Tiefo-D Texts from Daramandugu
Niger-Congo language, Burkina Faso

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Language Description Heritage Library (online)
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Preface

Background

The following texts were recorded between 2017 and 2021 by Heath with various speakers representing the four dialects Tiefo-D. They were transcribed and analysed by Heath and Aminata Ouattara.

The 2017 recordings were recorded in Daramandugu and involved two speakers, with a primary speaker and either an active interlocutor or an audience who provided backchannel (uh-huh), not always transcribed. The speakers are from Jinejan, Flaso, Masaso, and Biton in various pairings.

The 2018 recordings are monologues from the Masaso speaker, and were recorded in our base in Bobo Dioulasso. The 2019 texts were recorded in Bofoboso Brousse, an offshoot of Bobofoso proper, whose dialect is generally close to that of Biton. They are mostly monologues, with occasional dialog. The 2021 texts were recorded in Daramandugu and are monologues by the Masaso speaker and in one case the Jinejan speaker.

In texts with two speakers, we use different fonts for the secondary speaker(s). The regular font (nonitalic Doulos) is for the main speaker, italic Doulos is for the secondary speaker. These are reset in each text, so the same speaker has the same font in a given text but not always across texts.

The audio files corresponding to these texts are being archived at Deep Blue, the permanent archive at the University of Michigan.

The companion grammar and lexical spreadsheet are designed to be used together with this text collection. The texts are divided somewhat arbitrarily into segments with time markings, to facilitate cross-reference between the grammar and the texts. Each text segment includes a Tiefo-D transcription, interlinear mark-up, free translation, and in many cases brief comments in italics. The comments often include chapter-and-section references to the grammar.

Non-native readers who are interested in studying the language in some depth might begin with the monologues, whose transcription is generally smoother than those of the dialogs, which are sometimes rather animated and rapid-fire.

The lexical spreadsheet is divided into a) nouns, b) adjectives, c) numerals, d) verbs, e) other, and f) place names. See the appendix to this texts volume for a users` guide.

One caution is that in the textual transcriptions, M-toned words that are dropped to L-toned before an H-tone are shown as L-toned. Users encountering an L-toned form in the texts, preceding an H-tone, may have to check two possibilities in the lexicon, one L-toned and one M-toned. In addition, the transcriptions show tonal liaisons, generally between the final syllable of one word and an elided article ē (dropping to è before an H-tone). The lexical forms can be deduced from the liaison forms as follows, where “v” is any vowel. The tonal diacritics are those used in IPA for contour tones, except that in the absence of an IPA <HM> diacritic we use ́v for this tone.
<table>
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<th>liaison tones</th>
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<th>lexical tone</th>
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<td>C̄v</td>
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**Acknowledgements**

These acknowledgements are repeated from those in the companion grammar.

We gratefully acknowledge funding for fieldwork on Tiefo-D. Our preliminary visits to Daramandugu between 2015 and March 2017 were an extension of fieldwork on Tiefo-N and other languages, funded by National Science Foundation BCS-1263150 (2013-17). The April 2017 visit to Daramandugu was financed by a bridging grant from the University of Michigan (African Studies Center, Dept. of Linguistics, and UM Office of Research). The intensive work on Tiefo-D began in summer 2017, with primary support from the National Endowment for the Humanities grant PD-255909-17, part of NEH’s contribution to the Documenting Endangered Languages program at the National Science Foundation.

In Daramandugu we have worked in coordination with the local cultural association led by Jean-Pierre Ouattara from Jinejan, assisted by Ouattara La from Flaso, Coulibaly Jean Bakari from Masaso who has also become the chief of Daramandugu, and Ouattara Drisa from Biton. The authors have worked with them both in Daramandugu in a long series of 3-5 days visits, and in our base in Bobo Dioulasso.
Texts

Text 2017-01  Hare and francolin (tale)

duration 04:58
A : Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), narrator
B : Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), respondent

(00:05)  [[è ná-bí-ô fê] fi?è  
  [-Art person-Pl] greeting(n)] get.up
  [è-ô mâ→]  [get.up PlAddr]
  A: ‘Good morning, people.’
  B: ‘Good morning (to you-Pl).’
  [specialized ‘good morning’ greetings; cf. yîî-êî ‘got up’ (Pfv); fi?è is
  invariant for addressee number; response would be èî fiî→ to a singular addressee,
  cf. è yîî-êî ‘we have gotten up’]

(00:09)  [bùò dârá?á-yúô] lò  
  [2Pl courtyard-people] Top
  [ô kêné]  [3Pl be.healthy]
  A: ‘What about your-Pl people of the household?’
  B: ‘They are fine.’
  [lô interrogative topic (end of §15.3.5.6); Jula kêné, cf. Tiefo-D ô kô glé-glé ê→
  ‘they are in good health’, as in the next two segments]

(00:11)  [è bi-siô] kô é-glé  =ê  
  [Art child.Pl] be Rdp-in.good.health Q
  [ô kêné]  [3Pl be.healthy]
  A: ‘Are the children in good health?’
  B: ‘They are fine.’
  [clause-final interrogative =â assimilating in vowel quality (§13.2.2.1), with
  pitch roughly intermediate between modal M and modal L tone]
(00:12) [ē lè-yúó bíé] kò glé-glé =ē→
[Art household-people all be Rdp-in.good.health Q
[ō bíé] kēnē mā
[3Pl all] be.green there.Def
A: ‘Are all the people of the household in good health?’
B: They are all healthy.’
[< /ē-yúó/ with M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.2.2)]

(00:14) [nó fē-ni] kò [[bùò bíé] bā?ā],
[1Sg greeting(n)] be [[2Pl all] Dat],
[bùò jèrò→], kà [ó-bé→, nā-fō jèrò] bā,
A: ‘My greeting is to all of you, you-Pl who—with our visitors who have
come …’
[plural relative jèrò (§14.1.1); 1Pl ó-bé ‘all of us’ (§4.3.1.5)]

(00:19) [kā = à-tārā" [kā = [Ø mìè]] [kū"nì] ní],
[Infin come.Base-sit.Base [with [Art 1Pl]] [today Loc],
dè bùò nà dō [kā = [Ø dīé]],
Quot LogoPl Fut speak.Base [with [Art 1Pl]],
A: ‘… and have sat down with us today, intending to speak with all of us.’
/bā ‘come’ (preceding segment) repeated as à- in infinitival compound
§15.2.3.2.4); < /kā è mìè/; 1Pl mìè and dīé in formulaic speech (§4.3.1.4); locative
nì optional with ‘today’; logophoric plural in mental "quotation" (§18.3)]

(00:23) ó kò dō-wē— [[ó wì-èʔè] ní],
1Pl Hort speak.Base-put.Base— [[1Pl put-Ppl.Inan] Loc],
A: ‘Let’s speak into our recorder.’
/hortative (§10.4.2.1); dō-wē compound ‘speak and put in’; wì-èʔè
nominalization based on wì ‘put.Pfv’ (§5.1.10.2)]

(00:28) [yâ"gō kò—, kò gâ = [Ø dàrâʔâ], bē tōʔō—,
in.order.to Hort—, Hort narrate.Base [Art tale], Dem.Def Foc—,
[ó fârâ"] gō [[bè tōʔō] ní] kū"nùn,
[1Pl too] be [[Dem.Def Foc] Loc] today,
A: ‘In order to tell a tale. That [focus]—, that [focus] is what we too are on
(=engaged in) today.’
/purposive yâ"gō (§17.6.2.4); < /gâ è dàrâʔâ/; gbâ/gâ/gô ‘hit, bump’ in
collocation with ‘tale’ in sense ‘tell a tale’; fârâ" ‘too’ (§19.1.5); bē tōʔō is a very
common resumptive ‘that (focus)’ (§13.1.2.5)]

(00:32) [áłù→ ō nà— ō bá [[Ø dé-lè"nè"] ní],
[then 3PI Fut— 3PI come.Pfv [Art health] Loc],
A: ‘So then, they will— they have come in good health.’
[French alors]
[ò wò ká klá] [è dé-lè'ù'ù] ní,
[3Pl Hort Sbjn return.Base [Art health] Loc],
A: ‘May they go back in good health.’
[subjunctive ká in a wish (§10.4.2.3.2), see also the following segment]

(00:37) [ò ká yí?] [a Ø ú']—,
[Hort Sbjn go.Base [with [Art village]]—,
[è ú'] [ànà?à ní],
[Art village] [face Loc],
A: ‘May they take the village (=local area) forward.’

(00:40) [nó fê-ní kó] [bùò ná-dí-ù] bà?à
[1Sg greeting be [2Pl old.person-Pl] Dat]
A: ‘My greeting is for your old people.’
[plural of ná-dê (dialectally ná-dê)]

(00:42) álè→, ó nà dò-dò [Ø fè jàr5'],
so.then, 1Pl Fut Rd-p-speak.Base [Art word Rel],
ña = à gbë [Ø dàrâ?à jàr5'],
1Sg Fut pick.up.Base [Art tale Rel],
A: ‘So then, the words that we will speak, the tale that I will pick up (begin).’
[French alors ; usually ná = à is 1Sg imperfective (followed by lpfv verb such as gbli ‘pick up’) but here it is contracted from future nó nà followed by base verb gbë]

(00:48) bè dàrâ?á yíé,
Dem.Def tale name.
A: ‘The name of that tale (is as follows).’

(00:49) ná = à gbë = n = [è bî-ké] ní,
1Sg Fut pick.up.Base 3InanObj [Art hare] Loc],
kà — [è có],
with— [Art francolin],
A: ‘I will pick (it) up on (=begin to narrate about) hare, and francolin.’
[< gbë = ní ; hare = Lepus capensis ; francolin (partridge-like bird) = Pternistis bicalcaratus ‘kà ‘with’ or as here conjunction ‘and’]

(00:53) áywà, ó [tò-jù5]-gàrë  ní = dë?,
well, Imprt.Pl [listen.Base]-do.well.Base 3InanObj Emph,
ó kà = [à jù?5] ní]
1Pl be 3Inan hear.Prog Prog
A: ‘Well, listen-2Pl well now!’
B: ‘We are hearing (=listening to) it.’
[‘listen’ compound verb ending in jù5 ‘hear’, cf, Pfv tè-jù5 ; Fl/Ma dialects pronounce jù5 for Bi/Ji jù5 (§3.1.1.6); -gàrë as verb compound-final ‘do a lot’ or ‘do well’; clause-final emphatic = dë? in admonitive function; progressive construction (§10.2.4)]
wàlà→, parce que, [è tò?ò] ni, right!, because, [Art place] Loc, [è bô-kê] dè, [Art hare] say.Pfv,
A: ‘Fine! Because, in the place (there), hare said:’
[French. voilà! (as interjection, here confirming what the interlocutor has said)]

(01:02) dè [bô tò?ò] lò?ò jòyò nì-mà =?,
Quot [LogoSg Focus] intelligence equal(n) not.be =Neg, é!
huh?
A: ‘(Hare said:) “I [focus] am the smartest (of the animals).” ’
B: ‘Huh?’
[lò?ò implies esoteric knowledge as well as cleverness; jòyò < Jula = Tiefo-D di’
‘peer, equal’; nì-mà ‘not be’ (§11.2.3.3); superlatives (§12.1.5)]

(01:05) é, mó à jì= [[Ø bô-kê] kê],
ah!, 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv [[Art hare] matter],
A: ‘Ah! You know about hare.’
[jì ‘know about, be familiar with’, always imperfective (§11.2.5.1.2); lit. ‘hare’s
matter’, cf. (§8.4)]

(01:07) à kô klè kà-té =é
3Inan Infin be.done.Base thus-Foc.Inan Q
â klè kà-tô,
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc,
B: ‘Did it happen thus?’
A: ‘It happened thus.’
[infinitive clause with overt subject (§15.2); kà-té and kà-tô ‘thus’ cf. the fuller
bè-kà-tô ‘thus, like this/that’ (§8.5.5.2.1-3)]

(01:09) [dè [[bô lò?ò] jòyò] nì-mà =?]
[Quot [[LogoSg intelligence] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg]
A: ‘(Hare) said: “There is no equal to my cleverness (=skill in magic).” ’

(01:10) bô à jì= [[Ø lò?ò],
LogoSg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art intelligence],
k-à fô = [[Ø nà-bî-ô biè?],
Infin-Ipfv pass.Ipfv [Art people all],
A: ‘(Hare said:) “I know magic more than anyone (else).” ’
[k-à contracted from kô à (infinitive plus Ipfv) (§15.2.2); fô ‘pass, surpass’ in
asymmetrical comparatives (§12.1.2)]
(01:14) donc, [donc, ɔ̀ nō kō [bè nî] bè-kā,  
so, 3AnSg be [Dem.Def Loc] thus,  
kō [sù̀i'-sù̀]-ló,  
Infin [Rdp-work.Base]-turn.Base,  
]A: ‘So, he (=hare) continued in that situation, and he went around doing his  
work.’  
/bè nî ‘in that (situation), therein’ (§4.4.2.1) and bè-kā ‘thus’ (§8.5.5.2.1): -ló as  
second verb in compounds (§15.1.1.7)]

(01:18) kō gbē [[è ló?ó-[tè-tèʔè]— tùpē"nʔè"],  
Infin pick.up.Base [[Art intelligence-[waterjar]— gourd],  
bó nà yīfī—  
LogoSg Fut go.Base—  
A: ‘He picked up the magical waterjar— (or rather) gourd. He was going to go.’  
/bó here appears to be logophoric, in a clause describing intention: final kō yīfī  
is unclear on recording]

(01:22) [kō gbē [[è ló?ó-tùpē"nʔè"]  
[Infin pick.up.Base [[Art intelligence-gourd],  
[kō gbē = [Ø ló?ó bēʔ?]]]  
[Infin pick.up.Base [Art intelligence all]]  
[kō wē [[Ø tùpē"nʔè"] nî],  
[Infin put.Base [[Art gourd] Loc],  
A: ‘He picked up his magical gourd, he took all his magical secrets and put (them)  
in the gourd.’

(01:26) kō wáʔá-tān =nì,  
Infin shut.Base 3lnanObj,  
kō gbē [Ø klòʔó],  
Infin take.Base [Art road],  
A: ‘He covered it (=gourd), and he took (=set off on) the road.’

(01:29) donc, parce que, [è ŋ ji má jī= [Ø lóʔó]  
so, because, [Art person Indef] IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [Art intelligence]  
kā dàn bö,  
[Infin-Ipfv arrive.Ipfv LogoSg],  
A: ‘So, because (he thought:) “Nobody knows magic as much as I (do).”’  
/è ŋ ji ‘some/anyone’ irregular for è yúō ji ‘some/any people’ (perhaps originally  
*è nā ji ; symmetrical comparative with dàn ‘arrive at, reach’ (§12.2.2.1), here  
negated to produce an asymmetrical comparative]
If/When he arrived in the bush (=outback), (he intended that) he would climb the tree.

He went and hung the gourd all the way on the top.

And (he) went and climbed the tree!
(01:50) [³ⁿhʊⁿ, ȃ = Ø klè  kā =ā→, é ɲánà, [uh-huh, 3Inan PfvNeg be.done.Base thus Q, oh! friend, A: ‘Uh-huh. Did it not happen like that, oh (my) friend?’

[pronounced [kɑ̃ːɑ→] with partial pitch drop for interrogative, cf. bè kā ‘thus’; negative statement is ȃ =Ø klè bè kā = ? ‘it didn’t happen like that’; ɲánà ‘friend’ is a common vocative, its plural is ɲánò ~ ɲánà-rò ;]


A: ‘When hare was arriving at the foot of the tree,’ [imperfective infinitive as past imperfective; < /ɕ jimizer pō/ ]

(01:57) ȃⁿ wò ɲā = [Ø tűpeⁿřeⁿ], 3AnSg Infin look.at.Base [Art gourd].

A: ‘He looked at the gourd.’</k-ò ɲâ ě/ ]

(01:58) [mó dë] nà = [Ø tűpeⁿřeⁿ]]

[2Sg however] see.Pfv [Art gourd]

[[[Ø tűpeⁿřeⁿ bè] kō båʔà]

[[Art gourd Top.Inan] Infin be.carried.over.shoulder.Base]

[è wűⁿ] à-mā [à ní], [Art rope] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],

A: ‘But you (=hare) saw the gourd. The gourd was slung over the shoulder. There was a cord there.’

[the gourd was carried under the shoulder on a cord; protagonist in tale is directly addressed as ‘you’ (§4.3.1.7); discourse-definite bè after noun (subjet-final dë ~ dō ‘however’ (§19.3.8); à ní ‘in it, therein’ is very common after à-mā ‘be (somewhere)’ ]

(02:01) mó kō båʔà-sùʔ5 [Ø tűpeⁿřeⁿ] mō→,

2Sg Infin carry.over.shoulder.Base-give.Base [Art gourd] concerning, [mó gbè-gbè ní, dē bó nà keⁿʔeⁿ [Ø jimizer]]

[2Sg chest] Loc, Quot LogoSg Fut ascend.Base [Art tree]

A: ‘As for you (=hare) carrying it over your shoulders, (you) intend to climb the tree with it on your chest.’

[direct address by narrator to hare continues, but shifts to logophoric; -sùʔ5 as Vb2 in verb compounds (§15.1.6.2); clause-final mō→ (§19.1.4)]
Text 2017-01

(02:05)  [ē fĩŋ?-klẽʔ-kã] nà gbɔɛrɛyà =dēʔ
est-ce que à nà kẽʔ-p5n =ān
Q 3Inan Fut ascend.Base-be.able.Base Q
āyì
do
B: ‘That way of climbing the tree sure will be difficult!’
A: ‘Can he climb up?’ [rhetorical question]
B: ‘No.’
[compound final -kà from noun kã ‘manner’ (§5.1.7.2); gbɔɛrɛyà < Jula gwèlè-yà 'be difficult’, Tiefo-D equivalent nà kãʔa ‘will be difficult’; -p5n ‘be able’ (§15.1.7.1) plus =ā to interrogative, in rhetorical question]

(02:09)  [3n mà bãʔ-sùʔ5] [dè bô—
  [3AnSg if sling.Base-give.Base] [Quot LogoSg—
[3n mà á-sùʔû =nì,
[3AnSg if go.Base-catch.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If he holds (the gourd) slung over his shoulder, intending to—, whenever he (tries to) go and grasp it (=put his arms around the tree trunk),’

(02:11)  [mó ð5 bê] kô [Ø [sè-kũ'ã]-dîn] =i₃n
  [2Sg arm Top.Inan] be [Art [wherever?]-equal(n)] Q
[ē wɔʔɔ] nî-mâ
[Art arm] not.be.Loc
A: ‘Your arm is equal to where (=extends how far)?’
B: ‘The arm isn’t (=doesn’t reach) there.’
[Ma (and Fl) dialects add initial y or w to vowel-initial nouns (here, Ji ð5 ‘arm’ versus Ma wɔʔɔ) (§3.1.1.2); dîn ‘(the) equal (of), peer (of)’]

(02:13)  [mó nà ló-báʔá] [mó nà ló-bn =
  [2Sg Fut surround.Base] [2Sg Fut turn.Base-meet.Base
[Ø jĩʔ] mè-kà-dîn =i₃n hé,
[Art tree] how?-manner-equal(n) Q huh?,
A: ‘How will (=can) you go around the tree and meet up?’
[i.e. how will your arms go all the way around the trunk?: -bɛn < Jula ‘meet’; compounds beginning ló- (§15.1.1.7); mè-kà-dîn 'how?' (§13.2.3.5.1)]
(02:16) [³ⁿ mā— bàʔ-sūʔ̤ =nǐ] 
[³AnSg if— sling.Base give.Base 3InanObj] 
[³ⁿ mā à sūʔ̤ = [Ø kē]] 
[³AnSg if Lpv catch.Lpv [Art thing]] 
[ē tūpēⁿ̤̂̊èⁿ̤̂ g̤̃̂̊a g̤̃̂̊aⁿ = [[Ø jīⁿ̤̂̃̊f] nĩ],] 
[Art gourd] Infin-Lpv get.stuck.Lpv [[Art tree] Loc], 
A: ‘If he holds it slung over his shoulder, whenever he puts his arms around the thing (=trunk), the gourd will catch (=get stuck) on the tree.’

[double conditional antecedent with second one imperfective (§16.1.2); conditional consequent in imperfective infinitival clause form (§16.1.2.3), cf. 02:09 above; > /kō à gāⁿ ē jīⁿ̤̂̃̊f/]

(02:19) [³ⁿ mā kā-sūʔ̤ =nĩ] 
[³AnSg if do.again.Base-catch.Base 3InanObj] 
[ā kō gāⁿ = [[Ø jīⁿ̤̂̃̊f] nĩ],] 
[3Inan Infin get.stuck.Base [[Art tree] Loc]], 
A: ‘And if he puts his arms around it (=tree) again, it (=gourd) will catch (=get stuck) on the tree.’

[kā— ‘do again’ as initial in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.3.2); conditional consequent in infinitival clause form (§16.1.2.3)]

(02:21) ³ⁿ gō— pēⁿ [bē nĩ], 
3AnSg Infin— remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc], 
kō pēⁿ [bē nĩ], 
Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc], 
A: ‘He stayed in that (situation) for a long time.’

[first part of this segment somewhat broken, first kō unclear; repetition of clause indicates prolonged time]

(02:25) nánḥ, [³ⁿ blē =rē] fō kā— 
friend, [³AnSg get.tired.Pfv Emph] until Infin-Lpv— 
fō— mó nā— [[³ⁿ dé-nũ] until— 2Sg if look.Base— [[³AnSg body-water] 
[[k-ā sárũⁿ-āⁿ-dārã] sínā] nĩ] 
[[Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv-Lpv be.very.Lpv] situation] Loc] 
A: ‘My friend (vocative), he sure was tired, to the point (extent) that, if you looked, (you’d see that) his sweat was continuously dripping down.’

[‘friend’ is a vocative to the addressee; -dārã as final in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.2.1.2); sínā nĩ (§15.3.2)]
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(02:30)  [è  dé-pù]  k-ā  sórùⁿ
[Art  body-water]  Infin-Lpfv  descend.Lpfv
[è  nù]  k-ā  sórùⁿ,  [è  nù]  k-ā  sórùⁿ
[Art  water]  Infin-Lpfv  descend.Lpfv,  [Art  water]  Infin-Lpfv  descend.Lpfv,

ce-ce-ce-ce!

my.goodness!

[è  dé]  nì
[Art  body]  Loc
B: ‘The sweat was dripping down?’
A: ‘The liquid kept dripping down and dripping down.’
B: ‘My goodness!’
A: ‘On the (=his) body.’

[in  ce-ce-ce-ce!  each  syllable  is  lower-pitched  than  the  preceding  (descending
arpeggio)]

(02:35)  ò̅ⁿhɔⁿ,  bon,  ñⁿ =  Ø  kàⁿ
uh-huh,  well,  3AnSg  PfvNeg  know.Base
[[bó  nà  klè]  sìną]  nì],
[[[LogoSg  Fut  do.Base]  situation]  Loc,
A: ‘Uh-huh. Well, he didn’t know what to do next.’

[‘(not) know’ with nonquotative future-oriented clausal complement (§17.3.1.2)]

(02:37)  è  có—  jā→  cş!
Art  francolin—,  lo!  exactly!
[[è  có]  kò  nő  = nì],
[[Art  francolin]  Infin  look.at.Base  3InanObj],
A: ‘Francolin— lo and behold, the francolin looked at it (=the scene).’

[jā→  ‘lo!’  (§19.3.7);  cş!  §(8.5.3.2.2)]

(02:41)  [è  có]  piěⁿ  [ṭí-pùⁿʔ̣̪̃n]  nì
[Art  francolin]  remain.Pfv  [grass  Loc]
[k-ā  kùrāʃí]  = Ô
[Infin-Lpfv  watch.over.Lpfv  3AnSgObj]
[k-ā  kùrāʃí]  = w
[Infin-Lpfv  watch.over.Lpfv  3AnSgObj]
mā-ŋǐ
if.you.see
A: ‘The francolin stayed (hidden) in the grass.’
B: ‘And was watching him.’
A: ‘And was watching him.’
B: ‘Indeed!’

[Jula  kùrāsí ‘watch over’, 3AnSg object enclitics (§4.3.2.3); mā-ŋǐ reactive
backchannel phrase (§19.5.2)]
DÉ [kèⁿ yá bó =rê]

Quot [fellow Dem.InanSg Top even]

kō [[((Ø) jīʔè-bórá] ní] [[tōʔ = ā] ní],
be [[[Art which?-work(n)] Loc] [[place Dem.InanSg] Loc],
[ê jīʔè-[kè-sùⁿʔsⁿ]] ní,
[Art which?-[work(n)]] Loc,

A: ‘(Francolin thought) “this fellow [topic] is engaged in what (sort of) activity here? In what activity?” ’

[‘this fellow’ with “inanimate” demonstrative; jīʔè in ‘which?’ construction (§13.2.3.6.2); bórá < Jula, repeated with Tiefo-D word kè-sùⁿʔsⁿ]

[02:45] [[ê có] kā = à-ní [Ø kèⁿ]
[[Art francolin] Infin come.Base-see.Base [Art fellow]
[Ø bī-kè fārâ” = ] [Ø có] glō = ní,
[Art hare too] [Art energy] remove.Pfv 3InanObj,

A: ‘Francolin came and saw the fellow. Hare for his part had lost the energy (to climb) there.’

[< kèⁿ ë bī-kè/, with kèⁿ becoming <LHL> after absorbing the article ë (dropped to ë before H-tone)]

[02:51] ë [nánà, mó kō [[jīʔè-[kè-sùⁿʔsⁿ]] ní] fāⁿʔāⁿ
Art friend, 2Sg be [[what?-[work(n)]] Loc] here

[ṣ→, ë kē] [[[Ø bórá]
[ō], 3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art work(n)]

A: ‘(Francolin to hare:) “what activity are you in here?” ’
B: ‘It has become a (tough) job.’
i.e., ‘what are you trying to do?’ ; jīʔè in ‘which?’ construction (§13.2.3.6.2)]

[02:55] dè ë → [è jánà],
said hey! [Art friend],
[[è kē jì] [jìʔ = ā] =rê = ë
[[Art thing Indef] [what? Dem.InanSg] Emph Q
[ā kē = [[Ø kē-sùⁿʔsⁿ]]
[3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art work(n)]

A: ‘(Hare:) “hey, my friend! What is the matter?” ’
B: ‘It has become a (tough) job.’

[< jīʔè ‘manner’; Ma repeats his comment (preceding segment) changing bórá (< Jula) into the Tiefo-D word for ‘work (n)’; jīʔè ‘manner’ (§8.5.1.3)]
è [è n ji] fiè [mò ānàʔa] nî
[Art person Indef] pass.Pfv [2Sg face] Loc
A: ‘Lo, someone (else) will go ahead of you.’
[è n ji equivalent to è yáu ji ‘someone’]

(03:09) dè ŋ̥ mà dè [mò fièʔè] nî-mā
say 2Sg if say.Pfv [2Sg manner(n)] not.be.Loc
[mò fièʔè] ni-mā,
[2Sg manner(n)] not.be.Loc,
[è n ji] fiè [mò ānàʔa] ēn,
Art person Indef] pass.Pfv [2Sg face] Loc
B: ‘that if you-Sg say that there is no-one like you.’
A: ‘(If you think that) there is no-one like you, someone (else) will surpass you.’
[2Sg proclitic ŋ̥ (§4.3.1.6.2); < /ānàʔa nî/]

(03:13) nò dè lè→, [è lóʔó té]
1Sg say.Pfv that, [Art cleverness Foc.Inan]
à-mā [[Ø tòp̩ũʔè] ēn] = dè?,
be.Loc [[Art gourd] Loc] Emph
A: ‘(Hare to francolin:) “I said that, magic power [focus] is in the gourd.” ’
[lè→ after quotative verb dè (§17.1.2.2); inanimate focalizer té (§13.1.1)]
(03:15)  nó nà kēⁿ?ēⁿ = nì,  
1Sg Fut take.up.Base 3InanObj,  
kò yǐ́í [k = ó-dū́ú = nì],  
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-hide.Base 3InanObj],  
[k = ó-dū́ú = nì]  
[e jëʔé-ci”]

[Infin go.Base-hide.Base 3InanObj] [Art top],

A: ‘(Hare:) “I will take it up, and go and hide it, go and hide it at the top.”’

[‘go’ followed by infinitival compound [k = ó-…] (§15.2.3.3.1); dū́ú ‘hide.Base’
in other dialects dò́d, cf. perhaps Jula dògo ‘hide’]

(03:19)  jàⁿgò = [Ø yúó] mā kō— kšn nì,  
so.that [Art people] Proh be— know.Prog Prog,
ká nó, wálà→,  
like 1Sg, right!,

A: ‘(Hare:) “So that people don’t know it like me. There!”’

[negative purposive with different subject in prohibitive progressive form; jàⁿgò
‘in order that’ (§17.6.2.4) with many dialectal variants < Jula; kā dialectal for tā ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1)]

(03:23)  jàⁿgò [nó töʔó] kō ji = nì,  
so.that [1Sg Foc] Infin know.Base 3InanObj,  
A: ‘(Hare:) “So that (only) I [focus] know about it.”’

[shift from kùⁿ/kšⁿ/kšⁿ ‘know (a fact), recognize’ (preceding and following
segments) to intrinsically stative-imperfective jī ‘know, be familiar with’]

(03:25)  nó dè [nó kùⁿ-fó] [è ná-bió tíʔ?],  
1Sg say.Pfv [1Sg know.Pfv-pass.Base [Art people all],  
kà [Ø lóʔó]],  
with [Art intelligence],

A: ‘(Hare:) “I say (=think) I know more than any one about magic.”’

[comparative/superlative; ‘know’ in Pfv form for present-time knowledge  
(§10.2.1.1, §11.2.5.1.1); fó ‘(sur)pass’ (§12.1.2)]

(03:28)  dè [bè tóʔó]  
Quot [Dem.Def Foc]  
dè nó nà dúʔú = nì dúʔú = nì,  
Quot 1Sg Fut hide.Base 3InanObj hide.Base 3InanObj,  
A: ‘(Hare:) “That [focus] is why I will keep hiding it.”’

(03:30)  nó má kō [kēⁿ?ēⁿ-pšⁿ nì],  
1Sg IpfvNeg be [ascend.Base-be.able.Prog Prog],  
A: ‘(Hare:) “(But) I am unable to climb (the tree).”’

[‘cannot’ in progressive negative]
(03:31) de’ ṭîn’, ɲànò, já = à mà kò̄ bê-ká = rë?,
Quot oh!, friend, if ìnan if be thus Emph,
nó nà ká-dò [à-bì-pìⁿ jì] [mó bà?à],
1Sg Fut do.again.Base-say.Base [a.little Indef] [2Sg Dat],
A: ‘(Francolin:) “Ah, friend, if (=since) it is thus, I will reveal to you a little
something.”’
[< /jì à mà/; ká- (§15.1.3.2); ‘a little’ (§8.5.2.2.4)]

(03:36) mó ṭò = [Ø tùpèⁿ?èⁿ] [kò bâ?à-sù?ò—
2Sg look.at.Base [Art gourd] [Infin sling.Base-give.Base—
[θⁿ] fìè/]
[3AnSg behind] [mó jìè]
[2Sg behind]]
A: ‘(Francolin:) “Look (=try) to carry the gourd slung—!” (hesitates)
B: ‘Behind him (=on his back)!’
A: ‘… behind you!’
[informative with 2Sg mó; B finishes A’s interrupted sentence, shifting 2Sg to
3AnSg for indirect quotation (§17.1.4)]

(03:39) jì kò̄ sù?ò = [Ø jìⁿ?èⁿ] mò—,
if Infin catch.Base [Art tree] concerning,
A: ‘(Francolin:) “Then hold onto the tree (with your arms)!”’
[jì kò (§15.2.1.2); clause-final mò— (§19.1.4)]

(03:41) donc, θⁿ gò̄ dè áy!,
so, 3AnSg Infin say.Base ah!,
mò dè jàrìⁿ, ñà klè-πò̄ = nì,
2Sg say.Pfv Rel, 1Sg Fut do.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Well, he (=Hare) then said: “Ah, what you said, I will try it.”’
[informative kò dè ‘and said’; 1Sg proclitic ñì (§4.3.1.6.1)]

(03:46) θⁿ gò̄ bà?à-sù?ò [Ø tùpèⁿ?èⁿ] [θⁿ jìè],
3AnSg Infin sling.Base-give.Base [Art gourd] [3AnSgRefl behind],
kò sù?ò = [Ø jìⁿ?èⁿ],
Infin catch.Base [Art tree],
A: ‘He slung the gourd behind him (on his back), and held on to the tree (trunk).’
A: ‘(sound of climbing). Lo, he managed, he was able to climb, and went and turned onto (a branch).’

B: ‘The hare climbed up the tree?’

A: ‘To the point that (he) went up, and went and turned onto (a branch),’

B: ‘Lo, the francolin—’

B: ‘Lo, someone has gone ahead of him.’
mā-pi
if.you.see
A: ‘Lo, the francolin went ahead of him.’
B: ‘You see?’

(04:09) donc [bè tóʔ=] =à, [bè yíé],
so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Dem.Def name],
[bè fiè] dè kò yīʔí [tòʔò jáɾꜜʔ⁹],
[Dem.Def talk(n)] say.Pfv Infin go.Base [place Rel],
à má dìʔè ké,
3Inan IpfvNeg be.long.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘So that’s it, so the place where that talk (=tale) went, it isn’t too far away.’
[= à ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.2.1.1); clause-final ké (§19.4.6)]

(04:13) ò nà kú =nĩ, [è nígbó] =?,
1Pl Fut cut.Base 3InanObj, [Art short] Emph
A: ‘We will cut it (=tale) off, short.’
[final glottal stop (§3.2.1.9)]

(04:16) [bè jì =à] mó mā dè
[Dem.Def something it.is] 2Sg if say.Base
[mó à jì [Ø kè] [kúʔú nĩ]],
[2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art matter] [today Loc]],
A: ‘It’s that (sort of) thing, if you say that you know it today,’
[< /ē kē kūʔú⁹⁹] /

Quot [[[2Sg Foc] matter-know.Base-VblN] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
[ē tòʔɔ́ nĩ, [ē jì] fiè [[[mó ānàʔà] nĩ],
[Art place] Loc, [Art someone] pass.Pfv [[2Sg face] Loc],
[ē jì] fiè [[[mó ānàʔà] nĩ],
[Art someone] pass.Pfv [[2Sg facet] Loc],
A: ‘(If you say) that your [focus] knowledge of things has no equal, in that place (=situation), someone else has gone ahead of you. Someone else has gone ahead of you.’
[< /kē-k₃ⁿ-nî verbal noun with incorporated object; ē jì usually means ‘something’, here it (somewhat ambiguously) seems to mean ‘someone’]
A: ‘If you know something, say (thinking) that you__, in (your) place, stop at that place.’

[i.e. keep what you know to yourself; 2Sg proclitic ḫ (§4.3.1.6.2); dè ‘say, think’ followed by invariant quotative particle dè (§17.1.1-2) as also in the next segment; dàŋ usually means ‘arrive’, but here it has one of its Jula senses ‘stop’, cf. Tiefo-D lèŋ; tɔ̀-tɔ̀ compound with ‘place’ following a Pfv verb (§5.1.7.3)]

A: ‘Don’t say (=think) that (it’s) in the whole village!’
B: ‘(Or even) your household.’
[prohibitive (§10.4.1.2)]

A: ‘Don’t say that (it’s) your (whole) household!’
B: ‘Your household.’
A: ‘Right!’
[dialectal pronunciations of dɔràʔá ‘courtyard’ = ‘household’, where Ma drops tones before glottal stop while Ji does not (§3.6.1.5)]

B: ‘Lo, if you say (that) it’s in the whole village, someone has gone ahead of you.’
(04:38) ɗ̣ḥɔ̣, ɲì-ɲì
uh-huh, Prsntv
[mọ miāʔạ] nà kɔ̣-pɔ̣= [Ø wụ́-kè]
à ɲì-ɲì,
ah! Prsntv,
A: ‘Uh-huh, there it is!’
B: ‘You (by) yourself will be able to know (=learn) about the village?’
A: ‘Ah, there it is!’
[presentative (§4.4.4.1)]

(04:41) donc [bè tọ=] = à, ɲó [è có] go—,
so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, look.Base [Art francolin] Infin—,
è-è-è fò = [[[Ø blí-kè] ānàʔa] nì] [bè tọ],
(hesitation) pass.Base [[[Art hare] face] Loc] [Dem.Def place],
A: ‘So that’s it. (So) there’s the francolin going ahead of the hare there.’

(04:45) ɲá nó gblè— gblè-bú jàṛ5̣ [tɔ̣ŋ jàṛ5̣],
look.Base 1Sg pick.up.Pfv— pick.up.Pfv-get.Base Rel [place Rel]
à gblè [tɔ̣ŋ jàṛ5̣],
3Inan be.picked.up.Pfv [place Rel],
[à tìe-tɔ̣ŋ tè] = à
[3Inan be.put.down.Pfv-place Foc.Inan] it.is
A: ‘There (it is), the place where I picked it (=tale) up and got it, the place where it was picked up, it (=that) is its place of being put down [focus].
A: Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), narrator
B = Ouattara La (Flaso quartier), respondent
joined briefly near the end by C= Ouattara Jean-Pierre

(00:02) [nó, kétèklú à fá]  
[1Sg, (name) Ipfv seek.Ipfv]  
[commencer = ní dà-rè gɔ= —,  
[begin 3InanObj now narrate.Base —,  
gɔ= [Ø dɔʁà?á], kà lá  
narrate.Base [Art tale], with (name)]  
A: ‘I, Keteklu, want to begin it now, (to) tell—, to tell a tale, with La.’  
[Keteklu is Jean’s Tiefo name; < /gɔ̀ ɛ́d ə̀r ʔá/; gɔ̀ ‘narrate, tell (a tale)’ (also ‘hit’)  

(00:06) [donc ó nà commencer = ní]  
[so 1Pl Fut begin 3InanObj]  
[[[é būⁿ?5ⁿ] kà = [Ø tiplípà’] ni],  
[[[Art dog] with [Art patas.monkey]] Loc],  
A: ‘So, we will begin it. About dog and patas monkey.’  
[< kà [é tiplípà’] /]  

(00:12) [é būⁿ?5ⁿ]. [é ɲū-kè] gbɔrèyá,  
[Art dog], [Art water-matter] be.difficult.Pfv  
A: ‘The dog. Water was hard to get.’  
[i.e. there was a drought; gbɔrèyá ‘be difficult, hard’ < Jula gwèlè-yà, cf. Tiefo-D kpà?à-nì]  

(00:14) [é būⁿ?5ⁿ] kò lí = [Ø tiplípà’]  
[Art dog] Infin call.Base [Art monkey]  
[d= ò gbèʔè] d= ò bà [kò bàŋɔ']  
kòmì [ é ɲū-kè] gbɔrèyá],  
as [Art water-matter] be.difficult.Pfv],  
A: ‘The dog called to the monkey: “Let’s come and consider how water is hard to get!”’  
[< /kò lá ò/: ò in ò gbèʔè and in ò gɔʔɔ could be 3Pl (for indirect quotation) or imperative/hortative plural preverb (§10.4.1.1, §10.4.2.1.1); gɔʔɔ (in Ma dialect gɔʔɔ, (§3.1.1.6) ‘dig (with hands, paws, or by pulling a tool)’]
(00:20) donc, dò = ò gbɛ̀ɭé
so, Quot 3Pl go.Hort
[kò gɔ?ɔ̀ dè = [Ø blù"],
[Hort dig.Base Quot [Art well(n)],
A: ‘(Dog:) “So, let’s go dig a well!”’
[< /dè ɛ̀ɭé]/: the extra quotative dè before ‘well’ was omitted by the same
speaker during transcription; blù" is a simple pit well dug near a watercourse, or as
here in a dried-up pond]

(00:23) donc, ò bà =bù = [Ø jù],
so, 3Pl come.Pfv get.Base [Art water],
ò kò jì =nì [[ò digè-rò] ni]
1Pl Hort drink.Ipfv 3InanObj [[PlRefl Recip] Loc]
A: ‘So, they came and got water. “Let’s drink it together!”’
[hortative with Ipfv verb (§10.4.2.1.2); reciprocal in sense ‘together’ (§18.4.1-2)]

(00:27) ò kò tè kà,
3Pl Infin put.down.Base day,
[è tē²] klé,
[Art daybreak] day.break.Pfv,
ò kò fù?ù [ò digè-rò],
3Pl Infin get.together.Base [PlRefl Recip],
A: ‘They set a date. The day broke. They got together.’
[subject-verb collocation ‘day break’ (§11.1.1.4); recording has an unclear word
between kò and fù?ù, probably a false start, deleted at the speaker’s request]

(00:31) [kò yi?ì, [[è blà?à] nì],
[Infin go.Base, [[Art pond] Loc],
kò yi?ì [k = ő-commencer [Ø blù"-gɔ?ɔ̀-nì],
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-begin [Art well(n)-dig.Base-VblN],
A: ‘(They) went to the pond. They went and began digging the well.’
[‘go’ plus infinitival verb-verb compound k = ő-, for this dialect contracted from
kò = ?ò (§15.2.3.1.1)]

(00:35) [è tli?pà"] =á" bà =?,
[Art monkey] PfvNeg come.Base =Neg,
[[mó wò kà"-à"-jì =nì kè]
[[2Sg Hort reply.Ipfv 3InanObj Emph]
A: ‘The monkey did not come. (To B:) Come on, respond to it!’
[< /tli?pà" á/ with nasalization spreading to the proclitic; Ma reminds Fl that Fl
should be responding to the narrative; kè (§19.4.5)]
A: ‘The monkey did not come.’
B: ‘The monkey did not come.’

[B responds by repeating A’s line; tîlîpàⁿ and tûlîpâⁿ are dialectal variants]

A: ‘The monkey did not come.’
B: ‘The monkey did not come.’

A: ‘The dog went and dug the well, until he reached the water.’
B: ‘Right!’

A: ‘The water became clear of mud (after more digging). The dog drank, left (the pond), and went on (his way).’

A: ‘Lo, the monkey came, and sat down in hiding. He watched the way the dog was digging.’

A: ‘The dog finished drinking, then went on his way.’

A: ‘The monkey went in and drank. He left and went on his way.’
(00:59) [ā kò-dí-cùⁿʔúⁿ],
[3Inan next.morning],
[3ⁿ ɲō b̥à],
[3AnSg Infin come.Base],
A: ‘The following morning, he (=monkey) came.’
/kò ‘day’ plus dí-cùⁿʔúⁿ ‘day after tomorrow’ including cùⁿʔúⁿ ‘morning’;
< /5ⁿ kò b̥à/}

(01:01) [ē būⁿʔúⁿ] b̥à-ɲ̊
[ē tiplîpàⁿ] k̥o ɲ̊ [k̥o cáⁿʔáⁿ-kè?è = [Ø ɲû]]
é!
oh!
A: ‘The dog came to drink, and (then) went on his way. The monkey drank and
disturbed (=muddied) the water.’
B: ‘Oh my!’

(01:05) [k̥o cáⁿʔáⁿ-kè?è = [Ø ɲû]],
[Infin fight.Base-ruin.Base [Art water]],
[ē būⁿʔúⁿ] w̥o klá-b̥à
[Art dog] Infin return.Base-come.Base
[3ⁿ k̥o [klá-b̥à nî] [bî tòʔè] =dèʔ?
[3AnSg be [return.Base-come.Prog Prog]] [Dem.Def place] Emph
A: ‘He (=monkey) disturbed the water. The dog came back.’
B: ‘He was coming back (to) that very place!’
/bî variant of bè discourse-definite; =dèʔ emphatic]

(01:08) [3ⁿ kl̥e-b̥à = [Ø dɔʔ] nî],
[3AnSg return.Pfv-come.Base [[Art late.afternoon] Loc],
donc k̥o b̥a-ɲ̊
so Infin come.Base-see.Ipfv
[Ø ɲû cèⁿʔèⁿ-kè?è-èʔè?è],
[Art water fight.Pfv-ruin.Base-Ppl.Inan],
A: ‘He (=dog) came back in the late afternoon. So, he came and saw the disturbed
(=roiled) thing (=water).’
[inanimate participial -èʔè (§4.5.4) from noun ‘thing’, based on a verb-verb
compound in Pfv form]
[dè, *mais* bò ɲùò [kò fó],
[Quot, but LogoSg drink.Pfv [Infin pass.Base]
[è yúò ji] k-à ká-à-diê [gò nã]
[Art person which?] Infin-lpv do.again.lpvf-lpfv-enter.lpvf [Infin drink.Base]
[bò jìé] [kò câ"n-dìè] = nì,
[LogoSg after] [Infin fight.Base-ruin.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘(Dog, to himself:) “But I drank and went on my way. Somebody else comes in and drinks after me and disturbs it.’

(dè = [Ø kè?é-bòrá] kò yá tè,
Quot [Art work(n)] be Dem.InanSg Q,
A: ‘(Dog, to himself:) “Here is (what) action?”’
/kè?é-bòrá < Jula; presentative clause in interrogative form with clause-final tè; means something like ‘what the hell has happened here?’

(01:19) [cè bûs"nì,], ò kò-dì-cû"nì,
[Art dog], 3Inan next.morning,
[cè bûs"nì] kò nã,
[Art dog] Infin drink.Base,
A: ‘The dog—. The following morning, the dog drank.’

(01:22) kò tò-tàrá"=
[Ø â-biè"nì ji] tò"n],
Infin hide.Base-sit.Base [Art leaf Indef] under,
dè [yúò jòrã] à cā"n-dìè [bò bìù-nû],
Quot [person Rel] lpvf fight.lpvf-lpfv-ruin.lpvf [LogoSg well(n)-water],
A: ‘Then he (=dog) hid under (=in) the foliage. (He said to himself:) “the person who disturbs my well water.”’
/bò bìù-nû could also be bracketed as [bò bìù] nû ‘the water of my well’.

(01:26) [cògò-cògò, [ʒo wï] bā bā],
[anyway, 3AnSg owner] if come.Base,
[bò nà fù?û [ʒo wï] kû"nì] bè
[LogoSg Fut get.together.Base 3AnSg owner] today Dem.Def
A: ‘(Dog, to himself:) “anyway, when the fellow comes, I will meet (=confront) the fellow even today.”’
[ʒo wï used like ‘the fellow, the person concerned (§18.5.1.2); Fl speaker says something during this segment but it isn’t clear; fù?û and kù"nì are Ma dialect pronunciations of fù?û and kù"nì (§3.1.1.6)]
(01:30) *donc*, [če tiplípā’] kā = ā-diē,
[Art monkey] Infin come.Base-enter.Base,
kō ꞌnā, [kō diē [[O blāʔā] ni]]
Infin drink.Base, [Infin enter.Base [[Art pond] Loc]]
[kō cā”ʔā”-kēʔē],
[Infin fight.Base-ruin.Base,
A: ‘So, monkey entered (arrived) and drank. He went into the pond and disturbed
(the water).’]

(01:36) ³ⁿ glō [kō léⁿ [tɔʔɔ jɔrɔ”]] dɔrɔⁿ,
3AnSg exit(v).Pfv [Infin stop.Base [place Rel]] only,
[če bū³ⁿ”⁵ⁿ] kō cārūⁿ-[yīʔ-ʃīʔi],
[Art dog] Infin run.hard.Base-[get.up.Base],

right!
A: ‘At the spot where he (=monkey) had just come out (from the foliage) and
stopped, the dog suddenly leapt up.’
B: ‘Right!’
<[spatial adverbial relative (§14.2.5); < /jɔrɔⁿ dɔrɔⁿ/ with dɔrɔⁿ ‘only; as soon as’
§15.3.5.9])

(01:40) [kō jʊʔɔ= ³ⁿ [ʃǐ] pàbà-pàbà-pàbà-pàbà-pàbà
[Infin follow.Base [3AnSg behind] (sound of running)
bēbē-bēbē-bēbē
(sound of running)
A: ‘He (=dog) pursued after him (=monkey). (sound of running)’
B: ‘(sound of running)’
[jʊʔɔ Ma and Fl dialect pronunciation of jʊʔ with post-glottal vowel quality
spreading leftward (§3.1.1.6)]

(01:43) [kō yīʔi] [k= ɔ-ʃuʔü [ɔ dɪgɔ-ʃu]]
[Infin go.Base] [Infin go.Base-get.together.Base [PlRefl Recip]]

right!
A: ‘They went and came together (i.e. dog caught up to monkey).’
B: ‘Right!’
Jean-Pierre (C) intervenes briefly:

mà, pī [Ø tïlpà] … if see.Base [Art monkey] …

C: ‘Hey, that [focus] is why if a dog sees a monkey, …’

[C has been eavesdropping but intervenes here (there is some speaker overlap so the end of C’s segment is inaudible]
(02:00) e! [ē bêⁿ] ní-mā
  hey! [Art harmony] not.be
  [[kà [ō gê]] têʔê] =?,
  [[with [3Pl Recip]] between] Neg,
  A: ‘There is no peace (=mutual understanding) between (=for) each other.’
  [< bêⁿ ; gê reciprocal (§18.4.3); kà ē gê têʔê is a fixed expression]

(02:04) [ò bìé]—
  [Pl all]—
  [[ē būⁿʔêⁿ] kà = [Ō tiplipàⁿ] ní-mā [bêⁿ ni],
  [[Art dog] with [Art monkey]] IpfvNeg [peace Loc],
  jà būⁿʔêⁿ—
  cause dog—
  B: ‘They both—. The dog and monkey are not at peace, because a dog—.’
  [ní-mā makes sense in the context, but tape sounds like just mā]

(02:07) [ē jū-kè té] =ỳà
  [Art water-matter Foc.Inan] it.is
  jà [ē jū-kè té] =ỳà
  cause [Art water-matter Inan.Foc] it.is
  A: ‘It’s the business about the water [focus].’
  B: It’s because of the business about the water [focus].
  [< /jū-kè té/ with kè ‘matter, affair, issue’]

(02:09) [ē júʔêʔê] wò ká tàⁿ-jûʔê [ò bìé?],
  [Art God] Hort Sbjn help.Base [3Pl all],
  [kò sûʔê] [Ō bêⁿ]
  [Hort give.Base [Art peace]
  B: ‘May God help all of them! (And) give (them) peace!’
Text 2017-03  Two old men and the warthog (tale)

duration 03:24
A: Ouattara La (Flaso quartier), narrator
B: Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), respondent

(00:02)  [nó yić] dè [wàtórà là],
[1Sg name] Quot [Ouattara La],
A: ‘My name is Ouattara La.’
[dè quotative particle (or perfective verb ‘said’); Ouattara is the family (clan) name, La is a given name for the third son]

(00:05)  ó nà gɔ= [Ø dèràʔá ji],
1Pl Fut narrate.Base [Art tale Indef],
[è còfɔ-fè ni]
[[Art Tiefo-language] Loc]
A: ‘We will tell a tale in Tiefo language.’
[< /gɔ ɛ/; gbà/gò/gù ‘hit’ or as here ‘tell (a tale)’; fè ‘language’ dropped to -fè as compound final (§5.1.1.1)]

(00:08)  [kò yîí— [è nà-dì-ɔ],
[Infin go.Base [Art old.man-Pl],
į] bà jùɔʔá dè = [Ø nà-dì-ɔ],
2Sg if hear.Base Quot [Art old.man-Pl],
A: ‘(The tale) goes to (=is about) old men. If you-Sg hear (about) old men,’
plural of nà-dè ‘old man’ (other dialects have ná-dè, ná-dì-ɔ (cf. @ 00:34 & 00:35 below); bà ‘if’]

(00:12)  [è nà-dì-ɔ] má kàn [kò sò-sò [ò dìgɔ-rɔ]
[Art old.man-Pl] IpvNeg ought [Hort contradict.Base [PlRefl Recip]
A: ‘Old men should not contradict (=disagree with) each other.
[kàn (§17.4.3.3, cf. §8.5.4.3); sò-sò < Jula sò-sɔ ; reciprocal (§18.4.1)]

(00:15)  ē keⁿ-dì-ɔ [yûô jœⁿ]
Art old.man-Pl [people two]
B: ‘Two old men.’
[an alternative word for ‘old men’, singular keⁿ-dè ; yûô jœⁿ with human numeral classifier (§4.6.1.2)]
(00:16) [ē kēⁿ-dì-ð [yūō jōⁿ] [Art old.man-Pl [people two]
má kāⁿ [gō sō-sō [ðò dīgà-rē],
Neg ought [Hort contradict.Base [PLRefl Recip],
A: ‘Two old men should not contradict each other.’

(00:19) [tà būō— būō [[kā jàřōⁿ] nī],
[3Inan be.gotten.Pfv— get.Pfv [[manner Rel Loc],
A: ‘The way in which it happened, …’

(00:22) ē nā-dì-ð [yūō jōⁿ],
Art old.men [people two],
bon, ā dēⁿ?ēⁿ,
well, Sg one,
A: ‘(There were) two old men. Well, one (of them), …’

(00:26) [dè bó bà yī?ī [[[3ⁿ dè] nī] kūⁿ?ūⁿ]
say.Pfv LogoSg if go.Base [[3AnSgRef1 field] Loc] today
A: ‘… said, “if I go to my field today, …” ’
[logophoric subject binds regular third person reflexive possessor (§18.1.1)]

(00:28) dè [[ē jù?é] ēⁿ [ = ēⁿ nī]]
Quot [[Art God] accept.Pfv [3Inan Loc]]
[[ē jù?é] ā ēⁿ [ = ēⁿ nī]]
[[Art God] PfvNeg accept.Base [3Inan Loc]]
A: ‘(said:) “… (whether) God accepts it or (whether) God doesn’t accept it, …” ’
[willy-nilly conditional antecedent (§16.3) consisting of parallel positive and negative clauses joined without a pause; speaker later suggested adding yō ‘whether’ at the end of both parallel clauses; < /lēⁿ à nī/]

(00:31) [bó dè] nà kō [kūⁿ?ūⁿ bè]
[LogoSg field] Fut finish.Base [today Top.Inan]
A: ‘‘…my field will be finished this very day.’’ ‘

(00:32) ē, [kō tārāⁿ]
huh!, [Infin sit.Base]
[Infin say.Base [Dem Foc] [[Art courtyard] Loc]]
B: ‘Huh? (He) sat and said that [focus] in a courtyard!’
[i.e. in a public place (in front of others); Ma dialect dārā?á for dārā?á]

(00:34) kō dò [bè tō?ī =] [[Ô nā-dè dīgō?ê] bà?à]
A: ‘(And he) said that [focus] to another (= a different) old man.’
[infinital kō dò ‘say’ with NP object, compare kō dè ‘say’ followed by quotation (§11.3); dative postposition bà?à with ‘say’ (§8.1.1)]
(00:35) [è ná-dè dígɔ̀?š] bà? = ə̃
[Art old.man other] Dat Q
B: ‘To another old man?’
[interrogative ə̃ (§13.2.2.1)]

(00:37) [è̃ nà-dè dígɔ̀?š] dè ẹ̀
[Art old.man other] say.Pfv huh?
A: ‘The other old man said, “huh?”’
[i.e. ‘you said what?’ (incredulous)]

(00:38) [donc dò-wè] [Ø jùjù’é-nì] [à nì]
[so, say.Base-put.Base [Art God-portion] [3Inan Loc]
A: ‘(other old man:) “So, (you must) consult with God about it!”’
[imperative, spoken by the other old man; dò-wè combines ‘say’ and ‘put’, i.e. ‘speak’ and ‘take note (of what the interlocutor says)’; è jùjù’é-nì ‘God’s role (contribution)’ functioning as a noun, here as object of ‘put’, cf. @ 02:56 and 03:10 below]}

(00:39) [dè = Ø jì-kā-bō jùjù’é] tē,
[say.Pfv [Art what.kind? God] Q,
è! huh?
A: ‘(first old man) said “What kind of God?”’
B: ‘Huh?’
[dismissive reply by the first old man; < /dè ē; jì-kā-bō (§13.2.3.6.2)]

(00:41) dè [bō tō?ô]—
say.Pfv [LogoSg Foc]—
say.Pfv [LogoSg Foc] believe.Pfv [[3AnSgRefl Refl] Loc]
A: ‘(The first old man said:) “I [focus] am sure of myself.”’
[expresses self-confidence (or arrogance)]

(00:43) [kō pē] [dè = [Ø jùjù’é] à sārù’ bō]]
[Infin forget.Base [Quot [Art God] PfvNeg take.down.Base LogoSg]]
B: ‘(He) forgot that God didn’t bring him down.’
[‘forget’ with quotative complement (§17.3.4); < /sārù’ bō/; invariant transitive sārù’ ‘take down, compare intransitive sārù/sārú/sārù ‘descend’ (§9.3.2)]

(00:45) [[bō à sìn] [Ø [kē-ju’?šn]] ʃìpá] nì,
[[LogoSg Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Art [work(n)]] situation] Loc.
A: ‘(He said:) “(This is the way I work (=do things).”’
[sìn ~ ʃìn ‘perform (work)’; ʃìpá nì ~ ʃìpá nì ‘manner’ (§15.3.2)]
A: '(First old man) said, “Ah, everybody knows about it.”'
B: "You see?"

['all the world’ = ‘everybody’, cf. French tout le monde; B’s comment expresses surprise]

[00:50] donc, 3n tà = á-dàⁿ,
so, 3AnSg Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
[3ⁿ gā = [à ní] kpàpiô-kpàpiô-kpàpiô
[3AnSg be [3Inan Loc] digging.furiously
A: ‘So, when he had arrived, he was at it (=farming) furiously.’

[tà á- (§15.3.5.5); < /kō à ní/ ; kpà-piô is an iterable expressive adverbial (§8.5.8) denoting the process and sound of hitting the earth and pulling inward with a daba (hoe) while weeding around crop plants, partially segmentable, cf. kpà-kpà(-kpà) ‘rat-tat-tat!’ (frenetic activity) and piô, a quasi-onomatopoeia for digging earth]

[00:55] [è dè tô] ká peⁿ
[Art field-remainder] Past remain.Base
[[è gbli] [ò sáⁿ]],
[[Art ridge] [Pl three]],
A: ‘The remainder (not yet worked part) of the field had remained (just) three rows.’

/[kà past (§10.3.1.1); gbli here denotes a ridge between furrows in a plowed field]

[00:58] a! [è só jî], è —
ah! [Art pig Indef], Art —
[è dòsó-kèⁿ] …
[Art hunter]
[è dòsó-kèⁿ] 3ⁿ mlèⁿ = ðⁿ,
[Art hunter] 3AnSg shoot.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘Ah! (There was) a warthog, A— (hesitation).
B: ‘A hunter—’
A: ‘A hunter, he shot it.’

[more properly pôřê-sô ‘bush pig’, i.e. warthog; -kèⁿ (§5.1.6.8); 3AnSg object enclitic = (y)ð]

[01:04] 3ⁿ kā = à-sèⁿ —
3AnSg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base —
B: ‘It (=warthog) had lain down.’
A: ‘It (=wounded warthog) came and lay down, across (the) three rows.’
[slightly emended at speaker’s request]

A: ‘… the fellow (=the farmer) had arrived at the outer edge (of the field), …’

A: ‘… there was the warthog!’
[< /ē sō ə-mā/; presentative construction, with à-mā ’be (somewhere)’ added in Fl dialect (§4.4.4.2)]

A: ‘Oh! The old man saw it. Appetite for meat arose …’
[i.e. as described]

A: ‘… (and) he picked up the daba (=hoe) and shot (it at) the warthog.’
[i.e., he hurled it at the warthog (direct object)]
(01:24) à kō jō [j₃⁰ j₃⁰j₃⁰] nǐ
3Inan Infin get.caught.Base [3AnSg neck] Loc
à kō jō, [[ē sō]— [[ē sō] j₃⁰j₃⁰] nǐ]
3Inan Infin get.caught.Base, [[Art pig]— [[Art pig] neck] Loc
hōp!
oops!
B (anticipating): ‘It (=daba) got caught around its (=warthog’s) neck!’
A (overlapping): ‘It (=daba) got caught, around the warthog’s neck!’
B: ‘Oops!’
[a daba (=hoe) used for weeding has a curved blade coming off the wooden shaft at an angle, so it can hook around someone’s neck]

(01:28) [ē sō] gò yiʔiʔiŋ [kà lō],
[Art pig] Infin get.up.Base [with 3Inan],
kō gō-dōrá —
Infin keep.going.Base
bābāwò! bābāwò! bābāwò! bābāwò!
(gallop) (gallop) (gallop) (gallop)
A: ‘The warthog got up with it (daba).’
B: ‘(It) kept going—’
A (overlapping): gallop! gallop! gallop! (IMITATES sound)
/kà lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’ (§4.3.2.4) ; cf. adverb bā-bāʔa ‘quickly; hard’]

(01:31) … ʒⁿ fiē
… 3AnSg behind
[ē nā-dē] kò tá-[cārūⁿ-jùʔà]
[Art old.man] Infin do.again.Base-[run.hard.after.Base] [3AnSg behind],
bābāwò! bābāwò! bābāwò!,
(gallop) (gallop) (gallop),
B: ‘(Unintelligible) … after it.’
A: ‘The old man too ran hard after it. Gallop! gallop!’

(01:35) ò kō fi₃⁰i₃⁰n
3Pl Infin run.Base
ò kō fi₃⁰i₃⁰n [kō fi₃⁰i₃⁰n]
3Pl Infin run.Base [Infin run.Base]
B: ‘They ran.’
A: ‘They ran, and ran.’
[repetition of infinitival VPs to indicate duration]
(01:38)  
álè fó → —
all.theway until —
mā-ɲī
if.you.see
A: ‘All the way until—’
B: ‘You see?’
[álè and fó → (§9.3.10.2, §19.1.7)]

(01:40)  
[ē dē] kō à-yiʔí [wō dâⁿ],
[ē kûⁿ?ûⁿ]
[Art early.afternoon]
A: ‘The sun went and arrived, early afternoon.’
[kō à- with nonliteral use of ‘come’ (§15.2.3.2)]

(01:42)  
[ē dē] [sē-diē]-dâʔà
[Art sun] [set.Pfv-enter.Base]-time
B: ‘The time when the sun sets and goes in (=dusk).’
[compounds with -dâʔà < dáʔà ‘time’ (§5.1.7.7)]

(01:44)  
[ē kûⁿ?ûⁿ] tà = á-dâⁿ,
[Art early.afternoon] Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
[ē kûⁿ?ûⁿ] kō bâ [Ō = à-liⁿ]
jō = Ô kō [(Ô dīgɔ-rà) ÿī],
if 3Pl be [[PlRefl Recip] behind],
A: ‘When the early afternoon had arrived, (when) the early afternoon cooled off,
they were after each other (=in a chase).’
[jī ‘if’ plus infinitival clause (§15.2.1.2)]

(01:48)  
[ʒⁿ wō kēⁿ]
[3AnSg Infin tilt.Base]
[ʒⁿ = Ō klē-píⁿ] [[Ō sō] nî],
[3AnSg PfvNeg do.Base-able.Base [[Art pig] Loc],
A: ‘He leaned over (to reach the warthog), (but) he couldn’t do it on the warthog.’
[< ʒⁿ á 3AnSg PfvNeg; -píⁿ ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1)]

(01:51)  
[ē dē] kō à-yiʔí
[Art sun] Infin come.Base-go.Base
[kō só-diē wərē],
[Infin set.Base-enter.Base totally],
‘The sun had gone and completely set and gone in (=under).’
[i.e., in total darkness]
A: ‘Ah, when the sun had set and gone under, …’

(01:58) [ē sō], kə = ā-dān
[Art pig], Infin go.Base-arrive.Base
[[ē kēʔē-rēʔē jō-rē] nī] dār5n→,
[[Art Gardenia-Pl Indef-InanPl] Loc] only,
A: ‘… when the warthog arrived at some Gardenia erubescens trees,’
/kə =  ā- (§15.2.3.3.2); this Gardenia species is a densely-branched shrub in savanna, singular kēʔē, plural in this dialect usually kə-rēʔē ; jō-rē ‘some, certain ones’, inanimate plural of indefinite jī (§4.4.2.3); dār5n→ (§19.2.1)

(02:02) [ē fīʔē] kō gān-glū [kō di-sō]
[Art daba] Infin detach.Base [Infin fall.Base]
dē  pānālān
say.Pfv (ding!)
A: ‘…, the daba fell off (the warthog’s neck).’
B: ‘It went “ding!” ’
[‘detach’ plus ‘fall’ = ‘fall off’; pānālān ‘ding, clang’ (ringing sound of metal)]

(02:05) [[ē tōʔē] nī] pānālān,
[[Art place] Loc] (ding!),
[ē dē dō] kō yā sē,
[Art sun however] be Dem.InanSg set.Pfv,
A: ‘In the place, (it went) “ding!” Look, the sun had already set.’
[presentative construction with clausal scope (§4.4.4.3)]

(02:08) [ē bīʔif] yūs
[Art night] turn.black.Pfv
[ē dē] á bā-kō-p5n =ʔ
[Art field] PfvNeg cultivate.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Neg
A: ‘Night fell.’
B: ‘The field couldn’t finish being cultivated.’
[i.e. there was not enough time to finish the farm work; ‘night fell’ subject-verb collocation (§11.1.1.4)]

(02:10) [ē dē] á bā-kō-p5n =ʔ
[Art field] PfvNeg cultivate.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Neg
ē!
oh!
A: ‘The field was unable to finish being cultivated.’
B: ‘Oh my!’
(02:12) [è tɔʔə] pièə, [[è gbli] [ò sà']]] nà-dàʔià',
[Art place] remain.Pfv, [[Art ridge] [Pl three] one,
‘The place remained, with only three rows (of crops) left (to cultivate).’
[< /gbli ð/ ; nà-dàʔià' 'one, only' is usually human (§19.2.3)]

(02:14) è, [[è gbÎ=] [ò sà']]],
oh! [[Art ridge] [Pl three]],
[à dò] cù̀m mā,
[3Inan however] spend.night.Pfv there.Def
B: ‘Oh! The three ridges, they spent the night (uncultivated) there.’

(02:14) [à dò] cù̀m mā,
[3Inan however] spend.night.Pfv there.Def,
A: ‘Their (crops) spent the night (uncultivated) there.’

(02:15) donc, ʒə ðè [[]ybè-ʃəráf-ʃè jàrɔn'], ă→
so, 3AnSg say.Pfv [[bravado]-words(n) Rel],
ă = Ø gɔ-sò = ðè? 3Inan PfvNeg be.right.Base Emph
ă = Ø [gɔ-sò]-pən = ? 3Inan PfvNeg [be.right.Base]-be.able.Base Neg
B: ‘So the boastful talk that he spoke, ah!’
A: ‘It wasn’t justified at all!’
B: ‘It couldn’t be justified!’
[< Jula ʃyə-ʃəlá ; < fə ; < gɔ-sò ‘be agreed on; be acceptable’ (§8.5.4.2)]

(02:20) donc, [à dì-cùm’u] ní, [è nà-dè] kō —,
so, [3Inan next.day] Loc, [Art old.man] Infin —,
[[è sùrëf] jùùò = ðè bè-kā]
[[Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj thus]
A: ‘So, the next day, the old man (went)—, he was humiliated like that.’
[lit. “shame caught (him)” (§11.1.1.6)]

(02:25) [ò ðà-nì [ʒə nà-dè dig5?]],
[Infin go.Base-see.Base [3AnSgRefl old.man other]],
A: ‘(and) went and saw his (=the) other old man, …’

(02:27) hè→, [bô tà dò [fə jàrɔn']]
hey, [LogoSg Past say.Base [talk(n) Rel]]
[ðè [bô dè] nà kā] ðè = [Ø sòbè] ní], ðè —
[Quot [LogoSg field] Fut finish.Base] Quot [[Art candor(n)] Loc, Quot —
A: ‘(He said:) “hey, the words that I had said, that my field would be finished (in one day), to be honest, — ” ’
B: ‘The reason (of the problem) isn’t important.’
[Art cause(n)] is.not be.a.lot.Ipfv Neg

hey Quot friend, hey [Art plump.game.animal Indef],
[Infin go.Base-exit(v).Base [1Sg Loc]] Quot [Art pig] it.is,
A: ‘(He said:) “hey, my friend, a plump game animal appeared to me. It was a
warthog.”’

A: ‘(He said:) “hey, my friend, a plump game animal appeared to me. It was a
warthog.”’

A: ‘(He said:) “Where I picked up my daba, intending to shoot (=fling the daba)
and kill (the warthog).”’

A: ‘(He said:) “Where (=when) I shot (the daba) at it, it went
away with my daba.”’

A: ‘(He said:) “Even after (my) spending all night (chasing), I myself was unable to get
(=catch) the warthog.”’

A: ‘ “The field did not get finished.”’
(02:49) donc [[bè tôʔɔ̀ ní], [ē nā-dè] dè oui, 
so [[Dem. Def place] Loc], [Art old.man] say.Pfv yes, 
A: ‘So at that point, the old man said “yes.”’ 
[he acknowledged that the other old man was right]

(02:53) [dè tôʔɔ̀] já, 
[Quot Foc] let.Pfv, 
ị mà nê [[Ø dúŋpá] ní], 
2Sg if see.Ipfv [[Art world] Loc], 
A: ‘Therefore, if you-Sg see that, in the world (of the living), …’ 
[< /ị bà nê è/; one would expect bè tôʔɔ̀ já with discourse-definite demonstrative 
bè ; ‘see (that …)’ without quotative complementizer dè (§17.2.2)]

(02:54) ị bà dè [má = ā klē = [Ø kē]], 
[2Sg if say.Base [2Sg Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art matter]], 
kłē = [Ø kē] 
do.Ipfv [Art thing] 
A: ‘If you say (=intend) that you (will) do a (certain) thing, …’ 
B (echoing): ‘… do something.’ 
[dè ‘say’ is logically present but not audible on recording; < /mò à klē ē/; kē 
‘thing (abstract), matter’; perfective dè ‘said’ after bà ‘if’]

(02:56) [wē [Ø jùʔè?-nì] [à ní], 
[put.Base [Art God-portion] [3Inan Loc], 
wálà— right! 
A: ‘…, put (=include) God’s role in it!’ 
B: ‘Right!’

(02:58) [ē jùʔè] — [ē jùʔè] á kìⁿ =ʔ, 
[Art God] — [Art God] PfvNeg be.thin.Base Neg, 
A: ‘God—, God is not small.’

(03:00) mà dò dè [mó— kō [Ø nā-dè]], 
Proh say.Base Quot [2Sg— be [Art old.man]], 
dè = [Ø nā-dè díŋgɔ̀ jì] má wiè-tàʔà mó 
Quot [Art old.man other Indef] IpfvNeg help.Pfv 2Sg 
A: ‘Don’t say (=think) that you being an old man, another old man won’t (be able 
to) help you.’ 
[má wiè-tàʔà future negative (with Pfv verb) (§10.2.5.4)]
(03:05) [kà, [ē cè-cîlé]]
[with [Art intelligence]]
ē yákərì
Art intelligence
A: ‘With (his) intelligence.’
B (overlapping): ‘Intelligence.’
[synonym yákərì 'intelligence' < Jula hákîlî (< Arabic)]

(03:07) Ø nò nà-dè = ò,
2Sg be old.man whether,
lēⁿ = [[Ø jùjë?è dō] nì],
accept.Base [[Art God Poss.Inan Loc],
A: ‘Whether you are an old man, accept God’s (role)!’
[< Ø jù; clause-final = ò in willy-nilly parallel construction (completed in the following segment)]]

(03:10) Ø nò bì-fjìⁿ = òⁿ,
2Sg be child whether,
lēⁿ = [[Ø jùjë?è dō] nì],
accept.Base [[Art God Poss.Inan Loc],
wàlà → right!
right!
A: ‘Whether you are a child, …’
B: ‘Accept God’s—’
A: ‘… accept God’s (role)!’
B: ‘Right!’

(03:13) [[ē jùjë?è] bà dè = [Ø kë-kë]]
[Art God] if say.Pfv [Art Rdp-matter]
[[bè tò?â = ] à klè],
[[Dem.Def Foc] lpfv be.done.Ipfv],
‘If God says (=ordains) things, that [focus] is how it happens.’
[< /bè tò?ô à klè/]

(03:16) [nò būô = nì [tò?d jàrìⁿ]],
[1Sg get.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
[bè tò?ô] kò yá,
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
A: ‘(There) where I found it (=the tale), that’s it!’

A: ‘Ah, thank you! May God help us.’
[Jula à ni cé (all-purpose greeting): 1Pl mie in a blessing (§4.3.1.4)]
Text 2017-04  Djinns and old-time people (tale)

duration: 07:21
A: Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan quartier), narrator
B: Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), respondent
[B also contributes to the narrative in places]

(00:02) donc, â!, [Jean-Pierre tó?ó] klé-bà,
so, oh!, [Art person-Pl], [JP Foc] return.Pfv-come.Base,
Jean-Pierre kà—
JP with—
kétèklú
(name)
kétèklú
(name)
bè tó?ó
(name) Foc
[é-yùò tó-ró [nùò jõ³]] klé-bà,
[1Pl Foc-AnPl [people two]] return.Pfv-come.Base,
A: ‘So, people, Jean-Pierre [focus] has come back. J-P with …’
B: ‘Keteklu.’
A: ‘… Keteklu.’
B: ‘That’s it.’
A: ‘It’s us [focus] two who have come back.’
/kétèklú is a name of Coulibaly Jean Bakari; tó-ró animate plural focalizer
(§13.1.1); noun or pronoun preceding numeral can be focalized (§6.4.1, §13.1.2.2)]

(00:14) ó nà ká-tørã⁰,
1Pl Fut do.again.Base-sit.Base,
[è dípá—, -[nù?3-sù?ú]-kà ji] nì,
[Art world—, -[mouth-catch.Nom]-manner Indef] Loc,
A: ‘We will shift (the talk) to a way of the world’s origin.’
/kâ- ‘(do) again’ (§15.1.3.2); ká-tørã⁰ ‘sit again (a different way), move over
while sitting’; mouth-catch = ‘begin’ (§17.5.1); -kà ‘manner of’ (§5.1.7.2)]

(00:20) kà—, [è jár³-nì]—, [ŋ tó?á] nì
with—, [Art djinn-Pl]—, [(nasal) place] Loc
kà— [è ná-bí njármá],
with— [Art people very.good],
A: ‘With the djinns’ place, and the humans.’
[djinns, i.e. genies, supernatural beings; ‘good (=true) people’, i.e. humans as
opposed to djinns; pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]
parce que, è fò— [è [nù?-sù?-ð]-dàʔà]
because, (hesitation)— [Art [mouth-catch.Pfv]-time]
dî-nà-dèⁿ
long.ago
[dî-nà-dèⁿ]-dàʔà, [dî-nà-dèⁿ nî] [dî-nà-dèⁿ nî],
[long.ago]-time, [long.ago Loc] [long.ago Loc],
A: ‘Because, the origin time.’
B: ‘Long ago.’
A: “Long ago (time), long ago, long ago
[-dàʔà ’time of’ < dàʔà ‘time’ (§5.1.7.7); dî-nà-dèⁿ, cf. nà-dè ‘old man’]

è nà-bí nàrámá tóʔó] ká à—
[Art person very.good Foc] Past be.Loc
mâ mâ = [[[Ø járⁿ] ånàʔà] nî]
be.Loc there.Def [[[Art djinn face] Loc]
[3AnSg Foc] be.Loc [[[Art djinn face] Loc]
A: ‘A (true) human [focus] was—
B: ‘—was there ahead of (=superior to) a djinn.’
A: ‘They (=humans) were ahead of a djinn.’
[smooth out as kà à-mâ mâ ’was/were there’]

[[ò bié] jù] ká =ā ṁè [ò dîgà-li],
[[3Pl all] eye] Past Ipfv see.Ipfv [PlRefl Recip],
B: ‘Everybody’s eyes could see each other.’
A: ‘Everybody’s eyes could see each other.’
[the djinns were not invisible as they are now; < jù ká à ṁè/ ‘eye(s)’ ]

à gâ bûo—, [è jár—] (hesitation), (false start)—
[è nà-bí nàrámá] mâ dè járⁿ,
[Art person very.good] if say.Base Rel,
[è járⁿ] à ğî [bì tóʔó],
[Art djinn] Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Foc],
A: ‘Whatever the human said (to do), that [focus] is what the djinn would perform.’
[combination of ‘if’ with járⁿ]
A: ‘Whatever he said, …’
B: ‘That’s what he (=djinn) would perform.’
A: ‘… that’s what the djinn would perform.’

A: ‘The djinns were —, very afraid of a human, like something (awesome).’

A: ‘When he (=Masa Solo) would get up in the morning, he wouldn’t sleep.’
B: ‘Oh my!’
A: ‘He wouldn’t sleep! Night and day!’

[Masa Solo was the human who acted as boss of the djinns]
Text 2017-04

(01:13) ē [tərəⁿ-wò]-nî—
Art [rest(v).Base]-VblN—
[ē tərəⁿ-wò-nî =rê] nî-mā [à nî]
[Art rest(v).Base-VblN even] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
jî = [Ø ná-bí nàrámà] á dó dè ɔ́ tərəⁿ-wò,
if [Art person very.good] PfvNeg say.Base Quot 3AnSg rest(v).Base,
₃ⁿ má tərəⁿ-àⁿ-wò =?,
3AnSg IpfvNeg rest(v).Ipfv Neg,  
A: ‘Rest—’
B: ‘There was no rest therein.’
A: ‘Unless the human told him (=a djinn) to rest, he didn’t rest.’
[verbal noun < tərəⁿ-wò ‘sit-rot’ = ‘rest, relax’ (base): quoted imperative]  

(01:17) ₃ⁿ tá à fā = [Ø keⁿ]
3AnSg Past Ipfv seek.Ipfv [Art fellow]
donc [è ná-bí nàrámà] jàršⁿ, bè jàršⁿ = à,
so [Art person very.good] Rel, Dem.Def Rel it.is,
[³ⁿ yîé] dè māsā, māsā sòlô, māsā sòlô,
[3AnSg name] Quot M, M S, M S,
B: ‘He would seek out the fellow (=Masa).’
A: ‘So the human in question, the one who it was, his name was Masa, Masa Solo.’
[Solo short for Suleyman; for māsā cf. māsà-cē ‘chief’]  

(01:25) [bó tòʔó] ká kò [(O) jàršⁿ— anāʔ-à-nô],
[3AnSg Foc] Past be [Art djinn— face-person],
₅ⁿ māsà-cē
3AnSg chief
māsà-cē, idée māsā sòlô,
chief, (nasal) M S,
A: ‘He [focus] was the djinn boss (=boss of the djinns).’
B: ‘His boss.’
A: ‘Boss. His Masa Solo.’
[māsà-cē ‘chief’ < Jula, sometimes partially nativized as māsā-këⁿ; the final ₅ⁿ can be edited out]  

(01:34) donc, ē—
so, uh—
[ē jàršⁿ] kā à-țərəⁿ [kô nî [ò dígə-ɾô]]
[Art djinn] Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Infin see.Base [PIRefl Recip]]
A: ‘So, uh—’
B: ‘The djinn(s) then sat down and saw each other (=held a meeting).’
[emend to plural jàršⁿ-nî]
A: ‘Yes, he—’
B: ‘“If you-Pl don’t sit down and see each other (=meet), …”’

[In B’s turn, one of the djinns is quoted; reciprocal gę (§18.4.3), alternative to ò]

A: ‘(A djinn said:) “Ah, this fellow—” ’
B: ‘(He) said, “this fellow will/would kill you-Pl.” ’
A: ‘(He) said, “he will bother you (=give you a hard time).” ’
B: ‘‘He would (even) kill you-Pl.’’

[The djinns believed that Masa Solo held the power of life and death over them; < /kę^n (y)á/; perfective future with bè ; < /dé ȃn/ ; nâ future or counterfactual (§16.4.2); speaker B insists on the more violect version ‘kill’]

A: ‘Huh? Did it happen like that?’
B: ‘The human started the work (for the djinns), from (early) in the morning until the sun (went and) set.’

/dépi < French depuis ; kò =?ō- ‘and went and’ (Ma dialect); in this ‘from ..., until ...’ construction, if ‘until’ is followed by a time-of-day predicate, a low-referentiality subject like ‘sun’ can follow rather than precede the verb (this could also be construed as a pseudo-causative ‘until (it) makes the sun set’)]
B: ‘They didn’t rest therein. Then they came and sat together to hold their meeting.’
A: ‘It happened thus.’

B: ‘(Pray) that God put invisibility between (djinns) and humans.’
A: ‘Right!’

B: ‘If (there is/you are) one whose eye has not opened (=is blind), all the others will see you-Pl.’

A: ‘Right!’

B: ‘If (there is/you are) one whose eye has not opened (=is blind), all the others will see you-Pl.’
(02:08) jí mó kō [bā nǐ] [kā [Ø fē]],  
if 2Sg be [come.Prog Prog] [with [Art talk(n)]],  
mó de jèrō = [Ø tì-tārā'], às kō kā-tō,  
2Sg say.Pfv Rel [Art truth], 3Inan be like.that,  
A: ‘If you-Sg are bringing the words, what you said is true. It’s like that.’  
[normally predicative [ē tì-tārā′] = yà ‘it’s true’]

(02:11) mais, mó mà nǐ, mó nē = [Ø tōʔ],  
but, 2Sg if see.Base, 2Sg look.at.Base [Art place],  
[ē pōʔ] li⁴, mó mà nē = [Ø tō-rē jō-rē] = ē,  
[[Art the.bush] guts], 2Sg IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Art hole-Pl Indef-InanPl] Q,  
[ē sūŋmā-rē⁴ wō-rō⁴]  
[Art rock-Pl head-Pl]  
[ē sūŋmā-rē⁴ wō-rō⁴]  
[Art rock-Pl head-Pl]  
A: ‘But if you-Sg see, you look at the place— (look) out in the bush! Do you not see some pits?’  
B: ‘Piles (“heads”) of rocks.’  
A: ‘Piles (“heads”) of rocks.’  
[‘look’ may be imperative, or else part of the conditional antecedent (with second mà ‘if’ irregularly omitted); the pits are certain topographic features said to be constructed by djinns; singular ū"ʔū⁴ (Ji) = wū"ʔū⁴ (Ma) ‘head’, here a conspicuous heap; dialectal variants, singulars sūŋmēʔē (Ma) and sūŋmēʔē (Ji)]

(02:19) ō dē = [Ø sēpū"ʔū⁴], ē sēpū"ʔū⁴-nī  
3Pl say.Pfv [Art rock.pile], Art rock.pile-Pl  
ē sāfū"ʔū⁴-nī  
Art rock.pile-Pl  
ē sēpū"ʔū⁴ — [ē sūŋmā-rē⁴] [kē⁴-tō]-[kē⁴-tō = ]-[Ø = rē],  
Art rock.pile— [Art stone-Pl] [Rdp]-[be.piled.up.Pfv]-[thing-Pl]  
A: ‘They call (it) a rockpile. Rockpiles.’  
B: ‘Rockpiles.’  
A: ‘Rockpile—. Rocks, (things) piled up.’  
[compound final < /tō-rē/ ‘things’]
3Inan all—
[ē jör̥̂-nif]…
[Art djinn-Pl]…
à bié—
3Inan all—
… [k̥̆-sūʔ̆-tòʔ̆, ̆]
… [work(n)]-place, oh!
A: ‘The pits that have been dug all around in the bush. All of it—’
B: ‘The djinns’…’
A: ‘All of it—’
B: ‘… place of work. Oh my!’
[i.e. topographic features created by the djinns; ká (Ji dialect) ‘like, similar to’, in other dialects lì ‘inside’ used with ‘the bush’ (§8.3.3)]

(02:31) donc, mó mà ní [ē tiʔé], mó mà ló-fō—
so, 2Sg if see.Base [Art hole], 2Sg if turn.Base-pass.Base—
má= á ní [Ô tiʔé jì] plē fān̥̂ǹ̥ = ān,
2Sg PfvNeg see.Base [Art hole Und] be.dug.Pfv here Q,
A: ‘So, if you see a pit, if you go around (it) and keep going—. Have you not seen that a pit has been dug here?’

