

Tiefu-D Texts from Daramandugu
Niger-Congo language, Burkina Faso

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color code (for the “color” version of this document)

black	text
blue	transcriptions for this language
green	reconstructions *.../, IPA transcriptions [...], underlying representations /.../, forms from Jula and other neighboring languages

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Preface

Background

The following texts were recorded between 2017 and 2021 by Heath with various speakers representing the four dialects Tiefo-D. They were transcribed and analysed by Heath and Aminata Ouattara.

The 2017 recordings were recorded in Daramandugu and involved two speakers, with a primary speaker and either an active interlocutor or an audience who provided backchannel (uh-huh), not always transcribed. The speakers are from Jinejan, Flaso, Masaso, and Biton in various pairings.

The 2018 recordings are monologues from the Masaso speaker, and were recorded in our base in Bobo Dioulasso. The 2019 texts were recorded in Bofoboso Brousse, an offshoot of Bobofoso proper, whose dialect is generally close to that of Biton. They are mostly monologues, with occasional dialog. The 2021 texts were recorded in Daramandugu and are monologues by the Masaso speaker and in one case the Jinejan speaker.

In texts with two speakers, we use different fonts for the secondary speaker(s). The regular font (nonitalic Doulos) is for the main speaker, italic Doulos is for the secondary speaker. These are reset in each text, so the same speaker has the same font in a given text but not always across texts.

The audio files corresponding to these texts are being archived at Deep Blue, the permanent archive at the University of Michigan.

The companion grammar and lexical spreadsheet are designed to be used together with this text collection. The texts are divided somewhat arbitrarily into segments with time markings, to facilitate cross-reference between the grammar and the texts. Each text segment includes a Tiefo-D transcription, interlinear mark-up, free translation, and in many cases brief comments in italics. The comments often include chapter-and-section references to the grammar.

Non-native readers who are interested in studying the language in some depth might begin with the monologues, whose transcription is generally smoother than those of the dialogs, which are sometimes rather animated and rapid-fire.

The lexical spreadsheet is divided into a) nouns, b) adjectives, c) numerals, d) verbs, e) other, and f) place names. See the appendix to this texts volume for a users' guide.

One caution is that in the textual transcriptions, M-toned words that are dropped to L-toned before an H-tone are shown as L-toned. Users encountering an L-toned form in the texts, preceding an H-tone, may have to check two possibilities in the lexicon, one L-toned and one M-toned. In addition, the transcriptions show tonal liaisons, generally between the final syllable of one word and an elided article \bar{e} (dropping to \grave{e} before an H-tone). The lexical forms can be deduced from the liaison forms as follows, where “v” is any vowel. The tonal diacritics are those used in IPA for contour tones, except that in the absence of an IPA <HM> diacritic we use \hat{v} for this tone.

liaison form	liaison tones	lexical form	lexical tone
Cṽ	<LM>	Cṽ	L
Cṽ̄	<ML>	Cṽ̄	M
Cṽ́	<HM>	Cṽ́	H
Cṽ̂	<HL>	Cṽ̂	H

Acknowledgements

These acknowledgements are repeated from those in the companion grammar.

We gratefully acknowledge funding for fieldwork on Tiefo-D. Our preliminary visits to Daramandugu between 2015 and March 2017 were an extension of fieldwork on Tiefo-N and other languages, funded by National Science Foundation BCS-1263150 (2013-17). The April 2017 visit to Daramandugu was financed by a bridging grant from the University of Michigan (African Studies Center, Dept. of Linguistics, and UM Office of Research). The intensive work on Tiefo-D began in summer 2017, with primary support from the National Endowment for the Humanities grant PD-255909-17, part of NEH's contribution to the Documenting Endangered Languages program at the National Science Foundation.

In Daramandugu we have worked in coordination with the local cultural association led by Jean-Pierre Ouattara from Jinejan, assisted by Ouattara La from Flaso, Coulibaly Jean Bakari from Masaso who has also become the chief of Daramandugu, and Ouattara Drisa from Biton. The authors have worked with them both in Daramandugu in a long series of 3-5 days visits, and in our base in Bobo Dioulasso.

Texts

Text 2017-01 Hare and francolin (tale)

duration 04:58

A : Ouattara Jean-Pierre (Jinejan quartier), narrator

B : Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso quartier), respondent

(00:05) [[è ná-bí-ó] fé] jì?è
[-Art person-Pl] greeting(n)] get.up
[è-é-ŋî mâ→]
[get.up PlAddr]

A: 'Good morning, people.'

B: 'Good morning (to you-Pl).'

[specialized 'good morning' greetings; cf. yī?ē-ŋî 'got up' (Pfv); fé jì?è is invariant for addressee number; response would be èé jì→ to a singular addressee, cf. é yī?ē-ŋî 'we have gotten up']

(00:09) [bùò dára?á-yúó] lò
[2Pl courtyard-people] Top
[ò kēnē]
[3Pl be.healthy]

A: 'What about your-Pl people of the household?'

B: 'They are fine.'

[lò interrogative topic (end of §15.3.5.6); Jula kéné, cf. Tiefó-D ò kò glé-glé ē→ 'they are in good health', as in the next two segments]

(00:11) [è bí-sīō] kò é-glé = ē
[Art child.Pl] be Rdp-in.good.health Q
[ò kēnē]
[3Pl be.healthy]

A: 'Are the children in good health?'

B: 'They are fine.'

[clause-final interrogative = ē assimilating in vowel quality (§13.2.2.1), with pitch roughly intermediate between modal M and modal L tone]

- (00:12) [ē lè-yúó bíé] kò glé-glé = ē→
 [Art household-people all be Rdp-in.good.health Q
 [ò bíé] kēnē mā
 [3Pl all] be.healthy there.Def
 A: ‘Are all the people of the household in good health?’
 B: They are all healthy.’
 [< /lè-yúó/ with M#H-to-L#H (§3.6.2.2)]
- (00:14) [nó fē-nī] kō [[bùò bíé] bà?à],
 [1Sg greeting(n)] be [[2Pl all] Dat],
 [bùò jàró→], kà [ó-bé→, ná-fō jàró] bà,
 [2Pl Rel.AnPl], with [1Pl, visitor.Pl Rel.AnPl] come.Pfv],
 A: ‘My greeting is to all of you, you-Pl who—along with our visitors who have come ...’
 [plural relative jàró (§14.1.1); 1Pl ó-bé ‘all of us’ (§4.3.1.5)]
- (00:19) [kā= à-tārāⁿ [kā= [Ø mîè]] [kúⁿ?úⁿ nī],
 [Infin come.Base-sit.Base [with [Art 1Pl]] [today Loc],
 dè bùò nà dò [kā= [Ø dié]],
 Quot LogoPl Fut speak.Base [with [Art 1Pl]],
 A: ‘... and have sat down with us today, intending to speak with all of us.’
 [bà ‘come’ (preceding segment) repeated as à- in infinitival compound
 (§15.2.3.2.4); < /kà ē mîé/ ; 1Pl mîé and dié in formulaic speech (§4.3.1.4); locative
 nī optional with ‘today’; logophoric plural in mental “quotation” (§18.3)]
- (00:23) ó kò dō-wē— [[ó wì-è?è] nī],
 1Pl Hort speak.Base-put.Base— [[1Pl put-Ppl.Inan] Loc],
 A: ‘Let’s speak into our recorder.’
 [hortative (§10.4.2.1); dō-wē compound ‘speak and put in’; wì-è?è
 nominalization based on wìè ‘put.Pfv’ (§5.1.10.2)]
- (00:28) [yàⁿgó kò—, kò gō= [Ø dārà?á], bè tó?ó—,
 [in.order.to Hort—, Hort narrate.Base [Art tale], Dem.Def Foc—,
 [ó fǎráⁿ] gō [[bè tó?ó] nì] kúⁿ?úⁿ,
 [1Pl too] be [[Dem.Def Foc] Loc] today,
 A: ‘In order to tell a tale. That [focus]—, that [focus] is what we too are on
 (=engaged in) today.’
 [purposive yàⁿgó (§17.6.2.4); < /gò ē dārà?á/ ; gbà/gò/gò ‘hit, bump’ in
 collocation with ‘tale’ in sense ‘tell a tale’; fǎráⁿ ‘too’ (§19.1.5); bè tó?ó is a very
 common resumptive ‘that (focus)’ (§13.1.2.5)]
- (00:32) [álò→ ō nà— ò bà [[Ø dé-lèⁿ?èⁿ] nī],
 [then 3Pl Fut— 3Pl come.Pfv [[Art health] Loc],
 A: ‘So then, they will— they have come in good health.’
 [French alors]

- (00:35) [ò wò ká klá [[è dé-lèⁿʔèⁿ] nī],
 [3Pl Hort Sbjn return.Base [[Art health] Loc],
 A: ‘May they go back in good health.’
[subjunctive ká in a wish (§10.4.2.3.2), see also the following segment]
- (00:37) [ò ká yíʔí [à [Ø úⁿ]]—,
 [Hort Sbjn go.Base [with [Art village]]—,
 [è úⁿ] [ānàʔà nī],
 [Art village] [face Loc],
 A: ‘May they take the village (=local area) forward.’
- (00:40) [nó fē-nī kō [[bùò ná-dī-ò] bàʔà]
 [1Sg greeting be [[2Pl old.person-Pl] Dat]
 A: ‘My greeting is for your old people.’
[plural of ná-dē (dialectally nā-dè)]
- (00:42) álò→, ó nà dò-dò [Ø fē jèr^o],
 so.then, 1Pl Fut Rdp-speak.Base [Art word Rel],
 ná= à gbē [Ø dèràʔá jèr^o],
 1Sg Fut pick.up.Base [Art tale Rel],
 A: ‘So then, the words that we will speak, the tale that I will pick up (begin).’
[French alors ; usually ná = à is 1Sg imperfective (followed by Ipfv verb such as gbli ‘pick up’) but here it is contracted from future nó nà followed by base verb gbē]
- (00:48) bè dèràʔá yíé,
 Dem.Def tale name.
 A: ‘The name of that tale (is as follows).’
- (00:49) ná= à gbē =n= [[è blí-ké] nī],
 1Sg Fut pick.up.Base 3InanObj [[Art hare] Loc],
 kà— [è có],
 with— [Art francolin],
 A: ‘I will pick (it) up on (=begin to narrate about) hare, and francolin.’
[< gbē = nì ; hare = Lepus capensis; francolin (partridge-like bird) = Pternistis bicalcaratus’ kà ‘with’ or as here conjunction ‘and’]
- (00:53) áywà, ò [tó-jūʔɔ]-gǝrēⁿ =nì =dēʔ,
 well, Imprpt.Pl [listen.Base]-do.well.Base 3InanObj Emph,
 ó kā= [[à jùòʔɔ] nī]
 1Pl be [[3Inan hear.Prog] Prog]
 A: ‘Well, listen-2Pl well now!’
 B: ‘We are hearing (=listening to) it.’
[‘listen’ compound verb ending in jūʔɔ ‘hear’, cf, Pfv tē-jūʔɔ ; Fl/Ma dialects pronounce jūʔɔ for Bi/Ji jūʔɔ (§3.1.1.6); -gǝrēⁿ as verb compound-final ‘do a lot’ or ‘do well’; clause-final emphatic =dēʔ in admonitive function; progressive construction (§10.2.4)]

- (00:57) wálà→, parce que, [ē tòʔò] nī,
right!, because, [Art place] Loc,
[è blí-ké] dè,
[Art hare] say.Pfv,
A: ‘Fine! Because, in the place (there), hare said:’
[French. voilà! (as interjection, here confirming what the interlocutor has said)]
- (01:02) dè [bó tóʔó] lóʔó nɔ̀yɔ̀ ní-mā =ʔ,
Quot [LogoSg Focus] intelligence equal(n) not.be =Neg,
é!
huh?
A: ‘(Hare said:) “I [focus] am the smartest (of the animals).” ’
B: ‘Huh?’
[lóʔó implies esoteric knowledge as well as cleverness; nɔ̀yɔ̀ < Jula = Tiefo-D dí
‘peer, equal’; ní-mā ‘not be’ (§11.2.3.3); superlatives (§12.1.5)]
- (01:05) é, mó à jī= [[Ø blí-ké] kě],
ah!, 2Sg Ipv know.Ipv [[Art hare] matter],
A: ‘Ah! You know about hare.’
[jī ‘know about, be familiar with’, always imperfective (§11.2.5.1.2); lit. ‘hare’s
matter’, cf. (§8.4)]
- (01:07) à kō klè kà-té =ē
3Inan Infin be.done.Base thus-Foc.Inan Q
ā klè kà-tó,
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc,
B: ‘Did it happen thus?’
A: ‘It happened thus.’
[infinitive clause with overt subject (§15.2); kà-té and kà-tó ‘thus’ cf. the fuller
bè-kà-tó ‘thus, like this/that’ (§8.5.5.2.1-3)]
- (01:09) [dè [[bó lóʔó] nɔ̀yɔ̀] ní-mā =ʔ]
[Quot [[LogoSg intelligence] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg]
A: ‘(Hare) said: “There is no equal to my cleverness (=skill in magic).” ’
- (01:10) bó à jī= [Ø lóʔó],
LogoSg Ipv know.Ipv [Art intelligence],
k-ā fō= [Ø ná-bí-ó bíéʔ],
Infin-Ipv pass.Ipv [Art people all],
A: ‘(Hare said:) “I know magic more than anyone (else).” ’
[k-ā contracted from kō à (infinitive plus Ipv) (§15.2.2); fō ‘pass, surpass’ in
asymmetrical comparatives (§12.1.2)]

- (01:14) [donc, ðⁿ kō [bè nī] bè-kā,
 [so, 3AnSg be [Dem.Def Loc] thus,
 kō [sùðⁿ-sùðⁿ]-ló,
 Infin [Rdp-work.Base]-turn.Base,

A: ‘So, he (=hare) continued in that situation, and he went around doing his work.’

[bè nī ‘in that (situation), therein’ (§4.4.2.1) and bè-kā ‘thus’ (§8.5.5.2.1); -ló as second verb in compounds (§15.1.1.7)]

- (01:18) kō gbē [[è lóʔó-[tè-tèʔè]— tùpèⁿʔéⁿ],
 Infin pick.up.Base [[Art intelligence-[waterjar]— gourd],
 bó nà yíʔí—
 LogoSg Fut go.Base—

A: ‘He picked up the magical waterjar— (or rather) gourd. He was going to go.’

[bó here appears to be logophoric, in a clause describing intention; final kò yíʔí is unclear on recording]

- (01:22) [kō gbē [[è lóʔó-tùpèⁿʔéⁿ]
 [Infin pick.up.Base [[Art intelligence-gourd],
 [kō gbē = [Ø lóʔó bíéʔ]]
 [Infin pick.up.Base [Art intelligence all]]
 [kō wē [[Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ nī],
 [Infin put.Base [[Art gourd] Loc],

A: ‘He picked up his magical gourd, he took all his magical secrets and put (them) in the gourd.’

- (01:26) kò wáʔá-tòⁿ = nì,
 Infin shut.Base 3InanObj,
 kō gbē [Ø klòʔó],
 Infin take.Base [Art road],

A: ‘He covered it (=gourd), and he took (=set off on) the road.’

- (01:29) donc, parce que, [è ní jì] má jî = [Ø lóʔó]
 so, because, [Art person Indef] IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [Art intelligence]
 [k-ā dàⁿ bó],
 [Infin-Ipfv arrive.Ipfv LogoSg],

A: ‘So, because (he thought:) “Nobody knows magic as much as I (do).” ’

[è ní jì ‘some/anyone’ irregular for è yúó jì ‘some/any people’ (perhaps originally *è ná jì ; symmetrical comparative with dàⁿ ‘arrive at, reach’ (§12.2.2.1), here negated to produce an asymmetrical comparative]

- (01:33) [ðⁿ mā dàⁿ, [ē pòʔó] nī,
 [3AnSg if arrive.Base, [Art the.bush] Loc,
 [bó nà kēʔēⁿ [Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ],
 [LogoSg Fut ascend.Base [Art tree],
 A: ‘If/When he arrived in the bush (=outback), (he intended that) he would climb the tree.’

- (01:38) [kò yíʔí [k= ó-[cáró-tē] [Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ]
 [Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-[hang.up.Base] [Art gourd]
 [f5= [Ø jèʔé-cìⁿ]],
 [until [Art top]]],
 A: ‘He went and hung the gourd all the way on the top.’
 [‘go and (go and) VP’ with infinitival compound k= ó- (§15.2.3.3.1); f5 ‘all the way to’ or ‘until’ (§15.3.4.1); jèʔé-cìⁿ ‘top’ (Ji, in other dialects jùʔé-cìⁿ beginning with ‘God-’)]

- (01:41) [k= ó-kēⁿʔēⁿ= [Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ]
 [Infin go.Base-ascend.Base [Art tree]
 [dè bó nà kēⁿʔēⁿ = nì
 [Quot LogoSg Fut ascend.Base 3InanObj
 B: ‘And (he) went and climbed the tree!’
 A: ‘He said he would climb it.’

- (01:43) [è blí-ké] [kà= [Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ-kèⁿʔéⁿ-ní]] = i→
 [Art hare] [with [Art tree-ascend.Base-VblN]] Q
 ay! [mó tètè-klé], à kō [bǎ nī],
 [hey! [2Sg be.quiet.Base], 3Inan be [come.Prog Prog],
 B: ‘(For) a hare to climb a tree?’
 A: ‘You be quiet (=hold on)! It’s coming!’
 [both A and B laugh]
 [kà ‘with’ in expression of amazement; verbal noun with incorporated object
 (‘tree’) (§5.1.4); base of verb as imperative (§10.4.1.1); interrogative enclitic
 (§13.2.2.1); progressive (§10.2.4)]

- (01:48) gbèʔé [kà lō]
 go.Hort [with 3Inan]
 donc—
 so—
 [mâ mà] [kō = nì], [gbèʔé [kà lō]]
 [Proh laugh.Base] [finish.Base 3InanObj], [go.Hort [with 3Inan]]
 B: ‘Let’s proceed with it!’
 A: ‘So, ...’
 B: ‘Don’t laugh! Finish it! Let’s go with it!’
 [gbèʔé suppletive hortative ‘go’, often ‘let’s go!’ (§10.4.2.1.1); the plural-
 addressee form is ō gbèʔé; prohibitive mâ (§10.4.1.2); kà lō ‘with it/them
 (inanimate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

- (01:50) [ðⁿhóⁿ, ǎ= Ø klè k̄ =ā→, é jánò,
[uh-huh, 3Inan PfvNeg be.done.Base thus Q, oh! friend,
A: ‘Uh-huh. Did it not happen like that, oh (my) friend?’
[pronounced [k̄ā⁺ā→] with partial pitch drop for interrogative, cf. bè k̄ ‘thus’;
negative statement is ǎ= Ø klè bè k̄ =? ‘it didn’t happen like that’; jánò ‘friend’ is a
common vocative, its plural is jánò ~ jánò-rò ;]
- (01:54) [è blí-ké] k-ā dāⁿ= [[[Ø] ʃⁿʔⁿ] pó] nī],
[Art hare] Infin-Ipfv arrive.Ipfv [[[Art tree] leg] Loc]
A: ‘When hare was arriving at the foot of the tree,’
[imperfective infinitive as past imperfective; < /ē ʃⁿʔⁿ pó/]
- (01:57) ðⁿ wò jō= [Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ],
3AnSg Infin look.at.Base [Art gourd].
A: ‘He looked at the gourd.’
[< /kō jō ē/]
- (01:58) [mó dé] jã= [Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ]
[2Sg however] see.Pfv [Art gourd]]
[[Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ bè] kō bàʔà]
[[Art gourd Top.Inan] Infin be.carried.over.shoulder.Base]
[ē wũⁿ] à-mā [à nī],
[Art rope] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘But you (=hare) saw the gourd. The gourd was slung over the shoulder. There was a cord there.’
[the gourd was carried under the shoulder on a cord; protagonist in tale is directly addressed as ‘you’ (§4.3.1.7); discourse-definite bè after noun (subjet-final dé ~ dó ‘however’ (§19.3.8); à nī ‘in it, therein’ is very common after à-mā ‘be (somewhere)’]
- (02:01) mó kō bàʔà-sũʔō [Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ] mō→,
2Sg Infin carry.over.shoulder.Base-give.Base [Art gourd] concerning,
[mó gbè-gbè] nī, dè bó nà kēⁿʔēⁿ [Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ]
[2Sg chest] Loc, Quot LogoSg Fut ascend.Base [Art tree]
A: ‘As for you (=hare) carrying it over your shoulders, (you) intend to climb the tree with it on your chest.’
[direct address by narrator to hare continues, but shifts to logophoric; -sũʔō as Vb2 in verb compounds (§15.1.6.2); clause-final mō→ (§19.1.4)]

(02:05) [ē fɪⁿʔɪⁿ-klēⁿʔēⁿ-kà] nà gbàrèyá = dēʔ
 [Art tree-ascend.Pfv-manner] Fut be.difficult.Base Emph
est-ce que à nà kēⁿʔēⁿ-pōⁿ = āⁿ
 Q 3Inan Fut ascend.Base-be.able.Base Q
 àyí
 no

B: 'That way of climbing the tree sure will be difficult!'

A: 'Can he climb up?' [rhetorical question]

B: 'No.'

[compound final -kà from noun kā 'manner' (§5.1.7.2); gbàrèyá < Jula gwèlè-yà 'be difficult', Tiefo-D equivalent nà kãʔã 'will be difficult'; -pōⁿ 'be able' (§15.1.7.1) plus =à interrogative, in rhetorical question]

(02:09) [ðⁿ mā bàʔà-sūʔō] [dè bó—
 [3AnSg if sling.Base-give.Base] [Quot LogoSg—
 [ðⁿ mà á-súʔú = nì,
 [3AnSg if go.Base-catch.Base 3InanObj,

A: 'If he holds (the gourd) slung over his shoulder, intending to—, whenever he (tries to) go and grasp it (=put his arms around the tree trunk),'

(02:11) [mó ʔʔó bè] kō [Ø [sè-kúⁿʔòⁿ]-díⁿ] = ɪⁿ
 [2Sg arm Top.Inan] be [Art [wherever?]-equal(n)] Q
 [ē wʔʔ] ní-mā
 [Art arm] not.be.Loc

A: 'Your arm is equal to where (=extends how far)?'

B: 'The arm isn't (=doesn't reach) there.'

[Ma (and Fl) dialects add initial y or w to vowel-initial nouns (here, Ji ʔʔó 'arm' versus Ma wʔʔ) (§3.1.1.2); díⁿ '(the) equal (of), peer (of)']

(02:13) [mó nà ló-báʔá] [mó nà ló-bèⁿ =
 [2Sg Fut surround.Base] [2Sg Fut turn.Base-meet.Base
 [Ø fɪⁿʔɪⁿ]] mè-kà-díⁿ = ɪⁿ hé,
 [Art tree]] how?-manner-equal(n) Q huh?,

A: 'How will (=can) you go around the tree and meet up?'

[i.e. how will your arms go all the way around the trunk?; -bèⁿ < Jula 'meet'; compounds beginning ló- (§15.1.1.7); mè-kà-díⁿ 'how?' (§13.2.3.5.1)]

- (02:16) [ðⁿ mā— bàʔà-sūʔɔ̃ = nì]
 [3AnSg if— sling.Base-give.Base 3InanObj]
 [ðⁿ mā à súʔú = [Ø kě]]
 [3AnSg if Ipfv catch.Ipfv [Art thing]]
 [ē tùpèⁿʔéⁿ] g-ā gāⁿ = [[Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ] nī],
 [Art gourd] Infin-Ipfv get.stuck.Ipfv [[Art tree] Loc],
 A: ‘If he holds it slung over his shoulder, whenever he puts his arms around the thing (=trunk), the gourd will catch (=get stuck) on the tree.’
[double conditional antecedent with second one imperfective (§16.1.1.2); conditional consequent in imperfective infinitival clause form (§16.1.2.3), cf. 02:09 above;; > /kō à gāⁿ ē ʃⁿʔⁿ/]

- (02:19) [ðⁿ mà ká-súʔú = nì]
 [3AnSg if do.again.Base-catch.Base 3InanObj]
 [à kō gāⁿ = [[Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ] nī]],
 [3Inan Infin get.stuck.Base [[Art tree] Loc]],
 A: ‘And if he puts his arms around it (=tree) again, it (=gourd) will catch (=get stuck) on the tree.’
[ká- ‘do again’ as initial in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.3.2); conditional consequent in infinitival clause form (§16.1.2.3)]

- (02:21) ðⁿ gō— pēⁿ [bè nī],
 3AnSg Infin— remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc],
 kō pēⁿ [bè nī],
 Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc],
 A: ‘He stayed in that (situation) for a long time.’
[first part of this segment somewhat broken, first kō unclear; repetition of clause indicates prolonged time]

- (02:25) nánò, [ɔ̃ⁿ blè = rè] fɔ̃ k-ā—
 friend, [3AnSg get.tired.Pfv Emph] until Infin-Ipfv—
 fɔ̃— mó mà ʔó— [[ðⁿ dé-ʔū]
 until— 2Sg if look.Base— [[3AnSg body-water]
 [[[k-ā sárúⁿ-àⁿ-dórá] sɪná] nī]
 [[[Infin-Ipfv descend.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.very.Ipfv] situation] Loc]
 A: ‘My friend (vocative), he sure was tired, to the point (extent) that, if you looked, (you’d see that) his sweat was continuously dripping down.’
[‘friend’ is a vocative to the addressee; -dórá as final in verb-verb compounds (§15.1.2.1.2); sɪná nī (§15.3.2)]

- (02:30) [è dé-nū] k-ā sárúⁿ
 [Art body-water] Infin-Ipfv descend.Ipfv
 [ē nū] k-ā sárúⁿ, [ē nū] k-ā sárúⁿ
 [Art water] Infin-Ipfv descend.Ipfv, [Art water] Infin-Ipfv descend.Ipfv,
ce-ce-ce-ce!
 my.goodness!
 [è dé] nī
 [Art body] Loc
 B: ‘The sweat was dripping down?’
 A: ‘The liquid kept dripping down and dripping down.’
 B: ‘My goodness!’
 A: ‘On the (=his) body.’
 [*in ce-ce-ce-ce!* each syllable is lower-pitched than the preceding (descending arpeggio)]

- (02:35) ðⁿhóⁿ, bon, ʒⁿ= Ø kòⁿ
 uh-huh, well, 3AnSg PfvNeg know.Base
 [[[bó nà klè] sɪná] nī],
 [[[LogoSg Fut do.Base] situation] Loc,
 A: ‘Uh-huh. Well, he didn’t know what to do next.’
 [*‘(not) know’ with nonquotative future-oriented clausal complement (§17.3.1.2)*]

- (02:37) è cò— jǎ→ cò!
 Art francolin—, lo! exactly!
 [[è cò] kò nɔ =nì],
 [[Art francolin] Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘Francolin— lo and behold, the francolin looked at it (=the scene).’
 [*jǎ→ ‘lo!’ (§19.3.7); cò! §(8.5.3.2.2)*]

- (02:41) [è cò] pìèⁿ [ṁ-pùⁿ?óⁿ nī]
 [Art francolin] remain.Pfv [grass Loc]
 [k-ā kùràí] =ò
 [Infin-Ipfv watch.over.Ipfv 3AnSgObj]
 [k-ā kùràí] =w̄
 [Infin-Ipfv watch.over.Ipfv 3AnSgObj]
mā-nī
 if.you.see
 A: ‘The francolin stayed (hidden) in the grass.’
 B: ‘And was watching him.’
 A: ‘And was watching him.’
 B: ‘Indeed!’
 [*Jula kòròsí ‘watch over’, 3AnSg object enclitics (§4.3.2.3); mā-nī reactive backchannel phrase (§19.5.2)*]

- (02:43) **dē** [kɛ̃ⁿ yá bó = rɛ̃]
 Quot [fellow Dem.InanSg Top even]
kō [[(Ø) ʃiʔɛ̃-bórá] nī] [[tɔʔ = á] nī],
 be [[Art which?-work(n)] Loc] [[place Dem.InanSg] Loc],
[ē ʃiʔɛ̃-[kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ] nī,
 [Art which?-[work(n)] Loc,
 A: ‘(Francolin thought) “this fellow [topic] is engaged in what (sort of) activity here? In what activity?” ’
[‘this fellow’ with “inanimate” demonstrative; ʃiʔɛ̃ in ‘which?’ construction (§13.2.3.6.2); bórá < Jula, repeated with Tiefo-D word kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ]

