Toro Tegu texts
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2015 version

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Introduction

These are transcriptions of recordings made in Toupéré (Tupere) village at the base of Tabi Mountain near Boni in northern Mali. The texts complement my Grammar of Toro Tegu (Dogon), Tabi Mountain dialect, “published” electronically in 2015, and available online at Language Description Heritage Library, on the Dogon project website (www.dogonlanguages.org), and on my personal websites at the University of Michigan.

During the primary work on the texts, I red-color-coded some words, chiefly in the Toro Tegu versions, for my own later use (transcriptions to be verified, morphological analysis to be made). Most of these color flags were later removed. In the last few texts given here (tape 2004-2, track B), many of the flags remain, since I was unable to complete the analysis and check all the transcriptions. I include these final texts “as is” since I am not sure if or when I will be able to finish transcribing the remaining texts and completing the overall editing.

For readers with a broad interest in the language and culture of these people, in addition to these texts and the grammar, some additional resources are or soon will be available on the project website and elsewhere, as follows.

a) flora-fauna: images of fauna (including insects) and especially flora of the wider region, and compilations of identification information; also a lexical spreadsheet for fauna and another for flora, with native names from many Dogon and other languages. Images of plants can also be viewed at the West African Plants website (Senckenberg Museum).

b) geographical database with basic information about several hundred Dogon, montane Songhay, and nearby villages, and images of most of these villages.

c) short documentary videos of practical activities and cultural events. Footage for the video “Tomtoms of Tupere” was shot in Toupéré. The other videos were shot mostly in nearby Dogon, Fulbe, and montane Songhay locations.

d) a comparative lexical spreadsheet with non-flora-fauna vocabulary from Toro Tegu and other Dogon languages, with standardized glosses designed to facilitate comparative lexical research.

All of this work has been made possible by funding from the National Science Foundation, Endangered Languages Program, grant numbers 0537435 and 0853364 (2006-2012).

The texts are presented below with the original transcriptions first (part 1), followed by the English translations (part 2). Each text is identified by tape number (e.g. 2004-1), the track (a or b), the number of the text on that track, and a title. To facilitate navigation between the originals and the translations, I have broken the texts up into short segments. These are numbered consecutively throughout the collection.

Text 2004-1a.09 (The blind and crippled thieves [tale]), orange numbers 152 ff., is presented with full markup and commentary at the end of the grammar.
Part One: Toro Tegu transcriptions

Tape 2004-1, track A

(Speakers on this tape are Sadou Guindo and Boureima Karouwa from Toupéré village, joined later by a third man)

2004-1a.01  Hyena, goat, three truths I (tale)

Sa: 001 á ènè ènè ènè ¹
Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè
Sa: 002 nòndèr“à túrú, ténäm èr“à-àrá léy, túnmöm-mà dágú-sà [[ósù kà kù]], èr“à-àrá kà—, ténäm ká [èr“à-àrá dè], kò [diŋà tǎ:lì] tégó má, ásì kò pás-è,
  004 wò [kò ténäm], wò yà = m, wò gá ásì— [[ténäm wásá] dè], ásì èr“à-àrá kà dágú-sà [ósù kù], gá = m ásí [kò dè] èn-tükéy kà-lí, [ténäm lágù kínì]³ bà-r“à, [ńjì kày] kálá: [tègù mútú:],
  005 nìŋ árikír wò sà-rá, kó kúlò = m [tègù mútù nú] [[ási mà:] zà:] kú² dá,
  006 wàllày ká diŋà,
  007 ténäm jèlò = m yày-sà], èr“à jèlò = m yày-sà, ténäm kà [èr“à dè] [nòndèr“à lágù] náy mà, [ási mà:] túnmöm-mà kà dág-è, ini dèn [[dèn ñékgú dè],
  008 ténäm sëgú-sà, èr“à [nòndèr“à túrú], [sálo:..., [[tùw“à kòbù] léy]] á li-rà, [kò náy kày] árikír ténäm åw-wôrè, ténäm kà, [yó kày] [tègù mútù kálà:] → y“àngó, kámá-ní ásì kó åw kúwó, [tègù mútú] lágù kálà::→³ y“àngó, kámá-ní ásì kó åw kúwó cék,
  009 hàyà, [kò yè] ténäm, tórò = m [[èr“à kòrò] kù] lảw⁶, hàyà, ténäm èr“à ã: = m⁷ kúw-wòsì,
  010 inf.: [kò ènè léy] bánná įgí::→⁸

2004-1a.02  Hyena, sheep, three truths (tale)

Bo: 011 á ènè ènè ènè ènè
Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bèlè

¹ Standard opening for a tale, followed by the listener’s standard authorization to proceed with the tale.
² èsi-tígèy ‘(not) anything’. The form is subject to contraction, and its pronunciation is variable, also heard as èn-tükéy (e.g. this text, below), and ès-tükéy (2004-1a.02).
³ Pronounced [lágkà:i] (apocope of /u/).
⁴ Variant of zákà kù.
⁵ Pronounced [lágkà:kà:].
⁶ Also fåw!. Denotes the sound of catching something.
⁷ òwá = mú.
⁸ One variant of standard tale-closing phrase. Also: énè: kò bánná léy įgí::→.
⁹ Possessed form of ísù-y“ăr“ù ‘(man’s) sister’, with implied 1Sg possessor.
014 ningún, fló así yá = m, [bélú zákà] kù, ténám, ká dágà = m, ès-tükēy [ásí dé] gà-rí déy, ásí [bélú lagú cífrí] bá-r’á, kó mâns, [ténám lagú] dé, wò yá = m, bélú dágù-sà, [bélú dè] ès-tükēy ká-li, [ténám lagú cífrí] bá-r’á,

015 ká dínjá sànni
018 [ásí ná] á úsù-r’é, yàllá ayé ísí-y”árr”ú11 má‡,
020 [éné [kò bánà] léy] kúté kátè kútè12

2004-1a.03 Pigeon (giant head) in a pit (tale)

Sa: 021 á ènè ènè ènè
Bo: kúší bèlè bèlè bèlè
Sa: 022 [á-n túrú] yéří gú-sò, césú-r’ó=m-wɔ13, césú-r’ó = m-wɔ, césú-r’ó = m wɔ [á nń̓su-tó [árá-m yà:tfú:] ká ásí jèl dà césú], g§ná,
023 ingúrò=m-wɔ [á yày tõngù-r-š:]14, á-nú túrú, ká dágù-s-š; ká [ásí má:]‡, [wò jère mā] [á-là: ká fló], [á-nú kún] [òw kú] cèkù dá-wɔ, háyá, a-nú kúnù‡, [wò ná] [úró kú] dá-wɔ nò, háyá, úsù-s-š: [wò dé] ká, ká …

[song:] 024 jèrèngésí: pé:, jèrèngésí:15
ayé [ú léy] mà jèrèngésí:
árá-m ńgí mà jèrèngésí:
[a-nú túrí] yè jèrèngésí:
[a-nú túrí] [a-nú d:–rí16 gá] yá: kúlà bárà


026 jèrèngésí: fó:, jèrèngésí:
ayé [ú léy] mà jèrèngésí:
[árá-m léy] yó jèrèngésí:
[árá-m léy] [árá-m d:–rí gá] yá: kúlà bárà

027 bírlù-s-è = cé, yá=m [árá-m tâ:lf] jèrè=m yè-s-é=bé

028 jèrèngésí: fó:, jèrèngésí:
ayé [ú léy] mà jèrèngésí:
[árá-m túrí] mà jèrèngésí:
[árá-m léy] mà jèrèngésí:
[árá-m tâ:lf] mà jèrèngésí:
[árá-m tâ:lf] [árá-m d:–rí gá] yá: kúlà bárà

029 wó jèrè=m lú-s-š; yá=m [árá-m tâ:lf] jèrè=m yè-s-é=bé, ṣìgù:ná

10 Topical káy ‘as for’ after a conditional antecedent clause.
11 ‘sister’. Emended from ísí-ánnú ‘brother’ on tape.
12 kúté kátè kútè. Nonsense words ending a tale.
13 ‘he was powerful’. 3Pl counterpart césú-r-é = m = bé.
14 /sŋ-r’/ ‘be VP-ing, keep VP-ing’.
15 The songs include some Jamsay forms.
16 Some occurrences of this word on the tape sound like the Jamsay equivalent dɔ:-lì.
030 jérëngési: fô, jérëngési:
   [árà-m anjî mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tûrû] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m lèy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tâ:lî] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m nà:y"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m nû:y"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m kûrêy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m sóy"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m sóy"] [árà-m dô-rî gâ] yâ: kulû bârâ

031 yây-s-ê:, yâ = m [lèy làgu] kulû bârû-s-ê = bê, sóy" tânû-s-ê = bê

032 jérëngési: fô, jérëngési:
   [árà-m anjî mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tûrû] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m lèy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tâ:lî] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m nà:y"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m nû:y"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m kûrêy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m sóy"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m sóy"] [árà-m dô-rî gâ] yâ: kulû bârâ

033 gô:ñå, [níñ yà:fû:]; kà bê kà [âsì árà-m] dô-rî, bûrî-s-ê = bê, yâ = m = bê [ârâ-m lèy làgu] kulû bârû-s-ê = bê, árâ-m lá:rà tân-gôr-ê = bê, tûnôm-mâ bârâ = m yè-s-ê = bê, gô:ñå

034 jérëngési: fô, jérëngési:
   [árà-m anjî mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tûrû] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m lèy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tâ:lî] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m nà:y"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m nû:y"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m kûrêy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m sóy"] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m gâ:râ] mâ jérëngési;
   [árà-m lá:rà] mâ jérëngési:17
   [árà-m lá:rà] [árà-m dô-rî gâ] yâ: kulû bârâ

036 zákâ [jérëngési: kây] fày [à-n tûr-i→] [wô dé] cèsù, [ûné kù] tôñô dîñê = m [kù-bônô nà:] čèk sà, hî:là pêrè,
037 [árà-m pè:rû] tûnôm-mâ bârâ = m yè-sô, ńgô:ñà,

038 jérëngési: fô, jérëngési:
   [árà-m anjî mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tûrû] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m lèy] mâ jérëngési:
   [árà-m tâ:lî] mâ jérëngési:

17 On the tape, the narrator goes one number too far, adding a verse with ârâ-m pè:rû ‘ten men’. This is omitted here.
18 Here pronounced [gâg].
19 Perfective-2 of môtô.
20 Variant of bâllâ. 
2004-1a.04  Wife retrieves husband (tale)

Bo: 040 'going (to…)'.

Nonhuman plural pronoun.

Sa:


040 bon, ènè [kù bánnà lèy] kùtè kàtè kùtè

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21 Definite kùnù downstepped after kà with possessed-noun (HL) overlay.
22 lâ lò, lit. ‘village’’s house(s). Common term for Tabi (village).
23 Possessed form of yà-rù "woman".
24 cërè ‘wait for’.
25 dàrm\dùw’5 ‘be finished, exhausted’.
26 Verb /tön-ř-ŋ/ (imperfective) in progressive sense ‘keep VP-ing’.
27 Nonhuman plural pronoun.
28 'going (to…)’.


053 [kó nà] ká

[song] 054 kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú y’â-r’ù] yá ú só-tó] 30 [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú y’â-r’ù] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú nér’é] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [tôr̥ jëwà ñgô] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]

055 ká já:tù, [wò tòy'] kó [əsí égà] á sòr’ù bë-tà, kó kùw’â sìgù-sò, kùw’â lí-sà hálí hálí kùw’â ènù-sà, kó [nín’ kày] kùw’â yày-sà, kùw’â [sàn’ kù] [nín’ kày] [kùw’â wó y’ôm-cí dà] 31 [wò y’ôm-cí dà] [wò y’ôm-cí dà], dîr’ù-sà [kò à-nú kùmú] [nín’ kày], [tiw’â dösù] dînù dà,


057 kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú y’â-r’ù] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú i-r’ù] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú nér’é] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [tôr̥ jëwà ñgô] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]

Sa: já:tù
Bo: 058 [kó kày], ìgú-s-5: sëw=, ál [kó nà], ëlù 34 lá-t-5: kùmÈnò, <xxx> [kùw’â dë] kùw’â dînú-dà, ká

059 kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú y’â-r’ù] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú i-r’ù] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [[ú nér’é] yá ú só-tó] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    [tôr̥ jëwà ñgô] [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]

060 mhm! má tôr̥ jëwà ñgô má, [tôr̥ jëwà mòsù kùnú] 35 gùwö̀rè mà, hàyà ùnùgù-ù-s-5: [nín’ kày], kóddá kùw’â cìrò=m [jìrè kà] tòpò bò-sò, ká

061 kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]
    kùw’â→ kùw’â→ [ká [ú yèrì yèrì]]

29 élá ‘look’ is an emendation made at the original speaker’s request.
30 Some occurrences in the song sound like sô-lò, a variant form.
31 y’ôm\ly’ômò ‘look for, seek’.
32 Iterated intensifier, with [HL] contour on the final occurrence.
33 Diminutive of cìló ‘shade’.
34 Here pronounced [ël] before another l.
35 Determiner kùnù forces tone-dropping on jëwà mòsù ‘bad famine’ but not on the latter’s possessor tôr̥ ‘mountain’.
2004-1a.05  Hyena, goat, monkey, and squirrel (tale)

Sa:  070 á ènè ènè ènè ènè ènè
Bo: küši bèlè bèlè bèlè ènè

[ú y"ù-a-ṛ"ù] yà ú só-tò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[ú i-ṛ"ù] yà ú só-tò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[ú básà:] yà ú só-tò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[ú nèṛ"e] yà ú só-tò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[ú lìsì] yà ú só-tò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[tò̀ rê wà ñgò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]

062 [nín kày] [yày-cìn d-e = bè] [yày-cìn d-e = bè] [yày-cìn d-e = bè] hàlì [[ḷḷà diwrù] kù] dỳs-sè = bè, [yò nà] sigú bít-t-ś, kà

063 kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[kùẉ"á → kùẉ"á → [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[ú lìsì] yà ú só-tò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]
[tò̀ rê wà ñgò] [kà [ú yèrì yèrì]]


074 ᱯábbáʔállá ká wó ká ásí dúrá, wó ká ásí gúnjó, ásí [nò̋nděr̥áː tāːlːí] [ᵻʔr̥' ñ] kú, ᱯńr̥á ká ásí dū bê-na, ásí tātúr̥á = m ká [á̊sí ˈjelː-lo gá = m] [á̊sí lůw-só],
075 ásí ˈjulː-só ká ([ᵻʔr̥' kú] bám-0) [sákko tātúr̥á = m ˈjulː-r̥ó] mà, 076 [ˈjíkáy̥ ˈdà káy̥] [ˈjúsi pš̯ːdːr̥ ˈdà], [á̊sí tātúr̥á = m] ásí lůw-só, bá-rí = wʊ gá, [á̊sí ˈjér̥á dír̥á = m] gá = m [á̊sí bò-so ˈaw-0 ˈñ júkú ˈkáy̥], [kó ˈkáy̥] bá-rí = wʊ, ᱬg̱5ṉá,
077 ká María héy̥ ká [wó náːley sá-rá, ásí wʊ gúnjó mà, niñ wó ásí ˈaw kwǒ-è [ń dè] cek! wó á ká-là,
078 mńhṉ! [kó ˈkáy̥] ásí ká-ná, tūw̥-5 ásí wʊ gúnjó-só ˈñ yàgà-fú, ᱬsállá:ňú ásí wʊ ˈbárjá [kár̥i-y̥-ˈñr̥á jér̥u, ᱬg̱5ṉá],
079 ká María [báná mà] dèru sì-t-tó, ténám bò-so ˈaw, 47 ká María há:lá ká-li, ká María [báná mà] tèw [ná-là-tà],
080 bon [ká wó kár̥u-ˈkú], ká ásí gúnjó, [nò̋nděr̥áː tāːlːí] [ᵻʔr̥' ˈkú] ásí dá, ká wó ká ásí gúnjó,
081 bon ká María [wó dè] [báná mà] dèru-wósi, ténám gágá gún-gósi-wó, háyà ténám gágá = m gún-wóre, ká María [á̊sí báná] pásá, ténám ká [á̊sí jésú = ˈjí-rí, ká wó μá-yá kár̥á [á̊sí jésú ħɪ lìlā mà], 49 kó wʊ-sí jìnlí, kó [á̊sí lůw-sá ˈñ kúmṉí [ńr̥a ˈa yà-rá jìnlí mà], cè– [nů-r̥á ˈkáy̥] ká wó yírmè:ñe ká wó kúlò, 47 ásí yírmè:ñe kúl-wósi, [nò̋ndír̥á tāːlːí] [ᵻʔr̥' kú] dá, ú gú bê-na,
082 [m ŋ: ˈgún-wósi], ká María [á̊sí jésú = ˈjí-rí, ˈjésú-ji lìlā-sá] ká wó María [á̊sí báná] básá,
083 kó élá [dèn ká: nù-nó ˈjí] mà, [tègey̥ dà] [nīn káy̥] [nò̋nděr̥áː tāːlːí] [ᵻʔr̥' ˈjú], ásí dá kóy̥, ārkīrí ásí ˈaw-wóre, kó élá [ɛsi-ɛsi ká: tègey̥ dà [dèn nù-nó ˈjí] mà,
084 ténám ká:, ká María ká yá ˈángó, [ˈjésú-gúsú ˈkú] [dèn nù-nó ˈjí], ká yá ˈángó, ˈjíkáy̥ láru hél-çı [dè-ɛ = bè, láru hél-ci dè-ɛ = bè,
085 gò-ná, kúy̥-5 yè-so, kúy̥-5 áyé mà, ká êse bé á lá-tà mà,
086 ká María ká á̊sí ténám gúnju-só [ĭlographically ˈgún-origin ˈñ] pūr̥o kú, [nò̋nděr̥áː tāːlːí], yá kó dá, háyà ásí kó gúnju-só, kó ná–, ásí kó gúnju = m gá = m, [kó ná] ká wʊ ká María [á̊sí jésú-ˈkúmsú] [dèn nùṉ ˈjí mà], ká ásí ˈáːş̯, ˈáš̯ cèsu kúw-ɛ, [nú ˈñ ásí kó [ˈkó káy̥ ká-ná],
087 mńhṉ! kúy̥-5 ká kóy̥, yágà wó [kó ˈl̥go-gún-ˈñ kú] ká [kó ténám] á gúnju bê-tà, [ténám dè] ká dìṉ, [[wó dà] wó gúnju-só mà] [ká ˈåhá] [ká ásí bà-rí],
088 háyà, ká bê dèwurí bitó [á̊sí jírè ká] [ˈñiñ dú], ká ásí wɔɔ-d-y̥-ɛ,
089 bon, ténám tóñro = m, [ˈl̥go-gún-ˈñ kú] cày!, háyà, [ˈnú-ɲ kálá] [ˈɔsú mà] kúlò [ˈl̥l̥á [dèn ká: ˈa lå ˈjí]]
Bo: 090 [kó ˈl̥l̥á = m] wʊ zūw-s-5:
Sa: 091 kó yè, kúy̥-5 m̯-ełó = m [ᵻʔr̥' mà] m]\úbùː, kán mú m̯-ełó = m [ˈl̥wɔ-ˈna] kú jày!, háyà, [ˈjíkáy̥ ká-ˈr̥á = m] [ˈjíkáy̥] sìmä sáy-su-ɛ = bè, ˈjíkáy̥ kó zúgú ˈñ láwà yírmè-ñ, 092 [ɛni kó bάná lëy] kútè kàtè kútè, c'èst fìnì

2004-1a.06 Hyena, goat, and lioness (tale)

Sa: 093 á ɛnè ɛnè ɛnè
Bo: kúshi bèlè bèlè bèlè

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45 Equivalent to ᵣᵻʔr̥' ñ ‘in this hole’. Locative kú becomes ká after ñgú.
46 bárjá kár̥u-ˈkú kár̥a ‘thank (someone)’, here with low-toned bárjá before the future form of kár̥á ‘do’.
47 Purposive: ‘in order to catch (it)’.
48 tèw̥\ˈtèw̥á ‘hit’, here as chained verb indicating forceful action.
49 mà ‘and’ with chained VP that is extrapolated to utterance-final position.
50 The extra ká wó in this utterance, audible on the tape, is superfluous and was omitted by the original speaker during transcription.
51 nù-nó-, imperfective negative of ᵣᵻʔr̥ ‘be hurt’.
52 láru\ˈl̥áru ‘debate’, ᵣᵻʔl̥u\ˈh̥ēl̥o ‘share, divide’, here loosely ‘do together’ in a chain. láru drops tones simultaneously with hélú before ká.
53 Later the speaker rephrased this with a single ásí, i.e. ká ásí cèsú kwǒ-ɛ. But a double ásí would make sense syntactically (with two distinct antecedents).
54 lit. ‘slap, beat, churn’, here in a chain indicating abrupt action.

096 tènám ká [nìí kày], ndèyì ([ìwò à nà: nù] cìlò)67 dòsù ìsì yá dò má, [nìí kày] nòń gà,48 mákì [àsì èlà mákì] [àsì sìmà [ẹ̀rà mág tèw sì-tó má], àsì sìmà [nàwà49 mà] kúw-è [cìlò dòsù],

097 [[cìlò kùn dú] dòsù] à ìdà-rè = bè—, [ìwò-ànú yàyàná] nàr³ [dimò dàn], [[i-m mà tàl] lárá = m nàr³, [ìwò-à-nú mà] kùnú] èm sà-rá,

098 èkú-à: nìí kày, [cè yè-só ìjí yà-fù:]60 [nìí kày] [kò tènám] [[kó ìmà] pòsá = m] igó = m [ìwò-à-nú] à èl-là, [ìr à ròmà]61 igó = m [[kó ìwò-à-nú] à èl-là],


100 èkú-à: nìí tègù dà [kù gáj—], [[dài]: lí kálà: —] yàŋgò [tènám ká: kármí mà] [kó tègù bè-tèn],

101 ẹ̀rà ká [ìwò-à-nú dè], [àsì kày] àsì ìkú, [kà: kármí mà] [wò [kó èm] à bè-tà ìjí [kà àsì àkúkù], ká àsì [jèm tèrùjú à dà] [àsì sà], [tùwò lóy—], [tènám kù-bòkà] [kò tàl-ló], mákùw³ bìtë mà, mà kò jèm kùnú látà mà, mà [kò jèm kùnú] dìwàrè mà, [má [kò àyà à kùnú] én-nà63 kàrmí mà] [hílò mà, mà [ìwò-à-nú dè] mà én-nà kàrmí mà, [wò [jèm mà tawà] [wò hùwùjí], èm kày, èsù pèrè kày],64 [wà i-m mà] [nìí sà dà] [pùrò mútìrí-mútìrí kàrmí ròmà],


104 [tènám kú] dìyì dìwàrè, tènám [[kù mà] yàsà = m] èkè [kò yè] [jèm tám pòsà = m] [kò [òsù mà] kùlú-sô],


2004-1a.07 Ram, hyena, and the aardvark burrow (tale)

Bo: 109 á ènè ènè ènè ènè
Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bèlè
Bo: 110 [bèlú màː →], bérúm à bë-tò, bèl-à:rà kó kù [çè bè-bè-nà], [bérúm [này kàː] ýà mà à yè-t—è = cè,

55 Phrase enclosed in <...> is erroneous. The speaker then gives the correct version.
56 ‘as soon as ...’ with yà:fù and low-toned verb (here from só ‘pick up!’).
57 cìlò ‘shade’, here with {HL} possessed overlay after a (complex) possessor NP.
58 gá ‘say’, reduced from something like ‘they say (that)...’, i.e. ‘(if) it is the case that...’
59 Contracted phonetically on the tape to [nà:]
60 Adverbial clause ‘(when ...)’ marked only by relative ŋj.
61 màn = mànì ‘too’.
62 ŋj as complement of tégò ‘speak!’.
63 Contraction of èsì-nà ‘(some)thing’.
64 Lexically allowed contraction of dìwù-wàrè ‘began’.
65 Possessed form of bìwà ‘being alive’ (verbal noun).
66 nà, variant of reflexive possessor mà. Dissimilates to m in the preceding noun.

[song]


129 bá:nú yí əsì kúwò mà ↓↓↓, kà: kò íwà ʃŋ, jèm əsì kúwò mà ↓↓↓, kà: kò íwà ʃŋ, pè:r-i: əsì kúwò mà ↓↓↓, kà: kò íwà ʃŋ,

130 kà [á á dà] [á á dà], kà è→, [yó nà] só bít-t-s-ʃŋ, kò [tányè lágù] césá = m [yó nà] cè zò: [tún kà: kò yè-tèn célà],

131 [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò], hál ìt-á = kò kà əsì w"anú-lú-wòrè, [yó nà] zòw bìrì yè-sò = kò [yó nà], yèrì dìr"-ú-sà = kò [bél-à:rá tù-r→ lòk!], nò:nú dìngū dà

132 kà á á dà mà, kà è→, [á á dà mà] [á á dà mà] [á á dà mà], kà è→

133 lèy-lèy əsì só mà, kà è→,

134 kò [yó nà] zòw-sò = kò, hál w"anú-lú-sà = kò, [tún kà: kò bìrì yè-tèn célà] [bél-à:rá sìmà] yè-yòrè, [kò yè] [nì ʃŋ kà] [zòw dà gá] 26 [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [zòw dà gá] [kò yè-sò] [kò ìgú dà],


137 [nì ʃŋ] bárgál! bárgál! bárgál! bárgál! bárgál! bárgál! bárgál! [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò], bél-à:rá [àlá ílo] álù-rò→ ì↑↑, tènàm [[álá dìwù]\ rù] kùl ì dì-rò↑, kò tènàm bìrìyò-sò, [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò] [zòw-cí dà = kò], [[ùrò kùnú]\ kà] ə dì-rò kò = kò→ ↑


140 ènè [kò bá:nà] lèy kútè kàtè kútè, tèt!

