

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:gá:* *ná:-mà*]
A: [morning good.morning!]
B: *àwâ→*, *yè:gá:* *ěŋ* *nà:-y*
B: [reply], morning well spend.night
A: *nà:-y*
A: spend.night
B: *é* *jámù-ŋ* *nà:-y*
B: 2Pl peace spend.night
A: *nà:-y* *jò-y*
A: spend.night have-1PlSbj
B: *ô→*
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:gá:* is omitted in ‘good morning!’ in other dialects; parsing of formulaic *nà:-y* is unclear]
- 00:11 A: *ěŋ* *nà:-y*
A: well spend.night
B: *nà:-y*
B: spend.night
A: *ěŋ* *nà:-y*, *jámù-ŋ* *nà:-y*
A: well spend.night, peace spend.night

B: *nà:-y* *jò-y*
 B: spend.night have-1PlSbj
 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: *àmbà* *jâm* *í=y* *dènè-má*
 A: God peace 1Pl=Acc spend.day-Caus
 B: *gà:ná:*
 B: [reply]
 A: *àmbà* *bâ:s* [*í* *nì:]* *pógò*
 A: God] trouble [1Pl Loc] ward.off.Imprt
 B: *à:mí:* *à:mí:*
 B: amen amen
 A: *àmbà* *céllàl* *í=y* *ńdà*
 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* *ngì* *yà:]* [*pày-wé* *ngì* *yà:]*
 A: [child-Pl Def Pl] [old.person-Pl Def Pl]
jámù-ŋ *này-yâ:*
 peace spend.night.Pfv-3PlSbj.Q
 B: *jámù-ŋ* *náy-yà*
 B: peace spend.night.Pfv-3PlSbj
 A: *ô→*
 A: [reply]
 A: ‘Did the children (and) the old people spend the night well?’
 B: ‘They spent the night well.’
 A: [reply]
 [*này-yâ:* (but not *náy-yà*) has polar interrogative tones, §13.2.1.1]

00:21 B: *é* *jámù-ŋ* *này-é:*
 B: 2Pl peace spend.night.Pfv-2PlSbj.Q
 A: *í* *jámù-ŋ* *náyé-y*
 A: 1Pl peace spend.night.Pfv-1PlSbj
 B: [*yà:-wé* *ŋ]* *bíyò-ń-yâ:*
 B: [woman-Pl Def] lie.down-1PfvNeg-3PlSbj.Q
 A: *bíyò-ń-yà*
 A: lie.down-1PfvNeg-3PlSbj
 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: *siló:* *bò-mn-ê:*
B: trouble be-Neg-2PlSbj.Q

A: *jâm* *bò-y*

A: peace be-1PlSbj

B: *â:n*

B: [reply]

A: *âmbà* *jâm* *í=y* *dènè-má*

A: God peace 1Pl=Acc spend.day-Caus.Imprt

B: *gà.ná:*

B: [reply]

A: *ô→*

A: [reply]

B: *âwá→*

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-ê:* < *này-é:* 'you-Pl spent the night'; *bíyò-ń-yâ:* < *bíyò-ń-yà* 'they didn't lie down']

00:27 A: *yè.gá:*, *jámù-ŋ* *nà:-mà=y*
A: morning, peace spend.night-Caus=it.is

B: *háya* *dágè-Ø*

B: well be.good.Pfv-3SgSbj

A: *pó:ndù* [*ó* *nì:*] *pó:n-dà:* *mènè-y*

A: greeting(n) [2Sg Loc] greet-Prog come.Pfv-1PlSbj

B: *háya* *âmbà* *jâm* [*pò:ndù*^L *gí*]=*y* *bisó*

B: well God peace [greeting(n)^L Prox]=Acc leave.Imprt

A: *â:mí:* *â:mí:* *â:mí:*

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: *ènné:* *à-yáŋ* *táŋè-Ø* *mà*
A: past how? pass.Pfv-3SgSbj Q

B: *íyò→*

B: Yes

A: *né:* [*âmbà* ^L*sàg*] [*ó* ^L*sàg*]

A: now [God ^Lentrusting(n)] [2Sg ^Lentrusting]

B: *háya* [*àmbà ná* ^L*sàg*]
 B: well [God 3SgPoss ^Lentrusting(n)]
 A: *pày-wé* *bà:nà*^L *í=ŷ* *tàṅó:* *ṅ*
 A: old.person-Pl manner^L 1Pl=Acc pass.Pfv.Ppl Def
 B: *já:tì* *já:tì*
 B: exactly exactly
 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*^L as head of manner adverbial, §15.7.2.1]

00:40 A: *bà:nà*^L *í=ŷ* *jùmbó:* *ṅ*
 A: manner^L 1PlSbj leave.Pfv.Ppl Def
 B: *íyò→*
 B: yes
 A: [*bà:nà*^L *ṅgú* *íyè* [*mí=ŷ* *dǎm*
 A: [manner^L this] today [1Sg=Acc speak
ò *pól* *nà*] *ibà:* *bó-ṅ*
 2Sg speak Subjunct] want be-1SgSbj
 B: *háya*, *dágè-∅* *dágè-∅*
 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-ṅ* ‘I want’, interchangeable with *yè*
fbà-ṅ, §11.2.5.2]

00:45 A: *íyò→*
 A: yes
 B: [*í* *gà*] *è-wé=ŷ* *gò*
 B: [1Pl Topic] child-Pl=it.is Emph
 A: *íyò→*
 A: yes
 B: *ně:* [*é* *bó* *ṅ*] *tèmbé-y* *gò*,
 B: now [2Pl be.Ppl Def] find.Pfv-1PlSbj Emph,
ně: *àmbà* [*é* *kíndò* *ṅ*] *kúndò*
 now God [2PlPoss shade Def] put.Imprt
 A: [*ámà* *ná-ṅ* ^L*kíndò*]=*ŷ*
 A: [God 3Sg-Poss ^Lshade]=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 ṅ* as participialized propositional complement of ‘find’, cf. (493) in §17.2.2; *é*
kíndò ṅ ‘your shade’ has the form of an inalienable possessive; the irregular and

formulaic *àmbà ná-ŋ*^L *kíndò* has an apparent resumptive 3Sg possessive *ná-ŋ* coindexed with *àmbà* ‘God’, see beginning of §6.2]

- 00:51 B: [*í gâ*] *ŝŋmè*, *gǒ-ŋ* *nùŋà:-lí-y* *gò*
 B: [1Pl Topic] until.now, thing hear-PfvNeg-1PlSbj Emph
 A: *káyò:*, *kó* *gǒ-ŋ* *bà:* *jó-Ø*
 A: bravo, DiscDef thing equal have-3SgSbj
 B: *àmbà* [*é kíndò ŋ*] *kúndò*
 B: God [2PlPoss shade Def] put.Imprt
 A: [*ámbà ná-ŋ* ^L*kíndò*]=*ý*,
 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.’
 [*káyò:* is an exclamation of respect or thanks, used especially by griots; *bà:-jó* ‘is worth X’ from verb *bàyé*, §12.2.1.2]

- 00:58 A: *bon* *ènné:* *bà:nà*^L *gé:* *ì* ^{HL}*ménò:* *ŋ*,
 A: well past manner^L exit(v) 1PlSbj ^{HL}come.Pfv.Ppl Def
 B: *já:tì*
 B: exactly
 A: [*í bá:-wè*] *bè* ^{HL}*dámò:*^L] *yáŋ*,
 [[1PlPoss kin-Pl] 3PlSbj ^{HL}speak.Pfv.Ppl]^L like,
 [*dóŋ-è:* *yà*^L *bè* ^{HL}*gô:*] *ŝŋ-mènè* *irà:-lí-y*,
 [Dogon place^L 3PlSbj ^{HL}exit.Pfv.Ppl] up.to.now forget-PfvNeg-1PlSbj,
 [*yà*^L *ì* ^{HL}*gô:*] *irà:-lí-y*,
 [place^L 1PlSbj ^{HL}exit.Pfv.Ppl] forget-PfvNeg-1PlSbj,
dóŋ-è: *mà:ndé* *bè* ^{HL}*gô:*,
 Dogon Mande 3PlSbj ^{HL}exit.Pfv.Ppl,
 [*gòŋé jè:*] *mèn-yà*,
 [go.around while.Distrib] come.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 A: ‘Well, how we came here originally.’
 B: ‘Exactly.’
 A: ‘Like (what) our elders said, where the Dogon people came from, we haven’t forgotten even now. We haven’t forgotten where we came from. The Dogon people left Mande, and came here circuitously (not straight or all at one time).
 [*gé:* for *gǐ:* nonfinally in chains; *yáŋ* attracts H-tone of preceding participle *dámò:*, §8.4.1; *dóŋ-è:* ‘Dogon people/nation’, collective plural, (45c) in §4.1.1.1; Mande, i.e. the Mande kingdom of southern Mali; *jè:* < *jě:* ‘take’ adds a distributive sense in [*gòŋé jè:*] *mèn-yà*]

- 01:10 A: *mà:ndé* *bè* ^{HL}*gô:*,
 A: Mande 3PlSbj ^{HL}exit.Pfv.Ppl,
kà:n-bònzó-ŋ *bè* ^{HL}*ménò:*,
 Kani-Bonzon 3PlSbj ^{HL}come.Pfv.Ppl,
 B: *já:tì*
 B: exactly
 A: ‘When they left Mande, they came to Kani-Bonzon (village).’
 B: ‘Exactly.’

[Kani-Bonzon village near Ningari, an early village from which many other villages in the zone were settled]

- 01:13 A: [*kà:n-bànzò-ŋ ní:] bò bè* ^{HL}*bíyà:*,
 A: [Kani-Bonzon Loc] be 3PlSbj ^{HL}be.Past.Ppl,
[kó-ŋ ginnì-má] gín-yà nè,
 [there.DiscDef disperse-Hort] say.Pfv-2PlSbj Ant.Past.DS,
sàngì-má gínà:-ní,
 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* ^{HL}*gò:*,
 A: there.DiscDef 3PlSbj ^{HL}exit.Pfv.Ppl,
nó: fú:
 person all,
[dòŋgù bé-ŋ yàŋ] [sìyè-gólò: bè-ŋ yàŋ],
 [whatchamacallit? 3Pl-Poss and] [millet-farming 3Pl-Poss and],
[[jǎn jè:], [íyè yàl^L bè bò ò-ŋ]
 [[hit while.Distrib], [today place^L 3PlSbj be.Ppl here]
bè ^{HL}*ménò: ò] ná=y*
 3PlSbj ^{HL}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.’
 [*ò-ŋ* ‘here’ absorbs the H-tone from participial *bó*]

- 01:25 A: [*kó-ŋgù* ^L*kùlù-ŋ ŋgì]* *nì:*,
 A: [DiscDef-Poss.Def ^Linside Def] Loc,
ènné: sémbè yè jó=bìy-yà [gándà ò],
 past power Exist have=Past-3PlSbj [world Def],
bámmà mènà:-ní,
 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 àbǎ:-l fú:] jé:-rà: = bìy-yà,*
 A: [person accept-PfvNeg.Ppl all] take-Prog=Past-3PlSbj,
[nò àbǎ:-l fú:] dón-dà: = bìy-yà,
 [person accept-PfvNeg.Ppl all] sell-Prog=Past-3PlSbj,
[nò àbǎ:-l fú:] dánà: démè-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).’
 [*bámmà* ‘freely, cheaply, for nothing’; postvocalic progressive suffix pronounced *-rà:* rather than *-là:* in this dialect; past progressive §10.6.1.2]

- 01:37 A: [*kí:g ì-ŋ] àmí=y=bìyè-Ø ènné:*,
 A: [head 1Pl-Poss] who?=it.is=Past-3SgSbj past,

[ðgð: ηgí yà:] [kî:g ì-η] bé=y bìyè-Ø,
 [Hogon Def Pl] [head 1Pl-Poss] 3Pl=it.is Past-3SgSbj,

[ðgð: ηgí yà: là],
 [Hogon Def Pl too],

[tâbâ:-tðlgù ηgí] kàη témb-yà,
 [flat.stone.shelf Def] like.that fine.Pfv-3PlSbj,

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.'

