Tiranige texts

recorded in Ningo end January 2017

A: Amadou Toloba

B: Boubacar Toloba

00:00

A: tònì túmbúlâ: ní è yógó-b-ô:

talk(n) begin 1Pl Exist come-Ipfv-3PlSbj

[[yê: gɔ́bà] LHtòní ní tùmbùlɔ̀-bá

[[woman asking(n)] LHtalk(n)] 1Pl begin-IpfvRelNonSbj

‘The talk will begin. We will begin talking about asking for a woman (=arranging a marriage).’

00:04

A: bê: nàlì-yé mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

child give.birth-MP if,

*premier*, yógé-w mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

first, come.Pfv-2SgSbj if,

kúmíyɛ̀ ò ìmá,

calabash 2Sg be.able.Rel,

kɔ̀:ní-gè ò ìmá,

cotton 2Sg be.able.Rel,

wɛ̀: á: ò-gí ìmì-yà-mí pɔ́s,

thing God 2Sg-Acc be.able-MP-Caus all,

‘When a child (=girl) is born, firstly, if you-Sg come, you can afford (to give) a calabash, you can afford (to give) cotton (with seeds), anything at all that God has made you able (to give).’

00:15

A: [ò-lá gò-mì↗] [ò-lá ndɛ̀:↘]

[2SgSbj-Fut exit(v)-Caus.Pfv] [2SgSbj-Fut give.Pfv]

á: kwɛ̀: mɛ̀-nɛ̀

God raise if,

[mì kây] [ò bé: rì] gɔ́bɛ́-ỳ,

[1Sg Top] [2SgPoss child Def] ask.for.Pfv-1SgSbj,

‘You will take it out and give it (to the girl’s parents). If God has raised her, I ask for your girl (as bride for my son).’

00:20

A: ɛ́rɛ́ tàgèyòbó-ẁ,

thus continue-Fut-2SgSbj,

*bon* ɛ́rɛ́ tàgèyé-w mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

well thus continue-2Sg if,

bò: ò bí:-nì,

be 2Sg be-Dur,

‘You-Sg will continue like that. You keep being like that,’

*[negative is* bíyɔ́-rà*]*

00:26

A: dɛ́nì kè:lé ó gìrɛ́ pɔ́s

day wealth 2Sg obtain all,

[ò-lá sìnì] [ò-lá kè:lé nà-gí kà:-ndè],

[2SgSbj-Fut bring.Pfv] [2SgSbj-Fut wealth 3Sg-Acc do-Ben.Pfv],

‘Any day (=whenever) you have acquired some wealth, you will bring (it) and make wealth for her.’

00:30

A: [tùbɛ̀ ŋá] ò bí:-nì,

[keep.visiting and.Nonpast.SS] 2SgSbj be-Dur,

[tùbɛ̀ ŋá] ò bí:-nì,

[keep.visiting and.Nonpast.SS] 2Sg be-Dur,

hàlí jɛ̀: ŋá bá:ndó-bà nǎ: dɛ̀bɛ̀,

until take and.Nonpast.SS grow.up-VblN 3SgSbj begin.Pfv,

‘You continue to visit (them), you continue to visit (them), until she has begun to grow up.’

00:35

A: á: nà-gí kwɛ̀: díyɛ́ mɛ́nɛ̀,

God 3Sg-Acc raise leave if,

[ájá kày], náfárì túmbúlíyɛ́-w kànì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[now Topic], gift begin-2SgSbj be.done-3SgSbj if,

ò-lá ùnì↗, ò-lá [[nà bà:-gé rì] gì] tù:rɛ̀↘,

2SgSbj-Fut go.Pfv, 2SgSbj-Fut [[3SgPoss father-Pl Def] Acc] speak,

‘If God has left (=finished) raising her, now, when you begin (to offer) gifts, you will go and speak to her fathers (i.e. her father and brothers).’

00:46

A: [bà:-gé-rì gì] tú:rɛ́ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[father-Pl-Def Acc] speak if,

[è-lá dàmì-yè] [è-là páàⁿ kànì-yè],

[2PlSbj-Fut discuss-Recip.Pfv] [2PlSbj-Fut understanding do-Recip.Pfv],

‘When (you) speak to the fathers, you-Pl will have a discussion, you-Pl will come to an agreement.’

00:50

A: dàmìyè páàⁿ é kànìyè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

discuss understanding(n) 2Pl do if,

ò-gí òjì ǹdì:-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

2Sg-Acc road give-3PlSbj if,

ò-là wó:lè-gé dɔ̀nɛ̀,

2SgSbj-Fut kola.nut-Pl buy.Pfv,

‘When you have had a discussion and come to an agreement, when they have authorized you (to proceed), you will buy kola nuts.’

00:55

A: wó:lè-gé dɔ̀nɛ̀ ndɛ́-ẁ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

kola.nut-Pl buy give.Pfv-2SgSbj if,

wó:lè-gé ábè tɛ́mí-yɛ́ mɛ̀-nɛ̀

kola.nut-Pl take chew.on.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘When you have bought and given out the kola nuts, when they have taken and chewed the kola nuts,’

*[*ndɛ́-ẁ *slightly emended*

00:59

A: ɛ́rí=yó [bà:-gè wò:lè-gé],

Dem.Def=Foc] [father-Pl kola.nut.Pl],

mà→ ɛ́ró=lá,

or Dem.Def=it.is.not,

‘That [focus] is the fathers’ kola. Is it not (like) that?’

01:03

A: háyà, bà:-gè wò:lè-gé ndɛ́-ẁ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

well, father-Pl kola.nut-Pl give..Pfv-2SgSbj if,

[ájá kày] [yɛ́: rì],

[now Topic] [woman Def],

ò-gí ndí:-yɛ́=ẁ bìlè,

2Sg-Acc give-Pass=it.is become.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘Well, when you have given the kola to the fathers, now the woman, she has been given (=betrothed) to you.’

01:09

A: gòb-á: yògó-bó-gè bì:-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

claim(v)-xx come-Ipfv-Pl be-3PlSbj if,

báŋgílíyò=b-à:, yògò-bò-gè ɔ́rì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-n lá→ꜛ

go.back-MP=Past-3PlSbj come-Pl not.be-3Pl if too

B: kóndí-yè

bend-3PlSbj

A: kóndí-yè

bend-3PlSbj

‘If newcomers (=rivals) had claimed (the girl), they would (have to) go back. On the other hand if there are no (=rivals) who come, …

B: ‘They have gone back.’

A: ‘They have gone back.’

*[3Sg version of* bì:-yɛ̀ *would be* bò:-∅ *]*

01:16

A: [ɛ́ kày] [ò wɛ́:=ẁ] bì-yɔ̀-bó-∅,

[Dem.Def Topic] [2SgPoss Psm=be] be-MP-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘So that one (=girl) will be yours.’

01:18

B: [ò wɛ́:=ẁ] bìyɔ̀-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[2SgPoss Psm=be] become.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

àmàlí-ŋgè ò-lá kùbɛ̀,

in.law-Nom 2SgSbj-Fut cultivate.Pfv,

dé:ndà ò-lá kùbɛ̀,

daytime 2SgSbj-Fut cultivate.Pfv,

dàbìyɛ̀-kúbá ò-lá kùbɛ̀

secret-cultivation 2SgSbj-Fut cultivate.Pfv,

‘When she has become yours, you will do collective farm work for the parents-in-law. You will do farm work in the daytime (=publicly), and you will do secret farm work (=inconspicuously).’

01:26

B: dàbìyɛ̀-kúbá kúbɛ́-w mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

be.secret-cultivation cultivate.Pfv-2SgSbj if,

dàbìyɛ̀-kúbá kúbɛ́-w mɛ̀ tán,

be.secret-cultivation cultivate.Pfv-2SgSbj if only,

[ájá kày] [kéléŋgè LHdàbàré] ò jòlò-bá,

[now Topic] [marriage LHplan] 2SgSbj ask.for-IpfvRelNonSbj,

‘When you have done farm work secretly, as soon as you have done farm work secretly, the marriage ceremony that you ask for.’

01:32

B: dènì-gè ò gìrɛ́ wô:,

day-Pl 2Sg get xx,

éŋánì ó kɛ̀ndɛ̂: wô:,

month 2Sg decide xx,

wòy-gè ó kɛ̀ndɛ̂: wô:,

year-Pl 2Sg decide xx,

‘The days (dates) that you get, the month that you decide, the years that you decide.’

01:37

B: wòy-gé gwè:-∅ mɛ̀

year-Pl exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[ájá kày] kéléŋgé kéléndé-ẁ,

[now Topic] marriage perform.marriage.Pfv-2SgSbj,

‘When the (specified) years have elapsed, now you have performed the marriage ceremony.’

01:40

B: kéléŋgé tàŋgɛ̀ mɛ̀,

marriage pass.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

kéléŋgé [ájá kày] kéléndé-ẁ↗,

marriage [now Topic] perform.marriage.Pfv-2SgSbj,

jɛ́ɛ́sâŋ [ǹdà-gé-rì póy] màŋgàlí:yè,

so.then [person-Pl-Def all] assemble.Pfv-3PlSbj,

‘When the marriage has passed, now you-Sg have performed the marriage ceremony. Then all the people have assembled.’

01:47

B: [ò LHkèyyá pɔ́s] [ájá kày]

[2SgSbj LHwant.Rel all] [now Topic]

[ò yá] [ò LHtɔ̀-gé yà] é dàmì-yè,

[2Sg and] [2Sg LHkinsman-Pl and] 2PlSbj discuss.Pfv,

‘Whatever you want now, you-Sg and your kin, you-Pl have discussed (it).’

[sounds like dàm nɛ́ ]

01:51

B: [[kéléŋgé rí] gì] é òbì:-yè,

[[marriage Def] Loc] 2PlSbj sit-MP.Pfv,

[[káná rí] gì],

[[doing(n) Def Loc],

‘You have sat during the marriage ceremony. Doing (the work),”

01:54

B: [yògò-bá rì],

[come-IpfvRelNonSbj Def],

[ájá kày] dàbìyè-kúwà— [dàbìyè-kúwà rì] ,

[now Topic] secret-cultivation— [secret-cultivation Def]

kùwɛ̀ mɛ̀ tán,

cultivate if only,

‘Coming (from that), now, as soon as you have done the secret farming,

01:58

B: [[ní: rí] gì]

[[mother Def] Loc]

ò-là [ní:ndí rì] nì:ndɛ̀,

2SgSbj-Fut [accompany.Nom Def] accompany.Pfv,

[kéléŋgé LHkèlèndè-sá mɛ̀ tán]

[marriage LHperform.marriage-Reslt if only]

ò-là [ní:ndí rì] nì:ndɛ̀,

2SgSbj-Fut [accompany.Nom Def] accompany,

‘The mother (of the bride), you-Sg will accompany her (back). When the marriage ceremony has been performed, you will accompany (her kin, back to where they came from).’

02:03

B: [ní:ndí rì] tàŋgè-∅ mɛ́,

[accompaniment Def] pass.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

déní-gé nà ùm-bà-gé, [dènì-gè síyélé]=ẁ,

day-Pl 3SgSbj go-IpfvRelNonSbj-Pl [day-Pl eight]=it.is,

‘When the accompaniment has passed, the days when she (=bride) goes, it is eight days.’

*[The bride spends a week in her new husband’s home, then returns to her mother.*

02:08

B: [nì ǹdà-gé rí kà] [dènì-gè síyélé]=ẁ,

[1PlPoss person-Pl Def Topic] [day-Pl eight]=it.is,

[[sójó-gé rì] ŋâ:] —,

[[Dogon-Pl Def] chez —,

[[nìwⁿ jáŋ-gè rì] ŋâ:] [dènì-gè síyélé]=ẁ,

[[1Pl leatherworker-Pl Def] chez] [day-Pl eight]=it.is

‘As for our people (leatherworkers), (it’s) eight days. For the Dogon—. For us leatherworkers, it’s eight days.’

02:14

B: [[sójó-gé rì] ŋâ:] mɛ̀, [dènì-gè kúlèyⁿ]=yò,

[[Dogon-Pl Def] chez] if, [day-Pl six]=it.is,

[[kɔ́mɛ́-gé rì] ŋâ:] mɛ̀, [dènì-gè tá:ndì]=yò,

[[slave-Pl Def] chez] if, [day-Pl three]=it.is,

‘If it’s (=concerning) the Dogon, it’s six days. If it’s (=concerning) the slaves, it’s three days.’

02:18

B: érì gwè:-∅ mɛ̀,

Dem.Def exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

yá: m̀bé: gwè:-∅ mɛ̀,

there.Def here exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

gɛ́lɛ́ nà gwé:

place 3SgSbj exit(v).PfvRel

yá: [[nà Lbà:] LHgìbâ:],

there [[3SgPoss Lfather] LHhouse.Loc]

‘If she has left that (place), if she has come (here) from there, the place that she left (to come) here, there at her father’s house.’

*[emend by omitting m̀bé: ]*

02:24

B: dènì-gè tá:ndì —,

day-Pl three —,

[dèn *premier* LHnàŋgá] [dèn tò:mà] nǎ: nàyè,

[day first LHon.day] [day one] 3SgSbj.Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘Three days—. The first night (of the eight-day marriage ceremony), she will spend one night (at her own home).’

*[3Sg* nǎ: *parallel to 2Sg* ò-lá *etc.; the bride “flees” back to her mother’s house]*

02:27

B: [dèn ní:ŋgá-nù Hdén LHnàŋgá ]

[day two-Ord Hday LHon.day]

[dènì-gè tá:ndì] nǎ: nàyè,

[day-Pl three] 3SgSbj.Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘The second day (=time), on that day, she will spend three nights (at home).’

02:30

B: [dèn tá:ndí-nù Hdén LHnàŋgá]

[day two-Ord Hday LHon.day]

[dènì-gè kɛ̀:jɔ̀] nǎ: nàyè,

[day-Pl four] 3SgSbj.Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘The second day (=time), on that day, she will spend three nights (at home).’

02:32

B: [dènì-gè kɛ́:jɔ́-nú] Hdén LHnàŋgá],

[day-Pl four-Ord] Hday LHon.day]

[dènì-gè kùlèy] nǎ: nàyè,

[day-Pl six] 3SgSbj.Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘The fourth day (=time), she will spend six nights (at home).’

02:34

B: [dènì-gè kúléy-nú] Hdén LHnàŋgá] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀

[day-Pl six-Ord] Hday LHon.day] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[dènì-gè sɔ̂:y] nǎ: nàyè,

[day-Pl seven] 3SgSbj.Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘The sixth day, when she goes out (to her mother’s house), she will spend seven nights (at home).’

