# Pere Text Transcriptions and Translations

This document contains grammatical information and translations of the 10 recordings contained in “Pere language lexical datasheets and audio files”, a data set hosted in the University of Michigan’s Deep Blue Data repository: <https://doi.org/10.7302/k6r9-r160>

Please see “Heath, Jeffrey, & Tioté, Brahima. (2019). A grammar of Pere (Bere, Mbre) of Côte d'Ivoire. Zenodo. <http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3346581>, or <https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/handle/2027.42/163773> for additional information about the grammar of the Pere language.

## 2018-01 “Hyena and hare (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Koko, former hunter (born c. 1960)

(00:02) jélɔ̀gɔ̀, fə́rⁿɛ́ⁿ-tīnī-yⁿà,

hyena, hunger-time-Abs,

fə́rⁿ-â lá wɔ̄ [[tīnī-yⁿà tí] lɔ̀],

hunger-Abs RemPast be [[time-Abs some] Loc],

‘Hyena. A time of famine. There was hunger (=famine) in a certain period of time.’

*[remote past, §11.5.2; indefinite tí, §4.3.3, §6.7.3]*

(00:07) jélɔ̄gɔ̄ nī bèèsì, jélɔ̀gɔ̀ fó→,

hyena and hare, hyena go.Pfv,

bèèsì fó pín-dè, [à fó [nāŋā-à yí]]

hare go.Pfv lie.down.Purp, [3Sg go.Pfv [road-Abs in.front.of]]

‘Hyena, hare. Hyena went. Hare went to lie down (go to bed). He went on the road.’

*[purposive verb with bitonal (here H.L) form after motion verb, §16.4.1.2; postposition* yí, *§8.4.5.1]*

(00:13) à fó pín-dè [nāŋā-à yí],

3Sg go.Pfv lie.down.Purp [road-Abs in.front.of],

gbāā-kɔ̄-mwⁿ-ā bē yà lɔ́,

meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl come.Ipfv there,

‘He went to lie down on the road. Some food owners (people carrying food for their children) were coming there.’

*[‘owner’ compound, §5.1.6; here an optional resumptive 3Pl subject pronoun after plural ‘owners’ compound, as also @ 00:19 and 00:41]*

(00:17) à dyé, ā tɛ̀ní [jēsī-yà lé]

3Sg arrive.Pfv, 3Sg tie.Pfv [rope-Abs Foc]

[nāŋā-à yí]

[road-Abs in.front.of]

‘He arrived (at the road). He tied a rope on (=across) the road.

*[<* jèsí-yà *~* jèʃy-â *; focus lé in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(00:19) nī gbāā-kɔ̄-mwⁿ-ā bè yáà dyé,

if meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv,

[bé ní] fáⁿ [nī [jèsí-yà yī]]]

[3Pl Dem] gather.Pfv [with [rope-Abs Dem.Def]]]

[bē fō pə̀ré],

[3Pl go.Ipfv fall.Purp],

‘When the food owners came and arrived, those ones came into contact with that rope, they would go and fall down (=be tripped).’

*[*nì*’if/when’, §15.1.1;* yáà *‘came and’, §16.3.1.2;* bé ní *‘those ones’, §4.3.1.2; demonstrative* yì*,§4.3.1.3;* pə̀ré *bitonal (here L.H) verb after motion verb, §16.4.1.2]*

(00:22) [bè pə́ré] [gbā-à wíí lè],

[3Pl fall.Pfv] [meal-Abs spill.Pfv PsDat],

[yū-wà á] dɛ́ɛ́ gbā-à],

[3Sg SbjFoc] eat.Pfv meal-Abs],

‘They fell down and the food dropped out. He (=hare) ate the food.’

*[pseudo-dative, §11.1.2.2; subject focalization with* á*, §13.1.1]*

(00:26) [jélɔ̀gɔ̀ yá [[[ā ǹ] téé] sèé],

[hyena come.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] matter] know.Purp],

à lé hɛ̀ⁿ→ mwɔ̄ⁿ [ɲɛ̀nɛ́ bèèsì],

3Sg said hmm 2Sg [younger.sib hare],

[[kw= =āà lé] nì [gbə́rò gbáá-lā-ā] lè]

[[1Sg SbjFoc Foc] be [elder.sib big-Ø-Abs] be]

‘When hyena came and knew (=found out) about that one’s (=hare’s) situation, he (=hyena) said “Hmm, you, (my) younger brother hare, it’s I [focus] who am the elder brother.” ‘

*[*à ní *‘that one’, §4.3.1.2; invariant* lé *‘said’, §9.4.1;* à lé *(in* kw=āà lé*) usually object focus but here subject focus, §13.1.1;* nì *replacing* wɔ̀ *‘be’ after focalized subject, §13.1.6; meaningless augment* -lā‑ *after ‘big’, (59b); clause-final* lè *in copular ‘be’ construction, §9.3.2.1]*

(00:29) mwɔ̄ⁿ fō [gbāā dɛ̀ɛ́ [nāŋā-à yí]]

2Sg go.Ipfv [meal eat.Purp [road-Abs in.front.of]]

mī fō [ɲīmbī-yà jé lè [nāŋā-à yí]

2Sg go.Ipfv [person-Pl knock.down.Purp PsDat [road-Abs in.front.of]

mī sīī [gbàà lé] [bē nān-dē]

2Sg catch.Ipfv [meal Rel] [3Pl Poss]

[mī dī-yà],

[2Sg eat.Ipfv-3InanSgObj],

‘(Hyena:) “You-Sg [focus] (will) go to eat food on the road. You (will) go and knock people down on the road. The food of theirs that you grab, you (will) eat (it).” ’

*[2Sg independent pronoun* mwⁿɔ̀*, §4.2.1; relative* lé*, §14.1; possessive postposition* nàn‑dè*, §8.6]*

(00:33) fə́rⁿ-a᷆ wɔ̄ [kɔ̄ lɔ̀] wɔ́, fììlé wɔ́,

hunger-Abs be [1Sg Loc] here, get.up.Pfv here,

[kɔ̀ɔ̀ gbú] yā fò [níndè [nāŋā-à yí]],

[1Sg self] Fut go.Ipfv [sit.Purp [road-Abs in.front]],

‘I am hungry here. Get up here (and go away)! I myself will go and sit on the road.’

*[‘be hungry’, §9.3.8; perfective verb form* fììlé *as imperative, §11.6.1; emphatic pronoun ‘myself’, §4.2.3; future particle, §11.5.3]*

(00:37) [yū-wà á] fó [níndè [nāŋā-à yí]],

[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv [sit.Purp [road-Abs in.front]],

ǹjá, ā bàràmə̀rí [à gbɔ́ŋá-à] [nāŋā-à yí],

oh!, 3Sg put.across.Pfv [3Sg foot-Abs] [road-Abs in.front]

‘He [focus] went and sat on the road. Lo, he stuck his leg out over the road.’

(00:41) ā tūŋ [ā bɔ̄ŋā-ā] [ɲīm-bī-yà yí],

3Sg put.Pfv [3Sg foot-Abs] [person-Pl-Abs in.front.of],

gbāā-kɔ̄-mwⁿ-ā bè yáà dyé,

meal-owner-Pl-Abs 3Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv,

‘He put his leg out in front of the people. The food owners came and arrived.’

*[*tùⁿ *‘put’ →* tūŋ *before 3Sg* à *as in 3Sg object* tū-ŋà*, (289b)]*

(00:43) [[bé nì] fáⁿ [nī yī]] [bè fó pə̀ré],

[[3Pl Dem] collide.Pfv [with Dem.Def] [3Pl go.Pfv fall.Purp],

‘Those ones came into contact with that (leg), and they went and fell.’

*[<* bé ní *]*

(00:46) àyí kɛ́ɛ́ [[nìì-sí]-gbìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

oh! that [[firewood]-piece Dem]

gbɛ̀ɛ̀ [kɔ̀wú yɛ́ɛ̀],

or.else [liana.branch Dem],

‘Oh! That piece of tree (trunk), or else that liana branch, …’

*[*bɛ̀ɛ̀ *for* bádì *‘or’;* gbɛ̀ɛ̀ *‘or else’ (only textual example), §7.2.3]*

(00:49) gbèè-dúwá-a nì— n= =ōō yáà dyé]

tree-root-Abs if— if 1Pl come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv]

[wó sō [gbèè-dúú yɛ̂]] [ó pə̀rè],

[1Pl bump.Ipfv [tree-root Dem]] [1Pl fall.Ipfv],

‘(Or) exposed tree root, when we come and arrive (at it), we bump into that tree root and we fall down.’

*[*n= ōō *‘if we’<* nì wó*, (450)]*

(00:52) [fó nī] [tòŋgbw-áā kùúⁿ]

[go.Pfv 2Pl] [ax-Abs take.Purp],

bè fó [tòŋgbw-áā kùúⁿ],

3Pl go.Pfv [ax-Abs take.Purp],

‘ “You-Pl go take (=get) an ax.” They went and got an ax.’

*[plural-addressee imperative with postverbal* nì *§11.6.1]*

(00:56) bè yáà [sáá [à nə́ŋá] yí]

3Pl come.Pfv.and [cut.Pfv [3Sg possession] apart]

[bè ɲá-ŋà gbó] [ā làtó],

[3Pl hit.Pfv-3SgInanObj pow!] [3Sg run.Pfv],

‘They came and cut its (thing). They struck it, pow! He (=hyena) ran away.’

*[default possessum* nə́ŋá *and variants, §6.6.3;* yí *as VP-final particle, §11.1.1; interjection-like* gbó*, §8.10]*

(00:59) à bú [sɛ̄yⁿā-ā lɔ̀],

3Sg be.thrown.Pfv [the.bush-Abs Loc],

à kíⁿ [ánáŋá yɛ̂]

3Sg take.Pfv [like.that Dem]

‘He rushed headlong into the bush (=outback). He took (it) like that.’

(01:01) [à mándɔ̄ [ā yà yégá-à bə̀rè] wóʔ]

[3Sg consent.Pfv [3Sg come.Ipfv village.Abs still] Neg]

à fə́rɛ́ [sɛ̄yⁿā-à kíŋgē] lɔ́,

3Sg stay.Pfv [the.bush under] there,

‘He refused to go to the village again. He stayed there out in the bush.’

*[negative* wóʔ *with wide scope over ‘consent’, (513); ‘no longer, not again’, (340)]*

[pause, while speaker waits for linguist to stop recording]

(01:06) [à fə́rɛ́ [sɛ̄yⁿā-à kíŋgē] lɔ́],

[3Sg stay.Pfv [the.bush under] there],

à mándɔ̄ [ā yà yégá-ā bə̀rè] wóʔ

3Sg consent.Pfv [3Sg come.Ipfv village.Abs still] Neg

‘He stayed there out in the bush. He refused to go to the village again.’

*[*kíŋgè *‘under’, §8.4.4.1]*

## 2018-02 “Chicken and cockroach (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Koko, former hunter (born c. 1960)

(00:07) dɛ́ⁿsí, ɛ̀ tɔ̄ɔ̄ nì jáŋ,

whatchamacallit, uh chicken and cockroach,

‘Whatchamacallit, uh, chicken and cockroach.’

*[animal terms used in tales as personal names lack the absolute suffix, §4.1.1.1]*

(00:11) jáŋ lé kɛ́ɛ́, [yū-wà nə́ŋá] nì ɲíní,

cockroach said that, [3Sg possession] be house

nī [mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólì],

and [clothing worn.out],

‘Cockroach said that the house and the worn-out clothes (in the house) were his [focus].’

*[predicate* yū-wà nə́ŋá *‘(be) his’ is fronted;* nì *‘be’ replacing* wɔ̀ *after focalized constituent, §9.3.3.2]*

(00:18) tɔ̀ɔ̀ lé kɛ́ɛ́ [mwⁿɔ̀ nə́ŋá] nì [mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólī]

chicken said that [2Sg possession] with [clothing worn.out]

nì, ɲíní, [mwⁿɔ̄ wɔ̄ [jìsɔ́ bī-yā] lè]

and, house, [2Sg be [alive black-Abs] be]

‘Chicken said, “the old clothing and the house are yours? You are a human being?” ’

(00:24) [wɔ̀ lé] wɔ̀, ɲíní-sɔ̄ⁿ-{kɔ̄-mwⁿ-a᷆},

[1Pl Rel] be, house-build.Pfv-owner-Pl-Abs,

[ɲīm-bɛ̀ lé-bɛ̀] sɔ́ⁿ ɲíná-à,

[person-Pl Rel-Pl] build.Pfv house-Abs,

wɔ̄ wɔ̀ [[bé nì] nə́ŋá] lè,

1Pl be [[3Pl Dem] possession] be,

‘(Chicken:) “We who are (here), the house-builders, the people who built the house, we belong to those ones.’

*[*wɔ̀ lé *pronominal as relative head, §14.1.2;* ɲíní-sɔ̄ⁿ-{kɔ̄-mwⁿ-a᷆} *cut off and rephrased as a relative clause; plural relative* lé‑bɛ̀*, §14.1]*

(00:28) ā pō lā [mwⁿɔ̀ ɲáá ɲíná-ā lē]

3Sg be.done.Pfv how? [2Sg see.Pfv house-Abs PsDat]

[nī [mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólā-ā]] lè,

[and [clothing worn.out-Abs]] PsDat,

mì fə́rɛ́ [wɔ̀ lé] nà

2Sg leave.Pfv [1Pl Foc] Q

‘How did it happen that you have seen (=acquired) the house, and the old clothes, and you left us [focus] (behind)?”

*[‘how?’, §13.3.5; independent pronoun* mwⁿɔ̀ *in subject position; clause-final interrogative* nà*, §13.2.1]*

(00:35) mè =é, [mí nə́ŋá] nī [mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólā-à]

2Sg said, [2Sg possession] with [clothing worn.out-Abs]

n= =ōō ɲáá tɔ̀ⁿ-mə̀ré [[kòò pííⁿ] lɔ̀],

if 1Pl see.Pfv Recip-Dat [[open.space one] Loc],

‘ “You-Sg said that the old clothing is yours. If we see each other in one (and the same) place, …” ’

*[<* mì lé *‘you said’; <* nì wó *‘if we’; (pseudo-)dative reciprocal* tɔ̀ⁿ-mə̀ré*, §17.4.1]*

(00:38) nì lé pw= [=āā nū] [yā ā yūgū-sèè],

and Rel be.done.Pfv [3Sg in] [Fut 3Sg meaning-know.Ipfv],

‘ “and what will happen therein, it will be known (=clear).” ’

*[a vague threat;* lé *headless relative]*

(00:40) à lé kɛ́ɛ́ [[mwⁿɔ̄ nī kɔ̀] lé],

3Sg said that [[2Sg and 1Sg] Foc],

à lé héè,

3Sg said yes,

‘He (=cockroach) said, “you and me [focus]?” He (=chicken) said, “yes!” ’

(00:43) à lé báásì té,

3Sg said trouble not.be

kɔ̀ dó wɔ̄ [[mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólā-ā] lɔ̀]

1Sg Emph be [[clothing worn.out-Abs] Loc]

mwⁿɔ̄ ɲāā kɔ̄ lē là,

2Sg see.Ipfv 1Sg PsDat how?,

‘He (=cockroach) said, “no problem. I however am (buried) in the worn-out clothes. So how will you see (=find, get) me?” ’

*[*báásì té *‘no trouble’ < Jula; adversative post-subject* dó*, §18.1.2.1; PP* kɔ̄ lè *with independent pronoun* kɔ̄ *indicating mild focus, compare fused dative* kə̄‑rē*]*

(00:47) [làà tí] ɲíní-kwā-à,

[day some] house-owner-Abs

[à ní] kíⁿ— ɲáá, yū-wā à lé,

[3Sg Dem] take.Pfv— see.Pfv, 3Sg ObjFoc Foc,

[ā mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólā-ā] à ɲáá [yū-wā à lé],

[3Sg clothing worn.out-Abs] 3Sg see.Pfv [3Sg ObjFoc Foc],

[[à ní] [mìndé-dɛ̀ɛ̀ kwólā-à]],

[[3Sg Dem] [clothing worn.out-Abs]],

‘One day, the home-owner, that one took (his clothing)—, he saw it (=cockroach). His old clothing, it [focus] is what he saw, (in) that old clothing.’

