

# Toro Tegu texts

Jeffrey Heath, University of Michigan  
2015 version

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## Introduction

These are transcriptions of recordings made in Toupéré (Tupere) village at the base of Tabi Mountain near Boni in northern Mali. The texts complement my *Grammar of Toro Tegu (Dogon), Tabi Mountain dialect*, “published” electronically in 2015, and available online at Language Description Heritage Library, on the Dogon project website ([www.dogonlanguages.org](http://www.dogonlanguages.org)), and on my personal websites at the University of Michigan.

During the primary work on the texts, I red-color-coded some words, chiefly in the Toro Tegu versions, for my own later use (transcriptions to be verified, morphological analysis to be made). Most of these color flags were later removed. In the last few texts given here (tape 2004-2, track B), many of the flags remain, since I was unable to complete the analysis and check all the transcriptions. I include these final texts “as is” since I am not sure if or when I will be able to finish transcribing the remaining texts and completing the overall editing.

For readers with a broad interest in the language and culture of these people, in addition to these texts and the grammar, some additional resources are or soon will be available on the project website and elsewhere, as follows.

a) flora-fauna: images of fauna (including insects) and especially flora of the wider region, and compilations of identification information; also a lexical spreadsheet for fauna and another for flora, with native names from many Dogon and other languages. Images of plants can also be viewed at the West African Plants website (Senckenberg Museum).

b) geographical database with basic information about several hundred Dogon, montane Songhay, and nearby villages, and images of most of these villages.

c) short documentary videos of practical activities and cultural events. Footage for the video “Tomtoms of Tupere” was shot in Toupéré. The other videos were shot mostly in nearby Dogon, Fulbe, and montane Songhay locations.

d) a comparative lexical spreadsheet with non-flora-fauna vocabulary from Toro Tegu and other Dogon languages, with standardized glosses designed to facilitate comparative lexical research.

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The texts are presented below with the original transcriptions first (part 1), followed by the English translations (part 2). Each text is identified by tape number (e.g. 2004-1), the track (a or b), the number of the text on that track, and a title. To facilitate navigation between the originals and the translations, I have broken the texts up into short segments. These are numbered consecutively throughout the collection.

Text 2004-1a.09 (The blind and crippled thieves [tale]), orange numbers 152 ff., is presented with full markup and commentary at the end of the grammar.

## Part One: Toro Tegu transcriptions

### Tape 2004-1, track A

(Speakers on this tape are Sadou Guindo and Boureima Karouwa from Toupéré village, joined later by a third man)

#### 2004-1a.01 Hyena, goat, three truths I (tale)

Sa: 001 á ènè ènè éné<sup>1</sup>

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè béle

Sa: 002 nòndér<sup>n</sup>á túrú, ténám è<sup>n</sup>à-àrá lěy, túnóm-mà dàgú-sà [[ósú kà] kù], è<sup>n</sup>à-àrá ká—, ténám ká [è<sup>n</sup>à-àrá dè], kó [díńá tà:lí] tégó má, àsí kó pás-é,

003 è<sup>n</sup>à-àrá ígú-sò séw→, ká [ténám dè], ká nîŋ [àsí yá = m] àsí gá-wòšì, [[è<sup>n</sup>à wásá] dè] ká, [àsí ténám dàgá = m [ósú kù]], [[àsí dé] èsì-tígěy<sup>2</sup> kà-lí] tán, [è<sup>n</sup>á mǎ:] bà-r<sup>n</sup>á,

004 wó [kò ténám], wó yá = m, wó gá àsí— [[ténám wásá] dè], àsí è<sup>n</sup>à-àrá ká dàgú-sà [ósú kù], gá = m àsí [kò dé] èn-túkěy kà-lí, [ténám làgù kíní<sup>3</sup> bà-r<sup>n</sup>á, [nǐ kày] kálá: [tègù mútú],

005 nîŋ àrkírí wó sà-rá, kó kúló = m [tègù mùtù ńú] [[[àsí mǎ:] zâ:] kù]<sup>4</sup> dá,

006 wàllây ká díńá,

007 ténám jèlò = m yǎy-sà↑, è<sup>n</sup>á jèlò = m yǎy-sà, ténám ká [è<sup>n</sup>á dè] [[nòndè<sup>n</sup>à làgù] nây mà], [àsí mǎ:] túnóm-mà ká dàg-é, iní dèŋ [[dèŋ ńgú] dé],

008 ténám ségú-sà, è<sup>n</sup>á [nòndér<sup>n</sup>á túrú], [sòlò:., [[tiw<sup>n</sup>á kòtò] lěy]] á li-rà, [kò nây kày] àrkírí ténám áw-wòrè, ténám ká, [yó kày] [tègù mútú kálá:→] y<sup>n</sup>àngó, kámá-ní àsí kó áw kúwó, [tègù mútú] làgù kálá:→<sup>5</sup> y<sup>n</sup>àngó, kámá-ní àsí kó áw kúwó cék,

009 háyà, [kó yè] ténám, tóro = m [[è<sup>n</sup>á kòrò] kù] lǎw!<sup>6</sup>, háyà, ténám è<sup>n</sup>á á: = m<sup>7</sup> kúw-wòsì,

010 iní: . [[kò éné] lěy] bánà tìgì:→<sup>8</sup>

#### 2004-1a.02 Hyena, sheep, three truths (tale)

Bo: 011 á ènè ènè éné

Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè béle

Bo: 012 nòndér<sup>n</sup>á túrú, bèlú, [ìlò díwru] kù, sòlò á li-rà, ténám yèrí kó òr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, ká ténám↑, ká [n lísì] pò:w, ténám, ká bára:jì kòy, [n lísì] pò:w [ú nà],

013 [ú ná], [í álkà] yállà àyè ísù-y<sup>n</sup>à<sup>n</sup>ú<sup>9</sup> mà↑, fây ńkǎy mánì, pò:w kày, [àsí dé] pò:w gá díŋjé dèy, [díńá tà:lí] ká kó tégó, [díńá tà:lí] tégó mà↑, mí ú pás-é,

<sup>1</sup> Standard opening for a tale, followed by the listener's standard authorization to proceed with the tale.

<sup>2</sup> *èsí-tígěy* ' (not) anything'. The form is subject to contraction, and its pronunciation is variable, also heard as *èn-túkěy* (e.g. this text, below), and *ès-túkěy* (2004-1a.02).

<sup>3</sup> Pronounced [lǎgkíní] (apocope of /u/).

<sup>4</sup> Variant of *zákà kù*.

<sup>5</sup> Pronounced [lǎgkálá:].

<sup>6</sup> Also *cǎw!*. Denotes the sound of catching something.

<sup>7</sup> /áwá = m/.

<sup>8</sup> One variant of standard tale-closing phrase. Also: *énè: kò bánà lèy tìgì:*.

<sup>9</sup> Possessed form of *ísú-y<sup>n</sup>à<sup>n</sup>ú* '(man's) sister', with implied 1Sg possessor.

014 n̄n̄, ílò àsí yá = ìn̄, [bèlú zákà] kù, ténám, ká dàgá = ìn̄, ès-túkěy [àsí dé] gà-rí d̄y, àsí [bèlù làgù cíní] bà-r<sup>n</sup>á, kó mánì, [tènám làgù] d̄e, wó yá = ìn̄, bèlú dàgù-sà, [bèlú d̄e] ès-túkěy kà-lí, [tènám làgù cíní] bà-r<sup>n</sup>á,

015 ká díṅá sánní

016 gà: n̄n̄, àrkírí kó sà-rá, àrkírí kó sá má kày,<sup>10</sup> dógò àsí kũw-wàrà nà, [tègù mútú] [[[àsí mǎ:] zákà] kù] d̄iṅù-nó, gà: sírà, d̄eṅ ṅgù dé, wàgàtù ṅú, [àsí mǎ:] túnǒm-mà ká dàg-é, àsí kày, [àsí kày] n̄n̄ sà-rá, yállà wó à: yá-rà má nà→, [àsí kày] n̄n̄ sà-rá,

017 ténám jèlú-sò, ténám— bèlú [[kù mà] só = ìn̄] jéw→ èlú-sà, ténám yǎy-wòrè hál w<sup>n</sup>áṅú-lú-wòrè, bèlú tóró = ìn̄ [gólú kù] lú-sò, bèlú ká yó jèlú-wòrè d̄y, làgù [[d̄eṅ wà:gá] d̄e] àsí bò-nó yé→,

018 [àsí ná] á ùsù-r-è, yállà àyè ísì-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>ù<sup>11</sup> mà↑,

019 zǎ: kó jèlú-sò, lá:sàrà d̄ò:-rè tán, bèlú ílò yèrù-wòrè, n̄ṅ kó tàm-ná sákkò, [ténám kó ségá mà] [[kò dé] á ùsù-rò] yállà, < kò ày— > [wò ná] [àyè ísì-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>ù] mà,

020 [éné [kò bánà] l̄y] kútè kàtè kútè<sup>12</sup>

### 2004-1a.03 Pigeon (giant head) in a pit (tale)

Sa: 021 á ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè

Sa: 022 [ǎ-n túrú] yèrì gù-sò, césú-ró=ìn̄-wó<sup>13</sup>, césú-ró = ìn̄-wó, césú-ró = ìn̄ wó [á n̄ṅsù-tò [àrà-m yà:fú:] ká àsí j̄èl dà césù], gó:ṅà,

023 úṅgùró = ìn̄-wó [á yǎy t̄ṅgù-r-ḍ:]<sup>14</sup>, à-nú túrú, ká dàgù-s-ḍ:, ká [àsí mǎ:]↑, [wó jèrè mà] [á l-à: ká ílò], [à-nù kún] [ǒw kù] cékù dà-wó, háyà, à-nù kúnú↑, [wó nà] [ùrò kù] dá-wó n̄ò, háyà, úsù-s-ḍ: [wò dé] ká, ká ...

[song:] 024 jèrèṅgésì: pò:, jèrèṅgésì:<sup>15</sup>  
àyè [ú l̄y] mà jèrèṅgésì:  
àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèṅgésì:  
[à-nú túrú] yè jèrèṅgésì:  
[à-nú túrú] [à-nù d̄ò-rí<sup>16</sup> gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrà

025 háyà [wó kày] bìr̄y-sò, gó:ṅà, yá mà, [àrà-m l̄y] jèrè = ìn̄ yè-s-é = bé, ṅgó:ṅà

026 jèrèṅgésì: f̄ò:, jèrèṅgésì:  
àyè [ú l̄y] mà jèrèṅgésì:  
[àrà-m l̄y] yò jèrèṅgésì:  
[àrà-m l̄y] [àrà-m d̄ò-rí gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrà

027 bìr̄y-s-è = cé, yá = ìn̄ [àrà-m tà:lí] jèrè = ìn̄ yè-s-é = bé

028 jèrèṅgésì: f̄ò:, jèrèṅgésì:  
àyè [ú l̄y] mà jèrèṅgésì:  
[àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèṅgésì:  
[àrà-m l̄y] mà jèrèṅgésì:  
[àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèṅgésì:  
[àrà-m tà:lí] [àrà-m d̄ò-rí gá] yǎ: kúlú bàrà

029 wó jèrè = ìn̄ lú-s-ḍ:, yá = ìn̄ [[àrà-m tà:lí] jèrè = ìn̄] yè-s-é = bé, ṅgó:ṅà

<sup>10</sup> Topical *kày* ‘as for’ after a conditional antecedent clause.

<sup>11</sup> ‘sister’. Emended from *ísì-ànú* ‘brother’ on tape.

<sup>12</sup> *kútè kàtè kútè*. Nonsense words ending a tale.

<sup>13</sup> ‘he was powerful’. 3Pl counterpart *césú-r-é = ìn̄ = bé*.

<sup>14</sup> /t̄ṅ-r̄/ ‘be VP-ing, keep VP-ing’.

<sup>15</sup> The songs include some Jamsay forms.

<sup>16</sup> Some occurrences of this word on the tape sound like the Jamsay equivalent *d̄ò:-lí*.

030 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:  
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m náy<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m nú:y<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m nú:y<sup>n</sup>] [àrà-m dò-rí gá] yă: kúlú bàrá

031 yăy-s-ò:, yá = ìn [lèy làgú] kúlú bàrú-s-è = bé, sôy<sup>n</sup> tánú-s-è = bé

032 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:  
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m náy<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m nú:y<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m kúréy] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m sôy<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m sôy<sup>n</sup>] [àrà-m dò-rí gá] yă: kúlú bàrá

033 gó:ṅà, [nîṅ yà:fú:], ká bé ká [àsí àrà-m] dò-rí, biríy-s-è = bé, yá = ìn = bé [àrà-m lèy làgú] kúlú bàrú-s-è = bé, àrà-m lá:rà tán-gòr-è = bé, túnòm-mà bàrá = ìn yè-s-é = bé, gó:ṅà

034 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:  
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m náy<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m nú:y<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m kúréy] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m sôy<sup>n</sup>] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m gá:rà] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m lá:rà] mà jèrèngésì:<sup>17</sup>  
 [àrà-m lá:rà] [àrà-m dò-rí gá] yă: kúlú bàrá

035 yá = ìn pé:rú dò-lú-s-è = bé, pè:rú bé dò-lú-s-ò ṅ, háyà [túnòm-mà bàrá = ìn] yè-s-é = bé, [nîṅ kày] [àsí mǎ:] [àrà-m pé:rú]— [àrà-m pé:rú kày] [[wó bá-sà] [wó bà-rí ṅ] lěy yà:fú:], [àsí mǎ:] wó áw gǎgú<sup>18</sup> gùṅ-é, [àrà-m pé:rú kày] tùw<sup>n</sup>ò [[à-n tùr-í→] jésù] mǎt-tò<sup>19</sup> ṅ yà:fú:, [wó mà] itú-yàrà, [àrà-m pé:rú kày] [bállá<sup>20</sup> kày] jìní,

036 zákà [jèrèngésì: kày] fǎy [à-n tùr-í→] [wò dé] césù, [[ùró kù] tónḡ] dìnḡ = ìn [kù-bònò ná:] cék sà, hì:là péré,

037 [àrà-m pé:rú] túnòm-mà bàrá = ìn yè-s-ò, ṅgó:ṅà,

038 jèrèngésì: fò:, jèrèngésì:  
 àrà-m àṅí mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m túrú] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m lěy] mà jèrèngésì:  
 [àrà-m tà:lí] mà jèrèngésì:

<sup>17</sup> On the tape, the narrator goes one number too far, adding a verse with *àrà-m pé:rú* ‘ten men’. This is omitted here.

<sup>18</sup> Here pronounced [gǎg].

<sup>19</sup> Perfective-2 of *mǎt*.

<sup>20</sup> Variant of *bátílá*.



051 gǎ:<sup>n</sup>gǎ:<sup>n</sup> lí-sà, [kó mánì] úró = m̀ [níŋ kày] [tìw<sup>n</sup>á kù] ùnú-s-ǎ:, kǎ:!<sup>n</sup> kǎ:!<sup>n</sup> kǎ:!<sup>n</sup>, [[wó mánì] ká [àsí éǵà] sò-nó], [[sǎy yà:fú: dé] ñkǎy<sup>n</sup>],

052 [níŋ kày] kùw<sup>n</sup>á wàsú-dà, ká [kùw<sup>n</sup>á dè], níŋ kày, kó [lé mà] [kó nà] kó yá, [níŋ kày] kó yá èlá,<sup>29</sup> kùw<sup>n</sup>á ká, [àsí kày] kà:<sup>n</sup>-tí→, [àsí [kò éǵà] wǎ:-sì má] [ès [kà: sí:] [kò éǵà] á sòr<sup>n</sup>í-yàr<sup>n</sup>à ñ tí→], [àsí kày] [wò dé] nùñú tótó mà, má [níŋ kày] [àsí kày] àsí á lí-yàrà, háyà ká [níŋ kày], wó [àsí dé] nùñú tótó,

053 [kó nà] ká

[song] 054 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò]<sup>30</sup> [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú nér<sup>n</sup>è] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

055 ká já:tì, [wò tóy] kò [àsí éǵà] á sór<sup>n</sup>ú bè-tà, kó kùw<sup>n</sup>á sígú-sò, kùw<sup>n</sup>á lí-sà hálì hálì kùw<sup>n</sup>á éñú-sà, kó [níŋ kày] kùw<sup>n</sup>á yǎy-sà, kùw<sup>n</sup>á [sǎŋ kù] [níŋ kày] [kùw<sup>n</sup>á wó y<sup>n</sup>òm-cí dà]<sup>31</sup> [wó y<sup>n</sup>òm-cí dà] [wó y<sup>n</sup>òm-cí dà], ñír<sup>n</sup>ú-sà [kò à-nù kúnú] [níŋ kày], [tìw<sup>n</sup>á dòsù] ñìñú dà,

056 [kù ñgú] dǵgú dà yùgùsì-yùgùsì-yùgùsì-yùgùsì-yùgùsì<sup>32</sup>, [[tìw<sup>n</sup>á cìl-ěy]<sup>33</sup> kù] ñìñú dà, [kó yè] kùw<sup>n</sup>á yèró = m̀ kó kò [[[tìw<sup>n</sup>á kún] kú] kù] yàgàjây→, kó ñìñú-sò, [kó yè] kùw<sup>n</sup>á ká

057 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú í-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú nér<sup>n</sup>è] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

Sa: já:tì

Bo: 058 [kó kày], ígú-s-ǎ: séw→, á! [kó nà], èlú<sup>34</sup> lát-t-ǎ: kǔmnò, <xxx> [kùw<sup>n</sup>á dè] kùw<sup>n</sup>á ñìñú-dà, ká

059 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú í-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú nér<sup>n</sup>è] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú lísi] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

060 mhm! má tóró jèwá ñgó má, [tóró jèwá m̀sù kúnú]<sup>35</sup> gú-wòrè mà, háyà ùñgúrú-s-ǎ: [níŋ kày], kóddà kùw<sup>n</sup>á círó = m̀ [jírè kà] tǵñè b̀ò-só, ká

061 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ kùw<sup>n</sup>á→ [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

<sup>29</sup> èlá ‘look’ is an emendation made at the original speaker’s request.

<sup>30</sup> Some occurrences in the song sound like *só-lò*, a variant form.

<sup>31</sup> *y<sup>n</sup>òm\|y<sup>n</sup>òmó* ‘look for, seek’.

<sup>32</sup> Iterated intensifier, with {HL} contour on the final occurrence.

<sup>33</sup> Diminutive of *cíló* ‘shade’.

<sup>34</sup> Here pronounced [ɛ̃l] before another *l*.

<sup>35</sup> Determiner *kúnú* forces tone-dropping on *jèwá m̀sù* ‘bad famine’ but not on the latter’s possessor *tóró* ‘mountain’.



[[ú y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú í-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú nér<sup>n</sup>è] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú lísi] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

062 [níñ kày] [yà-y-cí d-è = bé] [yà-y-cí d-è = bé] [yà-y-cí d-è = bé] háli [[àlá dìwrù] kù] dó-s-è = bé, [yó nà] sígú bít-t-ò:, ká

063 kùw<sup>n</sup>á → kùw<sup>n</sup>á → [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 kùw<sup>n</sup>á → kùw<sup>n</sup>á → [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú í-r<sup>n</sup>ù] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú bá là:] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú nér<sup>n</sup>è] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [[ú lísi] yá ú só-tò] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]  
 [tóró jèwá ñgó] [ká [ú yèrí yèrí]]

064 [níñ kày] [[àlá dìwrù] kù] yèrí dó:-rè, [ká-kó [níñ kày] [kò à-nú] yèrú-wòrè,

065 kó [níñ kày] [[íló pùrù] kù] wó áw kúl-é = ì, [gólú kù] ní kúl-é = ì, wó òr-é = ì, [wò kù ñgú] ká<sup>36</sup> cèl-é = ì, [níñ kày] [[wò jírè] kà] zà-bà:"sá sí-t-t-è, [níñ kày] [zà-bà:"sà ñgú] á lì-r-ò:,

066 í:!<sup>36</sup> bé bà:ní dà, àlá bà:ní dà, [ká kò] tóró bà:ní dà, [í isò yà:fú:], [bá:sì kálá:] kà-lí má, yállà [lìsì mǎ:] á dà mà, [bà là: mǎ:] á dà mà, [nèr<sup>n</sup>é mǎ:] á dà mà, cew-là:pú: ká á dà, èn-tígèy kà-lí má, [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù tígèy] ká nùmbù-rí<sup>37</sup> má, [cè yà:fú:] á dà,

067 [níñ kày] á d-ò:, [nòñnò sèw-sèw ñgú] [[ká mà] kù] á kùl-lò, á d-ò: [nòñnò sèw-sèw ñgú] [[ká mà] kù] á kùl-lò, háli éñú-s-ò:, ñgà → háy!, háli [tóró jèwà] gú-wòrè,

068 [níñ kày] èlú-s-ò: ká [àsí y<sup>n</sup>á-r<sup>n</sup>ù], yállà ñgú wó dà mà, zákà wó dà, há:!, [níñ kày] ká [àlhámðirillá:y ràbbíla:lámí:nà]<sup>38</sup>, [já:tí ní] àsí bé<sup>39</sup> òr-ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è, [níñ kày] òr-ú-ná: àlbárkà,

069 ènè [kò bánà lèy] kútè kátè kútè, òr-ú-bòrè [níñ kày]

## 2004-1a.05 Hyena, goat, monkey, and squirrel (tale)

Sa: 070 á ènè ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bèlè

Sa: 071 *bon* ténám yèrí èr<sup>n</sup>á òr-ú-sà, [[yógódò pùrù] kù] [lògù-gònó<sup>40</sup> kù], ténám [[èr<sup>n</sup>á bà-m-ù]<sup>41</sup> kù] lú-sò, ténám [kò èr<sup>n</sup>á] áw kúw iwá →, [ténám [[kò lògù-gònó] kù] lú-wòrè má] [gú bè-ná],

072 ténám [bám dá gà] yá ní → ↑, [bám dá gà] yèrí ↓, ténám [bám dá gà] yá ní → ↑, [bám dá gà] yèrí ↓, ténám èlú-sà, èr<sup>n</sup>á ñú ↑, [kò síwò] gá:lú jèlú-wòrè,<sup>42</sup> ténám m<sup>b</sup>èlò = ì [lògù-gònó kù] cày!, èr<sup>n</sup>á m<sup>b</sup>èlú = ì il-ká cày!, ténám wású-wòrè, ténám [[lògù-gònó pùrù] kù] [nòndér<sup>n</sup>á tà:lí],

073 ténám á wò-rò [cìlò á jèl-lò], hé! [[òr-ú-ná:]-ì-r<sup>n</sup>ú] [àyé kò<sup>43</sup> á jèl-lò ñú] má, kâ:nú ígú-sò séw →, [m<sup>b</sup>ìrà ñgú] [yà gírèy] á gù-rò yèy, hé! [òr-ú-ná:]-ì-r<sup>n</sup>ú] [àyé kò á jèl-lò ñú] má, kâ:nú ká àsí, kâ:nú yèrí yàgùrú èlú-sà, ténám ñór<sup>n</sup>á<sup>44</sup> [ùró kù],

<sup>36</sup> *ká* ‘shave’.

<sup>37</sup> *núm\|núw<sup>n</sup>ó* ‘die’.

<sup>38</sup> Arabic phrase.

<sup>39</sup> 3PI in quotation, representing original 2PI.

<sup>40</sup> pronounced [lòg:òno].

<sup>41</sup> Verbal noun *bám-ú*, here possessed by ‘goat’ and therefore all-low toned.

<sup>42</sup> *jèlú\|jèlò* ‘pass’, here in the sense ‘be very much’ with a chained verb.

<sup>43</sup> *kò* subject-focus marker.

<sup>44</sup> Presentative morpheme ‘here is ...’

074 sàbà?állà ká wó ká àsí bára, wó ká àsí gùṅó, àsí [nòndér<sup>ná</sup> tà:lí] [[ùrò ḡ] kú],<sup>45</sup> ḡór<sup>nò</sup> ká àsí gú bè-ná, àsí tátúrá = ìm ká [àsí á jèl-lò gá = ìm] [àsí lűw-sò],

075 èsé ú kúlú-sò ká [[ùró kà] kù] bàm-Ø [sákkò tátúrá = ìm á lűw-rò] mà,

076 [ḡkǎy<sup>n</sup> dá kày] [ésú pódó:rè dá], [àsí tátúrá = ìm] àsí lűw-sò, bà-rí = wó gá, [[àsí èr<sup>ná</sup> ðír<sup>ná</sup> = ìm] gá = ìm [àsí bò-só ǎw-Ø ḡ kúnú kày], [kó kày] bà-rí = wó], ḡgó:ḡà,

077 kâ:nú ká hēy! ká [wó ná:léy sà-rá], àsí wó gùṅó mà, ìní wó àsí áw kúw-é [ḡ dé] cék! wó á kà-là,

078 m?m! [kó kày] àsí kà-ná, tùw<sup>nò</sup> àsí wó gùṅú-sò ḡ yàgà-fú:, šállá:hù àsí wó bàrjà<sup>46</sup> kâr<sup>ní</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>âr<sup>ná</sup> jēr<sup>nú</sup>, ḡgó:ḡà,

079 kâ:nú [báná mà] dèrú sí-t-tò, ténám bò-só ǎw↓,<sup>47</sup> kâ:nú hó:là kà-lí, kâ:nú [báná mà] tēw<sup>48</sup> lát-tà,

080 *bon*, [ká wó kâr<sup>nú</sup>-kú] ká [àsí gùṅó], [nòndér<sup>ná</sup> tà:lí] [[ùrò ḡ] kú] àsí dá, ká wó ká àsí gùṅó,

081 *bon*, kâ:nú [wò dé] [báná mà] dèrú-wòsì, ténám gágú gűḡ-gòsì-wó, háyà ténám gágá = ìm gú-wòrè, kâ:nú ká [àsí bánà] pásá, ténám ká [àsí jésù] á jì-rà, ká wó mùy<sup>ná</sup> kár<sup>ná</sup> [[àsí jésù] jí dèlá mà],<sup>49</sup> kó wó:-sì jìní, kó [àsí líw-sà ḡ kúnú] [ḡór<sup>nò</sup> á yà-rà jìní má], cé→ [nù-r<sup>nú</sup> kày] ká, wó yírímé:nè ká wó kúló<sup>50</sup>, àsí yírímé:nè kúl-wòsì, [nùndír<sup>ná</sup> tà:lí] [ùró kù] dá, ú gú bè-ná,

082 [m ú: gűḡ-wòsì] ú ká [àsí jésù] á jì-rà, [jèsù-jí dèlú-sà] ká wó ká [àsí bánà] pásá,

083 kó èlá [dèḡ kà: nù-nó ḡ]<sup>51</sup> má, [tégěy dà] [nín kày] [nòndér<sup>ná</sup> tà:lí] [[ùrò ḡ] kú] àsí dá kòy, àrkírí àsí áw-wòrè, kó èlá [èsi-èsi kà: tégěy dà [dèḡ nù-nó ḡ] má,

084 ténám ká—, kâ:nú ká y<sup>n</sup>âḡgò, [jèsù-gùsú kù] [dèḡ nù-nó ḡ], ká y<sup>n</sup>âḡgò, ḡkǎy<sup>n</sup> làrù hèl-cí<sup>52</sup> d-è = bέ, làrù hèl-cí d-è = bέ,

085 gó:ḡà, kúy<sup>nó</sup> yè-só, kúy<sup>nó</sup> ká àyè mà, ká èsé bέ á là-tà mà,

086 kâ:nú ká àsí ténám gùṅú-sò [[[lògù-gòndò ḡ] púrò] kù], [nòndér<sup>ná</sup> tà:lí], yá kó dá, háyà àsí kó gùṅú-sò, kó nà→, àsí kó gùṅó = ìm gá = ìm, [kó nà] ká wó ká àsí èlá [àsí jésù-kùsù] [dèḡ nùnó ḡ má], ká àsí àsí—, àsí<sup>53</sup> césú kúw-é, [àsí nà] ká [[kó kày] kà-ná],

087 m?m! kúy<sup>nó</sup> ká kòrú, yàgá wó [[kò lògù-gòndò ḡ] kú] ká [kò ténám] á gùṅú bè-tà, [ténám dé] ká díḡá, [[wó dà] wó gùṅú-sò mà] [ká à<sup>n</sup>há<sup>n</sup>] [ká àsí bà-rí],

088 háyà, ká bέ dèwrú bitó [[àsí jírè] kà] [nínì dà], ká àsí w<sup>nò</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>é,

089 *bon*, ténám tóró = ìm, [lògù-gòndò kù] cǎy!, háyà, [nù-ḡ kálá:] [[ósú mà] kúló] [èlá [dèḡ kà: á là ḡ]]

Bo: 090 [kó èlá = ìm] wó zǎw-s-ǎ:

Sa: 091 kó yè, kúy<sup>nó</sup> m<sup>b</sup>èlò = ìm [[ùró mà] kù] mù:!, kâ:nú m<sup>b</sup>èlò = ìm [[tìw<sup>ná</sup> nà] kù] jǎy!, háyà, [ḡkǎy<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>ná</sup> = ìm] [ḡgí kày] símà sáy-s-è = bέ, ḡkǎy<sup>n</sup> kó zùgú<sup>54</sup> pás-s-è,

092 [énè [kò bánà] lěy] kútè kàtè kútè, *c'est fini*

## 2004-1a.06 Hyena, goat, and lioness (tale)

Sa: 093 á ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bélé

<sup>45</sup> Equivalent to *ùrò ḡgú kú* 'in this hole'. Locative *kù* becomes *kú* after *ḡgú*.

<sup>46</sup> *bàrjà kár<sup>nú</sup>\\kár<sup>ná</sup>* 'thank (someone)', here with low-toned *bàrjà* before the future form of *kár<sup>ná</sup>* 'do'.

<sup>47</sup> Purposive: 'in order to catch (it)'.

<sup>48</sup> *téw\\téwá* 'hit', here as chained verb indicating forceful action.

<sup>49</sup> *mà* 'and' with chained VP that is extraposed to utterance-final position.

<sup>50</sup> The extra *ká wó* in this utterance, audible on the tape, is superfluous and was omitted by the original speaker during transcription.

<sup>51</sup> *nù-nó*, imperfective negative of *lùró* 'be hurt'.

<sup>52</sup> *lárú\\lárá* 'debate'. *hélú\\héló* 'share, divide', here loosely 'do together' in a chain. *lárú* drops tones simultaneously with *hélú* before *kí*.

<sup>53</sup> Later the speaker rephrased this with a single *àsí*, i.e. *ká àsí césú kúw-é*. But a double *àsí* would make sense syntactically (with two distinct antecedents).

<sup>54</sup> lit. 'slap, beat, churn', here in a chain indicating abrupt action.

- Sa: 094 *bon*, nòndér<sup>ná</sup> túrú, ténám—, [ténám, èr<sup>ná</sup> lěy], túnòm-mà ségú-sà, òw kù, [èr<sup>ná</sup> kúnú] sòlò á lì-rà, èr<sup>ná</sup> [kú mà] sí-tó = m sòlò á lì-rà, sòlò á lì-rà = kó, [sòlò á lì-rà = kó] [ténám kó wò-só],  
 095 ténám cérúm jèré = m, cérúm jèré = m, cérúm jèré = m, < ténám [kú mà] sò yà:fú: èr<sup>ná</sup> yèrí dò:-rè >,<sup>55</sup> [èr<sup>ná</sup> [kú mà] sò yà:fú:]<sup>56</sup> [ténám yèrí dò:-rè], háyà, làgú [zòw kày] y<sup>n</sup>àngó, ténám èr<sup>ná</sup> áw-sà,  
 096 ténám ká [nín kày], òdèy [[[tìw<sup>ná</sup> nà: ɲú] cílò]<sup>57</sup> dòsù] àsí yá dó mà, [ìní kày] nõgá,<sup>58</sup> má [àsí èlá mà] [àsí símà [èr<sup>ná</sup> mà] tégw sí-tó mà], àsí símà [nàw<sup>ná</sup> mà]<sup>59</sup> kúw-é [cìlò dòsù],  
 097 [[cìlò kún] dósù] á dè-r-è = bé→, [[òw-ànú y<sup>n</sup>àyná] ɲór<sup>nò</sup>] [dimò dân], [[í-m mà] tà:lí] làrá = m ɲór<sup>nò</sup>, [[òw-[à-nù] nà] kúnú] èm sà-rá,  
 098 ɲgò:ɲà, nín kày, [cé yè-só ɲ yà:fú:]<sup>60</sup> [nín kày] [kò ténám] [[kò èr<sup>ná</sup>] pásá = m] ígò = m [òw-[à-nù] á èl-là], [èr<sup>ná</sup> mân]<sup>61</sup> ígò = m [[kò òw-[à-nù] á èl-là],  
 099 òw-[à-nù], ká [ténám dè], ká [nín sá dà] kó yèrí [àsí dé] tégó, kà: kár<sup>ná</sup> mà, ká [àsí [kò èm] á bè-tà mà] [[àsí í-mù ɲí] á bày<sup>n</sup>-r<sup>ná</sup> ɲí],<sup>62</sup> àrkíri ká [àsí kày] àsí sà-rà,  
 100 ɲgò:ɲà, ténám ígú dà [kú gáj→], [[dálí:lì kálá:→] y<sup>n</sup>àngó] [ténám kà: kár<sup>ná</sup> mà] [kò tégú bé-těj],  
 101 èr<sup>ná</sup> ká [òw-[à-n] dè], [àsí kày] àsí ùkú, [kà: kár<sup>ná</sup> mà] [wó [kò èm] á bè-tà ɲí] [ká àsí ùkú], ká àsí [[jèm túrú] á dà] [àsí sá], [tùwó lěy→], [ténám kù-bònò] [kò tá:l-ló], má núw<sup>nó</sup> bitó mà, má [kò jèm kúnú] látá mà, má [kò jèm kúnú] dǒy-wòrè mà, [má [kò ày<sup>ná</sup> kúnú] én-ná<sup>63</sup> kár<sup>ná</sup> mà] [híló mà], má [òw-[à-nù] dè] [má én-ná kár<sup>ná</sup> mà], [wó [jèsú mà] táwrá] [wó húwó], èm kày, èsù pére kây<sup>n</sup>, [[wò í-m kày] [nín sá dà] [pùró mútíri-mútíri kàr<sup>ní</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>ná</sup>],  
 102 [ténám pùrò] jí dǒw-wòrè,<sup>64</sup> [ténám dè] itù-r-é, [[òw-ànú, ì-mì cíní] bày<sup>n</sup>-Ø]<sup>65</sup> jèl dà ténám—, [ténám á bày<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>ná</sup> ɲí] dè,  
 103 ɲgò:ɲà [ténám— dé] [kó [tùwó lěy] só zèri], èlá = m [tùwó lěy] só zè:-sò, háyà ká kó [dó mà] isé, tùwó lěy→↑, dó = m dèlú-s-è, né:sú kây<sup>n</sup>, [ténám kú] [kò tá:l-ló], jèm só = m lát-t-è, núw<sup>nó</sup> bit-t-è,  
 104 [ténám kù] dǒy dǒw-wòrè, ténám [[kú mà] yàsá = m] cék [kó yè] [jèm tám pásá = m] [kó [ósú mà] kúlú-sò],  
 105 ɲgò:ɲà, [kó yè] òw-[à-nù] [ténám pèrà] dígú-wòrè, èw<sup>ní</sup>!, túnòm-mà dígú jèré = m = cé, túnòm-mà bàrú jèré = m yáy-s-è = cé,  
 106 háyà, [èr<sup>ná</sup>-àrá mánì] ósú bē:-sì, [kó mánì] mǒɲéy, yúlà kár<sup>ná</sup> = m [[gá mà] kù] dùr<sup>nú</sup>-sò, píró = m [[hóggò mà] kù] lú-sò, [kú mà] bē:-sì = kó→↑,  
 107 [ténám.: [òw-[à-n] lěy nà] túnòm-mà bàrú dém→ yáy-wòrè, [ì-m-í: nà]<sup>66</sup> pású-wòsì = cé [tìw<sup>ná</sup> dòsù],  
 108 [énè [kò bánà] lěy] kútè kàtè kútè

## 2004-1a.07 Ram, hyena, and the aardvark burrow (tale)

- Bo: 109 á ènè ènè ènè éné  
 Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bélè  
 Bo: 110 [bèlú má:→], bérúm á bò-tò, bèl-à:rà kó kò [cè bé-bè-nù], [bérúm [này ká:] yá mà] á yè-t-è = cé,

<sup>55</sup> Phrase enclosed in <...> is erroneous. The speaker then gives the correct version.

<sup>56</sup> ‘as soon as ...’ with *yà:fú:* and low-toned verb (here from *só* ‘pick up’).

<sup>57</sup> *cìlò* ‘shade’, here with {HL} possessed overlay after a (complex) possessor NP.

<sup>58</sup> *gá* ‘say’, reduced from something like ‘they say (that...)’, i.e. ‘(if) it is the case that...’.

<sup>59</sup> Contracted phonetically on the tape to [nǎ:ˀ].

<sup>60</sup> Adverbial clause (‘when ...’) marked only by relative *ɲí*.

<sup>61</sup> *mân* = *mánì* ‘too’.

<sup>62</sup> *ɲí* as complement of *tégó* ‘speak!’.

<sup>63</sup> Contraction of *ésí-ná* ‘(some)thing’.

<sup>64</sup> Lexically allowed contraction of *dèwrú-wòrè* ‘began’.

<sup>65</sup> Possessed form of *báy<sup>n</sup>* ‘being alive’ (verbal noun).

<sup>66</sup> *nà*, variant of reflexive possessor *mà*. Dissimilates to *m* in the preceding noun.

111 yó ñkáy<sup>n</sup>, àr<sup>n</sup>à-kúsó cé ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà [sǎŋ kù], [àr<sup>n</sup>à-kúsó cé ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà [sǎŋ kù] ñ] [[àw<sup>n</sup>à-ùrò pòtú], á dà], kó zǝw-sò = cé [kò dé], kó zǝwó = ì = cé, yèré = ì = cé gá = ì [kó kò] [[àw<sup>n</sup>à-ùrò kún] púrò] kù] lú-s-è = cé,

112 ténám [kó mà] zákà [[àw<sup>n</sup>à-ùrò kún], dé] [kó mà], [á dà] [zǝw dá gà] á yà-rà, [zǝw dá gà] < cé yè— >

113 [kó yè-só ñ yàgà-fú:], ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó bèl-à:rà, pàlà kán dà<sup>67</sup> [[ùrò kà] kù], kóddà<sup>68</sup> jó:rà kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó ñ yà:fú:, [kò dé] lísú-rú-wòrè,

114 [yó kày] ká [ñgú kò [[ùrò kà] kù] tígú dèn dà] [ùrò zú dà pèt!], è→ [lé kày] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>è, hé→ ká [lé kày] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>è, hé→ [làgú nà] [lé kày] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>è,

115 [kó kày] [kó kày] gání áw-wòsì, [kó kày→], kò→ [kò bèl-à:rà dè], ká yállà y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy àsí á kàr<sup>n</sup>í-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à mà, túrú àsí kúwó mà→↑, lèy àsí kúwó mà→↓,<sup>69</sup> háyà ká kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ

[song] 116 lèy àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,<sup>70</sup>  
túrú àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
tà:lí àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
này àsí kúwó mà↓, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,

117 kó zǝw-sò = kó [hâl w<sup>n</sup>áñú-lú-sà = kó], [níjí nà] [zǝw dá gà] yè-só = kó, ká [bèl-à:rà dè], yállà

118 bár<sup>n</sup>ú àsí kúwó mà↓, ká ká: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
ká jém àsí kúwó mà↓, ká: [kò dé] gá lísì ñ,  
pírú àsí kúwó mà↓, ká: kó kà: kó íwà ñ,

119 [kó nà] zǝw-sò = kó hâl w<sup>n</sup>áñú-lú-sà = kó, [kó kò] bèl-à:rà kó, bël táyrè césú-sà, ká cé zǝ: [íló dè], zǝw-s-è = cé, [tùŋ kà:] kó yé-tèŋ cèlà,<sup>71</sup> bìrìy yè-só = kó,

120 [yó nà]<sup>72</sup> ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó [yó nà], kó ñngú dà ñ,

121 ká [ñ kǝw-wàrà] [ñ kǝw-wàrà], ká é→,  
ká [ñ kǝw-wàrà] [yá ñ kǝw-wàrà], é→,

122 ká [lèy àsí á kǝw-wàrà mà], ká é→,  
[tà:lí àsí á kǝw-wàrà mà], ká é→,  
[này<sup>n</sup> àsí á kǝw-wàrà mà], ká é→,  
[nũ:y<sup>n</sup> àsí á kǝw-wàrà mà], ká é→,

123 [bár<sup>n</sup>ú àsí á kǝw-wàrà mà], ká kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
[jém àsí á kúwó mà↓], kà: kó íwà ñ,  
[pírú àsí á kúwó mà↓], kà: kó íwà ñ,

124 zǝw-sò = kó [yó nà], hálì yá w<sup>n</sup>áñú-lú-sà = kó, kó bël táyrè bèl-à:rà kó cés-sà, ká cé zǝ: [íló dè], zǝw-s-è = cé,

125 [yó nà] [bàrú dá gà] yè-só = kó, [yó nà] ká, ká á á<sup>73</sup> dà mà, ká é→, [àsí mà:] á dà, á á dà mà, ká é→, [àsí mà:] á dà, [kò bèl-à:rà kúnú] [kò dé] á gà-rà, [yó nà] ká

126 túr-túrú àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
lèy-lèy àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
tà:l-tà:lì àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,  
này<sup>n</sup>-này<sup>n</sup> àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísì ñ,

<sup>67</sup> *pàlà kár<sup>n</sup>á* ‘get in the way, obstruct (a path)’.

