

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 addition 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.

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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 éné¹

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè béle

Sa: 002 nòndérⁿá túrú, ténám èⁿà-àrá lěy, túnóm-mà dàgú-sà [[ósú kà] kù], èⁿà-àrá ká—, ténám ká [èⁿà-àrá dè], kó [díńá tà:lí] tégó má, àsí kó pás-é,

003 èⁿà-àrá ígú-sò séw→, ká [ténám dè], ká nîŋ [àsí yá = m] àsí gá-wòšì, [[èⁿà wásá] dè] ká, [àsí ténám dàgá = m [ósú kù]], [[àsí dé] èsí-tígěy² kà-lí] tán, [èⁿá mǎ:] bà-rⁿá,

004 wó [kò ténám], wó yá = m, wó gá àsí— [[ténám wásá] dè], àsí èⁿà-àrá ká dàgú-sà [ósú kù], gá = m àsí [kò dé] èn-túkěy kà-lí, [ténám làgù kíní³ bà-rⁿá, [ńjí kày] kálá: [tègù mútú],

005 nîŋ àrkírí wó sà-rá, kó kúló = m [tègù mùtù ńú] [[[àsí mǎ:] zâ:] kù]⁴ dá,

006 wàllây ká díńá,

007 ténám jèlò = m yǎy-sà↑, èⁿá jèlò = m yǎy-sà, ténám ká [èⁿá dè] [[nòndèⁿà làgù] nây mà], [àsí mǎ:] túnóm-mà ká dàg-é, iní dèŋ [[dèŋ ńgú] dé],

008 ténám ségú-sà, èⁿá [nòndérⁿá túrú], [sòlò:., [[tiwⁿá kòtò] lěy]] á li-rà, [kò nây kày] àrkírí ténám áw-wòrè, ténám ká, [yó kày] [tègù mútú kálá:→] yⁿàngó, kámá-ní àsí kó áw kúwó, [tègù mútú] làgù kálá:→⁵ yⁿàngó, kámá-ní àsí kó áw kúwó cék,

009 háyà, [kó yè] ténám, tóró = m [[èⁿá kòrò] kù] lǎw!⁶, háyà, ténám èⁿá á: = m⁷ kúw-wòsì,

010 iní: . [[kò éné] lěy] bánà tìgì:→⁸

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

Bo: 011 á ènè ènè éné éné

Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè béle

Bo: 012 nòndérⁿá túrú, bèlú, [ìlò díwru] kù, sòlò á li-rà, ténám yèrí kó òrⁿú-sà, ká ténám↑, ká [ń lísì] pò:w, ténám, ká bára:jì kòy, [ń lísì] pò:w [ú nà],

013 [ú ná], [í álkà] yállà àyé ísù-yⁿárⁿú⁹ mà↑, fây ńkǎy mánì, pò:w kày, [àsí dé] pò:w gá dìŋjé dèy, [díńá tà:lí] ká kó tégó, [díńá tà:lí] tégó mà↑, mí ú pás-é,

¹ Standard opening for a tale, followed by the listener's standard authorization to proceed with the tale.

² *èsí-tígěy* '(not) anything'. The form is subject to contraction, and its pronunciation is variable, also heard as *èn-túkěy* (e.g. this text, below), and *ès-túkěy* (2004-1a.02).

³ Pronounced [lǎgkíní] (apocope of /u/).

⁴ Variant of *zákà kù*.

⁵ Pronounced [lǎgkálá:].

⁶ Also *cǎw!*. Denotes the sound of catching something.

⁷ /áwá = m/.

⁸ One variant of standard tale-closing phrase. Also: *énè: kò bánà lèy tìgì:*.

⁹ Possessed form of *ísú-yⁿárⁿú* '(man's) sister', with implied 1Sg possessor.

014 nîŋ, íló àsí yá = ì, [bèlú zákà] kù, ténám, ká dàgá = ì, ès-túkěy [àsí dé] gà-rí dèy, àsí [bèlú làgù cíní] bà-rⁿá, kó mánì, [tènám làgù] dè, wó yá = ì, bèlú dàgù-sà, [bèlú dè] ès-túkěy kà-lí, [tènám làgù cíní] bà-rⁿá,

015 ká díŋá sánní

016 gà: nîŋ, àrkírí kó sà-rá, àrkírí kó sá má kày,¹⁰ dógò àsí kǔw-wàrà nà, [tègù mútú] [[[àsí mǎ:] zákà] kù] dìŋù-nó, gà: sírà, dèŋ ñgú dé, wàgàtù ñú, [àsí mǎ:] túnǒm-mà ká dàg-é, àsí kày, [àsí kày] nâŋ sà-rá, yállà wó â: yá-rà má nà→, [àsí kày] nâŋ sà-rá,

017 ténám jèlú-sò, ténám— bèlú [[kú mà] só = ì] jéw→ èlú-sà, ténám yǎy-wòrè hál wⁿáŋú-lú-wòrè, bèlú tóró = ì [gólú kù] lú-sò, bèlú ká yó jèlú-wòrè dèy, làgù [[dèŋ wà:gá] dè] àsí bò-nó yé→,

018 [àsí ná] á ùsù-r-è, yállà àyè ísì-yⁿàrⁿù¹¹ mà↑,

019 zǎ: kó jèlú-sò, lá:sàrà dō:-rè tán, bèlú íló yèrú-wòrè, nõŋ kó tàm-ná sákkò, [ténám kó ségá mà] [[kò dé] á ùsù-rò] yállà, < kò ày— > [wò ná] [àyè ísì-yⁿàrⁿù] mà,

020 [éné [kò bánà] lěy] kútè kàtè kútè¹²

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

Sa: 021 á ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè

Sa: 022 [ǎ-n túrú] yèrì gú-sò, césú-ró=ì-wó¹³, césú-ró = ì-wó, césú-ró = ì wó [á nõŋsù-tò [àrà-m yà:fú:] ká àsí jèl dà césù], gó:ŋà,

023 úŋgúró = ì-wó [á yǎy tǒŋgù-r-ǎ:]¹⁴, à-nú túrú, ká dàgù-s-ǎ:, ká [àsí mǎ:]↑, [wó jèrè mà] [á l-à: ká íló], [à-nù kún] [ǒw kù] cékù dà-wó, háyà, à-nù kúnú↑, [wó nà] [ùrò kù] dá-wó nò, háyà, úsú-s-ǎ: [wò dé] ká, ká ...

[song:] 024 jèrèŋgésì: pò:, jèrèŋgésì:¹⁵
àyè [ú lěy] mà jèrèŋgésì:
àrà-m àŋí mà jèrèŋgésì:
[à-nú túrú] yè jèrèŋgésì:
[à-nú túrú] [à-nù dō-rí¹⁶ gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrà

025 háyà [wó kày] bìrìy-sò, gó:ŋà, yá mà, [àrà-m lěy] jèrè = ì yè-s-é = bé, ñgó:ŋà

026 jèrèŋgésì: fò:, jèrèŋgésì:
àyè [ú lěy] mà jèrèŋgésì:
[àrà-m lěy] yò jèrèŋgésì:
[àrà-m lěy] [àrà-m dō-rí gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrà

027 bìrìy-s-è = cé, yá = ì [àrà-m tà:lí] jèrè = ì yè-s-é = bé

028 jèrèŋgésì: fò:, jèrèŋgésì:
àyè [ú lěy] mà jèrèŋgésì:
[àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèŋgésì:
[àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèŋgésì:
[àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèŋgésì:
[àrà-m tà:lí] [àrà-m dō-rí gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrà

029 wó jèrè = ì lú-s-ǎ:, yá = ì [[àrà-m tà:lí] jèrè = ì] yè-s-é = bé, ñgó:ŋà

¹⁰ Topical *kày* ‘as for’ after a conditional antecedent clause.

¹¹ ‘sister’. Emended from *ísì-ànú* ‘brother’ on tape.

¹² *kútè kàtè kútè*. Nonsense words ending a tale.

¹³ ‘he was powerful’. 3Pl counterpart *césú-r-é = ì = bé*.

¹⁴ /tǒŋ-rǎ/ ‘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 *dò:-lí*.

030 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m náyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m nú:yⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m nú:yⁿ] [àrà-m dò-rí gá] yă: kúlú bàrá

031 yăy-s-ò:, yá = ìn [lèy làgú] kúlú bàrú-s-è = bé, sôyⁿ tánú-s-è = bé

032 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m náyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m nú:yⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m kúréy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m sôyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m sôyⁿ] [àrà-m dò-rí gá] yă: kúlú bàrá

033 gó:ṅà, [nîṅ yà:fú:], ká bé ká [àsí àrà-m] dò-rí, biríy-s-è = bé, yá = ìn = bé [àrà-m lèy làgú] kúlú bàrú-s-è = bé, àrà-m lá:rà tán-gòr-è = bé, túnòm-mà bàrá = ìn yè-s-é = bé, gó:ṅà

034 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m náyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m nú:yⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m kúréy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m sôyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m gá:rà] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m lá:rà] mà jèrèngésì:¹⁷
 [àrà-m lá:rà] [àrà-m dò-rí gá] yă: kúlú bàrá

035 yá = ìn pé:rú dò-lú-s-è = bé, pè:rú bé dò-lú-s-ò ṅ, háyà [túnòm-mà bàrá = ìn] yè-s-é = bé, [nîṅ kày] [àsí mǎ:] [àrà-m pé:rú]— [àrà-m pé:rú kày] [[wó bá-sà] [wó bà-rí ṅ] lěy yà:fú:], [àsí mǎ:] wó áw gǎgú¹⁸ gùṅ-é, [àrà-m pé:rú kày] tùwⁿò [[à-n tùr-í→] jésù] mǎt-tò¹⁹ ṅ yà:fú:, [wó mà] itú-yàrà, [àrà-m pé:rú kày] [bállá²⁰ kày] jìní,

036 zákà [jèrèngésì: kày] fǎy [à-n tùr-í→] [wò dé] césù, [[ùró kù] tónḡ] dìnḡ = ìn [kù-bònò ná:] cék sà, hì:là péré,

037 [àrà-m pé:rú] túnòm-mà bàrá = ìn yè-s-ò, ṅgò:ṅà,

038 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:

¹⁷ On the tape, the narrator goes one number too far, adding a verse with *àrà-m pé:rú* ‘ten men’. This is omitted here.

¹⁸ Here pronounced [gǎg].

¹⁹ Perfective-2 of *mǎtò*.

²⁰ Variant of *bátílá*.

[àǎ-m nǎyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m nú:yⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m kúréy] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m sôyⁿ] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m gá:rà] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m lá:rà] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m pé:rú] mà jèrèngésì:
 [àǎ-m pé:rú] [àǎ-m dǒ-rí gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrá

039 [kò àrà-m pè:rú cíní] bà-rí, [à-n tǔr-í→] [àsí mǎ:] [àǎ-m pé:rú] ká [àsí mǎ:] ǎ-n dǒ-rí, kó yè, énná kár^a = m̄ = bé cék, [[ùrò kúnú] ká ↓kúnú]²¹ áw bàkùtú gùṅ-é = m̄ = bé, [[[wò ló] kù] á: = m̄ gágú zǔw gùṅú-s-è = bé] [cèlǎ jèrèngésì: [kù-bòndò péré]], èn-tígèy dǒ-rí, wó tǔw pàg-é = m̄ [lǎ lá ilò]²² wó dé = m̄ bò-s-é,

040 *bon*, éné [kò bánà lěy] kútè kàtè kútè

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

Bo: 041 á ènè ènè ènè ènè

Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bèlè

Bo: 042 [[à-n túrú] [wò yⁿâ-n]²³ lěy] yèrì gú-sò, mǒtú dǐṅú-d-è = bé, háli ì-rⁿú bè-s-é = bé, kó [nòndèrⁿà nǎṅ] yèrì lú-sò, [má isú sí-wòrè má] [yⁿà-rⁿú kúnú] á gá-rà wó kò bàsá-bàsá, < má bàsá—, má kò—, > wó [[pàṅá pùrù] kù] lú-wòrè má, [kò yⁿà-rⁿú] á cè-t-ǒ:²⁴ má yⁿà-rⁿú [[kò lìsá] jéré mà] [yèró mà] [bàsá mà] [yⁿà-rⁿú dè] á òw-r-ǒ:], zákà dǔm-bòrè,²⁵

043 nòndérⁿá túrú ṅkǎyⁿ, háyà, yⁿà-rⁿú ká [kò yú] bàsú ów yà:fú:, kó yè, ùnú-s-ǒ: [[kò pàṅá] kù], háyà, kó yèrì, [nṅ kày] yⁿà-rⁿú—, [lò mà] á mǒgù-r-ǒ:, ká àsí [[kò lìsá] só mà] [á yà-rà],

044 [wó yè-nó déy] [àsí kày] sìgí-yàrà kòy, ká àsí yèr-cí dà, [kó yè] à-nú tóro sígò = m̄ cék zǒw-sò, zákà èn-tíkéy [pàṅá kù] yⁿṅgò, à-nú zǒ: = m̄ yǎy-wòrè,

045 à-nú [ǒw kù] húrà kárⁿú-wⁿòrⁿè, à-nú [ǒw kù] dá, [ǒw kù] dá, [ǒw kù] dá, [[ǒw kù] dá], [hâl já:m̄lè yè-sò], [nṅ kày] [yù kàlá] gú-wòrè, kó [nṅ kày] [yù kàlá] mà, gùṅ-é = m̄ = bé, [zá mà] bíré = m̄ = bé, lé = m̄ = bé, [nṅ kày] nù-mù éṅ-gòrè,

046 [nṅ kày] [ègá mà] á ús tṅṅù-r-ǒ:²⁶ [kò yⁿà-rⁿú kúnú], [jéré kálá:] á ús tṅṅù-r-ǒ:, [jéré kálá:] á ús tṅṅù-r-ǒ:, yállà bé [àsí ègà] wò-rí má, hâl [nṅ kày] égú-s-ǒ: ká [wò ègà] á dà [[sǎṅ pùrò] kù],

047 [nṅ kày] [nù-ṅ kà: [àsí dé] hé! kò [[àsí ègà] jéré mà] á yè-tò ṅ], [sǎy yà:fú:] sórⁿú-sórⁿú mǒt-tò = kó, [nṅ kày] [lè ṅgú] < kárⁿú-sà = kó— >, kárⁿú-s-ǒ:, kárⁿú-s-ǒ: [hâl mútú-rú-sò], hâl [nṅ kày] ká cé²⁷ yèrì [kò lè kúnú] lé = m̄, má ká, cé [[àsí ègà] jéré mà] yèrì [àsí dé], [[àsí ègà] dǔrⁿó mà] yèrì,

048 [sày bólikì] lí-sà, ká [nṅ kày] ká kó yá só, ká wó [bèré mà]²⁸ [nṅ kày] [kà: kárⁿá mà] wó [[àsí ègà] sórⁿó mà] [á yà-rà ṅ], kíkírì-kíkírìw kíkírì-kíkírìw kíkírì-kíkírìw, wó [àsí ègà] [sórⁿó mà] yèrì bè-ná,

049 kó [[sày pírì] mǎnì] lí-sà, háli éṅú-sà, [nṅ kày] kó yá [sórⁿó mà] yèrì, sày pírì—, [[sày pírì] mǎnì] [wó mǎnì], kíkíkíw kíkíkíw kíkíkíw kíkíkíw á! [wó mǎnì] ká [àsí ègà] [sórⁿó mà] yèrì bè-ná,

050 [pètùkílěy dé] ká kó [yá lé mà] [nṅ kày] [kó yá [[àsí ègà] sórⁿó mà] yèrì], pètùkílěy lěy, pètùkílěy mà, [[lí-sà hâl éṅú-sà yà:fú:] kúrúkúti: kúrúkúti:, á! ká [ṅgú mà] [àsí ègà] sò-nó

²¹ Definite *kúnú* downstepped after *ká* representing /kâ/ with possessed-noun {HL} overlay.

²² *àlâ ilò*, lit. ‘village’s house(s)’. Common term for Tabi (village).

²³ Possessed form of *yⁿà-rⁿú* ‘woman’.

²⁴ *céré* ‘wait for’.

²⁵ *dǔm\|dùwⁿǒ* ‘be finished, exhausted’.

²⁶ Verb /tṅṅ-r-ǒ-/ (imperfective) in progressive sense ‘keep VP-ing’.

²⁷ Nonhuman plural pronoun.

²⁸ ‘going (to...)’.

051 gǎ:ⁿgǎ:ⁿ lí-sà, [kó mánì] úró = m̀ [níŋ kà] [tìwⁿá kù] ùnú-s-ǎ:, kǎ:!ⁿ kǎ:!ⁿ kǎ:!ⁿ, [[wó mánì] ká [àsí éǵà] sò-nó], [[sǎy yà:fú: dé] ñkǎyⁿ],

052 [níŋ kà] kùwⁿá wàsú-dà, ká [kùwⁿá dè], níŋ kà, kó [lé mà] [kó nà] kó yá, [níŋ kà] kó yá èlá,²⁹ kùwⁿá ká, [àsí kà] kà:ⁿ-tí→, [àsí [kò éǵà] wǎ:-sì má] [ès [kà: sí:] [kò éǵà] á sòrⁿí-yàrⁿà ñ tí→], [àsí kà] [wò dé] nùnú tótó mà, má [níŋ kà] [àsí kà] àsí á lí-yàrà, háya ká [níŋ kà], wó [àsí dé] nùnú tótó,

053 [kó nà] ká

[song] 054 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú yⁿá-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò]³⁰ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú yⁿá-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú nérⁿè] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

055 ká já:tì, [wò tóy] kò [àsí éǵà] á sórⁿú bè-tà, kó kùwⁿá sígú-sò, kùwⁿá lí-sà hálì hálì kùwⁿá éǵú-sà, kó [níŋ kà] kùwⁿá yǎy-sà, kùwⁿá [sǎŋ kù] [níŋ kà] [kùwⁿá wó yⁿòm-cí dà]³¹ [wó yⁿòm-cí dà] [wó yⁿòm-cí dà], ñírⁿú-sà [kò à-nù kúnú] [níŋ kà], [tìwⁿá dòsù] ñìŋú dà,

056 [kù ñǵú] dǵú dà yùǵùsí-yùǵùsí-yùǵùsí-yùǵùsí-yùǵùsí³², [[tìwⁿá cìl-ěy]³³ kù] ñìŋú dà, [kó yè] kùwⁿá yèró = m̀ kó kò [[[tìwⁿá kún] kú] kù] yàǵàjây→, kó ñìŋú-sò, [kó yè] kùwⁿá ká

057 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú yⁿá-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú í-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú nérⁿè] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

Sa: já:tì

Bo: 058 [kó kà], íǵú-s-ǎ: séw→, á! [kó nà], èlú³⁴ lát-t-ǎ: kǔm̀nò, <xxx> [kùwⁿá dè] kùwⁿá ñìŋú-dà, ká

059 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú yⁿá-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú í-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú nérⁿè] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú lísi] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

060 mhm! má tóró jèwá ñgó má, [tóró jèwá m̀sù kúnú]³⁵ gú-wòrè mà, háya ùŋǵú-rú-s-ǎ: [níŋ kà], kóddà kùwⁿá círó = m̀ [jírè kà] tǵ̀nè b̀ò-sò, ká

061 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

²⁹ èlá ‘look’ is an emendation made at the original speaker’s request.

³⁰ Some occurrences in the song sound like *só-lò*, a variant form.

³¹ *yⁿòm\|yⁿòmó* ‘look for, seek’.

³² Iterated intensifier, with {HL} contour on the final occurrence.

³³ Diminutive of *ciló* ‘shade’.

³⁴ Here pronounced [ɛl] before another *l*.

³⁵ Determiner *kúnú* forces tone-dropping on *jèwá m̀sù* ‘bad famine’ but not on the latter’s possessor *tóró* ‘mountain’.

[[ú yⁿá-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú í-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú nérⁿè] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú lísi] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

062 [níñ kày] [yà-y-cí d-è = bé] [yà-y-cí d-è = bé] [yà-y-cí d-è = bé] hálì [[àlá dìwrù] kù] dós-s-è = bé, [yó nà] sígú bít-t-ò:, ká

063 kùwⁿá → kùwⁿá → [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 kùwⁿá → kùwⁿá → [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú yⁿá-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú í-rⁿù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú nérⁿè] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [[ú lísi] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

064 [níñ kày] [[àlá dìwrù] kù] yèrí dós:-rè, [ká-kó [níñ kày] [kò à-nú] yèrú-wòrè,

065 kó [níñ kày] [[íló pùrù] kù] wó áw kúl-é = ì, [gólú kù] ní kúl-é = ì, wó òr-é = ì, [wò kù ñgú] ká³⁶ cèl-é = ì, [níñ kày] [[wò jírè] kà] zà-bà:"sá sí-t-t-è, [níñ kày] [zà-bà:"sà ñgú] á lì-r-ò:,

066 í:ⁿ! bé bà:ní dà, àlá bà:ní dà, [ká kò] tóró bà:ní dà, [í isò yà:fú:], [bá:sì kálá:] kà-lí má, yállà [lìsì mǎ:] á dà mà, [bà là: mǎ:] á dà mà, [nèrⁿé mǎ:] á dà mà, cew-là:pú: ká á dà, èn-tígěy kà-lí má, [nù-rⁿù tígěy] ká nùmbù-rí³⁷ má, [cè yà:fú:] á dà,

067 [níñ kày] á d-ò:, [nòñnò sèw-sèw ñgú] [[ká mà] kù] á kùl-lò, á d-ò: [nòñnò sèw-sèw ñgú] [[ká mà] kù] á kùl-lò, hálì éñú-s-ò:, ñgà → háy!, hálì [tóró jèwà] gú-wòrè,

068 [níñ kày] èlú-s-ò: ká [àsí yⁿá-rⁿù], yállà ñgú wó dà mà, zákà wó dà, há:!, [níñ kày] ká [àlhámdirillá:y ràbbíla:lámí:nà]³⁸, [já:tì ní] àsí bé³⁹ òr-ú-wⁿòrⁿè, [níñ kày] dìsì-ná: àlbàrkà,

069 ènè [kò bánà lěy] kútè kàtè kútè, òm-bòrè [níñ kày]

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

Sa: 070 á ènè ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bèlè

Sa: 071 *bon* ténám yèrí èrⁿá òr-ú-sà, [[yógódò pùrù] kù] [lògù-gònó⁴⁰ kù], ténám [[èrⁿá bà-m-ù]⁴¹ kù] lú-sò, ténám [kò èrⁿá] áw kúw iwá →, [ténám [[kò lògù-gònó] kù] lú-wòrè má] [gú bè-ná],
 072 ténám [bǎm dá gà] yá ní → ↑, [bǎm dá gà] yèrí ↓, ténám [bǎm dá gà] yá ní → ↑, [bǎm dá gà] yèrí ↓, ténám èlú-sà, èrⁿá ñú ↑, [kò síwò] gá:lú jèlú-wòrè,⁴² ténám m^bèlò = ì [lògù-gònó kù] cǎy!, èrⁿá m^bèlú = ì il-ká cǎy!, ténám wású-wòrè, ténám [[lògù-gònó pùrù] kù] [nòndérⁿá tà:lí],

073 ténám á wò-rò [cìlò á jèl-lò], hé! [[dìsì-nà:-]ì-rⁿú] [àyé kò⁴³ á jèl-lò ñú] má, kâ:nú ígú-sò séw →, [m^bìrà ñgú] [yà gírěy] á gù-rò yèy, hé! [dìsì-nà:-]ì-rⁿú] [àyé kò á jèl-lò ñú] má, kâ:nú ká àsí, kâ:nú yèrí yàgùrú èlú-sà, ténám ñórⁿò⁴⁴ [ùró kù],

³⁶ *ká* ‘shave’.

³⁷ *núm\|núwⁿó* ‘die’.

³⁸ Arabic phrase.

³⁹ 3Pl in quotation, representing original 2Pl.

⁴⁰ pronounced [lòg:òno].

⁴¹ Verbal noun *bám-ú*, here possessed by ‘goat’ and therefore all-low toned.

⁴² *jèlú\|jèlò* ‘pass’, here in the sense ‘be very much’ with a chained verb.

⁴³ *kò* subject-focus marker.

⁴⁴ Presentative morpheme ‘here is ...’

