁷³ 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).⁵⁷⁴ They call it, the first (period of) farming “*wongoro-kunju*.” When you have already done the *wongoro-kunju*, if (weeding) your field is finished, (then) it’s “*senje*.” You will do the *senje* (second round of farming work).
- S: (Between) the *wongoro-kunju* and *senje*, which (of them) is more difficult?
- O: *Wongoro-kunju* is harder, *wongoro-kunju* is harder. (As for) *senje*, if you-Sg go to certain spots, it may be that you-Sg haven’t found that the grasses (=weeds) are as many as when you passed through doing farm work (=weeding) the first time.
- S: Fine. Peanuts and other things, do you-Pl plant⁵⁷⁵ those during the (millet) weeding? Or do they plant (them) back during the sowing (of millet)?
- O: We plant (peanuts) during the (millet) weeding. Well, (sometimes) when we have been doing the weeding, and we have left (=completed) it, we will go and plant peanuts. Some (other) times, (when) we haven’t yet begun the (millet) weeding, we go and plant peanuts. In that way we do the (millet) weeding, when we have already finished planting the peanuts. (In) some years, when we have been doing the (millet) weeding, we plant peanuts.
- S: When you-Pl have done the weeding, now what do you-Pl do, if you-Pl have already planted both of them (millet and peanuts)?
- O: We have done the first round of weeding, (and) we have done the second round of weeding. When we are doing the second round of weeding, (while waiting) until the millet ripens, you-Sg will remove (by hand) some half-ripe millet grains and you-Sg will be chewing them, (and) in some fields you will do (more of) the second round of weeding, where the grass (=weeds) is.
- S: Now if you-Pl have done the second round of weeding, (and) the millet has ripened, what do you-Pl do?
- O: When the millet has all ripened, the women harvest (with a sickle) the *yu-do* (a small, early-ripening variety of millet). They call that *yu-do*, (it’s) the very dark millet. That and the very small *yu-dengembere* (another early-ripening variety).⁵⁷⁶ 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. *wóngóró* ‘farming, farm work’ and the related verb *wàrá-* refers prototypically to this pulling action. The first round is the most laborious, as weeds are uprooted and shaken off, crop seedlings are thinned out, and some spot-oversowing is done where the seedlings have not sprouted or have died. By the second round, the millet plants are taller and the weeding is less difficult.

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

⁵⁷⁶ *yu-do* is described as being tall but thin (stem and spike). *yu-dengembere* is described as having a short but thick stem and spike. These are the two first varieties to ripen.

do breaking-off, we break off (grain spikes of) *yu-do*. When they have broken off all of the *yu-do*, the (regular) millet will become dry (=hard), (and) now we will harvest (it) (by cutting).

S: How do you-Pl do the (millet) harvest?

O: The (millet) harvest, they call it *porkiya* (hand-knife).⁵⁷⁷ They call it hand-knife. Certain people harvest with a (regular) knife, (and) certain (other) people harvest with the hand-knife. Here you-Sg jab (=make a hole in the handle), you-Sg put it on your finger(s). You-Sg (also) sling a shoulderbag over your shoulder (by its strap). When you-Sg harvest (=cut off the grain spikes), you put (them) in the shoulderbag. When it's full, you-Sg go dump and leave it (in a small pile). When it's full (again), you-Sg go dump and leave it.

S: Do they dump (the spikes) in one place (=in a big heap)? 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 full⁵⁷⁸ here, and around four shoulderbags full over there, the people will come, and keep gathering (the dumped millet ears), and go and bring them near (=together) into the big millet pile.⁵⁷⁹

S: Those people too (who carry millet ears to the big pile), how are they distinct (=specialists in that job)? Or how is it?

O: In your-Sg house, some girls are there, or if your-Sg younger brothers are there, if there are people who will help you-Sg, when you are harvesting, they too will gather (millet), they too will gather what you have dumped, and they will transport it (=millet) out (of the field) into the large millet-ear pile.

S: Well, when you-Pl have harvested, is it in the field [focus] that you-Pl leave (the millet) there? Or how (=what) do you-Pl do?

O: When we have harvested, (it's) in the field. When you-Sg have harvested in this field, you will proceed to leave (the millet) here for now. (If) you-Sg go and harvest in (another) field over there, you-Sg will leave it there for now. (If) you-Sg go and harvest in (another) field over there, you-Sg will leave it there for now. When we have harvested (completely), we will carry the millet (in baskets on our heads) like this.

I: Do you-Pl uproot (millet stems) and cover (the millet grain spikes in the pile)? Or do you-Pl not cover (them)?

S: When we have uprooted the stems, we cover (the millet spikes), in some fields.

I: Don't you-Pl (also) slash (=harvest with a sickle) roselle?⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁷ A small knife with a hole in the handle for one's finger to go through, used for cutting off the seed spike (ear) of millet.

⁵⁷⁸ Lit., "three skin mouth."

⁵⁷⁹ *yu-tere* '(large) millet pile' on the side of a field consists of several heaps of millet ears, laid horizontally on top of each other. The individual heaps are rectangular, but several such heaps are positioned in spoke-like fashion around a central point. When this has been piled high, outer rings of individual heaps are added. As a whole, this large pile represents the bulk of the millet crop for the year. The millet will later be carried in baskets to granaries in the village.

⁵⁸⁰ *Hibiscus sabdariffa* (cultivated). In local French *oseille* or *dah*.

- S: Indeed we slash roselle.
- I: They slash roselle?
- S: We slash roselle. Roselle, with respect to the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first.
- I: Do men slash (it)? Or do women slash (it)?
- S: Women— (or rather) men slash it.
- I: Men slash (it).
- S: Uh-huh! With respect to the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first. When we have slashed the roselle, (then) we begin the (millet) harvest like that.
- I: The (harvested) millet. The big (horizontal) heap? Or is it the small vertical pile?⁵⁸¹
- S: We make the small vertical millet-spike pile, (and) we make the large horizontal heap. They make the small vertical millet-spike pile with shoulderbags.
- I: They dump (the millet spikes) with (=from) the shoulderbags?
- O: If you-Sg have come (with) the shoulderbags, you-Sg will dump (the ears) with the shoulderbags.
- I: Erect (vertically).
- O: They call that *yu-juro*, the (small) one which is erect.
- I: The (other) one that is flat (with spikes laid horizontally), how (=what) do they call it?
- O: They call it *yu-teere* (large horizontal pile), what they dump with (=out of) baskets.
- I: With a crowd (of people)—
- O: With baskets, going all around, you-Sg will dump (millet spikes) and keep going with (the basket).⁵⁸² When it (=heap) is tall at the top (=millet has been piled high in an inner ring), you dump and keep going with (the basket) again, a second time (to form an outer ring of the pile). When it is tall, you dump and keep going with (the basket) a third time (to form another outer ring).
- S: When they have carried the millet (in baskets on their heads) and brought it to the house(s), what do you-Pl do (then)?
- O: The carrying and bringing of the millet to the houses, as for that, when we have gone in order to carry the millet, we separate it (into categories). One they call *yu-buburu* (partially ripe millet), (the kind) that isn't greatly⁵⁸³ (=especially) ripe. They call the one that has fully ripened *yu-na* (normal millet).⁵⁸⁴ We carry it and bring it to the houses. When we have carried and brought it to the houses, we put it in granaries.
- S: In the granaries, do they put the *yu-buburu* and the *yu-na* in one (=the same) place? Or separated?
- O: We put (=store) them separately. If you-Sg have put the *yu-na* on this side (of the granary), you-Sg will put the *yu-buburu* on that (other) side. If you-Sg have two granaries also,

⁵⁸¹ *yu-juro* is a smaller pile on the side of a field for grain spikes (ears) of millet, planted vertically in the sand (rather than laid down horizontally), and usually kept as seedstock for the following year's sowing.

⁵⁸² This speaking turn describes the concentric rings made in the *yu-teere*.

⁵⁸³ Lit. "in big(-ness)," here as adverb 'to a great extent'.

⁵⁸⁴ *yu-na* (normal millet) has hard grains that are suitable for long-term storage in granaries. The *yu-buburu* (semi-ripe millet) is softer and is consumed first.

one—, you-Sg will put the *yu-na* in one granary, and you-Sg will put the *yu-buburu* in one (=the other) granary.

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

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

I: There's the calabash field.

O: It's calabashes,⁵⁸⁵ we sow (them). We sow calabashes. In a field in which we (earlier) put (=planted) millet, when we sow the calabash plants, they are there.⁵⁸⁶ When we have gone and carried (the millet), xxx you-Pl will go and uproot the stems (with e.g. a *daba*). When you-Pl have uprooted the stems, if you-Sg put a little water on the calabashes, it (=calabash vine) will spread by itself, it will propagate⁵⁸⁷ a little.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁸⁷ Lit. "it gets its (own) head."

⁵⁸⁸ French *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,⁵⁸⁹ we will build (it) first. When we have covered (=roofed) it, when it has dried out a little, while we mold bricks (of mud-gravel mix), while we mold bricks, the base structure that we build will dry out. When we have gathered the bricks, we put (them) down next to it and leave (them).

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

The old men who know how to build will go up, they will set up the (raised) foundation.⁵⁹⁰ 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 superimpose⁵⁹¹ with that—.

When they have struck them (=overlapped the bricks), a meal has come out (=is ready to be served). They will come down and eat. When the (meal) break has gone on for a little while, again they go up. Now, they keep building. When it goes (up), (so that) it is the height of a person’s head, it reaches the place (=height) that the owner wishes, when it reaches the desired place (height) for the bricks, they will cover that place (=the bricks) with the facade recesses.⁵⁹²

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

When the millet cream goes out (=is ready to be served), the building of the granary is finished (simultaneously).⁵⁹³ 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 you have roofed mine today, tomorrow likewise I will roof yours. That is how we did the roofing yesterday (=in the past).

Text 2005-1a.12 Cow-peas

S: Cow-peas,⁵⁹⁴ how do they plant them?

I: Cow-peas are apart (=different). There are those (people) who plant fields of it. Even within a field we—, in long row after long row (of plants), within the field they call it “cow-pea ripping.”⁵⁹⁵ That too, we “rip” (plant them in millet fields). We plant them separately in their (own) fields also. Well, that’s how we plant cow-peas.

S: Sowing them (cow-peas), and the remainder (=ways of sowing other crops), are they one (=the same)?

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

S: Cow-peas, when they have ripened and dried (=fully ripened), what do they (=farmers) do with them?

O: They collect them. One at a time, they collect them, they fill (=stuff) (them) into baskets, and they bring (them) to the houses.

I: With the moist (not fully ripe) ones, they pick (them) and eat (them).

O: Before they dry (=ripen fully), we pick (them) and then eat (them). Before they dry.

S: When you-Pl have brought them to the houses (=the village), how (=what) do you-Pl do?

