Togo Kan (Dogon) Texts

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Introduction

Togo Kan is a Dogon language spoken primarily in villages in the plains southeast of the eastern Dogon escarpment. It is closely related to Tengou Kan, Woru Kan, Guimri Kan, and Tene Kan, which are thought to form a tightly-knit genetic group (southeastern Dogon).

The texts transcribed and translated here are offered as a supplement my *A grammar of Togo Kan* (2015), available online at Language Description Heritage Library and other open-source websites. The texts were recorded in 2011 in Koporo-Pe village and later transcribed with an assistant who was born and raised there.

The texts in tape 2011.1, track A, are interview-style texts. Track B consists of five tales, all of which include song segments. Togo Kan transcriptions are presented in Part One, followed by English translations in Part Two. Page breaks are coordinated between the two to facilitate analysis. The first text (2011.1a09) below is also presented at the end of the grammar, in fully marked-up form with interlinear glosses and grammatical commentary. The present work does not use interlinears, but adds brackets to show phrasal groupings, and has numerous footnotes on difficult passages.

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Further documents on Dogon languages, and images and documentary videos, are presented on the project website (www.dogonlanguages.org). Readers not familiar with Malian farming might want to view relevant videos before tackling the interview texts. We offer videos of driving birds out (cf. 2011.1a.07), harvesting millet (2011.1a12), groundnuts (2011.1a19), and threshing fonio and roselle (2011.1a25 and 28), among other activities. However, our videos are based on footage from other parts of Dogon country. Information about millet (now *Cenchrus spicatus*, ex. *Pennisetum glaucum*), groundnut (*Vigna subterranea*), fonio (*Digitaria exilis*), cow-pea (*Vigna unguiculata*), and roselle (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*) can also be gotten from our site or from many other sources.

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Part 1: Transcriptions

2011.1a.01 Planting

B: dàgà-nùŋú pǒ:-ỳ [dè A][1]

A: pǒ:→

B: ɛ́mɛ́ íyé nî [bá:sí gɛ̂:] yè-lâ:

A: àmá bá:sí pógó[2]

B: wálà:, nɔ́: kà:ná [ɛ́mɛ́ kè], ɛ́mɛ́, tògò-gánà,[3] wárú bà^{n} wà-jù,[4] wárú ɲàŋ-ɛ̂ dè, lɛ̌ ɲàŋ-ɛ̂ dè, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bíré dɔ̀:,[5] [kó sɔ́:] ú=ǹ úŋɔ́r^{n}ɔ́-ɲú gɛ̀:, *maintenant* ɛ́mɛ́ tí→, [lɛ̌ kû^{n}] lá: tɔ̀rɔ̀-jù, *maintenant* [ɛ́mɛ́ gánà],[6] [lɛ̌ dɔ̀:-lí] [kó kɔ́-ǹ dè], ɛ́mɛ́ ìŋé lá: bì-jì

A: [[lɛ̌ dɔ̀:-lí] [kó kɔ́-ǹ dè]] [ɛ́mɛ́ bàrà-bíré lá: bì-jì], bàrà-bíré jìwè-[tɛ̀:r-ú] bè→, gìwɛ̀ dègé-dègé→, ɲù:-[kè:n-ú] gà:nà-ɲù, té-téré[7] té:ré-jú bè→, ɔ̀:rɔ̀ dág-à→ ɲù:-lɛ̌ ɲùnú-gó-jú té:ré-jú bè→, [[yɔ́: tɔ̀gù dày^{n}] ɛ́mɛ́ bǐ-ǹ[8] dè] [pá→ yè-∅ dè], ɛ́mɛ́ àr^{n}ú dɔ̀m-ɛ̀:-ɲù

B: *bon*, né:, àr^{n}ú kà:ná, àr^{n}ú tí→ lɔ́w-ɛ̀ dè, é íyé=ǹ ìŋé bì-jì

A: àr^{n}ú tí→ lɔ́w-ɛ̀ dè, ɛ́mɛ́ lɛ̀-lɛ́:-jú, lɛ̀-kɔ̌^{n} ɲàŋá-sɛ̂^{n} dè,[9] ɲù:-sǎ sɔ́:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [bàrá yè] [wàgà-tùmò pɛ̌^{n}] lɛ́:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [ɲú: kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè] [ɛ́mɛ́ nám-ɛ̀ dè],[10] ɛ́mɛ́ wárú dɔ̀m-ɛ̀:-ɲù, á:r^{n}ɛ́: yɔ̂-ŋ bì-téŋè

B: *maintenant*, kó, ɲû: [hâl é lɛ́:] [é kɛ̂:^{n}], [[[ɲà gàmá] tɔ́-ɛ̀] [[ɲà gàmá] tɔ̀:-lí] dè] [é nɛ́:] [kô nɛ́:] ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ bì-jì]

A: [gàmá tɔ́-ɛ̀] [gàmá tɔ̀:-lí] dè, ɛ́mɛ́ íyé=ǹ ɲù:-sǎ sɔ́:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [ɲá ɛ́n-ì-ì] táŋá yè-∅ dè,[11] [ɛ́mɛ́ jɔ́ŋɔ́r^{n}ɔ́ gì-jì]

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[1] A stands for the interviewee's personal name. As A is older than B, B adds dè (variant of 'father') before the personal name out of respect.

[2] Imperative with third person ('God') subject in a wish.

[3] Tonal locative.

[4] Imperfective non-subject relative (manner adverbial).

[5] The construction is [X ɲàŋ-ɛ́ dè] [Y dɔ̀:], lit. "it will take (=pick up) X (and) reach Y."

[6] Tonal locative.

[7] Iteration of téré 'cut, chop'.

[8] Subordinating form of bìré 'do'.

[9] The four -sɛ̂^{n} dè clauses in the passage beginning here are are marked for plural subject, but are understood to share the 1Pl subject that finally appears overtly in the clauses with nám-ɛ̀ and dɔ̀m-ɛ̀:-ɲù.

[10] Here 1Pl ɛ́mɛ́ finally appears as subject of this clause and the preceding clauses. After the overt 1Pl subject pronoun, the verb no longer (redundantly) marks subject plurality by suffix -sɛ̂^{n}.

[11] … táŋá yè-∅ dè 'if it happens that …'.

[émɛ́ yé-∅ dè] [[ɲú:∴ ɲú:∴][12] gân], émɛ́ lè-ùrⁿú tɔ́:-tɔ́:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [ɲú: tú-túrú námá-námá-sɛ̂ⁿ dè], lígé-m̀ dàgà-jù

B: *maintenant*, lɛ̌ kè, [lè-kɔ̌ⁿ bè] lɛ̌ = lò dè, *est-ce que* [[lè pèré] bàⁿ lɛ́:-jú][13] yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: [[lè-kɔ̌ⁿ té→] bè], lɛ́: = lò dè, [[ɔ̀jɔ̀ pèré] bè] lɛ́:-jú] < émɛ́-- > émɛ́ = nì [kó dó:rù] gà-gárà, lè-kɔ̌ⁿ ígɛ́-ní: lɛ́:-jú sógò, [[kó bè] ná:rⁿà][14] [émɛ́ [lè-kɔ̌ⁿ bè] lɛ́:-jú]

B: né: pèré yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: pèré, [gàmà ná], [dág-à→ kɔ̂ dè], [ú gă-ní:[15] dè] [gàmá [kúwɔ́ bè] tógùj-ì dè] námá-jô:, [gàmá [jɔ̀ŋùrⁿú bè] tɔ́-ɛ̀ dè] námá-ɲú [kí-ì bɛ̀-jù], kó dág-à→ kɔ̂ dè]

B: [yɔ́: sâ:ⁿ] lɛ̌ = ý *quoi*

A: < yɔ́:-- > yɔ́: lɛ̌ = ý, lɛ̌ sɔ́ⁿ-sɔ́ⁿ yǎ:-táŋà kɔ̀[16]

B: lɛ̌ *est-ce que*, gàmá wàgà-túmó ɔ̀jɔ́ bìr-ɛ̂ dè, < kúwɔ́-- > [kúwɔ́ bè] tógùj-ì dè, [bé lɛ́:-jù][17] [[kó kà:ⁿ] kɔ̀:-rɔ́], ...

A: kó kà:ⁿ--

B: ... ùrɔ̀-bɔ́n gí-ɛ̀: mà

A: [kó kà:ⁿ] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: ɔ́ⁿ, [kó nɛ́:] ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ bì-jì

A: [kó kà:ⁿ] ùrɔ̀-bɔ́n, [wárú gì:ⁿ], jɔ̀ⁿtúrú kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, wàrá-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [wàgà-tùmò kàná] nɛ́: jɔ̀rù-jă[18] gì-jì, [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] né: àⁿsà:rà-[jɔ̀rù-jă] gì-jì, ú nɛ́:, [kúwɔ́ bè] tógùj-ì námá-jô:, [[gǎm ná] [lè-kɔ̌ⁿ bè] [kó kûⁿ] ìg-í-ì dè] [wàgà-tùmò kàná] lɛ́-ɛ̀ dè, námá-ɲú kà:ⁿ íyɛ́ = ǹ yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: kô, [nùmɔ́ bè] bìr-ɛ́:-jú mà→, *ou bien* [sàrú bè] ɔ̀jɔ́ bì-jì--, [sàrú bè] dàn-gà-jù

A: á:rⁿɛ́: [gíré tɔ̀] [sèrí[19] bè], [sèrí yè-lí] [[kó kɔ́] bè],[20] [nùmɔ́ bè] [wàgà-tùmò dágá-dàgà-dàgà] màŋá-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [kó kûⁿ] ɲú: námá-téŋè,

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[12] "between millet and millet," i.e. between millet plants. NP conjunction with dying-quail terminal intonation on both conjuncts.

[13] Manner adverbial clause with bàⁿ 'manner, way' as relative-clause head. Imperfective -jú H-toned before yɔ́ kɔ̀.

[14] {HL} tone contour on nà:rⁿá 'easy' as comparative predicate. Short for gá:rá ná:rⁿà '(be) easier'.

[15] Same-subject subordinator, gàrá 'go past'.

[16] Postverbal kɔ̀ implies widespread multiplicity and can occur with human as well as nonhuman subjects.

[17] Headless imperfective adverbial relative, presumably of manner.

[18] Compound verbal noun based on jɔ̀rú jă: 'prepare field for planting', i.e. with ridges (or rows of mounds) and furrows, made by hand or with a plow.

[19] sàrú and sèrí are (sub-)dialectal variants of 'plow' (Fr *charrue*).

[20] 'before …' construction with perfective negative clause, kɔ́ 'it is' (in relative-clause form), and instrumental bè.

kà:ná [sèrí yèr-ɛ́:] [kó kɛ̂:^{n} mà], [sèrí bè] kárá-sɛ̂^{n} dè, íyɛ́ = ǹ ɲú: [kó kû^{n}] kú:^{n} nàmà-ɲù

B: yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n} nɛ́:, gù^{n}sá^{n} bîn--, kó [gù^{n}sá^{n} bîn] sǎy mà→, *ou bien* hâl [wòrù-bónó[21] bîn] kà:^{n} ɔ̀jɔ́ bì-jì

A: [gù^{n}sá^{n} bîn] kárá bè-mà-jô:→,[22] [wòrù-[pù-pùró][23] bîn] kárá bè-mà-jô:→, [ɲú: dág-à→ kó ɔ́gù] gè:,[24] [kó gè:] bǐ-téŋè, ɲú: kó gá:rá kà:^{n}, nɛ́: kè:nè-jù

B: [é nɛ́:] [lɛ̌ kû^{n}] pèré [[sɔ̀: pèrè] tíŋɛ́ é bè-jù] yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà, [[yɔ́: nà] sâ:^{n}] gàr-ê dè

A: sɔ̀: pèré, [sɔ̀: kàná] á:r^{n}ɛ́: ɛ́mɛ́ ínɛ́ gà→, kà:ná ɛ́mɛ́, pɔ̀ŋɔ́ gí:^{n}, ɲá bùgúj-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [kó bîn] [lɛ̌ lɛ́:-jú kà:^{n}] yɛ́[25] bì-téŋè

B: [kô nɛ́:] ìŋɛ́ = ỳ [[kó nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́] yǎ:-kɔ̀ = ỳ

A: kô ɲú: kó gá:rá ké:né-jú, [[kó gè:] bǐ-téŋè] [ɲú: kó gá:rá ké:né-jú]

B: [yɔ́: sâ:^{n} fú:] lɛ̌ = ỳ

A: [yɔ́: sâ:^{n} fú:] lɛ̌ = ỳ

B: [yɔ́: dógó ní:] [lɛ̀ pèré] kɔ̀:-rɔ́

A: [yɔ́: dógó ní:] [lɛ̀ pèré], lɛ̀ pèré, ɛ́mɛ́ [yɔ́: dógó ní:] [lɛ̀ pèré], pèré jùgɔ̂:-rè

B: [yɔ́: nà wɔ̀^{n}] nɛ́: kà:ná, [é [[yɔ́: nà] sâ:^{n} fú:] bìrɛ́-sɛ̂^{n}

A: é→

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[21] cf. verb bònó ‘hoe (earth) into a small mound (with the daba)’.

[22] bè-mà- from bɛ̌-m̀, causative of bèré.

[23] wòrù-[pù-pùró] is synonymous to wòrù-bónó (see just above).

[24] Purposive with {HL}-toned predicative comparative adjective ^{HL}ɔ́gù ‘be faster’.

[25] Existential yɛ́, not demonstrative adverb yɛ̂ ‘there’.

2011.1a.02 When the millet has sprouted

B: *maintenant*, yɔ́: kà:ná é bír-ɛ̀,[26] nɛ́: ɲú: [kó kɛ̀] tɔ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, nɛ́: íyɛ́=ǹ [[ɲù:-tɔ̃ yɔ̀:][27] bîn] [ìŋɛ́ lá: tɔ̀rɔ̀-jù]

A: [ɲù:-tɔ̌ bínì], gàmá [kó bínì] [ɲú: bínì], nǐ páŋá-jê:, gàmà-tɔ̀gú àɲú páŋá-jê:, yɔ́: [gíré tɔ̀]=ỳ, nì-sô: gàmá túró-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀, gàmá ɲú: kú:^{n}[28] tɔ̀:-jù, ɲú: tɔ́: ún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀, kú:^{n} gɛ̀rɛ̀-jù

B: *bon*, í^{n}--, [bà^{n} í^{n} pór-í][29] [ú gàr-á→ pà:mà-lí], [ɲù:-tɔ̌ dɛ̂ŋ][30] ɛ́mɛ́ námà dɔ̀:-lâ:, [kà:ná ɲà í^{n} pó-jù][31] lɛ̌=ý,

lɛ̌ kà:ná [é lɛ̌ lɛ́:][32] [ɲú: tɔ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀], [ɲú: tɔ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀], *maintenant* kà:ná wárú dɔ̀:-lí, *maintenant* lɛ̌ gàrá yè-∅, [kó wò→] gân, [[sɔ̀: pèré] bí-jí][33] kɔ̀:-rɔ́

A: wárú dɔ̀:-lí→, lɛ̌ gàrá yè-∅, [[wárú dɔ̀:-lí→] [lɛ̌ gàrá yè]--

B: námà àr^{n}ú yè-lí

A: [àr^{n}ú yɛ̂:-rò] [kí-ì dɛ̀], ɛ́mɛ́ [[ɲú: kɛ́nɛ̀] gù-gùrù só][34] kó kó-kò:jù[35] dǎ^{n}-jê:, [ɲà gàmá] [ɲà bɔ̀^{n}bà:r^{n}ú] [kó kɛ̀] pɔ̀ŋɔ́ wǎ-jê:, [sɔ̀: yɔ̂-ŋ] [sɔ̀: kɛ́wɛ́ré-kɛ̀wɛ̀rɛ̀] ɛ́mɛ́ bǐ-ǹ dɛ̀, pá→ àr^{n}ú lɔ̀wɔ̀-jù

B: nɛ́: [[gù-gùrù]-kò:j-û yɔ̀:[36] nà] dà[37] …

A: é

B: … kô, < ɲú:=ǹ > ɲú:=ǹ [kó nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́] ìŋɛ́=ỳ

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[26] Relative clause with preverbal subject proclitic (é) and {HL}-toned perfective verb participle (bír-ɛ̀).

[27] L-toned form of yɔ́: 'that (near-distant)' after a tonal definite form of noun ɲù:-tɔ̌.

[28] kú:^{n} 'then'. Literal sense 'like that'.

[29] Nonsubject (manner) perfective relative.

[30] Tonal locative with possessed form of dɛ̌ŋ 'place'.

[31] Nonsubject imperfective relative.

[32] Bare stem form of lɛ́: 'plant (seeds)', as though chained to the following verb (which has a different subject).

[33] Nonsubject imperfective relative with unexpressed impersonal subject (like instrumental relative compound). Verb bìrɛ́ 'do'.

[34] Relative clause based on stative quasi-verb (yɛ́) sò 'be in'.

[35] For kó:jù-kó:jù (reduplicated). The preceding kó (if a nonhuman pronoun rather than a false start) is superfluous.

[36] Demonstrative yɔ́: with L-tone after a tonal definite.

[37] Topic particle dà ('what about …?') at the end of a NP that will be subject (or, in this case, possessor of subject) in a following interrogative.

A: [gú-gúrù yɔ̀:],[38] ɲú: = nì sɛ̀^{n} = lá, ú gú-gúrù kó:j-ɛ̀: dàg-ê dè, ɲú: kó gá:rá sǎ^{n} bɛ̀-jù, háyɛ̀ [kó sógò] [[[ɲú: bɔ́rɔ̀] gù-gùrù kɔ̂] ú kó:j-ɛ̀:] dàg-ê dè, ɲú: = nì kó gá:rá--, [[sà^{n}-bɛ̀r-ú] [kó kɛ̀]] [kó gárà][39] sógò, [kó g-î dè] [émé gú-gúrù dàr^{n}á-dàr^{n}á dàgà-jù]

B: <yɔ́:-- > [yɔ́: sâ:^{n} fú→], [[kɛ̌: bà→ kɛ̀.∴] [kà:ná kɛ̀.∴] sâ:^{n} fú→] mɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀

A: <yɔ́:-- > yɔ́: [[kó wò→] mɔ́:nú] [kó yǎ:-táŋà]

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [lɛ̌ kɛ̀] = ̀: là:[40]

A: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [lɛ̌ kɛ̀] sɔ́^{n}-sɔ́^{n} yǎ:-táŋà

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[38] L-toned demonstrative after tonal definite.

[39] [kó gárà] is a fixed phrase 'to a greater extent', cf. gàrá 'big'. Not directly equatable to gá:rá 'more'.

[40] Tag question particle.

2011.1a.03 The first round of weeding ("black farming")

B: *maintenant* [[yɔ́: nà] sâ:^{n} fú→] dòg-ê dè, …

A: é→

B: … [émɛ́ né:] kà:ná [wárú kû^{n}] dɔ̀:-jù

A: é→

B: wárú dà, émɛ́ kà:ná, ɲãŋ lá: tɔ̀rɔ̀-jù

A: wárú→, né: lɛ̌ lɛ́: jê dè, né: wɔ́y^{n}, [ɲú: né:] [[[nìŋìr^{n}ǐ [pɛ́rɛ̀: [nú:né: ságà]]]][41] bè], [[nìŋìr^{n}ǐ pɛ̌-lɔ́y] bè]][42] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè, [né: wɔ̀y^{n}], [kɛ̌: [gíré tɔ̀]] [nùmɔ́ kè]=̀: dè, [né: wɔ̀^{n}] wàr-ê dè, ɲú: bɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ dágá, [wàr-ê dè] [ɲú: bɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ dágá], [wàr-ê dè] [ɲú: bɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ dágá], [á:r^{n}é: gírè] yɔ̂-ŋ, [kɔ̌^{n} bè] sɔ́^{n}-sɔ́^{n}[43] yɔ̂-ŋ wà-jù

B: [nìŋìr^{n}í [pɛ́rɛ̀: [nú:né: ságà]]] dɔ̀:-lí dè, [wárú wɔ̀^{n}] bìr-ê:-rò[44]

A: wárú bìr-ê:-rò, [nìŋìr^{n}í [pɛ́rɛ̀: [nú:né: ságà]]] dɔ̀:-lí dè, ɲú:[45] bɔ̀:-dî: ɛ̀:-lí, [ú wàr-ê dè] [[ɲù: gàmá] dày^{n}] nú: yà:-jù,

[bɔ̀:-dî: bɛ̀rɛ̀[46] ɛ̀:-lí dè] [ú wàr-ê dè] nù-nú:-ɲú, háyɛ̀ [kó gì] dág-à→ nìŋìr^{n}ì-lùgó [[nìŋìr^{n}í [pɛ́rɛ̀: [nú:né: ságà]]] bà→] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè, kú:^{n} tɔ̀rɔ̀-jù

B: [kô né:] [kó bɔ̂^{n}] ɲãŋ gì-jù

A: [kó bɔ̂^{n} né:] [wàrù gɛ́^{n}] gì-jì

B: wàrù gɛ́^{n}, wàrù-[gó:-gú] mà→ [wàrù gɛ́^{n}]

A: [kô né:] <[wàrù gɛ́^{n}]-- > [wàrù gɛ́^{n}] gì-jì, é→

B: wàrù-[gó:-gú] yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà

A: wàrù-[gó:-gú] gí-ɛ̀:[47] dè, [kò-kó:jò yɔ̀:] wàrù-[gó:-gú] kó=ý, [[gù-gùrù]-bɔ̀rɔ̀]-[dàr^{n}-ú], wàrù-[gó:-gí]=ý, [wàrù nâ:], [wàrù gɛ́^{n}] kó=ý

B: né: [[wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] dà], ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ [kô né:] wǎ-téŋè

A: [wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] kà:ná--

B: < xxx >

A: [wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] kà:ná, [né: wɔ̀^{n}] [[wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè] [ɲá ɛ́n-ì: dè], [né: wɔ̀^{n}] [sâ:^{n} fú→] né: bàrá dɛ̀gɛ̀-jù, [nǎ sâ:^{n}] bàrá dɛ̀gɛ́-jú kè wɔ̀^{n}, né: [wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] yɔ́: kó=ý,

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[41] Composite numeral (roughly 'ten five plus' = 'fifteen'), with pɛ́rɛ̀: allomorph of 'ten'.

[42] [X bè] [Y bè], defining the beginning and end of a time interval.

[43] sɔ́^{n}-sɔ́^{n} 'all together', here translatable as 'exclusively'. The point is that, in the past, everyone used the daba to farm by hand.

[44] bìr-ê:-rò 'isn't done', in the sense 'cannot be done'.

[45] ɲú: 'millet' is not grammatically a possessor here, so I take it as a topic.

[46] Invariant {L}-toned form of bɛ̀rɛ́ 'get, obtain' in the sense 'be able to VP' or, as here, 'have the time (to VP)'.

[47] 'they say', short for gí-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}.

wàrù-kó:jò [wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] dɛ́y^{n}→, [kò-kó:jó gí-ɛ̀: dè] [gàmà ná] yǎ:-jê:, [gàmà ná] yǎ:-rè, háyɛ̀ né: [wàrù gɛ́^{n}] gí-ɛ̀: dè, [nǎ sâ:^{n}] bàrá dɛ̀gɛ̀-jù, é→ kô [wàrù gɛ̂^{n}] = ỳ^{n}

B: né: [[wàrù gɛ́^{n}] bîn dà], [bìrɛ̀-[yà:-kɔ̀]]-[sì:^{n}-ká^{n}],[48] [yà:-kɔ̀]-[sì:^{n}-ká^{n}], [yà:-kɔ̀]-[sì:^{n}-ká^{n}] kɔ̂

A: [[wàrù gɛ́^{n}] bínì] kà:^{n}, né: [wàrù gɛ̂^{n}], [é wǎ-ǹ][49] né: [kó péjɛ́ré yɛ̌-ɛ̀:] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ táŋá yè-∅ dè, [bìrɛ̀ pèré] ɛ̀:rè-lɛ̌ bè→, dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-yá:rá→, [dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀ dágá-dàgà] [kó bínì] páŋá-jê:, [dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-yá:rá, kà:^{n}--wórú[50] kà:^{n}] dɛ́y^{n}→,

[wàrù gɛ̂^{n} yɔ̀:] gân, [kó bìré t-î dè] [íyé = ǹ pílé-m̀] [[wàrù gɛ́^{n}] bínì] [kú:^{n} nú-ɲú kà:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: *non*, ɛ́mɛ́ kà:ná [[wàrù gɛ́^{n}] kû^{n}] sǎ-sày[51] ɲà-mà

A: ɔ̀^{n}hɔ́^{n}

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[48] sì:^{n}-ká^{n} ‘equivalent (in type or comparison)’, compounded with [bìrɛ̀ yǎ:-kɔ̀] ‘which work?’

[49] Verb wàrá.

[50] From wòrú ‘field’, {H}-toned because possessed by dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ̀-yá:rá.

[51] For sǎy-sǎy (iteration of sǎy ‘only’).

2011.1a.04 The second round of weeding ("uprooting")

B: *maintenant*, [wàrù gɛ̂ⁿ], yɔ́: <kó-- > kó wàr-ɛ̂ dè, *maintenant* pílé-m̀ [wàrù pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀ má→ kɔ̀:-rɔ́

A: [wàrù gɛ̂ⁿ] wàrá jɛ̂ dè, [kó kà:ⁿ] íyé=ǹ [nìŋìrⁿí pɛ̌-lɔ́y gí:ⁿ] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè, [wòrú bínì] gú-gú-gúrú gò:-jù, [wòrú bínì] gú-gúrú gɔ̌-è táŋá yè-∅ dè, [wàrù lɔ̀-nìrⁿî] ɛ́mɛ́ mɔ́m gì-jì, ɛ́mɛ́ mɔ́m mɔ̀mɔ̀-ɲù,

mɔ́m [wàrù lɔ̀-nìrⁿí]-- [gù-gùrù dá-dàgà] [dògó tɔ̀] gó:-jú, kó ɛ́mɛ́ wàrá dàrⁿá-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [né: bàⁿ [bìr-ɛ́ dè]][52] [ɲú: bàⁿ < jám > [jám má][53] bàⁿ kó bɛ̀-jù],[54] háyɛ̀ [kó gɛ̀:] [wàrù lɔ̀-nìrⁿî] mɔ́m gì-jì, mɔ́m mɔ̀mɔ̀-ɲù

B: ɲú: [sǎⁿ jám] bàⁿ kó bɛ̀-jù,[55] …

A: é→

B: … né: mɔ́m [kó gɛ̀:] mɔ̀mɔ̀-ɲù

A: é→, mɔ́m [kó gɛ̀:] mɔ̀mɔ̀-téŋɛ̀

B: [kó=ý=lò dè] [nɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ pèré]--, [yɔ́: kà:ⁿ] nɛ̀wⁿɛ́ *mais*, [nɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ pèré] yɔ́:=lò kɔ̀:-rɔ́

A: [nɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ pèré]--, [nɛ̀wⁿɛ̀ pèré], yɔ́ kɔ̀, mɔ́m sàbù mɔ̀mɔ̀-lâ: dè, ɲû: dàg-î: bɛ̃̂:-rò, [ɲû: dàg-î: bɛ̃̂:-rò] [wòrú kà:ⁿ], [wòrú bínì] [gú-gúrú kà:ⁿ] [yògó náŋùrⁿù] íyé=ǹ kó gá:rá tɔ́:-jú,

háyɛ̀ [kó sógò=̀:], [nɔ́wⁿɔ́ bà→] ú [kó gíré] téŋ-è dè, né: [gú-gúrú kà:ⁿ] [wòrú bínì] [yògó náŋùrⁿù] kó gá:rá írè[56] ké:-jô:, [ɲú:=nì kà:ⁿ] kó gá:rá sɛ̂ⁿ kɛ̀:-jù, mɔ́m [yɔ́: gɛ̀:] mɔ̀mɔ́-téŋɛ̀

B: né: mɔ́m gàr-ɛ̂ dè, *est-ce que* [bìrɛ̀ pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [mɔ́m kè wɔ̀ⁿ] [yɔ́: nɛ́:] gàr-ɛ̂ dè, [yɔ́: nɛ́:] [bìrɛ̀ pèré] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [é dɛ̀ŋ-î: [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bíré dɔ̀m-ɛ̀:-ɲù]

B: [yɔ́: né:] [bìrɛ̀ pèrè pɔ̂ⁿ] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀

A: [bìrɛ̀ pèré]--

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ né:], [[ɲú: kè] ágá] tɔ̀, [mɔ́m gàr-ɛ̂ dè] [[bìrɛ̀ pèrè pɔ̂ⁿ] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀]

A: [[ɲú: kè] ágá] tɔ̀, [mɔ́mú gàr-ɛ̂ dè wɔ̀ⁿ], [[ɲú: kè] ágá] tɔ̀ wɔ̀ⁿ, ɛ́mɛ́ [ɔ̀jɔ̀ dɔ̀m-ɛ́:-ɲú][57] ɔ̀:-lâ:, [yî wɔ̀ⁿ né:] yɔ́: kó=ý

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[52] [bìr-ɛ́ dè] often translatable as Fr *faire en sorte que*. The preceding bàⁿ 'manner' anticipates the relative clause ending in bɛ̀-jù.

[53] Reflexive possessor má.

[54] Lit. "the way millet gets its well-being." ɲú: is topical and is resumed by kó (preverbal subject pronoun in nonsubject relative).

[55] Imperfective nonsubject (manner) relative.

[56] ìré 'be better', with {HL} contour due to gá:rá 'more'.

[57] Instrumental relative compound 'something to wait for'.

2011.1a.05 The millet harvest

B: *maintenant* [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}], kà:ná [mɔ́m síyɛ̀], ɛ́mɛ́ [mɔ́m kɛ̀]--, [wárú kɛ̀] pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} [mɔ́m kɛ̀ kà:^{n}] kà:ná pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}, *maintenant est-ce que*-- [[yɔ́: dógó] ní:] *est-ce que* [[bìrɛ̀ pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀]

A: [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [[pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ = lò dè kày], [[ɲú: kɛ̀] ágá] tɔ̀ wɔ̀^{n}, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ dɔ̀m-ɛ́:-ɲú [námà kà:^{n}]

B: [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ dà nɛ́:, [ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ bìr-ɛ̂ dè] tɔ̀rɔ̀-jù

A: nɛ́: [ɲû: yɛ̌-ɛ̀:] kó ír-ɛ̀ táŋá yè-∅ dè, nɛ́: wòrú kɛ́:n-ì táŋá yè-∅ dè, tɔ̀-tɔ́:-jú tɔ́:-tɔ́:-tɔ́: ù-ʔú:-nɔ́-ɲú, [pɔ̀rɔ́ bè] [pɔ̀rɔ́ bè] tɔ́:-tɔ́:-tɔ́: ú:-nù ʔú:-ǹ dè, [ɲú: nɛ́:] < kú:^{n}-- > kú:^{n} gɛ̀rɛ̀-jù

2011.1a.06 Ripening of the millet

B: ɲù:-[gèr-û], [[á:rⁿé: íⁿ pó-jú] gì:ⁿ] námà kó=ý, ɲù:-[gèr-ú] kà:ⁿ, ɛ́mé námà dɔ̀:-lâ:, né: kà:ná mɔ́m mɔ̀mɔ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, ɲû: [[gènè yǎ:-kɔ́] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] dɔ̀:-jù

A: [ɲû: pá→ yè-∅ dè] [[nǎ kúⁿ] mìrⁿí-ɲí bà→ ké:-jú dè], ɲú: géné gàr-á→ gɔ̀wɔ̀-jù

B: géné gɔ̀w-ê dè, íyé=ǹ pílé-m̀ ìŋé bì-jù

A: géné gɔ̀w-ê dè, í:ⁿ--, ɔ́jɔ̀→, pò-póró-jú, pór-è dè, bǒ dànà-ɲù, bǒ dǎǹ-∅ dè, í:ⁿ kùnɔ̀-ɲù, pírí sà:-jù, né: pírí sá-è dè, [yɔ́: nɛ́:] <tá:[58]> [yɔ́: né:] ír-è̀

B: ír-è̀

A: é→ yɔ́: ír-è̀

B: [yɔ́: nà fú→] dɔ̀:-lí dè …

A: é→

B: [ɲú: wɔ̀ⁿ né:] námà, [ɲú: ír-è̀] pòr-ú bìr-ê:-rò[59]

A: pòr-ú bìr-ê:-rò

B: bǒ dàná→ …

A: bǒ dàná

B: …í:ⁿ kùnɔ́→ …

A: ɔ̀ⁿ-hɔ́ⁿ

B: pírí sá:→ …

A: pírí sá:

B: … [yɔ́: wò→ fú→] dɔ̀:-lí dè, [ɔ̀jɔ̀ bìrí] bìr-ê:-rò, [yɔ́: wò→ sâ:ⁿ fú→] gàr-ê dè, pílé-m̀ né: ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ bìr-ê dè, é ɲú: tɔ̀:-jù mà→ *ou bien*--

A: [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [yɔ́: fú→] gàr-ê dè, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] ɲú: ír-è̀ ɔ̌-m̀-∅[60] lò mà, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] ɲù:-sǎ: ɔ̌-m̀-∅ lò mà, [ɲù:-sǎ: ɔ̌-m̀-∅ dè] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] tɔ̀-tɔ́:-jù, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [[ɔ̀jɔ̀ pèré] sìgè-lí] [né: tɔ́-è̀], tɔ̀-tɔ́:-jú

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[58] Sounds like tá: on the tape but my assistant can't make sense of it.

[59] 'It cannot be said (that …)'.

[60] ɔ̌-m̀ 'it is seen (visible)'.

2011.1a.07 Driving birds out

B: [tèŋè gàmá] í^{n} ɔ̀-táŋà, [ɲú: hâl ír-è kà:^{n}] [gǎm ná] wá:[61] tɔ́: bɛ̀-lâ: dè, gàmá [úr^{n}í: bè] [bàrá tɔ̀] tí-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [bé wà], sàjú dígɛ́ pó-jê:, [úr^{n}í: bè] tò-tó: ɲàŋá-sɛ̂^{n} dè, gàmá tò-tó: lágá-jê: *quoi*

A: é→ [kó kà:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: [kô nɛ́:] [kó kɔ́rɔ́] ìŋé = ỳ

A: kô ɲú: [tɔ̀gú tà:nú bà→] kɔ̂, [ɲù: ɔ́gú] yɔ́ kɔ̀→, [ɲù: yù:gú] yɔ́ kɔ̀, kà:ná [ɲù: kànà] yèr-ɛ́: ɛ́mɛ́ tɛ́m-ɛ́ sá^{n},[62] [[á:r^{n}ɛ́: ɲú:][63] là] ɔ́gù, ú wá: [kó kû^{n}] tò-tó: bà^{n}-lí[64] dè, nɛ́:, sàjú sâ:^{n} jɔ̀gɔ́ jɛ̀-jù,[65]

nɛ́: [ɲù: gàmá], sàjú kó bɛ̀rɛ̀ jɔ̀gɔ̂:-rò, [ɲù: yù:gú dày^{n}] [sàjú kó bɛ̀rɛ̀ jɔ̀gɔ̀-lí] [kó kɔ́-ǹ dè], [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ yèrɛ́ kó tɛ̀mɛ̀-ɲù,

[ɲù: ɔ́gú dày^{n}] sàjú jɔ̀gɔ̀-jù, [kó sógò] [tò-tò:]-bàr^{n}-ú, [[bàrá bínì] sàjú dígɛ́][66] kà:^{n} yɔ́ kɔ̀, é→ [yɔ́: gè:] kɔ̂

B: nɛ́: úr^{n}ì:, sàjù-dìgí nà--, sàjù-dígɛ́ bè *quoi*

A: é→

[interruption]

B: sàjù-dígɛ́ bè *quoi*, *maintenant* [bé dà] [[úr^{n}í:→, nɛ̀w^{n}é sò:-ró] gè:], bàrá [sàjù dígɛ̀][67] bé tí-téŋè mà→, *ou bien* bàrá--, bàrà-bírɛ́ bîn, [bìrɛ̀ síg-ɛ́ nà][68] bîn, [[bé bírɛ́] gàr-á→ pàŋá sà:-rá] gè:, [sàjù-dígɛ́ bîn] nɛ́:

A: [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] sàjù-dígɛ́--, [ùr^{n}ì: dág-à→ sɔ̌: jùgɔ̀-jù][69] gí:^{n}-kà^{n}, nɛ́: [sàjù dígɛ̀] bé tì-jì, [ùr^{n}ì: gàmá] èr^{n}é gìré bɛ̌-jê:, [gàmà ná] èr^{n}é gìrê:-rè,

[gìré bɛ̌-jú] [gà→ gìrê:-rè] [gìr^{n}í wé nà],[70] ùr^{n}ì: dág-à→ [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [jáŋ kà:^{n}] ùŋòrò-lí→, ùr^{n}ì: gìr^{n}í wé nà, [bé wà] [yɛ̌-∅ dè] sàjú dág-à→ [nìŋìr^{n}í lɔ́y gí:^{n}] dìgɛ́-ní: gì:^{n} gì-jì,

[sàjú bé dìgɛ̀-jù][71] [ɲú: yɛ̌-è: nɛ́: èw^{n}é ɛ́-è[72] dè, nɛ́: [sàjú kà:^{n}] nɛ́: pèré [ɲù: mǎ] jɔ̀gɔ̂:-rò, háyè yɔ̂-ŋ kà:ná [sàjú kà:^{n}] yɔ̂-ŋ dàgà-jù

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[61] wá: 'be/do early, at the right time' (perfective wá-ɛ̀), here in a verb chain.

[62] Perfective subject relative.

[63] á:r^{n}ɛ́: ɲú: 'old (kind of) millet', lit. "millet (of) before" (possessed).

[64] bàr^{n}á 'beat (tomtom), bang (tin can)', perfective negative.

[65] From jɛ́-jú 'will have already finished (doing)'.

[66] Imperative in form (jussive complement).

[67] Purposive clause 'in order to drive off birds', with {L}-toned object 'bird' and {HL}-toned verb 'drive off, chase away'.

[68] Subject relative, plural. Full form would be bìrɛ̀ síg-ɛ́ sá^{n} nà 'the jobs that have remained'.

[69] Imperfective subject relative. Followed by possessed form gí:^{n}-kà^{n} 'something like'.

[70] Subject relative clause based on copula (human plural).

[71] Apparently a headless adverbial relative (rather than a focus construction): "(when/while/where/as) they drive birds away." Verb can also be pronounced dìgɛ́-jú.

[72] èw^{n}ɛ́ ɛ́-è, lit. "(millet) become tight (=hard) (like) a jawbone." A standard phrase to describe the stage where the millet grains have hardened (and are ready to harvest).

B: èwⁿé è:-lí dè, [kó wɔ̀ⁿ] námà jɔ̀gɔ́ bɛ̀-jù

A: jɔ̀gɔ́-jú, [ɲù: ɔ̀rú wɔ̀ⁿ] jɔ̀gɔ́ dàⁿ-dá-ɲú,[73] [ɲù: ɔ̀rú] gàr-á→ jɔ̀gɔ̀-jù

[73] dàrⁿá 'kill', here figurative.