- (02:45) **[[è có] kā = à-jī [Ø kɛ̃ⁿ]**
 [[Art francolin] Infin come.Base-see.Base [Art fellow]
[Ø blí-ké fóráⁿ =] [Ø cò] glō = nì,
 [Art hare too] [Art energy] remove.Pfv 3InanObj,
 A: ‘Francolin came and saw the fellow. Hare for his part had lost the energy (to climb) there.’
[< /kɛ̃ⁿ ē blí-ké/, with kɛ̃ⁿ becoming <LHL> after absorbing the article ē (dropped to è before H-tone)]

- (02:51) **è jánà, mó kō [[ʃiʔɛ̃-[kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ] nī] fāⁿāⁿ**
 Art friend, 2Sg be [[what?-[work(n)] Loc] here
ḡ→, ā klè [Ø bórá]
 [oh!, 3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art work(n)]
 A: ‘(Francolin to hare:) “what activity are you in here?” ’
 B: ‘It has become a (tough) job.’
[i.e., ‘what are you trying to do?’. ʃiʔɛ̃ in ‘which?’ construction (§13.2.3.6.2)]

- (02:55) **dè é→ [è jánà],**
 said hey! [Art friend],
[[ē kě jī] [ʃiʔ = á] = rɛ́ = ē̃]
 [[Art thing Indef] [what? Dem.InanSg] Emph Q
[ā klě = [Ø kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ]
 [3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art work(n)]
 A: ‘(Hare:) “hey, my friend! What is the matter?” ’
 B: ‘It has become a (tough) job.’
[< ʃiʔɛ̃ ‘manner’; Ma repeats his comment (preceding segment) changing bórá (< Jula) into the Tiefo-D word for ‘work (n)’; ʃiʔɛ̃ ‘manner’ (§8.5.1.3)]

- (02:58) á! nó—, mó— nó mā dè, dè [[mó—, díⁿ] nī]
 ah! 1Sg—, 2Sg— 1Sg if say, Quot [[2Sg—, equal(n)] Loc]
 dè [mó dígè-rò jì] ní-mā,
 Quot [2Sg other-Pl Indef] not.be.Loc,
 A: ‘Ah, if you—I say (=think) that none of your counterparts is your equal,’
*[intended sense is ‘if you (=generic) say/think that ...’; this and the following
 segment are somewhat broken, perhaps because the speaker was concerned about
 avoiding Jula borrowing ɲɔ̀yɔ̀; see @ 03:09 below for a clearer formulation]*

- (03:05) dè [mó ɲɔ̀yɔ̀]—
 Quot [2Sg equal(n)]—
 [[mó díⁿ] nī] [ɲɔ̀yɔ̀-dígè-rò jì] ní-mā,
 [[2Sg equal(n)] Loc] [equal(n)-counterpart-Pl Indef] not.be.Loc,
 A: ‘(If you think) that none of your counterparts is your equal,’
[speaker uses a different word for ‘equal, peer’]

- (03:07) jǎ→ [è ní jì] fiè [[mó ānà?à] nī]
 lo! [Art person Indef] pass.Pfv [[2Sg face] Loc]
 A: ‘Lo, someone (else) will go ahead of you.’
[è ní jì equivalent to è yúó jì ‘someone’]

- (03:09) dè ñ mà dè [mó ʃi?è] ní-mā
 say 2Sg if say.Pfv [2Sg manner(n)] not.be.Loc
 [mó ʃi?è] ní-mā,
 [2Sg manner(n)] not.be.Loc,
 [è ní jì] fiè [[mó ānà?à] nī],
 Art person Indef] pass.Pfv [[2Sg face] Loc]
 B: ‘that if you-Sg say that there is no-one like you.’
 A: ‘(If you think that) there is no-one like you, someone (else) will surpass you.’
*[B rephrases what A has just said, using ʃi?é ‘manner’ instead of díⁿ and ɲɔ̀yɔ̀;
 2Sg proclitic ñ (§4.3.1.6.2); < /ānà?à nī/]*

- (03:13) nó dè lē→, [è ló?ó té]
 1Sg say.Pfv that, [Art cleverness Foc.Inan]
 à-mā [[Ø tùpèⁿ?éⁿ] nī] =dē?,
 be.Loc [[Art gourd] Loc] Emph,
 A: ‘(Hare to francolin:) “I said that, magic power [focus] is in the gourd.” ’
[lē→ after quotative verb dè (§17.1.2.2); inanimate focalizer té (§13.1.1)]

- (03:15) **nó** **nà** **kēⁿʔēⁿ** = **nì**,
 1Sg Fut take.up.Base 3InanObj],
kò **yíʔí** [**k=** **ó-dúʔú** = **nì**],
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-hide.Base 3InanObj],
[k= **ó-dúʔú** = **nì** **[ē** **jèʔé-cìⁿ**]
 [Infin go.Base-hide.Base 3InanObj] [Art top],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “I will take it up, and go and hide it, go and hide it at the top.”
 [‘go’ followed by infinitival compound **[k= ó-...]** (§15.2.3.3.1); **dúʔú** ‘hide.Base’
 (in other dialects **dóʔó**), cf. perhaps Jula **dògò** ‘hide’]
- (03:19) **jàⁿgô=** [**Ø** **yúó**] **mā** **kō—** **kšⁿ** **nī**,
 so.that [Art people] Proh be— know.Prog Prog,
ká **nó**, **wálà→**,
 like 1Sg, right!,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “So that people don’t know it like me. There!” ’
 [negative purposive with different subject in prohibitive progressive form; **jàⁿgó**
 ‘in order that’ (§17.6.2.4) with many dialectal variants < Jula; **ká** dialectal for **tá**
 ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1)]
- (03:23) **jàⁿgó** [**nó** **tóʔó**] **kō** **jī** = **nì**,
 so.that [1Sg Foc] Infin know.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “So that (only) I [focus] know about it.” ’
 [shift from **kùðⁿ/kšⁿ/kšⁿ** ‘know (a fact), recognize’ (preceding and following
 segments) to intrinsically stative-imperfective **jī** ‘know, be familiar with’]
- (03:25) **nó** **dè** [**nó** **kùðⁿ-fó** **[è** **ná-bíó** **bíéʔ]**,
 1Sg say.Pfv [1Sg know.Pfv-pass.Base [Art people all],
kà **[Ø** **lóʔó]**,
 with [Art intelligence]],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “I say (=think) I know more than any one about magic.” ’
 [comparative/superlative; ‘know’ in Pfv form for present-time knowledge
 (§10.2.1.1, §11.2.5.1.1); **fó** ‘(sur)pass’ (§12.1.2)]
- (03:28) **dè** [**bè** **tóʔó**]
 Quot [Dem.Def Foc]
dè **nó** **nà** **dúʔú** = **nì** **dúʔú** = **nì**,
 Quot 1Sg Fut hide.Base 3InanObj hide.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “That [focus] is why I will keep hiding it.” ’
- (03:30) **nó** **má** **kō** [**kēⁿʔēⁿ-pšⁿ** **nī**],
 1Sg IpfvNeg be [ascend.Base-be.able.Prog Prog],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “(But) I am unable to climb (the tree).” ’
 [‘cannot’ in progressive negative]

- (03:31) *dè óⁿ! , nánò, já= à mà kō bè-kā =rē?*,
 Quot oh!, friend, if 3Inan if be thus Emph,
nó nà ká-dò [à-bì-píⁿ jì] [mó bà?à],
 1Sg Fut do.again.Base-say.Base [a.little Indef] [2Sg Dat],
 A: ‘(Francolin:) “Ah, friend, if (=since) it is thus, I will reveal to you a little something.” ’
[< /jí à mà/; ká- (§15.1.3.2); ‘a little’ (§8.5.2.2.4)]
- (03:36) *mó jⁿ= [Ø tùpèⁿ?éⁿ] [kō bà?à-sū?ǝ—*
 2Sg look.at.Base [Art gourd] [Infin sling.Base-give.Base—
[ǝⁿ fīē]
 [3AnSg behind]
[mó fīē]
 [2Sg behind]]
 A: ‘(Francolin:) “Look (=try) to carry the gourd slung—!’ (hesitates)
 B: ‘Behind him (=on his back)!’
 A: ‘... behind you!’
[imperative with 2Sg mó ; B finishes A’s interrupted sentence, shifting 2Sg to 3AnSg for indirect quotation (§17.1.4)]
- (03:39) *jí kò sú?ú= [Ø fīⁿ?íⁿ] mō→,*
 if Infin catch.Base [Art tree] concerning,
 A: ‘(Francolin:) “Then hold onto the tree (with your arms)!” ’
[jí kō (§15.2.1.2); clause-final mō→ (§19.1.4)]
- (03:41) *donc, ǝⁿ gō dè áy!,*
 so, 3AnSg Infin say.Base ah!,
mó dè jèrⁿ, ǝⁿ nà klè-jó =nì,
 2Sg say.Pfv Rel, 1Sg Fut do.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘Well, he (=Hare) then said: “Ah, what you said, I will try it.” ’
[infinitival kō dè ‘and said’; 1Sg proclitic ǝ (§4.3.1.6.1)]
- (03:46) *ǝⁿ gō bà?à-sū?ǝ [Ø tùpèⁿ?éⁿ] [ǝⁿ fīē],*
 3AnSg Infin sling.Base-give.Base [Art gourd] [3AnSgRefl behind],
kò sú?ú= [Ø fīⁿ?íⁿ],
 Infin catch.Base [Art tree],
 A: ‘He slung the gourd behind him (on his back), and held on to the tree (trunk).’

- (03:50) kùró-kùró-kùró-kùró-kùró, jǎ→ ðⁿ jēⁿʔēⁿ
 (sound of climbing up tree) lo! 3AnSg manage.Pfv
 ðⁿ klēⁿʔēⁿ-pōⁿ,
 3AnSg ascend.Pfv-be.able.Base,
 kò yíí [k= ó-ló-dīē],
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-turn.Base-enter.Base],
 A: ‘(sound of climbing). Lo, he managed, he was able to climb, and went and turned onto (a branch).’
 [‘go’ plus infinitival compound k= ó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]
- (03:55) háⁿ! [è blí-ké] kō kēⁿʔēⁿ [Ø fīⁿʔīⁿ]
 huh? [Art hare] Infin ascend.Base [Art tree]
 fó kō kēⁿʔēⁿ, kò yíí [k= ó-ló-dīē],
 until Infin ascend.Base, Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-turn.Base-enter.Base],
 B: ‘The hare climbed up the tree?’
 A: ‘To the point that (he) went up, and went and turned onto (a branch),’
 [fó ‘until’ plus kō chain]
- (03:57) k= ó-ló-dīē, kò té= [Ø tùpèⁿʔéⁿ],
 Infin go.Base-turn.Base-enter.Base, Infin put.down.Base [Art gourd],
 kò klá-sóruⁿ,
 Infin return.Base-descend.Base,
 A: ‘And turned onto (it), and put the gourd down, then (he) climbed back down.’
- (04:00) ká→, ɓⁿ dè jèróⁿ, dè mā-jī,
 as, 3AnSg say.Pfv Rel, Quot if.you.see,
 dè [jó bó =ō sòⁿ]
 Quot [if 3AnSg Ipfv think.Ipfv]
 [dè [bó tóʔó jàʔò] ní-mā [[è lóʔó] ní]],
 [Quot [LogoSg Foc equal(n)] not.be.Loc [[Art cleverness] Loc]],
 A: ‘As, what he said (=thought), you see?, (namely) that if he thinks that his [focus] equal in cleverness (=magic) does not exist,’
 [mā-jī (§19.5.2); conditional antecedent with jí ~ jó (§16.1.1.5); < jí bó à sòⁿ]
- (04:05) jǎ→ [è cò]—
 lo! [Art francolin]—
 yǎ→ [ē jī] fiè [[bó ānà?à] ní]
 lo! [Art someone] pass.Pfv [[3AnSg front] Loc]
 A: ‘Lo, the francolin—’
 B: ‘Lo, someone has gone ahead of him.’
 [ē jī ‘someone’ (§4.4.2.3)]

(04:07) *jǎ*→ [è có]—, [è có] fiè [[bó ānàʔà] nī]
 lo! [Art francolin]—, [Art francolin] pass.Pfv [[3AnSg face] Loc]
mā-jī
 if.you.see

A: 'Lo, the francolin went ahead of him.'

B: 'You see?'

(04:09) *donc* [bè tóʔ=] =à, [bè yíé],
 so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Dem.Def name],
 [bè fě] dè kò yíʔí [tòʔò jàróʔ],
 [Dem.Def talk(n)] say.Pfv Infin go.Base [place Rel],
 à má dīʔè ké,
 3Inan IpfvNeg be.long.Ipfv Emph,
 A: 'So that's it, so the place where that talk (=tale) went, it isn't too far away.'
 [=à 'it is' enclitic (§11.2.1.1); clause-final ké (§19.4.6)]

(04:13) ó nà kú =nì, [è nígbó] =ʔ,
 1Pl Fut cut.Base 3InanObj, [Art short] Emph
 A: 'We will cut it (=tale) off, short.'
 [final glottal stop (§3.2.1.9)]

(04:16) [bè jī =à] mó mā dè
 [Dem.Def something it.is] 2Sg if say.Base
 [mó à jī [Ø kè] [kúʔúʔ nī]],
 [2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art matter] [today Loc]],
 A: 'It's that (sort of) thing, if you say that you know it today,'
 [< /ē kě kúʔúʔ/]

(04:19) dè [[[mó tóʔó] kē-kòʔ-ní] jòʔò] ní-mā =ʔ,
 Quot [[[2Sg Foc] matter-know.Base-VblN] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
 [ē tòʔò] nī, [ē jī] fiè [[mó ānàʔà] nī],
 [Art place] Loc, [Art someone] pass.Pfv [[2Sg face] Loc],
 [ē jī] fiè [[mó ānàʔà] nī],
 [Art someone] pass.Pfv [[2Sg facet] Loc],
 A: '(If you say) that your [focus] knowledge of things has no equal, in that place (=situation), someone else has gone ahead of you. Someone else has gone ahead of you.'

[< /kě-kòʔ-ní/ verbal noun with incorporated object; ē jī usually means 'something', here it (somewhat ambiguously) seems to mean 'someone']

- (04:26) ñ mà jī [Ø kě] dè dè mó—,
 2Sg if know.Base [Art matter] say.Pfv Quot 2Sg—,
 [[ē tərèⁿ-tòʔò] nī], dàⁿ [bè tòʔò],
 [[Art sit.Pfv-place] Loc], arrive.Base [Dem.Def place],
 A: ‘If you know something, say (thinking) that you—, in (your) place, stop at that place.’

[i.e. keep what you know to yourself; 2Sg proclitic ñ (§4.3.1.6.2); dè ‘say, think’ followed by invariant quotative particle dè (§17.1.1-2) as also in the next segment; dàⁿ usually means ‘arrive’, but here it has one of its Jula senses ‘stop’, cf. Tiefo-D léⁿ; tərèⁿ-tòʔò compound with ‘place’ following a Pfv verb (§5.1.7.3)]

- (04:31) mâ dè dè [[Ø úⁿ bíé] nī],
 Proh say.Base Quot [[Art village all] Loc],
 dè [mó dəràʔá]
 Quot [2Sg courtyard]

A: ‘Don’t say (=think) that (it’s) in the whole village!’

B: ‘(Or even) your household.’

[prohibitive (§10.4.1.2)]

- (04:34) mâ dè [mó dóràʔá]
 Proh say.Base [2Sg courtyard]

mó dəràʔá
 2Sg courtyard

wála→

right!

A: ‘Don’t say that (it’s) your (whole) household!’

B: ‘Your household.’

A: ‘Right!’

[dialectal pronunciations of dóràʔá ‘courtyard’ = ‘household’, where Ma drops tones before glottal stop while Ji does not (§3.6.1.5)]

- (04:36) yáá, mó mā dè [[Ø wúⁿ bíé] nī],
 lo!, 2Sg if say.Base [[Art village all] Loc],
 [ē jī] fiè [[mó ānàʔà] nī]
 [Art someone] pass.Pfv [[2Sg face] Loc]

B: ‘Lo, if you say (that) it’s in the whole village, someone has gone ahead of you.’

- (04:38) ðⁿhóⁿ, jì-ní
 uh-huh, Prsntv
 [mó miāʔá] nà kɔ̃ⁿ-pɔ̃ⁿ= [Ø wúⁿ-kě]
 [2Sg Refl] Fut know.Base-be.able.Base [Art village-matter]
 à jì-ní,
 ah! Prsntv,
 A: ‘Uh-huh, there it is!’
 B: ‘You (by) yourself will be able to know (=learn) about the village?’
 A: ‘Ah, there it is!’
 [presentative (§4.4.4.1)]

- (04:41) donc [bè tóʔ=] =à, jón [è có] gò—,
 so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, look.Base [Art francolin] Infin—,
 è-è-è fò= [[[Ø blí-ké] ānàʔà] nī] [bè tòʔð],
 (hesitation) pass.Base [[[Art hare] face] Loc] [Dem.Def place],
 A: ‘So that’s it. (So) there’s the francolin going ahead of the hare there.’

- (04:45) jón nó gblè— gblè-bú jàróⁿ [tòʔð jàróⁿ],
 look.Base 1Sg pick.up.Pfv— pick.up.Pfv-get.Base Rel [place Rel]
 ā gblè [tòʔð jàróⁿ],
 3Inan be.picked.up.Pfv [place Rel],
 [à tīē-tòʔð tɛ] =à
 [3Inan be.put.down.Pfv-place Foc.Inan] it.is
 A: ‘There (it is), the place where I picked it (=tale) up and got it, the place where it was picked up, it (=that) is its place of being put down [focus].’

Text 2017-02 Dog and patas monkey (tale)

duration 02:16

A: **Coulibaly Jean Bakari** (Masaso *quartier*), narrator

B = *Ouattara La* (Flaso *quartier*), respondent

joined briefly near the end by C= *Ouattara Jean-Pierre*

(00:02) [nó, kètèklú à fā
 [1Sg, (name) Ipfv seek.Ipfv
 [commencer =nì dè-rè gǔ= —,
 [begin 3InanObj now narrate.Base —,
 [gǔ= [Ø dèràʔá], kā lǎ
 [narrate.Base [Art tale], with (name)

A: ‘I, Keteklu, want to begin it now, (to) tell—, to tell a tale, with La.’

[*Keteklu is Jean’s Tiefo name; < /gè ē dèràʔá/; gǔ ‘narrate, tell (a tale)’ (also ‘hit’)*]

(00:06) [donc ó nà commencer =nì
 [so 1Pl Fut begin 3InanObj
 [[[ē bũʔʔʔʔ] kà= [Ø tìplípàʔ]] nī],
 [[[Art dog] with [Art patas.monkey]] Loc],

A: ‘So, we will begin it. About dog and patas monkey.’

[< kà [ē tìplípàʔ]]

(00:12) [ē bũʔʔʔʔ], [ē nũ-kě] gbèrèyá,
 [Art dog], [Art water-matter] be.difficult.Pfv

A: ‘The dog. Water was hard to get.’

[*i.e. there was a drought; gbèrèyá ‘be difficult, hard’ < Jula gwèlè-yà, cf. Tiefo-D kpàʔà-ní*]

(00:14) [ē bũʔʔʔʔ] kò lí= [Ø tìplípàʔ]
 [Art dog] Infin call.Base [Art monkey]
 [d= ō gbèʔé] d= ō bà [kō bà-ǰó
 [Quot 3Pl go.Hort] Quot 3Pl come.Base [Infin come.Base-look.Base
 [kōmì [ē nũ-kě] gbèrèyá],
 [as [Art water-matter] be.difficult.Pfv],

A: ‘The dog called to the monkey: “Let’s come and consider how water is hard to get!” ’

[< /kō lí ē/; ò in ō gbèʔé and in ō gǔʔó could be 3Pl (for indirect quotation) or imperative/hortative plural preverb (§10.4.1.1, §10.4.2.1.1); gǔʔó (in Ma dialect gǔʔó, (§3.1.1.6) ‘dig (with hands, paws, or by pulling a tool)’]

- (00:20) *donc*, *dò* = *ò* *gbèʔé*
 so, Quot 3Pl go.Hort
 [*kò* *gòʔó* *dè* = [Ø *blùⁿ*],
 [Hort dig.Base Quot [Art well(n)],
 A: ‘(Dog:) “So, let’s go dig a well!” ’
 [*< /dè ē blùⁿ/*]; *the extra quotative dè before ‘well’ was omitted by the same speaker during transcription; blùⁿ is a simple pit well dug near a watercourse, or as here in a dried-up pond*]
- (00:23) *donc*, *ō* *bà* *bū* = [Ø *nū*],
 so, 3Pl come.Pfv get.Base [Art water],
ó *kò* *nī* = *nì* [[Ø *dígè-rò*] *nī*]
 1Pl Hort drink.Ipfv 3InanObj [[PIRefl Recip] Loc]
 A: ‘So, they came and got water. “Let’s drink it together!” ’
[hortative with Ipfv verb (§10.4.2.1.2); reciprocal in sense ‘together’ (§18.4.1-2)]
- (00:27) *ō* *kō* *tē* *kō*,
 3Pl Infin put.down.Base day,
 [*è* *téⁿ*] *klē*,
 [Art daybreak] day.break.Pfv,
ō *kō* *fùʔú* [Ø *dígè-rò*],
 3Pl Infin get.together.Base [PIRefl Recip],
 A: ‘They set a date. The day broke. They got together.’
[subject-verb collocation ‘day break’ (§11.1.1.4); recording has an unclear word between kò and fùʔú, probably a false start, deleted at the speaker’s request]
- (00:31) [*kō* *yìʔí*, [[*ē* *blāʔā*] *nī*],
 [Infin go.Base, [[Art pond] Loc],
kō *yìʔí* [*k* = *ó-commencer* [Ø *blùⁿ-gòʔó-ní*],
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-begin [Art well(n)-dig.Base-VbIN],
 A: ‘(They) went to the pond. They went and began digging the well.’
[‘go’ plus infinitival verb-verb compound k = ó-, for this dialect contracted from kò = ʔó (§15.2.3.1.1)]
- (00:35) [*ē* *tùplípàⁿ*] = *áⁿ* *bà* = *ʔ*,
 [Art monkey] PfvNeg come.Base =Neg,
 [[*mó* *wò* *kàⁿ?-àⁿ-fī* = *nì* *kè*]
 [[2Sg Hort reply.Ipfv 3InanObj Emph]
 A: ‘The monkey did not come. (To B:) Come on, respond to it!’
[< /tùplípàⁿ á/ with nasalization spreading to the proclitic; Ma reminds Fl that Fl should be responding to the narrative; kè (§19.4.5)]

- (00:38) [ē tìplípàⁿ] = áⁿ bà = ?
 [Art monkey] PfvNeg come.Base =Neg,
 [ē tùplípàⁿ] = áⁿ bà = ?,
 [Art monkey] PfvNeg come.Base =Neg,
 A: ‘The monkey did not come.’
 B: ‘The monkey did not come.’
[B responds by repeating A’s line; tìplípàⁿ and tùplípàⁿ are dialectal variants]
- (00:41) [ē bũṣⁿ?ṣⁿ] kō yìyí [k= ó-gò?ó [ē blùⁿ]],
 [Art dog] Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-dig.Base [Art well(n)]],
 [fó ðⁿ kō dāⁿ= [[Ø jũ] nī],
 [until 3AnSg Infin arrive.Base [[Art water] Loc],
 wálà→
 right!
 A: ‘The dog went and dug the well, until he reached the water.’
 B: ‘Right!’
- (00:45) [ē jũ] kò jíé,
 [Art water] Infin become.clear.Base,
 [ē bũṣⁿ?ṣⁿ] kō jṣ [kò glú] [kò fó]
 [Art dog] Infin drink.Base [Infin exit(v).Base] [Infin pass.Base]
 A: ‘The water became clear of mud (after more digging). The dog drank, left (the pond), and went on (his way).’
[long string of infinitival clauses and phrases describing a sequence of events (§15.2.1.1)]
- (00:50) jǎā→ [Ø tìplípàⁿ] bà, [kà= à-[tṣ-tṣrāⁿ]]
 lo! [Art monkey] come.Pfv, [Infin **come**.Base-[hide.**Base**-sit.Base]]
 [k-â jũ= [[Ø bũṣⁿ?ṣⁿ] gbē?ē-kà],
 [Infin-Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [[Art dog] dig.Pfv-manner],
 A: ‘Lo, the monkey came, and sat down in hiding. He watched the way the dog was digging.’
[< /jǎ→ è/; ‘come’ plus infinitival verb compound kà= à- (§15.2.3.2.4); k-â imperfective infinitive (§15.2.2); compound with Pfv verb plus ‘manner’ (§5.1.7.2)]
- (00:54) [ē bũṣⁿ?ṣⁿ] jùṣ-kṣ [kò fó],
 [Art dog] drink.Pfv-finish.Base [Infin pass.Base],
 A: ‘The dog finished drinking, then went on his way.’
[kṣ ‘finish’ after another verb (§15.1.3.6)]
- (00:56) [ē tìplípàⁿ] kō dīē [kō jṣ],
 [Art monkey] Infin enter.Base [Infin drink.Base],
 [kò glú] [kò fó],
 [Infin exit(v).Base] [Infin pass.Base],
 A: ‘The monkey went in and drank. He left and went on his way.’

- (00:59) [ā kò-dí-cùⁿʔúⁿ],
 [3Inan next.morning],
 [ʔⁿ ɲō bà],
 [3AnSg Infin come.Base],
 A: ‘The following morning, he (=monkey) came.’
 [kō ‘day’ plus dí-cùⁿʔúⁿ ‘day after tomorrow’ including cùⁿʔúⁿ ‘morning’;
 < /ʔⁿ kō bà/]
- (01:01) [ē bū⁵ʔōⁿ] bà-ɲō [kò fó],
 [Art dog] come.Pfv-drink.Base [Infin pass.Base],
 [ē tìplípaⁿ] kō ɲō [kò cáⁿʔáⁿ-kèʔě= [Ø ɲū]]
 [Art monkey] Infin drink.Base [Infin fight.Base-ruin.Base [Art water]]
 é!
 oh!
 A: ‘The dog came to drink, and (then) went on his way. The monkey drank and
 disturbed (=muddied) the water.’
 B: ‘Oh my!’
- (01:05) [kò cáⁿʔáⁿ-kèʔě= [Ø ɲū]],
 [Infin fight.Base-ruin.Base [Art water]],
 [ē bū⁵ʔōⁿ] wò klá-bà
 [Art dog] Infin return.Base-come.Base
 [ʔⁿ kò [klá-bǎ ní]] [bì tòʔò] = dēʔ
 [3AnSg be [return.Base-come.Prog Prog]] [Dem.Def place] Emph
 A: ‘He (=monkey) disturbed the water. The dog came back.’
 B: ‘He was coming back (to) that very place!’
 [bì variant of bè discourse-definite; = dēʔ emphatic]
- (01:08) [ʔⁿ klē-bǎ= [[Ø dòʔó] ní],
 [3AnSg return.Pfv-come.Base [[Art late.afternoon] Loc],
 donc kō bà-ɲí
 so Infin come.Base-see.Ipfv
 [Ø ɲū cēⁿʔēⁿ-kèʔè-èʔè],
 [Art water fight.Pfv-ruin.Base-Ppl.Inan],
 A: ‘He (=dog) came back in the late afternoon. So, he came and saw the disturbed
 (=roiled) thing (=water).’
 [inanimate participial -èʔè (§4.5.4) from noun ‘thing’, based on a verb-verb
 compound in Pfv form]

- (01:12) [dè, mais bó nùò [kò fó],
 [Quot, but LogoSg drink.Pfv [Infin pass.Base]
 [è yúó jì] k-ā ká-à-dīē [gō nō]
 [Art person which?] Infin-Ipfv do.again.Ipfv-Ipfv-enter.Ipfv [Infin drink.Base]
 [bó fīē] [kò cáⁿ?áⁿ-kè?è = nì],
 [LogoSg after] [Infin fight.Base-ruin.Base 3InanObj],
 A: '(Dog, to himself:) "But I drank and went on my way. Somebody else comes in and drinks after me and disturbs it.'