O: They dump them on the roofs. They dump them on the roofs, until they dry. When they have dried, they shell them (=pound them to remove the pods). When they have shelled them, they put the grains (=peas) in sacks and put them down (=store them).

S: Do they put (cow-peas) in granaries? Or, like the one (used) for roselle, do they put (them) down on the ground and bury them, in a shelf?⁵⁹⁶

O: A shelf. If you-Sg store (cow-peas), you-Sg put (them) in a shelf. Ashes and fine earth, when you-Sg have mixed and stirred those two together, you-Sg will tamp them down like this in the shelf (to pack the earth firmly), if you-Sg are storing (the cow-peas). If it isn’t that (=otherwise), they will become infested (with insects), as for that, when a month has arrived (=elapsed), they will be infested.

If you-Sg have put (cow-peas) in sacks, there is a medicine (=insecticide), a medicine of the whites. If you-Sg have put that medicine in sacks, the cow-peas, you-Sg will put (the insecticide) on them (“on its head”). If you-Sg sell yours (=your cow-peas), furthermore, you-Sg will go to the market and sell yours and leave them.

S: The shelf (structure), do they make it in a granary? Or is it in any place?⁵⁹⁷

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.

Text 2005-1a.13 **Big families**

S: Why do the people here want to have many children?

O: We indeed want children. Well, for us, the work of the place (=farming), our work is hard (“dry”) work. You-Sg yourself, you-Sg work and work. When you have (the age of) fifty years, from then on you don’t have the strength to work. If you-Sg have children, your-Sg children, it’s they [focus] who will work.

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

S: If it’s not that (=other than that), you-Pl want to have children—. If it’s not that, is there no other reason?

O: There is indeed another reason. Well, if (you) have two or three children, one will go and study the Koran, one will go and study at the (public) school, (and) one will help you-Sg do the farming. Well, the one who is studying (Koran), (as for) him, he will do his work well (=will be successful); the one who is studying over there (at the public school) will do his work well, (and) the one who is helping you to do the farming, he too, he will do his work well.

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

O: Having many children is obligatory?

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

I: That [focus] (is why) we do (=practice) marrying two women, that’s it.

O: We (=men) marry two women, we marry three women, we marry four women. All of them will bear (children). There are some people (=men) who have thirty children, there are some people who have twenty, there are some people who have ten.

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

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

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

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

I: For this reason, we have wanted (to have) many children.

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 woman(-hood).

S: Fine. That talk (=negotiating) of you-Sg (=the prospective husband) alone by yourself, it too, how do they speak?

O: If you-Sg go just you-Sg yourself, you will say to the girl that you love her, (that) you yourself love her. If she doesn’t love you-Sg, she will say that she doesn’t love you-Sg. If she has fallen in love with you-Sg, well, if it happens that (both) you-Sg love her and she loves you-Sg, you will speak to the father and the mother (of the girl).

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

The mother and the father (of the girl), furthermore, they have given (her) to him.

Well, when the Muslim (community) has come, they will go out to (bear) witness.

I: They will set a date (“put a day”), they will set a date.

O: They will set a date. They will say, “today, it’s a betrothal.” They will set a date, on a Friday. The Muslim (community) will come and assemble. They will say “well, So-and-So and So-and-So have said that they love each other.” They will say, “there is a betrothal.” They will say, “there is a witness-bearing.”

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

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

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

⁶⁰¹ Lit., “eight years or.”

⁶⁰² The prospective husband gives periodic gifts to the family of the girl.

- S: If it isn't (=other than) money, they don't give anything (else)?
- O: They give fabric (=clothing), (and) they give shoes. If you-Sg didn't get that, you (may) tie (=contract marriage) also (=alternatively) with just money, (so) there are no shoes or clothes.
- S: The woman, (and) the man. (If he's) one who wants (to), is it he alone who goes and speaks (=negotiates)? Is it his friend (=a friend of his) who speaks? Is it another person who speaks?
- O: Just you-Sg go and speak—, just you-Sg will go and speak. If you alone cannot, you-Sg will send your father, (or) you will send your sister, (or) you will send your friend. Just you, if they (=girls' parents) gave (her) to you, furthermore, that's it. But if just you-Sg all alone have gone and said "I love a woman," their giving (her) to you is difficult (=rare).
- I [overlapping]: They won't give (her) to just you (alone). xxx
- O: In another village, they will say, "well, may your-Sg father come!" Now, he knows—, if they (=girl's parents) have known (=been assured) that your father wants (the marriage), (and) uh, if they have known that your elder brother wants (the marriage), (then) they give the woman in this way. It's betrothal of one mother, one father (=among blood relatives).
- S: The betrothal, is it at the house of the girl's father [focus] that they do it? Or is it at the house of the boy's father that they do it?
- O: Fine. When they have tied (=contracted) the betrothal now, how do they remain, the two of them?⁶⁰³
- S: When they have contracted the betrothal, you-Sg (=bridegroom) ask for the woman, telling (them) to give (her) to yourself.
- O: They go and entrust (the bride, to her parents).⁶⁰⁴ When a person (=friend of the bridegroom) goes out and goes (there), he entrusts (her). The woman that they have contracted (=given) in marriage, between (=within) ten days, when the person goes straight to the house (of the bride), he entrusts (her).
- After he has entrusted (her), a person (=another friend of the bridegroom) goes out again. They ask for her, saying, "it's the woman('s) looking at the (new) house." They will set a date. The date that they set initially, it won't stand (=is false). They will set (a date) a second time, that [focus] is what will stand (=is fulfilled).
- At night, they will go with (the bride, to her new house). The boys will shoot rifles (in the rifle dance). When she has gone to the (new) house there, when she has drawn water in the morning, she will remain there (at the new house). When she has remained there ten to twenty days, again she goes to her father's house. It's this, a woman's coming (to her new house). Again it remains (like this) for a fairly long time.
- In the past,⁶⁰⁵ it was child-bearing (that sealed the marriage). When you-Pl had one child, before you had another (child), she (=bride) would definitively come and

⁶⁰³ Lit., "their two."

⁶⁰⁴ The bride has already been "given" to the future husband, but she is then "entrusted" to her own parents for a time.

⁶⁰⁵ Lit. "if it is (was) in the past."

move to the husband's house. They used to do thus. Nowadays, they don't wait until that (=until a child is born). Even before she bears a child, they ask for her (to go to) the husband's house.

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

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

O: It is finished on that.

I: Is it not finished on this? Or is it not thus, S?

O: That is the moving out of the woman.

S: Is there no other fun (=celebration)?

I: This is the moving out of the woman. The women, they dance their dance in the courtyard.

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

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

S: When that has passed, there is no other fun (=celebration) otherwise?

I: There is nothing else.

O: There is nothing else, in the moving out of the woman. When it has passed, there is no other fun.

I: It's the final one.

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

Text 2005-1a.15 Livestock

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O: For the animals?

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

⁶⁰⁷ The animal pen (with thorn-branch fencing) is shifted when it has too much dung.

O: The end of the rainy season having gone out, now when the work of all the fields, when all the work of (growing) millet has ended, (then) it's the work of (growing) calabashes. When all the work of calabashes has ended, the animals, as for them (=animals), they (=people) send away (=let them loose).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰⁸ Lit., “if a person of God has not seen it.” I.e., the negative has wide scope.

⁶⁰⁹ Muslims cannot eat meat of an animal that has died without being properly slaughtered (with the throat cut).

O: When your-Sg child goes and accompanies (the animals), if a cow falls down, he will come and tell you-Sg, “So-and-So (vocative), a cow has fallen down.” You-Sg will go and tell the people. They will go and take and lift (the fallen cow).

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

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

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

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

I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, it is said.

Text 2005-1a.16 Fulbe as herders

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

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

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

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

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

S: How many times a day do you-Pl milk a cow?

O: They milk a cow twice a day, morning and night.

S: Do you-Pl milk (cows) with a calabash (as container)? Or do you-Pl milk with what (special) gear?

O: They milk with a calabash? There is (also) what they call *karawal*, a thing that is carved out of wood.⁶¹¹ They milk with it. They also milk with small wooden bowls.

S: Now, when cows have gone to the bush (=to pasture), as they come along, their mothers encounter them, (and) they suckle. How (=what) do you-Pl do for (=with regard to) that?

O: There is a herder of (=for) the adult cows, (and) there is a herder of the calves. If it's (in) the rainy season, the adult cows, (if) children don't follow (them), (if) someone doesn't follow them, if a child doesn't follow the calf, if with that they (=calves) encounter (their mothers) in the bush, they will suckle thoroughly. You-Sg won't get anything (=any milk).

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

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

⁶¹¹ A "milk bucket" carved out of a single block of wood.

- O: When it has reached weaning, if it refuses weaning, they put on (=apply) a muzzle(-stick).⁶¹² There is what they call “muzzle.” They put on a muzzle. After they cut off a stick, they put (it) on its (=calf’s) nose. Sometimes they jab (=puncture) the nose. When they have jabbed the nose, they put the stick there and leave it. That (way) too, it (=calf) gets nothing to suckle.⁶¹³ All that we call “muzzle.”
- S: What thing prevents its suckling? When they have put it (=muzzle) on, how does it prevent its suckling?
- O: When they put it (=muzzle) on, when it reaches the nose, if it’s (=there is) a muzzle, they do it with thorns. When they have done it with thorns, when it (=calf) says (=thinks) it is going to suckle like that, the thorns prick its mother’s milk (=udder). The mother (cow) will break into a run. Even if its (just) the stick, the stick will hit hard, (in) the udder there, (and) it (=calf) gets nothing to suckle.
- I: Until it (=milk) dries (=is depleted, i.e. by being milked).
- O: Until it dries.

⁶¹² /tɔːnɛ/ 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.

Text 2005-1a.17 Cattle

S: What is the value of a cow? What is the value of an animal overall?

I: A goat, their (=people's) taking it out to the bush is not common. They remain at home. It is because of what? The excrement that it defecates at home, they (=people) gather it and they take (=transport) it to the bush (=fields). First (=formerly) they used to do that. As for it, it makes a lot of work. Nowadays, for that reason, many people have their goats lie down (for the night) in the bush.

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

S: The value of an animal overall (=of any kind) is what? The usefulness is what? An animal ...

I [overlapping]: Usefulness—.

S: ... overall.

I: As for an animal overall, fixing (=satisfying) your-Sg need(s). If a need comes to you-Sg, (for example) you contract a betrothal (=marriage), having sold it (=animal) you-Sg contract (=pay the brideprice). (If) a famine comes, having sold it (=animal) you-Sg eat. This is it, it is the need of (=for) an animal. (If) a good (=important) guest of yours-Sg comes, you-Sg can take (it) and give (it) to him, if you can afford (to). xxx

S: (At) child(ren)'s name-givings, how (=what) do they do?

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

S: The value of animal hides too, it is what?