074 sàbà?állà ká wó ká àsí bára, wó ká àsí gùṅó, àsí [nòndér^{ná} tà:lí] [[ùrò ṅ] kú],⁴⁵ ṅór^{nò} ká àsí gú bè-ná, àsí tátúrá = ìm ká [àsí á jèl-lò gá = ìm] [àsí lùw-sò],

075 èsé ú kúlú-sò ká [[ùró kà] kù] bàm-Ø] [sákkò tátúrá = ìm á lùw-rò] mà,

076 [ṅkǎyⁿ dá kày] [ésú pódó:rè dá], [àsí tátúrá = ìm] àsí lùw-sò, bà-rí = wó gá, [[àsí èr^{ná} òr^{ná} = ìm] gá = ìm [àsí bò-sò ǎw-Ø ṅ kúnú kày], [kó kày] bà-rí = wó], ṅgó:ṅà,

077 kâ:nú ká hēy! ká [wó ná:léy sà-rá], àsí wó gùṅó mà, ìní wó àsí áw kúw-é [n dé] cék! wó á kà-là,

078 m?m! [kó kày] àsí kà-ná, tùw^{nò} àsí wó gùṅú-sò ṅ yàgà-fú:, šállá:hù àsí wó bàrjà⁴⁶ kâr^{ní}-yⁿâr^{ná} jèr^{nú}, ṅgó:ṅà,

079 kâ:nú [báná mà] dèrú sí-t-tò, ténám bò-sò ǎw↓,⁴⁷ kâ:nú hó:là kà-lí, kâ:nú [báná mà] téw⁴⁸ lát-tà,

080 *bon*, [ká wó kâr^{nú}-kú] ká [àsí gùṅó], [nòndér^{ná} tà:lí] [[ùrò ṅ] kú] àsí dá, ká wó ká àsí gùṅó,

081 *bon*, kâ:nú [wò dé] [báná mà] dèrú-wòsì, ténám gágú gǔṅ-gòsì-wó, háyà ténám gágá = ìm gú-wòrè, kâ:nú ká [àsí bánà] pásá, ténám ká [àsí jésù] á jì-rà, ká wó mùy^{ná} kár^{ná} [[àsí jésù] jí dèlá mà],⁴⁹ kó wó:-sì jìní, kó [àsí líw-sà ṅ kúnú] [ṅór^{nò} á yà-rà jìní má], cé→ [nù-r^{nú} kày] ká, wó yírímé:nè ká wó kúló⁵⁰, àsí yírímé:nè kúl-wòsì, [nùndír^{ná} tà:lí] [ùró kù] dá, ú gú bè-ná,

082 [m ú: gǔṅ-wòsì] ú ká [àsí jésù] á jì-rà, [jèsù-jí dèlú-sà] ká wó ká [àsí bánà] pásá,

083 kó èlá [dèṅ kà: nù-nó ṅ]⁵¹ má, [téḡy dà] [nín kày] [nòndér^{ná} tà:lí] [[ùrò ṅ] kú] àsí dá kòy, àrkírí àsí áw-wòrè, kó èlá [èsi-èsi kà: téḡy dà] [dèṅ nù-nó ṅ] má,

084 ténám ká—, kâ:nú ká yⁿàngó, [jèsù-gùsú kù] [dèṅ nù-nó ṅ], ká yⁿàngó, ṅkǎyⁿ làrù hèl-cí⁵² d-è = bé, làrù hèl-cí d-è = bé,

085 gó:ṅà, kúy^{nó} yè-sò, kúy^{nó} ká àyè mà, ká èsé bé á là-tà mà,

086 kâ:nú ká àsí ténám gùṅú-sò [[[lògù-gòndò ṅ] púrò] kù], [nòndér^{ná} tà:lí], yá kó dá, háyà àsí kó gùṅú-sò, kó nà→, àsí kó gùṅó = ìm gá = ìm, [kó nà] ká wó ká àsí èlá [àsí jésù-kùsù] [dèṅ nù-nó ṅ má], ká àsí àsí—, àsí⁵³ césú kúw-é, [àsí nà] ká [[kó kày] kà-ná],

087 m?m! kúy^{nó} ká kòrú, yàgá wó [[kò lògù-gòndò ṅ] kú] ká [kò ténám] á gùṅú bè-tà, [ténám dé] ká díṅá, [[wó dà] wó gùṅú-sò mà] [ká àⁿháⁿ] [ká àsí bà-rí],

088 háyà, ká bé dèwrú bitó [[àsí jírè] kà] [nínì dà], ká àsí w^{nò}-y^{né},

089 *bon*, ténám tóró = ìm, [lògù-gòndò kù] cǎy!, háyà, [nù-ṅ kálá:] [[ósú mà] kúló] [èlá [dèṅ kà: á là ṅ]]

Bo: 090 [kó èlá = ìm] wó zǎw-s-ǎ:

Sa: 091 kó yè, kúy^{nó} m^bèlò = ìm [[ùró mà] kù] mù:!, kâ:nú m^bèlò = ìm [[tìw^{ná} nà] kù] jây!, háyà, [ṅkǎyⁿ kár^{ná} = ìm] [ṅgí kày] símà sáy-s-è = bé, ṅkǎyⁿ kó zùgú⁵⁴ pás-s-è,

092 [énè [kò bánà] lěy] kútè kàtè kútè, *c'est fini*

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

Sa: 093 á ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bélè

⁴⁵ Equivalent to *ùrò ṅgú kú* 'in this hole'. Locative *kù* becomes *kú* after *ṅgú*.

⁴⁶ *bàrjà kár^{nú} \kár^{ná}* 'thank (someone)', here with low-toned *bàrjà* before the future form of *kár^{ná}* 'do'.

⁴⁷ Purposive: 'in order to catch (it)'.

⁴⁸ *téw \téwá* 'hit', here as chained verb indicating forceful action.

⁴⁹ *mà* 'and' with chained VP that is extraposed 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 *lùró* 'be hurt'.

⁵² *lárú \lárá* 'debate'. *hélú \héló* 'share, divide', here loosely 'do together' in a chain. *lárú* drops tones simultaneously with *hélú* before *kí*.

⁵³ Later the speaker rephrased this with a single *àsí*, i.e. *ká àsí césú kúw-é*. But a double *àsí* would make sense syntactically (with two distinct antecedents).

⁵⁴ lit. 'slap, beat, churn', here in a chain indicating abrupt action.

- Sa: 094 *bon*, nòndér^{ná} túrú, ténám—, [ténám, èr^{ná} lěy], túnòm-mà ségú-sà, ɔw kù, [èr^{ná} kúnú] sòlò á lì-rà, èr^{ná} [kú mà] sí-tó = m sòlò á lì-rà, sòlò á lì-rà = kó, [sòlò á lì-rà = kó] [ténám kó wò-só],
 095 ténám cérúm jèré = m, cérúm jèré = m, cérúm jèré = m, < ténám [kú mà] sò yà:fú: èr^{ná} yèrí dò:-rè >,⁵⁵ [èr^{ná} [kú mà] sò yà:fú:]⁵⁶ [ténám yèrí dò:-rè], háyà, làgú [zɔw kày] yⁿàngó, ténám èr^{ná} áw-sà,
 096 ténám ká [nín kày], òdèy [[[tìw^{ná} nà: ɲú] cílò]⁵⁷ dòsù] àsí yá dó mà, [íní kày] nõgá,⁵⁸ má [àsí èlá mà] [àsí símà [èr^{ná} mà] tégw sí-tó mà], àsí símà [nàw^{ná} mà]⁵⁹ kúw-é [cìlò dòsù],
 097 [[cìlò kún] dósù] á dè-r-è = bé→, [[òw-ànú yⁿàyná] ɲór^{nò}] [dimò dân], [[í-m mà] tà:lí] làrá = m ɲór^{nò}, [[òw-[à-nù] nà] kúnú] êm sà-rá,
 098 ɲgò:ɲà, nín kày, [cé yè-só ɲ yà:fú:]⁶⁰ [nín kày] [kò ténám] [[kò èr^{ná}] pásá = m] ígò = m [òw-[à-nù] á èl-là], [èr^{ná} mân]⁶¹ ígò = m [[kò ɔw-[à-nù] á èl-là],
 099 ɔw-[à-nù], ká [ténám dè], ká [nín sá dà] kó yèrí [àsí dé] tégó, kà: kár^{ná} mà, ká [àsí [kò êm] á bè-tà má] [[àsí í-mù ɲí] á bàyⁿ-r^{ná} ɲí],⁶² àrkírí ká [àsí kày] àsí sà-rà,
 100 ɲgò:ɲà, ténám ígú dà [kú gáj→], [[dálí:lì kálá:→] yⁿàngó] [ténám kà: kár^{ná} mà] [kò tégú bé-těɲ],
 101 èr^{ná} ká [òw-[ǎ-n] dè], [àsí kày] àsí ùkú, [kà: kár^{ná} mà] [wó [kò êm] á bè-tà ɲí] [ká àsí ùkú], ká àsí [[jèm túrú] á dà] [àsí sá], [tùwó lěy→], [ténám kù-bònò] [kò tá:l-ló], má núw^{nó} bitó mà, má [kò jèm kúnú] látá mà, má [kò jèm kúnú] dǔy-wòrè má, [má [kò ày^{ná} kúnú] én-ná⁶³ kár^{ná} mà] [híló mà], má [òw-[à-nù] dè] [má én-ná kár^{ná} mà], [wó [jèsú mà] táwrá] [wó húwó], êm kày, èsù péré kâyⁿ, [[wò í-m kày] [nín sá dà] [pùró mútíí-mútíí kàr^{ní}-yⁿàr^{ná}],
 102 [ténám pùrò] jí dǔw-wòrè,⁶⁴ [ténám dè] itù-r-é, [[òw-ànú, ì-mì cíní] bàyⁿ-Ø]⁶⁵ jèl dà ténám—, [ténám á bàyⁿ-yⁿàr^{ná} ɲí] dè,
 103 ɲgò:ɲà [ténám— dé] [kó [tùwó lěy] só zèrí], èlá = m [tùwó lěy] só zè:-sò, háyà ká kó [dó mà] isé, tùwó lěy→↑, dó = m dèlú-s-è, né:sú kâyⁿ, [ténám kú] [kò tá:l-ló], jèm só = m lát-t-è, núw^{nó} bit-t-è,
 104 [ténám kù] dǔy dǔw-wòrè, ténám [[kú mà] yàsá = m] cék [kó yè] [jèm tám pásá = m] [kó [ósú mà] kúlú-sò],
 105 ɲgò:ɲà, [kó yè] ɔw-[à-nù] [ténám pèrà] dígú-wòrè, ɛw^{ní}, túnòm-mà dígú jèré = m = cé, túnòm-mà bàrú jèré = m yǎy-s-è = cé,
 106 háyà, [èr^{ná}-àrá mánì] ósú bē:-sì, [kó mánì] mǔnǔy, yúlà kár^{ná} = m [[gá mà] kù] dūr^{nú}-sò, píró = m [[hóggò mà] kù] lú-sò, [kú mà] bē:-sì = kó→↑,
 107 [ténám .: [òw-[ǎ-n] lěy nà] túnòm-mà bàrú dém→ yǎy-wòrè, [ì-m-í: nà]⁶⁶ pású-wòsì = cé [tìw^{ná} dòsù],
 108 [énè [kò bánà] lěy] kútè kàtè kútè

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

- Bo: 109 á ènè ènè ènè éné
 Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bélé
 Bo: 110 [bèlú má:→], bérúm á bò-tò, bèl-à:rà kó kò [cè bé-bè-nù], [bérúm [này ká:] yá mà] á yè-t-è = cé,

⁵⁵ Phrase enclosed in <...> is erroneous. The speaker then gives the correct version.

⁵⁶ ‘as soon as ...’ with *yà:fú:* 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 [nǎ:ⁿ].

⁶⁰ Adverbial clause (‘when ...’) marked only by relative *ɲí*.

⁶¹ *mân* = *mánì* ‘too’.

⁶² *ɲí* as complement of *tégó* ‘speak!’.

⁶³ Contraction of *ésí-ná* ‘(some)thing’.

⁶⁴ Lexically allowed contraction of *dǔw-rú-wòrè* ‘began’.

⁶⁵ Possessed form of *bǎyⁿ* ‘being alive’ (verbal noun).

⁶⁶ *nà*, variant of reflexive possessor *mà*. Dissimilates to *m* in the preceding noun.

111 yó ñkáyⁿ, àrⁿà-kúsó cé ñrⁿú-sà [sǎŋ kù], [àrⁿà-kúsó cé ñrⁿú-sà [sǎŋ kù] ñ] [[àwⁿà-ùrò pòtú], á dà], kó zǒw-sò = cé [kò dé], kó zǒwó = ì = cé, yèré = ì = cé gá = ì [kó kò] [[àwⁿà-ùrò kún] púrò] kù] lú-s-è = cé,

112 ténám [kó mà] zákà [[àwⁿà-ùrò kún], dé] [kó mà], [á dà] [zǒw dá gà] á yà-rà, [zǒw dá gà] < cé yè— >

113 [kó yè-só ñ yàgà-fú:], ñrⁿú-sà = kó bèl-à:rà, pàlà kán dà⁶⁷ [[ùrò kà] kù], kóddà⁶⁸ jó:rà kárⁿú-sà = kó ñ yà:fú:, [kò dé] lísú-rú-wòrè,

114 [yó kày] ká [ñgú kò [[ùrò kà] kù] tígú dèn dà] [ùrò zú dà pèt!], è→ [lé kày] kárⁿú-wⁿàrⁿè, hé→ ká [lé kày] kárⁿú-wⁿàrⁿè, hé→ [làgú nà] [lé kày] kárⁿú-wⁿàrⁿè,

115 [kó kày] [kó kày] gání áw-wòsì, [kó kày→], kò→ [kò bèl-à:rà dè], ká yállà yⁿàñyèy àsí á kàrⁿí-yⁿàrⁿà mà, túrú àsí kúwó mà→↑, lèy àsí kúwó mà→↓,⁶⁹ háyà ká kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ

[song] 116 lèy àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,⁷⁰
túrú àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
tà:lí àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
này àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,

117 kó zǒw-sò = kó [hâl wⁿáñú-lú-sà = kó], [níní nà] [zǒw dá gà] yè-só = kó, ká [bèl-à:rà dè], yállà

118 bārⁿú àsí kúwó mà↓, ká ká: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
ká jém àsí kúwó mà↓, ká: [kò dé] gá lísì ñ,
pírú àsí kúwó mà↓, ká: kó kà: kó íwà ñ,

119 [kó nà] zǒw-sò = kó hâl wⁿáñú-lú-sà = kó, [kó kò] bèl-à:rà kó, bël táyèrè césú-sà, ká cé zǒ: [íló dè], zǒw-s-è = cé, [tùŋ kà:] kó yé-tèŋ cèlà,⁷¹ bìrìy yè-só = kó,

120 [yó nà]⁷² ñrⁿú-sà = kó [yó nà], kó ñngú dà ñ,

121 ká [ñ kǔw-wàrà] [ñ kǔw-wàrà], ká é→,
ká [ñ kǔw-wàrà] [yá ñ kǔw-wàrà], é→,

122 ká [lèy àsí á kǔw-wàrà mà], ká é→,
[tà:lí àsí á kǔw-wàrà mà], ká é→,
[nàyⁿ àsí á kǔw-wàrà mà], ká é→,
[nū:yⁿ àsí á kǔw-wàrà mà], ká é→,

123 [bārⁿú àsí á kǔw-wàrà mà], ká kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
[jém àsí á kúwó mà↓], kà: kó íwà ñ,
[pírú àsí á kúwó mà↓], kà: kó íwà ñ,

124 zǒw-sò = kó [yó nà], hálì yá wⁿáñú-lú-sà = kó, kó bël táyèrè bèl-à:rà kó cés-sà, ká cé zǒ: [íló dè], zǒw-s-è = cé,

125 [yó nà] [bàrú dá gà] yè-só = kó, [yó nà] ká, ká á á⁷³ dà mà, ká é→, [àsí mà:] á dà, á á dà mà, ká é→, [àsí mà:] á dà, [kò bèl-à:rà kúnú] [kò dé] á gà-rà, [yó nà] ká

126 túr-túrú àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
lèy-lèy àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
tà:l-tà:lì àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,
nàyⁿ-nàyⁿ àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,

⁶⁷ *pàlà kárⁿá* ‘get in the way, obstruct (a path)’.

⁶⁸ Common contraction of *kúwó túrú dà* ‘(at) one time’ and other variants.

⁶⁹ In this intonationally characterized parallel construction, the first part ends with higher-than-usual pitch, the second with very low pitch. Verb *kúwó* is in imperative form.

⁷⁰ This is not sung, but it has a verse-refrain structure that indicates parallel formatting.

⁷¹ ‘before ...’ adverbial clause.

⁷² *yó nà* ‘today’, also (as here) ‘again’. Same semantics as Jamsay *íjé nè*.

⁷³ 2Pl *á* followed by imperfective *á*.

nũ:yⁿ-nũ:yⁿ àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,
 kúréy-kúréy àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,
 súyⁿ-súyⁿ àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,
 ká gá:rà-gá:rà àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,
 lá:rà-lá:rà àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,
 pé:r-pé:rú àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,

127 [kò dé] lísí-rú jèlú-wòrè, [yó nà] zǝw bít-tò = kó,⁷⁴ hâl wⁿánjú-lú-sà = kó, [yó nà] bĕl césá = ìm gá = ìm [[tàyrè làgú] kâyⁿ] [cé mà]⁷⁵ cé zǝ: [ílò dè], tũj kà: kó yé-těj cĕlà, zǝw-s-è = cé

128 [yó nà] bìrĭy yè-s-ǝ:, [bĕl-à:rà dé] ká yélà, [á á dà mà] [ká â:ⁿhá:ⁿ], [á á dà mà] é→, [á á dà mà] é→,

129 bārⁿú àsí kúwó má↓, kà: kó íwà ñ,
 jém àsí kúwó má↓, kà: kó íwà ñ,
 pír-í: àsí kúwó má↓, kà: kó íwà ñ,

130 ká [á á dà] [á á dà], ká é→, [yó nà] só bít-t-ǝ:, kó [tàyrè làgú] césá = ìm [yó nà] cé zǝ: [tũj kà: kó yé-těj cĕlà],

131 [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó], hâl ít-tà = kó ká àsí wⁿánjú-lú-wòrè, [yó nà] zǝw bìrĭy-sò = kó [yó nà], yèrĭ ðìrⁿú-sà = kó [bĕl-à:rà tũr-í→ lók!], ñórⁿò ðĩngú dà

132 ká á á dà mà, ká é→, [á á dà mà] [á á dà mà], ká é→

133 lĕy-lĕy àsí só mà, ká é→,
 tá:l-tá:lì àsí só mà, é→,
 năyⁿ-năyⁿ àsí só mà, é→,
 nũ:yⁿ-nũ:yⁿ àsí só mà, é→,

134 kó [yó nà] zǝw-sò = kó, hâl wⁿánjú-lú-sà = kó, [tũj kà: kó bìrĭy yé-těj cĕlà] [bĕl-à:rà símà] yăy-wòrè, [kó yè] [nĭj kày] [zǝw dá gà]⁷⁶ [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [kó yè-só] [kó yè-só] [kó ígú dà],

135 ðìrⁿú-sà = kó [ùró kà] pó→, [[ùró kà] pó→ kó ðìrⁿú-sà ñ], kóddà, [yó kùn-bé]⁷⁷ ká á á dà mà, cék! á á dà mà, cék!

136 zǝw lú-sò = kó [[ùró pùrò] kù], kó zǝw lú-sò = kó [[ùró pùrò] kù] ñ⁷⁸ ðìrⁿú-sà = kó, [bĕl kà: dālà kárⁿú dà ñ],⁷⁹ kóddà zǝw bít-tò = kó, kóddà [[cè kúwò] pèrà] ðìgú-sà = kó,

137 [nĭj kày] bárgá! bárgá! bárgá! bárgá! bárgá! bárgá! [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó], bĕl-à:rà [àlá ìlò] á lù-rò→↑, ténăm [[àlá ðìwrù] kù] á ðò-rò↓,

138 kó ténăm bìrĭy-sò, [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó], [[[ùrò kúnú] ká] kù] á ðò-rò = kó→↑,

139 [[kò yⁿá-rù] símà [pùrò kù] lí-sà] [kó nà] kúwó = ìm [síimà ìlì-ká á gù-rò], [kó yè] [[[kò yⁿà-rⁿù kúnú] ká] kù], réwnà kárⁿú-s-ǝ: [lò-săykà sì:], kó [jìrò-[ĩ-n]⁸⁰ túrú] tórú sígú-sò,

140 [kó só = ìm] [[[ká mà] kù] ðèrú kúlú-sò], póróm-póróm tēm sí-t-tò = kó, ká [ñgú mà] á nàpù-rà,

141 éné [kò bánà] lĕy] kútè kàtè kútè, tét!

⁷⁴ *bì-tó* ‘do again’.

⁷⁵ ‘they (sheep) too’, reduced from *cé mánì*.

⁷⁶ *zǝw dá gà* repeated iterative, cf. *zǝw-cí dà = kó* in the parallel passage above.

⁷⁷ *yó kùn-bé* is in Jamsay: ‘you-PI are in (it)?’.

⁷⁸ Relative *ñ* after a postverbal PP.

⁷⁹ *dālà kárⁿá* ‘have a miscarriage’, stative (resultative) form with *dà*, and relative *ñ*.

⁸⁰ *jìrò-ì-rⁿú* ‘eye-child-Sg’, i.e. one eye(ball).

2004-1a.08 Riddles

Sa: 142 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà⁸¹

Sa: téndéj dègírè

Bo: tòkù kàlá

Sa: 143 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: gílíngà gílìj-gálán

Bo: wⁿá:sú ká [àsí pùró sà] [kò pùró] kù] dá ń mánì] ká [àsí pùró sà]]

Sa: 144 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: èrè:-n⁸² sósó

Bo: <xxx>, ósú

Sa: 145 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: tátéy ...

Bo: ... cìrⁿò [yà jêm]⁸³

Sa: 146 [tátéy cìrⁿò] [yà jêm]

Bo: èrè:ré

Sa: 147 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: kóyò kù-tòm

Bo: àrú-mòmó

Sa: 148 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: kóyò jìrò-nì

Bo: dè-ósú

Sa: 149 gànú yà:

Bo: gànú

Sa: [dè-ósú kày] mútú

Sa: 150 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: èrè:-n [záká bàsà]

Bo: èrè:-n [záká bàsà]

Sa: èrè:-n [záká bàsà]

Bo: 151 gògú

Sa: á ítú-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: kùsì bèlè bèlè bélé

Sa: 153 gùyⁿ-mú éné, [jìrìm-nú.:⁸⁴ bònù-nú lěy], bé kò gùyⁿ-mú, bé [mòtó mà] á yà-y-rà, nǎyⁿ túrúí, bé bǎm-bdrè má, á bò-t-è = bé↑, [[nù-n túrú] órù] kù],

⁸¹ From Songhay (Humburi Senni) *á m kà* ‘let it come!’.

⁸² *èrè:-nú* ‘young man’.

⁸³ Cf. the more usual *yⁿà-rⁿù jém* ‘black woman’ with high-toned *jém* ‘black’.

154 má [[wò órù] yù] á tùgù-r-è = bé, má núw⁸⁴ bitó mà, [yù cíní] yàwá mà, símà á tèm̀bù-r-è = bé⁸⁵, jèrè símà [jèrè mà] [á yà-y-r-è = bé],

155 jìrìm-nú kò—, < kò tùgù— >, kò tùgù-ú á tógú zè:-t-ò:↑, bònù-nú kò èl-ú á èl-là,⁸⁵ kó [[órú bà-m] jèrè kà: [gó mà] á yè-tò ñ], háyà [kó cék!] kò [bè bírà], [[bírá mà] tángúr-é = m̀ = bé]⁸⁶ [símà á bì-t-è = bé],

156 [órú bàsà] yèrù-wòrè ní→, wò:-sì [á yà-rà] má, <xxx>, bònù-nú á gà-rà [jìrìm-nú dè] háyà [órú bàsà] yèrì-cí là,⁸⁷ [órú bàsà] yèrì-cí là,

157 háyà má m̀onéy→, bã.⁸⁸ mà, [súrú mà] á yà-y-r-è = bé, < jìrìm-nú—, > jìrìm-nú kò bònù-nú á dèm̀yìⁿ-tò, má [[wò dé] ósú tótú dá gà] á yà-y-rà, háyà [ñkǎyⁿ ñkǎyⁿ],

158 [nǎyⁿ túrú] [bé wó-rèñ cèlà] [úrú bàsà] yèr d̀ó:-rè, [bònù-nú á lìw-rà] [[m̀irà mà] tégú-rèñ],⁸⁹ [kó yè] [bònù-nú kày] súrú jèrè = m̀ gù-wòrè, jìrìm-nú á dà d̀ìñú dà d̀ám!,

159 g̀ó:ñà, ká bònù-nú bònù-nú, í!, yù-tìwⁿá yàgá dà yèy, wó sùgúm zèrì ní→, à: ká wó bèrè tùg-ú⁹⁰

Bo: <xxx>

Sa: 160 [á d-ò:] [d̀ìñú dà d̀ám!], [órú bàsà] [[nàñà-sòrì: mà] tógú mà] á yà-rà,

161 [kó nò] wó èlá = m̀ [[jìrìm-nú tùgò] bèl-cèlà] wó kúlú-sò ñ, kó jìrìm-nú m̀: = m̀ ùngúrú-sò d̀ám!, ít-t-ò: [ñgú kày] [bònù-nú [[àsí léy-lò-n]⁹¹ kúnú kày] jìní,

162 wó kúlú bít-tò ñ, kó [[[yù ñgí] zà:] kù] s̀ó:rà kárⁿú-s-ò:, d̀ám! d̀ám! d̀ám! d̀ám! [wó kày] ká [àsí wⁿànjú-lú-wòrè], háyà má [yíró s̀ì:] túnòm-mà á s̀ò-t-è = bé,

163 [yíró pé→t], kó [órú bàsà] ká [wò dé] [yíró pé→t], [á á dà], [yíró pé→t] [túnòm-mà dàgú-s-è = bé], [órú bàsà] èlá = m̀ [nàñà-sòrì: s̀ì:] [[wò tùgò] kù] kúlú-sò ñ, kóddà sát-t-ò:,

164 [nín kày] á sàtù-r-ò: cék!, ìgù-n-ò: láy, kó [órú bàsà] ká yíró pé→t pátì!, jìrìm-nú ká [m̀ú:rà: wó sísà-sísà] [àsí yè-nó kòy],

165 bàm jèrè = m̀ [kò pérà] túnòm-mà wò-s-é = bé, wì: ká yállà yⁿànèy yèy, yé ñ kárⁿú-sà yèy,

166 [órú bàsà] yèrì d̀ó:-rè, àsí z̀w bè-ná, àsí [wò dé] tégú-wòsì má, [àsí m̀:] wù-nó,⁹² [àsí kày] m̀onéy súrú g̀ó = m̀ [àsí kày] [àsí lè-lépíy dà]⁹³ [àsí z̀w bè-ná sákù] [àsí lè-lépíy-dà] [àsí wò-cí dà] [wó á làpù-r-è ñ↑], àsí [wò-cí dà] [wó á z̀w-rò ñ↓],⁹⁴ háyà [àsí kày]

167 ñkǎyⁿ kárⁿá = m̀, én-ná⁹⁵ kárⁿá = m̀ <xxx> [kú mà] bè-s-é = bé, háyà ñkǎyⁿ, [bé mà] [kò bírá] á bì-tà

168 á [énè [kò bánà] lèy] kútè kátè kútè

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

Sa: 169 *bon*, s̀ùnù-ná: [nín kày] [[ú dé] á ùsù-r-è] [kà: kò dá ñ]

Bo: 170 s̀ùnù-ná: ná:-kò, kórú dà = kó, [bárⁿú: . jém lèy], àrà-jèrⁿú sá = kó↑, bà:ní sá = kó↓, g̀úrú = kó m̀nì

Sa: 171 yàgá [kò dèn-d̀ìñ]

Bo: [[ní p̀urò] kù] [kò dèñ-d̀ìñ]

Sa: [[ní p̀urò] kù] [kò dèñ-d̀ìñ]

Bo: [[ní p̀urò] kù] [kò dèñ-d̀ìñ], ní d̀ùm-bòrè má nà, [[ùró kù] ló mà] á hùrà kà-là = kó

Sa: 172 *bon*, [àw jém nà] yⁿànèy á kà-là mà

⁸⁴ Jamsay-style “dying-quail” intonation at end of left conjunct.

