

Texts

The texts presented below were obtained as indicated:

(601)	number	village	type	title
	T-Dict-1	Sangou	dictated	The old man and the djinn (tale)
	T2005-02	Boudou	recorded	History, part 1
	T2005-03	Boudou	recorded	History, part 2
	T2005-05	Boudou	recorded	Carts and gardening
	T2005-08	Boudou	recorded	Hyena and hare (tale)
	T2005-09	Boudou	recorded	The lion, the old woman, and the hyena (tale)

The dictated text is organized by consecutive numbers, like the examples and arrays in the grammar. The recorded texts are organized by times (minutes and seconds) beginning 00:00.

T-Dict-1: The old man and the djinn (tale)

dictated, Sangou speaker

- (602) *dábùlè* *ɨ̃* *dàbùlà,*
 story 1SgSbj narrate.Ipfv,
 [[*bùr-n̄:-gè* ^{HL}*tábù*] *ndò*] *dábùlè* *ɨ̃* *dàbùlà,*
 [[Boudou-person-Pl ^{HL}language] Inst] story 1SgSbj narrate.Ipfv,
 ‘I will tell a story. I will tell a story in Bunoge language.’

- (603) [*nòló*^{LH} ^L*kèmn̄* ^{HL}*tó:lè*] [*bílà-nà* *ɲgù*]
 [person^{LH} ^Lold ^{HL}one] [field-3SgPoss Acc]
 [*kòmòlò* *mbà*] *kéré* *mbà,*
 [brousse Loc] chop Pfv,
 ‘An old man was chopping (clearing) his field in the distant outback.’
 [*N-Adj1-Adj2 realized tonally as N^{LH}LAdj1^{HL}Adj2, §6.3.1.1*]

- (604) *bó,* *bòm-bò-Ø* [*wà:r kún*] *bòm-bò-Ø*
 there, there-be-3SgSbj [time all] there-be-3SgSbj
 ‘There, he was there, he was there all the time.’

- (605) *málágè* [*nòló*^{KH} ^L*kèmn̄*] *?émbà,* [*kùmà-nà* *mbá*] *?ègè*
 djinn [man^{LH} ^Lold] then, [side-3SgPoss Loc] come.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘Then a djinn came up to the old man.’

- (606) [kò:-nà à-ŋú kà:yè-ré] ?ùnè
 [head-3SgPoss 3Sg-Acc shave-QuotImpprt] say.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He (=djinn) told him (=old man) to shave his (=djinn’s) head.’
 [-rè for usual -yè quoted imperative §17.1.4.1; à-ŋú could refer either to the old man as object of ‘say’ or to the djinn as object of ‘shave’]
- (607) [nòlò^{LH} kèmnò nò] ?àbà:-li-Ø
 [man^{LH} old Def] accept-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 ‘The old man refused.’
- (608) [nòlò^{LH} kèmnò nò ŋù] tòm̀bà-wⁿ, tòm̀bà-wⁿ,
 [man^{LH} old Def Acc] cajole-Ipfv, cajole-Ipfv,
 ‘He (=djinn) kept pleading with the old man.’
 [tòm̀bè ‘console, sweet-talk’; -wⁿ ‘while’ §15.2.1.3]
- (609) [nòlò^{LH} kèmnò nò] ?èmbá ?àbè,
 [man^{LH} old Def] then accept.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘Then (=eventually) the old man consented.’
- (610) ?èmbà [kò:-nà nò] ?èmbá kǎ:yè,
 then [head-3SgPoss Def] then shave.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘Then he shaved his head.’
 [first ?èmbà is superfluous]
- (611) [kò:-nà nò] kà:yé pòllé mbà,
 [head-3SgPoss Def] shave.Pfv.3SgSbj finish.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
 a, à-ŋú kò:-kùlé-nà [[bàná b̀: mbé] ndi]
 well, 3Sg-Acc head-hair-3SgPoss [[manner be.3SgSbj Past.Ppl] like]
 s̀:ŋg-yé ?ùnè,
 bring-QuotImpprt say.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘When he (=old man) had finished shaving his head, he (=djinn) told him to bring (=restore) his head hair the (same) way it had been.’
 [cf. 3Pl bàná b̀: mbé ndi ‘the way they had been’]
- (612) [kò:-nà kùlé^{HL} nò]
 [head-3SgPoss hair^{HL} Def]
 [bàná [mó nò] yé kǎ:yè nò]
 [manner [this Def] which shave.Pfv.3SgSbj.Ppl Def]
 [[bàná b̀: mbé] ndi] s̀:ŋg-yé ?ùnè,
 [[manner be.3SgSbj Past.Ppl] like] bring-QuotImpprt say.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He (=djinn) told him (= old man) to bring (=restore) the hair of his (=dji.nn’s) head as it had been, the way he (=old man) had shaved it.’

- (613) *a, ?émbà kírýó-g-gè kírýóg-gè mbà,*
 ah, then argue-Recip-Pfv-3PlSbj argue-Recip.Pfv-3PlSbj Pfv,
a, [bàná sò:ngà:-y kúndú] ?óri-Ø,
 ah, [manner bring.Ipfv-how all] not.be-3SgSbj,
kóndò kání-Ø
 failure do.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘Well, they argued and argued then. There was no way to bring (=restore) it. He (=old man) tried and failed.’
[reciprocal §9.5; sò:ngà:-y, §15.3.2.1]
- (614) *[nòlò^{LH} L kemnò n] [bé:-gè tá:ndù] bò sá:ⁿ-Ø mbe*
 [man^{LH} Lold Def] [child-Pl three] Exist have-3SgSbj Past
 ‘The old man had three children (=sons).’
[existential with ‘have’ §11.5.1]
- (615) *a, [bè:-gé-nà nɔ] ?ég-gè*
 ah, [child-Pl-3SgPoss Def] come.Pfv-3PlSbj
 ‘Well, his children came.’
- (616) *?émbà [âŋ ^{HL}bâw nò ngù] ?éjâré*
 then [3PlPoss ^{HL}father Def Acc] asked.Pfv.3PlSbj
[?èbègé kàni]
 [what? be.done.Pfv.3SgSbj]
 ‘Then they asked their father, what had happened?’
- (617) *âwⁿ, [mó [kò:-nà ng] kà:y-yé] ?ùnè*
 Well, [that [head-3SgPoss Acc] shave-QuotImpert] say.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘Well, that one (=djinn) had told (him) to shave his head.’
- (618) *[k :-nà nò] ká:yè-Ø*
 [head-3SgPoss Def] shave.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He (old man) had shaved his head.’
- (619) *[[kó:-kùlè n] [bàná bò: mbé] ndì]*
 [[head-hair Def] [manner be.3SgSbj Past.Ppl] like]
sò: g-yé ?ùnè
 bring-QuotImpert say.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He (=djinn) had said to bring (=restore) his head hair the (same) way it had been.’
- (620) *?âwⁿ fè, [?èmé nò: ní] kóndò,*
 3Sg even, [that.Def Def exactly] failure,
[màsà kó] ?émbà kóndó kání sà
 [now Emph] then failure do.Pfv.3SgSbj have.3SgSbj.Ppl
 ‘Now he too [focus] failed then (at) that very thing.’