<sup>68</sup> Common contraction of *kúwó túrú dà* ‘(at) one time’ and other variants.

<sup>69</sup> In this intonationally characterized parallel construction, the first part ends with higher-than-usual pitch, the second with very low pitch. Verb *kúwó* is in imperative form.

<sup>70</sup> This is not sung, but it has a verse-refrain structure that indicates parallel formatting.

<sup>71</sup> ‘before ...’ adverbial clause.

<sup>72</sup> *yó nà* ‘today’, also (as here) ‘again’. Same semantics as Jamsay *íjé nè*.

<sup>73</sup> 2Pl *á* followed by imperfective *á*.

nũ:y<sup>n</sup>-nũ:y<sup>n</sup> àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,   
 kúréy-kúréy àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,   
 súy<sup>n</sup>-súy<sup>n</sup> àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,   
 ká gá:rà-gá:rà àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,   
 lá:rà-lá:rà àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,   
 pé:r-pé:rú àsí só mà, kà: [kò dé] lísí ñ,

127 [kò dé] lísí-rú jèlú-wòrè, [yó nà] zǝw bít-tò = kó,<sup>74</sup> hâl w<sup>n</sup>áñú-lú-sà = kó, [yó nà] bĕl césá = ìn gá = ìn [[tàyrè làgú] kây<sup>n</sup>] [cé mà]<sup>75</sup> cé zǝ: [ílò dè], tũñ kà: kó yé-těñ cĕlà, zǝw-s-è = cé

128 [yó nà] bìrĭy yè-s-ǝ:, [bèl-à:rà dé] ká yélà, [á á dà mà] [ká â:<sup>n</sup>há:<sup>n</sup>], [á á dà mà] é→, [á á dà mà] é→,

129 bār<sup>n</sup>ú àsí kúwó má↓, kà: kó íwà ñ,   
 jém àsí kúwó má↓, kà: kó íwà ñ,   
 pír-í: àsí kúwó má↓, kà: kó íwà ñ,

130 ká [á á dà] [á á dà], ká é→, [yó nà] só bít-t-ǝ:, kó [tàyrè làgú] césá = ìn [yó nà] cé zǝ: [tũñ kà: kó yé-těñ cĕlà],

131 [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó], hâl ít-tà = kó ká àsí w<sup>n</sup>áñú-lú-wòrè, [yó nà] zǝw bìrĭy-sò = kó [yó nà], yèrĭ ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó [bèl-à:rà tũr-í→ lók!], ñór<sup>n</sup>ò ñngú dà

132 ká á á dà mà, ká é→, [á á dà mà] [á á dà mà], ká é→

133 lĕy-lĕy àsí só mà, ká é→,   
 tá:l-tá:lì àsí só mà, é→,   
 năy<sup>n</sup>-năy<sup>n</sup> àsí só mà, é→,   
 nũ:y<sup>n</sup>-nũ:y<sup>n</sup> àsí só mà, é→,

134 kó [yó nà] zǝw-sò = kó, hâl w<sup>n</sup>áñú-lú-sà = kó, [tũñ kà: kó bìrĭy yé-těñ cĕlà] [bèl-à:rà símà] yăy-wòrè, [kó yè] [nĭñ kày] [zǝw dá gà]<sup>76</sup> [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [zǝw dá gà] [kó yè-só] [kó yè-só] [kó ígú dà],

135 ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó [ùró kà] pó→, [[ùró kà] pó→ kó ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà ñ], kóddà, [yó kùn-bé]<sup>77</sup> ká á á dà mà, cék! á á dà mà, cék!

136 zǝw lú-sò = kó [[ùró pùrò] kù], kó zǝw lú-sò = kó [[ùró pùrò] kù] ñ<sup>78</sup> ñr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó, [bèl kà: dālà kár<sup>n</sup>ú dà ñ],<sup>79</sup> kóddà zǝw bít-tò = kó, kóddà [[cè kúwò] pèrà] ñgú-sà = kó,

137 [nĭñ kày] bārgá! bārgá! bārgá! bārgá! bārgá! bārgá! [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó], bèl-à:rà [àlá ìlò] á lù-rò→ ↑, ténăm [[àlá ñwrù] kù] á dò-rò↓,

138 kó ténăm bìrĭy-sò, [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó] [zǝw-cí dà = kó], [[[ùrò kúnú] ká] kù] á dò-rò = kó→ ↑,

139 [[kò y<sup>n</sup>á-rù] símà [pùrò kù] lí-sà] [kó nà] kúwó = ìn [síimà ìlì-ká á gù-rò], [kó yè] [[[kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù kúnú] ká] kù], réwnà kár<sup>n</sup>ú-s-ǝ: [lò-săykà sì:], kó [jìrò-[ĩ-n]<sup>80</sup> túrú] tórú sígú-sò,

140 [kó só = ìn] [[[ká mà] kù] dèrú kúlú-sò], póróm-póróm tēm sí-t-tò = kó, ká [ñgú mà] á nàpù-rà,

141 éné [kò bánà] lĕy] kútè kàtè kútè, tét!

<sup>74</sup> *bì-tó* ‘do again’.

<sup>75</sup> ‘they (sheep) too’, reduced from *cé mánì*.

<sup>76</sup> *zǝw dá gà* repeated iterative, cf. *zǝw-cí dà = kó* in the parallel passage above.

<sup>77</sup> *yó kùn-bé* is in Jamsay: ‘you-PI are in (it)?’.

<sup>78</sup> Relative *ñ* after a postverbal PP.

<sup>79</sup> *dālà kár<sup>n</sup>á* ‘have a miscarriage’, stative (resultative) form with *dà*, and relative *ñ*.

<sup>80</sup> *jìrò-ì-r<sup>n</sup>ú* ‘eye-child-Sg’, i.e. one eye(ball).

## 2004-1a.08 Riddles

Sa: 142 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà<sup>81</sup>

Sa: téndéj dègírè

Bo: tòkù kàlá

Sa: 143 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: gílíngà gílìj-gálán

Bo: w<sup>n</sup>á:sú ká [àsí pùró sà] [kò pùró] kù] dá ń mánì] ká [àsí pùró sà]]

Sa: 144 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: èrè:-n<sup>82</sup> sóró

Bo: <xxx>, ósú

Sa: 145 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: tátéy ...

Bo: ... cìr<sup>n</sup>ò [yà jêm]<sup>83</sup>

Sa: 146 [tátéy cìr<sup>n</sup>ò] [yà jêm]

Bo: èrè:ré

Sa: 147 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: kóyò kù-tòm

Bo: àrú-mòmó

Sa: 148 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: kóyò jìrò-nì

Bo: dè-ósú

Sa: 149 gànú yà:

Bo: gànú

Sa: [dè-ósú kày] mútú

Sa: 150 á ámbàtilà

Bo: ámkà

Sa: èrè:-n [záká bàsà]

Bo: èrè:-n [záká bàsà]

Sa: èrè:-n [záká bàsà]

Bo: 151 gògú

Sa: á ítú-wòsì

## 2004-1a.09 The blind and crippled thieves (tale)

[see formatted version at the end of the Toro Tegu grammar]

Sa: 152 á ènè ènè ènè

Bo: kùsì bèlè bèlè bélé

Sa: 153 gùy<sup>n</sup>-mú éné, [jìrìm-nú.:<sup>84</sup> bònù-nú lěy], bé kò gùy<sup>n</sup>-mú, bé [mòtó mà] á yày-rà, nǎy<sup>n</sup> túrú↑, bé bǎm-bdrè má, á bò-t-è = bé↑, [[nù-n túrú] órù] kù],

<sup>81</sup> From Songhay (Humburi Senni) *á m kà* ‘let it come!’.

<sup>82</sup> *èrè:-nú* ‘young man’.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the more usual *y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù jém* ‘black woman’ with high-toned *jém* ‘black’.

- 154 má [[wò órù] yù] á tùgù-r-è = bé, má núw<sup>84</sup> bitó mà, [yù cíní] yàwá mà, símà á tèm̀bù-r-è = bé↑, jèrè símà [jèrè mà] [á yà-y-r-è = bé],
- 155 jìrìm-nú kò—, < kò tùgù— >, kò tùgù-ú á tógú zè:-t-ò:↑, bònù-nú kò èl-ú á èl-là,<sup>85</sup> kó [[óru bà-m] jèrè kà: [gó mà] á yè-tò ñ], háyà [kó cék!] kò [bè bírà], [[bírá mà] tángúr-é = m̀ = bé]<sup>86</sup> [símà á bì-t-è = bé],
- 156 [óru bàsà] yèrù-wòrè ní→, wò:-sì [á yà-rà] má, <xxx>, bònù-nú á gà-rà [jìrìm-nú dè] háyà [óru bàsà] yèrì-cí là,<sup>87</sup> [óru bàsà] yèrì-cí là,
- 157 háyà má m̀onéy→, bã.<sup>88</sup> mà, [súró mà] á yà-y-r-è = bé, < jìrìm-nú—, > jìrìm-nú kò bònù-nú á dèm̀iy<sup>n</sup>-tò, má [[wò dé] ósú tótú dá gà] á yà-y-rà, háyà [ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> ñkǎy<sup>n</sup>],
- 158 [nǎy<sup>n</sup> túrú] [bé wó-rèñ célà] [úró bàsà] yèr d̀ó:-rè, [bònù-nú á liw-rà] [[mìrá mà] tégú-rèñ],<sup>89</sup> [kó yè] [bònù-nú kày] súrú jèrè = m̀ gú-wòrè, jìrìm-nú á dà dìñú dà dām!,
- 159 g̀ó:ñà, ká bònù-nú bònù-nú, í!, yù-tiw<sup>n</sup>á yàgá dà yèy, wó sùgúm zèrì ní→, à:! ká wó bèrè tùg-ú<sup>90</sup>
- Bo: <xxx>
- Sa: 160 [á d-ò:] [dìñú dà dām!], [óru bàsà] [[nàñà-sòrì: mà] tógó mà] á yà-rà,
- 161 [kó nò] wó èlá = m̀ [[jìrìm-nú tùgò] bèl-cèlà] wó kúlú-sò ñ, kó jìrìm-nú m̀: = m̀ úngúrú-sò dām!, ít-t-ò: [ñgú kày] [bònù-nú [[àsí léy-lò-n]<sup>91</sup> kúnú kày] jìní,
- 162 wó kúlú bít-tò ñ, kó [[[yù ñgí] zà:] kù] s̀ó:rà kár<sup>n</sup>ú-s-ò:, dām! dām! dām! dām! [wó kày] ká [àsí w<sup>n</sup>ànú-lú-wòrè], háyà má [yíró s̀ì:] túnòm-mà á s̀ò-t-è = bé,
- 163 [yíró pé→t], kó [óru bàsà] ká [wò dé] [yíró pé→t], [á á dà], [yíró pé→t] [túnòm-mà dàgú-s-è = bé], [óru bàsà] èlá = m̀ [nàñà-sòrì: s̀ì:] [[wò tùgò] kù] kúlú-sò ñ, kóddà sát-t-ò:,
- 164 [nín kày] á sàtù-r-ò: cék!, ñgù-n-ò: láy, kó [óru bàsà] ká yíró pé→t pátì!, jìrìm-nú ká [m̀:rà: wó s̀ísà-s̀ísà] [àsí yè-nó kòy],
- 165 bām jèrè = m̀ [kò pèrà] túnòm-mà wò-s-é = bé, wì: ká yállà y<sup>n</sup>ànèy yèy, yé ñ kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà yèy,
- 166 [óru bàsà] yèrì d̀ó:-rè, àsí z̀ów bè-ná, àsí [wò dé] tégú-wòsì má, [àsí m̀:] wù-nó,<sup>92</sup> [àsí kày] m̀onéy súrú g̀ó = m̀ [àsí kày] [àsí lè-lépỳ dà]<sup>93</sup> [àsí z̀ów bè-ná sákù] [àsí lè-lépỳ-dà] [àsí wò-cí dà] [wó á làpù-r-è ñ↑], àsí [wò-cí dà] [wó á z̀òw-rò ñ↓],<sup>94</sup> háyà [àsí kày]
- 167 ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á = m̀, é-n-á<sup>95</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á = m̀ <xxx> [kú mà] bè-s-é = bé, háyà ñkǎy<sup>n</sup>, [bé mà] [kò bírá] á bì-tà
- 168 á [énè [kò bánà] lèy] kútè kátè kútè

## 2004-1a.10 Snakes, reptiles, elephants (description)

- Sa: 169 *bon*, s̀ùnù-ná: [nín kày] [[ú dé] á ùsù-r-è] [kà: kò dá ñ]
- Bo: 170 s̀ùnù-ná: ná:-kò, kóru dà = kó, [bár<sup>n</sup>ú.: jém lèy], àrà-jèr<sup>n</sup>ú sá = kó↑, bà:ní sá = kó↓, g̀urú = kó m̀nì
- Sa: 171 yàgá [kò dén-dìñ]
- Bo: [[ní pùrò] kù] [kò déñ-dìñ]
- Sa: [[ní pùrò] kù] [kò déñ-dìñ]
- Bo: [[ní pùrò] kù] [kò déñ-dìñ], ní d̀úm-bòrè má nà, [[ùró kù] ló mà] á hùrà kà-là = kó
- Sa: 172 *bon*, [àw jém nà] y<sup>n</sup>ànèy á kà-là mà

<sup>84</sup> Jamsay-style “dying-quail” intonation at end of left conjunct.

<sup>85</sup> *tùg-ú á tógú ... , èl-ú á èl-là*. Parallel phrases with verbal nouns (-*ú*) as cognate nominals.

<sup>86</sup> *tángú-rú* \| *tángú-rá*, here ‘perform (work)’.

<sup>87</sup> Progressive. This speaker has *-cí là* rather than *-cí dà*.

<sup>88</sup> Variant of *bàw<sup>n</sup>á* ‘go around’.

<sup>89</sup> Verbal noun suffix *-rèñ* on verb of ‘lest ...’ complement of ‘be afraid’.

<sup>90</sup> *bèrè* ‘went to (place)’, irregular perfective. *tùg-ú* ‘breaking’ is a verbal noun in purposive function.

<sup>91</sup> *lèy-lò-n* ‘(someone’s) second’ with human singular suffix, here possessed.

<sup>92</sup> *wùrú* \| *wùró* ‘get away, escape’.

<sup>93</sup> Reduplicated verb in stative construction with *dà* ‘be’.

<sup>94</sup> Clause-final *ñ* in complements of ‘see (that ...)’.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Whatchamacallit?’, cf. *ésú* ‘thing’







200 [kò sùgùrù kúnú], jìngà:r-kàr-ěy dós dà, [kò ló ↓kúnú] [kó nà] [ú gǎ-n<sup>113</sup> nà:] èrè:-nú  
 [[kò jíré] kà] ígú dà, [kò jí<sup>n</sup>ò kúnú], jéré kày<sup>n</sup>, cé nà, ú gǎ-n nà:, [[nànjá cìrà] káy<sup>n</sup>] [[kò jíré]  
 kà] kǎy<sup>n</sup> pàlá<sup>114</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>ú dà, [[kò ló ↓kúnú] níjèy] zàkú kúlú dà,

201 gá: kó á yà-y-rà, [[kò kúwò] á tükù-rò ò] ú w<sup>n</sup>ò-r<sup>n</sup>ó,<sup>115</sup> jègìré→, jègìré→ má-dógò,  
 [nà: kó á zìngù-rà jìn tán] [kò kúwò], [òkǎy<sup>n</sup> á tükù-rò ò kálá:] ú w<sup>n</sup>ò-r<sup>n</sup>ó, sákkò [[kò kúwò]  
 mìrà] égú-rà, [kó kà] òkǎy<sup>n</sup>↑, òkǎy<sup>n</sup> [pétúm dá gà cék] [á yà-y-rà]

Sa: 202 [[kò dé] nà: ò],<sup>116</sup> òw-èsù á wò-só má↑, a wò-rí má yá

Bo: [[kò dé] nà: ò] [[òw èsù] kày], [kó kày] í wò-rí

Sa: [[kò dé] césù ò] nà

Bo: [[kò dé] césù ò] [òw èsù] mánì, [kó mánì] í wò-rí

Sa: 203 léllè, [[kò sí] dà] [kò sǎj]

Bo: [[kò sí] dà] [kò sǎj] kòy, [[kò dé] ná: ò] í wò-rí↑, [[kò dé] césù ò mánì] í wò-rí↓

Z: 204 má sòlò â: lí-rà = kó má↑, nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó<sup>117</sup> má↓

Sa: sòlò â: lí-rà = kó, tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lì-rà = kó, [sòlò â: lí-rà = kó↑] [tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lí-rà = kó]

<sup>112</sup> *gá X dè* ‘(is) bigger than’, equivalent to *jèn dà gá X dè* ‘is more in being big than’, which occurs just below. *gá* is not used as a noun, cf. *ná:* ‘bigness’ (as in *kò nà:* ‘its bigness’).

<sup>113</sup> Imperfective negative *gà-r<sup>n</sup>á* ‘do(es) not say’ (< *gá*).

<sup>114</sup> *pàlá kár<sup>n</sup>á* ‘block, obstruct’

<sup>115</sup> Imperfective negative of *wó* ‘see’.

<sup>116</sup> Pronounced [ná:ŋ] with H-tone to avoid an <HLH> syllable. Simplified comparative, with implied *jèn dà* ‘(is) more’. Relative *ò* is added at the end, after the (deadjectival) noun *ná:* ‘size, bigness’, with {HL} overlay, specifying the domain of comparison. Likewise, just below, after *césú* ‘strength, power’, also with {HL} contour.

<sup>117</sup> *nì-r<sup>n</sup>á-* perfective negative of *lé* ‘eat’.

## Tape 2004-1, track B

## 2004-1b.01 Elephant and rooster (tale)

Bo: 205 á ènè ènè éné

Sa: kùsì bèlè bèlè bèlè bélè

Bo: 206 [gõŋ .: èsà-àrá lěy] yèrí [y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù]-zán<sup>118</sup> kù lú-sò, èsà-àrá [gõŋ sè:dè] sà-rá↑, [gõŋ máni] [èsà-àrá sè:dè] sà-rá↓,

207 èsà-àrá [y<sup>n</sup>é: yèr-é→]<sup>119</sup> á kà-là, háli [nòndér<sup>n</sup>á túrú] ñkăy<sup>n</sup>, gõŋ ká, [kò [kúwò-kà là:lèy]] àsí á wò-rò ñ nù nà, yállà [kó nà] [yè-kár<sup>n</sup>ú<sup>120</sup> kó á yè-tò mà], [kó mà] ká [y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù]-zán ká kó á yè-tò, ká y<sup>n</sup>añêy, [kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù kà: àsí á zàngù-rà ñ nù] [kùwò-kà ñgú] liw-ná [kò zàngù-rèŋ]<sup>121</sup> mà, ká â:<sup>n</sup>há!<sup>n</sup> [kó máni] [[y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù]-zàngú dà]<sup>122</sup> [kó á yè-tò],

208 kó bósó bôs-sò = kó, [kò yáy] dós-sò ñ, háli túddinà kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, [kó gó = m] [kó yáy-sà = kó], háyà, ká [nù-ñ kà: [bòsò ñgú] bòsú bè-ná ñ kálá:], yéyyà<sup>123</sup> [[y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù nù] zân-Ø] yè-lé,<sup>124</sup>

209 èsà-àrá yè-só, [kó kày] [y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù nà]<sup>125</sup> ká háyà, ká háyà kóy ká ú w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>ó<sup>126</sup> yá, ká [[kùwò-tò ná:] bà:<sup>n</sup>sà kúnú] [ès kà: kár<sup>n</sup>ú dèn dà ñ], bòsò nù, [[à-nú kálá:] ñgó] [bòsò nù] dò-rí ñ, [[y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù nù] pèrà] gó,

210 [èsà-àrá ñ] ká y<sup>n</sup>añêy, ká à-nú kálá: [à-nú kà: [bòsò ñgú] bòsú bè-ná ñ] [[y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù ñgú] pèrà] gó, èsà-àrá ká êyyó! wó:dì,

211 [èsà-àrá círó = m] [[[kò bòsò kúnú] kú] kù] ùnú-sò], èsà-àrá kó [gàsù-cí dà = kó] [gàsù-cí dà = kó] [gàsù-cí dà = kó] [gàsù-cí dà = kó] kòwlè-yà:fú: gàsú sánkità kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà = kó,

212 kó [bèl-céllá kù] pás-sà = kó lúmbúré:, kó èl-sà = kó [[[báná mà] zâ:] kù] [bàná-kùrò jèn dà gúrù ñ], kó líw-sò = kó [[kò kú] kù],

213 háyà ká àsí yáy-wòrè, sán sà<sup>127</sup> [à-nú kúnú] yèrú-wòrè má, ká wó tégò à-nú kà: [jìrò kùrò] ñgú gúrù] dò-rí ñ yà:fú:, [[y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù ñgú] pèrà] gó, kóddà, [èsà-àrá kày] yáy-wòrè,

214 gõŋ yè-só [kò sírà], gõŋ òr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà ñó<sup>n</sup>ò [kùrò ñ] kár<sup>n</sup>ú dà tíw!, ká yé kò nù nà mà,

215 ká háyà, [kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù nà] ká, [à-nú kà: [jìrò-kùrò ñgú] dò-rí ñ kálá:] ká [[y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù nù] pèrà] gó]

216 ká [kò à-nú kúnú] ká, [[kùwò-tò tègëy] bà:sà kúnú], ká y<sup>n</sup>añêy, ká [nín kày] ká kòmó dò:-rè, ká wá:jìbì ká [nín kày] kòmó dò:-rè, [kó jìní tán]<sup>128</sup> ká, ká àsí<sup>129</sup> sègú kà-ná,

217 háyà ká [[kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù nà] dè], [kó tégò] háyà [[ànù nù] dé]<sup>130</sup> [wó ségìlà kár<sup>n</sup>á dé], [nín kày] ká [[àsí mǎ:] túnòm-mà áw-wàrà [zòŋò dè]], kó gõŋ yáy-sà,

<sup>118</sup> y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù-zán ‘asking for (=courting) a woman’.

<sup>119</sup> y<sup>n</sup>é: yèr-é→ kár<sup>n</sup>á ‘do going and coming’. In form, y<sup>n</sup>é: and yèr-é are hortatives of ‘go’ and ‘come’, respectively.

<sup>120</sup> ‘what?-do(ing)’, cf. yé ‘what?’.

<sup>121</sup> Verbal noun -rěŋ as complement, here possessed.

<sup>122</sup> Purposive construction with a compound verbal noun and emphatic dà. Note {L} overlay on y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ù ‘woman’ as compound initial.

<sup>123</sup> Admonitional adverb used with prohibitives functioning as strong warnings.

<sup>124</sup> yè-lé ‘don’t come!’ (prohibitive of yèrí ‘come’, here with third person subject).

<sup>125</sup> ná ‘mother’ in possessed form.

<sup>126</sup> ‘Don’t you see?’, here used like presentational ñó<sup>n</sup>ò.

<sup>127</sup> sán sà ... mǎ ‘if it’s the case that ...’

<sup>128</sup> ‘if it isn’t that,’ i.e. ‘otherwise’.

<sup>129</sup> More properly plural àsí mǎ:

<sup>130</sup> Dative dè in H-toned form after demonstrative pronoun.

218 èsà-àrá bìrīy yè-só, kó [y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú nà] ká [èsà-àrá dè], ká [kò [bòsò ná:] bàsà kúnú] ká, [ká wó ségìlà kár<sup>n</sup>á] ká [àsí mǎ:] zónò á zǒn-gàrà gá<sup>131</sup> dé, ká [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù já:là kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà ñ yà:fú:] [wó kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú á bèrì-yàrà],

219 á! ká [kò dé] wó:dì, ká kó jèr<sup>n</sup>ú sánnì, èsà-àrá gú-sò, èsà-àrá [jètà-círó yà:fú:→] sór<sup>n</sup>ú mǒtǒ = m̄ [cè dé] tégú-sò], háyà [gǒñ àsí lěy] ká— zónò ká àw-wàrà, y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú [àsí mǎ:] á zàngù-rà→↑, [àsí mǎ:] zǒn-gèr-è↓, [kó nà] ká zónò [àsí mǎ:] á zǒn-gàrà,

220 [gǒñ mánì] [kúwó-nây<sup>132</sup> yà:fú:] sór<sup>n</sup>ú mǒt-tò, hálì [èwrà jèsù] dó,<sup>133</sup> ká háyà zónò, [èsà-àrá níñyè] zónò á zǒn-gèr-è, [kó nà↑], bé m<sup>b</sup>àwrà [níñ kày], ká bé ségìlà kár<sup>n</sup>á,

221 háyà [níñ kày], [[này kà:—, túnòm-mà ká á dàgí-yèr-è ñ] [túnòm-mà dè] ów-s-è = bé], kó [níñ kày↑], èsà-àrá ùngúrú-sò [nũ-m mà] jèré = m̄↑, [gǒñ mánì] ùngúrú-sò [nũ-m mà] jèré = m̄↓,

222 háyà, cisú, kó kò [y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy dú]<sup>134</sup> kò—, èsà-àrá tónò kò ìr<sup>n</sup>-í:, ká [cisú dè] [níñ kày], ká kó yá èlá ká yállà, [nù-m cíní] yállà ká bé [úru-wòr-è mà], níñ mánì, gǒñ mánì èwrà tíw-sò, kó yá èlá yállà ká kò, [kò èsà-àrá nù-m cíní] úru-wòr-è mà,

223 [cisú.: èwrà lěy] túnòm-mà dàgú-sà, [èwrà [cisú ñgú] bàrú kúw-sò ní] [bàrú kúw-sò ní] [bàrú kúw-sò ní] [hálì [kò bétè] sálú-sà], kóddà èwrà bìrīy-sò

Z: èwrà bìrīy-wòrè

Bo: 224 [cisú mánì] yǎy-sà, gǒñ ká yállà [èwrà dè] y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy mà, á! ká [èwrà dè], èwrà ká [gǒñ dè] kà, ká bà:ní kó:<sup>n</sup>,<sup>135</sup> ká sǒtókò-mǒtókò<sup>136</sup> jām tán, jém tí:n-tí:n,<sup>137</sup> ká [cisú dè] ká èlá èsà-àrá ká y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy mà, á! ká [ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> má kày] ká, [àsí mǎ:] dũm-bàrà dé, ká é→ ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> má, ká [ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> kày] ká [yó à-nù yè-só ñ kúnú kày], ká [wò bírà] mǒsú dé, ká èyyò wó:dì,

225 yày-cí d-ǒ: yày-cí d-ǒ: [kó [níñ kày] kó kò, én-ná— èsà-àrá ká, kà:yũñ tíw-sò, ténám ká, ká [yó kày] kà, [gǒñ dé] ká àsí á là, kó èlí-yàrà ká kó, [[kò nù-m cíní] gú-wòr-è mà] [gù-rí mà→], má [bé bél-wòr-è mà] [bèl-lí mà→]

Z: 226 ténám ká àsí á là

Bo: ténám ká àsí á là, ténám ì-r<sup>n</sup>-í: jìní, zòměy á dà, [ěy<sup>n</sup> mǎ:] [kúy<sup>n</sup>ǒ mǎ:] á dà, ténám ká àsí á là, ténám gú-sò,

227 zàkà ìndey kà:yũñ tíw dèn d-è, [kó nà] [yày-cí d-è = cé] túnòm-mà ká dàgú-s-è = cé, [kó nà] kà:yũñ, <bèl- > ténám bèrú dǎw-sà, [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám zòw-cí dà] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám zòw-cí dà] [ténám tày-cí d-è] [ténám zòw-cí dà],

228 ténám bàrì jèré = m̄→, wájú-lú-sà ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> pás-s-è = cé, kó bìrīy-s-è = cé, ká [ténám dè] ká y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy mà

Sa: 229 [kù ñgí] ñór<sup>n</sup>ǒ pítúm dà

Bo: 230 ténám ká, [nù-ñ kálá:] ká [[ěy<sup>n</sup> éy<sup>n</sup> bè-ná ñ] éy<sup>n</sup>á mà]<sup>138</sup> bàyló á zògú tòngù-rò], kòrò-cíwrà.: kù-bónó.:,<sup>139</sup> cǎw-là:fú: ñór<sup>n</sup>ǒ pítúm pású dà,

231 á! zàkà [kár<sup>n</sup>á = m̄ [[bè dé] kày] dǎy-wòr-è, níñ kày, [níñ kày] kúsò pátá kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>ǎr<sup>n</sup>è, [níñ kày] [sò dá gà]<sup>140</sup> á yà-r-è = bé, [sò dá gà] á yà-r-è = bé, túnòm-mà ká dàgú-s-è = bé mē:-mâ:→, kóddà [níñ kày], kò bàtú<sup>141</sup> mǒtú-s-è,

232 ká [níñ kày] ká á tègí-yèr-è [níñ kày], [níñ kày] [sàrà kár<sup>n</sup>á mà] tí→<sup>142</sup> kò zónò kày á zǒn-gèr-è, [níñ kày] sàríyà [níñ kày], kó kó—, èsà-àrá ká yállà, ká àyé jèn dà ká [kò tàrù séw] á sí-tú bè-tà mà, ògò-tògíyà ká àsí, kó sí-tó [àsí dé] [tàrù séw] tà:lì,

233 ká àyé jèn dà kũmnò á m<sup>b</sup>èlú bè-tà mà, gòríyò ká àsí, háyà wó:dì, háyà [níñ kày], ká tũñ kà: [àsí mǎ:] [kò bàtú] mǒtǒ = m̄ gá = m̄ ní, níñ kày↑, tégú-wòs-è ñ yàgàfú:, háyà ká kó èlá,

<sup>131</sup> *gá* here seems to be a kind of emphatic.

<sup>132</sup> ‘foot-four’, i.e. quadruped. Bahuvihi compound with {HL} tone on final.

<sup>133</sup> Clause with *hálì* ‘until’ and final bare verb.

<sup>134</sup> *y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy dú* ‘whatchamacallit?’, including *y<sup>n</sup>àñyèy* ‘how?’.

<sup>135</sup> *kó:<sup>n</sup>*. Varies with *kúw<sup>n</sup>ǒ*.

<sup>136</sup> A special story word, not in common use.

<sup>137</sup> Omitted is a false start audible on the tape: < *kò [kùrì dè] ká yéla —* >.

<sup>138</sup> Passage contains noun *ěy<sup>n</sup>* ‘thing’ and cognate verb *éy<sup>m</sup>|\éy<sup>n</sup>á* ‘do (thing)’.

<sup>139</sup> Two conjoined nouns with dying-quail final intonation, probably an unfinished list.

<sup>140</sup> ‘picking up (i.e. the feet)’ = ‘marching, walking’.

<sup>141</sup> *bátú* ‘meeting (noun)’.

<sup>142</sup> *tí→* ‘first(ly)’.

kó kó [[tàrù ɲí] só mà] ùní-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à kǔmnò, má [níɲ kày] kó wó, [[bà là: gǒɲ] kù] dém→, èlá mà, má kó kó y<sup>n</sup>àɲá, gòríyò ká èyyò wó:dì,

234 [kó yè] [níɲ kày], [[kò tègú] tègù-cí d-è] [tègú tègù-cí d-è] [tègú tègù-cí d-è] [tègú tègù-cí d-è], háli [bè tègù mà:], níɲ kày, túnòm-mà pású-sà,

235 [bè tègù mà:] túnòm-mà pás-sà ɲ yàgàfú:, háya ká [níɲ kày] ká, [níɲ kày] ká kòmó úrú-wòrè, kó [níɲ kày], kó: á:<sup>n</sup>! [èsà-àrà kày], [kò bóru kúnú] gàr<sup>n</sup>ánà:<sup>143</sup> jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì, jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì, jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì, jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì, [gǒɲ nà] gàr<sup>n</sup>ánà: [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá] [kùrú bàmmàtá], [kó nà] ɲkáy<sup>n</sup> á bà-tà,

236 [kó yè], háya káy [[túnòm-mà zà:] kù] ló, [kó yè] gòríyò hò: [kò tàrú— tà:lì cín]<sup>144</sup> só-wòsì, gòríyò ùnú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è, [gòríyò mèlù-cí dà] [gòríyò mèlù-cí dà] [gòríyò mèlù-cí dà] [gòríyò wò-só] wàllá:y ásì ùnú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è [háli kǔmnò],

237 gǒɲ, [[[bà là: gǒɲ] kù] bèl-cèlà] kù] dém→, kó èlá = m [tàrú kúnú], [lób6ínà kár<sup>n</sup>ú]<sup>145</sup> sí-t-tò ɲ yà:fú:] kóddà, [tàr kúnú] púsó = m [kó yè], nì-zórzór gú-sò ɲ yà:fú:, ká háya ká [[[bà là: gǒɲ] kù] kù] lòlí tí→ kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è [néɲ dè],

238 [kó yè] [kùwò tūr-í→ lók] dí:rà kár<sup>n</sup>ú-s-è = bé, [kó yè] [làgú nà] [làgú nà] [kò tà:l-lò kúnú], [lèy-lò kúnú] téw sí-t-tò = kó,

239 [kó yè] [níɲ kày] kúlú—, zòw kúlú bàrú-wòrè, [kó yè] rírírírírírí [kó yè], [èsà-àrà nù-m cíní] [[[kò gǒɲ] nù-mú] nàr<sup>n</sup>ú pásá = m, [kó yè] bìrìy-sò,

240 [níɲ kày] èsà-àrà símà [y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú mà] bē:-sì, èsà-àrà [y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú mà] dàgú-wòsì, [níɲ kày] jèr<sup>n</sup>á cék! dǒy dà, [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] [jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì jéy<sup>n</sup>-jéy<sup>n</sup>-cìrì] símà [níɲ kày] [cèná mà] cék! á cèn-n-è = cé,<sup>146</sup> níɲ kày, ká [níɲ kày] ká, èsà-àrà kò— [kò—

Sa: 241 ... [kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú] bē:-sì

Bo: ... y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú] bē:-sì, [nù-m cíní yàgàfú:] sór<sup>n</sup>ú mòt-é = m, [yá [[là cín] nù-m yà:fú:] cèná cénú lá d-è] [cénú dèn d-è [nùndér<sup>n</sup>á sòy<sup>n</sup>]], cèná cék! á cèn-n-è,

242 háya [éné [kò bánà] lèy], kútè kàtè kútè, [níɲ kày] dǔm-mòrè

Z: 243 èyyò jèr<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è

Bo: *très bien*

## 2004-1b.02 Tree locust (description)

JH: 244 kà:-yèrú

Bo: kà:-yèrú

Sa: [kó nà] kà: kó dá ɲ

Bo: 245 kà:-yèrú, kà:-yèrú [kàyà gùrú], kàyà pòlú, kò—, [kò kúrò] gùrú hâl [[[kò púr-cètà] dè], jém-jém wùgùrú-wùgùrú<sup>147</sup> dá = kó, kà:-yèrú jém-jém wùgùrú-wùgùrú dá = kó

Sa: [nù-m jérè mà:] â: kúw-rò

Bo: [nù-m jérè] â: kúw-rò↑, [nù-m jérè] kùw-nó↓

Sa: 246 kà:-yèrú [níɲ kày], ès kà: zàkà—, [èsè zàkà kù] kó á òr<sup>n</sup>ú-m-tà mà, [ès kà: mà:] kó á lì-rà ɲ, < ès kà: — >, dèɲ kà: [kò dèɲ-dìɲ], yállà kà:—, kà:—, kà: cé á yày-rà ɲ, tūr-í→-tūr-í→ mà→, mútú-mútú mà→, [níɲ kày] [ès kà: ú úkù [cè dé] ɲ]<sup>148</sup>

Bo: 247 kà:-yèrú, kà:-yèrú [sǎɲ kù] kà:-yèrú kà:-yèrú dá, [sǎɲ kù] kó dá, sòlò â: lí-rà = kó, tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lí-rà = kó, [tìw<sup>n</sup>à kà: kó bè-sá<sup>149</sup> ɲ yà:fú:] jèsù-ná = kó, â: lí-rà = kó,

248 cé á yày-rà màni, kùrú-kùrú á yày-r-è = cé, tūr-í→-tūr-í→ kày, hòndò nɲ [já:mlè wàkàtù] [dèɲ cé tólú-sò ɲ] cé én-ná kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà ɲ, cé tūr-í→-tūr-í→, á círú tònggù-rò ɲ, ìní tūr-í→-tūr-í→ jìní táɲ, kò tūr-í→, [kò tūr-í→ lók á yày-rà ɲ] y<sup>n</sup>àgò láy, [cé kày] [[ú wó:-sì] [cé á yày-rà táɲ]] kùrú

<sup>143</sup> gàr<sup>n</sup>ánà: ‘tomtom sound (rhythm)’.

<sup>144</sup> if spoken without hesitation: kò tàrú tà:lì cíní.

<sup>145</sup> lób6ínà kár<sup>n</sup>á ‘hit hard, smack’. 6 is the Fulfulde “implosive” (really preglottalized).

<sup>146</sup> Imperfective of céná ‘have fun’, i.e. ‘sing and dance’ (cognate nominal cèná).

<sup>147</sup> Reduplicated adjectives. The second part has {HL} (i.e. <HL>, HL, or HLL) tone.

<sup>148</sup> Relative ɲ following postverbal dative.

<sup>149</sup> Perfective-2 of bèrá ‘get’.