⁸⁵ *tùg-ú á tógú ... , èl-ú á èl-là*. Parallel phrases with verbal nouns (-ú) as cognate nominals.

⁸⁶ *tángú-rú\|tángú-rá*, here ‘perform (work)’.

⁸⁷ Progressive. This speaker has *-cí là* rather than *-cí dà*.

⁸⁸ Variant of *bàwⁿá* ‘go around’.

⁸⁹ Verbal noun suffix *-rèñ* on verb of ‘lest ...’ complement of ‘be afraid’.

⁹⁰ *bèrè* ‘went to (place)’, irregular perfective. *tùg-ú* ‘breaking’ is a verbal noun in purposive function.

⁹¹ *lèy-lò-n* ‘(someone’s) second’ with human singular suffix, here possessed.

⁹² *wùrú\|wùró* ‘get away, escape’.

⁹³ Reduplicated verb in stative construction with *dà* ‘be’.

⁹⁴ Clause-final *ñ* in complements of ‘see (that ...)’.

⁹⁵ ‘Whatchamacallit?’, cf. *ésú* ‘thing’

Bo: àw jém, [àw jém] gùrù-ná: sà-rà, àrà kày, [kò kórò] [bárⁿú-bárⁿú á dà] págú dà, [jém dà=kó] sùlúm! sùlúm! sùlúm! sùlúm!,⁹⁶ kó nù-rⁿú wǎ:-sì í yà:fú:, [[kòró mà] só mà] á pòtù-rù-tò=kó ñkǎyⁿ, má [[kú mà] gònù-mó mà] [kàlú á sì-là=kó],⁹⁷ ùró—, [[ùró kù] dà] [kò dɛŋ]

Sa: 173 [ɛ̀sù m̀̀sù] má

Bo: [ɛ̀sù m̀̀sù]-kó, [kò kálù] [[nù-rⁿú jìrò] kù] lú-wòrè tán, â: jírím-tò

Sa: <xxx>

Bo: â: jírím-tò

Sa: 174 kàmà-ní àyⁿá

Bo: kálá àyⁿá-àyⁿá, èm nôm↑, wâl-mà súkkàrà↓

Sa: [kò kúnú] á nàpù-rà,

Bo: kó [kò dé] á nàpù-rà

Sa: 175 gá = ìn [kòròŋ-kò:sí nà]

Bo: kòròŋ-kò:sí, [kò nà] ðⁿsí:ⁿ = kó, tükéy = kó, [kórú dà = kó] [[kò kórú] tàkà sà-rà]

Sa: 176 kò jésù-gùsù⁹⁸

Bo: [kò jésù-gùsù→], [ú kày] ká→, b̀̀b̀̀lò káyⁿ, gà:ⁿsú dà = kó

Sa: já:tì

Bo: 177 [kò kày] m̀̀sù kòy, kó ìní kò pún dà má, [tóró mà] [hálì wà:gá á b̀̀-ò = kó], púw dá gà, dém→ kálá: z̀̀w-nó = kó, kòròŋ-kò:sí [ñkǎyⁿ dá]

Sa: 178 má â: pú-tò = kó⁹⁹

Bo: â: pú-tò = kó

Sa: 179 símà égú-ẁ̀sì, gá = ìn súwⁿ̀̀

Bo: súwⁿ̀̀, [kò nà] ú kó wǎ:-sì má, súwⁿ̀̀ [sí: lɛy], [túró kày] pìrù-pòysú, kó jèn dà nà:, kó jèn dà gùrù,¹⁰⁰

180 [túró nà] ðⁿsí:ⁿ, kórú dà = kó, bárⁿú↑, síttì↑, jém↓, gá: [ú kó wǎ:-sì tán] [màlfà-ìrⁿú sì kǎyⁿ] síwⁿ! cék! á jèl-lò = kó

Sa: 181 jém dà

Bo: d̀̀y^mú dà = kó sánní, símà ñkǎyⁿ dá = kó, [[ní pùrò] kù] â: lú-rò = kó↑, [tìwⁿá kù] â: ún-nò = kó,¹⁰¹ [ùró kù] á lù-rò = kó

Sa: [kò símà] ñkǎyⁿ dá = kó

Bo: [kò símà] ñkǎyⁿ dá = kó

Sa: 182 [ùgùnú mǎ: nà], sàrí mà

Bo: ìm-nà d̀̀m-lí

Sa: ìm-nà

Bo: 183 ìm-nà, tükéy séw!, [kù-bònò pótó] bà:sà, [kó mánì] [kòròŋ-kò:sí kǎyⁿ] [ɛ̀sù m̀̀sù], kógúsú dà = kó, [bárⁿú.: , jém lɛy] kórú dà = kó, gá: [[kò kórú] kúnú] àrà-jèrⁿú sà-rà, [ɛ̀sù m̀̀sù] kòy, â: cí-tò [kò kày], [kò kày] d̀̀y-wòrè tán, kó gú-wòrè í yà:fú:, [[ìsò kù] â: kótúró-tò = kó láy má] [bùgù-bùgù-bùgù-bùgù má] á b̀̀-ò = kó [tèw sìg-ú]¹⁰²

Sa: 184 [ìsò kù] kótúró = ìn

Bo: kó [ìsò yà:fú:] kótúró = ìn, [ùró gó mà] á b̀̀-ò = kó [tèw sìg-ú] [[ìsò kù] kótúró = ìn], kà: kó m̀̀sù í,¹⁰³ [ɛ̀sù ñgú] m̀̀sù, [kò símà yá] [kò símà yá]

Sa: 185 ká [sàrí mǎ:] [ùgùnú mǎ:] kà: cé dá í

Bo: [sàrí mǎ:] [ùgùnú mǎ:], [kúwó nàyⁿ] sá = cé, kúrú sà-rá = cé, báná sá = cé, cè kú mání:ní, [[àw kù] kǎyⁿ] dà dá, sàlá ú gǎn nà: [sùñù-ná: kù] kà: dá í kǎyⁿ] [kò kǎyⁿ dá],

⁹⁶ *sùlúm!* intensifier for *jém* ‘black’.

⁹⁷ *kàlú* ‘spit (noun)’ is paired with the verb *tó* to describe human spitting, but the long jet thrown off by the spitting cobra is described with the verb *sírⁿá*.

⁹⁸ Possessed form of *jèsù-gùsù* ‘body’.

⁹⁹ *púró* ‘breathe, exhale, puff’.

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

¹⁰¹ *ún-nò*- imperfective of *ún-ó*-. Tonally distinct from imperfective negative *ún-nó*-.

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

¹⁰³ *m̀̀sù* from *m̀̀sù* ‘nasty’ with {HL} overlay as in comparatives.

- 186 sàrí kày, kórú dà mání, píró↑, wòrⁿúkú↑, bárⁿú↑, jém↓, sàrí kò kâyⁿ kórú dà
 Sa: 187 kò déŋ-dìŋ
 Bo: kò déŋ-dìŋ↑, [ní pùrò] kù
- Sa: 188 ùgùnù
 Bo: ùgùnù, [kó mání] píró-pòysú, kógúsú dà = kó, [kó mání] [kòr-í: mà kúnú kày]¹⁰⁴ sá = kó gá→, [kò kórú kúnú↑], [nùnù:-rⁿú kó ítú cèn-nó]¹⁰⁵ záká [kògùsù kúnú] jèn dà, ú á wò-rò↑, [kò kórú kúnú] dīŋjémá, kó mání, [kògùsù kúnú] á gà:-lù-tà = kó wállà:↑, sàrí dè-rⁿó = kó
 Sa: 189 sàrí dè-rⁿó = kó [ná: dè]
 Bo: sàrí dè-rⁿó = kó [ná: dè]
 Sa: 190 [kò déŋ-dìŋ kúnú] [yàgá á dīŋgù-rò = kó mà]
 Bo: [kó nà] [kò déŋ-dìŋ], [ùró gàsá mà] [á dīŋgù-rò = kó], [[tùrù¹⁰⁶ pòtú] kù] á dīŋgù-rò = kó, òjì [kò déŋ-dìŋ]
- Sa: 191 [[àw wàsà cín nà] [ùró mà] á gàsù-rà mà→↑] [gàsù-ná mà→]¹⁰⁷
 Bo: [[àw wàsà cíní] má, [cé kày] [[ùró pùrò] kù] á lù-rò nà:] [ùró gàsù-n-é = cé]
 Sa: [ùró dírⁿà] dà
 Bo: [ùró dírⁿà] dà, [[kú mà] sí:] gàsú bè-n-é
 Sa: gàsú bè-n-é
 Z: 192 tàrú á sì-tù-r-è = cé mà→, ìmú á là-t-è = cé mà→↓
 Bo: tàrú á sì-tù-r-è = cé yà:fú:
 Sa: tàrú á sì-tù-r-è = cé
 Bo: 193 [cé yà:fú] tàr-[sí-t-ù] dà, tàrú cé sí-tú-wòsì ní, má [níŋ kày] sàrí, á bì-bíw-rà, ùgùnù mání↑, [kó mání] [[[ùró pùrò] kù] gàsá mà] [kó mání] [yá á sì-tù-rò], gà: [kó kày], [ùró pùrò] kù, [ùró kúnú] lú dèn-ná = kó,¹⁰⁸ [[nú-yⁿé→¹⁰⁹ gú-yⁿé→] kàrⁿ-ú dèn-ná = kó, [[kò pùrò] kù] tóŋò, yállà [kó kò] á bì-bíw-rà, [kó kò] bìw-ná, [kó kày] [m̀ ínà]
 Sa: 194 [ùró kù] á sì-tù-rò = kó↑, á bìw-rà = kó, á bìw màr-kù-tà = kó mélé́m, má yá á t̀l-l̀ = kó
 Bo: 195 ká yá á t̀l-l̀ = kó, sùnù-ná:, [kó kày] [[ùró pùrò] kù] kǎyⁿ á sí-tú-sí-tú m̀t̀t̀-ò [pùrà pùrà pùrà] pùrà òkǎyⁿ á kò [dèn tùr-í→ dè] kò sí-tú m̀t̀t̀ = m̀ jíppùla-jíppùla kó jìpù m̀t̀t̀-wòsì má, cèy-yà:fú: á màŋùrú m̀t̀t̀-yàrà
 Sa: 196 túnòm-mà
 Bo: túnòm-mà, [nàŋà-bòsò sì kàyⁿ] [[ù dé] lìsì má kǎyⁿ] [ú kó ìngùtí-yàrà], má ú kó dèlù¹¹⁰ bití-yàrà, háyà kǎyⁿ hálì kó—, péⁿ-wⁿòrⁿè má, [yá símá [t̀l̀l̀ mà] gú-yàrà = kó] [m̀ [kòw kúnú] á pàsí-yàrà = kó], sàbù [kó kày] sàlá dīgú dà ò kǎyⁿ, dīgú m̀t̀t̀ dà ò kǎyⁿ, [kó kày] á sì-tù-rò
 Z: 197 má sùnù-ná: [tàrù mútú] á sì-tù-rò mà→↑, t̀gèy mà
 Bo: sùnù-ná: [tàrù mútú] á sì-tù-rò dé,¹¹¹ [tàr mútú] á sì-tù-rò = kó
 Sa: [tàrù mútú] á sì-tù-rò = kó
- Z: 198 [níŋ kày] ú tégú dũm-bòrè
 Sa: dũm-bòrè
 Bo: <xxx>
 Sa: dũm-bòrè
 Bo: dũm-bòrè
- Sa: 199 gǒŋ
 Bo: gǒŋ, [gǒŋ kày] ná:, káláháldì kũmnò, kò bél-cèlà òjú, [kó sì: kày] [ú kó sífà kárⁿú bè-ná], sàlá, [jírè kà] gá,¹¹² [pérá dè] [òkǎyⁿ dá = kó], [t̀rìy-t̀rìy kàyⁿ] òdèy jèn d-è gá,

¹⁰⁴ Reflexive possessor *mà* followed by definite *kúnú* and topic *kày*.

¹⁰⁵ *célú\\céló* ‘do well’.

¹⁰⁶ *túró* ‘termite mount’ (termitary).

¹⁰⁷ Polar (yes/no) question in parallel positive and negative forms.

¹⁰⁸ *dèlú\\dèlá* ‘be quiet’. Negative form occurs idiomatically in ‘X doesn’t be quiet (=rest) from VP(-ing)’, i.e. ‘X VP’s endlessly’.

¹⁰⁹ Hortative of *ló* ‘go in’. Paired idiomatically with following hortative of ‘go out’ to denote back-and-forth motion.

¹¹⁰ *dèlú\\dèlé* ‘put’, here L-toned as part of the wide-domain {LH} overlay controlled by the future.

¹¹¹ Emphatic clause-final particle *dé*.

200 [kò sùgùrù kúnú], jìngà:r-kàr-ěy dós dà, [kò ló ↓kúnú] [kó nà] [ú gǎ-n¹¹³ nà:] èrè:-nú
 [[kò jíré] kà] ígú dà, [kò jíⁿò kúnú], jéré kàyⁿ, cé nà, ú gǎ-n nà:, [[nàjá cìrà] káyⁿ] [[kò jíré]
 kà] kǎyⁿ pàlá¹¹⁴ kárⁿú dà, [[kò ló ↓kúnú] níjèy] zàkú kúlú dà,

201 gá: kó á yày-rà, [[kò kúwò] á tükù-rò ń] ú wⁿò-rⁿó,¹¹⁵ jègìré→, jègìré→ má-dógò,
 [nà: kó á zìngù-rà jìn táń] [kò kúwò], [ńkǎyⁿ á tükù-rò ń kálá:] ú wⁿò-rⁿó, sákkò [[kò kúwò]
 mìrà] égú-rà, [kó kà] ńkǎyⁿ↑, ńkǎyⁿ [pétúm dá gà cék] [á yày-rà]

Sa: 202 [[kò dé] nà: ń],¹¹⁶ ǒw-èsù á wò-só má↑, a wò-rí má yá

Bo: [[kò dé] nà: ń] [[ǒw èsù] kày], [kó kày] í wò-rí

Sa: [[kò dé] césù ń] nà

Bo: [[kò dé] césù ń] [ǒw èsù] mánì, [kó mánì] í wò-rí

Sa: 203 léllè, [[kò sí] dà] [kò sǎń]

Bo: [[kò sí] dà] [kò sǎń] kòy, [[kò dé] ná: ń] í wò-rí↑, [[kò dé] césù ń mánì] í wò-rí↓

Z: 204 má sòlò á: lí-rà = kó má↑, nì-rⁿá = kó¹¹⁷ má↓

Sa: sòlò á: lí-rà = kó, tìwⁿá á: lì-rà = kó, [sòlò á: lí-rà = kó↑] [tìwⁿá á: lí-rà = kó]

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 nà:* ‘its bigness’).

¹¹³ Imperfective negative *gà-rⁿá* ‘do(es) not say’ (< *gá*).

¹¹⁴ *pàlá kárⁿá* ‘block, obstruct’

¹¹⁵ Imperfective negative of *wó* ‘see’.

¹¹⁶ Pronounced [ná:ń] with H-tone to avoid an <HLH> syllable. Simplified comparative, with implied *jèn dà* ‘(is) more’. Relative *ń* is added at the end, after the (deadjectival) noun *ná:* ‘size, bigness’, with {HL} overlay, specifying the domain of comparison. Likewise, just below, after *césú* ‘strength, power’, also with {HL} contour.

¹¹⁷ *nì-rⁿá-* perfective negative of *lé* ‘eat’.

Tape 2004-1, track B

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

Bo: 205 á ènè ènè éné

Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bélè

Bo: 206 [gǒŋ :. èsà-àrá lěy] yèrí [yⁿà-rⁿù]-zán¹¹⁸ kù] lú-sò, èsà-àrá [gǒŋ sè:dè] sà-rá↑, [gǒŋ máni] [èsà-àrá sè:dè] sà-rá↓,

207 èsà-àrá [yⁿé: yèr-é→]¹¹⁹ á kà-là, háli [nòndérⁿá túrú] ñkǎyⁿ, gǒŋ ká, [kò [kúwò-kà là:lèy]] àsí á wò-rò ñ nù nà, yállà [kó nà] [yè-kárⁿú¹²⁰ kó á yè-tò mà], [kó mà] ká [yⁿà-rⁿù]-zán ká kó á yè-tò, ká yⁿàŋyèy, [kò yⁿà-rⁿù kà: àsí á zàngù-rà ñ nù] [kùwò-kà ñgù] liw-ná [kò zàngù-rèn]¹²¹ mà, ká â:ⁿhá!ⁿ! [kó máni] [[yⁿà-rⁿù]-zàngú dà]¹²² [kó á yè-tò],

208 kó bósó bǒs-sò = kó, [kò yáy] dós-sò ñ, háli túddìná kárⁿú-sà, [kó gó = m] [kó yáy-sà = kó], háyà, ká [nù-ñ kà: [bòsò ñgù] bòsú bè-ná ñ kálá:], yěyyà¹²³ [[yⁿà-rⁿù nù] zàŋ-Ø] yè-lé,¹²⁴

209 èsà-àrá yè-só, [kó kày] [yⁿà-rⁿù nà]¹²⁵ ká háyà, ká háyà kóy ká ú wⁿòrⁿó¹²⁶ yá, ká [[kùwò-tò ná:] bà:ⁿsà kúnú] [ès kà: kárⁿú dèn dà ñ], bòsò nù, [[à-nú kálá:] ñgó] [bòsò nù] dǒ-rí ñ, [[yⁿà-rⁿù nù] pèrà] gó,

210 [èsà-àrá ñ] ká yⁿàŋyèy, ká à-nú kálá: [à-nú kà: [bòsò ñgù] bòsú bè-ná ñ] [[yⁿà-rⁿù ñgù] pèrà] gó, èsà-àrá ká èyyó! wó:dì,

211 [èsà-àrá círó = m] [[[kò bòsò kúnú] kú] kù] ùnú-sò], èsà-àrá kó [gàsù-cí dà = kó] [gàsù-cí dà = kó] [gàsù-cí dà = kó] [gàsù-cí dà = kó] kǒwlè-yà:fú: gàsú sánkítà kárⁿú-sà = kó,

212 kó [bèl-céllá kù] pás-sà = kó lúmbùrè:, kó èl-sà = kó [[[báná mà] zà:] kù] [bàná-kùrò jèn dà gúrù ñ], kó líw-sò = kó [[kò kú] kù],

213 háyà ká àsí yáy-wòrè, sǎn sà¹²⁷ [à-nú kúnú] yèrú-wòrè má, ká wó tégó à-nú kà: [jìrò kùrò] ñgù gúrù] dǒ-rí ñ yà:fú:, [[yⁿà-rⁿù ñgù] pèrà] gó, kóddà, [èsà-àrá kày] yáy-wòrè,

214 gǒŋ yè-só [kò sírà], gǒŋ òrⁿú-sà ñóⁿò [kùrò ñ] kárⁿú dà tíw!, ká yé kò nù nà mà,

215 ká háyà, [kò yⁿà-rⁿù nà] ká, [à-nú kà: [jìrò-kùrò ñgù] dǒ-rí ñ kálá:] ká [[yⁿà-rⁿù nù] pèrà] gó]

216 ká [kò à-nú kúnú] ká, [[kùwò-tò tègǎy] bà:sà kúnú], ká yⁿàŋyèy, ká [nín kày] ká kòmó dǒ:-rè, ká wá:jìbì ká [nín kày] kòmó dǒ:-rè, [kó jìní tán]¹²⁸ ká, ká àsí¹²⁹ sègú kà-ná,

217 háyà ká [[kò yⁿà-rⁿù nà] dè], [kó tégó] háyà [[ànù nù] dé]¹³⁰ [wó ségìlà kárⁿá dé], [nín kày] ká [[àsí mǎ:] túnǒm-mà áw-wàrà [zǒŋò dè]], kó gǒŋ yáy-sà,

¹¹⁸ yⁿà-rⁿù-zán ‘asking for (=courting) a woman’.

¹¹⁹ yⁿé: yèr-é→ kárⁿá ‘do going and coming’. In form, yⁿé: and yèr-é are hortatives of ‘go’ and ‘come’, respectively.

¹²⁰ ‘what?-do(ing)’, cf. yé ‘what?’.

¹²¹ Verbal noun -rǎŋ as complement, here possessed.

¹²² Purposive construction with a compound verbal noun and emphatic dà. Note {L} overlay on yⁿà-rⁿù ‘woman’ as compound initial.

¹²³ Admonitional adverb used with prohibitives functioning as strong warnings.

¹²⁴ yè-lé ‘don’t come!’ (prohibitive of yèrí ‘come’, here with third person subject).

¹²⁵ ná ‘mother’ in possessed form.

¹²⁶ ‘Don’t you see?’, here used like presentational ñóⁿò.

¹²⁷ sǎn sà ... mǎ ‘if it’s the case that ...’

¹²⁸ “if it isn’t that,” i.e. ‘otherwise’.

¹²⁹ More properly plural àsí mǎ:.

¹³⁰ Dative dè in H-toned form after demonstrative pronoun.

