

Togo Kan (Dogon) Texts

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Introduction

Togo Kan is a Dogon language spoken primarily in villages in the plains southeast of the eastern Dogon escarpment. It is closely related to Tengou Kan, Woru Kan, Guimri Kan, and Tene Kan, which are thought to form a tightly-knit genetic group (southeastern Dogon).

The texts transcribed and translated here are offered as a supplement my *A grammar of Togo Kan* (2015), available online at Language Description Heritage Library and other open-source websites. The texts were recorded in 2011 in Koporo-Pe village and later transcribed with an assistant who was born and raised there.

The texts in tape 2011.1, track A, are interview-style texts. Track B consists of five tales, all of which include song segments. Togo Kan transcriptions are presented in Part One, followed by English translations in Part Two. Page breaks are coordinated between the two to facilitate analysis. The first text (2011.1a09) below is also presented at the end of the grammar, in fully marked-up form with interlinear glosses and grammatical commentary. The present work does not use interlinears, but adds brackets to show phrasal groupings, and has numerous footnotes on difficult passages.

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Further documents on Dogon languages, and images and documentary videos, are presented on the project website (www.dogonlanguages.org). Readers not familiar with Malian farming might want to view relevant videos before tackling the interview texts. We offer videos of driving birds out (cf. 2011.1a.07), harvesting millet (2011.1a12), groundnuts (2011.1a19), and threshing fonio and roselle (2011.1a25 and 28), among other activities. However, our videos are based on footage from other parts of Dogon country. Information about millet (now *Cenchrus spicatus*, ex. *Pennisetum glaucum*), groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*), fonio (*Digitaria exilis*), cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata*), and roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*) can also be gotten from our site or from many other sources.

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Part 1: Transcriptions

2011.1a.01 Planting

B: dàgà-nùjú pǒ:-ȳ [dè A]¹

A: pǒ:→

B: émé íyé nî [bá:sí gê:] yè-lá:

A: àmá bá:sí pógó²

B: wálà:, nó: kà:ná [émé kè], émé, tògò-gánà,³ wárú bàⁿ wà-jù,⁴ wárú nàŋ-ê dè, lě nàŋ-ê dè, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè dò:,⁵ [kó só:] ú = ñ újórⁿó-jú gè:, *maintenant* émé tí→, [lě kúⁿ] lá: tòrò-jù, *maintenant* [émé gánà],⁶ [lě dò:-lí] [kó kó-ñ dè], émé ìŋé lá: bì-jì

A: [[lě dò:-lí] [kó kó-ñ dè]] [émé bàrà-bírè lá: bì-jì], bàrà-bírè jìwè-[tè:r-ú] bè→, gìwè dègè-dègè→, jù:-[kè:n-ú] gà:nà-jù, té-téré⁷ té:rè-jú bè→, ò:rò dág-à→ jù:-lě jùnù-gó-jú té:rè-jú bè→, [[yó: tògù dáyⁿ] émé bí-ñ⁸ dè] [pá→ yè-∅ dè], émé àrⁿú dòm-è:-jù

B: *bon*, né:, àrⁿú kà:ná, àrⁿú tí→ lów-è dè, é íyé = ñ ìŋé bì-jì

A: àrⁿú tí→ lów-è dè, émé lè-lé:-jú, lè-kǒⁿ nàŋá-sêⁿ dè,⁹ jù:-sǎ só:-sêⁿ dè, [bàrá yè] [wàgà-tùmò pǐⁿ] lé:-sêⁿ dè, [jú: kún-è:-sêⁿ dè] [émé nám-è dè],¹⁰ émé wárú dòm-è:-jù, á:rⁿé: yô-ŋ bì-téŋ

B: *maintenant*, kó, jù: [hâ é lé:] [é kè:ⁿ], [[nà gámá] tó-è] [[nà gámá] tò:-lí] dè] [é né:] [kô né:] nǎŋ-nǎŋ bì-jì]

A: [gámá tó-è] [gámá tò:-lí] dè, émé íyé = ñ jù:-sǎ só:-sêⁿ dè, [ná én-ì-ì] táná yè-∅ dè,¹¹ [émé jójórⁿó gì-jì]

¹ A stands for the interviewee's personal name. As A is older than B, B adds dè (variant of 'father') before the personal name out of respect.

² Imperative with third person ('God') subject in a wish.

³ Tonal locative.

⁴ Imperfective non-subject relative (manner adverbial).

⁵ The construction is [X nàŋ-é dè] [Y dò:], lit. "it will take (=pick up) X (and) reach Y."

⁶ Tonal locative.

⁷ Iteration of téré 'cut, chop'.

⁸ Subordinating form of bírè 'do'.

⁹ The four -sêⁿ dè clauses in the passage beginning here are marked for plural subject, but are understood to share the 1Pl subject that finally appears overtly in the clauses with nám-è and dòm-è:-jù.

¹⁰ Here 1Pl émé finally appears as subject of this clause and the preceding clauses. After the overt 1Pl subject pronoun, the verb no longer (redundantly) marks subject plurality by suffix -sêⁿ.

¹¹ ... táná yè-∅ dè 'if it happens that ...'.

kà:ná [sèrí yèr-é:] [kó kê:ⁿ mà], [sèrí bè] kára-sêⁿ dè, íyé= ò nú: [kó kùⁿ] kú:ⁿ nàmà-jù

B: yó: wòⁿ né:, gùⁿsáⁿ bîn--, kó [gùⁿsáⁿ bîn] sǎy mà→, *ou bien* hâl [wòrù-bónó²¹ bîn] kà:ⁿ òjò bì-jì

A: [gùⁿsáⁿ bîn] kára bè-mà-jô:→,²² [wòrù-[pù-pùró]²³ bîn] kára bè-mà-jô:→, [nú: dág-à→ kó ógù] gè:,²⁴ [kó gè:] bǐ-téjè, nú: kó gá:rá kà:ⁿ, né: kè:nè-jù

B: [é né:] [lě kùⁿ] pèré [[sò: pèrè] tíjé é bè-jù] yó kò mà, [[yó: nà] sâ:ⁿ] gâr-ê dè

A: sò: pèré, [sò: kàná] á:rⁿé: émé íné gà→, kà:ná émé, pòjò jí:ⁿ, ná bùgúj-è:-sêⁿ dè, [kó bîn] [lě lě:-jú kà:ⁿ] yé²⁵ bì-téjè

B: [kò né:] ìjé= ò [[kó néwⁿé] yǎ:-kò= ò

A: kò nú: kó gá:rá kè:né-jú, [[kó gè:] bǐ-téjè] [nú: kó gá:rá kè:né-jú]

B: [yó: sâ:ⁿ fú:] lě= ò

A: [yó: sâ:ⁿ fú:] lě= ò

B: [yó: dógó ní:] [lè pèré] kò:-ró

A: [yó: dógó ní:] [lè pèré], lè pèré, émé [yó: dógó ní:] [lè pèré], pèré jùgò:-rè

B: [yó: nà wòⁿ] né: kà:ná, [é [[yó: nà] sâ:ⁿ fú:] bìrè-sêⁿ

A: é→

²¹ cf. verb bònó ‘hoe (earth) into a small mound (with the daba)’.

²² bè-mà- from bě-m, causative of bèré.

²³ wòrù-[pù-pùró] is synonymous to wòrù-bónó (see just above).

²⁴ Purposive with {HL}-toned predicative comparative adjective ^{HL}ógù ‘be faster’.

²⁵ Existential yé, not demonstrative adverb yê ‘there’.

2011.1a.02 When the millet has sprouted

B: *maintenant*, yó: kà:ná é bír-è,²⁶ né: nú: [kó kè] tó-è dè, né: íyé = ò [[nú:-tǔ yò:]²⁷ bìn] [ìḡé lá: tǔrǔ-jù]

A: [nú:-tǔ bìnì], gámá [kó bìnì] [nú: bìnì], nǐ páná-jê:, gámá-tǔgú ànú páná-jê:, yó: [gírè tǔ] = ò,
nì-sò: gámá túró-sêⁿ dè, gámá nú: kú:ⁿ²⁸ tǔ:-jù, nú: tó: ún-è:-sêⁿ dè, kú:ⁿ gèrè-jù

B: *bon*, íⁿ--, [bàⁿ íⁿ pór-í]²⁹ [ú gár-á→ pà:mà-lí], [nú:-tǔ dèŋ]³⁰ émé námà dǔ:-lá:, [kà:ná nà íⁿ pó-jù]³¹ lě = ý,

lě kà:ná [é lě lé:]³² [nú: tǔ-è dè], [nú: tǔ-è dè], *maintenant* kà:ná wárú dǔ:-lí, *maintenant* lě gárá yè-∅, [kó wò→] gán, [[sǔ: pèré] bí-jí]³³ kǔ:-ró

A: wárú dǔ:-lí→, lě gárá yè-∅, [[wárú dǔ:-lí→] [lě gárá yè]--

B: námà àrⁿú yè-lí

A: [àrⁿú yě:-rǔ] [kí-i dè], émé [[nú: kénè] gù-gùrù só]³⁴ kó kó-kò:jù³⁵ dáⁿ-jê:, [nà gámá] [nà bǔⁿbà:rⁿú] [kó kè] pǔŋǔ wǎ-jê:, [sǔ: yǔ-ŋ] [sǔ: kèwéré-kèwèrè] émé bí-n dè, pá→ àrⁿú lǔwǔ-jù

B: né: [[gù-gùrù]-kò:j-ú yò:³⁶ nà] dà³⁷ ...

A: é

B: ... kò, < nú: = ò > nú: = ò [kó néwⁿé] ìḡé = ò

²⁶ Relative clause with preverbal subject proclitic (é) and {HL}-toned perfective verb participle (bír-è).

²⁷ L-toned form of yó: ‘that (near-distant)’ after a tonal definite form of noun nú:-tǔ.

²⁸ kú:ⁿ ‘then’. Literal sense ‘like that’.

²⁹ Nonsubject (manner) perfective relative.

³⁰ Tonal locative with possessed form of dǔŋ ‘place’.

³¹ Nonsubject imperfective relative.

³² Bare stem form of lé: ‘plant (seeds)’, as though chained to the following verb (which has a different subject).

³³ Nonsubject imperfective relative with unexpressed impersonal subject (like instrumental relative compound). Verb bírè ‘do’.

³⁴ Relative clause based on stative quasi-verb (yé) sǔ ‘be in’.

³⁵ For kó:jù-kó:jù (reduplicated). The preceding kó (if a nonhuman pronoun rather than a false start) is superfluous.

³⁶ Demonstrative yó: with L-tone after a tonal definite.

³⁷ Topic particle dà (‘what about ...?’) at the end of a NP that will be subject (or, in this case, possessor of subject) in a following interrogative.

2011.1a.03 The first round of weeding (“black farming”)

B: *maintenant* [[yó: nà] sâ:ⁿ fú→] dòg-ê dè, ...

A: é→

B: ... [émé né:] kà:ná [wáru kúⁿ] dð:-jù

A: é→

B: wáru dà, émé kà:ná, ñǎŋ lá: tòrð-jù

A: wáru→, né: lě lé: jê dè, né: wóyⁿ, [jú: né:] [[[nìŋìrⁿí [pérè: [nú:né: ságà]]]⁴¹ bè], [[nìŋìrⁿí pǎ-
láy] bè]]⁴² dð-è dè, [né: wòyⁿ], [kě: [gírè tð]] [nùmó kè] =: dè, [né: wòⁿ] wàr-ê dè, jú: bèrⁿé
dágá, [wàr-ê dè] [jú: bèrⁿé dágá], [wàr-ê dè] [jú: bèrⁿé dágá], [á:rⁿé: gírè] yô-ŋ, [kðⁿ bè] sóⁿ-
sóⁿ⁴³ yô-ŋ wà-jù

B: [nìŋìrⁿí [pérè: [nú:né: ságà]]] dð:-lí dè, [wáru wòⁿ] bìr-ê:-rò⁴⁴

A: wáru bìr-ê:-rò, [nìŋìrⁿí [pérè: [nú:né: ságà]]] dð:-lí dè, jú:⁴⁵ bð:-dí: è:-lí, [ú wàr-ê dè] [[jú:
gámá] dáyⁿ] nú: yà:-jù,

[bð:-dí: bèrè⁴⁶ è:-lí dè] [ú wàr-ê dè] nù-nú:-jú, háyè [kó gí] dág-à→ nìŋìrⁿí-lùgò [[nìŋìrⁿí
[pérè: [nú:né: ságà]]] bà→] dð-è dè, kú:ⁿ tòrð-jù

B: [kô né:] [kó bðⁿ] ñǎŋ gí-jù

A: [kó bðⁿ né:] [wàru gèⁿ] gí-jì

B: wàru gèⁿ, wàru-[gó:-gú] mà→ [wàru gèⁿ]

A: [kô né:] <[wàru gèⁿ]- > [wàru gèⁿ] gí-jì, é→

B: wàru-[gó:-gú] yó kò mà

A: wàru-[gó:-gú] gí-è:⁴⁷ dè, [kò-kó:jò yò:] wàru-[gó:-gú] kó = ý, [[gù-gùrù]-bòrð]-[dàrⁿ-ú], wàru-
[gó:-gí] = ý, [wàru nâ:], [wàru gèⁿ] kó = ý

B: né: [[wàru gèⁿ] dà], ñǎŋ-ñǎŋ [kô né:] wǎ-téŋè

A: [wàru gèⁿ] kà:ná--

B: < xxx >

A: [wàru gèⁿ] kà:ná, [né: wòⁿ] [[wàru gèⁿ] dð-è dè] [ná é:n-ì: dè], [né: wòⁿ] [sâ:ⁿ fú→] né: bàrá
dègè-jù, [ná sâ:ⁿ] bàrá dègè-jú kè wòⁿ, né: [wàru gèⁿ] yó: kó = ý,

⁴¹ Composite numeral (roughly ‘ten five plus’ = ‘fifteen’), with *pérè*: allomorph of ‘ten’.

⁴² [X bè] [Y bè], defining the beginning and end of a time interval.

⁴³ sóⁿ-sóⁿ ‘all together’, here translatable as ‘exclusively’. The point is that, in the past, everyone used the *daba* to farm by hand.

⁴⁴ *bìr-ê:-rò* ‘isn’t done’, in the sense ‘cannot be done’.

⁴⁵ *jú*: ‘millet’ is not grammatically a possessor here, so I take it as a topic.

⁴⁶ Invariant {L}-toned form of *bèrè* ‘get, obtain’ in the sense ‘be able to VP’ or, as here, ‘have the time (to VP)’.

⁴⁷ ‘they say’, short for *gí-è:-sèⁿ*.

wàrù-kó:jò [wàrù gêⁿ] déyⁿ→, [kò-kó:jó gí-è: dè] [gàmà ná] yǎ:-jê:, [gàmà ná] yǎ:-rè,
háyè né: [wàrù géⁿ] gí-è: dè, [nǎ sâ:ⁿ] bàrá dègè-jù, é→ kô [wàrù gêⁿ] = ÿⁿ
B: né: [[wàrù géⁿ] bîn dà], [bìrè-[yà:-kò]]-[sì:ⁿ-káⁿ],⁴⁸ [yà:-kò]-[sì:ⁿ-káⁿ], [yà:-kò]-[sì:ⁿ-káⁿ] kô
A: [[wàrù géⁿ] bínì] kà:ⁿ, né: [wàrù gêⁿ], [é wǎ-è]⁴⁹ né: [kó péjéré yě-è:] dǒ-è táńá yè-Ø dè, [bìrè
pèré] è:rè-lě bè→, dèrⁿè-yá:rá→, [dèrⁿè dágá-dàgà] [kó bínì] páná-jê:, [dèrⁿè-yá:rá, kà:ⁿ--
wóru⁵⁰ kà:ⁿ] déyⁿ→,
[wàrù gêⁿ yò:] gân, [kó bìré t-î dè] [íyé = ñ pílé-m] [[wàrù géⁿ] bínì] [kú:ⁿ nú-ńú kà:ⁿ] yó
kò
B: non, émé kà:ná [[wàrù géⁿ] kùⁿ] sǎ-sày⁵¹ ńà-mà
A: òⁿhóⁿ

⁴⁸ sì:ⁿ-káⁿ ‘equivalent (in type or comparison)’, compounded with [bìrè yǎ:-kò] ‘which work?’

⁴⁹ Verb wàrá.

⁵⁰ From wòrú ‘field’, {H}-toned because possessed by dèrⁿè-yá:rá.

⁵¹ For sǎy-sǎy (iteration of sǎy ‘only’).

2011.1a.04 The second round of weeding (“uprooting”)

- B: *maintenant*, [wàrù gɛ̃ⁿ], yó: <kó-- > kó wàr-ê dè, *maintenant* pílè-m̃ [wàrù pèré] yó kò má→ kò:-rò
- A: [wàrù gɛ̃ⁿ] wàrá jê dè, [kó kà:ⁿ] íyé = ñ [nìñìⁿí pɛ̃-lóy gí:ⁿ] dǒ-è dè, [wòrù bìnì] gú-gú-gúró gò:-jù, [wòrù bìnì] gú-gúró gǒ-è táǵá yè-Ø dè, [wàrù lè-nìⁿí] émé móm gì-jì, émé móm mòmòm-jù,
- móm [wàrù lè-nìⁿí]-- [gù-gùrù dá-dàgà] [dògò tò] gó:-jú, kó émé wàrá dàrⁿá-sêⁿ dè, [né: bàⁿ [bìr-é dè]]⁵² [nú: bàⁿ < jám > [jám má]⁵³ bàⁿ kó bè-jù],⁵⁴ háyè [kó gè:] [wàrù lè-nìⁿí] móm gì-jì, móm mòmòm-jù
- B: nú: [sǎⁿ jám] bàⁿ kó bè-jù,⁵⁵ ...
- A: é→
- B: ... né: móm [kó gè:] mòmòm-jù
- A: é→, móm [kó gè:] mòmòm-téǵè
- B: [kó = ý = lò dè] [nèwⁿè pèré]--, [yó: kà:ⁿ] nèwⁿé *mais*, [nèwⁿè pèré] yó: = lò kò:-rò
- A: [nèwⁿè pèré]--, [nèwⁿè pèré], yó kò, móm sàbù mòmòm-lâ: dè, nú: dàg-î: bɛ̃:-rò, [nú: dàg-î: bɛ̃:-rò] [wòrù kà:ⁿ], [wòrù bìnì] [gú-gúró kà:ⁿ] [yògò nánjùⁿù] íyé = ñ kó gá:rá tó:-jú, háyè [kó sógò = ò:], [nówⁿó bà→] ú [kó gíré] téǵ-è dè, né: [gú-gúró kà:ⁿ] [wòrù bìnì] [yògò nánjùⁿù] kó gá:rá írè⁵⁶ ké:-jò:, [nú: = nì kà:ⁿ] kó gá:rá sêⁿ kè:-jù, móm [yó: gè:] mòmóm-téǵè
- B: né: móm gâr-ê dè, *est-ce que* [bìrè pèré] yó kò
- A: [né: wòⁿ] [móm kè wòⁿ] [yó: né:] gâr-ê dè, [yó: né:] [bìrè pèré] kò:-rò, [né: wòⁿ] [é dèǵ-î: [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè dòm-è:-jù]
- B: [yó: né:] [bìrè pèrè pòⁿ] kò:-rò
- A: [bìrè pèré]--
- B: [yó: wòⁿ né:], [[nú: kè] ágá] tò, [móm gâr-ê dè] [[bìrè pèrè pòⁿ] kò:-rò]
- A: [[nú: kè] ágá] tò, [mómú gâr-ê dè wòⁿ], [[nú: kè] ágá] tò wòⁿ, émé [ǵjò dòm-é:-nú]⁵⁷ ò:-lâ:, [yí wòⁿ né:] yó: kó = ý

⁵² [bìr-é dè] often translatable as Fr *faire en sorte que*. The preceding bàⁿ ‘manner’ anticipates the relative clause ending in bè-jù.

⁵³ Reflexive possessor má.

⁵⁴ Lit. “the way millet gets its well-being.” nú: is topical and is resumed by kó (preverbal subject pronoun in nonsubject relative).

⁵⁵ Imperfective nonsubject (manner) relative.

⁵⁶ írè ‘be better’, with {HL} contour due to gá:rá ‘more’.

⁵⁷ Instrumental relative compound ‘something to wait for’.

2011.1a.05 The millet harvest

B: *maintenant* [yó: wòⁿ], kà:ná [móm síyè], émé [móm kè]--, [wáru kè] pór-è:-sêⁿ [móm kè kà:ⁿ]

kà:ná pór-è:-sêⁿ, *maintenant est-ce que--* [[yó: dógó] ní:] *est-ce que* [[bìrè pèré] yó kò]

A: [né: wòⁿ] [[pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè = lò dè kày], [[nú: kè] ágá] tò wòⁿ, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè dòm-é:-
nú [námà kà:ⁿ]

B: [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè dà né:, [nǎŋ-nǎŋ nǎŋ-nǎŋ nǎŋ-nǎŋ bîr-ê dè] tǒrò-jù

A: né: [nú: yě-è:] kó ír-è táŋá yè-Ø dè, né: wòrú ké:n-ì táŋá yè-Ø dè, tò-tó:-jú tó:-tó:-tó: ù-?ú:-
nó-nú, [pàró bè] [pàró bè] tó:-tó:-tó: ú:-nù ?ú:-n dè, [nú: né:] <kú:ⁿ-- > kú:ⁿ gèrè-jù

2011.1a.06 Ripening of the millet

B: ɲù:-[gèr-ù], [[á:rⁿé: íⁿ pò-jú] gí:ⁿ] námà kó = ý, ɲù:-[gèr-ú] kà:ⁿ, émé námà dò:-lá:, né: kà:ná
móm mòmó-sêⁿ dè, ɲú: [[gènè yǎ:-kó] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] dò:-jù

A: [ɲú: pá→ yè-∅ dè] [[ná kúⁿ] mírⁿí-ńí bà→ ké:-jú dè], ɲú: géné gār-á→ gòwò-jù

B: géné gòw-ê dè, íyé = ñ pílè-m ìṅé bì-jù

A: géné gòw-ê dè, í:ⁿ--, ójò→, pò-póró-jú, pór-è dè, bõ dànà-ɲù, bõ dǎñ-∅ dè, í:ⁿ kùnò-ɲù, pírí
sà:-jù, né: pírí sá-è dè, [yó: né:] < tá.⁵⁸ > [yó: né:] ír-è

B: ír-è

A: é→ yó: ír-è

B: [yó: nà fú→] dò:-lí dè ...

A: é→

B: [ɲú: wòⁿ né:] námà, [ɲú: ír-è] pòr-ú bìr-ê:-rò⁵⁹

A: pòr-ú bìr-ê:-rò

B: bõ dàná→ ...

A: bõ dàná

B: ...í:ⁿ kùnó→ ...

A: ðⁿ-hóⁿ

B: pírí sá:→ ...

A: pírí sá:

B: ... [yó: wò→ fú→] dò:-lí dè, [òjò bìrí] bìr-ê:-rò, [yó: wò→ sâ:ⁿ fú→] gār-ê dè, pílè-m né:
ɲǎṅ-ɲǎṅ bìr-ê dè, é ɲú: tò:-jù mà→ *ou bien--*

A: [né: wòⁿ] [yó: fú→] gār-ê dè, [né: wòⁿ] ɲú: ír-è ð-m-∅⁶⁰ lò mà, [né: wòⁿ] ɲù:-sǎ: ð-m-∅ lò
mà, [ɲù:-sǎ: ð-m-∅ dè] [né: wòⁿ] tò-tó:-jù, [né: wòⁿ] [[òjò pèré] sìgè-lí] [né: tó-è], tò-tó:-jú

⁵⁸ Sounds like tá: on the tape but my assistant can't make sense of it.

⁵⁹ 'It cannot be said (that ...)'.

⁶⁰ ð-m 'it is seen (visible)'.

2011.1a.07 Driving birds out

B: [tèŋè gàmá] íⁿ ò-tánà, [nú: hál ír-è kà:ⁿ] [gǎm ná] wá:⁶¹ tó: bè-lá: dè, gàmá [úrⁿí: bè] [bàrá tò] tí-è:-sèⁿ dè, [bé wà], sàjú dígé pó-jê:, [úrⁿí: bè] tò-tó: nàŋá-sèⁿ dè, gàmá tò-tó: lágá-jê: *quoi*

A: é→ [kó kà:ⁿ] yó kò

B: [kò né:] [kó kóró] ìŋé = ÿ

A: kò nú: [tògú tà:nú bà→] kò, [nú: ógú] yó kò→, [nú: yù:gú] yó kò, kà:ná [nú: kànà] yèr-é: émé tèm-é sáⁿ,⁶² [[á:rⁿé: nú:]⁶³ là] ógù, ú wá: [kó kùⁿ] tò-tó: bàⁿ-lí⁶⁴ dè, né:, sàjú sà:ⁿ jògò jè-jù,⁶⁵

né: [nú: gàmá], sàjú kó bèrè jògò:-rò, [nú: yù:gú dáyⁿ] [sàjú kó bèrè jògò-lí] [kó kó-n dè], [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bíré yèré kó tèmè-nù,

[nú: ógú dáyⁿ] sàjú jògò-jù, [kó sógò] [tò-tò:-bàⁿ-ú, [[bàrá bínì] sàjú dígé]⁶⁶ kà:ⁿ yó kò, é→ [yó: gè:] kò

B: né: úrⁿí:, sàjú-dígí nà--, sàjú-dígé bè *quoi*

A: é→

[interruption]

B: sàjú-dígé bè *quoi, maintenant* [bé dà] [[úrⁿí:→, nèwⁿé sò:-ró] gè:], bàrá [sàjú dígè]⁶⁷ bé tí-téŋè mà→, *ou bien* bàrá--, bàrà-bíré bín, [bíré síg-é nà]⁶⁸ bín, [[bé bíré] gàr-á→ pàŋá sà:-rá] gè:, [sàjú-dígé bín] né:

A: [né: wòⁿ] sàjú-dígé--, [úrⁿí: dág-à→ sò: jùgò-jù]⁶⁹ gí:ⁿ-kàⁿ, né: [sàjú dígè] bé tí-jì, [úrⁿí: gàmá] èrⁿé gírè bẽ-jê:, [gàmá ná] èrⁿé gírè:-rè,

[gírè bẽ-jú] [gà→ gírè:-rè] [gírⁿí wé nà],⁷⁰ ùrⁿí: dág-à→ [né: wòⁿ] [jáh kà:ⁿ] ùŋòrò-lí→, ùrⁿí: gírⁿí wé nà, [bé wà] [yẽ-Ø dè] sàjú dág-à→ [nìŋírⁿí lóy gí:ⁿ] dígé-ní: gí:ⁿ gí-jì,

[sàjú bé dígè-jù]⁷¹ [nú: yẽ-è: né: èwⁿé é-è]⁷² dè, né: [sàjú kà:ⁿ] né: pèrè [nú: mǎ] jògò:-rò, háyè yô-ŋ kà:ná [sàjú kà:ⁿ] yô-ŋ dàgà-jù

⁶¹ wá: ‘be/do early, at the right time’ (perfective wá-è), here in a verb chain.

⁶² Perfective subject relative.

⁶³ á:rⁿé: nú: ‘old (kind of) millet’, lit. ‘millet (of) before’ (possessed).

⁶⁴ bàⁿá ‘beat (tomtom), bang (tin can)’, perfective negative.

⁶⁵ From jé-jú ‘will have already finished (doing)’.

⁶⁶ Imperative in form (jussive complement).

⁶⁷ Purposive clause ‘in order to drive off birds’, with {L}-toned object ‘bird’ and {HL}-toned verb ‘drive off, chase away’.

⁶⁸ Subject relative, plural. Full form would be bírè síg-é sáⁿ nà ‘the jobs that have remained’.

⁶⁹ Imperfective subject relative. Followed by possessed form gí:ⁿ-kàⁿ ‘something like’.

⁷⁰ Subject relative clause based on copula (human plural).

⁷¹ Apparently a headless adverbial relative (rather than a focus construction):

“(when/while/where/as) they drive birds away.” Verb can also be pronounced dígé-jú.

⁷² èwⁿé é-è, lit. ‘(millet) become tight (=hard) (like) a jawbone.’ A standard phrase to describe the stage where the millet grains have hardened (and are ready to harvest).

B: èwⁿé è:-lí dè, [kó wòⁿ] námà jògò bè-jù

A: jògò-jú, [ɲù: òrú wòⁿ] jògò dàⁿ-dá-ɲú,⁷³ [ɲù: òrú] gàr-á→ jògò-jù

⁷³ dàⁿá ‘kill’, here figurative.

2011.1a.08 Hacking down the millet stems

B: [yó: wòⁿ] sàjù-[dìg-í→], jù:-[pòr-í→] émé [yó: nà sà:ⁿ] pór-è:-sêⁿ

A: [yó: nà bè] = .⁷⁴

B: *maintenant* [kà:ná né:] nǎŋ-nǎŋ bìr-é dè→, íyé = ñ [yó: nà] ír-è→, *maintenant* [[jù: tò:]⁷⁵ gó:-jú] téŋé⁷⁶ bè, [[tèŋè yǎ:-kó] téŋé] bè⁷⁷

A: [né: wòyⁿ] jù: [né: wòyⁿ]- [né: mà:-ŋà-lí dè] tò:-rè gà→, [kó mǎ:-ŋ-è:] [tǒ dǒ-è] [kó sǎⁿ tó:r-ì dè, né: kú:ⁿ tó:-jú dǒŋòrⁿò, kó→ [[jù: í:ⁿ kún-ì] gì] tò:-rè

B: tǒ dà, [kó só:] nǎŋ kô

A: jù:-tǒ kà:ⁿ, ú jǒŋòrⁿú, [kó lé:r^é⁷⁸ dǒ-è dè] [jǒŋòrⁿù-[pègù-r-ú] yó kò], háyè, [né: wòⁿ] íyé = ñ, gámá [[sòtòrò-úrⁿí: nǎ nǎŋá nǎŋá-séⁿ dè] [tò:-mí-ní]] yó kò,

bon [[ú mǎrⁿá sǎy] tó:-jú] yó kò, nǎ sà:-rá, [[sǒjò bè] [[nǎ nǎŋ-Ø-nǎŋ-Ø]⁷⁹ bú:dù] sà:-rá] bànà kà:ⁿ, [[sǎⁿ túnó] tó:-jú] yó kò

B: *maintenant*, [jù:-tǒ gérⁿí:] bín, [jǒŋòrⁿú lò dè] [gèrⁿí: pèré] kò:-rò

A: [jù: té→ tó:-jú] [jǒŋòrⁿú lò dè], [[gèrⁿí: pèré] kò:-rò] [[émé kè] wòⁿ], [jǒŋòrⁿú bè] té→ tò:-jù, é→

B: né: < jù:-- > jù: nǎŋ-nǎŋ tó:-jú

A: jù:-bò:dí: tó:-tó: tó-è dè, [pòró bè] [pòró bè] [pòró bè], < gámá-- > gámá [gáwⁿá tà:nú], [nà túnò]⁸⁰ < ú:ñ kí-i-- , > ú:-nó-jù, [gám ná] [gáwⁿá nùn-é:] kà:ⁿ, [nà túnò] ù:-nò-jù, [jù:-[kè:n-ú] = ñ gò:-jù]

[kó gàr-á→ ké:n-ì dè], [[gáwⁿá tà:nú] ù:-n-ú] bìr-è:-jù, gàr-á→ kè:n-é-lí dè→, [gáwⁿá kúré: kà:ⁿ], [[nà túnò] ù:-n-ú] bìr-è:-jù

⁷⁴ Optional addition of plural bè to plural demonstrative before ‘it is’ clitic.

⁷⁵ Purposive complement.

⁷⁶ tèŋé ‘time, moment’, here in {H}-toned form as possessed noun after (otherwise) headless nonsubject imperfective relative.

⁷⁷ Lit. “at the time of which time?”

⁷⁸ Fr *l’heure* ‘hour’.

⁷⁹ Iterated verbal noun /nǎŋ-ú nǎŋ-ú/ ‘picking up’, plus object nǎ ‘person’. Possessor of bú:dù (from bú:dú) ‘money’.

⁸⁰ Tonal locative.

2011.1a.09 Cutting the grain spikes off the fallen stems

B: ɲû: [[yó: nà] tó-è dè, kó→ yô-ŋ dàgá-jú mà→, *ou bien* pílé-m̄ [kó bè] ìŋé bì-jù

A: [ɲû: yò:] tó-è dè, pílé-m̄ gè-gèré-jú, [géré-lé gèrè-jù]⁸¹ [kó bôⁿ] gèr-ú gî-jî, [[[kùⁿ-kènè]-í:ⁿ yò:] kéjékéjé-kéjé-kéjé-kéjé kéj-é-sêⁿ dè], [déyⁿ→ bè:-jù], kó gîrⁿí jê:-jù, né: kèrû, bàrá dàgà-jù

B: gèré-sêⁿ dè, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] yô-ŋ→, [ɲà túnò] bɛ:-jú mà→, *ou bien* [gèré-sêⁿ dè] [[sâ:ⁿ fú→] íyé = ñ [wògòtóró árà] ná:-ñ ná:-ñ [gîrⁿí jâ:-jù]

A: á:rⁿé: [gèré gèré-sêⁿ dè] [ɲù:-tɛ̃: kúnó-ɲú], ɲù:-tɛ̃: kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, [[wòrù ú sá⁸² dàyⁿ sâ:ⁿ] kólóm-è:] gèré-sêⁿ dè, gèr-é: [né: gèr-ú dòg-ê mà→ é→ dòg-é⁸³ dè], íyé = ñ dégé-dégé kú:ⁿ dùw-è:-jù,

kà:ná [gàm ná] [gèrè yà:, dúw-è yà:], [gèrè yà: dúw-è yà:],⁸⁴ [kó kà:ⁿ] kà:ná yó kò

B: [yó: kà:ⁿ] yó kò

A: [yó: kà:ⁿ] yó kò, kà:ná lèr-ú dág-à→ yé sò, [[á:rⁿé: kè] gí:ⁿ] kò:-rò, é→

B: [yó: kà:ⁿ] [ɲù:-[gèr-í]] = ÿ

A: [yó: kà:ⁿ] [ɲù:-[gèr-í]] = ÿ

⁸¹ Also [géré-lé gá:] gèrè-jù, a verb-iteration construction used in demonstrations of how actions are performed.

⁸² Relative clause with sá ‘have’.

⁸³ Iterative construction with two identical perfective verbs, in a miniature question-and-answer format. Indicates definitiveness.

⁸⁴ Parallel construction with {HL}-toned verbs followed by yà:.