[kî:g 'head', here abstractly 'chieftood, leadership'; ðgð: 'Hogon' (traditional chief); tâbâ: 'flat stone shelf']

01:45 A: [[tâbâ:-tðlgù ηgí] nì:], ðgð: sémbè bé jò = bìyè-y,

A: [[flat.stone.shelf Def] Loc], Hogon power 3PlSbj have=Past-SFoc,

[kó-η bè^{HL} méné:] ènné: tó:r bündù = bìyè-y,
 [there 3PlSbj^{HL} come.Pfv.Ppl] past fetish hit=Past-1PlSbj,

[wě-η bil-í: mèn-Ø ná:] sên ginè = bìyá:-l-Ø,
 [year turn-MP come.Pfv-3SgSbj if] prayer say=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,

[tó:rù ì-ηì=y] ámbà=y táηù-ndè
 [fetish 1Pl-Poss=Acc] God=Acc pass-Tr

kó=y jò = bìyè-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.

[táηù-ndè 'cause to pass, take across', here in archaic sense 'transform into']

01:56 A: [tó:rù η] [nò:-égì=y là] né:-rà: = bìyè-Ø,

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

íyè [dámó: η] gàsí:
 today [speaking(n) Def] prohibited,

nó: jé:-rà: = bìyè-Ø gàsí: quoi,
 person take-Prog=Past-3SgSbj prohibited ,

[tó:rù ì-η] nó: né:-rà: = bìyè-Ø,
 [fetish 1Pl-Poss] person drink-Prog=Past-3SgSbj,

[pǎ: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:-η 'talking', likely a frozen participle, used with gàsí: 'be tabooed, not allowed', cf. [wǎ: η] / [nùñó: η] gàsí: 'seeing/hearing (it) is tabooed']

02:05 A: [[nó: ná: = bìyò: ηgí] nì:],

A: [[person drink=Past.Ppl Def] Loc],

[kó-ηgù bísè-ń-yà]
 [DiscDef-Poss.Def put.down-1pfvNeg-3PlSbj]

[nà^{HL} kân nè],
 [3SgSbj^{HL} do Ant.Past.DS],

gàmbùl, pésgè ná:-mà: tól-yà,
 certain, sheep drink-Caus.Purp begin.Pfv-3PISbj,
[pésgè yàŋ] [ínà: yàŋ] [ùŋó yàŋ]
 [sheep and] [goat and] [dog and]
[kò bùlé:] nà:-m = bífy-yà,
 [DiscDef Pl] drink-Caus=Past-3PISbj,

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.’

[*ná: = biyò:* dialectal variant of past perfect participle *né: = biyò:*; *nà kân nè* to switch topics (subjects), (438a-b) in §15.4; ‘begin’ with purposive complement (lengthened A-stem), §17.4.2.2]

02:14 A: *kó bùlí:sà bè^{HL} ménò:, íyè óŋmènè,*
 A: DiscDef devil 3PISbj ^{HL}come.Pfv.Ppl, today up.to,
[kó-ŋgù yàl^L jùmbò:] yò bó-Ø,
 [DiscDef-Poss.Def place^L ^{HL}leave.Pfv.Ppl] Exist be-3SgSbj,
[yàl^L jùmbá:-l] yò bó,
 [place^L leave-PfvNeg.3PISbj] Exist be-3SgSbj,
tò:r^L ná-ŋgù, [yàl^L jùmbò:] yò bó-Ø,
 fetish^L 3Sg-Poss.Def, [place^L ^{HL}leave.Pfv.Ppl] Exist be-3SgSbj
[yàl^L jùmbá:-l] yò bó,
 [place^L leave-PfvNeg.3PISbj] Exist be-3SgSbj,

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

[*kó-ŋgù yàl^L jùmbò:* with {HL} rather than {LH}-toned perfective participle, §14.7.1, see end of §14.4.1.1; *kó-ŋgù* and *ná-ŋgù* ‘that’, §6.5.1; *yò bó* dialectal for *yè bó*]

02:25 A: *ènné: [[ménù-g bè-ŋ ŋgì] nì:],*
 A: past [come-VblN 3Pl-Poss Def] Loc],
[púnd-è: ŋgì yà:] í=yè bís = biyà:-ń,
 [Fulbe-Pl Def Pl] 1Pl=Acc leave=Past-PfvNeg.3PISbj,
pǎ:m kàn-ô:,
 understanding do.Pfv-2SgSbj.Q
[púnd-è: ŋgì yà:] í=yè bís = biyà:-ń,
 [Fulbe-Pl Def Pl] 1Pl=Acc leave=Past-PfvNeg.3PISbj,

A: ‘In the past, at the time of their coming, the Fulbe wouldn’t let us alone. Did you understand? The Fulbe wouldn’t let us alone.’

[*bís = biyà:-ń* contracted < *bisé = biyà:-ń*, past perfect negative; *púnd-è:* collective plural, (45c) in §4.1.1.1]

02:33 A: *kǎŋ nà bó ñ,*
 A: like.that 3SgSbj be.Ppl Def,
[nòŋgò-ŋ^L ŋgí] yàŋ, bé=yè jǎn bè^{HL} gó:-ndò:,
 [arms^L Def] with, 3Pl=Acc hit 3PISbj ^{HL}exit-Tr.Pfv.Ppl,
èndèpà"dáŋ bè^{HL} yéŋò:,
 independence 3PISbj ^{HL}take.Pfv.Ppl,

[túbà:gi yà:] mènó: ñ] ná=y,
 [white.person Pl] come.Pfv.Ppl Def] 3Sg=it.is,

A: 'It (=the situation) being thus, they (=Dogon) expelled them (=Fulbe) by force of arms. When they (=Dogon) took (their) independence (from the Fulbe), that was when the whites came.'

02:40 A: *[[pòrò-[ób-gù] kùlù-ñ] ñgi] ni;*
 A: [[village-[sit-VblN] ^Linside] Def] Loc,
yà^L gé: ì mènò: ñ,
 place exit 1PlSbj ^{HL}come.Pfv.PPl Def,
ñ-ñà: bërũ-g = lò;
 here near=it.is.not,

A: 'At the site of the village, the place where we came from, it's not close to here.'

02:45 A: *[kándá: là] wě-ñ bìl-i:-Ø nâ;*
 A: [now too] year turn-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
tàbí: búlè:-ñ, gémlè búlè:-ñ,
 Tabi hit-Ipfv.3PlSbj, Gemle hit-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
sámbe búlè:-ñ, tò:gó búlè:-ñ,
 Sambe hit-Ipfv.3PlSbj, Togo hit-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
nàsígù búlè:-ñ, á:g búlè:-ñ,
 mask hit-Ipfv.3PlSbj, Ag hit-Ipfv.3PlSbj,
[kó fú:] kán-dà: jò-ñ,
 [DiscDef all] do-Prog have-3PlSbj,
[à yáñ] kî:g ^Ltàñò: mà,
 [how?] head ^Lpass.Pfv.Ppl Q,

A: 'Even now, when the year turns, they serve (=make sacrifices to) Tabi, they serve Gemle, they serve Sambe, they serve Togo, they serve the masks, they serve Ag. They do all those, (to see) how one might possibly get through (hardship).'

[The list is of fetishes and ritual objects. In Nantanga as of 2015, the fetishes were no longer actively sacrificed to because of Islam, but they were kept in reserve in a cave as a kind of insurance policy. Sacrifices were periodically made to them in the event of hardship or threat; *bìl-i:-Ø nâ:* with mediopassive variant *-i:* for *-ye* ; 'head pass' = 'survive, get through (hardship or crisis)', cf. *[kî:g ò-ñ] tàñè* 'your head has passed (=you have gotten through)'; {L}-toned *tàñò:* is not a 2Sg subject verb; it appears to be a participial form "possessed" by 'head'; *búlè* 'hit' (variant of *bùndé*) means 'perform sacrifices for' or more abstractly 'worship, serve (a god)']

02:59 A: *[ènné: tàñó: ñ] ìró-n-yà í,*
 A: [past pass.Pfv.Ppl Def] forget-IpfvNeg-3PlSbj 1PlSbj,
[ènné: bà:nà^L biyó: ñ là] ìró-n-yà,
 [past manner^L was.Ppl Def too] forget-IpfvNeg-3Pl,
kó-ñgù káné-y nà;
 DiscDef-Poss.Def do.Pfv-1PlSbj if,
[[gò-ñ bènnùg]^L sálà:] [í ni:] mèn-Ø nâ;
 [[thing mysterious]^L bad] [1Pl Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[núñà = biyá:-l-Ø bá:l-i:-là: = biyè-Ø]
 [enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj detour-MP-Prog=Past-3SgSbj]

A: 'They don't forget what went on in the old days, us. They don't forget the way it was 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).’

[*bènnúg* ‘mysterious, of unknown origin’]

- 03:08 A: [*jìmù-ŋ^L sálà:*] [*í nì:*] *mèn-Ø* *nâ:*,
 A: [disease^L bad] [1Pl Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [*núŋà = biyã:-l-Ø* *bá:l-ì-là: = biyè-Ø*]
 [enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj detour-MP-Prog=Past-3SgSbj]
 [*dì:nè^L sálà:*] [*í nì:*] *mèn-Ø* *nâ:*,
 [religion^L bad] [1Pl Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [*núŋà = biyã:-l-Ø* *bá:l-ì-là: = biyè-Ø*],
 [enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj detour-MP-Prog=Past-3SgSbj],
 [*ʃlò ì-ŋ là,* *tèbú-ŋ já: = biyã:-l-Ø,*
 [chicken 1Pl-Poss too], kite take=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
pã:m kàn-ò:
 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?’

- 03:20 A: *kàsàr ginné* [*í nì:*] *pél-dà: = biyè-Ø*,
 A: damage a.lot [1Pl Loc] miss-Prog=Past-3SgSbj,
kó-ŋgù ènné: tàŋò:^L ŋgú,
 DiscDef-Poss.Def past pass.Pfv.Ppl^L Prox,
[író: ŋ] dó:lò = ý,
 [forget.Pfv.Ppl Def] unfortunate.thing=it.is,
íyè bú:d bè dímb-y-ò:
 today money 3PlSbj follow-MP-Pfv.Ppl
 B: [*kò bùlé:*] *ně:* [*à yán]* *kánè júmb-yà*
 B: [DiscDef Pl] now [how?] do leave.Pfv-3PlSbj

A: ‘Many harmful things used to miss (=stay away from) us. That same (custom) which occurred in the past, it should not be forgotten, now that they follow after (=seek) money.’

B: ‘Now how did they abandon those (customs)?’

