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 interlinear, 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-nùnú pò:-y [dè A]¹
A: pò:→
B: émè iyè ní [bá:sí gè:] yè-là:
A: àmá bá:sí pógò⁵

B: wálà:; ná: kà:ná [émé kè], émè, tògò-gànná, ʒ wàrú bà" wà-jù,⁴ wàrú nààn-è dè, lè nààn-è dè,
[pàrà-[gù:-rò]]-bírè dò,⁶ [kò sò:] ú = n únàr"-nù gà:;, mantenànt émè tí→ , [lè kùn] lá: tòrò-
jù, mantenànt [émé gànná],⁷ [lè dò:-lì] [kò kò-ñ dè], émè ínè là: bì-jì
A: [[lè dò:-lì] [kò kò-ñ dè]] [émé bàà-bírè lá: bì-jì], bàà-bírè jìwè-[tè:r-ù] bè→ , giwè dègè-
bè→ → [[yò: tògu dày"] émè bì-ñ dè] [pà→ yè-Ø dè], émè àr"ù dòm-è:-jù
B: bon, nè:, àr"ú kà:ná, àr"ú tí→ lòw-è dè, è iyè = n ínè bì-jì
A: àr"ù tí→ lòw-è dè, émè lè-lè:-jù, lè-kò nààn-sè" dè,⁹ nù:-sà sò:-sè" dè, [bàà yè] [wàga-tùmò
pè"] lè:-sè" dè, [nù: kúm-è:-sè" dè] [émè nàm-è dè],¹⁰ émè wàrú dòm-è:-jù, à:r"è: yò-ñ bi-téŋè
A: [gàmà tò-è] [gàmà tò:-lì] dè, émè iyè = n nù:-sà sò:-sè" dè, [nù: èn-i-i] tánjà yè-Ø dè,¹¹ [émè
jòjòr"q gi-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 nààn-è dè] [Y dò:], lit. “it will take (=pick up) X (and) reach Y.”
⁶ Tonal locative.
⁰ Iteration of tèrè ‘cut, chop’.
⁹ Subordinating form of birè ‘do’.
¹ The four -sè" dè clauses in the passage beginning here are are marked for plural subject, but are
understood to share the 1Pl subject that finally appears overtly in the clauses with nàm-è and
dòm-è:-jù.
¹⁰ Here 1Pl émè 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 -sè".
¹¹ ... tånjá yè-Ø dè ‘if it happens that …’.
Instrumental (Fr. *charrue*) and furrows, made by hand or with a plow.


A: [lè-kó tè→ bò], lè: = lò dè, [[jò pèrè] bò] lè:-jù] < *émod* > *émod* = ní [kò dò:.rù] gà-gàrà̀, lè-


B: nè: pèrè yò kò

A: pèrè, [gà mà] [dàg-à kò dè], [ú gà-ní:] dè [gà mà [kúwó bò] tògù-ì dè] nà:.nà; [gà mà 

[jò jù:rù bò] tò-è dè] nà:.nú [kí-ì bë-ì], kò dàg-à kò dè]

B: [yò: sà:"] lè = yò *quo"

A: < yò:- > yò: lè = yò, lè sà*-sà* yà:-tí à kò kò 12

B: lè *est-ce que*, gà mà *wàgà-tûmò* jò bò-ì dè, < kúwó- > [kúwó bò] tògù-ì dè, [bè lè:-jù] 17

[[kò kà:]] kó:-rò, ...

A: kò kò:"--

B: ...

A: [kò kà:]] yò kò

B: 5*, [kò nè:] nà-.nà bò-jà

A: [kò kà:]] úr-bò, [wàrú gi:] jò:jùrú kùn-ë:-sà* dè, wàrà:-sà* dè, [wàgà-tûmò kà-nà] nè: jà-rù-


[[gà mà [lè-kó bò] [kò kú]] ìg-i-ì dè] [wàgà-tûmò kà-nà] lè:-ì dè, nà:.nú kà:" ìyè = n

yò kò


A: àr:rë: [gìrë tò] [sè:lì], [sè:lì yè:-lì] [kò kú bò], 20 [númó bò] [wàgà-tûmò dàgà-dàgà-dàgà] 
mà-nà:-sà* dè, [kò kú] nù: nà:.nà:-ë,gë,

12 *between millet and millet,* i.e. between millet plants. NP conjunction with dying-quail terminal intonation on both conjuncts.

13 Manner adverbial clause with bà* "manner, way" as relative-clause head. Imperfective -jù

14 {HL} tone contour on nà:-r"à ‘easy’ as comparative predicate. Short for gà:-rà nà:-r"à ‘(be) easier’.

15 Same-subject subordinator, gà rá ‘go past’.

16 Postverbal kò implies widespread multiplicity and can occur with human as well as nonhuman subjects.

17 Headless imperfective adverbial relative, presumably of manner.

18 Compound verbal noun based on jà-rù já: ‘prepare field for planting’, i.e. with ridges (or rows of mounds) and furrows, made by hand or with a plow.

19 Sàrù and sèří are (sub-)dialectal variants of ‘plow’ (Fr *charrue*).

20 ‘before …’ construction with perfective negative clause, kò ‘it is’ (in relative-clause form), and instrumental bò.
kà:ná [sèrì yèr-e:] [kó kè:" nà] [sèrì bè] kà-rà-sè nà, ìyè = n fù: [kó kù"] kù:" nàmà-pù
B: yó: wà nè:, gù"sà" bìn→, kó [gù"sà" bìn] sày mà→, ou bien hál [wòrù-bónó\textsuperscript{21} bìn] kà:" ìjò bì-
ji
ṣìgù] gè:,\textsuperscript{24} [kó gè:] bì-tènè, nù: kó gà-rá kà:" nè: kè:nè-jà
lè:-jà kà:"] ye\textsuperscript{25} bì-tènè
B: [kò nè:] lìŋē = ŋ [[kó nèw"é] yà:-kɔ = ŋ
B: [yó: sà:" fù:] lè = ŋ
A: [yó: sà:" fù:] lè = ŋ
B: [yó: dògò ní:] [lè pèrè] kò:-ró
A: [yó: dògò ní:] [lè pèrè], lè pèrè, émé [yó: dògò ní:] [lè pèrè], pèrè jùgū:-rè
A: é→

\textsuperscript{21} cf. verb bònó ‘hoe (earth) into a small mound (with the daba)’.
\textsuperscript{22} bè-mà- from bè-ì, causative of bèrè.
\textsuperscript{23} wòrù-[pù-pùró] is synonymous to wòrù-bónó (see just above).
\textsuperscript{24} Purposive with {HL} -toned predicative comparative adjective \textsuperscript{HL} ọ́gù ‘be faster’.
\textsuperscript{25} Existential yé, not demonstrative adverb yé ‘there’. 
2011.1a.02  When the millet has sprouted

B: *maintenant*, yó: kàná ë bír-ë,26 nè: nú: [kó kè] tò-ë dè, nè: ìyè= n ([nù:-tô yò:]27 bín) [ìnè lá: tòrà-jù]
B: bon, ìº-... [bàº ìº pór-ì],29 [ú gâr-à→ pà:mà-lí], [nù:-tô dëŋ]30 ëmè nàmà dò:-lá:, [kàná nà ìº pô- jù]31 lè = ŋ,
A: wàrú dò:-lì→, lè gârâ yè-Ø, [[wàrú dò:-lì→] [lè gârâ yè]-}
B: nàmà àràº yè-lí
A: [àràº yè:-rò] [kè-i dè], ëmé [[nú: kènè] gû-gûrù sò]34 kó kò-kò:jù15 dàº-jè:, [nà gàmá] [nà ba³bà:rºù] [kó kè] pòng wà-jè:, [[sò: yò-ŋ] [sò: kèwèrè-kèwèrè] ëmé bi-n dë, pà→ àràº lòwë-jù
B: nè: [[gû-gûrù]-kò:j-ù yò:]36 nà] dá37 ...
A: é
B: ... kò, < nù: = ŋ > nú: = ŋ [kó nèwºë] ìnè = ŋ

26 Relative clause with preverbal subject proclitic (ë) and {HL}-toned perfective verb participle (bír-ë).
27 L-toned form of yò: ‘that (near-distant)’ after a tonal definite form of noun nù:-tô.
28 kú:n ‘then’. Literal sense ‘like that’.
29 Nonsubject (manner) perfective relative.
30 Tonal locative with possessed form of dëŋ ‘place’.
31 Nonsubject imperfective relative.
32 Bare stem form of lè: ‘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 biré ‘do’.
34 Relative clause based on stative quasi-verb (yò) sò ‘be in’.
35 For kò:jù-kò:jù (reduplicated). The preceding kò (if a nonhuman pronoun rather than a false start) is superfluous.
36 Demonstrative yò: 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.
B: <yɔ́ː-- > [yɔ́ː sàⁿ fù→], [[kèː bà→ kèː] [kà:ná kèːː] sàⁿ fù→] mèrⁿɔ̃
A: <yɔ́ː-- > yɔ́ː [[kó wò→] móːnú] [kó yǎː-táŋə]
B: [yɔ́ː wɔːn] [lɛ̌ kè] =ː láː. 40
A: [yɔ́ː wɔːn] [lɛ kè] sɔⁿ-sɔⁿ yǎː-táŋə

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38 L-toned demonstrative after tonal definite.
39 [kó gáːrə] is a fixed phrase ‘to a greater extent’, cf. gáːrə ‘big’. Not directly equatable to gáːrá ‘more’.
40 Tag question particle.
A: é
B: … [émé né:] kà:ná [wàrù kùⁿ] dɔ̀:-jù
A: é
B: wàrù dà, émé kà:ná, nãːŋ lá: tɔ̀rè:-jù
A: wàrú→, né: lè lé: jè dè, né: wɔ́yⁿ, [nú: né:] [[[ɲiɲɾɪⁿ [pɛːrɛː: [nú:né: ságà]]] bɛ̀], [[[ɲiɲɾɪⁿ pɛː-
sɔⁿ yɔː-ɲ wà-ɲù
B: [ɲiɲɾɪⁿ [pɛːrɛː: [nú:né: ságà]]] dɔː:-lí dè, [wàrú wɔⁿ] bìr-ɛː-rò
gàmá] dąyⁿ] nú: yâː:-jû,
[pɛːrɛː: [nú:né: ságà]]] bá→ dɔ̀-dè, kùːⁿ tɔ̀rè:-jù
B: [kó né:] [kó bɔⁿ né:] [wàrù gɛⁿ] gi-jî
B: wàrù gɛⁿ, wàrù-[ɡóː-ɡù] mà→ [wàrù gɛⁿ]
A: [kó né:] < [wàrù gɛⁿ]-- > [wàrù gɛⁿ] gi-jî, é→
B: wàrù-[ɡóː-ɡù] yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà
A: wàrù-[ɡóː-ɡù] gi-ɛː dè, [kò-kòjù yɔː] wàrù-[ɡóː-ɡù] kò=ỹ, [[ɡù-ɡùrù]-bɔrɔ]-[dàrⁿ-ú], wàrù-
[ɡóː-ɡù]=ỹ, [wàrù nàː], [wàrù gɛⁿ] kò=ỹ
B: né: [[wàrù gɛⁿ] dà], nãːŋ-nãːŋ [kó né:] wà-tèngè
A: [wàrù gɛⁿ] kà:ná-
B: < xxx >
dège-jù, [ná sãⁿ] bàrà dège-jù kè wɔⁿ, né: [wàrù gɛⁿ] yɔ̀: kò=ỹ,

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41 Composite numeral (roughly ‘ten five plus’ = ‘fifteen’), with pɛːrɛː: allomorph of ‘ten’.
42 [X bɛ̀] [Y bɛ̀], defining the beginning and end of a time interval.
43 sɔⁿ-sɔⁿ ‘all together’, here translatable as ‘exclusively’. The point is that, in the past, everyone
used the daba to farm by hand.
44 bìr-ɛː-ro ‘isn’t done’, in the sense ‘cannot be done’.
45 ɲú: ‘millet’ is not grammatically a possessor here, so I take it as a topic.
46 Invariant {L}-toned form of bɛ̀rə ‘get, obtain’ in the sense ‘be able to VP’ or, as here, ‘have the
time (to VP)’.
47 ‘they say’, short for ɡí-ɛː:-sèⁿ.
B: né: [[wàrù gèn] bín dà], [bìrè-[yà:-kò]-[sì:"-kâ"]], [yà:-kò]-[sì:"-kâ"] kò

[wàrù gèn yò:] gàn, [kò birè t-i dè] [íyè = ñ pîlè-m] [[wàrù gèn] bíní] [kú:" nù-nù kà:"n] yó kò
B: non, émé kà:ná [[wàrù gèn] kú"] sà-sày 51 nà-mà
A: ǝ"hɔⁿ

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50 From wòrú ‘field’, {H}-toned because possessed by dërò-yà:rà.
51 For sày-sày (iteration of sày ‘only’).