*[rather broken sequence in the recording]*

(00:53) kɛ́ɛ́ jám-bī-yā [by= =àá] wɔ̀

that cockroach-Pl-Abs [3Pl SbjFoc] be

[[[ké mìndé-dɛ̄ɛ̄ lāww-a᷆] dɛ́ɛ́] lɔ̄] nɛ̀,

[[[1Sg clothing former-Abs] eat.Prog] Loc] thus,

‘He (=home-owner) said, “cockroaches, it’s they [focus] who are eating my old clothing like that.” ’

*[<* byɛ̄ á *; a superfluous* bè *audible on the recording before* dɛ́ɛ́ lɔ̀ *is omitted; progressive construction, §11.4.3;* nɛ̀*, §18.2.4]*

(00:58) [à ní] kíⁿ [mìndé-dī-yā à lé]

[3Sg Dem] take.Pfv [clothing-Abs ObjFoc Foc],

à yéré [by= =āà lé], tɔ̀gɔ̀-bí-yà lé,

3Sg call.Pfv [3Pl ObjFoc Foc], chicken-Pl-Abs Foc,

‘That one (=home-owner) picked up the clothing [focus]. He called them [focus], the chickens.’

*[<* bɛ̄ ā lè *]*

(01:01) kr-r-r-r kr-r-r-r kr-r-r-r, bè yá,

squawk! squawk! squawk!, 3Pl come.Pfv,

[ā yùgù-yúgú [ā mìndé-dī-yà]] [bè wíí lè]

[3Sg shake.out-Pfv [3Sg clothing-Abs]] [3Pl fall.out.Pfv PsDat]

‘ “Squawk! Squawk!” They (=chickens) came. He shook out his clothing and they (=cockroaches) fell out.’

*[the home-owner attracts the chickens by squawking]*

(01:07) bè yáà [fáⁿ bɛ̀],

3Pl come.Pfv.and [gather.Pfv 3Pl],

bè ɲáá tɔ̀ⁿ-mə̀ré [[kòò pííⁿ] lɔ̀] [bè ɲá tɔ̀ⁿ yí],

3Sg see.Pfv Recip-Dat [place one] Loc] [3Pl hit.Pfv Recip apart],

‘They (=chickens) came and gathered them (=cockroaches) up. They saw each other (=came together) in one place. They battled each other.’

*[*ɲáá/ɲàà … lè *(pseudo-dative) ‘see’ then* ɲá/ɲà … yí *‘battle, confront’; reciprocal object, §17.4.1]*

(01:10) tɔ̀gɔ̀-bí-yà [bé ní] dɛ́ɛ́ [yū-wā à lé],

chicken-Pl-Abs [3Pl Dem] eat.Pfv [3Sg ObjFoc Foc],

[bé ní] fáⁿ bɛ̀, bè tá bɛ̀,

[3Pl Dem] gather.Pfv 3Pl, 3Pl finish.Pfv 3Pl,

‘The chickens, it (cockroach) [focus] is what those ones ate. Those ones gathered them up, they finished them off.’

(01:13) *donc* n̄ byɛ̀ ɲí, tɔ̀gɔ̀-bí-yà sà-yéré yēgā-à,

so if 3Pl hear.Pfv, chicken-Pl-Abs cry.out.Pfv sound-Abs,

kr-r-r-r kr-r-r-r kr-r-r-r,

squawk! squawk! squawk!,

‘So, when they (=cockroaches) have heard the sound of chickens, squawk! squawk!’

*[*n̄ *<* nì *‘if’]*

(01:16) nī bē pō-wā nɛ̀ kɔ́rɔ́ kɔ́rɔ́ kɔ́rɔ́,

if 3Pl do.Pfv-3SgInanObj thus coo! coo! coo!,

bē kɛ̄ɛ̄ wɔ̀wɔ́-jìʃy-â

3Pl look.for.Ipfv hide-place-Abs

‘When they (=chickens) do that, coo! coo! coo!, they (=cockroaches) look for a place to hide.’

*[A different sound made by chickens as they approach food]*

## 2018-03 “Hare and the gold (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Koko, former hunter (born c. 1960)

(00:02) áà, bèèsì lé, gbèná-à,

oh!, hare said, gold-Abs,

[yū-wà á] fō [gbèná-à sɛ́ɛ̀ⁿ],

[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Ipfv [gold-Abs buy.Purp],

‘ “Oh,” said hare. Gold, he will go to buy gold.’

(00:10) bèèsì fó [[à ní] [gbèná-ā yì] sɛ́ɛ̀ⁿ],

hare go.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] [gold Dem.Def] buy.Purp],

à fóò [ɲáá [sɛ̀nnɛ́ŋɛ́nɛ́ ʃōōlī] lè],

3Sg go.Pfv.and [see [chili.pepper red] PsDat]

‘When hare was on his way to buy his gold, he saw some red chili peppers.’

*[*fóò *‘went and’, §16.3.1.2]*

(00:16) à kíⁿ [à ní], à fáⁿ [à ní],

3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg Dem], 3Sg gather.Pfv [3Sg Dem],

à wí [à ní],

3Sg put.Pfv [3Sg Dem],

‘He picked that one up, he collected that one, he put that one (=them) together, …’

*[*à ní *‘that one’ used opportunistically (continuing into the next segment) as a referential index, comments on (170)]*

(00:19) tɛ̀ní [à ní] [[dí-yà tí] lɔ̀]

tie.up.Pfv [3Sg Dem] [[thing-Abs some] Inst]

[[jèʃy-â tí] lɔ̀],

[[rope-Abs some] Inst],

‘…and tied that one up, with something (whatchamacallit), with some rope.’

*[lɔ̀ as instrumental postposition, §8.3]*

(00:21) à bú [à ní], [[ā nɔ̄] mìndé],

3Sg put.up.Pfv [3Sg Dem], [[3Sg Refl] neck],

ā nì ánáŋá yà lɔ́ sáⁿ,

3Sg with like.that come.Ipfv there Emph,

‘He put (strung) that one (like a necklace) around his own neck. He was coming there like that.’

*[reflexive possessor, §17.1;* sáⁿ*, otherwise unattested, is apparently another clause-final emphatic, §18.2.3]*

(00:25) [gbɔ́rɔ́-wɔ́ jélɔ̀gɔ̀] lé, é! [ɲɛ̀nɛ́ bèèsì],

[old hyena] said, oh! [younger.sib hare],

mwⁿɔ̄ [nī gbènà yɛ̂] sú bɛ́ nà,

2Sg [and gold Dem] exit.Pfv where? Q,

‘Old hyena said “Hey! Younger brother hare, you and that gold have come from where?” ’

*[i.e., ‘(from) where did you get that gold?’]*

(00:29) à lé é kúré [ā lààlé]

3Sg said oh! elder.sib [day.before.yesterday]

kɔ̀ fó [[gbènà yɛ̂] sɛ́ɛ̀ⁿ],

1Sg go.Pfv [[gold Dem] buy.Purp],

‘He (=hare) said, “oh, elder brother! A couple of days ago I went to buy gold, …” ’

(00:33) fɔ́→, ʃàkí—, [gbèná-pèèlé-kɔ̄-mwⁿ-a᷆ nímɔ̀ lé],

all.the.way jeweler—, [gold-fix-owner-Pl-Abs chez Foc],

‘ “… (I went) all the way to the jewelers’ place [focus].” ’

*[*ʃàkí *‘jeweler’ in Koro, immediately rephrased with a Pere compound; postposition* nímɔ̀ *‘chez, at the place of’;* lé *focalizer with adjunct, §13.1.3]*

(00:36) mwⁿɔ̀ ŋmɔ́rⁿɔ́ [[à ní] jìʃy-â], àyí,

2Sg show.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] place-Abs, well,

[[à tí] nì té] wɔ̄ [mī lɔ̀],

[[3Sg some] Gen thought] be [2Sg Loc],

[[à tí] nì té] wɔ̄ [kē lɔ̀],

[[3Sg some] Gen thought] be [1Sg Loc],

‘(Hyena:) “Show (me) the place!” (Hare:) “Well, you need some of it too?” (Hyena:) “(Yes) I need some of it too.” ’

*[cf.* [kɔ́rɔ́wɔ́ ǹ té] wɔ̀ [X lɔ̀] *‘X needs/craves money’, cf.* té *‘thought’]*

(00:42) [à ní] sɛ́rɔ̄ tə̀ré,

[3Sg Dem] pass.Pfv nearby,

à fó [nā-ā màà-yí],

3Sg go.Pfv [fire-Abs build.fire.Purp-apart],

à máá [nàà gbété-yà] yí,

3Sg build.fire.Pfv [fire big-Abs] apart,

‘That one went past (=moved on) nearby. He went to built a fire. He built a big fire.’

*[VP-final* yí *included in purposive* màà-yí*, (481b);* gbété *‘big’ < Koro, emend to* nàà gbáá-lā-à *‘big fire’]*

(00:48) à fáⁿ [à ní]—

3Sg gather.Pfv [3Sg Dem]—

ánáŋá à síí lè sáⁿ [kúsí lè] sáⁿ,

like.that 3Sg catch.Pfv PsDat well(adv) [good Inst] well(adv),

‘He gathered that one—. In that way, it (=fire) caught well.’

(00:50) [sɛ́ⁿsíí lè]

[while(n) Dat]

[à fáⁿ [nī nà-kánī-bī-yā] yì lé]

[3Sg gather.Pfv [with hot.coal-Pl-Abs] InstFoc Foc]

[à wí-yà [[dí-yà tí] lɔ̀]]

[3Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [[thing-Abs some] Loc]]

‘In a little while he gathered up the hot coals [focus], and he put them in something (a container).’

*[*yì lé *as adverbial focalizer, §13.1.3]*

(00:53) kɛ́ɛ́ á!, [ké kúré]

that oh!, [1Sg elder.sib]

kā mì té [gbèná-tè lé]

RecPast 2Sg say.Pfv [gold-matter Rel]

‘(Hare) said, “oh! my elder brother! Concerning the gold that you spoke of, …”

*[recent past, §11.5.1;* téé *‘matter, issue’]*

(00:54) kè f= [[=áà tí] kɛ́ɛ̀]]

1Sg go.Pfv [[3Sg some] look.for.Purp]]

[kē nā-ŋà yá mə̄‑rē],

[1Sg with-3SgInan come.Pfv 2Sg-Dat],

‘… “I went to look for some (gold), I sent it to you.” ’

*[<* kè fó à *; ‘send’ construction with ‘with X’ phrase preposed to motion verb, §9.2.4.2;* nā-ŋà*, (217b)]*

(00:57) à fó [ɲáá [à náŋá] lē tə̀ré]

3Sg go.Pfv [see.Pfv [3Sg possession] PsDat nearby],

[à kíⁿ [à ní]

[3Sg take.Pfv [3Sg Dem]

‘He (=hyena) went and got his (gold) nearby. He picked that up.’

(00:59) à lé é! [ké gbèná-à] [ké gbèná-à] [ké gbèná-à]

3Sg said oh! [1Sg gold-Abs] (repetitions)

[kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè]

[1Sg drop-3SgInanObj PsDat] (repetitions)

‘He (=hyena) said, “oh! My gold! My gold! My gold! I have dropped it! I have dropped it! I have dropped it!’

*[Hyena takes some of the chilis in his hand and they feel hot so he drops them;* jé/jè *also means ‘sell’]*

(01:04) à lé [à ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ yə̄-rē]

3Sg said [3Sg burn.Pfv 1Sg-Dat]

[kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè] [kè jé-gā lè],

[1Sg drop-3SgInanObj PsDat] (repetitions)

‘He (=hyena) said, “it has burned me! I have dropped it! I have dropped it! I have dropped it!” ’

(01:07) [ɲɛ̀nɛ́ bèè{sì}—] [ā làtó]

[younger.sib hare—] [3Sg run.Pfv]

[à sááⁿ [ā bɔ̄ŋ-kòndɔ́-dēŋā-à]]

[3Sg ruin.Pfv [3Sg palm.of.hand-Abs]]

‘(Hyena said:) “Younger brother hare—” He ran away. It (=chilis) had hurt the palm of his hand.’

*[“hand-interior-…” with compound final* -dèyⁿ*, §5.1.10]*

(01:12) [à làtó] à lé [ɲɛ̀nɛ́ bèèsì],

[3Sg run.Pfv] 3Sg said [younger.sib hare],

à lé [mwⁿɔ̄ gbèná-à] dó wɔ̄ là

3Sg said [2Sg gold] Emph be how?

‘He ran away. He said, “Younger brother hare, your gold is how (=like what?)” ’

(01:15) yí à dó wɔ̄ [mwⁿɔ̄ mìndé] nɛ̀,

although 3Sg Emph be [2Sg neck] like.that,

à dó pò dɛ́ɛ́ [mī lɔ̀] wó nà,

3Sg Emph do.Ipfv thing [2Sg Loc] Neg Q,

kɛ́ɛ́ ā pō là,

that 3Sg be.done.Pfv how?,

‘(Hyena to hare:) “Although it is (on) your neck, it doesn’t do anything to you?” (Hyena) said, how is that?” ’

*[clause-initial* yí *‘although’ (only textual example), §18.1.2.2; post-subject adversative* dó *(twice), §18.1.2.1; negative* wó *without glottal stop before clause-final interrogative, §11.2.1]*

(01:20) kɛ́ɛ́ ɲɛ̀nɛ́ [á lààlé] mwⁿɔ̄ [nī [gbènà lé]]

that younger.sib [day.before.yesterday] 2Sg [with [gold Rel]]

yá [kɔ̄ lè]] [kè bú-wà [ké mìndé]]

come.Pfv [1Sg Dat]] [1Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [1Sg neck]]

‘(Hyena to hare:) “Younger brother, the gold that you brought (=sent to) me a few days ago, I (tried to) put it on my neck (as a necklace), …” ’

*[PP complement relative, §14.2.3]*

(01:24) [kè kí-ŋà]

[1Sg take.Pfv-3SgInanObj]

[à ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ [ké bwⁿ-a᷆ gbó lé]]

[3Sg burn.Pfv [1Sg palm.of.hand all Foc]]

‘(Hyena to hare:) “I picked it up. It burned my whole hand [focus].’

(01:26) á kúré, lá kɔ̄ [nì lé] yá

oh! elder.sib, RemPast 1Sg [with Rel] come.Pfv

[kè yáā [sò mə̄‑rē]]

[1Sg come.Pfv.and [give.Pfv 2Sg-Dat]]

[ánáŋá nī [à ní] wóʔ],

[like.that be [3Sg Dem] Neg],

‘(Hare:) “Oh, elder brother! What I had sent and came and gave you, that way [focus] isn’t (how) that one is.” ’

*[*nì *replacing* wɔ̀ *‘be’ after focalized subject, §13.1.6]*

(01:31) à lé [[yū-wà á] kà],

3Sg said [[3Sg SbjFoc] it.is],

à lé kɛ́ɛ́ yá

3Sg said that come.Pfv

[tíŋà [[ké náŋá] tə̀ré]] gbá,

[touch.Purp [[1Sg possession] beside]] taste.Pfv,

‘(Hyena:) “It is that.” He (=hare) said, “Come touch mine (=my gold necklace) and test (it)!”

*[identificational kà ‘it is’,§9.3.2.2; perfective stems* yá *and* gbá *in imperative function]*

(01:35) ā tìŋá [[bèèsì náŋá] tə̀ré],

3Sg touch.Pfv [[hare possession] beside],

[à ní] pò dɛ́ɛ́ [ā lɔ̀] wóʔ,

[3Sg Dem] do.Pfv thing [3Sg Loc] Neg,

‘He (=hyena) touched hare’s (necklace). That didn’t do anything to him.’

(01:38) á! kúré [mwⁿɔ̄ pò [[mí náŋá] lē] là dó

oh! elder.sib [2Sg do.Pfv [[2Sg possession] Dat] how? Q

‘(Hare:) “Oh, elder brother! What in the world did you do to yours (=your necklace)?” ’

*[*là dó*, §13.3.5-6]*

(01:40) à lé á! nákɛ̀ [ā pèèlé-kóyá-ā yì] ŋmá

3Sg said oh! maybe [3Sg fix-manner-Abs Dem.Def] be.good.Pfv

[[kɔ̀ɔ̀ gbú] nàn-dè] wóʔ

[[1Sg self] Poss] Neg

‘He (=Hyena) said, “Oh, maybe that manner of making it was not good on my part.”’