[demonstrative *ŋgú* controls tone-dropping on participle *tàŋó:*, §14.6.1]

- 03:28 A: *bon, bà:nà-ŋ kánè bè^{HL} júmbò: ŋ,*
 A: well, manner do 3PlSbj ^{HL}leave.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[sénù ŋ] nà mên nè,
 [prayer Def] 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS,
[kò bùlé:] júmb-yà,
 [DiscDef Pl] leave.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[sénù ŋ] nà mên nè, kò-bùlé: júmb-yà,
 [prayer Def] 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS, DiscDef-Pl leave.Pfv-3PlSbj,
[sénù ŋ] nà mên nè *[[júmbà:-l-ó: nà:],*
 [prayer Def] 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS] [[leave-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if],
[tìb-ó: nà:] ó = ý bísè-nnú-ŋ gìnè:-n,
 [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’; *bísè-nnú-ŋ* has logophoric (pseudo-1Sg) subject suffix *-ŋ* coindexed with ‘they’ of ‘they say’]

- 03:40 A: *ě-g* *nàl-ó:* *nà:*,
 child give.birth.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[lábrù ò-ŋ] *káyè-nnú-ŋ]* *gìnè:-n,*
 [baptism 2Sg-Poss] shave-IPfvNeg-LogoSbj] say-IPfv.3PISbj,
[yà:-gú: bèl-ó: *nà:*,
 [marriage get.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[pólò ò-ŋ] *págè-nnú-ŋ]* *gìnè:-n,*
 [religious.marriage 2Sg-Poss] tie-IPfvNeg-LogoS] say-IPfv.3PISbj,

A: ‘They say that when you have a child they won’t shave (=perform) the christening. 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:-gú:* ‘wedding, marriage ceremony’; *pólò* ‘formal marriage agreement contracted in a mosque’]

- 03:46 A: *[[kó-ŋgù* *Lsàbà:b]* *làŋ]*
 A: [[DiscDef-Poss.Def *L*reason] Inst]
íyè *[gùrá:nà* *nà* *mên* *nè],*
 today [Koran 3SgSbj come.Pfv Ant.Past.DS],
[ènnè: mó *Ldi:nè* *ŋgì]* *bilé —*
 [past Poss *L*religion Def] turn —
[íyè [di:nè^L *kàsǎ:]* *jìnè* *jó* *ŋ]* *ná=y,*
 [today [religion^L 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).’

[*mò* possessive, here unusually with a prenominal possessor; *jìnè jó ŋ* participle from recent perfect]

- 03:53 A: *pày-wé* *kǎŋ* *biyà:-ní,*
 old.person-Pl like.that was-PfvNeg-3PISbj,
pǎ:m *kán-dà:* *j-ò:*,
 understanding do-Prog have-2SgSbj,
pày-wé *[nàsùg* *bé-ŋ]* *kàn-yà* *ná:*,
 old.person-Pl [mask 3Pl-Poss] do.Pfv-3PISbj if,
[tó:r *bè-ŋ]* *gèŋ-yà* *ná:*,
 [fetish 3Pl-Poss] pray.Pfv-3PISbj if,
ám̀bà *áb-là: = biyè-Ø,*
 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).’

04:00 A: *àlá: màn-yè-Ø nâ;*
rain be.dry-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
ànà-dúgò: òb-ì:-yà nâ;
main.palaver.shelter sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
ólà sèm-yà nâ;
chicken slaughter.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
mùbù-ŋ nùŋè-ní-yà,
house enter-IPfvNeg-3PlSbj,
[dùg-ě:g bè-ŋ] dùg-ì:-yà nâ;
[necklace 3Pl-Poss] wear.necklace-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
[àmbà-géŋè-ŋ bè-ŋ] gèŋ-yà nâ:
[God-worship(n) 3Pl-Poss] worship.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
[éŋè gìn mà] [dàgú-ŋ gè:-Ø nâ:]
[quickness say before] [cloud exit.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
[àlá: wè:-Ø nâ:]
[rain rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj if],
[gándà fú:] úŋì = ý,
[country all] water=it.is,

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: *pày-wé [míyè là:] bìy-yà,*
old.person-Pl [control(n) Loc] be-3PlSbj,
íyè [ì júmbò nè]
today [1PlSbj leave Ant.Past.DS]
[ŋgò-ŋ bélè-y] [là-măy gògò],
[what? get.Pfv-1PlSbj] [drought except],
énnà-ŋ kánè:-b-Ø nâ;
wind do-IPfv-3SgSbj if,
[tô:r bè-ŋ] bünd-yà nâ;
[fetish 3Pl-Poss] hit.Pfv-3PlSbj if
énnà-ŋ séy-sèy-sèy-sèy már-là: = bìyè-Ø
wind swept.clean be.lost-Prog=Past-3SgSbj

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.’

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

04:23 A: *síyé tìyè-Ø nâ;*
millet sprout.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
kǎ:g témè jé:-bù ŋ,
grasshopper munch take-IPfv.Ppl Def.

[kà:gú ò] ùw-yà nâ:
 [grasshopper Def] catch.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 [[yàl ní:] bðlé]
 [[place Loc] go]
 [àmbà-géñè-ñ bè-ò] gèñ-yà nâ:
 [God-worship(n) 3Pl-Poss] worship.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 [kà:gú ò] tègélèñ, mâr-lâ: = bìy-yà,
 [grasshopper Def] disappear, be.lost-Prog=Past-3PlSbj,

A: '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.'

[tègélèñ, adverbial associated with mârè 'become lost' in the sense 'disappear']

04:31 A: siyé ò nègè:g jóngè:-b-ò nâ;
 millet ripen.Pfv-3SgSbj bird peck-IPfv-3SgSbj if,
 nègè:g ùw-yà nâ;
 bird catch.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 [[yàl^L bè kúndè:-b] yè bó-ò]
 [[place^L 3PlSbj put-IPfv.Ppl] Exist be-3SgSbj]
 kúnd-yà nâ;
 put.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 [àmbà-géñè-ñ bè-ò] gèñ-yà nâ:
 [God-worship(n) 3Pl-Poss] worship.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 nègè:g mâr-lâ: = bìy-yà,
 bird be.lost-Prog=Past-3PlSbj,

A: '(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.'

04:39 A: sí:-g gè:-ò nâ:, siyé jê:-b-ò nâ:
 larva go.out.Pfv-3SgSbj if, millet eat-IPfv-3SgSbj if,
 [sí:-gù ò] yèñ-yà nâ:,
 [larva Def] pick.up.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 [yàl ní:] kúnd-yà nâ:,
 [place Loc] put.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
 [sí:-gù ò] tègélèñ mâr-lâ: = bìy-yà,
 [larva Def] disappear be.lost-Prog=Past-3PlSbj,

A: 'If larvae (e.g. caterpillars) emerged and were eating the millet, they would take the larvae and put them in a (secret) place, and the larvae would disappear.'

04:46 A: pǎ:m kân-ò:,
 understanding do.Pfv-2SgSbj.Q,
 [kó fú→] tó:r [í ní:] yè býè-ò
 [DiscDef all] fetish [1Pl Loc] Exist be.Past-3SgSbj

A: 'Did you understand? There were among us (=we had) fetishes (for) all those (dangers).'

[polar interrogative < kân-ò: 'you-Sg did']

04:49 B: [kò-wé [tó:rù ò] nè] ně:,
 [DiscDef-Pl [fetish Def] now] now,

[kò búlé:], í=y áb-rà:=bìy-yà
 [DiscDef Pl], 1Pl=Acc accept-Prog=Past-3PlSbj
 nē: [ŋgó-ŋ gíné] jùmbè-y
 now [what? say] abandon.Pfv-1PlSbj

B: ‘All those fetishes now, now those (fetishes) accepted us (=fulfilled our prayers), (so) why have we abandoned (them)?’

[nē nē: sequence is two separate ‘now’ discourse markers, nē clause-final then nē: setting up the following clause; gíné ‘say’ referring to thought, hence ‘say what?’ = ‘why?’, §13.2.2.2]

04:54 A: bon [kándá mì ^{HL}dámò:] ná=y,
 well [now 1SgSbj ^{HL}speak.Pfv.Ppl] 3Sg=it.s,
 sên bè ^{HL}gínò;
 prayer 3PlSbj ^{HL}say.Pfv.Ppl,
 [iyè [kò búlé: fú→] kòmmó ì kúndò:] ná=y,
 [today [DiscDef Pl all] cave 1PlSbj put.Ppf.Ppl] 3Sg=it.is,
 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.’

04:58 A: pòró pǎy-g ò-dìn-Ø ná;
 village elder be.the.turn.of.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 ó=y pǎy-g ò-dìn-Ø ná;
 2Sg=Acc elder be.the.turn.of.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [[bè:-gú ŋ] jě: bòlè] ó=y ò-dé-y ná;
 [[stick Def] take go] 2Sg=Acc give.Pfv-1PlSbj if,
 kàsàyalà ó gòlà=bìyè-y,
 elder’s.field 2Sg cultivate=Past-SFoc,
 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.’
 [cf. pòrò-pây ‘oldest man (in a village)’, a ritual status]

05:04 A: [túwò ^Lyàlà]=y=bìyè,
 [village.periphery ^Lfield]=it.is=Past,
 [nò-pǎy wà:] sémbè jò-nnù-Ø,
 [person-old QuotSbj] strength have-Neg-3SgSbj,
 [[sólò ^Lyàlà] bòlé bélé-nnù-Ø] gín-Ø ná;
 [[area.far.from.village ^Lfield] go get-1pfvNeg-3SgSbj] say.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [túwò ^Lyàlà] ná=y gòl-mà=bìy-yà,
 [village.periphery ^Lfield] 3Sg=Acc cultivate-Caus=Past-3PlSbj
 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.’
 [This is especially true in the rocky plateau area where Nantanga is located, where getting around on horseback or donkey cart is not feasible; bòlé bélé-nnù-Ø ‘can’t go’ with chain-final bélé ‘get’ in sense ‘be able to’, §15.1.4.1]

05:11 A: [ògò: ŋ] lè, sémbè jò=bìyè-Ø,
 [Hogon Def] also, power have=Past-3SgSbj,

[yàlà bërŭ-g ná = ý ñd-yà nâ:,
 [field nearby] 3Sg=Acc give.Pfv-3PlSbj if,
kíŋñ ñá = ý ñd-yà nâ:,
 tree 3Sg=Acc give.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

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: *[ðgɔ: nɛ] [ŋgɔ-ŋ là] bis-yà,*
 [Hogon now] [what? Purp] put.down.Pfv-3PlSbj,
ðgɔ: [ná bɔ-ŋ-∅ nâ:]
 Hogon, [3SgSbj be-Neg-3SgSbj if]
dágè-nnú, nò^L àbà:-lí,
 be.good-StatNeg, person^L accept-PfvNeg.Ppl,
[nùmò: ná-ŋ] kùndò = bíy-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.