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

B: *maintenant*, [wàrù gèⁿ], yò: <kò-- > kò wàr-è dè, *maintenant* pilè-m [wàrù pèrè] yò kò má→ kò:-rò
B: nú: [sàⁿ jám] bàⁿ kò bè-jù,55 …
A: é→
B: … né: mòm [kò gè:] mòmà-ñù
A: é→, mòm [kò gè:] mòmà-tenè
B: [kò =ër = lò dè] [nèw'è pèrè]-, [yò: kà:"] nèw'è *mais*, [nèw'è pèrè] yò: = lò kò:-rò
A: [nèw'è pèrè]-, [nèw'è pèrè], yò kò, mòm sàbù mòmà-là: dè, nú: dàg-i: bë:-rò, [nú: dàg-i: bë:-rò] [wòrú kà:"], [wòrù bìnì] [gù-gùrù kà:"] [yògò nànjù"ù] iyè = n kò gà:rá tò:-jù,
    [yògò nànjù"ù] kò gà:rá írè56 ké:-jò:, [nú: = nì kà:"] kò gà:rá sëⁿ kè:-jù, mòm [yò: gè:] mòmà-
        tenè
B: né: mòm gár-è dè, *est-ce que* [bìrè pèrè] yò kò
A: [né: wàⁿ] [mòm kè wàⁿ] [yò: né:] gár-è dè, [yò: né:] [bìrè pèrè] kè:-rò, [né: wàⁿ] [é dèn-ì:
    [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bìrè dòm-è:-nù]
B: [yò: né:] [bìrè pèrè pàⁿ] kò:-rò
A: [bìrè pèrè]-
    wàⁿ né:] yò: kò =ër

52 [bir-è 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 kò (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* [yɔː wɔⁿ], kàːná [mɔ̃ mìyɛ], èmɛ [mɔ̃ mè]-- [wàrù kè] pòːr-ɛː-séⁿ [mɔ̃ mè kàːⁿ]
     kàːná pòːr-ɛː-séⁿ, *maintenant est-ce que--* [yɔːː dògò] níː est-ce que [[bìrè pèrè] yɔ kè]
A: [nɛː wɔⁿ] [[pàrà-[gɔː-rɔ]-bìrè = lò dè kày], [[nùː kè] ágá] tò wɔⁿ, [pàrà-[gɔː-rɔ]-bìrè dɔːm-ɛː-
     nù [nàmà kàːⁿ]]
B: [pàrà-[gɔː-rɔ]-bìrè dà nèː, [nàŋ-ŋàŋ Ṽ naïŋ-ŋàŋ naïŋ-ŋàŋ bìr-ɛ dè] tɔrɔ-ʒù
2011.1a.06  Ripening of the millet

móm mɔmʊ-së“ dè, nù: [ɡènè ƙà:-kó] së“-kà:] dɔ:-jù
A: [nù: pà→ ɗ→-Ø dè] [nà kù“] mir“i-ní bà→ ké:-jù dè], nù: gênè gàr-à→ gòwɔ:-jù
B: gênè gòw-ɛ dè, iyè= à pilé-mì në bì-jù
A: gênè gòw-ɛ dè, í“-–, sò-pófùró-jú, pòr-ɛ dè, bò dànà-nù, bò dành-Ø dè, í“ kùnà-nù, pírlí
sà:-jù, nè: pírlí sà:-ɛ dè, [yó: nè:] <tá:58> [yó: nè:] ír-è
B: ír-è
A: é→ ɤ: ír-è
B: [yó: nà fù→] dɔ:-lì dè …
A: é→
B: [nù: wɔ“ nè:] nàmà, [nù: ír-è] pòr-ú bir-ɛ:-rɔ59
A: pòr-ú bir-ɛ:-rò
B: bò dàñà→ …
A: bò dàñà
B: …í“ kùnɔ→ …
A: ð“-hɔ“
B: pírlí sà→ …
A: pírlí sà:
 náŋ-náŋ bir-ɛ dè, é nù: tɔ:-jù mà→ ou bien--
mà, [nù:-sà: ð-m-Ø dè] [nè: wɔ“] tɔ:-tɔ:-jù, [nè: wɔ“] [[ɔjì përê] sìgè-lì] [nè: tɔ:-ɛ], tɔ:-tɔ:-jù

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)’.
Driving birds out

A: é→ [kó kà:"n] ýò kò
B: [kò nè:] [kó kàn³] ìjè = y

B: nè: úr"i:, sàjù-dígì nà--, sàjù-dígì bè quyoi
A: é→
[ìnterruption]
[gìrë bë-ìjì: [gà→ gìrë:-ìfë] [gìrë wë nà:], 70 ùr"i: dàg-à→ [nè: wà] [jàn kà:"] ùñòèrò-ìf→, ùr"i: gìrë:-ìf wë nà, [bè wà] [yè-ìf dë] sàjù dàg-à→ [nìñìr"ë:-ìf gì:"] dígë-nè: gì:" gì-ìjì,

61 wá: ‘be/do early, at the right time’ (perfective wà-ë), here in a verb chain.
62 Perfective subject relative.
64 bàr’ë:-ìf ‘beat (tomtom), bang (tin can)’ , perfective negative.
65 From jè-ìjì ‘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 bìrè síg-ë sà” nà ‘the jobs that have remained’.
69 Imperfective subject relative. Followed by possessed form gì:"-kà:" ‘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 dígë-jìù.
72 èwë:-ìë, 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: ìwọ̀ àtì-á òùkó, [kó wà] námà jàgò bë-jù

⁷³ dàrù ‘kill’, here figurative.
2011.1a.08  Hacking down the millet stems

A: [yò: nà bè] =: 74
B: tò dà, [kò só:] nàŋ kò

bon [[ú már'á sày] tò:-jù] yò kò, nà sà:-râ, [[sà:-bù] [[nà ŋà:-[nà ŋà-[nà ŋà-[nà ŋà-[nà ŋà-]]) 79 bù:dù] sà:-râ]

bàŋà kà:n, [[sàn tú:n] tò:-jù] yò kò
B: *maintenant*, [nù:-tò gèr'n:] bìn, [jàŋrù'ú lò dè] [gèr'n: pèrè] kò:-rò
A: [nù: tè→ tò:-jù] [jàŋrù'ú lò dè], [[gèr'n: pèrè] kà:-rò] [[fà:m kè wàⁿ], [jàŋrù'ú bù] tè→ tò:-jù, è→
B: nè: < nù:- --> nù: nàŋ-nàŋ tò:-jù


74 Optional addition of plural bè to plural demonstrative before ‘it is’ clitic.
75 Purposive complement.
76 tènè ‘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’.
80 Tonal locative.
2011.1a.09  Cutting the grain spikes off the fallen stems

kéjekéjé-kéjé-kéjé-kéjé kéjé-së n dá], [dèy-→ bë:-jù], kó girî jë:-jù, nè: kèrù, bärá dàgá-jú
fyè = n [wògotóro árà] nà:-n nà:-n] [girî jë:-jù]
A: á:rî: [gèrè gèrè-së n dè] [nù:-të: kùnó-nú], nù:-të: kùn-ë:-së n dè, [[wòrù ú sá B2 dày n sâ:]n]
kólóm-ë:] gèrè-së n dè, gèr-ë: [nè: gèr-ú dóg-ë mà→ ë→ dóg-ë B3 dè], fyè = n dégë-dégë kù:n
dùw-ë:-jù,
káná [gàm ná] [gèrè yà:, dúw-ë yà:], [gèrè yà: dúw-ë yà:], B4 [kó kà:n] káná yó kò
B: [yó: kà:n] yó kò
B: [yó: kà:n] [nù:-[gèr-i]] = ë
A: [yó: kà:n] [nù:-[gèr-i]] = ë

81 Also [gèrè-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 túřû] [i" kà:""]*, [nù:]-[gèr-ú] [tògù túnò kà:""] š-té-jé, [[gàm ná] kè→], [nù: [árà kû"] kó ñgè-û] [gèr-ú], [[ará kû"] kó ñgè-û] gèrê-jù] [kó dà] iñé = ų
A: [kó kà:""] , [árà-kù"]-gó: gi-ji, [nù: gàmà→, [dág-à→ làgíří→] [wùrù dág-à→ kè:nè-lì] [làgíří→ kô dè], [tò-dè dò:rá š-jù sógò, [kùnúgòrò pôl pôl-jé]] gà-jì, [kú kà:""] nù:-[gèr-ú] yò kò, é→ [kó kà:""]--
B: [yò: wà" nè: ] [dò:rú yòrú-gò-shú gè:]
A: é→ yò: [kó bò"] [árà-kù"]-gó: gi-ji
B: [[árà-kû"]-gó: ] =:
A: é→ [[ará kù"] [kó kò-ñ]] pòl-ú, kó [árà-kû"]-gó: gi-ji
B: [kó nè:], iñé-iñé = ų, [jó iñé bê] kó këjé-jú
A: yò:, émé pòrùké: gi-ji, pòrùké: [sì:né, kérù = ų lòjó kùn-è:-sé" dè], émé [kó bê] këjé-jú,
 pòrùké: gi-ji
B: yò: kìrè = lá→ 
A: dág-à→ kìr-è→ kô dè, [ará kû" kè] kìrè nànà, dág-à→--
B: [ará kû" kè] kìrè
A: [ará kû" kè] kìrè kòy, [ná kû" kè] sógò, à"hà"
2011.1a.11 Heaps of millet grain spikes in the field

A: émè [kó bɔⁿ] nù:-tèːre gì-jì
B: nù:-tèːre
A: nù:-tèːre
B: nèː [émè úrⁿiː bè], [émè wɔⁿ] [nù:-tèː nù:-tèː gí-téŋè]
A: é→
B: nù:-tèː [kó kùrɔ] iŋé = y
B: [yɔ́: sáː n fù→] kéré kéré nà ú mɔː-n-Ø--
A: é→, nà jèːrː è: ú mɔː-n-Ø dèŋ 90
B: [sáː n fù→] [wɔrú bìn] nùː só dàyⁿ

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 nà ‘place’, also L-toned.
Small piles of millet grain spikes in the field

B: né: [gà:m nà kà:] yò kò
A: è→
B: bè gèrè yà: 91 [sùrò [nà tùnà] mò:-nà] [súrò [nà tùnà] mò:-nà]
A: è→
B: *maintenant, [kò dà] [injè gè:] bà-téngè
B: [kò nè:] est-ce que--, < kò-->, nù:-tè: kú:nà-sù gió, kò nà:râ mà→, ou bien [injè gè:] kò bà-téngè
B: [[kò lò:] gàn], [spir: káw-gù] 94 [yò: kò = y] mà
A: kì:r-è→ kò
B: [[nù wò]] [mà-mà:n mà] = n, 97 est-ce que [kò kà:], [nà gàm nà] = n [bà-rè yòrò gè:] 98 est-ce que [kò gè:] bì-wè-re 99

91 yà: ‘while’ after {HL}-toned form of verb.
92 {H}-toned bare adjective as predicate of a relative clause. nà:râ in the following clause has comparative {HL} contour; stem is nà:râ ‘easy’.
93 wò→ ‘each, every’, here in the sense ‘every time that …’ after headless imperfective relative. Verb yèrè ‘come’.
94 This translates as an imperfective subject relative (‘the thing that separates between [=distinguishes] …’), but the verb does not have the normal relative form. Rather, [sò: káw-gù] seems to have the bare stem and [nù Â] pattern of tonal purposive clauses.
95 Reduplications reduced from iterations kòlò-m kòlò-m ‘go around’ and bàrá-bàrá ‘gather (up)’, all chained to jè:x-i.
96 dùw-è: reduced from imperfective dùw-è:-jú, as often in the second of two parallel imperfective verbs. Here the pairing is with the preceding dùw-è:-jó: clause.
97 [mà-mà:n mà] = n ‘to my thinking’, fixed phrase with dative (?) clitic that is omitted with other possessors.
A: [kó gê:] bî-têŋ tâjirî, [kó gê:] bî-têŋ, bîrê < yôrâ- > yôrâ gê:, nê:

[ninjîri tûnà] [[wôrû wá-à kî] tâná yè-Ø dê], [[kó nînjîri wô-] géré] [[kó nînjîri wô-] bârâl], bîr-ë-rò₁₀⁰ sógô, géré géré-sêⁿ dê, nû:-jûrî ú:-nô ú:-nô ú:-nô¹₀¹ gârâ-sêⁿ dê,