2011.1a.10 Cutting grain spikes off standing stems

- B: *maintenant*, [kó túrú] [íⁿ kà:ⁿ], jù:-[gèr-ú] [tògù túnó kà:ⁿ] ð-té-jè, [[gàm ná] kè→], [jù: [ára kùⁿ] kó ígè-⁸⁵ gèrè-jù, [[ára kùⁿ] kó ígè-⁸⁵ gèrè-jù] [kó dà] ìṅé = ÿ
- A: [kó kà:ⁿ], [àrà-kùⁿ]-gó: gí-jì, jù: gàmá→, [dág-à→ làgírí→] [wòrú dág-à→ kè:nè-lí] [làgírí→ kô dè], [tò-è dè] dó:rú ò-jù sógò, [kùnúgóró pól pól-jè]⁸⁶ gá-jì, [kó kà:ⁿ] jù:-[gèr-ú] yó kò, é→ [kó kà:ⁿ]-
- B: [yó: wòⁿ né:] [dó:rú yòrú-gó-jú gè:]
- A: é→ yó: [kó bôⁿ] [àrà-kùⁿ]-gó: gí-jì
- B: [[àrà-kùⁿ]-gó:] =`
- A: é→ [[ára kùⁿ] [kó kó-ⁿ]] póló-jú, kó [àrà-kùⁿ]-gó: gí-jì
- B: [kó né:], ìṅé-ìṅé = ÿ, [òjò ìṅé bè] kó kèjè-jù
- A: yó:, émé pòrùkè: gí-jì, pòrùkè: [sí:né, kèrú = ò lójó kún-è:-sèⁿ dè], émé [kó bè] kèjè-jù, pòrùkè: gí-jì
- B: yó: kìrè = lá→⁸⁷
- A: dág-à→ kìr-é→ kô dè,⁸⁸ [ára kùⁿ kè] kírè nánà, dág-à→ --
- B: [ára kùⁿ kè] kírè
- A: [ára kùⁿ kè] kírè kòy, [já kùⁿ kè] sógò, àⁿháⁿ

⁸⁵ -ⁿ ~ -ⁿi, different-subject ‘while’ clause.

⁸⁶ Iterated verb plus same-subject ‘while’ subordinator jè. The following gá-jì is from gára ‘go past, move on’.

⁸⁷ Negative adjectival predicate. Followed in A’s next turn by the corresponding positive predicate.

⁸⁸ dè clause-final emphatic particle, contradicting the listener’s expected answer. Cf. kòy two turns below, confirming the listener’s expectations.

2011.1a.11 Heaps of millet grain spikes in the field

- B: *maintenant*, < yó:-- >, yó: kà:ná, < yó:-- > [yó: sâ:ⁿ fú→] biré-sêⁿ dè, gèr-ú gèré-sêⁿ, [nú: tó: ú:-n-è:-sêⁿ] [gèr-ú gèré-sêⁿ], gàmá, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] bàrá [nà túnò] mǎ:-n-è:-sêⁿ, [kó sâ:ⁿ fú→] bàrá [nà túnò] é mǎ:-n-è:, [[kó kè] bôⁿ] nǎŋ gì-jì
- A: émé [kó bôⁿ] nù:-tè:rè gì-jì
- B: nù:-tè:rè
- A: nù:-tè:rè
- B: né: [émé úrⁿi: bè], [émé wòⁿ] [nù:-tě: nù:-tě: gí-téŋè]
- A: é→
- B: nù:-tě: [kó kórò] ìŋé = ò
- A: nù:-tè:rè wòⁿ, nú: kè, nú: nà bé mǎ:-n-é: kè, jó→ nà ú mǎ:-n-ú,⁸⁹ [kó bôⁿ] nù:-tè:rè yó: kòy, sâ:ⁿ kéjé kéjé jě:r-è: ú yê mǎ:-n-ù dè, [kó bôⁿ] tè:rè gì-jì
- B: [yó: sâ:ⁿ fú→] kéjé kéjé nà ú mǎ:-n-Ø--
- A: é→, nà jě:r-è: ú mǎ:-n-Ø dèŋ⁹⁰
- B: [sâ:ⁿ fú→] [wòrú bîn] nù: só dáyⁿ
- A [overlapping]: é→, nù: só dáyⁿ, kéjé jě:r-è: ú [nà túnò] mǎ:-n-ù dè, [[[kó kè] nú:] bôⁿ] nù:-tè:rè gì-jì

⁸⁹ Nonsubject perfective relative.

⁹⁰ dèŋ ‘place’, here as L-toned terminal element following the verb of a spatial adverbial relative whose internal head noun is nǎ ‘place’, also L-toned.

A: [kó gè:] bí-téjè tájìrì, [kó gè:] bí-téjè, bíré < yóró-- > yóró gè:, né:,
 [níjìrì túnò] [[wòrú wá-à→ kô] tájá yè-Ø dè], [[kó níjìrì wò→] géré] [[kó níjìrì
 wò→] bárá], bír-ê:-rò¹⁰⁰ sógò, géré géré-sêⁿ dè, jù:-jùró ú:-nò ú:-nò ú:-nò¹⁰¹ gára-sêⁿ dè,
 íyé = ò lò-nìrì [jù:-jùró yò:], bárá-bárá-bárá-bárá bàr-ê dè, jà yè¹⁰² é mǎ:-nó-jù,¹⁰³ [[kó
 kè] jù:] jù:-tè:rè [[kó bè] sè],¹⁰⁴ é→ jù:-tè:rè gí-jì, é→

⁹⁸ Different-subject purposive clause with imperative verb.

⁹⁹ -wè-ré plural-subject progressive negative. Has final falling tone here (yes-no question intonation).

¹⁰⁰ bír-ê:-rò ‘can’t be done’, referring to the two preceding clauses (whose verbs are imperative in form).

¹⁰¹ Iteration of ú:-nò ‘lay’. Here (unusually) with presuffixal vocalism.

¹⁰² Chained yé ‘go’, here {L}-toned in an imperfective relative clause. Compare perfective [jà yě-è: é mǎ:-n-è] ‘the place where you-Pl went and gathered’.

¹⁰³ Imperfective nonsubject (locative) relative.

¹⁰⁴ [kó bè] plus ‘have’ (sà, plural sè) means ‘it’s about that’ (Fr *il s’agit de ça*, German *es geht darum*).

2011.1a.13 Carrying the millet to the houses

B: m→, kà:ná nù:-tè:rè kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, [nù:-tè:rè wòⁿ] yògò kô, [yé wòⁿ]- [bàrá bîn wòⁿ] dàg-ú bîr-ê:-rò, nù:-tè:rè [bàrá bîn wòⁿ] dàg-ú bîr-ê:-rò,

maintenant nãŋ-nãŋ-nãŋ-nãŋ bîr-ê dè, é sàⁿ-túⁿ mò:-nó-nú mà→, *ou bien* nãŋ-nãŋ bîr-ê dè, nù: gîrⁿí jê:-jù, [gîrⁿí bàⁿ kó yé-jú]¹⁰⁵ dàwùrù *quoi*

A: [á:rⁿé: = ́ dè], nù:-tè:rè→, [gòmòró ná wò→] mòrⁿ-é:-sêⁿ dè, [nó bàŋà kè] íyé dùw-è:-jù, [wó kè] dòg-ê dè, [lò-nîrⁿí bàŋà kè] yògò dùw-è:-jù, gàmá < lònîrⁿí-- > [nà tà-nîrⁿí bàŋà kè], yògò-dérⁿè dùw-è:-jù,

á:rⁿé:-- , [nà-[kùⁿ-kéné] bè], [yó: bè] wògòtóró kò:-rò→, [[ðjò bè] nú: dùw-è:-jù]¹⁰⁶ pèré déyⁿ→ kò:-rò [sâ:ⁿ [kúⁿ bè] dùw-è:-jù],

[nó bàŋà kè] dùw-é: jê dè, [nó bàŋà kè] dùw-é:;¹⁰⁷ [[nó bàŋà] wóru kè] dùw-é: jê dè, [nó bàŋà kè] dùw-é:, á:rⁿé: sâ:ⁿ [kúⁿ bè] bì-tènè

B: kó→, [kúⁿ bè] yô-ŋ, ...

A: tògùrú

B: ... yô-ŋ ná:-n-Ø dè--

A: < [tògùrú bè]- > [tògùrú bè] jògò-sêⁿ dè, dùw-è:-jù, gàmá [jä bè] págá-sêⁿ dè, ú [[[sãⁿ dúwó] bè] dàg-é:-jú]¹⁰⁸ pág-è dè, [nà pòⁿ sâ:ⁿ fú→] yô-ŋ dú-dùw-í: jê:-jù

B: tògùrú kè, [tògùrú bîn] bé kúnó-nù,¹⁰⁹ [[kó kè né:] bôⁿ] nãŋ gî-jî

A: [kó bôⁿ] tògùrú-jògò gî-jî, tògùrú-jògò gî-jî

B: né: [[kúⁿ kùⁿ] kó→ págá bé ná:-ná-nù] [kó bôⁿ] nãŋ gî-jî

A: [págá pág-è dè] [[kùⁿ-kéné] bè] yô-ŋ [àrⁿá bè]¹¹⁰ dú-dùw-î: bé jê:-jù, [kó bôⁿ] têtè-págá gî-jù, têtè-págá gî-jù

B: kô [nã wò→] kó gǔ-nú¹¹¹

A: [nã wò→] gǔⁿ-rò dè, [[ú gó-nú má]¹¹² dàyⁿ] pág-è dè, [ú kà:ⁿ] kú:ⁿ jê:-jù dònòrⁿò, [gàm ná kè], [gàm ná] kó gǔⁿ-rè, [gàm ná kè] págá mārⁿ-à→ kô, [dúwó ná gó-nú .:] [gǔⁿ-rò kà:ⁿ]¹¹³ yó kò, é→

¹⁰⁵ Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Followed by {L}-toned form of dàwùrú ‘(clever or magical) solution (to a problem)’. Verb yèré ‘come’.

¹⁰⁶ Relativization on an instrumental PP (bè). The following pèré may be adverbial ‘otherwise’.

¹⁰⁷ dùw-é:, imperfective in sense but reduced from dùw-é:-jú in the second of two parallel imperfective clauses. The parallelistic two-clause sequence is repeated again immediately afterwards with only a slight change, to emphasize multiple recurrence.

¹⁰⁸ Headless imperfective subject relative.

¹⁰⁹ Headless nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative.

¹¹⁰ [àrⁿá bè] here means ‘in unison’, not ‘men’ as such. Groups of men carry the bundles (tied with a cord) on their heads and troop back to the village in a procession.

¹¹¹ gǔⁿ ‘be capable (of), have mastery of’. gǔ-nú here pronounced with final falling tone in a polar interrogative.

B: né: jù:-dũw tóró-sêⁿ lò, ...

A: é→

B: ... [bàrá bîn], [jù:-tè:rê wòⁿ] yó kò sà,¹¹⁴ *maintenant* jù:-tè:rê [gãm ná kè] márⁿ-à→ kò, [gãm ná kè] ùjú kò, *maintenant* [márⁿ-à→ kò yó: nà],¹¹⁵ [nã bè] dǎ:ⁿ-sêⁿ dè, dàgá-jú mà→, *ou bien* [nùjìrⁿì túnò] [sá:ⁿ fú→] dùw-è:-jù

A: < dùw-é-è:-- > íyé dùw-é-è: dògò-lí dè→, [kó sígɛ́] yògò dùw-è:-jù

B: [òjò pòⁿ] kò:-rò

A: [òjò pòⁿ] kò:-rò, té→ [wó kè yò:] té→ dùw-é-è: dùn-è:-sêⁿ dè, [nà pèré kè] kú:ⁿ dùw-è:-jù

B: [wó kè wòⁿ] dògò-lí dè, dàg-ú bìr-è:-rò

A: [wó kè] dògò-lí, dàgá tí¹¹⁶ [jù: pèré]-- dùw-è:-rè, pèré dùw-è:-rè

B: [wó kè wòⁿ]--, dòg-é:-- jù: hâl dògò:-rò kà:ⁿ, [hâl jù: bé dùw-é:-n] [hâl fó→ dà:gá dè-è] [nùj-ú ná-è kà:ⁿ], [dògò-lí dè] [dàg-ú bìr-è:-rò]

A: [wó kè] dògò-lí dè→ wòⁿ, [wó kè wòⁿ] dàgá:-rè, é→ jù:-tǎ: bàⁿ [kó káŋ wò→] [kó báná kè] dùw-é-è: jê dè, [nà síg-é kè] pèré íyé = ñ dégé-dégé kú:ⁿ dùw-è:-jù

¹¹² má in relative clause (here, a headless imperfective object relative) with same subject as main clause.

¹¹³ Paired positive and negative imperfective subject relative clauses.

¹¹⁴ sà ‘supposing ...’.

¹¹⁵ For kó ‘which is’ (relative clause form, here tone-dropped by the following demonstrative).

¹¹⁶ L-toned form of tí ‘do first’ medially in a verb chain, indicating that the previous event is completed before the next event begins.

2011.1a.14 Pleasures of harvest time

- B: né: [ɲù:-[dũw-∅-∅] yò:] tóró-sêⁿ dè, [kó bîn] [sàŋá gá:] yó kò mà→, *ou bien* [nà pôⁿ sâ:ⁿ fú→] [[kènè élú] bè] mà→, *ou bien* [gàm ná] [kènè-páru bè] wé:-jú mà→, ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ wè
- A: [ɲù:-[dũw-∅-∅] bínì wòⁿ], [kènè élú] lò dè, kènè-páru sò:-rò, [[ɲù: bě-m] ǝ-m-∅] táŋá yè-∅ dè, [yó: wòⁿ] [kènè élú] yèr-ê, [né: wòyⁿ] [ɲě bè] dùw-é: jê:, [àⁿá bè] dùw-é: jê:, [gàm ná] [págá-págá págá-sêⁿ dè] [[jòⁿtúru árà] ná:-ná jê:], [yó: bè] wògòtóro kò:-ró, [[jòⁿtúru árà] ná:-ná jê:] [kúⁿ bè] dùw-è:-jù, háyè yô-ŋ, sòtòrò-úrⁿi: ɲàŋ-ê dè, pá→ yè, ɲè ègé táŋá,¹¹⁷ àⁿà-ùⁿù ɲě ɲàŋá sáⁿ nà, [yó: dàyⁿ fú→] [kùⁿ-kéné bè] yô-ŋ-yô-ŋ dùw-è:-jù
- B: [inaudible]--
- A: né: [kènè élú] ú = ñ yó kò dè, [sàⁿ-dí: tó:-h] bé = ñ ó bě-jô:, háyè né:, hâl [kèɲè-ára bè kà:ⁿ] kèɲé ár-è dè, [ná bè] = ñ nõ:-m bè-jù, á:rⁿé: [[kènè élú] yó kò dè] [yô-ŋ kò], é→

¹¹⁷ Slightly truncated from ɲè ègé táŋá sáⁿ nà ‘women who have moved to their husband(s)’. The sáⁿ nà sequence (marking perfective subject relative clause and plurality of head NP) appears on the immediately following relative clause.

2011.1a.15 Young men's chief

B: [ɲù:-[dũw-∅-∅] bîn kà:ⁿ], íⁿ [sò: túnó] kájúwá-téjè, né: kà:ná kó dà-dàgá-téjè, [kó kè] sò:
[ɔ̀jò pèré] = : = lò, kà:ná, bé [àⁿá-ùⁿù kúⁿ-bàṅà], ¹¹⁸ [tú bǎṅá] ¹¹⁹ á:-sêⁿ dè, wó dà:gà dé:-jú
wò→, ¹²⁰ [bé kè] [ɔ̀jò túnó] yó kò, kà:ⁿ-kírè jí-jí mà→,

A: mhm

B: wálà:, [wó né:] kó síj-è dè, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] kú:ⁿ òjò bí-jú, [kó kè né:], kó-- [ìṅé gè:] kà:ná kó dàg-è

A: kà:ná kò [[ɔ̀jò gè:] bé dág-é], ¹²¹ [né: wòⁿ] wògòtóro kà:ná jò-è, [né: ú nǎ gèṅè-lí kà:ⁿ] [ú [sǎⁿ
túnó] [sǎⁿ jú:] dùw-î: bè-jù] dǎ-è dè,

né: pèré ú nǎ gèṅè-lí kà:ⁿ, né: pèré ú [sǎⁿ túnó] [sǎⁿ bíré]-- [sǎⁿ jú:] dùw-î: bè-jù, háyè
kà:ná [yó: gè: mà] [yó: dàg-è], á:rⁿé: ògò jí-jí là

B: ògò

A: é→, [[sòtòrò-úrⁿí: bè] ógò], bé tù-tù:rú síjé-sêⁿ dè, háyè kòy, émé [ɲù: dúw-è:] gò:-sêⁿ wà
kòy, ¹²² [háyè kòy] [émé [ɲù: dúw-è:] gò:-sêⁿ wà kòy], [tù-tù:rú yò:] kó tògòrò-jù, [tù-tù:rú
yò:] á:rⁿé: [kó gè:] sìjè-jù

B: *mais*, [nà [tù-tù:rú yò:] ég-é: yà:-lí] bǎṅà, ¹²³ [wó kè né:] [wó só:] ɲǎṅ-ɲǎṅ bì-jì, [[síg-é nà]
bè¹²⁴ wò→]

A: [ɲù: dúw-è:] tóró-sêⁿ] [ú ó-é], ¹²⁵ ú tù-tù:rú ég-è dè, yó: jú: dùw-è:-jù, ú yà:-lí dè, bé ú òjò-
jí, ¹²⁶ ú òjò-
jí,

é→ [bù:dù túnó] dù:-r-è:-sêⁿ dè, [[bù:dù nó:] dáyⁿ] bě:-sêⁿ ¹²⁷ dè, [[nà yà:-lí bǎṅà] kè]
[nó: dáyⁿ] òjò-
jì,

[bù:dú pǎ-lóy] kí-ì bè-jù→, pǎ-nùnè: kí-ì bè-jù, háyè [nà-ɲǎ wòⁿ] yó: kó = ý, [ú yà:-lí dè]
òjò-
jí, é→

B: [nǎ kénè kà:ⁿ] [nà só: yò:-rò] ¹²⁸ jò-jò:, ¹²⁹ *maintenant* [[kò bǎṅà] ¹³⁰ só: yò:-rò] [èné tójò:-rò] g-î
dè, [kó bǎṅá kè] né: ɲǎṅ kè:-jù

¹¹⁸ Possessed form of kùⁿ-bàṅá.

¹¹⁹ ‘one person’, contracted from túrú bǎṅá.

¹²⁰ wò→ after imperfective relative (‘every time that ...’).

¹²¹ Relativization on postpositional complement, perfective aspect.

¹²² Quotative wà inserted before clause-final particle.

¹²³ Perfective negative subject relative.

¹²⁴ Instrumental-comitative bè.

¹²⁵ Headless relative in adverbial function: “(at the time/situation when) you saw (that ...).”

¹²⁶ Reduplication of imperfective jí:-jí (plural of jí:-jú) ‘eat’, here in the sense ‘fine, assess a fine on’.

¹²⁷ bě:-sêⁿ, plural-subject perfective for bě: ‘put down’ (singular bě-è).

¹²⁸ Variant of yòwô:-rò ‘does not consent’. Imperfective negative subject relative.

¹²⁹ Stative of jò: ‘be a lot’.

A: [wó né:] [sǎ: yǎ:-rò] [tǎjǎ:-rò] g-í dè, [[wó kè] nú:-[dùw-∅-∅]] dǎ-è dè, [nǎ bè] yǎ:-rè, [[nǎ
 bè] [kó bè] wó gǎ:ⁿ-nù]¹³¹ yǎ:-rè
 B: [yó: nà sǎ:ⁿ fú→] nù:-[dùw-í:] = ý là: mà
 A: [yó: fú→] nù:-[dùw-í:] = ý námà yà:-tànà

¹³⁰ [kó bánǎ], here {L}-toned as relative-clause head. Used again just below as an index for the same nonspecific referent.

¹³¹ Verb gǎ:ⁿ ‘twist the arm of’.

2011.1a.16 Millet in the granary

B: *maintenant* [ɲû: wɔ̃ⁿ] dùw-é:-sɛ̃ⁿ sà, [ɲû: sâ:ⁿ fú→] dùw-é: gírⁿí jě:r-è:-sɛ̃ⁿ, *maintenant* gírⁿí jě:r-è:-sɛ̃ⁿ dè, [ɲû: dà] yã: bè:-jù

A: ɲû: [né: wɔ̃ⁿ] dùw-é: dùw-é: jě:r-è, [gɔ̃: gírè], gɔ̃: yó kò, [gò: ɲú: kúnó-ɲú]¹³² yó kò, sâ:ⁿ-- [[nà sâ:-rá] kò:-rò], [kó yè-lí bà→] [[gɔ̃: yò:] új-é: új-é: mà] [yé sè],

né: ɲû: dùw-é: dùw-é: dùw-é: jě:r-è:-sɛ̃ⁿ dè, sâ:ⁿ [gɔ̃: gírè]--, [[[ɲú: báná] gó:] gírè] tógó-tógó yê ù:-nò-ɲù,

né: [gɔ̃: bínì] nă nû-∅ dè, né: [dá:rà tò] nă wí-ì dè, [dá:rà ná] jìgè-jìgè jìgè-sɛ̃ⁿ dè, [[gɔ̃: bínì] só bánà] = ñ ɔ̃-è:-sɛ̃ⁿ dè, [gɔ̃: bínì] só bánà,¹³³ [[wó né:] ɲû: yɔ̃:-yɔ̃:] [gɔ̃: bínì] wó tè:nè-ɲù¹³⁴

¹³² Instrumental relative compound, ‘granary for putting millet in’, i.e. for storing millet grain spikes.

¹³³ Subject relative with defective stative só ‘be in’.

¹³⁴ Subject focus.

2011.1a.17 Male and female granaries

B: [yó: né:] [gǔ: [kó kè] yò:] [bòⁿ pèré] déyⁿ→ yé sà

A: gǔ: [kó kè], [gò: àrⁿá] yó kò→, [gò: yǎ:] yó kò

B: nú: né: [gò: àrⁿá] = ò kúnó-nú mà→, [gò: yǎ:] = ò kùnò-nù

A: nú: [[gò: àrⁿá] bíni] kùnò-nù, [[gò: àrⁿá] bíni] kùnò-nù

B: [gò: àrⁿá dà], nǎŋ-nǎŋ kò

A: [gò: àrⁿá né:], [génè¹³⁵ [kó kè]] [[gò: yǎ:] là] gùrù,¹³⁶ [[[gò: yǎ:] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] lóy bà→] bè:-jù, gâr-á→ gùr-í→ bē:-sêⁿ dè, [kùwè:ⁿ kěn tà:nú bà→] kó = ò kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, géné gâr-á→ gòwò-jù, háyè né: [gò: àrⁿá né:] [káⁿ lóy], dòrì:ⁿ-káⁿ yó kò→, [kéné bá:gà] yó kò, háyè né:, [[ú né:] [kéné bá:gà] nù-nù] [dòrì:ⁿ-káⁿ nǎ nú bē:-rò gà→], nùmò-jìgé yê ó-jò:, nù-nù, [kéné bá:gà wòⁿ] < nǎ yê-- >, nǎ yê nù-nù,

[kó báná] [kéné bá:gà] nù-Ø dè, [bòró tò] sùg-è dè, dòrì:ⁿ-káⁿ nùmó dē:r-ì dè, jú: [dòrì:ⁿ-káⁿ bíni] bàj-ê dè, [gǔ: bíni] kùnò-nù

B: [yó: wòⁿ sá:ⁿ fú→] [nú: kè] là: mà

A: yó: námà [nú: kè] sóⁿ-sóⁿ yǎ:-tǎŋà

B: *est-ce que* [nú: kè] [sò: pèré] déyⁿ→ yó kò mà, yó: lò dè

A: [né: wòⁿ] [únúⁿú [ú hákìlè], jà dó-é],¹³⁷ [jà únúⁿú ú bè-jù]¹³⁸ yó kò dè, újórⁿó, [íⁿ kà:ⁿ] [jà íⁿ nán-é kà:ⁿ],¹³⁹ gámá [ú únúⁿ-ì dè] [íⁿ sá: bè-jù]

B: wálà:, < [íⁿ wòⁿ]- >, [íⁿ wòⁿ] [í:ⁿ-n = ì:], *maintenant* [ú kà:ⁿ] [ú hákìlè] jà só, [nú: kè] dèn, [ú kà:ⁿ] má = ò tíjé bè-jù dè kà:ⁿ, [kó kà:ⁿ] sé:w kò

A: [nú: kè] [né: wòⁿ] [kó ní] = ò lò dè, kó bíré--, [gǔ: bíni] kún-è:-sêⁿ dè wòⁿ, [né: wòⁿ] [dògò tò] [[nú: kè] bíré wòⁿ] [yó: né:] yí dòg-è, é→

¹³⁵ Tonal locative from géné ‘height’.

¹³⁶ gùrú ‘long, tall’ as predicate of a comparative. Heard here as {L}-toned at the end of a long clause.

¹³⁷ Nonsubject perfective relative.

¹³⁸ Nonsubject imperfective relative.

¹³⁹ Nonsubject perfective relative.

2011.1a.18 Crawling crops

B: né: kà:ná yó: [nú: kè] = ò: là: mà, *maintenant* < émé-- > émé dág-à → [é:rè kè kà:n] dág-à →
tìjè-mà,¹⁴⁰ [kà:ná àrⁿú lów-è →]¹⁴¹ [lě lé:-sêⁿ →], nú: tó-è, *maintenant* nú: lò dè, *est-ce que*,
émé [[tògò àná bîn], [bìrè pèré] déyⁿ → yó kò mà

A: [bìrè pèré] yó kò dè¹⁴²

B: [[bìrè pèrè] kó] yǎ:-kò = ý

A: [bìrè pèré] yó kò, pòŋó wǎ-jê: →, [è:rè ná:] lé:-jê: →, [è:rè múnúⁿú] lè:-jù,¹⁴³ tìjé pá:m-Ø, [ní
kà:n] wà-jù, [yó: dáyⁿ] [dèⁿè-yá:rá bé pó-jù]¹⁴⁴ [yó: kó = ý]

B: dèⁿè-yá:rá

A: é → [àní:¹⁴⁵ kà:n], íyé = ò [kó kénè] yê yé¹⁴⁶ sò

B: [àní: kà:n] dèⁿè-yá:rá = ý

A: dèⁿè-yá:rá = ý, [kó wò → fú →] dèⁿè-yá:rá = ý, yó: [kó bôⁿ] dèⁿè-yá:rá gí-jú

B: [yó: wòⁿ] émé [kó nùnè:] lúg-è, [dèⁿè-yá:rá nùnè:] lúg-è, dèⁿè-yá:rá tí →, ú é:rè lá: lúg-è

A: é → [è:rè ná:] yó kò

B: né:, [è:rè ná:] lá: wǎ-jú mà, [è:rè múnúⁿú] wà-jù

A: < è:rè-- > [è:rè ná:] lá: wà-jù

¹⁴⁰ Hortative, for speaker plus singular addressee.

¹⁴¹ Simple perfective lów-è ‘(rain) fell’ with nonfinal intonation parallel to the following clause with lé:-sêⁿ →. lów-è → with this intonational prolongation mimics, but should be distinguished from, same-subject anterior subordinated form lów-è:.

¹⁴² Clause-final emphatic dè suggests that the speaker thinks the questioner doesn’t expect the answer to be positive.

¹⁴³ Paired alternative imperfectives, plural subject (-jê, ... -jê:, ... -jù). wǎ-jê: is from verb wàrá. Noun é:rè subsumes è:rè ná: ‘groundnut’ (*Vigna subterranea*) and è:rè múnúⁿú ‘peanut’ (*Arachis hypogaea*).

¹⁴⁴ Nonsubject imperfective relative.

¹⁴⁵ ànú is the usual form for the general sense ‘roselle’ (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*). àní- occurs in some compounds denoting specific varieties.

¹⁴⁶ yê ‘there’ (discourse-definite) plus existential yé.

2011.1a.19 Groundnuts

B: [è:rè ná:] nǎŋ-nǎŋ wà-jù

A: [è:rè ná:] bù-bùgújó-jú, lé:-lé:-lé:-lé: kâⁿ, èm-í→ èm-í→ bë:-sêⁿ¹⁴⁷ dè, lé:-lé:-lé:-lé: [é:rè [kó bínì] kámá-kámá kùn-Ø dè] [námá námá-sêⁿ dè], [íyé = ò bù-bùgújó-jú] [wàgà-túmó màŋâ:-rè],

bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù [ná ké-ké bë-è dè] [yô-ŋ wàrà-wàrà dàgà-jù, [è:rè ná:] yô-ŋ lè:-jù
B: [è:rè ná:] dà, [bé lé-é] nàŋ-é dè, [kó tó:] dò:, ¹⁴⁸ [nìŋìrì í à:ŋá] nàŋá bè-jù, [[nìŋìrì í à:ŋá] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] nàŋá bè-jù

A: ú lé-è dè, [[nìŋìrì í sô:] dò:-lí dè] [dá:rà gô:-rò], [[nìŋìrì í sô:] dò:-lí dè] [è:rè ná:] dá:rà kúⁿ dè:r-é:-rò, nìŋìrì í sô:

B: *maintenant* < kó-- >, kó tó-è dè, *est-ce que* [bìrè pèré] yó kò

A: kó tó-è dè, né: [[è:rè-wòrú bínì] gú-gúru [kó tú-túru] ¹⁴⁹ yé sò] táŋá yè-Ø dè, é yê núw-è:-sêⁿ dè, [gù-gùrù [kó bínì] só] ¹⁵⁰ mò mò-mò mò mò-sêⁿ dè, é káⁿ-kámá ¹⁵¹ dàgà-jù

B: [kó wòⁿ] [kó bíré] yó: kó = ý

A: [yó: wòⁿ] [kó bíré] yó: kó = ý, [gù-gùrù]-[mòm-í] = ýⁿ→, é:rè wàrà jê dè, [gù-gùrù [kó bínì] só] mò mò-mò mò dàgà-jù, é→ yó kó = ý

B: [yó: wòⁿ] tó-è là: mà, *maintenant* [kó tó-é] nàŋ-é dè, [[í:ⁿ-[kùn-ú] [kó kè]] dò:], [nìŋìrì í à:ŋá] nàŋá bè-jù

A: [[è:rè ná:] yê kó tó:] [[yê [kó ì:ⁿ] kùn-ù], nìŋìrì pè-sô:, [[nìŋìrì pè-sô:] dò:-lí dè] [í:ⁿ kúnô:-rò]

B: [[nìŋìrì pè-sô: dâŋ] dò:-lí dè] [í:ⁿ kúnô:-rò]

A: kúnô:-rò, [nìŋìrì pè-sô: yò:] dò:-lí táⁿ fú→, ¹⁵² [[kó ì:ⁿ] nǎ-Ø bìr-é:-rò] kân kô, [í:ⁿ kúnô-jú gâ→] [nǎ-Ø bìr-é:-rò], [[í:ⁿ dî:-[sò:-sâ:] dòŋòⁿ] pè:ⁿ-lí, pè:ⁿ-rò, pè:ⁿ-rò, é→

B: [kó wòⁿ] [è:rè ná: né:] [kó néwⁿé] ìŋé = ý

A: [è:rè ná:] [kó néwⁿé], né: lé:rè-- ¹⁵³ [nà gàmâ], [gàm ná kè→], nú: dògò-jú, [gàm ná] = ò [kìrè dàgá] yè-jà sâ, ¹⁵⁴ [kó yèré] [kó gí-ò dè], ¹⁵⁵ [dògùrù < nú:-- , > nú: gó:-jà], ¹⁵⁶ [è:rè ná:] lá: gò:-jù,

¹⁴⁷ bë:, in factitive sense with an adjectival predicate (in adverbial form).

¹⁴⁸ X nàŋ-é dè, Y dò: ‘from (the time when) X until (the time when) Y’. lé-é is an {H}-toned form of the perfective (lé-è), tó: a (redundantly) {H}-toned form of the bare stem.

¹⁴⁹ Distributive ‘one-one’, i.e. scattered, occasional.

¹⁵⁰ Subject relative with só ‘be in’.

¹⁵¹ For iterated kámá-kámá.

¹⁵² táⁿ fú→ adapted from French *tant que ...* ‘so long as ...’.

¹⁵³ Fr. *l’heure*.

¹⁵⁴ Delayed future with -jà sâ (‘will eventually ...’). Verb from yèré ‘come’.

¹⁵⁵ Different-subject ‘after’ construction, with subject pronoun and gí-ò dè after a clause that ends in a bare verb stem. Cf. [kó bàgá] [kó gí-ò dè] with bàgá ‘fall’.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Before ...’ clause with -jà after H-toned form of verb.

[è:rè ná:] sàbù [nú: gírè] sò, [é né:] [è:rè ná:] gǔ-ḡ é jí:-nì dè, nú: kú:ⁿ gò:-jù, [kó né:]
ò:-túwá: < gírè-- > gírè tènè-jù, háyè [è:rè ná:] gámá [yó: gì] lè:-jù, é→

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B: né: [è:rè múnúrⁿú] dà

A: [è:rè múnúrⁿú kà:ⁿ], [kó sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] = ýⁿ [kó kà:ⁿ] dèrⁿè-yá:rà = ý, háyè [kó kà:ⁿ] [ú lé:-jú] [ú lé-è dè], [[è:rè ná:] bàⁿ wá-jú dáyⁿ]¹⁵⁷ [wàrú wòⁿ] [yô-ŋ wà-jù],

ú wàr-ê dè, [kó kà:ⁿ] íyé = ò [gú-gúru wágàtù] dǒ-è dè, [gú-gúru yò:] [ú mò mó mò m-ê dè] [káⁿ-ká má¹⁵⁸ dàgà-jù],

[kó kà:ⁿ] íyé = ò [[nìŋìrⁿí nǎyⁿ] dò:-lí dè] tǎ:-rò, kó [nìŋìrⁿí nǎyⁿ] tǎ-è dè, [kó kà:ⁿ] [nìŋìrⁿí pè-sò: yò:] dò:-lí dè, [kó ì:ⁿ] < há:jè-- > há:jè¹⁵⁹ sí-ì¹⁶⁰ bē:-rò, [yó: dò:-lí dè kà:ⁿ] [[kó kà:ⁿ] í:ⁿ kúnô:-rò]

B: [è:rè múnúrⁿú wòⁿ], [kó kà:ⁿ], [[è:rè ná: kè] gí:ⁿ], gú-gúru mò mó-jú mà→, *ou bien* [sò: pèrè] déyⁿ→ kà:ⁿ yó kò

A: [gàmà ná] gú-gúru gàr-á→ kò:-rò dè, [gàmà ná] [mómó-lé mò mó mò m-ê dè] [ká má-ká má dàgà-jù], né: [[gú-gúru dág-à→ yó kò] gí:ⁿ] kò dè--, [kó né:] dág-à→ [[è:rè ná:] bà→] sóg-í→¹⁶¹ bē:-rè, kân-kân-kân-kân-kân lè:-jù, [kǒⁿ bè] mà→ [jòŋùrⁿú bè],

[[kó bínì] nù-Ø dè] dág-à→ dág-à→ kó:jó-jú bùgújó-jú, bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù [kó bóró] dág-à→ yòr-í→ bē-è: dág-ê dè, háyè [kó kè né:], [[kó kè wòⁿ] wárú] yó: kó = ý, [[kó kè] móm] yó: kó = ý

B: [[kó kè] bóⁿ] nǎŋ gí-jì

A: [[kó kè] bóⁿ] [è:rè-[[gù-gùrù]-[mòm-Ø]]] gí-jì

B: [è:rè-[[gù-gùrù]-[mòm-Ø]]] mà→ è:rè-[bùgùj-ú]

A: è:rè-[bùgùj-ú]:. [è:rè-[[gù-gùrù]-[mòm-Ø]]]:.¹⁶² déyⁿ→, kó è:rè-[[gù-gùrù]-[mòm-Ø]] gí-jí, bù-bùgújó-jú gà→, [è:rè-[[gù-gùrù]-[mòm-Ø]]] gí-jì, [né: wòⁿ] [è:rè-[wàr-ú] wòⁿ] gàr-é:., né: è:rè-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-Ø]] = ò:, háyè né: è:rè-[bùgùj-ú] [bé pò-jù], é→ è:rè-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-í]] = ýⁿ [kó bè] sè, é→

B: [yó: wòⁿ], è:rè-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-í]] = ýⁿ

A: è:rè-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-í]] = ýⁿ é→

B: *maintenant* é:ré, yó:, [[gú-gúru, bé mò mó-jú] ténjé]¹⁶³ bè, [í:ⁿ kúnó-nú mà→] [í:ⁿ kúnô:-rò]

A: [[gú-gúru bé mò mó-jú] ténjé]¹⁶⁴ bè, piyé tà:-jù, ú kó = ò piyé tèmè-nù, gà→ dì:-sò:-sǎ: í:ⁿ sìⁿ-sí:ⁿ néwⁿ-néwⁿ-néwⁿ-néwⁿ¹⁶⁵ [[nù:-dùgò]-kúⁿ gí:ⁿ] [[nù:-dùgò]-kúⁿ gí:ⁿ],¹⁶⁶ [gàm ná] = ò ú témé-nú, [gàm ná] = ò pé-péy [ǎjò pò:ⁿ] témè:-rò

¹⁵⁷ Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Verb wàrà ‘do farming’.