- (01:17) dè= [Ø kè?é-bórá] kò yá tē,
 Quot [Art work(n)] be Dem.InanSg Q,
 A: '(Dog, to himself:) "Here is (what) action?"'
 [kè?é-bórá < *Jula*; presentative clause in interrogative form with clause-final tē ;
 means something like 'what the hell has happened here?']

- (01:19) [ē būⁿ?ōⁿ], ā kò-dí-cùⁿ?úⁿ,
 [Art dog], 3Inan next.morning,
 [ē būⁿ?ōⁿ] kō nō,
 [Art dog] Infin drink.Base,
 A: 'The dog—. The following morning, the dog drank.'

- (01:22) kō tō-tōrāⁿ = [[Ø á-bìèⁿ?éⁿ jī] tōⁿ],
 Infin hide.Base-sit.Base [[Art leaf Indef] under],
 dè [yúó jèrⁿ] à cáⁿ?-āⁿ-kè?è [bó blù-nū],
 Quot [person Rel] Ipfv fight.Ipfv-Ipfv-ruin.Ipfv [LogoSg well(n)-water],
 A: 'Then he (=dog) hid under (=in) the foliage. (He said to himself:) "the person who disturbs my well water,"'
 [bó blù-nū could also be bracketed as [bó blù] nū 'the water of my well'].

- (01:26) [cógó-cògò, [ðⁿ wí] bā bà],
 [anyway, [3AnSg owner] if come.Base],
 [bó nà fū?ú [ðⁿ wí] kùⁿ?úⁿ bè
 [LogoSg Fut get.together.Base [3AnSg owner] today Dem.Def
 A: '(Dog, to himself:) "anyway, when the fellow comes, I will meet (=confront) the fellow even today."'
 [ðⁿ wí used like 'the fellow, the person concerned (§18.5.1.2); Fl speaker says something during this segment but it isn't clear; fū?ú and kùⁿ?úⁿ are Ma dialect pronunciations of fú?ú and kúⁿ?úⁿ (§3.1.1.6)]

- (01:30) *donc*, [ē tìplípàⁿ] k̄a = à-dīē,
 so, [Art monkey] Infīn come.Base-enter.Base,
 k̄o n̄ō, [k̄o dīē [[Ø blāʔā] nī]]
 Infīn drink.Base, [Infīn enter.Base [[Art pond] Loc]]
 [k̄o cáⁿʔáⁿ-kèʔè],
 [Infīn fight.Base-ruin.Base,
 A: ‘So, monkey entered (arrived) and drank. He went into the pond and disturbed (the water).’

- (01:36) ʔⁿ glō [k̄o léⁿ [t̄òʔò j̄èr̄òⁿ]] d̄ór̄óⁿ,
 3AnSg exit(v).Pfv [Infīn stop.Base [place Rel]] only,
 [ē b̄ūōⁿʔōⁿ] k̄o c̄ór̄úⁿ-[yíí-fíí],
 [Art dog] Infīn run.hard.Base-[get.up.Base],
 wálā→
 right!
 A: ‘At the spot where he (=monkey) had just come out (from the foliage) and stopped, the dog suddenly leapt up.’
 B: ‘Right!’
[spatial adverbial relative (§14.2.5); < /j̄èr̄óⁿ d̄ór̄óⁿ/ with d̄ór̄óⁿ ‘only; as soon as’ (§15.3.5.9)]

- (01:40) [k̄o j̄ùòʔò = [ʔⁿ j̄īē] p̄àbà-p̄àbà-p̄àbà-p̄àbà-p̄àbà
 [Infīn follow.Base [3AnSg behind] (sound of running)
 b̄èb̄è-b̄èb̄è-b̄èb̄è
 (sound of running)
 A: ‘He (=dog) pursued after him (=monkey). (sound of running)’
 B: ‘(sound of running)’
[j̄ùòʔò Ma and Fl dialect pronunciation of j̄ùòʔò with post-glottal vowel quality spreading leftward (§3.1.1.6)]

- (01:43) [k̄o yìíí] [k = ó-f̄ùú] [ò d̄ígè-r̄ò]]
 [Infīn go.Base] [Infīn go.Base-get.together.Base [PlRefl Recip]]
 wálā→
 right!
 A: ‘They went and came together (i.e. dog caught up to monkey).’
 B: ‘Right!’

(01:45) mā-jī

if.you.see

[Ø bũⁿ?ɔ̃ⁿ] [kã= [Ø tìplípàⁿ] má bèn =?,
 [Art dog] [with [Art monkey] IpfvNeg get.along.Ipfv Neg,
 [ā wùⁿ?ùⁿ té] kò yá [mlɛ̃ⁿ nī],
 [3Inan head Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg [like.this Loc],

A: ‘You see, the dog and the monkey don’t get along. Its origin [focus] is (=was) just like that.’

[generic ‘dogs’ and ‘monkeys’; Ma dialect wùⁿ?ùⁿ for úⁿ?ú ‘head’ (§3.1.1.6, §3.3.6); < /kã ē tìplípàⁿ/; ‘its head’ here means in context ‘its origin’ or ‘its cause’; té inanimate focus marker (§13.1.1); mlɛ̃ⁿ nī ‘like this/that’ (§8.5.5.1)]

(01:48) [ē kitàⁿ fɔ́ráⁿ] à-mā [à nī]
 [Art truth too] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]

B: ‘There is truth therein.’

(01:49) donc [ā dèrà?à] má dī?è =?,
 so [3Inan tale] Ipfv.Neg be.long.Ipfv =Neg
 [jèròⁿ ká à-mā] [[bì tò?ó] kò á],
 [Rel Past be.Loc] [[Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg],

A: ‘So, its (=the) tale is not long. What(-ever) was there (in the tale), this [focus] is how it was.’

[< /dèrà?à má/; Past ká with locational ‘be (somewhere)’; discourse-definite bì (in other dialects bèn) with focus-marking tò?ó (inanimate focus té is less common in this combination, but possible); kò (y)á ‘be that (deictic)’]

(01:53) [ē bè?è-nò] káⁿ-káⁿ
 [Art ruin.Pfv-Agent.Sg] ought
 [kò lɛ̃ⁿ] bè-kà-tó
 [Hort be.chased.away.Base] thus-Foc

B: ‘It’s appropriate that one who ruins (things) be chased away like that.’

[káⁿ-káⁿ variant of ká-káⁿ < Jula (§17.4.3.3); bè-kà-tó (§8.5.5.2.1).]

Jean-Pierre (C) intervenes briefly:

(01:57) é! [bè tò?ó] já [ē bũⁿ?ɔ̃ⁿ]
 hey! [Dem.Def Foc let.Pfv [Art dog]
 mà nī [Ø tìplípàⁿ] ...
 if see.Base [Art monkey] ...

C: ‘Hey, that [focus] is why if a dog sees a monkey,’

[C has been eavesdropping but intervenes here (there is some speaker overlap so the end of C’s segment is inaudible)]

(02:00) e! [ē bɛ̃ⁿ] ní-mā
 hey! [Art harmony] not.be
 [[kà [ō gě]] tìɛʔé] =ʔ,
 [[with [3Pl Recip]] between] Neg,
 A: ‘There is no peace (=mutual understanding) between (=for) each other.’
 [*< bɛ̃ⁿ ; gě reciprocal (§18.4.3); kà ō gě tìʔé is a fixed expression*]

(02:04) [ò bié]—
 [Pl all]—
 [[ē bũʔʔʔ] kã = [Ø tìplípàⁿ]] ní-mā [bɛ̃ⁿ ní],
 [[Art dog] with [Art monkey]] IpfvNeg [peace Loc],
 já bũʔʔʔ—
 cause dog—
 B: ‘They both—. The dog and monkey are not at peace, because a dog—.’
 [*ní-mā makes sense in the context, but tape sounds like just mā*]

(02:07) [ē nũ-kè té] =yà
 [Art water-matter Foc.Inan] it.is
 já [ē nũ-kè té] =yà
 cause [Art water-matter Inan.Foc] it.is
 A: ‘It’s the business about the water [focus].’
 B: It’s because of the business about the water [focus].’
 [*< /nũ-kè té/ with kě ‘matter, affair, issue’*]

(02:09) [ē jùèʔé] wò ká tàⁿ-jũʔʔ [ò biéʔ],
 [Art God] Hort Sbjn help.Base [3Pl all],
 [kō sũʔʔ] [Ø bɛ̃ⁿ]
 [Hort give.Base [Art peace]]
 B: ‘May God help all of them! (And) give (them) peace!’

Text 2017-03 Two old men and the warthog (tale)

duration 03:24

A: **Ouattara La** (Flaso *quartier*), narrator

B: **Coulibaly Jean Bakari** (Masaso *quartier*), respondent

(00:02) [nó yíé] dè [wátórá lá],
[1Sg name] Quot [Ouattara La],

A: ‘My name is Ouattara La.’

[dè quotative particle (or perfective verb ‘said’); Ouattara is the family (clan) name, La is a given name for the third son]

(00:05) ó nà gǔ= [Ø dǎràʔá jī],
1Pl Fut narrate.Base [Art tale Indef],

[ē cǔfǔ-fē nī]
[[Art Tiefo-language] Loc]

A: ‘We will tell a tale in Tiefo language.’

[< /gǔ ē/; gbà/gǔ/gǔ~gǔ ‘hit’ or as here ‘tell (a tale)’; fē ‘language’ dropped to -fē as compound final (§5.1.1.1)]

(00:08) [kō yíʔí— [ē nā-dì-ǔ],
[Infin go.Base [Art old.man-Pl],

ǰ bà jūǔʔǔ dē= [Ø nā-dì-ǔ],
2Sg if hear.Base Quot [Art old.man-Pl],

A: ‘(The tale) goes to (=is about) old men. If you-Sg hear (about) old men,’

[plural of nā-dè ‘old man’ (other dialects have ná-dè, ná-dì-ǔ (cf. @ 00:34 & 00:35 below); bà ‘if’]

(00:12) [ē nā-dì-ǔ] má káⁿ [kò sǔ-sǔ [ò díngǔ-rǔ]
[Art old.man-Pl] IpfvNeg ought [Hort contradict.Base [PlRefl Recip]

A: ‘Old men should not contradict (=disagree with) each other.

[káⁿ (§17.4.3.3, cf. §8.5.4.3); sǔ-sǔ < Jula sǔ-sǔ; reciprocal (§18.4.1)]

(00:15) ē kēⁿ-dì-ǔ [yūō jǔⁿ]
Art old.man-Pl [people two]

B: ‘Two old men.’

[an alternative word for ‘old men’, singular kēⁿ-dè; yūō jǔⁿ with human numeral classifier (§4.6.1.2)]

- (00:16) [ē kēⁿ-dì-ò [yūō jōⁿ]
[Art old.man-Pl [people two]
má káⁿ [gò sò-só [ò dígò-rò],
Neg ought [Hort contradict.Base [PIRefl Recip],
A: ‘Two old men should not contradict each other.’
- (00:19) [à būō— būō [[kā jèrⁿ] nī],
[3Inan be.gotten.Pfv— get.Pfv [[manner Rel Loc],
A: ‘The way in which it happened, ...’
- (00:22) ē nā-dì-ò [yūō jōⁿ],
Art old.men [people two],
bon, ò dèⁿ?éⁿ,
well, Sg one,
A: ‘(There were) two old men. Well, one (of them), ...’
- (00:26) [dè bó bà yī?í [[jōⁿ dè] nī] kūⁿ?úⁿ
[say.Pfv LogoSg if go.Base [[3AnSgRefl field] Loc] today]
A: ‘... said, “if I go to my field today, ...” ’
[logophoric subject binds regular third person reflexive possessor (§18.1.1)]
- (00:28) dè [[ē jùè?é] lēⁿ [= èⁿ n̄]]
Quot [[Art God] accept.Pfv [3Inan Loc]]
[[ē jùè?è] á lēⁿ [= èⁿ n̄]]
[[Art God] PfvNeg accept.Base [3Inan Loc]]
A: ‘(said:) “... (whether) God accepts it or (whether) God doesn’t accept it, ...” ’
[willy-nilly conditional antecedent (§16.3) consisting of parallel positive and negative clauses joined without a pause; speaker later suggested adding yō ‘whether’ at the end of both parallel clauses; < /lēⁿ à nī/]
- (00:31) [bó dè] nà kō [kūⁿ?úⁿ bè]
[LogoSg field] Fut finish.Base [today Top.Inan]
A: ‘ “...my field will be finished this very day.” ’
- (00:32) é, [kō tārāⁿ]
huh!, [Infin sit.Base]
[kō dò [bè tò?ò=] [[Ø dèrà?á] nī]]
[Infin say.Base [Dem Foc] [[Art courtyard] Loc]]
B: ‘Huh? (He) sat and said that [focus] in a courtyard!’
[i.e. in a public place (in front of others); Ma dialect dèrà?á for dórá?á]
- (00:34) kō dò [bè tō?ò=] [[Ø nā-dè dígò?ò] bà?à]
Infin say.Base [Dem.Def Foc] [[Art old.man other] Dat]
A: ‘(And he) said that [focus] to another (=a different) old man.’
[infinitival kō dò ‘say’ with NP object, compare kō dè ‘say’ followed by quotation (§11.3); dative postposition bà?à with ‘say’ (§8.1.1)]

- (00:35) [è ná-dè dígàʔà] bàʔ= =ā
 [Art old.man other] Dat Q
 B: ‘To another old man?’
 [interrogative = ā (§13.2.2.1)]
- (00:37) [ē nā-dè dígàʔà] dè é
 [Art old.man other] say.Pfv huh?
 A: ‘The other old man said, “huh?”
 [i.e. ‘you said what?’ (incredulous)]
- (00:38) [donc dō-wē [Ø jùèʔé-nì] [à nī]
 [so, say.Base-put.Base [Art God-portion] [3Inan Loc]
 A: ‘(other old man:) “So, (you must) consult with God about it!” ’
 [imperative, spoken by the other old man; dō-wē combines ‘say’ and ‘put’, i.e. ‘speak’ and ‘take note (of what the interlocutor says)’; ē jùèʔé-nì ‘God’s role (contribution)’ functioning as a noun, here as object of ‘put’, cf. @ 02:56 and 03:10 below]]
- (00:39) [dè= [Ø ʃi-kā-bō jùèʔé] tē,
 [say.Pfv [Art what.kind? God] Q,
 é!
 huh?
 A: ‘(first old man) said “What kind of God?” ’
 B: ‘Huh?’
 [dismissive reply by the first old man; < /dè ē/; ʃi-kā-bō (§13.2.3.6.2)]
- (00:41) dè [bó tōʔó]—
 say.Pfv [LogoSg Foc]—
 dè [bó tōʔó] là [[ɔⁿ miāʔá] nī]
 say.Pfv [LogoSg Foc] believe.Pfv [[3AnSgRefl Refl] Loc]
 A: ‘(The first old man said:) “I [focus] am sure of myself.” ’
 [expresses self-confidence (or arrogance)]
- (00:43) [kō pē [dè= [Ø jùèʔé] á sà̀r̀àⁿ bó]]
 [Infin forget.Base [Quot [Art God] PfvNeg take.down.Base LogoSg]]
 B: ‘(He) forgot that God didn’t bring him down.’
 [‘forget’ with quotative complement (§17.3.4); < /sār̀àⁿ bó/; invariant transitive sār̀àⁿ ‘take down, compare intransitive sār̀àⁿ/sár̀úⁿ/sár̀úⁿ ‘descend’ (§9.3.2)]
- (00:45) [[bó à sīⁿ [Ø [kē-ʃùⁿʔàⁿ]] ʃɪná] nī,
 [[LogoSg Ipv work(v).Ipfv [Art [work(n)]] situation] Loc.
 A: ‘(He said:) “(This is) the way I work (=do things).” ’
 [sīⁿ ~ ʃɪⁿ ‘perform (work)’; ʃɪná nī ~ ʃɪná nī ‘manner’ (§15.3.2)]

(00:47) [dè á] dè [Ø dúrná bíé] à jī = nì
 [say.Pfv oh] Quot [Art world all] Ipfv know.Ipfv 3InanObj
mā-jī
 if.you.see

A: '(First old man) said, "Ah, everybody knows about it."'

B: "You see?"

[*'all the world' = 'everybody', cf. French tout le monde ; B's comment expresses surprise*]

(00:50) *donc*, ðⁿ tà = á-dàⁿ,
 so, 3AnSg Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
 [ðⁿ gā = [à nī] kpàpìò-kpàpìò-kpàpìò
 [3AnSg be [3Inan Loc] digging.furiously

A: 'So, when he had arrived, he was at it (=farming) furiously.'

[*tà á-* (§15.3.5.5); < /kō à nī/ ; *kpà-pìò* is an iterable expressive adverbial (§8.5.8) denoting the process and sound of hitting the earth and pulling inward with a *daba* (hoe) while weeding around crop plants, partially segmentable, cf. *kpà-kpà(-kpà)* 'rat-tat-tat!' (frenetic activity) and *pìò*, a quasi-onomatopoeia for digging earth]

(00:55) [ē dē-tò] ká pēⁿ
 [Art field-remainder] Past remain.Base
 [[ē gblì] [ò sáⁿ]],
 [[Art ridge] [Pl three]],

A: 'The remainder (not yet worked part) of the field had remained (just) three rows.'

[*ká* past (§10.3.1.1); *gblì* here denotes a ridge between furrows in a plowed field]

(00:58) a! [ē sǒ jī], ē —
 ah! [Art pig Indef], Art —
 [ē dòsò-kèⁿ] ...
 [Art hunter]
 [ē dòsò-kèⁿ] ðⁿ mlēⁿ = òⁿ,
 [Art hunter] 3AnSg shoot.Base 3AnSgObj,

A: 'Ah! (There was) a warthog, A— (hesitation).'

B: 'A hunter—'

A: 'A hunter, he shot it.'

[*more properly pō?ō-sǒ 'bush pig', i.e. warthog; -kèⁿ (§5.1.6.8); 3AnSg object enclitic = (y)ò*]

(01:04) ðⁿ kā = à-séⁿ —
 3AnSg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base —
 B: 'It (=warthog) had lain down.'

- (01:05) ɔ̃ⁿ gō bà-séⁿ,
 3AnSg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base,
 [[ē gbli] [ò sáⁿ]] sà-tīēʔé,
 [[Art ridge] [Pl three]] across,
 A: ‘It (=wounded warthog) came and lay down, across (the) three rows.’
[slightly emended at speaker’s request]
- (01:10) [ē kěⁿ] tà= á-dǎⁿ= [[Ø gbli-lè-tòʔò] nī]
 [Art fellow] Past go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art ridge-tear.Pfv-place] Loc]
 [dāʔá jèré lò],
 [time Rel.InanPl after],
 ‘When(-ever) the fellow (=the farmer) had arrived at the outer edge (of the field),
 ...’
- (01:13) [ē sǒ=] Ø-mā gō kǎⁿ,
 [Art pig] be.Loc be Dem.AnSg,
 A: ‘... there was the warthog!’
[< /ē sǒ à-mā/; presentative construction, with à-mā ‘be (somewhere)’ added in Fl dialect (§4.4.4.2)]
- (01:15) ē dīé!
 Art sauce
 [ē dīé =rē] =à
 [Art sauce even] it.is
 B: ‘(Meat for) sauce!’
 A: ‘It is (meat for) sauce indeed!’
[=rē ‘even’ (§19.1.6); ‘it is’ enclitic (§11.2.1.1)]
- (01:19) é [ē nā-dè] ɲà =nì,
 oh! [Art old.man] see.Pfv 3InanObj,
 [[ē lāⁿlèⁿ] yīʔē-fīʔi]
 [[Art appetite] get.up.Pfv]
 A: ‘Oh! The old man saw it. Appetite for meat arose ...’
[i.e. as described]
- (01:21) [ɔ̃ⁿ kō gbē [Ø fīʔé]]
 [3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base [Art daba]]
 [kò mē= [Ø sǒ]],
 [Infin shoot.Base [Art pig]],
 A: ‘... (and) he picked up the daba (=hoe) and shot (it at) the warthog.’
[i.e., he hurled it at the warthog (direct object)]

- (01:24) à kō jō [[ðⁿ jðⁿ?ɔⁿ] nī]
 3Inan Infin get.caught.Base [[3AnSg neck] Loc]
 à kō jō, [[ē sǒ]— [[ē sǒ] jðⁿ?ɔⁿ nī]
 3Inan Infin get.caught.Base, [[Art pig]— [[Art pig] neck] Loc]
hǒp!

oops!

B (anticipating): ‘It (=daba) got caught around its (=warthog’s) neck!’

A (overlapping): ‘It (=daba) got caught, around the warthog’s neck!’

B: ‘Oops!’

[*a daba (=hoe) used for weeding has a curved blade coming off the wooden shaft at an angle, so it can hook around someone’s neck*]

- (01:28) [è sǒ] gò yíyí-ʃíʃí [kà lō],
 [Art pig] Infin get.up.Base [with 3Inan],
 kō gð-dǎrá —
 Infin keep.going.Base
 bābāwò! bābāwò! bābāwò! bābāwò!
 (gallop) (gallop) (gallop) (gallop)
 A: ‘The warthog got up with it (daba).’
 B: ‘(It) kept going—’
 A (overlapping): gallop! gallop! gallop! (imitates sound)
 [kà lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’ (§4.3.2.4) ; cf. adverb bā-bàʔa ‘quickly; hard’]

- (01:31) ... ðⁿ ʃīē
 ... 3AnSg behind
 [ē nā-dè] kò tá-[cǎrúⁿ-jùʔð] [ðⁿ ʃīē],
 [Art old.man] Infin do.again.Base-[run.hard.after.Base] [3AnSg behind],
 bābāwò! bābāwò! bābāwò!,
 (gallop) (gallop) (gallop),
 B: ‘(unintelligible) ... after it.’
 A: ‘The old man too ran hard after it. Gallop! gallop!’

- (01:35) ò kō ʃíʔíʔíⁿ
 3Pl Infin run.Base
 ò kō ʃíʔíʔíⁿ [kō ʃíʔíʔíⁿ]
 3Pl Infin run.Base [Infin run.Base]
 B: ‘They ran.’
 A: ‘They ran, and ran.’
 [*repetition of infinitival VPs to indicate duration*]

- (01:38) *álè* *fó→* —
 all.the.way until —
mā-jī
 if.you.see
 A: ‘All the way until—’
 B: ‘You see?’
 [*álè* and *fó→* (§8.3.10.2, §19.1.7)]
- (01:40) [*ē* *dè*] *kō* *à-yíí* [*wō* *dàⁿ*],
 [Art sun] Infin come.Base-go.Base [Infin arrive.Base],
 [*ē* *kùⁿʔⁿ*]
 [Art early afternoon]
 A: ‘The sun went and arrived, early afternoon.’
 [*kō à-* with nonliteral use of ‘come’ (§15.2.3.2)]
- (01:42) [*ē* *dè*] [*sē-dīē*]-*dàʔà*
 [Art sun] [set.Pfv-enter.Base]-time
 B: ‘The time when the sun sets and goes in (=dusk).’
 [*compounds with -dàʔà* < *dáʔá* ‘time’ (§5.1.7.7)]
- (01:44) [*ē* *kùⁿʔⁿ*] *tà=* *á-dàⁿ*,
 [Art early.afternoon] Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
 [*ē* *kùⁿʔⁿ*] *kō* *bà* [*∅=* *à-líⁿ*]
 [Art early.afternoon] Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-cool.off.Base]
jó= *ò* *kō* [[*ò* *dígè-rò*] *ʔīē*],
 if 3Pl be [[PIRefl Recip] behind],
 A: ‘When the early afternoon had arrived, (when) the early afternoon cooled off, they were after each other (=in a chase).’
 [*jí* ‘if’ plus infinitival clause (§15.2.1.2)]
- (01:48) [*ʔⁿ* *wō* *kēⁿ*]
 [3AnSg Infin tilt.Base]
 [*ʔⁿ=* *∅* *klè-pōⁿ*] [[*∅* *sǒ*] *nī*],
 [3AnSg PfvNeg do.Base-be.able.Base [[Art pig] Loc],
 A: ‘He leaned over (to reach the warthog), (but) he couldn’t do it on the warthog.’
 [< *ʔⁿ á* 3AnSg PfvNeg; *-pōⁿ* ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1)]
- (01:51) [*ē* *dè*] *kō* *à-yíí*
 [Art sun] Infin come.Base-go.Base
 [*kò* *só-dīē* *wàré*],
 [Infin set.Base-enter.Base totally],
 ‘The sun had gone and completely set and gone in (=under).’
 [*i.e., in total darkness*]

- (01:54) á!, [ē dè] sē-diē [[dāʔá jərɔ̃ⁿ] nī],
 ah!, [Art sun] set.Pfv-enter.Base [[time Rel] Loc],
 A: ‘Ah, when the sun had set and gone under, ...’
- (01:58) [ē sǒ], kà= á-dàⁿ
 [Art pig], Infin go.Base-arrive.Base
 [[ē kèʔè-rè-ʔé jǒ-rē] nì] dǎrɔ̃ⁿ→,
 [[Art Gardenia-Pl Indef-InanPl] Loc] only,
 A: ‘... when the warthog arrived at some *Gardenia erubescens* trees,’
 [kà= á- (§15.2.3.3.2); this *Gardenia* species is a densely-branched shrub in savanna, singular kèʔé, plural in this dialect usually kè-rè-ʔé ; jǒ-rē ‘some, certain ones’, inanimate plural of indefinite jī (§4.4.2.3); dǎrɔ̃ⁿ→ (§19.2.1)]
- (02:02) [ē fīʔé] kō gàn-glú [kō dī-só]
 [Art daba] Infin detach.Base [Infin fall.Base]
 dè páŋá láⁿ
 say.Pfv (ding!)
 A: ‘..., the daba fell off (the warthog’s neck).’
 B: ‘It went “ding!” ’
 [‘detach’ plus ‘fall’ = ‘fall off’; páŋá láⁿ ‘ding, clang’ (ringing sound of metal)]
- (02:05) [[ē tǒʔǒ] nì] páŋá láⁿ,
 [[Art place] Loc] (ding!),
 [ē dè dó] kò yá sē,
 [Art sun however] be Dem.InanSg set.Pfv,
 A: ‘In the place, (it went) “ding!” Look, the sun had already set.’
 [presentative construction with clausal scope (§4.4.4.3)]
- (02:08) [ē bliʔí] yūō
 [Art night] turn.black.Pfv
 [ē dè] á bá-kǒ-pǒⁿ =?
 [Art field] PfvNeg cultivate.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Neg
 A: ‘Night fell.’
 B: ‘The field couldn’t finish being cultivated.’
 [i.e. there was not enough time to finish the farm work; ‘night fell’ subject-verb collocation (§11.1.1.4)]
- (02:10) [ē dè] á bá-kǒ-pǒⁿ =?
 [Art field] PfvNeg cultivate.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Neg
 é!
 oh!
 A: ‘The field was unable to finish being cultivated.’
 B: ‘Oh my!’