I: The hide, it's our usefulness (=it's useful to us). We drink with that.⁶¹⁴ For example, if having worked (at) the harvest (you have) something to conceal and bring home, (or) if having gone to the bush (you have) anything to conceal and bring home, (or) if (you have) anything to take away (from the field or bush), when you-Sg put it there you-Sg will conceal (it). This [focus] is the usefulness of the hide shoulderbag for its part.⁶¹⁵

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.

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.⁶¹⁶ If there is a lot of it, you-Sg sell it, (and) you-Sg eat it, (and) you-Sg feed your family (with it). Well, the usefulness of milk too, this [focus] is it.
- I: The thing that has (=makes) a distinction between a Fulbe person and us (is that), a Fulbe person can keep (=tend) an animal better than we (can). He himself is a person of the bush. Animals (=livestock) also—, they (=Fulbe) keep (animals) in the bush. (As for) us (Dogon), (anything) like what they (=Fulbe) can do in the bush, we cannot do that in the bush, even today.
- For that reason, their (=Fulbe's) animals are more numerous. They (=Fulbe) can make (the animals) plump more (than we can). We cannot make an animal plump as much as they (can). What has (=makes) a distinction between us and the Fulbe, this is it.
- S: (Was it) because first (=formerly) the Dogon did not have (many) children (that) they used to give animals to the Fulbe? Or why was it?
- I: The farming, your-Sg child's farming, farming is better. (If there is) a single child, instead of him having the animals eat (=tending the herd), farming millet is better. Because of the thought of this, we used to give (animals to Fulbe).
- When we looked, there was nothing better (=no better way) in farming. It was the animals [focus] that were lost—. In their (=Dogon children's) hand they (=animals) would be lost, (as for) that, they would be finished (=would die out). Well, now, when we look, that thing (=practice), it is not a thing that is possible (=acceptable). It isn't better, hey! We take out and put (our children), now, we simply follow (=tend) cows. The value of the cows, with that (=at that point) we have begun to see.

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

Text 2005-1b.01 Collective and individual hunting

I: The collective hunt—

S: The (regular) hunt, how do they do it?

I: The hunt, (as for) us, the little thing that we found (=inherited from elders). A hunter, himself, in order to make his sauce (=meal) good-tasting, he begins a hunt. He shoots, he hunts, he shoots meat (=game).

One day the village assembles, they say “let’s put (=carry out) a collective hunt.” Between the seventh and the eighth month (of the year). They will fix (the date of) the collective hunt. The sun has come out now, with that (=at that point) the wild animals cannot run. The villagers,⁶¹⁷ 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?⁶¹⁹

I: A week or one month. A week—, it doesn't pass (=exceed) two weeks (or) three weeks. It doesn't pass (=exceed) the two weeks (or) three weeks.

O:⁶²⁰ If they have gone and come (back) here (since) a week ago today, again a second week, they will leave(=delay it) again (for) a week, (so it is) two weeks ago (=separation). They go here. (The time) between the two (collective hunts) doesn't exceed fifteen days (two weeks).⁶²¹

I: It doesn't exceed fifteen days.

S: Do they prepare (=plan) and set both (dates for collective hunts) on a single (=the same) day? Or do they do this one (=the first collective hunt) completely, then again on another day they prepare (plan) that one's (=set the date for the second one)?

I: After having set (the date for) this, when they have gone to this (=first collective hunt), they will set (the date for) this (=second hunt). "This hunt, it's of which (=which kind of hunt) today? When they have finished doing (it), the one of that other (=the second hunt), it will be (in) ten days (=two weeks)," (they) say. Everyone pounds (=crushes) gunpowder. A trap-setter will set his trap(s).

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

S: The (regular) hunt, how do they hunt, (in) the (regular) hunt?

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

⁶¹⁹ Lit. "stand across (road)."

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

⁶²¹ Cf. French *quinze jours* 'fifteen days' = 'two weeks'.

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

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

(You) go—. When you-Sg have gone and arrived at a place where it can't see you-Sg, (in) that place, (thinking) “uh-huh, when I have arrived (there), where it (=bullet) will hit it (=animal),”⁶²³ you-Sg will stay there and shoot. Nope, now, you-Sg have looked (and) it hasn't seen you-Sg, if you-Sg see it first (=before it sees you), you will shoot while standing.

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

If it's in the collective hunt, the animals (=meat) that they shoot, everything that fell (=dead), they say (of it): *tara aje, tara aje*.⁶²⁴ With that now, they have gotten some meat. If anyone at all [focus] has gotten (an animal), they all will shout.

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

O: That is is, it is thus.

I: You-Sg can't add anything else?

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

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

S: When the (regular) hunt has passed, (and) the collective hunt has passed, on the fourth day of that, or on the second day, or all the way (=as late as) five (days) arriving (=elapsing), do they not, uh, some fun, don't they have some fun (=celebrate) just because of that (=the hunting)?⁶²⁵

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

⁶²³ i.e., a place that provides camouflage but is also close enough to the animal for a shot.

⁶²⁴ This phrase (*tàrà*: ‘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

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*. cèm-sèṅé 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.⁶²⁹ All (= both of) these, the way that they have spines, if you-Sg get them, the millet too will ripen (well) like that, it is said.⁶³⁰

O: The Dogon (people), it's their thinking (=belief). It's their thinking.

I: It's thinking (=a belief). Well, it's like this that, as for them, they used to have their fun (=celebration). Nowadays, as for us, we have abandoned all that.

S: That now, is it (just) your-Pl (=of Beni) collective hunt? Or is it the collective hunt of all the villages, it's like that?

I: It's the collective hunt of all the villages, it's like that. It is this thinking of (=about) the collective hunt of all the villages.

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.

Text 2005-1b.02 Hunting with dogs

I: Hunting of (=with) dogs. (Suppose) you-Sg have been able to raise dogs. If you-Sg taught them meat (=wild animals), you-Sg will go out with them into the bush. Some people go out with dogs at night, they will go walking around catching animals. Some (other) people go with them in the morning, they catch animals with them. An animal—

They (=people) go. Whenever an animal comes out, they set loose (the dogs, on the animal), they say “suy!”⁶³¹ 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 “entrainment” (=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.

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

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

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

O: That is a bird-trap. That is a Dogon (=native) trap.

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

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

⁶³⁶ A spot at the edge of the village where women come together to pound grain in mortars. Birds come to eat the chaff and other debris from the grain.

(=set it), four (or) three (or) four (times) it will catch (a bird), (and) you-Sg go and take it out. Again you keep stretching it (=string) out well and leaving it.

O: That now, is it what they make with horse hairs?

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

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

O: There is also what they made with a stick (and) that they call *atiw* (bird-trap).⁶³⁷ They (=people) come and they make it like this with a stick. They come and with the stick—

I: The stick strikes (the bird).

O: They call that *atiw* (bird-trap) too.

I: They call it also *atiw*.

O: That now, is it a Dogon (=native) trap?

I: It's a Dogon (=native) trap. Both of them (=both kinds of *atiw*) are of the Dogon. The metal one (=iron animal trap) is of the whites. That is *atiw*, (it and) the one with the stick. That is *atiw*. Both of them are *atiw*. It is a Dogon—.

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

O: The thing that exists is like that.

I: Do they (=shall we) add something else? Or do then (=shall we) not add?

O: As for trap-hunting, that is it.

I: Yeah.

⁶³⁷ A different kind of bird-trap, called by the same name (*atiw*) as the one described above.

Text 2005-1b.04 Slaughtering and butchering

I: Now, it's slaughtering a sheep.

O: Mhm.

I: xxx if you-Sg have slaughtered (=cut the throat), the nephews (=sister's children) come, they will skin and butcher the sheep. When they have removed the skin, they cut open ("rip") the intestines.⁶³⁸ 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 man⁶⁴¹ 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

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. *díyáy* 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.

Text 2005-1b.05 Land disputes

S: When you-Pl have a fight, you-Pl and (other) people, the fight is about what?

I: The fight, the thing (=fight) that comes, most of it is about land. There is also (fighting) about a woman, but (disputes about) land have more force than (those about) a woman.

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

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

Well, when it has lasted a long time, if you-Sg go, you-Sg too, one day, a difficulty comes to you-Sg, this place now, I want to sow millet (here). When you-Sg say (to him), "I will arrive (at the field) and scatter (=plant) roselle,"⁶⁴⁴ 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)?”⁶⁴⁷ (One elder:) “No, they didn’t say (that).” (Another elder:) “No, they didn’t say (that). The field, it isn’t theirs.”

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

“Today, merely because you-Pl have been (here) for a long time, (you claim) it is your-Pl property. It (=agreement) was made⁶⁴⁸ by So-and-So and So-and-So. Even today, as for us, we do not abandon (=give up our ownership rights to it), we follow (=keep it) (as) our property.

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

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

“When the rainy season arrives, you-Pl will not sow.” (If there is) anyone who comes to sow, you-Pl will go and encounter (=accost) So-and-So,⁶⁴⁹ 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 time⁶⁵⁰ and has not gone down (=finished) on that (judgement), the people of the authority (=judges) will say to (=ask) you-Pl, what did the villagers encounter (=inherit)?⁶⁵¹ (You say:) “as for us, we encountered (=inherited) the sacred place.⁶⁵² (Judges:) “Did you-Pl drink (at) the sacred place?” “Yes.”

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 settle⁶⁵³ 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 all⁶⁵⁴ it by drinking from the sacred object (=by sacred oaths).⁶⁵⁵ It's one or the other (of these).⁶⁵⁶ (To O:) How did you-Sg see (it), ...

O: Uh-huh, with that, a field—

I: ... our fighting?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 accepted⁶⁵⁷ (=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.

⁶⁵⁷ Lit., "has taken and carried (on head)."

⁶⁵⁸ Lit. "this and the companion of (=something resembling) this."

Text 2005-1b.06 Traveling for work

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

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

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

Women, they run away⁶⁵⁹ (without permission). As for the women, immorality⁶⁶⁰ takes them away, we don't want them to go,⁶⁶¹ for our part, (but) if we have no power (to stop them). As for them (=women) too, because we go, they (also) run away.

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

S: In your-Pl thinking (=opinion), is immorality [focus] what makes them go? Or is it to become immoral [focus] that they go?⁶⁶²

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 *náw"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.⁶⁶³ Because one person, you-Sg are at home, (thinking:) "he (=another young man) has worked, God has given (=showed) him the (right) path, he has gotten a motor vehicle, he has driven and brought the vehicle here into his father's village; every boy (=young man) of your age; if he (=another young man) has gone to the bush (=the big city)⁶⁶⁴ (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).

⁶⁶³ I.e., for the most part, it's good.

⁶⁶⁴ Here $\delta r^{\prime} \delta$: '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),⁶⁶⁵ everybody.

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

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

⁶⁶⁵ i.e. the father waits to see whether or not the child will bring something.