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98 Different-subject purposive clause with imperative verb.
99 -wê-ré plural-subject progressive negative. Has final falling tone here (yes-no question intonation).
100 bir-ë-rò ‘can’t be done’, referring to the two preceding clauses (whose verbs are imperative in form).
101 Iteration of û:-n ‘lay’. Here (unusually) with presuffixal vocalism.
103 Imperfective nonsubject (locative) relative.
104 [kó bê] 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: kò→, [kùⁿ bè] yès-ŋ, …
A: tògûrû
B: … yès-ŋ nà:-n-Ø dè--
B: tògûrû kè, [tògûrû bìn] bè kù:n-ɲ-ɲ, ¹⁰⁹ [[kò kè nè:] bòⁿ] ɲ-ɲ-ɲ-ɲ-ɲ gi-ji
A: [kò bòⁿ] tògûrû-jàgš gí-ji, tògûrû-jàgš gí-ji
B: nè: [[[kùⁿ kûⁿ] kò→ págâ bè nà:-n-jù] [kò bòⁿ] ɲ-ɲ-ɲ-ɲ-ɲ gi-ji
télé-págâ gí-ji
B: kò [nà wò→] kò gòn-ju ¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Followed by {L}-toned form of dáwûrû ‘(clever or magical) solution (to a problem)’. Verb ýèré ‘come’.
¹⁰⁶ Relativization on an instrumental PP (bè). The following pèrè may be adverbial ‘otherwise’.
¹⁰⁷ dúw-è:, imperfective in sense but reduced from dúw-è:-jù 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 [árⁿ 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 gòrⁿ ‘be capable of’, have mastery of’. gò-nú here pronounced with final falling tone in a polar interrogative.
B: né: jù:-dùw tórår-eⁿ lò, ...
A: é→
B: [ʒjó pɔⁿ] kò:-rò
B: [wó kè wòⁿ] dógò-li dë, dàg-û bir-ë:-rò
A: [wó kè] dógò-li, dàgá tì¹¹⁶ [nù: péré]-- dûw-ë:-rè, péré dûw-ë:-rè
B: [wó kè wòⁿ]--, dóg-ë:-nú: hâl dógò:-rò kà::, [hâl nù: bé dûw-ë:-ǹ] [hâl fò→ dá:gà dë-ë]
[nuŋ-û nà-ë kà::], [dógò-li dë] [dàg-û bir-ë:-rò]

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¹¹² mà 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 kò ‘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: [nù:-[dùw-∅-∅] yò:] tóró-sën dè, [kó bín] [sànà gà:] yò kò mà→, ou bien [nà pëⁿ sâ:] fù→) [[kènè élú] bè] mà→, ou bien [gàm ná] [kènè-párú bè] wé:-jú mà→, nānj-nānj wê


B: [inaudible]--


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117 Slightly truncated from nè ñèl tâñâ sàⁿ nà ‘women who have moved to their husband(s)’. The sâⁿ 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

wò→, 120 [bé kè] [əjó túnś] yó kò, kà:"-kiré gí-ji mà→,

A: mhm

B: wálá:, [wó nè:] kó sùj-è dè, [sà:" fù→] kù"n əjó bì-jú, [kó kè nè:], kó-- [inję gè:] kà:ná kó dàg-è
túnś] [sà" nù:] dùw-ì: bè-jú] dà-è dè,
né: pèrè ú nà gènè-íf kà:"n, né: pèrè ú [sà" túnś] [sà" bírél]-- [sà" nù:] dùw-ì: bè-jú, háyè
kà:ná [yó: gè: mà] [yó: dàg-è], ãrèn: ãgó gí-ji là

B: ãgó

A: ã-→, [[sàtôrô-úr"ì: bè] əgó], bè tù-tùrù sùjé-sèn dè, háyè kòy, ëmé [nù: dùw-è:] gö:-sèn wà
dòy, 122 [hàyè kòy] [ëmé [nù: dùw-è:] gö:-sèn wà kòy], [tù-tù:rù yô:] kò tògoro-jú, [tù-tù:rù
yô:] ãrèn: [kó gè:] sùjé-jù

bè 24 wò→]

A: [nù: dùw-è:] [õrô-sèn] [ú s-è], 125 ú tù-tùrú ëg-è dè, yó: nù: dùw-è:-jú, ú yà:-lí dè, bè ú nì-ní:-
ní, 126 ú nì-ní:-ní,

é→ [bù:dù túnś] dù:r:-sèn dè, [[bù:dù nù:] dày"] bë:-sèn 127 dè, [nà yà:-lì bàŋà] kè
[ǹá: dày"] nì:-nì,

nì-ní:-nì, é→

B: [nà kèle kà:"n] [nà sò: yë:-rò] 128 jò-jó, 129 maintenant [[kò bàŋà] 130 sò: yë:-rò] [ènè tójì:-rò] g-ì
dè, [kò bàŋà kè] né: nàŋ kè:-jù

118 Possessed form of kù"-bàŋà.
119 ‘one person’, contracted from túrú bàŋà.
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 ní:-ní (plural of ní:-nú) ‘eat’, here in the sense ‘fine, assess a
fine on’.
127 bè:-sèn, plural-subject perfective for bè: ‘put down’ (singular bè-è).
128 Variant of yòwè:-rò ‘does not consent’. Imperfective negative subject relative.
129 Static of jò: ‘be a lot’.

22
B: [yō: nà sā:" fū→ ] nū:-[dùw-ì:] = yā là: mà
A: [yō: fū→ ] nū:-[dùw-ì:] = yā námà yā:-tāŋà

130 [kō báŋá], here {L} -toned as relative-clause head. Used again just below as an index for the same nonspecific referent.
131 Verb gà:" ‘twist the arm of’. 

2011.1a.16 Millet in the granary


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: [yɔːː nɛː] [gɔː [kɔ kɛ̀ yɔː] [bɔ̃ pɛrɛ] dɛ́yⁿ→  yɛ́ sə̀
A: gɔː [kɔ kɛ̀], [gɔː ər̩ɔ̝̃  yɔ̀ kɔ̃→, [gɔː yəː] yɔ̀ kɔ̀
B: nʊː nɛː [gɔː ər̩ɔ̝̃] n kʊ̀nɔ̝̃ mɔ̀→, [gɔː yəː] n kʊ̀nɔ̝̃ nù
A: nʊː [ [gɔː ər̩ɔ̝̃ bɪm] kʊ̀nɔ̝̃ nù, [ [gɔː ər̩ɔ̝̃ bɪm] kʊ̀nɔ̝̃ nù
B: [gɔː ər̩ɔ̝̃ də], n̩ɛn̩-n̩ɑŋ kɔ̀
B: [yɔːː wɔ̃ sɑⁿ fù→ [nʊː kɛ̀] lɔː mɔ̀
A: yɔːː nɔmɔ̀ [nʊː kɛ̀] sɑⁿ-s̩ɑⁿ yɔːː-tàŋɔ̀
B: est-ce que [nʊː kɛ̀] [sɔː pɛrɛ] dɛ́yⁿ→ yɔ̀ kɔ̀ mɔ̀, yɔːː lɔ̀ dɛ̀
A: [nɛː wɔⁿ] [uŋʊrⁿu [u h̩àkɪ̀l], nɑ̃ ðɔ-ɛ], [gà yén kɔ dɛ, uŋḥrⁿ ɪ, [iⁿ kàⁿ] [nɑ̃ iⁿ nán-ɛ kàⁿ]. gàmâ [u ʊŋrⁿ-ɪ dɛ] [iⁿ sɑː bɛ- jù]
B: wàlàː; < [iⁿ wɔⁿ]→ >, [iⁿ wɔⁿ] [yɔːː-rɛ] [wɔⁿ n=1:], maintenue [u kàⁿ] [u h̩àkɪ̀l] nə sò, [nʊː kɛ̀] dɛn̩, [u kàⁿ] mə= n tíŋɛ bɛ- jù dɛ kàⁿ, [kɔ kàⁿ] sɛːw kɔ̀
A: [nʊː kɛ̀] [nɛː wɔⁿ] [kɔ ɲi] r̩ lɔ dɛ̀, kɔ̀ bɪr̩ɛ-→, [gɔː bɪm] kʊn-ɛː-s̩ɛⁿ dɛ wɔⁿ, [nɛː wɔⁿ] [dɔgɔ tɔ] [ [nʊː kɛ̀] bɪr̩ɛ wɔⁿ] [yɔːː nɛː] y̩ dɔg-ɛ, ᐃ→

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135 Tonal locative from génɛ ‘height’.
136 gʊrù ‘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

A: [birè pèrè] yô kò dè\(^{142}\)
B: [[birè pèrè] kò] yâ:-kɔ= y
B: dèr"è-yà:rà
A: è → [àampionship]: kà:""]], iyè = ñ [kò kènè] yè yé\(^{146}\) sò
B: [àampionship: kà:: ] dèr"è-yà:rà = y
B: né:, [è:rè nà:] là: wà-jù mà, [è:rè múñùr"ú] wà-jù

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\(^{140}\) Hortative, for speaker plus singular addressee.

\(^{141}\) Simple perfective lòw-è ‘(rain) fell’ with nonfinal intonation parallel to the following clause with lè:-sè"→. lòw-è→ with this intonational prolongation mimics, but should be distinguished from, same-subject anterior subordinated form lòw-è:.

\(^{142}\) Clause-final emphatic dè suggests that the speaker thinks the questioner doesn’t expect the answer to be positive.


\(^{144}\) Nonsubject imperfective relative.

\(^{145}\) ânjí is the usual form for the general sense ‘roselle’ (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*). ânjí- occurs in some compounds denoting specific varieties.

\(^{146}\) yé ‘there’ (discourse-definite) plus existential yé.
2011.1a.19  Groundnuts

B: [ê: rè nà:] nàŋ-nàŋ wà-jù
A: [ê: rè nà:] bù-bùgújú-jù, lé:-lé:-lé:-lé: kàⁿ, êm-í→ ëm-í→ bë:-sëⁿ¹⁴⁷ dè, lé:-lé:-lé:-lé: [ê: rè [kó bíni] kámá-kámá kún- Сейчас dè] [námá námá-sëⁿ dè], [ïyé = à bù-bùgújú-jù] [wàgà-túmá màŋà:-rè],
  bùgújú bùgújú bùgújú [ná kë-kë bë-è dè] [yá-ŋ wàrà-wàrà dàgà-jù, [ê: rè nà:] yá-ŋ lë:-jù
A: ú lë-ë dè, [[nìnjìř:i sô:] dë:-lë dè] [dà:rà gò:-rò], [[nìnjìř:i sô:] dë:-lë dè] [ê: rè nà:] dàcrà kùₖ
  dër-ë:-rò, nìnjìř:i sô:
B: maintenant < kò-- >, kò tś-ë dè, est-ce que [bìrè përè] yô kò
  dè, [gú-gúrù [kó bíni] sô]¹⁵⁰ mòmò-mòmò mòmò-sëⁿ dè, ë kàⁿ-kàmá¹⁵¹ dàgà-jù
B: [kó wàⁿ] [kó bírè] yô: kò = ÿ
  sô] mòmò-mòmò dàgà-jù, ë-> yô kò = ÿ
  nàŋâ bë-jù
A: [[ê: rè nà:] ë yë kò tś:] [[yë [kó i:n] kùn-û], nìnjìři pë-sô:, [[nìnjìři pë-sô:] dë:-lë dè] [i:n kùnâ:-rò]
B: [[nìnjìři pë-sô: dàn] dë:-lë dè] [i:n kùnâ:-rò]
gà→] [nì-Ñ bìr-ë:-rò], [[i:n dë:-[sô:-së:] dëŋòrâ:n] pë:n-lë, pë:n:-rò, pë:n:-rò, ê→
B: [kó wàⁿ] [ê: rè ná: nê:] [kó nêwâ:n] ènjë = ÿ
A: [ê: rè ná:] [kó nêwâ:n], në: lé:-rë:-¹⁵³ [nà gàmà], [gàm ná kë→], ñù: dògò-jù, [gàm nà] = n [kìrè
dàgà] yë-jà sà,¹⁵⁴ [kó yëře] [kó gì-ë dè],¹⁵⁵ [dògùrù < ñû::- > ñû: gò:-jà],¹⁵⁶ [ê: rè ná:] là:
gò:-jù,

¹⁴⁷ bë:-, in factitive sense with an adjectival predicate (in adverbial form).
¹⁴⁸ X nàŋ-ë dè, Y dë: ‘from (the time when) X until (the time when) Y’. lé-ë is an {H}-toned form
  of the perfective (lé-ë), tò: 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 tâⁿ fù→ adapted from French tant que ... ‘so long as ...’.
¹⁵³ Fr. l’heure.
¹⁵⁴ Delayed future with -jà sà (‘will eventually ...’). Verb from yëře ‘come’.
¹⁵⁵ Different-subject ‘after’ construction, with subject pronoun and gì-ë dè after a clause that
  ends in a bare verb stem. Cf. [kó bàgá] [kó gì-ë dè] with bàgá ‘fall’.
¹⁵⁶ ‘Before ...’ clause with -jà after H-toned form of verb.
2011.1a.20  Peanuts

B: né: [ɛːrɛ jùŋjù'ù] dà
A: [ɛrɛ jùŋjù'ù kà:] = yŋ [kó kà:] dèr-nè-yà:rà = y, háyè [kó kà:] [ú lè:-jù] [ú lè:-è dè], [[ɛrɛ nà:] bà wá:jù dày n] [wàrù wà:rù] [yɔŋ wà:jù],
ú wàr-è dè, [kó kà:] iyè = h [gù-gùrú wà:jù] dè = dè, [gù-gùrú yɔ:] [ú mòmò mòm-è dè] [ká:-ká:-má] dàgà:jù,

kò = y, [kò kè mòm] yɔ: kò = y
B: [[kò kè bɔ]'] pàj gi:j
A: [[kò kè bɔ]'] [ɛrɛ-[gù-gùrú]-[mòm-ɔ]] gi:j
B: [ɛrɛ-[gù-gùrú]-[mòm-ɔ]] mà→ ɛrɛ-[bûgû:j-ù]
B: [yɔ: wɔ:-], ɛrɛ-[gù-gùrú]-[mòm-ì] = yŋ
A: ɛrɛ-[gù-gùrú]-[mòm-ì] = yŋ ɛ→
B: maintenant ɛrɛ, yɔ:, [[gù-gùrú, bè mòmó-jù] tènè] 163 bè, [i:n kùnò-nù mà→] [i:n kùnò:-rò]