## 2018-04 “Hare and hyena (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

(00:02) kē bw= ā kūⁿ dɛ̀ɛ̀-só

1Sg begin.Ipfv 3Sg begin again

‘I will begin again.’

*[restarted since the first attempt didn’t record well; <* kē bū *, §16.8.1]*

(00:04) kòkó bèèsì, ā nù kòkó kòmòwó,

elder.sib hare, 3Sg and elder.sib hyena,

‘(My) older brother hare. He and older brother hyena.’

*[*kòkó *for* kè kúré *‘my elder brother’, likewise* kóó *later’;* nù *variant of* nì *‘and, with’]*

(00:08) bè sá nàŋ-péé-lāā-lī

3Pl cut.Pfv road-fix-day-Ø

‘They set the date for repairing the road.’

(00:11) bè sá [[à ní] nàŋ-péé-lāā-lā-ā yì lé],

3Pl set.time [[3Sg Dem] road-fix-day-Ø Dem.Def] Rel],

[kòkó bèèsì] fə́rɛ́ kīŋgɛ̀,

[elder.sib hare] stay.Pfv behind,

‘(On) that day that they had set for clearing that road, older brother hare stayed behind.’

*[they planned to clear invasive vegetation from the road]*

(00:16) kòmòwó fə́rɛ́ wɔ́, kɛ́ɛ́ nɔ̄= =ɔ̄ pē nī nāŋā-à,

hyena stay.Pfv here, that Hort 1Pl fix.Ipfv 2Pl road-Abs,

ó fə̄rɛ̄ [bèèsì náŋá] lɔ̀,

1Pl leave.Ipfv [hare possession] PsLoc,

‘Hyena stayed here (with the people). (He said:) “let’s-2Pl clear the road! We’ll leave (=reserve) hare’s portion (of the road).” ’

*[hortative with plural addressee, §11.6.3]*

(00:21) bèèsì yá yàá,

hare come.Pfv come.Purp,

bè só [à náŋá] yə̄-rē,

3Pl give.Pfv [3Sg possession] 3Sg-Dat,

‘Hare showed up (surprisingly). They showed him his portion (of the road).’

*[first ‘come’ verb focalized the following VP, here the purposive form of the same verb ‘come’, §16.4.1.2]*

(00:25) bē sō [à náŋá] yə̄-rē [[jìsí yɛ̂] dó],

3Pl give.Pfv [3Sg possession] 3Sg-Dat [[place Dem] as.soon.as],

bèèsì fə́rɛ́ wɔ́,

hare stay.Pfv here,

‘Once they had showed him his portion (of the road), hare stayed there.’

*[‘here’ used for narrative center, §4.3.1.4; clause-final* dó *in echo clause, §16.3.2.3]*

(00:29) à lé wə́rénì,

3Sg said (songword),

kɔ̄ɲə̀rⁿá—, gbɛ́m-bī-yà tá yàà wóʔ,

agouti—, agouti-Pl-Abs yet come.Prog Neg,

‘He (=hare) said, “wə́rénì! The agoutis (=marsh cane rats) have not come yet.” ’

*[*wə́rénì *is a songword that attracts the others; ‘agouti’ expressed in Koro then quickly in Pere; ‘not yet’, §16.3.5]*

(00:33) lé à bú [ā ní],

Rel 3Sg sing.Pfv [3Sg Dem]

kɛ́ɛ́ gbɛ́m-bī-yà tá yàà wóʔ,

that agouti-Pl-Abs yet come.Ipfv Neg,

‘When he sang that, that the agoutis had not yet come, …’

*[headless temporal adverbial relative, §16.2.1]*

(00:36) bè fə́rɛ́ [[[à ní] yɔ̄ʃī-yā] lɔ̀]

3Pl stay.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] dance(n)-Abs] Loc]

álī bè fó [mì [yégá-ā lɔ̀],

until 3Pl go.Pfv [enter.Ipfv [village-Abs Loc],

‘They continued (dancing) that dance, until they went and entered the village.’

*[the animals dance as they clear the road all the way to the village, while hare just sings;* fə́rɛ́ *‘stay’ in ‘keep VPing’ construction, §16.5.3.2]*

(00:40) bèèsì náŋá, bè yá [wìí [bēēsī yɛ̀]],

hare possession, 3Pl come.Pfv [add.Purp [hare on]],

bè pé [à náŋá lé], bè tá-gà,

3Pl fix.Pfv [3Sg possession Foc], 3Pl finish-3SgInanObj,

‘(As for) hare’s portion, they came and added (themselves) on (=helped) hare. They cleared his portion (for him).’

*[*yɛ̀ *postposition ‘on’, §8.4.2.1]*

(00:45) [má yū-wà] má pò [tíyⁿ-à lé] bèèsì lɔ́,

[whatever 3Sg] whatever do.Ipfv [matter-Abs Rel] hare there,

[à ní] yúgúsú bə̀rè wóʔ

[3Sg Dem] happen.Pfv still Pl

‘Whatever he (=hyena) was going to do to hare there, that didn’t (ever) happen.’

*[‘whatever …’ relative, §14.3; bə̀rè ‘still’, §16.5.3.1]*

(00:50) [ā ní] fə́rɛ́ [[[à ní] jìʃy-á] lɔ̀] lɔ́

[3Sg Dem] remain.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] place-Abs] Loc] there

‘That one (=tale) has stayed in (=gone back to) that one’s place.’

*[standard tale ending, abbreviated]*

## 2018-05 “Djinn girl (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

(00:02) kòkó jə́rá-bɛ̀, bè sú sɛ́gá-à,

elder.sib leopard-Pl, 3Pl remove.Pfv well-Abs,

[[à nì] sɛ́gá-à] sú,

[[3Sg Dem] well-Abs] exit(v)-Abs,

‘Older brothers (the) leopards. They dug a well. (When) that well had been dug, …’

*[*jə́rá *‘leopard’ (< Koro)]*

(00:10) [à ǹ] sɛ́gá-à, jə́rⁿá-bɛ̀ gbɔ̀gɔ̀lá-à, [ā nə̀ŋá]

[3Sg Dem] well-Abs, djinn-Pl girl-Abs, [3Sg Dem.SbjFoc]

sìní wɔ́] [[[ā nì] sɛ́gá-à] níndè]],

stop.Pfv here] [[[3Sg Dem] well-Abs] over]],

à fó sínì [sɛ́gá-à níndè] [jìsí yɛ̂],

3Sg go.Pfv stop.Purp [well-Abs over] [place Dem],

‘(At) that well, a young girl of the djinns, it was she [focus] who stood there at (=beside) the top of that well. She went (=had gone) and stopped at the top of the well in that place.’

*[djinn (genie, sprite);* ā nə̀ŋá *subject focus for* à ní *§13.1.5;* wɔ́ *as narrative ‘here’]*

(00:17) nī [ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀ lé kɔ̀] fó,

if [person Rel owner] go.Pfv,

[[ā ní] kɔ̀] fó [tá túmwⁿ‑â], ā fò,

[[3Sg Dem] owner] go.Pfv [draw.water.Purp water-Abs], 3Sg go.Ipfv,

‘If the person who went there, if that fellow went to draw water (at the well) and (then) leave, …’

*[*kɔ̀ *‘owner’ as generic human noun resuming relative head (cf. English the fellow); plural* nī ɲì-mɛ̀ lé fó *without* kɔ̄-mù *;* tà *<* tǎ *]*

(00:21) nì [lé kɔ̀] fó, [à ń] tà túmwⁿ‑â,

if [Rel owner] go.Pfv, [3Sg Dem] draw.water.Ipfv water-Abs,

ā fò,

3Sg go.Ipfv,

‘When the person went, (and) that one was going to draw water, and he would (then) leave, …’

*[perfective* fó, *imperfective* tà *]*

(00:24) mwⁿɔ̄ kòmòwó, mwⁿɔ̀ fóò

2Sg hyena, 2Sg go.Pfv.and

[ɲáá [gbɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā sìní] lè [sɛ́gá-à níndè]],

[see.Pfv [girl-Abs stop.Pfv] PsDat [well-Abs over]],

‘You (the) hyena, you went and saw the girl’s stopping on top of the well.’

*[hyena as protagonist is addressed by the narrator]*

(00:28) mì ɲáá [gbɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā sìní] lè [sɛ́gá-à níndè]]

2Sg see.Pfv [girl-Abs stop.Pfv] PsDat [well-Abs over]]

kɔ́rɔ́kɔ́rɔ́ gbɔ̀gɔ̀-mí-yⁿā dó lá,

in.old.days girl-Pl-Abs Emph RemPast,

sà pɛ́ɛ́ⁿ lɔ̀ wóʔ,

wrap.Ipfv wrap(n) PsLoc Neg,

‘You (=hyena) saw that the girl had stopped on top of the well. In the old days, girls didn’t use to wrap on wraps (outer garments).’

*[i.e. young women used to be bare-breasted]*

(00:32) lá bē sà pɛ́ɛ́ⁿ— lá bē sà—

RemPast 3Pl wrap.Ipfv wrap(n)— RemPast 3Pl wrap.Ipfv—

lá bē dūgū [kùŋgɔ́-dɛ̀ɛ̀ pííⁿ-mī-yⁿā yì lé]

RemPast 3Pl wear.Ipfv [pants one-Pl-Abs Dem.Def Foc]

‘They did (not) use to tie on wraps. They used to wear (traditional) pants [focus] (only).’

*[emend cut-off first sentence as* lá bē sà pɛ́ɛ́ⁿ lɔ̀ wóʔ *as in preceding segment; ‘pants’ here means garments that cover the body from the waist down]*

(00:36) [yū-wà á] fóò [ɲáá [à ní] lè], à lé

[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv.and [see.Pfv [3Sg Dem] PsDat], 3Sg said

mémbè nī kē pō-wā nɛ̀, ā jōmwⁿ-ā lɔ̀,

whether if 1Sg do.Ipfv-3SgInanObj thus, 3Sg breast-Abs Loc,

‘He (=hyena) went and saw that one. He was wondering whether “I might do like this, to her breast(s).” ’

*[definite demonstrative* [à ní] lè *varying with 3Sg dative* yə̄‑rē*, cf. 3Pl object …* [bé ní] lè *or dative* bə̄‑rē *; no #*[X ní] lè *with 1st/2nd person pronominals; 1Sg* kè *in “logophoric” function within quoted thoughts]*

(00:40) à lé mémbē nī kē pō-wā nɛ̀,

3Sg said whether if 1Sg do.Ipfv-3SgInanObj thus,

à lé mémbē nī kē pō-wā nɛ̀,

3Sg said whether if 1Sg do.Ipfv-3SgInanObj thus,

‘He was thinking whether he might do like this, he was thinking whether he might do like this.’

*[hyena keeps thinking this as he approaches the girl;* mémbè *(§16.11.2.1-2) sounds like reduced* mbè *on recording]*

(00:42) hálē [yū-wā bwⁿ-a᷆] fóò

until [3Sg hand-Abs] go.Pfv.and

[nɔ́rⁿɔ́, [[bɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā jōmwⁿ-ā] lɔ̀]],

[adhere.Pfv, [[girl-Abs breast-Abs] Loc]],

‘Until eventually his paw went and was pressed against her breast(s).’

*[short prosodic break after* nɔ́rⁿɔ́ *]*

(00:46) lé [yū-wā bwⁿ-a᷆] nɔ́rⁿɔ́ [[bɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā jōmwⁿ-a᷆] dó,

Rel [3Sg hand-Abs] adhere.Pfv [[girl-Abs breast-Abs] as.soon.as,

[yū-wā nī bɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā] kɔ̄ tɔ̀ⁿ,

[3Sg and girl-Abs] pull.Pfv Recip,

‘As soon as his paw was pressed against her breasts, they tugged at each other.’

*[clause-final* dó *‘as soon as’]*

(00:50) hálī ɲīm-bī-yà, bè fó—

until person-Pl-Abs, 3Pl go.Pfv—

bè fóò [ɲáá [bɛ̄ sìní] lè],

3Pl go.Pfv.and [see.Pfv [3Pl stop.Pfv] PsDat],

‘Until the people, they went—. They went and saw that they (girl and hyena) had stopped (there).’

(00:53) bē =ē wɛ̀ɛ́,

3Pl said just.now,

[ó tɔ̄-bī-yà gbó] dó tà túmwⁿ‑â lé,

[1Pl other-Pl-Abs] all] Emph draw.water.Ipfv water-Abs Foc,

‘They (said) just then, “the rest of us all draw water (there).” ’

*[variant of* bè lé wɛ̀ɛ́*, cf. 3Sg* à lé wɛ̀ɛ́ yū-wā à fó wɛ̀ɛ́ *‘he just left’]*

(00:56) wó sé [mwⁿɔ̀ lé] wóʔ.

1Pl ask.Pfv [2Sg Foc] Neg,

[[yá dó] dɔ̀ŋgɔ́], mwⁿɔ̀ dó tá túmwⁿ‑â,

[[what? Emph] because.of], 2Sg Emph draw.water.Pfv water-Abs,

‘ “We didn’t ask (=invite) you-Sg (=hyena) [focus]. Why did you draw water (here)?” ’

*[*yá dó *§13.3.6]*

(00:59) mwⁿɔ̀, [mì tá] [mì bú],

2Sg [2Sg finish.Pfv] [2Sg put.in.Pfv],

[mí bwⁿ-ā à lé], [[gbɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā jōmwⁿ-āⁿ] nà],

[2Sg hand-Abs ObjFoc Foc], [[girl-Abs breast-Abs] Loc],

‘You, you finished (drawing water), you put your hand [focus] on the girl’s breast.’

*[emended at speaker’s request from* [[gbɔ̀gɔ̀lá-ā bwⁿ-ā] nà] *‘on the girl’s hand’ on the recording;* tá *‘finish’ refers back to ‘draw water’ not forward to ‘put in’]]*

(01:04) [ā ní] dāāⁿ [ā dāāⁿ-jìʃy-â]

[3Sg Dem] be.bounded.Pfv [3Sg be.bounded-place-Abs]

‘That one (=tale) is bounded (=back) in its place.’

*[variant of standard tale ending;* dààⁿ *< Koro, cf. Pere* fə́rɛ́/fə̀rɛ̀ *‘leave’]*

## 2018-06 “Blind girl (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

(00:01) [gbɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ́ tə̀rɛ̀ pííⁿ], jísī mwⁿɔ̄ ɲàà wóʔ,

[girl small one], eye 2Sg see.Ipfv Neg,

mī bīī-tə̀rɔ̀,

2Sg be.blind,

‘A young girl. (Your) eye, you (=girl) cannot see. You are blind.’

*[narrator addresses a protagonist;* bīī-tə̀rɔ̀ *is the predicate for the subject ‘eye’;* jísì *‘(pair of) eye(s)’, collective]*

(00:06) mì fó [ʃóò gbáá-lā-ā kīŋgɛ̀],

2Sg go.Pfv [woman big-Ø-Abs behind],

‘You went to (visit) an old woman.’

*[*ʃóó *common premodifier form of* súwó *~* ʃúwó *‘woman’]*

(00:08) sō mì— ó lé [[ké dɛ́ŋgɔ̄-mwⁿ-ā] wɔ̀ [fóó lɔ̀]]

give 2Sg— 1Pl said [[1Sg agemate-Pl-Abs] be [go.Prog Loc]]

[jòní-pōō-jìʃy-áā lɔ̀]

[fun-do-place-Abs Loc]

‘We said, “my agemates are going to the recreation place.” ’

*[for cut-off* sō mì*— see the following segment]*

(00:11) sō [mì jísì-kí-yā] kə̄‑rē,

give.PPfv [2Sg eye-grain-Abs] 1Sg-Dat,

[kē fō [jòní-yà póō]] [kē yà],

[1Sg go.Ipfv [fun-Abs do.Purp]] [1Sg come.Ipfv],

‘(Girl, to old woman:) “Give me your eye. I will go to have fun, and I will come back.” ’

*[*jísì-kí-yà *‘eyeball, (a single) eye’; purposive clause with object preceding purposive verb, §16.4.1.2]*

(00:15) [[à nì] jísì-kí-yà] kúⁿ, ā sō yə̄‑rē,

[[3Sg Dem] eye-grain-Abs] be.taken.Pfv, 3Sg give.Pfv 3Sg-Dat,

[yū-wà á] fó [[[à ní] jòní-pōō-jìʃy-á yī] lɔ̀],

[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] fun-do-place-Abs Dem.Def] Loc],

‘That one’s (=old woman’s) eye came out (was taken out). She gave (it) to her (=blind girl). She (=blind girl) [focus] went to that recreation place.’