74 bi-tó ‘do again’.
75 ‘they (sheep) too’, reduced from cé máni.
76 zòw dà gá repeated iterative, cf. zòw-cí dà = kò in the parallel passage above.
77 y̕ɔ̀ kùn-bè is in Jamssy: ‘you-Pl are in (it)?’.
78 Relative ʃŋ after a postverbal PP.
79 dàlà kár’ù ‘have a miscarriage’, stative (resultative) form with dà, and relative ʃŋ.
80 jìrò-i-r’ ú ‘eye-child-Sg’, i.e. one eye(ball).
2004-1a.08  Riddles

Sa: 142 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà\(^1\)
Sa: têndé dégírè
Bo: tôkù kàlá

Sa: 143 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà
Sa: gîlîngà gîlin-gàlân

Sa: 144 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà
Sa: èrà:-n\(^2\) sóró
Bo: <xxx>, òsú

Sa: 145 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà
Sa: tátéy …
Bo: … cîr'o [yà jèm]\(^3\)
Sa: 146 [tátéy cîr'o] [yà jèm]
Bo: èrè:rè

Sa: 147 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà
Sa: kóyò kù-tôm
Bo: àrú-mòmò

Sa: 148 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà
Sa: kóyò jîrî-nî
Bo: dê-òsú
Sa: 149 gànú yà:
Bo: gànú
Sa: [dê-òsú kày] mútú

Sa: 150 á ámbàtilà
Bo: ámkà
Sa: èrà:-n [zákà bàsà]
Bo: èrà:-n [zákà bàsà]
Sa: èrà:-n [zákà bàsà]
Bo: 151 gògú
Sa: á ëtá-wòsì

2004-1a.09  The blind and crippled thieves (tale)
[see formatted version at the end of the Toro Tegu grammar]

Sa: 152 á ènè ènè ènè
Bo: kùsî bèlè bèlè bèlè
Sa: 153 gùy'-mù ènè, [jîrîm-nù: \(^4\) bòŋù-nù lèy], bè kà gùy'-mù, bè [màtò mà] á yày-rà, này'\(^5\) tûrù'\(^6\), bè bäm-bërè mà, à bò-t-è = bè↑, [[[mù-n túrù] òrù] kù],

\(^1\) From Songhay (Humburi Senni) á mò kà ‘let it come!’.
\(^2\) èrà:-nù ‘young man’.
\(^3\) Cf. the more usual y'ù-rù jèm ‘black woman’ with high-toned jèm ‘black’.
\(^4\) Cf. the more usual y’ù-ru jèm ‘black woman’ with high-toned jèm ‘black’.
\(^5\) Cf. the more usual y’ù-rù jèm ‘black woman’ with high-toned jèm ‘black’.
\(^6\) Cf. the more usual y’ù-rù jèm ‘black woman’ with high-toned jèm ‘black’.
2004-1a.10 Snakes, reptiles, elephants (description)

Sa: 169 bon, sùnù-ná: [nìj kày] [[ú dé] á ùsù-r-ẹ] [ká: kó dá ŋ]
Bo: 170 sùnù-ná: ná:-k, kórá dà = kó, [bár'ú]: jém léy, àrù-je'ú sá = kó, bà:ní sá = kó], gùrú = kó máni

Sa: 171 yágá [kó dën-dìn]
Bo: [[ní puró] kú] [kó dén-dìn]
Sa: [[ní puró] kú] [kó dën-dìn]
Bo: [[ní puró] kú] [kó dën-dìn], ní dùm-bòrè mà ná, [[ùrú kóló mú má] á hùrá kà-là = kó

Sa: 172 bon, [áw jém ná] y'ánjeyy á kà-là mà

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84 Jamsay-style “dying-quail” intonation at end of left conjunct.
85 tūg-ú á tūgú … él-ú á él-là. Parallel phrases with verbal nouns (-ú) as cognitive nominals.
86 tàngú-rú\tàngú-rá, here “perform (work).”
87 Progressive. This speaker has -cì là rather than -cì dá.
88 Variant of baw'ú ‘go around’.
89 Verbal noun suffix -règ on verb of ‘lest …’ complement of ‘be afraid’.
90 bérè ‘went to (place)’, irregular perfective. tūg-ú ‘breaking’ is a verbal noun in purposive function.
91 léy-ló-r ‘(someone’s) second’ with human singular suffix, here possessed.
92 wùrú\wúrú ‘get away, escape’.
93 Reduplicated verb in stative construction with dà ‘be’.
94 Clause-final if in complements of ‘see (that …)’.
95 ‘Whatchamacallit?’, cf. éșú ‘thing’
9, má [kù mà] gùnù-m5 má] [kàlù  à sì-là=k5], 97 ìré-, [[ùró kù] dá] [kò dèn]
Sa: 172 [èśù mòsú] mà
Bo: [èśù mòsú]-kà, [kò kàlù] [[nù-rù jùrò] kù] lú-wòrè tàŋ, à: jírí-mò
Sa: <xxx>
Bo: à: jírí-mò
Sa: 174 kàmá-ní àyà
Bo: kàlà àyà-à-àyà, èm nòm†, wàl-mà sùkkàrà↓
Sa: [kò kùnù] à nápù-rà,
Bo: kò [kò dè] à nápù-rà
Sa: 175 gá=m [kèrèn-kò:si nà]
Sa: 176 kò jèśù-gùsù98
Bo: [kò jèśù-gùsù→], [ú kày] kà→, bòbòlò kày,o, gà:"sú dá=k5
Sa: jàï
tí
Bo: 177 [kò kày] mòsú kòy, kò ènì kò pùn dá mà, [tòró mà] [hàlì wà: gà è bò-tò=k5], pùw dá gà, dém→ kàlà: zòw-nò=kò, kèrèn-kò:si [ìkày
dà]
Sa: 178 mà à: pù-tò=k599
Bo: à: pù-tò=k5
Sa: 179 sùmà ègù-wòsì, gá=m sùwə̀3
Bo: sùwə̀, [kò nà] ú k5 wò-sì mà, sùwə̀3 [sí: léy], [tùrù kày] pírù-pòysú, kò jèn dá nà:, kò jèn dá gùrù,
180 [tùrù nà] ògà:n=m, kòrú dá=kò, bàr"ú↑, sìti↑, jèm↓, gà: [ú k5 wò-sì tàn] [màltà-rù si kày] sìw
! cèk! à jèl-jèl= k5
Sa: 181 jèm dá
Bo: dàhmú dá=kò sànní, sùmà ìkày
 mà=kò, [[ní pùrò] kù] à: lù-rò=k5↑, [tìwà kù] à: ùn-
 nò=k5,95 [ùró kù] à lù-rò=k5
Sa: [kò sùmà] ìkày
 mà=k5
Bo: [kò sùmà] ìkày
 mà=k5
Sa: 182 [ùguñú mà: nà], sàrí mà
Bo: ìm-nà dùm-lí
Sa: ìm-nà
Bo: 183 ìm-nà, tòkuèy sèw!, [kù-bòńo póto] hàsà, [kò máń] [kèrèn-kò:si kày] [èśù mòsú], kògùsú
dà=kò, [bàr"ú:. , jèm léy] kòrú dá=kò, gà: [[kò kòrù kùnù] àrà-jèt"ù sà-rà, [èśù mòsú] kòy,
à: cí-tò [kò kày], [kò kày] dày-wòrè tàn, kò gù-wòrè ụ yà:fü; [[isò kù] à: kùtùmú-tò=k5 ày
màj [búgù-búgù-búgù-búgù mà] à bò-tò=k5 [tèw sìg-ù]102
Sa: 184 [ìsò kù] kùtùmù=m
Bo: [kù sò yà:fü:] kùtùm=m; [ùró gò mà] à bò-tò=k5 [tèw sìg-ù] [[isò kù] kùtùm=m; kà: kò mòsù ŋ, 103 [èśù ìgù] mòsù, [kò sùmà yà] [kò sùmà yà]
Sa: 185 kà [sàrí mà: [ùguñú mà:] kà: cè dá ụ
dà],

96 sùlùm! intensifier for jèm ‘black’.

97 kàlù ‘spit (noun)’ is paired with the verb tò to describe human spitting, but the long jet thrown off by the spitting cobra is described with the verb sìr"ù.

98 Possessed form of jèśù-gùsù ‘body’.

99 Pùrò ‘breathe, exhale, puff’.

100 Parallel comparatives, with adjective in {HL}-toned form.

101 ùn-nà- imperfective of ùn-5-. Tonally distinct from imperfective negative ùn-nà-.

102 Purposive with two verbs, an L-toned verb (from tèw ‘hit’) plus a verbal noun with suffix -ú (sìg-ú ‘go down’).

103 mòsù from mòsù ‘nasty’ with {HL} overlay as in comparatives.
186 sârí kày, kórû dá mànì, pîrú↑, wồr"ûkú↑, bár"ú↓, sârí kò kày" kórû dá
Sa: 187 kò déŋ-ɗiŋ
Bo: kò déŋ-ɗiŋ↑, [nì pûrò] kù

Sa: 188 ọ̀gùnú
Sa: 189 sârí dà-rò = kò [nà: dè]
Bo: sârí dà-rò = kò [nà: dè]

Sa: 190 [kò déŋ-ɗiŋ kúnì] [yàgá à ògù-ù = kò mà]
Bo: [kò nà] [kò déŋ-ɗiŋ], [úró gásá mà] [à ògù-ù = kò], [[tùrò 106 pòtù] kù] à ògù-ì = kò, njì [kò déŋ-ɗiŋ]

Sa: 191 [[àw wàsà cín nà] [úró mà] à ògù-ù mà = dà↑] [gùsù-nà mà → 107]
Bo: [[àw wàsà cín] mà, [cén kày] [úró pûrò] kù] à lú-ro nà↓: [úró gùsù-n-c = cè]
Sa: [úró dìr"à] dá
Bo: [úró dìr"à] dá, [kù mà sì:] gùsù bè-n-è
Sa: gùsù bè-n-è
Z: 192 târù à sì-tù-r-è = cè mà→, ímù à là-t-è = cè má → ↓
Bo: târù à sì-tù-r-è = cè yà:fü:
Sa: târù à sì-tù-r-è = cè

Sa: 194 [úró kù] à sì-tù-r = kò↑, à biw-rà = kò, à biw mrà-kù-tà = kò mélèm, mà yà à tél-lò = kò
Sa: 196 tùnôm-mà
Z: 197 mà sùnù-nà: [târù mútù] à sì-tù-ró mà →↑, tègèy mà
Bo: sùnù-nà: [târù mútù] à sì-tù-ró dé↓, 111 [târù mútù] à sì-tù-ró = kò
Sa: [târù mútù] à sì-tù-ró = kò

Sa: dùm-bòrè
Bo: <x×x>↓
Sa: dùm-bòrè
Bo: dùm-bòrè

Sa: 199 gòn
Bo: gòn, [gòn kày] nà↓, kàlùhàlì kùmìnò, kò běl-èlè nú, [kò sì: kày] [ú kò sífà kàrụ̀ bě-nà], sàlá, [jìrè kà] gà. 112 [péra dè] [ŋkày" dá = kò], [tòrù-tòrù kày"] ńdèy jèn d-è gá,

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104 Reflexive possessor mà followed by definite kúnì and topic kày.
105 célù’célù’ ‘termite mount’ (tertary).
106 dèlù/dèlù ‘be quiet’. Negative form occurs idiomatically in ‘X doesn’t be quiet (=rest) from VP-ing’ i.e. ‘X VP’s endlessly’.
107 dèlù/dèlù ‘put’, here L-toned as part of the wide-domain {LH} overlay controlled by the future.
110 Emphatic clause-final particle dè.

Sa: 202 [[kò dé] nà: ŋj], 116 ōw-èsù á wù-sà mà₁, a wò-rí mà yá  
Sa: [[kò dé] césù ŋj] nà  
Bo: [[kò dé] césù ŋj] [[lóg èsù] mánì], [kò mánì] i wò-rí  
Sa: 203 lèlè, [[kò sì] dà] [kò sàn]  
Z: 204 má sòlò á: lí-rà = kó má₁, nì-řá = kò 117 má₁  
Sa: sòlò á: lí-rà = kó, tíw³á á: lí-rà = kó, [sòlò á: lí-rà = kó₁] [tíw³á á: lí-rà = kó₁]  

112 gá X dè ‘(is) bigger than’, equivalent to jèn dà gá X dè ‘is more in being big than’, which occurs just below. gá is not used as a noun, cf. ná: ‘bigness’ (as in kò ná: ‘its bigness’).  
113 Imperfective negative gà-rⁿá ‘do(es) not say’ (< gá).  
114 palà kármá ‘block, obstruct’  
115 Imperfective negative of wò ‘see’.  
116 Pronounced [nà:n] with H-tone to avoid an <HLH> syllable. Simplified comparative, with implied jèn dà ‘(is) more’. Relative ŋj is added at the end, after the (deadjectival) noun ná: ‘size, bigness’, with {HL} overlay, specifying the domain of comparison. Likewise, just below, after césù ‘strength, power’, also with {HL} contour.  
117 nì-řá- perfective negative of lé ‘eat’.
2004-1b.01 Elephant and rooster (tale)

Bo: 205 á enè enè enè
Sa: kúsi bèlè bèlè bèlè bèlè


211 èsà-àrà cîrî = m] [[kà bɔsɔ kùnû] kà] kù] ñù-nà ñ, èsà-àrà kà [ɡàsù-çì dà = kɔ] [ɡàsù-çì dà = kɔ] [ɡàsù-çì dà = kɔ] [ɡàsù-çì dà = kɔ] [kà yèw]-yà:fu: gàsù sànjìta kàrû-sà = kɔ,

212 kò [bìl-célå kù] pàs-sà = kɔ lùmbùrê, kò ñl-sà = kità [[bbànà mà zà:] kù] [bbànà-kùrɔ jën dà gùrì ñ], kò liw-sà = kità [[kkà kù] kù].


¹¹⁸ yⁿ-a-rⁿ-ù-zàn 'asking for (=courting a woman').
¹¹⁹ yⁿː; yèr-é→ kàrû'd 'do going and coming'. In form, yⁿː; and yèr-é are hortatives of 'go' and 'come', respectively.
¹²⁰ 'what?–do(ing)', cf. yé 'what?'.
¹²¹ Verbal noun -rⁿ as complement, here possessed.
¹²² Purposive construction with a compound verbal noun and emphatic dà. Note {L} overlay on yⁿ-a-rⁿ-ù 'woman' as compound initial.
¹²³ Admonitional adverb used with prohibitives functioning as strong warnings.
¹²⁴ yè⁻lè 'don't come!' (prohibitive of yèrî 'come', here with third person subject).
¹²⁵ nà 'mother' in possessed form.
¹²⁶ 'Don't you see?', here used like presentational ñrⁿ-b.
¹²⁷ sàn sà ... mà 'if it's the case that ...'
¹²⁸ 'it isn't that,' i.e. 'otherwise'.
¹²⁹ More properly plural ñsì mà:.
¹³⁰ Dative dà in H-toned form after demonstrative pronoun.


222 háyà, cisù, kò kà [yâ-anàgè dù]134 kò—, ësà-àrá tòŋà kò irù-f', kà [cisù dè] [níny käy], kà yà élà kà yállà, [nù-m cìí] yállà kà bë [úrù-wôr-è mà], níny màni, gòŋ màni èwàrà tiw-sò, kò yà élà yállà kò kà, [kò ësà-àrá nù-m cìí] úrù-wôrè mà,

223 [cisù:] èwàrà lèy] tònòm-mà dàgù-sà, [èwàrà [cisù jìgù] bàrù kùw-sò nî] [bàrù kùw-sò nî] [hàlí [kò bètè] sàli-sà], kòddà èwàrà bìrìy-sò

Z: èwàrà bìrlì-wôrè


Z: 226 tènàm kà ñá sì à là

Bo: tènàm kà àsì à là, tènàm i-rù-i: jìnì, zòmèy à dà, [ëy mà:] [kúyì5 mà:] à dà, tènàm kà àsì à là, tènàm gu-sò,

227 zàkà indèy kà:yùn tìw dèn d-è, [kò nà] [yày-ci d-è = cè] tònòm-mà kà dàgù-sè = cè, [kò nà] kàyùng, [bèl-ì] tènàm bërlà dè-sà, [tènàm tày-ci d-è] [tènàm tày-ci d-è] [tènàm tày-ci d-è] [tènàm zòw-cì dà] [tènàm tày-ci d-è] [tènàm tày-ci d-è] [tènàm zòw-cì dà]

228 tènàm bàrì jèrè = m, wànlù:ú-sà jìgù nò pàs-sè = cè, kò bìrlìy-sè = cè, kà [tènàm dè] kà yâ-anàgè mà

Sa: 229 [kò jìgù] nòrù5 pùm dà


233 kà ëyè jèn dà kùmño à m’تعلë bë-tà mà, gòryò kà àsì, háyà wò:dl, háyà [níny kày], kà tùù kà: [àsì mà:] [kò bàtù] mòtò = m gà = m nì, níny kày!, tègù-wòsÈ: ñ yàgùfù:, háyà kà kò èlà,
Perfective of {HL} (i.e. [<HL>, HL, or HLL] tone). 

Tree locust (description)

**2004-1b.02**

**JH:** 244 ká:-yêrû  
**Bo:** ká:-yêrû  
**Sa:** [kó ná] ká dá ñ  
**Bo:** 245 ká:-yêrû, ká:-yêrû [kâyâ gûrû], kâyâ pólu, kô —, [kô kûrû] gûrû hâl [kô pûr-cêtâ] dê, jêm-jêm wûgûrû-wûgûrû 147 dâ = kó, ká:-yêrû jêm-jêm wûgûrû-wûgûrû dâ = kò  
**Na:** [nû-m jêrê mâ:] ñ: kûw-rô  
**Bo:** [nû-m jêrê] ñ: kûw-rô  

143 gûrûnâ: 'tomtom sound (rhythm)'.

144 if spoken without hesitation: kô tûrû tá:li cînî.

145 mbûnâ kàrâ' 'hit hard, smack'. 6 is the Fulfulde “implosive” (really preglottalized).

146 Imperfective of cênâ 'have fun', i.e. ‘sing and dance’ (cognate nominal cênà).

147 Reduplicated adjectives. The second part has {HL} (i.e. <HL>, HL, or HLL) tone.

148 Relative j following postverbal dative.

149 Perfective-2 of bêrâ 'get'.
2004-1b.03 Grasshopper medley (descriptions)

Sa: 253 käyá mòsù
Sa: 255 kò yù nà
Bo: [sòl sò] < yù — > [kò dà] [kò yù nà], á: lí-rà = kò yù, yù pà:sù-nà = kò lày X: [yù jè:sù] jèn dà —
Sa: 257 yà á tò:l-là = kò má tì, á: yè-tò = kò má]

JH: 258 bÀ:bà-númlé
Sa: bÀ:bà-númlé tègù
Sa: 259 yù á: lí-rà = kò má tì, ni-rà = kò má]
Sa: á: lí-rà = kò
Bo: á:hà: sòl: á: lí-rà = kò tì, tiwà á: lí-rà = kò tì
Sa: tiwà á: lí-rà = kò
Bo: tiwà á: lí-rà = kò
Sa: kò á: kùw-rù-mà

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150 Assistant suggested emending to sègù-sà ñá.
151 Verb èlù:lèlà ‘look, consider’.
152 cè kà kì ‘on them (times of day)’, variant of cè kù kò ‘on their head’. Singuler version: kò kù kò. Compare locative kò ‘in’ becoming kì in ìgì kì ‘in these’.
153 ‘to descend (=spend the night)’. Purposive verbal noun after motion verb.
154 kà: in (otherwise) headless relative (implied head is ‘manner, way’).
155 For kò màni ‘it too’.
156 Đá here seems to be a postnominal emphatic (‘precisely’), as in Songhay.
157 Unfinished tún kà: ‘when …’ clause. Compare the clause of this type below.
158 Reduction of tún kà: ‘when …’.
159 kámti/kà:w “d = kà:ì “do completely, finish doing”
160 Possessed form of verbal noun sì-t-ù ‘putting down (=laying eggs)’.
Bo: bá:bá-númélé kúw-n-é
Sa: kúw-n-é

JH: 260 sóm-pólóm

Bo: [sóm-pólóm kày] yú ní-rà, [kó nà→, sòlòd-òrú kày→, dá āj] á dá†, pòysú á dá†, sóm-pólóm, < sí >, [cé kày] [cé sí: tá:ll], pírú-pòysú†, sòlòd-òrú†, [k < ká — > á dá] [ká:k: kày† dá āj], [kó kày] sòlò má-dógò†, [yú kày] ì yò-yì [kó á lì-rá āj]
Sa: 261 y’ǎnọ́yá dá = kó
Bo: [kó kú] sémú dá, [kó kúw] gùrú
Sa: á: cí-tó = kó má→, á: yà-yà-rá = kó má
Bo: á: cí-tó = kó
Sa: á: cí-tó = kó
Sa: [cí-ù gùrú] má→, [cí-ù tükéy] má→

JH: 263 kóbúrú kóyó
Sa: 264 [kó tópò] y’ǎnọ́yá dá
Sa: [kó húlè], gùrú má→ tükéy
Bo: [kó húlè] gùrú sárá, [kó húlè] tükéy
Sa: 265 sèw má→
Bo: sèw má-dógò
Sa: [kó ná] ýà-y
[kó kày], yú á: lí-rá = kó
Sa: 266 [kó ārá] ná: má→†, [kó ýá] ná: má
Bo: [kó ýá] ná:
Sa: [kó ýá] ná: [[kó àrá] dè]
Bo: ýá ná: [[kó àrá] dè], [kó ýá kày fày→] [ará léy] á bápú bë-tá
Sa: [kó ýá] [ará léy] á bápú bë-tá
Bo: [ará léy] á bápú bë-tá
Sa: 267 mà [jëré mà] [á cí-tó = kó]
Bo: [jëré mà] sìmà [iórú dá gà] [á yà-yà-rá = kó]
Sa: <xxx>

JH: 268 zìnàn-gàngùrò
Sa: 269 kó dë-nììg
Bo: kó dë-nììg, yú kú, órú kú, ú ká ásí kó —, [ú yèrú-wòrè] [ú ká [ái 164 kó áw-è]] tán†, má á bàmùbù-rá = kó, má á bàmùbù-rá = kó, ú ká ásí kó áw-è tán†, má á bàmùbù-rá = kó, ú ká ásí kó áw-è tán†, má á bàmùbù-rá = kó, [kó tóró mà] [kó ýà-yà] 165

161 Variant sóm-pólóm, cf. sómú/sómó ‘be pointed’.
162 kó 116 kùrò ‘its wing’ emended from kó 116 pùrò ‘its belly’ on the tape. My assistant would also prefer to put this kó 116 kùrò before the hál … phrase.
163 Paired hortatives denoting recurrent paired opposite motions.
164 Logophoric àsù with (generic) 2Sg antecedent.
165 Hortative -è, here embedded in a quotation.
166 Verb form identical to the imperative, at the end of verb chain. This type of verb is typical of ‘until …’ clauses.
Bo: tóy tórò [kò yày]
Sa: 270 tórò [kò yày]

X: [kò árà] nà: mà→†, [kò yà] má
Bo: [kò yà] nà:
Sa: [kò yà] nà:, [yù à: lí-rà=kò má→] ní-rа=kò
Bo: 271 kò má:ní, yù à: cèngúrù-tò
Sa: yù à: cèngúrù-tò, [tiwɔ̃ mà:] nā

JH: 272 pèrèm-pèmmè
Bo: pèrèm-pèmmè, pèrèm-pèmmè, [kò kùrɔ̀] gùrù, pòrɔ̀kù dà=kò, kòpù [kò màní], pòrɔ̀kù-kòpù, yù à: lí-rà=kò, sòlò à: lí-rà=kò, kà: [tiwɔ̃ sì kày] [kò kày] mì ìnà, yèrù-zègirɛ̀ → à: kùw-rò=kò
Sa: 273 má:nà
Bo: [mànà mà:] à: kùw-rò=kò, isò à: lí-rà=kò, [pèrèm-pèmmè kày] [ŋkàyɔ̀ à]
X: délè [kò kày] dàɡù dà, sìw dà=kò má
Bo: sìw ŋgò=kò kòy, [pèrèm-pèmmè kày] [kò kày] [[kò yɛ̃ŋò] cèk! mśù] [kò kày] sìw-nó
X: 274 yęŋò sà=kò
Bo: yęŋò sà=kò kòy, [kò kày] nàtì à: lí-rà=kò†, yù à: lí-rà=kò†, núm à: lí-rà=kò†, tùsù à: lí-rà=kò† ... 
Sa: kènò
Bo: kènò, kènò mà:, à: yɛ̃ŋgù-rò=kò
Sa: 275 [kò árà] mà: mì, yà
Bo: [kò yà] nà:
Sa: [kò yà] nà: [[kò árà] dè]
Bo: [[kò árà] dè]

JH: 276 sè:kèy kàyà
Sa: <xxx>
Sa: 278 sèm dà, dèllà [kò kày] yęŋò sà-rà
Bo: [kò kày] yęŋò sà-rà
Sa: 279 [kò á: kùw-rè mà†] [kùw-n-è mà]
Bo: kò kùw-n-è, gà: [àyɔ̀ nìɲèy kày] kò á: dò mstú-rè

JH: 280 dùŋnù-nú kàyà
Sa: 281 [kò á: kùw-rè mà†] kùw-n-è
Bo: kò kùw-n-è
Sa: 282 [ɔrů ƙù] [kò dèŋ] mà†, sàŋ kù
Bo: múntɔ̃, [dùŋnù-nú kàyè kày] [ɔrů kù] dà, [kò dèŋ], [ɔrů sèwtirɛ́] nì→†, nì→ [[ɔrů pùrɔ̀] kù], [[ɔrů sèwtirɛ́] pàsù dà ŋ] [[ɔrů pùrɔ̀] kù]

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167 yè́rù-zègirɛ̀ ‘rag(s)’, with yè́rù ‘fabric’. For zègirɛ̀ compare Songhay nouns meaning ‘rag(s)’: KCh jaara, KS zaara, TSK zèwre. Related forms elsewhere in Dogon are Bankan Tey (Walo village) zèwre, a local borrowing <TSK Songhay, and Ben Tey jègirɛ̀.