157 Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Verb wàrà ‘to farming’.
158 For iterated ká:-ká:-má.
159 há:jè is not possessed, cf. ín há:jè sì:-rò ‘there is no need for me’, ‘I am not useful’.
160 sì:-ì, variant form of sà ‘have’ used nonfinally in a chain.
161 Adverbial form of sò ‘have’ used nonfinally in a chain.
162 Conjoined NPs, both ending in dying-quail intonation (.)
163 {H} -toned possessed contour.
B: [yɔ: wɔⁿ] [yɔ-ŋ kó ká-ŋ dè] [pàrá gɔ:-jú] mà→, ou bien piyé bàgá-jú mà→, ou bien nàŋ-nàŋ kè:-jù


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

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

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

167 Subject relative with só ‘be in’.
2011.1a.21  Peanut harvest


B: [è:ré-[gùr-ú] kè] nè:, [kó só:] nàŋ-pàŋ kò


B: [jèŋùr”ú bè]-, [nùmò bè] mòm-Ø nà:n”à 169 mà→, [jèŋùr”ú bè] tò nà:r”à

A: né: nà dùu kò dè, [nùmò bè] mòm-Ø nà:r”à, nè: nà máy” kò dè, [jèŋùr”ú bè] tò nà:r”à

B: né: nà dùu kò kàⁿ, [nùmò bè] mòm-Ø bir-è:-jú

A: [nà dùu kò dè] [mòm-Ø bir-è:-jú], [jèŋùr”ú bè kàⁿ] tò bir-è:-jú, gà→ [nà dùu kò dè] [[nùmò bè] mòm-Ø nà:n”à]

B: [né: nà máy” kò dè] dà

A: [nà máy” kò dè] [[jèŋùr”ú bè] tò:-lé tò:-jú]

B: [jèŋùr”ú bè] lò dè, [nùmò bè] mòm-Ø bir-è:-rô


B: [kò kàⁿ] nè:, é kò gúró bér-è dè, íyè=ñ [yà: tò] jà:-jù

A: [kò kàⁿ] ú gúró bér-è dè, págá-págá-pága-pága pága-sèⁿ dè, [gíré tò wòý”], kà:ná wògòtòró [kò kò:-rò là] [gíré tò], kò [kùⁿ-kèné bè] pága-págá-pága pág-è dè, [gàmà ná] gir”i jè:-jè:, [gàmà ná] [wòrú bínì] yè, pál-è:-sèⁿ dè, [íⁿ jè: r-è:-sèⁿ dè] [kúrò [bàrá bínì] yè kám dàgà-jù] 171 à.r”è:

168 Tonos change from sò: lòy without a demonstrative to [[sò: lòy] yò:] with addition to demonstrative yò:. Tonosyntactic mark-up [[thing two] LH NearDist].

169 From nà:r”à ‘(be) easier’, with {HL} comparative contour overridden by {L} in clause-final position. Cf. nà:r”à ‘easy’, nà:r”-à→ kò ‘it is easy’.

170 Reduplicated adjectival predicate (Rdp LH Adj) from kègú ‘hard’.

171 Normally káma dàgà-jù, here reduced in allegro speech.
2011.1a.22 Peanut greens and pods

B: kúrò [kó hâ:jé sè:-ré mà]
A: é→ ú kúrò nɔ-ŋ a: din-i-i dè, [ú < ì:"-- > ì:" sà'n-sàn a: à-e dè] pàlà-jù, [kúrò a: din-i-i dè] [ì:" sà'n-sàn a: à-e dè] pàlà-jù
B: nè: [kó kè bên] nâñ gí-ji
A: [kó bê] è:rè-[pàl-ù] gí-ji
B: è:rè-[pàl-ù]
A: è:rè-[pàl-ù]
B: [è:rè-[pàl-rouch] tènè] [yò: kò = yò]
A: é→ [è:rè-[pàl-ù] tènè] [yò: kò = yò], è→
A: [è:rè kè wò] nè:, < yò·-- > yò: kò = yò, yò: kò = yò

172 Nonsubject imperfective relative on dative, without a subject, similar to instrumental relatives. jè ‘take, convey (somewhere)’ is a bare (chained) verb stem. The repetition of ɔ̀ = nì is not necessary here.
173 For /giri tò/ ‘at the house(s)’.
174 lágš in the sense ‘be very much, be excessive’ regularly combines with yè-rouch ‘went’ in the perfective positive. Its other sense is ‘overflow’.
175 Adverbial derived from sûrò ‘pile (up)’.
2011.1a.23 Planting fonio


A: pâñó kà:"n, hàyè [kó kà:"n] [yè: kó = yè], [é:ré bà"n bùgújó-ňú]176 gí:"n, [wòrú bíní] nú-, < xxx > ñjà→ [[wòrú pê"n] bíní] nú-Ø dè, ú ká-kàrá-jú,


[kó [[nùñúr"nī nàyə] mà:]178 dà:] [kó tó-ńjí], kó yè yè-Ø dè, dâg-à→ sótòtò gö:-ńjú, kò sótòtò gö-ë dè, [kó kà:"n] [[kó bín] nú-Ø dè] [pòñó-[gú-gúrú] mòmò-jú], pòñó-[gú-gúrú] mòmò-sèn dè--


A: [kàr-"u yè:] [kó nèw"ë nê:]. [[nà pô"n], [ligijí→ wàrà-jé] yà:-lè],180 [[pòñó bè] á-ë dè] wàrà-jé yà:, è→ [kàr-"u yè:] [kó gè:] kàrâ-jú181

B: < àn màñ-Ø-- > [àn màñ-Ø] dàyə n ... 

A: [àn màñ-Ø]182 dàyə 

B: ... bàⁿ júgú-má-ńjú183


B: yè: kà:n, [âr"u lâw-ë dè] bì-jú mà→, ou bien [hâl àr"u lâw-ë-lí kà:"n] [pòñó wâr-ú bir-ë:-ńjú]

176 Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative.
177 Nonsubject (object) perfective relative.
178 mà: ‘approximately’.
179 ‘(you) said’ in the literal sense.
180 Subordinator -jè (simultaneous). yà:-lè 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 màñ-Ø ‘sowing, scattering’ here functions as an adjective.
183 Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Omitted impersonal subject, as in instrumental relative compounds.
184 Prohibitive of wârâ ‘do farm work’ in negative purposive clause.

[^185^] An idiosyncratic expressive adverbial used by this speaker, roughly ‘variable’.
2011.1a.24  Weeding around fonio

B: pɔŋɔ [yɔː nɛː] kà:nà wàrá-sèn, tɔ-ɛ, maintenant kó tɔ-ɛ dè, [kó wɔn] [tɛɲɛ ɣamà] gú-gúrù [kó wɔ→ kà:] gàr-à→ jùgɔ-mù:-rò
A: é→
B: maintenant, nàŋ-nàŋ bir-ɛ dè, é [kó wɔrú] dàn-gá-jù
  göjɔ-jù] [jùgɔ-m tãná yɛ-ᵰ dè], ú [gù-gúrù [kó bìn] sò]188 kù:n mòmò-jù
B: nɛ: [nà wɔ→] kó jùgɔ-jù
  jù
B: [ʊrⁿi: bɛ kà:] jùgɔ-jù
B: [tɔy→ wɔ:-rò dè] jùgɔ:-rò
A: [tɔy→ wɔ:-rò dè] jùgɔ:-rò, é→, [hàl ɣamà àsegɛ [kó bìn] págá-jù kà:] jùgɔ:-rè, é→

186 Same-subject anterior form of mediopassive gɛr-ɛ: ‘look’.
187 Subject perfective relative.
188 Subject relative with sɔ ‘be in’.
189 Negative of stative bãⁿ-bàŋa ‘be hidden’.
190 Subject relative with sɔ:-rò ‘not be in’, followed by L-toned demonstrative and terminal element dày ‘all’.
191 Subject relative with plural-subject form of the ‘be’ quasi-verb.
2011.1a.25 Harvesting and threshing fonio

B: *maintenant, [gú-gúrù yɔ:] mòm-è dè, ú kà:nà, [gú-gúrù yɔ:] mòm-è dè, né:, xxx

A: [gú-gúrù mòm-è:] ú dòm-í n dè, pònò irlé-jù, pònò irl-ë dè, [kò wà] [pònò-kéjë192 dò-ë] wà, [pònò-kéjë dò-ë] wà, [yɔ: né:] pònò irl-è,

pònò irl-ë dè, iyé = n árë: [bîrè sig-ë nà]193 [bà refill: [mò-[mò-ë]],194 nù: kè, [bà refill bî-ë]]195 gi:”, [pònò kà:] mòr-ë:-sè dè, kù:” kèj-ù

B: pònò, [pònò kè] bîrè] [kèj-ù kù:] lá: tɔrò-ù

A: é→ kè-kèjé-ù [kèj-ù lá: tɔrò-ù], kèj-ù kèjé-sè dè, háyè né: [pònò nè:] á:rë: émè nù:-tère gí-
là:, pònò-tère kùn-ù,

pònò-tère kùn-ë:-sè dè, [[nùm-ù lì yà→] [tàn mà→] yè yè-ë] [jûgù dè:], kò dàg-à→
pò-ë dè, [nàm-Ø kò nàr-ã] g-i dè, kò dàg-à→ pó:è dè, iyé = n ú nà gènè mò:-ù-Ø dè, [bè wò→] bàrà yè-ë:-sè dè, nà kù:kè-ë:-sè dè, [bè wò→ né:] nùm-ù jàgú gùn-ë: gùn-ë:-sè dè,

[yò: né:] kù:” nàm-ù

B: árë: ú [pò-ë dè] gí-lì, …

A: é→

B: … pò-ë”, [émè wà”] [ùrì: bè], pò-ë gàr-à→ kò pà:m-è: bê-là:

A: < kò dàg-à→ -- >, kò dàg-à→ --, smù-ù gi:” dàg-à→

B: smù-ù gi:”


jù]

B: [[kò kè] bò”] pò-ë n

A: pò-ë, pò-ë gi-jù, é→

B: [yò: wà”] [pònò kè]

A: é→ yù [pònò kè]

B: nè: nàm-è dè

A: mh m

B: plîlè-ì:” bàrà gùf’i jè:-jù mà→


192 Compound verbal noun. Same form as agentive compound.

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

194 For [mòr-ë]-[mòr-ë] (contracted verb iteration).

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

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

197 jè-li, purposive clause form of jè:ri ‘bring’, as complement of ‘begin’.
B: kó [[gò: yà:] bín] kùnò-ù
A: kó [[gò: yà:] bín] kùnò-ù
B: [[gò: àrⁿá] bín] kùnò:-rè
B: [yò: wɔⁿ] [pòŋó kè] kó = ý
A: [pòŋó kè wɔⁿ] [yò: kó = ý]
Planting roselle

B: ànjí:, [ànjí: kà:] [tènjë jò:] [nà bè] kó ājó bi-jù
B: ànjú-bògú
A: ànjú-bògú

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198 Headless object relative, with L-toned Imperfective -ñù.
2011.1a.27 Varieties of roselle

B: *maintenant, est-ce que, ânú kà:" [kó sibé] déyⁿ → kó mà→] [ou bien [ânú sá:" fú→] [tègù túnå] = yⁿ]

[tègù tân bà→] kâ, é→

B: tân lò dè, pèrè kò→rò
A: é→, tân lò dè, pèrè kò→rò
B: nè; < ânú― > [ânu pírî] nàŋ kò
A: [ânu pírî]
B: [dèg-é→ kó mà→] [gùr-ì→ kó]
A: gòwö-jú, kò [bá:gà [kó kè]], pír-ì→ kâ, dág-à→ gòwö-jú, [i:" kà:"] < da-- > i:" jò→ nà-jï, háyè kò [ânu pírî], [kó dògò ní:] [ânu bâ"], bá:gà bâ"-yⁿ→ kâ→, [kúr kà:] bâ"-yⁿ→ kâ,
[giyé [kó kè]] bâ"-yⁿ→ kâ, [kó bâ"] [ânu bâ"] gù-jù
B: ânù bâ"
A: é→ [ânu bâ"]
B: nè: [ânu bâ"], [ânu bâ"] [kúrò [kó kè]], [[ânu jà:nh bé nà:jù] gi:"] kó mà→, ou bien
[kó wò→] déyⁿ→

B: [ânu-kò:rò bâ"] [kó kà:] gùrú kó mà→
A: [[kó kà:] gòwö-jú] [ânu-kò:rò pírî] [kó lò:] géné] ké-kèw
B: [[kó lò:] géné] ké-kèw
A: [[kó fú→] géné] ké-kèw
B: *maintenant, [kó kè] couleur sayù, [[kó lò:] gân] káw-g-i mà
A: couleur sayù, couleur--, giyé [nà:]204 bâ"-yⁿ→ kâ→] [nà: pír-ì→ kâ], nàŋ yùs: kó = y
B: [couleur lò dè] [kó lò:] [kó túrù]