(00:18) [[yū-wà á] fó]

[[3Sg SbjFoc] go.Pfv]

[à dɛ́ŋgɔ̄-mwⁿ-a᷆ gbó] yá [yégá-ā lɔ̀],

[3Sg agemate-Pl-Abs all] come.Pfv [village-Abs Loc],

‘She (=blind girl) [focus] went. All of her agemates came to the village.’

(00:21) bè fə́rɛ́ [yū-wā à lé] lɔ̀

3Pl leave.Pfv [3Sg ObjFoc Foc] PsLoc

‘They left her [focus] (there).’

*[pseudo-locative* lɔ̀ *following focalized object]*

(00:23) bē [à dɛ́ŋgɔ̄-mwⁿ-ā] yáà wíílè

3Pl [3Sg agemate-Pl-Abs] come.Pfv.and arrive.Pfv

[ʃóò gbáá-lā-à] lé á! mɔ̀gɔ̀má dó,

[woman big-Ø-Abs] said oh! so.and.so where?,

‘They, her agemates, came and arrived (there). The old woman said, “Oh, where is So-and-so?” ’

*[‘So-and-So represents the name of the girl; plural is* mɔ̀gɔ̀má-bɛ̀*; dó ‘be where?’, §13.3.6]*

(00:27) kɛ́ɛ́ á, kā mī sò [[jísi-kí-yà lé] lè]

that oh!, RecPast 2Sg give.Pfv [[eye-grain-Abs Rel] Dat]

à lé héè!,

3Sg said yes!,

‘(They said) “oh! The one to whom you-Sg gave the eye?” She said, “yes!” ’

*[headless dative PP relative, §14.2.3]*

(00:30) kɛ́ɛ́ à tá yàà wóʔ,

that 3Sg finish.Pfv come.Ipfv Neg,

báà [yū-wà á] tá lɔ̀,

like [3Sg SbjFoc] finish.Pfv PsLoc,

[[jísì-kí-yà ɲàà lé] lɔ̀],

[[eye-grain-Abs see.Prog PsDat] Loc],

‘(They said), “She hasn’t come yet.” As she had already gotten the eye, …’

*[‘not yet’, §16.3.5; ‘already’, §16.3.6]*

(00:34) [yū-wà á] pèèndé

[3Sg SbjFoc] forget.Pfv

[[[ʃóò gbáá-lā-à] jísì-kéé] nì tíyⁿ-à],

[[[woman big-Ø-Abs] eye-grain] Gen matter-Abs],

‘…she had forgotten the business about the old woman’s eye.’

(00:36) [yū-wà á] fə́rɛ́ [nī [à jísì-kí-yà]],

[3Sg SbjFoc] stay.Pfv [with [3Sg eye-grain-Abs]],

‘She remained with (=kept) her eye.’

*[nì ‘with’ (comitative), §8.2]*

(00:38) [à fə́rɛ́ lɔ̀] [à fə́rɛ́ lɔ̀] [à fə́rɛ́ lɔ̀] [à fə́rɛ́ lɔ̀]

[3Sg stay.Pfv PsLoc] (repetitions)

‘She remained (in that situation) for a long time.’

*[multiple repetitions of clause to denote passage of time]*

(00:40) [ʃóò gbáá-lā-à] yá téè,

[woman big-Ø-Abs] come.Pfv say.Purp,

[[fó nì] [mɔ̀gɔ̀má kɛ́ɛ̀],

[[go.Pfv 2Pl] [so.and.so look.for.Purp],

‘The old woman came and said, “go-2Pl and look for So-and-So.’

(00:44) kɔ̄ sò [ké jísì-kí-yā] yū-wà wâ,

1Sg give.Pfv [1Sg eye-grain-Abs] 3Sg Emph,

[yū-wà á] pèèndé— fó [fə̀rɛ́ lɔ̀]

[3Sg SbjFoc] forget.Pfv— go.Pfv [stay.Purp PsLoc]

[nī [kɔ̀ jísì-kí-yà]],

[with [1Sg eye-grain-Abs]],

‘(Old woman:) “I gave my eye (to her). She forgot— went and stayed with (=kept) my eye.” ’

(00:48) [yū-wà á] yá,

[3Sg SbjFoc] come.Pfv,

[yū-wà á] lé [ā yà wóʔ],

[3Sg SbjFoc] said [3Sg come.Ipfv Neg],

ā fə̄rɛ̄ lɔ̄ [nì jísì-kí-yà],

[3Sg stay.Ipfv PsLoc [with eye-grain-Abs],

‘She (=girl) [focus] came. She [focus] said she would not come. She remained with (=held onto) the eye.’

(00:53) yū-wà yá wììlé lɔ́, ʃóò gbáá-lā-à,

3Sg come.Pfv arrive.Purp there, woman big-Ø-Abs,

à lé [sò [ké jísì-kí-yà] kə̄‑rē ńnà],

3Sg said [give.Pfv [1Sg eye-grain-Abs] 1Sg-Dat Emph],

‘She came and arrived there, the old woman. She said, “give me my damn eye!” ’

*[*ńnà *emphatic expressing impatience (only attestation), §18.2.5]*

(00:57) mī sìì [mí nə́ŋá]

2Sg receive.Ipfv [2Sg possession]

‘(Old woman:) “(and) you-Sg will take yours.” ’

(01:00) ŋmá-ʃyⁿ-a᷆, nī à lábá wɔ̄—

good.deed-Abs, if 3Sg finish.Pfv be—

[dɔ̀gɔ̀sí yɛ̂ yì lé],

[manner-Abs Dem ObjFoc Foc],

‘(Old woman:) “A good deed, if it ends— (if it) is that way, …” ’

*[*lábá *(Koro) for* tá *‘finish’; somewhat broken, function of* yì *unclear; assistant suggests emending to* nì ŋmá-ʃyⁿ-ā wɔ̄ dɔ̀gɔ̀sí yɛ̂*]*

(01:04) yā kɔ̄ pò [ŋmá-ʃyⁿ-a᷆ tí]

Fut 1Sg do.Ipfv [good.deed-Abs some]

[mwⁿɔ̄ lē] bə̀rè wóʔ,

[2Sg Dat] still Neg,

‘(Old woman:) “… I won’t do any more good deeds for you-Sg.” ’

(01:06) lá kɔ̀ lé

RemPast 1Sg said

fó [[mí dɛ́ŋgɔ̄-mwⁿ-ā] [by= =āā] kīŋgɛ̀],

go.Pfv [[2Sg agemate-Pl-Abs] [3Pl Foc] behind]

‘ “I had told you to go behind (=along with) your friends.” ’

*[3Pl pronoun* byɛ̀*, focalized, resuming ‘your agemates’]*

(01:08) [nī mwⁿɔ̀ dó fóò [dyé lɔ́] [kɔ̀ jísì-kí-yà]

[if 2Sg Emph go.Pfv.and [arrive.Pfv there] [1Sg eye-grain-Abs]

mē =ē kɛ́ [mī yāā] [sō kə̄‑rē] wóʔ

2Sg said that [2Sg come.Ipfv.and] [give.Ipfv 1Sg-Dat] Neg

‘ “When however you went and arrived there, my eye, you said (=decided) that you would not come and give (it) to me.” ’

*[post-subject* dó*, as also in the following segment; ‘my eye’ could be topicalized or it could represent elision of* nì *‘with’; <* mì lé kɛ́*]*

(01:12) ŋmá-ʃy-a᷆, à dó tá

good.deed-Abs, 3Sg Emph be.finished.Pfv

[[kɔ̄ nī mwⁿɔ̀] píyè],

[[1Sg and 2Sg] between],

‘Doing good (=helping), it’s over between you-Sg and me.’

(01:17) [ā ní] dààⁿ [ā dāāⁿ-jìʃy-â]

[3Sg Dem] be.bounded [3Sg be.bounded-place-Abs]

‘It (=tale) is bounded (=back) in its place.’

## 2018-07 “Hyena and hare (tale)”

speaker: Fofana Nadioua (female), born c. 1945

(00:02) [kòmòwó nī [kòkó bèèsì]] bè sá lààlì,

hyena and [elder.sib hare]] 3Pl cut.Pfv day,

bè fó tɔ́ŋɛ́-ɛ̀,

3Pl go.Pfv field-Loc,

‘Hyena and elder brother hare, they set a date (=made an appointment). They went to the field(s).’

(00:08) [yū-wà á] lé ā jī bèèsì,

[3Sg SbjFoc] said 3Sg kill.Ipfv hare,

‘He (=hyena) said (to hare) that he would kill hare.’

(00:11) bèèsì lé é!, wó dó fə̄rⁿɛ̄ tɔ̀ⁿ [wó yá] wâ,

hare said oh!, 1Pl Emph agree.Pfv Recip [1Pl come.Pfv] Emph,

mwⁿɔ̄ jī kɔ̀ lé, à lé [báásì té],

2Sg kill.Ipfv 1Sg Foc, 3Sg said [trouble not.be],

‘Hare said, “Oh! We made an agreement to come here, and now you will kill me!” He (=hare) said, “No problem!” ’

*[function of* lé *in* kɔ̀ lé *is unclear, possibly focalizes the whole event;* báásì té *is in Koro]*

(00:18) [kw= =àá] sēē [[à ní] tūwɛ̄lā-à]

[1Sg SbjFoc] know.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] stratagem-Abs]

‘(Hare:) “I know a way out of that one (to avoid being killed).” ’

(00:20) bè yá [ánáŋá póò],

3Pl come.Pfv.and [like that do.Purp],

bè yá téè [yī lɔ̀],

3Pl come.Pfv.and say.Purp [Dem.Def Loc],

‘They came and did like that. They came and said at that point, …’

*[*ánáŋá *treated as a direct object]*

(00:23) bèèsì yá fòò látò, à fó,

hare come.Pfv go.Purp run.Purp, 3Sg go.Pfv,

‘Hare (came and) went and ran. He went (away).’

*[double purposive complement, §16.4.1.2, <* yá fòó látò *; cf.* à fó látò *‘he went and ran’; ‘come’ here indicates surprise (event focalization), §16.4.1.2]*

(00:26) à yá yàá [yī lɔ̀],

3Sg come.Pfv come.Purp [Dem.Def Loc],

à lé á!, kɛ́ɛ́ ó dó fɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ wâ,

3Sg said oh!, that 1Pl Emph agree.Pfv Emph,

‘He (=hare) came. At that point, he said: “Ah! We made an agreement.” ’

*[again first ‘come’ verb indicates surprise (event focalization)]*

(00:31) à yá [póò {ji tɔ̄ⁿ—} [tɔ̀ⁿ-jí-té lè]],

3Sg come.Pfv [be.done.Purp [Recip-kill-matter Dat]],

ā pò máà, kòmòwó fə́rɛ́ wɔ́, bèèsì fə́rɛ́ wɔ́,

3Sg do.Pfv thus, hyena stay.Pfv here, hare stay.Pfv here,

‘ “He (=hyena) came to engaged in (mutual) killing.” He did thus. Hyena stayed there— (or rather,) hare stayed there.’

*[disregard false start in {…}.]*

(00:38) nī à kɔ́ [gbēgā-à lé yí] kpɔ́,

if 3Sg break.Pfv [stick-Abs Rel apart] pop!,

à lé [[ké gbɔ́ŋá-à] ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ gbēgā-ā yì] yɛ̂],

3Sg said [[my foot-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem],

‘When the stick that he snapped went pop!, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning my leg.” ’

*[false start omitted at beginning of this segment; for the parallelistic sequence (here and in following segments) ending in* gbēgā-ā yì yɛ̂*, see discussion at the end of §6.5.1.3;* yɛ̂ *(=*yɛ́ɛ̀*) after X meaning ‘that is X’, §9.3.2.3]*

(00:42) à kɔ́ lé yí,

3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,

à lé [[ké gbɛ́rɛ́gá-à] ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ gbēgā-ā yì] yɛ̂],

3Sg said [[1Sg back-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem],

‘The (second) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning my back.” ’

*[headless object relative, omitting ‘stick’]*

(00:47) à kɔ́ lé yí,

3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,

à lé [[ké jíʃy-à] ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ gbēgā-ā yì] yɛ̂],

3Sg said [[1Sg eye-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem,

‘The (third) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning my eye(s).” ’

(00:50) à kɔ́ lé yí,

3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,

à lé [[ké bwⁿ-a᷆] ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ gbēgā-ā yì] yɛ̂],

3Sg said [[1Sg hand-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem,

‘The (fourth) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning my hand(s).” ’

(00:52) à kɔ́ lé yí,

3Sg break.Pfv Rel apart,

à lé [[ké píyé-dēŋā-à] ɲɔ́ŋɔ́ gbēgā-ā yì] yɛ̂],

3Sg said [[1Sg hand-Abs] burn.Pfv stick-Abs Dem.Def] Dem,

‘The (fifth) one that he snapped, he said, “that’s the firewood for burning my arm(s).” ’

(00:55) kòmòwò fə́rɛ́ wɔ́, é! [ɲɛ̀nɛ́ bèèsì],

hyena stay.Pfv here, oh! [younger.sib hare],

[mwⁿɔ̄ nì ŋmáá] dó wɔ̄ [tèlí lɔ̀] máā nà

[2Sg and who?] Emph be [speak.Prog Loc] thus Q

‘Hyena stayed there. (He said:) “Oh, younger brother hare, who are you talking with like that?” ’

(01:01) bà-lá mwⁿɔ̀ dó fó [mí fò-jíʃy-à],

since 2Sg Emph go.Pfv [2Sg go-place-Abs],

[[mì dó wɔ̄ [tèlí lɔ̀]]]

[[2Sg however be [speak.Prog Loc]]

[mwⁿɔ̄ nì ŋmáá] wɔ̄ tègá-ā nà,

[2Sg and who?] be talk(n)-Abs Q,

‘(Hyena to hare:) “Since you-Sg went to the place where you went to, you are (=have been) talking. It’s your and whose talk?” ’

*[i.e. who have you been talking to?; lit. “you went to your going-place”]]*

(01:04) à lé àyó, kɔ̄ [nī ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀] wóʔ,

3Sg said no!, 1Sg [with person.Abs] Neg,

‘He (=hare) said, “No, I’m not with anyone (else).”’

*[this mistaken segment can be deleted (at speaker’s request)]*

(01:07) [ŋɔ̀ŋɔ̀ tə́gá] dyé [ké yɛ̀] wɔ́-nà,

[person.Abs some] arrive.Pfv [1Sg on] here,

à lé kɛ́ɛ́ ā wɔ̄ [[[kòmòwó gbɔ́ŋ-gbìnì] kɛ́ɛ́] lɔ̀],

3Sg said that 3Sg be [[[hyena foot-a.little] look.for.Prog] Loc],

‘(Hare:) “Someone appeared to me here. He said, he is looking for a hyena with an incomplete (cut-off) leg.” ’

*[i.e. like a hyena whose leg was injured in a metal trap;* tə́gá *variant of* tí *‘some’]*

(01:11) ɛ́ɛ̀, ā pò máà kòmòwò lé [bèèsì yí] kɛ́ɛ́

oh!, 3Sg do.Pfv thus hyena said [hare in.front.of] that

fə́rɛ́ nìsí-kɛ́ɛ́-tíyⁿ-âⁿ lɔ̀

leave.Pfv bundle-look.for-matter-Abs PsLoc

‘ “Oh!” he did thus, hyena said to hare, “stop looking for a bundle (of firewood)!” ’

(01:17) [kā kè téé lé]

[RecPast 1Sg say.Pfv Rel],

ā yùgùsù wóʔ,

3Sg happen.Ipfv Neg.

‘(Hyena:) “What I said a while ago, it won’t happen.” ’

(01:18) [kā kè téé lé]

[RecPast 1Sg say.Pfv Rel],

ā yùgùsù wóʔ,

3Sg happen.Ipfv Neg.