[somewhat broken passage; ?èmé nò: ní §4.4.2.2; sà for perfective subject focus, §13.1.1.4]

- (621) *a*, [bé:-gè nɔ] ? nɛ
 well, [child-Pl Def] say.Pfv.3PlSbj
 [ʔème kó] kájjà ʔóri-Ø
 [that Top] be.difficult not.be-3SgSbj
 ‘Well, the children said, that is not difficult.’
 [kájjà ʔóri, §11.4.4, cf. modifying form kà:ndà ‘difficult’]
- (622) [ʔáwⁿ fè] ʔá:ⁿ bìlà-ná=à
 [3Sg too] 3Sg field-3SgPoss=Loc
 tɔŋe yé ʔègé nɔ]
 step.Pfv.3SgSbj which come.Pfv.3SgSbj.Ppl Def
 [sé:-nà ^{HL}tébò-gé nɔ]
 [foot-3SgPoss ^{HL}sole.of.foot-Pl Def]
 [bàllé-Ø nɛ] [fá→ wà:yà]
 [gather.Pfv-3SgSbj and.then] [all.the.way.to finish.Ipfv]
 ‘(Where) he (=djinn) had stepped coming to his (=old man’s) field, he (=djinn) must gather up the soles of his (= djinn’s) feet (=footprints) in their entirety.’
 [yé proclitic to verb-participle of relative, §14.4]
- (623) bàllè wà:yé-Ø mèⁿ táⁿ
 gather.Pfv.3SgSbj finish.Pfv-3SgSbj if only
 [k :-nà ^{HL}k le nò] sò sò:ŋgà
 [head-3SgPoss ^{HL}head Def] Rdp bring.Ipfv.3SgSbj
 ‘As soon as he (=djinn) finishes gathering, he (= old man) will bring the hair of his (=djinn’s) head.’
- (624) *a*, [fè]
 well, [3SgSbj also]
 [sé:-nà ^{HL}tébò-gé nò] dɔ̀gùlé-Ø me
 [foot-3SgPoss ^{HL}sole-Pl Def] begin.Pfv-3SgSbj if
 [bàllà: gè:ndé-Ø mè] [pùmbù-nà ndó] bòm-bò-Ø
 [gather.Ipfv go.Pfv-3SgSbj if] [rear-3SgPoss Loc] there-be-3SgSbj
 ‘Well, he himself, when he (=djinn) began (with) his footprints, when he went (along) gathering (his original footprints), there were (more footprints) behind him.’
 [bàllà: §15.2.1.2]
- (625) kɔ̀ndò kàní-Ø mbà, ʔèmbá dǔ:nì
 failure do.Pfv-3SgSbj when, then run.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He tried and failed, then he (too) fled.’

(626) *dábùlè* *péndégélé*
story story.is.finished
'The story is finished.'

Text 2015-02: History part 1

recorded, Boudou

- (00:08) *búru*, *tòmbò*, [*tòmbò-kàbè*] *lá-gè* *ʔúnà*,
 Boudou, deserted, [deserted-low.point] Q say.Imprt,
 [*tòmbò-kàbè mbà*] *bǔ:-Ø ñ*, [*tòmbò-kàbè mbà*] *bǔ:-Ø ñ*,
 [T-K Loc] be-3SgSbj Past, [T-K Loc] be-3SgSbj Past,
 ‘Boudou, Tombo. [to a bystander] say whether it is Tombo-Kabe? It (=village) was at Tombo-Kabe.’

[tòmbò-kàbè is the name of the former site of Boudou village. *tòmbò* is an adjective ‘deserted, depopulated’, chiefly in *ʔòlò tòmbò* ‘abandoned village’; *kàbé* means ‘depression or valley between elevations’; *lá-gè* variant of polar interrogative *là ~ lá* with ‘it is X’ construction §13.2.1.2, *bǔ:-ñ = bǔ: mbe*]

- (00:16) *bàmbàlá-gè* *égè* ↗, *à-yá-ŋù* *díyá-mì* ↘,
 Bambara-Pl come.Pfv.3PlSbj, 3Pl-Acc fear(v)-Caus.Pfv.3PlSbj,
à-yá-ŋg *píyág-gè*,
 3Pl-Acc expel.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 ‘The Bambara came. They (= Bambara) scared (=threatened) them (=Dogon), they drove them (=Dogon) out.’

- (00:18) *à-yá-ŋg* *píyág-gè* ↗,
 3Pl-Acc expel.Pfv-3PlSbj,
tángá-g *dú:nì* *bùrkìnà = à* *gé:ndè*, *tángá-gè* *yóggò-yóggò*
 certain-Pl run.Pfv.3PlSbj B=Loc go.Pfv.3PlSbj, certain-Pl hide-hide
fá: *mà:* *ʔégè* *ʔb -bè* *nè*,
 until here come.Pfv.3PlSbj.Ppl sit-MP.Pfv.3PlSbj.Ppl Def,
 ‘(When) they drove them out, some fled to Burkina, some (others) were hiding here and there until when they came here.’

[yóggò-yóggò adverbial < mediopassive *yóg-gè* ‘hide (oneself)’ < transitive *yóge* ‘hide (sth)’; headless relative with covert ‘time’ as head]

Text 2015-03: History part 2

recorded, Boudou

(00:00) [màndè wà:] gwê:,
 [Mande Loc] exit.Pfv.3PlSbj,
 [màndè wà:] gwê: ↗ ?égè,
 [Mande Loc] exit.Pfv.3PlSbj come.Pfv.3PlSbj
 ?òló^{LH} Lkàndà, ?úná:-yè bò ?éba,
 village^{LH} Lnew, say-Pass Exist sit.Stat.3PlSbj,
 ‘They left Mande. They left Manda and came (here). They settled at (the place) called Olo-Kanda (“new village”).’
 [passive ?úná:-yè ‘(place) that is called X’ §5.1.11.1]

(00:05) bò-nâ: ?égè ?b -bè,
 there come.Pfv.3PlSbj sit-MP.Pfv.3PlSbj,
 bò-nâ: —, [[?òló^{LH} Ltòmbò nà]=à] ?égè ?b -bè-Ø,
 there —, [[village^{LH} Ldeserted Def]=Loc come.Pfv.3PlSbj sit-MP.Pfv.3PlSbj,
 [?òló^{LH} Ltòmbò] —, kà:ní-gògòndò —,
 [village^{LH} Ldeserted] —, K-G —,
 ‘They came and settled there. There—, they came and settled at the Olo-Tombo (“deserted village”). Olo-Tombo. Kani-Gogono.’
 [Kani-Gogono was the name of a Dogon war chief.]