- Sa: 249 kùrú  
 Bo: ú wǒ:-sì [cé á yà-y-rà táŋ] kùrú, ñgǒ:ṅà, [tìw<sup>n</sup>á mání kálá:] [tìw<sup>n</sup>à cé dàgú-sà ṅ],<sup>150</sup> [cè dé] cék!, [ṅgú gòlú ṅ] èn-n-é = cé,<sup>151</sup> [ṅgú gòlú sàrá ṅ] èn-n-é = cé, cǽwla:fú: á lì-r-è = cé símà  
 Sa: 250 má [cè yây nà] wákátù nà, sá = cé mâ↑, sà-rá = cé mà↓  
 Bo: 251 yây, yây wákátù sá = cé, kà:-yèrú, kò yây yàgàfú:, [nòŋ lúw-ṅó] [pútùrò níṅyè], [cè kí kì]<sup>152</sup> á ùṅùrù-t-è = cé, [má á bò-t-è = cé] [y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá á bò-t-è = cé] sìg-ú,<sup>153</sup> [dèŋ isú cé sí-wòr-è ṅ yà:fú:], yây-n-é = cé, kàmá-ní [y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅà làgú] bìrìy yè-só  
 Sa: 252 kàmá-ní [y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅà làgú] bìrìy yè-só  
 Bo: [kàmá-ní⇒ [y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅà làgú] bìrìy yè-só], [kó má] [á yà-y-r-è = cé]  
 Sa: [kó má] [á yà-y-r-è = cé]

### 2004-1b.03 Grasshopper medley (descriptions)

- Sa: 253 kàyà mǒsú  
 Bo: kàyà mǒsú, [kó kày] í kó ínà [nànnà:r<sup>n</sup>á kày], gá: [kó mání], [[kà:-yèrú kà:<sup>154</sup> dá ṅ] kây<sup>n</sup>] dá = kó, gá: [kó kày], kò—, kò nó:nè kúnú, síttì = kó, [kò kúrò kúnú] mání:nì, [kà:-yèrú kùrò kây<sup>n</sup>] gúlú = m̄ gúlú dà [hâl [kò púr-cètà] tílú dà],  
 254 [kó mà]<sup>155</sup> [kò sí kây<sup>n</sup>], [y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá-y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá dá]<sup>156</sup> á yà-y-rà = kó, y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá-y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá á yà-y-rà = kó, [kùrú-kùrú á yà-y-rà = kó] [y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá-y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá á yà-y-rà = kó], sòlò â: lí-rà = kó↑, tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lí-rà = kó↑, isó â: lí-rà = kó↓  
 Sa: 255 kò yú nà  
 Bo: [sòlò nà] < yú — > [kó dà] [kò yú nà], â: lí-rà = kó yú, yú pàsù-ná = kó láy  
 X: [yú jèsù] jèn dà —  
 Bo: 256 [yú jèsù] jèn dà mósù = kó láy, [kò sòlò péré] jèsù, yú [tùŋ kà: kó sígú-wòrè↑]<sup>157</sup> [yù tǽgǽy kây] táŋ, [â: lí-rà = kó] [hâlì dùw<sup>n</sup>ǒ], [yù-ná:, tùŋ<sup>158</sup> kó sígú-wòrè ṅ yà:fú:] [[kòtò yà:fú:] lí ká:<sup>159</sup> mà] [[i-m cíní] kòŋgúró mà], [níŋ kày] [bèrè kúnú] cék! á wàsù-rà, kó kò [kàyà mǒsú]  
 Sa: 257 yá á tǒl-lò = kó má↑, â: yé-tò = kó má↓  
 Bo: â: yâ-y-rà = kó↑, á yè-tò = kó [dèŋ dè] [kò sí-t-ù],<sup>160</sup> [dèŋ kà: kó —, tàrú sí-tú-wòsì ṅ yà:fú:] [yá tóló mà], [kò yókùm-dò:rèy kúnú já:tì] kùrú-kùrú á yà-y-rà, [kùrú-kùrú kó á yà-y-rà] [hâl [kò cìr-ú] dǒ], [kò cìr-ú] dǒ:-rè mání, [cé cìrú-wòrè má] [[cé mà] kùrú-kùrú á yà-y-rà]
- JH: 258 bà:bà-númlé  
 Sa: bà:bà-númlé tǽgù  
 Bo: bà:bà-númlé, bà:bà-númlé kày, [kó kày] [[mútú-mútú á yà-y-rà ṅ kây] ṅ wò-rí], [kó kày] [ú kó ñìr<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>ḍ<sup>n</sup>è má], àrà.: yá lǽy, kó nà, kòpú kò, jém.:, kàkì: lǽy, wǎr dà  
 Sa: 259 yú â: lí-rà = kó mà→↑, nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó má↓  
 Bo: bà:bà-númlé, bà:bà-númlé á —, kó —, [kó kày] [í isò] mútú sàrá = kó, < kó yè— > gá: â: lí-rà = kó [yú kày]  
 Sa: â: lí-rà = kó  
 Bo: à<sup>n</sup>há<sup>n</sup>, sòlò â: lí-rà = kó→↑, tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lí-rà = kó↓  
 Sa: tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lí-rà = kó  
 Bo: tìw<sup>n</sup>á â: lí-rà = kó  
 Sa: kó â: kúw-r-è mà

<sup>150</sup> Assistant suggested emending to *ségú-sà ṅ*.

<sup>151</sup> Verb *èlú\èlá* ‘look, consider’.

<sup>152</sup> *cè kí kì* ‘on them (times of day)’, variant of *cè kú kù* ‘on their head’. Singular version: *kò kú kù*.

Compare locative *kù* ‘in’ becoming *kí* in *ṅgí kí* ‘in these’.

<sup>153</sup> ‘go to descend (=spend the night)’. Purposive verbal noun after motion verb.

<sup>154</sup> *kà:* in (otherwise) headless relative (implied head is ‘manner, way’).

<sup>155</sup> For *kó mání* ‘it too’.

<sup>156</sup> *dá* here seems to be a postnominal emphatic (‘precisely’), as in Songhay.

<sup>157</sup> Unfinished *tùŋ kà:* ‘when ...’ clause. Compare the clause of this type below.

<sup>158</sup> Reduction of *tùŋ kà:* ‘when ...’.

<sup>159</sup> *kám\káv<sup>n</sup>á = ká:<sup>n</sup>* ‘do completely, finish doing’

<sup>160</sup> Possessed form of verbal noun *sì-t-ú* ‘putting down (=laying eggs)’.

Bo: bà:bà-númlé kùw-n-é  
Sa: kùw-n-é

JH: 260 sóm-pólòm<sup>161</sup>

Bo: [sóm-pólòm kày] yú nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, [kó nà→], s:là á-dà↑, [sòlò-òrú kày<sup>n</sup>→, dá ɛ́] á dà↑, pòysú á dà↑, sóm-pólòm, < sí: >, [cé kay] [cé sí: tà:lí], pìrù-pòysú↑, sòlò-òrú↑, [< ká — > á dà] [kàkí: kày<sup>n</sup> dá ɛ́], [kó kày] sòlò má-dógò↑, [yú kày] ɛ́ wò-rí [kó á lì-rà ɛ́]

Sa: 261 y<sup>n</sup>àɛ̀yè dá = kó

Bo: [kò kú] sémú dà, [kò kúwò] gùrú

Sa: â: cí-tò = kó má→, â: yà-y-rà = kó má

Bo: â: cí-tò = kó

Sa: â: cí-tò = kó

Bo: 262 [kó mà] < xxx >, [hâl [[[kò púrò] kà] kù], [kò kúrò]<sup>162</sup> dó dà]

Sa: [cìr-ù gùrú] má→, [cìr-ù tükëy] má→

Bo: [cìr-ù tükëy dá] á cì-tò = kó, [cìr-ù gùrú] cì-nó = kó, [cír-é→ síg-é→] [cír-é→ síg-é→]<sup>163</sup> má-dógò, [kó yè] [cìr-ù gùrú] cì-nó = kó

JH: 263 kòmbùrù kòyó

Bo: kòmbùrù kòyó, kòmbùrù kòyó kày, kó kày, é-ná, [bár<sup>n</sup>ú.: síttì lèy] [kó kày], kó mánì→↑, [kò yây] tórò jèn dà mútù, sábi fây [kó kày] [[kúrò bàsà kúnú] [[kò kúrò kúnú] kó â: bá-tà dà ná:, [tòrò kúnú] dà] [kó [kùrò kúnú] á bà-tà], ná: kó kày, [[ɛ̀gí sí kày<sup>n</sup>] [círú dá gà] á yà-y-rà ɛ́] sàrá

Sa: 264 [kò tónò] y<sup>n</sup>àɛ̀yè dà

Bo: [kò tónò] gà:<sup>n</sup>sú dà, [kò tónò] tükëy dómbúró, [kò tám-bòsì [[nù-r<sup>n</sup>ú lò] kù] tán] [néj á gù-rò], [kó [[nù-r<sup>n</sup>ú lò] kù] tám kúlú-wòsì tán] [néj á gù-rò]

Sa: [kò húlè], gùrú má→ tükëy

Bo: [kò húlè] gùrú sàrá, [kò húlè] tükëy

Sa: 265 séw má→

Bo: séw má-dógò

Sa: [kó nà] yây

Bo: kó kày, yú â: lí-rà kòy, nànnà:r<sup>n</sup>á kò, [kó yè] [[[kò yú-lì] mòsú sàrá má-dògò] [yú â: lí-rà = kó] [kó kày], yú â: lí-rà = kó

Sa: 266 [kò árà] ná: mà→↑, [kò yá] ná: mà

Bo: [kò yá] ná:

Sa: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]

Bo: yá ná: [[kò árà] dè], [kò yá kày fây→] [àrá lèy] á bàpú bè-tà

Sa: [kò yá] [àrá lèy] á bàpú bè-tà

Bo: [àrá lèy] á bàpú bè-tà

Sa: 267 má [jèré mà] [á cì-tò = kó]

Bo: [jèré mà] símà [tórú dá gà] [á yà-y-rà = kó]

Sa: <xxx>

JH: 268 zìnâɛ̀-góngùrú

Bo: zìnâɛ̀-góngùrú, [kó nà] sòlò-òrú, [kó kày] [kùrò gùrú] sà-rá, [kó kày] â: tó-tò, kò kórò-cìwrà ɛ́, [á dà] [kórú dà], kòrò-cìwrà kórú dà

Sa: 269 kò déɛ̀-dìɛ̀

Bo: kò déɛ̀-dìɛ̀, yú kù, órú kù, ú ká àsí kó —, [ú yèrú-wòrè] [ú ká [àsí<sup>164</sup> kó áw-é]]<sup>165</sup> tán↑, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, ú ká àsí kó áw-é tán↑, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, ú ká àsí kó áw-é tán↑, má á bàmbù-rà = kó, [má kó tórú mà] [kó yà-yá]<sup>166</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Variant *sém-pòlòm*, cf. *sémú* \| *sémó* ‘be pointed’.

<sup>162</sup> *kò*<sup>HL</sup> *kúrò* ‘its wing’ emended from *kò*<sup>HL</sup> *púrò* ‘its belly’ on the tape. My assistant would also prefer to put this *kò*<sup>HL</sup> *kúrò* before the *hâl ...* phrase.

<sup>163</sup> Paired hortatives denoting recurrent paired opposite motions.

<sup>164</sup> Logophoric *àsí* with (generic) 2Sg antecedent.

<sup>165</sup> Hortative *-é*, here embedded in a quotation.

<sup>166</sup> Verb form identical to the imperative, at the end of verb chain. This type of verb is typical of ‘until ...’ clauses.

- Sa: 270 tórò [kò yây]  
 Bo: tóy tórò [kò yây]  
 Sa: cìr-ú kà y sà-rá = kó  
 X: [kò árà] nâ: mâ→↑, [kò yá] má  
 Bo: [kò yá] nâ:  
 Sa: [kò yá] nâ:, [yú â: lí-rà = kó mà→] nì-r<sup>n</sup>à = kó  
 Bo: 271 kó mání:nì, yú â: céngú-rú-tò  
 Sa: yú â: céngú-rú-tò, [tìw<sup>n</sup>á mǎ:] nà  
 Bo: tìw<sup>n</sup>á mǎ:, tìw<sup>n</sup>á mǎ: kà y, sòló má-dógò, [kó kà y]—, [[tìw<sup>n</sup>á mǎ:] á lí-rà ɲ] mí [kó kà y] m̄ ínà
- JH: 272 pèrêm-pèmmé  
 Bo: pèrêm-pèmmé, pèrêm-pèmmé, [kò kúrò] gùrú, pór<sup>n</sup>úkú dà = kó, kòpú [kó mání], pòr<sup>n</sup>úkú-kòpú, yú â: lí-rà = kó, sòló â: lí-rà = kó, kà: [tìw<sup>n</sup>á sì kà y] [kó kà y] m̄ ínà, yòrù-zègírè<sup>167</sup> â: kúw-rò = kó  
 Sa: 273 mánà  
 Bo: [mánà mǎ:] â: kúw-rò = kó, ìsò â: lí-rà = kó, [pèrêm-pèmmé kà y] [ɲkǎy<sup>n</sup> dá]  
 X: déllè [kó kà y] dàgú dà, síw dà = kó má  
 Bo: síw ɲgò = kó kò y, [pèrêm-pèmmé kà y] [kó kà y] [[kò y<sup>n</sup>óɲò] cék! mósù] [kó kà y] síw-nó  
 X: 274 y<sup>n</sup>óɲò sá = kó  
 Bo: y<sup>n</sup>óɲò sá = kó kò y, [kó kà y] náti â: lí-rà = kó↑, yú â: lí-rà = kó↑, núm â: lí-rà = kó↑, túsú â: lí-rà = kó↑ ...  
 Sa: kònó  
 Bo: kònó, kònó mǎ:, â: y<sup>n</sup>óɲgú-rò = kó  
 Sa: 275 [kò árà] nâ: má, yá  
 Bo: [kò yá] nâ:  
 Sa: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]  
 Bo: [[kò árà] dè]
- JH: 276 sé:kèy kà yà  
 Bo: sé:kèy kà yèy, [sé:kèy kà yèy kà y] [sé:kèy jèsù] cék dà, [kó kà y] sé:kèy cék à céngú-rú tòɲgù-rò, [sé:kèy jèsù] cék [kó kà y]  
 Sa: <xxx>  
 Bo: 277 tóbbè-tóbbè, sítì-kó↑, jém-jém [[kò jèsù] tóbbà kár<sup>n</sup>ú dà] [ní→ bàr<sup>n</sup>í:-bár<sup>n</sup>í:], sé:kèy kà yèy [kò ká y<sup>n</sup>] dá = kó, [kò kú mání] sém dà  
 Sa: 278 sém dà, déllà [kó kà y] y<sup>n</sup>óɲò sà-rá  
 Bo: [kó kà y] y<sup>n</sup>óɲò sà-rá  
 Sa: 279 [kó â: kúw-r-è mà↑] [kùw-n-é má]  
 Bo: kó kùw-n-é, gá: [à y<sup>n</sup>á níɲèy kà y] kó â:<sup>168</sup> dó mótú-r-è
- JH: 280 dùɲù-nú kà yà  
 Bo: dùɲù-nú ká yèy, [dùɲù-nú ká yèy] kòpú, cé, [dùɲù-nú ká yèy] [sì: lèy], [túru kà y] bète-dósù:<sup>169</sup> [túru nà] [kúrò bà:sà], ð<sup>n</sup>sí:<sup>n</sup>, [cé mání:nì], [tòw-bèw òrí: kà y], â: lí-rà = cé, háyà [yú gá:lú-wòrè má] [yú dè] kà<sup>n</sup>ú w<sup>n</sup>ò-r<sup>n</sup>-é = cé,<sup>170</sup> [cé mání] ɲkǎy<sup>n</sup> dá, gá: [yà kúnú kà y] [kò bète kúnú], [èwra bète] ká y<sup>n</sup> lòsà-lósá:, [àrà kún nà] là:lèy  
 Sa: 281 [kó â: kúw-r-è mà↑] kùw-n-é  
 Bo: kó kùw-n-é  
 Sa: 282 [óru kù] [kò dèɲ] mà↑, sǎɲ kù  
 Bo: m̄?m̄, [dùɲù-nú ká yèy kà y] [óru kù] dà, [kò dèɲ], [òrù séwtírè] ní→↑, ní→ [[óru pùrò] kù], [[òrù séwtírè] pású dà ɲ] [[óru pùrò] kù]

<sup>167</sup> *yòrù-zègírè* ‘rag(s)’, with *yòrú* ‘fabric’. For *zègírè* compare Songhay nouns meaning ‘rag(s)’: KCh *jaara*, KS *zaara*, TSK *zèwrè*. Related forms elsewhere in Dogon are Bankan Tey (Walo village) *zèwré*, a local borrowing <TSK Songhay, and Ben Tey *jègérè*.

<sup>168</sup> Imperfective allomorph *â:* before chained verbs.

<sup>169</sup> Bahuvrihi compound (‘big-bellied’). *dósù:* (whose HL tone may be an overlay) is known to my assistant only in this compound, and only with reference to insects.

<sup>170</sup> *kà<sup>n</sup>-ú w<sup>n</sup>ò-r<sup>n</sup>-é = cé* ‘they cannot manage, they aren’t strong enough’. With *wó-* ‘see’ (or homophonous verb).



Sa: yá [kò dɛ̃ŋ]  
Bo: [yá dà] [kò dɛ̃ŋ] mútù

JH: 283 gùtú káyà

Bo: gùtú káyěy, [gùtú káyěy] kòpú, [kó mání:nì] [[gùtú zà:] kù] cékù dá, [kó mání] [[yú zàkà] kù]  
[kó mà] y<sup>n</sup>àŋgó, [kó mà] y<sup>n</sup>òŋò sà-rá

Sa: [kó mà] [kò dé] y<sup>n</sup>òŋò ín-è

Bo: [kó mà] [kò dé] y<sup>n</sup>òŋò ín-è

Sa: 284 [kò àrà.: ] [kò yá lěy] á dà mà→

Bo: [kò àrà.: ] [kò yá lěy] á dà, [kó mà] [kò yá] ná:, [[kò àrà] dè]

JH: 285 náti kàyà

Bo: náti kàyěy, [kó mání] yú â: lí-rà, náti â: lí-rà, núm â: lí-ra, [tìw<sup>n</sup>á mání] â: lí-rà = kó, [kó kày]  
[[kò y<sup>n</sup>òŋò] m̀̀sú] [kó mání] [pèrêm-pèmmé s̀̀ kày<sup>n</sup>]

Sa: 286 [s̀̀w dà = kó mà→] [s̀̀w ñgò = kó]

Bo: [kó kày] s̀̀w dà kòy, [kó kày] [[à<sup>n</sup>sú mà: yà:fú] â: lí-rà = kò] [kó kày] [á s̀̀w-rò], háli ú k̀̀sò  
k̀̀sò mà, [[[yù mày<sup>n</sup>] pèrà] d̀̀gá mà] [[pàṅá p̀̀rò] kù] â: lí-rò = kó, [kó kày] â: kúw-r-è, [[nù-  
r<sup>n</sup>ù ìwá ñ] kày] [kó wàrũm-b̀̀s̀̀] má] [s̀̀mbú-rú dà céré!], á tèm̀̀bù-rà<sup>171</sup>

Sa: 287 [pàṅá kù] kó lí-wòrè má nà

Bo: [pàṅá kù] kó lí-wòrè má nà, nùm-nó = kó símà [yù mày<sup>n</sup> kúnú] símà â: lí-rà = kó, á wày-  
rà = kó

X: [[[pàṅá p̀̀rò] kù] dá ñ kúnú] nùm-nó = kó —

Bo: [yù mày<sup>n</sup> kúnú] á lí-rà = kó

X: <xxx>

Bo: [ní kày] nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó

Sa: <xxx>

JH: 288 núm-tókì:

Bo: núm-tókì:, [kó mà] [àrà.: yá lěy] sá = kó, [kò yá ↓kúnú] ná:, [[àrà kún] dé], núm —, < núm  
tòŋy<sup>172</sup> mání >, núm-tókì: mání, [kó mání:nì] [[nátírí káy-ěy]<sup>173</sup> s̀̀] kày<sup>n</sup>, [[[nátírí káyěy] s̀̀]  
kày<sup>n</sup>] kòpú, [nátírí káyěy] jèn dà p̀̀rú ↑, núm-tókì: dè, á dà = kó ↑, [kí:bì sá] [[kí:bì ñkăy<sup>n</sup>] g̀̀gú  
dà ñ], [kó mání] á s̀̀w-rò, [kó mání] náti â: lí-rà, yú â: lí-rà, [núm mà:] â: lí-rà, t̀̀r<sup>n</sup>í â: lí-rà

Sa: 289 y<sup>n</sup>òŋò sá = kó

Bo: [kó mà] y<sup>n</sup>òŋò sá = kó

Sa: [kò dé kày] ày<sup>n</sup>á, [kò dé kày] ày<sup>n</sup>à-y<sup>n</sup>óm d̀̀gú dà cék

Bo: [cé kày] [cè dé], ày<sup>n</sup>à-y<sup>n</sup>óm d̀̀gú dà, â: lí-r-è = cé

Sa: 290 s̀̀gũm-s̀̀gěy<sup>174</sup>

Bo: s̀̀gũm-s̀̀gěy mání, [kó mà] â: lí-rà, [kó mà] yú â: lí-rà, [kó mà] kórú dà, [kórú dà] [kó  
mání] —, sí:bè-sí:bè [kó mà] kórú dà, [kó mà] yá gá [àrà dè], yú â: lí-rà = kó, náti â: lí-rà = kó,  
d̀̀ŋ̀̀nù á: lí-rà = kó, túsú á: lí-rà = kó, [kó mání] y<sup>n</sup>òŋò-y<sup>n</sup>òŋú-nú

Sa: 291 c̀̀rú [kò bírà] mà→, t̀̀rò

Bo: c̀̀rú [kò bírà], s̀̀gũm-s̀̀gěy â: cí-tò, [t̀̀rú kúlú-wòrè má nà] [â: tó-tò]

Sa: [[[kò dé mání] ày<sup>n</sup>à-y<sup>n</sup>óm d̀̀gú dà] y<sup>n</sup>òŋú-nú, [kó mà] t̀̀gú kòy

Bo: [kó yè] [kò dé mà] ày<sup>n</sup>à-y<sup>n</sup>óm d̀̀gú-dà, [kó mà] y<sup>n</sup>òŋò-y<sup>n</sup>òŋú-nú kó, y<sup>n</sup>òŋò-y<sup>n</sup>òŋú-nú kó

X: <xxx>

JH: 291 bó:ní-sélè-là:wà<sup>175</sup>

Bo: bó:ní-sélè-là:wà, kó mání:nì [óru kù] kó â: dí-l-è,<sup>176</sup> kà: bó:ní-sélè-là:wà, núm â: lí-rà = kó, gá:  
[kò y<sup>n</sup>òŋò] mútú sàrà, < gá: yó — >, [bó:ní kóy sélè là:wà]<sup>177</sup> yú á c̀̀ŋ̀̀gùrù-tò, ñ wò-rí, gá: [kó

<sup>171</sup> Sounds like *tèm-là* on the tape, but my assistant insists on *tèm̀̀bù-rà*. From verb *tém||tév<sup>n</sup>á*.

<sup>172</sup> Mispronounced.

<sup>173</sup> Variant pronunciation of *náti kàyěy*, see above. Variant *nátírú káyěy*.

<sup>174</sup> Variant *s̀̀gũm-s̀̀gírè*.

<sup>175</sup> Somewhat opaque three-part compound, with variant *bó:ní-sélè-dà:w<sup>n</sup>á*. Begins with *bó:ní* (name of Boni town). My assistant connected the medial with *sé:lì*→ ‘long and thin’, and the final with *dà<sup>n</sup>wá* ‘totem’.

- kày] kó [[àrà.: yá lěy] yà:fú:], [kó kày] cék! [gùrú dè], kò kúrò máni↑, háli [[kò púrò-kà] kù] tílú dà
- Sa: 292 [kó nà] y<sup>n</sup>àṅēy [kò kú] dà
- Bo: kò kú-bòndò, kù-bòndò séw, pòlú-pólù
- Sa: 293 [kó â: kúw-r-è mà] kùw-n-é
- Bo: kó â: kúw-r-è
- Sa: y<sup>n</sup>óṅò sà-rá = kó
- Bo: y<sup>n</sup>óṅò sà-rá = kó
- JH: 294 gòròṅgò:sì-tàpìní:<sup>178</sup>
- Bo: gòròṅgò:sì-tàpìní:, kó máni, kàsú â: lí-rà, núm â: lí-rà, [kó mà] [[[kò y<sup>n</sup>óṅò] mútú sàrà] [[[kò yú] zà:] kù], gá: [kàsú mǎ:↑] [nǎm mǎ:↑], kó â: lí-rà = kó
- Sa: kò bírà
- [interruption]
- Bo: 295 gòròṅgò:sì-tàpìní:→, ñ gá, kàsú â: lí-rà = kó, [kàsú wòrò] â:<sup>179</sup> cèrú pútú-kú-tò = kó, núm, [kó máni] [[[núm zà:] kù máni] kó á dī-l-è] [kó máni] â: cèrú pútú-kú-tò = kó, [[námú↑ zà:] kù] [kó â: dí-l-è] [[nám kòtò], â: lí-rà = kó], [kó mà] ñgú [kò dé] úkù
- Sa: 296 gòròṅgò:sì
- Bo: gòròṅgò:sì â: tǎmbú-rà = kó,<sup>180</sup> má [kó tǎm-bòsì má] [gòròṅgò:sì nà] kó, èn-nà písú gú dà ñ kúnú, â: ní-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó, [[gòròṅgò:sì núw<sup>n</sup>ó] jèsù] â: kúw-rò = kó
- Sa: 297 tórò [kò bírà] mà→ cìr-ú
- Bo: tórò [kò bírà], jètá kó á bà-tà<sup>181</sup>
- Sa: <xxx>
- Bo: [kó tórú-wòsì ní] [[jètá kúnú] sí:] tégěy, [jètá kúnú] kó á bà-tà, < nà: kó — >, [tòrò kúnú] jìní tán↑, [cìr-ú kày] cìrú<sup>182</sup> bē-ná = kó
- Sa: [tórò mà] tórú bē-ná = kó sákkò, [ì-mí: kó wǒ:-sì tán] [kó bē:-sì]
- Bo: m!
- Sa: 298 [kó mà] y<sup>n</sup>óṅò sà-rá
- Bo: [kó mà] [kò y<sup>n</sup>óṅò] mútú sàrà
- JH: 299 lúpì:
- Bo: lúpì:, lúpì: y<sup>n</sup>óṅò sà-rá
- X: < xxx >
- Bo: lúpì: kày↑, kòpú = kó, bǎr<sup>n</sup>ú-bǎr<sup>n</sup>ù kǎy<sup>n</sup> dá = kó, gá: lúpì: kày, sòlò kó á lì-rà má-dógò, yú nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó↑, núm nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó↑, túsú nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó↑,<sup>183</sup> [lúpì: kày] [ìsò kù] cék!, á lúppà kán<sup>184</sup> tǎṅgù-rò, dǔm-bòrè
- JH: 300 mǎnó kàyà<sup>185</sup>
- Bo: mǎnó kàyà, [kó nà] [mǎnó jèsù] cék!, mǎnó kàyěy kày, [kó kày] [mǎnó jèsù] cék!, [kó kày] [wàgàtù ú kó wò-só í yà:fú:], á dà = kó [mǎnó jèsù] lókú tǎṅú dà, [kó kày] gòlú kòy, [kó kày] kùw-nó dé, [kó kày] gòlú
- Sa: 301 yú nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó
- X: yú nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó
- Bo: yú nì-r<sup>n</sup>á = kó
- Sa: [yú kù] sīgù-nó = kó
- Bo: mhm!, [yú kù] sīgù-nó = kó

<sup>176</sup> *dìr<sup>n</sup>ú* \ *dìr<sup>n</sup>á* ‘encounter, find’ has imperfective *dí-tà-* or *dí-là-*.

<sup>177</sup> Unusual pronunciation with *kóy* intercalated.

<sup>178</sup> Lit. ‘giant.millipede-kick’. This grasshopper is thought to have giant millipedes as part of its diet.

<sup>179</sup> *â:* imperfective before chained verbs.

<sup>180</sup> On tape, sounds like *tám-nà = kó*.

<sup>181</sup> *bàrá* ‘help’.

<sup>182</sup> *cìrú* ‘fly’ (chained verb) preceded by its verbal noun *cìr-ú*.

<sup>183</sup> Terminal rising intonation suggests that the parallel sequence could continue.

<sup>184</sup> *lúppà kár<sup>n</sup>á* ‘land, alight’ (verb).

<sup>185</sup> Lit. “*Balanites* (=wild date tree) grasshopper.”

Sa: <xxx>  
 Bo: [ǒw kù] [ǒw kù] cék!  
 Sa: 302 [kò árà] ná: má, [kò yá] ná: ↓  
 Bo: [kò yá] ná:  
 Sa: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]  
 Bo: [kò yá] ná: [[kò árà] dè]  
 Sa: 303 jém kó má→↑, píru kó má↓  
 Bo: m̀nó kàyěy, jém cé  
 Sa: jém cé  
 Bo: jém cé  
 Sa: [kò árà.:] yá lěy yà:fú:  
 Bo: [[kò árà.:] [kò yá] lěy yà:fú:] jém

JH: 304 tóró kàyà<sup>186</sup>  
 Bo: tóró kàyà, tóró kàyěy, [tóró kàyěy kày] m̀ ínà  
 Sa: kó yè, kàyà b́ar<sup>n</sup>ú, [[d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy] kà: dá íj, kún] dé dà] ì-mí: [kò tóró kàyěy] á gà-rà  
 Bo: 305 [kó kày] d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy dá, [d̀ǹǹ-nú kàyèy ná:→] [d̀ǹǹ-nú kàyèy t̀g̀y lěy]  
 Sa: [kó mánì] [sípà kár<sup>n</sup>á [kà: kó dá íj]]  
 Bo: èyyó [d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy], [[d̀ǹǹ-nú káyěy] dá] [kó kày], [kó kày] d̀ǹǹ-nú kàyèy ná:, tóró kàyà kúnú, < b̀:ˀs— > [kó círu-wòrè má] [b̀ns̀-ú-b̀ns̀-ú dà = kó k̀p̀], kó [mánì:ní] yú ǹ-<sup>n</sup>á, [[s̀l̀ zà: cék!] ú kó á ẁ-<sup>n</sup>r̀]  
 Sa: 306 y<sup>n</sup>óhò sà-rá  
 Bo: y<sup>n</sup>óhò sà-rá  
 X: [kò árà] —, [kò yá] ná: [àrá dè]  
 Bo: [kò yá] ná: [àrá dè], [kò yá] ná:, [[kò nà] kú-póhútù,<sup>187</sup> [[kò mà] kú-s̀w  
 Sa: 307 k̀w-n-é  
 Bo: gá: k̀w-n-é

JH: 308 kà:-y<sup>n</sup>àhà  
 Bo: kà:-y<sup>n</sup>àhà kày, [kó kày] kàyá —, [kó kày] lěy-lěy [ní túr-túrú] [kó kà] á yà-rà, [kó kày] ná: k̀y, kà:-y<sup>n</sup>àhà [kó kày] [kà:-yèrú dè] s̀w  
 Sa: [kà:-yèr dè] g̀rú  
 Bo: [kà:-yèr dè] g̀rú  
 X: 309 â: k̀w-r-è  
 Bo: â: k̀w-r-è mánì  
 Sa: á síw b̀-<sup>n</sup>tà s̀y —  
 Bo: á síw b̀-<sup>n</sup>tà = kó  
 Sa: s̀y k̀y<sup>n</sup>  
 Bo: 310 mhm! [kó kày] círu-wòrè mánì [s̀y sì k̀y<sup>n</sup>] prrrr á yà-rà f̀s!, hálì [w<sup>n</sup>áhú-lá mà] [á b̀-<sup>n</sup>tò] s̀g-ú, [s̀y sì k̀y<sup>n</sup>] [kó kày] [círu dá gà] á ỳy b̀-<sup>n</sup>tà, hálì w<sup>n</sup>áhú-lá<sup>188</sup>  
 Sa: 311 kò d̀ǹ-<sup>n</sup>d̀ǹ nà  
 Bo: kò d̀ǹ-<sup>n</sup>d̀ǹ nà, á! [kó mánì:nì] [s̀h̀ k̀] dà k̀y, mhm!, <xxx> [s̀h̀ k̀] dà  
 Sa: [kó nà] [yá.: àrá lěy] sá = kó mà  
 Bo: [yá.: àrá lěy] sá = kó, [yà kún] ná:, [[kò árà] dè] mánì  
 Sa: 312 y<sup>n</sup>óhò sà-rá = kó  
 Bo: y<sup>n</sup>óhò sà-rá = kó, í t̀h̀ k̀y  
 Sa: [í t̀h̀ k̀y] y<sup>n</sup>óhò sà-rá = kó  
 Bo: [í t̀h̀ k̀y] y<sup>n</sup>óhò sà-rá = kó

JH: 313 ìsò-súměy káyà  
 Bo: ìsò-súměy káyà, há<sup>n</sup>  
 Sa: [[í:sà: mǎ:] í lěy] [kò nây] [í m̀t̀ = m̀] tégú-sò  
 Bo: [ìsò-súměy káyà] m̀ ínà  
 Sa: <xxx> [ìsò-súměy káyà]

<sup>186</sup> Lit. “mountain’s grasshopper.”

<sup>187</sup> Bahuvrihi from *p̀h̀t̀* ‘large, round, and elongated (like large watermelon)’.

<sup>188</sup> *hálì* ‘until’ plus imperative stem.

- Bo: [isò-súměy káyà kày] m̀ ínà  
 Sa: 314 [í:sà: má:] tégú-sò [kò nây] [isò-súměy káyà]  
 X: háyà [mí kày] m̀<sup>b</sup> égú wâ:-lí<sup>189</sup>  
 Bo: [isò-súměy káyà kày] [isò-súměy káyà kày] [súr<sup>n</sup>ú jìní ń] [mí kày] [kàyá kày kálá:] ń wò-rí  
 Sa: 315 [isò-súměy káyà] [ká kò] [kàyà jém], kàyà bà<sup>n</sup>í→, kòrò sé:lì→, zéngìlì→ kúnú, [isò-súměy kù] á púw tòngù-rò ń kúnú, ká [kó kò isò-súměy káyà]  
 Bo: ká [dùñù-nú káyà]  
 Sa: 316 ń ká [í kày], [cěw-là:fú: dé] [í kày] [dùñù-nú káyěy] á gà-rà, [bà<sup>n</sup>í→ sèngìlì→] [bà<sup>n</sup>í→ sèngìlì!→] [pùró sémì→ sémì→] [dùñù-nú káyěy] káy<sup>n</sup> dá ń, [àsí mǎ:] [kò dé] [isò-súměy káyà] á gà-rà  
 X, Sa, Bo: <xxx>  
 Sa: 317 [kó kày] ká kùl-ú bé kúlú bãr-sà dà nà:↑, [kó kày] nù-r<sup>n</sup>ú gá bè-ná [kò dé], [isò-súměy káyà], ká [àsí mǎ:] [kò dé] [isò-súměy káyà] á gà-rà  
 X: kòrú bé  
 Sa: háyà, ńkǎy<sup>n</sup> [bé kày] gá-sà, <xxx>, gá = m̀ cé kór-s-è  
 Bo: 318 [kó kày] [[isò-súměy káyà] jìní] [isò-súměy [kàyá sà-rá]]  
 Sa: isò-súměy káyá —  
 Bo: dùñù-nú káyěy dà  
 Sa: [cěw-là:fú: ńkǎy<sup>n</sup>] [[dùñù-nú káyěy] isòñ] cék, <xxx>

#### 2004-1b.04 Mantis (description)

- Bo: 319 nòñò-nòñò, y<sup>n</sup>óñò sà—rá, [kàyá mǎ:] [kó kày] á áw kùw-rò  
 Sa: gá = m̀, y<sup>n</sup>àñěy dá = kó  
 Bo: 320 nòñò-nòñò [kò kú] pótó, [kò kúwò] kúwó sá = kó↑, tóñó<sup>190</sup> sá = kó↓, [kò púrò-cètà kúnú] gùrú sò:tà-só:tá, gá: [kó nà] [kò jéré kày], [pùrò-cètá gùrú jìní gùrú kòy] [jéré kày] [pùrò-cètá cíní] séw-sěw, pótó-pótò dà, [[kò ló] ńgí], [kó mánì] < jìr<sup>n</sup>ó — > jìr<sup>n</sup>ó sá  
 Sa: 321 [kò kórò]  
 Bo: é! [kò kórò-cìwrà kúnú], ìní tépúlú dà, kòrò sé:lè→, kòrò sá = kó gùrú-gùrú, kó nù-r<sup>n</sup>ú jěw-wòsì táñ, â: ló-tò  
 X: kó â: kúw-r-è mà→ kùw-n-é  
 Bo: á dà [kà: [kúró sá] á cì-tò ń], á dà [kà: kúró sà-rá ń]  
 Sa: 322 [kó kày] sǎy á àw-rà  
 Bo: [kúró sá] á cì-tò ń kúnú kày, [kó kày] kàyá, [kà:<sup>n</sup> gá:lú-sà] á àw-rà, hâl [kó kày] [sày pírí:] á àw-rà, [kó mánì:ní] [yú tóñò kày] y<sup>n</sup>óñgò sàrá, [kàyá mǎ:↑] [sǎy mǎ:↑], [súr<sup>n</sup>ú mǎ:], [cé dà] [kó mà] á lì-rà, [kó mà] y<sup>n</sup>óñgò sàrá, kó á kù-kúw-r-è

<sup>189</sup> wâ:- ‘have ever (done)’.

<sup>190</sup> tóñó has various senses including ‘tin can’. With regard to insects, it denotes any unusually large leg, hence the (quite large) hind leg of grasshoppers but the (long) front legs (=arms) of mantises.

## Tape 2004-2, track A

(These recordings are from an old man named Seydou Pathee (deceased 2005) from Tega village)

### 2004-2a.01 History of Dogon people at Tabi Mountain

X: 323 tùpéré kà: dīŋ-sò ń, kà: yè-só ń, tùpéré màlé:ŋ gú-sò ń, yè-s-é=bé tándúrúmà, tándúrúmà gó=m=bé, yè-s-é bé, kà:ńúmè, [nù-mù gèrè nà ká] [kà:ńúmè jíní kǒy], bé dīŋ-sò kǒy, ká, [tóró kù],

324 kã:n [kò dé] á gà-r-è, kã:n-gò:-gúndè, yá bé gú-sò, kó yá gó=m=bé yè-s-é=bé, jó:nò, jó:nò gó=m=bé, jímè, [jímè gó=m=bé] kó dīŋ-s-è=bé túlà, túlà gó=m=bé, yè-s-é bé gò:m-díw<sup>194</sup>, bé [jàmà: ná:] hà: níŋìnà, kò jámà: yá dīŋ néŋgó=m, úró=m, yǎy-sà [dǎwri tǒŋò],

325 hà: dǎwri bé á yà-y-rà ń, bè àrà pày-nú, [[wò dé] gà-r<sup>n</sup>-é nà]<sup>191</sup> mànúgónó, [dír<sup>u</sup>-s-ò:] [yǎy bè-n-ó:], [kó kò] [nú-m mà] jèré=m-bó, ùnú-s-ò: [[[tùpéré tórò ń] kú] kù], [nù-n tǐŋéy<sup>192</sup>] dì-lí-wó,

326 [yá dá-wó ń] kù nà, [ìlò-ná: nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù wó lǎy] túnòm-mà<sup>193</sup> ségú-sà, kó [ìlò-ná: nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù] ká yállá:, [yàgá túw<sup>ò</sup>] ká [wó kò] [[tòrò ń] kú] yè-só má, ká àsí yè-só ń, ká [èwà jíró] dò:-r-è, kó ús-s-ò: [[kò ìlò-ná: nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù] dè], ká [wó nà] [yàgá túw<sup>ò</sup>] wó yè-só má, [àsí kày] àsí yè-só ń, ìwá dò:-r-è,

327 hàyà bé dīŋú dà ń nà, [kò tóró], jèr<sup>u</sup> sàrà, [òw-ésú, nù-mú á àw-rà], tóró-bàsà, [bè í-m-ì:] á: só-rò, [kó nà] ká [àsí mǎ: kày], [àsí mǎ:] ìní dīŋ bè-ná,

328 kó [ìlò-ná: nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù] ká, bé dīŋ-é, àsí [bè dé] dǎwri kùlí-yàrà gà, àsí pègú pègí-yàrà, àsí pègú-wòsì tán, tóró-bàsà [bè tórrà] kà-ná, hà: kó [ìlò-ná: nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù] [bè dé kò] pègú pègú-sà, kó mòtó=m dīŋú-s-è=bé,

329 kò nây<sup>n</sup>, ìlò-ná: nù-m cék, [kò tá]<sup>194</sup> dà, té:gá yè-lí, [[isò ń] kú mà] [àsí mǎ:] [nùw<sup>ò</sup> bí-tí-nú kálá:→] dì-lí, lògùrò-dò:lí: jíní ń, [àsí mǎ:] [núw<sup>ò</sup> kálá:] w<sup>ò</sup>-r<sup>ò</sup>,<sup>195</sup>

330 hà: [[yá ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> bé dá ń] kù nà], níŋìnà, isó, zàmá<sup>195</sup>, [kù kù]-lúw,<sup>196</sup> èr-bá<sup>197</sup>, [kó kò] [[tòrò ń] kú] bé dè-lú-sò,

331 [yá bé dīŋú dà ń] kù nà, tál tórò, [tál tórò mà], [bé kó lǎy] túnòm-mà háynà kár<sup>u</sup>-sà [kò pèrà], hàyà má sǒŋ, sǎŋkàrà sǒŋ, sígò mà, nù-m á ɛl tǒŋ-r-ò:,

332 hà: [má sǒŋ] sígú-wòrè ń yà:fú:, [[[tál tórò] nú-m] tǒŋò] tí→ á gù-r-è=cé, cé gèlú-wòrè ń yà:fú:, [kóyò<sup>198</sup> kù] ùnó mà, [bè dé] núw<sup>ò</sup> á sò-r-è=bé,

333 bé [kò nùw<sup>ò</sup> kúnú] wǒ:-sì ń yà:fú:, kò sírà, [nù-n tǐŋéy] sìgù-nó [dú kù], sábi ùkú=bé, sǒŋ, á yà-rà, kò nùw<sup>ò</sup> kún nà, [kó kò] [bè má:ndè], [[kó kò] tégú [túnòm-mà dè] á tégù-r-è=bé] [[nùw<sup>ò</sup> kúnú] sí:],

334 bé [nùw<sup>ò</sup> kún] wǒ:-sì tán, háyà, nùŋ tǐŋéy→, bà-r<sup>n</sup>á [[òw kù] gù],<sup>199</sup> sǎŋkù [bè í-m-ì:] á àw-r-è, hà: ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> dá bé, ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> dá=bé, háli háli háli bùrù-lùgó<sup>200</sup> kár<sup>u</sup>-sà,

<sup>191</sup> ‘they don’t say now: X’, short for ‘they don’t say other than: X’, i.e., ‘they say X’.