218 èsà-àrá bìrīy yè-só, kó [yⁿà-rⁿú nà] ká [èsà-àrá dè], ká [kò [bòsò ná:] bàsà kúnú] ká, [ká wó ségìlà kárⁿá] ká [àsí mǎ:] zónò á zǒn-gàrà gá¹³¹ dé, ká [nù-rⁿú já:là kárⁿú-sà ñ yà:fú:] [wó kò yⁿà-rⁿú á bèrì-yàrà],

219 á! ká [kò dé] wó:dì, ká kó jèrⁿú sánnì, èsà-àrá gú-sò, èsà-àrá [jètà-círó yà:fú:→] sórⁿú mǒtò = m̄ [cè dé] tégú-sò], háyà [gǒñ àsí lěy] ká— zónò ká àw-wàrà, yⁿà-rⁿú [àsí mǎ:] á zàngù-rà→↑, [àsí mǎ:] zǒn-gèr-è↓, [kó nà] ká zónò [àsí mǎ:] á zǒn-gàrà,

220 [gǒñ mánì] [kúwó-nây¹³² yà:fú:] sórⁿú mǒt-tò, hálì [èwrà jèsù] dó,¹³³ ká háyà zónò, [èsà-àrá níñyè] zónò á zǒn-gèr-è, [kó nà↑], bé m^bàwrà [níñ kày], ká bé ségìlà kárⁿá,

221 háyà [níñ kày], [[này kà:—, túnòm-mà ká á dàgí-yèr-è ñ] [túnòm-mà dè] ów-s-è = bé], kó [níñ kày↑], èsà-àrá úngúrú-sò [nũ-m mà] jèré = m̄↑, [gǒñ mánì] úngúrú-sò [nũ-m mà] jèré = m̄↓,

222 háyà, cisú, kó kò [yⁿàñyè dú]¹³⁴ kò—, èsà-àrá tónò kò ìrⁿ-í:, ká [cisú dè] [níñ kày], ká kó yá èlá ká yállà, [nù-m cíní] yállà ká bé [úru-wòr-è mà], níñ mánì, gǒñ mánì èwrà tíw-sò, kó yá èlá yállà ká kò, [kò èsà-àrá nù-m cíní] úru-wòr-è mà,

223 [cisú.: èwrà lěy] túnòm-mà dàgú-sà, [èwrà [cisú ñgú] bàrú kúw-sò ní] [bàrú kúw-sò ní] [bàrú kúw-sò ní] [hálì [kò bétè] sálú-sà], kóddà èwrà bìrīy-sò

Z: èwrà bìrīy-wòrè

Bo: 224 [cisú mánì] yǎy-sà, gǒñ ká yállà [èwrà dè] yⁿàñyè mà, á! ká [èwrà dè], èwrà ká [gǒñ dè] kà, ká bà:ní kó:ⁿ,¹³⁵ ká sótókò-mótókò¹³⁶ jám tán, jém tí:n-tí:ⁿ,¹³⁷ ká [cisú dè] ká èlá èsà-àrá ká yⁿàñyè mà, á! ká [ñkǎyⁿ má kày] ká, [àsí mǎ:] dũm-bàrà dé, ká é→ ñkǎyⁿ má, ká [ñkǎyⁿ kày] ká [yó à-nù yè-só ñ kúnú kày], ká [wò bírà] mǒsú dé, ká èyyò wó:dì,

225 yày-cí d-ǒ: yày-cí d-ǒ: [kó [níñ kày] kó kò, én-ná— èsà-àrá ká, kà:yũñ tíw-sò, ténám ká, ká [yó kày] kà, [gǒñ dé] ká àsí á là, kó èlí-yàrà ká kó, [[kò nù-m cíní] gú-wòr-è mà] [gù-rí mà→], má [bé bél-wòr-è mà] [bèl-lí mà→]

Z: 226 ténám ká àsí á là

Bo: ténám ká àsí á là, ténám ì-rⁿ-í: jìní, zòměy á dà, [ěyⁿ mǎ:] [kúyⁿǒ mǎ:] á dà, ténám ká àsí á là, ténám gú-sò,

227 zàkà ìndēy kà:yũñ tíw dèn d-è, [kó nà] [yày-cí d-è = cé] túnòm-mà ká dàgú-s-è = cé, [kó nà] kà:yũñ, <bèl- > ténám bèrú dēw-sà, [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám zòw-cí dà] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám zòw-cí dà] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám zòw-cí dà],

228 ténám bàrì jèré = m̄→, wájú-lú-sà ñkǎyⁿ pás-s-è = cé, kó bìrīy-s-è = cé, ká [ténám dè] ká yⁿàñyè mà

Sa: 229 [kù ñgí] ñórⁿǒ pítúm dà

Bo: 230 ténám ká, [nù-ñ kálá:] ká [[ěyⁿ éyⁿ bè-ná ñ] éyⁿá mà]¹³⁸ bàyló á zògú tòngù-rò], kòrò-cíwrà.: kù-bónó.:¹³⁹ cěw-là:fú: ñórⁿǒ pítúm pású dà,

231 á! zàkà [kárⁿá = m̄] [[bè dé] kày] dǒy-wòrè, níñ kày, [níñ kày] kúsò pátá kárⁿú-wⁿǎrⁿè, [níñ kày] [só dá gà]¹⁴⁰ á yà-r-è = bé, [só dá gà] á yà-r-è = bé, túnòm-mà ká dàgú-s-è = bé mē:-mâ:→, kóddà [níñ kày], kò bàtú¹⁴¹ mǒtú-s-è,

232 ká [níñ kày] ká á tègí-yèrè [níñ kày], [níñ kày] [sàrà kárⁿá mà] tí→¹⁴² kò zónò kày á zǒn-gèr-è, [níñ kày] sàríyà [níñ kày], kó kó—, èsà-àrá ká yállà, ká àyé jèn dà ká [kò tàrù séw] á sí-tú bè-tà mà, ògò-tògíyà ká àsí, kó sí-tó [àsí dé] [tàrù séw] tà:lì,

233 ká àyé jèn dà kũmnò á m^bèlú bè-tà mà, gòríyò ká àsí, háyà wó:dì, háyà [níñ kày], ká tũñ kà: [àsí mǎ:] [kò bàtú] mǒtò = m̄ gá = m̄ ní, níñ kày↑, tégú-wòs-è ñ yàgàfú:, háyà ká kó èlá,

¹³¹ *gá* here seems to be a kind of emphatic.

¹³² ‘foot-four’, i.e. quadruped. Bahuvihi compound with {HL} tone on final.

¹³³ Clause with *hálì* ‘until’ and final bare verb.

¹³⁴ *yⁿàñyè dú* ‘whatchamacallit?’, including *yⁿàñyè* ‘how?’.

¹³⁵ *kó:ⁿ*. Varies with *kúwⁿǒ*.

¹³⁶ A special story word, not in common use.

¹³⁷ Omitted is a false start audible on the tape: < *kò [kùrì dè] ká yélà —* >.

¹³⁸ Passage contains noun *ěyⁿ* ‘thing’ and cognate verb *éy^m|\éyⁿá* ‘do (thing)’.

¹³⁹ Two conjoined nouns with dying-quail final intonation, probably an unfinished list.

¹⁴⁰ ‘picking up (i.e. the feet)’ = ‘marching, walking’.

¹⁴¹ *bátú* ‘meeting (noun)’.

¹⁴² *tí→* ‘first(ly)’.

kó kó [[tàrù ɲí] só mà] ùní-yⁿàⁿà kǔmnò, má [níɲ kày] kó wó, [[bà là: gǒŋ] kù] dém→, èlá mà, má kó kó yⁿàⁿà, gòríyò ká èyyò wó:dì,

234 [kó yè] [níɲ kày], [[kò tègú] tègù-cí d-è] [tègú tègù-cí d-è] [tègú tègù-cí d-è] [tègú tègù-cí d-è], háli [bè tègù mà:], níɲ kày, túnòm-mà pású-sà,

235 [bè tègù mà:] túnòm-mà pás-sà ɲ yàgàfú:, háya ká [níɲ kày] ká, [níɲ kày] ká kòmó úrú-wòrè, kó [níɲ kày], kó: á:ⁿ! [èsà-àrà kày], [kò bóru kúnú] gàⁿàⁿ:¹⁴³ jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì, jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì, jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì, jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì, [gǒŋ nà] gàⁿàⁿ: [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá], [kó nà] ɲkáyⁿ á bà-tà,

236 [kó yè], háya káy [[túnòm-mà zà:] kù] ló, [kó yè] gòríyò hò: [kò tàrú— tà:lì cín]¹⁴⁴ só-wòsì, gòríyò ùnú-wⁿòⁿè, [gòríyò mèlù-cí dà] [gòríyò mèlù-cí dà] [gòríyò mèlù-cí dà] [gòríyò wò-só] wàllá:y àsí ùnú-wⁿòⁿè [háli kǔmnò],

237 gǒŋ, [[[bà là: gǒŋ] kù] bèl-cèlà] kù] dém→, kó èlá = m [tàrù kúnú], [lóbóínà kárⁿá]¹⁴⁵ sí-t-tò ɲ yà:fú: kóddà, [tàr kúnú] púsó = m [kó yè], nì-zórzór gú-sò ɲ yà:fú:, ká háya ká [[[bà là: gǒŋ] kù] kù] lòlí tí→ kárⁿá-wⁿòⁿè [néɲ dè],

238 [kó yè] [kùwò tūr-í→ lók] dí:rà kárⁿá-s-è = bé, [kó yè] [làgú nà] [làgú nà] [kò tà:l-lò kúnú], [lèy-lò kúnú] téw sí-t-tò = kó,

239 [kó yè] [níɲ kày] kúlú—, zòw kúlú bàrú-wòrè, [kó yè] rírírírírí [kó yè], [èsà-àrà nù-m cíní] [[[kò gǒŋ] nù-mú] nàⁿú pásá = m, [kó yè] bìrìy-sò,

240 [níɲ kày] èsà-àrà símà [yⁿà-rⁿú mà] bē:-sì, èsà-àrà [yⁿà-rⁿú mà] dàgú-wòsì, [níɲ kày] jèrⁿá cék! dǒy dà, [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] [jéyⁿ-cìrì jéyⁿ-jéyⁿ-cìrì] símà [níɲ kày] [cèná mà] cék! á cèn-n-è = cé,¹⁴⁶ níɲ kày, ká [níɲ kày] ká, èsà-àrà kò— [kò—

Sa: 241 ... [kò yⁿà-rⁿú] bē:-sì

Bo: ... yⁿà-rⁿú] bē:-sì, [nù-m cíní yàgàfú:] sóⁿú mòt-é = m, [yá [[là cín] nù-m yà:fú:] cèná cénú lá d-è] [cénú dèn d-è [nùndérⁿá sòyⁿ]], cèná cék! á cèn-n-è,

242 háya [éné [kò bánà] lèy], kútè kàtè kútè, [níɲ kày] dǔm-mòrè

Z: 243 èyyò jèrⁿá-wⁿòⁿè

Bo: *très bien*

2004-1b.02 Tree locust (description)

JH: 244 kà:-yèrú

Bo: kà:-yèrú

Sa: [kó nà] kà: kó dá ɲ

Bo: 245 kà:-yèrú, kà:-yèrú [kàyà gùrú], kàyà pòlú, kò—, [kò kúrò] gùrú hâl [[[kò púr-cètà] dè], jém-jém wùgùrú-wùgùrú¹⁴⁷ dá = kó, kà:-yèrú jém-jém wùgùrú-wùgùrú dá = kó

Sa: [nù-m jérè mà:] â: kúw-rò

Bo: [nù-m jérè] â: kúw-rò↑, [nù-m jérè] kùw-nó↓

Sa: 246 kà:-yèrú [níɲ kày], ès kà: záká—, [èsè zàkà kù] kó á òrⁿú-m-tà mà, [ès kà: mà:] kó á lì-rà ɲ, < ès kà: — >, dèŋ kà: [kò dèŋ-dìŋ], yállà kà:—, kà:—, kà: cé á yà-yà-rà ɲ, tūr-í→-tūr-í→ mà→, mútú-mútú mà→, [níɲ kày] [ès kà: ú úkù [cè dé] ɲ]¹⁴⁸

Bo: 247 kà:-yèrú, kà:-yèrú [sǎŋ kù] kà:-yèrú kà:-yèrú dá, [sǎŋ kù] kó dá, sòlò â: lí-rà = kó, tìwⁿá â: lí-rà = kó, [tìwⁿà kà: kó bè-sá¹⁴⁹ ɲ yà:fú:] jèsù-ná = kó, â: lí-rà = kó,

248 cé á yà-yà-rà mánì, kùrú-kùrú á yà-yà-r-è = cé, tūr-í→-tūr-í→ kày, hòndò nìŋ [já:mlè wàkàtù] [dèŋ cé tólú-sò ɲ] cé én-ná kárⁿá-sà ɲ, cé tūr-í→-tūr-í→, á círú tònggù-rò ɲ, ìní tūr-í→-tūr-í→ jìní tǎŋ, kò tūr-í→, [kò tūr-í→ lók á yà-yà-rà ɲ] yⁿàⁿgò láy, [cé kày] [[ú wó:-sì] [cé á yà-yà-rà tǎŋ]] kùrú

¹⁴³ gàⁿàⁿ: ‘tomtom sound (rhythm)’.

¹⁴⁴ if spoken without hesitation: kò tàrú tà:lì cíní.

¹⁴⁵ lóbóínà kárⁿá ‘hit hard, smack’. *b* is the Fulfulde “implosive” (really preglottalized).

¹⁴⁶ Imperfective of *cèná* ‘have fun’, i.e. ‘sing and dance’ (cognate nominal *cèná*).

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

¹⁴⁸ Relative *ɲ* following postverbal dative.

¹⁴⁹ Perfective-2 of *bèrá* ‘get’.

- Sa: 249 kùrú
 Bo: ú wǒ:-sì [cé á yà-y-rà tán] kùrú, ñgǒ:ṅà, [tìwⁿá mání kálá:] [tìwⁿà cé dàgú-sà ñ],¹⁵⁰ [cè dé] cék!, [ñgú gòlú ñ] èn-n-é = cé,¹⁵¹ [ñgú gòlú sàrá ñ] èn-n-é = cé, cǽwlá:fú: á lì-r-è = cé símà
 Sa: 250 má [cè yâ yâ nà] wákátù nà, sá = cé mâ↑, sà-rá = cé mà↓
 Bo: 251 yâ y, yâ wákátù sá = cé, kà:-yèrú, kò yâ yàgàfú:, [nòṅ lúw-ṅó] [pútùrò níṅyè], [cè kí kì]¹⁵² á ùṅùrù-t-è = cé, [má á bò-t-è = cé] [yⁿà:ṅá á bò-t-è = cé] sìg-ú,¹⁵³ [dèṅ isú cé sí-wòr-è ñ yà:fú:], yâ-y-n-é = cé, kàmá-ní [yⁿà:ṅà làgú] bìrìy yè-só
 Sa: 252 kàmá-ní [yⁿà:ṅà làgú] bìrìy yè-só
 Bo: [kàmá-ní⇒ [yⁿà:ṅà làgú] bìrìy yè-só], [kó má] [á yà-y-r-è = cé]
 Sa: [kó má] [á yà-y-r-è = cé]

2004-1b.03 Grasshopper medley (descriptions)

- Sa: 253 kàyà mǒsú
 Bo: kàyà mǒsú, [kó kày] í kó inà [nànnà:rⁿá kày], gá: [kó mání], [[kà:-yèrú kà:¹⁵⁴ dá ñ] kâyⁿ] dá = kó, gá: [kó kày], kò—, kò nó:nè kúnú, sítì = kó, [kò kúrò kúnú] mání:nì, [kà:-yèrú kùrò kâyⁿ] gúlú = m̄ gúlú dà [hâl [kò púr-cètà] tílú dà],
 254 [kó mà]¹⁵⁵ [kò sí kâyⁿ], [yⁿà:ṅá-yⁿà:ṅá dá]¹⁵⁶ á yà-y-rà = kó, yⁿà:ṅá-yⁿà:ṅá á yà-y-rà = kó, [kùrú-kùrú á yà-y-rà = kó] [yⁿà:ṅá-yⁿà:ṅá á yà-y-rà = kó], sòlò â: lí-rà = kó↑, tìwⁿá â: lí-rà = kó↑, isó â: lí-rà = kó↓
 Sa: 255 kò yú nà
 Bo: [sòlò nà] < yú — > [kó dà] [kò yú nà], â: lí-rà = kó yú, yú pàsù-ná = kó láy
 X: [yú jèsù] jèn dà —
 Bo: 256 [yú jèsù] jèn dà mósù = kó láy, [kò sòlò péré] jèsù, yú [tùṅ kà: kó sígú-wòrè↑]¹⁵⁷ [yù tégèy kây] tán, [â: lí-rà = kó] [hâlì dùwⁿó], [yù-ná:, tùṅ¹⁵⁸ kó sígú-wòrè ñ yà:fú:] [[kòtò yà:fú:] lí ká:¹⁵⁹ mà] [[i-m cíní] kóngúró mà], [níṅ kây] [bèrè kúnú] cék! á wàsù-rà, kó kò [kàyà mǒsú]
 Sa: 257 yá á tǒl-lò = kó má↑, â: yé-tò = kó má↓
 Bo: â: yâ-y-rà = kó↑, á yè-tò = kó [dèṅ dè] [kò sí-t-ù],¹⁶⁰ [dèṅ kà: kó —, tàrú sí-tú-wòsì ñ yà:fú:] [yá tólò mà], [kò yókùm-dò:rèy kúnú já:tì] kùrú-kùrú á yà-y-rà, [kùrú-kùrú kó á yà-y-rà] [hâl [kò cìr-ú] dǒ], [kò cìr-ú] dǒ:-rè mání, [cé cìrú-wòrè má] [[cé mà] kùrú-kùrú á yà-y-rà]
- JH: 258 bà:bà-númlé
 Sa: bà:bà-númlé tégù
 Bo: bà:bà-númlé, bà:bà-númlé kây, [kó kày] [[mútú-mútú á yà-y-rà ñ kây] ñ wò-rí], [kó kày] [ú kó ñrⁿú-wⁿòrⁿè má], àrà.: yá lèy, kó nà, kòpú kò, jém.:, kàkí: lèy, wǎr dà
 Sa: 259 yú â: lí-rà = kó mà→↑, nì-rⁿá = kó má↓
 Bo: bà:bà-númlé, bà:bà-númlé á —, kó —, [kó kây] [í isò] mútú sàrá = kó, < kó yè— > gá: â: lí-rà = kó [yú kây]
 Sa: â: lí-rà = kó
 Bo: àⁿháⁿ, sòlò â: lí-rà = kó→↑, tìwⁿá â: lí-rà = kó↓
 Sa: tìwⁿá â: lí-rà = kó
 Bo: tìwⁿá â: lí-rà = kó
 Sa: kó â: kúw-r-è mà

¹⁵⁰ Assistant suggested emending to *ségú-sà ñ*.

¹⁵¹ Verb *èlú\èlâ* ‘look, consider’.

¹⁵² *cè kí kì* ‘on them (times of day)’, variant of *cè kú kù* ‘on their head’. Singular version: *kò kú kù*.

Compare locative *kù* ‘in’ becoming *kí* in *ñgí kí* ‘in these’.

¹⁵³ ‘go to descend (=spend the night)’. Purposive verbal noun after motion verb.

¹⁵⁴ *kà:* in (otherwise) headless relative (implied head is ‘manner, way’).

¹⁵⁵ For *kó mání* ‘it too’.

¹⁵⁶ *dá* here seems to be a postnominal emphatic (‘precisely’), as in Songhay.

¹⁵⁷ Unfinished *tùṅ kà:* ‘when ...’ clause. Compare the clause of this type below.

¹⁵⁸ Reduction of *tùṅ kà:* ‘when ...’.

¹⁵⁹ *kám\kávⁿá = ká:ⁿ* ‘do completely, finish doing’

¹⁶⁰ Possessed form of verbal noun *sì-t-ú* ‘putting down (=laying eggs)’.

Bo: bà:bà-númlé kùw-n-é
Sa: kùw-n-é

JH: 260 sóm-pólòm¹⁶¹

Bo: [sóm-pólòm kày] yú nì-rⁿà, [kó nà→], s:là á-dà↑, [sòlò-òrú kàyⁿ→, dá ɲ] á dà↑, pòysú á dà↑, sóm-pólòm, < sí: >, [cé kay] [cé sí: tà:lí], pìrù-pòysú↑, sòlò-òrú↑, [< ká — > á dà] [kàkí: kàyⁿ dá ɲ], [kó kày] sòlò má-dógò↑, [yú kày] ɲ wò-rí [kó á lì-rà ɲ]

Sa: 261 yⁿàɲɛy dá = kó

Bo: [kò kú] sémú dà, [kò kúwò] gùrú

Sa: â: cí-tò = kó má→, â: yày-rà = kó má

Bo: â: cí-tò = kó

Sa: â: cí-tò = kó

Bo: 262 [kó mà] < xxx >, [hâl [[[kò púrò] kà] kù], [kò kúrò]¹⁶² dó dà]

Sa: [cìr-ù gùrú] má→, [cìr-ù tükëy] má→

Bo: [cìr-ù tükëy dá] á cì-tò = kó, [cìr-ù gùrú] cì-nó = kó, [cír-é→ síg-é→] [cír-é→ síg-é→]¹⁶³ má-dógò, [kó yè] [cìr-ù gùrú] cì-nó = kó

JH: 263 kòmbùrù kòyó

Bo: kòmbùrù kòyó, kòmbùrù kòyó kày, kó kày, én-ná, [bárⁿú.: sítì lëy] [kó kày], kó mánì→↑, [kò yây] tórò jèn dà mútù, sábi fây [kó kày] [[kúrò bàsà kúnú] [[kò kúrò kúnú] kó â: bá-tà dà ná:, [tòrò kúnú] dà] [kó [kùrò kúnú] á bà-tà], ná: kó kày, [[ɲgí sí kàyⁿ] [círú dá gà] á yày-rà ɲ] sàrá

Sa: 264 [kò tónò] yⁿàɲɛy dà

Bo: [kò tónò] gà:ⁿsú dà, [kò tónò] tükëy dómbúró, [kò tám-bòsì [[nù-rⁿú] lò] kù] tán] [néɲ á gù-rò], [kó [[nù-rⁿú] lò] kù] tám kúlú-wòsì tán] [néɲ á gù-rò]

Sa: [kò húlè], gùrú má→ tükëy

Bo: [kò húlè] gùrú sàrá, [kò húlè] tükëy

Sa: 265 séw má→

Bo: séw má-dógò

Sa: [kó nà] yây

Bo: kó kày, yú â: lí-rà kòy, nànnà:rⁿá kò, [kó yè] [[[kò yú-lì] mòsú sàrá má-dògò] [yú â: lí-rà = kó] [kó kày], yú â: lí-rà = kó

Sa: 266 [kò árà] ná: mà→↑, [kò yá] ná: mà

Bo: [kò yá] ná:

Sa: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]

Bo: yá ná: [[[kò árà] dè], [kò yá kày fây→] [àrá lëy] á bàpú bè-tà

Sa: [kò yá] [àrá lëy] á bàpú bè-tà

Bo: [àrá lëy] á bàpú bè-tà

Sa: 267 má [jèré mà] [á cì-tò = kó]

Bo: [jèré mà] símà [tórú dá gà] [á yày-rà = kó]

Sa: <xxx>

JH: 268 zìnàɲ-góngùrú

Bo: zìnàɲ-góngùrú, [kó nà] sòlò-òrú, [kó kày] [kùrò gùrú] sà-rá, [kó kày] â: tó-tò, kò kórò-cìwrà ɲú, [á dà] [kórú dà], kòrò-cìwrà kórú dà

Sa: 269 kò déɲ-dìɲ

Bo: kò déɲ-dìɲ, yú kù, órú kù, ú ká àsí kó —, [ú yèrú-wòrè] [ú ká [àsí¹⁶⁴ kó áw-é]]¹⁶⁵ tán↑, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, ú ká àsí kó áw-é tán↑, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, ú ká àsí kó áw-é tán↑, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, [má kó tóró mà] [kó yàyá]¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Variant *sém-pòlòm*, cf. *sémú*||*sémó* ‘be pointed’.

¹⁶² *kò*^{HL} *kúrò* ‘its wing’ emended from *kò*^{HL} *púrò* ‘its belly’ on the tape. My assistant would also prefer to put this *kò*^{HL} *kúrò* before the *hâl ...* phrase.

¹⁶³ Paired hortatives denoting recurrent paired opposite motions.

¹⁶⁴ Logophoric *àsí* with (generic) 2Sg antecedent.

¹⁶⁵ Hortative *-é*, 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.

