Tiefo-D Texts from Daramandugu

Niger-Congo language, Burkina Faso

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Language Description Heritage Library (online)
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color code (for the “color” version of this document)

black  text
blue   transcriptions for this language
green  reconstructions *…., IPA transcriptions […], underlying representations /…/,
        forms from Jula and other neighboring languages
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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 ê (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 ũ for this tone.
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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 nâ-bí-ò] fê]  jììè
[-Art person-Pl] greeting(n) get.up
[è-ìì mâ→]
[get.up PlAddr]
  A: ‘Good morning, people.’
  B: ‘Good morning (to you-Pl).’

  [specialized ‘good morning’ greetings; cf. yììè-ììì ‘got up’ (Pfv); fê jììè is
  invariant for addressee number; response would be èè jìì→ to a singular addressee,
  cf. è yììè-ììì ‘we have gotten up’]

(00:09)  [[bùò dàrá?á-yúó] lò]
[2Pl courtyard-people] Top
[ò kënè]
[3Pl be.healthy]
  A: ‘What about your-Pl people of the household?’
  B: ‘They are fine.’

  [lò interrogative topic (end of §15.3.5.6); Jula kënè, cf. Tiefo-D ó kò glè-glè è→
  ‘they are in good health’, as in the next two segments]

(00:11)  [[è bí-sìò] kò é-glè] =è
[Art child.Pl] be Rdp-in.good.health Q
[ò kënè]
[3Pl be.healthy]
  A: ‘Are the children in good health?’
  B: ‘They are fine.’

  [clause-final interrogative = ā assimilating in vowel quality (§13.2.2.1), with
  pitch roughly intermediate between modal M and modal L tone]
Text 2017-01

(00:12)  [ē lè-yúó  bíé] kò glé-glé =ē→ [Art household-people all be Rdp-in.good.health Q [ò bíé] kēnē mā 3Pl all be healthy there.Def A: ‘Are all the people of the household in good health?’ B: ‘They are all healthy.’ [< /lè-yúó/ with M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.2.2)]

(00:14)  [nó fē-nī] kò [bùo bīé] bā?â, [1Sg greeting(n)] be [[2Pl all] Dat], [bùo jārō→], kā [ō-bē→, nā-fō jārō] bâ, [2Pl Rel.AnPl], with [1Pl, visitor.Pl Rel.AnPl] come.Pfv, A: ‘My greeting is to all of you, you-Pl who—along with our visitors who have come …’ [plural relative jārō (§14.1.1); 1Pl 6-bē ‘all of us’ (§4.3.1.5)]

(00:19)  [kā = à-tōrān] [kā = [Ø miē]] [kū′nū′ nī], [Infin come.Base-sit.Base with [Art 1Pl]] [today Loc], dē bùo nā dō [kā = [Ø diē]], Quot Logopl Fut speak.Base [with [Art 1Pl]], A: ‘… and have sat down with us today, intending to speak with all of us.’ /bâ ‘come’ (preceding segment) repeated as à- in infinitival compound (§15.2.3.2.4); < /kā ē miē/; 1Pl miē and diē in formulaic speech (§4.3.1.4); locative nī optional with ‘today’; logophoric plural in mental “quotation” (§18.3)]

(00:23)  ó kò dō-wē— [[ō wī-ēʔē] nī], 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’; wī-ēʔē nominalization based on wiē ‘put.Pfv’ (§5.1.10.2)]

(00:28)  [yā′gō kō—, kō gā = [Ø dārāʔāl], bē tōʔō—, [in.order.to Hort—, Hort narrate.Base [Art tale], Dem.Def Foc—, [ō fārān] gō [[bē tōʔō] nī] kūʔūn, 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 yā′gō (§17.6.2.4); < /gō ē dārāʔāl/; gbá/gō/gó ‘hit, bump’ in collocation with ‘tale’ in sense ‘tell a tale’; fārān ‘too’ (§19.1.5); bē tōʔō is a very common resumptive ‘that (focus)’ (§13.1.2.5)]

(00:32)  [alā→ ō nā— ō bâ [[Ø dé-lē"nē"] nī], [then 3Pl Fut— 3Pl come.Pfv [[Art health] Loc], A: ‘So then, they will— they have come in good health.’ [French alors]
[00:35] [ò wò ká klá [ë dé-lê’nê’n] ní],
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 yérí [à [Ø ú’]]—,
Hort Sbjn go.Base [with [Art village]]—,
[ë ú’] [ànà?à ní],
[Art village] [face Loc],
A: ‘May they take the village (=local area) forward.’

[00:40] [nó fē-ní kô [bùò ná-di-ð] bâ’tà]
1Sg greeting be [2Pl old.person-Pl] Dat
A: ‘My greeting is for your old people.’
[plural of ná-dë (dialectally ná-dë)]

[00:42] álɔ₃→, ó ná dò-dò [Ø fè jòr’ô’],
so.then, 1Pl Fut Rd-p-speak.Base [Art word Rel],
ná = à gbë [Ø dàrâ’á jòr’ô’],
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 Ipfv verb such as gbë ‘pick up’) but here it is contracted from future nó nà followed by base verb gbë]

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

[00:49] ná = à gbë = n = [ë blí-ké] ní],
1Sg Fut pick.up.Base 3InanObj [Art hare] Loc,
kà— [ë cò],
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 [tó-jù5]-gårëⁿ = ní = dëʔ,
well, Imp.PP [listen.Base]-do.well.Base 3InanObj Emph,
ó kà = [à jù5?] 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 tê-jù5 ; Fl/Ma dialects pronounce jù5 for Bi/Ji jù5 (§3.1.1.6); -gårëⁿ as verb compound-final ‘do a lot’ or ‘do well’; clause-final emphatic = dëʔ in admonitive function; progressive construction (§10.2.4)]
wàlà→, parce que, [é tò?h] ni, right!, because, [Art place] Loc, [é bì-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) dé [bó tò?h] lò?h =nìg nì-má =?, Quot [LogoSg Focus] intelligence equal(n) not.be =Neg, eh! huh?
A: ‘(Hare said:) “I [focus am the smartest (of the animals).”’
B: ‘Huh?”
[łò?h implies esoteric knowledge as well as cleverness; nìg < Jula = Tiefo-D dìm ‘peer, equal’; nì-má ‘not be’ (§11.2.3.3); superlatives (§12.1.5)]

(01:05) é, mó à jì= [[Ø bì-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 kò klè kà-té =ē 3Inan Infin be.done.Base thus-Foc.3Inan Q à klè kà-tó, 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-tó ‘thus’ cf. the fuller bè-kà-tó ‘thus, like this/that’ (§8.5.5.2.1-3)]

(01:09) [dé [bó lò?h] nìg nì-má =?]
[Quot [[LogoSg intelligence] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg]
A: ‘(Hare) said: “There is no equal to my cleverness (=skill in magic).”’

(01:10) bó à jì= [[Ø lò?h], LogoSg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art intelligence], k-à fò= [[Ø ná-bí-ó bì?] Infin-Ipfv pass.Ipfv [Art people all], A: ‘(Hare said:) “I know magic more than anyone (else).”’
[k-à contracted from kò à (infinitive plus Ipfv) (§15.2.2); fò ‘pass, surpass’ in asymmetrical comparatives (§12.1.2)]
A: ‘So, he (=hare) continued in that situation, and he went around doing his work.’

/bè ní ‘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)

A: ‘So, he (=hare) continued in that situation, and he went around doing his work.’

/bó here appears to be logophoric, in a clause describing intention; final kò yîfî is unclear on recording

A: ‘He picked up his magical gourd, he took all his magical secrets and put (them) in the gourd.’

A: ‘He covered it (=gourd), and he took (=set off on) the road.’

A: ‘So, because (he thought:) “Nobody knows magic as much as I do.”’
A: ‘If/When he arrived in the bush (=outback), (he intended that) he would climb the tree.’

A: ‘He said he would climb it.’

B: ‘And (he) went and climbed the tree!’

A: ‘He went and hung the gourd all the way on the top.’

B: '(For) a hare to climb a tree?'

A: 'You be quiet (=hold on)! It’s coming!'
A: ‘Uh-huh. Did it not happen like that, oh (my) friend?’

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

A: ‘When hare was arriving at the foot of the tree,’

imperfective infinitive as past imperfective; < /ē ʃìⁿʔìⁿ


A: ‘He looked at the gourd.’

< /kō nā ŋ/]

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 dè ~ dō ‘however’ (§19.3.8); à ní ‘in it, therein’ is very common after à-mā ‘be (somewhere)’)

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; -sūŋ as Vb2 in verb compounds (§15.1.6.2); clause-final mā→ (§19.1.4)]
(02:05) [ē fì"ìⁿ-kléⁿ-èⁿ-kà] nà gbɔràè’yá =dēʔ
est-ce que à nà kéⁿ-èⁿ-pɔⁿ =āⁿ
Q 3Inan Fut ascend.Base-be.able.Base Q
àyí

no

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 kà ‘manner’ (§5.1.7.2); gbɔràè’yá < Jula gwèlè-à ‘be difficult’, Tiefo-D equivalent nà kàʔà ‘will be difficult’; -pɔⁿ ‘be able’ (§15.1.7.1) plus =à interrogative, in rhetorical question]

(02:09) [ɔⁿ män bàʔ-à-sùʔɔ] [dè bó—
[3AnSg if sling.Base-give.Base] [Quot LogoSg—
[ɔⁿ mär á-sùʔû =nî,
[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) [mô ðɔʔ bë] kô [Ø [sè-kûⁿ-ðⁿ]-dîⁿ] =iⁿ
[2Sg arm Top.Inan] be [Art [wherever?]-equal(n)] Q
[ē wɔʔɔ] nî-mā
[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 ðɔʔ ‘arm’ versus Ma wɔʔɔ) (§3.1.1.2); dîⁿ ‘(the) equal (of), peer (of)’]

(02:13) [mô nà ló-bàʔá] [mô nà ló-bèⁿ=
[2Sg Fut surround.Base] [2Sg Fut turn.Base-meet.Base
[Ø ji"ìⁿ]] mè-kà-dîⁿ =iⁿ 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?; -bèⁿ < Jula ‘meet’; compounds beginning ló- (§15.1.1.7); mè-kà-dîⁿ ‘how?’ (§13.2.3.5.1)]
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 (§16.1.1.2); conditional consequent in imperfective infinitival clause form (§16.1.2.3), cf. 02:09 above;

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.’

A: ‘And if he puts his arms around it (=tree) again, it (=gourd) will catch (=get stuck) on the tree.’

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

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]

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; -dará as final in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.2.1.2); siñá ní (§15.3.2)]
[Art body-water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv
[è njū] k-à sórùⁿ
[Art water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv,

ce-ce-ce-ce!

my.goodness!

[è dé] ní
[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.’

[Art water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv,
[Art water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv,

[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.’

[Art water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv,

ce-ce-ce-ce!

[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.’

[Art water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv,
[Art water] Infin-Lpv descend.Lpv,

ce-ce-ce-ce!

each syllable is lower-pitched than the preceding (descending arpeggio)

(02:35)

ècó—jà→c5!
[Art francolin—, lo! exactly!]

A: ‘Francolin— lo and behold, the francolin looked at it (=the scene).’

[jà→ ‘lo!’ (§19.3.7); c5! §(8.5.3.2.2)]

(02:41)

[è có] pièⁿ [ŋ-ŋù"?5ⁿ ní]
[Art francolin] remain.Pfv [grass Loc]

if.you.see

A: ‘The francolin stayed (hidden) in the grass.’
B: ‘And was watching him.’
A: ‘And was watching him.’
B: ‘Indeed!’

[Julú kɔ̀rɔsí ‘watch over’, 3AnSg object enclitics (§4.3.2.3); mā-ŋí reactive backchannel phrase (§19.5.2)]
(02:43) dē [kêⁿ yá bó = rē]
Quot [fellow Dem.InanSg Top even]
kō [(Ø) jī?è-bórá] nǐ [(tō? = ā) nī],
be [Art which?-work(n)] Loc [place Dem.InanSg] Loc,
[e jī?è-[kê-sù"ʔs"n]] nī,
[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; jī?è in ‘which?’ construction (§13.2.3.6.2); bórá < Jula, repeated with Tiefo-D word kē-sù"ʔs"
(02:45) [[è có] kā = à-ñî] [Ø kêⁿ]
[[Art francolin] Infin come.Base-see.Base [Art fellow]
[Ø bī-kē fārā = ] [Ø có] glō = nī,
[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.’
[< kēⁿ ë bī-kē/, with kēⁿ becoming <LHL> after absorbing the article ë (dropped to ë before H-tone)]
(02:51) è jā-ñánò, mó kō [[jī?è-[kē-sù"ʔs"n]] nī] fā"ʔā
Art friend, 2Sg be [[what?-[work(n)]] Loc] here
₅→, ā klē [Ø bórá]
[oh!, 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?’. jī?è in ‘which?’ construction (§13.2.3.6.2)]
(02:55) dē é→ [[è jā-ñánò],
said hey! [Art friend],
[[ś kē jî] [jî? = ā] = rē = ë
[[Art thing Indef] [what? Dem.InanSg] Emph Q
[ā kīlē = [Ø kē-sù"ʔs"
[3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art work(n)]
A: ‘(Hare:) “hey, my friend! What is the matter?” ’
B: ‘It has become a (tough) job.’
[< jī?è ‘manner’; Ma repeats his comment (preceding segment) changing bórá (< Jula) into the Tiefo-D word for ‘work (n)’; jī?è ‘manner’ (§8.5.1.3)]
Ah! If you— | I say (=think) that none of your counterparts is your equal,' 
[intended sense is 'if you (=generic) say/think that …'; this and the following 
segment are somewhat broken, perhaps because the speaker was concerned about
avoiding Jula borrowing ɲọ̀ɣ ọ̀; see @ 03:09 below for a clearer formulation]

A: ‘Ah, if you— | I say (=think) that none of your counterparts is your equal,' 

[Speaker uses a different word for ‘equal, peer’]

A: ‘(If you think) that none of your counterparts is your equal,' 

B: ‘that if you-Sg say that there is no-one like you.' 

[If rephrases what A has just said, using fiè ‘manner’ instead
of díⁿ and ɲọ̀ɣ; 2Sg proclitic ū (§4.3.1.6.2); < /àŋà?á ni/]

A: ‘(Hare to francolin:) “I said that, magic power [focus] is in the gourd.”’

[After quotative verb dè (§17.1.2.2); inanimate focalizer té (§13.1.1)]
(03:15) nó nà këⁿʔëⁿ = nì,  
1Sg Fut take.up.Base 3InanObj,  
kò yíʔí  [k = ó-dúʔú = nì],  
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-hide.Base 3InanObj],  
[k = ó-dúʔú = nì] [ê jëʔé-ciⁿ]  
[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); dúʔú ‘hide.Base’  
in other dialects dóʔó, cf. perhaps Jula dógò ‘hide’]

(03:19) jàʾgò = [Ø yúó] mā kō— k₃ⁿ nì,  
so.that [Art people] Proh be— know.Prog Prog,  
kà 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; jàʾgó ‘in order that’ (§17.6.2.4) with many dialectal variants < Jula; kà dialectal for tá ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1)]  

(03:23) jàʾgó [nó tôʔó] kō ji = nì,  
so.that [1Sg Foc] Infin know.Base 3InanObj,  
A: ‘(Hare:) “So that (only) I [focus] know about it.”’  
[shift from kùⁿ/k₃ⁿ/k₅ⁿ ‘know (a fact), recognize’ (preceding and following segments) to intrinsically stative-imperfective jì ‘know, be familiar with’]

(03:25) nó dè [nó kùⁿ-fó] [è ná-bió biéʔ],  
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 tôʔó]  
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 [këⁿʔëⁿ-p₅ⁿ 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) dè óº!, ɲánò, já = à mà kò bè-kã = rã?,
Quot oh!, friend, if 3Inan if be thus Emph,
nó nà ká-dò [à-bì-pìša jì] [mò bà?ã],
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 ɲã = [Ø tùpèºººº] [kô bà?ã-sùºº—
2Sg look.at.Base [Art gourd] [Infin sling.Base-give.Base—
[øºº fií] [3AnSg behind]
[mó fií] [2Sg behind]]
A: ‘(Francolin:) “Look (=try) to carry the gourd—!” (hesitates)
B: ‘Behind him (=on his back)!’
A: ‘… behind you!’
(imperative with 2Sg mó : B finishes A’s interrupted sentence, shifting 2Sg to
3AnSg for indirect quotation (§17.1.4)]

(03:39) jì kò sùºº = [Ø jìºººº] mó→,
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 mó→ (§19.1.4)]

(03:41) donc, òº gô dè áy!,
so, 3AnSg Infin say.Base ah!,
mó dè jàrºººº, ū nà klè-pò = 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.” ’
[in infinitival kô dè ‘and said’; 1Sg proclitic ū (§4.3.1.6.1)]

(03:46) òº gô bà?ã-sùºº [Ø tùpèºººº] [òº fií],
3AnSg Infin sling.Base-give.Base [Art gourd] [3AnSgRefl behind],
kô sùºº = [Ø fiíºººº],
Infin catch.Base [Art tree],
A: ‘He slung the gourd behind him (on his back), and held on to the tree (trunk).’
(03:50) kùrɔ́-kùrɔ́-kùrɔ́-kùrɔ́, jà→ ɔ̄ⁿ ɲẹⁿʔeⁿ
(sound of climbing up tree)  lo!  3AnSg  manage.Pfv
ɔ̄ⁿ  kùrɔ́-kùrɔ́-pɔ̄ⁿ
3AnSg ascend.Pfv-be.able.Base,
kò  yĩfì [k = ọ̀-ló-diĩ],
Infin  go.Base  [Infin  go.Base-turn.Base-enter.Base],
A: ‘(sound of climbing). Lo, he managed, he was able to climb, and went and turned onto (a branch).’
[‘go’ plus infinitival compound k = ọ́- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

(03:55) háⁿ! [è  bìf-ké]  kò  kẹⁿʔeⁿ  [Ọ̄ jì fìⁿʔⁿ]
fɔ̄  kò  kẹⁿʔeⁿ,  kò  yĩfì  [k = ọ̀-ló-diĩ],
B: ‘The hare climbed up the tree?’
A: ‘To the point that (he) went up, and went and turned onto (a branch),’
[fɔ̄ ‘until’ plus kò chain]

(03:57) k = ọ̀-ló-diĩ,  kò  tè =  [Ọ̄ tùpẹⁿʔeⁿ]
kò  klá-sàrùⁿ,
Infin  return.Base-descend.Base,
A: ‘And turned onto (it), and put the gourd down, then (he) climbed back down.’

(04:00) ká→, ɔ̄ⁿ  dè  jàršⁿ,  dè  mānĩ,
as,  3AnSg  say.Pfv  Rel,  Quot  if.you.see,
dè [jó  bó = ọ̀  sǒⁿ]
Quot  [if  3AnSg  Ipfv  think.Ipfv]
[dè  [bó  tóʔó  nàvğ]  ní-mā  [è  lóʔó]  ní],
[Quot  [LogoSg  Foc  equal(n)]  not.be.Loc  [[Art  cleverness]  Loc]],
A: ‘As, what he said (=thought), you see?, (namely) that if he thinks that his
[focus] equal in cleverness (=magic) does not exist,’
mā-nĩ (§19.5.2); conditional antecedent with jí ~ jó  (§16.1.1.5); < jí bó à sôⁿ]

(04:05) jà→ [è  có]—
lo!  [Art  francolin]—
yá→ [è  jì]  fiè  [bó  ānàʔã]  ní]
lo!  [Art  someone]  pass.Pfv  [[3AnSg  front]  Loc]
A: ‘Lo, the francolin—’
B: ‘Lo, someone has gone ahead of him.’
[è jì ‘someone’ (§4.4.2.3)]
(04:07) já → [è có]—, [è có] fiè [bó ānà?à] ní
lo! [Art francolin]—, [Art francolin] pass.Pfv [[3AnSg face] Loc]
mā-ɲī
if.you.see
A: ‘Lo, the francolin went ahead of him.’
B: ‘You see?’

(04:09) donc [bè tó? =] = à, [bè yié],
so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Dem.Def name],
[bè fié] dè kò yì?í [tò?ò jàrò],
[Dem.Def talk(n)] say.Pfv Infin go.Base [place Rel],
à mà dì?è 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) ó nà kú = nì, [è níg bó] = ?,
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 ji = à] mó mà dè
[Dem.Def something it.is] 2Sg if say.Base
[mó à jí [Ø kè] [kú"òʊ" ní]],
[2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art matter] [today Loc]],
A: ‘It’s that (sort of) thing, if you say that you know it today,’
[< /è ké kú"ù"/]

Quot [[[2Sg Foc] matter-know.Base-VblN] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
[Art place] Loc, [Art someone] pass.Pfv [[2Sg face] Loc],
[è ji] fiè [[[mó ānà?à] ní],
[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-kò"-nì/ verbal noun with incorporated object; è ji usually means ‘something’, here it (somewhat ambiguously) seems to mean ‘someone’]
(04:26) ŋ̀ mà jī [Ø kē] dē dē mó—,
2Sg if know.Base [Art matter] say.Pfv Quot 2Sg—,
[ē tärēⁿ-töʔã] nī], dāⁿ [bè töʔã],
[Art sit.Pfv-place] Loc], arrive.Base [Dem.Def place],
A: ‘If you know something, say (thinking) that you—, in (your) place, stop at that place.’

[ŋ̀ 2Sg proclitic (§4.3.1.6.2); dē ‘say, think’ followed by invariant quotative particle dē (§17.1.1-2) as also in the next segment; dāⁿ usually means ‘arrive’, but here it has one of its Jula senses ‘stop’, cf. Tiefo-D lēⁿ; tärēⁿ-töʔã compound with ‘place’ following a Pfv verb (§5.1.7.3)]

(04:31) mà dē dē [mō dārāʔá]
Proh say.Base Quot [2Sg village all] Loc],
dē [mō dārāʔá]
Quot [2Sg courtyard]
A: ‘Don’t say (=think) that (it’s) in the whole village!’
B: ‘(Or even) your household.’
[prohibitive (§10.4.1.2)]

(04:34) mà dē [mō dārāʔá]
Proh say.Base [2Sg courtyard]
mō dārāʔá
2Sg courtyard
wālā→ right!
A: ‘Don’t say that (it’s) your (whole) household!’
B: ‘Your household.’
A: ‘Right!’
[dialectal pronunciations of dārāʔá ‘courtyard’ = ‘household’, where Ma drops tones before glottal stop while Ji does not (§3.6.1.5)]

(04:36) yāá, mó mà dē [Ø wūⁿ biē] nī],
lo!, 2Sg if say.Base [Art village all] Loc],
[ē jī] tiē [mó ānāʔã] nī]
[Art someone] pass.Pfv [2Sg face] Loc]
B: ‘Lo, if you say (that) it’s in the whole village, someone has gone ahead of you.’
(04:38) ³ⁿhⁿ, ṇì-ní
uh-huh, Prsntv
[mó miàʔá] nà k³ⁿ-p³ⁿ = [Ø wáⁿ-ké]
à ṇì-ní,
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 (§4.4.1)]

(04:41) donc [bè tòʔ = ] = à, ṇó [è có] gò—,
so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, look.Base [Art francolin] Infin—,
è-è-è fò = [Ø blí-ké] ānàʔá] ní [bè tòʔá],
(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) ṇó nó gblè— gblè-bú jàr³ⁿ [tòʔ jàr³ⁿ],
look.Base 1Sg pick.up.Pfv— pick.up.Pfv-get.Base Rel [place Rel]
à gblè [tòʔ jàr³ⁿ],
3Inan be.picked.up.Pfv [place Rel],
[à tìē-tòʔá 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].
Text 2017-02  Dog and patas monkey (tale)

duration 02:16
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, kéteklu à fà]
[1Sg, (name) lpfv seek.lpv]
[commencer = nì dâ-rè gâ = —,]
[begin 3InanObj now narrate.Base —,]
[gâ = [Ø dàrâ?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; < /gò dàrâ?á; gâ ‘narrate, tell (a tale)’ (also ‘hit’)]

(00:06)  [donc ó nà commencer = nì]
[so 1Pl Fut begin 3InanObj]
[[[ē bû³"5ⁿ] kà = [Ø tiplípâ"n]] nì],
[[[Art dog] with [Art patas.monkey]] Loc],
A: ‘So, we will begin it. About dog and patas monkey.’
/< kà [ē tiplípâ"n]/

(00:12)  [ē bû³"5ⁿ], [ē ñû-kë] gbôrèyá,
[Art dog], [Art water-matter] be.difficult.Pfv
A: ‘The dog. Water was hard to get.’
[i.e. there was a drought; gbôrèyá ‘be difficult, hard’ < Jula gwèlè-yà, cf. Tiefo-D kpà?á-nì]

(00:14)  [ē bû³"5ⁿ] kò lí = [Ø tiplípâ"n]
[Art dog] Infin call.Base [Art monkey]
[d = ò gbê?ë] d = ò bà [kô bà-ná]
[kómì [ē ñû-kë] gbôrèyá],
[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!”
/< kô lí ë: ò in ò gbê?ë and in ò gô?ô could be 3Pl (for indirect quotation) or
imperative/hortative plural preverb (§10.4.1.1, §10.4.2.1.1); gô?ô (in Ma dialect gô?ô,
(§3.1.1.6) ‘dig (with hands, paws, or by pulling a tool)’]
(00:20)  donc,  dò =  ò  gbè?é
so,  Quot  3Pl  go.Hort
[kò  gò?ó  dè =  [Ø  blùⁿ],
[Hort  dig.Base  Quot  [Art  well(n)],
A: ‘(Dog:) “So, let’s go dig a well!” ’
[< /dè ð blùⁿ/]: the extra quotative dè before ‘well’ was omitted by the same
speaker during transcription; blùⁿ is a simple pit well dug near a watercourse, or as
here in a dried-up pond]

(00:23)  donc,  ò  bà  bû =  [Ø  jû],
so,  3Pl  come.Pfv  get.Base  [Art  water],
ò  kò  nî  =ì[ò  dìgò-rò]  nî]
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  kô  tè  kê,
3Pl  Infin  put.down.Base  day,
[ë  tèⁿ]  klè,
[Art  daybreak]  day.break.Pfv,
ò  kô  fû?û
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 fû?û, probably a false start, deleted at the speaker’s request]

(00:31)  [kô  yî?í,  [[ë  blà?á]  nî],
[Infin  go.Base,  [[Art  pond]  Loc].
kô  yî?í  [k =  ò-commencer  [Ø  blùⁿ-gò?ô-nî],
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 = ò-, for this dialect contracted from
kò = òô (§15.2.3.1.1)]

(00:35)  [ë  tiplîpâⁿ]  =áⁿ  bà  =?,
[Art  monkey]  PfvNeg  come.Base  =Neg,
[[mó  wò  kàⁿ-àⁿ-ñî  =ì  kè]
[[2Sg  Hort  reply.Ipfv  3InanObj  Emph]
A: ‘The monkey did not come. (To B:) Come on, respond to it!’
[< /tiplîpâⁿ  ã/ 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; ţiplípàⁿ and ţiplípàⁿ are dialectal variants]

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-cùⁿ?úⁿ],
| 3Inan  | next.morning, |
| 3AnSg  | Infin  | come.Base, |
| A: ‘The following morning, he (=monkey) came.’ |
| /kò/ ‘day’ plus dí-cùⁿ?úⁿ ‘day after tomorrow’ including cùⁿ?úⁿ ‘morning’; |
| < /5ⁿ kò bà/ |

(01:01) [ē būⁿ?óⁿ] bà-ɲā | [kò fó],
| Art  dog | come.Pfv-drink.Base | Infin  pass.Base, |
| [ē tiplípā'] kō ɲā | [kò cáⁿ?áⁿ-kèʔè = [Ø ɲū]] |
| ē! 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) [kò cáⁿ?áⁿ-kèʔè = [Ø ɲū]],
| Infin  fight.Base-ruin.Base | [Art  water], |
| [ē būⁿ?óⁿ] wò klá-bà |
| Art  dog | Infin  return.Base-come.Base |
| [3ⁿ kò [klá-bà ni] [bi 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!’ |
| /bi variant of bè discourse-definite; =dèʔ emphatic |

(01:08) [3ⁿ klé-bà = [[Ø dɔʔɔ] ni],
| 3AnSg  return.Pfv-come.Base | [[Art  late.afternoon] Loc], |
| donc kō bà-ɲī |
| so Infin  come.Base-see.Lpfv |
| [Ø ɲū cèⁿ?èⁿ-kèʔè-èʔè], |
| [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]
Text 2017-02

(01:12)  [dè,  mais  bó  jùò  [kò  fó],
[Quot,  but  LogoSg  drink.Pfv  [Infín  pass.Base]
[è  yúò  jì]  k-á  ká-à-diè  [gò  ní3]
[Art  person  which?]  Infín-lpfv  do.again.lpfv-lpfv-enter.lpfv  [Infín  drink.Base]
[bó  jìè]  [kò  cå"ʔà"-kèʔè  =nì],
[LogoSg  after]  [Infín  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.’

(01:17)  dè  =  [Ø  kèʔé-bórà]  kò  yá  tè,
Quot  [Art  work(n)]  be  Dem.InanSg  Q,
A:  ‘(Dog,  to  himself:)  “Here  is  (what)  action?” ’
/kèʔé-bórà  <  Jula;  presentative  clause  in  interrogative  form  with  clause-final  tè ;
means  something  like  ‘what  the  hell  has  happened  here?’ ]

(01:19)  [è  bű5"ʔà"],  á  kò-dí-cù"ʔò",
[Art  dog],  3Inan  next.morning,
[è  bű5"ʔà"]  kò  nà5,
[Art  dog]  Infín  drink.Base,
A:  ‘The  dog—.  The  following  morning,  the  dog  drank.’

(01:22)  kò  t₃-tåràⁿ  =  [[Ø  á-biè"ʔè"  jì]  t₃ⁿ],
Infín  hide.Base-sit.Base  [[Art  leaf  Indef]  under],
dè  [yúò  jòràⁿ]  à  cå"ʔà"-kèʔè  [bó  blù-ɲú],
Quot  [person  Rel]  lpfv  fight.lpfv-lpfv-ruin.lpfv  [LogoSg  well(n)-water],
A:  ‘Then  he  (=dog)  hid  under  (=in)  the  foliage.  (He  said  to  himself:)  “the  person
who  disturbs  my  well  water,” ’
/bó  blù-ɲú  could  also  be  bracketed  as  [bó  blù]  nù  ‘the  water  of  my  well’.

(01:26)  [cògò-cògò,  [èⁿ  wí]  bā  bà],
[anyway,  [3AnSg  owner]  if  come.Base],
[bó  nà  fùʔù  [èⁿ  wí]  kù"ʔò"  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.” ’
/èⁿ  wí  used  like  ‘the  fellow,  the  person  concerned  (§18.5.1.2);  Fl  speaker  says
something  during  this  segment  but  it  isn’t  clear;  fùʔù  and  kù"ʔò"  are  Ma  dialect
pronunciations  of  fùʔù  and  kù"ʔò"  (§3.1.1.6)]
A: ‘So, monkey entered (arrived) and drank. He went into the pond and disturbed (the water).’

B: ‘Right!’

[spatial adverbial relative (§14.2.5); < /jəɾɪ̞ nə/ with dəɾɪ̞ nə ‘only; as soon as’ (§15.3.5.9)]

A: ‘He (=dog) pursued after him (=monkey). (sound of running)’

B: ‘(sound of running)’

[jʊʔɔ̞ Ma and Fl dialect pronunciation of jʊʔɔ̞ with post-glottal vowel quality spreading leftward (§3.1.1.6)]

A: ‘They went and came together (i.e. dog caught up to monkey).’

B: ‘Right!’
Jean-Pierre (C) intervenes briefly:

(01:57)  |
        |
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]
A: ‘There is no peace (=mutual understanding) between (=for) each other.’
[< bēⁿ : gē reciprocal (§18.4.3); kāō gē tīʔē is a fixed expression]

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]

A: ‘It’s the business about the water [focus].’
B: It’s because of the business about the water [focus].’
[< /nū-kē té/ with kē ‘matter, affair, issue’]

B: ‘May God help all of them! (And) give (them) peace!’
A: Ouattara La (Flaso quartier), narrator
B: Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), respondent

(00:02) [nó yié] dè [wátýrã là],
[1Sg name] Quot [Ouattara La],
A: ‘My name is Ouattara La.’
[de 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 dòràʔá ji],
1Pl Fut narrate.Base [Art tale Indef],
[ë cɔfɔ-fè nì] [[Art Tiefo-language] Loc]
A: ‘We will tell a tale in Tiefo language.’
[< /gɔ è/; gbà/gò/gò-ù ‘hit’ or as here ‘tell (a tale)’; ðé ‘language’ dropped
to -fè as compound final (§5.1.1.1)]

(00:08) [kò yiʔf— [ë nà-dì-ɔ],
[Infin go.Base [Art old.man-Pl],
ì] bà jùʔs 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 nà-dè, nà-dì-ɔ (cf. @ 00:34 &
00:35 below); bà ‘if’)]

(00:12) [ë nà-dì-ɔ] má kà [kò sò-sò [ò dígà-rì]
[Art old.man-Pl] IpfvNeg ought [Hort contradict.Base [PIRefl Recip]
A: ‘Old men should not contradict (=disagree with) each other.
[kà (§17.4.3.3, cf. §8.5.4.3); sò-sò < Jula sò-sò ; reciprocal (§18.4.1)]

(00:15) ò kën-dì-ò [yūò j5ɔ]
[Art old.man-Pl [people two]
B: ‘Two old men.’
[an alternative word for ‘old men’, singular kën-dì ; yūò j5 with human numeral
classifier (§4.6.1.2)]
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(00:16) [ē kēⁿ-di-ð [yūō j5ⁿ]
[Art old.man-Pl [people two]
má kāⁿ [gò sā-sā] [ò dīgā-ɾ̥ā],
Neg ought [Hort contradict.Base [PlRefl Recip].
A: ‘Two old men should not contradict each other.’

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

(00:22) ē nā-di-ð [yūō j5ⁿ],
Art old.men [people two],
bon, ñ dēⁿ’ēⁿ,
well, Sg one,
A: ‘(There were) two old men. Well, one (of them), …’

(00:26) [dè bó bà yiʔí [[j3ⁿ dè] nī] kūⁿ’uⁿ]
say.Pfv LogoSg if go.Base [[3AnSgRefl 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 jūʔe?] ēⁿ[ = êⁿ nī]]
Quot [[Art God] accept.Pfv [3Inan Loc]]
[[ē jūʔe?] ā ēⁿ[ = êⁿ 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 ā nī/]

(00:31) [bó dè] nā kā [kūⁿ’uⁿ bè]
[LogoSg field] Fut finish.Base [today Top.Inan]
A: ‘“…my field will be finished this very day.” ’

(00:32) ē, [kō tārāⁿ]
huh!, [Infinit sit.Base]
[kō dò [bè tōʔō =] [[Ø dărāʔā] nī]]
[Infinit 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 dărāʔā for dărāʔā]

(00:34) kō dò [bè tōʔō =] [[Ø nā-dè dīgūʔa] bàʔa]
A: ‘(And he) said that [focus] to another (=a different) old man.’
[infinitival kō dò ‘say’ with NP object, compare kō dè ‘say’ followed by quotation (§11.3); dative postposition bàʔa with ‘say’ (§8.1.1)]
(00:35) [è ná-dè digɔ̀ðɔ̌] bàʔ= =ā
[Art old.man other] Dat Q
B: ‘To another old man?’
[interrogative =ā (§13.2.2.1)]

(00:37) [è nà-dè digɔ̀ðɔ̌] dè è
[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 jiğɛ̀-nì] [à ni]
[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)’; jiğɛ̀-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 ji-kä-bô jiğɛ̀] tê, 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 ĕ/; ji-kä-bô (§13.2.3.6.2)]

(00:41) dè [bô tɔ̃ðɔ̌]—
say.Pfv [LogoSg Foc]—
dè [bô tɔ̃ðɔ̌] là [/[ʒ* miàʔá] ni]
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 pe [dè= [Ø jiğɛ̀-ɛ̌] ã sərɔ́ bô]]
[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); < /sərɔ́ bô/; invariant transitive
sərɔ́ ‘take down, compare intransitive sərɔ̀/sərɔ́/sərùn ‘descend’ (§9.3.2)]

(00:45) [[bô á sì* [Ø [kä-ñùʔɔ́ðɔ̌]] ʃiɲá] ní,
[[LogoSg Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Art [work(n)]] situation] Loc.
A: ‘(He said:) “(This is) the way I work (=do things).”’
[sì* ~ ʃi* ‘perform (work)’; ʃiɲá ní ~ ʃiɲá ní ‘manner’ (§15.3.2)]
(00:47) [dè á] dè [Ø dúŋá b ét] à jì = nì
[say.Pfv oh] Quot [Art world all] Ipfv know.Ipfv 3InanObj mā-pi
if.you.see
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 nì] kpà-piò-kpà-piò-kpà-piò
[3AnSg be [3Inan Loc] digging.furiously
A: ‘So, when he had arrived, he was at it (=farming) furiously.’
[tà á (§15.3.5.5); < /kò à nì / kpà-piò 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 piò, a quasi-onomatopoeia for digging earth]

(00:55) [è dè-tà] ká pèn
[Art field-remainder] Past remain.Base
[[è gbì] [ò sàn]],
[[Art ridge] [Pl three]],
A: ‘The remainder (not yet worked part) of the field had remained (just) three rows.’
[ká past (§10.3.1.1); gbì here denotes a ridge between furrows in a plowed field]

(00:58) a! [è sò jì], è —
ah! [Art pig Indef], Art —
[è dòsó-kèn] …
[Art hunter]
[è dòsó-kèn] 3n mlèn = òn,
[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 põțo-só ‘bush pig’, i.e. warthog: -kèn (§5.1.6.8); 3AnSg object enclitic = (y)ò]

(01:04) 3n kā = à-sèn —
3AnSg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base —
B: ‘It (=warthog) had lain down.’
(01:05) 3AnSg InfIn come.Base-lie.down.Base,
[[c̄ gbli] [ō sāⁿ]] sà-ti̊-t̄̊-ē,
[[Art ridge] [Pl three]] across,
A: ‘It (=wounded warthog) came and lay down, across (the) three rows.’
[slightly emended at speaker’s request]

(01:10) [ē k̄gⁿ] tà = á-dàⁿ =
[Art fellow] Past go.Base-arrive.Base
[[Art ridge-tear.Pfv-place] Loc]
[daʔá j̄r̄é l̄o],
[time Rel.InanPl after],
‘When(-ever) the fellow (=the farmer) had arrived at the outer edge (of the field),
…’

(01:13) [ē sō =] Ø-mā gō kāⁿ,
[Art pig] be.Loc be Dem.AnSg,
A: ‘… there was the warthog!’
[< /ē sō à-mā/: presentative construction, with à-mā ‘be (somewhere)’ added in
Fl dialect (§4.4.4.2)]

(01:15) ē dié!
[Art sauce
[ē dié = r̄ē] = à
[Art sauce even] it.is
B: ‘(Meat for) sauce!’
A: ‘It is (meat for) sauce indeed!’
[= r̄ē ‘even’ (§19.1.6); ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.2.1.1)]

(01:19) é [ē nā-dē] n̄a = n̄,
oh! [Art old.man] see.Pfv 3InanObj,
[[c̄ lāⁿ-lēⁿ] yiʔ-ʃʃ̄̊-ʃʃ̄̊]
[[Art appetite] get.up.Pfv]
A: ‘Oh! The old man saw it. Appetite for meat arose …’
[i.e. as described]

(01:21) [ỹⁿ k̄b̄ gb̄] [Ø fiʔé]
[3AnSg InfIn pick.up.Base [Art daba]]
[k̄b̄ m̄ē = [Ø sō]],
[Infin shoot.Base [Art pig]],
A: ‘… (and) he picked up the daba (=hoe) and shot (it at) the warthog.’
[i.e., he hurled it at the warthog (direct object)]
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]

A: ‘The warthog got up with it (daba).’
B: '(It) kept going—'
A (overlapping): gallop! gallop! gallop!

[kà lò 'with it/them (inanimate)' (§4.3.2.4) ; cf. adverb bà-bàʔà 'quickly; hard']

A: ‘The old man too ran hard after it. Gallop! gallop!’

B: ‘They ran.’
A: ‘They ran, and ran.’

[repetition of infinitival VPs to indicate duration]
(01:38)   álè → fō —
      all.the.way until —
mā-ɲī
      if.you.see
      A: ‘All the way until—’
      B: ‘You see?’
      [álè and fō (§8.3.10.2, §19.1.7)]

(01:40)   [ē dē] kō à-yīʔí [wō dāⁿ],
      [Art sun] Infin come.go.Base [Infin arrive.Base],
      [ē kūⁿʔōⁿ]
      [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]-dāʔā
      [Art sun] [set.Pfv-enter.Base]-time
      B: ‘The time when the sun sets and goes in (=dusk).’
      [compounds with -dāʔā < dāʔá ‘time’ (§5.1.7.7)]

(01:44)   [ē kūⁿʔōⁿ] tà = ā-dāⁿ,
      [Art early.afternoon] Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
      [ē kūⁿʔōⁿ] kō bà [∅ = à-ł̥ⁿ]
      jō = ő kō [[ò dīgə-rā] fīī],
      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)   [3AnSg wō kēⁿ]
      [3AnSg Infin tilt.Base]
      [3ⁿ= ∅ klē-pōⁿ] [∅ sō] nī,
      [3AnSg PfvNeg do.Base-be.able.Base] [[Art pig] Loc],
      A: ‘He leaned over (to reach the warthog), (but) he couldn’t do it on the warthog.’
      [< 3ⁿ á 3AnSg PfvNeg; -pōⁿ ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1)]

(01:51)   [ē dē] kō à-yīʔí
      [Art sun] Infin come.go.Base
      [kō sō-diē wərē],
      [Infin set.Base-enter.Base totally],
      ‘The sun had gone and completely set and gone in (=under).’
      [i.e., in total darkness]
á!, [ē dè] sē-dīē [dāʔá jār₅ⁿ] nī],
A: ‘Ah, when the sun had set and gone under, …’

[ē sō], kā = ā-dāⁿ
[Art pig], Infin go.Base-arrive.Base
[[ē kēʔ-rēʔē jā-rē] nī] dōr₃ⁿ→,
[[Art Gardenia-Pl Indef-InanPl] Loc] only,
A: ‘… when the warthog arrived at some Gardenia erubescens trees,’
/kā = ā- (§15.2.3.3.2); this Gardenia species is a densely-branched shrub in
savanna, singular kēʔē, plural in this dialect usually kā-rēʔē ; jā-rē ‘some, certain
ones’, inanimate plural of indefinite jī (§4.4.2.3); dōr₃ⁿ→ (§19.2.1)]

[ē fīʔē] kō gāⁿ-glú [kō dī-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)]

[[ē tōʔā] 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)]

[ē bliʔf] yūⁿ
[Art night] turn.black.Pfv
[ē dē] á bā-kā-p₃ⁿ =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)]

[ē dē] á bā-kā-p₃ⁿ =ʔ
[Art field] PfvNeg cultivate.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Neg
ĕ!
oh!
A: ‘The field was unable to finish being cultivated.’
B: ‘Oh my!’
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(02:12) [ě tāʔ] pièⁿ, [ë gbl] [ò sá'], nā-dəŋ?5₉', [Art place] remain.Pfv, [Art ridge] [Pl three] one, ‘The place remained, with only three rows (of crops) left (to cultivate).’

(02:14) ē [ë gbl=] [ò sá'], [Art place] remain.Pfv [Art ridge] [Pl three], [à dō] cùʔ mā

[3Inan however] spend.night.Pfv there.Def
B: ‘Oh! The three ridges, they spent the night (uncultivated) there.’

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

(02:15) donc, 5ⁿ dē [yərə-ʃəràk-ʃə jərə], ā→
so, 3AnSg say.Pfv [bravado]-words(n) Rel,
ā = Ø gə-sō = dēʔ
3Inan PvfNeg be.right.Base Emph
ā = Ø [gə-sō]-pʃ 5ⁿ = ?
3Inan PvfNeg [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 yərə-fələ; < fē ; < gə-sō ‘be agreed on; be acceptable’ (§8.5.4.2)]

(02:20) donc, [à dî-cùʔ] nî, [ě nā-dē] kō —,
so, 3Inan next.day Loc, [Art old.man] Infin —,
[ē sārf] jūʔō = ō bē-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) [ō ā-rī] 3ⁿ nā-dē dig5ʔ5],
[Infin go.Base-see.Base] [3AnSgRefl old.man other]],
A: ‘(and) went and saw his (=the) other old man, …’

(02:27) hé→, [bō tá dō] [fē jərə] 5₉
[Art place] remain.Pfv, [Art ridge] [Pl three] one, hey, [LogoSg Past say.Base] [talk(n) Rel]
[dē [bō dē] nà kā] dē = [Ø sōbē] nî], dē —
[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, —” ’
[ē sábábú] má kí’ =?
[Art cause(n)] is.not be.a.lot.Ipfv Neg
B: ‘The reason (of the problem) isn’t important.’
[This segment is poorly audible]

(02:31) é→ dè pànà, é→ [ē kàʔá-kàʔá jì]
hey Quot friend, hey [Art plump.game.animal Indef],
[gà = á-glù [ít nì]] dè = [Ø sò] =yà,
[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.”’

/gà = á- variant of kà = á- (§15.2.3.3.2); 1Sg reflexive proclitic ñ in logophoric context (§18.1.1)]

(02:37) [bó gblè [³ⁿ fîʔé] [tòá jàr⁵ⁿ]
[LogoSg take.Pfv [3AnSg daba] [place Rel]]
[dè bó nà më-kò]
[Quot LogoSg Fut shoot.Base-kill.Base]
A: ‘(He said:) “Where I picked up my daba, intending to shoot (=fling the daba) and kill (the warthog).”’

(02:39) [ē dòsó-këⁿ = rë] kà = à-mé-màdímìn = ò,
[Art hunter even] Infin come.Base-shoot.Base-wound.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘(He said:) “(in fact) a hunter had shot and wounded it.”’

/màdímì ‘wound (v)’ < Jula

(02:42) [bó mlèⁿ = ðⁿ] [tòá jàr⁵ⁿ]
[LogoSg shoot.Pfv 3AnSgObj [place Rel]]
[³ⁿ fîë [kà [bó fîʔé]],
[3AnSg pass.Pfv [with [LogoSg daba]]],
A: ‘ “Where (=when) I shot (the daba) at it, it went away with my daba.”’

/<mlèⁿ = ð/>}

(02:45) [fò kò yò = [Ø bliʔí]]
[until Infin spend.night.Base [Art night]]
[bó = rë] á bù-p₅⁹ [Ø sò],
[LogoSg even] PfvNeg get.Base-be.able.Base [Art pig],
A: ‘ “Even after (my) spending all night (chasing), I myself was unable to get (=catch) the warthog.”’

/<kò yò č/: yùs/yó/yú~yú ‘(sb) spend night, do all night’ with following noun ‘night’]

(02:47) [ē dè dá =] á k₅ =?,
[Art field however] PfvNeg finish.Base Neg,
A: ‘ “The field did not get finished.”’
/<dó á/}
(02:49)  

**donc**  [[bè  tõʔɔ̀]  nì],  [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  tõʔɔ̀]  já,  
[Quot  Foc]  let.Pfv,  
į mà  nè  [[Ø  dúŋpá]  nì],  
2Sg  if  see.Ipfv  [[Art  world]  Loc],  
A:  ‘Therefore, if you-Sg see that, in the world (of the living), …’  
[< /į bà  nè  ē/; one would expect bè  tõʔɔ̀ já with discourse-definite demonstrative bè ;  ‘see (that …)’ without quotative complementizer dè (§17.2.2)]  

(02:54)  

į bā  dè  [má=  ā  klē=  [Ø  kē]],  
[2Sg  if  say.Base  [2Sg  Ipfv  do.Ipfv  [Art  matter]]],  
klē=  [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; < /mó  à  klē  ē/;  kē  ‘thing (abstract), matter’;  perfective dè  ‘said’ after bà  ‘if’]  

(02:56)  

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

(02:58)  

[ē  jūʔè]  —  [ē  jūʔè]  á  kiⁿ  =?,  
[Art  God]  —  [Art  God]  PfvNeg  be.thin.Base  Neg,  
A:  ‘God—, God is not small.’  

(03:00)  

mā  dò  dè  [mó—  kō  [Ø  nā-dè]],  
Proh  say.Base  Quot  [2Sg—  be  [Art  old.man]],  
dē=  [Ø  nā-dè  dígɔʔɔ̀  jì]  má  wiè-tāʔà  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-tāʔà  future  negative  (with  Pfv  verb)  (§10.2.5.4)]
(03:05) [kà, [ē cè-cîlè]]
    [with [Art intelligence]]
è yákərî
Art intelligence
A: ‘With (his) intelligence.’
B (overlapping): ‘Intelligence.’
[ synonym yákərî ’intelligence’ < Jula hákîlf (< Arabic)]

(03:07) Ø ṭō nà-dè = ṭō,
2Sg be old.man whether,
lēⁿ= [[Ø jù¿?ə dô] ni],
accept.Base [[Art God Poss.Inan] Loc],
A: ‘Whether you are an old man, accept God’s (role)!’
[< ū kô ; clause-final = ṭô in willy-nilly parallel construction (completed in the following segment)]

(03:10) Ø ṭō bì-fiâⁿ = ṭôⁿ,
2Sg be child whether,
lēⁿ = [Ø jù¿?ə—
accept.Base [Art God’s]
lēⁿ= [[Ø jù¿?ə dô] ni],
accept.Base [[Art God Poss.Inan] Loc],
wâlá→ right!
A: ‘Whether you are a child,…’
B: ‘Accept God’s—’
A: ‘… accept God’s (role)!’
B: ‘Right!’

(03:13) [[ē jù¿?ə] bâ dè = ] [Ø kē-kê]]
    [[Art God] if say.Pfv [Art Rḋp-matter]]
    [[bè tô?á = ] ā klê],
    [[Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.done.Ipfv],
‘If God says (=ordains) things, that [focus] is how it happens.’
[< /bè tô?ô à klê/]

(03:16) [nô bûô = nî [tô?ô jâr5”]],
    [1Sg get.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
[bè tô?ô] kò yá,
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
A: ‘(There) where I found it (=the tale), that’s it!’

(03:18) à→, àncé, [ē jù¿?ə] wô tà”-jūâ’ [Ø miô]
ah, greetings!, [Art God] Hort help.Base [Art 1Pl]
A: ‘Ah, thank you! May God help us.’
[Jula à ni cé (all-purpose greeting); 1Pl miô 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,  á!,  [è ná-bí-ó],  [Jean-Pierre tô?ô] klê-bà,
so,  oh!,  [Art person-Pl],  [JP  Foc] return.Pfv-come.Base,
Jean-Pierre  kà—
JP  with—
kêtêklú
(name)
kêtêklú
(name)
bè  tô?ô
(name)  Foc
[é-yùò tô-ró  [nûô jî³]] klê-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.’
/kêtêklú is a name of Coulibaly Jean Bakari; tô-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-tûràⁿ,  
1Pl  Fut  do.again.Base-sit.Base,
[è dîpâ—,  [nû?3-sû?û]-kà  ji] nî,
[Art world—,  [mouth-catch.Nom]-manner  Indef  Loc],
A:  ‘We will shift (the talk) to a way of the world’s origin.’
/kà—  ‘(do) again’ (§15.1.3.2); ká-tûràⁿ  ‘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 jôřîⁿ-nî]—,  [ň  tô?ô] nî
with—,  [Art djinn-Pl]—,  [(nasal) place]  Loc]
kà—  [è ná-bí  nármá],
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)]
A: ‘Because, the origin time.’
B: ‘Long ago.’
A: ‘Long ago (time), long ago, long ago.’

[---dā?ā 'time of < dá?ā 'time' (§5.1.7.7): dī-nā-dēⁿ, cf. nā-dē 'old man']

B: ‘—was there ahead of (=superior to) a djinn.’
A: ‘They (=humans) were ahead of a djinn.’

[ej jū] kā =ā nè [ò digr-rʒ]
[3Pl all eye] Past Ipfv see.Ipfv [PlRefl Recip]

[kō bē'] jū] kā =ā nè [ò digr-rʒ],
[[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; < /jū kā à nè/ ‘eye(s)’]

A: ‘Whatever the human said (to do), that [focus] is what the djinn would perform.’
[combination of ‘if’ with jₐrʃ]
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!’

B: ‘They are at work.’
A: ‘They are at work.’
(01:13)  Ṝë [tārā³-wō]-nī—
Art [rest(v).Base]-VblN—
[ŋ̠ tārā³-si =rē] nī-mā [ā nī]
[Art rest(v).Base-VblN even] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
jī = [Ø nā-bī nārāma] á dó dē Ṝn tārā³-wō,
if [Art person very.good] PfvNeg say.Base Quot 3AnSg rest(v).Base,
ænd má tārē³-á³-wō =ʔ,
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 < tārā³-wō ’sit-rot’ = ’rest, relax’ (base); quoted imperative]

(01:17)  Ṙn tá à fā = [Ø kē³]
3AnSg Past Ipfv seek.Ipfv [Art fellow] 
donc [ẽ nā-bī nārāma] jārī³, bè jārī³ =ʔ,
so [Art person very.good] Rel, Dem.Def Rel it.is,
[ẖn yiqué] dē màsā, màsā sólō, màsā sólō,
[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 màsā cf. màsā-cé ‘chief’]

(01:25)  [bó to̱do] ká kū [(O) jārī³— ānâʔa-nā],
3AnSg Foc Past be [Art djinn— face-person],
5n màsā-cé
3AnSg chief
màsā-cé, ṡ màsā sólō,
chief, (nasal) M S,
A: ‘He [focus] was the djinn boss (=boss of the djinns).’
B: ‘His boss.’
A: ‘Bosh. His Masa Solo.’
[màsā-cé ’chief’ < Jula, sometimes partially nativized as màsā-kē³ ; the final 5n can be edited out] 

(01:34)  donc, Ṝ—
so, uh—
[ẽ jārī³] kā à-tārē³nī [kō nī [ò dīgā-ᵣō]]
A: ‘So, uh—’
B: ‘The djinn(s) then sat down and saw each other (=held a meeting).’
[emend to plural jārī³-nî]
(01:38) oui, 3AnSg

jî bùò ɗ— tārān ɗ 3AnSg [kō klè = [Ø gē-ni-nī]]


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 gē (§18.4.3), alternative to ɗ dígə-rō ]

(01:42) ñ →, ɗè [Ø kēn = ān]—

ah!, Quot [Art fellow Dem.AnSg]—

dē [kēn = ān] bē kùò bùò

Quot [fellow Dem.An.Sg] Fut kill.Pfv 2Pl

d = 5n nà bē bùò

Quot 3AnSg Fut fatigue(v).Base 2Pl

5n nà kò bùò,

3AnSg Fut kill(v).Base 2Pl

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; < /kēn (y)ā/; perfective future with bē ; < /dē 5n nà/ ; nà future or counterfactual (§16.4.2); speaker B insists on the more violect version ‘kill’]

(01:47) há, 3AnSg be.done.Pfv thus-Foc Q

[ō nà-bi pòrámá] kō commencer [ō kī-fù'ò]

[Art person very.good] Infin begin [Art work(n)]

[dépī = [Ø cú"nú] ni] f5→ kō = ?ō-so = [Ø dē],

[since [Art morning] Loc] [until Infin go.Base-set.Base [Art sun],

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.’

/dépī < French depuis ; kō = ?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’)]
(01:52)  ò  má  tọ̀rẹ̀-ọ̀-wọ̀  [à  ní],
3Pl  IpfvNeg  rest(v).Ipfv  [3Inan  Loc],
ò  kọ̀  à-tọ̀rẹ̀  [kọ̀  klè  [ò  gẹ̀-pi-ní]]
á  klè  kà-tó
3Inan  be.done.Pfv  thus-Foc
B: ‘They didn’t rest therein. Then they came and sat together to hold their meeting.’
A: ‘It happened thus.’
/kọ̀ à- for kọ̀ bà- with bà ‘come’/

(01:56)  ò  ọ̀  [ò  dígà-àrè],
3Pl  see.Pfv  [PlRefl  Recip],
dè→  bùò  nà  nèl?=  [è  jùkèkè],
say.Pfv,  3Pl  Fut  beg.Base  [Art  God].
B: ‘They saw each other (=met). (They) said, “we will pray to God.”’
/< /nèlè  è/ /

(01:59)  [è  jùkèkè]  kòò  wè  [è  jù-yùrà-ní]
[Art  God]  Infin  put.Base  [Art  invisibility]
kà =  [Ø  nà-bì  nòràmà]  tìkè,
with  [Art  person  very.good]  between,
B: ‘(Pray) that God put invisibility between (djinns) and humans.’
[‘invisibility’ based on jù ‘eye(s)’ and a variant of verbal noun ‘becoming black’]

(02:02)  fà→  [jàrọ̀  jù→]  wùàdọ̀,
must  [Rel  eye]  be.open.Base,
[bo  tòdò]  nà  pì  bùò
[3AnSg  Foc]  Fut  see.Base  2Pl
wálà→  right!
B: ‘It must be one whose eyes are open (=who can see), he [focus] will see you-Pl.’
A: ‘Right!’
/fà  ‘must’ with base of verb (§17.1.7); possessor relative; cf. negative counterpart @ 02:05 just below/

(02:05)  jù  [jàrọ̀  jù]  á  wùàdọ̀  =?;
if  [Rel  eye(s)]  PfvNeg  be.open.Base  Neg,
[ò  tò  bié]  nà  pì  bùò
[3Pl  other  all]  Fut  see.Base  2Pl
B: ‘If (there is/you are) one whose eye has not opened (=is blind), all the others will see you-Pl.’
/< jù  á/>
jí mó kō [bǎ nǐ] [kā [Ō ō]],
if 2Sg be [come.Prog Prog] [with [Art talk(n)]],
mó dè jàrī' = [Ō tī-tārā''], à kō kā-tó,
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 [Ō tī-tārā''] = yà ‘it’s true’]

(02:11) mais, mó mà nǐ, mó nā = [Ō tā'?],
but, 2Sg if see.Base, 2Sg look.at.Base [Art place],
[[ē pō?ō] lī''], mó mà nē = [Ō tā-rē jā-rē] = ē,
[Art the.bush guts], 2Sg lpfvNeg see.lpfv [Art hole-Pl Indef-InanPl] Q,
[ē sīmā-rē' wā-rë'']
[Art rock-Pl head-Pl]
[ē sīmā-rē' wā-rū'']
[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 mā ‘if’ irregularly omitted); the pits are certain topographic features said to be constructed by djinns; singular ū"tū' (Ji) = wū"tū' (Ma) ‘head’, here a conspicuous heap; dialectal variants, singulars sūmē?è (Ma) and sīmē?è (Ji)]

(02:19) ō dè = [Ō sēpū"tū''], ē sēpū"tū'-nī
3Pl say.Pfv [Art rock.pile], Art rock.pile-Pl
ē sāfū"tū'-nī
Art rock.pile-Pl
ē sēpū"tū' — [ē sīmā-rē''] [kē'-tō]-[kē'-tō = ]-[Ō = 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 < /ā-rē/ ‘things’]
(02:24)  kä [ē tīʔ jārīʔ] plē-plē, [[[ē pōʔo] lī"] nī],
like [Art hole Rel] Rdp-be.dug.Pfv, [[[Art the.bush] guts] Loc],
à bī—
3Inan all—
[ē jārīʔ-nt]…
[Art djinn-Pl]…
à bī—
3Inan all—
… fkī-sūʔš]-tāʔ, é!
… [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; kä (Ji dialect) ‘like, similar to’, in other dialects tā (§8.5.1); lī nī ‘inside’ used with ‘the bush’ (§8.3.3)]

(02:31)  donc, mó mā nī [ē tīʔ], mó mā lō-fō—
so, 2SG if see.Base [Art hole], 2SG if turn.Base-pass.Base—
mā= ā nī [Ø tīʔ jī] plē fāʔān = ān,
2SG PfvNeg see.Base [Art hole Indef] 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)  mā-nī [Ø sī-sārāʔā] ā—
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] (hesitation)—
[ā sī-sārāʔā-tōʔ] nī—
[3Inan earth.heap]—
mā-pī [Ø sī-sārāʔā] [[ā kpēʔē] nī]
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] [[3Inan proximity] Loc]
[ā bīʔ] lē-yīʔī
[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; lē-yīʔī (Ma pronunciation) ‘was gathered and went (=took away)’]

(02:35)  donc, mó mā nī [ē tīʔ], mó mā lō-fō—
so, 2SG if see.Base [Art hole], 2SG if turn.Base-pass.Base—
mā= ā nī [Ø tīʔ jī] plē fāʔān = ān,
2SG PfvNeg see.Base [Art hole Indef] 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)  mā-nī [Ø sī-sārāʔā] ā—
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] (hesitation)—
[ā sī-sārāʔā-tōʔ] nī—
[3Inan earth.heap]—
mā-pī [Ø sī-sārāʔā] [[ā kpēʔē] nī]
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] [[3Inan proximity] Loc]
[ā bīʔ] lē-yīʔī
[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; lē-yīʔī (Ma pronunciation) ‘was gathered and went (=took away)’]
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-glō; tù-tù?ù ‘big’ (§4.5.3.2.2); progressive with preverbal object
§10.2.4.1), here reciprocal; sègè ‘get tired’ or transitive ‘weary (sb)’ < Jula, cf.
Tiefô-D blè/bè/blè ~ blî)

so, 3Pl Infin sit.Base [Infin look.at.Base [PlRefl Recip]] thus
ò k-à bèkà, ó kò [bè ní] bè-kà,
3Pl 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.’