- (02:12) [ē t̩ʔ̩] p̩èⁿ, [[ē gbl̩] [ò sáⁿ]] nā-d̩ⁿʔ̩ⁿ,
 [Art place] remain.Pfv, [[Art ridge] [Pl three] one,
 ‘The place remained, with only three rows (of crops) left (to cultivate).’
 [< /gbl̩ ò/ ; nā-d̩ⁿʔ̩ⁿ ‘one, only’ is usually human (§19.2.3)]
- (02:14) é [[ē gbl̩=] [ò sáⁿ]],
 oh! [[Art ridge] [Pl three]],
 [â dó] cùðⁿ m̄
 [3Inan however] spend.night.Pfv there.Def
 B: ‘Oh! The three ridges, they spent the night (uncultivated) there.’
- (02:14) [â dó] cùðⁿ m̄,
 [3Inan however] spend.night.Pfv there.Def,
 A: ‘Their (crops) spent the night (uncultivated) there.’
- (02:15) donc, ɔⁿ dè [[yèrè-f̩r̩á]-f̩è j̩r̩óⁿ], á→
 so, 3AnSg say.Pfv [[bravado]-words(n) Rel],
 ǎ= Ø g̩ð-s̩ = d̩ɛ?
 3Inan PfvNeg be.right.Base Emph
 ǎ= Ø [g̩ð-s̩]-p̩ɔⁿ = ?
 3Inan PfvNeg [be.right.Base]-be.able.Base Neg
 B: ‘So the boastful talk that he spoke, ah!’
 A: ‘It wasn’t justified at all!’
 B: ‘It couldn’t be justified!’
 [< Jula yèrè-f̩l̩á ; < f̩ɛ ; < g̩ð-s̩ ‘be agreed on; be acceptable’ (§8.5.4.2)]
- (02:20) donc, [â dí-cùⁿʔ̩úⁿ] n̄, [ē nā-d̩] k̩ —,
 so, [3Inan next.day] Loc, [Art old.man] Infin —,
 [[ē s̩r̩í] f̩úʔ̩ = ò b̩è-k̩]
 [[Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj thus]
 A: ‘So, the next day, the old man (went)—, he was humiliated like that.’
 [lit. “shame caught (him)” (§11.1.1.6)]
- (02:25) [ò á-n̄] [ɔⁿ nā-d̩ díg̩ʔ̩ð̩],
 [Infin go.Base-see.Base] [3AnSgRefl old.man other]],
 A: ‘(and) went and saw his (=the) other old man, ...’
- (02:27) hé→, [bó tá d̩] [f̩ɛ j̩r̩óⁿ]
 hey, [LogoSg Past say.Base] [talk(n) Rel]]
 [d̩ [bó d̩] n̄ k̩] d̩ = [[Ø s̩b̩ɛ] n̄], d̩ —
 [Quot [LogoSg field] Fut finish.Base] Quot [[Art candor(n)] Loc, Quot —
 A: ‘(He said:) “hey, the words that I had said, that my field would be finished (in one day), to be honest, —” ’

- (02:31) [ē sáábú] má kíⁿ =? =?
 [Art cause(n)] is.not be.a.lot.Ipfv Neg
 B: ‘The reason (of the problem) isn’t important.’
 [this segment is poorly audible]
- (02:31) é→ dè nánò, é→ [ē kàʔá-kà-kàʔà jī]
 hey Quot friend, hey [Art plump.game.animal Indef],
 [gà = á-glú [ŋ nī]] dè = [Ø sǒ] = yà,
 [Infin go.Base-exit(v).Base [1Sg Loc]] Quot [Art pig] it.is,
 A: ‘(He said:) “hey, my friend, a plump game animal appeared to me. It was a warthog.”’
 [gà = á- variant of kà = á- (§15.2.3.3.2); 1Sg reflexive proclitic ŋ in logophoric context (§18.1.1)]
- (02:37) [bó gblè [ʔⁿ fīʔé] [tǎʔǎ jèrⁿ]]
 [LogoSg take.Pfv [3AnSg daba] [place Rel]]
 [dè bó nà mé-kō]
 [Quot LogoSg Fut shoot.Base-kill.Base]
 A: ‘(He said:) “Where I picked up my daba, intending to shoot (=fling the daba) and kill (the warthog).”’
- (02:39) [ē dǒsó-kèⁿ = rē] kā = à-mé-màdím = = ò,
 [Art hunter even] Infin come.Base-shoot.Base-wound.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘(He said:) “(in fact) a hunter had shot and wounded it.”’
 [màdímí ‘wound (v)’ < Jula]
- (02:42) [bó mlēⁿ = òⁿ [tǎʔǎ jèrⁿ]]
 [LogoSg shoot.Pfv 3AnSgObj [place Rel]]
 [ʔⁿ fīē [kà [bó fīʔé]]],
 [3AnSg pass.Pfv [with [LogoSg daba]]],
 A: ‘ “Where (=when) I shot (the daba) at it, it went away with my daba.”’
 [< /mlēⁿ = ò/]
- (02:45) [fó kò yō = [Ø blīʔí]]
 [until Infin spend.night.Base [Art night]]
 [bó = rē] á bú-pōⁿ [Ø sǒ],
 [LogoSg even] PfvNeg get.Base-be.able.Base [Art pig],
 A: ‘ “Even after (my) spending all night (chasing), I myself was unable to get (=catch) the warthog.”’
 [< /kō yó ē/; yūō/yó/yó~yú ‘(sb) spend night, do all night’ with following noun ‘night’]
- (02:47) [ē dè dá =] á kō =?, =?,
 [Art field however] PfvNeg finish.Base Neg,
 A: ‘ “The field did not get finished.”’
 [< /dó á/]

- (02:49) *donc* [[bè tɔʔɔ] nī], [ē nā-dè] dè *oui*,
 so [[Dem.Def place] Loc], [Art old.man] say.Pfv yes,
 A: ‘So at that point, the old man said “yes.” ’
[he acknowledged that the other old man was right]
- (02:53) [dè tɔʔɔ] já,
 [Quot Foc] let.Pfv,
 ñ mā jè [[Ø dúrná] nī],
 2Sg if see.Ipfv [[Art world] Loc],
 A: ‘Therefore, if you-Sg see that, in the world (of the living), ...’
[< /ñ bà jè è/; one would expect bè tɔʔɔ já with discourse-definite demonstrative bè; ‘see (that ...)’ without quotative complementizer dè (§17.2.2)]
- (02:54) ñ bā dè [má= ā klè= [Ø kě]],
 [2Sg if say.Base [2Sg Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art matter]],
klè= [Ø kě]
 do.Ipfv [Art thing]
 A: ‘If you say (=intend) that you (will) do a (certain) thing, ...’
 B (echoing): ‘... do something.’
[dè ‘say’ is logically present but not audible on recording; < /mó à klè ē/; kě ‘thing (abstract), matter’; perfective dè ‘said’ after bà ‘if’]
- (02:56) [wē [Ø jùèʔé-nì] [à nī],
 [put.Base [Art God-portion] [3Inan Loc],
wálà→
 right!
 A: ‘..., put (=include) God’s role in it!’
 B: ‘Right!’
- (02:58) [ē jùèʔé] — [ē jùèʔè] á kíⁿ = ʔ,
 [Art God] — [Art God] PfvNeg be.thin.Base Neg,
 A: ‘God—, God is not small.’
- (03:00) mâ dò dè [mó— kō [Ø nā-dè]],
 Proh say.Base Quot [2Sg— be [Art old.man]],
 dè= [Ø nā-dè dígòʔò jì] má wìè-tàʔà mó
 Quot [Art old.man other Indef] IpfvNeg help.Pfv 2Sg
 A: ‘Don’t say (=think) that you being an old man, another old man won’t (be able to) help you.’
[má wìè-tàʔà future negative (with Pfv verb) (§10.2.5.4)]

- (03:05) [kà, [ē cè-cīʔé]]
 [with [Art intelligence]]
 è yákàrì
 Art intelligence
 A: ‘With (his) intelligence.’
 B (overlapping): ‘Intelligence.’
 [*synonym yákàrì ‘intelligence’ < Jula hákílí (< Arabic)*]
- (03:07) Ø ɲō nā-dè = ò,
 2Sg be old.man whether,
 lēⁿ = [[Ø jùèʔè dó] nī],
 accept.Base [[Art God Poss.Inan] Loc],
 A: ‘Whether you are an old man, accept God’s (role)!’
 [*< ɲ kō ; clause-final = ò in willy-nilly parallel construction (completed in the following segment)*]
- (03:10) Ø ɲò bí-ʃīⁿ = òⁿ,
 2Sg be child whether,
 lēⁿ [Ø jùèʔé—
 accept.Base [Art God’s
 lēⁿ = [[Ø jùèʔè dó] nī],
 accept.Base [[Art God Poss.Inan] Loc],
 wálà→
 right!
 A: ‘Whether you are a child, ...’
 B: ‘Accept God’s—’
 A: ‘... accept God’s (role)!’
 B: ‘Right!’
- (03:13) [[ē jùèʔé] bā dè = [Ø kě-kě]]
 [[Art God] if say.Pfv [Art Rdp-matter]]
 [[bè tōʔá =] ā klè],
 [[Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.done.Ipfv],
 ‘If God says (=ordains) things, that [focus] is how it happens.’
 [*< /bè tōʔó à klè/*]
- (03:16) [nó būō = nì [tòʔò jàróⁿ]],
 [1Sg get.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
 [bè tōʔó] kò yá,
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
 A: ‘(There) where I found it (=the tale), that’s it!’
- (03:18) á→, àncé, [ē jùèʔé] wò tàⁿ-jūʔō [Ø mié]
 ah, greetings!, [Art God] Hort help.Base [Art 1Pl]
 A: ‘Ah, thank you! May God help us.’
 [*Jula à nì cé (all-purpose greeting); 1Pl mié in a blessing (§4.3.1.4)*]

Text 2017-04 Djinns and old-time people (tale)

duration: 07:21

A : *Jean-Pierre Ouattara* (Jinejan *quartier*), narrator

B : *Coulibaly Jean Bakari* (Masaso *quartier*), respondent

[B also contributes to the narrative in places]

(00:02) *donc*, *á!*, [è *ná-bí-ó*], [*Jean-Pierre* *tóʔó*] *klē-bà*,
so, oh!, [Art person-Pl], [JP Foc] return.Pfv-come.Base,
Jean-Pierre *kà—*
JP with—

kētèklú

(name)

kētèklú

(name)

bè *tòʔó*

(name) Foc

[*é-yùò* *tó-ró* [*nūō* *jōⁿ*]] *klē-bà*,
[1Pl Foc-AnPl [people two]] return.Pfv-come.Base,

A: ‘So, people, Jean-Pierre [focus] has come back. J-P with ...’

B: ‘Keteklu.’

A: ‘... Keteklu.’

B: ‘That’s it.’

A: ‘It’s us [focus] two who have come back.’

[*kētèklú* is a name of *Coulibaly Jean Bakari*; *tó-ró* animate plural focalizer (§13.1.1); noun or pronoun preceding numeral can be focalized (§6.4.1, §13.1.2.2)]

(00:14) *ó* *nà* *ká-tōrāⁿ*,
1Pl Fut do.again.Base-sit.Base,
[è *díjǎ—*, *-[nùʔð-súʔú]-kà* *jī* *nī*],
[Art world—, *-[mouth-catch.Nom]-manner* Indef] Loc],

A: ‘We will shift (the talk) to a way of the world’s origin.’

[*ká-* ‘(do) again’ (§15.1.3.2); *ká-tōrāⁿ* ‘sit again (a different way), move over while sitting’; *mouth-catch* = ‘begin’ (§17.5.1); *-kà* ‘manner of’ (§5.1.7.2)]

(00:20) *kà—*, [è *járíⁿ-ní—*, [ɲ *tòʔò*] *nī*]
with—, [Art djinn-Pl]—, [(nasal) place] Loc]
kà— [è *ná-bí* *jórámá*],
with— [Art people very.good],

A: ‘With the djinns’ place, and the humans.’

[*djinns*, i.e. *genies*, *supernatural beings*; ‘good (=true) people’, i.e. *humans as opposed to djinns*; *pre-resumption nasal* (§3.1.1.10)]

- (00:28) *parce que, è fó— [ē [ɲùʔó-sūʔō]-dàʔà]*
 because, (hesitation)— [Art [mouth-catch.Pfv]-time]
dī-nā-dèⁿ
 long.ago
[dī-nā-dèⁿ]-dàʔà, [dī-nā-dèⁿ nī] [dī-nā-dèⁿ nī],
 [long.ago]-time, [long.ago Loc] [long.ago Loc],
 A: ‘Because, the origin time.’
 B: ‘Long ago.’
 A: ‘Long ago (time), long ago, long ago.’
[–dàʔà ‘time of’ < dáʔá ‘time’ (§5.1.7.7); dī-nā-dèⁿ, cf. ná-dè ‘old man’]

- (00:37) *[è ná-bí ɲórámá tóʔó] ká à—*
 [Art person very.good Foc] Past be.Loc
mā mā = [[Ø jórⁿ] ānàʔà] nī]
 be.Loc there.Def [[[Art djinn] face] Loc]
[bó tóʔó] Ø-mā [[è jór =] ānàʔà] nī]
 [3AnSg Foc] be.Loc [[[Art djinn] face] Loc]
 A: ‘A (true) human [focus] was—
 B: ‘—was there ahead of (=superior to) a djinn.’
 A: ‘They (=humans) were ahead of a djinn.’
[smooth out as kā à-mā mā ‘was/were there’]

- (00:46) *[ò bíé] jù] ká =ā ɲè [ò dígè-rò]*
 [3Pl all] eye] Past Ipfv see.Ipfv [PIRefl Recip]
[[ò bíé] jù] ká =ā ɲè [ò dígè-rò],
 [[3Pl all] eye] Past Ipfv see.Ipfv [PIRefl Recip],
 B: ‘Everybody’s eyes could see each other.’
 A: ‘Everybody’s eyes could see each other.’
[the djinns were not invisible as they are now; < /jū ká à ɲè/ ‘eye(s)’]

- (00:49) *à gā būo—, [è jèr—]*
 (hesitation), (false start)—
[è ná-bí ɲórámá] mā dè jèrⁿ,
 [Art person very.good] if say.Base Rel,
[è jórⁿ] à jīⁿ [bì tóʔó],
 [Art djinn] Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Foc],
 A: ‘Whatever the human said (to do), that [focus] is what the djinn would perform.’
[combination of ‘if’ with jèrⁿ]

- (00:53) δ^n $m\bar{a}$ $d\bar{e}$ $j\bar{a}r\acute{o}^n$,
 3AnSg if say.Pfv Rel,
 $\delta^n =$ \emptyset $f\bar{r}^n$ $[b\bar{i}$ $t\acute{o}?\acute{o}]$
 3AnSg Ipfv work(v) [Dem.Def Foc],
 $[\bar{e}$ $j\acute{a}r\bar{i}^n]$ \bar{a} $f\bar{r}^n$ $[b\bar{i}$ $t\acute{o}?\acute{o}]$,
 [Art djinn] Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Dem.Def Foc],
 A: ‘Whatever he said, ...’
 B: ‘That’s what he (=djinn) would perform.’
 A: ‘... that’s what the djinn would perform.’

- (00:57) \bar{e} $k\bar{a}$ —
 (false start)—
 $[\bar{e}$ $j\acute{a}r\bar{i}^n-n\bar{i}]$ $k\bar{o}$ — \bar{a} $c\bar{o}?\bar{a}-d\acute{o}r\bar{a} =$ $[\emptyset$ $n\bar{a}-b\bar{i}$ $j\acute{o}r\bar{a}m\bar{a}]$,
 [Art djinn-Pl] Infin— Ipfv fear.Ipfv-do.a.lot [Art person very.good],
 $[\bar{f}\acute{o}\rightarrow$ $t\bar{a} =$ $[\emptyset$ $\bar{e}?\acute{e}$ $j\bar{i}]$
 [until like [Art thing Indef]
- A: ‘The djinns were—, very afraid of a human, like something (awesome).’

- (01:04) $[\delta^n$ $m\bar{a}$ $y\bar{i}?\bar{i}-j\bar{i}?\bar{i}$ $[\bar{e}$ $c\bar{u}^n?\acute{u}^n]$ $[\delta^n$ $m\bar{a}$ $d\bar{e}$ $=?$],
 [3AnSg if get.up.Base [Art morning] [3AnSg IpfvNeg sleep.Ipfv Neg],
 $\acute{e}!$
 oh!
 δ^n $m\bar{a}$ $d\bar{e}$ $=?$, $[\bar{e}$ $b\bar{l}\bar{i}?\bar{i}]$, $k\bar{a} =$ $[\emptyset$ $d\bar{i}?\bar{e}]$
 3AnSg IpfvNeg sleep.Ipfv Neg, [Art night], and [Art daytime]
 A: ‘When he (=Masa Solo) would get up in the morning, he wouldn’t sleep.’
 B: ‘Oh my!’
 A: ‘He wouldn’t sleep! Night and day!’
 [Masa Solo was the human who acted as boss of the djinns]

- (01:11) δ $k\bar{o}$ $[[\emptyset$ $k\bar{i}-s\bar{u}^n?\delta^n]$ $n\bar{i}]$
 3Pl be [[Art work(n)] Loc]
 δ $k\bar{o}$ $[[\emptyset$ $k\bar{e}-s\bar{u}^n?\delta^n]$ $n\bar{i}]$
 3Pl be [[Art work(n)] Loc]
 B: ‘They are at work.’
 A: ‘They are at work.’
 [dialectal variants for ‘work (n)’]

- (01:13) ē [tə̀ràⁿ-wò]-ní—
 Art [rest(v).Base]-VblN—
 [ē tə̀ràⁿ-wò-ní =rè] ní-mā [à nī]
 [Art rest(v).Base-VblN even] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 jî= [Ø ná-bí jórámá] á dò dē ðⁿ tārāⁿ-wō,
 if [Art person very.good] PfvNeg say.Base Quot 3AnSg rest(v).Base,
 ðⁿ má tārēⁿ-àⁿ-wō =?,
 3AnSg IpfvNeg rest(v).Ipfv Neg,
 A: ‘Rest—’
 B: ‘There was no rest therein.’
 A: ‘Unless the human told him (=a djinn) to rest, he didn’t rest.’
 [verbal noun < tārāⁿ-wō ‘sit-rot’ = ‘rest, relax’ (base); quoted imperative]

- (01:17) ðⁿ tá à fā= [Ø kēⁿ]
 3AnSg Past Ipfv seek.Ipfv [Art fellow]
 donc [è ná-bí jórámá] jərɔⁿ, bè jərɔⁿ =à,
 so [Art person very.good] Rel, Dem.Def Rel it.is,
 [ðⁿ yíé] dè māsā, māsā sòló, māsā sòló,
 [3AnSg name] Quot M, M S, M S,
 B: ‘He would seek out the fellow (=Masa).’
 A: ‘So the human in question, the one who it was, his name was Masa, Masa Solo.’
 [Solo short for Suleyman; for māsā cf. māsà-cé ‘chief’]

- (01:25) [bó tóʔó] ká kò [(Ø) jíríⁿ— ānàʔà-nò],
 [3AnSg Foc] Past be [Art djinn— face-person],
 ɔⁿ māsà-cé
 3AnSg chief
 māsà-cé, ɲ māsā sòló,
 chief, (nasal) M S,
 A: ‘He [focus] was the djinn boss (=boss of the djinns).’
 B: ‘His boss.’
 A: ‘Boss. His Masa Solo.’
 [māsà-cé ‘chief’ < Jula, sometimes partially nativized as māsā-kèⁿ ; the final ɔⁿ can be edited out]

- (01:34) donc, é—
 so, uh—
 [è jíríⁿ] kā= à-tārāⁿ [kō jī [ò dígè-rò]]
 [Art djinn] Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Infin see.Base [PlRefl Recip]]
 A: ‘So, uh—’
 B: ‘The djinn(s) then sat down and saw each other (=held a meeting).’
 [emend to plural jíríⁿ-ní]

- (01:52) *ò má tārēⁿ-àⁿ-wō [à ní],*
 3Pl IpfvNeg rest(v).Ipfv [3Inan Loc],
ò kō à-tārāⁿ [kō klè [ō gě-nì-ní]]
 3Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Infin do.Base [PIRefl Recip-see.Base-VbIN]]
ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc

B: 'They didn't rest therein. Then they came and sat together to hold their meeting.'

A: 'It happened thus.'

[*kō à-* for *kō bà-* with *bà* 'come']

- (01:56) *ō nà [ò dígò-rò],*
 3Pl see.Pfv [PIRefl Recip],
dè→, bùò nà nê? = [ē jùè?é],
 say.Pfv, 3Pl Fut beg.Base [Art God].

B: 'They saw each other (=met). (They) said, "we will pray to God." '

[< /*nê?è ē*/]

- (01:59) *[ē jùè?é] kō wē [è jū-yùrà-ní]*
 [Art God] Infin put.Base [Art invisibility]
kā = [Ø nà-bì jórámá] tì?é,
 with [Art person very.good] between,

B: '(Pray) that God put invisibility between (djinnns) and humans.'

['invisibility' based on *jū* 'eye(s)' and a variant of verbal noun 'becoming black']

- (02:02) *fš→ [jâršⁿ jū→] wùò?ó,*
 must [Rel eye] be.open.Base,
[bó tò?ó] nà jī bùò
 [3AnSg Foc] Fut see.Base 2Pl
wá!ā→
 right!

B: 'It must be one whose eyes are open (=who can see), he [focus] will see you-Pl.'

A: 'Right!'

[*fš* 'must' with base of verb (§17.1.7); possessor relative; cf. negative counterpart @ 02:05 just below]

- (02:05) *jí [jâršⁿ jù] á wùò?ó = ?,*
 if [Rel eye(s)] PfvNeg be.open.Base Neg,
[ò tò bíé] nà jī bùò
 [3Pl other all] Fut see.Base 2Pl

B: 'If (there is/you are) one whose eye has not opened (=is blind), all the others will see you-Pl.'

[< /*jū á*/]

- (02:08) jí mó kō [bǎ nī] [kà [Ø fé]],
 if 2Sg be [come.Prog Prog] [with [Art talk(n)]],
 mó dè jèr⁵ⁿ = [Ø tī-tārāⁿ], à kō kà-tó,
 2Sg say.Pfv Rel [Art truth], 3Inan be like.that,
 A: ‘If you-Sg are bringing the words, what you said is true. It’s like that.’
[normally predicative [ē tī-tārāⁿ] = yà ‘it’s true’]

- (02:11) mais, mó mà nī, mó jō = [Ø tòʔò],
 but, 2Sg if see.Base, 2Sg look.at.Base [Art place],
 [[ē pōʔō] līⁿ], mó má jě = [Ø tǎ-ré jǎ-rē] = ē,
 [[Art the.bush] guts], 2Sg IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Art hole-Pl Indef-InanPl] Q,
 [ē sùŋmǎ-rèⁿ wǎ-rúⁿ]
 [Art rock-Pl head-Pl]
 [ē sùŋmǎ-rèⁿ wǎ-rúⁿ]
 [Art rock-Pl head-Pl]

A: ‘But if you-Sg see, you look at the place— (look) out in the bush! Do you not see some pits?’

B: ‘Piles (“heads”) of rocks.’

A: ‘Piles (“heads”) of rocks.’

[‘look’ may be imperative, or else part of the conditional antecedent (with second mà ‘if’ irregularly omitted); the pits are certain topographic features said to be constructed by djinns; singular úⁿúⁿ (Ji) = wùⁿúⁿ (Ma) ‘head’, here a conspicuous heap; dialectal variants, singulars sùŋmǎʔè (Ma) and sùŋmǎʔè (Ji)]

- (02:19) ō dǎ = [Ø sèpùⁿʔùⁿ], ē sèpùⁿʔùⁿ-ní
 3Pl say.Pfv [Art rock.pile], Art rock.pile-Pl
 ē sàfùⁿʔùⁿ-ní
 Art rock.pile-Pl
 ē sèpùⁿʔùⁿ— [ē sùŋmǎ-rèⁿ] [kèⁿ-tó]-[kèⁿ-tô =]-[Ø = rè],
 Art rock.pile— [Art stone-Pl] [Rdp]-[be.piled.up.Pfv]-[thing-Pl]
 A: ‘They call (it) a rockpile. Rockpiles.’
 B: ‘Rockpiles.’
 A: ‘Rockpile—. Rocks, (things) piled up.’
[compound final < /ǎ-ré/ ‘things’]

(02:24) **ká** [ē tìʔé jèrɔⁿ] plē-plē, [[[ē pòʔó] lɪⁿ] nī],
like [Art hole Rel] Rdp-be.dug.Pfv, [[[Art the.bush] guts] Loc],

à bíé—

3Inan all—

[è jérɪⁿ-ní]...

[Art djinn-Pl]...

à bíé—

3Inan all—

... [kɪ-sùⁿ?ɔⁿ]-tɔʔɔ, é!

... [work(n)]-place, oh!

A: ‘The pits that have been dug all around in the bush. All of it—’

B: ‘The djinns’ ...’

A: ‘All of it—’

B: ‘... place of work. Oh my!’

[i.e. topographic features created by the djinns; **ká** (Ji dialect) ‘like, similar to’, in other dialects **tá** (§8.5.1); **lī nī** ‘inside’ used with ‘the bush’ (§8.3.3)]

(02:31) **donc**, **mó** **mà** **jī** [ē tìʔé], **mó** **mà** **ló-fó**—
so, 2Sg if see.Base [Art hole], 2Sg if turn.Base-pass.Base—

má = **á** **jī** [Ø tìʔé jī] **plē** **fāⁿ?āⁿ = āⁿ,**

2Sg PfvNeg see.Base [Art hole Indef] be.dug.Pfv here Q,

A: ‘So, if you see a pit, if you go around (it) and keep going—. Have you not seen that a pit has been dug here?’

(02:35) **mā-jī** [Ø sɪ-sɛràʔà] á—
if.you.see [Art earth.heap] (hesitation)—

[ā sɪ-sɛràʔà-tɔʔɔ] nī—

[3Inan earth.heap]—

mā-jī [Ø sɪ-sɛràʔà] [[à kpɛʔɛ] nī]

if.you.see [Art earth.heap] [[3Inan proximity] Loc]

[à bíé] lè-yìʔí

[3Inan all] be.gathered.Pfv-go.Base

A: ‘You see, piles of earth—’

B: ‘The place of those earth heaps...’

A: ‘You see, earth heaps next to them (=pits).’

B: ‘... All of them were gathered up and taken away.’

[i.e. the djinns removed the telltale piles of earth near where they had excavated; 3Inan possessor **à** as quasi-definite; **lè-yìʔí** (Ma pronunciation) ‘was gathered and went (=took away)’]

(02:40) [à bíé] ā lò-à-glō
 [3Inan all] Ipfv be.gathered.Ipfv-Ipfv-remove.Ipfv
 [comme [Ø kláʔá tù-tùʔù]]
 [like [Art shell(n) big]]
 é!, jǎ→ ò ká gō [[[ò dígè-rò] sègé] nī] = dē?
 oh!, lo! 3Pl Past be [[[PIRefl Recip] weary(v).Prog] Prog] Emph
 à yīʔē-kō
 3Inan go.Pfv-finish.Base
 mā-jī,
 if you see,

A: 'All of them are (=have been) gathered up and taken away, like a big shell.'

B: 'Oh! Lo, they were wearing each other out!'

A: 'It went away (=disappeared).'

B: 'You see?'

[< /lò-à-glō/; tù-tùʔù 'big' (§4.5.3.2.2); progressive with preverbal object (§10.2.4.1), here reciprocal; sègè 'get tired' or transitive 'weary (sb)' < Jula, cf. Tiefo-D blè/bē/blē ~ blī]

(02:47) donc, ò kō tārāⁿ [kò jɔ [ò dígè-rò]] bè-kā
 so, 3Pl Infin sit.Base [Infin look.at.Base [PIRefl Recip]] thus
 ò k-ā bē bè-kā, ò kō [bè nī] bè-kā,
 3Pl Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv thus, 3Pl be [Dem.Def Loc] thus,
 B: 'So, in that way they sat and looked at each other (=held a meeting)!'
 A: 'They came like that, they were (involved) therein thus.'

(02:52) donc, é!, [māsā sòlól], bon,
 so, oh!, [M S], well,
 [è ná-bí] má klě= [Ø kě] kòʔòni,
 [Art person] IpfvNeg do.Ipfv [Art thing] carelessly,
 A: 'So, ah! Masa Solo, well, a person doesn't do something carelessly.'

(02:59) [è wágátí j=] à-mā,
 [Art time Indef] be.Loc,
 [[dó-à dó-à dó-à] nà
 [[Poss.Inan-2SgPoss (repetitions)]
 [kò [dó-à dó-à] nà dǎ nì
 [be [Poss.Inan-2SgPoss (repeat)]
 [dó-à náà dī nà
 [Poss.Inan-2SgPoss
 [dó-à n̄ [[Ø dǎⁿ] nī]]
 [Poss.Inan-2SgPoss Loc [[Art boundary] Loc]]

A: 'There are some times, yours (=your endurance) will reach your limit'.