2011.1a.08 Hacking down the millet stems

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] sàjù-[dìg-í→], ɲù:-[pòr-í→] ɛ́mɛ́ [yɔ́: nà sâ:^{n}] pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}

A: [yɔ́: nà bè] = :[74]

B: *maintenant* [kà:ná nɛ́:] ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ bìr-ɛ́ dè→, íyé = ǹ [yɔ́: nà] ír-ɛ̀→, *maintenant* [[ɲù: tɔ̂:][75] gó:-jú] téŋɛ́[76] bè, [[tèŋè yǎ:-kɔ́] téŋɛ́] bè[77]

A: [nɛ́: wɔ̀y^{n}] ɲû: [nɛ́: wɔ̀y^{n}]-- [nɛ́: mà:-ŋà-lí dè] tɔ̂:-rè gà→, [kó mǎ:-ŋ-ɛ̀:] [tɔ̌ dɔ̌-ɛ̀] [kó sǎ^{n} tó:r-ì dè, nɛ́: kú:^{n} tɔ́:-jú dɔ̀ŋɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀, kó→ [[ɲú: í:^{n} kún-ì] gì] tɔ̂:-rè

B: tɔ̌ dà, [kó sɔ́:] ɲǎŋ kɔ̂

A: ɲù:-tɔ̌ kà:^{n}, ú jɔ̀ŋɔ̀r^{n}ú, [kó lɛ́:rɛ́[78] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè] [jɔ̀ŋɔ̀r^{n}ù-[pɛ̀gù-r-ú] yɔ́ kɔ̀], háyɛ̀, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] íyé = ǹ, gàmá [[sɔ̀tɔ̀rɔ̀-úr^{n}í: nǎ ɲàŋá ɲàŋá-sɛ́^{n} dè] [tɔ́:-mí-ɲí]] yɔ́ kɔ̀,

bon [[ú márⁿá sǎy] tɔ́:-jú] yɔ́ kɔ̀, nǎ sà:-rá, [[ɔ́jɔ́ bè] [[nǎ ɲàŋ-∅-ɲǎŋ-∅][79] bú:dù] sà:-rá] bàŋà kà:^{n}, [[sǎ^{n} túnɔ́] tɔ́:-jú] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: *maintenant*, [ɲù:-tɔ̌ gɛ́r^{n}ì:] bîn, [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú lò dè] [gɛ̀r^{n}ì: pèré] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀

A: [ɲú: té→ tɔ́:-jú] [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú lò dè], [[gɛ̀r^{n}ì: pèré] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀] [[ɛ́mɛ́ kè] wɔ̀^{n}], [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè] té→ tɔ̀:-jù, é→

B: nɛ́: < ɲû:-- > ɲû: ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ tɔ́:-jú

A: ɲù:-bɔ̀:dî: tɔ́:-tɔ́: tɔ́-ɛ̀ dè, [pɔ̀rɔ́ bè] [pɔ̀rɔ́ bè] [pɔ̀rɔ́ bè], < gàmá-- > gàmá [gáw^{n}á tà:nú], [ɲà túnɔ̀][80] < ú:ǹ kí-ì--, > ú:-nɔ́-ɲú, [gàm ná] [gáw^{n}á nùnɛ́:] kà:^{n}, [ɲà túnɔ̀] ù:-nɔ̀-ɲù, [ɲù:-[kɛ̀:n-ú] = ǹ gò:-jù]

[kó gàr-á→ kɛ́:n-ì dè], [[gáw^{n}á tà:nú] ù:-n-ú] bìr-ɛ̀:-jù, gàr-á→ kɛ̀:nɛ̀-lí dè→, [gáw^{n}á kúré: kà:^{n}], [[ɲà túnɔ̀] ù:-n-ú] bìr-ɛ̀:-jù

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[74] Optional addition of plural bè to plural demonstrative before 'it is' clitic.

[75] Purposive complement.

[76] tèŋé 'time, moment', here in {H}-toned form as possessed noun after (otherwise) headless nonsubject imperfective relative.

[77] Lit. "at the time of which time?"

[78] Fr *l'heure* 'hour'.

[79] Iterated verbal noun /ɲàŋ-ú ɲàŋ-ú/ 'picking up', plus object nǎ 'person'. Possessor of bú:dù (from bú:dú) 'money'.

[80] Tonal locative.

2011.1a.09 Cutting the grain spikes off the fallen stems

B: ɲû: [[yɔ́: nà] tɔ́-ɛ̀ dè, kó→ yɔ̂-ŋ dàgá-jú mà→, *ou bien* pílé-m̀ [kó bè] ìŋé bì-jù

A: [ɲû: yɔ̀:] tɔ́-ɛ̀ dè, pílé-m̀ gè-gɛ̀ré-jú, [gɛ́ré-lé gɛ̀rɛ̀-jù][81] [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] gɛ̀r-ú gì-jì, [[[kùⁿ-kɛ̀nɛ̀]-î:ⁿ yɔ̀:] kɛ́jɛ́kɛ́jɛ́-kɛ́jɛ́-kɛ́jɛ́-kɛ́jɛ́ kɛ́j-ɛ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè], [dɛ́yⁿ→ bè:-jù], kó gìrⁿí jê:-jù, nɛ́: kèrû, bàrá dàgà-jù

B: gɛ̀rɛ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] yɔ̂-ŋ→, [ɲà túnɔ̀] bɛ̌:-jú mà→, *ou bien* [gɛ̀rɛ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] [[sâ:ⁿ fú→] íyé = ǹ [wògòtóró árà] ná:-ǹ ná:-ǹ] [gìrⁿí jâ:-jù]

A: á:rⁿɛ́: [gɛ̀rɛ́ gɛ̀rɛ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] [ɲù:-tɛ̌: kúnɔ́-ɲú], ɲù:-tɛ̌: kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [[wòrù ú sá[82] dàyⁿ sâ:ⁿ] kólóm-ɛ̀:] gɛ̀rɛ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, gɛ̀r-ɛ́: [nɛ́: gɛ̀r-ú dòg-ê mà→ é→ dòg-é[83] dè], íyé = ǹ dégé-dégé kú:ⁿ dùw-ɛ̀:-jù,

kà:ná [gàm ná] [gɛ́rɛ̀ yà:, dúw-ɛ̀ yà:], [gɛ́rɛ̀ yà: dúw-ɛ̀ yà:],[84] [kó kà:ⁿ] kà:ná yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: [yɔ́: kà:ⁿ] yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: [yɔ́: kà:ⁿ] yɔ́ kɔ̀, kà:ná lèr-ú dág-à→ yɛ́ sò, [[á:rⁿɛ́: kè] gí:ⁿ] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀, é→

B: [yɔ́: kà:ⁿ] [ɲù:-[gɛ̀r-í]] = ỳ

A: [yɔ́: kà:ⁿ] [ɲù:-[gɛ̀r-í]] = ỳ

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[81] Also [gɛ́ré-lé gá:] gɛ̀rɛ̀-jù, a verb-iteration construction used in demonstrations of how actions are performed.

[82] Relative clause with sá 'have'.

[83] Iterative construction with two identical perfective verbs, in a miniature question-and-answer format. Indicates definitiveness.

[84] Parallel construction with {HL}-toned verbs followed by yà:.

2011.1a.10 Cutting grain spikes off standing stems

B: *maintenant*, [kó túrú] [í^{n} kà:^{n}], ɲù:-[gɛ̀r-ú] [tɔ̀gù túnɔ́ kà:^{n}] ɔ̌-té-jɛ̀, [[gàm ná] kè→], [ɲû: [árá kû^{n}] kó ígɛ́-ǹ][85] gɛ̀rɛ̀-jù, [[árá kû^{n}] kó ígɛ́-ǹ] gɛ̀rɛ̀-jù] [kó dà] ìŋɛ́ = ỳ

A: [kó kà:^{n}], [àrà-kù^{n}]-gɔ́: gì-jì, ɲú: gàmá→, [dág-à→ làgìrí→] [wòrú dág-à→ kè:nè-lí] [làgìrí→ kɔ̂ dè], [tɔ́-ɛ̀ dè] dó:rú ɔ̀-jù sógò, [kùnúgóró pôl pôl-jɛ̀][86] gà-jì, [kó kà:^{n}] ɲù:-[gɛ̀r-ú] yɔ́ kɔ̀, é→ [kó kà:^{n}]--

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n} nɛ́:] [dó:rú yɔ̀rú-gɔ́-jú gɛ̀:]

A: é→ yɔ́: [kó bɔ̂^{n}] [àrà-kù^{n}]-gɔ́: gì-jì

B: [[àrà-kù^{n}]-gɔ́:] = ̀:

A: é→ [[árá kû^{n}] [kó kɔ́-ǹ]] póló-jú, kó [àrà-kù^{n}]-gɔ́: gì-jì

B: [kó nɛ́:], ìŋɛ́-ìŋɛ́ = ỳ, [ɔ̀jɔ̀ ìŋɛ́ bè] kó kɛ̀jɛ̀-jù

A: yɔ́:, ɛ́mɛ́ pòrùkɛ́: gì-jì, pòrùkɛ̂: [sí:nɛ́, kèrú = ǹ lɔ́jɔ́ kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè], ɛ́mɛ́ [kó bè] kɛ̀jɛ̀-jù, pòrùkɛ́: gì-jì

B: yɔ́: kìrɛ̀ = lá→[87]

A: dág-à→ kìr-ɛ́→ kɔ̂ dɛ̀,[88] [árá kû^{n} kè] kírɛ̀ nánà, dág-à→ --

B: [árá kû^{n} kè] kírɛ̀

A: [árá kû^{n} kè] kírɛ̀ kòy, [ɲá kû^{n} kè] sógò, à^{n}há^{n}

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[85] -ǹ ~ -nì, different-subject 'while' clause.

[86] Iterated verb plus same-subject 'while' subordinator jɛ̀. The following gà-jì is from gàrá 'go past, move on'.

[87] Negative adjectival predicate. Followed in A's next turn by the corresponding positive predicate.

[88] dɛ̀ clause-final emphatic particle, contradicting the listener's expected answer. Cf. kòy two turns below, confirming the listener's expectations.

2011.1a.11 Heaps of millet grain spikes in the field

B: *maintenant*, < yɔ́:-- >, yɔ́: kà:ná, < yɔ́:-- > [yɔ́: sâ:^{n} fú→] bìré-sê^{n} dè, gèr-ú gèré-sê^{n}, [ɲú: tɔ́: ú:-n-è:-sê^{n}] [gèr-ú gèré-sê^{n}], gàmǽ, [sâ:^{n} fú→] bàrá [ɲà túnɔ̀] mɔ̌:-n-è:-sê^{n}, [kó sâ:^{n} fú→] bàrá [ɲà túnɔ̀] é mɔ̌:-n-è:, [[kó kè] bɔ̂^{n}] ɲãŋ gì-jù

A: ɛ́mɛ́ [kó bɔ̂^{n}] ɲù:-tè:rɛ́ gì-jì

B: ɲù:-tè:rɛ́

A: ɲù:-tè:rɛ́

B: nɛ́: [ɛ́mɛ́ úr^{n}í: bè], [ɛ́mɛ́ wɔ̀^{n}] [ɲù:-tɛ̌: ɲù:-tɛ̌: gí-téŋè]

A: é→

B: ɲù:-tɛ̌: [kó kɔ́rɔ̀] ìŋé = ỳ

A: ɲù:-tè:rɛ́ wɔ̀^{n}, ɲú: kè, ɲú: ɲà bé mɔ̌:-n-ɛ́: kè, jó→ ɲà ú mɔ́:-n-ú,[89] [kó bɔ̂^{n}] ɲù:-tè:rê yɔ́: kòy, sâ:^{n} kɛ́jɛ́ kɛ́jɛ́ jɛ̌:r-è: ú yê mɔ̌:-n-ù dè, [kó bɔ̂^{n}] tè:rɛ́ gì-jì

B: [yɔ́: sâ:^{n} fú→] kɛ́jɛ́ kɛ́jɛ́ ɲà ú mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅--

A: é→, ɲà jɛ̌:r-è: ú mɔ̌:-n-∅ dèŋ[90]

B: [sâ:^{n} fú→] [wòrú bîn] ɲù: só dày^{n}

A [overlapping]: é→, ɲù: só dày^{n}, kɛ́jɛ́ jɛ̌:rè ú [ɲà túnɔ̀] mɔ̌:-n-ù dè, [[[kó kè] ɲú:] bɔ̂^{n}] ɲù:-tè:rɛ́ gì-jì

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[89] Nonsubject perfective relative.

[90] dɛ̌ŋ ‘place’, here as L-toned terminal element following the verb of a spatial adverbial relative whose internal head noun is ɲǎ ‘place’, also L-toned.

2011.1a.12 Small piles of millet grain spikes in the field

B: ńɛ́: [gǎm ná kà:ⁿ] yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: ɛ́→

B: bɛ́ gɛ́rɛ̀ yà:,[91] [súrɔ́ [ɲà túnɔ̀] mɔ̀:-nɔ̀] [súrɔ́ [ɲà túnɔ̀] mɔ̀:-nɔ̀]

A: ɛ́→

B: *maintenant*, [kó dà] [ìŋɛ́ gɛ̀:] bǐ-tɛ́ŋɛ̀

A: yɔ́: ɲù:-jùrɔ́ gì-jì, ɛ́→ kɛ́jɛ́ kɛ́jɛ́ gàmá [kánⁿ túrú wò→], gàmá [[ɲù:-jùrɔ́ túrú] bɛ̀] kíj-ɛ́:-jô:, gàmá [[ɲù:-jùrɔ́ lɔ́y] bɛ̀] kìj-ɛ̀:-jù, [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲù:-jùrɔ́ gì-jì, [[kàⁿ túnɔ́] bínì] gàmá kɛ́j-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, [[ù:-n-ú lɔ́y] gàmá ú:-ǹ-∅] bɛ̀-jù, gàmá [[ù:-n-ù túnɔ́] ú:-ǹ-∅] bɛ̀-jù, [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲù:-jùrɔ́ gì-jì

B: [kô ńɛ́:] *est-ce que*--, < kó-- >, ɲù:-tɛ̀: kúnɔ́-ɲú sógò, kó ná:rⁿà mà→, *ou bien* [ìŋɛ́ gɛ̀:] kó bǐ-tɛ́ŋɛ̀

A: ńɛ́: [kó wɔ̀ⁿ], [kó wɔ̀ⁿ] bìrɛ́ jɛ̂ dɛ̀, ńɛ́: [dògó tɔ̀] ńɛ́:, ɲù:-[dǔw-∅-∅] bàⁿ dág-à→ ná:rⁿá,[92] [ú ɲù:-tɛ̀: kúǹ-∅ dɛ̀] gá:rá dǔw-∅-∅ ná:rⁿà,

[kó wɔ̀ⁿ] ńɛ́: [ú yé-jú wò→],[93] ú [ɲà túnɔ̀] dùw-ɛ́:-jú dɔ̀ŋɔ̀rⁿɔ̀, [[[[wòrú bínì] gɔ́ŋúrⁿú gɔ̀ŋírⁿì] dɛ̌ⁿ-ɛ̀ⁿ dɛ̀] dùw-ɛ́:] kɔ̀:-rɔ́, háyɛ̀ ɲù:-tɛ̀:rɛ̂ [kó gɛ̀:] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

B: [[kó lɔ̀:] gân], [sɔ̀: káw-gù][94] [yɔ́: kó = ý] mà

A: [[kó lɔ̀:] gân] kǎw-∅ nánà [yɔ́: kó = ý], [[ɲà túnɔ̀] wɔ́-ní:] dùw-ɛ́:-jô:, kó-kòlò-m̀ bá-bàrà[95] jɛ̌:r-ì dɛ̀] dùw-ɛ́:,[96] [[kó lɔ̀:] síbɛ́] dɛ́yⁿ→

B: *bon*, kà:ná hâl [ɲù:-tɛ̀: kà:ⁿ] kúnɔ́-tɛ́ŋɛ̀, [ɲù:-jùrɔ́ kà:ⁿ] kúnɔ́-tɛ́ŋɛ̀, *parce que* [wòrú kà:ⁿ] wá-à→ kô, wòrú wá-à→ kô, [nìŋìrⁿì túnɔ̀], ɲú: gèr-ê dɛ̀, ɲù:-jùrɔ́ kúǹ-∅ dɛ̀, íyɛ́ = ǹ pílɛ́-m̀ ɲù:-tɛ̀: kúnɔ́ [kó kà:ⁿ], [kó kà:ⁿ] sɔ̌: kìr-ɛ́→ kô

A: kìr-ɛ́→ kô

B: [ínⁿ wɔ̀ⁿ] [mà-má:n mà] = ǹ,[97] *est-ce que* [kó kà:ⁿ], [nà gǎm ná] = ǹ [bírɛ́ yɔ́rɔ́ gɛ̀:][98] *est-ce que* [kó gɛ̀:] bǐ-wɛ̀-ré[99]

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[91] yà: 'while' after {HL}-toned form of verb.

[92] {H}-toned bare adjective as predicate of a relative clause. ná:rⁿà in the following clause has comparative {HL} contour; stem is nà:rⁿá 'easy'.

[93] wò→ 'each, every', here in the sense 'every time that …' after headless imperfective relative. Verb yɛ̀rɛ́ 'come'.

[94] This translates as an imperfective subject relative ('the thing that separates between [=distinguishes] …'), but the verb does not have the normal relative form. Rather, [sɔ̀: káw-gù] seems to have the bare stem and [ǹ v̂] pattern of tonal purposive clauses.

[95] Reduplications reduced from iterations kóló-m kóló-m̀ 'go around' and bàrá-bàrá 'gather (up)', all chained to jɛ̌:r-ì.

[96] dùw-ɛ́: reduced from imperfective dùw-ɛ́:-jú, as often in the second of two parallel imperfective verbs. Here the pairing is with the preceding dùw-ɛ́:-jô: clause.

[97] [mà-má:n mà] = ǹ 'to my thinking', fixed phrase with dative (?) clitic that is omitted with other possessors.

A: [kó gè:] bǐ-téŋè tájìrì, [kó gè:] bǐ-téŋè, bíré < yɔ́rɔ́-- > yɔ́rɔ́ gè:, né:,

[nìŋìrⁿì túnɔ̀] [[wòrú wá-à→ kɔ̂] táŋá yè-∅ dè], [[kó níŋìrⁿì wò→] géré] [[kó níŋìrⁿì wɔ̀̀→] bárá], bìr-ê:-rò[100] sógò, gèré gèré-sêⁿ dè, ɲù:-jùrɔ́ ú:-nɔ̀ ú:-nɔ̀ ú:-nɔ̀[101] gàrá-sêⁿ dè,

íyé=ǹ lɔ̀-nìrⁿí [ɲù:-jùrɔ̂ yɔ̀:], bàrá-bàrá-bàrá-bàrá bàr-ê dè, ɲà yè[102] é mɔ̌:-nɔ́-ɲù,[103] [[kó kè] ɲû:] ɲù:-tè:ré [[kó bè] sè],[104] é→ ɲù:-tè:ré gì-jì, é→

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[98] Different-subject purposive clause with imperative verb.

[99] -wè-ré plural-subject progressive negative. Has final falling tone here (yes-no question intonation).

[100] bìr-ê:-rò 'can't be done', referring to the two preceding clauses (whose verbs are imperative in form).

[101] Iteration of ú:-ǹ 'lay'. Here (unusually) with presuffixal vocalism.

[102] Chained yé 'go', here {L}-toned in an imperfective relative clause. Compare perfective [ɲà yɛ̌-è: é mɔ̌:-n-è] 'the place where you-Pl went and gathered'.

[103] Imperfective nonsubject (locative) relative.

[104] [kó bè] plus 'have' (sà, plural sè) means 'it's about that' (Fr *il s'agit de ça*, German *es geht darum*).

2011.1a.13 Carrying the millet to the houses

B: m→, kà:ná ɲù:-tɛ̀:ré kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [ɲù:-tɛ̀:ré wɔ̀ⁿ] yògò kɔ̂, [yɛ̂ wɔ̀ⁿ]-- [bàrá bîn wɔ̀ⁿ] dàg-ú bìr-ê:-rò, ɲù:-tɛ̀:ré [bàrá bîn wɔ̀ⁿ] dàg-ú bìr-ê:-rò,

maintenant ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ bìr-ê dè, é sàⁿ-túⁿ mɔ̀:-nɔ́-ɲú mà→, *ou bien* ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ bìr-ê dè, ɲû: gìrⁿí jê:-jù, [gìrⁿí bàⁿ kó yé-jú][105] dàwùrù *quoi*

A: [á:rⁿɛ́:=ˈ dè], ɲù:-tɛ̀:rɛ́→, [gòmòró ná wò→] mɔ̀rⁿ-ɛ́:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [nɔ́ bàŋà kè] íyé dùw-ɛ̀:-jù, [wó kè] dòg-ê dè, [lɔ̀-nìrⁿí báŋá kè] yògó dùw-ɛ̀:-jù, gàmá < lɔ̀nìrⁿí-- > [nà tà-nìrⁿí báŋá kè], yògò-dɛ́rⁿɛ̀ dùw-ɛ̀:-jù,

á:rⁿɛ́:--, [nà-[kùⁿ-kɛ́nɛ́] bè], [yɔ́: bè] wògòtóró kɔ̀:-rɔ́→, [[ɔ̀jɔ̀ bè] ɲú: dùw-ɛ̀:-jù][106] pèré dɛ́yⁿ→ kɔ̀:-rɔ̀ [sâ:ⁿ [kúⁿ bè] dùw-ɛ̀:-jù],

[nɔ́ bàŋà kè] dùw-ɛ́: jɛ̂ dè, [nɔ́ bàŋà kè] dùw-ɛ́:,[107] [[nɔ́ bàŋà] wórú kè] dùw-ɛ́: jɛ̂ dè, [nɔ́ bàŋà kè] dùw-ɛ́:, á:rⁿɛ́: sâ:ⁿ [kúⁿ bè] bì-tɛ̀ŋè

B: kó→, [kúⁿ bè] yɔ̂-ŋ, …

A: tògùrú

B: … yɔ̂-ŋ ná:-ǹ-∅ dè--

A: < [tògùrú bè]-- > [tògùrú bè] jɔ̀gɔ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, dùw-ɛ̀:-jù, gàmá [jǎ bè] págá-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, ú [[[sǎⁿ dúwɔ́] bè] dàg-ɛ́:-jú][108] pág-ɛ̀ dè, [nà pɔ̂ⁿ sâ:ⁿ fú→] yɔ̂-ŋ dú-dùw-í: jê:-jù

B: tògùrú kè, [tògùrú bîn] bé kúnɔ́-ɲù,[109] [[kó kè nɛ́:] bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲãŋ gì-jì

A: [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] tògùrù-jɔ̀gɔ́ gì-jì, tògùrù-jɔ̀gɔ́ gì-jì

B: nɛ́: [[kúⁿ kûⁿ] kó→ págá bé ná:-ná-ɲù] [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲãŋ gì-jì

A: [págá pág-ɛ̀ dè] [[kùⁿ-kɛ́nɛ́ bè] yɔ̂-ŋ [àrⁿá bè][110] dú-dùw-î:] bé jê:-jù, [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] tɛ̀lɛ̀-pàgá gì-jù, tɛ̀lɛ̀-pàgá gì-jù

B: kô [nǎ wò→] kó gɔ̌-ɲú[111]

A: [nǎ wò→] gɔ̌:ⁿ-rò dè, [[ú gɔ́-ɲú má][112] dàyⁿ] pág-ɛ̀ dè, [ú kà:ⁿ] kú:ⁿ jê:-jù dɔ̀ŋɔ̀rⁿɔ̀, [gàm ná kè], [gàm ná] kó gɔ̌:ⁿ-rè, [gàm ná kè] pàgá márⁿ-à→ kɔ̂, [dúwɔ́ nà gɔ́-ɲú∴] [gɔ̌:ⁿ-rò kà:ⁿ][113] yɔ́ kɔ̀, é→

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[105] Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Followed by {L}-toned form of dàwúrú ‘(clever or magical) solution (to a problem)’. Verb yɛ̀rɛ́ ‘come’.

[106] Relativization on an instrumental PP (bè). The following pèré may be adverbial ‘otherwise’.

[107] dùw-ɛ́:, imperfective in sense but reduced from dùw-ɛ́:-jú in the second of two parallel imperfective clauses. The parallelistic two-clause sequence is repeated again immediately afterwards with only a slight change, to emphasize multiple recurrence.

[108] Headless imperfective subject relative.

[109] Headless nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative.

[110] [àrⁿá bè] here means ‘in unison’, not ‘men’ as such. Groups of men carry the bundles (tied with a cord) on their heads and troop back to the village in a procession.

[111] gɔ̀rⁿɔ́ ‘be capable (of), have mastery of’. gɔ̌-ɲú here pronounced with final falling tone in a polar interrogative.

B: né: ɲù:-dǔw tɔ́rɔ́-sɛ̂^{n} lò, …

A: é→

B: … [bàrá bîn], [ɲù:-tɛ̀:rɛ̂ wɔ̀^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀ sà,[114] *maintenant* ɲù:-tɛ̀:ré [gǎm ná kɛ̀] már^{n}-à→ kɔ̂, [gǎm ná kɛ̀] ùjú kɔ̂, *maintenant* [már^{n}-à→ kɔ̀ yɔ́: nà],[115] [nǎ bɛ̀] dɛ̌:^{n}-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀, dàgá-jú mà→, *ou bien* [nìŋìr^{n}ì túnɔ̀] [sâ:^{n} fú→] dùw-ɛ̀:-jù

A: < dùw-ɛ́-ɛ̀:-- > íyé dùw-ɛ́-ɛ̀: dògò-lí dɛ̀→, [kó sígɛ́] yògó dùw-ɛ̀:-jù

B: [ɔ̀jɔ̀ pɔ̂^{n}] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀

A: [ɔ̀jɔ̀ pɔ̂^{n}] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀, té→ [wó kɛ̀ yɔ̀:] té→ dùw-ɛ́-ɛ̀: dǔn-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀, [nà pèré kɛ̀] kú:^{n} dùw-ɛ̀:-jù

B: [wó kɛ̀ wɔ̀^{n}] dògò-lí dɛ̀, dàg-ú bìr-ɛ̂:-rò

A: [wó kɛ̀] dògò-lí, dàgá tì[116] [ɲù: pèré]-- dùw-ɛ̂:-rè, pèré dùw-ɛ̂:-rè

B: [wó kɛ̀ wɔ̀^{n}]--, dòg-é:-- ɲú: hâl dògô:-rò kà:^{n}, [hâl ɲú: bé dùw-é:-ǹ] [hâl fó→ dà:gá dɛ̀-ɛ̀] [nùŋ-ú ná-ɛ̀ kà:^{n}], [dògò-lí dɛ̀] [dàg-ú bìr-ɛ̂:-rò]

A: [wó kɛ̀] dògò-lí dɛ̀→ wɔ̀^{n}, [wó kɛ̀ wɔ̀^{n}] dàgâ:-rè, é→ ɲù:-tɛ̂: bà^{n} [kó káŋ wò→] [kó báŋá kɛ̀] dùw-ɛ́-ɛ̀: jɛ̂ dɛ̀, [nà síg-ɛ́ kɛ̀] pèré íyé＝ǹ dégé-dégé kú:^{n} dùw-ɛ̀:-jù

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[112] má in relative clause (here, a headless imperfective object relative) with same subject as main clause.

[113] Paired positive and negative imperfective subject relative clauses.

[114] sà ‘supposing …’.

[115] For kɔ́ ‘which is’ (relative clause form, here tone-dropped by the following demonstrative).

[116] L-toned form of tí ‘do first’ medially in a verb chain, indicating that the previous event is completed before the next event begins.

2011.1a.14 Pleasures of harvest time

B: né: [ɲù:-[dǔw̏-∅-∅] yɔ̀:] tɔ́rɔ́-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [kó bîn] [sàŋá gá:] yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà→, *ou bien* [nà pɔ̂^{n} sâ:^{n} fú→] [[kɛ̀nɛ̀ ɛ́lú] bè] mà→, *ou bien* [gàm ná] [kɛ̀nɛ̀-párú bè] wɛ́:-jú mà→, ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ wè

A: [ɲù:-[dǔw-∅-∅] bínì wɔ̀^{n}], [kɛ̀nɛ̀ ɛ́lú] lò dè, kɛ̀nɛ̀-párú sò:-rò, [[ɲû: bɛ̌-m̀] ɔ̌-m̀-∅] táŋá yè-∅ dè, [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [kɛ̀nɛ̀ ɛ́lú] yɛ̀r-ê, [nɛ́: wɔ̀y^{n}] [ɲɛ̌ bè] dùw-ɛ́: jê:, [àr^{n}á bè] dùw-ɛ́: jê:, [gàm ná] [págá-págá págá-sɛ̂^{n} dè] [[jɔ̀^{n}túrú árà] ná:-ná jê:], [yɔ́: bè] wògòtóró kɔ̀:-rɔ́,

[[jɔ̀^{n}túrú árà] ná:-ná jê:] [kú^{n} bè] dùw-ɛ̀:-jù, háyɛ̀ yɔ̂-ŋ, sɔ̀tɔ̀rɔ̀-úr^{n}í: ɲàŋ-ê dè, pá→ yè, ɲɛ̀ ɛ̀gɛ́ táŋá,[117] àr^{n}à-ùr^{n}ù ɲɛ̌ ɲàŋá sá^{n} nà, [yɔ́: dày^{n} fú→] [kù^{n}-kɛ́nɛ́ bè] yɔ̂-ŋ-yɔ̂-ŋ dùw-ɛ̀:-jù

B: [inaudible]--

A: né: [kɛ̀nɛ̀ ɛ́lú] ú＝ǹ yɔ́ kɔ̀ dè, [sà^{n}-dí: tó:-ǹ] bé＝ǹ ó bɛ̌-jô:, háyɛ̀ né:, hâl [kɛ̀ŋɛ̀-árá bè kà:^{n}] kɛ̀ŋɛ́ ár-ɛ̀ dè, [nǎ bè]＝ǹ nɔ̌:-m̀ bɛ̀-jù, á:r^{n}é: [[kɛ̀nɛ̀ ɛ́lú] yɔ́ kɔ̀ dè] [yɔ̂-ŋ kɔ̂], é→

[117] Slightly truncated from ɲɛ̀ ɛ̀gɛ́ táŋá sá^{n} nà ‘women who have moved to their husband(s)’. The sá^{n} nà sequence (marking perfective subject relative clause and plurality of head NP) appears on the immediately following relative clause.

2011.1a.15 Young men's chief

B: [ɲù:-[dǔw-∅-∅] bîn kà:ⁿ], íⁿ [sɔ̀: túnɔ́] kájúwá-téjè, né: kà:ná kó dà-dàgá-téŋè, [kó kè] sɔ̀: [ɔ̀jɔ̀ pèré]=:=lò, kà:ná, bé [àrⁿá-ùrⁿù kúⁿ-bàŋà],[118] [tú báŋá][119] á:-sêⁿ dè, wó dà:gà dɛ́:-jú wò→,[120] [bé kè] [ɔ̀jɔ̀ túnɔ́] yɔ́ kɔ̀, kà:ⁿ-kírɛ́ gí-jí mà→,

A: mhm

B: wálà:, [wó nɛ́:] kó síj-è dè, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] kú:ⁿ ɔ̀jɔ́ bǐ-jú, [kó kè né:], kó-- [ìŋɛ́ gè:] kà:ná kó dàg-è

A: kà:ná kô [[ɔ̀jɔ̀ gè:] bé dág-ɛ́],[121] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] wògòtóró kà:ná jò-è, [né: ú nǎ gèŋè-lí kà:ⁿ] [ú [sǎⁿ túnɔ́] [sǎⁿ ɲú:] dùw-î: bè-jù] dɔ̌-è dè,

né: pèré ú nǎ gèŋè-lí kà:ⁿ, né: pèré ú [sǎⁿ túnɔ́] [sǎⁿ bírɛ́]-- [sǎⁿ ɲú:] dùw-î: bè-jù, háyè kà:ná [yɔ́: gè: mà] [yɔ́: dàg-è], á:rⁿɛ́: ɔ̀gɔ́ gí-jí là

B: ɔ̀gɔ́

A: é→, [[sɔ̀tɔ̀rɔ̀-úrⁿí: bè] ɔ́gɔ́], bé tù-tù:rú síjɛ́-sêⁿ dè, háyè kòy, ɛ́mɛ́ [ɲù: dúw-è:] gǒ:-sêⁿ wà kòy,[122] [háyè kòy] [ɛ́mɛ́ [ɲù: dúw-è:] gǒ:-sêⁿ wà kòy], [tù-tù:rû yɔ̀:] kó tògòrò-jù, [tù-tù:rû yɔ̀:] á:rⁿɛ́: [kó gè:] sìjè-jù

B: *mais*, [nà [tù-tù:rû yɔ̀:] ɛ́g-ɛ́: yà:-lí] bàŋà,[123] [wó kè né:] [wó sɔ́:] ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ bì-jì, [[síg-ɛ́ nà] bè[124] wò→]

A: [ɲù: dúw-è:] tɔ́rɔ́-sêⁿ] [ú ɔ́-ɛ́],[125] ú tù-tù:rú ɛ́g-è dè, yɔ́: ɲú: dùw-è:-jù, ú yà:-lí dè, bé ú ɲì-ɲí:-ɲí,[126] ú ɲì-ɲí:-ɲí,

é→ [bù:dù túnɔ́] dǔ:-r-è:-sêⁿ dè, [[bù:dù nɔ́:] dàyⁿ] bɛ̌:-sêⁿ[127] dè, [[nà yà:-lí bàŋà] kè] [nɔ́: dàyⁿ] ɲì:-ɲì,

[bú:dú pɛ̌-lɔ́y] kí-ì bè-jù→, pɛ̌-nùnè: kí-ì bè-jù, háyè [nà-ɲǐ wɔ̀ⁿ] yɔ́: kó=ý, [ú yà:-lí dè] ɲì-ɲí:-ɲí, é→

B: [nǎ kɛ́nè kà:ⁿ] [nà sɔ̌: yɔ̌:-rò][128] jò-jô:,[129] *maintenant* [[kò bàŋà][130] sɔ̌: yɔ̌:-rò] [ɛ̀nɛ́ tɔ́jô:-rò] g-î dè, [kó báŋá kè] né: ɲǎŋ kè:-jù

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[118] Possessed form of kùⁿ-bàŋá.

[119] 'one person', contracted from túrú báŋá.

[120] wò→ after imperfective relative ('every time that …').

[121] Relativization on postpositional complement, perfective aspect.

[122] Quotative wà inserted before clause-final particle.

[123] Perfective negative subject relative.

[124] Instrumental-comitative bè.

[125] Headless relative in adverbial function: "(at the time/situation when) you saw (that …)."

[126] Reduplication of imperfective ɲí:-ɲí (plural of ɲí:-ɲú) 'eat', here in the sense 'fine, assess a fine on'.

[127] bɛ̌:-sêⁿ, plural-subject perfective for bɛ̌: 'put down' (singular bɛ̌-è).

[128] Variant of yɔ̀wɔ̂:-rò 'does not consent'. Imperfective negative subject relative.

[129] Stative of jǒ: 'be a lot'.

A: [wó né:] [sɔ̌: yɔ̌:-rò] [tɔ́jɔ̂:-rò] g-î dè, [[wó kè] ɲú:-[dùw-∅-∅]] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè, [nǎ bè] yɑ̃:-rè, [[nǎ bè] [kó bè] wó gà:ⁿ-ɲù][131] yɑ̃:-rè

B: [yɔ́: nà sâ:ⁿ fú→] ɲù:-[dùw-í:] = ý là: mà

A: [yɔ́: fú→] ɲù:-[dùw-í:] = ý námà yà:-tàŋà

[130] [kó báŋá], here {L}-toned as relative-clause head. Used again just below as an index for the same nonspecific referent.

[131] Verb gǎ:ⁿ ‘twist the arm of’.

2011.1a.16 Millet in the granary

B: *maintenant* [ɲû: wɔ̀^{n}] dùw-ɛ́:-sɛ̂^{n} sà, [ɲû: sâ:^{n} fú→] dùw-ɛ́: gìr^{n}í jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}, *maintenant* gìr^{n}í jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [ɲû: dà] yǎ: bè:-jù

A: ɲû: [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] dùw-ɛ́: dùw-ɛ́: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀, [gɔ̌: gírè], gɔ̌: yɔ́ kɔ̀, [gɔ̀: ɲú: kúnɔ́-ɲú][132] yɔ́ kɔ̀, sâ:^{n}-- [[nà sà:-rá] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀], [kó yè-lí bà→] [[gɔ̃: yɔ̀:] új-ɛ́: új-ɛ́: mà] [yɛ́ sè],

nɛ́: ɲû: dùw-ɛ́: dùw-ɛ́: dùw-ɛ́: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, sâ:^{n} [gɔ̌: gírè]--, [[[ɲú: báŋá] gɔ́:] gírè] tógó-tógó yɛ̂ ù:-nɔ̀-ɲù,

nɛ́: [gɔ̌: bínì] nǎ nû-∅ dè, nɛ́: [dá:rá tɔ̀] nǎ wí-ì dè, [dá:rá ná] jìgé-jìgé jìgé-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [[gɔ̌: bínì] só bàŋà] = ǹ ɔ́-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [gɔ̌: bínì] só bàŋà,[133] [[wó nɛ́:] ɲû: yɔ̌:-yɔ̌:] [gɔ̌: bínì] wó tɛ̀:nɛ̀-ɲù[134]

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[132] Instrumental relative compound, ‘granary for putting millet in’, i.e. for storing millet grain spikes.

[133] Subject relative with defective stative só ‘be in’.

[134] Subject focus.

2011.1a.17 Male and female granaries

B: [yɔ́: né:] [gɔ̌: [kó kè] yɔ̀:] [bɔ̀ⁿ pèré] déyⁿ→ yɛ́ sà

A: gɔ̌: [kó kè], [gɔ̀: àrⁿá] yɔ́ kɔ̀→, [gɔ̀: yǎ:] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: ɲû: né: [gɔ̀: àrⁿá]=ǹ kúnɔ́-ɲú mà→, [gɔ̀: yǎ:]=ǹ kùnɔ̀-ɲù

A: ɲû: [[gɔ̀: àrⁿá] bínì] kùnɔ̀-ɲù, [[gɔ̀: àrⁿá] bínì] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

B: [gɔ̀: àrⁿá dà], ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ kɔ̂

A: [gɔ̀: àrⁿá né:], [génè[135] [kó kè]] [[gɔ̀: yǎ:] là] gùrù,[136] [[[gɔ̀: yǎ:] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] lɔ́y bà→] bè:-jù, gàr-á→ gùr-í→ bɛ̌:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [kùwè:ⁿ kɛ̌n tà:nú bà→] kó=ǹ kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, géné gàr-á→ gɔ̀wɔ̀-jù,

háyɛ̀ né: [gɔ̀: àrⁿá né:] [káⁿ lɔ́y], dɔ̀rì:ⁿ-káⁿ yɔ́ kɔ̀→, [kɛ́nɛ́ bá:gà] yɔ́ kɔ̀, háyɛ̀ né:, [[ú né:] [kɛ́nɛ́ bá:gà] nù-ɲù] [dɔ̀rì:ⁿ-kâⁿ nǎ nú bɛ̌:-rò gà→], nùmɔ̀-jìgé yɛ̂ ó-jô:, nù-ɲù, [kɛ́nɛ́ bá:gà wɔ̀ⁿ] < nǎ yɛ̂-- >, nǎ yɛ̂ nù-ɲù,

[kó báŋá] [kɛ́nɛ́ bá:gà] nû-∅ dè, [bɔ̀rɔ́ tɔ̀] súg-è dè, dɔ̀rì:ⁿ-kâⁿ nùmɔ́ dɛ̌:r-ì dè, ɲú: [dɔ̀rì:ⁿ-káⁿ bínì] bàj-ê dè, [gɔ̌: bínì] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ sâ:ⁿ fú→] [ɲú: kè] là: mà

A: yɔ́: námà [ɲú: kè] sɔ́ⁿ-sɔ́ⁿ yǎ:-táŋà

B: *est-ce que* [ɲú: kè] [sɔ̀: pèré] déyⁿ→ yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà, yɔ́: lò dè

A: [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [úɲúrⁿú [ú hákìlè], ɲà dɔ́-ɛ́],[137] [ɲà úɲùrⁿù ú bè-jù][138] yɔ́ kɔ̀ dè, úɲɔ́rⁿɔ́, [íⁿ kà:ⁿ] [ɲà íⁿ náŋ-ɛ́ kà:ⁿ],[139] gàmá [ú úɲùrⁿ-ì dè] [íⁿ sá: bè-jù]

B: wálà:, < [íⁿ wɔ̀ⁿ]-- >, [íⁿ wɔ̀ⁿ] [í:ⁿ-n=ì:], *maintenant* [ú kà:ⁿ] [ú hákìlè] ɲà só, [ɲú: kè] dêŋ, [ú kà:ⁿ] má=ǹ tíŋɛ́ bè-jù dè kà:ⁿ, [kó kà:ⁿ] sɛ́:w kɔ̂

A: [ɲú: kè] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [kó ɲí]=́: lò dè, kó bíré--, [gɔ̌: bínì] kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè wɔ̀ⁿ, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [dògó tɔ̀] [[ɲú: kè] bíré wɔ̀ⁿ] [yɔ́: né:] yî dòg-è, é→

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[135] Tonal locative from géné 'height'.

