Texts

These texts (T01 and T02) were recorded in Nantanga in March 2015 and transcribed with the help of my assistant from Koundiala. Speakers were Oumar Karambé (A) and Boureima Karambé (B). The texts are divided into segments. The codes like 08:17 at the beginning of each segment indicate the time on the sound file, starting each text at 00:00.

Text T01

The bulk of this nine-and-a-half minute recording is a comparison of life in the old days versus modern life in Nantanga village. A short animal tale begins at 08:27. The beginning and ending of the recording contain greetings and other formulaic language and are not always easily parsable or meaningfully translatable (see §19.7 for some similar greeting formulae).

00:06  A: [yè:ɡá: nà:-yà]
        A: [morning good.morning!]
    B: âwà→, yè:ɡá: èŋ nà:-y
    B: [reply], morning well spend.night
    A: nà:-y
    A: spend.night
    B: é jàmù-ŋ nà:-y
    B: 2Pl peace spend.night
    A: nà:-y jò-y
    A: spend.night have-1PlSbj
    B: ì→
    B: [reply]
        A: ‘Good morning!’
        B: ‘Good morning! We spent the night well.’
    A: ‘We spent the night (well).’
    B: ‘Did you-Pl spend the night in peace?’
    A: ‘We have spent the night (in peace).’
    B: [greeting response]
        [yè:ɡá: is omitted in ‘good morning!’ in other dialects; parsing of formulaic nà:-y is unclear]

00:11  A: èŋ nà:-y
        A: well spend.night
    B: nà:-y
    B: spend.night
    A: èŋ nà:-y, jàmù-ŋ nà:-y
    A: well spend.night, peace spend.night
B: nà-y jò- y
B: spend.night have-1PISbj
A: ‘We spent the night well.’
B: ‘We spent the night (well).’
A: ‘We spent the night (well). We spent the night in peace.’
B: ‘We have spent the night (in peace).’

00:14
A: ãmëbà jàm í=y dënë-má
A: God peace 1Pl=Acc spend.day-Caus
B: gà:ná:
B: [reply]
A: ãmëbà bâ:s [í nì:] pâgò
A: God trouble [1Pl Loc] ward.off.Imprt
B: à:mì: à:mì:
B: amen amen
A: ãmëbà cèllàl í=y ñdà
A: God health 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt
B: gà:ná:
B: [reply]
A: ‘May God have us spend the daytime in peace!’
B: [reply]
A: ‘May God ward off trouble from us!’
B: ‘Amen, amen.’
A: ‘May God give us health!’
B: [reply]

00:19
A: [è-wé ñgì yà:] [pày-wé ñgì yà:] 
A: [child-Pl Def Pl] [old.person-Pl Def Pl] 
jàmù-ŋ này-yà:
peace spend.night.Pfv-3PISbj.Q
B: jàmù-ŋ này-yà
B: peace spend.night.Pfv-3PISbj
A: ɔ̂ →
A: [reply]
A: ‘Did the children (and) the old people spend the night well?’
B: ‘They spent the night well.’
A: [reply]
[này-yà: (but not này-yà) has polar interrogative tones, §13.2.1.1]

00:21
B: ó jàmù-ŋ này-è:
B: 2Pl peace spend.night.Pfv-2PISbj.Q
A: í jàmù-ŋ nàyé- y
A: 1Pl peace spend.night.Pfv-1PISbj
B: [yà:-wé ū] bëyò-ô-yà:
B: [woman-Pl Def] lie.down-IpfvNeg-3PISbj.Q
A: bëyò-ô-yà
A: lie.down-IpfvNeg-3PISbj
B: ‘Did you-Pl spend the night well?’
A: ‘We spent the night well.’
B: ‘The women don’t lie down (sick)?’
A: ‘They don’t lie down (sick).’

00:24
B: _silô:_ be-Neg-2PlSbj.Q
A: _jám_ bô-y
B: [reply]
A: _ám bà _jám í = y dén-e-má
A: God peace 1Pl=Ace spend.day-Caus.Imprt
B: _gà: ná:_
B: [reply]
A: ñ
B: [reply]
A: [reply]
A: [reply]
B: [reply]
B: ‘You-Pl are not (involved in) trouble?’
A: ‘We are at peace.’
B: [reply]
A: ‘May God have us spend the daytime in peace.’
B: [reply]
A: [reply]
B: [reply]

[More polar interrogatives: _này-é:_ < _này-é:_ ‘you-Pl spent the night’; _bíyó-ń-yá:_ < _bíyó-ń-yá:_ ‘they didn’t lie down’]

00:27
A: _yè:gá:_ jám-ŋ nà-má = y
A: morning, peace spend.night-Caus=it.is
B: _háyá_ dágè-
B: well be.good.Pfv-3SgSbj
A: _pó:n yü_ [ó ní:_] pó:n-dá:_ mèn-e-y
A: greeting(n) [2Sg Loc] greet-Prog come.Pfv-1PlSbj
B: _háyá_ _ám bà _jám [pó:n-dú]: [gt] = y bisó
B: well God peace [greeting(n)] Prox]=Acc leave.Imprt
A: _ám:á:_ _ám:á:_ _ám:á:_
A: amen amen amen
A: ‘(It’s) morning, it’s “good morning!”’
B: ‘Okay, it’s good.’
A: ‘We have come bearing greetings for you-Sg.’
B: ‘Well, may God leave (=allow) greetings in peace.’
A: ‘Amen, amen, amen.’

00:35
A: _ènñé:_ à-yáŋ tàngè-
A: past how? pass.Pfv-3SgSbj Q
B: _fýo:_
B: Yes
A: _né:_ [ám bà] [ó] [sàg]
A: now [God entrusting(n)] [2Sg entrusting]
A: ‘How did things pass (=how were things) in the old days?’

B: ‘Yes.’

A: ‘Now, (I) entrust (it) to God and to you-Sg.’

B: ‘Okay, God’s trust.’

A: ‘How the old people (sur)passed us.’

B: ‘Exactly, exactly.’

["bà:nà"] as head of manner adverbial, §15.7.2.1

00:40  A: [bà:nà] ì = y jùmbó: ì
  A: manner Sg Pl=Acc pass.Pfv.Ppl Def

B: [bà:nà] íyò→

B: yes

A: [bà:nà] ngú íyè [mí = ñ dàm
  A: [manner this] today [1Sg=Acc speak
  ò pɔl nà] ibà: bó-ŋ
  2Sg speak Subjunct] want be-1SgSbj

B: háyà, dàgè-Ø dàgè-Ø

B: okay, be.good.Pfv-3SgSbj be.good.Pfv-3SgSbj

A: ‘How it has left us.’

B: ‘Yes.’

A: ‘Today I would like you-Sg to talk to me in this way (=about that).’

B: ‘Okay, that’s fine.’

[subjunctive clause with nà, §15.5.2; ibà: bó-ŋ ‘I want’, interchangeable with yè ibà-ŋ, §11.2.5.2]

00:45  A: íyò→

A: yes

B: [í gà] ò-wé = y gɔ

B: [1Pl Topic] child-Pl=it.is Emph

A: íyò→

A: yes

B: nɛ: [é bó ñ] təmbé-y gɔ

B: now [2Pl be.Ppl Def] find.Pfv-1PlSbj Emph,
  nɛ: ámbà [é kíndò ñ] kíndò
  now God [2PlPoss shade Def] put.Imprt

A: [ámbà ná-ŋ] kíndò = y

A: [God 3SgPoss shade]=it.is

A: ‘Yes,’

B: ‘We are children (=young people).’

A: ‘Yes.’

B: ‘We found that you-Pl are present. May God put down your shade (=comfort).’

A: ‘It’s God’s shade.’