A: ‘So, ah! Masa Solo, well, a person doesn’t do something carelessly.’

A: ‘There are some times, yours (=your endurance) will reach your limit’. 
(< /wágátì jì à-/ ; beginning with dʒ-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 dʒ-à dà“ = [[Ø dà“] ní] ‘your (possession) has reached
its limit’

[ë wágátì j = ] à-mà,
[Art time Indef] be.Loc,
[[dʒ-à dʒ-à dʒ-à] nà
[[Poss.Inan-2SgPoss (repetitions)]
[kò [dʒ-à dʒ-à] nà dà ní
[be [Poss.Inan-2SgPoss (repeat)]
[dʒ-à nàà dì nà
[Poss.Inan-2SgPoss
dʒ-à ní] [[Ø dà“] ní]
Poss.Inan-2SgPoss Loc [[Art boundary] Loc]]
(03:05)  

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\[ [\text{cè kè bìé}] \text{ kà} = [\text{Ø dàⁿ}] \text{ = à} \]

\[ [\text{cè kè bìé}] \text{ kà} = [\text{Ø dàⁿ}] \text{ = à}, \]

A: ‘Well, —’

B: ‘Every thing is with (=has) a limit.’

A: ‘Every thing is with (=has) a limit.’

[< /čè bìé kà ě dàⁿ/; ‘it is’ enclitic = (y)à (§11.2.1.1)]

(03:08)

3AnSg— 3AnSg do.Pfv Dem.Def, [Art fellow],

jā→, [\text{è kęⁿ}] leⁿ [Ø jùʔé-ciⁿ]

lo! [Art man] stand.Pfv [Art top]

A: ‘He did that. The fellow (=Masa Solo). Lo, the fellow stood up high.’

(03:13)

\[ \text{è jùʔé}, [\text{è jùʔé}] \text{ sùʔô} [\text{3ⁿ nǐ}] \]

Art God—, [Art God] take.Pfv [3AnSg life]

3AnSg 3AnSg

\[ \text{5ⁿ leⁿ} [\text{Ø jùʔé-ciⁿ}] [kó k₃] \]

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)

3AnSg 3AnSg stick(n)—

\[ [pùʔ5 jör₃ⁿ] \text{ 5ⁿ} = \text{Ø yé} \text{ kà lò} \]

[sick Rel] 3AnSg Ipfv walk.Ipfv [with 3Inan]

\[ [pùʔ5 jör₃ⁿ] \text{ 5ⁿ} = \text{Ø yé} \text{ kà lò} \]

[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 -nå (§4.6.2.3) because this “leg” is autonomous, not part of the man]

A: ‘Had he died?’
B: ‘Had he died?’
A: ‘Had he died?’

[the djinns wondered whether he was dead]
(03:30) 3Pl be [[Art work(n) Foc.Inan] Loc] k-ā yi?i sū→ Infin-Lpfv go.Lpfv continuously

(03:32) 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-ā yi?i (Ma) equivalent to k-ā yi?i (Bi Ji) /

(03:36) 3Pl Infin see.Base [Art fellow] there.Def motionless,

(03:43) [3AnSg Loc]

A: ‘It was not feasible for them to reach to where he was.’

/kù" < Jula /

(03:44) 3Pl Infin look.at.Base [PIRefl Recip],

A: ‘(They) said, they asked—.’

/singular flī-kà (§5.1.7.1)/
B: 'The termite chief. So (he) told them to go. There was the stick, placed next to the fellow.'

< /dè Ȗ; quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1); kò yá presentative with clause (§4.4.4.3); < /kèⁿ/ flattened to kèⁿ: postposition kùⁿᵇⁿ ‘beside’ (§8.3.4.4)

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

[-plûⁿ Ipvf 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,’

< ₃ⁿ k-ä with k nasalized; ₃ⁿ wi ‘his owner’ = ‘the fellow’ previously introduced into the discourse (§18.5.1.2)

B: 'So, they looked for termites, to eat the wood.’

A: 'It happened like that.'
(04:02) [ē jī"ñjū'ñ] kò ghū— [ē jī"ñjū'ñ] diē-sō dôrñ—,
[Art wood] Infin exit(v).Base— [Art wood] fall.Pfv only,
ē kō̱ nô fôrñ, hâyâ, ūn̂ wô, jā→ ūn wô, Art fellow too, well, 3AnSg die.Pfv, lo! 3AnSg die.Pfv,
ũn wô-[di-sô], 3AnSg die.Pfv-[fall.Base]
wâlâ→ right
B: ‘The wood (=the cane) came out— (or rather) the wood just fell. The fellow too, well, he had died. Lo, he had died. He fell down dead.’
A: ‘Right!’
[< /kûn fôrñ/]

(04:08) donc, [ē jôrñ-nô] kô sôrñ
so, [Art djinn-Pl] Infin proceed.to.Base
[kô bû [Ô miâ?á]], kô nê?ê = [Ô jîqê?ê],
[Infin get.Base [PlRefl Refl]], Infin ask.Base [Art God],
dê bû = ā nê?ê = ūn, 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 ūn (§8.1.2)]

(04:15) ūn (kô) pâi?á [ũn jû] 3AnSg (Infin) redden.Base [3AnSgRefl eye]
[kô wô [Ô fû-bîlê?ê]]
[Infin put.Base [Art darkness]]
[ûbû dê = [Ô nà-bî pârâmà] tî?ê],
[[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) [ûbû fôrñ] gô bû [Ô miâ?á],
[3Pl too] Hort get.Base [PlRefl Refl],
[jâ’gô kò kâ bû = — [ê nô] dûn]
[so that Hort Sbjn get.Base— [Art life] a.little]
[bê kô bû [ûbû bôùa]],
[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,’
[purpose já’gô (§17.6.2.4); nî ‘life, vital signs’ < Jula; dûn ‘a little’ < Jula; bôùa ‘chez, at the place of’ (§8.1.1)]
(04:23) jáŋ'gò bùò— ū sègè, so.that 3PⅠ— (nasal) fatigue,
[ɕ jì] ã go glū-jā [à nǐ]
[Art something] Infin exit(v).Base–leave.Base [3InaSg Loc]
[ɕ jì] ã go glū [õ bè-ní nǐ]
[Art something] Infin exit(v).Base [[3PⅠ fatigue] Loc]

Wálà— right!

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’; õ in õ bè-ní
sounds like kò bè-ní on the recording but only õ bè-ní or perhaps bùò bè-ní would
make sense here

(04:27) ná, ã klè kà-tó,
look.Base, 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc,
[ɕ fè] klè kà-tó [[[mó dè] sǐná] nĩ],
[Art talk(n)] be.done.Pfv thus-Foc [[[2Sg say.Pfv] situation] Loc],
[[[ṅ̥ dĩèle = nĩ] sǐná] nĩ],
[[[2Sg hear.Pfv 3InanObj’ situation] Loc],

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

(04:32) [à dè] klè kà-tó,
[2Sg however] be.done.Pfv thus-Foc,
ño ô yi?é [k = ô-nè-yè = [Ô klò?ô] bè-kà-dìn],

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

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

(04:35) dè = [Ô jù?é bá?á, comme, bon, [yá jàr°] klè,
Quot [Art God Dat], like, well, [Dem.InnanSg Rel] be.done.Pfv,
ɔ° mà jà, [fè ná-bí jărámà] kò—
3AnSg Proh leave.Base, [[Art person very.good] Infin—
ŋè bùò see.Ipfv LogoPl
ŋè bùò,
see.Ipfv LogoPl,

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-à njè bùò]/
(04:42) 3AnSg Proh leave.Base [Art person very.good] Hort—
[kò commander bò],
[Hort govern LogoPl],
A: ‘You mustn’t allow a human to rule over us.’

(04:44) donc [bò tò-rò] kò—, bòo kò nè [Ø ná-bí],
so [LogoPl Foc-AnPl] Hort—, LogoPl Hort see.Ipfv [Art person],
[è ná-bí] mà wò nè bò,
[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 pèn [bè ní],
so, 3Inan Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc],
ò sùtë, è! bè— [[Ø fl-kò jà-rò] bàřà],
è! sèn = [Ø bòrá],
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; bòrá ‘work (n)’ < Jula]

(04:55) ò dè bon, kà-tò,
3Pl say.Pfv well, thus,
[è ná-bí] mà sèn [Ø kë—
[Art person] if work(v).Base [Art thing—]
sèn [Ø kë] [è bàřà],
work(v).Base [Art thing—] [1Pl chez],
fò mó fè = è, must 2Sg greet.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘They said, “well, if the person (=termite) works among us, you-Sg must go
greet (=welcome) him.”’

[fò ‘must’ < French il faut (§17.1.7)]
contrast with 1Pl rules out a logophoric reading shall we give you well, bon [Art [2Sg if] [go.Base-greet.Base 3AnSgObj, 3Pl: dō]— ʒ̈ nà sùʔɔ̄ j̈r̈ɔ̄ 3Pl, [3AnSg Poss.Inan)— 2Sg Fut give.Base Rel Dat.3AnSg, 3Pl: nɔ̄ kò ɔ̂, [3AnSg heart] Infin be.cool.Base, A: ‘ ‘When you have gone and greeted (=thanked) him, his (rightful) share, what you will give him, his heart will be happy.’ [<j̈ b̈ à̄ : j̈r̈ɔ̄ 3Sg in headless object relative (§14.1.6, §14.2.2); 3Sg 3AnSg dative in ditransitives (§8.1.2); nɔ̄ ‘heart (abstract)’ as emotional center (§11.1.1.5); coolness associated with pleasure]

(05:06) 3Pl: [é-yùd̈ ɗ̈ẗj̈] pïn̄ ah [1Pl Poss.Inan-remainder] remain.Pfv wàl̈à→, donc ò gò yìʔì = [Ø fï-k̈j̄ b̈aʔ̄a], 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 kàẗo bùd̈ sùǂn̄ Q when 2Pl work(n).Pfv [Ø kē-sùʔɔ̄ ɔ̄n̄ yà j̈r̈ɔ̄] m̈→, est-ce que, [Art work(n) Dem.InanSg Rel] concerning, Q, bon, é-yùd̈ nà sùʔɔ̄ = [Ø b̈-ml̈n̄] [3Pl: bùd̈], 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?”’ [<sùʔɔ̄ ɛ̄ / m̈→ here seems to be an interrogative topic marker (§19.1.4); b̈-ml̈n̄ ‘how much money?’ (§13.2.3.5.2); 3Pl ditransitive dative preposition (§8.1.2); bùd̈ is both LogoPl and 2Pl in Ji dialect, but here and in the following segment its contrast with 1Pl rules out a logophoric reading]
### (05:19) nò [é-yùò fe-ni] kò [bùò bãtà],
look.Base [1Pl greet-Vbl] be [2Pl Dat],
jí [bùò kè] mà glò,
if [2Pl matter] IpfvNeg it.is,
é-yùò nà bè jí” [Ø kè-sù”?š” nì] mà,
1Pl CFact Fut work(v).Ipfv [Art work(n)] Loc there.Def,
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 jí” @ 05:42 below

### (05:22) tò ...
until
done—
so—
… á, ó kò wú-kš
… ah, 1Pl Infin die.Base-finish.Base
B: ‘(Djinns to termites:) “To the point that…
A: So—
B: ‘… ah!, for us to die (from overwork).”’

### (05:25) [è fì-fš-kš] dè á!, á”?à”,
[Art termite-Pl] say.Pfv ah!, nope!,
[bùò kè-sù”?š” á jàrš”] nò— bùò sùò” = rë = è,
[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 nò is corrected to LogoPl bùò; this long relative clause is restarted
in the middle; the normal phrasing would be bùò sùò” = [Ø kè-sù”?š” á jàrš”]]

### (05:30) é fòy ní-mà [à nì] kè, bùò—
[bùò sùò” = nì] [ó kò = [Ø dìgò-rò” nì]],
[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 fòy ‘nothing at all’; kè
(§19.4.5); ‘be together’ (§18.4.2)]

### (05:36) donc, [è jàrš”], [è → sàcùš”], [è → jàrš”] à bè bè-kà,
so, [Art djinn], [Art devil], [Art djinn] Ipfv come.Ipfv thus,
dè bon, comme, ó kò nò” = [Ø dìgò-rò”],
Quot well, like, 3Pl Infin see.Base [PlRefl Recip],
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).’

[sàcùš” is a type of djinn who carries messages; < /kò nì ò/]

### (56)
(05:42) *donc,* [è flî-kà],
so, [Art termite-PL],
bùò nà kò ñì— ñì= [Ø bórà jàrâ’],
LogoPl CFAct 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 hortnative kò and imperfective verb, cf. nà bè ŋì @ 05:19 above and nà ñì @ 05:50 below]

(05:46) bù= á òó dó dë—, [dë é-yùò já mā]
2Pl PfvNeg say.Base Quot—, [Quot 1Pl leave.Base there.Def]
bù— é-yùò mā sòrâ= [Ø ë?é jì] = ā
LogoPl— 1Pl Proh pay.Base [Art thing Indef] Q
… mā sòrâ= [Ø ë?é 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 nā ñì= [Ø bórâ jàrâ’],
but LogoPl PastHabit work(v).Ipfv [Art work(n) Rel],
tâʔâ-tâʔâ, [bùo kè-tëʔë] ñë-mâ [à nì],
Rdp-place, [LogoPl hand] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
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) tè já, ñè mā ñì= [Ø gó-wû’],
Dem.Def.Foc leave.Pfv, 2Sg if see.Base [Art termite.sp.head],
[è gó-wû’ jàrâ’],
[Art termite-head Rel.InanPl],
[è flî-kà]— [è flî-kà] 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.’
*tè já shortened from bè tè já ‘that (focus) is why …’ (§8.1.3); jàrâ’ inanimate plural relative (§14.1.1); gó-wû’ (Ji dialect for gó-wû’ɲà) ‘small termite mound’; iteration of ‘built’ indicating repetition or distribution]
(06:00)  [è  nàʔá-fièⁿʔèⁿ]  
[Art  termitary]  
[è  nàʔá-fièⁿʔèⁿ  mhm  jàrè]  mè-mè  
[è  nàʔá-fièⁿʔèⁿ]  
[Art  termitary]  
B: ‘Termitories.’  
A: ‘Termitories that have been built all over.’  
B: ‘Termitories.’  
[B introduces an alternative term for ‘termite mound’]  

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

(06:08)  ñuʔô”,  [è  yûó  jì]  [n  dëⁿʔèⁿ]  
no!,  [Art person Indef] [Sg one]  
ā  jì  [à  nù-gbë-tëʔô]  
PfvNeg see.Base [3Inan water-draw.water.Pfv]  
ð = Ø  glû  [kà = [Ø  nû]]  [Ø  sè-kû”ô]  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-kû”ô ‘wherever?’ (§13.2.3.3)]  

(06:10)  ñ,  bû?ô  fèrá” = rë,  
3Inan earth too even,  
[è  yûó  jì]  á  nì  = nì  
[Art person Indef] PfvNeg see.Base 3InanObj  
[è  yûó  jì]  á  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.’  
[/<bûʔô/]}
(06:13) wálà—, donc, è flí— jářîⁿ
right!, so, Art term[ite]— djinn,
[bùò tō-rō] tà-ā-gū = [Ø jńū],
kò ā-sū?= [3ⁿ [Ø fli-kā]],
Infin 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-ā-Vb2 ‘to go and Vb2 (Ipfv)’, cf. tì-à-Vb2 dialectally (§15.2.3.3.3); < /kō á-/
‘and go and’ (§15.2.3.3.2); < /á-sū?/]

(06:18) è flí-kā
Art termite-Pl
è flí-kā
Art termite-Pl
ò kā mè [ò wùʔúj] [ò k-ā yíʔl]
wálà—, donc, dè [[bùò dō] bônica ʔê] ò 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 jī= [Ø flí-kā]—, [ē wùʔúj] mè,
2Sg if see.Base [Art termite-Pl], [Art house] be.built.Pfv,
[ē jářîⁿ tōʔ=] ā tāⁿ-āⁿ-jūʔū = 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) wálà— donc [bè nǐ], [è→ fē] kò nígbo,
right!, so [Dem.Def Loc], [Art talk(n)] be short,
[ē ná-bî] [kūⁿʔō nǐ]—
[Art person] [today Loc]—
ā—, [Ø má kāⁿ] [gō ðīʔè]
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).’
one (the benefactor) came and added (=gave),

[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 kê bàé> / ê bê^n té]<}</doc>
(06:52)  

[[ò bié] má klè—] [[Ø ji] nà dè]  
[[3Pl all] IpfvNeg be.done—] [[Art someone] Fut say.Base]  
[mó sū?ô = [Ø bú j =] [³n bà?â] 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); bà?â dative denoting source (§8.1.1); clause-final lò (§15.3.5.6)]

(06:56)  

mó sū?ô = [Ø bú j =] [³n bà?â] kâ',  
[2Sg take.Pfv [Art money Indef] [3AnSg Dat] Dem.AnSg,  
³n nà ká-[tà³n-jù?] mó mlè³ tè, né→  
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?’

(06:59)  

[ē [tè³n-jù?] fitte-t³?] ní-má  
[ē [tè³n-jù?] t³?] ní-má  
[lì] jù³ [ki-fù³?3n jər³n],  
[2Sg work(v).Pfv [work(n) Rel],  
ō fiêt?è [bè— dò] [³³ 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); fiêt?è Ma dialect for jì?è ‘gave’ (§3.2.1.10)]

(07:04)  

donc mó nà dè [d = Ô ká-[tà³n-jù?] mó  
so 2Sg Fut say.Base [Quot 3Pl do.again.Base-help.Base 2Sg  
[kà = [Ø kè?]é]]]  
[with [Art what?]]

ā jì-ní  
ah! Prsnvt  
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!’
donc  [bè  nî],
so  [DemDef  Loc],
[è  fø̀ kòni]  à  mà  diʔè  =?,  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,’

[jə̀rɔⁿ  bùò  [nó  bàʔà],  [é-yùò  bàʔà]
[Rel  be.gotten.Pfv  [1Sg  chez],  [1Pl  chez]
[bè  tòʔó]  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.’
[< /būó  nó/]  

à-nì-cé
thanks
[è  fè-nî]  kò=  [[Ø  ná-bió]  bàʔà]
[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

[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) [è nō—] [ē dārāʔá] nā gā = nī,
[Art (hesitation)] [Art tale] 1Sg Fut tell.Base 3InanObj,
kā bākārī, kūrūbārī, [nō yīé] dē [wātārā là],
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 = nī—,
1Pl get.Pfv 3InanObj, [Art tale],
à būō-būō [[kā jəɾṵ” nī],
3Inan Rdp-be.gotten.Pfv [[manner Rel] Loc],
A: ‘We got (=learned) it, the tale, in the (same) way it was (originally) gotten.’

(00:19) [[ē lə] [yūō jəɾṵ” jə-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).’

[lə suppletive plural of yīə ’young woman’ (cf. §3.2.1.11, §3.3.9); jə-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 nəɣə] nī-mā = ?,
Quot [LogoPl beauty equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
dē [Ø dūnpá-kārū-lə bīę] nī],
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; nəɣə < Jula]
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’]

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 đē bùò ɲ à jì= øt àr ànʔ àn; tàⁿ ‘yet’ (§10.3.2.4)]

A: ‘Everyone knows about hare.’

[hare is proverbially clever; lò < Jula]

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’]

A: ‘It (=hare) got up and said “ʔíyé”.’

[cry of surprise]

A: ‘(Hare:) “the way I have seen it, in all honesty,”’
(00:46)  
A: ‘(Hare:) “I must redden my eye(s) and get one of those two young women.”’  

fō bó à náʔa = [Ø jë] gō—, kō gbē—
must LogoSg [Art eye] Infin pick. up. Base —

[[[Ø lā —, lā] [yūō jō''] kā-rō] nī]  
[[[Art (hesitation), young. women] [people two] Dem. An. Pl] Loc]  
[kō gbē [n dë''e'']],

[Infin pick. up. Base [Sg one]],

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

[fō ‘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 kō gbē is repeated]

(00:52)  

[ donc, [ē la fārá''],

[so, [Art young. women too],

[ē kā jí] [Ø diē-kē] jū?ō = wò,

[Art day Indef] [Art sauce-matter] catch. Pfv 3 Pl Obj,

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)  

[ē diē] ní-mā [nà tō]

= ?,

[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 ~ tú ‘cook (sauce)’ or ‘brew (beer)’, i.e. cook by boiling a liquid]

(00:58)  
ō dē [būō nā á-kūʔ]

3 Pl say. Pfv [LogoPf v Fut go. Base. remove. leaf. Base

[ā sārōʔō-dō'']],

[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)  

ō = ō nī [è blī-kē]

3 Pl Infin see. Base [Art hare]

A: ‘They saw the hare.’

(< ō kō)'

(01:04)  

[[ē blī-kē] nā-tō] diē [ā ni]  


[[ē blī-kē] nā-tō] diē [ā ni],

[[Art hare] ear] enter. Pfv [3 Inan Loc],

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

A: ‘The hare’s ear entered into it (=overheard)’
(01:07) [ē bi bí-ké] kō jĩn-yiĩf,  
[Art hare] Infin run.Base-go.Base,  
kō yĩf [g = ó-kenën] [Ø sərōʔŌ],  
[Infin go.Base] [Infin go.Base-ascend.Base] [Art baobab],  
A: ‘The hare ran away. He went and climbed up the baobab tree.’

(01:12) dē è!, 3AnSg klinʔen [Ø sərōʔŌ],  
say.Pfv oh!, 3AnSg ascend.Pfv [Art baobab],  
donc [ē lā] wō nī = ōn,  
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) ò 3Pl kō fé = ò, d = ñō má săbārī  
[Art baobab] Infin greet.Base 3AnSgObj, say.Pfv 3AnSg IpfvNeg forgive.Pfv  
kō kūʔ= [Ø sərōʔō-d5ʔō] ji  
[Infin strip.Base] [Art baobab-sticky.sauce Indef]  
kō sūʔ= [ñō bò] tē,  
[Infin 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?”’

/sābārī ‘forgive, pardon’ < Jula (< Arabic); interrogative tē in quoted question (§13.2.1.2)]

(01:23) [ē bi bi-ké] dē [Ø bājī] ni-mā [à nī],  
A: ‘The hare said, “there’s no trouble in (it).’

/bājī < Jula (< Arabic)]

(01:26) [ē bi] — [ē bi bi-ké] kō —  
[Art ha(re)— Art hare] Infin —  
kā kūʔ= [Ø sərōʔō-d5ʔō]  
[Infin-Ipfv strip.Ipfv] [Art baobab-sticky.sauce]  
kā kūʔ= [Ø sərōʔō-d5ʔō]  
[Infin-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-ā (§15.2.2), here repeated to emphasize prolongation[

(01:30) ñō 3AnSg nà [a kō dərō-bā nī]],  
[Art baobab] see.Pfv [3Inan be [abound.Base-come.Prog Prog]],  
[ñō leŋ = ñō nī],  
[3AnSg accept.Pfv] [3Inan Loc],  
A: ‘It (=hare) saw that it (=pile of leaves) was growing. It (=hare) agreed.’

/ba modified in progressive; < leŋ [à nī]]
A: ‘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: ‘(Hare) found himself on the ground.’

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!’

< /jūʔō-ńó/; /kùʔ-sō-ńó/; ‘untie’ here denotes failure to catch hold (of the trunk)

B: ‘You see.’
A: ‘(Pretending) that some mental agitation was there.’
(01:46) [bó kàròⁿ] má ji [à glò-tò?] =rē?,
[LogoSg Top] IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [3Inan exit.Pfv-place] Emph,
A: ‘‘I myself am not familiar with its place of exiting.’’
[i.e. ‘I don’t know where it came from’; topic kàròⁿ (§19.1.2.2)]

(01:49) donc jó= ó= Ø tònọ [à wū?ùⁿ],
so if 3Pl PfvNeg go-look.at.Base [3Inan head],
á! [bó nà wú [[yá bè] ní]]
ah! [LogoSg Fut die.Base [[Dem.InanSg Top.Inan] Loc]]
[bó mà yiē?-jiʔi]],
[LogoSg IpfvNeg 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 ‘if’ (§16.1.1.4) plus 3Pl PfvNeg ó = 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)]

(01:55) dè [[Ø yúò dó] bā dī-sō = [[Ø sàrò?ò] ní]]
say.Pfv [[Art person however] if fall.Base [[Art baobab] Loc]]
d = [[3ⁿ wí] [yí-fíʔ]-nī] mà dáⁿ = ?,
Quot [[3AnSg owner] [get.up.Base]-VblN] IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv Neg,
A: ‘(Hare) said: “but if a person falls from a baobab tree, the fellow’s recovery
isn’t pleasant.’
[i.e. his/her survival isn’t certain]

(01:57) à fè, [[3ⁿ [yí-fíʔ]-nī] à kāʔä =rē? 3Inan talk(n), [3AnSg [get.up]-VblN]] Ipfv be.hard Emph
B: ‘Talk of it, his recovery is hard.’

(02:00) donc [[ê l严格] [yūō jāⁿ]] kō jī [[ò dīgà-rò],
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 = ñ = [[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 ê sòbè/]

(02:06) [ê blú-kê] wò ká-pēⁿ dè é!,
[Art hare] Infin do.again.Base-remain.Base Quot oh!,
A: ‘The hare persisted (with his plan). He said, “oh!” ’
/ká- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2); dè might be parsed as ‘say.Base’ as part of compound
ká-pēⁿ-dè/
(02:08)  dè  [jó =  ò  bà  bè  yìëʔè]  [dè  bon]  
Quot  [if  3Pl  if  Fut  go.Pfv]  [Quot  well]  
dè  bà=  à  jì=  [[Ø  jió-kèn  jì]  tòʔā],  
Quot  LogoSg  Ipfv  know  [[Art  magician  Indef]  place],  
A: ‘(Hare:) said: “if you-Pl (will) go, well, I know the location of a magician.”’
[< /bó 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  [wùʔuʷ-ʧàʔuʷ]]  =yà]  
Quot  [[Art  magician  [head-white]]  =it.is]  
A: ‘(Hare) said: “It is a white-headed magician.”’
[< /wùʔuʷ/tùn  tì  ñà  nū⁴⁴ : bahuvrihi compound (§5.2.2.1)]  

(02:14)  d=  ñ⁴  Ø-mā  dè —  
Quot  3AnSg  be.Loc  Quot  
él!  dè=  [[Ø  klòʔó]  nì]  [fà=  fàn⁴⁴],  
oh!  Quot  [[Art  road]  Loc]  [until  here],  
dè=  [[Ø  klòʔó-cèn-tòʔā]  nì],  
Quot  [[Art  road-diverge.Pfv-place]  Loc],  
A: ‘(Hare) said: “He is there, on the road all the way here (=this way), at the crossroads.”’
[< /dè  ñ⁴⁴ ;  verb  cè⁴⁴/cà⁴⁴/cà⁴⁴  ‘diverge, take a different path’]  

(02:18)  d=  ñ⁴  bà  yìʔi  mà  [bè  tòʔā]  
say.Pfv  3AnSg  if  go.Base  there.Def  [Dem.Def  place]  
dè  cógó-cògò,  
Quot  anyway,  
A: ‘(Hare) said: “if you-Sg go there (to) that (same) place—, in any case, …”’
[truncated from locative PP [bè tòʔā] nì ; cógó-cògò < Jula]  

(02:20)  dè  ñ⁴  nà  jùsʔà  …  
Quot  3AnSg  Fut  hear.Base  
è  cé⁴⁴-mù  
Art  esoteric.message  
…  [è  cé⁴⁴-mù  kòʔò],  
…  [Art  esoteric.message  good],  
A: ‘(Hare) said: “(if) you-Sg hear …’  
B: ‘… secret information’  
A: ‘… good (secret) information,’  
/cé⁴⁴-mù  ‘esoteric message’ from a magician (fortune-teller)"
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)]
(02:45) [ò kā = [à nǐ]] [ò kā = [à nǐ]]
[3Pl be [3Inan Loc]] [3Pl be [3Inan Loc]]
[ò kā = [à nǐ]]
[3Pl be [3Inan Loc]]
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]

(02:46) é! →, dè [Ø sòbè nǐ],
oh! Quot [Art candor Loc],
A: ‘(Hare as magician) said, “oh, in all honesty, …” ’

(02:48) é! jó = ò á —
oh if 3Pl PfvNeg —
[[bùò ná-dǎ? Españ] ní] [jí ná-dǎ? Españ = 5 tí-fārū]
[[2Pl person-one] Loc] [if person-one PfvNeg go-marry.Base
[[Ø bǐ-kē] bàʔà]],
[Art hare] Dat],
A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “If you-Pl don’t —. Among you-Pl, if one (of you)
doesn’t go get married to hare, …” ’
[< jí ‘if’; onset cut off from é! jó = 5 á …“if you-Pl haven’t …”’; speaker accepts emendation from bùò ná-dǎ? Españ ní ‘in your-Pl one’ to [bùò yúó jī Españ] ní ‘in (=between) you two’ (cf. @ 03:53 below); < tí- ‘go’; fārū ‘marry’ < Jula]

(02:53) kō gbē =
[3Inan] pick.up.Base [[Art hare] [Art man],
[è bǐ-kē kā Españ] —
[Art hare Dem.AnSg] —
A: ‘“… and take hare as (your) husband, this hare—” ’

(02:55) à là-fùʔà, [à là-fùʔà] à kāʔà
3Inan malady, [3Inan malady] be.Adj hard
[à là-fùʔà =] à kāʔà = rēʔ,
[3Inan malady] Ipfv be.hard Emph,
B: ‘The medical condition, the medical condition is serious.’
A: ‘The medical condition is serious now!’

(02:59) [dönjèɾ Españ kō —, [fè fíó-wùʔà] cē Españ-mù] —
[so Rel be —, [Art magician-house] esoteric.message] —
[[è fíó-wùʔà] cē Españ-mù tè] wō bè,
[Art magician-house] esoteric.message Foc.Inan be Dem.Def,
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) dē bè bā klè,  
Quot Dem.Def if be.done.Base,  
[ē bli-kē] nā— kēnē— nā bū  [3n miāʔā],  
[Art hare] Fut— be.healthy.Base— Fut get.Base  [3AnSg Refl],  
[[3n lá-fūʔu] nā k5,  
[[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) jī bè bā á klè,  
if Dem.Def if PfvNeg be.done.Base,  
[ē bli-kē kān] = ān 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 dó] má — [é dó] má būō —  
[1PI however] IpfvNeg — [1PI 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 ā jī [kō wú] bè-kā]  
[2PI 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]  
[2PI IpfvNeg get.Pfv [Art person]  
nā kūʔa = [Ø diē] [kō sūʔ = [3n būō],  
Fut strip.Base [Art sauce] [Infin give.Base [Dat 2PI],  
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 bà, é! → ò wō [bā nī],  
so, 3Pl Infin come.Base, oh! 3Pl be [come.Base Prog],  
[ē bli-kē] kō klá-jiʔu-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 kā-jiʔu, corrected by original speaker during analysis (§15.1.3.2)]
A: ‘It (=hare) saw that they were coming, (and it) added some groaning.’

[the polar interrogative has ‘won’t you-Pl tell ...’ in its scope]

A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! I will die quickly, so I may die!”’

[cut off from dē ʒ° mā klē bè ‘said, don’t do thus!’; ‘cool’ phrases mean ‘get better, recover from medical condition’ with abstract ‘heart’]
A: ‘(Hare:) “Isn’t that the magician’s house [focus]?” ’ 
B: ‘ ‘It was being said (=revealed).’ 

[<&/ʃí–wùʔú té/; má kò yá negative presentative (§4.4.4.2)]

A: ‘The esoteric message was exactly that!’

[cf. @ 00:48 above and commentary there]

[jə̀ jə̀ nǎ gbē [Ø nā-dòʔ (“they”)]
[3AnSg futuro at Base [3Pl people two] Loc]]

A: ‘(They) said, “one of us, look-2Sg at (=consider which of) the two (people).” ’

[the general sense is that one of the two young women will marry hare]

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 dò dē ‘had said that’]

A: ‘She [focus] was made hare—, hare’s wife now.’
Infin [Art marriage] sit.Base
[ē tărâ"?ā"] gō tărâ"

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

so 2Sg if see.Base, [Art today],
[ē yō] ē bā— ē bā dāⁿ ē— [ē tărâ"?ā”],
[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, …’

so 2Sg if PfvNeg take.Base [Art man] after,
A: ‘Take—, take-2Sg a husband! So, if you don’t take a husband, …’

even 2Sg Fut be.made —,
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)); lānnā mɔyɔ is Jula]

[ō bié]—, [ō bié] yd-ró,
[3Pl all]— [3Pl all] woman-Pl,
[ō bié] yd-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]

ō Ø lí jăr̃ɔ, dē ē—
3Pl Ipfv call.Base Rel, Quot Art—
dē [ē [diè-glû]-yô],
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; < /ō à lî/]
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; tɔ̀ràⁿ ‘has (sth) as totem (which must be avoided)’, imperfective]

A: ‘Take-2Sg some man and get married to him. That (focus) (i.e. getting married early) has no match (=it’s the best practice).’

A: ‘There where I saw (=learned) the tale, I have put it down (=completed it) like this.’

[formula for ending a tale]

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

A: ‘There it is!’

B: ‘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 gbè [Ø ji] k₃] [2Sg pick.up.Base [Art Indef] finish.Base]
[nó kò gbè [ē ciō [ō sá”]], [1Sg Hort pick.up.Base [Art bird.Pl [Pl three]],
A: ‘You-Sg take an(other) one! Let me pick up (=talk about) three birds.’

(00:06) [è→ nó, wátårá, dêrisá wátårá,
[eh 1Sg, Ouattara, Drisa Ouattara,
gò glú bitūō-lë,
Infin exit(v).Base Biton,
A: ‘Well, I Ouattara, Drisa Ouattara, (I) come from Biton (quartier).’

(00:11) [àwà, è→, ē cɔfɔ-fê, [[bì tó?ô] dɔràʔá]
[well, eh, Art Tiefo-language, [[Dem.Def Foc] tale]
[ó gà-bàʔà [ō gɔ—, ŋ jì gɔ = ni]]
[1Pl want.it [Hort hit.Base—, (nasal) hit.Base 3InanObj]]
[[ē nàsɔrà] gò gbè = ni],
[[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-bàʔà ‘want’ (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1); pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); = ni ‘it’ as object, resuming ‘tale’]

(00:21) [àwà, è→, [ē dɔràʔá] ŋ tiē = ni è→.
[well, eh, [Art tale] 1Sg put.down.Pfv 3InanObj eh,
[[ē ciō, [ō sá”]] ni,
[[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) [ē ciō [ō 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-dé versus dì-dé 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: 'Uh-huh, yes. Another one’s was called “Hear-from-afar”'

[Infin see-put-thing(s)-from-afar] A: ‘See-thing(s)-from-afar.” So, they were in a tree.’

A adds the noun kě ‘matter, thing (abstract)’ to the name.

B: [kō ni-kě-klà-tɔʔɔ], [Infin see-matter-distant-place],

[ömâ [O niʔɔʔ] ni],
sō 3Pl be.Loc [Art tree] Loc,

A: ‘See-thing(s)-from-afar.” So, they were in a tree.’

[Art tree-fruit] LpfvNeg it.is Q

A: ‘Isn’t it (about) tree fruits?’

[rhetorical question]
A: ‘One who was present, its (own) ear heard something from afar.’

/bó anaphoric 3AnSg human pronoun resuming relative clause ‘one who was present’

A: ‘If a hawk is coming, he says “hey, something is out there!”’

/ní 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 ní is clearly audible

A: ‘Well, the one who was the lookout, it saw it, it saw that the hawk was coming.’

[agentive -ná³ (§4.2.2)]

A: ‘(As) the hawk was coming, it (See-thing(s)-from-affar) flew away.’

[the lookout deserts its post]

A: ‘That one who had seen it (=hawk) first, it (=that one) flew away.’

[ó 3rd animate postverbal object; gēʔè/gāʔà/gāʔà ‘(be) first’ (§8.5.7.2)]

A: ‘It (See-thing(s)-from-affar) heard the noise (of the hawk), and it flew away.’

[< Juš masculinity and variants ‘noise’, Tiefo-D synonym wâʔá-ní]}
(01:20) \([jòr\textsuperscript{n}} bà \quad [kà = \ \check{a}-jì\textsuperscript{n}} = \check{ô}])\]
[Rel \ come.Pfv \ [Infin \ come.Base-see.Base \ 3AnSgObj]]
\[bò \ \check{o} \ yì-[yì\check{æ}-jì\textsuperscript{n}}],\]
\[3AnSg \ Infin \ fly.Base-[get.up.Base],\]
\[A: 'The one who came and saw it, it flew away.'\]
\['come' here is not literal, it frames a foregrounded event\]

(01:22) \([jòr\textsuperscript{n}} bó] \ wò \ [dí-dè]-nè\]
[Rel \ Top] \ be \ [eat.Base-be.full.Base-Agent.Sg]
\[bò \ bó \ kàr\textsuperscript{n}}] \ wò \ dí-dè \ ...;\]
\[3AnSg \ Top \ Top] \ be \ eat.Base-be.full.Base \ ...;\]
\[A: 'The one who came to get full, as for it, it was stuffing itself (with food).'\]
\[topic markers (§19.1.2.1-2); one or two words at the end of this segment are inaudible due to overlap\]

(01:25) \([é!, \ bó \ piè\textsuperscript{n}} \ [g-\check{a} \ dì = \ [Ø \ \check{j}in=biô]],\]
[oh! \ 3AnSg \ remain.Pfv \ [Infin-Ipfv \ eat.Ipfv \ [Art \ tree-fruit]]],
\[g-\check{a} \ dì = \ [Ø \ \check{j}in=biô],\]
Infin-Ipfv \ eat.Ipfv \ [Art \ tree-fruit],
\[A: 'Oh! It kept eating and eating the tree fruits.'\]
\['keep VPing' (§15.1.3.5); -biô (§4.1.4.3)\]

(01:28) \([ê \ ci-cùô] \ k-à \ glù-à-yì?í \ sà\textsuperscript{n}},\]
[Art \ crop] \ Infin-Ipfv \ exit(v).Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv \ simultaneously,
\[A: '(Its) crop was sticking out (=swollen) more and more.'\]
\['crop' (French \jabot) is an organ in a bird’s neck that swells with grains stored temporarily for later digestion; sà\textsuperscript{n} (§19.4.7)\]

(01:30) \([[5\textsuperscript{n}} \ nè \ bà = \ à \ gblè-à-yì?é \ [3\textsuperscript{n}} \ ú=û\textsuperscript{n}}] \ jìñá] \ ni]\]
\[3AnSg \ say.Pfv \ 3AnSg \ Ipfv \ lift.Ipfv \ [3AnSgRefl \ head] \ situation \ Loc\]
\[ê \ gô] \ wò \ bà \ \[g = \ à-[g3-gbè] \ = \check{ô}\]
[Art \ hawk] \ Infin \ come.Base \ [Infin \ come.Base-[hit.Base-take.Base] \ 3AnSgObj]
\[ê!\]
oh!
\[A: 'As soon as it said it would (=tried to) lift its head, the hawk came and seized it (=bird).'
B: 'Oh!'
[^< /5\textsuperscript{n} \ dè \ bó \ à \ gbli-à/]\]

(01:34) \([ô, \ \textit{donc}, \ bó, \ bó \ gô \ pë\textsuperscript{n}} \ [à \ ni\textsuperscript{n}}],\]
[oh!, so, \ 3AnSg, 3AnSg \ Infin \ remain.Base \ [3Inan \ Loc],
\[A: 'So, it remained in that (situation).'\]
A: ‘It’s like that [focus], if you-Sg are involved in one thing or another,’
[X ₀ X °one X or another’ (§7.2.3)]

A: ‘You-Sg mustn’t say—, you mustn’t just stay (focused) on that only.’
/[nà"tà°" and nà"-dʒ"°"s° ‘only, exclusively’ (§19.2.3]

A: ‘Where I picked that short (tale) up, I have put that (back) there.’
[standard tale conclusion; ńґ’gbó Bi dialect for ńìgbó ]

B: ‘So, it was the glutton [focus] who passed (=died)?’
/[< /kpl°°p° tóʔó/]
(01:54) [³ⁿ  fête,  ayéa,  ê→,  
  [³AnSg  pass.Pfv,  well,  eh,  
    bè  fête  
  Dem.Def  pass.Pfv  
  A: ‘(Yes) he passed. Well, eh…’  
  B: ‘That (=tale) is over.’

(01:58) [í  ndò té = nì  ê→,  
  [1Sg  Infin  put.Base  3InanObj  eh,  
  A: ‘I have put it down …’  
  [< /í kò/]
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, ɲ̩ tìē = niⁿ~, [c̩ yō ɲ̩] niⁿ,  
[well, 1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj, [Art woman Indef] Loc,  
[c̩ yō ] ɲ̩ ] = [3ⁿ ɓi-sières],  
[Art woman] give.birth.Pfv [3AnSgRefl child.PI],  
A: ‘Well, I have put it (=a tale) on a woman. The woman gave birth to her children.’  
[< /jiè/ (Pfv); the children are female]

(00:08) [c̩ ji ɲ̩ kē ] à dáⁿ ʒⁿ  
[Art someone thing] Ipfv please.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg  
[c̩ ji ɲ̩ kē ] máⁿ dáⁿ ʒⁿ],  
[Art someone thing] IpfvNeg please.Ipfv Dat.3AnS],  
A: ‘A certain one she loved, a certain (other) one she didn’t love.’  
[< dáⁿ ‘X be pleasing to Y’ (subject X here is ‘children’), i.e. ‘Y love X’]

(00:12) [áywà,  
[well,  
[bó tōʔó dē] ɲ̩ = = ə]  
[3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj  
[bó tōʔó dē] ɲ̩ = = ə,  
[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 dō ~ dē ‘however, and yet’ (§19.3.8), cf. 00:38 below; < /jiè = (y)ə/]

(00:15) donc 2 …  
so, (unclear)  
[c̩ liⁿ-tiêⁿ] má kō bè  
[Art guts-bitter] IpfvNeg be Dem.Def,  
[jār₃ⁿ kē máⁿ dáⁿ əⁿ],  
[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, …’  
[liⁿ- tiêⁿ ‘nastiness’, with liⁿ ‘guts’ and archaic -tiêⁿ related to téⁿ ‘be bitter’].
(00:18)  áywà, 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [with Art karité]]
  [well, 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [with Art karité]]
  [3AnSg if go.Base [Art karité] Loc]]
  A: ‘Well, when she went out with karité, when she went to the karité (trees),’
  [conditional antecedent; < /3⁰ bà/; karité tree (Vitellaria paradoxa); oily butter is
  made from the pits]

(00:20)  Ø  mà  rà-sò = [Ø  di?é],
  3AnSg if go.Base-carry.on.head.Base [Art karité],
  nám yes!
  [bā bà [gà = [Ø di?é-bù?ì]],
  [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,’
  [< /3⁰ bà/; rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); ripe karité fruits have a sweet-tasting pulp that
  encloses the inner pit]

(00:24)  3⁰ n-à sù? = [3⁰ kà-yàò] [wò dì],
  3AnSg Infin-Infv give.Ipfv [Dat Dem.AnPl] [Infin eat.Base],
  A: ‘She would bring and give (it) to those (others) to eat.’

(00:26)  [[jì jàr5⁰ kè] mà ná dá ō]
  [[Indef Rel thing] InfvNeg please.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg]
  bó gò tòrà [tà = [Ø wù-bì]],
  3AnSg Infv sit.Base [like [Art orphan]],
  A: ‘But the one whom she didn’t love, she (just) sat (by herself) as an orphan
  child.’
  [< /tòrà ō/ (dialectally kà) ‘like, similar to’ (§8.5.1.1)]

(00:30)  [bò tò?ó dè] ñì = = ò]
  [3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj]
  [[bò tò?ó] ná-bì dá =] = à glò,
  [[3AnSg Foc child however] it.is it.is,
  [bò tò?ó] ná-bì,
  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)]
A: ‘Even today it (=inequality) exists.’
B: ‘It definitely exists! That type of thing (still) exists!’

[clause-final emphatic dò (§19.4.2); yá dò ‘(something) like this/that’, plural ñà-rè dì]

so, Dem.Def Loc,

[ë dè-fè jàrè mó dì] à-mà [mó bà?à],
[Art talk(n) which? Top manner be.Loc [3AnSg Dat]],
A: ‘So, in that (situation), what (right to) talk did she have?’
[jàrè ‘which?’ with bó dì (§13.2.3.6.1); < ñà mó bó]

[[mó nì] nè jì mó] [gò wé mó]
[[2Sg mother] IpfvPast give.birth.Ipfv 2Sg] [InfIn abandon.Base 2Sg]
[mó nà yì?i s?ì bà?à 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); < nì dè jì mó kò wé; jì is base=Ipfv; quoted interrogative tē (§13.2.1.2)]

[è yì?è-tò?] nì-mà
[Art go.Pfv-place] not.be.Loc
[ò bà dì-jà]
[3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base]
[ò wò gbè-sù?= ñn]
[3Pl InfIn pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg]
dò wò gbè-sù?= ñn
3Pl InfIn 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)]

òò gò sò = nì
3AnSg InfIn take.Base 3InanObj
[kà = [O wòò-bì] [kà-sàrà [mó nì] à-mà]
[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]
(00:46) [ò bà dí-já] [3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base]
[ò wò gbë-sù?= nɔ]\(\text{[3Pl Infin pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg]}\]
[3ⁿ go sù = nĩⁿ], [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 bë-yá-ró, áywà, [ě k₃ jì], so 3Inan remain.Pfv thus, well, [Art day Indef],
A: ‘So, it stayed that way. Well, one day, Bouki (hyena) came. It (=Bouki) changed its voice.’
\textit{nāⁿ-bê?ê in Tiefò-D and Bouki in local French are the personal names of the hyena of such tales; smooth out hesitation as wò bà-lô}

(00:58) kò bà-dè [bò nàⁿ lò [3ⁿ mű]], Infin come.Base-say.Base [bò nàⁿ lò [3ⁿ mű]],
dè gò wò [Ø dàrìⁿʔiⁿ], Quot Infin sing [Art song],
A: ‘It (=Bouki) came and said (=intended) to change his voice, to sing a song.’
\textit{[logophoric singular (§18.3.1): verb wè/wò/wò or wè/wùô/wùô and noun dàrìⁿʔiⁿ form a collocation ‘sing (a song)’]}

(01:00) kà-sàrò [3ⁿ mà glû= [[Ø dìʔê] nĩⁿ]]
while [3AnSg if exit.Base [[Art karité] Loc]]
[3ⁿ = Ø wò [Ø dàrìⁿʔiⁿ jàrìⁿ]], [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, [bi toʔò] ķ nàⁿ wò [bè dàrìⁿʔiⁿ]
well, [Dem.Def toʔò 1Sg Fut sing.Base [Dem.Def song]
[ò bìf] ó jùʔ5 = nĩⁿ], [3Pl all] Imprt.Pl hear.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Well, that [focus], I will sing that song. Everyone, listen-2Pl to it.’
\textit{[plural imperative (§10.4.1.1); ‘everyone’ is generally 3Pl in form even with 1Pl or 2Pl reference]}

(01:05) [è nā-bêʔê] jùʔ5 [Ø dàrìⁿʔiⁿ]
[Art Bouki] hear.Base [Art song]
B: ‘Bouki, listen to the song!’
\textit{[addressed to the protagonist hyena]}
(01:06) ó→, [ě nāⁿ-bèʔè dò] oh!, [Art Bouki however] [ě nāⁿ-bèʔè bò] màⁿ gō [(Ø) jīglò = rā = ] = ā, [Art Bouki Top] IpfvNeg bè [Art hyena even] Q, [ě fū—j], oui oui [Art hy—], yes yes

A: ‘Oh, Bouki, is not Bouki however (the same as) ‘hyena’? B: ‘The hy—. Yes, yes.’

/jīglò (dialectally jūglò, jīglòʔò) is the general term for ‘hyena’; < jīglò = rē = ā /

(01:11) donc 3ⁿ mà glû = [(Ø dīʔè] niⁿ] mà bâ, so 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [[Art karité] Loc] [if come.Base], 3ⁿ = Ø wō [dârĩⁿʔò jōrũ], 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.’ /< /3ⁿ bâ glû ě dīʔè niⁿ bâ bâ/, double conditional antecedent /

(01:13) [ũ nàⁿ wō bè], [1Sg Fut sing.Base Dem.Def], [ō bī] ô jūʔ5 màⁿ [3Pl all] Imprt.Pl hear.Base there.Def 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, ó gō jūʔ5 mà sing.Base Dem.Def, 1Pl Infīn hear.Base there.Def B: ‘Sing that! We will listen (there).’ [singular imperative]

(01:16) 3ⁿ mà bâ-bâ-á-dâⁿ, 3AnSg if Rdp-come.Base-go.Base-arrive.Base, 3ⁿ = Ø wō dē 3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv Quot A: ‘Whenever she came and arrived (there), she sang.’ /bâ ‘come’ not in literal directional sense; -â- ‘go’ (§15.1.5.3)]
[song in Jula:]

(01:18) ɲání ɲání nà = ɲ ɲì gió
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload

(01:26) ɲání ɲání nà = ɲ ɲì gió
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload

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’)

(01:33) è bî-fjô wû glû [gô ńiʔ = ò],
donc ô bà glû-bà-ńiʔ = 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, …’

(01:36) 3ⁿ gô gbê [Ø dî?-bûʔ5] [û sûʔ5]
3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base [Art karité-pulp] [Infin give.Base]
ô g-á dî,
[3Pl Infin-Ipfv eat.Ipfv],

A: ‘She picked up the karité pulp and gave it (to them) for them to eat.’
(01:39) áywà, comme wò wò-tèʔè =
well, as Infin sing.Base-be.accustomed.Base
[Ø dārîⁿʔ = = âⁿ] [ción-bêʔè] gō kôrâʔí,
[Art song Dem.InanSg], [Art hyena] be observe.Base,
kō ni, Infin see.Base,
A: ‘Well, as (she) was accustomed to (sing) this song, Bouki observed and saw.’
[kôrâʃí < Jula, here in progressive form (with nì omitted)]

(01:45) [bó füráⁿ] bë bà
[LogoSg too] Fut come.Pfv
[gâ = â-wô] [Ø dārîⁿʔ = âⁿ =] [Ø kô jí],
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 sâⁿ-gbē
Infin gather.Base-pick.up.Base [[Ø yô kàⁿ] bî-ʃîō],
[Art song Dem.InanSg] child.Pl
A: ‘(Bouki:) “and gather up the children of that woman.”’
[< /kâⁿ bî-; nonpronominal possessor by juxtaposition]

(01:49) wâlâ→, [è bî-ʃîō] kō [yùò sâⁿ], mâⁿ-ʃîⁿ
right!, [Art child.Pl] be [people three], if.you.see
5ⁿ mâⁿ gō [[n dêⁿʔèⁿ dô] 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 sâⁿ (§4.6.1.2); kô X bàʔà ‘want/love X’ (§11.2.5.2.1); dô (§6.2.4.1)]

(01:53) áywà, [ción-bêʔè] wò yîʔí,
well, [Art Bouki] Infin go.Base,
kō râ-ló [5ⁿ mâⁿ],
Infin go.Base-turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice],
A: ‘Well, Bouki went and changed his voice.’
[kô râ- typical of Bi dialect in doubled ‘go’ construction (§15.2.3.3.4)]
(01:57) kò klá,
Infin return.Base,
kò klá
Infin return.Base
5º bà [gà = à-dá”] 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base]

A: ‘And (Bouki) came back.’
B: ‘And came back.’
A: ‘It (=Bouki) came and arrived.’
B: ‘Yes.’
[double ‘come’ construction (§15.2.3.2.4)]

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

ɲóníɲóní nà = ní jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲáníɲání nà = ní jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
šì³šì³ dá nà = ní jìgì
S mouth come.Imprt 1Sg unload
šì³šì³ dá tò lì tó
S mouth remainder Presentative stay

é!
oh!

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’
B: ‘Oh!’
[the woman’s song, rendered by Bouki with a husky voice]

(02:06) ɲóníɲóní nà = ní jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲóníɲóní nà = ní jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲóníɲóní nà = ní jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
šì³šì³ dá tò lì tó
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
[repetition of song]


B: ‘The voice was not the same?’
A: ‘Huh?’
B: ‘The voice was not the same?’
A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[< /mû á/; ‘one’ = ‘same’ (§4.6.1.1)]

(02:14) [ò järⁿ] wō klè [tā = [Ø wù-ô-bî], [3Pl Rel] Infín be.done.Base [like [Art orphan], bó wō pëⁿ-nè úⁿ], 3AnSg Infín remain.Base-say.Base (sound), A: ‘The one (of them) who was like an orphan, she kept saying “úⁿ” ’ [< /tā ê/; < /pëⁿ-dë/]}


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); i-yûô 1Pl pronoun (in other dialects é-yûô); < /mû mâⁿ kô yâ/ with mâ(“) kô negative copula ‘not be X’ (§11.2.2.2)]


A: ‘(Orphan-like girl, to sisters:) “As for me, I eat the leftovers. That is true.” ’
[kôn(“) topic marker (§19.1.2.3.1), here on subject of clause; ‘thing’ as inanimate participial -êʔê (§4.5.4); kêtâⁿ (Bi) ‘truth’, in other dialects kîtâ”]
(02:23) mais léⁿ, é! mâⁿ glú =ʔ,
but wait.Base, oh! Proh exit.Base Neg,
[ð wō pēⁿ [bè k₃] [ð = Ø glú =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, [yãⁿ ní dónîⁿ =] [Ø nîⁿ] ò bà,
well, [a.short.while.later] [Art mother] Infin come.Base,
A: ‘Well, a short while later the mother came.’

(song in Jula:)
(02:29) ɲání ɲání nà = ŋ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ŋ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání ɲání nà = ŋ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sîⁿṣîⁿ dá tò lî 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.’

(02:32) ɲání ɲání nà = ŋ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ɲání bóbó nà = ŋ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sîⁿṣîⁿ ɲání nà = ŋ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sîⁿṣîⁿ dá tò lî tó
S mouth remainder Presentative stay
hǎ! hǎà!
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 bóbó; speaker comments that this variation should have been present from the first instance of this song in the recording]
(02:43) donc, bè á dò =ā→
so, Dem.Def PfvNeg be.said.Base Q
wātšrā

Ouattara
A: ‘So, that has that not been said?’
B: ‘Outtara!’
[B calls out A’s surname, as encouragement]

(02:46) òngò glú, ò sû-yiʔè—
3AnSg Infin exit.Base, Infin take.down.Base-unload.Base—
bè =nì, ò gö 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.’
[initial ò should be emended to 3Pl ò; < sûʔú-yìʔè ‘catch-unload’]

(02:50) è sígłò] wò té [òná-tò],
[Art hyena] Infin put.Base [3AnSg ear],
[bè mìn-dì] nì,
[Dem.Def voice-equal(n)] Loc,
A: ‘The hyena perked up his ears for that voice.’
[< /mìn-dì/; ná-tò, dialectally nā-tò]

(02:53) ji bè bā = à glò]
[if Dem.Def if it.is it.is]
[bó fórâ] = à nà-lò = [òná dò],
A: ‘(Bouki:) “If that [focus] is (the way) it is, I too will go and change my own (voice).”’
[= à glò ‘it is X’ after focalized constituent X (§13.1.3.5); < /ná rà-lò ò/]

(02:55) [òná bā] [bó bā bā]
[Infin come.Base] [LogoSg if come.Base]
[bó nà dò =nì] [á bí-bī]
[LogoSg Fut say.Base 3InanObj [Inan small]]
A: ‘He came, (thinking) “when I come (back), I will say (=sing) it softly.”’
B: ‘I will say it softly.’
[á bí-bī ‘small one (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.2.2)]

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

(03:00) [è süglô] [[bó pù?á dá =] à bé] [Art hyena] [[3AnSg mouth however] Ipfv be.wide.Ipfv, à nà klè-p₃ⁿ [á bí-bì p³ⁿʔ³ⁿ] bè 3Inan Fut be.done.Base-be.able.Base [Inan a.little tiny] Dem.Def B: ‘But a hyena, its voice is wide (=deep), it can become very small like that?’ [< /bó pù?á dó á; adjectival predicate; < /klè-p₃ⁿ á; ‘be able to VP’; pf³ⁿʔ³ⁿ intensifier for ‘small’ in Ji dialect, cf. Bì á bí-bì sèⁿ→ (§8.5.2.2.5)]


(03:08) ò bà dì-já, 3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base, ò gô gbë [ò sù?= [³ⁿ kâⁿ]], 3Pl Infín pick.up.Base [Infín give.Base [Dat Dem.AnSg]], A: ‘When they ate and left (something), they took (it) and gave it to that one (the orphan-like girl).’ [< /sùʔ₅/]

(03:09) sù→ ò = Ø klè bè-yá-ró, áywà, always 3Pl Ipfv do.Ipfv thus, well, [è nî] à fô = [Ø dìʔé-pòʔò nîⁿ] = àⁿ, [Art mother] Ipfv pass.Ipfv [Art karité-the.bush Loc] Q, A: ‘They did thus every time. Well, the mother would go to the karité forest, didn’t she?’
1913 [è sìglò] ò bà
[Art hyena] Infin come.Base,
[kò ká-bà tà?à-kó]
[Infin do.again-come.Base again]
àýwà, [è nàⁿ-bè?è] 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)

ñañi ñañí nà = ŋ jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ñañi ñañí nà = ŋ jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
kò klè [³ⁿ mò]
Infin do.Base [³AnSgRefl voice]
ñañi ñañí nà = ŋ jìgì
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
šìśìⁿ 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 (overlapping): ‘It made its voice (like that).’

(03:27) c’èst-à-dire, kɔ-yùò—, kɔ-yùò glú
[kɔ liʔè bó]
[Infin unload.Base LogoSg]
ouï
yes
A: ‘(Bouki:) “those (children) must come out and help me unload (my basket).”’
B: ‘Yes.’

[third-person imperative; kɔ-yùò ‘those’ replaces original 2Pl vocative]

(03:30) [kàⁿ nóʔô],
[Dem.AnSg Foc],
[[bó tòʔô] gō pèⁿ] [bó máⁿ glú = Ô],
[[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 tòʔô/; 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.’
[tá?á ‘like’ after NP but used as modifier; < /kō pēn bó/]

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

A: ‘Well, …’
B: ‘The talk (=voice)—’
A: ‘The talk (=voice) changed.’
B: ‘… changed.’
[cf. lē ‘has turned/changed’ in the following segment]
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)]

A: ‘As soon as they came out, Bouki—.’
B: ‘Reached out and seized them.’

A: ‘(It) seized the two of them and went away.’
B: ‘Oh dear!’

[Numeral following pronoun (§6.4.1)]

A: ‘Well, Bouki seized them and went away. Well, she (=mother) came.’

A: ‘Then she came, and she sang the song.’
B: ‘(She) sang again.’
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

B: ‘Oh!’

A: ‘She didn’t see anybody who had come out.’
B: ‘There’s work (=drama). There’s work.’
A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[animate participle -kà?à (§4.5.4); B first uses bórá ‘work (n)’ < Jula, then repeats with the Tiefó-D word]

A: ‘(She thought:) “So where have the children gone today?”’