[*bò-ŋ-∅ < bɔ-nnú-∅; kùndù = < kùndè =*]

05:22 A: *[nùmò: ná-ŋ] kùnd-yà nâ:, mòmbyé,*
 [hand 3Sg-Poss] put.Pfv-3PlSbj if, assemble-MP,
yàmó: ò^{HL} kân nɛ,
 misdeed 2SgSbj^{HL} do Ant.Past.DS,
ðgò:-dóm bè dâm nɛ,
 Hogon-talk(n) 3PlSbj speak Ant.Past.DS,
àbà:-l-ó: nâ:,
 accept-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if,
[ná: tà:ndú] bè túbè nɛ,
 [time 3] 3PlSbj ask Ant.Past.DS,
àbà:-l-ó: nâ:,
 accept-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if,
ó = ý nàsúg mín-dà: = biyè-∅,
 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: *[nò: túbó: ñ] nàl-yà-ŋ biyá:-l-∅,*
 A: [person ask.Pfv.Ppl Def] bear.child-MP-Adj be.Past-Neg-3SgSbj,
[kî:g ò-ŋ] pórè:-n,
 [head 2Sg-Poss] cut.off-IPfv.3PlSbj,
[ó = ý wà:] [nàsúg minè wá:] gìn-yà nâ:,
 [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-yà-ŋ*, §4.5.2]

- 05:38 A: *ě-g àbǎ:-l-∅ nà;*
 A: child accept-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if,
ná = ý [gùsâ: nì:] bǎl-yà nâ;
 3Sg=Acc [boy's.room Loc] go.Pfv-3PISbj if,
dèlé-n-wè tèbùl-yà nâ:
 elder.sib-∅-Pl thrash.Pfv-3PISbj if,
gò-ŋ bè ^{HL}kánò: fú→,
 thing 3PISbj ^{HL}do.Pfv.Ppl all,
m̀bù-ŋ m̀èn-yà nâ:, gǎs biyǎ:-l-∅,
 house come.Pfv-3PISbj if, trouble be.Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
 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; *tèbùlè* 'whip (sb), slap or hit lightly with hands or a whip']

- 05:46 A: *íyè ě-g tèbl-ó: nà;*
 A: house child thrash.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
dèlé-n ó = ý bísè-ń-∅,
 elder.sib 2Sg=Acc leave-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj,
ě-g tèbl-ó: nà;
 child thrash.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
yǎ: ó = ý bísè-ń-∅,
 woman 2Sg=Acc leave-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj,
ě-g tèbl-ó: nà;
 child thrash.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
â-ŋ ó = ý bísè-ń-∅, [ó wà:]
 other 2Sg=Acc leave-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj, [2Sg QuotSbj]
[[ě-g nù m̀-ŋ] ibà-lú-g d́:nd-ò:] gínè:-n,
 [[child 3Logo Poss] hatred arrive-Caus.Pfv-2SgSbj] say-IPfv.3PISbj,
 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-Sg have brought ill will (=hatred) (to) their child.'
 [*bísè-ń-∅* < *bísè-nnú-∅* ; *nù m̀* dialectal for *m̀ m̀* (logophoric possessor); *ibà-lú-g* 'hatred, ill will', cf. *ibà-nnú-* 'not want']

- 05:55 A: *[ě-g nù m̀] [ó wà:]*
 A: [child 3Logo Poss] [2Sg QuotSbj]
[wúlù-g nàmà-nn-ó:] gínè:-n,
 [look-VblN want-Neg-2SgSbj] say-IPfv.3PISbj,
gándà [à yáŋ] dǎg bélé:-b-∅,
 country [how?] become.good get-IPfv-3SgSbj,
 B: *dǎg bélé-ń-∅*
 B: become.good get-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj
 A: *dǎg bélé-ń-∅ dè*
 A: become.good get-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj Emph
 A: 'They will say that you don't (even) want to look at their child. How can the country get better?
 B: 'It can't get better.'

A: ‘It can’t get better indeed.’
 [quotative-subject construction atypically placed after object NP ‘their child’; *dǎg* for the usual *dǎgɛ́* in this construction]

- 06:02 B: *gándà yámè-Ø*
 B: country be.ruined.Pfv-3SgSbj
 A: *yǎ:g bòn-nnú-Ø*
 A: understanding be-Neg-3SgSbj
 [*yǎ:g-àwá ñ]* *bòn-nnú-Ø,*
 [solidarity Def] be-Neg-3SgSbj,
pǎ:m kàn-ò;
 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-ñ* *gábè-Ø*
 A: [[other-other]-gossip(n) 1Pl-Poss] be.excessive.Pfv-3SgSbj
 [*díg í-ñ* *gábè-Ø,*
 [lying 1Pl-Poss] be.excessive.Pfv-3SgSbj,
èsibiyò í-ñ *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 *dùnɛ́* ‘gossip about (sb) behind his back’; *èsibiyò* ‘impoliteness’]

- 06:11 A: [*i* ^{HL}*témbò:* *ñgi* *ni:*]
 A: [[1PlSbj ^{HL}encounter.Pfv.Ppl Def] Loc]
 [*gě:* *jè:* *ból-dà:* *jò-y,*
 [exit(v) while.Distrib] go-Prog have-1PlSbj
 A: ‘We are gradually getting away from what we inherited (=traditional customs).’
 [cf. [*gě: jè:* *ból-yà* ‘they went out gradually (not all together), they dribbled out’]

- 06:14 A: *kó jùmbé-y nà;*
 A: DiscDef abandon.Pfv-1PlSbj if,
 [*íyè ònmè nè]* *gándà yámù-gù dògò*
 [today up.until.now now] country ruin(n) except
 [*gò-ñ* [*dàg-Ø* *ná:*]
 [thing [become.good.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
 [*gírò là:* *bólè:-b* *pàypòr bòn-nnú-Ø*
 [forward Loc] go-1Pfv.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: [*mà:nd-í:* *nà:*]
 A: [make.effort-MP if]
 [*ènné:* [*i* ^{HL}*témbò:* *ñgi* *diy-yè-má-ñ,*
 [past [1PlSbj ^{HL}encounter.Pfv.Ppl Def] hold-MP-Hort-PlAddr,
pày-wé bè ^{HL}*ménò:* *ñ,*

old.person-Pl 3PlSbj ^{HL}come.Pfv.Ppl Def,
[báy wó: báy], *[m̀bù-ŋ^L p̄ê:ŋ]* *yàŋ*,
 [assembly], [house^L neighboring] and,
[[pòrò^L p̄ê:ŋ] b̄è-ŋ] yàŋ, dágò: b̀ò-ŋ,
 [[village^L neighboring] 3Pl-Poss] and, become.good be-3PlSbj,
àlá: k̀àŋ ḡéŋà = bì-yyà,
 rain(n) like.that ask.for=Past-3PlSbj

A: ‘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 ask (=pray) for rain like that.’

[*dágò: b̀ò-ŋ* recent perfect, §10.2.1.6; *ḡéŋà = bì-yyà* with dialectal vocalism and H-tone from preceding *k̀àŋ*, for *ḡèŋè = bí-yyà*]

- 06:31 A: *dágò: b̀ò-ŋ, yǎ: k̀àŋ dénnà = bì-yyà,*
 A: become.good be-3PlSbj, woman like.that look.for=Past-3PlSbj,
dágò: b̀ò-ŋ, [ỳò:g-àwá ŋ] k̀àŋ dénnà = bì-yyà,
 become.good be-3PlSbj, [solidarity Def] like.that look.for=Past-3PlSbj
dàgé bìy-ó: nà:, b̀arkè yè ménè:-b-Ø,
 become.good remain.Pfv-2SgSbj if, blessing Exist come-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
dàgé bìy-ó: nà:, múp̀al yè ménè:-b-Ø,
 become.good remain.Pfv-2SgSbj if, patience Exist come-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

A: ‘They were okay; they used to seek a wife like that. They were okay; they used to seek solidarity (among themselves). If you remain okay (with others), blessings will come. If you remain okay (with others), patience (=tolerance) will come.’

[*dénnà = bì-yyà* < *dènnè = bí-yyà*, cf. comments on preceding segment; existential *yè* with imperfective, see discussion preceding (280) in §11.2.2.1]

- 06:41 A: *ỳò:g-àwá b̀ò-ŋ-Ø nà:,*
 solidarity be-Neg-3SgSbj if,
[p̀àyp̀òr g̀ò-ŋ g̀á:l-yè:-b] b̀ò-ŋ-Ø,
 [at.all thing manage-MP-Ipfv.Ppl] be-Neg-3SgSbj,
núŋè-rà: j-ò:,
 hear-Prog have-2SgSbj.Q

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

[*b̀ò-ŋ-Ø* < *b̀ò-nnú-Ø*]

- 06:47 A: *kó ǎg ná = ỳ j̀nè-bì-y*
 A: DiscDef what? 3Sg=Acc bring-Ipfv-SFoc
nò:-bàbá ná = ỳ j̀nè-bì-y, b̀arkè,
 person-respect 3Sg=Acc bring-Ipfv-SFoc, blessing,
ỳò:g-àwá b̀ò-ŋ-Ø nà:,
 solidarity be-Neg-3SgSbj if,
[p̀àyp̀òr g̀ò:^{nL} ì b̄élè:-b] b̀ò-ŋ-Ø,
 [at.all thing^L 1PlSbj-Ipfv] get.Pfv] be-Neg-3SgSbj,

A: ‘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.’

- 06:54 A: *íyè àlà-m̀aygí yàŋ, k̀òndó yàŋ, g̀iyǎ: yàŋ,*
 A: today rain-difficulty and, lack and, hunger and,

sémbè-bèlè *í=y* *bàrà:-ń* *nà:*,
 power-having 1Pl=Acc help-PfvNeg.3PlSbj if,
[[gò-ŋ tólè]^L *kíllè* *ì* *béìlè:-b]* *bò-ń-Ø*,
 [[thing any]^L manage 1PlSbj 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.’

[*gò-ŋ tólè* or simple *tolè* ‘(not) anything’, (132c) in §6.6.3]

07:01 A: *[àlá:* *gèŋé-y* *nà:]* *ménè-ń-Ø*,
 A: [rain(n) ask.for.Pfv-1PlSbj if] come-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj,
[dǎg *dènné-y* *nà:]* *béì-mè-ń-Ø*,
 [good look.for.Pfv-1PlSbj if] get-Pass-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj,
[gò:^{nL} *[ì* *kán* *nà]* *dágè:-b]*
 [thing^L [1PlS do.Pfv Subjunct] become.good-IPfv.Ppl]
pàypòr *bò-ń-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 *ì kán nà*: ‘we do and ...’, §15.5.2; my assistant suggests emending to imperfective participial *ì kánè:-b* to make it parallel to *dágè:-b*]

07:08 A: *[ènné:* *dògò]*,
 A: [past except],
íyè *gìnné* *[yò:g-àwà* *í-ŋ]* *dá:gù-nd-yò:* *bò-Ø*,
 today a.lot [solidarity 1Pl-Poss] small-Inch-MP be-3SgSbj
[kó-ŋgù ^L*yàl-gù* *ŋ]* *ú:g-ì:-mò:* *bò-Ø*,
 [DiscDef-Poss.Def ^Lplace Def] fear(v)-MP-Caus be-3SgSbj,
[kó-ŋgù ^L*yàl-gù* *ŋ]* *ú:g-ì:-mò:* *bò-Ø*,
 [DiscDef-Poss.Def ^Lplace 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.’

[*dá:gù-nd-yò:* *bò-Ø* and *ú:gì:-m-ò:* *bò-Ø*, recent perfect]

07:16 A: *[íyè* *óŋmè]* *[[ènné:* *ì* ^{HL}*bíyò:* *ŋgì]*
 A: [today up.to.now] [[before 1PlSbj ^{HL}stay.Pfv.Ppl Def]
jùmbó: *ŋ]* *dó:lò=y*,
 abandon.Pfv.Ppl Def] unreasonable=it.is,

A: ‘Nowadays, abandoning the way we were before is unwise.’