¹⁵⁸ For iterated kámá-kámá.

¹⁵⁹ há:jè is not possessed, cf. íⁿ há:jè sí-ì bē:-rò ‘there is no need for me’, ‘I am not useful’.

¹⁶⁰ sí-ì, variant form of sà ‘have’ used nonfinally in a chain.

¹⁶¹ Adverbial form of sógú ‘dense, closely-spaced (vegetation)’.

¹⁶² Conjoined NPs, both ending in dying-quail intonation (:).

¹⁶³ {H}-toned possessed contour.

B: [yó: wòⁿ] [yô-ŋ kó kó-ñ dè] [pàrá gǒ:-jú] mà→, *ou bien* pìyé bàgá-jú mà→, *ou bien* ñǎŋ-ñǎŋ kè:-jù

A: kó í:ⁿ kúnò yà:, pìyé bàgà yà:, kó í:ⁿ kúnò yà:, pìyé bàgà yà:, < bòró-- > [[bòró [kó kè] ì:ⁿ só]¹⁶⁷ pɛⁿ-èⁿ] táŋá yè-Ø dè, [pìyé sâ:ⁿ] mòr-è:-jù, sâ:ⁿ mòr-è:-jù

¹⁶⁴ Temporal adverbial relative without internal head, imperfective verb. téŋé has possessed tone contour.

¹⁶⁵ î:ⁿ ‘the fruit, the product’ is in apposition to the following adjective sîⁿ-sí:ⁿ ‘tiny’ but they are not phrased together. néwⁿ is an intensifier for sîⁿ-sí:ⁿ.

¹⁶⁶ ‘like fly-head(s)’, phrase repeated for distributivity.

¹⁶⁷ Subject relative with só ‘be in’.

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- B: < kó, í:ⁿ, kó-- > [pìyé sâ:ⁿ wòⁿ] mòr-í-ì dè, *maintenant* [kó né:] [ná bè] [kó bóⁿ] nǎŋ gì-jù,
 [[pìyé sâ:ⁿ] mòr-í-ì dè] né: [é:ré péⁿ-èⁿ] gǐ-jí mà→, *ou bien* [è:rè-[gùr-ú]] dǎ-è] gǐ-jí mà→,
 nǎŋ-nǎŋ gì-jù
- A: né: wòⁿ, < é:rè--, > [é:ré wòⁿ] né: péⁿ-èⁿ, [né: wòⁿ] [kó wà] è:rè-gúró dè-è, è:rè-gúró dè-è,
 háyè yô-ŋ pó-jù
- B: [è:rè-[gùr-ú] kè] né:, [kó só:] nǎŋ-nǎŋ kô
- A: è:rè-[gùr-ú] kà:ⁿ, né: [kó péⁿ-èⁿ] táŋá yè-Ø dè, né: ú [jòŋùrⁿú bè] gùró-jê:, [[nùmó bè] mòmó-
 jú kà:ⁿ] yó kò, [gàmà ná] [jòŋùrⁿú bè] [kó bó^rò] tò-tó:-lé tó:-jú, [gàmà ná] [[nùmó bè] á-è dè]
 mò-mòmó-jú, [[sò: lǒy] yò:]¹⁶⁸ kó = ò bì-jù
- B: [jòŋùrⁿú bè]--, [nùmó bè] mǒm-Ø ná:rⁿà¹⁶⁹ mà→, [jòŋùrⁿú bè] tǎ ná:rⁿà
- A: né: ná òrú kô dè, [nùmó bè] mǒm-Ø ná:rⁿà, né: ná mǎyⁿ kô dè, [jòŋùrⁿú bè] tǎ ná:rⁿà
- B: né: ná òrú kô kà:ⁿ, [nùmó bè] mǒm-Ø bìr-é:-jú
- A: [ná òrú kô dè] [mǒm-Ø bìr-è:-jù], [jòŋùrⁿú bè kà:ⁿ] tǎ bìr-è:-jù, gà→ [ná òrú kô dè] [[nùmó
 bè] mǒm-Ø ná:rⁿà]
- B: [né: ná mǎyⁿ kô dè] dà
- A: [ná mǎyⁿ kô dè] [[jòŋùrⁿú bè] tó:-lé tó:-jú]
- B: [jòŋùrⁿú bè] lò dè, [nùmó bè] mǒm-Ø bìr-ê:-rò
- A: [[nùmó bè] kè-kégù]¹⁷⁰ [bàj-ú gô:-rò], é→, yó: [yó: gè:]
- B: [kó kà:ⁿ] né:, é kó gùró bèr-ê dè, íyé = ò [yǎ: tò] jà:-jù
- A: [kó kà:ⁿ] ú gùró bèr-ê dè, págá-págá-págá-págá págá-sêⁿ dè, [gíré tò wòyⁿ], kà:ná wògòtóró
 [kó kò:-ró là] [gíré tò],
 kó [kùⁿ-kéné bè] págá-págá-págá pág-è dè, [gàmà ná] gírⁿí jê:-jê:, [gàmà ná] [wòrú bínì]
 yê, pál-è:-sêⁿ dè, [í:ⁿ jě:r-è:-sêⁿ dè] [kùró [bàrá bínì] yê kám dàgà-jù]¹⁷¹ á:rⁿé:

¹⁶⁸ Tones change from sǒ: lǒy without a demonstrative to [[sò: lǒy] yò:] with addition to demonstrative yó:. Tonosyntactic mark-up [[thing two]^{LH} LNearDist].

¹⁶⁹ From ná:rⁿà ‘(be) easier’, with {HL} comparative contour overridden by {L} in clause-final position. Cf. ná:rⁿá ‘easy’, ná:rⁿ-á→ kô ‘it is easy’.

¹⁷⁰ Reduplicated adjectival predicate (Rdp^L-^{HL}Adj) from kégú ‘hard’.

¹⁷¹ Normally kámá dàgà-jù, here reduced in allegro speech.

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B: kúrò [kó há:jé sè:-ré mà]

A: kúrò nánà á:rⁿé: kó há:jé sè:-ré, sàbù [ðjð = nì jê] [ðjð = nì ó-jú]¹⁷² [gǐn tò]¹⁷³ gâr-á→, sàbù < bîrê-- > [[bîrê gârâ] = ý] [[kó bîrê] gârú-n-è: lógó¹⁷⁴ yè-Ø], è:r-î:ⁿ dùw-é:, [è:r-è-kúrò dùw-é:], á:rⁿé: dùw-ê:-rè, [bàrá bínì] yê kám dàgà-jù,

[kà:ná né:] < àsègè-- >, [àsègè né:] [á:rⁿé: là] sìgè jó→ ké-è: [kó kê:ⁿ mà], [è:r-è-kúrò né:] dùw dùw-í-ì dè, né: [gìrⁿí jě:r-è:] dǎ:n-è:-sêⁿ dè, àsègè = nì ó-jú, é→

B: *maintenant* é:rè yó: kà:ná gùró-sêⁿ, *maintenant* [nà túnò] bě:-sêⁿ, [[kó kùⁿ] súròwⁿ¹⁷⁵ bě:-sêⁿ dè] pílè-m [kó bè]--, [kó kè] î:ⁿ, î:ⁿ nǎŋ-nǎŋ bì-jù

A: é→ ú kúrò nò-ŋ á: ò-í-ì dè, [ú < î:ⁿ-- > î:ⁿ sòⁿ-sòⁿ á: á-è dè] pàlà-jù, [kúrò á: ò-í-ì dè] [î:ⁿ sòⁿ-sòⁿ á: á-è dè] pàlà-jù

B: né: [[kó kè] bôⁿ] nǎŋ gî-jì

A: [kó bôⁿ] è:r-è-[pàl-ú] gî-jù

B: è:r-è-[pàl-ú]

A: è:r-è-[pàl-ú]

B: [è:r-è-[pàl-Ø] téjè] [yó: kó = ý]

A: é→ [è:r-è-[pàl-ú] téjè] [yó: kó = ý], é→

B: [é:r-é kè] dòg-ê mà→, *ou bien* [[é:r-é kè] sò: pèré] síg-è

A: [é:r-é kè wòⁿ] né:, < yó:-- > yó: kó = ý, yó: kó = ý

¹⁷² Nonsubject imperfective relative on dative, without a subject, similar to instrumental relatives. jê ‘take, convey (somewhere)’ is a bare (chained) verb stem. The repetition of ðjð = nì is not necessary here.

¹⁷³ For /gìrⁿí tò/ ‘at the house(s)’.

¹⁷⁴ lógó in the sense ‘be very much, be excessive’ regularly combines with yè-Ø ‘went’ in the perfective positive. Its other sense is ‘overflow’.

¹⁷⁵ Adverbial derived from sùró ‘pile (up)’.

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- B: *bon*, émé [é:rè kè], [[è:rè ná:] pór-è:-sêⁿ] [[è:rè mújúrⁿú] pór-è:-sêⁿ], [pòŋó tíŋé kà:ⁿ] tíŋé-sêⁿ, né: [[pòŋó kè] só:] dà, [ú kà:ⁿ] dág-à→ í:ⁿ wô mà
- A: pòŋó kà:ⁿ, háyè [kó kà:ⁿ] [yó: kó=y], [é:rè bàⁿ bùgújó-jú]¹⁷⁶ gí:ⁿ, [wòrú bínì] nú--, < xxx > ójò→ [[wòrú pèⁿ] bínì] nú-Ø dè, ú kà-kára-jú,
 ná kára-kára-kára pòŋó-- [[jà ú kár-é] dáyⁿ]¹⁷⁷ pòŋó màjà-màjà-màjà màj-é dè, bù-bùgújó-jú, sâ:ⁿ yê nú-è:-sêⁿ dè, [káⁿ á: á-è-sêⁿ dè] [bùgúj-è: bùgúj-è: bùgúj-è:-sêⁿ dè], [kó kà:ⁿ] íyé = ñ pòŋó íyé = ñ [kó kà:ⁿ] tó:-jú,
 [kó [[nìŋìrⁿí nàyⁿ] mâ:]¹⁷⁸ dò:] [kó tó:-jú], kó yê yê-Ø dè, dág-à→ sótóró gò:-jù, kó sótóró gò-è dè, [kó kà:ⁿ] [[kó bìn] nú-Ø dè] [pòŋó-[gú-gúrú] mòmó-jú], pòŋó-[gú-gúrú] mòmó-sêⁿ dè--
- B: [íⁿ [ú káⁿ] < tènè-lí-- > tènè-lí] gà→, *maintenant* ú kà:ná kár-è dè, mà-màjà-jú g-i,¹⁷⁹ [kà-r-ú yò: né:] [kó kóró]-- [kó néwⁿé] ìjé = ÿ
- A: [kà-r-ú yò:] [kó néwⁿé né:], [[nà pòⁿ], [lìgìjì→ wàrà-jè] yà:-lè],¹⁸⁰ [[pòró bè] á-è dè] wàrà-jè yà:, é→ [kà-r-ú yò:] [kó gè:] kàrà-jù¹⁸¹
- B: < jà màj-Ø-- > [jà màj-Ø] dáyⁿ ...
- A: [jà màj-Ø]¹⁸² dáyⁿ
- B: ... bàⁿ jùgó-má-jú¹⁸³
- A: bàⁿ jùgó-má-jú, [kó dáyⁿ] kár-è dè, [kó bìn] nú-Ø dè, pòŋó-màjà [[kó bìn] nú] màj-é dè, [[é né:] [kó bìn] nú-è:-sêⁿ dè] [né: wòⁿ], [dùrô:-dùrô: kír-é→ wă-lé]¹⁸⁴ g-î dè, né: [nà pòŋ] ójò→ ójò→ [[kà-r-ú yò:] káⁿ] á-è dè, yô-ŋ wàrà-jè yà:-jú
- B: yó: kà:ⁿ, [àrⁿú lów-è dè] bǐ-jú mà→, *ou bien* [hâl àrⁿú lówò-lí kà:ⁿ] [pòŋó wàr-ú bǐr-é:-jú]

¹⁷⁶ Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative.

¹⁷⁷ Nonsubject (object) perfective relative.

¹⁷⁸ mâ: ‘approximately’.

¹⁷⁹ ‘(you) said’ in the literal sense.

¹⁸⁰ Subordinator -jè (simultaneous). yă:-lé prohibitive of ‘go’, here {L}-toned at the end of a clause. The following parallel clause contains imperative ‘go!’.

¹⁸¹ Focus construction.

¹⁸² Verbal noun màj-Ø ‘sowing, scattering’ here functions as an adjective.

¹⁸³ Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Omitted impersonal subject, as in instrumental relative compounds.

¹⁸⁴ Prohibitive of wàrà ‘do farm work’ in negative purposive clause.

A: né: wòⁿ, àrⁿú lów-é: mà, ná [né: wòⁿ] gár-á→ mǎ:-ŋ-è: jè-lí, ná bùṅùrⁿù-bàṅùrⁿù¹⁸⁵ [kó kó-ṅ dè], < kó-ṅ-- > [[kó wágàtù] bè] wà-jù, [yó: bè] wà-jù, é→

¹⁸⁵ An idiosyncratic expressive adverbial used by this speaker, roughly ‘variable’.

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B: pòŋó [yó: né:] kà:ná wàrá-sêⁿ, tó-è, *maintenant* kó tó-è dè, [kó wòⁿ] [tèŋè gámá] gú-gú^{rú} [kó wò→ kà:ⁿ] gâr-á→ jùgó-mû:-rò

A: é→

B: *maintenant*, ñǎŋ-ñǎŋ bìr-ê dè, é [kó wó^{rú}] dǎn-gá-jú

A: [né: wòⁿ] gú-gú^{rú}, [ú gèr-é-è:]¹⁸⁶ ú ké-è: mà, [pòŋó.: [gù-gù^{rù} síg-é] dáyⁿ]¹⁸⁷ [kó yě-è: sǎⁿ gòjó-jú] [jùgó-m tǎŋá yè-Ø dè], ú [gù-gù^{rù} [kó bín] só]¹⁸⁸ kú:ⁿ mòmò-jù

B: né: [nǎ wò→] kó jùgó-jú

A: [nǎ wò→] kó jùgó-jú, [gù-gù^{rù} pèré] [kó bínì] yé sò, [ú ó-è dè] bàŋà-lá,¹⁸⁹ é→ [gù-gù^{rù} [kó bínì] só] dáyⁿ, [gù-gù^{rù} nèwⁿé sò:-ró] yò: dáyⁿ,¹⁹⁰ mòmó mòmó [pòŋò-[ì:ⁿ-sǎ:] sày] yê dàgà-jù

B: [ú^{rí}: bè kà:ⁿ] jùgó-jú

A: [ú^{rí}: bè kà:ⁿ]- [ú^{rí}: dág-à→ tòy→ wé nà] dáyⁿ]¹⁹¹ kó jùgò-jù

B: [tòy→ wò:-ró dè] jùgò:-rò

A: [tòy→ wò:-ró dè] jùgò:-rò, é→, [hâl gámá àsègé [kó bínì] págá-jú kà:ⁿ] jùgò:-rè, é→

¹⁸⁶ Same-subject anterior form of mediopassive gèr-î: ‘look’.

¹⁸⁷ Subject perfective relative.

¹⁸⁸ Subject relative with só ‘be in’.

¹⁸⁹ Negative of stative bàⁿ-báŋà ‘be hidden’.

¹⁹⁰ Subject relative with sò:-ró ‘not be in’, followed by L-toned demonstrative and terminal element dáyⁿ ‘all’.

¹⁹¹ Subject relative with plural-subject form of the ‘be’ quasi-verb.

2011.1a.25 Harvesting and threshing fonio

- B: *maintenant*, [gú-gúrù yò:] mòm-ê dè, ú kà:ná, [gú-gúrù yò:] mòm-ê dè, né:, xxx
- A: [gú-gúrù mòm-é:] ú dòmó-ñ dè, pòhó íré-jú, pòhó ír-è dè, [kó wà] [pòhò-kéjé¹⁹² dǎ-è] wà,
 [pòhò-kéjé dǎ-è] wà, [yó: né:] pòhó ír-è,
 pòhó ír-è dè, íyé = ñ á:rⁿé: [bìrè síg-é nà]¹⁹³ [bàⁿ mǎ-[mǎrⁿ-î:],¹⁹⁴ jú: kè, [bàⁿ bé bír-é]¹⁹⁵
 gì:ⁿ, [pòhó kà:ⁿ] mǎrⁿ-é:-sêⁿ dè, kú:ⁿ kèjè-jù
- B: pòhó, [pòhó kè] bírè [kèj-ú kùⁿ] lá: tóró-jú
- A: é→ kè-kéjé-jú [kèj-ú lá: tóró-jú], kèj-ú kéjé-sêⁿ dè, háyè né: [pòhó né:] á:rⁿé: émé jù:-tè:ré gì-
 là:, pòhò-tè:ré kùnò-jù,
 pòhò-tè:ré kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, [[nìjìrⁿí lóy mà→] [tá:n mà→] yê yè-y] [júgú dò:], kó dág-à→
 póⁿ-èⁿ dè, [nǎm-∅ kó ná:rⁿà] g-î dè, kó dág-à→ pó-è:ⁿ dè, íyé = ñ ú nǎ gèhè mǎ:-ñ-∅ dè, [bé
 wò→] bàrá yě-è:-sêⁿ dè, ná ké:r-è:-sêⁿ dè, [bé wò→ né:] nùmò-jágú gǔh-è: gǔh-è:-sêⁿ dè,
 [yó: né:] kú:ⁿ nàmà-jù
- B: á:rⁿé: ú [póⁿ-èⁿ dè] gì-lì, ...
- A: é→
- B: ... póⁿ-èⁿ, [émé wòⁿ] [úrⁿí: bè], póⁿ-èⁿ gàr-á→ kó pá:m-è: bè-lá:
- A: < kó dág-à→ -- >, kó dág-à→ --, ómó-jú gì:ⁿ→ dág-à→
- B: ómó-jú gì:ⁿ
- A: é→ [ómó-jú gì:ⁿ] [[síbè tògù]¹⁹⁶ kó jè-lí]¹⁹⁷ tór-è dè, [yó: né:] [ú nám-è dè] [kó gá:rá sǎⁿ dàgà-
 jù]
- B: [[kó kè] bǎⁿ] póⁿ-èⁿ
- A: póⁿ-èⁿ, póⁿ-èⁿ gì-jù, é→
- B: [yó: wòⁿ] [pòhó kè]
- A: é→ yó: [pòhó kè]
- B: né: nám-è dè
- A: mhm
- B: píl-è-î: bǎrá gírⁿí jê:-jù mà→
- A: é→ bàrá, < î:ⁿ bàrá gírⁿí- > [kó kà:ⁿ] î:ⁿ bàrá gírⁿí jê:-jù, [î:ⁿ bàrá gírⁿí jě:r-è:-sêⁿ dè] [[kó
 kè] bàrá gírⁿí jě:r-è:-sêⁿ dè] [gò: yǎ: kè] [gò:-gí:ⁿ bíni] kùnò-jù

¹⁹² Compound verbal noun. Same form as agentive compound.

¹⁹³ Subject perfective relative. Plural nà here with nonhuman head noun.

¹⁹⁴ For [mǎrⁿ-î:]-[mǎrⁿ-î:] (contracted verb iteration).

¹⁹⁵ Nonsubject (manner) perfective relative. Head noun bàⁿ ‘way, manner’ is repeated at the end of a structurally complex relative clause.

¹⁹⁶ tògú ‘kind, species, race (ethnicity)’, here in {L}-toned possessed form.

¹⁹⁷ jè-lí, purposive clause form of jě:rì ‘bring’, as complement of ‘begin’.

B: kó [[gò: yǎ:] bîn] kùnò-ṣù

A: kó [[gò: yǎ:] bîn] kùnò-ṣù

B: [[gò: àrⁿá] bîn] kúnô:-rè

A: [[gò: àrⁿá] bîn] kúnô:-rè, kó [[gò: yǎ:] bîn] kùnò-ṣù

B: [yó: wòⁿ] [pòṣ kè] kó = ý

A: [pòṣ kè wòⁿ] [yó: kó = ý]

2011.1a.26 Planting roselle

B: àní:, [àní: kà:˦] [tèṅè jó:] [nǎ bè] kó òjó bì-jù

A: àní:, [kó wórú] kúnó-jê:, [[è:rè-wòrú] bíni kà:˦] dág-à→ dág-à→ pàṅà-ṅù, háyè [kó kà:˦] [[kó
[wár-ú]-sìbè], jò-jó→, [[[è:rè-wòrú] bíni] páṅá-ṅú] yó kò, [kó wórú té→] [wàj-ú kà:˦] yó kò

B: [[è:rè-wòrú bîn] bé páṅá-ṅù]¹⁹⁸ [kó [[yà:-kò]-tògí]=˨]

A: kó, kó, [è:rè-wòrú áṅú] gí-jì, [è:rè-wòrú áṅú] gí-jì, né: kó→ [kó sày] bé wǎ-jú, àṅù-bógú gí-jì

B: àṅù-bógú

A: àṅù-bógú

¹⁹⁸ Headless object relative, with L-toned Imperfective -ṅù.

2011.1a.27 Varieties of roselle

B: *maintenant, est-ce que*, ànú kà:ⁿ, [[kó síbé] déyⁿ→ kô mà→] [*ou bien* [ànú sà:ⁿ fú→] [tògù túnó] = ýⁿ]

A: ànú [tògù déyⁿ-déyⁿ kô] dè, [ànú pírì] yó kò→, [ànú báⁿ] yó kò, [àní-kò:rò kà:ⁿ] yó kò, àní [tògù tǎ:n bà→] kô, é→

B: tǎ:n lò dè, pèré kò:-ró

A: é→, tǎ:n lò dè, pèré kò:-ró

B: né:, < àní-- > [ànú pírì] nǎŋ kô

A: [ànú pírì]

B: [dèg-é→ kó mà→] [gùr-í→ kô]

A: gòwó-jú, kó [bá:gà [kó kè]], pír-í→ kô, dág-à→ gòwó-jú, [í:ⁿ kà:ⁿ] < da-- > í:ⁿ jó→ nà-nù, háyè kó [ànú pírì], [kó dógó ní:] [ànú báⁿ], bá:gà báⁿ-yⁿ→ kô→, [kúrò kà:ⁿ] báⁿ-yⁿ→ kô, [gìyé [kó kè]] báⁿ-yⁿ→ kô, [kó bôⁿ] [ànú báⁿ] gì-jù

B: ànú báⁿ

A: é→ [ànú báⁿ]

B: né: [ànú báⁿ], [ànú báⁿ] [kó kè] [kúrò [kó kè]], [[ànú jǎ:n bé nò:-jù] gì:ⁿ]¹⁹⁹ kó mà→, *ou bien* [kó wò→] déyⁿ→

A: kúrò--, [jǎ:n bé nò:-jù] [bé [kó bôⁿ] [àní-kò:rò báⁿ] gì-jù], é→, ànú kò→ yó kò, [àní-kò:rò kà:ⁿ] yó kò, [àní-kò:rò wòⁿ], [kó kè] < î:ⁿ-- > î:ⁿ kó:r-ì dè, pùrⁿú [kó bè] tèt-ú bìr-è:-jù, [pùrⁿú dógó tò] [[jǎ:n-∅ dè] [jǎ:-∅ kà:ⁿ]] bìr-è:-jù, kó àní-kò:rò gì-jù, [àní-kò:rò báⁿ] yó kò→, [àní-kò:rò pírì] yó kò, báⁿ = wⁿ,²⁰⁰ kà:ná [jǎ:n nò:-jù]²⁰¹ ú pò-jù, kó [àní-kò:rò báⁿ] kúní:,²⁰² pírì = wⁿ, né: pùrⁿú [kó bè] bé téré-jù,²⁰³ kó [àní-kò:rò pírì] gì-jì

B: [àní-kò:rò báⁿ] [kó kà:ⁿ] gùrú kô mà→

A: [[kó kà:ⁿ] gòwó-jú] [àní-kò:rò pírì] [[kó lò:] géné] ké-kéw

B: [[kó lò:] géné] ké-kéw

A: [[kó fú→] géné] ké-kéw

B: *maintenant*, [kó kè] *couleur* sày, [[kó lò:] gán] káw-g-ì mà

A: *couleur* sày, *couleur*--, gìyé [nô:²⁰⁴ báⁿ-yⁿ→ kô→] [nô: pír-í→ kô], nánà yó: kó = ý

B: [*couleur* lò dè] [kó lò:] [kó túrú]

¹⁹⁹ Nonsubject (object) imperfective relative.

²⁰⁰ Contraction of báⁿ wòⁿ with topic wòⁿ. Parallel construction, see pírì = wòⁿ below.

²⁰¹ Instrumental relative compound.

²⁰² kúní:, glossed by assistant in French as *il s'agit de*.

²⁰³ Translates as a relative on a postpositional object, but the overt kó bè 'with it' rules this out syntactically, so I take it as headless.

²⁰⁴ Paired clauses with {HL}-toned nó: 'this', arguably contracted from topical nó: wòⁿ, at any rate with final pitch drop indicating topical status.

A: é→, [kó l̀:] [kó túrú], n̂: gíyé báⁿ-yⁿ→ k̂→, n̂: gíyé pír-í→ k̂, [à̀nù n̂: k̂:ˀ], n̂: gíyé
báⁿ-yⁿ→ k̂→, n̂: gíyé pír-í→ k̂, háyè ŷ-ŋ-ŷ-ŋ sàⁿ-túⁿ gòjò-jù

2011.1a.28 Harvesting and threshing roselle bushes

- B: ànú lé-è, kà:ná lé:-sêⁿ *maintenant* kó tó-è, *maintenant* tó-è dè, < àní:-- > àní:, námà [bìrè pèré] déyⁿ→ yó kò mà, *ou bien* [[nú: kè] gí:ⁿ] [bìrè pèré] déyⁿ→ kò:-ró
- A: àní:, kó tó-è táńá yè-Ø dè, ú yô-ŋ [é:rè bínì] yô-ŋ kámá dàg-ê dè, kó yô-ŋ [sótóró má] yô-ŋ gǒ-è dè, né: [yě-è: kó péⁿ-èⁿ] táńá yè-Ø dè, [kó kà:ⁿ] tó:-tó:-tó:-tó: ú mǎ:-n-Ø dè, < àní:-- > ànú-sǎⁿ²⁰⁵ kùnò-nù, bé [kó bǎⁿ] ànú-sǎⁿ gí-jù,
[tó:-tó:-tó: yè] [[ná túnò] yè] [márⁿà→márⁿà→márⁿà→mǎ:-n-è: mǎ:-n-è: ú:-n-è:-sêⁿ dè], [kó bǎⁿ] [ànú-sǎⁿ gí-jù]
- B: ànú-sǎⁿ
- A: ànú-sǎⁿ é→ ...
- B: nà²⁰⁶ [ná túnò] bé mǎ:-nó-nù,²⁰⁷ ...
- A [overlapping]: ... é→, [kó bǎⁿ] ànú-sǎⁿ gí-jù
- B: [kò kà:ⁿ] [[nú:-tè:rè kè] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ], [kó kà:ⁿ] [kó kè] ànú-sǎⁿ gí-jù
- A: [kó kè] ànú-sǎⁿ gí-jù
- B: [ànú-sǎⁿ yò: dà né:] íyé = n [kó kè], né: [í:ⁿ [kó kè]] gǔńó-nú mà→, *ou bien* ànú-sǎⁿ [ĩé gè:] kún-è:
- A: ànú-sǎⁿ [yě-è: kó àní: mǎ:-ŋ-Ø] táńá yè-Ø dè, jòńùⁿù-kújú bè→, < bá:gá-- > [bà:gà márⁿá], é [úrⁿí: bè] = n tó:r-è:, sâ:ⁿ nàńá nàńá-séⁿ dè, ànú-pàgá nǎ-ŋ nàńá-séⁿ dè, lágá-lágá-lágá-lágá í:ⁿ [ná kúⁿ] sún-g-è:-sêⁿ dè, [nǎ bè] nǎ:rⁿ-è:-sêⁿ dè, [é né:] kó bà-jù²⁰⁸
- B: [kó kè né:] [[kó kè] bíré-bǎⁿ], bìrè-bòⁿ nâ:--
- A: < ànú-- > ànú-[sǎn-ú]²⁰⁹ gí-jù
- B: ànú-[sǎn-Ø]
- A: ànú-[sǎn-ú], é→, ànú-[sǎn-ú]

²⁰⁵ ànú-sǎⁿ ‘heap of roselle (bushes)’. tè:rè ‘big heap’ is used for millet and fonio, but not for roselle.

²⁰⁶ This nà (from ná ‘land, earth, ground’) is {L}-toned as relative clause head.

²⁰⁷ Imperfective nonsubject (locative) relative.

²⁰⁸ bàrà ‘gather’.

²⁰⁹ Compound ending in verbal noun of sǎn ‘undo (heap of roselle bushes)’.

2011.1a.29 Cow-peas

B: yó: [àjú kè], àjú kè, [émé-- [è:rè ná:] pór-è:-sêⁿ] [[è:rè mújúⁿú] pór-è:-sêⁿ], *maintenant* [yó:
nà] kà:ná [sâ:ⁿ fú→] pór-è:-sêⁿ, [né: wòⁿ] [ú = ò ùjúⁿú íⁿ újúⁿó-jù]²¹⁰ [ní kè] = ò. [ní kà:ⁿ]
[kó só:] [nãj kô]

A: ní kà:ⁿ, [[wòrú bìnì] pájá-jú] yó kò→, [nì-bógí = ý gá→ bògó-jú] yó kò

B: [wòrú bìn] pájá-jú

A: é→

B: [wòrú bìn] [ìjé gè:] pájá-téjè

A: wòrú bìnì, [jú: gân] [jú: gân] [jú: gân], ú páj-è dè, [yó: wòⁿ] gàmá, [bínígí nà só]²¹¹ [[gàmá
yê gá:rà ké:né-jú] g-í dè], [gàmá [kó gí] pájá-jê:],
háyè, [gàmà ná né:], né: [[kó kè] jâ] wó = ò dág-à→ [júwⁿó gí:ⁿ] kô dè, né: [àjú-bógú
gí:ⁿ] bògò-jù, [kó kà:ⁿ] < sò: > [bìrè lǝy yò:]²¹² kó = ý

B: né:, nì [wòrú bìn] bé pájá-jù,²¹³ ...

A: é→

B: ... [[ní néwⁿé] gè:] pájá-téjè mà→, *ou bien* [[nì-kúrò néwⁿé] gè:] pájá-téjè mà→, [ìjé gè:]
ní [wòrú bìn] pájá-téjè

A: ní, ú nì-í:ⁿ dág-à→ bĕ-jò:, nì-kúrò kà:ⁿ, [wòrú bìnìgì] dág-à→, [dògò-ní gí-jì] [dògò-ní] = wⁿ,
kó dág-à→ [[síg-é nà] là] sîgè dág-à→ wàⁿ-é:-jò:, [nì-kúrò kà:ⁿ] [kó gá:rà bĕ-m-jò:], [nì-í:ⁿ
kà:ⁿ] [sǎⁿ kúrò]²¹⁴ bĕ-jù

B: nì-í:ⁿ, [nì-jí:-jí mà→] dòn-dó-jú

A: jì-jí:-jí, [[wòrú bìnì] kè wòⁿ] [nì jì-jí:-jí]²¹⁵ gàrà, né: nì-bógú = wⁿ, dǝ-jú gàrà

²¹⁰ Imperfective nonsubject relative.

²¹¹ Nonsubject relative with só ‘be in’.

²¹² [N Num]^{L+H} L-Dem sequence.

²¹³ Imperfective nonsubject relative.

²¹⁴ kúrò ‘share, portion’, here {H}-toned as possessed noun. Distinct from kúrò ‘leaf, greens’, which occurs in the same passage.

²¹⁵ Instrumental relative compound “cow-peas for eating.”

2011.1a.30 Separately grown cow-peas

B: [nì-bógú kè] dág-à→ pórù gè-mà²¹⁶

A: é→ [nì-bógú kè wòⁿ], [é né:] [[nú: bàⁿ é lé:-jú] gí:ⁿ],²¹⁷ ùrò-bón bònó bònó-sêⁿ dè, [kàⁿ é:ɲí é:ɲí é:ɲí é:ɲí] < nùmò-- >, [nùmò-tàṅá túrú] [nùmò-tàṅá túrú] gí:ⁿ, [nùmò-[làg-ú]] [nùmò-[làg-ú]] [nùmò-[làg-ú]] [nùmò-[làg-ú]] gí:ⁿ, é yô-ɲ é:ɲí é:ɲí námá yô-ɲ jǒ:-n-è:-sêⁿ dè, kó yô-ɲ ùṅòrò-jù,

[kó yô-ɲ ùṅúr-ì] [é [[kó bórò] gù-gùrù kó]²¹⁸ é²¹⁹ bògór-è: bògór-è: bògór-è:-sêⁿ dè], [pá→ yè] kó í:ⁿ nà-ɲù,

kó yè í:ⁿ nàⁿ-ê dè, né:, dágà→, [[kè-ké: bè] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] nú-ɲú dè, [àⁿsà:rà-ló bè] émé dág-à→ kó píjé píjé píjé-sêⁿ dè, né: kè-ké: dàⁿá-sêⁿ dè, í:ⁿ [kó gá:rà] nà-ɲù,

háyé [yô-ɲ bìré-sêⁿ dè] [dògò tò] [émé í:ⁿ kú:ⁿ tùrò-jù], [kó péⁿ-èⁿ dè] [kú:ⁿ tùrò-jù], [kó kà:ⁿ] túró túró túro-sêⁿ dè, [gírⁿí jě:-r-è:-sêⁿ dè] sògò-jù,

[sógó-sêⁿ dè] nì-bèrú, tò-tó:-jú, nì-bèrú tó:-sêⁿ dè, nùṅù-bárⁿà²²⁰ àsègé = ò ò-jù [kà:ná wòⁿ], háyé gàmá [kó kà:ⁿ] [nàpè løy yó:]²²¹ kó = ò yó kò, [í:ⁿ nápè = ò]²²² < kúrò-- kúrò-- > [[kúrò kà:ⁿ] nápè = ò]

B: [kó = ò wòⁿ] nèwⁿé jó→ kò dè

A: nèwⁿé jó→ kò dè

B: háyé [yó: wòⁿ] dàg-í-ì

A: háyé [yó: wòⁿ] [yó: dàyⁿ fú→] yô-ɲ kò

²¹⁶ Chain of pórù ‘say’ plus hortative of gèré ‘look at’ (hence ‘consider’).