[< /ē sē kǔ"á"]; final tē in quoted interrogative]
(04:29)  [jàr⁵ⁿ— jàr⁵ⁿ bè— kè]  
        [Rel— Rel Dem.Def— matter]  
        máⁿ NpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg Neg,  
        bó wò glû, [kò kāⁿ?āⁿ = wāⁿ],  
        3AnSg Infin exit.Base, [Infin encounter.Base 3AnSgObj],  
        A: ‘The one (=girl) whom she didn’t like, she (=girl) went out to meet her (=mother).’  
        [repair as [jàr⁵ⁿ kē] máⁿ … “(the one) whose matter wasn’t (pleasing to her)”]

(04:33)  dè á!, dè kūⁿ?úⁿ, [è wí jí]  
        Quot oh!, Quot today, [Art owner Indef]  
        [gò fò], [Infin 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-gbē …]

(04:39)  ò gō dè lûⁿ dè [māⁿ = = àⁿ],  
        3P1 Infin IpfvPast look.at.Ipfv Quot [2Sg it.is],  
        jā→ ŋ máⁿ glî = ñ,  
        lo! 2Sg IpfvNeg it.is Neg,  
        A: ‘(Girl:) “They had looked and had thought it was you. But lo, it wasn’t you-Sg.”’  
        [< /môⁿ = à/; 2Sg proclitic ŋ (§4.3.1.6.2); = à ‘it is’ (§11.2.1.1); má(n) glî ‘it is not’ (§11.2.1.2)]

(04:42)  áywâ, [nôⁿ kònîⁿ] [nôⁿ nóʔô] plîⁿ māⁿ,  
        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).’  
        /kònî(n) topic (§19.1.2.3.1); < /nôⁿ tòʔô/; mā(n) for discourse-definite ‘here’]

(04:45)  nôⁿ nè māⁿ glû-ā-yîʔè móⁿ]  
        1Sg IpfvPast IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv-Ipfv-unload.Ipfv 2Sg  
        [kā-kò sū→],  
        [Rdp-day every],  
        A: ‘(Girl:) “I have not been going out to unload you every day.”’  
        [< /nôⁿ dè/]

(04:47)  [nôⁿ mó] nàⁿ glû-yîʔî = [Ø sè] tē,  
        [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) *donc* *nôⁿ* *gô* *peⁿ* *mâⁿ*,
sō *1Sg* *Infin* remain.Base *there.Def*,
ē→, *[ʒⁿ* *gô* *gbê* *[Ø* *diʔê]]*
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* *diʔê] á *yiʔè-pêⁿ* = *nê?*
[Art* karité*] PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Emph
[ā = *Ø* *yiʔè-pêⁿ* = *ʒⁿ*]
[3Inan* PfvNeg* be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Q]

A: ‘The karité (pulp) could not be unloaded.’
B: ‘It could not be unloaded?’
[< /-pêⁿ = deʔê; < /-pêⁿ = ā́; only the two favored daughters were allowed to unload from the mother]

(04:55) *ʒⁿ*huʔⁿ, *ʒⁿ* *gô* é-fô *ā = * [Ø* *diʔê]*,
uh-huh, 3AnSg *Infin* walk.Base-pass.Base [with [Art karité*]],
[kà— *[ē* *ciʔê]*] [[ʒⁿ* *uⁿʔuⁿ*] niⁿ]
[with— *[Art* basket]] [[3AnSgRefil head] Loc]

A: ‘Uh-huh. She went walking away with the karité, with the basket, on her head.’
[ē ‘walk’, dialectal for *yé*; in line 1 < /kà ē diʔê/]

(04:56) *ā* = *Ø* *yiʔè-pêⁿ* = *ʔ*,
3Inan *PfvNeg* be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base *Neg,*
kò *yé-fô* *[ā* *lô]*
Infin walk.Base- pass.Base [with 3Inan]
B: ‘It could not be unloaded. (She) went along with it (on her head).’
[transcription approximate due to speaker overlap; < /kà lô/ ‘with it/Them (inanimate)’]

(05:00) *ā* *klè* tá, *[ē* fôrîʔî] * [máⁿ* *glô* = *ā]*
3Inan be.done.Pfv like, [Art craziness] [IpfvNeg it.is Q]
*ā* *klè* = *[Ø* *fôrîʔî]* [ʒⁿ* *bâːʔa*]
3Inan 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).’
[tá ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1)]

(05:03) *āywa* comme *ā* *klè* = *[Ø* *fôrîʔî]* bê-yâ-rô, *wô* é-fô *[ā* *rô]*,
3AnSg *Infin* walk.Base-pass.Base [with 3Inan]
A: ‘Well, it became craziness thus. She went along with it (on her head).’
[ā rô *Bi dialect for kà lô]"
A: ‘As she (=mother) was going along with it thus, well, didn’t that one (=girl) [topic] stay (there)?’

B: ‘Nope!’

A: ‘God raised her.’

Jula, cf. Tiefo-D dé/dá/dá ‘raise’)

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

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

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

[Jula, cf. kó tárë ‘to sit’, hence ‘settle, get married’ in Tiefo-D]
(05:21) áywà, comme əbū [Ø dɔ] [wō fərū],
    well, as 3AnSg get.Pfv [Art man] [Infin marry.Base],
    [ē ḍə bū-wí ɛrə],
    [Art man money-owner even],
    A: ‘Well, when she got a husband and married (him), in fact a rich man.’
    [< /dũ bũ/; ‘owner’ compounds (§5.1.9); ‘even’ (§19.1.6)]

(05:26) áywà, kō sərə
    well, Infin proceed.to.Base
    [gō— ē jī], [Ø bī-fjō],
    [Infin— (nasal) give.birth.Base [Art child-Pl]],
    A: ‘Well, (she) proceeded to bear children.’
    /kō sərə (§15.3.5.7.1)]

(05:29) [ē blæʔā jī] ə-mān—, [ē bī-fjō]
    [Art pond Indef] be.Loc, [Art child-Pl]
    á yīʔi = [[[Ø [fēʔi-łem]-təʔb] n=] = ān,
    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?’
    [< /bī-fjō ā/: later “clothes” is corrected to “sorghum grain” (see below);
    purposive -təʔb nī(“)) (§17.6.2.5), literally ‘to the garment-wash place’, literal
(spatial) and abstract (purposive) senses overlap here; speaker later suggested
emendation of singular fēʔē to plural fā-rē ]

(05:32) [ē bī-fjō] wēʔè
    [Art child-Pl] grow.up.Pfv
    [gō yīʔi = [[[Ø [fēʔi-łem]-təʔb] nī]]],
    [Infin go.Base [[[Art [garment-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc]],
    A: ‘The children went up. They went to wash clothes.’

(05:34) kō r̥-pi nə—, [ē dīʔē], ē fīn-əʔè, [Infin go.Base-sec.Base— [Art karité], (nasal) germinate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
    [[ē yō-dē] ūnʔu] nīn, [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]

(05:40) ō klè, [ē sùʔn] jān—
    Infin be.done.Base, [Art karité.tree] much.branched
    mīn-ʃīʔē like.this
    A: ‘(It) had become a karité tree, much branched (=spreading), like this
(demonstrating).’
    /jān— is an expressive adverbial (§8.5.8); mīn-ʃīʔē ‘like this/that’ (§8.5.5.1)]
donc [depuis ʒĕ ɡlô]  
so [since ʒAnSg exit.Pfv]

[ā = 0 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 = [[0 ūⁿûⁿ] nîⁿ] jàⁿ→
Infin remain.Base [[Art head] Loc] much.branched
[mlâⁿ-fîîé nîⁿ],
[like.this Loc],
A: ‘And (it) remained on (her) head, much branched, like this.’

ēⁿ ṇ = à-lêⁿ = [[0 bî-fîô] bà?âⁿ],
3AnSg Infin come.Stop.Base [[Art child-Pl] chez],
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?”’
[< /3ⁿ kō (b)à-lêⁿ ë bî-/; < /dè bû à klè ëʔé/; ‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1); final tē in quoted interrogative (§13.2.2.2)]

dè ë!, [dè bû = à klè = [Ø ëʔé] tē]
Quot oh!, [Quot 3Pl Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art what?] Q]
A: ‘The children said, “we have come in order to wash the sorghum (grain).”’
[second dè functions as complementizer for purposive phrase]

ē! d = ð màⁿ sūʔô [Ø ji] [ʒⁿ bó]
oh! Quot 3Pl IpfvNeg give.Base [Art something] [Dat LogoSg]
wô kóⁿ tē
[Infin chew.Base] Q
dè = [Ø làʔà] wô [bó nîⁿ],
Quot [Art hunger] be [LogoSg 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 tē in quoted interrogative; ‘be hungry’ (§11.1.1.6); kôⁿ
‘chew, munch’ is the usual ‘eat’ verb for peanuts and dry grain]
(05:57)  
**dè**, [jí bó wǒ, [Ø dàrì?íną jì]]  
Quot [if LogoSg sing.Base [Art song Indef]]

d = dì gò sùʔä [Ø jì] [3ⁿ bó],  
Quot 3Pl Hort give.Base [Art something] [Dat LogoSg],
donec wǒ = nǐⁿ,
so sing.Base 3InanObj.

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

(Children:) “So, sing it!”

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

(06:02)  

jání jání nà = ní jìgì  
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload

jání jání nà = ní jìgì  
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload

sìⁿsìⁿ dá tò nà = ní jìgì  
S mouth remainder come.Imprt 1Sg unload

sìⁿsìⁿ dá tò lì tó  
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.’

(06:07)  

jání jání nà = ní jìgì  
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload

jání jání nà = ní jìgì  
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload

sìⁿsìⁿ dá tò lì tó  
S mouth remainder Presentative stay

sìⁿsìⁿ dá tò lì 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.’

(06:12)  

kà-sàrè = [Ø dìʔè] fiéⁿ  
whereas [Art karitè] germinate.Pfv

[fìⁿ úⁿʔûⁿ nì]  
[[3AnSg head] Loc]

5ʰh5ⁿ  
uh-huh!

é!  
oh!

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

[kà-sàrè (§15.3.5.7.2)]
[3AnSg InfIn chew.Base]
A: ‘So, the children gave (her) some sorghum for her to munch on.’

(06:15) [è bì-siô fārāⁿ] á gbē [Ø dārîⁿáⁿ = ãⁿ],
[Art child.Pl too] PfvNeg pick.up.Base [Art song] Q,
A: ‘Did not the children too pick up (=memorize) the song?’
[< /dārîⁿáⁿ = ã/]

(06:20) kō yīfî = [[Ø nîⁿ] bâ?à],
Infin go.Base [[Art mother] chez],
kō rà—, ï sùîⁿáⁿ [à rōô],
Infin go.Base—, (nasal) do.cooking.Base [with 3Inanî],
A: ‘(They) then went to their mother’s place, to do cooking with it (=song).’

(06:23) *donc* ò dëⁿ
so 3Pl arrive.Pfv
A: ‘So, they arrived (singing:).’

(06:24) ñánî ñánî nà = ñ jîgî
N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
ñánî bûîⁿbûî nà = ñ jîgî
N B come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsfô ñánî nà = ñ jîgî
S N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
siⁿsfô dá tò lî 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.’

(06:31) él, dë bùî glô [ä [bë dārîⁿáⁿ]] [Ø sè] tê oh!, Quot 3Pl exit.Pfv [with [Dem.Def song]] [Art where?] Q
A: ‘(Mother:) “Oh! Where did you-Pl bring that song from?” ’

(06:33) dë él, dë = [Ø yô ji̞] nà í-yùò = [[Ø blâ?à] nîⁿ]
Quot oh!, Quot [Art woman Indef] see.Pfv 1Pl [[Art pond] Loc]
[ŋô wô = nîⁿ],
[Infin sing.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘(Children:) “Oh!, a woman saw us at the pond and she sang it.” ’
[< /nîⁿ kō/]
(06:37)  dè  i-yùò  sùʔ5  [Ø  gblèⁿʔèⁿ]  [bó  wò  k5ⁿ],
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)  d=  ò  bà  yĩʔi=  [Ø  c5ⁿ],
Quot  3Pl  if  go.Base  [Art  tomorrow],
ò  bà  rà-piⁿ  =òⁿ,
3Pl  if  go.Base-see.Base  3AnSgObj,
ò  gò  súʔ5  =  =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).’
[< /súʔu  =ò/]

(06:43)  wáłà→
right!
ò=  Ø  k5ⁿ  [dè  [bùò  mà-máⁿ]  =âⁿ]  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  yĩʔi,  kò  yĩʔi
3Pl  Infin  go.Base,  Infin  go.Base
[gò  rà—  yĩʔi—  dàⁿ],
[Infin  go.Base—  go.Base—  arrive.Base],
A:  ‘They  went.  They  went  and  (went  and)  arrived.’

(06:50)  kò  táⁿ-jìⁿ  =ò  [bè  dí-cùʔ5?ùⁿ],
Infin  do.again.Base-see.Base  3AnSgObj  [Dem.Def  next.morning],
[è  bì-jìô]  bà—,
bà  [gà=  à-klè]  [ŋⁿ  gò  táⁿ-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.’
/táⁿ- ‘do  again’  (§15.1.3.3)]

(06:55)  [kà=  à-wô]  [ò  gò  sùʔ5  [Ø  gblèⁿʔèⁿ]]
[Infin  come.Base-sing.Base]  [3Pl  Infin  give.Base  [Art  sorghum]]
[ŋⁿ  wò  k5ⁿ],
[3AnSg  Infin  munch.Base],
A:  ‘(She)  came  and  sang  and  (they)  gave  (her)  sorghum,  and  she  munched  (it).’
[ininitival  phrase  sequences  with  subject  switches]
Quot ah! Quot, [1Pl mother] say.Pfv [2Sg go.Base], móⁿ gbè?è, dè kò yì?í [bò bà?à], 2Sg go.Hort, Quot Hort go.Ipfv [LogoSg chez], A: ‘(They) said, “our mother said for you-Sg to go, for you-Sg to (please) go to her place.”’

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

[ë dã] go = [Ø bù-wí], [ë bú]—
[Art man] be [Art money-owner], [Art money]—
[ë bú] klè→, [ë náⁿ-bí tū-tūʔù] lò,
[Art money] do.Pfv, [Art person big] Emph, A: ‘The husband was a rich man. The money— The money made (him) a powerful person.’

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

bó kpè?è kásóbé
3AnSg succeed.Pfv a.lot
mā-ní [ë jìʔè kè]
if.you.see [Art God matter]
māⁿ-níⁿ [ë jìʔè kè],
if.you.see [Art God matter], A: ‘He was very well off.’
B: ‘You see? A matter of God.’
A: ‘You see? A matter of God.’

[mā-níⁿ (§19.5.2)]

donc ò yìʔè bè-yá-ró,
so 3Pl go.Pfv thus,
ò yìʔè [Ø rā-dàⁿ],
3Pl go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base],
A: ‘So, they went like that. They (went and) arrived.’

[rā-dàⁿ without infinitival kō (§15.2.3.3.4)]

áywà, ɔⁿ wō wō [Ø dàⁿʔìʔìⁿ],
well, 3AnSg Infin sing.Base [Art song],
kō sù?— sō [Ø gbl̩̩ʔèⁿ] [wò kàⁿ],
[Infin give.Base receive.Base [Art sorghum]] [Infin munch.Base],
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]
A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take what remains in the rim of the basket! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

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.’

A: ‘Well, they gave some (sorghum) to her and she munched (on it). (They) said, “Come, let’s go!”’

A: ‘They followed her, and went to the mother’s place.’

A: ‘They (went and) arrived. The mother (of the children) said (=asked), “who exactly are you-Sg?”’
A: ‘(Mother:) “But the way your whole head (is)!”’
B: ‘Nothing but tree (branches)!’

\[\text{jë?è (dialectally jî?è) ‘only’}\]

A: ‘(Grandmother:) “ah!” she said, “I was—, the person who, I bore children, three (of them).’

[first few words beginning bò to?ó are pronounced in a strange voice suggesting emotion; ‘three children’ spoken more smoothly is [è bî-ʃîō] [yùò să”n], where yùō ‘person’ functions as a human numeral classifier]
(07:59) á, [bó fáră'] = á', yìʔè-pă' =
   ah! [LogoSg too] Pfv Neg take.down.Base be.able.Base
   [Ø dìʔè-cíʔè] [bó kò fò [à rò]],
   [Art karité-basket] [LogoSg Infin pass.Base with 3Inan],
   A: '(Grandmother:) “Ah, I moreover couldn’t take down the basket of karité. I went along with it (on my head).”’

(08:02) à g-à é mà' [[bó ú'ú' ní]],
   3Inan Infin-Ipfv walk.Ipfv there.Def [[LogoSg head] Loc],
   bó nà' klè = nì mlè' = ã 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) è mà' bó/]

(08:06) á, [s̀ã-à ò tè] wiè = mì [à nì]
   oh!, [heart-2SgPoss Foc.Inan] put.Pfv 2SgObj [3Inan Loc],
   donc, bê yìʔè rè,
   so, Dem.Def young.woman say.Pfv,
   áywà, [[nò' ní'] nóʔò] wò kà',
   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' ní' tòʔò'/]

(08:12) mò' nà wè [nò' ŋòrà'] cò!,
   2Sg Past abandon.Base [1Sg Rel] exactly!,
   [nò' nòʔò'] ò kà'
   [1Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg
   wàlì →, mà'- lié
   right!, you see?
   A: '(Mother:) “Precisely me whom you-Sg had abandoned, this is me [focus]!”’
   B: ‘Right! You see?’
   [/<mò' rà'; pronoun-headed relative, cf. @ 08:47 below; cò! (§8.5.3.2.2); < /nò' jòrà' cò'/; < /nò' tòʔò'/]

(08:15) jì bè = yà, à nà gò-sò
   if Dem.Def it.is, 3Inan Fut be.right.Base
   ã nà' gò-sò
   3Inan Fut be.right.Base
donc, ã' gò gbè [Ø kòʔà-ka' n'],
   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); -ka' (§5.1.6.8)]
Because the roots, they were made like that. He (= blacksmith) didn’t cut them out like that. ‘The blacksmith looked at the tree (on her head), and carved it off from her head.’

[\textit{tê-sô} dialectal for \textit{tô-sô}; most likely there is a covert subject switch here since the mother presumably bathed the grandmother]

‘Then (he) took hold of her and had her with water.’

[‘sit’ is arguably transitive ‘seat, cause to sit’ here, alternatively there is a subject switch in the infinitival VP]

‘Because the roots, they were made like that. He (= blacksmith) didn’t cut them out like that.’

[nô-re\textsuperscript{\pi} plural of nê\textsuperscript{\pi}re\textsuperscript{\pi} ‘root’; < /nô-re\textsuperscript{\pi} bùò; purposive -tô? nî (§17.6.2.5)]
(08:39) donc [dè-dè nî⁵], áywà, âⁿ wò bà [gà = à—
so [now Loc], well, 3AnSg Infīn come.Pfv [Infīn come.Base—
]j wò = ò [gà = [Ø jùⁿ]]
(nasal) bathe.Base 3AnSgObj [with [Art water]]
[gô sùʔɔ [Ø càrû] âⁿ] [wò ò̃],[
Infīn give.Base [Art tô] Dat.3AnSg] [Infīn eat.Base],
A: ‘Sô 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-wô = ò ; tô (< Bambara-Jula) is local French for
pudding-like (dark) millet or (white) rice cakes (main course for meals); 3AnSg dative
âⁿ (§4.3.2.3); ‘X give Z to Y [(for Y) to eat’ construction (§17.6.2)]

(08:44) é! [nóⁿ nîⁿ], [môⁿ tôʔô] wò kâⁿ tê]
ah! [1Sg mother], [2Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg Q]
dè âⁿ dè [bô = ò],
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 fârâⁿ] wò kâⁿ,
well [1Sg Foc too] be Dem.AnSg
môⁿ nà wê [nôⁿ jârôⁿ],
2Sg Past abandon.Base [1Sg Rel],
A: ‘(Mother:) “Well, this is me [focus] likewise! Me who(m) you abandoned.”
[< /nôⁿ tôʔô/ ; fârâⁿ (§19.1.5), cf. @ 08:54 below; < /môⁿ râ/ (cf. @ 08:12
above)]

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

(08:54) [ë jìʔë fârâⁿ] wò l— tàbârikâlà
[Art God too] Infīn (heistation) praise.God!
kô tàbâ-jùʔɔ nô
Infīn 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!’; < /tâⁿ-jùʔɔ/]
(08:56)  [nóⁿ fáráⁿ] wô à-bú— [ē→ târēⁿ-nôⁿ],
[1Sg too] Infin come.Base-get.Base— [Art sit.Pfv-Agent],
Áywâ, [bi té] =yâ
well, [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] it.is
[Ø bí-jíbô] [wô râ-dô kë-à],
[Art child.PI] [Infin 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 té dialectal for bè té (§4.4.2.1); râ- ‘go’ in compounds (§15.2.3.3.4); 2Sg possessor suffix -à (§4.3.1.2)]

(09:01)  ŋ jë nô = [ô jî [ŋ jô bà]],
comme [ŋ bà [gâ = à-pë^n = më^n nô]],
as [1Sg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base 2SgObj Emph]],
A: ‘(Mother:) “I told them to have you come. Like, I have come to see you.”’

[jî variant of já ‘leave, let’; < /ŋ dë ő/; < /ŋ kô bà/; < /kô à-nî mî^n lô/; proclitic pronouns 1Sg ŋ and 2Sg ŋ (§4.3.1.6)]

(09:03)  Áywâ, [nôⁿ nô?= ] ô kâⁿ [â nî],
well, [1Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg [3Inan Loc],
[ê úⁿûⁿ] á [gbè-yî?é]-pëⁿ—,
[Art head] PfvNeg [be.lifted.Base]-be.able.Base—,
ŋ jô =yô,
(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)  [[ê sârê] bâ?â]
[Art shame(n)] Dat]
[[ê sârû] bâ?â], donc, [ê úⁿûⁿ] kô kòîs-sêⁿ bê-yâ-rô,
[[Art shame(n)] Dat], so, [Art head] Infin be.held.down.Base thus,
kô kòîs-sêⁿ bê-yâ-rô,
Infin 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.’

[slô ‘shame (n)’ with Ji variant sârê ; bâ?â indicating source: ‘out of, due to’ (§8.1.1); cf. kòîs-tê ‘hold (head) down’]
(09:15) māⁿ-ɲiⁿⁿ, [ē ᱠbléⁿʔeⁿ].
you.see?, [Art sorghum],
[Art sorghum if enter.Base] [[3Inan Infin do.Base] situation] Loc],
A: ‘You see? Sorghum, when sorghum ripens, the way it does.’
[some cultivars of sorghum have decumbent grain heads when ripe]

(09:20) ɲiⁿⁿ-niⁿⁿ,
Prsnv,
[[ē yō āⁿ], dō]
[[Art woman Dem.AnSg], Poss.Inan]
[Ø tàyámashìⁿ ná =] = à,
[Art sign(n) Foc] it.is,
A: ‘There it is! That woman’s (behavior) is the sign (of shame).’

(09:22) [3ⁿ ūⁿʔdⁿ] màⁿ [gbli-à-yif³]-à-plūⁿ = ?
[3AnSg head] LpfvNeg [be.lifted.Lpfv]-Lpfv-be.able.Lpfv Neg
[3ⁿ ūⁿʔdⁿ] màⁿ [gbli-à-yif³]-à-plūⁿ = ?
[3AnSg head] LpfvNeg [be.lifted.Lpfv]-Lpfv-be.able.Lpfv Neg
A: ‘There was no way her head could be lifted.’
B: ‘There was no way her head could be lifted.’
[Lpfv -plūⁿ is a stronger denial of ability than simple -pɔⁿ (§15.1.7.1)]

(09:24) donc—
so—
[ē sɔ̀rɛ] sūʔo = ô
[Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj
[ē sɔ̀rɛ] sūʔo = ô
[Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj
A: ‘So—’
B: ‘She was ashamed.’
A: ‘She was ashamed.’

(09:26) mhm! k̄sɔ̀b̄e
mhm! a.lot
[[ē sɔ̀rɛ] sūʔo = ô]
[[Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj]
[3ⁿ màⁿ nyù-à-plūⁿ = ?]
[3AnSg LpfvNeg look.at.Lpfv-Lpfv-be.able.Lpfv Neg]
A: ‘Uh-huh. A lot.’
B: ‘She was ashamed. There was no way she could look.’
(09:29) **donc, ŋ́ bū ŋ́ jār,h, so, 1Sg get.Pfv Rel,**

[[è ná-di-š] dō gbà-kà] nìn,
[[Art old.person.Pl Poss.Inan narrate.Pfv-manner] Loc,

[bì tó?ô] wò yá,
[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) ŋ́ bū ŋ́ = nìn —

1Sg get.Pfv 3InanObj—

[ŋ́ bū ŋ́ jār,h] [tō?ô jār,h]

1Sg get.Pfv Rel,

[ŋ́ tī ŋ́ = nìn]

1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj—

mā, 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) [bì tó?] = à,

[è ná-h-bì] kàn-kàw wò—

[Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Art person] ought Hort—

kö k̀nrshí
cró analyse.Base

kö jìn = [Ø kè],
cró look.at.Base [Art matter],

kö bù = [Ø lô?ô] [à nìn],
cró 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.’

[kàn-kàn (§17.4.3.3); lò?ô here means ‘hidden significance, secret’ (elsewhere ‘esoteric knowledge, magical powers’)]

(09:43) mān nè [má = àn—]

Proh say.Base [2Sg Ipfv—]

kö— wórómá, [mó n blé jì-[bì-fiò]],

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; wórómá (< Jula) ‘select’ or ‘treat unequally’; speaker restarts after using the Jula word]

(09:48) …

[unintelligible due to speaker overlap]

[mó n tó [n nèh?è]] jì = ò

[2Sg Foc [Sg one]] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj

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

[< /n dèh?è; < /jìe = wô/]

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(09:51) sú? = [ò bié?], mó" catch.Base [Pl all], 2Sg
[[yúó järö?] bě sútárā mó"] [má" = á" k3" =ʔ]
[[person Rel] Fut bury.Pfv 2Sg] [2Sg PfvNeg know.Base Neg]
mó má jì =ò
2Sg PfvNeg know.lpfv 3AnSgObj
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.’
[sútárā < Jula sútúrá; < /mó" á k3" =ʔ; two different ‘know’ verbs with different aspectual requirements, §11.2.5.1]

(09:55) òhöš", donc, Ø mà sú? = [ò bié],
uh-huh, so, 2Sg if catch.Base [Pl all],
cójó-cójó, áywa, [è järö?] mà wō sútárá-kâʔà,
anyway, well, [Art Rel] if be bury-Ppl.An,
A: ‘Uh-huh. So, if you keep all of them, anyway, well, if (there is) one who is the (=your) burier,…’
[-kâʔà animate singular participle (§4.5.4, §4.2.3.1)]

(09:59) Ø nà" nì" bó,
2Sg Fut see.Base 3AnSg,
mà" nè mà = á" nú" [3" klê-kê],
Proh say.Base 2Sg lpfv look.at.lpfv [3AnSg do.Pfv-matter(n)],
A: ‘…you-Sg will see (=recognize) him/her. Don’t say (=think) that you will look at (=understand) his/her behavior.’
/ < /nì" bó/; / < /mà" dè mó" à lú/ with lú (Bi dialect) for nú (other dialects)]

(10:02) donc nó" būō järö", [[è dè-fè] nì"],
so 1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [[Art say.Pfv-talk] Loc],
ò gō là" = [Ø dígà-rà]
1Pl Infin advise.Base [PlRefl Recip]
wálà→
right!
A: ‘So, what I got in (=out of) the words, we advise each other (about it).’
B: ‘Right!’
/ < /kō là" ò dígà-rà/
(10:06) parce que Ù mà jù?5-dë = [Ø ɗàràʔá],
because 2Sg if hear.Base-say.Base [Art tale],
[ë [ɗgL-rj]-là"-ni给大家] à-màn [à ɕì]
[ɓè tóʔó] = 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 ɗàʔ 'advise']

(10:10) ɗ gô bà [à rò], mà màà
2Sg Infin come.Base [with 3Inan], (false start)
à bã = à-k5 [tì?5 jàr3'],
3Inan if come-Base-finish.Base [place Rel],
ò kô làn = [Ø ɗgL-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.’

(10:12) ɗ jàr3' mà té-jù'5 bè,
2Sg Rel if listen.Base Dem.Def,
jì Ù mà dë ɗ klè [Ø nà'-bì yà] bè-yà-ró,
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,’
</jàr3' bà/: ‘you who’ (§14.1.9)]

(10:16) [ɗ gô ɕì = ɕì]
[2Sg Infin see.Base 3InanObj]
[ɗ jà = ɕì mà]
[2Sg leave.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def]
A: ‘(And you say that) you have seen it, may you leave it there.’

(10:18) ɗ bûò jàr3', [bì tóʔó] gô yá,
1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
wàtÈrà á-ɕì-cé
O thanks
A: ‘What I got, that is it.’
B: ‘Quattara (A’s name), thanks.’
[tale ending; á ɕì cÉ from Jula]
Text 2017-08  Hare and hyena (tale)

duration 11:14

(A) Ouattara Drisa (Biton quartier), narrator
(B) Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), respondent

(00:02) ŋ́ tīē = nīⁿ, ē nāⁿ-bèʔē,  
1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj, Art Bouki,  
jàrśⁿ à lī dè [Ø sīglò],  
Rel Ipfv be.called.Ipfv Quot [Art hyena,  
[è sīglò]  
[Art hyena]  
bó kà [Ø blí-kē]  
3AnSg with [Art hare]  
A: ‘I put it (=tale). Bouki, what is called hyena.’  
B: ‘Hyena.’  
A: ‘It and hare.’  

/nāⁿ-bèʔē (Bouki in local French) is a personal name for the male hyena in tales emphasizing hyena’s greed and gluttony, while sīglò (Ji dialect sūglò) ‘hyena’ is the general term for the species; this hyena and this hare were apparently female but their mates appear later; < /bó kà è blí-kē/]

(00:11) ò gō→, kā = à-māⁿ, f-á-là,  
3Pl Infin, Infin be.Loc, you.know.it,  
[ē wìè-[fà-rè]] nî-māⁿ [ō bàʔà],  
[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-māⁿ ; í á lā is a Jula phrase; ‘X not have Y’ expressed as ‘Y be absent [chez X]’ (§11.5.1.2); < /fà-rè/]

(00:18) áywà, [ò bîé] à yîé [Ø wàrè] = rē→,  
well, [3Pl all] Ipfv wear.loincloth.Ipfv [Art leaf.loincloth] Emph,  
[è sūglò] kà [Ø blí-kē] = ē  
oh!, [Art hyena] with [Art hare] Q  
A: ‘Well, they both wore women’s loincloths (made of leaves).’  
B: ‘Oh! Hyena and hare?’  

/yîé/yîé/yîé ‘put on (loincloth)’; ē (w)àrè ‘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.’

[ə̀rɛ́ variant of wə̀rɛ́; the male equivalent at the time was a loincloth (tùfù) made of cotton cloth]

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

[postnominal inanimate topic bɛ̀; 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 nǐⁿ ê blà?ā nǐⁿ/; progressive (§10.2.4)]

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

[pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); lùⁿ dialectal for nú]
À→, é!, [ē kō ji], ah! oh! [Art day Indef],

[ē ḅi-ḳē] ḳā = à-glù, kō gbë [Ø klòʔō],
[Art hare] Infin come.Base-exit(v).Base, Infin take.Base [Art road],
k-ā ē-à-yìʔ, k-ā ē-à-yìʔ, Infin-lpfv walk.lpvf-lpfv-go.lpvf, Infin-lpfv walk.lpvf-lpfv-go.lpvf,

A: ‘Ah, one day, hare came out and took the road. She was walking along, and walking along.’

[< /kō (b)à-glù/ with ‘come’, since it denotes a single event, compare imperfective infinitival k-ā glù ; ē- dialectal for yē-; repeated imperfective infinitival k-ā ē-à-yìʔ to emphasize duration (§15.2.2)]

(00:46) 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[[Art baobab] proximity] Loc];
[ē dē] tīʔ, [ē dē] k-ā bò,
[Art sun] be.hot.Pfv, [Art sun] Infin-lpfv burn.lpvf,

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]

(00:49) 3AnSg enter.Pfv [[[Art baobab] proximity] Loc], oh!
dē = [Ø sòròʔō = ā bè]
Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg Top.Inan]
da = [ā lō] à dá = nē,?
Quot [3Inan shade] lpfv be.pleasant.lpvf Emph,

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

[< /dē à lō à dá = dēʔ/; à in à lō converted from direct-discourse 2Sg
(§17.1.4)]

(00:53) é!, [ē sòròʔō] dē ḥ mā dē
oh! [Art baobab] say.Pfv 2Sg if say.Base

[ŋ̣u lō] = 3̣u dá],
[[1Sg shade] lpfv be.pleasant.lpvf],
ŋ̣u ṇiʔṇu [ŋ̣u biʔṇu] bè-yâ = ā,
2Sg taste(v).Pfv [1Sg leaf] thus Q,

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

/ŋ̣iʔ/ dialectal for perfective p̣iʔṇ (base p̣aʔṇ); ‘leaf’ variably à-biʔṇ or just biʔṇ/ṇ]
(00:59) sɔ̃-bá = á sùʔū bè [ɔ̃ bó] = ō,
who? Ipfv give.Ipfv Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Who will give that to me?” ’
[< sɔ̃-bó with sɔ̃ ‘who?’ (§13.2.3.1) and bó (§19.1.2.1) as fused topic marker; logophoric dative]

(01:00) [ē bi"ʔéo] gō dì-só
[Art leaf] Infin fall.Base
[ɔ̃ gō gbē bè [kō pā̃-ŋd̪̪n]],
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 (§15.1.11)]

(01:02) ë! dē [ē sàrò? = ā] bi"ʔéo
oh! Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg] leaf
= àn dàn = nēʔ,
Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph
A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! leaves of this baobab sure are delicious!” ’
[< /bi"ʔéo (y)á/; baobab-leaf sauce is a staple in much of Burkina and Mali]

(01:04) áywà, dè ɔ̃ mā rē [bó bi"ʔéo] = ān dàn,
well, Quot 3AnSg if say.Base [LogoSg leaf] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
è! d = ɔ̃ pièn-ŋd̪̪n [bó bió bè] tē
oh! Quot 3AnSg taste.Pfv [LogoSg fruits Top.Inan] Q
/bó bió] 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 addresser (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! dē sɔ̃-wí nà sùʔs bè [ɔ̃ [i-yùò sàrè]],
oh! Quot who? Fut give Dem.Def [Dat [1Pl peer],
[è bió] wò glū [wō dì-só] [ɔ̃ gō 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.’
[< ɔ̃ i-yùò ; sequence of infinitival clauses kō glū, kō dì-só, kō gbē with subject switch (§15.2)]

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(01:15) े! думал [ँ सरोँ आ] बि़ो] ऑ दाँ = नेइ?
oh! Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg fruit] lpfv be.pleasant.lpfv Emph
[ berhasil बि़ो] ऑ दाँ]
[3Inan fruit] lpfv be.pleasant.lpfv
A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, this baobab’s fruits are really delicious!” ’
B: ‘ “The fruits are delicious!” ’

(01:18) ऑ माध डे [नोँ बि़ो] ऑ दाँ,
2Sg if say.Base [1Sg fruit] lpfv be.pleasant.lpfv,
[नोँ जी-लूँ] मोँ पी०-नोँ बे = ऑ
[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) े! बो ना ० के [ाँ बे]
oh! LogoSg Fut do.Base [how? Top.Inan]
[wो बु बे] ऑ, [Infin get.Base Dem.Def] Q,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! What will (=can/must) I do, in order to get that?” ’
[ाँ how?’ (§13.2.3.5.1)]

(01:23) े के-तौँ डे = रे] निमाण [बो बाँ]
[Art hand however even] not.be [LogoSg Dat],
वालां→, [े सरोँ-जी-लूँ] जी वो लं-अलु,
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.’
[＜/ रा निमाण बो/; = रा (§19.1.6)]

(01:27) न् गो गबे बे [गा सुआ०]
3AnSgo Infin take.Base Dem.Def [Infin-lpfv chew.lightly.lpfv],
dे = [[ऑ सरोँ आ] जी-लूँ] ऑ दाँ = नेइ?
Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] [rear-skin]] lpfv be.pleasant.lpfv Emph,
A: ‘She then picked that up and was chewing on it. (She) said, “the bark of this
baobab sure is delicious!” ’
[s००/सुआ० and variants ‘chew lightly (peanuts, soft meat)’, cf. kl००/kl००/kl०
‘chew (kola), munch on (peanuts, grains)’]

(01:32) अयूवा, े ऑ माजी [नोँ जी-लूँ] ऑ दाँ,
well, Quot 2Sg if see.Base [1Sg rear-bark] lpfv be.pleasant.lpfv,
[जी जी नोँ फिओ] बे ऑ, 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?” ’
[＜/नोँ ल०-बि़ो; ल० ‘interior, guts’]
(01:36) 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!”'

(01:38) é! dé sɔⁿ-mó nàⁿ sūʔ̃ bè [3ⁿ bò] = ò→, oh! Quot who? Fut give.Base Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q, nóⁿ nàⁿ klè [āⁿ 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?”’

(01:43) dé [jí bè máⁿ glò] [bó nàⁿ wūʔ̃ = nīⁿ], Quot [if Dem.Def IpfvNeg it.is] [LogoSg Fut open.Base 3InanObj], δⁿ kō wūʔ̃—
3AnSg Infin open.Base—
[ē sāròʔò] kō wūʔ̃ = nī
[Art baobab] Infin open.Base 3InanObj
wūʔ̃ [3ⁿ mēʔ̃âⁿ]
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 wūʔ̃ = Ji wūʔ̃ ‘open’ (base); reflexive object (§18.1.2)]

Infin see.Base [Art—
ē! kō wē [3ⁿ ūⁿʔ̃ûⁿ] = āⁿ
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?’

(01:53) kō nīⁿ [Ø fā-rē], [ē fiēřîbâ], Infin see.Base [Art wrap(n)-Pl], [Art wardrobe],
[ē fā-rē kō-kā-rō],
[Art wrap(n)-Pl Rdп-good-Pl],
A: ‘She saw wraps (clothing). A whole wardrobe of clothing. Good wraps.’
[singular fiēřîbâ ‘woman’s wrap (rectangular cloth wrapped around body)’; fiēřîbâ < Jula; optionally iterated adjective (§4.5.3.2.1)]
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(01:58) [è yà-ró] dò,  [è dà-ró] dò,  
 [Art woman-Pl] Poss.Inan,  [Art man-Pl] Poss.Inan,  
3AnSg wò yì-fì-fì [wò sạ̀n-głò].

A: ‘Women’s. Men’s. She got up and gathered (them) up.’

[< yà-ró, dà-ró dropping tones before H-toned dò ; dò default inanimate possesum (§6.2.4.1)]

(02:02) ọ̀  [sèn-głò]-kò  [dáʔá jàrśò],
3AnSg [gather.Pfv]-finish.Base [time Rel],
[è sèrò?ò] ọ̀ klá [ọ̀ ɔ̀ ɔ̀ ɔ̀ ɔ̀]
Art baobab Infin return.Base [Infin shut.Base]
ouì, /ọ̀ wèʔè-tọ̀ = nì
yes, [3AnSg shut.Pfv 3InanObj]
A: ‘When she (=hare) had finished picking (them) out, the baobab closed up again.’
B: ‘It (=baobab) closed it.’

[temporal adverbial relative (§15.3.5.1); /-kò dáʔá/; ɔ̀ ɔ̀ ɔ̀ ɔ̀ Bi dialect for wàʔá-tọ̀]

(02:07) ọ̀  wò yìʔ = [à rò],
3AnSg Infin go.Base [with 3Inan],
ọ̀ gò yìʔ = [à rò],
3AnSg Infin go.Base [with 3Inan],
ọ̀ yìʔè [Ø rà-dạ̀n],
3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base],
ọ̀ gò →, [è tên] klè,
3AnSg Infin, [Art daybreak] day.break.Pfv,

A: ‘She took them (=wraps) along. Having taken them along, she went and arrived, and she then—. Day broke.’

[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2); à rò Bi dialect for kà lò ‘with it/ them (inanimate); ’day broke’ subject-verb collocation (§11.1.4.1)]

(02:15) è! [è sìgò-yò]
oh! [Art hyena-woman]
mọ́ nè fò = [Ø ánànìʔàn] ñ [kò-kò sù→],
2Sg IpfvPast pass.Ipfv [[Art front] Loc [Rdp-day all]],
A: ‘Oh, hyena woman, you were going in front every day.’

[< /mọ́ dè/; fò is base=Ipfv; kò-kò sù→ ‘every day, always’ (§6.6.1.2)]

(02:19) mọ́ mạ̀ ɲbàʔà, [è tên] klè  ọ̀ kò—,
2Sg IpfvNeg be.big.Ipfv, [Art daybreak] day.break.Pfv 3AnSg Infin—,
[ọ̀ gò sùʔ = [ọ̀ ọ̀ ọ̀ ọ̀ yò]] [gò bọ̀],
[3AnSg Infin give.Base [Dat 3AnSg woman]] [Infin tie.Base],
A: ‘You (=hare woman) aren’t big. Day broke and then he (=hare man) gave (a wrap) to his wife, to tie on (=wear).’
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[< /má⁵⁵ gbəʔa:/; infinitival VP after ‘give’ clause (§17.6.2)]

(02:22) [è yó] bùs [wò glú], [Art woman] tie.Pfv [Infin exit(v).Base], [ò gà = à-[lě-kà”ʔà”] [ò dígà-rà]
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-sàrɔ = [Ø wàrè té] t á yíé =é,
[Art hare]-woman] Infin come.Base-tie.Base [Art wrap(n)] ṭhɔ⁵⁵
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-sàrɔ (§15.3.5.7.2); past perfect (§10.3.1.2)]

(02:32) [è sígłò-yò] má⁵⁵ [kà = [Ø fèʔè]] =é
[Art hyena-woman] LpfvNeg [with [Art wrap(n)]] Q
[ë sígłò-yò] tò⁵⁵ bìé yè, ʧifí,
[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); < /tò⁵⁵ bìé/; collocation ‘X’s whole spirit leap’ = ‘X be shocked’; ʧifí expresses amazement]

(02:36) [è cò] glò [bô nì”]
[Art harm] exit(v).Pfv [3AnSg Loc]
[è bɔrɔ] sɔrɔ⁵⁴
[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-gbè?é,
    Quot, [Art [hare]-woman] pass.Base-go.Hort,
    [³n máⁿ fó-gbè?é] [bó wò lùⁿ = āⁿ],
    [3AnSg LpfvNeg 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 gbè?é (§10.4.2.1.1)]

(02:42) [è blí-kè] dè áy!,
    [Art hare] say.Pfv oh!,
    [kò-kò sú→] máⁿ = = = = fó m₃→,
    [Rdp-day all] 2Sg Lpfv pass.Ipfv concerning,
    kúⁿyúⁿ móⁿ ñ = = = = [nóⁿ fó] të,
    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 m₃→, §19.1.4; < /móⁿ à/; < /móⁿ kò (b)à-dè/; contrastive setting
topic (§19.1.1)]

(02:46) ní?nì! nóⁿ máⁿ ìfè-pìⁿ = ?,
    unh-unh! 1Sg LpfvNeg pass.Pfv-be.able.Base Neg,
    àyì, [móⁿ tóʔ = ] wëʔè, [[móⁿ tóʔ = ] à fó]
    no!, [2Sg Foc] grow.up.Pfv, [[2Sg Foc] Lpfv 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!”’
    [p³ⁿ ‘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 àyì [bè ni-máⁿ [ = àⁿ niⁿ]]
    Quot no! [Dem.Def not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]]
    nè [bó máⁿ ìfè-pìⁿ = ?],
    Quot [LogoSg LpfvNeg pass.Pfv-be.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) àywà, [[è [blí-kè]-yò] [kè-tèʔè]-kè máⁿ glò]
    well, [[Art [hare]-woman] [hand]-matter LpfvNeg it.is]
    [è [blí-kè]-yò] wò fó,
    [Art [hare]-woman] Infin pass.Base,
    A: ‘Well, hare woman had no choice. Hare woman went ahead.’
3 AnSg Inflected verb [turn.head.and.look.Prog Prog],
A: ‘She (=hare woman) kept turning her head to look back (at hyena woman).’
dialectal, cf. këⁿ⁻nɔ́ 'turn head and look (once); progressive with ‘remain’
§[10.2.4.1])

Infin turn.head.and.look.Base [Infin turn.head.and.look.Base]
[ʊ̃ kò yìʔí [gõ rà-dà'] = [[Ø blàʔä nì'ño]],
A: ‘She turned her head and looked, she turned her head and looked, until (she)
went and arrived at the pond.’

[Bi dialect kō râ- ‘and went and’ in doubled ‘go’ construction (§15.2.3.3.4)]

[Ø nù'ño] [ŋò klá],
[Infin draw.water.Base [Art water]] [Infin return.Base],
A: ‘Then she (=hare woman) drew water and went back.’

<k̬̃o g̅ɔ̃ e nù'ño kõ klâ/; g̠b̅ã/g̅ɔ̃/gù 'draw (water, at a well)’, tonally distinct
from g̠b̅ã/g̅ɔ̃/gù 'hit’ or ‘tell (a tale)’]

[kã-sâr̬ò [bõ dɔ̀] à sê'n]
while [3AnSg man] Ipfv gather.Ipfv
[ə kã-ràʔá j̠ɔ̃r̬ò'ño] mɔ́-],
[Art meat-Pl Rel] concerning],
bõ á gbõ bè
3 AnSg PfvNeg take.Base Dem.Def
[gõ tãⁿ-β̃-wẽ-tãʔä [[Ø c̠ɛʔè] nì'ño]] = āⁿ,
[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; sê'n/sâ'n/sê'n 'pick up, collect (one by one)'; kã-ràʔá
plural of kãʔá 'meat’, hence ‘game animals’; tãⁿ-β̃-wẽ-tãʔa quadruple verb
compound; tãⁿ- ‘do again’ (§10.3.2.2); c̠ɛʔè 'hip’ (dialectally c̠ɪʔè)]

ē kã-wã-rû
Art bone-Pl
cõ?!, donc bõ sê'n = [Ø kã-wã-rû]
3 AnSg gather.Pfv [Art bone-Pl]
[gõ bó [tãⁿ c̠ɛʔè nì'ño]],
[Infin tie.Base [[3AnSgRef Pl hip] Loc]],
B: ‘The bones.’
A: ‘Exactly! So, she gathered the bones and tied them on her hips.’
*‘bone’: singular kã-wũʔû; cõ?! (§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 àn fixed phrase meaning ‘in appearance, like, as though’ (§15.3.1.4), based on French on dirait; bə̀r ‘still’ < Jula bèl; dò added to PP (§6.2.4.1)]

B: ‘Wow!’
A: ‘It was better than a leaf loincloth!’
B: ‘Yes, yes.’

[ébè < Jula, cf. perhaps French eh bien!; final glottal (§3.2.1.9)]

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

[somewhat broken, smooth out as kō râ-flō= ]

A: ‘Then she came and dumped it (=bones) on the husband’s head. Thud!’
[onomatopoeia]
(03:27) kō būʔ5 =mì, dè é!,
Infin shout.Base 3InanObj, Quot oh!
[ē mlâ"nā"] glō
[Art conflict(n)] exit(v).Pfv
[ē mlâ"nā"] glō
[Art conflict(n)] exit(v).Pfv
B: ‘Then he (=husband) let out a shout, “oh!” ’
A: ‘The conflict came out (=began).’
B: ‘The conflict came out.’

(03:29) dē ³n gbē [³n — ³n [kā-wò]-rù] 
Quot 3AnSg take.Base [3AnSgRefl— 3AnSgRefl [bone]-Pl]
 bó má kā—
LogoSg IpfvNeg with—
A: ‘(She) said, “pick up your bones!” ’
B: ‘“I don’t have—” ’
[quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1)]

(03:32) [è [blí-kè]-yò tóʔó kàn] yiʔē [ō rà-pårē]
[kō pårē] [kō pårē] [kō pårē],
[Infin dress.up.Base] (repetitions),
[ē pårē-nǐ] màn glō =?,
[Art dress.up-VblN] IpfvNeg it.is Neg,
A: ‘(Hyena woman:) “That hare woman [focus] went and dressed up, and 
repeatedly dressed up. It (=this) isn’t beautifying.” ’
[demonstrative kān following focus marker (§13.1.2.2) …-yò kàn tóʔó ; pårē
’dress up, (woman) put on finery’, cf. French (se) parrer, parures]

(03:37) [bō pièn [³n n³n] nǐn]
[3AnSg remain.Pfv [3AnSg look.at.Prog] Prog]]
jí bō dà ná"nà= [Ø jū]
[if 3AnSg IpfvPast reddren.Base [Art eye(s)]]
[[bō tē-tēʔè] nàn bē gbēʔè],
[[3AnSg waterjar] CFact Fut be.shattered.Pfv],
A: ‘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); dá variant of dè ; counterfactual nàn (§16.4.2) 
plus future bē]
A: ‘Well, the (hyena) husband—’
B: ‘His whole body was in pain.’

[composite postposition úⁿʔúⁿ cín (§8.3.7.3)]

A: ‘The husband, did he not become angry?’
B: ‘He became angry.

[lit. “his anger was emitted”; Bi ñâⁿ-ñûⁿñûⁿ = other dialects’ ñâ-jûⁿñûⁿ) ‘anger (n), compare verb ñâⁿ-ñûⁿ ‘redden’ and noun jû ‘eye(s)’ @ 03:37 above]

A: ‘I said, everyone was in poverty. (So) where (how) is it that you are coming out and dressing up? ’

[< /bíé = rē à-māⁿ/; < /móⁿ kō à glû kā/]
A: ‘(Hare) said, “ah, there is nothing (wrong).”’ (Hyena:) “Like, I have come, I stop by to say hello.”’

A: ‘(Hare:) “hey, friend, your wife sure has dressed up!”’

A: ‘(Hare:) “Where did you bring that from?”’

A: ‘(Hare:) “I looked for and got it.”’

A: ‘(Hare:) “you (just) sat, whereas I didn’t sit.”’

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).’

[ŋá-klù?ùn ‘inside of cheek’]


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

B: ‘Hare (or) hyena?’

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

[nù-ŋbà dialectal for nù-ŋbà ‘butter-ball’; < à di₉; verb jùn/dùn/di₉ ‘hurt, be in pain’ (< ‘be bitten’)]

(04:37) è⁹! è⁹!

(groaning)

k-ä ci₉ Ipfv hurt.Ipfv è⁹! è⁹! [è kè-àkè] jìë, (groaning) [[Art wall] behind],

A: ‘Oo! Oo!’ (groaning)

B: ‘(He) was groaning.’

A: ‘Oo! Oo!’ Behind the wall.’

[< kò à ci₉; cìë/cì⁹/cì⁰ (Ji dialect) ‘groan, moan’]


A: ‘He (=hyena man) lay down behind hare’s (house’s) outer wall. He was groaning like that: “oo! oo!”’

[< së⁶ è; kì⁹/kì⁰/kì⁰ (Bi dialect) ‘groan, moan’]
ñò ñò glú [wà = à-ñì],
3AnSg Infin exit(v).Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base]
A: ‘Hare said, “who is groaning behind my wall?” He came out to see.’
[< /sò bó à; < /kò ñú kò (bà-ñì)]

(04:49) [nó dé] mà kò [Ø dàtòrò],
1Sg however IpfvNeg be [Art doctor],
mò kà = à-ñò
2Sg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base
[k-à cíò] [k-à cíò]
[Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv] [Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv]
B: ‘(Hare:) “However I am not a doctor. You-Sg came and lay down and you groan and groaned.”’
[B adopts the role of a character in the tale; mà kò ‘not be’ (§11.2.2.2); repeated imperfective infinitival VP (§15.2.2)]

(04:51) nánò [mò ò dá = á klè án bè tè,
friend 2Sg however Ipfv do.Ipfv [how? Top.Inan] Q,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Friend, but what have you done? It’s some ailment of the cheek that came and afflicted you.’”
[rè < /tè; 2Sg object mì (§4.3.1.3)]

(04:56) ñè ñò nàn bà [gà = à-ñì—
1Sg Foc 1Sg Fut come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base—
dàñ mì-ñì-à] [wò sòññ = nì], arrive.Base Loc-2Sg] [Infin be.pierced.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘(Hyena:) “I said (=decided) that I would come and see—arrive at your place, to have it (=cheek) pierced.”’
[2Sg suffix -à (§4.3.1.2)]

(04:59) ò [mò nè wà = á dàñ [nó mì] kútòrú]
oh! 2Sg however IpfvNeg arrive.Base [1Sg Loc] entirely]
[mò nà = à-sèno [nó kè-kè?è] ñìè rè]
[2Sg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base [1Sg wall] behind] Q]
k-à kì tè,
[Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv] Q,
A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh, but you didn’t come to me (=my house) fully (=directly). You came and lay down behind my wall, and groaned?” ’
[< /mò dé; kútòrú as adverb (§6.6.1.3)]
A: ‘(Hare:) “Friend, that isn’t difficult.” Then they took a knife, and sharpened it.’

B: ‘They sharpened it and they intended to stick it into it (=cheek) and pierce it.’

A: ‘They would pierce it.’

B: ‘Wow!’

A: ‘(Hyena) said, “Jab it from the inside! If it were pierced (from the outside), flies would bother my body!”’

B: ‘Oh! Trickery—there’s trickery in that business!’

A: ‘There’s trickery!’
(05:21) dè [Ø ná-klí"mü"] mà sáʔá gbē,
Quot [Art cheek] if be.pierced outside,
[è cãrè-nî] nà tùʔù [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.” ’
[sáʔá-gbē ‘pierce and pull back out’; cãrè-nî⁰ ~ cãrè-nî ‘flies’ (§4.1.2.5.1); nà⁰) kũ̍ in counterfactual (§16.4.7); B echoes A; normally the verb is Ji tèʔé/tòʔ̖tùʔù (Ji versus invariant tùʔù (Bi))]

(05:26) [è bì-ké] gō gbē [ʒ⁰ [kè-təʔ]-bú] [gō wē],
[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 nà [ʃ̩-fə]-ʒ̩⁰ = n̓,
A: ‘He intended to push against it to test it. He proceeded to jab (it).’
[<ʃ̩-fə]-ʒ̩⁰/; repair last part as kũ̍ sáʔá]

(05:33) bā = á bū = [Ø ci-céʔá] = ?,
3AnSg PfvNeg get.Base [Art intelligence] Neg,
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 bû/]

(05:37) hà́y!
oh.my!
dè bè mà⁰ 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 nṻ] ēdī-glō
[Art butter] Infin be.removed.Base
[[ē nū] gō dī-glō] [[ē nā-kłù“lò”] sār̥̂n̥]
B: ‘The butter came out.’
A: ‘The butter was removed (=came out).’
B: ‘The butter was removed, and the cheek shrank (back to normal position).’

(05:44) à→, dè
ah, Quot
mō̋ glū [ā = [Ø f̥-r̥e] bē = ] [Ø sē] tē,
2Sg exit.Pfv [with [Art wrap(n)-Pl Top.Inan] [Art where?] Q,
[nō̋ dè] gā bí mō̋
[1Sg however] Infin-lpv ask.lpv 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) mō̋ = ā̋ dō-ʃē”lé̋ nō̋ tē,
2Sg PfvNeg speak.lpv-be.white.lpv 1Sg Q,
[ē kē-tē?è tē] pǐ̋ dō-rē
[Art hand Foc.Inan] remain.Pfv now
5’hê̂n̥ 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?è (Ji) versus kē-tē?è (Bi)]

(05:49) fō ̈ ə̋ dō [Ø rē]
must 3AnSg speak.Base [Art talk(n)]
dè→, ē f̥-r̥e = r̥e, [ē kłōʔó jī] gō yā,
Quot, Art wrap(n)-Pl even, [Art road Indef] be Dem.InanSg,
mō̋ ā̋ gbli [[b̥e tōʔō] kłōʔō],
2Sg lpfv take.lpv [[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 yîʔî] [Ø mā dān̥]
[Infin-lpv go.lpv] [2Sg if arrive.Base
[Ø mā diē] [[[Ø sāŕ̥ʔō] l5̥]] nî̋],
[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 ŋō dè é 2Sg Infin say.Base oh!

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) 3AnSg dè

2Sg if say.Pfv [LogoSg shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
dè ñpè²-jō° [bō bì"né° mè] tè,
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?’ ” ’
[/< bó lō° à/]

(06:02) Ø mā rè [[bō lá° =] =à° dā°,
2Sg if say.Pfv [LogoSg shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
dè ñpè²-jō° [bō bì"né° mè] tè,
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 kō dè/; < /pīè-jō° bó bì"né° bè tè/]

(06:05) ã donc wō kù?š = [Ø bì"né°] [wō sūʔ = ³°] ah! so Infin pick.off.Base [Art leaf] [Infin give.Base Dat.3AnSg]
[wò pâ°-njō° bè]
[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 kō° = [Ø bì"né°],
Quot 2Sg if chew.Base [Art leaf],
ñ kō dè á dè— [[ē sèðô? = á] bì"né°]
2Sg Infin say.Base oh! Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg] leaf]
à dā° = dè?,
Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘(Hare:) “if you chew the leaves, you’ll say ‘this baobab’s leaves sure are
tasty!’ ” ’
[/< /dè ŋ kō kō° 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?’
[“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 mâⁿ and Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)]

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

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

[³ⁿ mà sūʔë bè [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 dè/]

ň̀ ŋ̄ dè — Ō mà 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’ ’’

³ⁿ jî̄-lûʔû bó dè móⁿ pî̄eⁿ-nyⁿ bè 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? ’ ’’

á dè á [s³ⁿ à sūʔû bè [³ⁿ móⁿ] tē]
ah! Quot ah! [who? Ipfv give.Ipfv Dem.Def [Dat 2Sg] Q]
dè [³ⁿ wō kûʔû [ bè jî]]
Quot [³AnSg Infin strip.off.Base [Dem.Def Indef]]
[wō sūʔē = = yⁿ],
[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 = yⁿ contracted from sūʔû ³ⁿ yò, variant of sūʔû ³ⁿ (§4.3.2.3)]

³ⁿ jî̄-lûʔû dè 0 mà pûⁿ-nyⁿ [è jî̄-lûʔû],
Quot 2Sg if taste.Base [Art rear-skin],
áywâ, ŋ̄ go — dè dè,
well, 2Sg Infin— speak.Base Quot,
á 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!’ ’’
[< /ň bà/; < /dè à à dáⁿ = dèʔ/]

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[06:44]  Ø mā dè [nō' jīē-lǜʔu] à dá'ø,
  2Sg if say [1Sg rear-skin] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
mō' piē'-pā' [nō' nī'-bliʔi] bē] tē,
  2Sg taste.Pfv [1Sg guts-wet Top.Inan] Q,
A: ‘(Hare:) ‘(Baobab will say:) ‘If you say that my bark is tasty, have you tasted
my insides?’ ”’
[< /li'ø-bliʔi/]

[06:48]  ê dè sā'-mó nā' sūʔs bē [ʒ' bō] tē,
oh! Quot who? Fut give.Base Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q,
[ē sōìʔō] wò wūʔs [à lī],
[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.”’

[06:52]  ā, [ê nāøbēʔē] má' glò = ā
ah! [Art Bouki] IpfvNeg it.is Q
[ē nābēʔ ē] = yâ lè
[Art hyena] it.is Emph
A: ‘Ah, is he not Bouki (the hyena)?’
B: ‘It certainly is Bouki.’
[li'è clause-final emphatic (§19.4.2)]

[06:55]  bó nā'-dārā = [Ø ø-rē], tī' = [Ø fiērā-bō],
3AnSg see.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base [Art thing-Pl], be.put.down.Pfv [Art finery],
mùfē'sjī—
various.things Infin—
ē' attention.out!
oh! watch.out!
A: ‘He (=hyena) saw lots of things that were put down, finery, all sorts of things.’
B: ‘Oh, watch out!’
[fiērā-bō ‘finery’ < Jula fērē-bō ; mùfē'sjī < Jula ‘what is it?, i.e. various things]

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

[07:00]  ò, d = ʒ' wāʔs-tō' = nī
oh! Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj
d = ʒ' sō- to' = nī
Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj
B: ‘Oh! “Close it!”’
A: ‘ “Close it!”’
(07:02) \[3^n\] PfvNeg [remove.Base]-get.Base Neg, [\(\ddag\)-glö]-bú = \(\varnothing\),
3AnSg unh-unh!
\(\ddag\)²\(\ddag\)³

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

(07:03) [\(\ddag\)³] PfvNeg remove.Base]
\[3^n\] nà\(\ddag\)³ sà\(\ddag\)³ à \(\ddag\)-glö]
3AnSg [kútårú tē] lē,
[3AnSg Fut defecate.Base [entirely Foc.Inan] Emph, A: ‘If he doesn’t take it out, he will totally shit (=be screwed).’

(07:06) [\(\ddag\)³] à bē \[\(\ddag\)-sè-tà\(\ddag\)³\] nī\(\ddag\)
[Art baobab Foc] Ipfv come.Ipfv [Art be.carried.on.head.Pfv-place] Loc]

A: ‘The baobab tree is coming to be carried.’
B: (laughs)
A: ‘It (=baobab) closed it up then.’

(07:10) \(\ddag\)\(\ddag\)³ wî\(\ddag\)è-tà\(\ddag\)
3AnSg shut.Pfv 3InanObj, Quot [Art baobab],
if jī \(\ddag\)³ mā wō = \[\(\ddag\)-[nà\(\ddag\)-di\(\ddag\)-dá\(\ddag\)-sàrò\(\ddag\)]\]
3AnSg if be [Art [old.people]-time]-baobab],
\(\ddag\)³ yî\(\ddag\)î-ji\(\ddag\)î [w = à-tārā\(\ddag\)]
3AnSg get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base [\(\ddag\)-bō \(\ddag\)-ì]-nī\(\ddag\)] tårè,
[3AnSg head] Loc] (hyena),
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!”’