02:37

B: ɛ́rɔ̀ ɛ́rɔ̀ ɛ́rɔ̀ hàlí jɛ̀:-sà-wⁿ

thus thus thus until take-Reslt-Ant.SS

[kéléŋgé rì] nǎ: tàŋgè,

[marriage Def] 3SgSbj.Fut pass.Pfv,

‘(It goes on) like that, like that, like that, until the marriage ceremony will pass.’

02:40

B: kéléŋgé tàŋgè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

marriage pass.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[ájá kày] [dù:-gè [nà wɛ̀:-ŋgé] rì],

[now Topic] [running(n) [3SgPoss Psm-Pl] Def],

dù:-gé, àmàlì nàlì nǎ: —,

running(n)-Pl, in.law companion 3SgSbj —

nàlì nǎ: sìnì,

companion 3SgSbj.Fut convey.Pfv,

‘When the marriage ceremony has passed, now her movements (between her home and her husband’s house), the in-laws (bride’s kin) will take a companion (young female friend).’

*[a young girl at least 10 years old is brought to accompany the bride at the husband’s home during the first week]*

02:47

B: nàlì sìnì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

companion convey.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[nàlì ní:ŋgá-nù] nǎ: sìnì,

[companion two-Ord] 3SgSbj.Fut convey.Pfv,

‘When she has taken the companion (there), she will take a second companion (there).’

02:49

B: [nàlì ní:ŋgá-nù] sìnì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[companion two-Ord] convey.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[nàlì tá:ndú-nù] nǎ: sìnì,

[companion three-Ord] 3SgSbj.Fut convey.Pfv,

‘When she has taken the second companion (there), she will take a third companion.’

02:50

B: [nàlì tá:ndú-nù] sìnì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[companion three-Ord] convey.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[hàlí kày], [hàlí kày]

[until Topic], [until Topic]

[ànjì-nɛ́ rì] [ájá kày]

[remain-Nom Def] [now Topic]

[bà: LHgìbâ:] yògè-∅,

[father LHhouse.Loc] come.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘When she has taken the third companion (there), until—, the rest (of the time) she comes to her father’s house.’

02:55

B: [bà: LHgìbâ:] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀,

[father LHhouse.Loc] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[dè: nǎ: sìnì] [nɔ̀bɛ́ nǎ: sìnì],

[elder.sib 3SgSbj.Fut convey.Pfv] [younger.sib 3SgSbj.Fut convey.Pfv]

‘When she leaves her father’s house, she will bring her elder sister and her younger sister.’

03:00

B: nɔ̀bɛ́ gwè:-∅ mɛ̀, [bǎ: rì]

younger.sib exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if, [father Def]

[ájá kày]— [ájá kày]

[now Topic]— [now Topic]

[érì LHpà:mú rì kày] ìŋgè-∅,

[Dem.Def LHportion Def Topic] end(v).Pfv-3SgSbj

‘When the younger sister has gone out, the father now— Now that part (of the story) is finished.’

03:05

B: [ájá kày] wɛ̀: kànì-∅ mɛ̀,

[now Topic] thing be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[ǹdèrì-gé érí-gè],

[baptism-Pl Dem.Def-Pl],

‘Now, if anything (else) happens, those baptisms (name-giving ceremonies),’

*[*ndèrí *< Fulfulde, cf. Tiranige* bé: LHìní *‘child’s name’]*

03:08

B: [ò LHkè:-yá] ò kàm-bá,

[2SgSbj LHdesire] 2SgSbj do-IpfvRelNonSbj,

[ná: gìrɛ́-w mɛ̀] sɛ́m-má-ẁ,

[bovine get.Pfv-2SgSbj if] slaughter-be.able-2SgSbj,

‘You-Sg do what you want. If you’ve got a cow (or bull), you can slaughter (it).’

03:11

B: [á:ná gìrɛ́-w mɛ̀] sɛ́m-má-ẁ,

[sheep get.Pfv-2SgSbj if] slaughter-be.able-2SgSbj,

[á:ná gírá-nú-ẁ mɛ̀,

[sheep get-IpfvNeg-2SgSbj if,

[ùnà gìrɛ́-w mɛ̀] sɛ́m-má-ẁ,

[goat get.Pfv-2SgSbj if] slaughter-be.able-2SgSbj,

‘If you’ve got a sheep, you can slaughter (it). If you haven’t got a sheep, if you have a goat, you can slaughter (it).’

03:15

B: [ndà: póy] bánì nà LHìmá LHtɔ̀rɔ́,

[person each] manner 3Sg LHbe.able.Rel LHextent,

ɛ́rɔ̀ ɛ́rɔ̀ ɛ́rɔ̀

thus thus thus

‘Each person, according to what he-or-she can afford. (It goes on) like that.’

03:20

A: *bo*n, [ájá kày] érí á: ò-gí nèwní kànì-∅,

well, [now Topic] Dem.Def God 2Sg-Acc provide(n) do.Pfv-3SgSbj,

á: ò-gì bé: ndɛ̀:-∅,

God 2Sg-Acc child give.Pfv-3SgSbj,

‘Well, now, God has provided you with that. God has given you a child.’

03:25

A: [pìndì jwè:-∅] mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[belly become.full.Pfv-3SgSbj] if,

bò: nà bí:-nì, bò: nà bí:-nì,

be 3SgSbj be-Dur, be 3SgSbj be-Dur,

‘If she has become pregnant, she stays (like that) for a time.’

03:29

A: [hàlí jɛ̀: ŋá]

[until take and.Nonpast.SS],

[[pìndí rì] kùnɛ̀-∅] yà:rì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[[belly Def] become.half.ripe.Pfv-3SgSbj] feel-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘Eventually, when they (=people) observe that the belly has become half-ripe.’

03:31

A: àmbìlè-gé n ní, [là:dá [nà wɛ́:]]

certain.one-Pl Def xx, [custom [3SgPoss Psm]]

yá: [[nà bà:] LHgìbâ:] nǎ: ùnì,

there.Def [[3SgPoss father] LHhouse.Loc] 3SgSbj.Fut go.Pfv,

‘(Among) some (people), her (=bride’s) custom, she will go there to her father’s house.’

*[*n ní *<* /rì ní/*]*

03:36

A: [àmbìlè-gé-r-gè] yá: nàlò-bó-∅,

[certain-Pl-Def-Pl] there give.birth-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘(Among) some (people), it’s there (at her father’s house) that she gives birth.’

03:38

A: [àmbìlè-gé-r-gè] lá↗,

[certain-Pl-Def-Pl] also,

m̀bé: [bànà LHgìbâ:], m̀bé: nàlò-bó-∅,

here [man LHhouse.Loc] here give.birth-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘On the other hand, (among) some other (people), here in the husband’s house, it’s here that she will give birth.’

03:41

A: *bon* nàlè-∅ bìlè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

give.birth-Pfv-3SgSbj Past if,

àlhámdùlìllá:hì [ò LHìmá] bò:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

praise.to.God [2SgPoss LHability] be-3SgSbj if,

sì:já [ò LHìmá] [[ò ìmá] LHkènì pɔ́s],

chicken [2SgPoss LHability] [[2SgPoss LHability] LHlimit(n) all],

ò-lá nà-gí kà:-ndè,

2SgSbj-Fut 3Sg-Acc do-Ben.Pfv,

‘When she has already given birth, praise God!, if you have the means (=if you can afford it), a chicken, what you can, whatever you can, you will do (=slaughter) for her.’

03:47

A: ká:-ndé-w mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

do-Ben.Pfv-2SgSbj if,

ò-lá [[[bà: LHgìbá] LHpǎy] gì]

2SgSbj-Fut [[[father LHhouse] LHold.person] Acc]

ò-lá ùn-ì tù:rɛ̀,

2SgSbj-Fut go-and speak.Pfv

‘When you have done that (for her), you will go and speak to (=inform) the oldest man in your father’s house(hold).’

03:51

A: pây rì, [ná lá]

old.person Def, [3Sg too]

[[nà ndà-gé] gì] nǎ: tù:rɛ̀,

[[3SgPoss person-Pl] Acc] 3SgSbj.Fut speak.Pfv,

nǐ: rì, ò-lá —

mother Def, 2SgSbj-Fut —

‘The oldest man, he will likewise speak to (=inform) his people (=kin). The mother, you-Sg will—’

03:55

A: é [[è nì:] gí] è-lá tù:rɛ̀,

2Pl [[2PlPoss mother] Acc] 2PlSbj-Fut speak.Pfv,

[è nì:]=yó kànì-yé rì,

[2PlPoss mother]=it.is do-MP.PfvRel Def.

[[yé:-gé LHpàmú r] gì] nǎ: tù:rɛ̀,

[[woman-Pl LHpart Def] Loc] 3SgSbj.Fut speak.Pfv,

‘You-Pl, you will speak to (=inform) your-Pl mother. (As for) what concerns you-Pl mother, she will speak to (=inform) the women’s contingent.’

04:00

A: [è póy] tú:rí-yɛ́ tú:rí-yɛ́

[2Pl all] speak-Recip.Pfv speak-Recip.Pfv

é kànì mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

2PlSbj do.Pfv if,

‘When you have all spoken to (=informed) each other,

04:02

A: [ájá kày] [nà nàlè-sá rì kày]

[now Topic] [3SgSbj give.birth-ResltRelNonSbj Def Topic]

nú:ndí:-yé kànì,

hear.Pfv-3PlSbj do.Pfv,

‘Now it has happened that they have heard that she has given birth.’

04:04

A: sì:já-gè nà-gí kè-lá sɛ̀mì-rɛ̀,

chicken-Pl 3Sg-Acc 3PlSbj slaughter-Tr.Pfv,

dènì-gè sɔ́:ỳ, kè-lá nà-gí òbì-rè,

day-Pl seven, 3PlSbj-Fut 3Sg-Acc sit-Tr.Pfv,

‘They slaughter chickens for her. They will have her sit (=rest) for seven days.’

04:09

A: nà-lá àlàndì-yè, àlàndì-yè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

3SgSbj-Fut rest(v)-MP.Pfv, rest(v)-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[[dènì-gè sɔ́:ỳ] déní nà kìb-bá rì]] Hdén LHnàŋgá]

[[day-Pl seven] day 3SgSbj complete-Ipfv.Rel Def]] Hday LHon.day]

LHyà:gú rì],

LHnight Def]

‘She will rest. When she has rested, the night of the day that completes the seven days (=on the night of the seventh day),

04:15

A: [ìjó rì] [kè-lá tɔ̀ndɛ̀] [kè-lá tù:rɛ̀],

[village Def] [3PlSbj-Fut go.around.Pfv] [3PlSbj-Fut speak.Pfv],

[[mà:ní LHbé] LHìní] ágà égá:gú=yò,

[[So.and.so LHchild] LHname] tomorrow morning=it.is,

‘They will go around the village speaking (to people): the baptism (naming ceremony) of So-and-so’s child is tomorrow in the morning.’

04:20

A: tú:rí-yɛ́ mɛ̀, [ndà-gé rì pɔ́s] yògè ŋá,

speak.Pfv-3PlSbj if, [person-Pl Def all] come and.Nonpast.SS,

égá:gú kè-lá màŋgàlì:-yè,

morning 3PlSbj-Fut assemble.Pfv-3PlSbj,

‘When they had spoken (that), everybody comes and assembles in the morning.’

04:23

A: yógé màŋgàlì-y-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀

come assemble.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

ùnà ò ìmá,

goat 2SgSbj be.able.Rel,

á:ná ò ìmá,

sheep 2SgSbj be.able.Rel,

ná: ò ìmá,

bovine 2SgSbj be.able.Rel,

‘When they have come and assembled, (if) you’ve got a goat, (if) you’ve got a sheep, (if) you’ve got a cow (or bull),’

04:30

A: yógé máŋgálí:-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

come assemble.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

yògò-bò-gé rì là, yò:-gè sà:↗,

come-IpfvRel-Pl Def too, millet-Pl have.RelSbj,

[[nà LHyò:-gé] yà] yògò-bó-∅,

[[3SgPoss LHmillet-Pl] with] come-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘When they have come and assembled, those who come too, (any-)one who has millet, he comes with his millet.’

04:37

A: sá:nù-gè sà:↗, [[nà LHsà:nú] yà] yògò-bó-∅,

soap-Pl have.RelSbj, [[3SgPoss LHsoap] with] come-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

sì:já-bè sà:↗, [[nà LHsì:jà-bè yá] yògò-bó-∅,

chicken-child have.RelSbj, [[3SgPoss LHchicken-child] with] come-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘(Any-)one who has soap (balls), she comes with her soap. (Any-)one who has a small chicken, he comes with his small chicken.’

04:42

A: hɛ̂y [ndà: póy]

hey! [person every]

wɛ́: kè:lé [nà ŋâ:] yà:fí kànì-sá pɔ́s,

thing goods] [3Sg chez] simple do-ResltRelNonSbj all,

[yògè ŋá] ò-gí [[nà HLìmá] HLkènú]

[come and.Nonpast.SS] 2Sg-Acc [[3SgSbj HLbe.able] HLlimit]

nǎ: kà:-ndè,

3SgSbj do-Ben.Pfv,

‘Hey, everybody, whatever thing or goods that are simple (=readily available) at his place, he-or-she comes and does for you as much as he-or-she can afford.’

*[‘thing’ and ‘goods’ are in apposition, not in a possessive relationship]*

04:47

A: è-lá òbì-yè, indèrí rì, [ìní rí] è-lá ìnì,

2PlSbj-Fut sit-MP.Pfv, baptism Def, [name Def] 2PlSbj-Fut name(v),

[[[è LHmbɔ̌:] gì] è LHìnì-bó]

[[[2PlPoss LHgrandfather] Acc] 2PlSbj LHname(v)-IpfvRelNonSbj]

nà bìlé-wô:,

3SgSbj become-Ipfv,

‘You-Pl will sit down, (at) the baptism, you-Pl will bestow the name (of the baby). It (=the name) may be what you name (=call) your paternal grandfather.’

04: 52

A: [[[è sèjì] gí] è ìnì-bó]

[[[2PlPoss grandmother] Acc] 2PlSbj name(v)-IpfvRelNonSbj]

nà bìlé-wô:,

3SgSbj become-Ipfv,

‘It (=the name) may be what you name (=call) your maternal grandmother.’

04:53

A: [[[è nàlí] gì] è ìnì-bó]

[[[2PlPoss friend] Acc] 2PlSbj name(v)-IpfvRelNonSbj]

nà bìlé-wô:,

3SgSbj become-Ipfv,

‘It (=the name) may be what you name (=call) your friend.’