²¹⁷ Imperfective nonsubject (manner) relative.

²¹⁸ Subject relative with nonhuman existential-locational ‘be (somewhere)’.

²¹⁹ 2Pl subject é, normally clause-initial, repeated here after a heavy object NP.

²²⁰ Tonal locative.

²²¹ [N Num]^L Dem instead of the usual [N Num]^{L+H} L Dem. The latter type arguably contains a covert tonal locative on the numeral.

²²² nápè = ò ‘it is (sth) useful’. Also expressed as nèwⁿé yé sà ‘it has a use (value)’.

2011.1a.31 Interlude

B: *maintenant, est-ce que* [wárú bîn] kà:ná, ɔ̀j̀d̀→, [̀̀j̀d̀ p̀èr̀é] déyⁿ→ yó kò

A: wárú bínì, ú [[j̀ùg̀ó mà] ǹà d̀ó:-lí d̀à̀yⁿ]²²³ g̀àmá--

B: wálà→, [ú k̀à:ⁿ] tú-tú-rú--

A: ɔ̀j̀d̀→, [̀̀j̀d̀ k̀ámá-nú] [̀̀j̀d̀ k̀ámá-nú]²²⁴

B: é→

A: wárú bínì, [s̀d̀: k̀éẁé-r̀é-k̀èẁè-r̀è] d̀ág-à→ d̀ág-à→ d̀ág-à→ d̀ág-à→ d̀ág-à→, [g̀àmà ná] b̀í-j̀è:,
[g̀àmà ná] b̀í:-r̀è, é→ [g̀àmà ná] b̀ì-j̀ù,
[g̀àm ná] [[k̀ó d̀óg̀ó] t̀ò] [g̀àmá k̀è-rú b̀á-b̀à-r̀á]²²⁵ m̀ó:-n-è:-s̀èⁿ d̀è] [[ǹù̀ǹù-b̀á-r̀á às̀èg̀é = ñ ó-
jú] g-í d̀è] b̀í-j̀è:, háyè [g̀àmà ná], [[k̀è-rú ná:] d̀ág-à→ d̀ág-à→ ẁá:-ẁá:-s̀èⁿ d̀è] g̀ìr̀í j̀è:-j̀è:,
háyè [d̀òg̀ó t̀ò], ỳô-ŋ [s̀d̀: k̀éẁé-r̀é-k̀èẁè-r̀é-k̀èẁè-r̀è] p̀èr̀é, < s̀á:ⁿ-- > s̀á:ⁿ = ñ k̀ò:-r̀ó g̀à→,
[ǹà àr̀á: -àr̀á: = ñ] [[ǹà [k̀ó b̀ínì] b̀í-r̀é b̀ì-j̀ù]²²⁶ tú-tú-rú] yó kò

²²³ Perfective negative nonsubject relative.

²²⁴ Imperfective nonsubject relative with omitted impersonal subject.

²²⁵ Iteration, for b̀à-r̀á-b̀à-r̀á.

²²⁶ Imperfective subject relative.

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- B: kà:ná [né: wòⁿ], lě nàŋ-ê dè, [kó móm dò:], [[kó kè] bôⁿ] nãŋ gi-jù, *ou bien* lě nàŋ-ê dè, [wáru dò:] [[kó kè] ténjé-bòⁿ]²²⁷ nãŋ gi-jù
- A: [lě nàŋ-ê dè] [wáru dò:], [yó: né:] jírⁿínjé = ýⁿ, [émé né:] [jírⁿínjé súg-è] gi-jù, [jírⁿínjé súg-è] gi-jù
- B: wáru nàŋ-ê dè, móm dò:, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè dò:, [kó bôⁿ] nãŋ gi-jù
- A: < jírⁿínjé-- >, jírⁿínjé súg-è.:, [[jírⁿínjé-[sùg-ú] dógó] tò] < wáru-- wáru-- > [wáru gǒ:-sêⁿ.:], [wáru dógó] tò, né: [kó wà] [pàrà gǒ-è] gi-jù, [pàrà-[gó:-ró] kúⁿ] yà:-jù né:
- B: pàrà-[gó:-rò], < kó kè-- > [kó kè] [bòⁿ pèré] yó kò mà→, *ou bien* pàrà-[gó:-ró]--
- A: [pàrà-[gó:-ró] kè] [bòⁿ pèré] sà:-rá, [bòⁿ pòrùpà] pàrà-[gó:-ró] gi-jù
- B: pàrà-[gó:-ró], òⁿhóⁿ
- A: né: [gàmà ná] sá-è dè, [kó wà] [gèr-ú dǒ-è] gi-jù, né: gèr-ú dǒ-é wòⁿ,²²⁸ [né: wòⁿ] dèrⁿè é kún-ú wòⁿ,²²⁹ [kó wà] [gùn-ú dǒ-è] gi-jù, háyè [gèr-ú dǒ-è] yó: = ý, dèrⁿè é kún-ú--
- B: [kó wò→] mǒ:-h-∅ dè, [[pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè] = ý
- A: [kó wò→ fú→] mǒ:-h-∅ dè, pàrà-[gó:-ró] gi-jù
- B: sâ:ⁿ né:, wáru kúⁿ.:, lě kúⁿ.:, móm kúⁿ.:, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè kúⁿ.:, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] mǒ:-h-∅ dè, nãŋ pò-jù
- A: [sâ:ⁿ fú→] mǒ:-h-∅ dè, [yó: wòⁿ] né:, [kó wò→ fú→] mǒ:-h-∅ dè, wáru gi-jù
- B: wáru
- A: é→, [wáru wà] dǒ-è, é→, [jírⁿínjé súg-è] [wáru dǒ-è], é→, [kó wò→ fú→] mǒ:-h-∅ dè, pòrùpà wáru gi-jù,
 áru wàrá jê dè, [dògó tò] [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè gi-jù, mà→ [yó: kó = ý] là:, é→ pàrà-[gó:-ró] wà, [jírⁿínjé wà] [pàrà-[gó:-ró] wà], jírⁿínjé, [pàrà-[gó:-ró], [jírⁿínjé súg-è], [pàrà gǒ-è], wálà:,
 é→ [pàrà gǒ-è], é→ [jírⁿínjé kè] wáru = ý, < dèrⁿé-- > [dèrⁿé gǒ: jê dè] [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírè kè wòⁿ, dèrⁿé-[gèr-í = ý], háyè yó: kó = ý, háyè yó: kó = ý, jírⁿínjé pàrà-[gó:-ró]
- B: *bon*, kà:ná wòⁿ, [wáru ágá] tò²³⁰ wòⁿ, [sò: jó:] pór-è:-sêⁿ, né: [sò: jò:] émé pór-è:.²³¹ *est-ce que* [yó: sâ:ⁿ fú→] kà:ná bí-ténjè

²²⁷ Logically [[that one's] time's] name] (recursive possession), but treated tonosyntactically as a compound [[that one's] time.H-name.L], as often with recursive possessives.

²²⁸ Perfective nonsubject relative with {H}-toned verb before Topic wòⁿ in the sense 'when/after'.

²²⁹ Perfective nonsubject (object) relative and topic wòⁿ in their normal senses.

²³⁰ [[X ágá] tò] 'about X', cf. àrgá 'side'.

²³¹ Perfective nonsubject relative with plural subject marked on the verb. Clause-internal head NP is a noun-adjective combination.

A: [yó: dáyⁿ fú→] kà:ná bǐ-téŋè dè, kà:ná [yó: dáyⁿ fú→] [ɔ̀jò émé dàgà-jù]²³² kò:-rò fú→ bì-jù,
[yó: dáyⁿ fú→] bǐ-téŋè

²³² Imperfective nonsubject relative.

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- B: né: pàrá-- , kà:ná, jírⁿíngé súg-è: . , pàrá gǒ-è: . , pàrá gǒ-è: . , [kó dógó ní:] [né: ìngé bì-jù]
- A: < [né: wòⁿ]- > [né: wòⁿ] nùnú bàrⁿ-ê,²³³ [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bíré dǒg-ê, nùnú bàrⁿ-ê, [kó bôⁿ] émé nùnú-bárⁿá gì-jù
- B: né: [nùnú-bárⁿá bìn] [sò: [yà:-kò]-[sì:ⁿ-káⁿ . :] [yà:-kò]-[sì:ⁿ- káⁿ . :] [yà:-kò]-[sì:ⁿ- káⁿ . :] sò
- A: [nùnú-bárⁿá bìnì], [nùnú-bárⁿá bìnì], gírⁿì-[târ-ú] bè→, gò:-[ùj-ú] bè→, háyè gírⁿì-[ùj-ú] bè→, [sǒ: [tǒgú déyⁿ-déyⁿ-déyⁿ]] [nùnú-bárⁿá bíré] [dògùrù jírⁿíngé súgó-jà]²³⁴ [né: wòⁿ] [gírⁿì bìn] émé ná:-jù: . , [[gírⁿì bìn] dèrⁿé émé kúnó-jù: .]²³⁵ dànú-gá-jú kè wòⁿ, [émé né:] [nùnú-bárⁿá bìnì] [[bìrè yó:] tǒgù] bì-jù,
- é→ yó: nùnú-bárⁿá = yⁿ, [yó: né:] nùnú bàrⁿ-ê, dògùrù [àndi: lònìrⁿí] súgó jà, [émé né:] [[sǎⁿ bè] gírⁿí] [jà lóró sáⁿ]²³⁶ [jà lóró sáⁿ] dǎn-gá: . , [gǒ: kà:ⁿ] [jà lóró-sáⁿ] dǎn-gá: . , háyè [[kó wò→ fú→] mǒ:-n-Ø dè] [émé nùnú-bárⁿá gì-jù, háyè [kó wà] nùnú bàrⁿ-ê, mhm
- B: [yó: bìn] < sò:- > [sò: pèrè] sò,²³⁷ *est-ce que* ú [sá:ⁿ fú→] mǒ:-n, tíngé bè-jù
- A: yó: [kó bìnì] [sò: kèwérè-kèwèrè] [kó kà:ⁿ] jò-jò: sò, nùnú-bárⁿá [gàmà ná] gírⁿí wé:-jê:, [gàmà ná] gírⁿí wê:-rè,
- [gàmà ná] [yé tè] [dèn-Ø déné]²³⁸ [jà pèré] yǎ:-jê:, [gàmà ná] [[sǎⁿ bè] bó:-gírⁿì] wé:-jê:, [gàmà ná] já:gú dág-à→ dág-à→ já:gá-jê:, háyè [gàmà ná] [kó→ déngè→],²³⁹ [gàmà ná] úrⁿí: jâŋ yǎ:-jê:, háyè yô-ŋ jò-jò: jó→ yô-ŋ kô, háyè [nùnú-bárⁿá bìnì] [sò: kèwérè-kèwèrè sá:ⁿ fú→] [nùnú-bárⁿá bìnì] bì-jù,
- jâŋ bè→, ànà-yě bè→, [[já:gú já:gá-jú] gì] kòlòm-Ø bè→, [yó: dáyⁿ fú→] [nùnú-bárⁿá bìnì] sò
- B: jírⁿíngé pór-è:-sèⁿ, émé [nùnú-bárⁿá kè kà:ⁿ] dág-à→ pór-è:-sèⁿ
- A: dág-à→ pór-è:-sèⁿ
- B: wálà: né: ìg-é:

[end of track A]

²³³ Fixed collocation, originally “sun beat down” or “sun turned red,” referring primarily to the hot dry season (March-May), but in this passage referring to the entire dry season (November-May).

²³⁴ ‘Before ...’ clause with -jà.

²³⁵ Conjunction of two imperfective relative clauses, with dying-quail intonation on both. The following verb *dànú-gá-jú* ‘fixes’ takes the entire conjoined NP as object. Both clauses relativize on the complement of a locative postposition.

²³⁶ *sáⁿ* after the verb in a perfective subject relative.

²³⁷ *só* ‘be in’ (H-toned form in relative clause), plus final L-tone as topic marker.

²³⁸ Tonal purposive clause, cf. perfective *dèn-Ø dèn-é* ‘he/she did some searching’.

²³⁹ *déngè* ‘(they) sit’ (stative, plural subject), cf. singular *dánà*.

2011.1b.01 Step-mother (tale with songs)

A: íⁿ éⁿ bǎyⁿ ²⁴⁰

B: bǎn-bǎn tǎyⁿ→ ²⁴¹

A: íⁿ jǎ jé-è: jě:r-è: mà, íⁿ [[jě-yⁿ .: àr^aá-yⁿ .: [wó ínà .:] kúⁿ] kùn-ì, jě-yⁿ [[wó ínà:] mòr-é:] [wó kē:ⁿ], nǎ: [wó dìn-í-ì dè], bàrá yà:-jù, [bàrá yè] kèrú wó = ní²⁴² túró-m-Ø dè,
 [kèrú wǎ:] [[wó géné] bà→] bě-è dè, [bé lǎ:] yô-ŋ yè-jù, yô-ŋ bí-tǎnà bí-tǎnà [íyè kè] yě-è: mà, kèrú wà-é: mà, kèrú yě-è: [[wó géné] bà→] bě-è: mà,
 [jě-yⁿ wà] [[[kó bórǎ] nù] wà] [gò:nò-sǎⁿ yé yě-jú²⁴³ gà],²⁴⁴ [kě: bà→] [sǎⁿ nǎ à:-jù]²⁴⁵ yó kò, [kó yèr-é:] [kó kē:ⁿ] [wó à] [[[kèrú bórǎ] nù] wà], [jě-yⁿ jòw-é:] [kèrú bórǎ] nù-yⁿ,
 né: ìnǎ: dǎg-à→ wó dǎg-è, [jòwó [kèrú bórǎ] nú-è:] [wó kē:ⁿ], [né: jé: [wó kúⁿ] kùn-ì] [[wó kè] lǎ:], é→ [wó kúⁿ] jé: kùn-ì, jé: wó tég-é: mà, [lǎ: é:ⁿ bàr-é: mà] [gìrⁿí jíjè yè-Ø],
 gírⁿí jíjè yèr-é:, dè-dé: í:ⁿ újèr-è: dèⁿ-èⁿ,²⁴⁶ [í:ⁿ ò:-lí mà] [wó g-í dè], èné í:ⁿ ò:-lí gí-jì, ò:-lí mà] [wó g-í dè] [ǎy èné ò:-lí gí-jì],
 [bé dèn-é: dèⁿ-èⁿ] ò:-lǎ: [yô-ŋ dǎg-è], dǎg-é: [bé kē:ⁿ] jǎgà→, [[é:ⁿ yò:] [kó kè]]²⁴⁷ bàr-è dè, yé yě-Ø²⁴⁸ dè, [jù: nówⁿò]²⁴⁹ tǎr-è dè, é:ⁿ tégìr-ì dè, [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] né:] [wó né:] jù: nòwⁿò-jù, jù: [wó nòwó-ò dè], [né: wòⁿ né:] jě-yⁿ, [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] lèwⁿ-lèwⁿ pó = ní:] núnú tòrò-jù, [né: wòⁿ] é→

²⁴⁰ Standard tale opener. bǎyⁿ reduced from bǎrⁿé ‘call’.

²⁴¹ Standard reply, encouraging the narrator to proceed. bǎn-bǎn is obscure. tǎyⁿ→ is an expressive adverbial elsewhere meaning ‘well-spiced/salted’ or ‘well-sugared’.

²⁴² Dative for lower-clause agent in causative of transitive verb.

²⁴³ yé yèjù heard as phonetic [jê:dʒù]. Existential yé adds a presentative quality here.

²⁴⁴ gà emphatic of urgency.

²⁴⁵ Imperfective subject relative.

²⁴⁶ Lit. “asked and (=until he) got tired.”

²⁴⁷ The nonhuman possessor [kó kè] prevents the demonstrative yó: from tonosyntactically controlling the preceding noun, and causes it to drop its own tones to ^Lyò:.

²⁴⁸ Perfective yě-yè ‘went’ reduced to yě-Ø before dè ‘if’.

²⁴⁹ Purposive complement for ‘begin’, expressed tonally as a noun^L-HL^Lverb compound (‘millet^L-HLgrind’).

ló: [má wà]²⁵⁰ bàrá yǎ: wà→ [túnó nǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] íⁿ bàrá yě-ỳ lò→²⁵¹ [túnó nǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] kèrú wá: wà→ [túnó nǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] íⁿ kèrú wà-è lò→ [túnó nǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] gònò-sǒⁿ yè-jù gà→ [túnó nǎ:]
 [má wà] kèrù-bòró nú wà→ [túnó nǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] kèrù-bòró nú-ỳⁿ lò→ [túnó nǎ:]
 ló: [kúⁿ mà] nǎ: dùj-è lò→ [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]
 nǎ: má tég-è lò→ [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]
 wó é:ⁿ bàr-ê mà→ [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]
 wó gírⁿí jě:r-ì lò→ [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]²⁵²
 wó nǎ: sí:r-ì yè→²⁵³ [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]
 dè-dé: kó ní:-jú²⁵⁴ yè→ [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]
 lè-là-lèwⁿ²⁵⁵ yè [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ]²⁵⁶

[yô-ŋ wó gé-è] [yè ná:] kējèrè-kējèrè mà,²⁵⁷ î: [î:ⁿ nò:] jágà nù-nù:-lí²⁵⁸ wà, jágà wó nô-ŋ wó = ñ bír-è mà→ wà, [yè nâ:] gò-é:→

[dè-dé: wà] [wó wà] [íyé kè], [[î:ⁿ dènè-nú] gí]²⁵⁹ bàrá yǎ:-lé gâ:, [wó wà] [íyé kè] [[bàrá yǎ:-jú] gí] gǒ-è dè, wó bã:rì [yè nâ:] [ènè gírⁿí]²⁶⁰ yèré pám-é:²⁶¹ wà, dè-dé: [[î:ⁿ dènè] gè:] wó gó-è, bàrá yà:-lí, bã:r-è: yèr-é: [[yè nâ:] gírⁿí] pám-è: mà,

ìnã: [íyé kè], [íyé kè] dè-dé: yà:→,²⁶² íyé = ñ è:ⁿ-[tè-tê:] tégír-ì dè, [tégír-ì nǎ:] è:ⁿ-dí: lèwè-lí tór-è, íyé = ñ

²⁵⁰ In the song, [má wà] is pronounced mà:ⁿ.

²⁵¹ lò→ has no literal meaning and is used fill out the rhythm.

²⁵² The pitch of the [túnó nǎ: léwⁿ] segment in this line is lower than in the previous and following instances.

²⁵³ yè here has no literal sense.

²⁵⁴ Usually ní:-jú ‘will eat’.

²⁵⁵ Iterative onomatopoeia referring to dripping, reduced from lèwⁿ-làwⁿ-lèwⁿ.

²⁵⁶ In this final verse, the narrator/singer puts extra stress on léwⁿ.

²⁵⁷ Iterative variation on kējèr-è: mà ‘after listening’ (same-subject), stem kējìrì.

²⁵⁸ Optional reduplication with perfective negative. Positive counterpart (nù-)nú-ỳⁿ ‘he/she died’.

²⁵⁹ L-toned form of gí ‘say’ as chained verb, in more or less purposive function.

²⁶⁰ Tonal locative of possessed [X gírⁿí] ‘X’s house’.

²⁶¹ Mediopassive -é: in imperative.

²⁶² ‘as soon as (father) went’. yà: may be a L-toned form of imperative yǎ: ‘go!’.

lè-láwⁿ-léwⁿ yè→ [túnó ɲǎ:] léwⁿ
 lè-láwⁿ-léwⁿ yè→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] bàrá yǎ: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] íⁿ bàrá yě-ỳ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] kèrú wá: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] íⁿ kèrú wǎ-è lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] gɔ̀nɔ̀-sǎⁿ yè-jù wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 [má wà] kèrù-bòró nú wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] kèrù-bòró nú-ỳⁿ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
 ló: [kûⁿ mà] ɲé: dùj-è lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léwⁿ]
 ɲé: má tég-è lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léwⁿ]
 [kò é:ⁿ] bàr-ê yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léwⁿ]
 wó gírⁿí jě:r-ì yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léwⁿ]
 lè-là-léwⁿ yè [túnó ɲǎ: léwⁿ]

yô-ŋ wó gé-è, i-i-i→, dè-dê: kɛ̀ɲèrè-kɛ̀ɲèrè²⁶³ [dágá wà] [pèré né:], dàg-é:, [wó yě-è:],
 [ámírⁿí sùgùrù] kûn-Ø, [àná ná sâ:ⁿ] è:ⁿ-[tè-té:] [tògù ná:]²⁶⁴ mǎ:-nó wà,
 pór-è: [wó k-ê:ⁿ], háyè ámirⁿí-- [gó:ⁿ bè] yě-è:, tógóro kún-è:, nùɲú ná-è dè, kǎⁿ-pěⁿ ɲè--,
 [àná ɲè sâ:ⁿ] è:ⁿ-[tè-té:] [tògù ná:] mǎ:-nó wà, [bé né:] sâ:ⁿ [tògù ná:] è:ⁿ-[tè-té:] mǎ:-n-è:,
 mǎ:-nó-ɲú [bé gé-è], [sǎⁿ kè] [[è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] pèré] dǎn-g-è:] [yê já:-jù] [wó gé-è], î:ⁿ yê wó-
 táɲà, [inǎ: inǎ: [wó gé-è] [há:ⁿ wà], [wó wà] [wó kè] [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] nùɲù-nùɲú]²⁶⁵ kùnò wà

B: [ì:ⁿ nǔ:] mà

A: äy, [[wó kè] î:ⁿ] yó kò, [éru kó bàɲà] [[sǎⁿ égé-ɲè] î:ⁿ] dàrⁿ-è, inǎ: wò:-rò gé-è, né: [[wó kè]
 î:ⁿ] yó kò là,²⁶⁶

[wó kè] î:ⁿ, [né: wòⁿ] [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] nùɲù-nùɲú] kùnò wà, [[[yí tɔ̀] gò:] wà] [ènè [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:]
 nùɲù-nùɲú] yǎ: bèr-è mà→] wà, mǎm inǎ:, [ú kè] [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] nùɲù-nùɲú] yó kò,

dè-dê: wó-táɲà, wó mǎm, lò-ló:rò dàg-é dè, [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] nùɲù-nùɲú] ɲàɲá gùɲò wà, háyè
 dè-dê: = ñ [kó gè:] gò-é: ɲàɲà,²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Shortened (in iteration) from kɛ̀ɲèr-è:, same-subject anterior form of kɛ̀ɲìrì ‘listen’.

²⁶⁴ Tonal locative of tògù ná: ‘main palaver shelter’.

²⁶⁵ nùɲù-nùɲú ‘song singing’, verbal noun with incorporated cognate nominal. Here the compound is used adjectivally.

²⁶⁶ Clause-final particle là after a surprising statement.

²⁶⁷ ɲàɲà, stative of ɲèɲ-î: ‘go around, stroll’. ‘Go out and go around’ is idiomatic for ‘be pleasing (to X)’.

kó = ý, [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] nùṅù-nùṅú] sùmó sùmó éjé-m-è:, [sùmó dǎn-g-è:]²⁶⁸ [è:ⁿ kàná pèré] kún-è:, [[è:ⁿ nùṅù-nùṅú] dàgá té-è] [[è:ⁿ pèré] kùn-Ø], kún-è: [[tògù ná:] jé-è:] [[àná ná sà:ⁿ è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] mǎ:-n-è:] [[wó kà:ⁿ] yê mǎ:-n-Ø],

[bé wò→] [bé wô] [bé wô], né: [è:ⁿ-[tè-tè:] sà:ⁿ] tǎn-tǎn tǎn-tǎn tǎn-tǎn tǎn [kó tór-é wòⁿ], [[é kó²⁶⁹ bàṅà] kà:ⁿ] tór-è, lêwⁿ [kúwó ^Htúru] lêwⁿ-lêwⁿ-lêwⁿ bí-tǎṅà,

lè-láwⁿ-lêwⁿ yè→ [túnó ǎ:] léwⁿ
 lè-láwⁿ-lêwⁿ yè→ [túnó ǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] bàrá yǎ: wà→ [túnó ǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] íⁿ bàrá yě-ỳ lò→ [túnó ǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] kèrú wá: wà→ [túnó ǎ:]
 [ó: gé-è] íⁿ kèrú wǎ-è lò→ [túnó ǎ:]
 ló: [má wà] gǎnǎ-sǎⁿ yè-jù wà→ [túnó ǎ:]
 [má wà] kèrù-bòró nú wà→ [túnó ǎ:]
 [íⁿ wòⁿ] kèrù-bòró nú-ỳⁿ lò→ [túnó ǎ:]
 [ló: wòⁿ] [kó é:ⁿ] bàr-ê lò→ [túnó ǎ: léwⁿ]
 wó gírⁿí jě:r-ì yè→ [túnó ǎ: léwⁿ]
 dè-dè: kó ní:-jú yè→ [túnó ǎ: léwⁿ]
 lè-là-lêwⁿ yè [túnó ǎ: léwⁿ] wà

[yô-ŋ wó gé-è] [àná ná sà:ⁿ] úṅér-è:, hé:-hà:-hé:-hà:-hé:
 dè-dè: màrpá: ǎṅ-è, èné ǎṅ tè-téwé-jú wà, [[í:ⁿ ínà:]²⁷⁰ mòr-é-è: yè-Ø] gé-è, wó yô-ŋ í:ⁿ bàrá jé-è: té:r-è: mà, [né: wòⁿ] < núṅí-- > nùṅù-nùṅí = ýⁿ tán-g-è: mà, wó [[wó é:ⁿ] bè] < pàná-- pàná-- >²⁷¹ nú: nòwⁿó-tǎṅà dè, èné tè-téwé-jú wà,
 [hé:-hà:-hé: wà] [hé:-hà:-hé: [ná pòⁿ] bé pó-jù], dè-dè: jágà [màrpá: má]²⁷² ló:w-è: jíjè yè-Ø, [nǎ: téw-é: mà] [[kó dèṅ]²⁷³ yê dǎrⁿ-è],
 yó: [[ná pòⁿ] fú→], í:ⁿ kà:ná, [wó ínà:] wò:-ró kà:ⁿ, í:ⁿ ú = ñ dàgá té-è dè, pèré [[ú ì:ⁿ] gí:ⁿ] wó dín-é: dǎṅòrⁿ, né: [gírè-kùnú bè] dín-é:-lé wà, yó: [kó níṅìⁿì] mò-è,
 éⁿ sà dèrⁿè-wⁿ²⁷⁴

B: àmá ú jě:r-è²⁷⁵

²⁶⁸ dǎní-gì ‘do/make well’.

²⁶⁹ Contraction of éru kó ‘that (far-distal)’.

²⁷⁰ Initial H-tone of possessed ^{HL}ínà is hard to hear.

²⁷¹ pàná ‘meal’. Clause broken off, then restarted with nú: ‘millet’.

²⁷² Transpersonal reflexive possessor má.

²⁷³ Tonal locative.

²⁷⁴ Story-ending formula. éⁿ ‘tale’, remainder obscure.

²⁷⁵ Response to preceding formula, also used as a ‘welcome’ greeting to an arriving traveler.

Pronounced with idiosyncratic contraction: [àmú: ...].

A: pŏ:→

2011.1b.02 Crowned crane and the stubborn woman (tale with songs)

A: íⁿ én bỳⁿ

B: bòn-bóⁿ tǎyⁿ→

A: íⁿ jǎ jé-è: jě:r-è: mà, [[jè-ỳⁿ gírè-má]²⁷⁶ kùⁿ kùn-ì, [ènè [nǎ gíyè]²⁷⁷ nó-nó:rⁿó yé sò dè] [[[kó bǎnjá] gírⁿǐ] èné ègé yǎ:-rò] wà, [yô-ŋ wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] né: [jù:-dúgó né:] [[wó kè] né:] [contrôle-bírè-n] = ì:-- [sò:-kájúwá-n] = ì:,²⁷⁸ jù:-dúgò [wó kè] [sò:-kájúwá-n] = ì:,
 né: [jù:-dúgó [[sǎⁿ sò:-kàjùwà] bě-è:]: [né: [àⁿá-ùⁿù bè] yèré] [bé gí = ì dè], jù:-dúgó t-í dè, [jù:-dúgó wà] yě-Ø dè, [[[yó: nà] gíyè] nó-nó:rⁿó yé sò mà→] gèrè²⁷⁹ gí-jù, [[jù:-dúgó kà:ⁿ] [ná wò→] tórⁿ-è: tórⁿ-è: gār-ê dè] [ǎy [[yó bàjà] gíyè] nó-nó:rⁿó yé sò] [g-í dè] [yǎ: gí-jú],
 [yô-ŋ wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] dùwó, [dùwó sǎⁿ dǎn-g-è:] [dímé nó-nó:rⁿó yé sò] [yê kèdúru tǎr-é: mà], gǒ: yê yè-Ø, [yê yě-è:] [wó kè:ⁿ], ʃⁿʔⁿ kùwⁿá

B: kùwⁿá

A: kùwⁿá, sǎⁿ dǎn-g-è: mà, [dímé nî, kèdúru tǎr-é:] [gǒ: yê yè-Ø], [yê yě-è:] [wó kè:ⁿ], [né: wòⁿ] jù:-dúgó t-ì, jù:-dúgó yèr-é: kájúw-è: gèr-é-è:, ǎy [[nó bàjà] gíyè] nó-nó:rⁿó sò:-ró] wà

B: [jǎ pǒⁿ] ò:-lì

A: [sò:-ró mà→] [wó gé-è], [nò-nò:rⁿò pǒⁿ] [wó gíyè] sò:-ró wà, [dímé kè] [yó: dà] úpèr-è: [wó kè:ⁿ], [[[dímé kè] yó:] èné²⁸⁰ [jǎⁿá gè:] tǎr-é: sǎ]²⁸¹ wà, háyè [kó = ý dè wòⁿ] [yó bàjà] [ènè²⁸² égé:ⁿ] bìr-é:-jú wà, [nǎ bè] háyè kó = ý--

B [overlapping]: [[[kó wò→ fú→] bîn] jùgò-lí *quoi*

A: jùgò-lí, dùwó sǎⁿ ná = ýⁿ²⁸³ tǎn-g-è: mà, háyè kó = ý [bé gé-è], áy→ < [ènè kè] yó:-- > [ènè = ì [yó bàjà] irè] wà, [[nǎ gíyè] nó-nó:rⁿó sò:-ró dè] [ènè kè] kó = ý wà, [[háyè kó = ý] gé-è:] [wó = ì bè-lá:],

²⁷⁶ Bahuvrihi compound (“hard-eyed,” i.e. ‘stubborn’). Pronounced gírè-⁴má with downstepped H-tone. Compare noun-adjective sequence gírè mǎ ‘dry (=hard) eye(s)’.

²⁷⁷ Tonal locative of nǎ^H gíyè ‘person’s body’ (< gíyè ‘body’).

²⁷⁸ *contrôle-bírè* ‘manager’ (i.e. house manager, factotum), containing a French word, rephrased immediately as sò:-kájúwá. Both are agentive compounds, with {L}-toned noun as compound initial and {H}-toned verb as final.

²⁷⁹ Imperative of gèr-í: ‘look’.

²⁸⁰ Logophoric singular subject. Fly is quoting Crowned Crane.

²⁸¹ <HL>-toned sǎ ‘have’ after same-subject anterior subordinated verb (perfect of continuing possession).

²⁸² Logophoric singular possessor. bìr-é:-jú means ‘be possible’, i.e. here ‘be eligible’.

²⁸³ ‘it is’ clitic in complement of tǎn-gù ‘transform, convert’. Cǎ stems raise tones in the ‘it is’ form Cǎ = ý, hence nǎ ‘person, human’ becomes ná = ýⁿ. sǎⁿ here is transpersonal reflexive object.

gò-é: dùwó wó òn-é-è:-- , [kùwⁿá òn-é-è: gò-é:] [[sǎⁿ gírⁿì] jì-jè yè-Ø], [jì-jè yě-è:] [wó kē:ⁿ] [[yé tè] [bàrà-kènè pé:rè] [yé tè] yě-è: mà, [né: wòⁿ] [yé tè], [kùwⁿá né:] [yó: [ènè gírⁿì] = ýⁿ] wà, [[á! nó: [wó gírⁿì] = ýⁿ mà] wà] é, [[nó: [wó gírⁿì] = ýⁿ²⁸⁴ mà] wà] é, xxx, [[kùwⁿá né:] sǎⁿ ná = ýⁿ bǎ-è: mà] [yô-ŋ wô], pá→ yě-è:, < àn-tá--, à-- > bàjⁿ nàⁿ-é:, àn-tímé nàⁿ-é:, àn-tànú nàⁿ-é:, à-nǎyⁿ nàⁿ-é:, à-nú: nàⁿ-é:, ²⁸⁵ [yô-ŋ bǎ-è:] [wó sâ], gò-é: né:, ²⁸⁶ [bé lárá] yè-sámá²⁸⁷ nàⁿ-è, sámá nàⁿ-é:, [sámá kà:ⁿ] pèré né: ná = ýⁿ táŋ-è, háyè kùwⁿá wó-tǎŋà wó-tǎŋà wó-tǎŋà wó-tǎŋà, háyè, [bàrà tò] [ára kùⁿ] dǒwó ùr-é-è: kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ènè tógú dàyⁿ fú→] gàrà búrugú [àrà jógò] nà-mà²⁸⁸ wà, wó = ò yó: = ò²⁸⁹ [ìŋé só:-tògì]²⁹⁰ = ý mà→ wà, sǎⁿ bìlíg-è: kùwⁿá = : tán-g-è:, [nó: dà] [[ìŋé só:-tògì] = ý mà→ wà, [ènè kùwⁿá = ýⁿ né:] [ènè à:dàmà-í:ⁿ-n = ì: lò] wà, né: wòⁿ, [é tè] yě-Ø dè, kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [wó gí-ò dè], àm-bàjⁿ jòwó yě-è:, [[ára kùⁿ] yě-è:] [sǎⁿ yígí-yígí²⁹¹ bìr-é:] [kùwⁿá = : tán-g-è:]

[inǎ: lò:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]
 [inǎ: lò:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]
 [bàjⁿ nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [àn-tímé²⁹² nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [àn-tànú nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [à-nàyⁿ nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [à-nú: nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: yè]²⁹³
 [bé lárá] yè-sámá nàⁿ-è, [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [inǎ: lò:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]
 [búrugú [àrà jógò] yǎ:-jú né:] kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→

²⁸⁴ 3Sg pronoun used in indirect discourse, corresponding to original 2Sg pronoun. ‘It is’ clitic = y requires {HL} contour on a possessed noun.

²⁸⁵ Of these male birth-order names, all but bàjⁿ begin with à(n)-, cf. àⁿá ‘man’. Those from third son up have finals related to the corresponding numerals (‘3’, ‘4’, ‘5’).

²⁸⁶ [yô-ŋ bǎ-è:] [wó sâ], gò-é: né:. The speaker slows down and hesitates here, having been distracted by her weeping infant.

²⁸⁷ Compare àⁿ-sámá, personal name for a boy with one or more sisters and no brothers.

²⁸⁸ Irregular hortative ná-má of yǎ: ‘go’. Preceded by tonally marked purposive clause ‘to peck rice’.

²⁸⁹ = ò (usually dative) here is an emphatic topic. wó = ò is 3Sg in indirect discourse, for original 2Sg ú = ò. yó: = ò ‘that’ refers to Crowned Crane’s singing.

²⁹⁰ Lit. ‘it is [a kind of [thing of what?]]’ (stacked possessives). tògú treated as compound final.

²⁹¹ yígí-yígí, expressive adverbial related to verb yìgé ‘shake’.