- Sa: 270 tórò [kò yây]
 Bo: tóy tórò [kò yây]
 Sa: cìr-ú kà y sà-rá = kó
 X: [kò árà] nâ: mâ→↑, [kò yá] má
 Bo: [kò yá] nâ:
 Sa: [kò yá] nâ:, [yú â: lí-rà = kó mà→] nì-rⁿà = kó
 Bo: 271 kó mání:nì, yú â: céngú-rú-tò
 Sa: yú â: céngú-rú-tò, [tìwⁿá mǎ:] nà
 Bo: tìwⁿá mǎ:, tìwⁿá mǎ: kà y, sòló má-dógò, [kó kà y]—, [[tìwⁿá mǎ:] á lí-rà ɲ] mí [kó kà y] mìnà
- JH: 272 pèrêm-pèmmé
 Bo: pèrêm-pèmmé, pèrêm-pèmmé, [kò kúrò] gùrú, pórⁿúkú dà = kó, kòpú [kó mání], pòrⁿúkú-kòpú, yú â: lí-rà = kó, sòló â: lí-rà = kó, kà: [tìwⁿá sì kà y] [kó kà y] mìnà, yòrù-zègírè¹⁶⁷ â: kúw-rò = kó
 Sa: 273 mánà
 Bo: [mánà mǎ:] â: kúw-rò = kó, ìsò â: lí-rà = kó, [pèrêm-pèmmé kà y] [ɲkǎyⁿ dá]
 X: déllè [kó kà y] dàgú dà, síw dà = kó má
 Bo: síw ɲgò = kó kò y, [pèrêm-pèmmé kà y] [kó kà y] [[kò yⁿóhò] cék! mósù] [kó kà y] síw-nó
 X: 274 yⁿóhò sá = kó
 Bo: yⁿóhò sá = kó kò y, [kó kà y] nátì â: lí-rà = kó↑, yú â: lí-rà = kó↑, núm â: lí-rà = kó↑, túsú â: lí-rà = kó↑ ...
 Sa: kònó
 Bo: kònó, kònó mǎ:, â: yⁿóhò-rò = kó
 Sa: 275 [kò árà] nâ: má, yá
 Bo: [kò yá] nâ:
 Sa: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]
 Bo: [[kò árà] dè]
- JH: 276 sé:kèy kà yà
 Bo: sé:kèy kà yèy, [sé:kèy kà yèy kà y] [sé:kèy jèsù] cék dà, [kó kà y] sé:kèy cék à céngú-rú tòhò-rò, [sé:kèy jèsù] cék [kó kà y]
 Sa: <xxx>
 Bo: 277 tóbbè-tóbbè, sítì-kó↑, jém-jém [[kò jèsù] tóbbà kárⁿú dà] [ní→ bàrⁿí: bārⁿí:], sé:kèy kà yèy [kò ká yⁿ] dá = kó, [kò kú mání] sém dà
 Sa: 278 sém dà, déllà [kó kà y] yⁿóhò sà-rá
 Bo: [kó kà y] yⁿóhò sà-rá
 Sa: 279 [kó â: kúw-r-è mà↑] [kùw-n-é má]
 Bo: kó kùw-n-é, gá: [à yⁿá níhèy kà y] kó â:¹⁶⁸ dó mótú-r-è
- JH: 280 dùnù-nú kà yà
 Bo: dùnù-nú ká yèy, [dùnù-nú ká yèy] kòpú, cé, [dùnù-nú ká yèy] [sì: lèy], [túru kà y] bète-dósù:¹⁶⁹ [túru nà] [kúrò bà:sà], ðⁿsí:ⁿ, [cé mání:nì], [tòw-bèw òrí: kà y], â: lí-rà = cé, háyà [yú gá:lú-wòrè má] [yú dè] kàⁿú wⁿò-rⁿ-é = cé,¹⁷⁰ [cé mání] ɲkǎyⁿ dá, gá: [yà kúnú kà y] [kò bète kúnú], [èwra bète] ká yⁿ lòsà-lósá:, [àrà kún nà] là:lèy
 Sa: 281 [kó â: kúw-r-è mà↑] kùw-n-é
 Bo: kó kùw-n-é
 Sa: 282 [óru kù] [kò dèh] mà↑, sǎh kù
 Bo: m?m, [dùnù-nú ká yèy kà y] [óru kù] dà, [kò dèh], [òrù séwtíré] ní→↑, ní→ [[óru pùrò] kù], [[òrù séwtírè] pású dà ɲ] [[óru pùrò] kù]

¹⁶⁷ *yòrù-zègírè* ‘rag(s)’, with *yòrú* ‘fabric’. For *zègírè* compare Songhay nouns meaning ‘rag(s)’: KCh *jaara*, KS *zaara*, TSK *zèwrè*. Related forms elsewhere in Dogon are Bankan Tey (Walo village) *zèwré*, a local borrowing <TSK Songhay, and Ben Tey *jègérè*.

¹⁶⁸ Imperfective allomorph *â:* before chained verbs.

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

¹⁷⁰ *kàⁿ-ú wⁿò-rⁿ-é = cé* ‘they cannot manage, they aren’t strong enough’. With *wó-* ‘see’ (or homophonous verb).

kày] kó [[àrà.: yá lěy] yà:fú:], [kó kày] cék! [gùrú dè], kò kúrò mání↑, háli [[kò púrò-kà] kù] tílú dà

- Sa: 292 [kó nà] yⁿàṅēy [kò kú] dà
 Bo: kò kú-bòndò, kù-bòndò séw, pòlú-pólù
 Sa: 293 [kó â: kúw-r-è mà] kùw-n-é
 Bo: kó â: kúw-r-è
 Sa: yⁿóṅò sà-rá = kó
 Bo: yⁿóṅò sà-rá = kó

JH: 294 gòròṅgò:sì-tàpìní:¹⁷⁸

- Bo: gòròṅgò:sì-tàpìní:, kó mání, kàsú â: lí-rà, núm â: lí-rà, [kó mà] [[kò yⁿóṅò] mútú sàrà] [[[kò yú] zà:] kù], gá: [kàsú mà:↑] [nám mà:↑], kó â: lí-rà = kó
 Sa: kò bírà

[interruption]

- Bo: 295 gòròṅgò:sì-tàpìní:→, ñ gá, kàsú â: lí-rà = kó, [kàsú wòrò] â:¹⁷⁹ cèrú pútú-kú-tò = kó, núm, [kó mání] [[[núm zà:] kù mání] kó á dī-l-è] [kó mání] â: cèrú pútú-kú-tò = kó, [[námú↑ zà:] kù] [kó â: dí-l-è] [[nám kòtò], â: lí-rà = kó], [kó mà] ñgù [kò dé] úkù
 Sa: 296 gòròṅgò:sì
 Bo: gòròṅgò:sì â: tám-bù-rà = kó,¹⁸⁰ má [kó tám-bòsì má] [gòròṅgò:sì nà] kó, èn-nà písú gú dà ñ kúnú, â: ní-rⁿá = kó, [[gòròṅgò:sì núwⁿó] jèsù] â: kúw-rò = kó
 Sa: 297 tórò [kò bírà] mà→ cìr-ú
 Bo: tórò [kò bírà], jètá kó á bà-tà¹⁸¹
 Sa: <xxx>
 Bo: [kó tórú-wòsì ní] [[jètá kúnú] sí:] tégěy, [jètá kúnú] kó á bà-tà, < nà: kó — >, [tòrò kúnú] jìní tán↑, [cìr-ú kày] cìrú¹⁸² bē-ná = kó
 Sa: [tórò mà] tórú bē-ná = kó sákkò, [ì-mí: kó wǒ:-sì tán] [kó bē:-sì]
 Bo: m!
 Sa: 298 [kó mà] yⁿóṅò sà-rá
 Bo: [kó mà] [kò yⁿóṅò] mútú sàrà

JH: 299 lúpì:

- Bo: lúpì:, lúpì: yⁿóṅò sà-rá
 X: < xxx >
 Bo: lúpì: kày↑, kòpú = kó, bārⁿú-bārⁿù kǎyⁿ dá = kó, gá: lúpì: kày, sòlò kó á lì-rà má-dógò, yú nì-rⁿá = kó↑, núm nì-rⁿá = kó↑, túsú nì-rⁿá = kó↑,¹⁸³ [lúpì: kày] [ìsò kù] cék!, á lúppà kán¹⁸⁴ tòngù-rò, dǔm-bòrè

JH: 300 mònó kàyà¹⁸⁵

- Bo: mònó kàyà, [kó nà] [mònó jèsù] cék!, mònó kàyěy kày, [kó kày] [mònó jèsù] cék!, [kó kày] [wàgàtù ú kó wò-só í yà:fú:], á dà = kó [mònó jèsù] lókú tójú dà, [kó kày] gòlú kòy, [kó kày] kùw-nó dé, [kó kày] gòlú
 Sa: 301 yú nì-rⁿá = kó
 X: yú nì-rⁿá = kó
 Bo: yú nì-rⁿá = kó
 Sa: [yú kù] sīgù-nó = kó
 Bo: mhm!, [yú kù] sīgù-nó = kó

¹⁷⁶ *dìrⁿú* \ *dìrⁿá* ‘encounter, find’ has imperfective *dí-tà-* or *dí-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 *â:* imperfective before chained verbs.

¹⁸⁰ On tape, sounds like *tám-nà = kó*.

¹⁸¹ *bàrá* ‘help’.

¹⁸² *cìrú* ‘fly’ (chained verb) preceded by its verbal noun *cìr-ú*.

¹⁸³ Terminal rising intonation suggests that the parallel sequence could continue.

¹⁸⁴ *lúppà kárⁿá* ‘land, alight’ (verb).

¹⁸⁵ Lit. “*Balanites* (=wild date tree) grasshopper.”

Sa: <xxx>
 Bo: [ǒw kù] [ǒw kù] cék!
 Sa: 302 [kò árà] ná: má, [kò yá] ná:↓
 Bo: [kò yá] ná:
 Sa: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]
 Bo: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]
 Sa: 303 jém kó má→↑, píru kó má↓
 Bo: m̀nó kàyěy, jém cé
 Sa: jém cé
 Bo: jém cé
 Sa: [kò árà.:] yá lěy yà:fú:
 Bo: [[kò árà.:] [kò yá] lěy yà:fú:] jém

JH: 304 tóró kàyà¹⁸⁶
 Bo: tóró kàyà, tóró kàyěy, [tóró kàyěy kày] m̀ ínà
 Sa: kó yè, kàyà b́arⁿú, [[d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy] kà: dá íj, kún] dé dà] ì-mí: [kò tóró kàyěy] á gà-rà
 Bo: 305 [kó kày] d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy dá, [d̀ǹǹ-nú kàyèy ná:→] [d̀ǹǹ-nú kàyèy t̀g̀y lěy]
 Sa: [kó mánì] [sípà kárⁿá [kà: kó dá íj]]
 Bo: èyyó [d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy], [[d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy] dá] [kó kày], [kó kày] d̀ǹǹ-nú kàyèy ná:, tóró kàyà kúnú, < bù:ˀs— > [kó círu-wòrè má] [b̀ns̀-ú-b̀ns̀-ú dà = kó k̀p̀], kó [mánì:ní] yú ǹ-ⁿá, [[s̀l̀ zà: cék!] ú kó á ẁ-ⁿr̀]
 Sa: 306 yⁿóhò sà-rá
 Bo: yⁿóhò sà-rá
 X: [kò árà] —, [kò yá] ná: [àrá dè]
 Bo: [kò yá] ná: [àrá dè], [kò yá] ná:, [[kò nà] kú-póhútù,¹⁸⁷ [[kò mà] kú-s̀w
 Sa: 307 k̀w-n-é
 Bo: gá: k̀w-n-é

JH: 308 kà:-yⁿàhà
 Bo: kà:-yⁿàhà kày, [kó kày] kàyá —, [kó kày] lěy-lěy [ní túr-túrú] [kó kà] á yà-rà, [kó kày] ná: kòy, kà:-yⁿàhà [kó kày] [kà:-yèrú dè] s̀w
 Sa: [kà:-yèr dè] g̀rú
 Bo: [kà:-yèr dè] g̀rú
 X: 309 â: k̀w-r-è
 Bo: â: k̀w-r-è mánì
 Sa: á síw b̀-ⁿtà s̀y —
 Bo: á síw b̀-ⁿtà = kó
 Sa: s̀y káyⁿ
 Bo: 310 mhm! [kó kày] círu-wòrè mánì [s̀y sì kàyⁿ] prrrr á yà-rà f̀s!, hálì [wⁿáhú-lá mà] [á b̀-ⁿtò] sìg-ú, [s̀y sì kàyⁿ] [kó kày] [círu dá gà] á ỳy b̀-ⁿtà, hálì wⁿáhú-lá¹⁸⁸
 Sa: 311 kò d̀j-d̀j nà
 Bo: kò d̀j-d̀j nà, á! [kó mánì:nì] [s̀h k̀] dà kòy, mhm!, <xxx> [s̀h k̀] dà
 Sa: [kó nà] [yá.: àrá lěy] sá = kó mà
 Bo: [yá.: àrá lěy] sá = kó, [yà kún] ná:, [[kò árà] dè] mánì
 Sa: 312 yⁿóhò sà-rá = kó
 Bo: yⁿóhò sà-rá = kó, í t̀hò kày
 Sa: [í t̀hò kày] yⁿóhò sà-rá = kó
 Bo: [í t̀hò kày] yⁿóhò sà-rá = kó

JH: 313 ìsò-súměy káyà
 Bo: ìsò-súměy káyà, háⁿ
 Sa: [[í:sà: mǎ:] í lěy] [kò nây] [í m̀t̀ = m̀] tégú-sò
 Bo: [ìsò-súměy káyà] m̀ ínà
 Sa: <xxx> [ìsò-súměy káyà]

¹⁸⁶ Lit. “mountain’s grasshopper.”

¹⁸⁷ Bahuvrihi from *p̀h̀t̀* ‘large, round, and elongated (like large watermelon)’.

¹⁸⁸ *hálì* ‘until’ plus imperative stem.

- Bo: [isò-súměy káyà kày] m̀ ínà
 Sa: 314 [í:sà: má:] tégú-sò [kò nây] [isò-súměy káyà]
 X: háyà [mí kày] m̀^b égú wâ:-lí¹⁸⁹
 Bo: [isò-súměy káyà kày] [isò-súměy káyà kày] [súrⁿú jìní ń] [mí kày] [kàyá kày kálá:] ń wò-rí
 Sa: 315 [isò-súměy káyà] [ká kò] [kàyà jém], kàyà bàrⁿí→, kòrò sé:lì→, zéngíli→ kúnú, [isò-súměy kù] á púw t̀ngù-rò ń kúnú, ká [kó kò isò-súměy káyà]
 Bo: ká [dùṅù-nú káyà]
 Sa: 316 ń ká [í kày], [cěw-là:fú: dé] [í kày] [dùṅù-nú káyěy] á gà-rà, [bàrⁿí→ sèṅgìlí→] [bàrⁿí→ sèṅgìli!→] [pùrò sémì→ sémì→] [dùṅù-nú káyěy] káyⁿ dá ń, [àsí mǎ:] [kò dé] [isò-súměy káyà] á gà-rà
 X, Sa, Bo: <xxx>
 Sa: 317 [kó kày] ká kùl-ú bé kúlú bãr-sà dà nà:↑, [kó kày] nù-rⁿú gá bè-ná [kò dé], [isò-súměy káyà], ká [àsí mǎ:] [kò dé] [isò-súměy káyà] á gà-rà
 X: kòrú bé
 Sa: háyà, ńkǎyⁿ [bé kày] gá-sà, <xxx>, gá = m̀ cé kór-s-è
 Bo: 318 [kó kày] [[isò-súměy káyà] jìní] [isò-súměy [kàyá sà-rá]]
 Sa: isò-súměy káyá —
 Bo: dùṅù-nú káyěy dà
 Sa: [cěw-là:fú: ńkǎyⁿ] [[dùṅù-nú káyěy] isòṅ] cék, <xxx>

2004-1b.04 Mantis (description)

- Bo: 319 nòṅò-nòṅò, yⁿóṅò sà—rá, [kàyá mǎ:] [kó kày] á áw kùw-rò
 Sa: gá = m̀, yⁿàṅěy dá = kó
 Bo: 320 nòṅò-nòṅò [kò kú] pótó, [kò kúwò] kúwó sá = kó↑, tóṅó¹⁹⁰ sá = kó↓, [kò púrò-cètà kúnú] gùrú sò:tà-só:tá, gá: [kó nà] [kò jère kày], [pùrò-cètá gùrú jìní gùrú kòy] [jère kày] [pùrò-cètá cíní] séw-sěw, pótó-pótò dà, [[kò ló] ńgí], [kó mánì] < jìrⁿó — > jìrⁿó sá
 Sa: 321 [kò kórò]
 Bo: é! [kò kórò-cìwrà kúnú], ìní t́púlú dà, kòrò sé:lè→, kòrò sá = kó gùrú-gùrú, kó nù-rⁿú jěw-wòsì t́ṅ, â: ló-tò
 X: kó â: kúw-r-è mà→ kùw-n-é
 Bo: á dà [kà: [kúró sá] á cì-tò ń], á dà [kà: kúró sà-rá ń]
 Sa: 322 [kó kày] sáy á àw-rà
 Bo: [kúró sá] á cì-tò ń kúnú kày, [kó kày] kàyá, [kà:ⁿ gá:lú-sà] á àw-rà, hâl [kó kày] [sày pírí:] á àw-rà, [kó mánì:ní] [yú t́ṅò kày] yⁿóṅò sàrá, [kàyá mǎ:↑] [sáy mǎ:↑], [súrⁿú mǎ:], [cé dà] [kó mà] á lì-rà, [kó mà] yⁿóṅò sàrá, kó á kù-kúw-r-è

¹⁸⁹ wâ:- ‘have ever (done)’.

¹⁹⁰ tóṅó 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 tùpéré kà: dīŋ-sò ń, kà: yè-só ń, tùpéré màlé:ŋ gú-sò ń, yè-s-é=bé tándúrúmà, tándúrúmà gó=m=bé, yè-s-é bé, kà:númè, [nù-mù gèrè nà ká] [kà:númè jíní kǒy], bé dīŋ-sò kǒy, ká, [tóró kù],

324 kã:n [kò dé] á gà-r-è, kã:n-gò:-gúndè, yá bé gú-sò, kó yá gó=m=bé yè-s-é=bé, jó:nò, jó:nò gó=m=bé, jímè, [jímè gó=m=bé] kó dīŋ-s-è=bé túlà, túlà gó=m=bé, yè-s-é bé gò:m-díw¹⁹⁴, bé [jàmà: ná:] hà: níŋìnà, kò jámà: yá dīŋ néŋgó=m, úró=m, yǎy-sà [dǎwri tǒŋò],

325 hà: dǎwri bé á yà-y-rà ń, bè àrà pày-nú, [[wò dé] gà-rⁿ-é nà]¹⁹¹ mànùgónó, [dírⁿ-ú-s-ò:] [yǎy bè-n-ó:], [kó kò] [nũ-m mà] jèré=m-bó, ùnú-s-ò: [[[tùpéré tórò ń] kú] kù], [nù-n tíŋéy¹⁹²] dì-lí-wó,

326 [yá dá-wó ń] kù nà, [ìlò-ná: nù-rⁿ-ù wó lǎy] túnòm-mà¹⁹³ ségú-sà, kó [ìlò-ná: nù-rⁿ-ù] ká yállá:, [yàgá túwⁿ] ká [wó kò] [[tòrò ń] kú] yè-só má, ká àsí yè-só ń, ká [èwà jíró] dò:-r-è, kó ús-s-ò: [[kò ìlò-ná: nù-rⁿ-ù] dè], ká [wó nà] [yàgá túwⁿ] wó yè-só má, [àsí kày] àsí yè-só ń, ìwá dò:-r-è,

327 hàyà bé dīŋú dà ń nà, [kò tóró], jèrⁿú sàrà, [òw-ésú, nù-mú á àw-rà], tóró-bàsà, [bè í-m-ì:] à: só-rò, [kó nà] ká [àsí mǎ: kày], [àsí mǎ:] ìní dīŋ bè-ná,

328 kó [ìlò-ná: nù-rⁿ-ù] ká, bé dīŋ-é, àsí [bè dé] dǎwri kùlí-yàrà gà, àsí pègú pègí-yàrà, àsí pègú-wòsì tán, tóró-bàsà [bè tórrà] kà-ná, hà: kó [ìlò-ná: nù-rⁿ-ù] [bè dé kò] pègú pègú-sà, kó mòtó=m dīŋú-s-è=bé,

329 kò nâyⁿ, ìlò-ná: nù-m cék, [kò tá]¹⁹⁴ dà, té:gá yè-lí, [[isò ń] kú mà] [àsí mǎ:] [nùwⁿò bítí-nú kálá:→] dì-lí, lògùrò-dò:lí: jíní ń, [àsí mǎ:] [núwⁿó kálá:] wⁿò-rⁿó,

330 hà: [[yá ñkǎyⁿ bé dá ń] kù nà], níŋìnà, isó, zàmá¹⁹⁵, [kù kù]-lúw,¹⁹⁶ èr-bá¹⁹⁷, [kó kò] [[tòrò ń] kú] bé dè-lú-sò,

331 [yá bé dīŋú dà ń] kù nà, tál tórò, [tál tórò mà], [bé kó lǎy] túnòm-mà háynà kárⁿú-sà [kò pèrà], hàyà má sǒŋ, sǎŋkàrà sǒŋ, sígò mà, nũ-m á ɛl tǒŋ-r-ò:,

332 hà: [má sǒŋ] sígú-wòrè ń yà:fú:, [[[tál tórò] nũ-m] tǒŋò] tí→ á gù-r-è=cé, cé gèlú-wòrè ń yà:fú:, [kóyò¹⁹⁸ kù] ùnó mà, [bè dé] núwⁿó á sò-r-è=bé,

333 bé [kò nùwⁿò kúnú] wǒ:-sì ń yà:fú:, kò sírà, [nù-n tíŋéy] sìgù-nó [dú kù], sábi ùkú=bé, sǒŋ, á yà-rà, kò nùwⁿò kún nà, [kó kò] [bè má:ndè], [[kó kò] tégú [túnòm-mà dè] á tégù-r-è=bé] [[nùwⁿò kúnú] sí:],

334 bé [nùwⁿò kún] wǒ:-sì tán, háyà, nùŋ tíŋéy→, bà-rⁿá [[òw kù] gù]¹⁹⁹ sǎŋkù [bè í-m-ì:] á àw-r-è, hà: ñkǎyⁿ dá bé, ñkǎyⁿ dá=bé, hálì hálì hálì bùrù-lùgó²⁰⁰ kárⁿú-sà,

¹⁹¹ ‘they don’t say now: X’, short for ‘they don’t say other than: X’, i.e., ‘they say X’.

¹⁹² Also pronounced *túgáy* and other variants.

¹⁹³ Tape sounds like *tô:m* (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 *zámá*.

¹⁹⁶ Compound with H-toned form of verbal noun *lǎw-Ø* ‘falling’. Cf. phrase *kú kù lùwó* ‘fall on (the) head’.

¹⁹⁷ Compound with verbal noun *bá* as final, from verb-chain *ér bá* ‘dispossess, take (sth) away (from sb)’.

¹⁹⁸ *kóyò* denotes flattish, inhabitable summits, generally of inselbergs with steep cliffsides. Cf. the more general word *tóró* ‘hill, mountain’.

349 [kó kò] òhù-nú ká, kò yò:rú— wó pású dën dà ñ ñgú, wó ká [àsí dé] kó bá, [bà:ní dà làmpò] kà:wà, ànànsá:rà ká éyò, [wò tégù] jèrⁿú, gá: wó [jèré mà] yáyá, hà: ñkǎyⁿ [kò làmpò kúnú] á tòsù-r-è=bé, háli gólú-sò,

350 [níj kày] bú:dì lú-wòrè, bà:ní kárⁿú-wⁿòrⁿè [ísó kù], [nù-n túrú kòy] líwá=m, [nàhùnú àsí áw-wàrà ñ] lìw-ná, ànànsá:rà kó zè:-só, [kó kò] bà:ní kúlú-sò [ísó kù], [[ànànsá:rà yè-lí] này] bà:ní kálá:→ [ísó kù] yⁿàngó, hà: bà:ní lú-sò ñ mà, [[jírè kà cék] só dá gà] yǎy-sà=kó,

351 hàya [kò pérà], kò tá zòhò ñú nà, [kó kày] [tá nù-m], ìbilí:sà bé ló=m, [ànànsá:rà níngèy] zòh-s-è=bé, sábi [này [ànànsá:rà níngèy] bé zòh-rò ñ] này,²¹² bè nú-mù, mínítè:r yá=m yèrú-wòrè, bè í-mù, á dà lékkòl,

352 [jèré wá] á dà, mínítè:r kù, gàngù-rí,²¹³ túnòm-mà pé=m=bé, ànànsá:rà ká àsí tá kòmí-yⁿàrⁿà, àsí á là èl-ú, ká wó ùn-nó, hà: [kó kò] [[ànànsá:rà bé lèy] zòhò dèwrù],²¹⁴

353 [bé [kò kòmó] págú-sà ñ] [ànànsá:rà dó=m dìnú-sò], [[tá gónò ñ] kú] tèmá, ìwà-lùgò bé á sùrà kà-là, bà-r-é=bé, ànànsá:rà [ísó òhù-mú] sórⁿó=m, ká bé sùrà kárⁿá, bà-r-é=bé, àlpâ-m mètó=m=bé sùrà kárⁿú-sà, bà-r-é=bé, [tòrò nù-m] bé sùré kárⁿú-sà, bà-r-é=bé, háli [[này ànànsá:rà tá á ùní-yⁿàrⁿà ñ] này],

354 ká háya, àsí tá ùní-yⁿàrⁿà [yó kày], [kànú mǎ:] jèré=m yè-sé=bé, kànú wá:-l-é=bé, [kò mǐrà] ègú wá:-l-é=bé, ànànsá:rà [kànú sǐ:] bé táy lém-kú dé=m pás, ítú-wòs-è=bé [[ànànsá:rà mǎ:], [àsí mǎ:] á yⁿòmbù-rò²¹⁵ kày],

355 gá: [kò nù-mú yà:pú:] mètó=m, bè sùrà kárⁿú dé=m pás-sà ñ kúnú, [kò ká:wà] [níj kày] [àsí mǎ:] á nùm-bàrà,

356 hà: ànànsá:rà ùnú-sò ñ mà,²¹⁶ ànànsá:rà bé wów-sò háli yⁿám-sà, òrⁿú-sà [kò yⁿàwⁿà kúnú] gá:-lú-wòrè, [kó ùné=m=bé] [kó [yòrò píró] só-s-è=bé], ànànsá:rà [níj kày] bé táy dèl-sà,

357 ànànsá:rà ùnú-sò ñ, òrⁿú-sà, àrà-m pé:rí: kúréy, [cé kày] nùm-bòrè, àrà-m pé:rí: kúréy, [bé nà] nù-m bármà kán dà ñ, bé mà, [ànànsá:rà jèsù] [bé kày], [[nù-mú tà:lí] pérà] bè-lí,

358 hàya, kó [níj kày], kó tá zòhò kúnú, [bé bá:sì kúnú] [kò tùpéré.: té:gá lèy] dó-sò, [kó kò] [tá nù-m cíní] bàré=m, zí bò-s-é [hùmbùrì ísò], [yá bé pás-s-è] [[[dèh kà: dè kóy-kòyà á gà-r-è ñ] dèh] dè],

359 kó bitù-kó=m yèré=m [kó tùpéré.: tè:gá lèy mà], bàrú-s-è, té:gá zí bò-s-é=bé, [hùmbùrì dé] [dú jìnòh],²¹⁷ tàndàrá [kò dé] á gà-r-è, tùpéré zí bò-s-é=bé, [hùmbùrì dé] [hàwsà-nàm lúwò], kúrímí [kò dé] á gà-r-è, yá òhù-s-è=bé, [bùró pé-lèy] [bùrú sòyⁿ], [bùrú pé-lèy] [bùrú sòyⁿ] òhù-é=m=bé, [níj kày] [kò dèh mà], ìwá kárⁿú-wòrè=bé,

360 kó [níj kày] yá, [tégu-s-è=bé] [níj kày] [àsí mǎ:] kású dùm-wòrè, kàlà ká bé [áⁿwókkò²¹⁸ mǎ:] só=m=bé, kó bèré=m bìrý-s-è=bé, [dèh mà] dè, [bé bìrý-sò [dèh mà] d-è ñ] [só=m yó yè dà ñ], bùrú pé-nù:y, bùrú sòyⁿ, [kò kú] yó í dá

2004-2a.02 Resettlement (fragment)

X: 361 *bon* [tá tórò] yè-só ñ, [té:gá nù-m, bìrýó=m, yá dú:nì dìnú-sò], [tá nù-m, bè jèré wá→,²¹⁹ góylèl, yá dìnú-sò], bè jèré wá→ nà, dúrúgàmà, háli yó, [bé kày] [yá girèy] dá], gá: [í bé lèy yà:fú:], tūr-í→ dà

²¹¹ /zè:rú/ ‘bring’. Stative construction with *dá* ‘be’.