168 Imperfective allomorph à: before chained verbs.

169 Bahuvrihi compound (‘big-bellied’), dòsù: (whose HL tone may be an overlay) is known to my assistant only in this compound, and only with reference to insects.

170 kàrù wɔ̃-rɛ̃-ɛ=cè ‘they cannot manage, they aren’t strong enough’. With wɔ̃- ‘see’ (or homophonous verb).
Sa: yá [kò dèn]  
Bo: [yá dà] [kò dèn] mùtù

**JH:** 283 gútú kàyà  
Sa: [kó má] [kó dè] y'óñò ín-è  
Bo: [kó má] [kó dè] y'óñò ín-è  
Sa: 284 [kó árá:] [kó yù lè] á dà mà  
Bo: [kó árá:] [kó yù lè] á dà, [kó má] [kó yù] ná:.  

**JH:** 285 náti kàyà  
Sa: 286 [sìw dà=kó má:] [sìw ñgó=kó]  
Sa: 287 [pänà kú] kó lù-wòrè mà nà  
X:  
Bo: [[yú mâyⁿ] kúnú] álì-rà=kó  
X: <xxx>  
Bo: [ní káy] ní-rⁿ=a=kó  
Sa: <xxx>

**JH:** 288 núm-tókí:  
Sa: 289 y'óñò sá=kó  
Bo: [kó má] y'óñò sá=kó  
Sa: [kó dè kây] ày'á, [kó dè kây] ày'á-y'ómn dagú dà cèk  
Bo: [cè kây] [cè dè], ày'á-y'ómn dagú dà, å: lì-r-è=cè  
Sa: 290 sègúm-sègéy  
Sa: 291 círú [kó bírù] mà→, tòrò  
Bo: círú [kó bírù], sègúm-sègéy å: cí-tò, [tàrà kúlú-wòrè mà nà] å: tò-tò  
Sa: [kó dè máńi] ày'á-y'ómn dagú dà y'óñò-nú, [kó má] tègú kòy  
Bo: [kó yè] [kó dè má] ày'á-y'ómn dagú-dà, [kó má] y'óñò-y'óñò-nú kó, y'óñò-y'óñò-nú kó  
X: <xxx>

**JH:** 291 bó:ní-sélè-là:wà  

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171 Sounds like tèm-là on the tape, but my assistant insists on tèmbo-rà. From verb tèm\|tèwⁿá.  
172 Mispronounced.  
173 Variant pronunciation of náti kâyê, see above. Variant náti rí kâyên.  
174 Variant sègúm-sègéré.  
175 Somewhat opaque three-part compound, with variant bó:ní-sélè-dà:wⁿá. Begins with bó:ní (name of Boni town). My assistant connected the medial with sél= 'long and thin', and the final with dà:wà 'totem'.

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Sa: 292 [kó nà] yə̃nə̀y [kó kù] dà
Bo: kó kú-bonô, kú-bonô sèw, pélú-pélù
Sa: 293 [kó ả: kúw-r-e mà] kúw-n-e
Bo: kó ả: kúw-r-e
Sa: yə̃ŋə̀ sà-rà=kó
Bo: yə̃ŋə̀ sà-rà=kó

JH: 294 gɔ̀rɔŋgɔ:si-tàpin.]
Sa: kó bírə

[interruption]

Sa: 296 gɔ̀rɔŋgɔ:si
Sa: 297 tòrò [kó bírə] mà→ cɪr-ù
Bo: tòrò [kó bírə], jètā kâ ɦ bà-tà181
Sa: <xxx>
Sa: [tòrò mà] tòrù bè-nà=kó sàkktɔ, [i-mí: kó wù-si tàn] [kó bè:-sì]
Bo: m!
Sa: 298 [kó mà] yə̃ŋə̀ sà-rà
Bo: [kó mà] [kó yə̃ŋə̀] mütú sàrà

JH: 299 lúpí:
Bo: lúpí:, lúpí: yə̃ŋə̀ sà-rà
X: < xxx >
Bo: lúpí: kay ↑, kɔpù=kó, báɾ”ù-báɾ”ù kày” dá=kó, ɡá: lúpí: kày, sɔlɔ ká ɦ lì-rà má-dógɔ, yù nì-ɾ-a=kó↑, nùm nì-ɾ-a=kó↑, tùsù nì-ɾ-a=kó↑,183 [lúpí: kày] [isò kù] cék!, ɑ lúpá kàn184 tɔŋgù-rà, dũm-bɔrɛ

JH: 300 mɔnɔ kày”185
Sa: 301 yù nì-r-à=kó
X: yù nì-r-à=kó
Bo: yù nì-r-à=kó
Sa: [yù kù] ɡiu-nó=kó
Bo: mhm!, [yù kù] ɡiu-nó=kó

176 dìr”ù\dìr”ù ’encounter, find’ has imperfective dì-tà- or dì-là-

177 Unusual pronunciation with kóy intercalated.
178 Lit. ’giant.millipede-kick’. This grasshopper is thought to have giant millipedes as part of its diet.
179 ˚: imperfective before chained verbs.
180 Bo: 292 yə̃nə̀ y [kó kù] dá
181 Bànà ‘help’.
182 cìrù ’fly’ (chained verb) preceded by its verbal noun cìr-ú.
183 Terminal rising intonation suggests that the parallel sequence could continue.
184 lúpá kàr”ù ’land, alight’ (verb).
185 Lit. “Balanites (=wild date tree) grasshopper.”
Bo: [òw kù] [òw kù] cék!
Sa: 302 [kò árà] ná: mà, [kò yá] ná: ↓
Bo: [kò yá] ná:
Sa: [kò yá] ná: [(kò árà) dě]
Bo: [kò yá] ná: [(kò árà) dě]
Sa: 303 jém kó mā→ ↑, pírú kó mā↓
Bo: mònö kāyēy, jém cē
Sa: jém cē
Bo: jém cē
Sa: [kò árà::] yā lēy yā:fū:
Bo: [(kò árà::) [kò yá] lēy yā:fū:] jém

JH: 304 tšrō kāyā
Bo: tšrō kāyā, tšrō kāyēy, [tšrō kāyēy kāy] m īnā
Bo: 305 [kō kāy] duńū-nū kāyēy dā, [duńū-nū kāyēy nā:→] [duńū-nū kāyēy tēgēy lēy]
Sa: [kō mānī] [sīpā kā"a [kā: kō dā ū]]
Bo: ēyyō [duńū-nū kāyēy], [(duńū-nū kāyēy] dā] [kō kāy], [kō kāy] duńū-nū kāyēy nā:, tšrō kāyā kīmū, [bū:"s—→] [kī cīrū-wōrē má] [būnū-būnū dā = kō kūpū], kō [mānī:nī] yū nī-rī, [[sīlō za: cē!] ī kū ā wō-rī]
Sa: 306 yōṅō sā-rā
Bo: yōṅō sā-rā
X: [kō árà] —, [kō yá] ná: [ará dē]
Sa: 307 kūw-n-ē
Bo: gā: kūw-n-ē

JH: 308 kā:-yānā
Sa: [kā:-yēr dē] gūrū
Bo: [kā:-yēr dē] gūrū
X: 309 ā: kūw-r-ē
Bo: ā: kūw-r-ē mānī
Sa: ā sīw bē-tā sāy —
Bo: ā sīw bē-tā = kō
Sa: sāy kāy
Bo: 310 mhm! [kō kāy] cīrū-wōrē mānī [sāy sī kāy"] prrrr ā yāy-rā fōs!, hālī [wāṅū-lā mā] [ā bō-tō] sīg-ū, [sāy sī kāy"] [kō kāy] [cīrū dā āy āy bē-tā, hālī wāṅū-lā188
Sa: 311 kō dēn-dīŋ nā
Bo: kō dēn-dīŋ nā, ā! [kō mānī:nī] [sāŋ kū] dā kōy, mhm!, <xxx> [sāŋ kū] dā
Sa: [kō nā] [yā.: ārā lēy] sā = kō mā
Bo: [yā.: ārā lēy] sā = kō, [yā kūn] nā:, [(kō ārā) dē] mānī
Sa: 312 yōṅō sā-rā = kō
Bo: yōṅō sā-rā = kō, ì tōṅō kāy
Sa: [ì tōṅō kāy] yōṅō sā-rā = kō
Bo: [ì tōṅō kāy] yōṅō sā-rā = kō

JH: 313 isō-sūmēy kāyā
Bo: isō-sūmēy kāyā, há
Sa: [(ī-sā: má:] lēy] [kō nāy] [í mātō = ū] tēgū-so
Bo: [isō-sūmēy kāyā] m īnā
Sa: <xxx> [isō-sūmēy kāyā]

186 Lit. “mountain’s grasshopper.”
187 [pōṅūtū] ‘large, round, and elongated (like large watermelon)”.
188 hālī ‘until’ plus imperative stem.
Bo: [isô-sûmëy kâyà kây] m̀ ínà
Sa: 314 [i:sà: mà:] tégù-sô [kò này] [isô-sûmëy kâyà]
X: hâyà [mì kày] m̀ b ègù wà:-li³⁸⁹
Bo: [isô-sûmëy kâyà kây] [isô-sûmëy kâyà kây] [sùr⁴ jìnì ŋ] [mì kày] [kâyà kây kálà:] ŋ wô-rí
Sa: 315 [isô-sûmëy kâyà] [ká kò] [kâyà jënì], kâyà bâr⁵→, kòrò së:li→, zëngëli→ kûnù, [isô-sûmëy kù] â pùw tôngù-rò ŋ kûnù, kà [kò kò isô-sûmëy kâyà]
Bo: kà [dùnù-nù kâyà]
Sa: 316 ŋ kà [i kày], [cèw-là:fù: dè] [i kày] [dùnù-nù kâyëy] â gà-rà, [bàr⁵→ sèngëli→] [bàr⁵→ sèngëli!→] [pùrù sëmi→ sëmi→] [dùnù-nù kâyëy] kày⁶ dà ŋ, [sì mà:] [kò dè] [isô-sûmëy kâyà] â gà-rà
X, Sa, Bo: <xxx>
X: kòrù bë
Sa: hâyà, âkày⁹ [bè kày] gà-sà, <xxx>, gà = m̀ cè kòr-s-è
Bo: 318 [kò kày] [(isô-sûmëy kâyà] jìnì [isô-sûmëy [kâyà sà-rà]]
Sa: isô-sûmëy kâyà —
Bo: dùnù-nù kâyëy dà

2004-1b.04 Mantis (description)

Bo: 319 nòŋò-nòŋò, yⁿôŋò sà—râ, [kâyà mà:] [kò kày] â áw kùw-rò
Sa: gà = ṭ, yⁿàngëy dá = kò
Sa: 321 [kò kàrù]
Bo: ŋ! [kò kàrù-cîwrà kûnù], inì têpûâlù dà, kòrò së:lè→, kòrò sà = kò gûrû-gûrû, kò nù-rù jëw-wësì tàŋ, â: lò-tò
X: kò â: kùw-r-è mà→ kùw-n-è
Bo: â dà [kà: [kûrû sà] â ci-tò ŋ], â dà [kà: kûrû sà-rà ŋ]
Sa: 322 [kò kày] sày â áw-rà

³⁸⁹ wà:- ‘have ever (done)’.
³⁹⁰ tòŋò has various senses including ‘tin can’. With regard to insects, it denotes any unusually large leg, hence the (quite large) hind leg of grasshoppers but the (long) front legs (=arms) of mantises.
Tape 2004-2, track A

(These recordings are from an old man named Seydou Pathee (deceased 2005) from Tega village)

2004-2a.01 History of Dogon people at Tabi Mountain

X: 323 tûpêrê kà: dîn-sô ŋ, kà: yê-sô ŋ, tûpêrê mâlê:ŋ gû-sô ŋ, yê-s-ê=bê tîndûrûmâ, tîndûrûmâ gô=m=bê, yê-s-ê=bê, kà:mumë, [nû-mû gerê nà kà] [kà:mumë jînî koy], bê dîn-sô koy, kà, [tôrô kû],

324 kà:n [kô dê] a gà-rê, kà:n-gô:-gûndê, yà bê gû-sô, kô yà gô=m=bê yê-s-ê=bê, jî:mê, [jî:mê gô=m=bê] kô dîn-s-ê=bê túlû, túlû gô=m=bê, yê-s-ê=bê gô:m-diwâ, bê [jâmà:nà:] hà: nûjîmà, kô jâmà: yà dîn nêgô=m, úrû=m, yày-sà [dîwë rëtê],


327 hàyà bê dînû dà ŋ nà, [kô tôrô], jêrûû sàrà, [òw-êsû, nû-m ú á ûw-rà], tîrû-bàsà, [bê i-m-i:] á: sô-oû, [kô nà] kà [ásî mà: kày], [ásî mà:] in dîn bê-nà,


334 [bê [nûwû kûnû] wûs-si tân, háyà, nûn tiûyô-ûn bas-rû[a [[òw kû] gû199 sàngkû [bê i-m-i:] á ûw-rû, hâ: ëkàyû bê dê, ëkàyû dê=bê, hâlî hàlî hàlî bûëù-lûgü199 kàrû-sô,

191 ‘they don’t say now: X’, short for ‘they don’t say other than: X’, i.e., ‘they say X’.
192 Also pronounced tûgéyô and other variants.
193 Tape sounds like tôm (as in Jamsay).
194 tá ‘Tabi (village)’. One of the three villages now at the base of Tabi Mountain. Until the French colonial period, Tabi and Toupéré were the two villages on the (flat) top of the mountain.
195 Also zâmâ.
196 Compound with H-toned form of verbal noun lûw-Ô ‘falling’. Cf. phrase kû kû lûwô ‘fall on (the) head’.
197 Compound with verbal noun bà as final, from verb-chain êr bà ‘dispossess, take (sth) away (from sb).
198 kôyô denotes flatish, inhabitable summits, generally of inselbergs with steep cliffs/sides. Cf. the more general word tôrô ‘hill, mountain’.
2004-2a.02 Resettlement (fragment)

X: 361 bon [tá tóbr] yë-sô ŋ, [tëgá nú-m, biriyô=m, yá dú:ní diñú-sô], [ tá nú-m, bë je rè wà-], 369 gëylél, yá diñú-sô], bë je rè wà- ná, dúrgâmâ, hâli yô, [bë kây] [yá girëy] dâ, gâ: [i bë lë yá:fu:], tûr-i-â dâ

211 /zê-rô/ ‘bring’. Static construction with dâ ‘be’.

212 Relative clause headed by này ‘day’ (hence ‘era’), with doubled head noun both inside and following the relative-clause proper.

213 /gâng-rô/. Noun zông ‘fight’ and adjective déwërô form a core NP, and here they get possessed {HL} overlay as a unit.

215 /y”ôm-rô/ ‘is stronger (than)’.

217 nj mà is pronounced [knàma] by most speakers, but dialectally [knà].

218 Lit. ‘east’s face’ (jînò ‘face’).

219 French avocat ‘lawyer’, but the context suggests a sense ‘official documents’.
2004-2a.03 Famine years

X: 362 iní bë díngǔ-sò ṣò, jëwà, [dù kù] wà-n-è220 [tòrò kù] cèk] à wà-t-tè, yù bë-n-
è=bè, jëwà, jëwà bë à wòw-rò, háli cìtángà, cìtángà yë-sò ṣò, [tòpèrè núm-sò nì] [háli
hálì háli háli y'ámm-sà], háli y'ámm-sà,
363 kò nú-m wàs-cí yì cí-n, kà: bë báyà-sà ṣò dë, lùwò, cérù-kòwò, tigirà, [kùmbùrù
mà:] tòwà=̀=̀, [cè sì:] báyà bë-s-cë=bè=
364 hàyà bë báyà bë-sà ṣò, háli [tà nú-m kày] gà-rà nà, disinà: ú lá:-wà
ò, [tòpèrè nú-m ùò:] y'àngò ṣò dë, [disinà:] nà kàr'á=m, [kò pèrà] sòrù bít-të=bè,
365 [jëwà mà:] kàr'ú-sà kòy, ì à ègù-rà, yòòò à llì, cìtángà, ñùbùrì, [cè-hù:ù-
ù:wù:] jëwà mùsù] kàr'ú-sà, èn-tìgè kò kà-li nà, nù-mù isò ñà, nù-mù têmà
[tùnmò221] kù yà-yà-nà, sètè bèrë mà, kàlâ àrà-m màtò mà, [kò mà] èsè=bë-s-è ñò, [kù
sì:] dé mà à yè-t-tè,
366 [kù sì:] ès dé=m ñè-s-è nà, [[nù-n tòr-i=mà] ni-r'á] [sànkò=ì] lòò], hà:
òkàyà [jëwà kùn sì:] kàr'ú tòj ci d-è=bè, kàr'ú tòj ci d-è=bè, háli [bë dë] tìrà=m, mútù-rè=m=bè, háyà, [ùin kày] [kò nà] [bë pèrà] gu-sò, kàyà gu-sè=bè,
367 hà: më èsù m ìkù nà, [[ùin kù] kù], inì è sùgù yè-sè ñò, ì à wùrù-sà, yàrù, [tà
à bòrù bë-tà y'ómbò y'ómbò,
368 [tàndùrù mà:] bë-s-cë, [cè sì:] sètè à jìù mà [à yè-t-tè], ìrò àkà à dà, dè
dè rò mà, à bò-t-tò [kò sètè], sètè ì bòrè tàn, [dèò à bò-sò ñù yà-fù:] [ù yù à à bë-t-tè],
369 háyà [bùrù lè-yò] ì à wùrù-sà, tàngù-rì lày, [kò kò], [lòò] nà [kò mà] ì à wà
dà, [jëwà kù] ì à wà ì à kùnù, kò bùrù tòl-lò kùnù, [kò kò] [zùfù nà:] bùrù-nì] ì à
gà-rà, [kò nà] [yù rùrù-sò nì] háli háli háli háli háli hàddù jëù-sò, [ìsò hàwù yà-fù:]
bë-sà, háyà, [jëwà kày] ì à [kù pèrà] gu-sò,
370 [kò pèrà], tòwà=̀=̀ jìù, tègè yàlè à nàwù-lù-tà, tòwà=̀ jìù, à mútù-t-tò,222 [tòrò gòò] [dèò mà], yù ìrù, [tànmò pèrà] digù-rù-nà, ìto=ò bë-sì tàn, nà=nà:̀
tàn, bòàndà kày, à kà-là [tègè cèk] à à bë-t-tà,
371 hà: [òkàyà sì:] [bùrù jìù nà], [bùrù jìù nà], lày bë-n-è, kàr'ú-sà ì [dèò
ògù] dë], [tàrò kùwò ñù] kù, fà=ì tòj bëw-rì, kà: dùò tòj, tègè nè=ò: bë-s-è, [cè
kày kàlà] [mù jìù] kà] kàr'ú-sà,
372 kò pèrà, [jëwà mùsù] kà: nù-mù à wòw-rò ñù kày, zà:-à [mì kày] [hù jìù] tìn-nù-sò ñù, [jëwà, nù-mù à wòw-rò ñù], ì à rí, kò hëddì-nò,223 dëngò à kà-là, kà: jëwà nùm:nùm wòw kày, [ì kày] [ì à zàmàni] kà-lì

2004-2a.04 Water

tègè, lòòsà à nì-r'á, tègà, tìtìgà à nì-r'á tà, kòyò kù, [bë kày], nì sa, y'ùmmò
[kò dë] à gà-r-tà, y'ùmmò nà, [tàpèrè:] tègà dé kày] wàgà,
òwà nà] kù] tàn, y'ùmmò à à kòw-rù, háli zìr'á yèrì, zìr'á yèrù-ròrè mà, hà: [ìnè
kày] [kò y'ùmmò-kòwò] à dìlì-yàrà,
dìr'ú-sà] dëngò sà=kò sànì,

219 wàr-ì (intensifier for jére ‘some, certain ones’) in contrastive-topic parallel phrases.
220 wàrì ‘farm, do farm work’.
221 This speaker pronounces tùmò as tò:m (as in Jamsay).
222 More often pronounced mútù-rù-tò. Syncope is not usual in this metrical position.
223 Fulfulde expression.
224 gàs-ù ‘(act of) digging’, here possessed.


225 ɭànlù ‘plead, beg’ in compound-initial form, verbal noun nì ‘(act of) drinking’, as purposive complement to bôrù ‘go to’.

226 ‘go to’.

227 Lit. ‘a mouth of bucket’, i.e. ‘a bucket full’.

228 Also pronounced tǎn târɔ.

229 Possessor relative clause with nù-r“u in L-toned form as relative head.

230 fì ‘here’ would normally precede relative ìf. Perhaps an afterthought here.

231 Heard on tape contracted to [lág:ì].

232 /mùtí sàrə-/ , with u-Apocope and /ts/ > tt.
Either Primarily millet or yù kùnú dà, à àtálà kù wày órú bò à tò, ìyà pùró kù, à àtálà kù wày órú bò à tò, à àtálà kù wày órú

A hoe-like implement with a long straight handle, used especially for turning over a small amount of earth (with a slashing motion) in order to plant seeds.

Pronounced [tôŋ-gó].


Pronounced [là:Ŋw-rè].

Primarily millet-eating blister beetles (Meloloeidae).

Variant mòtì.

Either lỳ̀ and yù̀ gù, by itself means ‘this year’ (in the last case, literally).
2004-2a.07 Native medicine

X:

Perfective negative of dirú ‘find (by chance), inherit’

2004-2a.08 Funeral ceremonies


246 tóló ‘(wound) heal’. 247 Reversive: ‘un-[stop up]’ = ‘re-open (stuffed or stopped-up hole)’. 248 For /là-yèr= (3Pl future of lá ‘spend night’). A preceding chained verb, here nùñú ‘sing’, (combining form), drops tones (hence nùñú) before a future verb, even when the future verb has a monosyllabic stem (so the initial L-tone of the stem of the future verb is not audible). 249 Pronounced [bòt̥:w̥ɔsí]. 250 Perfective negative of dirú ‘find (by chance), inherit’
438 [tɔ́rɔ̀ pɔ̀lɔ̀ nù-m] [bè kày] [zά: gú-sò ọ́], [bè kày] [bè yá-kàlà jèrⁿà]²⁵¹ 1-
ígú dà, [kò sì:] kò— [bòrű sì:] kò yⁿà-rⁿú à sò-r-è=bé, [bòrű sì: kò] cèná cèn-n-
è=bé [nùndé́rⁿà lè́y] [háli nùndé́rⁿà tà:lǐ] [bè yá-kàlà] á kà-là,
sà-y-r-è=bé, [kò kò] [yá-kàlá jèrⁿà mà], kò mà, [kò sì] á kà-là

²⁵¹ Perhaps to be syntactically bracketed [bè [yá-kàlà jèrⁿà]] with yá-kàlà jèrⁿà ‘ritual of
marriage’ as a whole functioning as possessed noun.
²⁵² /kárⁿ/ ‘do’.
2004-2b.01 Cooking millet

X: 440 ká, kúlò, ká: á kúl-l-è ŋ, yù-kúśù, ([yù-kúśù mà] dè) só mà [ká-ká: "á bi-t-è ŋ]] [háli kò píir’tá táŋá mà] [zá táŋá mà] [nínú nínó mà], ká:. [háli kò yèrì zá dò] [gó ŋ] [kò ásí [wò dè] à úsù:rò]

Y: < ... >

2004-2b.02 Crisis food


Y: érë:ré

X: 445 érë:ré á kò-t-è²⁵⁵

2004-2b.03 Soda ash


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²⁵³ nám\naw’á ‘grind’.
²⁵⁴ tšù|tšù ‘strip off (leaves)’.
²⁵⁵ kòrù|kòrù ‘pick (a fruit)’
²⁵⁶ Pronounced [tòk.ù].
²⁵⁷ á kò á. 2Pl subject á, then nonhuman object kò, then imperfective á.
²⁵⁸ “3Pl subject” suffix -e here with 2Pl subject pronominal.
2004-02.04 Drawing water


X: 456 wàsù-ŋò

2004-02.05 Baskets and jujube cakes


2004-02.06 Weaving with strips of doum-palm frond


Z: 461 pètà, i táy sà-rà, pètà i — táy i: à: èwà-rà, i táy èwà-wòsí mà, i ìnì mà

Y: 462 mù:du pè-rù

Z: [mù:du pè-rù] táy i: à: èwà-

Y: 463 gù:ŋò, kò sòdímà

Z: sòdímà i: à: èwà-rà, mà [kò tògù mà] [i kò á ìnì mà] [i kò á tì-rà], i kò tì-wòsí mà, i kò ònrò mà, kò ònrò kùnu, kò sí: mà —

Y: mù:du pè-ní:í

Z: [pè-ní:í sì:] pètā i á dò-tà, è—

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²⁵⁹ Can be pronounced more fluently as ní-ków¹ bìrâ ‘work of water-drawing’.
²⁶⁰ tà: kärâ² ‘it should happen’ (uncommon phrase).
²⁶¹ ... mà kù kúlu pronounced [mák:uló].
²⁶² for ëwá mà, from verb ëw ‘buy’.
²⁶³ Variant of gùrù-sìjè.
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Y: háyà


Y: 466 háyà, ədliyà, dágù-wàs-è mà, zàŋ-wàs-è mà, zàŋ-wàs-è mà, kàsù::, kùrùkàsi::, kò á žì-yàr-e, a žë:-t-e, premier, ěyyë→, nàfà, něn, á zë:-t-e, ěyyë→, lòsònà dàgù-rë-ŋ cèlà, dágù dà:-t-e mà, nàwâ, nàwâ, nàwâ, nàwâ, ow-war-è, 467 háyà á dàgù-yàrè mà, yà-yìtíw, yà-yìtíw pägí-yàr-e, yà-yìtíw pägí-yàr-e↑, yà-nàwâ"a ow-war-è↑, zàŋ-kàsù ow-war-è↑, nàfà ow-war-è↑, njiyàyàfù: aràm ow-wàrà, háyà [ú nà] [kò nà kùndí], háyà [ú mà ní nì] ěsì kà: [ú kày nì] [ú nà: káy] ěs èkà: [nín káy] á ěnggunakan-rō, kò cèlà kày, zà da á bì-t-e = bë, nàbô:-zà á bì-t-e, háyà [nín káy] délù-wôrè, 468 háyà [nà káy], ěs [irëù mà] dàgù-rà-ŋ↑, tè:"sì mà ěnggunakan-rà-wë→, yòrà mà ěnggunakan-rà-wë→, tágù mà ěnggunakan-rà-wë→, ěyyë→, yòrà ě gása mà

Z: 467 dòlìkí ěnggunakan-rà-wë

Y: dòlìkí ěnggunakan-rà-wë→, mú:sù:ʳ ěnggunakan-rà-wë→, dòllèkè ěnggunakan-rà-wë→,

Z: 468 lò-sàyà


Z: 469 yàkàlà yèrù-wôrè mà, —


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Z: 471 yàkàlà mà á yë-tò, yà:— nündàrà— jìngàrà mà á yà-rà, inì— i yòrà á mògù-rò, i kù à è-tà, kù-duğà á pàgà-r-e, sè: dügà á kùl-l-e, ěyyë→ lù-sàyà á kùl-l-e, tè:"sù á kùl-l-e, kàngh mà á kùl-l-e, lòsù-m à yà-rà mà, i cèwlàyàfù: [i kù mà rë-ràrà] [yòrà mà] mëg cèrì-yàrà] [i [yòrà jìrìù mà mà] pägì-yàrà, i á bò-tò, [i mòtò mà] [mà [kò tùnò mà]] [i á cèn-nà], cèwlàyàfù: i á kà-là, hålì [yò nà]

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Y: 473 yà: kày, [är`asá:rá zòn kày] í inà, yà: kày, ayà tógù, isìnà ānëyè, sè: kýèyì ni, tãbìyù"ù ni, ěyyë→, kùmbù ni, kò là:kùnnà,

X: ir`ù á ném-lë-ŋ↑

Y: é, é, ir`ù á ném-lë-ŋ

X: 474 lìlìpágù

Y: lìlìpágù ni, [kè sì:]

X: 475 aràm-tùrò

Y: cé cè aràm-tùrò ni, [kè sì:] kè ímù á ném-lë-ŋ.