²⁹² Emended. On the tape it sounds like àn-tànú.

²⁹³ yè here is a clause-final emphatic, ‘indeed’ or ‘exactly, precisely’, apparently used only in song.

nǎ: dèŋ-é-è: kéwⁿ→, [yô-ŋ wó gé-è] [bàjíⁿ yě pór-ì]²⁹⁴

B: kír-è: yě-y

A: yě-y, háyè, [né: wòⁿ] íyé = ò, àn-tímè ùŋùr-ì, àn-tímè ùŋér-è: íyé = ò, [pàgù-pàgù-pàgù bìr-é:]
[kùwⁿá = ýⁿ tán-g-è:], íyé = ò [[tímé árà] dòw-é:] lówⁿ→, nǎ: [wó séⁿ→ wó gè-jù], wó = ò
[wó wà]

[inǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]

[inǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]

[bàjíⁿ nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]

[àn-tímé nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]

[àn-tànú nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: yǎ→]

[kà:ná à-nàⁿ nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò→]

[bé lará] yè-sámá nàⁿ-è, [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]

[inǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]

[búrúgú [àrà jógò] yǎ:-jú né:] kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→

[yó bàŋà] gǒ: yè-Ø

B: [wó kà:ⁿ] púrú dú dú yè-y

A: púrú dú dú yè-y, kéwⁿ→, [wó wò] íyé = ò àn-tànú ùŋùr-ì, [yô-ŋ bé bì-jù] [bé bì-jù] [né: wòⁿ],
[yè-sámá kùⁿ] dò-è, [[sámá kùⁿ] dò-é:] [kó kê:ⁿ], ták

B: á-è

A: bèrè yǎ:-rò wà, [wó bájá]²⁹⁵ [dè-dé: [íⁿ tò] bòrⁿò] [wó bájá] [dè-dé: bòrⁿò] [wó bájá] [dè-dé:
bòrⁿò] [dè-dé: wòⁿ] [yó: wò→ fú→] [tímé árà] tórⁿ-è: mà, bé gũŋ-gũŋ sú-sù:rù²⁹⁶ tí-tǎŋà,
né: [sǎŋ kè]²⁹⁷ yé tòrⁿò,²⁹⁸ [wó bàjá-jú] [wó bàjá-jú], né: [wó númò] ér-ì, ér-è: [wó kê:ⁿ]
[èné dǎⁿ-èⁿ wà]

B: [inǎ: númò] èr-ì

A: é→ ér-ì [sámá, ér-è:] [wó kê:ⁿ], [wó kà:ⁿ] [né: wòⁿ] kùwⁿá-- [[é tè] [dè-dé: bùⁿ] dò-é:] [né:
íyé = ò kùwⁿá = : tán-è], íyé = ò [wó wà]

²⁹⁴ pór-ì ‘said’, here after a chained verb emphasizing immediate action.

²⁹⁵ Beginning of a parallel construction denoting two simultaneous durative actions. Both bájá and bòrⁿò are imperatives, the latter {L}-toned at the end of the construction. The stems are bàjá ‘pull’ and bòrⁿó ‘call’.

²⁹⁶ Contracted iteration, for sú:rù-sú:rù, from sú:rù ‘send (away)’.

²⁹⁷ Reflexive possessor, here as contrastive topic, contrasting ‘father’ with ‘mother’.

²⁹⁸ Stative verb ‘be perched’, {L}-toned after existential yé.

[inǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]
 [inǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]
 [bàjíⁿ nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [àn-tímé²⁹⁹ nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [àn-tànú nàⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: yè]
 [bé lará] yè-sámá nàⁿ-è, [[kùwⁿá ì:-n] = ì: lò mà]
 [inǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jè:r-ì→]
 [búrugú [àrà jógò] yǎ:-jú né:] kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ wà

[yó bàṅà kà:ⁿ] gǒ: mém→

B: á→

A: kó = ý, né: yó: gǒ: yô-ṅ bé yě-è:, [gìrⁿí bîn] yô-ṅ ɲě:rⁿ-è:, ɲě:rⁿ-è:, ɲě:rⁿ-è:

B: háyè [né: wòⁿ] kírè³⁰⁰

A: [né: wòⁿ] kírè, [kùⁿ-kénè yò:] lágèr-è: lágèr-è: lágèr-è:, [yó: ɲě:rⁿé-táṅà mà] [yô-ṅ yê nù-y] wà,
 né: [nà pòⁿ fú→] [[nà kòrò]³⁰¹ pé-péy³⁰² ú íné],³⁰³ [íⁿ [nà séⁿ] dèné-ɲú] g-í dè, [[kó dógò] tág-
 ì-ì dè] [ègè-yě³⁰⁴ bìr-ê:-rò] wà

B [overlapping]: yô-ṅ yê nú: yè-∅

A: é→, [[kó dógò] tág-ì-ì dè] [ègè-yě bìr-ê:-rò] wà,
 éⁿ sà déⁿè-wⁿ

B: àmá ú jě:r-è

A: pǒ:→

B: mǎñ-∅ kòy, á→-?á-?ā-?à,³⁰⁵ háyè [yó: wòⁿ] gàr-á→ pá:m-∅

²⁹⁹ Emended. On the tape it sounds like àn-tànú.

³⁰⁰ Comparative {HL}-toned form of adjective kírè ‘difficult’.

³⁰¹ Possessor relative: ‘a person (nǎ) whose meaning (kóró) you-Sg don’t know (íné) at all’.

³⁰² Iteration of péy ‘(not) at all’.

³⁰³ Relativization on possessor of object. Predicate is íné ‘not know’.

³⁰⁴ Lit. “husband^L-going.”

³⁰⁵ Interjection expressing admiration. The pitch of each segment is lower than that of the preceding segment.

2011.1b.03 Beer or women? (tale with songs)

A: íⁿ éⁿ bòyⁿ

B: bòn-bóⁿ táyⁿ→

A: íⁿ já jé-è: jě:r-è: mà, [àⁿá-ùⁿù:·. jě-ùⁿù:·. kùⁿ] kùn-ì, [kě: bà→] né: [àⁿá bè] [jě bè] tí:ní kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, [[bàrà wàgá] yè] kík-è:-sêⁿ dè, [íⁿ tò] [[dè-dé: bè:·.] [inà: bè] búⁿ] bè-lá: dè, [[[bàrà wàgá] yè] kík-ì:] dǎn-g-è:-sêⁿ dè, ègè kú:ⁿ dǎn-gà-jù, [bé lò:] tíŋ-é:, [jà kík-é:-jú] tíŋ-é:, né: [yé tè] bé wê,³⁰⁶ [nó bàŋà] jě-ýⁿ-- [àⁿá-ýⁿ wòⁿ], né: náná yè-Ø,³⁰⁷ [jě-ýⁿ wòⁿ] dà:gá [sǎⁿ gérⁿì: dǎyⁿ] dǎn-g-è: kárábárá kún-è:, tím-è: dùw-é-è:, [àⁿá-ýⁿ kà:ⁿ] [yé tè] [bé kè] kèŋè-búrúgú kò gè: mà, [kě: bà→ né:], kà:ná [pàrà-gò:rò]-bírè dòg-ê mà,³⁰⁸ [sò: [jǎŋ mà→]] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ,³⁰⁹ [àⁿá-ùⁿù bè] *fête* kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, kèŋé árá-wè-rè³¹⁰

B: é-ŋé-ŋé-ŋé

A: àⁿá-ùⁿù-n = ì: [kó níŋìrⁿì] [kèŋé nǎ-è dè] [[gò: íné má]³¹¹ gǎ:-ní:] nà:-jù

B: kèŋè-búrúgú kó = ý mà→

A: kèŋè-búrúgú kún-è:-sêⁿ dè, [né: wòⁿ] [bé kè] kèŋè-búrúgú kò gè: mà, [wó wòⁿ] náná yè-Ø, wó nán-é wòⁿ, kó = ý, [né: wòⁿ] [yé tè] wó wò, bàrà-nòwⁿó yèr-é: mà, [tìmè nà: gára] bórò, bàrà-nòwⁿó yě-è: wó tèm-è, yě-è: wó tèm-é:, [bàrà-nòwⁿó bè] wó kúwó jê,³¹² bé kúw-é wòⁿ, kìné yì gò-è, kìné gǎ: yê yě-è: mà, [né: wòⁿ] [kèŋè-búrúgú gè:] [yé tè]--

B: [[jě-ýⁿ kè] kìnè] mà

A: [jě-ýⁿ kè] kìnè, [yé tè] gúdún-gúdún-gúdún bé bì-jù, [[[jě-ýⁿ kè] kìnè] gò-ó: mà]³¹³ [yé wè-è]

³⁰⁶ wê ‘they are’, plural-subject of wò ‘he/she is’.

³⁰⁷ A final ‘go’ verb is required by náná ‘forget’ in the perfective positive.

³⁰⁸ Subordinator mà ‘and then’ after simple perfective verb.

³⁰⁹ [sò: ^L[jǎŋ mà→]] ^{HL}sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ, mark-up [[thing^L [how? Q]] ^{HL}equivalent], with [jǎŋ mà→] ‘how?’ as an apparently adjectival modifier. ^{HL}sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ is “possessed” by [sò:^L [jǎŋ mà→]].

³¹⁰ Plural-subject progressive negative -wè-ré, with yes-no interrogative terminal intonation (falling pitch).

³¹¹ má linking a nonsubject relative clause to a main clause sharing the same subject.

³¹² Here jê (recent perfect) emphasizes completion (hence ‘ate up’ in the translation).

³¹³ Variant pronunciation of gò-é: mà.

pǒ: pǒ: àn-déjè pǒ:,³¹⁴
déjé òtá:jú pǒ:,
yó: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{ní}

pǒ: pǒ: àn-déjè pǒ:,
déjé òtá:jú pǒ:,
yó: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{ní}

[òjǒ mà] bàrá yé ìmè yè
[òjǒ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[ìrì-kòmó mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[ìrì-kòmó yégé-yágà] mà] bàrá yé ìmè yè

[òjǒ mà] bàrá yé ìmè wà
[lò:tú mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[lò:tú ògò-tùjǒ]³¹⁵ mà] bàrá yé ìmè

[òjǒ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[kárábàrá dèjú-bórò] mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[dú:-dù: àmà-lògú mà] bàrá yé ìmè

[òjǒ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[[yó: bà:] òjǒ pùró] mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[sérⁿéndé dògò nǎ-è]³¹⁶ mà] bàrá yé ìmè

pǒ: pǒ: àn-déjè pǒ:,
déjé òtá:jú pǒ:,
yó: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{ní}

³¹⁴ This song is in Tengou-Kan. Not all of the vocabulary is in my Togo-Kan lexicon.

³¹⁵ Compound initial ògò- here is short for ògò-jǒ: ‘camel’.

³¹⁶ dògò ‘lowly (shameful) status, misery’. nǎ-è ‘made (cord) by rolling fibers together’ (i.e. compressing, minimizing).

àⁿá-ỳⁿ kéwⁿ→ wó-tánà,³¹⁷ ìⁿtâyⁿ ìg-é: wà ìg-é: ìg-é:, [[sò: túnó]³¹⁸ [íⁿ tò] sǎ: yé³¹⁹ pó-
tánà] dòm-é:-má³²⁰ wà,

àⁿá-ỳⁿ yí ùnùr-ì, ùnér-è: [bé wò→] kéwⁿ→ né: bǎⁿ dàg-é:, gǎ: dàg-é:, [sò: là-là:rú]
dàg-é: kéwⁿ→ bé wô

B: [núñù nà kó gó-é kà:ⁿ]³²¹ inè

A: [núñù nà kó gó-é kà:ⁿ] inè, íyé = ò sùjǎ gírⁿ-kâⁿ³²² yê dò-è,³²³ [ná kà:ⁿ] ð-wè-rè, kìnè pò-tánà

pǎ: pǎ: àn-déjè pǎ:,
déjé òtá:nú pǎ:,
yó: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kárⁿí

pǎ: pǎ: àn-déjè pǎ:,
déjé òtá:nú pǎ:,
yó: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kárⁿí

[ðjǎ mà] bàrá yé ìmè yè
[ðjǎ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[kárábàrá dèjú-bórð] mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[írì-kòmó mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[írì-kòmó yégé-yágà] mà] bàrá yé ìmè yè

[ðjǎ mà] bàrá yé ìmè wà
[[ló:tú ògò-tùjǎ] mà] bàrá yé ìmè

[ðjǎ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[yó: bà:] òjǎ pùró] mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[sérⁿéndé dògò nǎ-è] mà] bàrá yé ìmè

³¹⁷ Human singular copula, elsewhere wô, here with progressive -tánà.

³¹⁸ Assistant suggests that [ðjò túnó] ‘one thing, something’ would be better here, since òjǎ ‘thing’ can denote concrete things while sǎ: ‘thing, matter, issue’ is abstract.

³¹⁹ Existential yé before progressive verb.

³²⁰ Hortative -má (speaker and one addressee).

³²¹ Perfective nonsubject (location) relative.

³²² Tonal locative.

³²³ Verb chain sùjǎ dǎ: ‘come close(r)’.

põ: pǝ: àn-déjè pǝ:,
 déjè òtá:nú pǝ:,
 yó: [é dáwrù] mì:
 àmá é lá:rù kár'í

- yô-ŋ wó gé-è, kɛ̀ŋɛ̀r-è:³²⁴ kɛ̀ŋɛ̀r-è: [yí sóm [sǎⁿ kúⁿ] kùn-ì] [èné ètè: yà:-jù] wà
 B: [[jǎ-ýⁿ kè] mír'í] jùg-ê mà
 A: é→, jùg-ê, jùg-é: [èné ètè: yà:-jù] wà, [[àr'á-ùrù bè sǎ:ⁿ] wó tì:ⁿ-tà:ⁿ] [wó wà] [ètè: bèrè³²⁵
 yǎ:-rò] wà
 B: < kír-ì:-- kír-ì:-- > [ètè: kír-ì: nú-nú] gè: mà, [sǎⁿ dàⁿ-dǎ-nú] gè: mà
 A [overlapping]: [kír-ì: ètè: nù-nù] wà, [[sǎⁿ dà-nù] wà] èné pèré, [bé kà:ⁿ], [wó wà] [sǎⁿ dàⁿ-lè]
 wà, [sò: [yèr-ê dè] gǎ:-rò] kò:-rò,
 [[sò: wò→] yèr-ê dè] tà:ⁿrá, [sò: wó tém-è dè] [èné tém-è] wà, [èné.: wó .:] nà-mà wà,
 [bé lò:] gò-è,
 [bé lò:] yê bé yá:-jà,³²⁶ [bàⁿ wó pò-jú] gì:ⁿ,³²⁷ [bàrà-nòw'ó bè] [wó kè] kúw-é: mà, [kùⁿ-
 kéné ló:tú.:], [né: wòⁿ] [írí déŋ] dàg-é:, gér'í: [wó kè], sér'éndé kùⁿ .:, kárábára.:, [kó wò→
 pú→] yê dàg-è,
 [dàgá té-è] [né: wòⁿ] [[yê bé yé-Ø] wòⁿ],³²⁸ [bé wò→] yê [kó wò→]--
 B: sér'éndé dà, dìŋɛ̀: = ýⁿ mà
 A: sér'éndé é→ dìŋɛ̀: = ýⁿ [dògò-dìŋɛ̀: pɛ̀ⁿ], é→ sér'éndè, [ló:tú wòⁿ] [kúⁿ mùn-ê dè] [lò:tù bé
 dágá-jù], é→ kó [ló:tú ògò-tùŋó] [yó: kó = ý], kárábára [kè: bà→] [bé kè] [kóro sí:ⁿ-
 kàⁿ] = ýⁿ, [gér'í: sǎ:ⁿ] yê kùnò-nù,
 é→ [yó: nà] = ýⁿ [[yó: nà] yê sìg-è], pójù, yě-è: séⁿ→ séⁿ→ séⁿ→ [bé wò→] gèr-é-è:,
 gér'í: nàŋ-é:, gǝ: [inǎ: búⁿ] yèr-è,
 [inǎ: à]³²⁹ tòŋòr'ó = ýⁿ wà, háyè [wó jé-ýⁿ .:] [èné bè wò→ .:] tí:ní kún-è:, [èné bè kè]
 [kèŋè-búrujú bè] kǐj-ì-ì, [èné bè wòⁿ] [[yé tè] gǝ: kún-è: mà] [bùrùgù-bùrùgù gó: gǝ:-ténè]
 [èné bè wòⁿ] [nǎŋá y-è]³³⁰ wà,

³²⁴ From kɛ̀ŋɛ̀rì ‘listen’ with same-subject anterior subordinator -è:. Note the mix of ATR features in the word.

³²⁵ {L}-toned form of bèré, in the sense ‘(won’t) have a chance to’.

³²⁶ ‘before ...’ clause with -jà after H-toned verb.

³²⁷ Imperfective nonsubject relative.

³²⁸ wòⁿ after perfective nonsubject relative.

³²⁹ For [inǎ: wà], quoted vocative.

³³⁰ nǎŋá y-è, plural subject form of ‘forgot’, cf. yě-è:-sèⁿ ‘(they) went’.

ò→ yô-ŋ wó = ñ kí-ì mà→ wà, é→ wà, ìnã: [ènέ wòⁿ] àmá = ñ dàg-ê wà, [jě-ùrⁿù bè] [nǎ tíŋé] égé:-rè wà, [nǎ tíŋé] égé-jú dè, [nà náná: = ' . :] [nà náná: = Ø lò . :] sáy→ kô wà, wó [nǎ tíŋé] égé:-rò wà,

háyè yô-ŋ pòr-è:, [yô-ŋ pór-è:] [bé kè:ⁿ], kó = ý, àrⁿá-yⁿ [né: wòⁿ] tíŋé kèŋèr-è: kèŋèr-è: [[wó bér-é] wòⁿ],³³¹ yî pǎm→ wó úŋúr-í,³³² páradádá yě-è: [[jě-yⁿ bè]³³³ ánà] [bé étè:] kír-è: nú-è: sǎⁿ méjù dàrⁿ-è

B: yê sǎⁿ dàrⁿ-è

A: é→ [[jě-yⁿ bè] ánà] [yê sǎⁿ dàrⁿ-è], [yó: wò→ fú→ né:], [kèŋé nò-é:] hákílè [bé kè] gí:ⁿ jê, [yó: sâ:ⁿ fú→] [nǎ . : . :] tí:ní nù-Ø dè, [tí:nì yò:] kílè-lí dè, [òjò [nǎ hákílè] gí:ⁿ-jǎ] [jǎ-Ø sà:-rà], é→ yó: [kó níŋìrⁿì] mò-è

B: háyè pá:m-Ø

A: éñ sà dérⁿè-wⁿ

B: àmá ú jě:r-è

A: pǒ:→

³³¹ Again wòⁿ after perfective nonsubject relative.

³³² Construction with {H}-toned perfective (cf. ùŋúr-ì ‘got up’) and a preceding expressive adverbial.

³³³ Associative plural, ‘the young woman and company (i.e. her kin)’.

2011.1b.04 Abandoned twins (tale with songs)

B: pèré yó kò mà

A: pèré yó kò

B: ɔⁿhòⁿ, [pèré yó kò dè] [[kó túrú] pórú gè-mà]

A: íⁿ éⁿ bỳⁿ

B: bòn-bóⁿ tǎyⁿ→

A: íⁿ já jé-è: jě:r-è: mà--,³³⁴ [én wòⁿ] jò-jò: kòy

B: bàrà-nòwⁿó mà, òⁿhóⁿ pó-nó

A: íⁿ já jé-è: jě:r-è: mà, né:, [jě kùⁿ] kùn-ì, jě jèjé nàⁿ-é: mà, jèjè-úrⁿì: òn-é-è: mà, bàrá jé-è:
[ànú bórò] dàg-è,

[jèjè-úrⁿì: òn-é-è:] [bàrá jé-è: [ànú bórò] dàg-è] [èné òn-ì: bě:-rò] wà, [[bàⁿ nì èné wó] nò]³³⁵ [jèjé nàⁿ-é dè], [èné òn-ì: bě:-rò gè:] [bàrá jé-è:] [[ànú bórò] dàg-è],

[[ànú bórò] dàgá] [wó kè:ⁿ], [[úrⁿì: yò: nà] yě-è: mà]-- [né: wòⁿ], [[ànú bórò] bé dàgá té-è] yèr-é: mà, [bé kó: bě:-rò gè:] [[dàgá té-è] yèr-è→],³³⁶ [dògò tò] [íⁿ tò] [ì:ⁿ pèré] bè-lí→,

[pèré né:] [àná bîn] [sá:ⁿ né:] wó já:sí³³⁷ wé-è:, gàrú-n-è:, [pèré né:] í:ⁿ sà:-rá→, né: pèré [nà sàⁿ òn-è:-jù sèⁿ kà:ⁿ]³³⁸ sà:-rà

B: [nǎ bè] [wó kà:ⁿ] jàtá:-rè

A: é→, [nǎ bè kà:ⁿ] [pèré né:] wó jàtá:-rè, [[jèjè yò:] yò-η dàgá] [wó kè:ⁿ], yě-è: [àmá [ògò ná:]] [úrⁿì: yò: nà] [[sǎⁿ báwdè]³³⁹ bè] kó: mà, ná = yⁿ tán-g-è: mà, [né: wòⁿ] yě-è:, [sótóró gò:] [bé kè:ⁿ], [bé wà] [yě [[sǎⁿ bè]³⁴⁰ ínà:]³⁴¹ dènè] wà, [bé kà:ⁿ] yí gò-è,

[[[[sǎⁿ bè]³⁴² ínà:]³⁴³ dènè-jù] gè:] [àná kùn]³⁴⁴ yèr-é:] [bé kè:ⁿ], [né: wòⁿ] [nó bàrà] yè yè-Ø dè, é [jèjè-úrⁿì: nó: nà] sèⁿ wé kòy→, [àrà-úrⁿù lóy], é [jèjè-úrⁿì: nó: nà] sèⁿ wé dè, [bé yě-è:-sèⁿ dè] yò-η pò-jù, [né: bé yě-è:-sèⁿ dè] [[bé yè yě] [bé gí-è dè]],³⁴⁵ bé wà

³³⁴ Narrator pauses and laughs as she tries to decide which tale to tell.

³³⁵ nò particle (cf. nó: ‘this’) after the verb at the end of a manner adverbial relative clause.

³³⁶ Here and in the next clause, the intonational prolongation expresses the narrator’s sympathy.

³³⁷ {HL}-toned form of já:sí ‘shiftless’, in a comparative.

³³⁸ sèⁿ ‘good’, modifying the relative clause (since it evaluates people as care-givers, not in general). The adjective induces tone-dropping of the entire relative clause. Without the adjective, this would be nà sǎⁿ òn-é:-jù kà:ⁿ. Reflexive object sǎⁿ (here L-toned) is coindexed with the higher-clause subject (the old woman), not with ‘person’ although the latter is the clausemate subject.

³³⁹ Tonal locative.

³⁴⁰ Reflexive possessor coindexed with the quoted subject, which is converted from 2PI (direct speech) to 3PI (quoted speech). In direct speech, a covert second person imperative subject cannot bind an anaphor.

³⁴¹ {HL}-toned possessed noun after possessor ending in L-tone. The initial H-tone is optionally dropped here.

ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] [yǎ: bà→]³⁴⁶ gǒ-è mà→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [àmá píri]³⁴⁷ gǒ-è lò→³⁴⁸ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[àmá píri] [sò: pòⁿ] yè-lí mà→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[íyé wòⁿ] [sò: pòⁿ] yè-lí lò→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] ìṅé-ìṅé dèn-é-jê: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sǎⁿ ná:] = nì dèn-é-jê: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] [ìṅé bóⁿrò] dàg-è mà→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sáⁿ bóⁿrò] dàg-è lò→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
yó: ìná:-n = í:³⁴⁹ lò→ kòy [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]

[yó bàṅà] yí wàṅá gò:-jù, yó: [[èn-é bè] ìná:] = lò gí-è: wà, [ṅě bè né:] [[ètě: kùⁿ] [kè-ké: gí:ⁿ] d̀̀w-é: mà] [mí = í: lá: d̀̀:-jù] [mí = í: lá: d̀̀:-jù], íyé = ò sâ:ⁿ yê d̀̀:-
B: [j̀̀ṅ-é-úrⁿi: bè] bàⁿ bé séⁿ³⁵⁰
A: bàⁿ bé séⁿ, àⁿá-ùⁿù lóy, háyè sâ:ⁿ yê d̀̀:-sêⁿ d̀̀, nó bàṅà kà:ⁿ, né: wòⁿ

³⁴² Reflexive possessor coindexed with the quoted subject, which is converted from 2Pl (direct speech) to 3Pl (quoted speech). In direct speech, a covert second person imperative subject cannot bind a reflexive.

³⁴³ H-tone of possessed ^{HL}ìná: ‘mother’ hard to hear after possessor ending in a L-tone.

³⁴⁴ k̀̀n as discourse-definite locative.

³⁴⁵ gí-ṅ (different-subject ‘while’ subordinating suffix -ṅ), literally ‘while saying’. Disregarded here in the free translation.

³⁴⁶ yǎ: bà→ ‘as far as (all the way to) where?’ With gǒ: ‘go/come out’, translated contextually as ablative ‘from ...’.

³⁴⁷ Tengou Kan. Togo Kan would have [àmá búⁿ] ‘the presence of God’.

³⁴⁸ lò→, rhetorical taq question (*n’est-ce pas?*). Disregarded here in free translation.

³⁴⁹ In normal spoken Togo Kan, ìná: = ýⁿ ‘it is Mother’, without the extra -n suffix.

³⁵⁰ Manner adverbial relative with adjectival predicate.

ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] [yǎ: bà→] gǒ-è mà→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [àmá píri] gǒ-è lò→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[àmá píri] [sò: pòⁿ] yè-lí mà→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[íyè wòⁿ] [sò: pòⁿ] yè-lí lò→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] ìṅé-ìṅé dèn-é-jê: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sǎⁿ ná:] = nì dèn-é-jê: [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[ú dà] [ìṅé bó^rò] dàg-è mà→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[íⁿ wòⁿ] [mìṅí bó^rò] dàg-è lò→ [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
yó: ìná:-n = í: lò→ kòy [bóⁿ lé-léwⁿ]

[yó bàṅà] gó:-jú, yô-ṅ tìmé [tògú déyⁿ→ déyⁿ→ déyⁿ→] [gǎm ná] [[òró bó^rò] dàg-è] gì-
jù, [gǎm ná] [èn-é bè] [sáⁿ bó^rò] dàg-è] gì-jù, [gǎm ná] [[mìṅí bó^rò] dàg-è] gì-jù, [gǎm ná]
[[òró bó^rò] ójò→ [[sé:ṅé bó^rò] dàg-è] gì-jù, [bé pò-jù] [bé pò-jù],³⁵¹

[né: wòⁿ] [[là:rù gè:] [àná bîn] jàtâ:-rò [bé wé]]³⁵² yèr-é: [wó wà] [[yé tè] gò:] wà, [èn-é
bè] [íⁿ tò]-- [sòtòrò < lỳ-- > sèⁿ lỳ yó: nà],³⁵³ [[èn-é bè] [íⁿ tò] [nà pòⁿ] pór-è: dèn-èⁿ] [gíré
gò:-lá:], [wó yèr-é sáⁿ-n = í:] [wó [kó gíré] ó-jú mà→] wà

B: dígé íjà→

A: é→ [dígé] íjà→ [bé gé-è], [nǎ bè kà:ⁿ] [sǒ: síbé] jùgó-mâ:-rò³⁵⁴ wà kòy, [nà yó: nà] yó:
gámá [nà dàgá-sáⁿ] jùgó-mâ:-rò wà, wó yê dò-è, bé³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ Headless imperfective nonsubject relative clause, iterated.

³⁵² Relativization on the complement of a postposition, with both noun and postposition tone-dropped, cf. là:rù gè: ‘for a lowly person’.

³⁵³ Somewhat broken, but shows the sequence N-Adj-Num-Dem in the tonosyntactic variant [N Adj Num]^L Dem, with the demonstrative controlling tone-lowering on the preceding words.

³⁵⁴ Variant of jùgó-mû:-rò (imperfective negative of causative derivative).

³⁵⁵ For [bé wà] (3Pl quotative subject).

ségɛ́ = ʔ dé: = ʔ gáná yà: [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 ségɛ́ = ʔ dé: = ʔ gáná yà: [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 [é dà] [yǎ: bà→] gǒ-è mà→ [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 émé [àmá píri] gǒ-è lò→ [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 [àmá píri] [sò: pɔ́ⁿ] yè-lí mà→ [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 [íyɛ̀ wɔ́ⁿ] [sò: pɔ́ⁿ] yè-lí lò→ [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 [é dà] ìŋɛ̀-ìŋɛ̀ dɛ̀nɛ̀-jê: [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 émé [sǎⁿ ná:] = nì dɛ̀nɛ̀-jê: [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 [ú dà] [ìŋɛ̀ bórɔ̀] dàg-è mà→ [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 [íⁿ wɔ́ⁿ] [àŋú bórɔ̀] dàg-è lò→ [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
 yó: ìnà: wó = y kòy [bɔ́ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]

[né: wɔ́ⁿ] yê, [[inǎ: [[ɛ̀nɛ̀ bè] kɛ́]] = : gɛ̀-è: [bé lò: pú→] yèr-é: [wó píru-pàru], ǎy [nǎ bè] [yó: kɛ̀:-rò wà] [yó: kɛ̀:-rò wà] [yó: kɛ̀:-rò] [bé gɛ̀-è:], èné dág-è³⁵⁶ wà kòy,³⁵⁷ [[ɛ̀nɛ̀ kó: bɛ̀:-rò] gɛ̀:],

[kírɛ̀ gɛ̀:] èné yě-è: [àŋú bórɔ̀] dág-è wà, [[[kó kè] kírɛ̀] àdúru³⁵⁸ èné = ñ àmá gùŋɔ̀-lí] [yô-ŋ pá→ iyè-dògùrú dɔ̀-è wà], pílé-m-è: námà bé yèr-é: èné tèm-è wà,

háyè [àmá wà] [kírɛ̀ gɛ̀] < nǎ = ñ-- > [í:ⁿ nàrⁿ-ê dè] [bàrá yè] dàgà-lè, < èné kó--, kó-- >, [[kó kè] níŋìrⁿ] mɔ̀-è wà, [úrⁿ: [yò: nà]] wó ìnérⁿ-è:, [gírⁿí [wó kè]] dǎn-g-è:, wó kún-è:, pílé-m-è: [sǎⁿ bè]--,³⁵⁹ yó: [ŋě má] nàŋ-é:, pílé-m-è: íyɛ̀ = ñ bé wó dìn-è-è:,³⁶⁰

nǎ kírɛ̀ g-î dè, í:ⁿ nàrⁿ-ê dè, [íⁿ wɔ́ⁿ] [kírɛ̀ sógò]³⁶¹ [í:ⁿ kó: bɛ̀:-rò], àmá kò:-jù, [yó: g-î dè] [bàrá jê dàgá-lé], [yó: kà:ⁿ] yó: yí [kó níŋìrⁿ] mɔ̀-è

B: [kó níŋìrⁿ] mɔ̀-è

A: é→

B: á→, é n sà dérⁿ-è-wⁿ, àmá ú jě:r-è

A: pǒ:→

³⁵⁶ {HL}-toned perfective in focus construction.

³⁵⁷ Clause-final emphatic kòy following quotative marker, but part of the quoted matter.

³⁵⁸ Tonal locative ‘in the world (below)’. Cf. àdúruⁿ bín ‘in(side) the world (below)’.

³⁵⁹ Cut off, presumably for [sǎⁿ bè] kè ‘their own’. The following yó: is also out of place here as the speaker rephrases.

³⁶⁰ Reduced form of dìn-é-è:-sêⁿ ‘(they) kept’ in a focalized clause. Although -sêⁿ is not allowed in this construction, the -è:- augment suffices to mark subject plurality.

³⁶¹ X sógò ‘because of X’.

2011.1b.05 The farmer's revenge (tale with songs)

B: pèré yó kò mà

A: é→

B: [[bàrà-nòwⁿò bè] kè] = ̀: mà→, *ou bien* [[yà:-kò]-[sì:ⁿ-káⁿ] = ýⁿ

A: pèré mà, é→ [[bàrà-nòwⁿò bè] kè] = ̀:

B: háyè, kó pórù gè-mà

A: íⁿ én bòyⁿ

B: bòn-bóⁿ táyⁿ→

A: íⁿ já jé-è: jě:r-è: mà, íⁿ [[bàrà-nòwⁿò bè] kùⁿ] kùn-ì, [bàrà-nòwⁿò bè] àrⁿá: . [wó jé: .], [dèrⁿé wàrà-wàrà-wàrà-wàrà-wàrà gàr-á→ bě:] [bé gí-ñ dè], [bé bàrá yě-è:-sèⁿ dè] [kó kèrè-jù], [dèrⁿé wàrà bě:] [bé gí-ñ dè], [bàrá yě-è:] [kó kèrè-jù],

[jě né:] [[bìnì pěⁿ] bè] wô, [bàrá yě] [gèr-é-è: gèr-é-è:] [bé kê:ⁿ], [bàrà-nòwⁿò bè = ñ bìrè bĩ-jú]³⁶² lògò = ý,

àrⁿá sá-é: mà, [èné wà] nú-y [g-î dè], èné [wòrù bìn] ìm-í-ì dè, [jě wà] [sóm kún-Ø dè] [bàrá bìn] [bàrà-nòwⁿò wò→ fú→] yèré [èné bàrà] gí-nè³⁶³ wà, bé èné dùw-î: gírⁿí jê-Ø dè, [àrⁿá kà:ⁿ] [yé tè] isí dèné-dèné-dèné-dèné [[sǎⁿ kè] gírⁿí] kùn]³⁶⁴ mǎ:-n-è: mà, [gírⁿí káⁿ] bě-è: dàg-è, [bé wà]³⁶⁵ èné dùw-î:- [jě wà] [yô-η pò-nò wà],

àrⁿá yě-è: [nú-y gè:], [sǎⁿ dārⁿá] ú:-n-è:, [bé kà:ⁿ] [tùⁿ pírí] dèné-dèné jě:r-è:- ãy jě [tùⁿ pírí] jě:r-è: [wó kùⁿ] dèw-é:, sóm léwé-léwé-léwé kún-è:, [bàrà-nòwⁿò wò→ fú→] [bàrá bìn] [bàrà-nòwⁿò fú→] èné bàrà wà dè,³⁶⁶

[sóm é-é:] [kó kê:ⁿ] [bàrà-nòwⁿò bè] tú-túⁿú ló-lóy yér-è,³⁶⁷ [jě né:] bìn-pěⁿ = ýⁿ, íyò [wó wà] àmà-sògò = ý [nǎⁿ mà→] [bé gé-è:], [èné: .] [èné égé:ⁿ .:] bàrá yèrè wà, [wó wà] ùⁿó³⁶⁸ [bàrá tò] nú: yè-Ø→, [pàⁿà pèré] kò:-rò→, bé [ámà gà] èné bàr-ê dè, [bé èné = ñ, [èné égé:ⁿ] dùw-í-ì dè] [[èné bè] gírⁿí] já: wà,

háyè, yô-η wó gé-è, [bàrà-nòwⁿò bè] wé-ténè wé-ténè mà, [kó wà] [háyè kòy] wà, [né: wòⁿ] [bé wò→ pú→] yèr-é: dùw-é-è:, [né: wòⁿ] dùⁿùⁿùⁿ-dùⁿùⁿùⁿ-dùⁿùⁿùⁿ gírⁿí já: -jù,

³⁶² Would be bĩ-jù (relative-clause imperfective) if not followed in the same breath by the following word. lógò = ý ‘it is too much’ is {L}-toned since it is treated prosodically as the final word in the clause.