04:55

A: [ó kògòsè:ŋgé] íní ò LHkèyyá pɔ́s,

[2Sg personally] name 2SgSbj LHwant.Rel all,

[bà: LHgìbâ:] dàmìyè-sà-wⁿ

[father LHhouse] discuss-Reslt-while.SS

gɛ́lɛ́ pá:ⁿ è kànì-yé pɔ́s,

place understanding(n) 2PlSbj do-MP.PfvRelNonSbj all,

[ìní rí] è-lá ìnì,

[name Def] 2PlSbj-Fut name(v).Pfv,

‘Any name that you-Sg personally want. Wherever (=however) you-Pl have discussed at the father’s house (i.e. with your kin) and done (=decided). You-Pl will bestow the name.’

05:01

A: [ìní rí] è ìnì mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[name Def] 2PlSbj name(v).Pfv if,

[bɛ̀lí rí] è-lá sɛ̀mɛ̀,

[animal Def] 2PlSbj-Fut slaughter.Pfv,

‘When you-Pl have bestowed the name, you-Pl willslaughter the animal.’

05:04

A: [bɛ̀lí rí] sɛ̀mì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[animal Def] slaughter.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

dùwá:w è-lá kànì,

dedication 2PlSbj-Fut do.Pfv,

‘When they have slaughtered the animal, you-Pl will make the (Muslim) dedication to God.’

*[formal pronunciation is* dùʔá:ʔù *]*

05:06

A: [dùwá rí] é kànì mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[dedication Def] 2PlSbj do.Pfv if,

[bɛ̀lí rí] sɛ́mí-yɛ́ rì,

[animal Def] slaughter-MP.PfvRel Def,

‘When you-Pl have done the dedication, the animal that has been slaughtered.’

*[emended at speaker’s request from plural* sɛ́mí-yɛ́-gé *on tape]*

05:09

A: nèjì-yò-gè bíyó-b-à:, tà:rí-gè bíyó-b-à:,

nibling-Pl be-Ipfv-3PlSbj, respect.relation-Pl be-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

hɛ̂y, sàgò-gè bíyó-b-à:

hey, griot-Pl be-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘Nephews & nieces (children of your sister) will be there. People in (interethnic) respect relationships (to you) will be there. Hey, griots will be there.’

*[sister’s children and the others mentioned have priority claims to the meat]*

05:14

A: ǹdá: ò-gí ìmà pɔ́s, yògè mɛ̀-nɛ̀

person 2Sg-Acc be.able.Rel all, come.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[[námá rì] kày] jɔ́:rɛ́ pɔ́s ɔ́rà-∅,

[[meat Def] Topic] stinginess all not.be-3SgSbj,

‘Any person who has (social) power over you, if he-or-she has come, there is no stinginess regarding meat.’

05:18

A: [[ǹdá: ò LHkèyyá pɔ́s] gì] ǹdɔ́-bò-ẁ,

[[person 2SgSbj LHwant.Rel all] Acc] give-Ipfv-2SgSbj,

[ó LHtà:kàlɛ̀mmɛ́] ò-gí ìmà lá] ɛ́là-bò-∅,

[2SgPoss LHneighbor] 2Sg-Acc be.able.Rel too] dispossess-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘You give (meat) to anyone you-Sg want. Your neighbor who has power over you will also take (meat) away from (you).’

05:24

A: ɛ̀lɛ̀-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [námá rì] pánígé kè-lá kànì,

dispossess.Pfv if, [meat Def] lunch 3PlSbj-Fut do.Pfv,

[pánígé rì] gò-mì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[lunch Def] exit(v)-Caus.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

pánígé kè-lá kànì,

lunch 3PlSbj-Fut do.Pfv,

‘When he has taken (it) away from (you), they will make lunch out of the meat. When they have taken out (some meat) for lunch, they will make lunch.’

05:30

A: [pánígé rì] ìlɛ̀-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[lunch Def] be.cooked.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

éwⁿ [[bà: gìbá r] gì] bò:-gè,

2Pl [[father house Def] Loc] be.Rel-Pl,

[ɲìmbɔ̀-gè ɲìmbɔ̀-gè grúppú grúppú

[agemate-Pl agemate-Pl do-Recip.Rel-Pl Def,

kànì-yè-gé r] gì] pɔ́s,

do-Recip.Rel-Pl Def] Loc] all,

‘When the lunch is cooked done, you-Pl who are in the father’s house, all the groups (of men) who are agemates of each other (and of the baby’s father),’

05:35

A: [[ìjó rì pɔ́y] gì], [ǹdà: póy ŋà]

[[village Def all] Loc], [person all xx]

[kè LHgùmá] kè-lá sìnì, kè-lá ndɛ̀:,

[3PlPoss LHbowl] 3PlSbj-Fut convey.Pfv, 3PlSbj-Fut give.Pfv,

‘All through the village, everyone will take their wooden eating bowls around and give away (the food).’

05:41

A: númá-ndí-yó-là [ò kây],

fast-Inch-Inch-Proh [2Sg Topic],

[kè-lá sìnì↗] [kè-lá ndɛ̀:↘]

[3PlSbj convey.Pfv [3PlSbj-Fut give.Pfv]

í:ⁿhì gùnàwⁿ mɔ̀li bíyà,

yes! say xx stay.Imprt,

‘Don’t-2Sg be (too) fast! They take (them) around and they give (food) away.’

*[commands are addressed to the other speaker, who was trying to start a new line of discourse]*

05:45

A: kè-lá sìnì, kè-lá ndɛ̀:,

3PlSbj-Fut convey.Pfv, 3PlSbj give.Pfv,

[[ǹdà: póy] gì] ǹdì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[[person all] Acc] give.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

kè-lá ɲɛ̀:, kè-lá dùwá kà:-ndè,

3PlSbj-Fut eat.Pfv, 3PlSbj-Fut dedication do-Ben.Pfv,

‘They will take (them) around and they will give (food) away. When they have given (it) to everyone, they eat, and they do a dedication (to God) for (the child).’

05:51

A: [bé: rì] á: kwɛ̀:-∅ bìlè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[child Def] God raise.Pfv Past if,

[ò LHbě:] nà bá: ndà-gè yàrì-yè↗,

[2SgPoss LHchild] 3SgSbj be.RelNonSbj person-Pl recognize.Pfv-3PlSbj,

If God has already raised the child (to around seven years old or older), the people recognize what your-Sg child is.’

05:54

A: [ǹdà-gè póy] nà-gí dùwá ká:-ndó-b-à:↗,

[person-Pl all] 3Sg-Acc dedication do-Ben-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

[[nà bà:] LHgìbá] yárí-yé=ẃ bìlè,

[[3SgPoss father] LHhouse] recognize.Pfv-3PlSbj=it.is Past,

‘All the people will do the dedication for him. They have recognized his-or-her father’s house (=parentage).’

*[alludes to the tenuous social position of a child whose father is not known to the community]*

05:58

A: [nà ŋâ:] dàwlá=wó bìlè-∅,

[3Sg chez] prestige=it.is become.Pfv-3SgSbj,

àlhámdùlìllááhì [ò ŋá: lá] tèdà:gú=yó bìlè-∅,

praise.to.God [2Sg chez also] respect=it.is become.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘His position has become socially accepted. Praise God, your-Sg position also has become respectable.’

06:02

A: [tìŋgà bé:] LHìndèrí, yé: jɔ́:-bà jɛ̀:-sà-wⁿ,

[owner child] LHbaptism, woman take-VblN take-Reslt-Ant.SS,

hàlí jɛ̀: ŋá [bé: rì],

until take and.Nonpast.SS [child Def],

ɛ́rɔ̀ nì kànì LHwɛ̀lɛ̀-sá,

thus 1PlSbj do LHbe.accustomed-Reslt,

‘The baptism of the fellow’s child, from (the time of) taking the woman (=since the marriage), until (having) a child, that [focus] is what we are accustomed to do.

06:08

A: ɛ́rɔ̀ kànì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [bé: rì] bà:ndè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

thus do.Pfv-3PlSbj if, [child Def] grow.up.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

àlhámdùlìllááhì, bò: nà bí:-nì,

praise.to.God, be 3SgSbj be-Dur,

‘When they have done like that, when the child has grown up, praise God, he (child) continues like that.’

06:13

A: hàlí jɛ̀: ŋá,

until take and.Nonpast.SS,

[[bé-gé LHbènàŋgá] gì] nǎ: nwɛ̀:,

[[child-Pl LHmidst] Loc] 3SgSbj enter.Pfv,

‘Until he (=child) will go in among (other) children.’

06:16

A: [tá: jɔ́:-bà] àyè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[pants take-VblN] arrive.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

àlhámdùlìllááhì àràbíl-á:làmí:ná,

praise.to.God Lord,

[[bà: gìbá] gì] ò-lá tù:rɛ̀,

[[father house] Loc] 2SgSbj-Fut speak.Pfv,

‘When he reaches (the time for) wearing pants (i.e. circumcision), praise God the Lord, you (=child’s father) will speak in the father’s house (=among your paternal kin).’

06:19

A: [mì kây] [mì bé:] tá: já:-m-bà ké-ỳⁿ,

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg child] pants take-Caus-VblN want-1SgSbj,

él-lá→, [dílɔ́ tàŋgé] tɔ̀rɔ́ẁ,

Dem.Def-too [before pass.PfvRel] same.way,

‘ “Me, I want to have my child wear pants (=be circumcised).” That too, it’s the same way (=procedure) as it happened before.’

*[‘that too’ fused < /*érí là/ *; ‘my child’ can also be accusative in this context; ‘I want’ <* /kéy‑yⁿ/*)*

06:25

A: [[ìndèrí LHwɛ̌:] rì] bání tàŋgé tɔ̀rɔ̂w,

[[baptism LHthing] Def manner pass.PfvRel same.way,

[bà: LHgìbá] ò-lá tù:rɛ̀↗,

[father LHhouse] 2SgSbj-Fut speak.Pfv,

‘It’s the same way as the baptism happened. You will speak to (your) paternal kin.’

06:29

A: [ǹdá-gè [bɔ́: gì] ò bà:-gé]

[person-Pl [midst Loc] 2SgSbj be.Rel-Pl]

yá: ò-lá dàmì-yè,

there.Def 2SgSbj-Fut speak-Recip,

‘The people who you are among, you will speak there (with each other).’

06:31

A: dàmì-yè pâ:wⁿ é kànì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

speak-Recip understanding(n) 2PlSbj do-Recip.Pfv if,

bé-gé sà:-gè, tó:-gé yá b-à: mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

child-Pl have.Rel-Pl, other-Pl Exist.Dist be-3PlSbj if,

‘When you-Pl have spoken to each other and come to an agreement. Those who have children, if there are others (who have children) over there,’

06:36

A: [è póy] è-lá dàmì-yè pâ:wⁿ

[2Pl all] 2PlSbj-Fut speak-Recip.Pfv understanding(n)

è-lá kànì-yè, è-lá màŋgàlì-yè,

2PlSbj-Fut do-Recip.Pfv, 2PlSbj-Fut assemble-MP.Pfv,

‘You all will speak to each other and come to an agreement. You will get together.’

06:39

A: é máŋgá-wⁿ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, kɔ̀jì-gè è-lá tɔ̀gɛ̀,

2PlSbj assemble-while if, stem-Pl 2PlSbj-Fut gather.in.bush.Pfv,

‘When you-Pl have assembled (them), you will go gather stems (in the bush or fields),’

*[Stems of millet and sorghum and/or of tall grasses (Andropogon, Chrysopogon) for use in thatching]*

06:41

A: [kɔ̀jì-gé rì] tɔ̀gì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[stem-Pl Def] gather.in.bush.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[gùlú-gé yà] [kàká-gé yà] kè-lá kànì,

[round.hut-Pl and] [square.hut-Pl and] 3PlSbj-Fut make.Pfv,

‘When they have gathered stems (in the bush or fields), they will construct round and square thatch huts.’

06:44

A: [kɔ́ndí bà:-gé yà], [kɔ́ndí dè:-gé yà],

[circumcision father-Pl and], [circumcision elder.sib-Pl and],

pɔ́s è-lá kìlá:sè kànì

all 2PlSbj-Fut organize do.Pfv

[hál nǎ: tèndè],

[until 3SgSbj.Fut be.well.made.Pfv],

‘The circumcision fathers and the circumcision elder brothers, you-Pl will organize them well.’

*[one or more of the fathers stays with the circumsion novices; the already circumcised elder brothers of the novices are also involved in the procedures;* kìlá:sè *< French classer]*

06:50

A: ɛ́ŋ-gè yò: hàybì kám-bò,

Prox-Pl today guarding(n) do-Ipfv,

ɛ́ŋ-gè àgà hàybì kám-bò,

Prox-Pl tomorrow guarding(n) do-Ipfv,

‘These (fathers and elder brothers) will be on guard duty (watching over the novices) today. These (others) will be on guard duty tomorrow.’

*[ɛ́ŋ-gè <* /ɛ́ní-gè/*;* hàybí *]*

06:54

A: ɲà:ŋgè kàm-bò-gé l là↗,

food do-IpfvRel-Pl Def too,

kè-lá ɲà:ŋgè kám-bó-gé=ẁ↘,

3PlSbj-Fut food do-Ipfv-Pl=it.is,

‘Those (women) who make (=cook) the food, they will make the food.’

*[definite* rì *syncopated and assimilated to* l*]*

06:57

A: [[kɔ́ndí bà:] gúní-yɛ́ rì],

[[circumcision father] say-MP.Rel Def],

nà=ẃⁿ [kè-gí kɔ́ndí kám-bó rì]

3Sg=Foc [3Pl-Acc circumcision do-IpfvRel Def],

‘The one whom they call “circumcision-father,” he [focus] is the one who will circumcise them.’

06:59

A: érì kɔ́ndí kànì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

Dem.Def circumcision do.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

érí=yò yárá kè gùm-bá rì]

Dem.Def=Foc circumcisor 3PlSbj say-IpfvRel Def]

‘When that one has done the circumcision, that one [focus] is what they call “yárá” (circumcisor).’

07:02

A: yárá tàŋgè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [[ét LHtùnú] gì],

circumcisor pass.Pfv-3SgSbj if, [[Dem.Def LHbehind] Loc],

[[kɔ́ndí bà:] ígí-rí-yɛ̀] bíyɔ́-bò-∅,

[[circumcision father] stand-Tr.Pfv-3PlSbj] be-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘When the circumcisor passes, after that, they might appoint (another) circumcision-father.’