[< /wágátí jī à-/ ; beginning with dó-à (with 2Sg possessor suffix, §4.3.1.2) the transcription is approximate and the markup and translation are very unclear; passage seems to be based on dó-à dǎⁿ = [[Ø dǎⁿ] nī] 'your (possession) has reached its limit']

(03:05) *bon—*
well—

[*ē kè bíé*] *kǎ=* [*∅ dǎʳ*] =à
[Art thing all] with [Art boundary] it.is
[*ē kè bíé*] *kǎ=* [*∅ dǎʳ*] =à,
[Art thing all] with [Art boundary] it.is,

A: ‘Well, —’

B: ‘Every thing is with (=has) a limit.’

A: ‘Every thing is with (=has) a limit.’

[< /*ē kǎ bíé kǎ ē dǎʳ*/; ‘it is’ enclitic = (y)à (§11.2.1.1)]

(03:08) *ǎʳ— ǎʳ klè bè, [è kèʳ],*
3AnSg— 3AnSg do.Pfv Dem.Def, [Art fellow],
ǎǎ→, [è kèʳ] lēʳ [∅ jùʔé-cíʳ]
lo! [Art man] stand.Pfv [Art top]

A: ‘He did that. The fellow (=Masa Solo). Lo, the fellow stood up high.’

(03:13) *ē jùʔé—, [ē jùʔé] sūʔō [ǎʳ ní]*
Art God—, [Art God] take.Pfv [3AnSg life]

ǎʳ ní
3AnSg life

ǎʳ lēʳ [[∅ jùʔé-cíʳ] [kō kō]
3AnSg stand.Pfv [[Art top] [Infīn finish.Base]

A: ‘God—, God took his life (force).’

B [overlapping] ‘his life (force).’

A: ‘He stood up high and was finished.’

[*Masa Solo had died (unbenownst to the djinns) but was still standing, propped up by a cane*]

(03:18) *ǎʳ pūʔō—*
3AnSg stick(n)—

[*pùʔō jàʳóʳ*] *ǎʳ= ∅ yé [kà lō]*
[sick Rel] 3AnSg Ipfv walk.Ipfv [with 3Inan]

[*pūʔō jàʳóʳ*] *ǎʳ= ∅ yé [kà lō]*
[sick Rel] 3AnSg Ipfv walk.Ipfv [with 3Inan]

A: ‘The stick—’

B: ‘The stick that he walked with.’

A: ‘The stick that he walked with.’

[*relative head is complement of preposition (§14.2.4); ‘stick’ can be pronounced with level-M or with LH tone*]

- (03:20) [bè tòʔó] k=ā lĕⁿ =òⁿ
 [Dem.Def Foc] Infin-Ipfv make.stand.Ipfv 3AnSgObj
 [bè tóʔó] k-ā klè
 [Dem.Def Foc] Infin-Ipfv make.Ipfv
 [ɔ̄ⁿ pièⁿ?èⁿ [ò sáⁿ-nò]]
 [3AnSg leg [Pl three-Ord.Hum]]

B: ‘That [focus] was holding him up (keeping him standing).’

A: ‘That [focus] was made (=was functioning as) his third leg.’

[human ordinal -nò (§4.6.2.3) because this “leg” is autonomous, not part of the man]

- (03:22) [[[ðⁿ lĕⁿ mā] sɪjǎ] nī],
 [[[3AnSg stand.Pfv there.Def] situation] Loc,
 [è jórɪⁿ-ní dá=] ā jè [ðⁿ lĕⁿ-kàʔà],
 [Art djinn-Pl however] Ipfv see.Ipfv [3AnSg stand.Pfv-Ppl.An],
 A: ‘The way he stood there, the djinns still saw him standing.’
 [sɪjǎ nī (§15.4.3.2); < /dó à jè/; -kàʔà animate participle (§4.5.4)]

- (03:26) ðⁿ wūō =ā
 3AnSg die.Pfv Q
 ðⁿ wūō =ā
 3AnSg die.Pfv Q
 ðⁿ wūō =ā
 3AnSg die.Pfv Q

A: ‘Had he died?’

B: ‘Had he died?’

A: ‘Had he died?’

[the djinns wondered whether he was dead]

- (03:28) ò má kā= [[Ø kǝⁿ] nī]
 3Pl IpfvNeg be [[3Inan know.Prog] Prog]
 ò kō [[Ø kē-sùⁿ?ðⁿ] nī]
 3Pl be [[Art work(n)] Loc]

B: ‘They weren’t aware of it.’

A: ‘They were (still) at work.’

[< /kō à/; progressive negative (§10.5.6); note the structural similarity between the progressive ‘be knowing’ and the construction ‘be [at work]’]

- (03:30) \dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $[[\emptyset \quad k\bar{i}-s\bar{u}^n?d^n \quad t\acute{e}] \quad \bar{n}]$
 3Pl be [[Art work(n) Foc.Inan] Loc]
 $k-\bar{a}$ $y\bar{i}y\bar{i}$ $s\bar{u}\rightarrow$
 Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv continuously
 \dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $[[\emptyset \quad k\bar{e}-s\bar{u}^n?d^n \quad t\acute{e}] \quad \grave{n}] \quad d\acute{a}r\acute{o}^n$
 3Pl be [[Art work(n) Foc.Inan] Loc] only

B: ‘They were at work [focus], they kept going.’

A: ‘They were at work [focus] only!’

[$k-\bar{a} \quad y\bar{i}y\bar{i}$ (Ma) equivalent to $k-\bar{a} \quad y\bar{i}y\bar{i}$ (Bi Ji)]

- (03:32) \dot{o} $m\acute{a}$ $t\bar{a}r\bar{a}^n-w\bar{o}$ =?,
 3Pl IpfvNeg rest(v).Ipfv Neg,
 $j\check{a}\rightarrow$ [=à $k\hat{e}^n$] $w\bar{u}\bar{o}$
 lo! [Art fellow] die.Pfv

A: ‘They didn’t rest. Lo, the fellow had died.’

- (03:36) *donc*, \dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $j\bar{n}=\quad [\emptyset \quad k\hat{e}^n] \quad m\bar{a}$ $j\acute{o}^n-j\acute{o}^n?d^n$,
 so 3Pl Infin see.Base [Art fellow] there.Def motionless,
 [á! $b\bar{u}=\quad \acute{a}$ $k\bar{o}^n$] [$b\bar{u}\bar{o}$ $n\acute{a}$ $t\bar{e}$ = $n\bar{i}$ —]
 [oh! 3Pl PfvNeg know] [3Pl Fut put.down.Base 3InanObj—]

A: ‘So, they saw the fellow there motionless. Ah, they didn’t know. They were going to handle (the situation).’

- (03:43) [\grave{a} $d\acute{o}$] $m\acute{a}$ $k\bar{u}^n$ [\dot{o} $n\bar{i}$]
 [3Inan however] IpfvNeg be.manageable [3Pl Loc]
 [\dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $d\bar{a}^n-p\bar{o}^n$ [\dot{o}^n $n\bar{i}$]
 [3Pl Infin arrive.Base-be.able.Base [3AnSg Loc]

A: ‘It was not feasible for them to reach to where he was.’

[$k\bar{u}^n < Julia$]

- (03:44) [\dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $j\bar{o}$ [\dot{o} $d\acute{i}g\grave{e}-r\grave{e}$],
 [3Pl Infin look.at.Base [PlRefl Recip],

\dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $f\bar{a}=\quad [\emptyset \quad fl\acute{i}-k\grave{e}]$
 3Pl Infin seek.Base [Art termite-Pl]

$d\grave{e}\rightarrow$, \dot{o} $k\bar{o}$ $n\grave{e}?\grave{e}$ —
 Quot, 3Pl Infin ask.Base—

B: ‘Then they looked at each other (=met). They looked for termites.’

A: ‘(They) said, they asked—.’

[singular $fl\acute{i}-k\grave{a}$ (§5.1.7.1)]

- (03:49) [è [flí-kò]-[ānà?à-nò], donc d= ò yì?í,
 [Art [termite]-[chief], so Quot 3Pl go.Base,
 [ē pù?ó jèr?n] kò yá tiē [[Ø kēⁿ] kùⁿ?óⁿ],
 [Art stick Rel] be Dem.InanSg be.put.Base [[Art fellow] beside],
 B: ‘The termite chief. So (he) told them to go. There was the stick, placed next to the fellow.’

[< /dè ò/; quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1); kò yá presentative with clause (§4.4.4.3); < /kêⁿ/ flattened to kēⁿ; postposition kùⁿ?óⁿ ‘beside’ (§8.3.4.4)]

- (03:54) comme [è yúó] má dāⁿ-āⁿ-plūⁿ
 like [Art person] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv
 [kā= à-dò [Ø fé] [ōⁿ bà?à]],
 [Infin come.Base-speak.Base [Art word(s)] [3AnSg Dat]],
 B: ‘Since nobody (=no djinn) can manage to get close (to Masa Solo) in order to speak to him,’

[< -plūⁿ Ipfv of -pōⁿ ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1); imperfective infinitive as purposive (§17.6.2.1)]

- (03:56) ðⁿ ŋ-ā té =nì
 3AnSg Infin-Ipfv put.Ipfv 3InanObj
 [[[ðⁿ wí] dó] nī],
 [[[3AnSg owner] Poss.Inan] Loc],

B: ‘(so that) he (=Masa Solo) accepts it in the fellow’s (djinn’s) benefit,’

[< ðⁿ k-ā with k nasalized; ðⁿ wí ‘his owner’ = ‘the fellow’ previously introduced into the discourse (§18.5.1.2)]

- (03:58) donc ò kō fā= [Ø flí-kò],
 so 3Pl Infin seek.Base [Art termite],
 [ò kò yì?í— ò kò dī [Ø fīⁿ?íⁿ],
 [3Pl Infin go.Base— 3Pl Infin eat.Base [Art wood]
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc

B: ‘So, they looked for termites, to eat the wood.’

A: ‘It happened like that.’

- (04:02) [ē fīⁿʔīⁿ] kò glú— [ē fīⁿʔīⁿ] diè-só dáróⁿ→,
 [Art wood] Infin exit(v).Base— [Art wood] fall.Pfv only,
 ē kèⁿ fǎráⁿ, hàyà, ʔⁿ wūō, jǎ→ ʔⁿ wūō,
 Art fellow too, well, 3AnSg die.Pfv, lo! 3AnSg die.Pfv,
 ʔⁿ wūō-[dì-só],
 3AnSg die.Pfv-[fall.Base]
 wálà→
 right

B: ‘The wood (=the cane) came out— (or rather) the wood just fell. The fellow too, well, he had died. Lo, he had died. He fell down dead.’

A: ‘Right!’

[< /kǎⁿ fǎráⁿ/]

- (04:08) donc, [è jíríⁿ-ní] kō sàrò
 so, [Art djinn-Pl] Infin proceed.to.Base
 [kò bú [ò miàʔá]], kō nèʔè= [Ø jùèʔé],
 [Infin get.Base [PlRefl Refl]], Infin ask.Base [Art God],
 dē bù= à nèʔè= ʔⁿ,
 Quot LogoPl Ipv ask.for.Base Dat.3AnSg,
 B: ‘So, the djinns proceeded to become free. (They) begged (=pray to) God, (saying) that they ask Him.’
 [‘get oneself’ = ‘escape, become free’; 3AnSg ditransitive dative ʔⁿ (§8.1.2)]

- (04:15) ʔⁿ (kò) náʔá [ʔⁿ jū]
 3AnSg (Infin) redden.Base [3AnSgRefl eye]
 [kō wē [Ø fū-blèʔè]]
 [Infin put.Base [Art darkness]]
 [[bùō kà= [Ø nà-bì jórámá]] tìʔé],
 [[3Pl and [Art person real]] between],

B: ‘He (=God) mightily put darkness (=invisibility) between them (=djinn) and a real person (=a human).’

[‘redden one’s eye’ = ‘apply oneself energetically, make a serious effort’]

- (04:17) [bùò fǎráⁿ] gò bú [ò miàʔá],
 [3Pl too] Hort get.Base [PlRefl Refl],
 [jáⁿgò kò ká bú= — [è ní] dón]
 [so.that Hort Sbjn get.Base— [Art life] a.little]
 [bè kò bú [bùò bàʔà],
 [Dem.Def Hort be.gotten.Base [LogoPl chez],

B: ‘So they too could be free, in order to get (=have) some life, so (that) that (i.e. life) may be had in their (own) midst.’

[purposive jáⁿgò (§17.6.2.4); ní ‘life, vital signs’ < Jula; dón ‘a little’ < Jula; bàʔà ‘chez, at the place of’ (§8.1.1)]

- (04:23) *jáⁿgò* *bùò— ì* *sègè,*
 so.that 3Pl— (nasal) fatigue,
 [*ē jī*] *gò glú-já* [*à nī*]
 [Art something] Infin exit(v).Base-leave.Base [3InaSg Loc]
 [*ē jī*] *gò glú* [[*ō bè-ní*] *nī*]
 [Art something] Infin exit(v).Base [[3Pl fatigue] Loc]
wálà→
 right!

B: ‘So that some(thing) of their suffering might go away (=be diminished).’

A: ‘(So that) some(thing) of their suffering might go away.’

B: ‘Right!’

[*sègè* (< *Jula sigéⁿ*) and *bè-ní* mean ‘fatigue, physical suffering’; *ō* in *ō bè-ní* sounds like *kō bè-ní* on the recording but only *ō bè-ní* or perhaps *bùò bè-ní* would make sense here]

- (04:27) *ńó,* *ā* *klè* *kà-tó,*
 look.Base, 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc,
 [*è fé*] *klè* *kà-tó* [[[*mó dè*] *sìná*] *nī*],
 [Art talk(n)] be.done.Pfv thus-Foc [[[2Sg say.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 [[[*ñ*] *dí?ē* = *nì*] *sìná* *nī*],
 [[[2Sg hear.Pfv 3InanObj]’ situation] Loc],

A: ‘Look! It happened like that. The talk happened like that, the way you-Sg said— (or rather) the way you heard it.’

- (04:32) [*à dé*] *klè* *kà-tó,*
 [2Sg however] be.done.Pfv thus-Foc,
ńó *ò yì?è* [*k= ó-nè?ē=* [*Ø klò?ó*] *bè-kà-díⁿ*],
 look.Base 3Pl go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-ask.Base [Art road] thus],
 A: ‘It happened thus. Look, they went and took their leave in that situation.’
 [subject-final *dé* ‘however’ here emphasizes the surprising element (§19.3.8)]

- (04:35) *dè=* [*Ø jù?é bà?à*], *comme, bon,* [*yá jàróⁿ*] *klè,*
 Quot [Art God Dat], like, well, [Dem.InanSg Rel] be.done.Pfv,
òⁿ mâ já, [[*è ná-bí jórámá*] *kō—*
 3AnSg Proh leave.Base, [[Art person very.good] Infin—
ńè *bùò*
 see.Ipfv LogoPl
ńè *bùò,*
 see.Ipfv LogoPl,

A: ‘(They) said to God, like, “well, (with) that which has happened, you-Sg mustn’t allow a human to—

B: —see us.” ’

A: —see us.” ’

[quotation with 3AnSg for original addressee and LogoPl for original IPl (§17.1.4); *já* ‘let, allow’ with infinitival complement (§17.4.2.5.4), repair interrupted sentence as [*k-ā ńè bùò*]]

- (04:42) ðⁿ mā jā= [Ø ná-bí jérámá] kò—
 3AnSg Proh leave.Base [Art person very.good] Hort—
 [kò commander bùò],
 [Hort govern LogoPl],
 A: ‘ “You mustn’t allow a human to rule over us.” ’

- (04:44) donc [bùò tǎ-ró] kò—, būō kò jè [Ø ná-bí],
 so [LogoPl Foc-AnPl] Hort—, LogoPl Hort see.Ipfv [Art person],
 [è ná-bí] mā wò jè bùò,
 [Art person] Proh Hort see.Ipfv LogoPl,
 A: ‘ “So we [focus] must, we must (be able to) see a human, (but) the human must not (be able to) see us.” ’
[quoted prohibitive in hortative form, positive then negative; subject focalization anticipating subject switch]

- (04:49) donc, à kō pēⁿ [bè nī],
 so, 3Inan Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def Loc],
 ō sùʔè, é! bè— [[Ø fí-kò jè-ró] bàʔà],
 3Pl give.Pfv, ah! Dem.Def— [Art termite-Pl Rel-AnPl] Dat],
 é! sǝⁿ= [Ø bǎrá],
 ah! work(v).Base [Art work(n)],
 A: ‘So, it remained in that (situation). They arranged, that—, the termites to whom (they said), hey, do the work!’
[rather broken passage; bǎrá ‘work (n)’ < Jula]

- (04:55) ō dè bon, kà-tó,
 3Pl say.Pfv well, thus,
 [è ná-bí] mà sǝⁿ [Ø kě]—
 [Art person] if work(v).Base [Art thing—]
 sǝⁿ [Ø kě] [é bàʔà],
 work(v).Base [Art thing—] [1Pl chez],
 fó mó fě =ò,
 must 2Sg greet.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘They said, “well, if the person (=termite) works among us, you-Sg must go greet (=welcome) him.” ’
[fó ‘must’ < French il faut (§17.1.7)]

- (05:00) Ø mà [=á-fé =ò],
 2Sg if [go.Base-greet.Base 3AnSgObj,
 [ðⁿ dó]— ñ nà sūʔᵛ jèrᵛ ðⁿ,
 [3AnSg Poss.Inan]— 2Sg Fut give.Base Rel Dat.3AnSg,
 [ðⁿ ɲó] kò lɪⁿ,
 [3AnSg heart] Infin be.cool.Base,
 A: ‘ “When you have gone and greeted (=thanked) him, his (rightful) share, what you will give him, his heart will be happy.’
 [*< /ñ bà/ ; jèrᵛ in headless object relative (§14.1.6, §14.2.2); ðⁿ 3AnSg dative in ditransitives (§8.1.2); ɲó ‘heart (abstract)’ as emotional center (§11.1.1.5); coolness associated with pleasure*]

- (05:06) á!, j= ó à tà-à-fē= [Ø flí-kà],
 ah!, Hort 1Pl Ipfv go.Ipfv-Ipfv-greet.Ipfv [Art termite-Sg],
 kò bí =ò, à má gbà-sō,
 Infin ask.Base 3AnSgObj, 3InanSsg IpfvNeg be.right.Pfv,
 A: ‘Ah, let us go address the termite and ask him, (otherwise) it wouldn’t be right.’
 [*tà-à- ‘and go(es) and’ (imperfective, §15.2.3); gbà-sō/gò-sō/gò-à-ʃī ‘(behavior) be right, correct, normal’; future negative with má plus Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)*]

- (05:09) á! [é-yùò dót-tò] pièⁿ
 ah [1Pl Poss.Inan-remainder] remain.Pfv
 wálà→, donc ò gò yíʔi= [[Ø flí-kò] bàʔà],
 right!, so 3Pl Infin go.Base [[Art termite-Pl] chez],
 B: ‘Ah, there remains the rest of our (tale).’
 A: ‘Right. They (=djinn) went to the place of the termites.’

- (05:14) est-ce que kátó bùò sùðⁿ
 Q when 2Pl work(n).Pfv
 [Ø kē-sùⁿ?ðⁿ yá jèrᵛ] mō→, est-ce que,
 [Art work(n) Dem.InanSg Rel] concerning, Q,
 bon, é-yùò nà sūʔᵛ= [Ø bí-mlèⁿ] [ðⁿ bùò],
 well, 1Pl Fut give.Base [Art how.much.money] [Dat 2Pl],
 A: ‘(They asked:) “Since you-Pl have done that work, well, how much money shall we give you-Pl?”’
 [*< /sūʔᵛ è/ ; mō→ here seems to be an interrogative topic marker (§19.1.4); bí-mlèⁿ ‘how much money?’ (§13.2.3.5.2); ðⁿ ditransitive dative preposition (§8.1.2); bùò is both LogoPl and 2Pl in Ji dialect, but here and in the following segment its contrast with 1Pl rules out a logophoric reading*]

- (05:19) *jó* [é-yùò *fē-nī*] *kō* [*būō* *bàʔà*],
 look.Base [1Pl greet-VblN] be [2Pl Dat],
jí [*būō* *kè*] *má* *glò*,
 if [2Pl matter] IpfvNeg it.is,
é-yùò *nà* *bè* *ʃɪⁿ* [[Ø *kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ*] *nī*] *mā*,
 1Pl CFact Fut work(v).Ipfv [[Art work(n)] Loc] there.Def,
 A: ‘(Djinns to termites:) “Look, our greeting (=thanks) is for you-Pl. If not for your-Pl involvement, we would (still) be performing work there.” ’
 [*< nà bè in counterfactual consequent, here with Ipfv (§16.4.1-3, §16.4.6), cf. nà kò ʃɪⁿ @ 05:42 below*]

- (05:22) *fɔ̃* ...
 until
donc—
 so—
 ... *á*, *ó* *kò* *wú-kō*
 ... ah, 1Pl Infin die.Base-finish.Base
 B: ‘(Djinns to termites:) “To the point that...
 A: So—
 B: ‘ “... ah!, for us to die (from overwork).” ’

- (05:25) [*è* *fí-kò*] *dè* *á!*, *áⁿʔàⁿ*,
 [Art termite-Pl] say.Pfv ah!, nope!,
 [*bùò* *kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ* *á* *jàɾɔⁿ*] *nó*— *bùò* *sùðⁿ* = *rē* = *ē*,
 [LogoPl work(n) Dem.InanSg Rel] 1Sg— LogoPl work(v).Pfv even Q,
 A: ‘The termites said: “Ah, nope! This work of ours that I— (that) we did?” ’
 [*1Sg pronoun nó is corrected to LogoPl bùò; this long relative clause is restarted in the middle; the normal phrasing would be bùò sùðⁿ = [Ø kē-sùⁿʔðⁿ á jàɾɔⁿ]*]

- (05:30) *é* *fòy* *ní-mā* [*à* *nī*] *kè*, *bùò*—
 oh! not.at.all not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc] Emph, LogoPl—
 [*būō* *sùð* = *nì*] [*ó* *kō* = [[Ø *dígè-rò*] *nī*]],
 [LogoPl work(v).Pfv 3InanObj] [1Pl be [[PlRefl Recip] Loc]],
 A: ‘(Termites:) “There’s absolutely no (payment) in (=for) it. We— We did it (=work), we are together (=solidary).’ ”
 [*the work was done freely, out of solidarity; Jula fòy ‘nothing at all’; kè (§19.4.5); ‘be together’ (§18.4.2)*]

- (05:36) *donc*, [*è* *jáɾɪⁿ*], [*è*→ *sácúɔⁿ*], [*è*→ *jáɾɪⁿ*] *à* *bē* *bè-kā*,
 so, [Art djinn], [Art devil], [Art djinn] Ipfv come.Ipfv thus,
dè *bon*, *comme*, *ò* *kō* *jō* = [*ò* *dígè-rò*],
 Quot well, like, 3Pl Infin see.Base [PlRefl Recip],
 A: ‘So, the djinn(s), the devil, the djinn(s) were coming in that way. (They) said, well, like, they looked at each other (=had a meeting).’
 [*sácúɔⁿ is a type of djinn who carries messages; < /kō jī ò/*]

- (05:42) *donc*, [è flí-kò],
 so, [Art termite-Pl],
 bùò nà kò ʃɪ̃— ʃɪ̃= [Ø b́rá j̀rɔ̃ⁿ],
 LogoPl CFact Hort work(v).Ipfv— work(v).Ipfv [Art work(n) Rel],
 A: ‘(Djinns:) “So, termites, the work that we would have (had to) do, ...”
 [*future nà combined with hortative kò and imperfective verb, cf. nà bè ʃɪ̃ⁿ @ 05:19 above and nă ʃɪ̃ⁿ @ 05:50 below*]
- (05:46) bù= á dò dē—, [dè é-yùò já mā]
 2Pl PfvNeg say.Base Quot—, [Quot 1Pl leave.Base there.Def]
 bùò— é-yùò mâ s̀rà= [Ø èʔé j̃i] = ā
 LogoPl— 1Pl Proh pay.Base [Art thing Indef] Q
 ... mā s̀rà= [Ø èʔé j̃i]
 ... Proh pay.Base [Art thing Indef]
 A: ‘(Djinns:) “Didn’t you-Pl tell us to abandon (it), that we mustn’t pay anything?”
 B (overlapping): ‘... mustn’t pay anything.’
 [*< bùò á ; ‘nothing’*]
- (05:50) *mais* bùò nă ʃɪ̃= [Ø b́rá j̀rɔ̃ⁿ],
 but LogoPl PastHabit work(v).Ipfv [Art work(n) Rel],
 t̃ʔ̃-t̃ʔ̃, [bùò k̀-èʔé] à-mā [à nī],
 Rdp-place, [LogoPl hand] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘ “But the work that we used to do, (in) various places, our hand is therein.” ’
 [*i.e. our handiwork is there; past habitual (§10.2.2.3)*]
- (05:56) té já, ñ mà ɲ̃= [Ø gó-wùⁿ],
 Dem.Def.Foc leave.Pfv, 2Sg if see.Base [Art termite.sp.head],
 [è gó-wùⁿ j̀ré],
 [Art termite-head Rel.InanPl],
 [è flí-kò]— [è flí-kò] m̀-è-m̀,
 [Art termite-Pl]— [Art termite-Pl] Rdp-build.Pfv,
 A: ‘Because of that, if you-Sg see termite mound(s), termite mound(s) that the termites—, the termites have built all over.’
 [*té já shortened from bè té já ‘that (focus) is why ...’ (§8.1.3); j̀ré inanimate plural relative (§14.1.1); gó-wùⁿ (Ji dialect for gó-wùⁿ?ùⁿ) ‘small termite mound’; iteration of ‘built’ indicating repetition or distribution*]

(06:00) [è nàʔá-fîèⁿʔèⁿ]
[Art termitary]

[è nàʔá-fîèⁿʔèⁿ mhm jèré] mè-mè
[Art termitary uh.huh Rel.InanPl] Rdp-be.built.Pfv

[è nàʔá-fîèⁿʔèⁿ]
[Art termitary]

B: ‘Termitaries.’

A: ‘Termitaries that have been built all over.’

B: ‘Termitaries.’

[B introduces an alternative term for ‘termite mound’]

(06:03) dè, ò mà á-wē [ō kè-tèʔè] [à nī],
Quot, 3Pl if go.Base-put.Base [PlRefl hand] [3Inan Loc],

est-ce que bù= à— yé, bù= à jī,
Q 2Pl Ipfv— oh!, 2Pl Ipfv know.Ipfv,

sǒ nà [Ø fí-kǎ] nū-gbā-tǎʔǎ
who? see.Pfv [Art termite-Pl] water-draw.water.Pfv-place

A: ‘If they go and put their hand(s) on it, do you-Pl—, oh! Do you-Pl know, who has seen the termites’ place for drawing water?’

[ō kè-tèʔè with reflexive possessor (§18.1.1); ‘place’ compound with verb and incorporated object (§5.1.7.3); verb gbā/gó/gó ~ gú ‘draw (water)’]

(06:08) ʂⁿʔǎⁿ, [è yúó jī] [n dèⁿʔèⁿ]
no!, [Art person Indef] [Sg one]

á nī [à nū-gbā-tǎʔǎ]
PfvNeg see.Base [3Inan water-draw.water.Pfv]

ò= Ø glú [kǎ= [Ø nū]] [Ø sè-kúⁿʔǎⁿ] bè-kā
3Pl Ipfv exit(v).Ipfv [with [Art water]] [Art wherever?] thus

B: ‘No, not one person could see its (=their) place for drawing water.’

A: ‘Where the hell did they come out with (=get) water like that?’

[i.e., they couldn’t see where the moisture was coming from; sē ‘where?’ extended as sè-kúⁿʔǎⁿ ‘wherever?’ (§13.2.3.3)]

(06:10) ā bùʔǎ fǎráⁿ =rē,
3Inan earth too even,

[è yúó jī] á nī =nì
[Art person Indef] PfvNeg see.Base 3InanObj

[è yúó jī] á nī =nì
[Art person Indef] PfvNeg see.Base 3InanObj

B: ‘Even the earth (was invisible).’

A: ‘Nobody could see it.’

B: ‘Nobody could see it.’