³⁶³ gí-né, irregular imperative of gí ‘say’. Preceded by imperative bàrá ‘help!’ (jussive complement). Both imperatives are in clause-final {L}-toned form.

³⁶⁴ kùn with discourse-definite locational.

³⁶⁵ [bé wà] here pronounced [bè-è].

³⁶⁶ Clause-final emphatic dè from the quoted speech, following quotative wà.

³⁶⁷ {HL}-toned form of yèr-ê ‘came’ after focalized constituent.

³⁶⁸ Presentative ‘here’s ...’ (Fr *voici que ...*).

[né: wòⁿ] jě [bé dógò] tág-è-è: mà, yǎ:-ní: yǎ:-ní: dè,³⁶⁹ mhm, bé = ñ³⁷⁰ sá-è dè-- ǎy
jòwⁿ sá-è dè

nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nú:-lì kòy
[nú-ỳ dè] [sárú bè] nú:-jè má
nú: [màrpá: bè] nú:-jè má
[nú-ỳ dè] [gùró bè] nú:-jè má
[nú-ỳ dè] [kǎⁿ bè] nú:-jè má
nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nú:-lì kòy

jòwⁿ yô-η [wó gí-ñ dè], < jòwⁿ-- > [tǎ: sá-è dè]

[nú-ỳ gà:] dǎròdó
[sùlòmâ:n nú-ỳ gà:] [dǎròdó yè-y.:]

[né: wòⁿ] [bé dùw-î: gírⁿí kún-∅ dè] [né: wòⁿ] wòrú [bé kè] = ò: lò [né: wòⁿ], háyè yô-η
[bé wò→] yǎ:-ní: yǎ:-ní: dè, [jòwⁿ kà:ⁿ] wó = ní: péré gǎ-è dè

nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nú:-lì kòy
[nú-ỳ dè] [sárú bè] nú:-jè má
nú: [màrpá: bè] nú:-jò má³⁷¹
[nú-ỳ dè] [gùró bè] nú:-jò má
[nú-ỳ dè] [jòηùⁿú bè] nú:-jò má
[nú-ỳ dè] [kǎⁿ bè] nú:-jò má
nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nú:-lì kòy

yô-η [wó gí-ñ dè], < jòwⁿ-- > [tǎ: sá-è dè]

[nú-ỳ gà:] dǎròdó
[sùlòmâ:n nú-ỳ gà:] [dǎròdó yè-y.:]

³⁶⁹ Same-subject ‘while’ -ní: (iterated) plus dè ‘if/when’.

³⁷⁰ Clause-initial topic marker = ñ.

³⁷¹ Here the singing narrator switches from -jè to -jò.

yô-ŋ [bé wò→] [wùrú dú dú-wùrú dú-wùrú dú dùw-é:-jè]³⁷² gò-ó: mà,³⁷³ [né: wòⁿ] yě-è:
 [wó girⁿ] kún-è:, dùw-é-è: kún-è:, kún-è: gò-gó:-jú wòⁿ,³⁷⁴ [nà gó:-jú]³⁷⁵ kò:-rò,
 jòwⁿ yǎ:-tǎŋà yǎ:-tǎŋà, [wó wòⁿ] wàŋá gǒ: yè-∅, [ènè wà] [[ógù-ógù yí bé: bě-è dè] yè-
 jù wà] [bé yǎ:-n dè], jòwⁿ wàŋá gǒ: yè-∅,
 [bé né:] wó dùw-é-è: kún-è:-sêⁿ, [ìsí bè] [girⁿ-kâⁿ wù:-wà: yèr-é:] girⁿ-kâⁿ kêw, kǐjí-
 kǎjú kǐjí-kǎjú [bàrà-nòwⁿ dǎyⁿ] kéré-kéré-kéré yê ú:-n-è:, né: [bé wò→ pú→] [pèrè né:] [nà
 yě bè-jù]³⁷⁶ kò:-rò,
 [ârⁿâ yò:] ùŋér-è:, [ìsí bà:]³⁷⁷ lágá-lágá-lágá [[sêyⁿ bàrⁿùwⁿà-lí] dǎyⁿ]³⁷⁸ lágá ú:-n-è:,
 [bàrà-nòwⁿ dǎyⁿ] dǎrⁿá dǎgá té-è, [[nú: má] kú:ⁿ ír-é:] [kó kê:ⁿ], [dèrⁿé má] kú:ⁿ bèrè gér-è
 wà,
 [yó: sâ:ⁿ] [yó: sòŋòró kún-è:] [bàⁿ bìr-é:] [dèrⁿé má] wó gér-è, jòwⁿ [[kó kè] sòŋòrò] í:ⁿ
 wó sógò, [kòmò-gérⁿí: dǎyⁿ] [wó búⁿ] yó kò, nú: yè-∅, yó: nù:-lí wà,
 [jòwⁿ [[kó kè] sòŋòrò] í:ⁿ wó] gè:, jòwⁿ bàná gǒ: yè-∅, [bàrà-nòwⁿ sǐg-é bè wò→]³⁷⁹
 sòŋòró yí kàw-è

B: [jòwⁿ sòŋòrò] íyé gò:-lí *quoi?*

A: é→ [sòŋòró [wó kè] íyé gò:-lí, [yó: bè bà→] [jòwⁿ sòŋòrò] [yó: bè bà→] gò-è wà, é→
 én sà dérⁿè-wⁿ

B: àmá ú jě:r-è

A: pǒ:→

³⁷² -jè same-subject ‘while’ subordinator, used with a following motion verb.

³⁷³ Variant of gò-é: mà.

³⁷⁴ wòⁿ denoting the state defined by the preceding relative clause, in this case a reduplicated imperfective.

³⁷⁵ Instrumental relative: ‘place for going out’, i.e. ‘(an) exit’.

³⁷⁶ Imperfective subject relative.

³⁷⁷ bà: reduced (in this construction) from bàrá ‘help’.

³⁷⁸ Perfective negative subject relative.

³⁷⁹ Perfective subject relative.

Part 2: English translations

2011.1a.01 Planting

B: Good afternoon, A [name].

A: Greetings.

B: We haven't come here today because of any trouble.

A: May God brush away any trouble.

B: Well, this now, as for us, we, (in) Togo country, the way (one) does farming. From farming with the daba (and) from slashing (=planting) to autumn work (=harvesting), so that I may ask you-Sg about that topic. Now first of all, we'll start with planting. Now, (here) in our country, before planting (time) has arrived, what do we do first?

A: Before planting (time) has arrived, we do bush-work (clearing fields) first. (In) bush-work, there is burning thorns (=thorny branches), there is chopping and burning the small bushes, (they) prevent millet from turning out well, there is burning the trash (e.g. remains of last year's stems) that damages millet-planting. We do all those sorts of thing until (the time when) we are waiting for the rain.

B: Okay. Now the rain now, when rain first falls, what do you-Pl do now?

A: When rain first falls, we plant. (We) take the pick-hoe, scoop up some millet seed, go to the bush (=the fields) and make slashes (with the pick-hoe) (on) the old (plowing) ridges. (We) put (=drop) the millet (seeds, in the slashes), we step (on the seeds), we (then) wait for the farming work (=weeding). (They) did like that in the old days.

B: Now, then, the millet, even if you-Pl have planted (it), if it has sprouted in some spots and it has not sprouted in some (other) spots, how and how (=what things) do you-Pl now do (to) that?

A: If some has sprouted and some has not sprouted, we scoop up some millet seed again, (then) if the earth happens to get soaked (by another rain), (there is) what we call "re-sowing" (jónjórⁿó).

We go (to the fields), slash (more) holes (with the pick-hoe) in between the millet plants (that have sprouted), step on the millet³⁸⁰ (seeds, dropped into the slashes) one by one, complete (the rows of millet, i.e. filling the gaps), and leave (it).

B: Now, as for planting (i.e. slashing the earth), if not (=aside from) with a pick-hoe, is there any other way to plant?

A: If not with a pick-hoe specifically, planting with something else, it is very tiring for us.³⁸¹ Because (with) a pick-hoe, one plants standing up.³⁸² (Planting) is easier with that, (so) we plant with a pick-hoe.

B: Now, is there another (way)?

A: Other than that, some people, if it (=field) is small, as you-Sg pass by (in the field), (You-Sg) could turn over some (spots of in the field) with the foot and (after sowing more seeds) step on (them). You can possibly slash some (spots) with a short-handled pick-hoe and step on (them), if it (=field) is small.

B: All that (=those methods) are planting.

A: Those are planting. The various (methods of) planting are going (=being described in turn).

B: Planting. When (they) have done the thing (=turned over) some (spots) in the (plowed) ridges, when (they) have turned over (some earth), (the way) they will plant. Doesn't that too exist?

...

A: That too--

B: ... they call (them) plowed fields?

A: That too exists.

B: Yes, how do (they) do that now?

A: That too, plowed fields (plowed before sowing), like cultivating (=weeding). They put a donkey (in the field), they do farm work (=make furrows with plow or daba), they call it "preparing the field for planting" (jòrù-jǎ). Its name now, they call it "white person's preparing the field for planting" (=plowing). Now you-Sg (might) turn over (some earth) with the foot (and) you might step on (it).

Some people stand up on that (=ridges) with the pick-hoe. They slash (with the pick-hoe) (in) the new ridge (formed by the plow) and step on (it), that too exists.

B: So, is it (=can it be) done by hand, or do (they) do the thing with a plow--do (they) carry it out with a plow?

A: In the old days, previously, with a plow-- Before the plow came (=was introduced), (they) used to shape small round mounds (in rows) by hand and step on (seeds) on those (=mounds).

³⁸⁰ My assistant suggests an emendation from jú: 'millet' to lè-ùrⁿú 'slash hole' here. One steps on the slash hole after the seeds are dropped on it.

³⁸¹ Lit. "its fatigue is excessive to us (dative)."

³⁸² The pick-hoe has a long wooden shaft, so the farmer can slash the earth with its blade without bending over.

Now after (=since) the plow came, (they) rip up (the earth) with the plow, (then) again (they) (drop seeds and) step on that in that way (=as described before).

B: (As for) that now, out in the bush--, (is) that (method) only out in the bush?³⁸³ Or do (they) also do the thing in fields that have lain fallow (for one to three years)?

A: Out in the bush (you) could let it rip (=plow), in fields that have laid fallow (for one to three years) you could let it rip, so that millet will be slightly faster (to ripen). For that reason (=that's why) they are doing it. The millet, it will yield more now.

B: You-Pl now, concerning planting, is there additionally another topic that you-Pl can talk (about), aside from³⁸⁴ all those things (already said)?

A: Another topic, a new topic. In the past we didn't know, but now, like (=for example) fonio,³⁸⁵ they turn over the earth (all around, with a daba), they also in fact practice planting (fonio seeds) on that (disturbed earth surface).

B: That way, what is it? Which (=what) is its usefulness?

A: That way it will yield more millet. That's why they do it. It will yield more millet.

B: All those are (methods of) planting?

A: All those are (methods of) planting.

B: After those, there is no other (method of) planting?

A: After those, another (method of planting), we don't know any other (method of) planting after those (already mentioned).

B: As for those now, you have done all those (things)?

A: Yes.

³⁸³ gùⁿsáⁿ includes the uncultivated outback, but also long-abandoned fields that have gone back to nature and/or have been grazed by livestock.

³⁸⁴ Lit., "if/when ... has passed by."

³⁸⁵ A cultivated grain, *Digitaria exilis*.

2011.1a.02 When the millet has sprouted

B: Now, what you-Pl have done (=planted) now, now if the millet has sprouted, now again in (=among) those millet sprouts, what do (you-Pl) begin (to do) first?

A: In the knocked-down millet,³⁸⁶ in some spots among them, among the knocked-down millet, we might intersperse (cross-plant) cow-peas, in some (other) spots we might intersperse (=cross-plant) plant roselle.³⁸⁷ That was before (=in the past).

Sometimes they would collect (=harvest) the cow-pea pods and then they would knock down the millet (stems).³⁸⁸ They would knock millet down and lay it (there), then they would (come back and) harvest (the millet grain spikes, cutting them off the stems with a knife).

B: Uh-huh. The way I spoke (=asked), you-Sg didn't quite understand.³⁸⁹ We haven't arrived yet at the millet harvest.³⁹⁰ The place (=topic) that I am speaking (=asking about) is planting.

Planting now, (suppose) you-Pl have planted and the millet has sprouted. The millet has sprouted. The farming (=weeding) has not arrived (yet), (but) the planting has passed. Between those (two), isn't there something else to do?

A: (When) the farming has not arrived, (but) the planting has passed. (When) the farming has not arrived but the planting has passed--

B: The (heavy) rain has not come yet.³⁹¹

A: If it happens that (=in case) the rain doesn't come, we might keep digging up (with a daba) and killing the (old) weeds that are among the millet (sprouts). In some spots, in less fertile spots, there we might cultivate fonio.³⁹² Things like that, we do minor things (=tasks) like that, until the (heavy) rain falls.

B: Now, that digging up of weeds, ...

A: Yes?

B: ... that, what is its value for millet?

³⁸⁶ The ambiguity of the verb *tó*: as intransitive '(plant) sprout' or as transitive '(farmer) knock down (e.g. millet stems, to harvest their grain spikes)', and the consequent ambiguity of the compound verbal noun *nù:-tǎ* 'millet sprouts' or 'knocked-down millet', has led to a misunderstanding.

³⁸⁷ Cow-peas: *Vigna unguiculata*. Roselle: *Hibiscus sabdariffa*. They are planted in millet fields after the millet sprouts. Usually one spot for cow-pea or roselle after every three clumps of millet in a given row.

³⁸⁸ I.e. by slashing the base of the stem with a short-handled pick-hoe (*jòṅùr"ú*).

³⁸⁹ The interviewee has skipped ahead to the harvest, while the interviewer wants to go carefully through the entire farming cycle step by step.

³⁹⁰ Lit. "(at) the place of knocking-down millet."

³⁹¹ I.e. the heavy rains of e.g. July.

³⁹² Fonio is planted using a daba, rather than the long pick-hoe.

A: Those weeds, they are not good for the millet. When you-Sg have dug up and left the weeds, it will yield³⁹³ more millet. Well, for that reason, when you have dug up and left the weeds that are below (=around the base of) the millet, (to yield) more millet—for its yield to increase, for that purpose we keep killing the weeds and (we) leave them.

B: All that, (the situation) of long ago and of nowadays together (=the same)?

A: That, all of it together (i.e. past and present), that (practice) is going (=it continues).

B: That is of (for) planting, isn't it?

A: That is of (for) planting, all together (past and present).

³⁹³ Lit. “get itself.”

2011.1a.03 The first round of weeding (“black farming”)

B: If all that (i.e. about planting) is finished, ...

A: Yes.

B: ... we arrive now at (the subject of) farming (=weeding).³⁹⁴

A: Yes.

B: The weeding, how do we first begin it now?

A: Farming. Now when we have finished planting, now when millet reaches (somewhere) between fifteen and twenty days (after sprouting), formerly, if it was (by) hand, you-Sg had to³⁹⁵ farm (=weed) around the millet and leave it (undamaged) and keep doing that. Formerly (it was) like that, (they) farmed exclusively with the daba (hoe) like that.

B: If the fifteen days had not arrived (=elapsed), farming (=weeding) was not possible.

A: Farming (=weeding) was not possible. If the fifteen days had not arrived, (as for) the millet, (its) roots would not have tightened (become firm). If you-Sg farm (=weed) (too early), most of the millet will go and die.

If the roots have not had the time to become tight (firm) (and) if you farm (=weed), it (=millet) will die. Well, for that (reason), (there is) counting days a little (=for a while), (anytime) once the full fifteen days have arrived (=elapsed), then they begin.

B: That now, how do they call its name?

A: Its name now, they call it “black farming” (=first round of weeding).³⁹⁶

B: First weeding. “Going out (=onset) of farming,” or “black farming”?

A: That now, they call it “black farming.”

B: There is no “going out of farming”?

A: When (they) say “going out of farming,” that digging up (weeds) (that we were talking about before), that’s “going out of farming.” Killing the base (=roots) of weeds is “going out of farming.” Farming strictly speaking (=weeding), that is “black farming.”

B: Now, regarding the black farming, now how do (you-Pl) do the farming?

A: The black farming, nowadays--

B: < xxx >

A: The black farming, nowadays, when now (the time for) the black farming has arrived, when the land is wet (from rain), now everybody spends the day in the bush (=fields). When everybody spends the day in the bush, now that is the black farming (=first round of weeding).

³⁹⁴ The core sense of wárú ‘farming’ is the hard work of removing weeds, thinning out the millet sprouts, and repairing the plowed ridges in the fields, especially around July. There are two rounds of this, the first one (*première culture*) being the hardest.

³⁹⁵ Imperative verb form.

³⁹⁶ French (*la première culture*). The first and harder of the two rounds of weeding in the millet fields, around July.

Digging up (weeds), and black farming, are distinct. If they say (=during) digging up (weeds), some people go (to the fields), some (other) people do not go. (By contrast), if they say (=during) black farming, everyone spends the day in the bush. Yes, that is the black farming.

B: Now, in (=during) black farming, what sorts of work are there?

A: In black farming, now (in) black farming, you-Pl do farming (=weeding). If (the time when) it has gone to the the mid-point happens to have arrived, (there is) other work, such as planting peanuts, crawling crops,³⁹⁷ minor crops, they will intersperse minor crops³⁹⁸ (among the millet). Crawling crops, (there might be) also be a separate field (for them).

In between (bouts of) black farming, (even) when (you) have done that (planting minor crops) (the first time), there is also (=it can also happen that) (you) go back in then (from time to time) during black farming (i.e., to plant more minor crops).

B: No. Now let's go to (=discuss) only about black farming (i.e. weeding).

A: Uh-huh.

³⁹⁷ Crawling crops (low, spreading plants): peanuts, groundnuts, cow-pea, fonio.

³⁹⁸ Minor crops: the “crawling crops” just mentioned, also roselle, sesame.

2011.1a.04 The second round of weeding (“uprooting”)

B: Now, (as for) the black farming, that (farming), when (you) have farmed (=done the first round of weeding), is there also another (round of) farming, or isn't there?

A: When (you) have finished doing the black farming, (there is) that (other) one too, when (something) like twenty days have arrived (=elapsed) again (after the first round), weeds are coming out (=growing) in the fields. If it happens that weeds have come out in the fields, the second (round of) farming we call “uprooting,” we do the uprooting.

Uprooting, the second farming. Small weeds come out afterwards (after the first round of weeding), when we have killed them by hoeing (=uprooting with a daba), now we have done (what was needed) so that millet gets its well-being (free from weeds). Well, because of that (they) call the second (round of) farming “uprooting,” they do the uprooting.

B: Millet, the way (=in such a way that) it gets its well-being, ...

A: Yes.

B: ... now (they) do the uprooting (second round of weeding) for that (reason).

A: Yes, they are doing the uprooting for that (reason).

B: If it isn't (=apart from) that, another value (usefulness)--, that (=what you have said) too is a value. but is there another value (of the uprooting) that isn't (=other than) that?

A: Another value-- There is another value. Because if (we) don't do the uprooting, the millet cannot turn out (=yield) well. The millet will not turn out well (and as for) the field too, weeds will sprout next year in the fields (even) more than that (=than usual).

Well, it's because of that, as early as (=even) this year, if you-Sg block it in advance (=pre-empt it), now next year the weeds should become better (=less troublesome) in the fields than that (=than otherwise), (and) it will also be better for the millet. That's why they do the uprooting.

B: Now when the uprooting has passed (=is over), is there another (kind of) work?

A: Now, as for (the work) of uprooting, when that now has passed, there is no work other than that now. Now you-Pl sit (=rest) and wait for the harvest work.

B: There is absolutely no other work than that.

A: Other work--

B: Now, concerning (work) of millet, when the uprooting (=second round of weeding) has passed, there is no other work?

A: Concerning (work) of millet, when the uprooting has passed, concerning (work of) millet, (we) haven't seen anything (else) to wait for. Here (=at this point), that's it.

2011.1a.05 The millet harvest

B: Now as for that, now at the side of (=concerning) the uprooting, we have (talked about) uprooting-- (We) talked about farming (=weeding), and now we have talked also about uprooting. Now--after those (tasks), is there another work?

A: Now, if it isn't (=other than) harvest work, concerning millet, we are still waiting for the harvest work.

B: As for the harvest work, what (work) do (you) do to begin (harvesting)?³⁹⁹

A: Now if it happens that the millet has gone and become ripe, now if it happens that a field has turned out well, (you) hack down (the stems, with a hoe) and lay (them) down. When (you) have hacked (them) down and laid (them) down in rows, then (you) harvest the millet (grain spikes, cutting them off with a knife).

³⁹⁹ Lit. "when (you) have done how?, (you) begin."

2011.1a.06 Ripening of the millet

B: (As for) the millet harvest, as I was saying previously, it's still that. (As for) the millet harvest, we haven't reached (that) yet. Now when (they) have done the uprooting (=second round of weeding), the millet attains what kind of height?⁴⁰⁰

A: When the millet goes all the way (there), when it has become (tall enough) to swallow (cover) the heads of people, millet grows greatly in height.

B: When it has grown in height, what will (the millet) do in addition?

A: When it has grown in height, (its) fruit, (or rather) whatchamacallit, it grows (puts out) grain spikes (heads). When it has grown grain spikes, it develops a red fuzz (flowers on the spike). When it has developed the red fuzz, it puts (out) fruits (=grains), it (grain spike) turns whitish. When it has turned whitish, it has become ripe now. Now that (millet) has become ripe.

B: It has become ripe.

A: Yes, that has become ripe.

B: Before all that has happened,⁴⁰¹ ...

A: Yes?

B: ... as for the millet, it can't be said that the millet has become ripe yet.

A: It can't be said.

B: Developing the red fuzz ...

A: Developing the red fuzz.

B: Putting out fruits (=grains) ...

A: Uh-huh.

B: Turning whitish ...

A: Turning whitish.

B: Before all that has happened, whatchamacallit cannot be done. When all those (things) have passed, what (things) do (you) do now in addition, and (then) you-PI hack down the millet (stems)?

A: Now, when all of that is done, now is it not (true) that the millet is visibly (=clearly) ripe? Is it not true that the millet grains are visible? When the millet grains are visible, then (you) hack down (the stems). Now, nothing else remains (to be done), now (you) have hacked down. (We) hack (them) down.

⁴⁰⁰ Lit. "(the) equivalent of which height."

⁴⁰¹ Lit. "if/when all that has not arrived."

2011.1a.07 Driving birds out

B: At times I see (=notice) that even when the millet has ripened, some people, if they are unable to hack down (the stems) early, sometimes when they have sent some children to the bush (=fields), they (=people) may tell them (=children) to drive away the birds. When the children have taken tin cans (there), sometimes they tap (=bang) the tin cans.

A: Yes, that too exists (=happens).

B: (As for) that now, what is its meaning (=purpose)?

A: That (means), millet is (=comes in) three kinds. There is fast (=early) millet, and there is slow (=late) millet. Now the new (kind of) millet that came and found us (=was introduced recently) is faster than the old (kind of) millet. If you-Sg don't beat (=bang) tin cans at them (=birds) early, birds will have already finished pecking (=eating) all (of the fast millet).

Now (with) some (kinds of) millet, birds don't have an opportunity to peck (=eat) it. (With) slow millet, before the birds have a chance to peck (=eat) all of it, the harvest work will come and encounter it (=millet) (still there).

On the other hand, birds will peck (=eat) all the fast millet. For that reason (there is) beating tin cans, there is also "drive away the birds in the bush (=fields)!" Yes, it is for (=because of) that.

B: Now the children, the people of driving off birds--, (or rather) the ones who drive off birds.

A: Yes.

[interruption]

B: The ones who drive off birds. As for them, do (adults) send them (=children) into the bush (=fields) in order to drive off birds because there is no value in them (=children)? Or because, in bush-work, in the jobs that remain, their (=children's) work doesn't have much power (=effectiveness)? In driving off birds now?

A: Now, driving off birds-- For example also, (those) children who have something like awareness (=maturity), (adults) send them to drive off birds. Some children could tend goats (in the pasture), (but) some of them don't tend goats.

They could tend goats, but they don't tend (them), the ones who are at home. Now also to a limited extent children whose studying (=school) has not (yet) started up again, children who are (staying) at home (during vacation). They (=adults) tell them to go and keep driving the birds off for a while, for around two days.

(As) they drive the birds away, the millet (grain) goes and becomes hard ("tight") now. Even birds cannot peck (=eat) the hardened ("dry") millet any longer now. Well, in that way now, the birds leave (the millet) alone like that.

B: If it hasn't become hard ("tight"), (in) that (case), can (birds) peck (=eat it)?

A: (Birds) do peck (=eat it). The unripe millet, they feast on it.⁴⁰² They peck (=eat) unripe millet a lot.

⁴⁰² lit. "peck and kill."

2011.1a.08 Hacking down the millet stems

B: As for that, we have talked (about) driving birds out and about the development of millet grain spikes.

A: (Yes), they are those (topics).

B: Now, how (=what) do (you) do, (seeing that) moreover those (millet plants) have ripened, at the time when (you) go out to hack down the millet, (it is at) which (=what) time?

A: Now when (=as long as) the millet (grain) now--now has not dried (=hardened), (they) do not hack (the stems) down. But when that (millet grain) has showed itself⁴⁰³ as having dried (=hardened) so that (the time) to hack down (the stems) has arrived, then (they) they hack (them) down. By contrast, (they) don't hack (them) down (merely) on the grounds that millet has put (=grown) grains.

B: As for hacking down (harvesting millet), how is that thing (done)?

A: As for hacking down millet, you-Sg (get) a hoe--, when it has arrived at (its) time, there is (the blacksmith's) hoe-making. Well, now also, sometimes there is (=it happens that) (farmers) pick up (=hire) some young men, (or) people, and have (the hired hands) hack down (the millet).

Okay, there is (=it happens that) just your-Sg kinsmen hack down (the millet). Also someone who doesn't have the things (=means) or the money to pick up (=hire) people, there is (=it can happen that) (you) hack down (millet) alone (by yourself).

B: Now, in (=regarding) the equipment of hacking down (=harvesting) millet, if it isn't (=other than) the hoe, is there no other equipment?

A: (They) hack down millet specifically. If it isn't (=other than) the hoe, there is no other equipment, (at least) concerning us (=in our zone). (We) hack down (millet) strictly with the hoe. Yes.

B: Now, how do (they) hack down millet?

A: When (you) have hacked down at the millet roots, by rows, sometimes (stems from) three furrows, (you) lay (them) down in one spot. Some people lay down (stems from) five furrows, it goes out for (=depends on) the development of the millet.⁴⁰⁴

If it has developed well (=is dense), laying (them) down (by) three furrows can be done. If it has not developed well, laying (them) down in one spot (for) even (=up to) six furrows can be done.

⁴⁰³ The translation alters the order of clauses in the original, putting the 'show itself' clause before two other clauses ('dried' and 'arrived').

⁴⁰⁴ I.e. how densely packed the millet is, and how big each stem is.

2011.1a.09 Cutting the grain spikes off the fallen stems

- B: The millet, when (they) have hacked down all that, do (they) leave it like that? Or what additionally do they do with it?
- A: When (they) have hacked down that millet, they will also (=subsequently) cut off the grain spikes (with a knife). They keep cutting off the grain spikes. They call it “cutting off (the grain spikes).” They keep cutting and cutting those (millet) grain spikes (heads) off, and lay them down separately (away from the stems). They bring it to the houses (=village). Now they leave the stems in the bush (=fields).
- B: When (they) have cut off the grain spikes, do (they) lay all (the grain spikes) in one spot like that? Or after cutting off the grain spikes, do (they) again (=then) set (the grain spikes) on top of carts and take (them) to the houses?
- A: In the old days, when (you) had cut off the grain spikes, (you) made a big heap. When (you) had made a big heap, you-Sg would go around all of the fields that you had and cut off the grain spikes. (They) cut them off and then, when the cutting off was well and truly finished, then they would again (=subsequently) carry (the grain spikes) a little at a time.
- Nowadays, some people, (they do) cutting off (millet grain spikes) and carrying (them, to the houses) at the same time, cutting off and carrying.⁴⁰⁵ That too exists (=is done) nowadays.
- B: That too exists?
- A: That too exists. (But) it has a change (=has changed) to some extent. There is not (the technique) like that of long ago.
- B: That too is a (way of) cutting off (=harvesting) millet.

⁴⁰⁵ That is, they do some harvesting in the field and bring the grain spikes to the houses, then repeat the process each dat.

2011.1a.10 Cutting grain spikes off standing stems

B: Now, one (method) of that, I myself saw a type (=method) of cutting off (=harvesting) millet.

For some people, (they) cut off (grain spikes) while the millet (stems) are still standing up.

(That) (they) cut off while (it) is standing up, what is that?

A: That too, they call it “top-bending.”⁴⁰⁶ Sometimes millet (is) meager, spotty (=scattered). If the field has more or less not turned out well (and) (the millet) is spotty, because (they worry about) hacking down (the stems) and seeing (=experiencing) fatigue, (they) keep breaking (=cutting) off the heads (=grain spikes) and moving on (from one plant to another). That (method of) harvesting millet exists too. Yes, that too--.

B: That now, (is it) in order to soften (=reduce) the fatigue?

A: Yes. That, they call its name “top-bending.”

B: It’s top-bending.

A: Yes. While (the millet) is up, they break (=cut) off (the grain spikes). They call that “top-bending.”

B: That now, it’s what and what? With what do (they) cut it?

A: That, we call (it) “harvesting knife.”⁴⁰⁷ The harvesting knife, they embed a knife (blade) in a (piece of) stem. We cut with that. (They) call it “harvesting knife.”

B: That isn’t hard (work)?

A: It actually is rather hard. In particular, (the method) up high (i.e. top-bending) is harder. Fairly--.

B: Up high is harder?

A: Up high is indeed harder than on the ground. Uh-huh.

⁴⁰⁶ The farmer holds the top of the millet plant with one hand, bending it down somewhat, and cuts off the grain spike with a knife attached to the other hand.

⁴⁰⁷ The TgK word is not segmentable.

2011.1a.11 Heaps of millet grain spikes in the field

B: Now, that now, when (they) have done all of those things, (they) have cut off (the grain spikes). They have hacked and laid down some millet and cut off (the grain spikes). Sometimes, (they) gather together all (the grain spikes) in the bush (=fields) in one spot. You-Pl have gathered together all those (grain spikes) in the bush in one spot. How do (they) say its name?

A: We call its name “millet heap” (ɲù:-tè:rɛ)

B: “Millet heap”?

A: “Millet heap.”

B: Now, us children (=young people), as for us, we call it “millet heap” (ɲù:-tě:, with a variant pronunciation).

A: Yes.

B: The millet heap, what is its meaning (=function)?

A: As for the millet heap, concerning millet, the place where they have gathered millet and the place where you-Sg have gathered together a lot (of millet grain spikes), that is indeed what (they) say its name (=call it) “the millet heap.” When you-Sg have cut it all (off) and have gathered it together there, they say its name (=call it) “heap.”

B: The place where you-Sg have cut (off) all those (grain spikes) and gathered (them) together.

A: Yes. The place where you-Sg have brought and gathered (them).

B: All the millet that was in the field.

A [overlapping]: Yes, all the millet that was in (it). When you-Sg have cut and brought (it) and gathered (it) in one place, they say the name of (=they call) that millet “millet heap.”

2011.1a.12 Small piles of millet grain spikes in the field

B: Now, there are certain (other) ways too.

A: Yes.

B: As they cut off the grain spikes, (they) must gather and pile (them) in one spot, (they) must gather and pile (them) in a (=another) spot.⁴⁰⁸

A: Yes.

B: Now, as for that, why do (they) do that?

A: (They) call that “millet-pile.” Yes, (they) keep cutting (millet grain spikes), sometimes each row, sometimes it (=each row) coincides with (=corresponds to) one millet-pile. When (you) have cut (grain spikes) in one spot, sometimes (you) can lay down two layings (=piles). Sometimes (you) can lay down one laying. They say its name (=call it) “millet-pile.”

B: That now, is it (because) that is easier than putting (=making) a large millet heap? Or why do they do it (=make small millet piles)?

A: Now as for that, when (they) have done that, the way (=in such a way that) carrying the millet (to the houses) after that is fairly easy, if you-Sg put (all the millet) in a big heap, it’s easier to carry.

As for that, now each time that you-Sg come, you will carry (it) from one (=the same) place. There is no (=it doesn’t happen that) (one) wears oneself out going around in the field (to all the small piles) and (then) carrying (the millet). Well, for that reason they put (=make) the big heap.

B: Between those two, the thing that separated (=makes the difference), that is it?

A: Between those two, the separation (=difference) is merely that. (You) carry (it) being in one place (in one method), (and) you carry (it) after (you) have gone all over and gathered it (from the small piles) and brought it (in the other method). The description (=nature) of those two (methods) is different.

B: Okay. Now even (they) make both a big heap and small piles, because the field too is wide (=vast). The field is wide. On a single day, (for you to) cut off (the grain spikes), make small piles, and again (=additionally) make a big heap, that too, that too, the thing (=task) is difficult.

A: It is difficult.

B: As for me, to my (way of) thinking, that too, so that the work (of carrying to the houses) becomes soft(er) (=easier) for some people. Aren’t they doing (it) for that reason?

⁴⁰⁸ I.e. in several small piles throughout the field.

A: They are definitely doing it for that reason. They are doing it for that reason. So that the work becomes soft(er).

Now, if a field is (too) wide for one day, on the grounds that “Cut off grain spikes! And gather them (into a big heap) on each of those days!” isn’t possible, (you) will (instead) cut off grain spikes and gather and lay them in several small piles.

Then secondly (=on another day) you-Pl will gather up (=consolidate) those small piles (into a big heap). The place where you-Pl go and assemble (them), the millet (grain spikes) of that (place), (referring to) a big heap. Yes, they call (it) “millet-heap.” Yes.

2011.1a.13 Carrying the millet to the houses

B: Hmm. Now, when (you) have made a big heap, there's a millet heap (over there). There--. It (the millet) cannot be left in the bush (=fields). A big millet heap cannot be left in the bush.

Now how (=what things) do (you) do? Do you-Pl get together (=work collectively)? Or what do you do and (=to) bring the millet to the houses? (I mean) the solution (=technique) by which it (=millet) will come to the houses.

A: If it's (concerning) long ago, a big millet heap, all the people of the neighborhood (=village quarter) would get together. They would carry (millet) today (=one day) from this person's (big heap). When this was finished, they would carry (millet) tomorrow (=the next day) from a second person's (big heap). Sometimes (=maybe) they would carry (millet) the day after tomorrow from a third person's (big heap).

In the old days--, (it was) with a person's head. At that time, there were no carts. Otherwise there was nothing else by means of which (one) could carry millet. (They) carried all (of it) with the head.

When they had finished carrying this person's, they would carry this (other) person's. (And again) when they had finished carrying (from) this person's field, they would carry this (other) person's. In the old days, everybody did (it) with the head.

B: So, like that with the head, ...

A: Baskets.⁴⁰⁹

B: ... when (they) had put (them) up on (their heads)--

A: When they had placed (grain spikes) in a bottom layer with (=in) a basket. Sometimes when they had tied (=bundled) (grain spikes) with fibers (i.e. makeshift cords), when you-Sg had tied up (the quantity) that was matched to your load (=what you could carry), each person would keep carrying (them) like that and bring (them).