[é bó ñ] as participialized propositional complement of ‘find’, cf. (493) in §17.2.2; é kíndò ñ ‘your shade’ has the form of an inalienable possessive; the irregular and
formulaic àmbà ná-ŋ̀ Lkìndò has an apparent resumptive 3Sg possessive ná-ŋ̀ coindexed with àmbà ‘God’, see beginning of §6.2]

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00:51 B: [í gà] ʒ̄njè,  gó-ŋ̄ nùŋà-lì-y gò
   B: [1Pl Topic] until.now, thing hear-PfvNeg-1PlSbj Emph
A: káyto:, kó  gó-ŋ̀ bá: jó-Ø
A: bravo, DiscDef thing equal have-3SgSbj
B: àmbà [é kìndò ŋ̀ Lkìndò] kúndò
B: [God [2PlPoss shade Def] put.Imprt
A: àmbà ná-ŋ̀ Lkìndò = ìy, A: [God 3Sg-Poss] Lshade =it.is,
B: ‘As for us, so far we haven’t heard anything (much).’
A: ‘Bravo. That (=what you said) is worth something.’ (= ‘well said!’)
B: May God put down your shade (=comfort).’
A: ‘It’s God’s shade.’

B: àmbà [é kìndò ŋ̀ Lkìndò] kúndò
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Kani-Bonzon village near Ningari, an early village from which many other villages in the zone were settled.

01:13 A: [kà:n-bɔ̀nzɔ̀-ŋ ní:] bò bè [hi] bìyɔ̀;
A: [Kani-Bonzon Loc] be 3PLsbj [hi] be Past.Ppl,
[kó-ŋ ginn-má] gìn-yà nè,
[there.DiscDef disperse-Hort] say.Pfv-2PLsbj Ant.Past.DS,
sàŋgì-má gìnà-
meet-Hort say-PfvNeg 3PLsbj,
A: ‘They stayed in Kani-Bonzon (for a while). There, they said “let’s disperse!”
They didn’t say let’s keep together.’

01:18 A: kó-ŋ bè [hi] gò;
no: fù;
person all,
[dònɡù bè-ŋ yàŋ] [sìyè-gɔ́lɔ̀ bè-ŋ yàŋ],
[whatchamacallit? 3PL-Poss and] [millet-farming 3PL-Poss and],
[[jàn jé:]; [gà: yàl bè bò ð-ŋ]],
[[hit while.Distrib], [today place 3PLsbj be.Ppl here]
be [hi] mènɔ̀ ñ, nà=y]
3PLsbj [hi] come.Pfv.Ppl Def] 3Sg=it.is
A: ‘They left there, everyone, with their whatchamacallit, and their millet-farming.
With effort they came to here where they are today.’
[kó-ŋ ‘that’, §6.5.1]

01:25 A: [kó-ŋgù 1:klù-ŋ ngi] ní,
A: [DiscDef-Poss Def ‘inside’ Def] Loc,
ènné: sèmbè yè jò=bìy-yà [gàndà ñ],
past power Exist have=Past 3PLsbj [world Def],
bàmmà mènɔ̀-ñ,
freely come-PfvNeg 3PLsbj,
A: ‘In that (situation), in the past they were powerful (tough) in the world. They
didn’t come easily (without effort).’
[kó-ŋgù ‘that’, §6.5.1]

01:29 A: [nò abà:-l fù:] jè:-rå: = bìy-yà,
A: [person accept-PfvNeg Ppl all] take-Prog=Past 3PLsbj,
[nò abà:-l fù:] dìn-dà: = bìy-yà,
[person accept-PfvNeg Ppl all] sell-Prog=Past 3PLsbj,
[nò abà:-l fù:] dàñà: dèmè-rà: = bìy-yà,
[person accept-PfvNeg Ppl all] head hit-Prog=Past 3PLsbj,
A: ‘Anyone who didn’t accept it, they would seize. Anyone who didn’t accept it,
they would sell. Anyone who didn’t accept it, they would hit (on the) head (=beat
him up).’
[bàmmà ‘freely, cheaply, for nothing’; postvocalic progressive suffix pronounced -rå:
rather than -là: in this dialect; past progressive §10.6.1.2]

01:37 A: [kìg i-ŋ] âmì=y=bìyè-Ø ènné,
A: [head 1PL-Poss] who?=it.is=Past 3Sg sbj past,
allowed’, cf. Our fetish(es) used
Today, talking about that is tabooed, (saying that) they used to take people is tabooed.

God, that’s what we had.

[tabá: ‘flat stone shelf’]

A: ‘Who was our leadership in the old days? The Hogons, our leadership was them.
The Hogons also found the flat stone shelf like that.’

[kí:g ‘head’, here abstractly ‘chieftainship, leadership’; ìgú: ‘Hogon’ (traditional chief);
tabá: ‘flat stone shelf’]

01:56

A: [tabá:-tágbú ñgí ni:]; ìgú: sémbè bé jò = biyè-y,

A: [flat.stone.shelf Def] Loc, Hogon power 3PlSbj have=Past-SFoc,
[kó-ŋ bè ménɔ:] èmni: tɔr bàndú = biyè-y,
[there 3PlSbj come.Pfv.Ppl past fetish hit=Past-1PlSbj,
[wè-ŋ bil-i: mén-O ná:] sèn gìnè = biyè-l-O,
[year turn-PP come.Pfv-3SgSbj if] prayer say=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
[tó:rù i-ŋi = ŋ] ámba = ŋ táŋú-ndè
[fetish 1Pl-Pos=Acc] God=Acc pass-Tr
kò = ŋ jò = biyè-y,

DiscDef=it.is have=Past-1PlSbj,

A: ‘On the flat stone shelf, it was Hogons [focus] who had the power. When they
came there, we worshiped fetishes (idols) back then. If the year changed (=from one year
to the next), there was no prayer (=Islamic holy day). Transform(ing) our fetish(es) into
God, that’s what we had.

[táŋú-ndè ‘cause to pass, take across’, here in archaic sense ‘transform into’]

01:56

A: [tó:rù ñj:] [nò:-ígí = ŋ lá] nè:-rà: = biyè-O,

A: [fetish Def] [person-child=Acc too] drink-Prog=Past-3SgSbj,

íyè [dámó: ñj] gàsí:,
today [speaking(n) Def] prohibited,
nò: jè:-rà: = biyè-O gàsí: quòi,

person take-Prog=Past-3SgSbj prohibited ,
[tó:rù i-ŋ] nò: nè:-rà: = biyè-O,

[fetish 1Pl-Pos] person drink-Prog=Past-3SgSbj,

[pà:m kán-dà: jò-nn-ò:]
[understanding do-Prog have-StatNeg-2SgSbj,Q],

A: ‘The fetish(es) used to drink (=consume) even people (=human sacrifices).
Today, talking about that is tabooed, (saying that) they used to take people is tabooed.
Our fetish(es) used to drink people. Did you-Sg not understand?’

[dámó:-ŋ ‘talking’, likely a frozen participle, used with gàsí: ‘be tabooed, not
allowed’], cf. [wú: ñj] / [núŋú: ñj] gàsí: ‘seeing/hearing (it) is tabooed’

02:05

A: [nò: nà: = biyè-ní: ñgí] ni:;
A: [person drink=Past.Ppl Def] Loc,
[kò:-ŋgù bísè-ń-yà]

[DiscDef-Poss.Def put.down-lPfvNeg-3PlSbj]

[nà ñkàn nè],

[3SgSbj ñdo Ant.Past.DS],
A: ‘When they dropped that (practice), wherein it (=the fetish) had drunk people, some (people) began (at that time) to sacrifice sheep. Sheep, goats, and dogs, those [focus] are what they sacrificed.’

[náː = biyáː; dialectal variant of past perfect participle néː = biyáː; ná kàn nê] to switch topics (subjects), (438a-b) in §15.4; ‘begin’ with purposive complement (lengthened A-stem), §17.4.2.2]

A: ‘The devils having come, up until today, there are places where they have abandoned that, (and) there are places that have abandoned (it). Those fetishes, there are places that have abandoned (it) and there are places that have not abandoned (it).’

was in the old days either. If we did that (=made sacrifices), when(ever) a mysterious sacrifices for' or more abstractly 'worship, serve (a god)'
participial form "possessed" by 'head';
(=you have gotten through)'; {L}
hardship or threat;
a kind of insurance policy. Sacrifices were periodically made to them in the event of
longer actively sacrificed to because of Islam, but they were kept in reserve in a cave as
do all those, (to see) how one might possibly get through (hardship).'
Gemle, they serve Sambe, they serve Togo, they serve the masks, they serve Ag. They
the whites came.'