[136] gùrú 'long, tall' as predicate of a comparative. Heard here as {L}-toned at the end of a long clause.

[137] Nonsubject perfective relative.

[138] Nonsubject imperfective relative.

[139] Nonsubject perfective relative.

2011.1a.18 Crawling crops

B: né: kà:ná yɔ́: [ɲú: kè]=̀: là: mà, *maintenant* < ɛ́mɛ́-- > ɛ́mɛ́ dág-à→ [ɛ́:rɛ́ kè kà:ⁿ] dág-à→ tìŋè-mà,[140] [kà:ná àrⁿú lɔ́w-è→][141] [lɛ̌ lɛ́:-sɛ̂ⁿ→], ɲú: tɔ́-è, *maintenant* ɲú: lò dè, *est-ce que*, ɛ́mɛ́ [[tògò àná] bîn], [bìrɛ̀ pèré] dɛ́yⁿ→ yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà

A: [bìrɛ̀ pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀ dɛ̀[142]

B: [[bìrɛ̀ pèrè] kɔ́] yǎ:-kɔ̀=ỳ

A: [bìrɛ̀ pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀, pɔ̀ŋɔ́ wǎ-jê:→, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] lɛ́:-jê:→, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múɲúrⁿú] lɛ̀:-jù,[143] tìŋɛ́ pá:m̀-∅, [nǐ kà:ⁿ] wà-jù, [yɔ́: dàyⁿ] [dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá bé pó-jù][144] [yɔ́: kó=ý]

B: dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá

A: é→ [àɲí:[145] kà:ⁿ], íyé=ǹ [kó kénè] yê yɛ́[146] sò

B: [àɲí: kà:ⁿ] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá=ý

A: dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá=ý, [kó wò→ fú→] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá=ý, yɔ́: [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá gí-jú

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ] ɛ́mɛ́ [kó nùnè:] lúg-è, [dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá nùnè:] lúg-è, dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rá tí→, ú ɛ́:rɛ́ lá: lúg-è

A: é→ [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: né:, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] lá: wǎ-jú mà, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múɲúrⁿú] wà-jù

A: < ɛ̀:rɛ̀-- > [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] lá: wà-jù

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[140] Hortative, for speaker plus singular addressee.

[141] Simple perfective lɔ́w-ɛ̀ '(rain) fell' with nonfinal intonation parallel to the following clause with lɛ́:-sɛ̂ⁿ→. lɔ́w-ɛ̀→ with this intonational prolongation mimics, but should be distinguished from, same-subject anterior subordinated form lɔ́w-ɛ̀:.

[142] Clause-final emphatic dɛ̀ suggests that the speaker thinks the questioner doesn't expect the answer to be positive.

[143] Paired alternative imperfectives, plural subject (-jê, … -jê:, … -jù). wǎ-jê: is from verb wàrá. Noun ɛ́:rɛ́ subsumes ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná: 'groundnut' (*Vigna subterranea*) and ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múɲúrⁿú 'peanut' (*Arachis hypogaea*).

[144] Nonsubject imperfective relative.

[145] àɲú is the usual form for the general sense 'roselle' (*Hibiscus sabdariffa*). àɲí- occurs in some compounds denoting specific varieties.

[146] yê 'there' (discourse-definite) plus existential yɛ́.

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B: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ wà-jù

A: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] bù-bùgújó-jú, lɛ́:-lɛ́:-lɛ́:-lɛ́: kâ^{n}, ɛ̀m-í→ ɛ̀m-í→ bɛ̌:-sɛ̂^{n}[147] dɛ̀, lɛ́:-lɛ́:-lɛ́:-lɛ́: [ɛ́:rɛ́ [kó bínì] kámá-kámá kúǹ-∅ dɛ̀] [námá námá-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀], [íyé=ǹ bù-bùgújó-jú] [wàgà-túmɔ́ màŋâ:-rɛ̀],

bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù [ɲá kɛ́-kɛ́ bɛ̌-ɛ̀ dɛ̀] [yɔ̂-ŋ wàrá-wàrá dàgà-jù, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] yɔ̂-ŋ lɛ̀:-jù

B: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ nâ:] dà, [bé lɛ́-ɛ́] ɲàŋ-ɛ̂ dɛ̀, [kó tɔ́:] dɔ̀:,[148] [nìŋìr^{n}í à:ŋá] ɲàŋá bɛ̀-jù, [[nìŋìr^{n}í à:ŋá] sí:^{n}-kà^{n}] ɲàŋá bɛ̀-jù

A: ú lɛ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, [[nìŋìr^{n}í sɔ̂:] dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀] [dá:rà gɔ̃̀:-rò], [[nìŋìr^{n}í sɔ̂:] dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀] [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] dá:rà kú^{n} dɛ̌:r-ɛ̂:-rò, nìŋìr^{n}í sɔ̂:

B: *maintenant* < kó-- >, kó tɔ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, *est-ce que* [bìrɛ̀ pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: kó tɔ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, nɛ́: [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀-wòrú bínì] gú-gúrú [kó tú-túrú][149] yɛ́ sò] táŋá yè-∅ dɛ̀, é yɛ̂ núw-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀, [gù-gùrù [kó bínì] só][150] mòmó-mòmó mòmó-sɛ̂^{n} dɛ̀, é ká^{n}-kámá[151] dàgà-jù

B: [kó wɔ̀^{n}] [kó bírɛ́] yɔ́: kó=ý

A: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [kó bírɛ́] yɔ́: kó=ý, [gù-gùrù]-[mòm-í]=ý^{n}→, ɛ́:rɛ́ wàrá jɛ̂ dɛ̀, [gù-gùrù [kó bínì] só] mòmó-mòmó dàgà-jù, é→ yɔ́ kó=ý

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] tɔ́-ɛ̀ là: mà, *maintenant* [kó tɔ́-ɛ́] ɲàŋ-ɛ̂ dɛ̀, [[ì:^{n}-[kùn-ú] [kó kɛ̀]] dɔ̀:], [nìŋìr^{n}í à:ŋá] ɲàŋá bɛ̀-jù

A: [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] yɛ̂ kó tɔ́:] [[yɛ̂ [kó ì:^{n}] kùn-ù], nìŋìrí pɛ̀-sɔ̂:, [[nìŋìrí pɛ̀-sɔ̂:] dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀] [í:^{n} kúnɔ̂:-rò]

B: [[nìŋìrí pɛ̀-sɔ̂: dâŋ] dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀] [í:^{n} kúnɔ̂:-rò]

A: kúnɔ̂:-rò, [nìŋìrí pɛ̀-sɔ̂: yɔ̀:] dɔ̀:-lí tá^{n} fú→,[152] [[kó ì:^{n}] ɲǐ-∅ bìr-ɛ̂:-rò] kân kɔ̂, [í:^{n} kúnɔ́-ɲú gà→] [ɲǐ-∅ bìr-ɛ̂:-rò], [[ì:^{n} dì:-[sò:-sǎ:] dɔ̀ŋɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀] pɛ̀:^{n}-lí, pɛ̂:^{n}-rò, pɛ̂:^{n}-rò, é→

B: [kó wɔ̀^{n}] [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná: nɛ́:] [kó nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́] ìŋé=ỳ

A: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] [kó nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́], nɛ́: lɛ́:rɛ́--[153] [ɲà gàmâ], [gàm ná kè→], ɲú: dògó-jú, [gàm ná]=ǹ [kìrɛ̀ dágá] yè-jà sâ,[154] [kó yèré] [kó gí-ǹ dɛ̀],[155] [dògùrù < ɲú:--, > ɲú: gó:-jà],[156] [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] lá: gò:-jù,

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[147] bɛ̌:, in factitive sense with an adjectival predicate (in adverbial form).

[148] X ɲàŋ-ɛ́ dɛ̀, Y dɔ̀: 'from (the time when) X until (the time when) Y'. lɛ́-ɛ́ is an {H}-toned form of the perfective (lɛ́-ɛ̀), tɔ́: a (redundantly) {H}-toned form of the bare stem.

[149] Distributive 'one-one', i.e. scattered, occasional.

[150] Subject relative with só 'be in'.

[151] For iterated kámá-kámá.

[152] tá^{n} fú→ adapted from French *tant que* ... 'so long as …'.

[153] Fr. *l'heure*.

[154] Delayed future with -jà sâ ('will eventually …'). Verb from yèré 'come'.

[155] Different-subject 'after' construction, with subject pronoun and gí-ǹ dɛ̀ after a clause that ends in a bare verb stem. Cf. [kó bàgá] [kó gí-ǹ dɛ̀] with bàgá 'fall'.

[156] 'Before …' clause with -jà after H-toned form of verb.

[è:rè ná:] sàbù [ɲú: gírè] sò, [é né:] [è:rè ná:] gǔ-ŋ́ é ɲí:-nì dè, ɲú: kú:^{n} gò:-jù, [kó né:] ɔ̀:-túwá: < gíré-- > gíré tèŋ̀è-jù, háyè [è:rè ná:] gàmá [yɔ́: gì] lè:-jù, é→

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B: né: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múɲúrⁿú] dà

A: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múɲúrⁿú kà:ⁿ], [kó sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ]=ỳⁿ [kó kà:ⁿ] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-yá:rà=ỳ, háyɛ̀ [kó kà:ⁿ] [ú lɛ́:-jú] [ú lɛ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀], [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀ nâ:] bàⁿ wá-jú dàyⁿ][157] [wàrú wɔ̀ⁿ] [yɔ̂-ŋ wà-jù],

ú wàr-ê dɛ̀, [kó kà:ⁿ] íyé=ǹ [gú-gúrú wágàtù] dɔ̌-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, [gú-gúrù yɔ̀:] [ú mòmó mòm-ê dɛ̀] [káⁿ-kámá[158] dàgà-jù],

[kó kà:ⁿ] íyé=ǹ [[nìŋìrⁿí nǎyⁿ] dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀] tɔ̂:-rò, kó [nìŋìrⁿí nǎyⁿ] tɔ́-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, [kó kà:ⁿ] [nìŋìrⁿí pɛ̀-sɔ̂: yɔ̀:] dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀, [kó ì:ⁿ] < haɛ́:jɛ-- > há:jɛ̀[159] sí-ì[160] bɛ̌:-rò, [yɔ́: dɔ̀:-lí dɛ̀ kà:ⁿ] [[kó kà:ⁿ] í:ⁿ kúnɔ̂:-rò]

B: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múɲúrⁿú wɔ̀ⁿ], [kó kà:ⁿ], [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná: kɛ̀] gì:ⁿ], gú-gúrú mòmó-jú mà→, *ou bien* [sɔ̀: pèré] déyⁿ→ kà:ⁿ yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: [gàmà ná] gú-gúrú gàr-á→ kɔ̀:-rɔ́ dɛ̀, [gàmà ná] [mómó-lé mòmó mòm-ê dɛ̀] [kámá-kámá dàgà-jù], né: [[gú-gúrú dág-à→ yɔ́ kɔ̀] gì:ⁿ] kɔ̂ dɛ̀--, [kó né:] dág-à→ [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] bà→] sɔ́g-í→[161] bɛ̌:-rɛ̀, kân-kân-kân-kân-kân lɛ̀:-jù, [kɔ̌ⁿ bɛ̀] mà→ [jɔ̀ŋùrⁿú bɛ̀],

[[kó bínì] nû-∅ dɛ̀] dág-à→ dág-à→ kó:jó-jú bùgújó-jú, bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù bùgújù [kó bɔ́rɔ́] dág-à→ yɔ̀r-í→ bɛ̌-ɛ̀: dàg-ê dɛ̀, háyɛ̀ [kó kɛ̀ né:], [[kó kɛ̀ wɔ̀ⁿ] wárú] yɔ́: kó=ý, [[kó kɛ̀] mɔ́m] yɔ́: kó=ý

B: [[kó kɛ̀] bɔ́ⁿ] ɲǎŋ gì-jì

A: [[kó kɛ̀] bɔ́ⁿ] [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[[gù-gùrù]-[mɔ̌m-∅]] gì-jì

B: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[[gù-gùrù]-[mɔ̌m-∅]] mà→ ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[bùgùj-ú]

A: ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[bùgùj-ú].∴ [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[[gù-gùrù]-[mɔ̌m-∅]].∴[162] déyⁿ→, kó ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[[gù-gùrù]-[mɔ̌m-∅]] gí-jí, bù-bùgújó-jú gà→, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[[gù-gùrù]-[mɔ̌m-∅]] gì-jì, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[wàr-ú] wɔ̀ⁿ] gàr-ɛ́.∴, né: ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gù-gùrù-[mɔ̌m-∅]]=̀:, háyɛ̀ né: ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[bùgùj-ú] [bé pó-jù], é→ ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-í]]=ýⁿ [kó bɛ̀] sɛ̀, é→

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ], ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-í]]=ýⁿ

A: ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gù-gùrù-[mòm-í]]=ýⁿ é→

B: *maintenant* ɛ́:rɛ́, yɔ́:, [[gú-gúrú, bé mòmó-jú] tɛ́ŋɛ́][163] bɛ̀, [í:ⁿ kúnɔ́-ɲú mà→] [í:ⁿ kúnɔ̂:-rò]

A: [[gú-gúrú bé mòmó-jú] tɛ́ŋɛ́][164] bɛ̀, pìyé tà:-jù, ú kó=ǹ pìyé tɛ̀mɛ̀-ɲù, gà→ dì:-sò:-sǎ: î:ⁿ sìⁿ-sî:ⁿ nɛ́wⁿ-nɛ́wⁿ-nɛ́wⁿ-nɛ́wⁿ[165] [[ɲù:-dùgɔ̀]-kúⁿ gì:ⁿ] [[ɲù:-dùgɔ̀]-kúⁿ gì:ⁿ],[166] [gàm ná]=ǹ ú tɛ́mɛ́-ɲú, [gàm ná]=ǹ pɛ́-pɛ́y [ɔ̀jɔ̀ pɔ̂:ⁿ] tɛ́mɛ̂:-rò

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[157] Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Verb wàrá 'do farming'.

[158] For iterated kámá-kámá.

[159] há:jɛ̀ is not possessed, cf. íⁿ há:jɛ̀ sí-ì bɛ̌:-rò 'there is no need for me', 'I am not useful'.

[160] sí-ì, variant form of sà 'have' used nonfinally in a chain.

[161] Adverbial form of sɔ́gú 'dense, closely-spaced (vegetation)'.

[162] Conjoined NPs, both ending in dying-quail intonation (∴).

[163] {H}-toned possessed contour.

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [yɔ̂-ŋ kó kɔ́-ǹ dè] [pàrá gɔ̌:-jú] mà→, *ou bien* pìyé bàgá-jú mà→, *ou bien* ɲɑ̃ŋ-ɲɑ̃ŋ kè:-jù

A: kó í:^{n} kúnɔ̀ yà:, pìyé bágà yà:, kó í:^{n} kúnɔ̀ yà:, pìyé bágà yà:, < bɔ̀rɔ́-- > [[bɔ̀rɔ́ [kó kè] ì:^{n} só][167] pɛ́^{n}-ɛ̀^{n}] táŋá yè-∅ dè, [pìyé sâ:^{n}] mòr-è:-jù, sâ:^{n} mòr-è:-jù

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[164] Temporal adverbial relative without internal head, imperfective verb. téŋé has possessed tone contour.

[165] î:^{n} 'the fruit, the product' is in apposition to the following adjective sì^{n}-sí:^{n} 'tiny' but they are not phrased together. nɛ́w^{n} is an intensifier for sì^{n}-sí:^{n}.

[166] 'like fly-head(s)', phrase repeated for distributivity.

[167] Subject relative with só 'be in'.

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B: < kó, í:^{n}, kó-- > [pìyé sâ:^{n} wɔ̀^{n}] mòr-í-ì dè, *maintenant* [kó nɛ́:] [nǎ bè] [kó bɔ̂^{n}] ɲǎŋ gì-jù, [[pìyé sâ:^{n}] mòr-í-ì dè] nɛ́: [ɛ́:rɛ́ pɛ́^{n}-ɛ̀^{n}] gǐ-jí mà→, *ou bien* [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gùr-ú]] dɔ̌-ɛ̀] gǐ-jí mà→, ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ gì-jù

A: nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}, < ɛ́:rɛ́--, > [ɛ́:rɛ́ wɔ̀^{n}] nɛ́: pɛ́^{n}-ɛ̀^{n}, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [kó wà] ɛ̀:rɛ̀-gúró dɔ̀-ɛ̀, ɛ̀:rɛ̀-gúró dɔ̀-ɛ̀, háyɛ̀ yɔ̂-ŋ pó-jù

B: [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gùr-ú] kɛ̀] nɛ́:, [kó sɔ́:] ɲǎŋ-ɲǎŋ kɔ̂

A: ɛ̀:rɛ̀-[gùr-ú] kà:^{n}, nɛ́: [kó pɛ́^{n}-ɛ̀^{n}] táŋá yè-∅ dè, nɛ́: ú [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè] gùró-jê:, [[nùmɔ́ bè] mòmó-jú kà:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀, [gàmà ná] [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè] [kó bɔ́rɔ̀] tɔ̀-tɔ́:-lé tɔ́:-jú, [gàmà ná] [[nùmɔ́ bè] á-ɛ̀ dè] mò-mòmó-jú, [[sɔ̀: lɔ̌y] yɔ̀:][168] kó = ǹ bì-jù

B: [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè]--, [nùmɔ́ bè] mǒm-∅ ná:r^{n}à[169] mà→, [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè] tɔ̌ nà:r^{n}à

A: nɛ́: ɲá ɔ̀rú kɔ̂ dè, [nùmɔ́ bè] mǒm-∅ nà:r^{n}à, nɛ́: ɲá mǎy^{n} kɔ̂ dè, [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè] tɔ̌ nà:r^{n}à

B: nɛ́: ɲá ɔ̀rú kɔ̂ kà:^{n}, [nùmɔ́ bè] mǒm-∅ bìr-ɛ́:-jú

A: [ɲá ɔ̀rú kɔ̂ dè] [mǒm-∅ bìr-ɛ̀:-jù], [jɔ̀ŋùr^{n}ú bè kà:^{n}] tɔ̌ bìr-ɛ̀:-jù, gà→ [ɲá ɔ̀rú kɔ̂ dè] [[nùmɔ́ bè] mǒm-∅ nà:r^{n}à]

B: [nɛ́: ɲá mǎy^{n} kɔ̂ dè] dà

A: [ɲá mǎy^{n} kɔ̂ dè] [[jɔ̀ŋúr^{n}ú bè] tɔ́:-lé tɔ́:-jú]

B: [jɔ̀ŋúr^{n}ú bè] lò dè, [nùmɔ́ bè] mǒm-∅ bìr-ê:-rò

A: [[nùmɔ́ bè] kè-kégù][170] [bàj-ú gɔ̃:-rò], é→, yɔ́: [yɔ́: gɛ̀:]

B: [kó kà:^{n}] nɛ́:, é kó gùró bèr-ê dè, íyé = ǹ [yǎ: tɔ̀] jà:-jù

A: [kó kà:^{n}] ú gùró bèr-ê dè, págá-págá-págá-págá págá-sê^{n} dè, [gíré tɔ̀ wɔ̀y^{n}], kà:ná wògòtóró [kó kɔ̀:-rɔ́ là] [gíré tɔ̀],

kó [kù^{n}-kɛ́nɛ́ bè] págá-págá-págá pág-ɛ̀ dè, [gàmà ná] gìr^{n}í jê:-jê:, [gàmà ná] [wòrú bínì] yê, pál-ɛ̀:-sê^{n} dè, [î:^{n} jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀:-sê^{n} dè] [kúrɔ̀ [bàrá bínì] yê kám dàgà-jù][171] á:r^{n}ɛ́:

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[168] Tones change from sɔ̌: lɔ́y without a demonstrative to [[sɔ̀: lɔ̌y] yɔ̀:] with addition to demonstrative yɔ́:. Tonosyntactic mark-up [[thing two]$^{LH\ L}$NearDist].

[169] From ná:r^{n}à '(be) easier', with {HL} comparative contour overridden by {L} in clause-final position. Cf. nà:r^{n}á 'easy', nà:r^{n}-á→ kɔ̂ 'it is easy'.

[170] Reduplicated adjectival predicate (Rdp^{L}-^{HL}Adj) from kégú 'hard'.

[171] Normally kámá dàgà-jù, here reduced in allegro speech.

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B: kúrɔ̀ [kó há:jé sè:-ré mà]

A: kúrɔ̀ nánà á:rⁿé: kó há:jé sè:-ré, sàbù [ɔ̀jɔ̀ = nì jê] [ɔ̀jɔ̀ = nì ó-jú][172] [gǐn tɔ̀][173] gàr-á→, sàbù < bìrè-- > [[bìrè gàrá] = ý] [[kó bíré] gàrú-n-è: lɔ́gɔ́[174] yè-∅], è:r-î:ⁿ dùw-é:, [è:rè-kúrɔ̀ dùw-é:], á:rⁿé: dùw-ê:-rè, [bàrá bínì] yê kám dàgà-jù,

[kà:ná né:] < àsègé-- >, [àsègé né:] [á:rⁿé: là] sìgé jó→ ké-è: [kó kê:ⁿ mà], [è:rè-kúrɔ̀ né:] dǔw dùw-í-ì dè, né: [gìrⁿí jɛ̌:r-è:] dǎ:n-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, àsègé = nì ó-jú, é→

B: *maintenant* é:rè yɔ́: kà:ná gùró-sɛ̂ⁿ, *maintenant* [ɲà túnɔ̀] bɛ̌:-sɛ̂ⁿ, [[kó kûⁿ] súrɔ̀wⁿ[175] bɛ̌:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] pílé-m̀ [kó bè]--, [kó kè] î:ⁿ, î:ⁿ ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ bì-jù

A: é→ ú kúrɔ̀ nɔ̂-ŋ á: dìn-í-ì dè, [ú < î:ⁿ-- > î:ⁿ sɔ́ⁿ-sɔ̀ⁿ á: á-è dè] pàlà-jù, [kúrɔ̀ á: dìn-í-ì dè] [î:ⁿ sɔ́ⁿ-sɔ̀ⁿ á: á-è dè] pàlà-jù

B: né: [[kó kè] bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲãŋ gì-jì

A: [kó bɔ́ⁿ] è:rè-[pàl-ú] gì-jù

B: è:rè-[pàl-ú]

A: è:rè-[pàl-ú]

B: [è:rè-[pǎl-∅] téŋè] [yɔ́: kó = ý]

A: é→ [è:rè-[pàl-ú] téŋè] [yɔ́: kó = ý], é→

B: [é:ré kè] dòg-ê mà→, *ou bien* [[é:ré kè] sɔ̀: pèré] síg-è

A: [é:ré kè wɔ̀ⁿ] né:, < yɔ́:-- > yɔ́: kó = ý, yɔ́: kó = ý

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[172] Nonsubject imperfective relative on dative, without a subject, similar to instrumental relatives. jê 'take, convey (somewhere)' is a bare (chained) verb stem. The repetition of ɔ̀jɔ̀ = nì is not necessary here.

[173] For /gìrⁿí tɔ̀/ 'at the house(s)'.

[174] lɔ́gɔ́ in the sense 'be very much, be excessive' regularly combines with yè-∅ 'went' in the perfective positive. Its other sense is 'overflow'.

[175] Adverbial derived from súrɔ́ 'pile (up)'.

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B: *bon*, émé [é:ré kè], [[è:rè ná:] pór-è:-sɛ̂^{n}] [[è:rɛ̀ múɲúr^{n}ú] pór-è:-sɛ̂^{n}], [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ tíŋé kà:^{n}] tíŋé-sɛ̂^{n}, né: [[pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kè] sɔ́:] dà, [ú kà:^{n}] dág-à→ í:^{n} wɔ̂ mà

A: pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kà:^{n}, háyɛ̀ [kó kà:^{n}] [yɔ́: kó=ý], [ɛ́:rɛ́ bà^{n} bùgújó-jú][176] gì:^{n}, [wòrú bínì] nú--, < xxx > ɔ́jɔ̀→ [[wòrù pɛ̌^{n}] bínì] nû-∅ dè, ú kà-kárá-jú,

ɲá kárá-kárá-kárá pɔ̀ŋɔ́-- [[ɲà ú kár-ɛ́] dày^{n}][177] pɔ̀ŋɔ́ màɲá-màɲá-màɲá màɲ-ɛ̂ dè, bù-bùgújó-jú, sâ:^{n} yɛ̂ nú-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [ká^{n} á: á-è-sɛ̂^{n} dè] [bùgúj-è: bùgúj-è: bùgúj-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè], [kó kà:^{n}] íyé=ǹ pɔ̀ŋɔ́ íyé=ǹ [kó kà:^{n}] tɔ́:-jú,

[kó [[nìŋìr^{n}í nàỳ^{n}] mâ:][178] dɔ̀:] [kó tɔ́:-jú], kó yɛ̂ yɛ̌-∅ dè, dág-à→ sɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ gò:-jù, kó sɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ gɔ̌-è dè, [kó kà:^{n}] [[kó bîn] nû-∅ dè] [pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-[gú-gúrú] mòmó-jú], pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-[gú-gúrú] mòmó-sɛ̂^{n} dè--

B: [í^{n} [ú ká^{n}] < tèŋè-lí-- > tèŋè-lí] gà→, *maintenant* ú kà:ná kár-è dè, mà-màɲá-ɲú g-ì,[179] [kàr-ú yɔ̀: né:] [kó kɔ́rɔ́]-- [kó nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́] ìŋé=ỳ

A: [kàr-û yɔ̀:] [kó nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́ né:], [[nà pɔ̂^{n}], [lìgìjí→ wàrá-jɛ̀] yà:-lè],[180] [[pɔ̀rɔ́ bè] á-è dè] wàrá-jɛ̀ yà:, é→ [kàr-û yɔ̀:] [kó gɛ̀:] kàrà-jù[181]

B: < ɲà mǎɲ-∅-- > [ɲà mǎɲ-∅] dày^{n} …

A: [ɲà mǎɲ-∅][182] dày^{n}

B: … bà^{n} jùgɔ́-má-ɲú[183]

A: bà^{n} jùgɔ́-má-ɲú, [kó dáy^{n}] kár-è dè, [kó bîn] nû-∅ dè, pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-máɲá [[kó bîn] nú] màɲ-ɛ̂ dè, [[é né:] [kó bîn] nú-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè] [né: wɔ̀^{n}], [dùrô:-dùrô: kìr-ɛ́→ wǎ-lé][184] g-î dè, né: [nà pɔ̂ŋ] ɔ́jɔ̀→ ɔ́jɔ̀→ [[kàr-û yɔ̀:] ká^{n}] á-è dè, yɔ̂-ŋ wàrá-jɛ̀ yà:-jù

B: yɔ́: kà:^{n}, [àr^{n}ú lɔ́w-è dè] bǐ-jú mà→, *ou bien* [hâl àr^{n}ú lɔ̀wɔ̀-lí kà:^{n}] [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ wàr-ú bìr-ɛ́:-jú]

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[176] Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative.

[177] Nonsubject (object) perfective relative.

[178] mâ: 'approximately'.

[179] '(you) said' in the literal sense.

[180] Subordinator -jɛ̀ (simultaneous). yǎ:-lé prohibitive of 'go', here {L}-toned at the end of a clause. The following parallel clause contains imperative 'go!'.

[181] Focus construction.

[182] Verbal noun mǎɲ-∅ 'sowing, scattering' here functions as an adjective.

[183] Nonsubject (manner) imperfective relative. Omitted impersonal subject, as in instrumental relative compounds.

[184] Prohibitive of wàrá 'do farm work' in negative purposive clause.

A: né: wɔ̀^{n}, àr^{n}ú lɔ́w-é: mà, ɲá [né: wɔ̀^{n}] gàr-á→ mǎ:-ŋ-è: jè-lí, ɲá bùŋùr^{n}ù-bàŋùr^{n}ù[185] [kó kɔ́-ǹ dè], < kó-ǹ-- > [[kó wágàtù] bè] wà-jù, [yɔ́: bè] wà-jù, é→

[185] An idiiosyncratic expressive adverbial used by this speaker, roughly ‘variable’.

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B: pɔ̀ŋɔ́ [yɔ́: né:] kà:ná wàrá-sɛ̂^{n}, tɔ́-ɛ̀, *maintenant* kó tɔ́-ɛ̀ dè, [kó wɔ̀^{n}] [tɛ̀ŋɛ̀ gàmá] gú-gúrú [kó wò→ kà:^{n}] gàr-á→ jùgɔ́-mû:-rò

A: é→

B: *maintenant*, ɲãŋ-ɲãŋ bìr-ê dè, é [kó wórú] dǎn-gá-jú

A: [né: wɔ̀^{n}] gú-gúrú, [ú gɛ̀r-é-ɛ̀:][186] ú kɛ́-ɛ̀: mà, [pɔ̀ŋɔ́∴ [gù-gùrù síg-ɛ́] dày^{n}][187] [kó yɛ̌-ɛ̀: sǎ^{n} gòjó-jú] [jùgɔ́-m̀ táŋá yè-∅ dè], ú [gù-gùrù [kó bîn] só][188] kú:^{n} mòmò-jù

B: né: [nǎ wò→] kó jùgɔ́-jú

A: [nǎ wò→] kó jùgɔ́-jú, [gù-gùrù pèré] [kó bínì] yɛ́ sò, [ú ɔ́-ɛ̀ dè] bàŋà-lá,[189] é→ [gù-gùrù [kó bínì] só] dày^{n}, [gù-gùrù nɛ̀w^{n}é sò:-ró] yɔ̀: dày^{n},[190] mòmó mòmó [pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-[ì:^{n}-sǎ:] sày] yê dàgà-jù

B: [úr^{n}í: bè kà:^{n}] jùgɔ́-jú

A: [úr^{n}í: bè kà:^{n}]-- [[ùr^{n}ì: dág-à→ tɔ̀y→ wé nà] dày^{n}][191] kó jùgɔ̀-jù

B: [tɔ̀y→ wɔ̀:-rɔ́ dè] jùgɔ̂:-rò

A: [tɔ̀y→ wɔ̀:-rɔ́ dè] jùgɔ̂:-rò, é→, [hâl gàmá àsɛ̀gɛ́ [kó bínì] págá-jú kà:^{n}] jùgɔ̂:-rè, é→

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[186] Same-subject anterior form of mediopassive gɛ̀r-î: 'look'.

[187] Subject perfective relative.

[188] Subject relative with só 'be in'.

[189] Negative of stative bà^{n}-báŋà 'be hidden'.

[190] Subject relative with sò:-ró 'not be in', followed by L-toned demonstrative and terminal element dày^{n} 'all'.

[191] Subject relative with plural-subject form of the 'be' quasi-verb.

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B: *maintenant*, [gú-gúrù yɔ̀:] mòm-ê dè, ú kà:ná, [gú-gúrù yɔ̀:] mòm-ê dè, né:, xxx

A: [gú-gúrú mòm-é:] ú dɔ̀mɔ́-ǹ dè, pɔ̀ŋɔ́ íré-jú, pɔ̀ŋɔ́ ír-è dè, [kó wà] [pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-kéjé[192] dɔ̌-è] wà, [pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-kéjé dɔ̌-è] wà, [yɔ́: né:] pɔ̀ŋɔ́ ír-è,

pɔ̀ŋɔ́ ír-è dè, íyé = ǹ á:rⁿé: [bìrè síg-é nà][193] [bàⁿ mɔ̌-[mɔ̀rⁿ-î:],[194] ɲú: kè, [bàⁿ bé bír-é]][195] gì:ⁿ, [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kà:ⁿ] mɔ̀rⁿ-é:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, kú:ⁿ kèjè-jù

B: pɔ̀ŋɔ́, [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kè] bírè] [kèj-ú kûⁿ] lá: tɔ́rɔ́-jú

A: é→ kè-kéjé-jú [kèj-ú lá: tɔ́rɔ́-jú], kèj-ú kéjé-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, háyè né: [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ né:] á:rⁿé: émé ɲù:-tè:ré gì-là:, pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-tè:ré kùnɔ̀-ɲù,

pɔ̀ŋɔ̀-tè:ré kún-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [[nìŋìrⁿí lɔ́y mà→] [tǎ:n mà→] yɛ̂ yè-y] [júgú dɔ̀:], kó dág-à→ pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ dè, [nǎm-∅ kó ná:rⁿà] g-î dè, kó dág-à→ pɔ́-è:ⁿ dè, íyé = ǹ ú nǎ gèŋé mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, [bé wò→] bàrá yɛ̌-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, ɲá ké:r-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [bé wò→ né:] nùmɔ̀-jágú gǔŋ-è: gǔŋ-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [yɔ́: né:] kú:ⁿ nàmà-ɲù

B: á:rⁿé: ú [pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ dè] gì-lì, …

A: é→

B: … pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ, [émé wɔ̀ⁿ] [úrⁿí: bè], pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ gàr-á→ kó pá:m-è: bè-lâ:

A: < kó dág-à→ -- >, kó dág-à→ --, ɔ́mɔ́-ɲú gì:ⁿ→ dág-à→

B: ɔ́mɔ́-ɲú gì:ⁿ

A: é→ [ɔ́mɔ́-ɲú gì:ⁿ] [[síbé tɔ̀gù][196] kó jè-lí][197] tɔ́r-è dè, [yɔ́: né:] [ú nám-è dè] [kó gá:rá sǎⁿ dàgà-jù]

B: [[kó kè] bɔ̂ⁿ] pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ

A: pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ, pɔ́ⁿ-èⁿ gì-jù, é→

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ] [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kè]

A: é→ yɔ́: [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kè]

B: né: nám-è dè

A: mhm

B: pílé-m̀ î:ⁿ bàrá gìrⁿí jê:-jù mà→

A: é→ bàrá, < î:ⁿ bàrá gìrⁿí-- > [kó kà:ⁿ] î:ⁿ bàrá gìrⁿí jê:-jù, [î:ⁿ bàrá gìrⁿí jɛ̌:r-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] [[kó kè] bàrá gìrⁿí jɛ̌:r-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] [gɔ̀: yǎ: kè] [gɔ̀:-gí:ⁿ bínì] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

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[192] Compound verbal noun. Same form as agentive compound.

[193] Subject perfective relative. Plural nà here with nonhuman head noun.

[194] For [mɔ̀rⁿ-î:]-[mɔrⁿ-î:] (contracted verb iteration).

[195] Nonsubject (manner) perfective relative. Head noun bàⁿ 'way, manner' is repeated at the end of a structurally complex relative clause.

[196] tɔ̀gú 'kind, species, race (ethnicity)', here in {L}-toned possessed form.

[197] jè-lí, purposive clause form of jɛ̌:rì 'bring', as complement of 'begin'.

B: kó [[gɔ̀: yǎ:] bîn] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

A: kó [[gɔ̀: yǎ:] bîn] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

B: [[gɔ̀: àrⁿá] bîn] kúnɔ̂:-rè

A: [[gɔ̀: àrⁿá] bîn] kúnɔ̂:-rè, kó [[gɔ̀: yǎ:] bîn] kùnɔ̀-ɲù

B: [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ] [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kè] kó＝ý

A: [pɔ̀ŋɔ́ kè wɔ̀ⁿ] [yɔ́: kó＝ý]

2011.1a.26 Planting roselle

B: àŋní:, [àŋní: kà:^{n}] [tèŋè jó:] [nă bè] kó ɔ̀jɔ́ bì-jù

A: àŋní:, [kó wórú] kúnɔ́-jê:, [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀-wòrú] bínì kà:^{n}] dág-à→ dág-à→ pàŋà-ɲù, háyɛ̀ [kó kà:^{n}] [[kó [wár-ú]-sìbɛ̀], jò-jó→, [[[ɛ̀:rɛ̀-wòrú] bínì] páŋá-ɲú] yɔ́ kɔ̀, [kó wórú té→] [wàj-ú kà:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀-wòrú bîn] bé páŋá-ɲù][198] [kó [[yà:-kɔ̀]-tɔ̀gí]=̀:]

A: kó, kó, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-wòrú áŋú] gì-jì, [ɛ̀:rɛ̀-wòrú áŋú] gì-jì, nɛ́: kó→ [kó sày] bé wă-jú, àŋù-bɔ́gú gì-jì

B: àŋù-bɔ́gú

A: àŋù-bɔ́gú

[198] Headless object relative, with L-toned Imperfective -ɲù.

2011.1a.27 Varieties of roselle

B: *maintenant, est-ce que*, àŋnú kà:^{n}, [[kó síbɛ́] dɛ́y^{n}→ kɔ̂ mà→] [*ou bien* [àŋnú sâ:^{n} fú→] [tɔ̀gù túnɔ́] = ỳ^{n}]

A: àŋnú [tɔ̀gú dɛ́y^{n}-dɛ́y^{n} kɔ̂] dɛ̀, [àŋnù pírí] yɔ́ kɔ̀→, [àŋnù bá^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀, [àŋní-kó:rò kà:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀, àŋní [tɔ̀gú tǎ:n bà→] kɔ̂, é→

B: tǎ:n lò dè, pèré kɔ̀:-rɔ́

A: é→, tǎ:n lò dè, pèré kɔ̀:-rɔ́

B: né:, < àŋní-- > [àŋnù pírì] ɲǎŋ kɔ̂

A: [àŋnù pírì]

B: [dèg-é→ kɔ́ mà→] [gùr-í→ kɔ̂]

A: gɔ̀wɔ́-jú, kó [bá:gà [kó kè]], pír-í→ kɔ̂, dág-à→ gɔ̀wɔ́-jú, [í:^{n} kà:^{n}] < da-- > í:^{n} jó→ nà-ɲù, háyɛ̀ kó [àŋnù pírí], [kó dógó ní:] [àŋnù bá^{n}], bá:gà bá^{n}-y^{n}→ kɔ̂→, [kúrɔ̀ kà:^{n}] bá^{n}-y^{n}→ kɔ̂, [gìyé [kó kè]] bá^{n}-y^{n}→ kɔ̂, [kó bɔ̂^{n}] [àŋnù bá^{n}] gì-jù

B: àŋnù bá^{n}

A: é→ [àŋnù bá^{n}]

B: né: [àŋnù bâ^{n}], [àŋnù bâ^{n}] [kó kè] [kúrɔ̀ [kó kè]], [[àŋnù jǎ:ǹ bé nɔ̀:-ɲù] gì:^{n}][199] kɔ́ mà→, *ou bien* [kó wò→] dɛ́y^{n}→

A: kúrɔ̀--, [jǎ:ǹ bé nɔ̀:-ɲù] [bé [kó bɔ̂^{n}] [àŋnì-kò:rò bá^{n}] gì-jù], é→, àŋnù kô→ yɔ́ kɔ̀, [àŋní-kó:rò kà:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀, [àŋní-kó:rò wɔ̀^{n}], [kó kè] < î:^{n}-- > î:^{n} kó:r-ì dè, pùr^{n}ú [kó bè] tèr-ú bìr-ɛ̀:-jù, [pùr^{n}ú dógó tɔ̀] [[jǎ:ǹ-∅ dè] [ɲǐ-∅ kà:^{n}]] bìr-ɛ̀:-jù, kó àŋní-kó:rò gì-jù, [àŋnì-kò:rò bâ^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀→, [àŋnì-kò:rò pírì] yɔ́ kɔ̀,

bâ^{n} = w̏^{n},[200] kà:ná [jǎ:ǹ nɔ́:-ɲú][201] ú pó-jù, kó [àŋnì-kò:rò bâ^{n}] kúní:,[202] pírì = w̏^{n}, né: pùr^{n}ú [kó bè] bé téré-jù,[203] kó [àŋnì-kò:rò pírì] gì-jì

B: [àŋnì-kò:rò bâ^{n}] [kó kà:^{n}] gùrú kɔ̂ mà→

A: [[kó kà:^{n}] gɔ̀wɔ́-jú] [àŋnì-kò:rò pírì] [[kó lɔ̀:] géné] kɛ́-kɛ́w

B: [[kó lɔ̀:] géné] kɛ́-kɛ́w

A: [[kó fú→] géné] kɛ́-kɛ́w

B: *maintenant*, [kó kè] *couleur* sày, [[kó lɔ̀:] gân] káw-g-ì mà

A: *couleur* sày, *couleur*--, gìyé [nɔ̂:[204] bá^{n}-y^{n}→ kɔ̂→] [nɔ̂: pír-í→ kɔ̂], nánà yɔ́: kó = ý

B: [*couleur* lò dè] [kó lɔ̀:] [kó túrú]

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[199] Nonsubject (object) imperfective relative.