[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2); clause-final tårè is common in hyena’s utterances in tales (§19.4.8)]
(07:18) bó gò yìʔ-diē = [Ø tá-tàʔà] = ň târê
LogoSg Infin go.Base-enter.Base [Art open.space] Loc (hyena)
ā piē′n′ [tà kúṯrụ̄] sò-nī Ḟ ḋâ-rē
3Inan remain.Pfv [3Inan entirety] carry.on.head.Base-VblN now
[ɕ sârōʔō] gò yìʔ-ʃiʔi 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!’
/kúṭrū 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) [ɕ ciŋ]- [ɕ ciŋ)n] nè e→,
[Art bird]— [Art bird] say.Pfv oh!,
[kârâʃārâ gbârē] [kârâʃārâ gbârē] [kârâʃārâ gbârē],
[custody hard] (repetitions)
A: ‘A bird said, “custody is serious! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!”’
/kârâʃārâ gbârē < 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) [ɕ sârōʔō] wò klā [wō târū],
[Art baobab] Infin return.baobab [Infin sit.Base],
donc [dĕ-dĕ ni"
so [now Loc]
ʒ̃ n̄ mà glâ [dâ-rē ni"
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) ʒ̃ n̄ jō cà-nj̃ [ɕ ciŋ]
3AnSg Infin look.up.at.Base [Art bird]
kò mé̆-gbē = ň,
[Infin throw.at.Base-take.Base 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘He (=hyena) looked up at the bird and hit it (with a rock).’

(07:39) ʒ̃ kò mé—
3AnSg Infin throw.at.Base—
ʒ̃ jō mé̆-kò— mé̆-kō = [Ø ciŋ],
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).’
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(07:41)  àn mëŋ-kò = [Ø cišŋ],
3AnSg throw.at.Pfv-kill.Base [Art bird],
àn kò kɔ̀ŋ [Ø cišŋ-bɔ̀ŋà],
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 wɔ̀ wé [Ø cišŋ] [àn júfá ə],
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. @ 07:10 above]

(07:46)  aywà, dë [ë sɔ̀ròʔò]
well, Quot [Art baobab]
jí O mà wò = [Ø [[nàŋ-dû-ə]-dàʔà]-sɔ̀ròʔò],
if 2Sg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
Ø nò yëfí-ʃííWiFi [w = à-tɔrã]
2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
[[nò ů年由] niʔ] 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)  nóŋ wò yëfí [[biëbà tā-tàʔà] niŋ] 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)  móŋ dòt ñàŋ [[á kà-ʁęŋ-ʔëŋ ɲàrɔŋ bìe]
[2Sg however] see.Pfv [Inan many Rel all]
mòŋ nàŋ sò [bì tòʔò bìe] [kò yëfí]
2Sg Fut carry.on.head.Base [Dem.Def Foc all] [Infin go.Base]
[ê yúó ji bùō] máŋ fà [Ø ji] = ā,
[Art people Indef Top.AnPl] LpfvNeg seek.Lpfv [Art something] Q,
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-ʁęŋ-ʔëŋ jòràŋ/; bùō as animate plural topic
marker (§19.1.2.1)]
(07:58) [è bórá] sərɔ̀
[Art work(n)] descend.Pfv
[è sərɔ̀ɔ̃] kɔ̀ yíiri-firì
[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 nābẽ̀è bò]
[Art Bouki Top]
[è sərɔ̀ɔ̃] yìí-rì fù→
[Art baobab] get.up.Pfv (sound)
B: ‘As for Bouki.’
A: ‘The baobab got up, fù! (sound)’

(08:02) [è ci5º wū̀-kàʔà] kò pènung [3ª jùfà] nìº
[kàrâfarà gbârè] [kàrâfarà gbârè] [kàrâfarà gbârè]
[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 -kàʔà after Pfv verb stem (§4.5.4)]

(08:04) è, [è wū̀-kàʔà]
oh! [Art die.Pfv-Ppl.An]
5ºh5º, 3ª gùpèn = ò[5º wò kà],
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).’
[< /5º kò pèn = ò/; birds are seared to burn off feathers before cooking; verb ñùqèp/ñùqì ‘sear’]

(08:08) 5º ñùqèn = ò [wò kà],
3AnSg roast.Pfv 3AnSgObj [Infin devour.Base],
[[5º bɔ̀râlà] wò pèn mà]
[[3AnSg hair] Infin remain.Base there.Def]
[è mlô-mlô] g-à 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); mlô-mlô ‘ants’, singular mlô-mlô (5º in this dialect; elsewhere singular mò-mlô, plural mò-mlô]}
A: ‘He said, “I will take a look.” He stopped and said again …’

\[< \text{bò nàⁿ} \text{pàⁿ} ; \text{táⁿ}- \text{‘do again’ initial in verb-verb compound}>\]

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

B: ‘Yes.’

A: ‘(Hyena:) “…, why don’t you get up and come sit on my head? Then I go to the open space in Bieba’s courtyard.” ’

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)]
A: ‘He kept turning around to look. He gathered that (=the feathers) up, and put (them) on the fire.’

[reduplication of entire compound verbs]

B: ‘And (he) stayed in the same place.’

A: ‘Lo, the ants took gathered some (feathers) and put (them) in (their) hole.’

[‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2)]

B: ‘There’s work (=trouble) there!”

A: ‘He (=hyena) stopped again.’

[‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3)]

A: ‘(Hyena) said, “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time,’

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 ‘tără’ in wā = à-tără”, compare @ 08:17 above and elsewhere]
(08:43) [ē sàrọ̀] wọ̀ yìí̊-íí̊i,
[Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base,
[ē ciĩ̊-bàrà] wọ̀ pèn [Ọ mló-mló-túʔè ni̊n]
[Art bird-hair] Infin remain.Base [[Art ant-hole] Loc]
nè, [kàràfà gbàrè] [kàràfà gbàrè],
Quot, [custody hard] (repetition),
A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself). The bird feathers remained in the ant-
hole, saying “custody is serious! Custody is serious!”’

(08:47) í d = [álè bàrè] dè = [Ọ ji] à-mà n kùè
oh! Quot [even still] Quot [Art something] be.Loc Emph
d = [ē ji] à-mà
Quot [Art something] be.Loc
A: ‘“Oh dear” said (hyena), “there are some (feathers) even now!”’
B: ‘‘There are some (there)!’’
[< ē ji à-mà n; clause-final emphatic kùè < Jula kóy]

(08:50) 3AnSg Infin yìí̊ [gō rà-[dí-gló] bè]
[gō à-wè [Ọ dà”ʔà” n],
[gō come.Base-put.in.Base [[Art fire] Loc]],
è oh!
A: ‘He went and (went and) removed that (=feathers in ant-hole) and put (it) in the
fire.’
B: ‘Oh my!’

(08:52) ā dén dè-dè
3Inan arrive.Pfv now
ā dén dà-rè, [ē yúó ji] ní-mà
3Inan arrive.Pfv now, [Art people Indef] not.be.Loc
nà sù?5
Fut give.Base
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)  
[ě kā jì] máⁿ dà rè  
[Art creature Indef] IpfvNeg say.Base Quot  
[kə̀rə̀fə̀rə̀ gə̀bə̀rə̞] [kə̀rə̀fə̀rə̀ gə̀bə̀rə̞],  
[custody hard] (repetition)

ē kā jì māⁿ də̀ rè

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.’

[< /māⁿ dè dè/]

(08:58)  
donc ⁿ go léⁿ, ē sə̀rə̀ʔò,  
so 3AnSg Infin stop.Base, Art baobab,  
jí Ō mā wò [[[Ô ná-dì-ð]-dáʔa]-sə̀rə̀ʔo],  
if 2Sg if be [[[Art old.person-Pl]-time]-baobab],  
Ō nò yîʔi-fîʔi [w = à-tə̀rə̞]

2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base

[[nôⁿ ð'?ʔⁿ] nîⁿ] tə̀rè,

[[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)  
nôⁿ nò rə̀-tə̀rə̞ⁿ  
1Sg Hort go.Base-sit.Base [[Bièbá tá-təʔà] nîⁿ] tə̀rè,

A: ‘(Hyena:) “Let me go sit in the open space in Bieba’s courtyard.”’

(09:05)  
ỳ nò rə̀-tē  
1Sg Hort go.Base-put.down.Base

[wò dí-à-głō = nîⁿ] [wô bó]

[Hort remove.Ipfv 3Inan] [Hort tie.Ipfv]

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)  
kô bó], [á biè tê] kô yá təʔa-kó  
[Hort tie.Ipfv] [3Inan all Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg again

B: ‘And tie (them) on. That’s all (there is).’

[kô yá unclear on tape due to speaker overlap]
(09:09) [ë sòrò?ò] wò yíʔ-jiʔi fù→,
[Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base (sound),
kō bā [w = à-à-[cór-à-päⁿ] = wⁿ]
Infin come.Base [Infin come.Ipfv-Ipfv-[fall.heavily.on.Ipfv] 3AnSgObj]
A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself), fū→. 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) [è bři-ké] ā jùʔ = [bⁿ jì̆]
[Art hare] Ipfv follow [3AnSg behind]
[w-â dèⁿ-dèⁿ = 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.’
[< jùʔù / dèⁿ-dèⁿ < Jula]

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

(09:21) [ë dē-wà-rëⁿ] glô, ɔⁿ gô gbè bè,
[Art testicle-Pl] exit(v).Pfv, 3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base Dem.Def,
[ë bři-ké] wò gbè bè [wò yíʔ = [à rôj]]
[Art hare] Infin pick.up.Base Dem.Def [Infin go.Base [with 3Inan]]
[kô yíʔ = [à lôj]
[Infin go.Base [woth 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 rô Bi dialect for (k)à lô ‘with it/them (inanimate)’]
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.”’

A: ‘The hyena’s wife accepted the testicles, and cooked (them) and ate (them).’

B: ‘And yet it belongs to your husband.’

A: ‘She didn’t know it at all.

B: ‘She didn’t know it.’
(09:46) ó, ŋ³hɔⁿ, móⁿ nè
       oh!, uh-huh, 2Sg say.Pfv
       [nɔⁿ dɔ] jìʔê [Ø kìrâ] [ʒⁿ 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) nɔⁿ wà = à-sō    [bë  bìë] [kò  dìf]
       1Sg Infin come.Base-receive.Base [Dem.Def all] [Infin eat.Base]
       [ʒⁿ máⁿ nè = ?], à kò [mlèⁿ-àⁿ bè] të,
       [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?”’
   [bë common with content interrogatives (§13.2.3)]

(09:53) á, [è  blí-kë] dë, á, [móⁿ dɔ]
       oh!, [Art hare] say.Pfv, oh!, [2Sg man],
       ë sàròʔò = rë→,  h côrë-kò [mòⁿ dɔ],
       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.”’
   [côrë ‘thrash’ (cf. 09:09 above) compounded with kò ‘kill’]

(10:00) á, [ʒⁿ jùʔò-wò-rëⁿ nè] wò  å]
       oh!, [3AnSg testicle-egg-Pl Foc] be Dem.InanSg]
       [nɔⁿ bà [Ø = ã-sùʔ = [ʒⁿ móⁿ]]]
       [1Sg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-give.Base [Dat 2Sg]]]
       ê, yá kë=[Ø kë]
   A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, that is (=was) his testicles. I came and gave (that) to you.”’
   B: ‘Oh, that is a (serious) matter!’
   [< jùʔò-wò-rëⁿ të/]

(10:02) donc, [è yò] jùá-dɔ, [è dɔ] ní-mâⁿ = ?
       ʒⁿ dɔ-dɔrɔ [Ø fëʔê]
       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).’
   [jùá-dɔ and dɔ-dɔrɔ are dialectal variants]
(10:07) [è kā-wà-rù jàrś' ] ò ná sù? = ò
[Art bone-PI Rel] 3AnSg Past give.Base Dat.3AnSg
[ò nò bɔ] [ò gò lò-gbè bè]
[3AnSg Infin tie.Base] [3AnSg Infin gather.Base-take.Base Dem.Def]
[wò tì-tìn ] [[ò ū?ū ] nī ]
[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, …’
[past perfect /ò râ sù?/]

(10:12) jì [è bì-lęk]-yò gò pë = [Ø pàmlù?ù ]
Prsntv 2Sg remain.Pfv [Art naked]
mó pë = [Ø pàmlù?ù ] dà-rè
2Sg remain.Pfv [Art naked] now
A: ‘There you stayed, naked.’
B: ‘You-Sg stayed naked now.’
[presentative (§4.4.4.1, §4.4.4.3); A and B again “address” the protagonist]

(10:14) jì [è bì-lęk]-yò gò pë = [Ø fè?è ] nī ]
if [Art hare]-woman Infin remain.Base [[Art wrap] Loc]
A: ‘Meanwhile hare’s wife remained in wraps (=well-dressed).’
[jì plus infinitival clause (§15.2.1.2), cf. @ 07:45]

(10:17) jì bùō jàrś[ë nī ], [bì tò?ō] wò yá,
[1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Loc], [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
[bì tò?ō ] = à jì [è kè],
[[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) mā nè [mā = à jì fà-à-dàrā =
Proh say.Base [2Sg Ipfv— (nasal) seek.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.very.much.Ipfv
[Ø kè kà-rèn?èn ]],
[Art matter many],
A: ‘Don’t say that you will look all over for lots of (other) things.’
[< /mā dè mó à ]; -dàrā (§15.1.2.1); kà-rèn?èn (§8.5.2.1.4)]

(10:25) [è dùrjâ ] nī ], [Ø mā à-mā ná mā ]
[Art world] Loc], [2Sg if be.Loc there.Def]
[Ø nà = à-klè = [Ø kè ] dōn-dōn-dōn-dōn,
A: ‘In this world, if you are there, do a thing gently.’
[< /jì kò a-klè ē kè ]; Jula dōn ‘a little’, here repeated as distributive adverb (§8.5.2.2.2)]
A: ‘After you act in (such) a way, (you) will then succeed there.’

Proh say [2Sg Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [Art person Indef]]

dè á dè mlèⁿ-ñè?è, 5ⁿ?øⁿ,

Quot oh! Quot likw.this, unh-unh!,

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

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

[< /māⁿ dè móⁿ à lúⁿ ē/ with Bi dialect lúⁿ, in other dialects nù)]

Proh say [2Sg Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [Art person Indef]]

dè á dè mlèⁿ-ñè?è, 5ⁿ?øⁿ,

Quot oh! Quot likw.this, unh-unh!,

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

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

[< /māⁿ dè móⁿ à lúⁿ ē/ with Bi dialect lúⁿ, in other dialects nù)]

Proh say [2Sg Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [Art person Indef]]

dè á dè mlèⁿ-ñè?è, 5ⁿ?øⁿ,

Quot oh! Quot likw.this, unh-unh!,

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

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

[< /māⁿ dè móⁿ à lúⁿ ē/ with Bi dialect lúⁿ, in other dialects nù)]
(10:45) dáʔá-ʃìʔé móⁿ nàⁿ bē bà at.that.time 2Sg CFact Fut come.Pfv
[Ø = à-ɲiⁿ = nìⁿ māⁿ] = āⁿ
[Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj there] Q
ā, ŋó mā jā nà =nī
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 (§10.2.5.4)]

(10:47) [ē sàròʔò] cōrē māⁿ = nēʔ? ŋóhāⁿ,
[Art baobab] be.long.time.Pfv there.Emph uh-huh,
donc bē [Ø náⁿ-bī] māⁿ kāⁿ [kō nātā],
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.’
[kāⁿ obligational (§17.4.3.3) ; nātā < Jula]

(10:51) wālā→, kō [yi-dā]-dārá,
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 ŋi mà wō [[[Ø kē] klē] nī],
because well 2Sg if be [[[Art matter] do.Prog] Prog],
[yūo jèrāⁿ] tērēⁿ [dē mó jā mīʔ-ā],
[person Rel] sit.Pfv [say.Pfv 2Sg leave.Base Refl-2SgPoss],
dē mó jā mīʔ-ā,
say.Pfv 2Sg leave.Base Refl-2SgPoss,
B: ‘Because, well, if you are doing something, someone who has sat (there) has
told you to control yourself, to control yourself.’
< /mó jā mīʔ-ā/: i.e. a bystander tries to dissuade you from doing something
dangerous, like the bird in the baobab; progressive with object preceding verb
(§10.2.4)]

(10:58) [bō-wí fērāⁿ] ā jūʔū [mó jiè] cā,
[fellow too] Ipfv follow.Ipfv [2Sg behind] exactly,
jī mó dē [mó mà jūʔū [bō-wí bāʔà]]
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 jiè cā/; cā §(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); < /jī ɔⁿ 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)]
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 cùf-fë] wò yá,
[Art Tiefo-language] be Dem.Inan,
ó gà-bà?à [kò— n dò—],
1Pl want.it [Hort— (nasal) speak.Base—],
A: ‘This is Tiefo language. We want to speak—.’
/kà-bà?à ‘want to VP’ construction (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1): preverbal nasal after interruption]

(00:06) [ē bà-ró jà-ró] à-mà" [é bà?à] fà"tä",
A: ‘There are some elephants in our area here.’
/jà-ró animate plural indefinite (§4.4.2.3); < /à-mà" é/]

(00:08) áywà, nó" wò dàrísà [gò glú bicū-lē],
well, 1Sg1 be D [Infin exit(v).Base Biton],
A: ‘Well, I am Drisa and (I) come from Biton (quartier).’

(00:12) [ē bà-ró] à-mà" [é bà?à] fà"tä",
[Art elephant-Pl] be.Loc [1Pl chez] here,
ò gō [[Ø bà?á] ní"],
3Pl be [[Art damage(v).Prog] Prog],
A: ‘We have elephants here. They are doing damage.’
[progressive (§10.2.4), verb bā?ā ‘misuse, damage’]

(00:16) ò bà-bà [kā járš₈],
3Pl Rdp-come.Pfv [manner Rel],
ó gà-bà?à [wò dò [bè tò?ò]],
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 bié] ò jú?₅ mā",
[3Pl all] Infin hear.Base there.Def,
A: ‘So that everybody may hear about there (=that place).’
[recording sounds like [èbíé] but tones exclude 1Pl reading]
A: ‘When the elephant said (=decided) to come, we decided to look at it.’
[< /bó à bē/ ; < /ō dē ó nān nān/>]

(00:24) 1Pl  IpfvPast IpfvNeg know.Ipfv 3PlObj Neg,
A: ‘We were unfamiliar with them.’
[ji ‘know’ (be acquainted/familiar with)]

(00:26) 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: yē); emphatic =rē (§19.4.4)]

(00:28) 1Pl  if hear.Base [1Pl all] Infin go.Base
[gō  rā-πēn =ōn],
[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 ni n = òn bè-yá-ró
Infin see.Base 3AnSgObj thus
[wò glu [³n miₐn]],
[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): glu here transitivized from intransitive with no change in form, distinct from lexical transitive glu]

(00:40) jà bó bā = [[Ø tɔʔɔ] nūɔₕ-tɔʔɔ] ni[,]
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); tɔʔɔ ni[,] purposive (§17.6.2.5); the first tɔʔɔ ‘place’ is direct object (preverbal in this purposive construction)]

(00:42) bó bā [gà = à-ŋ⁰] [ē tɔʔɔ],
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) [ē dɔs-ró] ē bā [gà = à-blā] = ò],
[Art hunter-Pl] Infin come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-lead.out.Base 3AnSgObj],
kō ỹĩ[i] [à ḱù],
Infin go.Base [with 3An],
A: ‘Hunters came and (gently) evicted it, and took it away.’
[kà jù ‘with him/her/it/them’ (animate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

(00:50) fɔ wǒ rà-[mē₉-tɔ⁵],
until Infin go.Base-[throw.out.Base],
[kō bā-[mē₉-tɔ⁵]] [³n wò klā],
[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.’
[fɔ ‘until’ (§8.3.10.2, §15.3.4.1)]

(00:53) ē blè = ò
3Pl force.out.Pfv 3AnSgObj
[kō ỹĩ[i] [gō rà-dān fàⁿlē]]
[Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base Fl]
A: ‘They (=hunters) evicted it. (They) got as far as Fandiora (village).’

(00:55) [[Ø náⁿ-bí-ð] blè]
[[Art person-Pl] get.tired.Pfv]
[wò sê⁹] [Ø-ā dē],
[Infin lie.down.Base] [Infin-lpfv sleep.lpfv],
A: ‘The people (e.g. hunters) became weary, and lay down to sleep (at Fandiora).’
[< /k-ā d̥ʃ]/

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The elephant came back (to Daramandugu) and showed up at night.

And (it) was coming out into Fawo's field.

Some people said, "it is him (the same elephant)!

Some (others) said "it isn’t him!"

In fact, it is (was) that very same one.

They (elephants) came thus.

They weren’t two (different ones) after all! They (=elephants) came thus.

Fawo is a personal name.

It was the same one.

It is (was) the same one.

It is (was) the same one.
A: ‘Ah! We came and saw it, then (we) left it there at the (government) forestry office.’

[§15.2.3.2.4], here interrupted; män ‘there’ with appositional locational; Eaux et Forêts, government agency that manages hunting, fishing, and forests]

A: ‘(They) came to evict it (=elephant), (but) nope! They (=elephants) did not accept it (to go).’

[§17.4.4.1]

A: ‘They (=foresters) said that they don’t kill (=elephants).’

[kà 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.’

[‘one’ = ‘sole, lone’ (§4.6.1.1); /dèⁿʔɛ́ⁿ dè/ with dè IpfvPast marker (§10.3.1.1);
plé ‘be better’ (§12.1.3); à in final clause unclear on recording]

[01:26]

A: ‘It was like it (=elephant) was afraid. It— It had been reluctant to make itself that kind of thing (=destroyer).’

/c3?5 is base=Ipfv; < /bó dè á sòⁿ/ past perfect negative (§10.3.1.2); sòⁿ < Jula ; < /kò (b)à-klè ɔⁿ/; dè focus marker (< Jula)]

(01:30) áyò

yes

ɔ̀ⁿ hɔⁿ, mais ɔⁿ mà râ bû = [Ø náⁿ],
yes, but 3AnSg if Past get.Base [Art bovine],
B: ‘Okay.’

A: ‘Uh-huh. But if it (=elephant) encountered a bull, …’

(01:33) fè–, [i Art cow] mà rå ɲìⁿ = ð] f-á-lò

oh, [i Art cow] if Past see.Base 3AnSgObj you.know.it
[Ø náⁿ], ð= Ø ɲìⁿ- têm = = ð = lò,
[Art cow], 3Pl PfvNeg see.Base-be.accustomed.Base 3AnSgObj Emph,
A: ‘Ah, if a bull saw it, you know that cattle (generic), they (=cattle) aren’t used to seeing it (=elephant).’

[‘if a bull saw it’ is antecedent clause, with consequent delayed until the following segment; f-á-lò < Jula ‘you knot it’ (but indistinct in this recording); < /tèʔè = ð; lò (§19.4.2)]
A: ‘They (=cattle) would say (=think), “it’s a bull” thinking that they (=cattle) would have conflict with the thing (=elephant).’

/jùò third person animate pronominal after kà ‘with’ (§4.3.2.4)/

A: ‘Ah, they (=elephants) would pick them (=cows) up and throw them down and break their hips.’

[cé?ë dialectal for cf?ë]

A: ‘Well, it (=situation) stayed (like) that (for a while). The elephant went away.’

[cf. bè-yâ-ró ‘thus’ (§8.5.5.2.2)]

A: ‘Droves (of elephants). They came and looked at the place, and occupied our country in that way.’

[tf^n-tf^n intensifier for ‘many’; /kō (b)à-ńi/ : -dárá ‘do a lot’ (§15.1.2.1.2)]
A: ‘You-Sg in whose field they may enter, oh no!’
B: ‘Action (=trouble) arose!’

\(</móⁿ jèrōⁿ/ (§14.1.9)\)

A: ‘Action (=drama) has occurred! (Even) cashew trees won’t remain there!’

[The cashew tree, Anacardium orientale, planted around fields, is called ‘white man’s Blighia’ after the native tree Blighia sapida, which is planted in most villages]

A: ‘Well, (they) then lay hands on (=knock down) oil palms.’
B: ‘Oil palms, (and) the borassus palm.’
A: ‘The borassus palm.’
B: ‘Borassus palms.’

[diacents diverge in term for ‘borassus palm’; plural -ní (§4.1.2.5); sə̀rò ‘oil palm’, not to be confused with sə̀ròʔò ‘baobab tree’]

A: ‘Along with the sycomore fig tree, the shea tree.’
B: ‘(Even) human beings.’
A: ‘Won’t—.’
B: ‘(Even) human beings.’

[\(\text{fig} = \text{Ficus sycomorus}; \text{shea-tree} \text{ Vitellaria paradoxa}; \text{ɲířⁿámá} < \text{Jula}\)]
(02:09) [ò bìé?] fá-là →
[3Pl all] you.know.it
ò bìé?
3Pl all
ò diè fá’á
[é-yùò bà?á]
3Pl enter.Pfv here [1Pl chez]
A: ‘All of them, you know.’
B: ‘All of them.’
A: ‘They came in here (to) our (zone).’
[ó-là < Jula]

(02:12) ó nà̀ dò-pà¬→,
est-ce que [(mó” bì-dà] dò]
1Pl Fut say.Base-be.able.Base, Q [(2Sg younger.sib) Poss.Inan]
dà = á gà?à-klè = à→,
(Pfv)Past PfvNeg be.first.Base-be.done.Base Q,
(ê jì) à-mà” [ê-nì” mà] mà→]
(indistinct) [[Art life] be.Loc [3AnSg Loc] concerning]
dàsì = [Ø bɔ̃] kù = = à
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 = à”,; dási ‘otherwise’]

(02:16) [ … ] [[ē jì] à-mà” [ê” nì” mà] mà→]
(indistinct) [[Art life] be.Loc [3AnSg Loc] concerning]
dàsì = [Ø bɔ̃] kù = = à
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 = à”,; dási ‘otherwise’]

(02:19) à” nè mà” wù = = à→
3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg die.Pfv Q
[Ø bɔ̃] kù = = à, ádámà
[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)òl; rhetorical question in the form of a negative counterfactual consequent with perfective future-in-past (§16.4.4)]]
(02:20) mó, [ē bɔ̃] g-à— à lèⁿ [mòⁿ úⁿ'úⁿ] nīⁿ
2Sg. [Art elephant] Infín-Ipfv— Ipfv stop.Ipfv [2Sg head] Loc
jí māⁿ= à-māⁿ [bó cù'à-tǐⁿ] 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); < /mōⁿ à-māⁿ bó/; cù'à-tǐⁿ ‘under’ (§8.3.8.2); mā→ at end of conditional antecedent (§19.1.4)]

(02:24) mōⁿ nāⁿ— mōⁿ nāⁿ bù mīⁿ'âⁿ mè-yá= =ā
2Sg Fut— 2Sg Fut get.Base Refl-2SgPoss how? Q
fō ɔⁿ gō klè [ɔⁿ mīⁿ] [kā wū'kāⁿ] until 3AnSg Infín 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, §4.5.4)]

(02:26) [ē jë?è dó?ó] bā dè
[Art God Foc] if Quot
[[ē náⁿ-bî] dō] á k5 =?,
[[Art person] Poss.Inan] PfvNeg finish.Base Neg,
[bi tō?ô] ō bè,
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def,
[bè tō?ô] ō bè,
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def,
A: ‘(If) God [focus] says that a person’s (role) is not finished, that [focus] is how it is.’
B: ‘That is how it is.’
[lit. “thus is that’’]

(02:30) bè [jīⁿ-jù?ò]-dò,
Dem.Def [two-Ord]-Poss.Inan,
bè wā= à-klè [f-yùò bà?à] mūsòkóriš]
ā klè
31nan 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); -dò L-toned in discourse-definite partitive function (§6.2.4.3); < /bè kô (b)à-/ (parsing tentative)]
A: ‘What I know of (=have found out about). She went in order to hunt fish (in the water).’

\[<\text{fùs tò́rú/; tò́rú ní purposive complement (§17.6.2.5)}]\\

(02:38) \[é! \ ó \ dè \ [dúm-gà-få]-kè\]
oh! 1Pl Quot [be.sated]-matter

[bi \ tò́?ó]\ mā\ glá = =ā,

[Dem.Def Foc] IpfvNeg it.is Q,

A: ‘Oh, what we have called self-sufficiency (in food), is it not like that?’

\[<\text{Jula dúmú kà fá ‘be full (after eating)’ (Tiefo-D d̀rè/dè/dé); }<\text{má\ glò = ā/}]\\

(02:40) \[\text{bè \ tò́?è = } =ā, \quad \text{bè \ tò́? = } =ā\]

[Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Dem.Def Foc] it.is

[è nàⁿ-bí-ò] wò cāⁿ [gò fò-já \ bó]],


B: ‘It is! It is!’

A: ‘The people then dispersed (from the water) and left her (there).’

(02:42) \[bò \ gò \ pèⁿ\]

3AnSg Infin remain.Base

[gā \ sèⁿ \ [ø \ fà-rè] māⁿ [èⁿ \ mìⁿjáⁿ]],

[Infin-Ipfv gather.Ipfv [Art fish-Pl] there.Def 3AnSgRefl Refl]],

A: ‘She stayed (behind) to gather fish-Pl there by herself.’

(02:45) \[bò \ bà \ [gā = á-gbè-yìʔè\]

3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-pick.up.Base-lift.Base ,

[èⁿ \ dìⁿjáⁿ]), jí bò nàⁿ-dàrá→, \ [è \ blàʔà] yìʔè-fló, [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),’

\[-dàrá ‘be/do a lot’ (§15.1.2.1.2)]\\

(02:50) \[\text{gè \ yìʔè-tò́?è} \ Ò-māⁿ \ [Ø \ sè] = è,\]

[Art go.Pfv-place] be.Loc [Art where?] Q,

[èⁿ \ glò] [dè \ bā = = ā \ jìⁿjǐⁿ \ dàʃèⁿ→],

[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); }<\text{dè bò à jìⁿjǐⁿ/; ‘only’ = as soon as’ (§15.3.5.9)]
(02:54)  [ē  bɔ̌  wò  tī'-gbè  =  ù,  
[Art  elephant]  Infin  pull.Base-pick.up  3AnSgObj,  
kō  fɔ́rī-sùʔ3  =  w̩  
Infin  heave.Base-give.Base  3AnSgObj  
A: ‘The elephant pulled her and picked her up, and flung her away.’  
[< Jula filli ‘heave, fling’; ‘give’ as final in verb compound (§15.1.6.2)]

(02:58)  ē!  ā  klè,  bon,  ɲì-ɲí,  
Infin  filli  3Inan  be.done.Pfv,  well,  Prsntv,  
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)  dë  bùò  dë  [f(ò)  màⁿa  cîjî],  
Quot  3Pl  Quot  [3Pl  IpfvNeg  be.killed.Ipfv],  
[fò  dòî]  wò  [kè?é  ní]  
[3Pl  however]  be  [ruin(v).Prog  Prog]  
B: ‘They say, they (=elephants) aren’t (=cannot be) killed. And yet they are  
wreaking havoc.’  
[fò  in  dë  ò  màⁿa  is  inaudible  on  the  recording  but  seems  to  be  syntactically  
required;  progressive  construction  (§10.2.4)]

(03:04)  kō  gbè  =  w̩  [gō  rà-[mèⁿ-tàⁿ]  =  ùⁿ]  
Infin  pick.up.Base  3AnSgObj  [Infin  go.Base-[throw.Base]  3AnSgObj]  
[wò  dî-sò],  
[Infin  make.fall.Base],  
A: ‘(It) picked her up and proceeded to throw her down.’  
[kō  rà-  (§15.2.3.3.4);  dî-sò  dialectal  for  dî-só]  

(03:06)  ɜⁿ  wò  yfîí  màⁿa,  
3AnSg  Infin  go.Base  there.Def,  
kō  rà-sùʔ=  =  ù,  
Infin  go.Base-catch.Base  3AnSgObj],  
A: ‘It (=elephant) went there, and caught her.’  
[< /kō  rà-sùʔüb  =  (y)ô]/

(03:08)  [ɜⁿ  dô-dè-fè]  nìⁿ,  
[3AnSg  Poss.Inan-say.Pfv-talk(n)]  Loc,  
[[[ɜⁿ  sèⁿ-[lò-càʔà]  bô]  [fîná]  nì],  
[[[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.’  
[dô-dè-fè  (§5.1.13.2  at  (466));  < /sèⁿ-[lò-];  fîná  nî  (§15.3.2)]
(03:12) kō gbē = [ʒⁿ—, gbē-gbē]
Infin pick.up.Base [ʒⁿ, ʒⁿ] chest
[wō [tú-tⁿ]-dará [bó níⁿ] 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.’
[< -dará (§15.1.2.1.2)]

(03:15) k-á tórú bó bè-yá-ró, Infin-Ipfv weigh.down.on.Ipfv 3AnSg thus,
k-á tórú bó bè-yá-ró, Infin-Ipfv weigh.down.on.Ipfv 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; tórú associated by assistants with Jula téréké ‘rub’]

(03:18) [[ë klé-kà jí] ní-màⁿ=] [[Art manner.of.doing Indef] not.be.Loc]
[Ø néné-káré báé] bàràⁿ, [Art breath all] be.blocked.Pfv,
A: ‘There was nothing (for her) to do. Her entire breathing was blocked.’
[< Jula nínákílí ‘breath (m); Jula báláⁿ ‘be blocked’]

(03:20) ɔⁿhⁿ mâ-jí
yes if.you.see
B: ‘Yes. You see?’
[mâ-jí (§19.5.2)]

(03:22) donc ɔⁿ= Ø tórú-tár = = è bè-yá-ró
so 3AnSg Ipfv Rdp-weigh.down.on.Ipfv 3AnSgObj thus
ɔⁿ gō sàrè 3AnSg Infin proceed.to.Base
[ò gbō = = è [gō męⁿ-tⁿ = 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.’
[lórú-tórú verb iteration (§9.5): kō sàrè kō (§15.3.5.7.1) ; < /gbē = ɔ/]}

(03:24) kò yiʔí [gō rà—,
Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base— [kporëⁿ-kporëⁿ]-nɔⁿ = 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).
[< -nɔⁿ = è/]}
A: ‘She too, God helped her to cut (=hold) her breath.’
[‘help X to VP’ (§17.4.2.3.1)]

A: ‘It seemed to the elephant that she had died.’
[à"dë"nè‘n < French on dirait (§15.3.1.4)]

A: ‘It went away and left her. It stopped far away.’

A: ‘The (=her) eyes opened a crack.’
[< /wiʔè dßnì/ with dßnì ’a little’ (§8.5.2.2.2)]

A: ‘Oh! She got up, and managed to run across the pond.’
[bà’bà ’manage, find a way’ < Jula]

A: ‘She came. When she arrived here, she was letting out a wail.’
[< /bà kò (b)à-dà‘n/; < /kò à kò-à-sù?ú/; ’give’ as final in verb compound
(§15.1.6.2)]

A: ‘Wailing iteration and wailing. Then people heard her wailing.’
[durative iteration of imperfective clause, shortened from k-à kò-à-sù?ú (§15.2.2)]
(03:47) kō bā Base [Ø = əj”)-dárá = ə]
Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base-do.a.lot 3AnSgObj]
 pàrèkètè bè-yá-ró,
wrecked thus,
A: ‘(They) came and had a good look at her in bad shape.’
[ -dárá (§15.1.2.2); pàrèkètè expressive adverbial (§8.5.8)]

(03:50) ə bā”bá Base [wō gbē = ə]
Infin manage.Base [Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj]
[wō dêm°-dém = = ə°],
[Infin Rdp-do.a.little 3AnSgObj],
A: ‘(They) managed to pick her up and do what they could for her.’
[dêm°-dém° < Julà]

(03:52) ə bā = [ā ju”ô] dôtôsó fā”n°ā
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 ju”ô (§4.3.2.4)]

(03:54) áywà ə yifí
well Infin go.Base
[gō rà-glú [fō bānforà—, ī -dôtôsó]]
[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.’
/kō rà- : fō ‘all the way to’; Banfora is the nearest large city; pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]

(03:57) é, jî”-nî”, ānà”n°-yúô
oh!, Prsn tv, face-people
dè [ō bā kè’è [yúô jàr”°]]
Quot [3Pl if damage(v).Base [people Rel]]
ō wō tā”-jū,5,
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)]
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]

B: ‘Oh! The authorities knew about it, and yet they didn’t give anything?’

A: ‘Oh! Where was it given?’

[quoted prohibitive; dō ‘however’ (§19.3.8); verb with (rare) cognate verbal-noun object (§11.1.2.4)]

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!’
B: ‘If you kill one (elephant), (they say) that (it’s like) you killed a hundred people!’

A: ‘One elephant. It’s (like) ten people [focus] is what you killed.’
B: ‘You see?’

‘Nope! Ten, (that’s) what I heard. So, it was seen like that.’

A: ‘All of us saw it (=elephant) and left it (alone).’

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 bàré, é! [è ná”-bì],
3Pl Infin go.Base-say.Base still, oh! [Art person],
móⁿ mà màⁿ jì [Ô kē bē],
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?] [3P1 be Dem.Def Emph]
[gō yī?ī [gō rà-dò ná”?ā” [ē —, è ófòrē],
A: ‘They were like that. (They) went and spoke with the—, the forestry (service).’
/ná”?ā” ‘(speak) with (someone) < Jula ní à yé ‘with him/her’, can be emended to Tiefo-D dò = ní kà ‘say it with’]

(04:36) dè móⁿ—,
Quot 2Sg—,
[³ⁿ mā = à-rè] [[móⁿ tō?ō] kù = = ô]
[3AnSg if come.Base-say.Base [2Sg Foc] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj]]
móⁿ nàⁿ glū [bè niⁿ] = âⁿ,
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-dè/: < /kùô = ô/; conditional]

(04:39) kō yī?ī-dō ná””ā” [[Ô ófòrē] nī’]
Infin go.Base-speak.Base speak.with [[Art forester] Loc]
[wō bā],
Infin come.Base,
A: ‘And (then) go speak with the forestry (service) (for them) to come,’

(04:41) háyà, [[ē jā-rō] wūō fā”?ā”] ò gō bà
well, [[Art Indef-AnPl die.Pfv here] 3Pl Infin come.Base
[gâ = á-gbô = = ô] [wō yī?ī],
[Infin come.Base-pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin go.Base],
A: ‘Well, some (of them) died here. They (=foresters) then came and took them and went (back).’
/< /kō (b)â-gbē = ô/}
A: ‘Their teeth (=tusks), those tusks of theirs, they came and took them away. We saw that.’

/ŋə̀-rè ‘these/those (inanimate)’ (§4.4.2.2); < /kô fó à/)

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 dɛ̀n īⁿ]

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-sû; < /sû? dûn-; plural of ‘a little’; Tiefora is a town and administrative center on the Banfora-to-Gaoua road to the south of Daramandugu]

B: ‘Money had been gotten (indeed)!’

[past allomorph râ (Bi dialect, §10.3.1.1)]
A: [overlapping] ‘Some (people) had gotten a million (CFA francs) and then some!’

[< /jə-rō/; ‘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 poussièrê]

B: ‘Some money had been gotten, (for) damages.’

A: ‘So, once that was over—Oh! Is it not politics?’

A: ‘(Saying) that, when that report-making was past, making the report (cost) five thousand (currency units).’

[verbal noun with incorporated object; kō reduced from Jula níkō ‘after’; equal to 25000 CFA francs, about fifty US dollars in 2017; ‘thousand(s)’ (§4.6.1.4)]
(05:17) ŋ̀ mà á-bú mā”
A: ‘If you-Sg get (=make a profit) there, that’s what it is, (or) if you didn’t get (=make a profit) there.’

(05:19) [wí jàr3] bà [[Ô constat klè tòñi] ní”]
B: ‘Whoever came in order to make the report, the fellow at least got his transportation (cost).’

(05:22) parce que ō bà [gà= à-bú= [Ô bú]]
A: ‘Because they (=such villagers) came and got some money. (It was said,) they didn’t give them anything.’

(05:23) wàlà→, donc [[è bô-rà] kòñá”]—
A: ‘There. So, the matter of the elephants—.’

(05:27) est-ce que bùò rè kā—
B: ‘Did they say that— Do they give it (=money) there, up to today (=even nowadays)?’
(05:29) ò mā ñèkè [jërō bâʔà] 3Pl if come.Base-ruin(v).Base [Rel.AnPl Dat] [bùò yíʔ] kò yíʔ [k = ò-dò =nì] 3Pl PL Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-say.Base 3InanObj], [ò gō sūʔâ] [Ø ejê jî] =ā 3Pl Infin give.Base [Art thing Indef] Q B: ‘If they (=elephants) come and do damage to some people (‘s field), and their people then go and tell it (to the authorities), do they give anything?’ [yíʔì k = ò- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

(05:32) [ŋ] mā—, ŋ mā = à-yíʔì] [2Sg if—, 2Sg if come.Base-go.Base] ò nàn bâ [gâ = à-ñâ] kè 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.’ [<ŋ bâ (b)à-l; <kò à-ñâ]; kè (§19.4.5)]

(05:35) jî [mō” tóʔô] bā = à— (-kâ”) if [2Sg Foc] if come.Base— (-know.Base) [dè mō” nà” lé”-pâ’] [à rō] Quot 2Sg Fut stop.Base-be.able.Base [with 3Inan] A: ‘If you [focus] know that you can afford it (fee),’ [slightly broken, -kâ” inaudible; lit. “you can stop with that”]

(05:37) est-ce que [è nà”-bî-ô]— Q [ARt person-Pl]— [à jûʔâ] = rê] glêt = [[Ø nà”-bî-ô] ni”] 3Inan desire(n) even exit(v).Pfv [[Art person-Pl] Loc] [Ø kâ j =] à lé” [à rō] tàʔà-kó =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?’ [ = rê ’even’ (§19.1.6); <glêt è nà”-bî-ô/; </ni” è kâ jì à/; à rō (Bi ) ‘with it/them (inanimate)’, in other dialects kà ló (§4.3.2.4); tàʔà-kó ‘again’ here ‘any longer, any more’ (§10.3.2.2), cf. tàʔà just below]

(05:39) [è yúô] mā” klè bê tàʔà [Art people] IpfvNeg do.Ipfv Dem.Def again B: ‘The people won’t do that again.’
(05:40)  é!, [ē kēʔé-ní bó = rē] dārē-dārā
oh!, [Art ruin(v)-VblN Top even] be many.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base
[ā mān sārā-kō-pān dō],
[3Inan lpfvNeg be paid.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Emph],
A: ‘Oh! The damage [topic] has become great. It can’t be fully paid for.’
\[= rē ‘even’ (§19.1.6) combined with topic marking (§19.1.2.1); dārē-dārā
§15.1.2.1.2); -kā ‘finish’ (§15.1.3.6); -pān ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1); dō (§19.4.2)\]

(05:42)  bō-wí nī-mān,
 fellow not.be.Loc,
ā! [[bē nīn] nō būō jōrā] [bī tō?ó] = yā
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, dārāsā, nī-ī-kā dō = [Ø ji] [mó bārā],
no, D, if.I.may say.Base/lpfv [Art Indef] [2Sg Dat],
ā [pūs-kā, nó kōn [Ø ji]
3Inan look.at-manner, 1Sg know [Art something]
[ābō— ḥ bō-kā] nī],
[[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; nī-ī-kā < Jula (‘if I’); < /dō ē
ji mó/]

(05:53)  ḥ dīʔē, nō, nó Jean-Pierre,
2Sg hear.Pfv, 1Sg, 1Sg JP
nō ā dō = [Ø ji] [ā nī],
1Sg lpfv say.lpfv [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)  ē→, [ō nā-dī-š] dē = [Ø ji],
ah!, [1Pl old.man-Pl] speak.Pfv [Art something],
parce que mó— mā = ā dō dē =
because 2Sg— 2Sg PfvNeg say.Base Quot
B: ‘Ah, our old men (=our elders) said this. Because did you not say that it
was one single elephant [focus] that had come, at a certain time?’
[wātī ‘time’ < Jula (< Arabic)]
A: ‘It was a single one [focus] that had come.’
B: ‘When you saw they were abundant.’

[< /n dêɔ́nɛ́ nɔ́ tò(ʔó)/]

B: ‘(They) said, (in) a place, in a certain village, a famine had come in there.’

[< dì-ɛ́nɛ́ (§4.2.3.2); the two negative clauses are run together prosodically]
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]

B: ‘(He) told him (village chief) “send your people to go. So, send (them)— …” ’

[3AnSg representing original addressee]

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; yiǎí k = ó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

A: ‘(He) said: “they are starving.” ’

B: ‘(He) said: “they are starving.” ’

[lit. “hunger is in them” (§11.1.1.6)]

B: ‘So, you see, on their feet (=tracks) at that time, (they resembled) décalé shoes.’

[plural of pièⁿ ‘foot’; décalé is a durable modern shoe type in slipper-like shape]
(06:51) mā-jiŋ⁰ [ò ti-tà-rà]  
if.you.see [3Pl shoe-Pl]  
mó⁰ nà⁰ dè [Ø décalé-[ti-tà-rà]-ji] = 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 ti-tà?à (Bi, Ma), tē-tà?à (Ji, see just below), or fá-tà?à (Fl), in each case with regular rhotic plurals]

(06:56) non, [cē tē-tà-rà] á pī =?,  
no, [Art shoe-Pl] PfvNeg see.Base Neg,  
[Ø tē-tà-rà jō-rē] ñ-m = [Ø bā?à]  
[Art shoe-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc [3Pl Dat]  
B: ‘No, no shoes were seen. (But) they had some (kinds of) shoes.’  
[< /a-mā ə bā?à/]

(07:00) donc, [bè dé] gō klè bē-kā lò, so, [Dem.Def however Infin be.done.Base thus Emph,  
3AnSg go.Pfv Infin—— 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-do.Base  
[Ø kē⁰] gō, ī sū?₅ [Ø sū⁰],  
[[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 = ā- ‘go and …’ (§15.2.3.3.2); periphrastic causative with klè ‘do, make’ §17.4.2.5.1]  

(07:06) ò kō diē, kō yiūli—  
3Pl Infin enter.Base, Infin go.Base—  
kō yiūli [fē [dī-ē?ē]-fē-tà?₅] nī  
Infin 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]  

(07:10) bon, c’est que ō nà—  
well, it’s that 3Pl Fut—  
dè būdō mā = ā—— -bū = [Ø di-ē?ē],  
Quot 3Pl 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); di-ē?ē (§4.2.3.2)]
Then they would go and give some (food, to the children), and go back and be transformed—take the potion, and be transformed.

To transform themselves back (into their original human selves).

They (= people transformed into elephants) remained in that place going about their business, while they were (getting ready) to come back.

They (eventually) came back, only to see (=find) that the magician had passed (away). The magician had died.
(07:26) [ē sùⁿ-wi] wūō k-ā—
[Art medicine-owner] die.Pfv Infin-Ipfv—
bùò nā klá-pēⁿ me-kā-diⁿ = īⁿ 3Pl Fut return.Base-remain.Base how? Q

donc ō kò dárō-bā so 3Pl Infin be.many.Base-come.Base

B: ‘The magician had died. (So) how will they remain (as elephants)?’
A: ‘So they became many.’

[ba ‘come’ as Vb2 in verb-verb-compound (§15.1.5.1)]

(07:30) pnè— [ō dōrē], pnś [ō piëⁿ [kā-tō ni]]
(error) [3Pl be.many.Pfv], look.Base [3Pl remain.Pfv [thus Loc]

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)]

(07:35) ō piëⁿ kā-tō [k-ā dōrō-ā-dōrā]
3Pl remain.Pfv thus [Infin-Ipfv be.many.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.a.lot.Ipfv]
[k-ā ōr-ā-ŷīʔī]
>Infin-Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv
[k-ā ōr-ā-ŷīʔī]
>Infin-Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv

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; Ipfv ōr-ā-ŷīʔī functions adverbially in the sense ‘continuously, more and more’]

(07:38) [kō dōrō-dōrā] (kō) ōr-ā-ŷīʔī]—
[Infin be.many.Base-do.a.lot.Base] (Infin) be.seen.Base-Ipfv-go.Ipfv]—
[ē Eaux-Forêt-yūō kā = ā-ŷī]
[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).’

[kā = ā-ŷī ‘come see’ might be misheard for kā = ā-ŷī ‘go see’ here and just below]
(07:40) [dé ̀kā = à-tiëⁿ =nī]
[Quot 3Pl Infin Base.heat(v).Base 3InanObj]
[̀kā = à-nī]
[3Pl Infin go.Base-see.Base]
dè ̀ayì ̀dè [bùò jùò] má kò bie?,
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: jùò default animate possessum invariant for number (§6.2.4.2);]

(07:45) dè [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
dè [bùò jùò] má n gò bie?
Quot [3Pl Poss.An] Neg be all
dè [bùò jùò] má kò bie?,
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 jùò kō—
(false start)
bùò ̀jì jàrò, bùò,
3Pl Ipfv know.Ipfv Rel.AnPl, 3Pl
bù = ̀jì bùò,
3Pl 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 dè] á sūʔò [Ø klòʔò]
[3Pl however] PfvNeg give.Base [Art road]
d = ò wò cùʔ = wò
Quot 3Pl Hort kill.Ipfv 3PlObj
ni-ní,
Prsntv,
A: ‘But they (=foresters) didn’t give the authorization for them (=villagers) to kill them (=elephants).’
B: ‘There it is!’
(07:57) mais à wō pe" bè-kā,
but 3Inan Infō remain.Base thus,
dō dōrē-dōrē dōkā
3Pl be.many.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base now
B: ‘But it stayed like that. They (=elephants) have become very abundant now.’

(08:01) [è ú"ú"] má jī tàí-kō
[Art head] IpfvNeg be.known.Ipfv again
mā-njī
you-see
B: ‘The reason (for that) is still unknown.’
A: ‘You see?’

(08:03) donc ō jë-dōrā bè-kā,
so 3Pl give.birth.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base thus,
bon ō gblē-dōrā = [Ø kōdō]
well 3Pl take.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base [Art road]
ō gblē = nïⁿ = nē?
3Pl take.Pfv 3InnanObj Emph
B: ‘So, they reproduced over and over like that. Well, they took (=occupied) all the paths.’
A: ‘They sure did take it!’
[< / = nïⁿ = dēl/]

(08:06) [bè kë-rë-nî] kò yâ
[Dem.Def ruin(v)-VblN] be Dem.InanSg
à má dô
3Inan InfōNeg be.said.Ipfv
jë rô = à-mâ = [à nïⁿ]
Rel be.Loc 3Innan Loc
B: ‘That is the damage. It isn’t (=can’t be) said (=described).’
A: ‘What(-ever) is in it.’

(08:10) [dō = Ô-mâ [tàí jërō]] [dō = Ô-mâ mā],
[1Pl be.Loc [place Rel]] [1Pl be.Loc there.Def],
dō kâné kërë-kërē-dōrē = [Ø mié]
dō kô gbē = [Ø nâ"-bî-ô]
3Pl Infō 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—’
[< / dō à-mâ/ kâné said to be from Jula (§10.4.2.4); mié 1Pl (§4.3.1.4)]
(08:13) ò má já [Ø sámá-klà?à],
3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv [Art maize],
ò má já [è ná-bí jór’ámá],
3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv,
[Art person very.good],
ò má já [bè è?è], [bè è?è] ní-mā,
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-klà?à dialectal for súmá-klà?à; correlative with implied but covert relative marking (§14.1.10)]

(08:18) [è ná-bíó =rê] cè?è,
[Art person.Pl even] fear(v).Pfv,
[è yè-ní] [ò mîlâ] dê-rê,
[Art walk.Base-VblN] [PRefl Refl] now,
kò yè mîlâ dê-rê ní-mā,
Infin walk.Base Refl now not.be.Loc,
[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 násòrá-kèn èrê] nà = ò,
[Art white.person-man even] see.Pfv 3AnSgObj,
ó nà = ò [bè kò]
1Pl see.Pfv 3AnSgObj [Dem.Def day]
wâlà→
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; èrê ‘even’ (§19.1.6)

(08:27) [è dì] ñn nà = à [ñn/-ñn-klâ =
[Art last.year] 3AnSg IpvPast Ipfv run.Ipfv-Ipfv-return.Ipfv
[[Ø blâ?à-ti?è] nìn]
[[Art pond-hole] Loc]
A: ‘Last year he was hurrying back from the wetland.’
[< /ñn dê à/]
[08:29] *ɲɔ́ ɔ́ bɔ̀,*
look.Base 3Pl come.Pfv,
*[ɲɔ́ ɔ́ ɡlɔ̃] [ɔ́ bʊŋ-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.’
*[ɲɔ́ in presentative (i.e. highlighting) function (§4.4.4.1); -kà ‘manner’ compound (§5.1.7.2)]*

[08:32] nɔ̀ dũ̄ɛ̃ ʃɔ́rshots, [ʃɛ ná-dì-ʃ jɛ̃-rɔ̀] nù?i,
1Sg hear.Pfv Rel, [[Art old.person-Pl Indef-AnPl] mouth] Loc,
*[ɔ̀ bʊŋ-kà tɛ] = yà mlɛ̃,*
[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.’
*[< /mà ni ɔ̀; < /kò (y)á/]*

[08:35] ɔ̀ bʊŋ-kà— mò mà .pɔ = [ɔ̀ dɔ́rɛ̃],
3Pl be.gotten-manner— 2Sg if see.Base [3Pl be.many.Pfv],
*[ɔ̀ dɔ́rɛ̃-kà] kà = ā, 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 ni ɔ̀; < /kò (y)á/]*

[08:39] donc comme ɔ̀ bʊŋ ʃɔ́rshots
so like 1Pl get.Pfv Rel
*[ɔ̀-yù ɔ̀ bʊŋ ʃɔ́rshots]*
1Pl get.Pfv Rel
A: ‘So, like, what we found, —’
B: ‘What we found,’

[08:43] comme [ɛ̃ jɛ̃-rɔ̀] ə-mà mà
as [Art Indef-AnPl] be.Loc there.Def
*[wàlà→ right!]*
1Pl Fut give.Base look.Base 3I NanObj, if 3Pl Fut—
*[ɔ̀ nà sùdɔ̃-nɔ̀ = ni —, jɔ́ = ɔ̀ nà—]*
1Pl Fut give.Base look.Base 3I NanObj, if 3Pl Fut—
*[kò kà dɔ̀-nɔ̀ = [Ø ji]]*
3Pl Hort Sbjn speak.Base look.Base [Art something]
*[ɔ̀ kò kà ən dɔ̀ = [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] kùšⁿ = [Ø ji] [à ni]
right, if [Art someone] know.Pfv [Art something] [3Inan Loc]
ð = Ø fā [bè tōʔś]
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) [álè kù"?ùn] [è cɔ̀fɔ̀-fè = rè] = à,
         [even today] [Art Tiefo-language even] it.is,
áywà, dè [kè jà[r̥̄ŋ] fì = [é bǝ?à],
well, Quot [matter Rel] pass.Pfv [1Pl chez],
A: ‘Even (=again) today, it is (still) Tiefo language. Well, talking about the
thing(s) that have passed (=ceased to occur) in our area.’
[álè ‘even’ (§19.1.7); = rè (§19.1.6); kè ‘thing (abstract), matter’; < /fì è bǝ?à/]

(00:08) énàfɔ [[[fí-yùò náⁿ-dì-'.$] náⁿ klè—
anyway [[[1Pl elder-Pl] PastHabit do.Ipfv—
náⁿ lâⁿ [[è dɔ̀-rɔ̀] kè-tè?è][]} sïná] nìⁿ],
PastHabit wash.Ipfv [[Art man-Pl hand]] situation] Loc,
A: ‘The way our elders used to do—used to circumcise men (=boys).’
énàfɔ < Jula ‘you will say’; plural of náⁿ-dè ‘elder (n)’; past habitual náⁿ(ŋ)
(§10.2.2.3); ‘wash X’s hands’ = ‘circumcise X’ (making X ritually clean)]

(00:12) [[bè tòʔò] fɛ] màⁿ glò = [ò = Ø fà] = â
         [[Dem.Def Foc talk(n)] IpfvNeg it.is [3Pl Ipfv seek.Ipfv] Q
[[bì tòʔò] fɛ] = 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-tèʔè]-làⁿ-ní bò] rà gà
         [Art [hand]-wash.Base-VblN Top] Past be
[(Ø) támw-à = [Ø jɔⁿ] nìⁿ]] = nèʔ
         [Art ten [Pl two] Loc]] Emph
â kòńĩ
3Inan be.thus
A: ‘Circumcision, it was (done) by twelves (=everybody).’
B: ‘It was like that.’
[támw-à = jɔⁿ ‘twelve’ (§4.6.1.3), dialectally tâmm k = [ò jɔⁿ] : ‘twelve (out of
twelve)’, i.e. one hundred percent; < nìⁿ = dèʔ; là for expected gò ‘be’ (< kó)]
et puis ô bà râ—ô bà râ rè
and.then 3Pl if Past—3Pl if Past say.Base
[o nàⁿ klè = nìⁿ].
[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)]

ô bà àô
Infin Rdp-become.robust.Base
A: ‘The boys grew up and became robust.’

kɔ̀ kɔ̀-kɔ̀
Rdp-become.robust Base
 well(adv),
[kɔ̀ wè-dè = [Ø yô-tîrî-nî]
[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-dè ‘be well-placed’ here ‘be ready (for marriage)’; tîrî < Jula]

wàlâày, ô gô sàrâ [gò sù?ú]
by.God, 3Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin catch.Base]
[wô rà-îm -klè = nìⁿ].
[Infin go.Base- (hesitation) -do.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘By God, they proceeded to take (them) and went to do it.’

mais comme [dè-dè dó],
but as [now Poss.Inan],
[bè dîⁿ] ñà = [à mîⁿ?âⁿ]],
[Dem.Def manner] be [3Inan apart]],
A: ‘But nowadays, the manner of (doing) that has become different.’
[dè-dè dò ‘nowadays’; < /dîⁿ kô à‘; mîⁿ?âⁿ ‘oneself; different’ (§18.1.2)]

ô bà [gà = à-ñîⁿ]
3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base
[ô gô já bè mâⁿ]],
[3Pl Infin leave.Base Dem.Def there]],
A: ‘They (=elders) came and saw that they abandoned that (custom).’
wō→, klè [Ø bī-ʃjō],
Infin—, do.Base [Art child.Pl],
kā = à-klè = ni⁰ [Ø bī-ʃjō jórí-kə],
A: ‘And (they) make children—they come do it (=circumcision) (to) small children.’
[i.e. babies are medically circumcised nowadays; jórí-kə (§4.5.4 at (356d), §4.5.3.2.2)]

āè̋ ȑ̩ è̋ ȑ̩ m̩̏n̩̏ b̩̏ l̩̏ =y̩̏ =ʔ,
[3Inan too] lpfvNeg fatigue(v).Ipfv 3PlObj Neg,
[3⁰ η̏ p̩̏ n̩̏ ][[b̩̏ t̩̏ ô̋ ̏ ŋ̩̏ k̩̏ ɛ̋ n̩̏ ]]
[3AnSg Infin remain.Base [[Dem.Def Foc] Loc]]
A: ‘That (way) doesn’t hurt them (babies). They stay like that.’
[< /è̋ ȑ̩ l̩̏ ; ’fatigue (v)’ has a general sense ‘be painful for, hurt, make sick’; < /3⁰ k̩̏ p̩̏ n̩̏ ]/!

jáⁿbè à ȑ̩ klè b̩̏-yá-ró,
anyway 3Inan lpfvPast be.done.Ipfv thus,
A: ‘Anyway, that’s how it was done (in the past).’
[past imperfective (§10.3.1.3)]

náⁿ-di-口腔 b̩̏ ȑ̩—,
elder-Pl if Past—,
dè— dè ò keⁿ⁰ʔeⁿ [Ø pòʔó],
say.Base— say.Base 3Pl ascend.Base [Art the.bush],
A: ‘When the elders told them (=boys) to go up (=out) into the bush, …’
[quoted imperative with subject, here 3Pl ò]

áywà, ḫ̩̏ kù⁰ =ni⁰,
well, 2Sg know.Pfv 3InanObj,
[ē p̩̏ ô̋-k̩̏-ʔeⁿ-ř̩̏ dá =] = à = d̩̏?
[Art the.bush-ascend.Base-VblN Foc.Inan] it.is Emph wâlláây
by.God
A: ‘Well, (as) you-Sg know, that was (=really meant) going up (=out) into the bush.’
B: ‘By God!’
[’know it’ plus clause (§17.3.1.2); 2Sg proclitic ḫ̩̏ (§4.3.1.6.2): < /t̩̏ =ʔ/]
A: ‘When they went and arrived there (=in the bush), they took them.’

[double conditional antecedent with ‘go’ (§16.1.1.6)]

A: ‘Is that not the custom? The ones who are in a role.’

B: ‘The ordinary citizens are there.’

A: ‘They start going ahead like that. Some followed after others.’

B: ‘I want to ask you, regarding the three places (=roles) that you mentioned, …’

[< /tôʔɔ̀ sáⁿ/; m5→ (§19.1.4)]
Text 2017-10

(01:17) [è luğu-dì] [kà = [=Ø jë-wì]]
[Art village-chief] [and [Art fetish-owner]]
[kà = =Ø lè-kà-rò] mà→,
[and [Art citizen] concerning,
B: ‘Regarding the village chief, the fetishists, and the ordinary citizens.’