A: ‘They don’t forget what went on in the old days, us. They don’t forget the way it
was. They don’t forget what happened in the old days either. If we did that (=made sacrifices), when(ever) a mysterious
bad thing came upon us, it would not enter (the village), it would make a detour (=go somewhere else).’

[bènníg ‘mysterious, of unknown origin’]

03:08 A: [jùmù-$\eta^+$ sàlù:] [í nì:] mèn-$\emptyset$ nà;
A: [disease$^-$ bad] [1Pl Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[ñùnà = biyà:-l-$\emptyset$ bá:l-i:-là: = biyè-$\emptyset$]
[enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj detour-MP-Prog=Past-3SgSbj]
[jùmùnì L sàlù:] [í nì:] mèn-$\emptyset$ nà;
[religion$^-$ bad] [1Pl Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[ñùnà = biyà:-l-$\emptyset$ bá:l-i:-là: = biyè-$\emptyset$],
[enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj detour-MP-Prog=Past-3SgSbj,
[ñìì i-$\emptyset$ là], tébù-$\eta$ jà = biyà:-l-$\emptyset$,]
[chicken 1Pl-Poss too], kite take=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
pà:m kàn-$\emptyset$:
understanding do.Pfv-2SgSbj Q
A: ‘If a bad disease (=epidemic) came upon us, it would not enter, it would make a detour. If a bad religion came upon us, it would not enter, it would make a detour. Nor would a kite (=hawk) take our chickens. Did you understand?’

03:28 A: bon, bà:nà-$\eta$ kànè bè hil.jùmbò: ì.
A: well, manner do 3PlSbj hil.leave.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[sèníù $\emptyset$] nà mèn nè,
[prayer Def] 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS,
[ñùnù $\emptyset$] nà mèn nè, kò-bùlè: jùmb-yà,
[DiscDef Pl] leave.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[ñùnù $\emptyset$] nà mèn nè, kò-bùlè: jùmb-yà,
[prayer Def] 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS, DiscDef-Pl leave.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[ñùnù $\emptyset$] nà mèn nè, [[jùmbà:-l-$\emptyset$: nà:],
[prayer Def] 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS] [[leave-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if],
[ñìì $\emptyset$ 2Sg Acc bury-IpfvNeg-LogoSbj] say-Ipfv.3PlSbj
[die.Pfv-2SgSbj if] 2Sg=Acc bury-IpfvNeg-LogoSbj say-Ipfv.3PlSbj
A: ‘Well, the way they stopped doing (them) (was), religion (Islam) came in and
they abandoned (them). Religion came in and they abandoned them. Religion came in,
and they say that if you don’t abandon (them), they won’t bury you when you die.’

[‘say’ verb at end has scope over a multi-clause quotation beginning with ‘if you
don’t abandon’; bìsè-nnù-ŋ has logophoric (pseudo-1Sg) subject suffix -ŋ coindexed
with ‘they’ of ‘they say’]

03:40 A: ë-g nàl-ó: nà:, child give.birth.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[lábrù ọ-ŋ] kàyè-nnù-ŋ, [baptism 2Sg-Poss] shave-LpfvNeg-LogoSbj]
say-Lpfv.3PlSbj,
yà:-gù: bèl-š: nà:, [marriage get.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
say-Lpfv.3PlSbj,
A: ‘They say that when you have a child they won’t shave (=perform) the
crhistening. They say that if you get married, they won’t cut (=approve) the religious
marriage contract.’

[lábrù-ŋ ‘baptism, christening of newborn child (seven days after birth), involves
shaving its head; yà:-gù: ‘wedding, marriage ceremony’; póló ‘formal marriage
agreement contracted in a mosque’]

03:46 A: [kó-ngù] 1l. sábà:b] làŋ]
A: [[DiscDef-Poss.Def 1l.reason] Inst]
ìyè [gìrâ:nà nà mèn nè],
today [Koran 3SgSbj come.Pfv Ant.Past.DS],
[ìmè: m3 1l.di:nè ŋtí] bilé —
[past Poss 1l.religion Def] turn —
[ìyè [di:nè 1l. kàsà:] jìnè jò ŋ] ná = y,
[today [religion 1 new] bring have.Ppl Def 3Sg=it.is,
A: ‘(It’s) for that reason. Now that the Koran has come, it has replaced the (animist)
religion of the past, it’s nowadays that it has brought a new religion (=Islam).’

[mɔ possessive, here unusually with a prenominal possessor; jìnè jò ŋ participle from
recent perfect]

03:53 A: páy-wé kàŋ biyà-ŋ, old.person-Pl like.that was-PfvNeg-3PlSbj,
pà:m kàn-dà: j-ò:, understanding do-Prog have-2SgSbj,
páy-wé [nàsùg bẹ-ŋ] kàn-yà nà:, old.person-Pl [mask 3Pl-Poss] do.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
[tọ:r bẹ-ŋ] gẹn-yà nà:, [fetish 3Pl-Poss] pray.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
ámbà áb-là: = biyè-Ọ, God accept-Prog=Past-3SgSbj
A: ‘The old people (in the past) weren’t like that. Do you understand? When they
did their mask (performances), when they prayed to their fetishes, God would accept
their prayers.’

320
A: ‘If the rains dry up, they (old men) sit (under) the palaver shelter, they slaughter chickens (as sacrifices), they don’t enter houses, they wear their necklaces (with amulets), they perform their prayers, and promptly the clouds come out, the rain falls, and the country is all (rain)water.’

[‘if the rains dried up’ is a genuine conditional antecedent; it is followed by a long string of pseudo-conditional clauses denoting sequenced future events, concluding with the main clause ‘the country was all (rain)water’; the events refer to the old days but are phrased here as though in the present and future]

04:13

A: ‘The old people were in control (of the rain). Nowadays, having abandoned (those practices), what did we gain, other than drought? When the (dry) wind blew, they would sacrifice to their fetishes, and the wind would disappear completely.’

[fé́nnə-ŋ, extendible as fé́nnə-séy-séy-séy, is an expressive adverbial, used for example to emphasize that a just-swept floor is spotless]

04:23

A: ‘The old people were in control (of the rain). Nowadays, having abandoned (those practices), what did we gain, other than drought? When the (dry) wind blew, they would sacrifice to their fetishes, and the wind would disappear completely.’
When millet had sprouted (in the fields), when grasshoppers were taking and eating it, they would catch the grasshoppers, and go to a place and perform prayers, then the grasshoppers would disappear.

(tégélèŋ, adverbial associated with màré ‘become lost’ in the sense ‘disappear’)

(When) the millet was ripe, if birds were pecking (=eating the grains), they would catch a bird. There is a (secret) place for putting (it), they would put (it) there, and perform prayers, and birds would disappear.

If larvae (e.g. caterpillars) emerged and were eating the mi|llet, they would take the larvae and put them in a (secret) place, and the larvae would disappear.

Did you understand? There were among us (=we had) fetishes (for) all those (dangers).
A: ‘All those fetishes now, now those (fetishes) accepted us (=fulfilled our prayers), (so) why have we abandoned (them)?’

[DiscDef Pl], 1Pl=Acc accept-Prog=Past-3PlSbj

B: ‘Now, (so) why have we abandoned (them)?’

[DiscDef Pl], 1Pl=Acc accept-Prog=Past-3PlSbj

A: ‘Well, it’s (like) what I said now. (The fetishes) that they said prayers to, the situation is that nowadays we have put all of them (=fetishes) in a cave.’

A: ‘(Suppose) the status of oldest man in the village devolved (on someone), suppose that the status of oldest man devolved on you - Sg. We would go take the stick (=staff of office) and give it to you. You [focus] would cultivate the special field reserved for the oldest man.’

This is especially true in the rocky plateau area where Nantanga is located, where getting around on horseback or donkey cart is not feasible; bèlè bèlè-nnù-Ø ‘can’t go’ with chain-final bèlè ‘get’ in sense ‘be able to’, §15.1.4.1

A: ‘It (=the special field) was a field in the village periphery, on the grounds that an old man wouldn’t have the strength, he wouldn’t be able to walk to a field far from the village, (so) they used to let him cultivate a field in the village periphery.’