[< /bùʔǎ/]

- (06:13) wálà→, donc, è flí— jírín,
 right!, so, Art term[ite]— djinn,
 [bùò tó-ró] tà-à-gū = [Ø nū],
 [3Pl Foc-AnPl] go-Infv-draw.water.Infv [Art water],
 kò á-sū? = [ǎn [Ø flí-kò]],
 Infv go.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art termite-Pl]],
 A: ‘Right! So, the term[ites]— (or rather) the djinn(s), it’s they [focus] who go and draw water, and then go and give (it) to the termites.’
 [tà-à-Vb2 ‘to go and Vb2 (Infv)’, cf. tì-à-Vb2 dialectally (§15.2.3.3.3); < /kò á-/ ‘and go and’ (§15.2.3.3.2); < /á-sū?ǎ/]

- (06:18) è flí-kò
 Art termite-Pl
 è flí-kò
 Art termite-Pl
 ò k-ā mē [ō wù?ú] [ò k-ā yì?í]
 3Pl Infv-Infv build.Infv [PlRefl house] [3Pl Infv-Infv go.Infv]
 wálà→, donc, dè [[bùò dó] bòná té] ò bè,
 right!, so, Quot [[3Pl Poss.Inan] gift Foc.Inan] be Dem.Def,
 B: ‘Termites.’
 A: ‘Termites.’
 B: ‘Then they build their house (=mound) and go (about their business).’
 A: ‘Right! So, the reward for their (action) [focus] is that.’
 [i.e. ‘that [focus] is the ...’]

- (06:23) mó mà jī = [Ø flí-kò]—, [ē wù?ú] mē,
 2Sg if see.Base [Art termite-Pl], [Art house] be.built.Pfv,
 [è jírín tó? =] ā tà-à-ǎ-jū?ū = wò,
 [Art djinn Foc] Infv help.Infv 3PlObj,
 A: ‘If you-Sg see that termites—, (that their) mound has been built, the djinn(s) [focus] help them.’

- (06:27) wálà→ donc [bè nī], [è→ fē] kò nígbó,
 right!, so [Dem.Def Loc], [Art talk(n)] be short,
 [è ná-bí] [kú?ú nī]—
 [Art person] [today Loc]—
 á→, Ø má káⁿ [gò dì?è]
 ah!, 2Sg InfvNeg ought [Hort be.long]
 A: ‘Right! So with that, the talk is short. A person today—’
 B: ‘Ah, you mustn’t be tall (=proud).’

- (06:33) ðⁿ má káⁿ gò—, ðⁿ má káⁿ gò—,
 3AnSg IpfvNeg ought Hort—, AnSg IpfvNeg ought Hort—,
 klè—, mó è→, mó è→,
 do.Base, 2Sg Art—, 2Sg Art—,
 [ē kè bíé] [Ø bèn té] à-mā [à nī],
 [Art matter all] [Art harmony Foc.Inan] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘He mustn’t—, he mustn’t—, do—, you—, you—. (In) every matter, harmony
 (among people) is there.’
 [< /ē kě bíé/; > /ē bɛ̃ⁿ té/]

- (06:39) [è ná-bí] mà— tàⁿ-àⁿ-jū?ū =mì— tà-àⁿ-jū?ū =mì [kúⁿ?úⁿ nī],
 [Art person] if— help.Ipfv 2SgObj— help.Ipfv 2SgObj [today Loc],
 ò kò fó è—, jó [ò dígè-rò],
 3Pl Infin pass.Base Art—, look.at.Base [PIRefl Recip],
 kō sū?ō [Ø fē-nī] [ðⁿ [Ø dígè-rò]],
 Infin give [Art greet-VblN] [Dat [PIRefl Recip]],
 A: ‘If someone helps you-Sg today, they go and look at each other (=have a
 meeting), and then give greetings to each other.’
 [mì optional 2Sg object pronominal (§4.3.1.3)]

- (06:45) wálà→, ñ jà [è kě],
 right!, 2Sg see.Pfv [Art matter],
 [è bú-ní] ká à-mā [à nī],
 [Art get.Base-VblN] Past be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘Right! (if) you-Sg have seen (=discussed) the matter, there was a benefit
 there.’

- (06:48) wálà→, yá wō klè
 right!, Dem.InanSg Infin do.Base
 [yá jèr^o] mlɛ̃ⁿ-jī?é mō→,
 [Dem.InanSg Rel] like.this concerning,
 [kàⁿ fǎráⁿ] kō bà-d^o?ōⁿ [Ø bòná jèr^o] mō→,
 [Dem.AnSg too] Infin come.Base-add.Base [Art gift Rel] concerning,
 A: ‘Right! Concerning what that has done in this way, concerning the gift that that
 one (the benefactor) came and added (=gave),’
 [clause-final mō→ (§19.1.4); < /kǎⁿ fǎráⁿ/]

- (06:52) [[ò bíé] má klè—] [[Ø jī] nà dè]
 [[3Pl all] IpfvNeg be.done—] [[Art someone] Fut say.Base]
 [mó sūʔð= [Ø bú j=] [ɔ̃ⁿ bàʔà] lò],
 [2Sg take.Pfv [Art money Indef] [3AnSg Dat] Emph],
 á! á! á
 oh! oh! oh!

A: ‘Not everyone is made (the same)—. Someone will say that you-Sg received some money from him.’

B: ‘Oh! Oh!’

[negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); bàʔà dative denoting source (§8.1.1); clause-final lò (§15.3.5.6)]

- (06:56) mó sūʔð= [Ø bú j=] [ɔ̃ⁿ bàʔà] kǎⁿ,
 2Sg take.Pfv [Art money Indef] [3AnSg Dat] Dem.AnSg,
 ɔ̃ⁿ nà ká-[tàⁿ-jùʔð] mó mlěⁿ tē, jé→
 3AnSg Fut do.again.Base-[help.Base] 2Sg how? Q, oh!

A: ‘You-Sg received some money from him, that one. How will he help you again?’

- (06:59) [ē [tèⁿ-jūʔð]-tòʔð] ní-mā
 [Art [help.Pfv]-place] not.be.Loc
 [ē [tèⁿ-jūʔð]-tòʔð] ní-mā
 [Art [help.Pfv]-place] not.be.Loc
 [j̃ jùðⁿ [kī-fùⁿʔðⁿ j̃rɔ̃ⁿ],
 [2Sg work(v).Pfv [work(n) Rel],
 ō fîèʔè [bè— dó] [ɔ̃ⁿ mó]
 3Pl give.Pfv [Dem.Def— Poss.Inan] [Dat 2Sg]

B: ‘There is no way to help (=repay).’

A: ‘There is no way to help (=repay).’

B: ‘The work that you have done, they have given its (compensation) to you-Sg.’

[‘place’ compound (§5.1.7.3); fîèʔè Ma dialect for fîʔè ‘gave’ (§3.2.1.10)]

- (07:04) donc mó nà dè [d= ò ká-[tàⁿ-jùʔð] mó
 so 2Sg Fut say.Base [Quot 3Pl do.again.Base-help.Base 2Sg
 [kǎ= [Ø kèʔé]]]
 [with [Art what?]]]
 á jì-ní
 ah! Prsntv
 à→yí
 no!

B: ‘So with what (=on what basis) will you tell them to help (=repay) you any more?’

A: ‘Ah, there it is!’

B: ‘No!’

(07:07) *donc* [bè nī],
 so [DemDef Loc],
 [è fé kòni] à má dì?è =?, *donc, dè→*,
 [Art talk(n) Top] 3Inan IpfvNeg be.long.Ipfv Neg, so, Quot,
 A : ‘So with that, as for the talk (=story), it isn’t long (=is almost finished). So,’

(07:11) [jàrⁿ bùò [nó bà?à], [é-yùò bà?à]
 [Rel be.gotten.Pfv [1Sg chez], [1Pl chez]
 [bè tó?ó] kò yá,
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
 A: ‘What was gotten (=learned) by me, (or rather) by us, that [focus] is it. Thank you.’
 [< /būō nó/]

(07:14) *à-nì-cé*
 thanks
 [ē fē-nī] kō = [[Ø ná-bíó] bà?à]
 [Art speak-VblN] be [[Art person.PI] chez]
 [ē jùè?é] kō tē = [Ø mié] [[ò dígè-rò] nī]
 [Art God] Infin put.Base [Art 1Pl] [[PIRefl Recip] Loc]
merci
 thanks
 B: ‘Thanks.’
 A: ‘The greeting is for the people.’
 B: ‘May God put (=keep) us together (=in harmony).’
 A: ‘Thank you.’
 [*Jula à nì cé* ‘thanks’ (general greeting); *mié* (§4.3.1.4)]

Text 2017-05 Two girls and hare (tale)

duration 04:50

A: **Ouattara La** (Flaso *quartier*), narrator

B: *Coulibaly Jean Bakari*, respondent

(00:02) [lã tōʔó] klē-bà [kã = [Ø dèràʔá jī] —
 [La Foc] return.Pfv-come.Pfv [with [Art tale Indef]] —
 [ē dèràʔá jī] tàʔà-kó,
 [Art tale Indef] again,

A: ‘It’s La (name) [focus] who has come back with a tale again.’
[i.e. he has brought another tale, to add to a previous one]

(00:07) [è nó—] [ē dèràʔá] ń nà gò = nì,
 [Art (hesitation)] [Art tale] 1Sg Fut tell.Base 3InanObj,
 kà bákàrì, kúrúbàrí, [nó yíé] dè [wátórá lă],
 with B, K, [1Sg name] Quot [O L],

A: ‘The tale, I will tell it, with Bakary Coulibaly. My name is Ouattara La.’

(00:14) ó būō = nì—, [ē dèràʔá],
 1Pl get.Pfv 3InanObj, [Art tale],
 à būō-būō [[kã jèrʔⁿ] nī],
 3Inan Rdp-be.gotten.Pfv [[manner Rel] Loc],

A: ‘We got (=learned) it, the tale, in the (same) way it was (originally) gotten.’

(00:19) [[ē l̩] [yūō j̩ⁿ] jè-rò tó-ró]
 [[Art young.women] [people two] Indef-AnPl Foc-AnPl]
 yì-mā
 Past.Ipfv-be.Loc

A: ‘There were two young women [focus] (there).’
[l̩ suppletive plural of yīē ‘young woman’ (cf. §3.2.1.11, §3.3.9); j̩-r̩ animate plural indefinite jī (§4.4.2.3); yì-mā ‘was (somewhere)’ (§11.2.3.2, cf. §10.3.1.8)]

(00:23) dē [bùò kò-kò-ní j̩d̩y̩] ní-mā =?,
 Quot [LogoPl beauty equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
 dè [Ø dúrpá-kárú-lò bíé] nī],
 Quot [Art world-generation-young.women all] Loc],

A: ‘(They) said (=thought) that there was no equal to their beauty, among all the world’s (contemporary) agemate-groups of young women.’
[ē kò-ní ‘beauty’, hesre reduplicated; j̩d̩y̩ < Jula]

- (00:26) **dē** **bùò** **má** **tà̀rèⁿ** **dè=** [**Ø** **tà̀ràⁿʔáⁿ**],
 Quot LogoPl IpfvNeg sit.Pfv Quot [Art marriage],
 A: ‘(They) said (=decided) “we will never get married.” ’
[future negative with má plus Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4); noun ‘marriage’ is related to verb ‘sit’ in the sense ‘settle down’]
- (00:29) [**dè** **mā-jī** [**dē** **bùò** **tà̀rèⁿ=** [**Ø** **tà̀ràⁿʔáⁿ**]]
 [Quot if.you.see [Quot LogoPl sit.Pfv [Art marriage]]
[dē **bùò** **á** **jī** **[ò** **jū-dǒ** **tàⁿ** **=?**],
 [Quot LogoPl PfvNeg see.Base [PIRefl eye-man] yet Neg],
 A: ‘(They said:) “you-Sg see that we have gotten married, we have not seen (=gotten) our husbands of choice yet.” ’
*[transcription presents what is heard on the recording; the speaker later corrected to positive **dè** **bùò** **jà** **ò** **jū**-[**dè-rò**] ‘(that) we have seen (=gotten) ... ’; **tàⁿ** ‘yet’ (§10.3.2.4)]*
- (00:33) [**ò** **bíé**] **à** **jī=** [[**Ø** **[blí-ké]-kě**] **lò**,
 [3Pl all] Ipfv know.Ipfv [[Art [hare]-matter] Emph,
 A: ‘Everyone knows about hare.’
[hare is proverbially clever; lò < Jula]
- (00:36) **è** **blí-ké**, [**bó** **dó**] — [**bó** **dó**] **ā** **cò**
 Art hare, [3AnSg however] — [3AnSg however] Ipfv be.clever.Ipfv
[ǒⁿhǒⁿ, é!, kũⁿʔúⁿ á té bó [bè nī]
 [uh-huh, oh!, today PfvNeg put.Base 3AnSg [Dem.Def Loc]
 A: ‘The hare, it however is shrewd.’
 B: ‘Uh-huh, oh, it isn’t (just) today that it (=hare) is like that (=clever).’
[lit. “today didn’t put it thus”]
- (00:41) **bó** **gò** [**yí-ʃíʔi**] **dè** **ʔíyé**,
 3AnSg be [get.up.Base] Quot “ ”
 A: ‘It (=hare) got up and said “ʔíyé”.’
[cry of surprise]
- (00:42) **dè** [[[**bó** **jà** **yá** **ʃɪná**] **nī**],
 Quot [[[LogoSg see.Pfv Dem.InanSg situation] Loc],
[ē **sòbé**] **nī**,
 [Art candor] Loc,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “the way I have seen it, in all honesty, ”

- (00:46) f́o b́o à ná?à = [Ø jū gō—, kō gbē —
 must LogoSg Ipfv redden.Ipfv [Art eye] Infin pick.up.Base —
 [[[Ø l̄ —, l̄] [yūō j̄ōⁿ] k̄š-rò] nī]
 [[[Art (hesitation), young.women] [people two] Dem.AnPl] Loc]
 [kō gbē [n dèⁿ?éⁿ]],
 [Infin pick.up.Base [Sg one]],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “I must redden my eye(s) and get one of those two young women.” ’
 [f́o ‘must’ (§17.1.7); ‘redden eyes’ = ‘focus attention, concentrate’; ‘of those two young women’ functions partitively but is inserted as a parenthesis before ‘one’, so kō gbē is repeated]
- (00:52) [donc, [ē l̄ f́rāⁿ],
 [so, [Art young.women too],
 [ē kō jī] [Ø dié-kě] jū?ō = wò,
 [Art day Indef] [Art sauce-matter] catch.Pfv 3PIObj,
 A: ‘Meanwhile, as for the (two) young women, one day a sauce problem troubled them.’
 [i.e. lack of meat or other ingredients for their meal]
- (00:57) [ē diè] ní-mā [nà t́] = ?,
 [Art sauce] not.be [Fut sauce.be.cooked.Base] Neg,
 A: ‘There was no sauce to cook.’
 [‘(something) to eat’ construction (§17.6.1); verb t̄r̄ō/t́/tó ~ tú ‘cook (sauce)’ or ‘brew (beer)’, i.e. cook by boiling a liquid]
- (00:58) ō dè [bùò nà á-kù?ò
 3Pl say.Pfv [LogoPl Fut go.Base-remove.leaf.Base
 [ā s̄rò?ò-d̄ōⁿ?ōⁿ]],
 [3Inan baobab-sticky.sauce]],
 A: ‘They said: “We’ll go strip off (leaves) for its baobab-leaf sticky sauce.” ’
 [nà á- ‘will go and’ (§10.2.3.2)]
- (01:02) ò = ō jī [è blí-ké]
 3Pl Infin see.Base [Art hare]
 A: ‘They saw the hare.’
 [< /ò kō/]
- (01:04) [[ē blí-ké] ná-tò] diè [à nī]
 [[Art hare] ear] enter.Pfv [3Inan Loc]
 [[ē blí-ké] ná-tò] diè [à nī],
 [[Art hare] ear] enter.Pfv [3Inan Loc],
 B: ‘The hare’s ear entered into it (=overheard)?’
 A: ‘The hare’s ear entered into it (=overheard)’

- (01:07) [ē blí-ké] kō ʃɪⁿʃɪⁿ-yíʃí,
 [Art hare] Infin run.Base-go.Base,
 [kō yíʃí] [g = ó-kēⁿʔēⁿ [Ø sèròʔò]],
 [Infin go.Base] [Infin go.Base-ascend.Base [Art baobab]],
 A: ‘The hare ran away. He went and climbed up the baobab tree.’
- (01:12) dè é!, ʒⁿ klēⁿʔēⁿ [Ø sèròʔò],
 say.Pfv oh!, 3AnSg ascend.Pfv [Art baobab],
 donc [ē lɔ̃] wō jī = wⁿ,
 so [Art young.women] Infin see.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘He said, “oh!” He climbed the baobab. So, the young women saw it (=hare).’
- (01:17) ò kò fě = ò, d = ʒⁿ má s̄ābārī
 3Pl Infin greet.Base 3AnSgObj, say.Pfv 3AnSg IpfvNeg forgive.Pfv
 [kō kùʔɔ̃ = [Ø sèròʔò-d̄ɔ̃ⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ] jī]
 [Infin strip.Base [Art baobab-sticky.sauce Indef]
 [kō sūʔ = [ʒⁿ bùò] tē],
 [Infin give.Base [Dat LogoPl] Q],
 A: ‘They greeted him (=hare), and asked “won’t you-Sg forgive (us) and strip off some (leaves for) sticky baobab sauce and give (it) to us?”
 [s̄ābārī ‘forgive, pardon’ < *Jula* (< *Arabic*); interrogative tē in quoted question (§13.2.1.2)]
- (01:23) [ē blí-ké] dè [Ø báʃí] ní-mā [à nī],
 [Art hare] say.Pfv [Art trouble] not.be [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘The hare said, “there’s no trouble in (it).”
 [báʃí < *Jula* (< *Arabic*)]
- (01:26) [è blí — è blí-ké] kō —
 [Art ha(re)— Art hare] Infin —
 [k-ā kùʔü = [Ø sèròʔò-d̄ɔ̃ⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ]
 [Infin-Ipfv strip.Ipfv [Art baobab-sticky.sauce]
 [k-ā kùʔü = [Ø sèròʔò-d̄ɔ̃ⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ]
 [Infin-Ipfv strip.Ipfv [Art baobab-sticky.sauce]
 A: ‘The hare was stripping off baobab leaves and stripping off baobab leaves.’
 [imperfective infinitival VP with k-ā (§15.2.2), here repeated to emphasize prolongation]
- (01:30) ɔ̃ⁿ jà [à kò [dáró-bă nī]],
 3AnSg see.Pfv [3Inan be [abound.Base-come.Prog Prog]],
 [ʒⁿ lēⁿ [= èⁿ nī],
 [3AnSg accept.Pfv [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘It (=hare) saw that it (=pile of leaves) was growing. It (=hare) agreed.’
 [bà modified in progressive; < lēⁿ [à nī]]

- (01:34) [ē yǒ] =ō [bǎ nī] bè-kā,
 [Art woman] be [come.Prog Prog] like.that,
 [ʔⁿ kō glō [Ø kè-tèʔè] [[ʔⁿ miāʔá] nī],
 [3AnSg Infin remove.Base [Art hand] [[3AnSgRefl Refl] Loc],
 A: ‘The woman was coming. It (=hare) took (its) hand away (from the tree) by
 itself.’

[Hare intentionally falls off the tree, pretending to be stunned by the young
 woman’s beauty; progressive (§10.2.4)]

- (01:37) kā= à-dē [[Ø tǝʔǝ] nī] wàré?
 Infin come.Base-find.self.Base [[Art place] Loc] on.solid.ground
 A: ‘(Hare) found himself on the ground.’

- (01:38) dè bó fùʔò-fló
 Quot LogoSg catch.Pfv-be.untied.Base
 dè bó kùò-sò-fló
 Quot LogoSg hit.Pfv-take.in.hand.Base-be.untied.Base
 é!
 oh!

B: ‘(Hare) said “I caught at (the tree) and fell off.” ’

A: ‘(Hare) said “I clutched at (the tree) and fell off.” ’

B: ‘Oh my!’

[< /jūʔō-fló/, /kùò-sò-fló/; ‘untie’ here denotes failure to catch hold (of the
 trunk)]

- (01:41) dè [bó =rě=] Ø kōⁿ =nì
 Quot [LogoSg even] PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj
 dè jí [gè yá] kō bā,
 Quot if [matter Dem.InanSg] be for.nothing,
 A: ‘(Hare) said: “I don’t know whether that (i.e. its fall) was for nothing
 (=coincidental).” ’
 [roughly: ‘I have no idea what happened’; < /bó =rě á/; =rě ‘even’ (§19.1.6);
 < /kě yá/; kōⁿ ‘know (that/whether)’ (§11.2.5.1.1)]

- (01:43) mā-jī
 if.you.see
 dè= [Ø wūⁿʔúⁿ-kě jī] à-mā [à nī]
 say.Pfv [Art head-matter Indef] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 B: ‘You see.’
 A: ‘(Pretending) that some mental agitation was there.’

- (01:46) [bó kà̀r̀òⁿ] má jī [à glō-t̀ò̀ò̀] = rē?,
 [LogoSg Top] IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [3Inan exit.Pfv-place] Emph,
 A: ‘ ‘I myself am not familiar with its place of exiting.’ ’
[i.e. ‘I don’t know where it came from’; topic kà̀r̀òⁿ (§19.1.2.2)]
- (01:49) donc jó = ǒ = Ø tì-jó [à wūⁿúⁿ],
 so if 3Pl PfvNeg go-look.at.Base [3Inan head],
 á! [bó nà wú [[yá b̀è] ní]]
 ah! [LogoSg Fut die.Base [[Dem.InanSg Top.Inan] Loc]]
 [bó má yīē?ē-ſì?ì],
 [LogoSg IpfvNeg get.up.Pfv],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “So, if you-Pl don’t go and do a consultation (with a magician), I will die in this state, I will not be upright (=alive)!’
[jī ‘if’ (§16.1.1.4) plus 3Pl PfvNeg ǒ = Ø (§4.3.3); tì- ‘go’ in perfective negative verb-verb compounds (§15.2.3.3.3); future negative with Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)]
- (01:55) d̀è [[Ø yúó d́ó] bā d̀i-só = [[Ø s̀à̀r̀ò̀ò̀] ní]]
 say.Pfv [[Art person however] if fall.Base [[Art baobab] Loc]]
 d = [[ǎⁿ wí] [yí-ſì?ì]-ní] má dáⁿ = ?,
 Quot [[3AnSg owner] [get.up.Base]-VblN] IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv Neg,
 A: ‘(Hare) said: “but if a person falls from a baobab tree, the fellow’s recovery isn’t pleasant.’
[i.e. his/her survival isn’t certain]
- (01:57) à f̀é, [ǎⁿ [yí-ſì?ì]-ní] à k̄ā?ā = rē?
 3Inan talk(n), [3AnSg [get.up]-VblN]] Ipfv be.hard Emph
 B: ‘Talk of it, his recovery is hard.’
- (02:00) donc [[ē l̄s] [yūō j̄ōⁿ]] kō jī [ò d́ígè-r̀ò̀],
 so [[Art young.women] [people two]] Infin see.Base [PIRefl Recip],
 A: ‘So, the two young women saw each other (=conferred).’
- (02:03) d̀è é!,
 Quot oh!,
 d̀è j = ó á tì-jó = ñ = [Ø s̀ò̀b̀é],
 Quot if 1Pl PfvNeg go-look.at.Base 3InanObj [Art candor],
 A: ‘(They) said, “oh! If we don’t go look at (=consider) it seriously, ...” ’
[direct quote with ‘we’ instead of logophoric; tì- as in @ 01:49 above; < /tì-jó = ñ ē s̀ò̀b̀é/]
- (02:06) [ē blí-ké] wò ká-pēⁿ d̀è é!,
 [Art hare] Infin do.again.Base-remain.Base Quot oh!,
 A: ‘The hare persisted (with his plan). He said, “oh!” ’
[ká- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2); d̀è might be parsed as ‘say.Base’ as part of compound ká-pēⁿ-d̀è]

(02:08) dè [jó = ò bà bè yīē?ē] [dè bon]
 Quot [if 3Pl if Fut go.Pfv] [Quot well]
 dè bá = à jī = [[Ø jíó-kèⁿ jī] tǝǝ],
 Quot LogoSg Ipv know [[Art magician Indef] place],
 A: '(Hare:) said: "if you-Pl (will) go, well, I know the location of a magician."'
 [< /bó à jī/; jíó-kèⁿ (local French charlatan) can tell fortunes by tossing small
 objects and studying the patterns they form]

(02:12) dè [[Ø jíó-kèⁿ [wūⁿʔúⁿ-fiàⁿʔàⁿ]] = yà]
 Quot [[Art magician [head-white]] =it.is]
 A: '(Hare) said: "It is a white-headed magician."'
 [< /wūⁿʔúⁿ ā fiàⁿʔàⁿ/; bahuvrihi compound (§5.2.2.1)]

(02:14) d = ʔⁿ Ø-mā dè —
 Quot 3AnSg be.Loc Quot
 é! dē = [[Ø klòʔó] nì] [fó→ fāⁿʔāⁿ],
 oh! Quot [[Art road] Loc] [until here],
 dē = [[Ø klòʔó-cèⁿ-tǝǝ] nī],
 Quot [[Art road-diverge.Pfv-place] Loc],
 A: '(Hare) said: "He is there, on the road all the way here (=this way), at the
 crossroads."'
 [< /dē ʔⁿ/; verb cēⁿ/cāⁿ/cāⁿ 'diverge, take a different path']

(02:18) d = ʔⁿ bà yīʔí mā [bè tǝǝ]
 say.Pfv 3AnSg if go.Base there.Def [Dem.Def place]
 dè cógó-cògò,
 Quot anyway,
 A: '(Hare) said: "if you-Sg go there (to) that (same) place—, in any case, ..."'
 [truncated from locative PP [bè tǝǝ] nī ; cógó-cògò < Jula]

(02:20) dē ʔⁿ nà jūʔʔ ...
 Quot 3AnSg Fut hear.Base
 ē cēⁿ-mù
 Art esoteric.message
 ... [ē cēⁿ-mù kòʔò],
 ... [Art esoteric.message good],
 A: '(Hare) said: "(if) you-Sg hear ..."
 B: '... secret information'
 A: '... good (secret) information,'
 [cēⁿ-mù 'esoteric message' from a magician (fortune-teller)]

- (02:24) [kò bà-dò [bó bàʔà]]
 [Hort come.Base-say.Base [LogoSg Dat]]
 [sànjó bó mâ wú]
 [in.order.that LogoSg Proh die.Base]
 d= ò= klè bà-bàʔà,
 say.Pfv 3Pl do.Base quickly,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “(you-Pl) should come and tell (it) to me, so that I do not die. Do-2Pl it quickly!’
[hortative kò (§10.4.2.1.2) with omitted subject; negative purposive clause with sànjó (< Jula) and with prohibitive morphosyntax (§17.6.2.4)]

- (02:27) é! [ē l̩] kō prèsé,
 oh! [Art young.women] be in.a.hurry,
 ò gblē= [Ø klòʔó] fūú-jēⁿ→ fūú-jēⁿ→ fūú-jēⁿ→
 3Pl take.Pfv [Art road] striding
 ò tà= á-dàⁿ,
 3Pl Past go.Base-arrive.Base,
 A: ‘Oh! The young women were in a hurry. They took to the road, walking fast (with long strides). When they arrived,’
[French pressé(es); < /gblē ē/ ; fūú is onomatopoeic like ‘swoosh!’ while -jēⁿ suggests openness and width; tà á- (§15.3.5.5)]

- (02:34) hàyà, [è blí-ké tōʔò=] Ø-mā= Ø kǎⁿ lē,
 well, [Art hare Foc] be.Loc be Dem.AnSg turn.Pfv,
 [è jíó-kèⁿ wūⁿʔúⁿ-fiàⁿʔàⁿ] tàʔà-kó =ā,
 [Art magician head-white] again Q,
 A: ‘Well, lo! The very same hare turned himself into a white-headed magician, right?’
[< /à-mā kō kǎⁿ/; presentative with incorporated VP/clause (§4.4.4.3); tàʔà-kó ‘again’ (§10.3.2.2) here has scope over ‘hare’, not the clause, so ‘the hare ... again’ means ‘the very same hare’; ‘head-white’ adjectival bahuvrihi compound (§5.2.2.1)]

- (02:40) é! ò bà dārōⁿ→,
 oh! 3Pl come.Pfv only,
 òⁿ kò súʔú [ē kplàⁿ-ní],
 3AnSg Infin catch.Base [Art tell.fortunes.Base-VblN],
 A: ‘Oh! As soon as they came, it (=hare) began to do fortune-telling.’
[dārōⁿ→ ‘only’ (§19.2.1); ‘catch’ in ‘begin (to VP)’ constructions (§17.5.1)]

- (02:45) [ò k̄ā = [à nī]] [ò k̄ā = [à nī]]
 [3Pl be [3Inan Loc]] [3Pl be [3Inan Loc]]
 [ò k̄ā = [à nī]]
 [3Pl be [3Inan Loc]]

A: ‘They were (engaged) in it, they were engaged in it.’