B: Concerning basket(s), (the way) they put (millet) in a basket, how do they say the name of that now?

A: They say the name of that (=they call that) "basket-layering." They say "basket-layering."⁴¹⁰

B: Now, what they tie on and put on the head thus, how do they say its name?

A: What (they) tie up and carry like that on the head and bring (them, to the houses) in unison, they say its name "millet bundle."

B: So, was everyone capable of that (=carrying bundle on head)?

A: (No,) not everybody was capable of that. You-Sg would tie up (=bundle) all that (=as much as) you-Sg could (carry) of it (=millet). You-Sg too would bring it like that. Concerning some persons, some persons could not manage that. Concerning some (other) persons, a bundle was (too) big. There were (some) people who could handle the load and also (some) who could not handle (it).

⁴⁰⁹ A basket woven from grass stems, with a squarish base, often carried on the head.

⁴¹⁰ The millet grain spikes are arranged in two layers in the basket (or shoulderbag).

B: Now they had begun carrying the millet, right?

A: Yes.

B: In the bush, suppose there were the big heaps (of millet grain spikes). Now some millet heaps were big, some (others) were (relatively) small. Now those that were big, if the people were tired (after the first day's work), did they leave (them) there? Or did (they) carry everything (to the houses) in one day?

A: If (you) hadn't finished carrying (it) today, (you) would carry the rest of it tomorrow.

B: There was nothing (=no problem)?

A: There was nothing. When (they) had completed carrying (the millet) of that particular (person), (only) then did (they) carry (the millet) of another person.

B: As long as (the millet) of that one was not finished, they didn't leave (it).

A: (If) (the millet) of that one was not finished (=completely transported), they didn't leave it and then carry any other millet. They didn't carry any other (millet).

B: As for that one's (millet), (if) it was finished and--. Millet, if (carrying) it wasn't completed, even if they were (still) carrying millet while night had fallen, (or) even while (the next) day had broken, as long as (carrying) it wasn't completed, leaving it was not done.

A: As long as his (millet) was not completed (=completely carried), (they) wouldn't leave his (millet). Yes, the big millet heap, however (=whatever) its size, when (they) had finished carrying that fellow's (millet), they would slowly then (=eventually) carry someone else's (millet) as well.

2011.1a.14 Pleasures of harvest time

B: Now if (they) had begun that millet-carrying, was there anything like a diversion in that (work)? Or was everyone joyful? Or did some (others) remain unhappy? How were they?

A: In (=while) carrying the millet, other than joy, no unhappiness was in it. If it happened to be seen (=observed) that the millet had been gotten (=had yielded well), in that case joy had come. Now, women were carrying (millet), men were carrying (millet), some people were tying (it) up (in bundles) and putting it up on a donkey, (since) at that (time) there were no carts.

They would put it up on a donkey, (and) they would carry (it) on the head. Well, from the young men all the way to the married women and married men,⁴¹¹ all of those (people) carried (it) like that on the head.

B: [inaudible]--

A: If you are joyful,⁴¹² (you) could soak dried wild grapes (for two days) into a juice and give it to them. Well, if the beer-brewers had brewed some millet beer, (you) could even have the people drink (it). In the old days, if there was joy, it was like that. Yes.

⁴¹¹ Lit. “women who moved to their husband(s), boys who took a woman.”

⁴¹² Lit. “if joy was for you.”

2011.1a.15 Young men's chief

B: In carrying the millet also, I once observed one thng. Nowadays they are abandoning that (practice). That was nothing other than, now, they took (=chose) one person as chief of the young men. He, (on) each night that fell, they had a thing, (I wonder) did they call it “antelope-horn”?

A: Uh-huh.

B: There you are. Now when he whistled (=blew) that, then everybody did something (=assembled). That now, why have (they) abandoned that nowadays?

A: Nowadays, as for that, the thing (=reason) for which they have abandoned (it) (is), nowadays there are lots of carts. Now even if you-Sg haven't begged anyone (for help), it gets to the point that you can carry your own millet by yourself.

Now even if you-Sg haven't begged (for help), now by contrast you can carry your own work--, your own millet by yourself. Well, that is why nowadays (they) have abandoned that. In the past they said (called it) the chiefhood.

B: Chiefhood?

A: Yes, the chiefhood of the young men. When they had blown the horn, (the villagers) said “well now, it's indeed time for us to go out (to the fields) to carry millet.”⁴¹³ “Well now, it's indeed time for us to go out (to the fields) to carry millet.” That horn would announce that. That's why they would blow that horn in the past.

B: But, (if there was) a person who heard that horn and didn't go (to the fields), for him now, how did they do (=handle) his case, with all the other people?

A: When you-Sg saw (=noticed) that they had begun millet-carrying, if you-Sg heard a horn, (you knew that) they would carry millet then. If you-Sg didn't go, they would fine you. (They) would fine you.

Yes, they would charge (=assess) an (amount of) money, they would set (the amount) of this (sum of) money, they would fine the person who didn't go this (amount).

It might be twenty riyals (=100 CFA), (or) it might be fifty riyals (=250 CFA). Well, fining people, it was that (just described). If you-Sg didn't go (to the fields), they would fine (you). Yes.

B: Among the people too, the people who didn't accept the thing (=consent) are many. Now if the guy who wouldn't accept the thing said he would not pay (the fine), how would it be for (=what would happen to) the guy?

⁴¹³ Lit. a perfective verb: “we have gone out...”. Cf. English *we're off to the fields* (etc.).

A: If he didn't accept the thing and said (he) wouldn't pay, when (the time for) carrying that one's millet arrived, the people wouldn't go. By that (reaction) the people would twist his arm (=punish him) (and) they wouldn't go.

B: All those (elements) are (included in) millet-carrying, isn't it?

A: All of that is (about) millet-carrying, it (=the discussion) is going (=continues) up to now.

2011.1a.16 Millet in the granary

B: Now suppose that (they) have carried the millet, they have carried and brought all of the millet to the houses. Now when (they) have brought (it) to the houses, as for the millet, where do (they) put it?

A: The millet now, they have carried and brought (it). In front of the granary. There is a granary, there is a granary to put millet in. Everyone--, there is nobody who doesn't have (one). Before that (millet) comes (from the field), they keep building those granaries, (so) they have them.

They will carry and bring the millet, all (of it) in front of the granary--, (and) they dump and lay (it) there in front of the granary of the owner of the millet.

Now, someone goes inside the granary, (and) someone (else) remains outside. The outside people take hold of (bunches of millet grain spikes, held between the two hands), and give (them) to the one who is inside the granary. The one who is inside the granary, he now receives the millet. It's he [focus] who stacks (it) up inside the granary.

2011.1a.17 Male and female granaries

B: That now, that granary, does it have another name separately?

A: Those granaries. There is the male granary, and there is the female granary.

B: The millet now, do (they) put it in the male granary, or do they put it in the female granary?

A: They put the millet in the male granary. They put (it) in the male granary.

B: The male granary, how is it?

A: The male granary now, its height is longer (=higher) than the female granary. They put (=make) (it) twice the size of the female granary. They put (=make) (it) very tall. They put (=build in) three step poles⁴¹⁴ for it. The height (of the male granary) becomes very tall.

Well now, the male granary now (has) two openings. There is the bottom opening, and the (larger) granary window⁴¹⁵ (above). Well now, you-Sg now will enter (through) the granary window. A person cannot go in (through) the bottom opening, but (they) give the bunches (of millet grain spikes, held between two hands) there (=through the bottom opening), and it (=millet) goes in. As for the granary window, a person goes in there.

That fellow goes in (through) the granary window, he climbs down (inside the granary), he holds out his hand (through) the bottom opening, he pulls millet in (=through) the bottom opening, and he puts (the millet) in the granary.

B: All that now, it (=our talk) has been about millet, right?

A: That, up to now, it has gone on strictly about millet.

B: Is there anything other than millet? Other than it (=millet)?

A: Now, a question where your-Sg mind has arrived, if there is a place (=topic) that you can ask about, ask (it)! I too, also any place (=topic) that I have forgotten (to talk about), perhaps if you-Sg ask (about it), I can reply.

B: There it is. As for me, (I) am a child (=young person). Now, the place that your-Sg mind is in, in the place of (=concerning) millet, if you-Sg too could also tell me, that too is fine.

A: Concerning millet now, if it isn't (=other than) eating it, its work--, when they have put it in the granary, now after that the work of millet (farming) ends there. Yes.

⁴¹⁴ Lit. “small (toe-)nail(s).” Three poles each are built into the left and right corners, opposite the entrance, inside the male granary. They are used as steps for climbing.

⁴¹⁵ Lit. “stick(s) of the heart (=middle).”

2011.1a.18 Crawling crops

B: (Up to) now, that (=what we have discussed) is for millet, right? Now let's talk a little about peanuts. Now (suppose) it has rained, they have planted (millet), and the millet has sprouted.

Now, if it isn't (=other than) millet, (for) us, in Togo country, is there any other work?

A: There is indeed other work.

B: The other work that exists, which (=what) is it?

A: There is other work. (The people) grow fonio, they plant groundnuts, and/or they plant peanuts. Do (you) understand the talk (=words)? They also grow cow-peas. All that inclusive, that is what they say (=call) "crawling crops".⁴¹⁶

B: "Crawling crops"?

A: Yes. Roselle too, it is also (included) there among those.

B: Roselle too is a crawling crop?

A: It is a crawling crop. All of those are crawling crops. Those, they say (=call) their name "crawling crops."

B: As for those, we have counted those five. (We) have counted five crawling crops. (Among) crawling crops you-Sg first counted (=cited) nuts (peanuts and groundnuts).

A: Yes. There are groundnuts.

B: Now, do (they) grow (=plant) groundnuts first, or do (they) grow peanuts (first)?

A: (They) grow (=plant) groundnuts first.

⁴¹⁶ Crops whose plants are trailing vines, notably peanut, groundnut, and cow-pea. Fonio (a grass) and roselle (a bush) are not really vines but may be included in the category, which is opposed to the tall grain crops (millet, sorghum, rice, maize).

2011.1a.19 Groundnuts

B: How do they grow groundnuts?⁴¹⁷

A: They turn over (earth, with a daba). (Before that) (they) make slashes (with the pick-hoe) in a row, closely spaced, and make (the slashes) crowded together. (They) make slashes, then (they) keep tossing nuts (seeds) into that (slash), and they keep stepping on (it, to embed the seeds). Then they turn over (earth, with a daba). They don't shape (the earth) into mounds.

They keep turning over (earth), they make (the earth) level, and (they) work with the daba and leave (the earth) like that. They slash (the earth for) groundnuts like that.

B: As for the groundnuts, starting from (when) they have slashed (=planted), until it sprouts, how many days can it take? Around how many days can it take?

A: When you-Sg have slashed (=planted), unless (=until) seven days have arrived (=elapsed), it won't come out (=sprout). Unless seven days have arrived, groundnuts won't stick out (their) heads. Seven days.

B: Now, when it has sprouted, is there other work?

A: When it has sprouted, now if it happens that some weeds ("grasses") are here and there in the (ground-)nut field, you-Pl go into there (=the field), (you) keep uprooting the weeds that are in it, you-Pl keep tossing and leaving (them).

B: As for that, its work is that.

A: As for that, its work is that. Uprooting weeds. When (you) finish working with the daba, you uproot and leave the weeds that are in it. Yes, it's that.

B: As for that, it has sprouted, right? Now, from the time that it has sprouted, until (the time when) its putting (out) fruits arrives (=begins), how many days can it take?

A: From the time when groundnuts sprout there until it puts (out) fruits, (is) seventy days. Unless seventy days have arrived (=elapsed), they won't put out fruits.

B: Unless exactly seventy days have arrived, they won't put out fruits?

A: They won't put (them) out. As long as those seventy days haven't arrived (=elapsed), its fruits are considered to be inedible.⁴¹⁸ It puts out fruits, but they are inedible. The (soft, moist) immature fruits on the other hand haven't aged (=ripened). They don't age, they don't age (before seventy days).

B: As for that, groundnuts, their value (=usefulness) is what?

A: Groundnuts, their value (is), now a time--, (in) some places, the millet of some people runs out. A small crisis (i.e. food shortage) will eventually come for some people. When (and because) that (crisis) has come, before millet comes out (=ripens in the field), groundnuts come out first.

⁴¹⁷ *Vigna subterranea*.

⁴¹⁸ "It is considered (that) [its children are not (able to be) eaten]."

Because groundnuts are ahead of (=ripen before) millet, you-Pl now, you are taking out (=harvesting) groundnuts and eating them (for a period of time), then (eventually) the millet comes out (around September-October). That now (=groundnuts), it blocks ahead of (=fills the gap of) the ninth month (August, time of hardship). Well, that's why (they) sometimes slash (=plant) groundnuts.

2011.1a.20 Peanuts

B: Now, what about peanuts?

A: Peanuts too, that too, it's the equivalent (=is similar to) that (=groundnuts), it too is a crawling crop. Well, that too you-Sg slash (=plant). When you-Sg have slashed, the same way (you) farm groundnuts (with a daba), as for farming (peanuts), (you) farm (them) that way.

When you have farmed (them), that too again (=likewise), when weed time arrives, you-Sg uproot those weeds and toss and leave (them).

That too again, unless four days have arrived (=elapsed), it won't sprout. If it has sprouted (after) four days, that too, unless seventy days have arrived (=elapsed), there is no need for its fruits. Unless that (time) has arrived, that too will not put (out) fruits.

B: As for peanuts, that too, do they uproot weeds like (for) groundnuts? Or is there something else different?

A: Some people, if the weeds are not a lot, some people thoroughly uproot (all the weeds, by hand) and toss and leave (them). If it (=situation) is like there are a few weeds-- That now (=peanuts), to some extent it can't be as dense (closely-spaced) as groundnuts. (They) slash (=plant) here and there (well-separated), either with a daba or a hoe.

(They) go into that (field), and turn over (the earth, with a daba or hoe). They keep turning it over, (so) its base becomes somewhat nice and soft. Well, the (method of) farming that (=peanuts), that is it. The (method of) weeding, that is it.

B: How do they say its name?

A: They say "weed-uprooting for peanuts."

B: "Weed-uprooting for peanuts," or "turning over for peanuts"?

A: Turning over for peanuts and weed-uprooting for peanuts are different. (They) say "weed-uprooting for peanuts." (They) turn over (the earth), but (they) say (=call it) "weed-uprooting for peanuts." Now the time for farming peanuts (with a daba) has passed. Now it's weed-uprooting for peanuts. Well, now, what they say (=call) "turning over for peanuts," they have with (=refer to) it as "it is weed-uprooting for peanuts." Yes.

B: As for that, it is "weed-uprooting for peanuts"?

A: It's "weed-uprooting for peanuts," yes.

B: Now, these peanuts, at the time when they (=people) are uprooting the weeds, do (peanuts) put out fruits? Or do they not put out fruits?

A: At the time when they are uprooting the weeds, (peanut plants) shoot out (=grow) flowers.

You-Sg will find flowers for (=on) them, but undeveloped pods, the fruits (are) tiny, each one like the heads of flies. You-Sg will find (pods) for (=on) some of them, (you) will not find anything at all on some (=others).

B: As for that, it (=flower) will remain there until the autumn happens? Or does the flower fall off? Or how does it become?

A: It puts out fruits and the flowers fall off (at the same time). It puts out fruits and the flowers fall off (at the same time). If it happens that (=by the time) the fruits that are (at) its base get old (i.e. ripe), all the flowers will disappear.

2011.1a.21 Peanut harvest

- B: As for when all the flowers have disappeared, now how will the people say (=call) its name?
When all the flowers have disappeared, do they say “the peanuts have gotten old (=ripe)”? Or do they say “the peanut harvest has arrived”? Or how (=what do they say)?
- A: Now, the peanuts have gotten old (=ripe) now. (They say), “Now peanut harvest has arrived. The peanut harvest has arrived.” Well, they say (it) like that.
- B: About harvesting peanuts, how is it (done)?
- A: Harvesting peanuts too, now it happens that it (=peanuts) has gotten old, now you-Sg might harvest (by lightly digging to uproot it) with a hoe, (or) it can happen that (you) uproot (peanut plants) by hand. Some people keep slashing (lightly) around its base (=its roots). Some (other) people grab (it) by hand and uproot it. They do (=use) two things (=techniques) for it.
- B: By hoe-- Is it easier to uproot by hand, or is slashing with the hoe (to uproot) easier?
- A: If the earth is wet (=soft), it's easier to uproot by hand. If the earth is dry (=hard), it's easier to slash with the hoe.
- B: Now even (when) the earth is wet,⁴¹⁹ is it possible to uproot by hand?
- A: If the earth is wet, it is possible to uproot (by hand). It is also possible to slash with a hoe (to uproot), but if the earth is wet, uprooting by hand is easier.
- B: Now as for (the situation where) the earth is dry?
- A: If the earth is dry, (they) slash (lightly) with the hoe (to uproot the peanuts).
- B: If it isn't (=aside from) with the hoe, it is not possible to uproot by hand?
- A: (The earth) is too hard for (uprooting) by hand. Pulling doesn't come out (=doesn't work). That (technique) is for that (reason).
- B: That too now, if you-Pl have been able to harvest them (=peanuts), whereabouts do (you) take (them) again (=afterwards)?
- A: That too, if you-Sg have been able to harvest (them), (you-Pl) will keep tying them, formerly (=in the old days) at least, now there were no carts, right? Formerly.
(They) would keep tying (them, into bundles) (and carry) on the head. Some people would bring (them) to the houses, some (other) people would pick (the peanut pods) there in the fields, bring the fruits (=pods), and toss and leave the leaves (=greens) there in the bush, in the old days.

⁴¹⁹ The interviewer perhaps meant to ask: “Now even (when) the earth is dry, ...”

2011.1a.22 Peanut greens and pods

B: The leaves they had no need for?

A: The leaves they had absolutely no need for in the old days. Because (there was not) anything (i.e. livestock) in the houses (=village) to take (=convey) it and give it to. (And) because it was a big job (=hard work), its work would become excessively big. (As for) carrying peanut (pods) (or) carrying peanut greens, in the old days they didn't carry (them), they tossed and left (them) there in the bush.

Now that (livestock) animals have become more numerous than formerly, (the people) keep carrying the peanut leaves (=greens), they bring them to the house(s) and store them, and give them to the animals.

B: Now here (they) have harvested the peanuts. Now you have put (them) down in some place, you have piled them up on (each other), then additionally with it--, its fruits, how (=what) do (they) do?

A: Yes, you-Sg take hold of and hold of the leaves (stems), you take hold of just the fruits (pods) and you pick them (off). (You) take hold of the leaves, take hold of the fruits, and pick them.

B: Now, how do (they) say its name?

A: They say its name "peanut-picking."

B: "Peanut-picking."

A: They say "peanut-picking."

B: The time for peanut-picking, that's it?

A: Yes, the time for peanut-picking, that's it.

B: Is the (topic) of peanuts finished, or is there something else left about peanuts?

A: As for the (topic) of peanuts, that's it. That's it.

2011.1a.23 Planting fonio

B: Fine. We have spoken (about) nuts, (about) groundnuts, (and) we have spoken (about) peanuts. We have also mentioned fonio. Now, concerning fonio, do you-Sg know a little (about it) too?

A: Fonio too, well, it too, that's it. The (same) way (they) turn over (earth) (for) nuts, (you) go into a field--, [unintelligible], whatchamacallit?, (you) go into an old (millet) field, and you-Sg rip (=draw boundary lines on the perimeter, with a daba).

You keep ripping (to mark the boundaries). Fonio--, (inside) the entire place (=area) that you-Sg have ripped (=marked), you keep tossing fonio (seeds),⁴²⁰ (then) you turn over (earth, with a daba). Everyone goes in there (=the field), (each) takes a row,⁴²¹ they keep turning over (earth), (then) again fonio, it too, will sprout.

When roughly four days have arrived (=elapsed), it will sprout. When (=after) that has gone (=elapsed) there, a little growth will come out (=appear). When the growth has come out, that too, (they) go into it (=field), and (they) uproot the fonio weeds.⁴²² When they have uprooted the fonio weeds--

B: I did not (want to) cut off (=interrupt) your-Sg talk, but just now you-Sg said that (they) rip (=mark boundaries) and toss (seeds). That ripping now, what is its meaning--its value?

A: That ripping, its value now (is), nobody must go working (the fields) in disorder (randomly). (Each person) must go working (the fields) by taking with (=sticking to) the line(s). They do that ripping (=boundary marking) for that reason.

B: All the place (=area) that is planted (by broadcasting seeds) ...

A: All the place (=area) that is planted.

B: ... the way to make it known.

A: The way to make it known. (You) rip (=mark) all that area. When (you) go into it (=the field), when fonio(-seed)-tossers go into it and toss (the seeds), when you-Pl (then) go into it, now in order that you don't work (the field) with (unnecessary) difficulty in a backwards (=mixed-up) way,⁴²³ now each person (does) whatchamacallit, takes the line (=boundary) from that ripping and goes working (the field) like that (=on that basis).

B: That too, do (they) do it when it has rained? Or is farming fonio also possible even when it hasn't (yet) rained (=even before it rains)?

⁴²⁰ The tiny fonio seeds are evenly scattered throughout the demarcated area, by tossing in a broadcast fashion.

⁴²¹ Lit. "mouth." An old millet field still has something left of its ridges and furrows, without requiring re-plowing, so the rows are visible. They will later be leveled as earth is turned over for the fonio seeds.

⁴²² The weeds that harm fonio, not fonio sprouts themselves.

⁴²³ I.e. as one does when the boundaries of the fonio field are not marked.

A: Now, when it has rained, (when) the earth hasn't (yet) completely finished drying, (they) work (the field) at that time. They work (the field) at that (time).

2011.1a.24 Weeding around fonio

B: (Suppose) (they) have farmed fonio now in that way, (and) it has sprouted. Now when it has sprouted, as for it (=fonio), sometimes (one) doesn't (=can't) distinguish very well (=easily) between fonio and weed (sprouts).⁴²⁴

A: Yes.

B: Now, how (=what) do you-Pl do to get that (fonio) field ready?

A: Now the weeds, when you have looked, (you see that) the fonio and all the weeds that remain have gone and become distinguishable. If it happens that (you) can distinguish (them), you-Sg will uproot the weeds that are in (with) it.

B: Now everyone recognizes it.

A: Everyone recognizes it. There are other weeds in it. When you-Sg see (them), they are not hidden (=difficult to distinguish). Yes, the weeds that are in (with) it, all those weeds in which there is no value (=that have no value), (you) uproot (and) leave only the fonio seeds (=seedlings) there.

B: Do (=can) children too recognize (them)?

A: Children too--. Children who are somewhat grown-up (e.g, 10-15 years old) recognize them.

B: If (one) is not grown-up, he doesn't recognize (them)?

A: If (one) is not grown-up, he doesn't recognize (them). Sometimes (they) even tie up animals (e.g. donkeys) in it,⁴²⁵ they don't realize (that it's a fonio field).

⁴²⁴ Lit. "as for it, sometimes grass, both of them also, (they) don't distinguish very much." Here "both of them" subsumes fonio and grasses (weeds).

⁴²⁵ I.e. when they come to the millet fields on a riding on a donkey or on an animal-drawn cart, and tie the animal to a tree while they work.

2011.1a.25 Harvesting and threshing fonio

B: Now when they have uprooted those weeds, you-Sg now have uprooted those weeds,
<unintelligible>

A: After uprooting (=weeding) weeds, you-Sg will wait, (until) fonio ripens. When the fonio has ripened, (they) say “(the time for) fonio-cutting (=harvesting) has arrived, (the time for) fonio-cutting has arrived.” At that time now the fonio has ripened.

When the fonio has ripened, again (=as for millet) in the old days, the (same) way they (=people) kept getting together to do the jobs that remained (for) millet, they (still) get together and then cut (=harvest) the fonio as well.

B: (As for) fonio, concerning the work of fonio, do (they) begin first with cutting (=harvesting)?

A: Yes, (they) cut. (They) begin the cutting first. When they have done the cutting, well now, didn't we previously mention the big heap of millet? They (also) put (up) a big heap of fonio.

When they have put (up) a big heap of fonio, over (a period lasting) from two or three days up to a week, when it has decomposed a little, so that stomping (on it) may be easier, when it has decomposed a little, you-Sg will ask the people to assemble. All of them go into the bush (=to the field), (they) clear off a space (with daba and broom). Each of them now brings out an armful (of fonio, from the heap), then they stomp (on it, to thresh it).

B: Didn't you-Sg say previously (=just now), “when it has decomposed”? ...

A: Yes.

B: It has decomposed. We children (=young people), (we) haven't been able to understand very much (=fully) “it has decomposed.”⁴²⁶

A: (It's) like it rots a little.

B: Like it rots a little?

A: Yes, like it rots a little. It begins to bring (=show) a new kind of appearance (“description”). In that situation now, when you-Sg stomp (on it), (the fonio) lets itself (be threshed) more (easily).

B: Its name is “it has decomposed.”

A: “It has decomposed.” (They) say, “it has decomposed.”

B: That (discussion) was of (=about) fonio.

A: Yes, that was of fonio.

B: Now (suppose) (they) have stomped.

A: Uh-huh.

B: Do (they) then gather up and bring the fruits (=fonio grains) to the houses?

A: Yes, (they) gather it up. That too, (they) gather up and bring the fruits (=grains) to the houses. When (they) have gathered up and brought its (grains) to the houses, they put (=store) it in a compartment of a female granary.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ The verb *pó:n* ‘ferment, stew, decompose (slightly)’ is elsewhere used for mud-manure mixes which are left to ferment for a few days before being used to replaster mud-brick walls.

B: They put it in a female granary?

A: They put it in a female granary.

B: They don't put it in a male granary?

A: They don't put it in a male granary. They put it in a female granary.

B: As for that, about fonio, that's it?

A: Concerning fonio, that's it.

⁴²⁷ gò: ^L yă: 'female granary' contains four compartments (cells) for e.g. peanuts, roselle, fonio, etc. The larger gò: ^L àrⁿá is strictly for millet grain spikes, the primary staple.

2011.1a.26 Planting roselle

B: Roselle. Roselle too, many times the people do whatchamacallit (with) it.

A: Roselle, (they) put (=use) its (own) field. (They) also (=alternatively) plant it cross-wise in peanut fields to some extent. Its growing descriptions (=ways to grow it) are many. There is (=it can happen that) they plant it cross-wise in peanut fields, (and) there is also farming it in its own field.

B: What they cross-plant in the peanut field, what type (of roselle) is it?

A: That, that, (they) call (it) "peanut field's roselle." (They) call (it) "peanut field's roselle." Now that one that they grow by itself, they call it "(separate) roselle."

B: "(Separate) roselle"?

A: "(Separate) roselle."

2011.1a.27 Varieties of roselle

B: Now, the roselle moreover, are its varieties distinct? Or is all roselle (of) one variety?

A: Roselle is (of) distinct kinds. There is white roselle, (and) there is red roselle. There is also bissap roselle. Roselle is (of) as much as three varieties.⁴²⁸

B: If not (=other than) (those) three, there is no other?

A: If not (those) three, there is no other.

B: Now, the white roselle is how (=like what)?

A: The white roselle?

B: Is it short or long (= tall)?

A: It gets tall. It, (the) stick (=stem) is white. It gets tall somewhat. Fruits too--, it bears lots of fruits. Well, that is white roselle. After that (is) red roselle. (Its) stick is red, (and) (its) leaves too are red. (Its) body is red. They say (=call) its name "red roselle."

B: Red roselle?

A: Yes, red roselle.

B: Now, the red roselle, the red roselle, its leaves, are they like the roselle (=bissap juice) that they boil and drink? Or are they both different?

A: The leaves--. (The one) that they boil and drink, they say its name "red bissap roselle." Yes. There is simple roselle, and there is bissap roselle too. As for bissap roselle, when (they) have picked off its fruits, it's possible to pound (and cook) cream of millet.

After (=in addition to) cream of millet, boiling and eating (bissap roselle fruits) is also possible. They say (=call) it "bissap roselle." There is the red bissap roselle, (and) there is the white bissap roselle.

As for the red (subtype), (the one) which you-Sg were saying just now that it's for boiling and drinking, it's the red bissap roselle. As for the white (subtype), such that they pound (and cook) cream of millet with it, they say (=call) it "the white bissap roselle."

B: Red bissap roselle, that too, is it long (=tall)?

A: It too gets tall. (It and) white bissap roselle, their height is the same.

B: Their height is the same?

A: The height of all (=both) of them is the same.

B: Now (=so), only their color has made the difference between the two of them?

A: Only color. Color--. (Their) body, this one is red, this (other) one is white. It's mainly that.

B: If not (=other than) color, the two of them are the same?

⁴²⁸ This third type will later be divided into white and red subtypes, making a total of four varieties of roselle.

A: Yes, the two of them are the same. This one, the body is red, (and) this (=other) one, the body is white. (Likewise for) ordinary roselle too, this one, the body is red, (and) this (=other) one, the body is white. Well, they divide each other (=are distinguished) like that.

2011.1a.28 Harvesting and threshing roselle bushes

B: (Suppose) (they) have planted the roselle. (They) have planted (it) now and it has sprouted.

Now when it has sprouted, (for) roselle, at this time, is there any other separate work? Or, like (with) millet, there is no other separate work?

A: Roselle, when it has sprouted, if it happens that you-Sg leave it alone⁴²⁹ like that among the peanuts, if it grows to full size⁴³⁰ like that (=on its own), if it happens to go and get old (=ripen), that too you-Sg will slash (to uproot it) and gather it. You will put (up) a heap of roselle (bushes). They call its name “roselle-heap.”

When they have uprooted (the bushes), have gone to a (suitable) spot, and have gathered and laid it down in a big (heap), they say (=call) its name “roselle heap.”

B: Roselle heap?

A: Roselle heap, yes, ...

B: The place where they collect (the roselle) in one spot, ...

A [overlapping]: ... yes, they say (=call) its name “roselle heap.”

B: That too, the equivalent of the big millet heap, that too for it (=roselle) (they) say “roselle heap.”

A: For it (=roselle) they say “roselle heap.”

B: That roselle-heap now, concerning it again, now do (they) take out (=pick) the seeds? Or why (else) do they make the roselle heap?

A: The roselle heap, if it happens that the roselle fruits have dried out, (you work) with a hoe shaft, (or) (with) a large stick, you-Pl will instruct the children, everyone will take (a shaft or stick). (They) take a roselle bundle like this, they keep beating (=threshing) it, they knock the seeds down onto the ground. The women will winnow (it) in the wind. You-Pl now will collect it (in sacks).

B: For that now, the name of that work, the real name of the work--

A: (They) say “roselle heap dismantling.”

B: “Roselle heap dismantling”?

A: “Roselle heap dismantling.” Yes, roselle heap dismantling.

⁴²⁹ Lit. “throw and leave.”

⁴³⁰ Lit. “its growth (to full size) goes out.”

2011.1a.29 Cow-peas

B: That, concerning roselle, concerning roselle, we spoke (about) groundnuts, we spoke (about) peanuts. Now (we) have spoken about all (those things). Now, the question that I will ask of you-Sg, it's about cow-peas. Cow-peas too, what is their (situation) like?

A: Cow-peas too, there is cross-planting (them) in a (millet) field, (and/or) there is growing (them) separately (in their own field).

B: (They) cross-plant them in a (millet) field?

A: Yes.

B: Why do (they) cross-plant them in a (millet) field?

A: In a (millet) field, when you-Sg have cross-planted (them) among millet (plants), as for that (situation), often, a place where (some) manure is, so that often that land is more propitious (for farming), often (they) cross-plant for that reason.

Well, some people now, now if that land is (=seems) to him somewhat like a waste (=unused land), now (he) will grow (cow-peas) separately as (with) roselle. That too, it is those two (methods of) work (cross-planting or a separate field).

B: Now, the cow-peas that they cross-plant in the field, ...

A: Yes.

B: ... do (they) cross-plant (them) for the value of the cow-peas? Or do they cross-plant (them) for the value of cow-pea leaves (=greens)? Why do they cross-plant cow-peas in a field?

A: Cow-peas, you-Sg get a little of cow-peas. The cow-pea leaves too, (can be used for) fertilizer. (They) call (that) "Dogon cow-peas." (As for) Dogon cow-peas, it spreads out (as a vine) somewhat more than the others (=other cow-pea varieties). Cow-pea leaves too, more is gotten (than for other varieties). (You-Sg) can get your share of cow-peas too.

B: The cow-peas, do (they) eat (them) or sell (them)?

A: (They) eat (them). The ones of (=that they grow in) the field are mostly cow-peas for eating. Now, they mostly sell the cow-peas grown separately (in their own field).

2011.1a.30 Separately grown cow-peas

B: Let's discuss the separately-grown cow-peas a little.

A: Yes, concerning separately-grown cow-peas. You-PI now, like the way you-PI slash (=plant) millet, (you) have made ridges (by plowing), (you make) closely-spaced rows (of ridges), like each (row) one hand-span (from the next), like each (cow-pea plant) one elbow-span (from the next), in that way you-PI will (drop seeds and) step on lots of (them) closely-spaced like that. They will get up (=sprout) like that.

(When) they have gotten up like that, you-PI turn over (=weed out) the weeds that are at their base, until eventually they go and bear fruits.

When they have gone and borne fruits, now, if insect-like things (=pests) get into (them) somewhat, (then) if we spray them a little with white man's medicine (=insecticide) and kill insects, they will bear (=yield) more fruits.

Well, when (they) have done like that, afterwards, we pick the fruits (=peas) then. When they have aged (=ripened), then (we) pick them. When we have picked them, we bring them to the houses and pound them lightly (to remove the skins). When (we) have pounded them, (they) uproot (with a hoe) the cow-pea fodder (=greens).

When (they) have uprooted the cow-pea fodder, (they) give (them) to animals in the hot dry season, nowadays. Well, sometimes, that too, those two uses (just described) exist for them (cow-peas). The fruits (=peas) are useful, (and) the leaves (=greens) are useful.

B: For them (=cow-peas), the uses are indeed many.

A: The uses are definitely many.

B: Well, that (=cow-peas) was (=is) fine.

A: Well, as for that, all that (just described) is like that.

2011.1a.31 Interlude

B: Now, in farming now, whatchamacallit?, is there anything else (to discuss)?

A: In farming, you-Sg (may add) some (things) wherever my knowledge has not reached--

B: Exactly. You-Sg too (may add) a few--

A: Whatchamacallit? Something to toss in (=add), something to toss in--.

B: Yes.

A: In farming, the minor things, little (things), some people might do (them), some (other) people might not do (them). Yes, some people do (that).

Some people, after that, they sometimes keep gathering the stems together in order to give (it) to the animals in the hot dry season, they might do that. Some people, after that (=furthermore), gather up stems a little (=selectively) and bring them to the houses.

Well, beyond that, minor things like that otherwise, it's not for everyone, but for a few scattered people. There are a few people who work in that (way).