(00:11) [bàmbàlá-yè nò] ná-njì ? à dàmⁿsòⁿ,
 [Bambara-Dim Def] how? say.Ipfv.3PlSbj, D,
 dàmⁿsòⁿ ?gèg à- gú tebe,
 D come.Pfv.3SgSbj 3Sg-Acc shatter.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ?èmbá sà:kì káni,
 then dispersion do.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘What did they call (=what was the name of) the Bambara? Damoso. Damoso came and destroyed it (=village), then it (=our group) scattered.’
 [bàmbàlá-yè ‘Bambara (person)’, §5.1.5]

(00:18) tángá-gè bùrkìnà = à búrjàngà ?úná:-yè bó-lò jé:ndè ↗,
 certain-Pl B=Loc B be.called there go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 tángá-gè má-lò yóg-gí-yè má-lò ?égè déngí-yè,
 certain-Pl here hide-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj here come.Pfv stay.Pfv-3PlSbj,
ⁿ kε η bö: nò] áwⁿ,
 [today place 1PlSbj be.Ppl Def] 3Sg,
 ‘Some of them (went) to Burkina, it (=village) is called Burjanga, it (=group) went there. Some (=others) hid here, they came and stayed here. It’s the place where we are to this day.’
 [jé:ndè = gé:ndè]

(00:22) *s gò-bílá-* [ŋ L+HL *bílá-gè* *fêcere* *sàk y*]
 ground-field-Pl, [1PlSbj L+HL field-Pl half all]
bó-lò wàlà ŋ bò,
 there cultivate.Ipfv 1PlSbj be,
 ‘The fields, an entire half of our fields, it’s there [focus] that we cultivate (=do farming).’

(00:26) [*mì-y kó*] [*?ème n*] *ŋ nùndè,*
 [1Pl Top] [that.Def Def] 1PlSbj hear.Pfv,
fá: jòwⁿ mäsà,
 until today now,
 ‘That is what we heard (=learned it from our elders). All the way to today now.’

(00:29) *fá: n mäsà ke ŋ díné ŋ sä: n ,*
 until today now place 1PlSbj arrive.Pfv 1PlSbj Ppl.Pfv Def,
[mì-y kó] [?èméyⁿ n] ŋ nùndè,
 [1Pl Top] [that.Def Def] 1PlSbj hear.Pfv,
 ‘All the way to where we have arrived today now. That is what we heard (=learned from our elders).’

(00:32) [*?èmé nò*] [*yé dèngè nɔ*]
 [that.Def Def] [which remain.Pfv.3SgSbj.Ppl Def]
[tángá bùrkinà = à bò],
 [certain B=Loc be,3SgSbj]
sà:kì káni-Ø,
 dispersion do.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘That, some (a part) of it, are in Burkina. It has dispersed.’

(00:36) *?émbà ŋ ?b -bè ŋ sà,*
 then 1PlSbj sit.Pfv 1PlSbj PfvRel,
[mì-y kó] [?èméyⁿ nɔ] ŋ nùndè
 [1Pl Top] [that Def] 1PlSbj hear.Pfv
[[kèmnɔ-gè ^{HL}tóni] mbà],
 [[old.person-Pl ^{HL}mouth] Loc],
 ‘The fact that we are sitting (here), that’s what we heard in (=from) the mouths of the old people.’

(00:39) *ndennò [ò-yá fè] [á ? è] [mì-yá- g ?èjàrè ↗],*
 so [2Pl also] [2PlSbj come.Pfv] [1Pl-Acc 2PlSbj ask.Pfv],
[mì-yá- gù fè] dénjè-Ø,
 [1Pl-Acc also] be.sweet.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘So (now) you-Pl too have come and have asked us (about it). We too are pleased.’

(00:43) [á ? nɔ] mi-yá- g dénjè-Ø,
 [2SgPoss come.Nom Def] 1Pl-Acc be.sweet.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 fá→ dàgè
 until be.well.made.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘Your coming has pleased us, very much.’

(00:45) [ŋ ^{L+HL}tàgù nɔ] áwⁿ
 [1PlPoss ^{L+HL}talk(n) Def] 3Sg
 ‘It (=that) is our talk.’

Text 2015-05: Carts and gardening

recorded, Boudou

- (00:05) *mì-* , *yénà* *sìgè-Ø* *mè*,
 1Pl, rainy.season go.down.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[yénà ?ègè-Ø mè] kálámà η kànà,
 [rainy.season come.Pfv-3SgSbj if] clearing(n) 1PlSbj do.Ipfv,
 ‘Us, when the rainy season has come down, when the rainy season has come, we do the (re-)clearing.’

[kálámà is the re-clearing of a previously cultivated field prior to planting, i.e. removing bushes and weeds that have grown up there since the previous harvest]

- (00:10) *kálámà η n nè, ?áyà ní-Ø mè*,
 clearing(n) 1PlSbj do.Pfv and.then, rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
tòw η tò:wè,
 planting(n) 1PlSbj plant(v).Pfv,

‘We do the (re-)clearing, (and) when the rain falls, we plant (the seeds).’