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

²¹³ /gàng-rí/.

²¹⁴ Noun *zòhò* ‘fight’ and adjective *déwrú* form a core NP, and here they get possessed {HL} overlay as a unit.

²¹⁵ /yⁿòm-rò/ ‘is stronger (than)’.

²¹⁶ *ñ mà* is pronounced [ímà] by most speakers, but dialectally [ínà].

²¹⁷ Lit. ‘east’s face’ (*jìnòh* ‘face’).

²¹⁸ French *avocat* ‘lawyer’, but the context suggests a sense ‘official documents’.

2004-2a.03 Famine years

- X: 362 iní bé ðiŋú-sò ń, jèwá, [[dú kù] wà-n-é²²⁰] [[tóró kù] cék] á wà-t-è, yú bè-n-é=bé, jèwá, jèwá bé á wòw-rò, hálì cítàngà, cítàngà yè-só ń, [tùpéré núm-sò ní] [hálì hálì hálì hálì yⁿám-sà], hálì yⁿám-sà,
 363 kò nù-m wàs-èy cín, kà: bé bãyⁿ-sà ń dè, lùwó, cèrù-ków, tìgirá, [kùmbùrù mǎ:] túwⁿó=m, [cé sí:] bãyⁿ bè-s-é=bé,
 364 hàya bé bãyⁿ bè-sà ń, hálì [tá nù-m kày] gà-rⁿá nà, ðisiná: ú lá:-wⁿá tùpéré, [tùpéré nù-mú] yⁿàngó ń dè, [ðisiná: nà] kárⁿá=m, [kò pérà] sóru bí-t-è=bé,
 365 [jèwá mǎ:] kárⁿú-sà kòy, í á ègù-rà, yórò á:li, cítàngà, m̀bù:rì, [cè-hú:lè-yà:fú:] [jèwà m̀sù] kárⁿú-sà, èn-tígéy kó kà-lí nà, nù-mú isó inà, nù-mú tèmá [túnóm²²¹ kù] yà-y-ná, sèté bèrè mà, kàlà àrà-m m̀tòt mà, [kó mà] ès-ì: bè-s-é ń, [[kú sì:] dé mà] á yè-t-è,
 366 [[kú sì:] ès dé=m yè-s-é nà, [[nù-n t̀r-í→ mà] nì-rⁿá] [s̀ǹkò⇒ ílò], hà: ńkǎyⁿ [jèwà kún sí:] kárⁿú t̀ŋ cí d-è=bé, kárⁿú t̀ŋ cí d-è=bé, hálì [bè dé] tírá=m, mútù-ré=m=bé, háya, [níŋ kày] [kò nǎŋ] [bè pérà] gú-sò, kǎyⁿ gá-s-è=bé,
 367 hà: mí èsù m̀ úkù ń, [[ń kú] kù], iní ì sígú yè-só ń, í wàrú-sà, yàrú, [t̀ǹ l̀gú] t̀ǹ-rí, [jèwá sí: mà] í yè-só, [níŋ kày] [[kò isó] t̀m] ká:wà, [jèrè kálá] ú á b̀rú bè-tà yⁿòmbò-yⁿómbó,
 368 [zàndúru mǎ:] b̀e:-s-è, [[cé sí:] sèté á jirá mà] [á yè-t-è], àrzàkà á dà, cé ðòró mà, á b̀-è-t-è [kò sèté], sèté ú bèrè tán, [dèŋ ú b̀-è-só ń yà:fú:] [ú yú á bè-tà],
 369 hàya [b̀rú léy-ló] í wàrú-sà, t̀ǹgù-rí láy, [kó kò], [l̀gú nà] [kó mà] í wǎy dà, [jèwá kù] í wǎy dà ń kúnú, kò b̀rú t̀:ì-lò kúnú, [kó kò] [[zìrⁿà ná:] b̀r-ì:] í á gà-rà, [kó nà] [yú írú-sà ní] hálì hálì hálì hálì hálì háddù jèlú-sò, [isó háwli yà:fú:] bè-sà, hàya, [jèwá kày] yá [í pérà] gú-sò,
 370 [kò pérà], túwⁿó jèrè, tégéy kálé á ǹǹ-ù-lù-tà, túwⁿó jèrè, á mùtù-t-tó,²²² [tóró gònò] [dèŋ mǎy], yù írú, [túnóm pérà] ðìgù-rù-ná, lóyó ú b̀e:-sì tán, ǹǹ:à:rⁿá tán, b̀:ndà kày, á kà-là [[tégéy cék] ú á bè-tà],
 371 hà: [ńkǎyⁿ sì:] [b̀rú jèrè nà], [b̀rú jèrè nà], láy bè-n-é, kárⁿú-sà ìn [[dèŋ ńgú] dé], [t̀rò kùwò ń] kú, f̀y zèrí bèw-rí, kà: dúŋó kày, tégéy nè:sé bè-s-é, [cé kày kálá] [[ń jírè] kà] kárⁿú-sà,
 372 kò pérà, [jèwà m̀sù] kà: nù-mú á wòw-rò ń kày, zǎ:→ [mí kày] [ń jírò] t̀ǹ-ú-sà ń, [jèwà, nù-mú á wòw-rò ń], ń wò-rí, kò héddì-nón,²²³ dè:ŋgó á kà-là, kà: jèwá nùmù:mú wòw kày, [í kày] [í zámànì] kà-lí

2004-2a.04 Water

- X: 373 [[tá t̀rò] ðiŋú-sò ń] í ní sàrà, [ní kálá:→] yⁿàngó, [[tóró kù] tàgà] gás-ù,²²⁴ tùpéré, lògùró á nì-rⁿà, té:gá, títàgè á nì-rⁿà, tá, kóyò kù, [bé kày], ní sá, yⁿùmnò [kò dé] á gà-r-è, yⁿùmnó nà, [[tùpéré.: té:gá lèy] dé kày] wà:gá,
 374 [yⁿùmnò ków] ǹŋ-bárⁿà yèrú-wòrè tán, [[tàgà cín] d̀m-wòr-è] zǎ: [[yàrú íwà nǎy] kù] tán], yⁿùmnó í á kòw-rò, hálì zìrⁿá yèrì, zìrⁿá yèrú-wòrè má, hà: [níŋ kày] [kò yⁿùmnò-ków] á d̀lì-yàrà,
 375 [í p̀y-mú] [kò kú] í bé ðìrⁿú-sà, [í mà] kó í bìrú-sà, í kó bìrù-cí dà ń, [í ðìrⁿú-sà] dè:ŋgó sá=kó sánì,

²¹⁹ wá→ (intensifier for *jèrè* ‘some, certain ones’) in contrastive-topic parallel phrases.

²²⁰ wàrí ‘farm, do farm work’.

²²¹ This speaker pronounces *túnóm* as *t̄s:m* (as in Jamsay).

²²² More often pronounced *mùtù-rù-tó*. Syncope is not usual in this metrical position.

²²³ Fulfulde expression.

²²⁴ gàs-ú ‘(act of) digging’, here possessed.

376 í ká dǎlǐ:lǐ í èlǐ-yàrà, kó tèmá, [bàrⁿíyà tètèy ɲ] kú, í gònó gàsú èlú-sà, [[bàrⁿíyà pùrò] kù] tí→ í gǎs-sà, í òrⁿú-sà ní á jè-tò=kó, hàyà kó ní á jè-tò ɲ nà, [dèŋ kún] cém dà,

377 kó í gú-sò [tàgá pèrà], [tátéy kù] í gàsú èlú-sà, [í òrⁿú-sà] ní á jè-tò=kó, hà: [níŋ kày], í [[kò gàsú] kù] lú-sò jèrⁿí-jérⁿù, í gàsú-cí dà, zǎ: ní á dùm-rò [yàrí íwà, nǎy], hálǐ [níŋ kày] ní, yàrí íwà kúréy, á dùm-rò,

378 [yàrí íwà kùrèy kúnú] ní dùm-wòrè má, tùwⁿó jérè, bé:bì, [púlò-m tètèwò mǎ:] á dà, yá í á bò-tò zàŋù-ní,²²⁵ yá í bè-lí má, hálǐ bó:ní í ków lów dà, [cěwla:fú:] í kán lów dà,

379 hà: zǎ: í gàsú-cí dà, [í gàsú-cí dà] [hálǐ [níŋ kày] pótú-ró=m], hálǐ [àrⁿá mùrú-wòrè] [cě zú-wòrè] tán, [ní í á nì-rⁿà] [hálǐ [zìrⁿà làgú] bìrǐy yèrí], [cěw là: fú:],

380 [bìrà-ìsò jèsù] gú-sò, hálǐ yó mà, í gàsú dèl-lí, àrⁿá túwⁿò mùrú-wòrè jèrⁿú-jérⁿù tán, [ní tètèwò kày] [níŋ kày] àw-ná,

381 hàyà [[kò kú] kù mà], *projet* ìní yèró=m, [ì dé] *pompe*, wúruwà kárⁿá=m [ì dé] *pompe* kúlú-sò, yógódó:gì dùm-wòrè má, [*pompe* kúnú kú] í mótó mà, ɲkǎyⁿ í á nì-rⁿà,

382 [ní mà] [nì-nì jèrⁿú] jìní kǒy, sábi *pompe* tùr-í→ kày, [àlá yà: fú: kày] dè-rⁿó, nù-mú jérè, yá²²⁶ mà, [[síyòŋ kà]²²⁷ lèy] bèrǐ-yàrà, jérè wá→, [[síyòŋ kà] tùr-í→] bèrǐ-yàrà,

383 gá: [[kò jíré] kà], jèwá là-r-é→, jèwá dè-l-é, àhámðirillá:hì rábbìl?á:lámí:nà, òsíná: àlbárkà [ŋú mà], bèrú=kó

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

X: 384 [[tál tórò]²²⁸ í lèy] zákà, mót-díŋ á dà, sábu [[í nánà mǎ:], tál tórò, bò-só], [tál tórò] bé bò-só ɲ mà, àhámðirillá:hì [yá gírèy] tí-s-è=bé, bè tí-sà ɲ nà, [kó kò] nà-íló, [tòrò nù-m] ká nà-íló, [[í ná-ìlò] [nù-rⁿù²²⁹ ná-ìlò] [tál tórò] yⁿàŋgó ɲ kálá:→] yⁿàŋgó [tá tórò],

385 [[tá tórò] nù-m] gó=m bò-só [tál tórò] ɲ, [tál tórò] gó=m yè-só ɲ ìní,²³⁰ cèhú:lìyà:fú: [nà-ìlò tùr-í→], hálǐ yó, [tál tórò] yⁿà-mú, í bé á sò-rò, [[í í-mù], á sò-r-è=bé], [[tál tórò] í lèy] zákà kày, hálǐ níŋ mót-díŋ á dà,

386 [[[tál tórò] í lèy] zákà] mót-díŋ á dà, [[pìrⁿíŋá í lèy] zákà] á dà, gá: [[[kò àlà làgù ɲgí]²³¹ í lèy] zákà] mót-díŋ, mút tàrà-Ø,²³² pày-mú kó kà-lí→, [í mání] [ì kú kù], dóm í kó kà-lí,

387 [kò héddì-nón] [nù-rⁿù kà:, bè-lí ɲ], bè tút-túru á sò-rò, kó jìní kày tán, [tál tórò→↑], [tá tórò], pìrⁿíŋá, [í dà] [kò túnóm-mà] á sò-rò jèrⁿú-jérⁿù kày, [kò héddì-nón] [[jérè kálá] [nù-rⁿù kâ:"] [[wò nú-mù] á dà], [nù-rⁿù kâ:"] [[wò nú-mù] á dà] [jérè kálá]

2004-2a.06 Farming techniques

X: 388 yù-wára, [kó kò] [í bírà], [[í bírà] kú yà:fú:] yù-wára, yù-wára mà, [yú, túsú, àⁿsú, nùm↑, náti↓], éŋíné, [cě-wlǐ-yà:fú:] í â: wá-tà,

²²⁵ zàŋú ‘plead, beg’ in compound-initial form, verbal noun *ní* ‘(act of) drinking’, as purposive complement to *bòrú* ‘go to’.

²²⁶ ‘go to’.

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

²²⁸ Also pronounced *tán tórò*.

²²⁹ Possessor relative clause with *nù-rⁿù* in L-toned form as relative head.

²³⁰ *ìní* ‘here’ would normally precede relative *ɲ*. Perhaps an afterthought here.

²³¹ Heard on tape contracted to [làg:i].

²³² /mútú sàrà-/ , with u-Apocope and /ts/ > *tt*.

389 nùm-bárⁿà í—, [tǒw, í â: tó-rò], [yàrí íwà sôyⁿ] tí-wòrè ñ yà:fú:, [isò mǎy] tǒw í â: tó-rò, [í tò-cí dà] [í tò-cí dà] [hálì, zìrⁿá yèrí], tǒw mà↑, [[sáwà²³³ sí:] í sátá mà] á tò-rò,

390 tǒw mǎyⁿ, nù-mú jéré wá→, yó kày, [tátéy kù, gònó gàsá mà], bírǐjí kúló mà, á tò-rò, nù-rⁿù kó kárⁿú bè-lí ñ mà, [óru mà] kù, bírǐjí bàrú kúló mà, á tò-rò,

391 àrⁿá mùrú-wòrè má, [níy kày] [[isò òrú] tǒw]²³⁴ í á tò-rò, àrⁿ-m.: yⁿà-mú.: ì-mú.:↓, cè-hú:li-yàgàfú:, mǒtǒ=m ñ á tò-rò, tǒngò-sátú-m,²³⁵ [sáwà sí:] á sàtù-rà, tǒw-tó:-m, [yù-kúsú jéré mà] [gòsò dá gà], [[[ùrò ñ] ká] pùrò] kù] kúló=m] [á bìw-rà],

392 í tó=m bèw-wòrè má, [níy kày] [[zémà-m tǒyò] yá mà] [séw, á dùw-r-è], séw dùwó mà, [kùsò mà] [níy kày] nù-rⁿù ká:, [[óru mà] kù] á wà-tà [lò sí:], [[lò sí:] í wàrù-cí dà] [wàrù-cí dà] [hálì néyò=m nà],

393 níyìnà, yèrí, jálásàrì bè-s-á, zàndúru bà-m, kó págá mà, tǒw-isó kù, á kàrkù-tà, má [lò sí:] á cèl-l-è, ñó bà-m, [tǒw-isó kù] kàrká mà, [lò sí:] á wàrù cèl-l-è,

394 [nù-mú jéré wá→] sòlò dèy kán dà ñ má, tò-rⁿó láy, wàrà mà, á dǎmpà kà-là, [dǎmpìrì cíní] bèw-wòrè má, [sòlò kárⁿú-wⁿòrⁿè má] [[yò nà] bitù-kó mà], sàwrà í [kò dé] á gà-rà, á wàrù bitù-r-è,

395 kó wàrù bité=m, hà: zìrⁿá, yú bèw-wòrè↑, wàrà dǔm-wòrè↑, yú lǎr dǎw-wòrè²³⁶ má, [tùw^ó jéré] [óru kù], cècè á kà-là, [kò dé] gà-rⁿ-é nà, bórù-bórù-dè,²³⁷ óru á yⁿòngù-rò=kó, gà: í cé â: áw-rà, kúmó í â: kúl-lò, hál cé óru pásá,

396 [yù cíní] írú-wòrè, [níy kày]↑, dòyó tí→ á gùngù-r-è, dòyó gùngó mà, í dòyó lì-cí dà, í dòyó lì-cí dà, hálì [[kò yú] írá mà] á mǎyⁿ-yⁿàrⁿà,

397 yú mǎyⁿ-wⁿòrⁿè má, [níy kày] [kòsò íwà] á tí-yàrà, [níy kày] kòsò á kòsì-yèr-è, kó kòsò mà, [yù-jìyⁿ]-pèrú, [nù-rⁿù ká:] [[yù-jìyⁿ]-pèrú mà] sá, [yⁿà-mú, lùkú sà], [àrⁿ-m, jèsú], yú í á jìyⁿ-yⁿàrⁿà,

398 í jìyⁿó mà, zùrò mǒtǒ mà, [zùrò cín] bàrà mà, cé túpó mà, [tèwá cèkà] á bò-tè m̀b̀t̀t̀ú²³⁸, [yù kún] túpú-wòsì má, [[jès-tùpú, lá:rà], ú túpú-wòsì ñ yà:fú:], [pè:l-lò kún, zakkà, í á gùngù-rò], hálì [yù ú bè-sá ñ yà:fú:] dùw^ó,

399 kó túsú má, kǎyⁿ ú kó á kàrⁿí-yⁿàrⁿà, nùm [kó kày] nàrà:rⁿá í kó bè-ná, sàbì nàrà:rⁿá í kó wà-ná, àⁿsú, [kó mání] [nàrà:rⁿá í bè-ná] [tégéy kó á wà-t-è],

400 [[yù cíní] kòsò=m gá=m] [[tèwá kù] m̀b̀t̀t̀ú-wòrè], níyìnà, í cé bàrà mà, [[pàjá pùrò] kù] cé pégá mà, kóy kó jèsá mà, yù-bó:lò dá→, yù-gà:ⁿsú dá→, má [kò yù-bò:lò kún] tí→ í á bàsù-rà,

401 [í kó bàsù-cí dà] [kó dǔm-wòrè ní], [níy kày] [yù-gà:ⁿsú kù] í â: lú-yàrà, háyà [yù-gà:ⁿsú kún], [í kó lì-cí dà ní] [hálì zìrⁿá yèrí],

402 [í kó bē:-sì ñ] búru kày, àhám̀d̀ir̀illá:hì [í á lì-rà ní] [hálì hálì [yù kàlá] gó], kó dǔm-rí tán, [dè:ngó kálá] yⁿàngó, sàbù níngì lóyó [yàrù ngú],²³⁹ àhám̀d̀ir̀illá:hì [[nù-n tíyey], jèw-rí],

403 [kó kò] [[yù-wára kù] èsù í á bì-tà ñ], í cé wàrà mà, yù-wára dǔm-wòrè, óru bìrà dǔm-wòrè, háyà, ìmí, yⁿòmù-yⁿóm á bò-tò, nù-mú jéré wá→, [[málí: pùrò] kù] á bò-tò, nù-mú jéré wá→, kódúwà:r á bò-tò,

404 bé bèré mà, jéré wá→, [á bìr̃y yè-tò] [zá: í wàrà dè-rí ñ], [jéré wá→] [òw kù] á wày-rà, bé bèré mà, ì-mù jèrⁿú mǎ: kày, dá èsù á zé:-tò ñ, ñìyòsò á zé:-tè=bé, jálásàrì á zé:-tè=bè, tórókò á zé:-t-è=bé,

405 bú:dì má, [nù-mù jéré wá→] bú:dì á zé:-t-ò, [bù:dì cíní] zé:rú-wòrè má, [íló pày-nú dè] kó ów mà, háyà [íló yà:fú:] bìrà á bì-t-è [kó sí:], ñgú kò, [kǎyⁿ kò] [yù-wára bìrà kún] á bì-tà,

406 yú mà, [kó bē:-s-è má] [yⁿòngú kày í yⁿòngù-nó dé], í yòngù-nó, [sàbì í tálkà-m] [tálkà-n í yⁿòngú-wòsì má] [tàngù-ná [wò dé]], nù-rⁿù nàrà:rⁿá bē:-sì ñ má, [yù kúnú] dǎrò mà, èrⁿá á èw-rà, móyⁿ-rⁿèy, zàndúru á èw-r-è, móyⁿ-rⁿèy,

²³³ 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.

²³⁴ Pronounced [ʃt:òw].

²³⁵ Agentive compound (plural). *tòngó* ‘short pick-hoe’, *sátá* ‘slash earth with pick-hoe’.

²³⁶ Pronounced [lǎd:èw:àrè].

²³⁷ Primarily millet-eating blister beetles (Meloidae).

²³⁸ Variant *m̀t̀t̀ú*.

²³⁹ Either *lóyó* or *yàrù ñgú* by itself means ‘this year’ (in the latter case, literally).