[200] Contraction of bâ^{n} wɔ̀^{n} with topic wɔ̀^{n}. Parallel construction, see pírì = w̏^{n} below.

[201] Instrumental relative compound.

[202] kúní:, glossed by assistant in French as *il s'agit de*.

[203] Translates as a relative on a postpositional object, but the overt kó bè 'with it' rules this out syntactically, so I take it as headless.

[204] Paired clauses with {HL}-toned nɔ́: 'this', arguably contracted from topical nɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}, at any rate with final pitch drop indicating topical status.

A: é→, [kó lɔ̀:] [kó túrú], nɔ̂: gìyé bá^{n}-y^{n}→ kɔ̂→, nɔ̂: gìyé pír-í→ kɔ̂, [àŋù nâ: kà:^{n}], nɔ̂: gíyé bá^{n}-y^{n}→ kɔ̂→, nɔ̂: gíyé pír-í→ kɔ̂, háyɛ̀ yɔ̂-ŋ-yɔ̂-ŋ sà^{n}-tú^{n} gòjò-jù

2011.1a.28 Harvesting and threshing roselle bushes

B: àɲú lɛ́-è, kà:ná lɛ́:-sɛ̂^{n} *maintenant* kó tɔ́-è, *maintenant* tɔ́-è dè, < àɲî:-- > àɲî:, námà [bìrɛ̀ pèré] dɛ́y^{n}→ yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà, *ou bien* [[ɲú: kè] gì:^{n}] [bìrɛ̀ pèré] dɛ́y^{n}→ kɔ̀:-rɔ́

A: àɲí:, kó tɔ́-è táŋá yè-∅ dè, ú yɔ̂-ŋ [ɛ́:rɛ́ bínì] yɔ̂-ŋ kámá dàg-ɛ̂ dè, kó yɔ̂-ŋ [sɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ má] yɔ̂-ŋ gɔ̌-è dè, nɛ́: [yɛ̌-ɛ̀: kó pɛ́^{n}-ɛ̀^{n}] táŋá yè-∅ dè, [kó kà:^{n}] tɔ́:-tɔ́:-tɔ́:-tɔ́: ú mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, < àɲí:-- > àɲù-sɔ̌^{n}[205] kùnɔ̀-ɲù, bé [kó bɔ̂^{n}] àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} gì-jù,

[tɔ́:-tɔ́:-tɔ́: yè] [[ɲà túnɔ̀] yè] [márⁿà→-márⁿà→-márⁿà→ mɔ̌:-n-ɛ̀: mɔ̌:-n-ɛ̀: ú:-n-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè], [kó bɔ̂^{n}] [àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} gì-jù]

B: àɲù-sɔ̌^{n}

A: àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} é→ …

B: ɲà[206] [ɲà túnɔ̀] bé mɔ̌:-nɔ́-ɲù,[207] …

A [overlapping]: … é→, [kó bɔ̂^{n}] àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} gì-jù

B: [kò kà:^{n}] [[ɲù:-tɛ̀:rɛ́ kè] sí:^{n}-kà^{n}], [kó kà:^{n}] [kó kè] àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} gì-jù

A: [kó kè] àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} gì-jù

B: [àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} yɔ̀: dà nɛ́:] íyé=ǹ [kó kè], nɛ́: [î:^{n} [kó kè]] gŭŋɔ́-ɲú mà→, *ou bien* àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} [ìŋé gɛ̀:] kún-ɛ̀:

A: àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} [yɛ̌-ɛ̀: kó àɲî: mǎ:-ŋ̀-∅] táŋá yè-∅ dè, jòŋùrⁿù-kújú bè→, < bá:gá-- > [bà:gà márⁿá], é [úrⁿí: bè]=ǹ tɔ́:r-ɛ̀:, sâ:^{n} ɲàŋá ɲàŋá-sɛ̂^{n} dè, àɲù-pàgá nɔ̂-ŋ ɲàŋá-sɛ́^{n} dè, lágá-lágá-lágá-lágá î:^{n} [ɲá kû^{n}] sún-g-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [ɲɛ̌ bè] ɲɛ̌:r^{n}-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [é nɛ́:] kó bà-jù[208]

B: [kó kè nɛ́:] [[kó kè] bírɛ́-bɔ̀^{n}], bìrɛ̀-bɔ̀^{n} nâ:--

A: < àɲù-- > àɲù-[sɔ̀n-ú][209] gì-jù

B: àɲù-[sɔ̌n-∅]

A: àɲù-[sɔ̀n-ú], é→, àɲù-[sɔ̀n-ú]

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[205] àɲù-sɔ̌^{n} 'heap of roselle (bushes)'. tɛ̀:rɛ́ 'big heap' is used for millet and fonio, but not for roselle.

[206] This ɲà (from ɲá 'land, earth, ground') is {L}-toned as relative clause head.

[207] Imperfective nonsubject (locative) relative.

[208] bàrá 'gather'.

[209] Compound ending in verbal noun of sɔ́ǹ 'undo (heap of roselle bushes)'.

2011.1a.29 Cow-peas

B: yɔ́: [àŋnú kè], àŋnú kè, [ɛ́mɛ́-- [ɛ̀:rɛ̀ ná:] pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}] [[ɛ̀:rɛ̀ múŋnúr^{n}ú] pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}], *maintenant* [yɔ́: nà] kà:ná [sâ:^{n} fú→] pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n}, [né: wɔ̀^{n}] [ú=ǹ ùŋnùr^{n}ù í^{n} úŋnúr^{n}ɔ́-ŋnù][210] [nǐ kè]=̀: [nǐ kà:^{n}] [kó sɔ́:] [ŋǎŋ kɔ̂]

A: nǐ kà:^{n}, [[wòrú bínì] páŋá-ŋnú] yɔ́ kɔ̀→, [nì-bɔ́gí=ý gá→ bɔ̀gɔ́-jú] yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: [wòrú bîn] páŋá-ŋnú

A: é→

B: [wòrú bîn] [ìŋé gɛ̀:] páŋá-téŋè

A: wòrú bínì, [ŋnú: gân] [ŋnú: gân] [ŋnú: gân], ú páŋ-ɛ̀ dè, [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] gàmá, [bínígí ŋà só][211] [[gàmá yê gá:rá ké:né-jú] g-î dè], [gàmá [kó gì] páŋá-jê:],

háyè, [gàmà ná né:], né: [[kó kè] ŋâ] wó=ǹ dág-à→ [ŋɔ́w^{n}ɔ́ gì:^{n}] kɔ̂ dè, né: [àŋnù-bɔ́gú gì:^{n}] bɔ̀gɔ̀-jù, [kó kà:^{n}] < sɔ̀: > [bìrɛ̀ lɔ̌y yɔ̀:][212] kó=ý

B: né:, nì [wòrú bîn] bé páŋá-ŋnù,[213] …

A: é→

B: … [[nǐ nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́] gɛ̀:] páŋá-téŋè mà→, *ou bien* [[nì-kúrɔ́ nɛ́w^{n}ɛ́] gɛ̀:] páŋá-téŋè mà→, [ìŋé gɛ̀:] nǐ [wòrú bîn] páŋá-téŋè

A: nǐ, ú nì-ʔî:^{n} dág-à→ bɛ̌-jô:, nì-kúrɔ̀ kà:^{n}, [wòrú bínìgì] dágà→, [dɔ̀gɔ̀-nǐ gì-jì] [dɔ̀gɔ̀-nǐ]=ẁ^{n}, kó dág-à→ [[síg-ɛ́ nà] là] sìgɛ́ dág-à→ wàr^{n}-ɛ́:-jô:, [nì-kúrɔ̀ kà:^{n}] [kó gá:rá bɛ̌-m̀-jô:], [nì-ʔî:^{n} kà:^{n}] [sǎ^{n} kúrɔ́][214] bɛ̀-jù

B: nì-ʔî:^{n}, [ŋnì-ŋní:-ŋní mà→] dɔ̀^{n}-dɔ́-ŋnú

A: ŋnì-ŋní:-ŋní, [[wòrú bínì] kè wɔ̀^{n}] [nì ŋnì-ŋní:-ŋní][215] gàrà, né: nì-bɔ́gú=ẁ^{n}, dɔ̌-ŋnú gàrà

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[210] Imperfective nonsubject relative.

[211] Nonsubject relative with só ‘be in’.

[212] [N Num]$^{L+H}$ ^{L}Dem sequence.

[213] Imperfective nonsubject relative.

[214] kùrɔ́ ‘share, portion’, here {H}-toned as possessed noun. Distinct from kúrɔ́ ‘leaf, greens’, which occurs in the same passage.

[215] Instrumental relative compound “cow-peas for eating.”

2011.1a.30 Separately grown cow-peas

B: [nì-bɔ́gú kè] dág-à→ pórù gè-mà[216]

A: é→ [nì-bɔ́gú kè wɔ̀ⁿ], [é né:] [[ɲú: bàⁿ é lɛ́:-jú] gì:ⁿ],[217] ùrɔ̀-bɔ́n bɔ̀nɔ́ bɔ̀nɔ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [kàⁿ ɛ́:ŋí ɛ́:ŋí ɛ́:ŋí ɛ́:ŋí] < nùmɔ̀-- >, [nùmɔ̀-tàŋá túrú] [nùmɔ̀-tàŋá túrú] gì:ⁿ, [nùmɔ̀-[làg-ú]] [nùmɔ̀-[làg-ú]] [nùmɔ̀-[làg-ú]] [nùmɔ̀-[làg-ú]] gì:ⁿ, é yɔ̂-ŋ ɛ́:ŋí ɛ́:ŋí námá yɔ̂-ŋ jɔ̌:-n-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, kó yɔ̂-ŋ ùŋòrò-jù,

[kó yɔ̂-ŋ ùŋúr-ì] [é [[kó bɔ́rɔ̀] gù-gùrù kɔ́][218] é[219] bɔ̀gɔ́r-ɛ̀: bɔ̀gɔ́r-ɛ̀: bɔ̀gɔ́r-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè], [pá→ yè] kó í:ⁿ nà-ɲù,

kó yè í:ⁿ nàrⁿ-ɛ̂ dè, né:, dágà→, [[kɛ̀-kɛ́: bè] sí:ⁿ-kàⁿ] nú-ɲú dè, [àⁿsà:rà-ló bè] ɛ́mɛ́ dág-à→ kó píjé píjé píjé-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, né: kɛ̀-kɛ́: dàrⁿá-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, í:ⁿ [kó gá:rá] nà-ɲù,

háyɛ̀ [yɔ̂-ŋ bìrɛ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] [dògó tɔ̀] [ɛ́mɛ́ î:ⁿ kú:ⁿ tùrò-jù], [kó pɛ́ⁿ-ɛ̀ⁿ dè] [kú:ⁿ tùrò-jù], [kó kà:ⁿ] túró túró túro-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, [gìrⁿí jɛ̌:-r-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] sɔ̀gɔ̀-jù,

[sɔ́gɔ́-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] nì-bèrú, tɔ̀-tɔ́:-jú, nì-bèrú tɔ́:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè, nùŋù-bárⁿà[220] àsɛ̀gɛ́=ǹ ò-jù [kà:ná wɔ̀ⁿ], háyè gàmá [kó kà:ⁿ] [nàpɛ̀ lɔ̀y yɔ́:][221] kó=ǹ yɔ́ kɔ̀, [î:ⁿ nápɛ̀=ỳ][222] < kúrɔ̀-- kúrɔ̀-- > [[kúrɔ̀ kà:ⁿ] nápɛ̀=ỳ]

B: [kó=ǹ wɔ̀ⁿ] nɛ̀wⁿɛ́ jó→ kɔ̂ dè

A: nɛ̀wⁿɛ́ jó→ kɔ̂ dè

B: háyɛ̀ [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ] dàg-í-ì

A: háyɛ̀ [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ] [yɔ́: dàyⁿ fú→] yɔ̂-ŋ kɔ̂

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[216] Chain of pórù 'say' plus hortative of gèrɛ́ 'look at' (hence 'consider').

[217] Imperfective nonsubject (manner) relative.

[218] Subject relative with nonhuman existential-locational 'be (somewhere)'.

[219] 2Pl subject é, normally clause-initial, repeated here after a heavy object NP.

[220] Tonal locative.

[221] [N Num]^{L} Dem instead of the usual [N Num]$^{L+H}$ ^{L}Dem. The latter type arguably contains a covert tonal locative on the numeral.

[222] nápɛ̀=ỳ 'it is (sth) useful'. Also expressed as nɛ̀wⁿɛ́ yɛ́ sà 'it has a use (value)'.

2011.1a.31 Interlude

B: *maintenant, est-ce que* [wárú bîn] kà:ná, ɔ́jɔ̀→, [ɔ̀jɔ̀ pèré] déyⁿ→ yɔ́ kɔ̀

A: wárú bínì, ú [[jùgɔ́ mà] ɲà dɔ́:-lí dàyⁿ][223] gàmá--

B: wálà→, [ú kà:ⁿ] tú-túrú--

A: ɔ́jɔ̀→, [ɔ̀jɔ̀ kámá-ɲú] [ɔ̀jɔ̀ kámá-ɲú][224]

B: é→

A: wárú bínì, [sɔ̀: kɛ́wɛ́rɛ́-kɛ̀wɛ̀rɛ̀] dág-à→ dág-à→ dág-à→ dág-à→ dág-à→, [gàmà ná] bɪ̌-jê:, [gàmà ná] bɪ̂:-rè, é→ [gàmà ná] bì-jù,

[gàm ná] [[kó dógó] tɔ̀] [gàmá kèrú bǎ-bàrá[225] mɔ̌:-n-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] [[nùŋù-bárⁿà àsɛ̀gɛ́ = ǹ ó-jú] g-î dè] bɪ̌-jê:, háyɛ̀ [gàmà ná], [[kèrù ná:] dág-à→ dág-à→ wǎ:-wǎ:-sɛ̂ⁿ dè] gìrⁿí jê:-jê:, háyɛ̀ [dògó tɔ̀], yɔ̂-ŋ [sɔ̀: kɛ́wɛ́rɛ́-kɛ̀wɛ̀rɛ̀-kɛ̀wɛ̀rɛ̀] pèré, < sâ:ⁿ-- > sâ:ⁿ = ǹ kɔ̀:-rɔ́ gà→, [nà àrⁿâ:-àrⁿâ: = ǹ] [[nà [kó bínì] bírɛ́ bì-jù][226] tú-túrú] yɔ́ kɔ̀

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[223] Perfective negative nonsubject relative.

[224] Imperfective nonsubject relative with omitted impersonal subject.

[225] Iteration, for bàrá-bàrá.

[226] Imperfective subject relative.

2011.1a.32 Seasons

B: kà:ná [né: wɔ̀ⁿ], lɛ̌ ɲàŋ-ê dè, [kó móm dɔ̀:], [[kó kè] bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲǎŋ gì-jù, *ou bien* lɛ̌ ɲàŋ-ê dè, [wárú dɔ̀:] [[kó kè] téŋé-bɔ̀ⁿ][227] ɲǎŋ gì-jù

A: [lɛ̌ ɲàŋ-ê dè] [wárú dɔ̀:], [yɔ́: né:] jírⁿíŋɛ́ = ýⁿ, [ɛ́mɛ́ né:] [jírⁿíŋɛ́ súg-è] gì-jù, [jírⁿíŋɛ́ súg-è] gì-jù

B: wárú ɲàŋ-ê dè, móm dɔ̀:, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ dɔ̀:, [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] ɲǎŋ gì-jù

A: < jírⁿíŋɛ́-- >, jírⁿíŋɛ́ súg-è∴, [[jìrⁿìŋɛ̀-[sùg-ú] dógó] tɔ̀] < wárú-- wárú-- >[wárú gɔ̌:-sɛ̂ⁿ∴], [wárú dógó] tɔ̀, né: [kó wà] [pàrá gɔ̌-è] gì-jù, [pàrà-[gó:-ró] kûⁿ] yà:-jù né:

B: pàrà-[gó:-rò], < kó kè-- > [kó kè] [bɔ̀ⁿ pèré] yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà→, *ou bien* pàrà-[gó:-ró]--

A: [pàrà-[gó:-ró] kè] [bɔ̀ⁿ pèré] sà:-rá], [bɔ̀ⁿ pòrùpâ] pàrà-[gó:-ró] gi-jù

B: pàrà-[gó:-ró], ɔ̀ⁿhɔ́ⁿ

A: né: [gàmà ná] sá-è dè, [kó wà] [gɛ̀r-ú dɔ̌-ɛ̀] gì-jù, né: gɛ̀r-ú dɔ́-ɛ́ wɔ̀ⁿ,[228] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ é kún-ú wɔ̀ⁿ,[229] [kó wà] [gùŋ-ú dɔ̌-ɛ̀] gì-jù, háyɛ̀ [gɛ̀r-ú dɔ̌-ɛ̀] yɔ́: = ỳ, dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀ é kún-ú--

B: [kó wò→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, [[pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ̀] = ỳ

A: [kó wò→ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, pàrà-[gó:-ró] gì-jù

B: sâ:ⁿ né:, wárú kûⁿ∴, lɛ̌ kûⁿ∴, móm kûⁿ∴, [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ kûⁿ∴, [sâ:ⁿ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, ɲǎŋ pò-jù

A: [sâ:ⁿ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, [yɔ́: wɔ̀ⁿ] né:, [kó wò→ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, wárú gì-jù

B: wárú

A: é→, [wárú wà] dɔ̌-ɛ̀, é→, [jírⁿíŋɛ́ súg-è] [wárú dɔ̌-ɛ̀], é→, [kó wò→ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè, pòrùpâ wárú gì-jù,

árú wàrá jê dè, [dògó tɔ̀] [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ gì-jù, mà→ [yɔ́: kó = ý] là:, é→ pàrà-[gó:-ró] wà, [jírⁿíŋɛ́ wà] [pàrà-[gó:-ró] wà], jírⁿíŋɛ́, [pàrà-[gó:-ró], [jírⁿíŋɛ́ súg-è], [pàrá gɔ̌-è], wálà:,

é→ [pàrá gɔ̌-è], é→ [jírⁿíŋɛ́ kè] wárí = ý, < dɛ̀rⁿɛ́-- > [dɛ̀rⁿɛ́ gɔ̌: jê dè] [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ kè wɔ̀ⁿ, dɛ̀rⁿɛ̀-[gɛ̀r-í = ý], háyɛ̀ yɔ́: kó = ỳ, háyɛ̀ yɔ́: kó = ỳ, jíríŋɛ́ pàrà-[gó:-ró]

B: *bon*, kà:ná wɔ̀ⁿ, [wárú ágá] tɔ̀[230] wɔ̀ⁿ, [sɔ̀: jó:] pór-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ, né: [sɔ̀: jò:] ɛ́mɛ́ pór-ɛ̀:,[231] *est-ce que* [yɔ́: sâ:ⁿ fú→] kà:ná bǐ-téŋè

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[227] Logically [[that one's] time's] name] (recursive possession), but treated tonosyntactically as a compound [[that one's] time.H-name.L], as often with recursive possessives.

[228] Perfective nonsubject relative with {H}-toned verb before Topic wɔ̀ⁿ in the sense 'when/after'.

[229] Perfective nonsubject (object) relative and topic wɔ̀ⁿ in their normal senses.

[230] [[X ágá] tɔ̀] 'about X', cf. àrgá 'side'.

[231] Perfective nonsubject relative with plural subject marked on the verb. Clause-internal head NP is a noun-adjective combination.

A: [yɔ́: dày^{n} fú→] kà:ná bǐ-téŋè dɛ̀, kà:ná [yɔ́: dày^{n} fú→] [ɔ̀jɔ̀ ɛ́mɛ́ dàgà-jù][232] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀ fú→ bì-jù, [yɔ́: dày^{n} fú→] bǐ-téŋè

[232] Imperfective nonsubject relative.

2011.1a.33 Dry season

B: né: pàrá--, kà:ná, jírⁿíŋɛ́ súg-è∴, pàrá gɔ̌-è∴, pàrá gɔ̌-è∴, [kó dógó ní:] [né: ìŋɛ́ bì-jù]

A: < [né: wɔ̀ⁿ]-- > [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] nùŋú bàrⁿ-ê,[233] [pàrà-[gò:-rò]]-bírɛ́ dòg-ê, nùŋú bàrⁿ-ê, [kó bɔ̂ⁿ] ɛ́mɛ́ nùŋù-bárⁿá gì-jù

B: né: [nùŋù-bárⁿá bîn] [sɔ̀: [yà:-kɔ̀]-[sì:ⁿ-káⁿ∴] [yà:-kɔ̀]-[sì:ⁿ- káⁿ∴] [yà:-kɔ̀]-[sì:ⁿ- káⁿ∴]] sò

A: [nùŋù-bárⁿá bínì], [nùŋù-bárⁿá bínì], gìrⁿì-[tàr-ú] bè→, gɔ̀:-[ùj-ú] bè→, háyɛ̀ gìrⁿì-[ùj-ú] bè→, [sɔ̌: [tɔ̀gú dɛ́yⁿ-dɛ́yⁿ-dɛ́yⁿ]] [nùŋù-bárⁿá bírɛ́] [dɔ̀gùrù jírⁿíŋɛ́ súgó-jà][234] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [gìrⁿì bìn] ɛ́mɛ́ ná:-ɲù∴, [[gìrⁿì bìn] dɛ̀rⁿɛ́ ɛ́mɛ́ kúnɔ́-ɲù∴][235] dànú-gá-jú kè wɔ̀ⁿ, [ɛ́mɛ́ né:] [nùŋù-bárⁿá bínì] [[bìrɛ̀ yɔ́:] tɔ̀gù] bì-jù,

é→ yɔ́: nùŋù-bárⁿá=ýⁿ, [yɔ́: né:] nùŋú bàrⁿ-ê, dɔ̀gùrù [àndì: lɔ̀nìrⁿí] súgó jà, [ɛ́mɛ́ né:] [[sǎⁿ bè] gírⁿí] [ɲà lóró sáⁿ][236] [ɲà lóró sáⁿ] dǎn-gá∴, [gɔ̌: kà:ⁿ] [ɲà lóró-sáⁿ] dǎn-gá∴, háyɛ̀ [[kó wò→ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅ dè] [ɛ́mɛ́ nùŋù-bárⁿá gì-jù, háyɛ̀ [kó wà] nùŋú bàrⁿ-ê, mhm

B: [yɔ́: bîn] < sɔ̀:-- >[sɔ̀: pèrè] sô,[237] *est-ce que* ú [sâ:ⁿ fú→] mɔ̌:-ǹ, tíŋɛ́ bɛ̀-jù

A: yɔ́: [kó bínì] [sɔ̀: kɛ́wɛ́rɛ̀-kɛ̀wɛ̀rɛ̀] [kó kà:ⁿ] jò-jô: sò, nùŋù-bárⁿà [gàmà ná] gìrⁿí wɛ́:-jê:, [gàmà ná] gìrⁿí wɛ̂:-rè,

[gàmà ná] [yɛ́ tɛ̀] [dɛ̀n-∅ dɛ́nɛ̀][238] [ɲà pèré] yǎ:-jê:, [gàmà ná] [[sǎⁿ bè] bɔ́:-gìrⁿì] wɛ́:-jê:, [gàmà ná] já:gú dág-à→ dág-à→ jǎ:gá-jê:, háyɛ̀ [gàmà ná] [kó→ dɛ́ŋɛ̀→],[239] [gàmà ná] úrⁿí: jâŋ yǎ:-jê:, háyɛ̀ yɔ̂-ŋ jò-jô: jó→ yɔ̂-ŋ kô, háyɛ̀ [nùŋù-bárⁿá bínì] [sɔ̀: kɛ́wɛ́rɛ́-kɛ̀wɛ̀rɛ̀ sâ:ⁿ fú→] [nùŋù-bárⁿá bínì] bì-jù,

jâŋ bè→, ànà-yɛ̌ bè→, [[já:gú jǎ:gá-jú] gì] kɔ̀lɔ̌m-∅ bè→, [yɔ́: dàyⁿ fú→] [nùŋù-bárⁿá bínì] sò

B: jírⁿíŋɛ́ pór-è:-sɛ̂ⁿ, ɛ́mɛ́ [nùŋù-bárⁿá kè kà:ⁿ] dág-à→ pór-è:-sɛ̀ⁿ

A: dág-à→ pór-è:-sɛ̀ⁿ

B: wálà: né: ìg-ɛ́:

[end of track A]

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[233] Fixed collocation, originally "sun beat down" or "sun turned red," referring primarily to the hot dry season (March-May), but in this passage referring to the entire dry season (November-May).

[234] 'Before …' clause with -jà.

[235] Conjunction of two imperfective relative clauses, with dying-quail intonation on both. The following verb dànú-gá-jú 'fixes' takes the entire conjoined NP as object. Both clauses relativize on the complement of a locative postposition.

[236] sáⁿ after the verb in a perfective subject relative.

[237] só 'be in' (H-toned form in relative clause), plus final L-tone as topic marker.

[238] Tonal purposive clause, cf. perfective dɛ̌n-∅ dɛ̀n-ɛ́ 'he/she did some searching'.

[239] dɛ́ŋɛ̀ '(they) sit' (stative, plural subject), cf. singular dáŋà.

2011.1b.01 Step-mother (tale with songs)

A: ím̩ én bɔ̀yn̩ [240]

B: bɔ̀n̩-bɔ́n̩ tǎyn̩→ [241]

A: ím̩ jǎ jɛ́-ɛ̀: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀: mà, ím̩ [[ɲɛ̌-ỳn̩.∴ àrᵃá-ỳn̩.∴ [wó ínà.∴] kûn̩] kùn-ì, ɲɛ̌-ỳn̩ [[wó ínà:] mòr-ɛ́:] [wó kɛ̂:n̩], nã̂: [wó dìn-í-ì dɛ̀], bàrá yà:-jù, [bàrá yɛ̀] kèrú wó=nì[242] túró-m̀-∅ dɛ̀,

[kèrú wǎ:] [[wó géné] bà→] bɛ̌-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, [bé lɔ̀:] yɔ̂-ŋ yɛ̀-jù, yɔ̂-ŋ bǐ-táŋà bǐ-táŋà [íyé kɛ̀] yɛ̌-ɛ̀: mà, kèrú wà-ɛ́: mà, kèrú yɛ̌-ɛ̀: [[wó géné] bà→] bɛ̌-ɛ̀: mà,

[ɲɛ̌-ỳn̩ wà] [[[kó bɔ́rɔ̀] nù] wà] [gɔ̀:nɔ̀-sɔ̀n̩ yɛ́ yɛ̌-jú[243] gà],[244] [kɛ̌: bà→] [sɔ̀n̩ nǎ à:-jù][245] yɔ́ kɔ̀, [kó yɛ̀r-ɛ́:] [kó kɛ̂:n̩] [wó à] [[[kèrú bɔ́rɔ̀] nù] wà], [ɲɛ̌-ỳn̩ jɔ̀w-ɛ́:] [kèrú bɔ́rɔ̀] nù-ỳn̩,

nɛ́: ìnã̂: dág-à→ wó dàg-ɛ̀, [jɔ̀wɔ́ [kèrú bɔ́rɔ̀] nú-ɛ̀:] [wó kɛ̂:n̩], [nɛ́: ɲɛ́: [wó kûn̩] kùn-ì] [[wó kɛ̀] lɔ̂:], ɛ́→ [wó kûn̩] ɲɛ́: kùn-ì, ɲɛ́: wó tɛ́g-ɛ́: mà, [lɔ̃̂: ɛ́:n̩ bàr-ɛ́: mà] [gìrn̩í jíjɛ̀ yɛ̀-∅],

gìrn̩í jíjɛ̀ yɛ̀r-ɛ́:, dɛ̀-dɛ̂: î:n̩ úɲɛ̀r-ɛ̀: dɛ̀n̩-ɛ̀n̩,[246] [î:n̩ ɔ̀:-lí mà] [wó g-î dɛ̀], ɛ̀nɛ́ î:n̩ ɔ̀:-lí gì-jì, ɔ̀:-lí mà] [wó g-î dɛ̀] [ǎy ɛ̀nɛ́ ɔ̀:-lí gì-jì],

[bé dɛ̀n-ɛ́: dɛ̀n̩-ɛ̀n̩] ɔ̀:-lâ: [yɔ̂-ŋ dág-ɛ̀], dàg-ɛ́: [bé kɛ̂:n̩] jágà→, [[ɛ̂:n̩ yɔ̀:] [kó kɛ̀]][247] bàr-ɛ̂ dɛ̀, yɛ̂ yɛ̌-∅[248] dɛ̀, [ɲù: nɔ́wn̩ɔ̀][249] tɔ́r-ɛ̀ dɛ̀, ɛ̂:n̩ tɛ́gìr-ì dɛ̀, [ɛ̀:n̩-[tɛ̀-tɛ̂:] nɛ́:] [wó nɛ́:] ɲú: nɔ̀wn̩ɔ̀-ɲù, ɲú: [wó nɔ̀wɔ́-ǹ dɛ̀], [nɛ́: wɔ̀n̩ nɛ́:] ɲɛ̌-ỳn̩, [ɛ̀:n̩-[tɛ̀-tɛ̂:] lɛ̂wn̩-lɛ̂wn̩ pó=ní:] núŋú tɔ̀rɔ̀-jù, [nɛ́: wɔ̀n̩] ɛ́→

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[240] Standard tale opener. bɔ̀yn̩ reduced from bɔ̀rn̩ɛ́ 'call'.

[241] Standard reply, encouraging the narrator to proceed. bɔ̀n̩-bɔ́n̩ is obscure. tǎyn̩→ is an expressive adverbial elsewhere meaning 'well-spiced/salted' or 'well-sugared'.

[242] Dative for lower-clause agent in causative of transitive verb.

[243] yɛ́ yɛ̀jù heard as phonetic [jɛ̂:dʒù]. Existential yɛ́ adds a presentative quality here.

[244] gà emphatic of urgency.

[245] Imperfective subject relative.

[246] Lit. "asked and (=until he) got tired."

[247] The nonhuman possessor [kó kɛ̀] prevents the demonstrative yɔ́: from tonosyntactically controlling the preceding noun, and causes it to drop its own tones to ^{L}yɔ̀:.

[248] Perfective yɛ̌-ỳ 'went' reduced to yɛ̌-∅ before dɛ̀ 'if'.

[249] Purposive complement for 'begin', expressed tonally as a noun^{L}-^{HL}verb compound ('millet^{L}-^{HL}grind').

lɔ́: [má wà][250] bàrá yǎ: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-ɛ̀] í^{n} bàrá yɛ̌-ỳ lò→[251] [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má ẁ] kèrú wá: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-ɛ̀] í^{n} kèrú wà-ɛ̀ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] gɔ̀nɔ̀-sɔ̌^{n} yè-jù gà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[má wà] kèrù-bɔ̀rɔ́ nú wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-ɛ̀] kèrù-bɔ̀rɔ́ nú-ỳ^{n} lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [kû^{n} mà] ɲɛ́: dùj-è lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
ɲɛ́: má tɛ́g-ɛ̀ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
wó ɛ́:^{n} bàr-ɛ̂ mà→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
wó gìr^{n}í jɛ̌:r-ì lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}][252]
wó ɲǎ: sí:r-ì yè→[253] [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
dè-dé: kó ɲí:-jú[254] yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
lè-là-lêw^{n}[255] yè [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}][256]

[yɔ̂-ŋ wó gɛ́-ɛ̀] [yɛ̀ ná:] kéŋɛ̀rɛ̀-kéŋɛ̀rɛ̀ mà,[257] î: [î:^{n} nɔ̀:] jágà nù-nù:-lí[258] wà, jágà wó nɔ̂-ŋ wó=ǹ bír-ɛ̀ mà→ wà, [yɛ̀ nâ:] gò-é:→

[dè-dé: wà] [wó wà] [íyé kè], [[î:^{n} dɛ̀nɛ́-ɲú] gì][259] bàrá yǎ:-lé gâ:, [wó wà] [íyé kè] [[bàrá yǎ:-jú] gì] gǒ-è dè, wó bǎ:rì [yɛ̀ nâ:] [ɛ̀nɛ́ gír^{n}ì][260] yɛ̀rɛ́ pám-ɛ́:[261] wà, dè-dê: [[ì:^{n} dɛ́nɛ̀] gɛ̀:] wó gó-è, bàrá yà:-lí, bǎ:r-ɛ̀: yɛ̀r-ɛ́: [[yɛ̀ nâ:] gír^{n}ì] pám-ɛ̀: mà,

ìnã̂: [íyé kè], [íyé kè] dè-dê: yà:→,[262] íyé=ǹ ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tê:] tégìr-ì dè, [tégìr-ì nɛ́:] ɛ̀:^{n}-dí: lèwè-lí tɔ́r-ɛ̀, íyé=ǹ

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[250] In the song, [má wà] is pronounced mâ:^{n}.

[251] lò→ has no literal meaning and is used fill out the rhythm.

[252] The pitch of the [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}] segment in this line is lower than in the previous and following instances.

[253] yè here has no literal sense.

[254] Usually ɲí:-ɲú 'will eat'.

[255] Iterative onomatopoeia referring to dripping, reduced from lèw^{n}-làw^{n}-lêw^{n}.

[256] In this final verse, the narrator/singer puts extra stress on léw^{n}.

[257] Iterative variation on kéŋɛ̀r-ɛ̀: mà 'after listening' (same-subject), stem kéŋìrì.

[258] Optional reduplication with perfective negative. Positive counterpart (nù-)nú-ỳ^{n} 'he/she died'.

[259] L-toned form of gí 'say' as chained verb, in more or less purposive function.

[260] Tonal locative of possessed [X gír^{n}í] 'X's house'.

[261] Mediopassive -ɛ́: in imperative.

[262] 'as soon as (father) went'. yà: may be a L-toned form of imperative yǎ: 'go!'.

lè-láw^{n}-léw^{n} yè→ [túnó ɲǎ:] léw^{n}
lè-láw^{n}-léw^{n} yè→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] bàrá yǎ: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-ɛ̀] í^{n} bàrá yɛ̌-ỳ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] kèrú wá: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-ɛ̀] í^{n} kèrṹ wǎ-ɛ̀ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] gɔ̀nɔ̀-sɔ̌^{n} yè-jù wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[má wà] kèrù-bɔ̀rɔ́ nú wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-ɛ̀] kèrù-bɔ̀rɔ́ nú-ỳ^{n} lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [kû^{n} mà] ɲɛ́: dùj-è lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
ɲɛ́: má tɛ́g-ɛ̀ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
[kò ɛ́:^{n}] bàr-ɛ̂ yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
wó gìr^{n}í jɛ̌:r-ì yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
lè-là-lêw^{n} yè [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]

yɔ̂-ŋ wó gɛ́-ɛ̀, i-i-i→, dè-dê: kɛ́ŋɛ̀rɛ̀-kɛ́ŋɛ̀rɛ̀[263] [dágá wà] [pèré nɛ́:], dàg-ɛ́:, [wó yɛ̌-ɛ̀:], [ámír^{n}í súgùrù] kûn-∅, [àná ná sâ:^{n}] ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-té:] [tògù nâ:][264] mɔ̌:-nɔ́ wà,

pór-ɛ̀: [wó k-ɛ̂:^{n}], háyɛ̀ ámír^{n}í-- [gɔ́:^{n} bè] yɛ̌-ɛ̀:, tógóró kún-ɛ̀:, nùŋú ná-ɛ̀ dè, kɔ̀^{n}-pɛ̌^{n} ɲɛ̀--, [àná ɲɛ̀ sâ:^{n}] ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-té:] [tògù nâ:] mɔ̌:-nɔ́ wà, [bé nɛ́:] sâ:^{n} [tògù nâ:] ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-té:] mɔ̌:-n-ɛ̀:,

mɔ̌:-nɔ́-ɲú [bé gɛ́-ɛ̀], [sǎ^{n} kè] [[ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tè:] pèré] dǎn-g-ɛ̀:] [yɛ̂ jâ:-jù] [wó gɛ́-ɛ̀], î:^{n} yɛ̂ wɔ́-táŋà, [ìnǎ: ìnǎ: [wó gɛ́-ɛ̀] [há:^{n} wà], [wó wà] [wó kè] [ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tè:] nùŋù-nùŋú][265] kùnɔ̀ wà

B: [ì:^{n} nǔ:] mà

A: ǎy, [[wó kè] ì:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀, [érú kɔ́ bàŋà] [[sǎ^{n} ɛ́gɛ́-ɲɛ̀] ì:^{n}] dàr^{n}-ɛ̀, ìnã̂: wɔ̀:-rɔ́ gɛ́-ɛ̀, nɛ́: [[wó kè] ì:^{n}] yɔ́ kɔ̀ là,[266]

[wó kè] î:^{n}, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tè:] nùŋù-nùŋú] kùnɔ̀ wà, [[[yí tɔ̀] gò:] wà] [ɛ̀nɛ́ [ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tè:] nùŋù-nùŋú] yã̂: bɛ̀r-ɛ̀ mà→] wà, ḿʔm̀ ìnǎ:, [ú kè] [ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tè:] nùŋù-nùŋú] yɔ́ kɔ̀,

dè-dê: wɔ́-táŋà, wó ḿʔm̀, lò-ló:ró dàg-ɛ̂ dè, [ɛ̀:^{n}-[tè-tè:] nùŋù-nùŋú] ɲàŋá gùŋɔ̀ wà, háyɛ̀ dè-dê: = ǹ [kó gɛ̂:] gò-ɛ́: ɲáŋà,[267]

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[263] Shortened (in iteration) from kɛ́ŋɛ̀r-ɛ̀:, same-subject anterior form of kɛ́ŋìrì 'listen'.

[264] Tonal locative of tògù ná: 'main palaver shelter'.

[265] nùŋù-nùŋú 'song singing', verbal noun with incorporated cognate nominal. Here the compound is used adjectivally.

[266] Clause-final particle là after a surprising statement.