[*jùmbó:*, participle of headless nonsubject relative with generic subject (hence no pronominal-subject proclitic)]

07:19 A: *pày-wé* *ènné:* *[[òsùg* *tómò]* *nì:]* *nùŋà = bí-yyà*,
 A: old.person-Pl before [[path one] Loc] enter=Past-3PlSbj,
[[òsùg *tómò]* *nì:]* *gò: = bí-yyà*,
 [[path one] Loc] exit(v)=Past-3PlSbj,
[èbà: *tómò]* *nùŋà = bí-yyà*,
 [[market one] Loc] enter=Past-3PlSbj,
[èbà: *tómò]* *gò: = bí-yyà*,
 [market one] exit(v)=Past-3PlSbj,

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 *nùṅà* = *bí-yyà* with A/O-stem of verb in this dialect]

- 07:25 A: [*bǎy wó: bǎy*] *gìn-yà* *nâ:*,
 A: [assembly] say.Pfv-3PISbj if,
bé-ṅ [*yò:g* *tómò*] = *yè = 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 gìn-yà ná:] kánè:-n,*
 A: [do-Hort say.Pfv-3PISbj if] do-Ipfv.3PISbj,
jùmbè-má gìn-yà ná:] jùmbè:-n,
 [abandon-Hort say.Pfv-3PISbj if] abandon-Ipfv.PISbj,
 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: [*tòlè-má gìn-yà ná:] tólè:-n,*
 A: [begin-Hort say.Pfv-3PISbj if] begin-Ipfv.PISbj,
í kàṅ témbè-y,
 1PISbj like.that find.Pfv-1PISbj
núṅè-rà: j-ò:,
 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: [[*é:nì òjúgè kòmbó bò:-má] gìn-yà ná:]*
 A: [[tomorrow get.up war go-Hort] say.Pfv-3PISbj if]
pày-wé [m̀bù-ṅ nì:] náyà = biyá:-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.’
 [*náyà = biyá:-l-Ø* dialectal for *náyè = biyá:-l-Ø*, past perfect negative]

- 07:39 A: [*òṅùn ní:] b̀l-yà nâ:*,
 A: [the.bush Loc] go.Pfv-3PISbj if,
 [[*òṅùnù ṅí] nì:] biy-yé ǹy-yà nâ:*,
 [[the.bush Def] Loc] lie.down-MP spend.night.Pfv-3PISbj if,
yà:-gí ỳṅ] níks-yè-ń-yà
 [woman Inst] mix-MP-PfvNeg-3PISbj
 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: *háya gìn-yà nâ:*,
 A: all.right say.Pfv-3PISbj if,
[kém bé-ṅ] jè:, [wára: b̀-ṅ] jè:,
 [metal.object 3Pl-Poss] take, [spear 3Pl-Poss] take,
[tá:ⁿ bé-ṅ] jè-yyà nâ:,
 [arrow 3Pl-Poss] take.Pfv-3PISbj if,

A: ‘They would say, all right. They would take their light metal objects, take their spears, and take their arrows.’

[*jè*: twice for *jě*: as chained verb]

07:48 A: [*kòmbó ñ]* *gùllé*
 A: [war Def] drive.out
 [*yàl*^L *bè ká:rè:-b]* *kà:r-yà nâ:*
 [place^L 3PISbj limit-Ipfv.Ppl] limit.Pfv-3PISbj if
 [*í-ñà: pòró h́é:rè b́élè:-b,*
 here village peace get.Ipfv-3SgSbj,
 [*pà-y-wé kàñ kán = biy-yà.*
 old.person like.that do=Past-3PISbj

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 já:lù-g b̀ò:-má g̀ìn-ó: nâ:,*
 [today fight-VbIN go-Hort] say.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
 [*ñgú ǹòl-yé b̀òl-Ø ná:]*
 [Prox sneak-MP go.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
 [[*yà-ñà:*^L *bàñá: ñgì yàñ]* *dámè:-b-Ø,*
 [[over.there^L owner Def] Inst] speak-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

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 ǹòl-yé b̀òl-Ø ná:]*
 A: [Prox too] sneak-MP go.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
 [[*yà-ñà:*^L *bàñá: ñgì yàñ]* *d́g d́gè:-b-Ø,*
 [[over.there^L owner Def] Inst] lie(n) lie(v)-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
 [*kàn-é: [ì* ^{HL}*óñ-jè* *nà]]*
 [do-Result [1PISbh ^{HL}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 *í làñ]* *kíll-yè:-b]*
 [thing^L [1Pl Inst] handle-MP-Ipfv.Ppl]
 [*páy dá:gì là b̀ò-nnú-Ø,*
 [at.all a.little too] be-Neg-3SgSbj,
 [*òg àgí = ý]* [*yò:g-àwá ñ]* *j̀ò-nní-y,*
 [Prox which?=it.is] [solidarity Def] have-Neg-1PISbj

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 àgí = ý* *[[yà:-wè]-dóm]* *ì* ^{HL}*né:nd-yò:],*
 A: [DiscDef which?=it.iis] [[woman-Pl]-talk(n)] 1PISbj ^{HL}listen-MP.Pfv.Ppl],
 [*ènné: ì* ^{HL}*b́yò:* *ñgì yàñ]*
 past 1PISbj ^{HL}be.Past.Ppl Def and]
 [*íyè ì* ^{HL}*bó* *ñgì yàñ]* *tómò: = lò:,*
 [today 1PISbj ^{HL}be.Ppl Def and] one=it.is.now,

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.’

- 08:11 A: [*mí gâ*] *yè:gá:* [[*dòm dà:g*]^L *mì* ^{HL}*bélà:*],
 A: [1Sg Top] morning [[talk(n) small]^L 1SgSbj ^{HL}get.Pfv.Ppl],
 [*kó ná=y*],
 [DiscDef 3Sg=it.is],
 A: ‘As for me this morning, what little information I have gotten (=learned), that is it.’

- 08:13 B: *háya, gású ó bèle:-I kòy,*
 B: all.right, trouble 2SgSbj get-PfvNeg Emph,
 [*dòm dàm-ó:*], [*ög kùlò bà: jó-Ø*],
 [talk(n) speak.Pfv-2SgSbj], [Prox share(n) be.worth have-3SgSbj],
 A: *kùlò bà: jó-Ø*,
 A: share(n) be.worth have-3SgSb
 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.’
 [*gásù ó bèle:-I* is a formulaic appreciation or thanks]

- 08:18 B: *gású ó bèle:-I*
 B: trouble 2SgSbj get-PfvNeg
 A: [[*kó-ŋgù* ^L*kùlù-ŋ*] *nì:*]
 A: [[DiscDef-Poss.Def ^Linside] Loc]
 [*tùgò:*^L *i* ^{HL}*témbò:* *ŋ*]
 [tale(n)^L 1PIS ^{HL}find.Pfv.Ppl Def]
 [[*tùgò: nè:gè*] *yáy*] *tùgè-Ø ná:*
 [[tale two] like] narrate.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
yé bèle:-n
 there.DiscDef add.Ipfv-3PISbj
 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.’
 [*yáy* ‘like’ attracts H-tone of preceding *nè:gè* ‘two’, §8.4.1]

- 08:24 B: *háya*
 B: all.right
 A: *tùgò:*, [[*tùgò:*^L *ò jó*] *yè bó-Ø nà:*] *tùgà*
 A: story, [[story^L 2SgSbj have.Ppl] Exist be-3SgSbj if] narrate.Imprt
 B: *ò:y háya*
 oh all.right,
 B: ‘All right.’
 A: ‘A story, if there is a story that you-Sg have, tell (it)!’
 B: ‘Well, all right.’

- 08:27 B: *fú:*, [*ámbà* ^L*sàg*] [*ó* ^L*sàg*]
 B: all, [God ^Lentrusting(n)] [2Sg ^Lentrusting]
 A: *tùgò:*^L *tómò,* [*òŋùn-námá* *fú:*] [*bè* ^{HL}*mómb-yò:*],
 story^L one, [the.bush-meat all] [3PISbj ^{HL}assemble-MP.Pfv.Ppl],

B: ‘All (that). Entrusting to God and to you.’
 A: ‘One story. All the wild animals assembled.’

08:34 A: *kõr bè* ^{HL}*pégò:*,
 A: soirée 3PlSbj ^{HL}nail(v).Pfv.Ppl,
gíyò gíy-má gín-yà,
 dance(n) dance-Hort say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 A: ‘They held a soirée (festive evening event). They said, let’s dance a dance.’
 [*kõr pégè*, lit. “drive in (=nail) a soirée”]

08:37 A: *nùḡé-nùḡè gí:-gí:*
 A: enter-enter dance-dance
[bè ^{HL}*gò:* *ḡ]* *[bè gò:-ḡ]* *[bè gò:-ḡ]*,
 [3PlSbj ^{HL}go.out.Pfv.Ppl Def] (repetitions),
ínà: nà ^{HL}*núḡò:*,
 goat 3SgSbj ^{HL}go.in.Pfv.Ppl,
 A: ‘They were going in and dancing and going back out. (Then) goat went in.’

08:41 A: *[gíyò ḡ]* *gí:-rà:→*,
 A: [dance Def] dance(v)-Prog,
tàwá: nà ^{HL}*núḡò:*,
 hyena 3SgSbj ^{HL}enter.Pfv.Ppl,
[ínà: ^Lnùmò:] jéḡnè-Ø,
 [goat ^Lhand] hold.up.Pfv-3SgSbj
 A: ‘He (=goat) was dancing. (Then) hyena went in. He held up goat’s arm.’

08:46 A: *nà* ^{HL}*jéḡò:*,
 A: 3SgSbj ^{HL}hold.up.Pfv.Ppl,
nùmò: [dánà-n dà:] nà ^{HL}*jéḡò:*
 hand [top Loc] 3SgSbj ^{HL}hold.up.Pfv.Ppl,
tàwá: jùmbè-ḡ-Ø,
 hyena leave-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,
 A: ‘He held up (goat’s hand). Hyena held the hand up high and wasn’t letting go.’
 [*jùmbè-ḡ-Ø* < *jùmbè-nnú-Ø*]

08:50 A: *jùmbè-ḡ-Ø* *nà kán nè*,
 A: leave-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj 3SgSbj do.Pfv Ant.Past.DS,
[wàsè: ḡ] *bè* ^{HL}*gò:*,
 [remainder Def] 3PlSbj ^{HL}say.Pfv.Ppl,
nùmò:-jéḡnù wá:jìbì = ÿ dògò,
 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; *gò:* irregular variant perfective participle of *gíné* ‘say’; holding the hand of a dancer up is a normal expression of congratulation but it should not last too long]

08:53 A: *[jèḡnè-Ø* *ná:] jùmbè-nnú-gú ḡ kày*,
 A: [hold.up.Pfv-3SgSbj if] leave-IpfvNeg-VblN Def Topic,

[[*mé yà:*] [*kórò ò*] *kàbà:-lú-ò*] *gìn-yà,*
 [[Logo Pl] [meaning Def] separate-PfvNeg-LogoSbj] say.Pfv-3PlSbj,

A: 'They (animals) said, as for him holding (the arm) up and not letting go, they did not distinguish (=could not discern) the meaning (of it).'