407 nù-rⁿù nà:nà:rⁿá bě:-sì ń, [[nàŋà ì-rⁿù] àr-ěy] éwà mà, [púlǎ-m zà:kù] á kùl-lò, kó gá:-lú-wòrè mà, kó ðòrò mà, [àrzàkà òrì:] á èw-rà, cè-hú:lì-yàgàfú: í â: ká-là,

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X: 408 tòrò-àyⁿá, [kó máni] í sá, ñgú kày↑, gùsù-jém-mú àyⁿà, ùsò àyⁿà, ùsò í gá-wòsì mà, [ùsò àyⁿà] í á gàsù-rà, ðewó, sèŋà bārⁿú, í mòtò mà, télúró mà, sárá mà, á ðìr-è [ùsò-nù-rⁿú] dè],

409 èyô:→, [yó nà] kúyⁿó, [à-nú, hé→ yⁿà-rⁿú], nù-rⁿù kà: kúyⁿó wó bě:-sì ń mà, í á gàsù-rà, ò:rⁿò-bàrⁿí:, sásàrⁿíyⁿà, àrà-òsún-ðòrò-kòrì:, bósùwⁿá [túrú kù], lùwò-sínúŋ [túrú kù], ùsò—, [kúyⁿó àyⁿà kày] [lúgúró mà] ðùm-nó, ñgí í télúró mòtò mà, zàlá mà [nàwⁿá sí:], bòlò bòlò mà, á nì-rⁿ-è, nàhàsì, [kò bá:"sà] [bà:ní á bè-tà],

410 hè [yó nà], [kù-dègú mà:] dé, kó mà, cé àyⁿá á nì-rⁿà, [kù-dègú dè] èsù á nì-rⁿè ń déy, gǝŋ tàgì:, pày-nú yé.: ì-rⁿú, í zàlá mà, cé á nì-rⁿà,

411 èyô:., yó nà, [pùŋúrò ðò:lù] dè, èsù í á nì-rⁿà ń, sò:rěy, í á nì-rⁿà, kò kótò, [kò dútù] [nù-mú jéré wá→] á nì-rⁿà, gá: [kò dútù kày], kó â: zàmbà ká-là, kò ká:wà↑, [[kò dútù] nē²⁴⁰ kày] mút tàrà,²⁴¹

412 èyô:→, pùró téwá ñdè, [kó máni] àyⁿá í á nì-rⁿà, pùró téw-kù dè, nù-mú jéré wá→, ðìw, tókó mà, [[núm pìrⁿà] kó lěy] wàrú mòtò mà, mà [kó mày-ká mà], nàwⁿá mà, [bòlò sèr-ěy] bòlò mà, tégěy á nì-rⁿ-è [ðìw sí:],

413 nù-mú jéré wà:, bál-báléwà,²⁴² tógó mà, kó zàlá mà, [kò ní ↓kún] tétá mà, á nì-rⁿà, [kò kày] [nà:nà:rⁿá kày] pùró tèt-w-kù-ná=kó, gá: [[nù-mú jéré] dè] á tèt-w-kù-tà=kó,

414 háyà pùró téw-wòrè, pùró-tèw àyⁿà, pùró-tèw í sí-t-těŋ,²⁴³ [kó mà] àyⁿá í á ì—, àyⁿá í á nì-rⁿà, kó àyⁿà kún nà, [kó kày] [nù-rⁿù ká:"] [wò áyⁿà], gǝyⁿ dùtù, òrùbù dùtù, cícìrⁿí, tàkátò pèrà, wàrú pèrà,

415 [cé í mòtò mà] [zàlá mà], á nì-rⁿ-è [pùró-tèw dè], pùró-tèw jéré wá→, [tèwá mà] [háli é:mèl á kà-là], [é:mèl kárⁿú-wⁿòrⁿè mà] [nín kày], [kò áyⁿà jéré ñgí yà:fú:→] [kó kúló mà] [í cé á nì-rⁿà], [kò kò] pùró-tèw dè,

416 è→ yó nà, [àyⁿá í sá [làgú nà] ń], [lúgúró mà] ðùm-nó, tòrò-àyⁿá kày, èsù ú úkù ń mà dógò, tìgé sà-rá, ðùm-nó,

417 kù-lùró dè, [kó mà] [í [kò àyⁿà làgú kày]²⁴⁴ sà-rá] [kù-lùró dè kày], ìsìyà, ìsìyà jìní ń, ìsìyà àyⁿà nà, pèrè:rè kòtò, í [nàwⁿá mà] á sù"sù-rò, [kò bá:"sà] ìsìyà mà, [kù-lùró dè] á nàpù-rà,

418 fúnàfúnà dùtù, [kó mà] í nàwⁿá mà, í á sù"sù-rò, [ìsìyà ú á ìsìy-tà ní] [háli, [kù-lùró dè] á nàpù-rà], ñgí [kù-lùró sì] kày,

419 yó nà, tìwⁿá àyⁿà, [tìwⁿá àyⁿà] [kó mà] í sá, í [kò dé] gà-rⁿá nà↑, tìwⁿá-ná: àyⁿà, [[sòlò wórú-m-wórèy káy"] à wò-tò=kó] [má [tárú á sì-tù-rò=kó]], [kò tárú cíní] gàsá mà, í táy mày-ká mà, í nàwⁿá mà, [[ñjèmbù kù], í kò à bòl-lò], [[òrò-pìrⁿá] kó lěy],

420 mà [[kò kúwó] wàlá kòrò] [[dèŋ pítúm-dà ñ kún] dé], [í kó bòlò=m] [kò ðòy-ðòy kún], yá í á tà-tà,²⁴⁵ [í tárú-wòsì ń yà:fú:] [háli kó yá màyⁿá], tìwⁿá á zòŋgù-rò=kó, [kó kày]—, [kò kò] [í [tìwⁿà àyⁿà] kày],

421 mìrⁿú, [mìrⁿú dè kày] [í [àyⁿà làgú] íná ñkáy"], gá:, í kó m̀bògò mà, àyⁿá á kùl-lò, núwⁿó-ná dùtù, nàwⁿá mà, í [kò kú] kúló mà [í â: págú-rà], ìsì-kà-jákkà á ðà mà, kò kótò kún, [í nàŋrà mà] [[mìrⁿú kù]—, [mògú ésú-m-wòs-è mà]], [[kò kú] dèlé mà] í á pàgù-rà,

²⁴⁰ *né* ‘drinking’ (verbal noun), here as possessed noun.

²⁴¹ /mútú sàrà/.

²⁴² *Senna* (=Cassia) *italica* bush is more often called *dùrù-gàŋrà* in TS.

²⁴³ Verbal noun of *sí-tó* ‘take down’, but *sí-t-těŋ* (?) is not clear on tape.

²⁴⁴ Pronounced [lăk:áj].

²⁴⁵ *tárú* ‘stick (on), affix, apply (sth, to sth)’.

422 [mìrⁿù kà: tòn-nó²⁴⁶ ɲ] í bɛ:-sì má, ɛrⁿà bárⁿú, [í dùwó mà] hálì kò élá, má [kò sí] [kò mìrⁿú] mɛ̀gú ɛ́sú-m-wòs-è má] [[kò kú] ító mà], í á pàgù-rà, [kò mà] á nàpù-rà,

423 è [yó mà] hálì àyⁿà kà:→ [mìrⁿù kà: tòn-nó ɲ] bé mèrú dé-wòrè má, nù-mú jéré wá→, [nàɲá cìrà] wàlá [ɛrⁿá cìrà], kà: [ìsò kù] bèwá=m sùyⁿ á kà-là ɲ ɲgú, kó só mà, [àyⁿà jém] kó dó mà, [[mìrⁿù kúnú] kú] á kùl-lò, á tòl-lò, pùrò-lùrò dè, [[kúyⁿó àyⁿà ɲgú] dé] í á: nì-rⁿà,

424 é [yó nà] [dùtù-lùrò mà], sògú mǎ:, cé nà, gúmbítà í á kà-là, gúmbítà nà, [nàɲá cìrà dà] í lǎwá mà, ùró tókó mà, má [kò túwⁿò kún], [[dèɲ kà: á lù-tò ɲ kún] dé] líwó mà, má í á àrì-yàrà,

425 [í gǎgá=m gá=m] [cìrà kún]—, [[ùrò kún] mùsú-wòsì ɲ yà:fú:] [cìrà kún] á lòkí-yàrà, [kó lókó=m] hál nɛ̀ɲ-wòrè má, í [mùsù-rú²⁴⁷ gùɲó mà] [í kó—], [cìrà kún] á gũɲ-gàrà,

426 má [[kú kà-rà] í só mà] [dèɲ kà:→ —], [bèl-cèlà kúnú] kú í á tɛ̀rì-yàrà, í tɛ̀rú-wòsì í tɛ̀rú-wòsì ní, [í kó kúló mà] [á gǎgù bítì-yàrà], [í gǎgù-wòsì tán] [cìrà kúnú] [kó kù] nɛ̀ɲ á lù-yàrà,

427 [nɛ̀ɲ á lù-rò ní] [hálì á zù-rò=kó pɛ̀t!], [[nɛ̀ɲ jèm kúrúm→] á gù-rò, [kúwó lɛ̀y tà:→lí], [[nɛ̀ɲ kúnú] ɲkǎyⁿ gó mà] [í kó á tùtù-rò], hálì yá líwó mà, í kó á tùtù-rò, ɲkǎyⁿ í kárⁿú-wòsì tán, [kó mà] sùyrè tán, gù-wòrè, [ɲgú kò] [sùyrè dè mà] [ɛ̀sù í á kà-là ɲ],

428 èyô:→, cèlà-yⁿúmno mà↑, cèlà-yⁿúmno dé mà, àyⁿá í á nì-rⁿà, sábu kà-[bít-ù], kà-[bít-ù] dè, [àyⁿà á nì-rⁿ-è ɲ] á dà, kà: [m úkù ɲ kày], bíbì:ⁿ, [bíbì:ⁿ, í zálá mà] á nì-rⁿà [kà-[bít-ù] dè], háyà, [ɲgú kò] [ɛ̀sù m úkù ɲ], [kà-[bít-ù] dè] ɛ̀sù í á nì-rⁿà ɲ

2004-2a.08 Funeral ceremonies

X: 429 kò túwⁿò, [[àrà pày-nú], wàlá [yà pày-nú]] nùm-wòrè má, jèrⁿá á kà-l-è, jèrⁿà kún mà, [tá tórò yà:fú:→↑] mɛ̀tò mà, [[nùwⁿò ðrú] jèrⁿà, á yè-t-ò kàrⁿ-ú],

430 [bòrù-[bárú-m], bári-yàrà] [gànù-[jí-m] jí-yàrà], yⁿà-mú àrà-m, [nù-rⁿù kâ:ⁿ] á jí-yàrà, má [yó nà], pùrò-[págú-m] pùró á pàgí-yàrà, yⁿà:ɲá nùɲó á nùɲ lá:r-è,²⁴⁸

431 nùwⁿó mà, tùwⁿò bé á sò:-rà ɲ yà:fú:, nùwⁿó nùm-wòrè yà:fú:, [mǎlfá sí:] á tɛ̀gí-yèr-è=bé, ló:wándè á tǎy-yèr-è=bé, má bòrú á tɛ̀w-wèr-è=bé,

432 bé bòrú tɛ̀w-wòsì²⁴⁹ ɲ yà:fú:, à-nú má kày, gání á bà-t-è=bé, [kó kò] [[wà:gá nù-n dá ɲ] égú-wòsì tán] [à-nú nùm dà ɲ],

433 yⁿà-rⁿú má, yà-jé, [kó mání] ití-yèr-è [yⁿà-n nùm dà ɲ], bé mɛ̀tò mà, [[cèná kún] cèná mà] á sǎy-yèr-è=bé,

434 bé sáyá=m, yàrú sí-wòrè, [yó nà], kó á hílù bítì-yèr-è=bé, bé kó hílù-wòsì má, [kó kày] [[tòrò nùm] [hálì wà:gá] dá ɲ] á yè-t-ò, yⁿà:ɲá lɛ̀y, cèná á cén là-r-è, má [[cèná kún] gó mà] á sáy-yàrà, [kó kò] [nùwⁿó cèná kày],

435 nínjìnà, kò pèrà kày, yà-kàlá, [yà-kàlá jèrⁿà] á kà-l-è, [yà-kàlá jèrⁿà kày] [í kày] í ðì-lí²⁵⁰ kòy, gà: [í jìrè kà] kárⁿú-sà, sábu tórò pòlò, [bé kày] [bòrú sí: kò] yà-kàlá á dàgù-rà,

436 hà: [í nà], [í kày] [[yⁿà-mú lò] kù dá] á pàsù-rà [yà-kàlá kày], bé dàgù lá-wòrè má, àrká, lòsù-m mútù-rú-wòrè má, ì-m-í: jèrⁿá á kà-là, mɛ̀tò=m=bé, bé jí dèrⁿú-wⁿòr-è ní, dè:gá [nùɲ kâ:ⁿ] [àlá mà] á yày-rà,

437 [í kày] [yà-kàlá cèná kày] í ðì-lí kòy↑, kà: [[í kú] kù] kàrⁿ-sà,

²⁴⁶ *tóló* ‘(wound) heal’.

²⁴⁷ Reversible: ‘un-[stop up]’ = ‘re-open (stuffed or stopped-up hole)’.

²⁴⁸ For /lá-yàr-è/ (3PI future of *lá* ‘spend night’). A preceding chained verb, here *nùɲú* ‘sing’, (combining form), drops tones (hence *nùɲ*) 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 [bòt:ɛ̀w:òsì].

²⁵⁰ Perfective negative of *dìrⁿú* ‘find (by chance), inherit’

438 [[tóró pòlò] nû-m] [bé kày] [zǎ: gú-sò ń], [bé kày] [bè yá-kàlà jèrⁿà]²⁵¹ ì-í-gú dà, [kò sí:] kò— [bòrú sí:] kò yⁿà-rⁿú á sò-r-è=bé, [bòrú sí: kò] cèná cèn-n-è=bé [nùndérⁿá lěy] [hálì nùndérⁿá tà:lí] [bè yá-kàlà] á kà-là,

439 [í kày] yⁿà:ṅà tùr-í→ lók, [kò í yá-kàlà kày], dàgú lá-wòrè ń yà:fú:, [í kày] â: sáy-rà, ì-m-í: jèrⁿá kárⁿú-wòsì, [kó nà] bé jèrⁿá bé kán²⁵² dèrⁿú-wⁿòrⁿè ní, dè:gá sày-r-è=bé, [kó kò] [yà-kàlá jèrⁿà mà], kó mà, [kò sí] á kà-là

²⁵¹ Perhaps to be syntactically bracketed [*bè [yá-kàlà jèrⁿà]*] with *yà-kàlá jèrⁿà* ‘ritual of marriage’ as a whole functioning as possessed noun.

²⁵² /kárⁿú/ ‘do’.

Tape 2004-2, track B

2004-2b.01 Cooking millet

X: 440 ká, kùlò, kà: á kùl-l-è ñ, yù-kúsù, [[[yù-kúsù mà] dè] só mà] [ká-kâ:ⁿ á bì-t-è ñ]] [háli kó pìrⁿá táńá mà] [zá táńá mà] [zá bírá mà] [ńińú ńińó mà], ká:, [háli kó yèrí zá dó] [gó ñ] [kó àsí [wò dé] á ùsù-rò]

Y: < ... >

X: < ... >

Y: 441 ñkǎyⁿ cék, háyà, hàyà yù-kúsù, àrà-m kó bàsù-wòsì má, í yá kó kúró mà, má í yèrú-wòrè má, í kó yàrá mà, í héló mà, í nàwⁿá mà,

442 í nǎm-mòsì²⁵³ má, kò zà-[bì-nù] kúnú, yá tòkú látá mà, [zà ñgú] bírá mà, má [wò zá] bírú-wòsì má, má [ńiń kày] wó kó wùrò mà, [nù-rⁿù kálá sí] wó héló mà, ńińgú ńińgó mà, ńińgú tút mà, [nù-rⁿù kálá] [[íló kà] kù] só mà, [wò sí] zí yá mà, í→ [nu-rⁿú kálá] [wò sí] à zí bò-t-è,

443 má [ńiń kày] [nù-rⁿù kâ:ⁿ] á lì-rà, yù-kúsù kǒy, kúró mà, nàwⁿá mà, í kùrí-yàrà[↑], í yèrú-wòrè má, í yàrí-yàrà[↑], í héli-yàrà[↑], í nǎm-màrà[↑], [kò zà-[bì-nù] kúnú] [ńiń kày] [wò túrì:], wó á bírì-yàrà[↑], má [ńiń kày] wó bírá mà, héló mà, má [ńiń kày] [[nù-mú yà:fú:] héli-ù], ńińgú kúló mà, [nù-mú yà:fú:] á lí-yàrà

2004-2b.02 Crisis food

X: 444 ká jèwà-lé, [jèwà-lé nà] kà: á kà-l-è ñ, [ńiń kày] kó [ù dé] àsí [ù dé] á ùsù-rò, jèwà-lé lùwó á tò-t-è²⁵⁴

Y: èrê:ré

X: 445 èrê:ré á kò-t-è²⁵⁵

Y: má [ńiń kày] èrê:ré— [èrê:ré kày] ñ kóró é→, sárá mà, zàlá mà, [[kò lùwó mà] tóró mà] zàlá mà, ńéjébí kárⁿá mètó mà, ñkǎyⁿ á lì-r-è,

Z: 446 yú yⁿǎngó má, [lé yⁿǎngó] jèwà-lé, lùwó í â: tó-t-ò, èrê:ré í â: kó-t-ò, [èrê:ré kày] kórú-wòs-è má, í kó yàwrá mà, í kó sárá mà, í kó zàlá mà, érá í kùlí-yàrà,

447 [érá kúló mà] kó â: zál-l-è, má kó tétá mà, [má [kò túwⁿò]] [má kó zàlá mà], má [héló mà] [í á lì-rà],

448 lùwó[↑], í â: tó-t-ò, í kó tórú-wòsì má, [kò bérè] í jèsá mà, [tòkú²⁵⁶ kù] í kó kúló mà, í kó á zàlá mà, má [kò túwⁿò má], í héló mà, ì mèt—, mágù mágá mà, jìrò-kúlú kúló mà, í héló mà, [í mètó mà] [í á lì-rà],

449 èyyô:→, [làgú nà] bòlò, [yù là:lěy] má, bòlò bòlò mà, í héló mà, [í mètó mà] [í á lì-rà], jèwà-lé, [cé kò] yú bè-l-é mà, [cé í kúló mà] [má í á lì-rà]

450 ú ègú-wòsì má, [ú ègí-yàrà kǒy] [ú ùsú dèl-lí tán] [ú ègí-yàrà]

2004-2b.03 Soda ash

X: 451 ká [ńiń kày] érá, èrà jém, [kà: á kó, á cèl-l-ò ñ má] [kà: [lé kù]] á kó á²⁵⁷ kùl-l-ò ñ] [dèñ kà: á kó dèwrá mà] [èsù á kó á cèl-l-è²⁵⁸ ñ], [kà: kárⁿá mà] [[lé kù] kó á kùl-l-è ñ, [ńiń kày] kó àsí á ùsì-yàrà

²⁵³ nǎm \\ nàwⁿá ‘grind’.

²⁵⁴ tórú \\ tóró ‘strip off (leaves)’.

²⁵⁵ kórú \\ kóró ‘pick (a fruit)’

²⁵⁶ Pronounced [tòk:ù].

²⁵⁷ á kó á. 2PI subject á, then nonhuman object kó, then imperfective á.

²⁵⁸ “3PI subject” suffix -e here with 2PI subject pronominal.

Y: 452 èrà jém kày, [yàwá má] [níŋ kày], má [kò èrà-ní] á tèkù-r-è ñ, éyyô→, cècèrú máyⁿ-wⁿòrⁿè má, í [èrà mà] dós mà, [níŋ kày] í kó dós-wòsì má, [níŋ kày] èrà-mtètí, [í sèŋínè gùŋó mà] [[[èrà-mtètí ùrò kúnú] kù], í sèŋínè kúló mà, í [èrà jém kúnú] kúló mà, í [èrà jém] bìsò mà, má í kó sí-tó mà, í kó bòlò bē:-sì má, má í kó á tèkù-rà

2004-2b.04 Drawing water

- X: 453 àsí [ù dé] á ùsù-rò, ní, kǒw bìrà,²⁵⁹ yògòdó:jì bèré má, [èsi kà: sí:] á [kò ní] á kòw-rò ñ, kà: á kòw-rò ñ, [kò kún] [níŋ kày] àsí [ù dé nà] á ùsí-yàrà,
454 [tá: kárⁿá]²⁶⁰ yògòdó:jì àrká gó = m̀ bèré déy, [[lòkú mà] jèré mà] yá mà, gágá mà, [[síyòŋ mà] kù] kúló²⁶¹ mà, gágá—, [[jèré mà] [íló mà] á yè-tò ñ] [[kò kún] àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà]
- Z: 455 yògòdó:gì, yá àrká tàyá í á: bò-tò, í bèré nì ków mà, [lòkú í jèré mà] á bò-tò, ì kú—, í jèré-m bèré mà, [lòk kúnú] ní— yògòdó:gì [ní kù] í kó kúló mà, ní lú-wòrè mà, í á kùl-lò, [síyòŋ mà] pùrò kù, [[síyòŋ kù] kù] kúló-wòsì má, í kó só dé mà, í á yè-tò, [íló, má í á yà-yàrà] [tòkú mà kù] kùlù, má í yè-tò ní, [kó zì:] í á yè-tò kò lè kárⁿú
- X: 456 wàsù-ŋgò

2004-2b.05 Baskets and jujube cakes

- X: 457 ká èzè ká:, l̀- bírá á bírá mà, [á d̀ró mà] [cèrú á bè-tà-ŋ] ká á dà mà, [kó mà] àsí [ù dé]—, ú ká [àsí dé] tégò
- Y: 458 áⁿhàⁿ, l̀- bírá bírá mà í á: bè-tà mà, tású í á: tì-rà, [í cèrú á bè-tà] tású í á:—, í á: p̀ró mà— í á s̀lò mà yàwá mà, má í p̀ró mà gùŋgò mà, má í yèrí [tású mà] té mà, [í cèrú á bè-tà], [í kã:ⁿ mà] kã:ⁿ mà, [í [àⁿsú mà] é:²⁶² mà] [í kã:ⁿ mà] kã:ⁿ mà, [í kã:ⁿ mà] d̀ró mà, [í cèrú á bè-tà],
459 éyyô→, í [òrbú mà] z̀lò mà, í [òrbú mà]—, òrbù-nèfá mà nèfá mà, òrbù-ísèyⁿ g̀à: nèfá g̀à:, í á: bò-tò d̀rú, [í cèrú á bè-tà], í [búru-só:dè²⁶³ mà] bèrá mà, í p̀w-wòsì má, í d̀ró mà, [í cèrú á bè-tà], háli háli l̀wò jém, [í tórô-m] [í wàru-wòsì má], [í [cèrú mà] á bè-tà]

2004-2b.06 Weaving with strips of doum-palm frond

- X: 460 [níŋ kày] ká wó sigí-yàrà, [níŋ kày] ká yⁿámú, kà: pètá tì-rà-ŋ, tǎy kà: bé éwá mà, ñŋé mà, pètá té mà, má kà: bé [kò pètá] á d̀-td-ŋ, kó àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà [ú nà]
- Z: 461 pètá, í tǎy sà-rà, pètá í á— tǎy í á: èw-rà, í tǎy éw-wòsì má, í ñŋé mà
- Y: 462 mú:dù pé:rù
- Z: [mú:dù pé:rù] tǎy í á: èw-rà
- Y: 463 g̀ó:ŋò, kò sódórkò
- Z: sódórkò í á: èw-rà, má [kò túŋò mà] [í kó á ñŋé mà] [í kó á tì-rà], í kó tí-wòsì má, í kó d̀ró mà, kò d̀rú kúnú, kó sí: mà—
- Y: mú:dù pé-nì:y
- Z: [pé-nì:y sí:] pètá í á d̀-td, é→

2004-2b.07 Marriages I

²⁵⁹ Can be pronounced more fluently as *nì-ków^L bìrà* ‘work of water-drawing’.

²⁶⁰ *tá: kárⁿá* ‘it should happen’ (uncommon phrase).

²⁶¹ ... *mà kù kúló* pronounced [m̀k̀:úló].

²⁶² for *éwá mà*, from verb *éw* ‘buy’.

²⁶³ Variant of *gúru-só:jè*.

- X: 464 [nín kày] àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà, ú ìrⁿí yⁿàyⁿèrⁿí bē:-sì, nínìnà, [ǎn dè] wó ó:-wòsì, èyyô→, èsè kà: á bì-t-è-η, kà: á kà-l-è-η, háli só mà, háli [wò yàkàlà], èsè kà: ú á: bē-tà-η↑, èsè ú á: gùṅgu-rò-η↑²⁶⁴, [[ù dé] á ò:-r-è-η↑] [èssè ú á: gùṅgu-rò-η]
- Y: háyà
- X: 465 cé àsí á ùsò-rò nínènà, háli yá wó dàyà, hé→ [kò mò-díṅ līsà mà:↑] [sô-m èsù á gùṅgu-r-è-η] [[cíní kày] cé àsí [ù dé] á ùsò-rò]
- Y: 466 háyà, ó:diyà, dàgú-wòs-è mà, zǎṅ-wòs-è mà, zǎṅ-wòs-è mà, kàsú:., kùrùkàsí:., kó à zì-yà-r-è²⁶⁵, á zê:-t-è, *premier*, éyyô→, nàfá, nǎṅ, á zê:-t-è, éyyô→, lòsónà dàgò-ré-η cèlà, dàgú dò:-r-è mà, nàwⁿá, yà-nàwⁿá, yà-nàwⁿá, òw-wà-r-è,
- 467 háyà á dàgí-yà-r-è mà, yà-yítíw, yà-yítíw pàgí-yà-r-è, yà-yítíw pàgí-yà-r-è↑, yà-nàwⁿá òw-wà-r-è↑, zǎṅ-kàsú òw-wà-r-è↑, nàfá òw-wà-r-è↑, ñjýyàṅáfú: àrám òw-wà-rà, hàyà [ú nà] ú [kò nà kúnú], hàyà [ú mà ní ní] ès kà:, [ú kày ní] [ù ná: kày] ès kà: [nín kày] á gùṅgu-rò, kò cèlà kày, zá dà á bì-t-è = bé, nàlò:-zá á bì-t-è, hàyà [nín kày] dèlú-wòrè,
- 468 hàyà [ná kày], ès [ìrⁿú mà] dàgò-rà-η↑, tè:"sí mà gúṅgó-rà-wò→, yòrú mà gúṅgó-rà-wò→, tàgú mà gúṅgó-rà-wò→, èyyô→, yòrú ñ gá-sà mà
- Z: 467 dòlkí gúṅgó-rà-wò→
- Y: dòlkí gúṅgó-rà-wò→, músò:rò gúṅgó-rà-wò→, dóllekè gúṅgó-rà-wò→,
- Z: 468 lò-sàyá
- Y: lò-sàyá gúṅgó-rà-wò→, kǎṅgè gúṅgó-rà-wò→, èyyô→, búkùl-šé:n gúṅgó-rà-wò→, m̀hr̀m̀, làgènà [yó nà] wàsò-dà
- Z: 469 yàkàlá yèrú-wòrè mà, —
- Y: yàkàlá—, háyà [léló nà] yèrú-wòrè mà, kó mà, kàsú, kàsú pé-này↑, kàsú nàyⁿ↑, bà:"sá pé:rù↑, pètá gá:rà, kùrùkàsí: kùréy, zògùtò kùréy

2004-2b.08 Marriages II

- X: 470 ká [[nín kày] èsù [ù dé] á ùsí-yàrà-η], yⁿàmú, [jámà yⁿàmú á mòtí-yàrà] [yàkàlá mà: sô-m→, jíṅgá:rù mà: ṅgì, yⁿàmú, dúgà [zǎ: yá:] kàlà [bè kú]— [bè kú-èrù] mà→, bè sódè mà, kà: bé á kà-là-η, [nín kày] kó àsí [ù dé] ùsò-rò, á ùsí-yàrà
- Z: 471 yàkàlá mà á yè-t-ò, yá:— nùndèrà—jíṅgá:rù mà á yà-rà, iní— í yòrú á mògù-rò, í kú à é-tà, kú-dùgò à pàgò-r-è, sé: dùgò à kúl-l-è, èyyô→ lò-sàyá à kúl-l-è, tè:"sú à kúl-l-è, kǎṅè mà à kúl-l-è, lòsù-m á yà-rà mà, í cèwłàṅáfú: [í kú mà èrì-yàrà] [[yòrú mà] mòg cèrì-yàrà] [í [yòrù jèrⁿú mà mà] pàgí-yàrà, í á bò-tò, [í mòtò mà] [má [kò túṅò mà]] [í á cèn-nà], cèwłàṅáfú: í à ká-là, háli [yó nà]

2004-2b.09 Medicine

- X: 472 [nín kày], àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà, ìmí: á lò-tò, bà:nì-sàrá bé á àw-rà, bé lòrú-wòrè mà, kà: á á kà-là-η, [èssè sí:] á bé á zòṅgù-rò-η, [nín kày] kó àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà, zǎ: yá: kà: á kà-l-é-η, háli yó èsù á á kà-là-η, ìmí: zòṅù dè, kó [ù dé] á ùsí-rò
- Y: 473 yá: kày, [àrⁿàsá:rà zòṅ kày] í inà, yá: kày, àyⁿà tógú, isìnà àṅèy, sé:kèy nì, tàbìyⁿú nì, èyyô→, kùmbú nì, kò là:kúnnà,
- X: ìrⁿú á nèm-l-è-η²⁶⁶
- Y: é, é, ìrⁿú á nèm-l-è-η
- X: 474 lòlòpàgú
- Y: lòlòpàgú nì, [ké sí:]
- X: 475 àrám-túró
- Y: cé cè àrám-túró nì, [ké sí:] kè ìmú á nèm-l-è,
- 476 háyà, tàbìyⁿú, [kó mà] ìrⁿú lòrú-wòrè mà, [kó mà] [kó sí:] á zòṅgù-rè, tàbìyⁿó, hàyà nínìnà ìmú lòrú-wòrè mà, [á dà] àyⁿá í â: kúl-lò, mòdè, í â: nèm-là, àyⁿá, í â: nèm-là,

²⁶⁴ gǔṅ ‘take out’.