[tòw tò:wè is cognate collocation ‘plant (seeds)’, traditionally by slashing earth with a long pick-hoe while someone else (often a child) comes behind, drops seeds into the disturbed earth, and tamps it down by foot]

- (00:15) *[tòw η t :wè nè]*
 [planting(n) 1PlSbj plant(v).Pfv and.then]
[wólì η wàlè (nè)],
 [cultivation 1PlSbj cultivate.Pfv (and.then)]

‘We plant (the seeds) and, we do the (first round of) cultivating and,’

[wólì wálè is a cognate collocation ‘cultivate’, referring focally to working an already planted field with a daba (hoe) to kill weeds and thin out millet seedlings; here it refers specifically to the first and most laborious round of weeding; in several points in this text a parenthesized clause-final nè ‘and then’ is inaudible on the tape, but its presence is implied by the use of a perfective verb in a habitual present context, and my assistant pronounced it when repeating these segments during transcription]

- (00:17) *sàmbò η sàmbè (nè) [η kànì]*
 second.cultivation 1PlSbj do.second.cultivation.Pfv (and.then), [1PlSbj do.Pfv]
[[sé:ngè nò] bìle-Ø mè] [η gí:wè (nè)]
 [[millet Def] ripen.Pfv-3SgSbj if] [1PlSbj harvest(v).Pfv (and.then)],

‘We do the second round of cultivating. (When) we’ve done it, when the millet has ripened, we harvest (it) and,’

[the second (and less laborious) round of weeding, sàmbò, can begin shortly after the first round is completed; verb gí:wè ‘harvest’ refers to harvesting grain spikes of the main cereal crops (millet, sorghum) by cutting them off with a blade attached to the palm of one’s hand]

(00:22) *[[dálà nd] dù-yyà:] η sò: gá: mbè,*
 [[crown.of.head Loc] carry.on.head-MP.Ipfv] 1PISbj bring.Ipfv Past,
ʔálhámùlillá:y, wòtóró-gè, [dù-yyé nè] sò: gá,
 praise.God, cart-Pl, [carry-MP.Pfv and.then] bring.Ipfv.3PISbj,
 ‘We used to bring it (=harvested millet) (to the village) carrying it on our heads.
 (Now) carts carry and bring (it).’

[millet grain spikes are piled up in the fields, then either bound into bundles or placed in a large basket, then traditionally carried on one’s head (d -yyè) back to the granaries in the village; dú-yyè ‘carry (on head or on another horizontal surface)’ like other ‘carry/hold’ verbs, is morphologically mediopassive but takes an object; lengthened final imperfective à: ‘while’ §15.2.1.2]

(00:30) *[dálà ndò]=lá [yè η ʔèyⁿ] ʔóri-Ø,*
 [crown.of.head Loc]=it.is.not [which 1PISbj know.Ppl] not.be-3SgSbj,
[bilà mbà] [sò-gè nè:wⁿ],
 [field Loc] [time-Pl four],
 ‘(In the past) there was nothing that we knew other than carrying on the head, from the field, four times (from field to village).’
[lit. “(if) it is not on the head, what we knew does/did not exist”]; this segment broken on tape, repaired by assistant during transcription]

(00:34) *á mbà] [sò-g tá:ndù],*
 [morning Loc] [time-Pl three],
déndà-gò: [sò tò:lè],
 afternoon [time one]
 ‘In the morning, three times. In the afternoon, once.’

(00:40) *nè:mà dè:-Ø, wòtóró-gè,*
 pleasant.times enter.Pfv-3SgSbj, cart-Pl,
[...multi-person discussion, not transcribable...]
hàya m ò fè] jòwⁿ [η kùmà] ʔégè,
 well [vehicle too] today [1Pl beside] come.Pfv.3PISbj,
 ‘(Nowadays) things have gotten easier. Carts. [discussion] Well, motor vehicles too have come to our area.’
[reference is to large carts drawn in this zone by oxen or donkeys; ‘vehicles’ refers mainly to vans that work the weekly markets]

(00:45) *mì-yá-ŋú ʔèjàrà: mà: bó- à,*
 1Pl-Acc ask.Ipfv here be-3PISbj,
ʔàmànà gà mì-yá- g ye n-dè kúndú,
 God 1Pl-Acc which do-Ben.Pfv.3SgSbj.Ppl all,
[màsà kô:]
 [now Top]
 ‘They are here asking us. Everything that God has done for us, nowadays.’

[ʔèjàrà: ‘while asking’ §15.2.1.2; n-d ‘do (sth) for (sb)’ (§9.4.3), here in an object relative]

- (00:50) [mì-y kô:] [ʔémé nɔ] η tégó-lè,
 [1PI Top] [that.Def Def] 1PISgj see-Goal.Pfv,
 wóli η wàlà, sàrdíje, sé:ngè ʔémbè η wàlà,
 cultivation 1PISbj cultivate.Ipfv, garden, millet Prog 1PISbj cultivate.Ipfv,
 ‘As for us, that is what we have been looking (=hoping) for. We do farming, (and) gardening. We cultivate millet.’

[1PI perfective η tégó-lè with {LHL} overlay for nonsubject focus, §13.1.1.5, contrast unfocalized η tégòlè ‘we looked for’; ʔémé discourse-definite ‘that’ §4.4.2.2]

- (00:56) [[[yé jà:-yè] ^{HL}st:] yé η wâl-l -gà]
 [[[which eat-Pass] ^{HL}type] which 1PISbj cultivate-IpfvNeg-Neg.Ppl]
 [fá tó:lè] ʔóri-Ø,
 [even one] not.be-3SgSbj,
 ‘There is not a single type (of thing) to eat that we don’t cultivate.’
 [yé jà:-yè ‘something to eat’, §5.1.11.1]

- (00:59) sàrdìje fè, [[yéna nò] ^{HL}ʔy nò] mènje-Ø mè,
 garden too, [[rainy.season Def] ^{HL}rain(n) Def] leave.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [sàrdìje nà]=à η à
 [garden Def]=Loc 1PISbj go.in.Ipfv,
 ‘Gardens too. When the wet season’s rain has stopped, we go into the garden(s).’
 [off-season farming, mainly of cash crops rather than staples, in enclosed gardens using other than rainwater]

- (01:02) [sàrdìje nò fè], yè η kàna,
 [garden Def too], which 1PISbj do.Ipfv.Ppl,
 tēw, tàrà:tí, dándì, yá:,
 eggplant, tomato, chili.pepper, onion,
 ‘The garden(s) too. What we (will) do (is) eggplant, tomato, chili pepper, onion.’
 [list of the main off-season cash crops raised in gardens]

- (01:11) tout sàkáy,
 all all,
 [[sàrdìje ^{HL}wé:] ye η kâl-l -gà] ʔóri-Ø,
 [[garden ^{HL}thing] which 1PISbj do-IpfvNeg-Neg.Ppl] not.be-3SgSbj,
 bírgì η dù-yyé ne, η gálé ne,
 manure 1PISbj carry.on.head-MP.Pfv and.then, 1PISbj put.Pfv and.then,
 ‘Everything. There is no garden thing (=vegetable) that we do not do. We carry fertilizer and put it down and,’
 [‘garden-thing’ is a possessive-type compound with /LH/ melody on the initial reduced to L, and with {HL} on the possessum; bírgì ‘manure (plus other compost)’]

(01:16) *sàkáy* [*?ème nò*] [*wálé mbà*] *ŋ* *tùlà*,
 all [that.Def Def] [work(n) Loc] 1PISbj put.down.Ipfv
[[mì-yá- g bänn -gò] ŋ bè:lé me]
 [[1Pl-Acc help.Ipfv-Ipfv.Ppl] 1PISbj get.Pfv if]
?àlhámdùllá:y [ŋ kàyⁿ],
 praise.God [1PISbj want],
 ‘All of that we put in (our) work. If we find (someone) who helps us, praise God, we want (that).’