264 ěnggunakan ‘take out’.
265 Also pronounced -yèrë.
266 Also pronounced ném-rë-ŋ.
Fulbe women sell milk


Z: 479 pù́lò-m ëm à zè:-tò, bè zè:ru-ròrè mà, [ìsèyì" mà] i ngùgò mà, [kùrùkà:si mà sì:] [ìsèyì" ëm mà] yàrà mà, [èm kùn] i á: yàrì-yràrà mà, i [kò èm dòrù kùn] ti: kúlò mà, mà [kò tùŋò mà] [kò èm kùnù], [i dé]— i á: gòrì-yràrà …

[incomplete transcription]

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476 háyà, tábiy'ú, [kò mà] ir"ú lòrú-wòrè mà, [kò mà] [kò sì:] á zòngù-rè, tábiy'ó, háyà nínjì̀ mà lòrú-wòrè mà, [fà dà] ìy'á i á: kúl-lò, mòdè, i á: nèm-là, ìy'á, i á: nèm-là,


2004-2b.10 Fulbe women sell milk

Also nù.

sáru ‘soak’.
Part Two: English translations

Tape 2004-1, track A

2004-1a.01  Hyena, goat, three truths I (tale)

Sa: 001 A tale.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: 002 One day, hyena (H) and (male) goat (G), they encountered each other on the road. Goat said—(Or rather) hyena said to goat: you (G) must say three truths, (then) I will leave you.

003 Goat stood in silence. He (G) said to hyena: now if I went and said to the other goats\(^{269}\) that now a hyena encountered me on the road and you did nothing (bad) to me, the (other) goats will not accept (=believe it).

004 (Goat continued:) You, the hyena, if you went and said that you— (said) to (the) other hyenas that you encountered a goat on the road, and then you did nothing to it (=goat), the other hyenas will not accept (=believe it), (they will say), as for those (words), they are just a lot of (empty) talk.

005 (G continued:) Now, you (H) are not hungry.\(^{270}\) That’s why\(^{271}\) all that talk is around us.

006 He (H) said, by God, it’s true.

007 Hyena proceeded onward, and goat proceeded onward (=they separated). Hyena said to goat: another day, let’s encounter each other, right here in the very same place.

008 Hyena happened to run into goat one day, as he (G) was eating grass and tree leaves. That day, hyena was very hungry.\(^{272}\) Hyena said: today (=this time), there is not any great deal of talk; so I must just catch and eat you.\(^{273}\) There will not be much other talk, so I must just catch and eat you.

009 Well, then hyena jumped on the goat’s neck and caught (it). Well, hyena caught and ate goat.

010 Here (this matter) and its tail are ended.

2004-1a.02  Hyena, sheep, three truths (tale)

Bo: 011 A tale.
Sa: Okay.
Bo: 012 One day, sheep (S) was eating grass at the edge of the houses (=village). Hyena (H) came and found it (S). It (S) said: hey hyena, it said, greetings, my (maternal) uncle!\(^{274}\) Hyena said: Greetings to you too! It (H) said: greetings, you now my nephew!

013 (H:) Your mother, in our neighborhood, whose sister is she? Furthermore, even if the greeting is like that, as for the greeting, in order to say a greeting to me, you must speak three truths to me. (You) having spoken three truths, I am willing to leave\(^{275}\) you (alone).

014 (S:) Now, if I go home, among the (other) sheep, and say that a hyena encountered me and didn’t say anything to me (=let me go), the other sheep won’t accept (=believe) me.

\(^{269}\) Lit. “remainder of goats.”

\(^{270}\) lit. “you-Sg do not have hunger” (phrasing as in German).

\(^{271}\) Lit. “that being done (=being the case), …”

\(^{272}\) lit. “hunger caught hyena.”

\(^{273}\) Imperative verb with 1Sg subject.

\(^{274}\) Sheep proposes a kinship relationship to Hyena in order to avoid being devoured.

\(^{275}\) Hortative verb (pās-ē) with 1Sg subject.
Likewise,\textsuperscript{276} if you (H) go (and say) to the other hyenas that you encountered a sheep and did nothing to the sheep, the other hyenas will not accept (=believe it).

015 It (H) said: very true.

016 (S:) But now, you are not hungry. When you are hungry, only then you will eat me. There should not be lots of talk between us. But tomorrow, at this place, at this time, let’s meet each other! As for me, as for me, I have no difficulty. Will you (H) go and come (back) (tomorrow), or (not)? (H:) As for me, I have no difficulty.

017 Hyena went on (his way). Hyena—. Sheep raised his head and looked. Hyena went (=kept going) until he had gone far away. Sheep leaped over a wall and went into (a pen). Sheep said (=thought), if he (H) goes away today, I (S) will not go far away any more.

018 (Sheep): they ask, my mother, whose sister is she?

019 After he went away, in the late afternoon (around 4 PM), Sheep came home. The sun had not yet set on it (S). Hyena encountered him (S), and he (H) was asking (him), your mother is whose sister?

020 The story and its tail are finished.

\*\textbf{2004-1a.03 Pigeon (giant head) in a pit (tale)}\* 

Sa: 021 A tale.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: 022 A man came and went out. He was very powerful. He was very powerful. He thought that, of all men, he was the most powerful. Yes.

023 He got up. He was walking around. Then (it is said) he encountered a man. He said that they (=he and other villagers) would go with him to the village (Tabi). That man was (way) out in the bush (=far from villages). Well, the man, he now, he was in a (deep) pit. He asked him, he said:

[song:] 024 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

(It is) you and who, pigeon?
How many men, pigeon?
Only one man, pigeon.
One man, a man is not enough,\textsuperscript{277} go add more.

025 Well, as for him, he went back. Yes. They went and came back with two men. Yes.

[song:] 026 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

(It is) you and who, pigeon?
Two men, pigeon.
Two men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

027 They went back. He went and got three men, they came (back).

[song:] 028 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

(It is) you and who, pigeon?
Is it one man, pigeon?
Is it two men, pigeon?
Is it three men, pigeon?
Three men, (the) men men are not enough, go add more.

029 He went (back) in with him (another man). They went and came back with three men. Yes.

[song:] 030 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

\textsuperscript{276} Lit. “it too, …”. Can also be construed as ‘you too’ (indirect discourse).
\textsuperscript{277} i.e., to pull me out of the hole.
How many men, pigeon?
Is it one man, pigeon?
Is it two men, pigeon?
Is it three men, pigeon?
Is it four men, pigeon?
Is it five men, pigeon?
Five men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

031 He went. They went and added two others. They became seven.

[song:] 032 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.
How many men, pigeon?
Is it one man, pigeon?
Is it two men, pigeon?
Is it three men, pigeon?
Is it four men, pigeon?
Is it five men, pigeon?
Is it six men, pigeon?
Is it seven men, pigeon?
Seven men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

033 Yes. Even now, he said that they, his men (=the men who came to help him), were not enough. They went back. They got two other (=additional) men and added them. They became nine men. They assembled and came. Yes.

[song:] 034 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.
How many men, pigeon?
Is it one man, pigeon?
Is it two men, pigeon?
Is it three men, pigeon?
Is it four men, pigeon?
Is it five men, pigeon?
Is it six men, pigeon?
Is it seven men, pigeon?
Is it eight men, pigeon?
Is it nine men, pigeon?
Nine men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

035 They went and brought (“caused to arrive”) ten. The ten whom they brought, well, they assembled together and came. Now, they were ten men—. Ten men, whether he agrees or he does not agree (that there are enough of them), (they intended that) they would take hold of him and pull him out. As for the ten men, when they come together (unite), as against one man’s body, he too will know (=realize) (that) ten men are not something slight (=inadequate to pull him out).

036 Lo, as for pigeon (=the man in the pit), even one (ordinary) man is stronger than he (is). Sitting in the pit, he had nothing but a big head, a pure fake.

037 Ten men assembled together and came. Yes.

[song:] 038 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.
How many men, pigeon?
Is it one man, pigeon?
Is it two men, pigeon?
Is it three men, pigeon?
Is it four men, pigeon?
Is it five men, pigeon?
Is it six men, pigeon?
Is it seven men, pigeon?
Is it eight men, pigeon?
Is it nine men, pigeon?
Is it ten men, pigeon?
Ten men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

039 The ten men did not believe that they as ten men were not enough for (=to lift out) one man. They went into action. They took hold of him in the opening (“mouth”) of the pit and were yanking him out. They caught at (=tried to take hold) of his hand and pulled hard to get him out, when (in fact) Pigeon was nothing but a head, amounting to nothing. They hit and tied him up and went carrying him to Tabi village.

040 Well, the story and its tail are over.

2004-1a.04 Wife retrieves husband (tale)

Bo: 041 A tale.
Sa: Okay.
Bo: 042 A man and his wife came out. They sat (=lived) together, until they got a child. Then a famine came in. When day would break, the woman would tell him to pull it (=take out food for the day from the granary). (When) he went inside the granary, the woman would wait for him. Then the woman would come with the gear (=basket) and (he would) take out some millet (and) he would give it (= millet) to the woman. Lo, (one day) it (=millet) was exhausted.

043 One day in that situation, well, when the woman told him to take out (=provide) the millet to put in (the basket), then he went up into the granary. Well, he said: come! Now the woman—, she was washing her hands, (intending) that she would take the gear (=basket) and come (to get more millet).

044 (The man thought:) if (=seeing that) she isn’t coming, as for me, I will definitely go down. She said she was coming. So the man jumped down and ran. Lo, there was nothing in the granary (to give her). The man ran away.

045 The man hid in the bush (away from the village). The man was in the bush, he was in the bush, until the harvest time approached. Now the new millet appeared. Now, they were taking out (=harvesting) their new millet, they were cooking their millet cakes, they were eating. Now the people were well-fed.

046 Now, the woman was going around asking for her husband, she went around all over asking, she went around all over asking, whether they hadn’t seen her husband. Finally now she heard (them say) that her husband was in the woodland (savanna).

047 (She thought): now, (she must find) the one who was to come back with her husband for her. All the birds called together. Now she made a meal, she made it until there was a lot. Then now, she said: hey you-Pl, come and eat the meal, and then you-Pl come back with my husband for me, (go) track down my husband and come (back)!

048 Firefinch ate. She said (to firefinch): now you go and take (=get). When you go (there), now, (tell me) what you will do to call to my husband so that he will come? (Firefinch:) kikiri-kikiriw! kikiri-kikiriw! kikiri-kikiriw! (Woman:) you cannot (=wouldn’t be able to) come and call my husband (back)!

049 Now that white bird278 too ate (a meal), until it was full (sated). (Woman:) now you go and call and come (back). White bird—white bird in turn, he in turn, (called) kikikiwkiw! kikikiwkiw! She said: you too cannot come and call my husband back.

050 (She said) to dove279: you, having eaten, now go and call my husband to come. Two doves, the doves, when they had eaten and were full, (called): kurukuti! kurukuti!. She said, ah, that won’t call (back) my husband.

051 (Pied) crow ate. He too got up, he went (=flew) up onto a tree (and called): ka! ka! ka!. She said to him too (crow): that won’t call my husband (back). All the birds (did) like that.

052 Now crowned crane remained. She said to crane: now, having eaten, you must go, now you must go, now you must go and look. Crowned crane said: as for me, first, when I see your

278 The golden sparrow (Passer luteus) and similar small, light-colored birds.
279 Laughing dove (Streptopelia senegalensis).
husband, that with which (=the way) I will call the husband, having sung the song for him, (only) then, as for me, will I eat. Well, she said, now: you sing the song for me!

053 Then it (crane) said (called out):

054 kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   Your wife calls you. You come!
   Your child calls you. You come!
   Your uncle calls you. You come!
   Your aunt calls you. You come!
   There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

055 She said: exactly! Precisely you (unlike the others) can call my husband. Then crane came down, crane ate until it was full. Now crane went. Crane (was) in the woodland now, crane was searching, he was searching, he was searching. He encountered that man now, he was sitting under a tree.

056 That (=the man’s) head was extremely woolly with (long) hair. He was sitting in the little shade of a tree. Then crane came and landed majestically on the top (“head”) of the tree. Then crane said (called):

057 kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   Your wife calls you. You come!
   Your child calls you. You come!
   Your uncle calls you. You come!
   Your aunt calls you. You come!
   There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

Sa: Exactly!
Bo: 058 Then, it stopped abruptly, in silence. Ah, then, he (man) looked upward. <xxx> to crane.

Crane was sitting, he said:

059 kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   Your wife calls you. You come!
   Your child calls you. You come!
   Your uncle calls you. You come!
   Your aunt calls you. You come!
   Your maternal uncle calls you. You come!
   There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

060 (Man:) “hmm, so there is no famine on the mountain? That bad (=terrible) famine of the mountain has gone away?” Well, now he got up. At once, crane flew forward and went there. It (crane) said:

061 kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   kuwa! kuwa! You come!
   Your wife calls you. You come!
   Your child calls you. You come!
   Your uncle calls you. You come!
   Your aunt calls you. You come!
   Your maternal uncle calls you. You come!

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280 lie. “sing (and) show.”
281 In the repetition (see below), ‘your child’ occurs in this position.
282 Father’s younger brother.
283 Father’s sister. Can also denote one’s mother’s co-wife.
284 This line occurs here for the first time.
There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

062 Now, they went and went and went, until they came and arrived at the edge of the village. Again it went up. It said:

063 kuwa! kuwa! You come!
kuwa! kuwa! You come!
Your wife calls you. You come!
Your child calls you. You come!
Your uncle calls you. You come!
Your aunt calls you. You come!
Your maternal uncle calls you. You come!
There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

064 Now (they) had come and arrived at the edge of the village. Now, that man came (into the village).

065 Then, now they (villagers) took him inside the house, they put water in the toilet (bathing) area, they washed him, they shaved his head thoroughly, and now they took down (from the oven) (and put) in front of him a wooden bowl (full) of millet cakes. Now he was eating out of that bowl of millet cakes.

066 “Hey!”285 “They are well!” “The village is well!” “The mountain is well!” “Our entire country, has nothing else bad happened (to it)?” “Are (my) maternal uncles here?” “Are (my) paternal uncles here?” “Are (my) paternal aunts here?” (They) said: everyone is here. “Has nothing (bad) happened?” “Has no-one died?” (Villagers:) “Everything is here.”

067 Now he was there, he was putting those huge handfuls (of millet cake) into his mouth. Now he was there, he was putting those huge handfuls (of millet cake) into his mouth, until he was full. Well, hey, eventually the famine of the mountain went away.

068 Now he looked at his wife. “Is that you?” Lo, it was her indeed. “Hah! now God be praised. Indeed, now I have found you all, thanks to God.”

069 The story and its tail are finished. It’s finished now.

2004-1a.05  Hyena, goat, monkey, and squirrel (tale)

Sa: 070 A tale.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: 071 Well, hyena came and encountered goat, in a deep pit, in an earth pit. Hyena began circling around goat. Hyena wanted to catch and eat that goat. (But) if hyena went into the pit, he would not be able to get out.

072 Hyena kept going around and coming around, he kept going around and coming around. He looked (and saw that), (as for) this goat, its plumpness was very great. Hyena plunged into the pit. Goat leaped outside (the pit) and landed with a thud. Hyena remained inside the pit for three days.

073 Hyena was seeing shadows passing by. (He said:) hey, son of God (=human), who is going by (=who goes there)? A monkey stopped and stood in silence (wondering), is that voice coming out somewhere over there? (Hyena:) hey, son of God, who is going by? Monkey leaned over to look, and lo, there was hyena in the hole.

074 He (Hyena) said: by God, you help me! You get me out! As for me, I (have been) three days in this hole and here I am, unable to get out! I slipped, as I was going by, I fell (in).

075 (Monkey) said: what put (=brought) you, (for you to) circle around at the mouth of the hole, never mind that you slipped and fell in?

076 (Hyena:) it was this way, the thing was an accident, I slipped and fell (in). He (=H) refused to say that he had encountered a goat and had then gone to (try to) catch it. As for that (matter), he refused (to say it). Yes.

285 After he eats, they exchange greetings and news.
Monkey said: hey, you have no trustworthiness. (You) tell me to get you out, then here you hope to catch and eat me, that’s what you are doing to me!

(Hyena:) “Nope! I will not do that. Whenever you have gotten me out, God willing, I will thank (=bless) you well! Truly!

Monkey extended down his tail. Hyena went and was grabbing at it. Monkey didn’t trust him, (so) monkey pulled his tail (back) up hard.

Well, (Hyena) said: don’t do that, (instead) get me out! For three days I am (=have been) here in this hole, (so) you get me out!

Well, Monkey extended his tail. He pulled hyena out. Well, hyena got out by being pulled. Monkey said to him: let go of my tail! Hyena said: my body is dancing (=shaking), so (please) wait a little (until) my body settles down from dancing. (Monkey:) Don’t you see? That which I feared, there it is! It has come, hasn’t it? (Hyena:) (as) a man, you, have pity (on me)!

(Monkey:) I had pity on you, (because) for three days you were in the hole and couldn’t get out.

(Monkey:) I got you out, and (now) you say that your body is dancing (shaking)! The body-shaking has settled down, (so) let go of my tail!

(Hyena:) (could you maybe) look for a place (in your body) that won’t hurt (if I eat it)? (Just) a little. I have been in this hole for three days now, (and) hunger has caught (=afflicted) me. Look for some little thing (=body part), a place that won’t hurt!

Hyena said—. Monkey said: there is no place in the body that won’t hurt. Thus they kept arguing and arguing with each other.

Yes. A squirrel came. Squirrel asked: what is it? He asked: what are you-Pl arguing about?

Monkey said: I got hyena out from inside the earth pit. He was there for three days. Well, I got him out. Then, after I got him out, now he tells me to look at my body (to see whether there is) a place that won’t hurt. He says (=intends) that he will cut up and eat me. I now (=on the contrary) say, as for that, it won’t happen!

Nope, said squirrel, (that is) a lie. Where (=how) could you get the hyena out of the earth pit? He asked to hyena: was it true that he (=monkey) got you out. (Hyena) said, yes. (Squirrel) said, I don’t accept (=believe) it.

Well, he (squirrel) said: you (two), do (“begin”) it again, in front of my eyes now, so that I may see it!

Well, hyena jumped into the earth pit, thud! Well, everyone (else), put (=take) one’s path and look where to go!

He looked and ran (=fled).

Then, squirrel leaped into its hole (=burrow), swoosh! Monkey leaped into the tree, swoosh! Well, in that way (=doing thus), as for those (animals), they scattered. Thus they got out of there in a flash.

The story and its tail are finished. It’s over.

2004-1a.06 Hyena, goat, and lioness (tale)

A tale.

Okay.

Well, one day, hyena—, hyena and goat encountered each other in the bush. The goat was eating grass. Goat lowered his head and was eating grass, he was eating grass, he was eating grass. Hyena saw him.

Hyena sneaked up, he sneaked up, he sneaked up, and as soon as goat picked up (=raised) his head, hyena came up (to him). Well, there was no running away any more (at this point). Hyena seized goat.

Hyena thought: now, when I have gone and arrived under the shade of that big tree there, (if) here there is sun(light), I will look, and knock down (=kill) my goat, and eat my meat like that in the shade.

kúló ‘put’ and èlá ‘look’ are imperative in form. The omniscient narrator is “speaking” to the characters.

Example of the TS hortative (kúw-é) for what would be a simple future in English.
097 They were approaching (the spot) under that shade, when lo, there was a lioness with a (broad) forehead who had just given birth. Lo, having given birth to three cubs (“children”), that lioness had no milk.

098 Yes, now, as soon as they (hyena and goat) came, now that hyena left the goat and stood looking at the lioness. The goat too stood looking at the lioness.

099 Lioness said to hyena, right now, you, come and tell me, how I may get the milk, (so) these cubs of mine may live. As for me, I have no hunger.

100 Yes, hyena was standing (there), perplexed. There was no trick (=strategem) that hyena could speak (about) and get (the milk).

101 Goat said to lioness (with hyena listening): as for me, I know a way by (doing) which you may get that milk, he said, I know (it). He said: there is a waterjar shard. I have two stones, hyena’s head (will be) the third. Then we will set a fire, then put a waterjar shard up on it, then when the shard has become hot, then do whatchamacallit to that medicine (potion), stir it, and then make whatchamacallit for lioness. You (=lioness) must rub your body (with it) and sip (it). As for milk, it will be like nothing (=plentiful). As for your cubs, right away they will be with swollen hindquarters (=plump).

102 Hyena’s belly began to tremble. They didn’t know about hyena (whether he would agree) that whether the lioness’ cubs survived was more (important) than whether hyena survived.

103 Yes, (they) said to hyena: pick up and bring two stones! He looked and picked up and brought two stones. (They said:) well, come (approach) and lie down! They approached and put down the two stones, in the fashion of a (three-stone) hearth. Hyena’s head was the third (stone). (Now) they picked up the shard and put it up (on the hearth), and they lit a fire.

104 Hyena’s head began to get hot. Hyena snatched (=pulled away) his head, then kicked away (=knocked) the shard (off the hearth), and put (=went on) his way.

105 Yes. Then lioness followed after (=pursued) hyena, powerfully. They kept (chasing) each other, they kept going together.

106 Well, billygoat too got (=took to) the road. He too (went) slowly (at first), then took off abruptly and headed for his (Fulbe) hamlet. He went leaping into his herd (=pen). He survived.

107 Hyena and lioness now kept going straight (away from there) together. They (i.e. lioness) left their young (behind) under the tree.

108 The story and its tail are finished.

2004-1a.07 Ram, hyena, and the aardvark burrow (tale)

Bo: 109 A tale.
Sa: Okay.
Bo: 110 Some sheep were going to pasture. A ram [focus] was their herder (shepherd). Every day they would go to pasture and come (back).

111 Today like that (=on that day), a storm encountered them in the bush. When the storm encountered them in the bush, there was an old aardvark burrow there, so they ran for it (burrow). They came running to it, then they went inside that aardvark burrow.

112 As it happened, hyena too was there, he too was running and coming to that aardvark burrow. He too was running.

113 When he came (to the burrow), he found that a ram was blocking his way at the opening of the hole. When he (=Hyena) had stopped all at once, he was pleased.

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288 lit. “(by) doing what.”
289 A broken piece of an old earthenware water jar. Concave in form, can hold a little liquid for boiling.
290 A hearth requires three stones, between which the fire is built, and on which the pot is set.
291 lit. “slapping.”
292 lit. “got his head.”
293 “it was pleasing to him.”
114 Today, he said, when (=seeing that) that [focus] is what is blocking (=is stuck in) the opening of the burrow, the burrow is (=must be) chock full (of sheep). Hey, a meal has been made. Hey, a meal has been made. Hey, again (another) meal is being made. **Then he (=Hyena) launched into**[^294] a dance. Then, (he thought), as for the rams, I wonder what will I do? Should I eat one, or should I eat two? Well, whatever pleases you.

117 It (hyena) ran until it had gone some distance away. Now it came back running. It said to ram.

118 (H:) Should I eat a red (=brown) one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) He said: should I eat a black one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat a white one? (R:) Whatever you want.