(02:35) má-ŋi [Ô sì-saráʔà] á—
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] (hesitation)—
[ā sì-saráʔà-tòʔà] ní—
[3Inan earth.heap]—
má-ŋi [Ô sì-saráʔà] [ā kpēʔé] ní
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] [[3Inan proximity] Loc]
[ā bié] lè-yiʔí
[3Inan all] be.gathered.Pfv-go.Base
A: ‘You see, piles of earth—’
B: ‘The place of those earth heaps…’
A: ‘You see, earth heaps next to them (=pits).’
B: ‘… All of them were gathered up and taken away.’
[i.e. the djinns removed the telltale piles of earth near where they had excavated; 3Inan possessor à as quasi-definite; lè-yiʔí (Ma pronunciation) ‘was gathered and went (=took away)’]
(02:40) [à bì] à là-à-głö
[3Inan all] Lpfv be.gathered.Lpfv-lpfv-remove.Lpfv
[como] [Ø kláʔá tū-tūʔú] [like [Art shell(n) big]]
é!, jà→ ò ká gō [[[ò díg-rö] sëgè] ni] =dè?
à yìʔě-ką 3Inan go.Pfv-finish.Base
màŋŋ, if you see,
A: ‘All of them are (=have been) gathered up and taken away, like a big shell.’
B: ‘Oh! Lo, they were wearing each other out!’
A: ‘It went away (=disappeared).’
B: ‘You see?’
< /lò-à-głö/; tū-tūʔú ‘big’ (§4.5.3.2.2); progressive with preverbal object
(§10.2.4.1), here reciprocal; sëgè ‘get tired’ or transitive ‘weary (sb)’ < Jula, cf.
Tiefo-D blè/bè/błě ~ bř]

(02:47) donc, ò kō tōrâ" [kò pš [ò díg-rö]] bē-kā
so, 3Pl Infin sit.Base [Infin look.at.Base [PlRefn Recip]] thus
ò k-ą bē bē-kā, ó kō [bē ni] bē-kā,
3Ina Infin-lpfv come.Lpfv thus, 3Pl be [Dem.Def Loc] thus,
B: ‘So, in that way they sat and looked at each other (=held a meeting)!’
A: ‘They came like that, they were (involved) therein thus.’

(02:52) donc, é!, [màsâ sòlò], bon,
so, oh!, [M S], well,
[è nà-bì] má klè= [Ø kē] kəʔənì,
[Art person] LpfvNeg do.Lpfv [Art thing] carelessly,
A: ‘So, ah! Masa Solo, well, a person doesn’t do something carelessly.’

(02:59) [è wágâtì j =] à-mã,
[Art time Indef] be.Loc,
[[dà-à dà-à dà-à]] nà
[[Poss.Inan-2SgPoss (repetitions) ]
[kò [dà-à dà-à] nà dà à nì
[be [Poss.Inan-2SgPoss (repeat)]
[dà-à nàà dì nà
[Poss.Inan-2SgPoss
[dà-à nì [Ø dà”] ni]]
[Poss.Inan-2SgPoss Loc [[Art boundary] Loc]]
A: ‘There are some times, yours (=your endurance) will reach your limit’.
< /wágâtì j i-/- ; beginning with dà-à (with 2Sg possessor suffix, §4.3.1.2) the
transcription is approximate and the markup and translation are very unclear;
passage seems to be based on dà-à dà” = [[Ø dà”] ni] ‘your (possession) has reached
its limit’]
(03:05) bon—
well—
[ē ke bië] kā = [Ø dâⁿ] = à
[Art thing all] with [Art boundary] it.is
[ē ke bië] kā = [Ø dâⁿ] = à,
[Art thing all] with [Art boundary] it.is,
A: ‘Well, —’
B: ‘Every thing is with (=has) a limit.’
A: ‘Every thing is with (=has) a limit.’

(03:08) 3n— 3n klè bè, [ē kēⁿ],
3AnSg— 3AnSg do.Pfv Dem.Def, [Art fellow],
jā→, [ē kēⁿ] lēⁿ [Ø jùjë-ciⁿ]
lo! [Art man] stand.Pfv [Art top]
A: ‘He did that. The fellow (=Masa Solo). Lo, the fellow stood up high.’

(03:13) ē jùjë-ë—, [ē jùjë] sūʔō [3n nî]
Art God—, [Art God] take.Pfv [3AnSg life]
3n nî
3AnSg life
3n lēⁿ [[Ø jùjë-ciⁿ] [kō k̃]
3AnSg stand.Pfv [[Art top] [Infin finish.Base]
A: ‘God—, God took his life (force).’
B [overlapping] ‘his life (force).’
A: ‘He stood up high and was finished.’
[Masa Solo had died (unbenownst to the djinns) but was still standing, propped up by a cane]

(03:18) 3n pûʔ5—
3AnSg stick(n)—
[pûʔ5 jär5ⁿ] 3n= Ø yé [kā lō]
[sick Rel] 3AnSg Ipfv walk.Ipfv [with 3Inan]
[pûʔ5 jär5ⁿ] 3n= Ø yé [kā lō]
[sick Rel] 3AnSg Ipfv walk.Ipfv [with 3Inan]
A: ‘The stick—’
B: ‘The stick that he walked with.’
A: ‘The stick that he walked with.’
[relative head is complement of preposition (§14.2.4); ‘stick’ can be pronounced with level-M or with LH tone]
B: ‘That [focus] was holding him up (keeping him standing).’
A: ‘That [focus] was made (=was functioning as) his third leg.’
[human ordinal -nɔ (§4.6.2.3) because this “leg” is autonomous, not part of the man]

B: ‘The way he stood there, the djinn still saw him standing.’
A: ‘Had he died?’
B: ‘Had he died?’
A: ‘Had he died?’
[the djinns wondered whether he was dead]

A: ‘They weren’t aware of it.’
A: ‘They were (still) at work.’
[< /kɔ à/; progressive negative (§10.5.6); note the structural similarity between the progressive ‘be knowing’ and the construction ‘be [at work]’]
(03:30) ɗ kō [Ø k̕-sùʔ̱ ءْاٰ té] ŋ]
3Pl be [[Art work(n) Foc.Inan] Loc]
k-ã yiʔĩ sù→
Infin-lpfv go.lpfv continuously
ɗ kō [Ø k̕-sùʔ̱ ءْاٰ té] ŋ] dáʔ̱n
3Pl be [[Art work(n) Foc.Inan] Loc] only
B: ‘They were at work [focus], they kept going.’
A: ‘They were at work [focus] only!’
[k-ã yiʔĩ (Ma) equivalent to k-ã yiʔĩ (Bi Ji)]

(03:32) ɗ mā tārāⁿ-wō =ʔ,
3Pl lpfvNeg rest(v).lpfv Neg,
jā→ [ = à k̕o’n] wūô
lo! [Art fellow] die.Pfv
A: ‘They didn’t rest. Lo, the fellow had died.’

(03:36) donc, ɗ kō jī= [Ø k̕e’n] mā j̱o-nj̱oʔ̱n,
so 3Pl Infin see.Base [Art fellow] there.Def motionless,
[ā! bū = á k̕o’n] [bū̀ nà tē = nī—]
[ōh! 3Pl PfvNeg know] [3Pl Fut put.down.Base 3InanObj—]
A: ‘So, they saw the fellow there motionless. Ah, they didn’t know. They were going to handle (the situation).’

(03:43) [à dó] má kùn [ò nī]
[3Inan however] lpfvNeg be.manageable [3Pl Loc]
[ò kō dàṉ-p̱ṉ [j̱ô nī]
3Pl Infin arrive.Base-be.able.Base [3AnG Loc]
A: ‘It was not feasible for them to reach to where he was.’
[kùn < Jula]

(03:44) [ò] kō ɲ̥ [ò diq̱-ṟå],
[3Pl Infin look.at.Base [PlRefl Recip],
ò kō tā= [Ø ṯḻ-k̕à]
3Pl Infin seek.Base [Art termite-Pl]
dè→, ɗ kō nèʔè—
Quot, 3Pl Infin ask.Base—
B: ‘Then they looked at each other (=met). They looked for termites.’
A: ‘(They) said, they asked—.’
[singular ṯḻ-k̕à (§5.1.7.1)]
B: 'The termite chief. So (he) told them to go. There was the stick, placed next to the fellow.'

[< /dè ḏ/; quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1); kò yá presentative with clause (§4.4.4.3); < /kè]/ flattened to kèⁿ 'beside' (§8.3.4.4)]

B: 'Since nobody (=no djinn) can manage to get close (to Masa Solo) in order to speak to him,'

[-plùⁿ Ipfv of -p³ⁿ 'be able to' (§15.1.7.1); imperfective infinitive as purposive (§17.6.2.1)]

B: '(so that) he (=Masa Solo) accepts it in the fellow’s (djinn’s) benefit,'

[< ʒⁿ k-ã with k nasalized; ʒⁿ wí ‘his owner’ = ‘the fellow’ previously introduced into the discourse (§18.5.1.2)]

A: 'It happened like that.'
(04:02) [ē jë"nì] kò ghú— [ē jë"ni:] dië-só dôrâ—
[Art wood] Infin exit(v).Base— [Art wood] fall.Pfv only,
ē kë'ò nôrâ, hâyâ, jë" ò wûö, jà— jë" ò wûö,
Art fellow too, well, 3AnSg die.Pfv, lo! 3AnSg die.Pfv,
3AnSg die.Pfv-[fall.Base]
B: ‘The wood (=the cane) came out— (or rather) the wood just fell. The fellow
right
too, well, he had died. Lo, he had died. He fell down dead.’
A: ‘Right!’
[< /kë" nôrâ/]

(04:08) donc, [ē jôrâ-nj] kô sôrâ
so, [Art djinn-Pl] Infin proceed.to.Base
[kô bû [ô miâ?”â]], kô nê?ë = [Ô jîqê?ë],
[Infin get.Base [PlRefl Ref]], Infin ask.Base [Art God],
dô bû = ā nê?ë = jë" Ô, Quot LogoPl Ipfv ask.for.Base Dat.3AnSg,
B: ‘So, the djinns proceeded to become free. (They) begged (=pray to) God,
saying that they ask Him.’
[‘get oneself’ = ‘escape, become free’; 3AnSg ditransitive dative jë" Ô (§8.1.2)]

(04:15) jë" Ô (kô) pà?â [jë" Ô jü]
3AnSg (Infin) redden.Base [3AnSgRefl eye]
[kô wë [Ô fû-bë?ë]]
[Infin put.Base [Art darkness]]
[[bûö kâ = [Ô nà-bi pàération] ti?ë],
[[3Pl and [Art person real]] between],
B: ‘He (=God) mightily put darkness (=invisibility) between them (=djinns) and a
real person (=a human).’
[“redden one’s eye” = ‘apply oneself energetically, make a serious effort’]

(04:17) [bûö nôrâ] gò bû [ô miâ?”â],
[3Pl too] Hort get.Base [PlRefl Refl],
[jà’gò kô kà bû = — [ê nj] dôn]
[so that Hort Sbjn get.Base— [Art life] a little]
[bê kô bû [bûö bâ?]a],
[Dem.Def Hort be.gotten.Base [LogoPl chez],
B: ‘So they too could be free, in order to get (=have) some life, so (that) that (i.e.
life) may be had in their (own) midst.’
[purposive jà’gò (§17.6.2.4); nî ‘life, vital signs’ < Jula; dôn ‘a little’ < Jula;
bâ?â ‘chez, at the place of’ (§8.1.1)]
A: '(They) said to God, like, “well, (with) that which has happened, so that (nasal) fatigue, something mustn’t allow a human to—'

B: ‘So that some(thing) of their suffering might go away (=be diminished).’

A: ‘(So that) some(thing) of their suffering might go away.’

B: ‘Right!’

[sègè (< Jula sigèn) and bè-ní mean ‘fatigue, physical suffering’; ò in ò bè-ní sounds like kò bè-ní on the recording but only ò bè-ní or perhaps búò bè-ní would make sense here]

A: ‘Look! It happened like that. The talk happened like that, the way you-Sg said— (or rather) the way you heard it.’

B: ‘It happened thus. Look, they went and took their leave in that situation.’

[subject-final dé ‘however’ here emphasizes the surprising element (§19.3.8)]

A: ‘(They) said to God, like, “well, (with) that which has happened, you-Sg mustn’t allow a human to—'

B: ‘—see us.” ’

A: ‘—see us.” ’

[quotation with 3AnSg for original addressee and LogoPl for original 1PI (§17.1.4); já ‘let, allow’ with infinitival complement (§17.4.2.5.4), repair interrupted sentence as [k-ã nè búò]/
(04:42) 3ⁿ mā jā= [Ø ná-bí náramá] kò—
[3AnSg leave.Base [Art person very.good] Hort—
[kò commander bùò],
[Hort govern LogoPl],
A: ‘“You mustn’t allow a human to rule over us.’”

(04:44) donc [bùò tó-ró] kò—, bűò kò nè [Ø ná-bí],
so [LogoPl Foc-AnPl] Hort—, LogoPl Hort see.Ipfv [Art person],
[è ná-bí] mà wò nè bùò,
[Art person] Proh Hort see.Ipfv LogoPl,
A: ‘“So we [focus] must, we must (be able to) see a human, (but) the human must
not (be able to) see us.”’
[quoted prohibitive in hortative form, positive then negative; subject focalization
anticipating subject switch]

(04:49) donc, à kò pěⁿ [bè nǐ],
so, 3Inan Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc],
ō suǐë, é! bè— [[Ø flì-kò jà-ró] bàʔà],
3Pl give.Pfv, ah! Dem.Def— [Art termite-Pl Rel-AnPl] Dat,
é! sâⁿ = [Ø bérá],
ah! work(v).Base [Art work(n)],
A: ‘So, it remained in that (situation). They arranged, that—, the termites to whom
(they said), hey, do the work!’
[rather broken passage; bérá ‘work (n)’ < Jula]

(04:55) ô dè bon, kà-tó,
3Pl say.Pfv well, thus,
[è ná-bí] mà sâⁿ [Ø kê—
[Art person] if work(v).Base [Art thing—]
{sâⁿ} [Ø kê] [è bàʔà],
work(v).Base [Art thing—] [1Pl chez],
fó mó fê =ô,
must 2Sg greet.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘They said, “well, if the person (=termite) works among us, you-Sg must go
greet (=welcome) him.’’
[fô ‘must’ < French il faut (§17.1.7)]
contrast with 1Pl rules out a logophoric reading

(05:06) á!, j = ó à tà-à-fè = [Ø flî-kà],
ah!, Hort 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv-greet.Ipfv [Art termite-Sg],
kò bí = ò, à mà gbà-sô,
Infin ask.Base 3AnSgObj, 3InanSsg IpfvNeg be.right.Pfv,
A: ‘Ah, let us go address the termite and ask him, (otherwise) it wouldn’t be right.’

(05:09) á! [é-yòù dò-tù] pìèⁿ
ah [1Pl Poss.Inan-remainder] remain.Pfv
wàlà→, donc ò gò yìì÷ = [Ø flî-kà] bà?ày,
right!, so 3Pl Infin go.Base [[Art termite-Pl] chez],
B: ‘Ah, there remains the rest of our (tale).’
A: ‘Right. They (=djinns) went to the place of the termites.’

(05:14) est-ce que kàtò bùò sùìⁿ
Q when 2Pl work(n).Pfv
[Ø kë-sùⁿ?šⁿ yá jàršⁿ] mà→, est-ce que,
[Art work(n) Dem.InanSg Rel] concerning, Q,
bon, é-yòù nà sùìš = [Ø bì-mlèⁿ] [šⁿ bùò],
well, 1Pl Fut give.Base [Art how.much.money] [Dat 2Pl],
A: ‘(They asked:) “Since you-Pl have done that work, well, how much money shall we give you-Pl?”’

(< /sùìš ê /; mà→ here seems to be an interrogative topic marker (§19.1.4);
bì-mlèⁿ ‘how much money?’ (§13.2.3.5.2); šⁿ ditransitive dative preposition (§8.1.2);
bùò is both LogoPl and 2Pl in Ji dialect, but here and in the following segment its contrast with 1Pl rules out a logophoric reading)
A: ‘(Djinns to termites:) “Look, our greeting (=thanks) is for you-Pl. If not for your-Pl involvement, we would (still) be performing work there.” ’

[< nà bè in counterfactual consequent, here with Ipfv (§16.4.1-3, §16.4.6), cf. nà kò ŋ̣i @ 05:42 below]

... à, ó kò wú-kš
... ah, 1Pl Infin die.Base-finish.Base
A: ‘(Djinns to termites:) “To the point that…

A: So—
B: ‘ “… ah!, for us to die (from overwork).” ’

[Art termite-Pl] say.Pfv ah!, nope!,
[bùò kè-sùⁿ?šⁿ à jèršⁿ] nó— bùò sùšⁿ = rē = ë,
[LogoPl work(n) Dem.InanSg Rel] 1Sg— LogoPl work(v).Pfv even Q,
A: ‘The termites said: “Ah, nope! This work of ours that I— (that) we did?” ’

[1Sg pronoun nó is corrected to LogoPl bùò; this long relative clause is restarted in the middle; the normal phrasing would be bùò sùšⁿ = [Ō kè-sùⁿ?šⁿ à jèršⁿ]]

é fóy ní-mâ [à ní] kè, bùò—
[bùò sùšⁿ = ní] [ó kò = [Ō dígà-rùⁿ ní]],
[LogoPl work(v).Pfv 3InanObj] 1Pl be [[PLRefl Recip] Loc],
A: ‘(Termites:) “There’s absolutely no (payment) in (=for) it. We— We did it (=work), we are together (=solidary).’ ”

[the work was done freely, out of solidarity; Jula fóy ‘nothing at all’ ; kè (§19.4.5); ‘be together’ (§18.4.2)]

... à, ó kò wú-kš
... ah, 1Pl Infin die.Base-finish.Base
A: ‘So, the djinn(s), the devil, the djinn(s) were coming in that way. (They) said, well, like, they looked at each other (=had a meeting).’

[sácùšⁿ is a type of djinn who carries messages; < /kô ní ò/]
(05:42) *donc, [è flî-kɔ̃],
so, [Art termite-Pl],
bùò nà kò ñi—ñìn = [Ø bôrá jàrè̩]mù, [Log Pl CF act Hort work(v).Ipfv— work(v).Ipfv [Art work(n) Rel],
A: ‘(Djinns:) “So, termites, the work that we would have (had to) do, …”
[future nà combined with hortative kò and imperfective verb, cf. nà bè ñìn @ 05:19 above and nà ñìn @ 05:50 below]
LogoPl— 1Pl Proh pay.Base [Art thing Indef] Q … mā sàrā = [Ø èʔè jì]
… Proh pay.Base [Art thing Indef]A: ‘(Djinns:) “Didn’t you-Pl tell us to abandon (it), that we mustn’t pay anything?’
B (overlapping): ‘… mustn’t pay anything.’
[< bùò á ‘nothing’]
(05:50) mais bùò nà ñìn = [Ø bôrá jàrè̩]mù, but LogoPl PastHabit work(v).Ipfv [Art work(n) Rel],
A: ‘“But the work that we used to do, (in) various places, our hand is therein.’ ”
[i.e. our handiwork is there; past habitual (§10.2.2.3)]
(05:56) té já, ñ mà nī = [Ø gó-wù̩],[Dem Def.Foc leave.Pfv, 2Sg if see.Base [Art termite.sp.head],[è gó-wù̩ jàrè̩],
[Art termite-head Rel.InanPl],[è flî-kɔ̃]— [è flî-kɔ̃] mè-mè, [Art termite-Pl]— [Art termite-Pl]Rdp-build.Pfv,A: ‘Because of that, if you-Sg see termite mound(s), termite mound(s) that the
termites—, the termites have built all over.’
[Té já shorted from bè té já ‘that (focus) is why …’ (§8.1.3); jàrè inanimate
plural relative (§14.1.1); gó-wù̩ (Ji dialect for gó-wù̩mù) ‘small termite mound’;
iteration of ‘built’ indicating repetition or distribution]
(06:00) [è ] paid-fiɛŋʔɛn]  
[Art termityary]  
[è ] paid-ɛŋʔɛn mhm jàrɛ] mè-mè  
[Art termityary uh.huh Rel.InanPl] Rdp-be.built.Pfv  
[è ] paid-ɛŋʔɛn]  
[Art termityary]  
B: ‘Termitaries.’  
A: ‘Termitaries that have been built all over.’  
B: ‘Termitaries.’  
[B introduces an alternative term for ‘termite mound’]

(06:03) dè, ò mà á-wè [ò kè-tèʔè] [à ní],  
Quot, 3Pl if go.Base-put.Base [PlRef1 hand] [3Inan Loc],  
est-ce que bu= à— yè, bu= à jì,  
Q 2Pl Ipfv— oh!, 2Pl Ipfv know.Ipfv,  
sô nà [Ø flì-kà] nū-gbà-tòʔà  
A: ‘If they go and put their hand(s) on it, do you-Pl—, oh! Do you-Pl know, who  
has seen the termites’ place for drawing water?’  
[ò kè-tèʔè with reflexive possessor (§18.1.1); ‘place’ compound with verb and  
incorporated object (§5.1.7.3); verb gbà/gó/gò ~ gû ‘draw (water)’]

(06:08) ñʔô”, [è yúó ji] [n dèʔɛn]  
nô!, [Art person Indef] [Sg one]  
à ,nì [à nū-gbà-tòʔà]  
PfvNeg see.Base [3Inan water-draw.water.Pfv]  
d= Ø glû [kà= [Ø nû]] [Ø sè-kù”ną”b] bè-kà  
3Pl Ipfv exit(v).Ipfv [with [Art water]] [Art where?]; thus  
B: ‘No, not one person could see its (=their) place for drawing water.’  
A: ‘Where the hell did they come out with (=get) water like that?’  
i.e., they couldn’t see where the moisture was coming from; së ‘where?’ extended  
as sè-kù”juan ‘wherever?’ (§13.2.3.3)]

(06:10) à  buʔɔ  fàrɛ” =rè,  
3Inan earth too even,  
[è yúó ji] à nì =nì  
[Art person Indef] PfvNeg see.Base 3InanObj  
[è yúó ji] à nì =nì  
[Art person Indef] PfvNeg see.Base 3InanObj  
B: ‘Even the earth (was invisible).’  
A: ‘Nobody could see it.’  
B: ‘Nobody could see it.’  
[< /bùʔà/]
(06:13) wàlá→, **donc**,  è fľí— jáŕíⁿ⁺,  
right!,  so  Art  term[ite]— djinn,
[ɓòò  tā-ró]  tà-à-gū =  [Ø  ēnţ],
kò  á-sùʔ =  [ ámb  [Ø  fľi-kő]],
Inf  fin  go.Base-give.Base  [Dat  [Art  termite-Pl]],
A: ‘Right! So, the term[ites]— (or rather) the djinn(s), it’s they [focus] who go and draw water, and then go and give (it) to the termites.’
/tà-à-Vb2  ‘to go and Vb2 (Ipfv)’,  cf.  tì-à-Vb2 dialectally (§15.2.3.3.3); < /kò̂ á-/ ‘and go and’ (§15.2.3.3.2); < /á-sû?=]/

(06:18)  è  fľí-kò
Art  termite-Pl
è  fľí-kò
Art  termite-Pl
ô  k-ā  mè [ô  wùʔú] [ô  k-ā  yiʔl]
3Pl  Infin-Ipfv  build.Ipfv  [PlRefI house]  [3Pl  Infin-Ipfv  go.Ipfv]
wàlá→, **donc**,  dè  [[ɓòò  dō]  bônga té]  ô  bè,
right!,  so,  Quot  [[3Pl  Poss.Inan]  gift  Foc.Inan]  be  Dem.Def,
B: ‘Termites.’
A: ‘Termites.’
B: ‘Then they build their house (=mound) and go (about their business).’
A: ‘Right! So, the reward for their (action) [focus] is that.’
[i.e. ‘that [focus] is the … ’]

(06:23)  mó  mà  jî =  [Ø  fľí-kò]—,  [ē  wùʔú]  mè,
2Sg  if  see.Base  [Art  termite-Pl],  [Art  house]  be.built.Pfv,
[è  jáŕíⁿ⁺  tóʔ = ]  ā  tāⁿ-âⁿ-jùʔǔ = wò,
[Art  djinn  Foc]  Ipfv  help.Ipfv  3PlObj,
A: ‘If you-Sg see that termites—, (that their) mound has been built, the djinn(s) [focus] help them.’

(06:27) wàlá→  **donc**  [bè  nî],  [è→ fė]  kò  níg̩bô,
right!,  so  [Dem.Def  Loc],  [Art  talk(n)]  be  short,
[è  ná-bf]  [kūⁿṹ ŋî]—
[Art  person]  [today  Loc]—
á→,  Ø  mà  kāⁿ  [gò  diʔè]
ah!,  2Sg  IpfvNeg  ought  [Hort  be.long]
A: ‘Right! So with that, the talk is short. A person today—’
B: ‘Ah, you mustn’t be tall (=proud).’
(06:33) 3n má ká ng—, 3n má ká ng—,
3AnSg IpfvNeg ought Hort—, AnSg IpfvNeg ought Hort—,
kl—, mó e—, mó e—,
do.Base, 2Sg Art—, 2Sg Art—,
[ê kë biê] [Ø bè té] à-mâ [à nî],
[Art matter all] [Art harmony Foc.Inan] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘He mustn’t—, he mustn’t—, do—, you—, you—. (In) every matter, harmony (among people) is there.’
[< /ê kë bié/; > /ê bè té/]

[Art person] if— help.Ipfv 2SgObj— help.Ipfv 2SgObj [today Loc],
ò kò fó ê—, nô [ò dîg-rô],
3Pl Infin pass.Base Art—, look.at.Base [PlRefl Recip],
kû sû?ô [Ø fê-nî] [3n [Ø dîg-rô]],
Infin give [Art greet-VblIN] [Dat [PlRefl Recip]],
A: ‘If someone helps you-Sg today, they go and look at each other (=has a meeting), and then give greetings to each other.’
[mî optional 2Sg object pronominal (§4.3.1.3)]

(06:45) wâlâ—, ê nà [ê kë],
right!, 2Sg see.Pfv [Art matter],
[ê bú-nî] kà à-mâ [à nî],
[Art get.Base-VblIN] Past be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘Right! (if) you-Sg have seen (=discussed) the matter, there was a benefit there.’

(06:48) wâlâ—, yá wô klè
right!, Dem.InanSg Infin do.Base
[yá jär'ô] mlè˘-fî?ê mó—,
[Dem.InanSg Rel] like.this concerning,
A: ‘Right! Concerning what that has done in this way, concerning the gift that that one (the benefactor) came and added (=gave),’
[clause-final mó— (§19.1.4); < /kû fôrû/]

60
[ṭó bié] má klè—] [Ø ji] nà dè
[[3Pl all] IpfvNeg be.done—] [[Art someone] Fut say.Base]
[mó sū?d = [Ø bú j = ] [3n bāʔà] lò],
[2Sg take.Pfv [Art money Indef] [3AnSg Dat] Emph],
á! á! á
oh! oh! oh!
A: ‘Not everyone is made (the same)—. Someone will say that you-Sg received some money from him.’
B: ‘Oh! Oh!’

[negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); bāʔà dative denoting source (§8.1.1); clause-final lò (§15.3.5.6)]

mó sū?d = [Ø bú j = ] [3n bāʔà] kā,
2Sg take.Pfv [Art money Indef] [3AnSg Dat] Dem.AnSg,
3AnSg Fut do.again.Base-[help.Base] 2Sg how? Q, oh!
A: ‘You-Sg received some money from him, that one. How will he help you again?’

[ē [tèⁿ-jūʔ₃j-tóʔ₃] ní-mā
[ē [tèⁿ-jūʔ₃]-tóʔ₃] ní-mā
[ē jùⁿ [kù-fùⁿʔ₃] jër₃],
[2Sg work(v).Pfv [work(n) Rel],
ō fiëʔè [bè— dō] [3ⁿ mó]
3Pl give.Pfv [Dem.Def— Poss.Inan] [Dat 2Sg]
B: ‘There is no way to help (=repay).’
A: ‘There is no way to help (=repay).’
B: ‘The work that you have done, they have given its (compensation) to you-Sg.’
[‘place’ compound (§5.1.7.3); fiëʔè Ma dialect for ñùʔè ‘gave’ (§3.2.1.10)]

[07:04] donc mó nà dè [d = ò ká-[tàⁿ-jùʔ₃]] mó
so 2Sg Fut say.Base [Quot 3Pl do.again.Base-help.Base 2Sg
[kà = [Ø kèʔè]]
[with [Art what?]]]
á pì-ní
ah! Prsnv
à→yí
no!
B: ‘So with what (=on what basis) will you tell them to help (=repay) you any more?’
A: ‘Ah, there it is!’
B: ‘No!’
(07:07) donc [bè nì],
    so [DemDef Loc],
    [è fé kòni] à mà dì?è =?, donc, dè→,
    [Art talk(n) Top] 3Inan LpfvNeg be.long.Lpfv Neg, so, Quot,
 A : ‘So with that, as for the talk (=story), it isn’t long (=is almost finished). So,’

(07:11) [jɔrɔn bùò [nò bâ?à], [é-yùò bâ?à]
    [Rel be.gotten.Pfv [1Sg chez], [1Pl chez]
    [bè tò?ò] kò yá,
    [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
    A: ‘What was gotten (=learned) by me, (or rather) by us, that [focus] is it. Thank you.’
    [< /bùò nò/]

(07:14) à-ni-cé thanks
    [è fè-ni] kò = [[Ø ná-bió] bâ?à]
    [Art speak-VblN] be [[Art person.Pl] chez]
    merci thanks
    B: ‘Thanks.’
    A: ‘The greeting is for the people.’
    B: ‘May God put (=keep) us together (=in harmony).’
    A: ‘Thank you.’
    [Jula à ni cé ‘thanks’ (general greeting); mié’ (§4.3.1.4)]
Text 2017-05  Two girls and hare (tale)

duration 04:50
A: Ouattara La (Flaso quartier), narrator
B: Coulibaly Jean Bakari, respondent

(00:02) [lā tōʔō] klê-bà [kā = [Ø dārāʔá ji] —
[ē dārāʔá ji] tāʔà-kò,
[Art tale Indef] again,
A: ‘It’s La (name) [focus] who has come back with a tale again.’
[i.e. he has brought another tale, to add to a previous one]

(00:07) [ē nó—] [ē dārāʔá] ḥ nà gò = nì,
[Art (hesitation)] [Art tale] 1Sg Fut tell.Base 3InanObj,
kà bākârǐ, kūrūbārǐ, [nò yē] dè [wātārā lā],
with B, K, [1Sg name] Quot [O L],
A: ‘The tale, I will tell it, with Bakary Coulibaly. My name is Ouattara La.’

(00:14) ó būō = nì—,
1Pl get.Pfv 3InanObj, [Art tale],
à būō-būō [[kā jārį̄n] nì],
3Inan Rdpp-be.gotten.Pfv [[manner Rel] Loc],
A: ‘We got (=learned) it, the tale, in the (same) way it was (originally) gotten.’

(00:19) [[ē lās] [yūō jān] jā-rō tō-rō]
[Art young.women] [people two] Indef-AnPl Foc-AnPl
yī-mā
Past.Ipfv-be.Loc
A: ‘There were two young women [focus] (there).’
[ País suppletive plural of yīe ‘young woman’ (cf. §3.2.1.11, §3.3.9); jō-rō animate plural indefinite ji (§4.4.2.3); yī-mā ‘was (somewhere)’ (§11.2.3.2, cf. §10.3.1.8)]

(00:23) dē [būō kō-kō-ní ɲョ̀ʔə] nī-mā = ?,
Quot [LogoPl beauty equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
dē [Ø dūŋā-kārū-lā bī] nì,
Quot [Art world-generation-young.women all] Loc,
A: ‘(They) said (=thought) that there was no equal to their beauty, among all the
world’s (contemporary) agemate-groups of young women.’
[ē kō-ní ‘beauty’, hesre reduplicated; ɲョ̀ʔə < Jula]
00:26) dē buò mà târêⁿ dē = [Ø târâⁿ?âⁿ],
Quot LogoPl PfvNeg sit.Pfv Quot [Art marriage],
A: ‘(They) said (=decided) “we will never get married.”’
[future negative with mà plus Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4); noun ‘marriage’ is related to
verb ‘sit’ in the sense ‘settle down’]

00:29) [dē mà-ŋi [dē buò târêⁿ = [Ø târâⁿ?âⁿ]]
[Quot if you see [Quot LogoPl sit.Pfv [Art marriage]]]
[dē buò á nî [ò jū-dâ] tâⁿ = ?],
[Quot LogoPl PfvNeg see.Base [PlRefl eye-man] yet Neg],
A: ‘(They said:) “you-Sg see that we have gotten married, we have not
seen (=gotten) our husbands of choice yet.”’
[transcription presents what is heard on the recording; the speaker later
corrected to positive dē buò ɲà dâ [dê-ŋî] “that we
have seen (=gotten) …”; tâⁿ ‘yet’ (§10.3.2.4)]

00:33) [ò bié] à jî = [[Ø [blî-kê]-kê] lò,
[3Pl all] Pfv know.Pfv [Art [hare]-matter] Emph,
A: ‘Everyone knows about hare.’
[hare is proverbially clever; lò < Jula]

00:36) è blî-kê, [bô dô] — [bô dô] ā cò
Art hare, [3AnSg however] — [3AnSg however] Pfv be.clever.Pfv
[3"hê", cî!, kû"âⁿ a té bô [bê nî]
[uh-huh, oh!, today PfvNeg put.Base 3AnSg [Dem.Def Loc]
A: ‘The hare, it however is shrewd.’
B: ‘Uh-huh, oh, it isn’t (just) today that it (=hare) is like that (=clever).’
[lit. “today didn’t put it thus”]

00:41) bô gô [yî-jînî] dē ?îyê,
3AnSg be [get.up.Base] Quot “ ”
A: ‘It (=hare) got up and said “?îyê.”’
[cry of surprise]

00:42) dē [[bô ɲà yá jîná] nî],
Quot [[[LogoSg see.Pfv Dem.InanSg situation] Loc],
[e sêbê] nî,
[Art candor] Loc,
A: ‘(Hare:) “the way I have seen it, in all honesty,”’
(00:46) fó bó à ṃáʔ= [Ø jù] gò—, kò gbē—
must LogoSg lpfv redden.lpfv [Art eye] Infin pick.up.Base —
[[[Ø l5 —, l5] [yūō j5ʊ] k5-rò] ni]
[[[Art (hesitation), young.women] [people two] Dem.AnPl] Loc]
kò gbē [n dëⁿʔeⁿ],
[Infin pick.up.Base [Sg one]],

A: ‘(Hare:) “I must redden my eye(s) and get one of those two young women.”’

(fó ‘must’ (§17.1.7); ‘redden eyes’ = ‘focus attention, concentrate’; ‘of those two young women’ functions partitively but is inserted as a parenthesis before ‘one’, so kò gbē is repeated)

(00:52) [donc, [ë lò fárá]],
[so, [Art young.women too],
[ë k5 jì] [Ø dié-kë] jūʔō = wò,
[Art day Indef] [Art sauce-matter] catch.Pfv 3PlObj,

A: ‘Meanwhile, as for the (two) young women, one day a sauce problem troubled them.’

[i.e. lack of meat or other ingredients for their meal]

(00:57) [ë diè] ní-mā [nà tò] = ?,
[Art sauce] not.be [Fut sauce.be.cooked.Base] Neg,

A: ‘There was no sauce to cook.’

[‘(something) to eat’ construction (§17.6.1); verb tārī/tō/tō ~ tū ‘cook (sauce)’ or ‘brew (beer)’, i.e. cook by boiling a liquid]

(00:58) ò dè [bùò nà á-kùʔò]
[ā sèɾʔò-ð-d5ʊʔ5ʊ]],
[3Inan baobab-sticky.sauce],

A: ‘They said: “We’ll go strip off (leaves) for its baobab-leaf sticky sauce.”’

[nà á- ‘will go and’ (§10.2.3.2)]

(01:02) ò = ò ní [ë blí-kë]
3Pl Infin see.Base [Art hare]

A: ‘They saw the hare.’

< / ò kō /

(01:04) [[ë blí-kë] ná-tò] diè [ā ni]
[[ë blí-kë] ná-tò] diè [ā ni],
[[Art hare] ear] enter.Pfv [3Inan Loc],

B: ‘The hare’s ear entered into it (=overheard)?’

A: ‘The hare’s ear entered into it (=overheard)’
(01:07) [ẽ bļí-kē] kō ʃiⁿkiⁿ-yiⁿi,R
[Art hare] Infin run.Base-go.Base,
[kō yīi] ʃi = ʃi-kəⁿ⁶⁷ ʃi
[Intin go.Base] Infin go.Base-ascend.Base [Art baobab],
A: ‘The hare ran away. He went and climbed up the baobab tree.’

(01:12) dè é!, ɔ̀ klēⁿkêⁿ [Ø sàrôʔò],
say.Pfv oh!, 3AnSg ascend.Pfv [Art baobab],
donc [ẽ lî] wō nî = wⁿ,
so [Art young.women] Infin see.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘He said, “oh!” He climbed the baobab. So, the young women saw it (=hare).’

(01:17) d̩ kō fê = d̩, d = ɔ[n] má sābāri
3Pl Infin greet.Base 3AnSgObj, say.Pfv 3AnSg IpfvNeg forgive.Pfv
[kō kūʔa = [Ø sàrôʔo-dãⁿʔ five]
[Intin strip.Base [Art baobab-sticky.sauce Indef]
[kō sūʔ = [ɔ[n] bòù] tê,
[Intin give.Base [Dat LogoPl] Q],
A: ‘They greeted him (=hare), and asked “won’t you-Sg forgive (us) and strip off
some (leaves for) sticky baobab sauce and give (it) to us?”
[sābāri ‘forgive, pardon’ < Jula (< Arabic); interrogative tê in quoted question
(§13.2.1.2)]

(01:23) [ẽ bļí-kē] dè [Ø bâjî] nî-mā [ã nî],
A: ‘The hare said, “there’s no trouble in (it).’
/bâjî < Jula (< Arabic)]

(01:26) [ẽ bļ — è bļí-kē] kō —
[Art ha(re)— Art hare] Infin —
[k-ã kûʔa = [Ø sàrôʔo-dãⁿʔ five]
[Intin-Ipfv strip.Ipfv [Art baobab-sticky.sauce]
[k-ã kûʔa = [ø sàrôʔo-dãⁿʔ five]
[Intin-Ipfv strip.Ipfv [Art baobab-sticky.sauce]
A: ‘The hare was stripping off baobab leaves and stripping off baobab leaves.’
/imperfective infinitival VP with k-ã (§15.2.2), here repeated to emphasize
prolongation]

(01:30) ɔ[n] nà [ã kō [dârõ-bâ nî]],
3AnSg see.Pfv [3Inan be [abound.Base-come.Prog Prog]],
[ɔ[n] lêⁿ = ɔ[n] nî],
[3AnSg accept.Pfv [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘It (=hare) saw that it (=pile of leaves) was growing. It (=hare) agreed.’
/bà modified in progressive; < lêⁿ [ã nî]
The woman was coming. It (=hare) took (its) hand away (from the tree) by itself.

[Hare intentionally falls off the tree, pretending to be stunned by the young woman’s beauty; progressive (§10.2.4)]

(A) ‘The woman was coming. It (=hare) took (its) hand away (from the tree) by itself.’

(B) ‘(Hare) said “I caught at (the tree) and fell off.”’

A: ‘(Hare) said “I clutched at (the tree) and fell off.”’

B: ‘Oh my!’

[< /fṵ̌-fṵ̀/; /kǘ-sō̰-fṵ̀/; ‘untie’ here denotes failure to catch hold (of the trunk)]

(A) ‘(Hare) said: “I don’t know whether that (i.e. its fall) was for nothing (=coincidental).”’

[roughly: ‘I have no idea what happened’; < /bó = rē ʔ = / = rē ‘even’ (§19.1.6); < /kē yā’; kā‘know (that/whether)’ (§11.2.5.1.1)]

(B) ‘You see.’

A: ‘(Pretending) that some mental agitation was there.’
i.e. ‘I don’t know where it came from’; topic kàr³⁰ (§19.1.2.2)

(01:49) donc jò= ð= Ø tì-pò [à wù³û³], so if 3Pl PfvNeg go-look.at.Base [3Inan head], á! [bò nà wú [[yá bè] ni]] ah! [LogoSg Fut die.Base [[Dem.InanSg Top.Inan] Loc]] [bò mà yieʔè-iʔèi], [LogoSg lPfvNeg get.up.Pfv], A: ‘(Hare:) “So, if you-Pl don’t go and do a consultation (with a magician), I will die in this state, I will not be upright (=alive)!”  
jì ‘in’ (§16.1.4) plus 3Pl lPfvNeg ð = Ø (§4.3.3); tì- ‘go’ in perfective negative verb-verb compounds (§15.2.3.3.3); future negative with Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)

i.e. his/her survival isn’t certain

(01:57) à fë, [³³ jí³rh[-ni] à kǎiʔa =rè? 3Inan talk(n), [3AnSg get.up]-VblN]] lPfv be.hard Emph B: ‘Talk of it, his recovery is hard.’

(02:00) donc [[ë lʒ] [yùò jʒ³³]] kò jì [ò dìgà-rì], so [[Art young.women] [people two]] Infin see.Base [PlRefl Recip], A: ‘So, the two young women saw each other (=conferred).’

(02:03) dè é!,  
Quot oh!,  
dè j= ó á tì-ŋò =h= [[Ø sòbè], Quot if 1Pl PfvNeg go-look.at.Base 3InanObj [Art candor], A: ‘(They) said, “oh! If we don’t go look at (=consider) it seriously, ...” ’  
direct quote with ‘we’ instead of logophoric; tì- as in @ 01:49 above; < /tì-ŋò =nì è sòbè/]

kà- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2); dè might be parsed as ‘say.Base’ as part of compound kà-pē³⁰-dè/
(02:08) dè [jó = ṭò bà bè yiéʔè] [dè bon] 
Quot [if 3Pl if Fut go.Pfv] [Quot well]
dè bá = à jìi = [[Ø jió-kèn jì] tòʔò],
Quot LogoSg Ipfv know [[Art magician Indef place],
A: `(Hare:) said: “if you-Pl (will) go, well, I know the location of a magician.”’
[< /bò à jì; jió-kèn (local French charlatan) can tell fortunes by tossing small objects and studying the patterns they form]

(02:12) dè [[Ø jió-kèn [wùnˈúː-n País]] = yà]
Quot [[Art magician [head-white]] =it.is]
A: `(Hare) said: “It is a white-headed magician.”’
[< /wùnˈúː-n País: bahuvihi compound (§5.2.2.1)]

(02:14) d= ṭn Ō-mā dè —
Quot 3AnSg be.Loc Quot
dè = [[Ø kloʔō] nì] [fàfàʔà],
oh! Quot [[Art road] Loc] [until here],
dè = [[Ø kloʔō-cèn-tòʔò] nì],
Quot [[Art road-berge.Pfv-place] Loc],
A: `(Hare) said: “He is there, on the road all the way here (=this way), at the crossroads.”’
[< /dè ṭn; verb cèn/càn/càn ‘diverge, take a different path’]

(02:18) d= ṭn bà yïʔi mā [bè tòʔò]
say.Pfv 3AnSg if go.Base there.Def [Dem.Def place]
dè cógō-cògò,
Quot anyway,
A: `(Hare) said: “if you-Sg go there (to) that (same) place—, in any case, …”’
[truncated from locative PP [bè tòʔò] nì ; cógō-cògò < Jula]

(02:20) dè ṭn nà jùʔʔò …
Quot 3AnSg Fut hear.Base
e cèn-mù
Art esoteric.message
… [cè cèn-mù kòʔò],
… [Art esoteric.message good],
A: `(Hare) said: “(if) you-Sg hear …’
B: ‘… secret information’
A: ‘… good (secret) information,’
[ce’-mù ‘esoteric message’ from a magician (fortune-teller)]
(02:24) [kò bà-dò [bó bàʔà]]
[Hort come.Base-say.Base [LogoSg Dat]]
[sàŋó bó mā wū]
[in.order.that LogoSg Proh die.Base]
d = ō = klè bà-baʔà,
say.Pfv 3Pl do.Base quickly,
A: ‘(Hare:) “(you-Pl) should come and tell (it) to me, so that I do not die. Do-2Pl it quickly!’

[hortative kò (§10.4.2.1.2) with omitted subject; negative purposive clause with sàŋó (< Jula) and with prohibitive morphosyntax (§17.6.2.4)]

(02:27) é! [ē lô] kò prèsé,
oh! [Art young.women] be in.a.hurry,
ō gblē = [Ø klòʔō] fūu-jeⁿ→ fūu-jeⁿ→ fūu-jeⁿ→
3Pl take.Pfv [Art road] striding
ō tà = á-dâⁿ,
3Pl Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
A: ‘Oh! The young women were in a hurry. They took to the road, walking fast (with long strides). When they arrived,’

[French pressé(es); < /gblē ē/ ; fūu is onomatopoeic like ‘swoosh!’ while -jeⁿ suggests openness and width; tà á- (§15.3.5.5)]

(02:34) hàyà, [ê bî-ké tōʔō =] Ø-mà = Ø kāⁿ lē,
well, [Art hare Foc] be Loc be Dem.AnSg turn.Pfv,
[ê jîô-kéⁿ wūⁿ?ūⁿ-fiâⁿʔûⁿ] tàʔà-kó = ā,
[Art magician head-white] again Q,
A: ‘Well, lo! The very same hare turned himself into a white-headed magician, right?’

[< /à-mā kō kāⁿ/; presentative with incorporated VP/clause (§4.4.4.3); tàʔà-kó ‘again’ (§10.3.2.2) here has scope over ‘hare’, not the clause, so ‘the hare ... again’ means ‘the very same hare’; ‘head-white’ adjectival bahuvrihi compound (§5.2.2.1)]

(02:40) é! ō bà dâr⁵ⁿ→,
oh! 3Pl come.Pfv only,
ōⁿ kò sūʔú [ē kplâⁿ-nî],
3AnSg Infin catch.Base [Art tell fortunes.Base-VblN],
A: ‘Oh! As soon as they came, it (=hare) began to do fortune-telling.’

[dâr⁵ⁿ→ ‘only’ (§19.2.1); ‘catch’ in ‘begin (to VP)’ constructions (§17.5.1)]
A: ‘They were (engaged) in it; they were engaged in it.’
B: ‘They were (engaged) in it.’
[i.e. the fortune-telling went on for a while; the repetition of the clause suggests prolongation]

A: ‘(Hare as magician) said, “oh, in all honesty, …” ’

A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “If you-Pl don’t —. Among you-Pl, if one (of you) doesn’t go get married to hare, …” ’

A: ‘ “… and take hare as (your) husband, this hare—” ’

A: ‘The medical condition is serious —. The medical condition, the medical condition is serious.’
B: ‘The medical condition, the medical condition is serious.’
A: ‘The medical condition is serious now!’

B: ‘So, that which was the esoteric message from the magician’s house —.’
A: ‘The esoteric message from the magician’s house was like that.’
(03:03) dè bè bā klè,
Quot Dem.Def if be.done.Base,
[ē blí-kē] nā— kēnē— nā bū [[³ⁿ miāʔā],
[Art hare] Fut— be.healthy.Base— Fut get.Base [[³AnSg Refl],
[[³ⁿ lá-fūʔù] nā kō,
[[³AnSg malady] Fut finish.Base,
A: ‘(Hare as magician) said, if that is done, hare will recover, his condition (=injury) will be finished.’
[‘get oneself’ = ‘recover (from disease or injury)’]

(03:09) jí bè bā á klè,
if Dem.Def if PfvNeg be.done.Base,
[ē blí-kē kō'] = aⁿ wí = rēʔ,
[Art hare Dem.AnSg] Ipfv die.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “If that isn’t done, that hare surely dies.”’

(03:12) [é dō] má — [é dō] má būō —
[1Pl however] IpfvNeg — [1Pl however] IpfvNeg get.Pfv —
[ē diē] tāʔa-kō,
[Art sauce] again,
A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “We won’t— we won’t get any more (baobab-leaf) sauce.”’
[future negative má plus Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)]

(03:16) [būō à jī [kō wū] bē-kā]
[2Pl Ipfv receive.Ipfv [Infin die.Base] thus]
A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “You-Pl (will) get death in that way.”’

(03:18) [būō má būō = [Ø yúō]
[2Pl IpfvNeg get.Pfv [Art person]
nā kūʔá = [Ø diē] [kō sūʔ = [³ⁿ būō],
Fut strip.Base [Art sauce] [Infin give.Base [Dat 2Pl],
A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “You-Pl won’t get anyone to strip off (leaves for) sauce and give (them) to you-Pl.”’
[cf. ‘something to eat’ construction (§17.6.1)]

(03:21) donc, ò kō bā, é!→ ò wō [bā ni],
so, 3Pl Infin come.Base, oh! 3Pl be [come.Base Prog],
[ē blí-kē] kō klá-jiʔiⁿ-bā tāʔa-kō,
[Art hare] Infin return.Base-run.Base-come.Base again,
A: ‘So, they came (back). (Hare, to itself:) “Hey, they are coming!” Hare came running back again.’
[Hare is now back in its normal form; recording has ká-jiʔiⁿ', corrected by original speaker during analysis (§15.1.3.2)]
(03:26) 3° nà [ò wò [bă ni]]
3AnSg see.Pfv [3Pl be [comeProg Prog]]
[wò dś°?ś° [Ø jǐ=] [Ø kǐ°-ni]],
[Infin add.Base [Art Indef [Art groan-VblN]],
A: ‘It (=hare) saw that they were coming, (and it) added some groaning.’

(03:29) m→ m→ m→,
(groaning)
jǐ [à dó] bà kō= [Ø wú-ní]
if [3Inan Poss.Inan] if be [Art die.Base-VblN]
[ò má dō bā-bāʔā] [jī kō wú =ū→],
[3Pl IpfvNeg speak.Base/Ipfv quickly] [1Sg Hort die.Base Q],
A: ‘(Hare:) “ooh! ooh! If its (meaning) is (my) dying, won’t you-Pl tell (me)
quickly, so I may die!”’
[the polar interrogative has ‘won’t you-Pl tell …’ in its scope]

(03:35) é!→, nó nà wú kū°û° bè,
oh!, 1Sg Fut die.Base today Dem.Def],
ǰ kō wū-kō [mlē° nī], ē wūō,
1Sg die.Pfv-finish.Base [now Loc], 1Sg die.Pfv,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! I will die today thus! I have finished dying (=am at the edge of
death) now! I have died!”’
[bè definite demonstrative modifying temporal adverb]

(03:41) dón [dā-rē nī], d= 3° mā —
so [now Loc], say.Pfv 3AnSg IpfvNeg —
dē 3° lī° [3° miāʔā],
Quot 3AnSg cool.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
dē 3° lī° [3° nī],
Quot 3AnSg cool.Base [3AnSgRefl heart],
dē 3° lī° [3° nī],
Quot 3AnSg cool.Base [3AnSgRefl heart],
A: ‘So now, (the young women) said: “don’t do that! Cool your self! Cool your
heart (emotional center)! Cool your heart!”’
[cut off from dē 3° mā klē bè ‘said, don’t do thus!’; ‘cool’ phrases mean ‘get
better, recover from medical condition’ with abstract ‘heart’]

(03:46) é já= ā bā kō [bùō fārū-nī bè],
oh! if 3Inan if be [2Pl marry-VblN Top.Inan],
[bùō nā-dś°?ś° =rē] nā lē° [ =ē° nī],
[2Pl person-one even] Fut accept.Base [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh, if it is (concerning) that marriage of yours-Pl, one of you-Pl will
consent to it.”’
[< ëjī à bāl; lē° ‘consent’ (§17.4.4.1)]
(03:50)  [è jìó-wù?ù té] mà kò yá =ā 
    [Art magician-house Foc.Inan] IpfvNeg be Dem.InanSg =Q
    à kō dō ní
    3Inan be be.said.Prog Prog
A: ‘(Hare:) “Isn’t that the magician’s house [focus]?”’
B: ‘“It was being said (=revealed).’
[< /jìó-wù?ù té/; mà kò yá negative presentative (§4.4.4.2)]

(03:52)  [è ceⁿ-mù té] kò yá =rë?,
    [Art esoteric.message Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg Emph,
A: ‘The esoteric message was exactly that!’

(03:53)  dē  [bùò nā-d³?šⁿ ji]
    Quot [LogoPl person-one Êndef]
    [³ⁿ nō [[[bō yūō j³ⁿ] ní]]
    [3AnSg look.at.Base [[3Pl people two] Loc]]
A: ‘(They) said, “one of us, look-2Sg at (=consider which of) the two (people).” ’
[cf. @ 00:48 above and commentary there]

(03:56)  [bùò nā gbē [Ø nā-d³?šⁿ]]
    [LogoPl Fut take.Base [Art one]]
    [bùò nā fārū =ò],
    [LogoPl Fut marry.Base 3AnSgObj],
A: ‘(Young women:) “We will take one (of us), (and) we (i.e. that one of us) will
    marry him.” ’
    [the general sense is that one of the two young women will marry hare]

(03:58)  donc,  [è blí-ké] kō lō,  ³ⁿ kē-têʔè,
    so,  [Art hare] Infin show.Base,  3AnSgRefl hand,
    jər³ⁿ tā dē [[[bō nəyô] ní-mā =ʔ],
    Rel Past say.Base [[LogoSg equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg],
A: ‘So, the hare pointed his hand (at) the one who had said that there was no equal
to her beauty.’
    [past perfect, equivalent to tā dō dē ‘had said that’]

(04:04)  [bō tōʔô] klè [Ø blí-ké] —,
    [3AnSg Foc] be.made.Pfv [Art hare] —,
    [è [blí-ké]-yò té] [mlg³ⁿ ní]
    [Art [hare]-woman Foc.Inan] [now Loc]
A: ‘She [focus] was made hare—, hare’s wife now.’
(04:07) 
[ē tərə"ʔá"] gō tərə"
[Art marriage] Infin sit.Base
[ē tərə"ʔá"] gō tərə"
[Art marriage] Infin sit.Base

B: ‘The marriage took place.’
A: ‘The marriage took place.’
[lit. “the sitting sat”]

(04:09) donc ĥ bà ní, [ē kū"ʔá"],
so 2Sg if see.Base, [Art today],
[ē yō] ĥ bā— ĥ bā dāē — [ē tərə"ʔá"],
[Art woman] 2Sg if — 2Sg if arrive.Base Art — [Art marriage],

A: ‘So, if you-Sg see, today, a woman, if you-Sg —, if you-Sg reach (the age of) marriage, …’

(04:15) gbē — gbē [Ø dā],
take.Base —, take.Base [Art man],
donc ĥ bā á gbē [Ø dā] lò,
so 2Sg if PfvNeg take.Base [Art man] after,

A: ‘Take —, take-2Sg a husband! So, if you don’t take a husband, …’

(04:20) ĥ bā dè [má = ā kò-à-fó],
2Sg if say.Base [2Sg Ipfv be.good.Ipfv-Ipfv-pass.Ipfv]],
álè mó nà klè —,
even 2Sg Fut be.made —,
è lánnā mòyò
Art trust(n) person

A: ‘Then if you-Sg say that you-Sg are more beautiful, even if you will be made (=become) …’
B: ‘… a trustworthy person.’
[asymmetrical adjectival comparative (§12.1.1)); lánnā mòyò is Jula]

(04:24) [ò bié]—, [ò bié] yà-ró,
[3Pl all]— [3Pl all] woman-Pl,
[ò bié] yà-ró tó-ró =rēʔ,
[3Pl all] woman-Pl Foc.-AnPl Emph,
A: ‘… the women of everyone, the women of everyone [focus].’
[‘wives’ in plural denoting multiple relationships of one woman, explained in the following segment]

(04:27) ò Ø lí jàrò, dè ē—
3Pl Ipfv call.Base Rel, Quot Art—
dè [ē [diè-glû]-yò],
Quot [Art [enter.Pfv-exit.Base]-woman],
A: ‘What they call a go.in-go.out woman.’
[i.e. prostitute or loose woman with multiple lovers; < /ò à lí/]
A: ‘She does not avoid (specific) men (as taboo). So, that’s it. A young woman, if you (=the woman) attain (the age of) marriage.’

[i.e. she shouldn’t be too choosey; màrà ‘has (sth) as totem (which must be avoided)’, imperfective]

B: ‘Where you-Sg picked it up, you came and put it down here.’
A: ‘There it is!’

A: ‘May God help us all!’
A: ‘That is it.’
Text 2017-06  Three birds (tale)

duration 02:03
(A) Ouattara Drisa (Biton quartier), narrator
(B) Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), respondent

(00:03)  [mó gbɛ [Ø jì] kɔ]  
[2Sg pick.up.Base [Art Indef] finish.Base]  
[nó kò gbɛ [ẽ ciõ [õ sá”]],  
[1Sg Hort pick.up.Base [Art bird.Pl [Pl three]],
A: ‘You-Sg take another one! Let me pick up (=talk about) three birds.’

(00:06)  [è→ nós, wátárá, dàrísâ wátárá,
[eh 1Sg, Ouattara, Drisa Ouattara,
[gò glú bitūŏ-lê,  
Infin exit(v).Base Biton,
A: ‘Well, I Ouattara, Drisa Ouattara, (I) come from Biton (quartier).

(00:11)  [āwà, è→, ē còfš-fè, [[bi tò tô] dàrâʔā]  
[well, eh, Art Tiefo-language, [[Dem.Def Foc] tale]  
[ō gà-bàʔā [õ gò—, ū gò = nî]]  
[1Pl want.it [Hort hit.Base—, (nasal) hit.Base 3InanObj]]  
[[ẽ nãsãrã] gõ gbɛ = nî],  
[[Art white.person.Sg] Infin pick.up.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Well, (in) Tiefo language, a tale of that (language), we want to narrate (“hit”) it (=tale), for the white person to take it.’
/kà-bàʔā ‘want’ (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1); pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); = nî ‘it’ as object, resuming ‘tale’]

(00:21)  [āwà, è→, [ē dàrâʔā] ū tīc = nî è→.  
[well, eh, [Art tale] 1Sg put.down.Pfv 3InanObj eh,
[[ẽ ciô, [õ sá”]] nî,  
[[Art bird.Pl, [Pl three]] Loc,
A: ‘Well, eh, I have put down a tale on three birds.’
[topicalized ‘a tale’ with resumptive 3InanObject]

(00:31)  [ẽ ciô [õ sá”]  
[Art bird.Pl [Pl three]
B: ‘Three birds.’
[backchannel from respondent]
A: ‘Three birds. One (of them) was (called) “Eat-and-be-full.” ’

[‘eat-and-be-full’, i.e. ‘stuff oneself with food’, name for a glutton; Bi di-di versus di-di in other dialects; this and the other names are verb-verb combinations with all verbs in base form]

B: ‘Oh! “Eat-and-be-full!”’

A: ‘Another’s name was “See-from-afar” ’

B: ‘ “See-recognize-from-afar” ’

[Infin see-recognize-distant-place]
(00:54)  [jār̥n̥ à-mā]  [bō→, ná-tō]
[Rel  be.Loc]  [3AnSg, ear
wō  dīʔē  [[Ø  kē]  niⁿ]  [fō  klà-tōʔð],
Infin  hear.Pfv  [[Art  thing]  Loc]  [until distant-place],
A: ‘One who was present, its (own) ear heard something from afar.’
/bō  anaphoric 3AnSg human pronoun resuming relative clause ‘one who was present’/

(00:59)  [jí  [ē  gō]  ō  [bā  (ni)]
[if  [Art  hawk]  be  [come.Prog  (Prog)]
[bō  dē  ē→],  dē=  [[Ø  ēʔē  ji]  à-māⁿ  = dēʔ,
[3AnSg  say.Pfv  hey!],  Quot  [Art  thing  Indef]  be.Loc  Emph],
A: ‘If a hawk is coming, he says “hey, something is out there!”’
/nǐ  in the progressive is not audible here, but the rising tone in bā is clear enough
to indicate this construction; cf. the following segment where bā nǐ is clearly audible/}

(01:04)  [āywà,  jār̥n̥  wō  nūⁿ-nbⁿ,
[well,  Rel  be  look.at.Pfv-Agent.Sg,
bō  ō  niⁿ  = w̥ⁿ,
3AnSg  Infin  see.Base  3AnSgObj,
bō  ō  niⁿ  [[ē  gō]  wō  [bā  ní]],
3AnSg  Infin  see.Base  [[Art  hawk]  be  [come.Prog  Prog]],
A: ‘Well, the one who was the lookout, it saw it, it saw that the hawk was coming.’
[agentive  -nɔⁿ  (§4.2.2)]

(01:12)  [ē  gō]  wō  [bā  ní],
[Art  hawk]  be  [come.Prog  Prog],
bō  ō  yl-[yiʔ-jiʔi],
3AnSg  Infin  fly.Base-[get.up.Base],
A: ‘(As) the hawk was coming, it (See-thing(s)-from-away) flew away.’
[the lookout deserts its post]

(01:15)  [[kāⁿ  jār̥n̥]  nēⁿʔèⁿ  [kō  niⁿ  =  dō]
[[Dem.AnSg  Rel]  be.first.Pfv  [Infin  see.Pfv  3AnSgObj]]
[bō  ō  yl-[yiʔ-jiʔi]],
[3AnSg  Infin  fly.Base-[get.up.Base]],
A: ‘That one who had seen it (=hawk) first, it (=that one) flew away.’
/ō  3rd animate postverbal object, gēʔè/gàʔà/gàʔà  ‘(be) first’  (§8.5.7.2)/

(01:18)  [3ⁿ  dīʔ-ðiʔë  màʔkāⁿ]
[3AnSg  Rdp-hear.Pfv  noise]
[bō  ō  yl-[yiʔ-jiʔi],
[3AnSg  Infin  fly.Base-[get.up.Base],
A: ‘It (See-thing(s)-from-away) heard the noise (of the hawk), and it flew away.’
/< Jula màʔkāⁿ and variants ‘noise’, Tiefo-D synonym wãʔá-ní/
A: ‘The one who came and saw it, it flew away.’
[‘come’ here is not literal, it frames a foregrounded event]

[topic markers (§19.1.2.1-2); one or two words at the end of this segment are inaudible due to overlap]

A: ‘Oh! It kept eating and eating the tree fruits.’
[‘keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); -bió (§4.1.4.3)]

A: ‘(Its) crop was sticking out (=swollen) more and more.’
[‘crop’ (French jabot) is an organ in a bird’s neck that swells with grains stored temporarily for later digestion; sâⁿ (§19.4.7)]

A: ‘As soon as it said it would (=tried to) lift its head, the hawk came and seized it (=bird).’
B: ‘Oh!’
[< /³ⁿ dè bó à gbli-à/]
2017-06

(01:38)  [[bì  tô?)] = à]  
  [[Dem.Def  Foc]  it.is]  
  ĭj  mà  gō [[kê  â  kê  ni’n], 
  2Sg  if  be  [[thing  or  thing]  Loc],
A: ‘It’s like that [focus], if you-Sg are involved in one thing or another,’
[X â X ‘one X or another’ (§7.2.3)]

(01:40)  ĭj  gò  tê=  [[Ø  ló?]] = à,
  2Sg  Hort  put.Base/Ipfv  [Art  intelligence]  Q, 
A: ‘You-Sg should pay attention (=be wary), right?’
[< /lō?ó/]

(01:41)  màⁿ  nè—  màⁿ  pêⁿ  nàⁿ?àⁿ 
  Proh  say.Base—  Proh  remain.Base  only
  [[bê  nàⁿ-dàⁿñoⁿ]  niⁿ] 
  [[Dem.  Def  only]  Loc]
A: ‘You-Sg mustn’t say—, you mustn’t just stay (focused) on that only.’
/nàⁿ?àⁿ/  and  nàⁿ-dàⁿ?ōⁿ  ‘only, exclusively’ (§19.2.3)

(01:43)  ĭj  g-ă  lûⁿ-ăⁿ-sûⁿû  
  2Sg  Infin-Ipfv  look.Ipfv-Ipfv-send.Ipfv  [[place  Indef]  Loc],
A: ‘You-Sg must watch (=stay aware) elsewhere.’
[-sûⁿû-sûⁿû  ‘give’ as final in verb-verb compound indicates direction away from
the observer;  lûⁿ  Bi  dialect  for  nû]

(01:45)  [[bì  tô?)] = à—  ĭj  jî-à-bóⁿ  móⁿ, 
  [[Dem.Def  Foc]  Ipfv—  (nasal)  rescue.Ipfv  2Sg,
A: ‘That[focus] saves you-Sg.’
[imperfective  of  transitive  sû-ðóⁿ  ‘rescue’  or  intransitive  ‘escape’]

(01:47)  ĭj  gbî.ë  bê  nî’gbî  [tô?ô  jârîⁿ], 
  1Sg  pick.up.Pfv  Dem.Def  short  [[place  Rel]
  ĭj  tî  bê  mà 
  1Sg  put.Pfv  Dem.Def  there.Def
A: ‘Where I picked that short (tale) up, I have put that (back) there.’
[standard  tale  conclusion;  nî’gbî  Bi  dialect  for  nîgbô ]

(01:52)  doncz  [[ê  kplîⁿ?êⁿ  tô?ô]]  fûë
  so,  [[Art  glutton  Foc]  pass.Pfv
B: ‘So, it was the glutton [focus] who passed (=died)?’
[< /kplîⁿ?êⁿ  tô?ô/]
A: ‘(Yes) he passed. Well, eh…’
B: ‘That (=tale) is over.’

A: ‘I have put it down …’

Text 2017-07  Woman with three daughters (tale)

duration 10:24
(A) Ouattara Drisa (Biton quartier), narrator
(B) Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), respondent

(00:01)  [áywà,  próp tôtòké = nín =,  [é yō jí] nín,  
[well, 1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj,  [Art woman Indef] Loc,  
[é yō] jí =  [bí-siô],  
[Art woman] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgRefl child.Pl],  
A: ‘Well, I have put it (=a tale) on a woman. The woman gave birth to her children.’  
[< /yé / (Pfv); the children are female]

(00:08)  [é jí kék à dá n = s]  
[Art someone thing] Ipfv please.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg  
[é jí kék] má n dá n s],  
[Art someone thing] IpfvNeg please.Ipfv Dat.3AnS],  
A: ‘A certain one she loved, a certain (other) one she didn’t love.’  
[< dá n  ‘X be pleasing to Y’ (subject X here is ‘children’), i.e. ‘Y love X’]

(00:12)  [áywà,  
[well,  
[bó tôtòdé] jí = = ò]  
[3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj  
[bó tôtôdé] jí = ò,  
[3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj,  
A: ‘Well, …  
B: ‘And yet it was she [focus] who gave birth to her.’  
A: ‘And yet it was she [focus] that had given birth to her.’  
[subject-final dó ~ dë ‘however, and yet’ (§19.3.8), cf. 00:38 below; < /yé = (y)ò/]

(00:15)  donc, …  
so,  (unclear)  
[é lín-tiê] má kô bè  
[Art guts-bitter] IpfvNeg be Dem.Def,  
[järstinence kô] má n dá n w n],  
[Rel matter] IpfvNeg please.Ipfv 3AnSgObj],  
A: ‘So, …  
B: ‘It isn’t a bitter (=cruel) heart (=nastiness)?’  
A: ‘The one whom she didn’t love, …’  
[lîn-tiê  ‘nastiness’, with lîn ‘guts’ and archaic -tiê related to té  ‘be bitter’]
(00:18) [áywà, ³ⁿ mà glú [à = [Ø dǐ?é]]
[well, 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [with [Art karité]]]
[³ⁿ mà yìʔi = [[Ø dǐ?é] ni³ⁿ]]
[3AnSg if go.Base [[Art karité] Loc]]
A: ‘Well, when she went out with karité, when she went to the karité (trees),’
[conditional antecedent; < /³ⁿ bà/: karité tree (Vitellaria paradoxa); oily butter is made from the pits]

(00:20) Ø mà rà-sò = [Ø dǐ?é]],
3AnSg if go.Base-carry.on.head.Base [Art karité]],
nám
yes!
[bà bà [gà = [Ø dîʔé-bùʔù]],
[if come.Base [with [Art karité-pulp]],
A: ‘when she carried karité fruits (in a basket) on her head.’
B: ‘Yes.’
A: ‘When she brought karité fruits,’
[< /³ⁿ bà/: rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); ripe karité fruits have a sweet-tasting pulp that encloses the inner pit]

(00:24) ³ⁿ nñ-á sùʔ = [³ⁿ kà-yùò] [wò dî],
3AnSg Infin-Lpfv give.Lpfv [Dat Dem.AnPl] [Infin eat.Base],
A: ‘She would bring and give (it) to those (others) to eat.’

(00:26) [[jì jàr³ⁿ kè] màⁿ dáⁿ wⁿ]
[Indef Rel thing] lpfvNeg please.Lpfv Dat.3AnSg]
bó gò tòràⁿ [tà = [Ø wùò-bí]],
3AnSg Infin sit.Base [like [Art orphan]],
A: ‘But the one whom she didn’t love, she (just) sat (by herself) as an orphan child.’
[< /tòrāⁿ tā/ (dialectally ká) ‘like, similar to’ (§8.5.1.1)]

(00:30) [bó tòʔó dé] fì = = ò]
[3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj]
[[bó tòʔó] nàⁿ-bí dá = ] = à glò,
[3AnSg Foc child however] it.is it.is,
[bó tòʔó] nàⁿ-bí,
[3AnSg Foc] child,
B: ‘And yet she [focus] gave birth to her.’
A: ‘And yet it was her own child [focus]. Her own child.’
[à glò is focalizing variant of ‘it is X’ (§13.1.3.5)]
(00:32)  [ále kú'qú'] à Ø-māⁿ dò
    [even today] 3Inan be.Loc Emph
    [à = Ø-māⁿ dò] [yā dîⁿ'] à-mā
    [3Inan be.Loc Emph] [Dem.InanSg breed] be.Loc
A: ‘Even today it (=inequality) exists.’
B: ‘It definitely exists! That type of thing (still) exists!’
    [clause-final emphatic dò (§19.4.2); yā dîⁿ ‘(something) like this/that’, plural
    ñà-rè dîⁿ’]

(00:35)  donc, bè niⁿ,
    so, Dem.Def Loc,
    [č dè-fè jɔ̀rɔⁿ mó dîⁿ] à-māⁿ [mó bàʔā],
    [Art talk(n) which? Top manner] be.Loc [3AnSg Dat],
A: ‘So, in that (situation), what (right to) talk did she have?’
    jɔ̀rɔⁿ ‘which?’ with bó dîⁿ (§13.2.3.6.1); < à-māⁿ bó/]

(00:38)  [[móⁿ niⁿ] nè jì móⁿ] [gò wè móⁿ]
    [2Sg mother] IpfvPast give.birth.Ipfv 2Sg [Infín abandon.Base 2Sg]
    [móⁿ nàⁿ yíʔí [sɔⁿ bàʔà] tē],
    [2Sg Fut go.Base [who? chez] Q],
A: ‘If your mother had given birth to you and then abandoned you, whose place
    would you go to?’
    [phrased as a counterfactual (§16.4); < niⁿ dè jì móⁿ kò wè/; jì is base=Ipfv;
    quoted interrogative tē (§13.2.1.2)]

(00:41)  [è yìʔè-tɔʔɔ] ní-mā
    [Art go.Pfv-place] not.be.Loc
    [ð bà dì-jà]
    [3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base]
    [ð wò gbɛ-sùʔ = ɔⁿ]
    [3Pl Infín pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg]
    ð wò gbɛ-sùʔ = ɔⁿ
    3Pl Infín pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg
B: ‘There is nowhere to go.’
A: ‘When they ate and left (some food), they took it and gave it to her.’
B: ‘They took it and gave it to her.’
    [3AnSg dative (§4.3.2.3)]

(00:43)  ɔⁿ gò sō = niⁿ
    3AnSg Infín take.Base 3InanObj
    [kā = [ɔ wò-dê-bî] [kà-sɔrò [mó ni] à-mā]
    [like [Art orphan] [while [2Sg mother] be.Loc]
A: ‘She would receive it.’
B: ‘Like an orphan, although your mother is there.’
    [‘you’ is the protagonist hyena, directly addressed by B]
Text 2017-07

(00:46) [ò bà diá-já]  
   [3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base]  
   [ò wó gbè-sù?] = [...\]  
   [3Pl Infin pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg]  
   [3ⁿ go sò = nⁿ],  
   [3AnSg Infin take.Base 3InanObj],  
   A: ‘When they ate and left (some food), they took it and gave it to her. She received it.’

(00:48) donc à pièⁿ bè-yá-ró, áywà, [ě kō jì],  
   so 3Inan remain.Pfv thus, well, [Art day Indef],  
   [è → nāⁿ-béʔè] wò bà ę́ →, lò [3ⁿ mù],  
   [Art hyena] Infin come.Base (hesitation), turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice],  
   A: ‘So, it stayed that way. Well, one day, Bouki (hyena) came. It (=Bouki) changed its voice.’  
   [nāⁿ-béʔè in Tiefó-D and Bouki in local French are the personal names of the hyena of such tales; smooth out hesitation as wò bà-ló]

(00:58) kō bà-dè [bó nāⁿ lò [3ⁿ mù]],  
   Infin come.Base-say.Base [LogoSg Fut turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice]],  
   dë gö wò [Ø dàrìⁿʔîⁿ],  
   Quot Infin sing [Art song],  
   A: ‘It (=Bouki) came and said (=intended) to change his voice, to sing a song.’  
   [logophoric singular (§18.3.1): verb wè/wó/wō or wè/wúô/wúô and noun dàrìⁿʔîⁿ form a collocation ‘sing (a song)’]

(01:00) kà-sòřì [3ⁿ mà glū = [[Ø diʔî] nîⁿ]]  
   while [3AnSg if exit.Base [[Art karité] Loc]]  
   [3ⁿ = ò wó [Ø dàrìⁿʔîⁿ jàr̥̃ⁿ]],  
   [3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song Rel]],  
   A: ‘Meanwhile, the song that she would sing when she went away (=was coming back) from the karité (trees).’

(01:02) áywà, [bì tóʔó] ī nāⁿ wò [bè dàrìⁿʔîⁿ]  
   well, [Dem.Def Foc] 1Sg Fut sing.Base [Dem.Def song]  
   [ò bíę] ò jūʔ5 = nⁿ,  
   [3Pl all] Imprt.Pl hear.Base 3InanObj,  
   A: ‘Well, that [focus], I will sing that song. Everyone, listen-2Pl to it.’  
   [plural imperative (§10.4.1.1); ‘everyone’ is generally 3Pl in form even with 1Pl or 2Pl reference]

(01:05) [ě nā-bèʔè] jūʔ5 [Ø dàrìⁿʔîⁿ]  
   [Art Bouki] hear.Base [Art song]  
   B: ‘Bouki, listen to the song!’  
   [addressed to the protagonist hyena]
(01:06) ɔ →, [ɛ nāⁿ-bèʔè dó]  
    oh!, [Art Bouki however]  
[ɛ nāⁿ-bèʔè bó] māⁿ gò [(Ø) fïglô = râ = ] = ă,  
[Art Bouki Top] IpfvNeg be [Art hyena even] Q,  
[ɛ fū­—], oui oui  
[Art hy—], yes yes  
A: ‘Oh, Bouki, is not Bouki however (the same as) ‘hyena’?  
B: ‘The hy—. Yes, yes.’  
[fïglô (dialectally füglô, füglôʔô) is the general term for ‘hyena’; < /fïglô = rē = ă/]  

(01:11) donc 3 ŋ΄ mâ glû = [(Ø dîʔè nĩⁿ) mā bà],  
    so 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [Art karité Loc] [if come.Base],  
3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv [song Rel],  
oui oui yes yes  
A: ‘So, the song that she would sing when she came back from the karité (trees), …’  
B: ‘Yes, yes.’  
/< 3 ŋ΄ bà glû dîʔè nĩⁿ bà bà/, double conditional antecedent/  

(01:13) [ŷ nâⁿ wō bè],  
[1Sg Fut sing.Base Dem.Def],  
[ō bîē] ō jūʔ5 māⁿ  
A: ‘I will sing that. Everybody listen (to it) there!’  
[superfluous final ‘there’ adverb, as also in B’s turn just below]  

(01:15) wō bè, ō gô jūʔ5 mā  
    sing.Base Dem.Def, 1Pl Infin hear.Base there.Def  
B: ‘Sing that! We will listen (there).’  
[singular imperative]  

(01:16) 3 ŋ΄ mā bà-bâ-á-dâⁿ,  
3AnSg if Rdп-come.Base-go.Base-arrive.Base,  
3 ŋ΄ = Ù wō dè  
3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv Quot  
A: ‘Whenever she came and arrived (there), she sang:’  
/bâ ‘come’ not in literal directional sense; -á- ‘go’ (§15.1.5.3)]
[song in Jula:]

(01:18) ɲáñí ɲáñí nà = ń jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲáñí ɲáñí nà = ń jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
si"sf® dá tò nà = ń jìgì
S mouth remainder come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sì"sf® dá tò lì tò
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

[Niani is the name of the woman’s favorite daughter; SinSin is the name of the unloved daughter (and also the Jula word for ‘basket’)

(01:26) ɲáñí ɲáñí nà = ń jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲáñí ɲáñí nà = ń jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲáñí ɲáñí nà = ń jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sì"sf® dá tò lì tò
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(01:33) [è bì-fjō] wò glú [gō yì?= ò],
donc ò bà glú-bà-yì?= = ò,
so 3Pl if exit.Base-come.Base-unload.Base 3AnSgObj],
A: ‘The children came out to help her unload. So, when they had gone out and come (to her) and helped her unload, …’

[< /yì?= (y)ò]/

(01:36) ò³³ gō gbē [Ø dì?é-bù?§] [ò sü?]
3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base [Art karité-pulp] [Infin give.Base]
[ò g-à dì,]
[3Pl Infin-Ipfv eat.Ipfv],
A: ‘She picked up the karité pulp and gave it (to them) for them to eat.’
Áywà, comme wò wò-tè?ë =
well, as Infin sing.Base-be.accustomed.Base
[Ø dàrìⁿ?= ð=] [č nāⁿ-bè?ë] gō kɔ̀ròfí,
[Art song Dem.InanSg], [Art hyena] be observe.Base,
kò nì,
Infin see.Base,
A: ‘Well, as (she) was accustomed to (sing) this song, Bouki observed and saw.’
/kɔ̀ròfí < Jula, here in progressive form (with nì omitted)]

(01:45) [bó fòrâⁿ] bë bà
[LogoSg too] Fut come.Pfv
[gā = ð-wō] [Ø dàrìⁿ?= ð=] [Ø kò jì],
[Infin come.Base-sing.Base [Art song Dem.InanSg] [Art day Indef],
A: ‘(Bouki thought:) “I too will come and sing this song some day.” ’
[perfective future (§12.2.1.2); doubled ’come’ (§15.2.3.2); LogoSg]

(01:47) wò sāⁿ-gbë
[[Ø yō kàⁿ] bì-ʃìô],
Infin gather.Base-pick.up.Base
A: ‘(Bouki:) “and gather up the children of that woman.”’
[< /kàⁿ bì-/: nonpronominal possessor by juxtaposition]

(01:49) wàlà→, [è bì-ʃìô] kò [yùò sāⁿ], māⁿ-nïⁿ
right!, [Art child.Pl] be [people three], if.you.see
sⁿ māⁿ gō [[n déⁿʔëⁿ dó] bàʔà]
3AnSg IpfvNeg be [[Sg one Poss.Inan] Dat]
A: ‘Right. The children were three in number. You see? She didn’t love (=hated) a certain one (of them).’
/yùò sāⁿ (§4.6.1.2); kò X bàʔà ‘want/love X’ (§11.2.5.2.1); dó (§6.2.4.1)]

(01:53) áywà, [č nāⁿ-bè?ë] wò yîñí,
well, [Art Bouki] Infin go.Base,
kò rà-ló [sⁿ māⁿ],
Infin go.Base-turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice],
A: ‘Well, Bouki went and changed his voice.’
/kò rà- typical of Bi dialect in doubled ‘go’ construction (§15.2.3.3.4)]
Infin return.Base, 
kò klá
Infin return.Base

5^n bà [gà = à-dàⁿ]
3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base]

[double ‘come’ construction (§15.2.3.2.4)]

(02:00) (now sung with a husky voice, imitating hyena)

N N come.Imp 1Sg unload

S mouth remainders Presentative stay

[the woman’s song, rendered by Bouki with a husky voice]
(02:12)  
[ě mù] á klè  
[Art voice] PfvNeg be.done.Base  
[[Ø dèⁿléⁿ] ni]  
hm? huh?  
[ē mù] á klè  
[Art voice] PfvNeg be.done.Base  
[[Ø dèⁿléⁿ] ni]  
áà! yes!  
B: ‘The voice was not the same?’  
A: ‘Huh?’  
B: ‘The voice was not the same?’  
A: ‘Uh-huh!’  
[< /mù á/; ‘one’ = ‘same’ (§4.6.1.1)]

(02:14)  
[ò jàršn] wò klè  
[3Pl Rel] Infín be.done.Base  
[tá = [Ø wùò-bí],  
[like [Art orphan],  
bó wò pëⁿ-nè úⁿ,  
3AnSg Infín remain.Base-say.Base (sound),  
A: ‘The one (of them) who was like an orphan, she kept saying “ú”’  
[< /tá é/; < /pëⁿ-dè/]

(02:17)  
dè náⁿ— dè ò màⁿ glú = dëʔ,  
[Quot look.at.Base— Quot Imprt.Pl Proh exit(v).Base Emph,  
[[t-yùò níⁿ] màⁿ] màⁿ jō yá =ʔ  
[[1Pl mother] voice] IpfvNeg be Dem.InanSg Neg  
mā-ńi  
you see?  
A: ‘(She) said (to her sisters): “Look—, don’t 2Pl go out, mind you! That isn’t the voice of our mother!” ’  
B: ‘You see?’  
[plural-addressee prohibitive (§10.4.1.2); t-yùò 1Pl pronoun (in other dialects é-yùò); < /mùⁿ màⁿ kō yá/ with màⁿ(”) kō negative copula ‘not be X’ (§11.2.2.2)]

(02:21)  
[tʃ kòn =] = àⁿ dì =  
bè wò [Ø kétàⁿ],  
Dem.Def be [Art truth],  
A: ‘(Orphan-like girl, to sisters:) “As for me, I eat the leftovers. That is true.” ’  
[kòn(”) topic marker (§19.1.2.3.1), here on subject of clause; ‘thing’ as inanimate participial -èʔè (§4.5.4); kétàⁿ (Bi) ‘truth’, in other dialects kítàⁿ”]
mais léⁿ, é! mâⁿ glû =ʔ,
but wait.Base, oh! Proh exit.Base Neg,
[ô wô pëⁿ [bè kɔ] [ô= Ø glû =ʔ],
[3Pl Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def day] [3Pl PfvNeg exit.Base Neg],
A: ‘(Orphan-like girl, to each sister:) “But wait-2Sg! Don’t-2Sg go out!” On that
day they stayed (inside), they didn’t go out.’
[léⁿ ‘wait; stay (not go); plural-addressee prohibitive (§10.4.1.2)]

(02:27) áywà, [yàⁿ ní dánîⁿ =] [Ø nîⁿ] ô bà,
well, [a.short.while.later] [Art mother] Infin come.Base,
A: ‘Well, a short while later the mother came.’
[yàⁿ [nî dánî] is Jula for ‘a short while later’, cf. Tiefo-D f̣=ʔāⁿ [kà dòñí] /]

(song in Jula:)
(02:29) ɲání ɲání nà = ɲ jìgi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ɲ jìgi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ɲ jìgi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsiⁿ dá tô lì tô
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
remains in the rim of the basket.’