(01:21) [*fá hándè*], [*gèndè mb*] *gè:n nè*] *ŋ kàyⁿ*,
 [until nowadays], [forward Loc] go.Pfv.3SgSbj and.then] 1PISbj want,
 ‘Even nowadays, we want it (=gardening) to go forward.
[géndé mbà ‘forward, ahead’ undergoes Rightward H-Movement before 3Sg perfective; gè:n ne truncated < gè:ndé nè ; different-subject ‘want’ construction §17.3.5]

(01:23) *k rógò, d nj g , dèmbè, è ndò, k :nò,*
 trimming.ax, pick.hoe, daba, hand Inst, blacksmith
[núme nd] ŋ wàlè kán-yò, ?à-yâ = :
 [hand Inst] 1PISbj work(n) do-Inst, 3Pl=it.is
 ‘Trimming-ax, pick-hoe, daba (hoe), (tools) by hand, blacksmith. What we work with by hand (=our tools), it’s them.’
[the first few words are lexical items proposed by two speakers, suggesting topics to be mentioned; n-yò instrument nominal, §4.2.3.3]

Text 2015-08: Hyena and hare (tale)

recorded, Boudou

(00:02) : ⁿ à, [kà:yⁿé yà] [jòmɛ yà],
hyena and, [hyena and] [hare and],
[: ⁿ yà] [jòmɛ yà],
[hyena and] [hare and],
[[âŋ ^{HL}ní-nì ŋù] sò:l-â: wà] ? nè,
[[3PIPoss ^{HL}mother Acc] buy-Rev-Purp Quot] say.Pfv.3PISbj,
‘Hyena and, hyena and hare. Hyena and hare decided to sell their mothers.’
[Transcription assistant suggests emending by adding plural -gè to ‘their mother(s)’]

(00:09) [[âŋ ^{HL}ní-nì ŋ] wà] ? ne mbà,
[[3PIPoss ^{HL}mother Acc] sell.Ipfv Quot] say.Pfv.3PISbj Pfv,
ká:yⁿè, jòmɛ n -wⁿ semé sà,
hyena, hare more be.clever.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv.SbjFoc,
‘When they decided to sell their mothers, hyena—, hare [focus] was more clever.’

(00:14) jòmɛ pàllé sòjè ↗,
hare separate(v).Pfv.3SgSbj tie.Pfv.3SgSbj
[ká:yⁿè nò] [sì gr^{LH} ^Lbìgì] sòjè,
[hyena Def] [rope^{LH} ^Lbig] tie.Pfv.3SgSbj
‘Hare went off to the side and tied (his mother). The hyena tied a heavy rope (on his mother).’
[Hare’s mother was either not tied up, or tied up lightly so that she could escape]

(00:18) [sìgr^{LH} ^Lbìgì] sòjé-Ø mbà,
[rope^{LH} ^Lbig] tie.Pfv-3SgSbj Pfv,
gwé kání gé:ndè,
exit(v).Pfv.3PISbj do.Pfv.3PISbj go.Pfv.3PISbj,
[[sòjó-tèm-gè nò] gé:ndè tèt-j-â:] ?ég-gé mbà,
[[person-devour.Agent-Pl Def] go.Pfv.Pfv look-Purp] come.Pfv-3PISbj Pfv,
‘When he (=hyena) had tied the big rope, they set off. They came and visited (“looked at”) the cannibals.’
[sòjó-tèm-gè compound agentive §5.1.3]

(00:24) [ká:yⁿè [jòmɛ ^{HL}ní-nì nò] tèt:jé mbà] pòllè-Ø,
[hyena [hare ^{HL}mother Def] look.at.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv] escape.Pfv,
[ká:yⁿè ^{HL}ní-nì nò] pòllò-li-Ø,
[hyena ^{HL}mother Def] escape-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
‘Hyena watched hare’s mother escape. Hyena’s mother did not escape.’

- (00:27) *ʔémbà* *débé* *sí:ndè,*
then hold.Pfv.3PISbj convey.Pfv.3PISbj,
débé *sí:ndè,*
hold.Pfv.3PISbj convey.Pfv.3PISbj,
‘Then they held and took (hyena’s mother) (there)
- (00:29) *sòjò-* *-gè* *debè* *sí:ndè*
person-slaughter.Agent-Pl hold.Pfv.3PISbj convey.Pfv.3PISbj
ʔémbà *séla:-yè,*
then slaughter(v)-Direc.Pfv.3PISbj
‘They held and took (hyena’s .mother), then they went and slaughtered (her).’
[*séla:-yè*, §10.6]
- (00:31) *selè* *y gú- -gé* *mbà,*
slaughter.Pfv.3PISbj meet-Recip.Pfv-3PISbj Pfv,
[*à- g* *dàgâm* *kàní* *wá* *ʔùnè,*
[3Sg-Acc taste(n) do.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot] say.Pfv.3SgSbj,
‘They slaughtered (her) and (hyena and hare) met. (Hyena) said, “you (=hare) have outwitted me (=hyena).” ’
[*in quotations, original addressee and original speaker are both converted to third person pronominals (unless identical to current speaker or addressee)*]
- (00:34) *à- g* *dàgâm* *kàní* *w*
3Sg-Acc taste(n) do.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot
bàná *dèbe* *ne,*
manner.3SgSbj hold.Pfv.3SgSbj and.then,
témá *ʔùnè* *mbà,*
devour.Ipfv.3SgSbj say.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
‘(Hyena) said, “you (=hare) have outwitted me (=hyena).” The way he (=hyena) intended to get hold of and devour (hare).’
- (00:36) *dúnó-g-gé* *mbà* [*ʔmè* *gú* *dinnà:-lì-Ø,*
run-Recip.Pfv-3PISbj Pfv [hare Acc] reach-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
[*ká:yⁿè* [*ʔmè* *gú*] *d :-lì-Ø*]
[hyena [hare Acc] reach-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
ʔmè *sèmè-lá-mà* *à- g* *dábè-Ø,*
hare slyness 3Sg-Acc pass.Pfv-3SgSbj
‘They raced. He (=hyena) didn’t get (=catch) hare. Hyena didn’t catch up to hare. Hare was more clever than him (=hyena).’