Text 2005-1b.07 Going to school

O: Uh, now, you-Sg are studying, you-Sg are studying at (the public) school. Now, you-Sg will begin (school) at Dianwely.⁶⁶⁶ 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 field⁶⁶⁷ (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

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 lodging⁶⁶⁸ at (the house of) your relative(s)? Or at whose house are you lodging?

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

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

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

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

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

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

(I asked:) why? He said: well, as for him, his work (=job) here was going to end; he did not like⁶⁷⁰ (the situation) where he was now; he was going to go away from there (=Sévaré). (I asked:) (as for) him furthermore, where was he going? He said, he himself didn't know where he was going.

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

⁶⁶⁸ Lit. “going down” (i.e., going home after work or school).

⁶⁶⁹ I.e., one who hosts out-of-town school pupils as a good deed, not as an obligation to kin.

⁶⁷⁰ Lit. “... was not sweet (=pleasing) to him.”

unless it was I myself [focus] who looked for (a host). I went away (from Beni), I went back there (=to Sévaré).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S: The giant pouched rat,⁶⁷⁴ how is it?

I: The giant pouched rat, it's size is superimposed on (=exceeds that of) the mouse. Or is it (about) its behavior? Is it talking of (=about) behavior? The rat is a thief. It gathers up dried wild-grape⁶⁷⁵ pits, it gathers up peanuts. If it sees (=gets) peanuts, it won't leave (them). As for its food (=diet), (it is) excrement, peanuts, karité⁶⁷⁶ pits.

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

S: The unstriped grass rat.⁶⁷⁷

I: The unstriped grass rat.

S: This one is it.

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

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

S: Do they (=people) eat its meat?

I: They eat its meat.

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

I: They eat the meat of the Giant pouched rat. Children don't leave it (=they eat it avidly). Adults, (wonder) whether it's best (=appropriate, to eat) a little (=occasionally) or how (=what to do).

S: White mouse⁶⁷⁸ too.

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁷⁸ *Myomys 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 shrew⁶⁷⁹ 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 mouse⁶⁸⁰ also.

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

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

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

S: The spiny-haired mouse⁶⁸¹ too.

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

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

S: Well, they say that it transforms itself into a hedgehog.⁶⁸³ Is it the truth, or is it a falsehood?

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 scorpion⁶⁸⁴ now, what is it like?

O: This one, the young girl's scorpion, they didn't set (the name) for it "young girl's scorpion" for nothing.⁶⁸⁵ It (once) stung⁶⁸⁶ a young girl, and the young girl died.

S: What things does it eat?

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

This millipede, we call this one the "black millipede."⁶⁸⁷ Well, it itself, the (black) millipede, it is in the bush (=outback). Ants and other things, as for it, those are what it licks (=eats). It licks rotten (=slimy) things. It makes a cry too, it goes "pi:!", it makes a cry. If it's not in the rainy season, it doesn't remain in the hot (dry) season.⁶⁸⁸ Only in the rainy season is it seen.

S: This one (=young girl's scorpion) too, is it also seen in the hot season?

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

S: The other scorpion,⁶⁸⁹ 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.

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 gòròm-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 eats 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,"⁶⁹⁰ the *sakelem*, as for it, it is a scorpion apart (=another type). The *sakelem* doesn't get big, it is like that (=small). The child (=young) of this (other) one (=ordinary scorpion), the young one, they call it "scorpion-child," it isn't the *sakelem*.

A *sakelem* doesn't get big, as for it, it is always in (the form of) *sakelem*. Its sting isn't as painful as (like) that (=it isn't terribly painful); it isn't as painful as the sting of this (=ordinary scorpion). It, where they (=people) bathe, in the bathing areas, it (=sakelem) stays there. When you-Sg pour (water) in the bathing area, when you have poured water, if the wetness touches it (=sakelem), it will come up. When it has come up, it will bite⁶⁹¹ you-Sg there.

S: The two of them (=ordinary scorpion and *sakelem*), do they eat one (=the same) food?

O: The two of them eat one (=the same) food. Well, the sting of *sakelem* is not as painful as the sting of the other one, it's not as painful as the sting of the large scorpion. There is (also) the "horse's scorpion," it is very big. But we haven't got it here,⁶⁹² we haven't seen it. It, the horse's scorpion, as for it, if it has bitten a person, it will give⁶⁹³ no peace to the person. Well, the matter of scorpions, this is it.

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

⁶⁹¹ The speaker uses *kúwó*- 'bite, eat (meat)' instead of *támbí*- '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."

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

S: The *leyla*,⁶⁹⁴ how is it?

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

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

It’s because of that [focus] that they make that night *leyla*. That night you-Sg pray, you recite (Koranic verses).⁶⁹⁵ If you-Sg are in the path of God, that night great God—, the angels will come down, it is said. Anyone whom they find in the path of God, or whom they have found in prayer, now if they have found you-Sg in any (activity of) God’s path, the (divine) reward that you-Sg will get that night is greater than the (divine) reward of a thousand months (of ordinary living).

A thousand months. The (divine) reward that they give you-Sg that night. Now, (the whole time) from now until (=through) next year will find you-Sg (alive). It is said that on that night they divide up (good and bad fates). This thing, from now until before you-Sg die—, (from now until) next year arrives, you-Sg will get (something good), (or) you will not get (it), on that night they will divide (it) up, (their) fate(s),⁶⁹⁶ 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 *layl-a* is the Arabic word for ‘night’. In Mali, *leyla* (or variant) denotes the night of the 27th of Ramadan (fasting month). People try to stay up all night, hoping that angels will come by (distributing good fortune).

⁶⁹⁵ Same verb (jáǵǵé) 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 hear (about) a *djinn*, he himself, the *djinn*, he is a Muslim.⁷⁰⁰ They the Muslims⁷⁰¹ call that one *djinn*. When people pray a prayer, when we the children of Adam pray a prayer, they pray following (=along with) us. They likewise didn't send down a separate envoy (=Prophet) for them (*djinns*). Our Envoy (=the Prophet Muhammad), He [focus] is their Prophet (too). They (=djinns) perform prayers. They (=people) call one who prays a *djinn*. They call him *djinn*, the *djinn*.

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

S: They (=seytans) do only (=nothing but) evil.

O: They do only evil. People, if you-Sg (=a person) go (there), they don't welcome it, they will strike you-Sg. If you-Sg enter a place where they are surrounding (you), they—, they see us (but) we don't see them. Just like this way we see a person, they see us like that, (but) we don't see them. Well, they are the *seytans*. The ones who provoke (=pick fights), they are the *seytans*.

S: Well, the *nyere* (dwarves) too.

I: A dwarf, well, he now, it's he [focus] who holds (up) a boulder, and thinks, if somebody comes, he'll have put down (=dropped the boulder). He is (=remains) (there). When someone comes, sleepiness takes hold of him. Is that him?

O: No. Sleepiness, now, if you-Sg come, (and) if he says (=intends) to do this to you-Sg, (then) great God puts forgetfulness on him. When you-Sg come and arrive near him, he has forgotten. If it's not that (=if it weren't for that), people—, in this world (of the living) he (=dwarf) doesn't leave people (alone), he doesn't let people walk around. Well, it's great God alone [focus] who holds (=restrains) them.

The dwarf, he himself, the dwarf, they (=dwarves) come and stay in the (dense) forests. From the dense forests to the stone caverns, they are there. They too, in (=according to) the way that they (=people) say, they (=dwarves) see us, (but) we don't see them. When you-Sg go, their gear (=belongings), if you-Sg put (your) foot in certain of their thing(s), they will catch your-Sg foot and throw it, it is said. Uh-oh, once you barge in on them.

They too (=on the other hand), if they wish (something) good for you-Sg, they will give you-Sg something good, they (=people) say. Even going into the deep bush,

⁶⁹⁸ From Arabic šayṭaan-, 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,⁷⁰² they (=dwarves) wash and put down their (=short people's) clothing, they (=short people) see (it). They (=short people) even see water in their (=dwarves') ponds.

If you-Sg say (=intend) that you'll come and go and call a person and show (the dwarf to him), you-Sg won't (be able to) come (back to the pond). They (=dwarves) will have made it disappear. God has put (=established) a shield (=invisibility) between all of us (=us and them). Well, those are the dwarves. They see us, (but) we don't see them. They too, they are the dwarves. Short, short; short ones, short ones.

S: As for them, if they don't do anything evil to people, —

O: As for them, that they do anything evil to people is not common (=is rare), as for them, as for them.

S: That *iblis*,⁷⁰³ who (=what) is that?

O: *Iblis*, it's he [focus] who is the *seytan*. He is *abaljinne* (chief of demons). It's he [focus] now who Jeff said was the (cabinet) minister,⁷⁰⁴ it's him. There is no evil that he doesn't do. He puts (=does) nothing good for your-Sg heart (=spirit), he puts (=does) only evil to your-Sg heart. He makes you-Sg think of evil, he tells you-Sg, “do this evil thing! Do this evil thing! It is nothing (=it won't hurt you),” he says. He orders evil only.

S: He follows after you-Sg.

O: He follows after you-Sg. They say, as for him, he even runs in the blood.⁷⁰⁵ xxx well, (as for) that, if you-Sg say “in the name of God,” he will move away from there, they say. For that reason, as a Muslim, whatever you-Sg do, say “in the name of God,” it is said. If you-Sg say “in the name of God,” it will run far away, it is said.

S: I hear them (=people) saying, either they say it's a *seytan*, as for me, or they say it's a *djinn*, uh, or they say it's an *iblis*.

O: Uh-huh.

S: It is said of him, of him now, if he gets up in the morning, he gives orders to these *seytans* (pointing): “This one, go!” “This one, kill!” “This one, —.” “(You-Pl) go kill a person and come (back)!⁷⁰⁶” He who has been able to kill a person, the one who gives a hat of gold—, that one, who is it, among those two?⁷⁰⁷

O: He is the *djinn*—, or rather he is the *seytan*. When he gets up in the morning, he calls his people (=devils) together. “Well, you-Pl go this way and work (=do) this!” “You-Pl (others) go that way and work (=do) this!” “You-Pl (others) go that way and work (=do) this!” Thus he instructs his people, it is said.

⁷⁰² I.e., the dwarfish sprites (*nyere*) feel an affinity to human midgits.

⁷⁰³ Arabic ?ibliis-, another type of devil.

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

⁷⁰⁵ Expression meaning ‘stick closely to, be inseparable from’.

⁷⁰⁶ Lit., “if/when you-Pl kill a person, come!” Only the final verb is (plural-subject) imperative in form, but the series of verbs is interpreted as a single complex command.

⁷⁰⁷ S is asking which of the categories of devil is the commander who sends the other devils out to do harm to people.

They go. (When they return, he asks:) “How (=with what result) have you-Sg come?” “Oh, I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; there used to be friendship between the two of them, (now) the two are ruined (=have broken up). I stirred up trouble between a woman and her husband; there used to be friendship (=love) between them, (now) the woman has left.”