[267] ɲáŋà, stative of ɲɛ̀ŋ-î: 'go around, stroll'. 'Go out and go around' is idiomatic for 'be pleasing (to X)'.

kó=ý, [è:^{n}-[tè-tè:] nùŋù-nùŋú] súmɔ́ súmɔ́ éjɛ́-m-è:, [súmɔ́ dǎn-g-è:][268] [è:^{n} kànà pèré] kún-è:, [[è:^{n} nùŋù-nùŋú] dàgá tɛ́-è] [[è:^{n} pèré] kùn-∅], kún-è: [[tògù nâ:] jɛ́-è:] [[àná ná sâ:^{n}] è:^{n}-[tè-tè:] mɔ̌:-n-è:] [[wó kà:^{n}] yê mɔ̌:-ǹ-∅],

[bé wò→] [bé wɔ̂] [bé wɔ̂], né: [è:^{n}-[tè-tê:] sâ:^{n}] tɔ̂n-tân tɔ̂n-tân tɔ̂n-tân tɔ̂n [kó tɔ́r-ɛ́ wɔ̀^{n}], [[é kɔ́[269] bàŋà] kà:^{n}] tɔ́r-è, lêw^{n} [kúwɔ́ ↓^{H}túrú] lêw^{n}-lêw^{n}-lêw^{n} bǐ-táŋà,

lè-láw^{n}-léw^{n} yè→ [túnó ɲǎ:] léw^{n}
lè-láw^{n}-léw^{n} yè→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] bàrá yǎ: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-è] í^{n} bàrá yě-ỳ lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] kèrú wá: wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[ɔ́: gɛ́-è] í^{n} kèrṹ wǎ-è lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
lɔ́: [má wà] gɔ̀nɔ̀-sɔ̌^{n} yè-jù wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[má wà] kèrù-bɔ̀rɔ́ nú wà→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[í^{n} wɔ̀^{n}] kèrù-bɔ̀rɔ́ nú-ỳ^{n} lò→ [túnó ɲǎ:]
[lɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [kó ɛ́:^{n}] bàr-ê lò→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
wó gìr^{n}í jɛ̌:r-ì yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
dè-dê: kó ɲí:-jú yè→ [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}]
lè-là-lêw^{n} yè [túnó ɲǎ: léw^{n}] wà

[yɔ̂-ŋ wó gɛ́-è] [àná ná sâ:^{n}] úŋɛ́r-è:, hé:-hà:-hé:-hà:-hé:

dè-dê: màrpá: ɲàŋ-è, ɛ̀né ɲɛ̌ tè-tɛ́wɛ́-jú wà, [[î:^{n} ínà:][270] mòr-ɛ́-è: yè-∅] gɛ́-è, wó yɔ̂-ŋ î:^{n} bàrá jɛ́-è: tɛ́:r-è: mà, [né: wɔ̀^{n}] < núŋí-- > nùŋù-nùŋí=ý^{n} tán-g-è: mà, wó [[wó ɛ́:^{n}] bè] <pàná-- pàná-->[271] ɲú: nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́-táŋà dè, ɛ̀né tè-tɛ́wɛ́-jú wà,

[hé:-hà:-hé: wà] [hé:-hà:-hé: [nà pɔ̂^{n}] bé pó-jù], dè-dê: jágà [màrpá: má][272] lɔ́:w-è: jíjè yè-∅, [nã̀: tɛ́w-ɛ́: mà] [[kó dêŋ][273] yê dàr^{n}-è],

yɔ́: [[nà pɔ̂^{n}] fú→], í:^{n} kà:ná, [wó ínà:] wɔ̀:-rɔ́ kà:^{n}, í:^{n} ú=ǹ dàgá tɛ́-è dè, pèré [[ú ì:^{n}] gì:^{n}] wó dìn-ɛ́: dɔ̀ŋɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀, né: [gìrè-kùnú bè] dìn-ɛ́:-lé wà, yɔ́: [kó níŋìr^{n}ì] mɔ̀-è,

ɛ́n sà dér^{n}è-w̏^{n}[274]

B: àmá ú jɛ̌:r-è[275]

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[268] dàní-gì 'do/make well'.

[269] Contraction of érú kɔ́ 'that (far-distal).

[270] Initial H-tone of possessed ^{HL}ínà is hard to hear.

[271] pàná 'meal'. Clause broken off, then restarted with ɲú: 'millet'.

[272] Transpersonal reflexive possessor má.

[273] Tonal locative.

[274] Story-ending formula. ɛ́n 'tale', remainder obscure.

[275] Response to preceding formula, also used as a 'welcome' greeting to an arriving traveler. Pronounced with idiosyncratic contraction: [àmú: …].

A: pŏ:→

2011.1b.02 Crowned crane and the stubborn woman (tale with songs)

A: í^{n} ɛ́n bɔ̀y^{n}

B: bɔ̀^{n}-bɔ́^{n} tǎy^{n}→

A: í^{n} jǎ jɛ́-ɛ̀: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀: mà, [[ɲɛ̀-ỳ^{n} gìré-má][276] kû^{n}] kùn-ì, [ɛ̀nɛ́ [nǎ gíyɛ̀][277] nɔ́-nɔ́:r^{n}ɔ́ yɛ́ sò dɛ̀] [[[kó báŋá] gír^{n}ì] ɛ̀nɛ́ ɛ̀gɛ́ yâ:-rò] wà, [yɔ̂-ŋ wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] nɛ́: [ɲù:-dúgɔ́ nɛ́:] [[wó kɛ̀] nɛ́:] [*contrôle*-bírɛ́-n]=ì:-- [sɔ̀:-kájúwá-n]=ì:,[278] ɲù:-dúgɔ̀ [wó kɛ̀] [sɔ̀:-kájúwá-n]=ì:,

nɛ́: [ɲù:-dúgɔ́ [[sǎ^{n} sɔ́:-kàjùwà] bɛ̌-ɛ̀:] [nɛ́: [àr^{n}á-ùr^{n}ù bɛ̀] yɛ̀rɛ́] [bé gí=ǹ dɛ̀], ɲù:-dúgɔ́ t-î dɛ̀, [ɲù:-dúgɔ́ wà] yɛ̌-∅ dɛ̀, [[[yɔ́: nà] gíyɛ̀] nɔ́-nɔ́:r^{n}ɔ́ yɛ́ sò mà→] gɛ̀rɛ́[279] gì-jù, [[ɲù:-dúgɔ́ kà:^{n}] [ɲá wò→] tɔ́r^{n}-ɛ̀: tɔ́r^{n}-ɛ̀: gàr-ê dɛ̀] [ǎy [[yɔ́ bàŋà] gíyɛ̀] nɔ́-nɔ́:r^{n}ɔ́ yɛ́ sò] [g-î dɛ̀] [yǎ: gí-jú],

[yɔ̂-ŋ wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] [wó bì-jù] dùwɔ́, [dùwɔ́ sǎ^{n} dǎn-g-ɛ̀:] [dìmé nɔ́-nɔ́:r^{n}ɔ́ yɛ́ sò] [yɛ̂ kɛ̀dúrú tár-ɛ́: mà], gǒ: yɛ̂ yɛ̀-∅, [yɛ̂ yɛ̌-ɛ̀:] [wó kɛ̂:^{n}], ɔ́^{n}ʔɔ̀^{n} kùw^{n}á

B: kùw^{n}á

A: kùw^{n}á, sǎ^{n} dǎn-g-ɛ̀: mà, [dìmé nî, kɛ̀dúrú tár-ɛ́:] [gǒ: yɛ̂ yɛ̀-∅], [yɛ̂ yɛ̌-ɛ̀:] [wó kɛ̂:^{n}], [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] ɲù:-dúgɔ́ t-ì, ɲù:-dúgɔ́ yɛ̀r-ɛ́: kájúw-ɛ̀: gɛ̀r-ɛ́-ɛ̀:, ǎy [[nɔ́ bàŋà] gíyɛ̀] nɔ́-nɔ́:r^{n}ɔ́ sò:-ró] wà

B: [ɲà pɔ̂^{n}] ɔ̀:-lì

A: [sò:-ró mà→] [wó gɛ́-ɛ̀], [nɔ̀-nɔ̀:r^{n}ɔ̀ pɔ̂^{n}] [wó gíyɛ̀] sò:-ró wà, [dìmé kɛ̀] [yɔ́: dà] úŋɛ̀r-ɛ̀: [wó kɛ̂:^{n}], [[[dìmé kɛ̀] yɔ́:] ɛ̀nɛ́[280] [ìŋàr^{n}á gɛ̂:] tár-ɛ́: sâ][281] wà, háyɛ̀ [kó=ý dɛ̀ wɔ̀^{n}] [yɔ́ bàŋà] [ɛ̀nɛ́[282] ɛ́gɛ́:^{n}] bìr-ɛ́:-jú wà, [nǎ bɛ̀] háyɛ̀ kó=ý--

B [overlapping]: [[kó wò→ fú→] bîn] jùgɔ̀-lí *quoi*

A: jùgɔ̀-lí, dùwɔ́ sǎ^{n} ná=ý^{n}[283] tán-g-ɛ̀: mà, háyɛ̀ kó=ý [bé gɛ́-ɛ̀], ây→ < [ɛ̀nɛ́ kɛ̀] yɔ́:-- > [ɛ̀nɛ́=ǹ [yɔ́ bàŋà] írɛ̀] wà, [[nǎ gíyɛ̀] nɔ́-nɔ́:r^{n}ɔ́ sò:-ró dɛ̀] [ɛ̀nɛ́ kɛ̀] kó=ý wà, [[háyɛ̀ kó=ý] gɛ́-ɛ̀:] [wó=ǹ bɛ̀-lâ:],

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[276] Bahuvrihi compound ("hard-eyed," i.e. 'stubborn'). Pronounced gìré-ˡmá with downstepped H-tone. Compare noun-adjective sequence gìrè mǎ 'dry (=hard) eye(s)'.

[277] Tonal locative of nǎ ^{H}gíyé 'person's body' (< gìyé 'body').

[278] *contrôle*-bírɛ́ 'manager' (i.e. house manager, factotum), containing a French word, rephrased immediately as sɔ̀:-kájúwá. Both are agentive compounds, with {L}-toned noun as compound initial and {H}-toned verb as final.

[279] Imperative of gɛ̀r-í: 'look'.

[280] Logophoric singular subject. Fly is quoting Crowned Crane.

[281] <HL>-toned sâ 'have' after same-subject anterior subordinated verb (perfect of continuing possession).

[282] Logophoric singular possessor. bìr-ɛ́:-jú means 'be possible', i.e. here 'be eligible'.

[283] 'it is' clitic in complement of tán-gù 'transform, convert'. Cv̌ stems raise tones in the 'it is' form Cv́=ý, hence nǎ 'person, human' becomes ná=ý^{n}. sǎ^{n} here is transpersonal reflexive object.

gò-é: dùwɔ́ wó dìn-é-è:--, [kùwⁿá dìn-é-è: gò-é:] [[sǎⁿ gírⁿì] jì-jè yè-∅], [jì-jè yě-è:] [wó kê:ⁿ] [[yé tè] [bàrà-kènè pé:rè] [yé tè] yě-è: mà, [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [yé tè], [kùwⁿá né:] [yɔ́: [ènɛ́ gírⁿì]=ỳⁿ] wà, [[á! nɔ́: [wó gírⁿì]=ỳⁿ mà] wà] é, [[nɔ́: [wó gírⁿì]=ỳⁿ[284] mà] wà] é, xxx,

[[kùwⁿá né:] sǎⁿ ná=ýⁿ bě-è: mà] [yɔ̂-ŋ wɔ̂], pá→ yě-è:, < àn-tá--, à-- > bàjíⁿ nàrⁿ-é:, àn-tímɛ́ nàrⁿ-é:, àn-tànú nàrⁿ-é:, à-nǎyⁿ nàrⁿ-é:, à-nú: nàrⁿ-é:,[285] [yɔ̂-ŋ bě-è:] [wó sâ], gò-é: né:,[286] [bé lárá] yè-sámá[287] nàrⁿ-è, sámá nàrⁿ-é:, [sámá kà:ⁿ] pèré né: ná=ýⁿ táŋ-è,

háyè kùwⁿá wɔ́-táŋà wɔ́-táŋà wɔ́-táŋà wɔ́-táŋà, háyè, [bàrá tɔ̀] [árá kûⁿ] dɔ̀wɔ́ ùr-é-è: kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [ènɛ́ tɔ́gú dàyⁿ fú→] gàrá búrúgú [àrà jɔ́gɔ̀] ɲà-mà[288] wà,

wó=ǹ yɔ́:=ǹ[289] [ìŋé sɔ́:-tɔ̀gì][290]=ỳ mà→ wà, sǎⁿ bìlíg-è: kùwⁿá=ʹ: tán-g-è:, [nɔ́: dà] [[ìŋé sɔ́:-tɔ̀gì]=ỳ mà→ wà, [ènɛ́ kùwⁿá=ýⁿ né:] [ènɛ́ à:dàmà-í:ⁿ-n=ì: lò] wà,

né: wɔ̀ⁿ, [ɛ́ tè] yẽ-∅ dè, kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ [wó gí-ǹ dè], àm-bàjîⁿ jɔ̀wɔ́ yě-è:, [[árá kûⁿ] yě-è:] [sǎⁿ yígí-yígí[291] bìr-ɛ́:] [kùwⁿá=ʹ: tán-g-è:]

[ìnǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[ìnǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[bàjíⁿ nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[àn-tímɛ́[292] nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[àn-tànú nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[à-nàyⁿ nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[à-nú: nàrⁿ-è] [[kùwⁿá ì:-n]=ì: yè][293]
[bé lárá] yè-sámá nàrⁿ-è, [[kùwⁿá ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[ìnǎ: lô:] [[gìrè mǎ] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[búrúgú [àrà jɔ́gɔ̀] yǎ:-jú né:] kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→

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[284] 3Sg pronoun used in indirect discourse, corresponding to original 2Sg pronoun. 'It is' clitic =y requires {HL} contour on a possessed noun.

[285] Of these male birth-order names, all but bàjíⁿ begin with à(n)-, cf. àrⁿá 'man'. Those from third son up have finals related to the corresponding numerals ('3', '4', '5').

[286] [yɔ̂-ŋ bě-è:] [wó sâ], gò-é: né:. The speaker slows down and hesitates here, having been distracted by her weeping infant.

[287] Compare àⁿ-sámá, personal name for a boy with one or more sisters and no brothers.

[288] Irregular hortative ɲá-má of yǎ: 'go'. Preceded by tonally marked purposive clause 'to peck rice'.

[289] =ǹ (usually dative) here is an emphatic topic. wó=ǹ is 3Sg in indirect discourse, for original 2Sg ú=ǹ. yɔ́:=ǹ 'that' refers to Crowned Crane's singing.

[290] Lit. "it is [a kind of [thing of what?]]" (stacked possessives). tɔ̀gú treated as compound final.

[291] yígí-yígí, expressive adverbial related to verb yìgé 'shake'.

[292] Emended. On the tape it sounds like àn-tànú.

[293] yè here is a clause-final emphatic, 'indeed' or 'exactly, precisely', apparently used only in song.

nã: dèŋ-é-è: kɛ́w^{n}→, [yô-ŋ wó gɛ́-è] [bàjí^{n} yě pór-ì][294]

B: kír-è: yě-ỳ

A: yě-ỳ, háyè, [né: wɔ̀^{n}] íyé=ǹ, àn-tímɛ̀ ùŋùr-ì, àn-tímɛ̀ ùŋɛ́r-è: íyé=ǹ, [pàgù-pàgù-pàgù bìr-ɛ́:] [kùw^{n}á=ý^{n} tán-g-è:], íyé=ǹ [[tìmɛ́ árà] dɔ̀w-ɛ́:] lɔ́w^{n}→, nã: [wó sɛ́^{n}→ wó gè-jù], wó=ǹ [wó wà]

[ìnă: lô:] [[gìrè mă] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[ìnă: lô:] [[gìrè mă] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[bàjí^{n} nàr^{n}-è] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[àn-tímɛ́ nàr^{n}-è] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[àn-tànú nàr^{n}-è] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: yà̀→]
[kà:ná à-này^{n} nàr^{n}-è] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò→]
[bé lárá] yè-sámá nàr^{n}-è, [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[ìnă: lô:] [[gìrè mă] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[búrúgú [àrà jɔ́gɔ̀] yǎ:-jú nɛ́:] kùw^{n}á→ kùw^{n}á→

[yɔ́ bàŋà] gǒ: yè-∅

B: [wó kà:^{n}] púrúdúdú yè-y

A: púrúdúdú yè-y, kɛ́w^{n}→, [wó wô] íyé=ǹ àn-tànú ùŋùr-ì, [yô-ŋ bé bì-jù] [bé bì-jù] [né: wɔ̀^{n}], [yè-sámá kû^{n}] dɔ̀-è, [[sámá kû^{n}] dɔ̀-ɛ́:] [kó kê:^{n}], ták

B: á-è

A: bèré yã:-rò wà, [wó bájá][295] [dè-dé: [í^{n} tɔ̀] bɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀] [wó bájá] [dè-dé: bɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀] [wó bájá] [dè-dé: bɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀] [dè-dé: wɔ̀^{n}] [yɔ́: wò→ fú→] [tìmɛ́ árà] tɔ́r^{n}-è: mà, bé gũŋ-gũŋ sú-sù:rù[296] tí-táŋà, né: [săŋ kè][297] yɛ́ tɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀,[298] [wó bàjá-jú] [wó bàjá-jú], né: [wó númɔ̀] ɛ́r-ì, ɛ́r-è: [wó kê:^{n}] [ènɛ́ dɛ̌^{n}-ɛ̀^{n} wà]

B: [ìná: númɔ̀] èr-ì

A: é→ ɛ́r-ì [sámá, ɛ́r-è:] [wó kê:^{n}], [wó kà:^{n}] [né: wɔ̀^{n}] kùw^{n}á-- [[ɛ́ tè] [dè-dé: bû^{n}] dɔ̀-ɛ́:] [né: íyé=ǹ kùw^{n}á=ʹ táŋ-è], íyé=ǹ [wó wà]

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[294] pór-ì 'said', here after a chained verb emphasizing immediate action.

[295] Beginning of a parallel construction denoting two simultaneous durative actions. Both bájá and bɔ̀r^{n}ɔ̀ are imperatives, the latter {L}-toned at the end of the construction. The stems are bàjá 'pull' and bɔ̀r^{n}ɔ́ 'call'.

[296] Contracted iteration, for sú:rù-sú:rù, from sú:rù 'send (away)'.

[297] Reflexive possessor, here as contrastic topic, contrasting 'father' with 'mother'.

[298] Stative verb 'be perched', {L}-toned after existential yɛ́.

[ìnă: lô:] [[gìrè mă] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[ìnă: lô:] [[gìrè mă] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[bàjí^{n} nàr^{n}-ɛ̀] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[àn-tímɛ́[299] nàr^{n}-ɛ̀] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[àn-tànú nàr^{n}-ɛ̀] [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: yɛ̀]
[bé lárá] yɛ̀-sámá nàr^{n}-ɛ̀, [[kùw^{n}á ì:-n]=ì: lò mà]
[ìnă: lô:] [[gìrè mă] ú jɛ̀:r-ì→]
[búrúgú [àrà jɔ́gɔ̀] yǎ:-jú nɛ́:] kùw^{n}á→ kùw^{n}á→ wà

[yɔ́ bàŋà kà:^{n}] gǒ: mɛ́m→
B: á→
A: kó=ý, nɛ́: yɔ́: gǒ: yɔ̂-ŋ bé yɛ̌-ɛ̀:, [gìr^{n}í bîn] yɔ̂-ŋ ɲɛ̌:r^{n}-ɛ̀:, ɲɛ̌:r^{n}-ɛ̀:, ɲɛ̌:r^{n}-ɛ̀:
B: háyɛ̀ [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] kírɛ̀[300]
A: [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] kírɛ̀, [kù^{n}-kɛ́nɛ̀ yɔ̀:] lágɛ̀r-ɛ̀: lágɛ̀r-ɛ̀: lágɛ̀r-ɛ̀:, [yɔ́: ɲɛ̌:r^{n}ɛ́-táŋà mà] [yɔ̂-ŋ yɛ̂ nù-y] wà, nɛ́: [nà pɔ̂^{n} fú→] [[nà kɔ̀rɔ̀][301] pɛ́-pɛ́y[302] ú ínɛ́],[303] [í^{n} [nà sɛ́^{n}] dɛ̀nɛ́-ɲú] g-î dɛ̀, [[kó dógò] tág-ì-ì dɛ̀] [ɛ̀gɛ̀-yɛ̌[304] bìr-ɛ̂:-rò] wà
B [overlapping]: yɔ̂-ŋ yɛ̂ nú: yɛ̀-∅
A: é→, [[kó dógò] tág-ì-ì dɛ̀] [ɛ̀gɛ̀-yɛ̌ bìr-ɛ̂:-rò] wà,
ɛ́n sà dér^{n}ɛ̀-ẁ^{n}
B: àmá ú jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀
A: pǒ:→
B: mǎǹ-∅ kòy, á→-ʔá-ʔā-ʔà,[305] háyɛ̀ [yɔ́: wɔ̀^{n}] gàr-á→ pá:m̀-∅

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[299] Emended. On the tape it sounds like àn-tànú.

[300] Comparative {HL}-toned form of adjective kìrɛ́ 'difficult'.

[301] Possessor relative: 'a person (nă) whose meaning (kɔ́rɔ́) you-Sg don't know (ínɛ́) at all'.

[302] Iteration of pɛ́y '(not) at all'.

[303] Relativization on possessor of object. Predicate is ínɛ́ 'not know'.

[304] Lit. "husband^{L}-going."

[305] Interjection expressing admiration. The pitch of each segment is lower than that of the preceding segment.

2011.1b.03 Beer or women? (tale with songs)

A: í^{n} én bɔ̀y^{n}

B: bɔ̀^{n}-bɔ́^{n} tǎy^{n}→

A: í^{n} jǎ jɛ́-è: jɛ̌:r-è: mà, [àr^{n}á-ùr^{n}ù∴ ɲɛ̌-ùr^{n}ù∴ kû^{n}] kùn-ì, [kɛ̌: bà→] nɛ́: [àr^{n}á bè] [ɲɛ̌ bè] tí:ní kún-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [[bàrà wàgá] yè] kíj-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [í^{n} tɔ̀] [[dè-dé: bè∴] [ìnǎ: bè] bû^{n}] bɛ̀-lâ: dè, [[[bàrà wàgá] yè] kíj-ì:] dǎn-g-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, ɛ̀gɛ́ kú:^{n} dàn-gà-jù,

[bé lɔ̀:] tíŋ-ɛ́:, [ɲà kíj-ɛ́:-jú] tíŋ-ɛ́:, nɛ́: [yɛ́ tɛ̀] bé wɛ̂,[306]

[nɔ́ bàŋà] ɲɛ̌-ỳ^{n}-- [àr^{n}á-ỳ^{n} wɔ̀^{n}], nɛ́: náŋá yè-∅,[307] [ɲɛ̌-ỳ^{n} wɔ̀^{n}] dà:gá [sǎ^{n} gɛ́r^{n}ì: dày^{n}] dǎn-g-è: kárábárá kún-è:, tím-è: dùw-ɛ́-è:, [àr^{n}á-ỳ^{n} kà:^{n}] [yɛ́ tɛ̀] [bé kè] kɛ̀ɲɛ̀-búrúgú kɔ̂ gè: mà, [kɛ̌: bà→ nɛ́:], kà:ná [pàrà-gò:rò]-bírɛ́ dòg-ê mà,[308] [sɔ̀: [ɲǎŋ mà→]] sí:^{n}-kà^{n},[309] [àr^{n}á-ùr^{n}ù bè] *fête* kún-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, kɛ̀ɲɛ́ árá-wè-rè[310]

B: é-ʔé-ʔé-ʔé

A: àr^{n}á-ùr^{n}ù-n=ì: [kó níŋìr^{n}ì] [kɛ̀ɲɛ́ nɔ̌-ɛ̀ dè] [[gɔ̀: íɛ́ má][311] gɔ̌:-ní:] nà:-ɲù

B: kɛ̀ɲɛ̀-búrúgù kó=ý mà→

A: kɛ̀ɲɛ̀-búrúgú kún-è:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [bé kè] kɛ̀ɲɛ̀-búrúgú kɔ̂ gè: mà, [wó wɔ̀^{n}] náŋá yè-∅, wó náŋ-ɛ́ wɔ̀^{n}, kó=ý, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [yɛ́ tɛ̀] wó wɔ̂, bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ yèr-ɛ́: mà, [tìmè nà: gàrá] bɔ́rɔ̀, bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ yɛ̌-è: wó tèm-è, yɛ̌-è: wó tém-ɛ́:, [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] wó kúwó jɛ̂,[312]

bé kúw-é wɔ̀^{n}, kìné yî gò-è, kìné gɔ̌: yɛ̂ yɛ̌-è: mà, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [kɛ̀ɲɛ̀-búrúgú gɛ̂:] [yɛ́ tɛ̀]--

B: [[ɲɛ̌-ỳ^{n} kè] kínè] mà

A: [ɲɛ̌-ỳ^{n} kè] kínè, [yɛ́ tɛ̀] gúdúŋ-gúdúŋ-gúdúŋ bé bì-jù, [[[ɲɛ̌-ỳ^{n} kè] kínè] gò-ó: mà][313] [yɛ̂ wɛ̀-ɛ̀]

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[306] wɛ̂ 'they are', plural-subject of wɔ̂ 'he/she is'.

[307] A final 'go' verb is required by náŋá 'forget' in the perfective positive.

[308] Subordinator mà 'and then' after simple perfective verb.

[309] [sɔ̀: ^{L} [ɲǎŋ mà→]] ^{HL}sí:^{n}-kà^{n}, mark-up [[thing^{L} [how? Q]] ^{HL}equivalent], with [ɲǎŋ mà→] 'how?' as an apparently adjectival modifier. ^{HL}sí:^{n}-kà^{n} is "possessed" by [sɔ̀:^{L} [ɲǎŋ mà→]].

[310] Plural-subject progressive negative -wè-ré, with yes-no interrogative terminal intonation (falling pitch).

[311] má linking a nonsubject relative clause to a main clause sharing the same subject.

[312] Here jɛ̂ (recent perfect) emphasizes completion (hence 'ate up' in the translation).

[313] Variant pronunciation of gò-é: mà.

pŏ: pŏ: àn-déɲè pŏ:,[314]
déɲé òtá:ɲú pŏ:,
yɔ́: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{n}í

pŏ: pŏ: àn-déɲè pŏ:,
déɲé òtá:ɲú pŏ:,
yɔ́: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{n}í

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀ yè
[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[ìrì-kòmó mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[ìrì-kòmó yégé-yágà] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀ yè

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀ wà
[ló:tú mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[ló:tú ɔ̀gɔ̀-tùŋɔ́][315] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[kárábárá dèjú-bɔ́rɔ̀] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[dú:-dù: àmà-lògú mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[[yó: bà:] ɔ̀jɔ́ pùró] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[sɛ́r^{n}éndé dɔ̀gɔ́ nă-ɛ̀][316] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀

pŏ: pŏ: àn-déɲè pŏ:,
déɲé òtá:ɲú pŏ:,
yɔ́: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{n}í

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[314] This song is in Tengou-Kan. Not all of the vocabulary is in my Togo-Kan lexicon.

[315] Compound initial ɔ̀gɔ̀- here is short for ɔ̀gɔ̀-ɲɔ̀: 'camel'.

[316] dɔ̀gɔ́ 'lowly (shameful) status, misery'. nă-ɛ̀ 'made (cord) by rolling fibers together' (i.e. compressing, minimizing.

àrⁿá-ỳⁿ kɛ́wⁿ→ wɔ́-táŋà,[317] ìⁿtâyⁿ ìg-ɛ́: wà ìg-ɛ́: ìg-ɛ́:, [[sɔ̀: túnɔ́][318] [ím̩ tɔ̀] sɔ̌: yɛ́[319] pó-táŋà] dɔ̀m-ɛ́:-má[320] wà,

àrⁿá-ỳⁿ yî ùŋùr-ì, ùŋɛ́r-ɛ̀: [bé wò→] kɛ́wⁿ→ nɛ́: bɔ̌ⁿ dàg-ɛ́:, gɔ̌: dàg-ɛ́:, [sɔ̀: là-là:rú] dàg-ɛ́: kɛ́wⁿ→ bé wɔ̂

B: [núŋù ɲà kó gó-é kà:ⁿ][321] ìnɛ̀

A: [núŋù ɲà kó gó-é kà:ⁿ] ìnɛ̀, íyé=ǹ sújɔ́ gìrⁿì-kâⁿ[322] yɛ̂ dɔ̀-ɛ̀,[323] [nă kà:ⁿ] ɔ̌-wè-rè, kìné pó-táŋà

pɔ̌: pɔ̌: àn-dɛ́ŋè pɔ̌:,
dɛ́ŋé òtá:ɲú pɔ̌:,
yɔ́: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kárⁿí

pɔ̌: pɔ̌: àn-dɛ́ŋè pɔ̌:,
dɛ́ŋé òtá:ɲú pɔ̌:,
yɔ́: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kárⁿí

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀ yè
[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[kárábárá dèjú-bɔ́rɔ̀] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[ìrì-kòmó mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[ìrì-kòmó yégé-yágà] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀ yè

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀ wà
[[ló:tú ɔ̀gɔ̀-tùŋɔ́] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀

[ɔ̀jɔ́ mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[[yó: bà:] ɔ̀jɔ́ pùró] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀
[[sɛ́rⁿéndé dɔ̀gɔ́ nă-ɛ̀] mà] bàrá yɛ́ ìmɛ̀

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[317] Human singular copula, elsewhere wɔ̂, here with progressive -táŋà.

[318] Assistant suggests that [ɔ̀jɔ̀ túnɔ́] 'one thing, something' would be better here, since ɔ̀jɔ́ 'thing' can denote concrete things while sɔ̌: 'thing, matter, issue' is abstract.

[319] Existential yɛ́ before progressive verb.

[320] Hortative -má (speaker and one addressee).

[321] Perfective nonsubject (location) relative.

[322] Tonal locative.

[323] Verb chain sújɔ́ dɔ̌: 'come close(r)'.

pǒ: pǒ: àn-déɲè pǒ:,
déɲé òtá:ɲú pǒ:,
yɔ́: [é dáwrù] mì:
àmá é lá:rù kár^{n}í

yɔ̂-ŋ wó gɛ́-è, kéŋèr-è:[324] kéŋèr-è: [yî sóm [sǎ^{n} kû^{n}] kùn-ì] [ɛ̀né ètě: yà:-jù] wà

B: [[ɲɛ̌-ỳ^{n} kè] mír^{n}ì] jùg-ê mà

A: é→, jùg-ê, jùg-é: [ɛ̀né ètě: yà:-jù] wà, [[àr^{n}á-ùrù bè sâ:^{n}] wó tì:^{n}-tà:^{n}] [wó wà] [ètě: bèrɛ̀[325] yǎ:-rò] wà

B: < kír-ì:-- kír-ì:-- > [ètě: kír-ì: nú-ɲú] gè: mà, [sǎ^{n} dà^{n}-dǎ-ɲú] gè: mà

A [overlapping]: [kír-ì: ètě: nù-ɲù] wà, [[sǎ^{n} dà-ɲù] wà] ɛ̀né pèré, [bé kà:^{n}], [wó wà] [sǎ^{n} dà^{n}-lè] wà, [sɔ̀: [yèr-ê dè] gǎ:-rò] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀,

[[sɔ̌: wò→] yèr-ê dè] tà:^{n}rá, [sɔ̌: wó tɛ́m-è dè] [ɛ̀né tɛ́m-è] wà, [ɛ̀né∴ wó ∴] ɲà-mà wà, [bé lɔ̀:] gò-è,

[bé lɔ̀:] yê bé yá:-jà,[326] [bà^{n} wó pó-jú] gì:^{n},[327] [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] [wó kè] kúw-é: mà, [kù^{n}-kéné ló:tú∴], [né: wɔ̀^{n}] [írí déŋ] dàg-é:, gér^{n}ì: [wó kè], sér^{n}éndɛ́ kù^{n}∴, kárábárá∴, [kó wò→ pú→] yê dàg-è,

[dàgá tɛ́-è] [né: wɔ̀^{n}] [[yê bé yé-∅] wɔ̀^{n}],[328] [bé wò→] yê [kó wò→]--

B: sér^{n}éndɛ́ dà, dìŋɛ̌: = ý^{n} mà

A: sér^{n}éndɛ́ é→ dìŋɛ̌: = ý^{n} [dɔ̀gɔ̀-dìŋè: pɛ̃^{n}], é→ sér^{n}éndè, [ló:tú wɔ̀^{n}] [kú^{n} mùn-ê dè] [lò:tù bé dágá-jù], é→ kó [ló:tú ɔ̀gɔ̀-tùŋɔ̂] [yɔ́: kó = ý], kárábárá [kɛ̌: bà→] [bé kè] [kóró sí:^{n}-kà^{n}] = ỳ^{n}, [gér^{n}í: sâ:^{n}] yê kùnɔ̀-ɲù,

é→ [yɔ́: nà] = ỳ^{n} [[yɔ́: nà] yê sìg-è], pɔ́jù, yɛ̌-è: sɛ́^{n}→ sɛ́^{n}→ sɛ́^{n}→ [bé wò→] gèr-é-è:, gér^{n}í: ɲàŋ-é:, gǒ: [ìnǎ: bû^{n}] yèr-è,

[ìnǎ: à][329] tɔ̀ŋɔ̀r^{n}ɔ́ = ý^{n} wà, háyè [wó ɲé-ỳ^{n}∴] [ɛ̀né bè wò→∴] tí:ní kún-è:, [ɛ̀né bè kè] [kɛ̀ŋè-búrúgú bè] kíj-ì-ì, [ɛ̀né bè wɔ̀^{n}] [[yɛ́ tɛ̀] gɔ̌: kún-è: mà] [bùrùgù-bùrùgù gɔ́: gɔ̌:-téŋè] [ɛ̀né bè wɔ̀^{n}] [náŋá y-è][330] wà,

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[324] From kéŋìrì 'listen' with same-subject anterior subordinator -è:. Note the mix of ATR features in the word.

[325] {L}-toned form of bèré, in the sense '(won't) have a chance to'.

[326] 'before …' clause with -jà after H-toned verb.

[327] Imperfective nonsubject relative.

[328] wɔ̀^{n} after perfective nonsubject relative.

[329] For [ìná: wà], quoted vocative.

[330] náŋá y-è, plural subject form of 'forgot', cf. yɛ̌-è:-sɛ̂^{n} '(they) went'.

ɔ̀→ yɔ̂-ŋ wó=ǹ kí-ì mà→ wà, é→ wà, ìnǎ: [ɛ̀nɛ́ wɔ̀ⁿ] àmá=ǹ dàg-ê wà, [ɲɛ̌-ùrⁿù bɛ̀] [nǎ tíŋɛ́] égê:-rɛ̀ wà, [nǎ tíŋɛ́] égɛ́-jú dɛ̀, [nà náná:=ː∴] [nà náná:=∅ lò∴] sáy→ kɔ̂ wà, wó [nǎ tíŋɛ́] égê:-rò wà,

háyɛ̀ yɔ̂-ŋ pòr-ɛ̀:, [yɔ̂-ŋ pór-ɛ̀:] [bé kê:ⁿ], kó=ý, àrⁿá-ỳⁿ [nɛ́: wɔ̀ⁿ]] tìŋɛ́ kɛ́ŋɛ̀r-ɛ̀: kɛ́ŋɛ̀r-ɛ̀: [[wó bɛ́r-ɛ́] wɔ̀ⁿ],[331] yî pǎm→ wó úŋúr-í,[332] párádádá yɛ̌-ɛ̀: [[ɲɛ̌-ỳⁿ bɛ̀][333] ánà] [bé étɛ̀:] kír-ɛ̀: nú-ɛ̀: sǎⁿ mɛ́ŋù dàrⁿ-ɛ̀

B: yê sǎⁿ dàrⁿ-ɛ̀

A: é→ [[ɲɛ̌-ỳⁿ bɛ̀] ánà] [yê sǎⁿ dàrⁿ-ɛ̀], [yɔ́: wò→ fú→ nɛ́:], [kɛ̀ŋɛ́ nɔ̀-ɛ́:] hákílɛ̀ [bé kɛ̀] gǐ:ⁿ jê, [yɔ́: sâ:ⁿ fú→] [nǎ∴ ú∴] tí:ní nû-∅ dɛ̀, [tí:nì yɔ̀:] kìlɛ̀-lí dɛ̀, [ɔ̀jɔ̀ [nǎ hákìlɛ̀] gǐ:ⁿ-ɲí] [ɲǐ-∅ sà:-rà], é→ yɔ́: [kó níŋìrⁿì] mɔ̀-ɛ̀

B: háyɛ̀ pá:m̀-∅

A: ɛ́n sà dérⁿɛ̀-ẁⁿ

B: àmá ú jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀

A: pǒ:→

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[331] Again wɔ̀ⁿ after perfective nonsubject relative.

[332] Construction with {H}-toned perfective (cf. ùŋúr-ì ‘got up’) and a preceding expressive adverbial.

[333] Associative plural, ‘the young woman and company (i.e. her kin)’.

2011.1b.04 Abandoned twins (tale with songs)

B: pèré yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà

A: pèré yɔ́ kɔ̀

B: ɔ́^{n}hɔ̀^{n}, [pèré yɔ́ kɔ̀ dè] [[kó túrú] pórù gɛ̀-mà]

A: í^{n} ɛ́n bɔ̀y^{n}

B: bɔ̀^{n}-bɔ́^{n} tǎy^{n}→

A: í^{n} jǎ jɛ́-ɛ̀: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀: mà--,[334] [ɛ́n wɔ̀^{n}] jò-jô: kòy

B: bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ mà, ɔ̀^{n}hɔ́^{n} pɔ́-nɔ́

A: í^{n} jǎ jɛ́-ɛ̀: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀: mà, nɛ́:, [ɲɛ̌ kû^{n}] kùn-ì, ɲɛ̌ jɛ̀ŋɛ́ nàr^{n}-ɛ́: mà, jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-úr^{n}ì: dìn-ɛ́-ɛ̀: mà, bàrá jɛ́-ɛ̀: [àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-ɛ̀,

[jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-úr^{n}ì: dìn-ɛ́-ɛ̀:] [bàrá jɛ́-ɛ̀: [àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-ɛ̀] [ɛ̀nɛ́ dìn-î: bɛ̂:-rò] wà, [[bà^{n} nî ɛ̀nɛ́ wɔ́] nɔ̀][335] [jɛ̀ŋɛ́ nàr^{n}-ɛ̂ dè], [ɛ̀nɛ́ dìn-î: bɛ̂:-rò gɛ̀:] [bàrá jɛ́-ɛ̀:] [[àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-ɛ̀],

[[àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] dàgá] [wó kɛ̂:^{n}], [[úr^{n}ì: yɔ̀: nà] yɛ̌-ɛ̀: mà]-- [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}], [[àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] bé dàgá tɛ́-ɛ̀] yɛ̀r-ɛ́: mà, [bé kɔ́: bɛ̂:-rò gɛ̀:] [[dàgá tɛ́-ɛ̀] yɛ̀r-ɛ̂→],[336] [dògó tɔ̀] [í^{n} tɔ̀] [ì:^{n} pèré] bɛ̀-lí→,

[pèré nɛ́:] [àná bîn] [sâ:^{n} nɛ́:] wó já:sì[337] wɛ́-ɛ̀:, gàrú-n-ɛ̀:, [pèré nɛ́:] í:^{n} sà:-rá→, nɛ́: pèré [nà sà^{n} dìn-ɛ̀:-ɲù sɛ́^{n} kà:^{n}][338] sà:-rà

B: [nǎ bè] [wó kà:^{n}] jàtâ:-rè

A: é→, [nǎ bè kà:^{n}] [pèré nɛ́:] wó jàtâ:-rè, [[jɛ̀ŋɛ̂ yɔ̀:] yɔ̂-ŋ dàgá] [wó kɛ̂:^{n}], yɛ̌-ɛ̀: [àmá [ɔ̀gɔ̀ ná:]] [úr^{n}ì: yɔ̀: nà] [[sǎ^{n} báwdɛ̀][339] bè] kɔ́: mà, ná=ý^{n} tán-g-ɛ̀: mà, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] yɛ̌-ɛ̀:, [sɔ́tɔ́rɔ́ gɔ̌:] [bé kɛ̂:^{n}], [bé wà] [yɛ̌ [[sǎ^{n} bè][340] ínà:][341] dɛ̀nɛ̀] wà, [bé kà:^{n}] yî gò-ɛ̀,

[[[[sǎ^{n} bè][342] ínà:][343] dɛ̀nɛ́-ɲú] gɛ̀:] [àná kùn][344] yɛ̀r-ɛ́:] [bé kɛ̂:^{n}], [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [nɔ́ bàŋà] yɛ̂ yɛ̌-∅ dè, é [jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-ùr^{n}ì: nɔ́: nà] sɛ́^{n} wɛ̂ kòy→, [àr^{n}á-ùr^{n}ù lɔ́y], é [jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-ùr^{n}ì: nɔ́: nà] sɛ́^{n} wɛ̂ dɛ̀, [bé yɛ̌-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè] yɔ̂-ŋ pò-jù, [nɛ́: bé yɛ̌-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè] [[bé yɛ̂ yɛ̌] [bé gí-ǹ dè]],[345] bé wà

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[334] Narrator pauses and laughs as she tries to decide which tale to tell.