(02:32) ɲání ɲání nà = ɲ jìgi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání bómîⁿ nà = ɲ jìgi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsiⁿ ɲání nà = ɲ jìgi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsiⁿ dá tô lì tô
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
há! hāá!
oh! oh!
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
remains in the rim of the basket.’
B: ‘Oh my!’
[variation of preceding song, with bómîⁿ; speaker comments that this variation
should have been present from the first instance of this song in the recording]
donc, bè á dò =ā
so, Dem.Def PfvNeg be.said.Base Q

wàtšrá
Ouattara
A: ‘So, that has that not been said?’
B: ‘Outtara!’

[B calls out A’s surname, as encouragement]

3^n go glú, ò súʔ-yïʔè—
3AnSg Infin exit.Base, Infin take.down.Base-unload.Base—
bè =nì^n, ò go dí,
Dem.Def Loc, 3Pl Infin eat.Base,
A: ‘They went out, and took it (mother’s load) down (off her head). In that way, they ate.’

A: ‘They went out, and took it (mother’s load) down (off her head). In that way, they ate.’

3^n should be emended to 3Pl ò; < súʔ-yïʔè ‘catch-unload’]

[Art hyena] Infin put.Base [3AnSg ear],
[bè mû^-dî^n] nì^n,
[Dem.Def voice-equal(n)] Loc,
A: ‘The hyena perked up his ears for that voice.’

/ mú^-dî^n/; ná-tò, dialectally ná-tò/

A: (Bouki:) ‘If that [focus] is (the way) it is, I too will go and change my own (voice).’

/= à gló ‘it is X after focalized constituent X (§13.1.3.5); < /nà^-lò 3^n/]

A: ‘He came, (thinking) “when I come (back), I will say (=sing) it softly.” ’
B: ‘I will say it softly.’

/á bî-bî ‘small one (inanimate) ’ (§4.5.3.2.2) /
A: ‘His own (voice) was wide (=deep). That [focus] is why they wouldn’t come out.’

[periphrastic causative, lit. “that [focus] let/caused [they do not exit]”]

B: ‘But a hyena, its voice is wide (=deep), it can become very small like that?’

<intensifier for ‘small’ in Ji dialect, cf. Bi â bî-ø sëø→ (§8.5.2.2.5)>
Art hyena] Infin come.Base, [kò kà-bà tà?à-kò]
[Infin do.again-come.Base again] áywà, [è nàⁿ-bèʔè] bà,
well, [Art Bouki] come.Pfv,
A: ‘The hyena came’
B: ‘(He) came again!’
A: ‘Well, Bouki came.’

(03:20) (sung by hyena with a sweet human-like voice)

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
remains in the rim of the basket.’
B (overlapping): ‘It made its voice (like that).’

(03:27) c’est-à-dire, kɔ-yùò—, kɔ-yùò glu
[kò yìʔè bò]
[Infin unload.Base LogoSg]
oui
yes
A: ‘(Bouki:) “those (children) must come out and help me unload (my basket).” ’
B: ‘Yes.’

(03:30) [kàⁿ nóʔò],
[Dem.AnSg Foc],
[[bò tòʔò] gō pèⁿ] [bò máⁿ glu = ?],
[[3AnSg Foc] Infin remain.Base] [3AnSg IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg],
A: ‘(Bouki:) “That one [focus], she [focus] stays (here), she doesn’t come out.” ’
< /kàⁿ tóʔòl ; refers to the orphan-like girl; paraphrase of the last line of the song>
A: ‘The orphan-like girl stays (there), she doesn’t come out.’
B: ‘She doesn’t come out.’

[Art orphan like] Infin remain.Base [3AnSg IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg]
bó máŋ glú =?
3AnSg IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg

A: ‘The orphan-like girl stays (there), she doesn’t come out.’
B: ‘She doesn’t come out.’

[tá?á ‘like’ after NP but used as modifier; < /kô pêŋ bó/]

(03:36) póní póní nà = ň jígĩ
N N come.Imp 1Sg unload
póní póní nà = ň jígĩ
N N come.Imp 1Sg unload
pání pání nà = ň jígĩ
N N come.Imp 1Sg unload
si\"sf\" dá tò lì tò
S mouth remainder Presentative stay

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’
B: ‘Yes!’

(03:43) āywà well
[ē jù?d]-
[Art talk(n)]-
[ē jù?d] changer
[Art talk(n)] change
change

A: ‘Well,…’
B: ‘The talk (=voice)—’
A: ‘The talk (=voice) changed.’
B: ‘… changed.’

[cf. lè ‘has turned/changed’ in the following segment]

(03:47) ò wò glú, [ē dè— dè—]
3Pl Infin exit.Base, (false start)
[ē jù?d] á lś =ā
[Art talk(n)] PfvNeg turn.Base Q
[ē jù?d] yá tē] lè
[Art talk(n)] Dem.InanSg Foc.Inan turn.Pfv
A: ‘They (=children) came out. Did not the talk (=voice) change?’
B: ‘This talk [focus] changed.’

[< /ló = ā; transcription of B’s turn is approximate]
(03:51) ò  gò  glú-bà  
3Pl Infin exit.Base-come.Base
dè  [bùò  nì]  = à
Quot [LogoPl mother] it.is
dè  [bùò  nì]  = à
Quot [LogoPl mother] it.is
A: ‘They came out.’
B: ‘(Thinking) “it’s our mother!”’
A: ‘(Thinking) “it’s our mother!”’
[LogoPl for original 1Pl; ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.2.1.1)]

(03:54) [[ò  glö]  [jiñá’]  ni’n],
[[3Pl exit.Pfv] situation] Loc],
[ē  nāⁿ-bēʔē]  [wō—
[Art Bouki] [Infin—
yūā-gbē  = wō
grope.Base-pick.up.Base  3PlObj
A: ‘As soon as they came out, Bouki—.’
B: ‘Reached out and seized them.’

(03:56) [kō  yūā-gbē  [bùò  jō’]]  [kō  fō]
[Infin groove.Base-pick.up.Base  3Pl two]  [Infin pass.Base]
ô→  ôwôôwô
oh!  oh!
A: ‘(It) seized the two of them and went away.’
B: ‘Oh dear!’
[numeral following pronoun (§6.4.1)]

(03:59) donc,  [ē  nāⁿ-bēʔē]  ò  yūā-gbē  [wō  fō],
so,  [Art Bouki]  Infin groove.Base-pick.up.Base  [Infin pass.Base],
hāyà,  ôⁿ  gö  bá,
well,  3AnSg Infin come.Base,
A: ‘Well, Bouki seized them and went away. Well, she (=mother) came.’

(04:03) ôⁿ  bà  [gà  à-dà’],
3AnSg come.Pfv  [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base],
ôⁿ  gö  wō  [Ø  dāřiⁿʔi”]
3AnSg Infin sing.Base  [Art song]
kò  ńá-wō
Infin do.again.Base-sing.Base
A: ‘Then she came, and she sang the song.’
B: ‘(She) sang again.’
(04:08) ɲání ɲání nà = ṅ jigi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ṅ jigi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ṅ jigi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsfò dá tò ŋ tó
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(04:14) ɲání ɲání nà = ṅ jigi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ṅ jigi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsfò ɲání nà = ṅ jigi
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsfò dá tò ŋ tó
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
hê!
oh!
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’
B: ‘Oh!’

(04:21) ³ⁿ = Ø nî = [Ø náⁿ-bf] glô-kàʔà = ?
3AnSg PfvNeg see.Base [Art person] exit.Pfv-Ppl.An Neg
[è bôrá] à-mâ, [ê kë-sùⁿ?ⁿ] à-mâ
[Art work(n)] be.Loc, [Art work(n)] be.Loc
àⁿháⁿ
uh-huh!
A: ‘She didn’t see anybody who had come out.’
B: ‘There’s work (=drama). There’s work.’
A: ‘Uh-huh!’
[animate participle -kàʔà (§4.5.4); B first uses bôrá ‘work (n)’ < Jula, then repeats with the Tiefo-D word]

(04:26) dè [Ø bî-fîô] fiĕ [Ø sê]
Quot [Art child-Pl] pass.Pfv [Art where?]
kûⁿtûⁿ bè tê,
today Dem.Def Q,
A: ‘(She thought:) “So where have the children gone today?”’
[< /ê sê kûⁿtûⁿ/; final tê in quoted interrogative]
[jàrō— jàrō bè— kē]
[Rel— Rel Dem.Def— matter]

máⁿ dāⁿ ｗⁿ =ʔ,
IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg Neg,
ério wö glû, [kō kāⁿ?āⁿ =ｗⁿ],
3AnSg Infín exit.Base, [Infín encounter.Base 3AnSgObj],

A: ‘The one (=girl) whom she didn’t like, she (=girl) went out to meet her (=mother).’

[repair as [jàrō kē] máⁿ … “(the one) whose matter wasn’t (pleasing to her)”]

(04:33)
dè á!, dè ků?ůⁿ, [è wí jì]
Quot oh!, Quot today, [Art owner Indef]
bà [wā = à—, ŋ gbè = wô]
come.Pfv [Infín come.Base—, (nasal) pick.up.Base 3PlObj]
[gò fô],
[Infín pass.Base],

A: ‘(The girl) said “oh!, today some fellow came and took them and went away.”’

[‘owner’ as unnamed discourse referent (§18.5.1.2); repair hesitation as bà [kā = à-gbè …]]

(04:39) ő gō dè lûⁿ dè [mâⁿ = àⁿ],
3Pl Infín IpfvPast look.at.Ipfv Quot [2Sg it.is],
jā→ ŋ máⁿ glû =ʔ,
lo! 2Sg IpfvNeg it.is Neg,

A: ‘(Girl:) “They had looked and had thought it was you. But lo, it wasn’t you-Sg.”

[< /mâⁿ = à/; 2Sg proclitic ŋ (§4.3.1.6.2); = à ‘it is’ (§11.2.1.1); má(”) glû ‘it is not’ (§11.2.1.2)]

(04:42) áywà, [nôⁿ kômî] [nôⁿ nóʔô] pîèⁿ máⁿ,
well, [1Sg Top] [1Sg Foc] remain.Pfv there.Def,
A: ‘(Girl:) ‘Well, as for me, I [focus] am the one who has stayed there (=here).’

[kômî(“) topic (§19.1.2.3.1); < /nôⁿ tòʔô/; má(”) for discourse-definite ‘here’]

(04:45) nôⁿ nè máⁿ glû-ā-yîʔè móⁿ]
1Sg IpfvPast IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv-Ipfv-unload.Ipfv 2Sg]
[kò-kâ sú→],

A: ‘(Girl:) “I have not been going out to unload you every day.”’

[< /nôⁿ dê/]

(04:47) [nôⁿ mó] nàⁿ glû-yîʔî = [Ø sê] tê,
1Sg Top Fut exit.Base-go.Base [Art where?] Q,
A: ‘(Girl: “where would I [topic] have gone out and gone to?”’

[< /nôⁿ bó/ (topic)]
(04:48) \textit{donc} nóⁿ gō pēⁿ māⁿ, \\
so 1Sg InfIn remain.Base there.Def, \\
é→, [3ⁿ gō gbē [Ø dīʔè]] \\
oh!, [3AnSg InfIn pick.up.Base [Art karité]] \\
A: ‘(Girl:) “So, I stayed here.” Oh, she (=mother) collected some karité (fruit pulp).’

(04:53) [ē dīʔè] á yīʔè-pāⁿ Milo nē? \\
[Art karité] PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base InfIn \\
[a = [Ø dīʔè]], \\
[with [Art karité]], \\
[kà— [ē cīʔē]] [3ⁿ ŭⁿʔûⁿ] niⁿ] \\
[with— [Art basket]] [[3AnSgRefl head] Loc] \\
A: ‘The karité (pulp) could not be unloaded.’
B: ‘It could not be unloaded?’
[< /-pāⁿ dēʔè/; < /-pāⁿ = ā/; only the two favored daughters were allowed to 
\textit{unload from the mother}]

(04:55) 3ⁿhōⁿ, 3ⁿ gō ē-fō [a = [Ø dīʔè]], \\
uh-huh, 3AnSg InfIn walk.Base-pass.Base [with [Art karité]], \\
[kà— [ē cīʔē]] [[3ⁿ ŭⁿʔûⁿ] niⁿ] \\
[with— [Art basket]] [[3AnSgRefl head] Loc] \\
A: ‘Uh-huh. She went walking away with the karité, with the basket, on her head.’
[ê ‘walk’, dialectal for \textit{yé}; in line 1 < /kà ë dīʔè/]

(04:56) ā = [Ø yīʔè-pāⁿ] ñ, \\
3lnan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Neg, \\
[kò yē-fō \textit{unloaded} [ā lō]] \\
InfIn walk.Base-pass.Base [with 3lnan] \\
B: ‘It could not be unloaded. (She) went along with it (on her head).’
[\textit{transcription approximate due to speaker overlap; < /kò lō/ ‘with it/\text{them}
\textit{(inanimate)’}}]

(05:00) ā klè tá, [ē fāriʔî] [māⁿ glò = ā] \\
3lnan be.done.Pfv like, [Art craziness] [IpfvNeg it.is Q] \\
ā klè = [Ø fāriʔî] [3ⁿ bāʔè] \\
3lnan be.done.Pfv [Art craziness] [3AnSg Dat] \\
A: ‘It was like, (she was) crazy, wasn’t she?’
B: ‘It caused her to have craziness (=drove her crazy).’
[tā ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1)]

(05:03) áywà comme ā klè = [Ø fāriʔî] bè-yà-rô, \\
well as 3lnan be.done.Pfv [Art craziness] thus, \\
3ⁿ wò ē-fō [ā rō], \\
3AnSg InfIn walk.Base-pass.Base [with 3lnan], \\
A: ‘Well, it became craziness thus. She went along with it (on her head).’
[ā rō \textit{Bi dialect for kà lō}]
(05:06) áywà comme ɔⁿ wò é-fó [à rō] bè-yá-ró, well as 3AnSg Infin walk.Base-pass.Base [with 3Inan] thus, áywà [kàⁿ bā =] á pēⁿ =āⁿ, well [Dem.AnSg Top] PfvNeg remain.Base Q,

A: ‘As she (=mother) was going along with it thus, well, didn’t that one (=girl) [topic] stay (there)?’

(05:10) [ē jùʔé] máⁿ tènò [Ø náⁿ-bí-ó]

[Art God] IpfvNeg harm.Ipfv [Art person-Pl]

mí/th nope!

[ē jùʔé] ō bàlò bó,
[Art God] Infin raise.Base 3AnSg,

A: ‘God doesn’t harm (=allow harm to) people.’

B: ‘Nope!’

A: ‘God raised her.’

‘tènò ’harm (v)’ and bàlò ‘raise (to adulthood)’ < Jula cf. Tiefo-D dë/dá/dá ‘raise’]

(05:13) ɔⁿ wò pēⁿ— {ɔⁿ dëⁿ— ɔⁿ—} 3AnSg Infin remain.Base— (false start)

[3ⁿ klè-ní] niⁿ— dón-dóní

[3AnSg do-VblN] Loc— a.little

A: ‘She (=girl) stayed (there) doing a little.’

[this segment rather broken; pēⁿ emended (recording sounds like tōⁿ)]

(05:17) fō→ kō à lō = [Ø náⁿ-bí],

until Infin Ipfv turn.Ipfv [Art person],

áywà, kō bàlò, well Infin be.raised.Base,

A: ‘Eventually she was turning into an (adult) person. Well, she grew up (to adulthood).’

/bálò < Jula, cf. Tiefo-D dá ‘raise (a child)’]

(05:19) [comme ɔⁿ bàlò] [bó färáⁿ]

[as 3AnSg be.raised.Base] [3AnSg too]

ŋ = à-bū = [Ø dã] [wō färū], Infin come.Base-get.Base [Art man] [Infin marry.Base],

A: ‘When she grew up, she too came and got a husband to marry.’

/<färū kō à-bū ë dã/; färū < Jula, cf. kō tärāⁿ ‘to sit’, hence ‘settle, get married’ in Tiefo-D]
áywà, comme ñ bũo [Ø dɔ] [wɔ fɔrʊ],
well, as 3AnSg get.Pfv [Art man] [Infin marry.Base],
[Art man money-owner even],
A: ‘Well, when she got a husband and married (him), in fact a rich man.’
[< /dɔ bũ-; ‘owner’ compounds (§5.1.9); ‘even’ (§19.1.6)]

áywà, kò sòrò
well, Infin proceed.to.Base
[gò — ŋ jì = [Ø bif-[^j̃o]],
[Infin— (nasal) give.birth.Base [Art child-Pl]],
A: ‘Well, (she) proceeded to bear children.’
[kò sòrò (§15.3.5.7.1)]

[è blâ?ã ji] à-māⁿ→,
[è bif[^j̃o]]
[Art pond Indef be.Loc, [Art child-Pl]
á yì® = [[[Ø [fëʔ-[^l̃o]-[^t̃ɔ]] n = ] = âⁿ,
PfvNeg go.Base [[[Art [garment-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc] Q,
A: ‘There was a pond there. Did not the children go (there) in order to wash clothes?’
[< /è bif[^j̃o] á/; later “clothes” is corrected to “sorghum grain” (see below); purposive -tɔ?” nìn” (§17.6.2.5), literally ‘to the garment-place’, literal (spatial) and abstract (purposive) senses overlap here; speaker later suggested emendation of singular fëʔ to plural fà-ᵮ] /

[è bif[^j̃o]] wèʔè
[Art child-Pl] grow.up.Pfv
[gò yì® = [[Ø [fëʔ-[^l̃o]-[^t̃ɔ]] nìⁿ]],
[Infin go.Base [[[Art [garment-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc]],
A: ‘The children had grown up. They went to wash clothes.’

kò rá-pìⁿ— [[è diʔè], ŋ fìëⁿ-ɛʔè],
Infin go.Base-see.Base— [[Art karité], (nasal) germinate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
[[è yò-ðê] ʊⁿʔʊⁿ] nìⁿ,
[[Art old.woman] head] Loc,
A: ‘They went and saw that the karité tree had grown on the old woman’s head.’
[the karité fruits had germinated and grown into a woody sapling, still in the basket on the old woman’s head]

ð klè, [è sùðⁿ] jáⁿ→
Infin be.done.Base, [Art karité.tree] much.branched
mlëⁿ-ʃiʔè like.this
A: ‘(It) had become a karité tree, much branched (=spreading), like this
(demonstrating).’
[jáⁿ→ is an expressive adverbial (§8.5.8); mlëⁿ-ʃiʔè ‘like this/that’ (§8.5.5.1)]
donc [depuis ʒ₀ glō]
sô [since 3AnSg exit.Pfv]

[ā = O yiʔè-p₃ⁿ
[3Inan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Neg]

[ā = O yiʔè-p₃ⁿ
[3Inan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Neg]

B: ‘So, ever since she went away, it wasn’t possible to unload it (from her head)’

A: ‘It wasn’t possible to unload it.’

[kō peⁿ = [[Ø úⁿʔúⁿ] niⁿ] ǯaⁿ→
Infin remain.Base [[Art head] Loc] much.branched

[mléⁿ-fiʔè niⁿ],

[like.this Loc],

A: ‘And (it) remained on (her) head, much branched, like this.’

[ǯaⁿ ŋ = à-
Infin com.Base-stop.Base [[Art child-Pl chez],

dě čl!, [dě bù = à klè = [Ø ëʔè] té]

Quot oh!, [Quot 3Pl Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art what?] Q]

A: ‘She came and stopped in the children’s presence.’ She said, “oh! What are you-Pl doing?’

[< /ʒⁿ kō (b)à-łèⁿ ë bì-/; < /dè bù à klè ěʔè;/ ‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1); final té in quoted interrogative (§13.2.2.2)]

[ɛ bī-sìo] dě bùò bâ dè→,

[Art child.Pl] say.Pfv LogoS Pl come.Pfv Quot,

[ɛ [gblèⁿʔèⁿ-łèⁿ]-tòʔʒ] niⁿ,

[Art [sorghum-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc,

A: ‘The children said, “we have come in order to wash the sorghum (grain).” ’

[second dě functions as complementizer for purposive phrase]

[化疗 kóⁿ] té

[Infin chew.Base] Q
dè = [Ø làʔà] wò [bó niⁿ],

Quot [Art hunger] be [LogoS Loc],

A: ‘(Old woman said:) “Won’t you-Pl give me some (of the sorghum) to munch on? I am hungry.” ’

[3Pl for original 2Pl; final té in quoted interrogative; ‘be hungry’ (§11.1.1.6); k₃ⁿ ‘chew, munch’ is the usual ‘eat’ verb for peanuts and dry grain]
(05:57) dè [jì bó wō [Ø dārì’îfõ ìjì]]

Quot [if  LogoSg  sing.Base  [Art  song  Indef]]
d =ò  gò  sùʔs [Ø  jì]  [3n  bó],
Quot  3Pl  Hort  give.Base  [Art  something]  [Dat  LogoSg],
donec  wō  =nìn,
so  sing.Base  3InanObj.

A: ‘(Old woman:) “If I sing a song, (then) why not give me some (sorghum)!”’
(Children:) “So, sing it!”

[jì ‘if’ (§16.1.1.5); quoted hortative (§17.1.6.3)]

(06:02) jání  jání  nà =  ní  jìgi
N  N  come.Imprt  1Sg  unload
jání  jání  nà =  ní  jìgi
N  N  come.Imprt  1Sg  unload
siªsfõ  dá  tò  nà =  ní  jìgi
S  mouth  remainder  come.Imprt  1Sg  unload
siªsfõ  dá  tò  lì  tò
S  mouth  remainder  Presentative  stay

A: ‘Nani! N尼亚! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(06:07) jání  jání  nà =  ní  jìgi
N  N  come.Imprt  1Sg  unload
jání  jání  nà =  ní  jìgi
N  N  come.Imprt  1Sg  unload
siªsfõ  dá  tò  lì  tò
S  mouth  remainder  Presentative  stay
siªsfõ  dá  tò  lì  tò
S  mouth  remainder  Presentative  stay

A: ‘Nani! N尼亚! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(06:12) kà-sàrõ = [Ø  dìʔè]  friõ
whereas  [Art  karité]  germinate.Pfv

[friõ  ù’ùõ  ni]
[[3AnSg  head]  Loc]
ùh-huh!
é!

B: ‘Whereas the karité (fruit) had grown on her head?’
A: ‘Uh-huh!’
B: ‘Oh my!’

[kà-sàrõ (§15.3.5.7.2)]
So, the children gave (her) some sorghum for her to munch on.

A: ‘Did not the children too pick up (=memorize) the song?’

They then went to their mother’s place, to do cooking with it (=song).

Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.

(Mother:) “Oh! Where did you-Pl bring that song from?”

(Children:) “Oh!, a woman saw us at the pond and she sang it.”

(A: ‘(Children:) “Oh!, a woman saw us at the pond and she sang it.” ’

< /niⁿ kō/
(06:37) dè í-yùò sū?ɔ̄ [Ô gblè"n?e"] [bó wò k5°],
Quot 1Pl give [Art sorghum] [LogoSg Infin munch.Base],
A: ‘(Children:) “(She told) us to give (her) sorghum and she would then munch (it).”’

(06:39) dè ò bà yìfì = [Ô c5°],
Quot 3Pl if go.Base [Art tomorrow],
ò bà rà-ni = ò°,
3Pl if go.Base-see.Base 3AnSgObj,
ò gò sū?= =ò [wò bà],
3Pl Hort catch.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin come.Base],
A: ‘(Mother:) “If you-Pl go (there) tomorrow, if you-Pl go and see her, catch her and come (with her).’

(06:43) wàlà→
right!
ò = Ô k5° [dè [bù̀ mà-má°] =â°] dò,
3Pl PfvNeg know.Base [Quot [3Pl grandmother] it.is] Emph,
B: ‘Right!’
A: ‘They didn’t know that she was their grandmother.’

(06:47) ò kò yìfì, kò yìfì
3Pl Infin go.Base, Infin go.Base
[gò rà— yìfì— dà°],
[Infin go.Base— go.Base— arrive.Base],
A: ‘They went. They went and (went and) arrived.’

(06:50) kò tá°-ni = ò [bè dí-cù"n?ù°],
Infin do.again.Base-see.Base 3AnSgObj [Dem.Def next.morning],
[è bì-fì] bà—,
là [gà = à-klè] [ën gò tá°-bà],
come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-do.Base] [3AnSg Infin do.again.Base-come.Base],
A: ‘(They) saw her again the next day. The children came and did (that), and she came again.’
/tá°- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3)"

(06:55) [kà = à-wò] [ò gò sū?ɔ̄ [Ô gblè"n?e"]]
[Infin come.Base-sing.Base] [3Pl Infin give.Base [Art sorghum]]
[ën wò k5°],
[3AnSg Infin munch.Base],
A: ‘(She) came and sang and (they) gave (her) sorghum, and she munched (it).’
[infininitival phrase sequences with subject switches]
A: ‘(They) said, “our mother said for you-Sg to go, for you-Sg to (please) go to her place.”’

[< /má dë/; quoted imperative and hortative (§17.1.6); gbè?è ‘(let’s) go’ is hortative, §10.4.2.1.1]

A: ‘The husband was a rich man. The money—The money made (him) a powerful person.’

[final ë (§19.4.2); postnominal tū-tūʔù ‘big’ (§4.5.3.2.2)]

A: ‘Well, she then sang the song, then gave—(or rather) received sorghum and munched it.’

[replacing ‘give’ by sō ‘take, receive’ makes the passage a string of same-subject infinitival phrases, compare @ 06:55 above]
(07:17) ɲání ɲání nà = ʃ jiʃi
N  N come.Imp 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ʃ jiʃi
N  N come.Imp 1Sg unload
si"sf à tò nà = ʃ jiʃi
S  mouth remainder come.Imp 1Sg unload
si"sf à tò ʃi tò
S  mouth remainder Presentative stay
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take what remains in the rim of the basket! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(07:23) ɲání ɲání nà = ʃ jiʃi
N  N come.Imp 1Sg unload
ɲání bù"bùn nà = ʃ jiʃi
N  B come.Imp 1Sg unload
si"sf à tò nà = ʃ jiʃi
S  mouth remainder come.Imp 1Sg unload
si"sf à tò ʃi tò
S  mouth remainder Presentative stay
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take what remains in the rim of the basket! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(07:28) háyà, ò gō sūiσ [Ø j = ʃ],
well, 3Pl Infin give.Base [Art some] Dat.3AnSg [Infin munch.Base],
dè bon dé bà-gbèʔè [ʃ wò ỳʔi],
Quot well Quot come.Base-go.Hort [1Pl Hort go.Ipfv],
A: ‘Well, they gave some (sorghum) to her and she munched (on it). (They) said, “Come, let’s go!” ’
[gbèʔè (§10.4.2.1.1)]

(07:32) ò gō jùʔσ [ʃ],
3Pl Infin follow.Base [3AnSg behind],
[kò ỳʔi], [ʃ niσ] bàʔà,
[Infin go.Base, [Art mother] chez].
A: ‘They followed her, and went to the mother’s place.’
[perhaps emend to ‘she followed them’]

(07:36) ò yìʔè [Ø rà-daσ], [ʃ niσ] nè é!,
mò σ wò [ʃ σ-wi bó] tè,
2Sg be [who?-owner Top] Q,
A: ‘They (went and) arrived. The mother (of the children) said (=asked), “who exactly are you-Sg?” ’
[< /nìσ dè;/ clause-final tè in question]
(07:40) [[m6u nÝů n6 bi6 de] kl6] jîná] nîn→,
[[2Sg head all however] be.done.Pfv] situation] Loc,
[cë fînubè] jë?è
[Art tree] only
A: ‘(Mother:) “But the way your whole head (is)!”
B: ‘Nothing but tree (branches)!”
[jë?è (dialectally jî?è) ‘only’]

(07:44) ãn go nará
3AnSg Infin proceed.to.Base
[wò glú [à lô]] [wô dô],
[Infin exit(v).Base [with 3Inan]] [Infin speak.Base],
A: ‘She (=grandmother) proceeded to explain that.’
[‘exit with X and speak’ = ‘explain X’]

(07:46) ál dè [bô tò?ô] dà = —
ah! Quot [LogoSg Foc] IpfvPast —
[bô rô] kô [(Ø) yúó jîrîñ],
[LogoSg Foc] be [Art person Rel],
LogoSg give.birth.to.Pfv [Art child.Pl], [Art people three],
A: ‘(Grandmother:) “ah!” she said, “I was—, the person who, I
bore children, three (of them).’
[first few words beginning bô tò?ô are pronounced in a strange voice suggesting
emotion; ‘three children’ spoken more smoothly is [è bî-jîô] [yúô sá], where yúó
‘person’ functions as a human numeral classifier]

(07:52) [[ë yúó jîñ] kë] dà = à dáñ [3n bó],
[[Art people two] matter] IpfvPast Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv [Dat LogoSg],
[[ë nà-dàñ jî] rè màñ]
[Art Hum-one Indef] Past be.Loc]
[[bô kë] màñ dáñ [3n bó]],
[[3AnSg matter] IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv [Dat LogoSg]].
A: ‘(Grandmother:) “Two of them were beloved to me. There was another one,
she wasn’t beloved of me.”’
[< /dè à dáñ [3n bó]/ with dative 3n; < /dè màñ/]

(07:56) bó wô bà [[gà = â-nû =
LogoSg Infin come.Base [[Infin come.Base-see.Base
[[Ø fîglô] cîè [bô bî-jîô]],
[Art hyena eat.meat.Pfv [LogoSg child.Pl]],
A: ‘(Grandmother:) “I came and saw that a hyena devoured my children.”’
Inan Infin-Ipfv walk.İpfv there.İf [LogoSg head] Loc],
bó nà klè =ni mlèn = à tè,
LogoSg Fut do.Base 3InanObj how? Q,
A: ‘(Grandmother:) “It walks around (with me) there on my head. How (=what)
should I make it (=do with it)?”’
/< (y)é màn bó/.

 àsèmà [bó úñú] níŋ, 
3Inan Infin-Pfv walk.İpfv there.İf [LogoSg head] Loc],
áywà, [[nò níŋ] nóíò] wò kàŋ,
well, [[1Sg mother] Foc] be Dem.AnSg,
B: ‘It’s your (own) disposition (=behavior) that put you in that (difficulty)!’
A: ‘So, the girl said, “well, this is my mother.”’
[2Sg possessor suffix (§4.3.1.2); < /nò níŋ tòò/]

mòn nà wé [nò hàrò] cò!,
2Sg Past abandon.Base [1Sg Rel] exactly!,
[wàlà →, mà-pì
right!; you see?
A: ‘(Mother:) “Precisely me whom you-Sg had abandoned, this is me [focus]!”’
B: ‘Right! You see?’
/< /mó nà/; pronoun-headed relative, cf. @ 08:47 below; cò! (§8.5.3.2.2); < /nò
jàrò cò/; < /nò tòò/]

jì bè =yà, à nà gò-sò
if Dem.İf it.is, 3Inan Fut be.right.Base
á nà gò-sò
3Inan Fut be.right.Base
donc, òn gò gbè [Ø kà?í-kàn],
so, 3AnSg Infin take.Base [Art blacksmith-man],
A: ‘If it’s that (way), it will be right. So, she got a blacksmith.’
[gò-sò (§8.5.4.2); -kàn (§5.1.6.8)]
(08:19) [è kɔʔ?-kèⁿ] gò nǐⁿ = [Ø jĩⁿlĩⁿ]
    [Art blacksmith-man] Infin look.at.Base [Art tree]
    [gò sè-glō [3ⁿ úₚúⁿ nǐⁿ]],
    [Infin carve.Base-remove.Base [3AnSg head] Loc],
    A: ‘The blacksmith looked at the tree (on her head), and carved it off from her head.’

(08:23) kò tè-sō = nĩⁿ,
    Infin put.in.order.Base 3InanObj,
    [kọ wō = ò [kà [Ø nũⁿ]],
    [Infin bathe.Base 3AnSgObj [with [Art water]],
    A: ‘Then (he) put it in order, then (she) washed her with water.’
    [tè-sō dialectal for tó-sō ; most likely there is a covert subject switch here since
    the mother presumably bathed the grandmother]

(08:27) kò sùʔ = = ò [g = à-tərₚⁿ]
    Infin catch.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin come.Base-make.sit.Base]
    mais ò = [Ø ò̃ẽ = [Ø ùⁿlùö̃] [bè nĩ] =r̂̃ẽ?
    but 3Inan PfvNeg enter.Base [Art head] [Dem.Def Loc] Emph
    A: ‘Then (she) took hold of her and had her come sit.’
    B: ‘But, it (=blacksmith’s tool) didn’t go into (=wound) her head in that way?’
    [sit is arguably transitive ‘seat, cause to sit’ here, alternatively there is a subject
    switch in the infinitival VP]

(08:30) [è sàẙ] á diē = ò,
    [Art hatchet] PfvNeg enter.Base Neg,
    mōⁿ = àⁿ jì [Ø kà-rò kè] lè,
    2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art blacksmith-Pl matter] Emph,
    A: ‘The hatchet didn’t go in. You-Sg know how blacksmiths are!’
    [sàẙ is a short-handled hatchet with a pointed awl-like blade for carpentry,
    wielded with one hand; lè (19.4.2)]

(08:34) [úⁿlìⁿ yá bìe =] [Ø sèrȳ-tàʔ] nĩ
    [head Dem.InanSg all] [Infin carve.Pfv-place] Loc]
    parce que c’est [è nò-rëⁿ]— [è nò-rēⁿ mùö] klè mlēⁿ-ʃìʔè
    because it’s [Art root-Pl]— [Art root-Pl Top.AnPl] be.made.Pfv like.this
    [šìʔè plural of nèⁿrìⁿ ‘root’; < /nò-rëⁿ bùö; purposive -tòʔ nĩ (§17.6.2.5)]
(08:39) donc [dè-dè nîⁿ], áywà, òⁿ wò bà [gà = à—
so [now Loc], well, 3AnSg InfInf come.Pfv [InfInf come.Base—
]) wò = ò [gà = [Ø jùⁿ]]]
(nasal) bathe.Base 3AnSgObj [with [Art water]]
[gô sùʔ? [Ø càrù] òⁿ] [wò dî],
[InfInf give.Base [Art tô] Dat.3AnSg] [InfInf eat.Base],
A: ‘So now, well, she (=mother) came and (came and) bathed her with water. Then she gave her some tô to eat.’
[smooth out as bà gà = à-wò = ò ; tô (< Bambara-Jula) is local French for pudding-like (dark) millet or (white) rice cakes (main course for meals); 3AnSg dative òⁿ ($4.3.2.3$); ‘X give Z to Y [(for Y) to eat]’ construction ($17.6.2$)]

(08:44) ê! [nôⁿ nîⁿ], [[môⁿ tôʔô] wò kàⁿ tê]
ah! [1Sg mother], [[2Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg Q]
dè òⁿ dè [bô = à],
Quot 3AnSg say.Pfv [LogoSg it.is],
A: ‘(Mother:) “Oh! My mother, is that really you [focus]?” She (=grandmother) said, “it’s me!” ’

(08:47) áywà [nôⁿ nôʔô fàrâⁿ] wò kâⁿ,
well [1Sg Foc too] be Dem.AnSg
môⁿ nà wê [nôⁿ jârîⁿ],
2Sg Past abandon.Base [1Sg Rel],
A: ‘(Mother:) “Well, this is me [focus] likewise! Me who(m) you abandoned.”
[< /nôⁿ tôʔô/ ; fàrâⁿ ($19.1.5$), cf. @ 08:54 below; < /môⁿ râ/ (cf. @ 08:12 above)]

(08:51) comme mîⁿ wiè nôⁿ,
as 2Sg abandon.Pfv 1Sg,
nôⁿ nà klè ãⁿ tê,
2Sg Fut do.Base how? Q,
A: ‘(Mother:) “As you abandoned me, how (=what) will I do?” ’
[< /wîᵉ nôⁿ/ ; ãⁿ ‘how?’ ($13.2.3.5.1$)]

(08:54) [ē jûʔè fàrâⁿ] wò l—tàbârikâlà
[Art God too] InfInf (heistation) praise.God!
kô tàʔ–jûʔ? hô
InfInf help.Base 1Sg
A: ‘(Mother:) “God too (says) ‘thanks!’ ”
B: ‘ “to help me.” ’
[i.e. God is pleased about their rediscovery; tàbârikâlà Arabic for ‘God be praised!’ ; < /tàⁿ-jûʔ?$/]
[08:56] [nòⁿ fàrāⁿ] wò à-bú— [è→ târêⁿ-nòⁿ],
[1Sg too] Infín come.Base-get.Base— [Art sit.Pfv-Agent],
áywà, [bì tê] = yà
well, [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] it.is
[Ø bì-jìō] [wō rà-dò kē-à],
[Art child.PL] [Infín go.Base-say.Base matter-2SgPoss],
A: ‘(Mother:) “I too came and got a husband. That [focus] is how the children went (=came) and spoke about you.”

[’husband’ literally ‘sit-Agent’ (’sit’ as in ‘settle down’, hence ‘get married’); bi tê dialectal for bè tê (§4.4.2.1); râ- ‘go’ in compounds (§15.2.3.3.4); 2Sg possessor suffix -à (§4.3.1.2)]

(09:01) ķ jì nò = [dō jì [ē nô bà]],
1Sg say.Pfv [3Pl leave.Base [2Sg Infín come.Base]],
comme [ē bà [gà = à-nî = mīⁿ nò]],
as [1Sg come.Pfv [Infín come.Base-see.Base 2SgObj Empf]],
A: ‘(Mother:) “I told them to have you come. Like, I have come to see you.” ’

[jì variant of jà ‘leave, let’; < /î de ò; < /ē kō bà’; < /kō à-nî mîⁿ lō/: proclitic pronouns 1Sg ķ and 2Sg ķ (§4.3.1.6)]

(09:03) áywà, [nòⁿ nô?] =] ō kāⁿ [tà nî],
well, [1Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg [3Inan Loc],
[è ūⁿûⁿ] ñ [gbè-yîlé]-pâⁿ—,
[Art head] PfvNeg [be.lifted.Base]-be.able.Base—,
ē jô = yò,
(nasal) look.at.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘(Mother:) “Well, this is me.” The (grandmother’s) head could not be lifted, to look at her.’

[The grandmother can’t look at her daughter out of shame]

(09:09) [[ē sàrē] bàǹà]
[Art shame(n)] Dat]
[[ē sàrî] bàǹà], donc, [ē ūⁿûⁿ] kò kôbô tâⁿ bê-yâ-rô,
[[Art shame(n)] Dat], so, [Art head] Infín be.held.down.Base thus,
kô kôbô tâⁿ bê-yâ-rô,
Infín be.held.down.Base thus,
B: ‘Out of shame.’

A: ‘Out of shame. So, the head was hung down in that way. It was hung down in that way.’

[sârî ‘shame (n)’ with Ji variant sàrê ; bàǹà indicating source: ‘out of, due to’ (§8.1.1); cf. kôbô tâⁿ ‘hold (head) down’]
A: ‘You see? Sorghum, when sorghum ripens, the way it does.’
[some cultivars of sorghum have decumbent grain heads when ripe]

A: ‘There it is! That woman’s (behavior) is the sign (of shame).’
[Ipfv -plùⁿ is a stronger denial of ability than simple -pɔ̄ⁿ (§15.1.7.1)]

A: ‘Uh-huh. A lot.’
B: ‘She was ashamed. There was no way she could look.’
(09:29) *donc, ū būō jārōⁿ*,
so, 1Sg get.Pfv Rel,

[[è ná-di-b] dō gbā-kā] niⁿ,
[bī tōʔō] wò yā,
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,

A: ‘What I got (=learned) in the way the old people’s (story) was told, that was it.’

(09:34) ū būō = nìⁿ— gblē = nìⁿ [tōʔō jārōⁿ],
1Sg get.Pfv 3InanObj— pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel],
ū tīē = nìⁿ māⁿ,
1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def,

A: ‘Where I got it—picked it up, I put it (back) there.’

*[standard tale-ending formula]*

(09:36) [bī tōʔ = ] à, [è náⁿ-bī] kāⁿ-kāⁿ wò—
[Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Art person] ought Hort—
kō kārōśí
Hort analyse.Base
kō jāⁿ = [Ø kē],
Hort look.at.Base [Art matter],
kō bū = [Ø lōʔō] [à niⁿ],
Hort get.Base [Art secret] [3Inan Loc],

A: ‘That is, a person must …’
B: ‘… analyse’
A: ‘… look at a matter, to find the secret in it.’

*kāⁿ-kāⁿ (§17.4.3.3); lōʔō here means ‘hidden significance, secret’ (elsewhere ‘esoteric knowledge, magical powers’)*

(09:43) māⁿ nè [mā = = àⁿ—]
Proh say.Base [2Sg Ipfv—]
kō— wórōmá, [mōⁿ blē jiè-[bī-jiò]],
Infin— differentiate.Base, [2Sg own give.birth.Pfv-[child.Pl]],

A: ‘Don’t say you’ll—, differentiate (=treat unequally) your own birth children.’

*< /māⁿ dè/ ; wórōmá (< Jula) ‘select’ or ‘treat unequally’; speaker restarts after using the Jula word>*

(09:48) ...

*[unintelligible due to speaker overlap]*

[mōⁿ tō [n nèⁿʔēⁿ]] ji = = ḏ
[2Sg Foc [Sg one]] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj

A: ‘It was you-Sg alone who bore him/her.’

*< /n dēⁿʔēⁿ/ ; < /jiè = wò/>
A: ‘Keep all of them! (As for) you-Sg, you don’t know who (=which of your children) will bury you.’

B: ‘You don’t know him/her.’

\[\textit{sütará < Jula sütúría; }/\text{mó}^n \á \text{k}^n = ?/; \textit{two different ‘know’ verbs with different aspectual requirements, §11.2.5.1}\]

A: ‘Uh-huh. So, if you keep all of them, anyway, well, if (there is) one who is the (=your) burier, …’

\[-\textit{k}^n\á \text{animate singular participle (§4.5.4, §4.2.3.1)}\]

A: ‘…you-Sg will see (=recognize) him/her. Don’t say (=think) that you will look at (=understand) his/her behavior.’

\[< /\text{nî}^n \á \á/; < /\text{má}^n \á \text{lú}^n/ \textit{with }\text{lú}^n \text{(Bi dialect) for }\text{nú} \text{(other dialects)}\]

A: ‘So, what I got in (=out of) the words, we advise each other (about it).’

B: ‘Right!’

\[< /\text{k}^n \á \á \á \text{dígà-rà}/\]
parce que Œ mà jūʔ5-dě = Œ dàʔá, because 2Sg if hear.Base-say.Base [Art tale],
[è [díg-rà]-là-nì Œ à-mà [à nì]
[bè tòʔó] = à lè
[Dem.Def Foc] it is Emph
A: ‘Because if you hear tell about tales, advice for each other is in it (=is part of it).’
B: ‘That’s so.’

verbal noun from làn ‘advise’

jì gò bà [à rò], mà mà à bà = à-kɔ̀ [tìʔɔ̀ jàrɔ̀],
2Sg Infin come.Base [with 3Inan], (false start)
à kò là = [Œ díg-rà]
3Inan if come-Base-finish.Base [place Rel],
à bì [Œ díg-rà]
3Pl Infin advise.Base [PlRefl Recip],
A: ‘You-Sg bring it (=tale, to other listeners). [false start]. Where it (comes and) ends, they then advise each other.’

jì ñàrɔ̀ mà té-jūʔ5 bè,
2Sg Rel if listen.Base Dem.Def,
jì Œ mà dè jì klè [Œ nà-ní bì yà] bè-yà-rò,
if 2Sg if say.Base 2Sg do.Pfv [Art child Dem.InanSg] thus,
A: ‘If someone (=you) has heard that, if you say that you have made that child like that,’
/<jì jàrɔ̀ bà/ ‘you who’ (§14.1.9)

jì gò nì = nì"
[2Sg Infin see.Base 3InanObj]
[jì já = nì mâ"
[2Sg leave.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def]
A: ‘(And you say that) you have seen it, may you leave it there.’

jì būo jàrɔ̀ [bi tòʔó] gò yà,
1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
wàtərə à-nì-cè

O thanks
A: ‘What I got, that is it.’
B: ‘Ouattara (A’s name), thanks.’
[tale ending; à nì cé from Jula]
Hare and hyena (tale)

duration 11:14
(A) Ouattara Drisa (Biton quartier), narrator
(B) Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), respondent

(00:02) ŋ̀ tīē =n\textsuperscript{i}nʷ, ē nāʷ-bēʔē, 1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj, Art Bouki, jōrāʷ à lí dē [Ø síglō], Rel Ipfv be.called.Ipfv Quot [Art hyena, [ē sīglō] [Art hyena] bó kā [Ø blí-kē] 3AnSg with [Art hare] A: ‘I put it (=tale). Bouki, what is called hyena.’ B: ‘Hyena.’ A: ‘It and hare.’

/[nāʷ-bēʔē (Bouki in local French) is a personal name for the male hyena in tales emphasizing hyena’s greed and gluttony, while sīglō (Ji dialect sūglō) ‘hyena’ is the general term for the species; this hyena and this hare were apparently female but their mates appear later; \(</bō kā è blí-kē/]

(00:11) ò gō→, kā = à-māʷ, f-á-lā, 3Pl Infin, Infin be.Loc, you.know.it, [ē wè-[fə-rē]] nī-māʷ [ō bā?ā], [Art wear.Pfv-[garment-Pl] not.be.Loc [3Pl Dat], A: ‘They were there. You know. They had no clothes to wear.’

/[long hesitations, repair as ò kā = à-māʷ ; i á lā is a Jula phrase; ‘X not have Y’ expressed as ‘Y be absent [chez X]’ (§11.5.1.2); \(</fə-rē/]


/[yīē/yīē/yīē ‘put on (loincloth)’; ē (w)rē ‘woman’s traditional loincloth made of leaves’; =rē→ (§19.4.4)]
A: ‘(Female) hyena and hare, both wore (i.e. girded on) leaf loincloths. Women (not men) wore leaf loincloths.’

[Øré variant of wèré; the male equivalent at the time was a loincloth (tùfú) made of cotton cloth]

B: ‘The women’s loincloth would be worn on which buttocks?’

[postnominal inanimate topic bè; sarcastic rhetorical question: hyenas and hares lack the ample buttocks needed to hold up such loincloths]

A: ‘Ah, it (=loincloth) was worn. So, they wore women’s loincloths.’

A: ‘Well, seeing that they wore women’s loincloths, whenever the women were on the way to the pond,’

[< /bà kò yì?í níⁿ è bì?a níⁿ/; progressive (§10.2.4)]

A: ‘Everybody was looking at (=could see) each other.’

[pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.10); lúⁿ dialectal for nú]
A: ‘Oh, one day, hare came out and took the road. She was walking along, and walking along.’

< /kō (b)à-glú/ with ‘come’, since it denotes a single event, compare imperfective infinitival k-à glú ; é- dialectal for yé-; repeated imperfective infinitival k-à é-à-yî?î to emphasize duration (§15.2.2)

A: ‘She came and arrived (stopped) next to a baobab tree. It was mid-day (at peak heat), the sun was blazing.’

[baobab tree: Adansonia digitata]

A: ‘She went in next to the baobab. She said, “oh my! This baobab, your shade is really nice!”’

< /dè à lôº à dáº = dèî/; à in à lôº converted from direct-discourse 2Sg

(§17.1.4)

A: ‘“Oh!” the baobab said, “if you say that my shade is pleasant, did you taste my leaves?”’

/pièº-nôº dialectal for perfective pèº-nô (base pâº-nô); ‘leaf’ variably à-bîº?î or just bîº?îº}
00:59  sòⁿ-bá =  á  sùʔū  bè  [ząⁿ  bó]  =  ō,
who?  Ipfv  give.Ipfv  Dem.Def  [Dat  LogoSg]  Q,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Who will give that to me?”’
[< sòⁿ-bó with sòⁿ ‘who?’ (§13.2.3.1) and bó (§19.1.2.1) as fused topic marker;
logophoric dative]

01:00  [[è  bìⁿʔèⁿ]  gô  dì-só]
[Art  leaf]  Infin  fall.Base]
[ząⁿ  gô  gbē  bè  [kò  páⁿ-ɲòⁿ]],
3AnSg  Infin  take.Base  Dem.Def  [Infin  taste.Base]],
A: ‘Then the leaves came falling down. She (=hare) picked them up and tasted
(them).’
[‘taste’ compound (§15.1.1.11)]

01:02  é!  dè  [[è  sàròʔ =  á]  bìⁿʔèⁿ]
oh!  Quot  [Art  baobab  Dem.InanSg]  leaf]
=  àⁿ  dâⁿ  =  nêʔ,
Ipfv  be.pleasant.Ipfv  Emph
A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! leaves of this baobab sure are delicious!”’
[< /-bìⁿʔèⁿ (y)á/: baobab-leaf sauce is a staple in much of Burkina and Mali]

01:04  áywà,  dè  ʒₐⁿ  mā  rè  [[bó  bìⁿʔèⁿ]  =  àⁿ  dâⁿ,
well,  Quot  3AnSg  if  say.Base  [[LogoSg  leaf]  Ipfv  be.pleasant.Ipfv,
è!  d =  ʒₐⁿ  pięⁿ-ɲòⁿ  [bó  bìó  bè]  tē
ôh!  Quot  3AnSg  taste.Pfv  [LogoSg  fruits  Top.Inan]  Q
[bó  bìó]  tē
[LogoSg  fruit]  Q
A: ‘“Well,” (the tree) said, “if you say that my leaves are pleasant (=tasty), have
you tasted my fruits?”’
B: ‘“my fruits?”’
/bió ‘fruits’ (< ‘children’); indirect discourse with 3AnSg for original addressee
(hare), compare the direct quotation @ 00:53 above; tē quoted interrogative
(§13.2.1.2); baobab fruits have an edible sweet white mealy fruit pulp called by
Africans pain de singe in French and “monkey bread” in English]

01:11  á!  dè  sòⁿ-wí  nàⁿ  sùʔsè  bè  [ʒₐⁿ  [i-yùò  sàré]],
oh!  Quot  who?  Fut  give.Dem.Def  [Dat  [1Pl  peer]],
[è  bìó]  wò  glû  [wō  dì-só]  [ʒₐⁿ  gô  gbē],
[Art  fruit]  Infin  exit(v).Base  [Infin  fall.Base]  3AnSg  Infin  take.Base],
A: ‘(Hare:) “Who will give that to the likes of us (animals)?” Then the fruits came
off and fell, and she picked them up.’
[< ʒₐⁿ  i-yùò ; sequence of infinitival clauses kô  glû, kô  dì-só, kô  gbē  with subject
switch (§15.2)]
(01:15) époque de [ê sə̀ròʔ̀ə á] bió] à dáⁿ = nēʔ
        oh! Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg] fruit] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph
        [à bió] à dáⁿ
[3InanSg fruit] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv
        A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, this baobab’s fruits are really delicious!” ’
        B: ‘The fruits are delicious!” ’

(01:18) Ø mà dè [nôⁿ bió] à dáⁿ,
        2Sg if say.Base [1Sg fruit] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
        [nôⁿ ji̲-lùʔ̀ù] môⁿ pi̲ⁿ-ŋôⁿ bê = â
        [1Sg rear-bark] 2Sg taste.Pfv Dem.Def Q
        A: ‘(Baobab:) “If you say that my fruit is delicious, (as for) my bark, did you taste
that?” ’

(01:22) éc! bó nàⁿ klè [áⁿ bê]
        oh! LogoSg Fut do.Base [how? Top.Inan]
        [wò bú bê] tê,
        [Infin get.Base Dem.Def] Q,
        A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! What will (=can/must) I do, in order to get that?” ’
        [áⁿ ‘how?’ (§13.2.3.5.1)]

(01:23) [ê kẽ-tẽʔè dè = rê] ní-mâⁿ [bó bâʔà],
        [Art hand however even] not.be [LogoSg Dat],
        wá̵là->, [ê sə̀ròʔ̀ə-[ji̲-lùʔ̀ù] ji] wô lâ-glû,
        right!, [Art baobab-[rear-bark] Indef] Infin be.torn.Base.exit(v).Base,
        A: ‘(Hare:) “But I don’t have hands (fingers).” Right! Then some of the bark of
the baobab came off.’
        [< / = rê nî-mâⁿ bó/; = rê (§19.1.6)]

(01:27) 3AnSgo Infin take.Base Dem.Def [Infin-Ipfv chew.lightly.Ipfv].
        dê = [Ø sə̀ròʔ̀ə á] [ji̲-lùʔ̀ù] à dáⁿ = nēʔ,
        Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg] [rear-skin] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
        A: ‘She then picked that up and was chewing on it. (She) said, “the bark of this
baobab sure is delicious!” ’
        [stûèⁿ/sû̲âⁿ/sû̲âⁿ and variants ‘chew lightly (peanuts, soft meat)’, cf. kl5ⁿ/kl5ⁿ/klûⁿ
‘chew (kola), munch on (peanuts, grains)”]

(01:32) áywà, dè Ø mà nîⁿ [nôⁿ ji̲-lùʔ̀ù] à dáⁿ,
        well, Quot 2Sg if see.Base [1Sg rear-bark] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
        Ô nàⁿ [nôⁿ nôⁿ-biô] bê tê,
        2Sg see.Pfv [1Sg guts-children] Dem.Def Q,
        A: ‘(Baobab:) “Well, if you have seen that my bark is delicious, have you seen my
insides?” ’
        [< /nôⁿ lîⁿ-biô/; lîⁿ ‘interior, guts”]
A: ‘(Baobab:) “My inside(s), oh!, my insides sure are delicious!”’

(1:36) nóⁿ níⁿ-bí, é! [nóⁿ níⁿ-bí-ò] à dáⁿ =nēʔ, 1Sg guts-child, oh! [1Sg guts.children] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph, A: ‘(Baobab:) “My inside(s), oh!, my insides sure are delicious!”’

(1:38) é! dè sðⁿ-mó nàⁿ sùʔʒ bè [ðⁿ bó] =ó→, oh! Quot who? Fut give.Base Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q, nóⁿ nàⁿ klè [ãⁿ bè] [g = à-bú bè] tē, 1Sg Fut do.Base [how? Top.Inan] [Infin come.Base-get.Base Dem.Def] Q, A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh, who will give that to me? What will (=must) I do to get that?” ’

(1:43) dè [jí bè máⁿ glò] [bó nàⁿ wùʔʃ =nîⁿ], Quot [if Dem.Def IpfvNeg it.is] [LogoSg Fut open.Base 3InanObj], ðⁿ kò wùʔʃ—

3AnSg Infin open.Base—
[⁺ səʔɔʔɔ] kò wšʔʃ =ni
[Art baobab] Infin open.Base 3InanObj wùʔʃ [ðⁿ mìⁿʔɔⁿ]
open.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl] A: ‘‘If it isn’t that (=anyway), I will open it.” Then it opened…’ B: ‘The baobab opened it.’
A: ‘… opened itself.’
[Bi wùʔʃ = Ji wšʔʃ ‘open’ (base); reflexive object (§18.1.2)]

è! kò wē [ðⁿ úⁿʔùⁿ] =ùⁿ oh! Infin put.Base [3AnSgRefl head] Q A: ‘Hare put her head in like that. She saw—’ B: ‘Oh! And (she) put her head in?’

(1:53) kō niⁿ [Ø ñà-rê], [è fiéřbó], Infin see.Base [Art wrap(n)-Pl], [Art wardrobe], [è fà-rê kò-kà-rò], [Art wrap(n)-Pl Rdло-good-Pl]
A: ‘She saw wraps (clothing). A whole wardrobe of clothing. Good wraps.’
[singular fèʔè ‘woman’s wrap (rectangular cloth wrapped around body)’; fiéřbó < Jula; optionally iterated adjective (§4.5.3.2.1)]
A: ‘Women’s. Men’s. She got up and gathered (them) up.’

B: ‘It (=baobab) closed it.’

A: ‘When she (=hare) had finished picking (them) out, the baobab closed up again.’

B: ‘It (=baobab) closed it.’

perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.2); à rō Bi dialect for kā lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’; ‘day broke’ subject-verb collocation (§11.1.1.4)
[< /má³ gbaʔá/; infinitival VP after ‘give’ clause (§17.6.2)]

(02:22) [ě yó] bűś [wò glú],
[Art woman] tie.Pfv [Infin exit(v).Base],
[ō gà = à-[ló-kà⁵⁵ʔà⁵⁵] [ō dígà-rà]
[3Pl Infin come.Base-[encounter.Base] [PIRefl Recip]
d = [ō yřì = [[Ø blãʔã] ŋ]], á!
Quot [3Pl go.Base [[Art pond] Loc]], ah!
A: ‘The (hare) woman tied on (her wrap) and set off. They (=hare woman and
hyena woman) came and met up. They intended to go to the pond. Ah—’
[ininitival ‘come and’ after ‘exit(v)’ (§15.2.3.2.3); future nà(”) is implied but
elided in the rapidly spoken ‘they go to the pond’]

(02:27) kà-sàrê = [Ø wàrê tê] tâ yìé =ë,
while [Art leaf.loincloth Foc.Inan] Past be.girded.Base Q,
[è [blì-kê]-yò] kà = à-bé [Ø fè?è]
[Art [hare]-woman] Infin come.Base-tie.Base [Art wrap(n)]
ðhì⁵
yes
B: ‘Whereas a leaf loincloth [focus] had been put on (hyena woman)? (While)
hare woman (came and) put on a wrap?’
A: ‘Yes.’
[kà-sàrê (§15.3.5.7.2); past perfect (§10.3.1.2)]

(02:32) [è súglò-yò] má³ [kà = [Ø fè?è]] =ë
[Art hyena-woman] LpfvNeg [with [Art wrap(n)]] Q
[[è súglò-yò] tân bëé] yìé, ìfì,
[[Art hyena-woman] spirit all] leap.Pfv, wow!,
B: ‘Hyena woman didn’t have a wrap?’
A: ‘Hyena woman was shocked! Wow!’
[hyena woman was embarrassed that her junior had elegant clothing while she
didn’t; ‘not have’ (§11.5.1.1); < /tò⁶⁵ bëé/; collocation ‘X’s whole spirit leap’ = ‘X be
shocked’; ìfì expresses amazement]

(02:36) [è cò] glò [bó nì³]
[Art harm] exit(v).Pfv [3AnSg Loc]
[ë bòrd] sàrê²
[Art work(n)] descend.Pfv
A: ‘A misfortune came upon her!’
B: ‘The work (=drama) came down (=happened)!’
i.e. she was in shock, with no solution]
(02:38) dè→, [è [blí-kè]-yò] fó-gbèʔè,
Quot, [Art [hare]-woman] pass.Base-go.Hort,
[3n máʾn fó-gbèʔè] [bó wò lúʾn =āʾn],
[3AnSg IpfvNeg pass.Ipfv-go.Hort] [LogoSg Hort look.at.Ipfv Q],
A: ‘(Hyena woman) said, “hare woman, go ahead! Will you not go ahead, and I’ll watch?”’
[hortative gbèʔè (§10.4.2.1.1)]

(02:42) [è blí-kè] dè áy!,
[Art hare] say.Pfv oh!,
[kò-kò su→] máʾn = àʾn fó mɔ→,
[Rdp-day all] 2Sg Ipfv pass.Ipfv concerning,
kuʾňuʾn móʾn ñ = à-rè [nóʾn fó] tɛ,
today 2Sg InfIn come.Base-say.Base [1Sg pass.Base] Q,
A: ‘(Hare (woman) said, “oh! Every day you go (=have been going) ahead, (but) today you (come and) tell me to go ahead”’
[clause-final mɔ→, §19.1.4; < /móʾn à/; < /móʾn kɔ (b)à-dè/; contrastive setting topic (§19.1.1)]

(02:46) niʾ:n! nóʾn máʾn fić-pɔʾn =?,
unh-unh! 1Sg IpfvNeg pass.Pfv-able.Base Neg,
áy!, [móʾn tɔʾ= ] wɛʔè, [[móʾn tɔʾ= ] à fó]
no!, [2Sg Foc] grow.up.Pfv, [[2Sg Foc] Ipfv pass.Ipfv]
A: ‘(Hare woman:) “No, I will not be able to go ahead (of you). No, you [focus] are bigger (than me), you [focus] will go ahead!”’
[pɔʾn ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1) in future negative (§10.2.5.4); here and in the following segment there is some ambiguity as to which woman is speaking since they are arguing the same thing]

(02:49) dè áyí [bè ní-máʾn [ =àʾn níʾn]]
Quot no! [Dem.Def not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]]
nè [bó máʾn fić-pɔʾn =?],
Quot [LogoSg IpfvNeg pass.Pfv-able.Base Neg],
A: ‘(Hare woman:) “No! That doesn’t exist there (=isn’t appropriate). I will not be able to go ahead.’
[< /à ní dè/]

(02:51) áywà, [[è [blí-kè]-yò] [kè-tèʔè]-kè máʾn gɔ̀]
well, [[Art [hare]-woman] [hand]-matter IpfvNeg it.is]
[è [blí-kè]-yò] wò fɔ,
[Art [hare]-woman] InfIn pass.Base,
A: ‘Well, hare woman had no choice. Hare woman went ahead.’
3AnSg Infin remain.Base [turn.head.and.look.Prog Prog],
A: ‘She (=hare woman) kept turning her head to look back (at hyena woman).’
[dialectal, cf. kēn-ŋō ‘turn head and look (once)’; progressive with ‘remain’
(§10.2.4.1)]

[Infin turn.head.and.look.Base] [Infin turn.head.and.look.Base]
[ō kō yī?ī [gō rā-dā] = [O blāʔā ni]]
A: ‘She turned her head and looked, she turned her head and looked, until (she)
went and arrived at the pond.’
[Bi dialect kō rā- ‘and went and’ in doubled ‘go’ construction (§15.2.3.3.4)]

[Infin draw.water.Base [Art water]] [Infin return.Base],
A: ‘Then she (=hare woman) drew water and went back.’
[< /kō gō śūn kō klā] gbā/gō/gō ~ gū ‘draw (water, at a well)’, tonally distinct
from gbā/gō/gō ~ gū ‘hit’ or ‘tell (a tale)’]

[Infin do.again.Base-tie.Base-put.in.Base-stick.on.Base [[Art hip] Loc]] Q,
A: ‘Meanwhile, the wild animals that her (=hyena woman’s) husband was
collecting (by hunting), did she not take them and then tie them fast on her hips
(=waist)?’
[rhetorical negative question; sēn/sān/sēn ‘pick up, collect (one by one)’; kō-rāʔá
plural of kāʔá ‘meat’, hence ‘game animals’; tān-bō-wē-tāʔā quadruple verb
compound; tān- ‘do again’ (§10.3.2.2); cēʔé ‘hip’ (dialectally cīʔé)]

3AnSg PfvNeg take.Base Dem.Def
gō tān-bō-wē-tāʔā [O cēʔé ni] = ān,
[Infin do.again.Base-tie.Base-put.in.Base-stick.on.Base [[Art hip] Loc]] Q,
A: ‘Exactly! So, she gathered the bones and tied them on her hips.’
[‘bone’: singular kā-wūʔa; cō?! (§8.5.3.2.2)]
A: ‘It seemed to her that that [focus], that was (still) better than the one that was with hare woman.’

\[< /lù\textsuperscript{è}/; à\textsuperscript{è}dë\textsuperscript{è} ni fixed phrase meaning ‘in appearance, like, as though’ (§15.3.1.4), based on French on dirait; bèrè ‘still’ < Jula bèlè; dò added to PP (§6.2.4.1)\]

B: ‘Wow!’

A: ‘It was better than a leaf loincloth!’

B: ‘Yes, yes.’

\[{\dot{è}bè < Jula, cf. perhaps French eh bien!; final glottal (§3.2.1.9)}\]

A: ‘So, she came and—, she came and arrived (home).’

\[< /kō (b)à-da\textsuperscript{n}/\]

A: ‘After she took the water down from her head, she went and (went and) took— (or rather) untied the bones.’

\[\textit{somewhat broken, smooth out as kō rā-flō =} /\]

A: ‘Then she came and dumped it (=bones) on the husband’s head. Thud!’

\[\textit{onomatopoeia}\]
Then he (husband) let out a shout, "oh!"

The conflict came out (began).

B: 'The conflict came out.'

(She) said, "pick up your bones!"

'I don't have—"

(Hyena woman:) "That hare woman [focus] went and dressed up, and repeatedly dressed up. It (=this) isn’t beautifying."'

She (=hyena woman) kept looking at it (=hare woman). If she didn’t watch out, her waterjar would be (=was at risk of being) shattered.'

[i.e. the waterjar that hyena woman carried on her head might fall off and break; ‘remain’ plus progressive (§10.2.4.1); då variant of dè; counterfactual nà (§16.4.2) plus future bë]
áywà, [ê dɔ̃]—well, [Art man]—
[ê dɔ̃'] kō [[ɛ̃ ʊʔä̃] ciⁿ]
[Art pain] be [[3AnSg head] Loc]
A: ‘Well, the (hyena) husband—’
B: ‘His whole body was in pain.’

(composite postposition ūʔä̃ ciⁿ (§8.3.7.3))

[03:40]  [ê dɔ̃] [bó ŋäⁿ-pùⁿʔä̃ⁿ] =áⁿ kō =ā
[Art man] [3AnSg anger(n)] PfvNeg be.emitted.Base Q
[bó ŋä-njùⁿʔä̃ⁿ] klô
[3AnSg anger(n)] be.emitted.Pfv
A: ‘The husband, did he not become angry?’
B: ‘He became angry.’
[lit. ‘his anger was emitted’; Bi ŋäⁿ-pùⁿʔä̃ⁿ = other dialects ŋä-njùⁿʔä̃ⁿ] ‘anger (n), compare verb ŋä-nʔá̃ ‘redden’ and noun jù ‘eye(s)’ @ 03:37 above]

[03:42]  [nôⁿ dê] [ò bíé =r= ] à-mâⁿ [[]Ô kpâʔä-ñî] ñî,
[1Sg say.Pfv] [3Pl all even] be.Loc [[]Art be.poor-VblN] Loc],
môⁿ ñ-â glû [ä [bè pâr-ñî]]
2Sg Infin-Lpfv exit(v).Lpfv [with [Dem.Def dress.up-VblN]]
[Ô sê] bè tê,
[Art where?] Dem.Def Q,
A: ‘I said, everyone was in poverty. (So) where (=how) is it that you are coming out and dressing up?’
[< /bíé =r= à-mâⁿ/; < /môⁿ kō à glû kâ/]

(03:44) áywà, ŋó→, [ê dɔ̃] gö yiʔi-sîʔi,
well, look.Base, [Art man] Infin get.up.Base,
kò yiʔi [gô râ— -fê = [[]Ô blî-kê]
A: ‘Well, look, the (hyena) man got up then. He went and (went and) greeted hare.’
[< /kô râ/]

(03:48) áywà, ŋó→, [ê dɔ̃] gö yiʔi-sîʔi,
well, look.Base, [Art man] Infin get.up.Base,
kò yiʔi [gô râ— -fê = [[]Ô blî-kê]
A: ‘Well, look, the (hyena) man got up then. He went and (went and) greeted hare.’
[< /kô râ/]

(03:55) áywà, ŋⁿ fê = [[]Ô blî-kê], dê é!,
well, 3AnSg greet.Pfv [Art hare], Quot hey!,
dê à gö mlèⁿ-âⁿ bè tê,
Quot 3Inan be how? Dem.Def Q,
A: ‘Well, he (=hyena man) greeted hare. (He) said, “hey, how is it?”’
(04:01) á ðė = [Ø ëʔé jì] ní-māⁿ,
ah! Quot [Art thing Indef] not.be.Loc,
comme bó— bà bá = à léⁿ
like LogoSg— come.Pfv LogoSg Ipfv stop.Ipfv
[wò fē-sùʔ ð = rē→],
[Infin greet.Base-give.Base Emph],
A: ‘(Hare) said, “ah, there is nothing (wrong).” ‘(Hyena:) “Like, I have come, I
stop by to say hello.” ’
[< /bó à léⁿ/]

(04:05) á ðė nán̄ⁿ,
hey! Quot friend,
móⁿ yò bó dé] pārē = rē?,
[2Sg woman Top however] dress.up.Pfv Emph,
A: ‘(Hyena:) “hey, friend, your wife sure has dressed up!” ‘
[dé variant of subject-final dó (§19.3.8)]

(04:09) ðė móⁿ glō [à bè =] [Ø sē] tē,
Quot 2Sg exit.Prv [with Dem.Def] [Art where?] Q,
A: ‘(Hyena:) “Where did you bring that from?” ‘
[< /kà bè ē sē/]

(04:12) [è blí-kē] ðė á, n̄ⁿ = nēʔ
móⁿ, móⁿ bó, á!,
2Sg, 2Sg Top, ah!
N̄ⁿ = = àⁿ bú = n̄ⁿ [[Ø tōʔô jì] n̄ⁿ],
1Sg PfvNeg get.Base 3lnanObj [[Art place Indef] Loc],
A: ‘Hare said, “ah, look! You, you yourself, ah, I didn’t find it in any specific
place.” ‘
[< /n̄ⁿ = dēʔ!; < /n̄ⁿ á bú!; i.e. I stumbled onto it;]

(04:21) n̄ⁿ fē-gbē = n̄ né
1Sg seek.Pfv-take.Base 3lnanObj Foc.Inan
mó tōrēⁿ, [n̄ó dā =] á tōrēⁿ = ʔ
2Sg sit.Pfv, [1Sg however] PfvNeg sit.Base Neg
A: ‘(Hare:) “I looked for and got it.” ‘
B: ‘(Hare:) “you (just) sat, whereas I didn’t sit.’
[< = nī tē;/ < /n̄ó dé = á/]
A: ‘Uh-huh! What they will do (is), he (=hyena man) went, and took some butter, and stuffed it into his cheek (to puff it up).’

A: ‘One ball of butter was stuffed into his cheek.’

B: ‘(He) was groaning behind the wall.’

A: ‘(Hyena) came and said, “my cheek hurts.”’

(04:32) [è nùⁿ-ŋbàⁿ [n dèⁿʔèⁿ] nò fèⁿʔèⁿ-wē [Art oil-ball [Sg one] Infin be.pressed.Base-be.put.in.Base]

[3AnSgRefl cheek] [Loc]

[è blí-kè] [è súglò] [Art hare] [Art hyena]

3hùⁿ, kò bà-dè [bò ná-klùⁿʔùⁿ] = àⁿ dìⁿ

uh-huh, Infin come.Base-say.Base [LogoSg cheek] Ipfv hurt.Ipfv

A: ‘One ball of butter was stuffed into his cheek.’

B: ‘Hare (or) hyena?’

A: ‘Uh-huh. (Hyena) came and said, “my cheek hurts.”’

/nùⁿ-ŋbàⁿ dialectal for nù-ŋbàⁿ ‘butter-ball’; < à dìⁿ; verb jùⁿ/díⁿ ‘hurt, be in pain’ (< ‘be bitten’)]
I said (=decided) that I would come and lay down and you groaned, and your cheeks were pierced.
friend Dem.Def IpfvNeg be.hard.Ipfv Neg,
ò kō gbē→, [ē bā[r?]-‚], kō kō
3Pl Infin take.Base, [Art knife], Infin sharpen.Base
A: ‘(Hare:) “Friend, that isn’t difficult.” Then they took a knife, and sharpened it.’

(05:08) /kō kō/  
[Infin sharpen.Base]
dè  ķ nà [sɔ?]-pló-wē =nì
Quot LogoPl Fut [pierce.Base]-put.in.Base 3InanObj
ò nà sɔ?¬pló =nì
3Pl Fut pierce.Base 3InanObj
yé→  pà-pà
wow! (surprise)
B: ‘They sharpened it and they intended to stick it into it (=cheek) and pierce it.’
A: ‘They would pierce it.’
B: ‘Wow!’

(05:11) dè bon, [è ná-klù’ðó bó] mlà
Quot well, [Art cheek Top] swell.up.Pfv
[1Sg jab.Base-rip.Base 3InanObj [Art outside] Q] or
[ũ sɔ?¬ =ù [[Ø nì”] ñ] tê,
[1Sg jab.Base 3InanObj [[Art interior] Loc] Q,
A: ‘(Hare) said, “well, the cheek [topic] is swollen. Should I jab (=pierce) it from
the outside, or should I jab it from the inside?”’
/tà” or’ (§7.2.2); [< iè lì” nì” tê/]

(05:15) d=  r sɔ?¬ [[è lì”] nì”]
Quot 3AnSg jab.Base [[Art interior] Loc],
à bâ sɔ?¬ gbē
3AnSg if be.pierced.Base outside
[[Ø còr¬nì”] nà” gò tùũ” [bó dè],
[[Art fly(n)-Pl] CFact Hort bother.Base [LogoSg body],
A: ‘(Hyena) said, “Jab it from the inside! If it were pierced (from the outside),
flies would bother my body!”’
[nà” kò in consequent clause (§16.4.7)]

(05:19) ē!, jà→ [è lò?]-— jà→ [è lò?=”] à-mà [[Ø kē” nì]
[è lò?” =] à-mà
[Art trickery] be.Loc
B: ‘Oh! Trickery—there’s trickery in that business!’
A: ‘There’s trickery!’
(05:21) dè [Ø ná-klù”nù] mà sái gbé;
 Quot [Art cheek] if be.pierced outside,
 è cárè— [ē cárè-nì] nàŋ gō tùlù [bó dé]
 (hesitation)— [Art fly-Pl] CFact Infin bother.Base [LogoSg body]
 [ē cárè-nì] nà tùlù [bó dé]
 [Art fly-Pl] CFact bother.Base [LogoSg body]
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “If the cheek is pierced and (the point) is pulled out, flies would come and bother my body.”’
 B: ‘“Flies would bother my body.”’
 [sái-gbé ‘pierce and pull back out’; cárè-nì ‘flies’ (§4.1.2.5.1); nà(ŋ) kō in counterfactual (§16.4.7); B echoes A; normally the verb is Ji tèlè/hô/tùlù (Ji) versus invariant tùlù (Bi)]

(05:26) [ē blí-ké] gō gbé [bàŋ [kè-tè?è]-bù] [gō wè],
 [Art hare] Infin take.Base [3AnSg hand-digit] [Infin put.in.Base],
 A: ‘Then hare took his finger and put it in (hyena’s mouth).’

(05:29) dè bó nàŋ [fèn-fèn]-nàŋ = níŋ,
 Quot LogoSg Fut [press.Base-press.Base]-look.at.Base 3InanObj,
 kō sārə [wō—, ū sái],
 Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin—, (nasal) jab.Base],
 A: ‘He intended to push against it to test it. He proceeded to jab (it).’
 [< /fèn-fèn-nàŋ/; repair last part as kō sái]

(05:33) bá = á bù = [Ø ci-cé?é] = ?,
 3AnSg PfvNeg get.Base [Art intelligence] Neg,
 [[[Art [hand-digit] be.put.in.Pfv] situation] Loc]
 nánłaŋ gō dàp-a [Ø [kè-tè?è]-bù]
 friend Infin bite.Base-press.on.Base [Art [hand-digit]]
 A: ‘He (=hare) wasn’t intelligent. As soon as (hare’s) finger was put in, the friend (=hyena) bit and held the finger (in its teeth).’
 [< /bó á bù/]

(05:37) hày!
 oh.my!
 dè bè máŋ glò =?
 Quot Dem.Def IpfvNeg it.is Neg
 B: ‘Oh my!’
 A: ‘(He) said, “that isn’t it!”’
(05:39) [ē nū] glō
[Art oil] exit.Pfv
[ē nū”] ēnū di-glō
[Art butter] Infin be.removed.Base
[[ē nū] gō dī-glō] [[ē nā-kū?lā”] sārā”]
B: ‘The butter came out.’
A: ‘The butter was removed (=came out).’
B: ‘The butter was removed, and the cheek shrunk (back to normal position).’

(05:44) à→, dè
ah, Quot
mō nō glū [ā = [Ø fā-rē bē =] [Ø sē] tē, 2Sg exit.Pfv [with [Art wrap(n)-Pl Top.Inan] [Art where?] Q,
[nō dē] g-ā bí mō nō [1Sg however] Infin-Ipfv ask.Ipfv 2Sg
A: ‘(Hyena) said “ah, so from where did you bring the wraps? I ask you.”’
[< /glū kā; ‘exit with’ = ‘bring (out)’ or ‘bring from’]

(05:47) mō nō ò-dō-fē”nē nō tē, 2Sg PfvNeg speak.Ipfv-be.white.Ipfv 1Sg Q,
š”hā nō uh-huh
A: ‘(Hyena:) “You haven’t spoken clearly to me?”’
B: The hand [focus] remained now (in Hyena’s teeth).’
A: ‘Uh-huh!’
[‘hand’ is kē-tē?ē (Ji) versus kē-tē?ē (Bi)]

(05:49) fō ̄n dō [Ø rē] must 3AnSg speak.Base [Art talk(n)]
dē→, ē fā-rē = rē, [ē klō?jī] gò yá, Quot, Art wrap(n)-Pl even, [Art road Indef] be Dem.InanSg,
mō nō à nō gbli [bē tô?ō] klō?jī], 2Sg Ipfv take.Ipfv [[Dem.Def Foc] road],
B: ‘Un-huh, he (=hare) must speak.’
A: ‘(Hare) said, “(as for) the wraps, here’s a road. You (will) take this very
road.”’

(05:56) [k-ā yi?i] [Ø mā dā”n] [Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv] [2Sg if arrive.Base
[Ø mā dīè] [[[Ø sōrō?] lā”] nī”],
[2Sg if enter.Base [[[Art baobab shade] Loc],
A: ‘(Hare:) “You go, and when you arrive, when you go into the shade of the
baobab, …”’
(05:58) Ø ḋọ dè è
2SG InfInf say.Base oh!
d = [[ē sə̀rò?ò ā] lò] à dáⁿ = nèʔ,
Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Then you say, ‘ah, the shade of this baobab sure is nice!’ ”’
[< /ŋ kō dè/] 

(06:00) ṣⁿ dè
3AnSG say.Pfv
[[ē sə̀rò?ò] gō pēⁿ-dè,
[Art baobab] InfInf remain.Base-say.Base,
A: ‘He said, “the baobab continues saying…”’.
[< bó lóⁿ à ]

(06:02) Ø mā rè [[bó láⁿ =] =âⁿ dáⁿ,
2SG if if say.Pfv [[LogoSg shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
dè ē pièⁿ-ŋⁿ [bó biⁿ?êⁿ mè] tē,
Quot 2SG taste.Pfv [[LogoSg leaf Top.Inan] Q, A: ‘ “(Baobab will say:) ‘If you say that my shade is nice, have you tasted my leaves?’ ”’
[< /ŋ bà dè/: < /pièⁿ-ŋⁿ bó biⁿ?êⁿ bē tē/]

(06:05) à donc wō kùʔ= [Ø biⁿ?êⁿ] [wō sūʔ = ³ⁿ]
ah! so Infin pick.off.Base [Art leaf] [Infin give.Base Dat.3AnSG
[wō pāⁿ-ŋⁿ bē]
[Infin taste.Base Dem.Def]
A: ‘(Hare:) “So, (the baobab) will then pick off some leaves and give (them) to you, to taste that.”’

(06:07) dè Ø mā kóⁿ= [Ø biⁿ?êⁿ],
Quot 2SG if chew.Base [Art leaf],
ē kō dè á dè— [[ē sə̀ròʔ = ā] biⁿ?êⁿ]
2SG InfInf say.Base oh! Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] leaf]
à dáⁿ = dèʔ,
Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘(Hare:) “if you chew the leaves, you’ll say ‘this baobab’s leaves sure are tasty!’ ”’
[< /dè ē bà kóⁿ ē/]
A: ‘(Hare said, ) “You will say—, (the baobab will say:) ‘if you say that my leaves are tasty, have you tasted my fruits?’ ” ‘

B: ‘Whereas— the hand (of hare) was (still) in the mouth.’
A: ‘The hand, my old chap, —’
[i.e., the situation was heating up]

B: ‘Ah, but the hand was (still) in the mouth. How did he (=hyena) manage to say that?’
[ji ‘if’ here in a more abstract dubitative sense (§17.3)]

A: ‘He will—. If he (=hare) doesn’t say it—. Because if he doesn’t say it, he (=hyena) won’t release him.’
[future negative with māⁿ and Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)]

A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, so, it happened that way, then I got it.” ’
á donc, [3ⁿ mā dè [[bō bió] à dáⁿ]]

ah! so, [3AnSg if say.Base [[LogoSg children] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv]]

[3ⁿ mā sūʔē bē [3ⁿ móⁿ].

[3AnSg if give.Base Dem.Def [Dat 2Sg],

A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, so, when it (=baobab) says ‘my fruits are tasty’, (and) when it (=baobab) gives that (=fruits) to you, …” ’

[< /3ⁿ bà dē/]

(06:32) ḷ ngò dè— 0 mā dè— dè— dè— 2Sg Hort say.Base— 2Sg if say.Base— Quot— Quot— [è bió] à dáⁿ =nēʔ,

[Art children] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,

A: ‘(Hare:) “You should then say,— when you say that—, that—, ‘the fruits sure are tasty’ ’ ’

(06:35) dè [[jī-luʔû bó] dè móⁿ pièⁿ-ńₕⁿ bē tē,

Quot [rear-skin Top] Quot 2Sg taste.Pfv Dem.Def Q,

A: ‘(Hare:) “(Baobab will) say, ‘as for the bark, have you tasted that? ’ ”’

(06:37) á dè á [stⁿ à sūʔû bē [3ⁿ móⁿ] tē]

ah! Quot ah! [who? Ipfv give.Ipfv Dem.Def [Dat 2Sg] Q]

dē [3ⁿ wō kūʔē [bē ji]]

Quot [3AnSg Infin strip.off.Base [Dem.Def Indef]]

[wō sūʔē = = ŋⁿ],

[Infin give.Base Dat.3AnSg],

A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, who will give that to you? It will then strip off some of that (bark) and give it to you.” ’

[the first clause here is attributed to hare, but could also be read as addressed by the narrator to hyena; sūʔē = ŋⁿ contracted from sūʔû ʒⁿ yò, variant of sūʔû ʒⁿ (§4.3.2.3)]

(06:40) dè 0 mā pàⁿ-ńₕⁿ [cē jī-luʔû],

Quot 2Sg if taste.Base [Art rear-skin],

áywà, ḷ gō— dòn dē,

well, 2Sg Infin— speak.Base Quot,

ά d = à = 0 dáⁿ = nēʔ,

oh! Quot 3lnan Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,

A: ‘(Hare:) said, “when you have tasted the bark, well, you then say, ‘it sure is tasty!’ ” ’

[< /ị bà/; < /dē à à dáⁿ = dēʔ/]
A: ‘(Hare:) ‘(Baobab will say:) ‘If you say that my bark is tasty, have you tasted my insides?’ ’

[Art baobab] Infin open.Base [3Inan guts], A: ‘(Hyena) says, “oh, who will give that to me?” (Hare:) “the baobab then opens up its insides.” ’

(06:51) ó, [ē nàⁿbè?è] máⁿ glò = ā ah! [Art Bouki] IpfvNeg it.is Q
[ē nàbè?è] = yà ìè [Art hyena] it.is Emph
A: ‘Ah, is he not Bouki (the hyena)?’
B: ‘It certainly is Bouki.’
[ìè clause-final emphatic (§19.4.2)]

(06:55) bó nàⁿ-dàrâ = [Ø ó-ré], tîè = [Ø fiérá-bš], 3AnSg see.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base [Art thing-Pl], be.put.down.Pfv [Art finery], múfèⁿ] kō— various.things Infin— ē attention!
[Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj (repetitions)]
A: ‘He (=hyena) saw lots of things that were put down, finery, all sorts of things.’
B: ‘Oh, watch out!’
[fiérá-bš ‘finery’ < Jula féré-bš; múfèⁿ] < Jula ‘what is it?, i.e. various things]

(06:58) bó dè fiți])) 3AnSg say.Pfv (expression of delight)
[Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj (repetitions)]
A: ‘He (=hyena) said, “ooh-ooh-ooh, (to baobab) close it! close it! close it!”’
[quoted imperative; hyena plans to carry the whole tree to his home]

(07:00) ó, d = šø wá?d-tšø = nì oh! Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj
d = šø 5?š-tšø = nì
Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj
B: ‘Oh! “Close it!” ’
A: ‘ “Close it!” ’

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B: ‘He (=hyena) could not manage to take it (=finery) out.’
A: ‘Nope!’
B: ‘Oh!’