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

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

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

S: The *seytan*—.

O: It’s the seytan [focus] who does that.

S: Their chief.

O: Uh-huh. It’s he [focus] who does that.

S: That was it?

O: Uh-huh. This is his work.

Text 2005-2a.01 Tale of Yasama

S: A [vocative], tell us a story.

A: A story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) Yasama, her father, and her mother.

S: May the boundary be made.⁷⁰⁸

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:

[song:]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:

[song:] Greetings to Yasama's mother, (and) Yasama's father;
Greetings to Yasama's father, (and) Yasama's mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,

⁷⁰⁸ i.e., “may the story be about them.”

⁷⁰⁹ The quotative (i.e. hearsay) particle occurs liberally in tales.

⁷¹⁰ The song is sung in Jamsay.

⁷¹¹ Lit. “behind is different, among (=the middle of) behind is different.” Perhaps the sense is something like ‘things are not what they seem to be.’

Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here⁷¹⁸ the wound had appeared on the foot, here the foot was ruined, it is said. They asked, what kind of remedy will make him heal? They (=others) said, he will heal with the tail of a giraffe.⁷¹⁹

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

She went out, she began to go (=set off) on the path. She kept walking. Before she went, the Chief of the giraffes, he (=Chief) and his followers, she found them sleeping, it is said. She went and pulled 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 past⁷²³ (it), the girl reached the edge of her father's village. When she came and reached the edge of the village, (she sang):

[song]⁷²⁴ Ya-Ire⁷²⁵ snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire⁷²⁶ 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;

⁷²¹ Lit., "the rock, it came and was punctured."

⁷²² wōrō is the general term for scrubby acacias with particularly nasty thorns, often in impenetrable thickets (focally *Acacia erythrocalyx* and *A. ataxacantha*).

⁷²³ lit., "before they said they had passed."

⁷²⁴ Sung in Jamsay. However, the normal Jamsay word for 'giraffe' is wīlwīl.

⁷²⁵ The girl's name, but it means 'the best woman'.

⁷²⁶ Alternative version of the girl's name. Cf. mērⁿé '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 shoed (the flies), and the foot was suddenly healed (the scab flying off).

The story is over, the last story is over.

Text 2005-2a.03 Girl and incestuous father

S: A [vocative], do (=tell) for us another one.

A: All right. A story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put (=told) about a man and his child.

S: May the boundary be made.

A: A man, he gave birth to (=sired) a child (=daughter). He married a woman, and he gave birth to a child. He drove away the child's mother, it is said. When he drove (her) away, he said (=intended that) he would marry the child, it is said. The child, for her part, said that she would not marry her father, it is said.

The father said, well, if she insisted that she wouldn't marry him, she must go away from his house forever, it is said. She said, all right. When she had run (away), she went up (=climbed) on top of a borassus palm,⁷²⁸ 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-ile⁷³⁰
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl's reply:) Oh mother!
A man gave birth to me⁷³¹ yesterday
(And) today he will marry me.
I will go to die, and drink the water (there).⁷³²

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-ile⁷³³
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl's reply:) Oh mother!⁷³⁴
A man gave birth to me yesterday
(And) today he will marry me.
I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

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

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

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

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

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

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

The story is over, the last story is over.

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?⁷³⁵ They said, if she (=girl) didn't go up into the sky, the rain wouldn't come down on the earth, it is said.

S: If the girl didn't go up above?

A: Yes, if the girl didn't go up above. They asked, if the girl doesn't go up above, the rain won't come down? They said (=answered), uh-huh, the rain won't come down. Well, the chiefs assembled, they went for (=to the home of) her father and her mother, and they said: well, the rain has dried up like this in their village; if his (=father's) daughter doesn't go up above, the rain won't come down.

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

They took out some millet (from the granary), and they pounded (millet grain) (as) a sacrifice,⁷³⁶ 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 birth⁷³⁷ 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, they⁷³⁸ made a dog follow after her, it is said. (They) said (=thought): if it is her, when this (=secret name) goes (down), she

⁷³⁵ Lit., “is it peace?” A question typically asked of a visitor arriving at a home, for example. Pragmatically: ‘is something wrong?’

⁷³⁶ Here, a meal offered to everyone, to earn a blessing from higher powers.

⁷³⁷ Lit. “until she went and came and gave birth ...”. Here ‘went’ is associated with ‘until’, and ‘came’ frames the event. Neither verb denotes actual motion by the protagonist.

⁷³⁸ ‘they’ here refers to beings in the upper world.

won't be able to avoid uttering it.⁷³⁹ If (=when) she has uttered (it), the dog should come and tell (it) to them, (they) said (to the dog).

All right, she said. When she came (down), everyone said: Ya-Ire⁷⁴⁰ has come! Ya-Ire has come! Ya-Ire has borne a child and has come! She said: uh-huh, she had borne a child. (They) asked, what do they call her child?⁷⁴¹ But she said: no, as for her, she would not utter her child's name; up there, they had sent her down below, telling her not to utter (it), and she would not utter (it).

(They) told her to relent, to utter (the name), to them. She said: well, she, as for them, she would utter (it); her child was called Arayalogoro. Lo, she was not aware of the dog. The dog came, and was lurking unseen in the millet-pounding area. (Now) it came out of hiding, and it went into the neighborhood (singing):

[song]⁷⁴² They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.⁷⁴³

[laughs] Now Ya-Ire turned her head and looked at it, and (she saw that) it was the dog. Every neighborhood where she (=girl) went, it (=dog) went (and sang):

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

Well, it (=dog) did like that. As for her, now she was going to go (back) up, she said; (she said) she was (previously) unaware of the dog, she had spoken (the name of the child), the dog was calling and wailing (=barking loudly) at her; if she goes up above, they will not leave her (alone), (she) said.

Well, when she got up and went (back) up above, (they asked:) had she uttered the name of the child, or had she not uttered (it)? (She) said: as for her, she had not uttered (it). The dog said: she had uttered (it); they had told her not to utter (it), she had said that she would not utter (it), (but) she had said the name of the child Arayalogoro, he (=dog) too (sang):

They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.

⁷³⁹ Lit. "she won't do [she didn't say]."

⁷⁴⁰ name of the girl (now a young woman).

⁷⁴¹ Lit. "how do they say the name of ...".

⁷⁴² sung in Jamsay. The prosody here is prose-y, unlike the singing by the same speaker in the previous texts.

⁷⁴³ Words with no discernible sense.

Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.

He (=dog) spoke (=sang) like that, it is said. Uh-huh. (They) asked, had she uttered (it)?
She said, uh-huh, she had uttered (it). They took her there and they made her go (back)
down, it is said. Her bones have remained there, it is said.

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

A: Again, a story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) a woman and her stepmother.⁷⁴⁴

S: May the boundary be made on them.

A: Well, a woman married a husband, and they (=villagers) brought her (in a procession) to her new home, it is said. When they brought her, she found the senior wife in the house. They told the two of them to go to a pond.⁷⁴⁵ Now they went to the pond.

She (=senior wife), she remained up above; she made the stranger (=new wife) go down. She (=new wife) drew her water (in a bucket), and held it out to her (=senior wife). She (=senior wife) took her (own) thing (=water). After she took her own, and put (it) down,⁷⁴⁶ when the new girl was drawing her (own), she (=senior wife) pushed her (=new wife) into⁷⁴⁷ the pond.

When she put (=pushed) her into the pond, Nommo⁷⁴⁸ caught her (as she was falling). He (=Nommo) caught her and was holding her. The woman, there was her brother whom they called Amasagu,⁷⁴⁹ it is said. He was a herder, it is said. Her co-wife (=the senior wife) took her gear, loaded it (on her head), and went.

The herder—. When the woman (=senior wife) went, her husband asked: (=what about) his junior wife now? (She) said that indeed she hadn't seen his (junior) wife; the two of them had gone out (to get water), she (=new wife) had said she was turning (changing direction) to the edge of the village (=toilet area), and she had gone away (there); she (=senior wife) had drawn her water and had come; she (=senior wife) was unaware of her (=where the junior wife was).

(He) said: eh?, she, the woman, she was new (=a stranger), (yet) she went away to the edge of the village,⁷⁵⁰ (and) when she had gone away to the edge of the village, she (=senior wife) for her part had not gone looking for her? (She) said: uh-huh, as for her, indeed she had not gone looking for her; his (new) wife had gone away to the edge of the village, and had not come (back); how was she (=senior wife) going to go looking for her? All right, he said.

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

⁷⁴⁴ Term applied to a second (or third) wife of one's father (i.e., one's mother's co-wife). Stepmothers are proverbially protective of their own offspring, at the expense of their stepchildren.

⁷⁴⁵ tã~ '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.⁷⁵¹ She (=woman) was inside (=underwater) (and sang:).

song⁷⁵²: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating⁷⁵³ it?
In the body of water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating it?”
(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”
(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out,
(Is it) peace? It's drums of what?”⁷⁵⁴
(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 awful).” 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 seek⁷⁵⁵ a strategem for him (=chief) how to get (the woman) out (of the water), it is said.

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

⁷⁵² sung in Jamsay.

⁷⁵³ as in 'beat (tomtom)'.

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

⁷⁵⁵ Lit. 'go in (to), enter'.

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

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

(Man:) “It is me, Amasagu.”

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

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

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

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

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

The story is over, the last story is over.

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

S: Tell us a story.

B: One old woman. She herself, she was in the bush (=outback), she had accumulated animals, to the point that they were numerous, the goats. Her daughter was the wife⁷⁵⁶ of Lion. She (=daughter) was like that (=married to Lion). Hyena and Hare were not aware of that.

One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin.⁷⁵⁷ They came bringing the francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman. She tossed it into her cotton gear.⁷⁵⁸ They chatted near her (=old woman) (until) they were tired. They got up and went into the bush. They went and remained there (until) they were tired.

Again they came. They said (in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman took out the francolin meat, and held (it) out to them. When they had taken hold of the francolin meat, they told her to take hold of it (=take it back from them) and eat (it); that was merely fun (=kidding) with the grandmother (by her grandchildren),⁷⁵⁹ it wasn’t (intended to) go that far.⁷⁶⁰

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

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

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

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

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 s{aw}—, that she saw (=that were right there), by the time they (=Hyena and Hare) came on another day, if this (goat kid) had not attained the size of a lion, there would be no peace for her. The old woman got up, she kept weeping over that.⁷⁶¹

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.

⁷⁶¹ Lit. ‘wept [the weeping of that]’.

⁷⁶² As we see later, the speaker has the characters reversed. It was actually Hyena who got off Lion, leaving Hare on Lion's back.

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

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

[song (Jamsay)] *In the house of Daddy Hares, shouts come out.*
 The house of Daddy Hyena, it's cold (=peaceful).
 (Despite) the noise of tomtoms, peace comes to us.