(01:20) [fùn-pòrò ɗì] bùò,
[which? AnPl-breed Top.AnPl],
sòr kà à gàʔ-à-se⁶ =è⁶
who? Past Ipfv be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv Q
B: ‘Which category (of people)? Who used to lie down first?’
['which?’ (§13.2.3.6.1-2); ‘who?’ (§13.2.3.1); gàʔà ‘do first’]

(01:23) jàrò à gàʔ-à-se⁶, nó⁶ dè,
Rel.AnPl Ipfv be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv, 1Sg Quot,
[è jà-yùò rò] rè gàʔ-à-se⁶,
[Art fetish-owner.Pl Foc] IpfvPast be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv,
A: ‘The ones who (used to) lie down first. I say, it was the fetishists [focus] who lay down first.’
[‘this reply is corrected just below; focalizing rò < /tòʔósito/]

(01:29) jì nó⁶ mà = á pë kàmì⁶,
if 1Sg if PfvNeg forget.Base Top,
[i-yùò bàʔà], jàrò dà = à fò = [[Ø ānàʔà] ni⁶],
[1Pl chez], Rel.AnPl IpfvPast Ipfv pass.Ipfv [[Art face] Loc],
A: ‘If I have not indeed forgotten, in our zone, the ones who went forward (first), …
[topic marker (§19.1.2.3.1)]

(01:33) àhà⁶ bè jà-yùò mà⁶ glò,
uh-huh Dem.Def fetish-owner.Pl IpfvNeg it.is,
[è lè-kà-rò rò] dà = à fò = [[Ø ānàʔà] ni⁶],
[Art citizen-Pl Foc] IpfvPast Ipfv pass.Ipfv [[Art face] Loc],
A: ‘Uh-huh! It wasn’t those fetishists (animist practitioners). It was rather the ordinary citizens [focus] who went ahead (first).’
[focalizer rò (< /tòʔósito) in a correction]

(01:38) [è jà-yùò] wò jùʔà,
[Art fetish-owner.Pl] Infin follow.Base,
[è لندا-dì] gò sàrò gò→
[Art village-chief] Infin proceed.to.Base Infin—
A: ‘The fetishists follow.’
B: ‘The village chief then proceeds to—.’
[sàrò (§15.3.5.7.1)]
The village chief then proceeds to put in his (people). He follows.

When they came out, 'Come so that I (may) send emissaries there.'

I imperative with following different subject chain: mɔ̃ → 'concerning' sets up a following clause (§19.1.4)

Does he (=chief) ruin his thing first?'

So the elders used to let (it) go past (=be done) like that.'

When they came out, once they had begun (it), …’
(02:04) [ò bà— [yí-ní]-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-ní/-bà-dèl; < /ò à él; cècé ‘walk’ (Bi dialect) with optional w onset, in
other dialects with initial y (§3.1.1.2)]

(02:07) [bó tò?ó wí] à fó [ānà"?ā" ni"],
   [3AnSg Foc owner] Ipfv pass.Ipfv [face Loc],
[ō tò] wō jū?̄,
[3Pl other] Infin follow.Base,
A: ‘It’s he [focus] who goes ahead. The others then follow.’
[focalized form of bō-wí ‘the fellow’ (recently introduced discourse referent), with
bó treated as focalized possessor (§13.1.3.4); ō tò ‘the others’ (§18.5.2.2) here
denoting the ordinary citizens]

(02:10) ná"blá dè mā" [ā ni"],
   leader IpfvPast be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
donc bó bā fó [ānā"?ā" ni"],
so 3AnSg if pass.Base [face Loc]
[ō wō jū?̄],
3Pl Infin follow.Base,
A: ‘There was a leader there (among them). So, when he went ahead, then they
followed.’

(02:13) ò wō jū?̄ bê-yâ-ró
3Pl Infin follow.Base thus
A: ‘They followed like that.’

(02:16) bê go fō, nò go-bâ?ā—
   Dem.Def Infin pass.Base, 1Sg want.it—,
[ë diê-tō?] ni" mṣ→,
[Art eat.Pfv-place] Loc] concerning,
B: ‘After that, I want (to ask)—at the eating place, …’
[-tō?̄ compound (§5.1.7.3)]

(02:19) [ë di-e?é] bā bā,
   [Art food] if come.Pfv,
kâtō→ ò zijë?ë [kò = ?ō— -lā" [s" ki-te?ë]],
when 3Pl go.Pfv [Infin go.Base— -wash.Base [3AnSg hand]],
B: ‘When the food came, when they went to wash his hand, …’
[kâtō ‘when’ (< Jula); kò = ?ō- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

sò-wí k = á gà? - à-cúí = í


B: ‘The food came. Their food, who was the first to cut (it)?’

(02:27) donc [mõ° bí-ní] kpè kósśbé,
so [2Sg ask.Base-VblN] be.good.Pfv very,
[õ di-ê?ê] bà bà,
[Art food] if come.Pfv,

A: ‘So, your question was very good. When the food came,’
[cf. verb biè/bû/bí ‘ask (inquire)’; kpè?è/kò?ò/kò?ò ‘be good, succeed’ (§3.4.2.6,
§9.4); kósśbé(?) ‘very’ (§8.5.2.1.2)]

(02:30) énàfo [[ö dë = ní°] síná] ní°,
anyway [[[1Pl say.Pfv 3InanObj] situation] Loc],
[[[õ pò?ò] glò] jná] ní°,
[[[Art the.bush] be.left.Pfv] situation] Loc],

A: ‘Anyway, the way we have said it, the way the bush (=outback) has been left
(behind), …’

énnàfo < Jula ‘you will say’; síná-ní°()

(02:34) toujours à gô bè-yá-ró,
always 3Inan be thus,
[õ nã’blá dá =] ã gà? - à-cúí
[Art leader Poss.3Inan] Lpfv be.first.Lpfv-Lpfv-cut.Lpfv,

A: ‘It is always thus. The leader is the first to cut (food).’
[< /dô à/; kûû/kû/cúí ‘cut’ ‘cut’ = start eating, cf. English break bread or dig in]

(02:38) hàyà [jë?ô di?è buò] gô kú,
[[jë?ô di?è-di?è buò] g-ã cúí]

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 buò as plural topic marker (§19.1.2.1); reduplicated
‘follow’ indicates a still later group of arrivals]

(02:41) [õ ú°í°-tàré°-yûò wò sû?ò [Ø klò?ô],
[Art head-sit.Pfv-people chain give.Base [Art road],
á! d = õ gô dí,
oh! Quot 3Pl Infin eat.Base,

A: ‘The ones sitting in front give instructions, telling them to eat.’

-yûò agentive plural plus compound initial (§5.1.5.1); “give road” means ‘give
permission (e.g. to go), authorize, instruct’
(02:45)  bè— [è lé] dó = ō,
Dem.Def— [Art house] Poss.Inan whether,
[è sàwú-cáʔá] dó = ō,
[Art outside.of.house] Poss.Inan whether,
[á bié] à dí [[bè tòʔò] diē-kà],
[3Inan all] Ipfv be.eaten.Ipfv [[Dem.Def Foc] eat.Pfv-manner,
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 lé ; willy-nilly conditional antecedent (§16.3); -kà compound final
(§5.1.7.2)]

(02:50)  [Ø náⁿ-dì-ð] nàⁿ klè bè-yá-ró
[Art elder-Pl] PastHabit do.Ipfv thus
A: ‘The elders used to do that.’
/nàⁿ past habitual (§10.2.2.3)]

(02:52)  mais [[bè tòʔò] nì], ò bà—
but [[Dem.Def place] Loc], 3Pl if—
[[ō kè-tèʔè] bà tâ láⁿ]
[[3Pl hand] if Past be.washed.Base]
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]

(02:54)  ò bà bú [dè dámá] mš→,
3Pl if get.Base [day a.few] concerning,
ò tâ mà yē= [Ø pòʔ=] = ā
3Pl Past IpfvNeg walk.Ipfv [Art the.bush] Q
B: ‘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); yē (Ma) = ē (Bi)
‘walk’; (y)ē = [Ø pòʔò] ‘go hunting’, lit. “walk (in) the bush”; dámá ‘a little, a few’
(§8.5.2.2.4)]

(02:58)  é→ [Ø kè-tèʔè] bà = à láⁿ],
oh! [Art hand] if come.Base-be.washed.Base,
[à nàⁿ = àⁿ-mû = [Ø yû = ]
[3Inan Fut come.Base-get.Base [Art people]
A: ‘When the hand was washed (=circumcision had occurred), it (=pain) would
come and get (=afflict) people.’
/<nàⁿ (b)bú ē yúô/}
Text 2017-10

(03:01) [̀à d̄é-[่น̄?è̄ⁿ-ǹ̄ⁿ] mà k̄5→],
[3]Inan body-[be.sour-VblIN] if finish.Base,
[è pò?ò] dè ě = rè?,
[Art the.bush] IpfvPast be.walked.Ipfv Emph,
A: ‘When the pain of it ended, hunting would be done.’
[usually dè-[ǹ̄?è̄ⁿ-ǹ̄ⁿ] ‘body-sourness’ denoting a muscular injury, e.g., from sports; lit. “the bush would be walked”; = dè? (§19.4.1)]

(03:04) [nòⁿ ə̀ rè] nòⁿ dìè = [[Ø tũʔe] niⁿ],
[1Sg even] 1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art burrow] Loc],
kò suʔú— [è bli-kè],
Infin catch.Base— [Art hare],
A: ‘I myself, I went into a burrow, to catch a hare.’
[ə̀ rè (§19.1.6); a burrow originally dug by an aardvark is often occupied later by hares]

(03:10) nòⁿ dìè = [[Ø tũʔe] niⁿ] [wò suʔú = [Ø bli-kè]
1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art burrow] Loc] [Infin catch.Base [Art hare],
í-yòò dè māⁿ [g-à cù = [Ø wòni-ò] kâsôbè,
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-ó) agouti = marsh cane rat (Thryonomys)]

(03:14) [[bè dáʔá] niⁿ] [Ø náⁿ-bî-ô bîé]
[[Dem.Def time] Loc] [Art person-Pl all]
wò sârùⁿ [Ø lé],
Infin descend.Base [Art house],
[ò fiè-já = [Ø pò?ò] māⁿ],
[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) 3³h̄5ⁿ → donc [è j̄5-[ǐ̄ⁿ]²’î̄ⁿ-ní] mā bà-bà-kâñā
uh-huh, so [Art fetish-run-VblIN] if Rdp-come.Base-coincide.Base
[à—, [è nà’gblácíó] à-māⁿ,
[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  gõ  yfří  [gõ  rà-jná"
1Pl  Infin  go.Base  [Infin  go.Base-look.at.Base]
[ï  wū-tō]  [n  dëⁿʔé"
[jí]  bã  à-mã",
[Art  bungalow]  [Sg  one]  Indef  if  be.Loc,
A: ‘We went and looked, (to see) if one bungalow was there, …’
[wū-tō  ‘small construction not divided into rooms’, i.e. for sleeping while out in
the bush, dialectally wūʔú-tō]

(03:26)  ë  pòʔō-yříʔtāʔjā"  ñàr̤ā"
Art  the.bush-go.Base-place  Rel,
ó  gõ  rà-čī"
1Pl  Infin  go.Lpfv-Lpfv-spend.night.Lpfv  [Dem.Def  place],
[k-ā  cīʔ = [Ø  kā-rā]]  [gõ  bā]  [gõ  bā]  é!
A: ‘The hunting place where (the bungalow was), we would go and spend
the night at that place.’
[kō  rā-à-  ‘and go(es) and’ (imperfective) (§15.2.3.3.5)]

(03:28)  donc  ó  gõ  rà-čī"
so  1Pl  Infin  go.Lpfv-Lpfv-spend.night.Lpfv  [Dem.Def  place],
[k-ā  cīʔ = [Ø  kā-rā]]  [gõ  bā]  [gõ  bā]  é!
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; kā-rā plural of kãʔā ‘meat; game animal’; kō  bā
repeated to mark multiplicity]

(03:31)  más  ò  má"  sūʔu  [Ø  jī]  [ŋ̃  í-yūʔ]  =dë?,
but  3Pl  LpfvNeg  give.Lpfv  [Art  something]  [Dat  1Pl]  Emph,
é!  [cí kē]  rē  kãʔā  dī-nā"-dē"  =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  kãʔā/;  dī-nā"-dē"  (§8.5.7.1)]

(03:35)  mó"  tōʔōj  ā  cīʔ = [Ø  kāʔá]
[2Sg  Foc]  Lpfv  kill.Lpfv  [Art  meat]
más  mó"  má"  nē" = [Ø  kāʔá]  [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)]
(03:37) [è ú"ùⁿ-tàrèⁿ-yùò] wō wū?5-wū?5 = niⁿ,
[Art head-sit.Pfv-people] Infin Rdп-suck.Base 3InanObj,
tā nā" wū?5-kō [ò mī"ùⁿ].
like Fut suck.Base-kill.Base [PlRefI RefI],
A: ‘The leaders gobbled it (=meat) up, like (they) would eat themselves to death.’
[‘like’ (§8.5.1.1); wū?5/wū?5 usually means ‘suck (finger)’ or ‘eat (rice, dried couscous)’, emphasizing rapid and total consumption; reflexive object
(§18.1.2)]

(03:41) donc [í-yùò bùò] [gà— [Ø wā-wā-ní],
so [1Pl Top.AnPl] [with— [Art minnow-Pl],
[kà [Ø pépèrè-pépèrè-ktò] í-yùò rè dí [bè tò?ò],
A: ‘So, we ourselves had minnows, (little) flat fish, that [focus] is what we used to eat.’
[wā-wā ‘minnow’; < /fūî/; past imperfective (§10.3.1.3); dí is base=Ipfv]

(03:48) donc, ó bà rà-è= [Ø pò?ò],
so, 1Pl if go.Base-walk.Base [Art the.bush],
ó bà rà-è= [Ø pò?ò],
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 yǐí fā→ è→ [tò?ò jàròⁿ] 5 = à lí
Infin go.Base until oh! [place Rel] 1Pl Ipfv call.Ipfv
dè mé"kpà-blúíò,
Quot M-water.spring,
A: ‘(We) went all the way to the place that we call “Menkpa’s spring.”’
[fā ‘until, all the way to’ (§8.3.10.2); < /ó à lí/; ‘that we call’; quotative dè with verb ‘call’; mé"kpà is a person’s name]

(03:53) é wō rà-wàí?ální-glò = [Ø blí-ké ji],
1Pl Infin go.Base-make.noise.Base-take.out.Base [Art hare Indef],
sà?ùwò-lē tò?ò-gblà?ò
S in.the.vicinity.of
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?ò-gblà?ò (§8.3.4.5); sùwô is called by hunter to hunting dogs, to sic them on an animal, cf. sù?ò/sù?û/sù?û ‘catch’]
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(03:58) [ē būʔò] wō jùʔò A: ‘The dogs followed after (=pursued) the hare. They all went into an aardvark’s burrow.’

[-tūʔè as compound final (§5.1.7.10)]

(04:02) [è úⁿ-kè] ní-māⁿ [[Ø nàⁿgblàció] nì] = dēʔ',

[Art head-matter] not.be [[Art circumcised.group] Loc] Emph,

A: ‘There sure weren’t any worries in (=among) the circumcised boys! Ah, I went into the burrow.’

[úⁿ-kè (dialectally úⁿ?úⁿ-kè) “head-matter” i.e. ‘problem, worry (n)’]


[naⁿ = á kòⁿ] [nòⁿ wō dì = [ā = [Ø ānàⁿʔàⁿ]],

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); < /á diè kà e jìʔè/ ; < /nòⁿ kò diè kà e ānàⁿʔàⁿ/ ]

(04:07) mó gō diè kè é!

2Sg Infin enter.Base Emph oh!

B (overlapping): ‘You actually went in!’

[kè (§19.4.5)]

(04:10) mais [ē jùʔè] nỳèⁿ-glò = mìⁿ,

but [Art God] rescue.Pfv 2SgObj,

nòⁿ diè [ā = [Ø ānàⁿʔàⁿ]] [wò yūʔî],

1Sg enter.Pfv [with [Art face]] [Infin go.Base],

A: ‘But God got you-Sg out safely! I went in forward (=head first).’

[Jula pùwèⁿ ; ‘you’ = ‘me’ with displaced perspective]

(04:14) [ē glò-tìʔè— yìʔè [Ø rà-léⁿ],

[Art aardvark-hole]— go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-be.blocked.Base],

jà→ [Ø blí-kè] yìʔè [Ø rà-dàⁿ]


comme [ē tìʔè] lèⁿ rò,

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]
(04:18) ³ⁿ = Ø  klè = [Ø ji]  jūʔ-kiⁿ = àⁿ / ,
3AnSg  PfvNeg  do.Base  [Art  something]  above  Q,
[è  bli-kē]  ķèʔō
[Art  hare]  Infin  ascend.Base  Dem.Def,
ō  kèpʔō  jūʔ-kiⁿ
Infin  ascend.Base  above
àⁿhāⁿ,  kō  kēpʔō  jūʔ-kiⁿ,
uh-huh,  Infin  ascend.Base  above,
A: ‘Did it (=hare) not do something up above? The hare climbed up.’
B: ‘Climbed to the top.’
A: ‘Uh-huh, (it) climbed up.’

(04:23) nóⁿ  kō  yūā  [ná = á  ni]
1Sg  Infin  grope.Base  [1Sg  PfvNeg  see.Base]
[wō  sūʔ5  [ŋî  kē-tēʔe]],
Infin  give.Base  [1SgRefl  hand],
à-sàrē = [Ø būⁿ5]  diʔè  [wō  diē],
while  [Art  dog]  follow.Pfv  [Infin  enter.Base],
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-sàrē  (§15.3.5.7.2)]

(04:27) [è  būⁿ3']  diʔè  [wō  diē = [Ø  bli-kē]  jīē]]
[kō  diē = [Ø  bli-kē]  jīē]]
[Infin  enter.Base  [Art  hare  behind]]
cāl!  [è  būⁿ5']  à-māⁿ  pāⁿ-tōⁿ,
indeed!  [Art  dog]  be.Loc  below-Loc,
A: ‘The dog pursued the hare into (the burrow).’
B (overlapping and echoing): ‘pursued the hare into (the burrow).’
A: ‘Exactly! The dog was down below.’
[cāl!  §(8.5.3.2.2);  kā  māⁿ(”)  ‘was (somewhere)’  (§10.3.1.7)]

(04:30) nóⁿ  wō—  ŋi  sūʔ5  [ŋî  kē-tēʔê]
1Sg  Infin—  (nasal)  give.Base  [1SgRefl  hand]
[wō  tō-glō  [Ø  bli-kē]  jūʔ-kiⁿ],
Infin  pull.Base-take.out  [Art  hare]  above,
A: ‘I gave (=extended) my hand, to pull the hare up and out.’
[pre-resumption  nasal  (§3.1.1.10)]
04:34  [è  bùʾʔǝ?]  wō—  ṣù   =   =ò,
[Art  dog]  Infin—  (nasal)  take.Base  3AnSgObj,
nòⁿ  wō  dò-šùʔǝ
1Sg  Infin  say.Base-give.Base
[ŋ  d=   ṣù  wō  tīʷ-ɡlō  nòⁿ].
[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.’
   [< /sùò = (y)Ø: -sùʔǝ ‘give’ as Vb2 in verb-verb compound (§15.1.6.2); < /dè  ò
   kò/ quoted hortative (§17.1.6.3); < /tīʷ-ɡlō  nòⁿ/; -ɡlō ‘take out’ in verb-verb
   compound; quoted imperative]

04:38  ò  ɡò  tīʷ-ɡlō  nòⁿ,  ì!  kátórámà,
3Pl  Infin  pull.Base-take.out  1Sg,  oh!  far,
[è  ɡlō-tìʔè]  [ò  bì=]  à  jì   =  nòⁿ,
[Art  aardvark-hole]  [3Pl  all]  Ipfv  know.Ipfv  3InanObj,
   A: ‘Then they pulled me out, a long way. The aardvark burrow, everybody knows
   it.’
   [< /ò  bìé  à/ ]

04:44  [è  jì]  à  bì
[Art  something]  Ipfv  be.gotten.Ipfv
[métár =  [ò  sáʔ]]  [métár =  [ò  wùⁿʔǝʔǝn]]  =  dèʔ,
[meter  [Pl  three]]  [meter  [Pl  four]]  Emph,
   A: ‘Some (burrows) can be (as much as) three or four meters (long).’
   [à  bì  ‘is gotten’ = ‘can be’, local French ça trouve (que); < /métár/; numerical
   lower and upper bounds (§7.2.5)]

04:47  donc  ò  wò  tīʷ-ɡlō  nòⁿ  [wò  glū],
so  3Pl  Infin  pull.Base-take.out  1Sg]  [Infin exit(v).Base],
gō  nīⁿ-đārā =  [Ø  bī-kē]  bè-yá-rō,  è→,
Infin  see.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  tīʷ-ɡlō  nòⁿ  kō  glūː  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)]

[[Ø  bī-šà-ré-ní  bē]  kɔ̂n̥j],  [è  wùⁿʔuⁿ-kē]  fòē!
[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-ʃà-ré-ní ‘childhood, childishness’, derivative of bī-ʃìō ‘children’ (§4.1.2.5.6);
   fòē emphatic ‘nothing, not at all’ (§10.2.5.8.2), also in the following segment]
[Art hole Indef 2Sg not.be.Loc [3I nan cut.Pfv-place] Loc],
móⁿ gō [diē̕-ní niⁿ],
2Sg be [enter.Base-VblN Loc]
[ē dāⁿ?āⁿ] ni-māⁿ [móⁿ bā?ā], 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 kū̄̕-tā?̃ slightly emended from what sounds like kā kū̄̕-tā?̃ ; fōè emphatic negative (§10.2.5.8.2); ‘be’ plus locative PP of verbal noun, likely prototype of progressive construction (§10.2.4.1)]

[ō kā lí jē̕rⁿ dē tāmā] [ē seⁿ],
[3Pl Inf-in.Pfv call.Pfv Rel Quot spear] [Art arrow],
[bè jē̕-fī] dē māⁿ bē fī? = [ē̕ⁿ mó],
[Dem.Def Indef-none] 3Pl Inf-in.Pfv Neg Fut give.Pfv [Dat 2Sg],
B: ‘What they call “spear,” (or) arrow(s), anything at all, they wouldn’t give (it) to you.

[-fī ‘none’ (like French aucun) < Jula; fronting of heavy NPs; < /fīlè 3ⁿ/; future negative with bè (§10.2.5.3); ditransitive dative 3ⁿ (§8.1.2)]

[ō] 2Sg if hear.Base Quot be.brave,
bè tōⁿ tāⁿ, [Demand Def Foc] Past it is it is,
A: ‘If you hear “be courageous,” that [focus] is what it was.’

[< /jī bā/ focalization of ‘it is/was’ (§13.1.3.5); last three words are equivalent in this dialect to … dē glō]

[jī wō dī̕] [ō tīⁿ-glō = [ō blī-kē]],
1Sg Inf-in enter.Base [Inf-n pull.Base-take.out] [Art hare],
jī-á-m-bè [ē pō̕dō bō] rē ē kásōbē?,
otherwise [Art the.bush Top] Inf-in.Pfv Past be.walked Inf-in.Pfv well,
A: ‘I went in to pull out the hare. Otherwise, the hunt [topic] was going well.’

[jī-á-nī-bè ‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); < /pō̕dō bō/; final glottal on kásōbē? (§8.5.2.1.2)]

[bè tāⁿ] ū kūʒⁿ = [ō ji] [ă nī]
[Dem.Dem place] 1Sg know.Pfv [Art something] [3I nan Loc]
B: ‘That place, I found out something about it.’

[topicalized NP with resumptive pronominal; 1Sg ū (§4.3.1.6.1)]
(05:14) wàlà →, donc jí bè = à, él, jàrño à-màn [à nín],
voilà, so if Dem.Def it.is, oh!, Rel be.Loc [3lnan Loc],
àwy mài-ní [dè-dè dò] bà [gò à-klá],
A: ‘There you are! So, if it’s that, ah!, what is there. Well, you see, the current
situation has returned (as topic), …’

[jaron à-ma’ headless relative (§14.1.6); kò à-klá in this case is not contracted
to kà = à-klá]

(05:20) [á sigé] g-à fisàyà,
[3lnan fatigue] Infin-lpfv improve.lpfv,
k-à plé,
Infin-lpfv be.better.lpfv,
[á nòwàyà] gò di= [à nín],
[3lnan relief] Infin enter.Base [3lnan Loc],
A: ‘The fatigue (=hardship) has improved, it is better. Relief has entered into it.’
[¡sigé] ¡fatigue¡ and fisàyà ¡improve¡ < Jula, phrasing equivalent to Tiefo-D é bè-
ní k-à plé; nòwàyà < Jula nòvàyyà

(05:25) à [bè tòli] klè [Ø bi-jiò jàri-kò],
é sà-wà = à lò sà tò-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?’
[< /bì-jiò jàri-kò; jàri-kò (§4.5.4); < /sà-wà à; double ‘who?’ interrogative
with indefinite sense (§13.2.3.1)]

(05:29) jí-à-ní-bè ó bà râ klè,
otherwise 1Pl if Past do.Base,
blà-glò-ní mà bà, él! é! é!,
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-ní/]

(05:32) [è kàbàkà] = à = rè?,
[Art amazement] it.is Emph,
é wò sà [Ø làndà] [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 kàbà-kò ‘amazing thing’]
é sāwāʔā, 1Pl rattle(n),
kā-sərər sānī ó bḷá-glō, 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; kā-sərər (§15.3.5.7.2); sānī ‘before’ (§15.3.5.8)]

(ē sāwāʔā) dē màⁿ  
Art rattle(n) IpfvPast be.Loc
kā = [Ø bɛ̀ⁿʔɛ́ⁿ] and [Art tomtom]
A: ‘There were rattles there.’
B: ‘And tomtoms.’
[dē màⁿ ‘was/were (there)’ (§10.3.1.7); dialectal for bɛ́ⁿʔɛ́ⁿ]

(05:41)
[kō gbè í-yùò]  
[Infin pick.up.Base 1PI]
{fe—}, tafš-le, (hesitation) Jinejan,
A: ‘(They) took us one day, we went out from Jinejan (quartier).’
/<kō gbè í-yùò/]

(05:45)
ō bà rā rè  
1Pl if Past say.Base
[ō nàⁿ ló-bāʔā = niⁿ]  
[1Pl Fut go.around.Base 3InanObj]
ō wò glú tafš-le,  
[1Pl Infin exit.Base Jinejan],
A: ‘If we said (that) we would walk around and leave from Jinejan, …’

(05:48)
cù-fiféⁿ-tèⁿ, [tèⁿ klē] cù-fiféⁿ-tèⁿ fājárí, early.morning, [daybeak day.break.Pfv] early.morning daybreak,
ō bà d = á dī = [ā— [Ø bɛ́ⁿʔɛ́ⁿ]], 1Pl if say.Base 1Pl Ipfv 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, …’
fājárí < Jula (< Arabic)}
(05:54) bë"n?ë"-yúó gò yí?í, ó má^n wáʔá = rë?,
tomtom-people Infin go.Base, 1Pl IpfvNeg make.noise.Ipfv Emph,
[kā jï] má^n wáʔá = ?,
[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 ó má^n to end of this segment]

(05:58) [ó bíj] à yíʔí dûn-dûn-dûn-dûn-dûn [wò yíʔí],
[3Pl all] Ipfv go.Ipfv (sound of footsteps) [Infin go.Base],
ó bā dà^n bûm-bûm bûm ó→,
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!’
[dûn-dûn onomatopoeia for faint sound of people sneaking in; bûm-bûm very loud
sound of tomtoms]

(06:03) ¡ [ðùû ñúó] wò kā^n = ní^n]
oh! [3Pl people] Infin know.Base 3InanObj
[d = ó bā [fë→, cī] wáʔá-sō tòʔí ní^n]],
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); < /cī wáʔá/; purposive tòʔí ní(n) (§17.6.2.5)]

(06:07) wòrâ-wòrâ-wòrâ-wòrâ-wòrâ sāwâʔā à wáʔá,
(sound of rattle) rattle(n) Ipfv make.noise.Ipfv,
ò gò glú [ā [Ö cī] [wō sūʔ̃]],
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 cī)]

(06:14) ¡ buû gò jā^n, [cù-fïâ"-të"]-jã"ʔã,
oh! 3Pl Infin dance.Base, [early.morning]-dance(n),
A: ‘Oh! They danced, the early morning dance.’
[‘dance’: verb jûã"jû"jû", noun jâš¬jâš (§4.2.1.2), tone dropped to -jã"ʔã
as compound final (5.1.1.1)]

(06:17) [môⁿ [nà"n?ë"-û]-kē]
[2Sg [wake.Base-VblN]-matter] Ipfv be.hard.Ipfv
[e jã"ʔã] sūʔõ-[fë"-tâʔã],
[Art dance(n)] catch.Pfv-[fall.on.Base]
A: ‘Your waking up was hard. Dancing (with tomtoms) fell on (=rudely
awakened) (you).’
(06:19)  yö!  mā-ɲīⁿ
  oh!  if.you.see
  [[ò bî [fàrû]]  g-â  yārî,
  [[3Pl all] sweat(n)] Inf-in-lpfv jump.all.over.lpfv,
  A: ‘Oh! You see, all of them were sweating profusely.’
  [’X’s sweat jumped’ = ‘X was sweating profusely’; yārî ‘jump’ intensive variant
  of yî (§9.6)]

(06:20)  [sỳⁿ-wí bó] nàⁿ nè [bó máⁿ jùⁿ]
  [who? Top] Fut say.Base [LogoSg lpfvNeg dance.lpfv]
  A: ‘Who would say, “I don’t dance”?’
  [< /nàⁿ dè/]

(06:21)  bó-wí  nî-mā  mā
  fellow not.be.Loc there.Def
  A: ‘That fellow isn’t there (=doesn’t exist).’
  [/bó-wí (§18.5.1.2)]

(06:22)  ó  bà  glû  [bè  tɔʔɔ],
  1Pl if  exit.Base [Dem.Def place],
  ó  gô  sàrɔ̀  [gô → mā-lô]
  1Pl Inf-in proceed.to.Base [Inf-in turn.around.Base]
  [gô  bà  [bûò  bâʔà]  fâⁿʔàⁿ]
  A: ‘When we left that place, we proceeded to change direction, to come to your-Pl
  (place) here.’
  [i.e. to Masaso quartier; X bâʔà ‘X’s place’]

(06:27)  màsâ-lë
  Masaso
  jâtfî,
  exactly!,
  B: ‘(To) Masaso (quartier).’
  A: ‘Exactly.’

(06:28)  ó  bà  glû  [bè  tɔʔɔ]
  1Pl if  exit.Base [Dem.Def place]
  ó  gô  glû  ɬàndô-lë
  1Pl Inf-in exit.Base Flaso
  ç  lû-fûⁿ
  Art Flaso
  A: ‘When we leave that place, we go out to Flaso (quartier).’
  B: ‘Flaso.’
  [Flaso quartier is called ɬàndô-lë by people from Biton, but ç lû-fûⁿ ~ ç lû-fûⁿ by
  others (§1.3)]
(06:30) ō sərə̀ [ō glú] [gò fó [ó bàʔà]],
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]

(06:32) [kètâⁿ dâⁿ] ó dè máⁿ sâⁿ
[truth pleasant] 1Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg consent.Ipfv
[g-ā bē fâⁿʔā bē],
[Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv here Dem.Def],
A: ‘Truthfully, we didn’t use to consent (=be willing) to come here like that.’
/kètâⁿ (Bi) ‘truth’, in other dialects kîtàⁿ; past imperfective negative (§10.3.1.3);
sâⁿ is base=Ipfv; ‘consent’ with infinitival complement (§17.4.4.2); ‘here’ = where the recording was made]

(06:35) [wí jàr ámbô] bà já-süʔǝ
[kè jàr sâ] máⁿ,
[owner Rel] if leave.Base-give.Base [matter Rel] there.Def,
mâⁿ dè máⁿ = àⁿ— têⁿ
[3ⁿ wí] dê] =?
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 jàr ámbô and  ámbô wí ‘fellow’ (§18.5.1.2); double relative jàr ámbô as indefinite
§14.1.8); já-süʔǝ (§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]

(06:38) Ő gô jî [ ámbô wî]
2Sg Ifin see.Base [3AnSg owner]
[kô jā = wî mā]
Infin leave.Base 3AnSgObj there.Def
jâtí
exactly
B: ‘You-Sg see the fellow and (you) leave him (alone) there.’
A: ‘Exactly.’
/< /n kō jî’/]

(06:40) [ó kòmîⁿ] dè é = nîⁿ be-ya-ró,
[1Pl Top] IpfvPast walk.Ipfv 3InanObj thus,
[i-yùô kôrû] fî = [à jàr ámbô],
[1Pl generation] pass.Pfv [with Rel],
[bè tô tô] 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.’
/< fî kà jàr ámbô; headless relative as complement of ‘with’ preposition (§14.2.4)]
[à dó] klè ká [à sé]  
[[bùò tō-rō] kōrú] dè] ní,  
[[[2Pl Foc-Pl] generation] day] Loc,  
ou bien [è yúó jō-rō] bà  
or else [Art people Indef-AnPl] come.Pfv  
[gā = à-klè] jī = =ā  
[Infin come.Base-do.Base] behind Q  
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)?’  
[< /jī = 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-yá-ró ‘thus’]  

(06:50)  
ā klè [i-yùò nī’], [[i-yùò fīē] jīnā] nī’n],  
3Inan be.done.Pfv [1Pl Loc], [[1Pl pass.Pfv] situation] Loc,  
[e kā jī] dō =] ā klè-pōn  
[[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 á klè/ ; ‘since’; ‘be able to VP’; final wō klè is added for emphasis]  

(06:53)  
jō-rō dè [bù = ā klè],  
Indef-AnPl say.Pfv [LogoPl Ipfv do.Ipfv],  
A: ‘Some (people) have said they (still) do it.’  
[< /bùò ā/ ; logophoric plural (bùò)]  

(06:55)  
̄ go yīfí [kō rā-klè = ni’n] tōrō-lē],  
3Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-do.Base 3InanObj Toussiana],  
ou bien [gō rā-klè = ni’n pō-lē],  
or else [Infin go.Base-do.Base 3InanObj Peni],  
A: ‘They go and do it in Toussiana, or go do it in Peni.’  
[Infin circumcisions are still done in these two towns on the Bobo to Banfora highway on the plateau; kō rā ]
kō [sò-[klá-bà]]-té,
Infin [carry.on.head.Base-[return.Base-come.Base]]-put.down.Base,
donc bē á bû valeur
so Dem.Def PfvNeg get.Base value
ā = Ø bû ṭänâ =?
3Inan PfvNeg get.Base power Neg
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; ṭänâ < Jula (cf. Tiefo-D kāʔā-nī)]

[ë {séwē} sàwû] gbèʔè [jàrò'' ni''],
[Art (false start) shed] be.put.together.Pfv [Rel Loc],
[bè tò'ò] klè [í-yù̀ dó]
[Dem.Def Foc] be.done.Pfv [1Pl share(n)]
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)]

[[ē jùʔè] kò tàâ-jùʔ̦ [Ø miël]
[[Art God] Hort help.Base [Art 1Pl]
[kò sùʔ̦ [sábábù kòʔò]
[Hort give.Base [chance good]
B: ‘May God help us. (May He) give (us) a good chance.’
[standard blessings; miël 1Pl in formulaic expressions (§4.3.1.4); < /kò sùʔ̦ sábábù/: postnominal adjective kòʔò (§4.5.3.1.2)]

âmín ămín ămín, [ē jùʔè] ò sùʔ̦ [Ø ānâ"ʔâ"]
amen! amen! amen! [Art God] Hort give.Base [Art face]
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) nó dè, Jean-Pierre tóʔó—, [Jean-Pierre tóʔó] klè-bà,
wálà→, [nò kā [là tó?] =] à-mā,
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 wē— [ē jùʔa] [kò yīʔi],
1Pl Fut put.in.Base— [Art mouth] [Infin go.Base],
[ē dùʔu-tìʔe] tòʔ̣-gblàʔà,
[Art cliff-hole] in.the.vicinity.of,
A: ‘We will discuss going (to) the grotto area.’
[‘put mouth’ = ‘discuss’; ‘cliff-hole’ = ‘grotto’; tòʔ̣-gblàʔà here and in the following segment (§8.3.4.5); dùʔu-tìʔe ‘grotto, cave’, tòʔ̣ ‘place’]

(00:15) [ē dùʔu] tòʔ̣-gblàʔà, [dó mònà] nì,
[Art cliff] beside, [Poss.Inan region] Loc,
donc dà-rè—
so now—
A: ‘In the area of the cliffs area, so now—’
[mònà ‘region’ (< Jula mònà)]

(00:20) ā klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
nà = à jùʔa [mò bàʔà] 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) wó dè =nì [ō bàʔà],
Infin say.Base 3InanObj [1Pl Dat],
d= ō— [ō dùʔu] [ē dùʔu-tìʔ-e],
Quot 1Pl— [1Pl cliff—][Art cliff-hole-Pl],
B: ‘(They) said it to us, our gro(otos)—, the grottos.’
[</dè ō dùʔu/]

[< /dè ō dùʔu/]
Text 2017-11

(00:26) [nó bî-nî] à-mâ, mó bâ?à,  
[1Sg ask-VblN] be.Loc, 2Sg Dat,  
dè est-ce que [ê dû?ù-tô-rê yâ]  
Quot Q [Art cliff-hole-Pl Dem.InanSg]  
[â kô?ô] ō [Ø kê] [ô bâ?à] tê,  
[Inan good] be [Art what?] [1Pl Dat] Q,  
B: ‘My question is (this), to you, those grottos, what good are they for us?’  
[< /dû?ù-tô-rê yâ/ (§3.6.2.3); â kô?ô (Fl) ‘good thing (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2); kê ‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1)]

(00:33) [ê dû?ù-tï?ê]  
[Art cliff-hole]  
[Art cliff-hole] Q], [Art cliff-hole Dem.InanPl]  
B: ‘The grotto.’  
A: ‘The grotto? Those grottos.’

(00:37) [nó tô?ô kàrâ] kô—,  
[1Sg Foc Top] be—,  
3Pl put.Pfv [1Sg Foc] here [[3Inan face] Loc],  
A: ‘I myself am—, they put me [focus] in charge of it here.’  
[< /do tiê nó/]

(00:41) [nó tô?ô]— [nó tô?ô] kô guide, âlê—,  
[1Sg Foc]— [1Sg Foc] be guide, even—,  
âlê = [Ø ānâ?ã-yûô] mà glû tô?ô-tô?ô, kô bâ,  
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 bâ = â yî?î = [Ø dû?û—,  
Quot LogoP1 Lpv go.Lpv [Art cliffs—,  
Quot LogoP1 Lpv go.Lpv [Art cliffs in.the.vicinity.of],  
Infin go [Art cliffs in.the.vicinity.of],  
A: ‘Intending to go (to) the cliffs—, intending to go and go to the cliffs area, to go to the cliffs area,’
[00:51] [mō  tōʔō] à  ī'ū [ā  tɔʔɔ]
[2Sg  Foc]  Ipfv  look.Ipfv  [3Inan  place]
[nō  tōʔō] à—
[1St  Foc]  Ipfv—
[nō tōʔō] à  yiʔi [ā  jùɔ]
[1Sg  Foc]  Ipfv  go.Ipfv  [with  3An]
B: ‘You [focus] watch over that place.’
A: ‘I [focus] go with them.’
[‘its place’ = ‘that place’; < /kà jùɔ/ ‘with him/her/it/them (animate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

[00:54] [mō  tōʔō] à  lāⁿ-āⁿ-fũʔū = [Ō  nā-ʃō]
[2Sg  Foc]  Ipfv  guide(v).Ipfv  [Art  guest.Pl]
[nō  tōʔō] à—
[1St  Foc]  Ipfv—
[nō tōʔō] à  lāⁿ-āⁿ-sũʔū [Ō  nā-ʃō]
[1St  Foc]  Ipfv  guide(v).Ipfv  [Art  guest.Pl]
B: ‘You [focus] guide the visitors.’
A: ‘I [focus] guide the visitors.’  [pause]

[01:00] donc  mā = à  lāⁿ-āⁿ-fũʔū [Ō  nā-ʃō],
so  2Sg  Ipfv  advise.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv  [Art  guest.Pl],
[ē  nā-ʃō  =rē] à  bĕ  mā,
[Art  guest-Pl  even]  Ipfv  come.Ipfv  there.Def],
B: ‘So you guide the visitors. The visitors come there.’

[01:03] est-ce que  d—,  dō  bĕ  mā,  ē  tɔrɔⁿ—
Q  3Pl—,  3Pl.Ipfv  come.Ipfv  there.Def,  Art  benefit—
[fē  tɔrɔⁿ  té] à-ʃā [ā  ni]
[fō  k-ā  bĕ  =ā]
[3Pl  Infin-Ipfv  come.Ipfv  Q]
B: ‘Do they—. (When) they come there, is there some value [focus] there, for
to them to come?’
[fɔrɔⁿ  ‘profit, benefit’ < Jula]

B: ‘Or else, for what (reason) do they come?
[overlaps with other speaker; ‘for what (reason)?’ (§13.2.3.2.3)]

[01:11] [ē  tɔ-rē—  tɔ-rē  jā-rē] à-ʃā,
[Art  hole-Pl—  hole-Pl  Indef-InnanPl]  be.Loc,
 parce que  [ē  tɔʔɔ  ji] à-ʃā,
because  [Art  place  Indef]  be.Loc,
A: ‘(Because) some holes (=caves) are there. Because there is a place there.’
[jā-rē  inanimate plural indefinite (§4.4.2.3)]
(01:15) ó yî?-fi?î [kā = à-nî = nî],
1Pl get.up.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj],
[ē ná-di-ⁿ] bà?ā,
[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)â-nî/]
(hesitations) [[Art cliffs] leg] Loc,
ē dù?ù— [ē tò-ré] à-mā,
Art cliffs— [Art hole-Pl] be.Loc,
A: ‘At the foot of the cliffs, there are caves.’
(01:25) [à fâráⁿ] = âⁿ kò,
[3Inan too] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
[ē kē jî] [ó-bé bà?ā] [[Ø úⁿ] nì],
[Art matter Indef] [1Pl chez] [[Art village] Loc],
A: ‘That too is helpful, a matter among all of us in the village.’
[< /fâráⁿ à kò‘; kò stative predicate (§9.4); 1Pl ó-bé (§4.3.1.5)]
(01:31) à fâráⁿ, à = Ø kò, [ē kē jî],
3Inan too, 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv, [Art matter Indef],
[ē kē tù-tù?ù] bà?ā,
[Art matter big] Dat,
[ē kē tù-tù?ù—] [ē tò?à—]
[Art matter big—] [Art place—]
A: ‘That too, it is useful (for) something, (for) an important matter, for an
important matter—.’
[tù-tù?ù (§4.5.3.2.2)]
(01:37) [bêⁿ-kà jà-ró fâráⁿ = ] Ø-mā
wâlā→ right!
[bêⁿ-kà jà-ró] à-mā mā, [ā tò?à] nî,
[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-kà ‘wild animal’]
(01:41) à = Ø kò = [ō məkɔ],
3Inan lpfv be.good.lpfv [3Pl need(n)],
à = Ø kò = [ō kɛ],
3Inan lpfv be.good.lpfv [3Pl matter],
è ùⁿ — è ùⁿ — [[è ùⁿ-biɔ] bà?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 [ō kɛ],
3Inan lpfv be.good.lpfv [3Pl matter],
[è ùⁿ-jâmɔ̀ nà bîɛ] bà?à,
[Art village-country all] Dat,
pare que, [è tɔʔɔ jɛ] à-mā,
because, [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
A: ‘It’s helpful for the whole country. Because, there is a place.’
/< ùⁿ-jâmànà bîë; Jula jâmànà ‘nation, country’>/

(01:55) [è → ná-bí-ó] de(ssin)— ùⁿ-fièⁿ] à-mā [à ni]
[Art person-Pl] pain(ting)— head-soul be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
/[[è ná-bí-ó] ðⁿ-fièⁿ] à-mā [à ni]/
[[Art people] head-soul be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
ðⁿ-fièⁿ à-mā [Ø tɔʔɔ 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 ùⁿ-fièⁿ, ðⁿ-fièⁿ, and ðⁿ-fiⁿ (for
the latter see @ 02:03 below)]

(02:01) ò ñèʔè-ñèʔè-tè = ni kè
3Pl Rdp-write.Pfv-put.in.Base 3InanObj Q
wàlà → à ñʔè-ñʔè-tè mā
right! 3Inan Rdp-write.Pfv-put.in.Base there.Def
B: ‘They wrote (=engraved) it!’
A: ‘Right. It was written down there.’
/kè (§19.4.5) /

(02:03) kò— kò klè = ń [kà = [Ø dessin]]
Infin— Infin do.Base 3InanObj [like [Art picture]]
wàlà → nó dè [è ná-bí-ó ðⁿ-fiⁿ], è ná-bíó ðⁿ-fiⁿ
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-bió  ámba-
Artná-dí-š tã— tá má—
[kä = [[[Ø pðØ-kã]] ámba-
Art [[people the.bush-creature.Pl] ámba-
wàlù, [à pð-kã]] 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 pðØ-kã ~ pð-kã ‘wild animal, animal of the bush’]

(02:13) [kõ jà-ró dì ] ámba-
creatures Pl Rel-AnPl sort all] be.Loc
[dì ] ámba, dürp— [è dürp— dürp] ní,
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.’

(02:17) [ò bié]—, [ò bié] ámba-
[3Pl all]—, [3Pl all] be.Loc
[ò bié] ámba [à ní],
[3Pl all] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
[ò bié] ámba [à ní] ámba—
[ò bié] ámba—
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 t̥] já, [è ná-dí-š] tã— tá má—
[è ná-dí-š tá má sù?ù—
[Art old.man-Pl Past IpfvNeg give.Ipfv—
ká á sù? = [à kløʔø] = déʔ,
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 t̥ já (§8.1.3); < /ká á sù?;/ ‘give road’ = ‘authorize, give permission’]
A: ‘Then they (=old men) came and authorized it, that they (=visitors) see it.’

[< Jula lâ-blâ ‘cause to put’; ‘authorize/instruct’ with imperfective hortative complement clause (§17.4.3.2)]

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-ô (Ma) and ná-bí-ô (Ji) are dialectal variants]

B: ‘Lo, it happened. It was—, a very excellent place.’

[Jula jirámá ‘very good’]

A: ‘Not everyone used to arrive there.’
B: ‘A place that—, if (it) is like that, that place is good.’

[§11.2.5.2.1, §11.7.4.3.1]
(02:44) [ē kē jī], [Art matter Indef], wālā→ right!
[ē kē jī] à mà wā?á-tāⁿ, [Art matter Indef] 3Inan if be.shut.Base,
Ø mà [wā?á-tāⁿ]-dārā = nī 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’; -dārā (§15.1.2.1.2)

(02:48) ā̀ bā wā?á-tāⁿ, mó wē?ē-tāⁿ, [mó miā?á tō?ῦ] lē, 2Sg if be.shut.Base, 2Sg shut.Pfv, [2Sg Refl Foc] Emph,
B: ‘If (it) is shut, you have shut yourself [focus] out.’
/lē (§19.4.2))

(02:51) [mó úⁿ tē] = à, mó wī?ē-tāⁿ [mó mīʔá] 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) [ē wāⁿ fārāⁿ] wē?ē-tāⁿ [Art village too] be.shut.Pfv wālā→ right!
B: ‘The village too is shut out.’
A: ‘Right!’

(02:57) [bè té] já, [ō nā-dī-Ȗ] [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv, [[1Pl old.man-Pl]
kō nāʔā = [Ø jū] [kō nō = nī] Infin become.red.Base [Art eye(s)] [Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj]]
[ē-yūò bí-Ȗ] [ē bí-Ȗ] kō nō = nī [1Pl children] [Art children] Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj
wālā→ right!
A: ‘That’s why our old men insisted on seeing it (=grotto). Our children (=young people), the children saw it.’
B: ‘Right!’
        kò̲ nèʔè [á̲ klo̲ʔɔ̲] [ö̲ bàʔà], Infin ask.for [3Inan road] [3Pl Dat],
        A: ‘(The young people) sat, and went to the elders, to ask permission for it from
        them.’

(03:06) [è̲ tɔ̲-r̲é̲ jï̲-r̲è̲] à̲n̲a̲h̲, à̲n̲a̲h̲, à̲n̲a̲h̲, right!
        á̲, ó̲ dè̲ = [é̲ à̲ jù̲ʔ = [á̲ kè̲]] ah!, 1Pl say.Pfv [1Pl Ipfv hear.Ipfv [3Inan matter]]
        A: ‘There are holes (=caves) here, …’
        B: ‘Right!’
        A: ‘… we said that we hear about it (=them).’
        [á̲ kè̲ about it’, cf. §8.4]

(03:14) est-ce que ò̲ nà̲ jë̲₆̲5̲-₃₂̲⁵⁹ [Ø klo̲ʔɔ̲] =ô̲ Q 3Pl Fut give.Base-be.able.Base [Art road] Q
        è̲ ná-bi-ò̲ —, Art person-Pl,
        [è̲ [ná-bi-ò]-[³ⁿ-f⁵ⁿ] jèɾ̲ⁿ = ] Ø-mà̲ [à̲ nì̲]
        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.’
        [two speakers overlap here, some parts unintelligible; < /jèɾ̲ⁿ à̲n̲a̲h̲/]

(03:19) est-ce que ò̲ nà̲ jë̲₆̲5̲-₃₂̲⁵⁹ [Ø klo̲ʔɔ̲] Q 3Pl Fut give.Base-be.able.Base [Art road]
        [fè̲ ná-bf-ò̲ bié̲] kò̲ nù̲ =nì̲[
        [Art person.Pl all] Hort look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj]
        B: ‘Will they be able to give permission for everyone to look at it?’
        [for syntax see @ 02:25 above]

(03:22) [è̲ ná-bi-ò̲ bié̲] kò̲ nù̲ =nì̲, jàⁿgò, peut-être, [Art person-Pl all] Hort look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj], so.that, maybe,
        à̲ =Ø̲ bë̲ [à̲ nà̲ sùʔ = [³ⁿ é]-][
        3Inan Ipfv come.Ipfv [3Inan Fut give.Base [Dat 1Pl]]—
        A: ‘For everyone to look at it. So that, maybe, it comes and it will give us—.’
        [< peut-être pronounced [pë̲è̲t̲i̲]/}

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(03:26)  [à— à nà fū?= [3ⁿ ē]—
[3Inan— 3Inan Fut give.Base [Dat 1Pl]—

[è bû-ní ji]

[Art get.Base-VblN Indef]

[è [ùⁿ-kō]-dăⁿ'à] ò—

[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 úⁿ

Art village
è wúⁿ, ò go yīlī [ānà?à ní]
Art village, 3Pl Infin go.Base [face Loc]
ò go yīlī [ānà?à ní]
3Pl Infin go.Base [face Loc]

A: ‘The village.’
B: ‘The village, for them to go forward.’
A: ‘For them to go forward.’

[úⁿ (Ji) and wúⁿ (Fl) are dialect variants (§3.1.1.2)]

(03:33)  [ë kā sèⁿ-sēⁿ-reⁿ-ní] à fā = ni

[Art creature Rdp-red-Pl-Pl] lpfv seek.lpfv 3InanObj

wâlà→

right!

B: ‘The white people seek it.’
A: ‘Right!’

[singular kā jëⁿ-jëⁿ ‘red (i.e. white) person’, plural kā sèⁿ-sēⁿ-reⁿ(-ní) in Fl pronunciation (§4.5.3.2.1) with systematic ŋ/s alternation (§3.2.1.2)]

(03:35)  a— a— a— a— a— ā kē—

(hesitations)
à O-mā [[[O kē tū-tūʔ] 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 ni; é-yùò bí-ʃō here means ‘we children/youth people’ (appositional), elsewhere it can also mean ‘our children’; fāmù < Jula (< Arabic))

A: '(They) went to the old men, to the village chief.'

B: 'Right!'

A: ‘To ask permission of (=for) it.’

A: ‘The chief in turn recalled (=summoned) his subordinates.’

B: ‘Right!’

[ká- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2)]

A: ‘They (=young people) went on the road (=were authorized). They (=elders) came and gave permission.’

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? ’

[< /ë tɔʔɔ õjɔ³]; jɪʔé ‘manner’ (§8.5.1.3); negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); kò bɛ hortative plus imperfective (§17.1.6.3)]

(04:02) ō jɪʔ = [Ø klɔʔɔ], [ë tɔʔɔ dámá té] nì 3Pl give.Pfv [Art road], [Art place a.few Foc.Inan] Loc A: ‘They gave permission for (just) a few places [focus].’
[dámá (§8.5.2.2.4)]

(04:04) Ē tɔʔɔ mlɛ⁰— (hesitation)
[fronted focalized content interrogative]

(04:05) [ë tɔʔɔ dámá té] nì, [Art place a.few Foc.Inan] Loc,
[ë tɔʔɔ dámá té] [Art place a.few Foc.Inan]
ō = ō jnû = [[Ø tɔʔɔ] [Ø jɔ³]] pour le moment, 1Pl Hort look.at.Ipfv [[Art place] [Pl two]] for the time being
A: ‘In just a few places. Just a few places, (they authorized) us to look at two places for the time being.’
[(k)õ plus imperfective complement]

(04:09) [[ē .pʊʒ³-tɔʔɔ] [Ø jɔ³]]
A: ‘Right!. They didn’t give permission for all of it (=zone).’
parce que [ē tòʔ jì] à-mā,
because [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
[à bē] má— [ē tòʔ 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] [æ má kā”]
[3Inan IpfvNeg be.pleasing]
[[é-bē tòʔ jì] à-mā] [bùò dēʔè-tàʔ =] = 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-bē (§4.3.1.5)]

[04:19] [è yúó] má kā” [kō dā” [bè tòʔjì]]
[Art people] IpfvNeg good [Infin arrive.Base [Dem.Def place]]
A: ‘It isn’t safe. The people aren’t safe arriving at that place.’

[04:22] [ō dē bē-kā-tó lè] dē [bē dēʔè-tòʔjì] bē,
\[
d = \text{ô mà lò } bē \text{ } [3” [Ø yúó]],
\]
Quot 1Pl Proh show.Base Dem.Def [Dat [Art people]],
B: ‘That’s what they said. (They said) that’s the secret place. (They said) for us
not to show that to people.’
[quoted prohibitive (§17.1.6.2); ditransitive ‘show’ with 3” dative (§8.1.2,
§11.1.2.5)]

[04:27] donc, álè bùò lè [tòʔ = á jòr5”]
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]
In various places, ‘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 kò lò, but without the direct object; kâ" right, appropriate’ < Jula]

A: ‘That’s why, (there was) that hole (=cave) that was shown.’

A: ‘That (is why)—, we are (on) (just) that one (grotto). If visitors show up in various places, ’

[Distribution iteration tò?ò-tò?]
A: ‘They come and see it, and say “oh my, it is nice! It is nice!” So now—’

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; -gâre^n (§15.1.2.1.1); kâ ji ‘any creature (human or animal)’ ]

B: ‘They mustn’t let the young people damage its (=that) place.’

[jâ 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 blô =rê à-mâ/; 2Sg object = mi (§4.3.1.3) ]
You will go into a (certain) place!

Lo! It (=cave) has become just like a (real) house.

You will—The rain doesn’t reach you.

No, ah! A grotto, it is, it is an (important) thing—'

You (can) work, you (can) work year after year there,
[05:20] [mó à yiembros [kà [mó di-[à-rè] bìér]] mā]  
[2Sg lpfv go.lpfv [with [2Sg food-Pl all]] there.Def]  
[k = ó-tó] mā]  
[Infin go.Base-cook.millet there.Def]  
[è bló = rē] má dá'n] [mó ni]  
[Art rain(n) even] lpfvNeg arrive.lpfv [2Sg Loc]  
A: ‘You go there with all your foodstuffs, and go cook (millet cakes) there. The rain doesn’t reach you.’  
/[k = ó- (§15.2.3.3.1); < /è bló = rē má]/

[05:23] bè yié dë, [è së'-wùʔù té] = 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, mā-nū [dùʔ = á],  
so, if.you.see [cliff(s) Dem.InanSg]  
à kò [Ø kè] [é-yùò bàʔà]  
3Inan be [Art matter] [1Pl chez]  
A: ‘So, you see, those cliffs, they are an (important) thing in our zone.’  
/ < /dùʔù (y)á/; < /è kē é-yùò]/

[05:28] [è kē tóʔù nírámà] = à = dëʔ  
[Art thing big extremely] it.is Emph  
[bè tóʔó dùʔù] klè, [è kē jì],  
[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 nírámà ‘good thing’]

[05:36] è— [è mlàⁿ?] = áⁿ—,  
Art [Art war] PfvNeg—,  
[è mlàⁿ?] = áⁿ diē-pëⁿ = ?, [è-bé bàʔà],  
[Art war] PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base Neg, [1Pl chez],  
A: ‘War (=a war party) wasn’t able to get in, among us.’  
/ < mlàⁿáⁿ á/; -pëⁿ ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1); é-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

[05:39] [è dùʔù = rē] klè, [é 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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wàlà→

right!

B: ‘“Garde-corps” (is) in French language.’
A: ‘Right!’

(05:45) dè [yùó jàr5°], ñ°= Ø tɔⁿ—

Quot [person Rel], 3AnSg Ipfv block—

ñ°= Ø tɔⁿklâ = [Ø kë]
3AnSg Ipfv block.Ipfv [Art matter]
[yùó jàr5°] à tɔⁿ-klâ = [Ø kë]
[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; tɔⁿklâ < Jula]

(05:49) [ê dùʔù fɔrä°] à jîⁿ,

[Art cliff(s) too] Ipfv work.Ipfv,
à = Ø klè = [Ø kë-sùʔ°] [é-yùò bàʔà]
3Inan Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art work(n)] [1Pl chez]

A: ‘The cliffs too work, they do work in our zone.’

(05:52) [ê dùʔù =rê], klè é-yùò—

[Art cliffs even], do.Pfv 1Pl—
[ê së— dé— dé— dé-lëⁿʔëⁿ jì] mà glò = å
[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 së-lë ‘father-household’ = ‘fatherland’; ‘(good) health’ with extended sense ‘good times, prosperity’]

(05:58) [é-yùò [dë-lëⁿʔëⁿ]-tɔⁿ- té] = à

[1Pl [health]-place Foc.Inan] it.is
[ê bù-ní jì] mà glò = å,
[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-yá?lå,
[Art village]— [Art village] if be.squeezed.Base
[Ø mà yíʔí] [[ā tòʔs] 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— ḷ dáⁿ mà,
2Sg if— (nasal) arrive.Base there.Def,
[ē bläʔâ]— parce que [ē nù] mà dó-á-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.’