[DiscDef Pl], 1Pl=Acc accept-Prog=Past-3PlSbj

A: also, power have=Past-3SgSbj,
A: ‘The Hogon (traditional chief) too, he had power (authority). They would give him a field not far away. They would give him a tree.’

05:16 A [3g5; nè] [ Según-η lá] bis-yà,
[Hogon now] [what? Purp] put.down.Pfv-3PlSbj,
3g5; [ná bô-ú-Ø nà;]
Hogon, [3SgSbj be-Neg-3SgSbj if]
dágè-ñú, nôl abà:-li,
be.good-StatNeg, person accept-PfvNeg.Ppl,
[nùmò; ná-ú] kùndò=bì-yà,
[hand 3Sg-Poss] put=Past-3PlSbj,
A: ‘A Hogon now, why did they install him (as chief)? The Hogon, if he wasn’t there, it wouldn’t be good. They would put a trouble-maker (“one who didn’t accept”) in his hands.

05:22 A: [nùmò; ná-ú] kùnd-yà nà; mông-ýé,
[hand 3Sg-Poss] put.Pfv-3PlSbj if, assemble-MP,
yàmò: ö lîl.kàn nè,
misdeed 2SgSbj ìl.do Ant.Past.DS,
3g5:-dôm bè dám nè,
Hogon-talk(n) 3PlSbj speak Ant.Past.DS,
àbà:-l-ó: nà;
accept-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if,
[ná: tà:ndú] bè túbè nè,
[time 3] 3PlSbj ask Ant.Past.DS,
àbà:-l-ó: nà;
accept-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if,
ô = ý nàsúg mìn-dà: = biyè-Ø,
2Sg=Acc idol swallow-Prog=Past-3SgSbj
A: ‘When they put (the trouble-maker) in his hands, they assembled. You (had) committed a misdeed, and they would tell you the Hogon’s words (=decision), and if you refused (it), they would ask you (a total of) three times, and if you refused (it), the idol (=fetish) would swallow you.’

05:30 A: [nô: túb: ñj] nàl-ýà-ú biyè:-l-Ø,
A: [person ask.Pfv.Ppl Def] bear.child-MP-Adj be.Past-Neg-3SgSbj,
[kìg ó-ú] pórè:-n,
[head 2Sg-Poss] cut.off-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[ó = ý wà:] [nàsúg mìnè wà:] gìn-yà nà;
[2Sg=Acc QuotSbj] [idol swallow.Pfv-3SgSbj Quot] say.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
kóy,
Emph,
A: ‘There was nobody born (on earth) who (could) question (it). They would cut off your head. They would say that the idol (=fetish) has swallowed you. That’s all.’
[deverbal adjective nàl-ýà-ú, §4.5.2]
A: 'If a young person didn’t accept (discipline), they would go (with him) to a bachelor’s room and the older brothers would thrash him. Whatever they did (to him), when they came to the house, there was no problem (=it was acceptable).'
[i.e. the elder brothers could do whatever they wanted to him; tèbûlè ‘whip (sb), slap or hit lightly with hands or a whip’]

A: ‘Nowadays, if you thrash a young person (=boy), (his) elder brother won’t leave you alone. If you thrash a young person, a woman won’t leave you alone. If you thrash a young person, the other (person) won’t leave you alone. They will say that you don’t (even) want to look at their child. How can the country get better?'
[bísè-n-Ø < bísè-n-nû-Ø : nù mò dialectal for mè mò (logophoric possessor); ibà-lù-g ‘hatred, ill will’, cf. ibà-nnu- ‘not want’]
A: ‘It can’t get better indeed.’
[quotative-subject construction atypically placed after object NP ‘their child’; dàg for the usual dàgè in this construction]

06:02 B: gándà yámè-Ø
B: country be.ruined.Pfv-3SgSbj
A: yɔ̌:g bò-nnú-Ø
A: understanding be-Neg-3SgSbj
[yɔ̌:g-àwá ŋ] bò-nnú-Ø,
[solidarity Def] be-Neg-3SgSbj,
pà:m kàn-ð;
understanding do.Pfv-2SgSbj.Q,
B: ‘The country has gone bad.’
A: ‘There’s no mutual understanding (=getting along). There’s no solidarity. Did you understand (me)?’

06:06 A: [nàgà-nàgà]-dùn í-ŋ]
gábè-Ø
A: [:gà-] be.excessive.Pfv-3SgSbj
[í-ŋ] gábè-Ø,
[lying 1Pl-Poss] be.excessive.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[ësìbiyìí í-ŋ] gábè-Ø,
[impoliteness 1Pl-Poss] be.excessive.Pfv-3SgSbj,
A: ‘Our gossiping about one another is excessive. Our lying is excessive. Our impoliteness is excessive.
[nàgà-nàgà ‘other-other’, a kind of reciprocal ‘one another’; dùn nominal < verb dùné ‘gossip about (sb) behind his back’; ësìbiyìí ‘impoliteness’]

06:11 A: [ì HL tèmì: ñgìli ni:]
A: [:gà-] be.excessive.Pfv-3SgSbj
[i HL] encounter.Pfv.Ppl Def Loc]
[ì HL jì:] bòl-ðà: jò-y,
[exit(v) while.Distrib] go-Prog have-1PlSbj
A: ‘We are gradually getting away from what we inherited (=traditional customs).’
[cf. [ì HL jì] bòl-ðà ‘they went out gradually (not all together), they dribbled out’]

06:14 A: kó jùmbé-y nà:,
A: DiscDef abandon.Pfv-1PlSbj if,
[fìyè ñgìmè nè] gándà yámù-gù dògò
today up.until.now country ruin(n) except
gò-ŋ [dàg-Ø ná:]
[thing become.good.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
girò là: bòlè-bj páypár bò-nnú-Ø
to.forward Loc go-Lpfv.Ppl at.all be-Neg-3SgSbj
A: ‘If we abandon that, as of now, (in) the country, there is nothing at all that can get better and go forward, (there’s) just (the country’s) going bad.’

06:20 A: [mànd-ì: nà:]
A: make.effort-MP if
[ì HL tèmì: ñgìli dìyì-gè-mà-ŋ]
pày-wé bò HL mènì: ŋ]
A blessing. If there is no solidarity, there is nothing at all that we can gain.

If you remain okay (with others), patience (=tolerance) will come. If you remain okay (with others), blessings will come. If you remain okay (with each other); they used to ask (=pray) for rain like that.

Let’s make an effort (=try) to hold onto what we inherited. (When) the old people came, (in) meetings, (with) the neighboring house and the neighboring village, they were okay (with each other); they used to seek a wife like that. They were okay; they used to ask (=pray) for rain like that.

If there is no solidarity, nothing (=no problems) can be managed. Are you okay? If you remain okay (with others), patience (=tolerance) will come.

If there is no solidarity, nothing (=no problems) can be managed. Are you hearing?