He (=Hyena) was doing that. Hare rode on Lion and came to the door of the hyena. He (=Hare) came, and said (to Hyena): *good evening!* He looked (and saw that) the hyena rode the hare--, (or rather) the hare came riding on a Lion. He (=Hyena) told them, the women (=his wives) and the children, to hang from the ceiling cross-sticks.⁷⁶³ They were there clinging closely to the ceiling cross-sticks.

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

Eventually the (hyena) man too, he was there in a worn-out well-bag⁷⁶⁴, 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.

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 shoulders⁷⁶⁵ and had gone out, the hare took out two long grain spikes of millet, and he put (them) in his shoulder-bag. The hyena's shoulder-bag was empty. The two of them kept going along.

They came up to a place. The antelope,⁷⁶⁶ 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."⁷⁶⁷ He (=Hyena) said (in Jamsay): "yours (=your noise) is louder (than mine)." Indeed, a problem has come to you (=Hyena), if his (=Hare's) is louder (than yours).⁷⁶⁸

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.

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 *gibecièrè*.

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 chase⁷⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁶⁹ Lit. 'caught each other'.

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

S: You-Pl, how did Beni get settled?

C: B [name], good evening.

B: Good evening to you.

C: Are you spending the daytime in peace?

B: Only peace.

C: Have you spent the daytime in good health?

B: Only peace.

C: Have our people (=kin) spent the daytime safely?

B: Praise God.

C: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?

B: Only peace.

C: Fine.

B: Are you spending the daytime in peace?

C: Only peace.

B: Did your-Sg family spend the daytime in peace?

C: Only peace.

B: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?

C: Only peace.

B: Fine.

C: Fine.

B: Please.

C: Well, all right.

B: We come on (=because of) a request.

C: Uh-huh.

B: Well, we (people of) Beni, the place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in which) we settled, we would like to have its story from you-Sg.

C: Exactly.

B: You-Pl the old people, it (=telling the story) is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl.

C: It's entrusted to Great God. The opening ("doorway") of Beni, it is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl. But the Dogon, leaving Mande...

B: Yes.

C: ... two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river).

B: Yes.

C: Those two groups, they separated.

B: Yes.

C: The ones who followed the water route, again they separated into two divisions.

B: Yes.

- C: Now they had actually come to be three (groups). That went on. Eventually, this (village) that you-Sg see, you-Pl the people of Beni, how we came in (here), they left (=came from) Mande⁷⁷⁰.
- B: Yes.
- C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil.⁷⁷¹
- B: Munwil. Yes.
- C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and) Morogoy.⁷⁷² Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth,⁷⁷³ Sengere⁷⁷⁴-got-the-village, Is-it-a-boy-that-she-is-pregnant-with-or-Is-it-a-girl-that-she-is-pregnant-with. The pregnant-belly-rip knife⁷⁷⁵ is set down (=exists) even today in Munwil.
- B: Yes.
- S: That Munwil, it's in the area of where (=in what area)?
- C: That Munwil, if you-Sg have gone to Walo, you-Sg will go (on) to Munwil.⁷⁷⁶
- B: Yes, I understand.
- C: Well, in that Munwil,⁷⁷⁷ even today, the knife is set down (=exists).
- B: Yes.
- C: Today in the house, who(-ever) is the last boy, when he goes to the ritual ground,⁷⁷⁸ even today when he carries the knife on his shoulder, it's he [focus] who goes to the ritual ground.⁷⁷⁹
- B: Yes.
- C: That is the knife of Leri-Leri-Kure.
- B: Well, those people of ours now, how did they separate? One settled in Kara, (the other) one settled in Youli.⁷⁸⁰
- C: So, the one who left Kara, ...
- B: Yes.
- C: ... yes, and the one who came around here, ...
- B: Yes.
- C: ... one mother, one father (=they were full brothers).
- B: Exactly.
- C: Yes, he said: come, let's go! As for the other, he said: as for himself, this one whom you-Sg see⁷⁸¹ was stubborn (*kárá:-rê*⁷⁸²), he couldn't go.

⁷⁷⁰ The famous Mande Empire of Sundjata.

⁷⁷¹ A village somewhere between Mande and Beni.

⁷⁷² Two founding brothers.

⁷⁷³ This and the following are archaic expressions, partially in Jamsay, that are called out by griots.

⁷⁷⁴ Said to mean 'mutual agreement', but not otherwise in use.

⁷⁷⁵ Lit. "are set down."

⁷⁷⁶ I.e., Munwil is located beyond Walo.

⁷⁷⁷ Lit. "in the Munwil of that."

⁷⁷⁸ The area just outside the village where the community gathers in the morning for major rituals (nowadays, the two primary Islamic holy days).

⁷⁷⁹ The youngest boy of the original family carries the knife to the ritual ground.

⁷⁸⁰ Village near Beni.

B: xxx
 C: In that (place), with that he stayed put.
 B: Yes.
 C: When he stayed put there, our (maternal) uncles the Maba ...
 B: Yes.
 C: ... came and settled next to them.
 B: Exactly.
 C: Well, the people of Beni governed the territory, our (maternal) uncles commanded the chiefhood.
 B: Yes.
 C: Up until today, it's our (maternal) uncles [focus] who are chiefs.
 B: Yes.
 C: Both the territory and the entrusting of the words are in the hand(s) of the people of Beni.
 B: Exactly. We understand.
 C: When it came to Beni, Morogoy and Kagoy (patrononymics), that's what there was.
 B: Yes.
 C: In that Walo, Awandu and Mema (neighborhoods).
 B: These two.
 C: They are (=correspond to) Kasaru and Oduro (neighborhoods in Beni).
 B: Yes.
 C: As for me, this is my knowledge.
 B: That Oduro and that Kasaru, (they have) one mother (and) one father, they said. So, that too, how is it?
 C: Well, you the people of Beni, here you are. That (matter), it is entrusted to God, and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
 B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is ...).
 S: Grandpa, he said that he had *kárá*-ed and he wouldn't go. What is the meaning of that (word) *kárá* ?
 C: That *kárá*, if you-Sg have only heard (=understood) the meaning of "I whom you see here have *kárá*-ed (=am independent) in a household (=family), I am a person who has not consented (=who has refused)."
 B: He has become a man.
 C: There is no longer anything of people saying "I will get up because of someone (else)."⁷⁸³
 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 Oloy⁷⁸⁴, 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 top⁷⁸⁵ too, an excellent place for them to settle.⁷⁸⁶ When that had taken place, well, he made one brick there, he left it on this side. He got up and went, and found his younger brother. When he found his younger brother, he said: it's true, he had seen a place over there, he had seen a place for them to settle over there.

When he had spoken, the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: now, he (=elder) should not go away, having left him (=younger) now. He pleaded with him. He (=elder) said, all right. They continued to be there. The younger brother too, one day, when he was walking around and he came (there), he too saw the place, he had a good look at it.

He spoke to his elder brother: he (=elder) was speaking the truth; the good place for settling, the place that he (=elder) had spoken of; he too (=younger) had arrived there this day. Well, with (=after) that, the two of them got up one day and came there.

Before they came (=arrived) there, the elder brother left his marker. It's he who is the person of Kasaru (neighborhood). His marker was found there. I won't put (=recount) the going (away).⁷⁸⁷ His marker was found there. He spoke up: that place, the sky is claimed, the earth is claimed. With that, he recuperated (=went back to) the place.

They (=two brothers) went and gathered up their baggage over there (at Yuli). They got up, well, they came and built a house. They built a house and were (living) there. Snakes were plentiful (there). Vipers, vipers were plentiful (there). If it bites, there is no antidote. Hey, there is no way for that to be suitable.

That being the case, (they) said: let's move up a little this way (to the rocky shelf above the ravine). At that time, then, this whole area was just a flat rocky shelf. There was no soil. Well, at that time, they came and built a house there on the shelf. They built (it) and they were (living) there.

(They) said: there too, well, necessarily, if they haven't performed the sacrifice,⁷⁸⁸ if they haven't performed the sacrifice, settling in that place is difficult

⁷⁸⁴ An area at the bottom of the ravine next to Beni.

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

⁷⁸⁶ Lit. "a place (where) they will sit and kill." The verb 'kill' is used in phrases like this praising an excellent place, an excellent meal, etc.

⁷⁸⁷ The point of this phrase is not clear.

⁷⁸⁸ péyí pégé-, literally 'drive a post into the ground', refers semi-literally to the original act of sacrificing (and burying) a girl. The phrase can also be used in the sense 'utter sacred words (to ward off calamities)'.

(=dangerous). Well, it went on like that. The one of (=from) Oduro (neighborhood) (=younger brother) spoke to the one of Kasari (=elder).

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

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

C: Exactly.

B: He (=older brother) said, fine; if this village of his father would get well-being, he would bear the burden (head-load) of that. After that, she the girl of Kasari, in the Yasumoy⁷⁸⁹ 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.

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,⁷⁹⁰ they (=you) say that the village belongs to them; it was they who reserved (=first claimed it); again, they in the villages, they aren't performing the sacrifice now; (therefore) the snakes are biting and killing people;⁷⁹¹ the things (snakes etc.) are wearing (the) people out; they (=people from other villages) are mocking (them); if they go to a pond (to draw water), they (=others) are constantly mocking (them); they (=others) are mocking (them) at the grain-pounding place (at the edge of the village); they are constantly making a hubbub (=gossiping).

It was in that (situation) that she (=girl) said to her father, it's an abject situation;⁷⁹² they should implant her (=bury her alive as a sacrifice);⁷⁹³ when the rainy

⁷⁹⁰ This passage is from the point of view of visitors, complaining to the local people (at the time) about the latter's 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 ḍəyó '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.

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 man⁷⁹⁴ had died in Walo, when three years had passed, they would make an announcement: not (just) a man, not (just) a woman, (rather) anyone (male and female) whose leg(s) can deliver them to Walo, they will assemble. Taking horses, taking donkeys, that [focus] is what we used to ride on long ago.⁷⁹⁵

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

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

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

As for the food, for three days at a time it would not be pushed and go.⁷⁹⁶ They would have activities, (for) the death in the patrilineal family, in that way they would get up and go. We were (=did) like that for a long time.

Nowadays, hard times having come in, well, the (rituals for) a death in the patrilineal family, as for it, now we have abandoned it. However, necessarily, when a good (=important) person has died, even nowadays, we have not abandoned (the rites for) each other. One father, one mother.⁷⁹⁷

Well, (you may) tell him (=the linguist) to turn (it) off.

⁷⁹⁴ I.e. the oldest of all living men in either Beni or Walo.

⁷⁹⁵ 'Long ago', literally "first time." Jamsay pó:ró has the same usage.

⁷⁹⁶ Phrase indicating extreme abundance.

⁷⁹⁷ Again referring to Beni and Walo.