(00:40) *â* ^{HL}*dégá-gè*, *â* ^{HL}*sémé-lámá-gè* *tô:l = là*,
 3Pl ^{HL}two-Pl, 3PlPoss ^{HL}slyness-Pl one=it.is.not,
â ^{HL}*sémé-lámá-gè* *tô:l = là*,
 3PlPoss ^{HL}slyness-Pl one=it.is.not,
 ‘The two of them, their degrees of slyness were not the same.’
 [syncopated < /tó:lè = là/]

(00:45) *nàmbála*, *yɔ:* *dùgè*,
 lion, woman take.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 [ʔàni *gú* *dùgè*, [kílò *ńj*,
 [whatchamacallit? Acc] take.Pfv.3SgSbj, [goat Acc],
 [kílò *ńgú* *dùgè* *mbà*,
 [goat Acc] take.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
 ‘Lion, he took (=married) a woman. He took (=married) whatchamacallit? A goat,
 he took a goat.’

(00:53) *kílò*, *fá* *bé* [[*â* ^{HL}*bélà gà*] *mbà*] *dwê:*,
 goat, until child [[3Pl ^{HL}between] Loc] enter.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 [ʔibà *mbà*] *gé:ndè*,
 [market Loc] go.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘A goat. Until eventually a child entered (was born) between (=to) them. He went to
 the market.’
 [dwê: ‘entered’, pronounced *dê:* in Sangou]

(00:57) [ʔibà *mbà*] *gè:ndé* *mbà*,
 [market Loc] go.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
 [ʔègà *ńúnà*] *ká:yⁿè* *ʔégè-Ø*,
 [come.Ipfv.3SgSbj say.Ipfv.3SgSbj] hyena come.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘He went to the market, but before he came (back), hyena came.’

(00:59) [*mɔ* *nò* *g*] *y :-* *mèlè* *bó:* *wà*,
 [this Def Acc] woman-3SgPoss shame(n) be.3SgSbj Quot,
 [*mɔ* *nò* *g*] *y :-* *mele* *bó:* *w*
 [this Def Acc] woman-3SgPoss shame(n) be-3SgSbj Quot,
 ‘(Hyena) said (to lion), “This one, your wife is shameful. This one, your wife is
 shameful”.’

(01:02) *ʔ è-Ø* *meⁿ* *táⁿ*, *tèmé-yⁿ* *wà*,
 come.Pfv-3SgSbj if only, devour.Hort Quot,
 [*nàmbála* *ń*] *tòmbè* *bé:lè-Ø*,
 [lion Acc] cajole.Pfv.3SgSbj get.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘(Hyena said:) “As soon as it (=goat) comes, let’s eat (it)!” He persuaded lion (by
 sweet-talk).’
 [quoted hortative §17.1.4.2]

- (01:05) *hà: ndàgè wá ?ùne,*
 well, all.right Quot say.Pfv.3SgSbj,
[bé: nò] núndè-Ø,
 [child Def] hear.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘He (=lion) said, “Well, all right.” The child heard (that).’
- (01:08) *[nì:-ná g] yùg-â: gè:ndé mbà,*
 [mother-3SgPoss Acc] meet-Purp go.Pfv-3SgSb Pfv,
[nì:-ná g] tá:yè-Ø,
 [mother-3SgPoss Acc] speak.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘He (=child) went to meet with his mother. He spoke to his mother.’
- (01:11) *[â ?égé mèn tá"] ò- g tem-me,*
 [2SgSbj come.Pfv if only] 2Sg-Acc devour.Pfv-3PlSbj,
sàbì ká:y"è, [ŋ ^{HL}bâw gù] kálábù káni-Ø,
 because hyena, [1SgPoss ^{HL}father Acc] trickery do.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘(Child to mother:) “As soon as you come (=arrive), they will devour you. Because hyena has tricked my father”.’
[mèn tá" < mè tá"]
- (01:15) *hà: ndàgè , gèndé-y" w [?ibà mbà],*
 well, all.right Quot, go-Hort Quot [market Loc].
[?ibà mbà], ?ég b sà,
 [market Loc], honey Exist have.3SgSbj,
 ‘(Mother i.e. goat) said: “Well, all right. Let’s go to the market!” In the market, he (=child) had honey.’
[quoted hortative, §17.1.4.2; ‘to the market’ following rather than preceding the verb, probably as afterthought; ?égè ‘honey’]
- (01:19) *[?égè ndó] gè:ndé mbà,*
 [honey with] go.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
bàw-ná à- g s -mì-Ø,
 father-3SgPoss 3Sg-Acc descend-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj
sìgò mbà kólè: b -Ø,
 descend.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv angry be-3SgSbj,
 ‘He (=child) went (there) with the honey. His father (=lion) lodged him. He (=lion) went down (=retired for the night) and got angry (at the hyena).’
[sìgè mbà ~ sìgò mbà §15.1.1.2; kólè: bò §11.1.1.4]

(01:22) [bàw-n à- g tiyà-mì]
 [father-3SgPoss 3Sg-Acc greet-Caus.Pfv.3SgSbj]
 [mó nò] [ʔgèg né] dà:-mú wà,
 [this Def] [come and.then] enter-Caus.QuotImprt Quot,
 ‘His father (=lion) greeted him (=child). He (=lion) said, “come and bring this (honey) in!”’

(01:25) ʔèbègé , [ʔgèg né] dà:-mǔ-r wà,
 what? Quot, [come and.then] enter-Caus-QuotImprt Quot,
 ʔèmbá ʔàbé d :-mì,
 then.3SgSbj catch.Pfv.3SgSbj enter-Caus.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘(Lion) said, “What is it? Come and bring it in for (me)!” Then he (=child) took it and brought it in.’
 [dà:-mù-r quoted imperative, §17.1.4.1]

(01:28) n -lò bè:le wà, mó nò,
 where? get.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot, this Def
 [ʔibà mbà] gájágà-wⁿ bē:lé wà,
 [market Loc] scramble-while get.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot,
 ‘(Lion) said, “where did you-Sg get (it)?” (Child) said, “I managed to get (it) at the market.”’
 [gájágá- evokes a scramble to get something, e.g. children fighting over a pile of candy]

(01:31) ná-l gájágá ʔùné mbà, [ká:yⁿè ŋ] gɛ:wè,
 where? scramble say.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv [hyena Acc] kill.Pfv.3PISbj,
 ká:yⁿè — [L à nɔ] — Lbùgè nɔ,
 hyena — [Lwhatchamacallit? Def] — Lbrain Def
 ‘(Lion) said, “where did you manage (to get it)?” They killed the hyena. The hyena’s whatchamacallit, brains.’
 [‘whatchamacallit?’ and ‘brain’ are possessed by ‘hyena’, cf. kà:yⁿé^Lbùgè ‘hyena’s brains’]