[-*nnù-gú* verbal noun of imperfective negative *-nnú*, this example discussed at end of §4.2.2.1 and as (526) in §19.1.1]

08:57 A: [*kǎŋ bè gín nè*]
 A: [like.that 3PlSbj say.Pfv Ant.Past.DS]
tàwá: nà ^{HL}*júmbò:*,
 hyena 3SgSbj ^{HL}leave.Pfv.Ppl,
 A: 'When they said that, hyena let (goat) go.'

08:58 A: [*nùmò:*^L *nà* ^{HL}*dégò:* *ògì*]=*ý* *dègé* *jè:*,
 A: [hand^L 3SgSbj ^{HL}lick.Pfv.Ppl Def]=Acc lick take,
[ná-ògù wà:] kó [nùmò:-jénu]=ló: wà:
 [3Sg-Poss.Def Quot] DiscDef [hand-hold.up.Nom]=it.is.not Quot
jó:tè bàrá=ý 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; *bàrá=ý* 'be added, be included, be present in addition', irregular stative, negative counterpart *bàrà-nnú-*]

09:03 A: [[*àdúnyà ògì*] *nì:*] *jó:tè àmbà í=ý sà: kánà,*
 A: [[world Def] Loc] greed God 1Pl=Acc keep.away do.Imprt,
 B: *gà:ná:*
 B: [reply]
 A: *àmbà bà: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!'

09:07 A: [*jámù-ò dèn ná:*]
 [peace spend.day.Pfv if]
àmbà jámù í=ý 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 *ná:-mà* in 'good morning!' greeting]

09:09 A: *àmbà céllàl í=ý ndà*
 A: God health 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt

B: *à:mí: à:mí:*
 B: amen! amen!
 A: *àmbà [àlà:-ńjù gènǎ:] í=y òdà*
 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-bàrkè àmbà í=y òdà*
 A: God-blessing(n) God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
 B: *à:mí: à:mí:*
 B: amen! amen!
 A: *yò:g-àwá àmbà í=y òdà*
 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: *kíndà: àmbà í=y òdà,*
 A: liver God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
 B: *à:mí: à:mí:*
 B: amen! amen!
 A: *yà:jí àmbà í=y òdà*
 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: *èginnólò àmbà í=y òdà,*
 A: progeny God 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
 B: *à:mí: à:mí:*
 B: amen! amen!
 A: *[bàrkè^L gènǎ:] àmbà í=y òdà*
 A: [blessing^L 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=y nàyé-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: àmbà káwràl í=y òdà,
 A: God understanding 1Pl=Acc give.Imprt,
 B: à:mí: à:mí:
 amen! amen!
 A: dó:lò pǒ→
 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, [ì ^{HL}bélò:] [ògú ná=y]
 B: well, [1PlSbj ^{HL}get.Pfv.Ppl] [Prox 3Sg=it.is]
 A: [ì ^{HL}bélò:] [ògú ná=y]
 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^L bàró:] yàŋ] bò=∅ mà
 A: [[thing^L add.Pfv.Ppl] Inst] be=3SgSbj or?
 kó èsàyé nà kán nè
 DiscDef try 3SgSg do Ant.Past.DS,
 A: ‘Is anything to be added?’
 ‘(When) he has tried that, ...’
 [French *essayer*]

Text T02

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 ñ] dùlò,*
 3Sg-Poss.Def [come-VbIN Def] be.in.Stat,
bon [yǎl wùlé jè:] bè^{HL} ménò;
 [place look.at while.Distrib] 3PlSbj^{HL} come.Pfv.Ppl,
ènné: gándà [yàl^L ò^{HL} bélò: fú:]
 past world [place^L 2Sg^{HL} get.Pfv.Ppl all]
bìy-má biyá:-l-Ø, [yǎl wùlé jè:]
 stay-Hort was-PfvNeg-3SgSbj, [place look.at while.Distrib]
bè^{HL} ménò; [hál ò-ñ] mén-dà;
 3PlSbj^{HL} 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-ñ ŋgù* (definite)’ but used like a discourse-definite; distributive *jè:* §15.1.7; *bè ménò:* (twice) illustrates the use of headless nonsubject relatives in narrative, often equivalent to perfective main clauses; *yàl^L* ‘place’ as head in a spatial relative; *-dà:* (< *-là:*) progressive subordinated clause §15.2.2]

00:11 [[*yàl-gù ñ] bè^{HL} wúlò:]*
 [[place Def] 3PlSbj^{HL} look.at.Pfv.Ppl]
[sâ:ⁿ bò] nà^{HL} kân nè,
 [nice be] 3SgSbj^{HL} do Ant.Past.DS,
ñ-ñà: [kàmmò ní:] nòl-yé mènè-Ø,
 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.’

[*ñ-ñà:* variant of *í-ñà:* ‘here’; *kàmmò* ‘cave, rocky tunnel’]

00:16 [*kàmmò ní:] nòl-yé bè^{HL} ménò;*
 [cave Loc] go.through-MP 3PlSbj^{HL} come.Pfv.Ppl,
tù:r bè^{HL} ménò; tó:r yé-nì: pég-yà quoi,
 turn 3PlSbj^{HL} come.Pfv.Ppl, fetish there.DiscDef implant.Pfv-3PlSbj,
yé-nì: bè^{HL} pégò;
 there.DiscDef 3PlSbj^{HL} implant.Pfv.Ppl,
[ínà:-ñ^L dègdègò], [kó yàñ] mén-yà,
 [iron^L 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 [*ínà:-ŋ* ^L*dègdègò*],
 [iron ^Lstatuette],
 [*tómò* *ì* *nè*] [*kí:g* *nà-ì*] [*kí:g* *sô:y*] *bò-y*,
 [one Def Top] [head 3Sg-Poss] [head 7] be-SFoc,
 [*kí:g* *sô:y*], *tò:r*^L *ná-ŋgù*, [*bè* ^{HL}*jínò:*]
 [head 7], fetish^L 3Sg-Poss.Def, [3PISbj ^{HL}bring.Pfv.Ppl]
 [*kúlù-ŋ* *nì:*] *tô:r* [*nò-[é-gì]=ŷ*] *nà:-m-yà*,
 [inside(n) Loc] fetish [person-child=Acc] drink-Caus-3PISbj,

‘The iron idol, one (of them) now, its head, seven heads [focus] is what it was (=it had). Seven heads. After they brought that fetish, inside (it) they sacrificed a human to 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’; *nò-[é-g]* ‘person-child’ here simply means ‘human’, not necessarily young, and its accusative has irregular tones]

00:33 [[*nǒ:* *nà* *ná:* *ì*] [*nà* *ná:* *ì*]
 [[person 3SgSbj drink Def] [3SgSbj drink Def]
nà ^{HL}*yómò:*]
 3SgSbj ^{HL}be.long.time.Pfv.Ppl]
bísè-í-yà [*nà* ^{HL}*kân* *nè*]
 put.down-IpfvNeg-3PISbj [3SgSbj ^{HL}do Ant.Past.DS]
 [*ùŋǒ-ŋ* *gémè-ŋ*] *nà:-m-yà*,
 [dog black] drink-Caus-3PISbj,

‘It (=fetish) kept drinking people for a long time, they weren’t stopping. They sacrificed a black dog to it.’

[*nà ná: ì*, A-stem verb plus *ŋ*, §15.2.3.1; *kân nè* for topic switch, (438a-b) in §15.4]

00:37 [[*ùŋǒ-ŋ* *ŋgù*] *né:-là:*] *yàgà-nnú*] *nà* ^{HL}*kân* *nè*]
 [[dog Def] drink-Prog] be.right-StatNeg] 3SgSbj ^{HL}do Ant.Past.DS]
 [*pésgè* *ná:-m-yà*], [[*pésgè* *ná:-m-là:*]
 [sheep drink-Caus-3PISbj], [[sheep drink-Caus-Prog]
íyè *sáktèⁿ* *sên* *nà* *mên* *nè*] *jùmb-yà*,
 today at.end prayer 3SgSbj come Ant.Past.DS] abandon.Pfv-3PISbj,
 [*kândà^L* *ǒg* *là*] [*wě-ŋ* *bil-í:* *tàŋ-Ø* *ná:*],
 [now^L this even] [year turn pass-3SgSbj if],
 [*tô:r* *ŋgì=ŷ*] *gúl-dà:* *bìy-yà*,
 [fetish Def=Acc] dig-Prog Past-3PISbj,

‘(The fetish) drinking the dog not being right, after that they sacrificed sheep, they were sacrificing sheep. 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.’

[past progressive, often generalizing to past imperfective, §10.6.1.2]

00:48 [*tô:r* *ŋgì=ŷ*] *gùlé*, [*gírò* *bè-ŋ*] *gè-yyà* *ná:*,
 [fetish Def=Acc] dig, [ahead 3Pl-Poss] exit.Pfv-3PISbj if,

[*àmbà-géjè* *bè-ŋ*] *gèŋ-yà* *nâ:*,
 [God-praying 3Pl-Poss] pray.Pfv-3PlSbj if],
 [*kàmmò* *ŋgí* *nì:*] [*gò:^{nL}* *sálà:*]
 [cave Def Loc] [thing^L bad]
yé *nòl-yé* *tàŋ-Ø* *nâ:*,
 there.DiscDef go.through-MP pass.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [*ná-ŋgù* *gò:ⁿ*] *yàm-gí=yé*
 [3Sg-Poss.Def ^Lthing] be.ruined-VbIN]=it.is]

‘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]

00:55 [[*sáb* *là*] *pág-ì:* *tàŋ-ó:* *nâ:*]
 [[amulet too] tie-MP pass.Pfv-2SgSbj if]

[*sábù* *yàm-gí=yé*]
 [amulet be.ruined-VbIN=it.is]

[[*ŋpù* *là*] *dùy-y-ó:* *nâ:*]
 [[water too] carry.on.head-MP-2SgSbj if]

[[*yé-nì:* [*sálà:* *yàn*] *ménè:-b-ò:* *nâ:*] *yámè:-b-Ø*,
 [[there.DiscDef [bad Inst] come-Ipfv-2SgSbj if] be.ruined-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘If you have tied an amulet (on your body) and have gone through (the rock tunnel), the amulet is ruined. If you carry water (in a pail) on your head,¹ if you come there with evil (plans), it (=plan) will be ruined.’

01:02 [*kàmbó* *ménè:-b-Ø* *nâ:*]
 [war come-Ipfv-3SgSbj if]

[*yé* *tìyyè-Ø* *nâ:*] *pày-wé*
 [there.DiscDef go.up.on.Pfv-3SgSbj if] old.person-Pl

[*ně:* [*gàngà-ŋ* *bé-ŋ*] *bàn-yà* *nâ:*]
 [now [tomtom 3Pl-Poss] beat.Pfv-3PlSbj if]

[*pòró* *sì-sál* *sàlè-Ø* *nâ:*]
 [village ground.millet coarsely.grind.Pfv-3SgSbj if]

[[*kàmbò-nùmò:* *ŋgí*] *bàlé* *jèml-yè-Ø* *nâ:*,
 [[war.party Def go] welcome(v)-MP-3SgSbj if]

[[*pòrò* *ŋgí*] *nì:*] *núŋè:-n*,
 [[village Def] Loc] enter-Ipfv.3PlSbj,

‘If a (friendly) war party came, it would go up on it (the roof of the rock tunnel). The people of old now would beat their tomtoms. The village would grind up some ground millet, it would welcome the war party, and they would enter the village.’