*[‘after that’ <* érí tùnú gì*;* bíyɔ́-bò-∅*’it may be’]*

07:08

A: [[ét LHtùnú] gì],

[[Dem.Def LHbehind] Loc],

[[kɔ́ndí dè:] ígí-rí-yɛ̀] bíyɔ́-bò-∅,

[[circumcision elder.sib] stand-Tr.Pfv-3PlSbj] be-Ipfv-3SgSbj

‘After that, they might appoint (another) circumcision-brother.’

07:11

A: hàyà [ǹdà: pɔ́s] [ájá kà]

well [person all] [now Topic]

[[wálé nà kàm-má] LHkènú],

[[work(n) 3SgSbj do-IpfvRel] LHlimit],

‘Well, each person does (=contributes) as much work as he-or-she can.’

07:13

A: ɛ́rɔ̀ kè-lá ìgì-rɛ̀ ìgì-rɛ̀ kè-lá kànì,

thus 3PlSbj-Fut stand-Tr stand-Tr 3PlSbj-Fut do.Pfv,

[[kɔ́ndí LHbè-gé] rì] [ɛ́rɔ̀ hàybí kànì ŋá]

[[circumcision LHchild-Pl] Def] [thus guarding(n) do and.Nonpast.SS]

sì-yò-b-â:,

have-MP-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

‘In that way they will keep appointing (them). They will keep guard over the circumcision novices in that way.’

07:18

A: [[kɔ́ndí LHbè-gé] gɛ́lɛ́ bǎ: rì] gì] là,

[[circumcision LHchild.l] place be.Rel Def] Loc] also,

nɛ̀mɛ̀ ábó-r-à:, sàbú nɛ̀mɛ̀ nwɛ̀:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

dirtiness accept-IpfvNeg-3PlSbj, because dirtiness enter.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[nà LHtɔ̀rrá] kùnú-m̀ bǒ:-∅,

[3SgSbj LHtrouble] much be-3SgSbj,

‘Furthermore, they don’t allow dirtiness in the place where the circumcision novices are, because if dirtiness got in (ther), its trouble (=the trouble it causes) would be great.’

07:24

A: ǹdá: hò:lì kání-yé-gè↗, [ké LHkògó] ìmà-gè,

person trust(n) do-MP.Rel-Pl, [3Pl LHhead] be.able.Rel-Pl,

dáŋí-yó-má-gè, ég-gè=yò kè-gí dàŋì-yè ŋà]

hold-MP-be.able.Rel-Pl, Dem.Def-Pl=Focus 3Pl-Acc hold-MP and.Nonpast.SS]

síyó-bò-∅,

have-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘People who are trustworthy, who have self-control, who can guard (the novices), it’s they [focus] who keep holding them (=in their custody).’

*[*hò:lí *‘trust (n)’]*

07:30

A: [dàŋì-yè ŋá] kè sí:-nì,

[hold-MP and.Nonpast].SS 3PlSbj have-Dur,

[hál jɛ̀: ŋá] [yɔ̀ntɛ̀rɛ́ nǎ: kìbè],

[until take and.Nonpast.SS] [week 3SgSbj be.complete.Pfv]

‘They keep holding (them), until a week has elapsed.’

07:33

A: yɔ̀ntɛ̀rɛ́ kìbè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

week be.complete.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

mí: dú-yó-b-à:,

water bathe-MP-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘When a week has elapsed, they will bathe.’

07:37

A: mí: dù-y-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

water bathe-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

bɛ̀lì-gè ìmà tìŋ-gé rì,

animal-Pl be.able owner-Pl Def,

‘When they have bathed, the fellows who have got animals,’

07:40

A: [ná: ò ìmá mɛ̀] sɛ́mí-rɔ́-má-ẁ,

[cow 2SgSbj be.able.Rel if] slaughter-Ben-be.able-2SgSbj,

[ùnà ò ìmá mɛ̀] sɛ́mí-rɔ́-má-ẁ,

[goat 2SgSbj be.able.Rel if] slaughter-Ben-be.able-2SgSbj,

ò-lá sɛ̀mì-rɛ̀

2SgSbj slaughter-Ben.Pfv

‘If you have got a cow, you can slaughter it for (them). If you have got a goat, you can slaughter it for (them). You will slaughter (something) for (them).’

07:45

A: érí=yò gíró-gíró mí:-dú-yó-bá rì,

Dem.Def=Foc ahead-ahead water-bathe-MP-VblN Def,

hàyà [ét LHtùnú] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

well ]Dem.Def LHbehind] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘That [focus] is the very first bathing (for the novices). Well, when that (=bathing) is over and done with,’

07:49

kòndè [túnú gì],

again [behind Loc],

[yɔ̀ntɛ̀rɛ̀ L tó:] kìbè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[weekL other] be.complete.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

él-lá [kè-lá ùnì↗] [kè-là mí: dù-y-yɛ̀,]

Dem.Def-also [3PlSbj-Fut go.Pfv] [3PlSbj-Fut water bathe.Pfv-MP-3PlSbj],

‘Again later on, when another week has elapsed,’

07:54

A: [ìmà pɔ́s] kè-lá sɛ̀mì-rɛ̀,

[ability all] 3PlSbj-Fut slaughter-Ben.Pfv,

[kè LHìmà pɔ́s] sɛ̀mì-rì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[3PlPoss LHability all] slaughter-Ben.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘They slaughter whatever (they) can. When they have slaughtered whatever they can,’

07:57

A: sì-yò-ẁⁿ kè — sìyò-ẁⁿ kè bí:-nì,

have-MP-while 3PlSbj — have-MP-while 3PlSbj be-Dur,

hál [jɛ̀: ŋá] nó:-gú — [nó:-gú LHdèní]

until [take and.Nonpast.SS] entrance — [enter-Repet.Nom LHday]

kè-lá dɔ̀gɛ̀,

3PlSbj-Fut set.Pfv

‘They keep (doing that), until they will set the re-entry date.’

08:02

A: [nó:-gú LHdèní] dɔ̀gì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[enter-Nom LHday] set.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[nó:-gó-bá rì] àyè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[enter-Repet-VblN Def] arrive.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘When they have set the re-entry date, (and) when the (day of) re-entering has arrived,’

08:05

A: él-lá→ [dílɔ́ LHtɔ̀rɔ́] kè-lá tìyɛ̀,

Dem.Def-too [before LHlike] 3PlSbj-Fut send.Pfv,

kɔ́ndí —, mà:ní [nà LHbè-gé↗],

circumcision—, so.and.so [3SgPoss LHchild-Pl],

[[kɔ́ndí kàn-sà-gé rì-gè] LHdèní] [ń púlá:ní]

[[circumcision do-Reslt.Rel-Pl Def-Pl LHday] [Dem.Near such.and.such]

nò:-gò-b-á: wá,

enter-Repet-Ipfv-3PlSbj Quot

‘Also, they will send out (announcements), like before (=at the beginning of the circumsion). The circum—, “So-and-so’s children, the day of the circumcised (boys) is such-and-such (a date), they will re-enter (then)”.’

*[*ń *<* ɛ́nì *]*

08:10

A: [[nà LHǹdǎ:] gɛ́lɛ́ bà: pɔ́s] nǎ: yògè,

[[3SgPoss LHperson] place be.Rel all] 3SgSbj.Fut come.Pfv,

[ò-gí bàrò-mà pɔ́s] nǎ: bàrè,

[2Sg-Acc help-be.able.Rel all] 3SgSbj.Fut help.Pfv,

‘Wherever his relative may be, he-or-she will come. Anyone who is able to help you will help (you).’

08:14

A: è-lá màŋgìlì-yè [ìjó rì pɔ́s],

2PlSbj assemble-Recip [village Def all],

é màŋgàlì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

2PlSbj assemble-Recip if,

‘You-Pl will assemble the whole village. When you have assembled (it),

08:18

A: [ájá kà] [kɔ́ndí LHnò:-gí rì↗],

[now Topic] [circumcision LHenter-Repet.Nom Def],

[érí yà] [kɔ́ndí Lnwɛ̀:],

[Dem.Def with] [circumcision Lsong],

[yá: ùnì ŋá] kè-lá nwɛ̀:,

[there.Def go and.Nonpast.SS] 3PlSbj-Fut sing.Pfv,

‘Now, (at) the circumcision re-entry, at that (time) they will go there (to the huts) and sing the circumcision song.’

08:22

A: kè-lá [kè LHsɔ̀:ndɔ̀-bà-gé] sɔ̀:ndɛ̀,

3PlSbj [3PlPoss LHsalute.idols(v)-IpfvRel-Pl] salute.idols(v).Pfv,

kè-lá [kè LHkàm-bà pɔ́s] kè-lá kànì,

3PlSbj [3PlSbj LHdo-IpfvRel all] 3PlSbj-Fut do.Pfv,

‘They will go and salute (in song) the ones they salute. They do everything that they (have to) do.’

*[*sɔ́:ndɔ́ *refers specifically to paying tribute (in song) to animist idols at altars that have been set up for circumcision rituals]*

08:25

A: kè-lá dìmì-yɛ̀, kɔ̀ndì-pálá kè-là gíró wù:rɛ̀,

3PlSbj-Fut form.line-MP.Pfv, circumcision.leader 3PlSbj-Fut in.front place(v).Pfv,

kɔ̀ndì-sɛ́:rí kè-lá tàgì-rɛ̀,

circumcision-deputy 3PlSbj-Fut follow-Tr.Pfv

‘They will form a line. They will put the circumcision leader (one of the novices) at the front. They will have the cicumcision deputy (another novice) come after (the leader). ‘

*[*-pálá *and* -sɛ́:rí *are not attested in other compounds]*

08:29

A: hàyà wú:jó-ẁⁿ ɛ́rɔ̀ nò:-gò-b-â:,

well swing.arms-while thus enter-Repet-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

nó:-gí-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

enter-Repet.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘They come back (to the village) swinging their arms.’

08:33

A: [ìjó rí] LHàmìrí] ŋà:,

[[village Def] LHchief] chez,

[kè-lá ùnì] [kè-lá tìyà-mì],

[3PlSbj go.Pfv] [3PlSbj-Fut send-Caus.Pfv]

‘They go and greet the chief of the village.’

08:35

A: gù-yyè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

exit(v).Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[kɔ́ndí bà:-gé] [kè-lá ùnì] [kè-lá tìyà-mi],

[circumcision father-Pl] [3PlSbj-Fut go.Pfv] [3PlSbj-Fut send-Caus.Pfv],

‘When they have left (the chief), they go and greet the circumcision fathers.’

08:39

A: gù-yyè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

exit(v).Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[[sɔ̀:lɔ̀ póy] ùnì ŋá] [kè-lá tiyà-mì],

[[neighborhood all] go and.Nonpast.SS] [3PlSbj-Fut send-Caus.Pfv],

‘When they have left (there), they go to all of the *quartiers* (of the village) and greet (elders)’

08:42

A: gù-yyè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

exit(v).Pfv-3PlSbj if,

wú:jó-wⁿ [[ìjó rì pɔ́s] kè-lá tɔ̀ndɛ̀],

swing.arms-while [[village Def all] 3PlSbj-Fut walk(v).Pfv],

‘When they have left (there), they go around the entire village and greet (elders).’

08:45

A: tɔ́ndɛ́-tɔ́ndɛ́ kànì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [ájá kày],

walk(v)-walk(v) do.Pfv-3PlSbj if, [now Topic]

[[gɛ́lɛ́ yá: kè-gì sígó-mí-yè] LHgɛ̀lɛ́ r] gì,

[[place there.Def 3Pl-Acc descend-Caus.Pfv-3PlSbj] LHplace Def] Loc,

‘When they have done the walking around, in the place where they (=adults) have lodged them (novices),’

*[after leaving the circumcision huts, the novices are grouped into a communal lodging in the village; ‘descend’ = ‘lodge in, spend nights (in a dwelling)’ as in French]*

08:49

A: hàyà [[gíbá r] gì]

well [[house Def] Loc]

[érì yà] yá: kè-gí sìm-b-â:,

[Dem.Def with] there.Def 3Pl-Acc convey-Ipfv-3PlSbj

‘Well, at that point they (=adults) take them (=novices) to (their) homes.’

08:52

A: yá: sìnì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [ǹdà: pɔ́s]

there.Def convey.Pfv-3PlSbj if, [person all]

[[nà LHsɔ̀y-gé] nà gò-m-bá pɔ́s]

[[3SgPoss LHclothes-Pl] 3SgSbj exit(v)-Caus-Ipfv.Rel all]

nǎ: gò-mì,

3SgSbj-Fut exit(v)-Caus.Pfv,

‘When they have taken (them) there, each one (=novice) will take off his clothing that he takes off’.

08:56

A: nǎ: bèjè↗, kè-lá àlàndì-yè,

3SgSbj.Fut store(v).Pfv, 3Pl-Fut rest(v)-MP.Pfv,

[pánígé yògè-∅ mɛ̀↗] [kè-lá ɲɛ̀:↗],

[lunch come.Pfv-3SgSbj if] [3PlFut eat.Pfv],

[kè LHɲà:nìgé yògè-∅ mɛ̀ lá↗] [kè-lá ɲɛ̀:]↘,

[3PlPoss LHsupper] come.Pfv-3SgSbj if also] 3PlFut eat.Pfv],

‘He will store it (=clothing) away, (then) they (=novices) will rest. When lunch comes, they will eat. Likewise when their supper comes, they will eat.’

09:02

A: ɲɛ́:-ɲɛ́: pórí-yé mɛ̀,

eat-eat finish(v).Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[[érí LHgɛ̀lɛ́ ŕ] gì] álándí-yá-ẁⁿ bìyò-b-â:,

[[Dem.Def LHplace Def] Loc] rest(v)-MP-while be-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

‘When they have finished eating, they will be resting in that (same) place.’

09:06

A: [bì:màL tó:-gé] [kè ŋâ:] yá b-à: mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[visitorL other-Pl] [3Pl chez] Exist.Dist be-3PlSbj if,

kè-là [bɔ́: gì] bìyɛ̀, [hál jɛ̀: ŋá]

3Pl-Fut [together Loc] remain.Pfv, [until take and.Nonpast.SS]

[èbà LHjùgú] nǎ: kànì,

[market LHweek] 3SgSbj.Fut be.done.Pfv,

‘If there are some visitors (out-of-town circumcision novices) among them, they remain together (with the loal novices), until a week has elapsed.’