Text 2005-2b.01 Fulbe and French domination

B: Uh-huh. What we want now, the history that— how⁷⁹⁸ we got our own peace, it's the history (of that) [focus] that we will do (=tell) now. That is which (=what)? Before today came (=in the old days), our old people who have passed (=died), in (the era of) slavery, it was people [focus] that they kept (as slaves). When the whites came, we exited (=abandoned) slavery.

After we exited that, we came together and remained (like that). Well then, some people would come, they would take some people, and they would go and make them fight.⁷⁹⁹ Well, at that time there were no rifles. Machete blades, that [focus] was there.

D: Spears.

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

Well, some (of them) fought, to the point that they were wounded. Some came (back) with one arm missing, (or) they came (back) with one leg missing. Of them, some received pay, some (others) did not receive pay. Up to this day, as for today, necessarily, if it's the case that they have taken you-Sg away (for) something like military service,⁸⁰⁰ 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, Sekou⁸⁰¹ 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 Fouta⁸⁰² got up and came. Well, he told the Dogon(s) to help him now; when he (=they) had helped him, he now would leave them (=Dogon) as they wished.

⁷⁹⁸ Lit., “doing [it].”

⁷⁹⁹ Lit. “fight a fight.”

⁸⁰⁰ sárú-úsù, perhaps an adaptation of Fr *service*.

⁸⁰¹ Sekou Amadou, leader of the Fulbe Empire based in Hamdallaye near Mopti in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

⁸⁰² Sekou from Fouta Diallo, a rival of Sekou Amadou.

They helped him, Sekou Whatchamacallit (=Sekou Fouta). They removed Sekou Amadou (from power). When they had removed that, after that, Sekou (Amadou), him too now, what did (=would) you say?⁸⁰³ The holy man Sekou Tijani, Amadou Tijani, as for him, what did (=would) you say?, he left us (with) each person as they wished. Because of that, Islam⁸⁰⁴ did not use force against (=oppress) us.

B: Exactly.

D: Well, the *dolidoli*⁸⁰⁵ was precisely like that. But the white man, he too came afterward. Sekou, what did (=would) you say?, he (=white man) removed Sekou (Amadou), he removed (Sekou) Fouta. The white man, when he removed him (=Sekou Fouta) too, he (=white man) too came himself and settled. Well, he tired (=oppressed) our old people a little (at first), but later he came again and let us rest.

B: He gave us peace.

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

Well, it was what? They (=whites) asked them (=villagers) about various types of gear. They (=whites) asked about hats. He (=a villager) showed the traditional clothing⁸⁰⁶ to them—to him (=white). They (=whites) asked about boubous (=upper-body garments), they (=villagers) showed traditional clothing. He (=white) asked about pants, they showed traditional clothing. Anything that—. They asked about shoes, they showed leather shoes. They asked about fire, they took and showed flint lighters.

Well, they (=villagers) came and kept saying, yes, they were capable (=self-sufficient). The white came. Now, what would you-Sg say it was?⁸⁰⁷ 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!

⁸⁰³ This speaker frequently interpolates questions of this type with ‘say’ into his discourse.

⁸⁰⁴ I.e. the Fulbe Empire, which was fervently Muslim.

⁸⁰⁵ Obscure word, perhaps ‘chieftood’ or the like.

⁸⁰⁶ I.e. Dogon-style clothing made from locally woven cotton cloth.

⁸⁰⁷ Lit., “what is it? if you-Sg say.”

Text 2005-2b.02 Ravaging Fulbe

B: Well, the way it passed (=was) long ago, that territory of ours. Well, it was a village of poor people. (In) the world (here), people also did not use to be as many as this (=as they are now). Well, any person (=man) who had not become a (true) man of the bush, he could not walk (a distance) like leaving here (=Beni) and going to Amba (village), (or) like leaving here and going to Douentza.⁸⁰⁸ What was it (=the reason for that)? The marauding Fulbe were numerous.

D: People did not use to be as enlightened⁸⁰⁹ as this (=as now).

B: Those people, well, their mind (=sophistication) was very small. The second (=other) thing of it too, it wasn't (just) a man, it wasn't (just) a woman, they (=men and women) would do only (=nothing but) work of (=in) the bush (=farming), all of them. When they would go to work, they would leave at home the children, the sick people, and the like, and they would get up and go to work (in the fields).

Well, when they went to work, there were raiders. We call them the marauding Fulbe, the marauding Fulbe. They (=Fulbe), some of them had horses, some (others) too had nothing it if wasn't spears.⁸¹⁰ They would come to the edge of the village, they would do some running around (hustle and bustle).

The men, when the able-bodied people (=Dogon men) were not at home, if they (=Fulbe) found children, they would take (=kidnap) them. They would put them up on the horses. Taking them (=children) along, they would go for example to Bourougou (village)⁸¹¹ and sell them.

D: They would stuff rags in the(ir) mouths.⁸¹²

B: When they had gone to some place like Bourougou and sold (them), they too (=people at Bourougou), they would keep buying them up (=accumulating them), and they would export them to the land of the whites.

When they sold (the children) there, they (=whites) would gather them and put them (=children) in boats, they too (=whites) took them again, they exported them onwards (=abroad). They were slaves. They (=whites) went there and sold (them). They kept doing that.

Well, the good world (=better times) came. When the good world came, they (=Fulbe) thought that after that they would not exit (=desist from raiding), (but) they (=whites) made them exit from that (practice). Its latest (version) is that today they have gone into livestock rustling.⁸¹³ The Fulbe, that is their work (=habitual activity). (To D:) take over the word (=speak)!

⁸⁰⁸ I.e. on the order of 8 to 18 kilometers.

⁸⁰⁹ Lit. "awake." Used here like local French *éveillé*.

⁸¹⁰ I.e., what they had was none other than spears.

⁸¹¹ Village near Mopti, in predominantly Fulbe territory.

⁸¹² They would gag the children so they wouldn't shout.

⁸¹³ Lit. "they became [in [thieves of livestock]]."

D: Help them!⁸¹⁴ As for the Fulbe person, as for the Fulbe person, he is the Fulbe person. All of us (=Dogon and Fulbe), we are all black-skinned ones (=Africans), (of) one father (and) one mother. The Fulbe, he is a betrayer (of trust). They used to call (it) “betrayal.” This (same) way that B has come and spoken (just) now, it was exactly like that.

The Fulbe, as for them, they didn’t work (in the fields). They said that they were (=they claimed to be) livestock herders, (but) they would tell falsehoods on (=about) themselves. They would keep going around, they would keep taking (=kidnapping) people, they would keep doing like that to us, they used to weary (=make life hard for) us. Our people (=kin), because of that, even if they (=our people) would go (away) somewhere, they would place (“make sit”) a sentry (*atewru*) (at home). When they had placed the sentry, where the Fulbe (...) with (=on) horses—

S: That *atewru* is what?

D: If it’s an *atewru*, stand watch! A watchman (guard), uh-huh, *atewru* is a watchman.

B: *gardien* (in French).

D: *gardien*. When they had placed the watchman, when they worked (in the field), if they (=Fulbe) appeared on horses or (whatever) anywhere over there, they would (...) for each other—, this watchman would speak. At that point if the Fulbe got up and became aware (of the danger) and fled, they (=Dogon) would chase after them.

A Dogon (man), if he has gotten a Fulbe (in this fashion), he would not keep him as a slave;⁸¹⁵ (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.

Text 2005-2b.03 Implantation of Islam in Beni

S: Islam, how did it come to your-Pl village?

B: Islam, its coming, it came by force. It came by force.

S: How did it come by force?

B [overlapping]: Shall I bring (it)? Well, all the people, idol(s), that [focus] was what they used to do (=practice).

D: Misfortune.

B: Misfortune.⁸¹⁶ They used to worship (“run”) them. They worshiped them. It (=Islam), who brought it? Do you-Sg know the name of the Fulbe man who brought Islam? Houdi Oumar, or who?

D: It was Sekou Amadou.

B: It was Sekou Amadou. It was Sekou Amadou. When he came into a village, if he found that they had not marked out (the foundation of) a mosque, well, he would not give⁸¹⁷ (them) peace. He made them contribute. He assessed a fine (=tax) on them, that is what they paid for the various things with.

Furthermore, if (there was) a place like (=suggestive of) an idol that he saw, he would go and hit and smash (=destroy) it. After he hit and smashed it, he asked the village (population): did it (=his action) please them, or was it not good (=pleasing)? If (you-Pl said) it wasn't good, he would show (=give) you-Pl trouble. If you-Pl had said that it was good, he would build and leave a mosque there in the village.

Even this village of ours, (its) first mosque, now, if you go to (the house of) Yatou Hamadou (a woman), that place over there, the house of Bedaru (a man), that place [focus], there [focus] they put the first mosque, it is said. Did you-Sg understand?

When he left here also, (in) every village that he went and encountered further, he would not allow you-Pl to consume tobacco, he would not allow (you) to chew tobacco. Other than hiding (=smoking in secret), he would not allow (you) to get and chew tobacco. If he had seen that you-Sg were chewing tobacco, they would not give you-Sg peace.

Furthermore, if it wasn't (=if there wasn't) the mark (=foundation outline) of a mosque in your-Sg village, in that event too, they would give (you) no peace. Well, in that way, as for us, in (=according to) what we have heard, we believe that it was he [focus] who brought the first (Muslim) religion. It (=the discussion) is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.

D: It was like that (=as you said). Sekou Amadou came like that, and he came and found our ancestors here like that. The thing (=Islam) came, those ancestors of ours, they too, like two or three (at a time), they went out and circulated (=traveled around) and observed. Uh-huh, they saw that the path (=way) of that religion was the path of truth. In that way, they too studied (Islam).

⁸¹⁶ ðmɔ́ 'misfortune' is a sort of tó:rù 'idol, fetish'.

⁸¹⁷ Lit. "cause to give birth to."

When they had studied thoroughly⁸¹⁸, when they had seen the truth, they too arose and came. They helped the people of this village of ours understand (=explained it). When they had helped (them) understand, our people too studied, and they saw the thing (=Islam). This is the religion of Islam, the path (=way) of the religion of Islam. That [focus] is what they showed to us.

Even today, as for us now, necessarily that [focus] is what we are studying. The way we went into (=adopted religion) before (=long ago), (it was) long ago, long ago, a hundred years ago, (that) the Mus—, (that) our ancestors went into (=adopted) Islam.

Well, (as for) us now, that [focus] is what we have taken (=adopted). Nowadays too we have taken (it) in that. That [focus] is what we trust (=have faith in). Well—what would you say if you said (it)?—, that [focus] is what we follow (=adhere to) also. Islam came to us like that. Yes.

[inaudible whispered discussion]

D: Yes. The person (=man) who brought Islam to Beni, (so) we have heard, was our great-grandfather (whom) they called Akile.

B: Akile.