(01:36) gájágà-wⁿ ʔèmbá gàjàgé bē:le wà,
 scramble-while then scramble.Pfv.3SgSbj get.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot,
 yⁿ nɔnɔ: —,
 hyena which? —,
 ‘(Child) said, “I scrambled to get (some).” Which hyena?—’

(01:39) [kà:yⁿé — ^Lbùgè n] [mɔ nò] ǎwⁿ wà, ʔùné mbà
 [hyena — ^Lbrain Def] [this Def] 3Sg Quot, say.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv
 [gê:ⁿ k n] tǔ:jè,
 [looking.furtively do.Pfv.3SgSbj] look.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘(Child) said: “Hyena’s brains, this is it.” (The father) looked (at it, furtively) out of
 the corner of his eye.’
 [búgè ‘marrow; brain (tissue)’]

(01:42) tɛ:jé mbà,
 look.at.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
 [mɔ ká:yⁿè nò] (^{HL}kó:) ŋ tɛbàgé mɛ,
 [this hyena Def] (^{HL}head)] 1SgSbj break.Pfv.3SgSbj if,
 [mɔ nò] ǎwⁿ = lã,
 [this Def] 3Sg=it.is.not,
 ‘He looked out of the corner of his eye. “When I broke open this hyena’s (head), —
 This isn’t it.” ’
 [The passage from 01:42 to 01:47 is spoken very rapidly and is difficult to make
 out]

(01:44) [[mɔ nò] ^{HL}kó: nò] tɛbá-gé sà,
 [[this Def] ^{HL}head Def] shatter-Caus.Pfv.3PISbj Pfv.Foc,
 [kà:bò-ná kò:] tɛbá-gé sà,
 [peer-3SgPoss head] shatter-Caus.Pfv.3PISbj Pfv.Foc,
 ʔèmbá bɛ:lɛ wà,
 then.3SgSbj get.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot,
 ‘(Child) said, “It was this (other) one’s head [focus] that they shattered. It was his
 companion’s (=another hyena’s) head [focus] that they shattered, then I got (some).’
 [kà:bó-n ‘his companion, peer, agemate’, here ‘the other one, the counterparty’,
 i.e. denoting a second, non-primary topical referent, French *son semblable*]

(01:48) [dù:l-lɔ ʔùné mbà]
 [run-IpfvNeg.3SgSbj say.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv]
 [ʔémbà dúndò-gè],
 [then.3PISbj run-Recip.Pfv.3PISbj]
 dùnó-gè ònnɛ dɛ̀bè,
 run-Recip.Pfv.3SgSbj arrive.Pfv.3SgSbj catch.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘He said, “I won’t run.” Then they ran together. He ran (with them), he caught up
 with (hyena) and seized (him).’
 [original 1Sg changed to 3Sg in quotation; dú:nì ‘run’ and derivatives; ònnɛ
 ‘arrive’]

- (01:51) *dinné* *dèbe* *mbà* ⁿ
 arrive.Pfv.3SgSbj catch.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv only,
dú:nì [*bàndá mbà*] *gú:ndè* *mbà*,
 run.Pfv.3PISbj [outside(n) Loc] exit(v).Pfv.3PISbj Pfv,
 ‘When they reached (hyena) and seized (hm), they (all) ran outside.’
 [*bàndà* ‘outside (n)’]
- (01:54) [[*bé: nò*] *ŋ*] *dèbé* *gõ:-mì*,
 [[child Def] Acc] catch.Pfv.3SgSbj exit(v)-Caus.Pfv.3SgSbj,
hà: ŋ *gèndé-yⁿ*,
 well 1Pl go-Hort,
 ‘He caught the child and took him out (and said) “let’s go!”’
- (01:57) [*bé: nò*] [*à-yà kó*] *dú:nì* *gé:ndè*,
 [child Def] [3Pl Top] run.Pfv.3PISbj go.Pfv.3PISbj,
 [*ká:yⁿè nò ŋ*] — *tèbà-gé*,
 [hyena Def Acc] — shatter-Caus.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘The child, as for them (=child and others), they went running. He (=lion) shattered the hyena. He shattered the hyena.’
- (01:59) [*kò: nò*] *ŋ*] *tèbà-gé* *mbà*,
 [head Def Acc] shatter-Caus.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
 [*kò: nò*] *sébé-sébé* *b -Ø*,
 [head Def] unsweetened be-3SgSbj,
 ‘He shattered the head (=skull). The head (=brain) tasted bland (not sweet).’
- (02:01) [*bé: nò yà*] [*nì-n nò yà*] *dú:nì* *gé:ndè*,
 [child Def and] [mother Def and] run.Pfv.3PISbj go.Pfv.3PISbj,
hà: [kálábù yé k n nò]
 well [troublemaking which do.Ppl.3SgSbjPfv Def]
 [*kò:-ná mbà*] *fì:tí kànì*,
 [head-3SgPoss Loc] land.on do.3SgSbj,
 ‘The child and the mother had run away. Well, the trouble that he (=hyena) made landed on himself.’
 [*Fulfulde fì:tì*, rephrased with *Bunoge sigè* ‘comes down’ in the following segment]
- (02:06) [*?èmè ndâ:] kálábù dégé kànì kúndú*
 [that.Def Purp] trouble.making one.who do.Pfv.Ppl all]
 [*kò:-n mb*] *sigà*,
 [head-3SgPoss on] descend.Ipv.3SgSbj,
 ‘That’s why (if there is) anyone who makes trouble (e.g. incites disputes), it comes down on himself.’
 [*dege* §14.2.1]

(02:08) [fɔ:lò à k ní mɛ̀]
 [good(n) 2SgSbj do.Pfv if]
 [[à^H ò:] mb] sìgà,
 [[2SgSbj^H head] on] descend.Ipfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘If you do good, it (=good) will come down on (=come back to) you.’

(02:10) dâ: à k ní mɛ̀,
 bad(n) 2SgSbj do.Pfv if,
 [[à^H ò:] mb] sìgá wà,
 [[2SgSbj^H head] on] descend.Ipfv.3SgSbj Quot,
 ‘If you do evil, it (=bad) will come down on you, as they say.’

(02:11) [kɛ̀mnò-gè kô:] ?ɛ̀mɛ-ɲì ?únɛ̀,
 [old-Pl Top] that-like say.Pfv.3Plsbj,
 ‘As for the old people, that’s what they said.’