(06:10) [[ē nū jî] à-mâ]
[Art water Indef] be.Loc
[ē nû-kê] bā =à glò,
[Art water-matter] if it.is it.is,
[ē nû-kê] Ø mà yíʔí bā dáⁿ mà dār5ⁿ
[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,’

(06:17) [è dé] mà tîéⁿ?èⁿ
[3Inan however] if be.warm.Base
[ē kë ő kë] 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 ~ dô ‘however’; disjunction with ô (§7.2.3)]
That being the case, that place, that’s what the people come for.\n\[< /\d\dd\dd\dd (y)\dd; k-\dd in habitual imperfective sense\]

(They) come and see it. (They) come and see it.\n\[/b\dd [Ø \dd a-Vb2] (§15.2.3.2.4)]

(They) come at it—’ \nB: ‘It has become excellent!’ \n\[/k\dd m\dd a (§16.1.1.9); ml\ddn-\ddj?\dd (§8.5.5.1); kp\dd/k\dd/k\dd ‘be(come) good’; k\dds\ddb\dd (§8.5.2.1.2)]

Oh! Some (people) have the means (=resources). Because, as the place has not been maintained,’ \n\[[Tiefo-D \dd b\ddu-n\dd ‘profit, gain(s)’ can replace the French word\]

There’s no road—no really good road at the place. Well, if they look at it like that,’ \n\[Jula p\ddr\ddm\dd]
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(06:40) ò mā ni, á, [t? = á] ā kò,
3Pl if see.Base, ah!, [place Dem.InanSg] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
bò nā klê-pš⁶ jārš⁶,
3Pl Fut do.Base-be.able.Base Rel,
ò— ò kō klê 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 bé] [[nó kārš⁶] fà-ní] à-mà [mó bà?á],
[even now] [[1Sg Top] look.for-VblN] be.Loc [2Sg chez],
[ò jō kà = á-nèʔè = [Ø wānàʔà-yùò],
[Imptr.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 bé, variant of álè bâré ‘even now(adays)’]

(06:50) ò gò kā tâ⁹-jūʔ⁷ [Ø mié], ë→.,
3Pl Hort Sbjn help(v).Base [Art 1Pl], oh!,
kà = [[Ø kā sè⁹-sõ-ré⁹ jøró] à bè [ó bà?á]],
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 kā (§10.4.2.3.2, §17.6.2.6); mié (§4.3.1.4); ‘red (=white) people’ (§3.2.1.2, §4.3.3.2.1); < /à bê ó/]

(06:55) [ò kō tâ⁹-jūʔ⁷ [Ø mié] kò—
[kō sõ [Ø sõ-rī⁷] mā],
[Hort plant(v).Base [Art tree-Pl] there.Def],
A: ‘To help us, to do the reforestation, to do (it) in that place, to plant trees there.’
[mié (§4.3.1.4); sõ-rī⁷ plural of fī⁶rī⁷ ‘tree’ (§3.2.1.2)]

(07:01) donc [ā tôʔ] kō lō = [Ø tôʔ pôrámá],
so [3Inan place] Hort turn.Base [Art place excellent],
[ò kō dî-glô [Ø klôʔ-tûʔû] kō yiʔ mā],
[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. klôʔô ‘road’ and postnominal tû-tû ‘big’]
(07:05) wàlà→, [[nó kàr³] nèʔè-ní] à-mã [ô bâʔà]
right!, [[1Sg Top] ask-VblN] be.Loc [3Pl Dat]
B: ‘Right! As for me, I have a request for them.’
/kàr³/ ([§19.1.2.2; topical ‘as for me’ is syntactically the possessor of ‘request’]

(07:07) à, bon, [ê nèʔè-ní] kò [tòʔò jàr³] m̩→,
ah, well, [Art ask-VblN] be [place Rel] concerning,
[bè nèʔè-ní] bon,
[Dem.Def ask-Vbl] well,
bè kò, [ô bîfé], [ê nà-dì-â] 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.’
< /jàr³ m̩→/>

(07:14) jî [ê nà-dì-â] mà— õ fièⁿʔèⁿ—
if [Art old.man-Pl] if— (nasal) whiten.Base—
õ fièⁿʔèⁿ [ô jîʔè]— [kò fièⁿʔèⁿ [ô liⁿ]]
(hesitation)—
[Infin whiten.Base [PlRefl guts]]
[[[kò sùʔâ =nî] sînâ] nî],
[[[Infin 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) [ô bî=] â nèʔè
[3Pl all] Ipfv ask.Pfv
ô = Ô fâ =h [Ô nà-dì-â],
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 [Ô nà-dì-â] bâʔà]

(07:21) kò ká fièⁿʔèⁿ-fièⁿʔèⁿ = [ô liⁿ],
Hort Sbjn Rdp-whiten.Base [3Pl guts],
kò ká—, kò sɔrɔ́
Hort Sbjn —, Hort proceed.to.Base
kò—, fièⁿʔèⁿ =h [ô-bé 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 =nî [Ô úⁿ] nî],
Hort Sbjn ask.Base 3InanObj [[Art village] Loc],
A: ‘And may they ask for it in the village.’
A: ‘The village should whiten its guts, and should stand up in (=occupy) its (rightful) place, so that the road may be gotten.’

A: ‘If the road is gotten therein (=thereby), it will please everybody.’

A: ‘(You) see, the villagers, everyone will get out of squalor (=misery). Everyone will get out of squalor.’

A: ‘Anyway, even the authorities who come and look at it,’

[A: ‘Some of them have said, “Look, if God—if God accepts, we will do some work on it.” ’

A: ‘We will do some work.” ’

B: ‘That is a good thing.’
A: ‘Well, those who came and looked intensively at it, as for them, they said pleasing words.’

\[ kòròⁿ \text{(§19.1.2.2); dòⁿ ‘sweet’ (postnominal) (§4.5.3.1.3)} \]

A: ‘We are waiting for their people, to this day. They are getting ready (=organizing).’

\[ < \text{ô = rë à ; Jula lá-bèⁿ ‘prepare, organize’} \]

A: ‘Then they—. We will then install a thing (a sign). So if they are coming, and if they then see that thing,’

\[ /kò mà for sequential ‘if’ clause (§16.1.1.9) \]

B: ‘That [focus].’

A: ‘They call (it), a road sign—a road sign.’

\[ /lè-èʔè “lexicalized” inanimate participial (§4.2.3.2); the first occurrence here was slightly mispronounced, hence the repetition with correct pronunciation] \]
B: ‘They call it a road sign.’
A: ‘A road sign.’

B: ‘If they install it, if a visitor comes from Ouagadougou,’
A: ‘If he/she installs it, if a visitor comes from Ouagadougou,’

A: ‘When he/she reaches Bununa (village), intending to come (to Banfora),’

A: ‘If he/she intends to go to Banfora like that, when he/she arrives in Bununa,’

A: ‘(He/she will) say: “I am coming to Daramandugu.” If he/she sees the sign,’

B: ‘He/She says, “uh-huh, it’s a sign!” ’
A: ‘Right! “It’s a sign.” ’
A: ‘Among us Tiefo, (it’s called) “the road sign, the road sign that shows (=points to) the road.” Right!’

B: ‘So—’
A: ‘It’s big. It will be installed broadside (i.e. facing motorists), to show (=enhance) its installation position.’

/bè perfective future (§10.2.1.2); -kà in manner compounds (§5.1.7.2)

B: ‘Any person who decides to come, as soon as he/she then goes to that place,’

/dè ‘say’ is inaudible but implied between bè ‘if’ and bà = à bè < /bò à bè/; dår5° with final mid pitch (§19.2.1)

B: ‘If he/she sees that the sign is planted (in the ground), and it shows (=points to) such a place,’

B: ‘The fellow goes to that place, until he/she arrives at the place.’

/3° wî (§18.5.1.2); /f3 (§15.3.4.1)
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(08:49) ò mā té bè [Ø bǎrú— bōrúnà],
3Pl if put.down.Base Dem.Def [Art (hesitation) B],
jì yá,
see.Base Dem.InanSg,
A: ‘If they install that at Bununa, see that!’

(08:51) ò lè, bè kō dè dè,
Infin show.Base, Dem.Def Infin say.Base Quot,
[mó mā jn̡ bɛ̂]
[2Sg if look.at.Base Dem.Def]
[ē dàrəmá" NGO yíč] à-mā [à nĩ],
[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, [ē du̘r-yiʔè yíč] à-mā [ã nĩ],
well, [Art cliffs-hole name] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
[ò kò kά bá]
[3Pl Hort Shjn come.Base]
A: ‘Well, the name of the grotto is there. Hopefully they come.’

(08:58) dè bon, [ē kłōʔó] yíč [tòʔa jàrən],
say.Pfv well, [Art road] go.Pfv [place Rel],
[ē kłōʔó] yíč [tòʔa jàrən],
[Art road] go.Pfv [place Rel],
A: ‘(They) say, well, the place where the road went, the place where the road went,’

(09:01) [kò yíʔi cə́frá] [[à bĭ̱] fię cə́frá],
[Infin go.Base T] [[3Inan all] pass.Pfv T],
Ø mā dàn cə́frá,
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) wàlা→, kō kə̝̀ʔẽ̝n [Ø jī=] [Ø plákí jī]
right!, Infin take.up.Base [Art something] [Art sign Indef]
ē — dè= [Ø ēʔè jį] à-mā [bɛ̂ tòʔá],
(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) Wálá-mó dëⁿ còfrá fàⁿǎⁿ = [Ø úⁿ], right! 2Sg arrive.Pfv T here [Art village] [3Inan Loc], fô fàⁿǎⁿ mëⁿ-fjëë, pass.Base here like.th.is,

A: ‘Right! You have arrived here in Tiefora, the village there. (Now) go (=turn) here like this!’

[mëⁿ-fjëë (§8.5.5.1)]

(09:12) ŋ kò ká, à kô gbë mëⁿ-fjëë,

(nasal) Infin do.again.Base, 3Inan Infin be.taken.Base like.th.is, dë fô = [Ø dàrâmâ’dùgû] bè,

Quot pass.Base [Art D] Dem.Def,

A: ‘Again it (=road) is taken like this. (Saying) go to Daramandugu thus!’

(09:15) donc [è plákî] bè kpëⁿʔëⁿ,

so [Art sign] Fut be.planted.Pfv,

fô kô yîlî [kô dô-dàⁿ]


(hesitation) [Art cliffs-hole] [[[Art cliffs] side.PI] 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 kî) ’side, area next to’, complex PP ké nî or plural kâ-rë nî (§8.3.4.3)]

(09:19) Wálá→, [[bè tóʔ = ] = à] [ā bë klè kà-tô], right, [[Dem.Def Foc it.is] [3Inan Fut be.done.Pfv thus],

mó mà gbë [mà á-dàⁿ = [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) bè nà plé

Dem.Def Fut be.better.Base
dë ŋ bà, dë ŋ bà = [Ø dàrâmâ’dùgû]

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.’

[< /dë ŋ bà/; 2Sg pronoun coindexed to quoted author does not take logophoric form (§18.3)]

(09:25) bè nà dâⁿʔàⁿ [ò bié] kâšbëʔ?

Dem.Def Fut please.Base [3Pl all] very.much

B: ‘That will please everyone a lot.’
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.’

A: ‘Right! Say that you have arrived in the village. Right! There remains the (actual) grotto location.’

A: ‘The place to which you have to go to look at it (=grotto), it remains (to go to) that place.’

A: ‘So, if you take (that road) now, you—, you will go past the village.’

A: ‘You enter the village. You will go and turn, to go to the cliffs.’

A: ‘Something (=another sign) will be installed in the grotto road.’

À: ‘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) [ŋ̀ dèʔè] mà té, [Sg one] Fut be.put.down.Base, [bè tòʔà =] 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 mà klè— kòʔò kàbàbè
Dem.Def Fut (false start)— be.good.Base very.much

B: ‘That will be great!’

(</kòʔò kàbàbè/)


3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv again Neg A: ‘You see, if a person tries to come, he/she won’t get lost any more.’

(</jàʔà-bló/)

(09:59) 3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv again Neg

A: ‘He/She won’t get lost ever again.’

(kàpè ‘not again’, cf. Jula kàyè)

(10:01) 3AnSg kò— 3AnSg kò [è nàsòrù] wò (hesitation)— 3AnSg be [Art white.person] or

3AnSg kò [Ø kà yùò] = ò [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) ʒⁿ kō, [c fɔ̀rə-fiⁿ'] wō, 3AnSg  be, [Art African] whether,
ʒⁿ wō [c anglais] wō, 3AnSg  be [Art English] whether,
[ò biê] mā bà, [ò biê] g-ā yī?i mā
[3Pl all] if come.Base, [3Pl all] Infin-lpfv go.lpfv 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-fiⁿ’ ‘skin-black’ = ‘African’]

(10:08) [ò biê] k-ā yī?i mā
[3Pl all] Infin-lpfv go.lpfv there
ʒⁿhɔⁿ, bè nà kɔ?ò kɔsɔbè? uh-huh, Dem.Def Fut be.good very.much
A: ‘Then they will also go there.’
B: ‘Uh-huh, that will be great!’
[< /kɔ?ò kɔsɔbè(?)/]

(10:10) jí-má-bè, [ dù?= á] jàr³ⁿ = Ø-mā m̩ⁿ-ji?é, otherwise, [cliffs Dem.InanSg] Rel be.Loc like.this, 
é-yùò mā— 1Pl Proh—
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) [c dù?= ] à kò?ò [Ø kè] [ò-bé bà?à], [Art cliffs] lpfv favor(v).lpfv [Art matter] [1Pl chez],
já [mó jàr³ⁿ] mà = á k³ⁿ = ni, 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,’
[< kò?ò [c kè] ; ‘you who’ (§14.1.9); jà for jí (?) ]

(10:19) dè [mó tò?= ] á k³ⁿ = ?, à = á kò?ò 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’; < /c á kò?ò/ (§4.5.3.1.2)]
B: ‘We didn’t realize it. We considered that it (=cliff) was blocking (=was a barrier for) us.’

(cù祐-klá (base t祐-klá); miē (§4.3.1.4))

[[bè [t祐 jà = ] Ó-mā]
[[Dem.Def place Indef] be.Loc]
[nó [tó? = ] ā dō = nī [mó bà?à] lá,
[1Sg Foc] Ipfv speak.Ipfv 3InanObj [2Sg Dat] L,
A: ‘There’s a place thereof, I will tell it to you, La [name].’
[i.e. ‘I will tell you about it’; bè combining with indefinite jì (§6.5.4)]

mó mà diē [[Ø t祐 jì] ē]
2Sg if enter.Base [[Art place Indef] Loc]
mó mà glú =?
2Sg IpfvNeg exit(v).Ipfv Neg
A: ‘If you enter a certain place, you won’t leave.’

ébé
wow!

ná-di-祐 dè—
old.man.Pl say.Pfv—
jà [ā t祐] ā kō = ṭēʔ?
lo! [3Inan place] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv Emph
B: ‘Wow!’
A: ‘(The) old men said—’
B: ‘Lo, that place is really good!’
[ébé exclamation of amazement]

ná-di-祐 dè = ṭēʔ?, mó mà diē [[Ø t祐 jì] nī],
old.man-Pl say.Pfv Emph, 2Sg if enter.Base [[Art place Indef] Loc],
jó = ò = Ø dō dè [diē [t祐 jè祐]],
if 3Pl 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,’
[< /jì ò = ò dōl; quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1)]
(10:36) [mò mà dīē] [Ō má glú =?], [2Sg if enter.Base] [2Sg lpfvNeg exit(v).lpfv Neg, [nà-dì-ð ð-rē jā-rē] Ō-mā [tāʔā jārā'ñ]], [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, [ʔɛʔ jārā'ñ] à tā"-ã—
well, Dem.Def Loc, (hesitation)
[ʔɛʔ jārā'ñ] à tā"-ã-jūû mó, [thing Rel] lpfv help.lpfv 2Sg,
į kò kā kārāûi =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 kārāûi ‘watch over’; kā- ‘do again’]

(10:45) ĭ kā" [gò sūʔū-gārē" =nī]
2Sg ought [Hort catch.Base-do.well 3inanObj]
į kā" [gò sūʔū-gārē" =nī]
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) yūō-yūō ā tā"-ã-jūû mó, sūʔū-gārē" = =û», person-person lpfv help.lpfv 2Sg, catch.Base-do.well 3AnSgObj,
A: ‘Any person who helps you, hold on to him/her!’
[yūō-yūō distributive iteration (§6.6.2.2); < /sūʔū-gārē" =û/]

(10:50) donc, [ē ū"-yūō fārā"], ô mà kā—
so, [Art village-people too], 3Pl Proh do.again.Base—
ô mà glō [Ō kē-tē? = ] [â 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. dī-glō ‘take out, remove’ and cf.
kē-tēʔē ‘hand’]
A: ‘So that the place is good.’
B: ‘It becomes a good place.’
A: ‘In other words, it’s a good place.’
/kô?ðì (§4.5.3.1.2) ; jí-má-bè (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3) /

A: ‘Our salute is (for) the old men who gave (it), the old men who showed that place to us.’

[‘show’ with ditransitive syntax (§11.1.2.5)]

A: ‘Right! And is recording the voice(s).’
B: ‘And recording our language.’
A: ‘Right!’

(11:16) \( \text{[állè bɔrɛ=] [Ø ji̝ë̝ë] wò jù?5 [e fî sɔⁿ-sɔⁿʔɔⁿ]} \) [even still] [Art God] Hort give.Base [Art life long] wállà→ right!

B: ‘Even now, may God give long life.’
A: ‘Right!’
\(<\text{Jula (h)állè bɛlɛⁿ ’until today, to this day’; sɔⁿ-sɔⁿʔɔⁿ (§4.5.3.2.2)}\>

(11:20) \( \text{kò ká jù?5 [Ø fî sɔⁿ-sɔⁿʔɔⁿ]} \) Hort Sbjn give.Base [Art life long] [ò-yûð bì-dɔ kàⁿ, kõ káⁿ tɔrɛⁿ, mîrɛl, 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.’
\[\text{first demonstrative kàⁿ is unclear on tape because of speaker overlap; presentative kò káⁿ (§4.4.4.2); Mireille is another name of co-author Aminata Ouattara}\]

(11:25) \( \text{kà—} \) and—
\( \text{[jàrɔ böé] bàʔà, [Rel.AnPl all] Dat, ë→ ٜاك} \) (hesitation) (name)
B: ‘And—’
A: ‘To all who (are here).’
B: ‘Jeff’
\(<\text{/jàrɔ böé/; Fl has some difficulty with a linguist’s first name}\>

B: ‘And (may He) keep giving long life to everyone.’
A: ‘They who who said that they will help us.’
\(\text{[mié (§4.3.1.4)}\)]
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.’

[Julà dûwâ (< Arabic); < /kò à tâⁿ-à-jû?ò/]

A: ‘That’s right. So, anyway, the cliffs, that’s how it is indeed,’

[Julà kûn ‘truly’]

A: ‘What little (information) is there, even if it is a lot, but …’

B: ‘That is it.’


A: ‘Let’s cut it (=talk) off a little. Right!’

B: ‘Okay.’

A: ‘What (information) I have gotten …’

B: ‘Thanks.’

A: ‘… that [focus] is it.’

[Jula kó á nî cè]
(11:52)  

wāttrá

Ouattara

wālà →, oui, [bè tōʔō] má glò = à, wālà →, 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) [è—è—è—Coulibaly Ye, kà bó màsàsó](hesitations) (name) Infin exit(v) M A: ‘(I am) Coulibaly Ye, (I) come from Masaso (quartier).’
[Jula kà bó ; Tiefo-D name for Masaso quartier is è màsà-lè]

(00:13) Ouattara Christine, kà bó sàgmàgs手工
(name) Infin exit(v) Sangogo B: ‘(I am) Ouattara Christine, (I) come from Sangogo (quartier).’

[pause]

(00:20) è dəràʔà = rê→[Art tale Emph]
A: ‘A tale, right?’
[< /dəràʔà/]

[unintelligible whispering]

(00:26) dè nà = à fë-à-sūʔū, Quot 1Sg Lpfv greet.Lpfv-give.Lpfv, bùò à këñè mà = à, 2Pl Lpfv be.healthy.Lpfv there.Def Q A: ‘(They said) that I should greet (you). Are you-Pl in good health?’
[< Jula këñè ‘be in good health’]

(00:30) è dəràʔà-yúó bìé?, Art courtyard-people all ō à këñè 3Pl Lpfv be.healthy.Lpfv A: ‘(What about) all the people of (your) household?’
B: ‘They are fine.’
A: ‘(What about) the children?’
B: ‘They are all fine.’

A: ‘They are there, in a good state?’
B: ‘Uh-huh, they are all in a good state.

A: ‘May God help us!’
B: ‘Amen!’

A: ‘(And) give us good luck (and) a good thing!’
B: ‘Amen!’

A: ‘May God receive our prayers!’
B: ‘Amen!’


[Art children] [Art God] Hort be.healthy [Art God] Loc

3Pl Infin be.healthy [Art Inan good] Loc

3Pl all [Art Inan good] Loc

[Art thing] [Art good] 1Pl

3Pl all [Art good] Loc

3Pl all [Art good] Loc

[Art marriage] (hesitation) [Art marriage] (hesitation) [Art marriage-tale]
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: ‘Its (=her) way of living was good.’

B: ‘My turn.’ [pause] ‘Begin! Begin!’

[confusion about which woman is to complete the tale]

A: ‘And tell the tale.’

B: ‘Begin the tale! Begin the tale!’

[hesitations]

< /kāⁿ-áⁿ-ʃí, base kāⁿ-áⁿ-sō]

[< /káⁿ-áⁿ-sť, base sō]

It is the tale. We are telling it.

< /ō kō à/. verb gbò/gà/gò ~ gù ‘tell, narrate (a tale)’, elsewhere ‘hit, kill’, here progressive (§10.2.4)
(01:18) à"háⁿ, [bè tóʔó] [n dèⁿʔéⁿ] = àⁿ, 
uh-huh, [Dem.Def Foc] [Sg one] it.is, 
ó kò héré [bè ní], 
1Pl be at.peace [Dem.Def Loc], 
A: ‘Uh-huh, it’s that same one. We are at peace.’ 
[‘one’ = ‘same’; speaker resumes the greetings; héré < Jula] 

(01:22) [è á kôʔó] ní, 
[Art Inan good] Loc, 
è— [è jìʔé báráká] ní, 
(hesitation)— [Art God] grace] Loc, 
A: ‘In a good state. In God’s good graces.’ 
[báráká < Jula (< Arabic)] 

(01:28) è— [è bì-ʃò] [klà-lò]-èʔè rē] = à, 
(hesitation)— [Art children] [play.Base-Ppl.Inan Foc.Inan] it.is, 
ō kō [klà-lò]-yîʔ-nî] ní], 
3Pl Infin [play.Base]-go.VblN] Loc], 
A: ‘It’s the children playing. They are playing and going.’ 
[proto-progressive construction with verbal noun and locative postposition (§10.2.4.1)] 

(01:32) ó k-à fā [à náramá], 
1Pl Infin-Ipfv seek.Ipfv [3Inan good.thing], 
[ālè bárē =] [Ø jìʔé] sūʔā [à náramá] [ʒⁿ [Ø mié]], 
[even today] [Art God] give.Base [3Inan good.thing] [Dat [Art 1Pl]], 
A: ‘We want (=hope for) a good thing. Even now (=always) may God give us its (=those) good things.’ 

(01:39) commencez, kō yîʔí tē→ begin!, Hort go.Base Emph 
ño ó yîʔí = rē→, 
1Sg Infin go.Base Emph, 
B: ‘Begin (the tale)! Go on!’ 
A: ‘I (will) go.’ 
[tē→ is the same as the more common enclitic =rē→ (§19.4.4)] 

(01:42) nó ó yîʔí [ā [bè tóʔó]] 
1Sg Infin go.Base [with [Dem.Def Foc]] 
A: ‘That’s what I (will) go with (=take).’ 
B: ‘Begin! (The tale) of the adolescent girl!’ 
[compound of yô and bi-ʃiʔⁿ]
(01:44) ĕ yō-[bī-ʃìⁿ], donc tārāⁿ wards-tārāⁿ wardsⁿ, Art woman-[child], so marriage-marriage, 3ⁿ nè [bō māⁿ tārēⁿ = ʔ], Art say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg], 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’]

(01:48) ô kō gbē— [è bēⁿʔèⁿ] 3Pl Infin take.Base— [Art tomtom] [wò té [[Ô jĩⁿʔĩ'] nĩ], [Infin put.up.on.Base ] [Art tree] Loc] A: ‘They took a tomtom and put it up in a tree.’

(01:51) ô gblè [è bêⁿʔèⁿ] [wò té], 3Pl take.Pfv [Art tomtom] [Infin put.up.on], [è bitáró] kō kēⁿʔèⁿ, [Art leper] Infin ascend.Base, A: ‘They took a tomtom and put (it) up (in the tree), then a leper climbed up.’

(01:54) [è yīb-sh] klēⁿʔèⁿ-té— [Art young.woman-child] ascend.Pfv-be.put.up.on.Base— [[è cō] nĩ], [è bitáró] wō kēⁿʔèⁿ [Art fromager] Loc], [Art leper] Infin ascend.Base ā klē kā-tō 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus 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]

(01:59) [è bitáró] klēⁿʔèⁿ lô, [Art leper] ascend.Pfv after, [è bitáró] wō rà-[gō-gò] [à bēⁿʔèⁿ]] [Art leper] Infin go.Base-[Rdp-beat.Base] [3Inan tomtom)] A: ‘The leper climbed up. Then the leper went and kept beating that tomtom.’ [lô in perfective echo clause (§15.3.5.6); kō rà- ‘(and) go and...’ (§15.2.3.3.4)]
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 ko à té e wòmí; 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.’
[< /bó dɔ mà; < /3n dɔ tô/]
(02:24) [ē dɔ̌ kō bà— klá— [ē kɔ̌ jì]
[Art man] Infin come.Base return.Base— [Art day Indef]
ā klè kà-tò
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘The man went back one day.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

(02:28) kō bà-lëⁿ
[ē wù?û] ni
Infin come.Base-stop.Base [[Art house] Loc]
ā klè kà-tò
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
ṑⁿ pè?ê-lëⁿ [ē wù?û] ni 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?ê-lëⁿ/pá?á-lëⁿ/pá?-à-lëⁿ ‘lean on (wall); lurk near [house]’]

(02:31) [dè-dè ni] [ē dɔ̌ gò glû = [[Ø wàⁿ?âⁿ] ŋ]
[now Loc] [Art man] Infin exit(v).Base [[Art market] Loc]
[gò bà],
[Infin come.Base].
A: ‘Now the man left the market and came (back).’

(02:33) ṓⁿ mā dè [bò nà dì-glô [Ø fê?ê]],
3AnSg if say.Base [LogoSg Fut remove [Art garment]],
[ē dɔ̌ kò— [ē yò] kò māⁿâⁿ-sú?ô = = ŋ,
[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 máⁿâⁿ-sú?û = ŋ/]

(02:38) ṓⁿ mèⁿ?êⁿ-sú?ô = = ŋ lò,
3AnSg roll.Pfv-catch.Base 3AnSgObj after,
ṑⁿ nè má klè jàršⁿ
3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg do.Ipfv Rel
ā klè kà-tò
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘After she hugged him, which she (previously) was not doing, …’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
[< /ṑⁿ dè máⁿ/]
(02:41) 3AnSg Infin lay.out.Base [Art mat new],
kō— tō = [Ø cèrú], kō wē = [[Ø tásá] ní].
Infin cook.Base [Art tô], Infin put.in.Base [[Art bowl] Loc],
ā klè kà-tò
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
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]

(02:46) [kō wē = [Ø tásá = á kò?ô] ní],
[Infin put.in.Base [Art bowl Inan good] Loc],
[kò nùá = ní]
[Infin scoop.Base 3InanObj wò tâ-sù? = 3n [[Ø á kò?ô] ní],
Infin serve.Base-give Dat.3AnSg [[Art Inan good] Loc]
A: ‘(She) put (it) in a fine eating bowl, (she) scooped (it) out, she offered (it) to him in a nice (bowl).’
[á kò?ô (§4.5.3.1.2); nùá ‘scoop ( tô ) from pot into eating bowl’]

(02:51) Infin bâ-jâ?ā [Ø tâpû?ô],
[ē dô] dè [bò mân sêⁿ = ʔ].
[Art man] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg lie.down.Ipfv Neg],
A: ‘Then (she) came and laid out a mat. The man said that he wouldn’t go to bed (with her).’

(02:52) 3Pl Infin take.Base [Art speak.Pfv-Agent]
[ē yô-dô] gō bà-fûá,
[Art woman-old] Infin come.Base-intervene.Base,
A: ‘They got a spokesperson (=intermediary). An old woman came and intervened.’
[agentive -yùô ]

(02:55) 3AnSg Infin lie.down.Base,
ā klè kà-tò
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
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]
nó má wô [Ø dɔ̀rìⁿ?ìⁿ-ñì] 1Sg IpfvNeg sing.Ipfv [Art song-Pl]
A: ‘The tale ends in that place.’
B: ‘I don’t sing the songs.’
[singular dɔ̀rìⁿ?ìⁿ ‘song’]

(03:03) àáⁿ wô [Ø dɔ̀rìⁿ?ìⁿ]
no! sing.Base [Art song]
[nó dô] bà wô [Ø dɔ̀rìⁿ?ìⁿ] 1Sg however if sing.Base [Art song]
[à bié dô] kô bëjò-rê-ń dô [3Inan all however] be Jula.hood Emph
B: ‘No, sing the song!’
A: ‘But if I sing the song(s), all of it is in Jula!’
[subject-final dô ‘however’; ‘Jula-hood’ (§4.1.2.5.6); clause-final emphatic dô (§19.4.2)]

(03:05) á! wô =nì, wô =nì
ah! sing.Base 3InanObj, sing.Base 3InanObj
[è bâñ] nì-mâ [à nì] [Art harm] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
wô =nì sing.Base 3InanObj
B: ‘Ah, sing it! Sing it!’
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]
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 jì], 3ⁿ = Ø kò,
[Art child Indef], 3AnSg Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
ò kò lò [3ⁿ dʒ],
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 [3ⁿ dʒ],
3Pl show.Pfv [3AnSg man],
5ⁿ dè [bô má tārēⁿ = ?],
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 tārēⁿ lò
Quot LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv after
5ⁿ klè kā
3AnSg do.Pfv thus
[è sè] k-ā jè [Ø úⁿ?úⁿ] ní-mā [à ní],
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) [è sè] kò yĩři-/fĩʔ [gō nèʔ = [è jámáʔ],
[Art father] Infin get.up.Base [Infin ask.Base [Art crowd]],
d = — ,
ò kōʔò [bô ni],
Quot (hesitation)— 3Pl benefit(v).Base [LogoSg Loc],
‘The father got up and asked the crowd to do him a service.’
[< /kō nèʔ; < /dè ò kōʔò bó/]
(00:22) \( \text{kò yỗ-gbé} \) [è bë"në”], \( \text{Infin go.Base-take.Base} \) [Art tomtom]
\( [wò tè [[è cò] ni]], \)
\( \text{Infin put.up.on.Base} [[\text{Art fromager} \ Loc]], \)
A: ‘To go pick up a (big) tomtom and put it up in a fromager tree.’
\([\text{fromager is local French for the huge tree Ceiba pentandra}]
(00:25) \( [kò wè= [Ø nàⁿ-bì] = rë] \) [gô kë"në”],
\( \text{Infin put.in.Base} \) [Art child] [Emph] [Infin ascend.Base],
A: ‘Then (he) had the girl climb up (the tree). Then (she) went and sat (on the top).’

(00:30) \( [è jàmá] \) fë, \( \) kò fó,
\( \text{[Art crowd] pass.Pfv, Infin pass.Base,} \)
\( [dè-dè ni] \) [è bitó̂] kò bà [Ø = à-fó],
\( \text{[now Loc] [Art leper] Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-pass.Base]}, \)
A: ‘The crowd went away. (They) went away. Now a leper came by.’
\([\text{kò bà} [Ø = à-Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4)}]

(00:35) \( [è yô-dè] \) wô [Ø nû] wô] ni],
\( \text{[Art woman-old] be [Art water] bathe.Prog] Prog}, \)
\( [è yô-dè] \) wô pëⁿ-dè é!,
\( \text{[Art woman-old] Infin remain.Base-say.Base hey!}, \)
\( [3\text{AnSg Dat}] \) 3\text{AnSg—}, \) \( \) 3\text{AnSg clean.Base [LogoSg back]},
A: ‘An old woman was bathing. The old woman kept telling him (=leper), “hey, clean my back.” ’
\( ['\text{stay'} = 'keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); cfî̃ ‘clean.Base’ (dialectally cfî̃ë)]]

(00:43) \( ñ^n \) gô [cfî̃ ni]
3\text{AnSg be [clean.Prog Prog,}]
\( ñ^n \) klë kà-tó
3\text{nan be.done.Pfv thus}
\( ñ^n \) cfî̃ =nì, \( ñ^n \) nô nì [Ø mësèrë”,
3\text{AnSg clean.Pfv 3\text{InnanObj, 3\text{AnSg Infin see.Base [Art needle,}
A: ‘He was cleaning (it).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘He cleaned it, then he saw a needle.’
\( [\text{perfective echo clause; < /} ñ^n \) kō nì ë mësèrë”/}]}
(00:46) dè ɔ̀ⁿ ɲà = [Ø dèʔè] tē, say.Pfv 3AnSg see.Pfv [Art what?] Q, ɔ̀ⁿ dè [bó ɲà [Ø mèsèrèn]], 3AnSg say.Pfv [LogoSg see.Pfv [Art needle]],
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; ē dèʔè ‘what?’ §13.2.3.2.1]

(00:50) d = ɔ̀ⁿ ɗi-ŋlō = nì, Quot 3AnSg take.out.Base 3lnanObj, ɔ̀ⁿ ɲö ɗi-ŋlō = nì 3AnSg Infin take.out.Base 3lnanObj ă kłë kà-tó 3lnan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘So (she) told him to take it out! Then he took it out.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

(00:54) d = ɔ̀ⁿ ɗi-ŋlō = nì, d = ő bà rà-dàⁿ, Quot 3AnSg take.out.Base 3lnanObj, Quot 3Pl if goBase-arrive.Base, dè [Ø nà-bí-ô] wō [[Ø kèⁿʔèⁿ-ń] nì], Quot [Art person-Pl] be [[Art ascend.Base-VblN] Loc],
A: ‘(She said:) “Take it out! If they go and arrive, the people are (=will be) climbing.’
[the first part is an echo of the preceding; proto-progressive with verbal noun and locative (§10.2.4.1)]

A: ‘The young men came—, one person at a time. They came and climbed.’
[suitors of the young woman attempted to climb the fromager tree; locative postposition nì is not obligatory here; bà [Ø à-Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4)]

(01:03) [è ɲá-bí] g-ā wō [Ø dàriʔôⁿ] [Art person] Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song]
A: ‘The young woman would be singing a song.’
[the following song is in Jula]
[sings in Jula:] 

(01:05) ðè mɔ̀ɣɔ̃ mi nà sè kà yèlè [bànà-yìíí kàâ'],

Quot person Rel Infin be.able Infin ascend [fromager.tree on].

wò tígi rè sànà-duⁿ bɔ̀ɣɔ̃;

Dem owner Dem gold-tomtom beat, mà-sà dèⁿ sànà-duⁿ

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 tígi rè for wò tígi bí nà ‘that person will come ...’; sànà-duⁿ for sànú-duⁿ’dàⁿ]

(01:11) bò-wí bà kèⁿʔëⁿ,

fellow if ascend.Base,

ɔ̀ wò yìfí [gò rà-dàⁿ] [Ø sìcùʔò nì]
3AnSg Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art middle] Loc]

kò lèⁿ-klá, ɔ̀ wò sàrúⁿ,

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) [ë jì] wò táⁿ-gbë, bò-wí

[Art someone] Infin take.over.Base, fellow
gò yìfí [kò rà-kèⁿʔëⁿ] [wò— ħ klè-tē],
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.’

[ë jì here ‘someone’, elsewhere often ‘something’ (§6.5.4); pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]

(01:22) [ë nàⁿ-bf] g-ã wò [Ø dàrìʔòⁿ],

[Art child] Infin-lpfv sing.lpfv [Art song],

[[ɔ̀ wí] bà rà-[kłè-të]] [ɔ̀ wò sàrúⁿ],
[[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

3Inman Infin be.done.Base

[ë cí-cò-rò bìé] kò bà-kè,
[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-cùʔò (see @ 02:19 below)]
(01:28) [dè-dè nî] [è bítáró] gò gbè, [now Loc] [Art leper] Infin take.Base,
A: ‘Now the leper took his turn.’

(01:30) ò dè [járó piéⁿʔêⁿ] kò [Ø jìⁿ-jìⁿ], 3Pl say.Pfv [Rel.AnPl foot] be [Art two-two], [járó kí-tò-rèʔè] kò jìⁿ-jìⁿ [ò klëⁿʔêⁿ-tè mò→], [Rel.AnPl hand-Pl] be two-two [3Pl ascend.Pfv-fail.Base concerning], A: ‘They said, “given that (even) those who have two legs, those who have two arms, they have failed to climb up.”’
[lit. “those whose hands/legs are two each”; possessor relative (§14.2.3); distributive iteration “two-two” (§4.6.1.6); ‘fail’ compound (15.1.7.2); clause-final mò→ (§19.1.4) topicalizing a background clause preceding a question]

(01:34) [è bítáró], mó nà këⁿʔêⁿ-p₃ⁿ tè, [Art leper], 2Sg Fut ascend.Base-be.able.Base Q,
A: ‘(They said:) “yet you, a leper, will be able to climb?”’
/[tè interrogative]

(01:37) [è bítáró] wò [gbè nî], [Art leper] be [take.Prog Prog], [è náⁿ-bí] g-à wò [Ø dàřîⁿîⁿ], [Art child] Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song]
A: ‘The leper was taking his turn. The young woman was singing.’

[sings in Jula:] (01:41) dè mí ɲà sé kà yèlè [bànà-yírí kàa"], Quot Rel Infin be.able Infin ascend [fromager.tree on]. wò tíú rè nàmárámá dɔŋ, Dem owner Dem gold-tomtom enter [mà-sà dèⁿ nàmárámá] [mà-sà flá] [mà-sà nàmárámá], [king child N] [king two] [king N],
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.’”
(01:49) è ná— [è náⁿ-bí] à wūō bè
(hesitation)— [Art child] Ipfv sing.Ipfv Dem.Def
[è bítáró] à klēⁿȳ-yfî, [Art leper] Ipfv ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv,
k-ā klēⁿ-ā-yfî, Infin-Ipfv ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv,
è b̞í tə́ ró
gō gō gō nī, kpēⁿ kpēⁿ-kpēⁿ-kpēⁿ, be Rdp-beat.Prog Prog, (sound of drumbeats),
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.’
[< /kléⁿ-ā-yfî/]

(01:54) fō [è bítáró] gō rā-sū?ũ = [Ø beⁿ-yf̄ⁿ]]
until [Art leper] Infin go.Base-catch.Base [Art tomtom]
gō gō gō nī, kpēⁿ kpēⁿ-kpēⁿ-kpēⁿ, be Rdp-beat.Prog Prog, (sound of drumbeats),
A: ‘Eventually the leper went and took hold of the drum and was beating it.’
[iterated verb (§9.5); both occurrences of gō with rising tone marking progressive]

(01:58) è náⁿ-bí— ò gō saríaⁿ, ò sārāⁿ lô,
Art child— 3Pl Infin descend.Base, 3Pl descend.Pfv after,
A: ‘The young woman— They climbed down. After they climbed down,’
[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2) with lô (§15.3.5.6)]

(02:01) [è sê] wō pēⁿ-rē
[Art father] Infin remain.Base-say.Base
[è náⁿ-bí] à kô o→,
[Art child] Ipfv weep.Ipfv whether,
= Ø miē o→,
[3AnSg Ipfv laugh.Ipfv whether,
[³ⁿ dō tōʔō] wō kāⁿ, wālā→,
[3AnSg man Foc] be Dem.AnSg, right!,
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!’
[peⁿ- ‘remain’ compounding with VP in sense ‘keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); willy-nilily conditional (§16.3); < à kô ‘is weeping’, verb kpē/kô/kô ‘weep’; < /³ⁿ dō tōʔō/]
A: ‘Her husband is that one.’ They went home. The young woman said she wouldn’t (=she refused to) get married.’

\[< /dɔ dɔ/; ‘sit’ = ‘settle (in a home’) = ‘(woman) get married’\]

A: ‘She would fry cakes until nightfall. The leper would put on his boubou (=outer garment).’

\[/wɔ̀mif\]

kō à/

A: ‘Then (the leper) went and bought some cakes at her place.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘When she came back in the evening, she said to the old woman,’

\[< /3^ου ba klę e dɔʔɔ/; < /3^ου de e yō-dē/\]

A: ‘(Young woman:) “I saw a young man. The young man is very handsome.” ’
(02:24) á jí bó dè bú = ò, ah! if LogoSg IpfvPast get.Base 3AnSgObj, bó nà tòràⁿ [[bó tóʔó] bàʔà], 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) [ē yō-dè] d = [[3ⁿ júό] = yà], [Art woman-old] say.Pfv [[3AnSg Poss.An] it.is],
dè [bó júό] máⁿ 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 júό (§6.2.4.2); positive = (y)à ‘it is’ and its negation máⁿ) glò (§11.2.1.1-2)]

(02:29) [[ē yō-dè] d = [[3ⁿ júό] = yà] [Art woman-old] say.Pfv [3AnSg Poss.An] it.is,
dè [bó júό] máⁿ 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 jí ʒⁿ mà á là [bó ni], Quot well Quot if 3AnSg if PfvNeg believe.Base [LogoSg Loc], ā klè ká-tó 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus]
[ē kō jí] ʒⁿ nà = [Ō wòmĩⁿ á bí-bí], [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.’
[ā bí-bí (§4.5.3.2.2, §8.5.2.2.3)]

(02:35) [[3ⁿ mā lá-dāⁿ] [wò tn té bà-bàʔà], [3AnSg if go.Base-arrive.Base] [Hort (hesitation) put.in quickly], kò léⁿ-klá,
Infin stand.Base-return.Base,
A: ‘(Old woman:) “When you arrive, put (some dough) on quickly, then get up and return.”’
[< /3ⁿ bà/]
woman grabbed and held him tightly

(02:48) ₃ⁿ  mè  ṃа  [ā  tɔʔɔ̞],
₃AnSg  Fut  see.Pfv  [3Inan  place],
è  náⁿ-bí—  [è  bítárov]  bà  [Ø  =  à-diē],
A: ‘(Old woman:) “You will see its (=the place).” The young woman— (or rather), the leper came and went in.’

(02:51) ₃ⁿ  mā  =-à-diē
[3AnSg  if  come.Base- enter.Base]
[dè  bó  nà  di-glô =  [Ø  jɔʔɔ̞]  [tɔʔɔ̞  jàrɔ̞ⁿ]]
[Quot  LogoSg  Fut  take.out.Base  [Art  boubou]  [place  Rel]]
A: ‘When he came and went in, at the point where he was going to take off (his) boubou,’

(02:53) ]|[O  bítárov]  jɔʔɔ̞],
Infin  return.Base- put.in.Base  [[Art  leper]  boubou],
[è  náⁿ-bí]  mèʔè-súʔô =  =  ò,
[Art  child]  roll.Pfv- catch.Base  3AnSgObj,
A: ‘… (he) then (changed clothes) and put on the leper’s boubou. The young woman grabbed and held him tightly.’
A: ‘She grabbed and held him, and let out a shout.’

[gö ‘hit’ here in the sense ‘emit, utter’]

A: ‘Then the old woman came.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘After the old woman came, the old woman came and kept saying, she told the leper, “oh!, give up!”’

[first dë inaudible but implied; < /lë^n [à ńi]/ (§17.4.4.1)]

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.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘She then brought a (new) mat that had never been slept on.’

[-nɔ as -Vb2 for experiential perfect (§15.1.4.3), here negative; < /kà ē tâpù?ð jàr5/; intransitive ‘lie down’ as passive ‘be lain on’]
(03:24) ṣⁿ wọ gbé [[bè tóʔò jàʔà = ] 3AnSg Infin take.Base [[Dem.Def Foc] mat], [Infin lay.out.Base] [Ø dɔ̃] dè [bò máⁿ sēⁿ = ?], [Art man] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg lie.down.Base Neg], A: ‘She then took that very same mat and laid (it) out. The man said, “I will not lie down.” ’

[focalized prenominal bë (§6.5.3)]


[tāⁿ- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3); verb fūº/fūº ‘plead’; < /n bāʔà/]

(03:31) [[ō kō diè] [wò sēⁿ], [[3Pl Infin enter.Base [Infin lie.down.Base], [ō rà— o dièⁿ] jīná ní], [Infin go.Base— Inf in unite.Base]] situation] Loc], A: ‘As soon as they went in and lay down, to go and couple,’


B: ‘It happened like that.’

/= yò variant of 3AnSg object enclitic (§4.3.2.3)]

(03:42) [ē fārū] kō bèⁿ, [Art marriage] Infin be.in.harmony, A: ‘The marriage became harmonious.’

[fārū < Jula; bèⁿ < Jula; cf. Tiefo-D [ē tòrâʔàⁿ] kò tò-sò ]
(03:44) Ø mà jù?5 dè→ é-yùò dè→
2Sg if hear.Base Quot 1Pl say.Pfv
[Ø cåjó-ró] d = [ò mán gbì] [è táràʔáí],

A: ‘If you hear that we have said, we the Tiefo have said, “don’t-2Pl (try to) pick
(your) marriage.” ’

[< mó bà jù?5 ‘if you hear’, cf. má = à jì ‘if you see’]

(03:48) [bè tóʔó] kó bè
[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def
àl! à kòni, [à ánàʔà tè] = à
ah! 3Inan be.thus, [3Inan face Foc.Inan ] it.is
àlì bè mán gbò = 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?’
[à kòní < 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]  Ŭ-mā  [[Ō jĩⁿʔi nin] ni]
[A:  ‘Fruit of *Parkia* is in the tree.’
< /sə̀rùⁿ à-mā/; *Parkia biglobosa tree, locally known as néré (< Jula-Bambara)]

(00:11)  ā  bà  sē,
3Inan  if  fruit.take.shape.Base,
ō  kō  kpā = nì,
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 cùʔ/ kpā/ kpē ~ kpē]

(00:13)  [ō bà kpā = nì]
[1Pl if  pick.Base  3InanObj]
[ō gō blè = nì]
[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)  ō  bà  blè = nì,
1Pl  if  shell(v).Base  3InanObj,
ō  gō  cūʔ5 = 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 cùʔ5/cùʔ5/cùʔ5>
A: ‘(We) then go with (=take) them to the pond, and (we) wash them thoroughly.’
[‘go with’ = ‘convey, take, deliver'; kō rā- (§15.2.3.3.4); ‘wash’ lēⁿ/lāⁿ/lāⁿ]

A: ‘(We) then come and take a cooking pot and put (it) up,
[verb dīʔ/jūʔ/jūʔ /jūʔ /jūʔ ‘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]

A: ‘(We) put it (=pot) up over the fire. Then it is done (=cooked).’
[verb blè/bè/blè ‘become tired; (food) be cooked, be done; ripen’ (bè is elsewhere the Ipfv, not base, of ‘come’); verb flè/flá/flá ‘pound (usually grain) somewhat lightly, not all the way into fine flour]

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’
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-supplemented repetition of ‘go’, elsewhere with repeat phrased as kō rā- (§15.2.3.3.4); B: not fully clear on recording, perhaps contracted from à yī/ī lá’n ànāʔà ]

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: ‘When we have sautéd it, we put it in an old, leaky calabash.’
[klò-gbáʔá is an irregular compound denoting a worn-out, leaky calabash that can be used to slowly drain off liquid]

A: ‘Then (we) hide (=cover) it. Then we add chili peppers.’
[the néré seeds in the calabash are covered with leaves; emend wē = nì to just wē, cf. the next segment; ‘chili pepper’ also dialectally mūsökā”ʔá” and variants]

A: ‘Then (we) add salt, then (we) cover it.’

A: ‘When it has been covered, (after) three days, it comes out (=is taken out).’
A: ‘It has become soumbala (spice). Then (we) eat.’

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 Jinéjan, 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)  í-yùò  bàʔà,  í-yùò  à  di-à-glō  [Ø  gblè"nì"n],
1Pl  chez,  1Pl  Ipfv  take.out.Ipfv  [Art  sorghum],
kō  wē  =nī=
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 diē-glō/di-glō/di-à-glō  ’take out’, cf. uncompounded intransitive glō/glú/glú  ’exit (v), go/come out’]

(00:13)  ó  bà  wē  =nī=
1Pl  if  put.in.Base  3InanObj  [[Art  water]  Loc]  [day  Rel],
[ā  dè]  [ò  j̃̃n],  ó  gō  lá°  =nī,
[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 ();  k̃  ‘day’ (as locator), then dè  ‘day’ (as unit of counting); verb l̃̃/l̃̃/l̃̃  ‘wash’]

(00:18)  ó  bà  lá°  =nī,
1Pl  if  wash.Base  3InanObj,
ó  gō  t̂iê  =nī  [[ê  t̂  n]],
1Pl  Infin  put.down.Base  3InanObj  [[Art  ground]  Loc],
A: ‘When we have washed it, we lay it on the ground.’
(00:20) à gō fiⁿ, à bā fiⁿ, ...
   3Inan Infin germinate.Base, 3Inan if germinate.Base, ...
   â klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
ō kò yîʔē— yîʔē = nì,
1Pl Infin (hesitation)— turn.over.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Then it (=sorghum grains) germinates. When it has germinated, …’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘… then we turn it over.’
[fiⁿ/fiⁿ/fiⁿ ‘bud (v); germinate’; yîʔē ‘turn over (germinated sorghum)’]

(00:24) [à dî-cùⁿtùⁿ] ó gō cāʔà = nì
[3Inan next.morning] 1Pl Infin dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj,
   â klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘The next morning, we dry it out (in the sun).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
[dî-cùⁿtùⁿ (§8.5.7.1); verb c̱ɛ̀ ɛ̀/càʔà ‘dry out, set out in the sun to dry’]

(00:28) ó bā cāʔà = nì lò, à bā wó,
1Pl if dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj after, 3Inan if be.dry.Base.
ō gō sàr̥ā [gō wë = nì= [Ø màʃ̣in] Ø]
1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj] [Infin mill(v).Base 3InanObj]
[wō gbè = nì]
[Infin mill(v).Base 3InanObj]
   â klè kà-tó
3Inan 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 ē màʃ̣in nì/; invariant verb gbè ‘grind coarsely, mill (grain) (in milling
   machine)’]

(00:32) ó bā gbè = nì,
1Pl if mill(v).Base 3InanObj,
   à gbè [k5 jàr̥ō’]
3Inan be.milled.Pfv [day Rel]
à = Ø jùʔù [bì ḳ = rē→],
3Inan Ipfv 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 jùʔù ~ dîʔë/jùʔë/jùʔù ‘put up (on fire)’; < /à jùʔù bì ḳ = rē→/ with
   = rē→ (§19.4.4)]
A: ‘The next day, we boil it down. The third day, it is drunk.’

\[\text{boil down (beer)}; \text{day (as locator)}\]

A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, I have put it (back) down.’
Text 2017-16 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, í'-yùò wò yìʃí, well, 1Pl Inf inf go.Base,
[é dìʔɛ] gò sè, [[é pòʔó] ní], [Art shea.fruit] Inf 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 sèːʁɛ/sɛː/sɛ (dialectally imperfective sì) ‘shape, carve; take shape, (e.g. fruit) develop’]

(00:15) 1Pl kò sān = nì,
[ó kò sān],
[1Pl Inf inf collect.Base],
A: ‘We collect them (on the ground). When they are ready to fall to the ground, we collect (them).’
[verb sèʔɛ/sòʔó/sòʔó ‘fall to ground’; wè-[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 jūâⁿ-glō/jūâⁿ-glō/jūâⁿ-āⁿ-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 kō à (imperfective chain), for some speakers always contracted kā = à; verbs cēʔ/cēʔa/cēʔa ‘set out (or be set out) in sun to dry’ and çūʔ/cūʔ5/cūʔ5 ‘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.’

[weʔè/wòʔò/wòʔò ‘bake (karité pits) in an earthenware oven’, elsewhere ‘roast (meat); steam (couscous)’; kà lò ‘with it/them (inanimate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

(00:41) kò yìʔì [gō rà— ṭ na = nì],
1Pl 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/nīē ~ nà ‘grind (finely)’]

(00:44) ó bà na = 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 cѣⁿ/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 lâⁿ = nì,
1Pl Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When we have tapped it, we wash it.

(00:49) à bà lâⁿ, 3Inan if be.washed.Base,
ó gō sàr̄ô [gō wé = nì = [Ø tê-têʔè] nì]
1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art pot] Loc] [gō dàʔô̂ = [Ø dàʔô̂] nì], [Infin put.up.on.Base [[Art fire] Loc], kō wé = nì [Ø tū-têʔè] 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, tê-têʔè ‘pot’ and dâʔô̂ ‘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 ṭɔ̀rɔ̀ 〈tɔ́tɔ́ 〈tɔ̀ ‘cook (sausage) by slow boiling’, also ‘brew, boil down (beer)’]

A: ‘Then (we) cook it.
B: ‘It happened like that.’
A: ‘It comes off (the fire) nice.’

[verb ṭɔ̀rɔ̀ 〈tɔ́tɔ́ 〈tɔ̀ ‘cook (sausage) by slow boiling’, also ‘brew, boil down (beer)’]
[01:13]  [ó  bà  wē = [Ø  pūⁿ-pùʔɔ]]  
    [1Pl  if  put.in.Base  [Art  kneading.stick]]  
  [ó  gō  feⁿ = nī]  
    [1Pl  Infin  stir.Base  3InanObj],  
  A: ‘When we have put the kneading-stick in, we stir it.’  
  [verb  fléⁿ/fléⁿ/flíⁿ] ’stir (with stick held vertically and moved or rotated)’)

[01:15]  kò  ló-wē = nī  [[ē  èʔè] nī],  
    Infin  turn.Base-put.in.Base  3InanObj  [[Art  thing]  Loc],  
  dè  gō  klè  [ē  nū]  [í-yùò  bàʔà]  nārāmā  
  Quot  Infin  be.done.Base  [Art  oil]  [1Pl  chez]  very.good  
    [g-ā  ñi]  
  [Infin-Ipfv  be.eaten.Ipfv]  
  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  bùʔɔ-[tí-tèʔè]]  nī  
    [Art  mud-jar]  Loc  
  [ē  bùʔɔ-[tè-tëʔè]]  nī,  ó  gō  wē = nī  
    [Art  mud-jar]  Loc,  1Pl  Infin  put.in.Base  3InanObj  
    [[bi  tôʔè] nī]  [g-ā  ñi],  
  [[Dem.Def  Foc]  Loc]  [Infin-Ipfv  eat.Ipfv],  
  B: ‘In an earthenware jar.’  
  A: ‘In an earthenware jar. That [focus] is what we put it in, for eating.’

[01:25]  [nó  gblè = ñ  [tòʔɔ  järś⁴]],  
    [1Sg  pick.up.Pfv  3InanObj  [place  Rel]],  
  [nó  tiē  [tòʔɔ  té]]  kò  yā  
    [1Sg  put.down  [place  Foc.Inan]]  be  Dem.InanSg  
  A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, here I have put it (back) down.’  
  [kò  yā  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)  
| [[ē lāⁿ-[jùʔ-ñ]-fē tē] | = yà |
|  [[Art beer-[put.up.on-VblN]-talk(n) Foc.Inan] | it.is |
| nó nà dò, | [nó yifé]  
| 1Sg Fut speak.Base, | Ouattara Pren Christine, |
|  | 1Sg name |
| B: ‘It’s talk about putting up (=brewing) beer [focus] that I will speak. My name is Ouattara Pren Christine.’ |

(00:12)  
| nó nà fūⁿ⁹ | [Ø cì], kùⁿʔúⁿ |
| 1Sg Fut soak.Base | [Art grain] today, |
| ē cĩⁿ, | nó kò jūⁿ = nì, |
| Art tomorrow, | 1Sg Infin strain.Base 3InanObj, |
| B: ‘I will soak (sorghum) grain, today. Tomorrow, I will strain it (=drain off the water).’ |

/ē cì 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-cãⁿ, | nó kō láⁿ = nì, |
| Art next.day, | 1Sg Infin wash.Base 3InanObj, |
| [nó bā láⁿ = nì] | [nó gō sēⁿ = nì] |
| 1Sg if wash.Base 3InanObj | [1Sg Infin lay.down.Base 3InanObj, |
| [Ø blî? = ] | [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-cãⁿ ‘next day’, cf. dí-cũⁿʔúⁿ ‘next morning’ (§8.5.7.1); < /ē blîʔú/|

(00:22)  
| [[à blî? = ] [ò sáⁿ] bā yî-flō] |
|  [3Inan night] [Pl three] if be.full.Base |
| [nó gō yîfê = nì], |
| 1Sg Infin turn.over.Base 3InanObj, |
| kō cãʔà = 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-flō ‘fill, be filled’ or ‘(time) elapse’/
à bā cài-kā, à bā wó,
[3Inan if dry.in.sun.Base-finish.Base, 3Inan if be.dry.Base, [ē dē] [ō sā ], nó kō jù=tā =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 jù=tā =nì,
1Sg put.up.on.Base 3InanObj,
B: ‘When I have put it up, I will look for firewood’

(00:33) kō wē =nì= [[Ø dā"tá" ] nì],
1Sg put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art fire] Loc],
kō tā =nì,
Infin brew.Base 3InanObj,
B: ‘Then (I) will put it (vat with grain and water) on the fire, to brew it.’

(00:35) [ā d= ] [ō sā], kō jù=tā =nì,
[3Inan day] [Pl three] finish.Base, Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj,
[a dī-kū" tū" ] ā kō dē],
[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.’

(00:40) [ā d= ] [ō sā], [ā bārā] kō sārūŋ,
[3Inan day] [Pl three], [3Inan work(n)] Infin descend.Base,
ō kō jīŋ =nì, [ō-bé dīgə-rā] 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.’

(00:45) nó gblē =nì [tā= jār" n],
1Sg take.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel],
[a tīć [Ø tā=tō tō=tō]] =yā
[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.’

[final =yā may be contracted from presentative kō yā, since 'it is' is normally
expressed as = à glō after a focalized constituent]
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 náⁿ-bí jì, ɔ̀ⁿ yìʔè-jiʔì [è yō-[bi-jìⁿ]],
Art child Indef, 3AnSg get.up.Pfv [Art woman-child],
kō bà-tərāⁿ [Ø dă-tərăⁿʔàⁿ],
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.’
[C’v often flattened to C’v as compound initial, as here with yō- ‘woman’ and
dă- ‘man’; “man-sitting” = ‘(woman’s) marriage’, i.e. ‘settling down with a man’]

(00:13) ɔ̀ⁿ máⁿ go ṭè [[Ø náⁿ-bí] bú] nì],
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 gō ǎ klè
3Inan Infinit Ipfv be.done.Ipfv
[ká nà klè [è flî? = ] [è yō] 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”; < /flîʔ/]

(00:17) [è yō] g-ā yé-à-kó-à-yé
[Art woman] Infinit-Ipfv walk.Ipfv-wipe.Ipfv-walk.Ipfv
ǎ klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘The woman went around weeping.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
[< yé-à-kó-à-yé/, imperfective of three-verb compound (§10.1.6.1), including
dă/kó/kó ‘weep’]

(00:19) ɔ̀ⁿ yiʔè [wō rà-dàⁿ] [Ø fărà] nì]
A: ‘She went and arrived at a flat stone shelf.’
[kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); < Jula fărà ‘rock’]
The stone shelf asked her, “why are you weeping?”

in Bi dialect (§13.2.3.2.)

She said, “it’s true. Craving for a child had brought me out.”

(A:) ‘(Woman:) “That’s why I am weeping.” The stone shelf said, ‘If that is the case, …”’

A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “Go (away), …” ’
B: ‘It happened like that.

A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “and when four days have elapsed, you should return (here)” ’

(A:) ‘(Stone shelf:) “The angel that you will come back and see, it is yours, you should (=welcome) it.” ’

/-bà [Ø à-Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4); jùó (§6.2.4.2); < /gbë = ò/}
(00:39) [ʒⁿ māⁿ jā][3AnSg Proh let.Base
[ʒⁿ jò tāⁿ-dâⁿ][bō ŋ] tâʔa-kó] =ʔ,
[3AnSg Infín return.Base-arrive.Base [LogoSg Loc] again] Neg,
A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “Don’t let it come back to me again.” ’
[jā ‘leave, let’ with infinitival clause (§17.4.2.5.4); tâⁿ- (§15.1.3.3)]

(00:42) jn̩, [è náⁿ-bí] būô,
look.Base, [Art child] be.gotten.Pfv,
[è náⁿ-bí] wō pēⁿ [ʒⁿ bâʔa],
[Art child] Infín remain.Base [3AnSg chez],
A: ‘Look! The baby was gotten. The child stayed (=lived) with her.’

(00:45) k-ā yē-à-lī-à-blí
Infín-Ipfv walk-Ipfv-turn.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.around.Ipfv
[k-ā klē = [Ø ci-cûʔ],
[Infín-Ipfv be.done.Ipfv [Art young.man],
A: ‘And he was walking around, and he was becoming a young man.’
[imperfective of three-verb compound (§10.1.6.1)]

(00:47) kō bâ-ðlú [w = [ʒⁿ dîgə-rî]],
Infín come.Base-exit(v)-Base [with [3AnSg other-Pl]].
[è dîgə-rî] wō yîfî
[Art other-Pl] Infín go.Base
[fō wō râ-dâⁿ] [[è tâʔa nî]],
[until Infín 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.’
[i.e. at the stone shelf; dîgə-rî ‘others’, hence ‘(someone’s) peers, companions’ (collective), also part of reciprocal construction]

(00:51) [è tòʔ-yûo] gō sõⁿ [Ø náⁿ-bí],
[Art place-people] Infín accept.Base [Art child],
[è náⁿ-bí— è yô] kō bâ-ðlô
[g-á kó],
[Infín-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 kpàpà, kpàpà jónà-jónà
Quot hurry! hurry! fast!-fast!
kà tã fõ [ã ðë] yè→, Infin go say [1Sg child. Def] Dat,
kó fãrá kà ðë mà wò→, 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.”
[< minà ‘catch’]

(01:04) [è yò] k-à kó [k-à bê],
[Art woman] Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv [Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv],
[è béⁿ-èⁿ-bléⁿ-yùò], buò kò sò = h dè
[Art tomtom-beat.tomtom.Pfv-Agent], 3Pl Infin take 3InanObj Quot
A: ‘The woman was weeping and coming. The drummer took it (=started playing).’

(01:08) dùⁿ-dûⁿ
dùⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ-dûⁿ
dûⁿ
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dûⁿ
dûⁿ
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(01:08) dùⁿ
dùⁿ
dùⁿ
dùⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
(01:08) dùⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ
dûⁿ

(01:12) [è nàrá-yùò] wò sò = nì, dè
[Art balaphone-people] Infin take.Base 3InanObj, Quot
A: ‘The balaphone people took it (=started playing).’