199 Nonsubject (object) imperfective relative.
200 Contraction of bâ" wâⁿ with topic wâⁿ. Parallel construction, see pírî = wⁿ below.
201 Instrumental relative compound.
202 kúnî:, 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 nà: ‘this’, arguably contracted from topical nà: wâⁿ, at any rate with final pitch drop indicating topical status.
2011.1a.28  Harvesting and threshing roselle bushes

[tó:−tó:−tó: yè] [[nà túnò] yè] [máρ\textsuperscript{a}â−máρ\textsuperscript{a}â−máρ\textsuperscript{a}â−máρ\textsuperscript{a}â−mò:n-è: mò:n-è: ú:n-è:−sèν dè], [kò bòν] [ànù-sëν gi-jù]
B: ànù-sëν
A: ànù-sëν ě→ …
B: nà\textsuperscript{206} [[nà túnò] bé mò:n-ño-ɲù, \textsuperscript{207} …
A [overlapping]: … ě→, [kò bòν] ànù-sëν gi-jù
A: [kò kè] ànù-sëν gi-jù
B: [ànù-sëν yè: dà nè:] iyè = n [kò kè], nè: [ì:ν [kò kè]] gùŋ3-ɲú mà→, ou bien ànù-sëν [inè gè:] kùn-è:
B: [kò kè nè:] [[kò kè] biré-bòν], biré-bòν nà:−−
A: < ànù−−> ànù-[sòn-ù]\textsuperscript{209} gi-jù
B: ànù-[sòν-Ø]
A: ànù-[sòν-ù], ě→, ànù-[sòν-ù]

\textsuperscript{205} ànù-sëν ‘heap of roselle (bushes)’. tè:ré ‘big heap’ is used for millet and fonio, but not for roselle.
\textsuperscript{206} This nà (from nà ‘land, earth, ground’) is {L}-toned as relative clause head.
\textsuperscript{207} Imperfective nonsubject (locative) relative.
\textsuperscript{208} bàrà ‘gather’.
\textsuperscript{209} Compound ending in verbal noun of sòν ‘undo (heap of roselle bushes)’.
2011.1a.29 Cow-peas

B: [wòrú bín] pàńjá-nù
A: é→
B: [wòrú bín] [îŋé gè:] pàńjá-tènè
B: nè:, ní [wòrú bín] bé pàńjá-nù,²¹³ ...
A: é→
B: … [[nì nèw"é] gè:] pàńjá-tènè mà→, **ou bien** [[nì-kúrò nèw"é] gè:] pàńjá-tènè mà→, [îŋé gè:] ní [wòrú bín] pàńjá-tènè
B: nì-ʔì:" [nì-ní:-nì mà→] dô"-dô-nù

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²¹⁰ Imperfective nonsubject relative.
²¹¹ Nonsubject relative with só ‘be in’.
²¹² [N Num]²¹¹ 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-bògú kà] dàg-à→ pòrù gè-mà


[kó yô-nté ìnjó-ìjù] [é [[kó bòrì] gù-gù-ì kà]<sub>218</sub> è<sub>219</sub> bògór-è: bògór-è: bògór-è:-sàn dè], [pá→ yè] kó i:" nà-nà,


hàyè [yô-nté bìrè-sàn dè] [òdògo tò] [émé i:" kú:- tùrò-ìjù], [kò pè:-sàn dè] [kú:" tùrò-ìjù], [kò kà:" tùrò túrò-sàn dè], [gìr"-ì jè:-r-è:-sàn dè] sàgà-ìjù,

[sàgà-sàn dè] nì-bèrú, tò-tò:-jù, nì-bèrú tò:-sàn dè, nù-nù-bà"-à<sub>220</sub> àsègè = ì-ò-ìjù [kà:nà wɔ̀], hàyè gùmà [kò kà:"] [nàpè ìò yò:]<sub>221</sub> kò = ì yò kà, [í:" nàpè = ì]<sub>222</sub> < kúrò-- kúrò-- >

[[kúrò kà:"] nàpè = ì]

B: [kò = ì wɔ̀] nèw"é jò→ kò dè

A: nèw"é jò→ kò dè

B: hàyè [yò: wɔ""] dàg-í-i


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<sup>216</sup> Chain of pòrù ‘say’ plus hortative of gèrè ‘look at’ (hence ‘consider’).

<sup>217</sup> Imperfective nonsubject (manner) relative.

<sup>218</sup> Subject relative with nonhuman existential-locational ‘be (somewhere)’.

<sup>219</sup> 2PI subject è, normally clause-initial, repeated here after a heavy object NP.

<sup>220</sup> Tonal locative.

<sup>221</sup> [N Num]<sup>1</sup> Dem instead of the usual [N Num]<sup>2</sup>-Dem. The latter type arguably contains a covert tonal locative on the numeral.

<sup>222</sup> nàpè = ì ‘it is (sth) useful’. Also expressed as nèw"é yè sà ‘it has a use (value)’. 
2011.1a.31 Interlude

B: maintenant, est-ce que [wárú bín] kà:ná, ñjò→, [ñjò pèrè] déý"→ yó kó
A: wárú bínù, ú [[jütó mà] nà dò:-lí dày"]223 gàmá--
B: wálà→, [ú kà:"] tú-túrú--
A: ñjò→, [ñjò kámá-ñú] [ñjò kámá-ñú]224
B: è→
[gàmá ná] bì:-rè, è→ [gàmá ná] bì-jù,
[gàm ná] [[kó dógó] tò] [gàmá kérù bà-bàrá225 mò:-n-è:-sè" dè] [[nùjù-bàré"à èsègè = n ò-
jù] g-i dè] bì-jè:, hàyè [gàmá ná], [[kérù ná] dág-à→ dág-à→ wà:-wà:-sè" dè] gir"i jè:-jè:,
hàyè [dógó tò], yò-ñ [sà: kéké-kéké-kéké-kéké] pèrè, < sà:"→ > sà:"= n kò:-rò gà→,

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223 Perfective negative nonsubject relative.
224 Imperfective nonsubject relative with omitted impersonal subject.
225 Iteration, for bàrá-bàrá.
226 Imperfective subject relative.
2011.1a.32  Seasons

B: wàrú nàŋ-è dè, móm dɔ:, [pàrà-[gò::-rò]-bîrë dò:, [kó b₅ⁿ] nàŋ gi-jù
B: pàrà-[gò::-rò], < kò kè-- > [kó kè] [b₅ⁿ pèrë] yò kò mà→, ou bien pàrà-[gò::-rò]--
A: [pàrà-[gò::-rò] kè] [b₅ⁿ pèrë] sà::rál, [b₅ⁿ pòrùpà] pàrà-[gò::-rò] gi-jù
B: pàrà-[gò::-rò], ³h’sòⁿ
B: [kó wò→ mò::-n-ô dè, [[pàrà-[gò::-rò]-bîrë] = yⁿ°]
A: [kó wò→ fù→ mò::-n-ô dè, pàrà-[gò::-rò] gi-jù
B: sà::n nè::, wàrú kùⁿ::, ìe kùⁿ::, móm kùⁿ::, [pàrà-[gò::-rò]-bîrë kùⁿ::, [sà::n fù→] mò::-n-ô dè, nàŋ pò-jù
A: [sà::n fù→] mò::-n-ô dè, [yò: wòⁿ] nè::, [kó wò→ fù→] mò::-n-ô dè, wàrú gi-jù
B: wàrú
A: é→, [wàrú wà] d₅-ë, é→, [jír"înè súґ-è] [wàrú d₅-ë], é→, [kó wò→ fù→] mò::-n-ô dè, pòrùpà wàrú gi-jù,
árù wàrà je dè, [dogò tò] [pàrà-[gò::-rò]-bîrë gi-jù, mà→ [yò: kò = yⁿ°] là::, é→ pàrà-[gò::-rò] wà, [jír"înè wà] [pàrà-[gò::-rò] wà], jír"înè, [pàrà-[gò::-rò], [jír"înè súґ-è], [pàrà gò::-ë], wàlà::,
   é→ [pàrà gò::-ë], é→ [jír"înè kè] wàrî = yⁿ°, < dèrⁿ°-- > [dèrⁿ° gò:: je dè] [pàrà-[gò::-rò]-bîrë kè wòⁿ, dèrⁿ°-[gèr-ì = yⁿ°], háyè yò: kò = yⁿ°, háyè yò: kò = yⁿ°, jírînè pàrà-[gò::-rò]
B: bon, kà:ná wòⁿ, [wàrú ágá] tò²³⁰ wòⁿ, [sò:: jò:] pôr-ë:-sèⁿ, nè: [sò:: jò:] émé pôr-ë:,²³¹ est-ce que
   [yò: sà::n fù→] kà:ná bî-tëngè

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.
²³¹ Perfective nonsubject relative with plural subject marked on the verb. Clause-internal head NP is a noun-adjective combination.
A: [yɔ́: dàyⁿ fú→] kà:ná bì-téŋè dè, kà:ná [yɔ́: dàyⁿ fú→] [ʒjẽ émé dãgã-jù] kɔ:-rɔ̀ fú→ bì-jù,
[yɔ́: dàyⁿ fú→] bì-téŋè

232 Imperfective nonsubject relative.
2011.1a.33  Dry season

B: nē: pàrå--, kà:ná, jîrⁿíngé sùg-è::, pàrå gò-è::, pàrå gò-è::, [kó dògó nē:] [nē: íngé bi-jù]
A: < [nē: w³⁰]-- > [nē: w³⁰] nùnú bårⁿ⁻è, [pàéra-[gò:-rò]-bîré dòg-è, nùnú bårⁿ⁻è, [kó b⁵⁰] èmé nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á gi-jú
B: nē: [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bïn] [sò: [yà:-k⁷]-[sìⁿ⁻k⁷⁻k⁷]:] [yà:-k⁷]-[sìⁿ⁻k⁷⁻k⁷]:] [yà:-k⁷]-[sìⁿ⁻k⁷]:] sò
A: [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bïn], [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bïn], gîrⁿ⁻[tår⁻ú] bè→, gô:-[tú⁻ú] bè→, háyè gîrⁿ⁻[tú⁻ú] bè→,
[sò: [tâgû déyⁿ⁻déyⁿ⁻déyⁿ⁻déyⁿ⁻]] [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bîrè] [dògùrù jîrⁿíngé sùgó-jâ] [nē: w³⁰] [gîrⁿ⁻bïn]
émé nà:-jù::-, [gîrⁿ⁻bïn] dèrⁿ⁻émé kûnô-jù::-] 235 dànú-gá-jù kè w³⁰, [émé nē:] [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bïn] [[bîrè yô:] tâgû bi-jù,
[[kô wô→ fû→] mû:-ôh⁻ò dè] [émé nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á gi-jù, háyè [kô wà] nùnú bárⁿ⁻è, mhm
A: yô: [kô bïn] [sò: këwërë-këwërë] [kô kà:] jô:-jô: sò, nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á [gàmà nà] gîrⁿ⁻wë:-jè::,
[gàmà nà] gîrⁿ⁻wë:-jè::
  [gàmà nà] [yê tô] [dèn-Ø dènë] 228 [nà pèrè] yâ:-jè::; [gàmà nà] [[sàn⁻ bî] bô:-gîrⁿ⁻] wë:-jè::;
[gàmà nà] jà:ngú dàg-à→ dàg-à→ jà:ngú-jè::; háyè [gàmà nà] [kô→ dènè→], 239 [gàmà nà] úrⁿ⁻:
jàŋ yâ:-jè::; háyè yô:-jô: jô:-yô:-kâ, háyè [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bïn] [sò: këwërë-këwërë sâ'ⁿ]
fû→ [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á bïn] bi-jù,
B: jîrⁿíngé pôr-è:-sèⁿ, émé [nùnú-bårⁿ⁻á kè kà:] dàg-à→ pôr-è:-sèⁿ
A: dàg-à→ pôr-è:-sèⁿ
B: wàlâ: nē: ìg-è:

[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 sâ’ 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-è ‘he/she did some searching’.
239 dènè ‘(they) sit’ (stative, plural subject), cf. singular dànà.
2011.1b.01 Step-mother (tale with songs)

A: fⁿ én bòyn²⁴⁰
B: bòⁿ-bòⁿ táyn→²⁴¹
[në-ỳⁿ wà] [[kò bò̀rø nà] wà] [gɔː:nɔ-s³ŋ yè yè-jù²⁴³ gà],²⁴⁴ [kèː bàː] [sɔⁿ nà aː-jù]²⁴⁵ yò kàː, [kò yèr-èːː] [kò kèːː] [wó á] [[[kèrù bòɾø nù] wà], [në-ỳⁿ jɔw-èː] [kèrù bòɾø] nù-ỳⁿ,
ɡir'i jìjì yèr-èːː dèː-èː dèː-èː, dèː-èː: iːː nùɾ-èːː dèː-èː,²⁴⁶ [iː:n ɔː-li mà] [wó g-ì dèː], ènè iːː ɔː-li gí-jìː, ɔː-li mà [wó g-ì dèː [ày ènè ɔː-li gí-jì],
[néː wɔⁿ] èːː→

²⁴⁰ Standard tale opener. bòyn reduced from bòré ‘call’.
²⁴¹ Standard reply, encouraging the narrator to proceed. bòⁿ-bòⁿ is obscure. táyn→ is an expressive adverbial elsewhere meaning ‘well-spiced/salted’ or ‘well-sugared’.
²⁴² Dative for lower-clause agent in causative of transitive verb.
²⁴³ yè yèjù heard as phonetic [jëːdɔ̞ː]. Existential yè 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 [kò kè] prevents the demonstrative yáː from tonosyntactically controlling the preceding noun, and causes it to drop its own tones to lỳːː.
²⁴⁸ Perfective yë-ŋ ‘went’ reduced to yë-Ø before dè ‘if’.
²⁴⁹ Purposive complement for ‘begin’, expressed tonally as a noun¹³⁻ HL verb compound (‘millet¹⁻ HL grind’).
In the song, [má wà] is pronounced màːn.