2011.1a.32 Seasons

- B: Now, from the planting to the second weeding, how do they say its name? Or from the planting to the first weeding, what do they call the name of that time (=season)?
- A: From the planting to the first weeding, that now is the “rainy season” (Fr *hivernage*). We say now, “the rainy season has come down (=begun).” “The rainy season has come down.”
- B: From the first weeding to the second weeding, to the harvest work, how do they say its name?
- A: (Suppose) the rainy season has come down, (so it’s) after the coming down of the rainy season; and (they) have gone out (to the fields) (for) the first weeding, (so it’s) after the first weeding, they say “autumn (=harvest season) has gone out.” It goes on (=we’re talking about) autumn (=harvest season).
- B: Autumn, does it have another name? Or (does) autumn--
- A: Autumn does not have another name. They say its common (=universal) name “autumn.”
- B: Autumn, uh-huh.
- A: Now, if some people reply (=say differently), they say that “cutting (millet/sorghum)” has arrived. Now when (time for) cutting (millet/sorghum) has arrived, now as for the crops that you-Pl have put (=planted), they say “the (time for) taking out (=harvesting) has arrived.” Well “cutting has arrived” is that. The crops that you-Pl have put--
- B: If (one) puts all of it together (into one expression), it’s autumn work.
- A: If (one) puts all of it together, it’s autumn.
- B: All of it, about the first weeding, about the second weeding, about the autumn (=harvest) work, if (one) puts all (of it) together, how do (they) say (it)?
- A: If (one) puts all (of it) together, that now, if (one) puts all that together, they say “farm work.”⁴³¹
- B: “Farm work.”
- A: Yes. (They) say “farm work has arrived.” Yes, (when) the rainy season has come down (=begun) (and) farm work has arrived. Yes, if (one) puts all that together, they commonly say “farm work.”
- When (they) have finished farm work (=weeding), afterward they say “autumn (=harvest) work.” Or isn’t that it? Yes, (they) say “autumn.” (They) say “rainy season” (and) “autumn.” Rainy season, autumn. The rainy season has come down, the autumn has gone out. There you are.
- Yes, the autumn has gone out. Yes. For the rainy season it’s the first weeding. When the crops have come out (=borne fruit), as for the autumn work, it’s the cutting (=harvesting) of crops. Well, that is it. Well, that is it. Rainy season, autumn.
- B: Okay, now, concerning the first weeding, (we) have spoken of many things. The many things that we have spoken of, do (people) practice all that (even) nowadays?

⁴³¹ The same word (wárú) is also used for the first (and main) round of weeding, the hardest work of the agricultural season.

A: (They) indeed do practice all that nowadays. There is nothing that we are omitting (from) all that nowadays, (they) do all (of it). (They) practice all that.

2011.1a.33 Dry season

B: Now autumn--, now, (suppose) the rainy season has come down (=begun), the autumn has gone out (=is happening), the autumn has gone out, (then) after that what do (they) do now?

A: Now, the dry season has begun. The autumn (=harvest) work has ended, (now) the dry season has begun. (They) say its name now “dry season.” (They) say “dry season.”

B: Now what are the sorts of things that are (done) in the dry season?

A: In the dry season, in the dry season there is replastering walls, and there is building granaries, and there is building houses, many different kinds of things (=activities). Dry season’s work, before the (next) rainy season comes down (=begins), now as for fixing (=repairing) the houses in which we live, (and) the houses (=granaries) in which we put the crops, now we do that sort of work in the dry season.

Yes, that is the dry season. At that (time), the dry season happens. Before the next year (=rainy season) comes down, (as for) us now, (we must) fix⁴³² our houses, the places that have holes (on roofs or walls). (As for) us now, (we must) fix the granaries too, the places that have holes. Well, if (one) puts all those together, we say “dry season.” Well, the dry season is happening. Uh-huh.

B: Can you-Sg speak (about) anything else that is in it (=farming) putting all (of it) together (=summarizing briefly)?

A: As for that, in it there are many little things, many (things) are in it too. In the dry season, some people stay at home, some (others) do not stay at home.

Some people go there (to) another place seeking (work), some (other) people stay in their home village (“father-house”), some (other) people do small-time commerce, some (other) people (just) sit there, some (other) people, (their) children go to school. Well, it’s many (different) things like that. Well, in the dry season, they do all the minor things in the dry season.

There is schooling, and there is traveling (for work), and there is going around (in the region) in order to do commerce, all that is (included) in the dry season.

B: (We) have spoken about the rainy season. We have also spoken a little about the dry season.

A: (We) have spoken a little.

⁴³² The Togo Kan version has an imperative verb here.

B [to the linguist]: There you are, stop now!

[end of track A]

2011.1b.01 Step-mother (tale with songs)

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it,⁴³³ I put (=tell) about a girl, a boy, and her mother. The girl, when her mother disappeared (=died), the step-mother (=her mother's co-wife) took charge of her. She (=step-mother) would go into the bush, making her go into the bush to collect (millet) stalks.

She collected stalks and laid them (in a pile) up to her own height. The two of them (girl and step-mother) were coming like that. (She) kept doing that. This time, she was collecting stalks and laying them down up to her own height.

She (=step-mother) told the girl, "go in (=hide) under it (=pile of stalks) quickly, (since) raiders⁴³⁴ are coming!" Formerly, there were horse(-men) who captured people. When they (=horsemen) came, she (=stepmother) told her (=girl), "go in under the stalks!" The girl ran in under the stalks.

Now her (dead) mother had left her young (=had died when the girl was young). When she (=girl) had run in under the stalks, she (=step-mother) set fire on top of her, her step-mother (did). Yes, she set fire on top of her. The fire burned her. The step-mother gathered up the soda ash (=burned stalks)⁴³⁵ and took it home with her.

When she had come with (the ashes), the father wore himself out asking for the child. When he would ask (her), "haven't you seen the child?", she would say "I haven't seen the child." When he asked, "haven't (you) seen (her)?" she would say "no, I haven't seen (her)."

They wore themselves out searching for it. They didn't see (=find) it, like that [focus] (they) left it. When they had left it (=given up hope), lo, she (=step-mother) gathered that soda ash. She went and began to grind millet. She filtered the liquid soda ash, (with) a soda-ash filtering pot. After she ground millet, then the girl, as the soda-ash filtering pot made dripping sounds, was beginning a song.⁴³⁶ Now yes,

⁴³³ Standard phrase as a tale begins.

⁴³⁴ Lit. "Gono horse(s)," i.e. horsebacked Fulbe raiders from Gono (region).'

⁴³⁵ Ashes from burnt millet stalks are made into a type of soda ash (local Fr *potasse*). The stepmother will mix water with the ashes, drain off the liquid using an earthenware filtering pot (with small holes), and will use the liquid in cooking a type of millet cake (tô).

⁴³⁶ The sound of dripping from the filtering pot turns into the song of the dead girl.

Step-mother told me to go into the bush. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went into the bush. Only child.
Step-mother told me to collect stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I collected stalks. Only child.
Step-mother said to me, the raiders are coming. Only child.
(She told) me to go to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
Step-mother lit a fire over me. Only child.
The fire burned me. Only child.
She gathered up the soda ash. Only child.
She brought (the soda ash) to the house. Only child.
She cooked a (millet cake) meal. Only child.
Papa will eat it. Only child.
Dripping, dripping. Only child.

When she said (= sang) like that, an old woman was listening. She said, wow, that child indeed did not die (naturally). She asked (=wondered)), “did she (=stepmother) do this to her?” The old woman went out.

She said: “Father (of the girl), definitely do not go into the bush today intending to look for the child. If you go out intending to go to the bush today, (instead of that just) circle around and come and stay out of sight at my, (i.e.) at the old woman’s, house.” The father went out to look for the child, (but) he didn’t go to the bush. He went around (the house) and stayed out of sight at the old woman’s house.

This time, as soon as the father went, again the (step-)mother filtered (the soda ash) (with) the soda-ash filtering pot. Then the liquid soda-ash began to drip (out).

Dripping, dripping. Only child.
 Dripping, dripping. Only child.
 Step-mother told me to go into the bush. Only child.
 (I) said all right, I went to the bush too. Only child.
 Step-mother told me to collect stalks. Only child.
 (I) said all right, I collected stalks. Only child.
 Step-mother said to me, the raiders are coming. Only child.
 (She told) me to go to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
 (I) said all right, I went to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
 Step-mother lit a fire over me. Only child.
 The fire burned me. Only child.
 She gathered up that soda ash. Only child.
 She brought (the soda ash) to the house. Only child.
 Dripping, dripping. Only child.

When she had said (=sung) like that, Father listened, and said (to himself) “hey-hey-hey, enough now!”⁴³⁷ Having left (that), he went and put (this news) in the ear of the chief. (He) said: “all people of the village, gather the soda-ash filtering pots in the main palaver shelter!”

When he had said that, well the chief-- the griots went and put out the message: “when day breaks, women of Kopro-Pen-- (or rather) all women of the village, gather the soda-ash filtering pots in the main palaver shelter!” Now all of them (=women) gathered the soda-ash filtering pots in the main palaver shelter.

While they decided to gather (the pots), as for her(-self), she (step-mother) made another soda-ash filtering pot, intending to take it there. The child was there. “Mother, mother” it said. She said, “yes?” It said: “As for you, put (=use) the singing soda-ash filtering pot!”

B: The dead child (said that)?

A: No, there was her (=stepmother’s) child. She (=step-mother) had killed that (other) one, the child of her co-wife (=her husband’s other wife), since the (real) mother was not there (=had died). Now there was (also) a child of hers (=of the step-mother).

Her child said, “Put (=use) the singing soda-ash filtering pot!” (Step-mother) said, “Get away from there! Where did I (ever) get a singing soda-ash filtering pot?” (Child:) “No, mother; there is a singing soda-ash filtering pot of yours.”

The father was present too. He said, “no, leave (=stop) the evasive talk and take out the singing soda-ash filtering pot!” Father was pleased by what the child said.

⁴³⁷ Literally “leave!”, i.e. “cease!”

Well, she (=step-mother) kept washing the singing soda-ash filtering pot and made it clean. She washed it thoroughly. She put some new, different soda ash (in it). She left (i.e. discarded) the singing soda ash, and put some new soda ash (in it). She took (it) to the main palaver shelter. All the villagers (=women) gathered soda-ash filtering pots (there), and she too gathered (=brought hers).

All of them, they were there, they were there (waiting). Now all the soda-ash filtering pots, when they began to go “plop, plop,” that one (of hers) too began (to sound). Suddenly it was going “drip, drip, drip.”

Dripping, dripping. Only child.

Dripping, dripping. Only child.

Step-mother told me to go into the bush. Only child.

(I) said all right, I went into the bush. Only child.

Step-mother told me to collect stalks. Only child.

(I) said all right, I collected stalks. Only child.

Step-mother said to me, the raiders are coming. Only child.

(She told) me to go to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.

As for me, I went to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.

As for Step-mother, she gathered up the soda ash. Only child.

She brought (the soda ash) to the house. Only child.

Papa will eat it. Only child.

Dripping, dripping. Only child.

When it said (=sang) like that, all the villagers got up (and) make a he-ha-he (hubbub).

The father picked up a rifle, saying “I will shoot (you) the woman;⁴³⁸ on the grounds that the child’s mother was lost (=died), you took the child like that into the bush and burned it, now you have transformed (the girl) into singing. When you are grinding up millet (grains) with her (=dead child’s) soda ash, I will kill (you).”

He-ha-he, he-ha-he, all the people said (=made a hubbub). Lo, the father had loaded his rifle and had brought it with him. He shot the (step-)mother in that place (=on the spot) and killed (her) there.

Therefore everyone, a child now, even if its mother is absent (=dead), if an (orphaned) child is left to you (=in your charge), keep (=treat) it anyway like your (own) child, do not keep (=treat) it with malice. That (custom) dates from that day.

The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

⁴³⁸ This quoted passage is typical indirect discourse, with the original addressee (i.e. the step-mother) expressed in third person form.

A: Greetings.

2011.1b.02 Crowned crane and the stubborn woman (tale with songs)

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, I put (=tell) about a stubborn girl. (She) said: “if there are any scars in (=on) a person’s (=man’s) body, I won’t go to the fellow’s house in marriage (=I won’t marry him).” She went on doing like that. Now, Fly was the (house) manager for her. Fly was the inspector for her.

Now after she had put (=appointed) Fly as the inspector (=manager) of her affairs, when young men intended to come (to woo), she would send Fly and tell him to go and look (to see) whether there were any scars on those (men’s) bodies. Fly too (=for his part) would perch all over (their bodies) and keep going. If he said (to her) “no, some scars are on that one’s body,” she would tell (the suitor) “go!”

She went on doing like that (until) Vulture, Vulture fixed himself up. A scar was on his forehead. He stuck a cowry shell there (over the scar), and left (home) to go there. When he went there-- No, (he was) Crane⁴³⁹ (not Vulture).

B: Crane.

A: Crane. He fixed himself up, he stuck a cowry, here (pointing) on his forehead, and left to go there. When he had gone there, now she sent Fly. Fly came and looked to inspect (him). It said, “no, there are no scars in (=on) this one’s body.”

B: It didn’t see (=look) everywhere?

A: When (she) said (=asked), “none are in it?” (Fly) said, “no scars are in (=on) his body.” When (she) asked, “what about that of (=on) (his) forehead?” (Fly) said, “(he says) he has stuck that of (=on) his forehead for showing off.” (She) said, “if that is it (=in that case), that one is eligible to be my husband.” The people said, “well, that’s it—” (arguing)

B [overlapping]: In all that (inspecting), (she) didn’t know (=notice)?

A: (She) didn’t know. Vulture turned itself into a human. They (=villagers) were saying “well, that’s it” (=were arguing with her). (She) said, “hey, that one is best for me. If there are no scars in (=on) a person’s (=man’s) body, that’s it (=the one) for me.” (They) said “well, that’s it” (arguing), (but) they didn’t succeed with (=persuade) her.

Vulture went away with her-- (or rather) Crane went away with her and went with (her) to his home. After he went with (her), when he had gone to the barren wilderness (with her), there Crane said now, “that (is) my home.” (She) said, “Oh, is this your-Sg home?” “Yes.” “Is this your-Sg home?” “Yes.” xxx [inaudible]

Crane now put (=turned) himself into a human, and (it) was like that. (They lived there) until she bore Baji (=An-Baji), An-Time, An-Tanu, A-Nay, and A-Nou.⁴⁴⁰ She had put

⁴³⁹ Crowned crane (*Balearica pavonina*), a beautiful peacock-like bird.

⁴⁴⁰ These are, in order, the traditional personal names of a woman’s first five male children.

(=borne) (them) like that. In addition, she bore their sister Ye-Sama.⁴⁴¹ She bore Sama. After she bore Sama, Sama too became a (full-grown) person.

Well, Crane remained (there) (for a long time). Well, (out) in the bush, he (=Crane) went up and perched on top (of a tree) (and sang) kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→. “All (birds) of my species, follow (me) and let’s go in order to peck (=eat) rice in the bourgou grass.”

(Mother) said “(hey) you, as for that, what sort of thing was it?”⁴⁴² He transformed himself magically (back) into (the form of) a crowned crane. (She said:) “What about that, what sort of thing was (it)?” (Crane) said, “I am a crane now, I am not a human.”

Now when (Crane) went there and said (=sand) “kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→“, An-Baji (the firstborn son) ran (there), he went up (onto a tree), shook himself (like a fluttering bird trying to fly off the ground), turned himself into a crane (and sang:)

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).

(You) bore Baji. Isn’t (he) the child of Crane?

(You) bore An-Time. Isn’t (he) the child of Crane?

(You) bore An-Tanu. Isn’t (he) the child of Crane?

(You) bore A-Nay. Isn’t (he) the child of Crane?

(You) bore A-Nou. He is indeed the child of Crane.

(You) bore their sister Ye-Sama. Isn’t (she) the child of Crane?

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).

(I) am going now to the bourgou grass to peck (=eat) rice, “kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→“

⁴⁴¹ yè-sámá is a personal name for a girl with one or more brothers and no sisters. Short (unisex) form sámá.

⁴⁴² Crane was still in human form at this point, so the woman was puzzled by the bird call.

Mother sat in silence. When he had said (=sung) like that, Baji immediately went away.

B: He flew off?

A: He went away. Well, likewise, now An-Time likewise (=like Baji) got up. He got up and likewise fluttered (like a bird), turned (himself) into a crowned crane, likewise went up on top (of a tree) alone. Mother, she stared at him. He said (=sang) to her:

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(You) bore Baji. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Time. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Tanu. He is the child of Crane.
(You) bore A-Nay. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?⁴⁴³
(You) bore their sister Ye-Sama. Isn't (she) the child of Crane?
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(I) am going now to the bourgou grass to peck (=eat) rice, “kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→“

That one (=An-Time) went away.

B: He too went away flying?

A: (He) went away flying. (Mother was) silent. (The other brothers) kept doing like that. Now it was Ye-Sama's turn.⁴⁴⁴ Snatch!

B: (Something) caught (her)?

A: (Mother) said, “(you) will not be able to go away!” She was pulling while the father (=crane) was calling (from) over here (=on the other side), she kept pulling while Father kept calling. Father, (during) all that, was perched on top of the tree, and kept sending them (=the children) down away from (there).

Now as for him(-self), (he) was (still) perched. (Mother) kept on pulling. Now (she) got free of her (Mother's) hand. When she (=Ye-Sama) got free, (Mother) said “I have become weary.”

B: (She) got free of Mother's hand?

A: Yes, she got free. When Sama had gotten free, she too now (became) a crowned crane--, when she reached there where Father was, she likewise now turned into a crowned crane. Likewise (she) sang (to Mother): “(hey) you),

⁴⁴³ Slight random variations occur in repetitions of this song. Here A-Nou is omitted.

⁴⁴⁴ Lit. “it arrived on Y.”

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(You) bore Baji. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Time. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Tanu. He is the child of Crane.
(You) bore their sister Ye-Sama. Isn't (she) the child of Crane?
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(I) am going now to the bourgou grass to peck (=eat) rice, "kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→"

That one (=Ye-Sama) too got out of there.

B: Wow!

A: That's it. Now at that point they had (all) gone away like that. In the house (Mother) was suffering.

B: Well, now it was (more) serious.

A: It was (more) serious. That head (of hers) was shedding its hair. That (woman) was suffering, like that she died there, they say. Now if a person (=you) goes to live with someone whose meaning (=background) you-Sg don't know at all, saying (=thinking) "I am looking for a good person," getting married (to him) is impossible, (they) say.

B [overlapping]: In that way (she) died there?

A: Yes. Getting married (to him) is impossible, (they) say.

The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

A: Greetings.

B: (You) indeed had energy (= did a hard task well). Well, (I) understood that one very well.

2011.1b.03 Beer or women? (tale with songs)

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, I put (=tell) about young men and young women. In the old days now, men and women used to make trysts (rendez-vous in the bush). They would go to the distant bush (=outback) and meet. If they didn't get (=succeed) by their fathers and mothers, they would go and meet in the distant bush and prepare (=plan), they prepared (=planned) husbands (=marriages) like that.

The two (of them, i.e. man and woman) talked, they talked of (=agreed on) the place to meet, now they stayed there.

This one, as for the young woman-- (or rather) the young man, he went and forgot (the rendez-vous) now. As for the young woman, at night she arranged all her gear (=belongings) and put (them) in a calabash box, covered it and carried it (on her head). The young man for his part (forgot), because there was a millet-beer festival (*kèpè-búrúgú*) there for them (=his village). In the old days, now when the autumn work (=harvesting) was finished, or something of that sort, the young men would put (=hold) a festival. Did they not use to brew millet beer?

B: Yes yes yes yes.

A: It was the young men. That day, when they had drunk millet beer, they would spend the night dancing (wild) dances that they didn't know.

B: That is "*kèpè-búrúgú*"?

A: When they put the millet-beer festival, now because there was a millet-beer festival for them, as for him (=the young man), he went and forgot (the rendez-vous).

When he had forgotten, that was it. While she was there now, a wild animal came under a big tree. The wild animal went and encountered her. After it went and encountered her, the wild animals ate her up.

When they had eaten her up, the shadow (=soul) went away from there (deictic). When the shadow had gone away from there (definite), now because of the millet-beer festival there--

B: The young woman's shadow (=soul)?

A: The young woman's shadow. There they were making "tap-tap-tap" (sound of tomtoms).

When the young woman's shadow had gone out (of her body), it (=shadow) remained there (at the festival).

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.⁴⁴⁵
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My thing is lying down in the outback.
My breasts are lying down in the outback.
My full breasts are lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My hair crest is lying down in the outback.
My kneeling-camel hair crest⁴⁴⁶ is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My under-the-straw-stump calabash box is lying down in the outback.
My earth-clod-shaped *doudou* (jewel) is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My well-stuffed stomach is lying down in the outback.
My shame-relieving (=pride-giving) *serende* (jewel) is lying down in the
outback.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.⁴⁴⁷
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

⁴⁴⁵ (An-)Denie and Otaniou are names. Presumably (An-)Denie is the forgetful young man.

⁴⁴⁶ Traditional female hairdo including a mohawk-like crest over the top from back to front, with a tuft in the shape of a kneeling camel. Currently worn chiefly by Fulbe women but still worn by older Dogon women at traditional festivals.

⁴⁴⁷ (An-)Denie and Otaniou are names. Presumably (An-)Denie is the forgetful young man.

The young man was silent. (Then he said, to another young man:) “My friend, stop (=wait)! Stop! Stop! Something is saying something over here, let’s wait!”

The young man got up there. They all got up and became silent and left (=stopped) the tomtoms, they left (=stopped) dancing, they left (=stopped doing) silly things, and they were silent.

B: (They) didn’t even know where the song came from?

A: (They) didn’t even know where the song came from. (Her soul) moved closer to the doorway (=front of the house) there. (They) couldn’t see the (singing) person. The soul spoke (=sang):

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.

Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.

If this is your-Pl position,

May God curse you-Pl.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.

Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.

If this is your-Pl position,

May God curse you-Pl.

My thing is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.

My under-the-straw-stump calabash box is lying down in the outback.

My breasts are lying down in the outback.

My full breasts are lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.

My kneeling-camel hair crest is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.

My well-stuffed stomach is lying down in the outback.

My shame-relieving (=pride-giving) *serende* (jewel) is lying down in the outback.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

When she said (=sang) like that, (he) kept listening, then began shouting.⁴⁴⁸ (He) said he was going to the well.

B: Did he recognize the voice of the young woman?

A: Yes, (he) recognized (it). (He) recognized (it) and said he was going to the well (to jump in).

All the young men held (=restrained) him with difficulty, (and) said “you won’t be able to go to the well.”

B: In order to jump into the well? In order to kill himself?

A [overlapping]: (He) said (he) would jump into the well. (He) said (he) would kill himself, (he) said he (couldn’t) go on.⁴⁴⁹ They for their part said, “don’t kill yourself! There is nothing (=no crisis) that comes and doesn’t pass.”

(The) friend said “if any thing comes (=happens), if a thing encounters (=affects) you, it encounters (=affects) me (too). Let’s you and I go!” The two of them went away.

Before they went there, (exactly) the way she was saying (=describing), the wild animals had eaten hers (=her body) (but) had left her hair crest and a place (=part) of her breast, and (they) had left her baggage, (such as) the *serende* jewel and the calabash box.

After (the animals) left (that), now when they (=two young men) went there, all of them (people) there, all that (things left)--

B: *serende*, is that a necklace (jewel)?

A: *serende*, yes, it’s a necklace (jewel), the old (=traditional) Dogon necklace (jewel). Yes, the *serende*. As for hair crests, when one braids hair, the crest that they leave (down the middle), the kneeling-camel hair crest is that. A calabash box, in the old days for them it was the equivalent of a (modern) chest, they used to put all the baggage there (=in it).

Yes, it was those (things). Those things remained there, shattered. They went and stared and stared (at them). After they looked, they picked up the baggage, and left (there) and came to the mother (of the young woman).

(They) said, “mother, it’s true. Your daughter and we all made (=planned) a rendez-vous, (but) for us it coincided with the millet-beer festival. As for us, we put (=held) dances over there, we were dancing, *burugu-burugu* (a dance rhythm). As for us, we forgot (the rendez-vous).”

⁴⁴⁸ Lit. “put shouting on himself.” Cf. Fr *se mit à crier*.

⁴⁴⁹ Lit. “he furthermore,” abbreviated.

“Oh, it happened to her like that?” “Yes.” Mother said, as for her(-self), she left (it) to God. Young women (just) don’t listen to the words of (older) people. If (they) will listen to people, it will be clear whether (so-and-so) is a trustworthy person or is not a trustworthy person. She (the young woman) wouldn’t listen to the words of people.”

Well, they spoke like that. After they spoke like that, that’s it, now when the young man had been able to listen to the words, he got up abruptly, he flew to the village of the young woman and her people, jumped into their well, and killed himself instantly.

B: He killed himself there?

A: Yes, in the village of the young woman and her people, there he killed himself. (In) all that, (they) drank millet beer and the (=their) minds were stolen from them. (In) all that, if you and someone (else) go in to a rendez-vous, as long as (you) have not completed that rendez-vous, anything that steals (his) mind from someone has no eating (= benefit).⁴⁵⁰ Yes, that dates from (=has been true since) that day.

B: Well, (I) have understood.

A: The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

A: Greetings.

⁴⁵⁰ Lit. “has no food,” cf. English *fruitless*.

2011.1b.04 Abandoned twins (tale with songs)

B: Is there another (story)?

A: There is another.

B: Uh-huh. If there is another, let's look and (=try to) tell one.

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it--. There are so many tales (to choose from).

B: Animals? Uh-huh, speak!

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, now I put (=tell) about a woman. A woman gave birth to a pair of twins. She kept the twins (for a while). She took them out to the bush and abandoned them under a roselle⁴⁵¹ bush.

She took them out to the bush and abandoned them under a roselle bush, saying (=thinking) "I can't keep them, (considering) the situation I am in." Having given birth to twins, because (she) could not keep (them), (she) took them out to the bush and abandoned them under a roselle bush.

After she abandoned them under a roselle bush, those children went and--. Now, she abandoned them under a roselle bush and then came (home). Because she couldn't raise them, she abandoned them and then came (home). Afterwards, she had no other child there.

In addition, she became the most shiftless among all (people) in the village, she got old and had no child, now furthermore she didn't even have a good person to take care of her.

B: The (other) people didn't think highly of her.

A: Yes (you're right). The people for their part likewise didn't think highly of her. After she abandoned that pair of twins, almighty God went and raised those children by his Grace. (God) made them into people (=adults). Now when they had become young adults, (God) told them: "you-Pl go look for your mother." They for their part left there.

When they came upon that (same) village in order to look for their mother, now when this person (=anyone) went there, (he/she would say) "wow, those twins sure are handsome." (The twins were) two young men. "wow, those twins are definitely handsome." When they (=twins) went (somewhere), (the people) spoke like that. If they (=twins) went (somewhere else), when they had gone there, (they sang), "hey you (people),"

⁴⁵¹ *Hibiscus sabdariffa* (cultivated).

“Sege and De⁴⁵² go to the country.” Famous names.
 “Sege and De go to the country.” Famous names.
 “You (twins), where have you come from?” Famous names.
 “We have come from the presence of God.” Famous names.
 “Nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God?” Famous names.
 “Today, nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God.” Famous names.
 “You (twins), what things are you looking for?” Famous names.
 “We are looking for our (own) mother.” Famous names.
 “You (women), under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?” Famous names.
 “We abandoned (you) under a wild-grape⁴⁵³ tree.” Famous names.
 “That sure isn’t Mother.” Famous names.⁴⁵⁴

That one (=the mother) turned away from there. (The people) said, “they (=twins) said, that one is not their mother.” The women now, something like craziness arose (in them) around the well.⁴⁵⁵ (Each woman said) “I [focus] will approach (the twins) first!” “I [focus] will approach (the twins) first!” Likewise all (the women) approached there--

B: (Because of) how handsome the twins were?

A: How handsome they were, the two young men. Well, when everyone approached there, that one (a woman) too, now,

⁴⁵² Names of the two twin brothers. Also An-Sege and An-De.

⁴⁵³ *Lannea microcarpa*.

⁴⁵⁴ To find their real mother, as opposed to the other women claiming to be their mother, the twins ask a question only the real mother could answer. Those giving false answers are dismissed.

⁴⁵⁵ The women had been drawing water at the well when the twins had arrived.

“Sege and De go to the country.” Famous names.
 “Sege and De go to the country.” Famous names.
 “You (twins), where have you come from?” Famous names.
 “We have come from the presence of God.” Famous names.
 “Nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God?” Famous names.
 “Today, nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God.” Famous names.
 “You (twins), what things are you looking for?” Famous names.
 “We are looking for our (own) mother.” Famous names.
 “You (=a woman), under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?” Famous names.
 “As for me, (I) abandoned (you) under a karité⁴⁵⁶ tree.” Famous names.
 “That sure isn’t Mother.” Famous names.

That one was leaving. In that (same) way, (the women named) different kinds of tree. Some said (they) had abandoned (the twins) under a baobab⁴⁵⁷ tree. Some (others) said they had abandoned (the twins) under a wild-grape tree. Some (others) said they had abandoned (the twins) under a karité tree. Some (others) said they had abandoned (the twins) under a baobab--whatchamacallit?, under a balanzan⁴⁵⁸ tree. They were saying (those things).

Now when the lowly person (=the mother) whom they (=people) in the village were not thinking highly of came, (they) said “you get away from there! We over here-- Those two handsome young men, every one of us over here has worn herself out speaking, (but) (we) haven’t gone forward (=made progress). You who have (just) come, you will see (=attempt) its (going) forward?”

B: Chased (her) out unceremoniously?

A: Yes, after (they) had chased (her) out unceremoniously, (some of) the people for their part said: “(one) cannot (always) determine the true nature of a thing; those people (=the twins), maybe (one) cannot identify the person who abandoned (them).” She (=Mother) approached there. “(Hey) you (people),

⁴⁵⁶ *Vitellaria paradoxa*.

⁴⁵⁷ *Adansonia digitata*.

⁴⁵⁸ *Faidherbia albida*.

“Sege and De go to the country.” Famous names.
“Sege and De go to the country.” Famous names.
“You (twins), where have you come from?” Famous names.
“We have come from the presence of God.” Famous names.
“Nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God?” Famous names.
“Today, nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God.” Famous names.
“You (twins), what things are you looking for?” Famous names.
“We are looking for our (own) mother.” Famous names.
“You, under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?” Famous names.
“As for me, (I) abandoned (you) under a roselle bush.” Famous names.
“That is indeed Mother.” Famous names.

Now (right) there, saying that it was their mother, the two of them came and hugged (her). “No,” the people said, “it can’t be that one, it can’t be that one, it can’t be that one.” (Mother) said, “it was indeed I [focus] who abandoned (them), because I couldn’t raise (them).

Because of hardship, I went and it was under a roselle bush [focus] that I abandoned them. God has (still) not relieved me of that same hardship in the world (=life here below), in that (same) way up until today’s time has arrived. Now they have come and found me again.”

Well, God says, if (one) bears a child, don’t go into the bush and abandon it because of hardship. It dates back to that day. Those young men (=twins) washed her, they fixed up her house, they put her in (it), then in addition they took their own wives (=got married). Afterwards they kept (=took care of) her.

A person, saying (=on grounds of) hardship, if she bears a child, (thinking) “as for me, because of hardship, (I) can’t raise a child, God [focus] will raise (it).” Saying that (=on that grounds), don’t take (it) out to the bush and abandon (it). That (situation) too, it dates back to that day.

B: It dates back to that day.

A: Yes.

B: Ah! The story is over. God has brought you.

A: Greetings.

2011.1b.05 The farmer's revenge (tale with songs)

B: Is there another one?

A: Yes.

B: Is it about wild animals, or what kind is it?

A: Another? Yes, it's about wild animals.

B: Well, let's see about (= try) telling it.

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, I put (=tell) about wild animals. A man and his wife, after they had kept farming the crops a lot (=for a long time) and had let it (=field) rest, they (=animals) would go to the bush (=the field) and bite it (=eat the grain). When they had farmed and let it rest, (the animals) would go to the bush and bite it.

Now the woman was in an advanced state of pregnancy.⁴⁵⁹ When they (man and wife) had gone to the bush and looked (=inspected), the work (=damage) that the animals had done to them was enormous.

The man responded (=spoke up): "if I say that I have died, if I lie down in the field, (you) Woman, shout out and tell all the wild animals in the bush to come and help me! When they have carried and taken me to the house, (tell them) 'the man for his part was seeking (=collecting) dogs around there and has assembled them at his (afore-mentioned) house, and he has put them at the doorway.' (Tell them) to carry me-- Woman, speak like that!"

The man went and acted as though he had died, he (seemingly) killed himself and laid himself down. They for their part looked for and brought a shroud-- no, the woman brought a shroud, covered him (with it), and shouted loudly: "all wild animals, all (you) wild animals in the bush, all wild animals help me!"

When she had tightened (=intensified) the shouting, the animals came by ones and twos [focus]. Now the woman was in advanced pregnancy. They (=animals) said, "Aw, you are in a pitiful situation.⁴⁶⁰ How (=what happened)?" (She) said, "come help me and my husband! Look, he has died out (here) in the bush, and there is no other strength (to carry him). You (animals) please help me, carry my husband for me, and take him to our house," (she) said.

Well, when she spoke like that, (the animals) said "that (matter), (it's) okay." Now they all came and carried (the corpse), now they combined to lift and carry (the heavy corpse) and were taking it to the house.

⁴⁵⁹ Lit. "she was with old belly."

⁴⁶⁰ The animals show pity for a late-stage pregnant woman whose husband (they think) has just died.

Now the woman followed behind them. While they were going, uh-huh, they for their part spoke up--, no, Hare spoke up.

He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.
If (he) died, does he die by a spear?
(If he) died, does he die by a rifle?
If (he) died, does he die by an ax?
If (he) died, does he die by a daba?
He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.

When Hare had spoken (=sung) like that, Hyena replied.⁴⁶¹

He is indeed dead. Dorodo.
Suleiman is indeed dead. He went to Dorodo.

Now they carried and took (the corpse) to the house. Now, did not the field belong to them (=animals)? In that way (=happily) they all went along. Hare too was (there with them), but (suddenly) he hopped away (singing:)

He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.
If (he) died, does he die by a spear?
(If he) died, does he die by a rifle?
If (he) died, does he die by an ax?
If (he) died, does he die by a hoe?
If (he) died, does he die by a daba?
He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.

When (Hare) had spoken like that, Hyena replied:

He is indeed dead. Dorodo.
Suleiman is indeed dead. He went to Dorodo.

⁴⁶¹ This segment is not sung by the narrator but sounds like formulaic song language.

Like that they all came out (of the bush) carrying (the corpse) noisily. Now they went and put (it) in his house. They carried and put (it) down. As they put (it) down and were about to go out (of the house), (they found) there was no way out.

Hare kept going, as for him, he had turned away. (He) told (the other animals), “I will defecate quickly over there and will come (join you) after you-Pl have gone.” Hare turned away.

They now had carried him (=corpse) and put him (in the house). The dogs came noisily (=barking) to the doorway, all (at) the doorway. They attacked and were biting the animals and bringing them down. At this point there was no-one (=no animal) who could go (out).

The (supposedly dead) man got up and helping the the dogs he beat up and brought down any (animal) that was not (already) thoroughly (=badly) wounded. After killing and leaving all the wild animals, his (own) millet ripened in that way and thus [focus] he was able to cut (=harvest) his (own) crops, it is said.

(In) all that, (like) that he used cunning in the way (=in what) he did to cut (=harvest) his (own) crops. Hare, since he knew (=recognized) that cunning: “All of the weapons are with him (=the man). He is dead? (No) he isn’t dead.”

Since Hare knew (=recognized) that cunning, Hare got away (safely) from there.

Cleverness separated (=distinguished) (Hare) from all the remaining (=other) wild animals.

B: Hare’s cleverness didn’t come from (=begin) nowadays?

A: Yes (that’s right). His cleverness didn’t come from nowadays. Since that time, Hare’s cleverness came from that time.

The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

A: Greetings.