<sup>192</sup> Also pronounced *túgáy* and other variants.

<sup>193</sup> Tape sounds like *tò:m* (as in Jamsay).

<sup>194</sup> *tá* ‘Tabi (village)’. One of the three villages now at the base of Tabi Mountain. Until the French colonial period, Tabi and Toupéré were the two villages on the (flat) top of the mountain.

<sup>195</sup> Also *zámá*.

<sup>196</sup> Compound with H-toned form of verbal noun *lǎw-Ø* ‘falling’. Cf. phrase *kú kù lùwó* ‘fall on (the) head’.

<sup>197</sup> Compound with verbal noun *bá* as final, from verb-chain *ér bá* ‘dispossess, take (sth) away (from sb)’.

<sup>198</sup> *kóyò* denotes flattish, inhabitable summits, generally of inselbergs with steep cliffsides. Cf. the more general word *tóró* ‘hill, mountain’.



349 [kó kò] òhù-nú ká, kò yò:rú— wó pású dèn dà ñ ñgú, wó ká [àsí dé] kó bá, [bà:nídà lãmpò] kà:wà, ànànsá:rà ká éyyò, [wò tégù] jèr<sup>n</sup>ú, gá: wó [jèré mà] yáyá, hà: ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> [kò lãmpò kúnú] á tòsù-r-è=bé, háli gólú-sò,

350 [níj kày] bú:dì lú-wòrè, bà:ní kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è [ísó kù], [nù-n túrú kòy] líwá=m, [nàhùnú àsí áw-wàrà ñ] lìw-ná, ànànsá:rà kó zè:-só, [kó kò] bà:ní kúlú-sò [ísó kù], [[ànànsá:rà yè-lí] này] bà:ní kálá:→ [ísó kù] y<sup>n</sup>àngó, hà: bà:ní lú-sò ñ mà, [[jírè kà cék] só dá gà] yǎy-sà=kó,

351 hàya [kò pérà], kò tá zòhò ñú nà, [kó kày] [tá nù-m], ìbilí:sà bé ló=m, [ànànsá:rà níngèy] zòh-s-è=bé, sábi [này [ànànsá:rà níngèy] bé zòh-rò ñ] này,<sup>212</sup> bè nú-mù, mínítê:r yá=m yèrú-wòrè, bè í-mù, á dà lékkòl,

352 [jèré wá] á dà, mínítê:r kù, gàngù-rí,<sup>213</sup> túnòm-mà pé=m=bé, ànànsá:rà ká àsí tá kòmí-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à, àsí á là èl-ú, ká wó ùn-nó, hà: [kó kò] [[ànànsá:rà bé lèy] zòhò dèwrù],<sup>214</sup>

353 [bé [kò kòmó] págú-sà ñ] [ànànsá:rà dó=m dìnú-sò], [[tá gónò ñ] kú] tèmá, ìwà-lùgò bé á sùrà kà-là, bà-r-é=bé, ànànsá:rà [ísó òhù-mú] sór<sup>n</sup>ó=m, ká bé sùrà kár<sup>n</sup>á, bà-r-é=bé, àlpâ-m mòtò=m=bé sùrà kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, bà-r-é=bé, [tòrò nù-m] bé sùré kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, bà-r-é=bé, háli [[này ànànsá:rà tá á ùní-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à ñ] này],

354 ká háya, àsí tá ùní-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à [yó kày], [kànú mǎ:] jèré=m yè-sé=bé, kànú wá:-l-é=bé, [kò mǐrà] ègú wá:-l-é=bé, ànànsá:rà [kànú sǐ:] bé táy lém-kú dé=m pás, ítú-wòs-è=bé [[ànànsá:rà mǎ:], [àsí mǎ:] á y<sup>n</sup>òmbù-rò<sup>215</sup> kày],

355 gá: [kò nù-mú yà:pú:] mòtò=m, bè sùrà kár<sup>n</sup>ú dé=m pás-sà ñ kúnú, [kò ká:wà] [níj kày] [àsí mǎ:] á nùm-bàrà,

356 hà: ànànsá:rà ùnú-sò ñ mà,<sup>216</sup> ànànsá:rà bé wòw-sò háli y<sup>n</sup>ám-sà, òr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà [kò y<sup>n</sup>àw<sup>n</sup>à kúnú] gá:-lú-wòrè, [kó ùné=m=bé] [kó [yòrò píró] só-s-è=bé], ànànsá:rà [níj kày] bé táy dèl-sà,

357 ànànsá:rà ùnú-sò ñ, òr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, àrà-m pé:rí: kúrèy, [cé kày] nùm-bòrè, àrà-m pé:rí: kúrèy, [bé nà] nù-m bármà kán dà ñ, bé mà, [ànànsá:rà jèsù] [bé kày], [[nù-mú tà:lí] pérà] bè-lí,

358 hàya, kó [níj kày], kó tá zòhò kúnú, [bé bá:sì kúnú] [kò tùpéré.: té:gá lèy] dó-sò, [kó kò] [tá nù-m cíní] bàrè=m, zí bò-s-é [hùmbùrì ísò], [yá bé pás-s-è] [[[dèh kà: dè kóy-kòyà á gà-r-è ñ] dèh] dè],

359 kó bitù-kó=m yèré=m [kó tùpéré.: tè:gá lèy mà], bàrú-s-è, té:gá zí bò-s-é=bé, [hùmbùrì dé] [dú jìnòh],<sup>217</sup> tàndàrá [kò dé] á gà-r-è, tùpéré zí bò-s-é=bé, [hùmbùrì dé] [hàwsà-nàm lúwò], kúrímí [kò dé] á gà-r-è, yá òh-s-è=bé, [bùró pé-lèy] [bùrú sòy<sup>n</sup>], [bùrú pé-lèy] [bùrú sòy<sup>n</sup>] òh-é=m=bé, [níj kày] [kò dèh mà], ìwá kár<sup>n</sup>ú-wòrè=bé,

360 kó [níj kày] yá, [tégu-s-è=bé] [níj kày] [àsí mǎ:] kású dùm-wòrè, kàlà ká bé [á<sup>n</sup>wókkò<sup>218</sup> mǎ:] só=m=bé, kó bèrè=m bìrìy-s-è=bé, [dèh mà] dè, [bé bìrìy-sò [dèh mà] d-è ñ] [só=m yó yè dà ñ], bùrú pé-nù:y, bùrú sòy<sup>n</sup>, [kò kú] yó í dá

## 2004-2a.02 Resettlement (fragment)

X: 361 *bon* [tá tórò] yè-só ñ, [té:gá nù-m, bìrìyó=m, yá dú:nì dìnú-sò], [tá nù-m, bè jèré wá→,<sup>219</sup> góylèl, yá òh-sò], bè jèré wá⇒ nà, dúrúgàmà, háli yó, [bé kày] [yá girèy] dá], gá: [í bé lèy yà:fú:], tùr-í→ dà

<sup>211</sup> /zè:rú/ ‘bring’. Stative construction with *dá* ‘be’.

<sup>212</sup> Relative clause headed by *náy* ‘day’ (hence ‘era’), with doubled head noun both inside and following the relative-clause proper.

<sup>213</sup> /gàngù-rí/.

<sup>214</sup> Noun *zòhò* ‘fight’ and adjective *déwrú* form a core NP, and here they get possessed {HL} overlay as a unit.

<sup>215</sup> /y<sup>n</sup>òm-rò/ ‘is stronger (than)’.

<sup>216</sup> *ñ mà* is pronounced [mǎ] by most speakers, but dialectally [mà].

<sup>217</sup> Lit. ‘east’s face’ (*jìnòh* ‘face’).

<sup>218</sup> French *avocat* ‘lawyer’, but the context suggests a sense ‘official documents’.

## 2004-2a.03 Famine years

- X: 362 ìní bé ñǫ́-sò ń, jèwá, [[dú kù] wà-n-é<sup>220</sup>] [[tóró kù] cék] á wà-t-è, yú bè-n-é=bé, jèwá, jèwá bé á wòw-rò, hálì cítàngà, cítàngà yè-só ń, [tùpéré nùm-sò ní] [hálì hálì hálì y<sup>n</sup>ám-sà], hálì y<sup>n</sup>ám-sà,  
 363 kò nù-m wàs-èy cín, kà: bé bǎy<sup>n</sup>-sà ń dè, lùwó, cèrù-ków, tìgirá, [kùmbùrù mǎ:] túw<sup>n</sup>ó=m, [cé sí:] bǎy<sup>n</sup> bè-s-é=bé,  
 364 hàyà bé bǎy<sup>n</sup> bè-sá ń, hálì [tá nù-m kày] gà-r<sup>n</sup>á nà, disiná: ú lá:-w<sup>n</sup>á tùpéré, [tùpéré nù-mú] y<sup>n</sup>àngó ń dè, [disiná: nà] kár<sup>n</sup>á=m, [kò pérà] sórú bít-tè=bé,  
 365 [jèwá mǎ:] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà kǒy, í á ègù-rà, yórò á:li, cítàngà, m̀bù:rì, [cè-hú:lè-yà:fú:] [jèwà m̀sù] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, èn-tígéy kó kà-lí nà, nù-mú ìsò ìnà, nù-mú tèmá [túnóm<sup>221</sup> kù] yà-y-ná, sèté bèrè mà, kàlà àrà-m m̀tòt mà, [kó mà] ès-ì: bè-s-é ń, [[kù sí:] dé mà] á yè-t-è,  
 366 [[kù sí:] ès dé=m yè-s-é nà, [[nù-n t̀r-í→ mà] nì-r<sup>n</sup>á] [sǎnkò⇒ ílò], hà: ńkǎy<sup>n</sup> [jèwà kún sí:] kár<sup>n</sup>ú t̀n cí d-è=bé, kár<sup>n</sup>ú t̀n cí d-è=bé, hálì [bè dé] tírá=m, mútù-ré=m=bé, háyà, [ní ń kày] [kò nǎn] [bè pérà] gú-sò, kǎy<sup>n</sup> gá-s-è=bé,  
 367 hà: mí èsù m̀ úkù ń, [[ń kù] kù], ìní ì sígú yè-só ń, í wàrú-sà, yàrú, [tàn làgú] tàn-rí, [jèwá sí: mà] í yè-só, [ní ń kày] [[kò ìsò] t̀m] ká:wà, [jèrè kálá] ú á bòrú bè-tà y<sup>n</sup>òmbò-y<sup>n</sup>ómbó,  
 368 [zàndúru mǎ:] bē:-s-è, [[cé sí:] sèté á jìrá mà] [á yè-t-è], àrzàkà á dà, cé d̀rò mà, á bò-t-è [kò sèté], sèté ú bèrè tán, [dè ń ú bò-só ń yà:fú:] [ú yú á bè-tà],  
 369 hàyà [bùrù léy-ló] í wàrú-sà, t̀ngù-rí láy, [kó kò], [làgú nà] [kó mà] í wǎy dà, [jèwá kù] í wǎy dà ń kúnú, kò bùrù tà:l-lò kúnú, [kó kò] [[zìr<sup>n</sup>à ná:] bùr-ì:] í á gà-rà, [kó nà] [yú írú-sà ní] hálì hálì hálì hálì hálì háddù jèlú-sò, [ìsò háwli yà:fú:] bè-sá, hàyà, [jèwá kày] yá [í pérà] gú-sò,  
 370 [kò pérà], túw<sup>n</sup>ó jèrè, tégéy kálé á nàñù-lù-tà, túw<sup>n</sup>ó jèrè, á mùtù-t-tó,<sup>222</sup> [tóró gònò] [dè ń mǎy], yù írú, [túnóm pérà] d̀gù-rù-ná, lóyó ú bē:-sì tán, nàná:r<sup>n</sup>á tán, bǎ:ndà kày, á kà-là [[tégéy cék] ú á bè-tà],  
 371 hà: [ńkǎy<sup>n</sup> sí:] [bùrú jèrè nà], [bùrú jèrè nà], láy bè-n-é, kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà ìn [[dè ń ńgú] dé], [t̀rò kùwò ń] kù, fǎy zèrì bèw-rí, kà: dúńó kày, tégéy nè:sé bè-s-é, [cé kày kálá] [[ń jìrè] kà] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà,  
 372 kò pérà, [jèwà m̀sù] kà: nù-mú á wòw-rò ń kày, zǎ:→ [mí kày] [ń jìrò] t̀n-nú-sà ń, [jèwà, nù-mú á wòw-rò ń], ń wò-rí, kò héddì-nón,<sup>223</sup> dè:ńgò á kà-là, kà: jèwá nùmù:mú wòw kày, [í kày] [í zámànì] kà-lí

## 2004-2a.04 Water

- X: 373 [[tá t̀rò] ñǫ́-sò ń] í ní sàrá, [ní kálá:→] y<sup>n</sup>àngó, [[tóró kù] tàgà] gás-ù,<sup>224</sup> tùpéré, lògùró á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, té:gá, títàgè á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, tá, kóyò kù, [bé kày], ní sá, y<sup>n</sup>ùmnò [kò dé] á gà-r-è, y<sup>n</sup>ùmnó nà, [[tùpéré.: té:gá lěy] dé kày] wà:gá,  
 374 [y<sup>n</sup>ùmnò ków] nòñ-bár<sup>n</sup>à yèrú-wòrè tán, [[tàgà cín] d̀m-wòr-è] zǎ: [[yàrú íwà nǎy] kù] tán], y<sup>n</sup>ùmnó í á kòw-rò, hálì zìr<sup>n</sup>á yèrì, zìr<sup>n</sup>á yèrú-wòrè má, hà: [ní ń kày] [kò y<sup>n</sup>ùmnò-ków] á dèlí-yàrà,  
 375 [í pǎy-mú] [kò kù] í bé ñìr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, [í mà] kó í bìrú-sà, í kó bìrù-cí dà ń, [í ñìr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà] dè:ńgò sá=kó sánní,

<sup>219</sup> wá→ (intensifier for *jèrè* ‘some, certain ones’) in contrastive-topic parallel phrases.

<sup>220</sup> wàrí ‘farm, do farm work’.

<sup>221</sup> This speaker pronounces *túnóm* as *t̄s:m* (as in Jamsay).

<sup>222</sup> More often pronounced *mùtù-rù-tó*. Syncope is not usual in this metrical position.

<sup>223</sup> Fulfulde expression.

<sup>224</sup> gàs-ú ‘(act of) digging’, here possessed.



376 í ká dálí:lì í èlí-yàrà, kó tèmá, [bàr<sup>n</sup>íyà tètèy ñ] kú, í gònó gàsú èlú-sà, [[bàr<sup>n</sup>íyà pùrò] kù] tí→ í gàs-sà, í òr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà ní á jè-tò=kó, hàyà kó ní á jè-tò ñ nà, [dèñ kún] cém dà,

377 kó í gú-sò [tàgá pèrà], [tátéy kù] í gàsú èlú-sà, [í òr<sup>n</sup>ú-sà] ní á jè-tò=kó, hà: [níñ kày], í [[kò gàsú] kù] lú-sò jèr<sup>n</sup>í-jér<sup>n</sup>ù, í gàsú-cí dà, zà: ní á dùm-rò [yàrí íwà, nǎy], háli [níñ kày] ní, yàrí íwà kúréy, á dùm-rò,

378 [yàrí íwà kùrèy kúnú] ní dùm-wòrè má, tùw<sup>n</sup>ó jérè, bé:bì, [púlò-m tètò mǎ:] á dà, yá í á bò-tò zàñù-ní,<sup>225</sup> yá í bè-lí má, háli bó:ní í ków lów dà, [cěwla:fú:] í kán lów dà,

379 hà: zà: í gàsú-cí dà, [í gàsú-cí dà] [háli [níñ kày] pótú-ró=m], háli [àr<sup>n</sup>á mùrú-wòrè] [cě zú-wòrè] tán, [ní í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à] [háli [zìr<sup>n</sup>à làgú] bìrìy yèrí], [cěw là: fú:],

380 [bìrà-ìsò jèsù] gú-sò, háli yó mà, í gàsú dèl-lí, àr<sup>n</sup>á túw<sup>n</sup>ò mùrú-wòrè jèr<sup>n</sup>ú-jér<sup>n</sup>ù tán, [ní tètòrò kày] [níñ kày] àw-ná,

381 hàyà [[kò kú] kù mà], *projet* ìní yèró=m, [ì dé] *pompe*, wúruwà kár<sup>n</sup>á=m [ì dé] *pompe* kúlú-sò, yógódó:gì dùm-wòrè má, [*pompe* kúnú kú] í mótó mà, ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à,

382 [ní mà] [nì-nì jèr<sup>n</sup>ú] jìní kǒy, sábi *pompe* tùr-í→ kày, [àlá yà: fú: kày] dè-r<sup>n</sup>ó, nù-mú jérè, yá<sup>226</sup> mà, [[sìyòñ kà]<sup>227</sup> lèy] bèrì-yàrà, jérè wá→, [[sìyòñ kà] tùr-í→] bèrì-yàrà,

383 gá: [[kò jírè] kà], jèwá là-r-é→, jèwá dè-l-é, àhámdirillá:hì rábbìl?á:lámí:nà, òsíná: àlbárkà [ñú mà], bèrú=kó

## 2004-2a.05 Intermarriage between Tabi and Sarinyere mountains

X: 384 [[tál tórò]<sup>228</sup> í lèy] zákà, mót-díñ á dà, sábu [[í nánà mǎ:], tál tórò, bò-só], [tál tórò] bé bò-só ñ mà, àhámdirillá:hì [yá gírèy] tí-s-è=bé, bè tí-sà ñ nà, [kó kò] nà-íló, [tòrò nù-m] ká nà-íló, [[í ná-ìlò] [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù<sup>229</sup> ná-ìlò] [tál tórò] y<sup>n</sup>àngó ñ kálá:→] y<sup>n</sup>àngó [tá tórò],

385 [[tá tórò] nù-m] gó=m bò-só [tál tórò] ñ, [tál tórò] gó=m yè-só ñ ìní,<sup>230</sup> cèhú:lìyà:fú: [nà-ìlò tùr-í→], háli yó, [tál tórò] y<sup>n</sup>à-mú, í bé á sò-rò, [[í í-mù], á sò-r-è=bé], [[tál tórò] í lèy] zákà kày, háli níñ mót-díñ á dà,

386 [[[tál tórò] í lèy] zákà] mót-díñ á dà, [[pìr<sup>n</sup>íñá í lèy] zákà] á dà, gá: [[[kò àlà làgù ñgí]<sup>231</sup> í lèy] zákà] mót-díñ, mút tàrà-Ø,<sup>232</sup> pày-mú kó kà-lí→, [í mání] [ì kú kù], dóm í kó kà-lí,

387 [kò héddì-nón] [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kà:, bè-lí ñ], bè tút-túru á sò-rò, kó jìní kày tán, [tál tórò→↑], [tá tórò], pìr<sup>n</sup>íñá, [í dà] [kò túnóm-mà] á sò-rò jèr<sup>n</sup>ú-jér<sup>n</sup>ù kày, [kò héddì-nón] [[jérè kálá] [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kâ:"] [[wò nú-mù] á dà], [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kâ:"] [[wò nú-mù] á dà] [jérè kálá]

## 2004-2a.06 Farming techniques

X: 388 yù-wára, [kó kò] [í bírà], [[í bírà] kú yà:fú:] yù-wára, yù-wára mà, [yú, túsú, à<sup>n</sup>sú, nùm↑, náti↓], éñíné, [cě-wlì-yà:fú:] í â: wá-tà,

<sup>225</sup> zàñú ‘plead, beg’ in compound-initial form, verbal noun *ní* ‘(act of) drinking’, as purposive complement to *bòrú* ‘go to’.

<sup>226</sup> ‘go to’.

<sup>227</sup> Lit. ‘a mouth of bucket’, i.e. ‘a bucket full’.

<sup>228</sup> Also pronounced *tán tórò*.

<sup>229</sup> Possessor relative clause with *nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù* in L-toned form as relative head.

<sup>230</sup> *ìní* ‘here’ would normally precede relative *ñ*. Perhaps an afterthought here.

<sup>231</sup> Heard on tape contracted to [làg:i].

<sup>232</sup> /mútú sàrà-/ , with u-Apocope and /ts/ > *tt*.

389 nùm-bár<sup>n</sup>à í—, [tǒw, í â: tó-rò], [yàrí íwà sôy<sup>n</sup>] tí-wòrè ñ yà:fú:, [isò mǎy] tǒw í â: tó-rò, [í tò-cí dà] [í tò-cí dà] [hálì, zìr<sup>n</sup>á yèrí], tǒw mà↑, [[sáwà<sup>233</sup> sí:] í sátá mà] á tò-rò,

390 tǒw mǎy<sup>n</sup>, nù-mú jéré wá→, yó kày, [tátéy kù, gònó gàsá mà], bírǐjí kúló mà, á tò-rò, nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kó kár<sup>n</sup>ú bè-lí ñ mà, [órú mà] kù, bírǐjí bàrú kúló mà, á tò-rò,

391 àr<sup>n</sup>á mùrú-wòrè má, [nín kày] [[isò òrú] tǒw]<sup>234</sup> í á tò-rò, àr<sup>n</sup>-m.: y<sup>n</sup>à-mú.: ì-mú.: ↓, cè-hú:li-yàgàfú:, mǒtǒ=m ñ á tò-rò, tǒngò-sátú-m,<sup>235</sup> [sáwà sí:] á sàtù-rà, tǒw-tó:-m, [yù-kúsú jéré mà] [gòsò dá gà], [[[[ùrò ñ] ká] pùrò] kù] kúló=m] [á bìw-rà],

392 í tó=m bèw-wòrè má, [nín kày] [[zémà-m tǒngò] yá mà] [séw, á dùw-r-è], séw dùwó mà, [kùsò mà] [nín kày] nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù ká:, [[órú mà] kù] á wà-tà [lò sí:], [[lò sí:] í wàrù-cí dà] [wàrù-cí dà] [hálì néjò=m nà],

393 níjìnà, yèrí, jálásàrí bè-s-á, zàndúró bà-m, kó págá mà, tǒw-ìsò kù, á kàrkù-tà, má [lò sí:] á cèl-l-è, ñó bà-m, [tǒw-ìsò kù] kàrká mà, [lò sí:] á wàrù cèl-l-è,

394 [nù-mú jéré wá→] sòlò dèṅ kán dà ñ má, tò-r<sup>n</sup>ó láy, wàrà mà, á dǎmpà kà-là, [dǎmpìrì cíní] bèw-wòrè má, [sòlò kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è mà] [[yò nà] bitù-kó mà], sàwrà í [kò dé] á gà-rà, á wàrù bitù-r-è,

395 kó wàrù bité=m, hà: zìr<sup>n</sup>á, yú bèw-wòrè↑, wàrà dǔm-wòrè↑, yú lǎr dǔw-wòrè<sup>236</sup> má, [tùw<sup>n</sup>ó jéré] [órú kù], cècè á kà-là, [kò dé] gà-r<sup>n</sup>-é nà, bórù-bórù-dè,<sup>237</sup> órú á y<sup>n</sup>òṅgù-rò=kó, gà: í cé â: áw-rà, kúmó í â: kúl-lò, hál cé órú pásá,

396 [yù cíní] írú-wòrè, [nín kày]↑, dòyó tí→ á gùṅgù-r-è, dòyó gùṅgó mà, í dòyó ì-cí dà, í dòyó ì-cí dà, hálì [[kò yú] írá mà] á mǎy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à,

397 yú mǎy<sup>n</sup>-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è má, [nín kày] [kòsò íwà] á tí-yàrà, [nín kày] kòsò á kòsì-yèr-è, kó kòsò mà, [yù-jìy<sup>n</sup>]-pèrú, [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù ká:] [[yù-jìy<sup>n</sup>]-pèrú mà] sá, [y<sup>n</sup>à-mú, lùkú sà], [àr<sup>n</sup>-m, jèsú], yú í á jìy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à,

398 í jìy<sup>n</sup>ó mà, zùrò mǒtǒ mà, [zùrò cín] bàrà mà, cé túpó mà, [tèwá cèkà] á bò-tè m̀b̀t̀t̀ú<sup>238</sup>, [yù kún] túpú-wòsì má, [[jès-tùpú, lá:rà], ú túpú-wòsì ñ yà:fú:], [pè:l-lò kún, zakkà, í á gùṅgù-rò], hálì [yù ú bè-sá ñ yà:fú:] dùw<sup>n</sup>ó,

399 kó túsú má, kǎy<sup>n</sup> ú kó á kàr<sup>n</sup>í-y<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>à, nùm [kó kày] nàrà:r<sup>n</sup>á í kó bè-ná, sàbì nàrà:r<sup>n</sup>á í kó wà-ná, à<sup>n</sup>sú, [kó mání] [nàrà:r<sup>n</sup>á í bè-ná] [tégyé kó á wà-t-è],

400 [[yù cíní] kòsò=m gá=m] [[tèwá kù] m̀b̀t̀t̀ú-wòrè], níjìnà, í cé bàrà mà, [[pàṅá pùrò] kù] cé pégá mà, kóy kó jèsá mà, yù-bó:lò dá→, yù-gà:<sup>n</sup>sú dá→, má [kò yù-bò:lò kún] tí→ í á bàsù-rà,

401 [í kó bàsù-cí dà] [kó dǔm-wòrè ní], [nín kày] [yù-gà:<sup>n</sup>sú kù] í â: lú-yàrà, háyà [yù-gà:<sup>n</sup>sú kún], [í kó ì-cí dà ní] [hálì zìr<sup>n</sup>á yèrí],

402 [í kó bè:-sì ñ] búrù kày, àhám̀d̀ìr̀ìllá:hì [í á ì-rà ní] [hálì hálì [yù kálá] gó], kó dǔm-rí tán, [dè:ṅgó kálá] y<sup>n</sup>ṅṅó, sàbù níṅgì lóyó [yàrù ṅgú],<sup>239</sup> àhám̀d̀ìr̀ìllá:hì [[nù-n tíjéy], jèw-rí],

403 [kó kò] [[yù-wára kù] èsù í á bì-tà ñ], í cé wàrà mà, yù-wára dǔm-wòrè, órú bìrà dǔm-wòrè, háyà, ìmí, y<sup>n</sup>òṁmù-y<sup>n</sup>óm á bò-tò, nù-mú jéré wá→, [[málí: pùrò] kù] á bò-tò, nù-mú jéré wá→, kódúwà:r á bò-tò,

404 bé bèré mà, jéré wá→, [á bìr̄y yè-tò] [zá: í wàrà d̀-̀r̀í ñ], [jéré wá→] [òw kù] á wày-rà, bé bèré mà, ì-mù jèr<sup>n</sup>ú mǎ: kày, dá èsù á zé:-tò ñ, níṅsò á zé:-tè=bé, jálásàrí á zé:-tè=bè, tórókò á zé:-t-è=bé,

405 bú:dì má, [nù-mù jéré wá→] bú:dì á zé:-t-ò, [bù:dì cíní] zé:rú-wòrè má, [íló pày-nú dè] kó ów mà, háyà [íló yà:fú:] bìrà á bì-t-è [kó sí:], ṅgú kò, [kǎy<sup>n</sup> kò] [yù-wára bìrà kún] á bì-tà,

406 yú mà, [kó bè:-s-è má] [y<sup>n</sup>òṅgú kày í y<sup>n</sup>òṅgù-nó dé], í yòṅgù-nó, [sàbì í tálkà-m] [tálkà-n í y<sup>n</sup>òṅgù-wòsì má] [tànṅù-ná [wò dé]], nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù nàrà:r<sup>n</sup>á bè:-sì ñ má, [yù kúnú] d̀r̀ó mà, èr<sup>n</sup>á á èw-rà, móy<sup>n</sup>-r<sup>n</sup>èṅ, zàndúró á èw-r-è, móy<sup>n</sup>-r<sup>n</sup>èṅ,

<sup>233</sup> A hoe-like implement with a long straight handle, used especially for turning over a small amount of earth (with a slashing motion) in order to plant seeds.

<sup>234</sup> Pronounced [ʃt:òw].

<sup>235</sup> Agentive compound (plural). *tòngó* ‘short pick-hoe’, *sátá* ‘slash earth with pick-hoe’.

<sup>236</sup> Pronounced [lǎd:èw:òrè].

<sup>237</sup> Primarily millet-eating blister beetles (Meloidae).

<sup>238</sup> Variant *m̀t̀t̀ú*.

<sup>239</sup> Either *lóyó* or *yàrù ṅgú* by itself means ‘this year’ (in the latter case, literally).

407 nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù nà:nà:r<sup>n</sup>á bě:-sì ń, [[nàŋà ì-r<sup>n</sup>ù] àr-ěy] éwà mà, [púlǎ-m zà:kù] á kùl-lò, kó gá:-lú-wòrè mà, kó ðòrò mà, [àrzàkà òrì:] á èw-rà, cè-hú:lì-yàgàfú: í â: ká-là,

## 2004-2a.07 Native medicine

X: 408 tòrò-ày<sup>n</sup>á, [kó máni] í sá, ñgú kày↑, gùsù-jém-mú ày<sup>n</sup>à, ùsò ày<sup>n</sup>à, ùsò í gá-wòsì mà, [ùsò ày<sup>n</sup>à] í á gàsù-rà, ðewó, sèŋà bār<sup>n</sup>ú, í mòtò mà, télúró mà, sárà mà, á ðìr-è [ùsò-nù-r<sup>n</sup>ú] dè],

409 èyô:→, [yó nà] kúy<sup>n</sup>ó, [à-nú, hé→ y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú], nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kà: kúy<sup>n</sup>ó wó bě:-sì ń mà, í á gàsù-rà, ò:r<sup>n</sup>ò-bàr<sup>n</sup>í:, sásàr<sup>n</sup>íy<sup>n</sup>à, àrà-òsún-ðòrò-kòrì:, bósùw<sup>n</sup>á [túru kù], lùwò-sínúŋ [túru kù], ùsò—, [kúy<sup>n</sup>ó ày<sup>n</sup>à kày] [lúgúró mà] ðùm-nó, ñgí í télúru mòtò mà, zàlá mà [nàw<sup>n</sup>á sí:], bòlò bòlò mà, á nì-r<sup>n</sup>-è, nàhàsì, [kò bá:"sà] [bà:ní á bè-tà],

410 hè [yó nà], [kù-dègú mà:] dé, kó mà, cé ày<sup>n</sup>á á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, [kù-dègú dè] èsù á nì-r<sup>n</sup>è ń déy, gǝŋ tàgì:, pày-nú yé.: ì-r<sup>n</sup>ú, í zàlá mà, cé á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à,

411 èyô:., yó nà, [pùŋúrò ðò:lù] dè, èsù í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à ń, sò:rěy, í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, kò kótò, [kò dútu] [nù-mú jère wá→] á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, gá: [kò dútu kày], kó â: zàmbà ká-là, kò kà:wà↑, [[kò dútu] nē<sup>240</sup> kày] mút tàrà,<sup>241</sup>

412 èyô:→, pùró téwá ñdè, [kó máni] ày<sup>n</sup>á í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, pùró téw-kù dè, nù-mú jère wá→, ðìw, tókó mà, [[núm pìr<sup>n</sup>à] kó lěy] wàru mòtò mà, mà [kó mày-ká mà], nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà, [bòlò sèr-ěy] bòlò mà, tégěy á nì-r<sup>n</sup>-è [ðìw sí:],

413 nù-mú jère wà:, bál-báléwà,<sup>242</sup> tógó mà, kó zàlá mà, [kò ní ↓kún] tétá mà, á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, [kò kày] [nà:nà:r<sup>n</sup>á kày] pùró tèt-w-kù-ná=kó, gá: [[nù-mú jère] dè] á tèt-w-kù-tà=kó,

414 háyà pùró téw-wòrè, pùró-tèw ày<sup>n</sup>à, pùró-tèw í sí-t-těŋ,<sup>243</sup> [kó mà] ày<sup>n</sup>á í á ì—, ày<sup>n</sup>á í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, kó ày<sup>n</sup>à kún nà, [kò kày] [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù ká:"] [wò áy<sup>n</sup>à], gǝy<sup>n</sup> dùtù, òrùbù dùtù, cìcìr<sup>n</sup>í, tàkátò pèrà, wàru pèrà,

415 [cé í mòtò mà] [zàlá mà], á nì-r<sup>n</sup>-è [pùró-tèw dè], pùró-tèw jère wá→, [tèwá mà] [háli é:mèl á kà-là], [é:mèl kár<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è mà] [níŋ kày], [kò áy<sup>n</sup>à jère ñgí yà:fú:→] [kó kúló mà] [í cé á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à], [kò kò] pùró-tèw dè,

416 è→ yó nà, [ày<sup>n</sup>á í sá [làgú nà] ń], [lúgúró mà] ðùm-nó, tòrò-ày<sup>n</sup>á kày, èsù ú úkù ń mà dógò, tìgé sà-rá, ðùm-nó,

417 kù-lùró dè, [kó mà] [í [kò ày<sup>n</sup>à làgú kày]<sup>244</sup> sà-rá] [kù-lùró dè kày], isíyà, isíyà jìní ń, isíyà ày<sup>n</sup>à nà, pèrè:rè kòtò, í [nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà] á sù"sù-rò, [kò bá:"sà] isíyà mà, [kù-lùró dè] á nàpù-rà,

418 fúnàfúnà dùtù, [kó mà] í nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà, í á sù"sù-rò, [isíyà ú á isiy-tà ní] [háli, [kù-lùró dè] á nàpù-rà], ñgí [kù-lùró sì] kày,

419 yó nà, tìw<sup>n</sup>á ày<sup>n</sup>à, [tìw<sup>n</sup>á ày<sup>n</sup>à] [kó mà] í sá, í [kò dé] gà-r<sup>n</sup>á nà↑, tìw<sup>n</sup>á-ná: ày<sup>n</sup>à, [[sòlò wórúm-wórèy káy<sup>n</sup>] à wò-tò=kó] [má [tàru á sì-tù-rò=kó]], [kò tàru cíní] gàsá mà, í táy mày-ká mà, í nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà, [[ñjembú kù], í kò à bòl-lò], [[òrò-pìr<sup>n</sup>á] kó lěy],

420 mà [[kò kúwó] wàlá kòrò] [[dèŋ pítúm-dà ñ kún] dé], [í kó bòlò=m] [kò dōy-dōy kún], yá í á tà-tà,<sup>245</sup> [í tãru-wòsì ń yà:fú:] [háli kó yá mày<sup>n</sup>á], tìw<sup>n</sup>á á zòŋgù-rò=kó, [kò kày]—, [kò kò] [í [tìw<sup>n</sup>à ày<sup>n</sup>à] kày],

421 mìr<sup>n</sup>ú, [mìr<sup>n</sup>ú dè kày] [í [ày<sup>n</sup>à làgú] íná ñkáy<sup>n</sup>], gá:, í kó m̀bògò mà, ày<sup>n</sup>á á kùl-lò, núw<sup>n</sup>ó-ná dùtù, nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà, í [kò kú] kúló mà [í â: págú-rà], isì-kà-jákkà á ðà mà, kò kótò kún, [í nàŋrà mà] [[mìr<sup>n</sup>ú kù]—, [mògú ésú-m-wòs-è mà]], [[kò kú] dèlé mà] í á pàgù-rà,

<sup>240</sup> *né* ‘drinking’ (verbal noun), here as possessed noun.

<sup>241</sup> /mútú sàrà/.

<sup>242</sup> *Senna* (=Cassia) *italica* bush is more often called *dùrù-gàŋrà* in TS.

<sup>243</sup> Verbal noun of *sí-tó* ‘take down’, but *sí-t-těŋ* (?) is not clear on tape.

<sup>244</sup> Pronounced [lǎk:àj].

<sup>245</sup> *táru* ‘stick (on), affix, apply (sth, to sth)’.