119 Then he (hyena) ran until he was some distance away. Then ram divided the sheep in halves (two subgroups), it told them (one group): you-Pl run to the house (=village)! They ran (=fled), before it (=hyena) came. It (=hyena) came back.

120 Again it (=hyena) was back with them,[^296] it was sitting. (Hyena) said:

121 (H:) I will eat, I will eat. (R:) Yes!
   (H:) I will eat, I will eat here. (R:) Yes!

122 (H:) Should I eat two? (R:) Yes!
   (H:) Should I eat three? (R:) Yes!
   (H:) Should I eat four? (R:) Yes!
   (H:) Should I eat five? (R:) Yes!

123 (H:) Will I eat a red one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Will I eat a black one? (R:) Whatever you want.
   (H:) Will I eat a white one? (R:) Whatever you want.

124 It (hyena) ran again, until it was some distance away. Ram (again) divided the (remaining) sheep into subgroups. He told them (one group): you-Pl run! They ran (fled).

125 Again they came together. Again it (hyena) said: are you-Pl here? (Ram:) Yes, we are here. (Hyena:) are you-Pl here? (Ram:) Yes, we are here. That ram was saying (that) to it (hyena). Again it (=hyena) said:

126 (H:) Should I eat one by one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat two by two? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat three by three? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat four by four? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat five by five? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat six by six? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat seven by seven? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) said: Should I eat eight by eight? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat nine by nine? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
   (H:) Should I eat ten by ten? (R:) Whatever pleases you.

[^294]: lit. “caught.”
[^295]: Series of parallel questions by hyena (H) followed by responses by ram (R).
[^296]: Lit. “encountered/coincided.”
It (=hyena) was gleeful. Again it (=hyena) ran, until it was some distance away. After dividing the (remaining) sheep again (into two groups), (ram said:) you-Pl too, like the other group, run to the house (=village), before it (=hyena) comes (back)! They fled. Again it (=hyena) came back. It said to ram, are you-Pl there? It said: uh-huh! (Hyena:) Are you-Pl there? (Ram:) Yes. (Hyena:) Are you-Pl there? (Ram:) Yes.

(H:) Should I eat a red (=brown) one? (R:) Whatever you want. (H:) Should I eat a black one? (R:) Whatever you want. (H:) Should I eat a white one? (R:) Whatever you want.

It (=hyena) said: Are you-Pl there? Are you-Pl there? I(=ram) said: Yes. Again it (ram) took (the sheep), it divided off another group. Again (ram said:) you-Pl run, before it (=heynna) comes (back).

It (=hyena) was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, until it realized that it had gone far away. Again it ran back, again it came, and found just one single ram, there it was, sitting.

(Hyena:) said: are you-Pl there? It (ram) said: yes. (Hyena:) Are you there? Are you there? (Ram:) Yes.

(H:) Should I take two by two? (R:) Yes. (H:) Should I take three by three? (R:) Yes. (H:) Should I take four by four? (R:) Yes. (H:) Should I take five by five? (R:) Yes.

Again it (=hyena) ran until it was some distance away. Before he came back, (the) ram itself went. Then it (=hyena) ran and ran and ran and ran and ran and ran, it came, it came, it stopped.

It found that the opening of the burrow was wide open (empty). When it found that the opening of the burrow was wide open, at once (it said:) are you-Sg there? Are you-Pl there? (There was) silence. (It said:) are you there? (There was) silence.

(Hyena) ran inside the burrow. When it ran inside the burrow, it found a sheep (ewe) who had (just) had a miscarriage. Right away it ran again, right away it followed in their (=other sheep’s) tracks.

Now trot, trot, trot, trot, trot, trot! It was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running. (The) ram was going into the village, hyena was approaching the edge of the village.

Then hyena went back, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running. It was approaching the opening of the burrow.

Its (=Hyena’s) wife herself ate in the burrow (=ate the aborted fetus). She ate and was going outside. Then it (=Hyena) slapped the mouth (=face) of its wife, with its open hand (paw). Then one of her eyes jumped out.

It took it (=eye) and held it out and put it in his mouth. Chomp! Chomp! It chewed and put (it) down (=swallowed). It said: that now, that’s useful (=tastes good).

The story and its tail are finished. All over!

2004-1a.08 Riddles

Sa: 142 Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: A pleasing ring (when knocked).
Bo: A new (earthenware) waterjar.

Sa: 143 Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.

297 Lit. “pleasure went past (=was extreme) for it.”
Sa: (It’s) hanging down dangling.
Bo: A bat says she is pregnant,\textsuperscript{298} that which is in her belly (=womb) likewise says it is pregnant.

Sa: \textbf{144} Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: A long and straight able-bodied man.
Bo: <*> a road.

Sa: \textbf{145} Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: Open space…
Bo: …a black lady.
Sa: \textbf{146} The edge of an open space (with) a black lady.
Bo: Wild-pea shrub.\textsuperscript{299}

Sa: \textbf{147} Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: A mountaintop’s turban.
Bo: Fog (=clouds hitting the mountain).

Sa: \textbf{148} Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: A mountaintop’s tears.
Bo: A water channel.
Sa: \textbf{149} A (vertical) fracture (in the cliff) rather.
Bo: A fracture.
Sa: “Water channel” is too much (too broad).\textsuperscript{300}

Sa: \textbf{150} Your-Pl riddle.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: Able-bodied man with a fork (split).
Bo: Able-bodied man with a fork (split)?
Sa: Able-bodied man with a fork (split).
Bo: \textbf{151} A (shepherd’s) staff with a hooked end.
Sa: You-Pl know (it).

\textbf{2004-1a.09} \textbf{The blind and crippled thieves (tale)}
[see formatted version at the end of the Toro Tegu grammar]

Sa: \textbf{152} A tale.
Bo: Okay.
Sa: \textbf{153} A story of (about) thieves., A blind man and a cripple, it’s they [focus] who were thieves. They were going together. One day, when they were going around, they went to a man’s field. \textbf{154} They were breaking off (grain spikes of) the millet of (=in) his field. They lit a fire, they were roasting the millet (grain spikes) lightly on the fire. Some (of it) they munched on, some (=the rest) they held on to (as) they were going along.
\textbf{155} It was the blind man [focus] who — , who was breaking off and bringing (millet). It was the cripple [focus] who was looking out, (in) the direction that the owners of the field would come from. Well, just that [focus] was their work. They were performing their work, they were doing (it).

\textsuperscript{298} lit. “has a belly.”
\textsuperscript{299} \textit{Bosca senegalensis}. The seeds are leached in water for a few days then cooked like beans.
\textsuperscript{300} “water channel” denotes any channel, whether on the mountain or in the plains, so this answer is less precise than the correct one.
If the owner of the field came, if he (= cripple) saw that he (= owner) was coming, the cripple would tell the blind man: well, the owner of the field is coming! The owner of the field is coming!

(Then) slowly (=quietly) going around (=changing direction), they would go (away) crawling (=sneaking). It was the blind man [focus] who would hold up (=carry) the cripple (on his shoulder), then he (cripple) would go showing the way to him (blind man). Well, it was like that.

One day, before they saw (him), the owner of the field approached. The cripple was afraid of speaking his voice (=out loud). So, as for the cripple, he went away crawling. The blind man was (still) sitting there, blithely unaware.

Yes. (Blind man) said: Cripple! Cripple! Hey! The millet tree (=stem), where is it? (Hey) you, pick it (=grain) off and bring it! (To himself:) Ah, he (=cripple) has (=must have) gone to cut off (millet grain spikes).

He (=blind man) was just sitting there, blithely unaware. The owner of the field cut off his (flexible) tree branch (as a whip) and was coming.

Then, when he looked and put (=struck) the stick in the middle of the blind man’s back, the blind man jumped to his feet with a crunching sound. (Then) he (=blind man) realized that this one (next to him) was not his second (=his colleague) that he had brought (with him).

When he (owner) put it (=struck him with it) again, he (blind man) penetrated (=went thrashing around) among those millet plants. Crunch! Crunch! Crunch! Crunch! [sound of stepping] As for him (blind man), he said (=figured) he had gone a long way. Well, then they (=blind man and cripple) called out to each other (=communicated) by whistling.

Tweet! [sound of whistle] Then the owner of the field said to him, (I hear) whistling, you-Pl are there! Tweet! They (=whistles) met each other. When the owner of the field looked and put it on his back with the whip, at once he (=blind man) ran away.

Now he (=blind man) was just fleeing, he wasn’t stopping at all. Then the owner of the field said: whistling, phooey! The blind man said (=thought): even if he plays the flute, I sure as hell won’t come!

They kept going around. After that, they (=blind man and cripple) saw each other. (Blind man) said: How could this be? What have I done?

(Cripple) said: the owner of the field had come (too) close. I could not run! If I spoke to you (=blind man), we would not get away! As for me, dragging myself along slowly (=quietly) to get out, I was lying low (e.g. hiding among the bushes), I could not run at all, instead I was lying low, I could see that they were whipping you. I could see that you were running. Well, as for me…

Doing thus, doing whatchamacallit, they escaped (“got their heads”). Well, in that way, they too did the work (=did what they did).

The story and its tail are finished.

2004-1a.10  Snakes, reptiles, elephants (description)

Well, python,302 now, they are asking you (the way) how it is.

Python, it’s big, it’s marked (blotched), red (brown) and black. It is pretty, it’s peaceful (harmless to humans). It’s also long.

How (=what) is its dwelling (habitat).303

Its dwelling is in the water.

Its dwelling is in the water. If now the water is finished (=dried up), it hibernates in a hole.

Well, in that way, they too did the work (=did what they did).

The story and its tail are finished.

301 Since the cripple doesn’t reply, the blind man assumes he has gone off to another part of the field to break off millet spikes.

302 Python sebae.

303 Lit. ‘staying place’.
Bo: Spitting cobra. Spitting cobra isn’t very long. The male, its neck has red (brown) around it. It is black, jet black. When it sees somebody, it takes its neck and widens and flattens it like this, then it bends its head (forward) and heaves a long jet of spit. A hole—, it’s in a hole, that’s its place (dwelling).

Sa: 173 (Is it) a nasty thing (=dangerous)?
Bo: It’s nasty. If its saliva gets into the eye(s) of a person, he’ll become blind.
Sa: <xxx>
Bo: He’ll become blind.
Sa: 174 So, a remedy.
Bo: Indeed, a remedy. Curdled milk, or else sugar.
Sa: That (=eyes) will get better (for him).
Bo: Then it will get better for him.

Sa: 175 After that, (talk about) viper too.
Bo: Viper, it now, it is thin, it is short, it is marked (spotted). It’s markings have no character (are unattractive).
Sa: 176 Its body.
Bo: Its body, you (might) say, its (colored) like fabric dye, it’s rough(-skinned).
Sa: Indeed.
Bo: 177 That one is definitely nasty (=dangerous). When it coils up here, it jumps (=lashes out) until it has gone a long distance. It keeps slides along (side-winding), it doesn’t run (=go) in a straight line. Viper is like that.
Sa: 178 And it breathes (puffs, hisses).
Bo: It breathes.
Sa: 179 I’ve heard that. After that, long colubrid snake(s).
Bo: Long colubrid snake(s). That one, if you see it, there are two kinds of long colubrid snake. As for the (first) one, it’s whitish (light-colored). That one is bigger, that one is longer.
Sa: 180 The (other) one now, it’s thin, it’s marked (=striped), red (brown), sulphur (i.e. yellow), and black. But as soon as you see it, it swooshes like a bullet and goes past.
Bo: 181 It’s black (dark).
Sa: It’s very rapid. It is like that (by nature). It goes into the water, it goes (up) into trees, it goes into holes.
Bo: It is like that (by nature).

Sa: 182 Now (about) the way whiptail lizards are, or monitor lizards.
Bo: Puff adder isn’t finished.
Sa: Puff adder.
Bo: 183 Puff adder. It’s short and thick. It has a wide head. It too, it’s a dangerous thing like the viper. It’s thick-skinned. It’s red (brown) and black (dark), marked (blotched), but those markings of it are not pretty. It flies (=lunges), that one (does). That one, if it has gotten hot (=angry), if it has come (=is out in the open), it raises itself from the sand (=ground) and (goes) swoosh! and it goes and lands hard (on the ground).

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304 *Naja nigricollis*, perhaps also the very similar *N. katiensis*. Lit. “black snake.” The Egyptian cobra (*N. haje*) is not a spitter.

305 Lit. “it is red, it is tied.”

306 Primarily *Echis ocellatus*, but may also extend to other small vipers (*Echis leucogaster* which prefers montane habitats, perhaps also the sand viper *Cerastes vipera* if locally present). For *Bitis*, see below.

307 Primarily the yellow dye used (along with brown) in native bogolan (cotton fabric).

308 *Psammophis elegans* and *P. (sibilans) phillipsi*. The first is arboreal, has clearly marked longitudinal stripes, and has a narrow head adapted to taking eggs. The second is mostly terrestrial (often entering villages), lacks clear longitudinal stripes, and has a slightly broader head. Both are long and thin-bodied. These are not the only colubrids in the zone but they are the most common.

309 *Bitis arietans*, another viper. Very potent venom, but sluggish and not quick to attack humans. Shorter and thicker than *Echis* spp., with a large triangular head. Rare in the zone.
Sa: 184 It raises itself from the sand.
Bo: It raises itself from all of the sand. It goes out of a hole and goes down hitting the ground. It raises itself from the sand, but (the extent to which) it is nasty, this thing is nasty, it (by nature) is there (=what I’ve said), it is there.

Sa: 185 (They asked about) Nile monitor lizards\footnote{Varanus niloticus, an amphibious monitor lizard often in water.} and whiptail lizards, the way they are.
Bo: Nile monitor lizards and whiptail lizards, they have four feet. They have no hair (fur). They have a tail. Their head, moreover, is just like a snake’s head. You would say it is like a python’s head, it’s like that.

186 As for the Nile monitor lizard, it’s marked too. White, with small spots, red (brown), (and) black (dark). It’s monitor lizard [focus] that is marked like that.
Sa: 187 Its dwelling.
Bo: Its dwelling (is) in the water.

Sa: 188 Whiptail lizard.\footnote{Uromastyx (acanthinurus) geyri.}
Bo: Whiptail lizard. It too is light-colored. It is thick-skinned. Furthermore, it has its little markings. Its markings, a person doesn’t (=can’t) know it well. You see (=notice) its roughness (coarse skin) more than its markings. Furthermore, its roughness increases (its size), though it doesn’t equal (in size) a monitor lizard.
Sa: 189 It doesn’t equal a monitor lizard in size.
Bo: It doesn’t equal a monitor lizard in size.
Sa: 190 Its dwelling, where does it dwell (“sit”)?
Bo: That now, its dwelling, it digs a hole and it stays (in it). It stays in an old termite mound, that is its dwelling.

Sa: 191 The remaining snakes (and reptiles) now, do they dig their (own) burrow(s), (or) do they not dig (them)?
Bo: The remaining snakes? As for them, they go into a (pre-existing) hole, but they don’t dig.
Sa: It’s an old hole.
Bo: It’s an old hole. They can’t dig by themselves.\footnote{lit. “with their own head.”}
Sa: They can’t dig.
Z: 192 Do they lay (“put down”) eggs? (Or) do they bear (their) young?
Bo: They all lay eggs.
Sa: They lay eggs.
Bo: 193 All of them, it is egg-laying. When they have laid eggs, then the Nile monitor lizard buries (the eggs). The whiptail, for its part, digs inside (the) hole (=burrow), it too lays (eggs) there. But as for that one, it goes into the hole constantly, it goes in and comes out constantly. Inside that (hole), whether it buries (eggs), or whether it doesn’t bury them, that I don’t know.
Sa: 194 It lays (eggs) in the hole, it buries (them), it buries (them) out of view, \footnote{lit. “bury (and) cause to be lost” (i.e. to the view).} then it (=egg) hatches there.
Bo: 195 It hatches there. A python, as for it, it lays and lays (lots of eggs) together, like inside the hole. Deep inside the hole. Like a pile, it lays it (=eggs) together in a heap, it puts (them) on top of each other, everything will be rolled up (massed) together.
Sa: 196 (Eggs) with each other.
Bo: With each other. Like cow manure, if you like, you will lift it up like that, then you will put it down again.\footnote{Manure is mixed with water for fertilizer, or added to earth and moistened to make a plaster for repairing walls. The speaker is using an analogy to describe the consistency of the egg mass.} Well, (python eggs do) thus until it—, when they are ready to hatch, they will hatch there and go out, they will leave the shell, because they (eggs) are tied, they are tied together thus. That is (how) it (=python) lays (eggs).
Z: 197 Does a python lay lots of eggs? Or a few?
Bo: A python lays lots of eggs indeed!
Sa: It lays a lot of eggs.

Z: **198** Now you have finished speaking.
Sa: It is finished.
Bo: <xxx>
Sa: It’s finished.
Bo: It’s finished.

Sa: **199** Elephant.
Bo: Elephant. An elephant is big, an enormous thing above.\(^{316}\) Its middle (=torso), you can’t describe (it) with that. Like, the front is bigger than the back, it’s like that, when squatting (=resting), over there (=its front) is bigger.

\(^{200}\) Its ear, it attains (the size of) a little prayer mat. Its arm (=trunk), it now, it’s as though a young man is standing in front of it. Its tooth (=tusk), (for) some (of them), they now, it’s as though (something) like a cow’s horn is in the way. It (=tusk) is up (“put up”) next to its hand (= trunk).

\(^{201}\) But (when) it goes, you won’t see (=notice) the fact that its foot is bent (moving). It’s swaying from side to side, just swaying. If not for (the fact that) it is tilting (to the sides), you don’t know (=notice) that its foot is bending (moving) like this, much less do you hear the noise of its feet. It just goes lumbering along (slowly).

Sa: **202** Have you-Pl seen a wild animal\(^{318}\) bigger than that, or haven’t you?
Bo: We haven’t seen any wild animal bigger than that.
Sa: Anything more powerful?
Bo: We also haven’t seen any wild animal more powerful than it.
Sa: **203** So, the woodland belongs to it.
Bo: The woodland indeed belongs to it. We haven’t seen anything bigger than it, (and) we haven’t seen anything more powerful than it.

Z: **204** Does it eat grass, or doesn’t it?
Bo: It eats grass. It eats trees (=tree leaves). It eats grass (and) it eats trees.

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\(^{316}\) I.e. the head and trunk.
\(^{317}\) lit. “won’t you say …?”
\(^{318}\) lit. “the bush’s thing.”
Tape 2004-1, track B

2004-1b.01  Elephant and rooster (tale)

Bo: 205 A tale.
Sa: Okay.
Bo: 206 Elephant and Rooster came and entered into (=began) courting women. Rooster was not aware of Elephant. Elephant was likewise unaware of Rooster.

207 Rooster was going back and forth, until one day Elephant said (=thought): “its pathetic little footprints now that I see, I wonder what that (animal) is coming to do. That one too is coming to court a woman. (But) how? This woman that I am courting, is not the (owner of) these tracks afraid to court it? Aha! That one too is courting a woman, he is coming.

208 It (=Elephant) defecated, when it was time to go, until he had piled it (excrement) high. Then he left and went (on his way). Well, he (=Elephant) said (=thought): anyone who cannot defecate this (much) excrement should not come and court this woman.

209 Rooster came. Then the woman’s mother said: there it is, don’t you see there? The owner of that big foot bottom (=sole), the thing that it did, that excrement, there is nobody who can attain (make as much as) that excrement. Go away from (=stop wooing) the woman.

210 Rooster said: how (is that)? (She) said: any man who cannot defecate that (much) excrement, you (=the man), go away from the woman! Rooster said: all right, okay.

211 Rooster flew up on top of that excrement. Rooster was pawing it (to the side), pawing it, pawing it, pawing it, (until) it had pushed it all to the side.

212 Then it left a little excrement ball in the middle. It looked at it. The longest tail-hair in its tail, it planted it (hair) on top of it (=excrement ball).

213 Well, he (=Rooster) said: I have gone (=am leaving). If that man happens to come, let him say: anyone whose eyelash is not as long (as this), you (=the man), leave the woman! At once, Rooster went (away).

214 Elephant came the next day. Elephant found that lo, the hair was standing up. It said (thought): who could that be?

215 She said, well. The woman’s mother said: any man who (=whose eyelash) does not equal (the length of) that eyelash, you (=the man), leave the woman!

216 That (same) man (=Rooster), the one with the tiny footprints, said: how (is it)? He (=Elephant) said: now war has arrived, definitely war has arrived; if it isn’t that (=otherwise), it won’t be agreed (on).

217 Well, he said to the woman’s mother, you, speak! Well, (she said) to the man (=Elephant), (you had better) get ready! Now, he (=Elephant) said (=thought): we will grab each other for a fight. That elephant went.

218 Rooster came back. The mother of the woman said to Rooster: the owner of that big excrement tells you to get ready, (since) he and you will fight a fight right there (=here). She said: the person who wins, it’s he [focus] who will get the woman.

219 Ah, he (=Rooster) said to her, fine! He said: that is very good. Rooster left. Rooster called all flying creatures together and spoke to them. (Rooster) said: well, Elephant and I—, (we) will grab each other for a fight, we are courting a woman, (and) we have fought. So we will fight a fight.
Elephant likewise called all the quadrupeds together, until it arrived at (=ended with) frog. Well, he (=Elephant) said: it’s a fight, they will fight with Rooster. So you (quadrupeds), muster up some courage now! It said: you, get ready (for a fight)!

Well, now, they gave each other (=set) the day that— they were to meet each other (for the fight). Rooster got up and took his people (=winged creatures) with him, and Elephant likewise got up and took his people (=quadrupeds) with him.

Well, winged termites, how shall I say? (Of those) around Rooster, they were the smallest. He said to winged termites: now, you go and look whether those (=Elephant’s) people have gotten up. Now too, Elephant likewise sent frogs, (saying:) you go and look whether Rooster’s people have gotten up.

The winged termites and frogs encountered each other (on the road). The frogs gathered up and ate these winged termites, they gathered up and ate (them), they gathered up and ate (them), until their bellies filled up (and were stretched). Then the frogs went back.

Z: The frogs went back.

Bo: The winged termites too went. Elephant asked the frogs: how is it? Ah, (he) asked the frogs, The frogs said to Elephant: all is well, all is peace (=well-being), jet black. He (=Rooster) said to the winged termites: how was it? (Termites:) ah, if it’s like that, we will be finished off (=wiped out). (Rooster) asked: is it like that? It said: the man (=frogs) who came today in that way, his work (=action) is nasty indeed. (Rooster) said: yes, fine.

It was going (like that), it was going (like that). Then now, whatchamacallit—, Rooster sent honey bees. The hyenas said: today, he said to Elephant, I (=hyena) am going. He (=hyena) would look (=check) whether those people had come out, or had not come out, and then whether they had approached, or had not approached.

Z: Hyena said that he was going?

Bo: Hyena said that he was going. The hyenas were not small. Hares were there. Mice and squirrels were there. The hyenas said that they were going. The hyenas left.

Lo, over there they had sent the honey bees. Then they (=hyenas and honey bees) were going, they encountered each other. Thereupon the honey bees began to get the hyenas. They were stinging the hyenas, they were stinging the hyenas, they were stinging the hyenas, (so) the hyenas were running, they were stinging the hyena, (so) the hyenas were running, they were stinging the hyenas, (so) the hyenas were running.

The hyenas were gathering together, they went far away like that, (then) they left (the place), they went back. He (=Elephant) said to the hyenas: how (is it)?

Sa: Look, these (=their) heads were swelling up (from the bee stings).

Bo: The hyenas said: (anyone) who does (=attempts) what he cannot accomplish (=is incapable of) keeps breaking (destroying) the population. Look, the napes and the heads were all swollen, that’s all.

Ah, lo, in that way it was getting hot (=unpleasant) for them. Now, now a dust storm arose. Now they were coming, walking. They were coming, walking. They encountered each other face to face. It was there now. They came together for a meeting.

Now, they (all) said: now they would talk. Now they would have a judgement first, then they would fight a fight. Now, a judgement now. Then—. Rooster said, who can lay the biggest egg? Ostrich said: me! (Rooster) said: you, lay three big eggs for me!

(Rooster:) well, okay, well now, when we have gathered for the meeting, and after that now when they have said everything, well, you (=vulture), look! You will take those eggs and go (=fly) up above. Then look straight (down) at the head of Uncle Elephant and drop (the eggs). Egyptian vulture said: yes, fine.

Then now, they were speaking the words, they were speaking words, they were speaking words, they were speaking words, until their words left each other (=they could not agree).

When their words had left each other, well, (they) said, now, now the war (=battle) has arisen. Now, as for Rooster, his tomtom went: “jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri

325 Other than rooster and elephant, most animal species mentioned are understood to be a plurality, although all but a few occurrences of the nouns (and pronouns) in question are singular in form.
326 It is unclear what the point of ‘jet black’ is here.
327 Ostrich (Struthio camelus) and Egyptian vulture (Neophron percnopterus) are single individuals here, not pluralities like some of the other animals mentioned.
jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri.” Elephant’s tomtom rhythm went: “kurubammata, kurubammata, kurubammata, kurubammata.” He (=Elephant) beat (the tomtom) thus.

Then, it said: well, you, let’s enter among each other! Then: Egyptian vulture, ho! It (=vulture) took those three eggs. Egyptian vulture went (=flew) up. Egyptian vulture was climbing. Egyptian vulture was climbing. Egyptian vulture was climbing. Egyptian vulture saw: by God, I have gone up to the top (=high in the sky).

(As for) Elephant, (vulture dropped the eggs) straight on the middle of the head of Uncle Elephant. It (=vulture) looked. When the (first) egg was coming down to hit hard, when that egg broke open then, and the liquid (from inside the egg) came out, well, Uncle Elephant’s head, the brain tissue preceded (=came out before) the blood.