‘(Hyena:) “What I said a while ago, it won’t happen.” ’

(01:19) [kā kè téé lé]—

[RecPast 1Sg say.Pfv Rel]—

[yū-wà á] làtó,

[3Sg SbjFoc] run.Pfv,

‘(Hyena:) “What I said a while ago—.” He (=hyena) [focus] ran (away).’

(01:21) ā pò máà, bēēsī ŋmàndɔ́,

3Sg did.Pfv thus, hare escape(v).Pfv,

[[[à ní] ŋmàndɔ́-wā] lɔ̀],

[[[3Sg Dem] escape.Nom-Abs] Loc],

‘(When) it happened like that, hare made that one’s (=his) escape.’

*[cognate nominal: ‘he escaped in his escape’]*

(01:25) à jí— à jí-gɛ̄ bə̀rè wóʔ

3Sg kill.Pfv— 3Sg kill.Pfv-3SgAnObj still Neg

à dó ɲɔ́ŋɔ́-yɛ̄ bèrè wóʔ

3Sg however burn.Pfv-3SgAnObj again Neg

‘He (=hyena) didn’t (try to) kill him any more, he didn’t (try to) burn him again.’

(01:28) bèèsì {ŋmá—} kē sēē tùwɛ̀lí,

hare {…} 1Sg know.Pfv strategem,

à ŋmá [ā nɔ̀-mə̀rɔ́] [lé lɔ̀], ánáŋá yɛ̂

3Sg save.Pfv [3Sg Refl-PsLoc] [Rel Loc], be.that Dem

‘Hare (said), “I knew a stratagem.” The way in which he saved himself, that was it.’

*[<* ŋmɔ́*; reflexive locative §4.2.2, §17.1; headless manner adverbial relative, §16.2.3.1]*

## 2018-08 “Preparing meals 1”

speaker: Fofana Nasaniya

(00:03) kē kūⁿ [sōgā-à lé] yégá-à,

1Sg take.Ipfv [yam-Abs Foc] village-Abs,

nī kè lé pò bōmw-a᷆,

if 1Sg say do.Ipfv foutou-Abs,

‘I will take a yam in the village. If I want to make foutou, …’

*[on the recording, Seydou’s voice is heard prompting Nasaniya’s second clause; focus marker* lé *in linking function]*

(00:07) kē kūⁿ sōgā-à [ɲíná-à kíŋgè],

1Sg take.Ipfv yam-Abs [house-Abs under],

kē tɛ̄ɛ̄tə̄rī-yà, n̄ kē tɛ̀ɛ̀tə́rí-yà,

1Sg peel.Ipfv-3SgInanObj, if 1Sg peel.Pfv-3SgInanObj,

kē sāsī-yà túmwⁿ‑â,

1Sg rinse.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,

‘I take a yam in the house, I peel it. When I have peeled it, I rinse it in water.’

*[first of many echo clauses in this and the next text: ‘I peel (imperfective) …; when I have peeled (perfective), …’, §16.3.2.1]*

(00:15) n̄ kē sàsí-yà túmwⁿ‑â,

if 1Sg rinse.Pfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,

kē yɔ̄gɔ̄-yà páá-lā-ā,

1Sg insert.Ipfv-3SgInanObj pot-Ø-Abs,

‘When I have rinsed it in water, I put it (=yam) into a pot.’

*[*yɔ́gɔ́/yɔ̀gɔ̀ *‘bury; insert (knife) into sheath; put (yams) into a sack or a pot’]*

(00:18) nī =ì yɔ́gɔ́-yà páá-lā-ā,

if 1Sg put.in.Pfv-3SgInanObj pot-Ø-Abs,

wó sɔ̄‑ŋā [nā-à yí],

1Pl set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘When I have put it into a pot, we set it (=pot) on the fire.’

*[<* nī kè *;* yí *postposition with ‘fire’, (238a)]*

(00:20) [nī à sɔ́ⁿ [nā-à yí]] [nī à bé],

[if 3Sg be.set.Pfv [fire-Abs in.front.of]] [if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv],

wó kūⁿ yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà, wó wēē-yà,

1Pl put.Pfv mortar-Abs, 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When it has been set on the fire, when it is done (=fully cooked), we put a mortar (out) and we pound it (yam).’

*[pounding with a pestle; variation on the echo clause construction with the second clause passivized ‘when it has been set’]*

(00:26) n= =ōō wéé-yà, wó fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj, 1Pl collect-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

sə́ré-bī-yā nì pííⁿ, wɔ̀ sém-bī-yā nì pííⁿ,

man-Pl-Abs Gen one, 1Pl woman-Pl-Abs Gen one,’

[yū-wà á] yɛ̂,

[3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,

‘When we have pounded it, we collect it (removing it from the mortar). One for the men, one for us the women. That [focus] is it.’

*[<* nì wó*]*

(00:33) kē pō bōmwⁿ-a᷆ [máā lè],

1Pl do.Ipfv foutou-Abs [like.that Inst],

‘I make foutou that way.’

(00:35) nī ā wɔ̀ mémbè sógá-ā sèè= wóʔ,

if 3Sg be whether yam-Abs be.many.Pfv Neg,

wó kùⁿ gbé-sōgā-à, wó tū-ŋā [ā yɛ̀],

1Pl take.Ipfv cassava-Abs, 1Pl put-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],

wó wēē-yà pííⁿ,

1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj one,

‘If it happens that there aren’t many yams, we take some cassava and we put (=add) it cassava onto it (=yam). We pound it (=them) together.’

*[*sèe=wóʔ *contracted from* sèwú wóʔ*]*

(00:41) n= =ōō wéé-yà pííⁿ,

if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj one,

sə́ré-bī-yā nì pííⁿ, wɔ̀ sém-bī-yā nì pííⁿ,

man-Pl-Abs Gen one, 1Pl woman-Pl-Abs Gen one,

[yū-wà á] yɛ̂,

[3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,

‘When we have pounded it together, one for the men, one for us women. That is it.’

(00:48) tíyá-à, nī [à tíyá-à] lé,

sauce-Abs, with [3Sg sauce-Abs] Foc,

[sɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ káàní-yā] [yū-wà á] kā wò,

[okra fresh-Abs] [3Sg SbjFoc] it.is or,

[à ní] tūⁿ [ā yɛ̀],

[3Sg Dem] be.put.Ipfv [3Sg on],

‘Sauce. With its (=the meal’s) sauce [focus]. Fresh okra, it [focus] may be it (=sauce). That is put (=served) on it.’

(00:54) [dáásá-à á] kā wō,

[nian.nian-Abs SbjFoc] be or,

[à ní] tūⁿ [ā yɛ̀],

[3Sg Dem] be.put.Ipfv [3Sg on],

wó fāmbə̄rɔ̄-yā tɔ̀m-bɔ́,

1Pl mix.Ipfv-3SgInanObj Recip-Loc,

‘It may be nian-nian seeds. That is put on it. We mix it (=them, nian-nian seeds and okra) into each other (=together).’

*[nian-nian sauce is widely known in Côte d’Ivoire; the red seeds are from the bush Solanum anomalum, which grows wild but can also be cultivated]*

(00:59) wó fàmbə́rɔ́-yā tɔ̀m-bɔ́, [wó wēē-yā [nī yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà]]

1Pl mix.Pfv Recip-Loc, [1Pl pound.Ipfv [with mortar-Abs]]

[nī à bé] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀]

[if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv] [time Dem]

wó tū-ŋā [bōmwⁿ-ā yɛ̀],

1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [foutou-Abs on],

‘When we have mixed it together, we pound it in a mortar. If it is done, at that time we put (=serve) it on the foutou.’

(01:03) nì ó tū-ŋā [bōmwⁿ-ā yɛ̀], nī à bé,

if 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [foutou-Abs on], if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv,

ó wī-yā yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà, ó wēē-yà,

1Pl put.in.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs, 1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When we have put it on the foutou, when it is done, we put it in a mortar and we pound it.’

(01:07) n= =ōō wéé-yà,

if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj, ,

ó wī-yà páá-lā-à,

1Pl put.in.Ipfv-3SgInanObj pot-Ø-Abs

tíì-páá-lā-à, ā bē tɔ̀m-bɔ́,

sauce-pot-Ø-Abs, 3Sg be.cooked.Ipfv Recip-Loc,

‘When we have pounded it, we put it in a pot, a sauce pot. It is cooked together.’

(01:11) nī [à ní] bé tɔ̀m-bɔ́,

if [3Sg Dem] be.cooked.Pfv Recip-Loc,

wó dī [à ní], [à ní] wɔ̄ bòmù-tíyá-à,

1Pl eat.Ipfv [3Sg Dem], [3Sg Dem] be foutou-sauce-Abs,

‘When it is done (=fully cooked), we eat that. That is foutou sauce.’

*[<* wó dɛ̄ɛ̄ à ní*]*

(01:16) [à ní] wɔ̄ bòmù-tíyá-ā lè,

[3Sg Dem] be foutou-sauce-Abs be,

nī [bōmwⁿ-a᷆ náŋá],

with [foutou possession],

‘That is foutou sauce, and foutou’s (part).’

*[i.e. that’s all I have to say about foutou]*

(01:20) nì gbéndì-kí-yā [yū-wà á] kà,

if rice-grain-Abs [3Sg SbjFoc] it.is,

wó wēē [à ní], yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

1Pl pound.Ipfv [3Sg Dem], mortar,

‘If it’s rice (kernels), we pound that in a mortar.’

(01:26) n= =ōō wéé-yà yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

if 1Pl pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj mortar,

nī ā pòmɔ̀lɔ́ [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀], wó fíítə́rɔ́-yà,

if 3Sg be.shelled.Pfv [time Dem], 1Pl winnow.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

nì sáálá-à,

with van-Abs,

‘When we have pounded it in a mortar, when it (=rice) has been shelled, at that time we winnow it, with a (winnowing) van.’

(01:31) [n= =ōō kúⁿ sáálá-à] [n= =ōō fììtə́rɔ́-yà],

[if 1Pl take.Pfv van-Abs] [if 1Pl winnow.Pfv-3SgInanObj],

‘When we have taken out the van and have winnowed it (=rice), …’

(01:33) nī ā bògòlí, [nī à ŋmá mī]

if 3Sg be.cleaned.Pfv, [if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg]

[mī wēē-yà], wèè-sí kɔ́ tààŋgɔ́,

[2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj], pound-VblN time(s) three,

‘… when it is clean (of impurities removed by winnowing), if you-Sg like, you pound it, three poundings.’

(01:37) nī à ŋmá mì, mī wēē-yà,

if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg, 2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

wèè-sí kɔ́ yɔ̀ŋgɔ́,

pound-VblN time(s) two,

‘If you like (=prefer), you pound it, two poundings.’

(01:40) nī ā bògòlí [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg be.cleaned.Pfv [time Dem],

mī fíítə́rɔ́-yà,

2Sg winnow.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When it is cleaned, at that time you-Sg winnow it (again).’

(01:43) nī mī fììtə́rɔ́-yà,

if 2Sg winnow.Pfv-3SgInanObj,

mī sɔ̀ⁿ páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],

2Sg set.Ipfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘When you have winnowed it, you set the pot on the fire.’

(01:47) nī mì sɔ́ⁿ páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],

if 2Sg set.Pfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],

mī wì [túmwⁿ‑â l=] [=áā nù],

2Sg pour.Ipfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg in],

‘When you have set the pot on the fire, you pour water in it.’

(01:51) mī yɔ̄{gɔ̄}— [nīī-sīy-à lé]

(false start) [firewood Foc]

[mī kīⁿ nīī-sīy-à],

[2Sg take.Ipfv firewood-Abs],

[mī yɔ̄gɔ̄-yā [à kíŋgè]],

[2Sg insert.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg under]],

‘You ins[ert]—, firewood, you take firewood and youslide it (=wood) under it (=pot).’

*[focus marker* lé *may really have object-PP linking function, anticipating ‘under it’]*

(01:55) mī fō [nà-kány-à sùú],

2Sg go.Ipfv [ember-Abs remove.Purp]

mī [w= [[=āà ní] lɔ̀],

2Sg [put.Ipfv [[3Sg in] Loc],

mī [w= [[=āà ní] lɔ̄] [kɔ̄ŋā-ā lɔ̀],

2Sg [put.Ipfv [[3Sg Dem] Loc] [hearth-Abs Loc],

‘You go and take out some hot coals. You put (them) on that (=firewood), you put (them) on that in the hearth.’

*[<* wī à ní *]*

(01:59) mī yáà [wí kɔ̄ŋā-ā] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

2Sg come.Pfv.and [put.Pfv hearth-Abs] [time Dem],[

mī sɔ̀ⁿ [páá-lā-ā lɔ̀],

2Sg set.Ipfv [pot-Ø-Abs Loc],

‘At the time when you have come and put (it in) the hearth, you put the pot on.’

(02:02) nì túmwⁿ‑â wííyɛ̀, kē sàsì gbénì-kíy-à,

if water-Abs stir.Pfv, 1Sg rinse.Ipfv rice-Abs,

mī wī-yā [ā nù],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg in],

‘When the water stirs (just before boiling), I rinse the rice (grains), I put it (=rice) in it (=water).’

(02:08) nī ā sɛ̀lí, nī à wííyɛ̄ [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg boil(v).Pfv, if 3Sg stir.Pfv [time Dem],

kùrú-dùù-dú-wà,

metal.ladle-Abs,

mī tà [túmwⁿ‑â l=] [=áā yɛ̀],

2Sg draw.water.Ipfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg on],

‘When it boils, when it stirs, at that time, a metal ladle, you scoop water onto it (=rice).

*[*kùrú-dùùdú *‘metal ladle’ < Koro, cf. Pere* tɔ́gɔ́sí-[dù-dúúlí] *‘metal ladle’; <* à lé ā yɛ̀*, with* lé *in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(02:15) nī mì tá [túmwⁿ‑â lé],

if 2Sg draw.water.Pfv [water-Abs Foc],

nì jísì-kíy-ā w= [=āā yɛ̀],

if eye-grain-Abs be [3Sg on],

mī wì [túmú tɛ̄tɛ̄gā-à tí],

2Sg put.Ipfv [water cold-Abs some],

mī wī-yā [ā yɛ̀]*,*

2Sg put.Ipfv-3InanSgObj [3Sg on],

‘When you have scooped water onto it, if eyeballs are on it (=if the grains are still hard), you put some cold water, you put it (=water) on it.’

*[<* wɔ̄ ā yɛ̀*]*

(02:21) nī mì wí [túmú tɛ̄tɛ̄gā-à tí],

if 2Sg put.Pfv [water cold-Abs some],

[mì wí-yā [ā yɛ̀]], mī kāā-à yí,

[2Sg put.Pfv [3Sg on]], 2Sg shut.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,

‘When you have put some cold water, you have put it on it, you shut it (=put the lid on the pot).’

(02:25) nī mì káá-à yí,

if 2Sg shut.Pfv-3SgInanObj apart,

[nī à bé [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

[if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem],

[ɲī fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀],

[2Pl gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc],

‘After you have shut it, when it is done (=cooked), at that time, you collect it (from the pot).’

(02:30) nī ɲì fá-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

if 2Pl gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

ɲī lāgā nī [ā lɔ̀],

2Pl divide.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg PsLoc],

‘When you have collected it, you divide it up.’

(02:32) nì sə́ré-bī-yā wɔ̀ lɔ́,

if man-Pl-Abs be there,

ɲī sō nī [à tí] [[bé ní] lè],

2Pl give.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg some] [[3Pl Dem] Dat],

‘If any men are there, you-Pl give some to those ones.’

(02:36) ɲɛ̀ sém-bī-yà, ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī [à tí],

2Pl woman-Pl-Abs, 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg some],

‘You-Pl women, you-Pl eat some (too).’

(02:38) nī à dó wɔ̀ gbásá-gbā-à, mī pù gbásá-à,

if 3Sg Emph be maize-meal-Abs, 2Sg pound.Ipfv maize-Abs,

‘If on the other hand it is tô of maize, you pound it (to remove the skin of the grains),’

*[tô is a cake made from maize (or millet) in the form of a fairly hard pudding, on which sauce is served;* pú/pù (… yí) *‘pound (maize kernels) to separate the skin from the inner grain’]*

(02:41) nī mì pú gbásá-ā [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀], yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

if 2Sg pound.Pfv maize-Abs [time Dem], mortar-Abs,

pùù kɔ́ yɔ̀ŋgɔ́,

pound(v) time(s) two,

‘When you have pounded the maize, at that time, in a mortar, (you do) two poundings.’