That (solidarity), what brings (=causes) it? Respect for people [focus] brings (it). A blessing. If there is no solidarity, there is nothing at all that we can gain.
power-having 1Pl=Acc help-PfvNeg.3PISbj if, 
[go-ŋ tšlè] killè i bèlè:-b] bò-ŋ-Ø,
[thing any] manage 1PISbj get-Ipfv.Ppl be-Neg-3SgSbj,
A: ‘Today with drought, lack (=poverty), and famine. If the authorities don’t help us, there isn’t anything that we can handle.’
[go-ŋ tšlè or simple tšlè ‘(not) anything’, (132c) in §6.6.3]

07:01 A: [əlú: gẹ̀nè-y] mènè-ŋ-Ø, 
A: [rain(n)] ask.for.Pfv-1PISbj if] come-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj, 
[dàgg děnè:-y] bèl-mè-ŋ-Ø, 
[good look.for.Pfv-1PISbj if] get-Pass-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj, 
[gò;nk] [i káŋ ná] dágè:-b] 
[thing] [1PIS do.Pfv Subjunct] become.good.Ipfv.Ppl] 
pàypər bò-ŋ-Ø, 
at.all be-Neg-3SgSbj 
A: ‘When we ask (=pray) for rain, it doesn’t come. If we look for something good, it isn’t gettable. There is nothing that, should we do it, will turn out well.’
[subjunctive i káŋ ná: ‘we do and …’, §15.5.2; my assistant suggests emending to imperfective participial i káŋe:-b to make it parallel to dágè:-b]

07:08 A: [ènnè: dógò], 
A: [past except], 
[yè ginnè [yè-g-àwà ʃ-ŋ] dá:ɡù-nd-ýò: bò-Ø, 
today a.lot [solidarity 1Pl-Poss] small-Inch-MP be-3SgSbj 
kò-ŋgù [yèl-gù ŋ] ùg-i:-më: bò-Ø, 
[DiscDef-Poss.Def] ‘place Def] fear(v)-MP-Caus be-3SgSbj, 
kò-ŋgù [yèl-gù ŋ] ùg-i:-më: bò-Ø, 
[DiscDef-Poss.Def] ‘place Def] fear(v)-MP-Caus be-3SgSbj, 
A: ‘As opposed to the past, nowadays our solidarity has diminished. So that situation is scary. So the situation is scary.’
[da:ɡù-nd-ýò: bò-Ø and ùg-i:-më: bò-Ø, recent perfect]

07:16 A: [yè ñmè] [ènnè: i] bìyè: ŋgí] 
A: [today up.to.now] [before 1PISbj i stay.Pfv.Ppl Def] 
jumbò: ŋ] dòlò = ŋ, 
abandon.Pfv.Ppl Def] unreasonable=it.is, 
A: ‘Nowadays, abandoning the way we were before is unwise.’
[jumbò:, participle of headless nonsubject relative with genetric subject (hence no pronoun-subject proclitic)]

07:19 A: pày-we ré nènè: [fòsúg tšmò] ní:] nùnà = bì-yyà, 
A: old.person-Pl before [[path one] Loc] enter=Past-3PISbj, 
[fòsúg tšmò] ní:] gò: = bì-yyà, 
[[path one] Loc] exit(v)=Past-3PISbj, 
[èbà: tšmò] nùnà = bì-yyà, 
[[market one] Loc] exit(v)=Past-3PISbj, 
[èbà: tšmò] gò: = bì-yyà, 
[market one] exit(v)=Past-3PISbj,
A: ‘In the past, the old people entered and exited by the same path. They entered and
exited the same marketplace.’
[past perfect gò:=bí-yyà and nùjà = bí-yyà with A/O-stem of verb in this dialect]

07:25 A: [bày wó: bày] gin-yà nà:;
A: [assembly] say.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
bé-ŋ [yà=g tómà]=y = biyè-Ø
3Pl-Poss [understanding one]=it.is=Past-3SgSbj
A: ‘If they called a meeting (of villagers), they had the same (common)
understanding.’

07:27 A: [kàn-má gin-yà ná:] kànè:-n,
A: [do-Hort say.Pfv-3PlSbj if] do-lPfv.3PlSbj,
[jùmbè-má gin-yà ná:] jùmbè:-n,
[abandon-Hort say.Pfv-3PlSbj if] abandon-lPfv.PIIsbj,
A: ‘If they said let’s do it, they would do it. If they said let’s leave it (=not do it),
they would leave it.’

07:31 A: [tòlé-má gin-yà ná:] tślè:-n,
A: [begin-Hort say.Pfv-3PlSbj if] begin-lPfv.PIIsbj,
í kàŋ tém bè-y,
1PbSbj like.that find.Pfv-1PbSbj
nùjà-rà: j-ð;
hear-Prog have-2SgSbj.Q,
A: ‘If they said let’s begin, they would begin. We found (the situation) like that. Do
you hear (=understand)?’

07:35 A: [[è:ni ñjùg kùmbó bò-má] gin-yà ná:]
A: [[tomorrow get.up war go-Hort] say.Pfv-3PlSbj if]
pày-wé [mìbi-ŋ nì:] nàyà = biyà:-l-Ø
old.person-pl [house Loc] spend.night=Past-Neg-3SgSbj
A: ‘If they said, tomorrow let’s get up and go to war, the old people would not spend
the night in the house.’
[nàyà = biyà:-l-Ø] dialectal for nàyè = biyà:-l-Ø, past perfect negative

07:39 A: [ònjùn nì:] bìl-yà nà:;
A: [the.bush Loc] go.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
[ònjùnu nì:] biyè-yè nàyà nà:;
[[the.bush Def] Loc] lie.down-mp spend.night.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
[yà:-gí yên] ŋiks-yè-ði-yà
[woman Inst] mix-mp-PfvNeg-3PlSbj
A: ‘They would go into the bush (=outback), they would go to sleep and spend the
night in that bush, they wouldn’t mix with women (=wives).’

07:44 A: háyà gin-yà nà:;
A: all.right say.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
[kèm bé-ŋ jè:-] [wàrà: bé-ŋ] jè:-
[metal.object 3Pl-Poss] take, [spear 3Pl-Poss] take,
[tà:” bé-ŋ] jè-yyà nà:;
[arrow 3Pl-Poss] take.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
A: ‘They would say, all right. They would take their light metal objects, take their spears, and take their arrows.’

[jè: twice for jè: as chained verb]

07:48 A: [kɔmbɔ ɲ] gùllé
A: [war Def] drive.out
[yàl ɓè kà:rè:-b] kà:r-yà nà:
[place 3PlSbj limit-Lpvf.Ppl] limit.Pfv-3PlSbj if
[i-ɲà: pòró hérè bélè:-b]
here village peace get.Lpvf-3PlSbj,
pày-wé kàŋ kàŋ = biy-yà.
old.person like.that do=Past-3PlSbj
A: ‘They would drive out the enemy as far as where they drew the limit. Here the village would be in peace. The old people did (it) like that.’

07:53 A: [íyè jà:lù mágà nɔ́:] nà;
A: [today fight-VblN go-Hort] say.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[ŋ̀ gúnl-ýé yà:kàrkà:yà]
[Prox too sneak-MP go.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
[yà-ɲà: bàŋà: ngí yàŋ] dámè:-b-ɔ,
[over.there owner Def Inst] speak-Lpvf-3SgSbj,
[kàn-ɛ: [i ìŋ-ɲè nà]]
[do-Result 1PlSbj get.tired-MP.Pfv.Ppl Subjunct]
A: ‘Nowadays, if you say, let’s go fight, this one (one of you) will sneak away and talk with the fellow from over there (=the other side).
[’owner of X’ compound, §5.1.8]

07:57 A: [ògú là] nɔł-yé bɔl-ɔ nà:
A: [Prox too] sneak-MP go.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
[yà-ɲà: bàŋà: ngí yàŋ] dɪg dɪgè:-b-ɔ,
[over.there owner Def Inst] lie(n) lie(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
[kàn-ɛ: [i ìŋ-ɲè nà]]
[do-Result 1PlSbj get.tired-MP.Pfv.Ppl Subjunct]
A: ‘This (=another) one too will sneak away, he will tell lies to the fellow from over there. Eventually this wearies (=frustrates) us.’

08:00 A: [gò:n là jàːŋ kíll-yè:-b]
[thing 1Pl Inst handle-MP-Lpvf.Ppl]
[pày dàːgì là] bò-nnu-ɔ,
at.all a.little too be-Neg-3SgSbj,
[dg àgì=ý] yɔːɡ-àwà yò jò-nnî-y,
[Prox which?=it.is] [solidarity Def] have-Neg-1PlSbj
A: ‘There is nothing that can be handled by us, even a little bit. What (=why) is this? We don’t have the solidarity.’

08:06 A: [kó ágì=ý] [yà-ːwèː-dòm] i nè:nè yò:-jèː],
A: [DiscDef which?=it.is] [woman-Pl-talk(n)] 1PlSbj listen-MP.Pfv.Ppl,
ënné: i ìnl biyó: ngí yàŋ
past 1PlSbj be.Past.Ppl Def and
[iyè i] bò ngí yàŋ tɔmɔː lò:,
[today 1PlSbj be.Ppl Def and] one=it.is.not,
A: ‘What (=why) is this? (The fact that) we listened to women’s talk. They way we used to be and the way we are now are not the same.’