A: ‘If he doesn’t take it out, he will totally shit (=be screwed).’

A: ‘The baobab tree is coming to be carried.

A: ‘Having closed it up, (hyena) said, “baobab! If you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, get up and come sit on top of my head!” ’
(07:18) bó go yiʔi-diē= [Ø tá-tàʔâ] = ñë târë
LogoSg Infin go.Base-enter.Base [[Art open.space] Loc] (hyena)
ā piēⁿ [tà kútšrūj] só-ni] dâ-rë
3Inan remain.Pfv [[3Inan entirety] carry.on.head.Base-VblN] now
[ê sâròʔò] go yiʔi-fìʔì fuò→,
[Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base (sound),
A: ‘(Hyena:) “I will go into the open space in the courtyard.’
B: ‘It remained to carry the whole thing (on his head) now.’
A: ‘Then the baobab got up (=uprooted itself), fuo!’
kútšrū as noun (§6.6.1.3); verbal noun with object NP (§5.1.4); reference is to the female hyena’s courtyard, cf. @ 07:52]

(07:27) [ê ciŋⁿ]— [ê ciŋⁿ] nè ê→,
[Art bird]— [Art bird] say.Pfv oh!,
[kàràfârâ gbârë] [kàràfârâ gbârë] [kàràfârâ gbârë],
custody hard (repetitions)
A: ‘A bird said, “custody is serious! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’
kàràfârâ gbârë < Jula, lit. ‘something entrusted is hard (difficult)’; the bird is in the custody of the baobab and objects to the baobab’s sitting on hyena’s head]

(07:32) [ê sâròʔò] wò klá [wô târë‟],
[Art baobab] Infin return.Base [Infin sit.Base],
donc [dè-dë niⁿ]
so [now Loc]
ô mà glú [dâ-rë niⁿ] 3AnSg if exit(v).Ipfv [now Loc]
A: ‘Then the baobab went back and sat (in its original position). So now—’
B: ‘If he comes out now, …’

(07:36) ô nô cà-nöⁿ [ê ciŋⁿ]
3AnSg Infin look.up.at.Base [Art bird]
kò méⁿ-gbë = ñ] 3Infin throw.at.Base-take.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘He (=hyena) looked up at the bird and hit it (with a rock).’

(07:39) ô kò mé—
3AnSg Infin throw.at.Base—
ô nô méⁿ-kò— méⁿ-kô = [Ø ciŋⁿ],
3AnSg Infin throw.at.Base-kill.Base— (repetition) [Art bird],
B: ‘He then hit it—’
A: ‘He then hit and killed the bird (with a rock).’
(07:41) ŋ[n] mlëⁿ-kô = [Ø ciśⁿ],
3AnSg throw.at.Pfv-kill.Base [Art bird],
ŋ[n] kô kô?á [Ø ciśⁿ-bôrâ?á],
3AnSg Infin pluck.out.Base [Art bird-hair],
A: ‘Having hit and killed the bird, he plucked out the feathers.’
perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2)

(07:45) jí wô wê [Ø ciśⁿ] [[ŋ[n] júfá] ní],
if Infin put.in.Base [Art bird] [[3AnSgRefl pocket] Loc],
A: ‘Whereupon he put the bird in his pocket.’
jí plus infinitival VP (§15.2.1.2), cf. @ 10:14

(07:46) áywâ, dè [ē sàrò?ò] well, Quot [Art baobab]
jí Ø mà wô = [Ø [[náⁿ-dù-ŋ]-dáʔá]-sàrò?ò],
if 2Sg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
Ø ŋò yìlf-jìfì [w = à-tàrâⁿ]
2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
[[nó úⁿúⁿ] niⁿ] tàrè,
[[1Sg head] Loc]] (hyena),
A: ‘Well, (hyena) said “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, why
don’t you get up and come sit on my head?”’
formulaic segment now in direct quotation, compare indirect quotation @ 07:10 above

(07:52) nóⁿ wô yìfì [[bièbá tá-tàʔá] níⁿ] tàrè,
1Sg Infin go.Base [[B open.space] Loc] (hyena),
A: ‘(Hyena:) “I will go to the open space in Bieba’s courtyard in that way.’
Bieba is the name of the female hyena in tales, wife of Bouki

(07:54) [móⁿ dô] jàⁿ [á kà-rêⁿ-ʔëⁿ jàrâⁿ bié]
[2Sg however] see.Pfv [Inan many Rel all]
móⁿ nàⁿ sò [bi tòʔó bié] [kò yìfì]
2Sg Fut carry.on.head.Base [Dem.Def Foc all] [Infin go.Base]
A: ‘All the many (things) that you have seen (inside the baobab), you will carry all that [focus] on your head and go, and other people [topic] won’t want anything?’
narrator addresses hyena; < /kà-rêⁿ-ʔëⁿ jàrâⁿ/; bùò as animate plural topic marker (§19.1.2.1))
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(07:58) [è bórá] sàr₃ⁿ
[Art work(n)] descend.Pfv
[è sàrò?ò] kò yi?ú-jìí
[Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base
B: ‘The work (=drama) has come down.’
A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself).’
[‘the work has come down’, i.e., the die is cast for hyena]

(08:00) [è näbèi?è bò]
[Art Bouki Top]
[è sàrò?ò] yìïè-jìí ʃū→
[Art baobab] get.up.Pfv (sound)
B: ‘As for Bouki.’
A: ‘The baobab got up, ʃū! (sound)’

(08:02) [è ciisl wüō-kà?à] kò pëⁿ [[ʒⁿ júfá] niⁿ]
[Art bird die.Pfv-Ppl.An] Infin remain.Base [[3AnSg pocket] Loc]
[kàr̥àfàrá gbàré] [kàr̥àfàrá gbàré] [kàr̥àfàrá gbàré]
[custody hard] (repetitions)
A: ‘The dead bird remained in his pocket. (It cried out:) “Custody is serious! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’
[the dead bird is still vocalizing; animate singular participial -kà?à after Pfv verb stem (§4.5.4)]

(08:04) è, [è wüō-kà?à]
oh! [Art die.Pfv-Ppl.An]
ɔⁿhⁿ, ʒⁿ ʃò wëⁿ = ɔⁿ [wō kà],
uh-huh, 3AnSg Infin roast.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin devour.Base],
B: ‘Oh my! The dead one?’
A: ‘Yes. He (=hyena) then roasted it (=bird) and devoured (it).’
[< /ʒⁿ kò wëⁿ = ɔⁿ; birds are seared to burn off feathers before cooking; verb ɲèⁿ/wëⁿ/ɲũlⁿ ‘sear’ ]

(08:08) ɔⁿ ɲèⁿ = ɔⁿ [wō kà],
3AnSg roast.Pfv 3AnSgObj [Infin devour.Base],
[[ʒⁿ bàr̥à?à] wō pëⁿ ʃà] [3AnSg hair] Infin remain.Base there.Def]
[[è ml̥-ml̥ö] g-ā sò],
[[Art ants] Infin-lpfv carry.on.head.lpfv],
A: ‘After he roasted it and devoured it, the feathers were still there and ants came and were carrying them away.’
[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2); ml̥-ml̥ö ‘ants’, singular ml̥-ml̥̃ö in this dialect; elsewhere singular m̥-ml̥̃ö, plural m̥-ml̥̃ö]
A: 'He said, “I will take a look.” He stopped and said again …’
[< bó nàⁿ pàⁿ ; táⁿ- ‘do again’ initial in verb-verb compound]

A: '(Hyena:) “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, …”

B: 'Yes.'

A: 'The baobab got up.‘
B: ‘(It) came and got up again.’

A: ‘The baobab having gotten up, the bird’s feathers said “Custody is serious! Custody is serious!”’
[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2)]
(08:28) ñò ñò [ló-ŋò]-[ló-ŋò]
3AnSg Infin [Rdp]-[turn.Base-look.Base]
[gò [sāⁿ-gbè]-[sāⁿ-gbè] bë]
[gò wec [[Ø dâⁿâ'] ni₇]]
[Infin put.in.Base [[Art fire] Loc]]
A: ‘He kept turning around to look. He gathered that (=the feathers) up, and put (them) on the fire.’
[reduplication of entire compound verbs]

(08:31) kò ká-tărâⁿ [tâⁿ ṅ₇-dêⁿtèⁿ] ni
Infin do.again.Base-sit.Base [[place Sg-one] Loc]
jà→ [Ø mlò-mlô] sèⁿ-gbè [Ø jì]
lo! [Art ants] gather.pfv-pick.up.Base [Art something]
kò wè [[Ø tìʔè] ni₇]],
[Infin put.in.Base [[Art hole] Loc]],
B: ‘And (he) stayed in the same place.’
A: ‘Lo, the ants took gathered some (feathers) and put (them) in (their) hole.’
[kâ- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2)]

(08:35) jà→ [Ø bérâ] â-mâ
lo! [Art work(n)] be.Loc
ñò nò táⁿ-łèⁿ,
3AnSg Infin do.again.Base-stop.Base,
B: ‘There’s work (=trouble) there!’
A: ‘He (=hyena) stopped again.’
[tâⁿ- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3)]

(08:36) dè = [Ø sè̀ròʔò],
Quot [Art baobab],
jí Ø mà wò [Ø [[nàⁿ-dì-ð]-dâʔà]-sè̀ròʔò],
if 2Sg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
A: ‘(Hyena) said, “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time,’

(08:38) Ø nò yîʔ-ﬁʔi
2Sg Infin get.up.Base
[wà= à [[nòⁿ ūⁿʔèⁿ] ni₇]] târë,
[Infin come.Base [[1Sg head] Loc] (hyena),
nòⁿ wò yîʔ[[bièbà tá-tâʔà] ni₇] târë,
1Sg Infin go.Base [[B open.space] Loc] (hyena),
A: ‘(Hyena:) “Why don’t you get up and come (sit) on my head! I will go to the open space in Bieba’s courtyard.”’

[In this rapid-fire repetition of a formulaic phrase, the speaker omitted -tărâⁿ in wà = à-tărâⁿ, compare @ 08:17 above and elsewhere]
A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself). The bird feathers remained in the ant-hole, saying “custody is serious! Custody is serious!”’

B: ‘There are some (there)!’

[< č ji à-maⁿ; clause-final emphatic küé < Jula kóy]

A: ‘He went and (went and) removed that (=feathers in ant-hole) and put (it) in the fire.’

B: ‘Oh my!’

A: ‘It (=situation) has arrived now.’

B (overlapping): ‘It has arrived now. There is nobody (left) to give (=help …)’
[i.e. no custodians left to prevent the disaster]
(08:55) [è kā jì] màò dó rè
[Art creature Indef] IpfvNeg say.Base Quot
[kàràfàrà gbàrè] [kàràfàrà gbàrè],
[custody hard] (repetition)
è→ [kàràfàrà gbàrè] [kàràfàrà gbàrè] tàʔà-kó
oh! [custody hard] (repetition) again
A: ‘No creature will say “Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’
B (overlapping): ‘(to say) “… oh! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” any more.’
[< /má dè dè/]

(08:58) donc ʒ̀ gò lé", è sóròʔò,
so 3AnSg Infin stop.Base, Art baobab,
jí Ø mà wò [[[Ø nä-di-ʔ]-dáʔá]-sòròʔò],
if 2Sg if be [[[Art old.person-Pl]-time]-baobab],
Ø nò yìʔ-iʔìi [w = à-tərâ]
2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
[[nò uʔu" ni"i] tərɛ,
[[1Sg head] Loc ] (hyena),
A: ‘So, he (=hyena) stopped. “Baobab, If you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time,
why not get up and come sit on my head!” ’

(09:03) nóò nò rà-tərâ"n [bièbá tə-tàʔá] ni"i] tərɛ,
1Sg Hort go.Base-sit.Base [[B open.space] Loc ] (hyena),
A: ‘(Hyena:) “Let me go sit in the open space in Bieba’s courtyard.” ’

(09:05) ã nò rà-të
1Sg Hort go.Base-put.down.Base
[wò di-à-glò =ni"i[ [wò bó]
[Hort remove.Lpv 3Inan] [Hort tie.Lpv]
A: ‘Let me go and put down (the baobab) and take it (=finery) out and tie on (the
garments, on Bieba).’
[imperfective hortatives ‘remove’ and ‘tie’ (§10.4.2.1.2)]

(09:07) [kò bó], [à biè tɛ̀] kò yá təʔà-kó
[Hort tie.Lpv] [3Inan all Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg again
B: ‘And tie (them) on. That’s all (there is).’
[kò yá unclear on tape due to speaker overlap]
(09:09) [ē sə̀ròlò] wò yǐfì-fímì fù→,
[Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base (sound),
kō bá [w= à-à-[cór-à-pān] = w'n]
Infin come.Base [Infin come.Ipfv-Ipfv-[fall.heavily.on.Ipfv] 3AnSgObj]
A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself), fù→. It came and was landing heavily on him (=hyena).’
[córí ‘trash’ compounded with pān ‘press on’ (hyena was crushed under the weight), cf. 09:53 below; w= à-à- lenited from k= à-à- in imperfective doubled ‘come’ construction (§15.2.3.2.1)]

(09:13) [ē bļ-ķé] ā jù?= [ɔ̀ n jē]
[Art hare] Ipfv follow [3AnSg behind]
[w-ā dēn-dēn = w] = ā
[Infin-Ipfv stalk(v).Ipfv 3AnSgObj] Q
oui oui
yes yes
A: ‘Was hare following behind him (=hyena), to stalk him?’
B: ‘Yes.’
[< jùn/u/ ; dēn-dēn < Jula]

(09:16) [ē dē-wà-rēn] wò glú
[Art testicle-Pl] Infin exit(v).Base
[ē sūglò] dō-wà-rēn
[Art hyena] testicle-Pl
A: ‘The (two) testicles came out.’
B: ‘Hyena’s testicles.’
[dialectally dē- or dō-[wà-rēn] ‘testicles (individual)’, singular dō-wēn (contains wēn ‘egg’)]

(09:21) [ē dē-wàn-rēn] glô, ɔ̀n gō gbē bè,
[Art testicle-Pl] exit(v).Pfv, 3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base Dem.Def,
[ē bļ-ké] wò gbē bè [wò yfi? = [à rō]]
[Art hare] Infin pick.up.Base Dem.Def [Infin go.Base [with 3Inan]]
[kō yfi? = [à lō]]
[Infin go.Base [with 3Inan]]
A: ‘(After) the testicles came out, he (=hare) picked that (=the testicles) up. Hare picked that up and took it along.’
B: ‘And took it along.’
[à rō Bi dialect for (k)à lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’]
dè él, dè— [[è síglò-yò] bà?à],
Quot oh!, Quot— [[Art hyena-woman] Dat],
d = 3n— [3n dɔ], ḥ sàmâ = [Ø diè]—
Quot 3AnSg— [3AnSg man], (nasal) send.on.errand.Pfv [Art sauce]—
[[è diè jì] 3n],
[Art sauce Indef] Dat.3AnSg,
dè bò bà-sù? = 3n,
Quot LogoSg come.Base—give.Base Dat.3AnSg,
A: ‘(Hare) said to hyena’s wife, “oh, your husband sent (me) (to bring) sauce—,
some sauce (ingredients) to you. I have come to give (it) to you.”’
[[è diè ‘sauce’ or ‘fresh meat (for cooking)’]

(09:36) [è síglò-yò] wò sō [Ø jù?ò]
[Art hyena-woman] Infin receive.Base [Art testicles]
[kò tɔ] [wò kà],
[Infin cook.Base] [Infin devour.Base],
A: ‘The hyena’s wife accepted the testicles, and cooked (them) and ate (them).’
/ tɔ ‘cook (sauce)’, kà ‘eat (meat)’ ]

(09:39) kà-sàrɔ, [[mò dɔ] dɔ tɛ] = à
whereas [[2Sg man] Poss.Inan Foc.Inan] it.is
[[3n dɔ] jù?ò tɛ dà = ] = à glò,
[[3AnSg man] testicles Foc however] it.is it.is,
B: ‘And yet it belongs to your husband.’
A: ‘It was her husband’s testicles [focus].’
[B addresses female hyena; < /jù?ò tɛ dò = à glò/ with = à glò ‘it is’ after
focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5)]

(09:41) 3n = Ø k5n = à dò
3AnSg PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj Emph
3n = Ø k5n = nì
till
3AnSg PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj
A: ‘She didn’t know it at all.
B: ‘She didn’t know it.’

(09:43) sàrù—, fò [è dá?á jɔ-rɛ] bà-dàn
until, until [Art time Infin-Pl] come.Pfv-arrive.Base
[è dɔ] màn bè = ?,
[Art man] IpfvNeg come.Ipfv Neg,
A: ‘Eventually, some periods of time came (=passed). The husband wasn’t
coming (=hadn’t come).’
[sàrù— dialectal for fàrù— : imperfective negative in perfect negative sense]
(09:46) े, ³ⁿ’h³ⁿ, móⁿ nè
oh!, uh-huh, 2Sg say.Pfv
[nóⁿ d₃] ḥįʔè [Ø kírá] [³ⁿ móⁿ],
[1Sg man] give.Pfv [Art gift] [Dat 2Sg]
A: ‘(Hyena woman to hare:) “Oh, you said that my husband gave a gift to you (to deliver).”’

(09:48) nóⁿ wā = à-sō [bè bíé] [kò dī]
1Sg Infin come.Base-receive.Base [Dem.Def all] [Infin eat.Base]
[³ⁿ máⁿ nè =ʔ], à kō [mlèⁿ-áⁿ bè] tē,
[3AnSg IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv Neg], 3inan be [how? Top.Inan] Q,
A: ‘(Hyena woman:) “I (came and) received all that and ate (it), (but) he (=husband) is nowhere to be seen. What’s going on?”’
[бе common with content interrogatives (§13.2.3)]

(09:53) á, [è bί-kέ] dè, á, [móⁿ d₃],
oh!, [Art hare] say.Pfv, oh!, [2Sg man],
ē šàrò?ò =rē→, ď cōrē-kò [móⁿ d₃],
Art baobab Emph, (nasal) crush.Pfv-kill.Base [2Sg man],
A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah,” hare said, “ah, your husband, a baobab tree crushed your husband to death.”’
[cōr ‘thrash’ (cf. 09:09 above) compounded with kò ‘kill’]

(10:00) á, [[³ⁿ jùʔó-wò-rēⁿ nè] wò á]
oh!, [[3AnSg testicle-egg-Pl Foc] be Dem.InanSg]
[nóⁿ bà [Ø = à-sū?= [³ⁿ móⁿ]]
[1Sg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-give.Base [Dat 2Sg]]
ē, yá kłę = [Ø kę]
oh!, Dem.InanSg be.done.Pfv [Art matter]
A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, that is (=was) his testicles. I came and gave (that) to you.”’
B: ‘Oh, that is a (serious) matter!’
[< /jùʔó-wò-rēⁿ té/]}

(10:02) donc, [è yô] júá-d₃, [è d₃] ní-māⁿ =ʔ?
jùⁿ d₃-d₅r₅ [Ø fèʔè]
3AnSg lose.Pfv [Art wrap(n)]
A: ‘So, the (hyena) woman lost out. The husband was absent.’
B: ‘She lost out on the wrap(s).’
[júá-d₃ and d₃-d₅r₅ are dialectal variants]
(10:07) [ê kā-wā-rū jàrīⁿ] ʒōⁿ nā suʔ= ʒōⁿ
[Art bone-Pf Rel] ʒAnSg Past give.Base Dat.3AnSg
[ʒōⁿ ŋō bō] [ʒōⁿ gō lō-gbē bē]
[3AnSg Infin tie.Base] [3AnSg Infin gather.Base-take.Base Dem.Def]
[wō tī-tōⁿ [\[ʒōⁿ úⁿʔūⁿ]] nīⁿ]],
[Infin pour.Base [\[3AnSg head] Loc]],
A: ‘The bones that he (=hyena) had given to her, that she had tied on, that she had gathered up and dumped on her head, …’

(10:12) nīⁿ-nīⁿ móⁿ piēⁿ = [ō pāmlūⁿʔūⁿ]
Prsntv 2Sg remain.Pfv [Art naked]
mó piēⁿ = [ō pāmlūⁿʔūⁿ] dā- rè
2Sg remain.Pfv [Art naked] now
A: ‘There you stayed, naked.’
B: ‘You-Sg stayed naked now.’
[representative (§4.4.4.1, §4.4.4.3); A and B again “address” the protagonist]

(10:14) jī [è [bī-ke]-yò] gō pēⁿ [\[ō feʔē\] nīⁿ]
if [Art [hare]-woman] Infin remain.Base [\[Art wrap\] Loc]
A: ‘Meanwhile hare’s wife remained in wraps (=well-dressed).’
[jī plus infinitival clause (§15.2.1.2), cf. @ 07:45]

(10:17) ḥ būō jārīⁿ [bē niⁿ], [bi tōʔō] wō yā,
[1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Loc], [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.ÎnanSg,
[\[bi tōʔō\] =ā→] [ē kē],
[\[Dem.Def Foc\] it.is] [Art matter],
A: ‘What I got (=learned) in that (story), that [focus] is it. It’s that [focus], the matter (=content).’

(10:22) māⁿ nē [mā = ā— ḥ fâ-â-dōrā =
Proh say.Base [2Sg Ipfv— (nasal) seek.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.very.much.Ipfv
[ō kē kâ-rēⁿʔēⁿ]],
[Art matter many],
A: ‘Don’t say that you will look all over for lots of (other) things.’
[< /māⁿ dē mó ā,’-dōrā (§15.1.2.1.2); kâ-rēⁿʔēⁿ (§8.5.2.1.4)]

(10:25) [ē dūrjâⁿ] nīⁿ[, [ō mā ā-māⁿ māⁿ]
[Art world] Loc], [2Sg if be.Loc there.Def]
[ō nā = ā-kē = [ō kē] dôn-dôn-dôn-dôn,
A: ‘In this world, if you are there, do a thing gently.’
[< /h kô ā-kê ē kē; Jula dôn ‘a little’, here repeated as distributive adverb (§8.5.2.2.2)]

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A: ‘After you act in (such) a way, (you) will then succeed there.’

A: ‘Don’t say that you look at some person in that way!’

A: ‘God will truly give you your share too. But if you are in a hurry to come look for it, …’

A: ‘You keep saying that you will carry the whole thing on your head.’

A: ‘(Then) it would be carried like that.’

counterfactual consequent clause (§16.4.7)
that you won’t listen to the fellow if told you to control yourself, to control yourself say. Pfv
d [person [y]

oh! 3AnSg IpfvNeg see.Pfv 3InanObj

A: ‘At that time, you would come and see it there?’

B: ‘He won’t see it.’

[future negative (§7.2.5.4)]

(10:47) [ê sărò?ò] cărê mà =nè?, òhòšò,

[Art baobab] be.long.time.Pfv there.Def Emph, uh-huh,

donc be [Ø nàØ-bf] mà [kô nàtá],

so Dem.Def [Art person] IpfvNeg ought [Hort be greedy],

A: ‘The baobab lasted a long time (=was ancient). Uh-huh, so in that (situation) a person must not be greedy.’

[kà obligational (§7.4.3.3) ; nàtá < Jula]

(10:51) wàlà→, kô [yi-dà]-dárà, òhòšò

right!, Infin [cross.over.Base]-be.a.lot, uh-huh

A: ‘Right, (and must not) overstep too far. Uh-huh.’

(10:53) parce que bon ñ mà wò [[[Ø kê] klê] ni],

because well 2Sg if be [[[Art matter] do.Prog] Prog],

[yòò jàrò] tàrèn [dé mó jà miʔ-à],

[person Rel] sit.Pfv [say.Pfv 2Sg leave.Base Relf-2SgPoss],

dé mó jà miʔ-à,

say.Pfv 2Sg leave.Base Relf-2SgPoss,

B: ‘Because, well, if you are doing something, someone who has sat (there) has told you to control yourself, to control yourself.’

[< /mó jà miʔ-à/: i.e. a bystander tries to dissuade you from doing something dangerous, like the bird in the baobab; progressive with object preceding verb (§7.2.4)]

(10:58) [bò-wí fàrá] ã jùʔù [mó jìè] c’í,

[fellow too] Ipfv follow.Ipfv [2Sg behind] exactly,

jì mó dè [mó mà jùʔù [bò-wí bàʔà]]

if 2Sg say.Pfv [2Sg IpfvNeg hear.Base [fellow Dat]]

B: ‘The fellow furthermore is behind you (=trying to help you), indeed. If you say that you won’t listen to the fellow—’

[< /mó jìè c’í/; c’í §(8.5.3.2.2)]
A: ‘If he (=hyena) had listened to advice from the bird, then he would have gotten (=saved) himself.’

[counterfactual (§16.4.4); < /jì ñা de/ ; B overlaps with A but B is unclear on the recording]

A: ‘If a person is advising you in that (situation), you must listen to the fellow’s words.’

[progressive (§10.2.4)]

A: ‘Well, what was gotten (=learned), that [focus] is it. (In) the place where I picked it up (=began the tale), I have put it down.’

B: ‘Ah, Ouattara.’

[surname of speaker A]
Text 2017-09 Elephants

duration 08:54
(A) Ouattara Drisa (Biton quartier), narrator
(B) Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), respondent
(at about 05:45, Jean-Pierre takes over as main speaker with Drisa responding)

(00:02) [ē cɔ̀fɔ̀-fɛ̀] wɔ̀ yá,
[Art Tiefo-language] be Dem.Inan,
ō gà-bàʔà [kò— ń dò—],
1Pl want.it [Hort— (nasal) speak.Base—],
A: ‘This is Tiefo language. We want to speak—.’
[kà-bàʔà ‘want to VP’ construction (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1): preverbal nasal after interruption]

(00:06) [ē bɔ̀-rɔ̀ jɔ̀-rɔ̀] à-màⁿ [ē bàʔà] fàⁿʔāⁿ,
A: ‘There are some elephants in our area here.’
[jɔ̀-rɔ̀ animate plural indefinite (§4.4.2.3); < /à-màⁿ ō/]

(00:08) áywà, nòⁿ wò dàríśà [gò glú bicūō-lē],
well, 1Sg1 be D [Infin exit(v).Base Biton],
A: ‘Well, I am Drisa and (I) come from Biton (quartier).’

(00:12) [ē bɔ̀-rɔ̀] à-màⁿ [ē bàʔà] fàⁿʔāⁿ,
[Art elephant-Pl] be.Loc [1Pl chez] here,
ō gō [[Ø bàʔá] niⁿ]
3Pl be [[Art damage(v).Prog] Prog],
A: ‘We have elephants here. They are doing damage.’
[progressive (§10.2.4), verb bàʔa ‘misuse, damage’]

(00:16) ō bà-bà [kà jàrɔⁿ],
3Pl Rdp-come.Pfv [manner Rel],
ō gà-bàʔà [wò dò [bè tòʔō]],
1Pl want.it [Hort speak.Base [Dem.Def Foc]],
A: ‘The way they have kept coming, that [focus] is what we want to talk about.’

(00:18) [ò bíɛ] ō jùʔā māⁿ,
[3Pl all] Infin hear.Base there.Def,
A: ‘So that everybody may hear about there (=that place).’
[recording sounds like [èbíɛ] but tones exclude 1Pl reading]
[00:20] [ē bɔ̌ dè bá= ā bē, [Art elephant] say.Pfv LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv, 1Pl say.Pfv 1Pl Fut see.Base—,
A: ‘When the elephant said (=decided) to come, we decided to look at it.’
[< /bò à bē/ ; < /ō dè ó nāⁿ nāⁿ/>]

[00:24] i-yùò dè máⁿ jì = wò = ؟,
1Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg know.Ipfv 3PIObj Neg,
A: ‘We were unfamiliar with them.’
[jì ‘know’ (be acquainted/familiar with)]

[00:26] ó yìǐ-fǐǐ [wò jū?5 [ⁿ wē] = rē→],
1Pl get.up.Pfv [Infin hear.Base [3AnSg name] Emph].
A: ‘We grew up (to adulthood) and only then did we hear its (=elephant’s) name.’
[Bi dialect wē ‘name’ (other dialects: yì; emphatic = rē (§19.4.4))]

[00:28] [ē bɔ̌ [n dèⁿʔēⁿ] ō bā, [Art elephant] [Sg one] Infin come.Pfv,
[ē pēⁿʔēⁿ] [n dèⁿʔēⁿ],
[Art male(n)] [Sg one],
A: ‘One elephant came. One male.’
[‘one’ (§4.6.1.1); pēⁿʔēⁿ ‘male (animal)’]

[00:31] ⁿ nē máⁿ gbāʔā bē-yā = rē?,
3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg be.big.Ipfv thus Emph,
A: ‘It was not all that big.’
[< /ⁿ dē/ ; past morpheme with stative predicate for past time (§10.3.1.9)]

[00:33] ñⁿ nāⁿ= āⁿ pāⁿ = Ṽⁿ [dē [Ø bɔ̌] bā],
oh!, 1Sg Ipfv see.Ipfv 3AnSgObj [Quot [Art elephant] come.Pfv],
A: ‘Oh. I see that an elephant has come.’
[ř! exclamation marking beginning of quotation; quotes the thinking of an individual at the time; < /nāⁿ ò pāⁿ = ŋ/ (but virtually inaudible on recording)]

[00:35] ó bā jū?5 [ó bié] ó yī?ī
1Pl if hear.Base [1Pl all] Infin go.Base
[gō rā-pāⁿ = ŋⁿ],
[Infin go.Base-look.at.Base 3AnSgObj]],
A: ‘When we heard, all of us went there to look at it.’
[double ‘go’ construction with kō rā- (§15.2.3.3.4)]
(00:38) kō niŋ = ò bè-yá-ró
Infin see.Base 3AnSgObj thus
[wò глú [šn mĩʔâʊ]],
[Infin cause.to.exit.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl]],
A: ‘(We) saw it in that way (as) it brought itself out (=appeared).’
[reflexive object (§18.1.2); глú here transitivized from intransitive with no change
in form, distinct from lexical transitive глó]

(00:40) jà→ bó bà = [[Ō tɔʔ̩] jǔ̃-tɔʔ̩] niŋ],
lo! 3AnSg come.Pfv [[Art place] look.at.Pfv-place] Loc,
A: ‘Lo, it came in order to look at (=inspect) that place.’
[jà→ ‘lo!’ (§19.3.7); tɔʔ̩ niŋ(ŋ) purposive (§17.6.2.5); the first tɔʔ̩ ‘place’ is
direct object (preverbal in this purposive construction)]

(00:42) bó bà [gâ= â-ŋô] [c tɔʔ̩],
3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-look.at.Base [Art place]],
A: ‘It came to look at the place.’
[‘come and VP’ construction (§15.2.3.2.4)]

(00:46) [c dòs-ró] ó bà [gâ= â-blâ] = ò,
[Art hunter-Pl] Infin come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-lead.out.Base 3AnSgObj],
kō yîʔí [à jūî],
Infin go.Base [with 3An],
A: ‘Hunters came and (gently) evicted it, and took it away.’
[kà jūî ‘with him/her/it/them’ (animate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

(00:50) fô wô rà-[mèⁿ-tɔʔ̩],
itil Infin go.Base-[throw.out.Base],
kō bà-[mèⁿ-tɔʔ̩] [šn wò klâ],
[Infin come.Base-[throw.out.Base]] [3AnSg Infin return.Base],
A: ‘Until (they) went and forced (it) out. (They) came and forced (it) out, and it
went back.’
[fô ‘until’ (§8.3.10.2, §15.3.4.1)]

(00:53) ó blè = ò
3Pl force.out.Pfv 3AnSgObj
[kō yîʔí [gô rà-daⁿ fâ’nòlê]],
[Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base Fl]
A: ‘They (=hunters) evicted it. (They) got as far as Fandiora (village).’

(00:55) [[[Ō ñáⁿ-bí-ô] blè]
[[Art person-Pl] get.tired.Pfv]
[wò sëⁿ] [Ō-â dê],
[Infin lie.down.Base] [Infin-lpfv sleep.lpfv],
A: ‘The people (e.g. hunters) became weary, and lay down to sleep (at Fandiora).’
/<k-â dê/>
A: ‘The elephant came back (to Daramandugu) and showed up at night.’

A: ‘And (it) was coming out into Fawo’s field.’

A: ‘Some people said, “it is him (= the same elephant) [focus]” Some (others) said “it isn’t him!”’

A: ‘In fact, it is (was) that very same one.’

B: ‘It was the same one.’

A: ‘They weren’t two (different ones) after all! They (=elephants) came thus.’
A: ‘Ah! We came and saw it, then (we) left it there at the (government) forestry (office).’

[bà [kā = à...] ‘came and ...’ (§15.2.3.2.4), here interrupted; mān ‘there’ with appositional locational; Eaux et Forêts, government agency that manages hunting, fishing, and forests]

A: ‘They (=elephants) did not accept it (to go).’

[< /lē’ [à ni’]/ (§17.4.4.1)]

A: ‘They (=foresters) said that they don’t kill (the elephants).

[kù/kò/cù ‘hit, kill’ with k/c (§3.4.2.3)]

B: ‘They (=elephants) weren’t damaging it much— They weren’t damaging it much?’

[kā past; this ends up as a question, see the following segment]

B: ‘It (=one elephant) alone wasn’t doing much damage?’
A: ‘It alone? By itself it was better (=less damaging).’
B: ‘It was better.’

A: ‘It was like it (=elephant) was afraid. It—It had been reluctant to make itself that kind of thing (=destroyer).’

B: ‘Okay.’
A: ‘Uh-huh. But if it (=elephant) encountered a bull, …’
3Pl Infin say.Base Quot [Art bovine-male it.is]
dè bùò ná" nà-jùí [à juò],
Quot LogoPl Fut come.Base-fight(v).Base [with 3An],
A: ‘They (=cattle) would say (=think), “it’s a bull” thinking that they (=cattle) would have conflict with the thing (=elephant).’

[fúò third person animate pronominal after kà ‘with’ (§4.3.2.4)]

3Pl Infin carry.on.head.Base-pick.up.Base
gò më Î- gà?à [Ô cè?è],
Infin throw.Base-break.Base [Art hip],
A: ‘Ah, they (=elephants) would pick them (=cows) up and throw them down and break their hips.’

[cè?è dialectal for cifié]

A: ‘They (=cattle) would say (=think), “it’s a bull” thinking that they (=cattle) would have conflict with the thing (=elephant).’

[fúò third person animate pronominal after kà ‘with’ (§4.3.2.4)]

3Pl Infin say.Base Quot [Art bovine-male it.is]
dè bùò ná" nà-jùí [à juò],
Quot LogoPl Fut come.Base-fight(v).Base [with 3An],
A: ‘They (=cattle) would say (=think), “it’s a bull” thinking that they (=cattle) would have conflict with the thing (=elephant).’

[fúò third person animate pronominal after kà ‘with’ (§4.3.2.4)]
A: ‘You-Sg in whose field they may enter, oh no!’
B: ‘Action (=trouble) arose!’

[< /móⁿ jàrš/ (§14.1.9)]

A: ‘Action (=drama) has occurred! (Even) cashew trees won’t remain there!’
B: ‘Oil palms, (and) the borassus palm.

[diacritics diverge in term for ‘borassus palm’; plural -ní (§4.1.2.5); sàrò ‘oil palm’, not to be confused with sàròʔò ‘baobab tree’]
(02:09) [ò bìéʔ] fá-ìà → [3Pl all] you.know.it
    ó bìéʔ
3Pl all
ò diè fà"ʔàⁿ [é-yùò bàʔà]
3Pl enter.Pfv here [1Pl chez]
A: ‘All of them, you know.’
B: ‘All of them.’
A: ‘They came in here (to) our (zone).’
[fá-ìà < Jula]

(02:12) ó nàⁿ dò-pàn→, est-ce que [[mòⁿ bì-dà] dò]
1Pl Fut say.Base-be.able.Base, Q [[2Sg younger.sib] Poss.Inan]
dà = á gàʔà-klè = à→,
(lPfv)Past PfvNeg be.first.Base-be.done.Base Q, fà"ʔàⁿ
here
A: ‘We may say (=ask), had not your younger brother’s turn happened first?’
B: ‘Here?’
[B’s younger brother was one of the people attacked by elephants; < /bì-dà/; dà = á (§10.3.1.2) at (759)]

(02:16) […] [[ë jì] à-māⁿ [èⁿ nìⁿ] mò→]
(indistinct) [[Art life] be.Loc [3AnSg Loc] concerning]
dásì = [Ø bàj] kù = = ò
otherwise [Art elephant] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj
A: ‘… he had (long) life, …’
B: ‘Otherwise the elephant (would have) killed him.’
[mà→ at end of counterfactual conditional antecedent; < /kùò = ò/; dásì ‘otherwise’]

(02:19) èⁿ nè màⁿ wū = = à→
3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg die.Pfv Q
[Ø bàj] kù = = ò, ádámá
[Art elephant] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj, A
A: ‘Would he not have died?’
B: ‘The elephant (would have) killed him. Adama (man’s name).’
[< /wùò; < /kùò = (y)ò/; rhetorical question in the form of a negative counterfactual consequent with perfective future-in-past (§16.4.4)]
(02:20) mó, [ë bô] g-â— à lèⁿ [[móⁿ úⁿúⁿ] mîⁿ] 2Sg, [Art elephant] Infin-Ipfv— Ipfv stop.Ipfv [[2Sg head] Loc] jì māⁿ= à-māⁿ [bô cû?â-tâⁿ] mā=, if 2Sg be.Loc [3AnSg under] concerning, A: ‘You-Sg, (suppose) the elephant stops on top of you. If you are under it (=elephant), …’ [‘on the head of’ (§8.3.2.4); < /móⁿ à-māⁿ bó/: cû?â-tâⁿ ‘under’ (§8.3.8.2); mā= at end of conditional antecedent (§19.1.4)]

(02:24) móⁿ nâⁿ— móⁿ nâⁿ bú mîⁿ?-âⁿ mè-yá= =â 2Sg Fut— 2Sg Fut get.Base Refl-2SgPoss how? Q fô 3ⁿ gō klè [3ⁿ mîⁿ] [kâ wūô-kâʔà] until 3AnSg Infin do.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl] [like die.Pfv-Ppl.An] A: ‘How will you find (=save) yourself?’ B: ‘To the point that he made himself like a dead critter (=played dead).’ [2Sg reflexive (§18.1.2); ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1); animate singular participle (§4.2.3.1, §4.5.4)]


(02:30) bè [jîⁿ-jùʔó]-dô, Dem.Def [two-Ord]-Poss.Inan, bè wâ= à-klè [î-yûô bâʔà] mûsôkârî] Dem.Def Infin come.Base-be.done.Base [1Pl chez] M à klè 3Inan be.done.Pfv A: ‘The second one (=incident) of them, that one happened in our (zone) to Musokoro (a woman).’ B: ‘It happened.’ [ordinal (§4.6.2.2); -dô L-toned in discourse-definite partitive function (§6.2.4.3); < /bè kô (b)à- (parsing tentative)]
(02:34) nóⁿ kùⁿ jàrṣⁿ, bó yiʔè ārē
1Sg know.Pfv Rel, 3AnSg go.Pfv (her)self
[[ē [fù̀-tərū]-tòʔɔ́] nīⁿ],
[[Art [fish(n)-hunt.fish.Base]-place] Loc],
A: ‘What I know of (=have found out about). She went in order to hunt fish (in the water).’
[< /fù̀ tərū/; tòʔɔ́ nī purposive complement (§17.6.2.5)]

(02:38) é! ó dè [dúm-gâ-fâ]-kè
1PI Quot [be.sated]-matter
[bì tòʔɔ́] màⁿ glà= =ā,
[Dem.Def Foc] IpfvNeg it.is Q,
A: ‘Oh, what we have called self-sufficiency (in food), is it not like that?’
[< Jula dûmû kâ fâ ‘be full (after eating)’ (Tiefo-D dârî/đê/dê); < /màⁿ glà = ā/]

(02:40) /bè tòʔɔ́ =\] =ā, /bè tòʔɔ́ =\] =ā
[Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
[e nàⁿ-bìʔɔ́] wò cāⁿ [gò fò-já bó],
[Art person-PL] Infin disperse.Base [Infin pass.Base-leave.Base 3AnSg],
B: ‘It is! It is!’
A: ‘The people then dispersed (from the water) and left her (there).’

(02:42) bó gō pēⁿ
3AnSg Infin remain.Base
[gā sēⁿ [Ø fà-rj] màⁿ [ʒⁿ mîʔâⁿ]],
[Infin-Ipfv gather.Ipfv [Art fish-Pl] there.Def [3AnSg Refl Refl]],
A: ‘She stayed (behind) to gather fish-Pl there by herself.’

(02:45) bó bà [gā = ą-ɡbè-yiʔè
3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-pick.up.Base-lift.Base
[ʒⁿ uⁿʔûⁿ]], jì bó pàⁿ-dârā=, [ē blâʔâ] yîe-flô,
[3AnSgRefl head]], if 3AnSg see.Pfv-do.a.lot, [Art pond] be.full.Pfv,
A: ‘She then came and raised her head (out of the water). When she saw (that) the pond was full (of elephants),’
[-dârâ ‘be/do a lot’ (§15.1.2.1.2)]

(02:50) [ē yîʔè-təʔɔ́] Ø-mâⁿ [Ø sē] =ē,
[Art go.Pfv-place] be.Loc [Art where?] Q,
[ʒⁿ glô] [dè bà = ā jîⁿʔîⁿ dârỹⁿ→],
[3AnSg exit(v).Pfv] [Quot LogoSg Ipfv run.Ipfv only],
A: ‘(She thought:) “Where is the way out?” As soon as she got out (of the water)
intending to flee (from it),…”
[‘place’ compound (§5.1.7.3); < /dè bó à jîⁿʔîⁿ/; ‘only’ = ‘as soon as’
(§15.3.5.9)]

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(02:54)  [ē bɔ̌ wò tì'-gbɛ̊ = ɔ̀ ,
[Aŋ elephant] Infin pull.Base-pick.up 3AnSgObj,
Kö ̀kï-sūʔɔ̍ = ŋ
Infin heave.Base-give.Base 3AnSgObj
A: ‘The elephant pulled her and picked her up, and flung her away.’
[< Jula fili ‘heave, fling’; ‘give’ as final in verb compound (§15.1.6.2)]

(02:58)  é! ̄ā k bè̂, ̄á ḱè, ̄bõ, ̄nî-nî,
oh! 3Inan be.done.Pfv, well, Prsntv,
É ̄kò ̄dè —, ̄č ̄bè̂n-kà ̄ji,
1Pl Hort say.Base —, Art wild.animal Indef,
B: ‘Oh, it happened! Well, there it is! Let’s say —, it’s like some wild animals.’
[presentative (§4.4.4.1, §4.4.4.3)]

(03:01)  dè  ̄bù ̄dè  [̄d̄j ̄mà̂ ̄c̄jì̂,
Quot 3PI Quot [3PI IpvNeg be.killed.Ipv],
[̄d̄j̄d̄j] ̄wò  [kè̄jé ̄nî]
[3Pl however] be [ruin(v).Prog Prog]
B: ‘They say, they (=elephants) aren’t (=cannot be) killed. And yet they are
wreaking havoc.’
[fo in dè ò mà̂ is inaudible on the recording but seems to be syntactically
required; progressive construction (§10.2.4)]

(03:04)  kö̊ gbɛ̊ = ŋ [gò ̄rà-[mè̂m-tà̂n] = ɔ̀ ]
Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin go.Base-[throw.Base] 3AnSgObj]
[wò ̄d̄j-só̊],
[Infin make.fall.Base],
A: ‘(It) picked her up and proceeded to throw her down.’
[kö̊ rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); dí-só dialectal for dí-só]

(03:06)  ɔ̀ wò ̄yīfí ̄mà̂n,
3AnSg Infin go.Base there.Def,
Kò ̄rà-sùʔì̂ = ̄dò] Infin go.Base-catch.Base 3AnSgObj
A: ‘It (=elephant) went there, and caught her.’
[< /kò rà-sùʔì̂ = (y)b/]

(03:08)  3n̄ dó-dè-fè ̄nì̂n,
[3AnSg Poss.Inan-say.Pfv-talk(n)] Loc,
[[3n̄ sè̂m-[lò-càʔày] bò] [güná] nì̂n],
[[3AnSg lay.down.Pfv-[spread.out.on.back.Base] LogoSg situation] Loc,
A: ‘In her words, as soon as it (=elephant) put her down on her back.’
[dò-dè-fè (§5.1.13.2 at (466)); < /sè̂m-lò-; güná ni (§15.3.2)]
(03:12) kō gbē = [3ⁿ—, ʒⁿ gbè-gbè] 
Infin pick.up.Base [3AnSg—, 3AnSgRefl chest] 
[wō [t-i₅ⁿ]-dóra] [bó nǐⁿ] bè-yá-ró, 
[Infin [be.poured.Base]-do.a.lot] [3AnSg Loc] thus, 
A: ‘It (=elephant) picked up its chest (=torso) and then poured (dropped heavily) on her like that.’

[< -dóra (§15.1.2.1.2)]

(03:15) k-à tárú bó bè-yá-ró, 
Infin-Lpfv weigh.down.on.Lpfv 3AnSg thus, 
k-à tárú bó bè-yá-ró, 
Infin-Lpfv weigh.down.on.Lpfv 3AnSg thus, 
A: ‘It (=elephant) was weighing down on her like that. It was pressing down against her like that.’

[repetition of clause marks prolongation; tárú associated by assistants with Jula téréké ‘rub’]}

(03:18) [[ē klè-kà jî] ní-māⁿ = ] 
[[Art manner.of.doing Indef] not.be.Loc] 
[Ø néné-káré bifié] bàràⁿ, 
[Art breath all] be.blocked.Pfv, 
A: ‘There was nothing (for her) to do. Her entire breathing was blocked.’

[< Jula nínáκflí ‘breath (n)’; Jula báláⁿ ‘be blocked’]

(03:20) ʒⁿhⁿ mā-pí 
yes if.you.see 
B: ‘Yes. You see?’

[mā-pí (§19.5.2)]

(03:22) donc ʒⁿ = Ø tárú-tár = = ē bè-yá-ró 
so 3AnSg Lpfv Rdp-weigh.down.on.Lpfv 3AnSgObj thus 
ʒⁿ gō särđ 
3AnSg Infin proceed.to.Base 
[ō gbō = = ē [gō meⁿ-tōⁿ = ʒⁿ], 
[Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj] [Infin throw.Base 3AnSgObj], 
A: ‘So it was weighing down on her like that, before it picked (her) up and threw her.’

[tárú-tárú verb iteration (§9.5); kō särđ kō (§15.3.5.7.1) ; < /gbē = ō/]

(03:24) kō yiʔí [gō rà—, 
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base— 
[kpōrēⁿ-kpōrēⁿ]-nāⁿ = ʒⁿ], 
[turn.Base-turn.Base]-look.at.Base 3AnSgObj, 
A: ‘It went and examined her by swiveling its body to examine her (for signs of life).

[< /-nāⁿ = ō/]
(03:27) [³ⁿ fárá°] wó—, [ē jùʔé] wó tàⁿ-jùʔ5
[³AnSg too] Infin—, [Art God] Infin help.Base
[³ⁿ wò kú] [³ⁿ gùʔó],
[³AnSg Infin cut.Base] [³AnSgRefl breath],
A: ‘She too, God helped her to cut (=hold) her breath.’
[‘help X to VP’ (§17.4.2.3.1)]

(03:30) [ē bō] g-ā láⁿ
[Art elephant] Infin-Ipfv look.at.Ipfv
d = [³ⁿ dë”èⁿ n = ] [³ⁿ wūô],
Quot [looks.like Loc] [³AnSg die.Pfv],
A: ‘It seemed to the elephant that she had died.’
[fàⁿdë”èⁿ < French on dirait (§15.3.1.4)]

(03:32) ³ⁿ glò-já = ô,
3AnSg exit(v).Pfv-leave.Base 3AnSgObj,
kō rà-leⁿ klà-tôʔ5
Infin go.Base-stop.Base distant.place],
A: ‘It went away and left her. It stopped far away.’

(03:35) [ē jù] wiʔè dśnì,
[Art eye] open.Pfv a.little,
A: ‘The (=her) eyes opened a crack.’
[< /wiʔè dśnì/ with dśnì ’a little’ (§8.5.2.2.2)]

(03:37) é, ³ⁿ gò yìʔi-jìʔì
oh, 3AnSg Infin get.up.Base
[ō bá”bá [wō jî”nʔi”-dē [Ø blāʔá]],
[Infin manage.Base] [Infin run.Base-cross.Base [Art pond]],
A: ‘Oh! She got up, and managed to run across the pond.’
[bá”bá ’manage, find a way’ < Jula]

(03:40) ó bà, ³ⁿ bà [gâ = à-dàⁿ],
Infin come.Base, 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base],
Ø-â kó-â-sūʔü,
Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv-give.Ipfv,
A: ‘She came. When she arrived here, she was letting out a wail.’
[< /bà kō (b)â-dàⁿ; < /kō à kó-â-sūʔü/; ‘give’ as final in verb compound
(§15.1.6.2)]

(03:45) kó-â-sūʔü kó-â-sūʔü
náⁿ-bíó kō jùʔ5 [³ⁿ kóʔó],
person-Pl Infin hear.Base [³AnSg weeping(n)],
A: ‘Wailing and wailing. Then people heard her wailing.’
[durative iteration of imperfective clause, shortened from k-â kó-â-sūʔü (§15.2.2)]
03:47 kō bà [Ø = à-jũⁿ-dárá = ò]
Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base-do.a.lot 3AnSgObj]
pärëkëtë be-yá-ró,
wrecked
thus,
A: ‘(They) came and had a good look at her in bad shape.’
[-dárá (§15.1.2.1.2); pärëkëtë expressive adverbial (§8.5.8)]

03:50 dō báⁿbá [wō gbê = ò]
Infin manage.Base [Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj]
[wō dèmⁿ-dém = = òⁿ],
[Infin Rdp-do.a.little 3AnSgObj],
A: ‘(They) managed to pick her up and do what they could for her.’
[dèmⁿ-démô < Jula]

03:52 ō bà = [à jũô] dɔ̀tɔsò fĩⁿ?ṭô
Infin come.Base [with 3An] hospital here
ā klè
3Inan be.done.Pfv
A: ‘(They) came with (=brought) her to the medical center here.’
B: ‘It happened.’
[‘come with’ = ‘bring’; kà jũô (§4.3.2.4)]

03:54 áywà ò yĩfí
well Infin go.Base
[gō rã-glú [fĩ fànfrã—, ḫ -dɔ̀tɔsô]]
[Infin go.Base-exit(v).Base [until B, (nasal) hospital]]
ā klè
3Inan be.done.Pfv
A: ‘Well, (they) went all the way to Banfora hospital.’
B: ‘It happened.’
/kõ rã- : fũ ‘all the way to’; Banfora is the nearest large city; pre-resumption
nasal (§3.1.1.10)]

03:57 ë, pĩⁿ-niⁿ, ănăⁿ?ṭô-yũô
oh!, Prsntv, face-people
dè [ō bã kẽʔê [yũô jăr⁵ⁿ]]
Quot [3Pl if damage(v).Base [people Rel]]
ð wō tãⁿ-jũ⁵, 3Pl Infin help.Base,
A: ‘Oh! There it is! The authorities said that they would give assistance (to) any
people whom they (=elephants) harmed.’
[presentative (§4.4.4.1); object relative (§14.2.2)]
(04:00) [èèʔè jì] á bà-[tàⁿ]-jūʔ5 màⁿ nómántáìmA
A: ‘(But) nothing good came and helped there very much.’

[scope relationship of negation and indefinite (§6.6.4), also relevant to the following segment]

(04:02) [è, änàʔà-yùò kò kàṇn =nì]
[oh, face-people Infin know.Base 3InanObj]
mais d= Ø— d= Ø sūʔ5 [Ø èèʔè jì] =ā
but 3Pl PfvNeg— 3Pl PfvNeg give.Base [Art thing Indef] Q
B: ‘Oh! The authorities knew about it, and yet they didn’t give anything?’

(04:05) è→ à jìʔè = [Ø sē] =è
oh, 3Inan be.given.Pfv [Art where?] Q
A: ‘Oh! Where was it given?’
[rhetorical question; passive of ‘give’]

(04:06) [èèʔè jà=] á sūʔ5 màⁿ =nē?
[Art thing Indef] PfvNeg be.given.Base there.Def Emph
A: ‘Nothing was given, mind you!’
[< /èèʔè jì/ ; < /=dēʔ/]

(04:07) bùò dè d= dò mā kò =dò,
3Pl say.Pfv Quot 3Pl Proh kill.Base 3AnSgObj,
[3ⁿ dòj] mā kèʔè = [Ø kèʔè-nì]
[3AnSg however] if ruin(v).Base [Art ruin-VblN]
B: ‘They (=government) say that they (=people) musn’t kill it (=elephant)! (Even)
when they come and wreak havoc!’

[quoted prohibitive; dò ‘however’ (§19.3.8); verb with (rare) cognate verbal-noun object (§11.1.2.4)]

(04:10) dè móⁿ mā kò [n dèⁿʔèⁿ],
Quot 2Sg if kill.Base [Sg one],
ā klè [ká [móⁿ kùò [nàⁿ-bi̯-ò ʔ-rúⁿ] [yùo támuwû]]
3Inan be.done.Pfv [like [2Sg kill.Pfv [person-Pl head-Pl] [people ten]]
[yùó kplè-kâⁿ]
[people twenty-five]
A: ‘(They say:) If you-Sg kill one (elephant), it’s like (=the legal equivalent of)
you killed ten people.’
B (overlapping): ‘A hundred people!’
[< /móⁿ bà/; ‘heads’ as counting unit; yùo ‘person’ or ‘people’ as human
numeral classifier (§6.4.1); ‘twenty-five’ i.e. five twenties = ‘100’]
mò nth mà kò [n déⁿtèⁿ],
2sg if kill.base [sg one],
dè mó kùò [yuó kplè-kàⁿ]
quot 2sg kill.pfv [people twenty-five]
B: ‘If you kill one (elephant), (they say) that (it’s like) you killed a hundred
people!’

[è bš] [n déⁿtèⁿ]
[art elephant] [sg one]
[è náⁿ-bí-ó ś-rúⁿ] [yuó támwú ró] mó nth kùò
[art person-pl head-pl] [person ten foc] 2sg kill.pfv
mã-ní
if you see
A: ‘One elephant. It’s (like) ten people [focus] is what you killed.’
B: ‘You see?’
[fronted object np; ró focalizer < tôóó]

nóⁿ k-á sòⁿ
1sg infin-lpfv think.pfv
d = [ó =rè [yuó kplè-kàⁿ]]
quot [3pl say.pfv [people twenty-five]]
B: ‘I think they said a hundred people.’
< /dè ò dè/]

ãⁿʔãⁿ támwú, ū díʔẽ jórõⁿ,
nope! ten, 1sg hear.pfv rel,
donc ā jàⁿ bè-yá-ró,
so 3lnan be.seen.pfv thus,
A: ‘Nope! Ten, (that’s) what I heard. So, it was seen like that.’
[object relative (§14.2.2)]

[è bíf] wô ŋí =ò
[1pl all] infin see.base 3ansgobj
[wô já =w mãⁿ],
[infin leave.base 3ansgobj there.def],
A: ‘All of us saw it (=elephant) and left it (alone).’
[i.e. we didn’t kill any elephants]

[è jã-rô] wô diê [[Ø bláʔã niⁿ],
[art indef-anpl] infin enter.base [[art pond] loc],
kô fòⁿsé, kô wú mãⁿ,
infinf get.stuck.base, infin die.base there.def,
A: ‘Some (of them) went into the pond. (They) got stuck (in the mud), and died
there.’
< French enfonce]
(04:29) ò wō rà-dò bà-ré, é! [è nà’-bì], 3Pl Infìn go.Base-say.Base still, oh! [Art person], móⁿ mà màⁿ jì [Ø kē bè], 2Sg if lpfvNeg know.lpfv [Art matter Top.Inan], A: ‘They (=villagers) went and spoke about that. Oh! Anyone, if you (generic) aren’t familiar with a (certain) thing, …’ /kō rà without preceding motion verb; < /móⁿ bà/; jì ‘know, be familiar with’, imperfective negative conditional (§16.1.1.2))

(04:33) [ò gō bè =rē?] [3Pl be Dem.Def Emph] [gō yī?ī [gō rà-dò nàⁿʔàⁿ [ē —, è ófôré], [Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-say.Base speak.with [Art—, Art forestry] A: ‘They were like that. (They) went and spoke with the—, the forestry (service).’ /nâⁿʔàⁿ ‘(speak) with (someone) < Jula nī à yé ‘with him/her’, can be emended to Tiefô-D dò = nì kà ‘say it with’]

(04:36) dē móⁿ—, Quot 2Sg—, [³ⁿ mà = à-rè [móⁿ tóʔò kù = = ò] [3AnSg if come.Base-say.Base [[2Sg Foc] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj]] móⁿ nàⁿ glu [bè nìⁿ] = àⁿ, 2Sg Fut exit.Base [Dem.Def Loc] Q, A: ‘Say that you—. If he comes and says that it was you—[focus] who killed it, will you be able to get out of it?’ /< /₃ⁿ bā bà-đè;/ < /kùò = ò/; conditional]

(04:39) kò yī?ī-dò nàⁿʔàⁿ [Ø ófôré] nīⁿ] [wō bà], [Infin come.Base], A: ‘And (then) go speak with the forestry (service) (for them) to come,’

(04:44) [ò kó-ráʔa]— [ò kó-ráʔa-̣ nàrè] [3Pl tooth-Pl]— [3Pl tooth-Pl Dem.InanPl] [wò fó = [à rô], ć wô nîn bè, [Infin pass.Base [with 3Inan], 1Pl Infin see.Base Dem.Def,
A: ‘Their teeth (=tusks), those tusks of theirs, they came and took them away. We saw that.’
/ɲò-rè ‘these/those (inanimate)’ (§4.4.2.2); < /kô fó ̣/]

(04:48) ò bā diè [[[mọ́ nàr³] dè] nîn], 3Pl if enter.Base [[2Sg Rel] field] Loc],
áywa, [ë yâ ̣ ji] ò rà yiï-fïï [à nîn]],
well, [Art year Indef] 3Pl Past get.up.Base [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘If they (elephants) come into someone’s (=your) field. Well, one year they (=authorities) had come and gotten involved in that matter.’
/’you who’ (§14.1.9); abstract use of locative in dè nîn]

ò gò yiï fô →,
3Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base- (hesitation),
[i] sùâ dôn-dôni-̣ côfôrâ],
[nasal] give.Base a.little-Pl T],
A: ‘Those (people) into whose fields they (=elephants) entered, they (authorities) went and gave (the villagers) a little each in Tiefora.’
[can be smoothed out as kô râ-sūï; < /sûï dôn-; plural of ‘a little’; Tiefora is a town and administrative center on the Banfora-to-Gaoua road to the south of Daramandugu]

(04:58) [è bú] ká bú [bê yâ rè]
[Art money] Past be.gotten.Base [Dem.Def year Emph]
B: ‘Money had been gotten that year!’
[past morpheme ká (Ji dialect, §10.3.1.1)]

(05:00) [è bú] râ bú = dê?
A: ‘Money had been gotten (indeed)!
[past allomorph râ (Bi dialect, §10.3.1.1)]

(05:01) [è bú] ká bú bè—
[Art money] Past be.gotten.Base Dem.Def—
B: ‘Money had been gotten that—!’
A: [overlapping] ‘Some (people) had gotten a million (CFA francs) and then some!’

[< /jɔ̰-rɔ̰/; ‘with a behind’ adds a small amount to the quantity, cf. English a million and change or a million odd, local French un million et la poussière ]

A: ‘(Saying) that, when that report-making was past, making the report (cost) five thousand (currency units).’

[verbal noun with incorporated object; kɔ̀ reduced from Jula nǐkɔ̀ ‘after’; equal to 25000 CFA francs, about fifty US dollars in 2017; ‘thousand(s)’ (§4.6.1.4)]
A: ‘If you-Sg get (=make a profit) there, that’s what it is, (or) if you didn’t get (=make a profit) there.’

[wí jàrɔ̃] bà [[Ọ constat klè] tɔ́ʔɔ̃ ni̞ò̞]]
[bò-wf] bū [3n transport] kò-kɔ̀]
[fellow get.Pfv [3AnSgRefl fare] firstly]

A: ‘Whoever came in order to make the report, the fellow at least got his transportation (cost).’
[correlative construction with nonspecific indefinite referent (§14.1.10)]

[parce que] ó bà [[gà= a-bû= [Ọ bú]]]
because 3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-get.Base [Art money]]
d = rê = O sùʔɔ̃ [Ọ ji] [3n bûò],

Quot 3Pl PfvNeg give.Base [Art something] [Dat 3Pl],
A: ‘Because they (=such villagers) came and got some money. (It was said,) they didn’t give them anything.’
[dative 5n (§8.1.2)]

[wàlà, donc] [[ë bò-rà] kòńàⁿ]—
[voilà, so [Art elephant-Pl] affair]
A: ‘There. So, the matter of the elephants—.’
[kòńà ‘matter, affair, case’ < Jula kò-ńá ‘matter-face’]
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(05:32) [ŋ̀ ma—, ŋ̀ ma =à-yi?i] 3Pl fut come.Base [Infin come.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj] 3Pl fut come.Base [Infin come.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj] Emph A: ‘If you-Sg go, they will definitely come and look at it.’ [<∕ŋ̀ bā (b)à-i; <∕kō à-ŋ5;∕ kè (§19.4.5)]

(05:35) jì [mo5 to5] bā =à— (-k5) if [2Sg Foc] if come.Base— (-know.Base) [dè mo5 nā5 le5-p5 [à rō]] [Quot 2Sg Fut stop.Base-be.able.Base [with 3Inan]] A: ‘If you [focus] know that you can afford it (fee),’ [lightly broken, -k5 audible; lit. “you can stop with that”]

(05:37) est-ce que [ë nā5-bi-ô]— Q [ARt person-Pl]— [â jì5 =rê] glô = [Ø nā5-bi-ô] nî5] [3Inan desire(n) even] exit(v).Pfv [[Art person-Pl] Loc] [Ø kā j =] à le5 [à rō] tà?à-kô =ā [Art creature Indef] Ipfv stop.Ipfv [with 3Inan] again Q A: ‘Do the people—. Even the desire for it (i.e., to go) has dwindled among the people. Is a creature (=person) able to afford it any more?’ [â =rê ’even’ (§19.1.6); <glô è nā5-bi-ô; <nî5 è kā jì à; à rō (Bi ‘with it/their (inanimate), in other dialects kà lô (§4.3.2.4); tà?à-kô ‘again’ here ‘any longer, any more’ (§10.3.2.2), cf. tà?à just below]

(05:40)  él!, [ë këʔè-ní bó = rë] dărē-dărâ
    oh!, [Art ruin(v)-VblN Top even] be.many.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base
    [à mán sărə-k₃-p₃n dò],
    [3Inan IpfvNeg be.paid.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Emph],
    A: ‘Oh! The damage [topic] has become great. It can’t be fully paid for."
    {rë ‘even’ (§19.1.6) combined with topic marking (§19.1.2.1); dărē-dărâ
    (§15.1.2.1.2); -k₃ ‘finish’ (§15.1.3.6); -p₃n ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1); dò (§19.4.2)}

(05:42)  bò-wí nî-mâⁿ,
    fellow not.be.Loc,
    á! [bè nîⁿ] nò bū bìr₃p [bì tòʔó] = yà
    ah! [Dem.Def Loc] 1Sg get.Pfv Rel] [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
    A: ‘There is nobody (who will pay that). Ah, in that (matter), what I have found
    (=remembered), that [focus] is it.’
    [fronted adverbial phrase; object relative; ‘it is}

(05:45)  non, dărēsâ, nî-ŋ-ká dò = [Ø jì] [mò bàʔâ],
    no, D, if.I.may say.Base/Ipfv [Art Indef] [2Sg Dat],
    à pū₃-kâ, nò k₃n [Ø jì]
    3Inan look.at-manner, 1Sg know [Art something]
    [[b₃— ŋ bà-kà] nî],
    [[elephant— (nasal) come.Pfv-manner] Loc],
    B: ‘No, Drisa (name). If I (may) say something to you, apparently, I know
    something about the way the elephant came.’
    [B takes over the main speaking role at this point; nî-ŋ-kà < Jula (‘if I’); < /dò ŋ
    jì mò/]}

(05:53)  ŋ dîʔè, nó, nó Jean-Pierre,
    2Sg hear.Pfv, 1Sg, 1Sg JP
    nó à dò = [Ø jì] [à nî],
    1Sg Ipfv say.Ipfv [Art something] [3Inan Loc],
    B: ‘Did you hear? I, I Jean-Pierre, I will say something about it.’
    [uptake check ‘did you hear?’ (§19.5.2)]

(05:59)  ò→, [ò nà-dî-ﮊ] dè = [Ø jì],
    ah!, [1Pl old.man-Pl] speak.Pfv [Art something],
    parce que mó— má = à dò dè =
    because 2Sg— 2Sg PfvNeg say.Base Quot
    [Ø b₃ [n dëŋˈpëy'] tòʔó] kà bà [[wàtì jì] nî]
    B: ‘Ah, our old men (=our elders) said something. Because did you not say that it
    was one single elephant [focus] that had come, at a certain time?’
    [wàtì ‘time’ < Jula (< Arabic)]
A: ‘It was a single one [focus] that had come.’
B: ‘When you saw they were abundant.’

A: ‘It was a single one [focus] that had come.’
B: ‘When you saw they were abundant.’

B: '(They) said, (in) a place, in a certain village, a famine had come in there.’

B: 'A famine came into a village. There was no food to be gotten, there was no food to be seen.'

B: 'So the villagers, they went, they went to the place of a certain man. Lo, that man knew magic, transformation magic.'
(06:32)  í
    oh!
    wálà→
right!

3AnSg  Infin  turn.Base  [Art  elephant]
A: ‘Oh!’
B: ‘Right!’
A: ‘Then he turned into an elephant!’
[‘change’ can be taken here as intransitive (middle), or as transitive with unspecified object]

(06:35)  d = 3^n  sù?ʒ,  [3^n  yúό]  go  yíʔi,
Quot  3AnSg  send.Base,  [3AnSg.Refl  people]  Infin  go.Base,
donc  3AnSg  send.Base—
so  3AnSg  send.Base—,
B: ‘(He) told him (village chief) “send your people to go. So, send (them)—
B: ‘... transform them (=villagers) into elephant(s), to go look for food, ...” ’
[3AnSg representing original addressee]

(06:37)  3^n  ló—  buò=  [Ø  bɔʃ],
3AnSg  turn.Base—  3Pl  [Art  elephant],
ò  kò  yíʔi  [k =  ó-fa=  [Ø  di-èʔeı]],
B: ‘... transform them (=villagers) into elephant(s), to go look for food, ...
[there is some ambiguity as to whether the magician or the village chief is speaking; two or three syllables after ló- are indistinct; yíʔi k = ó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

(06:42)  k = 3^n  â-súʔ=  [Ø,  [ò  bì-sišo]],
dè =  [Ø  làʔa]  wò  [bùò  nì],
Quot  [Art  hunger(n)]  be  [3Pl  Loc]
dè =  [Ø  làʔa]  go  [bùò  nì],
Quot  [Art  hunger(n)]  be  [3Pl  Loc],
B: ‘... and come and give (it) to the children.”’
A: ‘(He) said: “they are starving.”’
B: ‘(He) said: “they are starving.”’
[lit. “hunger is in them” (§11.1.1.6)]

(06:47)  donc,  mā-ɲi  [[ɔ̄  piɛ]  ni]  [[à  wàtî]  ni],
so,  if.you.see  [[3Pl  foot.Pl]  Loc]  [[3Inan  time]  Loc],
ê  décalé
Art  type.of.shoe
B: ‘So, you see, on their feet (=tracks) at that time, (they resembled) décalé shoes.’
[plural of piɛ⁵⁷ ‘foot’; décalé is a durable modern shoe type in slipper-like shape]
mā-jir’u [ò tī-tā-rà] if.you.see [[3Pl shoe-Pl] mó nà dè [Ø décalé-[tī-tā-rà]-jì] = yà 2Sg Fut say.Base [[Art type.of.shoe-shoe-Pl]-track] it.is, A: ‘If you saw their shoes (=footprints), you’d say that they were footprints of décalé shoes.’

[i.e., ‘they looked like ...’; ‘shoe’ (singular) is dialectally tī-tāà (Bi, Ma), tē-tāà (Ji, see just below), or ṣī-tāà (Fl), in each case with regular rhotic plurals]

non, [cē tē-tā-rà] á pì =?, no, [Art shoe-Pl] PfvNeg see.Base Neg, [cē tē-tā-rà jā-rē] à-m = [ō bā?à] [Art shoe-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc [3Pl Dat] B: ‘No, no shoes were seen. (But) they had some (kinds of) shoes.’

< /à-mā ᵃ bā?à/}

(3Pl) go.Pfv Infin—, 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-do.Base

[[Ø kē’] go, ṣū sū? [Ø sū’]],
[[Art fellow] Infin, (nasal) give.Base [Art medication]],

B: ‘So, that happened in that way. He went and—. He went and had the fellow (=magician) give the magic potion.’

[dé variant of subject-final dō : kā = á- ‘go and ...’ (§15.2.3.3.2); periphrastic causative with klè ‘do, make’ §17.4.2.5.1]

(3Pl) Inf base, Inf base—

kō yīlī [[[cē [dī-ēʔ]-tē-tāà]] ni] Inf go.Base [[Art [food]-seek.Pfv-place]] Loc

B: ‘Then they went in. (They) went—, they went in order to look for food.’ [purposive clause, §17.6.2.5]

(3Pl) Inf if go.Base— -get.Base [Art food],

B: ‘Well, they will—. (He) said, if they go and find food,’

[ā- ‘go’ as first member of verb-verb compound in conditional (§16.1.1.6.2); dī-ēʔ (§4.2.3.2)]
B: ‘Then they would go and give some (food, to the children), and go back and be transformed—take the potion, and be transformed.’

A [overlapping]: ‘To transform themselves back (into their original human selves).’

[\text{Infin return.Base Infin turn.Base—give.Base [Art medicine—Art something]}]

B: ‘They (= people transformed into elephants) remained in that place going about their business, while they were (getting ready) to come back.’

[\text{säⁿ-tié indicating a time lapse, said to be < Jula sání döné (§15.3.5.8); ínjà?á ‘thing, matter, business’ (vague term)}]

A: ‘They (eventually) came back, only to see (=find) that the magician had passed (away). The magician had died.’

[\text{some speaker overlap in this segment}]

(07:12) \text{bùò kà = á-sūʔ5 [Ø ji]}  
\text{3Pl Infin go.Base-give.Base [Art something]}  
[kò klá [kò ló—sō [Ø sū”]],  
[Infin return.Base [Infin turn.Base—receive.Base [Art medicine]],  
kò klá [kò ló]  
Infin return.Base [Infin turn.Base]  
kò klá [kò ló [ò mĩ”ʔá”]],  
Infin return.Base [Infin turn.Base [PlRefl Refl]],  
B: ‘Then they would go and give some (food, to the children), and go back and be transformed—, take the potion, and be transformed.’

A [overlapping]: ‘To transform themselves back (into their original human selves).’

[\text{kà = á- ‘(§15.2.3.3.2); reflexive mĩ”ʔá” (§18.1.2)}]

(07:16) \text{kò sūʔ5 [Ø sūⁿ-wí-sàrà]}  
\text{Infin give.Base [Art medication-owner-price]}  
kò klá  
Infin return.Base  
kò peⁿ = [[Ø ná-bóríýá kè] ní],  
[Infin remain.Base [[Art humans matter] Loc],  
A: ‘And be given the price of the potion.’

B: ‘And return to the human state.’

[< /sūⁿ-wí-/; sàrà ‘price’ < Jula, cf. Tiefo mû]

(07:20) \text{ò kà = á-peⁿ [bè tàʔ5]}  
\text{3Pl Infin go.Base-remain.Base [Dem.Def place]}  
[ínjà?á ní]  
[Infin come.Base-see.Base [Art medicine-owner—medicine-owner]]  
[business Loc]  
[when 3Pl Fut return.Base-come.Base],  
B: ‘They (= people transformed into elephants) remained in that place going about their business, while they were (getting ready) to come back.’

[\text{säⁿ-tié indicating a time lapse, said to be < Jula sání döné (§15.3.5.8); ínjà?á ‘thing, matter, business’ (vague term)}]

(07:23) \text{bùò klē}  
\text{3Pl return.Pfv}  
[g = á-níⁿ [Ø sūⁿ-wí] ñi],  
[Infin come.Base-see.Base [Art medicine-owner—pass.Pfv]],  
[ë sūⁿ-wí] wūō  
[Art medicine-owner die.Pfv

A: ‘They (eventually) came back, only to see (=find) that the magician had passed (away). The magician had died.’

[\text{some speaker overlap in this segment}]

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The magician had died.

(07:30) donc ó dôrô-bà

B: ‘The magician had died. (So) how will they remain (as elephants)?’
A: ‘So they became many.’

B: ‘They became many. Look! They remained like that.’
A: ‘There was no other manner (=option) left.’
B: ‘There was no other manner (=option) left.’

[‘manner’ compound (§5.1.7.2)]

B: ‘They remained like that, they became abundant, they went on reproducing, they went on reproducing.

[passage beginning here and through 07:40 below is rapidly spoken and difficult to transcribe; Lpfv à-yîřî functions adverbially in the sense ‘continuously, more and more’]

B: ‘(They) became more numerous, they went on being seen. The forestry officials came and saw (the elephants).’

[kà ñà-dórhô-dôrhô] —
[è Eaux-Forêt-yôô kà = à-nî]
[Art forestry-people Infin come.Base-see.Base]
B: ‘(They) became more numerous, they went on being seen. The forestry officials came and saw (the elephants).’

[kà = à-nî ‘come see’ might be misheard for kà = à-nî ‘go see’ here and just below]
(07:40)  
\[dē \ ō \ kā = \ ą-tiēⁿ = ŋ]\]  
[Quot  3Pl  Infin  come.Base-heat(v).Base  3InanObj]  
\[ō \ kā = \ ā-nī]\]  
[3Pl  Infin  go.Base-see.Base]  
dē  āyì  dē  [bùò  jùō]  má  kò  biē?,  
Quot no! Quot [3Pl  possession.An] Neg be all,  
B: ‘They (=villagers) put the pressure on (the foresters). They came and saw (them). (They) said, “no, not everything is theirs (=elephants).”’  
[i.e. the government forestry officials determined that some of the elephants were not real elephants; jùō default animate possessum invariant for number ($§6.2.4.2$);]  

(07:45)  
dē  [bùò  té]  = ō  [(Ø)  kùòⁿ-yùò],  
Quot [3Pl  precisely]  be  [Art  know.Pfv-people],  
[bùò  té]  kùòⁿ-yùò  nà  = wò  
[3Pl  precisely]  know.Pfv-people  see.Pfv  3Plobj  
dē  [bùò  jùō]  máⁿ  gò  biē?  
Quot [3Pl  Poss.An]  Neg  be  all  
dē  [bùò  jùō]  má  kò  biē?,  
Quot [3Pl  Poss.An]  Neg  be  all,  
A: ‘Precisely they [focus] are the ones who know (=experts). They [focus], the knowers, saw them. (They) said “not everything is theirs (=elephants).”’  
B: ‘“Not everything is theirs (=elephants”).’’  
[té ‘precisely’ ($§13.1.1$); -yùò agentive plural ($§4.2.2$)]  

(07:50)  
bùò  jùō  kō—  
(false start)  
bùò  ā  jī  jàrō,  bùò,  
3Plo  Ipfv  know.Ipfv  Rel.AnPl,  3Pl  
jàrō  glō,  [[[ē  pōʔō]  liⁿ]  nī],  
Rel.AnPl  exit(v).Pfv,  [[[Art  the.bush]  interior]  Loc],  
bù  =  ā  jī  bùò,  
3Plo  Ipfv  know.Ipfv  3Pl,  
B: ‘The ones (=elephants) that they know, they who have gone out into the bush, they know them (elephants).’  

(07:54)  
[bùò  dē]  ā  sūʔś  [Ø  kłòʔō]  
[3Pl  however]  PfvNeg  give.Base  [Art  road]  
d=  ō  wò  căū  = wò  
Quot  3Pl  Hort  kill.Ipfv  3Plobj  
ₙí-ní,  
Prsntv,  
A: ‘But they (=foresters) didn’t give the authorization for them (=villagers) to kill them (=elephants).’  
B: ‘There it is!’
mais à wō pē” bē-kā,
but 3Inan Infín remain.Base thus,
ō dōrē-dōrē dē-rē
3Pl be.many.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base now
B: ‘But it stayed like that. They (=elephants) have become very abundant now.’

[è ú”ú”] mà jī tà?à-kō
[Art head] IpfvNeg be.known.Ipfv again
mā-ni
you-see
B: ‘The reason (for that) is still unknown.’
A: ‘You see?’

donc ō fiē-dōrā bē-kā,
so 3Pl give.birth.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base thus,
bon ō gblē-dōrā = [Ø klō’ô]
well 3Pl take.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base [Art road]
ō gblē = niⁿ = nē?
3Pl take.Pfv 3InanObj Emph
B: ‘So, they reproduced over and over like that. Well, they took (=occupied) all the paths.’
A: ‘They sure did take it!’
[< / = niⁿ = dē’ô/]

[bê kē’hē-nî] kô yā
[Dem.Def ruin(v)-VblN] be Dem.InanSg
à mà dô
3Inan IpfvNeg be.said.Ipfv
jōrⁿ à-māⁿ [à niⁿ]
Rel be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
B: ‘That is the damage. It isn’t (=can’t be) said (=described).’
A: ‘What(=ever) is in it.’

[ō = Ø-mā ] [tā’h ĵārⁿ] [ō = Ø-mā mā],
[1Pl be.Loc [place Rel]] [1Pl be.Loc there.Def],
ō kānà kē’hē-kē-dōrē = [Ø miē]
ō kō gbē = [Ø nāⁿ-bī-ô]
3Pl Infín take.Base [Art person.Pl]
B: ‘The place (=situation) where we are, we are there. May they (=elephants) not completely ruin (all of) us!’
A: ‘They have taken people—’
[< /ō à-mā/: kānà said to be from Jula (§10.4.2.4); miē 1Pl (§4.3.1.4)]
(08:13) ò má já [Ø sámá-kláʔà],
3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv [Art maize],
do má já, [è ná-bí jór"ámá],
3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv, [Art person very.good],
do má já [bè ëʔè], [bè ëʔè] ní-má,
3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv [Dem.Def thing], [Dem.Def thing] not.be.Loc,
B: ‘They don’t leave maize alone. They don’t leave a human being alone. That thing (which) they don’t leave alone, that thing does not exist.’
[sámá-kláʔà dialectal for súmá-kláʔà ; correlative with implied but covert relative marking (§14.1.10)]

(08:18) [è ná-bíó = rë] cèʔè,
[Art person.Pl even] fear(v).Pfv,
[è yé-nì [ò mìla] dà-rè,
[Art walk.Base-VblN] [PIRefl Refl] now,
kò yé mìla dà-rè ní-má,
Infin walk.Base Refl now not.be.Loc,
[ò kò glú uʔà]
[thus 3Pl if come.Base] [3Pl Infin exit(v).Base together]
B: ‘People are even afraid. There is no walking alone (in the bush) now. When they come in that situation, they (will) leave together (in a group).’

(08:24) [è nàsèrâ-kèn èrë] nà = ò,
[Art white.person-man even] see.Pfv 3AnSgObj,
do nà = ò [bè k₃]
1Pl see.Pfv 3AnSgObj [Dem.Def day]
wálà→
right!
A: ‘Even the white man saw it (=elephant). We saw it that day (=a few days ago).’
B: ‘Right!’
[-kèn] compound final (§5.1.6.8); the ‘white man’ is the linguist Heath; èrë ‘even’ (§19.1.6)]

(08:27) [è dë] ña = à [fìn-ŋ-àn-klâ =
[Art last.year] 3AnSg IpfvPast Ipfv run.Ipfv-Ipfv-return.Ipfv
[[Ø blâʔà-tiʔè] nì'"]
[[Art pond-hole] Loc]
A: ‘Last year he was hurrying back from the wetland.’
[< /ʒn dë à/]
(08:29) ɲò ð bà,  
look.Base 3Pl come.Pfv,  
[ɲò ð glò] [ò būo-kà],  
[look.Base 3Pl exit.Pfv] [3Pl be.gotten.Pfv-manner],  
B: ‘Look (how) they (=elephants) came, look (how) they emerged, how they came to be.’  
[ɲò in presentative (i.e. highlighting) function (§4.4.4.1); -kà ‘manner’ compound (§5.1.7.2)]

(08:32) nó dī rè jàr5n, [[è nà-dì-ð jà-rð] nù?] nì,  
1Sg hear.Pfv Rel, [[Art old.person-Pl Indef-AnPl] mouth] Loc],  
[ò būo-kà ò m] = yà mlèn,  
[3Pl be.gotten.Pfv-manner Foc.Inan] it.is like that,  
B: ‘What I heard from the mouth(s) of certain old people, the way they (=elephants) came to be is like that.’

(08:35) ð būo-kà— mò nà ɲò = [ò dàrð],  
3Pl be.gotten-manner— 2Sg if see.Base [3Pl be.many.Pfv],  
[ò dà-rð-kà] kà = á, wàlà—  
[3Pl be.many.Pfv-manner] be Dem.Inan, right!  
B: ‘The way they came to be, if you Sg see that they (=elephants) are abundant, that is the way they became abundant. Right!’  
[< /mà ɲì ò/; < /kø (y)à/]

(08:39) donc comme ð būo jàr5n  
so like 1Pl get.Pfv Rel  
ð-yùò būo jàr5n  
1Pl get.Pfv Rel  
A: ‘So, like, what we found, —’  
B: ‘What we found,’

(08:43) comme [è jà-rð] à-mà mà  
as [Art Indef-AnPl] be.Loc there.Def  
wàlà— right!  
ð nà sùñ?nà = nì —, jò = ð nà—  
1Pl Fut give.Base-look.Base 3InanObj—, if 3Pl Fut—  
ð kò kà dò-nà = [Ø ji]  
3Pl Hort Sbjn speak.Base-look.Base [Art something]  
ð kò kà nò = [Ø ji]  
3Pl Hort ought speak.Base [Art something]  
B: ‘As there are some (other people) present.’  
A: ‘Right!’  
B: ‘We will turn it over, in case they will—, so they may try to say something.’  
A: ‘So they may say something.’  
[i.e. other speakers waiting to be recorded; subjunctive modal kà ‘should’]
(08:47)  wálà →,  ji [ē  ji]  kùš́ = [Ø  ji]  [à  ní]
right,  if  [Art  someone]  know.Pfv  [Art  something]  [3Inan  Loc]
ð=  Ø  fā  [bè  tó?]  1Pl  Ipfv  seek.Ipfv  [Dem.Def  Foc]
B: ‘Right. If someone else has learned something about it.’
A: ‘… that [focus] is what we are looking for.’
Text 2017-10  Male circumcision

duration: 07:12
A: Ouattara Drisa (Biton quartier), main speaker
B: Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), respondent

(00:02) [álà kùʔàŋ] [è çɛf-sè =rè] =à,
[even today] [Art Tiefo-language even] it.is,
àywà, dè [kè jàrɔ́ŋ] fi = [è bàʔà],
well, Quot [matter Rel] pass.Pfv [1Pl chez],
A: ‘Even (=again) today, it is (still) Tiefo language. Well, talking about the
ting(s) that have passed (=ceased to occur) in our area.’
[álà ‘even’ (§19.1.7); =rè (§19.1.6); kè ‘thing (abstract), matter’; < /fiē é bàʔà/]

(00:08) énàfɔ́ [[[i-yùò nàŋ-dè-ɔ́] nàŋ klè—
anyway [[[1Pl elder-Pl] PastHabit do.Ipfv—
nàŋ lãŋ [[è dɔ̀-ʁà] kè-tɛʔɛ]] sìnà] nîŋ],
PastHabit wash.Ipfv [[Art man-Pl] hand]] situation] Loc],
A: ‘The way our elders used to do—used to circumcise men (=boys).’
[fènàfɔ́ < Jula ‘you will say’; plural of nàŋ-dè ‘elder (n)’; past habitual nàŋ("
(§10.2.2.3); ‘wash X’s hands’ = ‘circumcise X’ (making X ritually clean)]

(00:12) [[bè tòʔɔ́] fè] màŋ glò = [ò = Ø fà] =à
[[Dem.Def Foc] talk(n)] IpfvNeg it.is [3Pl Ipfv seek.Ipfv] Q
[[bè tòʔɔ́] fè] =à
[[Dem.Def Foc] talk(n)] it.is
A: ‘Isn’t talk about that [focus] what they (=linguists) are looking for?’
B: ‘It’s talk about that [focus].’