09:12

A: [èbà LHjùgú rì] wɛ̀:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[market LHweek Def] be.complete.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

bí:má bò:-∅ mɛ̀, [dàmì-yè ŋá]

visitor be-3SgSbj if, [speak-Recip and.Nonpast.SS]

‘When the week has elapsed, if a visitor is there, they speak with each other.’

09:15

A: [kè póy] [ùnì ŋá]

[3Pl all] [go and.Nonpast.SS]

[bɔ́: gì] kè-lá nì:ndɛ̀ sìnì,

[together Loc] 3PlSbj-Fut accompany.Pfv convey.Pfv,

‘They all go together to accompany him (=visitor) back (home).’

*[*nì:ndɛ̀ sìnì *is a direct chain, only the final verb can be inflected and conjugated]*

09:17

A: [yá: là] [ùnì ŋá]

[there.Def also] [go and.Nonpast.SS]

[yà:gú tò:mà↗] [yà:g-gé nì:ŋgà] kè-lá nàyè,

[night one] [night-Pl two] 3Pl-Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘There too (in the visitor’s village) they will go and spend one or two nights.’

*[cf. singular* yà:gù *‘night’]*

09:20

A: [tò: yá bò-∅ mɛ̀]

[another Exist.Dist be-3SgSbj if]

él=là kè-lá nì:ndɛ̀ sìnì,

Dem.Def=also 3PlSbj-Fut accompany convey.Pfv

[yà:gú tò:mà↗] [yà:g-gé nì:ŋgà] kè-lá nàyè,

[night one] [night-Pl two] 3Pl-Fut spend.night.Pfv,

‘If another (out-of-town novice) is there, that one too they will accompany back (home). They will spend one or two nights (there).’

*[*tò: *‘another’ is here L‑toned in indefinite absolute form, compare modifying adjective* tó: *‘other’;* él=là < /érì là/ *]*

09:24

A: hàyà [érí yà] nì:ndɛ̀ nì:ndɛ̀ sìnì-yè,

well [Dem.Def with] accompany accompany convey.Pfv-3PlSbj,

ìŋgì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

finish.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘Well, at the point they have accompanied (the out-of-town novices) back (home). When they have finished (doing that),

09:27

A: hàyà [érí yà] LHsà:ndì-yò-b-â:,

well [Dem.Def with] LHdisperse-MP-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

‘Well, at that point [focus] they will disperse.’

09:29

A: sà:ndì-y-yè mɛ̀ tán,

disperse-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if only,

hàyà [érí LHkàbà:rú] ìŋgè-∅,

well [Dem.Def LHmatter] finish.Pfv-3SgSbj

‘When they have (finally) dispersed, that matter (=circumcision activity) is finished.’

09:31

A: [tìŋgà lá] nà bí:-nì,

[owner also] 3SgSbj be-Dur,

[hál jɛ̀: ŋá] [nà LHkèlèŋgé] nǎ: yògè,

[until take and.Nonpast.SS] [3SgPoss LHmarriage] 3SgSbj come.Pfv,

‘The fellow (=circumcised boy) keeps on. Eventually, (time for) his marriage will come.’

09:34

A: [ LHgɛ̀lɛ̀-gé rì kà] tú:rí-yɛ̂w

[ LHplace-Pl Def Topic] say-Pass

ɛ́rɔ̀ bàŋgìlì-yà-wⁿ LHbìyɔ̀-bó-∅,

thus turn-MP-while LHremain-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘As for (in) our zone, (as) it has already been said (above), that [focus]’s how it keeps turning (repeating itself).’

*[‘place’, unpossessed singular* gɛ́lɛ́ *and plural* gɛ́lɛ́-gé*, has an {LH} overlay before definite* rì*, implying a covert possessor, in this case 1Pl; likewise* [[LHgɛ̀lɛ̀-gé rì pɔ́y] gì *@14:36 below]*

09:36

A: mhm, [ó là] [ò LHdàmí] nà gó:-gì-yⁿ,

mhm, [2Sg also] [2SgSbj LHtalk(n)] 3SgSbj exit(v)-Repet-Hort,

[mì LHtòmá] dám-bó nà bìyɔ̀-lâ:yⁿ,

[1Sg LHonly] speak-Ipfv 3SgSbj remain-HortNeg,

‘Mhm, you-Sg too, may your words come out! It mustn’t be just me who speaks!’

*[said by A to his interlocutor B;* ó là *‘you too’ based on H‑toned independent pronoun* ó*, distinct from 2Sg future* ò-lá *;* gó:-gì-yⁿ *hortative with 3Sg subject]*

09:40

B: ɛ́rɔ̀ LHbìyɔ̀-bò-∅ já:tì,

thus LHbe-Ipfv-3SgSbj indeed,

[ájá tònì ò dàmí] LHtɔ̀rɔ́] jà:jé

[now talk(n) 2SgSbj speak.PfvRel] like] D

ɛ́rɔ̀=ẁ já:tì,

thus=it.is exactly,

‘That (=what you just said) is precisely how it should be, Diadié! It’s exactly like that.’

*[Diadié is an alternate personal name for A]*

09:44

B: [nì kây] [nì LHgàndá rì pɔ́s] ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHbǒ:,

[1Pl Top] [1PlPoss LHcountry Def all] thus 1Pl LHbe,

‘As for us, (in) our entire land that (way) [focus] is how we are.’

09:47

B: [ég gì] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀,

[Dem.Def Loc] exit(v).Pfv if,

ní-wⁿ [[yò: LHtàgú r] gì] ná LHbò:-gé rì]

1Pl-Indep [[today LHearth Def] Loc] ?? LHbe.Rel-Pl Def]

[ndà: àmbìlè-gé],

[person certain.one-Pl],

‘If it goes beyond there, we who are on today’s soil (=land), some people,

*[*ég gì *<* /érì gì/*]*

09:52

B: nà:-ŋgè-gír-gé yâ:, ùnà-gír-gé yâ:,

cow-Pl-herder-Pl and, goat-tend.Agent-Pl and,

à:nà-gír-gé yâ:, kàlmà-kání-gé yâ:,

sheep-tend.Agent-Pl and, clear.field-do.Agent-Pl and,

tɔ̀n-tómí-gé yâ:, ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHbǒ:,

planting(n)-plant(v).Agent-Pl and, thus 1Pl LHbe,

‘(They are) cowherds, and goatherds, and sheep-herds, and field clearers, and planters. That [focus] is how we are.’

*[cf.* tɔ́wⁿ tɔ́mɔ́ *‘plant, sow’ (by slashing earth with a pick-hoe and dropping seeds into the slash)]*

09:59

B: [nì kây] [[nì LHgàndá r] gì]

[1Pl Top] [[1PlPoss LHcountry Def] Loc]

[[wàlè póy] nì sà:-nà] sè-wánà: tɔ̂wⁿ,

[[work(n) all] 1PlSbj have-Neg] other.than sowing,

‘As for us (here) in our land, we don’t have any work other than planting.’

*[*sè-wánà: *is a fixed combination, vaguely segmentable, see also @ 17:11 below]*

10:02

B: [jéná rì yà↗], [kùbɔ́ rì yà↗],

[rainy.season Def and], [farming(n) Def and],

[tɔ́n dì yà↗] [gíyó rì yà↗],

[planting(n) Def and], [harvest(n) Def and],

‘The rainy season, and farming, and planting, and harvesting.’

10:09

B: érì nì pòrè mɛ̀, ɛ̀rɛ̀gɛ̀ nì sɛ́m-bò,

Dem.Def 1PlSbj finish.Pfv if, rice 1PlSbj reap-Ipfv,

érì nì pòrè mɛ̀, nì mbé: [ndà: ámbìlè-gè]

Dem.Def 1PlSbj finish.Pfv if, 1Pl here [person certain.Pl]

‘When we have finished that, we reap the rice (with a sickle, kɔ́:mɔ̀). When we have finished that, some of us here,’

10:15

B: [ɛ́rɔ̀ là↗] [wàlè ká] wàlè nì LHkàn-dà wéní,

[thus too] [work(n) Topic] work(n) 1PlSbj LHdo-IpfvNegRel be.little,

wéní dù,

be.little too,

‘In that way too, as for work, there are few (available) jobs that we don’t do.’

10:20

B: sàfé ájá [jùgù ámbìlè-gé]

which.means now [times certain-Pl]

tɔ́ŋ-gé tòmà-wⁿ nì bíyɔ́-bò, [ … ]

planting(n)-Pl slash.to.sow-while 1PlSbj be-Ipfv, (unintelligible)

‘That means, now, on some occasions we are engaged in planting.’

10:26

A: [tɔ́n dì] bànì túmbúló-bá rì,

[sowing Def] manner begin-IpfvRel Def],

sàbù, él-lá→ yálá túmbúl-á: nì yògè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

because, Dem.Def-too field begin-Purp 1Pl come.Pfv if,

‘The way we begin the planting.’ Because, when we also come in order to begin (working) a field,

10:32

A: *premier*, kɛ́rí=yó nì LHkɛ̀rɔ́-bà,

firstly, clearing(n)=Foc 1PlSbj LHclear.field-Ipfv,

kɛ́rí nì kɛ̀rɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, nì-lá sùbè,

cleaning.up 1PlSbj clean.up.field.Pfv if, 1PlSbj-Fut burn.Pfv,

‘Firstly we do the clearing. When we have done the clearing, we will burn (it).’

*[clearing a new field involves cutting bushes and shrubs by slashing at an angle with a trimming hatchet (*gɔ́rɔ́*); compare* kàlmá *‘re-clearing an existing field’]*

10:39

A: nì sùbè mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [ájá kày] [hál jɛ̀: ŋá]

1PlSbj burn.Pfv if, [now Top] [until take and.Nonpast.SS]

tɔ́n nǎ: yògè, tɔ́n nì-lá tɔ̀nɛ̀,

planting(n) 3SgSbj.Fut come.Pfv, planting(n) 1PlSbj-Fut plant(v).Pfv,

‘When we have burned, now eventually the (time for) planting will come. We will plant (millet).’

*[*tɔ́wⁿ *‘planting’ refers to one man making rows of slashes in the earth with a long pick-hoe, followed by a second person who drops seeds (millet or sorghum) into the disturbed earth and tamps down with the foot; since about 1990 plowing (verb* tó:ló*) has become common between clearing and planting]*

10:46

B: [tɔ́n dì] —, [tɔ́n dì] nì tɔ̀nɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[planting(n) Def] —, [planting(n) Def] 1PlSbj plant(v).Pfv if,

[tɔ́n dì] sɔ̀bɛ̀ —,

[planting(n) Def] sprout(v).Pfv —,

[tɔ́n dì] sɔ̀bɛ̀ mɛ̀ tán, nì-lá kùbɔ̀ kùbɛ̀,

[planting(n) Def] sprout(v).Pfv if only, 1Pl-Fut cultivation cultivate.Pfv,

‘When we have done the planting, as soon as the planting (=what we planted) has sprouted, we will do the cultivating.’

*[*kùbɔ̀ *can be a general term for ‘growing (crops)’, but refers more specifically to thinning out the seedlings and later on weeding around the growing plants, by bending down and pulling a short-handled hoe (daba) in to oneself]*

10:53

B: [kùbɔ́ rì] nì kùbɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[cultivation Def] 1PlSbj cultivate.Pfv if,

[kùbɔ́ rì] nì kúb-bò mɛ̀,

[cultivation Def] 1PlSbj cultivate-Ipfv if,

[kùbɔ́ l lá→] [kùbɔ̀ tó:má]=là,

[cultivation Def also] [cultivation one]=it.is.not,

[kùbɔ̀-gè nì:ŋgà]=wɔ̀

[cultivation-Pl two]=it.is

‘When we have done the cultivating, when we cultivate, the cultivation isn’t (just) one (round of) cultivation, it is two (rounds of) cultivation.’

10:58

B: [kùbɔ̀ *premier*] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀ —

[cultivation first] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if —

[kùbɔ̀ *premier*] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[cultivation first] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

sàmbò nì-lá sàmbè,

second.cultivation 1PlSbj-Fut do.second.cultivation.Pfv,

‘When the first cultivation has exited (=ended), we will do the second round of cultivation.’

*[the first round involves thinning out as well as weeding; by the time the whole field has been worked in this way, it is almost time to begin the second round (less laborious than the first), which consists of removing weeds with the daba]*

11:02

B: [sàmbó rì] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀ —,

[second.cultivation Def] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if —,

A: *[unintelligible]*

B: [sàmbó rì] nì-lá sàmbè,

[second.cultivation Def] 1PlSbj-Fut do.second.cultivation.Pfv,

‘When the second cultivation has exited (=ended) —. [interruption] We will do the second round of cultivation.’

11:06

B: [sàmbó rì] —, [sàmbó rì] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[second.cultivation Def] —, [second.cultivation Def] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[ájá kày] [yò:-gé rì] ìlì-y-yɛ̀,

[now Top] [millet-Pl Def] ripen.Pfv-MP-3PlSbj,

When the second cultivation has exited (=ended), now the millet has ripened.’

*[millet (Cenchrus spicatus, formerly Pennisetum glaucum), the primary cereal staple; there is a long wait after the second cultivation (July-August) before the millet ripens (late October); terms for crops are generally plural in form]*

11:09

B: ɛ́rɔ̀ yá: dànjà=wⁿ nì sìyò-bó,

thus there visit(v)=while 1PlSbj keep.having-Ipfv,

[hál jɛ̀: ŋá] gìyò nǎ: gwè:,

[until take and.Nonpast.SS] harvest(n) 3SgSbj.Fut exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj,

‘We will keep visiting there (=the field), until (time for) the harvest has come out (=appeared).’

*[*sìyò-bó*, compare* bìyò-bó*; in this passage ‘exit (v)’ means ‘come out, appear’ hence ‘begin’ rather than ‘end’]*

11:11

B: [gìyó rì] gwì:-yè mɛ̀,

[harvest(n) Def] exit(v).Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[gìyó rì] pòrè-∅ mɛ̀,

[harvest(n) Def] finish.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘When they have begun harvesting, when the harvest has finished,’

11:14

B: túgúrá, núgúló-bà lá, núgúló-bà-gé,

2nd.best.millet, choose-VblN also, choose-VblN

áŋgá LHbɛ̀lɛ́-wⁿ LHbǒ:,

how.many? LHequal(v)-while LHbe,

‘Second-quality millet, a sorting also, the sortings (ɣrades), there are several of them.’