Then, all at once, they (=quadrupeds) fled. Then again, again, the third one (=egg), (or rather) the second one came down and hit.

Then, now—, they (=quadrupeds) increased their speed (fleeing). Then ri-ri-ri-ri-ri!, Rooster’s people (=the flying creatures) chased Elephant’s people (=the quadrupeds) away. Then he (=Rooster) went back.

Now Rooster got his wife. Rooster married his wife. Now, the dancing was hot (=exciting): “jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri.” Now they were just having their fun (=dancing). Now Rooster—

Well, the story and its tail are finished. Now it’s finished.

Z: 243 Yes, it was good.

Bo: Very well.

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2004-1b.02 Tree locust (description)

JH: 244 Tree locust.326
Bo: Tree locust.
Sa: That one, (the way) that it is.
Bo: 245 Tree locust. Tree locust is a long grasshopper, a flat(-sided) grasshopper. Its—, its wing327 is long, all the way to ts rear end. It’s blackish and brownish.
Sa: Some people eat (it)?
Bo: Some people eat (it). Some (other) people don’t eat (it).
Sa: 246 Tree locust now, the thing(s) among which—, Among what is is found? (What are) the thing(s) that it eats? The places that are its habitat. The way they (=locusts) moves. (Is it) by itself, or many (=in a swarm)? Now, (tell) what you know about them.
Bo: 247 Tree locust, tree locust, in the woodland, tree locust is (there). It is in the woodland. It eats grass (=vegetation). It eats trees, whatever tree it gets, it doesn’t choose (=discriminate).

(When) they go also, they go in swarms. As for (going) one by one, other than now at harvest time when they are hatching and making whatchamacallit, and when they keep flying around here individually, there aren’t any who go individually. As for them, if you see them going, it’s in a swarm.
Sa: 249 A swarm.
Bo: When you see that they are going, it’s in a swarm. Yes. Every tree too, the tree(s) that they encounter, they (=trees) are exactly the same for them. They don’t consider (“look”) whether it’s bitter-tasting, they don’t consider whether it isn’t bitter, they eat everything.
Sa: 250 As for their going (=flying around) now, do they have a (specific) time (of day), or don’t they have (one)?
Bo: 251 (Their) going, they do have a (specific) time for going. Tree locust, its going (is) sunset, with the twilight prayer, at this time they arise and they go (around). They go at night to go down

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326 *Anacridium melanorrhodon.*
327 lit. “hair.”
When day breaks on them, they don’t go (i.e. in the daytime). So, (not until) another night has come.\(^{328}\)

Sa: 252 So, another night has come.
Bo: So, another night has come, then they go (again).
Sa: Then they go (again).

### 2004-1b.03  Grasshopper medley (descriptions)

#### Sa: 253 Pilgrim locust\(^ {329}\)

Bo: Pilgrim locust. As for it, we don’t know it much. But that too, it’s like the (same) way the tree locust is. But as for it, it—, its color, it’s sulphur (=yellow). It’s wing furthermore, it gets long like the wing of a tree locust, it’s long to the point that it (=wing) covers its rear end (=abdomen).

254 Furthermore, its manner (is), it goes around at night. It goes around at night, it goes around in swarms, it goes around at night. It eats grasses, it eats trees, and it eats sand.

Sa: 255 (Talk about) its millet\(^ {330}\) now.
Bo: Grass now, that’s it, it’s millet now. It eats millet now, it doesn’t leave (=spare) millet.

X: It’s more on millet—

Bo: 256 It’s definitely worse (=more harmful) on millet than on ordinary grass. Millet, when it (=locust) descends, if it’s young millet, it eats until it (=millet) is finished. When it descends on normal (=fully ripened) millet, it eats and finishes off every leaf, it eats (‘gnaws’) the grains, now only the stick (=bare husk of the grain spike) remains. That [focus] is pilgrim locust.

Sa: 257 Does it hatch there, or does it (just) come?
Bo: It goes (along), it comes to a place. Its laying (of eggs). In the place where it has laid eggs, they hatch, its larvae go around in swarms, they go around in swarms, until their flying stage arrives.\(^ {331}\) When the (stage of) flying has arrived too, they too go around in swarms.

JH: 258 Gastrimargus grasshopper.\(^ {332}\)

Sa: The talk (=information) of Gastrimargus.

Bo: Gastrimargus. As for Gastrimargus, as for it, I haven’t seen it go around in large numbers. As for it, if you encounter (=see) it, male and female, now it is multicolored, black and tan (khaki) colors mixed.

Sa: 259 Does it eat millet, or doesn’t it eat (it)?
Bo: Gastrimargus, Gastrimargus —, as for it, in our country it isn’t abundant, but it does eat millet.

Sa: It eats (it).
Bo: Uh-huh. It eats grass, and it eats trees.
Sa: It eats trees.
Bo: It eats trees.
Sa: Do they (=people) devour it?
Bo: They don’t eat Gastrimargus.

JH: 260 Acrida grasshopper.\(^ {333}\)

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\(^{328}\) lit. “come back.”

\(^{329}\) lit. “bad grasshopper.” *Schistocerca gregaria* (Fr criquet pélerin) in its gregarious (=locust) phase, adults yellow. These locusts devastated the zone just before the millet harvest in 2004, but were not previously known to local Dogon. In its more usual solitary phase (darker colors), this species is present annually but is not distinguished by Dogon from the similar-looking and more common tree locust, *Anacridium melanorhodon*.

\(^{330}\) kɔ̀ yú could be interpreted as ‘the millet’ or as ‘its millet’, since a Ć monosyllabic noun remains Ć with the possessed-noun {HL} tone overlay.

\(^{331}\) i.e. until they are old enough to fly.

\(^{332}\) *Gastrimargus africanus*. A strong flyer, hard to catch. Inner wings have bright yellow base bordered by a blackish crescent (a feature shared in the region by *Morphacris* and *Humbe* spp.). *Gastrimargus* lacks the longitudinal ridges on the pronotum of *Morphacris*, and lacks the blue coloring of the inner femur of *Humbe*. 
Bo: *Acrida*, as for *Acrida*, it doesn’t eat millet. It now, it’s yellow, and it’s sort of green, it’s off-white. *Acrida* grasshoppers, them, it is (of) three colors: off-white, green, it’s that, (and) it’s tan-colored (khaki). As for it, (it eats) grass (seeds) exclusively. As for millet, I haven’t seen it (=grasshopper) eating it.

Sa: 261 How is it?
Bo: Its head is pointed, its legs are long.
Sa: Does it fly around, or does it go (=walk)?
Bo: It flies.
Sa: It flies.
Bo: 262 It too, its wing reaches the tip of its belly (abdomen).
Sa: (It makes) long flights, or short flights?
Bo: It flies short flights. It doesn’t fly (=make) long flights. Just flying and alighting, flying and alighting (i.e. flying a short distance at a time). So it doesn’t fly (=make) long flights.

JH: 263 *Kraussaria* grasshopper.334
Bo: *Kraussaria*, as for it, *Kraussaria*, as for it, whatchamacallit, (it is) red (=brown) and sulphur (=yellow). As for it, it too, its motion is most often jumping (=hopping). Because the winged one, its wings only help it (to hop). In hopping, its wings help. As for it, it doesn’t go flying around like those (other grasshoppers).

Sa: 264 How are its hind legs?
Bo: Its hind legs are rough.335 Its hind legs are short and robust. If it kicks (=pushes off, while being held), blood will come out (=flow) from a person’s hand. If it makes a kick in a person’s hand, blood will come out.
Sa: Its body, is it long or short?
Bo: Its body isn’t long, its body is short.
Sa: 265 Is it fat (=plump)?
Bo: It’s exclusively (=invariably) fat.
Sa: Its motion.
Bo: As for it, it eats millet indeed, a lot. (However,) its millet eating is not very bad (=serious). It eats millet! As for it, it eats millet.
Sa: 266 Its its male bigger, or is its female bigger?
Bo: Its female is bigger.336
Sa: Its female is bigger than its male.
Bo: The female is bigger than its male. As for the female, it can carry two males on its back.
Sa: The female can carry two males on its back.
Bo: It can carry two males on its back.
Sa: 267 It holds it (as passenger) and flies around.
Bo: It holds it and it goes hopping around.
Sa: <xxx>

JH: 268 *Hieroglyphus* grasshopper.337
Bo: *Hieroglyphus*, it now is green. As for it, it doesn’t have long outer wings. As for it, it hops (rather than flies). Its nape (=pronotum), it’s lined. The nape is lined.338
Sa: 269 Its habitat.
Bo: Its habitat is in millet, in the fields. (Suppose) you say (= think)—, (maybe) you have come, and say (think) you’ll try to catch it,339 (but) then it moves around, then it moves around (eluding...

333 *Acrida bicolor* (and closely related species). This grasshopper has a long, pointed snout and very thin legs, giving a mantis-like appearance.
334 *Kraussaria angulifera* (large, brown and yellow). Edible. Infests millet.
335 The tibia of the hind leg has sharp spines.
336 True of this and most other grasshopper species. Mestre, *Les acridiens des formations herbeuses d’Afrique de l’Ouest*; Montpellier 1988, p. 172, gives typical lengths of *Kraussaria* adults as 52-63 mm for the female, 43-52 mm for the male.
337 *Hieroglyphus dagamensis* (large, soft-bodied).
338 The furrows in the side of the pronotum are lined in black. Similar comment made below regarding *Kraussella*.
339 i.e., if you try to catch it.
you). Just when you say (think) you’ll try to catch it, then it moves around. Just when you say (= think) you’ll try to catch it, then it moves around, then it hops until it has gone (away).

Sa: 270 Its motion is hopping.
Bo: Correct, its motion is hopping.
Sa: It (=its motion) isn’t flying.
X: Is its male bigger, or its female ?
Bo: Its female is bigger.
Sa: Its female is bigger. Does it eat millet, or doesn’t it eat (it)?
Bo: 271 It too, it eats (“gnaws”) millet.
Sa: It eats millet. Trees now?
Bo: Trees. As for (whether it eats) trees, (or) exclusively grass. As for it (=Hieroglyphus)— I am unaware of its eating trees.

JH: 272 Oedaleus grasshopper.340
Bo: Oedaleus. Oedaleus, its outer wing is long. It’s spotted, and multicolored. Spotted and multicolored. It eats millet. It eats grass. But as for trees, as for that, I am unaware (of it). It eats rags.
Sa. 273 Plastic (bags).
Bo: It eats plastic (bags). It eats sand. As for Oedaleus, it’s like that.
X: So, as for it, does it happen that it gets plump?
Bo: It isn’t plump. As for Oedaleus, as for it, just its damage (to crops) is (most) bad. As for it, it doesn’t get plump.
X: 274 It has (=causes) damage.
Bo: It indeed has (=causes) damage. As for it, it eats sesame, it eats millet, it eats cow-peas, it eats sorghum …
Sa: Watermelon.
Bo: Watermelon. Watermelons, it damages (them).
Sa: 275 Is the male bigger, (or) the female?
Bo: Its female is bigger.
Sa: Its female is bigger than its male.
Bo: Than its male.

JH: 276 Poekilocerus grasshopper.341
Bo: Poekilocerus. As for Poekilocerus, it’s only on Calotropis shrub. As for it, it keeps gnawing (=feeding) just on Calotropis. Just on Calotropis, as for it.
Sa: <xxx>
Bo: 277 (It’s) spotted. It’s sulphur (=yellow) and blackish. Its body is spotted (with black), along with reddish (=orange). Poekilocerus is its (=Calotropis’) match (in colors). Its head, furthermore, is pointed.
Sa: 278 It’s pointed. So, as for it, it doesn’t have (=cause) damage (to crops).
Bo: As for it, it doesn’t have (=cause) damage.
Sa: 279 Do they (=people) eat them, or don’t they eat (them)?
Bo: They don’t eat them. But they (=sorcerors) do put them together and roast them with a potion.

JH: 280 Sorceror’s grasshopper.342
Bo: Sorceror’s grasshopper. Sorceror’s grasshopper is of no clear color. Sorceror’s grasshopper, there are two kinds. As for (the first) one, it’s big-bellied. Now the (other) one has (conspicuous) outer wings, (and) it’s thin. They furthermore, as for soft (young) sprouts (of millet), they eat them.
Well, when it (=millet) gets bigger (and its stem hardens), they (=grasshoppers) aren’t strong

340 Oedaleus senegalensis. Small, brownish grasshopper, common in low grasses.
341 Literally “Calotropis grasshopper.” Poekilocerus bufonius hieroglyphicus, a colorful grasshopper that feeds on the shrub Calotropis procera. Poekilocerus has a yellow base color covered with tiny black or blue spots, and orange spots on the head and pronotum.
342 Acrorytus blondeli and similar species (small, ground-dwelling, well-camouflaged), and (as synonym of other terms) the toad grasshopper Chrotogonus senegalensis (the “big-bellied” form mentioned in the text). Outer wings of Chrotogonus are of widely varying size but can be very small.
enough for millet. They furthermore are like that, but the female, its belly, it’s bloated like the belly of a toad. The male now is small.

Sa: 281 Do they (=people) eat it, (or) don’t they eat (it)?
Bo: They don’t eat it.
Sa: 282 Is its habitat in the fields, or in the bush (uncultivated land)?
Bo: Nope. As for sorceror’s grasshopper, it’s in the fields. Its habitat is just infertile fields (without manure) in (=among) the fields, abandoned infertile fields in (=among) the fields.
Sa: Its habitat is there.
Bo: Its habitat is mostly there.

JH: 283 Acrodideres grasshopper.343
Bo: Acrodideres. Acrodideres has no dominant color. It furthermore, it’s strictly among the Guiera shrubs. It furthermore is not found among millet. It doesn’t have (=cause) any damage (to millet).
Sa: It too, they (=people) don’t know any harm from it (=grasshopper).
Bo: It too, they (=people) don’t know any harm from it (=grasshopper).
Sa: 284 Does it have its male and its female?
Bo: It has its male and its female. The female is bigger than the male.

JH: 285 Diabolocatantops grasshopper.344
Bo: Diabolocatantops. It too eats millet, it eats sesame, it eats cow-peas, it eats trees also. As for it, its harm is bad. It too is like Oedaleus.
Sa: 286 Is it plump, or isn’t it plump?
Bo: As for it, it gets plump. As for it, it eats all the roselle. It gets plump. When you do the harvest, it (=grasshopper) follows (=seeks) the dry millet, and it goes into granaries. They (=people) eat that one, any person who wants (it) will dry-roast it, it’s very tasty! It is eaten.
Sa: 287 If now it has gone into the granary.
Bo: If now it has gone into the granary, it doesn’t die. It eats that dry millet (in granaries), it remains.
X: One that is inside the granary doesn’t die—
Bo: It eats that dry millet.
X: <xxx>
Bo: It doesn’t drink water.
Sa: <xxx>

JH: 288 Cryptocatantops grasshopper.345
Bo: Cryptocatantops. That one has a male and a female. Its female is bigger than the male. Cryptocatantops furthermore, Cryptocatantops furthermore, it is similar to Diabolocatantops. It is multicolored like Diabolocatantops. Diabolocatantops is more light-colored than Cryptocatantops. It’s (like) that, it has a stripe, where it is pulled (=stretched) like a stripe. That one furthermore gets plump. That one eats sesame, it eats millet, it eats cow-peas too, it eats okra.
Sa: 289 It has (=causes) damage.
Bo: That one has (=causes) damage.
Sa: Insecticide346 for that one, looking for insecticide for that one is normal.
Bo: We want (=need) it, looking for insecticide is normal. They eat it.

Sa: 290 Kraussella grasshopper.347

343 Lit. “Guiera’s grasshopper.” Acrodideres strenuus, an arboreal grasshopper associated with trees and shrubs of the family Combretaceae, including Guiera senegalensis.
344 Diabolocatantops axillaris, a fairly large grasshopper, mostly tan-colored. Literally “sesame’s grasshopper.” Feeds on millet, sesame, and cotton.
345 There are several grasshopper sp. closely related to Diabolocatantops but considerably smaller spp. in the area. The most common in the zone is Cryptocatantops haemorrhoidalis. Also present are Harpezocatantops stylifer, Catantops stramineus, and Oxycatantops spissus, and these spp. may be included in the native term. These smaller spp. are often called “slave of Diabolocatantops” in other Dogon languages of the zone.
346 Lit. “medication.”
347 Kraussella amabile. Small, attractive grasshopper with yellow-green and gray colors.
Bo: **Kraussella** too. It eats (crops). It eats millet. It is lined. It furthermore—it is lined. That one is harmful.

Sa: **Kraussella** flies. Now if it has put (=is carrying) eggs, it hops.

Bo: For that one too, looking for insecticide is normal, it is harmful. That too is words (=worth mentioning).

Bo: Then, for that one too, looking for insecticide is normal. It too, it is harmful, it is harmful.

X: <xxx>

JH: **Sherifuria** grasshopper. That too, they (=people) encounter it in fields. But **Sherifuria**, it eats cow-peas, but its damage is not much. That **Sherifuria** might gnaw (=feed on) millet, I haven’t seen (it). But as for that one, the male and the female are equally long. Its outer wing furthermore covers its rear end (=abdomen).

Sa: That one now, how is its head?

Bo: Its head, it’s a big head, flat (on the side).

Sa: Do they (=people) eat it, or don’t they eat (it)?

Bo: They eat it.

Sa: It doesn’t have (=cause) damage.

Bo: It doesn’t have (=cause) damage.

JH: **Cataloipus** grasshopper. That one too, it eats gourd plants, it eats cow-peas. As for it, its harmfulness is not very much, among millet. But gourd and cotton plants, those it does eat.

Sa: Its work (=behavior)?

[interruption]

Bo: **Cataloipus** grasshopper. (As) I was saying, it eats gourd plants. It bites and severs the gourd’s root. Cow-peas, that too, they (=people) encounter it among cow-peas too. It too, it bites and severs it. They encounter it among cotton, it eats the leaves of the cotton plant. That [focus] is what I know about it.

Sa: **Millipedes**.

Bo: **Cataloipus** kicks out (with its hind legs) at millipedes. If it (=grasshopper) kicks it, what has oozed out (from) the millipede, it (=grasshopper) drinks it, on a dead millipede, it eats it.

Sa: Is jumping (hopping) its work (=action), or flying?

Bo: Jumping is its work. The wings (merely) help it (along).

Sa: <xxx>

Bo: When it jumps, (it’s) with those wings, (and just) a little. Those wings help it (jump). Other than jumping, as for flying, it can’t fly.

Sa: It can’t (even) do its jumping (=hopping), much less (can it fly). As soon as children see it, they get (=catch) it.

Bo: Mm!

Sa: It doesn’t have (=cause) damage.

Bo: Its damage isn’t very much.

JH: **Acorypha** grasshopper. **Acorypha** doesn’t have (=cause) damage.

X: <xxx>

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348 Furrows on the sides of the pronotum are lined in black, as for *Hieroglyphus*.

349 *Sherifuria haningtoni*, a mostly montane grasshopper. A similar species *Duronia choloronota* would also be included in the native term if locally present.

350 *Cataloipus cymbiferus*. A rather large species with long hind legs. Diet is mixed. The similar *Cataloipus fuscoceoruleipes* may also be present in well-watered spots.

351 *Acorypha glaucopsis*, and perhaps *A. clara* if present in the zone. *A. glaucopsis* is mostly dark brown, with inner femur red. *A. clara* is lighter in color, with inner femur yellow. Both have very robust femurs and are hard to hold on to.
Bo: As for *Acorypha*, it’s of no dominant color. It’s sort of red (=brown) here and there. But as for *Acorypha*, it only eats grass (i.e. herbs). It doesn’t eat millet, it doesn’t eat cow-peas, and it doesn’t eat sorghum. As for Acorypha, it’s only on the ground, it keeps landing hard (on the ground, after hopping). It (=this segment) is finished.

JH: 300 *Heteracris* grasshopper.  

Bo: *Heteracris*. It’s only on wild-date tree (*Balanites*). As for *Heteracris*, it’s only on wild-date tree.  

As for it, any time you-Sg see it, it is stuck up on wild-date tree. It is bitter-tasting, it isn’t eaten.  

As for it, it’s bitter-tasting.

Sa: 301 It doesn’t eat millet.  
X: It doesn’t eat millet.  
Bo: It doesn’t eat millet.  
Sa: It doesn’t go down into millet.  
Bo: Uh-huh. It doesn’t go down into millet.  
Sa: <xxx>  
Bo: It’s in the bush (=outback). It’s only in the bush.  
Sa: 302 Is its male bigger, or is its female bigger?  
Bo: Its female is bigger.  
Sa: Its female is bigger than its male.  
Bo: Its female is bigger than its male.  
Sa: 303 Is it black (=dark) or white (=light-colored)?  
Bo: *Heteracris*, they are black (=dark).  
Sa: They are black.  
Bo: They are black.  
Sa: Both its male and its female?  
Bo: Both its male and its female are black.

JH: 304 *Scintharista* grasshopper.  

Bo: *Scintharista*, *Scintharista*, as for *Scintharista*, I don’t know it.  
Sa: Well, it’s a red (=brown) grasshopper. The very one that is like sorceror’s grasshopper the children call *Scintharista* (“mountain grasshopper”).  
Bo: 305 As for that one, it’s sorcerer’s grasshopper. There’s the big sorcerer’s grasshopper and the small sorcerer’s grasshopper.  
Sa: It too, describe how it is.  
Bo: Yes. Sorceror’s grasshopper, sorceror’s grasshopper for its part, as for it, the big sorcerer’s grasshopper is that *Scintharista* (“mountain grasshopper”). When it flies, it’s dull-colored, light brown and grey. That one furthermore doesn’t eat millet, you-Sg see it strictly among grass.  
Sa: 306 It doesn’t have (=cause) any damage.  
Bo: It doesn’t have (=cause) any damage.  
X: Its male—, its female is bigger than the male?  
Bo: Its female is bigger than the male. Its female is bigger. As for it, it has a watermelon-shaped head.  
It too is big-headed.  
Sa: 307 They (=people) don’t eat (it).  
Bo: But they don’t eat (it).

JH: 308 *Ornithacris* grasshopper.  

Bo: As for *Ornithacris*, as for it, it’s a grasshopper—. As for it, it goes around by twos or singly. As for it, it’s big indeed. *Ornithacris* is bigger than the tree locust (*Anacridium*).  
Sa: It’s longer than the tree locust?

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352 *Heteracris annulosa*, a grasshopper found in grasses and trees, and specifically associated with the wild date tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) and the grass-like shrub *Leptadenia pyrotechnica*.

353 *Scintharista notabilis*, a grasshopper of rocky areas. It takes short flights during which its bright red inner wings are visible. Specimens from Dogon country were once referred to *S. zolotarevskyi*, but Mestre points out that there is an intergradation between the two supposed species, and it seems best to recognize a single species. Some Tabi speakers call *Scintharista* “mountain grasshopper” as here, but one speaker in this text treats it as a subcategory of “sorceror’s grasshopper.”

354 *Ornithacris turbida cavroisi*. A very large grasshopper.
Bo: It’s longer than the tree locust.
X: They (=people) eat (it).
Bo: They eat (it) also.
Sa: It can get plump …
Bo: It can get plump.
Sa: … like a bird.
Bo: Uh-huh. As for that one, it flies too, like a bird, whirr! it goes. When it has gone a long way, it goes down (=lands). As for that one, it can go along flying like a bird, until it has gone a long way.
Sa: Its habitat now.
Bo: It’s in the bush (=outback). Uh-huh. <xxx> is in the bush.
Sa: As for it now, does it have a (distinct) female and a male?
Bo: It has a female and a male. The female is bigger than its male also.
Sa: It doesn’t have (=cause) any damage.
Bo: It doesn’t have (=cause) any damage, (at least) among us (=in our area).
Sa: Among us, it doesn’t have (=cause) any damage.
Bo: Among us, it doesn’t have (=cause) any damage.

JH: Sand grasshopper.
Bo: Sand grasshopper, Huh?
Sa: We and the Issa’s got together the other day and talked (about it).
Bo: Sand grasshopper, I don’t know it.
Sa: <xxx> sand grasshopper.
Bo: As for sand grasshopper, I don’t know it.
Sa: The Issa’s spoke the other day (of) sand grasshopper.
X: Well, as for me, I have never heard of it.
Bo: As for “sand grasshopper,” “sand grasshopper,” unless it’s a worm (i.e. larval stage of grasshopper), as for me, I haven’t seen any such grasshopper.
Sa: Sand grasshopper, it’s a black (=dark) grasshopper, it’s a red (=brown) grasshopper. The one that’s slender-necked and feeble. The one that keeps crawling (walking) on the sand. That is what sand grasshopper is.
Bo: But it (=that) is sorceror’s grasshopper.
Sa: I said that, as for us, we call all (of those species) “sorceror’s grasshopper.” The little one that is red (=brown) and feeble, red (=brown) and feeble, with a more or less pointed rear end (=abdomen) like sorceror’s grasshopper, (they said that) “sand grasshopper” [focus] is what they call it.
X, Sa, Bo: <xxx>
Sa: As for that, it is said that they (=younger generation) have added (i.e. a new word). As for that (other) one, a person cannot call it “sand grasshopper.” But (they said) they call that one “sand grasshopper.”
X: They are wrong.
Sa: Well, they said thus. <xxx>. Then they (e.g. the linguist) have written them.
Bo: As for that, it isn’t sand grasshopper, the sand doesn’t have grasshoppers.
Sa: The sand (has) grasshoppers—
Bo: It’s (called) sorceror’s grasshopper.
Sa: Like all of those (species), just the name of sorceror’s grasshopper, <xxx>.

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355 Term used by some speakers to denote certain small ground-dwelling (and well-camouflaged) grasshoppers. It centers on small ground-dwelling species of the subfamily Oedipodinae. A local specimen was Acrotylus blondeli, but the term should extend to Eurysternacris, Aiolopus, Pseudosphingonotus, etc. if locally present. It also extends to Pyrgomorpha spp. One speaker denies the validity of the term. Another explains that it denotes one subtype of the more general rubric “sorceror’s grasshopper.”