422 [mìr<sup>n</sup>ù kà: tòn-nó<sup>246</sup> ɲ] í bɛ:-sì má, èr<sup>n</sup>à bār<sup>n</sup>ú, [í dùwó mà] hálì kò élá, má [kò sí] [kò mìr<sup>n</sup>ú] mɛ̀gú é́sú-m-wòs-è má] [[kò kú] ító mà], í á pàgù-rà, [kó mà] á nàpù-rà,

423 è [yó mà] hálì ày<sup>n</sup>à kà:→ [mìr<sup>n</sup>ù kà: tòn-nó ɲ] bé mèrú dé-wòrè má, nù-mú jéré wá→, [nàṅá cìrà] wàlá [èr<sup>n</sup>á cìrà], kà: [ìsò kù] bèwá=m sùy<sup>n</sup> á kà-là ɲ ɲgú, kó só mà, [ày<sup>n</sup>à jém] kó dó mà, [[mìr<sup>n</sup>ù kúnú] kú] á kùl-lò, á tòl-lò, pùrò-lùrò dè, [[kúy<sup>ʳ</sup> ày<sup>n</sup>à ɲgú] dé] í á: nì-r<sup>n</sup>à,

424 é [yó nà] [dùtù-lùrò mà], sògú mǎ:, cé nà, gúmbítà í á kà-là, gúmbítà nà, [nàṅá cìrà dà] í lǎwá mà, ùró tókó mà, má [kò túw<sup>n</sup>ò kún], [[dèṅ kà: á lù-tò ɲ kún] dé] líwó mà, má í á àrì-yàrà,

425 [í gǎgá=m gá=m] [cìrà kún]—, [[ùrò kún] mùsú-wòsì ɲ yà:fú:] [cìrà kún] á lòkí-yàrà, [kó lókó=m] hál nɛṅ-wòrè má, í [mùsù-rú<sup>247</sup> gùṅò mà] [í kó—], [cìrà kún] á gũṅ-gàrà,

426 má [[kú kà-rà] í só mà] [dèṅ kà:→ —], [bèl-cèlà kúnú] kú í á tèrì-yàrà, í tɛ̀rú-wòsì í tɛ̀rú-wòsì ní, [í kó kúló mà] [á gǎgù bítì-yàrà], [í gǎgù-wòsì tán] [cìrà kúnú] [kó kù] nɛṅ á lú-yàrà,

427 [nɛṅ á lù-rò ní] [hálì á zù-rò=kó pɛ̀t!], [[nɛṅ jèm kúrúm→] á gù-rò, [kúwó lɛ̀y tà:→lí], [[nɛṅ kúnú] ɲkǎy<sup>n</sup> gó mà] [í kó á tùtù-rò], hálì yá líwó mà, í kó á tùtù-rò, ɲkǎy<sup>n</sup> í kár<sup>n</sup>ú-wòsì tán, [kó mà] sùyrè tán, gù-wòrè, [ɲgú kò] [sùyrè dè mà] [èsù í á kà-là ɲ],

428 èyô:→, cèlà-y<sup>n</sup>úmno mà↑, cèlà-y<sup>n</sup>úmno dé mà, ày<sup>n</sup>á í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à, sábu kà-[bít-ù], kà-[bít-ù] dè, [ày<sup>n</sup>à á nì-r<sup>n</sup>-è ɲ] á dà, kà: [m úkù ɲ kày], bíbì:<sup>n</sup>, [bíbì:<sup>n</sup>, í zálá mà] á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à [kà-[bít-ù] dè], háyà, [ɲgú kò] [èsù m úkù ɲ], [kà-[bít-ù] dè] èsù í á nì-r<sup>n</sup>à ɲ

## 2004-2a.08 Funeral ceremonies

X: 429 kò túw<sup>n</sup>ò, [[àrà pày-nú], wàlá [yà pày-nú]] nùm-wòrè má, jèr<sup>n</sup>á á kà-l-è, jèr<sup>n</sup>à kún mà, [tá tórò yà:fú:→↑] mɛ̀tò mà, [[nùw<sup>n</sup>ò ðrú] jèr<sup>n</sup>à, á yè-t-ò kàr<sup>n</sup>-ú],

430 [bòrù-[bárú-m], bārì-yàrà] [gànù-[jí-m] jí-yàrà], y<sup>n</sup>à-mú àrà-m, [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kâ:<sup>n</sup>] á jí-yàrà, má [yó nà], pùrò-[págú-m] pùró á pàgí-yàrà, y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá nùṅó á nùṅ lã:r-è,<sup>248</sup>

431 nùw<sup>ʳ</sup>ó mà, tùw<sup>n</sup>ò bé á sò:-rà ɲ yà:fú:, nùw<sup>ʳ</sup>ó nùm-wòrè yà:fú:, [mǎlfã sí:] á tègí-yèr-è=bé, ló:wándè á tǎy-yèr-è=bé, má bòrú á tɛ̀w-wèr-è=bé,

432 bé bòrú tɛ̀w-wòsì<sup>249</sup> ɲ yà:fú:, à-nú má kày, gání á bà-t-è=bé, [kó kò] [[wà:gá nù-n dá ɲ] égú-wòsì tán] [à-nú nùm dà ɲ],

433 y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú má, yà-jé, [kó mání] ití-yèr-è [y<sup>n</sup>à-n nùm dà ɲ], bé mɛ̀tò mà, [[cèná kún] céná mà] á sǎy-yèr-è=bé,

434 bé sáyá=m, yàrú sí-wòrè, [yó nà], kó á hílù bítì-yèr-è=bé, bé kó hílù-wòsì má, [kó kày] [[tòrò nùm] [hálì wà:gá] dá ɲ] á yè-t-ò, y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅá lɛ̀y, céná á cén là-r-è, má [[cèná kún] gó mà] á sáy-yàrà, [kó kò] [nùw<sup>ʳ</sup>ó cèná kày],

435 níṅinà, kò pèrà kày, yà-kàlá, [yà-kàlá jèr<sup>n</sup>à] á kà-l-è, [yà-kàlá jèr<sup>n</sup>à kày] [í kày] í ðì-lí<sup>250</sup> kòy, gâ: [í jìrè kà] kár<sup>n</sup>ú-sà, sábu tórò pòlò, [bé kày] [bòrú sí: kò] yà-kàlá á dàgù-rà,

436 hà: [í nà], [í kày] [[y<sup>n</sup>à-mú lò] kù dá] á pàsù-rà [yà-kàlá kày], bé dàgú lá-wòrè má, àrká, lòsù-m mútù-rú-wòrè má, ì-m-í: jèr<sup>n</sup>á á kà-là, mɛ̀tò=m=bé, bé jí dèr<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr-è ní, dè:gá [nùṅ kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [àlá mà] á yà-yàrà,

437 [í kày] [yà-kàlá cèná kày] í ðì-lí kòy↑, kà: [[í kú] kù] kàr<sup>n</sup>ù-sà,

<sup>246</sup> *tóló* ‘(wound) heal’.

<sup>247</sup> Reversive: ‘un-[stop up]’ = ‘re-open (stuffed or stopped-up hole)’.

<sup>248</sup> For /lá-yàr-è/ (3PI future of *lá* ‘spend night’). A preceding chained verb, here *nùṅú* ‘sing’, (combining form), drops tones (hence *nùṅ*) before a future verb, even when the future verb has a monosyllabic stem (so the initial L-tone of the stem of the future verb is not audible).

<sup>249</sup> Pronounced [bòt:ɛ̀w:òsì].

<sup>250</sup> Perfective negative of *dìr<sup>n</sup>ú* ‘find (by chance), inherit’

438 [[tóró pòlò] nû-m] [bé kày] [zǎ: gú-sò ń], [bé kày] [bè yá-kàlà jèr<sup>n</sup>à]<sup>251</sup> ì-í-gú dà, [kò sí:] kò— [bòrú sí:] kò y<sup>n</sup>à-r<sup>n</sup>ú á sò-r-è=bé, [bòrú sí: kò] cèná cèn-n-è=bé [nùndér<sup>n</sup>á lěy] [hálì nùndér<sup>n</sup>á tà:lí] [bè yá-kàlà] á kà-là,

439 [í kày] y<sup>n</sup>à:ṅà tùr-í→ lók, [kò í yá-kàlà kày], dàgú lá-wòrè ń yà:fú:, [í kày] â: sáy-rà, ì-m-í: jèr<sup>n</sup>á kár<sup>n</sup>ú-wòsì, [kó nà] bé jèr<sup>n</sup>á bé kán<sup>252</sup> dèr<sup>n</sup>ú-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è ní, dè:gá sày-r-è=bé, [kó kò] [yà-kàlá jèr<sup>n</sup>à mà], kó mà, [kò sí] á kà-là

<sup>251</sup> Perhaps to be syntactically bracketed [*bè [yá-kàlà jèr<sup>n</sup>à]*] with *yà-kàlá jèr<sup>n</sup>à* ‘ritual of marriage’ as a whole functioning as possessed noun.

<sup>252</sup> /kár<sup>n</sup>ú/ ‘do’.

## Tape 2004-2, track B

### 2004-2b.01 Cooking millet

X: 440 ká, kùlò, kà: á kùl-l-è ñ, yù-kúsù, [[[yù-kúsù mà] dè] só mà] [ká-kâ:<sup>n</sup> á bì-t-è ñ]] [hálì kó pìr<sup>n</sup>á táńá mà] [zá táńá mà] [zá bìrá mà] [ńińú ńińó mà], ká:, [hálì kó yèrí zá dó] [gó ñ] [kó àsí [wò dé] á ùsù-rò]

Y: < ... >

X: < ... >

Y: 441 ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> cék, háyà, hàyà yù-kúsù, àrà-m kó bàsù-wòsì má, í yá kó kúró mà, má í yèrú-wòrè má, í kó yàrá mà, í héló mà, í nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà,  
 442 í nǎm-mòsì<sup>253</sup> má, kò zà-[bì-nù] kúnú, yá tòkú látá mà, [zà ñgú] bìrá mà, má [wò zá] bìrú-wòsì má, má [ńiń kày] wó kó wùrò mà, [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kálá sí] wó héló mà, ńińgú ńińgó mà, ńińgú tútù mà, [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kálá] [[ílò kà] kù] só mà, [wò sí] zí yá mà, í→ [nu-r<sup>n</sup>ú kálá] [wò sí] à zì bò-t-è,  
 443 má [ńiń kày] [nù-r<sup>n</sup>ù kâ:<sup>n</sup>] á lì-rà, yù-kúsù kǒy, kúró mà, nàw<sup>n</sup>á mà, í kùrí-yàrà↑, í yèrú-wòrè má, í yàrí-yàrà↑, í hèlí-yàrà↑, í nǎm-màrà↑, [kò zà-[bì-nù] kúnú] [ńiń kày] [wò túrì:], wó á bìrì-yàrà↑, má [ńiń kày] wó bìrá mà, héló mà, má [ńiń kày] [[nù-mú yà:fú:] hél-ù], ńińgú kúló mà, [nù-mú yà:fú:] á lí-yàrà

### 2004-2b.02 Crisis food

X: 444 ká jèwà-lé, [jèwà-lé nà] kà: á kà-l-è ñ, [ńiń kày] kó [ù dé] àsí [ù dé] á ùsù-rò, jèwà-lé lùwó á tò-t-è<sup>254</sup>

Y: èrê:ré

X: 445 èrê:ré á kò-t-è<sup>255</sup>

Y: má [ńiń kày] èrê:ré— [èrê:ré kày] ñ kóró é→, sárá mà, zàlá mà, [[kò lùwó mà] tóró mà] zàlá mà, ńéjébí kár<sup>n</sup>á mètó mà, ñkǎy<sup>n</sup> á lì-r-è,

Z: 446 yú y<sup>n</sup>ǎńgó má, [lé y<sup>n</sup>ǎńgó] jèwà-lé, lùwó í â: tó-t-ò, èrê:ré í â: kó-t-ò, [èrê:ré kày] kórú-wòs-è má, í kó yàwrá mà, í kó sárá mà, í kó zàlá mà, érá í kùlí-yàrà,

447 [érá kúló mà] kó â: zál-l-è, má kó tétá mà, [má [kò túw<sup>n</sup>ò]] [má kó zàlá mà], má [héló mà] [í á lì-rà],

448 lùwó↑, í â: tó-t-ò, í kó tórú-wòsì má, [kò bérè] í jèsá mà, [tòkú<sup>256</sup> kù] í kó kúló mà, í kó á zàlá mà, má [kò túw<sup>n</sup>ò má], í héló mà, ì mèt—, mágù mágá mà, jìrò-kùlú kúló mà, í héló mà, [í mètó mà] [í á lì-rà],

449 èyyô:→, [làgú nà] bòlò, [yù là:lěy] má, bòlò bòlò mà, í héló mà, [í mètó mà] [í á lì-rà], jèwà-lé, [cé kò] yú bè-l-é mà, [cé í kúló mà] [má í á lì-rà]

450 ú ègú-wòsì má, [ú ègí-yàrà kǒy] [ú ùsú dèl-lí tán] [ú ègí-yàrà]

### 2004-2b.03 Soda ash

X: 451 ká [ńiń kày] érá, èrà jém, [kà: á kó, á cèl-l-è ñ má] [kà: [lé kù]] á kó á<sup>257</sup> kùl-l-è ñ] [dèń kà: á kó dèwrá mà] [èsù á kó á cèl-l-è<sup>258</sup> ñ], [kà: kár<sup>n</sup>á mà] [[lé kù] kó á kùl-l-è ñ, [ńiń kày] kó àsí á ùsì-yàrà

<sup>253</sup> nǎm\|nàw<sup>n</sup>á ‘grind’.

<sup>254</sup> tórú\|tóró ‘strip off (leaves)’.

<sup>255</sup> kórú\|kóró ‘pick (a fruit)’

<sup>256</sup> Pronounced [tòk:ù].

<sup>257</sup> á kó á. 2PI subject á, then nonhuman object kó, then imperfective á.

<sup>258</sup> “3PI subject” suffix -e here with 2PI subject pronominal.

- Y: 452 èrà jém kày, [yàwá má] [níŋ kày], má [kò èrà-ní] á tèkù-r-è ŋ, éyyô→, cècèrú máy<sup>n</sup>-w<sup>n</sup>òr<sup>n</sup>è má, í [èrà mà] dó mà, [níŋ kày] í kó dó-wòsì má, [níŋ kày] èrà-mtètí, [í sèŋínè gùŋó mà] [[[èrà-mtètí ùrò kúnú] kù], í sèŋínè kúló mà], í [èrà jém kúnú] kúló mà, í [èrà jém] bìsò mà, má í kó sí-tó mà, í kó bòlò bē:-sì má, má í kó á tèkù-rà

### 2004-2b.04 Drawing water

- X: 453 àsí [ù dé] á ùsù-rò, ní, kǒw bìrà,<sup>259</sup> yògòdó:jì bèré má, [èsi kà: sí:] á [kò ní] á kòw-rò ŋ, kà: á kòw-rò ŋ, [kò kún] [níŋ kày] àsí [ù dé nà] á ùsí-yàrà,  
454 [tá: kár<sup>n</sup>á]<sup>260</sup> yògòdó:jì àrká gó = ìn bèré déy, [[lòkú mà] jèré mà] yá mà, gágá mà, [[síyòŋ mà] kù] kúló<sup>261</sup> mà, gágá—, [[jèré mà] [íló mà] á yè-tò ŋ] [[kò kún] àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà]
- Z: 455 yògòdó:gì, yá àrká tàyá í á: bò-tò, í bèré nì ków mà, [lòkú í jèré mà] á bò-tò, ì kú—, í jèré-m bèré mà, [lòk kúnú] ní— yògòdó:gì [ní kù] í kó kúló mà, ní lú-wòrè mà, í á kùl-lò, [síyòŋ mà] pùrò kù, [[síyòŋ kù] kù] kúló-wòsì má, í kó só dé mà, í á yè-tò, [íló, má í á yà-yàrà] [tòkú mà kù] kùlù, má í yè-tò ní, [kó zì:] í á yè-tò kò lè kár<sup>n</sup>ú
- X: 456 wàsù-ŋgò

### 2004-2b.05 Baskets and jujube cakes

- X: 457 ká èzè ká:, lè-bírá á bírá mà, [á dǒrò mà] [cèrú á bè-tà-ŋ] ká á dà mà, [kó mà] àsí [ù dé]—, ú ká [àsí dé] tégó
- Y: 458 á<sup>n</sup>hà<sup>n</sup>, lè-bírá bírá mà í á: bè-tà mà, tású í á: tì-rà, [í cèrú á bè-tà] tású í á:—, í á: pòrò mà— í á sòlò mà yàwá mà, má í pòrò mà gùŋgò mà, má í yèrí [tású mà] té mà, [í cèrú á bè-tà], [í kǎ:<sup>n</sup> mà] kǎ:<sup>n</sup> mà, [í [à<sup>n</sup>sú mà] é:<sup>262</sup> mà] [í kǎ:<sup>n</sup> mà] kǎ:<sup>n</sup> mà, [í kǎ:<sup>n</sup> mà] dǒrò mà, [í cèrú á bè-tà],  
459 éyyô→, í [òrbú mà] zǒlò mà, í [òrbú mà]—, òrbù-nèfá mà nèfá mà, òrbù-ísèy<sup>n</sup> gá: nèfá gá:, í á: bò-tò dǒrú, [í cèrú á bè-tà], í [búru-só:dè<sup>263</sup> mà] bèrá mà, í pǒw-wòsì má, í dǒrò mà, [í cèrú á bè-tà], háli háli lùwò jém, [í tórô-m] [í wàru-wòsì má], [í [cèrú mà] á bè-tà]

### 2004-2b.06 Weaving with strips of doum-palm frond

- X: 460 [níŋ kày] ká wó sigí-yàrà, [níŋ kày] ká y<sup>n</sup>ámú, kà: pètá tì-rà-ŋ, tǎy kà: bé éwá mà, ñiŋé mà, pètá té mà, má kà: bé [kò pètá] á dǒ-tò-ŋ, kó àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà [ú nà]
- Z: 461 pètá, í tǎy sà-rà, pètá í á— tǎy í á: èw-rà, í tǎy éw-wòsì má, í ñiŋé mà
- Y: 462 mú:dù pé:rù
- Z: [mú:dù pé:rù] tǎy í á: èw-rà
- Y: 463 gó:ŋò, kò sódórkò
- Z: sódórkò í á: èw-rà, má [kò túŋò mà] [í kó á ñiŋé mà] [í kó á tì-rà], í kó tí-wòsì má, í kó dǒrò mà, kò dǒrú kúnú, kó sí: mà—
- Y: mú:dù pé-nì:y
- Z: [pé-nì:y sí:] pètá í á dǒ-tò, é→

<sup>259</sup> Can be pronounced more fluently as *nì-ków* <sup>L</sup>*bìrà* ‘work of water-drawing’.

<sup>260</sup> *tá: kár<sup>n</sup>á* ‘it should happen’ (uncommon phrase).

<sup>261</sup> ... *mà kù kúló* pronounced [màk:úló].

<sup>262</sup> for *éwá mà*, from verb *éw* ‘buy’.

<sup>263</sup> Variant of *gúru-só:jè*.

## 2004-2b.07 Marriages I

- X: 464 [nín kày] àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà, ú ìr<sup>n</sup>ì y<sup>n</sup>ày<sup>n</sup>àr<sup>n</sup>í bē:-sì, nínìnà, [ǎn dè] wó ó:-wòsì, èyyô→, èsè kà: á bì-t-è-η, kà: á kà-l-è-η, hálì só mà, hálì [wò yákàlà], èsè kà: ú á: bē-tà-η↑, èsè ú á: gùṅgù-rò-η↑<sup>264</sup>, [[ù dé] á ò:-rè-η↑] [èsè ú á: gùṅgù-rò-η]
- Y: háyà
- X: 465 cé àsí á ùsò-rò nínènnà, hálì yá wó dàyà, hé→ [kò m̀-đíṅ lísà mà:↑] [sô-m èsù á gùṅgù-r-è-η] [[cíní kày] cé àsí [ù dé] á ùsò-rò]
- Y: 466 háyà, ó:diyà, dàgù-wòs-è mà, zǎṅ-wòs-è mà, zǎṅ-wòs-è mà, kàsú:., kùrùkàsí:., kó à zì-yà-r-è<sup>265</sup>, á zê:-t-è, *premier*, éyyô→, nàfá, nǎṅ, á zê:-t-è, éyyô→, *lòsónà* dàgò-ré-η cèlà, dàgù d̀:~r-è mà, nàw<sup>n</sup>á, yà-nàw<sup>n</sup>á, yà-nàw<sup>n</sup>á, òw-wà-r-è,
- 467 háyà á dàgì-yà-r-è mà, yà-yítíw, yà-yítíw pàgì-yà-r-è, yà-yítíw pàgì-yà-r-è↑, yà-nàw<sup>n</sup>á òw-wà-r-è↑, zǎṅ-kàsú òw-wà-r-è↑, nàfá òw-wà-r-è↑, ñjìyàṅàfú: àrám òw-wà-rà, hàyà [ú nà] ú [kò nà kúnú], hàyà [ú mà ní ní] ès kà:, [ú kày ní] [ù ná: kày] ès kà: [nín kày] á gùṅgù-rò, kò cèlà kày, zá dà á bì-t-è = bé, nàl̀:~zá á bì-t-è, hàyà [nín kày] d̀l̀ú-wòrè,
- 468 hàyà [ná kày], ès [ìr<sup>n</sup>ú mà] dàgò-rà-η↑, t̀:~sì mà gùṅgò-rà-wò→, yòrú mà gùṅgò-rà-wò→, tàgù mà gùṅgò-rà-wò→, èyyô→, yòrú ñ gá-sà mà
- Z: 467 d̀l̀kí gùṅgò-rà-wò
- Y: d̀l̀kí gùṅgò-rà-wò→, músò:rò gùṅgò-rà-wò→, d̀l̀l̀kè gùṅgò-rà-wò→,
- Z: 468 l̀-~sàṅá
- Y: l̀-~sàṅá gùṅgò-rà-wò→, kǎṅgè gùṅgò-rà-wò→, èyyô→, búkùl̀-šé:n gùṅgò-rà-wò→, m̀h̀m̀, làgènnà [yó nà] wàsò-dà
- Z: 469 yàkàlá yèrú-wòrè mà, —
- Y: yàkàlá—, háyà [l̀l̀l̀l̀ nà] yèrú-wòrè mà, kó mà, kàsú, kàsú pé-này↑, kàsú này<sup>n</sup>↑, bà:~sá pé:rù↑, p̀t̀à gá:rà, kùrùkàsí: kùréy, zògùtò kùréy

## 2004-2b.08 Marriages II

- X: 470 ká [[nín kày] èsù [ù dé] á ùsí-yàrà-η], y<sup>n</sup>àmú, [jámà y<sup>n</sup>àmú á m̀t̀í-yàrà] [yàkàlá mà: sô-m→, jíṅgá:rù mà: ñgì, y<sup>n</sup>àmú, *dúgà* [zǎ: yá:] kàlà [bè kú]— [bè kú-èrù] mà→, bè sódè mà, kà: bé á kà-là-η, [nín kày] kó àsí [ù dé] ùsò-rò, á ùsí-yàrà
- Z: 471 yàkàlá mà á yè-t-ò, yá:— nùndèrà—jíṅgá:rù mà á yà-rà, ìní— í yòrú á m̀gò-rò, í kú à é-tà, kú-dùgò à pàgò-r-è, *sé*: dùgò à kùl-l-è, èyyô→ l̀-~sàṅá à kùl-l-è, t̀:~sú à kùl-l-è, *kǎṅè* mà à kùl-l-è, lòsù-m á yà-rà mà, í c̀ẁl̀àṅàfú: [í kú mà èrì-yàrà] [[yòrú mà] m̀gò c̀erì-yàrà] [í [yòrù j̀èr<sup>n</sup>ú mà mà] pàgì-yàrà, í á b̀-~tò, [í m̀t̀ó mà] [má [kò *túṅò* mà]] [í á c̀en-nà], c̀ẁl̀àṅàfú: í à ká-là, hálì [yó nà]

## 2004-2b.09 Medicine

- X: 472 [nín kày], àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà, ìmí: á lò-tò, bà:nì-sàrá bé á àw-rà, bé lòrú-wòrè mà, kà: á á kà-là-η, [èsù sí:] á bé á zòṅgù-rò-η, [nín kày] kó àsí [ù dé] ùsí-yàrà, zǎ: yá: kà: á kà-l-é-η, hálì yó èsù á á kà-là-η, ìmí: zòṅù dè, kó [ù dé] á ùsì-rò
- Y: 473 yá: kày, [àr<sup>n</sup>àsá:rà zòṅ kày] í ìnà, yá: kày, ày<sup>n</sup>à tógú, ìsìnà àṅèy, sé:kèy nì, tàbìy<sup>n</sup>ú nì, èyyô→, kùmbú nì, kò là:kúnnà,
- X: ìr<sup>n</sup>ú á nèm-l̀-η<sup>266</sup>
- Y: é, é, ìr<sup>n</sup>ú á nèm-l̀-η
- X: 474 l̀l̀pàgú
- Y: l̀l̀pàgú nì, [ké sí:]
- X: 475 àrám-túró
- Y: cé cè àrám-túró nì, [ké sí:] kè ìmú á nèm-l̀-è,

<sup>264</sup> *gǔṅ* ‘take out’.

<sup>265</sup> Also pronounced *-yèr-è*.

<sup>266</sup> Also pronounced *nèm-rè-η*.



476 háyà, tàbìy<sup>n</sup>ú, [kó mà] ìr<sup>n</sup>ú lòrú-wòrè mà, [kó mà] [kó sǐ:] á zòṅgù-rè, tàbìy<sup>n</sup>ó, hàyà níjínà ìmú lòrú-wòrè mà, [á dà] ày<sup>n</sup>á í â: kúl-lò, módè, í â: ném-là, ày<sup>n</sup>á, í â: ném-là,  
 477 [[gùsù-jém mû:<sup>267</sup>, àr<sup>n</sup>àsá:rà lèy] sí yà:fú:] mètó mà, [nínj kày] í â: zóṅgù-rò, í â: sów-rò, [ès kà: [nínj kày] í kà-ná-ṅ kálá] y<sup>n</sup>àngò, hàyà [kò tòrò-bìrà kímà], [ké mà] í â: bí-tà, ày<sup>n</sup>á í â: sà-sà-tà<sup>268</sup>, í â: dí-tò, í â: ném-là

## 2004-2b.10 Fulbe women sell milk

- X: 478 níjínà àsí á ùsù-rò, pùlò-y<sup>n</sup>àmú ìní à zê:-tò êm, [èm dórú] â: yé-tè = bé, êm, kà: [èsù kà: sǐ:] á á èw-rà-ṅ↑, kà: á á yà-tà-ṅ↑, lisá ù [bè dé] á òw-rò  
 Z: 479 pùlò-m êm à zê:-tò, bé zê:rú-wòrè mà, [isěy<sup>n</sup>, má] í gùṅgó mà, [kùrùkà:sí mà sǐ:] [isěy<sup>n</sup> êm mà] yàrá mà, [èm kún] í á: yàrí-yàrà mà, í [kò êm dòrù kún] tí: kúló mà, má [kò túṅò mà] [kò èm kúnú], [ì dé]— í á: gòrí-yàrà ...  
*[incomplete transcription]*

<sup>267</sup> Also *nû:*.

<sup>268</sup> *sáru* ‘soak’.

## Part Two: English translations

### Tape 2004-1, track A

#### 2004-1a.01 Hyena, goat, three truths I (tale)

Sa: 001 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 002 One day, hyena (H) and (male) goat (G), they encountered each other on the road. Goat said—(Or rather) hyena said to goat: you (G) must say three truths, (then) I will leave you.

003 Goat stood in silence. He (G) said to hyena: now if I went and said to the other goats<sup>269</sup> that now a hyena encountered me on the road and you did nothing (bad) to me, the (other) goats will not accept (=believe it).

004 (Goat continued:) You, the hyena, if you went and said that you— (said) to (the) other hyenas that you encountered a goat on the road, and then you did nothing to it (=goat), the other hyenas will not accept (=believe it), (they will say), as for those (words), they are just a lot of (empty) talk.

005 (G continued:) Now, you (H) are not hungry.<sup>270</sup> That's why<sup>271</sup> all that talk is around us.

006 He (H) said, by God, it's true.

007 Hyena proceeded onward, and goat proceeded onward (=they separated). Hyena said to goat: another day, let's encounter each other, right here in the very same place.

008 Hyena happened to run into goat one day, as he (G) was eating grass and tree leaves. That day, hyena was very hungry.<sup>272</sup> Hyena said: today (=this time), there is not any great deal of talk; so I must just catch and eat you.<sup>273</sup> There will not be much other talk, so I must just catch and eat you.

009 Well, then hyena jumped on the goat's neck and caught (it). Well, hyena caught and ate goat.

010 Here (this matter) and its tail are ended.

#### 2004-1a.02 Hyena, sheep, three truths (tale)

Bo: 011 A tale.

Sa: Okay.

Bo: 012 One day, sheep (S) was eating grass at the edge of the houses (=village). Hyena (H) came and found it (S). It (S) said: hey hyena, it said, greetings, my (maternal) uncle!<sup>274</sup> Hyena said:

Greetings to you too! It (H) said: greetings, you now my nephew!

013 (H:) Your mother, in our neighborhood, whose sister is she? Furthermore, even if the greeting is like that, as for the greeting, in order to say a greeting to me, you must speak three truths to me. (You) having spoken three truths, I am willing to leave<sup>275</sup> you (alone).

014 (S:) Now, if I go home, among the (other) sheep, and say that a hyena encountered me and didn't say anything to me (=let me go), the other sheep won't accept (=believe) me.

<sup>269</sup> Lit. "remainder of goats."

<sup>270</sup> lit. "you-Sg do not have hunger" (phrasing as in German).

<sup>271</sup> Lit. "that being done (=being the case), ..."

<sup>272</sup> lit. "hunger caught hyena."

<sup>273</sup> Imperative verb with 1Sg subject.

<sup>274</sup> Sheep proposes a kinship relationship to Hyena in order to avoid being devoured.

<sup>275</sup> Hortative verb (*pás-é*) with 1Sg subject.

Likewise,<sup>276</sup> if you (H) go (and say) to the other hyenas that you encountered a sheep and did nothing to the sheep, the other hyenas will not accept (=believe it).

015 It (H) said: very true.

016 (S:) But now, you are not hungry. When you are hungry, only then you will eat me. There should not be lots of talk between us. But tomorrow, at this place, at this time, let's meet each other! As for me, as for me, I have no difficulty. Will you (H) go and come (back) (tomorrow), or (not)? (H:) As for me, I have no difficulty.

017 Hyena went on (his way). Hyena—. Sheep raised his head and looked. Hyena went (=kept going) until he had gone far away. Sheep leaped over a wall and went into (a pen). Sheep said (=thought), if he (H) goes away today, I (S) will not go far away any more.

018 (Sheep): they ask, my mother, whose sister is she?

019 After he went away, in the late afternoon (around 4 PM), Sheep came home. The sun had not yet set on it (S). Hyena encountered him (S), and he (H) was asking (him), your mother is whose sister?

020 The story and its tail are finished.

### 2004-1a.03 Pigeon (giant head) in a pit (tale)

Sa: 021 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 022 A man came and went out. He was very powerful. He was very powerful. He thought that, of all men, he was the most powerful. Yes.

023 He got up. He was walking around. Then (it is said) he encountered a man. He said that they (=he and other villagers) would go with him to the village (Tabi). That man was (way) out in the bush (=far from villages). Well, the man, he now, he was in a (deep) pit. He asked him, he said:

[song:] 024 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

(It is) you and who, pigeon?

How many men, pigeon?

Only one man, pigeon.

One man, a man is not enough,<sup>277</sup> go add more.

025 Well, as for him, he went back. Yes. They went and came back with two men. Yes.

[song:] 026 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

(It is) you and who, pigeon?

Two men, pigeon.

Two men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

027 They went back. He went and got three men, they came (back).

[song:] 028 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

(It is) you and who, pigeon?

Is it one man, pigeon?

Is it two men, pigeon?

Is it three men, pigeon?

Three men, (the) men men are not enough, go add more.

029 He went (back) in with him (another man). They went and came back with three men. Yes.

[song:] 030 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.

<sup>276</sup> Lit. "it too, ...". Can also be construed as 'you too' (indirect discourse).

<sup>277</sup> i.e., to pull me out of the hole.

How many men, pigeon?  
 Is it one man, pigeon?  
 Is it two men, pigeon?  
 Is it three men, pigeon?  
 Is it four men, pigeon?  
 Is it five men, pigeon?  
 Five men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

031 He went. They went and added two others. They became seven.

[song:] 032 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.  
 How many men, pigeon?  
 Is it one man, pigeon?  
 Is it two men, pigeon?  
 Is it three men, pigeon?  
 Is it four men, pigeon?  
 Is it five men, pigeon?  
 Is it six men, pigeon?  
 Is it seven men, pigeon?  
 Seven men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

033 Yes. Even now, he said that they, his men (=the men who came to help him), were not enough. They went back. They got two other (=additional) men and added them. They became nine men. They assembled and came. Yes.

[song:] 034 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.  
 How many men, pigeon?  
 Is it one man, pigeon?  
 Is it two men, pigeon?  
 Is it three men, pigeon?  
 Is it four men, pigeon?  
 Is it five men, pigeon?  
 Is it six men, pigeon?  
 Is it seven men, pigeon?  
 Is it eight men, pigeon?  
 Is it nine men, pigeon?  
 Nine men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

035 They went and brought (“caused to arrive”) ten. The ten whom they brought, well, they assembled together and came. Now, they were ten men—. Ten men, whether he agrees or he does not agree (that there are enough of them), (they intended that) they would take hold of him and pull him out. As for the ten men, when they come together (unite), as against one man’s body, he too will know (=realize) (that) ten men are not something slight (=inadequate to pull him out).

036 Lo, as for pigeon (=the man in the pit), even one (ordinary) man is stronger than he (is). Sitting in the pit, he had nothing but a big head, a pure fake.

037 Ten men assembled together and came. Yes.

[song:] 038 pigeon, greetings!, pigeon.  
 How many men, pigeon?  
 Is it one man, pigeon?  
 Is it two men, pigeon?  
 Is it three men, pigeon?  
 Is it four men, pigeon?  
 Is it five men, pigeon?  
 Is it six men, pigeon?  
 Is it seven men, pigeon?  
 Is it eight men, pigeon?  
 Is it nine men, pigeon?

Is it ten men, pigeon?  
Ten men, (the) men are not enough, go add more.

039 The ten men did not believe that they as ten men were not enough for (=to lift out) one man. They they went into action. They took hold of him in the opening (“mouth”) of the pit and were yanking him out. They caught at (=tried to take hold) of his hand and pulled hard to get him out, when (in fact) Pigeon was nothing but a head, amounting to nothing. They hit and tied him up and went carrying him to Tabi village.

040 Well, the story and its tail are over.

## 2004-1a.04 Wife retrieves husband (tale)

Bo: 041 A tale.

Sa: Okay.

Bo: 042 A man and his wife came out. They sat (=lived) together, until they got a child. Then a famine came in. When day would break, the woman would tell him to pull it (=take out food for the day from the granary). (When) he went inside the granary, the woman would wait for him. Then the woman would come with the gear (=basket) and (he would) take out some millet (and) he would give it (=millet) to the woman. Lo, (one day) it (=millet) was exhausted.

043 One day in that situation, well, when the woman told him to take out (=provide) the millet to put in (the basket), then he went up into the granary. Well, he said: come! Now the woman—, she was washing her hands, (intending) that she would take the gear (=basket) and come (to get more millet).

044 (The man thought:) if (=seeing that) she isn’t coming, as for me, I will definitely go down. She said she was coming. So the man jumped down and ran. Lo, there was nothing in the granary (to give her). The man ran away.

045 The man hid in the bush (away from the village). The man was in the bush, he was in the bush, he was in the bush, until the harvest time approached. Now the new millet appeared. Now, they were taking out (=harvesting) their new millet, they were cooking their millet cakes, they were eating. Now the people were well-fed.

046 Now, the woman was going around asking for her husband, she went around all over asking, she went around all over asking, whether they hadn’t seen her husband. Finally now she heard (them say) that her husband was in the woodland (savanna).

047 (She thought): now, (she must find) the one who was to come back with her husband for her. All the birds called together. Now she made a meal, she made it until there was a lot. Then now, she said: hey you-Pl, come and eat the meal, and then you-Pl come back with my husband for me, (go) track down my husband and come (back)!

048 Firefinch ate. She said (to firefinch): now you go and take (=get). When you go (there), now, (tell me) what you will do to call to my husband so that he will come? (Firefinch:) kikiri-kikiriw! kikiri-kikiriw! kikiri-kikiriw! (Woman:) you cannot (=wouldn’t be able to) come and call my husband (back)!

049 Now that white bird<sup>278</sup> too ate (a meal), until it was full (sated). (Woman:) now you go and call and come (back). White bird—white bird in turn, he in turn, (called) kikikiwkiw! kikikiwkiw! She said: you too cannot come and call my husband back.

050 (She said) to dove<sup>279</sup>: you, having eaten, now go and call my husband to come. Two doves, the doves, when they had eaten and were full, (called): kurukuti! kurukuti!. She said, ah, that won’t call (back) my husband.

051 (Pied) crow ate. He too got up, he went (=flew) up onto a tree (and called): ka! ka! ka!. She said to him too (crow): that won’t call my husband (back). All the birds (did) like that.

052 Now crowned crane remained. She said to crane: now, having eaten, you must go, now you must go, now you must go and look. Crowned crane said: as for me, first, when I see your

<sup>278</sup> The golden sparrow (*Passer luteus*) and similar small, light-colored birds.

<sup>279</sup> Laughing dove (*Streptopelia senegalensis*).

husband, that with which (=the way) I will call the husband, having sung the song<sup>280</sup> for him, (only) then, as for me, will I eat. Well, she said, now: you sing the song for me!

053 Then it (crane) said (called out):

054 *kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
*kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
 Your wife calls you. You come!  
 Your wife<sup>281</sup> calls you. You come!  
 Your uncle<sup>282</sup> calls you. You come!  
 Your aunt<sup>283</sup> calls you. You come!  
 There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

055 She said: exactly! Precisely you (unlike the others) can call my husband. Then crane came down, crane ate until it was full. Now crane went. Crane (was) in the woodland now, crane was searching, he was searching, he was searching. He encountered that man now, he was sitting under a tree.

056 That (=the man's) head was extremely woolly with (long) hair. He was sitting in the little shade of a tree. Then crane came and landed majestically on the top ("head") of the tree. Then crane said (called):

057 *kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
*kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
 Your wife calls you. You come!  
 Your child calls you. You come!  
 Your uncle calls you. You come!  
 Your aunt calls you. You come!  
 There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

Sa: Exactly!

Bo: 058 Then, it stopped abruptly, in silence. Ah, then, he (man) looked upward. <xxx> to crane. Crane was sitting, he said:

059 *kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
*kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
 Your wife calls you. You come!  
 Your child calls you. You come!  
 Your uncle calls you. You come!  
 Your aunt calls you. You come!  
 Your maternal uncle calls you. You come!<sup>284</sup>  
 There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

060 (Man:) "hmm, so there is no famine on the mountain? That bad (=terrible) famine of the mountain has gone away?" Well, now he got up. At once, crane flew forward and went there. It (crane) said:

061 *kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
*kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
 Your wife calls you. You come!  
 Your child calls you. You come!  
 Your uncle calls you. You come!  
 Your aunt calls you. You come!  
 Your maternal uncle calls you. You come!

<sup>280</sup> lie. "sing (and) show."

<sup>281</sup> In the repetition (see below), 'your child' occurs in this position.

<sup>282</sup> Father's younger brother.

<sup>283</sup> Father's sister. Can also denote one's mother's co-wife.

<sup>284</sup> This line occurs here for the first time.

There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

062 Now, they went and went and went, until they came and arrived at the edge of the village. Again it went up. It said:

063 *kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
*kuwa! kuwa!* You come!  
 Your wife calls you. You come!  
 Your child calls you. You come!  
 Your uncle calls you. You come!  
 Your aunt calls you. You come!  
 Your maternal uncle calls you. You come!  
 There is no famine (on) the mountain. You come!

064 Now (they) had come and arrived at the edge of the village. Now, that man came (into the village).

065 Then, now they (villagers) took him inside the house, they put water in the toilet (bathing) area, they washed him, they shaved his head thoroughly, and now they took down (from the oven) (and put) in front of him a wooden bowl (full) of millet cakes. Now he was eating out of that bowl of millet cakes.

066 “Hey!”<sup>285</sup> “They are well!” “The village is well!” “The mountain is well!” “Our entire country, has nothing else bad happened (to it)?” “Are (my) maternal uncles here?” “Are (my) paternal uncles here?” “Are (my) paternal aunts here?” (They) said: everyone is here. “Has nothing (bad) happened?” “Has no-one died?” (Villagers:) “Everything is here.”

067 Now he was there, he was putting those huge handfuls (of millet cake) into his mouth. Now he was there, he was putting those huge handfuls (of millet cake) into his mouth, until he was full. Well, hey, eventually the famine of the mountain went away.

068 Now he looked at his wife. “Is that you?” Lo, it was her indeed. “Hah! now God be praised. Indeed, now I have found you all, thanks to God.”

069 The story and its tail are finished. It’s finished now.

## 2004-1a.05 Hyena, goat, monkey, and squirrel (tale)

Sa: 070 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 071 Well, hyena came and encountered goat, in a deep pit, in an earth pit. Hyena began circling around goat. Hyena wanted to catch and eat that goat. (But) if hyena went into the pit, he would not be able to get out.