*[millet grain spikes are graded by quality as* sélé *(best),* túgúrá *(second),* bèndè-bèndé *(third),* búgújú *(last); cf. also* sùgùmɛ́ *‘early millet (roasted briefly and eaten)’;* bɛ́lɛ́ *‘be worth, be equal to’]*

11:16

B: sélé-gé, nì núgúló-bò, túgúrá-gé nì núgúló-bò,

best.millet-Pl, 1PlSbj choose-Ipfv, 2nd.best.millet-Pl 1PlSbj choose-Ipfv,

bèndè-bèndé-gé nì núgúló-bò,

3rd.best.millet-Pl 1PlSbj choose-Ipfv,

‘We select (=separate) the top-quality millet, we select the second-quality millet, we select the third-quality millet.’

11:20

B: [hál jɛ̀:-sà-wⁿ] érí gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[until take-Reslt-while] Dem.Def exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

nì-lá màŋgà-mì, nì-là gíbà: jɛ̀: nwɛ̀:,

1Pl-Fut assemble-Caus.Pfv, 1PlSbj-Fut house.Loc take enter,

‘Eventually, when that (work) is finished, we will gather up (the harvested millet) and we will take (it) into the house (=village).’

11:25

B: nì-là páŋgá gànì, [páŋgá gì là] séyò-gè séyò-gè séyò-gè

1PlSbj-Fut granary put.in.Pfv, [granary Loc also] layer-Pl layer-Pl layer-Pl

áŋgá LHbɛ̀lɛ́-ẁⁿ,

how.many? LHequal(v)-while,

‘We will store it in a granary. Also, in the granary there are several layers (of millet grain spikes).

11:29

B: sèyòL dè→ yà↗, sèyòL páy yà↗, sèyòL sɛ́gɛ́ yà↘,

layerL elder.sib and, layerL older and, layerL younger and,

‘The elder-sibling layer, and the senior layer, and the junior layer.’

*[modifiers here refer to relative ages of siblings, other kin, and animals]*

11:31

B: [ɛ́rɔ̀ sìyɛ̀ ŋá]

[thus hold and.Nonpast.SS

ɛ́rɔ̀ màŋgà-mà:ⁿ-màŋgà-mà:ⁿ nì sìyò-bó,

there gather-Caus-gather-Caus.Adv 1PlSbj keep.having-Ipfv,

‘We keep holding (handling) and collecting it (grain, in the granary).’

11:34

B: [hál jɛ̀:-sà-wⁿ] [[nì kòrè:jì-gé] gì]

[until take-Result-while] [[1PlPoss family-Pl] Loc]

ɛ́rɔ̀ ɛ́rɔ̀ kànì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

thus thus be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘Eventually, in our families, when it has been done like that,

11:36

B: ɛ́rɔ̀ nì òbí:-nì,

thus 1PlSbj sit-Dur,

pàláŋgà [ndà: ámbìlè], úbú báló-bò-∅,

dry.season [person a.certain], manure gather-Ipfv-3SgSbj,

‘We remain sitting (=living) like that. In the dry season, one person collects manure,’

*[manure is collected and sold for use as fertilizer in the next rainy season]*

11:40

B: [ndà: ámbìlè], béléŋgé á:ló-bò,

[person a.certain], hay rake.in-Ipfv,

[ndà: ámbìlè], gìbá-gé nà LHùnjò-bá,

[person a.certain], house-Pl 3SgSbj LHbuild-Ipfv,

‘Another person rakes in fodder. Another person builds houses.’

*[grass is raked up in the bush for sale as dry-season fodder (hay)]*

11:45

B: [ndà: ámbìlè], tɔ́wⁿ nà LHtɔ̀m-bá,

[person a.certain], planting 3SgSbj LHplant(v)-Ipfv,

ɛ́rɔ̀ [nì ká] [[nì LHgàndá r] gì]

thus [1Pl Top] [[1PlPoss LHland Def] Loc]

[ɛ́rɔ̀ tán] nì LHòbá,

[thus only] 1PlSbj LHsit.Stat,

‘Another person prepares for planting. That is how we sit (=live) in our land.’

*[reference here is not to sowing, just arranging mounds in the field with a pick-hoe so that when rain comes one can quickly sow the seeds]*

11:52

A: *bon*, érì kàní-yɛ́w bìlɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

well, Dem.Def do-Pass Past if,

jɛ̀:-sà-wⁿ gíbá jɛ̀: nùy-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀

take-Reslt-while house take enter.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘Well, when that has already been done, when they have taken (the millet) and gone into the house (=village),’

11:56

A: [ájá kày] [nì LHɲɔ̀:-bá] gírí-yɛ́w kàni-∅,

[now Top] [1PlSbj LHeat-VblN] get-Pass be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj,

[ɲɔ̀:-bá rì] gírí-yɛ́w kàni-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[eat-VblN Def] get-Pass be.done.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘Now our food has already been gotten. When our food has already been gotten,’

12:01

A: égá:gú pɔ́s, pàŋgà-dɛ́ní yèyy-á:=wò,

morning all, granary-take.out.ration.Agent know-Pass.Rel=it.is,

nǎ: ùnjùgè↗, nǎ: páŋgá dɛ̀nɛ̀↘,

3Sg.Fut get.up.Pfv, 3SgSbj.Fut granary take.out.ration.Pfv,

‘The person charged with taking out the day’s grain rations from the granary is known (to everyone). He will get up and he will take out the daily ration from the granary.’

*[this is a great responsibility, since the person (usually a man) who takes out the rations each morning must calculate how long the supply will last in an environment where only one grain harvest occurs each year]*

12:06

A: páŋgá nà dɛ̀nɔ̀-bá rì,

granary 3SgSbj take.out.ration-VblN Def,

[è LHɲà:nì-gé yà], [è LHpànì-gé yà],

[2PlPoss LHdinner-Pl and], [2PlPoss LHlunch-Pl and],

[è LHtàjìkò:jòlí yà], [érì LHjàtí]=yò,

[2PlPoss LHmorning.food and], [Dem.Def LHcalculation]=it.is,

‘What he takes out from the granary, (it’s) your-Pl dinner, and your lunch, and your breakfast. It’s the calculation of that (and not beyond).’

*[the term for ‘breakfast’ on the recording is a Fulfulde loan; the Tiranige equivalent* is ɔ̀mɔ̀kánú *]*

12:13

A: [ǹdà-gè nú:]=yó Hbó: mɛ̀↗, [ndà-gè nú:] LHjàtí,

[person-Pl five]=Foc Hbe if, [person-Pl five] LHcalculation,

[ǹdà-gè pìyɔ̀lù]=yò Hbó: mɛ̀↗, [ndà-gè pìyɔ̀lù] LHjàtí,

[person-Pl ten]=Foc Hbe if, [person-Pl ten] LHcalculation,

[ǹdà-gè nì:ŋgà]=à Hbó: mɛ̀↗, [ndà-gè nì:ŋgà] LHjàtí,

[person-Pl two]=Foc Hbe if, [person-Pl two] LHcalculation,

[ǹdà: tò:mà]=à Hbó: mɛ̀↗, [ndà: tò:mà] LHjàtí,

[person one]=Foc Hbe if, [person one] LHcalculation,

‘If five people [focus] are there, an amount calculated for five people. If ten people [focus] are there, an amount calculated for ten people. If two people [focus] are there, an amount calculated for two people. If one person [focus] is there, an amount calculated for one person.’

12:22

A: [ájá kày] [[[[ǹdà: póy] gi] [[dɛ̀nì LHkùlìyé] gì]

[now Top] [[[[person all] Acc] [[day LHinside] Loc]

ò-gí LHɲà:-m-bó rì] LHkɛ̀ní rì] jàtí kànì-sà-wⁿ

2Sg-Acc LHeat-Caus-Ipfv Def] LHlimit Def] calculation do-Reslt-while

pâ:wⁿ kání-yé rì,

understanding(n) do-Pass Def,

‘Now, (the fact) that it is understood (by everyone) how to calculate the maximum (=total amount) of what you-Sg, each person, will be fed during the day.’

*[‘you-Sg’ is in apposition to ‘each person’; definite* kání-yé rì *from passive* kání-yé=ẁⁿ*]*

12:27

A: [égá:gú pɔ́s] [pàŋgà-dɛ́ní là]

[morning all] [granary-take.out.ration.Agent also]

ér=yò [nà LHwàlé], ná-wⁿ ùnjìgè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

Dem.Def=Foc [3SgPoss LHwork], 3Sg-Indep get.up.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[páŋgá dɛ́nɔ́-bá rì]=yò [nà LHwàlé],

[granary take.out.ration-VblN Def]=Foc [3SgPoss LHwork(n)],

‘Every morning, the person charged with taking out the day’s grain rations from the granary, that [focus] is his job. When he gets up (in the morning), taking out the day’s grain rations from the granary [focus] is his job.’

12:34

A: [bɛ̀l-gè LHtìŋgá], [ná là:] yùlì-yɛ̀-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[animal-Pl LHowner], [3Sg too] wake.up-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[nà LHbɛ̀l-gé]=ẁ [nà LHwàlé]

[3SgPoss LHanimal-Pl]=Foc [3SgPoss LHwork(n)]

‘An animal owner (=herder), he likewise, when he wakes up, (taking care of) his animals is his job.’

*[singular* bɛ̀lì *‘livestock animal’]*

12:38

A: [[bɛ̀lì-gé rì] gì] nǎ: ùnì, nǎ: jà:lè,

[[animal-Pl Def] Loc] 3SgSbj.Fut go.Pfv, 3SgSbj.Fut visit.Pfv,

kòbòjì-gè yá b-à: mɛ̀-nɛ̀, nǎ: gò-mì,

tick-Pl Exist.Dist be-3PlSbj if, 3SgSbj.Fut exit(v)-Caus.Pfv,

‘He will go the animals (in the bush), he will visit (them). If there are ticks, he will remove them.’

12:43

A: kòbòjì-gè ór-à: mɛ̀-nɛ̀, úrú-gá bò: lé,

tick-Pl not.be-3PlSbj if, disease-Char be-3SgSbj Q,

nǎ: jà:lè,

3SgSbj.Fut visit,

‘If there are no ticks, he will check whether there is a sick one.’

12:47

A: úrú-gá órà-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [kè póy] nò:-gì-yè lé,

disease-Char not.be-3SgSbj if, [3Pl all] come-Repet.Pfv-3PlSbj Q,

nǎ: jà:lè,

3SgSbj.Fut visit,

‘If there is no sick one, he will check whether all of them have come back (from pasture, to the pen).’

12:51

A: nò:-gì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [[nà LHkìló] gì] nǎ: —,

come-Repet.Pfv-3PlSbj if, [[3SgPoss LHpen] Loc] 3SgSbj.Fut —,

[kè póy] jà:lè-sà-wⁿ tàykí kànì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[3Pl all] visit-Reslt-while verification do.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘When they have come back, in his pen, he will—. When he has visited and verified (the presence of) all of them.’

12:56

A: [nà LHɛ̀m-bá] bò:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[3SgSbj LHmilk(v)-VblN] be-3SgSbj if,

nàlè-sà bò:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, nǎ: ɛ̀mɛ̀,

give.birth-ResltRel be-3SgSbj if, 3SgSbj.Fut milk(v).Pfv

‘If there is one (=a cow) for him to milk, if there is one who has calved, he will milk (it).’

*[compare* ná: ém-bà *‘cow for milking, (a) milk cow’ (vache laitière); plural* nàlè‑sà‑gè b‑à:*]*

12:59

A: [bé: rì] kèlì-yè-sà bò:-∅ mɛ̀ lá,

[child Def] not.want-MP-ResltRel be-3SgSbj if also,

nǎ: bàrè [hál jɛ̀: ŋá]

child help.Pfv [until take and.Nonpast.SS]

[bé: rì] nǎ: àrè nǎ: bɛ̀lɛ̀,

[child Def] 3SgSbj.Fut suckle.Pfv 3SgSbj get.Pfv,

‘Likewise if there is one (=a cow) who has rejected a (newborn) calf, he will help (the calf) until the calf will suckle and get enough (milk).’

*[i.e. he will draw milk from the reluctant cow’s udder directly into the calf’s mouth]*

13:04

A: màŋgà-m-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

assemble-Caus.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

nǎ: [nà bɛ̀lì-gé] ò:rí kànì,

3SgSbj.Fut [3SgPoss animal-Pl] move.out do.Pfv,

gúl-à: nǎ: gwè:,

the.bush-Loc 3SgSbj.Fut exit(v).Pfv,

‘When he has assembled (the cattle), he will move his animals out, he will go out into the bush.’

*[*ò:rí *(< Fulfulde) denotes getting a herd up and moving it out (from the pen in the morning, or from a drinking area);* gúló *‘the bush, the outback’]*

13:08

A: [ná là:] gó:-ŋgà, [nà LHɛ̀mɛ̀ŋgé] nǎ: ɛ̀mɛ̀↗,

[3Sg too] exit(v)-while, [3SgPoss LHmilk(n)] 3SgSbj.Fut milk(v).Pfv,

nǎ: ɲɛ̀: [hál jɛ̀: ŋá] nǎ: pìlè↘,

3SgSbg.Fut consume.Pfv [until take and.Nonpast.SS] 3SgSbj be.sated.Pfv

‘Likewise as he goes out, he will draw his milk. He will consume (=drink) until he is full (=sated).’

*[*ɲɔ́: *‘consume’ can mean ‘drink’ as here, or ‘eat (a meal, or anything not requiring heavy chewing)]*

13:13

A: [nà LHɛ̀mɛ̀ŋgé] [ɛ̀mɛ̀ ŋá]

[3SgPoss LHmilk(n)] [milk(v) and.Nonpast.SS]

ɲɛ̀: pìlè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

consume be.sated.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

nǎ: [nà tɔ̀ntɔ́n] jɔ̀lɛ̀,

3SgSbj.Fut [3SgPoss gourd] look.for.Pfv,

nǎ: [nà LHmǐ:] gànì,

3SgSbj.Fut [3SgPoss LHwater] put.in.Pfv,

‘When he has drunk his milk to satiety, he will look for his gourd. He will put his water in it.’

*[a small, fully necked gourd, not sawed in half as a calabash, is used to carry liquids]*

13:17

A: [mí: LHjɛ̀mbɛ́] nà LHsǎ: mɛ̀-l là↗,

[water LHsack] 3SgSbj LHhave if also,

nǎ: [nà LHmí:] gànì,

3SgSbj.Fut [3SgPoss LHwater] put.in.Pfv,

‘On the other hand if a waterskin [focus] is what he has, he will put his water in it.’

*[a goatskin water bag]*

13:20

A: [nà LHlìwndú] nà LHsǎ: mɛ̀,

[3SgPoss LHforked.staff] 3SgSbj LHhave if,

nǎ: jɛ̀:,

3SgSbj.Fut take.Pfv,

‘If his forked staff [focus] is what he has, he will take (it).’