[335] nɔ̀ particle (cf. nɔ́: 'this') after the verb at the end of a manner adverbial relative clause.

[336] Here and in the next clause, the intonational prolongation expresses the narrator's sympathy.

[337] {HL}-toned form of já:sí 'shiftless', in a comparative.

[338] sɛ́^{n} 'good', modifying the relative clause (since it evaluates people as care-givers, not in general). The adjective induces tone-dropping of the entire relative clause. Without the adjective, this would be nà sǎ^{n} dìn-ɛ́:-ɲú kà:^{n}. Reflexive object sǎ^{n} (here L-toned) is coindexed with the higher-clause subject (the old woman), not with 'person' although the latter is the clausemate subject.

[339] Tonal locative.

[340] Reflexive possessor coindexed with the quoted subject, which is converted from 2Pl (direct speech) to 3Pl (quoted speech). In direct speech, a covert second person imperative subject cannot bind an anaphor.

[341] {HL}-toned possessed noun after possessor ending in L-tone. The initial H-tone is optionally dropped here.

ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] [yǎ: bà→][346] gǒ-è mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [àmá pírì][347] gǒ-è lò→[348] [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[àmá pírì] [sɔ̀: pɔ̂^{n}] yè-lí mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[íyé wɔ̀^{n}] [sɔ̀: pɔ̂^{n}] yè-lí lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] ìŋé-ìŋé dènɛ́-jê: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [sǎ^{n} ná:] = nì dènɛ́-jê: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] [ìŋé bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [sá^{n} bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
yɔ́: ìná:-n = í:[349] lò→ kòy [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]

[yɔ́ bàŋà] yî wàŋá gò:-jù, yɔ́: [[ènɛ́ bè] ínà:] = lò gí-è: wà, [ɲɛ̌ bè nɛ́:] [[ètě: kû^{n}] [kè-ké: gì:^{n}] dɔ̀w-ɛ́: mà] [mí = ́: lá: dɔ̀:-jù] [mí = ́: lá: dɔ̀:-jù], íyé = ǹ sâ:^{n} yê dɔ̀:--
B: [jɛ̀ŋɛ̀-úr^{n}ì: bè] bà^{n} bé sɛ́^{n}[350]
A: bà^{n} bé sɛ́^{n}, àr^{n}á-ùr^{n}ù lɔ́y, háyɛ̀ sâ:^{n} yê dɔ̌:-sɛ̂^{n} dè, nɔ́ bàŋà kà:^{n}, nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}

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[342] Reflexive possessor coindexed with the quoted subject, which is converted from 2Pl (direct speech) to 3Pl (quoted speech). In direct speech, a covert second person imperative subject cannot bind a reflexive.

[343] H-tone of possessed ^{HL}ínà: 'mother' hard to hear after possessor ending in a L-tone.

[344] kùn as discourse-definite locative.

[345] gí-ǹ (different-subject 'while' subordinating suffix -ǹ), literally 'while saying'. Disregarded here in the free translation.

[346] yǎ: bà→ 'as far as (all the way to) where?' With gǒ: 'go/come out', translated contextually as ablative 'from …'.

[347] Tengou Kan. Togo Kan would have [àmá bû^{n}] 'the presence of God'.

[348] lò→, rhetorical taq question (*n'est-ce pas?*). Disregarded here in free translation.

[349] In normal spoken Togo Kan, ìná: = ý^{n} 'it is Mother', without the extra -n suffix.

[350] Manner adverbial relative with adjectival predicate.

ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] [yǎ: bà→] gǒ-è mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [àmá pírì] gǒ-è lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[àmá pírì] [sɔ̀: pɔ̂^{n}] yè-lí mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[íyé wɔ̀^{n}] [sɔ̀: pɔ̂^{n}] yè-lí lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] ìŋé-ìŋé dènɛ́-jê: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [sǎ^{n} ná:] = nì dènɛ́-jê: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[ú dà] [ìŋé bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[í^{n} wɔ̀^{n}] [mìŋí bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
yɔ́: ìná:-n = í: lò→ kòy [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]

[yɔ́ bàŋà] gó:-jú, yɔ̂-ŋ tìmé [tɔ̀gú dɛ́y^{n}→ dɛ́y^{n}→ dɛ́y^{n}→] [gǎm ná] [[ɔ̀rɔ́ bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è] gì-jù, [gǎm ná] [ènɛ́ bè] [sá^{n} bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è] gì-jù, [gǎm ná] [[mìŋí bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è] gì-jù, [gǎm ná] [[ɔ̀rɔ́ bɔ́rɔ̀] ɔ́jɔ̀→ [[sɛ́:ŋɛ́ bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è] gì-jù, [bé pó-jù] [bé pó-jù],[351]

[nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [[là:rù gè:] [àná bîn] jàtâ:-rò [bé wé]][352] yèr-ɛ́: [wó wà] [[yɛ́ tɛ̀] gò:] wà, [ènɛ́ bè] [í^{n} tɔ̀]-- [sɔ̀tɔ̀rɔ̀ < lɔ̀y-- > sɛ̀^{n} lɔ̀y yɔ́: nà],[353] [[ènɛ́ bè] [í^{n} tɔ̀] [nà pɔ̂^{n}] pór-è: dɛ̀^{n}-ɛ̀^{n}] [gíré gò:-lâ:], [wó yèré sá^{n}-n = í:] [wó [kó gíré] ɔ́-jú mà→] wà

B: dìgɛ́ íjà→

A: é→ [dìgɛ́] íjà→] [bé gɛ́-è], [nǎ bè kà:^{n}] [sɔ̀: síbɛ́] jùgɔ́-mâ:-rò][354] wà kòy, [nà yɔ́: nà] yɔ́: gàmá [nà dàgá-sá^{n}] jùgɔ́-mâ:-rò wà, wó yê dɔ̀-è, bé[355]

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[351] Headless imperfective nonsubject relative clause, iterated.

[352] Relativization on the complement of a postposition, with both noun and postposition tone-dropped, cf. là:rú gê: 'for a lowly person'.

[353] Somewhat broken, but shows the sequence N-Adj-Num-Dem in the tonosyntactic variant [N Adj Num]^{L} Dem, with the demonstrative controlling tone-lowering on the preceding words.

[354] Variant of jùgɔ́-mû:-rò (imperfective negative of causative derivative).

[355] For [bé wà] (3Pl quotative subject).

ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
ségé = ý dé: = ý gáná yà: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] [yǎ: bà→] gǒ-è mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [àmá pírì] gǒ-è lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[àmá pírì] [sɔ̀: pɔ̂^{n}] yè-lí mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[íyé wɔ̀^{n}] [sɔ̀: pɔ̂^{n}] yè-lí lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[é dà] ìŋé-ìŋé dènɛ́-jê: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
émé [sǎ^{n} ná:] = nì dènɛ́-jê: [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[ú dà] [ìŋé bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è mà→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
[í^{n} wɔ̀^{n}] [àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] dàg-è lò→ [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]
yɔ́: ìnà: wó = y kòy [bɔ́^{n} lé-léw^{n}]

[nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] yê, [[ìnǎ: [[ènɛ́ bè] ké]] = : gɛ́-è:] [bé lɔ̀: pú→] yèr-ɛ́: [wó pìrù-pàrù], ǎy [nǎ bè] [yɔ́: kê:-rò wà] [yɔ́: kê:-rò wà] [yɔ́: kê:-rò] [bé gɛ́-è:], ènɛ́ dág-è[356] wà kòy,[357] [[ènɛ́ kɔ́: bɛ̂:-rò] gè:],

[kìrɛ́ gê:] ènɛ́ yɛ̌-è: [àɲú bɔ́rɔ̀] dág-è wà, [[[kó kè] kírɛ̀] àdúr^{n}ù[358] ènɛ́ = ǹ àmá gùŋɔ̀-lí] [yɔ̂-ŋ pá→ ìyè-dògùrú dɔ̀-è wà], pílé-m-è: námà bé yèr-ɛ́: ènɛ́ tèm-è wà,

háyè [àmá wà] [kìrɛ́ gì] < nǎ = ǹ-- > [í:^{n} nàr^{n}-ê dè] [bàrá yè] dàgà-lè, < ènɛ́ kó--, kó-- >, [[kó kè] níŋìr^{n}ì] mɔ̀-è wà, [úr^{n}ì: [yɔ̀: nà]] wó ìnɛ́r^{n}-è:, [gìr^{n}í [wó kè]] dǎn-g-è:, wó kún-è:, pílé-m-è: [sǎ^{n} bè]--,[359] yɔ́: [ɲɛ̌ má] ɲàŋ-ɛ́:, pílé-m-è: íyé = ǹ bé wó dìn-è-è:,[360]

nǎ kìrɛ́ g-î dè, í:^{n} nàr^{n}-ê dè, [í^{n} wɔ̀^{n}] [kìrɛ́ sógò][361] [í:^{n} kɔ́: bɛ̂:-rò], àmá kɔ̀:-jù, [yɔ́: g-î dè] [bàrá jê dàgá-lé], [yɔ́: kà:^{n}] yɔ́: yî [kó níŋìr^{n}ì] mɔ̀-è

B: [kó níŋìr^{n}ì] mɔ̀-è
A: é→
B: á→, én sà dér^{n}è-ẁ^{n}, àmá ú jɛ̌:r-è
A: pǒ:→

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[356] {HL}-toned perfective in focus construction.

[357] Clause-final emphatic kòy following quotative marker, but part of the quoted matter.

[358] Tonal locative 'in the world (below)'. Cf. àdúr^{n}ú bîn 'in(side) the world (below)'.

[359] Cut off, presumably for [sǎ^{n} bè] kè 'their own'. The following yɔ́: is also out of place here as the speaker rephrases.

[360] Reduced form of dìn-ɛ́-è:-sɛ̂^{n} '(they) kept' in a focalized clause. Although -sɛ̂^{n} is not allowed in this construction, the -è:- augment suffices to mark subject plurality.

[361] X sógò 'because of X'.

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B: pèré yɔ́ kɔ̀ mà

A: é→

B: [[bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] kè]=̀: mà→, *ou bien* [[yà:-kɔ̀]-[sì:^{n}-ká^{n}]=ý^{n}

A: pèré mà, é→ [[bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] kè]=̀:

B: háyɛ̀, kó pórù gɛ̀-mà

A: í^{n} én bɔ̀y^{n}

B: bɔ̀^{n}-bɔ́^{n} tǎy^{n}→

A: í^{n} jǎ jɛ́-ɛ̀: jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀: mà, í^{n} [[bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] kû^{n}] kùn-ì, [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] àr^{n}á∴ [wó ɲɛ́∴], [dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ wàrá-wàrá-wàrá-wàrá-wàrá gàr-á→ bɛ̌:] [bé gí-ǹ dè], [bé bàrá yɛ̌-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂^{n} dè] [kó kɛ̀rɛ̀-jù], [dɛ̀r^{n}ɛ́ wàrá bɛ̌:] [bé gí-ǹ dè], [bàrá yɛ̌-ɛ̀:] [kó kɛ̀rɛ̀-jù],

[ɲɛ̃ ɛ́:] [[bìnì pɛ̌^{n}] bè] wɔ̂, [bàrá yɛ̌] [gɛ̀r-ɛ́-ɛ̀: gɛ̀r-ɛ́-ɛ̀:] [bé kɛ̂:^{n}], [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bé=ǹ bìrɛ̀ bǐ-jú][362] lɔ̀gɔ̀=ỳ,

àr^{n}á sá-ɛ́: mà, [ɛ̀nɛ́ wà] nú-ỳ [g-î dè], ɛ̀nɛ́ [wòrû bîn] ìm-í-ì dè, [ɲɛ̌ wà] [sóm kúǹ-∅ dè] [bàrá bîn] [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ wò→ fú→] yɛ̀ré [ɛ̀nɛ́ bàrà] gì-nɛ̀[363] wà, bé ɛ̀nɛ́ dùw-î: gìr^{n}í jê-∅ dè, [àr^{n}á kà:^{n}] [yɛ́ tɛ̀] ìsí dɛ̀nɛ́-dɛ̀nɛ́-dɛ̀nɛ́-dɛ̀nɛ́ [[sǎ^{n} kè] gír^{n}í] kùn][364] mɔ̌:-n-ɛ̀: mà, [gìr^{n}ì kâ^{n}] bɛ̌-ɛ̀: dàg-ɛ̀, [bé wà][365] ɛ̀nɛ́ dùw-î:-- [ɲɛ̌ wà] [yɔ̂-ŋ pɔ̀-nɔ̀ wà],

àr^{n}á yɛ̌-ɛ̀: [nú-ỳ gɛ̀:], [sǎ^{n} dàr^{n}á] ú:-n-ɛ̀:, [bé kà:^{n}] [tù^{n} pírí] dɛ̀nɛ́-dɛ̀nɛ́ jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀:-- ǎy ɲɛ̃ [tù^{n} pírí] jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀: [wó kû^{n}] dɛ̀w-ɛ́:, sóm léwé-léwé-léwé kún-ɛ̀:, [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ wò→ fú→] [bàrá bîn] [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ fú→] ɛ̀nɛ́ bàrà wà dɛ̀,[366]

[sóm ɛ́-ɛ́:] [kó kɛ̂:^{n}] [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] tú-túrú lɔ́-lɔ́y yɛ́r-ɛ̀,[367] [ɲɛ̃ ɛ́:] bìn-pɛ̌^{n}=ý^{n}, íyɔ̀ [wó wà] àmà-sɔ̀gɔ́=ý [ɲǎŋ mà→] [bé gɛ́-ɛ̀:], [ɛ̀nɛ́∴] [ɛ̀nɛ́ ɛ́gɛ́:^{n}∴] bàrá yɛ̀rɛ̀ wà, [wó wà] ùŋó[368] [bàrá tɔ̀] nú: yɛ̀-∅→, [pàŋà pèré] kɔ̀:-rɔ́→, bé [ámà gà] ɛ̀nɛ́ bàr-ê dè, [bé ɛ̀nɛ́=ǹ, [ɛ̀nɛ́ ɛ́gɛ́:^{n}] dùw-í-ì dè] [[ɛ̀nɛ́ bè] gír^{n}ì] jâ: wà,

háyɛ̀, yɔ̂-ŋ wó gɛ́-ɛ̀, [bàrà-nɔ̀w^{n}ɔ́ bè] wɛ́-tɛ́ŋɛ̀ wɛ́-tɛ́ŋɛ̀ mà, [kó wà] [háyɛ̀ kòy] wà, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] [bé wò→ pú→] yɛ̀r-ɛ́: dùw-ɛ́-ɛ̀:, [nɛ́: wɔ̀^{n}] dùŋùr^{n}ú-dùŋùr^{n}ú-dùŋùr^{n}ú gìr^{n}í jâ:-jù,

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[362] Would be bǐ-jù (relative-clause imperfective) if not followed in the same breath by the following word. lɔ́gɔ́=ý 'it is too much' is {L}-toned since it is treated prosodically as the final word in the clause.

[363] gí-nɛ́, irregular imperative of gí 'say'. Preceded by imperative bárá 'help!' (jussive complement). Both imperatives are in clause-final {L}-toned form.

[364] kùn with discourse-definite locational.

[365] [bé wà] here pronounced [bɛ́-ɛ̀].

[366] Clause-final emphatic dè from the quoted speech, following quotative wà.

[367] {HL}-toned form of yɛ̀r-ê 'came' after focalized constituent.

[368] Presentative 'here's …' (Fr *voici que* ...).

[né: wɔ̀ⁿ] ɲɛ̃ [bé dógò] tág-ɛ̀-ɛ̀: mà, yǎ:-ní: yǎ:-ní: dè,[369] mhm, bé＝ǹ[370] sá-ɛ̀ dè-- ǎy jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ sá-ɛ̀ dè

nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nù:-lì kòy
[nú-ỳ dè] [sárú bè] nù:-jè má
nú: [màrpá: bè] nù:-jè má
[nú-ỳ dè] [gùrɔ́ bè] nù:-jè má
[nú-ỳ dè] [kɔ̌ⁿ bè] nù:-jè má
nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nù:-lì kòy

jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ yɔ̂-ŋ [wó gí-ǹ dè], < jɔ̀wⁿɔ́-- > [tǎ: sá-ɛ̀ dè]

[nú-ỳ gà:] dɔ̀rɔ̀dɔ́
[sùlòmâ:n nú-ỳ gà:] [dɔ̀rɔ̀dɔ́ yè-y∴]

[né: wɔ̀ⁿ] [bé dùw-î: gìrⁿí kúǹ-∅ dè] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] wòrú [bé kè]＝̀: lò [né: wɔ̀ⁿ], háyɛ̀ yɔ̂-ŋ [bé wò→] yǎ:-ní: yǎ:-ní: dè, [jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ kà:ⁿ] wɔ́＝ní: péré gǒ-ɛ̀ dè

nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nù:-lì kòy
[nú-ỳ dè] [sárú bè] nù:-jè má
nú: [màrpá: bè] nù:-jò má[371]
[nú-ỳ dè] [gùrɔ́ bè] nù:-jò má
[nú-ỳ dè] [jɔ̀ŋùrⁿú bè] nù:-jò má
[nú-ỳ dè] [kɔ̌ⁿ bè] nù:-jò má
nù:-lì kòy
sùlòmâ:n nù:-lì kòy

yɔ̂-ŋ [wó gí-ǹ dè], < jɔ̀wⁿɔ́-- > [tǎ: sá-ɛ̀ dè]

[nú-ỳ gà:] dɔ̀rɔ̀dɔ́
[sùlòmâ:n nú-ỳ gà:] [dɔ̀rɔ̀dɔ́ yè-y∴]

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[369] Same-subject ‘while’ -ní: (iterated) plus dè ‘if/when’.

[370] Clause-initial topic marker ＝ǹ.

[371] Here the singing narrator switches from -jè to -jò.

yɔ̂-ŋ [bé wò→] [wùrúdúdú-wùrúdú-wùrúdú dùw-é:-jɛ̀][372] gò-ó: mà,[373] [né: wɔ̀ⁿ] yɛ̌-ɛ̀: [wó gírⁿì] kún-ɛ̀:, dùw-é-ɛ̀: kún-ɛ̀:, kún-ɛ̀: gò-gó:-jú wɔ̀ⁿ,[374] [ɲà gó:-jú][375] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀,

jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ yǎ:-táŋà yǎ:-táŋà, [wó wɔ̀ⁿ] wàŋá gɔ̌: yè-∅, [ɛ̀né wà] [[ɔ́gù-ɔ́gù yî bɛ́: bɛ̌-ɛ̀ dɛ̀] yè-jù wà] [bé yǎ:-ǹ dɛ̀], jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ wàŋá gɔ̌: yè-∅,

[bé né:] wó dùw-é-ɛ̀: kún-ɛ̀:-sɛ̂ⁿ, [ìsí bɛ̀] [gìrⁿì-kâⁿ wù:-wà: yɛ̀r-é:] gìrⁿì-kâⁿ kɛ̂w, kìjí-kàjú kìjí-kàjú [bàrà-nɔ̀wⁿɔ̂ dàyⁿ] kɛ́rɛ́-kɛ́rɛ́-kɛ́rɛ́ yɛ̂ ú:-n-ɛ̀:, né: [bé wò→ pú→] [pèré né:] [nà yɛ̌ bɛ̀-jù][376] kɔ̀:-rɔ̀,

[àrⁿâ yɔ̀:] ùŋér-ɛ̀:, [ìsí bà:][377] lágá-lágá-lágá [[sɛ̂yⁿ bàrⁿùwⁿà-lí] dàyⁿ][378] lágá ú:-n-ɛ̀:, [bàrà-nɔ̀wⁿɔ̂ dàyⁿ] dàrⁿá dàgá té-ɛ̀, [[ɲú: má] kú:ⁿ ír-é:] [kó kɛ̂:ⁿ], [dɛ̀rⁿɛ́ má] kú:ⁿ bɛ̀rɛ̀ gɛ́r-ɛ̀ wà,

[yɔ́: sâ:ⁿ] [yɔ́: sòŋòró kún-ɛ̀:] [bàⁿ bìr-ɛ́:] [dɛ̀rⁿɛ́ má] wó gɛ́r-ɛ̀, jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ [[kó kɛ̀] sóŋòrò] í:ⁿ wɔ̂ sógò, [kɔ̀mɔ̀-gɛ́rⁿí: dàyⁿ] [wó bûⁿ] yɔ́ kɔ̀, nú: yè-∅, yɔ́: nù:-lí wà,

[jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ [[kó kɛ̀] sóŋòrò] í:ⁿ wɔ̂] gɛ̀:, jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ bàná gɔ̌: yè-∅, [bàrà-nɔ̀wⁿɔ̀ síg-ɛ́ bɛ̀ wò→][379] sòŋòró yî kàw-ɛ̀

B: [jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ sóŋòrò] íyé gò:-lí *quoi?*

A: é→ [sòŋòró [wó kɛ̀] íyé gò:-lí, [yɔ́: bɛ̀ bà→] [jɔ̀wⁿɔ́ sóŋòrò] [yɔ́: bɛ̀ bà→] gò-ɛ̀ wà, é→ ɛ́n sà dérⁿɛ̀-ẁⁿ

B: àmá ú jɛ̌:r-ɛ̀

A: pɔ̌:→

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[372] -jɛ̀ same-subject 'while' subordinator, used with a following motion verb.

[373] Variant of gò-é: mà.

[374] wɔ̀ⁿ denoting the state defined by the preceding relative clause, in this case a reduplicated imperfective.

[375] Instrumental relative: 'place for going out', i.e. '(an) exit'.

[376] Imperfective subject relative.

[377] bà: reduced (in this construction) from bàrá 'help'.

[378] Perfective negative subject relative.

[379] Perfective subject relative.

Part 2: English translations

2011.1a.01 Planting

B: Good afternoon, A [name].

A: Greetings.

B: We haven't come here today because of any trouble.

A: May God brush away any trouble.

B: Well, this now, as for us, we, (in) Togo country, the way (one) does farming. From farming with the daba (and) from slashing (=planting) to autumn work (=harvesting), so that I may ask you-Sg about that topic. Now first of all, we'll start with planting. Now, (here) in our country, before planting (time) has arrived, what do we do first?

A: Before planting (time) has arrived, we do bush-work (clearing fields) first. (In) bush-work, there is burning thorns (=thorny branches), there is chopping and burning the small bushes, (they) prevent millet from turning out well, there is burning the trash (e.g. remains of last year's stems) that damages millet-planting. We do all those sorts of thing until (the time when) we are waiting for the rain.

B: Okay. Now the rain now, when rain first falls, what do you-Pl do now?

A: When rain first falls, we plant. (We) take the pick-hoe, scoop up some millet seed, go to the bush (=the fields) and make slashes (with the pick-hoe) (on) the old (plowing) ridges. (We) put (=drop) the millet (seeds, in the slashes), we step (on the seeds), we (then) wait for the farming work (=weeding). (They) did like that in the old days.

B: Now, then, the millet, even if you-Pl have planted (it), if it has sprouted in some spots and it has not sprouted in some (other) spots, how and how (=what things) do you-Pl now do (to) that?

A: If some has sprouted and some has not sprouted, we scoop up some millet seed again, (then) if the earth happens to get soaked (by another rain), (there is) what we call "re-sowing" (jɔ́ŋɔ́rⁿɔ́).

We go (to the fields), slash (more) holes (with the pick-hoe) in between the millet plants (that have sprouted), step on the millet[380] (seeds, dropped into the slashes) one by one, complete (the rows of millet, i.e. filling the gaps), and leave (it).

B: Now, as for planting (i.e. slashing the earth), if not (=aside from) with a pick-hoe, is there any other way to plant?

A: If not with a pick-hoe specifically, planting with something else, it is very tiring for us.[381] Because (with) a pick-hoe, one plants standing up.[382] (Planting) is easier with that, (so) we plant with a pick-hoe.

B: Now, is there another (way)?

A: Other than that, some people, if it (=field) is small, as you-Sg pass by (in the field), (You-Sg) could turn over some (spots of in the field) with the foot and (after sowing more seeds) step on (them). You can possibly slash some (spots) with a short-handled pick-hoe and step on (them), if it (=field) is small.

B: All that (=those methods) are planting.

A: Those are planting. The various (methods of) planting are going (=being described in turn).

B: Planting. When (they) have done the thing (=turned over) some (spots) in the (plowed) ridges, when (they) have turned over (some earth), (the way) they will plant. Doesn't that too exist? ...

A: That too--

B: ... they call (them) plowed fields?

A: That too exists.

B: Yes, how do (they) do that now?

A: That too, plowed fields (plowed before sowing), like cultivating (=weeding). They put a donkey (in the field), they do farm work (=make furrows with plow or daba), they call it "preparing the field for planting" (jɔ̀rù-jǎ). Its name now, they call it "white person's preparing the field for planting" (=plowing). Now you-Sg (might) turn over (some earth) with the foot (and) you might step on (it).

Some people stand up on that (=ridges) with the pick-hoe. They slash (with the pick-hoe) (in) the new ridge (formed by the plow) and step on (it), that too exists.

B: So, is it (=can it be) done by hand, or do (they) do the thing with a plow--do (they) carry it out with a plow?

A: In the old days, previously, with a plow-- Before the plow came (=was introduced), (they) used to shape small round mounds (in rows) by hand and step on (seeds) on those (=mounds).

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[380] My assistant suggests an emendation from ɲú: 'millet' to lɛ̀-ùrⁿú 'slash hole' here. One steps on the slash hole after the seeds are dropped on it.

[381] Lit. "its fatigue is excessive to us (dative)."

[382] The pick-hoe has a long wooden shaft, so the farmer can slash the earth with its blade without bending over.

Now after (=since) the plow came, (they) rip up (the earth) with the plow, (then) again (they) (drop seeds and) step on that in that way (=as described before).

B: (As for) that now, out in the bush--, (is) that (method) only out in the bush?[383] Or do (they) also do the thing in fields that have lain fallow (for one to three years)?

A: Out in the bush (you) could let it rip (=plow), in fields that have laid fallow (for one to three years) you could let it rip, so that millet will be slightly faster (to ripen). For that reason (=that's why) they are doing it. The millet, it will yield more now.

B: You-Pl now, concerning planting, is there additionally another topic that you-Pl can talk (about), aside from[384] all those things (already said)?

A: Another topic, a new topic. In the past we didn't know, but now, like (=for example) fonio,[385] they turn over the earth (all around, with a daba), they also in fact practice planting (fonio seeds) on that (disturbed earth surface).

B: That way, what is it? Which (=what) is its usefulness?

A: That way it will yield more millet. That's why they do it. It will yield more millet.

B: All those are (methods of) planting?

A: All those are (methods of) planting.

B: After those, there is no other (method of) planting?

A: After those, another (method of planting), we don't know any other (method of) planting after those (already mentioned).

B: As for those now, you have done all those (things)?

A: Yes.

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[383] gù^{n}sá^{n} includes the uncultivated outback, but also long-abandoned fields that have gone back to nature and/or have been grazed by livestock.

[384] Lit., "if/when … has passed by."

[385] A cultivated grain, *Digitaria exilis*.

2011.1a.02 When the millet has sprouted

B: Now, what you-Pl have done (=planted) now, now if the millet has sprouted, now again in (=among) those millet sprouts, what do (you-Pl) begin (to do) first?

A: In the knocked-down millet,[386] in some spots among them, among the knocked-down millet, we might intersperse (cross-plant) cow-peas, in some (other) spots we might intersperse (=cross-plant) plant roselle.[387] That was before (=in the past).

Sometimes they would collect (=harvest) the cow-pea pods and then they would knock down the millet (stems).[388] They would knock millet down and lay it (there), then they would (come back and) harvest (the millet grain spikes, cutting them off the stems with a knife).

B: Uh-huh. The way I spoke (=asked), you-Sg didn't quite understand.[389] We haven't arrived yet at the millet harvest.[390] The place (=topic) that I am speaking (=asking about) is planting.

Planting now, (suppose) you-Pl have planted and the millet has sprouted. The millet has sprouted. The farming (=weeding) has not arrived (yet), (but) the planting has passed. Between those (two), isn't there something else to do?

A: (When) the farming has not arrived, (but) the planting has passed. (When) the farming has not arrived but the planting has passed--

B: The (heavy) rain has not come yet.[391]

A: If it happens that (=in case) the rain doesn't come, we might keep digging up (with a daba) and killing the (old) weeds that are among the millet (sprouts). In some spots, in less fertile spots, there we might cultivate fonio.[392] Things like that, we do minor things (=tasks) like that, until the (heavy) rain falls.

B: Now, that digging up of weeds, …

A: Yes?

B: … that, what is its value for millet?

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[386] The ambiguity of the verb tɔ́: as intransitive '(plant) sprout' or as transitive '(farmer) knock down (e.g. millet stems, to harvest their grain spikes)', and the consequent ambiguity of the compound verbal noun ɲù:-tɔ̌ 'millet sprouts' or 'knocked-down millet', has led to a misunderstanding.

[387] Cow-peas: *Vigna unguiculata*. Roselle: *Hibiscus sabdariffa*. They are planted in millet fields after the millet sprouts Usually one spot for cow-pea or roselle after every three clumps of millet in a given row.

[388] I.e. by slashing the base of the stem with a short-handled pick-hoe (jɔ̀ŋùrⁿú).

[389] The interviewee has skipped ahead to the harvest, while the interviewer wants to go carefully through the entire farming cycle step by step.

[390] Lit. "(at) the place of knocking-down millet."

[391] I.e. the heavy rains of e.g. July.

[392] Fonio is planted using a daba, rather than the long pick-hoe.

A: Those weeds, they are not good for the millet. When you-Sg have dug up and left the weeds, it will yield[393] more millet. Well, for that reason, when you have dug up and left the weeds that are below (=around the base of) the millet, (to yield) more millet—for its yield to increase, for that purpose we keep killing the weeds and (we) leave them.

B: All that, (the situation) of long ago and of nowadays together (=the same)?

A: That, all of it together (i.e. past and present), that (practice) is going (=it continues).

B: That is of (for) planting, isn't it?

A: That is of (for) planting, all together (past and present).

[393] Lit. "get itself."

2011.1a.03 The first round of weeding ("black farming")

B: If all that (i.e. about planting) is finished, …

A: Yes.

B: …we arrive now at (the subject of) farming (=weeding).[394]

A: Yes.

B: The weeding, how do we first begin it now?

A: Farming. Now when we have finished planting, now when millet reaches (somewhere) between fifteen and twenty days (after sprouting), formerly, if it was (by) hand, you-Sg had to[395] farm (=weed) around the millet and leave it (undamaged) and keep doing that. Formerly (it was) like that, (they) farmed exclusively with the daba (hoe) like that.

B: If the fifteen days had not arrived (=elapsed), farming (=weeding) was not possible.

A: Farming (=weeding) was not possible. If the fifteen days had not arrived, (as for) the millet, (its) roots would not have tightened (become firm). If you-Sg farm (=weed) (too early), most of the millet will go and die.

If the roots have not had the time to become tight (firm) (and) if you farm (=weed), it (=millet) will die. Well, for that (reason), (there is) counting days a little (=for a while), (anytime) once the full fifteen days have arrived (=elapsed), then they begin.

B: That now, how do they call its name?

A: Its name now, they call it "black farming" (=first round of weeding).[396]

B: First weeding. "Going out (=onset) of farming," or "black farming"?

A: That now, they call it "black farming."

B: There is no "going out of farming"?

A: When (they) say "going out of farming," that digging up (weeds) (that we were talking about before), that's "going out of farming." Killing the base (=roots) of weeds is "going out of farming." Farming strictly speaking (=weeding), that is "black farming."

B: Now, regarding the black farming, now how do (you-Pl) do the farming?

A: The black farming, nowadays--

B: < xxx >

A: The black farming, nowadays, when now (the time for) the black farming has arrived, when the land is wet (from rain), now everybody spends the day in the bush (=fields). When everybody spends the day in the bush, now that is the black farming (=first round of weeding).

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[394] The core sense of wárú 'farming' is the hard work of removing weeds, thinning out the millet sprouts, and repairing the plowed ridges in the fields, especially around July. There are two rounds of this, the first one (*première culture*) being the hardest.

[395] Imperative verb form.

[396] French *(la) première culture*. The first and harder of the two rounds of weeding in the millet fields, around July.

Digging up (weeds), and black farming, are distinct. If they say (=during) digging up (weeds), some people go (to the fields), some (other) people do not go. (By contrast), if they say (=during) black farming, everyone spends the day in the bush. Yes, that is the black farming.

B: Now, in (=during) black farming, what sorts of work are there?

A: In black farming, now (in) black farming, you-Pl do farming (=weeding). If (the time when) it has gone to the the mid-point happens to have arrived, (there is) other work, such as planting peanuts, crawling crops,[397] minor crops, they will intersperse minor crops[398] (among the millet). Crawling crops, (there might be) also be a separate field (for them).

In between (bouts of) black farming, (even) when (you) have done that (planting minor crops) (the first time), there is also (=it can also happen that) (you) go back in then (from time to time) during black farming (i.e., to plant more minor crops).

B: No. Now let's go to (=discuss) only about black farming (i.e. weeding).

A: Uh-huh.

[397] Crawling crops (low, spreading plants): peanuts, groundnuts, cow-pea, fonio.

[398] Minor crops: the "crawling crops" just mentioned, also roselle, sesame.

2011.1a.04 The second round of weeding ("uprooting")

B: Now, (as for) the black farming, that (farming), when (you) have farmed (=done the first round of weeding), is there also another (round of) farming, or isn't there?

A: When (you) have finished doing the black farming, (there is) that (other) one too, when (something) like twenty days have arrived (=elapsed) again (after the first round), weeds are coming out (=growing) in the fields. If it happens that weeds have come out in the fields, the second (round of) farming we call "uprooting," we do the uprooting.

Uprooting, the second farming. Small weeds come out afterwards (after the first round of weeding), when we have killed them by hoeing (=uprooting with a daba), now we have done (what was needed) so that millet gets its well-being (free from weeds). Well, because of that (they) call the second (round of) farming "uprooting," they do the uprooting.

B: Millet, the way (=in such a way that) it gets its well-being, …

A: Yes.

B: … now (they) do the uprooting (second round of weeding) for that (reason).

A: Yes, they are doing the uprooting for that (reason).

B: If it isn't (=apart from) that, another value (usefulness)--, that (=what you have said) too is a value. but is there another value (of the uprooting) that isn't (=other than) that?

A: Another value-- There is another value. Because if (we) don't do the uprooting, the millet cannot turn out (=yield) well. The millet will not turn out well (and as for) the field too, weeds will sprout next year in the fields (even) more than that (=than usual).

Well, it's because of that, as early as (=even) this year, if you-Sg block it in advance (=pre-empt it), now next year the weeds should become better (=less troublesome) in the fields than that (=than otherwise), (and) it will also be better for the millet. That's why they do the uprooting.

B: Now when the uprooting has passed (=is over), is there another (kind of) work?

A: Now, as for (the work) of uprooting, when that now has passed, there is no work other than that now. Now you-Pl sit (=rest) and wait for the harvest work.

B: There is absolutely no other work than that.

A: Other work--

B: Now, concerning (work) of millet, when the uprooting (=second round of weeding) has passed, there is no other work?

A: Concerning (work) of millet, when the uprooting has passed, concerning (work of) millet, (we) haven't seen anything (else) to wait for. Here (=at this point), that's it.

2011.1a.05 The millet harvest

B: Now as for that, now at the side of (=concerning) the uprooting, we have (talked about) uprooting-- (We) talked about farming (=weeding), and now we have talked also about uprooting. Now--after those (tasks), is there another work?

A: Now, if it isn't (=other than) harvest work, concerning millet, we are still waiting for the harvest work.

B: As for the harvest work, what (work) do (you) do to begin (harvesting)?[399]

A: Now if it happens that the millet has gone and become ripe, now if it happens that a field has turned out well, (you) hack down (the stems, with a hoe) and lay (them) down. When (you) have hacked (them) down and laid (them) down in rows, then (you) harvest the millet (grain spikes, cutting them off with a knife).

[399] Lit. "when (you) have done how?, (you) begin."

2011.1a.06 Ripening of the millet

B: (As for) the millet harvest, as I was saying previously, it's still that. (As for) the millet harvest, we haven't reached (that) yet. Now when (they) have done the uprooting (=second round of weeding), the millet attains what kind of height?[400]

A: When the millet goes all the way (there), when it has become (tall enough) to swallow (cover) the heads of people, millet grows greatly in height.

B: When it has grown in height, what will (the millet) do in addition?

A: When it has grown in height, (its) fruit, (or rather) whatchamacallit, it grows (puts out) grain spikes (heads). When it has grown grain spikes, it develops a red fuzz (flowers on the spike). When it has developed the red fuzz, it puts (out) fruits (=grains), it (grain spike) turns whitish. When it has turned whitish, it has become ripe now. Now that (millet) has become ripe.

B: It has become ripe.

A: Yes, that has become ripe.

B: Before all that has happened,[401] …

A: Yes?

B: … as for the millet, it can't be said that the millet has become ripe yet.

A: It can't be said.

B: Developing the red fuzz …

A: Developing the red fuzz.

B: Putting out fruits (=grains) …

A: Uh-huh.

B: Turning whitish …

A: Turning whitish.

B: Before all that has happened, whatchamacallit cannot be done. When all those (things) have passed, what (things) do (you) do now in addition, and (then) you-Pl hack down the millet (stems)?

A: Now, when all of that is done, now is it not (true) that the millet is visibly (=clearly) ripe? Is it not true that the millet grains are visible? When the millet grains are visible, then (you) hack down (the stems). Now, nothing else remains (to be done), now (you) have hacked down. (We) hack (them) down.

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[400] Lit. "(the) equivalent of which height."

[401] Lit. "if/when all that has not arrived."

2011.1a.07 Driving birds out

B: At times I see (=notice) that even when the millet has ripened, some people, if they are unable to hack down (the stems) early, sometimes when they have sent some children to the bush (=fields), they (=people) may tell them (=children) to drive away the birds. When the children have taken tin cans (there), sometimes they tap (=bang) the tin cans.

A: Yes, that too exists (=happens).

B: (As for) that now, what is its meaning (=purpose)?

A: That (means), millet is (=comes in) three kinds. There is fast (=early) millet, and there is slow (=late) millet. Now the new (kind of) millet that came and found us (=was introduced recently) is faster than the old (kind of) millet. If you-Sg don't beat (=bang) tin cans at them (=birds) early, birds will have already finished pecking (=eating) all (of the fast millet).

Now (with) some (kinds of) millet, birds don't have an opportunity to peck (=eat) it. (With) slow millet, before the birds have a chance to peck (=eat) all of it, the harvest work will come and encounter it (=millet) (still there).

On the other hand, birds will peck (=eat) all the fast millet. For that reason (there is) beating tin cans, there is also "drive away the birds in the bush (=fields)!" Yes, it is for (=because of) that.

B: Now the children, the people of driving off birds--, (or rather) the ones who drive off birds.

A: Yes.

[interruption]

B: The ones who drive off birds. As for them, do (adults) send them (=children) into the bush (=fields) in order to drive off birds because there is no value in them (=children)? Or because, in bush-work, in the jobs that remain, their (=children's) work doesn't have much power (=effectiveness)? In driving off birds now?

A: Now, driving off birds-- For example also, (those) children who have something like awareness (=maturity), (adults) send them to drive off birds. Some children could tend goats (in the pasture), (but) some of them don't tend goats.

They could tend goats, but they don't tend (them), the ones who are at home. Now also to a limited extent children whose studying (=school) has not (yet) started up again, children who are (staying) at home (during vacation). They (=adults) tell them to go and keep driving the birds off for a while, for around two days.

(As) they drive the birds away, the millet (grain) goes and becomes hard ("tight") now. Even birds cannot peck (=eat) the hardended ("dry") millet any longer now. Well, in that way now, the birds leave (the millet) alone like that.