²⁶⁵ Also pronounced -yèr-è.

²⁶⁶ Also pronounced nèm-r-è-η.

477 [[gùsù-jém mû:²⁶⁷, àrⁿàsá:rà lèy] sí yà:fú:] mètó mà, [níŋ kày] í â: zóngú-rò, í â: sów-rò, [ès kà: [níŋ kày] í kà-ná-ŋ kálá] yⁿàngò, hàyà [kò tòrò-bìrà kímà], [ké mà] í â: bí-tà, àyⁿá í â: sà-sà-tà²⁶⁸, í â: dí-tò, í â: ném-là

2004-2b.10 Fulbe women sell milk

- X: 478 níŋínà àsí á ùsù-rò, pùlò-yⁿàmú ìní à zê:-tò êm, [èm dórú] â: yé-tè = bé, êm, kà: [èsù kà: sí:] á á èw-rà-ŋ^l, kà: á á yà-tà-ŋ^l, lísá ù [bè dé] á òw-rò
- Z: 479 pùlò-m êm à zê:-tò, bé zê:rú-wòrè mà, [isěyⁿ, má] í gùŋgó mà, [kùrùkà:sí mà sí:] [isěyⁿ êm mà] yàrá mà, [èm kún] í á: yàrí-yàrà mà, í [kò êm dòrù kún] tí: kúló mà, má [kò túŋò mà] [kò èm kúnú], [ì dé]— í á: gòrí-yàrà ...
- [incomplete transcription]

²⁶⁷ Also *nû*:

²⁶⁸ *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 goats²⁶⁹ 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 why²⁷¹ 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 leave²⁷⁵ 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 (*pás-é*) with 1Sg subject.

Likewise,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.

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,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.

²⁷⁶ Lit. "it too, ...". Can also be construed as 'you too' (indirect discourse).

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 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, 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 song²⁸⁰ 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 wife²⁸¹ calls you. You come!
 Your uncle²⁸² calls you. You come!
 Your aunt²⁸³ 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!²⁸⁴
 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!

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.

077 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!

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

079 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.

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

081 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.

082 (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!

083 (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!

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

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

086 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!

087 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.

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

089 Well, hyena jumped into the earth pit, thud! Well, everyone (else), put (=take) one's path and look where to go!²⁸⁶

Bo: 090 He looked and ran (=fled).

Sa: 091 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.

092 The story and its tail are finished. It's over.

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

Sa: 093 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 094 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.

095 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.

096 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.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ *kúló* 'put' and *èlá* 'look' are imperative in form. The omniscient narrator is "speaking" to the characters.

²⁸⁷ 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, how²⁸⁸ 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.²⁸⁹ I have two stones, hyena’s head (will be) the third.²⁹⁰ 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 leaping²⁹¹ into his herd (=pen). He survived.²⁹²

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.²⁹³

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.

115 Then he (=Hyena) launched into²⁹⁴ 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.

[song] 116 (H:) Should I eat two? (R:) Whatever pleases you.²⁹⁵
 (H:) Should I eat one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
 (H:) Should I eat three? (R:) Whatever pleases you.
 (H:) Should I eat four? (R:) 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."

127 It (=hyena) was gleeful.²⁹⁷ 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.

128 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.

129 (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.

130 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 (=heyenna) comes (back).

131 It (=hyena) 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.

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

133 (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.

134 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 and ran and ran, it came, it came, it stopped.

135 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.

136 (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.

137 Now trot, 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.

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

139 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.

140 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).

141 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,²⁹⁸ that which is in her belly (=womb) likewise says it is pregnant.

Sa: 144 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A long and straight able-bodied man.

Bo: <xxx> a road.

Sa: 145 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: Open space...

Bo: ...a black lady.

Sa: 146 The edge of an open space (with) a black lady.

Bo: Wild-pea shrub.²⁹⁹

Sa: 147 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A mountaintop's turban.

Bo: Fog (=clouds hitting the mountain).

Sa: 148 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A mountaintop's tears.

Bo: A water channel.

Sa: 149 A (vertical) fracture (in the cliff) rather.

Bo: A fracture.

Sa: "Water channel" is too much (too broad).³⁰⁰

Sa: 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: 151 A (shepherd's) staff with a hooked end.

Sa: You-Pl know (it).

2004-1a.09 The blind and crippled thieves (tale)

[see formatted version at the end of the Toro Tegu grammar]

Sa: 152 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 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.

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.

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).

²⁹⁸ lit. "has a belly."

²⁹⁹ *Boscia senegalensis*. The seeds are leached in water for a few days then cooked like beans.

³⁰⁰ "water channel" denotes any channel, whether on the mountain or in the plains, so this answer is less precise than the correct one.

156 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!

157 (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.

158 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.

159 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).³⁰¹

Bo: <xxx>

Sa: 160 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.

161 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).

162 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.

163 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.

164 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!

165 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?

166 (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...

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

168 The story and its tail are finished.

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

Sa: 169 Well, python,³⁰² now, they are asking you (the way) how it is.

Bo: 170 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.

Sa: 171 How (=what) is its dwelling (habitat).³⁰³

Bo: Its dwelling is in the water.

Sa: Its dwelling is in the water.

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

Sa: 172 Well, (turning to) spitting cobra now,³⁰⁴ what is it like?

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.³⁰⁵ 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.³⁰⁶

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,³⁰⁷ 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).³⁰⁸

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.

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.

Sa: 181 It's black (dark).

Bo: It's very rapid. It is like that (by nature). It goes into the water, it goes (up) into trees, it goes into holes.

Sa: It is like that (by nature).

Bo: It is like that (by nature).

Sa: 182 Now (about) the way whiptail lizards are, or monitor lizards.

Bo: Puff adder³⁰⁹ 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).

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 lizards³¹⁰ 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.³¹¹

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.³¹²

Sa: They can't dig.

Z:³¹³ 192 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,³¹⁴ 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.³¹⁵ 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!

³¹⁰ *Varanus niloticus*, an amphibious monitor lizard often in water.

³¹¹ *Uromastix (acanthinurus) geyri*.

³¹² lit. "with their own head."

³¹³ A third speaker joins in.

³¹⁴ Lit. "bury (and) cause to be lost" (i.e. to the view).

³¹⁵ 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.

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 though³¹⁷ 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 animal³¹⁸ 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.

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,³¹⁹ 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 from³²⁰ (=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 from³²¹ 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).³²²

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.

³¹⁹ Lit. “(at the time) that his going approached”.

³²⁰ lit. “leave (from) in back of ...”

³²¹ Imperative in form (*gó* ‘go out, leave!’). The generic ‘any man who ...’ is treated as second person.

³²² Lit. “on its head.”

220 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)!

221 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.

222 Well, winged termites,³²³ 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.

223 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: 224 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.³²⁴ 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.

225 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: 226 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.

227 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.

228 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: 229 Look, these (=their) heads were swelling up (from the bee stings).

Bo: 230 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.

231 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.

232 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!

233 (Rooster) said: who can soar the most (=the highest)? Egyptian vulture³²⁵ said: 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.

234 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).

235 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

³²³ 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.

³²⁴ It is unclear what the point of 'jet black' is here.

³²⁵ Ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) and Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) are single individuals here, not pluralities like some of the other animals mentioned.

jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjejkiri.” Elephant’s tomtom rhythm went: “kurubammata, kurubammata, kurubammata, kurubammata.” He (=Elephant) beat (the tomtom) thus.

236 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 was climbing. Egyptian vulture saw: by God, I have gone up to the top (=high in the sky).

237 (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.

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

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

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

Sa: 241 ... got his wife.

Bo: ... got his wife. He (=Rooster) called all those people together. All the people of those villages there were staying up at night having fun, they were having fun for seven days, they were just having fun.

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

Z: 243 Yes, it was good.

Bo: Very well.

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 its 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 it 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).

248 (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

³²⁶ *Anacridium melanorhodon*.

³²⁷ lit. “hair.”

(=alight). 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 millet³³⁰ 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

³²⁸ lit. “come back.”

³²⁹ lit. “bad grasshopper.” *Schistocerca gregaria* (Fr *criquet pèlerin*) 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 *kə yú* could be interpreted as ‘the millet’ or as ‘its millet’, since a C \check{v} monosyllabic noun remains C \check{v} 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 *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 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 daganensis* (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 *Poeciloceris* grasshopper.³⁴¹

Bo: *Poeciloceris*. As for *Poeciloceris*, 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). *Poeciloceris* 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 Sorcerer's grasshopper.³⁴²

Bo: Sorcerer's grasshopper. Sorcerer's grasshopper is of no clear color. Sorcerer'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." *Poeciloceris bufonius hieroglyphicus*, a colorful grasshopper that feeds on the shrub *Calotropis procera*. *Poeciloceris* has a yellow base color covered with tiny black or blue spots, and orange spots on the head and pronotum.

³⁴² *Acrotylus 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 sorcerer'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.³⁴⁸ It furthermore—, it is lined. That one, the female is bigger than the male. It eats millet, it eats sesame, it eats roselle plants, and it eats sorghum. That one is harmful.

Sa: 291 Is flying its action (=mode of locomotion), or jumping (=hopping)?

Bo: Flying is its action. *Kraussella* flies. Now if it has put (=is carrying) eggs, it hops.

Sa: 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: 291 *Sherifuria* grasshopper.³⁴⁹

Bo: *Sherifuria*. 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: 292 That one now, how is its head?

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

Sa: 293 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: 294 *Cataloipus* grasshopper.³⁵⁰

Bo: *Cataloipus*. 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: 295 *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: 296 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: 297 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: 298 It doesn't have (=cause) damage.

Bo: Its damage isn't very much.

JH: 299 *Acorypha* grasshopper.³⁵¹

Bo: *Acorypha*. *Acorypha* doesn't have (=cause) damage.

X: < xxx >

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 fuscocoeruleipes* 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.³⁵²

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.³⁵³

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 sorcerer'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. Sorcerer's grasshopper, sorcerer'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.³⁵⁴

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?

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 "sorcerer's grasshopper."

³⁵⁴ *Ornithacris turbida cavroisi*. A very large grasshopper.

Bo: It's longer than the tree locust.

X: 309 They (=people) eat (it).

Bo: They eat (it) also.

Sa: It can get plump ...

Bo: It can get plump.

Sa: ... like a bird.

Bo: 310 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: 311 Its habitat now.

Bo: Its habitat now. Ah, it too, 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: 312 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: 313 Sand grasshopper.³⁵⁵

Bo: Sand grasshopper. Huh?

Sa: We and the Issa's³⁵⁶ 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: 314 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," as for "sand grasshopper," unless it's a worm (i.e. larval stage of grasshopper), as for me, I haven't seen any such grasshopper.

Sa: 315 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 sorcerer's grasshopper.

Sa: 316 I said that, as for us, we call all (of those species) "sorcerer'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 sorcerer's grasshopper, (they said that) "sand grasshopper" [focus] is what they call it.

X, Sa, Bo: <xxx>

Sa: 317 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: 318 As for that, it isn't sand grasshopper, the sand doesn't have grasshoppers—

Sa: The sand (has) grasshoppers—

Bo: It's (called) sorcerer's grasshopper.

Sa: Like all of those (species), just the name of sorcerer's grasshopper, <xxx>

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 "sorcerer's grasshopper."

³⁵⁶ i.e. Issa and his people.

2004-1b.04 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 it³⁵⁷ 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 that they settled, rather (they say) on the mountain.

324 What they call Kan³⁵⁸, 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,³⁵⁹ 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-na³⁶⁰ 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-doli³⁶¹, 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), Sankara³⁶² 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 fire [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 (= Koreyba) 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 Amadou³⁶³, his people (= Fulbe warriors) came to Toupéré. There was no water (down below), they would (climb up and) drink at Youmnou.³⁶⁴ 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 (= Dogon) 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) on down 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. Sekou 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),³⁶⁵ 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,³⁶⁶ 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.

³⁶⁶ Lit. “money of hard metal.” One term translated ‘money’ (*bú:dî* and variants) also denoted a French colonial coin.

[focus] was taxes. (Dogon:) that (= cash) was not easily obtained; you-Sg would work for a month, you wouldn't get behind (= save more than) one riyal.

347 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.

348 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.

349 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.

350 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.

351 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.

352 There were some others, (still) in the military, nevertheless,³⁶⁷ 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.

353 When they decided on ("tied") a war, the white arrived and sat (= stayed),³⁶⁸ 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.

354 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.

355 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.

356 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.

357 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.

358 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.

359 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).

³⁶⁷ Lit. "it didn't prevent."

³⁶⁸ 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.

360 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).³⁶⁹

2004-2a.02 Resettlement (fragment)

X: 361 Well, we came (from Hombori) to Tabi. The people of Tega went back. They settled there at Douni.³⁷⁰ The people of Tabi, some of them settled there at Goylel.³⁷¹ Others, (at) Dourgama,³⁷² they are (still) there even today, but we and they are one (= the same people).

2004-2a.03 Famine years

X: 362 They settled here. Famine.³⁷³ 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.³⁷⁴ Kitanga year came. (The people of) Toupéré died to the point of being devastated, to the point of being devastated.

363 The small remnant of people who remained (there), how they stayed alive: (leaves of) *luwo*,³⁷⁵ (nests of) army ants,³⁷⁶ baobab fruits, they knocked the seeds (of baobab fruits, with a stone), with (all) that they got food.

364 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.

365 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)³⁷⁷ 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.

366 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.³⁷⁸ That is what they (= elders) said (to us).

367 Well, as for me, what I know in my head (= from my own experience): when we came down here,³⁷⁹ 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).

³⁶⁹ The return from Hombori to Tabi took place around 1947.

³⁷⁰ Village near Hombori.

³⁷¹ Village west of Hombori.

³⁷² Area with a Fulbé camp near Simbi village.

³⁷³ 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.

³⁷⁴ Notorious famine year, c. 1913-14.

³⁷⁵ Edible leaves of the vine *Leptadenia hastata* (*kóŋgèy*) and several trees/shrubs of the family Brassicaceae (ex-Capparaceae): *Maerua crassifolia* (*bíbísì*), *Boscia salicifolia* (*lùwò gùrú*), *Crataeva adansonii* (*ògò-lùwò*), and *Cadaba farinosa* (*lùwò-sínúŋ*). Leaves are cooked, mixed with a little millet, and eaten.

³⁷⁶ *Messor* spp. These grain-eating black ants form large underground nests in fields that can be raided (for the grains) in time of famine.

³⁷⁷ I.e., 'the only thing that caused that was ...'.

³⁷⁸ Lit. "exited behind them."

³⁷⁹ 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.

368 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.

369 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.

370 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.

371 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* grass³⁸⁰ might not have sprouted. But at Dungo,³⁸¹ they got a little supper.³⁸² All that happened before me (= before my time).

372 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

X: 373 When we settled in Tabi Mountain, we didn't have water. There wasn't any water. On the mountain, the digging (excavation) for the pond on the mountain, (people of) Toupéré would drink at Logouro (pond). (People of) Tega would drink at Titage.³⁸³ (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.

374 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.

375 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).

376 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.³⁸⁴ Well, it keeps water, (but) the place is too confined.

377 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.

378 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 wome 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.

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 (*yógódó: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.

379 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.

380 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).

381 Well, about ("on") that, a project has come here, (to make) a pump³⁸⁵ 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.

382 (As for) the water, furthermore, it definitely isn't good water drinking (= getting enough water to drink), because it's (just) one single pump.³⁸⁶ 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.

383 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: 384 Between (people of) Sarinyere (Mountain)³⁸⁷ and us, a (relationship through) marriage³⁸⁸ 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.³⁸⁹ 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.

385 (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 (= daughters, as wives). Between Sarinyere and us, even now there is a (relationship through) marriage.

386 There is a (relationship through) marriage between Sarinyere and us, and there is a (relationship through) marriage between Piringa³⁹⁰ 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.

387 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: 388 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.

³⁸⁵ I.e., a modern closed well with a pump (rather than an open well into which ropes with waterskins are lowered).

³⁸⁶ 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.

³⁸⁷ 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).

³⁸⁸ Lit., 'getting together and sitting'.

³⁸⁹ Lit., "mother-house" (i.e. kinship through women).

³⁹⁰ Village near the highway between Boni and Hombori, said to speak the Tabi-Sarinyere language. There is a nearby Fulfulde-speaking village Wouroungérou.

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).³⁹¹

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 work³⁹² 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.³⁹³ 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.³⁹⁴ 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 basketfuls, 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

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.³⁹⁵

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).³⁹⁶ Others spend (even) the rainy season out of town.³⁹⁷ 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,³⁹⁸ we have that too. Black people's medicines, (and) medicines of (= against) evil spirits (djinn). If we speak of evil spirits, medicine of (= against) evil spirits is what we dig up. (Roots of) *dewo* tree, and red *senga* tree³⁹⁹. We put them (= roots) together, we chop them up, we soak them (in calabashes), they wash the person who is possessed by the genie⁴⁰⁰.

409 Yes, likewise, for genital disease,⁴⁰¹ 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.⁴⁰² Evil spirits—. As for the (medicines for) genital disease, they are innumerable.⁴⁰³ 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).

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 *dewó* *Vachellia flava*, ex-*Acacia ehrenbergiana*, now rare in the immediate zone but common around Hombori; *sɛ̀ŋà bārⁿú* *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.

⁴⁰² *ɛ̀ŋ̀ɔ̀rⁿɛ̀bàrⁿí*: *Ximenia americana*, *sásàrⁿíyⁿà* *Phyllanthus reticulatus*, *àrà ósón dèrè kòní*: *Asparagus flagellaris*, *bósùwⁿá* *Commiphora africana*, *lùwò-sínúŋ* *Cadaba farinosa*.

⁴⁰³ Lit. 'the count of ... does not end'.

410 Hey, likewise, for head ailments,⁴⁰⁴ that too, we drink a medicine. What we drink for a head ailment is “elephant-shoes” (a plant).⁴⁰⁵ (Whether it’s) an old person or a child, we cook it, he drinks that.

411 Yes, again (= also), for intestinal ailments,⁴⁰⁶ what we drink (is), we drink (medicine from) *sorey* tree,⁴⁰⁷ 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,⁴⁰⁸ (for) that too we drink a medicine, for making the stomach run. Some people puncture *diw* bush,⁴⁰⁹ they combine it (= its latex) together with cow-pea 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 *diw*.

413 Some (other) people break off (branches of) *balbalewa* bush,⁴¹⁰ 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* tree⁴¹¹.

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 *caïlcédra* tree.⁴¹² 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,⁴¹³ 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.⁴¹⁴ We have medicine for stiffness too. We call it medicine for stiffness. The trailing vines⁴¹⁵ 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 an 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’.

⁴⁰⁷ *só:rěy* *Grewia lasiodiscus*. Now rare at Tabi Mountain.

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-báléwà* (and synonyms) is *Cassia* (= *Senna*) *italica*.

⁴¹¹ *gǔy*ⁿ *Combretum micranthum*, *òrùbù* *Ziziphus mauritiana* (jujube), *cícìrⁿí* *Ficus cordata* subsp. *lecardii*, *tàkàtó* *Mitragyna inermis*, *wàrú* *Anogeissus leiocarpus*.

⁴¹² *pèrèrè* *Khaya senegalensis* (caïlcédra tree).

⁴¹³ *Pergularia tomentosa*. Term *fúnàfúnà* may be from Humburi Senni (Songhay).

⁴¹⁴ Literally “tree” (*tìwⁿá*), also extended as *tìwⁿà-ná*: 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. coscinosperma*, *I. coptica*, *I. dichroa*, and *I. vagans*, and *Jacquemontia tamnifolia*. Excluded are (semi-)aquatic *I. aquatica* and *I. asarifolia*.

421 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.”⁴¹⁶ We crush it (with stones), we put (it) on it (= wound), we tie (it on). If there is aloe plant,⁴¹⁷ we open up its leaf,⁴¹⁸ and when when we have washed and cleaned the wound well, we put it (= leaf) on it (= wound) and we tie (it on).

422 If we have gotten a wound that doesn’t heal, (it’s) red metal, we pound it until it becomes lightweight (= flexible). Ant 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.

423 Furthermore, likewise, even the medication that—, a wound that does not heal, if they have failed to cure it over a long time,⁴¹⁹ 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.

424 And likewise, ailments of the lower back. “Locking up” (diseases), as for them now, we do (medical) bleeding.⁴²⁰ (For) a bleeding now, we cut off a small piece of cowhorn (with a small hatchet),⁴²¹ 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).

425 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.

426 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).

427 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.

428 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,⁴²² 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-corpse ceremony, (they) would come to perform (it).

430 Tomtom-beaters would beat (tomtoms), *gani*⁴²³ dancers would dance. Men and women, everybody would dance. And then, likewise, the belly-wrappers would wrap (“tie”) their bellies (with cloths).⁴²⁴ 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.

⁴¹⁶ Descriptive term for the erect herb *Waltheria indica*.

⁴¹⁷ *Aloe buettneri*.

⁴¹⁸ The leaf of aloe folds onto itself.

⁴¹⁹ Lit. “fail get tired.”

⁴²⁰ A traditional medical bleeding (cupping), drawing the blood into a cowhorn.

⁴²¹ The cut-off piece includes the sharp point of the horn.

⁴²² *Abutilon pannosum*, a bush of the same family (Malvaceae) as *Hibiscus* spp.

⁴²³ A dance performed by men.

⁴²⁴ A dance performed by two dancers.

433 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.

434 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.

435 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),⁴²⁵ as for them, it was with tomtoms [focus] that they would get married.

436 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.

437 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).

438 (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.

439 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 *tórs pòlò* 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 *tórs gònò* 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.

Y⁴²⁶: < ... >

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 distribute it, we will 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, and mix them (*luwo* leaves and *Boscia* fruits) together, they eat like that.

Z⁴³²: 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 *lùwɔ* in text 2004-2a.03 (translation page).

448 (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).

449 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.⁴³⁴ If we have not gotten any millet, we put that (in the pots), and then we eat it.

450 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.⁴³⁵ Now when we have burned it, now (we use) a filtering pot,⁴³⁶ 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,⁴³⁷ 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).⁴³⁸

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.

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 baskets⁴³⁹, 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 baskets⁴⁴⁰, we get some money. We make macari⁴⁴¹. 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) *burusode* tree⁴⁴². When we have stripped them off (the branches), we sell (them), we get some money. Even black *luwo* (tree), we strip off (its leaves), we mix it (with a little millet grain). We get some money.

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 nerves⁴⁴³.

Z: We buy some nerves. And after that, we sit and we weave them⁴⁴⁴. 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.

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.

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

⁴⁴⁰ Baskets woven from thin, flexible strips of branches of the tree *Grewia bicolor*.

⁴⁴¹ Black spice made from fermented roselle fruits, widely used in sauces.

⁴⁴² *Grewia villosa*.

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.

⁴⁴⁴ The fronds are cut into thin strips that are woven together.

468 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 grain⁴⁴⁵. 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.