[< *gàngá-ŋ* ‘tomtom’]

01:10 [*kàmmò* *ŋ*] *pégè-Ø*,
 [cave Def] plant.Pfv-3SgSbj,

[*gò-ŋ^L* *bè* *jó=bìyò:* *ŋ*] [*kó* *ná=yé*,
 [thing^L 3PlSbj have=Past.Ppl Def] [DiscDef 3Sg=it.is],

[*kàndà* *óg* *là*] [[*kàmmò* *ŋgí*] *nì:*]
 [now this too] [[tunnel Def] Loc]

¹ women carrying water up to the village from the well below must go through the tunnel in the rocks.

[wè-ŋ bɛ-ŋ] mèn-Ø nâ:,
 [year 3Pl-Poss] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [[àmbà-géŋɛ bɛ-ŋ] tũŋ-yè nâ:] [yé géŋɛ:-n̄],
 [[God-prayer 3Pl-Poss] kneel-MP.Pfv if] [there.DiscDef pray-IPfv.3PlSbj]
 ‘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.’

01:17 [[jì mù^L sálà:] yé mèn-Ø nâ:]
 [[disease^L bad] there.DiscDef come.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
 [n̄l-yè-Ø nâ:] táŋɛ-nnù-Ø,
 [go.through-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if] pass-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj,
 [gõ-ŋ [dɛgílɛ gínɛ] ènné: yè bíyè-Ø],
 [thing [measles say] past Exist be.Past-3SgSbj],
 [dògtórò yà:] [dɛgílɛ ŋgì=y] géw-yà,
 [doctor Pl] [measles Def=Acc] kill.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 [dɛgílɛ ŋ] pòró mèn-Ø nâ:,
 [measles Def] village come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
 [wà.r^L gàm bũl] [[è-wé pɛ-nn̄] jé:-là: = biyè-Ø],
 [time^L certain] [[child-Pl 10-5] take-Prog=Past-3SgSbj],

‘If a bad disease (=epidemic) came, when it (tried to) go through (the tunnel) it wouldn’t get through. For example, what they call measles was present in the past. (Now) doctors have killed off (=eradicated) measles. When measles came to the village, sometimes it would take (=kill) fifty children.’

[jì mú-ŋ ‘disease’; perhaps *dɛgílɛ* here refers to smallpox, eradicated worldwide in 1980 but a scourge in Dogon country until then]

01:27 [[k̄ðmm̄ òŋ] nì:] òsunnó in-ó: nà:,
 [[cave Def] Loc] walking walk.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
 [[pòró í-ŋù] nì:] dɛgílɛ núŋà = biyã:-l-Ø,
 [[village 1Pl-Poss] Loc] measles enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
 [kó-ŋgù^L tò:rù^L là] [yàl-gú ŋ]
 [DiscDef-Poss.Def^L fetish too] [place Def]
 yè bíyè-Ø gín-yà,
 Exist be.Past-3SgSbj say.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 [énnà gínɛ ènné: [jì mù-ŋ^L tòm̄] yè bíyè-Ø]
 [a.disease say past [disease^L one] Exist was-3SgSbj]
 [[jì mú ŋ] mèn-Ø nâ:] [fó: [kèné-ŋ nì:]
 [[disease Def] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if] [all.the.way [bone Loc]
 s̄d̄gùl-yè-Ø nâ:] yè d̄ɛ:-b-Ø,
 gnaw-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if] there arrive-IPfv-3SgSbj,

‘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.’

[yàl-gú ŋ ‘the place’; fó → variant of fã → ‘all the way to’]

01:39 [pá → nâ=y] [k̄ðmm̄-ŋ dá:]
 [until 3Sg=Acc] [cave Loc]

gò:-n ná:] *dìy-yè = bìy-yà,*
 take.out-Caus.Pfv if] hold-MP=Past-3PISbj,
[ná-ŋgù ^Ljìmù-ŋ là] [yé dè-yyà ná:]
 [3Sg-Poss.Def ^Ldisease even] [there.DiscDef arrive.Pfv-3PISbj if]
[[pòrò ŋú] nì:] núŋè = bìyà:-l-Ø,
 [[village Def] Loc] enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,

‘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 [dʒìmùl:a]]

01:45 *pégè kàn jó = bìy-yà,*
 implant do have=Past-3PISbj,
[íyè [sémbè fú:] [tàng ná-ŋgì = ý] júmbè-là: = bìy-yà
 [today [power all] [behavior 3Sg-Poss.Def=Acc] leave-Prog=Past-3PISbj
[ísíg tìbè ná:]
 [sun die.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
[[pòrò ŋ] nì:] gǒ-ŋ dòŋgù-mé = bìyà:-ní],
 [[village Def] Loc] thing pound-Caus=Past-3PISbj],
[ísíg gà] tìbè-Ø, dèndá: dèmè-Ø ná,
 [sun Topic] die.Pfv-3SgSbj, midday day.end.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[pòrò ŋú] nì:] gǒ-ŋ dòŋgù-mé = bìyà:-ní,
 [[village Def] Loc] thing pound-Caus=Past-3PISbj],

‘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 jó = bìy-yà* past form of recent perfect, §10.6.1.6; *tàng* ‘behavior’]

01:55 *[tàngú-ŋ tàgè-Ø nâ:]*
 [shoes put.on.shoe.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
[[pòrò ŋú] nì:] nùŋ-má = bìyà:-ní yà:-wé,
 [[village Def] Loc] enter-Caus= Past-3PISbj woman-Pl,
[yà:-púnò, pùn-yè-Ø nâ:]
 [woman-flour, be.flour-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
[ná = ý [gùsá: là:] nây-mà = bìy-yà],
 [3Sg=Acc [side.apartment Loc] spend.night-Caus=Past-3PISbj]
[[kó ^{HL}sábà:b] làŋ],
 [[DiscDef ^{HL}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:-púnò* with cognate verb *pùn-yè* is euphemistic for ‘menstruate, be having her period’]

02:03 *òrò-púnò nây-má = bìyà:-ní,*
 baobab-flour spend.night-Caus=Past-PfvNeg.3PISbj,

sòmé *kàn-ó:* *nà:*,
 tamarind make.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
[tóg *tiyǎ:-l-Ø]*
 [pour.out send-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]
[m̀b̀ùn *nì:]* *này-má = biyà:-ń,*
 [house Loc] spend.night-Caus=Past-PfvNeg.3PISbj,
[[tà:g *ná-ń]* *sàbà:b]* *làŋ,*
 [[country 3Sg-Poss] reason] with,
[[k̀ðmm̀ð-ŋ *ŋgú]* *m̀ð]* *tà:g* *b̀ò* *ń]*, *kó* *ná = ý,*
 [[cave this] Poss] country be.Ppl Def], DiscDef 3Sg=it.is,
[íyè *ðŋm̀é]* *[p̀òró* *ń]* *[kó* ^{HL}*kí:gù* *ń]*
 [today until] [village Def] [DiscDef ^{HL}head Def]
[[àmbà-géŋè-ŋ *ná-ń]* *yàŋ]*
 [[God-praying 3Sg-Poss] Inst]
nà ^{HL}*òb̀ò* *ń]* *ná = ý,*
 3SgSbj ^{HL}sit.Stat.Ppl Def] 3Sg=it.is

‘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 *tiyè* ‘send’, the latter adding the spatial sense ‘away, out’; genitive linker *m̀ð* after nonpronominal possessor, §6.2.1]

02:18 *[[[jónù-ŋ* *ŋgù]* *là:]* *gé:* *b̀ò* *ń]* *là],*
 [[[ladder Def] Loc] exit(v) be.Ppl Def] too],
[wùlé *b̀è* *tír̀:]*
 [look 3PISbj attempt.Ppl]
[jónù-ŋ *m̀èné* *b̀è* ^{HL}*kánò:]*
 [ladder come 3PISbj ^{HL}make.Pfv.Ppl]
[jónù-ŋ *ŋgì = ý]* *b̀è* ^{HL}*jáwò:]*
 [ladder Def=Acc] 3PISbj ^{HL}carve.Pfv.Ppl]
[[àmbà-géŋè-ŋ *b̀é-ń]* *b̀è* ^{HL}*géŋò:]*
 [[God-prayer 3PI-Poss] 3PISbj ^{HL}pray.Pfv.Ppl]
[jónù-ŋ *ŋgì]* *tíb̀ùr-yà,*
 [ladder Def] place.against.wall.Pfv-3PISbj,

‘Those (people) too who go out (=down to the valley below) on (wooden) ladders, they took a look, they came and made (wooden) ladders, they carved the ladders, they prayed their prayer, and they put (the ladders) against the cliff.’

[A Dogon ladder is made from a single tree trunk by carving steps (footholds). Finished ladders are leaned against walls or other vertical surfaces to give access to the roof, where peanuts and other harvested crops are laid out to dry. In Nantanga, on one side of the village, ladders are used to go down the cliff to reach fields below.]

02:25 *ènné:* *k̀ðmb̀ó* *[sòm* *yàŋ]* *[m̀èn-Ø* *ná:]* *tày = bíy-yà,*
 past war [horse Inst] [come.Pfv-3SgSbj if] shoot=Past-3PISbj,

[*sòm nùǵé bélé-nnú-Ø*] [*nò: dàmbé bélé-nnú-Ø*]
 [horse enter get-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj] [person ascend get-IPfvNeg-3SgSbj]
 [*sákkò [sòm dòm]=lò:*]
 [a.fortiori [horse words]=it.is.not]
 [*yá-ǵà: wàǵú-ǵ ménè:-b-Ø nà:] yé ǵ-ǵ:-yà nà:*]
 [over.there far come-IPfv-3SgSbj if] there.DiscDef stand-MP.Pfv-3PISbj if,
 [[*tâ:ⁿ bè-ǵ]* *yàǵ* *týè:-n,*]
 [[arrow 3PI-Poss] Inst] send-IPfv.3PISbj,
 [[*màlfà bé-ǵ]* *yàǵ* *týè:-n,*]
 [[rifle 3PI-Poss] Inst] send-IPfv.3PISbj

‘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.’