B: If it hasn't become hard ("tight"), (in) that (case), can (birds) peck (=eat it)?

A: (Birds) do peck (=eat it). The unripe millet, they feast on it.[402] They peck (=eat) unripe millet a lot.

[402] lit. "peck and kill."

2011.1a.08 Hacking down the millet stems

B: As for that, we have talked (about) driving birds out and about the development of millet grain spikes.

A: (Yes), they are those (topics).

B: Now, how (=what) do (you) do, (seeing that) moreover those (millet plants) have ripened, at the time when (you) go out to hack down the millet, (it is at) which (=what) time?

A: Now when (=as long as) the millet (grain) now--now has not dried (=hardened), (they) do not hack (the stems) down. But when that (millet grain) has showed itself[403] as having dried (=hardened) so that (the time) to hack down (the stems) has arrived, then (they) they hack (them) down. By contrast, (they) don't hack (them) down (merely) on the grounds that millet has put (=grown) grains.

B: As for hacking down (harvesting millet), how is that thing (done)?

A: As for hacking down millet, you-Sg (get) a hoe--, when it has arrived at (its) time, there is (the blacksmith's) hoe-making. Well, now also, sometimes there is (=it happens that) (farmers) pick up (=hire) some young men, (or) people, and have (the hired hands) hack down (the millet).

Okay, there is (=it happens that) just your-Sg kinsmen hack down (the millet). Also someone who doesn't have the things (=means) or the money to pick up (=hire) people, there is (=it can happen that) (you) hack down (millet) alone (by yourself).

B: Now, in (=regarding) the equipment of hacking down (=harvesting) millet, if it isn't (=other than) the hoe, is there no other equipment?

A: (They) hack down millet specifically. If it isn't (=other than) the hoe, there is no other equipment, (at least) concerning us (=in our zone). (We) hack down (millet) strictly with the hoe. Yes.

B: Now, how do (they) hack down millet?

A: When (you) have hacked down at the millet roots, by rows, sometimes (stems from) three furrows, (you) lay (them) down in one spot. Some people lay down (stems from) five furrows, it goes out for (=depends on) the development of the millet.[404]

If it has developed well (=is dense), laying (them) down (by) three furrows can be done. If it has not developed well, laying (them) down in one spot (for) even (=up to) six furrows can be done.

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[403] The translation alters the order of clauses in the original, putting the 'show itself' clause before two other clauses ('dried' and 'arrived').

[404] I.e. how densely packed the millet is, and how big each stem is.

2011.1a.09 Cutting the grain spikes off the fallen stems

B: The millet, when (they) have hacked down all that, do (they) leave it like that? Or what additionally do they do with it?

A: When (they) have hacked down that millet, they will also (=subsequently) cut off the grain spikes (with a knife). They keep cutting off the grain spikes. They call it "cutting off (the grain spikes)." They keep cutting and cutting those (millet) grain spikes (heads) off, and lay them down separately (away from the stems). They bring it to the houses (=village). Now they leave the stems in the bush (=fields).

B: When (they) have cut off the grain spikes, do (they) lay all (the grain spikes) in one spot like that? Or after cutting off the grain spikes, do (they) again (=then) set (the grain spikes) on top of carts and take (them) to the houses?

A: In the old days, when (you) had cut off the grain spikes, (you) made a big heap. When (you) had made a big heap, you-Sg would go around all of the fields that you had and cut off the grain spikes. (They) cut them off and then, when the cutting off was well and truly finished, then they would again (=subsequently) carry (the grain spikes) a little at a time.

Nowadays, some people, (they do) cutting off (millet grain spikes) and carrying (them, to the houses) at the same time, cutting off and carrying.[405] That too exists (=is done) nowadays.

B: That too exists?

A: That too exists. (But) it has a change (=has changed) to some extent. There is not (the technique) like that of long ago.

B: That too is a (way of) cutting off (=harvesting) millet.

[405] That is, they do some harvesting in the field and bring the grain spikes to the houses, then repeat the process each dat.

2011.1a.10 Cutting grain spikes off standing stems

B: Now, one (method) of that, I myself saw a type (=method) of cutting off (=harvesting) millet. For some people, (they) cut off (grain spikes) while the millet (stems) are still standing up. (That) (they) cut off while (it) is standing up, what is that?

A: That too, they call it "top-bending."[406] Sometimes millet (is) meager, spotty (=scattered). If the field has more or less not turned out well (and) (the millet) is spotty, because (they worry about) hacking down (the stems) and seeing (=experiencing) fatigue, (they) keep breaking (=cutting) off the heads (=grain spikes) and moving on (from one plant to another). That (method of) harvesting millet exists too. Yes, that too--.

B: That now, (is it) in order to soften (=reduce) the fatigue?

A: Yes. That, they call its name "top-bending."

B: It's top-bending.

A: Yes. While (the millet) is up, they break (=cut) off (the grain spikes). They call that "top-bending."

B: That now, it's what and what? With what do (they) cut it?

A: That, we call (it) "harvesting knife."[407] The harvesting knife, they embed a knife (blade) in a (piece of) stem. We cut with that. (They) call it "harvesting knife."

B: That isn't hard (work)?

A: It actually is rather hard. In particular, (the method) up high (i.e. top-bending) is harder. Fairly--.

B: Up high is harder?

A: Up high is indeed harder than on the ground. Uh-huh.

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[406] The farmer holds the top of the millet plant with one hand, bending it down somewhat, and cuts off the grain spike with a knife attached to the other hand.

[407] The TgK word is not segmentable.

2011.1a.11 Heaps of millet grain spikes in the field

B: Now, that now, when (they) have done all of those things, (they) have cut off (the grain spikes). They have hacked and laid down some millet and cut off (the grain spikes). Sometimes, (they) gather together all (the grain spikes) in the bush (=fields) in one spot. You-Pl have gathered together all those (grain spikes) in the bush in one spot. How do (they) say its name?

A: We call its name "millet heap" (ɲù:-tɛ̀:rɛ)

B: "Millet heap"?

A: "Millet heap."

B: Now, us children (=young people), as for us, we call it "millet heap" (ɲù:-tɛ̌:, with a variant pronunciation).

A: Yes.

B: The millet heap, what is its meaning (=function)?

A: As for the millet heap, concerning millet, the place where they have gathered millet and the place where you-Sg have gathered together a lot (of millet grain spikes), that is indeed what (they) say its name (=call it) "the millet heap." When you-Sg have cut it all (off) and have gathered it together there, they say its name (=call it) "heap."

B: The place where you-Sg have cut (off) all those (grain spikes) and gathered (them) together.

A: Yes. The place where you-Sg have brought and gathered (them).

B: All the millet that was in the field.

A [overlapping]: Yes, all the millet that was in (it). When you-Sg have cut and brought (it) and gathered (it) in one place, they say the name of (=they call) that millet "millet heap."

2011.1a.12 Small piles of millet grain spikes in the field

B: Now, there are certain (other) ways too.

A: Yes.

B: As they cut off the grain spikes, (they) must gather and pile (them) in one spot, (they) must gather and pile (them) in a (=another) spot.[408]

A: Yes.

B: Now, as for that, why do (they) do that?

A: (They) call that "millet-pile." Yes, (they) keep cutting (millet grain spikes), sometimes each row, sometimes it (=each row) coincides with (=corresponds to) one millet-pile. When (you) have cut (grain spikes) in one spot, sometimes (you) can lay down two layings (=piles). Sometimes (you) can lay down one laying. They say its name (=call it) "millet-pile."

B: That now, is it (because) that is easier than putting (=making) a large millet heap? Or why do they do it (=make small millet piles)?

A: Now as for that, when (they) have done that, the way (=in such a way that) carrying the millet (to the houses) after that is fairly easy, if you-Sg put (all the millet) in a big heap, it's easier to carry.

As for that, now each time that you-Sg come, you will carry (it) from one (=the same) place. There is no (=it doesn't happen that) (one) wears oneself out going around in the field (to all the small piles) and (then) carrying (the millet). Well, for that reason they put (=make) the big heap.

B: Between those two, the thing that separated (=makes the difference), that is it?

A: Between those two, the separation (=difference) is merely that. (You) carry (it) being in one place (in one method), (and) you carry (it) after (you) have gone all over and gathered it (from the small piles) and brought it (in the other method). The description (=nature) of those two (methods) is different.

B: Okay. Now even (they) make both a big heap and small piles, because the field too is wide (=vast). The field is wide. On a single day, (for you to) cut off (the grain spikes), make small piles, and again (=additionally) make a big heap, that too, that too, the thing (=task) is difficult.

A: It is difficult.

B: As for me, to my (way of) thinking, that too, so that the work (of carrying to the houses) becomes soft(er) (=easier) for some people. Aren't they doing (it) for that reason?

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[408] I.e. in several small piles throughout the field.

A: They are definitely doing it for that reason. They are doing it for that reason. So that the work becomes soft(er).

Now, if a field is (too) wide for one day, on the grounds that "Cut off grain spikes! And gather them (into a big heap) on each of those days!" isn't possible, (you) will (instead) cut off grain spikes and gather and lay them in several small piles.

Then secondly (=on another day) you-Pl will gather up (=consolidate) those small piles (into a big heap). The place where you-Pl go and assemble (them), the millet (grain spikes) of that (place), (referring to) a big heap. Yes, they call (it) "millet-heap." Yes.

2011.1a.13 Carrying the millet to the houses

B: Hmm. Now, when (you) have made a big heap, there's a millet heap (over there). There--. It (the millet) cannot be left in the bush (=fields). A big millet heap cannot be left in the bush.

Now how (=what things) do (you) do? Do you-Pl get together (=work collectively)? Or what do you do and (=to) bring the millet to the houses? (I mean) the solution (=technique) by which it (=millet) will come to the houses.

A: If it's (concerning) long ago, a big millet heap, all the people of the neighborhood (=village quarter) would get together. They would carry (millet) today (=one day) from this person's (big heap). When this wass finished, they would carry (millet) tomorrow (=the next day) from a second person's (big heap). Sometimes (=maybe) they would carry (millet) the day after tomorrow from a third person's (big heap).

In the old days--, (it was) with a person's head. At that time, there were no carts. Otherwise there was nothing else by means of which (one) could carry millet. (They) carried all (of it) with the head.

When they had finished carrying this person's, they would carry this (other) person's. (And again) when they had finished carrying (from) this person's field, they would carry this (other) person's. In the old days, everybody did (it) with the head.

B: So, like that with the head, …

A: Baskets.[409]

B: … when (they) had put (them) up on (their heads)--

A: When they had placed (grain spikes) in a bottom layer with (=in) a basket. Sometimes when they had tied (=bundled) (grain spikes) with fibers (i.e. makeshift cords), when you-Sg had tied up (the quantity) that was matched to your load (=what you could carry), each person would keep carrying (them) like that and bring (them).

B: Concerning basket(s), (the way) they put (millet) in a basket, how do they say the name of that now?

A: They say the name of that (=they call that) "basket-layering." They say "basket-layering."[410]

B: Now, what they tie on and put on the head thus, how do they say its name?

A: What (they) tie up and carry like that on the head and bring (them, to the houses) in unison, they say its name "millet bundle."

B: So, was everyone capable of that (=carrying bundle on head)?

A: (No,) not everybody was capable of that. You-Sg would tie up (=bundle) all that (=as much as) you-Sg could (carry) of it (=millet). You-Sg too would bring it like that. Concerning some persons, some persons could not manage that. Concerning some (other) persons, a bundle was (too) big. There were (some) people who could handle the load and also (some) who could not handle (it).

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[409] A basket woven from grass stems, with a squarish base, often carried on the head.

[410] The millet grain spikes are arranged in two layers in the basket (or shoulderbag).

B: Now they had begun carrying the millet, right?

A: Yes.

B: In the bush, suppose there were the big heaps (of millet grain spikes). Now some millet heaps were big, some (others) were (relatively) small. Now those that were big, if the people were tired (after the first day's work), did they leave (them) there? Or did (they) carry everything (to the houses) in one day?

A: If (you) hadn't finished carrying (it) today, (you) would carry the rest of it tomorrow.

B: There was nothing (=no problem)?

A: There was nothing. When (they) had completed carrying (the millet) of that particular (person), (only) then did (they) carry (the millet) of another person.

B: As long as (the millet) of that one was not finished, they didn't leave (it).

A: (If) (the millet) of that one was not finished (=completely transported), they didn't leave it and then carry any other millet. They didn't carry any other (millet).

B: As for that one's (millet), (if) it was finished and--. Millet, if (carrying) it wasn't completed, even if they were (still) carrying millet while night had fallen, (or) even while (the next) day had broken, as long as (carrying) it wasn't completed, leaving it was not done.

A: As long as his (millet) was not completed (=completely carried), (they) wouldn't leave his (millet). Yes, the big millet heap, however (=whatever) its size, when (they) had finished carrying that fellow's (millet), they would slowly then (=eventually) carry someone else's (millet) as well.

2011.1a.14 Pleasures of harvest time

B: Now if (they) had begun that millet-carrying, was there anything like a diversion in that (work)? Or was everyone joyful? Or did some (others) remain unhappy? How were they?

A: In (=while) carrying the millet, other than joy, no unhappiness was in it. If it happened to be seen (=observed) that the millet had been gotten (=had yielded well), in that case joy had come. Now, women were carrying (millet), men were carrying (millet), some people were tying (it) up (in bundles) and putting it up on a donkey, (since) at that (time) there were no carts.

They would put it up on a donkey, (and) they would carry (it) on the head. Well, from the young men all the way to the married women and married men,[411] all of those (people) carried (it) like that on the head.

B: [inaudible]--

A: If you are joyful,[412] (you) could soak dried wild grapes (for two days) into a juice and give it to them. Well, if the beer-brewers had brewed some millet beer, (you) could even have the people drink (it). In the old days, if there was joy, it was like that. Yes.

[411] Lit. "women who moved to their husband(s), boys who took a woman."

[412] Lit. "if joy was for you."

2011.1a.15 Young men's chief

B: In carrying the millet also, I once observed one thng. Nowadays they are abandoning that (practice). That was nothing other than, now, they took (=chose) one person as chief of the young men. He, (on) each night that fell, they had a thing, (I wonder) did they call it "antelope-horn"?

A: Uh-huh.

B: There you are. Now when he whistled (=blew) that, then everybody did something (=assembled). That now, why have (they) abandoned that nowadays?

A: Nowadays, as for that, the thing (=reason) for which they have abandoned (it) (is), nowadays there are lots of carts. Now even if you-Sg haven't begged anyone (for help), it gets to the point that you can carry your own millet by yourself.

Now even if you-Sg haven't begged (for help), now by contrast you can carry your own work--, your own millet by yourself. Well, that is why nowadays (they) have abandoned that. In the past they said (called it) the chiefhood.

B: Chiefhood?

A: Yes, the chiefhood of the young men. When they had blown the horn, (the villagers) said "well now, it's indeed time for us to go out (to the fields) to carry millet."[413] "Well now, it's indeed time for us to go out (to the fields) to carry millet." That horn would announce that. That's why they would blow that horn in the past.

B: But, (if there was) a person who heard that horn and didn't go (to the fields), for him now, how did they do (=handle) his case, with all the other people?

A: When you-Sg saw (=noticed) that they had begun millet-carrying, if you-Sg heard a horn, (you knew that) they would carry millet then. If you-Sg didn't go, they would fine you. (They) would fine you.

Yes, they would charge (=assess) an (amount of) money, they would set (the amount) of this (sum of) money, they would fine the person who didn't go this (amount).

It might be twenty riyals (=100 CFA), (or) it might be fifty riyals (=250 CFA). Well, fining people, it was that (just described). If you-Sg didn't go (to the fields), they would fine (you). Yes.

B: Among the people too, the people who didn't accept the thing (=consent) are many. Now if the guy who wouldn't accept the thing said he would not pay (the fine), how would it be for (=what would happen to) the guy?

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[413] Lit. a perfective verb: "we have gone out…". Cf. English *we're off to the fields* (etc.).

A: If he didn't accept the thing and said (he) wouldn't pay, when (the time for) carrying that one's millet arrived, the people wouldn't go. By that (reaction) the people would twist his arm (=punish him) (and) they wouldn't go.

B: All those (elements) are (included in) millet-carrying, isn't it?

A: All of that is (about) millet-carrying, it (=the discussion) is going (=continues) up to now.

2011.1a.16 Millet in the granary

B: Now suppose that (they) have carried the millet, they have carried and brought all of the millet to the houses. Now when (they) have brought (it) to the houses, as for the millet, where do (they) put it?

A: The millet now, they have carried and brought (it). In front of the granary. There is a granary, there is a granary to put millet in. Everyone--, there is nobody who doesn't have (one). Before that (millet) comes (from the field), they keep building those granaries, (so) they have them.

They will carry and bring the millet, all (of it) in front of the granary--, (and) they dump and lay (it) there in front of the granary of the owner of the millet.

Now, someone goes inside the granary, (and) someone (else) remains outside. The outside people take hold of (bunches of millet grain spikes, held between the two hands), and give (them) to the one who is inside the granary. The one who is inside the granary, he now receives the millet. It's <u>he</u> [focus] who stacks (it) up inside the granary.

2011.1a.17 Male and female granaries

B: That now, that granary, does it have another name separately?

A: Those granaries. There is the male granary, and there is the female granary.

B: The millet now, do (they) put it in the male granary, or do they put it in the female granary?

A: They put the millet in the male granary. They put (it) in the male granary.

B: The male granary, how is it?

A: The male granary now, its height is longer (=higher) than the female granary. They put (=make) (it) twice the size of the female granary. They put (=make) (it) very tall. They put (=build in) three step poles[414] for it. The height (of the male granary) becomes very tall.

Well now, the male granary now (has) two openings. There is the bottom opening, and the (larger) granary window[415] (above). Well now, you-Sg now will enter (through) the granary window. A person cannot go in (through) the bottom opening, but (they) give the bunches (of millet grain spikes, held between two hands) there (=through the bottom opening), and it (=millet) goes in. As for the granary window, a person goes in there.

That fellow goes in (through) the granary window, he climbs down (inside the granary), he holds out his hand (through) the bottom opening, he pulls millet in (=through) the bottom opening, and he puts (the millet) in the granary.

B: All that now, it (=our talk) has been about millet, right?

A: That, up to now, it has gone on strictly about millet.

B: Is there anything other than millet? Other than it (=millet)?

A: Now, a question where your-Sg mind has arrived, if there is a place (=topic) that you can ask about, ask (it)! I too, also any place (=topic) that I have forgotten (to talk about), perhaps if you-Sg ask (about it), I can reply.

B: There it is. As for me, (I) am a child (=young person). Now, the place that your-Sg mind is in, in the place of (=concrning) millet, if you-Sg too could also tell me, that too is fine.

A: Concerning millet now, if it isn't (=other than) eating it, its work--, when they have put it in the granary, now after that the work of millet (farming) ends there. Yes.

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[414] Lit. "small (toe-)nail(s)." Three poles each are built into the left and right corners, opposite the entrance, inside the male granary. They are used as steps for climbing.

[415] Lit. "stick(s) of the heart (=middle)."

2011.1a.18 Crawling crops

B: (Up to) now, that (=what we have discussed) is for millet, right? Now let's talk a little about peanuts. Now (suppose) it has rained, they have planted (millet), and the millet has sprouted. Now, if it isn't (=other than) millet, (for) us, in Togo country, is there any other work?

A: There is indeed other work.

B: The other work that exists, which (=what) is it?

A: There is other work. (The people) grow fonio, they plant groundnuts, and/or they plant peanuts. Do (you) understand the talk (=words)? They also grow cow-peas. All that inclusive, that is what they say (=call) "crawling crops".[416]

B: "Crawling crops"?

A: Yes. Roselle too, it is also (included) there among those.

B: Roselle too is a crawling crop?

A: It is a crawling crop. All of those are crawling crops. Those, they say (=call) their name "crawling crops."

B: As for those, we have counted those five. (We) have counted five crawling crops. (Among) crawling crops you-Sg first counted (=cited) nuts (peanuts and groundnuts).

A: Yes. There are groundnuts.

B: Now, do (they) grow (=plant) groundnuts first, or do (they) grow peanuts (first)?

A: (They) grow (=plant) groundnuts first.

[416] Crops whose plants are trailing vines, notably peanut, groundnut, and cow-pea. Fonio (a grass) and roselle (a bush) are not really vines but may be included in the category, which is opposed to the tall grain crops (millet, sorghum, rice, maize).

2011.1a.19 Groundnuts

B: How do they grow groundnuts?[417]

A: They turn over (earth, with a daba). (Before that) (they) make slashes (with the pick-hoe) in a row, closely spaced, and make (the slashes) crowded together. (They) make slashes, then (they) keep tossing nuts (seeds) into that (slash), and they keep stepping on (it, to embed the seeds). Then they turn over (earth, with a daba). They don't shape (the earth) into mounds.

They keep turning over (earth), they make (the earth) level, and (they) work with the daba and leave (the earth) like that. They slash (the earth for) groundnuts like that.

B: As for the groundnuts, starting from (when) they have slashed (=planted), until it sprouts, how many days can it take? Around how many days can it take?

A: When you-Sg have slashed (=planted), unless (=until) seven days have arrived (=elapsed), it won't come out (=sprout). Unless seven days have arrived, groundnuts won't stick out (their) heads. Seven days.

B: Now, when it has sprouted, is there other work?

A: When it has sprouted, now if it happens that some weeds ("grasses") are here and there in the (ground-)nut field, you-Pl go into there (=the field), (you) keep uprooting the weeds that are in it, you-Pl keep tossing and leaving (them).

B: As for that, its work is that.

A: As for that, its work is that. Uprooting weeds. When (you) finish working with the daba, you uproot and leave the weeds that are in it. Yes, it's that.

B: As for that, it has sprouted, right? Now, from the time that it has sprouted, until (the time when) its putting (out) fruits arrives (=begins), how many days can it take?

A: From the time when groundnuts sprout there until it puts (out) fruits, (is) seventy days. Unless seventy days have arrived (=elapsed), they won't put out fruits.

B: Unless exactly seventy days have arrived, they won't put out fruits?

A: They won't put (them) out. As long as those seventy days haven't arrived (=elapsed), its fruits are considered to be inedible.[418] It puts out fruits, but they are inedible. The (soft, moist) immature fruits on the other hand haven't aged (=ripened). They don't age, they don't age (before seventy days).

B: As for that, groundnuts, their value (=usefulness) is what?

A: Groundnuts, their value (is), now a time--, (in) some places, the millet of some people runs out. A small crisis (i.e. food shortage) will eventually come for some people. When (and because) that (crisis) has come, before millet comes out (=ripens in the field), groundnuts come out first.

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[417] *Vigna subterranea*.

[418] "It is considered (that) [its children are not (able to be) eaten]."

Because groundnuts are ahead of (=ripen before) millet, you-Pl now, you are taking out (=harvesting) groundnuts and eating them (for a period of time), then (eventually) the millet comes out (around September-October). That now (=groundnuts), it blocks ahead of (=fills the gap of) the ninth month (August, time of hardship). Well, that's why (they) sometimes slash (=plant) groundnuts.

2011.1a.20 Peanuts

B: Now, what about peanuts?

A: Peanuts too, that too, it's the equivalent (=is similar to) that (=groundnuts), it too is a crawling crop. Well, that too you-Sg slash (=plant). When you-Sg have slashed, the same way (you) farm groundnuts (with a daba), as for farming (peanuts), (you) farm (them) that way.

When you have farmed (them), that too again (=likewise), when weed time arrives, you-Sg uproot those weeds and toss and leave (them).

That too again, unless four days have arrived (=elapsed), it won't sprout. If it has sprouted (after) four days, that too, unless seventy days have arrived (=elapsed), there is no need for its fruits. Unless that (time) has arrived, that too will not put (out) fruits.

B: As for peanuts, that too, do they uproot weeds like (for) groundnuts? Or is there something else different?

A: Some people, if the weeds are not a lot, some people thoroughly uproot (all the weeds, by hand) and toss and leave (them). If it (=situation) is like there are a few weeds-- That now (=peanuts), to some extent it can't be as dense (closely-spaced) as groundnuts. (They) slash (=plant) here and there (well-separated), either with a daba or a hoe.

(They) go into that (field), and turn over (the earth, with a daba or hoe). They keep turning it over, (so) its base becomes somewhat nice and soft. Well, the (method of) farming that (=peanuts), that is it. The (method of) weeding, that is it.

B: How do they say its name?

A: They say "weed-uprooting for peanuts."

B: "Weed-uprooting for peanuts," or "turning over for peanuts"?

A: Turning over for peanuts and weed-uprooting for peanuts are different. (They) say "weed-uprooting for peanuts." (They) turn over (the earth), but (they) say (=call it) "weed-uprooting for peanuts." Now the time for farming peanuts (with a daba) has passed. Now it's weed-uprooting for peanuts. Well, now, what they say (=call) "turning over for peanuts," they have with (=refer to) it as "it is weed-uprooting for peanuts." Yes.

B: As for that, it is "weed-uprooting for peanuts"?

A: It's "weed-uprooting for peanuts," yes.

B: Now, these peanuts, at the time when they (=people) are uprooting the weeds, do (peanuts) put out fruits? Or do they not put out fruits?

A: At the time when they are uprooting the weeds, (peanut plants) shoot out (=grow) flowers. You-Sg will find flowers for (=on) them, but undeveloped pods, the fruits (are) tiny, each one like the heads of flies. You-Sg will find (pods) for (=on) some of them, (you) will not find anything at all on some (=others).

B: As for that, it (=flower) will remain there until the autumn happens? Or does the flower fall off? Or how does it become?

A: It puts out fruits and the flowers fall off (at the same time). It puts out fruits and the flowers fall off (at the same time). If it happens that (=by the time) the fruits that are (at) its base get old (i.e. ripe), all the flowers will disappear.

2011.1a.21 Peanut harvest

B: As for when all the flowers have disappeared, now how will the people say (=call) its name? When all the flowers have disappeared, do they say "the peanuts have gotten old (=ripe)"? Or do they say "the peanut harvest has arrived"? Or how (=what do they say?

A: Now, the peanuts have gotten old (=ripe) now. (They say), "Now peanut harvest has arrived. The peanut harvest has arrived." Well, they say (it) like that.

B: About harvesting peanuts, how is it (done)?

A: Harvesting peanuts too, now it is happens that it (=peanuts) has gotten old, now you-Sg might harvest (by lightly digging to uproot it) with a hoe, (or) it can happen that (you) uproot (peanut plants) by hand. Some people keep slashing (lightly) around its base (=its roots). Some (other) people grab (it) by hand and uproot it. They do (=use) two things (=techniques) for it.

B: By hoe--. Is it easier to uproot by hand, or is slashing with the hoe (to uproot) easier?

A: If the earth is wet (=soft), it's easier to uproot by hand. If the earth is dry (=hard), it's easier to slash with the hoe.

B: Now even (when) the earth is wet,[419] is it possible to uproot by hand?

A: If the earth is wet, it is possible to uproot (by hand). It is also possible to slash with a hoe (to uproot), but if the earth is wet, uprooting by hand is easier.

B: Now as for (the situation where) the earth is dry?

A: If the earth is dry, (they) slash (lightly) with the hoe (to uproot the peanuts).

B: If it isn't (=aside from) with the hoe, it is not possible to uproot by hand?

A: (The earth) is too hard for (uprooting) by hand. Pulling doesn't come out (=doesn't work). That (technique) is for that (reason).

B: That too now, if you-Pl have been able to harvest them (=peanuts), whereabouts do (you) take (them) again (=afterwards)?

A: That too, if you-Sg have been able to harvest (them), (you-Pl) will keep tying them, formerly (=in the old days) at least, now there were no carts, right? Formerly.

(They) would keep tying (them, into bundles) (and carry) on the head. Some people would bring (them) to the houses, some (other) people would pick (the peanut pods) there in the fields, bring the fruits (=pods), and toss and leave the leaves (=greens) there in the bush, in the old days.

[419] The interviewer perhaps meant to ask: "Now even (when) the earth is dry, …")

2011.1a.22 Peanut greens and pods

B: The leaves they had no need for?

A: The leaves they had absolutely no need for in the old days. Because (there was not) anything (i.e. livestock) in the houses (=village) to take (=convey) it and give it to. (And) because it was a big job (=hard work), its work would become excessively big. (As for) carrying peanut (pods) (or) carrying peanut greens, in the old days they didn't carry (them), they tossed and left (them) there in the bush.

Now that (livestock) animals have become more numerous than formerly, (the people) keep carrying the peanut leaves (=greens), they bring them to the house(s) and store them, and give them to the animals.

B: Now here (they) have harvested the peanuts. Now you have put (them) down in some place, you have piled them up on (each other), then additionally with it--, its fruits, how (=what) do (they) do?

A: Yes, you-Sg take hold of and hold of the leaves (stems), you take hold of just the fruits (pods) and you pick them (off). (You) take hold of the leaves, take hold of the fruits, and pick them.

B: Now, how do (they) say its name?

A: They say its name "peanut-picking."

B: "Peanut-picking."

A: They say "peanut-picking."

B: The time for peanut-picking, that's it?

A: Yes, the time for peanut-picking, that's it.

B: Is the (topic) of peanuts finished, or is there something else left about peanuts?

A: As for the (topic) of peanuts, that's it. That's it.

2011.1a.23 Planting fonio

B: Fine. We have spoken (about) nuts, (about) groundnuts, (and) we have spoken (about) peanuts. We have also mentioned fonio. Now, concerning fonio, do you-Sg know a little (about it) too?

A: Fonio too, well, it too, that's it. The (same) way (they) turn over (earth) (for) nuts, (you) go into a field--, [unintelligible], whatchamacallit?, (you) go into an old (millet) field, and you-Sg rip (=draw boundary lines on the perimeter, with a daba).

You keep ripping (to mark the boundaries). Fonio--, (inside) the entire place (=area) that you-Sg have ripped (=marked), you keep tossing fonio (seeds),[420] (then) you turn over (earth, with a daba). Everyone goes in there (=the field), (each) takes a row,[421] they keep turning over (earth), (then) again fonio, it too, will sprout.

When roughly four days have arrived (=elapsed), it will sprout. When (=after) that has gone (=elapsed) there, a little growth will come out (=appear). When the growth has come out, that too, (they) go into it (=field), and (they) uproot the fonio weeds.[422] When they have uprooted the fonio weeds--

B: I did not (want to) cut off (=interrupt) your-Sg talk, but just now you-Sg said that (they) rip (=mark boundaries) and toss (seeds). That ripping now, what is its meaning--its value?

A: That ripping, its value now (is), nobody must go working (the fields) in disorder (randomly). (Each person) must go working (the fields) by taking with (=sticking to) the line(s). They do that ripping (=boundary marking) for that reason.

B: All the place (=area) that is planted (by broadcasting seeds) …

A: All the place (=area) that is planted.

B: … the way to make it known.

A: The way to make it known. (You) rip (=mark) all that area. When (you) go into it (=the field), when fonio(-seed)-tossers go into it and toss (the seeds), when you-Pl (then) go into it, now in order that you don't work (the field) with (unnecessary) difficulty in a backwards (=mixed-up) way,[423] now each person (does) whatchamacallit, takes the line (=boundary) from that ripping and goes working (the field) like that (=on that basis).

B: That too, do (they) do it when it has rained? Or is farming fonio also possible even when it hasn't (yet) rained (=even before it rains)?

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[420] The tiny fonio seeds are evenly scattered throughout the demarcated area, by tossing in a broadcast fashion.

[421] Lit. "mouth." An old millet field still has something left of its ridges and furrows, without requiring re-plowing, so the rows are visible. They will later be leveled as earth is turned over for the fonio seeds.

[422] The weeds that harm fonio, not fonio sprouts themselves.

[423] I.e. as one does when the boundaries of the fonio field are not marked.

A: Now, when it has rained, (when) the earth hasn't (yet) completely finished drying, (they) work (the field) at that time. They work (the field) at that (time).

2011.1a.24 Weeding around fonio

B: (Suppose) (they) have farmed fonio now in that way, (and) it has sprouted. Now when it has sprouted, as for it (=fonio), sometimes (one) doesn't (=can't) distinguish very well (=easily) between fonio and weed (sprouts).[424]

A: Yes.

B: Now, how (=what) do you-Pl do to get that (fonio) field ready?

A: Now the weeds, when you have looked, (you see that) the fonio and all the weeds that remain have gone and become distinguishable. If it happens that (you) can distinguish (them), you-Sg will uproot the weeds that are in (with) it.

B: Now everyone recognizes it.

A: Everyone recognizes it. There are other weeds in it. When you-Sg see (them), they are not hidden (=difficult to distinguish). Yes, the weeds that are in (with) it, all those weeds in which there is no value (=that have no value), (you) uproot (and) leave only the fonio seeds (=seedlings) there.

B: Do (=can) children too recognize (them)?

A: Children too--. Children who are somewhat grown-up (e,g, 10-15 years old) recognize them.

B: If (one) is not grown-up, he doesn't recognize (them)?

A: If (one) is not grown-up, he doesn't recognize (them). Sometimes (they) even tie up animals (e.g. donkeys) in it,[425] they don't realize (that it's a fonio field).

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[424] Lit. "as for it, sometimes grass, both of them also, (they) don't distinguish very much." Here "both of them" subsumes fonio and grasses (weeds).

[425] I.e. when they come to the millet fields on a riding on a donkey or on an animal-drawn cart, and tie the animal to a tree while they work.

2011.1a.25 Harvesting and threshing fonio

B: Now when they have uprooted those weeds, you-Sg now have uprooted those weeds, <unintellible>

A: After uprooting (=weeding) weeds, you-Sg will wait, (until) fonio ripens. When the fonio has ripened, (they) say "(the time for) fonio-cutting (=harvesting) has arrived, (the time for) fonio-cutting has arrived." At that time now the fonio has ripened.

When the fonio has ripened, again (=as for millet) in the old days, the (same) way they (=people) kept getting together to do the jobs that remained (for) millet, they (still) get together and then cut (=harvest) the fonio as well.

B: (As for) fonio, concerning the work of fonio, do (they) begin first with cutting (=harvesting)?

A: Yes, (they) cut. (They) begin the cutting first. When they have done the cutting, well now, didn't we previously mention the big heap of millet? They (also) put (up) a big heap of fonio.

When they have put (up) a big heap of fonio, over (a period lasting) from two or three days up to a week, when it has decomposed a little, so that stomping (on it) may be easier, when it has decomposed a little, you-Sg will ask the people to assemble. All of them go into the bush (=to the field), (they) clear off a space (with daba and broom). Each of them now brings out an armful (of fonio, from the heap), then they stomp (on it, to thresh it).

B: Didn't you-Sg say previously (=just now), "when it has decomposed"? …

A: Yes.

B: It has decomposed. We children (=young people), (we) haven't been able to understand very much (=fully) "it has decomposed."[426]

A: (It's) like it rots a little.

B: Like it rots a little?

A: Yes, like it rots a little. It begins to bring (=show) a new kind of appearance ("description"). In that situation now, when you-Sg stomp (on it), (the fonio) lets itself (be threshed) more (easily).

B: Its name is "it has decomposed."

A: "It has decomposed." (They) say, "it has decomposed."

B: That (discussion) was of (=about) fonio.

A: Yes, that was of fonio.

B: Now (suppose) (they) have stomped.

A: Uh-huh.

B: Do (they) then gather up and bring the fruits (=fonio grains) to the houses?

A: Yes, (they) gather it up. That too, (they) gather up and bring the fruits (=grains) to the houses. When (they) have gathered up and brought its (grains) to the houses, they put (=store) it in a compartment of a female granary.[427]

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[426] The verb pɔ́:ⁿ 'ferment, stew, decompose (slightly)' is elsewhere used for mud-manure mixes which are left to ferment for a few days before being used to replaster mud-brick walls.

B: They put it in a female granary?

A: They put it in a female granary.

B: They don't put it in a male granary?

A: They don't put it in a male granary. They put it in a female granary.

B: As for that, about fonio, that's it?

A: Concerning fonio, that's it.

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[427] gɔ̀:^{L} yǎ: 'female granary' contains four compartments (cells) for e.g. peanuts, roselle, fonio, etc. The larger gɔ̀:^{L} àr^{n}á is strictly for millet grain spikes, the primary staple.

2011.1a.26 Planting roselle

B: Roselle. Roselle too, many times the people do whatchamacallit (with) it.

A: Roselle, (they) put (=use) its (own) field. (They) also (=alternatively) plant it cross-wise in peanut fields to some extent. Its growing descriptions (=ways to grow it) are many. There is (=it can happen that) they plant it cross-wise in peanut fields, (and) there is also farming it in its own field.

B: What they cross-plant in the peanut field, what type (of roselle) is it?

A: That, that, (they) call (it) "peanut field's roselle." (They) call (it) "peanut field's roselle." Now that one that they grow by itself, they call it "(separate) roselle."

B: "(Separate) roselle"?

A: "(Separate) roselle."

2011.1a.27 Varieties of roselle

B: Now, the roselle moreover, are its varieties distinct? Or is all roselle (of) one variety?

A: Roselle is (of) distinct kinds. There is white roselle, (and) there is red roselle. There is also bissap roselle. Roselle is (of) as much as three varieties.[428]

B: If not (=other than) (those) three, there is no other?

A: If not (those) three, there is no other.

B: Now, the white roselle is how (=like what)?

A: The white roselle?

B: Is it short or long (= tall)?

A: It gets tall. It, (the) stick (=stem) is white. It gets tall somewhat. Fruits too--, it bears lots of fruits. Well, that is white roselle. After that (is) red roselle. (Its) stick is red, (and) (its) leaves too are red. (Its) body is red. They say (=call) its name "red roselle."

B: Red roselle?

A: Yes, red roselle.

B: Now, the red roselle, the red roselle, its leaves, are they like the roselle (=bissap juice) that they boil and drink? Or are they both different?

A: The leaves--. (The one) that they boil and drink, they say its name "red bissap roselle." Yes. There is simple roselle, and there is bissap roselle too. As for bissap roselle, when (they) have picked off its fruits, it's possible to pound (and cook) cream of millet.

After (=in addition to) cream of millet, boiling and eating (bissap roselle fruits) is also possible. They say (=call) it "bissap roselle." There is the red bissap roselle, (and) there is the white bissap roselle.

As for the red (subtype), (the one) which you-Sg were saying just now that it's for boiling and drinking, it's the red bissap roselle. As for the white (subtype), such that they pound (and cook) cream of millet with it, they say (=call) it "the white bissap roselle."

B: Red bissap roselle, that too, is it long (=tall)?

A: It too gets tall. (It and) white bissap roselle, their height is the same.

B: Their height is the same?

A: The height of all (=both) of them is the same.

B: Now (=so), only their color has made the difference between the two of them?

A: Only color. Color--. (Their) body, this one is red, this (other) one is white. It's mainly that.

B: If not (=other than) color, the two of them are the same?

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[428] This third type will later be divided into white and red subtypes, making a total of four varieties of roselle.

A: Yes, the two of them are the same. This one, the body is red, (and) this (=other) one, the body is white. (Likewise for) ordinary roselle too, this one, the body is red, (and) this (=other) one, the body is white. Well, they divide each other (=are distinguished) like that.

2011.1a.28 Harvesting and threshing roselle bushes

B: (Suppose) (they) have planted the roselle. (They) have planted (it) now and it has sprouted. Now when it has sprouted, (for) roselle, at this time, is there any other separate work? Or, like (with) millet, there is no other separate work?

A: Roselle, when it has sprouted, if it happens that you-Sg leave it alone[429] like that among the peanuts, if it grows to full size[430] like that (=on its own), if it happens to go and get old (=ripen), that too you-Sg will slash (to uproot it) and gather it. You will put (up) a heap of roselle (bushes). They call its name "roselle-heap."

When they have uprooted (the bushes), have gone to a (suitable) spot, and have gathered and laid it down in a big (heap), they say (=call) its name "roselle heap."

B: Roselle heap?

A: Roselle heap, yes, …

B: The place where they collect (the roselle) in one spot, …

A [overlapping]: … yes, they say (=call) its name "roselle heap."