B: hayà, gású ó bèlã-1 kòy,
B: all.right, trouble 2SgSbj get-PfvNeg Emph,
[dóm dám-oː],
[talk(n) speak.Pfv-2SgSbj], [Prox share(n) be.worth have-3SgSbj],
A: kùlò bà: jón-Ø,
A: share(n) be.worth have-3SgSbj
B: ‘All right, you-Sg certainly got no trouble (=you did well). You spoke, this (talk) has been worth a share (=it is enough).’
A: ‘It has been worth a share.’
[gású ó bèlã-1 is a formulaic appreciation or thanks]

8:18
B: gású ó bèlã-1
B: trouble 2SgSbj get-PfvNeg
A: [kó-ngù kùlù-ŋ niː]
A: [[DiscDef-Poss.Def inside] Loc]
[tùŋːL i  ámb L ság]
[tale(n) 1PlS find.Pfv.Ppl Def]
[tùŋː nè:ɡè yày tùŋː-Ø ná:]
[tale two like narrate.Pfv-3SgSbj if,]
yé bârɛː-n
there.DiscDef add.Ipfv-3PlSbj
B: ‘You-Sg got no trouble.’
A: ‘In (=with) that, the story that we have found, something like (=approximately)
two (more) stories will be told in addition to that.’
[yày ‘like’ attracts H-tone of preceding nè:ɡè ‘two’, §8.4.1]

8:24
B: hayà
B: all.right
A: tùŋː, [tùŋːL ó jó yè bô-Ø nàː] tùŋː
A: story, [[story 2SgSbj have.Ppl] Exist be-3SgSbj if] narrate.Imprt
B: óy hayà
oh all.right,
B: ‘All right.’
A: ‘A story, if there is a story that you-Sg have, tell (it)!’
B: ‘Well, all right.’

8:27
B: fúː, [ámb L ság] [ó L ság]
B: all, [God entrusting(n)] [2Sg entrusting]
A: tùŋː tòm, [ọjùn-nàmá fúː] [bè ámb L mòmb-yùː],
story one, [the.bush-meat all] [3PlSbj assemble-MP.Pfv.Ppl],
B: ‘All (that). Entrusting to God and to you.’
A: ‘One story. All the wild animals assembled.’

08:34
A: **kôr** [**kôr**] **bè** [**bè**] **gîy-má** [**gîy-má**] **gîn-yà,**
A: soirée 3PlSbj Hil nail(v).Pfv.Ppl, dance(n) dance-Hort say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
A: ‘They held a soirée (festive evening event). They said, let’s dance a dance.’
[kôr pégê, lit. “drive in (=nail) a soirée”]

08:37
A: **nùmí-nùmí** [**nùmí-nùmí**] **gî-gi:**
A: enter-enter dance-dance
[bè Hil.gô: ḣ] [bè go: ɦ] [bè go: ḣ],
[3PlSbj Hil.go.out.Pfv.Ppl Def] (repetitions),
[nà Hil.nûph]:
goat 3SgSbj Hil.go.in.Pfv.Ppl,
A: ‘They were going in and dancing and going back out. (Then) goat went in.’

08:41
A: [**gîyò** ɦ] **gî-rà:**
A: [dance Def] dance(v)-Prog,
tàwá: nà Hil.nûph;
hyena 3SgSbj Hil.enter.Pfv.Ppl,
[jìnà: jûmbè-O] jènè-O,
[goat hand] hold.up.Pfv-3SgSbj
A: ‘He (=goat) was dancing. (Then) hyena went in. He held up goat’s arm.’

08:46
A: **nà** Hil.jènò;
A: 3SgSbj Hil.hold.up.Pfv.Ppl,
numè: [dâà-n dà:] nà Hil.jènò:
hand [top Loc] 3SgSbj Hil.hold.up.Pfv.Ppl,
tàwá: jûmbè-n-Ø,
hyena leave-lpfvNeg-3SgSbj,
A: ‘He held up (goat’s hand). Hyena held the hand up high and wasn’t letting go.’
[jûmbè-n-Ø < jûmbè-nû-Ø]

08:50
A: [**jènè-Ø**] **nà** kàn nè,
A: leave-lpfvNeg-3SgSbj 3SgSbj do.Pfv Ant.Past.DS,
[wàsè: ɭ] bè Hil.gô;
[remainder Def] 3PlSbj Hil.say.Pfv.Ppl,
numè-jènû wâ:jibî = ɭ dògô,
hand-hold.up.Nom proper=it.is except,
A: ‘When hyena didn’t let go, the others said: holding (someone’s) hand up is proper
(at times).’
[different-subject (DS) construction; gô: irregular variant perfective participle of gînë
‘say’; holding the hand of a dancer up is a normal expression of congratulation but it
should not last too long]

08:53
A: [**jènè-Ø**] **nà:** jûmbè-nû-gû ɭ kày,
A: [hold.up.Pfv-3SgSbj if] leave-lpfvNeg-VblN Def Topic,
8:57 A:  [kān̥ bè  gìn  nè]
A: [like.that  3PlSbj  say.Pfv  Ant.Past.DS]
tàwá:  nà  ìl jùmbò;
hyena  3SgSbj  ìleave.Pfv.Ppl,
A: ‘When they said that, hyena let (go) go.’

8:58 A:  [nùm̥:  nà  ìl dège:  ǹgi]=ỳ  dège  jè:;
A: [hand  3SgSbj  ìl.lick.Pfv.Ppl  Def]=Acc  lick  take,
[ìnà-ngù  wà:]  kó  [nùm̥:-jènù]=lò:  wà;
[3Sg-Poss.Def  Quot]  DiscDef  [hand-hold.up.Nom]=it.is.not  Quot
jò:  àmbà  bàrà=ỳ  nè,
greed  be.added  now,
A: ‘He was licking all over the hand that he was licking. He said, what he had done
wasn’t holding up a hand (to congratulate), greed was involved in it.’
[i.e. hyena had hoped to eat goat; bàrà=ỳ ‘be added, be included, be present in
addition’, irregular stative, negative counterpart bàrà-nnù-]

9:03 A:  [[àdúnyà  ǹgi]  nì:]  jò:  àmbà  í=ỳ  sà:  kánà,
A: [[world  Def]  Loc]  greed  God  1Pl=Acc  keep.away  do.Imprt,
B:  gà:nà:
B: [reply]
A:  àmbà  bá:s  pógò
God  trouble  ward.off.Imprt
B:  à:mí:  à:mí:
amen!  amen!
A: ‘May God keep us from greed in this world.’
B: [greeting reply]
A: ‘May God ward off trouble.’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’

9:07 A:  [jámù-ń  děn  ná:]  [peace  spend.day.Pfv  if]
àmbà  jámù  í=ỳ  nàyè-má
God  peace  1Pl=Acc  spend.night-Caus.Imprt
B:  à:mí:  à:mí:  amen!  amen!
A: ‘May God let us spend the daytime in peace and spend the night in peace!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’
[nàyè-má ‘let (sb) spend the night!’ is regular, contrast irregular nà-ń in ‘good
morning!’ greeting]

9:09 A:  àmbà  cèllál  í=ỳ  ñdà
A: God  health  1Pl=Acc  give.Imprt
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: àmbà [àlà:-àŋù gènɔ́:] ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà
A: God [rain(n)-water good] 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: ‘May God give health!
B: ‘Amen, amen!’
A: ‘May God give us good rainfall!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’

09:12
A: àmbà-bárkè àmbà ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà
A: God-blessing(n) God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: yà:ŋ-àwá àmbò ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà
A: solidarity God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: ‘May God give us God’s blessings!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’
A: ‘May God give us solidarity!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’

09:14
A: k índà: àmbà ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà,
A: liver God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: yà:jí àmbò ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà
A: marriage God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: ‘May God give us heart (=courage)!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’
A: ‘May God give us marriages!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’

09:16
A: ìgnìnlò àmbà ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà,
A: progeny God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: [bárkè gönderil̀ gènɔ́:] àmbò ṭ̀=́ỳ ñdà
A: [blessing good] God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
B: à:mí: à:mí:
B: amen! amen!
A: ‘May God give us progeny!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’
A: ‘May God give us good blessings!’
B: ‘Amen, amen!’
09:19  A: [jámù-ŋ dèn ná:]  
[peace spend.day if]  
jámù  í = ŷ nàyè-má  
peace 1Pl=Acc spend.night-Caus.Imprt  
B: à:mí: à:mí:  
amen! amen!  
A: ‘May God let us spend the daytime in peace and spend the night in peace!’  
B: ‘Amen, amen!’