(02:45) mī yà [túmwⁿ‑á ʃòwú],

2Sg come.Ipfv [water-Abs heat.Purp],

mī fāⁿ tōgōnī-yā à lé,

2Sg gather.Ipfv ashes-Abs ObjFoc Foc,

mī wī-yā [ā yɛ̀],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],

‘You come and heat water. You gather ashes [focus], and you put it (=ashes in water) on it (=maize).’

(02:50) [nī mì kúⁿ tōgōnī-yà], mī kūⁿ tɛ̀myⁿ-â,

[if 2Sg take.Pfv ashes-Abs], 2Sg take.Ipfv sieve-Abs,

mū kū-wà,

2Sg sift.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When you have taken some ashes, you take a sieve and you sift it.’

*[<* mī kū-wà*]*

(02:52) nī mī kū-wà, mī yà [túmwⁿ‑á ʃòwú],

if 2Sg sift.Pfv-3SgInanObj, 2Sg come.Ipfv [water-Abs heat.Purp],

mī wī-yà [gbásá-ā yɛ̀],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on],

‘When you have sifted it, you come and heat some water. You put it (water) on the maize.’

(02:56) [nī mī ʃòwú túmwⁿ‑â]

[if 2Sg heat(v).Pfv water-Abs]

[nī mì wí-yà [gbásá-ā yɛ̄]] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

[if 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on]] [time Dem],

‘When you have heated the water and put it on the maize, at that time, …’

*[two juxtaposed clauses backgrounded as an echo]*

(02:58) nì sɛ́ny-à dyé [[jìʃy-â tí] lɔ̀],

if sun-Abs arrive.Pfv [[place-Abs some] Loc],

{mī fā-ŋā —} mī ʃū-wà túmwⁿ‑â,

(false start) 2Sg remove.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,

‘When the sun has reached a certain point (in the sky), you remove it (=maize) from the water.’

(03:02) nī mì ʃú-wà túmwⁿ‑â,

if 2Sg remove.Pfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,

mī yā [ā wìí yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà],

2Sg come.Ipfv [3SgInanObj put.Purp mortar-Abs],

ɲī wēē nī-yà,

2Pl pound.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,

‘When you-Sg have removed it from the water, you-Sg come and put it in the mortar. You-Pl (all the women) pound it.’

(03:07) [nī à wéé] [nī ā pòmə̀lɔ́]

[if 3Sg be.pounded.Pfv] [if 3Sg be.well.pounded.Pfv]

[tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀], mī kū-wà,

[time Dem], 2Sg sift.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When it is pounded (in the mortar) and has been pounded into bits, at that time, you-Sg pound it.’

(03:10) nī mì tá [[à kúú] lɔ̀],

if 2Sg finish.Pfv [[3SgInanObj sift.Prog] Loc],

[[wèè-sí kó tààŋgɔ́] álē wò]

[[pound-VblN time(s) three] all.the.way or]

[[wèè-sí kó yɔ̀ŋgɔ́] álē wò],

[[pound-VblN time(s) two] all.the.way or],

‘When you have finished (pounding and) sifting it, three poundings or two poundings, …’

(03:15) ɲī pō nī [à ní],

2Pl do.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],

mī sɔ̀ⁿ páá-lā-à [nā-à yí],

2Sg set.Pfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘When you-Pl have done that, you-Sg set the pot on the fire.’

(03:18) mī yɔ̄gɔ̄ [nā-à l=] [=áà kíŋgè],

2Sg insert.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],

‘You slide the fire(-wood) under it.’

*[<* nā-à lé à*, with* lé *in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(03:19) mì yɔ́gɔ́ [nā-à l=] [=áà kíŋgē] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

2Sg insert.Pfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under] [time Dem],

ɲī kīⁿ nī gbāāⁿ-gbēgā-à, ɲī sēē-yà,

2Pl take.Ipfv 2Pl kneading.stick-Abs, 2Pl knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When you-Sg have slid the fire(-wood) under it, you-Pl take the kneading stick, and you-Pl knead it (=maize dough).’

*[*lé *in linking function, §13.1.2.3 ;* sēē *variant for ‘knead’ is typical of this speaker]*

(03:25) ɲī séé-yā [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

2Pl knead.Pfv-3SgInanObj [time Dem],

nī à yá bèé, mī fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

if 3Sg come.Pfv be.cooked.Purp, 2Sg gather-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

‘When you-Pl have kneaded it, when it is done (=cooked), you collect it (from the pot).’

(03:29) nī à fá-ndɔ̀, tíyá-à bé,

if 3Sg be.gathered.Pfv-PsLoc, sauce-Abs be.cooked.Pfv,

‘When it has been collected, the sauce is done (=cooked).’

(03:31) nī à dó ŋmá mì,

if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg,

nī [pēē-mɛ̀-míyⁿá-ā yì] ŋmá mī wò,

2Sg [peanut-Pl Dem.Def] please(v).Pfv 2Sg or,

ɲī tūⁿ nī-yà [nā-à yí],

2Pl put.pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘If you like, or if you-Sg like peanuts, you-Pl put it (=peanuts) on the fire.’

(03:36) nī [à ń] dó ŋmá mī wò,

if [3Sg Dem] Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg or,

mī pō [sɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ káàní-yā à lé],

2Sg do.Ipfv [okra fresh-Abs ObjFoc Foc],

‘Or if you like (=prefer), you do fresh okra [focus] (instead of peanuts).’

(03:39) ɲī tūⁿ nī [à ní [ā yɛ̀],

2Pl put.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem] [3Sg on],

mī sɔ̄ⁿ [à ní] [nā-à yí]

2Sg set.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] [fire-Abs in.front.of]

‘You-Pl put that (okra) onto it (=sauce). You set that on the fire.’

(03:41) [nī à ŋmá mì] [mī wēē-yà]

[if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg] [2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj]

[mī wēē-yà],

[2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj],

‘If you like, you pound it (=okra). You pound it.’

*[optional pounding of okra after cooking it; first* mī wēē-yà *is unclear on the recording]*

(03:43) nī mì wéé-yà,

if 2Sg pound.Pfv-3SgInanObj,

mī wī [gbàŋgá-à tə́gá] [ā nù],

2Sg put.Ipfv [salt-Abs some] [3Sg in],

‘When you have pounded it, you put some salt in it.’

(03:46) nī mì wí [gbàŋgá-à tə́gá] [ā nù],

if 2Sg put.Ipfv [salt-Abs some] [3Sg in],

mī kūⁿ-kùⁿ [sɛ́ŋ-â tí], mī tū-ŋā [ā yɛ̀]

2Sg Rdp-take.Ipfv [soda.ash some], 2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],

[à ní] jī-gà,

[3Sg Dem] kill.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When you have put some salt in it, you keep taking some soda ash, you put it (=soda ash) on it (=okra). That (=soda ash) kills it (=okra).’

*[‘kill’ here means ‘reduce the stickiness of’ (the okra sauce);* bú/bù*’toss’ is preferable to* tùⁿ/tùⁿ *‘put’ with regard to soda ash]*

(03:51) nī [à ní] jí-gā [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if [3Sg Dem] kill.Pfv-3SgInanObj [time Dem],

ā bē tɔ̀m-bɔ́,

3Sg be.cooked.Ipfv Recip-Loc,

‘When that has killed it (=okra), it (=okra sauce and soda ash) is cooked together.’

(03:53) nī à bé tɔ̀m-bɔ́,

if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv Recip-Loc,

ɲī dɛɛ̄ nì gbásá-gbā-à, [yū-wà á] yɛ̂,

2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl maize-meal-Abs, [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,

‘When it has been (fully) cooked together, you-Pl eat the maize tô. That’s how it is.’

(03:58) [à dɛ́ɛ́míyⁿ-ā] [yū-wà á] kā wò,

[3Sg sifting.residue-Abs] [3Sg SbjFoc] it.is or,

ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī [à dɛ́ɛ́míyⁿ-à],

2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg sifting.residue-Abs],

‘Or if it (=the topic) is its sifting residue, you-Pl eat its sifting residue.’

*[larger grain bits that do not pass through the sieve]*

(04:01) [nī à ŋmá ɲì]

[if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Pl]

ɲī sɔ̄ⁿ nīy [à ní] [nā-à yí],

2Pl set.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem] [fire-Abs in.front.of],

[à ǹ] dɛ́ɛ́míyⁿ-à,

[3Sg Dem] sifting.residue-Abs,

‘If you-Pl like, you set that on the fire, that sifting residue.’

(04:05) nī à ŋmá mì,

if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg,

nī [à ní] bé [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if [3Sg Dem] be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem],

‘If you-Sg like, when that is done (=cooked),’

(04:07) ɲī wī nì, [gbə̀rèé-gbə̀rèyá-à l=] [=áā nù],

2Pl put.Ipfv 2Pl, [sugar-Abs Foc] [3Sg in],

‘You-Pl put (=mix) sugar into it.’

(04:09) nī à dó ŋmá ɲī wóʔ,

if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Pl Neg,

ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī-yà máà,

2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj like.that,

‘If you-Pl don’t like it (=sugar), you just eat it like that (=without sugar).’

(04:12) [à gbó] pò máà,

[3Sg all] be.done.Ipfv like.that,

[à ní] wɔ̄ [gbā-à tí] lè,

[3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs some] be,

‘Everything is done like that. That (=sifting residue) is food too.

(04:14) {à dɛ́ɛ́} gbásá-gbā-à, {à ní—,}

(false start) maize-meal-Abs, (false start)

[à dɛ́ɛ́míyⁿ-ā] wɔ̀ lɔ́,

[3Sg sifting.residue-Abs] be there,

wó dī [à ní]

1Pl eat.Ipfv [3Sg Dem]

‘Maize tô, its sifting residue is there. We eat that.’

*[*dī *<* dɛ̀ɛ̀*]*

(04:19) [gbé-sōgā-ā lē] wò, nī à ŋmá mī,

[cassava-Abs be] or, if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg,

mī pō [à bə́réwy-áà],

2Sg do.Ipfv [3Sg porridge-Abs],

‘Or (if) it’s cassava, if you like, you make its porridge.’

*[*bə́réwé *‘porridge (of yam or cassava)’]*

(04:23) nī [à bə́réwy-áà] ŋmá mì wóʔ

if [3Sg porridge-Abs] please(v).Pfv 2Sg Neg,

ɲī fāⁿ nī [ā kààní-yà] tɔ́ŋɛ́-ɛ̀,

2Pl gather.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg freshness-Abs] field-Loc,

‘If you-Sg don’t like its porridge, you-Pl gather it fresh in the fields.’

(04:27) mī sāālī-yà yí,

2Sg cut.up.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,

‘You-Sg cut it (=cassava) up into pieces.’

(04:28) ɲī sàà-líí nī-yà yí [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

2Pl cut.up.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj apart [time Dem],

mī sā-gā lɔ̀, [sɛ́ny-à kíŋgè],

2Sg dry.Ipfv-3SgInanObj PsLoc, [sun-Abs under],

‘(When) you-Pl have cut it up, you-Sg dry it out, under the sun.’

(04:32) nī mì sá-gā lɔ̀ [sɛ́ny-à kíŋgè], [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀]

if 2Sg dry.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsLoc [sun-Abs under], [time Dem]

nī ā gbàgàlá [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg dry.Pfv [time Dem],

‘When you-Sg have dried it out in the sun, when it has dried off, …’

(04:37) é! [ké gbé-sōgā-ā] gbàgàlá, mī fā-ŋà,

oh! [1Sg cassava-Abs] dry.Pfv, 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

[mī nā-ŋā] yà yégá-à,

[2Sg with-3InanSg] come.Ipfv village-Abs,

‘(You say:) “Oh! My cassava has dried.” You gather it, you bring it to the village.’

(04:41) [mī yāā] [wēē-yā yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà],

[2Sg come.Ipfv.and] [pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs],

bē tē [à náŋá] lé, gbɛ̄mā-gbā-à,

3Pl say.Ipfv [3Sg possession] Rel, cassava.tô-Abs,

‘You-Sg come and pound it in a mortar. (It’s) what they call “cassava tô.” ’

(04:45) gbé-sōgā-ā nī gbɛ̄mā-gbā-à lé, [à ní] gbɛ̄mā-gbā-à,

cassava-Abs and cassava.tô-Abs Foc, [3Sg Dem] cassava.tô-Abs,

ɲī sēēgā nī [à ní],

2Pl knead.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem]

‘Cassava and tô of cassava. That tô of cassava, You-Pl knead that.’

*[bisyllabic variant for ‘knead’, cf.* sēē *for this speaker elsewhere]*

(04:51) bɛ̄bɛ̄-kɔ̄-mwⁿ-a᷆, nī à ŋmá mì,

already-owner-Pl-Abs, if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg,

mī wì [dówá ʃōōlā-ā l=] [=áā yɛ̀],

2Sg pour.Ipfv [oil red-Abs Foc] [3Sg on],

‘(Among) the people of olden times, if you liked, you would pour red palm oil on it.’

*[*bɛ̀bɛ̀ *‘already’; cf.* fwé-kɔ̄-mwⁿ-a᷆ *‘people of old’; oil from oil palm]*

(04:54) nī à dó ŋmá mì,

if 3Sg Emph please(v).Pfv 2Sg,

mī wì [dówá ʃōōlā-ā l=] [=áā yɛ̀] wóʔ,

2Sg pour.Ipfv [oil red-Abs Foc] [3Sg on] Neg,

ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī-yà,

2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,

‘If you-Sg liked (=preferred), you-Sg didn’t pour red palm oil on it. You-Pl ate it.’

(04:59) ɲì dɛ́ɛ́ nī [à ní],

2Pl eat.Pfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],

[à ní] wɔ̄ [gbā-à tí] lè,

[3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs some] be,

‘(When) you had eaten that, that (too) was food.’

(05:02) *bon*, gbéndì-kí-yà, [à ní] wɔ̀ lɔ́ dɛ̀ŋ,

well, rice-grain-Abs, [3Sg Dem] be there furthermore,

nī à ŋmá mì, mī sēēgā-yà,

if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg, 2Sg knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘Well, rice, that too is there. If you like, you knead it.’

(05:07) nì gbéndì-kí-yā nī à bé [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if rice-grain-Abs if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem],

mī sēēgā-yà, [nī gbāāŋ-gbēgā-à],

2Sg knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj, [with kneading.stick-Abs],

‘When the rice, when it has been cooked, you-Sg knead it, with a kneading stick.’

(05:12) mī fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀, nī kāgā-à,

2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc, with calabash.Art,

‘You collect it (from the pot), with (=into) a calabash.’

(05:14) nī mì fá-ŋā-ndɔ̄ [nī kāgā-à lé],

if 2Sg gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc [with calabash Foc],

mī tīŋā-yà, mámbè bōmwⁿ-a᷆ sí,

2Sg shake.Ipfv-3SgInanObj, whether foutou-Abs like,

‘When you have collected it with a calabash, you shake it, as though it were (a ball of) foutou.’

*[*mámbè X sí *‘like X, as though X’]*

(05:19) nī à wí [tɔ̄ⁿ yɛ̀] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg be.put.Pfv [Recip on] [time Dem],

mī bū-wā [tàsáⁿ-ā kòndɔ́],

2Sg toss.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [bowl-Abs inside],

‘When it (=they) have been put (=mixed) together, you toss it (=them) into the (eating) bowl.’

(05:23) nī mì bú-wā [tàsáⁿ-à kòndɔ́],

if 2Sg toss.Pfv-3SgInanObj [bowl-Abs inside],

mī yà [tíyá-à pɛ́ɛ̀ⁿ],

2Sg come.Ipfv [sauce-Abs stir.Purp]

‘When you have tossed it into the bowl, you come and stir the sauce.’

*[stiring with a stirring stick held vertically, turned by the hands like an eggbeater]*

(05:26) mī pɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ tíyá-à [tíì-míny-á yī] kā wò,

2Sg stir.Pfv sauce-Abs [sauce-powder-Abs Foc] be or,

mī pɛ̄ɛ̄ⁿ [à ní],

2Sg stir.Ipfv [3Sg Dem],

‘(When) you have stirred the sauce, or (=for example) it’s “sauce powder,” you stir that.’