072 Hyena kept going around and coming around, he kept going around and coming around. He looked (and saw that), (as for) this goat, its plumpness was very great. Hyena plunged into the pit. Goat leaped outside (the pit) and landed with a thud. Hyena remained inside the pit for three days.

073 Hyena was seeing shadows passing by. (He said:) hey, son of God (=human), who is going by (=who goes there)? A monkey stopped and stood in silence (wondering), is that voice coming out somewhere over there? (Hyena:) hey, son of God, who is going by? Monkey leaned over to look, and lo, there was hyena in the hole.

074 He (Hyena) said: by God, you help me! You get me out! As for me, I (have been) three days in this hole and here I am, unable to get out! I slipped, as I was going by, I fell (in).

075 (Monkey) said: what put (=brought) you, (for you to) circle around at the mouth of the hole, never mind that you slipped and fell in?

076 (Hyena:) it was this way, the thing was an accident, I slipped and fell (in). He (=H) refused to say that he had encountered a goat and had then gone to (try to) catch it. As for that (matter), he refused (to say it). Yes.

<sup>285</sup> After he eats, they exchange greetings and news.

077 Monkey said: hey, you have no trustworthiness. (You) tell me to get you out, then here you hope to catch and eat me, that's what you are doing to me!

078 (Hyena:) "Nope! I will not do that. Whenever you have gotten me out, God willing, I will thank (=bless) you well! Truly!

079 Monkey extended down his tail. Hyena went and was grabbing at it. Monkey didn't trust him, (so) monkey pulled his tail (back) up hard.

080 Well, (Hyena) said: don't do that, (instead) get me out! For three days I am (=have been) here in this hole, (s)o you get me out!

081 Well, Monkey extended his tail. He pulled hyena out. Well, hyena got out by being pulled. Monkey said to him: let go of my tail! Hyena said: my body is dancing (=shaking), so (please) wait a little (until) my body settles down from dancing. (Monkey:) Don't you see? That which I feared, there it is! It has come, hasn't it? (Hyena:) (as) a man, you, have pity (on me)! (Monkey:) I had pity on you, (because) for three days you were in the hole and couldn't get out.

082 (Monkey:) I got you out, and (now) you say that your body is dancing (shaking)! The body-shaking has settled down, (so) let go of my tail!

083 (Hyena:) (could you maybe) look for a place (in your body) that won't hurt (if I eat it)? (Just) a little. I have been in this hole for three days now, (and) hunger has caught (=afflicted) me. Look for some little thing (=body part), a place that won't hurt!

084 Hyena said—. Monkey said: there is no place in the body that won't hurt. Thus they kept arguing and arguing with each other.

085 Yes. A squirrel came. Squirrel asked: what is it? He asked: what are you-Pl arguing about?

086 Monkey said: I got hyena out from inside the earth pit. He was there for three days. Well, I got him out. Then, after I got him out, now he tells me to look at my body (to see whether there is) a place that won't hurt. He says (=intends) that he will cut up and eat me. I now (=on the contrary) say, as for that, it won't happen!

087 Nope, said squirrel, (that is) a lie. Where (=how) could you get the hyena out of the earth pit? He asked to hyena: was it true that he (=monkey) got you out. (Hyena) said, yes. (Squirrel) said, I don't accept (=believe) it.

088 Well, he (squirrel) said: you (two), do ("begin") it again, in front of my eyes now, so that I may see it!

089 Well, hyena jumped into the earth pit, thud! Well, everyone (else), put (=take) one's path and look where to go!<sup>286</sup>

Bo: 090 He looked and ran (=fled).

Sa: 091 Then, squirrel leaped into its hole (=burrow), swoosh! Monkey leaped into the tree, swoosh! Well, in that way (=doing thus), as for those (animals), they scattered. Thus they got out of there in a flash.

092 The story and its tail are finished. It's over.

## 2004-1a.06 Hyena, goat, and lioness (tale)

Sa: 093 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 094 Well, one day, hyena—, hyena and goat encountered each other in the bush. The goat was eating grass. Goat lowered his head and was eating grass, he was eating grass, he was eating grass. Hyena saw him.

095 Hyena sneaked up, he sneaked up, he sneaked up, and as soon as goat picked up (=raised) his head, hyena came up (to him). Well, there was no running away any more (at this point). Hyena seized goat.

096 Hyena thought: now, when I have gone and arrived under the shade of that big tree there, (if) here there is sun(light), I will look, and knock down (=kill) my goat, and eat my meat like that in the shade.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>286</sup> *kúló* 'put' and *èlá* 'look' are imperative in form. The omniscient narrator is "speaking" to the characters.

<sup>287</sup> Example of the TS hortative (*kúw-é*) for what would be a simple future in English.



097 They were approaching (the spot) under that shade, when lo, there was a lioness with a (broad) forehead who had just given birth. Lo, having given birth to three cubs (“children”), that lioness had no milk.

098 Yes, now, as soon as they (hyena and goat) came, now that hyena left the goat and stood looking at the lioness. The goat too stood looking at the lioness.

099 Lioness said to hyena, right now, you, come and tell me, how<sup>288</sup> I may get the milk, (so) these cubs of mine may live. As for me, I have no hunger.

100 Yes, hyena was standing (there), perplexed. There was no trick (=stragem) that hyena could speak (about) and get (the milk).

101 Goat said to lioness (with hyena listening): as for me, I know a way by (doing) which you may get that milk, he said, I know (it). He said: there is a waterjar shard.<sup>289</sup> I have two stones, hyena’s head (will be) the third.<sup>290</sup> Then we will set a fire, then put a waterjar shard up on it, then when the shard has become hot, then do whatchamacallit to that medicine (potion), stir it, and then make whatchamacallit for lioness. You (=lioness) must rub your body (with it) and sip (it). As for milk, it will be like nothing (=plentiful). As for your cubs, right away they will be with swollen hindquarters (=plump).

102 Hyena’s belly began to tremble. They didn’t know about hyena (whether he would agree) that whether the lioness’ cubs survived was more (important) than whether hyena survived.

103 Yes, (they) said to hyena: pick up and bring two stones! He looked and picked up and brought two stones. (They said:) well, come (approach) and lie down! They approached and put down the two stones, in the fashion of a (three-stone) hearth. Hyena’s head was the third (stone). (Now) they picked up the shard and put it up (on the hearth), and they lit a fire.

104 Hyena’s head began to get hot. Hyena snatched (=pulled away) his head, then kicked away (=knocked) the shard (off the hearth), and put (=went on) his way.

105 Yes. Then lioness followed after (=pursued) hyena, powerfully. They kept (chasing) each other, they kept going together.

106 Well, billygoat too got (=took to) the road. He too (went) slowly (at first), then took off abruptly and headed for his (Fulbe) hamlet. He went leaping<sup>291</sup> into his herd (=pen). He survived.<sup>292</sup>

107 Hyena and lioness now kept going straight (away from there) together. They (i.e. lioness) left their young (behind) under the tree.

108 The story and its tail are finished.

## 2004-1a.07 Ram, hyena, and the aardvark burrow (tale)

Bo: 109 A tale.

Sa: Okay.

Bo: 110 Some sheep were going to pasture. A ram [focus] was their herder (shepherd). Every day they would go to pasture and come (back).

111 Today like that (=on that day), a storm encountered them in the bush. When the storm encountered them in the bush, there was an old aardvark burrow there, so they ran for it (burrow). They came running to it, then they went inside that aardvark burrow.

112 As it happened, hyena too was there, he too was running and coming to that aardvark burrow. He too was running.

113 When he came (to the burrow), he found that a ram was blocking his way at the opening of the hole. When he (=Hyena) had stopped all at once, he was pleased.<sup>293</sup>

<sup>288</sup> lit. “(by) doing what.”

<sup>289</sup> A broken piece of an old earthenware water jar. Concave in form, can hold a little liquid for boiling.

<sup>290</sup> A hearth requires three stones, between which the fire is built, and on which the pot is set.

<sup>291</sup> lit. “slapping.”

<sup>292</sup> lit. “got his head.”

<sup>293</sup> “it was pleasing to him.”

114 Today, he said, when (=seeing that) that [focus] is what is blocking (=is stuck in) the opening of the burrow, the burrow is (=must be) chock full (of sheep). Hey, a meal has been made. Hey, a meal has been made. Hey, again (another) meal is being made.

115 Then he (=Hyena) launched into<sup>294</sup> a dance. Then, (he thought), as for the rams, I wonder what will I do? Should I eat one, or should I eat two? Well, whatever pleases you.

[song] 116 (H:) Should I eat two? (R:) Whatever pleases you.<sup>295</sup>  
 (H:) Should I eat one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat three? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat four? (R:) Whatever pleases you..

117 It (hyena) ran until it had gone some distance away. Now it came back running. It said to ram.

118 (H:) Should I eat a red (=brown) one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) He said: should I eat a black one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat a white one? (R:) Whatever you want.

119 Then he (hyena) ran until he was some distance away. Then ram divided the sheep in halves (two subgroups), it told them (one group): you-Pl run to the house (=village)! They ran (=fled), before it (=hyena) came. It (=hyena) came back.

120 Again it (=hyena) was back with them,<sup>296</sup> it was sitting. (Hyena) said:

121 (H:) I will eat, I will eat. (R:) Yes!  
 (H:) I will eat, I will eat here. (R:) Yes!

122 (H:) Should I eat two? (R:) Yes!  
 (H:) Should I eat three? (R:) Yes!  
 (H:) Should I eat four? (R:) Yes!  
 (H:) Should I eat five? (R:) Yes!

123 (H:) Will I eat a red one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Will I eat a black one? (R:) Whatever you want.  
 (H:) Will I eat a white one? (R:) Whatever you want.

124 It (hyena) ran again, until it was some distance away. Ram (again) divided the (remaining) sheep into subgroups. He told them (one group): you-Pl run! They ran (fled).

125 Again they came together. Again it (hyena) said: are you-Pl here? (Ram:) Yes, we are here. (Hyena:) are you-Pl here? (Ram:) Yes, we are here. That ram was saying (that) to it (hyena). Again it (=hyena) said:

126 (H:) Should I eat one by one? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat two by two? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat three by three? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat four by four? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat five by five? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat six by six? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat seven by seven? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) said: Should I eat eight by eight? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat nine by nine? (R:) Whatever pleases you.  
 (H:) Should I eat ten by ten? (R:) Whatever pleases you.

<sup>294</sup> lit. "caught."

<sup>295</sup> Series of parallel questions by hyena (H) followed by responses by ram (R).

<sup>296</sup> Lit. "encountered/coincided."

127 It (=hyena) was gleeful.<sup>297</sup> Again it (=hyena) ran, until it was some distance away. After dividing the (remaining) sheep again (into two groups), (ram said:) you-Pl too, like the other group, run to the house (=village), before it (=hyena) comes (back)! They fled.

128 Again it (=hyena) came back. It said to ram, are you-Pl there? It said: uh-huh! (Hyena:) Are you-Pl there? (Ram:) Yes. (Hyena:) Are you-Pl there? (Ram:) Yes.

129 (H:) Should I eat a red (=brown) one? (R:) Whatever you want.  
 (H:) Should I eat a black one? (R:) Whatever you want.  
 (H:) Should I eat a white one? (R:) Whatever you want.

130 It (hyena) said: Are you-Pl there? Are you-Pl there? I( (ram) said: Yes. Again it (ram) took (the sheep), it divided off another group. Again (ram said:) you-Pl run, before it (=heyenna) comes (back).

131 It (=hyena) was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, until it realized that it had gone far away. Again it ran back, again it came, and found just one single ram, there it was, sitting.

132 (Hyena) said: are you-Pl there? It (ram) said: yes. (Hyena:) Are you there? Are you there? (Ram:) Yes.

133 (H:) Should I take two by two? (R:) Yes.  
 (H:) Should I take three by three? (R:) Yes.  
 (H:) Should I take four by four? (R:) Yes.  
 (H:) Should I take five by five? (R:) Yes.

134 Again it (=hyena) ran until it was some distance away. Before he came back, (the) ram itself went. Then it (=hyena) ran and ran and ran and ran and ran and ran and ran and ran, it came, it came, it stopped.

135 It found that the opening of the burrow was wide open (empty). When it found that the opening of the burrow was wide open, at once (it said:) are you-Sg there? Are you-Pl there? (There was) silence. (It said:) are you there? (There was) silence.

136 (Hyena) ran inside the burrow. When it ran inside the burrow, it found a sheep (ewe) who had (just) had a miscarriage. Right away it ran again, right away it followed in their (=other sheep's) tracks.

137 Now trot, trot, trot, trot, trot, trot, trot! It was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running. (The) ram was going into the village, hyena was approaching the edge of the village.

138 Then hyena went back, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running, it was running. It was approaching the opening of the burrow.

139 Its (=Hyena's) wife herself ate in the burrow (=ate the aborted fetus). She ate and was going outside. Then it (=Hyena) slapped the mouth (=face) of its wife, with its open hand (paw). Then one of her eyes jumped out.

140 It took it (=eye) and held it out and put it in his mouth. Chomp! Chomp! It chewed and put (it) down (=swallowed). It said: that now, that's useful (=tastes good).

141 The story and its tail are finished. All over!

## 2004-1a.08 Riddles

Sa: 142 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A pleasing ring (when knocked).

Bo: A new (earthenware) waterjar.

Sa: 143 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

<sup>297</sup> Lit. "pleasure went past (=was extreme) for it."

Sa: (It's) hanging down dangling.

Bo: A bat says she is pregnant,<sup>298</sup> that which is in her belly (=womb) likewise says it is pregnant.

Sa: 144 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A long and straight able-bodied man.

Bo: <xxx> a road.

Sa: 145 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: Open space...

Bo: ...a black lady.

Sa: 146 The edge of an open space (with) a black lady.

Bo: Wild-pea shrub.<sup>299</sup>

Sa: 147 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A mountaintop's turban.

Bo: Fog (=clouds hitting the mountain).

Sa: 148 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: A mountaintop's tears.

Bo: A water channel.

Sa: 149 A (vertical) fracture (in the cliff) rather.

Bo: A fracture.

Sa: "Water channel" is too much (too broad).<sup>300</sup>

Sa: 150 Your-Pl riddle.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: Able-bodied man with a fork (split).

Bo: Able-bodied man with a fork (split)?

Sa: Able-bodied man with a fork (split).

Bo: 151 A (shepherd's) staff with a hooked end.

Sa: You-Pl know (it).

## 2004-1a.09 The blind and crippled thieves (tale)

[see formatted version at the end of the Toro Tegu grammar]

Sa: 152 A tale.

Bo: Okay.

Sa: 153 A story of (about) thieves., A blind man and a cripple, it's they [focus] who were thieves.

They were going together. One day, when they were going around, they went to a man's field.

154 They were breaking off (grain spikes of) the millet of (=in) his field. They lit a fire, they were roasting the millet (grain spikes) lightly on the fire. Some (of it) they munched on, some (=the rest) they held on to (as) they were going along.

155 It was the blind man [focus] who—, who was breaking off and bringing (millet). It was the cripple [focus] who was looking out, (in) the direction that the owners of the field would come from. Well, just that [focus] was their work. They were performing their work, they were doing (it).

<sup>298</sup> lit. "has a belly."

<sup>299</sup> *Boscia senegalensis*. The seeds are leached in water for a few days then cooked like beans.

<sup>300</sup> "water channel" denotes any channel, whether on the mountain or in the plains, so this answer is less precise than the correct one.

156 If the owner of the field came, if he (= cripple) saw that he (= owner) was coming, the cripple would tell the blind man: well, the owner of the field is coming! The owner of the field is coming!

157 (Then) slowly (=quietly) going around (=changing direction), they would go (away) crawling (=sneaking). It was the blind man [focus] who would hold up (=carry) the cripple (on his shoulder), then he (cripple) would go showing the way to him (blind man). Well, it was like that.

158 One day, before they saw (him), the owner of the field approached. The cripple was afraid of speaking his voice (=out loud). So, as for the cripple, he went away crawling. The blind man was (still) sitting there, blithely unaware.

159 Yes. (Blind man) said: Cripple! Cripple! Hey! The millet tree (=stem), where is it? (Hey) you, pick it (=grain) off and bring it! (To himself:) Ah, he (=cripple) has (=must have) gone to cut off (millet grain spikes).<sup>301</sup>

Bo: <xxx>

Sa: 160 He (=blind man) was just sitting there, blithely unaware. The owner of the field cut off his (flexible) tree branch (as a whip) and was coming.

161 Then, when he looked and put (=struck) the stick in the middle of the blind man's back, the blind man jumped to his feet with a crunching sound. (Then) he (=blind man) realized that this one (next to him) was not his second (=his colleague) that he had brought (with him).

162 When he (owner) put it (=struck him with it) again, he (blind man) penetrated (=went thrashing around) among those millet plants. Crunch! Crunch! Crunch! Crunch! [sound of stepping] As for him (blind man), he said (=figured) he had gone a long way. Well, then they (=blind man and cripple) called out to each other (=communicated) by whistling.

163 Tweet! [sound of whistle] Then the owner of the field said to him, (I hear) whistling, you-Pl are there! Tweet! They (=whistles) met each other. When the owner of the field looked and put it on his back with the whip, at once he (=blind man) ran away.

164 Now he (=blind man) was just fleeing, he wasn't stopping at all. Then the owner of the field said: whistling, phooey! The blind man said (=thought): even if he plays the flute, I sure as hell won't come!

165 They kept going around. After that, they (=blind man and cripple) saw each other. (Blind man) said: How could this be? What have I done?

166 (Cripple) said: the owner of the field had come (too) close. I could not run! If I spoke to you (=blind man), we would not get away! As for me, dragging myself along slowly (=quietly) to get out, I was lying low (e.g. hiding among the bushes), I could not run at all, instead I was lying low, I could see that they were whipping you. I could see that you were running. Well, as for me...

167 Doing thus, doing whatchamacallit, they escaped ("got their heads"). Well, in that way, they too did the work (=did what they did).

168 The story and its tail are finished.

## 2004-1a.10 Snakes, reptiles, elephants (description)

Sa: 169 Well, python,<sup>302</sup> now, they are asking you (the way) how it is.

Bo: 170 Python, it's big, it's marked (blotched), red (brown) and black. It is pretty, it's peaceful (harmless to humans). It's also long.

Sa: 171 How (=what) is its dwelling (habitat).<sup>303</sup>

Bo: Its dwelling is in the water.

Sa: Its dwelling is in the water.

Bo: Its dwelling is in the water. If now the water is finished (=dried up), it hibernates in a hole.

Sa: 172 Well, (turning to) spitting cobra now,<sup>304</sup> what is it like?

<sup>301</sup> Since the cripple doesn't reply, the blind man assumes he has gone off to another part of the field to break off millet spikes.

<sup>302</sup> *Python sebae*.

<sup>303</sup> Lit. 'staying place'.

Bo: Spitting cobra. Spitting cobra isn't very long. The male, its neck has red (brown) around it.<sup>305</sup> It is black, jet black. When it sees somebody, it takes its neck and widens and flattens it like this, then it bends its head (forward) and heaves a long jet of spit. A hole—, it's in a hole, that's its place (dwelling).

Sa: 173 (Is it) a nasty thing (=dangerous)?

Bo: It's nasty. If its saliva gets into the eye(s) of a person, he'll become blind.

Sa: <xxx>

Bo: He'll become blind.

Sa: 174 So, a remedy.

Bo: Indeed, a remedy. Curdled milk, or else sugar.

Sa: That (=eyes) will get better (for him).

Bo: Then it will get better for him.

Sa: 175 After that, (talk about) viper too.<sup>306</sup>

Bo: Viper, it now, it is thin, it is short, it is marked (spotted). It's markings have no character (are unattractive).

Sa: 176 Its body.

Bo: Its body, you (might) say, its (colored) like fabric dye,<sup>307</sup> it's rough(-skinned).

Sa: Indeed.

Bo: 177 That one is definitely nasty (=dangerous). When it coils up here, it jumps (=lashes out) until it has gone a long distance. It keeps slides along (side-winding), it doesn't run (=go) in a straight line. Viper is like that.

Sa: 178 And it breathes (puffs, hisses).

Bo: It breathes.

Sa: 179 I've heard that. After that, long colubrid snake(s).<sup>308</sup>

Bo: Long colubrid snake(s). That one, if you see it, there are two kinds of long colubrid snake. As for the (first) one, it's whitish (light-colored). That one is bigger, that one is longer.

180 The (other) one now, it's thin, it's marked (=striped), red (brown), sulphur (i.e. yellow), and black. But as soon as you see it, it swooshes like a bullet and goes past.

Sa: 181 It's black (dark).

Bo: It's very rapid. It is like that (by nature). It goes into the water, it goes (up) into trees, it goes into holes.

Sa: It is like that (by nature).

Bo: It is like that (by nature).

Sa: 182 Now (about) the way whiptail lizards are, or monitor lizards.

Bo: Puff adder<sup>309</sup> isn't finished.

Sa: Puff adder.

Bo: 183 Puff adder. It's short and thick. It has a wide head. It too, it's a dangerous thing like the viper. It's thick-skinned. It's red (brown) and black (dark), marked (blotched), but those markings of it are not pretty. It flies (=lunges), that one (does). That one, if it has gotten hot (=angry), if it has come (=is out in the open), it raises itself from the sand (=ground) and (goes) swoosh! and it goes and lands hard (on the ground).

<sup>304</sup> *Naja nigricollis*, perhaps also the very similar *N. katiensis*. Lit. "black snake." The Egyptian cobra (*N. haje*) is not a spitter.

<sup>305</sup> Lit. "it is red, it is tied."

<sup>306</sup> Primarily *Echis ocellatus*, but may also extend to other small vipers (*Echis leucogaster* which prefers montane habitats, perhaps also the sand viper *Cerastes vipera* if locally present). For *Bitis*, see below.

<sup>307</sup> Primarily the yellow dye used (along with brown) in native bogolan (cotton fabric).

<sup>308</sup> *Psammophis elegans* and *P. (sibilans) phillipsi*. The first is arboreal, has clearly marked longitudinal stripes, and has a narrow head adapted to taking eggs. The second is mostly terrestrial (often entering villages), lacks clear longitudinal stripes, and has a slightly broader head. Both are long and thin-bodied. These are not the only colubrids in the zone but they are the most common.

<sup>309</sup> *Bitis arietans*, another viper. Very potent venom, but sluggish and not quick to attack humans. Shorter and thicker than *Echis* spp., with a large triangular head. Rare in the zone.

Sa: 184 It raises itself from the sand.

Bo: It raises itself from all of the sand. It goes out of a hole and goes down hitting the ground. It raises itself from the sand, but (the extent to which) it is nasty, this thing is nasty, it (by nature) is there (=what I've said), it is there.

Sa: 185 (They asked about) Nile monitor lizards<sup>310</sup> and whiptail lizards, the way they are.

Bo: Nile monitor lizards and whiptail lizards, they have four feet. They have no hair (fur). They have a tail. Their head, moreover, is just like a snake's head. You would say it is like a python's head, it's like that.

186 As for the Nile monitor lizard, it's marked too. White, with small spots, red (brown), (and) black (dark). It's monitor lizard [focus] that is marked like that.

Sa: 187 Its dwelling.

Bo: Its dwelling (is) in the water.

Sa: 188 Whiptail lizard.<sup>311</sup>

Bo: Whiptail lizard. It too is light-colored. It is thick-skinned. Furthermore, it has its little markings. Its markings, a person doesn't (=can't) know it well. You see (=notice) its roughness (coarse skin) more than its markings. Furthermore, its roughness increases (its size), though it doesn't equal (in size) a monitor lizard.

Sa: 189 It doesn't equal a monitor lizard in size.

Bo: It doesn't equal a monitor lizard in size.

Sa: 190 Its dwelling, where does it dwell ("sit")?

Bo: That now, its dwelling, it digs a hole and it stays (in it). It stays in an old termite mound, that is its dwelling.

Sa: 191 The remaining snakes (and reptiles) now, do they dig their (own) burrow(s), (or) do they not dig (them)?

Bo: The remaining snakes? As for them, they go into a (pre-existing) hole, but they don't dig.

Sa: It's an old hole.

Bo: It's an old hole. They can't dig by themselves.<sup>312</sup>

Sa: They can't dig.

Z:<sup>313</sup> 192 Do they lay ("put down") eggs? (Or) do they bear (their) young?

Bo: They all lay eggs.

Sa: They lay eggs.

Bo: 193 All of them, it is egg-laying. When they have laid eggs, then the Nile monitor lizard buries (the eggs). The whiptail, for its part, digs inside (the) hole (=burrow), it too lays (eggs) there. But as for that one, it goes into the hole constantly, it goes in and comes out constantly. Inside that (hole), whether it buries (eggs), or whether it doesn't bury them, that I don't know.

Sa: 194 It lays (eggs) in the hole, it buries (them), it buries (them) out of view,<sup>314</sup> then it (=egg) hatches there.

Bo: 195 It hatches there. A python, as for it, it lays and lays (lots of eggs) together, like inside the hole. Deep inside the hole. Like a pile, it lays it (=eggs) together in a heap, it puts (them) on top of each other, everything will be rolled up (massed) together.

Sa: 196 (Eggs) with each other.

Bo: With each other. Like cow manure, if you like, you will lift it up like that, then you will put it down again.<sup>315</sup> Well, (python eggs do) thus until it—, when they are ready to hatch, they will hatch there and go out, they will leave the shell, because they (eggs) are tied, they are tied together thus. That is (how) it (=python) lays (eggs).

Z: 197 Does a python lay lots of eggs? Or a few?

Bo: A python lays lots of eggs indeed!

<sup>310</sup> *Varanus niloticus*, an amphibious monitor lizard often in water.

<sup>311</sup> *Uromastyx (acanthinurus) geyri*.

<sup>312</sup> lit. "with their own head."

<sup>313</sup> A third speaker joins in.

<sup>314</sup> Lit. "bury (and) cause to be lost" (i.e. to the view).

<sup>315</sup> Manure is mixed with water for fertilizer, or added to earth and moistened to make a plaster for repairing walls. The speaker is using an analogy to describe the consistency of the egg mass.

Sa: It lays a lot of eggs.

Z: 198 Now you have finished speaking.

Sa: It is finished.

Bo: <xxx>

Sa: It's finished.

Bo: It's finished.

Sa: 199 Elephant.

Bo: Elephant. An elephant is big, an enormous thing above.<sup>316</sup> Its middle (=torso), you can't describe (it) with that. Like, the front is bigger than the back, it's like that, when squatting (=resting), over there (=its front) is bigger.

200 Its ear, it attains (the size of) a little prayer mat. Its arm (=trunk), it now, it's as though<sup>317</sup> a young man is standing in front of it. Its tooth (=tusk), (for) some (of them), they now, it's as though (something) like a cow's horn is in the way. It (= tusk) is up ("put up") next to its hand (= trunk).

201 But (when) it goes, you won't see (=notice) the fact that its foot is bent (moving). It's swaying from side to side, just swaying. If not for (the fact that) it is tilting (to the sides), you don't know (=notice) that its foot is bending (moving) like this, much less do you hear the noise of its feet. It just goes lumbering along (slowly).

Sa: 202 Have you-Pl seen a wild animal<sup>318</sup> bigger than that, or haven't you?

Bo: We haven't seen any wild animal bigger than that.

Sa: Anything more powerful?

Bo: We also haven't seen any wild animal more powerful than it.

Sa: 203 So, the woodland belongs to it.

Bo: The woodland indeed belongs to it. We haven't seen anything bigger than it, (and) we haven't seen anything more powerful than it.

Z: 204 Does it eat grass, or doesn't it?

Bo: It eats grass. It eats trees (=tree leaves). It eats grass (and) it eats trees.

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<sup>316</sup> I.e. the head and trunk.

<sup>317</sup> lit. "won't you say ...?"

<sup>318</sup> lit. "the bush's thing."



## Tape 2004-1, track B

### 2004-1b.01 Elephant and rooster (tale)

Bo: 205 A tale.

Sa: Okay.

Bo: 206 Elephant and Rooster came and entered into (=began) courting women. Rooster was not aware of Elephant. Elephant was likewise unaware of Rooster.

207 Rooster was going back and forth, until one day Elephant said (=thought): “its pathetic little footprints now that I see, I wonder what that (animal) is coming to do. That one too is coming to court a woman. (But) how? This woman that I am courting, is not the (owner of) these tracks afraid to court it? Aha! That one too is courting a woman, he is coming.

208 It (=Elephant) defecated, when it was time to go,<sup>319</sup> until he had piled it (excrement) high. Then he left and went (on his way). Well, he (=Elephant) said (=thought): anyone who cannot defecate this (much) excrement should not come and court this woman.

209 Rooster came. Then the woman’s mother said: there it is, don’t you see there? The owner of that big foot bottom (=sole), the thing that it did, that excrement, there is nobody who can attain (make as much as) that excrement. Go away from<sup>320</sup> (=stop wooing) the woman.

210 Rooster said: how (is that)? (She) said: any man who cannot defecate that (much) excrement, you (=the man), go away from<sup>321</sup> the woman! Rooster said: all right, okay.

211 Rooster flew up on top of that excrement. Rooster was pawing it (to the side), pawing it, pawing it, pawing it, (until) it had pushed it all to the side.

212 Then it left a little excrement ball in the middle. It looked at it. The longest tail-hair in its tail, it planted it (hair) on top of it (=excrement ball).<sup>322</sup>

213 Well, he (=Rooster) said: I have gone (=am leaving). If that man happens to come, let him say: anyone whose eyelash is not as long (as this), you (=the man), leave the woman! At once, Rooster went (away).

214 Elephant came the next day. Elephant found that lo, the hair was standing up. It said (thought): who could that be?

215 She said, well. The woman’s mother said: any man who (=whose eyelash) does not equal (the length of) that eyelash, you (=the man), leave the woman!

216 That (same) man (=Rooster), the one with the tiny footprints, said: how (is it)? He (=Elephant) said: now war has arrived, definitely war has arrived; if it isn’t that (=otherwise), it won’t be agreed (on).

217 Well, he said to the woman’s mother, you, speak! Well, (she said) to the man (=Elephant), (you had better) get ready! Now, he (=Elephant) said (=thought): we will grab each other for a fight. That elephant went.

218 Rooster came back. The mother of the woman said to Rooster: the owner of that big excrement tells you to get ready, (since) he and you will fight a fight right there (=here). She said: the person who wins, it’s he [focus] who will get the woman.

219 Ah, he (=Rooster) said to her, fine! He said: that is very good. Rooster left. Rooster called all flying creatures together and spoke to them. (Rooster) said: well, Elephant and I—, (we) will grab each other for a fight, we are courting a woman, (and) we have fought. So we will fight a fight.

<sup>319</sup> Lit. “(at the time) that his going approached”.

<sup>320</sup> lit. “leave (from) in back of ...”

<sup>321</sup> Imperative in form (*gó* ‘go out, leave!’). The generic ‘any man who ...’ is treated as second person.

<sup>322</sup> Lit. “on its head.”

220 Elephant likewise called all the quadrupeds together, until it arrived at (=ended with) frog. Well, he (=Elephant) said: it's a fight, they will fight with Rooster. So you (quadrupeds), muster up some courage now! It said: you, get ready (for a fight)!

221 Well, now, they gave each other (=set) the day that— they were to meet each other (for the fight). Rooster got up and took his people (=winged creatures) with him, and Elephant likewise got up and took his people (=quadrupeds) with him.

222 Well, winged termites,<sup>323</sup> how shall I say? (Of those) around Rooster, they were the smallest. He said to winged termites: now, you go and look whether those (=Elephant's) people have gotten up. Now too, Elephant likewise sent frogs, (saying:) you go and look whether Rooster's people have gotten up.

223 The winged termites and frogs encountered each other (on the road). The frogs gathered up and ate these winged termites, they gathered up and ate (them), they gathered up and ate (them), until their bellies filled up (and were stretched). Then the frogs went back.

Z: The frogs went back.

Bo: 224 The winged termites too went. Elephant asked the frogs: how is it? Ah, (he) asked the frogs. The frogs said to Elephant: all is well, all is peace (=well-being), jet black.<sup>324</sup> He (=Rooster) said to the winged termites: how was it? (Termites:) ah, if it's like that, we will be finished off (=wiped out). (Rooster) asked: is it like that? It said: the man (=frogs) who came today in that way, his work (=action) is nasty indeed. (Rooster) said: yes, fine.

225 It was going (like that), it was going (like that). Then now, whatchamacallit—, Rooster sent honey bees. The hyenas said: today, he said to Elephant, I (=hyena) am going. He (=hyena) would look (=check) whether those people had come out, or had not come out, and then whether they had approached, or had not approached.

Z: 226 Hyena said that he was going?

Bo: Hyena said that he was going. The hyenas were not small. Hares were there. Mice and squirrels were there. The hyenas said that they were going. The hyenas left.

227 Lo, over there they had sent the honey bees. Then they (=hyenas and honey bees) were going, they encountered each other. Thereupon the honey bees began to get the hyenas. They were stinging the hyenas, they were stinging the hyenas, they were stinging the hyenas, (so) the hyenas were running, they were stinging the hyena, (so) the hyenas were running, they were stinging the hyenas, (so) the hyenas were running.

228 The hyenas were gathering together, they went far away like that, (then) they left (the place), they went back. He (=Elephant) said to the hyenas: how (is it)?

Sa: 229 Look, these (=their) heads were swelling up (from the bee stings).

Bo: 230 The hyenas said: (anyone) who does (=attempts) what he cannot accomplish (=is incapable of) keeps breaking (destroying) the population. Look, the napes and the heads were all swollen, that's all.

231 Ah, lo, in that way it was getting hot (=unpleasant) for them. Now, now a dust storm arose. Now they were coming, walking. They were coming, walking. They encountered each other face to face. It was there now. They came together for a meeting.

232 Now, they (all) said: now they would talk. Now they would have a judgement first, then they would fight a fight. Now, a judgement now. Then—. Rooster said, who can lay the biggest egg? Ostrich said: me! (Rooster) said: you, lay three big eggs for me!

233 (Rooster) said: who can soar the most (=the highest)? Egyptian vulture<sup>325</sup> said: me! (Rooster:) well, okay, well now, when we have gathered for the meeting, and after that now when they have said everything, well, you (=vulture), look! You will take those eggs and go (=fly) up above. Then look straight (down) at the head of Uncle Elephant and drop (the eggs). Egyptian vulture said: yes, fine.

234 Then now, they were speaking the words, they were speaking words, they were speaking words, they were speaking words, until their words left each other (=they could not agree).

235 When their words had left each other, well, (they) said, now, now the war (=battle) has arisen. Now, as for Rooster, his tomtom went: "jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri

<sup>323</sup> Other than rooster and elephant, most animal species mentioned are understood to be a plurality, although all but a few occurrences of the nouns (and pronouns) in question are singular in form.

<sup>324</sup> It is unclear what the point of 'jet black' is here.

<sup>325</sup> Ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) and Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*) are single individuals here, not pluralities like some of the other animals mentioned.

jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri.” Elephant’s tomtom rhythm went: “kurubammata, kurubammata, kurubammata, kurubammata.” He (=Elephant) beat (the tomtom) thus.

236 Then, it said: well, you, let’s enter among each other! Then: Egyptian vulture, ho! It (=vulture) took those three eggs. Egyptian vulture went (=flew) up. Egyptian vulture was climbing, Egyptian vulture was climbing, Egyptian vulture was climbing, Egyptian vulture was climbing. Egyptian vulture saw: by God, I have gone up to the top (=high in the sky).

237 (As for) Elephant, (vulture dropped the eggs) straight on the middle of the head of Uncle Elephant. It (=vulture) looked. When the (first) egg was coming down to hit hard, when that egg broke open then, and the liquid (from inside the egg) came out, well, Uncle Elephant’s head, the brain tissue preceded (=came out before) the blood.

238 Then, all at once, they (=quadrupeds) fled. Then again, again, the third one (=egg), (or rather) the second one came down and hit.

239 Then, now—, they (=quadrupeds) increased their speed (fleeing). Then ri-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri!, Rooster’s people (=the flying creatures) chased Elephant’s people (=the quadrupeds) away. Then he (=Rooster) went back.

240 Now Rooster got his wife. Rooster married his wife. Now, the dancing was hot (=exciting): “jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri, jeykiri jeyjeykiri.” Now they were just having their fun (=dancing). Now Rooster—

Sa: 241 ... got his wife.

Bo: ... got his wife. He (=Rooster) called all those people together. All the people of those villages there were staying up at night having fun, they were having fun for seven days, they were just having fun.

242 Well, the story and its tail are finished. Now it’s finished.

Z: 243 Yes, it was good.

Bo: Very well.

## 2004-1b.02 Tree locust (description)

JH: 244 Tree locust.<sup>326</sup>

Bo: Tree locust.

Sa: That one, (the way) that it is.

Bo: 245 Tree locust. Tree locust is a long grasshopper, a flat(-sided) grasshopper. Its—, its wing<sup>327</sup> is long, all the way to its rear end. It’s blackish and brownish.

Sa: Some people eat (it)?

Bo: Some people eat (it). Some (other) people don’t eat (it).

Sa: 246 Tree locust now, the thing(s) among which—, Among what is it found? (What are) the thing(s) that it eats? The places that are its habitat. The way they (=locusts) moves. (Is it) by itself, or many (=in a swarm)? Now, (tell) what you know about them.

Bo: 247 Tree locust, tree locust, in the woodland, tree locust is (there). It is in the woodland. It eats grass (=vegetation). It eats trees, whatever tree it gets, it doesn’t choose (=discriminate).

248 (When) they go also, they go in swarms. As for (going) one by one, other than now at harvest time when they are hatching and making whatchamacallit, and when they keep flying around here individually, there aren’t any who go individually. As for them, if you see them going, it’s in a swarm.

Sa: 249 A swarm.

Bo: When you see that they are going, it’s in a swarm. Yes. Every tree too, the tree(s) that they encounter, they (=trees) are exactly the same for them. They don’t consider (“look”) whether it’s bitter-tasting, they don’t consider whether it isn’t bitter, they eat everything.

Sa: 250 As for their going (=flying around) now, do they have a (specific) time (of day), or don’t they have (one)?

Bo: 251 (Their) going, they do have a (specific) time for going. Tree locust, its going (is) sunset, with the twilight prayer, at this time they arise and they go (around). They go at night to go down

<sup>326</sup> *Anacridium melanorhodon*.

<sup>327</sup> lit. “hair.”

(=alight). When day breaks on them, they don't go (i.e. in the daytime). So, (not until) another night has come.<sup>328</sup>

Sa: 252 So, another night has come.

Bo: So, another night has come, then they go (again).

Sa: Then they go (again).

### 2004-1b.03 Grasshopper medley (descriptions)

Sa: 253 Pilgrim locust.<sup>329</sup>

Bo: Pilgrim locust. As for it, we don't know it much. But that too, it's like the (same) way the tree locust is. But as for it, it—, its color, it's sulphur (=yellow). It's wing furthermore, it gets long like the wing of a tree locust, it's long to the point that it (=wing) covers its rear end (=abdomen).

254 Furthermore, its manner (is), it goes around at night. It goes around at night, it goes around in swarms, it goes around at night. It eats grasses, it eats trees, and it eats sand.

Sa: 255 (Talk about) its millet<sup>330</sup> now.

Bo: Grass now, that's it, it's millet now. It eats millet now, it doesn't leave (=spare) millet.

X: It's more on millet—

Bo: 256 It's definitely worse (=more harmful) on millet than on ordinary grass. Millet, when it (=locust) descends, if it's young millet, it eats until it (=millet) is finished. When it descends on normal (=fully ripened) millet, it eats and finishes off every leaf, it eats (“gnaws”) the grains, now only the stick (=bare husk of the grain spike) remains. That [focus] is pilgrim locust.

Sa: 257 Does it hatch there, or does it (just) come?

Bo: It goes (along), it comes to a place. Its laying (of eggs). In the place where it has laid eggs, they hatch, its larvae go around in swarms, they go around in swarms, until their flying stage arrives.<sup>331</sup> When the (stage of) flying has arrived too, they too go around in swarms.