(00:15) [è [kè-tɛʔɛ]-làŋ-ní bò] rà gà
[Art [hand]-wash.Base-VblN Top] Past be
[(Ø) támw-à = [Ø jɔ́ŋ] nîu] =nèʔ
[Art ten [Pl two] Loc]] Emph
à kònì
3Inan be.thus
A: ‘Circumcision, it was (done) by twelves (=everybody).’
B: ‘It was like that.’
[tàmw-à = jɔ́ŋ ‘twelve’ (§4.6.1.3), dialectally tåm m = [ò jɔ́ŋ] ; “twelve (out of
twelve)”, i.e. one hundred percent; < /nîu = dèʔ/; gà for expected gö ‘be’ (< kô)]
(00:18) *et puis* ò bà râ— ò bà râ rè  
and.then 3Pl if Past— 3Pl if Past say.Base  
[ò nà"  klè = nì"],  
[3Pl Fut do.Base 3InanObj],  
A: ‘And then, if they, (elders) had told them, (=boys) to do it, …’  
[bà râ in counterfactual (§16.4.5)]

(00:21) i→,  [è dà-ró] wè?è = rê?,  
ah!,  [Art man-Pl] grow.up.Pfv Emph,  
kō  kòŋ-dō-kòŋ  
Infin Rdp-become.robust.Base  
A: ‘The boys grew up and became robust.’

(00:24) kòŋ-dō-kòŋ  jò-ɾəmáá,  
Rdp-become.robust.Base well(adv),  
[kō wè-dé =] [Ø yò-fër-rù-ní]  
[Infin be.put.Base-be.sated.Base [Art woman-marry.Base-VblN]  
B: ‘Became really full-grown, and were ripe to marry a woman.’  
[wè-dé ‘be well-placed’ here ‘be ready (for marriage)’; fër-rù < Jula]

(00:27) wàlñày,  ò gò  sàrò  [gò sùʔú]  
by.God, 3Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin catch.Base]  
[wò rà- ám  klè = nì"],  
[Infin go.Base- (hesitation) -do.Base 3InanObj],  
A: ‘By God, they proceeded to take (them) and went to do it.’

(00:30) *mais comme*  [dè-dè dó],  
but as [now Poss.Inan],  
[bè df"] ñā = [à mf"á"]],  
[Dem.Def manner] be 3Inan apart],  
A: ‘But nowadays, the manner of (doing) that has become different.’  
[dè-dè dó ‘nowadays’; < /df" kò å": mf"á” ‘oneself; different’ (§18.1.2)]

(00:33) ò bà  [gà = ánì"]  
3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base  
[ò gò já bè mã”]],  
[3Pl Infin leave.Base Dem.Def there]],  
A: ‘They (=elders) came and saw that they abandoned that (custom).’
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(00:53) ò bà yfî'[bà' râ-dâ'n mā']
3Pl if go.Base [if go.Base-arrive.Base there.Def]
ò kô gbî = wô,
3Pl Infín pick.up.Base 3PlObj
A: ‘When they went and arrived there (=in the bush), they took them.’
[double conditional antecedent with ‘go’ (§16.1.1.6.2)]

(00:57) [ë là'dâ] mān glo = ā,
[Art custom] IpfvNeg it.is Q,
[jèrò gō [sîná ni’],
[Rel.AnPl be [situation Loc],
A: ‘Is that not the custom? The ones who are in a role.’

(1:01) [è jî-yûò] à-mâ’n, [è ún-dî-ò] à-mâ’n, ē—
[ë lè-kà-rò] à-mâ
[Art citizen-Pl] be.Loc
[ë lè-kà-rò] à-mâ’n,
[Art citizen-Pl] be.Loc,
A: ‘The fetishists are there. The village chiefs are there. Tbe—’
B: ‘The ordinary citizens are there.’
A: ‘The ordinary citizens are there.’
[fîjì ‘fetish, animist idol’; singular lè-kô?ò ~ lè-kò ‘ordinary citizen, commoner,
underling’ (helps carry out chief’s instructions)]

(01:06) donc ò = Ø gbîi = ŋ bè-yá-ró,
so 3Pl Ipfv pick.up.Ipfv 3INanObj thus,
[jèrò dî?è] [jè-ró jîê],
[Rel.AnPl follow.Pfv] [Rel.AnPl behind],
A: ‘So, they begin it like that. Some followed after others.’

(01:10) ò wô gbî 3Pl Infin pick.up.Base
[wô fô [ànà”yâ’n ni’] bè-yá-ró, à’nhâ’n→
[Infin pass.Base [face Loc] thus, unhuh
A: ‘They start going ahead like that.’

(01:13) nó gà-bàʔà [ö bî mój,
1Sg want.it [Hort ask.Base 2Sg],
[fîl tîʔò [O sà’] jèrò] mó liē mî→,
[Art place [Pl three] Rel] 2Sg call.Pfv concerning,
B: ‘I want to ask you, regarding the three places (=roles) that you mentioned, …’
[< /tîʔò d sâ’/; mî→ (§19.1.4)]
Regarding the village chief, the fetishists, and the ordinary citizens.'

B: 'Which category (of people)? Who used to lie down first?'

A: 'The ones who (used to) lie down first. I say, it was the fetishists [focus] who lay down first.'

A: 'If I have not indeed forgotten, in our zone, the ones who went forward (first),...

'topic marker (§19.1.2.3.1)'

A: 'Uh-huh! It wasn’t those fetishists (animist practitioners). It was rather the ordinary citizens [focus] who went ahead (first).'

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Text 2017-10

(01:41) [ê úⁿ-dîⁿ] kò sèrò
[Art village-chief] Infin proceed.to.Base
[wò wè [3ⁿ júHôtel]], bó kò jùỊ,3
[Infin put.in.Base [3AnSg Poss.An]], 3AnSg Infin follow.Base,
A: ‘The village chief then proceeds to put in his (people). He follows.’
[jùọ default possessum (animate) (§6.2.4.2)]

(01:45) wàlà→, à klè tâ→, [ê úⁿ-dîⁿ] bó mâ→,
voilà, 3Inan be.done.Pfv like, [Art village-chief] 3AnSg concerning,
bó—, toujours bó—, [ê jìʔè-yùʔo] à-mâ nuances à nî,3
3AnSg —, always 3AnSg —, [Art be.sent.Pfv-Agent.Pl] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘There you are. It’s like, the village chief, concerning him, he—, (his)
emissaries are there.’
[singular jìʔè-nâ(') ‘emissary, one who is sent to do something’ (§4.2.2); à-mâ(‘) à nî(‘) ‘in it; therein’ (§4.4.3.1)]

(01:53) bà [ú gò ṣùʔ5—],
come.Pfv [1Sg Infin send.Base—],
bà [ú gò ṣùʔ5 =mì”] mâ→,
come.Pfv [1Sg Infin send.Base 2SgObj] concerning,
A: ‘ “Come so that I (may) send—, Come so that I (may) send you!” ’
[imperative with following different-subject chain; mâ→ ‘concerning’ sets up a
following clause (§19.1.4)]

(01:55) est-ce que bó—, bà = à
Q 3AnSg —, 3AnSg Ipfv
gàʔà g-à—, kè-klè [3ⁿ dó] =à,
be.first.Ipfv Infin-Ipfv—, ruin.Ipfv [3AnSg Poss.Inan] Q,
A: ‘Does he (=chief) ruin his thing first?’
[< /bó à/]

(01:58) donc [ê náⁿ-di-å] nàⁿ já
so [Art elder-Pl] PastHabit leave.Ipfv
[wò fô bè-yà-rô],
[Infin pass.Base thus],
A: ‘So the elders used to let (it) go past (=be done) like that.’
[past habitual nàⁿ plus imperfective (§10.2.2.3)]

(02:01) ô bà glú,
3Pl if exit(v).Base,
[[[à dè gblè] sînà] nîⁿ],
[[[3Inan IpfvPast pick.up.Pfv] situation] Loc],
A: ‘When they came out, once they had begun (it), …’
(02:04)  [ò bà— [yí-jí]-bà-r =
[3Pl if— get.up.Base]-come.Base-say.Base
ò = Ø é,
3Pl Ipfv walk.Ipfv,
A: ‘When they get up and come say that they will walk,’
[< /yí-jí]-bà-dé;/ < /d à é;/ ñé/é ‘walk’ (Bi dialect) with optional w onset, in other dialects with initial y (§3.1.1.2)]

(02:07)  [bò tò?ó wí] à fó [änâ''àn ní'],
[3AnSg Foc owner] Ipfv pass.Ipfv [face Loc],
[ò tò] wò jù?é,
[3Pl other] Infin follow.Base,
A: ‘It’s he [focus] who goes ahead. The others then follow.’
[focalized form of bò-wí ‘the fellow’ (recently introduced discourse referent), with bó treated as focalized possessor (§13.1.3.4); ò tò ‘the others’ (§18.5.2.2) here denoting the ordinary citizens]

(02:10)  ná''blá dè mâ' [à ní],
leader IpfvPast be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
donc bò bá fó [änâ'' àn ní'],
so 3AnSg if pass.Base [face Loc]
[ò wò jù?é],
[3Pl Infin follow.Base],
A: ‘There was a leader there (among them). So, when he went ahead, then they followed.’
[ná''blá < Jula ná-blá lit. “face-put,” cf. Tiefo-D änâ'à-nà ‘leader, one in front’]

(02:13)  ò wò jù?á bè-yá-ró
3Pl Infin follow.Base thus
A: ‘They followed like that.’

(02:16)  bè gò fó, nó gà-bà?á—
Dem.Def Infin pass.Base, 1Sg want.it—,
[fe dič-tó?] ní mş→,
[[Art eat.Pfv-place] Loc] concerning,
B: ‘After that, I want (to ask)—at the eating place, …’
[-tó?ó compound (§5.1.7.3)]

(02:19)  [ě di-è?é] bá bà,
[Art food] if come.Pfv,
when 3Pl go.Pfv [Infin go.Base— -wash.Base [3AnSg hand]],
B: ‘When the food came, when they went to wash his hand, …’
kátó ‘when’ (< Jula); kò = ?ó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]
(02:24) \[\text{èh} \quad \text{dì-ê?è} \quad \text{bà}, \quad \text{ò} \quad \text{dì-ê?è} \]

\[\text{Art} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{come.Pfv}, \quad \text{3Pl} \quad \text{food} \]

\[\text{so-wí} \quad k = ā \quad \text{gà?-à-cúí} \quad = ī \]

who? \quad \text{Infin-Lpv} \quad \text{be.first.Lpfv-Lpfv-cut.Lpv} \quad \text{Q}

B: ‘The food came. Their food, who was the first to cut (it)?’

(02:27) \text{donc} \quad \text{[mōⁿ] bì-níf] \quad \text{kpè kósśbé,}

so \quad \text{[2Sg ask.Base-VblN] be.good.Pfv very,}

[è \quad dì-ê?è] \quad \text{bà bà,}

[Art \quad \text{food}] \quad \text{if come.Pfv,}

A: ‘So, your question was very good. When the food came,’

[cf. verb bīé/bū/bí ‘ask (inquire)’;  kpēîò/kōô/kōô ‘be good, succeed’ (§3.4.2.6, §9.4; kósśbé(?) ‘very’ (§8.5.2.1.2)]

(02:30) \text{ènàřō} \quad [[[\text{ò} \quad \text{dè} \quad = nīⁿ] \quad \text{siñá}] \quad \text{niⁿ}],

anyway \quad [[[\text{1Pl say.Pfv} \quad 3inanObj] \quad \text{situation}] \quad \text{Loc}],

[[[è \quad \text{pō?ó}] \quad \text{glō}] \quad \text{jñá}] \quad \text{niⁿ}],

[[[\text{Art the.bush} \quad \text{be.left.Pfv}] \quad \text{situation}] \quad \text{Loc}],

A: ‘Anyway, the way we have said it, the way the bush (=outback) has been left (behind), …’

[ènàřō < Jula ‘you will say’; siñá-ní(“)]

(02:34) \text{toujours} \quad à \quad \text{gō bè-yá-ró,}

always \quad \text{3inan be thus,}

[è \quad \text{ná”blá dá =}] \quad ā \quad \text{gà?-à-cúí}

[Art \quad \text{leader Poss.inan} \quad \text{Lpfv be.first.Lpfv-Lpfv-cut.Lpfv},

A: ‘It is always thus. The leader is the first to cut (food).’

[< /dó à; kūō/kū/cúí ‘cut’ ‘cut’ = start eating, cf. English break bread or dig in]

(02:38) \text{hàyà} \quad [\text{jàró di?è} \quad \text{bùò}] \quad \text{gò kú,}

well \quad [\text{Rel.AnPl follow.Pfv} \quad \text{Top.AnPl} \quad \text{Infin be.cut.Base,}

[[\text{jàró} \quad \text{di?-di?è} \quad \text{bùò}] \quad \text{g-ā} \quad \text{cúí}]

[[\text{Rel.AnPl} \quad \text{Rdp-follow.Pfv} \quad \text{Top.AnPl} \quad \text{Infin-Lpfv be.cut.Lpfv}]

A: ‘The (first) ones who followed (are next to) start eating. The ones who keep following (=arrive later) start eating (in turn).’

[topical relative clause with bùò as plural topic marker (§19.1.2.1); reduplicated ‘follow’ indicates a still later group of arrivals]

(02:41) \[\text{è} \quad \text{úⁿ”áⁿ-tàrëⁿ-yùò \quad wò \quad sú?ô} \quad [Ø \quad \text{klò ô}],

[Art \quad \text{head-sit.Pfv-people chain give.Base} \quad [Art \quad \text{road},

á! \quad \text{d} = \quad \text{ò} \quad \text{gò dí,}

oh! \quad \text{Quot 3Pl Infin eat.Base,}

A: ‘The ones sitting in front give instructions, telling them to eat.’

[-yùò agentic plural plus compound initial (§5.1.5.1); “give road” means ‘give permission (e.g. to go), authorize, instruct’)
A: ‘Whether the one for the house, or whether the one for the outside of the house. Both are eaten in that (same) [focus] manner of eating.’

[lé ‘homestead, house (including courtyard)’ or ‘settlement, cluster of houses’; in other dialects lè; willy-nilly conditional antecedent (§16.3); -kà compound final (§5.1.7.2)]

A: ‘The elders used to do that.’

[náⁿ past habitual (§10.2.2.3)]

B: ‘In that (matter), if they—, if their hand had been washed, …’

[i.e. ‘when they have been circumcised’; bà ‘if’ followed by past tâ]

Q: ‘If they had (had) a few days (to recover), would they not have gone hunting?’

[counterfactual in form, with past imperfective (§10.3.1.3); yê (Ma) = ê (Bi) ‘walk’; (y)ê = [Ø pòʔô] ‘go hunting’, lit. “walk (in) the bush”; dâmá ‘a little, a few’ (§8.5.2.2.4)]

A: ‘When the hand was washed (=circumcision had occurred), it (=pain) would come and get (=afflict) people.’

[< /náⁿ (b)à-bú ê yúó/]

Text 2017-10
(03:01) [à dè-[nǐʾêⁿ-nîⁿ] mà kà→],
[3Inan body-[be.sour-VblN] if finish.Base],
[cè pòʔô] dè è =rè?,
[Art the.bush] IpfvPast be.walked.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘When the pain of it ended, hunting would be done.’

usually dè-[nǐʾî-nî] ‘body-sourness’ denoting a muscular injury, e.g., from sports; lit. “the bush would be walked”; = dè? (§19.4.1)]

(03:04) [nóⁿ ěrē] nóⁿ dìë = [[Ø tûʔê] nîⁿ],
[1Sg even] 1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art burrow] Loc],
kò suʔû— [è bî-kê],
Infin catch.Base— [Art hare],
A: ‘I myself, I went into a burrow, to catch a hare.’

[ărē (§19.1.6); a burrow originally dug by an aardvark is often occupied later by hares]

(03:10) nóⁿ dìë = [[Ø tûʔê] nîⁿ] [wò suʔû = [Ø bî-kê]
1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art burrow] Loc] [Infin catch.Base [Art hare],
í-yàò dè mân [g-à cuʔ = [Ø wòni-ô] kàsîbê,
1P1 IpfvPast be.Loc [Infin-Ipfv kill.Ipfv [Art agouti-Pl] well(adv),
A: ‘(So) I went into a burrow to catch a hare. We were there, to kill plenty of agoutis.’

[Bi dialect wòniⁿ (plural wòni-ô) agouti = marsh cane rat (Thryonomys)]

(03:14) [[bè dàʔå] nîⁿ] [Ø nàⁿ-bí-ô bíé]
[[Dem.Def time] Loc] [Art person-Pl all]
wò sârûⁿ [Ø le],
Infin descend.Base [Art house],
[ò fiè-jà = [Ø pòʔô] mân],
[Infin pass.Pfv-leave.Base [Art the.bush] there.Def],
A: ‘At that time, everybody went down (=settled) in the house(s). They went and abandoned (living) there in the bush.’

(03:18) ùʾhôⁿ→ donc [è jà-[nîⁿ]-nî] mà bà-bà-kàpäh
uh-huh, so [Art fetish-[run-VblN] if Rdp-come.Base-coincide.Base
[à—, [è nàⁿ-gblâcîjô] à-màⁿ,
[with—, [Art circumcised.group] be.Loc,
A: ‘So, the fetish-running, if it came and coincided with—, the circumcised (group) was there.’

[“fetish-running”: people went out to the bush to make sacrifices to animist idols]
(03:23) ó gò yîfì [gō rà-jn5\”]
1Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-look.at.Base]

[ë wū-tò] [n dë"?ɛ̄"] ji bā à-mān,
[Art bungalow] [Sg one] ln[def] if be.Loc,

A: ‘We went and looked, (to see) if one bungalow was there, …’
/wū-tò ‘small construction not divided into rooms’, i.e. for sleeping while out in
the bush, dialectally wū?u-tò]

(03:26) ē pò?ò-ŷîfì-tà?ò jàrōn,
Art the.bush-go.Base-place Rel,
ó gō rà-à-ciⁿ [bè tò?ò],
1Pl Infin go.Lpfv-lpfv-spend.night.Lpfv [Dem.Def place],

A: ‘The hunting place where (the bungalow was), we would go and spend the
night at that place.’
/kō rà-à- ‘and go(es) and’ (imperfective) (§15.2.3.3.5)]

(03:28) donc ó gō rà-à-ciⁿ [bè tò?ò],
so 1Pl Infin go.Lpfv-lpfv-spend.night.Lpfv [Dem.Def place],
[k-ā cūt= [Ø kà-rà]] gō bà [gō bà] ē!
A: ‘So, having gone and spent the night there, we would kill wild animals, and
come and come—oh!’
[first clause is an echo clause, functionally similar to perfective echo clauses
(§10.2.1.1.2) but in infinitival form; kà-rà plural of kà?á ‘meat; game animal’; kō bà
repeated to mark multiplicity]

(03:31) mais ò mān sūʔū [Ø ji] [òn i-yùò] = dē?,
but 3Pl LpfvNeg give.Lpfv [Art something] [Dat 1Pl] Emph,
é! [ē kē] rè kā?á di-nān-dēn = nē?,
oh! [Art thing] LpfvPast be.hard.Lpfv in.the.past Emph,
A: ‘But they (=chief et al.) didn’t give us anything! Oh, the thing was indeed
difficult back in those days!’
/< dē kāʔā; di-nān-dēn (§8.5.7.1)]

(03:35) [móŋ tòʔō] ā cūt= [Ø kà?á]
[2Sg Foc] Lpfv kill.Lpfv [Art meat]
mais móŋ mān ne=n= [Ø kàʔā] [Ø-ā kē] =?,
but 2Sg LpfvNeg see.Lpfv [Art meat] [Infin.Lpfv eat.meat.Lpfv] Neg,
A: ‘It was you-Sg [focus] who would kill the animal, but you wouldn’t see (=end
up with) any meat (for you) to eat.’
[imperfective ‘(meat) to eat’ (§17.7.2)]
[è úⁿǔ⁻tàn rèⁿ⁻yù] wō wǔ⁻5-wǔᵐ⁻5 = niⁿ,
[Art head-sit.Pfv-people] Inf inf Rdp-suck.Base 3InanObj,
tá náⁿ wǔ⁻5-kô [ò mǐⁿ⁻tàⁿ].
like Fut suck.Base-kill.Base [PrlRefl Refl],
A: ‘The leaders gobbled it (=meat) up, like (they) would eat themselves to death.’
[’like’ (§8.5.1.1): wǔ⁻5/wǔᵐ⁻5/wǔ⁻5밀⁻5 usually means ‘suck (finger)’ or ‘eat (rice, dried couscous)’, emphasizing rapid and total consumption; reflexive object
(§18.1.2)]

(03:41) donc [í⁻yù⁻bù] [gà— [Ø wǎ⁻wà⁻nì],
so [1Pl Top.AnPl] [with— [Art minnow-Pl],
[kà [Ø pépèʳᵉ⁻pépèʳᵉ⁻kô] í⁻yù⁻rè di [bè tò⁻ô],
A: ‘So, we ourselves had minnows, (little) flat fish, that [focus] is what we used to eat.’
[wǎ⁻wǎ ‘minnow’; < /fùś/; past imperfective (§10.3.1.3); di is base=Ipfv]

(03:48) donc, ó bà rà⁻č= [Ø pò⁻ô],
so, 1Pl if go.Base-walk.Base [Art the.bush],
ó bà rà⁻č= [Ø pò⁻ô],
1Pl if go.Base-walk.Base [Art the.bush],
A: ‘So, when we went hunting, when we went hunting, …’
[bà rà⁻ (§16.1.6.2)]

(03:50) wō yǐ⁻ři f₂⁻→ è⁻→ [tò⁻ô jàr⁻5不懈] 5= à lí
Infin go.Base until oh! [place Rel] 1Pl Ipfv call.Ipfv
dè méⁿkpà⁻blû⁻û, Quot
M-water.spring,
A: ‘(We) went all the way to the place that we call “Menkpa’s spring.”’
[f₂⁻→ until, all the way to’ (§8.3.10.2); < /ô à lí; ‘that we call’; quotative dè with verb ‘call’; méⁿkpà is a person’s name]

(03:53) é wō rà⁻wái⁻á-głô = [Ø blí⁻ké ji],
1Pl Inf inf go.Base-make.noise.Base-take.out.Base [Art hare Indef],
šàⁿwù⁻ô⁻lē tò⁻ô⁻gblû⁻û
§ in.the.vicinity.of
sùwô sùwô sùwô sùwô sùwô
sic! sic! sic! sic!
A: ‘We went and made noise to flush a hare out (of the burrow).’
B: ‘Near the place Sontuwole (hamlet)’
A: ‘Sic! sic! sic!’
[tò⁻ô⁻gblû⁻û (§8.3.4.5); sùwô is called by hunter to hunting dogs, to sic them on an animal, cf. sù⁻tô/sù⁻ú/sù⁻ů ‘catch’]
(03:58) [è bù'-ńię] wō jù-ńię [Ø bń-ńę] ńëć
[ò bńę] gō rà-diē [Ø glò-ńię] ń],
   A: ‘The dogs followed after (=pursued) the hare. They all went into an aardvark’s burrow.’
   [-ńię as compound final (§5.1.7.10)]

(04:02) [è ū'-ńę] ní-mā' [Ø nà'ŋblàići] ń] = dëć
   [Art head-matter] not.be [Art circumcised.group] Loc] Emph,
ò nö ū'-ńę diē [Ø tìʔę] ni'],
oh! 1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art hole] Loc],
   A: ‘There sure weren’t any worries in (=among) the circumcised boys! Ah, I went into the burrow.’
   [ńę (dialectally ū'ŋū'-ńę) “head-matter” i.e. ‘problem, worry (n)’]

(04:06) jà→ [Ø nā'-ńái-ń] à dì = [ā = [Ø jìę]
   lo! [Art person-Pl] Ipfv enter.Ipfv [with [Art behind]]
[ńā'] = á kò'n] [ńö ū'ŋ wò dì = [ā = [Ø ānā'ńę]],
[1Sg PfvNeg know.Base] [1Sg Infin enter.Base [with [Art face]],
   A: ‘Lo! (Other) people were going in backward (=feet-first). I didn’t know (that).
   I went in with my face (=head-first).’
   [jà→ (§19.3.7); < /ā diē kà ē jìę/ ; < /ńö kō diē kà ē ānā'ńę/]

(04:07) mó go ū'-ńę cê! 2Sg Infin enter.Base Emph oh!
   B (overlapping): ‘You actually went in!’
   [kê (§19.4.5)]

(04:10) mais [è jùʔę] ńù'ŋ-glö = mi',
   but [Art God] rescue.Pfv 2SgObj,
nö ū'-ńę diē [ā = [Ø ānā'ńę]] [wò yfīʔ],
1Sg enter.Pfv [with [Art face]] [Infin go.Base],
   A: ‘But God got you-Sg out safely! I went in forward (=head first).’
   [Jula nùwèn; ‘you’ = ‘me’ with displaced perspective]

(04:14) [è glò-ńię]— yiʔę [Ø rà-lęp],
   [Art aardvark-hole]— go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-be.blocked.Base],
jà→ [Ø bń-ńę] yiʔę [Ø rà-dąń]
   comme [è tìʔę] ēn lò as [Art hole] be.blocked.Pfv Emph,
   A: ‘The aardvark burrow was (eventually) blocked. Lo, the hare went and arrived,
as the burrow was blocked.’
   [final rò (§19.4.2), but indistinct on recording]
A: ‘Did it (=hare) not do something up above? The hare climbed up.’
B: ‘Climbed to the top.’
A: ‘Uh-huh, (it) climbed up.’

A: ‘I groped along, without seeing. (I) gave (=reached out) my hand, while the dog pursued it (=hare) into (the burrow).’

[1Sg reflexive possessor (§18.1.1); kà-sàrò (§15.3.5.7.2)]

B (overlapping and echoing): ‘pursued the hare into (the burrow).’
A: ‘Exactly! The dog was down below.’
[cò! §(8.5.3.2.2); ká màⁿ(”) ‘was (somewhere)’ (§10.3.1.7)]

A: ‘I gave (=extended) my hand, to pull the hare up and out.’
[pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]
[Art dog] Inf—in (nasal) take.Base 3AnSgObj,
no° wō dō-sūʔ5 1Sg Inf say.Base-give.Base
[ŋ] d= ő wō tī°-glō no°].
[1Sg say.Pfv 3Pl Hort pull.Base-take.out 1Sg],
A: ‘The dog took hold of it (=hare). I told them (=other people), I said to please pull me out.’
≤/sūʔ = (y)ό/: -sūʔ5 ‘give’ as Vb2 in verb-verb compound (§15.1.6.2); ≤/d ő kō/ quoted hortative (§17.1.6.3); ≤/tī°-glō no°/; -glō ‘take out’ in verb-verb compound; quoted imperative

(04:38) ő gō tī°-glō no°, ěl kátórámáw, 3Pl Inf pull.Base-take.out 1Sg, oh! far,
[ě] glo-tiʔ5 [ō bǐː = ] ě ji = ni°,
[Art aardvark-hole] [3Pl all] Ipfv know.Ipfv 3InanObj,
A: ‘Then they pulled me out, a long way. The aardvark burrow, everybody knows it.’
≤/bǐ ěl /

(04:44) [ě ji] ě bǐ [Art something] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv
[mētr = [ō sāʔ]] [mētr = [ō wūʔ5°]] = dēʔ,
[meter [Pl three]] [meter [Pl four]] Emph,
A: ‘Some (burrows) can be (as much as) three or four meters (long).’
fā bī ‘is gotten’ = ‘can be’, local French ça trouve (que); ≤/mētrː/; numerical lower and upper bounds (§7.2.5)

(04:47) donc ő wō tī°-glō no° [wō glū],
so 3Pl Inf pull.Base-take.out 1Sg] [Inf exit(v).Base],
gō ni°-dārā = [Ō bǐ-kēj bē-yā-rō, ć→,
Inf pull.Base-do.a.lot.Base [Art hare] thus, oh!,
A: ‘So, they pulled me out. They managed to see (=get) hares in that way.’
≤/kō tī°-glō no° kō glū; subject of infinitival ‘exit’ is coindexed with object of ‘pull out’ (§15.2.1.1); -dārā in verb-verb compound (§15.1.2.1.2)

(04:51) [ě ū°-kēj] ni-mā = [[Ō bǐ-jīō] ŋ] = nēʔ
[[Ō bǐ-sā-rē-ni bēj] kōm], [ě wūʔ5°-kēj] fōe!
[[Art childhood Top.Inan] truly], [Art head-matter] not.at.all
A: ‘The children had no worries!’
B: ‘Childhood indeed, no worries at all!’
/bī-sā-rē-ni ‘childhood, childishness’, derivative of bī-sā ‘children’ (§4.1.2.5.6); fōe emphatic ‘nothing, not at all’ (§10.2.5.8.2), also in the following segment]
[ê tü̆ː jì] móⁿ ní-máⁿ [[à kūō-tòʔà] níⁿ],
[Art hole Indef] 2Sg not.be.Loc [[3Inan cut.Pfv-place] Loc],
móⁿ gō [dìè̆-n̂ níⁿ]
2Sg be [enter.Base-VblN Loc]
[ê dā̆ʔaⁿ] ní-máⁿ [móⁿ bā̆ʔà], fōè! fōè!,
[Art fire] not.be.Loc [2Sg Dat], not.at.all! not.at.all!,

A: ‘A burrow. You-Sg were not there where (and when) it was dug out. You were going into it, (but) you had no fire (=light) at all!’

[i.e. you didn’t know its shape by virtue of having dug it yourself, and you had no light to see your way; à kūō-tòʔà slightly emended from what sounds like à kūō-tòʔà; fōè emphatic negative (§10.2.5.8.2); ‘be’ plus locative PP of verbal noun, likely prototype of progressive construction (§10.2.4.1)]

(05:00) [ò kā lí jìr̂5ⁿ dē tā̆má] [ê sêⁿ],
[3Pl Infin-Lpfv call.Lpfv Rel Quot spear] [Art arrow],
[bè jî-ʃ̂] ò móⁿ bē jî= [3ⁿ mó],
[Dem.Def Indef-none] 3Pl LpfvNeg Fut give.Pfv [Dat 2Sg],
B: ‘What they call “spear,” (or) arrow(s), anything at all, they wouldn’t give (it) to you.’

[-ʃí ‘none’ (like French aucun) < Jula; fronting of heavy NPs; < /ʃí ˈəʊn/; future negative with bè (§10.2.5.3); ditransitive dative ə̀ (§8.1.2)]

(05:03) Œ mā jū̆ʔ5 dē tā̆n,
2Sg if hear.Base Quot be.brave,
[bè tōʔó] ō wō glō,
[Dem.Def Foc] Past it.is it.is,
A: ‘If you hear “be courageous,” that [focus] is what it was.’

[< /ʃí bā/; focalization of ‘it is/was’ (§13.1.3.5); last three words are equivalent in this dialect to … dē glā]

(05:06) ʃ̂ wō dī̆ [ò tīⁿ-glō = Œ blī-k̂e],
1Sg Infin enter.Base [Infin pull.Base-take.out [Art hare]],
jî-á-m bè [ê pōʔô bô] rē ɛ̀ kāsābèʔ, otherwise [Art the.bush Top] LpfvPast be.walked.Lpfv well,
A: ‘I went in to pull out the hare. Otherwise, the hunt [topic] was going well.’

[jî-á-r̂n̂-bè ‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); < /pōʔô bô/; final glottal on kāsābèʔ (§8.5.2.1.2)]

(05:11) [bè tòʔà̆ jî kù̆5ⁿ = Œ ji] [à nî]
[Dem.Dem place] 1Sg know.Pfv [Art something] [3Inan Loc]
B: ‘That place, I found out something about it.’
[Topicalized NP with resumptive pronominal; 1Sg ŋ (§4.3.1.6.1)]
(05:14) wàlà→, donc jí bè = à, é!, jàrò̀ à-mà" [à ní"],
voilà, so if Dem.Def it.is, oh!, Rel be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
áywà mà-jí" [de-dè dò] bà [gò̀ à-klá],
well if you.saw [now Poss.Inan] come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-return.Base],
A: ‘There you are! So, if it’s that, ah!, what is there. Well, you see, the current
situation has returned (as topic), …’
[jàrò̀ à-mà” … headless relative (§14.1.6); kò̀ à-klá in this case is not contracted
to kà = à-klá]

(05:20) [à sígé") g-à fisàyá,
[3Inan fatigue] Infin-lpfv improve.lpfv,
k-à plé,
Infin-lpfv be.better.lpfv,
[à nòwòyá] gò̄ di= [à ní"],
[3Inan relief] Infin enter.Base [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘The fatigue (=hardship) has improved, it is better. Relief has entered into it.’
[sígé" ‘fatigue’ and fisàyá ‘improve’ < Jula, phrasing equivalent to Tiefo-D è bè-
ní k-à plé; nòwòyá < Jula nòwòyá]

(05:25) à [bè tò?ò] klè [Ø bí-jiò jàrì-kà],
è sò̄-wà= à lùò̄ sò̄ tà?à-kò,
oh! who? lpfv look.lpfv who? again,
A: ‘That [focus] is what made small children (be such that), who looks at who else
any more?’
[< /è bí-jiò jàrì-kà: jàrì-kà (§4.5.4); < /sò̄-wí à: double ‘who?’ interrogative
with indefinite sense (§13.2.3.1)]

(05:29) jì-à-rí-nè́ ó bà rà klè,
otherwise 1Pl if Past do.Base,
blà-glò-ñí" mà bà, è! è! è!,
sweep.Base-take.out.Base-VbLN if come.Pfv, oh! oh! oh!,
è jàmá
Art crowd
A: ‘Anyway, when we had done (such that), when sweeping away (=closing the
ceremony) came (=happened),’
B: ‘The crowd.’
[‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); i.e. a collective celebration; < /blà-glò-ñí/]

(05:32) [è kábàká] = à =rè?,
[Art amazement] it.is Emph,
è wò sò̄ [Ø là"dá] [wò blà-glò],
1Pl Infin work.Base [Art custom] [Infin sweep.Base-take.out.Base],
A: ‘It was amazing. We performed the traditional ceremony, and then swept out
(=closed it).’
[< Jula kábà-kò ‘amazing thing’]
(05:36) 1Pl rattle(n),
kà-sèrò  sání ó blá-glò,
while before 1Pl sweep.Base-take.out,
A: ‘Our rattles. Before we swept out (=closed).’
{rattles in the form of pieces of calabash strung together; kà-sèrò (§15.3.5.7.2);
sání ‘before’ (§15.3.5.8)}

(05:39) 1Pl rattle(n) 1Pl take.out,
A: ‘Our rattles. Before we swept out (=closed).’
{rattles in the form of pieces of calabash strung together; kà-sèrò (§15.3.5.7.2);
sání ‘before’ (§15.3.5.8)}

(05:41) 1Pl tom.tom,
A: ‘There were rattles there.
B: ‘And tomtoms.’
{dè mān ‘was/were (there)’ (§10.3.1.7);
dialectal for bèⁿʔèⁿ}

(05:45) 1Pl say.Base
[Art rattles in the form of pieces of calabash strung together; kà-sèrò (§15.3.5.7.2);
sání ‘before’ (§15.3.5.8)]

(05:48) 1Pl say.Base 1Pl enter.Ipfv [with [Art tomtom]],
A: ‘First thing in the morning, at daybreak, at the (pre-)dawn prayer, if we
intended to enter (Jinejan) with tomtoms, …’
{fājārí < Jula (< Arabic)}
Text 2017-10

(05:54) bëⁿʔęⁿ-yúó gö yīʔí, ó máⁿ wáʔá =rëʔ, tomtom-people Infin go.Base, 1Pl IpfvNeg make.noise.Ipfv Emph, [kā jī] máⁿ wáʔá =ʔ, [creature Indef] IpfvNeg make.noise.Ipfv Neg,

A: ‘The tomtom people (=players) went (in). We didn’t make noise at all! One didn’t make noise.’

[generic ‘(some-)one’ using kā ‘creature, animate being’; speaker “whispers” from ò máⁿ to end of this segment]

(05:58) [ò bīće] à yīʔí dōn-dōn-dōn-dōn-dōn [wò yīʔí], [1Pl all] Ipfv go.Ipfv (sound of footsteps) [Infin go.Base], ó bā dāⁿ būm-būm-būm ò→, 1Pl if arrive.Base, (sound of tomtoms) oh!,

A: ‘We were all sneaking along with hushed footsteps. When we arrived, (suddenly it was) boom-boom-boom!’

[dōn-dōn onomatopoeia for faint sound of people sneaking in; būm-būm very loud sound of tomtoms]


A: ‘Oh! Their people (in Jinejan) knew that we had come in order to make noise and receive millet (grain).’

[‘know that ... ’ (§17.3.1.1); < ē cī wáʔá; purposive tōʔs niⁿ(6) (§17.6.2.5)]

(06:07) wóráá-wóráá-wóráá-wóráá-wóráá sāwāʔā à wáʔá, (sound of rattle) rattle(n) Ipfv make.noise.Ipfv,

ò gò glú [à [Ø cī] [wō sūʔs]], 3Pl Infin exit.Base [with [Art millet]] [Infin give.Base],

A: ‘The rattles made rattling noise. They (=villagers) brought out some millet to give (us).’

[‘exit with’ = ‘bring out’ (§9.3.2); cī (dialectally cū)]

(06:14) á! būò gò jāⁿ, [cúʔfięⁿ-tēⁿ]-jāⁿʔsⁿ, oh! 3Pl Infin dance.Base, [early.morning]-dance(n),

A: ‘Oh! They danced, the early morning dance.’

[‘dance’: verb jūⁿ-jāⁿ/júⁿ, noun jāⁿʔsⁿ (§4.2.1.2), tone dropped to -jāⁿʔsⁿ as compound final (5.1.1.1)]


A: ‘Your waking up was hard. Dancing (with tomtoms) fell on (=rudely awakened) (you).’
Infin-Ipfv jump.all.over.Ipfv,
A: ‘Oh! You see, all of them were sweating profusely.’
[‘X’s sweat jumped’ = ‘X was sweating profusely’; yārī ‘jump’ intensive variant of yī (§9.6)]

B: ‘Who would say, “I don’t dance”? ’
[< /nà' dè/]

A: ‘That fellow isn’t there (=doesn’t exist).’
/bò-wí (§18.5.1.2)]

A: ‘When we left that place, we proceeded to change direction, to come to your-Pl (place) here.’
[i.e. to Masaso quartier; X bàʔà ‘X’s place’]

B: ‘Flaso.’
[Flaso quartier is called ândò-lé by people from Biton, but ê lè-fêⁿ ~ ê lū-fêⁿ by others (§1.3)]
Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin exit.Base] [Infin pass.Base [1Pl chez]],
A: ‘Then we proceed to leave (Flaso) and go to our place.’
[‘our place’ = Biton quartier]

[kétəⁿ dáⁿ] ó dè máⁿ sə̀ⁿ
[truth pleasant] 1Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg consent.Ipfv
[g-à bè fəⁿāⁿ bè],
[Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv here Dem.Def]
A: ‘Truthfully, we didn’t use to consent (=be willing) to come here like that.’
/kétəⁿ (Bi) ‘truth’, in other dialects kìtàn = past imperfective negative (§10.3.1.3);
sə̀ⁿ is base=Ipfv; ‘consent’ with infinitival complement (§17.4.4.2);
‘here’ = where the recording was made]

[wí jàr âm³] bà já-sūʔɔ́ⁿ [kë jàr ɔ́ⁿ] màⁿ,
[owner Rel] if leave.Base-give.Base [matter Rel] there.Def,
màⁿ dè máⁿ = àⁿ— tìëⁿ [³ⁿ wí] dè] =?
Proh say.Base 2Sg Ipfv— warm(v) Ipfv [[3AnSg owner] body] Neg
A: ‘If a fellow (=someone) has abandoned something there, don’t say (=intend)
that you are warming up the fellow’s body!’
/wí jàr³ⁿ and ³ⁿ wí ‘fellow’ (§18.5.1.2); double relative jàr³ⁿ as indefinite
(§14.1.8); já-sūʔɔ́ⁿ (§15.1.6.2); ‘warm up X’s body’ = ‘pester X’, i.e. there is no point
in going to a quartier whose people have abandoned traditional customs; prohibitive]

Ọ ụtọ jì [³ⁿ wí]
2Sg Infin see.Base [3AnSg owner]
[kò jà mà] = wí má
[Infin leave.Base 3AnSgObj there.Def]
játfi

B: ‘You-Sg see the fellow and (you) leave him (alone) there.’
A: ‘Exactly,’
/< /ḥ kọ jì/ ]

[ò kòmìⁿ] dè é = màⁿ bè-yá-ró,
[1Pl Top] IpfvPast walk.Ipfv 3InanObj thus,
[i-yùù kòrù] fì = [à jàr ɔ́ⁿ],
[1Pl generation] pass.Pfv [with Rel],
[bè tòlò] gò yá
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg
A: ‘As for us, we used to walk it like that. What our generation went with in the
past, that [focus] is what that was.’
/< fiče kà jàr³ⁿ: headless relative as complement of ‘with’ preposition (§14.2.4)]
B: ‘However it is as though it collapsed (after) the day (=era) of your-Pl [focus] generation. Or do any people come and do it since (then)?’

[< /fį̣ = ā; ends with rhetorical question; this turn of B’s overlaps with that of A (see just below) and parts are not entirely clear]

(06:47)  
ā klè yá-ró,  
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus,  
ā klè yá-ró,  
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus,  
A: ‘It happened like that. It happened like that.’

[overlaps with preceding segment; cf. bē-yā-rō ‘thus’]

(06:50)  
ā klè [i-yùò ni’], [[[i-yùò fį̣] jiná] ni’],  
3Inan be.done.Pfv [1Pl Loc], [[[1Pl pass.Pfv] situation] Loc],  
[[e kā ji] dō =] ā klè-p Ô

[Art creature Indef Poss.Inan] PfvNeg be.done.Base-be.able.Base  
[wō klè],  
[Infin be.done.Base],  
A: ‘It happened among us. Once we (=our generation) have passed by, nobody’s role could be done (=performed) or has been done.’

[< /dō ā klè/ ; ‘since’; ‘be able to VP’; final wō klè is added for emphasis]

(06:53)  
jā-rō dē [bū = ā klè],  
Indef-AnPl say.Pfv [LogoPl Ipfv do.Ipfv],  
A: ‘Some (people) have said they (still) do it.’

[< /bū ā/ ; logophoric plural (bū)]

(06:55)  
ō go yîfì [kō rā-klè = ni’ tārō-lē],  
3Pl Inf. go.Base [Infin go.Base-do.Base 3InanObj Toussiana],  
ou bien [gō rā-klè = ni’ pā-lē],  
or else [Infin go.Base-do.Base 3InanObj Peni],  
A: ‘They go and do it in Toussiana, or go do it in Peni.’

[traditional circumcisions are still done in these two towns on the Bobo to Banfora highway on the plateau; kō rā]
A: ‘(They) bring back (the boys) and put (them) down. So that (=traditional circumcision) has gotten no appreciation (here).’

B: ‘It hasn’t found any importance.’

[Four verbs in a compound; fənə < Jula (cf. Tiefo-D kəʔə-ni)]

A: ‘Something in (=for) which a storage shed has been put together, that [focus] is what has been made for us.’

[Relative with PP complement head (§14.2.4)]

B: ‘May God help us. (May He) give (us) a good chance.’

[Standard blessings; miə̃ 1Pl in formulaic expressions (§4.3.1.4); < /kə sʊʔə sɒbəbǔ; postnominal adjective kəʔə (§4.5.3.1.2)]

A: ‘Amen! May God take (us) forward!’
**Text 2017-11 Grotto**

duration: 11:59

A: Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), speaker
B: Ouattara La (Flaso quartier), speaker

(00:02) nö dë, Jean-Pierre tô?ô—, [Jean-Pierre tô?ô] klë-bà,
wâlâ→, [nô kâ [là tô? = ] à-mâ,
right!, [1Sg with [L Foc]] be.Loc,
A: ‘I say, it’s Jean-Pierre—, it’s Jean-Pierre [focus] who has come back. Right! I am present along with La.’

(00:09) ó nà wê— [ë jù?ê] [kô yi?î],
1Pl Fut put.in.Base— [Art mouth] [Infin go.Base],
[Art cliff] in.the.vicinity.of,
A: ‘We will discuss going (to) the grotto area.’
[‘put mouth’ = ‘discuss’; ‘cliff-hole’ = ‘grotto’; tô?ô-gblâ?à here and in the following segment (§8.3.4.5); du?ù-tì?ê ‘grotto, cave’, tô?ô ‘place’]

(00:15) [ë du?ù] tô?ô-gblâ?à, [dô mârà] nî,
[Art cliff] beside, [Poss.Inan region] Loc,
donc dè-rô—
so now—
A: ‘In the area of the cliffs area, so now—’
[mârà ‘region’ (< Jula mârà)]

(00:20) ë klë kà-tô
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
nà = à jù?ê [mô bâ?à] là
1Sg Ipfv hear.Ipfv [2Sg Dat] L
B: ‘It happened thus.’
A: ‘I’m listening to you, L.’
[i.e. ‘you take over’]

(00:23) wô dë =nî [ó bâ?à],
Infin say.Base 3InanObj [1Pl Dat],
d= ô— [ó du?ù—] [ë du?ù-tô-rê],
Quot 1Pl— [1Pl cliff—] [Art cliff-hole-Pl],
B: ‘(They) said it to us, our gro(ttos)—, the grottos.’
[< /dë ô du?ù/]

(00:26) [nó bí-ní] à-mā, mó bā?q,  
[1Sg ask-VblN] be.Loc, 2Sg Dat,  
dè est-ce que [c̣ dù?ù-tò-rè yá]  
Quot Q [Art cliff-hole-Pl Dem.InanSg]  
[á kò?ó] ò [Ø kè] [ó bā?q] tè,  
[Inan good] be [Art what?] [1Pl Dat] Q,  
B: ‘My question is (this), to you, those grottos, what good are they for us?’  
[< /dù?ù-tò-rè yá/ (§3.6.2.3); á kò?ó (Fl) ‘good thing (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2); kè  
‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1)]

(00:33) [c̣ dù?ù-tiʔè]  
[Art cliff-hole]  
[c̣ dù?ù-tiʔè] =á], [c̣ dù?ù-tiʔè èrè],  
[Art cliff-hole] Q, [Art cliff-hole Dem.InanPl]  
B: ‘The grotto.’  
A: ‘The grotto? Those grottos.’

(00:37) [nó tòʔó kər̥ʔà] kò—,  
[1Sg Foc Top] be—,  
ò tiè [nó tòʔó] fàʔàn [à = ánàʔà] ní],  
3Pl put.Pfv [1Sg Foc] here [[Inan face] Loc],  
A: ‘I myself am—, they put me [focus] in charge of it here.’  
[< /ò tiè nó/]  

(00:41) [nó tòʔó]— [nó tòʔó] kò guide, álè—,  
[1Sg Foc]— [1Sg Foc] be guide, even—,  
álè = [Ø ánàʔà-yùò] mà glú tòʔà-tòʔà, kò bà,  
even [Art face-people] if exit(v).Base RdP-place, Infin come.Base,  
A: ‘I [focus] am the guide. Even when leaders (=officials) come here from  
wherever,’  
[‘even if’ (§16.2.1); distributive iteration (§6.6.2.2); ‘exit (v)’ plus ‘come’ =  
‘come here from’]  

(00:48) dè bà = à yiʔi = [Ø dùʔù—,  
Quot LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv [Art cliff][—,  
dè bà = à yiʔi = [[Ø dùʔù] tòʔà-gblàʔà],  
Quot LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv [[Art cliff] in.the.vicinity.of],  
kò yiʔi [[Ø dùʔù] tòʔà-gblàʔà],  
Infin go [[Art cliff] in.the.vicinity.of],  
A: ‘Intending to go (to) the cliff[—, intending to go and go to the cliff’s area, to go  
to the cliffs area,’
(00:51) [mó tò?ó] à jù [à tò?ó]
[2Sg Foc] lpfv look.lpv [3Inan place]
[nó tò?ó] à—
[1St Foc] lpfv—
[nó tò?ó] à yì?i [à jùò]
[1Sg Foc] lpfv go.lpfv [with 3An]
B: ‘You [focus] watch over that place.’
A: ‘I [focus] go with them.’
[‘its place’ = ‘that place’; < /kà jùò/ ‘with him/her/it/them (animate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

(00:54) [mó tò?ó] à lá°-ámjù?i = [Ø nà-fo]
[nó tò?ó] à—
[1St Foc] lpfv—
[nó tò?ó] à lá°-àm-sùíí [Ø nà-fo]
[1St Foc] lpfv guide(v).lpfv [Art guest.Pl]
B: ‘You [focus] guide the visitors.’
A: ‘I [focus] guide the visitors.’ [pause]

(01:00) donc má = à lá°-ámjù?i [Ø nà-fo],
so 2Sg lpfv advise.lpv-lpv-give.lpv [Art guest.Pl],
[ê nà-fo = rê] à bê má,
[Art guest-Pl even] lpfv come.lpv there.Def],
B: ‘So you guide the visitors. The visitors come there.’

(01:03) est-ce que ò—, ò bê má, ê tòrâ—
Q 3Pl—, 3Pl.lpv come.lpv there.Def, Art benefit—
[fê tòrâ té] à-mâ [à ni]
[ò k-à bê = å]
[3Pl Infin-lpv come.lpv Q]
B: ‘Do they—. (When) they come there, is there some value [focus] there, for them to come?’
[fòrâ ‘profit, benefit’ < Jula]

(01:08) ou bien [[ê kë] já [ò k-à bê]
or else [[Art what?] let.lpv [3Pl Infin-lpv come.lpv]
B: ‘Or else, for what (reason) do they come?
[overlaps with other speaker; ‘for what (reason)’ (§13.2.3.2.3)]

(01:11) [ê tò-rë— tò-rë jà-rë] à-mâ,
[Art hole-Pl— hole-Pl Indef-InnanPl] be.Loc,
parce que [ê tò?ó jì] à-mâ,
because [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
A: ‘(Because) some holes (=caves) are there. Because there is a place there.’
[jà-rë inanimate plural indefinite (§4.4.2.3)]
(01:15) ó yî?e?-fi?i [kā = à-âi = nî], 1Pl get.up.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj],
[ô ná-dí-î] bà?à,
[Art old.person-Pl] chez,
A: ‘We arose (=were born) and found (=inherited) it, among the old people.’
[i.e. ‘it was there before we were born’; < /kō (b)à-nî/]

(hesitations) [[Art cliffs] leg] Loc,
ē dû?ù— [ē tò-rê] à-mà,
Art cliffs— [Art hole-Pl] be.Loc,
A: ‘At the foot of the cliffs, there are caves.’

(01:25) [à fârâⁿ] = àⁿ kò,
[3Inan too] Ipv be.good.Ipfv,
[ē kē jî] [ô-bé bà?à] [[Ø úⁿ] ni],
[Art matter Indef] [1Pl chez] [[Art village] Loc],
A: ‘That too is helpful, a matter among all of us in the village.’
[< /fârâⁿ à kò/; kò stative predicate (§9.4); 1Pl ô-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

(01:31) à fârâⁿ, à = Ø kò, [ē kē jî],
3Inan too, 3Inan Ipv be.good.Ipfv, [Art matter Indef],
[ē kē tû-tû?ù] bà?à,
[Art matter big] Dat,
[ē kē tû-tû?ù—] [ē tò?î—]
[Art matter big—] [Art place—]
A: ‘That too, it is useful (for) something, (for) an important matter, for an
important matter—.’
[tû-tû?ù (§4.5.3.2.2)]

(01:37) [bêⁿ-kô jà-rô fârâⁿ = ] Ø-mà
right!
[bêⁿ-kô jàrî] à-mà mà, [ā tò?î] ni,
[animal.Pl Rel-AnPl] be.Loc there.Def, [3Inan place] Loc,
A: ‘Some wild animals are there too.’
B: ‘Right!’
A: ‘The wild animals that are there, in its (=that) place.’
[cf. singular bêⁿ-kô ‘wild animal’]
(01:41) à = Ø kò? = [ò màkô],
3Inan  lpfv be.good.lpfv [3Pl need(n)],
à = Ø kò? = [ò kë],
3Inan  lpfv be.good.lpfv [3Pl matter],
è ūⁿ— è ūⁿ— [è ūⁿ-bié] bâ?à],
(hesitations) [[Art village-people] Dat]
A: ‘It’s good for their needs, it’s good for their affairs, for the villagers.’
[kò?ò ‘be good for, benefit (sb, sth)’]

(01:47) à = Ø kò [ò kë],
3Inan  lpfv be.good.lpfv [3Pl matter],
[è ūⁿ-jàmmà bïé] bâ?à,
[Art village-country all] Dat,
parce que, [è tɔjɔ jì] à-mà,
because, [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
A: ‘It’s helpful for the whole country. Because, there is a place.’
[< /ûⁿ-jàmmà bïé; Jula jàmmà ‘nation, country’]

(01:55) [è → ná-bí-ô] de(ssin)— ūⁿ-fíëⁿ] à-mà [à ni]
[Art person-pl] pain(ting)— head-soul be.Loc 3Inan Loc
[[è ná-bí-ô] tⁿ-fíëⁿ] à-mà [à ni]
[[Art people] head-soul be.Loc 3Inan Loc]
tⁿ-fíëⁿ à-mà [Ø tɔjɔ ni],
head-soul be.Loc [[Art place] Loc],
A: ‘There are human images there.’
B: ‘There are human images there.’
A: ‘There are images in the place.’
[speaker starts to say French dessin but quickly repairs with a Tiefo-D word;
dialectal pronunciations of ‘picture, figure, image’ are ūⁿ-fíëⁿ, tⁿ-fíëⁿ, and tⁿ-fìⁿ (for
the latter see @ 02:03 below)]

(02:01) õ pèïè-nìïè-të =ni kë
3Pl Rdp-write.Pfv-put.in.Base 3InanObj Q
wàlà → à nìïè-nìïè-të mà
right! 3Inan Rdp-write.Pfv-put.in.Base there.Def
B: ‘They wrote (=engraved) it!’
A: ‘Right. It was written down there.’
[kë (§19.4.5)]

(02:03) kô— kô klè = h [kâ = [Ø dessin]]
Infín— Infín do.Base 3InanObj [like [Art picture]]
wàlà → nó dë [è ná-bí-ô tⁿ-fìⁿ], è ná-bíô tⁿ-fìⁿ
right! 1sg say.Pfv [Art people head-soul], Art people head-soul
B: ‘(They) did it in the form of pictures.’
A: ‘Right! I said, pictures of people, pictures of people.’
(02:06)  è  ná-biô  ḍ“-fié“
    Art  people  head-soul
wálà→
right!
kà =  [[O  pō°-kà]  ḍ“-fié“]
    Art  [[people  the.bush-creature.Pl]  head-soul]
wálà→,  [à  pō-kà]
right!,  [3Inan  the.bush-creature.Pl]
    B: ‘Pictures of people?’
    A: ‘Right!’
    B: ‘And pictures of wild animals.’
    A: ‘Right! Its wild animals.’
[B attempts to correct A’s pronunciation of ‘head-soul’ = ‘picture’; singular
pō°-kà ~ pō-kà ‘wild animal, animal of the bush’]

(02:13)  [kō  jà-ró  ḍ“  bí = ]  à-mā
    [creature.Pl  Rel-AnPl  sort  all]  be.Loc
[ḍ“  bí =]  à-mā,  dürpá—  [è  dürpá — dürpá]  ni,
    [sort  all]  be.Loc,  world—  [Art  world—  world]  Loc,
    A: ‘Every kind of animal that there is.’
    B: ‘Every kind is there, (every kind) in the world.’
    [< /bíé  à-mā/]

(02:17)  [ò  bié]—,  [ò  bié]  à-mā
    [3Pl  all]—,  [3Pl  all]  be.Loc
[ò  bié]  à-mā  [à  ní],
    [3Pl  all]  be.Loc  [3Inan  Loc],
    [ìò  bié]  ḍ“-[i“]  à-mā  [à  ní]
    [iò  bié]  ḍ“-fié“]  à-mā  [à  ní]
    B: ‘All of them are present.’
    A: ‘All of them are present there. Pictures of all of them are present there.’
    B: ‘Pictures of all of them are present there.’

(02:21)  [bè  té]  já,  [è  ná-dí-ɔ]  tâ—  tá má—
    [è  ná-dí-ɔ]  tá  má  sù?ù—
    [Art  old.man-Pl  Past  IpfvNeg  give.Ipfv—
    ká  á  sù?=  [á  klō?ô]  =dë?
    Past  PfvNeg  give.Ipfv  [3Inan  road]  Emph,
    A: ‘That’s why the old men would not— the old men did not use to give—, had
not given permission.’
    [bè té já (§8.1.3);  < /ká á sù?=;  ‘give road’ = ‘authorize, give permission’]
(02:25) ò kā = à-lá-blà
3Pl Infin come.Base-authorize.Base
[d = ò kò nú = nì],
[Quot 3Pl Hort look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj],
A: ‘Then they (=old men) came and authorized it, that they (=visitors) see it.’
[< Jula là-blà ‘cause to put’; ‘authorize/instruct’ with imperfective hortative complement clause (§17.4.3.2)]

(02:28) donc [[bè tɔ̀d] nì]
so [[Dem.Def place] Loc]
[ē nà-bí-ó bï] tã má dã n mã = ?
[Art people all] Past IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv there.Def Neg
[ē nà-bí-ó bï] tá má dã n mã = ?
[Art people all] Past IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv there.Def Neg
B: ‘So, in that place, not everyone used to arrive there.’
A: ‘Not everyone used to arrive there.’
[negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); nà-bí-ó (Ma) and ná-bí-ó (Ji) are dialectal variants]

(02:31) é → jã → å klè, å tá —,
ah lo! 3Inan be.done.Pfv, 3Inan Past —,
[ē tɔ̀d — [ē tɔ̀d nůrāmā ɔrē]
Art place — [Art place excellent even]
B: ‘Lo, it happened. It was —, an excellent place.’
[Jula nůrāmā ‘very good’]

(02:35) [ē ná-bí-ó bï] tá má dã n mã = ?
[Art people all] Past IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv there.Def Neg
[tɔ̀d jɔrɔ́ n], bà kō bë-kã,
[place Rel], if be thus
[ā tɔ̀d =] ā kô,
[3Inan place] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
A: ‘Not everyone used to arrive there.’
B: ‘A place that —, if (it) is like that, that place is good.’

(02:40) donc, comme ó gà-ba?à,
so, as 1Pl want.it,
ò gà = à-pì = nì,
3Pl Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘So, as we want them to come and see it.’
kà-ba?à ‘want’ (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1)}
[ē kē ji],
[Art matter Indef],

right!
[ē kē ji] à mà wáʔá-təⁿ,
[Art matter Indef] 3Inan if be.shut.Base,
Ø mà [wáʔá-təⁿ]-dórá = ni
2Sg if [shut.Base]-do.a.lot 3InanObj

A: ‘A thing.
B: ‘Right!’

A: ‘A thing, if it is closed off, if you close it quite off,’
/kē ‘thing (abstract), matter’; -dórá (§15.1.2.1.2)

(02:48) ĭ bá wáʔá-təⁿ, mó wëʔë-təⁿ, [mó mìʔá tɔʔɔ] lè,
2Sg if be.shut.Base, 2Sg shut.Pfv, [2Sg Refl Foc] Emph,
B: ‘If (it) is shut, you have shut yourself [focus] out.’
/lè (§19.4.2)

(02:51) [mó úⁿ té] = à, mó wëʔë-təⁿ [mó mìʔá]
[2Sg village Foc.Inan] it.is, 2Sg shut.Pfv [2Sg Refl]
A: ‘It’s your-Sg village [focus]. You have shut yourself out.’

(02:54) [è wáⁿ fɔrəⁿ] wëʔë-təⁿ
[Art village too] be.shut.Pfv

right!

B: ‘The village too is shut out.’
A: ‘Right!’

(02:57) [bè té] já, [[ó ná-dí-ð]
kò náʔá = [Ø jû] [kò nô = ni]]
Infin become.red.Base [Art eye(s)] [Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj]
[ê-yùó bí-ʃiò] [è bí-ʃiò] kò nô = ni
[1Pl children] [Art children] Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj

right!

A: ‘That’s why our old men insisted on seeing it (=grotto). Our children (=young people), the children saw it.’
B: ‘Right!’
A: ‘(The young people) sat, and went to the elders, to ask permission for it from them.’

B: ‘Could they give (us) permission (to go there)? The human figures that are in it.’

A: ‘The humans— the human figures that are in it.’

B: ‘Will they be able to give permission for everyone to look at it?’
(03:26) [à— à nà fūʔ= [3ⁿ é]— 3Inan— 3Inan Fut give.Base [Dat 1Pl]—  
[è bū-ní ji]  
[Art get.Base-VblN Indef]  
[œ [ùⁿ-kōj-dā"nà"] è—]  
[Art [forehead]-good] Art—  
B: ‘It will give us—’  
A: ‘Some profit.’  
B: ‘Good luck (for) the—.’  
[‘good luck’ expressed as ‘good forehead’]

(03:29) è ūⁿ  
Art village  
è wúⁿ, ò go yīʔí [ānàʔà ní]  
Art village, 3Pl Infin go.Base [face Loc]  
ò go yīʔí [ānàʔà ní]  
3Pl Infin go.Base [face Loc]  
A: ‘The village.’  
B: ‘The village, for them to go forward.’  
A: ‘For them to go forward.’  
[fūⁿ (Ji) and wūⁿ (Fl) are dialect variants (§3.1.1.2)]

(03:33) [ē kā sēⁿ-sēⁿ-reⁿ-ní] à fā =ni  
[Art creature Rdp-red-Pl-Pl] lpfv seek.Ipfv 3InanObj  
wālā right!  
B: ‘The white people seek it.’  
A: ‘Right!’  
[singular kā ūⁿ-ūⁿ ‘red (i.e. white) person’, plural kā sēⁿ-sēⁿ-reⁿ(-ní) in Fl pronunciation (§4.5.3.2.1) with systematic ū/s alternation (§3.2.1.2)]

(03:35) a— a— a— a— ā kē—  
(hesitations)  
à 0-mā [[[Ø kē tū-tūʔà] ānàʔà té] ní]  
3Inan be.Loc [[[Art matter big] face Foc.Inan] Loc]  
B: ‘It is at the front of a big thing.’
A: ‘For that reason, we have seen (or rather) have sought that we young people understand (=get along with) each other.’

/gō fā seems to be a correction for gō nǐ ; é-yùò bì-ʃō here means ‘we children/young people’ (appositional), elsewhere it can also mean ‘our children’; fāmù < Jula (< Arabic)

(03:45) kò yī?i = [[Ø ná-dí-غذي] [[ë ú“-dí” bà?à],
Infin go.Base [[Art old.man-Pl] [[Art village-chief] chez],
wálà→
right!

kō nè?è [ā klò?ô],
Infin ask.for.Base [3Inan road],
A: ‘(They) went to the old men, to the village chief.’

B: ‘Right!’

A: ‘To ask permission of (=for) it.’

(03:48) [ë ú“-dí” fārā”]
[Art village.chief too]
kò ká-lí [צני jē-yùò],
Infin do.again.Base-call.Base [3AnSgRefl behind-people]
wálà→
right!

A: ‘The chief in turn recalled (=summoned) his subordinates.’

B: ‘Right!’

/ká- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2)

(03:52) kò yī?i = ā— kò yī?i = [ā klò?ô],
(hesitation) Infin go.Base [3Inan road],
[ō kā = ā-sū?5 [Ø klò?ô],
[3Pl Infin come.Base-give.Base [Art road],
A: ‘They (=young people) went on the road (=were authorized). They (=elders) came and gave permission.’

(03:55) ō sū?5 [Ø klò?ô],
Infin give.Base [Art road],
ō sū?5 [Ø klò?ô] dè bon,
Infin give.Base [Art road] Quot okay,
A: ‘(They) gave permission. They gave permission, saying “okay.”’
A: ‘But, the place that permission was given (for), …’
B (overlapping): ‘Did (they) give permission …’
A (overlapping): ‘…, it isn’t all of it (the whole zone).’
B: ‘… for everyone to come?’

[</ē tɔʔɔ̃ jɔ̃⁰]; ŋiʔé ‘manner’ (§8.5.1.3); negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); kò bë hortative plus imperfective (§17.1.6.3)]

A: ‘They gave permission for (just) a few places [focus].’
A: ‘How many places did they give (permission for)?’
A: ‘In just a few places. Just a few places, (they authorized) us to look at two places for the time being.’

[(k)ò plus imperfective complement]

B: ‘Two places to look at.’
A: ‘Right!. They didn’t give permission for all of it (=zone).’
(04:12) parce que [è tò? jì] à-mā, because [Art place Indef] be.Loc, [à bé] mā— [è tò? jì] à-mā, [3Inan all] IpfvNeg— [Art place Indef] be.Loc, A: ‘Because there is a place (there), not all of it is—. There is a place (there).’

(04:17) [à mà kâ”] [3Inan IpfvNeg be.pleasing] [[é-bé tò? jì] à-mā] [bùò dē?è-tò? = ] = à, [[1Pl-all place Indef] be.Loc] [3Pl hide.Pfv-place] it.is, A: ‘It (=the place) isn’t good (=safe). There is a place of us all. It’s their secret place.’

[i.e. it is a secret-sacred place; é-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

(04:19) [à mà kâ”——] [3Inan IpfvNeg be.pleasing——] [è yùó] mà kâ” [kò dâ” [bè tò?]] [Art people] IpfvNeg good [Infin arrive.Base [Dem.Def place]] A: ‘It isn’t safe. The people aren’t safe arriving at that place.’


[quoted prohibitive (§17.1.6.2); ditransitive ‘show’ with 3” dative (§8.1.2, §11.1.2.5)]

(04:27) donc, àlè bùò lè [tò? = à jàr3”] so, even LogoPl show.Pfv [place Dem.InanSg Rel] A: ‘So, (they said:) “even that place which we showed (you)—” ’

[relative clause with determiner preceding relative marker]
(04:29) ['ē kā sèⁿ-sī-rēⁿ tōrā⁰] [Art creature Rdpl-red-Pl too]
dē bùò =rē, má kā-bāʔā
say.Pfv LogoPl even, IpfvNeg want.it
[ō kō 佬 = [[Ø tōʔ jōrā⁰] má kā⁰]
[3Pl Hort show.Base [[Art place Rel] IpfvNeg be.right]
[kō 佬 [³ⁿ bùò]]
[Hort show.Base [Dat LogoPl]]]
wálêt→ right!
B: ‘The red (=white) people too say that even they don’t want them to show a
place that it isn’t right to show them.’
A: ‘Right!’
[speaker restarts the subordinated clause with kō 佬, but without the direct object;
kā⁰ ‘right, appropriate’ < Jula]

(04:35) ā klē kā-tō
3lnan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
[bè té] já,
[Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv,
[bè tīʔ = á jōrā⁰] lē,
[Dem.Def hole Dem.InanSg Rel] be.shown.Pfv,
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘That’s why, (there was) that hole (=cave) that was shown.’

(04:38) [bè tōʔō] ó — ó kō [[bè tōʔō] [n dēⁿʔēⁿ]]
[Dem.Def Foc] 1Pl— 1Pl be [[Dem.Def Foc] [Sg one]]
[ē nā-rō] mà glū tōʔ=tōʔ,
[Art visitor.Pl] if exit.Base Rdpl-place,
A: ‘That (is why)—, we are (on) (just) that one (grotto). If visitors show up in
various places,’
[distributive iteration tōʔ=tōʔ]

(04:42) [ē tūbābū-nā = ] à bē, [ē ná-bí-ō jō-rō]—
é-yūt jōrā = Ø-mā [ē būrkinā] fōrāⁿ,
1Pl Rel.AnPl be.Loc [Art B] too,
A: ‘White people come. The people who—, we who are in Burkina too.’
[< /tūbābū-nǐ à/]

(04:47) [ō bī = ] à bē,
[3Pl all] Ipfv come.Ipfv,
kō tā-à-nú = ní,
Infin go.Ipfv-Ipfv-look.at.Ipfv 3lnanObj,
A: ‘They all come to go and look at it.’
[< /bī; kō tā-Á-Vb2 imperfective infinitival ‘go (and ...’) (§15.2.3.3.3)]
A: ‘They come and see it, and say “oh my, it is nice! It is nice!” So now—’
[< /dè à à kò/]

B: ‘(They) tell them to take good care of (=preserve) it.’
A: ‘(They) tell them to take good care of it.’
B: ‘Nobody must—’
A: ‘Spoil it.’
[much speaker overlap in this segment; -gàrēn (§15.1.2.1.1); kà jì ‘any creature (human or animal)’]

B: ‘They mustn’t let the young people damage its (=that) place.’
[jà with hortative complement (§17.1.8)]

A: ‘Otherwise, concerning caves, caves are abundant there.’
[ ‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); bè as topic morpheme (§19.1.2.1)]

A: ‘Even if rain is there, (when) the rain—, when the rain takes you by surprise,’
[< /è blō =ré à-mā/; 2Sg object = mì (§4.3.1.3)]
A: ‘You will go into a (certain) place!’

B: ‘Lo, it (=cave) has become just like a (real) house [Foc].’

A: ‘(In) the place where you go in, the rain doesn’t reach you.’

B: ‘You see?’

A: ‘You will— The rain doesn’t reach you.’

B: ‘No, ah! A grotto, it is, it is an (important) thing—’

A: ‘You (can) work, you (can) work year after year there,’

[< /mó à /; ‘year with year’ (§7.2.4); < /kà yà bié /]
A: ‘You go there with all your foodstuffs, and go cook (millet cakes) there. The rain doesn’t reach you.’
/k = 6- (§15.2.3.3.1); < /ë blö = rê mâ/]  

(05:23) bè yié dè, [ë sëⁿ-wùʔù tè] = à glò Dem.Def name say.Pfv, [Art lie.down.Pfv-house Foc.Inan] it.is it.is  
B: ‘The name of that says (=means), a sleeping house [focus] is what it is.’  
[ = à glò ‘it is’ after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5)]

(05:26) donc, mâ-nî [dùʔ = á], so, if.you.see [cliff(s) Dem.InanSg]  
à kò [Ø kè] [ë-yùò bâʔà]  
3Inan be [Art matter] [1Pl chez]  
A: ‘So, you see, those cliffs, they are an (important) thing in our zone.’  
/ < /dùʔù (y)á/: < /ë kë ë-yùò/]

(05:28) [ë kë tù-tùʔù pérámá] = à = dë? [Art thing big extremely] it.is Emph  
[bè tòʔó dùʔù] klè, [ë kë ji],  
[Dem.Def Foc cliff(s) be.done.Pfv, [Art thing Indef],  
B: ‘It’s a big thing.’  
A: ‘Those very cliffs have become an (important) thing.’  
[Jula pérámá ‘good thing’]  

(05:36) è— [ë mlâⁿ?= ] = âⁿ—,  
Art [Art war] PfvNeg—,  
[ë mlâⁿ?= ] = âⁿ diē-pṣⁿ = ?, [ëbé bâʔà],  
[Art war] PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base Neg, [1Pl chez],  
A: ‘War (=a war party) wasn’t able to get in, among us.’  
/ < mlâⁿ’dâⁿ á/: -pṣⁿ ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1); âⁿ-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

(05:39) [ë dùʔù = rê] klè, [ë garde-corps]  
[Art cliff(s) even] be.done.Pfv, [1Pl bodyguard]  
wálà→ right!  
B: ‘The cliffs became our protector.’  
A: ‘Right!’
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(05:43) garde-corps [[è nàsòrà-fè] mì] bodyguard [[Art white.person-language] Loc]
wàlà right!
B: ‘“Garde-corps” (is) in French language.’
A: ‘Right!’

(05:45) dè [yúò jàr5ʰnom], ðⁿ = Ø tiations
Quot [person Rel], 3AnSg Ipfv block—
Ø tiones = [Ø kè]
3AnSg Ipfv block.Ipfv [Art matter]
[yúò jàr5ʰnom] à tiones = [Ø kè]
[person Rel] Ipfv prevent [Art matter]
wàlà right!
B: ‘(That means) a person who—, he/she blocks thing(s).’
A: ‘A person who blocks thing(s).’
B: ‘Right!’
[speakers try to paraphrase ‘bodyguard’ in Tiefo-D; tiones < Jula]

(05:49) [è dùìʔò fòrά] à jì⁵⁰⁰,
[Art cliff(s) too] Ipfv work.Ipfv,
à = Ø klè = [Ø kè-sùʔõ] [è-yúò bàʔà]
3Inan Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art work(n)] [1Pl chez]
A: ‘The cliffs too work, they do work in our zone.’

(05:52) [è dùìʔò =rè], klè è-yúò—
[Art cliffs even], do.Pfv 1Pl—
[è sè— dé— dé— de-lèʔə̍ lì] má glò = à
[Art father— (hesitation) health Indef] IpfvNeg it.is Q
B: ‘The cliffs have made us—’
A: ‘Is it not the fatherland’s prosperity?’
[cut off from sè-lè ‘father-household’ = ‘fatherland’; ‘(good) health’ with extended sense ‘good times, prosperity’]

(05:58) [è-yúò [de-lèʔə̍ lì]-tòʔò té] = à
[1Pl [health]-place Foc.Inan] it.is
[è bù-nì jì] má glò = à,
[Art get-VblN Indef] IpfvNeg it.is Q,
B: ‘It’s our prosperity place.’
A (overlapping): ‘Is it not a profit (=benefit)?’
(06:00) [è úⁿ]— [è úⁿ] mà wè-yáîá, [Art village]— [Art village] if be.squeezed.Base
[Ø mà yîlí [ī tòʔɔ̄] ni],
[2Sg if go.Base [[3Inan place] Loc],
A: ‘If there is a problem in the village, if you go to that place,’

(06:04) Ø mà— ğ dáⁿ mà,
2Sg if— (nasal) arrive.Base there.Def,
[è blàʔā]— parce que [è nù] mà dò-à-dû mà,
[Art pond]— because [Art water] IpfvNeg be.lacking.Ipfv there.Def,
A: ‘If you—arrive there, the pond—, because water is not (ever) lacking.’
[< /ğ mà dáⁿ/ (smoothed out); < /è nù má/: dò-à-dû (§10.1.6.3)]

(06:10) [[è nù ji] à-mà]
[Art water Indef] be.Loc
[è nù-kè] bā =à glò,
[Art water-matter] if it.is it.is,
[è nù-kè] Ø mà yîlí bā dáⁿ mà dòr5ⁿ
[Art water-matter] 2Sg if go.Base if arrive.Base there.Def only
A: ‘There is water (there).’
B: ‘If it’s a question of water, a question of water, if you just go and arrive there,’
< = à glò ‘it is’ after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5); paired antecedent (‘if’) clauses (§16.1.1.1); dòr5ⁿ with final mid pitch (§19.2.1)]

(06:14) à = Ø kò [mó màkó]
3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv [2Sg need(n)]
[è blô] à bè
[Art rain(n)] Ipfv come.Ipfv
à kò [mó màkó]
3Inan be.good [2Sg need(n)]
A: ‘It is good for (=satisfies) your need(s).’
B: ‘The rain comes.’
A: ‘It is good for (=satisfies) your need(s).’
/màkó ‘need (n)’ < Jula]

(06:17) [à dé] mà tîeⁿʔèⁿ
[3Inan however] if be.warm.Base
[è kè ̀kè] bā =à glò
[Art matter or matter] if it.is it.is
A: ‘If however it is hot (outside)—
B: ‘If it’s whatever question [focus]—
[dé ~ dó ‘however’; disjunction with ò (§7.2.3)]

(06:24) kò bà [Ø = à-ní = ní], Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj], kò bà [Ø = à-ní = ní], Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj], A: ‘(They) come and see it. (They) come and see it.’ /bà [Ø à-Vb2] (§15.2.3.2.4)

(06:26) kò mà nò = ní] mlèⁿ-ji?é Infin if look.at.Base 3InanObj like.that-manner bè kpè kösóbé? Dem.Def become.good.Pfv very.much A: ‘Then if (they) look at it—’ B: ‘It has become excellent!’ /kò mà (§16.1.1.9); mlèⁿ-ji?é (§8.5.5.1); kpè/kò/kò ‘be(come) good’; kösóbé? (§8.5.2.1.2)

(06:30) è → [è moyens] Ø-mã [Ø jís-ró] bà?á], parce que, oh! [Art means(n)] be.Loc [Art Indef-AnPl] Dat], because, comme [è tò? = ] á gärëⁿ, as [Art place] PfvNeg be.fixed.Base, A: ‘Oh! Some (people) have the means (=resources). Because, as the place has not been maintained,’ [Tiefo-D è bú-ní ‘profit, gain(s)’ can replace the French word]

(06:40) o mà ñi, á, [tòʔ = á] à kò, 3Pl if see.Base, ah!, [place Dem.InanSg] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv, bàò nà klè-pš⁴ jàrš⁴, 3Pl Fut do.Base-be.able.Base Rel, ð— ð kò klè bè, 3Pl— 3Pl Infin do.Base Dem.Def, A: ‘If they see (it), (they’ll) say “ah, this place is good!” Whatever they are able to do, they will do that.’
[passage switches from quotation (logophoric subject) to external description]

(06:45) [álè bè] [inó kàrš⁴] fá-ní] à-mà [mó bàʔà], [even now] [[1Sg Top] look.for-VblN] be.Loc [2Sg chez], [ð jò kà = á-nèʔè = [Ø wānàʔà-yùʔ], [Imprt.Pl Hort Hort go.Base-ask.Base [Art face-people], A: ‘As of now, myself, I have a request for you. Let’s go request (it) from the authorities,’ [álè bè, variant of álè bâré ‘even now(adays)’]

(06:50) ð gò kà tà⁷-rúʔ⁷ [Ø mié], ē→, 3Pl Hort Sbjn help(v).Base [Art 1Pl], oh!, kà = [[Ø kà sē⁴-sā-rè⁴ jàró] à bè [ð bàʔà]], with [[Art creature Rdp-red-Pl Rel.AnPl] Ipfv come.Ipfv [1Pl chez]], A: ‘May they help all of us! Along with the white people who come to our zone.’ [subjunctive kà (§10.4.2.3.2, §17.6.2.6); mié (§4.3.1.4); ‘red (=white) people’ (§3.2.1.2, §4.5.3.2.1); < /à bè ó/]


(07:01) donc [à tòʔ⁷] kò lò = [Ø tòʔ⁷ njarámá], so [3Inan place] Hort turn.Base [Art place excellent], [ð kò dī-glò [Ø klòʔ-duʔ] [kò yōʔ mà], [3Pl Hort take.out.Base [Art road-big]] [Hort go there.Def], B: ‘So that place turns into a beautiful place, and (so) they bring out (=build) a main road to go there.’ [tonally irregular compound, cf. klòʔo ‘road’ and postnominal tù-tùʔù ‘big’]
(07:05) wálah, [[nó kàrž] nëʔè-ní] à-má [ò bâʔà] right!, [[1Sg Top] ask-VblN] be.Loc [3Pl Dat] B: ‘Right! As for me, I have a request for them.’

/kàrž/ (§19.1.2.2; topical ‘as for me’ is syntactically the possessor of ‘request’)

(07:07) á, bon, [ë nèʔè-ní] kò [tòʔò jàrž] mà→, ah, well, [Art ask-VblN] be [place Rel] concerning, [bè nèʔè-ní] bon, [Dem.Def ask-Vbl] well, bè kò, [ò bì], [ë ná-dì-à] bâʔà, Dem.Def be, [3Pl all], [Art old.man-Pl] chez, A: ‘Ah, well, concerning where (=to whom) the request is, that request, well, that is (for) everyone, for the old men.’

/< jàrž mà→/)


[[[kò sùʔà =nì] sìna nì],

[Infín give.Base 3InanObj situation] Loc]],

A: ‘If the old men whiten—, whiten their guts and give it thus.’

[middle portion not fully intelligible; “whiten guts” = ‘be honest’]

(07:19) [ò bì=] ã nèʔè [3Pl all] Ipfv ask.Pfv

ð= Ø fà =nì [Ø ná-dì-à], 1Pl Ipfv seek.Ipfv 3InanObj [Art old.man-Pl], A: ‘Everyone makes requests. We want it (from) the old men.’

[alternatively phrased with final PP [Ø ná-dì-à] bâʔà]

(07:21) kò ká fién’èn-ði”= [ò li”], Hort Sbjn Rdp-whiten.Base [3Pl guts], kò ká—, kò sàrò Hort Sbjn —, Hort proceed.to.Base kò—, fién’èn =h [ó-bë bâʔà], Hort—, whiten.Base 3InanObj [1Pl-all chez]

A: ‘May they whiten their guts again, and—, and may they proceed to whiten it (guts) among us.’

(07:26) kò ká nèʔè =ni [Ø ú”] ni], Hort Sbjn ask.Base 3InanObj [Art village Loc], A: ‘And may they ask for it in the village.’
(07:27) [è úⁿ] ò kà fiéⁿ? = [ò liⁿ],  
[Art village] Hort Sbjn whiten [3Pl guts],  
kò lèⁿ [[3ⁿ lèⁿ-tòʔ?]] ni],  
Hort stop.Base [[3AnSg stop.Pfv-place] Loc],  
jàʾgò, [è klòʔò] kò bù,  
in.order.that [Art road] Hort be.gotten.Base,  
A: ‘The village should whiten its guts, and should stand up in (=occupy) its (rightful) place, so that the road may be gotten.’

(07:32) [è klòʔò] mà bù [à ni],  
[Art road] if be.gotten.Base [3Inan Loc],  
à nà dáⁿ [3ⁿ [ò bíeʔ?]],  
3Inan Fut please.Base [Dat [3Pl all]].  
A: ‘If the road is gotten therein (=thereby), it will please everybody.’

(07:35) pi, [è úⁿ-bió], [ò bíe] glò = [[Ø dárîⁿ] ni],  
[ò bíe] glò = [[Ø dárîⁿ] ni],  

A: ‘(You) see, the villagers, everyone will get out of squalor (=misery). Everyone will get out of squalor.’