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

251 The pitch of the [túnó náː léw⁴⁰] segment in this line is lower than in the previous and following instances.

253 yè here has no literal sense.

254 Usually níː-ŋú ‘will eat’.

255 Iterative onomatopoeia referring to dripping, reduced from lèw⁴⁰-làw⁴⁰-lèw⁴⁰.

256 In this final verse, the narrator/singer puts extra stress on léw⁴⁰.

257 Iterative variation on kénjëʳ-eː mà ‘after listening’ (same-subject), stem kénjëři.

258 Optional reduplication with perfective negative. Positive counterpart (nù-)nú-ŋú ‘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 gír⁵⁸] ‘X’s house’.

261 Mediopassive -êː in imperative.

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

[yè-ŋ wó gë-ë] [yè náː] kénjëře-kénjëře mà, 257 r: [rː nːː] jágà nù-nù-ì’à 258 wà, jágà wó ní-ŋ wó = n bír-ë màː wà, [yè náː] gò-ëːː-


wó gò-ë, bárà yàː:-ìf, bá:r-ëː: yèr-ëː [[[yè náː] gír] pám-ë,mà,

ìnáː [ỳé kè], [ỳé kè] dë-dëː: yàːː 262 ìyé = n èːn-[të-tëː] tégir-ì dë, [tégir-ì néː] èn:-díː:
lèw-eÍ tár-ë, ìyé = n

[90x80]262
[90x80]261
[90x80]260
[90x80]259
[90x80]258
[90x80]257
[90x80]256
[90x80]255
[90x80]254
[90x80]253
[90x80]252
[90x80]251
lè-làwⁿ-léwⁿ yè→ [túnó nà:] léwⁿ
lè-làwⁿ-léwⁿ yè→ [túnó nà:]
ló: [má wà] bàrá yà: wà→ [túnó nà:]
[ próp ] fⁿ bàrá yè-y lò→ [túnó nà:]
ló: [má wà] kếù wà: wà→ [túnó nà:]
[ próp ] fⁿ kếù wà-è lò→ [túnó nà:]
ló: [má wà] gònè-sìⁿ yè-jù wà→ [túnó nà:]
má wà] kếù-bòró nú wà→ [túnó nà:]
[ próp ] fⁿ kếù-bòró nú-yⁿ lò→ [túnó nà:]
ló: [kù" mà] nè: dùj-è lò→ [túnó nà: léwⁿ]

A: [wó kê'] è: yè→ [túnó nà:]
wó gír'ë j'é:r-i yè→ [túnó nà: léwⁿ]
lè-là-léwⁿ yè [túnó nà:] léwⁿ}

yë-ŋ wó gè-ë, i-i-i→, dè-dè: kénjë-r-kénjë²⁶³ [dágá wà] [pèrë nè:], dág-ë:, [wó yè-ë:], [ámír'ì sùgùrù] kún-², [ánà nà sà:] èⁿ-[tè-tèː] [tògù nàː]²⁶⁴ mɔː-nó wà,
pór-ë: [wó k-ë:], háyè ámír'ë→ [gàn bë] yè-ë:, tógóro kùn-ë:, nùnù nà-ë dè, kɔⁿ-pëⁿ nè-ː,
[ánà nè sà:] èⁿ-[tè-tèː] [tògù nàː] mɔː-nó wà, [bè nèː] sàːⁿ [tògù nàː] èⁿ-[tè-tèː] mɔː-n-ëː,
mɔː-nó-jù [bè gè-ë], [sàⁿ kèː] [ëⁿ-[tè-tèː] përë] dàn-g-ëː] [yè jàː-jù] [wó gè-ë], ìː yè wó-
tànà, [nàː: inà: [wó gè-ë] [hàː" wà], [wó wà] [wó kê ] [ëⁿ-[tè-tèː] nùnù-nùnù]²⁶⁵ kùnè wà

B: [ì:n nùː] mà

A: òy, [([wó kê] ìː") yò kò, [érú kò bàñà] [sàⁿ êgè-nè] ìː") dàrⁿ-ë, inà: wò-rs gè-ë, nèː: [([wó kê]
ìː") yò kò là,²⁶⁵

dè-dè: = n [kò gèː] gò-ë: nàjà,²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Shortened (in iteration) from kénjë-r-ëː, same-subject anterior form of kénjìrì ‘listen’.
²⁶⁴ Tonal locative of tògù nà: ‘main palaver shelter’.
²⁶⁵ nùnù-nùnù ‘song singing’, verbal noun with incorporated cognate nominal. Here the
compound is used adjectivally.
²⁶⁶ Clause-final particle là after a surprising statement.
²⁶⁷ nàjà, stative of nèn-ëː ‘go around, stroll’. ‘Go out and go around’ is idiomatic for ‘be pleasing
(to X)’.
kó = y. [è:]-[tè-tè:] nùjù-nùjùjù sùmò sùmò èjè-mè; [sùmò dàn-gè-e:] 266 [è: nànà pèrè] kùnè; [[è: nùjù-nùjùjù] dàgá tèè] [[è: pèrè] kùn-∅], kùnè: [[tògò nú:] jè-e:] [[nà nú sà:] è:]-[tè-tè:] mò:nè:] [[wò kà::] yè mò:n-∅], [bè wò→] [bè wɔ] [bè wɔ], nè: [è:-[tè-tè:] sà:] tòn-tàn tòn-tàn tòn-tàn tòŋ [kò tòr-e wɔ'ì]]. [[è kò 269 bàngà] kà::] tòr-e, lew' ([kúwò tìtùrù] lew'-lew'-lew' bi-tàŋà,

lè-láw'-lew' yè→ [tùnò nà::] lew'

lè-láw'-lew' yè→ [tùnò nà::]
lò: [mà wà] bàrá yà: wà→ [tùnò nà::]

[ɔ: gè-e] tì bàrá yè-yè lò→ [tùnò nà::]
lò: [mà wà] kèrú wà: wà→ [tùnò nà::]

[ɔ: gè-e] tì kèrú wà-e lò→ [tùnò nà::]
lò: [mà wà] gònè-sàn yè-jù wà→ [tùnò nà::]

[mà wà] kèrú-bòrò nà wà→ [tùnò nà::]

[ft wɔ] kèrú-bòrò nù-dàn yè→ [tùnò nà::]

[lò: wɔ'] [kò è:] bàr-e lò→ [tùnò nà:: lew'

wò gir'i jè:r-i yè→ [tùnò nà:: lew'

dè-dè: kò ni::jú yè→ [tùnò nà:: lew'

lè-là-lew' yè [tùnò nà:: lew'] wà

[yɔ:-nù wò gè-e] [[nà nú sà:] ünèr-e::, hè:-hà:-hè:-hè::
dè-dè: màrpá: nàŋ-e, ènè nè tè-tèwé-jù wà, [[tì:: únà:] 270 mòr-e-e: yè-∅] gè-e, wò yɔ:-nù i::
bàrá jè-e: tè:r-e: mà, [nè: wɔ'] < nújì-- > nùjù-nùjì = y' tàn-g-e: mà, wò [[wò è::] bè]
<pànà-- pànà-- > 271 nú: nòw'-s-tàŋà dè, ènè tè-tèwé-jù wà,

[hè:-hà:-hè:: wà] [hè:-hà:-hè:: [nà pɔ:] bè pó-jù], dè-dè: jàgà [màrpá: mà] 272 lò:w-e: jìjè

yè-∅, [nà: tèw-e: mà] [[kò dèn] 273 yè där'-ù-e],

yò: [[nà pɔ:] tó→], f.[: kà:nà, [wò ínà:] wò:-r̄ kà::, f:: ü = n dàgá tè-e dè, pèrè [[ù i::]
gi::] wò din-è: dòŋèr'ò, nè: gir-e-kùnù bè] din-è:-lé wà, yò: [kò níjìr'ì] mò-e,

én sà dèr'-è-wò 274

B: ìmà ú jè:r-e 275

266 dàní-gi ‘do/make well’.
269 Contraction of érú kò ‘that (far-distal).
270 Initial H-tone of possessed H' ìnà is hard to hear.
271 pànà ‘meal’. Clause broken off, then restarted with nú: ‘millet’.
272 Transpersonal reflexive possessor má.
273 Tonal locative.
274 Story-ending formula. ìn ‘tale’, remainder obscure.
275 Response to preceding formula, also used as a ‘welcome’ greeting to an arriving traveler. Pronounced with idiosyncratic contraction: [ámù: ...].
A: pồ:→
2011.1b.02  Crowned crane and the stubborn woman (tale with songs)

A: fọ̀ én bọ̀n
B: bọ̀-bọ̀ ná yá

   jù],

[yò- nà wò bì-jù] [wò bì-jù] [wò bì-jù] wò bì-jù] dìwò, [dìwò sàn dàn-g-è:] [dimè ná-nà:jú [yè kòdúrú tár-è: mà], gò: yè yè-Ø, [yè yè-è:] [wò kè":n], 5°?5° kùw'á

B: kùw'á
B: [nà pò^n] ̀:li
A: [sò:-rò mà→] [wò gè-è], [nà-nà:rùn pò^n] [wò gíyè] sò:-rò wà, [dimè kè] [yò: dà] ùnèr-è: [wò kè":"], [[[dimè kè yò:] ènè] [nà-rà gè:] tár-è: sà] wà, háyè [kò = yè dè wò^n] [yò bàndà] [ènè 282 gè-è:] bir-è-jú wà, [nà bè] háyè kò = y-
B [overlapping]: [[kò wò→ òù→ bì]n bùgò-li quói

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

277 Tonal locative of nà ̀[gíyè ‘person’s body’ (< gíyè ‘body’).

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

279 Imperative of gèr-ì: ‘look’.

280 Logophoric singular subject. Fly is quoting Crowned Crane.

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

282 Logophoric singular possessor. bir-è-jú means ‘be possible’, i.e. here ‘be eligible’.

283 ‘it is’ clitic in complement of tàn-gù ‘transform, convert’. Òy stems raise tones in the ‘it is’ form Òy = ý, hence nà ‘person, human’ becomes nà = ýn. sàn here is transpersonal reflexive object.

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 bàjîⁿ begin with à(n)-, cf. àrⁿá ‘man’. Those from third son up have finals related to the corresponding numerals (‘3’, ‘4’, ‘5’).

²⁸⁶ [yê-ŋ bê-ːː] [wó sâ], gò-éː nêː. The speaker slows down and hesitates here, having been distracted by her weeping infant.

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

²⁸⁸ Irregular hortative já-má of yàː ‘go’. Preceded by tonally marked purposive clause ‘to peck rice’.

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

²⁹⁰ Lit. “it is [a kind of [thing of what?]]” (stacked possessives). tógù treated as compound final.

²⁹¹ yîgî-yîgî, expressive adverbial related to verb yîgê ‘shake’.