B: ‘They were (engaged) in it.’

[i.e. the fortune-telling went on for a while; the repetition of the clause suggests prolongation]

- (02:46) é!→, dè [Ø sòbɛ́ nī],
 oh! Quot [Art candor Loc],
 A: ‘(Hare as magician) said, “oh, in all honesty, ...” ’

- (02:48) é! j́ó = ò á —
 oh if 3Pl PfvNeg —
 [[bùò nā-dòⁿ?óⁿ] nì] [j́í nā-dòⁿ?òⁿ =ó tì-fɔ̀rũ
 [[2Pl person-one] Loc] [if person-one PfvNeg go-marry.Base
 [[Ø blí-ké] bà?à]],
 [[Art hare] Dat]],

A: ‘(Hare as magician:) “If you-Pl don’t —. Among you-Pl, if one (of you) doesn’t go get married to hare, ...” ’

[< j́í ‘if’; onset cut off from é! j́ó = ò á ... “if you-Pl haven’t ...”]; speaker accepts emendation from bùò nā-dòⁿ?óⁿ nì ‘in your-Pl one’ to [bùò yúó j́óⁿ] nì ‘in (=between) you two’ (cf. @ 03:53 below); < tì- ‘go’; fɔ̀rũ ‘marry’ < Jula]

- (02:53) kō gbɛ́ = [[Ø blí-ké =] [Ø dǒ],
 Infin pick.up.Base [[Art hare] [Art man],
 [è blí-ké kǎⁿ] —
 [Art hare Dem.AnSg] —
 A: ‘ “... and take hare as (your) husband, this hare— ” ’

- (02:55) à lá-fù?ù, [à lá-fù?ù] à k̄ā?ā
 3Inan malady, [3Inan malady] be.Adj hard
 [à lá-fù? =] à k̄ā?ā = rɛ́?,
 [3Inan malady] Ipfv be.hard Emph,

B: ‘The medical condition, the medical condition is serious.’

A: ‘The medical condition is serious now!’

- (02:59) [donc j̀èrɔ́ⁿ kō —, [[è f́íó-wù?ú] cɛ́ⁿ-mù] —
 [so Rel be —, [[Art magician-house] esoteric.message] —
 [[è f́íó-wù?ú] cɛ́ⁿ-mù té] wō b̀è,
 [[Art magician-house] esoteric.message Foc.Inan] be Dem.Def,
 B: ‘So, that which was the esoteric message from the magician’s house —.’
 A: ‘The esoteric message from the magician’s house was like that.’

- (03:03) *dè* *bè* *bā* *klè*,
 Quot Dem.Def if be.done.Base,
 [*ē* *blí-ké*] *nà*— *kēnē*— *nà* *bú* [*ǝⁿ* *mīāʔá*],
 [Art hare] Fut— be.healthy.Base— Fut get.Base [[3AnSg Refl],
 [*ǝⁿ* *lá-fùʔù*] *nà* *kō*,
 [[3AnSg malady] Fut finish.Base,

A: '(Hare as magician) said, if that is done, hare will recover, his condition (=injury) will be finished.'

[*'get oneself' = 'recover (from disease or injury)'*]

- (03:09) *jí* *bè* *bà* *á* *klè*,
 if Dem.Def if PfvNeg be.done.Base,
 [*è* *blí-ké* *kǎⁿ*] = *àⁿ* *wí* = *rēʔ*,
 [Art hare Dem.AnSg] Ipv die.Ipv Emph,

A: '(Hare as magician:) "If that isn't done, that hare surely dies."'

- (03:12) [*é* *dó*] *má* — [*é* *dó*] *má* *būō* —
 [1Pl however] IpvNeg — [1Pl however] IpvNeg get.Pfv —
 [*ē* *díé*] *tàʔà-kó*,
 [Art sauce] again,

A: '(Hare as magician:) "We won't— we won't get any more (baobab-leaf) sauce."'

[*future negative má plus Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)*]

- (03:16) [*bùò* *à* *jī*] [*kò* *wú*] *bè-kā*
 [2Pl Ipv receive.Ipv [Infin die.Base] thus]

A: '(Hare as magician:) "You-Pl (will) get death in that way."'

- (03:18) [*bùò* *má* *būō* = [*∅* *yúó*]
 [2Pl IpvNeg get.Pfv [Art person]
nà *kùʔǝ* = [*∅* *díé*] [*kō* *sūʔ* = [*ǝⁿ* *bùò*],
 Fut strip.Base [Art sauce] [Infin give.Base [Dat 2Pl],

A: '(Hare as magician:) "You-Pl won't get anyone to strip off (leaves for) sauce and give (them) to you-Pl."'

[*cf. 'something to eat' construction (§17.6.1)*]

- (03:21) *donc*, *ò* *kō* *bà*, *é!*→ *ò* *wō* [*bǎ* *nī*],
 so, 3Pl Infin come.Base, oh! 3Pl be [come.Base Prog],
 [*è* *blí-ké*] *kò* *klá-ʃⁿʔⁿ-bà* *tàʔà-kó*,
 [Art hare] Infin return.Base-run.Base-come.Base again,

A: 'So, they came (back). (Hare, to itself:) "Hey, they are coming!" Hare came running back again.'

[*Hare is now back in its normal form; recording has klá-ʃⁿʔⁿ, corrected by original speaker during analysis (§15.1.3.2)*]

- (03:26) 5ⁿ nà [ò wō [bǎ nī]]
 3AnSg see.Pfv [3Pl be [come.Prog Prog]]
 [wō d5ⁿʔ5ⁿ [Ø jī=] [Ø kīⁿ-ní]],
 [Infin add.Base [Art Indef] [Art groan-VbIN]],
 A: ‘It (=hare) saw that they were coming, (and it) added some groaning.’

- (03:29) m→ m→ m→,
 (groaning)
 jí [à dó] bà kō= [Ø wú-ní]
 if [3Inan Poss.Inan] if be [Art die.Base-VbIN]
 [ò má dò bà-bàʔà] [j kò wú =ū→],
 [3Pl IpfvNeg speak.Base/Ipfv quickly] [1Sg Hort die.Base Q],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “ooh! ooh! If its (meaning) is (my) dying, won’t you-Pl tell (me) quickly, so I may die!” ’
[the polar interrogative has ‘won’t you-Pl tell ...’ in its scope]

- (03:35) é!→, nó nà wú kūⁿʔúⁿ bē,
 oh!, 1Sg Fut die.Base today Dem.Def],
 j wūō-kō [mlěⁿ nī], j wūō,
 1Sg die.Pfv-finish.Base [now Loc], 1Sg die.Pfv,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! I will die today thus! I have finished dying (=am at the edge of death) now! I have died!” ’
[bē definite demonstrative modifying temporal adverb]

- (03:41) *donc* [dè-rè nī], d= ʔⁿ mâ —
 so [now Loc], say.Pfv 3AnSg IpfvNeg —
 dē ʔⁿ líⁿ [ʔⁿ mīāʔá],
 Quot 3AnSg cool.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 dē ʔⁿ líⁿ [ʔⁿ jó],
 Quot 3AnSg cool.Base [3AnSgRefl heart],
 dē ʔⁿ líⁿ [ʔⁿ jó],
 Quot 3AnSg cool.Base [3AnSgRefl heart],
 A: ‘So now, (the young women) said: “don’t do that! Cool your self! Cool your heart (emotional center)! Cool your heart!” ’
[cut off from dē ʔⁿ mâ klè bē ‘said, don’t do thus!’; ‘cool’ phrases mean ‘get better, recover from medical condition’ with abstract ‘heart’]

- (03:46) é já= ā bà kō [bùò fērū-nī bē],
 oh! if 3Inan if be [2Pl marry-VbIN Top.Inan],
 [bùò nā-d5ⁿʔ5ⁿ =rē] nà léⁿ [=èⁿ nī],
 [2Pl person-one even] Fut accept.Base [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh, if it is (concerning) that marriage of yours-Pl, one of you-Pl will consent to it.” ’
[< /jí à bà/; léⁿ ‘consent’ (§17.4.4.1)]

- (03:50) [è jíó-wùʔù té] má kò yá =ā
 [Art magician-house Foc.Inan] IpfvNeg be Dem.InanSg =Q
 à kō dǒ nī
 3Inan be be.said.Prog Prog

A: ‘(Hare:) “Isn’t that the magician’s house [focus]?” ’

B: ‘ “It was being said (=revealed). ’

[< /jíó-wùʔù té/; má kò yá negative presentative (§4.4.4.2)]

- (03:52) [ē céⁿ-mù té] kò yá =rēʔ,
 [Art esoteric.message Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg Emph,
 A: ‘The esoteric message was exactly that!’

- (03:53) dē [bùò nā-dòⁿ?ǒⁿ jī]
 Quot [LogoPl person-one Indef]
 [ǒⁿ jǒ [[ò yūō jǒⁿ nī]]
 [3AnSg look.at.Base [[3Pl people two] Loc]]
 A: ‘(They) said, “one of us, look-2Sg at (=consider which of) the two (people).” ’
 [cf. @ 00:48 above and commentary there]

- (03:56) [bùò nà gbē [Ø nā-dòⁿ?ǒⁿ]]
 [LogoPl Fut take.Base [Art one]]
 [bùò nà fǒrū =ò],
 [LogoPl Fut marry.Base 3AnSgObj],
 A: ‘(Young women:) “We will take one (of us), (and) we (i.e. that one of us) will marry him.” ’
 [the general sense is that one of the two young women will marry hare]

- (03:58) donc, [è blí-ké] kō lò, ǒⁿ kè-tèʔè,
 so, [Art hare] Infin show.Base, 3AnSgRefl hand,
 jèrǒⁿ tâ dè [[bó jǒʔǒ] ní-mā =ʔ],
 Rel Past say.Base [[LogoSg equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg],
 A: ‘So, the hare pointed his hand (at) the one who had said that there was no equal to her beauty.’
 [past perfect, equivalent to tâ dò dè ‘had said that’]

- (04:04) [bó tǒʔó] klè [Ø blí-ké] —,
 [3AnSg Foc] be.made.Pfv [Art hare] —,
 [è [blí-ké]-yò té] [mlěⁿ nī]
 [Art [hare]-woman Foc.Inan] [now Loc]
 A: ‘She [focus] was made hare—, hare’s wife now.’

(04:07) [ē təràⁿʔáⁿ] gō tārāⁿ
 [Art marriage] Infin sit.Base
 [ē təràⁿʔāⁿ] gō tārāⁿ
 [Art marriage] Infin sit.Base

B: ‘The marriage took place.’

A: ‘The marriage took place.’

[lit. “the sitting sat”]

(04:09) donc ñ bà nī, [ē kūrⁿʔúⁿ],
 so 2Sg if see.Base, [Art today],
 [ē yǒ] ñ bā— ñ bā dàⁿ ē — [ē təràⁿʔáⁿ],
 [Art woman] 2Sg if— 2Sg if arrive.Base Art — [Art marriage],

A: ‘So, if you-Sg see, today, a woman, if you-Sg—, if you-Sg reach (the age of) marriage, ...’

(04:15) gbē — gbē [Ø dǒ],
 take.Base —, take.Base [Art man],
 donc ñ bà á gbē [Ø dǒ] lò,
 so 2Sg if PfvNeg take.Base [Art man] after,
 A: ‘Take—, take-2Sg a husband! So, if you don’t take a husband, ...’

(04:20) ñ bā dè [má= ā kò-à-fó],
 2Sg if say.Base [2Sg Ipfv be.good.Ipfv-Ipfv-pass.Ipfv]],
 álè mó nà klè —,
 even 2Sg Fut be.made —,
 è láná m̀yó
 Art trust(n) person

A: ‘Then if you-Sg say that you-Sg are more beautiful, even if you will be made (=become) ...’

B: ‘... a trustworthy person.’

[asymmetrical adjectival comparative (§12.1.1)]; láná m̀yó is *Jula*

(04:24) [ò bíé]—, [ò bíé] yè-ró,
 [3Pl all]— [3Pl all] woman-Pl,
 [ò bíé] yè-rò tó-ró =rēʔ,
 [3Pl all] woman-Pl Foc.-AnPl Emph,

A: ‘... the women of everyone, the women of everyone [focus].’

[‘wives’ in plural denoting multiple relationships of one woman, explained in the following segment]

(04:27) ò Ø lí j̀r̀s̀, dè ē—
 3Pl Ipfv call.Base Rel, Quot Art—
 dè [ē [dìè-glú]-yò],
 Quot [Art [enter.Pfv-exit.Base]-woman],

A: ‘What they call a go.in-go.out woman.’

[i.e. prostitute or loose woman with multiple lovers; < /ò à lí/]

- (04:31) ɔ̃ⁿ má tərāⁿ= [Ø dè-ró],
 3AnSg IpfvNeg avoid.taboo.Ipfv [Art man-Pl],
donc [bè tōʔó] =yà
 so [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
 [ē yīē], ñ bā dàⁿ, [ē tərāⁿʔáⁿ-[tərāⁿ-ní]],
 [Art young.woman], 2Sg if arrive.Base, [Art marriage-[marry-Vb|N]],
 A: ‘She does not avoid (specific) men (as taboo). So, that’s it. A young woman, if you (=the woman) attain (the age of) marriage.’
 [i.e. she shouldn’t be too choosy; tərāⁿ ‘has (sth) as totem (which must be avoided)’, imperfective]

- (04:37) gbē [Ø dǒ jī] [kō tārāⁿ [ɔ̃ⁿ bàʔà]],
 take.Base [Art man Indef] [Infīn marry.Base [3AnSg Dat]],
 [[bè tōʔó=] nǒʔǒ] ní-mā =?,
 [[Dem.Def Foc] equal(n)] not.be.Loc Neg,
 A: ‘Take-2Sg some man and get married to him. That [focus] (i.e. getting married early) has no match (=it’s the best practice).’

- (04:41) ñ nà [dəràʔá-tǒʔǒ jəróⁿ],
 1Sg see.Pfv [tale-place Rel],
 nó tīē bè mlēⁿ,
 1Sg put.Pfv Dem.Def like.this,
 A: ‘There where I saw (=learned) the tale, I have put it down (=completed it) like this.’
 [formula for ending a tale]

- (04:44) ñ gblè =nì [tǒʔǒ jəróⁿ]
 2Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]
 ñ bà tē =nì fāⁿʔāⁿ
 2Sg come.Pfv put.Base 3InanObj here
 vālā→
 there.it.is!

B: ‘Where you-Sg picked it up, you came and put it down here.’

A: ‘There it is!’

- (04:46) [ē j̄j̄èʔé] kò tàⁿ-jūʔō [Ø mié]
 [Art God] Hort help.Base [Art 1Pl]
 [bè tōʔó] kò bè
 [Dem.Def Foc] Hort Dem.Def
 B: ‘May God help us all!’
 A: ‘That is it.’

- (00:32) [ē cīō [ò sáⁿ],
 [Art bird.Pl [Pl three],
 [[ñ dèⁿʔéⁿ] nè dí-dé,
 [[Sg one] be.said.Pfv eat-be.full.
 A: ‘Three birds. One (of them) was (called) “Eat-and-be-full.”’
 [‘eat-and-be-full’, i.e. ‘stuff oneself with food’, name for a glutton; Bi *dí-dé* versus *dì-dé* in other dialects; this and the other names are verb-verb combinations with all verbs in base form]
- (00:36) é!, ē dī-dé
 oh!, Art eat-be.full
 B: ‘Oh! “Eat-and-be-full!”’
- (00:38) [m-hm oui, [[ñ dèⁿʔéⁿ] dè,
 [uh-bhuh yes, [[Sg one] be.said.Pfv,
 [kō tē-jūʔō-klà-tòʔò],
 [Infin put-hear-distant-place].
 A: ‘Uh-huh, yes. Another one’s was called “Hear-from-afar”’
- (00:43) [ñ dèⁿʔéⁿ] dè
 [Sg one] be.said.Pfv
 [wō nī-sūʔō-klà-tòʔò]
 [Infin see-send-distant-place]
 A: ‘Another’s name was “See-from-afar”’
- (00:45) [kō nī-[sūʔō-tē]-klà-tòʔò]
 [Infin see-[send-put]-distant-place]
 B: ‘“See-recognize-from-afar”’
 [B corrects the name by adding ‘put’ in “send-put” = ‘recognize’]
- (00:47) [kō nī-kě-klà-tòʔò],
 [Infin see-matter-distant-place],
 donc ò Ø-mā [[Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ] nīⁿ],
 so 3Pl be.Loc [[Art tree] Loc],
 A: ‘“See-thing(s)-from-afar.” So, they were in a tree.’
 [A adds the noun *kě* ‘matter, thing (abstract)’ to the name]
- (00:51) [ē ʃⁿʔⁿ-bíó máⁿ glò = ā]
 [Art tree-fruit IpfvNeg it.is Q]
 A: ‘Isn’t it (about) tree fruits?’
 [rhetorical question]

- (01:20) [jàrɔ̃ⁿ bà [kà = à-jīⁿ = ɔ̃ⁿ]
[Rel come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3AnSgObj]]
[bó ɔ̃ yì-[yíʔí-ʃíʔí],
[3AnSg Infin fly.Base-[get.up.Base],
A: ‘The one who came and saw it, it flew away.’
[‘come’ here is not literal, it frames a foregrounded event]
- (01:22) [jàrɔ̃ⁿ bó] wò [dí-dé]-nɔ̃ⁿ
[Rel Top] be [eat.Base-be.full.Base]-Agent.Sg]
[bó bó kàrɔ̃ⁿ] wò dí-dé ...,
[3AnSg Top Top] be eat.Base-be.full.Base ...,
A: ‘The one who ate to get full, as for it, it was stuffing itself (with food).’
[topic markers (§19.1.2.1-2); one or two words at the end of this segment are
inaudible due to overlap]
- (01:25) [é!, bó pìèⁿ [g-ā dí = [Ø ʃⁿʔíⁿ-bíó]],
[oh! 3AnSg remain.Pfv [Infin-IPfv eat.IPfv [Art tree-fruit]],
g-ā dí = [Ø ʃⁿʔíⁿ-bíó],
Infin-IPfv eat.IPfv [Art tree-fruit],
A: ‘Oh! It kept eating and eating the tree fruits.’
[‘keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); -bíó (§4.1.4.3)]
- (01:28) [ē cí-cúó] k-ā glú-à-yíʔí sãⁿ,
[Art crop] Infin-IPfv exit(v).IPfv-IPfv-go.IPfv simultaneously,
A: ‘(Its) crop was sticking out (=swollen) more and more.’
[‘crop’ (French jabot) is an organ in a bird’s neck that swells with grains stored
temporarily for later digestion; sãⁿ (§19.4.7)]
- (01:30) [[ɔ̃ⁿ nè bá = à gblē-à-yíʔé [ɔ̃ⁿ úⁿʔúⁿ] ʃɪnǎ] nī
[[3AnSg say.Pfv 3AnSg IPfv lift.IPfv [3AnSgRefl head] situation] Loc]
[ē gɔ̃] wò bà [g = à-[gɔ̃-gbē] = ɔ̃]
[Art hawk] Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-[hit.Base-take.Base] 3AnSgObj]
é!
oh!
A: ‘As soon as it said it would (=tried to) lift its head, the hawk came and seized it
(=bird).’
B: ‘Oh!’
[< /ɔ̃ⁿ dè bó à gblē-à-/]
- (01:34) [ó, donc, bó, bó gō pēⁿ [à nīⁿ],
[oh!, so, 3AnSg, 3AnSg Infin remain.Base [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘So, it remained in that (situation).’

- (01:38) [[bì tó? =] = à]
 [[Dem.Def Foc] it.is]
 ñ mà gō [[kě ò kě] nīⁿ],
 2Sg if be [[thing or thing] Loc],
 A: 'It's like that [focus], if you-Sg are involved in one thing or another,'
 [*X ò X* 'one X or another' (§7.2.3)]
- (01:40) ñ gò tē = [Ø ló? =] = ā,
 2Sg Hort put.Base/Ipfv [Art intelligence] Q,
 A: 'You-Sg should pay attention (=be wary), right?'
 [*< /ló?ó/*]
- (01:41) māⁿ nè— mâⁿ pēⁿ nàⁿ?àⁿ
 Proh say.Base— Proh remain.Base only
 [[bè nāⁿ-dòⁿ?óⁿ] nīⁿ]
 [[Dem.Def only] Loc]
 A: 'You-Sg mustn't say—, you mustn't just stay (focused) on that only.'
 [*nàⁿ?àⁿ and nāⁿ-dòⁿ?óⁿ 'only, exclusively' (§19.2.3)*]
- (01:43) [ñ g-ā lúⁿ-àⁿ-sū?ū [[tò?ò jī] nīⁿ],
 [2Sg Infin-IPfv look.Ipfv-IPfv-send.Ipfv [[place Indef] Loc],
 A: 'You-Sg must watch (=stay aware) elsewhere.'
 [*-sū?ò/-sū?ū 'give' as final in verb-verb compound indicates direction away from the observer; lúⁿ Bi dialect for nū*]
- (01:45) [[bì tó? =] à— ñ jì-à-bóⁿ móⁿ,
 [[Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv— (nasal) rescue.Ipfv 2Sg,
 A: 'That[focus] saves you-Sg.'
 [*imperfective of transitive sùò-bóⁿ 'rescue' or intransitive 'escape'*]
- (01:47) ñ gblè bè níⁿgbó [tò?ò jèrⁿ],
 1Sg pick.up.Pfv Dem.Def short [place Rel]
 ñ tīē bè má
 1Sg put.Pfv Dem.Def there.Def
 A: 'Where I picked that short (tale) up, I have put that (back) there.'
 [*standard tale conclusion; níⁿgbó Bi dialect for nígbó*]
- (01:52) donc₂ [ē kplēⁿ?ēⁿ tó?ó] fīē
 so, [Art glutton Foc] pass.Pfv
 B: 'So, it was the glutton [focus] who passed (=died)?'
 [*< /kplēⁿ?ēⁿ tó?ó/*]

(01:54) [ðⁿ fiē, áywà, ē→,
[3AnSg pass.Pfv, well, eh,
bè fiē
Dem.Def pass.Pfv
A: ‘(Yes) he passed. Well, eh...’
B: ‘That (=tale) is over.’

(01:58) [ǰ ñò té = nì è→,
[1Sg Infin put.Base 3InanObj eh,
A: ‘I have put it down ...’
[< /ǰ kō/]

Text 2017-07 Woman with three daughters (tale)

duration 10:24

(A) *Ouattara Drisa* (Biton *quartier*), narrator

(B) *Ouattara Jean-Pierre* (Jinejan *quartier*), respondent

(00:01) [áywà, ń tīē = nìⁿ→, [ē yǒ jī] nīⁿ,
[well, 1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj, [Art woman Indef] Loc,
[ē yǒ] fì= [ðⁿ bí-sīō],
[Art woman] give.birth.Pfv [3AnSgRefl child.Pl],

A: ‘Well, I have put it (=a tale) on a woman. The woman gave birth to her children.’

[< /jìè/ (Pfv); the children are female]

(00:08) [ē jī kě] à dáⁿ ðⁿ
[Art someone thing] Ipfv please.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg]
[ē jī kè] máⁿ dáⁿ ðⁿ,
[Art someone thing] IpfvNeg please.Ipfv Dat.3AnS],

A: ‘A certain one she loved, a certain (other) one she didn’t love.’

[< dáⁿ ‘X be pleasing to Y’ (subject X here is ‘children’), i.e. ‘Y love X’]

(00:12) [áywà,
[well,
[bó tó?ó dé] fì= =ò]
[3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj]
[bó tó?ó dé] fì= =ò,
[3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj],

A: ‘Well, ...’

B: ‘And yet it was she [focus] who gave birth to her.’

A: ‘And yet it was she [focus] that had given birth to her.’

[subject-final dó ~ dé ‘however, and yet’ (§19.3.8), cf. 00:38 below; < /jìè = (y)ò/]

(00:15) *donc*₂ ...
so, (unclear)
[ē līⁿ-tìèⁿ] má kō bè
[Art guts-bitter] IpfvNeg be Dem.Def,
[jèrⁿ kè] máⁿ dáⁿ w̃ⁿ],
[Rel matter] IpfvNeg please.Ipfv 3AnSgObj],

A: ‘So, ...’

B: ‘It isn’t a bitter (=cruel) heart (=nastiness)?’

A: ‘The one whom she didn’t love, ...’

[līⁿ-tìèⁿ ‘nastiness’, with līⁿ ‘guts’ and archaic -tìèⁿ related to tēⁿ ‘be bitter’]

- (00:18) [áywà, ðⁿ mà glú [ǎ = [Ø dī?é]]]
 [well, 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [with [Art karité]]]
 [ðⁿ mà yí?í = [[Ø dī?é] nīⁿ]]
 [3AnSg if go.Base [[Art karité] Loc]]
 A: ‘Well, when she went out with karité, when she went to the karité (trees),’
 [conditional antecedent; < /ðⁿ bà/; karité tree (Vitellaria paradoxa); oily butter is
 made from the pits]

- (00:20) Ø mà rà-sò = [Ø dī?é],
 3AnSg if go.Base-carry.on.head.Base [Art karité]],
 nám
 yes!
 [bā bà [gǎ = [Ø dī?é-bù?ó]],
 [if come.Base [with [Art karité-pulp]],
 A: ‘when she carried karité fruits (in a basket) on her head.’
 B: ‘Yes.’
 A: ‘When she brought karité fruits,’
 [< /ðⁿ bà/; rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); ripe karité fruits have a sweet-tasting pulp that
 encloses the inner pit]

- (00:24) ðⁿ η-ǎ sū? = [ðⁿ kō-yùò] [wò dí],
 3AnSg Infin-Ipfv give.Ipfv [Dat Dem.AnPl] [Infin eat.Base],
 A: ‘She would bring and give (it) to those (others) to eat.’