(07:39) já-á-m-bè [faamá = rê jārâ =] à bê  
otherwise [authority even Rel.AnPl] Ipfv come.Ipfv  
[k = à-à-pú = ni],  
[Infin come.Ipfv-Ipfv-look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj],  
A: ‘Anyway, even the authorities who come and look at it,’  
/jà-á-m-bè (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); faamá < Jula; < /jārā â/; imperfective infinitival VP with doubled ‘come’ (§15.2.3.2.1)]

(07:42) [è jō-rô] dè [nò = ni],  
[Art Indef-AnPl] say.Pfv [look.at.Base 3InanObj],  
[dè = [è jūʔê] — [dè = [è jūʔê] mà sô],  
[Quot [Art God] — [Quot [Art God] if receive.Base],  
bùò nà sôⁿ [Ø kê-sùⁿʔôⁿ j = ] [à ni],  
LogoPl Fut work(v).Base [Art work(n) Indef] [3Inan Loc],  
A: ‘Some of them have said, “Look, if God—if God accepts, we will do some work on it.” ’

(07:48) tùò nà sôⁿ [Ø kê-sùⁿʔôⁿ ji],  
LogoPl Fut work(v).Base [Art work(n) Indef],  
bè kò [Ø kê kòʔô]  
Dem.Def be [Art thing good]  
A: ‘ “We will do some work.” ’  
B: ‘That is a good thing.’  
[kòʔô ‘good’ (postnominal) (§4.5.3.1.2)]
A: ‘Well, those who came and looked intensively at it, as for them, they said pleasing words.’

\[kò̀rən (§19.1.2.2); dən ‘sweet’ (postnominal) (§4.5.3.1.3)]

A: ‘We are waiting for their people, to this day. They are getting ready (=organizing).’

\[< d = rë à ; Jula lá-bèn ‘prepare, organize’\]

A: ‘We have installed—, because if some visitors intend to come,’

\[kò̀mà for sequential ‘if’ clause (§16.1.1.9)]

A: ‘They call (it), a road sign—a road sign.’

\[lè-èjë “lexicalized” inanimate participial (§4.2.3.2); the first occurrence here was slightly mispronounced, hence the repetition with correct pronunciation\]
2017-11

(08:10) ɗ = Ø ɗí ɗè [ē ɗè-ʔè]
3Pl 1pfv call.Ipfv Quot [Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
[ē ɗè-ʔè],
[Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
B: ‘They call it a road sign.’
A: ‘A road sign.’

(08:12) ò nà— ò mà té = nì,
(hesitation)— 3Pl if put.down.Base 3InanObj,
[nā-f5n jèr5n] mà glú ē— ē—ē — wàgá,
[visitor.Pl Rel] if exit(v).Base (hesitation) Ouaga,
A: ‘If they install it, if a visitor comes from Ouagadougou,’

(08:18) ᵃⁿ mā dáⁿ [Ø bórúnà],
3AnSg if arrive.Base [Art B],
[dè bá = à bē]
Quot LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv
A: ‘When he/she reaches Bununa (village), intending to come (to Banfora),’
[Bounouna (French spelling), a village on the highway going south to Banfora;< /dè bó à/]“

(08:20) ᵃⁿ mā dè [bó kò yīń bâⁿfórá comme ça],
3AnSg if say.Base [LogoSg Hort go.Ipfv B like.that],
ᵱⁿ mā dâⁿ [Ø bórúnà],
3AnSg if arrive.Base [Art B],
A: ‘If he/she intends to go to Banfora like that, when he/she arrives in Bununa,’

(08:23) dè bá = à bē [Ø dɜramândùgù],
Quot LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv [Art D],
ᵱⁿ mā nī— ᵱⁿ mā nī [bè plákî],
3AnSg if see.Base— 3AnSg if see.Base [Dem.Def sign],
A: ‘(He/she will) say: “I am coming to Daramandugu.” If he/she sees the sign,’
[i.e. a tourist driving south on the highway from Bobo Dioulasso to Banfora will see the road sign and instead turn east (and then north) to Daramandugu]

(08:26) ᵱⁿ d = ᵱⁿ?ⁿ a kō = [Ø plákî té =] = à,
3AnSg say.Pfv uh-huh 3Inan be [Art sign Foc] it.is,
wálà → [plákî té] = à right! [sign Foc.Inan] it.is
B: ‘He/She says, “uh-huh, it’s a sign!” ’
A: ‘Right! “It’s a sign.” ’
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(08:29) [ȅ nàsòrá-fē] à lí dór₅ⁿ dè plákì

[Art white.person-language] Lpfv call.Lpfv only Quot plaque
[ȅ nàsòrá-fē] dè plákì
[Art white.person-language Quot plaque
B: ‘White person’s language (=French) just calls it plaque.’
A: ‘White person’s language says plaque.’

(08:32) [é-yùò còfś] bàʔà, ȅ lè-ʔè̀,

[1Pl Tiefo] chez, Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
[ȅ lè-ʔè̀ jòr₅ⁿ] à lè = [ȅ kłòʔó], wálà→
[Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Rel] Lpfv show.Lpfv [Art road], right!
A: ‘Among us Tiefo, (it’s called) “the road sign, the road sign that shows (=points to) the road.” Right!’

(08:35) donc—
so—

[à = Ø gbǎʔà] à bè tiē [ānàʔà pà-pàʔà],
[3Inan Lpfv be.big.Lpfv] 3Inan Fut be.put.down.Pfv [face flat],
kö lè [ā tiē-kà],
Infin show.Base [3Inan put.down.Pfv-manner],
B: ‘So—’
A: ‘It’s big. It will be installed broadside (i.e. facing motorists), to show (=enhance) its installation position.’
/bè perfective (§10.2.1.2); -kà in manner compounds (§5.1.7.2)/

(08:40) [yùó jòr₅ⁿ] bà Ø [bá = à bè]

[person Rel] if say.Base [LogoSg Lpfv come.Lpfv]
[kò yíʔ = [[ā tɔʔj] n̄] dór₅ⁿ;
[Infin go.Base [3Inan place] Loc] only,
B: ‘Any person who decides to come, as soon as he/she then goes to that place,’
/fè ‘say’ is inaudible but implied between bà ‘if’ and bà = à bè < /bò à bè/; dór₅ⁿ
with final mid pitch (§19.2.1)/

(08:42) ə₅ⁿ bà mì [ȅ plákì] yíʔ~ kpè’oʔèⁿ

3AnSg if see.Base [Art sign] go— be.planted.Pfv
[k-ā— k-ā lò-à-fùʔū [Ø tɔʔj jòr₅ⁿ]]
[Infin-Lpfv— Infin-Lpfv show.Lpfv-Lpfv-give.Lpfv [Art place Rel]
B: ‘If he/she sees that the sign is planted (in the ground), and it shows (=points to) such a place,’

(08:46) [tʰ wí] kò yíʔì [[bè tɔʔj] tòʔó]

[3AnSg owner] Infin go.Base [[Def� place] Foc]
ṭò kò yíʔì [k ə-dàⁿ = [[Ø tɔʔj] n̄]],
until Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art place] Loc]],
B: ‘The fellow goes to that place, until he/she arrives at the place.’
[tʰ wí (§18.5.1.2); tɔ (§15.3.4.1)]
2017

(08:49)  o mà té bè [Ø bârû— bârûnà], 3Pl if put.down.Base Dem.Def [Art (hesitation) B], jù yá, see.Base Dem.InanSg,
A: ‘If they install that at Bununa, see that!’
[< /jì yá/: speaker later suggested revision as infinitival ñ gõ jì yá with 2Sg ñ and infinitival kõ]

(08:51)  o lè, bè kô dè dè, Infin show.Base, Dem.Def Infin say.Base Quot,
[mò mà jño bè]
[2Sg if look.at.Base Dem.Def]
[[ê dârânâèdûgù yîè] à-mà [à ni]],
[[Art D name] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘And (it) shows, that (sign) says, if you look at that (sign), the name of Daramandugu is on it.’

(08:55)  bon, [ê dùrû-lî?è yîè] à-mà [à ni], well, [Art cliffs-hole name] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
[ô kô kà bà]
[3Pl Hort Shbn come.Base]
A: ‘Well, the name of the grotto is there. Hopefully they come.’

(08:58)  dè bon, [ê klo?ô] yî?ê [tò?ô jèrô],
say.Pfv well, [Art road] go.Pfv [place Rel],
[ê klo?ô] yî?ê [tò?ô jèrô],
[Art road] go.Pfv [place Rel],
A: ‘(They) say, well, the place where the road went, the place where the road went,’

(09:01)  [kô yî?î cðârá] [[à bìé] fië cðârá],
[Infin go.Base T] [[3Inan all] pass.Pfv T],
Ø mâ dà cðârá,
2Sg if arrive.Base T,
A: ‘And went to Tiefora (village), everything continued on to Tiefora. When you arrive at Tiefora,’
[from the main north-south highway one turns east and drives to Tiefora, before turning north on back roads to Daramandugu]

(09:04)  wâlà→, kô këèñèë [Ø jì = ] [Ø plákî jì]
right!, Infin take.up.Base [Art something] [Art sign Indef]
ê— dè = [Ø è?ê jì] à-mà [bè tò?î],
(hesitation)— Quot [Art thing Indef] be.Loc [Dem.Def place],
A: ‘Right! To put up (another) other sign, saying that there is something (in) that place.’
[another road sign is needed at Tiefora to indicate the turn-off to Daramandugu]
(09:08) wálahi mó de⁰ còfrá fà"mà⁰ = [Ø ú⁰] [à ní],
right! 2Sg arrive.Pfv T here [Art village] [3Inan Loc],
fọ fà"mà⁰ mẹ̀-jị̀ẹ̀, pass.Base here like this,
A: ‘Right! You have arrived here in Tiefora, the village there. (Now) go (=turn)
here like this!’
[mẹ̀-jị̀ẹ̀ (§8.5.5.1)]

(09:12) ŋ̣ kò ká, à kò gbè mẹ̀-jị̀ẹ̀,
(nasal) Infin do.again.Base, 3Inan Infin be.taken.Base like this,
dẹ̀ fò = [Ø dẹ̀mạ̣̀dụ̀gù] bè,
[Quot pass.Base [Art D] Dem.Def,
A: ‘Again it (=road) is taken like this. (Saying) go to Daramandugu thus!’

(09:15) donc [ẹ̀ plákì] bè kpẹ̀mạ̣̣̀,
so [Art sign] Fut be.planted.Pfv,
fọ kò yị̀řị̀ [kò ọ̀-dạ̀],
until Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base
[ẹ̀ dụ̀-tị̣̣̀] [ẹ̀ dụ̀tọ̀-tị̣̣̣̀] [[[ẹ̀ dụ̀tị̣̣̀] kọ̀-rẹ̣̣́ nị̀]
(hesitation) [Art cliffs-hole] [[Art cliffs] side-Pl] Loc]
B: ‘So road sign(s) will be planted (=erected), all the way to the cave on the side
of the cliffs.’
[singular ké (dialectally kí) ’side, area next to’, complex PP ké nì or plural kò ré nì (§8.3.4.3)]

(09:19) wálahi, [[bẹ̀ tọ̀i⁰ = ] = à] [á bẹ̀ klẹ̀ kà-tó],
right, [[[Dem.Def Foc] it.is] [3Inan Fut be.done.Pfv thus],
mò mạ̀ gbè [mạ̀ ọ̀-dạ̀ = [Ø còfrá]]
2Sg if take.Base [if go.Base-arrive.Base [Art T]]
A: ‘Right. That (way) [focus] is how it will be done. If you take (the road) and go
and arrive in Tiefora.’
[double conditional antecedent with ‘go’ (§16.1.1.6.2)]

(09:23) bẹ̀ nà plẹ́
Dem.Def Fut be.better.Base
dẹ̀ ŋ̣ bà, dẹ̀ ŋ̣ bà = [Ø dẹ̀mạ̣̀dụ̀gù]
Quot 2Sg come.Base, Quot 2Sg come.Base [Art D]
B: ‘That (course of action) will (=would) be better.’
A: ‘Intending that you come come, intending that you come to Daramandugu.’
[< /dẹ̀ ŋ̣ bà/; 2Sg pronoun coindexed to quoted author does not take logophoric
form (§18.3)]

(09:25) bẹ̀ nà dạ̀mạ̣̣̣̣̣̀ fò biẹ́ kòsọ̀bẹ̣̀?
Dem.Def Fut please.Base [3Pl all] very.much
B: ‘That will please everyone a lot.’
(09:27) mó mā à-dāⁿ —
2Sg if come.Base-arrive.Base
mó mā à-dāⁿ = [Ø dərəməⁿdùgù],
2Sg if come.Base-arrive.Base [Art D],
[俸 úⁿ] lîⁿ ni, [俸 jì] bè tīe
[Art village] guts Loc, [Art something] Fut be.put.Pfv,
[俸 úⁿ-dē-tōʔ] nī,
[Art village-enter.Pfv-place] Loc,
A: ‘When you come and arrive—when you come and arrive in Daramandugu,
inside the village, something (=a sign) will be put up at the entrance to the village.’

(09:31) wàlá→, dè mó dēⁿ [[Ø ŭⁿ] nī].
right!, Quot 2Sg arrive.Pfv [[Art village] Loc],
wàlá→, ã piēⁿ = [Ø tīʔ-tōʔ],
right!, 3Innan remain.Pfv [Art hole-place],
A: ‘Right! Say that you have arrived in the village. Right! There remains the
(actual) grotto location.’
[3Innan à subject prospectively resuming ‘hole(=grotto)-place’]

(09:35) mó nà kāⁿ [kò yīʔī = [Ø tōʔ jâršⁿ]]
2Sg Fut ought [Hort go.Base [Art place Rel]]
[k = ó-nó = nī],
[Infin go.Base-look.at.Base 3InnanObj],
ā piēⁿ [ bè tōʔ],
3Innan remain.Pfv [Dem.Def place],
A: ‘The place to which you have to go to look at it (=grotto), it remains (to go to)
that place.’
[kāⁿ ‘must’ (§17.4.3.3)]

(09:38) donc Ø mà— ḫ gbë dà-rē, ḫ kō—
so 2Sg if— (nasal) take.Base now, 2Sg Infin—
Ḫ nà fī-jā = [[Ø ŭⁿ] nī]
2Sg Fut pass.Base [[Art village] Loc]
A: ‘So, if you take (that road) now, you—, you will go past the village.’

(09:40) mó à dī ē [Ø ŭⁿ] nī,
2Sg Ipfv enter.Ipfv [[Art village] Loc],
Ø nā á-lō-fō [kò yīʔ = [俸 dōʔ nī]],
2Sg Fut go.Base-turn.Base-pass.Base [Infin go.Base [[Art cliffs] Loc,
A: ‘You enter the village. You will go and turn, to go to the cliffs.’

(09:44) [俸 jì] nā = á-tē
[Art something] Fut go.Base-be.put.down.base
[bè tōʔ], ḫ tē— [俸 ŭʔ-klâʔ] nī,
[Dem.Dem place], (hesitation)— [Art hole-road] Loc,
A: ‘Something (=another sign) will be installed in the grotto road.’
(09:49) à mà á-té [bè tòʔà] dà-rè,
3Inan if go.Base-be.put.down.Base [Dem.Def place] now,
wálà→ [į gō sàrà]
right! [2Sg Infin proceed.to.Base]
į mà dà”, [è tiʔ-tòʔà] ní],
2Sg if arrive.Base, [Art hole-road] Loc,
A: ‘If it (=sign) is installed in that place now, right, you proceed. When you arrive
at the grotto place,’
[sàrà ‘proceed (to)’ (§15.3.5.7.1)]

(09:53) [ń dèʔp?é] nà té,
[Sg one] Fut be.put.down.Base,
[bè tòʔ=] à té [bè tòʔà],
[Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.put.downIpfv [Dem.Def place],
A: ‘One (sign) will be installed. That one is installed at that place.’

(09:55) bè nà klè— kòʔà kósóbé
Dem.Def Fut (false start)— be.good.Base very.much
B: ‘That will be great!’
[/kòʔò kósóbé/]

(09:57) mā-ni, [è yúó] mā dè [bó à bê]
if.you.see, [Art person] if say.Base [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]
3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv again Neg
A: ‘You see, if a person tries to come, he/she won’t get lost any more.’
[/jáʔà-blô/]

(09:59) 3n má jàʔà-blô táʔà-kó =?
3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv again Neg
3n má jàʔà-blô kápè =?
3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv ever.again Neg
B: ‘He/She won’t get lost any more!’
A: ‘He/She won’t get lost ever again.’
[kàŋè ‘not again’, cf. Jula kàyé]

(10:01) 3n kò— 3n kò [è násərâ] wô
(hesitation)— 3AnSg be [Art white.person] or
[3n kò [Ø kà yùó] =ō
3AnSg be [Art creature black] or
B: ‘Whether he/she is a white person …’
A: ‘Or he/she is an African.’
[willy-nilly conditional (§16.3), continued in the following segment]
(10:03) ɔ̀ⁿ kō, [ē fɔ̀rə-fi”] wō,
3AnSg be, [Art African] whether,
ɔ̀ⁿ wō [ē anglais] wō,
3AnSg be [Art English] whether,
[ō bié] mā bà, [ō bié] g-ā yiʔi mā
[3Pl all] if come.Base, [3Pl all] Infin-lpfv go.lpvf there

B: ‘Whether he/she be an African, or whether he/she be an English person. If they all come, then they will all go there.’

[Jula fɔ̀rə-fi” ‘skin-black’ = ‘African’]

(10:08) [ō bié] k-ā yiʔi mā
[3Pl all] Infin-lpfv go.lpvf there
ɔ̀ⁿhɔ”, bè nà kɔʔɔ kɔsɔbé?
uh-huh, Dem.Def Fut be.good very.much
A: ‘Then they will also go there.
B: ‘Uh-huh, that will be great!’

(< /kɔʔɔ kɔsɔbé(?)></

(10:10) jí-má-bè, [dù?= á] jàrɔ”= Ø-mā mɛⁿ-jiʔè,
otherwise, [cliffs Dem.InanSg] Rel be.Loc like.this,
é-yùò mā—
1Pl Proh—
é-yùò mā klà-lò [[dù?= á] ni],
1Pl Proh play.Base [[cliffs Dem.InanSg] Loc],

A: ‘Anyway, those cliffs that are there like that, we mustn’t play in (=be neglectful of) those cliffs.’

[jí-má-bè (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); ‘play in’ = ‘take lightly, neglect’]

(10:16) [ē dù?= ] á kɔʔɔ [Ø kɛ] [ō-bé bàʔà],
[Art cliffs] lpfv favor(v).lpfv [Art matter] [1Pl chez],
já [mó jàrɔ”] mā = á kɔⁿ = nì,
if [2Sg Rel] if PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘The cliffs are valuable for all of us. If someone (=you) doesn’t know (=realize) it,’

< kɔʔɔ [ē kɛ] ; ‘you who’ (§14.1.9); já for jì (?) ]

(10:19) dè [mó toʔ= ] á kɔⁿ =?, à= á kɔʔɔ
Quot [2Sg Foc] PfvNeg know.Base Neg, Art Inan good
A: ‘You [focus] don’t know (=realize), (that) it’s good.’
[i.e. ‘if you don’t realize that the cliffs are important, you don’t know a good thing when you see it’; < /è á kɔʔɔ/ (§4.5.3.1.2)]
(10:21) \[ \text{1Pl Past PfvNeg know.base 3InanObj} \]
\[ \text{1Pl Infin-Lpfv look.at.Lpfv} \]
\[ d = \text{cùù}^{n}\text{-klá} = [\emptyset \text{ mié}] \]
Quot 3Inan block.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
B: ‘We didn’t realize it. We considered that it (=cliff) was blocking (=was a barrier for) us.’
\[ [\text{cùù}^{n}\text{-klá (base tō}^{n}\text{-klá); mié (§4.3.1.4)}] \]

(10:24) \[[\text{bè tō}^{n} jā = ] \text{Ø-mā}] \]
\[[\text{Dem.Def place Indef be.Loc}] \]
\[ [\text{nó tō?} = ] \text{ā dō = nī [mó bà?à] lā,} \]
\[ [\text{1Sg Foc} \text{ Lpfv speak.Lpfv 3InanObj [2Sg Dat] L,} \]
A: ‘There’s a place thereof, I will tell it to you, La [name].’
\[ [\text{i.e. ‘I will tell you about it’; bè combining with indefinite jī (§6.5.4)}] \]

(10:26) mó mà diē [[\text{Ø tō}^{n} jī] ñí]
\[ 2\text{Sg if enter.Base [Art place Indef] Loc} \]
mó mà glú =?
\[ 2\text{Sg LpfvNeg exit(v).Lpfv Neg} \]
A: ‘If you enter a certain place, you won’t leave.’

(10:29) ébê
wow!
\[ \text{old.man.Pl say.Pfv—} \]
\[ [ jā \to [\text{ā tō}^{n}\text{] ā kō} = \text{rē}^{n}] \]
lo! \[ 3\text{Inan place} \text{ Lpfv be.good.Lpfv Emph} \]
B: ‘Wow!’
A: ‘(The) old men said—’
B: ‘Lo, that place is really good!’
[ébê exclamation of amazement]

(10:32) ná-di-ð dē =rē?, mó mà diē [[\text{Ø tō}^{n} jī] nī],
\[ \text{old.man.Pl say.Pfv Emph, 2\text{Sg if enter.Base [Art place Indef] Loc},} \]
jó = \[ ð = \text{Ø dō dē [diē [tō}^{n} \text{ jārō}^{n}]] \]
\[ \text{if 3\text{Pl PfvNeg say.Base Quot [enter.Base [place Rel]]},} \]
A: ‘The old men said, if you-Sg enter a certain place, it it’s a place that they didn’t
tell you to enter,’
\[ [< jī ð = ð dōl; quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1)]}
(10:36) [mó mà diē] [Ø má glú =?],
[2Sg if enter.Base] [2Sg lpfvNeg exit(v).lpfv Neg,
[ná-di-ð ð-ré jā-rē] Ø-mā [tā?ð jārā⁰]
[old.man-Pl thing-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc [place Rel]
A: ‘If you enter, you won’t leave, the place where some things of the old men are.’
[refers to ritual objects]

(10:38) bon
well
bon, bè nī, [ê?ê jārā⁰] à tāⁿ-āⁿ—
well, Dem.Def Loc, (hesitation)
[ê?ê jārā⁰] à tāⁿ-āⁿ-jū?ð mó,
[thing Rel] lpfv help.lpfv 2Sg,
ŋ kò kā kārājī =nī]
2Sg Hort Sbjn observe.Base 3InanObj]
B: ‘Well …’
A: ‘Well, in that (situation), something that helps you, you should watch over
(=take care of) it from then on.’
[Jula kārājī ‘watch over’; kā- ‘do again’]

(10:45) ŋ kāⁿ [gò sūʔ-ɡār̥ⁿ =ni]
2Sg ought [Hort catch.Base-do.well 3InanObj]
ŋ kāⁿ [gò sūʔ-ɡār̥ⁿ =ni]
2Sg ought [Hort catch.Base-do.well 3InanObj]
B: ‘You must take good care of it.’
A: ‘You must take good care of it.’

(10:48) yūo-yūo ā tāⁿ-āⁿ-jū?ð mó, sūʔ-ɡār̥ⁿ = =ðⁿ;
person-person lpfv help.lpfv 2Sg, catch.Base-do.well 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘Any person who helps you, hold on to him/her!’
[yūo-yūo distributive iteration (§6.6.2.2); < /sūʔ-ɡār̥ⁿ =ðⁿ/]

(10:50) donc, [ê ūⁿ-yūo fərā⁰], ð mà kā—
so, [Art village-people too], 3Pl Proh do.again.Base—
ð mà glō [Ø kē-tē? = ] [à nī],
3Pl Proh take.out.Base [Art hand]] [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘So, the villagers too, they mustn’t— they mustn’t abandon it.’
[lit. “take hand out from it”, partially fused, cf. di-glō ‘take out, remove’ and cf. kē-tē?è ‘hand’]
subscribe. We—
[Infin Sbjn—
[wè [Ø kè-tò-rè] [[ò dìgò-rò] bà?å],
put.Base [Art hand-Pl] [[PlRefl Recip] Dat],
A: ‘They should strive to— give a hand to each other.’
[simph out as à jìjà [kò wè [Ø kè-tò-rè] …]}]

(10:56) já"gò, já"gò, [ē tòʔa] kō—
in.order, in.order, [Art place] be—
à kō klè = [ē tòʔa kòʔa]
3Iman Infin be.done.Base [Art place good]
jí-má-bè [ē tòʔa kòʔ = ] = à,
otherwise [Art place good] it.is,
A: ‘So that the place is—.’
B: ‘It becomes a good place.’
A: ‘In other words, it’s a good place.’
[kòʔða (§4.5.3.1.2) ; jí-má-bè (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3)]

(11:01) [ō fë-ni] kò [[ná-di-ɔ jòrò] jîʔè],
[1Pl greet-VblN] be [old.man-Pl Rel.AnPl] give.Pfv,
[ná-di-ɔ jòrò] lè [ā tòʔa] [tn é],
[old.man-Pl Rel.AnPl] show.Pfv [3Iman place] [Dat 1Pl],
A: ‘Our salute is (for) the old men who gave (it), the old men who showed that
place to us.’
[‘show with ditransitive syntax (§11.1.2)]

(11:05) [ō fë-ni] kō = [ō bàʔå], jí-má-bè]
[1Pl greet-VblN] be [3Im dat], otherwise
nó bë [[nó nà jòrò] ní] më-fíʔè
look.Base Dem.Def [1Sg see.Pfv Rel] Loc] thus
A: ‘Our salute is for them. Consider that in what I have seen (=experienced) like
that.’

(11:07) [ē mlà " = ] = å " dië- şu = [[Ø tòʔa] ní],
[Art war] PfvNeg enter.Pfv-be.able.Base [[Art place] Loc],
A: ‘War could not enter that place.’
[< /mlà "á /]

(11:09) [nó fë-ni ] = rè ] ká à-má [nasèrà-kè " kà "]
[1Sg greet-VblN even] Past be.Loc [white.person-male Dem.AnSg]
jòrà " tòrè  " [[ë-yù ãnàʔa] ní]
Rel sit.Pfv [[1Pl face] Loc]
B: ‘My salute was (also) to this white man who has sat down (=is sitting) in front
of us.’
[-kè " male (human) ’]
(11:13) wálà→, k-ä gbli [Ø mű] right!, Infin-Lpfv pick.up.Lpfv [Art voice]
    k-ä gbli [ê-yûò— ý-yûò dê-fê] Infin-Lpfv pick.up.Lpfv [1Pl— 1Pl language]
wálà→ right!
A: ‘Right! And is recording the voice(s).’
B: ‘And recording our language.’
A: ‘Right!’

(11:16) [álè bòrê = ] [Ø jïë?ë] wò fû?5 [ê fî sòⁿ-sòⁿ?òⁿ]
    [even still] [Art God] Hort give.Base [Art life long]
wálà→ right!
B: ‘Even now, may God give long life.’
A: ‘Right!’
[< Jula (h)álè bèlèⁿ 'until today, to this day'; sòⁿ-sòⁿ?òⁿ (§4.5.3.2.2)]

(11:20) kò ká fû?5 [Ø fî sòⁿ-sòⁿ?òⁿ]
    Hort Sbjn give.Base [Art life long]
[ô-yûò bî-dê kâⁿ, kô kâⁿ têrêⁿ, mîrêl,
[1Pl younger.sib Dem.AnSg, be Dem.AnSg sit.Pfv, M,
B: ‘And may (He) also give long life to this our younger sibling (=sister), here she sits, Mireille.’
[first demonstrative kâⁿ is unclear on tape because of speaker overlap;
presentative kô kâⁿ (§4.4.2); Mireille is another name of co-author Aminata Ouattara]

(11:25) kâ—
and—
[jàrò bîé] ba?à,
[Rel.AnPl all] Dat,
ê→ ʒák (hesitation) (name)
B: ‘And—’
A: ‘To all who (are here).’
B: ‘Jeff’
[< /jàrò bîé/: Fl has some difficulty with a linguist’s first name]

(11:30) [kô ká fû?5 [Ø fî sòⁿ-sòⁿ?òⁿ] [ô bîé?]
    [Hort Sbjn give.Base [Art life long] [3Pl all]
[bûò jàrò] dê bûò nà tàⁿ-jû?5 [Ø mié]
B: ‘And (may He) keep giving long life to everyone.’
A: ‘They who said that they will help us.’
[mié (§4.3.1.4)]
B: ‘The way they said they will help us, the blessing of God, the village, and the old men will help us, it will turn out well.’

[Jula dūwá (< Arabic); < /kō à tāⁿ-à-jūʔ ô/]
(11:52)  wáttará
Ouattara
wálà→, oui, [bè tôʔô] má glò =ä, wálà→, donc
right!, yes, [Dem.Def all] IpfvNeg it.is Q, voilà, so
B: ‘Ouattara.’
A: ‘Right! Yes. Is it not that [focus]? There it is. So.’
[Ouattara is the other speaker’s surname]
Text 2017-12 Women greet each other, then tale about marriage

duration 03:11
Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso)
Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo)

Background note: This was the first recording in the session, with two women. They begin by introducing themselves in Jula, then (after whispered discussion) switch to Tiefo-D, with greetings and a tale beginning around 01:42. The tale is not completed because it includes a song in Jula. The tale is repeated more smoothly as 2017-13. The narrator’s dialect resembles that of our main male Bi speaker but reflects some dialect mixing.

(00:07) \[
\text{[ë— ë— ë— Coulibaly Ye, bà bö màsàsò] (name) Infin exit(v) M} \\
A: ‘(I am) Coulibaly Ye, (I) come from Masaso (quartier).’ \\
[Jula bà bö ; Tiefo-D name for Masaso quartier is ë màsà-ë]
\]

(00:13) Ouattara Christine, bà sàgmègš (name) Infin exit(v) Sangogo
B: ‘(I am) Ouattara Christine, (I) come from Sangogo (quartier).’

[pause]

(00:20) \[
\text{ê dàrà?á = rè→} \\
[Art tale Emph] \\
A: ‘A tale, right?’ \\
[< /dàrà?á/]
\]

[unintelligible whispering]

(00:26) \[
\text{dè ná = à fë-à-sù?ũ,} \\
\text{Quot 1Sg lpfv greet.lpfv-lpfv-give.lpfv,} \\
\text{bùò à kēnē mà = ã,} \\
\text{2Pl lpfv be.healthy.lpfv there.Def Q} \\
\text{A: ‘(They said) that I should greet (you). Are you-Pl in good health?’} \\
[< Jula kēnē ‘be in good health’]
\]

(00:30) \[
\text{ê dàrà?á-yũó bìé?,} \\
\text{Art courtyard-people all} \\
\text{ā à kēnē} \\
\text{3Pl lpfv be.healthy.lpfv} \\
\text{A: ‘(What about) all the people of (your) household?’} \\
B: ‘They are fine.’
\]
è bì-ʃìò
Art children
[ò bìé] à kënë
[3Pl all] Ipfv be.healthy.Ipfv
A: ‘(What about) the children?’
B: ‘They are all fine.’

(00:36) ő kā= à-mā, [è á kōʔō] ni
3Pl Infin be.Loc, [Art Inan good] Loc
à"hā", [ò bìé] à-mā= [[=á kōʔō] ni]
uh-huh, [3Pl all] be.Loc [[Art good] Loc]
A: ‘They are there, in a good state?’
B: ‘Uh-huh, they are all in a good state.’
/kā-mā, apparently a variant of à-mā ‘be.Loc’ in this formula; á kōʔō ~ á kōò ‘good one (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2)

(00:39) [ē jùʔè] kò tàⁿ-jùʔō [Ø miè]
àmînì
amen!
A: ‘May God help us!’
B: ‘Amen!’
[hortative in a wish (§10.4.2.3.1); miè (§4.3.1.4)]

(00:40) [kò sùʔò sàábbu] [Ø èʔè [á kō]] è
[Hort give.Base good.luck] [Art thing [Inan good] 1Pl
àmînì
amen!
A: ‘(And) give us good luck (and) a good thing!’
B: ‘Amen!’
/ kò sùʔò sàábbu/ with variant of sàábbu ; assistants suggest emending final è to dative è" [Ø miè]/

(00:43) [ē jùʔè] ò sùʔù = [Ø dùgá]
àmînà
amen!
A: ‘May God receive our prayers!’
B: ‘Amen!’

(00:47) ē dàràʔá, é-yùò dàràʔá,
Art tale, 1Pl tale,
[hesitation] [Art marriage—], (hesitation) [Art marriage-tale]
[fərù < Jula, corrected by adding the pure Tiefo-D word]
A person said she would not marry. They tried to get her to (come and) get married.'

[‘sit’ also means ‘marry’, short for ‘sit with’; Jula bámá (local French grouiller)]
A: ‘An adolescent girl. So, marriage. She said she would not get married.’

[‘sit’ here = ‘settle down (in a home), by extension ‘(woman) get married’]

A: ‘They took a tomtom and put it up in a tree.’

A: ‘They took a tomtom and put (it) up (in the tree), then a leper climbed up.’

A: ‘The girl (correct to: the leper) climbed up and took position in (=atop) the fromager tree. (Or rather:) the leper climbed up.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[‘the girl’ is corrected to ‘the leper’; Ceiba pentandra, a huge tree, in local French fromager; the people challenged suitors of the girl to show their worth by climbing the tree and beating the drum]
A: ‘By beating the tomtom, …’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘… that one (=leper) would become the woman’s man (=husband).’

[‘place’ here = ‘situation’]

A: ‘He (=leper) came down (the tree). When he came down, they went home.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘They went home. They went and took it. (They) took it.’

A: ‘She would put some cakes up (to cook). The man (=leper) would walk to her place in the market.’

[< /3ⁿ kò à té e wòmî/; the woman would go to the market, and fry and sell millet-flour cakes (galettes de mil) at the market]

A: ‘She said, “he isn’t my husband”, although (in fact) her husband [focus] was what he was.’

[< /bò dë mâ/; < /3ⁿ dë tôʔô dô à glô/; = à glô ‘it is’ after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5)]
(02:24)  [ē dɔ] kō bà— klá— [ē kō jì]
   [Art man] Infin come.Base return.Base— [Art day Indef]
   ā klē kā-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
   A: ‘The man went back one day.’
   B: ‘It happened like that.’

(02:28)  kō bà-lè
   [[ē wù?ú] nì]
Infin come.Base-stop.Base [[Art house] Loc]
   ā klē kā-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
   ɔ̀n pè?è-lè
   [[ē wù?ú] nì] bè-yá-ró,
3AnSg lean.against.Pfv [[Art house] Loc] thus,
   A: ‘(He) would come and stay at the house.’
   B: ‘It happened like that.’
   A: ‘She lurked near the house in that way.’
   [compound verb pè?è-lè/pà?á-lè/pà?–à-lè ‘lean on (wall); lurk near house’]

(02:31)  [dè–dè nì] [ē dɔ] gò glû = [[Ō wà?á³] ŋ]
   [now Loc] [Art man] Infin exit(v).Base [[Art market] Loc]
   [gō bà],
   [Infin come.Base].
   A: ‘Now the man left the market and came (back).’

(02:33)  ɔ̀n mā dè [bō nà dì-glō [Ō fè?è]],
   3AnSg if say.Base [LogoSg Fut remove [Art garment]],
   [ē dɔ] kō— [ē yō] kō mā³?á³-sù?ô = = ō,
   [Art man] Infin— [Art woman] Infin roll.Base-catch.Base 3AnSgObj,
   A: ‘If he said he would (=if he tried to) take away a garment, the man— (or
   rather) the woman would hug him tightly.’
   [< /kō mā³?á-sù?ô = ō/]

(02:38)  ɔ̀n mè³?è³-sù?ô = = ō lò,
   3AnSg roll.Pfv-catch.Base 3AnSgObj after,
   ɔ̀n nè má klè jèr³n
   3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg do.Ipfv Rel
   ā klē kā-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
   A: ‘After she hugged him, which she (previously) was not doing, …’
   B: ‘It happened like that.’
   [< /ɔ̀n dè mā³/]

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A: ‘She would lay out a new mat. Then she would cook some tô, and put it in the eating bowl.’
B: ‘It happened like that.
 tô is a basic staple food made from maize or less often millet flour, in the form of a thick pudding, on which sauce is served

A: ‘(She) put (it) in a fine eating bowl, (she) scooped (it) out, she offered (it) to him in a nice (bowl).’

á kōʔô (§4.5.3.1.2); ñúá ‘scoop ( tô) from pot into eating bowl’

A: ‘Then (she) came and laid out a mat. The man said that he wouldn’t go to bed (with her).’

They got a spokesperson (=intermediary). An old woman came and intervened.

A: ‘He went to bed.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

pause as the narrator realizes that the song in the tale is in Jula language}
A: ‘The tale ends in that place.’
B: ‘I don’t sing the songs.’

A: ‘But if I sing the song(s), all of it is in Jula!’
B: ‘No, sing the song!’
A: ‘There’s no problem.’
B: ‘Sing it!’

[after more discussion, the entire tale was re-told by these speakers as the following text 2017-13]
Text 2017-13 Girl who refuses marriage (tale)

duration 03:53
A: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), narrator
B: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

(00:04) [è náⁿ-bí jí], ṣⁿ = Ø kò,
[Art child Indef], 3AnSg Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
dò kò lò [dⁿ dɔ́]
3Pl Infin show.Base [3AnSg man],
A: ‘A child (=girl). She was beautiful. They showed (her) her man (=future husband).’

[the respondent echoes the first two parts of this]

(00:08) ò lè [dⁿ dɔ́]
3Pl show.Pfv [3AnSg man],
3ⁿ dè [bó má târëⁿ = ?],
3AnSg say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg],
A: ‘They showed (her) her man, (but) she said she would not marry.’

[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2), one of several in this narrative text; ‘sit’ = ‘settle (in a home)’ = ‘(woman) get married’]

(00:13) dè bó má târëⁿ lö
Quot LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv after
5ⁿ klè kā
3AnSg do.Pfv thus
[ē sē] k-ä jè [Ø úⁿũⁿ] ni-mā [à ní],
[Art father] Infin-Ipfv see.Ipfv [Art head] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘When (she) said she would not marry,’
B: ‘She did that.’
A: ‘The father was seeing that there was no head in it (=that she was stubborn).’

(00:17) [ē sē] kò yĩñ-fĩñ [gô nèʔ = [ē jámá]],
[Art father] Infin get.up.Base [Infin ask.Base [Art crowd]],
d = ́, ò kò?ò [bó ní]
Quot (hesitation)— 3Pl benefit(v).Base [LogoSg Loc],
‘The father got up and asked the crowd to do him a service.’
< /kò nèʔe/ ; < /dè ò kò?ò bó/
A: ‘To go pick up a (big) tomtom and put it up in a fromager tree.’
/fromager is local French for the huge tree Ceiba pentandra/

A: ‘Then (he) had the girl climb up (the tree). Then (she) went and sat (on the top).’

A: ‘The crowd went away. (They) went away. Now a leper came by.’
/kō bá [Ω = à-Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4)]/

A: ‘An old woman was bathing. The old woman kept telling him (=leper), “hey, clean my back.”’
/’stay’ = ‘keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); cīlī ‘clean.Base’ (dialectally cīlē) /

A: ‘He was cleaning (it).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘He cleaned it, then he saw a needle.’
/perfective echo clause; < /b̩ kō jī cī mēsòrēn/}

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A: ‘(Old woman:) “What did you see?” He said (to the old woman), “I saw a needle (in your back).” ’

[first dè unclear on recording due to speaker overlap; č děʔe ‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1)]

A: ‘So (she) told him to take it out! Then he took it out.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘The young men came—one person at a time. They came and climbed.’

[the first part is an echo of the preceding; proto-progressive with verbal noun and locative (§10.2.4.1)]

A: ‘The young woman would be singing a song.’
[the following song is in Jula]
[sings in Jula:]

(01:05) dè mɔ̀yɔ̀ mí ɲɔ̀ sé kà yèlè [bànà-yirí kàaᵊ],
Quot person Rel Infin be.able Infin ascend [fromager.tree on].
 wò tígwí rè sànà-dùⁿ bɔ̀yɔ̀,
Dem owner Dem gold-tomtom beat,
mà-sà déⁿ sànà-dùⁿ
king child gold-tomtom

A: ‘The person (=young man) who is able to climb to (the top of) the fromager tree, that fellow will beat the golden drum, the golden drum of the king’s child.’ ”

[wò tígwí rè for wò tígwí bì nà ‘that person will come ...’; sànà-dùⁿ for sànú-dùⁿ’dúⁿ]}

(01:11) bò-wí bà këⁿGBP,  
   fellow if ascend.Base,
   ɔ̃ wò yiǐí [gò rà-dàⁿ] [[Ô sicù́ò] ní]
   kò leⁿ-klà, ɔ̃ wò sàrgb,  
   Infin stop.Base-return.Base, 3AnSg Infin descend.Base,
   A: ‘When the fellow climbed up, he got as far as the middle, then (he got tired and) stopped and came back down.’

(01:17) [è jì] wò táⁿ-gbë, bò-wí  
   [Art someone] Infin take.over.Base, fellow
gò yiǐí [kò rà-këⁿGBP],  
Infin go.Base [Infin go.and-ascend.Base] [Infin— (nasal) fail.Base],
   A: ‘Someone (else) would take over (from him). That fellow would go and (try to) climb up and fail.’
   [è jì here ‘someone’, elsewhere often ‘something’ (§6.5.4); pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]

(01:22) [è näⁿ-bí] g-ã wò [Ô dàrîⁿ?îⁿ],  
   [Art child] Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song],
   [ɔⁿ wí] bà rà-[klè-tè],  
   [3AnSg owner] if go.and-[fail.Base]] [3AnSg Infin descend.Base],
   A: ‘The young woman was singing. When the fellow went and failed, he went (back) down.’

(01:25) à wò klè  
31man Infin be.done.Base
   [è cí-cò-rò bî́] kò bà-kê,  
   [Art young.man-Pl all] Infin come.Base-finish.Base,
   A: ‘It happened. All the able-bodied young men came and were finished.’
   [i.e. there were no others left who had not tried to climb; singular cí-cù́ò (see @ 02:19 below)]
A: ‘Now the leper took his turn.’

A: ‘(They said:) “yet you, a leper, will be able to climb?” ’

A: ‘The leper was taking his turn. The young woman was singing.’

A: ‘The one who is able to climb to (the top of) the fromager tree, that fellow will come to Namarama (=young woman’s name), two chiefs, the king’s (child) Namarama.’ ”
A: 'The young woman was singing like that. The leper was climbing up, and climbing up;'
B: 'It happened like that.'
A: 'And climbing up.'

A: 'Eventually the leper went and took hold of the drum and was beating it.'
[iterated verb (§9.5); both occurrences of gɔ̀ with rising tone marking progressive]

A: 'The young woman—They climbed down. After they climbed down,'
[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2) with lò (§15.3.5.6)]

A: 'The father kept saying, whether the young woman is weeping, or whether she is laughing (i.e. whether she likes it or not), her husband [focus] is that one. Right!'
(02:08) [ʒⁿ dô dô] wô kâⁿ [ò wô yiîtí [Ø lê]],
[3AnSg man Foc] be Dem.AnSg [3Pl Infin go.Base [Art home]],
[è náⁿ-bî] dê [bó máⁿ târëⁿ =?],
[Art child] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg],
A: ‘Her husband is that one.’ They went home. The young woman said she
wouldn’t (=she refused to) get married.’
[< /dô dô/; ‘sit’ = ‘settle (in a home’) = ‘(woman) get married’]

(02:11) k-ă lá = [Ø wɔmîⁿ]
Infin-Ipfv fry.Ipfv [Art cakes]
[ŋ-ă yó [â bî?î]],
Infin-Ipfv become.black.Ipfv [3Inan night],
[è bîtrô] kô wê [ʒⁿ jɔ?ɔ],
[Art leper] Infin put.in.Base [3AnSg boubou],
A: ‘She would fry cakes until nightfall. The leper would put on his boubou
(=outer garment).’
[wɔmîⁿ thin fried cakes made from millet flour with some rice porridge; < /wɔmîⁿ
kô à/]

(02:15) kò yiîtí [kô rà-dô [ë wɔmîⁿ] [ʒⁿ bà?à]]
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-buy.Base [Art cakes] [3AnSg chez]]
ás klê kâ-tô
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘Then (the leper) went and bought some cakes at her place.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

(02:17) ʒⁿ màn klâ = [Ø dɔ?ɛ],
3AnSg if return.Base [Art evening],
ʒⁿ nê = [[Ø yô-dê] bà?à],
3AnSg say.Pfv [[Art woman-old] Dat],
A: ‘When she came back in the evening, she said to the old woman,’
[< /ʒⁿ ba klâ è dɔ?ɛ/; < /ʒⁿ dê è yô-dê/]}

(02:19) dê bó jà nê— [ë cî-cùʔɔ jî],
Quot LogoSg see.Pfv (hesitation)— [Art young.man Indef],
[ë cî-cùʔɔ] a kô kâsâbëʔ,
[Art young.man] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv very.good,
A: ‘(Young woman:) “I saw a young man. The young man is very handsome.”’
(02:24)  á ji bó dè bú = ò,  ah!  if  LogoSg  IpfvPast get.Base 3AnSgObj,
           bó na tòràn [bó tò?ó] bà?à],
        LogoSg Fut sit.Base [[3AnSg Foc] Dat],
   A: ‘(Young woman:) “Ah, if I had gotten him (as husband), I would have married
         him [focus].” ’
   [counterfactual; first two occurrences of bó are logophoric, the third bó is
         (nonlogophoric) third singular before focus morpheme]

(02:26)  [ë yò-dè]  d= [[ẽ n júo] = yà],  [Art woman-old] say.Pfv [[3AnSg Poss.An] it.is],
           dè [bó júó] máº glò,
   Quot [LogoSg Poss.An] IpfvNeg it.is,
   A: ‘The old woman said, “he is yours.” (The young woman) said, “he isn’t
       mine.” ’
   [default animate possessum júó (§6.2.4.2); positive = (y)à ‘it is’ and its negation
       máº) glò (§11.2.1.1-2)]

(02:29)  [[ë yò-dè]  d= [[ẽ n júo] = yà]  [Art woman-old] say.Pfv [3AnSg Poss.An] it.is,
           [dè [bó júó] máº glò],
   say.Pfv [LogoSg Poss.An] IpfvNeg it.is,
   A: ‘(Again) the old woman said, “he is yours.” (Again the young woman) said,
       “he isn’t mine.” ’

(02:31)  dè bon dè ji ẽ n mà á là [bó nì],  Quot well Quot if 3AnSg if PfvNeg believe.Base [LogoSg Loc],
        ã klè kà-tó
   3Inan be.done.Pfv thus]
   [ë kò jì] ẽ n nà= [Ó wòmìn á bì-bì],  [Art day Indef] 3AnSg see.Base [Art cakes Inan small],
        A: ‘(The old woman) said, “all right, if you-Sg don’t believe me, …’
   B: ‘It happened like that.’
   A: ‘… one day, stir up a little (dough for) cakes.’
        [á bì-bì (§4.5.3.2.2, §8.5.2.2.3)]

(02:35)  [ẽ n mà là-dàn]  [wò tn té bà-bà?à],  [3AnSg if go.Base-arrive.Base] [Hort (hesitation) put.in quickly],
           kò léº-klá,
   Infin stand.Base-return.Base,
   A: ‘(Old woman:) “When you arrive, put (some dough) on quickly, then get up
       and return.” ’
        [< /ẽ n bà/]

Text 2017-13
woman grabbed and held him tightly.

(02:48) ³n mà pà?á-lêⁿ, [è dê], 3AnSg if lurk.Base, [Art man]
³n mâ bâ [bâ à-diê] [dà?á jàr5ⁿ], 3AnSg if come.Base [if come.Base-enter.Base] [moment Rel],
ā klê kà-tó 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘(Old woman:) “When you lurk (around the house), the man, when he comes and enters (=comes in), ...” ’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
(00 <= /³n bâ bâ [bâ bâ-diê dà?á/ with two occurrences each of ‘if’ and ‘bà ‘come’
(cf. §15.1.5.1))]

(02:51) [³n mà =à-diê] 3AnSg if come.Base-enter.Base]
[¤ bô nà di-głô = [Ø jô?â] [tô?â jàr5ⁿ]] [Quot LogoSg Fut take.out.Base [Art boubou] [place Rel]]
A: ‘(Old woman:) “You will see its (=the place).’ The young woman— (or rather), the leper came and went in.’
[< /³n bè/ with bè future: bà [Ø à- (§15.2.3.2.4)]

(02:53) ³n kôl-wê = [[Ø bítârò] jô?â],
Infin return.Base-put.in.Base [[Art leper] boubou],
A: ‘... (he) then (changed clothes) and put on the leper’s boubou. The young
woman grabbed and held him tightly.’
[< /më?ë-sú?û/]
 gò gò [Ø bû-bû],
 Infin emit.Base [Art shout(n)],
 A: ‘She grabbed and held him, and let out a shout.’
 [gò ‘hit’ here in the sense ‘emit, utter’]

(02:59) [è yō-dè] gò bà,
 [Art woman-old] Infin come.Base,
 ā klè kè-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘Then the old woman came.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’

(03:00) [è yō-dè] bà,
 [Art woman-old] come.Base,
 [è yō-dè] gā = à-pēⁿ-dè
 ē dè é!, d = 3ⁿ já [3ⁿ mfʔá],
 (hesitation) Quot oh!, Quot 3AnSg leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 A: ‘After the old woman came, the old woman came and kept saying, she told the
 leper, “oh!, give up!”’
 [begins with perfective echo clause; lit. “leave yourself!”]

(03:03) [è bítáró] dè [bó má lēⁿ = =è ní],
 [Art leper] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg stop.Ipfv 3Inan Loc],
 3AnSg say.Pfv oh! Quot 3AnSg—
 [è bítáró] já [3ⁿ mfʔá],
 [Art leper] leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 A: ‘The leper said that he did not consent (=he refused). She (=old woman) said,
 oh, he—the leper must give up!’
 [first dè inaudible but implied; < lēⁿ [à ní]/ (§17.4.4.1)]

(03:08) fɔ 3ⁿ wô— já [3ⁿ mfʔáⁿ],
 until 3AnSg Infin— leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 [è dɔ] wô já [3ⁿ mfʔáⁿ],
 [Art man] Infin leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 A: ‘Eventually he gave up, the man gave up.’
A: ‘When the man gave up, …
B: ‘It happened like that.’

[perfective echo clause with lò]

A: ‘The young person (=girl) bought and picked out a new eating bowl.’

A: ‘And gave (it) to the man. Then the man ate.’

A: ‘She then brought a (new) mat that had never been slept on.’

[verbs t̥̄n/ t̥̄n/t̥̄n ‘knead, cook (tô)’ then t̥̄r̥̄/t̥̄t̥̄/tô ‘cook (sauce)’; tô is maize cakes onto which sauce is served; nouns /cèrù/, /dìè/]

[< /sù?5 3n e d̄̄s/]

[with [[Art mat Rel] PfvNeg lie.down.Base-ExpPf],
A: ‘She then brought a (new) mat that had never been slept on.’

[[-n̥̄s as -Vb2 for experiential perfect (§15.1.4.3), here negative; < /kà čàpù?ô jèr5n/; intransitive ‘lie down’ as passive ‘be lain on’]
A: ‘She then took that very same mat and laid (it) out. The man said, “I will not lie down.”’
[focalized prenominal bē (§6.5.3)]

(03:27) [ē nā̄-bl] wō gō [Ō bú-bū], ē dā—, [Art child] Infin emit.Base [Art shout(n)], Art man—,
[Ō = à-fū́] [ē nā̄ nā̄], [Infin come.Base-plead.Base] [3AnSg Dat],
‘The young woman let out a shout. The man— (or rather) the old woman again came (up to him) and pleaded with him.’
[tā̄ ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3); verb fū̄/fū́ ‘plead’; < /ā̄ bāʔa/]

(03:31) [[ō kō diē] [wō sēn], [3Pl Infin enter.Base [Infin lie.down.Base],
[ō rā— ō diē]] [ēnā ni], [Infin go.Base — Infin unite.Base] situation] Loc],
A: ‘As soon as they went in and lay down, to go and couple,’

A: ‘The man said, “I do not accept (=I refuse).” The woman— the young woman let out another shout.’

[g = à-fū́], kō fū́ = yō [Infin come.Base-plead.Base], Infin plead.Base 3AnSgObj ā klē kā-tō [3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘The old woman again came and pleaded, (she) pleaded with him.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
[= yō variant of 3AnSg object enclitic (§4.3.2.3)]

(03:42) [ē fārū] kō bē”, [Art marriage] Infin be.in.harmony,
A: ‘The marriage became harmonious.’
[fārū < Jula; bē” < Jula; cf. Tiefo-D [ē tōrāʔā”] kō tō-sō]
(03:44) Ø mà jù?₃ dè→ é-yùò dè→
2Sg if hear.Base Quot 1Pl say.Pfv
[Ø cỳ̀â-r₃] d = [ò mâⁿ gbli [è tàrà"n"]],
A: ‘If you hear that we have said, we the Tiefo have said, “don’t-2Pl (try to) pick (your) marriage.”’
[< mó bà jù?₃ ‘if you hear’, cf. má = â nì ‘if you see’]

(03:48) [bè tò?₃] kò bè
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def
á! à kònì, [â ànà?ò té] = à
ah! 3Inan be.thus, [3Inan face Foc.Inan ] it.is
àlfí bè mâⁿ glò = à
Ali Dem.Def IpfvNeg it.is Q
A: ‘That’s what it is.’
B: ‘Oh! It is thus. That’s the essence of it.’
A: ‘Ali, isn’t that it?’
[â kònì < Jula; Ali is another name for Jean-Pierre]
Text 2017-14 Preparation of soumbala spice

duration 00:54
A: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker
B: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

Background note: soumbala is a major spice, sold in markets the form of dry black chunks. It is an ingredient in a wide range of sauces and in riz gras. It is produced by fermenting seeds of the néré tree, Parkia biglobosa. Its fruits are long bivalve pods that, when ripe, can be easily shelled at the sutures, revealing the seeds covered with a mass of bright yellow meal. The meal itself is edible dry as a snack, cooked with millet couscous, or fed to livestock. It too is sold in markets. After removing the meal, the seeds are made into soumbala as described below.

(00:08) [ē sə̀rùⁿ Œ-mā [[Œ jùʔⁿ] ni]
[Art Parkia.fruit] be.Loc [[Art tree] Loc]
A: ‘Fruit of Parkia is in the tree.’
[< /sə̀rùⁿ à-mā;/ Parkia biglobosa tree, locally known as néré (< Jula-Bambara)]

(00:11) ă bə sē,
3Inan if fruit.take.shape.Base,
ō kō kpā = nī,
1Pl Infin pick.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘After it (fruit) has been produced (by the tree), we pick them (=fruits).’
[singular used generically for pods; free translation uses plural; ’came and VP’ used by this speaker as ’after VPed’; verb cůʔɛ/kpā/kpē ~ kpē]

(00:13) [ō bə kpā = nī]
[1Pl if pick.Base 3InanObj]
[ō gō blè = nī]
1Pl Infin shell(v).Base 3InanObj
A: ‘When we have picked them, then we shell them.’
[the fruit pods are split by hand to obtain the seeds; verb blè/blè/blè]

(00:16) ćə bə blè = nī,
1Pl if shell(v).Base 3InanObj,
ō gō cůʔ5 = ni
1Pl Infin pound.lightly.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When we have shelled them, then we pound them lightly.’
[after discarding the pods, the seeds are still covered by a thick yellow meal and are pounded to separate seeds and meal; light pounding in a mortar; verb cůʔɛ/cůʔ5/cůʔ5]
[wō rà-lá" = ní],
[Infin go.Base-wash.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘(We) then go with (=take) them to the pond, and (we) wash them thoroughly.’
[‘go with’ = ‘convey, take, deliver’; kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); ‘wash’ lē"/lā"/lá"]

(00:21) kō bà [gā = à-gbē [Ø tè-tèʔè]] Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-take.Base [Art pot]]
[kō jùʔò],
[Infin put.up.on.Base],
A: ‘(We) then come and take a cooking pot and put (it) up,’
[< /kō bā kō (b)à/~ (§15.2.3.2.4); kō jùʔò with final H-tone anticipating object = ní, this is completed in next segment; verb dīʔè/jùʔî/jùʔû ‘put (pot, kettle, etc.) up on (hearth), i.e. over fire or on burner’ (homophone of ‘follow’); a hearth is typically three large stones that form a platform for placing the pot over the fire]

(00:23) [kō jùʔò = ní] [ē dâ"ʔa" ní],
[Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj] [[Art fire] Loc],
à gō bē,
3Inan Infin be.cooked.Base,
A: ‘(We) put it (=pot) up over the fire. Then it is done (=cooked).’

(00:26) à bā bē,
3Inan if be.cooked.Base,
ā kÎlè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
ó kō wē = ní [[Ø sî] ní]
1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art mortar] Loc]
[kò flā = ní],
[Infin pound.lightly.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘When it is done (=fully cooked),’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘… then (we) put it in a mortar and we pound it lightly’
[verb blē/bē/blē ‘become tired; (food) be cooked, be done; ripen’ (bē is elsewhere the Ipfv, not base, of ’come’); verb flē/flá/flā ‘pound (usually grain) somewhat lightly, not all the way into fine flour]
A: ‘Then (we) go back (to the pond) and wash it.’
B: ‘It’s top was like that.’

[‘return-go and go-wash’ with unusual non-suppleted repetition of ‘go’, elsewhere with repeat phrased as kō rā- (§15.2.3.4). B: not fully clear on recording, perhaps contracted from à yîf lā’ ānâ?à]

A: ‘When we have washed it, we come and sauté it.’

[verb flè/flò/flò ‘sauté, dry-cook (e.g. meat) lightly, stirring frequently]

A: ‘Then (we) hide (=cover) it. Then we add chili peppers.’

[klè-gbâ?á is an irregular compound denoting a worn-out, leaky calabash that can be used to slowly drain off liquid]

A: ‘Then (we) add salt, then (we) cover it.’

[A: ‘When it has been covered, (after) three days, it comes out (=is taken out).’]

[< /è dè ò sâ”/]
(00:45) à gō klè = [Ø yarú],
3Inan Infin be.done.Base [Art soumbala],
kò dí
Infin eat.Base
A: ‘It has become soumbala (spice). Then (we) eat.’

(00:48) dè mó dò = nì dè mó
Quot 2Sg speak.Base 3InanObj Quot 2Sg
[nó gblè = ñ [tìì jìì]]
[1Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
[nó tìì = ñ mā]
[1Sg put.down 3InanObj there.Def]
B: ‘You tell it.’
A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, I have put it (back) down there.’
Text 2017-15 Brewing sorghum beer 1

duration 00:45
A: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker
B: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

Cf. text 2017-17 below on the same topic. Background note: beer is brewed locally from sorghum as described below. Other alcoholic beverages known in the area are palm wine and mead (local French hydromiel) made from honey. Farther north in the sahel of Burkina and Mali, beer is brewed from millet or from a millet-sorghum mix.

(00:07) i-yùò bà?à, i-yùò à di-à-glö [Ø gblè”nì”], 1Pl chez, 1Pl Ipfv take.out.Ipfv [Art sorghum], kō wē =nì= [[Ø jũ] nì], Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art water] Loc],
A: ‘Among us, we take out some sorghum (grains). Then (we) put it in water.’
[transitive compound verb di-è-glö/di-à-glo ‘take out’, cf. uncompounded intransitive glö/glú ‘exit (v), go/come out’]

(00:13) ò bà wē =nì= [[Ø jũ] nì] [kō jàrō”], 1Pl if put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art water] Loc] [day Rel], [ä dè] [ò jõ”], ò gō lá” =nì, [3Inan day] [Pl two], 1Pl Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When we have put it in water on a given day, the second (=next) day, then we wash it.’
[first clause mixed relative clause and conditional antecedent (); kō ‘day’ (as locator), then dè ‘day’ (as unit of counting); verb lë”/là”/làn “wash’]

(00:18) ò bà lá” =nì, 1Pl if wash.Base 3InanObj,
ò gō tiê =nì [ê tɔ] nì], 1Pl Infin put.down.Base 3InanObj [[Art ground] Loc],
A: ‘When we have washed it, we lay it on the ground.’
Inan germinate. Base, Inan if germinate. Base, …

Inan be.done.Pfv thus

ō kò yì?é— yì?é = nì,

Inan (hesitation)— turn.over.Base InanObj,

A: ‘Then it (=sorghum grains) germinates. When it has germinated, …’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘… then we turn it over.’

[bì nì,] bud (v); germinate’; yì?é ‘turn over (germinated sorghum)’

Inan next. morning

Inan be.dry.in.sun.Base InanObj,

A: ‘The next morning, we dry it out (in the sun).’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[dì-cù”ùh (§8.5.7.1); verb cìʔɛ̀/cìʔɛ̀/cìʔɛ̀ ‘dry out, set out in the sun to dry’]

Inan if dry.in.sun.Base InanObj, after, Inan if be.dry.Base.

Inan proceed.to.Base [Infin put.in.Base InanObj] [Art mill] [Loc]

[gbè = nì]

Infin mill(v).Base InanObj]

Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘When we have dried it out (in the sun), when it is dry, we proceed to put it (in) the mill machine, to mill (=grind) it.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[< / = nì e mà[ìn] nì; invariant verb gbè ‘grind coarsely, mill (grain) (in milling machine)’]

Inan if mill(v).Base InanObj,

Inan be.milled.Pfv [day Rel]

Inan be.put.up.on.Base [Dem.Def day Emph],

A: ‘When we have milled it, the (same) day that it has been milled, it is put up (on the fire, to brew) that same day.’

[verb jìʔè ~ dìʔè/jùʔè/jùʔù ‘put up (on fire)’; < /à à jùʔù bì kò = rè→/ with
= rè→ (§19.4.4)]
(00:35)  
[あ  で-込み]  お  きて  で  =  に,
[3inan  next.morning]  1pl  infin  boil.down.base  3inanobj,
[あ  け]  [オ  非  倍],  あ  ご  の,
[3inan  day]  [pl  three],  3inan  infin  be.drunk.base,
A: ‘The next day, we boil it down. The third day, it is drunk.’
/dè/dè/dè  ‘boil down (beer)’; け (archaic) = で  ‘day (as locator)’; < /あ  で  で

(00:41)  
[ノ  つれ  =  に  [とよ  じろん]]
[1sg  pick.up.pfv  3inanobj  [place  rel]]
[ノ  て  =  に  ま]
[1sg  put.down  3inanobj  there.def]
A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, I have put it (back) down.’
Preparation of shea-butter (beurre de karité)

duration 01:30
A: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker
B: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

Background note: Shea-butter is an important oil for cooking and grooming. At moderate temperatures it is buttery in texture, unlike other locally produced oils which are liquid. The fruits contain a large pit covered with sweet yellow pith which is readily consumed. The butter is made from the kernels inside the pits as described below. The shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*) is also the host of the karité caterpillar, *Cirina butyrospermi*, which forms a major protein source for people in the Bobo Dioulasso area around July-August. Because of its usefulness, the shea tree is left standing wherever fields are being cleared.

(00:08) bon, íⁿ-yùò wò yìñí, well, 1Pl Infin go.Base,
[ê dìʔɛ] gò sì, [[ê pòʔó] nì].
[Art shea.fruit] Infin take.shape.Base, [[Art the.bush] Loc],
A: ‘Okay, we go (out to the bush). Shea tree fruits have developed, out in the bush.’
[verb sàrɛ̃/sɛ̃/sɛ̃ (dialectally imperfective sì) ‘shape, carve; take shape, (e.g. fruit) develop’

(00:15) ó kò sàⁿ = nì,
1Pl Infin collect.Base 3InanObj,
à bà wë-[kè-tèʔɛ] [[ë sóʔó-nì] nì]
3Inan if give.a.hand.Base [[Art fall.to.ground-VblN] Loc]
[ó kò sàⁿ],
[1Pl Infin collect.Base],
A: ‘We collect them (on the ground). When they are ready to fall to the ground, we collect (them).’
[verb sëʔɛ̃/sòʔó/sòʔó ‘fall to ground’; wë-[kè-tèʔɛ] ([§17.4.2.3.2) with human subject means ‘give a hand, help out’]
A: ‘When we have collected it and when (we) have come back home, we put it up on the fire (in a pot). Then (we) sauté it.’

[i.e. cook the entire fruits (including skin and pith) lightly, stirring frequently; double conditional antecedent with subject omitted in second clause]

A: ‘When we have sautéed it, we scoop it out (with a metal straining ladle)’

[verb jū̀̃-glō/jú̀̃-glō/jú̀̃-'à̤-glō ‘scoop (small solids, out of a liquid)’, compound of ‘lick’ and ‘remove’]

A: ‘Then (we) dry it (in the sun). When it has dried out (in the sun) and is dry, we proceed to pound it lightly (in a mortar).’

[double conditional antecedent with omitted subject in second clause; uncontracted kṓ à (imperfective chain), for some speakers always contracted kā́ = à; verbs cè̀̄/cà̄/cà̄à ‘set out (or be set out) in sun to dry’ and cū̀̃è/cū̀̃/cū̀̃ ‘pound lightly (in mortar)’, also (bird) peck at ‘]}

A: ‘When we have pounded it lightly, we put it in an oven.’

[a simple oven constructed from mud with a small opening on top, specifically for this purpose]
A: ‘Then it cooks (in the oven). When it has cooked, then we take it to the grinding mill.’

[weʔë/wóʔo/wóʔo ‘bake (karité pits) in an earthenware oven’, elsewhere ‘roast (meat); steam (couscous)’; kà lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

(00:41) kò yĩ?ĩ [gō rà— ŋ nà =nì],
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base— (nasal) grind.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘Then (we) go and grind it (in the mill).’

[kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); verb nè/nà/nīé ~ nà ‘grind (finely)’]

(00:44) ó bà nà =nì,
1Pl if grind.Base 3InanObj,
ó gō bà-cáⁿ =nì,
1Pl Infin come.Base-beat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When we have ground it, we come (back) and tap it.’

[the mash is tapped with the ends of one’s fingers to begin pressing out the oil; verb cèⁿ/cáⁿ/cáⁿ ‘beat (mash) with tips of fingers (to release oil)’, elsewhere ‘thresh (rice, fonio); beat up (sb)’]

(00:47) ó bà cáⁿ =nì,
1Pl if beat.Base 3InanObj,
ó gō láⁿ =nì,
1Pl Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When we have tapped it, we wash it.

(00:49) à bà láⁿ,
3Inan if be.washed.Base,
ó gō sèrò [gō wè =nì = [[Ø tè-tèʔe] nì]]
1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art pot] Loc]
[gō ðùʔá = [[Ø dà?qá] nì],
[[Infin put.up.on.Base [[Art fire] Loc],
kō wè =nì = [[Ø tì-tèʔe] nì],
Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art pot] Loc],
A: ‘When it has been washed, we proceed to put it (=the mash) in a pot and put (the pot) up on the fire, (we) put it in a pot.’

[emended at speaker’s request: in the recording, tè-tèʔe ‘pot’ and dà?qá ‘fire’ were initially switched: “we proceed to put it in a fire and put it up on the pot, (we) put it in a fire”; the pot is an earthenware jar like that used to brew beer, but smaller]
A: ‘Then (we) cook it.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘It comes off (the fire) nice.’

\[verb \text{tɔ́rɛ̃tɔ́ 'cook (sauce) by slow boiling', also 'brew, boil down (beer)'}\]

A: ‘Its oil comes off (the fire) nicely. When it has come off, we skimmed it (=skimmed off impurities).’

\[repair \text{broken sentence as à bà glú [ò gò sàrè = nì]: invariable verb sàrè, cf. Jula sèⁿ-sèⁿ, 'skim off (impurities floating on the top, by scooping with a calabash)'}\]

A: ‘When we have skimmed it off well, we set it down there.’

\[‘give’ as compound final (§15.1.6.2)\]

A: ‘When the next early morning happens (=comes), we pour it off.’

\[< /têⁿ bàⁿʔâ/ bà klè; invariable verb flê 'strain off (from the top)'; the oil has risen to the top and can be poured carefully into another container, leaving unwanted liquid and sediment behind]
(01:13) [ó bà wē= [Ø pûⁿ-pùʔð]],[1Pl if put.in.Base [Art kneading.stick]]
[ó gò fèⁿ = nì],
[1Pl Infin stir.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘When we have put the kneading-stick in, we stir it.’
[verb fûⁿ/fûⁿ/ûⁿ) ’stir (with stick held vertically and moved or rotated) ’]

(01:15) kò ló-wē= nì [[ē ëʔé] nì],
Infin turn.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art thing] Loc],
dè gò klè [ē nū] [í-yùò bâʔà] ᵃnârâmâ
Quot Infin be.done.Base [Art oil] [1Pl chez] very.good
[g-ã dî]
[Infin-Lpv be.eaten.Lpv]
A: ‘To turn it (kneading-stick) back and forth in the thing, so (it) becomes oil
among us, very good (oil), for eating.’

(01:20) [ē bùʔś-[tì-tèʔè]] nî
[Art mud.jar] Loc
[ē bùʔś-[tè-tèʔè]] nì, ó gò wē = nì
[Art mud.jar] Loc, 1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj
[[bi tóʔð] nì] [g-ã dî],
[[Dem.Def Foc] Loc] [Infin-Lpv eat.Lpv],
B: ‘In an earthenware jar.’
A: ‘In an earthenware jar. That [focus] is what we put it in, for eating.’

(01:25) [ño gbłè= nì [tòʔð jàrîⁿ]],
[1Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]],
[ño tiē [tòʔð tê]] kò yà
[1Sg put.down [place Foc.Inan]] be Dem.InanSg
A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, here I have put it (back) down.’
/kò yà presentative (§4.4.4.2) /
Text 2017-17 Brewing sorghum beer 2

duration 00:49
cf. text 2017-15
Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), monologue

(00:07) [[è läⁿ-[jùʔɔ̀-nì]-fè tè] = yà
[[Art beer-[put.up.on-VblN]-talk(n) Foc.Inan] it.is
né nà dò, [né yíé] Ouattara Pren Christine,
1Sg Fut speak.Base, [1Sg name]
B: ‘It’s talk about putting up (=brewing) beer [focus] that I will speak. My name
is Ouattara Pren Christine.’

(00:12) né nà fùⁿ [Ø cí], kúⁿ?úⁿ,
1Sg Fut soak.Base [Art grain] today,
è cɔ̀ⁿ, nó kò júⁿ = ni,
Art tomorrow, 1Sg Infin strain.Base 3InanObj,
B: ‘I will soak (sorghum) grain, today. Tomorrow, I will strain it (=drain off the
water).’
/è cí can mean specifically ‘millet (Cenchrus americanus)’ or more generally the
combination of millet and sorghum; here the reference is to sorghum/

(00:18) è dí-cɔ̀ⁿ, né kò lāⁿ = ni,
Art next.day, 1Sg Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,
[né bà lāⁿ = nì] [né gó sèⁿ = nì
[1Sg if wash.Base 3InanObj] [1Sg Infin lay.down.Base 3InanObj,
[Ø blïʔ?] = [ò sáⁿ]],
[Art night] [Pl three]],
B: ‘The day after tomorrow, I wash it. When I have washed it, I lay it down (to
germinate) for three nights.’
/dí-cɔ̀ⁿ ‘next day’, cf. dí-cɔ̀ⁿʔùⁿ ‘next morning’ (§8.5.7.1); < /è blïʔù/] /

(00:22) [[à blïʔ?] = [ò sáⁿ] bā yî-flô]
[[3Inan night] [Pl three] if be.full.Base]
[nó gò yîʔè = nì],
[1Sg Infin turn.over.Base 3InanObj],
kò câʔà = nì,
Infin dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj,
B: ‘When the three nights have elapsed, I turn it over, and (I) set it out to dry.’
[yî]-flô ‘fill, be filled’ or ‘(time) elapse’]
à bā càiì-kā, à bā wó, 3Inan if dry.in.sun.Base-finish.Base, 3Inan if be.dry.Base, [ē dè] [ō sā ''), nó kō jū?ō =nì, [Art day] [Pl three], 1Sg Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj, B: ‘When it has dried out in the sun, when it is dry, (after) three days, I put it up (on the fire, in a vat with water, to brew).’

(00:30) nó bā jū?ō =nì, 1Sg if put.up.on.Base 3InanObj, nó nà fā [Ø di"?ō '], 1Sg Fut seek.Base [Art firewood], B: ‘When I have put it up, I will look for firewood’

(00:33) kō wē =nì= [Ø dà"?à' nì], 1Sg put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art fire] Loc], kō tō =nì, Infin brew.Base 3InanObj, B: ‘Then (I) will put it (vat with grain and water) on the fire, to brew it.’

<verb tārò/tō/to ‘boil slowly in water’, hence ‘cook (sauce)’ and ‘brew, boil down (beer)’]

(00:35) [ā d = ] [ō sā'], kō jū?ō =nì, [3Inan day] [Pl three] finish.Base, Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj, [ā dì-kū"ř ò ] ā kō ē, 3Inan next.day 3Inan Infin boil.down.Base], B: ‘(When) the three days are completed, to brew it, (by) the next day it boils down.’

< /ā dè ē sā'/; bā ‘if’ is implied before kā ; variant of di-cū"ř ò>

(00:40) [ā d = ] [ō sā'], [ā bārā] kō sārū', 3Inan day [Pl three], 3Inan work(n) Infin descend.Base, ō kō jìā =nì, [ū-bé digò-řā] nì, 1Pl Infin drink.Base 3InanObj, [1Pl other-Pl] Loc, B: ‘Its (=the) third day, the work descends (=is finished). We all drink it, together.’

/bārā ‘work (n)’ < Jula; ‘together’ (§18.4.2); ū-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

(00:45) nó gbìè =nì [tì?ō järš ], 1Sg take.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel], [ā tìč [Ø tō?ō tō?ō ]] =yà 3Inan be.put [Art place Foc] it.is B: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, that is the place where it is put (back) down.’

[yà may be contracted from presentative kō yà, since ‘it is’ is normally expressed as =à gbò after a focalized constituent]
Text 2017-18 The leprous husband (tale)

duration 01:30
A: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker
B: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

(00:08) è nàⁿ-bí jì, èn yìʔë-ʃìʔì [é yò-[bì-ʃìʔì]],
Art child Indef, 3AnSg get.up.Pfv [Art woman-child],
kò bà-tàràⁿ [Ø dò-tàràⁿʔàⁿ],
Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Art man-sit.Nom],
A: ‘A child. She grew up to be a young woman, and (she) came and got married.’
[Cò often flattened to Cò as compound initial, as here with yò- ‘woman’ and dò- ‘man’; “man-sitting” = ’(woman’s) marriage’, i.e. ‘settling down with a man’]

(00:13) èn màⁿ gò = [[[Ø nàⁿ-bí] bú] ni],
3AnSg IpfvNeg be [[[Art child] get.Prog] Prog],
A: ‘She was not getting (=bearing) a child.’
[transitive progressive with object preceding verb (§10.2.4.1)]

(00:15) à gò à klè
3Inan Infin Ipfv be.done.Ipfv
[ká nà klè [è fìʔ=] [[è yò] bàʔà],
[like Fut be.done.Base [Art insanity] [Art woman] chez],
A: ‘It (=situation) was like the woman would go crazy.’
[’like’ clause (§15.3.1.2); lit. “it will become insanity on the woman”; < /fìʔ=]

(00:17) [è yò] g-á yè-à-kò-à-yè
[Art woman] Infin-Ipfv walk.Ipfv-weep.Ipfv-walk.Ipfv
à klè kà-tò
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘The woman went around weeping.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
[< /yè-à-kò-à-yè/, imperfective of three-verb compound (§10.1.6.1), including kpë/kò/kó ‘weep’]

(00:19) èn yìʔë [wò rà-dàⁿ] [[Ø fàrà] ni]
A: ‘She went and arrived at a flat stone shelf.’
/kò rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); < Jula fàrà ‘rock’]
A: ‘The stone shelf asked her, “why are you weeping?” ’

[original ‘you’ expressed as third person pronominal in quotation; gè?e ‘what?’ in Bi dialect (§13.2.3.2.1)]

A: ‘(Woman:) “That’s why I am weeping.” The stone shelf said, ‘If that is the case, …” ’

[clause-final = dè? (§19.4.1), here prolonged as =rê→]

A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “and when four days have elapsed, you should return (here)!” ’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “Go (away), …” ’

[< /dè ð/]
(00:39)  
\[3^{n} \text{mà}^{n} \text{já} \]  
\[3^{n} \text{Proh let.Base} \]  
\[3^{n} \text{ŋò tā}^{n}-dā^{n} [\text{bō} \text{ n}] \text{tàʔa-kó}] = ?,  
\[3^{n} \text{Infin return.Base-arrive.Base [LogoSg Loc] again} \text{ Neg}, \]  
A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “Don’t let it come back to me again.” ’  
\[\text{já} ‘leave, let’ with infinitival clause (§17.4.2.5.4); tā”- (§15.1.3.3)\]

(00:42)  
\[ŋà, \ [è ná}^{n}-bí] būō, \]  
look.Base, [Art child] be.gotten.Pfv,  
\[è ná}^{n}-bí] wō péⁿ [3^{n} bàʔà], \]  
[Art child] Infin remain.Base [3AnSg chez],  
A: ‘Look! The baby was gotten. The child stayed (=lived) with her.’

(00:45)  
\[k-ā \text{yé-à-lō-à-bli} \]  
Infin-Ipfv walk-Ipfv-turn.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.around.Ipfv  
[k-ā klē = [Ø cī-cùʔà], \]  
[Infin-Ipfv be.done.Ipfv [Art young.man], \]  
A: ‘And he was walking around, and he was becoming a young man.’  
\[\text{imperfective of three-verb compound (§10.1.6.1)}\]

(00:47)  
\[kō \text{bā-glū} \]  
Infin come.Base-exit(v)-Base [with [3AnSg other-Pl]].  
\[è dīgà-rò] wō yīfī \]  
[Art other-Pl] Infin go.Base  
\[fō wō rā-dāⁿ [[è tōʔà] nǐ]], \]  
[until Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art place] Loc]],  
A: ‘And he (came and) went out with his companions. The group went until (they) arrived at the place.’  
\[\text{i.e. at the stone shelf; dīgà-rò ‘others’, hence ‘(someone’s) peers, companions’ (collective, also part of reciprocal construction)}\]

(00:51)  
\[è tōʔà-yúō] gō sōⁿ [Ø náⁿ-bí], \]  
[Art place-people] Infin accept.Base [Art child],  
\[è náⁿ-bí]— [è yō] kō bā-leⁿ \]  
\[g-ā kó], \]  
[Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv],  
A: ‘The people of the place accepted the child (=young man). The child—(or rather) the woman (=his mother) stood and wept.’
[sings in Jula:]

(00:57) dè kpàŋá, kpàŋá jóná-jóná

Quot hurry! hurry! fast!-fast!

kà tá fô [ľà dêⁿ] yè→,

Infin go say [1Sg child.Def] Dat,

kó fârá kà dêⁿ mnà wô→,

Quot stone.shelf Infin child.Def catch (meaningless).

A: [song:] “‘Hurry! Fast! Go tell my child, (say) that the stone shelf has captured the child.”’

< mìnà ‘catch’

(01:04) [è yô] k-à kó [k-à bê],

[Art woman] Infin-lpfv weep.lpfv [Infin-lpfv come.lpfv],

[è bêⁿ?êⁿ-bêⁿ-yûò], bùò kò sô = h dè

[Art tomtom-beat.tomtom.Agent], 3PL Infin take 3InanObj Quot

A: ‘The woman was weeping and coming. The drummer took it (=started playing).’

(01:08) dûⁿ-dûⁿ,


A: (sound of drums)

(01:12) [è nèrá-yûò] wô sô = nì, dè

[Art balaphone-people] Infin take.Base 3InanObj, Quot

A: ‘The balaphone people took it (=started playing).’

(01:14) è-lê → lé-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê

lê-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê → lè → lè → lè-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê-lê → lè →

A: (sound of balaphones)

(01:19) [bè tôʔô] bùò— bùò [è yô],

[Dem.Def Foc] (hesitation)— get.Pfv [Art woman],

[è nâⁿ-bî] mà nèʔê-à-ü̈-à-plûⁿ [è êʔê]

[Art child] lpfvNeg ask.lpfv-lpfv-receive.lpfv-be.able.lpfv [Art thing]

[è fârá] bàʔà[tàʔà-kô],

[Art stone.shelf] Dat again,

à klê kà-tô

3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘That [focus] is what got (=happened to) the woman. One can’t any longer ask

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[-plûⁿ imperfective of -pšⁿ ‘be able’ (§15.1.7.1)]
(01:25) [[nó gblè [ē dòrəʔá] [tòʔò jər̥ˈpə]]
[1Sg take.Pfv [Art tale] [place Rel]]
[ā tīč mā]
[3AnSg be.put.Pfv there.Def]
ā klē kə-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
   A: ‘Where I picked up the tale, it has been put (back) there.’
   B: ‘It happened like that.’
   [standard tale-ending formula]
Text 2017-19 Childbirth and name-giving

duration 00:46
A: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker
B: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

(00:08) iⁿ-yùò bàʔà, [ē yō] bà lēⁿ,
1Pl chez, [Art woman] if become.pregnant.Base,
[à kō] bà dáⁿ,
[3Inan day] if arrive.Base,

A: ‘In our area, when a woman becomes pregnant, when its (=the) day arrives,’

lēⁿ elsewhere means ‘stand, stop’, in sense ‘become pregnant’ short for phrase
lēⁿ = [(Ø plʔɔ̀] nī] with PP ‘in the belly’

(00:13) 3ⁿ mâ jì,
3AnSg if give.birth.Base,
ó gō— ŋ gbē [Ø jì-ʔèʔè],
3Pl Infín— (nasal) take.Base [Art give.birth-Ppl.Inan],

A: ‘When she gives birth, we take the placenta,’

(00:17) kò yiʔi-plō = [Ø tiʔē]
Infin go.Base-dig.Base [Art hole]
ā klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
kō wē = nī,
Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘Then (we) go and dig a (narrow) hole.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘Then (we) put it (=placenta) in (the hole).’

[the placenta is buried in the earth]

(00:21) jì gō wō n— [ē nī],
if Infín bathe.Base (hesitation)— [Art mother],
kō wō nè— [ē nāⁿ-bī],
Infin bathe.Base (hesitation) [Art child],

A: ‘Then (we) bathe the mother, and then bathe the baby.’

[first part somewhat broken; jì kō (Biton dialect); verb wè/wō/wō ‘bathe’]
Infin lay.down.Base
ā klē kā-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘Then (they) lay (the baby) down (to sleep).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
(00:29)

A: ‘Then (they) lay (the baby) down (to sleep).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
(00:28)

Infinlay Baseāklēkā-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
(00:26)

A: ‘Then (they) lay (the baby) down (to sleep).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
(00:28)

Infinlay Baseāklēkā-tō
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘Then (they) lay (the baby) down (to sleep).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
(00:28)
Text 2017-20  Childbirth and name-giving in the old days

duration 00:51
A: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), main speaker
B: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), respondent
Note: In this recording speaker B takes the lead, while A generally repeats what B says. The content is basically the same as that of 2017-19.

(00:10)  
\[bon, \; [[\text{è} \; fɔ́l-ɔ́] \; ni] \; kɔ́ni,\]
\[\text{well, \; [[Art \; old.days] \; Loc]} \; \text{Top,}\]
\[[\text{è} \; fɔ́l-ɔ́] \; ni\]
\[\text{Loc}]\]
A: ‘In the old days,’
B: ‘In the old days,’
\[Jula \; fɔ́l-ɔ́lɔ́, \; cf. \; \text{Tiefo-D} \; \text{è dì-nà-dèⁿ}]

(00:12)  
\[\text{ó} \; \text{kɔ́ni} \; \text{yì} \; \text{fì} \; \text{Top]\; Past.Ipfv \; \text{give.birth.Ipfv}\]
\[\text{ó} \; \text{rè} \; \text{fì}\]
1Pl Past.Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv
A: ‘We would give birth.’
B: ‘We would give birth.’