JH: 258 *Gastrimargus* grasshopper.<sup>332</sup>

Sa: The talk (=information) of *Gastrimargus* .

Bo: *Gastrimargus*. As for *Gastrimargus* , as for it, I haven't seen it go around in large numbers. As for it, if you encounter (=see) it, male and female, now it is multicolored, black and tan (khaki) colors mixed.

Sa: 259 Does it eat millet, or doesn't it eat (it)?

Bo: *Gastrimargus* , *Gastrimargus* —, as for it, in our country it isn't abundant, but it does eat millet.

Sa: It eats (it).

Bo: Uh-huh. It eats grass, and it eats trees.

Sa: It eats trees.

Bo: It eats trees.

Sa: Do they (=people) devour it?

Bo: They don't eat *Gastrimargus* .

JH: 260 *Acrida* grasshopper.<sup>333</sup>

<sup>328</sup> lit. “come back.”

<sup>329</sup> lit. “bad grasshopper.” *Schistocerca gregaria* (Fr *criquet pèlerin*) in its gregarious (=locust) phase, adults yellow. These locusts devastated the zone just before the millet harvest in 2004, but were not previously known to local Dogon. In its more usual solitary phase (darker colors), this species is present annually but is not distinguished by Dogon from the similar-looking and more common tree locust, *Anacridium melanorhodon*.

<sup>330</sup> *kə yú* could be interpreted as ‘the millet’ or as ‘its millet’, since a C *ṽ* monosyllabic noun remains C *ṽ* with the possessed-noun {HL} tone overlay.

<sup>331</sup> i.e. until they are old enough to fly.

<sup>332</sup> *Gastrimargus africanus*. A strong flyer, hard to catch. Inner wings have bright yellow base bordered by a blackish crescent (a feature shared in the region by *Morphacris* and *Humbe* spp.). *Gastrimargus* lacks the longitudinal ridges on the pronotum of *Morphacris*, and lacks the blue coloring of the inner femur of *Humbe*.

Bo: *Acrida*, as for *Acrida*, it doesn't eat millet. It now, it's yellow, and it's sort of green, it's off-white. *Acrida* grasshoppers, then, it is (of) three colors: off-white, green, it's that, (and) it's tan-colored (khaki). As for it, (it eats) grass (seeds) exclusively. As for millet, I haven't seen it (=grasshopper) eating it.

Sa: 261 How is it?

Bo: Its head is pointed, its legs are long.

Sa: Does it fly around, or does it go (=walk)?

Bo: It flies.

Sa: It flies.

Bo: 262 It too, its wing reaches the tip of its belly (abdomen).

Sa: (It makes) long flights, or short flights?

Bo: It flies short flights. It doesn't fly (=make) long flights. Just flying and alighting, flying and alighting (i.e. flying a short distance at a time). So it doesn't fly (=make) long flights.

JH: 263 *Kraussaria* grasshopper.<sup>334</sup>

Bo: *Kraussaria*, as for *Kraussaria*, as for it, whatchamacallit, (it is) red (=brown) and sulphur (=yellow). As for it, it too, its motion is most often jumping (=hopping). Because the winged one, its wings only help it (to hop). In hopping, its wings help. As for it, it doesn't go flying around like those (other grasshoppers).

Sa: 264 How are its hind legs?

Bo: Its hind legs are rough.<sup>335</sup> Its hind legs are short and robust. If it kicks (=pushes off, while being held), blood will come out (=flow) from a person's hand. If it makes a kick in a person's hand, blood will come out.

Sa: Its body, is it long or short?

Bo: Its body isn't long, its body is short.

Sa: 265 Is it fat (=plump)?

Bo: It's exclusively (=invariably) fat.

Sa: Its motion.

Bo: As for it, it eats millet indeed, a lot. (However,) its millet eating is not very bad (=serious). It eats millet! As for it, it eats millet.

Sa: 266 Its male bigger, or is its female bigger?

Bo: Its female is bigger.<sup>336</sup>

Sa: Its female is bigger than its male.

Bo: The female is bigger than its male. As for the female, it can carry two males on its back.

Sa: The female can carry two males on its back.

Bo: It can carry two males on its back.

Sa: 267 It holds it (as passenger) and flies around.

Bo: It holds it and it goes hopping around.

Sa: <xxx>

JH: 268 *Hieroglyphus* grasshopper.<sup>337</sup>

Bo: *Hieroglyphus*, it now is green. As for it, it doesn't have long outer wings. As for it, it hops (rather than flies). Its nape (=pronotum), it's lined. The nape is lined.<sup>338</sup>

Sa: 269 Its habitat.

Bo: Its habitat is in millet, in the fields. (Suppose) you say (= think)—, (maybe) you have come, and say (think) you'll try to catch it,<sup>339</sup> (but) then it moves around, then it moves around (eluding

<sup>333</sup> *Acrida bicolor* (and closely related species). This grasshopper has a long, pointed snout and very thin legs, giving a mantis-like appearance.

<sup>334</sup> *Kraussaria angulifera* (large, brown and yellow). Edible. Infests millet.

<sup>335</sup> The tibia of the hind leg has sharp spines.

<sup>336</sup> True of this and most other grasshopper species. Mestre, *Les acridiens des formations herbeuses d'Afrique de l'Ouest*; Montpellier 1988, p. 172, gives typical lengths of *Kraussaria* adults as 52-63 mm for the female, 43-52 mm for the male.

<sup>337</sup> *Hieroglyphus daganensis* (large, soft-bodied).

<sup>338</sup> The furrows in the side of the pronotum are lined in black. Similar comment made below regarding *Kraussella*.

<sup>339</sup> i.e., if you try to catch it.

you). Just when you say (think) you'll try to catch it, then it moves around. Just when you say (= think) you'll try to catch it, then it moves around, then it hops until it has gone (away).

Sa: 270 Its motion is hopping.

Bo: Correct, its motion is hopping.

Sa: It (=its motion) isn't flying.

X: Is its male bigger, or its female ?

Bo: Its female is bigger.

Sa: Its female is bigger. Does it eat millet, or doesn't it eat (it)?

Bo: 271 It too, it eats ("gnaws") millet.

Sa: It eats millet. Trees now?

Bo: Trees. As for (whether it eats) trees, (or) exclusively grass. As for it (=Hieroglyphus)—. I am unaware of its eating trees.

JH: 272 *Oedaleus* grasshopper.<sup>340</sup>

Bo: *Oedaleus*. *Oedaleus*, its outer wing is long. It's spotted, and multicolored. Spotted and multicolored. It eats millet. It eats grass. But as for trees, as for that, I am unaware (of it). It eats rags.

Sa: 273 Plastic (bags).

Bo: It eats plastic (bags). It eats sand. As for *Oedaleus*, it's like that.

X: So, as for it, does it happen that it gets plump?

Bo: It isn't plump. As for *Oedaleus*, as for it, just its damage (to crops) is (most) bad. As for it, it doesn't get plump.

X: 274 It has (=causes) damage.

Bo: It indeed has (=causes) damage. As for it, it eats sesame, it eats millet, it eats cow-peas, it eats sorghum ...

Sa: Watermelon.

Bo: Watermelon. Watermelons, it damages (them).

Sa: 275 Is the male bigger, (or) the female?

Bo: Its female is bigger.

Sa: Its female is bigger than its male.

Bo: Than its male.

JH: 276 *Poeciloceris* grasshopper.<sup>341</sup>

Bo: *Poeciloceris*. As for *Poeciloceris*, it's only on *Calotropis* shrub. As for it, it keeps gnawing (=feeding) just on *Calotropis*. Just on *Calotropis*, as for it.

Sa: <xxx>

Bo: 277 (It's) spotted. It's sulphur (=yellow) and blackish. Its body is spotted (with black), along with reddish (=orange). *Poeciloceris* is its (=Calotropis') match (in colors). Its head, furthermore, is pointed.

Sa: 278 It's pointed. So, as for it, it doesn't have (=cause) damage (to crops).

Bo: As for it, it doesn't have (=cause) damage.

Sa: 279 Do they (=people) eat them, or don't they eat (them)?

Bo: They don't eat them. But they (=sorcerors) do put them together and roast them with a potion.

JH: 280 Sorcerer's grasshopper.<sup>342</sup>

Bo: Sorcerer's grasshopper. Sorcerer's grasshopper is of no clear color. Sorcerer's grasshopper, there are two kinds. As for (the first) one, it's big-bellied. Now the (other) one has (conspicuous) outer wings, (and) it's thin. They furthermore, as for soft (young) sprouts (of millet), they eat them. Well, when it (=millet) gets bigger (and its stem hardens), they (=grasshoppers) aren't strong

<sup>340</sup> *Oedaleus senegalensis*. Small, brownish grasshopper, common in low grasses.

<sup>341</sup> Literally "Calotropis grasshopper." *Poeciloceris bufonius hieroglyphicus*, a colorful grasshopper that feeds on the shrub *Calotropis procera*. *Poeciloceris* has a yellow base color covered with tiny black or blue spots, and orange spots on the head and pronotum.

<sup>342</sup> *Acrotylus blondeli* and similar species (small, ground-dwelling, well-camouflaged), and (as synonym of other terms) the toad grasshopper *Chrotogonus senegalensis* (the "big-bellied" form mentioned in the text). Outer wings of *Chrotogonus* are of widely varying size but can be very small.

enough for millet. They furthermore are like that, but the female, its belly, it's bloated like the belly of a toad. The male now is small.

Sa: 281 Do they (=people) eat it, (or) don't they eat (it)?

Bo: They don't eat it.

Sa: 282 Is its habitat in the fields, or in the bush (uncultivated land)?

Bo: Nope. As for sorcerer's grasshopper, it's in the fields. Its habitat is just infertile fields (without manure) in (=among) the fields, abandoned infertile fields in (=among) the fields.

Sa: Its habitat is there.

Bo: Its habitat is mostly there.

JH: 283 *Acrodideres* grasshopper.<sup>343</sup>

Bo: *Acrodideres*. *Acrodideres* has no dominant color. It furthermore, it's strictly among the *Guiera* shrubs. It furthermore is not found among millet. It doesn't have (=cause) any damage (to millet).

Sa: It too, they (=people) don't know any harm from it (=grasshopper).

Bo: It too, they (=people) don't know any harm from it (=grasshopper).

Sa: 284 Does it have its male and its female?

Bo: It has its male and its female. The female is bigger than the male.

JH: 285 *Diabolocatantops* grasshopper.<sup>344</sup>

Bo: *Diabolocatantops*. It too eats millet, it eats sesame, it eats cow-peas, it eats trees also. As for it, its harm is bad. It too is like *Oedaleus*.

Sa: 286 Is it plump, or isn't it plump?

Bo: As for it, it gets plump. As for it, it eats all the roselle. It gets plump. When you do the harvest, it (=grasshopper) follows (=seeks) the dry millet, and it goes into granaries. They (=people) eat that one, any person who wants (it) will dry-roast it, it's very tasty! It is eaten.

Sa: 287 If now it has gone into the granary.

Bo: If now it has gone into the granary, it doesn't die. It eats that dry millet (in granaries), it remains.

X: One that is inside the granary doesn't die—

Bo: It eats that dry millet.

X: <xxx>

Bo: It doesn't drink water.

Sa: <xxx>

JH: 288 *Cryptocatantops* grasshopper.<sup>345</sup>

Bo: *Cryptocatantops*. That one has a male and a female. Its female is bigger than the male.

*Cryptocatantops* furthermore, *Cryptocatantops* furthermore, it is similar to *Diabolocatantops*. It is multicolored like *Diabolocatantops*. *Diabolocatantops* is more light-colored than *Cryptocatantops*. It's (like) that, it has a stripe, where it is pulled (=stretched) like a stripe. That one furthermore gets plump. That one eats sesame, it eats millet, it eats cow-peas too, it eats okra.

Sa: 289 It has (=causes) damage.

Bo: That one has (=causes) damage.

Sa: Insecticide<sup>346</sup> for that one, looking for insecticide for that one is normal.

Bo: We want (=need) it, looking for insecticide is normal. They eat it.

Sa: 290 *Kraussella* grasshopper.<sup>347</sup>

<sup>343</sup> Lit. "Guiera's grasshopper." *Acrodideres strenuus*, an arboreal grasshopper associated with trees and shrubs of the family Combretaceae, including *Guiera senegalensis*.

<sup>344</sup> *Diabolocatantops axillaris*, a fairly large grasshopper, mostly tan-colored. Literally "sesame's grasshopper." Feeds on millet, sesame, and cotton.

<sup>345</sup> There are several grasshopper sp. closely related to *Diabolocatantops* but considerably smaller spp. in the area. The most common in the zone is *Cryptocatantops haemorrhoidalis*. Also present are *Harpezocatantops stylifer*, *Catantops stramineus*, and *Oxycatantops spissus*, and these spp. may be included in the native term. These smaller spp. are often called "slave of *Diabolocatantops*" in other Dogon languages of the zone.

<sup>346</sup> Lit. "medication."

<sup>347</sup> *Kraussella amabile*. Small, attractive grasshopper with yellow-green and gray colors.

Bo: *Kraussella* too. It eats (crops). It eats millet. It is lined.<sup>348</sup> It furthermore—, it is lined. That one, the female is bigger than the male. It eats millet, it eats sesame, it eats roselle plants, and it eats sorghum. That one is harmful.

Sa: 291 Is flying its action (=mode of locomotion), or jumping (=hopping)?

Bo: Flying is its action. *Kraussella* flies. Now if it has put (=is carrying) eggs, it hops.

Sa: For that one too, looking for insecticide is normal, it is harmful. That too is words (=worth mentioning).

Bo: Then, for that one too, looking for insecticide is normal. It too, it is harmful, it is harmful.

X: <xxx>

JH: 291 *Sherifuria* grasshopper.<sup>349</sup>

Bo: *Sherifuria*. That too, they (=people) encounter it in fields. But *Sherifuria*, it eats cow-peas, but its damage is not much. That *Sherifuria* might gnaw (=feed on) millet, I haven't seen (it). But as for that one, the male and the female are equally long. Its outer wing furthermore covers its rear end (=abdomen).

Sa: 292 That one now, how is its head?

Bo: Its head, it's a big head, flat (on the side).

Sa: 293 Do they (=people) eat it, or don't they eat (it)?

Bo: They eat it.

Sa: It doesn't have (=cause) damage.

Bo: It doesn't have (=cause) damage.

JH: 294 *Cataloipus* grasshopper.<sup>350</sup>

Bo: *Cataloipus*. That one too, it eats gourd plants, it eats cow-peas. As for it, its harmfulness is not very much, among millet. But gourd and cotton plants, those it does eat.

Sa: Its work (=behavior)?

[interruption]

Bo: 295 *Cataloipus* grasshopper. (As) I was saying, it eats gourd plants. It bites and severs the gourd's root. Cow-peas, that too, they (=people) encounter it among cow-peas too. It too, it bites and severs it. They encounter it among cotton, it eats the leaves of the cotton plant. That [focus] is what I know about it.

Sa: 296 Millipedes.

Bo: *Cataloipus* kicks out (with its hind legs) at millipedes. If it (=grasshopper) kicks it, what has oozed out (from) the millipede, it (=grasshopper) drinks it, on a dead millipede, it eats it.

Sa: 297 Is jumping (hopping) its work (=action), or flying?

Bo: Jumping is its work. The wings (merely) help it (along).

Sa: <xxx>

Bo: When it jumps, (it's) with those wings, (and just) a little. Those wings help it (jump). Other than jumping, as for flying, it can't fly.

Sa: It can't (even) do its jumping (=hopping), much less (can it fly). As soon as children see it, they get (=catch) it.

Bo: Mm!

Sa: 298 It doesn't have (=cause) damage.

Bo: Its damage isn't very much.

JH: 299 *Acorypha* grasshopper.<sup>351</sup>

Bo: *Acorypha*. *Acorypha* doesn't have (=cause) damage.

X: < xxx >

<sup>348</sup> Furrows on the sides of the pronotum are lined in black, as for *Hieroglyphus*.

<sup>349</sup> *Sherifuria haningtoni*, a mostly montane grasshopper. A similar species *Duronia choloronota* would also be included in the native term if locally present.

<sup>350</sup> *Cataloipus cymbiferus*. A rather large species with long hind legs. Diet is mixed. The similar *Cataloipus fuscocoeruleipes* may also be present in well-watered spots.

<sup>351</sup> *Acorypha glaucopsis*, and perhaps *A. clara* if present in the zone. *A. glaucopsis* is mostly dark brown, with inner femur red. *A. clara* is lighter in color, with inner femur yellow. Both have very robust femurs and are hard to hold on to.



Bo: As for *Acorypha*, it's of no dominant color. It's sort of red (=brown) here and there. But as for *Acorypha*, it only eats grass (i.e. herbs). It doesn't eat millet, it doesn't eat cow-peas, and it doesn't eat sorghum. As for *Acorypha*, it's only on the ground, it keeps landing hard (on the ground, after hopping). It (=this segment) is finished.

JH: 300 *Heteracris* grasshopper.<sup>352</sup>

Bo: *Heteracris*. It's only on wild-date tree (*Balanites*). As for *Heteracris*, it's only on wild-date tree. As for it, any time you-Sg see it, it is stuck up on wild-date tree. It is bitter-tasting, it isn't eaten. As for it, it's bitter-tasting.

Sa: 301 It doesn't eat millet.

X: It doesn't eat millet.

Bo: It doesn't eat millet.

Sa: It doesn't go down into millet.

Bo: Uh-huh. It doesn't go down into millet.

Sa: <xxx>

Bo: It's in the bush (=outback). It's only in the bush.

Sa: 302 Is its male bigger, or is its female bigger?

Bo: Its female is bigger.

Sa: Its female is bigger than its male.

Bo: Its female is bigger than its male.

Sa: 303 Is it black (=dark) or white (=light-colored)?

Bo: *Heteracris*, they are black (=dark).

Sa: They are black.

Bo: They are black.

Sa: Both its male and its female?

Bo: Both its male and its female are black.

JH: 304 *Scintharista* grasshopper.<sup>353</sup>

Bo: *Scintharista*. *Scintharista*, as for *Scintharista*, I don't know it.

Sa: Well, it's a red (=brown) grasshopper. The very one that is like sorcerer's grasshopper the children call *Scintharista* ("mountain grasshopper").

Bo: 305 As for that one, it's sorcerer's grasshopper. There's the big sorcerer's grasshopper and the small sorcerer's grasshopper.

Sa: It too, describe how it is.

Bo: Yes. Sorcerer's grasshopper, sorcerer's grasshopper for its part, as for it, the big sorcerer's grasshopper is that *Scintharista* ("mountain grasshopper"). When it flies, it's dull-colored, light brown and grey. That one furthermore doesn't eat millet, you-Sg see it strictly among grass.

Sa: 306 It doesn't have (=cause) any damage.

Bo: It doesn't have (=cause) any damage.

X: Its male—, its female is bigger than the male?

Bo: Its female is bigger than the male. Its female is bigger. As for it, it has a watermelon-shaped head. It too is big-headed.

Sa: 307 They (=people) don't eat (it).

Bo: But they don't eat (it).

JH: 308 *Ornithacris* grasshopper.<sup>354</sup>

Bo: As for *Ornithacris*, as for it, it's a grasshopper—. As for it, it goes around by twos or singly. As for it, it's big indeed. *Ornithacris* is bigger than the tree locust (*Anacridium*).

Sa: It's longer than the tree locust?

<sup>352</sup> *Heteracris annulosa*, a grasshopper found in grasses and trees, and specifically associated with the wild date tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*) and the grass-like shrub *Leptadenia pyrotechnica*.

<sup>353</sup> *Scintharista notabilis*, a grasshopper of rocky areas. It takes short flights during which its bright red inner wings are visible. Specimens from Dogon country were once referred to *S. zolotarevskyi*, but Mestre points out that there is an intergradation between the two supposed species, and it seems best to recognize a single species. Some Tabi speakers call *Scintharista* "mountain grasshopper" as here, but one speaker in this text treats it as a subcategory of "sorcerer's grasshopper."

<sup>354</sup> *Ornithacris turbida cavroisi*. A very large grasshopper.

- Bo: It's longer than the tree locust.  
 X: 309 They (=people) eat (it).  
 Bo: They eat (it) also.  
 Sa: It can get plump ...  
 Bo: It can get plump.  
 Sa: ... like a bird.  
 Bo: 310 Uh-huh. As for that one, it flies too, like a bird, whirr! it goes. When it has gone a long way, it goes down (=lands). As for that one, it can go along flying like a bird, until it has gone a long way.  
 Sa: 311 Its habitat now.  
 Bo: Its habitat now. Ah, it too, it's in the bush (=outback). Uh-huh. <xxx> is in the bush.  
 Sa: As for it now, does it have a (distinct) female and a male?  
 Bo: It has a female and a male. The female is bigger than its male also.  
 Sa: 312 It doesn't have (=cause) any damage.  
 Bo: It doesn't have (=cause) any damage, (at least) among us (=in our area).  
 Sa: Among us, it doesn't have (=cause) any damage.  
 Bo: Among us, it doesn't have (=cause) any damage.
- JH: 313 Sand grasshopper.<sup>355</sup>  
 Bo: Sand grasshopper. Huh?  
 Sa: We and the Issa's<sup>356</sup> got together the other day and talked (about it).  
 Bo: Sand grasshopper, I don't know it.  
 Sa: <xxx> sand grasshopper.  
 Bo: As for sand grasshopper, I don't know it.  
 Sa: 314 The Issa's spoke the other day (of) sand grasshopper.  
 X: Well, as for me, I have never heard of it.  
 Bo: As for "sand grasshopper," as for "sand grasshopper," unless it's a worm (i.e. larval stage of grasshopper), as for me, I haven't seen any such grasshopper.  
 Sa: 315 Sand grasshopper, it's a black (=dark) grasshopper, it's a red (=brown) grasshopper. The one that's slender-necked and feeble. The one that keeps crawling (walking) on the sand. That is what sand grasshopper is.  
 Bo: But it (=that) is sorcerer's grasshopper.  
 Sa: 316 I said that, as for us, we call all (of those species) "sorcerer's grasshopper." The little one that is red (=brown) and feeble, red (=brown) and feeble, with a more or less pointed rear end (=abdomen) like sorcerer's grasshopper, (they said that) "sand grasshopper" [focus] is what they call it.  
 X, Sa, Bo: <xxx>  
 Sa: 317 As for that, it is said that they (=younger generation) have added (i.e. a new word). As for that (other) one, a person cannot call it "sand grasshopper." But (they said) they call that one "sand grasshopper."  
 X: They are wrong.  
 Sa: Well, they said thus. <xxx>. Then they (e.g. the linguist) have written them.  
 Bo: 318 As for that, it isn't sand grasshopper, the sand doesn't have grasshoppers.  
 Sa: The sand (has) grasshoppers—  
 Bo: It's (called) sorcerer's grasshopper.  
 Sa: Like all of those (species), just the name of sorcerer's grasshopper, <xxx>

<sup>355</sup> Term used by some speakers to denote certain small ground-dwelling (and well-camouflaged) grasshoppers. It centers on small ground-dwelling species of the subfamily Oedipodinae. A local specimen was *Acrotylus blondeli*, but the term should extend to *Eurysternacris*, *Aiolopus*, *Pseudosphingonotus*, etc. if locally present. It also extends to *Pyrgomorpha* spp. One speaker denies the validity of the term. Another explains that it denotes one subtype of the more general rubric "sorcerer's grasshopper."

<sup>356</sup> i.e. Issa and his people.

## 2004-1b.04 Mantis (description)

Bo: 319 Mantis. It doesn't have (=cause) any damage. As for it, it catches and eats grasshoppers.

Sa: After (=beyond) that, what is it like?

Bo: 320 A mantis, its head is flat and wide. Its feet, it has feet. It has long arms (front legs). Its rear end (=abdomen) is very long. As for it now, in some cases the rear end is not very long. In some (other) cases, the rear end is big, they are flat and wide. Their hand(s), it (=hand) too, it has teeth.

Sa: 321 Its neck.

Bo: Ah! Its nape (top of pronotum) is a little flat here. The neck is long and thin. It has a neck, very long. When it pinches a person, it hurts.

X: Do they (=people) eat it, or don't they eat (it)?

Bo: There are (some) that have wings and fly, and there are (some) that don't have wings.

Sa: 322 As for that one, it catches birds.

Bo: The one that has wings and flies, that one is a grasshopper, when it (=mantis) is big, it catches (grasshoppers). It even catches finches. However, it doesn't have (=cause) damage in millet. Grasshoppers, birds, grubs, those [focus] are what that one, for its part, eats. That one for its part doesn't have (=cause) damage. They (=people) eat it.

## Tape 2004-2, track A

(These recordings are from an old man named Seydou Pathee (deceased 2005) from Tega village)

### 2004-2a.01 History of Dogon people at Tabi Mountain

X: 323 The way Toupéré was established, the way it<sup>357</sup> came. Toupéré, at the time when Mali (= Mali Empire) emerged. They came to Tindirma (a town). They left Tindirma. They came to Kayoume. Some say that it was not Kayoume where that they settled, rather (they say) on the mountain.

324 What they call Kan<sup>358</sup>, Kan-Go-Gounde, they left from there. They left from there and came to Diono. They left Diono, (they came to) Djime. They left Djime, then they settled in Toula. They left Toula, they came to Gomoudiwa,<sup>359</sup> a large group (of people). Well, now, they settled there for a long time, then they arose, they went westward.

325 Well, when they went west, their old man, they called him Manugongo, it happened that he could not walk. He took his people (along), they went up this mountain of Toupéré (= Tabi mountain), they didn't find anyone there

326 When he was there, he (M) met with the Ilo-na<sup>360</sup> man. The Ilo-na man (ILM) asked, when had he (M) come onto the mountain? He (M) said that had come what amounted to a week (ago). He (M) asked the Ilo-na person, when had he (ILM) come? He (ILM) said, he (ILM) had come what amounted to a month (ago).

327 Well, when they were staying there, the mountain was not good (= safe). The wild animals would take (= attack) people. Mountain wild animals would take their children, (so) they (= people) couldn't settle here.

328 The Ilo-na man said, they must settle (there), he would put (= use) something magical, he would implant (it); as soon as he had implanted (it), the mountain animals would no longer trouble them (= people); well, for them [focus] the Ilo-na man implanted it. They got together and settled.

329 At that time, only Ilo-na people were at Tabi (village). Tega (village) had not (yet) come. This country, it had not found anyone who could light a fire. Except in Loguro-doli<sup>361</sup>, they did not see (= get) any fire.

330 Well, they were there like that (= in that situation). Now, (in) this land, treachery, falling on the head (= attacking), taking away (other's property). That's what made them remain on the hill.

331 When they settled there, at Sarinyere Mountain, they (= Tabi Mountain people) and it (= Sarinyere), they (could) perceive each other afterwards. Well, the horse (= cavalry), Sankara<sup>362</sup> horse, it was coming down. It went around looking at (= watching for) the people.

332 Well, when the horse (= cavalry) came down (= attacked), they (= horses) would first come out over by the people of Sarinyere Mountain. When it (= cavalry) continued on its way, they (= people of Sarinyere) went up to the mountaintop and held up fire for them (= Dogon on other mountains).

333 When they saw the fire, the next day, nobody would go down to the plains, because they knew, the horse (= cavalry) was coming. It was the fire [focus] that was their signal, they spoke (communicated) with each other by means of fire.

<sup>357</sup> In such historical texts, the name of a village may denote either the (current) physical settlement, or the population that eventually settled it.

<sup>358</sup> Mountaintop village in Mande region.

<sup>359</sup> Partially forested area (*Anogeissus*, *Mitragyna*) 6 km from Toupéré, near a wet-season stream, now used for farming.

<sup>360</sup> An extended family, now in Tabi village.

<sup>361</sup> Old Dogon village near Gede, west of Boni.

<sup>362</sup> A clan of Fulbe. "Horse" here is used loosely for 'horsemen'.

334 As soon as they saw the fire, well, nobody would accept (= risk) going out into the wilderness, lest they (= animals) catch their children. Well, they remained like that, until it had been many years.

335 Manougongo, his children, his family, they [focus] settled first in Toupéré. When they had settled, the Koreyba (a Dogon clan), they were at Tabi (village). They and the people of Tabi had a fight, they chased them (= Koreyba) away.

336 Well, when they (= Koreyba) were going, the people of Toupéré encountered them, and told them to come and settle, to come and settle together with them, (since) they too were able-bodied men (fit for fighting).

337 Well, that day (= era) was the era of warfare. A few people (= small village) could not exist. They settled there together. An armed band, whenever it came, they would drive it out.

338 Sékou Amadou<sup>363</sup>, his people (= Fulbe warriors) came to Toupéré. There was no water (down below), they would (climb up and) drink at Youmnou.<sup>364</sup> They (= Fulbe) told them (= local people) to come down and bring them water. They took out the water that they for their part had, and brought (it) to them.

339 They (= Fulbe) said, that water was little (= inadequate). They (= Fulbe) said they would let (their) horses drink too. They (= Dogon) for their part said that, as for their water, it was (up) on the mountaintop; their horses—, they themselves did not drink (= have enough to drink), they could not (easily) get water (for themselves), never mind talk of giving (water) to horses. They refused.

340 Then they (= Fulbe) struck their (= Dogon's) old(est) man. The one whom they (= Fulbe) had sent, when he struck their old(est) man, they (= Fulbe), they said (= chose), three of their (= Dogon's) men. They (= Dogon) gathered (together), the men of the mountain (= of Toupéré). The thirty (Fulbe) men, they engaged in a fight with them (= three Dogon).

341 At that time, there were no rifles. Arrows, knives, stones—that [focus] was their weaponry, with that they (= Dogon) drove them (= Fulbe) away. Well, they (= Fulbe) were running (= fleeing). One of their people (= a Fulbe) fell down. When he had fallen down, he (= a Dogon) picked up a (large) rock, he threw it down on him and killed him. When he (= a Dogon) had thrown (it) on down him and killed him, then those people (= other Fulbe) went and told Sékou.

342 Well, Sékou summoned them. What they had done, they proceeded to speak (about) what they had done. Sékou said, the (= thirty Fulbe) people who had come, they did not have (= were not in) the right; if they (= Fulbe) had had the right, the three (Dogon) men would not have overpowered (= vanquished) the thirty (Fulbe) men; but the three men who overpowered thirty men, God must give their bodies courage. Sekou gave them (= Dogon) a blessing.

343 They were settled (there) many years. Then after that, in the **mountainous region**, Allay Mamoudou, Allay Mamoudou Ndoulli (AMN),<sup>365</sup> he and they (= Dogon) fought. They decided on (“tied”) a war, they (= Fulbe) came to Toupéré. Tega, Toupéré, and Tabi (villages), all of them (= Dogon villages) came and assembled in Toupéré. Well, then he (= AMN) came bringing his (Fulbe) men.

344 They caught that war (party). When they caught that war (party), they (= Fulbe) felled (= killed) one Toupéré man and two Tega men. The Toupéré people killed a (large) count of their (= Fulbe) people. They (= Dogon) drove them out. They (= Fulbe) ran (= fled), and came and encountered their leader (= AMN), at the foot (= bottom) of the mountain.

345 He (= AMN) said: they whom the mountain people (= Dogon) had driven out were worthless. He (= AMN) told them to go back up (the mountain) again. They said they would not go (back) up; if they were to go up, he (= AMN) must go in front of them, and they would follow. He refused. They drove them out. When they drove them out, they were (= remained) there. At that time, the whites had not (yet) come.

346 When the white (= French) came, the white asked them (= Dogon) for taxes. (The Dogon said:) they did not know (about) money. Then the white showed them metal coins,<sup>366</sup> saying that

<sup>363</sup> Leader of the Fulbe Empire of the early Nineteenth Century, with capital in Hamdallaye near Mopti. Sékou spread orthodox Islam throughout the area he controlled. Fulbe troops often pillaged Dogon villages in the area.

<sup>364</sup> A year-round pool on Tabi Mountain, near the original villages on top of Tabi Mountain.

<sup>365</sup> Another Fulbe leader.

<sup>366</sup> Lit. “money of hard metal.” One term translated ‘money’ (*bú:dì* and variants) also denoted a French colonial coin.

[focus] was taxes. (Dogon:) that (= cash) was not easily obtained; you-Sg would work for a month, you wouldn't get behind (= save more than) one riyal.

347 Well, now, the white said, in that case, they must pay the tax with (woven cotton) cloths. They agreed. They were paying the tax (like that), to the white. Eventually, at the end, they brought the cloths to the white, for (= as) taxes.

348 The white said, today, the cloths have gone out (= are no longer accepted). He showed money to them, which he said that he has put (= introduced); that is what they must come and pay; those cloth(s) that they had brought he (hereby) left with them.

349 At that point the chief said, this cloth that he (= white) left, he (= white) should accept (it) from him (= chief), because of (= for) next year's tax. The white said, all right, his (= chief's) talk (= proposal) was good, he (= white) must take it (= cloth) with him and go. In that way they paid the tax, until a long time had passed.

350 Now (cash) money came in. The good times (= peace and welfare) occurred in the land. Nobody was afraid, (nobody) feared that anyone (else) would catch (= attack) him. The whites brought that. That is what put (= brought) good times to the land. When the whites had not come (= before the whites came), there were no good times in the land. Well, when the good times came in (= began), since then it (= good times) has gone forward.

351 Well, after that, (there was) that battle of Tabi (Mountain). As for it, the people of Tabi (Mountain), the devil went into them. They fought against the whites. Because at the time when they were fighting against the whites, their people, the (Dogon) soldiers had gone (to the French colonial army) and had come back. Their children were in school.

352 There were some others, (still) in the military, nevertheless,<sup>367</sup> they informed on each other. The white said (= intended) that he (= white) would make war on Tabi, (and) that he would (first) go and look. He said (= decided) that he (= white army) would (= could) not go up (to the summit). Well, that was the first battle of (= between) them (= Dogon) and the white.

353 When they decided on ("tied") a war, the white arrived and sat (= stayed),<sup>368</sup> in the zone of Tabi Mountain, down below (on the plains). For a count (= number) of months they (= whites) negotiated (= offered peace to) with them (= Dogon); they (= Dogon) refused. The white called the chiefs of the land; he told them to negotiate (with the holdouts); they (= holdouts) refused. He assembled the religious leaders to negotiate with them (= holdouts); they (= holdouts) refused. The (other) mountain people negotiated with them (= holdouts); they (= holdouts) refused. (This continued), until the day when the white was about to go up Tabi Mountain.

354 He (= white) said (= decided), well, he (= white) would go up Tabi Mountain today (= that same day). They came and brought cannons. They (= Dogon) were not familiar with cannons, they were not familiar with hearing its sound. The white(s) shot at them with the cannon and frightened them until they were weary. They (= Dogon) knew then (= realized) that the whites were stronger than they were.

355 But all the people gathered, and when they had negotiated until they were weary (= for a long time), (they knew) because of that, they were going to die now.

356 Well, when the white (army) went up, the white killed them to the point that it (= village) was destroyed. It happened that the destruction of it was great. Then they (= French) went up and raised their flag. Now the white ceased shooting at them.

357 When the white went up (to the top), he found that sixteen men, that (number) had died; sixteen (other) men, they were the people who had been wounded. Among the whites, it (= casualty total) did not get beyond three persons.

358 Well, now, that fight of Tabi (village), their trouble arrived at (= affected) Toupéré and Tega. At that point, they (= whites) rounded up the people of Tabi (village), and sent them off to the land of Hombori. They left them there, for (= at) the place (= village) that they call Koy-Koyra.

359 Then they came and made them return, and they rounded up (the people of) Toupéré and Tega. They delivered (the people of) Tega east of Hombori, Tandara (village) they call it. They delivered (the people of) Toupéré to the northwest of Hombori, Kourimi (village) they call it. They stayed there for twenty-seven years. Twenty-seven years they stayed there. Now they wanted (to return to) their place (= Tabi area).

<sup>367</sup> Lit. "it didn't prevent."

<sup>368</sup> The French made camp in the plains below the mountain. The Dogon were still in villages on the top of the mountain, which was very difficult for the French to scale.

**360** Now, they spoke: now, their imprisonment had ended; they must get the official document. They got it and came back, to the (= their) place. From the day when they came back to the place until today, (it has been) fifty-seven years, that's what we are at as of today (= now).<sup>369</sup>

## 2004-2a.02 Resettlement (fragment)

X: **361** Well, we came (from Hombori) to Tabi. The people of Tega went back. They settled there at Douni.<sup>370</sup> The people of Tabi, some of them settled there at Goylel.<sup>371</sup> Others, (at) Dourgama,<sup>372</sup> they are (still) there even today, but we and they are one (= the same people).

## 2004-2a.03 Famine years

X: **362** They settled here. Famine.<sup>373</sup> They didn't do farming down below (= on the plains), (only) on (the summit of) the mountain did they farm. They did not get any millet. A famine, a famine was killing them, until Kitanga year.<sup>374</sup> Kitanga year came. (The people of) Toupéré died to the point of being devastated, to the point of being devastated.

**363** The small remnant of people who remained (there), how they stayed alive: (leaves of) *luwo*,<sup>375</sup> (nests of) army ants,<sup>376</sup> baobab fruits, they knocked the seeds (of baobab fruits, with a stone), with (all) that they got food.

**364** Well, the way they had been able to live (on crisis foods), eventually the people of Tabi said none other than thus: may God let you-Sg spend the night(s) at Toupéré. At Toupéré, when people were (= had been) absent, God brought it about that afterwards it (= population) increased.

**365** There was famine, we heard, (in) Yoro-Ali year, Kitanga year, (and) Mbouri year. (In) all those, a famine happened. Nothing made (= caused) that, (other than that)<sup>377</sup> the people did not know the land. The people did not go together down below (to farm in the plains). They made long expeditions (to buy millet). The men had to come together, and whatever one got, that is what they carried (on the head) and brought.

**366** What (little) we carried on our heads and brought, one person would not live on it, never mind a household. In that way, they continued for a long time with the (occasional) famines, until it changed (= got better) for them. (Now) they became numerous, now the difficulty (= hardship) had gone away from them.<sup>378</sup> That is what they (= elders) said (to us).

**367** Well, as for me, what I know in my head (= from my own experience): when we came down here,<sup>379</sup> we farmed. (One year) the rainy season did not turn out well. We came with (= endured) a famine. Now, because the land is cool (= peaceful), you-Sg can go anywhere to seek (work).

<sup>369</sup> The return from Hombori to Tabi took place around 1947.

<sup>370</sup> Village near Hombori.

<sup>371</sup> Village west of Hombori.

<sup>372</sup> Area with a Fulbé camp near Simbi village.

<sup>373</sup> The famines described in this text occurred in the early Twentieth Century, and are known by oral tradition rather than by accounts of living eyewitnesses.

<sup>374</sup> Notorious famine year, c. 1913-14.

<sup>375</sup> Edible leaves of the vine *Leptadenia hastata* (*kónggèy*) and several trees/shrubs of the family Brassicaceae (ex-Capparaceae): *Maerua crassifolia* (*bíbísì*), *Boscia salicifolia* (*lùwò gùrú*), *Crataeva adansonii* (*ògò-lùwò*), and *Cadaba farinosa* (*lùwò-sínúg*). Leaves are cooked, mixed with a little millet, and eaten.

<sup>376</sup> *Messor* spp. These grain-eating black ants form large underground nests in fields that can be raided (for the grains) in time of famine.

<sup>377</sup> I.e., 'the only thing that caused that was ...'.

<sup>378</sup> Lit. "exited behind them."

<sup>379</sup> The villages formerly on the summit of Tabi mountain were rebuilt on the plains below during the colonial period, when it became safe to live there.

368 They (= we) had gotten donkeys. With them (= donkeys) they would load up on an expedition (to buy millet) and come (back). There were (livestock) animals. They would sell them (= animals), and (with the proceeds) go on expeditions (to buy millet). If you-Sg go on an expedition, wherever you go, you would get millet.

369 Well, in the second (famine) year, we grew millet. It (= rainy season) didn't turn out well at all. Then, again, we spent the growing season (in famine). When we had spent the growing season in famine, the (following) third year, we call it the year of the big rainy season. Then the millet ripened to the point that it went beyond (normal) bounds. The whole land got (millet). The hunger went away from behind (= around) us there.