356 i.e. Issa and his people.
Mantis (description)

Bo: 319 Mantis. It doesn’t have (=cause) any damage. As for it, it catches and eats grasshoppers.
Sa: After (=beyond) that, what is it like?
Bo: 320 A mantis, its head is flat and wide. Its feet, it has feet. It has long arms (front legs). Its rear end (=abdomen) is very long. As for it now, in some cases the rear end is not very long. In some (other) cases, the rear end is big, they are flat and wide. Their hand(s), it (=hand) too, it has teeth.
Sa: 321 Its neck.
Bo: Ah! Its nape (top of pronotum) is a little flat here. The neck is long and thin. It has a neck, very long. When it pinches a person, it hurts.
X: Do they (=people) eat it, or don’t they eat (it)?
Bo: There are (some) that have wings and fly, and there are (some) that don’t have wings.
Sa: 322 As for that one, it catches birds.
Bo: The one that has wings and flies, that one is a grasshopper, when it (= mantis) is big, it catches (grasshoppers). It even catches finches. However, it doesn’t have (= cause) damage in millet. Grasshoppers, birds, grubs, those [focus] are what that one, for its part, eats. That one for its part doesn’t have (= cause) damage. They (= people) eat it.
Tape 2004-2, track A

(These recordings are from an old man named Seydou Pathee (deceased 2005) from Tega village)

2004-2a.01 History of Dogon people at Tabi Mountain

X: 323 The way Toupéré was established, the way it came. Toupéré, at the time when Mali (= Mali Empire) emerged. They came to Tindirma (a town). They left Tindirma. They came to Kayoume. Some say that it was not Kayoume where they settled, rather (they say) on the mountain.

324 What they call Kan, Kan-Go-Gounde, they left from there. They left from there and came to Diono. They left Diono, (they came to) Djime. They left Djime, then they settled in Toula. They left Toula, they came to Gomoudiwa, a large group (of people). Well, now, they settled there for a long time, then they arose, they went westward.

325 Well, when they went west, their old man, they called him Manugongo, it happened that he could not walk. He took his people (along), they went up this mountain of Toupéré (= Tabi mountain), they didn’t find anyone there.

326 When he was there, he (M) met with the Ilo-na man. The Ilo-na man (ILM) asked, when had he (M) come onto the mountain? He (M) said that had come what amounted to a week (ago). He (M) asked the Ilo-na person, when had he (ILM) come? He (ILM) said, he (ILM) had come what amounted to a month (ago).

327 Well, when they were staying there, the mountain was not good (= safe). The wild animals would take (= attack) people. Mountain wild animals would take their children, (so) they (= people) couldn’t settle here.

328 The Ilo-na man said, they must settle (there), he would put (= use) something magical, he would implant (it); as soon as he had implanted (it), the mountain animals would no longer trouble them (= people); well, for them [focus] the Ilo-na man implanted it. They got together and settled.

329 At that time, only Ilo-na people were at Tabi (village). Tega (village) had not (yet) come. This country, it had not found anyone who could light a fire. Except in Loguro-doli, they did not see (= get) any fire.

330 Well, they were there like that (= in that situation). Now, (in) this land, treachery, falling on the head (= attacking), taking away (other’s property). That’s what made them remain on the hill.

331 When they settled there, at Sarinyere Mountain, they (= Tabi Mountain people) and it (= Sarinyere), they (could) perceive each other afterwards. Well, the horse (= cavalry), Sankara horse, it was coming down. It went around looking at (= watching for) the people.

332 Well, when the horse (= cavalry) came down (= attacked), they (= horses) would first come out over by the people of Sarinyere Mountain. When it (= cavalry) continued on its way, they (= people of Sarinyere) went up to the mountaintop and held up fire for them (= Dogon on other mountains).

333 When they saw the fire, the next day, nobody would go down to the plains, because they knew, the horse (= cavalry) was coming. It was the [focus] that was their signal, they spoke (communicated) with each other by means of fire.

357 In such historical texts, the name of a village may denote either the (current) physical settlement, or the population that eventually settled it.
358 Mountaintop village in Mande region.
359 Partially forested area (Anogeissus, Mitragyna) 6 km from Toupéré, near a wet-season stream, now used for farming.
360 An extended family, now in Tabi village.
361 Old Dogon village near Gede, west of Boni.
362 A clan of Fulbe. “Horse” here is used loosely for ‘horsemen’.
334. As soon as they saw the fire, well, nobody would accept (= risk) going out into the wilderness, lest they (= animals) catch their children. Well, they remained like that, until it had been many years.

335. Manougongo, his children, his family, they [focus] settled first in Toupéré. When they had settled, the Koreyba (a Dogon clan), they were at Tabi (village). They and the people of Tabi had a fight, they chased them (= Koreba) away.

336. Well, when they (= Koreyba) were going, the people of Toupéré encountered them, and told them to come and settle, to come and settle together with them, (since) they too were able-bodied men (fit for fighting).

337. Well, that day (= era) was the era of warfare. A few people (= small village) could not exist. They settled there together. An armed band, whenever it came, they would drive it out.

338. Sékou Amadou, his people (= Fulbe warriors) came to Toupéré. There was no water (down below), they would (climb up and) drink at Youmnou. They (= Fulbe) told them (= local people) to come down and bring them water. They took out the water that they for their part had, and brought it to them.

339. They (= Fulbe) said, that water was little (= inadequate). They (= Fulbe) said they would let (their) horses drink too. They (= Dogon) for their part said that, as for their water, it was (up) on the mountaintop; their horses—, they themselves did not drink (= have enough to drink), they could not (easily) get water (for themselves), never mind talk of giving (water) to horses. They refused.

340. Then they (= Fulbe) struck their (= Dogon’s) old(est) man. The one whom they (= Fulbe) had sent, when he struck their old(est) man, they (= Fulbe), they said (= chose), three of their (= Dogon’s) men. They (= Dogon) gathered (together), the men of the mountain (= of Toupéré). The thirty (Fulbe) men, they engaged in a fight with them (= three Dogon).

341. At that time, there were no rifles. Arrows, knives, stones—that [focus] was their weaponry, with that they (= Fulbe) drove them (= Fulbe) away. Well, they (= Fulbe) were running (= fleeing). One of their people (= a Fulbe) fell down. When he had fallen down, he (= a Dogon) picked up a (large) rock, he threw it down on him and killed him. When he (= a Dogon) had thrown it (down) on him and killed him, then those people (= other Fulbe) went and told Sékou.

342. Well, Sékou summoned them. What they had done, they proceeded to speak (about) what they had done. Sékou said, the (= thirty Fulbe) people who had come, they did not have (= were not in the right); if they (= Fulbe) had had the right, the three (Dogon) men would not have overpowered (= vanquished) the thirty (Fulbe) men; but the three men who overpowered thirty men, God must give their bodies courage. Sékou gave them (= Dogon) a blessing.

343. They were settled (there) many years. Then after that, in the mountainous region, Allay Mamoudou, Allay Mamoudou Ndoulli (AMN), he and they (= Dogon) fought. They decided on (“tied”) a war, they (= Fulbe) came to Toupéré. Tega, Toupéré, and Tabi (villages), all of them (= Dogon villages) came and assembled in Toupéré. Well, then he (= AMN) came bringing his (Fulbe) men.

344. They caught that war (party). When they caught that war (party), they (= Fulbe) felled (= killed) one Toupéré man and two Tega men. The Toupéré people killed a (large) count of their (= Fulbe) people. They (= Dogon) drove them out. They (= Fulbe) ran (= fled), and came and encountered their leader (= AMN), at the foot (= bottom) of the mountain.

345. He (= AMN) said: they whom the mountain people (= Dogon) had driven out were worthless. He (= AMN) told them to go back up (the mountain) again. They said they would not go (back) up; if they were to go up, he (= AMN) must go in front of them, and they would follow. He refused. They drove them out. When they drove them out, they were (= remained) there. At that time, the whites had not (yet) come.

346. When the white (= French) came, the white asked them (= Dogon) for taxes. (The Dogon said:) they did not know (about) money. Then the white showed them metal coins, saying that

363. Leader of the Fulbe Empire of the early Nineteenth Century, with capital in Hamdallaye near Mopti. Sékou spread orthodox Islam throughout the area he controlled. Fulbe troops often pillaged Dogon villages in the area.

364. A year-round pool on Tabi Mountain, near the original villages on top of Tabi Mountain.

365. Another Fulbe leader.

Well, now, the white said, in that case, they must pay the tax with (woven cotton) cloths. They agreed. They were paying the tax (like that), to the white. Eventually, at the end, they brought the cloths to the white, for (= as) taxes.

The white said, today, the cloths have gone out (= are no longer accepted). He showed money to them, which he said that he has put (= introduced); that is what they must come and pay; those cloth(s) that they had brought he (hereby) left with them.

At that point the chief said, this cloth that he (= white) left, he (= white) should accept (it) from him (= chief), because of (= for) next year’s tax. The white said, all right, his (= chief’s) talk (= proposal) was good, he (= white) must take it (= cloth) with him and go. In that way they paid the tax, until a long time had passed.

Now (cash) money came in. The good times (= peace and welfare) occurred in the land. Nobody was afraid, (nobody) feared that anyone (else) would catch (= attack) him. The whites brought that. That is what put (= brought) good times to the land. When the whites had not come (= before the whites came), there were no good times in the land. Well, when the good times came in (= began), since then it (= good times) has gone forward.

Well, after that, (there was) that battle of Tabi (Mountain). As for it, the people of Tabi (Mountain), the devil went into them. They fought against the whites. Because at the time when they were fighting against the whites, their people, the (Dogon) soldiers had gone (to the French colonial army) and had come back. Their children were in school.

There were some others, (still) in the military, nevertheless, they informed on each other. The white said (= intended) that he (= white) would make war on Tabi, (and) that he would (first) go and look. He said (= decided) that he (= white army) would (= could) not go up (to the summit). Well, that was the first battle of (= between) them (= Dogon) and the white.

When they decided on ("tied") a war, the white arrived and sat (= stayed), in the zone of Tabi Mountain, down below (on the plains). For a count (= number) of months they (= whites) negotiated (= offered peace to) with them (= Dogon); they (= Dogon) refused. The white called the chiefs of the land; he told them to negotiate (with the holdouts); they (= holdouts) refused. He assembled the religious leaders to negotiate with them (= holdouts); they (= holdouts) refused. The (other) mountain people negotiated with them (= holdouts); they (= holdouts) refused. (This continued), until the day when the white was about to go up Tabi Mountain.

He (= white) said (= decided), well, he (= white) would go up Tabi Mountain today (= that same day). They came and brought cannons. They (= Dogon) were not familiar with cannons, they were not familiar with hearing its sound. The white(s) shot at them with the cannon and frightened them until they were weary. They (= Dogon) knew then (= realized) that the whites were stronger than they were.

But all the people gathered, and when they had negotiated until they were weary (= for a long time), (they knew) because of that, they were going to die now.

Well, when the white (army) went up, the white killed them to the point that it (= village) was destroyed. It happened that the destruction of it was great. Then they (= French) went up and raised their flag. Now the white ceased shooting at them.

When the white went up (to the top), he found that sixteen men, that (number) had died; sixteen (other) men, they were the people who had been wounded. Among the whites, it (= casualty total) did not get beyond three persons.

Well, now, that fight of Tabi (village), their trouble arrived at (= affected) Toupéré and Tega. At that point, they (= whites) rounded up the people of Tabi (village), and sent them off to the land of Hombori. They left them there, for (= at) the place (= village) that they call Koy-Koyra.

Then they came and made them return, and they rounded up (the people of) Toupéré and Tega. They delivered (the people of) Tega east of Hombori, Tandara (village) they call it. They delivered (the people of) Toupéré to the northwest of Hombori, Kourimi (village) they call it. They stayed there for twenty-seven years. Twenty-seven years they stayed there. Now they wanted (to return to) their place (= Tabi area).

Lit. “it didn’t prevent.”

The French made camp in the plains below the mountain. The Dogon were still in villages on the top of the mountain, which was very difficult for the French to scale.
Now, they spoke: now, their imprisonment had ended; they must get the official document. They got it and came back, to the (= their) place. From the day when they came back to the place until today, (it has been) fifty-seven years, that’s what we are at as of today (= now).

2004-2a.02 Resettlement (fragment)

X: Well, we came (from Hombori) to Tabi. The people of Tega went back. They settled there at Douni. The people of Tabi, some of them settled there at Goyel. Others, (at) Dourgama, they are (still) there even today, but we and they are one (= the same people).

2004-2a.03 Famine years

X: They settled here. Famine. They didn’t do farming down below (= on the plains), (only) on (the summit of) the mountain did they farm. They did not get any millet. A famine, a famine was killing them, until Kitanga year. Kitanga year came. (The people of) Toupéré died to the point of being devastated, to the point of being devastated. The small remnant of people who remained (there), how they stayed alive: (leaves of) luwo, (nests of) army ants, baobab fruits, they knocked the seeds (of baobab fruits, with a stone), with (all) that they got food.

Well, the way they had been able to live (on crisis foods), eventually the people of Tabi said none other than thus: may God let you-Sg spend the night(s) at Toupéré. At Toupéré, when people were (= had been) absent, God brought it about that afterwards it (= population) increased. There was famine, we heard, (in) Yoro-Ali year, Kitanga year, (and) Mbouri year. (In) all those, a famine happened. Nothing made (= caused) that, (other than that) the people did not know the land. The people did not go together down below (to farm in the plains). They made long expeditions (to buy millet). The men had to come together, and whatever one got, that is what they carried (on the head) and brought.

What (little) we carried on our heads and brought, one person would not live on it, never mind a household. In that way, they continued for a long time with the (occasional) famines, until it changed (= got better) for them. (Now) they became numerous, now the difficulty (= hardship) had gone away from them. That is what they (= elders) said (to us).

Well, as for me, what I know in my head (= from my own experience): when we came down here, we farmed. (One year) the rainy season did not turn out well. We came with (= endured) a famine. Now, because the land is cool (= peaceful), you-Sg can go anywhere to seek (work).

The return from Hombori to Tabi took place around 1947. Village near Hombori. Village west of Hombori. Area with a Fulbé camp near Simbi village. The famines described in this text occurred in the early Twentieth Century, and are known by oral tradition rather than by accounts of living eyewitnesses. Notorious famine year, c. 1913-14. Edible leaves of the vine Leptadenia hastata (kôngèy) and several trees/shrubs of the family Brassicaceae (ex-Capparaceae): Maerua crassifolia (bibisi), Boscia salicifolia (lùw gùrú), Crataeva adansonii (ɔ̀-lùwɔ́), and Cadaba farinosa (lùwɔ̀-sínúŋ). Leaves are cooked, mixed with a little millet, and eaten. Messor spp. These grain-eating black ants form large underground nests in fields that can be raided (for the grains) in time of famine. I.e., ‘the only thing that caused that was …’. Lit. “exited behind them.” The villages formerly on the summit of Tabi mountain were rebuilt on the plains below during the colonial period, when it became safe to live there.
They (= we) had gotten donkeys. With them (= donkeys) they would load up on an expedition (to buy millet) and come (back). There were (livestock) animals. They would sell them (= animals), and (with the proceeds) go on expeditions (to buy millet). If you-Sg go on an expedition, wherever you go, you would get millet.

Well, in the second (famine) year, we grew millet. It (= rainy season) didn’t turn out well at all. Then, again, we spent the growing season (in famine). When we had spent the growing season in famine, the (following) third year, we call it the year of the big rainy season. Then the millet ripened to the point that it went beyond (normal) bounds. The whole land got (millet). The hunger went away from behind (= around) us there.

After that, sometimes, food (= subsistence) is (= has been) slightly difficult. At (other) times, it is (= has been) abundant. The mountainous region is a dry place. (Years of) ripe millet do not follow each other (= are not consecutive). If you-Sg have gotten (millet) this year, if it’s a lot, (then) as for next year, it may happen that it’s just a little (millet) that you-Sg will get.

Well, in that way, some years, they wouldn’t get any at all. Perhaps here in this place, at the bottom of the mountain, even the *Eragrostis* grass might not have sprouted. But at Dungo, they got a little supper. All that happened before me (= before my time).

Beyond that, as for a nasty famine that kills people, ever since my eyes opened, I haven’t seen a famine that killed people. What has remained, it causes fatigue (= hardship). But that a hunger kill people, as for us, in our time, it hasn’t happened.

### 2004-2a.04 Water

When we settled in Tabi Mountain, we didn’t have water. There wasn’t any water. On the mountain, the digging (excavation) fo the pond on the mountain, (people of) Toupéré would drink at Logouro (pond). (People of) Tega would drink at Titage. (People of) Tabi (village), on the mountaintop, as for them, they have water, it (= pond) is called Youmno. It is far from the ones of Toupéré and Tega.

Drawing water at Youmno, when the hot season has come, the ponds are finished (= dry up) since (= after) four months of the year (= after the rainy season). (After that) we draw water at Youmno, until the (next) rainy season comes. When the rainy season has come, now we will cease drawing water at Youmno.

Our elders, in that (= using that practice) is how we found them. We too, that’s how we work. We have found that that it is very tiring (= hard work).

We say we will try (“look at”) a solution. Down below (= on the plains), in that barren flat place (called) Bariya, we have tried excavating a hole. In the belly (= middle) of Bariya we excavated first. We have found that it keeps water. Well, it keeps water, (but) the place is too confined.

Then we went out beyond the pond(s). We tried to excavate in the barren flat place. We found that it keeps water. Well, we entered (= engaged) in excavating it thoroughly. We are excavating. Previously the water finished (= dried up) in four months of the year, (but) now the water finishes in six months of the year.

When the water finishes in the six months of the year, sometimes, Bebi, the wells of the Fulbé are there, we go there to ask (for some water) to drink. If we don’t get (any) there, we have been known to (go and) get water as far away as Boni. We have (at times) been known to do all those things.

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380 *Eragrostis tremula*, a common grass in the sandy plains.
381 Area with fields, some 6 km from Toupéré village, in the direction of Mondoro.
382 I.e., having had nothing to eat during the day.
383 Name of the partially excavated areas on the top of Tabi Mountain where water was collected by people of the respective villages.
384 Well before our first visit (2004), various extended families had excavated large pits (*yóójóó:*ji) just outside Toupéré to collect rainy-season water. Until these artificial rainwater ponds dry up (around December or January), the women of each family collect water in buckets from the ponds and carry them home.
Well, since we have been excavating, we have been excavating until now it has become wide, to the point that if the rain falls and it fills up, we drink water until another (= the next) rainy season comes back.

All of that emerged (= came) from hard work. Even nowadays, we have (still) not ceased excavating. Then when the rain falls abundantly, thinking of (= worrying about) water now doesn’t seize (= afflict) (us).

Well, about (“on”) that, a project has come here, (to make) a pump\footnote{I.e., a modern closed well with a pump (rather than an open well into which ropes with waterskins are lowered).} for us. They cranked out and put a pump for us. If the artificial ponds are finished (= dried up), we assemble at the pump. That is how we drink.

(As for) the water, furthermore, it definitely isn’t good water drinking (= getting enough water to drink), because it’s (just) one single pump.\footnote{At the time of the recording (2004), it took four strong men to work the pump. A new pump well was being constructed by 2006 but seemed to have been mothballed around 2008.} It isn’t enough for the whole village. Some people will go and get two buckets full (of water). Others will get one single bucket full.

But before that (= before the ponds dry up), they have spent the night hungry (= thirsty) at night, nor have they been hungry (= thirsty) during the daytime. Praise to Allah, Lord of the Worlds, thanks to God, that too, it is gotten.

### 2004-2a.05 Intermarriage between Tabi and Sarinyere mountains

X: Between (people of) Sarinyere (Mountain)\footnote{Sarinyere Mountain and Tabi Mountain are the two largest (and most widely separated) mountains in the core TS-speaking area. “We” here refers to people of the villages at Tabi Mountain (Tabi, Toupéré, Téga).} and us, a (relationship through) marriage\footnote{Lit., ‘getting together and sitting’.} exists, because our grandmothers (= ancestresses) went to Sarinyere. Having gone to Sarinyere, praise Allah, they multiplied around there. When they had multiplied, then (there was) kinship.\footnote{Lit., “mother-house” (i.e. kinship through women).} The mountain people (= Dogon) say (= call it) kinship. (As for) our kinship, there is nobody at Tabi Mountain whose kin at Sarinyere do not exist.

Between (people of) Tabi Mountain left and went to Sarinyere, and (people of) Sarinyere left and came here. All (of us) are one kin group (through marriage). Even today, the women of Sarinyere, we take them (as wives). They (= men of Sarinyere) take our children (as wives). Between Sarinyere and us, even now there is a (relationship through) marriage.

There is a (relationship through) marriage between Sarinyere and us, and there is a (relationship through) marriage between Piringa\footnote{Village near the highway between Boni and Hombori, said to speak the Tabi-Sarinyere language. There is a neaby Fulfulde-speaking village Wouronguérou.} and us. But between those other villages and us, a (relationship through) marriage is not common. The old people (= male ancestors) didn’t do it (= marry into the other villages). We ourselves (“on our head”), likewise, we haven’t done it up to now.

Those who remain (= are left), a man who has not gotten (= a wife, in this way), occasionally (“one by one”) he takes (a wife). If it isn’t (those), Sarinyere, Tabi Mountain, (and) Piringa, it’s we [focus] who take (= marry) each other thoroughly (= regularly). Everywhere (= in all those villages), each person, his people (= kin) are there. Each person, his people are there, everywhere.

### 2004-2a.06 Farming techniques

X: Millet-farming, that is our work. The whole essence (“head”) of our our work is millet-farming. Millet-farming also. Millet, sorghum, roselle, cow-peas, and sesame, (and also) peanuts, all (those) we farm.
389 (In) the hot season we—, we do the sowing (= planting). As soon as seven months (= the seventh month) of the year has begun, we plant the seeds in the dry soil, (and wait) until the rainy season comes. (As for) the seeds, we slash the earth with the pick-hoe and sow (the seeds). 390 Dry-sowing. Some other people, nowadays, they dig holes in the barren flat land, they put (in it) some manure, and sow (the seeds). A person who cannot do that, he puts some manure in his field (and) he sow (the seeds). 391 When the rain falls, now we sow (the seeds) (in) wet earth. Men, women, and children all do the sowing together. The pick-hoe slashers, they slash (the soil) with the pick-hoe (to turn it over). The seed sowers, they hold the millet spike, they continuously remove (some seeds), they put (= drop) (the seeds) in the opening (“mouth) of that hole and then bury (them) (= tamp the earth down with their feet). 392 When we have planted and it (= millet) has sprouted, now, (we) having gone to the blacksmiths’ place, they forge a daba (hoe). Having forged the daba (blade), and having inserted it into the wooden handle, now everyone does farm work in his field, by hand. By hand he keeps doing farm work until a long time has passed. 393 Now, they have come and gotten plows. Owners of donkeys tie them (to the plow), they rip up (= plow) the planted area, then they fix up (the millet seedlings) by hand. Owners of camels rip up (= plow) the planted area, they farm (= remove weeds) and fix up (the millet seedlings) by hand. 394 Some (other) people, if there is a place where the grass (= weeds) have grown (“been made”), they do not sow (by slashing with a pick-hoe). Having worked the earth (= turned it over with the daba), he tamps down (the soil and the seeds, with his foot). When the tamped-in seeds have sprouted, if grass (= weeds) grow (“are made”) and come back again, they do the farm work that we call sawra (second round of weeding etc.) again. 395 When they have done farm work on it again, well, (in) the rainy season, when the millet has sprouted (= grown), they have finished the farm work (weeding etc.), and the millet has begun to bear (grains), (then) sometimes beetles appear (“are made”) in the field, called boruborude. It damages the field(s), but we catch them (= beetles), we put smoke (around them), until they leave our fields. 396 (When) the millet ripens, now we first take out (= harvest) the early millet. We take out the early millet, and we keep eating the early millet, until the (regular) millet (grain) has ripened and has dried (= hardened). 397 When the millet has dried, now the month of harvesting will begin. Now they will do the harvesting. (While) harvesting, a harvesting knife, each person has his harvesting knife. The women have goatskin grain sacks, the men (have) baskets. We will cut off (= harvest) the millet (spikes). 398 We cut (millet spikes) off, we put them together in small piles, we gather up the small piles, we place them (vertically) in baskets, they go and put them together at the place for the large harvest heap. Having put that millet into baskets, when (= each time) you-Sg have filled nine baskets fulls, we take out (= reserve) the tenth one as charity, until all the millet that you-Sg have gotten is finished. 399 If it’s sorghum, you-Sg do that (same) way. Cow-peas, that we don’t get very much of it, because we don’t grow much of it. Roselle, we don’t get much of that either, they (only) grow a little of it. 400 After the millet grain spikes were harvested, they were gathered together in the large heaping area. Now, (we) gather them, store them inside a granary, sort them (with) the lower-quality

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391 One person slashes the earth with the pick-hoe at intervals forming rows, the other following behind, breaking off seeds from a (previous year’s) millet grain spike and dropping them into the turned-over earth, then tamping the earth down with the feet. 392 There are two rounds (cycles) of farm work between planting and harvesting (la première culture, la deuxième culture). The work involves thinning out, removing weeds, and restoring ridges and mounds in the field. This main tool is the daba, a hoe with a short handle and a wide blade that the farmer pulls in toward himself while bending over. 393 The plows are pulled by oxen, donkeys, etc. Plowing obviates the need for sowing with the pick-ax, and reduces the need for weeding. 394 A type of millet that ripens quickly. It is harvested early and consumed immediately rather than being stocked long-term in granaries.
millet (spikes) separated from the higher-quality millet (spikes), and we take out (from the granary) the lower-quality millet first.  