(01:14) è-lè→ lé-lè-lè-lè-lè-lè
lè-lè-lè-lè-lè-lè-lè→ lè→ lè→ lè-lè-lè
A: (sound of balaphones)

(01:19) [bè tôʔô] bûô— bûô [è yò],
[Dem. Def Foc] (hesitation)— get.Pfv [Art woman],
[è nàⁿ-ðfí] mà nèʔì-à-ðì-à-plûⁿ [è ëʔì]
[ì fàrã] bàʔà tãʔà-kó,
[Art stone.shelf Dat] again,
à klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
A: ‘That [focus] is what got (=happened to) the woman. One can’t any longer ask for and get a thing from a stone shelf.’
B: ‘It happened like that.’
[-plûⁿ imperfective of -p³ⁿ ‘be able’ (§15.1.7.1)]
(01:25)  [[nó  gblè  [ē  dərəʔá]  [təʔə  jərəʔ]]
          [1Sg  take.Pfv  [Art  tale]  [place  Rel]]
          [ā  tīē  mā]
          [3AnSg  be.put.Pfv  there.Def]
          à  klē  kā-tó
          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 kā] bā dāⁿ,
[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 plʔyʔ] nî] with PP ‘in the belly’

(00:13) 3ⁿ mà jî,
3AnSg if give.birth.Base,
ō gō— ī gbē [Ø jî-ʔēʔ],
3Pl Infin— (nasal) take.Base [Art give.birth-Ppl.Inan],
A: ‘When she gives birth, we take the placenta,’
[< /3ⁿ bà/]

(00:17) kò yîʔi-plō = [Ø tîʔé]
Infin go.Base-dig.Base [Art hole]
ā klē kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
kō wē = nî,
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) jî gō wō n— [ē nî],
if Infin bathe.Base (hesitation)— [Art mother],
kō wō nè— [ē náⁿ-bf],
Infin bathe.Base (hesitation) [Art child],
A: ‘Then (we) bathe the mother, and then bathe the baby.’
[first part somewhat broken; jî kō (Biton dialect); verb wè/wō/wō ‘bathe’]
A: ‘Then (they) lay (the baby) down (to sleep).’
B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘We shave its head simultaneously.’

A: ‘When it is his/her (=the baby’s) day for coming out, we shave its head.’

A: ‘The mother comes out (with the baby). If it’s a girl, four days (after the birth), her head is shaved.’

A: ‘If it’s a boy [focus], three days (after the birth), his head is shaved.’

A: ‘Where I picked it up, …’
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, [[è fɔ́lɔ́-fɔ́lɔ́] nî] kɔ̀nĩ, well, [[Art old.days] Loc] Top, [[è fɔ́lɔ́-fɔ́lɔ́] nĩ] [Art old.times] Loc
A: ‘In the old days,’
B: ‘In the old days,’


(00:12) [ó kɔ̀nĩ] yì jì
[1Pl Top] Past.Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv
ó rè jì
1Pl IpfvPast give.birth.Ipfv
A: ‘We would give birth.’
B: ‘We would give birth.’

(00:14) mó gā = à-gbē [Ø plâʔs] 2Sg lnfin come.Base-take.Base [Art belly] Ọ mā = à-gbē [Ø pl3ʔs] 2Sg if come.Base-take.Base [Art belly]
A: ‘(When) you then come and get pregnant.’
B: ‘You come and get pregnant.’

[< /kō bæ-gbē / ; < /ŋ mā gbē/]

(00:16) à bà yì-flô [Ø fɔ̀-rê] [ō kàⁿ-ŋũʔsõ̃] 3Inan if be.full.Base [Art month] [Pl five-four]
[è fɔ̀-rê] [ō kàⁿ-ŋũʔsõ̃] [Art month] [Pl five-four]
A: ‘When it (=belly/womb) is full for nine months,’
B: ‘Nine months.’
(00:18) kō bà-fī
Infin come.Base-give.birth.Base
Ø mā ì-fī
2Sg if come.Base-give.birth.Base
A: ‘Then (you) comes and give birth.’
B: ‘When you give birth.’
[</ɔ̀ n bà ŋ]\n
(00:20) [ë dʒ̥] bà = à glò
[Art man] if it.is it.is
[ë dʒ̥] bà = à glò
[Art man] if it.is it.is
[ë d = ] [ò sà”]
[Art day] [Pl three]
[ë də] [ò sà”]
[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) [ë yō] bà = à glò
[Art woman] if it.is it.is
[ë yō] bà = à glò
[Art woman] if it.is it.is
[ë d = ] [ò nũʔ5”]
[Art day] [Pl four]
[ë də = ] [ò nũʔ5”]
[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 ò bà dâ” = [Ø ú”ʔ̣º]
so 3Pl if shave.Base [Art head]
ò bà dâ” = [Ø ú”ʔ̣º]
3Pl if shave.Base [Art head]
A: ‘So, when they have shaved the head,’
B: ‘When they have shaved the head,’
Infin

3Pl Fut shave.Base 3InanObj

[kà—[è lɔ́—][è lɔ́-bè]]=

[with—[Art chicken—][Art chicken-young]]

3Pl Fut shave.Base 3InanObj [with [Art chicken-young]]

A: ‘In the old days, they would shave it with a young chicken.’
B: ‘They would shave it with a young chicken.’

[kò yị́fí-sè]=

Infin go.Base-lay.down.Base [Art child] [Art fetish leg] Loc

kò yị́fí-sè=

Infin go.Base-lay.down.Base [Art child] [Art fetish leg] Loc

A: ‘Then (they) would go and lay the baby down at the foot of the fetish.’
B: ‘Then (they) would go and lay the baby down at the foot of the fetish.’

/kò yị́fí-sè could be elaborated as kò yị́fí kò ó-sè or Bì kò yị́fí kò rà-sè; < /è jù pš; the fetish would be on a kind of altar

kò sàrò

Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin shave.Base 3InanObj]

ŋ̀ sùʔ5

(nasal) give.Base [3Inan name]

kò sùʔ5—kò sùʔ5

Infin give.Base—Infin give.Base [3Inan name]

A: ‘Then they would shave it, and give its name’
B: ‘(And) give—, give the name.’

[pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.10); ʒíé ~ yíé ‘name’]

[è làmógbó]

[Art joking.relative]

gò à-gbè-glò

Infin come.Base-take.Base-take.out.Base 3AnSgObj

[è làmógbó] gò à-di-glò

[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) \[\text{3^o 3ié}, \ kò wè = [[Ø ná-bí] 3ié]
[3AnSg name], Infin put.in.Base [[Art child] name]
\]
\[kò wè = [[Ø ná-o-bí] yié]
Infin put.in.Base [[Art child] name]
\]

A: ‘Then (they) put (=announce) the name, (they) put the child’s name.’
B: ‘(They) put the child’s name.’

[the father chooses the name; the joking relative announces it when the baby is brought out]

(00:43) \[\text{dà-rè nì} \ kò continuer [kà [Ø bórá]] [kò fô]
[now Loc] Infin continue [with [Art work(n)]] [Infin pass.Base]
\]
\[dò kò continuer [kò gbè = [Ø bórá]]
3Pl Infin continue [Infin take.Base [Art work(n)]]
\]
\[kò fô [à lô]]
[Infin pass.Base [with 3Inan]]

A: ‘Now (they) get back to (their) work.’
B: ‘They take (their) work and move on with it.’

[dà-rè (dialectally dè-dè) ‘now’; bórá < Jula]

(00:47) \[\text{nò būò jàrò} \ bì tò?ò] = yà
1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Foc it.is]
\]

A: ‘What (knowledge) I have gotten, that [focus] is it.’

[for final = yà see comment on the end of 2017-17]
Text 2017-21 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 sē] dăr₃ = [Ø sō jī] [ō sūʔ = [³ⁿ 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) ³ⁿ k-ā ʃᵢⁿʔᵢⁿ,
3AnSg Infin-Ipfv run.Ipfv,
³ⁿ = Ø ʃᵢⁿʔᵢⁿ [k-ā ʃᵢⁿʔᵢⁿ] [k-ā ʃᵢⁿʔᵢⁿ]
3AnSg Ipfv run.Ipfv [Infin-Ipfv run.Ipfv] [Infin-Ipfv run.Ipfv]
A: ‘It (=horse) was running. It was running and running and running.’
[repeated imperfective infinitival clauses to emphasize duration (§15.2.2)]

(00:10) ³ⁿ máⁿ ló-à-pú
3AnSg IpfvNeg turn.Ipfv-run.Ipfv
A: ‘It doesn’t look back.’

(00:12) [bè kār₅] dò
dêm
[Dem.Def ‘meaning] speak.Base
A: ‘Say its meaning!’
[imperative, with object fronted before verb (in this formulaic utterance only)]

(00:13) [bè kār₅] dē = [Ø nū]
[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 cɔfɔ-[màsà-çé]]-tɔrɛn-ka]-[cɔgɔ-yã],
[[ē cɔfɔ] bãʔã,
[[Art Tíefo-[chief]] [sit.Pfv-manner]-[manner], [Art Tíefo] chez,
‘We will speak (about), the way a Tíefo chief is seated (=enthroned), among the Tíefo.’

/màsà-çé < Jula ‘chief-man’, cf. màsà-yã ‘chiefhood’ (<Jula): Tíefo-D equivalent (ē) wù-di ‘chief’, see 01:57 below; cɔgɔ-yã < Jula; ‘Tíefo chief’ as possessor (or arguably subject within the compound)

(00:14) [ámi, [kà— bãkãrã] tɔʔã = ] à-mã [a ni],
[Aminata [with— B] Foc be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
[ē [cfɔ-[màsà-çé]]-tɔrɛn-ka], [ē wùʔú-kã] = yã,
[Art [Tíefo-[chief]]-[sit.Pfv-manner], [Art house-matter] it.is,
[ē wùʔú-kã] = yã,
[Art house-matter] it.is,
‘It is Aminata and Bakari [focus] who are here. The way a Tíefo chief is seated (=installed) is a family matter. It’s a family matter (and)’

[Aminata (co-author) and Bakari (another name for the speaker); < /tɔʔã à-mã/; compound-final -kã ‘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) [ã— õ— ē wùʔú-yúã] kô tɔrã,
[(hesitation) Art house-people] Infin sit.Base,
kô ni [ō dígɔ-rã],
Infin see.Base [PIRefł Recip],
kô dɔ-te = nĩ = [Ø tɔʔã [n dɛn?é]],
Infin say.Base-put.Base 3InanObj [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) [yúã jɔrã] ká-kã [wɔ tɔrã],
[person Rel] ought [Hort sit.Base],
[yúã jɔrã] kô nã-dê,
[person Rel] be person-old,
‘The person who deserves to sit (=be installed as chief). A person who is senior.’

/ká-kã < Jula (§8.5.4.3)
(00:41) [è [màsà-ce]-[tàrèn-kà]] nì, ò kò ṣó = nì,
[Art [chief]-[sit.Pfv-manner]] Loc, 3Pl be [look.Base 3lnanObj,
[è màsà-ce], ì-ì-ì— [bì-ìò jàrò],
[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) [ò kò ñó = nì [jì = [Ø dè jì]—
[3Pl Infinit look.Base 3lnanObj [if [Art elder.sib Indef]—
[è bí-dù jì] bà à-mà [ì ì-ì-ì-ì] bà?à],
[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).’

(00:57) [ò kò—, ā dò = [ì bì-dù] bà?à],
[3Pl Infinit—, (nasal) say.Base [Art younger.sib] Dat],
[ìsò dè] kpà,
[2Sg elder.sib] finish.Pfv,
‘They say to a younger brother, “your-Sg elder brother has passed away.”’

(01:03) [ò kà-kà— [è bò] = [ò sà] ʒì-fló,
[3Pl ought— [Art rain(n)] [Pl three] fill.Pfv,
[ò kà-kàò] [wò te mòn],
[3Pl ought [Hort put.Base 2Sg],
[ìsò dè] plàsí, nì,
[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.”’

(01:09) [ò kò fùsì = [Ø fè] ùn,
[3Pl Infinit give.Base [Art talk(n)] Dat.3AnSg,
[ìn dò] [ìn dò],
[3AnSg Infinit—, (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; fùsì Ma dialect for sùlì, for dialectal f ~
sì/ correpondences see §3.2.1.10); 5th 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).

If moreover there is any younger brother, the younger brother will say it to the children.

(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.

The community, looks at (=considers) the date (of the enthronement). They (chiefly family) have them (community) come.
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.

/ó-replural of ɛ́ʔɛ̀ `thing, object:' < kà [ɛ̀ʔɛ́] etc.; làⁿ 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.

He doesn’t (=cannot) seat himself (as chief).
When they have gone and installed him, they proceed to give him (permission) to the road (=to go).

‘When they have gone and installed him, they proceed to give him (permission) to the road (=to go).’

When they have gone and installed him, they proceed to give him (permission) to the road (=to go).
Text 2018-02  Duties of chiefhood

duration 01:27
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02)  
[bon, [ē màsà-cé] bà tàrāⁿ, 3AnSg tārèⁿ kāⁿ, well, [Art chief] if sit.Base, 3AnSg sit.Pfv finish.Base 3AnSg ought [ŋō sāⁿ [Ø kē-sùⁿ?jār⁵ⁿ]], 3AnSg ought [Hort work(v).Base [Art work(n) Rel]], 3AnSg ought [Hort work(v).Base [Art work(n) Rel]],
‘When the (new) chief has been seated (=installed), the work that he is expected to perform.’

(00:09)  
[ē nà-bí-ô] kò kāⁿ = ā [Art person-Pl] Hort know.Base 3InanObj, [dē = [Ø màsà-cé] kō kāⁿ], [Quot [Art chief] be Dem.AnSg], ‘The people must know, this is the (new) chief.’

/nà-bí ‘person’, dialectal (Fl Ma) for nà-bí, reflecting wider variation between ná- and nā- (§5.1.5.5); kāⁿ ‘know’ with 3Inan object resuming attached quotative complement (§17.3.1.1)]

(00:12)  
3AnSg IpfvNeg ought [kō, 3AnSg [be.watchful] be.good.Ip], ‘He must not do anything that is bad.’
\([má kāⁿ negates ká-kāⁿ (§8.5.4.3), which occurs in the following section]"

(00:16)  
3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base—[ê nà-bí-ô], [ê nà—] [ê yúô— [námálō]-kà?a, [Art person.Pl], [Art per(son)—] [Art people— [be.watchful]-Ppl.An, ‘He must do—. The people— The people, watchful ones.’

/\(< Jula ná-má-lat said to be segmentable as ‘eye-person-stop’; animate participial -kà?a, singular since yúô can be generic singular ‘a person’, cf. explicitly plural -kà ]

(00:23)  
3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base [LogoSg Foc] owner],
‘A person who is straight (honest), it must be himself (who becomes chief).’
\[sārē/sārō/sārō ‘be straight’; wī ‘owner’ in the generic (specific indefinite) sense ‘person, fellow, guy’ (§18.5.1.2)]
‘People must not cast an eye on (other) people’s women.’
‘<glú [e jùù]; impersonal ‘they’ is used starting here, but it seems to refer mainly to chiefs, whose behavior must be exemplary’
‘They (=people) must not look—. They must not steal.’
‘If he sees someone, if (the person) is (involved) in something bad, …’
‘< /n̥̂ n̥̂ ĵ̥ ŷ̥ ĵ̥; á k̥̂ ĵ̥ good (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2); negative mà is interpreted as negating ‘good’ at the lexical level, i.e. ‘no good, bad’
‘… he (=chief) should tell him to resist the temptation to do it; < /n̥̂ ŷ̥ ĵ̥/’
‘He handles village matters and school matters.’
‘Ma dialect for sùù (§3.2.1.10, §3.6.1.5); {tũ̥̂} and {k̥̄} ares audible on the recording but are uninterpretable and the speaker asked that they be edited out; lèkkòr-só ‘school-house’ < Jula (cf. French l’école)’
(00:48) əŋ ká-káŋ [wò ɲó = nì],
3AnSg ought [Hort look.Base 3InanObj],
ē dótór-só, əŋ ká-káŋ [wò ɲó [à kè]],
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) [è klò-di-kè], əŋ ká-káŋ [kò dò = nì],
[Art road-matter], 3AnSg ought [Hort say.Base 3InanObj],
[[è wù-yúó] bà?à],
[[Art village-people] Dat]
‘A road matter, he must speak about it to the villagers, …’

(01:00) ò kò wè [Ø ɲù?á] [[ā kè] nì],
3Pl Hort put.Base [Art mouth] [[3Inan thing] Loc],
[bi tò?ó] kō [Ø màsà-cé dò kē-sù"ó"n],
[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 əŋ má ká]
so 3AnSg IpfvNeg ought
[kò klè [[kè jàršì] má kò]],
[Hort do.Base [thing Rel IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv]],
‘So, he (=chief) must not do anything that is bad.’

(01:09) əŋ ká-káŋ [wò klè, [[è wù-yúó bié] bà?à],
[3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base, [[Art village-people all] Dat],
‘He must do (act) for all the villagers.’

(01:12) jàršì mâ bà [kà = [Ø wù"ú"-kè]],
Rel if come.Base [with [Art head-matter]],
əŋ ɲò ɲó = nì,
3AnSg Hort look.Base 3Inan,
‘If someone has come with a problem, he (=chief) should look at it, …’
[< jàršì bà bà kà ñí; < əŋ kò pàjí; hortative kò]

(01:15) kò dò = [Ø ji] [à nì],
Infin say.Base [Art something] [3Inan Loc],
[əŋ má káŋ [wò dò] [kò ʒí-dà]],
3AnSg IpfvNeg ought [Hort say.Base] [Infin overstep.Base],
‘… and say something about it. He musn’t say too much.’
[< /dò [è ji]; ʒí-dà (variant of yì-dà)’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.’

*distributive iteration jāⁿ-jōⁿ (§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) [é bàʔà], [ë còfö bàʔà],  
[Art farming(n)] [Art Tiefo chez],  
[é—, cò kò sāⁿ] [Ø pà-rèʔè]  
[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; sèⁿ/sāⁿ/seⁿ  
‘gather, pick up (one at a time)’; pà-rèʔè plural of pàʔè with vocalic shift (§3.3.9)]

(00:11) [ë pà-rèʔè] bà sāⁿ-kā,  
[kò sòʔs-gbè-γf̥è] sòʔs-gbè-γf̥è = [Ø tòʔs],  
[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).’  
/-kō ‘finish’ (§15.1.3.6); kō sàrè (§15.3.5.7.1); < /sòʔs-gbè-γf̥è/ with sèⁿ ‘jab;  
dig by jabbing’, gbè ‘pick up, take’, and γf̥è ‘turn over (earth)’]

(00:15) [kō commencer [ë dù-ni]],  
[Ø =] ò gâʔà  
[Infin begin [Art sow(v)-VblN], 3Pl Ipfv be.first.Ipfv  
[g-à dù = [Ø súmá-klàʔà]]. [[ë dàràʔà] ñùʔ¥ nī],  
[Infin-Ipfv sow.Ipfv [Art maize], [[Art courtyard] mouth] Loc],  
‘(They) begin the planting. They first plant maize just outside the courtyard.’  
[French commencer; < /ò â gâʔà/; < /kō â dù ò súmá-¥/]

(00:21) ò bà dù = [Ø súmá-klàʔà] [[Ø dàràʔà] ñùʔ¥ nī],  
3Pl if sow.Base [Art maize] [[[Art courtyard] mouth] Loc],  
[ó kò dù [ë gbìʔè], kò dú, [ë jùsù]],  
[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) kō bà dú [ë kàcù],  
Infin come.Base plant.Base [Art red.sorghum],  
kò dú [ë cù-fién],  
Infin sow.Base [Art millet],  
‘They plant red sorghum, they plant millet.’  
[distinction between gbìʔè (ordinary sorghum) and kàcù ‘red sorghum’ (used  
for beer brewing); cù-fién ‘pearl millet’ (§5.1.3.2)]
The second maize (crop), when its time arrives, they plant that.

[ordinal adjective (§4.6.2.2); dåʔá Ma dialect for dåʔá]

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-kláʔà]  bà  dú],
         [Art  maize]  if  sow.Base],
         [à =  Ø  jī°]  [[Ø  f₃-r =]  [ò  sá°]],
[3Inan  Ipfv  work(v).Ipfv  [[Art  moon-Pl]  [Pl  three]],
à  kō  sãr₃  [kō  dáº],
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 jī° ; < /fè-ɾè  ò  sá°]/

(00:09)  [è  gbiriʔí°],
         [Art  peanut],
         [bè  fôrá°]  wò  [[Ø  f₃-r =]  [ò  sá°]],
[Dem.Def  too]  be  [[Art  moon-Pl]  [Pl  three]],

   ‘Peanut(s), that one too is three months.’

(00:14)  [è  kàcù],  [[è  f₃-r =]  [ò  sá°]],
         [Art  red.sorghum],  [[Art  moon-Pl]  [Pl  three]],
         [bè  fôrá°]  à-mä  mä,
[Dem.Def  too]  be.Loc  there.Def,

   ‘Red sorghum, three months. That one too is there.’

(00:20)  [è  cú-fié°],
         [Art  millet],
        bè  kō—,  [[è  f₃-r =]  [ò  nûsʔ5]],
Dem.Def  be—,  [[Art  moon-Pl]  [Pl  four]],

   ‘Millet, that one is four months.

(00:24)  bè  bà—,  [[è  f₃-r =]  [ò  nûsʔ5]],
Dem.Def  if—,  [[Art  moon-Pl]  [Pl  four]],
ò  kō  gã  =  nì,
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 jūsúⁿ], [bè fóráⁿ],
[Art cotton], [Dem.Def too],
bè būō [[Ø fɔ-r = ] [ò ñū5ʔ5]],
Dem.Def get.Pfv [[Art month-Pl] [Pl four]],
‘Cotton, that one too requires four months.’

(00:37) ò kō— ṭē dē = nì,
3Pl Infín— (nasal) pick.cotton.Base 3InanObj,
à dē-à-wi
Ipfv pick.Ipfv-Ipfv-put.Ipfv [[Art sack] Loc]],
‘They pick (=harvest) it (=cotton). (They) pick it and put it in a sack.’

(00:41) kā = à l5-ā-[tī-à-tīⁿ] = n
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-à-tī-à-tīⁿ/ with imperfective of lē/lō/lō ‘turn’ and tīe-tīⁿ/tī-ìⁿ/tī-à-tīⁿ
‘spill’]
Women’s versus men’s farming

duration 01:11

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02)  [ó dè, [[ë bë-[õ-rê] tũ-tà-rù] kē],
[õ = Ø bë—, [ë súmá-tɔ̈fɔ̀ rând]],
[3Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv—, [Art sesame too]],
‘We have spoken concerning the main farming matters. They grow sesame too.’
/kê ‘matter (of)’, cf. §8.4; participle (§4.5.4); súmá-tɔ̈fɔ̀ rând ‘sesame’, dialectally súaⁿ-tɔ̈fɔ̀ rând and other variants]

(00:08)  [k-à bë]—, ē yɔ̀-rò—,
[Infin-Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv—, Art woman-Pl—,
[ē yɔ̀-rò] à bë = [Ø mè-tàʔà],
[Art woman-PI] Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [Art okra-plot],
‘(And they) cultivate—. The women—, the women cultivate a small plot of okra.’

(00:12)  kà, [c— ē kɔ̀-tàʔà],
with, [Art— Art cowpea-plot],
[ē dà-ɔ̀] à bë = [Ø kɔ̀-tàʔà fɔ̀rãⁿ],
[Art man-PI] Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [Art cowpea-plot too],
‘And a cowpea plot, the men cultivate a small plot of cowpeas too.’

(00:17)  ò = Ø tô-à-bë = ò,
3Pl Ipfv assemble.Ipfv-Ipfv-cultivate.Ipfv 3InanObj
[kā = [Ø yɔ̀-rò]],
[with [Art woman-PI]],
‘They (=men) get together with the women to cultivate it.’
< /ò à tô-à-bë ni kā ē yɔ̀-rò/]

(00:19)  [dɔ̀nĉò bà bá [Ø gbînʔîn’]],
[so 3Pl if cultivate.Base [Art peanut],
[ē yɔ̀-rò] gô— kô à kpë [õ mè],
[Art woman-Pl] Infin— Infin Ipfv harvest.Ipfv [PIRefl okra],
‘So, when they have cultivated peanuts, the women harvest their okra.’
(00:26) k-ā kš"?śn = ē,
    Infin-Lpfv cut.up.Lpfv 3IlananObj,
    ‘They cut it up. They help out the head of household with regard to (ingredients for) sauce.’
    /kš"?śn Ma dialect for kš"?śn ; dərā?ā-wí Ma dialect for dərā?ā-wí/

(00:29) [doncé śn bā tā"-jū?ś [Ø dərā?ā-wí]
    [so 3AnSg if help.Base [Art courtyard-owner]
        [[[ē dié] kē] nī]
        [[[Art sauce] matter] Loc]
    ‘So, when she has helped out the head of household with regard to sauce, …’

(00:32) [śn wō nī [Ø ji]
    [3AnSg Infin see.Base [Art something]
        [kō gbi"?-tā?ā jə̀f-ᵣ̄ė],
        [Art peanut-plot small-InanPl],
        [ē yə̀-rō] à bē [bē fərā"]
        [Art woman-Pl] Lpfv cultivate.Lpfv [Dem.Def too],
    ‘Little plots of peanuts, the women cultivate that too.’
    /jə̀f-ᵣ̄ė (§4.5.4)/

(00:38) [ē gbi"?-tā?ā jə̀f-ᵣ̄ė],
    [Art peanut-plot small-InanPl],
    [ē yə̀-rō] à bē [bē fərā”]
    [Art woman-Pl] Lpfv cultivate.Lpfv [Dem.Def too],
    ‘Little plots of peanuts, the women cultivate that too.’
    /jə̀f-ᵣ̄ė (§4.5.4)/

(00:42) [k-ā wi-ä-tiʔi [ē-yūò də-rā],
    [Infin-Lpfv help.Lpfv [1Pl man-Pl].
    [ō dō], kō, [ē [wē-tāʔā]-nī],
    [3Pl Poss.Inan], be, [Art [help]-VblIN],
    ‘(The women) help us men. Their (role) is helping.’
    /wē-tāʔā (base form) is another compound meaning ‘help’, cf. tā"-jū?ś @ 00:26 above: ē-yūò ‘we’ in apposition to ‘men’/

(00:48) [ē ji] kō gbi"-já
    [Art Indef Lpfv exit.Base]-leave.Base
        [[[ē də-rā] wū"?-ūn-kē] nī],
        [[[Art man-Pl] head-matter] Loc],
    ‘Something is reduced with regard to the men’s problem (of providing food).’
    @ 00:26 above: ē-yūò ‘we’ in apposition to ‘men’/
That too is there, the children’s illness(es). ‘The women help—.’

[heat is associated with illness, coolness with relief]

‘Those little plots of peanuts (cultivated by women), some (things) too help the men.’

‘They (=men) get power.’

[/fâŋgâ?à < Jula fângá ‘power’, ‘power’ here in the sense of ability to provide]
Millet farming

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02) [é [cù-fìè]-[bá-nf]],
[Art [millet]-[cultivate.Base-VblN]],
kà = [Ø [cù-fìè]-[diè-nf]],
with [Art [millet]-[entert.Base-VblN]],
ò kò dú = nî,
3Pl Infin sow.Base 3InanObj,
‘Millet cultivating millet, and millet ripening. They plant it.’

(00:11) à bà, è kpé,
3Inan if, (hesitation) sprout.Base,
[ò kò klù"-wé = nî],
[3Pl Infin weed(v).Base-get.rid.of.Base 3InanObj]
‘When it has sprouted (=grown a little), they weed around it.’

(00:17) ò bå [klù"-wé = nî] k5,
3Pl if [weed(v).Base-get.rid.of.Base 3InanObj] finish.Base,
ò kò bà pò?ô = nî,
3Pl Infin come.Base aerate.Base 3InanObj,
‘When they finish weeding around it, they come and turn over (the earth).’

(00:24) à pò?ô-nî, c à klè fso—,
3Inan aerate-VblN, Dem.Def Ipfv be.done.Ipfv until—,
[é cù3-cù3 fe?è =] nî,
[Art August month] Loc,
ò kò pò?ô = nî [bè nî],
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 cɔ̀-cɔ̀ ‘light rain’, here associated with August]

(00:32) ò bà pò?ô = nî = [[Ø cù3-cù3 fe?è =] nî],
3Pl if aerate.Base 3InanObj [[Art August month] Loc],
ò kɔ̄—, à kɔ̄ 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).

When the millet too has become good, its tô is cooked. They eat it.'

When it is grown, it is harvested, in the last month of the year. (December).

When the millet too has become good, its tô is cooked. They eat it.'

There is something else, they make it. They steam it, (it’s) called millet balls. They eat (it).’

Millet, if you cultivate it and you get (=harvest) it (successfully), …

As for it (millet), it’s very good.’
Marriage isn’t contracted by picking out (distinguishing one quartier from another).’

[wórómá < Jula wólómá ~ wórómá]
Inan-\(7\)è
\[\text{\(\begin{array}{c}
\text{The (weekly) market, it is there, (but) it isn’t involved in (real) selling [focus], for that reason.}
\end{array}\)}\]
Facilities in the quartiers of Daramandugu

duration 01:37
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue

(00:02) [ë dɔ̀tɔ̀r-só] à-má [Ø sà'gɔ̀y-lé té] = è,
[Art doctor-house] be.Loc [Art Sangogo-village Foc.Inan] it.is,
[ë lèkɔ̀r-só fɔ́r̥aⁿ] à-má mā, è sà'gɔ̀y-lé,
[Art school-house too] be.Loc. Def, Art Sangogo-village,
‘A medical building is in Sangogo quartier [focus]. A school building too is there.
[dɔ́tɔ̀r-só < Jula (-só ‘house’)]

(00:09) [ë bëcù-lè], [ë lèkɔ̀r-só] à-má,
[Art Biton], [Art school-house] be.Loc,
[ë tɔ̀f-lè] [ë lèkɔ̀r-só] à-má,
[Art Jinejan] [Art school-house] be.Loc,
‘Biton, there is a school building (there). Jinejan, there is a school building
(there).’
[lèkɔ̀r-só < Jula (< French l’école)]

(00:16) [ë lufeⁿ] [[dè-sàⁿ] nì],
[Art Flaso] [[field-long] Loc],
[ë lèkɔ̀r-só] à-má mā,
[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 dɔ̀bɔ-kàrì, [ë lèkɔ̀r-só] à-má mā,
Art Sokoura, [Art school-house] be.Loc there.Def,
‘Sokoura, there is a school building there.’

(00:29) [ë sà́n-tì?è] à-má mā, è sà'gɔ̀y-lé fɔ́r̥aⁿ,
[Art gold-hole] be.Loc there.Def, Art Sangogo-village too,
[ë sà́n-tì?è] à-má, [ë lufeⁿ, dè-sàⁿ nì]
[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’]
(00:40) [ē bɔ̃-rɔ́], à-mā mā [ē-yūò bɔ̀-tà], [Art elephant-Pl], be.Loc there.Def [1Pl chez], [ē dɔ̃-rɔ̃mædɔ̃gù-pɔ̀-wɔ̀] nī, [ē dɔ̃-rɔ̃mædɔ̃gù], [Art D-the.bush] Loc, [Art D], ‘Elephants, we have (them) there, in the brousse (outback) of Daramandugu. Daramandugu.’ [singular bɔ̀-wɔ́ ‘elephant’]

(00:58) [ē wàⁿ-à-tà] à-mā mā [Art market] be.Loc there.Def [Ø sàⁿ-ɡbɔ̀-wɔ̀-lè te] = è, [Art Sangogo-village Foc.Inan] = it.is ‘The (weekly) market is there in Sangogo [focus].’

(01:09) [ē klo̅-dɔ̃-fà-rã̃], [ē klo̅-dɔ̃] nī-mā [ē-yūò bɔ̀-tà], [Art road too], [Art road] not.be.Loc [1Pl chez], [ē dɔ̃-rɔ̃mædɔ̃gù], [ē dɔ̃-rɔ̃mædɔ̃gù], à gbɔ̀-tà, [Art D], [Art D], Ipv big, ‘A (paved) road too. We don’t have a (paved) road. Daramandugu, Daramandugu is big.’ [kl̅-dɔ̃-fà-rã̃; as of 2018 there were only dirt roads (pistes) in the area (including Daramandugu) east of the cliffs, from Tiefora in the south to the Bobo-Diebougou highway in the north]

(01:24) [ē wùⁿ jà-rè bìé] nó liè, [Art village Indef-InanPl all] 1Sg call.Pfv, [à bìé] kà wùⁿ-diⁿ-nì = yà [3Inan all] with chief-Pl it.is ‘All of the various villages (that) I have spoken of, each one has its (local) chief(s).’
Text 2019-01  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  násɔⁿʔɔⁿ  wátɔrá,
         [1Sg  name]  Quot  N  W,
kò  glú  bɔfòbè-łè,
Infin  exit(v).Base  B,
A: ‘My name is Nason Ouattara, coming from Bofoboso.’

(00:15)  [nó,  yíé]  dè  láⁿbì,
         [1Sg,  name]  Quot  L
kò  glú  bɔfòbè-łè,  láⁿbì  wátɔrá
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  bůⁿʔɔⁿ]  kà =  [Ø  tǔlpàⁿ]  kà =  [Ø  bi-łè]  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  bi-łè-łè]  kà =  [Ø  tǔlpàⁿ]  tòʔó,
        [Art  hare]  and  [Art  monkey]  Foc
gbłè  [Ø  bůⁿʔɔⁿ-łè]  [k-ā  jàʔɔ̄],
gblè.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 bůⁿʔɔⁿ-łè]

(00:33)  [è  blí-łè]  dè =  [Ø  tǔlpàⁿ]  bàʔə
dè  mé-ńá  té
Quot  how?  Q
Quot  1Pl  Fut  put.down.Base  [Art  dog]  name
A: ‘Hare said to monkey, “how shall we put (=call) dog’s name?”’
[variant of mé-ńá ‘how?’]
A: ‘Dog’s name is “everyone’s-eye-will-see-it”’

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: ‘Hare [focus] was the first to come and enter inside the courtyard.’

A: ‘Dog growled. (Hare) said, “huh?”’

A: ‘(Hare:) “Everyone’s-eye-will-see-it, what’s the matter?”’

‘Dog got up and (went) after him (=hare). He (=hare) rushed in next to a squash plant and lay down (to hide).’
A: ‘Monkey came. When dog growled,’

(01:00) \[\text{[č̣ tüplípà']} \text{ bà,} \quad \text{[Art monkey] come.Pfv,} \]
\[\text{[č̣ bùʾʔʒ̣]} \text{ bā glū'}, \quad \text{[Art dog] if growl.Base} \]

A: ‘Monkey said, “Everyone’s-eye-will-see-it, what’s the matter?” ’

(01:05) \[\text{āʾʔāʾ, [č̣ kètā'] ní-mà} \quad \text{[kú̲ʾʔù̲-dò ni] = nêʔ,} \quad \text{unh.unh, [Art truth] not.be.Loc today-Poss.Inan Loc] Emph,} \]
\[\text{[č̣ bùʾʔʒ̣] yìʔ-ʃ ŋ̣ī ŋ̣ī [kō jùʔ= [Ø tüplípà'] ŋ̣ē],} \quad \text{[Art dog] get.up.Pfv [Infin follow.Base [Art monkey] behind],} \]

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) \[\text{à tīʾʔẹ̣}, \quad \text{3Inan get.hot.Pfv,} \]
\[\text{ā̲₀ gö yìʔ-ʃ ŋ̣ī ŋ̣ī [kō sùʔū= [Ø ʃ̣ jìʔˀ],} \quad \text{3AnSg Infin get.up.Base [Infin catch.Base [Art tree]],} \]
A: ‘It heated up! He (=monkey) got up and grabbed onto a tree.’

(01:13) \[\text{[č̣ bùʾʔʒ̣] kō tā-ṣ̌ḳ̀ʔẹ̣}, \quad \text{[Art dog] Infin do.again.Base.ascend.Base,} \]
\[\text{[ā̲₀ mā s̀rúʷ], [č̣ bùʾʔʒ̣] ᵒ tā-s̀rúʷ} \quad \text{[3AnSg if descend.Base], [Art dog] Infin do.again.Base-descend.Base} \]
A: ‘Dog climbed up too. When he (=monkey) climbed down, dog climbed down too.’

/tā- ‘do again’, here in the sense ‘do too’ (§15.1.3.3)/

(01:18) \[\text{[ā̲₀ mā ḳ̀ẹ̣ʔẹ̣] [mā dè “é!”],} \quad \text{[3AnSg if ascend.Base] [if say.Base “oh!”]} \]
\[\text{ḍ= [č̣ jùʔẹ̣] má jí} \quad \text{Quot [Art God] IpvfNeg leave.Base} \]
\[\text{[č̣ jí] ḳ̀ẹ̣} \quad \text{[ḳ̀ẹ̣ ṭ̣̄ ṭ̣̄] jú̲ò} \quad \text{[Art something] be.made.Base [[Art earth] Poss.An]} \]
A: ‘When he went (back) up, he (=monkey) said, “Will God not cause one thing (=species) to belong to the ground,” ’

/jí ‘leave’ variant of já : equivalent to kō klẹ̀ jú̲ò animate default possessum (§6.2.4.2)
(01:21)  [ē ji]  kō klē =  [Ø jūʔé-ci̍n]  jàtí,
          [Art something]  Infin  be.made.Base  [Art above]  indeed,
          [ē būⁿʔa']  dē  [bá = à kliⁿʔi̍n]  [Art dog]  say.Pfv  [LogoSg Ipfv ascend.Ipfv]
          [[ē būⁿʔa']  klēⁿʔeⁿ-te̍],
          [[Art dog]  ascend.Pfv-fail.Base],
          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 būⁿʔa']  Ȧ  sêño
          [Art dog]  Infin  lie.down.Base
          [Ø-ã = cā-ã-nû = ]  [Ø tūplipàⁿ]  [[ē jiⁿli̍n]  ci̍n],
          [Infin-Ipfv 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)  nō gblē =  [Ø dàrâá]  [tāʔâ  jûrâ']
          1Sg  take.Pfv  [Art tale]  [place  Rel]
          [nō ti̍ = n̄  [bè tâʔâ]]
          [1Sg put.down.Pfv  3InanObj  [Dem.Def place]]
          A: ‘Where I picked up the tale, I have put it back there.’
          [standard tale closure]
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 bùⁿ?̃ⁿ]
if.you.see [Art dog]
if IpfvNeg ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-able.Ipfv [Art tree] again

A: ‘You see, when dog couldn’t climb the tree any more,’
[mà is superfluous]

(00:05) ā bà bè-kà tè→,
3Iman come.Pfv thus Emph,
[ē tūplīpāⁿ] nèʔ̃e= [Ø jūʔ̃e]
[Art monkey] request.Pfv [Art God]

A: ‘It (=situation) came (=arose) thus: monkey prayed to God …’
[< /bè-kā/]

(00:07) dè jī = [Ø bùⁿ?̃ⁿ] pēⁿ [Ø t̃ ñi]
[bō kō pēⁿ [Ø jūʔ̃e] cīⁿ],
[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 [[ē būⁿ?̃ⁿ] nā kliⁿ?̃iⁿ [Ø jīⁿ?̃n]]
so [Art dog] PastHabit ascend.Ipfv [Art tree]
[[ē tūplīpāⁿ] à kliⁿ?̃iⁿ [Ø jīⁿ?̃n]],
[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) [ē jūʔ̃e] bā [Ø = à-sūʔ̃u]
[[ē tūplīpāⁿ] jūʔ̃e-nēʔ̃e-n̄i]\n[[Art monkey] God-request.Base-VblN]

A: ‘God (came and) granted monkey’s prayer.’
[bā [Ø = à-…] (§15.2.3.2.4)]
A: ‘That’s it, dog (came to) stay on the ground.’

A: ‘He (=dog) couldn’t climb trees any longer.’

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)  [nǎsɔⁿ  tóʔó]  kó  [bā  nǐ]
[N  Foc]  be  [come.Prog  Prog]
[[ē  dè-tōʔɔ]  nǐ],
[[Art  speak.Pfv-place]  Loc],
A: ‘It’s Nason who is coming to speak.’
[purpose Vb.Pfv - tōʔɔ  nǐ (§17.6.2.5)]

(00:07)  [[ē  jùsúⁿ]  bàʔà]  [ō  nà  táⁿʔāⁿ = nǐ],
[[Art  cotton]  Dat]  [1Pl  Fut  begin.Base  3InanObj],
[ō  bē-kà]  nǐ,
[1Pl  cultivate.Pfv-manner]  Loc,
A: ‘About cotton, we will begin it, in our way of cultivating.’
[‘cotton’ is dialectally jùsúⁿ or jùⁿsúⁿ]

(00:11)  [ē  klàʔá-nùʔɔ]  mà  sùʔú,
[Art  rainy.season-mouth]  if  be.caught,
ō  kò  táⁿʔāⁿ = [Ø  bàʔá],  kà  [Ø  fīlē],
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)  ō  kó  pàⁿ = [Ø  dē],
1Pl  Infin  clear.Base  [Art  field],
[ō  bà  pàⁿ = [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 bà ‘if’
with same-subject VP (§16.1.1.3)]

(00:22)  [[ē  pàⁿ-nf]  mà  kā]
[[Art  clear.Base-VblN]  if  finishBase]
[[ē  blō]  bà  wó],
[[Art  rain(n)]  if  rain(v).Base],
A: ‘When the clearing is finished, (and) when it has rained,’
[double bà ‘if’ with new subject (§16.1.1.3)]
1 Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin begin.Base] [è bá-ní], [Art cultivate.Base-VblN],
A: ‘Then we begin cultivating (crops).’

[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)’]

1 Pl Past Habit 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 ķà]

[Infin come] [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)’]

1 Pl Past Habit 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 ķà]

[Infin come] [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)’]
A: ‘When we have planted it and it has reached (=has grown to) a certain height, we stop.’

[ékö < Jula]

[change of speakers]

(01:04) —, ó bà sūʔá = nì,
(untelligible), 1Pl if catch.Base 3InanObj,
à kàrąⁿ, [ā [nùʔ-sūʔ]-dàʔa] à le kò,
3Inan Top, [3Inan [mouth-catch.Pfv]-time] 3Inan IpfvPast be.good.Ipfv,
B: ‘When we started, as for it, in the beginning (=at first), it was good.’

(01:09) mais à bà dàⁿ [[dèⁿ-tòʔ = ā fòrąⁿ] nì],
but 3Inan if arrive.Base [[arrive.Pfv-place Dem.InanSg Rel] Loc],
ā, [ē keʔe-ná =] à-mā [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.’

(01:13) [ē keʔe-ná] à-mā [ā nì] = nēʔ,
[Art be.ruined-VblN] be.Loc [3Inan Loc] Emph,
[ē piô],
[Art larva.Pl]
B: ‘There sure is deterioration in it! Insect larvae.’
[especially caterpillars]

(01:15) [ē blà] fòrąⁿ,
[Art rain(n)] also,
dè mà kò [tànàʔà gbê] nì tāʔa-kó,
Quot IpfvNeg be [[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 tāʔa as preverbal object]

(01:19) bon, [ā mù] mà gō [gbê nì] tāʔa-kó,
well, [3Inan price] IpfvNeg be [be.taken.Prog Prog] again,
dè, [bè dò— be-nì] k = [ó-yùò 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/]
(01:25) ó nǎ bí mā [à nǐ], 1Pl PastHabit get.Ipfv there.Def [3Inan Loc], mais kūʔ?ān ciā", but today truly,
B: ‘We used to gain (=make a profit) on it.’
[apparently < Jula câná ‘truly’]

(01:27) ó má piè [Ø digê-rà], 1Pl IpfvNeg praise.Ipfv [PlRefl Recip]
à Ò-mā mā [[tɔʔ = á jèrīn"] nǐ], 3Inan 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) é, [ā būʔ só] gò [glú nǐ] [ó nǐ]
ah!, [3Inan attraction] be [exit(v).Prog Prog] [1Pl Loc]
ér má kò [[sámáklàʔ bū⟩ nǐ], 1Pl IpfvNeg be [[maize get.Prog] Prog],
B: ‘Ah, we are losing interest in it. We aren’t getting any maize.’
[we aren’t getting any cotton. Furthermore the government people aren’t
looking at (=considering) us.’

(01:32) [ó dó] má kò [[jùsù n] bū⟩ nǐ],
[1Pl however IpfvNeg be [cotton get.Prog Prog],
[ē ānàʔ-yùó fôrâ") má kò [[ó p3n"] nǐ],
[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) áł, [ā bē-ǹf] kò [ó nǐ],
ah!, [3Inan be.tired.Base-VblN] be [1Pl Loc],
jî-má-bè, à kà— [ā kànî] otherwise, (hesitation) [3Inan Top]
à lè tàn ājùʔù [Ø mié],
3Inan IpfvPast help.Ipfv [Art 1Pl],
B: ‘Ah, its suffering is on us. Anyway, as for it, it used to help all of us.
[jî-má-bè (§19.1.3); á kà kònì can be edited out]

(01:40) [ā [nùʔ-sùʔ]-dàʔà] nǐ, [ó būō mā]
[ē jīʔ-rò] būō [Ø jīʔ-eʔ-eʔ],
B: ‘In its beginning (=early days), we got (something) there, some (of us) got a
vehicle (=motorcycle).’
(01:46)  [è ndí dè tá ní-mà]  [ó-bè bàʔà]  [Art cow.Pl]  Past  Past  not.be.Loc  [1Pl  Dat]
[ò bié]  bùò =  [Ø ndí]
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)]

(01:49)  [bè  tísá₇₃],  bè  tè₇₃-jūʔ₅ [Ø mié]  [bè  tɔʔ₅],
[Dem.Def  too],  Dem.Def  help.Pfv  [Art  1Pl]  [Dem.Def  place],
mais  à  bà  mí-ti⁷₃ [Ø mié]  [Ø piò]
but  3Inan  if  throw.away.Base]  [Art  1Pl]  [Art  larva.Pl]
B: ‘That (=cattle) too, that helped us in that situation. But when it (=cotton farming) disrupted us with insect larvae,’

(01:53)  [è  sùⁿ]  má  sùʔù [Art  medicine]  LpfvNeg  be.given.Lpfv
[ó  k-ã  fiú = ní]  tāʔà-kó,
[1Pl  Infin-Lpfv  spray.Lpfv  3InanObj]  again,
B: ‘The medicine (=insecticide) wasn’t given to us to spray it any more.’
[< sùⁿ ; infinitive as purposive clause (§17.6.2.1)]

(01:57)  bon,  [[bè  bié]  bè-nú =]  à-mà  [é-yùò ní]  tāʔà-kó,
well,  [[Dem.Def  all]  be.tired-VblN]  be.Loc  [1Pl  Loc]  again,
nó  būò  jè₇₃,  [è  jùsùⁿ-bàʔά]  ní,
1Sg  get.Pfv  Rel,  [Are  cotton-cultivation]  Loc,
[bè  tòʔò]  kò  kàⁿ [Dem.Def  Foc]  be  Dem.AnSg
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-mà/; presentative, with normally AnSg kàⁿ in abstract sense]

[change of speakers]
(02:05)  [è  jùsùⁿ-bàʔά],
[Art  cotton-cultivation],
sání  à  bà  dàn =  [Ø  dè-ní],
when  3Inan  if  arrive.Pfv  [Art  pick.cotton.Base-VblN],
A: ‘Cotton farming. By the time it has reached (the time for) picking,’
[sání  < Jula (§15.3.5.8)]
2019

(02:09) à bá sē, [mó jū] gā = [à ni] [3Inan LoC]
3Inan if take.shape.Base, [2Sg eye] be [3Inan LoC]
[à k-à kô],
[3Inan Infin be.good.Ipfv],

A: ‘When it (=cotton) takes shape, your eyes are on it, it’s good.’

(02:13) [ẽ sùn] má Ò-ä bí [Art medicine] IpfvNeg Infin-Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv
jə̀rān à lē [O piō] [à ni],
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.’

[< sūn; apparent Ipfv à added irregularly after IpfvNeg má, perhaps really < má (k)-à bí; extraposed relative clause]

(02:16) ì bà commencer [O [jùsù-tà?à]-dē-ní],
3Pl if begin.Base [Art [cotton-plot]-pick.Base-VblN],
[[ẽ dë] ìi]\[nî, [Art field] interior LoC,

A: ‘When they begin the picking of the cotton plot, inside the field,’
/[dē-ní, M-toned verbal noun]

(02:19) [ẽ dë [á tū-tūjù]] [ẽ jùsùn [á bí-bí],
[Art field [Inan big]] [Art cotton [Inan small],
[ẽ fâñà] nî-mā [à ni],
[Art strength] not.be.Loc [3Inan LoC],

A: ‘A big field (but) little cotton. There is no power (=productivity) in it.’

(02:22) [ẽ blò fārâ\n] má wó-à-gārēn, [Art rain(n) too] IpfvNeg rain(v).Ipfv-Ital/dwell.Ipfv,

A: ‘Also it doesn’t rain much.’

(02:24) [ẽ blō] bà commencer-gārēn = [O wó-ní]
[Art rain(n)] if begin.-do.well.Base-[Art rain(v).Base-VblN]
[ẽ jùsùn] mà sē [bâ dá\n [O dáʔà jī]],
[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,’

(02:28) [[ẽ jùsùn] gò lē]\[n [Art cotton] Infin stand.Base],
[[3Inan cotton all] Infin be.poured.Base],

A: ‘The cotton (plants) stand high, (and) all the cotton spills (to the ground).’
(02:30) [à wó-ré'] jór5n = Œ-mā [[à li'] ní]
[3Inan egg-Pl] Rel be.Loc [[3Inan interior] Loc]
[jór5n mā gbōʔo-bú'] [[bè bî] gō wūō],
[Rel if burst.Base-get.Base] [[Dem.Def all] Infīn rot(v).Base],
A: ‘Its grains (“eggs”) which are inside it, when they manage to burst open, they are all rotten.’

(02:32) [à pú"?ú' té ná-d3"?7n'] [kà = [á fà"?án]]
[3Inan fiber Foc.Inan only] [with [Inan lightweight]
A: ‘Only the fibers (remain) with their lightness (=weakness).’
[ná-d3"?7n ‘only’ (§19.2.3)]

(02:35) [Ø mà gbē]
[2Sg if take.Base]
[Ø mà d5"?5n = ní [é cëʔ-ʔê] ní],
[2Sg if add.Base 3InanObj [Art weigh.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] Loc]
A: ‘When you take it and add (=place) it on the scales,’
/sé"→ (§8.5.2.2.5)/

(02:37) [ò kō ní]
[3Pl Infin see.Base]
[ò kō dò [á bî-bî sê"→] [ì] bâʔá],
[3Pl Infin say.Base [Inan small tiny] [2Sg Dat],
A: ‘They tell you-Sg, it’s tiny.’
/sê"→ (§8.5.2.2.5)/

(02:40) [Ø mā jūō = ní]
[2Sg if sell.Ipfv 3InanObj]
[à bû] rē má bē nà,
[3Inan money] IpfvPast IpfvNeg Fut be.seen.Pfv,
A: ‘When you sold it, money for it would not be seen (=gotten).’

(02:42) [à = Ø yiʔn = [[Ø blō [Ø ŋù?5] ní] dē]
[3Inan Ipfv go.Base [[Art rain(n) [Pl four]] Loc this.year]
[ó mā bî = [Ø jūšù-bû’]],
[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 ŋù?5i]’

(02:45) à = ānàʔa-yùō, gouvernement wà,
Art in.front.people, government or,
ò má ji-à-gārë" [ò yiē] = dē?,
1Pl IpfvNeg know.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.well.Ipfv [3Pl name] Emph,
A: ‘The officials, the “gouvernement” or (whatever), we really don’t know their name well,’
(02:51) [ò fōrā'], bà gbê jàrk' [mā sū?š]
[3Pl too], if take.Base Rel [if send.Base]
[jàrk' = Ō-mā [[Ō ānā?] nī]
[Rel be.Loc [[Art in.front] Loc]
dè 'ǐn vér, Quot union,
A: ‘What they too take and send to the one (=office) that is in front (=in charge), called “the Union.”’

(02:55) [cì ǐnj bè] kùò-dárá [[Ō mié] pé-pé,
[Art union Top.Inan] kill.Prō do.a.lot.BAs [Art 1Pl] totally,
[ō má ji [[[ō nà klè] sipā] nī] tāʔa-kō],
A: ‘As for the Union, it totally screwed us. We don’t know what to do any more.’

(02:58) [cì dí] ɔ̄ piè = [[Ō mié]
[Art last.year] 3Pl flatter.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
[dè buò kò [[[(Ō) bú] sū?š] nī]
[Quot LogoPl be [[Art money] give.Prog] Loc]
ǎlè kǎ = à-dà' kùⁿ'ú'n, until Infin come.Base-arrive.Base today,
A: ‘Last year they led us on, saying that they are giving money out, right up to today.’

(03:02) dèyà-dò kī' nò kò ká-tà à nī]
this.year-Poss.Inan credit Infin do.again.Base-addr.Base [3Inan Loc]
[ō bè klè jàrk''] 3 = á k₃' =,?
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); kī' variant of cī']

[change of speakers]
(03:07) [bè tōʔō] fē [n dēo'žā ì = à' ,
[Dem.Def Foc] talk(n) [Sg one] it.is,
[β₃' kōr''] dè bè-kā,
[Inan Top] say.Pfv thus,
B: ‘It’s all the same talk. As for him, he spoke like that.’

(03:11) [ò dé] mà' gō
[3Pl however] IpfvNeg be
[[[cì ɛlē jī] nī ] = nī] [à nī],
[[[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) [nó" mó =rē] bà?à,  
[1Sg Top even] Dat,  
à = Ø-mā [\{t3?₃ jā̀\r₃\} nî]  
3Inan be.Loc [\{place Rel\} Loc]  
B: ‘As far as I am concerned, where it (=situation) is,’  
[</nó" bó/]  

(03:15) jí t̚yùò bē-yùò— būō—, [è lōʔó jî].  
if 1Pl cultivate.Pfv-Agent.Pl— get.Pfv—, [Art trick Indef],  
ô dē bē glō [\{Ø piēⁿʔèⁿ\} nî]  
1Pl IpfvPast Fut exit.Pfv [[PlRefl foot] Loc]  
B: ‘If we farmers find a solution, we would be about to go out on our own feet.’  
[< /piēⁿʔèⁿ/]  

(03:18) jí ò bà bē klè [kā [jā̀\r₃\ kā]]  
if 3Pl if Fut do.Pfv [with [Rel manner]]  
[ò kō 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 yî wò-à-sêⁿ, [ē dē] nî,  
2Sg Hort bend.over.Ipfv, [Art sun] Loc,  
[ē dē]-\{wò-sêⁿ\}-nî, à kāʔā =dēʔ?  
[Art sun-[bend.over.Base]-VblN, Ipfv be.hard.Ipfv Emph]  
B: ‘You bend over in the sun (to farm). Bending over in the sun sure is hard!’  
[< /wò-à-sêⁿ/; imperfective hortative (§10.4.2.1)]  

(03:26) kō à lō [ē yà kāmā [n dēⁿʔèⁿ]],  
Infin Ipfv turn.Ipfv [Art year entire [Sg one]],  
mô mā bē būō-p ꚑⁿ [ē ʔè̃ jî]  
2Sg if Fut get.Pfv-be.able.Base [Art thing Indef]  
B: ‘And (you) go around one entire year. If you manage to earn anything,’  
[< /ē yà/; kāmā ‘entire’ with temporal nouns (‘year’, ‘day’, etc.)]  

(03:30) [\{ē blā-kō ] jā̀-rō] à-mā]  
[būō būę] kō [yîʔî nî] [ē kîⁿ-cîʔē] 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-tîʔē ; 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⁻/

B: ‘That [focus] is the result of that very situation. You just stay (there),’

[< /kě yá té èrè dóm]

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 àlámabáⁿ ; alternative parsing is progressive té ní ‘is putting/causing’]
**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) [è jùsùⁿ] mà bà,
[Art cotton] if be.cultivated.Base,
à bà à-kóʔó,
3Inan if come.Base-succeed.Base,
‘When cotton has been grown, if it is successful (=bountiful),’

(00:06) [à tîʔ-tɔ́ʔ] ní,
[3Inan put.down.Pfv-place] Loc,
[è kō gbē [Ø [kē-sùⁿʔɔ́]-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) [é yà-ró] [kà [é bî-ò]], kò glú,
[1Pl woman-PI] [with [1Pl child-PI]], Infin exit(v).Base,
kō wò-sêⁿ = [[Ø dè] 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) [è dâʔá jà-rè] á s5ⁿ
[Art time Rel-InanPI] PfvNeg work(v).Base
[è fèlê náramá] [[è jùsúⁿ-dë-ã] 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) [è jùsùⁿ] Ọ mà wā-ã-nè = ?
[Art cotton] 2Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv-Ipfv-see.Ipfv Neg
‘The cotton, you don’t come and see (it),’
/ <jùsùⁿ ̣ mà bē-ã-nè/>
We used to grow cotton, instead of peanuts.

In order to get money to cultivate maize. In the old days we used to grow maize.

Fertilizer wasn’t put on it. One single maize (cob),

Some people couldn’t chew it. But nowadays it has all stayed (=become) worthless.

Bon cob was more than some people could eat, because the cobs were so well-developed then.

Well, he (=Union agent) has taken the rope people (=indebted cotton farmers), and put (the cotton) inside a vehicle.

It’s us who carry it and put (it) in. Money isn’t seen (=received) from it.”
‘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,’

[< /ò dè à/]

‘We will return to that [focus]. How (=what) will we do? Sesame.’

[dialectal for [bè tò?ò] 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 nά bέ—, [ē di-nā-dĕn] ó nά—
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv—, [Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit—
jī-ō nά bέ [ē sūmā-klā’ā tέ]
father-Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [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) [ó =rē] má wī = [Ø dārī’ī], [1Pl even] IpfvNeg put.in.Ipfv [Art manure],
ŋō = [Ø jūsū’-bā’ā tέ] 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’á/]

(00:10) [ó kō yīʔī-ʃīʔ] [ò bis] [1Pl Infin get.up.Base] [3Pl all]
A: ‘We got up and everyone went into it (=cotton). Look now,’
[< /kō die’/]

(00:12) ó bā bā [mlē’ nī],
1Pl if cultivate.Base [now Loc],
jī má = à wē = [Ø dārī’ī’],
if 2Sg Ipfv put.in.Ipfv [Art manure],
A: ‘When we do farming now, if you-Sg put fertilizer on,’

(00:14) à má bè kpēʔē = [Ø īʔē jī] bǎ, 3Inan IpfvNeg Fut benefit.Pfv [Art thing Indef] at.all,
ó bā ŋī [Ø ū’ū’] nī-mà [à ni],
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”),’
A: ‘The soil has died. Even if you-Sg have grown a little,’
[< /tɔ/]

A: ‘If you-Sg don’t put manure on it, you won’t get any food out of it.’
[unusual combination 2Sg PfvNeg ɲà = á for usual mó á (§4.3.1.6.2)]

A: ‘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 tɔʔɔ/ ; klè ‘cause’ plus infinitival clause (§17.4.2.5.1)]

A: ‘(If) not—, if it were not a matter of that (=fertilizer), the old men used to grow it.’

A: ‘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]

A: ‘Did we used to get anything like that (misfortune)? The coming of fertilizer,’

A: ‘We used to get anything like that (misfortune)? The coming of fertilizer,’

(00:36) [ē jùsúⁿ-bàʔà té] bà,  
[Art cotton-farming(n) Foc.Inan] come.Pfv,  
kà = [Ø tà-wù-n =] [ó bàʔà],  
with [Art earth-die.Base-VblN] [1Pl chez],  
A: ‘Cotton-farming [focus] came with (=brought about) the death of the soil among us.’  
/wù-ní ‘death’/  

(00:39) [[ó kè-tiʔè] kè] mà glò tàʔà,  
[[1Pl arm] matter] IpfvNeg it.is again,  
[Ø tàʔà ji] [à ni] té→,  
[Art place Indef] [3Inan Loc] Emph,  
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; < /kè mà/; bá-kà ‘must’ (§17.5.8))  

(00:45) kò klá [1Pl [dí-nà-déⁿ]-dò] ni,  
Infin return.Base [[1Pl [old.days]-Poss.Inan] Loc],  
kò gbé-nò [ē jùʔè] [kà lò],  
Infin take.Base-look.at.Base [Art God] [with 3Inan]  
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)]  

(00:48) [ē jùʔè] bā dò jàrⁿ cògó-cògò,  
[Art God] if speak.Base Rel regardless,  
ó dè [ó nà—] 1Pl say.Pfv [1Pl Fut—]  
A: ‘Whatever God says, we said we will—’  

(00:50) ó būō [ō dë-dò] bè,  
[ē tò] mà nà-a-çê = [Ø ná-bì],  
[Art earth] IpfvNeg fail.to.help.Ipfv [Art person],  
A: ‘We have gotten our share of food thus. The earth doesn’t fail a person.’  
/< /tò mà/; nà-kò (base stem) ‘withhold help from, fail to help’/  

(00:52) jí má = á wè = [Ø dàř্eʔi],  
if 2Sg PfvNeg put.in.Base [Art manure],  
é! mó má bī = [Ø súáⁿ-klàʔà] [k-à dí],  
ah! 2Sg IpfvNeg get.Ipfv [Art maize] [Infin-Ipfv eat.Ipfv],  
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,’

[< /ŋ v̥ ái/]

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.’
Text 2019-06 Maize follow-up

duration: 00:58
Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) [ē dî-nā-dêⁿ] ó nā bè = [Ø suâⁿ-klâʔa],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art maize],
kà [Ø fiʔé-tūʔú], kò kú-mēʔë [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 3IinanObj,
kō sërô [kò dû = [Ø suâⁿ-klâʔa]],
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 suâⁿ-klâʔa] bà dû [bà yfî-jiʔi] [bā dàⁿ],
[Art maize] if be.sown.Base [if get.up.Base] [if arrive.Base],
ē dè [Ø támû], [ē dè [Ø támw-á = ā kâⁿ]
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 kō wē [Ø ci] [à nî],
1Pl Infin put.in.Base [Art millet] [3Iinan Loc],
[bè dâʔá sôrē = ] [Ø blô] lè mà
[Dem.Def period peer] [Art rain(n)] IpfvPast be.Loc
tâ nà wû,
[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; wû ‘die’ here apparently as causative ‘cause to die’; < ē blô lè mā; tâ nà (§15.3.1.2)]
Nowadays, if you take the long-handled hoe, and say (=intend) you will bend over (to hoe the earth),

[< /mó nā wò-séⁿ/]

You won’t find anyone in it.