*[“sauce powder” is dried powdered okra]*

(05:28) mī pɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ tíì-míny-ā [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

2Sg stir.Ipfv sauce-powder-Abs [time Dem],

mī fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

‘When you have stirred sauce powder, you collect it.’

(05:32) mì fá-ŋā-ndɔ̀, [ɲì pwólí nī-yà]

2Sg gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc, [2Pl divide.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj]

[ɲī pwòlí nī-yà], ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī-yà,

[2Pl divide.Pfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj], 2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,

‘(When) you-Sg have collected it, you-Pl share it. (When) you-Pl have shared it, you-Pl eat it.’

(05:37) ɲì dɛ́ɛ́ nī [à ní],

2Pl eat.Pfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],

[à ní] wɔ̄ [gbā-à tí] lè,

[3Sg Dem] be [meal-Abs some] be,

‘When you-Pl have eaten that, that is food too.’

(05:40) [à ní] wɔ̀— gbénì-kí-yà, à gbásá-gbā-à,

[3Sg Dem] be— rice-grain-Abs, 3Sg maize.tô-Abs,

ánáŋá yɛ̂,

thus Dem,

‘That is—, rice. Maize tô. That is like that.’

(05:44) kɛ́ww-â, wó sēē [à ní] wóʔ,

sorghum-Abs, 1Pl knead.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] Neg,

[wó kɔ́nì] wó wēē [à ní],

[1Pl Topic] 1Pl pound.Ipfv [3Sg Dem],

‘Sorghum. We don’t knead that one. As for us, we pound that one (in a mortar).’

*[other speakers pronounce* wó sēgā à ní*;* kɔ́nì *topicalizer]*

(05:48) nì ó wéé [à ní],

if 1Pl pound.Pfv [3Sg Dem],

wó pō [à bágá-à],

1Pl do.Ipfv [3Sg porridge-Abs],

‘When we have pounded that, we make its porridge.’

(05:51) [nì ó pō [à bágá-à]] [nī à ŋmá mī],

[if 1Pl do.Pfv [3Sg porridge-Abs]] [if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg],

mī wī [gbə̀rèé-gbə̀rèyá-ā l=] [=áā nù],

2Sg pour.Ipfv [sugar-Abs Foc] [3Sg in],

‘When we have made its porridge, if you-Sg like, you pour sugar into it.’

(05:54) nī à ŋmá mī, mī sɔ̄‑ŋà máà,

if 3Sg please(v).Pfv 2Sg, 2Sg set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj like.that,

[à ní] wɔ̀ [kɛ́ww-â náŋá],

[3Sg Dem] be [sorghum-Abs possession],

‘If you like (=prefer), you set it (on the fire) just like that (=without sugar). That is the account of sorghum.’

(06:00) à tá, [yū-wà á] yɛ̂,

3Sg finish.Pfv, [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,

sèndú [yū-wà á] yɛ̂,

S [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,

‘It’s finished. That’s it. Seydou, that’s it.’

(06:03) lé wɔ̀ [ké kòndɔ́] [yū-wà á] yɛ̂,

Rel be [1Sg inside] [3Sg SbjFoc] Dem,

‘What is inside me (=what I know), that’s it.’

*[headless subject relative]*

## 2018-09 “Preparing meals 2”

speaker: Fofana Nasaniya

(00:06) kɛ́ɛ́ bōmwⁿ-a᷆ pō là

that foutou-Abs be.done.Ipfv how?

(Seydou:) ‘(Say) how is foutou made?

(00:09) bōmwⁿ-a᷆, nī sōgā-à sú tɔ́ŋɛ́-ɛ̀,

foutou, if yam-Abs be.removed.Pfv field-Loc,

wó kùⁿ síílá-à, wó tɛ̄ɛ̄tə̄rī-yà,

1Pl take.Ipfv knife-Abs, 1Pl peel.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘Foutou. When yams are brought from the fields, we take a knife and we peel it (=them).’

(00:18) n= =ōō tɛ̀ɛ̀tə́rí-yà,

if 1Pl peel.Pfv-3SgInanObj,

wó wī-yà túmwⁿ‑á tàsáⁿ-à,

1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs bowl-Abs,

‘When we have peeled it, we put it in water in a large bowl.’

(00:24) nī à wí tàsáⁿ-ā [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg be.put.Pfv bowl-Abs [time Dem],

wó sāālī-yà yí,

1Pl cut.up.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,

‘When it has been put in the bowl, we cut it up.’

(00:29) n= =ōō sààlí-yà yí,

if 1Pl cut.up.Pfv-3SgInanObj apart,

wó sāsī-yà,

1Pl rinse.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When we have cut it up, we rinse it.’

(00:34) n= =ōō sàsí-yà,

if 1Pl rinse.Pfv-3SgInanObj,

wó kùⁿ páá-lā-à, wó wī-yā [ā nù],

1Pl take.Ipfv pot-Ø-Abs, 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg in],

‘When we have rinsed it, we take a pot and we put it (=yam) into it.’

(00:40) n= =ōō wí-yā [ā nū] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg in] [time Dem],

wó sɔ̄‑ŋā [nā-à yí],

1Pl set.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘When we have put it into it, we set it (=pot) on the fire.’

(00:45) n= =ōō sɔ́‑ŋā [nā-à yí],

if 1Pl set.Pfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of]

wó tà túmwⁿ‑â, wó wī-yā [ā yɛ̀],

1Pl draw.water.Ipfv water-Abs, 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],

‘When we have set it on the fire, we draw some water, we put (=add) it onto it (=yam).’

(00:51) n= =ōō wí [túmwⁿ‑â l=] [=áā yɛ̄] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 1Pl put.Pfv [water-Abs Foc] [3Sg on] [time Dem],

wó māā [nā-à l=] [=áà kíŋgè],

1Pl build.fire.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],

‘When we have added the water onto it (=yam), we build a fire under it (=pot with yam).’

*[*lé *in linking function (twice here and once in the following segment), §13.1.2.3]*

(00:56) n= =ōō máá [nā-à l=] [=áà kíŋgè],

if 1Pl build.fire.Pfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],

wó kā-à yí,

1Pl shut.Ipfv-3SgInanObj apart,

‘When we have built a fire under it, we cover it (=pot, with lid).’

(01:01) [sɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ káàní-yà], wó fāⁿ [à ní]

[okra fresh-Abs], 1Pl gather.Ipfv [3Sg Dem]

wó sāālīī [ā ɲīŋā-ā] nī [ā mɛ̄ŋā-à],

1Pl cut.up.Ipfv [3Sg head-Abs] and [3Sg nose-Abs],

wó tū-ŋā [bōmwⁿ-ā yɛ̀],

1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [foutou-Abs on],

‘Fresh okra. We gather that. We cut off its head and its nose. We put it on the foutou.’

*[‘head’ = top end, ‘nose’ = bottom end; ‘on the foutou’ slightly misspoken for ‘on the yam’ since it has not yet become foutou (cf. 01:14 below)]*

(01:11) kɔ̄ sēē—

1Sg know.Ipfv—

[wó bōmwⁿ-ā] pò [máā lè] wâ,

[1Pl foutou-Abs] be.done.Ipfv [like.that Inst] Emph,

[wó tíí-bōmwⁿ-ā] pò [máā lè],

[1Pl sauce-foutou-Abs] be.done.Ipfv [like.that Inst],

‘(What) I know—. Our foutou is made like that. Our foutou with sauce is made like that.’

*[*máā lè *‘like that’, §8.8.2.1]*

(01:14) n= [=āà ní]—

if [3Sg Dem]—

n= =ōō tūⁿ [à ní] [sōgā-ā yɛ̀],

if 1Pl put.Pfv [3Sg Dem] [yam-Abs on],

‘When that—, when we have put that on the yam, …’

(01:17) nī bōmwⁿ-a᷆ bé, wó kīⁿ-yⁿā

if foutou-Abs be.cooked.Pfv, 1Pl take.Pfv-3SgInanObj

[à yí], wó ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́-yā yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

[3Sg in.front.of], 1Pl bring.near.Ipfv-3InanSgObj mortar-Abs,

‘…, when the foutou (=yam) is cooked, we take it off of it (=fire). We bring it to a mortar.’

(01:24) [ʃōlī yɔ̀ŋg= =áá] kā wò,

[pestle two SbjFoc] be or,

[ʃòlì pííⁿ-d= =áá] kā wò,

[pestle one SbjFoc] be or,

‘It may be (with) two pestles, or it may be (with) one pestle.’

*[clause-final* wò *in disjunctions, §7.2.4]*

(01:28) ɲì ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́ nī [à ní],

2Pl bring.near.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],

ɲī sāsī [à ní]— ɲī sāsī nī [à ní],

(false start) 2Pl rinse.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg Dem],

‘You-Pl bring it (=pestle) up. You-Pl rinse—, you-Pl rinse that (=pestle).’

*[the pestle is washed off briefly]*

(01:32) n= =ōō sàsí-yà,

if 1Pl rinse.Pfv-3SgInanObj,

wó fāⁿ [sɛ̄ŋā-à l=] [=áà níndè],

1Pl gather.Ipfv [okra-Abs Foc] [3Sg over],

‘When we have rinsed it, we gather okra onto it.’

*[*lé *in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(01:37) wó wī [à ní] [yɔ̄gɔ̄nī tə̄r-a᷆],

1Pl put.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] [mortar small-Abs],

[tíí-[wèè-lɔ́] [yɔ̄gɔ̄nī tə̄r-ā]] lɔ̀,

[sauce-[pound-PsLoc.VblN] [mortar small-Abs]] Loc,

‘We put it (=okra) in a small mortar, in a small mortar (used) for pounding sauce (ingredients).’

*[purposive compound, §5.2.3]*

(01:40) n= =ōō wí [à ní]

if 1Pl put.Pfv [3Sg Dem]

[tíí-wèè-lɔ́ [yɔ̄gɔ̄nī tə̄r-ā]],

[sauce-pound-Purp [mortar small-Abs]],

wó fāⁿ bōmwⁿ-ā, wó wī-yā yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

1Pl gather.Ipfv foutou-Abs, 1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs,

‘When we have put it (=okra) in a small mortar for pounding sauce, we gather (=take out) the foutou (=the yam) and we put it in a mortar.’

(01:47) n= =ōō sú sōgā-à

if 1Pl remove.Pfv yam-Abs

wó wí-yà [yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yā lɔ̀],

1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [mortar-Abs Loc],

wó wēē-yà,

1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When we have taken the yam out and have put it in the mortar, we pound it.’

(01:51) n= =ōō tá [[à wéé] lɔ̀],

if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[3Sg pound.Prog] Loc],

[ɲɛ̀ sə́ré-bī-yā] wɔ̀ lɔ́,

[2Pl man-Pl-Abs] be there,

‘When we have finished pounding it, (if) you men are there, …’

*[‘finish VPing’ with progressive complement, §16.8.2]*

(01:57) wó sù [sə́ré-bī-yà náŋà lé] té,

1Pl remove.Ipfv [man-Pl-Abs possession Foc] aside,

wó fw= [[=āà ní] sòó]

1Pl go.Ipfv [[3Sg Dem] give.Purp]

‘… we put the men’s portion [focus] to the side. We go and give that (to them).’

*[<* wó fò *;* té *adverbial ‘aside, separate’, cf. @ 04:54]*

(02:01) n= =ōō tá [[à ní] sóó] lɔ̀,

if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[3Sg Dem] give.Prog] Loc],

wó yà [[wó náŋá] wèé],

1Pl come.Ipfv [[1Pl possession] pound.Purp],

‘When we have finished giving that (to them), we come and pound our portion.’

*[‘finish VPing’ with progressive complement, §16.8.2]*

(02:06) wó fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀, [[wó sé-mbī-yā] ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́],

1Pl gather-3SgInanObj-PsLoc, [[1Pl woman-Pl-Abs] approach.Ipfv,

[wó dī [à ní],

[1Pl eat.Ipfv [3Sg Dem],

‘We collect it. We women approach (=come together), we eat that.’

*[<* dɛ̄ɛ̄ à ní*]*

(02:13) n= =ōō tá [[[à ní] dɛ́ɛ́] lɔ̀],

if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] eat.Prog] Loc],

sə́ré-bī-yà lé nà-másy-à, ēē-tàà-másy-à,

man-Pl-Abs said woman-thanks-Abs, (reply),

sém-bī-yà, tòò-másy-à, ēē-nà-másy-à,

woman-Pl-Abs, man-thanks-Abs, (reply),

‘When we have finished eating that, the men say “nà-másy-à.” (Women’s reply:) “ēē-tà-másy-à.” Women (say) “tòò-másy-à.” (Men’s reply:) “ēē-nà-másy-à.”

*[Archaic phrases to give thanks for food, after eating. Prefixes distinguish* nà-másy-à *‘thanks for food’ (to women) from* tòò-másy-à *‘thanks for food (to men)’. The responses are likewise* ēē-nà-másy-à *‘you’re welcome (to women)’ and with* o/a *shift* ēē-tàà-másy-à *‘you’re welcome (to men)’]*

(02:26) wó wààsə̀rɔ̀, [wó gbó] fò [wó nàn-dè],

1Pl disperse.Ipfv, [1Pl all] go.Ipfv [1Pl Poss],

‘We disperse. We all go home.’

(02:30) nì [sə́ré gbáá-lā-ā]— [ʃóó gbáá-lā-ā] wɔ̀ lɔ́,

if [man big-Ø-Abs]— [woman big-Ø-Abs] be there,

ɲī fō nì [[ʃóó gbáá-lā-ā wāā] tə̀ré],

2Pl go.Ipfv 2Pl [[woman big-Ø-Abs 3Sg(?)] beside],

‘If an old man— (or rather) an old woman is there, you-Pl go up next to the old woman.’

*[*wāā *is obscure, possibly contracted from 3Sg pronoun* yū-wā *; repeated in the following segment]*

(02:34) wó ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́ [gbā-à gbó],

1Pl bring.near.Ipfv [meal-Abs all],

[ʃóó gbáá-lā-ā wāā] tə̀ré,

[woman big-Ø-Abs 3Sg(?)] beside,

wó dɛ̄ɛ̄ [gbā-ā à lé],

1Pl eat.Ipfv [meal-Abs ObjFoc Foc],

‘We bring all of the food to the side of the old woman. We eat the meal [focus].’

(02:41) sə́ré-bī-yà náŋá, [à ní] wɔ̀ máà,

man-Pl-Abs possession, [3Sg Dem] be like.that,

‘(As for) the men’s, that is like that (=similar).’

(02:44) gbɔ́rɔ́wá-ā wɔ̀ lɔ́, gbā-ā fō

old.man-Abs be there, meal-Abs go.Ipfv

[sɔ̀ɔ́ⁿ [gbɔ́rɔ́wá-à yí]]— [gbɔ́ẁⁿ píyè],

[be.set.Purp [old.man, in.front.of]]— [foot between],

ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī-yà,

2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-SgInanObj,

‘(If) an old man is there, the meal goes and is set down in front of the old man— between (=at) the feet. You-Pl (=men) eat it.’

*[slightly broken, repair as* sɔ̀ɔ́ⁿ [[gbɔ́rɔ́wá-à gbɔ́ẁⁿ] píyè] *‘is set down between (=at) the old man’s feet’]*

(02:50) n= =ōō tá [[[à ń] dɛ̀ɛ̀-sí-yā] lɔ̀],

if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[[3Sg Dem] eat-VblN-Abs] Loc],

wó tè á-másy-à á-másy-à, wó wààsə̀rɔ̀,

1Pl say.Ipfv thanks.for.food thanks.for.food, 1Pl disperse.Ipfv,

[à ní] tá,

[3Sg Dem] be.finished.Pfv,

‘When we have finished eating that, we say “thanks for food!” We disperse. That (text segment) is finished.’

*[*tá *‘finish’, here with verbal-noun complement, §16.8.2]*

(02:55) (Seydou: gbásá-gbā-à )

( maize.tô-Abs)

gbásá-gbā-à, n= =ōō lé

maize.tô-Abs, if 1Pl said

[nɔ̄= =ɔ̄ pò gbásá-gbā-à yí],

[Hort 1Pl do.Ipfv maize.tô-Abs apart],

(Seydou: ‘maize tô’)

Speaker: ‘Maize tô. If we say, “let’s make maize tô, …” ’

*[<* nì ó *‘if we’;* yí *is superfluous]*

(03:00) wó kùⁿ gbásá-à,

1Pl take.Ipfv maize-Abs,

wó wī-yā yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs,

‘… we take some maize and we put it in a mortar.’