370 After that, sometimes, food (= subsistence) is (= has been) slightly difficult. At (other) times, it is (= has been) abundant. The mountainous region is a dry place. (Years of) ripe millet do not follow each other (= are not consecutive). If you-Sg have gotten (millet) this year, if it's a lot, (then) as for next year, it may happen that it's just a little (millet) that you-Sg will get.

371 Well, in that way, some years, they wouldn't get any at all. Perhaps here in this place, at the bottom of the mountain, even the *Eragrostis* grass<sup>380</sup> might not have sprouted. But at Dungo,<sup>381</sup> they got a little supper.<sup>382</sup> All that happened before me (= before my time).

372 Beyond that, as for a nasty famine that kills people, ever since my eyes opened, I haven't seen a famine that killed people. What has remained, it causes fatigue (= hardship). But that a hunger kill people, as for us, in our time, it hasn't happened.

## 2004-2a.04 Water

X: 373 When we settled in Tabi Mountain, we didn't have water. There wasn't any water. On the mountain, the digging (excavation) for the pond on the mountain, (people of) Toupéré would drink at Logouro (pond). (People of) Tega would drink at Titage.<sup>383</sup> (People of) Tabi (village), on the mountaintop, as for them, they have water, it (= pond) is called Youmno. It is far from the ones of Toupéré and Tega.

374 Drawing water at Youmno, when the hot season has come, the ponds are finished (= dry up) since (= after) four months of the year (= after the rainy season). (After that) we draw water at Youmno, until the (next) rainy season comes. When the rainy season has come, now we will cease drawing water at Youmno.

375 Our elders, in that (= using that practice) is how we found them. We too, that's how we work. We have found that that it is very tiring (= hard work).

376 We say we will try ("look at") a solution. Down below (= on the plains), in that barren flat place (called) Bariya, we have tried excavating a hole. In the belly (= middle) of Bariya we excavated first. We have found that it keeps water.<sup>384</sup> Well, it keeps water, (but) the place is too confined.

377 Then we went out beyond the pond(s). We tried to excavate in the barren flat place. We found that it keeps water. Well, we entered (= engaged) in excavating it thoroughly. We are excavating. Previously the water finished (= dried up) in four months of the year, (but) now the water finishes in six months of the year.

378 When the water finishes in the six months of the year, sometimes, Bebi, the wells of the Fulbé are there, we go there to ask (for wome water) to drink. If we don't get (any) there, we have been known to (go and) get water as far away as Boni. We have (at times) been known to do all those things.

<sup>380</sup> *Eragrostis tremula*, a common grass in the sandy plains.

<sup>381</sup> Area with fields, some 6 km from Toupéré village, in the direction of Mondoro.

<sup>382</sup> I.e., having had nothing to eat during the day.

<sup>383</sup> Name of the partially excavated areas on the top of Tabi Mountain where water was collected by people of the respective villages.

<sup>384</sup> Well before our first visit (2004), various extended families had excavated large pits (*yógódó:ji*) just outside Toupéré to collect rainy-season water. Until these artificial rainwater ponds dry up (around December or January), the women of each family collect water in buckets from the ponds and carry them home.



379 Well, since we have been excavating, we have been excavating until now it has become wide, to the point that if the rain falls and it fills up, we drink water until another (= the next) rainy season comes back.

380 All of that emerged (= came) from hard work. Even nowadays, we have (still) not ceased excavating. Then when the rain falls abundantly, thinking of (= worrying about) water now doesn't seize (= afflict) (us).

381 Well, about ("on") that, a project has come here, (to make) a pump<sup>385</sup> for us. They cranked out and put a pump for us. If the artificial ponds are finished (= dried up), we assemble at the pump. That is how we drink.

382 (As for) the water, furthermore, it definitely isn't good water drinking (= getting enough water to drink), because it's (just) one single pump.<sup>386</sup> It isn't enough for the whole village. Some people will go and get two buckets full (of water). Others will get one single bucket full.

383 But before that (= before the ponds dry up), they have spent the night hungry (= thirsty) at night, nor have they been hungry (= thirsty) during the daytime. Praise to Allah, Lord of the Worlds, thanks to God, that too, it is gotten.

## 2004-2a.05 Intermarriage between Tabi and Sarinyere mountains

X: 384 Between (people of) Sarinyere (Mountain)<sup>387</sup> and us, a (relationship through) marriage<sup>388</sup> exists, because our grandmothers (= ancestresses) went to Sarinyere. Having gone to Sarinyere, praise Allah, they multiplied around there. When they had multiplied, then (there was) kinship.<sup>389</sup> The mountain people (= Dogon) say (= call it) kinship. (As for) our kinship, there is nobody at Tabi Mountain whose kin at Sarinyere do not exist.

385 (People of) Tabi Mountain left and went to Sarinyere, and (people of) Sarinyere left and came here. All (of us) are one kin group (through marriage). Even today, the women of Sarinyere, we take them (as wives). They (= men of Sarinyere) take our children (= daughters, as wives). Between Sarinyere and us, even now there is a (relationship through) marriage.

386 There is a (relationship through) marriage between Sarinyere and us, and there is a (relationship through) marriage between Piringa<sup>390</sup> and us. But between those other villages and us, a (relationship through) marriage is not common. The old people (= male ancestors) didn't do it (= marry into the other villages). We ourselves ("on our head"), likewise, we haven't done it up to now.

387 Those who remain (= are left), a man who has not gotten (= a wife, in this way), occasionally ("one by one") he takes (a wife). If it isn't (those), Sarinyere, Tabi Mountain, (and) Piringa, it's we [focus] who take (= marry) each other thoroughly (= regularly). Everywhere (= in all those villages), each person, his people (= kin) are there. Each person, his people are there, everywhere.

## 2004-2a.06 Farming techniques

X: 388 Millet-farming, that is our work. The whole essence ("head") of our our work is millet-farming. Millet-farming also. Millet, sorghum, roselle, cow-peas, and sesame, (and also) peanuts, all (those) we farm.

<sup>385</sup> I.e., a modern closed well with a pump (rather than an open well into which ropes with waterskins are lowered).

<sup>386</sup> At the time of the recording (2004), it took four strong men to work the pump. A new pump well was being constructed by 2006 but seemed to have been mothballed around 2008.

<sup>387</sup> Sarinyere Mountain and Tabi Mountain are the two largest (and most widely separated) mountains in the core TS-speaking area. "We" here refers to people of the villages at Tabi Mountain (Tabi, Toupéré, Téga).

<sup>388</sup> Lit., 'getting together and sitting'.

<sup>389</sup> Lit., "mother-house" (i.e. kinship through women).

<sup>390</sup> Village near the highway between Boni and Hombori, said to speak the Tabi-Sarinyere language. There is a nearby Fulfulde-speaking village Wouroungérou.

389 (In) the hot season we—, we do the sowing (= planting). As soon as seven months (= the seventh month) of the year has begun, we plant the seeds in the dry soil, (and wait) until the rainy season comes. (As for) the seeds, we slash the earth with the pick-hoe and sow (the seeds).

390 Dry-sowing. Some other people, nowadays, they dig holes in the barren flat land, they put (in it) some manure, and sow (the seeds). A person who cannot do that, he puts some manure in his field (and) he sow (the seeds).

391 When the rain falls, now we sow (the seeds) (in) wet earth. Men, women, and children all do the sowing together. The pick-hoe slashers, they slash (the soil) with the pick-hoe (to turn it over). The seed sowers, they hold the millet spike, they continuously remove (some seeds), they put (= drop) (the seeds) in the opening (“mouth) of that hole and then bury (them) (= tamp the earth down with their feet).<sup>391</sup>

392 When we have planted and it (= millet) has sprouted, now, (we) having gone to the blacksmiths’ place, they forge a daba (hoe). Having forged the daba (blade), and having inserted it into the wooden handle, now everyone does farm work<sup>392</sup> in his field, by hand. By hand he keeps doing farm work until a long time has passed.

393 Now, they have come and gotten plows.<sup>393</sup> Owners of donkeys tie them (to the plow), they rip up (= plow) the planted area, then they fix up (the millet seedlings) by hand. Owners of camels rip up (= plow) the planted area, they farm (= remove weeds) and fix up (the millet seedlings) by hand.

394 Some (other) people, if there is a place where the grass (= weeds) have grown (“been made”), they do not sow (by slashing with a pick-hoe). Having worked the earth (= turned it over with the daba), he tamps down (the soil and the seeds, with his foot). When the tamped-in seeds have sprouted, if grass (= weeds) grow (“are made”) and come back again, they do the farm work that we call *sawra* (second round of weeding etc.) again.

395 When they have done farm work on it again, well, (in) the rainy season, when the millet has sprouted (= grown), they have finished the farm work (weeding etc.), and the millet has begun to bear (grains), (then) sometimes beetles appear (“are made”) in the field, called *boruborude*. It damages the field(s), but we catch them (= beetles), we put smoke (around them), until they leave our fields.

396 (When) the millet ripens, now we first take out (= harvest) the early millet.<sup>394</sup> We take out the early millet, and we keep eating the early millet, until the (regular) millet (grain) has ripened and has dried (= hardened).

397 When the millet has dried, now the month of harvesting will begin. Now they will do the harvesting. (While) harvesting, a harvesting knife, each person has his harvesting knife. The women have goatskin grain sacks, the men (have) baskets. We will cut off (= harvest) the millet (spikes).

398 We cut (millet spikes) off, we put them together in small piles, we gather up the small piles, we place them (vertically) in baskets, they go and put them together at the place for the large harvest heap. Having put that millet into baskets, when (= each time) you-Sg have filled nine basketfuls, we take out (= reserve) the tenth one as charity, until all the millet that you-Sg have gotten is finished.

399 If it’s sorghum, you-Sg do that (same) way. Cow-peas, that we don’t get very much of it, because we don’t grow much of it. Roselle, we don’t get much of that either, they (only) grow a little of it.

400 After the millet grain spikes were harvested, they were gathered together in the large heaping area. Now, (we) gather them, store them inside a granary, sort them (with) the lower-quality

<sup>391</sup> One person slashes the earth with the pick-hoe at intervals forming rows, the other following behind, breaking off seeds from a (previous year’s) millet grain spike and dropping them into the turned-over earth, then tamping the earth down with the feet.

<sup>392</sup> There are two rounds (cycles) of farm work between planting and harvesting (*la première culture*, *la deuxième culture*). The work involves thinning out, removing weeds, and restoring ridges and mounds in the field. This main tool is the daba, a hoe with a short handle and a wide blade that the farmer pulls in toward himself while bending over.

<sup>393</sup> The plows are pulled by oxen, donkeys, etc. Plowing obviates the need for sowing with the pick-ax, and reduces the need for weeding.

<sup>394</sup> A type of millet that ripens quickly. It is harvested early and consumed immediately rather than being stocked long-term in granaries.

millet (spikes) separated from the higher-quality millet (spikes), and we take out (from the granary) the lower-quality millet first.<sup>395</sup>

401 We keep taking it out, (until) it has finished. Now we go into (= start eating) the higher-quality millet. We keep eating that, until the (next) rainy season comes.

402 (In) a year when we have gotten it (= had a good harvest), praise God, we will eat (from the previous harvest) until the new millet comes out. If it (= millet) has not finished (= run out), there is no hardship. Because now, this (= any given) year, praise God, nobody is hungry.

403 That is what we work (= do) in millet farming. When we have farmed it, when the millet farming is finished, (and) the work of (= in) the field is finished, the young people go looking for (seasonal) work. Some (young) people go to (places) inside Mali, others go to Côte d'Ivoire.

404 When they have gone (there), some of them come back, before we have reached the farming (season).<sup>396</sup> Others spend (even) the rainy season out of town.<sup>397</sup> When they have gone away, the good young people, (when) they bring something (back), they bring bicycles, (or) they bring plows, (or) they bring push-carts.

405 Or money, money is what some (other) people bring. When (they) bring that money, and they give it to the oldest man of the household, well, the whole household works with that (money). This—, this way [focus] is how the work of growing millet is done.

406 The millet, if they have gotten it, we definitely do not waste it. We do not waste (it), because we are poor. If a poor person wastes millet, it will not turn out well for him. When someone has gotten lots (of millet), he sells the millet, he buys a goat, for raising; (or) they buy a donkey, for raising.

407 Someone who has gotten a lot, he buys a male calf, and places it among (= entrust it to) the Fulbe. When it grows up, he will sell it, and he will buy some small livestock (sheep & goats). We do all that (= all those things).

## 2004-2a.07 Native medicine

X: 408 Native medicine,<sup>398</sup> we have that too. Black people's medicines, (and) medicines of (= against) evil spirits (djinn). If we speak of evil spirits, medicine of (= against) evil spirits is what we dig up. (Roots of) *dewo* tree, and red *senga* tree<sup>399</sup>. We put them (= roots) together, we chop them up, we soak them (in calabashes), they wash the person who is possessed by the genie<sup>400</sup>.

409 Yes, likewise, for genital disease,<sup>401</sup> whether (it's) a man or a woman, if there is anyone whom genital disease has afflicted, we dig up (roots of) *orobari* tree, *sasariya* tree, *araosondorokori* vine, *bosuwa* tree on a termitary, and *luwosinung* shrub on a termitary.<sup>402</sup> Evil spirits—. As for the (medicines for) genital disease, they are innumerable.<sup>403</sup> We chop those up and combine them, we cook (it) with some meat, and make a porridge, (and) they drink it. Maybe, the (sick) fellow, he will get his health (back).

<sup>395</sup> The head of the household takes out some millet each morning for the day's food. The better-quality millet is reserved for the next year's growing period and for seedstock. The very lowest-quality millet may be left in the field for poor villagers to harvest.

<sup>396</sup> Lit. "since (the time when) we have not reached ..."

<sup>397</sup> Lit. "in the bush." Frequent sense in the context of working.

<sup>398</sup> Lit. "mountain medicine."

<sup>399</sup> *dewó* *Vachellia flava*, ex-*Acacia ehrenbergiana*, now rare in the immediate zone but common around Hombori; *sɛ̀ŋà bār<sup>n</sup>ú* *Vachellia seyal*, ex-*Acacia seyal*, form with blood-colored coating on the otherwise greenish-white outer bark.

<sup>400</sup> Signs include uncontrolled trembling.

<sup>401</sup> *kúy<sup>n</sup>ɔ́* '(itchy) genital disease'. May include bilharzia (schistosomiasis), French *bilharziouse*, a parasitic-worm disease (blood in urine). Several of the plants listed just below have known vermifugal properties.

<sup>402</sup> *ɔ̀ŋ̀d̀r<sup>n</sup>ɔ̀b̀à̀r<sup>n</sup>í*: *Ximenia americana*, *sásà̀r<sup>n</sup>íy<sup>n</sup>à* *Phyllanthus reticulatus*, *à̀rà ósón d̀d̀r̀d̀ k̀d̀ǹí*: *Asparagus flagellaris*, *b̀s̀s̀ùw<sup>n</sup>á* *Commiphora africana*, *l̀ẁẁd̀-̀s̀ínúŋ* *Cadaba farinosa*.

<sup>403</sup> Lit. 'the count of ... does not end'.

410 Hey, likewise, for head ailments,<sup>404</sup> that too, we drink a medicine. What we drink for a head ailment is “elephant-shoes” (a plant).<sup>405</sup> (Whether it’s) an old person or a child, we cook it, he drinks that.

411 Yes, again (= also), for intestinal ailments,<sup>406</sup> what we drink (is), we drink (medicine from) *sorey* tree,<sup>407</sup> its leaves. Some people drink (medicine from) its bottom (= roots). But as for its bottom, it betrays (= disappoints). Because of that, drinking (medicine from) its bottom is not common.

412 Furthermore, to make the stomach run,<sup>408</sup> (for) that too we drink a medicine, for making the stomach run. Some people puncture *diw* bush,<sup>409</sup> they combine it (= its latex) together with cow-pea flour, and then they let it dry, they grind it (with stones), they make a little weak (= diluted) porridge, they drink a little with the *diw*.

413 Some (other) people break off (branches of) *balbalewa* bush,<sup>410</sup> they cook it, they strain its liquid (filtering out impurities), and drink it. As for that, it does not make the stomach run very much, but for some people it makes the stomach run.

414 Well, (if) the stomach has run (= diarrhoea), medicine for diarrhoea, so that we take down (= reduce) the diarrhoea, for that too we eat— (or rather) we drink a medicine. That medicine, as for it, (for) each person, (there is) his (favorite) medicine: the bottom (= roots) of *guy* tree, the base of jujube tree, mountain fig tree, the bark of *tagato* tree, the bark of *waru* tree<sup>411</sup>.

415 We gather them together, cook them, and they drink them for diarrhoea. (In) some (cases of) diarrhoea, it runs until it makes blood in the excrement. When it has made blood in the excrement, now, putting (= using) all those other medicines, we drink them. That is (the treatment) for diarrhoea.

416 Furthermore, now, the medicines that we have other (than those) now, their count (= number) has no end. As for native medicines, only (the ones) that you-Sg know, they have no limit. They don’t end (= they go on and on).

417 For head ailment (= fever and colds), (for) it too, we have no other medicine, for head ailment, unless it’s (= other than) sneezing. As for sneezing medicine now, (it’s) leaves of *caïlcédra* tree.<sup>412</sup> We crush them (= leaves) and sniff them (like snuff). The fellow (= sick person), his sneezing, it (= medicine) makes the head ailment better.

418 The bottom (= roots) of *funafuna* bush,<sup>413</sup> that too we crush, we sniff it. You-Sg are sneezing, until it (= medicine) makes the head ailment better. These (medicines) belong to head ailment.

419 Furthermore, medicine for stiffness.<sup>414</sup> We have medicine for stiffness too. We call it medicine for stiffness. The trailing vines<sup>415</sup> spread out (on the ground) and they lay down fruits (“eggs”). We dig up its fruits, we set them out (in the sun) to dry, we crush it, we boil it (like porridge) (in) a an earthenware water-jar shard, together with crushed baobab leaves.

420 And then (to) the foot or neck, (or) to the (= whatever) place the swelling is in, we boil it (like porridge), (when) it is moderately hot (= warm), we apply it there (to the stiff body part). When we have applied it until it has dried, it (= medicine) treats stiffness. That—, that is our medicine for stiffness.

<sup>404</sup> Especially fever, but may include headaches and colds.

<sup>405</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>406</sup> Lit. ‘dirtiness of intestines’.

<sup>407</sup> *só:rěy* *Grewia lasiodiscus*. Now rare at Tabi Mountain.

<sup>408</sup> I.e. as a purgative or laxative.

<sup>409</sup> *Euphorbia paganorum*, a thorny succulent bush (similar to cactus) with very caustic latex (also used as a poison). May include the very similar *E. paganorum* if present.

<sup>410</sup> *bál-báléwà* (and synonyms) is *Cassia* (= *Senna*) *italica*.

<sup>411</sup> *gǔy<sup>n</sup>* *Combretum micranthum*, *òrùbù* *Ziziphus mauritiana* (jujube), *cíçir<sup>n</sup>í* *Ficus cordata* subsp. *lecardii*, *tàkàtó* *Mitragyna inermis*, *wàrú* *Anogeissus leiocarpus*.

<sup>412</sup> *pèrèrè* *Khaya senegalensis* (caïlcédra tree).

<sup>413</sup> *Pergularia tomentosa*. Term *fúnàfúnà* may be from Humburi Senni (Songhay).

<sup>414</sup> Literally “tree” (*tìw<sup>n</sup>á*), also extended as *tìw<sup>n</sup>à-ná*: Involves stiff and swollen joints, often spreading to multiple parts of the body. Rheumatism, arthritis, and perhaps diabetes.

<sup>415</sup> Term denotes non-aquatic trailing vines of the family Convolvulaceae. Included are at least *I. coscinosperma*, *I. coptica*, *I. dichroa*, and *I. vagans*, and *Jacquemontia tamnifolia*. Excluded are (semi-)aquatic *I. aquatica* and *I. asarifolia*.

421 Wounds (cuts), for wounds, we do not know any other medicine. But we wash it (= wound), we apply a medication (= salve), the bottom (= roots) of “fire-mother.”<sup>416</sup> We crush it (with stones), we put (it) on it (= wound), we tie (it on). If there is aloe plant,<sup>417</sup> we open up its leaf,<sup>418</sup> and when when we have washed and cleaned the wound well, we put it (= leaf) on it (= wound) and we tie (it on).

422 If we have gotten a wound that doesn’t heal, (it’s) red metal, we pound it until it becomes lightweight (= flexible). Ant then, that (metal), when we have washed and cleaned it (= wound) well, we tie it as a covering (= bandage) on it. That too makes it better.

423 Furthermore, likewise, even the medication that—, a wound that does not heal, if they have failed to cure it over a long time,<sup>419</sup> some people, this cow horn or goat horn that sticks way out of the ground, we take it, we burn it (into) a black medication, they put in on top of the wound. It heals. For stomach ailments, it’s the same medication for genital disease, we drink it.

424 And likewise, ailments of the lower back. “Locking up” (diseases), as for them now, we do (medical) bleeding.<sup>420</sup> (For) a bleeding now, we cut off a small piece of cowhorn (with a small hatchet),<sup>421</sup> we make a hole (in the horn), and then at that time, we implant (the point of the horn) in the spot that hurts, and then we will suck out (some blood).

425 When we have drawn it out, the horn— we close up the hole (in the horn), it (= blood) will stay inside the horn. It stays in it until a long time (e.g. 10 minutes) has passed. We reopen it (= hole in horn) and remove (the blood), and we—. We will remove (the blood) (from) the horn.

426 And then we take a razor blade and we cut it where—, we cut (make incisions in) the head, (in) the middle. We keep making cuts. We will put it (= horn) (in the cuts) and draw out (blood) again. When we have drawn (it) out, (as for) the horn, the blood will go into its head (= thick part).

427 The blood goes into it until it (= horn) is chock full. Dark black blood comes out. Two or three times, the blood comes out like this, we pour it. Eventually we implant it there, (and) we pour it (= blood) out. When we have done thus, if that is kidney (= blood) disease, it goes away. That [focus] is what we do for blood disease.

428 Furthermore, nausea also. For nausea also, we drink a medication. Because vomiting, for vomiting, there is a medication that they drink. But, (as for) what I know, *bibi* bush,<sup>422</sup> we cook *bibi* and drink it for vomiting. Well, that is what I know, (that is) what we drink for vomiting.

## 2004-2a.08 Funeral ceremonies

X: 429 At that time, if an old man or an old woman died, they would have a ceremony (with tomtoms). (For) the ceremony, moreover, all (the people of) Tabi Mountain would assemble, and (as for) a fresh-corpse ceremony, (they) would come to perform (it).

430 Tomtom-beaters would beat (tomtoms), *gani*<sup>423</sup> dancers would dance. Men and women, everybody would dance. And then, likewise, the belly-wrappers would wrap (“tie”) their bellies (with cloths).<sup>424</sup> They would stay up at night singing songs.

431 (As for) the dead person too, when they were going to take it (= corpse), if a death had occurred, they would speak (= announce it) with rifles. They would shoot rifles, and then they would beat tomtoms.

432 Whenever they beat the tomtoms, if it (= corpse) was a man, they would beat (the rhythm for) the *gani* (men’s dance). Then if (even) a person who was far away heard it, (he would know from the tomtom rhythm that) it a man was dead.

<sup>416</sup> Descriptive term for the erect herb *Waltheria indica*.

<sup>417</sup> *Aloe buettneri*.

<sup>418</sup> The leaf of aloe folds onto itself.

<sup>419</sup> Lit. “fail get.tired.”

<sup>420</sup> A traditional medical bleeding (cupping), drawing the blood into a cowhorn.

<sup>421</sup> The cut-off piece includes the sharp point of the horn.

<sup>422</sup> *Abutilon pannosum*, a bush of the same family (Malvaceae) as *Hibiscus* spp.

<sup>423</sup> A dance performed by men.

<sup>424</sup> A dance performed by two dancers.

433 If it was a woman, (it would be the rhythm for) the woman's dance. Then likewise they would know that a woman was dead. They would assemble, perform the (funeral) ceremony, and disperse.

434 They would disperse, and (when) a rainy season had begun (the following year), again, they would recommence (the funeral rites). At that point, even the mountain (= Dogon) people who were far away (e.g. from Sarinyere) would come. (For) two nights, they stay up at night celebrating. Then the celebration goes away (= is finished) and breaks up. That is the ceremony for a death.

435 Now, after that, (we'll discuss) marriage. They do the marriage ceremony. As for the marriage ceremony, we did not find (= inherit) it, but it was made (= instituted) in front of us, because the people of Toro-polo (near Boni),<sup>425</sup> as for them, it was with tomtoms [focus] that they would get married.

436 Well, (as for) us now, as for us, we would leave it in the hands of women, as for the marriage (ceremony). When they did the marriage (ceremony) all night (until morning), if there were many visitors, the young people would make a ceremony (song and dance). They would assemble, and when they had spent the day dancing, in the (late) afternoon each person would go (back) to his village.

437 As for us, we did not find (= inherit from our elders) the marriage ceremony. But (rather) it was made (= initiated) on our heads (= during our lifetime).

438 (The customs of) the people of Toro-polo, as for them, since they came out, as for them, their marriage ceremony is standing (= is still performed). It's with tomtoms [focus] that they take (= wed) a woman. It's with tomtoms [focus] that they celebrate, they perform their marriage (ceremony) over two or even three days.

439 As for us (at Tabi Mountain), (it was) just one single night, the marriage (ceremony). When we had spent the night doing the marriage, we would disperse. (If) the young people did the celebration, then they would spend the day doing the ceremony, in the afternoon they would disperse. The marriage ceremony, that too, they would do that.

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<sup>425</sup> *tórs pòlò* denotes the area around Boni to Ella, i.e. the area defined by the inselbergs (mountains) near the main highway at Boni (not including Tabi or Sarinyere). The term *tórs gònò* denotes the larger area defined by the inselbergs of the zone from Simbi through Tabi and Boni to Sarinyere.

## Tape 2004-2, track B

### 2004-2b.01 Cooking millet

X: 440 He (= the linguist) said (= asked about) pounding, (about) the way they pound. Millet grain spikes (ears), the way they use (“take”) their millet grain spikes and work, so that they transform it into flour, they transform it into millet cakes, they make a (grain) meal, (and) then cook sauce, until it comes and reaches (the stage of) millet cakes, (when) it comes out, that [focus] is what he is asking her about.

Y<sup>426</sup>: < ... >

X: < ... ><sup>427</sup>

Y: 441 (I should speak) just like this? Well, well, the millet grain spikes, when the men have taken them out (from the granaries), we go and pound them (to dislodge the grains),<sup>428</sup> then when we have come (back home), we measure it (=grain), we distribute it, and we grind it.

442 (And) when we have ground it, the woman who cooks the millet-cakes<sup>429</sup> sets the pot (on the fire) there, she cooks those millet cakes. (And) when she has cooked the millet cakes, she serves (= ladles) them (from the pot into the bowls), distributes each person’s share, cooks the sauce (separately), pours the sauce (over the millet cakes), and each person takes (some) at the doorway, delivers his portion, everyone delivers his (own) portion (to his own home).

443 And now each person eats (the meal). (As for) millet grain spikes indeed, we will pound (the grain spikes), and grind (the grains). When we come, we will measure (the grain), we will distribute it, we will will grind it. The woman who cooks the millet-cakes will cooks it now by herself. And then now, she cooks it and distributes it. And now (there is) the distribution of (= to) all the people. She will cook the sauce and everyone will eat.

### 2004-2b.02 Crisis food

X: 444 Crisis food.<sup>430</sup> Crisis foods now, how (= what) they do. (He says) he is asking you-Sg about that now. (For example) (as) crisis food, they strip off leaves.

Y: *Boscia*.<sup>431</sup>

X: 445 They pick (fruits of) *Boscia*.

Y: And now *Boscia*—, I pick and soak *Boscia* (fruits), and I cook them. I strip off (leaves of) *luwo* tree(s) too, and cook them, and mix them (*luwo* leaves and *Boscia* fruits) together, they eat like that.

Z<sup>432</sup>: 446 If there is no millet, (if) there are no (grain-based) meals, (it’s) crisis food. We strip off (leaves of) *luwo* trees,<sup>433</sup> (and) we pick (fruits of) *Boscia*. When they have picked *Boscia* (fruits), we will grind them coarsely (to remove the skins), we will leach them (by soaking in water for one or more days), we will cook them, and we will put (=add) liquid soda ash.

447 They put in liquid soda ash and they cook it. And then (they) strain it (in a filtering basket), and at that time (they) cook it, then (they) divide it (into shares) and we eat.

<sup>426</sup> Oumou Pathé, sister of Seydou.

<sup>427</sup> Brief, partially inaudible discussion about speaking into the mike.

<sup>428</sup> The pounding to dislodge grains from the millet spikes is generally done in a specific area at the edge of the village, where extra-large mortars and pestles are kept for community use.

<sup>429</sup> In each extended family (say, fifteen or twenty persons), the millet cakes and the sauce are cooked centrally with one woman in charge.

<sup>430</sup> Lit. “hunger food.” I.e., foods consumed when the millet has run out.

<sup>431</sup> *Boscia senegalensis*, a shrub whose seeds, resembling hard peas, are leached in water for 2-3 days and then cooked. This is the primary millet replacement staple in the region.

<sup>432</sup> Second woman is Oumou Youbi.

<sup>433</sup> See note on *lùwɔ* in text 2004-2a.03 (translation page).

448 (Leaves of) *luwo* trees, we strip them off. When we have stripped them off, we pick out (= gather) the twigs, we put them in the pot, we cook them. And then, at that time, we divide it up. We gather—, we make balls, we put in millet-flour balls, we divide it up, we get together and eat (it).

449 Yes, another one, porridge. If (there's just) a small amount of millet (grain), we make porridge, we divide it up, we get together and eat it. It's a crisis food.<sup>434</sup> If we have not gotten any millet, we put that (in the pots), and then we eat it.

450 Did you-Sg hear? You-Sg will hear. If you-Sg haven't stopped asking (= have further questions), you-Sg will hear.

### 2004-2b.03 Soda ash

X: 451 Now, soda ash. Dark soda ash. The way you-Pl make it. The way you-Pl put it in (grain) food. Where you-Pl begin (making) it, what you-Pl make. By doing what (= how) you-Pl put it in food. Now (he says) he is asking that.

Y: 452 As for dark soda ash, we rake it up (after burning it in the fields), then when we add a pinch it (to millet cakes). All right. When the (millet) stems (in the field after harvesting) have dried, we burn our soda ash.<sup>435</sup> Now when we have burned it, now (we use) a filtering pot,<sup>436</sup> we take out some broken-up millet grain spikes (from pounding in mortars), we put some broken-up millet grain spike is the holes of the filtering pot,<sup>437</sup> and we put some dark potach (in it). We soak the dark soda ash (in water), we let it (= liquid) go down (through the holes of the filter). When we have gotten some porridge, then we add a little of it (=liquid soda ash) (in it).<sup>438</sup>

### 2004-2b.04 Drawing water

X: 453 (He says) he is asking you-Pl. Water, the work of drawing (water). When you-Pl go to the artificial ponds, with what [focus] do you-Pl go to draw water? The way one draws (water). That is what he is asking you-Pl about now.

454 Suppose (for example) that one is going away to Yogodogi in the morning. One goes (there) bringing the rubber waterbag, one pulls it, one puts it (=water) into the bucket. One pulls—, one brings it, one comes home (with it). That is what he is asking you-Sg about.

Z: 455 Yogodogi, we go to the pond(s) in the morning. When we go to draw water, we go bringing a rubber waterbag. When we—, when we have gone bringing (it), we put the rubber waterbag in the water at Yogodogi. When the water has gone into it (=waterbag), we put it (=water) into a bucket. When we have put it in the bucket, we take it and carry it (on our heads), we come (home). We go to our home, we put (the water) in an earthenware water jar. We come and drink. It's with that that we come and make (=cook) meals.

X: 456 There is nothing else.

### 2004-2b.05 Baskets and jujube cakes

X: 457 (He says), is there something that one makes by hand work, that one sells and gets money (thereby)? That is what he (asks) you-Sg—, (he asks) that you-Sg speak to him.

<sup>434</sup> Porridge is also an everyday snack food in times of plenty.

<sup>435</sup> The millet stems are burned, and the ashes are mixed with water to make soda ash.

<sup>436</sup> An earthenware pot with holes on the bottom for letting liquid out.

<sup>437</sup> The holes in the filtering pot are clogged with broken millet grain spikes from the first pounding of millet grain spikes, allowing the liquid to pass through into another container below.

<sup>438</sup> The liquid soda ash is used as a condiment in porridge, or with millet cakes. There are also various forms of solid soda ash used as condiments, or mixed with chewing tobacco, or mixed with gunpowder.



Y: 458 Uh-huh. Whether we do hand-work and get (something)? We weave straw baskets<sup>439</sup>, we earn money. We (cut off) strips of branches—, we pull off grass (stems), and we remove (=cut off) strips of branches, and we come and weave baskets<sup>440</sup>, we get some money. We make macari<sup>441</sup>. We buy roselle (fruits), we make macari, and we sell the macari.

459 Furthermore, we pick jujube (fruits). We make (dry) jujube balls (cakes). The jujube fruits are to one side, the (jujube) balls are to the other side (=different). We go and sell (them), we get some money. We get (fruits of) *burusode* tree<sup>442</sup>. When we have stripped them off (the branches), we sell (them), we get some money. Even black *luwo* (tree), we strip off (its leaves), we mix it (with a little millet grain). We get some money.

## 2004-2b.06 Weaving with strips of doum-palm frond

X: 460 Now, it will go down. Now the women, the way they weave (palm-frond) fans. The way they buy doum-palm fronds (=leaves), they sit, they weave fans, and how they sell the fans. (He says) he is asking you-Sg about that, you yourself.

Z: 461 Fans. We don't have doum-palm fronds. We (buy) fans—, (or rather) we buy doum-palm fronds. When we have bought the doum-palm fronds, we sit.

Y: 462 Ten riyals (=50 francs CFA).

Z: We buy doum-palm fronds for ten riyals.

Y: 463 Yes, (and) its palm-frond nerves<sup>443</sup>.

Z: We buy some nerves. And after that, we sit and we weave them<sup>444</sup>. When we have woven them, we sell them. Its price, with (=for) that—

Y: Fifty riyals (250 francs CFA).

Z: For fifty riyals we sell a fan.

## 2004-2b.07 Marriages I

X: 464 Now (he says) he is asking you-Sg, if you-Sg have gotten a girl (=daughter), now, when you-Sg have given (=promised) her to a man. Yes, the way one works (=what one does), the way (=what) one does, until one takes, until her marriage. What you-Sg get (=receive), what you-Sg take out (=pay), what they give you-Sg, (and) what you-Sg take out.

Y: Well.

X: 465 (He says) that is what he is asking now. Until they marry her (to a man). The gear (=things) of the marriage negotiations, what they pick up and take out (=to pay), (he says) that is what he is asking you about.

Y: 466 Well, all right. If they have married her, if they have proposed (=asked for the marriage), if they have asked. Calabashes, tankards, that is what they bring. They bring (it), at first. Furthermore, gifts, salt, they bring it. Furthermore, while they have not (=before they have) married, when they arrive at (the time) to marry, meat, the marriage meat, they give the marriage meat.

467 Well, when they are going to get married, the marriage millet-bundle, they tie up (and give) the marriage millet-bundle, they give the marriage meat, they give the proposition calabash, they give the gift, the men will give all that. You-Sg too, you the mother, that which, you-Sg too. You-Sg too, your mother, there is nothing now that you-Sg take out. At this time, they make millet cakes (tô), the millet cakes of (=for) the millet.

<sup>439</sup> The two main types of baskets are *tású* (smaller, tightly woven from grass stems) and *jèsú* (larger, used to carry millet grain spikes from the fields at the harvest, loosely woven from strips of branches).

<sup>440</sup> Baskets woven from thin, flexible strips of branches of the tree *Grewia bicolor*.

<sup>441</sup> Black spice made from fermented roselle fruits, widely used in sauces.

<sup>442</sup> *Grewia villosa*.

<sup>443</sup> The rigid central nerves in each segment of a doum-palm frond (=leaf). There are many such segments in each doum frond. This is distinct from the very hard, flat petiole connecting the entire frond (leaf) to the trunk of the palm. This petiole becomes the handle of square fans.

<sup>444</sup> The fronds are cut into thin strips that are woven together.

468 Well, now they have ceased (doing that). Now, the mother, what she marries her child (=daughter) (with), she takes out her bracelets, she takes out her fabric, she takes out her shoes.

Furthermore. Did I say (=mention) fabric?

Z: 467 She takes out a boubou.

Y: She takes out a boubou (outer garment), she takes out a head shawl, she takes out a wide-shouldered boubou.

Z: 468 Rings.

Y: She takes out rings. She takes out gold (jewelry). She takes out necklace chains with rings (on them). Uh-huh. What more is left (to mention)?

Z: 469 When (the day of) the marriage has come, —

Y: The marriage—. Well, when (the day of) the transfer of the bride (to her husband's house) has come, at that point, calabashes, forty-four calabashes, ten wooden eating bowls, eight fans, six (drinking) tankards, six ladles.

## 2004-2b.08 Marriages II

X: 470 He says, what he is asking you about now, the women, when the women get together in a large group, they take (=hold) marriages, they **celebrate** holy days. The day before, their hairdoes, their finery (jewels etc.), the way they (used to) do. (He says) that is what he is asking you-Sg about now. He is asking.

Y: 471 The marriage comes. Yesterday—the day (that...)—a holy day has come. Here—, we wash the clothes. Our head (=hair) is braided. They attach head rings (to the hair). They put on necklaces. They put on (finger) rings. They put on arm rings (above the elbows). They put on gold. If guests are coming, we (do) everything, we braid our heads (=hair), we wash the clothes **ahead of time**, we tie (=wear) our fine clothing, and we go. We get together, and after that we celebrate (with song and dance). All that we do. Until (=even) nowadays.

## 2004-2b.09 Medicine

X: 472 Now, (he says) he is asking you-Sg: children get sick, a sickness catches(=afflicts) them. When they get sick, how (=what) you-Pl used to do, what you-Pl would treat them with. That is what he is asking you-Sg about now. From what they used to do yesterday (=in the past), all the way to what you-Pl do nowadays, for treating (sick) children. That is what one is asking you-Sg about.

Y: 473 Yesterday (=in the past), we didn't know (about) white people's medical treatment. Yesterday, (it was) breaking off (plant) medicines. Whatchamacallit, *Calotropis* shrub, *Solanum* bush.

Furthermore, broad-leafed fig tree. That other one.

X: What they have a child drink.

Y: Yes, yes, what they have a child drink.

X: 474 *Guiera* shrub.

Y: There is *Guiera* shrub. With that—

X: 475 *Cadaba* bush.

Y: That's it, *Cadaba* bush. With that they have a child drink.

476 Well, *Solanum* bush, that too, when a child gets sick, then they treat (him) with that. Well now, if children have gotten sick, (if) there is some, we put (=use) medicaments. We have (them) drink pills. We have them drink medicines.

477 Black (=African) people, and the white people, get together. Now we treat (them), we jab (=give injections to) (them). There is nothing that we don't do now. Well, the work of the mountain, that too we work. We soak the medicines (=medicinal herbs). We bathe (them, in it). We have (them) drink (it).

## 2004-2b.10 Fulbe women sell milk

X: 478 (He says) now he is asking: Fulbe women bring milk here (to the village). They come to sell milk. Milk, how, with what (=at what price) you-Pl buy (it), how you-Pl measure (it). You-Sg give them gear (containers).

Y: 479 The Fulbe bring milk. When they have brought it, we take (it) out its grain<sup>445</sup>. We measure the milk of/and the grain with ladles. When we are measuring that milk, we put (out) the price of the milk first.

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*[transcription incomplete]*

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<sup>445</sup> The millet grain that the Dogon exchange for the milk.