Text 2015-09: The lion, the old woman, and the hyena (tale)

recorded, Boudou

(00:05) *nàmbálà*, *yo*^{LH} *kèmnò*,^H
 lion, woman^{LH} ^Hold,
álá lo-n íj] tò:rí kàní s
 lo! [goat-3SgPoss Acc] harrassment do.Pfv Pfv.SbjFoc,
?ègò: dèbà: témà,
 come.Ipfv catch.Ipfv devour.Ipfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘Lion, an old woman. Lo it was he (=lion) who harrassed her goat(s). He would
 come, catch, and eat (them).’
[?ègò: dèbà: §15.2.1.2]

(00:12) [*yo*^{LH} *kèmnò*]^H *kònd* *k n -Ø*,
 [woman^{LH} ^Hold] failure do.Pfv-3SgSbj,
?émbà [nàmbálà nò gù] tá:yè-Ø,
 then [lion Def Acc] speak.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘The old woman was helpless (could do nothing about it). Then she spoke to the
 lion.’

(00:16) [*kílò-ná-gè* *nò*] *?èmbé wà:-má wà*
 [goat-3SgPoss-Pl Def] Prog exhaust-Caus.Ipfv.3SgSbj Quot
[nàmbálà nò] [ndàgè wá] ?ùne,
 [lion Def] [be.good.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot] say.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘(She said:) he (=lion) was finishing her goats off. The lion said, “all right.”’
[< ndàgè wà < ndágè]

(00:19) *?ègé mbà,*
 come.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
gwí:-gè nò, ká:yⁿè, gwí:-gè nò,
 skin-Pl Def, hyena, skin-Pl Def,
[kílo gwí:-gè nò] jba nb-jàmbà [[kò:-nà] mbá] kàni-Ø,
 [goat skin-Pl Def] cover-cover [[head-3SgPoss] Loc] do.Pfv-3SgSbj
 ‘He (=lion) came. The (goat) skins, hyena, the skins. He (=lion) covered himself
 with goatskins.’
*[The lion disguises himself as a goat. The first line of this segment is somewhat
 broken; repaired in the second line]*

(00:25) *hà:* [tèmá ?ùnè ká:yⁿè ? è mbà,
 well, [devour.Ipfv.3SgSbj say.Pfv.3SgSbj] hyena come.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
m wⁿ wà, môwⁿ kòy [ye^{LH} Lbàyⁿ] wà kòy,
 Prsntv Quot, Prsnt Emph [thing^{LH} Lbig] Quot Emph,
 ‘Well, hyena came, intending to devour (a goat). There it is, there it is, a big thing
 indeed, he thought.’
*[ye báyⁿ ‘big thing’ or ‘(a) big one’, with ye (archaic noun) as default noun;
 elsewhere wè: is the word for ‘thing’; m wⁿ presentative §4.4.4]*

(00:30) *[yé báyⁿ] [wòtòrò ndó] bòm-bó-Ø wà,*
 [big thing] [cart in] there-be-3SgSbj Quot,
?ègé dèb ?ùné mbà,
 come.Pfv.3SgSbj catch.Ipfv.3SgSbj say.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
 ‘A big thing is on the cart (he thought). He came, intending to catch (it).’ (< wòtóró)

(00:32) *dèmbùlà-dèmbùlà kání mbà,*
 uncover-uncover do.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
dèb-á: ?ùnè mbà jákà nàmbálà,
 catch-Purp say.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv lo! lion,
[sàmári káná:] ?ègé wà,
 [joke(n) do-Purp] come.Pfv.3SgSbj Quot,
 ‘He (=hyena) took off (the skins), intending to catch (goats), but lo! it was the lion.
 He said (to the lion) that he had come to make a joke.’

(00:38) *nàmbálà òdàgé wà,*
 lion all.right Quot,
?èmbá dèbe tèmè,
 then catch.Pfv.3SgSbj devour.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘The lion said, “all right.” Then he caught and devoured (hyena).

(00:40) *à- gú dèbé teme mbà,*
 3Sg-Acc catch.Pfv.3SgSbj devour.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv,
kilâ- gé- ?émbà pólle bé:le,
 goat-Pl-3SgPoss then escape.Pfv.3PISbj get.Pfv.3PISbj,
 ‘When he caught and devoured (hyena), her goats became free (of predators).’

(00:43) *[yo^{LH} Hkèmnò nɔ], nôwⁿ [tò: ǎwⁿ] rè:ní k nì,*
 [woman^{LH} Hold Def], ?? [?? 3Sg] safety do.Pfv.3SgSbj,
[yo^{LH} Hkèmnò nɔ], [tò: ǎwⁿ] rè:ní k nì,
 [woman^{LH} Hold Def] [?? 3Sg] safety do.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘The old woman, she was saved thanks to him (=lion). The old woman, that’s it, she
 was saved.’
*[tò: ǎwⁿ, morphologically obscure but possibly containing 3Sg pronoun ǎwⁿ, means
 ‘it (tale) is finished’]*

(00:47) *kilò- gé- kèrà wà:-mâ-wⁿ, [yo^{LH} kèmnò n],*
 goat-Pl-3SgPoss devour finish-Caus-Ipfv, [woman^{LH} ^Hold Def],
à-ηγú dùgé sǒ:ηgè t bà mbà
 3Sg-Acc take.Pfv.3SgSbj bring.Pfv.3SgSb give.Pfv.3SgSb Pfv
w :-yè-Ø,
 finish-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘He (=hyena) was eating up her goats. The old woman got and brought (the lion) and he (=hyena) was finished.’

(00:53) *[nàmbálà nò-ηj] tem m à táⁿ,*
 [lion Def-Acc] devour.Pfv.3SgSbj Pfv only,
á! [ká:yⁿ nò-ηj] tèmè, ?èmbá rè:ní kàni,
 ah! [hyena Def-Acc] devour.pfv.3SgSbj, then safety do.Pfv.3SgSbj,
 ‘As soon as he devoured the lion—ah, (or rather) he devoured the hyena. Then she was saved.’
 [*< tème mbà*]

(00:58) *à- g nàmà-ηgá ?ùne mbà,*
 3Sg-Acc ruin-Caus.Ipfv.3SgSbj say Pfv,
[mɔ n -ηj] tèmè-Ø, ?èmbá rè:ní kàni
 [Dem Def-Acc] devour.Pfv-3SgSbj, then safety do.Pfv.3SgSbj
 ‘He (=hyena) intended to ruin her. He (=lion) devoured that one (=hyena). Then she (=old woman) was saved.’