D: Akile. That Akile, it was he [focus]—if you said (it)—who long ago arose and brought (it) to us in Beni, we heard (the story) like that, we ourselves. Him, as for us, ourselves, we were born in that (religion), we came out and found (=inherited) (it) like that, but we heard from the mouth(s) of our old people that it was Akile [focus] who brought (it), they said that it was he [focus] who brought (it) and let us understand.

S: How did Akile bring Islam?

D: Islam—

S: By doing what (=how) did he bring it?

D: He, Islam, he too, now, he heard the news about Sekou Amadou. At that point, he too again—what would you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—, when they (=Fulbe) went, he understood, well, he himself brought people—his children out, and taught (them) Islam. When they had studied thoroughly, they came (back) to Beni and spread (Islam), it is said.

B: Him, he was at Bandiagara.

D: Exactly.

B: That Akile.

D: Yes.

B: Staying in Bandiagara, ...

D: Exactly.

B: ... it's there [focus] that he learned Islam.

D: Yes.

B: Bandiagara.

D: Exactly.

B: Well, following (=after) that, he came to Beni here. After (doing) that here, that Islam, he told all of them (=his people) to follow (=adopt) it. In that also, the mouths (=opinions of the people) were divided, to the point that they fought each other.

⁸¹⁸ Lit. “having studied, they were sated.”

D: They argued.

B: They argued, to the point that they argued with each other. Well, they kept doing that.
Great God, with His might, ...

D: He was helping them.

B: ... helped them, and most of the people came and, well, went into (=took) his side.
Following that, some of us were born in Islam (=brought up as Muslims). Even today,
we are in that (religion). May God take (=lead) our Islam forward.

D: Amen.

Text 2005-2b.04 Beni and neighboring villages

S: What is the meaning of Beni?

T: Beni (means), “a village where one may remain,” it is said. The village, one may remain.⁸¹⁹

What is the meaning of that? That place is good. They came too and settled, a village was found (=created) too. That (fact that) it⁸²⁰ (=Beni) doesn't accept (being pushed around), it didn't come out (=just begin) today.

B: Exactly.

T: Since it (=Beni) came and arrived, it does not not accept (being pushed around), that [focus] is what there is (=the situation) for it (=Beni). That (original) village that it came from, the fact that it would not accept (being pushed around), that [focus] is what made it leave (the original village), even today that [focus] is what there is.

B: Exactly.

T: (That) someone (else) has dominated (=been stronger than) him, the person (=man) of Beni did not accept that.

B: (Not) at all.

T: Now, ever since we came out (=were born), we haven't heard from the mouth(s) of our grandfathers, we haven't heard from the mouth(s) of our great-grandfathers (that anyone from Beni was dominated). Well, even today one cannot dominate them (=men of Beni).

B: Exactly.

T: That (means), they can remain in Beni, it is said.

B: Exactly.

T: This fact that the village is sitting on Danay (a flat stone shelf), it isn't for nothing (=accidental), they say. All of the places (=areas near Beni) are arid flatlands. You-Sg may go to many villages, a village that is settled as nicely as this village ...

E: It (=such a village) is rare.

T: ... encountering (such a village) is difficult. They (=people of Beni) have a territory, they have a hard (=tough) heart,⁸²¹ 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 find⁸²² it, or else it (=Beni) find the (other) village?

T: Well, the (older) village that it (=Beni) came and found it. It found Jimbel.

B: Truly.

T: It found Gamni.

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 mă: 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?⁸²³ Or did it not find (it)?

T: It found it.

B: Did it (=Beni) find Titangay too?⁸²⁴ Or did it not find (it)?

T: It found it.

B: Well, how was it that they (Kapemde and Titangay) got up and fled once and for all, having left Beni (behind)?

T: Well, as for me, my knowledge of that is small (=limited).

B: Speak!

T: No. About that, my knowledge is small. About that, my knowledge is small.

B: Your-Sg knowledge about that is small.

D: You-Sg too, speak and put (=add)! If you-Sg know (something).

T: Well, again, (here is) what I have heard. Beni, it came. When it came and settled here, it found Titangay. Well, it found Jemesornoturu,⁸²⁵ it found Kapemde, (and) it also found Da.⁸²⁶ When it (=Beni) came and settled in the middle of (all) that, the place, they had a low estimation of it. But when they came and settled, the place became a good place.

They (=Beni) were told to get up and go away. They (=Beni) replied: as for them (=Beni), this place of theirs was a place where one could stay; this was Beni; they (=Beni) were not people who would go away, (from) there. Well, at that point they just kept arguing.

The one (=population) of Beni, it had a shoe. The shoe was an iron shoe. They called it Yari-ka, the shoe. Yari-ka. With the Yari-ka, its possessor may get up in the middle of the night, go to your-Sg village, (when) he has gone around it in (the manner of) baobab-leaf sauce going around⁸²⁷ and goes past, for seven years you-Pl won't (be able to) get anything to eat; in view of that, they (=the affected villagers) will go away.

In that way, they (=inhabitants of some other villages) got up and went away. Here are something like four or five empty (=abandoned) houses. Their people did not die off! Their people are (still) present (=living). Yari-ka, that [focus] is what drove them out. I too heard this (story) like that.

⁸²³ An abandoned village near Beni, on the track leading to Gamni.

⁸²⁴ Another abandoned village near Beni.

⁸²⁵ Abandoned village west of Beni.

⁸²⁶ Abandoned village between Beni and Gamni.

⁸²⁷ Millet cakes (tô) are served in bowls, surrounded by baobab-leaf sauce.

S: Yari-ka, it's the name of the shoe?
T: It's the name of the shoe.
S: An iron shoe?
T: An iron shoe. Yari-ka. It is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.
B: Well, that's it. What I said previously too, that's it. I said, a person (=man) of Beni is a person who does not accept (being dominated).
T: D! [vocative]
D: It's a right-footed shoe? Or it's left-footed?
B: There are both.
T: Whatever shoe they put on and go around the village and keep going. The shoe, it's a left-footed shoe.
B: Exactly.
T: The left-footed (shoe), you-Sg (will) put it on (your) right foot. Likewise, if it's the right-footed (shoe) [focus] that you-Sg have taken, you-Sg (will) put it on (your) left foot.
D: There's the little bit that you-Sg have heard, that you-Sg have heard.
T: It's in that way that you-Sg go around the village. I heard this (story) like that.
D: Exactly.
T: If it pleases God.
B: If he (=the man with the iron shoes) leaves his village, he regularly puts his things in a shoulderbag and leaves.
T: He stops up (=closes) a (goatskin) shoulderbag too and he goes away. He stops up a shoulderbag too. He does not touch any cloth.
S: So he doesn't put (=use) any cords?
T: He certainly doesn't use any cords. He doesn't use cords.
D: As for that, the old people certainly used to have some things.
T: He doesn't use cords. They used to work this in that way.
D: The village now, did he use to go (all the way) around (it)? Or did he use to go and put his foot down on it and pick it (=foot) up again (just) once like that?
T: When he has gone to the village at night—
E: xxx—. Speak, speak, speak!
T: He goes (all the way) around, and (at the end) he comes and puts his foot where he began, where he stepped previously (in his own footprint). When he has stepped right on top of that (=his initial footprint), he does not look back, until he gets up and comes into his village. I heard it like that.
D: Yes. You-Sg too, there is something that you-Sg heard. I too, what little I have heard there (=about that), let me add (=help) just a little there.
T: All right.
D: As for him, if he has gone straight there, in the middle of the village, when he has put the (=his) left foot like that, he doesn't bring anything else down. He doesn't put the second (foot) on top of it, he doesn't put anything else on top of it. He used to go out like that, they said. I too, as for that, I have heard a little. Let me help you-Sg.
T: Yes. It is understood. All that is just helping. It is understood.
D: Yes.
T: Uh-huh. Yes.

Text 2005-2b.05 Fight with a lion

T: Well, now, what (we will) say—

S [overlapping] In Beni, who was it who fought with a lion?⁸²⁸

T: Amadou Titey and the lion fought.

S: How was it?

T: The way that it was (=happened), well, the lion got up and came into our ravine here. Coming into the cows' pond, the lion roared there. When it roared, it was not hidden from (=unnoticed by) the whole village, (not) even a little. The young women and young men, they all got up, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it by hand.

S: Women and men?

T: Women and men. They said not to put any iron in its body at all. They came and brought out the tomtoms. When they had brought (them) out, the young men and young women came here, they embellished themselves, they got up and headed for the lion. When they went, they crossed Dadia.⁸²⁹ Now they were not greatly far away from it (=lion).

E: It put (out a roar) again, a second time.

T: Again, a second time, it gave out a roar. Some of the people had already gone up to the top of trees.

S: Huh?

T: Some people had gone up in trees. Amadou Titey spoke up now: if things were like that, (with) this roar that they were hearing, a crowd (of people) was not what would fight with it (=lion); it was (=would be) one person (=man) and it (=lion);

if it were the case that a crowd got up and headed for it, the destruction (=casualties) that it (=lion) would cause to them would be greater, instead of gaining a (good) name;⁸³⁰ (with) that too, (they) having entrusted (the fight) to him; if he would fight (with it), there it is!; if he would blow (on it, magically), there it is!

Well, some people said, let's entrust (it) to him! Other people (said), all of them going (=rushing the lion en masse), let it (=lion) destroy whatever (=however many people) it (=lion) might destroy, they for their part, let them kill it, then they would come (back) with their triumph.

Having said (that), they went and approached. Again it put out a roar. No, there was no way to get close to (it). Amadou Titey was looking (=considering), (but) there was no peace (=easy solution). At that point, he scooped up some sand (in his hand), and let it slip through his fingers like this. He blew, all of it. Well, the lion took off⁸³¹ on the way to Douentza.

S: Eastward.

⁸²⁸ Lit. “[who? and lion] [*focus*] fought a fight?”

⁸²⁹ Name of a rocky area with some caverns, near the ravine.

⁸³⁰ i.e. by fighting with it single-handedly.

⁸³¹ Lit. ‘took its eye(s) [=face].’

T: Eastward. Well, at that point, the lion having abandoned the place, they (=people) came to the place, and went and saw its tracks, but they were not able to see the lion. They got up and went.

B: It put out a roar over there.

T: It put out a roar over there. Well, it has gone far away, they said.

B: It did it (=roared) again.

T: At that point, they got up, the people got up again like that and came home.

Text 2005-2b.06 Fight with a hyena

[begins after 2005-2b.05 without a break on the tape]

T: Well, the thing (=story) of the hyena, it is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.

B: Well, after that (=the fight with the lion), here, as for it, with our own visual knowledge (=experience), a hyena came here.

E: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy.⁸³²

B: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy over there. The hyena came. Over there, the people of 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 Piriye.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.

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.

⁸³⁶ Lit. “broke its house.” A common phrasing in languages of the zone, including Songhay.