‘You won’t find anyone in it, as though your kind isn’t familiar with the long hoe.’

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.’

[< /tē 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,’

[kō kā in wishes (§10.4.2.3.2)]
(00:35) \( \text{ó á kō}^{n} \) [bè to̟ō] [ō bàʔà],
1Pl PfvNeg know.Base [Dem.Def Foc] [3Pl chez],
\( \text{kàtā} \) =  ā kō [mlēn] [kū^n dú ní],
when 3Inan be [now Loc] [today Loc],
‘We don’t know that [focus] among them, as it is nowadays.’
[i.e. we don’t know what they think about that; < kàtō (§15.3.5.3)]

(00:39) \( \text{ó nā bé} \) [Ø dī—]
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Base [Art ol[d.days]—]
\( \text{ó nā bé} \) [ā [Ø fīʔ-tūʔū = ] [Ø kē-tēʔē] ní],
1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Base [with [Art long.hoe]] [Art hand] Loc,
‘We used to cultivate in the old d[ays]— We used to cultivate with the long-handled hoe in (our) hands,’

(00:42) \( \text{kō wô-sè}^{n} \) [wō kō [Ø fərū]], mais kū^n dú^n
Infin bend.over.Base [Infin suffer.Base [Art sweat(n)]], but today
\( \text{ò bēj} \) à lēn = [Ø jūʔ-cir] [k-ā bē],
[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; klà/kē/kō ~ kū ‘suffer’ plus noun ‘sweat’ = ‘to sweat, to emit sweat’, partially homophonous with kpà/kē/kō ~ kū ‘finish’]

(00:45) \( \text{è nō-fīʔē} \) nî, [bè toʔō] tā bà [ā = [Ø jūsû]],
k-ā sūʔū [Ø èʔē jərû],
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) \( \text{bè fārā}, \) kà-bàʔà [k-ā bē]
Dem.Def too, want.it [Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv
[[[ā bē] gblē-tōʔ5] nî] tāʔâ-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 -tōʔ nî (§17.6.2.5)]
Peanut farming

Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

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.

Even in some cases you—Sg come—you go in (the field) and dig and gather them up by hand.

In some cases, you brew beer and ask people

Sorghum or millet beer is offered to volunteer workers
(00:20) 3Pl Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-pick.Base 3InanObj],
[kâ = à-kpâ = nî],
[â = rê] má kpê-à-kô, [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-jjûö = nî] [ē wâ”ʔâ” nî]
but [2Sg if go.Base-sell.Base 3InanObj [[Art market] Loc]
[ê [gbô”-gbô]-pê] [ē kpâ” [kâ = [Ø támm]]],
[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).’
[< /] bà là- (§16.1.1.6.2): gbô”gbô-pê is a large can whose volume is equivalent to ten tin cans (gbô”-gbô) of tomato; it is used as a dry measure for market transactions (peanuts, millet, maize, etc.).]

(00:26) è tárö”-sô, [bê jûa-êʔê]—
Art iron-horse, [Dem.Def divide.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]—
[ē kpâ” té]
[Art twenty Foc.Inan]‘A bicycle, a half load on it, twenty [focus] currency units.’

(00:30) mais [kû”ʔû” nî], yê!, á!, ē fêʔê ji—
but [today Loc], oh!, ah!, Art moon Indef—
[ē bâʔá] kô bà-lô, [Art farming(n)] Infin come.Base-turn.Base,
‘But these days, alas, a month—. Farming has changed.’

(00:37) [ē fâ-rê [ō sâ”]] glô,
[Art moon-Pl [Pl three]] exit(v).Pfv,
mais Ø mà kpâ bè kû”ʔû” [bê nî],
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-kâ— [ē [di-nâ-dê”]-dô] mà kô [dê”ʔê” nî], 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) Ø mà kâ?¿ bê [bê fə-r = [ō sâ”]], 2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def [3Inan moon [Pl three]],
Ø mà kâ?¿ bê 2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def,
‘If you uproot (=harvest) them, (when) three months of it—; if you uproot them,’
Infin kō → bà-càʔà,
Infin come.Base—lay.out.Base,
mais [Ø mà kānā [a = [Ø blō]]]
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,’

Infin è blò] → mà lēⁿ [ = èⁿ nī],
[Art rain(n)] IpfvNeg accept.Ipfv [3Inan Loc],
ì gō tāʔāⁿ = [Ø kpāʔa-nī]
2Sg Infin begin.Base [Art be.poor.Base-VblN]
‘The rains don’t allow it (to dry). You begin (=fall into) neediness.’

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.’

[fē-fē < Jula ‘get a little, get a meager amount’]

(01:00) mais bè kā dúʔú,
but Dem.Def Infin-Ipfv be.heavy.Ipfv,
[ē gbìʔn] dō bè kàʔȳn],
[Art peanut Poss.Inan Top.Inan Top],
‘But it’s heavy. As for the peanuts’ (price),’

(01:02) è à bī-bi] à bī [bè nī],
[Art Inan small] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv [Dem.Def Loc],
kā jīⁿ [Ø jū-kē],
Infin-Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Art eye-matter],
‘A modest amount (of money) is gotten out of it, to satisfy (your) needs.’

(01:07) é! màⁿ glò, ē — [ē [dī-nā-dēⁿ]-dō jàʔȳn],
ah! IpfvNeg it.is, Art— [Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan Rel],
[ē tōwīě],
[Art dry.season],
‘Anyway, those (peanuts) of the old days, in the dry season,’
[reduced from jī 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]

‘They (=peanuts) have no end. But today’s (way),’

‘Farming has come to be done like that. For some other (people),’

‘If you-Sg get a rope, you have it there.’

[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),’
‘(They) tell us to open the eyes of the children (=paying their school expenses), everything (we earn) is applied to that (=schooling).’

‘(For us) to sit empty-handed. The way of farming whereby peanuts came,’

‘That is it.’
Cowpea farming

duration: 00:54
Nason Ouattara, from Bofoaso.
Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoaso
recorded in Bofoaso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoaso)

Nason speaking
(00:02) [ē dī-nā-dēⁿ] ó nā bē = [Ø kē],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Are cowpea],
ō wō wē = nī [ē gbiⁿiⁿ tē] nī],
1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [Art peanut Foc.Inan] Loc],
‘In the old days we used to cultivate cowpea. We put it in among peanut (plants).’
[cowpea is Vigna unguiculata, the basic “haricot” of the zone, in several cultivars]

(00:07) [[ē ji] nī] [ē kē] à bī
[[Art Indef] Loc] [Art cowpea] Ipfv get.Ipfv
[ē fā-r =] [ō nū?5], [Ø fā-r =] [ō sā”],
[Art month-Pl] [Pl four], [Art month-Pl] [Pl three],
‘In some cases, cowpeas take four months (to grow), (or) three months.’
[‘in some cases’ (§4.4.2.3)]

(00:11) ó kā dú = nī = [[Ø gbīⁿtř-tā?ā] nī]
1Pl Infin-Ipfv sow.Ipfv 3InanObj [[Art peanut-plot] Loc]
ō bā kpā = nī],
[1Pl if pick.Base 3InanObj],
‘We plant them in the peanut plot. When we have picked them (=cowpeas),’
[cowpeas tend to grow faster than peanuts, so cowpeas are planted later and harvested first]

(00:14) [ā = ā-bīⁿ?ēⁿ] [ē yō-rō] kā nuá [ā = ā-bīⁿ?ēⁿ]
[Art leaf] [Art woman-Pl] Infin-Ipfv pick.leaves.Ipfv [Art leaf]
[kā tō =] [Ø diē] [ā lō],
Infin-Ipfv cook.sauce.Ipfv [Art sauce] [with 3Inan],
‘The greens, women pick off the leaves, and cook sauce with them.’
[<ē ā-bīⁿ?ēⁿ; only fresh young leaves can be used in sauce so the women carefully pick the good ones]
The rains don’t fall any more (like they did) in the 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 ḣná ní at the end of this segment]

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 …’

‘… 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 ɗi-nā'-dè] ọ nāⁿ bē = [Ø tī-tó],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art yam],
[ē fī?é-tū?ú tē] nā gbli [gò só-sà"?à"],
‘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-ā—, k-ā ƙà'-tó] [ā ƙàřīⁿ] [ŋ-ā yifî],
[Infin-Ipfv— Infin-Ipfv pile.up.Ipfv [3Inan mound] [Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv],
[bè bā lā-kṣ] ó wō sèrè
[gō tārāⁿ] [kō kōⁿ?ɔⁿ = ni],
[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; ƙàřīⁿ small mound under which yam or sweet potato is grafted]

(00:13) [kō sèrè kō—, dú-dú-yifî] [ā rō]
[ē ƙà-ρò] kō gàʔà = [Ø à-bà-re"],
[Art woman-Pl] Infin break.off.Base [Art leaf-Pl],
[kō wàḷá-tòⁿ [ā úⁿ?üⁿ]] [gò yifî],
[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 kō yifî [ā rō], dialectal for /kà lō/]
Art dry.season if be.finished.Base—
Art work(n) if be.finished.Base, Infin proceed.Base—
[kō— die] [kō gbê [Ø kà-pí?í]], Infin enter.Base [Infin take.Base [Art pick.hoe]],

‘When the dry season was over, when the work was done, (they) proceeded to go in (the house) and get a pick-hoe.’

[gō ló = [Ø jí-[jã-ri]], Infin gather.Base [Art stalk-Pl],

‘And they would go and pull them (=yams) out, and gather (millet or sorghum) stalks.’

[kō— [ó gò kú—] Infin— [1Pl Infin cut.Base—]
[mó mà dú = ní kã] [2Sg if sow.Base 3InanObj finish.Base]

‘We cut—. When you-Sg planted it, when it has sprouted,’

[kō bã-kpã”rã”-kpã”rã”— kpã”rã”-kpã”rã” Ø nà dè [Infin come.Base-Rdp-plant(v).Base — Rdp-plant(v).Base 2Sg Fut say.Base]

‘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).’

[variant of sà-riⁿ ; sticks used like trellises elsewhere]
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,

When it has gotten (=spent) a period of time, you go (to the yams),

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) ŋ̀ gō klè bè [ē di-ê?è],
2Sg Infin do.Base Dem.Def [Art eat-Ppl.Inan],
ō nān bè tī-tō 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, kū?ú nĩ, mó nà bá = nĩ,
but, today Loc, 2Sg if cultivate.Base 3Inan,
[ē bō-rs] dè má bè jē = nĩ 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.’
[dē is optional here; jē ‘leave.Pfv’ in Bi dialect, elsewhere invariant já]

(01:11) [bè [wè-yá]-ní à-mā
[Dem.Def [squeeze.Base]-VblN be.Loc
[í-yú mú]kósâbê,
[1Pl Loc] very.much
‘That pressure is on us extremely.’

(01:15) nó būô jār [ē [tī-tō]-bē-kã] nĩ,
1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Art [yam]-cultivate.Pfv-manner] Loc],
á! [bè tō?ò] gō kān
ah! [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg
‘What I got (=learned) in (=about) yam cultivation, there it is!’
[variant phrasing of [bè tō?ò] kò yâ 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 jísawah
T
J
A: ‘(My name:) Traoré Jisouaia.

(00:06) est-ce que, ô bā sūʔā, [ē yiē-biːfà] [⁴⁰= [Ø dā]],
Q, 3Pl if give.Base, [Art young.woman] [Dat [Art man]],
ô kō tā”ʔā’= [Ø kē-sū”ʔā’ bò] mì-kā = =ā,
3Pl Infin begin.Base [Art work(n) Top] how? Q,
kā = ò-ðā’ [Ø dā-lèše].
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 ⁵⁰ [ē dā] ‘to a/the man’ and ⁵⁰ [⁴⁰ dā] ‘to her man/husband’ are both pronounced ⁵⁰ [Ø dā] and are indistinguishable throughout this text]

(00:15) ô kō tā”ʔā’ = nī,
3Pl Infin begin.Base 3InanObj,
kō sūʔā [Ø lā’], kō sārā [kō bā’],
Infin give.Base [Art beer], Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base],
A: ‘They begin it, they give beer. Then they come,’

(00:20) ŋ̃ fā [Ø klōʔō], [[ē jè-yùò] bāʔà] (nasal) look.for.Base [Art road], [[Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.Pl] Dat]
ô bā dè ⁵⁰ yē-ðlō,
3Pl 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,
3Pl Infin put.Base 3AnSgObj there,
jí ⁵⁰ mā yī-ðlō,
if 3AnSg if be.full.Base,
A: ‘They put her there, if she is ready.’
A: ‘Then they proceed to give permission to excise her.’
[‘swallow’ = ‘excise (girl), also ‘circumcise (boy)’]

A: ‘Then (they) go give (her) to the man. When they have given (her) to the man,’

B: ‘They put her inside the house. Do they not give anything?’

A: ‘And a wrap (woman’s garment), and sugar, and salt, and—.’
(01:11) [ē kà?á] ní-mā [à nǐ] =ā
B: ‘Is there no meat therein (=included)’
[< kà?á]
(01:12) ē kà?á
Art meat
A: ‘(And) meat.’

[pause]
(01:19) [ē kà?á] bà sūʔ5,
[Art meat] if be.given.Base,
ô kò t3 = [∅ d5ⁿ-lâⁿ]
3Pl Infin brew.Base [Art in.law-beer]
B: ‘When the meat has been given, they brew the in-law beer.’

(01:23) 3ⁿ kā = à-tō,
3AnSg Infin come.Base-brew.Base, [Art beer], Infin give.Base
kō sârò [kō bá— [[ē d5ⁿ] bà?á]]
Infin proceed.Base [Infin cultivate/Base— [[Art in.law] Dat]]
A: ‘She comes and brews the beer, and gives (it). Then (they) do farm work for the in-law.’

(01:35) sâni [ē yô] bà dâⁿ [3ⁿ d5ⁿ-le]
when [Art woman] if arrive.Base [3AnSgRefl man-village]
est-ce que [∅ klâ-lò]-jùʔô dâ João] à-mā =ā
Q [Art have.fun.Base]-talk(n) Foc.Inan] be.Loc Q
B: ‘When the woman arrives at her husband’s village, was there any festivity?’

(01:40) kō râ-[klâ-lò] [3ⁿ klâ-lò-ní]
Infin go.Base-[have.fun.Base] [3AnSg have.fun.Base-VblN]
A: ‘Then they go and have festivities.’
singing and dancing

[pause]
(01:45) kō sârò kō sūʔú-sūʔ = [3ⁿ [∅ d5]]
Infin proceed.Base Infin catch.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art man]]
B: ‘Then (they) take hold (of her) and give (her) to the man.’

(01:46) kō sârò kō sūʔú-sūʔ = [3ⁿ [∅ d5]]
Infin proceed.Base Infin catch.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art man]]
A: ‘Then (they) take (her) and give (her) to the man.’
[01:48] [ē yō] bà sūʔ = [3[s] [Ø d5]],
Answer: woman] if be.given.Base [Dat [Art man]],
• [Ipfv] ní] dè] sīná] ní] [
• [[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] bà sūʔ = [3[s] [Ø d5]]]
[Art woman] if be.given.Base [Dat [Art man]]
• 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.’
[néʔè denotes any of several serious speech acts: praying, asking for forgiveness,
formally requesting, etc.]

[01:52] [kà = [Ø läw], kō sàrò [kō bà — jò],
with [Art beer], Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base— swallow.Base],
[bè façà-sàrò] = [Ø jò-ní] tì à-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 kà = à-jò]

[02:03] donc, [ē jò-ní] tā à-mā,
so, [Art swallow-VblN] Past be.Loc,
• [dàʔò jòrò] ní], à kā dè tā wō bè,
• [[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 dè tā (§10.3.1.1)]

[02:06] [bè tòʔò] kò [ē-yùò dò] =rē,
[Dem.Def Foc] be [1Pl Poss.Inan] even,
B: ‘That [focus] is ours (=our practice).’
[barely audible, transcription approximate]

[02:10] [ē tè-tó], kà = [Ø cì], kà = [Ø sëʔ],
[Art yam], and [Art millet], and [Art salt],
jòrò a lè [ē [kè-tèʔè]-lè-ēʔè],
Rel Ipfv be.showed.Ipfv [Art [hand]-show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
B: ‘Yams, and millet, and salt, which are showed (=presented).’
B: ‘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]

(02:28) à ká má kō bè-kā-té = ē
3Inan Past IpfvNeg be thus Q àⁿhā
uh-huh!

B: ‘Did it not use to be like that?’
A: ‘Yes!’

(02:37) kō sūʔɔ̄ [Ø wùʔɔ̄ [n dèⁿʔɛⁿ]],
Infin give.Base [Art thousand [Sg one]],
kā = [Ø bū [Ø ḵ̱j̱̱-j̱̱ⁿ]],
with [Art money [Art hundred-two]],
B: ‘Then (they) give (her) one thousand, and two hundred currency units.’
[currency unit bū in counting money in all native languages is worth 5 CFA francs, so 1200 units = 6000 FCFA]
And cowries.

And cowries. Then they toss (the cowries) to give (to them), and toss them.

Cowries, used as currency before the colonial period

Everyone dances. Then they brew beer. Everyone stays up all night.

And wraps (worn by women). So at that time, you have gotten your woman now.

So, if that isn’t done, your woman has not yet been gotten.

That wasn’t (like) the way it is nowadays. That was the old days’ (way)—.

That was the way of the old days [focus]. We used to do it.
[pause]
(03:06)  [dè-dè]-dò  bè]  lò
[[now]-Poss.Inan  Top.Inan]  after
B: ‘What about the way it is now?
[Ìò ‘what about (X)? (§15.3.5.6) at (1217)]

(03:08)  dò-rè  dò,  dè  dè  kò  bù  dè  =  [Ø  tèrà"?à"n],
now  Poss.Inan,  say.Pfv  Quot  Hort  tie.Ipfv  Quot  [Art  marriage],
dè  ò  gò  di-à-glò  dè  =  [Ø  bò"bò"n],
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); òà}"?à" ‘married life’, related to the verb
‘sit’; French bonbon]

(03:16)  kà  [Ø  támáro],  kà  =  [Ø  wàrò  nàrámá],
and  [Art  dates],  and  [Art  kola.nut  very.good],
kò  bò-sù?  =  [òò  =  [Ø  ñè-yùò]],
A: ‘And dates, and excellent kola nuts, and give (them) to the (bride’s) birth
family.’

(03:22)  ò  kò  sàrò  [kò  bù  =  [Ø  kìò?ò]],
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-kìù?ù]],  kò  tië  [Ø  gbì"?ì"n]  [à  nì],
[3Pl  couscous],  Infin  scoop.sauce.Base  [Art  peanut]  [3Inan  Loc],
[3Pl  couscous],
A: ‘Then they come and cook ri(ce)—, couscous, they serve peanut (sauce) on it
 (=couscous).’
[là  ‘cook (couscous, rice)’; tië  ‘serve (sauce) by scooping with a ladle’]

(03:33)  jàrò"  mà  á  tië  =  [Ø  gbì"?ì"n]
Rel  if  PfvNeg  scoop.sauce.Base  [Art  peanut]
[bò  gò  dò  [Ø  nù]],
[3AnSg  Infin  buy.Base  [Art  oil]],
ò  kò  lá  [Ø  kù-kìù?ù],
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)]
Infin give.Base [Dat [Art person-Pl]] [Infin eat], jí kò sèrò [kò klà-lò [ë 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.get.Base

[kò fó [[[ō dà-rà] yúó] bà?à]],
[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 bù] má” klè [bè ní] =ā
B: ‘Money wasn’t involved in that?’

(03:46) è bù, è bù, è bù,
Art money, (hesitations)
è wò-rà-ʔà [[támm, [k = [ò jõ”]],
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 tóʔ=] ā sùrū,
Quot [Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.given.Ipfv,
[3” [Ø jè-yùò]],
[Dat [Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.Pl]],
A: ‘That [focus] is what is given, to the (bride’s) birth family.’

(03:55) ò kò sò, kò sèrò 3Pl Infin receive.Base, Infin proceed.Base
[kò bù = [Ø klòʔó]].
[Infin get.Base [Art road]],
A: ‘They receive it. Then (the groom) gets permission.’

(03:58) [è dì-nà-dò”] est-ce que
[Art old.days] Q
bùò dè má jì [Ø bù] =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 (else’s) way is seven chickens. That [focus] is the way of the old days.’

B: ‘Wasn’t beer given?’

A: ‘Someone (other person’s) way is—, six chickens.’
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: ‘Then (they) carried it and went and gave it (to people) at the chicken slaughtering place.’

B: ‘They slaughtered (the chickens) on their fetish (=animist altar).’
(04:41) ə<x sup><b>ŋ</b> ə kō kò [tō j̃] nī
uh.huh 3Pl Infin kill.Base [[PlRef Pl fetish] Loc]
A: ‘Uh-huh, they slaughtered (them) on the fetish.’

(04:43) wàlà→
voilà
B: ‘There it is!

(04:44) ò = Ø dò dè
3Pl Ipfv say.Ipfv Quot
ò mà kò dò = nī
1Pl IpfvNeg Hort say.Base 3InanObj
A: ‘They tell us not to say (=talk about) it.’

(04:47) ä mà dò mî-kā = ā
3Inan IpfvNeg say.Base why? Q
B: ‘Why isn’t (=shouldn’t) it be said?’

(04:48) ò dè, [ó j̃-ó] kō sō
3Pl say.Pfv, [1Pl father-Pl] Infin hold.Base
[kō kò = [[Ø j̃] nī]],
[Infin kill.Base [[Art fetish] Loc]],
A: ‘They said, our fathers (=ancestors) took (the chickens) and killed (them) on the fetish.’

(04:51) kō sàrò [wō sūʔā] [Ø mié],
Infin proceed.Base [Infin give.Base [Art 1Pl]]
A: ‘Then (they) gave them to us.’

(04:54) jí bè á klè
if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done.Base
B: ‘If that wasn’t done?’

(04:55) [jí bè á klè]
[if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done.Base]
[ē tɔrɔ̃′ŋɔ́] ní-mà = ?,
[Art marriage] not.be.Loc Neg,
A: ‘If that wasn’t done, there was no marriage.’

(04:57) [ē klɔ̃ɔ̀] ní-mà
[Art road] not.be.Loc
[[[ē dɔ̃-rɔ̀] yúö] bàʔɔ̀] [gò sūʔū = [Ø mié]],
[[[Art man-Pl] people] Dat] [Infin catch.Base [Art 1Pl]]
A: ‘The men’s (=groom’s) family didn’t have the right to catch (=marry) us.’
<< dɔ̃-rɔ̀>>
Text 2019-10

(05:03) kō—ō bā kō = [Ø jī] = ni],
Infín—3Pl if kill.Base [[Art fetish] Loc],
dō bē-kēʔē tē, dō dē-lēʔō—
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 bē-kēʔē tē barely audible]

(05:06) ë dē-lēʔō, ò bā rā-tārā [tō tārāʔō nī]
Art health, 3Pl if go.Base-sit.Base [[PIRef 3Pl marry] in]
[ë dē] kō lō,
[Art body] Infín be.cool.Base,
A: ‘Good health. When they go and get married, the body is cooled (=healthy).’

(05:09) [ō nāmā] kō bē [kō = [ō dā-rō]],
[3Pl talk(n)] be harmonize.Base [with [3Pl man-Pl]],
A: ‘Their (=women’s) words are in harmony with their husbands.’
[< /kā ō dā-rō]/

[pause]

(05:15) jī bē bā klē-kō,
if Dem.Def if be.done.Base-finish.Base,
[ē dō bāʔō] mà dā [bō yō nī] tāʔā
[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-lo [Ø klā-lo-nī] kā,
3Pl if have.fun.Base [Art have.fun.Base-VblN] finish.Base,
[ē yō] mà-nā kāʔō-klū [kā = [Ø dō bāʔō]],
[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 dō tōʔō]],
must [3AnSg and [3AnSg man Foc],
[fō [kā = [Ø jīʔē-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 [ē jīʔē dē] bā lēn-sō
if [Art God however] if take.away.Base
[[tārāʔō dō] tārāʔō],
[[Rel Poss.Inan] marry],
A: ‘However, if God has taken away someone’s marriage (=spouse),’
[possession relative (§14.2.3)]
(05:29) bó kō sàrò [kò yǐ̀ʔí] 3AnSg Infin proceed.Base [Infin go.Base] [kō rà-tàrã" [[Ø dō bà"nà" bàʔà]], [Infin go.Base-sit.Base [[Art man other] chez]],
A: ‘She then goes and settles at another man’s place.’

(05:33) jí bè á klè fíó, if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done at.all, [mó kòni] [kà = [Ø dō bà"nà"]] [2Sg Top] [with [Art man other]]
A: ‘If that isn’t done at all, you and another man,’ /fíó variant of fò́̀ (negative exclamation)/

A: ‘You-Pl don’t get together. Our great prohibition is that.’
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 ñà commencer
1Pl if say.Base Fut
[è [wèⁿ-tè]-tɔ̀ʔɔ̀ nì].
[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 tɔ̀ʔɔ̀],
1Pl Infin sweep.Base [Art place],
[kò láⁿ = [Ø tè-tèʔè], kò jùʔɔ̀,
[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) [kò sāⁿ-gbē [Ø dìⁿʔɔ̀] [kò wè] —,
[Infin gather.up.Base [Art firewood] [Infin put.in.Base] —,
[kò sāⁿ-gbē [Ø dìⁿʔɔ̀] [kò wè],
[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,
[ó gò fèⁿ-wē = nì,
[1Pl Infin stir.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When the pot begins to boil, we stir it in.’
/klò/kò/kū ‘(water) start to boil, become agitated’, distinct from kpà/kò/kū ‘finish’; fèⁿ ‘stir by rotating a vertically held stirring stick’ (used like an old-fashioned egg-beater)]
(00:29) [kọ̀ fëⁿ-wē'] = nì kà [Ø mëⁿòⁿ'],
[Infin stir.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj [with [Art flour]],
[kọ̀ tëⁿ = [Ø càrű]],
[Infin knead.Base [Art tô]],
A: ‘(We) stir in some flour, and knead the tô.’
Infin

(00:32) [cè càrũ] bà tëⁿ-kộ,
[Art tô] if be.kneaded.Base-finish.Base,
ò gô gbê = [Ø kàtëⁿèⁿ'], kò nûá' = nì,
1Pl Infิน get.Base [Art basket], Infìn scoop.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘When the tô has been kneaded (=cooked), we get a small basket and scoop it
(ᵗô) into the basket.’

(00:36) ò nûⁿ = [Ø cù-pûs], [kò nûⁿ],
Infin crumble.Base [Art porridge], [Infin drink.Base],
kò nûⁿ = [Ø cù-pûs]
Infin crumble.Base [Art porridge]
[kò sû? = [šò dà-rĕš], ò gô nûⁿ',
[Infin give.Base [Dat man-Pl]], 3Pl Infìn drink.Base,
A: ‘We crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and drink it). (brief interruption)
(We) crumble up (leftover tô) into porridge, and give it to the men. Then they drink.’
[leftover tô is crumbled up and water is added to make porridge]

(00:48) ò gô sôr̥ [gô láⁿ [bê wà-r̥],
1Pl Infìn proceed.Base [Infin wash.Base [Dem. Def thing.Pl],
kò té-sùʔ̬̃
Infin put.down.Base-give.Base
kô gbê [Ø dië-târ̥-tè] [kô jùʔ̬̃],
Infin take.Base [Art sauce-cook.sauce.Pfv-pot] [Infin put.on.Base],
A: ‘We then proceed to wash those things. We put them away, and get the sauce
pot and put it up (on the fire).’
[wà-rē dialectal for ò-rē ‘things’, -tē as compound final reduced from tô-tēʔè
‘pot’, for verb târ̥ see the next segment]

(00:52) kô gbê [Ø kànâⁿtâ'],
Infin take.Base [Art cowpea.greens],
kô wē [Ø tê-tēʔè nû] [nô tô],
Infin put.in.Base [[Art pot] Loc] [Infin sauce.be.cooked.Base],
A: ‘Then (we) take some cowpea greens, and put them in the pot to be cooked
(boiled).’
[târ̥ tô/tô ~ tô ‘cook (sauce)’, distinct from tôⁿ/tôⁿ/tôⁿ ‘knead (and cook) ( tô)’]
(00:59)  
[kọwē] [Ø gbi“ri”] [à ní],  
[Infin put.in.Base [Art peanut] [3Inan Loc]],  
[Ø mà á-wē] [Ø gbi“ri”] [à ní],  
[2Sg if go.Base-put.in.Base [Art peanut] [3Inan Loc]],  
A: ‘(We) add some peanut (paste) to it. When you-Sg have gone and added some peanut (paste) to it,’

(01:02)  
[ŋ̀ gò tô] = ní = [Ø cù-cù],  
[2Sg Infin cook.sauce.Base 3InanObj [Art simple.sauce],  
[ē à-bò-re’o á-ré], kò dí,  
[Art leaf-Pl thing-Pl], Infin eat.Base,  
A: ‘We cook it (without peanut paste) into simple sauce, some leaf things, then (we) eat.’  
[cù-cù ‘simple sauce (from cowpea or roselle greens plus spices) without peanut paste’]  

(01:08)  
ŋ̀ mà— [mọ”sọ” bè], sà”dè mọ” mà rè  
2Sg if— [flour Top.Inan], when 2Sg if say.Pfv  
mà à” tò” = [Ø càrú] bè mà→,  
[2Sg Fut knead.Base [Art tô]] Dem.Def concerning,  
[ē mọ”sọ” bá =] à-bí mè-gà tà”→  
B: ‘If you—, the flour, concerning when you say you will (=when you decide to) knead the tô,  
[sà”dè < Jula; mè-kà ‘how?’; tà”→ a dialectal add-on to ‘how?’]  

(01:13)  
ō kò pló = ní,  
1Pl Infin pound.Base 3InanObj  
ō kò pló = [Ø mọ”sọ”],  
1Pl Infin pound.Base [Art flour],  
kò sàrò [kò jà?á],  
Infin proceed.Base [Infin sift.Base],  
A: ‘We pound it (in a mortar). We pound the flour, then we sift (it).’

(01:20)  
[ège] è di” mó”  
[which? Art kind Top]  
[è sùā”klàʔà] ou bien  
[Art maize] of  
B: ‘What kind (of flour)? Maize or …?’  
[sùmá-klàʔà]
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?’

B: ‘If sauce cannot be cooked.’

A: ‘Then we get it and cook sauces. Then (we women) proceed to get tô to eat.’

[purposive - tô?ò ní (§17.6.2.5)]
cètá-kènè-yè, [à bié] gö [Ô diè] tê→
(mystery sauce), [3IñaSg all] be [Art sauce] Emph
A: ‘cètá-kènè-yè (mystery sauce), all of them were sauces.’

mùsòkà’ätì-bì’ìnè
Art [sweet.potato]-leaf
B: ‘cètá-kènè-yè (mystery sauce), “men don’t see it uncooked,” sweet-potato greens.’

< má nè á/; ‘men don’t see it uncooked’ is the Tiefo-D translation of Jula cètá-kènè-yè; 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.

mùsòkà’ätì-bì’ìnè
[ë gbì’ìnè-bì’ò’ìè],
[Art peanut-leaf],
A: ‘Sweet potato greens, chili pepper greens, peanut greens.’

mùsòkà’ätì-bì’ìnè
[ë gbì’ìnè-bì’ò’ìè],
[Art peanut-leaf],
A: ‘Sweet potato greens, chili pepper greens, peanut greens.’
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

[note: text 2019-12 was defective and was not transcribed]

(00:01) d = [ē yō jī tō?ō] tá à-mā mā→, [ŋ nā"-bf],
Quot [Art woman Indef Foc] Past be.Loc concerning, [3AnSg cowife],
[ŋ yō-yō] wâ sū?ā = [ŋ nā"-bf],
[3AnSg cowife] Past come.Base-give.Base [3AnSgRefl child],
A: ‘There was a woman there. Her co-wife, her co-wife had given her (own) child (to her).’

(one woman had inherited the daughter of a co-wife; wâ variant of past kâ)

(00:10) d = ò yi?ī, [kō dī-glō—
wē" [ē sū"ān"],
burn.Base] [Art ashes]
A: ‘(She) said to go take out—burn some ashes.’

(00:14) [ē yō-yō nā"-bf] yi?ē [kā = [Ø yō-yō dīgā?ā]]
[ē sū"ā-nā"-tō?ā] nī],
[Art ashes-burn.Pfv-place] Loc],
A: ‘The co-wife’s child went with the other co-wife, to the ashes burning place.’
[co-wives (both married to the same man) are proverbially protective of their own children and callous toward those of the other woman; njē" Pfv of wē" ‘burn’; can also be translated ‘went ... in order to burn ashes’]

(00:20) ū yō [Ø á-dā")
3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base] [time Rel],
[ē yē-yē-rē-nī] nī]
3AnSg Infín practice.Base [Art cowifehood] Loc]
A: ‘When he had gone and arrived, she practiced co-wifehood (on him).
[contracted < /yō rē k(ō) á-dā")/; tē?ē/tā?ā/tā?ā [X nī] ‘be engaged/absorbed in (doing X); co-wives are notoriously protective of their own children and oppressive toward those of another co-wife]"
Infin roast.Base [[Art cowife] child]

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-yō] náⁿ-bī] 3AnSg if drain.Base 3InanObj, [[Art cowife] child]
kō commencer, k-ā wō [Ø dār’imfō],

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 tī nó 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg

[nó sè] má-nà dí = nì,

[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘If they cook me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

[< /nó sè; prohibitive má-nà (§10.4.1.2.2)]

(00:38) ³ⁿ mà tī nó 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg

[nó nì] má-nà 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 tī nó 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg

[nó sè] má-nà 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!’
(00:45) ³ⁿ mà tá nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó ni] má-nà dí =nì,
[1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(00:48) ³ⁿ mà tá nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó sè] má-nà dí =nì,
[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) ná-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tá,
mother mother mother
A: ‘Oh mother!’

[the child calls to his mother in Jula songwords]

(01:01) ³ⁿ mà tá nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó sè] má-nà dí =nì,
[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

[prohibitive má-nà (§10.4.1.2.2)]

(01:04) ³ⁿ mà tá nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó ni] má-nà dí =nì,
[1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(01:07) ³ⁿ mà tá nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó sè] má-nà dí =nì,
[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

(01:09) n á-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tá,
mother mother mother
A: ‘Oh mother!’
(01:12) 3Sg mà tó nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó ní] mà-nà dí = ní,
[1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(01:15) 3Sg mà tó nó
3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
[nó sè] mà-nà dí = ní,
[1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

[pause]

[a riddle]
(01:29) est-ce que [è nò jò-rò] wò [yòñ ní] Q
[[è nò-pùù-tò?i] ní, [ò lò-rì bìè] kò kë̄n-kë̄n,
B: ‘Some cows are going to the drinking place, all their horns are bent.’

(01:35) ò bà kò [bà ní] [Ò lè]
3Pl if be [come.Prog Prog] [Art village]
[ò lò-rì bìè] kò sèrò-sèrò
[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 kò-kò [è dù-è?è]
Dem.Def be [Art small.waterjar]
A: ‘That’s a small waterjar.’
[optional doubling of kò ‘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) òj nò [Ò bì-sìò jò-rò jàrì] [[è klòòò] ní],
[1Sg see.Pfv [Art child.Pl Indef-AnPl small.Pl] [Art road] Loc],
[[è dòòò] dèn] òj gà = à-pì
[[Art afternoon] arrive.Pfv] 1Sg Infin come.Base-see.Base
[[ò bìè] kò wàìì]
[[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.’

[because it doesn’t walk in a straight line]

B: ‘That’s a walking stick.’

[garment made of leaves formerly worn by women]

A: ‘Some villagers are there. All of them are pregnant in the leg.’

B: ‘That is maize.’

[because maize spikes (corn cobs) grow on the sides of the stalk; ‘maize’ dialectally also súmá-klàʔà ~ sámá-klàʔà]
[pause, laughter]

[a riddle]
(02:20) [ê úⁿ-yúó jã-rõ] à-mã,
[Art village-people Indef-AnPl] be.Loc,
[ê têⁿ] mà klê,
[Art daybreak] if day.break.Base,
[ô bíê] gô lô = [Ø gbâflâ?à fîêⁿ]
[3Pl all] Infìn turn.Base [Art hat red]
A: ‘Some villagers are there. When day breaks, all of them turn into red hats.’

[answer]
(02:24) bè, [ê súáⁿ-klâ?à, [súáⁿ-klâ?à]-[náⁿ-bô-rõ]
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]

[pause]

A and B (overlapping)
(02:38) [ê dôrâ?á] à-mã = dê?
[Art tale] be.Loc Emph
[ā fañâ] gbâ-sô [ê blêjô-rê-ní tê] 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) jí-áⁿ-bê = [Ø dôrâ?á] a kêⁿ bè
otherwise [Art tale] Ipfv be.many.Ipfv Dem.Def
A: ‘Anyway, there are many tales (thus).’
[variant of jí-má-bê (§19.1.3)]

[pause]
(02:50) [â klê-lô-sû?ô [nô tô?ô] bâ?à]
B: [3Inan do.Pfv-turn.Base-give.Base [[1Sg Foc] Dat]
‘It (=microphone) has turned to me [focus].’

(02:55) [ê jî bê =] [[Ø sôbê] nî]
[Art Indef Top.Innan] [[Art truth] Loc]
[ê lîⁿ-fû?â] [à bíê] pâyámi-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."
[song] (03:22) [è wúú] kùò-k3 [Ø mié]
[ó dé] má c5?5 = [Ø wúú] tàʔà
[1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] again
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but we don’t fear death any more.’

[aside to B] (03:26) mó gò kàʔà-spacing-ji = nì
2Sg Hort reply.Ipfv 3InanObj
A: ‘You should accompany it (as respondent).’

[A sings, with B repeating softly, through 05:03] (03:29) [è wúú] kpà = [Ø mié]
[Art death] kill.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
[ó dé] má c5?5 = [Ø wúú] kè
[1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
A: ‘Death has turned into a mat; we go into it to sleep.’
[variant of è mié]

(03:34) [è wúú] lè [Ø tàpùʔ5]
[Art death] turn.Pfv [Art mat]
[ó mié] k-à diè-à-sèn
[Art 1Pl] Infin-Ipfv enter.Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv
A: ‘Death has turned into a mat; all of us go into it.’

(03:39) [è wúú] lè [Ø dà'gò]
[Art death] turn.Pfv [Art blanket]
[ó bìé] k-à dì = [à nì]
[1Pl all] Infin-Ipfv enter.Ipfv [3Inan Loc]
A: ‘Death has turned into a blanket; all of us go into it.’

(03:43) [ó dò] mà c5?5 [è wúú] tò
kō diè [Ø sè]
Infin enter.Base [Art where?]
A: ‘We will fear death, to go into where?’

(03:49) [è wúú] kpà = [Ø mié]
[Art death] finish.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
[ó dé] má c5?5 = [Ø wúú] tàʔà
[1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] again
A: ‘Death killed us, but we don’t fear death any more.’
(03:54) [ó dó] nà c9ʔ5 [è wúú] tó
kō dīē [Ø sē]
Infin enter.Base [Art where?]
A: ‘We will fear death, to go into where?’

(03:58) [è wúú] kūô-k5 [Ø mié]
dó má c9ʔ5 [è wúú] tāʔa
however IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] again
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death any more.’
[for [ó dó]]

(04:03) nó wè-dé
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
nó wè-dé
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
A: ‘I am well bathed, I am well bathed.’
[i.e. excision has cleansed me; the final in wè-dé ‘bathe well, be well-bathed’ is an assimilated variant of -dé as in dī-dē ‘eat well, be full (after eating)’ (§15.1.2.3)]

(04:08) nó dè mā= [[Ø dúʔú] t5”]
1Sg IpfvPast be.Loc [[Art forest] under]
[nó t5”] yīè rē→
[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 jū-ē-glú mlēn
(songword) 1Sg escape.Pfv thus
nó …
1Sg [unintelligible]
A: ‘I have survived (=am all right) like that, …’

(04:18) ō yfî-náʔā [nó sē]
Imprt.Pl go.Base-inform.Base [1Sg father]
dē nó jū-ē-glú
Quot 1Sg escape.Pfv
A: ‘You-Pl go inform my father that I have survived (=am all right).’
[< /náʔā/ ‘inform’, Bi dialect nāʔā]/

(04:22) 3AnSg Ipfv enter.Ipfv-Ipfv-eat.Ipfv thus
nó wè-dé
1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
A: ‘She (=girl) goes in to eat. I am well bathed.’
(04:28) ó bà tó [Ø dòⁿʔ国民党] mléⁿ,
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 bà ná= [Ø còrú]
[1Sg father] 3Pl if crumble.Base [Art tò]
nó nà sō-nǐ
1Sg Fut receive.Base-drink.Base
A: ‘My father, if they crumble (=cook) tò, I will take and drink (it).’
[lumps are broken up during cooking of tò]

(04:35) [nó nǐ] ó bà ná= [Ø còrú]
[1Sg mother] 3Pl if crumble.Base [Art tò]
nó nà sō-nǐ
1Sg Fut receive.Base-drink.Base
A: ‘My mother, if they crumble (=cook) tò, I will take and drink (it).’

(04:40) [[ē kpèʔè-kàʔà] náⁿ-bí]
[[Art pauper] child]
má tòràⁿ'= [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 bákpiʔì] náⁿ-bí]
1Sg say.Pfv [[Art pauper] child]
má tòràⁿ'= [Ø dié] tàʔà
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] kùò-k5 [Ø mié]
[é dó] má còʔɔ̄ [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] kùò-k5 [Ø mié]
dó má còʔɔ̄ [è wúú] kè
however IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death at all.’
A: ‘I am well bathed, I am well bathed.’

A: ‘I have survived (=am all right) thus, (I) go in to eat.’

A: ‘I am well-bathed indeed, I go in to eat.’

A: ‘Let’s leave it there.’
Text 2021-01  History #1

duration: 01:06
Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), monologue with some prompts from Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan quartier)

(00:05) ẽ cɔ̀fɔ́, ṣ' 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 yì-à/; 2Sg (reflexive) possessor suffix (§4.3.1.2)]

(00:08) [nó yíé] dè, Couibaly kétèklú 1Sg name Quot, C K [è cɔ̀fɔ́], ṣ' glɔ̀, [è nùmùdárál], [Art Tiefo], (nasal) exit(v).Pfv, [Art N], ‘My name is Coulibaly Keteklu. Tiefo, it (=they) came from Numudara (village).’

(00:16) [è mlà"òá] gō bà-bà, [Art war] Infin Rdp-come.Base, ò kò yíʔi-ʃiʔi [kò mi-jàʔa], 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— è-yùò kò yíʔi [kò glú— [è bàndųgǔ]], Infin— 1Pl Infin go.Base [Infin exit.Base— [Art B], ò tèrè° [bè tɔʔa], 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; glú followed by a place name usually means ‘exit (from), leave’, so an emendation to dë ‘enter’ is suggested]
‘And (we) spent a long time there. Then (we) proceeded to come and settle in Tiefora.’

[in kō ə́ bā- may be the highlighting ‘come and’ compound initial, followed by true ‘come’ in its lexical sense; Tiefora is a large town south of Daramandugu on the main east-west road from Banfora to Sideradugu and Gaoua]

‘So Tiefora, then (we) left Tiefora, to come and settle in Sancuo. [sā"cūō-lē is a small settlement in the Biton area]

‘They said, the chief must not (be connected) with that place.’

(Said) they (the Tiefo) should come farther (in this direction). Then they came farther and settled here at the edge of the pond.’

‘Which is called, Daramandougou, Daramandougou. So they came and settled there.’

[Infin-Ø may be the highlighting ‘come and’ compound initial, followed by true ‘come’ in its lexical sense; Tiefora is a large town south of Daramandugu on the main east-west road from Banfora to Sideradugu and Gaoua]
'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.'
Text 2021-02 History #2

duration: 03:30
Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan quartier), in the presence of Coulibaly Jean Bakari

(00:02)  *donc, [è còfɔ́-fɛ̀ tɛ̀ [n dëⁿ˘ëⁿ]]—*
sô, [Art Tiefo-language Foc.Inan [Sg one]]—
fɛ̀-dɔ̀-nî = 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 wồ dồ-wẽ = nî, well, Quot Infin speak.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj,*
[è úⁿ] bà-kà,
[Art village] come.Pfv-manner,
‘Well, to describe it, how the village (population) came,’

(00:15)  *donc, [nô jɔ̀rõⁿ] nà dồ mîⁿ*
sô, [1Sg Rel] Fut say.Base thus
[nô yîč] dè, wàtɔ̀rá mîdësëⁿ, Jean-Pierre,
[1Sg name] Quot, O M, JP
‘So, I who will speak (thus), my name is Ouatara Midesen, Jean-Pierre.’
*[variant minësëⁿ]*

(00:21)  *donc, comme [[è úⁿ-di] dè—*
sô, as [[Art village-chief] say.Pfv—
ì dè] sinhâ nî,
(nasal) say.Pfv] situation] Loc
‘So, as the chief said,’
*[refers to 2021-01]*

(00:27)  *[[è còfɔ́-ùⁿ]—*
[Art Tiefo-village]—
[[[è còfɔ́-ùⁿ] bà] sinhâ nî,
[[[Art Tiefo-village] come.Pfv situation] Loc,
[[[è còfɔ́-ùⁿ] bà] sinhâ nî,
[[[Art Tiefo-village] come.Pfv situation] Loc r,
‘The way the Tiefo village came,’
parce que, "dà-ró [njùò sè]—
because, Art man-Pl [person (mispronounced)]—
"dà-ró [njùò sè]—
Art man-Pl [person (mispronounced)]—
ê dà-ró [njùò sá"], kà = [Ø yò—]
Art man-Pl [people three], with [Art woman—]
kà = [Ø yò [n de"?é"]].
with [Art woman [Sg one]],

‘Because, three men, and a woman—, and one woman’

[some false starts in this segment; njùò as human classifier (variant of yò) in Ji dialect before numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’, dropped to njùò before H-toned sá’ (§4.6.1.2)]

ő glò, ő glò bá"dùgù,
3Pl exit(v).Pfv, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv B,
[[kà-tó 3n dë] sǐná] ní,
[[manner 3AnSg say.Pfv] situation] Loc,

‘They left Bandugu, the way he said.’

[é dà-ró [njùò sá"] kà-yùò] ní,
[Art man-Pl [people three] Dem.AnPl] Loc,
e→, jà-ró gë?ë-bà fà"?ë,
eh, Rel-AnPl be.first.Pfv-come.Base here,

‘Among those three men, ah, the ones who were first to come here,’

[word-order Art-N-Num-Dem (§6.1.1)]

kò klè ká è û"— è û"—
Infin do.Base like (hesitations)
è û"-yúò, [é dàràmá"dùgù û"-di"].
Art village-people, [Art D village-chief],

‘They acted as notables (=leaders), the Daramandugu chief(s).’

donc, bó Coulibaly minésë", wàlà→,
so, 3AnSg C M, voilà
jì kò dà"?ë", Coulibaly minésë", Coulibaly kòfè,
if Infin be.added.Base, C M, C K,

‘So, he (was) Coulibaly Minesen. To come next, (after) Coulibaly Minesen, (was) Coulibaly Kofe.’

[Coulibaly is the surname associated with the chiefly clan]

donc, [é yò [n de"?é"] à-mà [ò ní],
so, [Art woman [Sg woman] be.Loc [3Pl Loc],

‘(and) Coulibaly Dobla. So, one woman was among them.’
‘That woman’s name was Coulibaly Nyini-Kakaa.
/bó functioning as animate singular discourse-definite preceding a noun, like inanimate bè (§6.5.3)

‘So, among those three men, precisely their younger sibling (=sister) was that woman.’

[L-toned -jùò (§6.2.4.3)]

‘There you are. That [focus] is why they (=the three men) went together with her [focus].’

[bè té] já (§8.1.3); tè-tè is a compound (base stem tó-të) of two distinct verbs, not an iteration of the same verb

‘She [focus] was the woman among them, among the three of them.’

[kà past marker (§10.3.1.1); < /ò ñùò sâ³/; numeral with pronominal “possessor” (§4.6.1.2)]

‘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, "so, 3Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place], [ē dā-ró [núd sáⁿ]] [ē yô] nī [Art man-Pl [people three]] [Art woman] Loc

'So, they settled at that place. Between the three men (and) the woman, [emended from: [ē yà-ró nùd sáⁿ]]/"

'None of them (could)—, they (could) not marry—, they could not acquire her in marriage.'

[ji-jí 'not any, none (of)'; speaker rephrases to avoid Jula borrowing fārū]

'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 dēⁿ?ēⁿ 'one', cf. [n dēⁿ?ēⁿ] as modifying numeral]

'So, this is how it originated.'

[</sū?ō-kā/]

'So, the (chief)—, if you see, the chief, anyway as they said,'
(02:13) [ò kā = à-tārāⁿ, [ē sàⁿcūⁿ-lē], ō dē
[[Ø ūⁿ-dīⁿ]] má kāⁿ gō, ṣē tārāⁿ, [[è kī] nī],
[[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 kāⁿ gō bā,
3AnSg must Infin come.Base.
òⁿ mā tārāⁿ = [[Ø kī] nī],
3AnSg Proh sit.Base [[Art side] Loc],
‘They (=Tiefo) must come here, they must not settle on the side.’

(02:22) ē mlāⁿ-rā— [[ē mlāⁿ-rā] mā bā]
Art war— [[Art war] if come.Base]
[mā à-gāⁿ-rā] [mā tūⁿ [bō nī]],
[if come.Base-be.first.Base [if attack.Base [3AnSg Loc]],
‘In case a war party came, and attacked him (=chief) first,’

(02:27) [è ná-bī-o jārō = ] Ø-mā = [Ø sécūʔō] lō,
[Art person-Pl Rel.AnPl] be.Loc [Art middle] after,
à má kpē,
3Inan IpfvNeg be.good.Pfv,
‘The people who are in the center (of the village), it won’t be good (for them).’
[sécūʔō variant of sécūʔō; clause-final lō (§15.3.5.6); future negative (§10.2.5.4)]

(02:31) [bē té] já [ò kò jā = [[Ø ūⁿ-dīⁿ]]
ò bā [kā = à-tārāⁿ, [[è kīⁿ] nī], fāⁿ-rā—
[ē sécūʔō] fāⁿ-rā, [ē màsā-lē]],
[Art middle] here, [Art M]],
‘That [focus] is why they had the village chief come and settle on the side— (or
rather) in the middle here, in Masaso.’
[stacked causatives with jā ‘leave, let’ (§17.4.2.5.4)]

(02:37) donc, ō tārēⁿ [bē tōʔō jārōⁿ],
so, 3Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place Rel],
[ē ná-bī-o tō] ō tārēⁿ = [[Ø kō-řō] nī],
[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 moved on, the way it happened, that [focus] is how it moved on.'

'Anyway, the chief [focus], he is a land-owner. The place—'

[ends in a broken phrase]
[03:06] [[bó tóʔó] tòʔá] bè gbàʔá-fó [[ò bié] dó],
ɲl-ńí, ã kó já [bó ká = å-tórrá],
there.it.is, 3Pl Inf. leave.Base [3AnSg Inf. 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).’

/ťóʔá-fó adjective comparative (§12.1.1); dó default inanimate possessum
(§6.2.4.1)/

[03:09] comme [Ø mlà"ʔá"] mā bà,
as [Art war] if come.Base,
sâ"-tīč = [Ø mlà"ʔá"] mà— tâ"ʔá" [Ø bí-ńjō]—
when [Art war] if— begin.Base [Art child.Pl]—
[[è ñc-yúú] nǐ],
[[Art village-people] Loc],
‘Like, if a war comes, whenever a war begins among young people—among the
villagers,’

/sâ"-tīč < Jula (§15.3.5.8), also at (03:18) just below/

[03:14] [è ñc-di"] kó pē" fâ"ʔá, è secúʔò,
[Art village-chief] Inf. stay.Base here, Art middle,
k-à lól-ó, k-à lól-ó,
Infin Rd-p-turn(Ipfv), Inf. Rd-p-turn(Ipfv)
‘The chief stays here, in the center, and keeps moving around (organizing the
fighting).’

[03:18] yânì fâ"ʔá" [sâ"-tīč [Ø mlà"ʔá"] mā dá"]
so here [when [Art war] if arrive.Pfv]
[bó yìʔè-ńjì] [kà = [5" mlà"-bî-ńj]],
[3AnSg get.up.Pfv [with [3AnSgRef] war-child-Pl]],
‘So here, whenever the fighting starts, he (will) get up with his warriors.’

/yânì < Jula/

[03:22] kò wâʔá-tó"n, donc, Ø mà nì =
Infin shut.Base, so, 2Sg if see.Base
[[Ø ñc-di"] târè-ńjà] [[è kí] nì]
fâ"ʔá" [è secúʔò]
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 sūʔō-mlëⁿ tē] ni, 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)  [è cɔfɔ kɔnɪ],  *depuis*  ò mlɛn-jâʔâ  [Ø nùmùnðórá],
[Art Tiefo Top],  *since*  3Pl  disperse.Pfv  [Art N],
è-yùò  kâ  =  à-tɔrân  fãnân,  è  dɔrânðâðuðu,
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)  [è mlànɔn  bó  kɔnɪ]  á  diɛ-pɔŋ  =?',
[Art war  Top  Top],  PfvNeg  enter.Base-be.able.Base  Neg,
[è-yùò  bãʔâ]  [[[è  jùʔɛ]  [kã  [Ø  ná-di-ɔ]  bɔrâkâ]  ni],
[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.’
/bɔrâkâ  ‘spiritual power’ < Jula (< Arabic)/

(00:14)  parce que  [è lɛn-tɔʔâ  tɛ =]  Ó-mâ  [ò  bãʔâ],
because  [Art  stand.Pfv-place  Foc.Inan]  be.Loc  [1Pl  chez],
àlè  ò  bà  jùʔ5  =nî,
even  3Pl  if  hear.Base  3InanObj,
‘Because there is a sacred place among us. If they hear about it (=war),’
/lɛn-tɔʔâ  ‘stand-place’ denotes a secret location with ritual objects/

(00:17)  [è wún],  ò  yè-ló-bãʔâ  [è wún  cãmå],
[Art  village],  3Pl  go.around.Pfv  [Art  village  many],
d=  ò  ná  diɛ,
Quot  3Pl  Fut  enter.Base,
‘The village, they (=enemies) have gone around to several villages, they are about
to come in.’
/wún  dialectal for ūn  ‘village’; ‘several villages’, e.g. Numudara and Toussiana;
cãmå  ‘many’ < Jula, cf. Tiefo-D kɔrè'nðå]/

(00:23)  [[è lɛn-tɔʔâ  bɛ  kɔnɪ]  à  gbãʔâ]
[[Art stand.Pfv-place  Top.Inan  Top]  Ipfv  be.big.Ipfv]
[è mlànɔn  á]  diɛ-pɔŋ  mâ,
[Art  war]  PfvNeg  enter.Base-be.able.Base  there.Def,
‘As for the sacred place, it is great (=powerful). War (parties) cannot enter there.’
fō kā = à-té = nì [kù”ʔú” nì],
until Infín come.Base-put.Base 31nanObj [today Loc],
[ō dìʔè = nì [Ô nā-tò té] nì],
[1Pl hear.Pfv 31nanObj [[Art ear Foc.Inan] Loc],
‘Right down to the present, we have heard in (=with) (our) ears [focus],’

d = [ē mlâ”ʔà”-bì-ô] fiē fâ”ʔà fīē fā”ʔà, mais
Quot [Art war-child-Pl] pass.Pfv here pass.Pfv here, but
[[ē jūʔè] [kà [ē-yǜ̀ nā-di-ã] lēº-tôʔà] bôráká kòñì],
[[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,’

ē-yùò— [ē mlâ”ʔà”] á dĩé mā,
1Pl [Art war] PfvNeg enter there.Def,
[ō kòñì] bà-jûʔà járg”ñ = [Ô nā-di-ã] bàʔà kòñì,
‘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 tòʔô kòñì] kò yá,
[Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.InanSg,
[ō wùº-ði-ô-ní] k-à klè [ō nà-mù [n dě”ʔè”]],
[3Pl village-chiefl Infín-lpfv do.lpfv [PIRefl talk(n) [Sg one],
[ō dè-čè] [n dèºʔè”],
[PIRefl talk(n)] [Sg one],
‘That is it. The village chiefs unify their talk, unify their words,’

[‘synonyms for ‘talk (n), words’]

[ō dè-čè kòñì] ô k-à klè = nì [n dèºʔè”],
[3Pl talk(n) Top] 3Pl Infín-lpfv do.lpfv 31nanObj [Sg one],
ā klè-čà, [ē kè cármã] ʒìè-ðà = wò,
31nan 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).’

/cámã < Jula; ʒìè-ðà = yìè-ðà/

donc [bè tòʔô bè kòñì] à-mā mā,
so [Dem.Def Foc Top.Inan Top] be.Loc there.Def,
kō dō, [ē wùº-ði” jàrò fâr”ñ] târ”ñ
‘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,
[kò [kàⁿ-jëⁿ]-dàrò] 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)]

[bè toñò bè kònì] à-mà mà,
so [Dem.Def Foc Top.Inan Top] be.Loc there.Def,
ó diëʔë jòrëⁿ [Ø nà-dì-å] 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 toñò kònì] kò yá, dè màsā-lë, M
[Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.Inan.Sg, Quot M,
màsā-lë kònì, jòrëⁿ gèʔè-diē, [bè toñò],
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 wúⁿ-dìⁿ [yúó [kàⁿ-dí]-dàrò tò-rò] fiē,
[Art village-chief [people [six]-Ord Foc-An.Pl] pass.Pfv,
[ò [kàⁿ-jëⁿ]-dàrò] 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 tò-rò]
**Abbreviations and symbols**

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<td>adpositional phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ppl</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prsntv</td>
<td>presentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prog</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations and symbols

Proh prohibitive
Q question
Recip reciprocal
Refl reflexive
Rel relative-clause marker
S subject (in “SVO”)
Sbjn subjunctive
Sg singular
TAMP tense, aspect, mood, polarity
Top topic
V verb (in “SVO”)
v vowel (in CvCv, etc.)
Vb1 initial verb (in verb-verb compounds)
Vb2 final verb (in verb-verb compounds)
Vb verb
VblN verbal noun
W Winkelman

symbols
= clitic boundary or phonological liaison
& and
# ungrammatical
* reconstructed
→ in transcriptions: prolongation

tone diacritics
[
ún high tone
v́ low tone
v̀ mid tone
v́ rising tone (<LH>)
ě́ falling tone (<HL>)
ě́ rising tone (<LM>) due to contraction at boundaries
ě̀ falling tone (<ML>) due to contraction at boundaries
ě́ falling tone (<HM>) due to contraction at boundaries
ě́ rising-falling tone (<LHL>) due to contraction at boundaries
ě́ falling-rising tone (<HLH>) due to contraction at boundaries

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 columns 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, substan[ce], 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[mal], 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 (C?v), 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 Cv syllable), 1el/gl (one Cv?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, CvCVvCv. 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 abstr[active], agent[ive] (V-nə or N-V-nə), bahuv[rihi], dimin[utive], n+adj (noun plus adjective, either modifying or compounded), n+num (noun plus numeral), ppl (animate participle -kəʔə), 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/o (final a→o), o/o (final unasalized o→o), u/i (final u→i), denas[alization], NI (-n suffix), O (suffix -o~o), R (rhotic plural), and R-NI (rhotic plus -n 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~ē 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.
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 imperfective 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 ô (‘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 LLH 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. Ciʔɛ and Ciɛ) 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. ε versus ɔ or e versus o (keeping ATR value constant). If base and Ipfv also differ, this is indicated by codings like ɔ/o or ɔ/u in the B/I voc column. For verbs that do not change vowel quality among the three different stems, these columns are blank.
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/f, 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 o} 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 indefinite, 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.