(00:14)  
\[\text{mó} \; \text{gā} = \; \text{à-gbè} \; \text{[Ø \; plàʔɔ̃]}\]
\[\text{[Art belly]}\]
\[\text{Ø} \; \text{mā} = \text{à-gbè} \; \text{[Ø \; plɔʔɔ̃]}\]
\[\text{[Art belly]}\]
\[\text{2Sg} \; \text{if} \; \text{come.Base-take.Base} \; \text{[Art belly]}\]
A: ‘(When) you then come and get pregnant.’
B: ‘You come and get pregnant.’
\[< /kô \; bà-gbè/ ; < /i]) \; mā \; gbè/\]

(00:16)  
\[\text{à} \; \text{bà} \; \text{yì-毛泽} \; \text{[Ø \; fɔ-rè]} \; \text{[ø} \; \text{kàⁿ-ŋûⁿʔûⁿ]}\]
\[\text{[Art month]} \; \text{[Pl five-four]}\]
\[\text{[è} \; \text{fɔ-rè]} \; \text{[ð} \; \text{kàⁿ-ŋûⁿʔûⁿ]}\]
\[\text{[Art month]} \; \text{[Pl five-four]}\]
A: ‘When it (=belly/womb) is full for nine months,’
B: ‘Nine months.’
(00:18) kō bà-ʃi
   Infin come.Base-give.birth.Base
   Ø mā ə-ʃi
   2Sg if come.Base-give.birth.Base
   A: ‘Then (you) comes and give birth.’
   B: ‘When you give birth.’
   [<?, /> n bà ʃ/]

(00:20) [ẽ dɔ̃] bà = à glò
   [Art man] if it.is it.is
   [ẽ dɔ̃] bà = à glò
   [Art man] if it.is it.is
   [ẽ d = ] [ò sâ"]
   [Art day] [Pl three]
   [ẽ dè] [ò sâ”]
   [Art day] [Pl three]
   A: ‘If it’s a boy,…’
   B: ‘If it’s a boy.’
   A: ‘Three days (after the birth).’
   B: ‘Three days.’

(00:23) [ẽ yɔ̃] bà = à glò
   [Art woman] if it.is it.is
   [ẽ yɔ̃] bà = à glò
   [Art woman] if it.is it.is
   [ẽ d = ] [ò nũ”ʔ5”]
   [Art day] [Pl four]
   [ẽ dɔ = ] [ò nũ”ʔ5”]
   [Art day] [Pl four]
   A: ‘If it’s a girl,…’
   B: ‘If it’s a girl.’
   A: ‘Four days (after the birth).’
   B: ‘Four days.’

(00:27) donc ṍ bà dâ” = [Ø u”ʔu”]
   so 3Pl if shave.Base [Art head]
   ṍ bà dâ” = [Ø u”ʔu”]
   3Pl if shave.Base [Art head]
   A: ‘So, when they have shaved the head,’
   B: ‘When they have shaved the head,’
The biological father brought a three-month-old chicken as an acknowledgement of paternity, whereupon the child’s head was shaved; the baby is treated grammatically as inanimate ‘it’ as in English, see also @ 00:34 below; < /dāŋ = nǐ

kà ò̄/ ə́ — l₃ⁿ-bêⁿ (§5.1.6.3)

(00:34) kò yîlī-yëŋ = [Ø ná-bí ] [[[Ø jì] pò] nǐ]
B: ‘Then (they) would go and lay the baby down at the foot of the fetish.’
/kò yîlī-yëŋ could be elaborated as kò yîlī kò ó-sëŋ or Bi kò yîlī kò rà-sëŋ ; < /è jò pòʃ ; the fetish would be on a kind of altar

(00:37) [è lámbègɔ]
[Art joking.relative]
gō à-gbè-glò =  ámb
Infin come.Base-take.Base-take.out.Base 3AnSgObj [è lámbègɔ] gō à-di-glò = ò
[Art joking.relative] Infin come.Base-take.out.Base 3AnSgObj

A: ‘A joking relative then comes and picks it up and takes it out.’
B: ‘A joking relative then takes it out.’

[speaker A uses gbè-glò ‘pick up and take out’, second speaker uses the more common di-glò ‘remove, take away, take out’; joking relationships are based on clans, e.g. Ouattara and Coulibaly]
(00:41) \[3^\text{AnSg} \text{name}, \text{Infin put.in.Base} [\text{[Art child] name}]
\text{kō wē=} [\text{[Ø ná-bí] zié}]
\text{Infin put.in.Base} [\text{[Art child] name}]
\text{A: ‘Then (they) put (=announce) the name, (they) put the child’s name.’}
\text{B: ‘(They) put the child’s name.’}
\text{[the father chooses the name; the joking relative announces it when the baby is brought out]}

(00:43) \[\text{dà-rè nī] kō continue [kà [Ø bórá]} [kò fò]
[\text{now Loc] Infin continue [with [Art work(n)] [Infin pass.Base]
\text{dō kō continue [kō gbē=} [Ø bórá]]}
\text{3Pl Infin continue [Infin take.Base [Art work(n)]}
\text{[kò fò [à lô]]}
\text{[Infin pass.Base [with 3Inan]}
\text{A: ‘Now (they) get back to (their) work.’}
\text{B: ‘They take (their) work and move on with it.’}
\text{[dà-rè (dialectally dè-dè) ‘now’; bórá < Jula]}

(00:47) \[\text{nó būō jārú} [bì tóló] =yà
\text{1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Foc] it.is}
\text{A: ‘What (knowledge) I have gotten, that [focus] is it.’}
\text{[for final = yà see comment on the end of 2017-17]}
A riddle

duration 00:17

A: Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), main speaker
B: Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), respondent

Note: Some verbatim repetitions by B are omitted in the transcription.

(00:05) [nó së] dàrɔ̀ [Ø sò jì] [ò sùʔ = [ɔ̀ nó]]
[1Sg father] buy.Pfv [Art horse Indef] [Infin give.Base [Dat 1Sg]]
A: ‘My father bought a horse and gave (it) to me.’

(00:08) 3AnSg k-ā fìⁿiⁿ,
3AnSg Infin-lpfv run.lpfv,
3ⁿ = Ø fìⁿiⁿ [k-ā fìⁿiⁿ] [k-ā fìⁿiⁿ]
[repeated imperfective infinitival clauses to emphasize duration (§15.2.2)]
A: ‘It (=horse) was running. It was running and running and running.’

(00:10) 3ⁿ máⁿ ló-à-ɲú
3AnSg lpfvNeg turn.lpfv-run.lpfv
A: ‘It doesn’t look back.’

(00:12) [bè kɔ́rɔ̀] dò
[Dem.Def meaning] speak.Base
A: ‘Say its meaning!’
[imperative, with object fronted before verb (in this formulaic utterance only)]

(00:13) [bè kɔ́rɔ̀] dè = [Ø nû]
[Dem.Def meaning] Quot [Art water]
B: ‘Its meaning is water.’
Choosing a new chief

duration 02:25
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02) ó nà dò, 1Pl Fut speak.Base,
[[ē cɔ̀fɔ̀-[màsà-cè]-][tɔ̀rèⁿ-kà]-[cɔ̀gò-yà], [ē cɔ̀fɔ̀] bàʔà,
[[Art Tiefo-[chief]] [sit.Pfv-manner]-[manner], [Art Tiefo] chez,
'We will speak (about), the way a Tiefo chief is seated (=enthroned), among the
Tiefo.'

/màsà-cè < Jula ‘chief-man’, cf. màsà-yà ‘chiefhood’ (< Jula); Tiefo-D equivalent
(è) wùⁿ-diⁿ ‘chief’, see 01:57 below; cògò-yà < Jula; ‘Tiefo chief’ as possessor (or
arguably subject within the compound)

(00:14) [ámì, [kà— bàkàrì] tòʔá = ] à-mà [à nì],
[ē [cɔ̀fɔ̀-[màsà-cè]-][tɔ̀rèⁿ-kà], [ē wùʔú-kɛ̇] = yà,
[Art [Tiefo-[chief]]-[sit.Pfv-manner], [Art house-matter] it.is,
[ē wùʔú-kɛ̇] = yà,
[Art house-matter] it.is,
'It is Aminata and Bakari [focus] who are here. The way a Tiefo chief is seated
(=installed) is a family matter. It’s a family matter (and)'

[Aminata (co-author) and Bakari (another name for the speaker); < /tòʔó à-mà/;
compound-final -kà ‘manner’ (§5.1.7.2); ‘sit’ and transitive ‘seat’ in this text refers to
being installed as chief; repetition of ‘it’s a family matter’ is an echo setting up the
following segment]

(00:24) [à— ò— ē wùʔú-yù́] kò tɔ̀ràⁿ,
[(hesitation) Art house-people] Infin sit.Base,
kò nì [ò dìgò-rɔ̃],
Infin see.Base [PLRefØ Recip],
kò dò-té = nì = [Ø tɔ̀ʔò [n dèⁿʔèⁿ]],
Infin say.Base-put.Base 3NanObj [Art place [Sg one]],
'The members of their family sit (=have a meeting), they see each other
(=discuss). They converge their words in one place.'

(00:36) [yúó jɔ̀rɔ́ⁿ] kà-kàⁿ [wò tɔ̀ràⁿ],
[person Rel] ought [Hort sit.Base],
[yúó jɔ̀rɔ́ⁿ] kò ná-dè,
[person Rel] be person-old,
'The person who deserves to sit (=be installed as chief). A person who is senior.'

/kà-kàⁿ < Jula (§ 8.5.4.3)
(00:41) [ē [māsā-ce]-[ tàrèn-kà]] nī, ḏō kō ŋō = nī,  
[Art [chief]-[sit.Pfv-manner]] Loc, 3Pl be look.Base 3InanObj,  
[[ē māsā-ce], ñì-îjà]—  
[[Art chief], pass.Pfv-leave.Base]— [children Rel.AnPl],  
‘On the seating of the chief, they look at (=consider) the children that the (deceased) chief went away and left (behind).’

(00:52) [ō kō ŋō = nī] [ji= [Ø dē jī]—  
[3Pl Infin look.Base 3InanObj [if [Art elder.sib Indef]—  
[ē bî-dō jī] bā àmā [[Ø māsā-ce] bāʔà],  
[Art younger.sib Indef] if be.Loc [[Art chief] chez],  
‘They look at (=consider) whether there is some elder sibling— (or rather) some younger sibling (of the deceased chief) at the chief’s place (=family).’  
[jī ‘if, whether’ (clause-initial, optional) distinct from postnominal indefinite jī ‘some’; ‘sibling’ in this context means ‘brother’; bî-dō (§5.1.8)]

(00:57) [ō kō—, ę dō= [[Ø bî-dō] bāʔà],  
[3Pl Infin—, (nasal) say.Base [Art younger.sib] Dat],  
[mōn dē] kpà,  
[2Sg elder.sib] finish.Pfv,  
‘They say to a younger brother, “your-Sg elder brother has passed away.”’

(01:03) [ō kā-kâ”— [[ē bî] = [ō sā”]] ʒî-ʃło,  
[3Pl ought— [[Art rain(n)] Pl three fill.Pfv,  
[ō kā-kâ”] [wò tē mō”],  
[3Pl ought [Hort put.Base 2Sg],  
[[mōn dē] plâsf] nī,  
[2Sg elder.sib] place] Loc,  
‘“It is right to—. Three rainy seasons (=years) have been filled (=elapsed). It is right to put (=install) you-Sg in your elder brother’s place.”’  
[plâsfí < Frech place]

(01:09) [ō kō fūs?ī= [Ø fē] ʃn”],  
[3Pl Infin give.Base [Art talk(n)] Dat.3AnSg,  
[3n” ŋō—, ę dō [3n” dōlé],  
[3AnSg Infin—, (nasal) say.Base [3AnSgRefl Poss.Inan],  
‘They give him the word (=allow him to speak). He speaks his thing (=states his position).’  
[cf. French on lui donne la parole; fūs?ī Ma dialect for sūl?ī, for dialectal f~ s/ʃ correspondences see §3.2.1.10); ʃn” dative 3AnSg (§4.3.2.3)]
If he can (=is willing to) be seated (=serve as chief), he says (it), that he has heard (=understood) (it).

[< jí ŋ₃ bà; future bè plus Pfv (§10.2.1.2)]

If moreover there is any younger brother, the younger brother will say it to the children.

'(Younger brother, to children:) “I (your) elder say that I will be seated.”

(On the surface this seems rather to mean ‘My elder brother (the deceased chief) said that I will be seated’, but the translation given corresponds to the speaker’s explanation during transcription)

So, (when) three rainy seasons have been filled (=have elapsed), they install the younger brother, in the chiefhood.

'So, when they ill install the younger brother in the chiefhood,'
They (family) look for (=go around getting) the things (for the ceremony), (such as) a sheep. They look for the things. There's a sheep, and a chicken, and (sorghum) beer.

[3 Pl Infin seek.Base [Art thing-Pl], [Art sheep], kō fā [Ø ò-rē], [è bāⁿ], Infin seek.Base [Art thing-Pl], [Art sheep] be.Loc [3 Inan Loc], \[kā = [Ø l̄ⁿ]] [kā = [Ø lāⁿ]].

They (focus) look for (=go around getting) the things (for the ceremony), (such as) a sheep. They look for the things. There's a sheep, and a chicken, and (sorghum) beer.

[ò-rē plural of ʔè'thing, object'; < kā ᷅ l̄ⁿ etc.; lāⁿ a rare monosyllabic noun stem with <LM> rising tone]

They go, they go and install him.

Another chief goes out to a certain place, and comes and installs him.

Another chief (focus) goes out to a certain place, and comes and installs him.

Another chief (focus) goes out to the place and goes and installs him.

He doesn't (=cannot) seat himself (as chief).

Another chief goes out to the place and goes and installs him.
(02:07)  
**donc ô bà á-té =ô kõ,**  
so 3Pl if go.Base-put.Base 3AnSgObj finish.Base,  
[ô kõ sàrò [kõ fû?ò [[Ø klò?ô] ñ]],  
[3Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin give.Base [[Art road] Loc],  
‘When they have gone and installed him, they proceed to give him (permission) to the road (=to go).’

[sàrò ‘get, obtain’ < Jula, with infinitival VP complement means ‘proceed to VP’, with explicit chronological sequencing; ?â- ‘go’ as compound initial in conditional antecedent (§16.1.1.6.2); cf. local French demander la route ‘ask permission to leave’]

(02:12)  
[bó tô?ô] kõ klè, [[è wûⁿ, bíʔ], ŋ wûⁿ-diⁿ]  
[3AnSg Foc] Infin be.done.Base, [[Art village, all], (nasal) chief]  
‘He [focus] has become the chief of the entire village (cluster).’

[klè here ‘turn (into), become’ with nominal complement (§11.2.4.2)]
Duties of chiefhood

When the (new) chief has been seated (=installed), the work that he is expected to perform.

The people must know, this is the (new) chief.

He must not do anything that is bad.

‘A person who is straight (honest), it must be himself (who becomes chief).’

A person, fellow, guy (‘owner’ in the generic (specific indefinite) sense ‘person, fellow, guy’ (§18.5.1.2))
[00:27] [ē nà-bí-ō] má kāⁿ [wò glō = [Ø jū]
[Art person.Pl] lpfvNeg ought [Hort exit(v).Base [Art eye]
[[[Ø nà-bí-ō] yà-rō] nǐ],
[[[Art person] woman-Pl] Loc],
‘People must not cast an eye on (other) people’s women.’

[< glú [ē júū] ; impersonal ‘they’ is used starting here, but it seems to refer mainly to chiefs, whose behavior must be exemplary]

[00:30] [ò má kāⁿ [kò jā—],
[3Pl lpfvNeg ought [Hort look.Base—],
[ò má kāⁿ [wò fês],
[3Pl lpfvNeg ought [Hort steal],
‘They (=people) must not look—. They must not steal.’
[first part is cut off]

[00:34] [נ⁰ ká-kāⁿ [kò klē = [[Ø nà-bí-ō bié] bàìà],
[3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base [[Art person.Pl all] chez],
‘He must be fair to all people.’
[literal ‘do [chez X] has a vague sense ‘be fair, be open to X’]

[00:37] [נ⁰ mà jī= [[Ø yúó jī]],
[3AnSg if see.Base [Art person Indef],
[bà kō [[[Ø kē] mà [á kōǐō jī] nǐ]]
[if ‘be’ [[[Art thing] lpfvNeg [[Inan good Indef] Loc]]
‘If he sees someone, if (the person) is (involved) in something bad, …’

[< /n⁰ bà nǐ ē yúó/; à kōǐō ‘good (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2); negative mà is interpreted as negating ‘good’ at the lexical level, i.e. ‘no good, bad’]

[00:40] [נ⁰ nò dò =nǐ]
[3AnSg Hort say.Base 3InanObj
[nǐ yā] [kò jā =nǐ mà],
[see.Base Dem.InanSg] [Hort leave.Base 3InanObj there.Def],
‘… he (=chief) should tell (him) to see (=imagine) that and should leave it there.’
[i.e. the chief should tell him to resist the temptation to do it; < /nǐ yā/]

[00:43] [נ⁰ nà fùúú {tāⁿ}, [ē wúⁿ-kē],
[3AnSg Fut catch.Base {…}, [Art village-matter],
{kē} [[ē [lèkòrⁿ-sō]-kē],
{} [Art [school-house]-matter],
‘He handles village matters and school matters.’

/fùúú Ma dialect for sùúú (§3.2.1.10, §3.6.1.5); {tāⁿ} and {kē} ares audible on the recording but are uninterpretable and the speaker asked that they be edited out; lèkòrⁿ-sō ‘school-house’ < Jula (cf. French l’école)]
(00:48) ʒ₃ⁿ ká-káⁿ [wò ɲó = nì],
3AnSg ought [Hort look.Base 3InanObj],
ě də̀tro-só, ʒ₃ⁿ ká-káⁿ [wò ɲó [ə̀ kë]],
Art health.center, 3AnSg ought [Hort look.Base [3Inan thing]],
‘He must look at it. The health center, he must look after its matters.’
["doctor-house" = ‘health center, hospital’ < Jula]

(00:55) [ě klòʔó-kë], ʒ₃ⁿ ká-káⁿ [kō dò = nì],
[Art road-matter], 3AnSg ought [Hort say.Base 3InanObj],
[[ě wúⁿ-yūó] bāʔà],
[[Art village-people] Dat]
‘A road matter, he must speak about it to the villagers, …’

(01:00) ọ kō wē [Ø nùʔá] [[ā kë] nì],
3Pl Hort put.Base [Art mouth] [[3Inan thing] Loc],
[bì tòʔó] kō [Ø màsà-cé dó kë-sùⁿʔòⁿ],
[Dem.Def Foc] be [Art chief Poss.Inan work(n)],
‘… (for) them to discuss its (=road’s) matter. Thus is the chief’s (=role) of work.’
["put mouth in X" = ‘discuss X’]

(01:06) [donc ʒ₃ⁿ mà kāⁿ
so 3AnSg IpfvNeg ought
[kò klè [[kë jàr₃ⁿ] mà kò]],
Hort do.Base [[thing Rel] IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv],
‘So, he (=chief) must not do anything that is bad.’

(01:09) [ʒ₃ⁿ ká-káⁿ [wō klè, [[ě wúⁿ-yūó bié] bāʔà],
3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base, [[Art village-people all] Dat],
‘He must do (act) for all the villagers.’

(01:12) jàr₃ⁿ mà bà [kā = [Ø wùⁿʔuⁿ-kë]],
Rel if come.Base [with [Art head-matter]],
ʒ₃ⁿ ɲò ɲó = nì,
3AnSg Hort look.Base 3Inan],
‘If someone has come with a problem, he (=chief) should look at it, …’
[< /jàr₃ⁿ bà bà kā ə/; < /ʒ₃ⁿ kō ɲó/; hortative kō]

(01:15) kō dò = [Ø ji] [ə nì],
Infin say.Base [Art something] [3Inan Loc],
[ʒ₃ⁿ mà kāⁿ [wò dò] [kō ʒi-dā]],
3AnSg IpfvNeg ought [Hort say.Base] [Infin overstep.Base],
‘… and say something about it. He musn’t say too much.’
[< /dò ə ji/; ʒi-dā (variant of yǐ-dā)’overstep (sth), go past (outer limit)’
(§15.1.2.1.3)]
‘He furthermore mustn’t speak double-talk. It is good that the chief speak one (language), with one (=a single) language.’

[comitative iteration j3-o-j5 (§4.6.1.6), here indicating ambiguity or vagueness, cf. doubletalk; ‘one’ used as opposite, i.e. ‘clearly, unambiguously, frankly’]
Text 2018-03  Planting crops

duration 00:52
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:01)  [ê bà?á], [ê còfó bà?á],
[Art farming(n)] [Art Tiefo chez],
[ê—, ê kò sãⁿ] [Ø pà-rè-ô]
[1Pl—, 1Pl Infin gather.Base [Art twig-Pl]]
‘Farming, among the Tiefo. We gather up the stalks.’
[dried stalks of grain crops from the previous year are removed; sêⁿ/sãⁿ/sêⁿ
‘gather, pick up (one at a time)’; pà-rè-ô plural of pò?ô with vocalic shift (§3.3.9)]

(00:11)  [ê pà-rè-ô] bà sãⁿ-kã,
[Infin dig.Base-lift.Base-get.up.Base (repeat) [Art place].]
‘When the stalks have been gathered, they (=people) proceed to plow and plow
the place (=field).’
[-kô ‘finish’ (§15.1.3.6); kò sò?ô (§15.3.5.7.1); < /sò?ô-gô-ô-yîô with sò?ô ‘jab;
dig by jabbing’, gbô ‘pick up, take’, and yîô ‘turn over (earth)’]

(00:15)  [kò commencer [ê dû-nî], [ð = Ø gà?á]
[Infin begin [Art sow(v)-VblN], 3Pl Ipfv be.first.Ipfv
[g-à dû = [Ø súmá-klà?ô]], [ê dàrâô] nû?ô] nî],
[Infin-Ipfv sow.Ipfv [Art maize], [[Art courtyard] mouth] Loc],
‘(They) begin the planting. They first plant maize just outside the courtyard.’
[French commencer; < /ð à gà?á/; < /kò à dû ë súmá-ô]

[kò dû [ê gbôô] ì, kò dû, [ê jùsûô]],
[3Pl Infin sow.Base [Art peanut], Infin sow(v).Base, [Art cotton],
‘When (=after) they have planted maize just outside the courtyard, they plant
peanuts, they plant cotton.’

(00:31)  kò bà dû [ê kàcû],
Infin come.Base plant.Base [Art red.sorghum],
kò dû [ê gû-fiô ô],
Infin sow.Base [Art millet],
‘They plant red sorghum, they plant millet.’
[distinction between gbôô ô ‘(ordinary) sorghum’ and kàcû ‘red sorghum’ (used
for beer brewing); gû-fiô ô ‘pearl millet’ (§5.1.3.2)]
‘The second maize (crop), when its time arrives, they plant that.’

[ordinal adjective (§4.6.2.2); dàʔá Ma dialect for dáʔá]

‘Among the Tiefo, farming begins like that.’

[té = è (§13.1.1)]
Text 2018-04  Farming

duration 00:44
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:03)  [è súmá-klàʔà] bà dú],
    [Art maize] if sow.Base],
[à = Ø jì⁰ ] [[Ø fɔ-r = ] [ò sá⁰]],
[3Inan Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl three]],
à kò sàrè [kò dà⁰],
3Inan Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin arrive.Base],
   ‘When the maize has been planted, it does three months, (then) it proceeds to
arrive (=ripen).’
   /klè ’be done’ can be substituted for jì⁰ ; < /fe-rè ò sá⁰/]

(00:09)  [ë gbìʔiʔ⁰],
    [Art peanut],
[bè fɔrà⁰] wò [Ø fɔ-r = ] [ò sá⁰],
[Dem.Def too] be [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl three]],
   ‘Peanut(s), that one too is three months.’

(00:14)  [ë kàcù],  [[ë fɔ-r = ] [ò sá⁰]],
    [Art red.sorghum],  [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl three]],
[bè fɔrà⁰] à-mà mà,
[Dem.Def too] be.Loc there.Def,
   ‘Red sorghum, three months. That one too is there.’

(00:20)  [ë cù-fìé⁰],
    [Art millet],
bè kò—,  [[ë fɔ-r = ] [ò njùʔ⁵]],
Dem.Def be—,  [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl four]],
   ‘Millet, that one is four months.

(00:24)  bè bà—,  [[ë fɔ-r = ] [ò njùʔ⁵]],
Dem.Def if—,  [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl four]],
ò kò gò = ni,
3Pl Infin hit.Base 3InanObj,
   ‘If that one—. Four months, they harvest it.’
   [cut off from ‘if that one has lasted four months’ or similar; ‘hit’ in the specific
sense ‘knock down (stem, to harvest)’, relevant to pearl millet ]
[00:29] [ē jūsūⁿ], [bè fōráⁿ], [Art cotton], [Dem.Def too], bè būō [[Ø fō-r = ] [ò jū555]], Dem.Def get.Pfv [[Art month-Pl] [Pl four]],
‘Cotton, that one too requires four months.’


[00:41] kā = à lā-ā-[ti-ā-tiⁿ] = ñ Infin Ipfv turn.Ipfv-Ipfv-[flip.Ipfv] 3InanObj ‘(They) dump it.’

[picked cotton is dumped out of sacks into a huge pile which is later collected by a truck; < lō-ā-ti-ā-tiⁿ/ with imperfective of lē/lō/lō ‘turn’ and tū-tīⁿ/tī-tīⁿ/tā-tīⁿ ‘spill’]
Women’s versus men’s farming

duration 01:11

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02)  [ō dè, [[ē bē-[bɛ̃-rɛ]-tʊ-tɔ-rʊ] kɛ], [1Pl say.Pfv, [[Art cultivate.Pfv-[Ppl.Inan-PI] big-PI] matter], [3= Ø bɛ,—, [ɛ sʊmá-tɔ]?ɔ́ frà’]], [3Pl lpfv cultivate.lpfv—, [Art sesame too]], ‘We have spoken concerning the main farming matters. They grow sesame too.’

(00:08)  [kā bɛ]—, ē yɔ-rɔ—, [Infin-lpfv cultivate.lpfv—, Art woman-PI—], [ē yɔ-rɔ] ̣ à bɛ = [Ø mɛ-tɔʔa], [Art woman-PI] lpfv cultivate.lpfv [Art okra-plot], ‘(And they) cultivate—. The women—, the women cultivate a small plot of okra.’

(00:12)  kà, [ē— ē kɛ-tɔʔa], with, [Art— Art cowpea-plot], [ē dɔ-rɔ] ̣ à bɛ = [Ø kɛ-tɔʔa fɔrəp], [Art man-PI] lpfv cultivate.lpfv [Art cowpea-plot too], ‘And a cowpea plot, the men cultivate a small plot of cowpeas too.’

(00:17)  ò = Ø tɔ-ä-bɛ = h] 3Pl lpfv assemble.lpfv-lpfv-cultivate.lpfv 3InanObj [kā = [Ø yɔ-rɔ]], [with [Art woman-PI]], ‘They (=men) get together with the women to cultivate it.’

(00:19)  [dɔ̀ bɔ̃ bɔ́ [Ø gbɛʔʔɪ], so 3Pl if cultivate.Base [Art peanut], [ē yɔ-rɔ] gɔ— kɔ à kpɛ [ō mɛ], [Art woman-Pl] inf— inf— lpfv harvest.lpfv [PlRefI okra], ‘So, when they have cultivated peanuts, the women harvest their okra.’
(00:26) kā kùñ?s̃ = ŋ,
Infin-Lpfv cut.up.Lpfv 3InanObj,
[kō tẫ-jū̃s̃ [Ø đâràʔá-wí] [[[ē dië] kē] ŋi],
‘They cut it up. They help out the head of household with regard to (ingredients for) sauce.’
/[kùñ?s̃ Ma dialect for kùñ?s̃ ; đâràʔá-wí Ma dialect for đâràʔá-wí/}

(00:29) [donic ʒ̃ bā tẫ-jū̃s̃ [Ø đâràʔá-wí]
[so 3AnSg if help.Base [Art courtyard-owner]
[[[ē dië] kē] ŋi]
[[[Art sauce] matter] Loc]
‘So, when she has helped out the head of household with regard to sauce, …’

(00:32) [ʒ̃ wō nī [Ø ji]
[3AnSg Infin see.Base [Art something]
[kō glú-já [è wùⁿʔùⁿ-kē] ŋi] dōńi],
‘… he (=head of household) sees (=gets) something, to reduce (=relieve) the problem a little.’
/[the head of household has the burden of allocating the day’s food for the entire household; wùⁿʔùⁿ- Ma dialect for (w)ùⁿʔùⁿ- ; dōńi (§8.5.2.2.2)/]

(00:38) [ē gbìⁿʔiⁿ-tẫʔâ jərí-rē],
[Art peanut-plot small-InanPl],
[ē yà-rō] à bē [bè fârāⁿ],
[Art woman-Pl] Lpfv cultivate.Lpfv [Dem.Def too],
‘Little plots of peanuts, the women cultivate that too.’
/[jərí-rē (§4.5.4)}/]

(00:42) [k-ã wî-ã-tiʔi [ē-yùò dâ-ró],
[Infin-Lpfv help.Lpfv [1Pl man-Pl].
[ō dō], kō, [ē [wē-tâʔâ]-ńf],
[3Pl Poss.Inan], be, [Art [help]-VblN],
‘(The women) help us men. Their (role) is helping.’
/[wē-tâʔâ (base form) is another compound meaning ‘help’, cf. tāⁿ-jū̃s̃ @ 00:26 above; ē-yùò ‘we’ in apposition to ‘men’]/

(00:48) [ē ji] kō glú-já
[Art Indef Lpfv Infin exit.Base-leave.Base
[[[ē dâ-ró] wùⁿʔùⁿ-kē] ŋi],
[[[Art man-Pl] head-matter] Loc],
‘Something is reduced with regard to the men’s problem (of providing food).’
(00:53) [ bè fárâⁿ = ] Ø-mä mä, [è bí-jö]-
[ŋ dé-bò-nä], [è yà-rô] à tâⁿ-àⁿ-jüʔü—
[(nasal) body-be.hot.Base-VblN], [Art woman-Pl] Ipfv help.Ipfv—
‘That too is there, the children’s illness(es). ‘The women help—.’
[heat is associated with illness, coolness with relief]

(00:58) [è gbiⁿʔà-tâʔà jôrí-rè yà]
[Art peanut-plot small-InanPl Dem.InanSg]
[jô-rè, fárâⁿ] à wi-á-tiʔî = [Ø dà-réą],
[Indef-InanPl too] Ipfv help.Ipfv [Art man-Pl],
‘Those little plots of peanuts (cultivated by women), some (things) too help the men.’

(01:04) [ò kô— ŋ bú [Ø fâⁿgàʔà]
[3Pl Infín— (nasal) get.Base [Art power]
‘They (=men) get power.’
/fâⁿgàʔà < Jula fângâ ‘power’, ‘power’ here in the sense of ability to provide]
Millet farming

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02) [ē [cù-fìⁿ]-[bá-ní]],
        [Art [millet]-[cultivate.Base-VblN]],
    kà = [Ø [cù-fìⁿ]-[dì-ní]],
with [Art [millet]-[entert.Base-VblN]],
    ò kò dú = ní,
 3Pl Infin sow.Base 3InanObj,
‘Millet cultivating millet, and millet ripening. They plant it.’

(00:11) à bà, è kpéⁿ,
 3Inan if, (hesitation) sprout.Base,
    [ò kò klùⁿ-wé = ní],
 3Pl Infin weed(v).Base-get.rid.of.Base 3InanObj]
‘When it has sprouted (=grown a little), they weed around it.’
 [smooth out as à bà kpéⁿ ; wiê/wé/wé ‘abandon, get rid of’]

(00:17) ò bā [klùⁿ-wé = ní] kē,
 3Pl if [weed(v).Base-get.rid.of.Base 3InanObj] finish.Base,
    ò kò bā pò?ō = ní,
 3Pl Infin come.Base aerate.Base 3InanObj,
‘When they finish weeding around it, they come and turn over (the earth).’
 [The earth around each growing plant is turned over for aeration with the daba; pò?ō Ma dialect for pō?ō]

(00:24) â pò?ō-ní, c à klè fó—,
 3Inan aerate-VblN, Dem.Def Ipfv be.done.Ipfv until—,
    [ē cûⁿ-cûⁿ fe?qê = ] ŋī,
 3Inan August month Loc,
    ò kò pò?ō = ní [bè ní],
 3Pl Infin aerate.Base 3InanObj [Dem.Def Loc],
‘The turning over (=aeration of the earth). That is done through the month of August, they turn it over then.’
 [cf. Jula câ-câ ‘light rain’, here associated with August]

(00:32) ò bā pò?ō = ní = ([Ø cûⁿ-cûⁿ fe?qê = ] ŋī),
 3Pl if aerate.Base 3InanObj [Art August month] Loc],
    ò kò—, à kò wà?à,
 3Pl Infin—, 3Inan Infin grow.high.Base,
‘When they have aerated it in the month of August, it grows tall.’
When it has grown, it is harvested, in the last month of the year (December).'

[tô is maize or millet cakes, on which sauce is served]

‘There is something else, they make it. They steam it, (it’s) called millet balls. They eat (it).’

[reduced 2Sg subject proclitic]
The quartiers of Daramandugu

duration 01:34
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02) े dàràmàⁿ-dùgù, kà [[Ø wùⁿ jàrí-rè] ní],
Art D, with [[Art village small-InanPl] Loc]
‘Daramandugu, and the small villages (quartiers).’
[Daramandugu is a cluster of several widely separated settlements (quartiers),
each with its own name]

(00:06) े màsá — [े màsàⁿ-dè], े tàfà-lè,
Art Masa— [Art Masaso-village], Art Jinejan-village
े bicùd-lè, े lùfèⁿ, े sàⁿgbàⁿ-lè,
Art Biton-village, Art Flaso, Art Sangogo-village,
े jìpùⁿ-lè, े lì-fùⁿⁿⁿ,
Art Sunugu-village, Art Sokura,
‘Masa—, Masaso, Jinejan, Biton, Flaso, Sangogo, Sunugu, Sokura.’
[for quartier names see §1.3]

(00:23) [े lì-fùⁿⁿⁿ] də̀b-kó-rí,
[Art Sokoura] (other name),
[Ø bìé] kà [[Ø wùⁿ-dìⁿ-ní] yà],
[3Pl all] with [PIRefl village.chief-Pl] it.is,
े wùⁿ-dìⁿ jàrí-kò—, [े wùⁿ-dìⁿ-ní] yà,
Art village.chief small-AnPl—, [Art village.chief-Pl] it.is
‘Lifuo (and) Dobokiri (two names for Sokoura). All of them (=quartiers) are with
(=have) their (own) chiefs, (have) small (=local) chiefs.’
[as opposed to the higher chief of all of Daramandugu: -ní plural suffix
(§4.1.2.5); jàrí-kò (§4.5.4); smooth out broken phrase as wùⁿ-dìⁿ jàrí-kò = yà]

(00:36) ɓon, ṭ = Ø— ṭ—
all.right, 3Pl Ipfv— (nasal)
wi [Ø tèràⁿⁿ] [Ø dìgà-rò] ní],
put.Ipfv [Art marriage] [PIRefl Recip] Loc],
[े tèràⁿ ] mà wí =?, k-à wòrómá,
[Art marriage] IpfvNeg be.put.Ipfv Neg, Infin-Ipfv pick.out.Ipfv,
‘All right, they (=quartiers) arrange marriage with each other (=intermarry).
Marriage isn’t contracted by picking out (distinguishing one quartier from another).’
[wòrómá < Jula wòlòmá ~ wòrómá]
(00:47) [k-ä wì [Ø täràⁿ?áⁿ =] [[Ø dígà-rà] nì],
[Infin-lpfv put-lpfv [Art marriage] [[PlRefl Recip] Loc],
k-ä yi'í.
Infin-lpfv go-lpfv,
‘(They) contract marriage among each other, and (they) go.’
[i.e. the brides move to the other village; k-ä yi'í Ma dialect for k-ä yi'í]}

(00:52) [è tàfà-lè], ò färû = [Ø màsà-lè],
[Art Jinejan] 3pl.lpfv marry.lpfv [Art Masaso],
[è màsà-lè], à färû = [Ø lùfèⁿ],
[Art Masaso], lpfv marry.lpfv [Art Flaso],
‘Jinejan, they marry Masaso. Masaso marries Flaso.’
[färû ‘marry’ < Jula]

(01:00) [è lùfèⁿ] à färû = [Ø bícūo-lè],
[Art Flaso] lpfv marry.lpfv [Art Biton],
[è bícūo-lè] à färû = [Ø jínùʔdò-lè],
[Art Biton] lpfv marry.lpfv [Art Sunugu],
‘Flaso marries Biton. Biton marries Sunugu.’

(01:04) [à bìe] à färû [[ò dígà-rà] nì],
[31nan all] lpfv marry.lpfv [[PlRefl Recip] Loc],
[è nà-bí-ó] tårëⁿ-ñájámi [ò gē] ñì,
[Art person.pl] sit.lpfv-mix.base [[PlRefl Recip] Loc]
‘They all marry each other. They are settled (=married) mixed among each other.’
[Jula nágámi ‘mix together’; gē alternative to reciprocal dígà-rà (§18.4.3)]

(01:09) [ò färû-gǒ, [è càfà-färû],
[3pl marriage, [Art Tiefo-marriage],
[à mà kāʔa bì-kà-díⁿ],
[31nan lpfv neg be.difficult.lpfv thus,
‘Their marriage—, Tiefo marriage, it isn’t all that difficult (=complicated).’
[färû-kô ‘marriage matter(s)’ < Jula; bì-kà-díⁿ variant of bè-kà-díⁿ ‘thus’
(§8.5.5.2.4)]

(01:17) è wàⁿʔáⁿ-tàʔà, à-mā,
Art market, be.loc,
à mà kō [jùo-ù té] nì, [bì toʔó]
31nan lpfv neg be [sell.base-vbln foc.inan] loc], [dem.def foc]
‘The (weekly) market, it is there, (but) it isn’t involved in (real) selling [focus], for
that reason.’
Facilities in the quartiers of Daramandugu

duration 01:37
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue


(00:09) [ē bìcù]-lè, [ē lèkɔrɔ-só] à-mā, [Art Biton], [Art school-house] be.Loc, [ē tɔfɔ]-lè [ē lèkɔrɔ-só] à-mā, [Art Jinejan] [Art school-house] be.Loc, 'Biton, there is a school building (there). Jinejan, there is a school building (there).'

(00:16) [ē lufo] [dè-sɔ?ɔ] nî, [Art Flaso] [field-long] Loc, [ē lèkɔrɔ-só] à-mā mà, [Art school-house] be.Loc there.Def, 'In Flaso in the fields, there is a school building there.' [an area with fields belonging to Flaso quartier but some distance from Flaso settlement]

(00:21) è dɔbɔ-kàrî, [ē lèkɔrɔ-só] à-mā mà, Art Sokoura, [Art school-house] be.Loc there.Def, 'Sokoura, there is a school building there.'

(00:29) [ē sà]-lè à-mā mà, [ē sà gbɔ?ɔ-lè fɔrâ], [Art gold-hole] be.Loc there.Def, Art Sangogo-village too, [ē sà]-lè à-mā, [ē lufo, dè-sɔ?ɔ] nî, [Art gold-hole] be.Loc, [Art Flaso, field-long] Loc, 'A gold pit is there, in Sangogo too. There is (also) a gold pit in Flaso in the fields.' [the first 'there.Def' here is cataphoric, anticipating ‘Sangogo’]
‘Elephants, we have (them) there, in the brousse (outback) of Daramandugu. Daramandugu.’

[singular bɔ̀ʔɔ́ ‘elephant’]

‘The (weekly) market is there in Sangogo [focus].’

‘A (paved) road too. We don’t have a (paved) road. Daramandugu, Daramandugu is big.’

‘All of the various villages (that) I have spoken of, each one has its (local) chief(s).’
Hare, monkey, and dog (tale)

duration: 01:37

A: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, narrator
B: Lanbi Issa Ouattara, from Bofoboso, respondent

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)


(00:05)  

[nó, yíé]  
dè  
násò³?ò³  
wátórá,  
[1Sg. name]  
Quot  
N  
W,  
kò  
glú  
bóbóbó-lë,  
Infin  
exit(v).Base  
B,  
A: ‘My name is Nason Ouattara, coming from Bofoboso.’

(00:15)  

[nó, yíé]  
dè  
lá”bì,  
[1Sg. name]  
Quot  
L  
kò  
glú  
bóbóbó-lë,  
lá”bì  
wátórá  
Infin  
exit(v).Base  
B,  
L  
W  
B: ‘My name is Lanbi, coming from Bofoboso. Lanbi Ouattara.’

(00:22)  

ó  
nà  
té  
= nì  
1Pl  
Fut  
put.down.Base  
3InanObj  
[[è  
bù”ò³]  
kà =  
[Ø  
túplípà”]  
kà =  
[Ø  
blí-kë]  
nì,  
[[Art  
dog]  
and  
[Art  
monkey]  
and  
[Art  
hare]]  
Loc,  
A: ‘We will tell it (=tale) about dog, monkey, and hare.’

[postposition with entire conjoined NP as complement (§7.1.2)]

(00:28)  

[è  
blí-kë]  
kà =  
[Ø  
túplípà”]  
tóìó,  
[Art  
hare]  
and  
[Art  
monkey]  
Foc  
gblë  
[Ø  
bù”ò³-mè]  
[k-à  
jà?à],  
get.Base  
[Art  
dog-juvenile]  
[Infin-Ipfv  
raise.animal.Ipfv]  
A: ‘Hare and monkey got a puppy and were raising (it).’

[focalization of a conjoined NP (§7.1.2): variant of bù”ò³-bè”]

(00:33)  

[è  
blí-kë]  
dè =  
[Ø  
túplípà”]  
bà?à  
[Art  
hare]  
say.Pfv  
[Art  
monkey]  
Dat  
d  
ó  
nà  
té =  
[Ø  
bù”ò³]  
èyè  
Quot  
1Pl  
Fut  
put.down.Base  
[Art  
dog]  
name  
dè  
mè-ŋà  
té  
Quot how?  
Q  
A: ‘Hare said to monkey, “how shall we put (=call) dog’s name?”’

[variant of mè-kà ‘how?’]
‘Dog got up and (went) after him (=hare). He (=hare) rushed in next to a squash plant and lay down (to hide).’

A: ‘(Hare:) “Everyone’s-eye-will-see-it, what’s the matter?”’

A: ‘They put dog’s name like that every day, and fed it.’

A: ‘One day, they (hare and monkey) went and stayed in the grassland. For three days they didn’t come (back).’

A: ‘Dog growled (sound). (Hare) said, “huh?”’

A: ‘Dog’s name is “everyone’s-eye-see-it”’

‘Days they didn’t come (back).’

‘Dog was angry about not being fed for three days’
Text 2019-01

(00:58) [ě tūplīpà²] bà,
[Art monkey] come.Pfv,
[ě bū²?] bà gliù²,
[Art dog] if growl.Base
A: ‘Monkey came. When dog growled.’

(01:00) [ě tūplīpà²] d= [[[ō bié] jū] nà jì =nì]

Quot [Art what?] it.is Q,
A: ‘Monkey said, “Everyone’s-eye-will-see-it, what’s the matter?”’

(01:05) ā²?à³, [ě kètà²] ní-mà [kú²]dò nì =nè?,
[ě bū²?] yìʔ-ʃìʔì [kò jù?= [[Ø tūplīpà²] jì̄],
[Art dog] get.up.Pfv [Infin follow.Base [[Art monkey] behind],
A: ‘(Dog:) “Unh-unh! There is no truth (=rational discussion) for today.” The dog got up and (went) after him (=monkey).’
[=-dò (§6.2.4.3)]

(01:10) à tī²?é²,
3Inan get.hot.Pfv,
òn gö yìʔ-ʃìʔì [kò súʔú = [Ø jì²ʔì²]],
3AnSg Infin get.up.Base [Infin catch.Base [Art tree]],
A: ‘It heated up! He (=monkey) got up and grabbed onto a tree.’

(01:13) [ě bū²?] kò tá-kè²?é²,
[Art dog] Infin do.again.Base.ascend.Base,
[ɔ²] mà sòrú², [ě bū²?] ô tá-sòrú²
[3AnSg if descend.Base], [Art dog] Infin do.again.Base.descend.Base
A: ‘Dog climbed up too. When he (=monkey) climbed down, dog climbed down too.’
[tá= ‘do again’, here in the sense ‘do too’ (§15.1.3.3)]

(01:18) [ɔ²] mà kè²?é²]
[3AnSg if ascend.Base] [if say.Base “oh!”]

d= [ě jìʔè] mà jì
Quot [Art God] IpfvNeg leave.Base
[ě jì] klè [[é tò] jùó]
A: ‘When he went (back) up, he (=monkey) said, “Will God not cause one thing (=species) to belong to the ground,”’

[ʃ i ‘leave’ variant of jà ; equivalent to kò klè ; jùó animate default possessum
(§6.2.4.2)]

A: ‘(Monkey:) “and another thing to belong up high.” ’ Dog said he would (=attempted to) climb, (but) dog was unable to climb.’

[-tē ‘fail to do’ (§15.1.7.2)]

(01:27) [ē bũ”ʔ5”] ò sē” [Art dog] Infin lie.down.Base

[Ø-ã = cā-ã-nû = ] [Ø tũplīp”n”] [[ē ŋi”ʔi”] ci”], [Infin-Impfv look.up.at.Ipfv] [Art monkey] [Art tree] over,

A: ‘Dog lay down and was looking up at the monkey up in the tree.’

(01:29) nó gblē = [Ø dàrãá] [tɔʔɔ jàr5”] 1Sg take.Pfv [Art tale] [place Rel]

[nó tī = ní ] [bè tɔʔɔ] [1Sg put.down.Pfv 3InanObj [Dem.Def place]]

A: ‘Where I picked up the tale, I have put it back there.’

[standard tale closure]
Text 2019-02 Moral of tale of hare, monkey, and dog (tale)

duration: 00:23
A: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, narrator
B: Lanbi Issa Ouattara, from Bofoboso, respondent
recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:03) mā-ni [Ø bũ"ʔñ̥] if.you.see [Art dog]
A: ‘You see, when dog couldn’t climb the tree any more,’
/[mà is superfluous/]

(00:05) ā bà bè-kà tè→, 3lnan come.Pfv thus Emph,
[ě tülîpà" nèʔè = [Ø jūʔè] [Art monkey] request.Pfv [Art God]
A: ‘It (=situation) came (=arose) thus: monkey prayed to God …’
/[< / bè-kā/]

[bó kō pě̃n [Ø jūʔè] cî̄ñ̥],
[Logo Infin stay.Base [Art above] over],
A: ‘… that dog should stay on the ground, and he (=monkey) should stay up above.’
/[hortative with overt subject (§10.4.2.1.3)]

(00:12) donc [[ě bũ"ʔñ̥] nā kli"ʔñ̥ [Ø jì"ʔñ̥]] so [Art dog] PastHabit ascend.Ipfv [Art tree]
[[ě tülîpà"] à kli"ʔñ̥ [Ø jì"ʔñ̥]],
[[Art monkey] Ipfv ascend.Ipfv [Art tree]],
A: ‘So dog used to climb trees, and monkey (also) climbed trees.’
/[past habitual (§10.2.2.3)]

(00:15) [[ě jūʔè] bà [Ø = à-súʔú] [Art God] come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-catch.Base]
[[ě tülîpà"] jūʔè-nēʔè-nî],
[[Art monkey] God-request.Base-VblN]]
A: ‘God (came and) granted monkey’s prayer.’
/[bà [Ø = à-…] (§15.2.3.2.4)]
(00:18) [bè tóʔ =] = à
[Dem.Def Foc] it.is
[[ē būⁿʔàn] gō pēⁿ [[Ø tỹ nĩ]]
[[Art dog] Infin stay.Base [[Art earth] Loc]]
A: ‘That’s it, dog (came to) stay on the ground.’

(00:19) 3ⁿ má kliⁿʔ-àⁿ-plūⁿ
3AnSg IpfvNeg ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-able.Ipfv [Art tree] again
A: ‘He (=dog) couldn’t climb trees any longer.’

(00:21) ā klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
B: ‘It happened like that.’
Text 2019-03 Cotton farming

duration: 03:55
A: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, speaker
B: Lanbi Issa Ouattara, from Bofoboso, speaker
recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)
Note: the two take turns speaking, starting with A

(00:04) [nāsɔⁿ tôʔó] kō [bā nī]
[N Foc] be [come.Prog Prog]
[[ē dē-tōʔɔ] nī],
[[Art speak.Pfv-place] Loc],
A: ‘It’s Nason who is coming to speak.’
[purpose Vb.Pfv-tōʔɔ nī (§17.6.2.5)]

(00:07) [[ē jūsúⁿ] bāʔà] [ō nà táⁿʔāⁿ = nī],
[[Art cotton] Dat] [1Pl Fut begin.Base 3InanObj],
[ō bē-kā] nī,
[1Pl cultivate.Pfv-manner] Loc,
A: ‘About cotton, we will begin it, in our way of cultivating.’
[‘cotton’ is dialectally jūsúⁿ or jūⁿsūⁿ]

(00:11) [ē klāʔā-mūʔɔ] mà sūʔū,
[Art rainy.season-mouth] if be.caught,
ō kō táⁿʔāⁿ = [Ø bāʔá], kà [Ø fīʔè],
1Pl Infin begin.Base [Art farming(n)], with [Art daba]
A: ‘When the rainy season begins, we begin farming, with a daba (=hoe).’
[‘mouth’ = ‘opening, onset’]

(00:17) ē kā páⁿ = [Ø dē],
1Pl Infin clear.Base [Art field],
[ō bā páⁿ = [Ø dē]] [bā kā],
[1Pl if clear.Base [Art field]] [if finishBase],
A: ‘We clear a field. When we have finished clearing the field,’
[clearing field = removing new brush from a field already in use; double bā ‘if’ with same-subject VP (§16.1.1.3)]

(00:22) [ē pāⁿ-nī] mà kā]
[Art clear.Base-VblN if finishBase]
[[ē blō] bā wó],
[[Art rain(n)] if rain(v).Base],
A: ‘When the clearing is finished, (and) when it has rained,’
[double bā ‘if’ with new subject (§16.1.1.3)]
Infin conduce.Base [Infin begin.Base]

[è bá-ní],

[Art cultivate.Base-VblN],

A: ‘Then we begin cultivating (crops).’

[kò bá = ní kò-kà, [kò sàrò

Infin cultivate.Base 3InanObj firstly, [Infin proceed.Base

[kò bá [Ø = à-dú = ní]],

Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-sow.Base 3InanObj]],

A: ‘We plow first, then we come and plant (=sow) it.’

[here bá has the narrow sense ‘plow the earth’ into rows of mounds, with an actual plow or by hand with a daba; dú (dialectally jù) ‘sow, plant (seeds)’]

[e jùsúⁿ] tà ní-mà,

[Art cotton] Past not.be.Loc,

ò nà dú = [Ø ci], kà = [Ø gbìⁿíⁿ],

1Pl PastHabit sow.Ipfv [Art millet], and [Art peanut],

A: ‘There didn’t use to be cotton. We used to plant millet, and peanuts.’

[ci ‘pearl millet (and other cereals)’; tà variant of past rà]

[è sùmákla?à], [è jùsúⁿ] mà wè-tà?à [à ní],

[Art maize], [Art cotton] if be.added.Base [3Inan Loc],

[ò bì] à sùjù = [Ø [kè-sùⁿíⁿ]-nù?j],

[3Pl all Ipfv catch.Ipfv [Art [work(n)]]-mouth],

A: ‘(And) maize. When cotton was added to them, everybody begins the work.’

[‘catch X-mouth’ = ‘begin X’]

[è sùjí-ñí], [è bàñ-[kè-sùⁿíⁿ]-sùjú-kà]

[Art catch.Base-VblN], [Art farming(n)-[work(n)]-catch.Pfv-manner]

[Ø jùsúⁿ] tè,

[Art cotton] Emph,

A: ‘The beginning, the way the farming work begins, it’s (with) cotton.’

[somewhat broken segment]

[è bà sùjú = ní [kà = [Ø jùsúⁿ]]

1Pl if catch.Bas 3InanObj [with [Art cotton]],

[è jùsúⁿ-[bè-kà] tè] wò yá,

[Art cotton-[cultivate.Pfv-manner] Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg,

A: ‘When we start it (=farming) with cotton, here’s how cotton is cultivated.’

[00:51] ó kò bá [à tò?j] kò-kà,

1Pl Infin cultivate.Base [3Inan place] firstly,

kò dú = ní,

Infin sow.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘First we plow the spot, then (we) plant (the seeds).’
A: ‘When we have planted it and it has reached (=has grown to) a certain height, we stop.’

[éké < Jula]

[change of speakers]

—, ó bà sūʔú = nì,
( unintelligible), 1Pl if catch.Base 3INanObj, à kàrò', [ā [nùʔ-sūʔ]-dàʔà] à lè kò,
3INan Top, [3INan [mouth-catch.Pfv]-time] 3INan IpfvPast be.good.Pfv, B: ‘When we started, as for it, in the beginning (=at first), it was good.’

(01:09) mais à bà dào [[dé o-tš= á fèrò'] nì], but 3INan if arrive.Base [[arrive.Pfv-place Dem.INanSg Rel] Loc], à, [ē kéʔè-ná =] à-mà [ā nì], ah!, [Art be.ruined.BBase-VblN] be.Loc [3INan Loc],
B: ‘But in the (situation) which has arrived (nowadays), ah!, there is deterioration in it.’

[ē pìó], [Art larva.Pl]
B: ‘There sure is deterioration in it! Insect larvae.’
[especially caterpillars]

(01:15) [ē blò] fōrò”, [Art rain(n)] also,
[front take.Prog] Prog] again,
B: ‘The rains too, they are no longer reliable.’
[‘take ahead’ = ‘be well distributed’, i.e. ‘be reliable’; progressive with ānàʔà as preverbal object]

(01:19) bon, [ā mù] mà gô [gbè nì] tâʔà-kò, well, [3INan price] IpfvNeg be [be.taken.Prog Prog] again,
[be.taken.Prog Prog] again,
dè, [[bè dò— be-nì] k = [ó-yūo nì],
Quot, [[Dem.Def Poss.INan]— be.tired.Base-VblN] be [1Pl Loc],
B: ‘Well, its price isn’t stable (=reliable) any more. So, the suffering of (=due to) that is on us.’
[< /mù kò/]

Text 2019-03
Text 2019-03

(01:25) ć nā bī mā [ā ni],
1Pl PastHabit get.Ipfv there.Def [3Itan Loc],
mais kūʔàn ciā̂,
but today truly,
B: ‘We used to gain (=make a profit) on it.’
[apparently < Jula cânà ‘truly’]

(01:27) ć mà piè [Ø dīg-rà],
1Pl IpfvNeg praise.Ipfv [1PlRefl Recip]
ā Ø-mā mā [Ìʔ=ā jàr̂n] nī,
3Itan be.Loc there.Def [[place Dem.InanSg Rel] Loc],
B: ‘We don’t praise (=delude) ourselves, in that place (=state) where it is,
[i.e. without the cash from selling cotton, we can’t afford the cost of growing
maize (fertilizer, etc.); progressive construction (§10.2.4)]]

(01:29) ē, [ā bù]-̣jì gò [glú nī] [ō nī]
ah!, [3Itan attraction] be [exit(v).Prog Prog] [1Pl Loc]
ē mà kō [sámàklàdà bù] nī,
1Pl IpfvNeg be [maize get.Prog] Prog,
B: ‘Ah, we are losing interest in it. We aren’t getting any maize.’
[§19.1.3; à ká à kònì can be edited out]

(01:32) [ō dō] mà kō [jùsùn bù] nī,
[1Pl however] IpfvNeg be [cotton get.Prog] Prog,
[ē änà-yû yù fàr̂] mà kō [ō pà] nī,
[Art in.front-people too] IpfvNeg be [1Pl look.at.Prog] Prog,
B: ‘We aren’t getting any cotton. Furthermore the government people aren’t
looking at (=considering) us.’

(01:35) ēl! [ā bě-̣n] kò [ō nī],
ah!, [3Itan be.tired.Base-VblN] be [1Pl Loc],
jī-mā-bè, ā kâ— [ā kànì]
otherwise, (hesitation) [3Itan Top]
ā lè tàn-à-jàʔ nū [Ø mié],
3Itan IpfvPast help.Ipfv [Art 1Pl],
B: ‘Ah, its suffering is on us. Anyway, as for it, it used to help all of us.
[§19.1.3; à ká à kònì can be edited out]

(01:40) [ā [nùʔ-sù]-̣dàʔ] nī, [ō bù] mā,
[ē jà̍-r̂] bù [Ø jàʔ̃-ʔ̃j̃],
B: ‘In its beginning (=early days), we got (something) there, some (of us) got a
vehicle (=motorcycle).’

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B: ‘We didn’t use to have cattle. (Then) everyone got some cattle, and made them into farming things (=oxen drawing ploughs) lately.’

[double past marking dè tá (§10.3.1.1)]

B: ‘That (=cattle) too, that helped us in that situation. But when it (=cotton farming) disrupted us with insect larvae,’

B: ‘The medicine (=insecticide) wasn’t given to us to spray it any more.’

[< sù"; infinitive as purposive clause (§17.6.2.1)]

B: ‘Well, the suffering of all that has been on us lately. What I got in (=from) growing cotton, there it is.’

[< /bè-ní à-má/; presentative, with normally AnSg kā" in abstract sense]

[change of speakers]

A: ‘Cotton farming. By the time it has reached (the time for) picking,’

[sáni < Jula (§15.3.5.8)]
À bâ sē, [mó jū] gā = [tà ní] 3Inan if take.shape.Base, [2Sg eye] be [3Inan Loc] [à k-à kō], [3Inan Infin be.good.Ipfv], A: ‘When it (=cotton) takes shape, your eyes are on it, it’s good.’

(02:13) [cè sùⁿ] mà Ò-à bí [Art medicine] IpfvNeg Infin-Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv jòr̥ⁿ à lēⁿ [Ø pïó] [tà ní], Rel Ipfv expel.Ipfv [Art larva.Pl] [3Inan Loc], A: ‘Medicine (=insecticide) isn’t (=can’t be) gotten, (insecticide) which drives the insects away from it.’

[< sùⁿ ; apparent Ipfv à added irregularly after IpfvNeg mà, perhaps really < mà (k)-à bí ; extraposed relative clause]


(02:19) [cè dè [á tū-tūʔū]] [cè jùsūⁿ [á bí-bí], [Art field [Inan big]] [Art cotton [Inan small]], [cè fàŋà] nî-mâ [tà ní], [Art strength] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc], A: ‘A big field (but) little cotton. There is no power (=productivity) in it.’

(02:22) [cè blò fār̥ⁿ] mà wó-à-gār̥ⁿ, [Art rain(n) too] IpfvNeg rain(v).Ipfv-Ipfv-do.well.Ipfv, A: ‘Also it doesn’t rain much.’

(02:24) [cè blō] bâ commencer-gār̥ⁿ = [Ø wó-nî] [Art rain(n)] if begin.Base-do.well.Base [Art rain(v).Base-VblN] [cè jùsūⁿ] mà sē [bā dāⁿ [Ø dāʔá jî]] [Art cotton] if take.shape.Base [if arrive.Base [Art time Indef]] A: ‘When it starts raining well, when the cotton yields well and it ripens at a given time,’

(02:30) [à wā-rēp] jāṛ5n = Ō-mā [[ā lii] nî] 3Inan egg-Pl Rel be.Loc [3Inan interior] Loc [jāṛ5n mā gbō?q-bū] [bē bīf gō wūō], [Rel if] burst.Base-get.Base [[Dem.Def all] Inf] rot(v).Base, A: ‘Its grains (“eggs”) which are inside it, when they manage to burst open, they are all rotten.’

(02:32) [ā pū"nûni té nā-dēŋ5] [kā = [ā fā"nàni]] 3Inan fiber Foc.Inan only] [with [Inan lightweight] [nā-dēŋ5 ‘only’ (§19.2.3)]

(02:35) [ō mà gbē] 2Sg if take.Base [ō mà dēŋ5 = nī [ē cūn-ē?ē] nī], 2Sg if add.Base 3InanObj [Art weigh.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] Loc A: ‘When you take it and add (=place) it on the scales,’

(02:37) [ō kō ənī] 3Pl Infin see.Base [ō kō dō [ā bī-bī sēn→] [ɨ bā?ə], 3Pl Infin say.Base [Inan small tiny] [2Sg Dat], A: ‘They tell you-Sg, it’s tiny.’ [sēn→ (§8.5.2.2.5)]

(02:40) [ō mà jūō = nī] 2Sg if sell.Ipfv 3InanObj [ē bū] rē mà bē ənā, 3Inan money] IpfvPast IpfvNeg Fut be.seen.Pfv, A: ‘When you sold it, money for it would not be seen (=gotten).’

(02:42) [ā = Ō yīʔi = [ [[Ō blō Ō ənū?] nī] dē] 3Inan Ipfv go.Base [[Art rain(n)] [Pl four]] Loc this.year [ō mà bī = [Ō jūn-bū]], 1Pl IpfvNeg get.Ipfv [Art cotton-money]], A: ‘(As of) this year, for four rainy seasons (=years) we haven’t gotten any cotton money.’ [i.e. haven’t made a profit after expenses and paying off debt; < /blō ənū?] /

(02:45) ā = ānūʔa-yūō, gouvernement wā, Art in.front.people, government or, ō mà jī-à-gārēn [ō yīʔ] = dēʔ, 1Pl IpfvNeg know.Ipfv-Ipfv-dō.well.Ipfv [3Pl name] Emph, A: ‘The officials, the “gouvernement” or (whatever), we really don’t know their name well,’
(02:51) [ò fôrá"], bà gbë jårš" [má sǔʔs] [3Pl too], if take.Base Rel [if send.Base] [jårš" = Ọ-mäh [[Ọ ānàʔà] ni] [Rel be.Loc [[Art in.front] Loc] dè Ḯ̀ná, Quot union,  

A: ‘What they too take and send to the one (=office) that is in front (=in charge), called “the Union.” ’


A: ‘Last year they led us on, saying that they are giving money out, right up to today.’

(03:02) dèyà-dò kí" kò ká-tà [à ní] this.year-Poss.Inan credit Infin do.again.Base-add.Base [3Inan Loc] [ó bë klè jårš""] ́ë = á k₃" =?, [1Pl Fut do.Pfv Rel] 1Pl PfvNeg know.Base Neg, A: ‘The debt of this year is added to it (=last year’s debt). What to do, we don’t know.’ [-dò (§6.2.4.3); kí" variant of cī""]

[change of speakers]

(03:07) [bè tóʔó] fé [n dëoʔà =] =à", [Dem.Def Foc] talk(n) [Sg one] it.is, [b₃" kɔr₃""] dè bë-kā, [3Inan Top] say.Pfv thus, 

B: ‘It’s all the same talk. As for him, he spoke like that.’

(03:11) [ó dé] má" gō [3Pl however] IpfvNeg be [/[cè eʔè jì] jur ] =nì] [à nì], [[[Art thing Indef] see.Prog] Prog] [3Inan Loc], B: ‘We however aren’t seeing (=getting) anything from it.’ [progressive negative (§10.2.5.7)]
(03:12)  
\[nóⁿ \ mó \ =rê] \ bâʔà,  
[1Sg \ Top \ even] \ Dat,  
\[a = \ O-mã \ [tùʔì \ jãršⁿ] \ nî]  
3Inan \ be.Loc \ [[place \ Rel] \ Loc]  
B: ‘As far as I am concerned, where it (=situation) is,’  
\[< /nóⁿ \ bô/]  

(03:15)  
\[jí \ ì̓-yùò \ bê-yùò— \ bų̂—, \ [è \ lûʔó \ jî],  
if \ 1Pl \ cultivate.Pfv-Agent.Pl— \ get.Pfv—, \ [Art \ trick \ Indef],  
\[ò \ dê \ bê \ glô \ [Ø \ pîèⁿʔèⁿ] \ nî]  
1Pl \ IpfvPast \ Fut \ exit.Pfv \ [[PIRef] \ foot] \ Loc  
B: ‘If we farmers find a solution, we would be about to go out on our own feet.’  
\[< /pîèⁿʔèⁿ/]  

(03:18)  
\[jì \ ò \ bâ \ bê \ klè \ [kã \ [jãršⁿ \ kã]]  
if \ 3Pl \ do.Pfv \ [with \ [Rel \ manner]]]  
\[ò \ kò \ klè],  
[3Pl \ Hort \ do.Base],  
B: ‘If they are going to do it in some way, let them do it.’  
[possessor (or compound initial) relative (§14.2.3)]  

(03:21)  
\[mó \ nò \ wò-à-sëⁿ, \ [ê \ dê] \ nî,  
2Sg \ Hort \ bend.over.Ipfv, \ [Art \ sun] \ Loc,  
\[ê \ dê-[wò-sëⁿ]-nî, \ à \ kãâ =dêʔ,  
[Art \ sun-[bend.over.Base]-VblIN, \ Lpfv \ be.hard.Ipfv] \ Emph  
B: ‘You bend over in the sun (to farm). Bending over in the sun sure is hard!’  
[< /wò-à-sëⁿ/; imperfective hortative (§10.4.2.1)]  

(03:26)  
\[kô \ à \ lô \ [ê \ yà \ kãmâ \ [n \ dêⁿʔèⁿ]],  
Infin \ Lpfv \ turn.Ipfv \ [Art \ year \ entire] \ [Sg \ one],  
\[mó \ mà \ bê \ bų̂-pôⁿ  
2Sg \ if \ get.Pfv-be.able.Base \ [Art \ thing \ Indef]  
B: ‘And (you) go around one entire year. If you manage to earn anything,’  
[< /ê yà/; kãmâ ’entire’ with temporal nouns (’year’, ’day’, etc.)]  

(03:30)  
\[[ê \ blà-kô \ jà-rô] \ à-mâ]  
[Art \ livestock.Pl \ Rel-AnPl] \ be.Loc]  
\[bų̨̂ \ bų̨̂ \ ò̊ \ [yîʔì \ nî] \ [[ê \ kîⁿ-cîʔè] \ nî],  
[3Pl \ all] \ be \ [go.Prog \ Prog] \ [[Art \ credit-hole] \ Loc],  
B: ‘The livestock that is there, they all are going into (paying off) the debt.’  
[variant of cîⁿ-tîʔè ; i.e. one has to sell livestock to pay off the cotton debt]
B: ‘How are you going to raise (=feed) (your children)? If you see that disease has become common in the village,’

< /mó(ⁿ) bè/

(03:36) [bè to?ó] gō [[kè yá té èrè] dó],
Dem.Def Foc be [[matter Dem.InanSg Foc.Inan even] Poss.Inan],
[mó gā = à-pēⁿ],
2Sg Infin come.Base-stay.Base
B: ‘That [focus] is the result of that very situation. You just stay (there),’
< /kè yá té èrè dó/

(03:38) wò séⁿ, [kō pē⁰], [[ê sêⁿ] nī] mê→,
InfFin lie.down.Base, [InfFin stay.Base], [[Art thought(n)] Loc] concerning,
àlámâⁿ à kò [yīlī nī]—
the.end 3Inan be [go.Prog Prog]—
à kò [yīlī nī] [[ê lá-fū?ò té] nī],
3Inan be [go.Prog Prog] [[Art disease Foc.Inan] Loc],
B: ‘And (you) lie there (at night), and (you) keep worrying. In the end, it’s going—it’s on the way to disease [focus].’
< Jula àlâmâⁿbâⁿ; alternative parsing is progressive té nī ‘is putting/causing’

(03:46) jō = ò uⁿ?áⁿ-yóò
if 3Pl head-people
bà á jīⁿ [ā tō?ò bè] cāⁿ,
if PfvNeg look.at.Base [3Inan place Top.Inan] truth,
B: ‘If their leaders don’t consider its situation, in truth,’
< cāⁿ < Jula

(03:48) à = Ø kà?= [ò bà?á] kà-kà,
3Inan Ipfv be.hard [1Pl Dat] RdP-day,
wàlà→ voilà
B: ‘It’s hard for us these days. There it is.’
Text 2019-04  Cotton follow-up

duration: 00:50
Nason Ouattara, from Bofo Bosso, monologue
recorded in Bofo Bosso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofo Bosso)

(00:02)  [ē jùsúⁿ] mà bá,
        [Art cotton] if be.cultivated.Base,
            à bà à-kòʔó,
        3Inan if come.Base-succeed.Base,
            ‘When cotton has been grown, if it is successful (=bountiful),’

(00:06)  [à tī-tɔ̀ʔɔ̀] ní,
        [3Inan put.down.Pfv] Loc,
            [ē kō gbē [Ø [kē-sùⁿʔɔ]-yùò],
        1Pl Infin take.Base [Art [work(n)]=people],
        ‘In its (=cotton’s) place for being put down, we then take some (volunteer) workers.’

(00:09)  [ē yà-rór] [kà [ē bî-ô]], kò glú,
        [1Pl woman-Pl] [with [1Pl child-Pl]], Infin exit(v).Base,
        kō wò-sëⁿ= [[Ø dë] ní],
        Infin bend.over.Base [[Art field] Loc],
        ‘Our women and our young people then go out, and stoop over in the field.’

(00:13)  [ē dáʔá jà-rè] á sêⁿ
        [Art time Rel-IninanPI] PfvNeg work(v).Base
        [ē fèʔè nàràmá] [[ē jùⁿdëⁿ-dë-ní]
        [Art month genuine] [[Art cotton-pick.cotton-VblN] Loc]
        ‘The times in (=time spent on) picking the cotton hasn’t amounted to (even) a solid month.’

            [because the fields didn’t produce much cotton this year; in a good cotton harvest
            three months may be needed]

(00:17)  [ē jùsúⁿ] Ø mà wā-a-ɲè =?
        [Art cotton] 2Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv-Ipfv-see.Ipfv Neg
        ‘The cotton, you don’t come and see (it),’
            /< jùsúⁿ ŋì mà bē-ā-ɲè/
(00:18) ó nà— bê = [Ø jùsú'],
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art cotton],
[[ë gbi'ñùn tê →] kê] ní
[[[Art peanut Foc.Inan] matter] Loc]‘We used to grow cotton, instead of peanuts [focus],’

(00:21) [kò bû = [Ø bû] [kò bâ = [Ø sùmâ'-klàʔà]],
Infin get.Base [Art money] [Infin cultivate.Base [Art maize]],
[ë dì-ná-dê'] ó nà bê = [Ø sùmâ'-klàʔà],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art maize],‘In order to get money to cultivate maize. In the old days we used to grow maize,’

(00:24) [ë dórì'ñò] má wì [à ní]
[Art manure] IpfvNeg be.put.Ipfv 3Inan Loc
[ë sùmâ'-klàʔà [n dê'ñò cò]
[Art maize] [Sg one only]‘Fertilizer wasn’t put on it. One single maize (cob),’
[i.e. it didn’t need fertilizer; the term for ‘manure’ is also applied to modern chemical fertilizer]

(00:25) [ë jë-rò = rè] má klû'-à'-plû' = nì,
[Art Indef-AnPl even] IpfvNeg chew.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv 3InanObj, mais [kù'ñù' ni] [à bé] pië'n [[Ø á kàʔà] ní],
but [today Loc] [3Inan all] stay.Pfv [[Art Inan empty] Loc],‘Some people couldn’t chew it. But nowadays it has all stayed (=become) worthless.’
[one cob was more than some people could eat, because the cobs were so well-developed then]

(00:29) bon 5'ë sùdî = [Ø ù'-yúó]
well 3AnSg receive.Pfv [Art rope-people]
kô wë [[[Ø fù'ñù-èʔè] lí'n] ní],
[Infin put.Base [[[Art run.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] interior] Loc],‘Well, he (=Union agent) has taken the rope people (=indebted cotton farmers), and put (the cotton) inside a vehicle.’

(00:32) [ë-yùò tõ-rà =] â sò = nì [k-à wì]
[1Pl Foc.AnPl] Ipfv carry.on.head.Ipfv 3InanObj [Infin-Ipfv put.in.Ipfv]
[ë bû] má nè [à ní],
[Art money] IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv 3Inan Loc],‘It’s us [focus] who carry it and put (it) in. Money isn’t seen (=received) from it).’
[< /tõ-rò à sò/]
Nowadays, we are seeking to return to the old ways of our fathers.

[kè 'precisely' with spatiotemporal adverb (§8.5.3.2.6); < /fì-ó/]

What we used to cultivate, peanuts, maize,

[< /ó dè à/]

We will return to that [focus]. How (=what) will we do? Sesame.

[dialectal for [bè tóʔó] nì ; ‘what will we do now?’ here means ‘what will we talk about next?’]
Text 2019-05 Maize farming

duration: 01:10
A: Lanbi Issa Ouattara, from Bofoboso, main speaker
B: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, respondent
recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) ó ná bé—, [ē di-nā-dē’] ó ná—
[1Pl PastHabit cultivate.lpfv—, [Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit—
jī-ō ná bé [ē sūmā-k̩ā tē]
father-Pl PastHabit cultivate.lpfv [Art maize Foc.Inan]
[kā = [Ø ci]],
[and [Art millet]]
A: ‘We used to grow— In the old days, we used to— (our) fathers (=ancestors) used to grow maize [focus] and millet.’
[ci ‘millet’ can include sorghum (gros mil) as well as pearl millet]

(00:08) [ō =rē] má wī = [Ø dārī’?ī’],
[1Pl even lpfvNeg put.in.lpfv [Art manure],
ŋā = [Ø jūsū’-bā?ā tē] bā bā,
look.Base [Art cotton-farming(n) Foc.Inan] if come.Pfv,
A: ‘We didn’t use to put fertilizer (on it). Look, when cotton farming came in,’
/< /bā?ā/]

(00:10) [ō kō yīñ-jiñ] [ō bīé]
[1Pl Infin get.up.Base] [3Pl all]
kō dī = [à nī] ŋō [dā-rē mlē’]
A: ‘We got up and everyone went into it (=cotton). Look now,’
/ < /kō diē/]

(00:12) ó bà bā [mlē’ nī],
1Pl if cultivate.Base [now Loc],
jī má = à wē = [Ø dārī’?ī’],
if 2Sg lpfv put.in.lpfv [Art manure],
A: ‘When we do farming now, if you-Sg put fertilizer on,’

(00:14) à má bà kpē?ē = [Ø è?è jì] bā,
3Inan lpfvNeg Fut benefit.Pfv [Art thing Indef] at.all,
ó bà nī [Ø ú’?ú’] nī-mā [à nī],
1Pl if see.Base [Art head] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘It doesn’t benefit anything at all. When we see that it (=fertilizer) has no value (“head”),’
The soil has died. Even if you-Sg have grown a little, <t/ñ />

If you-Sg don’t put manure on it, you won’t get any food out of it. [unusual combination 2Sg PfvNeg ñà = á for usual mó á (§4.3.1.6.2)]

Look, that [focus] is what has caused everyone to get up and put our foot down on it now. *i.e. to discontinue growing cotton; elided <bè tōʔó/; klè ‘cause’ plus infinitival clause (§17.4.2.5.1)]

If it were not a matter of that (=fertilizer), the old men used to grow it.

All of us, we people, what we used to eat, in order to get up and become (=count as) a person today,' [*person-head’, cf. ‘head (of cattle etc.)’ in counting]

Did we used to get anything like that (misfortune)? The coming of fertilizer,
A: ‘Cotton-farming [focus] came with (=brought about) the death of the soil among us.’

/ \wú-ní ‘death’ /

A: ‘It isn’t a matter of (being in) our hands any more. We must look again for another situation for it.’

/i.e. there’s nothing we can do about it; < /kě má/; bá-kī ‘must’ (§17.1.8) /

A: ‘To return to the ways of our old days, to try to take (the grace of) God with it.’

/-dò (§6.2.4.3); -nà (§15.1.7.2) /

A: ‘Whatever God says, we said we will—’

A: ‘We have gotten our share of food thus. The earth doesn’t fail a person.’

/ < /tī má/; nà-kò (base stem) ‘withhold help from, fail to help’ /

A: ‘If you-Sg don’t put fertilizer (on it), ah!, you won’t get any maize to eat.’

/ ’to eat’ purposive (§17.6.2.1) /
A: ‘In that situation, that [focus] is (why)—, everyone has come and gotten up and has diversified into it.’

[i.e. everyone is doing their own thing]

A: ‘Nowadays, a person is there (in that situation) today, he hasn’t grown cotton,’

A: ‘But (at least) he is eating. We will go back (to the way of) our old men—.’

A: ‘To the way of our fathers. That [focus] is what I have gotten (=learned).’

B: ‘That’s it.’
Maize follow-up

Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) [ē dī-nā-dëⁿ] ó nā bè = [Ø sūāⁿ-klâʔā], [Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art maize],

kà [Ø fiʔé-túʔú], kò kú-mēʔē [Ø dè],

with [Art long.hoe], Infin slash.in.line.Base [Art field],

‘In the old days we used to cultivate maize, with a long-handled hoe. (We) made slashes (in the earth) in straight lines.’

[rows similar to the ridges and furrows of an ox-plowed field]

(00:09) kò bá = nì, Infin cultivate.Base 3InanObj,
kò sə̀rə̀ [kò dû = [Ø sūāⁿ-klâʔā]],
Infin proceed.Base [Infin sow.Base [Art maize]],

‘Then (we) cultivate it (=formed mounds with the hoe), and sow the maize.’

[seeds are sown on the mounds, to protect them from being flooded by the first rains]

(00:12) [ē sūāⁿ-klâʔā] bà dú [bà yīʔí-jiʔì] [bā dàⁿ],
[Art maize] if be.sown.Base [if get.up.Base] [if arrive.Base],
ē dè [Ø támú], [ē dè [Ø támw-á = ā kàⁿ]
Art day [Art ten], [Art day [Art ten and five]

‘When the maize has been sown (=planted), and has grown (high), and has ripened, (after) ten or fifteen days,’

[‘arrive’ = ‘(grain) ripen’; ‘fifteen’ (§4.6.1.3)]

(00:15) ó kò wē [Ø cí] [à nì],
1Pl Infin put.in.Base [Art millet] 3Inan Loc],
bè dāʔá sârē = [Ø blō] lè mà
[Dem.Def period peer] [Art rain(n)] IpfvPast be.Loc
[tá nà wú],
[like Fut make.die.Base],

‘Then we put millet in with it. The rain of times like that was there (enough) to kill.’

[millet is planted between maize plants; it used to rain heavily; wú ‘die’ here apparently as causative ‘cause to die’; < /ē blō lè mā; tá nà (§15.3.1.2)]
Nowadays, if you take the long-handled hoe, and say (=intend) you will bend over (to hoe the earth),

\(</mò nà wò-sèⁿ/>\)

Look, we cultivate (=plow) with the cattle thing (=ox-drawn plow) now.'

Cotton is what gives (=pays for) cattle. Now cotton has changed to seek to finish (=be on the verge of finishing) eating up all the cattle lately.'

\(</tè à; cotton is a money-loser and makes us sell our cattle to pay off debt>\)

But right now, we were getting out (=abandoning it), we (now) go back to look for (=prefer) the long hoe again,

\([first \ phrase \ barely \ audible; \ restore \ rest \ of \ segment \ as 'we \ have \ gone \ back \ to \ look \ for \ the \ long \ hoe \ that \ we \ used \ to \ cultivate \ with']\)

Wishing to go back, the young people may make a renewed effort to know it,'
(00:35) ó á kōn [bè tōʔō] [ō bāʔà],
1Pl PfvNeg know.Base [Dem.Def Foc] [3Pl chez],
kātā = à kō [mlēn] [kūn?ú̃ ni],
when 3Inan be [now Loc] [today Loc],
‘We don’t know that among them, as it is nowadays.’
[i.e. we don’t know what they think about that; < kātō (§15.3.5.3)]

(00:39) ó nā bé [Ø dī—]
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Base [Art ol[d.days]—]
ó nā bé [à [Ø fiʔé-tūʔú =] [Ø kē-tēʔè] ni],
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Base [with [Art long.hoe]] [Loc],
‘We used to cultivate in the old d[ays]— We used to cultivate with the long-handled hoe in (our) hands,’

(00:42) kō wō-sé̃ [wō kō [Ø fārū]], mais kūn?ú̃
Infin bend.over.Base [Infin suffer.Base [Art sweat(n)]], but today
[ō bī̃] à lēn = [Ø jūʔé-ci’] [k-ā bé],
[3Pl all] Ipfv stand.Ipfv [Art above] [Infin-Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv],
‘And (we) bent over and sweated. But nowadays, everybody stands up high to work.’
[i.e. the fields are worked by ox-drawn plows so farmers don’t have to bend over to hoe; klē̃/kē̃/kō ~ kū ‘suffer’ plus noun ‘sweat’ = ‘to sweat, to emit sweat’, partially homophonous with kpà/kē̃/kō ~ kū ‘finish’]

(00:45) [è nō-fiʔé] ni, [bè tōʔō] tā bā [ā = [Ø jūsú’]],
k-ā sūʔū [Ø èʔé jōr̥̃],
Infin-Ipfv give.Ipfv [Art thing Rel],
‘In (=with) the ox-drawn plow. The thing that they had brought cotton to give (it) to farm with).’
[relativization on object within subordinated infinitival clause (§14.2.6)]

(00:49) bè fār̥̃, kā-bāʔà [k-ā bē
Dem.Def too, want.it [Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv
[[[ā bī̃] gblē-tōʔ̥̃] ni] tāʔa-kō,
[3Inan all] take.Pfv-place] Loc] again,
‘That too wants to come in order to take everything again.’
[‘want’ with infinitival complement for Bi/Bo dialect (§17.4.3.1); purposive with -tāʔ̥̃ ni (§17.6.2.5)]
In the old days we used to cultivate peanuts. Peanuts too used to be cultivated.

Four months (growing time). We had put it in with the millet [focus].

Then (we) get up with a small daba (=hoe), and go in (the field) and slash it.

[i.e. without slashing the plant first]

In some cases, you brew beer and ask people'
(00:20) ò kō bà [kā = á-kpā = nī],
3Pl Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-pick.Base 3InanObj],
[kā = rē] mà kpē-à-kō,
[3Inan even] IpfvNeg pick.Ipfv-Ipfv-finish.Ipfv,
'To come and pick (the peanuts from the roots). They can’t even be fully picked.’
[because the plants produce huge numbers of peanuts]

(00:22) mais [Ø mà là-jūō = nī [[ē wàⁿʔāⁿ] nī]
but [2Sg if go.Base-sell.Base 3InanObj [[Art market] Loc]
[ē [gbōⁿ-gbō]-pē] [ē kpāⁿ [kā = [Ø tāmm]]],
[Art [large.can]-full] [Art twenty [and [Art ten]]],
'But if you go sell them in the market, one large can full is (worth) thirty currency
units (=150 francs CFA).'
(§16.1.1.6.2) gbōⁿ-gbō-pē is a large can whose volume is equivalent
to ten tin cans (gbōⁿ-gbō) of tomato; it is used as a dry measure for market
transactions (peanuts, millet, maize, etc.).

(00:26) è tōrⁿ-sò, [bè jūā-ēʔè]—
Art iron-horse, [Dem.Def divide.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]—
[ē kpāⁿ té]
[Art twenty Foc.Inan]
'A bicycle, a half load on it, twenty [focus] currency units.'

(00:30) mais [kūⁿʔūⁿ nī], yē!, á!, ē fēʔè ji—
but [today Loc], oh!, ah!, Art moon Indef—
[ē bàʔá] kō bà-lō,
[Art farming(n)] Infin come.Base-turn.Base,
'But these days, alas, a month—. Farming has changed.'

(00:37) [ē fā-rē [ò sāⁿ]] glō,
[Art moon-Pl [Pl three]] exit(v).Pfv,
mais Ò mà kpā bè kūⁿʔūⁿ [bè nī],
but 2Sg if pick.Base Dem.Def today [Dem.Def Loc],
'Three moons have come out (=three months have passed), but if you pick them
(=peanuts) today in that (way),'

(00:42) bè-kā— [ē [di-nā-dēⁿ]-dō] mà kō [dēⁿʔēⁿ nī],
thus— [Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan] IpfvNeg be [one Loc],
'Like that—, (and) the one (=farming) of the old days aren’t the same.’