09:21  A: àm'bà káwràl í = ŷ ñdà,  
A: God understanding 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,  
B: à:mí: à:mí:  
amen! amen!  
A: dò:lò pò→  
A: thanks greeting  
B: háyà  
B: all.right  
A: ‘May God give us mutual understanding!’  
B: ‘Amen, amen!’  
A: ‘Thank you!’  
B: ‘All right.’

09:24  B: háyà, [ī [HL bélɔ:] [ògù ná = ţy]  
B: well, [1PlSbj [HL get.Pfv.Ppl] [Prox 3Sg=it.is]  
A: [ī [HL bélɔ:] [ògù ná = ţy]  
A: [1PlSbj [HL get.Pfv.Ppl] [Prox 3Sg=it.is]  
… (unintelligible)  
B: ‘Well, what we have gotten (=learned), this is it.’  
A: ‘What we have gotten (=learned), this is it.’  
… (unintelligible)

09:29  A: [[gò-ŋ báró:] yàŋ] bò = Ø mà  
A: [[thingL add.Pfv.Ppl] Inst be=3SgSbj or?]  
kò èsáyé nà kàn nè  
DiscDef try 3SgSg do Ant.Past.DS,  
A: ‘Is anything to be added?’  
‘(When) he has tried that, …’  
[French essayer]
This recording was four-and-a-half minutes long. It continues the ethnohistorical material from T01. It is in essentially monologue form with A speaking and some murmured backchannel (not transcribed).

00:00 A: *bon*  ná-ŋgù  [mén-gù  ŋ]  dùlò,  
  3Sg-Poss.Def  [come-VblN  Def]  be.in.Stat,  
  *bon*  [yāl  wūlé  jè:]  bè  Hi  ménɔː,  
  [place  look.at  while.Distr]  3PlSbj  Hi  come.Pfv.Ppl,  
  ènnèː  gándà  [yāl  ō  bɛ́n]  bèː  ŋjíː,  
  past  world  [place  2Sg  Hi  get.Pfv.Ppl  all]  
  biy-má  biyǎ:-l-ɔː,  [yāl  wūlé  jè:]  
  stay-Hort  was-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,  [place  look.at  while.Distr]  
  bè  Hi  ménɔː,  [hāl  ō-ŋ]  mén-dàː,  
  3PlSbj  Hi  come.Pfv.Ppl,  [as.far.as  here]  come-Prog,  
  A: ‘Okay, that (group) was coming. Okay, they were coming and looking around at place(s). Back then, in the world, it wasn’t possible to inhabit (just) any place that you-Sg had gotten. They were coming and looking around at place(s), they were coming all the way to here.’  
  [ná-ŋgù  ‘his/her/its (thing)’ contracted from ná-ŋgù (definite)’ but used like a discourse-definite; distributive jèː  §15.1.7; bè ménɔː  (twice) illustrates the use of headless nonsubject relatives in narrative, often equivalent to perfective main clauses; yāl  ‘place’ as head in a spatial relative; -dàː  (< -làː) progressive subordinated clause §15.2.2]

00:11  
  [yāl-gù  ŋ]  bè  Hi  wūlɔːː]  
  [place  Def]  3PlSbj  Hi  look.at.Pfv.Ppl  
  [sâː  bɔː]  nà  Hi  kān  nɛ,  
  [nice  be]  3SgSbj  Hi  do  Ant.Past.DS,  
  ŋ-ŋàː  [kɔmɔmɔ  nǐː]  nɔl-yé  mén-ɔː,  
  here  [cave  Loc]  go.through-MP  come.Pfv-3SgSbj,  
  ‘They looked at the place. It was a nice place, and it (=group) came through a rocky tunnel here.’  
  [ŋ-ŋàː  variant of í-ŋàː:  ‘here’; kɔmɔmɔ  ‘cave, rocky tunnerl’]

00:16  
  [kɔmɔmɔ  nǐː]  nɔl-yé  bè  Hi  ménɔː,  
  [cave  Loc]  go.through-MP  3PlSbj  Hi  come.Pfv.Ppl,  
  tǔr  bè  Hi  ménɔː,  tôːr  yé-niː:  pɛg-yà  quoi,  
  turn  3PlSbj  Hi  come.Pfv.Ppl,  fetish  there.DiscDef  implant.Pfv-3PlSbj,  
  yé-niː  bɛ  Hi  pɛgɔː,  
  there.DiscDef  3PlSbj  Hi  implant.Pfv.Ppl,  
  [ĩnà-ŋ  děgdègɔː],  [kó  yān]  mén-yà,  
  [iron  statuette],  [DiscDef  Inst]  come.Pfv-3PlSbj,  
  ‘After they went through the rocky tunnel, they came in turn (?). They established a fetish there. After they established (a fetish) there, an iron idol (statuette), they came with that.’
[tô:r was interpreted by my assistant as the borrowing from French tour; it may have been mis-heard for tô:r ‘fetish’ which occurs immediately afterwards, but if so the syntax is broken; French quoi phrase-finally (untranslated)]

00:24 [mà:-ŋ l dègdègô],
[iron l statuette],
[tômô ŋ nè] [kî:g nà-ŋ] [kî:g s3:y] bô-y,
[one Def Top] [head 3Sg-Poss] [head 7] be-SFoc,
[kî:g s3:y], tô:r bá:nâ-ŋgù, [bè hI jînô]:
[head 7], fetish 3Sg-Poss.Def, [3PlSbj hI bring.Pfv.Ppl]
[kûlù nì:] tô:r [nô-[é-gi]-y] nà:-m-yà,
[inside(n) Loc] fetish [person-child=Acc] drink-Caus-3PlSbj,

‘The iron idol, one (of them) now, its head, seven heads. After they brought that fetish, inside (it) they sacrificed a human to the fetish.’

‘(The fetish) drinking the dog not being right, after that they sacrificed sheep, they were sacrificing people. Nowadays since religion (=Islam) has come, they have abandoned (that practice). Even now, when the year has passed (=at the end of the year), they would dig up the fetish.’

[they sacrificed X to the fetish’ phrased as ‘they had the fetish drink (the blood of) X’, hence nà:-mé ‘cause (X) to drink’; nô-[é-g] ‘person-child’ here simply means ‘human’, not necessarily young, and its accusative has irregular tones]
‘When they dug up the fetish and went out forward, when they prayed to God, if any bad thing passed through the rock tunnel, that (bad) thing was ruined.’

[My assistant from Koundiala prefers bùndé ‘hit’ for gùlé ‘dig’ in this context]
"The tunnel was prepared (for war, with amulets). What they had, that was it. Even now, when their year (=the right time) came, they would kneel down for their prayer in the tunnel, and they would pray there.'

If a bad disease (=epidemic) came, when it (tried to) go through (the tunnel) it wouldn't get through. For example, when measles came to the village, they would pray there.

If you-Sg walked into the tunnel (and did the sacrifices), measles would not have entered our village. They said that those fetishes (idols) were in the place too. What they call ‘enna,' a disease (leprosy?), was present. When the disease came, it would eat away (at the flesh) and reach all the way to the bone.'
gò:n ná: jìmù-yè = biy-yà,

take.out-Cau.Pfv if

{ná-ŋgù jìmù-ŋ là} [yè dè-yyà ná:]

[3Sing-Poss.Def disease even] [here.DiscDef arrive.Pfv-3PlSbj if]

[[pòro ní:] nùŋè = biyà:-l-∅,

[[village Def Loc] enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SingSbj,

‘To the point that they took him (leper) out (of the village) into the tunnel, and kept

him there). Even that disease, if they (people) arrived there (in the tunnel), it (=disease)

wouldn’t enter into the village.’