B: That too, the equivalent of the big millet heap, that too for it (=roselle) (they) say "roselle heap."

A: For it (=roselle) they say "roselle heap."

B: That roselle-heap now, concerning it again, now do (they) take out (=pick) the seeds? Or why (else) do they make the roselle heap?

A: The roselle heap, if it happens that the roselle fruits have dried out, (you work) with a hoe shaft, (or) (with) a large stick, you-Pl will instruct the children, everyone will take (a shaft or stick). (They) take a roselle bundle like this, they keep beating (=threshing) it, they knock the seeds down onto the ground. The women will winnow (it) in the wind. You-Pl now will collect it (in sacks).

B: For that now, the name of that work, the real name of the work--

A: (They) say "roselle heap dismantling."

B: "Roselle heap dismantling"?

A: "Roselle heap dismantling." Yes, roselle heap dismantling.

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[429] Lit. "throw and leave."

[430] Lit. "its growth (to full size) goes out."

2011.1a.29 Cow-peas

B: That, concering roselle, concerning roselle, we spoke (about) groundnuts, we spoke (about) peanuts. Now (we) have spoken about all (those things). Now, the question that I will ask of you-Sg, it's about cow-peas. Cow-peas too, what is their (situation) like?

A: Cow-peas too, there is cross-planting (them) in a (millet) field, (and/or) there is growing (them) separately (in their own field).

B: (They) cross-plant them in a (millet) field?

A: Yes.

B: Why do (they) cross-plant them in a (millet) field?

A: In a (millet) field, when you-Sg have cross-planted (them) among millet (plants), as for that (situation), often, a place where (some) manure is, so that often that land is more propitious (for farming), often (they) cross-plant for that reason.

Well, some people now, now if that land is (=seems) to him somewhat like a waste (=unused land), now (he) will grow (cow-peas) separately as (with) roselle. That too, it is those two (methods of) work (cross-planting or a separate field).

B: Now, the cow-peas that they cross-plant in the field, …

A: Yes.

B: … do (they) cross-plant (them) for the value of the cow-peas? Or do they cross-plant (them) for the value of cow-pea leaves (=greens)? Why do they cross-plant cow-peas in a field?

A: Cow-peans, you-Sg get a little of cow-peas. The cow-pea leaves too, (can be used for) fertilizer. (They) call (that) "Dogon cow-peas." (As for) Dogon cow-peas, it spreads out (as a vine) somewhat more than the others (=other cow-pea varieties). Cow-pea leaves too, more is gotten (than for other varieties). (You-Sg) can get your share of cow-peas too.

B: The cow-peas, do (they) eat (them) or sell (them)?

A: (They) eat (them). The ones of (=that they grow in) the field are mostly cow-peas for eating. Now, they mostly sell the cow-peas grown separately (in their own field).

2011.1a.30 Separately grown cow-peas

B: Let's discuss the separately-grown cow-peas a little.

A: Yes, concerning separately-grown cow-peas. You-Pl now, like the way you-Pl slash (=plant) millet, (you) have made ridges (by plowing), (you make) closely-spaced rows (of ridges), like each (row) one hand-span (from the next), like each (cow-pea plant) one elbow-span (from the next), in that way you-Pl will (drop seeds and) step on lots of (them) closely-spaced like that. They will get up (=sprout) like that.

(When) they have gotten up like that, you-Pl turn over (=weed out) the weeds that are at their base, until eventually they go and bear fruits.

When they have gone and borne fruits, now, if insect-like things (=pests) get into (them) somewhat, (then) if we spray them a little with white man's medicine (=insecticide) and kill insects, they will bear (=yield) more fruits.

Well, when (they) have done like that, afterwards, we pick the fruits (=peas) then. When they have aged (=ripened), then (we) pick them. When we have picked them, we bring them to the houses and pound them lightly (to remove the skins). When (we) have pounded them, (they) uproot (with a hoe) the cow-pea fodder (=greens).

When (they) have uprooted the cow-pea fodder, (they) give (them) to animals in the hot dry season, nowadays. Well, sometimes, that too, those two uses (just described) exist for them (cow-peas). The fruits (=peas) are useful, (and) the leaves (=greens) are useful.

B: For them (=cow-peans), the uses are indeed many.

A: The uses are definitely many.

B: Well, that (=cow-peas) was (=is) fine.

A: Well, as for that, all that (just described) is like that.

2011.1a.31 Interlude

B: Now, in farming now, whatchamacallit?, is there anything else (to discuss)?

A: In farming, you-Sg (may add) some (things) wherever my knowledge has not reached--

B: Exactly. You-Sg too (may add) a few--

A: Whatchamacallit? Something to toss in (=add), something to toss in--.

B: Yes.

A: In farming, the minor things, little (things), some people might do (them), some (other) people might not do (them). Yes, some people do (that).

Some people, after that, they sometimes keep gathering the stems together in order to give (it) to the animals in the hot dry season, they might do that. Some people, after that (=furthermore), gather up stems a little (=selectively) and bring them to the houses.

Well, beyond that, minor things like that otherwise, it's not for everyone, but for a few scattered people. There are a few people who work in that (way).

2011.1a.32 Seasons

B: Now, from the planting to the second weeding, how do they say its name? Or from the planting to the first weeding, what do they call the name of that time (=season)?

A: From the planting to the first weeding, that now is the "rainy season" (Fr *hivernage*). We say now, "the rainy season has come down (=begun)." "The rainy season has come down."

B: From the first weeding to the second weeding, to the harvest work, how do they say its name?

A: (Suppose) the rainy season has come down, (so it's) after the coming down of the rainy season; and (they) have gone out (to the fields) (for) the first weeding, (so it's) after the first weeding, they say "autumn (=harvest season) has gone out." It goes on (=we're talking about) autumn (=harvest season).

B: Autumn, does it have another name? Or (does) autumn--

A: Autumn does not have another name. They say its common (=universal) name "autumn."

B: Autumn, uh-huh.

A: Now, if some people reply (=say differently), they say that "cutting (millet/sorghum)" has arrived. Now when (time for) cutting (millet/sorghum) has arrived, now as for the crops that you-Pl have put (=planted), they say "the (time for) taking out (=harvesting) has arrived." Well "cutting has arrived" is that. The crops that you-Pl have put--

B: If (one) puts all of it together (into one expression), it's autumn work.

A: If (one) puts all of it together, it's autumn.

B: All of it, about the first weeding, about the second weeding, about the autumn (=harvest) work, if (one) puts all (of it) together, how do (they) say (it)?

A: If (one) puts all (of it) together, that now, if (one) puts all that together, they say "farm work."[431]

B: "Farm work."

A: Yes. (They) say "farm work has arrived." Yes, (when) the rainy season has come down (=begun) (and) farm work has arrived. Yes, if (one) puts all that together, they commonly say "farm work."

When (they) have finished farm work (=weeding), afterward they say "autumn (=harvest) work." Or isn't that it? Yes, (they) say "autumn." (They) say "rainy season" (and) "autumn." Rainy season, autumn. The rainy season has come down, the autumn has gone out. There you are.

Yes, the autumn has gone out. Yes. For the rainy season it's the first weeding. When the crops have come out (=borne fruit), as for the autumn work, it's the cutting (=harvesting) of crops. Well, that is it. Well, that is it. Rainy season, autumn.

B: Okay, now, concerning the first weeding, (we) have spoken of many things. The many things that we have spoken of, do (people) practice all that (even) nowadays?

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[431] The same word (wárú) is also used for the first (and main) round of weeding, the hardest work of the agricultural season.

A: (They) indeed do practice all that nowadays. There is nothing that we are omitting (from) all that nowadays, (they) do all (of it). (They) practice all that.

2011.1a.33 Dry season

B: Now autumn--, now, (suppose) the rainy season has come down (=begun), the autumn has gone out (=is happening), the autumn has gone out, (then) after that what do (they) do now?

A: Now, the dry season has begun. The autumn (=harvest) work has ended, (now) the dry season has begun. (They) say its name now "dry season." (They) say "dry season."

B: Now what are the sorts of things that are (done) in the dry season?

A: In the dry season, in the dry season there is replastering walls, and there is building granaries, and there is building houses, many different kinds of things (=activities). Dry season's work, before the (next) rainy season comes down (=begins), now as for fixing (=repairing) the houses in which we live, (and) the houses (=granaries) in which we put the crops, now we do that sort of work in the dry season.

Yes, that is the dry season. At that (time), the dry season happens. Before the next year (=rainy season) comes down, (as for) us now, (we must) fix[432] our houses, the places that have holes (on roofs or walls). (As for) us now, (we must) fix the granaries too, the places that have holes. Well, if (one) puts all those together, we say "dry season." Well, the dry season is happening. Uh-huh.

B: Can you-Sg speak (about) anything else that is in it (=farming) putting all (of it) together (=summarizing briefly)?

A: As for that, in it there are many little things, many (things) are in it too. In the dry season, some people stay at home, some (others) do not stay at home.

Some people go there (to) another place seeking (work), some (other) people stay in their home village ("father-house"), some (other) people do small-time commerce, some (other) people (just) sit there, some (other) people, (their) children go to school. Well, it's many (different) things like that. Well, in the dry season, they do all the minor things in the dry season.

There is schooling, and there is traveling (for work), and there is going around (in the region) in order to do commerce, all that is (included) in the dry season.

B: (We) have spoken about the rainy season. We have also spoken a little about the dry season.

A: (We) have spoken a little.

[432] The Togo Kan version has an imperative verb here.

B [to the linguist]: There you are, stop now!

[end of track A]

2011.1b.01 Step-mother (tale with songs)

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it,[433] I put (=tell) about a girl, a boy, and her mother. The girl, when her mother disappeared (=died), the step-mother (=her mother's co-wife) took charge of her. She (=step-mother) would go into the bush, making her go into the bush to collect (millet) stalks.

She collected stalks and laid them (in a pile) up to her own height. The two of them (girl and step-mother) were coming like that. (She) kept doing that. This time, she was collecting stalks and laying them down up to her own height.

She (=step-mother) told the girl, "go in (=hide) under it (=pile of stalks) quickly, (since) raiders[434] are coming!" Formerly, there were horse(-men) who captured people. When they (=horsemen) came, she (=stepmother) told her (=girl), "go in under the stalks!" The girl ran in under the stalks.

Now her (dead) mother had left her young (=had died when the girl was young). When she (=girl) had run in under the stalks, she (=step-mother) set fire on top of her, her step-mother (did). Yes, she set fire on top of her. The fire burned her. The step-mother gathered up the soda ash (=burned stalks)[435] and took it home with her.

When she had come with (the ashes), the father wore himself out asking for the child. When he would ask (her), "haven't you seen the child?", she would say "I haven't seen the child." When he asked, "haven't (you) seen (her)?" she would say "no, I haven't seen (her)."

They wore themselves out searching for it. They didn't see (=find) it, <u>like that</u> [focus] (they) left it. When they had left it (=given up hope), lo, she (=step-mother) gathered that soda ash. She went and began to grind millet. She filtered the liquid soda ash, (with) a soda-ash filtering pot. After she ground millet, then the girl, as the soda-ash filtering pot made dripping sounds, was beginning a song.[436] Now yes,

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[433] Standard phrase as a tale begins.

[434] Lit. "Gono horse(s)," i.e. horsebacked Fulbe raiders from Gono (region).'

[435] Ashes from burnt millet stalks are made into a type of soda ash (local Fr *potasse*). The stepmother will mix water with the ashes, drain off the liquid using an earthenware filtering pot (with small holes), and will use the liquid in cooking a type of millet cake (tô).

[436] The sound of dripping from the filtering pot turns into the song of the dead girl.

Step-mother told me to go into the bush. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went into the bush. Only child.
Step-mother told me to collect stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I collected stalks. Only child.
Step-mother said to me, the raiders are coming. Only child.
(She told) me to go to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
Step-mother lit a fire over me. Only child.
The fire burned me. Only child.
She gathered up the soda ash. Only child.
She brought (the soda ash) to the house. Only child.
She cooked a (millet cake) meal. Only child.
Papa will eat it. Only child.
Dripping, dripping. Only child.

When she said (= sang) like that, an old woman was listening. She said, wow, that child indeed did not die (naturally). She asked (=wondered)), "did she (=stepmother) do this to her?" The old woman went out.

She said: "Father (of the girl), definitely do not go into the bush today intending to look for the child. If you go out intending to go to the bush today, (instead of that just) circle around and come and stay out of sight at my, (i.e.) at the old woman's, house." The father went out to look for the child, (but) he didn't go to the bush. He went around (the house) and stayed out of sight at the old woman's house.

This time, as soon as the father went, again the (step-)mother filtered (the soda ash) (with) the soda-ash filtering pot. Then the liquid soda-ash began to drip (out).

Dripping, dripping. Only child.
Dripping, dripping. Only child.
Step-mother told me to go into the bush. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went to the bush too. Only child.
Step-mother told me to collect stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I collected stalks. Only child.
Step-mother said to me, the raiders are coming. Only child.
(She told) me to go to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
Step-mother lit a fire over me. Only child.
The fire burned me. Only child.
She gathered up that soda ash. Only child.
She brought (the soda ash) to the house. Only child.
Dripping, dripping. Only child.

When she had said (=sung) like that, Father listened, and said (to himself) "hey-hey-hey, enough now!"[437] Having left (that), he went and put (this news) in the ear of the chief. (He) said: "all people of the village, gather the soda-ash filtering pots in the main palaver shelter!"

When he had said that, well the chief-- the griots went and put out the message: "when day breaks, women of Koporo-Pen-- (or rather) all women of the village, gather the soda-ash filtering pots in the main palaver shelter!" Now all of them (=women) gathered the soda-ash filtering pots in the main palaver shelter.

While they decided to gather (the pots), as for her(-self), she (step-mother) made another soda-ash filtering pot, intending to take it there. The child was there. "Mother, mother" it said. She said, "yes?" It said: "As for you, put (=use) the singing soda-ash filtering pot!"

B: The dead child (said that)?

A: No, there was her (=stepmother's) child. She (=step-mother) had killed that (other) one, the child of her co-wife (=her husband's other wife), since the (real) mother was not there (=had died). Now there was (also) a child of hers (=of the step-mother).

Her child said, "Put (=use) the singing soda-ash filtering pot!" (Step-mother) said, "Get away from there! Where did I (ever) get a singing soda-ash filtering pot?" (Child:) "No, mother; there is a singing soda-ash filtering pot of yours."

The father was present too. He said, "no, leave (=stop) the evasive talk and take out the singing soda-ash filtering pot!" Father was pleased by what the child said.

[437] Literally "leave!", i.e. "cease!"

Well, she (=step-mother) kept washing the singing soda-ash filtering pot and made it clean. She washed it thoroughly. She put some new, different soda ash (in it). She left (i.e. discarded) the singing soda ash, and put some new soda ash (in it). She took (it) to the main palaver shelter. All the villagers (=women) gathered soda-ash filtering pots (there), and she too gathered (=brought hers).

All of them, they were there, they were there (waiting). Now all the soda-ash filtering pots, when they began to go "plop, plop," that one (of hers) too began (to sound). Suddenly it was going "drip, drip, drip."

Dripping, dripping. Only child.
Dripping, dripping. Only child.
Step-mother told me to go into the bush. Only child.
(I) said all right, I went into the bush. Only child.
Step-mother told me to collect stalks. Only child.
(I) said all right, I collected stalks. Only child.
Step-mother said to me, the raiders are coming. Only child.
(She told) me to go to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
As for me, I went to the bottom of the stalks. Only child.
As for Step-mother, she gathered up the soda ash. Only child.
She brought (the soda ash) to the house. Only child.
Papa will eat it. Only child.
Dripping, dripping. Only child.

When it said (=sang) like that, all the villagers got up (and) make a he-ha-he (hubbub).

The father picked up a rifle, saying "I will shoot (you) the woman;[438] on the grounds that the child's mother was lost (=died), you took the child like that into the bush and burned it, now you have transformed (the girl) into singing. When you are grinding up millet (grains) with her (=dead child's) soda ash, I will kill (you)."

He-ha-he, he-ha-he, all the people said (=made a hubbub). Lo, the father had loaded his rifle and had brought it with him. He shot the (step-)mother in that place (=on the spot) and killed (her) there.

Therefore everyone, a child now, even if its mother is absent (=dead), if an (orphaned) child is left to you (=in your charge), keep (=treat) it anyway like your (own) child, do not keep (=treat) it with malice. That (custom) dates from that day.

The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

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[438] This quoted passage is typical indirect discourse, with the original addressee (i.e. the step-mother) expressed in third person form.

A: Greetings.

2011.1b.02 Crowned crane and the stubborn woman (tale with songs)

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, I put (=tell) about a stubborn girl. (She) said: "if there are any scars in (=on) a person's (=man's) body, I won't go to the fellow's house in marriage (=I won't marry him)." She went on doing like that. Now, Fly was the (house) manager for her. Fly was the inspector for her.

Now after she had put (=appointed) Fly as the inspector (=manager) of her affairs, when young men intended to come (to woo), she would send Fly and tell him to go and look (to see) whether there were any scars on those (men's) bodies. Fly too (=for his part) would perch all over (their bodies) and keep going. If he said (to her) "no, some scars are on that one's body," she would tell (the suitor) "go!"

She went on doing like that (until) Vulture, Vulture fixed himself up. A scar was on his forehead. He stuck a cowry shell there (over the scar), and left (home) to go there. When he went there--. No, (he was) Crane[439] (not Vulture).

B: Crane.

A: Crane. He fixed himself up, he stuck a cowry, here (pointing) on his forehead, and left to go there. When he had gone there, now she sent Fly. Fly came and looked to inspect (him). It said, "no, there are no scars in (=on) this one's body."

B: It didn't see (=look) everywhere?

A: When (she) said (=asked), "none are in it?" (Fly) said, "no scars are in (=on) his body." When (she) asked, "what about that of (=on) (his) forehead?" (Fly) said, "(he says) he has stuck that of (=on) his forehead for showing off." (She) said, "if that is it (=in that case), that one is eligible to be my husband." The people said, "well, that's it—" (arguing)

B [overlapping]: In all that (inspecting), (she) didn't know (=notice)?

A: (She) didn't know. Vulture turned itself into a human. They (=villagers) were saying "well, that's it" (=were arguing with her). (She) said, "hey, that one is best for me. If there are no scars in (=on) a person's (=man's) body, that's it (=the one) for me." (They) said "well, that's it" (arguing), (but) they didn't succeed with (=persuade) her.

Vulture went away with her-- (or rather) Crane went away with her and went with (her) to his home. After he went with (her), when he had gone to the barren wilderness (with her), there Crane said now, "that (is) my home." (She) said, "Oh, is this your-Sg home?" "Yes." "Is this your-Sg home?" "Yes." xxx [inaudible]

Crane now put (=turned) himself into a human, and (it) was like that. (They lived there) until she bore Baji (=An-Baji), An-Time, An-Tanu, A-Nay, and A-Nou.[440] She had put

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[439] Crowned crane (*Balearica pavonina*), a beautiful peacock-like bird.

[440] These are, in order, the traditional personal names of a woman's first five male children.

(=borne) (them) like that. In addition, she bore their sister Ye-Sama.[441] She bore Sama. After she bore Sama, Sama too became a (full-grown) person.

Well, Crane remained (there) (for a long time). Well, (out) in the bush, he (=Crane) went up and perched on top (of a tree) (and sang) kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→. "All (birds) of my species, follow (me) and let's go in order to peck (=eat) rice in the bourgou grass."

(Mother) said "(hey) you, as for that, what sort of thing was it?"[442] He transformed himself magically (back) into (the form of) a crowned crane. (She said:) "What about that, what sort of thing was (it)?" (Crane) said, "I am a crane now, I am not a human."

Now when (Crane) went there and said (=sand) "kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→", An-Baji (the firstborn son) ran (there), he went up (onto a tree), shook himself (like a fluttering bird trying to fly off the ground), turned himself into a crane (and sang:)

> Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
> Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
> (You) bore Baji. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
> (You) bore An-Time. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
> (You) bore An-Tanu. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
> (You) bore A-Nay. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
> (You) bore A-Nou. He is indeed the child of Crane.
> (You) bore their sister Ye-Sama. Isn't (she) the child of Crane?
> Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
> (I) am going now to the bourgou grass to peck (=eat) rice, "kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→"

[441] yè-sámá is a personal name for a girl with one or more brothers and no sisters. Short (unisex) form sámá.

[442] Crane was still in human form at this point, so the woman was puzzled by the bird call.

Mother sat in silence. When he had said (=sung) like that, Baji immediately went away.

B: He flew off?

A: He went away. Well, likewise, now An-Time likewise (=like Baji) got up. He got up and likewise fluttered (like a bird), turned (himself) into a crowned crane, likewise went up on top (of a tree) alone. Mother, she stared at him. He said (=sang) to her:

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(You) bore Baji. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Time. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Tanu. He is the child of Crane.
(You) bore A-Nay. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?[443]
(You) bore their sister Ye-Sama. Isn't (she) the child of Crane?
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(I) am going now to the bourgou grass to peck (=eat) rice, "kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→"

That one (=An-Time) went away.

B: He too went away flying?

A: (He) went away flying. (Mother was) silent. (The other brothers) kept doing like that. Now it was Ye-Sama's turn.[444] Snatch!

B: (Something) caught (her)?

A: (Mother) said, "(you) will not be able to go away!" She was pulling while the father (=crane) was calling (from) over here (=on the other side), she kept pulling while Father kept calling. Father, (during) all that, was perched on top of the tree, and kept sending them (=the children) down away from (there).

Now as for him(-self), (he) was (still) perched. (Mother) kept on pulling. Now (she) got free of her (Mother's) hand. When she (=Ye-Sama) got free, (Mother) said "I have become weary."

B: (She) got free of Mother's hand?

A: Yes, she got free. When Sama had gotten free, she too now (became) a crowned crane--, when she reached there where Father was, she likewise now turned into a crowned crane. Likewise (she) sang (to Mother): "(hey) you),

[443] Slight random variations occur in repetitions of this song. Here A-Nou is omitted.

[444] Lit. "it arrived on Y."

Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(You) bore Baji. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Time. Isn't (he) the child of Crane?
(You) bore An-Tanu. He is the child of Crane.
(You) bore their sister Ye-Sama. Isn't (she) the child of Crane?
Hey mother! Stubbornness brought you-Sg (here).
(I) am going now to the bourgou grass to peck (=eat) rice, "kùwⁿá→ kùwⁿá→"

That one (=Ye-Sama) too got out of there.

B: Wow!

A: That's it. Now at that point they had (all) gone away like that. In the house (Mother) was suffering.

B: Well, now it was (more) serious.

A: It was (more) serious. That head (of hers) was shedding its hair. That (woman) was suffering, like that she died there, they say. Now if a person (=you) goes to live with someone whose meaning (=background) you-Sg don't know at all, saying (=thinking) "I am looking for a good person," getting married (to him) is impossible, (they) say.

B [overlapping]: In that way (she) died there?

A: Yes. Getting married (to him) is impossible, (they) say.

The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

A: Greetings.

B: (You) indeed had energy (=did a hard task well). Well, (I) understood that one very well.

2011.1b.03 Beer or women? (tale with songs)

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, I put (=tell) about young men and young women. In the old days now, men and women used to make trysts (rendez-vous in the bush). They would go to the distant bush (=outback) and meet. If they didn't get (=succeed) by their fathers and mothers, they would go and meet in the distant bush and prepare (=plan), they prepared (=planned) husbands (=marriages) like that.

The two (of them, i.e. man and woman) talked, they talked of (=agreed on) the place to meet, now they stayed there.

This one, as for the young woman-- (or rather) the young man, he went and forgot (the rendez-vous) now. As for the young woman, at night she arranged all her gear (=belongings) and put (them) in a calabash box, covered it and carried it (on her head). The young man for his part (forgot), because there was a millet-beer festival (*kɛ̀ŋɛ̀-búrúgú*) there for them (=his village). In the old days, now when the autumn work (=harvesting) was finished, or something of that sort, the young men would put (=hold) a festival. Did they not use to brew millet beer?

B: Yes yes yes yes.

A: It was the young men. That day, when they had drunk millet beer, they would spend the night dancing (wild) dances that they didn't know.

B: That is "*kɛ̀ŋɛ̀-búrúgú*"?

A: When they put the millet-beer festival, now because there was a millet-beer festival for them, as for him (=the young man), he went and forgot (the rendez-vous).

When he had forgotten, that was it. While she was there now, a wild animal came under a big tree. The wild animal went and encountered her. After it went and encountered her, the wild animals ate her up.

When they had eaten her up, the shadow (=soul) went away from there (deictic). When the shadow had gone away from there (definite), now because of the millet-beer festival there--

B: The young woman's shadow (=soul)?

A: The young woman's shadow. There they were making "tap-tap-tap" (sound of tomtoms). When the young woman's shadow had gone out (of her body), it (=shadow) remained there (at the festival).

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.[445]
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My thing is lying down in the outback.
My breasts are lying down in the outback.
My full breasts are lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My hair crest is lying down in the outback.
My kneeling-camel hair crest[446] is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My under-the-straw-stump calabash box is lying down in the outback.
My earth-clod-shaped *doudou* (jewel) is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My well-stuffed stomach is lying down in the outback.
My shame-relieving (=pride-giving) *serende* (jewel) is lying down in the outback.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.[447]
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

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[445] (An-)Denie and Otaniou are names. Presumably (An-)Denie is the forgetful young man.
[446] Traditional female hairdo including a mohawk-like crest over the top from back to front, with a tuft in the shape of a kneeling camel. Currently worn chiefly by Fulbe women but still worn by older Dogon women at traditional festivals.
[447] (An-)Denie and Otaniou are names. Presumably (An-)Denie is the forgetful young man.

The young man was silent. (Then he said, to another young man:) "My friend, stop (=wait)! Stop! Stop! Something is saying something over here, let's wait!"

The young man got up there. They all got up and became silent and left (=stopped) the tomtoms, they left (=stopped) dancing, they left (=stopped doing) silly things, and they were silent.

B: (They) didn't even know where the song came from?

A: (They) didn't even know where the song came from. (Her soul) moved closer to the doorway (=front of the house) there. (They) couldn't see the (singing) person. The soul spoke (=sang):

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My thing is lying down in the outback.
My under-the-straw-stump calabash box is lying down in the outback.
My breasts are lying down in the outback.
My full breasts are lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My kneeling-camel hair crest is lying down in the outback.

My thing is lying down in the outback.
My well-stuffed stomach is lying down in the outback.
My shame-relieving (=pride-giving) *serende* (jewel) is lying down in the outback.

Hello, hello, An-Denie, hello.
Denie (and) Otaniou, hello.
If this is your-Pl position,
May God curse you-Pl.

When she said (=sang) like that, (he) kept listening, then began shouting.[448] (He) said he was going to the well.

B: Did he recognize the voice of the young woman?

A: Yes, (he) recognized (it). (He) recognized (it) and said he was going to the well (to jump in). All the young men held (=restrained) him with difficulty, (and) said "you won't be able to go to the well."

B: In order to jump into the well? In order to kill himself?

A [overlapping]: (He) said (he) would jump into the well. (He) said (he) would kill himself, (he) said he (couldn't) go on.[449] They for their part said, "don't kill yourself! There is nothing (=no crisis) that comes and doesn't pass."

(The) friend said "if any thing comes (=happens), if a thing encounters (=affects) you, it encounters (=affects) me (too). Let's you and I go!" The two of them went away.

Before they went there, (exactly) the way she was saying (=describing), the wild animals had eaten hers (=her body) (but) had left her hair crest and a place (=part) of her breast, and (they) had left her baggage, (such as) the *serende* jewel and the calabash box.

After (the animals) left (that), now when they (=two young men) went there, all of them (people) there, all that (things left)--

B: *serende*, is that a necklace (jewel)?

A: *serende*, yes, it's a necklace (jewel), the old (=traditional) Dogon necklace (jewel). Yes, the *serende*. As for hair crests, when one braids hair, the crest that they leave (down the middle), the kneeling-camel hair crest is that. A calabash box, in the old days for them it was the equivalent of a (modern) chest, they used to put all the baggage there (=in it).

Yes, it was those (things). Those things remained there, shattered. They went and stared and stared (at them). After they looked, they picked up the baggage, and left (there) and came to the mother (of the young woman).

(They) said, "mother, it's true. Your daughter and we all made (=planned) a rendez-vous, (but) for us it coincided with the millet-beer festival. As for us, we put (=held) dances over there, we were dancing, *burugu-burugu* (a dance rhythm). As for us, we forgot (the rendez-vous)."

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[448] Lit. "put shouting on himself." Cf. Fr *se mit à crier*.

[449] Lit. "he furthermore," abbreviated.

"Oh, it happened to her like that?" "Yes." Mother said, as for her(-self), she left (it) to God. Young women (just) don't listen to the words of (older) people. If (they) will listen to people, it will be clear whether (so-and-so) is a trustworthy person or is not a trustworthy person. She (the young woman) wouldn't listen to the words of people."

Well, they spoke like that. After they spoke like that, that's it, now when the young man had been able to listen to the words, he got up abruptly, he flew to the village of the young woman and her people, jumped into their well, and killed himself instantly.

B: He killed himself there?

A: Yes, in the village of the young woman and her people, there he killed himself. (In) all that, (they) drank millet beer and the (=their) minds were stolen from them. (In) all that, if you and someone (else) go in to a rendez-vous, as long as (you) have not completed that rendez-vous, anything that steals (his) mind from someone has no eating (= benefit).[450] Yes, that dates from (=has been true since) that day.

B: Well, (I) have understood.

A: The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

A: Greetings.

[450] Lit. "has no food," cf. English *fruitless*.

2011.1b.04 Abandoned twins (tale with songs)

B: Is there another (story)?

A: There is another.

B: Uh-huh. If there is another, let's look and (=try to) tell one.

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it--. There are so many tales (to choose from).

B: Animals? Uh-huh, speak!

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, now I put (=tell) about a woman. A woman gave birth to a pair of twins. She kept the twins (for a while). She took them out to the bush and abandoned them under a roselle[451] bush.

She took them out to the bush and abandoned them under a roselle bush, saying (=thinking) "I can't keep them, (considering) the situation I am in." Having given birth to twins, because (she) could not keep (them), (she) took them out to the bush and abandoned them under a roselle bush.

After she abandoned them under a roselle bush, those children went and--. Now, she abandoned them under a roselle bush and then came (home). Because she couldn't raise them, she abandoned them and then came (home). Afterwards, she had no other child there.

In addition, she became the most shiftless among all (people) in the village, she got old and had no child, now furthermore she didn't even have a good person to take care of her.

B: The (other) people didn't think highly of her.

A: Yes (you're right). The people for their part likewise didn't think highly of her. After she abandoned that pair of twins, almighty God went and raised those children by his Grace. (God) made them into people (=adults). Now when they had become young adults, (God) told them: "you-Pl go look for your mother." They for their part left there.

When they came upon that (same) village in order to look for their mother, now when this person (=anyone) went there, (he/she would say) "wow, those twins sure are handsome." (The twins were) two young men. "wow, those twins are definitely handsome." When they (=twins) went (somewhere), (the people) spoke like that. If they (=twins) went (somewhere else), when they had gone there, (they sang), "hey you (people),"

[451] *Hibiscus sabdariffa* (cultivated).

"Sege and De[452] go to the country." Famous names.
"Sege and De go to the country." Famous names.
"You (twins), where have you come from?" Famous names.
"We have come from the presence of God." Famous names.
"Nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God?" Famous names.
"Today, nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God." Famous names.
"You (twins), what things are you looking for?" Famous names.
"We are looking for our (own) mother." Famous names.
"You (women), under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?" Famous names.
"We abandoned (you) under a wild-grape[453] tree." Famous names.
"That sure isn't Mother." Famous names.[454]

That one (=the mother) turned away from there. (The people) said, "they (=twins) said, that one is not their mother." The women now, something like craziness arose (in them) around the well.[455] (Each woman said) "I [focus] will approach (the twins) first!" "I [focus] will approach (the twins) first!" Likewise all (the women) approached there--

B: (Because of) how handsome the twins were?

A: How handsome they were, the two young men. Well, when everyone approached there, that one (a woman) too, now,

[452] Names of the two twin brothers. Also An-Sege and An-De.

[453] *Lannea microcarpa*.

[454] To find their real mother, as opposed to the other women claiming to be their mother, the twins ask a question only the real mother could answer. Those giving false answers are dismissed.

[455] The women had been drawing water at the well when the twins had arrived.

"Sege and De go to the country." Famous names.
"Sege and De go to the country." Famous names.
"You (twins), where have you come from?" Famous names.
"We have come from the presence of God." Famous names.
"Nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God?" Famous names.
"Today, nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God." Famous names.
"You (twins), what things are you looking for?" Famous names.
"We are looking for our (own) mother." Famous names.
"You (=a woman), under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?" Famous names.
"As for me, (I) abandoned (you) under a karité[456] tree." Famous names.
"That sure isn't Mother." Famous names.

That one was leaving. In that (same) way, (the women named) different kinds of tree. Some said (they) had abandoned (the twins) under a baobab[457] tree. Some (others) said they had abandoned (the twins) under a wild-grape tree. Some (others) said they had abandoned (the twins) under a karité tree. Some (others) said they had abandoned (the twins) under a baobab--whatchamacallit?, under a balanzan[458] tree. They were saying (those things).

Now when the lowly person (=the mother) whom they (=people) in the village were not thinking highly of came, (they) said "you get away from there! We over here-- Those two handsome young men, every one of us over here has worn herself out speaking, (but) (we) haven't gone forward (=made progress). You who have (just) come, you will see (=attempt) its (going) forward?"

B: Chased (her) out unceremoniously?

A: Yes, after (they) had chased (her) out unceremoniously, (some of) the people for their part said: "(one) cannot (always) determine the true nature of a thing; those people (=the twins), maybe (one) cannot identify the person who abandoned (them)." She (=Mother) approached there. "(Hey) you (people),

[456] *Vitellaria paradoxa*.
[457] *Adansonia digitata*.
[458] *Faidherbia albida*.

"Sege and De go to the country." Famous names.
"Sege and De go to the country." Famous names.
"You (twins), where have you come from?" Famous names.
"We have come from the presence of God." Famous names.
"Nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God?" Famous names.
"Today, nothing (bad) has come to the presence of God." Famous names.
"You (twins), what things are you looking for?" Famous names.
"We are looking for our (own) mother." Famous names.
"You, under what (tree) did (you) abandon (us)?" Famous names.
"As for me, (I) abandoned (you) under a roselle bush." Famous names.
"That is indeed Mother." Famous names.

Now (right) there, saying that it was their mother, the two of them came and hugged (her). "No," the people said, "it can't be that one, it can't be that one, it can't be that one." (Mother) said, "it was indeed I [focus] who abandoned (them), because I couldn't raise (them).

Because of hardship, I went and it was under a roselle bush [focus] that I abandoned them. God has (still) not relieved me of that same hardship in the world (=life here below), in that (same) way up until today's time has arrived. Now they have come and found me again."

Well, God says, if (one) bears a child, don't go into the bush and abandon it because of hardship. It dates back to that day. Those young men (=twins) washed her, they fixed up her house, they put her in (it), then in addition they took their own wives (=got married). Afterwards they kept (=took care of) her.

A person, saying (=on grounds of) hardship, if she bears a child, (thinking) "as for me, because of hardship, (I) can't raise a child, God [focus] will raise (it)." Saying that (=on that grounds), don't take (it) out to the bush and abandon (it). That (situation) too, it dates back to that day.

B: It dates back to that day.
A: Yes.
B: Ah! The story is over. God has brought you.
A: Greetings.

2011.1b.05 The farmer's revenge (tale with songs)

B: Is there another one?

A: Yes.

B: Is it about wild animals, or what kind is it?

A: Another? Yes, it's about wild animals.

B: Well, let's see about (=try) telling it.

A: I call (=have) a tale.

B: Proceed.

A: Taking bark fibre and bringing it, I put (=tell) about wild animals. A man and his wife, after they had kept farming the crops a lot (=for a long time) and had let it (=field) rest, they (=animals) would go to the bush (=the field) and bite it (=eat the grain). When they had farmed and let it rest, (the animals) would go to the bush and bite it.

Now the woman was in an advanced state of pregnancy.[459] When they (man and wife) had gone to the bush and looked (=inspected), the work (=damage) that the animals had done to them was enormous.

The man responded (=spoke up): "if I say that I have died, if I lie down in the field, (you) Woman, shout out and tell all the wild animals in the bush to come and help me! When they have carried and taken me to the house, (tell them) 'the man for his part was seeking (=collecting) dogs around there and has assembled them at his (afore-mentioned) house, and he has put them at the doorway.' (Tell them) to carry me-- Woman, speak like that!"

The man went and acted as though he had died, he (seemingly) killed himself and laid himself down. They for their part looked for and brought a shroud-- no, the woman brought a shroud, covered him (with it), and shouted loudly: "all wild animals, all (you) wild animals in the bush, all wild animals help me!"

When she had tightened (=intensified) the shouting, the animals came <u>by ones and twos</u> [focus]. Now the woman was in advanced pregnancy. They (=animals) said, "Aw, you are in a pitiful situation.[460] How (=what happened)?" (She) said, "come help me and my husband! Look, he has died out (here) in the bush, and there is no other strength (to carry him). You (animals) please help me, carry my husband for me, and take him to our house," (she) said.

Well, when she spoke like that, (the animals) said "that (matter), (it's) okay." Now they all came and carried (the corpse), now they combined to lift and carry (the heavy corpse) and were taking it to the house.

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[459] Lit. "she was with old belly."

[460] The animals show pity for a late-stage pregnant woman whose husband (they think) has just died.

Now the woman followed behind them. While they were going, uh-huh, they for their part spoke up--, no, Hare spoke up.

He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.
If (he) died, does he die by a spear?
(If he) died, does he die by a rifle?
If (he) died, does he die by an ax?
If (he) died, does he die by a daba?
He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.

When Hare had spoken (=sung) like that, Hyena replied:[461]

He is indeed dead. Dorodo.
Suleiman is indeed dead. He went to Dorodo.

Now they carried and took (the corpse) to the house. Now, did not the field belong to them (=animals)? In that way (=happily) they all went along. Hare too was (there with them), but (suddenly) he hopped away (singing:)

He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.
If (he) died, does he die by a spear?
(If he) died, does he die by a rifle?
If (he) died, does he die by an ax?
If (he) died, does he die by a hoe?
If (he) died, does he die by a daba?
He isn't dead.
Suleiman isn't dead.

When (Hare) had spoken like that, Hyena replied:

He is indeed dead. Dorodo.
Suleiman is indeed dead. He went to Dorodo.

[461] This segment is not sung by the narrator but sounds like formulaic song language.

Like that they all came out (of the bush) carrying (the corpse) noisily. Now they went and put (it) in his house. They carried and put (it) down. As they put (it) down and were about to go out (of the house), (they found) there was no way out.

Hare kept going, as for him, he had turned away. (He) told (the other animals), "I will defecate quickly over there and will come (join you) after you-Pl have gone." Hare turned away.

They now had carried him (=corpse) and put him (in the house). The dogs came noisily (=barking) to the doorway, all (at) the doorway. They attacked and were biting the animals and bringing them down. At this point there was no-one (=no animal) who could go (out).

The (supposedly dead) man got up and helping the the dogs he beat up and brought down any (animal) that was not (already) thoroughly (=badly) wounded. After killing and leaving all the wild animals, his (own) millet ripened in that way and thus [focus] he was able to cut (=harvest) his (own) crops, it is said.

(In) all that, (like) that he used cunning in the way (=in what) he did to cut (=harvest) his (own) crops. Hare, since he knew (=recognized) that cunning: "All of the weapons are with him (=the man). He is dead? (No) he isn't dead."

Since Hare knew (=recognized) that cunning, Hare got away (safely) from there. Cleverness separated (=distinguished) (Hare) from all the remaining (=other) wild animals.

B: Hare's cleverness didn't come from (=begin) nowadays?

A: Yes (that's right). His cleverness didn't come from nowadays. Since that time, Hare's cleverness came from that time.

The story is over.

B: God has brought you.

A: Greetings.