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

²⁹³ yè here is a clause-final emphatic, ‘indeed’ or ‘exactly, precisely’, apparently used only in song.
nà: dèŋ-é: kèwⁿ→, [yɔ̃-ŋ wò gè-è] [bàjìⁿ yè pór-ì]294

B: kír-è: yè-ì


[inà: lò:] [[gìrè mà] ú jè:r-ì→]
[inà: lò:] [[gìrè mà] ú jè:r-ì→]
[bàjìⁿ nàrⁿ-è] [[kòwⁿá i:-n] = ì: lò mà]
[àn-tímè nàrⁿ-è] [[kòwⁿá i:-n] = ì: lò mà]
[àn-tànú nàrⁿ-è] [[kòwⁿá i:-n] = ì: yà→]
[kà:ná à-nàyⁿ nàrⁿ-è] [[kòwⁿá i:-n] = ì: lò→]
[bè lárál] yè-sámá nàrⁿ-è, [[kòwⁿá i:-n] = ì: lò mà]
[inà: lò:] [[gìrè mà] ú jè:r-ì→]
[bùrúgú [àrà jògò] yà:-jú né:] kòwⁿá → kòwⁿá→

[yò bàŋà] gò: yè-ɔ̀

B: [wò kà:ⁿ] pùrú dúdú yè-ì

A: pùrú dúdú yè-ì, kòwⁿ→, [wò wɔ] ìyè = ñ àn-tànú úŋùr-ì, [yɔ̃-ŋ bè bì-jù] [bè bì-jù] [né: wɔⁿ], [yè-sámá kûⁿ] dò-è, [sámá kûⁿ] dò-è:] [kò kè:ⁿ], ták

B: á-è


B: [ìnà: nûmò] èr-ì


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 bòrⁿa are imperatives, the latter {L}-toned at the end of the construction. The stems are bájá ‘pull’ and bòrⁿa ‘call’.
296 Contracted iteration, for sù:rù-sù:rù, from sù:rù ‘send (away)’.
297 Reflexive possessor, here as contrastive topic, contrasting ‘father’ with ‘mother’.
298 Stative verb ‘be perched’, {L}-toned after existential yè.
[ìnà: lò:] [[gìrè mà] ú jè:r-i→]

[ìnà: lò:] [[gìrè mà] ú jè:r-i→]

[bàji³ nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá i:-n] = i: lò mà]

[àn-timé²⁹⁹ nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá i:-n] = i: lò mà]

[àn-tànú nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá i:-n] = i: yè]

[bé lárá] yè-sáma nàrⁿ-è, [[kùwⁿá i:-n] = i: lò mà]

[ìnà: lò:] [[gìrè mà] ú jè:r-i→]

[búrugú [àrà jɔ́ gɔ̀] yǎ:] jú nɛ̀:]

[kùwⁿá ðì gùkùwⁿá ðì wà]

[yò bàŋà kà:"n] gò: mèm→

B: á→

B: háyè [né: wɔⁿ] kiré³⁰⁰


B [overlapping]: yò-ŋ yè nú: yè-Ø

A: ë→, [[kò dógò] tág-i-i dè] [ègè-yè bìr-è:-rö] wà,

én sà dèrⁿ-è-wⁿ

B: àmá ú jè:r-è
A: pò→
B: mǎn-Ø kòy, á→-jà-jà-jà,³⁵⁰ háyè [yò: wɔⁿ] gàr-á→ pà:m-Ø

²⁹⁹ Emended. On the tape it sounds like àn-tànú.
³⁰⁰ Comparative {HL}-toned form of adjective kiré ‘difficult’.
³⁰¹ Possessor relative: ‘a person (nà) whose meaning (kòrò) you-Sg don’t know (ínè) at all’.
³⁰² Iteration of péy ‘(not) at all’.
³⁰³ Relativization on possessor of object. Predicate is ínè ‘not know’.
³⁰⁴ Lit. “husband”-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: f^n én báy^n
B: bɔⁿ-bóⁿ táy^n→
B: é?-ò’m-?ë
A: ar^n-ɔৰুঃ-n=ì: [kò nùnjë^n] [këñë në-së dë] [[gɔ̌: ìnë mà] 311 gɔ̌-nì:] nà:-nù
B: kënë-bùrùgù kô = y mà→
bë kûwò wɔ^n, kïnë yì gë-ë, kïnë gò: yë yë-ë: mà, [nɛ: wɔ^n] [kënë-bùrùgù gë:] [yë të]--
B: [nɛ-ɔⁿ kë] kïnë] mà

306 wë ‘they are’, plural-subject of wɔ ‘he/she is’.
307 A final ‘go’ verb is required by nànjà ‘forget’ in the perfective positive.
308 Subordinator mà ‘and then’ after simple perfective verb.
309 [sɔ: L [nàŋ mà→]] III:sí”-kà”, mark-up [[[thing^L [how? Q]] III-equivalent], with [nàŋ mà→] ‘how?’ as an apparently adjectival modifier. III:sí”-kà” is “possessed” by [sɔ: L [nàŋ mà→]].
310 Plural-subject progressive negative -wë-rë, with yes-no interrogative terminal intonation (falling pitch).
311 mà linking a nonsubject relative clause to a main clause sharing the same subject.
312 Here jë (recent perfect) emphasizes completion (hence ‘ate up’ in the translation).
313 Variant pronunciation of gò-ë: mà.
pò: pò: àn-dénè pò:, 314
dénè òtá:ñú pò:,
yò: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár’i

pò: pò: àn-dénè pò:,
dénè òtá:ñú pò:,
yò: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár’i

[ɔ̀jọ mà] bàrá yé ìmè yè
[ɔ̀jọ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[ìrí-kòmò mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[Ìrí-kòmò yégbé-yágbá mà] bàrá yé ìmè yè

[ɔ̀jọ mà] bàrá yé ìmè wà
[lógút mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[lógica ìgò-túñjì] mà] bàrá yé ìmè

[ɔ̀jọ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[kárábárá dëjú-bóörì mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[du:-du: àmà-lógú mà] bàrá yé ìmè

[ɔ̀jọ mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[yò: bà:] ɔ̀jọ púró mà] bàrá yé ìmè
[[sèr’èndé dògò nà-è] mà] bàrá yé ìmè

pò: pò: àn-dénè pò:,
dénè òtá:ñú pò:,
yò: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár’i

314 This song is in Tengou-Kan. Not all of the vocabulary is in my Togo-Kan lexicon.
315 Compound initial ìgò- here is short for ìgò-pù: ‘camel’.
316 dògò ‘lowly (shameful) status, misery’. nà-è ‘made (cord) by rolling fibers together’ (i.e. compressing, minimizing.)
är"â-ý̂ n kẽw"→ wá-táńà;

B: [núŋù nà kó gó-é kà:"n] inè
A: [núŋù nà kó gó-é kà:"n] inè, iyè=û sújó gĩr"ĩ-kã"322 yé dò-è, 323 [nà kà:"n] ñ-wè-rè, kïné pó-táńà

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317 Human singular copula, elsewhere wõ, here with progressive -táńà.
318 Assistant suggests that [ʒjó tũn̩] ‘one thing, something’ would be better here, since ʒjó ‘thing’
can denote concrete things while sõ: ‘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 sújó ɗ: ‘come close(r)’.
pō: pōː àn-déng̊e pōː,
déng̊e òtá:ñú pōː,
yáː [ē dáwùː] miː
àmá é lá:rù kár"i

yó-.n wó gę̪-ə, kénjèr-ə: 324 kénjèr-ə: [yí sóm [s̩ə" kʊ̆"] kʊ̆n-ì] [ènè étèː yà:-jù] wá
B: [[n̩ę" kë kë:mr̩] jùg-ə mà
A: ć→, jùg-ə, jùg-ə: [ènè étèː yà:-jù] wá, [[[ăr"á-ùrù bë sâ":"] wó tìː."tà:""] [wó wá] [ètèː bërë 325 yà:-rò] wá
B: < kír-ː-- kír-ː-- > [ètèː kír-ː nù-ñú] gëː mà, [s̩ə" då"-då-ñú] gëː mà
[bè lɔːː] yè bê yà:-jà, 326 [bə" wó pó-ñú] giː, 327 [bàrə-nàw"bè] [wó kë kùw-èː mà, [kʊ̆"-kènè lò:túːː], [nëː w3ː"] [irí dëː] dàğ-ëː, gér"iːː [wó kë], sér"èndè kʊːː, kàràbàráː, [kò wà→ pú→] yè dàğ-ë,
[dàgà tè-èː [nëː w3ː"] [[yè bê yè-ðə] w3ː"] 328 [bè wò→ yè [kò wò→]--
B: sér"èndè dà, dìŋɛːː = y̩ə" mà
A: sér"èndè ć→ dìŋɛːː = y̩ə" [dàgù-dìŋɛːː pëː"] [cː→ sér"èndè, [lòːtú w3ː"] [kʊ̆" mùn-è dëː] [lòːtú bë dàgà-jùː], ć→ kò [lòːtú t̩gaː-ñú] [yuːː kò = y̩ə, Đàràbàrá [kèː bàː] [bè kè] [kùɾò sìː"-kàː"] = y^̩ə", [gér"iːː sâ:"] yè kùnò-ñú,
ć→ [yuːː náː = y̩ə" [yuːː náː yè sìg-èː], pòjù, yè-èː [s̩ə"→ s̩ə"→ s̩ə"→ [bè wò→] gér-ë-èː, gér"iːː nàŋ-ëː, göː [inàː bùː"] yèr-è,
[inàː à] 329 t̩jôr̩s = y̩ə" wá, hàyè [wó nè-ñúː] [ènè bë wò→ː] tìːní kùn-èː, [ènè bë kè
[kènè-bùrùgù bë] kíj-ì-ì, [ènè bë w3ː"] [[yè tè] gɔː kùn-èː mà] [bùrùgù-bùrùgù gòː gòː:-tənə],
ènè bë w3ː"] [nàŋà y-è] 330 wá,

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324 From kéŋjìr ‘listen’ with same-subject anterior subordinator -èː. Note the mix of ATR features in the word.
325 {L}]-toned form of bërë, in the sense ‘(won’t) have a chance to’.
326 ‘before …’ clause with -jà after H-toned verb.
327 Imperfective nonsubject relative.
328 w3ː after perfective nonsubject relative.
329 For [inàː wá], quoted vocative.
330 nàŋà y-è, plural subject form of ‘forgot’, cf. yè-èː-sèn ‘(they) went’.

60
\[\begin{align*}
\text{B: } & yè sà\text{" där \text{"-ë} } \\
\text{A: } & é\rightarrow [[nè-\text{" yè\text{" bè\text{"} ánà\text{"} [yè sà\text{" när \text{"-ë\text{"} } , [yò: wò\rightarrow fú\rightarrow nè\text{"} ; , [kènè nò-ë\text{"} ] hákîlè [bé kò] gi:" jè, [yò: sà:" fú\rightarrow ] [nà:. ù:.] tî:ní nú-∅ dè, [tî:ní yò:] kilè-lí dè, [ʒjò [nà hákilè] gi:"-nî] [nì-∅ sà:-rà], é\rightarrow yò: [kò níjirʰ] mò-ë
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{B: } & háyè pà:m-∅ \\
\text{A: } & én sà dèrmë-\text{"-w"} \\
\text{B: } & àmà ú jë:r-ë \\
\text{A: } & pò:→
\end{align*}\]

331 Again wɔⁿ after perfective nonsubject relative.
332 Construction with {H}-toned perfective (cf. ùŋúr-i \text{"got up\text{"}) and a preceding expressive adverbial.
333 Associative plural, \text{"the young woman and company (i.e. her kin\text{").}
2011.1b.04 Abandoned twins (tale with songs)

B: pèré yó kò mà
A: pèré yó kò
B: 3'hàn, [pèré yó kò dê] [[kó türú] pòrù gè-m à]
A: fô èn bòy
B: b̀h₃-bò tày→
A: fô jà jé-e: jě:r-e: mà--){én wɔⁿ} jò-jò: kòy
B: bàrà-nwɔⁿ mà, 3'hàn pò-nò
[ànú bòrɔ] dàg-è,
[[ànú bòrɔ] dàg-è],
[pèré nè:] [ànà bùn] [sàⁿ nè:] wò já:sì³{HL} wè-ë:, gàrù-n-ë:, [pèré nè:] fôm sà-rá→, nè: pèré [nà sàⁿ dìn-è:-nù seⁿ kà:][³] ³³{sà-rá}
B: nà bù [wò kà:] jàtà:-rè
A: è-→, [nà bè kà:][³] [pèré nè:] wò játà:-rè, [[jènè yò:] yà-ŋ dàgá] [wò kè::], yè-e: [[àmà [gò nà:]]
[bè yè-è:-sèⁿ dè] yà-ŋ pò-jù, [nè: bè yè-è:-sèⁿ dè] [[bè yè yè] [bè ɡì-ñ dè]], ³³{HL} bè wà

³³{HL} ‘tomed noun after possessor ending in L-tone. The initial H-tone is optionally dropped here.
³³{HL} ‘this’ after the verb at the end of a manner adverbial relative clause.
³³{Tonal locative.
³³{Tonal locative.
³³{Tonal locative.
ségé = y dé: = y gáná yà: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
ségé = y dé: = y gáná yà: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] [yà: bâ→]₃⁴⁶ gô-è mà→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [âmá píri]₃⁴⁷ gô-ë lô→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[âmá píri] [sò: pɔⁿ] yè-li mà→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[ìyè wɔⁿ] [sò: pɔⁿ] yè-li lô→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] iñê-iñê dênê-jê: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sàⁿ ná.] = nì dênê-jê: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] iñê bôrò dàɡ-è mà→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sàⁿ bôrò] dàɡ-è lô→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
yô: íná: n = f₃⁴⁹ lô→ kòy [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]

B: [jêñê-ûrⁿ]: bê bâⁿ bê sê₃⁵⁰
A: bâⁿ bê sêⁿ, ârⁿ-ûrⁿû lôy, háyè sû:a:n yê dɔ:-sêⁿ dê, nô bàŋà kà:n, nê: wɔⁿ

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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.


₃⁴₄ kûn as discourse-definite locative.

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

₃⁴₆ yà: bâ→ ‘as far as (all the way to) where?’ With gô: ‘go/come out’, translated contextually as ablative ‘from …’.

₃⁴₇ Tengou Kan. Togo Kan would have [âmá bûⁿ] ‘the presence of God’.