13:22

A: ná:-ŋgé nà LHgìrò-wá mɛ̀-l là↗,

cow-Pl 3SgSbj LHtake.to.pasture-IpfvRel if too,

[nà LHkù:-tùmá] nǎ: jɛ̀:,

[3SgPoss LHDiospyros-staff] 3SgSbj.Fut take.Pfv,

nǎ: [[nà LHnà:-ŋgé] gì] tàgì-yè,

3SgSbj.Fut [[3SgPoss LHcow-Pl] Acc] follow-MP.Pfv,

‘Likewise when he is going to take the cows to pasture, he will take his staff of *Diospyros* wood.’

*[*kú: *(Ningo) or* kúgú *(Boui), the tree Diospyros mespiliformis, whose wood is favored by Fulbe herdsmen for staffs]*

13:27

A: [[kɛ̀rɔ́ rì] gì] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[[forest Def] Loc] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[gɛ́lɛ́ bèlè-ŋgè LHb-à: pɔ́s] nà LHjà:lò-bá,

[place fodder-Pl LHbe-3Pl all] 3SgSbj LHvisit-Ipfv.Rel,

‘When he has gone out into the savana, a place where there is lots of grass [focus] is what he will visit.’

13:31

A: [nà LHbɛ̀lì-gé] gɛ́lɛ́ rè:ní LHkàm-bá,

[3SgPoss LHanimal-Pl] place safety LHdo-Ipfv,

gɛ́lɛ́ kè ɲɛ̀: LHgèrò-bá,

place 3Pl food LHget-Ipfv,

‘A place where his animals will be safe. A place where they can get food (=pasture).’

13:33

A: gɛ́lɛ́ kè LHpìlò-bá, gɛ́lɛ́ rè:ní kè LHkàm-bá,

place 3Pl LHbe.sated-Ipfv, place safety 3PlSbj LHdo-Ipfv,

gɛ́lɛ́ kè LHpìlò-bá,

place 3Pl LHbe.sated-Ipfv,

‘A place where they graze to satiety. A place where they are safe. A place where they graze to satiety.’

13:38

A: yá: gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, nò:-gè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

there.Def exit(v)-Pfv if, come-Repet.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

nò:-gè-∅ mɛ̀-l là↗, gíb-à:=ẁ mɛ̀-l là↗,

come-Repet.Pfv-3SgSbj if also, house-Loc=it.is if also,

‘When he has left (there), when he has come back, likewise when he has come back, if it’s at the house,’

13:42

A: [[è LHgìbà-gòmbòló] gì] táwɛ̀ kándí-yé=ẁ LHbǒ:,

[[2Pl LHhouse-courtyard] Loc] perhaps repair-Pass=it.is LHbe,

úbú nà ɲàmù-lâ:yⁿ,

manure 3SgSbj be.ruined-HortNeg,

‘Perhaps your-Pl courtyard has been fixed up nicely. The manure must not be spoiled.’

*[i.e. with space in the courtyard for the animals]*

13:46

A: [[ò LHyàlá] gí]=yò mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[[2SgPoss LHfield] Loc]=it.is if,

[[yálá ŕ] gì] nǎ: òbì-yè,

[[field Def] Loc] 3SgSbj.Fut sit-MP.Pfv

‘If it’s in your-Sg field, it will sit in the field.’

13:49

A: [[yálá ŕ] gì] òbì-yè-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, úbú rì,

[[field Def] Loc] sit-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if, manure Def,

nà=ẃⁿ sé:ŋgé, sé:ŋgé là, nà=ẃⁿ úbú,

3Sg=Foc grain, grain too, 3Sg=Foc manure,

‘Whe it has sat in the field, the manure, it is grain, and grain likewise, it is manure.’

*[i.e. an abundant supply of manure as fertilizer in the field guarantees a good grain harvest]*

13:55

A: úbú Hsá:-ná, sé:ŋgé gíd-dà,

manure Hhave-StatNegRel, grain get-IpfvNeg,

sé:ŋgé Hsá:-ná, [úbú rì] gíd-dà,

grain Hhave-StatNegRel, [manure Def] get-IpfvNeg,

‘One who doesn’t have manure doesn’t get any grain. One who doesn’t have grain doesn’t get any manure.’

*[<* gírɔ́ *‘get’]*

14:00

A: [cè LHnì:ŋgá] kè=ẃⁿ [bɔ́: gì] úm-bò,

[3Pl LHtwo] 3Pl=it.is [together Loc] go-Ipfv,

bɛ̀lì-gè LHtìŋgá↗, yálá tìŋgá↘,

animal-Pl LHowner, field owner,

kè=ẃ nì: tò:mà, kè=ẃ bà: tò:mà,

3Pl=Foc mother one, 3Pl=Foc father one,

‘The two of them go together. An owner of animals (=herder), (and) an owner of a field (=farmer), they have the same mother, they have the same father.’

*[i.e. they are joined at the hip, since the farmer depends on manure]*

14:08

A: ò [bɛ̀lì-gè LHtìŋgá ri], [[yálá r] gì] ò=ẃⁿ óbí-yó-bò,

2Sg [animal-Pl LHowner Def], [[field Def] in] 2Sg=Foc sit-MP-Ipfv,

[yálá LHtìŋgá l] là],

[field LHowner Def also],

[ná là:] [[bɛ̀lì-gè LHtìŋgá ri] gì] nà=ẃⁿ jɔ́lɔ́-bò,

[3Sg too] [[animal-Pl LHowner Def] Acc] 3Sg=Foc look.for-Ipfv

‘You the owner of animals, it’s you-2Sg [focus] who will sit (=live) in the field (with your cattle). Likewise the owner of a field, he likewise, it’s he (Focus) too will seek out the owner of animals.’

14:13

A: è nì:ŋgà pɔ́s, é=wⁿ [bɔ́: gì] wàlè kám-bò,

2Pl two all, 2Pl=Foc [together Loc] work(n) do-Ipfv,

[nì kây] [[nì gàndá r] gì],

[1Pl Top] [[1PlPoss country Def] Loc],

ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHjù:ndé, [ér gì] nì LHbǒ:,

thus 1PlSbj LHencounter.Pfv, [Dem.Def Loc] 1Pl LHbe,

‘Both of you (=herder and farmer), you-Pl work together. As for us, (here) in our land, that [focus]’s how we found (=inherited) (it), that [focus]’s what we are (still) in.’

*[i.e. that’s the way it has always been]*

14:19

A: hàlí ájá,

even now,

[wɛ́: [[kè LHbènàŋgá] gì] nwɛ̀:] bò:-∅ mɛ̀-l là,

[thing [[3Pl LHmiddle] Loc] enter.PfvRel] be-3SgSbj if too,

nì-lá dàmì-yè↗, nì-là pâ:wⁿ kànì-yè,

1Pl-Fut speak-Recip.Pfv, 1Pl-Fut understanding(n) do-Recip.Pfv,

‘Even now, similarly if there is something (=a problem) that enters (=arises) between them, we will discuss it together, we will make (=come to) a mutual understanding.’

14:24

A: [twɛ́: sá: rì] gì, nì-lá [nà LHtwɛ̌:] ndɛ̀:,

[falsehood have.Rel Def] Acc, 1Pl-Fut [3SgPoss LHfalsehood] give.Pfv,

[tɔ́:nɔ́ sà:-ná r] gì —,

[truth have-StatNegRel Def] Acc —,

[tɔ́:nɔ́ sá: rì] gì, nì-lá [nà LHtɔ̀:nɔ́] ndɛ̀:,

[truth have.Rel Def] Acc, 1Pl-Fut [3SgPoss LHtruth] give.Pfv,

‘We will decide (=judge) who is in the wrong. The one who isn’t right *[false start]*—. We will decide who is in the right.’

*[for the phrasing ‘give his falsehood’ and ‘give his truth’, cf. French donner raison à, donner tort à]*

14:29

A: ɛ́rɔ̀ pâ:wⁿ kànì-yè-sà-wⁿ, ɛ́rɔ̀ nì jù:ndé,

thus understanding(n) do-Recip-Reslt-while, thus 1PlSbj encounter.Pfv,

[nì kây] ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHbǒ: [hàlí ájá] táfòwⁿ,

[1Pl Top] thus 1PlSbj LHbe, [until now] as.of.now

‘As they make (=come to) mutual understandings, that [focus]’s how we found (=inherited) (it). As for us, that [focus]’s what we are in even now.’

14:36

B: [ájá tònì ò dàmí rì] tɔ́:nɔ́=ẁⁿ já:tì,

[now talk(n) 2SgSbj speak.PfvRel Def] truth=it.is indeed,

jà:jé [tònì ò LHdàmí rì]

D [talk(n) [2SgSbj LHspeak.PfvRel Def]

[[ LHgɛ̀lɛ̀-gé rì pɔ́y] gì] ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHbǒ:

[[ LHplace-Pl Def all] Loc] thus 1Pl LHbe

‘The words (=what) you-Sg have said now is definitely true, Diadié. The words you-Sg have said, in our land, that [focus]’s how we are.’

*[for* LHgɛ̀lɛ̀-gé rì pɔ́y*, see comment @ 09:34]*

14:41

A: [gàndá [nì wɛ́:] rì] gì] ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHbǒ:, [nì ká]

[country [1PlPoss thing] Def] Loc] thus 1PlSbj LHbe, [1Pl Top]

[[nì LHdè:-ŋgé] gì] [[nì LHmbɔ̀:-gé] gì]

[[1PlPoss LHelder.sib-Pl] Loc] [[1PlPoss LHgrandfather-Pl] Loc]

[[nì LHdè:-ŋgé] LHdè:-ŋgé là] ɛ́rɔ̀,

[[1PlPoss LHelder.sib] LHelder.sib too] thus,

[[nì LHdè:-ŋgé] LHdè:-ŋgé là] ɛ́rɔ̀ nì jù:ndé,

[[1PlPoss LHelder.sib] LHelder.sib too] thus 1PlSbj encounter.Pfv,

‘In our country, that [focus]’s how we are. Among our elder brothers, among our grandfathers, among the elder brothers of our elder brothers (=our paternal ancestors) too it was lke that, among the elder brothers of our elder brothers (=our paternal ancestors) too, that [focus]’s how we found (=inherited) (it).’

14:50

A: [[gàndá r pó→] gì] ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHbǒ:

[[country Def all] Loc] thus 1PlSbj LHbe,

én-nǎyⁿ hàlí yò:, [[ájá nà LHdàmí] LHtɔ̀rɔ́]

that.other until today, [[now 3SgSbj LHspeak.Rel] LHlike]

sàfé [tònì pɔ́s] [nà LHànjìnɛ́] yá bò-∅,

which.means [talk(n) all] [3SgPoss LHremainder] Exist.Dist be-3SgSbj,

‘In our land, that [focus]’s how we are. So even today, like what he said now, each (segment of) talk has its remainder (=complement).’

*[i.e. we can’t say everything*; én-nǎyⁿ *‘that (other one)’, see also @ 16:20 below, is a somewhat opaque combination including demonstrative* érì*, also in* én-nà=ẃⁿ *‘it’s that (other one)’, with obviative function, in this passage shifting to a different time frame]*

14:58 (**change of speaker**)

B: [nì ká] [nì dàm-bá] [[ég gì] LHɲà:nìyé]

[1Pl Top] [1PlSbj speak-IpfvRel] [[Dem.Def Acc] LHstep.over.Rel]

[tòn(ì) tó: kà] nì sà:-nà,

[talk(n) other Top] 1PlSbj have-StatNeg

[gàndá [nì LHwɛ̌:] rì] gì], érì bô:,

[country [1PlPoss LHthing] Def] Loc] Dem.Def be,

‘As for us, what we are saying, what(ever) goes beyond that, we have no other (=further) words (to say). In our country, that is there.’

15:03

B: [nì ká] sójé-gé pós,

[1Pl Top] Dogon-Pl all,

[nì LHbɛ̀lì-gé] yà↗, [nì LHnà:-ŋgé] yà↗,

[1PlPoss LHanimal-Pl] with, [1PlPoss LHcow-Pl] with,

[nì LHùnà-gé] yà↗, [nì LHà:nà-gé] yà↘,

[1PlPoss LHgoat-Pl] with, [1PlPoss LHsheep-Pl] with,

‘All of us Dogon (people), with our animals, with our cows, with our goats, (and) with our sheep.’

15:10

B: nì-là mí: ɲà:-mì, nì-lá [kɛ̀rɔ̀ gí] gwè:,

1Pl-Fut water consume-Caus.Pfv, 1Pl-Fut [savanna Loc] exit(v).Pfv,

[[nì LHbɛ̀lì-gé] gì tán] nì LHtàgá,

[[1PlPoss LHanimal-Pl] Acc only] 1PlSbj LHfollow.Stat,

‘We will let them (=animals) drink water. We will take them out to the (wooded) savanna. We just follow our animals.’

15:15

B: [[nì LHbɛ̀lì-gé] gwè:-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, jéná:gú rì,

[[1PlPoss LHanimal-Pl] exit(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if, rainy.season Def,

[bɛ̀lì-gè]-gírí to᷈:↗, [kùbɛ̀-ndɛ̀]-kúbí to᷈:↘,

[animal-Pl]-take.to.pasture.Agent apart, [cultivate-Nom]-cultivate.Agent apart,

‘When the animals go out, in the rainy season, a herder and a farmer are separated.’

*[ [X to᷈:↗] [Y to᷈:↘] ‘X and Y are apart (separated or distinct)’, parallelistic construction with intonational closure]*

15:21

B: [kùbɛ̀-ndɛ̀]-kúbí to᷈:↗, yàlà-[dáŋí-yí] là to᷈:↘,

[cultivate-Nom]-cultivate.Agent apart, field-[guard-MP.Agent] too apart,

[nà LHdò:ŋgè-bé:] yà↗, [nà LHyàlá] wɛ̀: LHkàm-bá yà↘,

[3SgPoss LHwatchman-child] and, [3SgPoss LHfield] thing LHdo-IpfvRel and,

‘A farmer and a field-guardian are also separated. Its (=field’s) watchman, and what is done in his field.’