401 We keep taking it out, (until) it has finished. Now we go into (= start eating) the higher-quality millet. We keep eating that, until the (next) rainy season comes.

402 (In) a year when we have gotten it (= had a good harvest), praise God, we will eat (from the previous harvest) until the new millet comes out. If it (= millet) has not finished (= run out), there is no hardship. Because now, this (= any given) year, praise God, nobody is hungry.

403 That is what we work (= do) in millet farming. When we have farmed it, when the millet farming is finished, (and) the work of (= in) the field is finished, the young people go looking for (seasonal) work. Some (young) people go to (places) inside Mali, others go to Côte d’Ivoire.

404 When they have gone (there), some of them come back, before we have reached the farming (season). Others spend (even) the rainy season out of town. When they have gone away, the good young people, (when) they bring something (back), they bring bicycles, (or) they bring plows, (or) they bring push-carts.

405 Or money, money is what some (other) people bring. When (they) bring that money, and they give it to the oldest man of the household, well, the whole household works with that (money). This—this way [focus] is how the work of growing millet is done.

406 The millet, if they have gotten it, we definitely do not waste it. We do not waste (it), because we are poor. If a poor person wastes millet, it will not turn out well for him. When someone has gotten lots (of millet), he sells the millet, he buys a goat, for raising; (or) they buy a donkey, for raising.

407 Someone who has gotten a lot, he buys a male calf, and places it among (= entrust it to) the Fulbe. When it grows up, he will sell it, and he will buy some small livestock (sheep & goats). We do all that (= all those things).

2004-2a.07  Native medicine

X: 408 Native medicine, we have that too. Black people’s medicines, (and) medicines of (= against) evil spirits (djinns). If we speak of evil spirits, medicine of (= against) evil spirits is what we dig up. (Roots of) dewo tree, and red senga tree. We put them (= roots) together, we chop them up, we soak them (in calabashes), they wash the person who is possessed by the genie.

409 Yes, likewise, for genital disease, whether (it’s) a man or a woman, if there is anyone whom genital disease has afflicted, we dig up (roots of) orobari tree, sasariya tree, araosondorokori vine, bosuwa tree on a termitary, and luwosinung shrub on a termitary. Evil spirits—. As for the (medicines for) genital disease, they are innumerable. We chop those up and combine them, we cook (it) with some meat, and make a porridge, (and) they drink it. Maybe, the (sick) fellow, he will get his health (back).

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395 The head of the household takes out some millet each morning for the day’s food. The better-quality millet is reserved for the next year’s growing period and for seedstock. The very lowest-quality millet may be left in the field for poor villagers to harvest.

396 Lit. “since (the time when) we have not reached …”

397 Lit. “in the bush.” Frequent sense in the context of working.

398 Lit. “mountain medicine.”

399 dèwó Vachellia flava, ex-Acacia ehrenbergiana, now rare in the immediate zone but common around Hombori; sɛ̀ŋà bárⁿú Vachellia seyal, ex-Acacia seyal, form with blood-colored coating on the otherwise greenish-white outer bark.

400 Signs include uncontrolled trembling.

401 kúyⁿɔ́ (itchy) genital disease. May include bilharzia (schistosomiasis), French bilharziose, a parasitic-worm disease (blood in urine). Several of the plants listed just below have known vermifugal properties.


403 Lit. ‘the count of … does not end’. 
410 Hey, likewise, for head ailments, that too, we drink a medicine. What we drink for a head ailment is “elephant-shoes” (a plant). (Whether it’s) an old person or a child, we cook it, he drinks that.

411 Yes, again (= also), for intestinal ailments, what we drink (is), we drink (medicine from) sorey tree, its leaves. Some people drink (medicine from) its bottom (= roots). But as for its bottom, it betrays (= disappoints). Because of that, drinking (medicine from) its bottom is not common.

412 Furthermore, to make the stomach run, (for) that too we drink a medicine, for making the stomach run. Some people puncture div bush, they combine it (= its latex) together with cowpea flour, and then they let it dry, they grind it (with stones), they make a little weak (= diluted) porridge, they drink a little with the div.

413 Some (other) people break off (branches of) balbalewa bush, they cook it, they strain its liquid (filtering out impurities), and drink it. As for that, it does not make the stomach run very much, but for some people it makes the stomach run.

414 Well, (if) the stomach has run (= diarrhoea), medicine for diarrhoea, so that we take down (= reduce) the diarrhoea, for that too we eat— (or rather) we drink a medicine. That medicine, as for it, (for) each person, (there is) his (favorite) medicine: the bottom (= roots) of guy tree, the base of jujube tree, mountain fig tree, the bark of tagato tree, the bark of waru tree.

415 We gather them together, cook them, and they drink them for diarrhoea. (In) some (cases) of diarrhoea, it runs until it makes blood in the excrement. When it has made blood in the excrement, now, putting (= using) all those other medicines, we drink them. That is (the treatment) for diarrhoea.

416 Furthermore, now, the medicines that we have other (than those) now, their count (= number) has no end. As for native medicines, only (the ones) that you—Sg know, they have no limit. They don’t end (= they go on and on).

417 For head ailment (= fever and colds), (for) it too, we have no other medicine, for head ailment, unless it’s (= other than) sneezing. As for sneezing medicine now, (it’s) leaves of calicédrat tree. We crush them (= leaves) and sniff them (like snuff). The fellow (= sick person), his sneezing, it (= medicine) makes the head ailment better.

418 The bottom (= roots) of funafuna bush, that too we crush, we sniff it. You—Sg are sneezing, until it (= medicine) makes the head ailment better. These (medicines) belong to head ailment.

419 Furthermore, medicine for stiffness. We have medicine for stiffness too. We call it medicine for stiffness. The trailing vines spread out (on the ground) and they lay down fruits (“eggs”). We dig up its fruits, we set them out (in the sun) to dry, we crush it, we boil it (like porridge) (in) a earthenware water-jar shard, together with crushed baobab leaves.

420 And then (to) the foot or neck, (or) to the (= whatever) place the swelling is in, we boil it (like porridge), (when) it is moderately hot (= warm), we apply it there (to the stiff body part). When we have applied it until it has dried, it (= medicine) treats stiffness. That,—, that is our medicine for stiffness.

404 Especially fever, but may include headaches and colds.
405 Unidentified.
406 Lit. ‘dirtiness of intestines’.
408 I.e. as a purgative or laxative.
409 Euphorbia paganorum, a thorny succulent bush (similar to cactus) with very caustic latex (also used as a poison). May include the very similar E. paganorum if present.
410 bál-balbáwá (and synonyms) is Cassia (= Senna) italica.
411 guy. Combretum micranthum, órúbú Ziziphus mauritiana (jujube), cícírth Ficus cordata subsp. lecardíi, tákató Mitragyna inermis, wárá Anogeissus leiocarpus.
412 péréré Khaya senegalensis (calicédrat tree).
413 Pergularia tomentosa. Term fúnàfúnà may be from Humburi Senni (Songhay).
414 Literally “tree” (tív”á), also extended as tív”á-ní:. Involves stiff and swollen joints, often spreading to multiple parts of the body. Rheumatism, arthritis, and perhaps diabetes.
415 Term denotes non-aquatic trailing vines of the family Convolvulaceae. Included are at least I. coscosisperma, I. coptica, I. dichroa, and I. vagans, and Jacquemontia tannifolia. Excluded are (semi-)aquatic I. aquatica and I. asarifolia.
Wounds (cuts), for wounds, we do not know any other medicine. But we wash it (= wound), we apply a medication (= salve), the bottom (= roots) of “fire-mother.”

We crush it (with stones), we put (it) on it (= wound), we tie (it on). If there is aloe plant, we open up its leaf, and when we have washed and cleaned the wound well, we put it (= leaf) on it (= wound) and we tie (it on).

If we have gotten a wound that doesn’t heal, (it’s) red metal, we pound it until it becomes lightweight (= flexible). And then, that (metal), when we have washed and cleaned it (= wound) well, we tie it as a covering (= bandage) on it. That too makes it better.

Furthermore, likewise, even the medication that—, a wound that does not heal, if they have failed to cure it over a long time, some people, this cow horn or goat horn that sticks way out of the ground, we take it, we burn it (into) a black medication, they put in on top of the wound. It heals. For stomach ailments, it’s the same medication for genital disease, we drink it.

And likewise, ailments of the lower back. “Locking up” (diseases), as for them now, we do (medical) bleeding. (For) a bleeding now, we cut off a small piece of cowhorn (with a small hatchet), we make a hole (in the horn), and then at that time, we implant (the point of the horn) in the spot that hurts, and then we will suck out (some blood).

When we have drawn it out, the horn— we close up the hole (in the horn), it (= blood) will stay inside the horn. It stays in it until a long time (e.g. 10 minutes) has passed. We reopen it (= hole in horn) and remove (the blood), and we—. We will remove (the blood) (from) the horn.

And then we take a razor blade and we cut it where—, we cut (make incisions in) the head, (in) the middle. We keep making cuts. We will put it (= horn) (in the cuts) and draw out (blood) again. When we have drawn (it) out, (as for) the horn, the blood will go into its head (= thick part).

The blood goes into it until it (= horn) is chock full. Dark black blood comes out. Two or three times, the blood comes out like this, we pour it. Eventually we implant it there, (and) we pour it (= blood) out. When we have done thus, if that is kidney (= blood) disease, it goes away. That [focus] is what we do for blood disease.

Furthermore, nausea also. For nausea also, we drink a medication. Because vomiting, for vomiting, there is a medication that they drink. But, (as for) what I know, bibi bush, we cook bibi and drink it for vomiting. Well, that is what I know, (that is) what we drink for vomiting.

2004-2a.08  Funeral ceremonies

X: 429 At that time, if an old man or an old woman died, they would have a ceremony (with tomtoms). (For) the ceremony, moreover, all (the people of) Tabi Mountain would assemble, and (as for) a fresh-corps ceremony, (they) would come to perform (it).

430 Tomtom-beaters would beat (tontoms), gani dancers would dance. Men and women, everybody would dance. And then, likewise, the belly-wrappers would wrap (“tie”) their bellies (with cloths). They would stay up at night singing songs.

431 (As for) the dead person too, when they were going to take it (= corpse), if a death had occurred, they would speak (= announce it) with rifles. They would shoot rifles, and then they would beat tomtoms.

432 Whenever they beat the tomtoms, if it (= corpse) was a man, they would beat (the rhythm for) the gani (men’s dance). Then if (even) a person who was far away heard it, (he would know from the tomtom rhythm that) it a man was dead.
If it was a woman, (it would be the rhythm for) the woman’s dance. Then likewise they would know that a woman was dead. They would assemble, perform the (funeral) ceremony, and disperse.

They would disperse, and (when) a rainy season had begun (the following year), again, they would recommence (the funeral rites). At that point, even the mountain (= Dogon) people who were far away (e.g. from Sarinyere) would come. (For) two nights, they stay up at night celebrating. Then the celebration goes away (= is finished) and breaks up. That is the ceremony for a death.

Now, after that, (we’ll discuss) marriage. They do the marriage ceremony. As for the marriage ceremony, we did not find (= inherit) it, but it was made (= instituted) in front of us, because the people of Toro-polo (near Boni), as for them, it was with tomtoms [focus] that they would get married.

Well, (as for) us now, as for us, we would leave it in the hands of women, as for the marriage (ceremony). When they did the marriage (ceremony) all night (until morning), if there were many visitors, the young people would make a ceremony (song and dance). They would assemble, and when they had spent the day dancing, in the (late) afternoon each person would go (back) to his village.

As for us, we did not find (= inherit from our elders) the marriage ceremony. But (rather) it was made (= initiated) on our heads (= during our lifetime).

(The customs of) the people of Toro-polo, as for them, since they came out, as for them, their marriage ceremony is standing (= is still performed). It’s with tomtoms [focus] that they take (= wed) a woman. It’s with tomtoms [focus] that they celebrate, they perform their marriage (ceremony) over two or even three days.

As for us (at Tabi Mountain), (it was) just one single night, the marriage (ceremony). When we had spent the night doing the marriage, we would disperse. (If) the young people did the celebration, then they would spend the day doing the ceremony, in the afternoon they would disperse. The marriage ceremony, that too, they would do that.

425 ṭʃrɔ̀ pòlɔ̀ denotes the area around Boni to Ella, i.e. the area defined by the inselbergs (mountains) near the main highway at Boni (not including Tabi or Sarinyere). The term ṭʃrɔ̀ gɔnɔ̀ denotes the larger area defined by the inselbergs of the zone from Simbi through Tabi and Boni to Sarinyere.
Tape 2004-2, track B

2004-2b.01 Cooking millet

X: 440 He (= the linguist) said (= asked about) pounding, (about) the way they pound. Millet grain spikes (ears), the way they use (“take”) their millet grain spikes and work, so that they transform it into flour, they transform it into millet cakes, they make a (grain) meal, (and) then cook sauce, until it comes and reaches (the stage of) millet cakes, (when) it comes out, that [focus] is what he is asking her about.

Y 426: < … >
X: < … > 427

Y: 441 (I should speak) just like this? Well, well, the millet grain spikes, when the men have taken them out (from the granaries), we go and pound them (to dislodge the grains),428 then when we have come (back home), we measure it (= grain), we distribute it, and we grind it.

442 (And) when we have ground it, the woman who cooks the millet-cakes429 sets the pot (on the fire) there, she cooks those millet cakes. (And) when she has cooked the millet cakes, she serves (= ladles) them (from the pot into the bowls), distributes each person’s share, cooks the sauce (separately), pours the sauce (over the millet cakes), and each person takes (some) at the doorway, delivers his portion, everyone delivers his (own) portion (to his own home).

443 And now each person eats (the meal). (As for) millet grain spikes indeed, we will pound (the grain spikes), and grind (the grains). When we come, we will measure (the grain), we will grind it. The woman who cooks the millet-cakes will cooks it now by herself. And then now, she cooks it and distributes it. And now (there is) the distribution of (= to) all the people. She will cook the sauce and everyone will eat.

2004-2b.02 Crisis food

X: 444 Crisis food.430 Crisis foods now, how (= what) they do. (He says) he is asking you-Sg about that now. (For example) (as) crisis food, they strip off leaves.

Y: Boscia.431
X: 445 They pick (fruits of) Boscia.
Y: And now Boscia—, I pick and soak Boscia (fruits), and I cook them. I strip off (leaves of) luwo tree(s) too, and cook them (luwo leaves and Boscia fruits) together, they eat like that.

Z 432: 446 If there is no millet, (if) there are no (grain-based) meals, (it’s) crisis food. We strip off (leaves of) luwo trees,433 (and) we pick (fruits of) Boscia. When they have picked Boscia (fruits), we will grind them coarsely (to remove the skins), we will leach them (by soaking in water for one or more days), we will cook them, and we will put (=add) liquid soda ash.

447 They put in liquid soda ash and they cook it. And then (they) strain it (in a filtering basket), and at that time (they) cook it, then (they) divide it into shares and we eat.

426 Oumou Pathé, sister of Seydou.
427 Brief, partially inaudible discussion about speaking into the mike.
428 The pounding to dislodge grains from the millet spikes is generally done in a specific area at the edge of the village, where extra-large mortars and pestles are kept for community use.
429 In each extended family (say, fifteen or twenty persons), the millet cakes and the sauce are cooked centrally with one woman in charge.
430 Lit. “hunger food.” I.e., foods consumed when the millet has run out.
431 Boscia senegalensis, a shrub whose seeds, resembling hard peas, are leached in water for 2-3 days and then cooked. This is the primary millet replacement staple in the region.
432 Second woman is Oumou Youbi.
433 See note on liwɔ̀ in text 2004-2a.03 (translation page).
(Leaves of) *luwo* trees, we strip them off. When we have stripped them off, we pick out (= gather) the twigs, we put them in the pot, we cook them. And then, at that time, we divide it up. We gather—, we make balls, we put in millet-flour balls, we divide it up, we get together and eat (it).

Yes, another one, porridge. If (there's just) a small amount of millet (grain), we make porridge, we divide it up, we get together and eat it. It’s a crisis food.

Did you—Sg hear? You-Sg will hear. If you-Sg haven’t stopped asking (= have further questions), you-Sg will hear.

2004-2b.03  Soda ash

X: 451 Now, soda ash. Dark soda ash. The way you-Pl make it. The way you-Pl put it in (grain) food. Where you-Pl begin (making) it, what you-Pl make. By doing what (= how) you-Pl put it in food. Now (he says) he is asking that.

Y: 452 As for dark soda ash, we rake it up (after burning it in the fields), then when we add a pinch it (to millet cakes). All right. When the (millet) stems (in the field after harvesting) have dried, we burn our soda ash. Now when we have burned it, now (we use) a filtering pot, we take out some broken-up millet grain spikes (from pounding in mortars), we put some broken-up millet grain spike is the holes of the filtering pot, and we put some dark potach (in it). We soak the dark soda ash (in water), we let it (=liquid) go down (through the holes of the filter). When we have gotten some porridge, then we add a little of it (=liquid soda ash) (in it).

2004-2b.04  Drawing water

X: 453 (He says) he is asking you-Pl. Water, the work of drawing (water). When you-Pl go to the artificial ponds, with what [focus] do you-Pl go to draw water? The way one draws (water). That is what he is asking you-Pl about now.

454 Suppose (for example) that one is going away to Yogodogi in the morning. One goes (there) bringing the rubber waterbag, one pulls it, one puts it (=water) into the bucket. One pulls—, one brings it, one comes home (with it). That is what he is asking you-Sg about.

Z: 455 Yogodogi, we go to the pond(s) in the morning. When we go to draw water, we go bringing a rubber waterbag. When we—, when we have gone bringing (it), we put the rubber waterbag in the water at Yogodogi. When the water has gone into it (=waterbag), we put it (=water) into a bucket. When we have put it in the bucket, we take it and carry it (on our heads), we come (home). We go to our home, we put (the water) in an earthenware water jar. We come and drink. It’s with that that we come and make (=cook) meals.

X: 456 There is nothing else.

2004-2b.05  Baskets and jujube cakes

X: 457 (He says), is there something that one makes by hand work, that one sells and gets money (thereby)? That is what he (asks) you-Sg—, (he asks) that you-Sg speak to him.

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434 Porridge is also an everyday snack food in times of plenty.

435 The millet stems are burned, and the ashes are mixed with water to make soda ash.

436 An earthenware pot with holes on the bottom for letting liquid out.

437 The holes in the filtering pot are clogged with broken millet grain spikes from the first pounding of millet grain spikes, allowing the liquid to pass through into another container below.

438 The liquid soda ash is used as a condiment in porridge, or with millet cakes. There are also various forms of solid soda ash used as condiments, or mixed with chewing tobacco, or mixed with gunpowder.
Y: 458 Uh-huh. Whether we do hand-work and get (something)? We weave straw baskets\textsuperscript{439}, we earn money. We (cut off) strips of branches—, we pull off grass (stems), and we remove (=cut off) strips of branches, and we come and weave baskets\textsuperscript{440}, we get some money. We make macari\textsuperscript{441}. We buy roselle (fruits), we make macari, and we sell the macari.

459 Furthermore, we pick jujube (fruits). We make (dry) jujube balls (cakes). The jujube fruits are to one side, the (jujube) balls are to the other side (=different). We go and sell (them), we get some money. We get (fruits of) \textit{burusode} tree\textsuperscript{442}. When we have stripped them off (the branches), we sell (them), we get some money. Even black \textit{luwo} (tree), we strip off (its leaves), we mix it (with a little millet grain). We get some money.

\textbf{2004-2b.06 \ Weaving with strips of doum-palm frond}

X: 460 Now, it will go down. Now the women, the way they weave (palm-frond) fans. The way they buy doum-palm fronds (=leaves), they sit, they weave fans, and how they sell the fans. (He says) he is asking you-Sg about that, you yourself.

Z: 461 Fans. We don’t have doum-palm fronds. We (buy) fans—, (or rather) we buy doum-palm fronds. When we have bought the doum-palm fronds, we sit.

Y: 462 Ten riyals (=50 francs CFA).

Z: We buy doum-palm fronds for ten riyals.

Y: 463 Yes, (and) its palm-frond nerves\textsuperscript{443}. When we have woven them, we sell them. Its price, with (=for) that—

Y: Fifty riyals (250 francs CFA).

Z: For fifty riyals we sell a fan.

\textbf{2004-2b.07 \ Marriages I}

X: 464 Now (he says) he is asking you-Sg, if you-Sg have gotten a girl (=daughter), now, when you-Sg have given (=promised) her to a man. Yes, the way one works (=what one does), the way (=what) one does, until one takes, until her marriage. What you-Sg get (=receive), what you-Sg take out (=pay), what they give you-Sg, (and) what you-Sg take out.

Y: Well.

X: 465 (He says) that is what he is asking now. Until they marry her (to a man). The gear (=things) of the marriage negotiations, what they pick up and take out (=to pay), (he says) that is what he is asking you about.

Y: 466 Well, all right. If they have married her, if they have proposed (=asked for the marriage), if they have asked. Calabashes, tankards, that is what they bring. They bring (it), at first. Furthermore, gifts, salt, they bring it. Furthermore, while they have not (=before they have) married, when they arrive at (the time) to marry, meat, the marriage meat, they give the marriage meat.

467 Well, when they are going to get married, the marriage millet-bundle, they tie up (and give) the marriage millet-bundle, they give the marriage meat, they give the proposition calabash, they give the gift, the men will give all that. You-Sg too, you the mother, that which, you-Sg too. You-Sg too, your mother, there is nothing now that you-Sg take out. At this time, they make millet cakes (tô), the millet cakes of (=for) the millet.

\textsuperscript{439} The two main types of baskets are \textit{tású} (smaller, tightly woven from grass stems) and \textit{jésú} (larger, used to carry millet grain spikes from the fields at the harvest, loosely woven from strips of branches).

\textsuperscript{440} Baskets woven from thin, flexible strips of branches of the tree \textit{Grewia bicolor}.

\textsuperscript{441} Black spice made from fermented roselle fruits, widely used in sauces.

\textsuperscript{442} \textit{Grewia villosa}.

\textsuperscript{443} The rigid central nerves in each segment of a doum-palm frond (=leaf). There are many such segments in each doum frond. This is distinct from the very hard, flat petiole connecting the entire frond (leaf) to the trunk of the palm. This petiole becomes the handle of square fans.

\textsuperscript{444} The fronds are cut into thin strips that are woven together.
Well, now they have ceased (doing that). Now, the mother, what she marries her child (=daughter) (with), she takes out her bracelets, she takes out her fabric, she takes out her shoes. Furthermore. Did I say (=mention) fabric?

Z: 467 She takes out a boubou.
Y: She takes out a boubou (outer garment), she takes out a head shawl, she takes out a wide-shouldered boubou.
Z: 468 Rings.
Y: She takes out rings. She takes out gold (jewelry). She takes out necklace chains with rings (on them). Uh-huh. What more is left (to mention)?
Z: 469 When (the day of) the marriage has come, —
Y: The marriage—. Well, when (the day of) the transfer of the bride (to her husband’s house) has come, at that point, calabashes, forty-four calabashes, ten wooden eating bowls, eight fans, six (drinking) tankards, six ladles.

2004-2b.08 Marriages II

X: 470 He says, what he is asking you about now, the women, when the women get together in a large group, they take (=hold) marriages, they celebrate holy days. The day before, their hairdoes, their finery (jewels etc.), the way they (used to) do. (He says) that is what he is asking you-Sg about now. He is asking.
Y: 471 The marriage comes. Yesterday—the day (that…)—a holy day has come. Here—, we wash the clothes. Our head (=hair) is braided. They attach head rings (to the hair). They put on necklaces. They put on (finger) rings. They put on arm rings (above the elbows). They put on gold. If guests are coming, we (do) everything, we braid our heads (=hair), we wash the clothes ahead of time, we tie (=wear) our fine clothing, and we go. We get together, and after that we celebrate (with song and dance). All that we do. Until (=even) nowadays.

2004-2b.09 Medicine

X: 472 Now, (he says) he is asking you-Sg: children get sick, a sickness catches (=afflicts) them. When they get sick, how (=what) you-Pl used to do, what you-Pl would treat them with. That is what he is asking you-Sg about now. From what they used to do yesterday (=in the past), all the way to what you-Pl do nowadays, for treating (sick) children. That is what one is asking you-Sg about.
Y: 473 Yesterday (=in the past), we didn’t know (about) white people’s medical treatment. Yesterday, (it was) breaking off (plant) medicines. Whatchamacallit, Calotropis shrub, Solanum bush. Furthermore, broad-leafed fig tree. That other one.
X: What they have a child drink.
Y: Yes, yes, what they have a child drink.
X: 474 Guiera shrub.
Y: There is Guiera shrub. With that—
X: 475 Cadaba bush.
Y: That’s it, Cadaba bush. With that they have a child drink.

476 Well, Solanum bush, that too, when a child gets sick, then they treat (him) with that. Well now, if children have gotten sick, (if) there is some, we put (=use) medicaments. We have (them) drink pills. We have them drink medicines.

477 Black (=African) people, and the white people, get together. Now we treat (them), we jab (=give injections to) (them). There is nothing that we don’t do now. Well, the work of the mountain, that too we work. We soak the medicines (=medicinal herbs). We bathe (them, in it). We have (them) drink (it).

2004-2b.10 Fulbe women sell milk
X: 478 (He says) now he is asking: Fulbe women bring milk here (to the village). They come to sell milk. Milk, how, with what (= at what price) you-Pl buy (it), how you-Pl measure (it). You-Sg give them gear (containers).

Y: 479 The Fulbe bring milk. When they have brought it, we take (it) out its grain. We measure the milk of/and the grain with ladles. When we are measuring that milk, we put (out) the price of the milk first.

... [transcription incomplete]

445 The millet grain that the Dogon exchange for the milk.