(03:04) n= =ōō wí-yā yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

if 1Pl put.Pfv-3SgInanObj mortar-Abs,

wó pū-wà,

1Pl pound.maize.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When we have put it (=maize) in the mortar, we pound it.’

(03:08) n= =ōō pú gbāsā-à,

if 1Pl sift.Pfv maize-Abs,

wó fíítə́rɔ́ [ā lɔ̀],

1Pl winnow.Ipfv [3Sg PsLoc],

‘When we have sifted the maize, we winnow it.’

*[‘winnow’ here with pseudo-locative complement (likely archaic)]*

(03:11) [n= =ōō kíⁿ sáálá-à]

if 1Pl take.Pfv van-Abs]

[n= =ōō fììtə́rɔ́-yà],

[if 1Pl winnow.Pfv-3SgInanObj],

[ā wèè-sí] kɔ́ yɔ̀ŋgɔ́, ā bògòlì,

[3Sg pound-VblN] time(s) two, 3Sg be.cleaned.Ipfv,

‘When we have taken a winnowing van and have winnowed it, (after) two poundings (and winnowings), it (=maize) is cleaned (of impurities).’

(03:17) nī ā bògòlí [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg be.cleaned.Pfv [time Dem],

wó fíítə́rɔ́-yà,

1Pl winnow.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When it has been cleaned, we winnow it.’

(03:21) n= =āā fììtə́rɔ́, mī kūⁿ— tōgōnī-yà,

if 3Sg be.winnowed.Pfv, 2Sg take.Ipfv— ashes-Abs,

mī kīⁿ tɛ̀myⁿ-â, mī kū-wà,

2Sg take.Ipfv sieve-Abs, 2Sg sift.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

mī wī-yà [gbásá-ā yɛ̀],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on],

‘When it has been winnowed, you-Sg take—, (some) ashes. You-Sg take a sieve and you sift it (=ashes). You put (=add) it on the maize.’

(03:32) nī mì tá [[à kúú] lɔ̀]

if 2Sg finish.Pfv [[3Sg sift.Prog] Loc]

[mì wí-yà [gbásá-ā yɛ̀]],

[2Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [maize-Abs on]],

‘When you have finished sifting it and have added it on the maize, …’

(03:35) mī yà [[túmú ʃòwwá-ā] kùúⁿ],

2Sg come.Ipfv [[water hot-Abs] take.Ipfv],

mī wī-yā [ā yɛ̀],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on],

‘You-Sg come and take some hot water. You put it (=hot water) on it (=maize).’

(03:40) nī mì kúⁿ [[túmú ʃòwwá-ā] [mì wí [ā yɛ̀]],

if 2Sg take.Pfv [[water hot-Abs] [2Sg put.Pfv [3Sg on]],

mī yɔ̀gɔ̀ [kúrúwá-à l=] [=áà kíŋgè],

2Sg insert.Ipfv [stirring.stick-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],

‘When you-Sg have taken hot water and put (=added) it on it, you immerse a stirring stick at the bottom.’

*[the business end of the eggbeater-like stirring stick goes down to the bottom of the mix;* lé *in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(03:45) [túmú ʃòwwá-à] n= =āà ʃíí—

[water hot-Abs] if 3Sg catch.Pfv—

à ʃí-yā lè,

3Sg catch.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsDat,

n= =āà ʃí-yā lē [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 3Sg catch.Pfv-3SgInanObj PsDat [time Dem],

‘When the hot water catches— when it catches (=absorbs) it (=maize),

(03:51) nī bè tá [sɛ́ɛ́-fə̄rāⁿ]-gbàndí-yà,

if 3Pl finish.Pfv [2PM.prayer]-prayer-Abs,

nī làgàzə̀rá wɔ̀ [yáá lɔ̀],

if 4PM.prayer be [come.Prog Loc],

mī fā-ŋā-ndɔ̄,

2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

mī sū-wà túmwⁿ‑â,

2Sg remove.Ipfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs,

‘When you have finished the 2PM prayer, and the 4PM prayer is coming, you collect (=take out) it (=maize), you remove it from the water.’

*[*sɛ́ɛ́- *is pronounced* sə́rɛ́ *on the recording; Muslim afternoon prayers used as temporal landmarks]*

(04:00) nī mì sú-wà túmwⁿ‑á [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 2Sg remove.Pfv-3SgInanObj water-Abs [time Dem],

nì túmwⁿ‑â fáⁿ [ā nù],

if water-Abs be.gathered.Pfv [3Sg in],

mì ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́ yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà, mī wēē-yà,

2Sg bring.near.Ipfv mortar-Abs, 2Sg pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When you have removed it from the water, when the water has been collected (=removed) from in it, you bring a mortar near and you pound it.’

(04:08) nī mì tá [à wéé] lɔ̀],

if 2Sg finish.Pfv [3Sg pound.Prog] Loc],

[ā wèè-sí kɔ́ tààŋgɔ́], à náá— à náá-mə̄ry-a᷆,

[3Sg pound-VblN time(s) three], (false start) 3Sg four-Ordinal-Abs,

‘When you have finished pounding it, three poundings, (after) the fourth (time), …’

*[ordinal adjective, §4.5.7.2]*

(04:14) mī sɔ̄ⁿ gbàà-páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],

2Sg set.Ipfv meal-pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],

mī yɔ̄gɔ̄ [nā-à l=] [=áà kíŋgè],

2Sg insert.Ipfv [fire-Abs Foc] [3Sg under],

‘…, you set the pot on the fire. You slide fire(wood) under it.’

*[cf.* ké kíŋgè *‘under me’;* lé *in linking function, §13.1.2.3]*

(04:19) sɛ́nī mī tā [à náá-mə̄r-a᷆],

before 2Sg finish.Ipfv [3Sg four-Ordinal-Abs],

sɛ́nī yā mī tā [à náá-mə̄r-ā] wèè-sí

before Fut 2Sg finish.Ipfv [3Sg four-Ordinal-Abs] pound-VblN

[ā lɔ̀],túmwⁿ‑á wììyɛ̀,

[3Sg Loc], water-Abs boil.Ipfv,

‘Eventually you finish the fourth one. Eventually you will finish the fourth one of pounding it. The water comes to a boil.’

*[*sɛ́nì *‘before’, §16.3.3]*

(04:25) nì túmwⁿ‑â wííyɛ̄ [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if water-Abs boil.Pfv [time Dem],

mì ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́ gbāāŋ-gbēgā-à,

2Sg bring.near.Ipfv kneading.stick-Abs,

mī tà [túmú ʃòwwá-à tí],

2Sg draw.water.Ipfv [water hot-Abs some],

‘When the water has come to a boil, you draw (=get) some of the hot water.’

(04:33) mī wī-yā [ā yɛ̀], mī tīŋā-yà,

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [3Sg on], 2Sg stir.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

nī mī fàmə́rɔ́-yà, mī kī-ŋà,

if 2Sg mix.Pfv-3SgInanObj, 2Sg take.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘You put (=pour) it (=hot water) on it (=maize). You stir it. When you have mixed it (together), you take it.’

(04:39) mī wī-yā [nā-à yí],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],

mī kūⁿ gbāāŋ-gbēgā-à, mī sēēgā-yà,

2Sg take.Ipfv kneading.stick-Abs, 2Sg knead.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘You take it and you put it (in the pot) on the fire. You take the kneading stick and you knead it (maize).’

(04:44) nī à bé [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀], mī kīⁿ kāgā-à,

if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv [time Dem], 2Sg take.Ipfv calabash-Abs,

mī— wó fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

2Sg— 1Pl gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

‘When it is done (=cooked), you take a calabash, and you— we collect (the maize, in the calabash).’

(04:50) n= =ōō kúⁿ kāgā-à

if 1Pl take.Pfv calabash-Abs

[wó fá-ŋā-ndɔ̀],

[1Pl collect.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc],

wó wī-yā tàsáⁿ-à,

1Pl put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj bowl-Abs,

‘When we have taken the calabash and we have collected it, we put it into the (eating) bowl.’

(04:54) [sə́ré-bī-yà náŋá] wɔ̀ té,

[man-Pl-Abs possession] be aside,

[sém-bī-yà náŋá] wɔ̀ té,

[woman-Pl-Abs possession] be aside,

‘The men’s portion is separate, the women’s portion is separate.’

*[i.e. the food is divided into collective men’s and women’s portions; adverb* té *apart, separate’ in two parallel clauses]*

(04:58) nī à ŋmá [ɲɔ̀ŋɔ̀ lé] yí,

if 3Sg please(v).Pfv [person.Abs Rel] apart,

[à ní] sɛ̄nī [à tí],

[3Sg Dem] ask.for.Ipfv [3Sg some],

‘(If there is) someone who likes (=prefers), that one asks for some of it (too).’

(05:01) wó sō [à tí] [[à ní] kɔ̄] lè]

1Pl give.Ipfv [3SgInanObj some] [[3Sg Dem] owner-Abs] Dat]

ɲì pwólí nī-yà,

2Pl divide.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,

‘We give some to that person. You-Pl share it’

*[‘its owner’ = ‘the fellow’, a generic referent previously introduced, cf. Fr* l’intéressé*]*

(05:04) Seydou: mlâⁿ-gbā-ā [à ní] pō là

rice-meal-Abs [3Sg Dem] be.made.Ipfv how?

(Seydou:) ‘A rice meal, how is that made?’

(05:05) mlâⁿ-gbā-ā …

rice-meal-Abs …

(Speaker:) ‘A rice meal, …’

*[recording is cut off at this point, resumes with 2018-10]*

## 2018-10 “Preparing meals 3”

speaker: Fofana Nasaniya

(00:01) gbéndì-kí-yà náŋá, gbéndì-kí-yà,

rice-grain-Abs possession, rice-grain-Abs,

ǹ bē sò, sə́ré-bī-yā sō [mlâⁿ lé] wə̄‑rē,

if 3Pl give.Pfv, man-Pl-Abs give.Ipfv [rice Rel] 1Pl-Dat,

‘About rice (grain). Rice (grain). When they give—. Men give rice to us (women).’

*[*wə̄‑rē *sounds like* wō-lē *on recording]*

(00:08) wó wī [à ní] yɔ̄gɔ̄nī-yà,

1Pl put.Ipfv [3Sg Dem] mortar-Abs,

wó wēē-yà,

1Pl pound.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘We put that in the mortar. We pound it.’

(00:12) n= =ōō tá [[à wéé] lɔ̄] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 1Pl finish.Pfv [[3Sg pound.Prog] Loc] [time Dem],

wó fíítə́rɔ́ [ā lɔ̀],

1Pl winnow.Ipfv [3Sg PsLoc],

‘When we have finished pounding it, we winnow it.’

(00:17) [n= =āā fiìtə́rɔ́] [à tá],

[if 3Sg be.winnowed.Pfv] [3Sg finish],

mī sɔ̀ⁿ páá-lā-ā [nā-à yí],

2Sg set.Ipfv pot-Ø-Abs [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘When it is winnowed and it (=winnowing) is finished, you-Sg set the pot on the fire.’

(00:21) mī māā [nā-à y=] [=āà kíŋgè],

2Sg build.fire.Ipfv [fire-Abs ObjFoc] [3Sg under],

‘You build a fire under it (=pot).’

*[*yì *in linking function, § 13.1.2.3]*

(00:24) nī [à túmwⁿ‑â] wííyɛ̄ [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if [3Sg water-Abs] boil.Pfv [time Dem],

mī sàsì gbéndì-kí-yà,

2Sg rinse.Ipfv rice-grain-Abs,

mī wī-yā [nā-à yí],

2Sg put.Ipfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],

‘When its (=the pot’s) water has come to a boil, you rinse the rice grain and you put it on the fire.’

(00:31) nī mì wí-yā [nā-à yí],

if 2Sg put.Pfv-3SgInanObj [fire-Abs in.front.of],

nī ā sɛ̀lí [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

[if 3Sg boil.Pfv [time Dem],

‘When you have put it on the fire, when it has boiled well, you take a metal ladle, …’

(00:35) mī kūⁿ kùrú-dùù-dú-wà,

2Sg take.Ipfv metal.ladle-Abs,

mī tā [à túmwⁿ‑â],

Sg draw.water.Ipfv [3Sg water-Abs],

‘… you take a metal ladle, you draw (=get) some (“its”) water.’

(00:40) nī mì tá [à túmwⁿ‑á] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 2Sg draw.water.Pfv [3Sg water-Abs] [time Dem],

mī ɲīrⁿī [à jísì-kí-yà],

2Sg look.at.Ipfv [3Sg rice-grain-Abs],

‘When you have drawn (=gotten) its water, you look at its rice grains.’

*[i.e. to see whether it’s done]*

(00:44) nī mì ɲáá lè jísì-kéé w= [=āā yɛ̀]

if 2Sg see PsDat rice-grain be [3Sg on]

mī tà [túmú tɛ̄tɛ̄gā-à],

2Sg draw.water.Ipfv [water cool-Abs],

‘If you see that there are (uncooked) grains on it, you draw (=get) some cold water.’

*[<* wɔ̄ ā yɛ̀*]*

(00:48) mī wī [à tí] [ā yɛ̀],

2Sg put.Ipfv [3Sg some] [3Sg on],

mī kāā à yí,

2Sg shut.Ipfv 3SgInanObj apart,

‘You put (=pour) it (=water) on it. You cover it (with a lid).’

(00:52) nī mì káá [à yí] [tìnì yɛ́ɛ̀],

if 2Sg shut.Pfv [3SgInanObj apart] [time Dem],

nī nàà-yí-yà fììl= [=áā yɛ̀], mī ɲīrⁿī-yà,

if steam-Abs get.up.Pfv [3Sg on], 2Sg look.at.Ipfv-3SgInanObj,

‘When you have covered it, when the steam rises on (=over) it, you look at (=check) it.’

*[<* fììlé ā yɛ̀ *]*

(00:59) nī à bé, mī fā-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

if 3Sg be.cooked.Pfv, 2Sg gather.Ipfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

‘When it is done (=cooked), you collect (=remove) it (from the pot).’

(01:02) nī mì fá-ŋā-ndɔ̀,

if 2Sg gather.Pfv-3SgInanObj-PsLoc,

sə́ré-bī-yà nī wɔ̀ lɔ́,

man-Pl-Abs if be there,

sém-bī-yā nī wɔ̀ lɔ́,

woman-Pl-Abs if be there,

‘When you have collected (=remove) it (from the pot), (suppose that) men are there, (and) women are there.’

*[*nì *‘if’ unusually following topicalized subjects without resumptive pronouns]*

(01:08) ɲì ŋmɛ́ɛ́nɛ́ nì, [ʃóò gbáá-lā-ā] tə̀ré,

2Pl approach.Ipfv 2Pl, [woman big-Ø-Abs] beside,

ɲī dɛ̄ɛ̄ nī-yà,

2Pl eat.Ipfv 2Pl-3SgInanObj,

‘You-Pl approach, next to an old woman. You eat it.’

(01:13) sə́ré-bī-yà náŋá, [gbɔ́rɔ̀ gbáá-lā-ā] wɔ̀ lɔ́,

man-Pl-Abs possession, [old.man big-Ø-Abs] be there,

ɲī fō n= [=āā sɔ̀ɔ́ⁿ], [[ā ní] yɔ̀gɔ̀] píyè,

2Pl go.Ipfv 2Pl [3Sg set.Purp], [[3Sg Dem] side] between,

ɲī fō [ā dɛ̀ɛ́],

2Pl go.Ipfv [3Sg eat.Purp],

‘The men’s portion. (Suppose) an old man is there. You-Pl go and set it (=food) at the side (=feet) of that one. You-Pl go and eat it.’

*[* [X yɔ̀gɔ̀] píyè *‘in front of, at the feet of X (a person)’, noun* yɔ̀gɔ̀ *not otherwise attested]*

(01:21) n= =ōō tá [à ní] lɔ̀, wó wààsə̀rɔ̀

if 1Pl finish.Pfv [3Sg Dem] PsLoc, 1Pl disperse.Ipfv

‘(When) you-Pl have finished that, we disperse.’