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

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

₃₅₀ Manner adverbial relative with adjectival predicate.
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná ñà: [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná ñà: [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] [ýâ: bá→ gõ-ë mà→ [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [àmá pírî] gõ-ë lò→ [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[àmá pírî] [sõ: põⁿ] yè-li mà→ [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[ìyé wõⁿ] [sõ: põⁿ] yè-li lò→ [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] ínê-ínê dêné-jê: [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sõⁿ ná.] = nì dêné-jê: [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[ú dà] [ínê bórh] dãg-ë mà→ [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[fõ wõⁿ] [mínî bórh] dãg-ë lò→ [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
yõ: íná:-n = f: lò→ kòy [bõⁿ lé-léwⁿ]


B: digê ñâ→

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351 Headless imperfective nonsubject relative clause, iterated.
352 Relativization on the complement of a postposition, with both noun and postposition tone-dropped, cf. là:rû gê: ‘for a lowly person’.
353 Somewhat broken, but shows the sequence N-Adj-Num-Dem in the tonosyntactic variant [N Adj Num] Dem, with the demonstrative controlling tone-lowering on the preceding words.
354 Variant of jûgô-mâ:-rö (imperfective negative of causative derivative).
355 For [bê wà] (3Pl quotative subject).
ségé = y dé: = y gánà yà: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
ségé = y dé: = y gánà yà: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] [yà: bà→] gò-è mà→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [àmá pírí] gò-è lò→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[àmá pírí] [sò: p5ⁿ] yè-lí mà→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[iyé w3ⁿ] [sò: p³ⁿ] yè-lí lò→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[é dà] iǹè-iǹè dènè-jè: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
émé [sàⁿ ná.] = nì dènè-jè: [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[ú dà] [iǹè bɔ̀rã] dàg-è mà→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
[fò w3ⁿ] [ànú bɔ̀rã] dàg-è lò→ [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]
yò: inà: wò = y kòy [b5ⁿ lé-léwⁿ]

{nè: w3ⁿ} yè, [[inà: [kè: bè] kè]] = : gè-è:] [bè lò: pù→] yèr-è: [wò pírù-pàrù, ày [nà bè] [yò: kè:-rò wà] [yò: kè:-rò wà] [yò: kè:-rò] [bè gè-è:], ènè dàg-è
e356 wà kòy,357 [[kè: bè:-rò] gè:]],

[yò-ñ pà→ iyè-dògùrù dàr-è wà], pílé-m-è: nàmã bè yèr-è: ènè tèm-è wà,

hayè [àmá wà] [kirè gi] < nà = n-- > [iⁿ nàrⁿ-è dè] [bàrà yè] dàgà-lè, < ènè kò-- , kò-- >, [[kò kè] níŋir'i] mò-è wà, [ûr"i: [yò: nà]] wò inèr"-è:, [giri"i [wò kè]] dàn-g-è:, wò kùn-
è:, pílé-m-è: [sàⁿ bè]--,359 yò: [nè mà] nàŋ-è:, pílé-m-è: iyè = n bè wò din-è-è:,360
nà kirè g-ì dè, iⁿ nàrⁿ-è dè, [fò w3ⁿ] [kirè sògò]361 [iⁿ kò: bè:-rò], àmá kò:-jù, [yò: g-i dè]
[bàrà jè dàgà-lè], [yò: kà:""] yò: yì [kò níŋir'ì] mò-è
B: [kò níŋir'ì] mò-è
A: é→
B: à→, èn sà dèrⁿ-è-ô, àmá ú jè:r-è
A: pò:→

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. àdúr"ù bìn ‘in(side) the world (below)’.
359 Cut off, presumably for [sàⁿ bè] kè ‘their own’. The following yò: is also out of place here as the speaker rephrases.
360 Reduced form of din-è-è:-sèⁿ ‘(they) kept’ in a focalized clause. Although -sèⁿ 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 yǒ kò mà
A: è→
A: pèré mà, è→ [bàrà-nòwⁿ bê] kê =:
B: hàyè, kó pòrù gè-mà
A: ì'n bôyⁿ
B: bàⁿ-bôⁿ táyⁿ→

[dèrⁿé wàrά bê:] [bé gî-ǹ dê], [bârâ yè-è:] [kó kèrè-jù],
[̀nè nè:] [bàrâ pò] bê wà, [bârâ yè] [gèr-è-è: gèr-è-è:] [bé kè:]n, [bàrà-nòwⁿ bê = n birè bì-jù]₃⁶² lágɔ = ý,
ârⁿá sà-è: mà, [ènè wà] nù-ý [g-i dê], ènè [wòrû bîn] im-i i dê, [ènè wà] [sóm kúń-∅ dê]
[bàrâ bîn] [bàrà-nòwⁿ wò→ fù→] yèrè [ènè bârâ] gî-ne₃⁶³ wà, bé ènè dúw-i: girⁿ jé-∅ dê,
è: dàg-è, [bè wà]₃⁶⁵ ènè dúw-î:- [nè wà] [yè-ŋ pò-nà wà],
pírí] jè:r-è: [wò kùⁿ] dèw-è:, sóm lèwé-lèwé-lèwé kùn-è:, [bàrà-nòwⁿ wò→ fù→] [bàrâ bîn]
[bàrà-nòwⁿ fù→] ènè bârâ wà dê,₃⁶⁶

dúw-î-ì dê] [ènè bê] girⁿ] jà: wà,
hàyè, yè-ŋ wò gè-è, [bàrà-nòwⁿ bê] wè-tènè wè-tènè mà, [kò wà] [hàyè kòy] wà, [nè:
wàⁿ] [bé wò→ pù→] yèr-è: dúw-è-è:, [nè: wàⁿ] dûnjùⁿ-dûnjùⁿ-dûnjùⁿ girⁿ jà:jù,

₃⁶² Would be bì-jù (relative-clause imperfective) if not followed in the same breath by the following word. Èsgɔ = ý ‘it is too much’ is {L}-toned since it is treated prosodically as the final word in the clause.
₃⁶³ gî-né, irregular imperative of gî ‘say’. Preceded by imperative bârâ ‘help!’ (jussive complement). Both imperatives are in clause-final {L}-toned form.
₃⁶⁴ kùn with discourse-definite locational.
₃⁶⁵ [bé wà] here pronounced [bé-è].
₃⁶⁶ Clause-final emphatic dê from the quoted speech, following quotative wà.
₃⁶⁷ {HL}-toned form of yèr-è ‘came’ after focalized constituent.
₃⁶⁸ Presentative ‘here’s …’ (Fr voici que ….).
nú:-li kòy
sùlómba:n nú:-li kòy
[nú-ý dè] [sárú bè] nú:-jè má
nú: [màrpá: bè] nú:-jè má
[nú-ý dè] [gùrò bè] nú:-jè má
[nú-ý dè] [kɔ̀ bè] nú:-jè má
nú:-li kòy
sùlómba:n nú:-li kòy

jòwⁿ yã-ŋ [wó gí-ň dè], < jòwⁿ-- > [tă: sá-è dè]

[nú-ý gà:] dàròdá
[sùlómba:n nú-ý gà:] [dàròdá yè-y.:]

[né: wɔⁿ] [bé dûw-i: gîrⁿí kúñ-Ø dè] [né: wɔⁿ] wòrû [bé kè] =: lò [né: wɔⁿ], háyè yã-ŋ
[bé wò-->] yã:-ñf. yã:-ñf. dè, [jòwⁿ kà:] wɔ=ñf. pé rè gô-è dè

yã-ŋ [wó gí-ň dè], < jòwⁿ-- > [tă: sá-è dè]

[nú-ý gà:] dàròdá
[sùlómba:n nú-ý gà:] [dàròdá yè-y.:]
yò-η [bè wò→] [wùruďúďu-wùruďú-wùruďú dűw-ę:-jè]372 gò-ọ: mà,373 [né: wòⁿ] yè-è:
jù wà] [bè yà-:n dè], jìwⁿ wànjà gò: yè-Ọ,
[bè nè:] wò dűw-ę-è: kùn-è:-sèⁿ, [išì bè] [gis"i-kā" wù:-wà: yèr-è:] gir"i-kā" kēw, kijí-
kJù kijí-kajú [bàrà-nòwⁿ dày"] kérè-kérè-kérè yè ú:-n-è:, nè: [bè wò→ pú→] [pèrè nè:] [nà yè bè-jù]376 kò:-rò,
[ãrⁿ ùy:] ùnèr-è:, [išì bà:]377 lágá-lágá-lágá [(sèyⁿ bàr"uòwⁿ-tòl] dày"]378 lágá ú-:n-è:,
[bàrà-nòwⁿ dày"] dàrⁿ dàgá tè-è, [[nú: mà] kù:" ñr-é:] [kó kē:"], [dèrⁿ é má] kú:" bèrè gér-è
wà,
wò sógò, [kòm-è-rí:" dày"] [wò bû"] yò kò, nù: yè-Ọ, yò: nù:-lì wà,
sònjòró yì kàw-è
B: [jìwⁿ sònjòró] iyè gò:-lí quió?
A: ɛ→ [sònjòró [wò kē] iyè gò:-lí, [yò: bè bà→] [jìwⁿ sònjòró] [yò: bè bà→] gò-è wà, ɛ→
en sà dèrⁿ-è-wn
B: àmá ù jɛ:-r-è
A: pò→

372 -jè same-subject ‘while’ subordinator, used with a following motion verb.
373 Variant of gò-è: 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 bàrà ‘help’.
378 Perfective negative subject relative.
379 Perfective subject relative.
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” (jɔ́ŋɔ́rⁿɔ́).
We go (to the fields), slash (more) holes (with the pick-hoe) in between the millet plants (that have sprouted), step on the millet (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. Because (with) a pick-hoe, one plants standing up. (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” (jɔ̀rù-jä). 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 ɲú: ‘millet’ to lè-ùr"ú ‘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? 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 from all those things (already said)?

A: Another topic, a new topic. In the past we didn’t know, but now, like (=for example) fonio, 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.

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383 gùⁿsaⁿ 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*. 
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: So, that digging up of weeds, …
A: Yes?
B: … that, what is its value for millet?

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\(^{386}\) The ambiguity of the verb tɔ́: 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 ɲù:tɔ́ ‘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 (jɔ̀ŋùrⁿú).

\(^{389}\) 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 yield\(^{393}\) 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.”
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).
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 to 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 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).
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).

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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, minor crops, they will intersperse minor crops (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.

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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)?

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).

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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?  

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, …  

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-Pl 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.

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400 Lit. “(the) equivalent of which height.”  

401 Lit. “if/when all that has not arrived.”
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 hardended (“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. They peck (=eat) unripe millet a lot.

\[\text{402} \text{ lit. “peck and kill.”}\]
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 itself\(^{403}\) 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.

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\(^{403}\) 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. 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.

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[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:-tɛːrɛ)
B: “Millet heap”?
A: “Millet heap.”
B: Now, us children (=young people), as for us, we call it “millet heap” (ɲù:-tɛː, 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.
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.
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 wass 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.
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, all of those (people) carried (it) like that on the head.

B: [inaudible]--

A: If you are joyful, (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.

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

412 Lit. “if joy was for you.”
B: In carrying the millet also, I once observed one thing. 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 chieftood.
B: Chiefhood?
A: Yes, the chieftood 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.
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 poles\textsuperscript{414} 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 window\textsuperscript{415} (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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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?  
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-PI go into there (=the field), (you) keep uprooting the weeds that are in it, you-PI 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. 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.

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Vigna subterranea.

“It is considered (that) [its children are not (able to be) eaten].”
Because groundnuts are ahead of (=ripen before) millet, you-Pt 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 is 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, 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.

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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.
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), (then) you turn over (earth, with a daba). Everyone goes in there (=the field), (each) takes a row, 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. 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, 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)?

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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).
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).\footnote{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).}

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,\footnote{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.} they don’t realize (that it’s a fonio field).
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.”
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.

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426 The verb pɔ́ⁿ “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.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{427} gɔ̀ yǎ: ‘female granary’ contains four compartments (cells) for e.g. peanuts, roselle, fonio, etc. The larger gɔ̀ ər̥ná 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.”
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.
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 alone like that among the peanuts, if it grows to full size 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.”


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429 Lit. “throw and leave.”
430 Lit. “its growth (to full size) goes out.”
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).
B: Let’s discuss the separately-grown cow-peas a little.
A: Yes, concerning separately-grown cow-peas. You-Pl now, like the way you-Pl 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-Pl 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-Pl 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.
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.”
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) fix 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.

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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, 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) raiders 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) 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. Now yes,

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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!” 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 Koporo-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.

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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,” 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.

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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) Crane 439 (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 (Balæarica 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.\textsuperscript{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?”\textsuperscript{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→“

\textsuperscript{441} yè-sámá is a personal name for a girl with one or more brothers and no sisters. Short (unisex) form sámá.

\textsuperscript{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, wasperched 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),

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\(^443\) 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, “kùwâ→ kùwâ→“

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 (kẹ̀ɲẹ̀-bùrùgù) 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 “kẹ̀ɲẹ̀-bùrùgù”?
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 tomtons).
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.

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 crest\(^{446}\) 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). 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.

Lit. “has no food,” cf. English fruitless.
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 roselle\footnote{\textit{Hibiscus sabdariffa} (cultivated).} 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-PI 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),”
“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 (women), under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?” Famous names.

“We abandoned (you) under a wild-grape tree.” Famous names.

“That sure isn’t Mother.” Famous names.

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. (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,

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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.
“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.
“As for me, (I) abandoned (you) under a karité 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 baobab 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 balanzan 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.
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.

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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—I 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.