*[‘watchman-child’ need not be a child]*

15:28

B: émá-gé rì yà↗, yò:-gé rì yà↗, ɛ̀rɛ̀gé rì yà↘,

sorghum-Pl Def and, millet-Pl Def and, rice Def and,

ég-gè pós [ájá kày], ájá [nì LHgàndá r] gì]

Dem.Def-Pl all [now Top], now [1PlPoss LHcountry Def] Loc]

[ég-gè pós] kùbà-wⁿ ɛ́rɔ̀ nì LHsǎ:,

[Def.Dem-Pl all] cultivate-while thus 1PlSbj LHhave,

‘The sorghum, and the millet, and the rice. All those now, now in our land, all those we cultivate and have (=get) like that.’

15:36

B: hál nwà:lá ɛ̀rɛ̀gɛ̀ kúb-bà ànìyá nì è kání-sà,

even this.year rice cultivate-VblN intention 1PlSbj Exist do-Reslt,

[ér gì] ɲà:nì-yè-∅ mɛ̀,

[Dem.Def Acc] step.over-MP-3SgSbj if,

[ɛ̀rɛ̀gé l là] tèndè-∅ mɛ̀,

[rice Def too] be.well.made.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

‘Even this year we are planning to do rice-farming. If it goes beyond that, if the rice too turns out well,’

15:41

1B: [yò:-gé r yà], [yò:-gé r là]

[millet-Pl Def and], [millet-Pl Def too]

[nì LHŋgù:rɛ́ l là],

[1PlPoss LHsustenance Def too],

[ér là] [ŋ̀gù:rɛ́ tán] nì LHjɔ̀lɔ̀-bá,

[Dem.Def too] [sustenance only] 1PlSbj LHlook.for.IpfvRel,

‘With the millet, the millet too, our sustenance too, that too, it’s just sustenance [focus] that we look for.’

*[millet is the traditional staple cereal; rice can be consumed in place of millet, or sold]*

15:45

B: [égá:gú déndá:gú pɔ́s] [ŋ̀gù:rɛ́ [nì LHwɛ̌:]],

[morning midday all] [sustenance [1PlPoss LHthing]],

ér=yò nì jɔ̀lɔ̀-bá,

Dem.Def=Foc 1PlSbj look.for.IpfvRel,

‘Every morning and afternoon, our sustenance, that [focus]’s what we look for.’

15:47

B: [á: LHsàgú] [é LHsàgú] pós,

[God LHtrust] [2Pl LHtrus] all,

[én nà] yá: kè LHsɛ̌:,

[Dem.Def too] there.Def 3PlSbj LHhave.PastRel,

‘Trusting in both God and you (yourselves), that too what they had there,

*[<* /érì là/ *)*

15:52 (**change of speaker**)

A: *bon*, [ɛ̀rɛ̀gè LHyàlá] nà LHgùnɛ́ rì,

well, [rice LHfield] 3SgSbj LHsay.PfvRel Def,

sàbú, [gɛ̀lɛ̀-gé rì] ájá to᷈:-to᷈:,

because, [place-Pl Def] now apart-apart,

‘Well, the rice field that he talked about, because the (various) places are different from each other now.

15:59

A: [[dílɔ́ LHwɛ̌: rì] yà] [[yò: LHwɛ̌: rì] yà]

[[long.ago LHthing Def] and] [[today LHthing Def] and]

tòmà-ŋgà kárá =là,

same exactly =it.is.not,

‘The situation of the old days and the situation of today are not quite the same.’

[kárá *or iterated* kárá-kárá *‘exactly’, a kind of intensifier for* tòmà-ŋgà *‘same’]*

16:02

A: [ɛ̀rɛ̀gè LHyàlá] dílɔ́, [bùrgù gí=lá mɛ̀] ɔ́r-ɛ̀:,

[rice LHfield] long.ago, [[B Loc]=it.is.not if] not.be.Past-3PlSbj,

ájá mbé: [ɛ̀rɛ̀gè LHyàlá] kám-bà dɛ̀bì-yɛ̀,

now here [rice LHfield] do-VblN begin.Pfv-3PlSbj,

‘In the past, there was no rice field, except at Bourgou. Now they have begun making a rice field here (near Ningo).’

*[Bourgou is a rice-growing zone near the Niger River that is flooded annually]*

16:08

A: sàbú ìjò-gè mbé: [[nì LHgɛ̀lɛ́] gì] LHbò:-gé rì pɔ́s,

because village-Pl here [[1PlPoss LHplace] Loc] LHbe.Rel-Pl Def all,

[ɛ̀rɛ̀gè LHyàlá] kám-bà dɛ̀bì-yɛ̀,

[rice LHfield] do-VblN begin.Pfv-3PlSbj

‘Because all of the villages that are here near us, they have begun making rice field(s).’

16:12

A: àmbìlé-gè [bɔ̀:rɛ́ [dɛ́: yà pìyɔ̀lù]] gíró-b-à:↗,

certain-Pl [sack [forty and ten]] get-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

àmbìlé-gè [bɔ̀:rɛ́ tɛ̀:mɛ̀dɛ̀rɛ̀] gíró-b-à:↗,

certain-Pl [sack hundred] get-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

àmbìlé-gè hàlí [bɔ̀:rɛ́ tɛ̀:mɛ́-n nì:ŋgà] gíró-b-à:↘,

certain-Pl even [sack hundred two] get-Ipfv-3PlSbj,

‘Some people get (=produce) fifty sacks (of rice). Some people get one hundred sacks.’

*[reference is to 100-kilo sacks of unshelled rice; ‘two hundred’ has an extra -n ]*

16:20

A: hàyà én-nǎyⁿ ájá á:mì tɛ̀gɛ̀-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

well that.other now rain(n) rain.fall.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

[mí: rì] gɛ́lɛ́ sìgò-wá rì,

[water Def] place descend-Ipfv.Rel Def,

‘Well, if it has rained now, (in) the place where the water has come down (from the cliffs),’

*[for* én-nǎyⁿ *see comment @ 14:50 above]*

16:24

A: [[[cò:fòl-gé rì] gɛ́lɛ́ b-ǎ:] rì]

[[[stream.bed-Pl Def] place be.Rel-3PlSbj] Def]

[gɛ́lɛ́ mí: ìgì-yò-bá] [gɔ̀bɔ̀lɔ̀L kúnjú-gé rì],

[place water stop-MP-IpfvRel] [pool.bed old-Pl Def],

‘(In) the place where there are stream beds, (in) the place where the (rain-)water stops, (in) old pool beds,’

*[*cò:fǒl *~* cò:fòlí *denotes humid, forested areas where rainwater flows slowly;* gɔ́bɔ́lɔ́ *is a natural depression where the rainwater forms pools;* bóndó *(see below) denotes a deeper pond bed, whether natural or dug up for bricks]*

16:28

A: yá: [bòndòL kúnjú-gé báy-gé rì] yà,

there.Def [deep.pond.bedL old-Pl big-Pl Def] with,

[ájá kà] [érì-gè là] tɛ́lɔ́-bà dɛ̀bì-yɛ̀,

[now Top] [Dem.Def too] block-VblN begin.Pfv-3PlSbj,

‘There, with the large old pond beds. Now (in) those (places) too they have begun damming.’

*[i.e. building up small earth “dikes” with pick-hoes to retain rainwater]*

16:31

A: [kè-lá ùnì] [kè-lá [bɔ̀:L bíní-bíní] kànì],

[3Pl-Fut go.Pfv] [3Pl-Fut [dikeL big-big] do.Pfv],

kè-là [mí: rì] tɛ̀lɛ̀,

3Pl-Fut [water Def] block.Pfv,

‘They will go and make big (earth) dikes. They will block the water (flow).’

16:35

A: [mí: rì] tɛ̀lì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, [ɛ̀rɛ̀gé rì] kè-lá kùbɛ̀,

[water Def] block.Pfv-3PlSbj if, [rice Def] 3Pl-Fut cultivate.Pfv,

‘When they have blocked the water flow, they will cultivate the rice.’

16:40

A: kúbí-yɛ́=ẁ kànì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, kɔ́y sɔ̀b-bó rì,

cultivate-Pass=it.is do.Pfv-3SgSbj if, grass sprout-IpfvRel Def,

[kɔ́y rì kây] nà-gì gɛ́yɛ́-bò pòmpí yá s-à:,

[grass Def Top] 3Sg-Acc kill-Ipfv pump(n) Exist.Dist have-3PlSbj,

[érì yà] kè-lá gɛ̀yɛ̀,

[Dem.Def Inst] 3Pl-Fut kill.Pfv,

‘When the rice has been cultivated, grass that sprouts (=weeds), the grass (=weeds), they have pumps that kill it. They will kill it with that.’

*[herbicide is sprayed to kill weeds in the rice fields]*

16:47

A: [érì yà] gɛ̀y-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[Dem.Def Inst] kill.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[[kùbɔ́ t] LHtùnú] gì,

[[cultivation Def] LHbehind] Loc,

‘When they have killed (it) with that, after the cultivating,’

16:50

A: bání [kè dàmá:=ẁⁿ] nì nù:ndé dé,

manner [3PlSbj speak=while] 1PlSbj hear.PfvRel Emph,

[kè kàná:-ẁⁿ] nì bàlì-yé yâ:,

[3PlSbj do=while] 1PlSbj see-MP.PfvRel and,

‘The way we have heard them speak, (the same way) we (subsequently) saw them doing.’

*[i.e. they did what they had said they would do]*

16:52

A: kè-là [bɔ̀:rɛ́ rì], ɛ̀rɛ̀gè gànì, ɛ̀rɛ̀gè gànì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

3Pl-Fut [sack Def], rice put.in.Pfv, rice put.in.Pfv-3SgSbj if,

kè-lá [sìnì ŋá] [[mí: LHkùlìyé] gì] kè-lá tùnì,

3Pl-Fut [convey and.Nonpast.S] [[water LHinside] Loc] 3Pl-Fut put.in.Pfv,

‘They will put rice (seeds) (in) sack(s). When they have put rice in (them), they will take them and put (the rice) in the water.’

*[Seeds are packed in sacks and left in water for 3 days to germinate, then planted in the rice field;* gán *‘put in’ denotes pouring grain or liquids into a container,* tún *‘put (in)’ is more general]*

17:00

A: [hál jɛ̀: ŋá] kɛ́mɔ́-gé nǎ: kànì,

[until take and.Nonpast.SS] point(n)-Pl 3SgSbj do.Pfv,

kɛ́mɔ́-gé kànì-yɛ̀ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

point(n)-Pl be.done.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

‘Eventually it makes sharp points (=rice sprouts)

17:03

A: gɛ́lɛ́ yá: kè-ẃⁿ tɛ̀lɛ̀-sà-wⁿ kè LHkùbɛ̀-sá,

place and 3Pl-Indep block-Reslt-while 3PlSbj LHcultivate-ResltRel,

[kɔ́y gɛ̀lɛ̀L gɛ́y-yɛ́-∅ r] gì,

[grass placeL kill-Pass.Pfv-it.is Def] Loc

‘There where they have dammed and cultivated, in the place where the grass (=weeds) have been killed,’

*[*gɛ̀lɛ̀L *{L}-toned as relative head noun directly before passive;* gɛ́y-yɛ́=ẁ *‘be killed’ ]*

17:05

A: [[[gɛ̀lɛ́ r] gì] sìnì ŋá] [ɛ̀rɛ̀gé rì] kè-lá àmì,

[[[place Def] Loc] convey and.Nonpast.SS] [rice Def] 3PlSbj-Fut sprinkle.Pfv,

[ɛ̀rɛ̀gé rì] àmì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀, nǎ: sɔ̀bɛ̀,

[rice Def] sprinkle.Pfv-3PlSbj if, 3SgSbj-Fut sprout(v).Pfv,

‘They will take the rice (seeds) to the place (=rice field) and scatter it (by tossing it). When they have scattered it, it will sprout.’

*[the seeds are scattered by tossing into the already inundated rice field]*

17:11

A: sɔ̀bɛ̀-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

sprout(v).Pfv-3SgSbj if,

kòndè [tɔ̀rràL tó:] [hǎl tò→mà] sà:-nà-∅,

later [annoyanceL other] [even one] have-StatNeg-3SgSbj,

sè-wánà: [ɛ̀rɛ̀gé rì] á:mì dɛ̌y,

other.than [rice Def] rain(n) just,

‘When it has sprouted, afterwards it doesn’t have even one other problem, except just rain (for) the rice.’

17:18

A: á:mì dàŋì-y-yè, [ɛ̀rɛ̀gé rì] sɔ̀bɛ̀-∅,

rain(n) wait.for-MP-3PlSbj, [rice Def] sprout(v).Pfv-3SgSbj,

ìbè-∅ [[tágú r] gì],

catch.Pfv-3SgSbj [[ground Def] Loc],

‘They (=seeds) have waited for the rain. The rice has sprouted. It has seized (=taken root) on the ground.’

*[There is variation in this passage between singular and plural agreement for ‘rice’, depending on whether it is conceptualized as a mass/abstraction, or as a plurality of seeds or plants]*

17:23

A: ìbì-yè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

catch.Pfv-3PlSbj if,

[mí: rì] ní ɲàkí kànà-nì-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[water Def] if missing do-PfvNeg-3SgSbj if,

‘When it has seized (=taken root), as long as the (rain-)water has not been lacking (=deficient),’

17:25

A: [hàlí wɛ́:wɛ̀] kòndè nà-gì tɛ́l-dà-∅,

[even anything] later 3Sg-Acc block-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,

kɔ́y nà-gí tòrí kán-dà-∅↗,

grass 3Sg-Acc prevention do-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,

[wɛ̀: L tó: pɔ́s] nà-gí tòrí kán-dà-∅↘,

[thingL other all] 3Sg-Acc prevention do-IpfvNeg-3SgSbj,

‘Nothing further will prevent it (from growing). Weeds won’t prevent it (from growing).’

17:30

A: únjígé-∅ mɛ̀-nɛ̀, álhámdùlìllá:hì,

get.up.Pfv-3SgSbj if, praise.to.God,

[ɛ̀rɛ̀gé r gè] sɔ̀bì-yɛ̀ bìlè mɛ̀-nɛ̀,

[rice Def Pl] sprout(v).Pfv-3PlSbj Past if,

‘When it (=rice) stands up, praise to God, when the rice has already sprouted (=grown),’

17:35

A: [[ɛ̀ktà:r tó:má] ò LHsǎ:] nǎ: bìlè,

[[hectare one] 2SgSbj LHhave] 3SgSbj-Fut

‘xx

17:

A: xx

xx

‘xx

17:

A: xx

xx

‘xx

17:

A: xx

xx

‘xx

\*\*\*\*\*\*

17:

A: xx

xx

‘xx

bɛ̀lì dɔ́lmɛ́ ‘livestock animal kept at the house (to be fattened)’