(00:46) Ò mà kāʔā bè [bè fā-r = [ò sāⁿ]],
2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def [3Inan moon [Pl three]],
Ò mà kāʔā bè
2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def,
'If you uproot (=harvest) them, (when) three months of it—; if you uproot them,'
(00:48) [bè fà-r = [ò sâ~]] bà yfîi-[yì-fló] [tò?ò jár5],
[3Inan moon-PI [PI three]] if go.Base-[be.filled.Base] [place Rel],
Ø mà kâ?â bè, ě g-ā kpè bè.
2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def, 2Sg Infin-Ipfv pick.Ipfv Dem.Def,
‘Wherever three months of it have been filled (=have elapsed), if you have
uprooted them (=plants), for you to pick them (nuts),’

(00:51) kò bà-cà?â,
Infin come.Base-lay.out.Base,
mais [Ø mà kâǹâ [à = [Ø blô]]]
but [2Sg if coincide.Base [with [Art rain(n)]]]
‘(You) then come and lay them out (to dry). But if you coincide with the rains,’

(00:54) [è blò] mà lèn [=èn nì],
[Art rain(n)] IpfvNeg accept.Ipfv [3Inan Loc],
jì gò táʔâ= [Ø kpà?à-nì]
2Sg Infin begin.Base [Art be.poor.Base-VblN]
‘The rains don’t allow it (to dry). You begin (=fall into) neediness.’

(00:57) à bâ [fè-fè]-bú mà,
3Inan if [get.a.little.Base]-be.gotten.Base there.Def,
jì gò yfîi [kà bè] [kô rà-jûâ = nì]
2Sg Infin go.Base [with Dem.Def] [Infin go.Base-sell.Base 3InanObj],
‘When whatever meager amount has been gotten there, you take it (to the market)
to sell it.’
[fè-fè < Jula ‘get a little, get a meager amount’]

(01:00) mais bè k-à dùʔù,
but Dem.Def Infin-Ipfv be.heavy.Ipfv,
[è gbî~?î pó bë kàr3],
[Art peanut Poss.Inan Top.Inan Top],
‘But it’s heavy. As for the peanuts’ (price),’

(01:02) [è á bi-bí] à bì [bè nì],
[Art Inan small] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv [Dem.Def Loc],
k-à jìn [Ø jû-kè],
Infin-Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Art eye-matter],
‘A modest amount (of money) is gotten out of it, to satisfy (your) needs.’

(01:07) è! màn glò, ć— [è [di-nâ-dë”]-dò jár5],
ah! IpfvNeg it.is, Art— [Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan Rel],
[è tòwié],
[Art dry.season],
‘Anyway, those (peanuts) of the old days, in the dry season,’
reduced from jì bè mà glò ; the peanut cultivars of the old days took four months
to mature and could be harvested well after the rainy season]
'It was in the **dry season** [focus] that we used to slash them (with the hoe) and gather them.'

[the current cultivar takes three months, but doesn’t hold up if the harvest is delayed well into the dry season]

'(We) gathered them (= peanuts), and (we) put (volunteer) labor(ers) in, and (we) brewed millet beer. Then the people came.'

[cooperative work by villagers, helping each other in turn]

'Farming has come to be done like that. For some other (people),'

[i.e. a bundle or bale of cotton]

'Some (people) won’t be able to get even one (bundle), to be yanked away, (the union) saying that the (cotton) agents (are the problem),'
(01:24) dè ó kò wô l= [[Ø bh-ịọ] jù]
   [bè bié] à gbli-à-wí [bè ni],
   [Dem.Def all] Ipfv be.taken.Ipfv-be.put.Ipfv [Dem.Def Loc],
   ‘(They) tell us to open the eyes of the children (=by paying their school expenses),
   everything (we earn) is applied to that (=schooling).’

(01:28) kò tóràn [Ø kè-tè?è]-kà?à],
   Infin sit.Base [Art hand-empty],
   [è gbî”rîn] bà [kà [bê-kà jàràn]],
   [Art peanut] come.Pfv [with [cultivate.Pfv-manner Rel]],
   ‘(For us) to sit empty-handed. The way of farming whereby peanuts came,’
   (used like English tight fist(ed))

(01:32) bè tôôó wô kàn
   [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg
   ‘That is it.’
   [“AnSg” demonstrative kàn with inanimate referent]
Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso.
Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoboso recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

Nason speaking

In the old days we used to cultivate cowpea. We put it in among peanut (plants).'

In some cases, cowpeas take four months (to grow), (or) three months.

We plant them in the peanut plot. When we have picked them (=cowpeas),

The greens, women pick off the leaves, and cook sauce with them.

The greens, women pick off the leaves, and cook sauce with them.'

< /è à-bìⁿëⁿ/: only fresh young leaves can be used in sauce so the women carefully pick the good ones]
(00:19) kō klè = nǐ [ē kànà?à-ñì?è],
Infin make.Base 3InanObj [Art cowpea.greens-spine],
[à bìó] bà dàⁿ,
[3Inan fruit] if arrive.Base,
‘To make it spiny cowpea greens. When its seeds (=beans) are ripe,’”

(00:22) ó kō k₃ì?₃ [Ø kē],
1Pl Infin uproot.Base [Art cowpeas],
[kō tārāⁿ = [Ø l₄ⁿ] nì] [kō kpā = nî],
[Infin sit.Base [[Art shade] Loc] [Infin pick.Base 3InanObj].
‘Then we uproot the cowpea (plants), and (we) sit in the shade and (we) pick them (=the pods containing the beans) off.’

(00:25) kō mé-tāⁿ [à sòrà?á],
Infin discard.Base [3Inan stem.and.leaves],
kō bà-cāⁿ = [Ø kē], kō di-głö [à bìó],
Infin come.Base-thresh [Art cowpea], Infin remove.Base [3Inan fruit],
‘Then we discard the (rest of) the plant, and (we) come and thresh the cowpea (pods) to extract its seeds (=beans).’

(00:30) kō dō-sū?₃ = nǐ [ò dígà-rō] [kō dī]
Infin divide.Base-give.Base 3InanObj [1Pl Recip] [Infin eat.Base]
[mlēⁿ nî], [ē kē], mà kō?ō tā?̄, tá [ē di-nā-dēⁿ],
[now Loc], [Art cowpea], IpfvNeg succeed.Ipfv again, like [Art old.days],
‘Then we divide them up for each other, to eat. Nowadays, cowpeas don’t succeed (=turn out well) any longer, like (they did) in the old days.’

(00:37) [[[ē blō] kē nì] [[[ē blō] mà kō?ō],
[[[Art rain(n)] matter] Loc] [[Art rain(n)] IpfvNeg succeed.Ipfv],
[ē blō] nā wō = [Ø di-nā-dēⁿ],
[Art rain(n)] PastHabit rain.fall.Ipfv [Art old.days],
‘Because of the rains. The rains aren’t sufficient. (The way) the rains used to fall in the old days,’

[speaker could have added ‘ná nî at the end of this segment]

(00:40) [ē blō] mà wō tà?̄-kō,
[Art rain(n)] Ipfv rain.fall.Ipfv again,
ā-kā [Ø kē-dîⁿ bìé] lē,
thus [Art cowpea-breed all] turn.Pfv,
‘The rains don’t fall any more (like they did). Thus all the varieties of cowpea have changed.’

[ā-kā obscure, perhaps à kā ‘its manner’]
We cannot (=don’t) know what we will do.

To know which kinds (of cowpea) that are there. We just cultivate …

[i.e., there is a confusing range of varieties in seedstock]

… in order to get some porridge out of it.'
Text 2019-09  Yam farming

duration: 01:30
location: Bofoboso brousse
Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue
comment: the cultivated and commercialized yam (French igname) is Dioscorea alata.

(00:02) [ē dï-nâ”-dè] ò nâ” bë = [Ø tï-tô],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art yam],
[ē fî?’-tû’û té] nâ gblì [gô só-sà”â”],
‘In the old days, they would cultivate yams. The big hoe [focus] used to be used. They formed a line (laterally across the field).’
[each farmer would move forward in his own row, parallel to and in unison with others]

(00:06) [k-ä—, k-ä kà”-tó [ā nà[rì”] [ŋ-à yîfí],
[Infin-Ipfv— Infin-Ipfv pile.up.Ipfv [3Inan mound] [Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv],
[bè bâ là-k5] ò wô sèrô
[gô târâ” [kò kâ”â” =nì],
[Infin sit.Base [Infin cut.up.Base 3InanObj],
‘And they would pile up (earth) to make its mounds, and go. When that was finished, they would then sit and cut them (=yams) up.’
[pieces of a yam are cut up and planted as grafts; nà[rì” small mound under which yam or sweet potato is grafted]

(00:13) [kô sèrô k-ä—, dú-dú-yîfí [ā rô]
[ē yâ-rô] kô gâ’â” = [Ø à-bò-re”],
[Art woman-Pl] Infin break.off.Base [Art leaf-Pl],
[kò wà[râ’-tô” [ā ú”â”]] [gô yîfí],
[Infin cover.Base [3Inan head] [Infin go.Base]
‘And they proceeded to plant with them (yam pieces) here and there, and went with (=after) that. The women broke off some leaves, and covered up the top (where the yam was planted) and went away.’
[for kô yîfí [ā rô], dialectal for /kà lô/]
When the dry season was over, when the work was done, (they) proceeded to go in (the house) and get a pick-hoe.

And they would go and pull them (=yams) out, and gather (millet or sorghum) stalks.

Then you would go and cut some wood, and plant it here and there (around the yam plant), saying (=intending) it (to be) a guide-stick. It (=yam) would climb up (the stick).

Then, when the time for pulling out (=harvesting) has arrived, you would go and gather stalks.
Then (you) enclose that place, before going and pulling it up.

Then come and put them (yams) inside. When you have finished putting them in,

Then you uncover it, and go in and shave off all those spines (on the skin of the yams) from on them.

Then (you) store them (=yams). (Whatever) you are going to sell, you sell the little ones.
(01:03) ñj go klè bè [ë di-ë?è],
2Sg Infin do.Base Dem.Def [Art eat-Ppl.Inan],
ò nā' bé tì-tò kā,
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.lpfv yam manner,
‘(You) make that into (your) food. The way we used to grow yams.’
[for bè kā ‘that way’, cf. (01:15) below]

(01:07) mais, kü'nú nǐ, mó'n mà bà = nì,
but, today Loc, 2Sg if cultivate.Base 3Inan,
[ë bò-rɔ] dè màn bè jë = nì mā,
[Art elephant-Pl] Quot lpfvNeg Fut leave.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def
‘But nowadays, if you cultivate them, the elephants won’t leave them alone.’
[ðè is optional here; jë ‘leave.Pfv’ in Bi dialect, elsewhere invariant já]

(01:11) [bè [wè-yá]-nį às-mā
[Dem.Def] [squeeze.Base]-VblN be.Loc
[i-yùò nǐ]kɔsàbè,
[1Pl Loc] very.much
‘That pressure is on us extremely.’

(01:15) nó'n bùù jàrɔ'n [[ë [tì-tò]-bë-kà]
nì,
1Sg get.Pfv Rel [[Art [yam]-cultivate.Pfv-manner] Loc],
á! [bè tò?ò] gò kā'n
ah! [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg
‘What I got (=learned) in (=about) yam cultivation, there it is!’
[variant phrasing of [bè tò?ò] kò yà with inanimate demonstrative]
Text 2019-10  Marriage

duration: 05:52
location: Bafo
A: Traore Diouenia, born Biton, main speaker
B: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, respondent-interviewer

Notes: B “interviews” A, prodding her with leading questions to speak about marriage customs from the old days that B already knows about. The excision practice described here is no longer practiced.

(00:02) Traoré jíswá’yà

A: ‘(My name:) Traoré Jisouaia.’

(00:06) est-ce que, ô bā sūʔĩ, [ē yiē-bịfi³ⁿ] [ỹⁿ = [Ø dʒ]],

Q, 3Pf if give.Base, [Art young.woman] [Dat [Art man]],
ô kō táⁿʔāⁿ = [Ō kē-sūⁿʔō bō] mì-kā = =ā,
3Pf Infin begin.Base [Art work(n) Top] how? Q,
kā = ā-đāⁿ [Ō dʒ-ļè],
Infin come.Base-arrive.Base [Art man-village],

B: ‘When they give a young woman to a man, how do they begin the activities, to arrive in the man’s village?’
[dative ỹⁿ [ē dʒ] ‘to a/the man’ and ỹⁿ [ỹⁿ dʒ] ‘to her man/husband’ are both pronounced ỹⁿ [Ø dʒ] and are indistinguishable throughout this text]

(00:15) ô kō táⁿʔāⁿ = ní,
3Pf Infin begin.Base 3InanObj,
kō sūʔĩ [Ø láⁿ], kō sərə [kō bà],
Infin give.Base [Art beer], Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base],

A: ‘They begin it, they give beer. Then they come,’

(00:20) ŋ’ fā [Ø klōʔó], [ē jè-yùò] bāʔà]
(nasal) look.for.Base [Art road], [[Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.Pl] Dat]
ô bā đē 5ⁿ yiē-fló,
3Pf if say.Pfv 3AnSg be.full.Pfv,

A: ‘(They) seek permission from the (girl’s) birth people (=family). If they say that she is ready,’

(00:28) ô kō té = ô mā,
3Pf Infin put.Base 3AnSgObj there,
ô jí ỹⁿ mā yi-fló,
if 3AnSg if be.full.Base,

A: ‘They put her there, if she is ready.’
(00:30)  ò kō sàrò  [kō sūʔə̃ [Ø klòʔó]],
3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin give.Base [Art road]
[kō jò = yò],
[Infin swallow.Base 3AnSgObj],
A: ‘Then they proceed to give permission to excise her.’
[‘swallow’ = ‘excise (girl)’, also ‘circumcise (boy)’]

(00:36)  ò bā jè-kē,
3Pl if swallow.Base-be.finished.Base,
ò gō sàrò  [gō bà-ni],
3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base],
A: ‘When they have excised her, they proceed to come and see,’

(00:39)  [kō rà-sūʔ = [ʒə [Ø dʒ]],
[Infin go.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art man]]
ò bā sūʔ = [ʒə [Ø dʒ]],
3Pl if give.Base [Dat [Art man]],
A: ‘Then (they) go give (her) to the man. When they have given (her) to the man,’

(00:43)  è tēⁿ-wē-dàʔà bā dāⁿ
Art knead.Pfv-put.in.Base-time if arrive.Base,
ò kō sàrò  [kō wē = ò = [[Ø wùʔú] tēⁿ]],
3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3AnSgObj [[Art house] under]]
A: ‘When it comes time for her to cook and serve (tô), they proceed to put her inside the house.’
[< /kō wē = (y)ð ē/]

(00:48)  kō wē = ò = [[Ø wùʔú] tēⁿ],
Infin put.in.Base 3AnSgObj [[Art house] under]]
ò mā sūʔū [Ø ēʔè jì] = à
3Pl LpfvNeg give.Lpfv [Art thing Indef] Q
B: ‘They put her inside the house. Do they not give anything?’

(00:52)  ò kō sūʔə̃ [Ø tì-tô], kà [Ø súmá-klàʔà],
3Pl Infin give.Base [Art yam], and [Art maize],
kà = [Ø ci], kà = [Ø gbíʔin'], kà [Ø súmá-tôʔə̃],
and [Art millet], and [Art peanut], and [Art sesame],
A: ‘They give yams, and maize, and millet, and peanuts, and sesame,’
[súmá-tôʔə̃ also pronounced súáⁿ-tôʔə̃ (see 02:23 below)]

(01:00)  kà = [Ø fēʔè], kà [Ø súkárá],
and [Art wrap(n)], and [Art sugar],
kà = [ē səⁿ], kà—
and [Art salt], and—
A: ‘And a wrap (woman’s garment), and sugar, and salt, and—.’
B: ‘Is there no meat therein (=included)?’

A: ‘(And) meat.’

B: ‘When the meat has been given, they brew the in-law beer.’

A: ‘She comes and brews the beer, and gives (it). Then (they) do farm work for the in-law.’

B: ‘When the woman arrives at her husband’s village, was there any festivity? ’

A: ‘Then they go and have festivities.’

[ singing and dancing]

B: ‘Then (they) take hold of (her) and give (her) to the man.’

A: ‘Then (they) take (her) and give (her) to the man.’
Text 2019-10

(01:48) [ē yō] bā sūʔ = [3̣O [Ø dē]],
[Art woman] if be.given.Base [Dat [Art man]],
[[come [Ø ni] dē] sīpā] ni]
[[as [Art mother] say.Pfv] situation] Loc

B: ‘When the woman has been (taken and) given to the man, as the mother says,’

[the “mother” here is an older woman on the bride’s side]

(01:51) [ē yō] bā sūʔ = [3̣O [Ø dē]],
[Art woman] if be.given.Base [Dat [Art man]]

ō kō nēʔē =ō, [3̣O jī-ō] bāʔā,
3Pl Infin ask.Base 3AnSg, [3AnSg father-Pl] chez],

B: ‘When the woman has been (taken and) given to the man, then they discuss
with (=formally advise) her, at her fathers’ place.’

[nēʔē denotes any of several serious speech acts: praying, asking for forgiveness,
formally requesting, etc.]

(01:54) kā = [Ø lā'], kō sōrā [kō bā— jā],
with [Art beer], Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base— swallow.Base],
[bē dāʔā-sōrē =] [Ø jā-nī] tā ʔā-mā,
[Dem.Def time-peer] [Art swallow-VblN] Past be.Loc,

B: ‘With beer. Then (they) come and— excise (her). In times like those, there was
excision.’

[smooth out as kā = ʔā-jā]

(02:03) donc, [ē jā-nī] tā ʔā-mā,
so, [Art swallow-VblN] Past be.Loc,

[[dāʔā jārē'] ni], ʔā kā dē tā wō bē,
[[time Rel] Loc], 3Inan manner Past Past be Dem.Def,

B: ‘So, in the time when excision existed, the way was like that.’

[double past marking dē tā (§10.3.1.1)]

(02:06) [bē tōʔō] kō [ē-yūō dō] =rē,
[Dem.Def Foc] be [1Pl Poss.Inan] even,

B: ‘That [focus] is ours (=our practice).’

[barely audible, transcription approximate]

(02:10) [ē tī-tō], kā = [Ø cī], kā = [Ø sā'],
[Art yam], and [Art millet], and [Art salt],

jārē' ā lē [ē [kē-tēʔē]-lē-ēʔē],
Rel Ipfv be.showed.Ipfv [Art [hand]-show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],

B: ‘Yams, and millet, and salt, which are showed (=presented).’
Then (they) buy one skirt, and a head shawl, and fish, and salt, and give (them), (to) the in-laws.

[gifts from bride’s family to groom’s family]

(And) sesame. When you-Sg (=groom) have received (all) that, there it is, you have gotten your woman now.

So, the brideprice. When they have excised (her) and carried her up on their shoulders,' 

[bà jō [ē jùʔ-čiʔ]],

[if carry.on.shoulder.Base [Art above]],

B: ‘So, the brideprice. When they have excised (her) and carried her up on their shoulders,’

[dēʔ-ē-bù ‘brideprice (paid in currency)’ dialectal for bāʧ”n-ē-bù “knife-money”, paid by the groom’s family to the bride in a ceremony where the money is placed next to a knife embedded in the ground while people dance around it]

Then (they) give (her) one thousand, and two hundred currency units.’

[currency unit bù in counting money in all native languages is worth 5 CFA francs, so 1200 units = 6000 FCFA]
(02:41) à [Ø bú-fì-rà¨] with [Art cowry]
‘And cowries.’

(02:42) à [Ø bú-fi-rà¨], [kò mí =nî]
with [Art cowry-Pl], [Infin throw.Base 3InanObj]
B: ‘And cowries. Then they toss (the cowries) to give (to them), and toss them.’
[cowries, used as currency before the colonial period]

(02:45) [ò bié] kò jàº, kò sàrò
B: ‘Everyone dances. Then they brew beer. Everyone stays up all night.’

(02:51) kà = [Ø fà-rè-ʔè], donc [bè dáʔâ]
and [Art wrap(n)-Pl], so [Dem.Def time]
B: ‘And wraps (worn by women). So at that time, you have gotten your woman now.’

(02:54) donc, jí bè á klè =?,
so, if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done.Base Neg,
yô-à á bù tà¹ =?,
woman-2SgPoss PfvNeg be.gotten.Base yet Neg,
B: ‘So, if that isn’t done, your woman has not yet been gotten.’
[tà¹ ‘(not) yet’ (§10.3.2.4)]

(02:58) kù¬?uº-dò dè mà kò bè,
today-Poss.Inan IpfvPast IpfvNeg be Dem.Def,
bè ká kò [Ø dì-nà-dè¬—]
B: ‘That wasn’t (like) the way it is nowadays. That was the old days’ (way)—.’

(03:01) [è [di-nà-dè¬]¬-dò tê] rà kò bè,
[Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan Foc.Inan] Past be Dem.Def,
B: ‘That was the way of the old days [focus]. We used to do it.’
(03:06) [dè-dè]-dò bè lò
[now]-Psv.Inan Top.Inan] after
B: ‘What about the way it is now?
/lò ‘what about (X)? (§15.3.5.6) at (1217)/

(03:08) dò-rè dò, dè dè kò bu dè = [Ø tòrà³-turn³],
now Poss.Inan, say.Psv Quot Hort tie.Ipfv Quot [Art marriage],
dè ò go dì-á-glò dè = [Ø bò³bò³],
Quot 3Pl Hort take.out.Infin Quot [Art candy],
A: ‘The way now, they say to get married, (they say) to bring out candy.’
/imperfective hortative (§10.4.2.1.2); tòrà³-turn³ ‘married life’, related to the verb ‘sit’; French bonbon/

(03:16) kà [Ø támáro³], kà = [Ø wàrò náráma³],
and [Art dates], and [Art kola.nut very.good],
kò bò-sù³³ = [³³ = [Ø jìè-yòò]],
A: ‘And dates, and excellent kola nuts, and give (them) to the (bride’s) birth family.’

(03:22) ò kò sòrò [kò bú = [Ø kìò³]],
3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin get.Base [Art road]],
kò dò [Ø nàklò],
Infin buy.Base [Art rice].
A: ‘Then they get the permission. They buy rice,’

(03:27) kò bà [kà = à-là]
Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-cook.couscous.Base [3Pl ri(ce)—
[ò kù-kùlù³]], kò tìè [Ø gbì³³tì³³] [à ni],
[3Pl couscous], Infin scoop.sauce.Base [Art peanut] [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘Then they come and cook ri(ce)—, couscous, they serve peanut (sauce) on it (=couscous).’
/là ‘cook (couscous, rice)’; tìè ‘serve (sauce) by scooping with a ladle’/

(03:33) já³³ mù á tìè = [Ø gbì³³tì³³]
Rel if PfvNeg scoop.sauce.Base [Art peanut]
[bò gò dò [Ø nù]],
[3AnSg Infin buy.Base [Art oil]],
ò kò là [Ø kù-kùlù³],
3Pl Infin cook.couscous [Art couscous],
A: ‘If (it’s) someone who doesn’t serve peanut sauce, she buys (vegetable) oil, and they cook couscous.’
/combination of relative and conditional antecedent (§14.1.7); antecedent with PfvNeg (§16.1.1.2)/
(03:38) kò sūʔ = ³n [Ø ná-bí-ó] [kò dí],
Infin give.Base [Dat [Art person-Pl]] [Infin eat],
jí kò sàrò [kò klà-lò [è klà-lò-ní]],
if Infin proceed.Base [Infin have.fun.Base [Art festivity]],
A: ‘Then they give it to the people to eat. And then they have fun (sing and
dance).’

[jí here highlights having fun as the climactic event (§16.1.1.5)]

(03:43) kò bà-gbè
Infin come.Base-get.Base
[kò fó [[[ò dà-rò] yúó] bàʔà]],
[Infin pass.Base [[[3Pl man-Pl] people] chez]]
A: ‘Then (they) come and get (the bride) and keep going (with her) to the place of
their men’s people (=the groom’s kin).’

(03:45) [è bùj] màⁿ klà [bè ní] =ā
B: ‘Money wasn’t involved in that?’

(03:46) è bù, è bù, è bù,
Art money, (hesitations)
è wò-rò-ʔò [támm, [k = [ò jëⁿ]],
Art thousand.Pl [ten, [with [Pl two]],
A: ‘Ten plus two (=twelve) thousand currency units.’
[equivalent to 60,000 francs CFA]

(03:53) dè [bè tòʔ =] ā sœʔû,
Quot [Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.given.Ipfv,
[³n [Ø ṭè-yûò]],
[Dat [Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.Pl]],
A: ‘That [focus] is what is given, to the (bride’s) birth family.’

(03:55) dò kò sò, kò sàrò
3Pl Infin receive.Base, Infin proceed.Base
[kò bù = [Ø klòʔò]],
[Infin get.Base [Art road]],
A: ‘They receive it. Then (the groom) gets permission.’

(03:58) [è dì-nàʔ-dë²] est-ce que
[Art old.days] Q
bùò dè mà [Ø bùj] =ā
3Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg take.Ipfv [Art road] Q
B: ‘In the old days, did they not take money?’
A: 'In the old days, our way was chickens [focus]. Twelve chickens.'

B: 'What about when the chickens have been given? Don’t they give anything else, after (=besides) the chickens?’

A: ‘Someone (other person’s) way is—, six chickens.’

B: ‘Wasn’t beer given?’

A: ‘Someone (else’s) way is seven chickens. That [focus] is the way of the old days.’
A: ‘Beer, beer [focus] has already come, to ask for (marriage).’

B: ‘Chickens— Beer is not (included) in it?’

A: ‘Beer (topic), beer used to be in it.’

B: ‘The chickens, do they kill (them) casually in an ordinary (=nonsacred) place?’

A: ‘The chickens were not killed in an ordinary place. They would go and brew beer,’

B: ‘They slaughtered (the chickens) on their fetish (=animist altar).’
A: ‘Uh-huh, they slaughtered (them) on the fetish.’

B: ‘There it is!’

A: ‘They tell us not to say (=talk about) it.’

B: ‘Why isn’t (=shouldn’t) it be said?’

A: ‘They said, our fathers (=ancestors) took (the chickens) and killed (them) on the fetish.’

A: ‘The men’s (=groom’s) family didn’t have the right to catch (=marry) us.’
(05:03) kō— o bā kō [Ø j̞] =ni],
Infín— 3Pl if kill.Base [[Art fetish] Loc]],
dè bè-kèʔē tē, dè dè-lèʔē n—a—
Quot what? Q, Quot health—
B: ‘If they slaughtered (the chickens) on the fetish, why is that? Good health—’
[‘why?’ (§13.2.3.2.3) but bè-kèʔē tē barely audible]

(05:06) è dè-lèʔē n—a, ò bā rā-tārā n [tārā n—a] ni]
Art health, 3Pl if go.Base-sit.Base [[PlRefl marriage] in]
[è dè] kō lī n,
[Art body] Infín be.cool.Base,
A: ‘Good health. When they go and get married, the body is cooled (=healthy).’

(05:09) [ō nāmû] kō bē n [kō = [ō dā-rā]],
[3Pl talk(n)] be harmonize.Base [with [3Pl man-PI]],
A: ‘Their (=women’s) words are in harmony with their husbands.’
</kā ò dā-rā>

[pause]

(05:15) jī bē bā klè-kā,
if Dem.Def if be.done.Base-finish.Base,
[è dā bān a] má dā n [bō yō] ni] tārā
[Art man other] IpfvNeg arrive.Base [[3AnSg woman] Loc] again
B: ‘If that has been done completely, another man won’t come to his (=the
husband’s) woman any more.’

(05:19) ò bā klā-lō [Ø klā-lō nī] kā,
3Pl if have.fun.Base [Art have.fun.Base-VblN] finish.Base,
[è yō] má-nā kā n a-k [kā = [Ø dā bān a]],
[Art woman] Proh get.together.Base [with [Art man other]],
A: ‘When they have finished the festivities, the woman may not get together with
another man.’

(05:24) bā-kō [bō [kā bō dā tōʔō]],
must [3AnSg [and [3AnSg man Foc],
[fō [kā = [Ø j̞ l̞ ê-lē]]]
[until [with [Art God-house]]]
A: ‘It must be (just) her and her husband, until God’s house (=death).’
</bā-kō (§17.1.8)]

(05:27) jī [è jūʔē dē] bā lē n-sō
if [Art God however] if take.away.Base
[[jārā n dō] tārā n—a],
[[Rel Poss.Inan] marriage],
A: ‘However, if God has taken away someone’s marriage (=spouse),’
[possessor relative (§14.2.3)]

(05:33) jí bè á klè fíó, if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done at.all, [mó kənì] [kà = [Ø dɔ bà"?à]] [2Sg Top] [with [Art man other]] A: ‘If that isn’t done at all, you and another man,’ /fíó variant of fò̀ (negative exclamation)/

Text 2019-11 Cooking tô

duration: 02:26
A: Traore Diouenia, born Biton, main speaker
B: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, respondent-interviewer
location: Bafo
Note: some marginally audible prompts from B to A are omitted in the transcription.

(00:04) ó bā rò nà commencer
1Pl if say.Base Fut
[è [wèⁿ-tè]-tòʔà ni],
[Art [hearth]-place] Loc],
A: ‘If we say that we will (=if we want to) begin, in the cooking area,’
/< /bà dò/)

(00:11) ó kò blā = [Ø tòʔà],
1Pl Infin sweep.Base [Art place],
[kò láⁿ = [Ø tè-tèʔè], kō jùʔà,
[Infin wash.Base [Art pot], Infin put.on.Base,
A: ‘We sweep the place, then (we) wash the pot, then we put (it) up (on the fire).’

(00:17) [kō sāⁿ-gbē [Ø dìⁿʔò'], [kō wē] —,
[Infin gather.up.Base [Art firewood] [Infin put.in.Base] —,
[kō sāⁿ-gbē [Ø dìⁿʔò'] [kō wē],
[Infin gather.up.Base [Art firewood] [Infin put.in.Base],
A: ‘Then (we) gather up firewood and feed it in— (brief interruption), we gather up firewood and feed it in.’

(00:25) [ē tè-tèʔè] bā à-kō,
[Art pot] if come.Base-start.to.boil,
[ō gō fèⁿ-wē = ni,
[1Pl Infin stir.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When the pot begins to boil, we stir it in.’
/kłā/kō/kō ~ kû ‘(water) start to boil, become agitated’, distinct from kpà/kō/kō ~ kû ‘finish’; fēⁿ ‘stir by rotating a vertically held stirring stick’ (used like an old-fashioned egg-beater)']
Infin 'pot'; for verb inflection.

We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and give it to the men.

\[A: \text{’(We) crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and give it to the men. ’}\]

\(1\text{Pl} \text{crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and give it to the men. ’}\)

\[A: \text{’When the tô has been kneaded (=cooked), we get a small basket and scoop it into the basket. ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’We then proceed to wash those things. ’)}

\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink (tô) into the basket. ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and put it in the pot to be cooked. ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and put it in the pot to be cooked (boiled). ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’(We) crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink (tô) into the basket. ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’We then proceed to wash those things. ’))\]

\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink (tô) into the basket. ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink (tô) into the basket. ’}\]

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\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink (tô) into the basket. ’}\]

\[\text{A: ’We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink (tô) into the basket. ’}\]
A: ‘(We) add some peanut (paste) to it. When you-Sg have gone and added some peanut (paste) to it,’

(01:02) [-unstyled] 2Sg Infin input.in.Base 3Inan Base peanut [Art [Ø gbì?ì] [à nì]],
[Ø mà á-wé [Ø gbì?ì] [à nì],
[Ø gbì?ì] [à nì],
A: ‘We cook it (without peanut paste) into simple sauce, some leaf things, then (we) eat.’

(01:08) [-unstyled] 2Sg if— [flour Top.Inan], when 2Sg if say.Pfv
[mà à” tò” = [Ø cù-cù] bè mì—,
[Ø cù-cù] bè mì—
A: ‘If you—, the flour, concerning when you say you will (=when you decide to) knead the tô,
[sà”dè < Jula; mè-kà ‘how?’; tâ”→ a dialectal add-on to ‘how?’]

(01:13) 1Pl Infin pound.Base 3InanObj
[-unstyled] 1Pl Infin pound.Base 3InanObj
[kò plò = [Ø mì”,
[Ø mì”]
A: ‘We pound it (in a mortar). We pound the flour, then we sift (it).’

(01:20) [-unstyled] [ègè è dì” mó]
[which? Art kind Top]
[kù sù”-klà”à] ou bien
[Art maiz] of
B: ‘What kind (of flour)? Maize or …?’
[sù”-klà”à]
A: ‘There’s maize flour, (and) there’s sorghum flour. And there’s millet flour.’

A: ‘That focus is what is kneaded (=cooked) in tô.’

B: ‘What about if it isn’t cowpea greens?’

A: ‘Cowpea gr—.’

B: ‘If sauce cannot be cooked.’

A: ‘There’s roselle. Sesame. There’s okra sauce. There’s baobab-leaf sauce. There’s Corchorus (sauce).’

[< /sărṍديدة: leaves of the herbs Corchorus spp. (C. fascicularis, C. olitorius) are collected in the wild or occasionally cultivated; dialectal synonym of tākplò-blōyä is plàⁿtàⁿ]
[Art sauce] tá à-mā, [Art sauce Indef] Past be.Loc,
struction.

3Pl Past Ipfv Rdp-call.Ipfv [Art (mystery sauce)]
[bè kà] kō jèrò'n dìm tā'n→,
[B: ‘There used to be a sauce, they called it (in Jula) cètá-kènè-yiè (mystery sauce). What kind was it?’

[see comments on this sauce below]

(01:58) cètá-kènè-yiè, [à bîé] gô [Ø diè] tê→
(mystery sauce), [3InaSg all] be [Art sauce] Emph
A: ‘cètá-kènè-yiè (mystery sauce), all of them were sauces.’

(02:02) cètá-kènè-yiè, [è dà-rò] má nà = [á bliːʔ],
(mystery sauce) [Art man-Pl] IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Inan wet]
è [màsà-kù]-biⁿʔèⁿ
Art [sweet.potato]-leaf
B: ‘cètá-kènè-yiè (mystery sauce), “men don’t see it uncooked,” sweet-potato greens.’

[< /mà nè á/, ‘men don’t see it uncooked’ is the Tiefo-D translation of Jula cètá-kènè-yiè ; the idea is that sweet-potato greens were not considered by men to be true sauce herbs, so women cooked them secretly and presented it to the men as already cooked sauce]

(02:07) è [màsà-kù]-biⁿʔèⁿ, mùsòkàⁿʔàⁿ-bìnʔèⁿ,
Art [sweet.potato]-leaf, chili.pepper.leaf,
[è gbiⁿʔàⁿ-bìnʔèⁿ],
[Art peanut.leaf],
A: ‘Sweet potato greens, chili pepper greens, peanut greens.’

(02:11) sāⁿ-gbè [kò tʃ] gather.Base [Infin cook.sauce.Base]
dè = [Ø dà-rò] má nà = [á bliːʔ],
Quot [Art man-Pl] IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Inan wet],
B: ‘Gather it and cook sauce, so the men don’t see it uncooked.’

[< /dè è dà-rò má nè á/]

(02:15) dè = [Ø dà-rò] má nà = [á bliːʔ]
Quot [Art man-Pl] IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Inan wet]
A: ‘So the men don’t see it uncooked.’
Text 2019-13  Women’s marriage songs

duration: 05:14
recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)
A: Ouattara Bakaia (female), born Biton, speaker and singer
B: Traore Diouenia (female), born Biton, speaker and singer
C: Nason Ouattara (male), from Bofoboso, respondent-interviewer

[one woman had inherited the daughter of a co-wife; wâ variant of past kâ]

A: ‘There was a woman there. Her co-wife, her co-wife had given her (own) child (to her).’

[co-wives (both married to the same man) are proverbially protective of their own children and callous toward those of the other woman; þuëⁿ Pfv of wëⁿ ‘burn’; can also be translated ‘went … in order to burn ashes’]
(00:21) kō weⁿ [[ē yō-yö] náⁿ-bī],
Infin roast.Base [[Art cowife] child]
dō kō lō [ā sæⁿōⁿ],
3Pl Infin gather.Base [3Inan ashes],
A: ‘Then (she) burned the co-wife’s child. They gathered up its ashes.’

(00:25) 3ⁿ mà pē =nì, [[ē yō-yö] náⁿ-bī]
3AnSg if drain.Base 3InanObj, [[Art cowife] child]
kō commencer, k-ā wō [Ø dārĩⁿⁿ',
Infin begin, Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song],
A: ‘When she strained it (to make soda ash), the co-wife’s child began to sing.’

[sings in Jula]
(00:31) kō ná-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tó,
mother mother mother
A: Oh mother!
[the child calls to his mother in Jula songwords]

[sings in Tiefo-D through 00:48]
(00:35) 3ⁿ mà tó nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó sē] má-nā dí =nì,
[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If they cook me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’
[< /nó sē!: prohibitive má-nà (§10.4.1.2.2)]

(00:38) 3ⁿ mà tó nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó nì] má-nā dí =nì,
[1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’
[< /nó nì/]

(00:40) 3ⁿ mà tó nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó sē] má-nā dí =nì,
[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

(00:43) ná-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tó,
mother mother mother
A: ‘Oh mother!’
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(00:45)  ámb mà tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg mother Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(00:48)  ámb mà tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg father Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’
[stops singing]

[pause, laughter]

[resumes song, 00:59 to 01:17]
(00:59)  ámb mà tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg mother Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Oh mother!’
            [the child calls to his mother in Jula songwords]

(01:01)  ámb mà tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg father Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’
            [prohibitive ámb mà tá (§10.4.1.2.2)]

(01:04)  ámbito tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg mother Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(01:07)  ámb mà tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg father Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

(01:10) ámb mà tá nó
            3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[ ámb mà tá nó]
            1Sg mother Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Oh mother!’
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg 
[1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg 
[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

[a riddle]
(01:29) est-ce que [è nò jã-rô] wò [yîè nî]
[[è pu-pù-tôô] nî, [ò lô-ri bîè] kô kẽô-kẽn,
B: ‘Some cows are going to the drinking place, all their horns are bent.’

3Pl if be [come.Prog Prog] [Art village]
[ò lô-ri bîè] kô sèrô-sèrô
[Art horn-Pl all] be Rdp-be.straight.Base
B: ‘When they are coming (back) to the village, all their horns are straight.’

[answer to riddle]
(01:38) bè kõ-kõ [è dù-čè]
Dem.Def be [Art small.waterjar]
A: ‘That’s a small waterjar.’
[optional doubling of kõ ‘be’; women carry small earthenware waterjars on one
shoulder and therefore tilted to the side on the way to the well or other water source,
but after being filled with water they are carried straight on top of the head on the
way back]

[a riddle]
(01:42) [ù pà [O bì-siô jã-rô jàrî] [[è klôô] nî],
[1Sg see.Pfv [Art child.Pl Indef-AnPl small.Pl] [Art road] Loc],
[[è dôô] dê̂n] ù gâ = â-ûî
[[Art afternoon] arrive.Pfv] 1Sg Infin come.Base-see.Base
[[ò bîè] kô wâïâ]
[[3Pl all] Infin grow.up.Base]
B: ‘I saw some children, very young, on the road. (When) late afternoon arrived, I
came and saw that all of them had grown up.’
[unusual order N-Indef-Adj]
A: ‘That is mushrooms.’

B: ‘What I have found (=remembered), that [focus] is it.’

A: ‘It turns here and there as it walks.’

[i.e. it doesn’t walk in a straight line]

B: ‘That’s a walking stick.’

[because it is placed here and there by the walker]

A: ‘It makes noise as it walks.’

[garment made of leaves formerly worn by women]

A: ‘Some villagers are there. All of them are pregnant in the leg.’

[because maize spikes (corn cobs) grow on the sides of the stalk; ‘maize’
dialectally also sùmá-klàʔà ~ sámá-klàʔà]
A riddle

(02:20)  [è úⁿ-yúó jã-rô] à-mâ,
[Art village-people Indef-AnPl] be.Loc,
[è tên] mà klê,
[Art daybreak] if day.break.Base,
[ò bîé] gò lô = [Ø gbàflâ?à jiên]
[3Pl all] Infin turn.Base [Art hat red]
A: ‘Some villagers are there. When day breaks, all of them turn into red hats.’

[answer]

(02:24)  bè, [è súáⁿ-klâ?à, [súáⁿ-klâ?à]-[nâⁿ-bê-rê]
Dem.Def [Art maize, [maize]-[beard]
B: ‘That (is) maize beards (=corn silks).’
[the silks (female flowers) emerge from the tip of young corn ears]

A and B (overlapping)

(02:38)  [è dôrâ?â] à-mâ = dê?
[Art tale] be.Loc Emph
[ā fânà] gbâ-sô [è blêjô-rê-nî té] nî,
[3Inan power] be.solved.Pfv [[Art Jula.hood Foc.Inan] Loc],
A-B: ‘There sure are (lots of) tales, but most of them are answered in Jula.’
[in this segment the two women overlap; the transcription is rough but tries to
catch the main point; ‘tales’ include riddles; cf. blêjô ‘Jula (person), plural blêjô-rê]

(02:43)  jî-áⁿ-bê = [Ø dôrâ?â] ā kêⁿ bè
otherwise [Art tale] Ipfv be.many.Ipfv Dem.Def
A: ‘Anyway, there are many tales (thus).’
[variant of jî-má-bê (§19.1.3)]

[pause]

(02:50)  [ā klê-lô-sû?ô [nô tô?ô] bà?à]
B: [3Inan do.Pfv-turn.Base-give.Base [[1Sg Foc] Dat]
‘It (=microphone) has turned to me [focus].’

(02:55)  [è jî bê =] [[Ø sôbê] nî]
[Art Indef Top.Inan] [[Art truth] Loc]
[è lîⁿ-fù?à] [à bîé] pâyâmî-dôrâ dô-rê
[Art intestine] [3Inan all] mix.Pfv-be.much.Base now
‘Some (other) ones (=tales), truthfully, (my) intestines are all mixed up now.’
[i.e. I am confused]
None of the tales can be found to tell.

(03:00) must— ah! if 3Pl if say.Pfv 

(03:06) if 3AnSg if Fut speak.Base-able.Base [Art Indef] 3Inan Loc 

(03:12) okay, Quot 1Pl Hort come.Ipfv [with 3Inan] Emph 

(03:15) if 2Sg if Fut come.Pfv-able.Base [with [Art Indef]], 

(03:17) [1Pl Poss.Inan] Loc] Q B: ‘In ours (=our language)’
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but we don’t fear death any more.’

A: ‘You should accompany it (as respondent).’

A: ‘Death killed us, but we don’t fear death at all.’

A: ‘Death has turned into a mat; we go into it to sleep.’

A: ‘Death has turned into a blanket; all of us go into it.’

A: ‘We will fear death, to go into where?’

A: ‘Death killed us, but we don’t fear death any more.’
(03:54)  [ó dō]  nà  c5ʔ5  [è wúú]  tó  
kō  diē  [Ø  sē]  
Infin  enter.Base  [Art where?]  
A: ‘We will fear death, to go into where?’

(03:58)  [è wúú]  kùò-k5  [Ø  mìé]  
dó  má  c5ʔ5  [è wúú]  tāʔā  
however  IpfvNeg  fear.Ipfv  [Art death]  again  
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death any more.’  
[for  [ó dō]]

(04:03)  nó  wè-dē  
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv  
nó  wè-dē  
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv  
A: ‘I am well bathed, I am well bathed.’  
[i.e. excision has cleansed me; the final in wè-dē ‘bathe well, be well-bathed’ is an assimilated variant of -dē as in dī-dē ‘eat well, be full (after eating)’ (§15.1.2.3)]

(04:08)  nó  dē  mā=  [[Ø  dúʔû]  t5"n]  
1Sg IpfvPast  be.Loc  [[Art forest]  under]  
nó  t5"n]  yìè  ré→  
[1Sg calmness]  jump.Pfv  Emph  
A: ‘I was in a (dense) thicket, I was frightened.’  
[said by a girl being excised in the forest]

(04:12)  tó  nó  nju-glú  mlēn  
(songword)  1Sg escape.Pfv  thus  
nó  …  
1Sg  [unintelligible]  
A: ‘I have survived (=am all right) like that, …’

(04:18)  ò  yǐʔi-nāʔā  [nó  sē]  
Imprt.Pl  go.Base-inform.Base  [1Sg father]  
dē  nó  nju-glú  
Quot  1Sg  escape.Pfv  
A: ‘You-Pl go inform my father that I have survived (=am all right).’  
[< /nāʔā/  ‘inform’, Bi dialect nā"ʔā⁄]

(04:22)  æⁿ=  Ò  diē-ǎ-dí  mlēn  
3AnSg Ipfv enter.Ipfv-Ipfv-eat.Ipfv  thus  
nó  wè-dē  
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv  
A: ‘She (=girl) goes into eat. I am well bathed.’
(04:28) ó bà tô [Ø dàoʔən] mlēⁿ,
3Pl if cook.Base [Art green.sauce] thus,
nó nà sō-dí
1Sg Fut receive.Base-eat.Base
A: ‘If they cook green sauce, I will take and eat (it).’
[<sō-dí/>]

(04:31) [nó sē] ó bàɲā= [Ø cərú]
[1Sg father] 3Pl if crumble.Base [Art tô]
nó nà sō-ɲɔ̄
1Sg Fut receive.Base-drink.Base
A: ‘My father, if they crumble (=cook) tô, I will take and drink (it).’
[lumps are broken up during cooking of tô]

(04:35) [nó ní] ó bàɲā= [Ø cərú]
[1Sg mother] 3Pl if crumble.Base [Art tô]
nó nà sō-ɲɔ̄
1Sg Fut receive.Base-drink.Base
A: ‘My mother, if they crumble (=cook) tô, I will take and drink (it).’

(04:40) [[ē kpəʔə-kəʔà] nāⁿ-bi]
[Art pauper] child
mā tərəⁿ= [Ø dié] =?
IpfvNeg avoid.Ipfv [Art sauce] Neg
A: ‘The child of a pauper doesn’t snub the sauce.’
[i.e. isn’t picky about what to eat]

(04:45) nó dè [[ē bəkpiʔi] nāⁿ-bi]
1Sg say.Pfv [[Art pauper] child]
mā tərəⁿ= [Ø dié] təʔà
IpfvNeg avoid.Ipfv [Art sauce] again
A: ‘I said, the child of a poor man doesn’t snub the sauce any more.’

(04:49) [è wúú] kùo-k3 [Ø mię]
[ê dò] má cəʔ5 [è wúú] kè
[1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death any more.’

(04:49) [è wúú] kùo-k3 [Ø mię]
dò má cəʔ5 [è wúú] kè
however IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death at all.’
(04:53) nò wè-dé
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
nò wè-dé
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
A: ‘I am well bathed, I am well bathed.’

(04:58) nò wàsá mlèn
1Pl escape.Pfv thus
dó k-à diè-à-dí
however Infin-lpv enter.Ipv-Ipfv-eat.Ipv
A: ‘I have survived (=am all right) thus, (I) go in to eat.’

(05:03) nò wè-dé kpí-kpí
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv indeed
nò à diè-à-dí
1Sg Ipv enter.Ipv-Ipfv-eat.Ipfv
A: ‘I am well-bathed indeed, I go in to eat.’

(05:07) j= ó já =nì mā
Hort 1Pl leave.Base 3InanObj there
A: ‘Let’s leave it there.’
duration: 01:06

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue
with some prompts from Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan quartier)

(00:05) ē cɔ̀fɔ̀, ăŋ glɔ̀,
Art Tiefo, 3AnSg exit(v).Pfv,
‘Tiefo, it (=they) came (from)—,’
[‘Tiefo’ here is a collective denoting the ethnicity, but animate singular in form]

J-P prompt:
(00:07) mó wè yí-à mā
2Sg put.Base name-2SgPoss there.Def
‘Put (=state) your name there.’
[< /wè yí-à/; 2Sg (reflexive) possessor suffix (§4.3.1.2)]

(00:08) [nɔ̀ yíé] dè,   Couibaly   kèteklú
[1Sg name] Quot,   C    K
[ē cɔ̀fɔ̀],   ŋ̀ glɔ̀,   [ē nùmùdàràl],
[Art Tiefo],  (nasal) exit(v).Pfv,   [Art N],
‘My name is Coulibaly Keteklu. Tiefo, it (=they) came from Numudara (village).’

(00:16) [ē mlà"nà] gô bà-bà,
[Art war] Infin Rd-p-come.Base,
ō kò yì-ʃì-ʃì   [kò mì-jàjà],
3Pl Infin get.up.Base [Infin disperse.Base],
‘War came (=broke out). They arose and dispersed.’
[iterated bà-bà to indicate multiple individuals; compare 00:26 below]

(00:21) kò—  ĕ-yùò kò yì-ʃì   [kò glù—  ĕ bëndûgù],
Infin— 1Pl Infin go.Base [Infin exit.Base—  Art B],
ō tärèn   [bè tàjà],
1Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place],
‘We then went and then came out—, at Bandougou. We settled there.’
[Bandugu is a village east of Sideradugu; glù followed by a place name usually means ‘exit (from), leave’, so an emendation to dī ĕ ‘enter’ is suggested]
kò cáří mā, kō sǎrò Infin be.long.time.Base there.Def, Infin proceed.Base
[kō à-bā], [kō à-tārāⁿ], [ē cōfrā],
[Infin come.Base-come.Base] [Infin come.Base-sit.Base, [Art T]],
And (we) spent a long time there. Then (we) proceeded to come and settle in Tiefòra.

move.Base

[Infin kō à-bā the first (b)ā- may be the highlighting 'come and' compound initial, followed by true 'come' in its lexical sense; Tiefòra is a large town south of Daramandougou on the main west-east road from Banfora to Sideradugu and Gaoua]

(00:32) donc [ē cōfrā], gō glū = [Ō cōfrā],
do [Art T], Infin exit(v).Base [Art T],
kō à-tārāⁿ [Ō sā'cūō-lē]
Indef come.Base-sit.Base [Art S]
So Tiefòra, then (we) left Tiefòra, to come and settle in Sancuo.

[śā'cūō-lē is a small settlement in the Biton area]

(00:35) ò kā = à-dè 3Pl Infin come.Base-say.Base
[Ō úⁿ-dîⁿ] má kāⁿ [kā [bè tōʔd]],
[Art village-chief] IpfvNeg must [with [Dem.Def place]],
'They said, the chief must not (be connected) with that place.'

(00:39) dè 5ⁿ klò-bā, 5ⁿ gō klò-bā
Quot 3AnSg approach here.Pfv, 3AnSg Infin approach here.Base
[kā = à-tārāⁿ fāⁿkāⁿ [ē blāʔ-ā-jūʔ] nî],
[Infin come.Base-sit.Base here [[Art pond-mouth] Loc],
(Said) they (the Tiefo) should come farther (in this direction). Then they came farther and settled here at the edge of the pond.'

(00:43) jārōⁿ à lī dè, ē dārā—dārāmāⁿ-dūgú,
Rel Ipfv be.called.Ipfv Quot, Art (hesitation)— D,
dārāⁿbāⁿ-dūgú, donc ò kā = à-tārāⁿ [bè tōʔd],
D, so 3Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Dem.Def place],
'Which is called, Daramandougou, Daramandougou. So they came and settled there.'

[J-P prompts correction of pronunciation to dārāⁿbāⁿ-dūgú with b, cf. dārāⁿbá (name of the pond); -dūgú is Jula 'village, town']

(00:51) kō— dā-rē 1Pl Infin now 1Pl Infin be.Loc, [Dem.Def place],
'Now we are in that place.'
Tiefo language has been spoken there, down to the present.'

In the remaining villages, it (=language) is not present there (thus), as for it.’

‘So what I know about, that [focus] is it.’

[lit. ‘that in which my knowledge is’, relativization on complement of postposition (§14.2.4)]
Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan quartier), in the presence of Coulibaly Jean Bakari

(00:02)  donc,  [ẽ cɔfɔ-ː tẽ [n dẽ\textsuperscript{"o}]\textsuperscript{̌}]]—
so,  [Art Tiefo-language Foc.Inan [Sg one]]—
fɛ-dɔ̀-nì = à,
talk(n)-speak.Base-VblN  it.is,
‘So, the same Tiefo language— it’s speaking (that) language.’
[somewhat broken; i.e. ‘it’s that same Tiefo language that we’re going to speak’]

(00:09)  bon,  dè wô dɔ̀-wê = nì,
well,  Quot Infin speak.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj,
[è ũ] bà-kà,
[Art village] come.Pfv-manner,
‘Well, to describe it, how the village (population) came,’

(00:15)  donc,  [nò jɛɾ\textsuperscript{ⁿ}] nà dò mlẽ\textsuperscript{n}
so,  [1Sg Rel] Fut say.Base thus
[nò yìɛ] dè,  wàtʰrà mìdɛsɛ\textsuperscript{n},  Jean-Pierre,
[1Sg name] Quot, O M, JP
‘So, I who will speak (thus), my name is Ouata Midesen, Jean-Pierre.’
[variant mìnɛsɛ\textsuperscript{n}]

(00:21)  donc,  comme  [[ẽ ũ-\textsuperscript{"o}]-dì]] dè—
so,  as  [[Art village-chief] say.Pfv—
ì dè] sìná nì,
(nasal) say.Pfv] situation] Loc
‘So, as the chief said,’
[refers to 2021-01]

(00:27)  [ẽ cɔfɔ-ː]—
[Art Tiefo-village]—
[[[ẽ cɔfɔ-ː]] bà] sìná nì,
[[[Art Tiefo-village] come.Pfv situation] Loc,
[[[ẽ cɔfɔ-ː]] bà] sìná nì,
[[[Art Tiefo-village] come.Pfv situation] Loc r,
‘The way the Tiefo village came,’
parce que, Art man-Pl [person (mispronounced)]—
because, Art man-Pl [person (mispronounced)]—
ē dărì [nùò sé]—
[Art man-Pl [people three], with [Art woman—]
kà = [Ø yò—]
with [Art woman [Sg one]],
‘Because, three men, and a woman—, and one woman’

[some false starts in this segment; nùò as human classifier (variant of yòò) in Ji dialect before numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’, dropped to nùò before H-toned sàⁿ ‘3’ (§4.6.1.2)]

ô glō, ô glō bāⁿdūgū,
3Pl exit(v).Pfv, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv B,
[[kà-tó 5ⁿ dè] šinpá] ni,
[[[manner 3AnSg say.Pfv] situation] Loc,
‘They left Bandugu, the way he said.’

[Art man-Pl [people three] Dem.AnPl] Loc,
e→, jà-ró gèʔè-bà fàⁿfàⁿ,
eh, Rel-AnPl be.first.Pfv–come.Base here,
‘Among those three men, ah, the ones who were first to come here,’

[kœ klè ká è ùⁿ— è ùⁿ—
Infin do.Base like (hesitations)
è ùⁿ-yúò, [ē dăràmà”dūgú ùⁿ-di”]
Art village–people, [Art D village-chief],
‘They acted as notables (=leaders), the Daramandugu chief(s).’

donc, bó Couliblyy minésèⁿ, wálà→,
so, 3AnSg C M, voilà
jí kó dàⁿʔàⁿ, Couliblyy minésèⁿ, Couliblyy köfé,
if Infin be.added.Base, C M, C K,
‘So, he (was) Couliblyy Minesen. To come next, (after) Couliblyy Minesen, (was) Couliblyy Kofe.’
[‘Couliblyy is the surname associated with the chiefly clan]

donc, [ē yò [n dèⁿʔèⁿ] à-mā [ò nī],
so, [Art woman [Sg woman] be.Loc [3Pl Loc],
‘(and) Couliblyy Dobla. So, one woman was among them.’
(01:19) [bò yô] yîè, dè, **Coulibaly jëni-[kà-kà’â],**
\[[3AnSg woman] name\], Quot, C N
wàlà→, jëni-[kà-kà’â],
voilà, N

‘That woman’s name was Coulibaly Nyini-Kakaa.
/bò functioning as animate singular discourse-definite preceding a noun, like
inanimate bè (§6.5.3)\]

(01:26) *donc,* [dà-ró [nùò sâ”] kô-yùò] nì, ò––, ò bì-dâ––,
[ò bì-dâ tó?ó] kô— [è yô-jùò],
[3Pl younger.sibling Foc] be— \[[Art woman-Poss.An],
‘So, among those three men, precisely their younger sibling (=sister) was that
woman.’
\[[L-toned -jùò (§6.2.4.3)\]

(01:34) wàlà→, \[[bè té] já,\]
ò tê-tê [kà \[bò tó?ó]],
3Pl do.together.Pfv-be.put.Base \[[with \[3AnSg Foc]],
‘There you are. **That** [focus] is why they (=the three men) went together with her
[focus].’
\[[bè té] já (§8.1.3); tê-tê is a compound (base stem tó-tê) of two distinct verbs, not
an iteration of the same verb\]

(01:37) \[bò tó?ó] kà kô [Ø yô] [ò nì]
\[[3AnSg Foc] Past be [Art woman] [3Pl Loc]\]
[ò jùò sâ” nì],
[3Pl people three] Loc,
‘She [focus] was the woman among them, among the three of them.’
\[kà past marker (§10.3.1.1); < /ò jùò sâ”/; numeral with pronominal “possessor”
(§4.6.1.2)\]

(01:39) ò bâ bà, ò bà [kâ = à—]
3Pl if come.Pfv, 3Pl come.Pfv \[[Infin come.Base—\]
\[[[comme ò dè = nì] sînâ] nì,\]
[[as 3Pl say.Pfv 3InanObj situation] Loc,\]
fô kâ = à-tàrà”, [è màsà-lé] fà”?â”,
until Infin come.Base-sit.Base, [Art M] here,
‘When they came, they came and—, just as they said, eventually they came and
settled, here at Masaso.’
So, they settled at that place. Between the three men (and) the woman, [emended from: [[ē yà-ró jù nà sà"n]]/}

None of them (could)—, they (could) not marry—, they could not acquire her in marriage.'

'[jì-ji 'not any, none (of)'; speaker rephrases to avoid Jula borrowing fàrū]

They took the woman and gave (her) to Kocue.'

[Kocue was from Flaso]

'There it is, Kocue, if you see Flaso and Masaso (quartiers), both of them, the (two) places (=quartiers) became as one.'

[i.e. they were united by marriage; ē dèⁿʔèⁿ 'one', cf. [n dèⁿʔèⁿ] as modifying numeral]

'So, this is how it originated.'

['< /sùʔō-kà/]

'So, the (chief)—, if you see, the chief, anyway as they said,'
(02:13) [ò kà = à-tàrà⁵ⁿ, [è sàⁿcū̀-lè], ò dé [3Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Art S], 3Pl say.Pfv [[Ø úⁿ-diⁿ]] má kàⁿ gō, ĕ tàráⁿ, [[[è kì] ní], [[Art village-chief] IpfvNeg must Infin, (nasal) sit.Base, [[Art side] Loc], ‘Then they came and settled in Sancuole. They said, the chief mustn’t settle on the side (of the settlement).’

[i.e. the chief must reside inside the settlement]

(02:19) òⁿ kàⁿ gō bà, 3AnSg must Infin come.Base.
òⁿ mā tàráⁿ = [[Ø kì] ní], 3AnSg Proh sit.Base [[Art side] Loc], ‘They (=Tiefo) must come here, they must not settle on the side.’


à má kpè, 3Inan IpfvNeg be.good.Pfv,
‘The people who are in the center (of the village), it won’t be good (for them).’

[sècù?ò variant of sècù?ò ; clause-final lò (§15.3.5.6); future negative (§10.2.5.4)]


[stacked causatives with já ‘leave, let’ (§17.4.2.5.4)]

(02:37) donc, ò târèⁿ [bè tò?ò jàràⁿ], so, 3Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place Rel], [è nà-bí-ò tò] ò târèⁿ = [[[Ø káo-ří] ní], [Art person-Pl other] Infin sit.Base [[Art side-Pl] Loc], ‘So, there where they (chief’s group) settled, the other people then settled on the sides.’
And (they) surrounded them (=chief’s group). If you see that Masaso is made (laid out) like that,

Masaso didn’t get (much) space. It isn’t big.’

The people who settled on the sides, they got big spaces.

‘So, the way it (=population) moved on, the way it happened, that [focus] is how it moved on.’
(03:06) [[bó tóʔó] tòʔā] bè gbàʔà-fó [[ò bié] dó],
jn-ní, ḍ kò já [bó kã = à-tôrã",] there.it.is, 3Pl Infin leave.Base [3AnSg Infin come.Base-sit.Base],
‘His [focus] space (really) should be bigger than everyone else’s. There it is, they
had him come and sit (in the center).’

[gbàʔà-fó adjectival comparative (§12.1.1); dó default inanimate possessum
(§6.2.4.1)]

(03:09) comme [Ø mlà"ʔā"] mã bà,
as [Art war] if come.Base,
s̓ā"-tié = [Ø mlà"ʔā"] mã — tâ"ʔān [Ø bī-ji̇ō]—
when [Art war] if— begin.Base [Art child.Pl]—
[[ḛ úⁿ-yûó] ni],
[[Art village-people] Loc],
‘Like, if a war comes, whenever a war begins among young people—among the
villagers,’
[s̓ā"-tié < Jula (§15.3.5.8), also at (03:18) just below]

(03:14) [ḛ úⁿ-ńi]̃ kō pěⁿ fāⁿrã, ē sécûʔò,
[Art village-chief] Infin stay.Base here, Art middle,
k-à ló-ló, k-à ló-ló,
Infin Rdp-turn(Ipfv), Infin Rdp-turn(Ipfv)
‘The chief stays here, in the center, and keeps moving around (organizing the
fighting).’

(03:18) yàní fāⁿrã [s̓ā"-tié [Ø mlà"ʔā"] mã dáⁿ]
so here [when [Art war] if arrive.Pfv]
bó yīʔḛ-jḭ̂i [kã = [5ⁿ mlà"-bl-ò]],
[3AnSg get.up.Pfv [with [3AnSgRefl war-child-Pl]]],
‘So here, whenever the fighting starts, he (will) get up with his warriors.’
[yàní < Jula]

(03:22) kò wàʔá-tɔⁿ, donc, Ø mā jĩ̇ =
Infin shut.Base, so, 2Sg if see.Base
[[Ø úⁿ-ńi] târẽ-kã] [ḭ jḭ̂ ni]
fāⁿrã [è sécûʔò]
here [Art middle],
‘To surround (the enemy). So, you see, the chief’s way of settling on the side, in
the middle here,’
(03:26)  [à sū?ō-mlèn té] nī,  
[3Inan be.caught.Pfv-manner Foc.Inan] Loc,  
wálà→,  merci  
voilà, thanks  
‘The way it originated, there it is. Thank you.’
Text 2021-03  History #3

duration: 01:17
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (aka Coulibaly Keteklu)
with some prompts from Jean-Pierre Ouattara

(00:03) [ē cɔfɔ kɔnĩ] depuis ò mĩɛⁿ-jãʔã [Ō nùmùⁿdɔrã], [Art Tiefo Top], since 3Pl disperse.Pfv [Art N],
é-yùò kã = à-tãrãⁿ fãⁿʔãⁿ, ē dɔrãⁿbàdùgú,
1Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base here, Art D,

‘As for the Tiefo, after they dispersed from Numudara, we came and settled here, in Daramandugu.’

(00:10) [ē mlaⁿʔãⁿ bó kɔnĩ] á diê-pɔⁿ = ? [Art war Top Top], PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base Neg,
[1Pl chez] [[[Art God] [and [Art old.man-Pl] blessing] Loc],
‘As for war, it could not enter among us, by the grace of God and the old men.’

‘As for the Tiefo, after they dispersed from Numudara, we came and settled here, in Daramandugu.’

(00:14) parce que [ē lɛⁿ-tɔʔɔ tɛ = ] Ō-mã [ō bãʔã],
because [Art stand.Pfv-place Foc.Inan] be.Loc [1Pl chez],
álɛ ò bã jùʔɔ = nì,
even 3Pl if hear.Base 3InanObj,

‘Because there is a sacred place among us. If they hear about it (=war),’

‘Because there is a sacred place among us. If they hear about it (=war),’

(00:23) [[ē lɛⁿ-tɔʔɔ bɛ kɔnĩ] à gbãʔã] [Art stand.Pfv-place Top.Inan Top] Ipfv be.big.Ipfv
[ē mlaⁿʔãⁿ] á diê-pɔⁿ màn,
[Art war] PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base there.Def,

‘As for the sacred place, it is great (=powerful). War (parties) cannot enter there.’
fô kâ = à-té = nî [kùⁿ?úⁿ nî],
until Infîn come.Base-put.Base 3InanObj [today Loc],
[ô dîʔê = nî] [Ô nà-tò té] nî,
[1Pl hear.Pfv 3InanObj [[Art ear Foc.Inan] Loc],
‘Right down to the present, we have heard in (=with) (our) ears [focus],’

Quot [Art war-child-Pl] pass.Pfv here pass.Pfv here, but
[[ê jùʔê] [kà [ê-yûò nà-di-á] lêⁿ-tòʔá] bârákâ kûnî],
[[Art God] [and [1Pl old.man-Pl] stand.Pfv-place] grace Top],
‘that (enemy) warriors have come through here off and on, but as for the grace of
God and the sacred place of our old men,’

é-yûò— [ê mlâⁿ?áⁿ] á diē mái,
1Pl [Art war] PfvNeg enter there.Def,
[ô kûnî] bà-jûʔá járâⁿ = [Ô nà-di-á] bâʔá kûnî,
‘We— War (parties) have not entered there. As for us, what we came and heard
from the old men,’
’[come and hear’ in the sense of learning oral history from the mouths of elders]

[bè tôʔô kûnî] kô yá,
[Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.InanSg,
[ô wûⁿ-di-ô-nî] kâ klê [ô nà-mû [n dêⁿ?êⁿ],
[3Pl village-chief] Infîn-lpfv do.lpfv [PRefl talk(n) [Sg one],
[ô dê-fê] [n dêⁿ?êⁿ],
[PRefl talk(n)] [Sg one],
‘That is it. The village chiefs unify their talk, unify their words,’
[synonyms for ‘talk (n), words’]

[ô dê-fê kûnî] ô k-â klê = nî [n dêⁿ?êⁿ],
[3Pl talk(n) Top] 3Pl Infîn-lpfv do.lpfv 3InanObj [Sg one],
à klê-kâ, [ê kê cá mâ] ʒîʔ-ðâ = wò,
3Inan do.manner, [Art matter many] jump.Pfv 3PlObj,
‘As for their words, they (=people) make them one (=agree). (In) that method,
many (bad) things have jumped past them (=did not afflict them).’
/câ mâ < Jula; ʒîʔ-ðâ = yîʔ-ðâ/

donc [bè tôʔô bè kûnî] à-mâ mái,
so [Dem.Def Foc Top.Inan Top] be.Loc there.Def,
kô dô, [ë wûⁿ-diⁿ járò fârâⁿ] târêⁿ
‘So, that [focus] is what there is, to say. The additional chiefs who have sat (as
chiefs),’
é→, è yúó—, è yúó kàⁿ-dí, eh, Art people—, Art people six,
[ô [kàⁿ-jōⁿ]-dărô] kò nó,
[Pl [seven]-Ord] be 1Sg,
‘Ah, (they) are six. I am the seventh.’
[numerals ‘6’ and ‘7’ (§4.6.1.2); ordinal (§4.6.2.2)]

donc [bè töʔó bè kònì] à-mā mā,
so [Dem.Def Foc Top.Inan Top] be.Loc there.Def,
ô dīʔē jər5n [[Ø nā-dì-5] bàʔà], 1Pl hear.Pfv Rel [[Art old.man-Pl] Dat],
‘So, that [focus] is what there is. What we have heard from the elders,’

[bè töʔó kònì] kò yá, dè màsā-lē,
[Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.InanSg, Quot M,
màsā-lē kònì, jər5n gëʔ-ɗīc, [bè töʔó],
M Top, Rel be.first.Pfv-enter.Base, [Dem.Def Foc],
‘That [focus] is it. As for Masaso, the first (chief) who went in (there),’
[‘first’ (§4.6.2.1)]

[è wùⁿ-diⁿ] [yúó [kàⁿ-dí]-dărô tə-ró] fiē,
[Art village-chief [people [six]-Ord Foc-AnPl] pass.Pfv,
[ô [kàⁿ-jōⁿ]-dărô] kò nó,
[Pl [seven]-Ord] be 1Sg,
‘The first six chiefs have passed on. I am the seventh.’
[here the ordinal ‘sixth’ encompasses the five predecessors, hence plural tə-ró]
### Abbreviations and symbols

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**Symbols**

- `=` clitic boundary or phonological liaison
- `&` and
- `#` ungrammatical
- `*` reconstructed
- `→` in transcriptions: prolongation

**Tone diacritics**

- `v` high tone
- `v` low tone
- `v` mid tone
- `v` rising tone (<LH>)
- `v` falling tone (<HL>)
- `v` rising tone (<LM>) due to contraction at boundaries
- `v` falling tone (<ML>) due to contraction at boundaries
- `v` falling tone (<HM>) due to contraction at boundaries
- `v` rising-falling tone (<LHL>) due to contraction at boundaries
- `v` falling-rising tone (<HLH>) due to contraction at boundaries

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Appendix: User’s guide to Tiefo-D lexical spreadsheet

The lexicon is in the form of spreadsheets, initially an Excel spreadsheet in xlsx format divided into multiple worksheets: nouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, other, and places. “Other” includes grammatical morphemes (pronouns, postpositions, inflectional markers, etc.) as well as basic adverbs (especially spatiotemporal and manner). The organization of each worksheet is customized for the relevant stem-class.

Each xlsx worksheet corresponds to a separate csv spreadsheet for permanent archiving.

Noun worksheet

For nouns, from left to right the column have the following headings: code, syll #, shape, tone, cpd, med C, pl, Jinejan, Masaso, Flaso, Biton, Tiefo-D, Ji, Ma, Fl, Bi, English, French, comment, scientific name, basis for ID. The codings in each column can be used to sort the lexicon by any of the semantic, prosodic, tonal, and morphological characters that are coded.

“code” indicates semantic category (for flora-fauna see the following paragraphs): abstr[act], activ[ity], body, celest[ial], constr[uction], ethn[icity], fire, food, garm[ent], impl[ement], kin, liquid, med[ical], money, part plant (i.e. parts of plants), person, place, sense, shape, speech, subst[ance], thing, time, topog[raphy], weather.

Natural species labels in the “code” column are the following, beginning with fa[una] and fl[ora]. Domestic animals (e.g. livestock, donkey, dog) are fa mam dom. Wild fauna are classified as fa bird, fa fish, fa herp[etological], fa ins[ect], fa mam[al], fa mol[lusc]. Birds, fish, and molluscs are not further subcategorized.

All herps are subgrouped into fa herp (croc[odile]), fa herp (lizard), fa herp (snake), and fa herp (tortoise).

“Insect” is used broadly; some species are further subgrouped as fa ins (ant), fa ins (arth[ropod]), fa ins (bee), fa ins (bug), fa ins (fly), fa ins (grasshopper), fa ins (larva), and fa ins (termite). Others are just fa ins.

Most wild mammals are further subgrouped into fa mam (antelope), fa mam (bat), fa mam (cat), fa mam (mouse), fa mam (primate), fa mam (squirrel). Others that don’t fit into a substantial subgroup are just fa mam.

For flora, cultivated species (e.g. grain crops) are fl cult. All others are just fl.

The next several columns have phonological and morphological information.

“syll #” is the second column from left. indicates syllable number, distinguishing regular syllables (v or Cv) from diphthongal (Cuv, CIV), glottalic (Cv?v), and rhotic (Crv), where “v” is any vowel. Codes use are of the type 1, 2, 3 etc. (for simple syllables), 1di (one diphthongal syllable), 1gl (one glottalic sesquisyllable), 1rh (one rhotic sesquisyllable), 1rh/gl (one rhotic and glottalic sesquisyllable), 1el (one Clv syllable), 1el/gl (one Clv?v sesquisyllable), 2gl (one regular syllable and one glottalic sesquisyllable), 2rh (one regular syllable and one rhotic sesquisyllable), and 2di (one regular and one diphthongal syllable). For long stems (three or more syllables) we are less precise about glottalic and rhotic. No
count is given for composite nouns, which just have “cpd,” “rdp,” or “cpd rdp” in this column.

“shape” is the canonical shape of uncompounded nouns, e.g. CvCv, Civ, Cuw, Cvʔv, Cərv, CvCvCv. Some short compounds are marked up with hyphens as in Cv-Cv. Most compounds are not marked up in this column. Simple reduplications (labeled “rdp only” in the “cpd” column) are marked up as Cv-Cv, Cv-Cvʔv (or similar), or as “iterative” (fully reduplicative and heavier than Cv-Cv).

“tone” is the tone melody for uncompounded stems (H, L, M, and combinations such as LH and ML). For compounds the tone patterns of each part are separated by hyphens, e.g. L-M-L.

The “cpd” column indicates compound and/or reduplication status and type. Forms whose only internal structure is reduplication (or full-stem iteration) are coded as “rdp only.” Ordinary noun-noun compounds are indicated by x, xx, or xxx to indicate how many non-reduplicative hyphens there are. This may be followed by “rdp” after a comma if one or two of the compounding elements is/are reduplicative. Other pieces of information added after commas include abstractive, agentive (V-nɔ̀ or N-V-nɔ̀), bahuv[rihi], diminutive, n+adj (noun plus adjective, either modifying or compounded), n+num (noun plus numeral), ppl (animate participle -kəʔa), phrase (including a predicate), sex (male or female), V-shift (reduplicative but with a shift in vowels), V-N (verb-noun), N-V-N (noun-verb-noun), VbLN (verbal noun with or without incorporated object), and a few common compound finals (animal, bag, child, grub, house, manner, owner, place, stick, thing, time, tree). “final” and “initial” in this column means that the form occurs only as compound final or initial.

The “rʔ” column indicates selected consonants in final sesquisyllables: ?, r, or both (“r, ?”). For compounds, only the final element is considered.

The “pl” column indicates the form(s) of plural of the noun, if any are attested. The codings are: a/ɔ (final a→ɔ), ɔ/o (final unnasalized ɔ→o), u/i (final u→i), denas[alization], NI (-nɪ suffix), O (suffix -o ~ -ɔ), R (rhotic plural), and R-NI (rhotic plus -nɪ suffix), suppl[etive].

The columns “Jinejan,” “Masaso,” “Flaso,” and “Biton” contain the data for each dialect. We worked intensively with one adult speaker for each dialect, so there may be some individual idiosyncracies in the data. The form of the article ē~è is given in parentheses after the singular noun. Many cells have singular \ plural pairings with the plural following \. Only closely related forms are given in each row. When a dash — appears in a cell, it means that the dialect does NOT have a form in that set. Either the speaker didn’t know the word, or the speaker used a distinct synonym for that sense. As a result, the same gloss may reappear in two or more rows, each row containing one synonym (perhaps with small variations in pronunciation). The “comments” column often includes pointers to synonyms.

The column “Tiefo-D” contains a citation form extracted from the primary data in the four preceding columns. It normalizes tonal markings by undoing the effects of glottalic sesquisyllables on tones of H-toned words in Ma and Fl dialects. The Tiefo-D column may be useful in practical dictionary production.

The columns “English” and “French” give glosses valid for the Tiefo forms in the same row.
Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

The “comment” column has miscellaneous additional information, which may include a collocation, a synonym, an IPA transcription, or other background.

For natural-species terms only, the final columns are “scientific name” and “basis”. The latter indicates whether the species was seen or collected locally, or was elicited using images, recorded bird calls, or descriptions. The flora identifications should be reliable since most were seen locally by Heath. For fauna, Heath made use of field manuals, bird-call recordings, web images, his own substantial collection of images from previous flora-fauna work in the zone, and oral descriptions. Identifications for some birds (hawks and songbirds), fish, and locally extinct mammals are less reliable.

Adjectives worksheet

The “category” column codes for semantic domain: age, color, condition, difficulty, dimension, dirtiness, distance, fullness, heat, moisture, quality, quantity, shape, size, taste, texture, weight.

The “rdp” column uses the code “rdp” to indicate that the forms in that row are reduplicated. Some adjectives occur only in reduplicative form, others have both simple and reduplicated forms.

The “Jinejan,” “Masaso,” “Flaso,” and “Biton” columns contain the data. For modifying adjectives (as opposed to verbs), typically singular and plural are given with \ as the separator. The “Tiefo-D” column has a composite citation form based on the primary data, as for nouns.

The “Ji,” “Ma,” “Fl,” and “Bi” columns indicate which dialects are represented with data in that row, as for nouns.

The column “form” is customized for adjectives. The categories are stative, deverbal inanimate, deverbal animate, postnominal, inanimate, animate, and adverb. Stative is an imperfetive verb, which generally has no Pfv form. The two deverbal forms are participles derived from the stative. The postnominal form can often be taken as lexically basic, and the regular inanimate form (with á) and the regular animate form (with kā) can be derived from it by morphophonological processes. The regular inanimate and animate forms can replace the postnominal form after a noun, or they can be used absolutely (without a noun). After animate kā, many adjectives have a special reduced form that also occurs as a compound final, especially in natural-species terms. The adverb category here refers to expressive adverbials, which are usually unrelated to regular adjectives. They may have special senses like ‘lukewarm’, or they may be intensifiers for ordinary adjectival senses. They can be made predicative by the copula kō ‘be’.

“English” and “French” columns have glosses. The “comments” column has cross-references to semantically related verbs and nouns, and other background. The “examples” column has phrasal examples, including predicates with copula kō and expressive adverbials.

Numerals worksheet

The “code” column has the codings num (up to ‘10’), num decimal (multiples of ten up to ‘100’), num high (starting with multiples of hundred), and ord[inal].
Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

The data are in the “Jinejan,” “Masaso,” “Flaso,” and “Biton” columns. The numerals are followed by the plural classifier ̀ (’2’ to ’9’) or by the nominal article (é), in parentheses. The “Tiefo-D” column has a suggested general form derived from the dialectal data.

“English” and “French” columns are either in numeral or spelled-out form.
“Comments” describe morphemic structure and/or usage.

Verbs worksheet

Each regular verb has PfV (perfective), base, and Ipfv (imperfective) stems. For any given verb, they may all be identical, or two of them might be identical but distinct from the third, or all three are distinct. Some verbs lack a PfV stem, either because they occur only as noninitial verb in compounds or because they are semantically stative.

The “type” column summarizes identity relationships among the three stems for the relevant verb: P=B=I (all three identical), P vs B=I (base and Ipfv identical but distinct from PfV), or P vs B vs I (all three distinct), or rarely P=B vs I.

The “tone” column summarizes the tones of the three stems. Some Jula borrowings have invariant forms with a contour tone, indicated by (LH)x3 or {HL)x3. All uncompounded native Tiefo-D verbs have level-toned stems, but the PfV or rarely the Ipfv may differ tonally by one notch from the other two. The codings for these verbs are a) LLL, MMM, and HHH for tonally invariant verbs, and b) LMM, MHH, or rarely LHL for verbs showing tonal variation. No uncompounded verb has a mix of L and H stems. For verb-verb compounds, parentheses are used, e.g. (L-H), (H-H)x2 if the PfV is L-H and the other two stems are H-H, and (L-H)x2, (M-H) if PfV and base are L-H and Ipfv is M-H.

In the “syll” column the number and type of syllables are indicated for uncompounded verbs (compounds have just “cpd”). Codings can be simple 1, 2, 3, but diphthongal, rhotic, and glottalic syllables are specified. Thus 2rh means two syllables including a rhotic sesquisyllable, 1gl means one glottalic sesquisyllable, and 1di means one diphthongal syllable (beginning Ci or Cu).

In the “diph” column the diphthong is shown as ui, uo, ie, etc. sometimes specified as e.g. PfV ie or Ipfv ie (diphthong limited to the PfV or to the Ipfv stem). Diphthongs in glottalic sesquisyllables as well as nonglottalic syllables (e.g. Ci?e and Cie) are included.

The “cpd” column distinguishes compounds from various types of reduplication. For compounds the coding indicates whether the second verb is invariant (Vb2 inv) or has different forms, normally one in the composite PfV and base versus a distinct form in the composite Ipfv (Vb2 var). Reduplicative stems are coded as rdp Cv-Cv, rdp Cv- (just Cv- repeated from a heavier base), rdp iter (iteration of the full base, which is heavier than Cv-), rdp irreg[ular], and rdp ident[ical] (where the base varies in form and the reduplicant matches these forms).

In the “P voc” and “B/I voc” columns, any change in vowel quality between PfV and base=Ipfv is noted. Most subc verbs have a front vowel in the PfV versus a low or back vowel in the base=Ipfv, e.g. é versus ç or e versus o (keeping ATR value constant). If base and Ipfv also differ, this is indicated by codings like ñ/o or ñ/u in the B/I voc column. For verbs that do not change vowel quality among the three different stems, these columns are blank.
Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

In the “rʔ” column, final rhotic and/or glottalic sesquisyllables are indicated: ʔ for glottalic (Cvʔv), r for rhotic (Cərv), and “r, ʔ” for both (Cərvʔv).

In the “C alt” column, consonantal mutations (alternations) are indicated. For verb-verb compounds, only Vb1 is considered. Generally the Pfv and/or the Ipfv has a different initial consonant, often in association with an intrusive semivowel that creates a diphthongal syllable. The codings include the intrusive semivowel unless it is present in all three stems. Two-part codings are either Pfv versus base=Ipfv or less often Pfv=base versus Ipfv, the codings being c/k, d/ju, di/ju, fi/su, j/d, ju/d, ju/gb, gb/g, kp/k, k/c, n/lu, nu/w, w/lu, yu/w. A rare three-part coding is kp/k/c (all three stems with different initial consonant). We do not include s/j, ʒ/y, or v/w alternations which are essentially subphonemic.

Instead of basing the data columns on dialect, we use “Pfv,” “base,” and “Ipfv” columns to present the three stems for each verb. Each triplet of Pfv-base-Ipfv functions as a single variant. If triplets from two dialects differ in even one stem, they are presented as distinct rows. Therefore the “same” verb may appear in up to four rows with slightly different triplets. The base stem is used as citation form and in most respects is lexically basic. Pfv stems are often formed by fronting the base vowel, dropping the base tone one notch, and/or adding a semivowel or a liquid after C1. Ipfv stems are often identical to base stems. If not, the Ipfv may shift the vowel from [-ATR] {ɛ ɔ} to [+ATR] {e ɔ} or raise it to {i u} (the latter especially for Jinejan dialect), and/or may add l after C1.

After each triplet, the next columns are “Ji,” “Ma,” “Fl,” and “Bi” and indicate which dialects are associated with that triplet. A dash — in one of these cells indicates that the dialect uses a different triplet, or occasionally a completely different verb. A blank in a cell simply means that we have no data.

The next columns have “English” and “French” glosses. End-users can usually find the full set of dialect forms for the same lexical item by sorting the worksheet based on the English or French glosses.

The final “comments” column has background information, mainly about related lexical items and collocations.

Other worksheet

This worksheet collects elements that do not fit into any of the main stem-class categories.

The “code” column groups the entries into the following: adv[erb], adv manner, adv space, adv time, anaphora, comparative, coord[ination], discourse, interrog[ative], neg[ation], NP, NP foc[alization], NP indef[nite], ordinal, postp[osition], pred[icate], pronoun, quant[ifier], subord[inator].

This is followed by data in the dialect-specific columns “Jinejan,” “Masaso,” “Flaso,” and “Biton,” then by a proposed general citation form in the “Tiefo-D” column. Then the usual “English,” “French,” and “comments.”

Substantially all of the information in this worksheet can be found in the grammar with more reader-friendly analysis.
Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

Places worksheet

The columns are “places” which contains the Tiefo-D place name, “French” which gives the official name (as in maps), “location” which places the location in geographical context, and “comments” which include literal glossing of phrasal names.