[gò:n ná: < gò:-ndè ná: ‘having taken out’, same-subject anterior subordinator;

jìmù-ŋ là is pronounced [dʒimul:a]/

01:45 pègè kàn jò = biy-yà,

implant do have=Past-3PlSbj,

[yè sèmbè ū:] [tág ná-ŋgì = ū] jùmbè-lá = biy-yà

[today power all] [behavior 3Sing-Poss.Def=Acc leave=Prog=Past-3PlSbj]

[lsíg tibè ná:]

[sun die.Pfv-3SingSbj if]

[[pòro ŋí] ní:] gò-ŋ dònggù-mé = biyà:-ń,

[[village Def Loc] thing pound-Caus=Past-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj],

[lsíg gà] tibè-∅, dèndà: dêmè-∅ ná:,

[sun Topic] die.Pfv-3SingSbj, midday day.end.Pfv-3SingSbj if,

[pòro ŋí] ní:] gò-ŋ dònggù-mé = biyà:-ń,

[[village Def Loc] thing pound-Caus=Past-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj],

‘They had installed (the fetish). Nowadays the strength (=current leadership) has

abandoned its (previous) custom. (Formerly) when the sun set, they didn’t allow

anything (=grain) to be pounded (in mortars) in the village. Once the sun had set, once

the daytime was done, they didn’t allow anything to be pounded in the village.’

[kàn jò = biy-yà past form of recent perfect, §10.6.1.6; tág ‘behavior’]

01:55 [tàgú-ŋ tágè-∅ ná:]

[shoes put.on.shoe.Pfv-3SingSbj if]

[[pòro ŋí] ní:] nùŋ-má = biyà:-ń yà:-wé,

[[village Def Loc] enter-Caus= Past-IpfvNeg.3PlSbj woman-Pl,

[yà:-pùnò, pùn-ŋè-∅ ná:]

[woman-flour, be.flour-MP.Pfv-3SingSbj if]

[ná = ū [gùsí: là:] nùŋ-má = biy-yà],

[3Sing=Acc side.apartment Loc spend.night-Caus=Past-3PlSbj]

[[kò hù sàbà:b] làŋ],

[[DiscDef hù reason Purp],

‘If one (=a woman) was wearing shoes, they wouldn’t let (her) enter the village,

(meaning) women. If a woman was menstruating, they would have her spend the night in

a side apartment, for that reason.’

[yà:-wé ‘women’ added post-clausally, without a prosodic break, for clarification;

yà:-pùnò with cognate verb pùn-ŋè is euphemistic for ‘menstruate, be having her

period’]

02:03 ə̀rɔ:pùnò nùŋ-má = biyà:-ń,

baobab-flour spend.night-Caus=Past-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,
They wouldn’t let baobab flour stay overnight (there). If you made tamarind (=tamarind-flavored porridge), if (you) didn’t pour it out, they wouldn’t let it stay overnight in the house, because of (=for the sake of) its land. The land that belongs to this tunnel, that’s it. Up until now, the village, its head (=essence) is that it sits (=is based) on prayer.’

[In some Dogon villages, any ground-up dried baobab leaves (main ingredient in sauce for millet cakes) or pounded tamarind pod (flavoring for cream or millet or porridge) had to be thrown away rather than kept overnight; tógè ‘pour’ plus tíyè ‘send’, the latter adding the spatial sense ‘away, out’; genitive linker mò after nonpronominal possessor, §6.2.1]
"donkey" refers to unoccupied houses; still a Dogon specialty in villages along the eastern cliffs; 'peace, collective welfare' is Bambara, cf. Dogon

'wouldn't let (anything) get through there (to the village), when they mustered (as a war party)."

In the old days, they came and waged war on horses. A horse can’t enter (the village). A person can’t climb up (to the village), never mind a horse. Over there, if they come from far away and stop there, they will shoot with their bows and arrows and with their rifles.'

[tàyè ‘shoot’ is the regular verb ‘wage (war)’, with noun kòmbò; bèlè ‘get’ after a directly chained verb = ‘be able to’; sàkkò ‘a fortiori’ can combine with [X dòm] = lò: ‘it isn’t talk of X’, cf. French ne parlons pas de X in this context; màlfà ‘rifle, musket’]

It would take something extraordinary not to be driven away by them. They wouldn’t let (anything) get through there (to the village), when they mustered (as a war party). The village (population) had grown. If you count (include) vacant houses, it goes all the way to over there. There were as many as 240 stilt-dancers, (in) our village here.'

[lit. “a thing that they couldn’t chase away, it was an extraordinary thing”; hè:rè ‘peace, collective welfare’ is Bambara, cf. Dogon jâm; dancing with masks on stilts is still a Dogon specialty in villages along the eastern cliffs; [mbù-ŋ]-dùlùg “house-donkey” refers to unoccupied houses; sîŋ ‘80’ is used as a base like ‘hundred’; existential yè with imperfective verb, §11.2.2.1]
A method by which the whites (later) came and made water by machines like this. ‘(They) set up (a fetish) in the ladders. Nobody came in (to the village). That’s how they were. Hunger and thirst drove them away.’

‘When thirst (=drought) became excessive, they fled and went up onto the rocky plateau and settled (there). If you count (=include) the houses on top (on the rocky plateau) here and there in that way.’

[‘how many villages?’ is a rhetorical question, implying ‘any number of villages’]

‘Some years it didn’t rain. Between Bandiagara and here, anything less than three days’ walking would not get (them) (there).’

[i.e. they might seek help from the government in Bandiagara]
and went into the equivalent of a 100 kilo sack from you. If hardship was great, they fled (=sought refuge) and went into the rocky zone in order to grow millet.

Every year we would do farming, and deliver to it a 100 kilo sack (=sought refuge) and went into the rocky zone in order to grow millet.'

The way religion was powerful, religion too was powerful. Religion controlled us. Every year we would do farming, and deliver to it a 100 kilo sack worth (of millet), they used to give (it) to it (=religion).'

If hunger (=famine) caught (someone), to go that way to the plains (east of the plateau) and transport millet (grain) by donkey, nothing less than five days would get (him/her) (back) here. Before (=by the time) you went a family of five could (=be) here. Before (=by the time) you went a family of five could (=be) here.

The way religion was powerful, religion too was powerful. Religion controlled us. Every year we would do farming, and deliver to it a 100 kilo sack worth (of millet), they used to give (it) to it (=religion).'

If hunger (=famine) caught (someone), to go that way to the plains (east of the plateau) and transport millet (grain) by donkey, nothing less than five days would get (him/her) (back) here. Before (=by the time) you went a family of five could (=be) here. Before (=by the time) you went a family of five could (=be) here.

Your (annual) farming (=yield) didn’t exceed 30 bushels, (but) they would take the equivalent of a 100 kilo sack from you. If hardship was great, they fled (=sought refuge) and went into the rocky zone in order to grow millet.'

If hunger (=famine) caught (someone), to go that way to the plains (east of the plateau) and transport millet (grain) by donkey, nothing less than five days would get (him/her) (back) here. Before (=by the time) you went a family of five could (=be) here. Before (=by the time) you went a family of five could (=be) here.

The way religion was powerful, religion too was powerful. Religion controlled us. Every year we would do farming, and deliver to it a 100 kilo sack worth (of millet), they used to give (it) to it (=religion).'

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Your (annual) farming (=yield) didn’t exceed 30 bushels, (but) they would take the equivalent of a 100 kilo sack from you. If hardship was great, they fled (=sought refuge) and went into the rocky zone in order to grow millet.'
If this gathering (of people) will go to the scrub acacia thicket and are performing their worship (sacrifices), they wring acceptance (from the fetishes).

[júngá: ‘gathering (of people)’]
A person (=you), if you don’t have confidence in yourself, if you give (=sacrifice) a chicken, if you have gone to the place, anyone who is following you (in order to harm you), even up to today, it (=harm) won’t leave him.’

Furthermore (if) they rob you, if you come and curse (them) there, it (=harm) won’t leave the fellow.’

‘What they are doing now, that’s it. As for what the old people told us, the little that I have gotten (=learned), that’s it.’