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

02:36 [*yé ǵò-ǵ^L ǵùllé bè bélé:-l fú:*]
 [there.DiscDef thing^L chase.away 3PISbj get-PfvNeg all]
 [*ǵò:^{nL} ǵǵyǵ:] = ý,*
 [thing^L extraordinary]=it.is,
 [*yé tàǵ-mà = bìyà:-ń*] [*kòr-yà nà:*]
 [there.DiscDef pass-Caus=Past-PfvNeg.3PISbj] [muster.Pfv-3PISbj] if],
 [*pòró hé:ré kàǵ bélé-Ø,*]
 [village peace like.that get.Pfv-3SgSbj],
 [*pòró ǵ]* *nàlè = bìyè-Ø,*
 [village Def] give.birth=Past-3SgSbj,
 [[*mbù-ǵ-dúlùǵ nà-ǵ]* *jàt-ó: nà:*]
 [[house]-donkey 3Sg-Poss] count.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
 [*hâl yá-ǵà: yè bólè:-b-Ø*]
 [until over.there Exist go-IPfv-3SgSbj]
 [*nàsùǵú [sǵ] tà:ndú]] ǵé:-là: = bìyè-Ø,*
 [dancer.on.stilts [80 three]] exit-Prog=Past-3SgSbj,
 [*pòrò í-ǵ] ò-ǵ,*
 [village 1PI-Poss] here,

‘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 was in peace. 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”; *hé:ré* ‘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-ǵ-dúlùǵ* “house-donkey” refers to unoccupied houses; *sǵ* ‘80’ is used as a base like ‘hundred’; existential *yè* with imperfective verb, §11.2.2.1]

02:49 [*nìnǵ:n nà ǵâb nè]* [*bè^{HL} jóbò:*]
 [thirst 3SgSbj be.tall Ant.Past.DS] [3PISbj^{HL} run.Pfv.Ppl]

[kómlò là:] dàmbé òb-í:-yà,
 [rocky.zone Loc] go.up sit-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 [kàndá kómlò jàt-ó: nà:]
 [now rocky.zone count.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
 [pòró à:nyá: mà→ bò-Ø] [ò-ny gě:] bó-lè-Ø]
 [village how.many? Q be-3Sg] [here exit] go.Pfv-3SgSbj
 [[mbù-ny]-[dúlgù-ny] [dàná-ny ny-ny:] kàny bó-Ø]
 [house-donkey] [on.top here] like.that be-3SgSbj
 [ny-ny: là] kàny bó-Ø],
 [here too] like.that be-3SgSbj],

‘When thirst (=drought) became excessive, they fled and went up onto the rocky plateau and settled (there). If you count (=include) the rocky plateau, there are any number of villages (whose settlers) went out from here (Nantanga). There are abandoned 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’]

03:00 [[jónù-ny nyì] nì:] pégè-Ø],
 [[ladder Def] Loc] implant.Pfv-3SgSbj],
 [nó: nùnyé = biyá:-l-Ø] [bè^{HL} bíyò: ny] nà = ý,
 [person enter=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj] [3PlSbj^{HL} was.Pfv.Ppl Def] 3Sg=it.is,
 [[gìyá: yàny] [nìnǎ:n yàny] bé = ý gùllé]
 [[hunger and] [thirst and] 3Pl=Acc chase.away]
 [kàmbó bé = ý gùllá:-l-Ø],
 [war 3Pl=Acc chase.away-PfvNeg-3SgSbj]

‘(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, it wasn’t war that drove them away.’

03:06 [nùmò: gá] óndò-ny wànjè-Ø nà:]
 [hand with] water.source dig.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
 [nyù-ny:-g] dògò]
 [water-[drink-VblN] except]
 [[túbà:b mènÉ] [màsi:n yàny] [ògì yány]
 [whites come] [machine Inst] [Prox like]
 nyù kánè:-b-Ø] gìnÉ = biyá:-l-Ø,
 water make-Ipfv-3SgSbj] say=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,

‘They dug water (sources) by hand, to drink nothing but water, as opposed to (the method) by which the whites (later) came and made water by machines like this.’

[nùmò: gá ‘by hand’, §8.1.4].

03:12 [wè-ny^L gàmbǔl] àlá: wá: = biyá:-l-Ø,
 [year^L certain] rain(n) rain.fall=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
 [bànjigàrà^{ná} yàny] [ǒⁿ yàny]
 [Bandiagara and] [here and]
 [dǎn tǎ:n] ínà: = lò: nà:]
 [day three] walking]=it.is.not if]
 dò:-mó = biyá:-l-Ø,
 arrive-Caus=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,

‘Some years it hadn’t rained. 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]

- 03:18 [giyã: ùwè-Ø nã:] [sé:nò yá-ŋà: bəl-Ø nã:]
 [hunger catch.Pfv-3SgSbj if] [plains over.there go.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
 [dùlúgì yàⁿ] sìyé dùy-yè-Ø nã:]
 [donkey Inst] millet carry-MP-3SgSbj if]
 [[ísìgà: ònò] bòn- nã:] ò-ŋ dò:-mó = biyã:-l-Ø,
 [[day five] be-3PlSbj if] here arrive-Caus=Past-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
 [bòlé ò mén mà]
 [go 2SgSbj come before]
 [kòrè:j ò-ŋ] ŋ-ŋà: giyã: géwè:-b-Ø,
 [family 2Sg-Poss] here hunger kill-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
 ‘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 and came (back), hunger would kill your family here.’

- 03:26 [bà:nà^L sémbè jó = biyó: ŋ],
 [manner^L force have=Past.Ppl Def],
 [dí:nè là] sémbè jó = biyè],
 [religion too] force have=Past-3SgSbj],
 [dí:nè í = ÿ lá:m kánè-jò = biyò: ŋ],
 [religion 1Pl=Acc control do-have=Past.Ppl Def],
 [wě-ŋ fú:] sìyé gəl ná],
 [year all] millet do.farming if],
 [cent-kilos dámmà-mâ:n] [ná = ŋ nì:] jé-bəl nã:,
 [100.kilo.sack amount] [3Sg=Poss Loc] take-go if,
 [ná = ÿ òdè:-ní: = biyè]
 [3Sg=Poss give-Ipfv.3PlSbj =Past]
 ‘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).’
 [òdè:-ní: = biyè 3Pl past imperfective in habitual sense, §10.6.1.1, cf. òdè:-n ‘they (will) give’]

- 03:37 [gəlò:^L ò gólè:-bù ŋ]
 [farming^L 2SgSbj do.farming-Ipfv.Ppl Def]
 [sáwàl pé-rà:n] táŋà:-l-Ø,
 [bushel 30] pass-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
 [ó cent-kilos bà: [ó nì:] gó:-ndè:-ò,
 [2Sg 100.kilo.sack from [2Sg Loc] exit-Tr-Ipfv.3PlSbj
 [ògìyó: nà gâb nè] bè^{HL} jóbò:
 [difficulty 3SgSbj be.tall Ant.Past.DS] 3PlSbj^{HL}run.Pfv.Ppl,
 [sìyè^{HL} gólà:] gìnè [kómlò là:] núŋ-yà,
 [millet^{HL}do.farming.Purp] say [rocky.zone Loc] enter.Pfv-3PlSbj,
 ‘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.’
 [^{HL}gólà:, purposive with lengthened A-stem, §17.4.1.1]

- 03:44 [jònù-ŋ ŋgù là] [gò-ŋ^L pèg-yà-ŋ] biyè-Ø,
 [ladder Def too] [thing^L implant-MP-Adj] be.Past-3SgSbj,

íyèlè [pòrò *í-ṅ* òg],
 again [village 1Pl-Poss this],
ṅ-ṅà: [kòmmò *ní:* *nòl-yè:-b-Ø*,
 here [cave Loc] go.through-MP-Ipfv-3SgSbj,
[ṅ-ṅà: *lónù-ṅ* *nì:* *dàmbè:-b-Ø*,
 [here [ladder Loc] go.up-Ipfv-3SgSbj]
[tàṅà-ṅ *né:gè* *fú:* *kàṅ* *bó-Ø*,
 [side 2 all] like.that be-3SgSbj,
[[màndé *gě:* *mènέ*
 [[Mande exit(v)] come
pégè *yà^L* *bè* ^{HL}*ób-yò:* *ṅ* *kó* *ná=y*,
 implant place^L 3PlSbj ^{HL}sit-MP.Pfv.Ppl Def] DiscDef 3Sg=it.is,

‘The ladders too were something that was set up (magically). Again this village, here on one side it (=villagers) would penetrate into the tunnel, here on the other side it would go up on the ladders (to reach the village on top). The two sides (of the village) are like that. The place where they came from Mande, set up (their fetish), and settled, that [focus] is what it was.’

[*pégè* ‘implant’ here implies preparation by magic (sorcery); purposive with lengthened A-stem, §17.4.1.1]

03:54 [*íyè* *òḡmènè*] [*ná-ṅù* *mò* ^L*là:dà* *ṅù*] *jùmbà:-ní*,
 [today up.to.now] [3Sg-Poss.Def Poss ^Lcustom Def] leave-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,
[wò:g *pél* *nègè* *sigà* *fú:*,
 [month 10 2 plus all]
[náṅ ^L*òsùnnò*] *ín-dà:* *jò-n*,
 [that ^Lwalking] walk-Prog have-3PlSbj,
[kó-ṅù ^L*kùlù-ṅ*]
 [DiscDef-PossDef ^Linterior]
[jòṅ^L *bè* *kán = bìyò:* *ṅ* *là*] *jùmbà:-ní*,
 [medical.care^L 3PlSbj do=Past.Ppl Def too] leave-PfvNeg.3PlSbj,

‘Right up to the present, they haven’t abandoned that custom. Every twelve months (=once a year), they do that walk. For that reason, they haven’t abandoned the treatment that they performed (in the past).’

[possessive *mò* between inanimate possessor and possessum, §6.2.1]

04:04 *jùṅà:^L* *ṅú* *là*, [*wòlò-úndù* *là:*] *bòl-Ø* *nà:*,
 gathering^L Prox too, [scrub.acacia-thicket Loc] go.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
[gèṅà-ṅ *bè-ṅ*] *gèṅè-là:* *jò-ṅ*,
 [worship(n) 3Pl-Poss] worship-Prog have-3PlSbj],
[ábùr *là*] *ábrè:-n*,
 [imposition too] impose-Ipfv.3PlSbj,

‘If this gathering (of people) will go to the scrub-acacia thicket and are performing their worship (sacrifices), they wring acceptance (from the fetishes).’

[*jùṅă:* ‘gathering (of people)’]

04:10 [*nó:* [*kí:-g* *ò-ṅ*] *hò:l* *kànà-l-ó:* *nà:*,
 [person [head 2Sg-Poss] trust(n) do-PfvNeg-2SgSbj] if,
[ólò *nd-ó:* *nà:*]
 [chicken give.Pfv-2SgSbj] if]

[yàl-gú η] b̀̀l̀̀è j-ó: = b̀̀iyè èl nâ:,
 [place Def] go have-2SgSbj=Past become if
 [ó=y nò dímbà fú:] íyè óη-m̀̀ǹ̀è,
 [2Sg=Acc person follow.Stat.Ppl all] today up.to
 [ná=y g̀̀e:-nnú-Ø],
 [3Sg=Acc exit-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj].

‘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.’

[b̀̀l̀̀è j-ó: = b̀̀iyè past recent perfect, 2Sg subject; èl nâ: < él̀̀è ‘become’]

04:17 [[gúηηò ò-η là] gúηη-yà]
 [[theft 2Sg-Poss too] rob.Pfv-3PISbj]
 yé m̀̀ǹ̀é j̀̀èb-ó: nâ:,
 there.Disc.Def come curse.Pfv-2SgSbj if,
 bà̀̀nà: = y g̀̀e:-nnú-Ø,
 fellow=Acc exit-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,

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

04:20 [kàndá kán-dà: b̀̀è jó η] [kó ná=y],
 [now do-Prog 3PISbj have Def] [DiscDef 3Sg=it.is],
 [p̀̀ay-wé í=y p̀̀òl̀̀ó: η g̀̀ày],
 [old.person-Pl 1Pl=Acc say.Pfv.Ppl Def Topic]
 [d̀̀à:g^L mì^{HL} b̀̀éìl̀̀ò: η] [kó ná=y]
 [a.little^L 1SgSbj^{HL} get.Pfv.Ppl Def] [DiscDef 3Sg=it.is]

‘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.’