- (00:26) [[jī jèrⁿ kè] máⁿ dáⁿ wⁿ]
 [[Indef Rel thing] IpfvNeg please.Ipfv Dat.3AnSg]
 bó gō tètàⁿ [tá = [Ø wùò-bí]],
 3AnSg Infin sit.Base [like [Art orphan]],
 A: ‘But the one whom she didn’t love, she (just) sat (by herself) as an orphan
 child.’
 [< /tṵrāⁿ tá/ (dialectally ká) ‘like, similar to’ (§8.5.1.1)]

- (00:30) [bó tó?ó dé] fì = =ò]
 [3AnSg Foc however] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj]
 [[bó tó?ó] náⁿ-bí dá =] =à glò,
 [[3AnSg Foc] child however] it.is it.is,
 [bó tó?ó] náⁿ-bí,
 [3AnSg Foc] child,
 B: ‘And yet she [focus] gave birth to her.’
 A: ‘And yet it was her own child [focus]. Her own child.’
 [ǎ glò is focalizing variant of ‘it is X’ (§13.1.3.5)]

- (00:32) [álè kúⁿ?úⁿ] à Ø-māⁿ dò
 [even today] 3Inan be.Loc Emph
 [à= Ø-mā dò] [yá dⁿ] à-mā
 [3Inan be.Loc Emph] [Dem.InanSg breed] be.Loc
 A: ‘Even today it (=inequality) exists.’
 B: ‘It definitely exists! That type of thing (still) exists!’
 [clause-final emphatic dò (§19.4.2); yá dⁿ ‘(something) like this/that’, plural
 ípè-rè dⁿ]

- (00:35) donc, bè nīⁿ,
 so, Dem.Def Loc,
 [ē dè-fē jèròⁿ mó dⁿ] à-māⁿ [mó bà?à],
 [Art talk(n) which? Top manner] be.Loc [3AnSg Dat]],
 A: ‘So, in that (situation), what (right to) talk did she have?’
 [jèròⁿ ‘which?’ with bó dⁿ (§13.2.3.6.1); < /à-māⁿ bó/]

- (00:38) [[móⁿ nīⁿ] nè jì móⁿ] [gò wé móⁿ]
 [[2Sg mother] IpfvPast give.birth.Ipfv 2Sg] [Infin abandon.Base 2Sg]
 [móⁿ nàⁿ yíí [sǎⁿ bà?à] tē],
 [2Sg Fut go.Base [who? chez] Q],
 A: ‘If your mother had given birth to you and then abandoned you, whose place
 would you go to?’
 [phrased as a counterfactual (§16.4); < /nīⁿ dè jì móⁿ kō wé/; jì is base=Ipfv;
 quoted interrogative tē (§13.2.1.2)]

- (00:41) [è yí?ē-tò?ò] ní-mā
 [Art go.Pfv-place] not.be.Loc
 [ò bà dí-já]
 [3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base]
 [ò wō gbē-sū? = ðⁿ]
 [3Pl Infin pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg]
 ò wō gbē-sū? = ðⁿ
 3Pl Infin pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg
 B: ‘There is nowhere to go.’
 A: ‘When they ate and left (some food), they took it and gave it to her.’
 B: ‘They took it and gave it to her.’
 [3AnSg dative (§4.3.2.3)]

- (00:43) ðⁿ gō sō = nīⁿ
 3AnSg Infin take.Base 3InanObj
 [kā= [Ø wùò-bí] [kà-sàrò [mó nī] à-mā]
 [like [Art orphan] [while [2Sg mother] be.Loc]
 A: ‘She would receive it.’
 B: ‘Like an orphan, although your mother is there.’
 [‘you’ is the protagonist hyena, directly addressed by B]

- (00:46) [ò bà dí-já]
[3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base]
[ò wō gbē-sū? = ðⁿ]
[3Pl Infin pick.up.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg]
[ðⁿ gō sō = nìⁿ],
[3AnSg Infin take.Base 3InanObj],
A: ‘When they ate and left (some food), they took it and gave it to her. She received it.’
- (00:48) *donc* ā pièⁿ bè-yá-ró, áywà, [ē kō jī],
so 3Inan remain.Pfv thus, well, [Art day Indef],
[è→ nāⁿ-bè?è] wō bà é→, ló [ðⁿ mǔ]],
[Art hyena] Infin come.Base (hesitation), turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice]],
A: ‘So, it stayed that way. Well, one day, Bouki (hyena) came. It (=Bouki) changed its voice.’
[nāⁿ-bè?è in Tiefo-D and Bouki in local French are the personal names of the hyena of such tales; smooth out hesitation as wō bà-ló]
- (00:58) kō bà-dè [bó nàⁿ ló [ðⁿ mǔ]],
Infin come.Base-say.Base [LogoSg Fut turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice]],
dè gō wō [Ø dèrìⁿ?íⁿ],
Quot Infin sing [Art song],
A: ‘It (=Bouki) came and said (=intended) to change his voice, to sing a song.’
[logophoric singular (§18.3.1); verb wè/wō/wō or wè/wūō/wūō and noun dèrìⁿ?íⁿ form a collocation ‘sing (a song)’]
- (01:00) kà-sèrè [ðⁿ mà glú = [[Ø di?é] nìⁿ]]
while [3AnSg if exit.Base [[Art karité] Loc]]
[ðⁿ = Ø wō [Ø dèrìⁿ?íⁿ jèr^s]],
[3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song Rel]],
A: ‘Meanwhile, the song that she would sing when she went away (=was coming back) from the karité (trees).’
- (01:02) áywà, [bi tó?ó] ñ nàⁿ wō [bè dèrìⁿ?íⁿ]
well, [Dem.Def Foc] 1Sg Fut sing.Base [Dem.Def song]
[ò bíé] ò jū?ō = nìⁿ,
[3Pl all] Imprt.Pl hear.Base 3InanObj,
A: ‘Well, that [focus], I will sing that song. Everyone, listen-2Pl to it.’
[plural imperative (§10.4.1.1); ‘everyone’ is generally 3Pl in form even with 1Pl or 2Pl reference]
- (01:05) [ē nā-bè?è] jū?ō [Ø dèrìⁿ?íⁿ]
[Art Bouki] hear.Base [Art song]
B: ‘Bouki, listen to the song!’
[addressed to the protagonist hyena]

- (01:06) ó→, [ē nāⁿ-bè?è dó]
 oh!, [Art Bouki however]
 [ē nāⁿ-bè?è bó] máⁿ gò [(Ø) fíglò = rā =] = ā,
 [Art Bouki Top] IpfvNeg be [Art hyena even] Q,
 [è fú—], oui oui
 [Art hy—], yes yes
 A: ‘Oh, Bouki, is not Bouki however (the same as) ‘hyena’?
 B: ‘The hy—. Yes, yes.’
 [fíglò (dialectally fúglò, fíglò?ò) is the general term for ‘hyena’; < /fíglò = rā = ā/ = ā/]
- (01:11) donc ðⁿ mà glú = [[Ø ði?é] nīⁿ] [mā bà],
 so 3AnSg if exit(v).Base [[Art karité] Loc] [if come.Base],
 ðⁿ = Ø wō [dàriⁿ?rⁿ jàróⁿ],
 3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv [song Rel],
 oui oui
 yes yes
 A: ‘So, the song that she would sing when she came back from the karité (trees), ...’
 B: ‘Yes, yes.’
 [< /ðⁿ bà glú ē ði?é nīⁿ bà bà/; double conditional antecedent]
- (01:13) [j náⁿ wō bē],
 [1Sg Fut sing.Base Dem.Def],
 [ò bíé] ò jū?ō māⁿ
 [3Pl all] Imprt.Pl hear.Base there.Def
 A: ‘I will sing that. Everybody listen (to it) there!’
 [superfluous final ‘there’ adverb, as also in B’s turn just below]
- (01:15) wō bē, ó gō jū?ō mā
 sing.Base Dem.Def, 1Pl Infin hear.Base there.Def
 B: ‘Sing that! We will listen (there).’
 [singular imperative]
- (01:16) ðⁿ mā bà-bà-á-dàⁿ,
 3AnSg if Rdp-come.Base-go.Base-arrive.Base,
 ðⁿ = Ø wō dè
 3AnSg Ipfv sing.Ipfv Quot
 A: ‘Whenever she came and arrived (there), she sang:’
 [bà ‘come’ not in literal directional sense; -á- ‘go’ (§15.1.5.3)]

[song in Jula:]

(01:18)	jání	jání	nà =	ń	jìgì	
	N	N	come.Imprt	1Sg	unload	
	jání	jání	nà =	ń	jìgì	
	N	N	come.Imprt	1Sg	unload	
	sì ⁿ sí ⁿ	dá	tò	nà =	ń	jìgì
	S	mouth	remainder	come.Imprt	1Sg	unload
	sì ⁿ sí ⁿ	dá	tò	lì	tó	
	S	mouth	remainder	Presentative	stay	

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

[Niani is the name of the woman’s favorite daughter; SinSin is the name of the unloved daughter (and also the Jula word for ‘basket’)]

(01:26)	jání	jání	nà =	ń	jìgì	
	N	N	come.Imprt	1Sg	unload	
	jání	jání	nà =	ń	jìgì	
	N	N	come.Imprt	1Sg	unload	
	jání	jání	nà =	ń	jìgì	
	N	N	come.Imprt	1Sg	unload	
	sì ⁿ sí ⁿ	dá	tò	lì	tó	
	S	mouth	remainder	Presentative	stay	

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

(01:33)	[è	bí-ʃɔ̃]	wò	glú	[gō	yìʔ =	ò],
	[Art	child.Pl]	Infin	exit.Base	[Infin	unload.Base	3AnSgObj]
	donc	ò	bà	glú-bà-yìʔ =	=ò],		
	so	3Pl	if	exit.Base-come.Base-unload.Base	3AnSgObj],		

A: ‘The children came out to help her unload. So, when they had gone out and come (to her) and helped her unload, ...’

[< /yìʔè = (y)ò/]

(01:36)	ð ⁿ	gō	gbē	[Ø	dìʔé-bùʔó]	[ō	sūʔō]
	3AnSg	Infin	pick.up.Base	[Art	karité-pulp]	[Infin	give.Base]
	[ò	g-ā	dí,				
	[3Pl	Infin-Ipfv	eat.Ipfv],				

A: ‘She picked up the karité pulp and gave it (to them) for them to eat.’

- (01:39) áywà, *comme* wō wō-tè?è =
 well, as Infin sing.Base-be.accustomed.Base
 [Ø dərìʔ = =áʳ], [ē nāʳ-bèʔè] gō kòròjí,
 [Art song Dem.InanSg], [Art hyena] be observe.Base,
 kō jī,
 Infin see.Base,
 A: ‘Well, as (she) was accustomed to (sing) this song, Bouki observed and saw.’
 [kòròjí < *Jula*, here in progressive form (with nī omitted)]
- (01:45) [bó fǎráʳ] bē bà
 [LogoSg too] Fut come.Pfv
 [gā = à-wō [Ø dərìʔ = =áʳ =] [Ø kō jī],
 [Infin come.Base-sing.Base [Art song Dem.InanSg] [Art day Indef],
 A: ‘(Bouki thought:) “I too will come and sing this song some day.” ’
 [perfective future (§12.2.1.2); doubled ‘come’ (§15.2.3.2); LogoSg]
- (01:47) wō sāʳ-gbē [[Ø yǒ kàʳ] bí-ʃīō],
 Infin gather.Base-pick.up.Base [[Art woman Dem.AnSg] child.Pl]
 A: ‘(Bouki:) “and gather up the children of that woman.” ’
 [< /káʳ bí-/; nonpronominal possessor by juxtaposition]
- (01:49) wálà→, [è bí-ʃīō] kō [yùò sáʳ], māʳ-jīʳ
 right!, [Art child.Pl] be [people three], if.you.see
 ʒʳ máʳ gō [[n dèʳʔèʳ dó] bàʔà]
 3AnSg IpfvNeg be [[Sg one Poss.Inan] Dat]
 A: ‘Right. The children were three in number. You see? She didn’t love (=hated) a
 certain one (of them).’
 [yùò sáʳ (§4.6.1.2); kō X bàʔà ‘want/love X’ (§11.2.5.2.1); dó (§6.2.4.1)]
- (01:53) áywà, [ē nāʳ-bèʔè] wò yíʳí,
 well, [Art Bouki] Infin go.Base,
 kō rà-ló [ʒʳ mǔʳ],
 Infin go.Base-turn.Base [3AnSgRefl voice]],
 A: ‘Well, Bouki went and changed his voice.’
 [kō rà- typical of Bi dialect in doubled ‘go’ construction (§15.2.3.3.4)]

(01:57) kò klá,
 Infin return.Base,
 kò klá
 Infin return.Base
 5ⁿ bà [gà = à-dàⁿ]
 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base]
 nám
 yes

A: ‘And (Bouki) came back.’

B: ‘And came back.’

A: ‘It (=Bouki) came and arrived.’

B: ‘Yes.’

[double ‘come’ construction (§15.2.3.2.4)]

(02:00) (now sung with a husky voice, imitating hyena)
 jóní jóní nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìⁿsíⁿ dá nà = ní jìgì
 S mouth come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay

é!

oh!

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

B: ‘Oh!’

[the woman’s song, rendered by Bouki with a husky voice]

(02:06) jóní jóní nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jóní jóní nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jóní jóní nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 [repetition of song]

(02:12) [ē mù] á klè [[Ø dɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ] nī]
 [Art voice] PfvNeg be.done.Base [[Art one] Loc]

hm?

huh?

[ē mù] á klè [[Ø dɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ] nī]
 [Art voice] PfvNeg be.done.Base [[Art one] Loc]

ââ!

yes!

B: ‘The voice was not the same?’

A: ‘Huh?’

B: ‘The voice was not the same?’

A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[< /mũ á/; ‘one’ = ‘same’ (§4.6.1.1)]

(02:14) [ò jèrɔ̃ⁿ] wō klè [tá= [Ø wùò-bí],
 [3Pl Rel] Infin be.done.Base [like [Art orphan],

bó wō pɛ̃ⁿ-nè úⁿ,

3AnSg Infin remain.Base-say.Base (sound),

A: ‘The one (of them) who was like an orphan, she kept saying “úⁿ” ’

[< /tá ẽ/; < /pɛ̃ⁿ-dè/]

(02:17) dè ɲó̃— dè ò mâⁿ glú = dɛ̃?,
 Quot look.at.Base— Quot Imprpt.Pl Proh exit(v).Base Emph,

[[í-yùò nīⁿ] mùⁿ] máⁿ ɲō yá = ?

[[1Pl mother] voice] IpfvNeg be Dem.InanSg Neg

mā-ɲī

you.see?

A: ‘(She) said (to her sisters): “Look—, don’t-2Pl go out, mind you! That isn’t the voice of our mother!” ’

B: ‘You see?’

[plural-addressee prohibitive (§10.4.1.2); í-yùò 1Pl pronoun (in other dialects é-yùò); < /mũⁿ máⁿ kō yá/ with má⁽ⁿ⁾ kō negative copula ‘not be X’ (§11.2.2.2)]

(02:21) [ɲ kò̃n=] = àⁿ dī= [Ø dí-já-èʔè̃]
 [1Sg Top] Ipfv eat.Ipfv [Art eat.Base-leave.Base-Ppl.Inan]

bè wō [Ø kètàⁿ],

Dem.Def be [Art truth],

A: ‘(Orphan-like girl, to sisters:) “As for me, I eat the leftovers. That is true.” ’

[kò̃nì⁽ⁿ⁾] topic marker (§19.1.2.3.1), here on subject of clause; ‘thing’ as inanimate participial -èʔè̃ (§4.5.4); kètàⁿ (Bi) ‘truth’, in other dialects kītàⁿ]

- (02:23) *mais* *léⁿ*, *é!* *mâⁿ* *glú* =?,
 but wait.Base, oh! Proh exit.Base Neg,
 [ò wō pēⁿ [bè kō] [ǒ = Ø glú =?],
 [3Pl Infin remain.Base [Dem.Def day] [3Pl PfvNeg exit.Base Neg],
 A: ‘(Orphan-like girl, to each sister:) “But wait-2Sg! Don’t-2Sg go out!” On that
 day they stayed (inside), they didn’t go out.’
 [léⁿ ‘wait; stay (not go)’; plural-addressee prohibitive (§10.4.1.2)]

- (02:27) *áywà*, [*yàⁿ ní dóniⁿ =*] [Ø *nīⁿ*] *ō* *bà*,
 well, [a.short.while.later] [Art mother] Infin come.Base,
 A: ‘Well, a short while later the mother came.’
 [*yàⁿ [ní dóní]* is *Jula* for ‘a short while later’, cf. *Tiefo-D fāⁿ?āⁿ [kà dóní]*]

(song in *Jula*.)

- (02:29) *jání* *jání* *nà =* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání *jání* *nà =* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání *jání* *nà =* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ *dá* *tò* *lì* *tó*
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
 remains in the rim of the basket.’

- (02:32) *jání* *jání* *nà =* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání *bómbó* *nà =* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ *jání* *nà =* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ *dá* *tò* *lì* *tó*
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
há! *háà!*
 oh! oh!

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
 remains in the rim of the basket.’

B: ‘Oh my!’

[variation of preceding song, with *bómbó* ; speaker comments that this variation
 should have been present from the first instance of this song in the recording]

(02:43) *donc,* *bè* *á* *dò* = *ā*→
 so, Dem.Def PfvNeg be.said.Base Q
wátórá
 Ouattara

A: ‘So, that has that not been said?’

B: ‘Outtara!’

[*B calls out A’s surname, as encouragement*]

(02:46) *ǎⁿ* *gò* *glú,* *ò* *sú-yì?è—*
 3AnSg Infin exit.Base, Infin take.down.Base-unload.Base—
bè = *nīⁿ,* *ò* *gò* *dí,*
 Dem.Def Loc, 3Pl Infin eat.Base,

A: ‘They went out, and took it (mother’s load) down (off her head). In that way, they ate.’

[*initial ǎⁿ should be emended to 3Pl ò ; < sú?ú-yì?è ‘catch-unload’*]

(02:50) [*è* *síglò*] *wò* *té* [*ǎⁿ* *ná-tò*],
 [Art hyena] Infin put.Base [3AnSg ear],
 [*bè* *mùⁿ-díⁿ*] *nīⁿ,*
 [Dem.Def voice-equal(n)] Loc,

A: ‘The hyena perked up his ears for that voice.’

[*< /mũⁿ-díⁿ/; ná-tò, dialectally nā-tò*]

(02:53) [*jí* *bè* *bā* = *à* *glò*]
 [if Dem.Def if it.is it.is]
 [*bó* *fóráⁿ*] = *àⁿ* *nà-ló=* [*ǎⁿ* *dó*],
 [LogoSg too] Fut go.Base-turn.Base [3AnSgRefl Poss.Inan],
 A: ‘(Bouki:) “If that [focus] is (the way) it is, I too will go and change my own (voice).” ’
 [= *à glò* ‘it is X’ after focalized constituent X (§13.1.3.5); < /*nàⁿ rà-ló ǎⁿ*/]

(02:55) [*ō* *bà*] [*bó* *bā* *bà*]
 [Infin come.Base] [LogoSg if come.Base]
 [*bó* *nàⁿ* *dò* = *nīⁿ*] [*á* *bí-bī*]
 [LogoSg Fut say.Base 3InanObj [Inan small]]
bó *nà* *dò* = *nī* [*á* *bí-bī*]
 LogoSg Fut say.Base 3InanObj [Inan small]
 A: ‘He came, (thinking) “when I come (back), I will say (=sing) it softly.” ’
 B: ‘I will say it softly.’
 [*á bí-bī* ‘small one (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.2.2)]

- (02:57) [bó dó] à bέ,
 [3AnSg Poss.Inan] Ipfv wide,
 [[bì tóʔó] já [ò máⁿ glú =ʔ]
 [[Dem.Def Foc] let.Pfv [3Pl IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg]
 A: ‘His own (voice) was wide (=deep). That [focus] is why they wouldn’t come out.’

[periphrastic causative, lit. “that [focus] let/caused [they do not exit]”]

- (03:00) [è súglò] [[bó nùʔò dá=] à bέ]
 [Art hyena] [[3AnSg mouth however] Ipfv be.wide.Ipfv],
 à nà klè-pòⁿ [á bí-bì píⁿʔóⁿ] bέ
 3Inan Fut be.done.Base-be.able.Base [Inan a.little tiny] Dem.Def
 B: ‘But a hyena, its voice is wide (=deep), it can become very small like that?’
 [< /bó nùʔó dó à/; adjectival predicate; < /klè-pòⁿ á/; ‘be able to VP’; píⁿʔóⁿ
 intensifier for ‘small’ in Ji dialect, cf. Bi á bí-bì séⁿ → (§8.5.2.2.5)]

- (03:03) ʔⁿ gō→, ñ klè bè-yá-ró,
 3AnSg Infin, (nasal) do.Base thus,
 kō gbē [Ø diʔé-bùʔó]
 Infin pick.up.Base [Art karité-pulp]
 [ō sūʔ= [ʔⁿ [Ø bí-sīō]],
 [Infin give.Base [Dat [Art child.Pl]],
 A: ‘She (=mother) did like that (again). She took some karité pulp and gave it to the children.’

- (03:08) ò bà dí-já,
 3Pl if eat.Base-leave.Base,
 ò gō gbē [ō sūʔ= [ʔⁿ kǎⁿ]],
 3Pl Infin pick.up.Base [Infin give.Base [Dat Dem.AnSg]],
 A: ‘When they ate and left (something), they took (it) and gave it to that one (the orphan-like girl).’
 [< /sūʔō/]

- (03:09) sú→ ò= Ø klè bè-yá-ró, áywà,
 always 3Pl Ipfv do.Ipfv thus, well,
 [ē nī] à fō= [Ø diʔè-pòʔò nīⁿ] =āⁿ,
 [Art mother] Ipfv pass.Ipfv [Art karité-the.bush Loc] Q,
 A: ‘They did thus every time. Well, the mother would go to the karité forest, didn’t she?’

- (03:13) [è síglò] ò bà
 [Art hyena] Infin come.Base,
 [kò ká-bà tà?à-kó
 [Infin do.again-come.Base again]
 áywà, [ē nāⁿ-bè?è] bà,
 well, [Art Bouki] come.Pfv,
 A: ‘The hyena came’
 B: ‘(He) came again!’
 A: ‘Well, Bouki came.’

- (03:20) (sung by hyena with a sweet human-like voice)
 jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 kō klè [ǝⁿ mú]
 Infin do.Base [3AnSgRefl voice]
 jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’
 B (overlapping): ‘It made its voice (like that).’

- (03:27) *c’est-à-dire*, kō-yùò—, kō-yùò glú
 that.is.to.say, Dem.AnPl—, Dem.AnPl exit.Base
 [kō yì?è bó]
 [Infin unload.Base LogoSg]
 oui
 yes

A: ‘(Bouki:) “those (children) must come out and help me unload (my basket).” ’

B: ‘Yes.’

[third-person imperative; kō-yùò ‘those’ replaces original 2Pl vocative]

- (03:30) [kàⁿ nó?ó],
 [Dem.AnSg Foc],
 [[bó tó?ó] gō pèⁿ] [bó máⁿ glú =?],
 [[3AnSg Foc] Infin remain.Base] [3AnSg IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg],
 A: ‘(Bouki:) “That one [focus], she [focus] stays (here), she doesn’t come out.” ’
 [< /kǎⁿ tó?ó/ ; refers to the orphan-like girl; paraphrase of the last line of the song]

- (03:33) [ē wùdò-bí táʔá] gō pèⁿ [bó máⁿ glú =ʔ]
 [Art orphan like] Infin remain.Base [3AnSg IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg]
 bó máⁿ glú =ʔ
 3AnSg IpfvNeg exit.Ipfv Neg

A: 'The orphan-like girl stays (there), she doesn't come out.' '

B: 'She doesn't come out.'

[táʔá 'like' after NP but used as modifier; < /kō pēⁿ bó/]

- (03:36) jóní jóní nà= ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jóní jóní nà= ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jání jání nà= ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìⁿsíⁿ dá t̄ ò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay

oui!

yes!

A: 'Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.'

B: 'Yes!'

- (03:43) áywà
 well
 [ē jùʔò]—
 [Art talk(n)]—
 [ē jùʔò] changer
 [Art talk(n) change
 changer
 change

A: 'Well, ...'

B: 'The talk (=voice)—'

A: 'The talk (=voice) changed.'

B: '... changed.'

[cf. lē 'has turned/changed' in the following segment]

- (03:47) ò wò glú, [ē dè— dè—]
 3Pl Infin exit.Base, (false start)
 [ē jùʔò] á ló =ā
 [Art talk(n)] PfvNeg turn.Base Q
 [ē jùʔò yá t̄] lē
 [Art talk(n) Dem.InanSg Foc.Inan] turn.Pfv
 A: 'They (=children) came out. Did not the talk (=voice) change?'
 B: 'This talk [focus] changed.'
 [< /ló =ā/; transcription of B's turn is approximate]

(03:51) ò gò glú-bà
 3Pl Infin exit.Base-come.Base
 dè [bùò nī] =à
 Quot [LogoPl mother] it.is
 dè [bùò nī] =à
 Quot [LogoPl mother] it.is

A: 'They came out.'

B: '(Thinking) "it's our mother!"'

A: '(Thinking) "it's our mother!"'

[LogoPl for original 1Pl; 'it is' enclitic (§11.2.1.1)]

(03:54) [[ò glō]]ñáⁿ nīⁿ,
 [[3Pl exit.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 [ē nāⁿ-bèʔè] [wō—
 [Art Bouki] [Infin—
 yūā-gbē = wò
 grope.Base-pick.up.Base 3PlObj

A: 'As soon as they came out, Bouki—.'

B: 'Reached out and seized them.'

(03:56) [kō yūā-gbē [bùò jōⁿ] [kò fó]
 [Infin grope.Base-pick.up.Base [3Pl two]] [Infin pass.Base]
 ô→ òwòwò
 oh! oh!

A: '(It) seized the two of them and went away.'

B: 'Oh dear!'

[numeral following pronoun (§6.4.1)]

(03:59) donc, [ē nāⁿ-bèʔè] ò yūā-gbē [wò fó],
 so, [Art Bouki] Infin grope.Base-pick.up.Base [Infin pass.Base],
 hàyà, òⁿ gō bà,
 well, 3AnSg Infin come.Base,

A: 'Well, Bouki seized them and went away. Well, she (=mother) came.'

(04:03) òⁿ bà [gà= à-dàⁿ],
 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base],
 òⁿ gō wō [Ø dèrìⁿ?ⁿ]
 3AnSg Infin sing.Base [Art song]
 kò ká-wō
 Infin do.again.Base-sing.Base

A: 'Then she came, and she sang the song.'

B: '(She) sang again.'

- (04:08) **jání jání nà = ní jìgì**
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ dá t̀ ò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

- (04:14) **jání jání nà = ní jìgì**
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ dá t̀ ò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
hé!
 oh!

A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

B: ‘Oh!’

- (04:21) **ǰⁿ = Ø jī = [Ø náⁿ-bí] glō-kàʔà = ?**
 3AnSg PfvNeg see.Base [Art person] exit.Pfv-Ppl.An Neg
[è b́rá] *à-mā,* *[ē kē-sùⁿ?ʔⁿ] à-mā*
 [Art work(n)] be.Loc, [Art work(n)] be.Loc
àⁿháⁿ
 uh-huh!

A: ‘She didn’t see anybody who had come out.’

B: ‘There’s work (=drama). There’s work.’

A: ‘Uh-huh!’

[animate participle -kàʔà (§4.5.4); B first uses b́rá ‘work (n)’ < Jula, then repeats with the Tiefo-D word]

- (04:26) **dè [Ø bí-ʃīō] fīē [Ø sè]**
 Quot [Art child-Pl] pass.Pfv [Art where?]
kúⁿúⁿ bè tē,
 today Dem.Def Q,

A: ‘(She thought:) “So where have the children gone today?”’

[< /ē sē kúⁿúⁿ/; final tē in quoted interrogative]

- (04:48) *donc* *nóⁿ* *gō* *pēⁿ* *māⁿ*,
 so 1Sg Infin remain.Base there.Def,
é→, [*ǰⁿ* *gō* *gbē* [Ø *di?é*]]
 oh!, [3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base [Art karité]]
 A: ‘(Girl:) “So, I stayed here.” Oh, she (=mother) collected some karité (fruit pulp).’

- (04:53) [*ē* *di?è*] *á* *yì?è-pǰⁿ* = *nē?*
 [Art karité] PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Emph
 [*ǰ*= Ø *yì?è-pǰⁿ* = *ǰⁿ*]
 [3Inan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Q]
 A: ‘The karité (pulp) could not be unloaded.’
 B: ‘It could not be unloaded?’
 [*< /-pǰⁿ = dē?/; < /-pǰⁿ = ā/; only the two favored daughters were allowed to unload from the mother*]

- (04:55) *ǰⁿhǰⁿ*, *ǰⁿ* *gò* *é-fó* [*ǰ*= [Ø *di?é*]],
 uh-huh, 3AnSg Infin walk.Base-pass.Base [with [Art karité]],
 [*kà— [ē cī?ē]*] [[*ǰⁿ úⁿúⁿ*] *nīⁿ*]
 [with— [Art basket]] [[3AnSgRefl head] Loc]
 A: ‘Uh-huh. She went walking away with the karité, with the basket, on her head.’
 [*é* ‘walk’, dialectal for *yé*; in line 1 < /*kà ē di?é*/]

- (04:56) *ǰ*= Ø *yì?è-pǰⁿ* = *?*,
 3Inan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Neg,
kò *yé-fó* [*ǰ* *lō*]
 Infin walk.Base-pass.Base [with 3Inan]
 B: ‘It could not be unloaded. (She) went along with it (on her head).’
 [*transcription approximate due to speaker overlap; < /kà lō/ ‘with it/them (inanimate)’*]

- (05:00) *ā* *klè* *tá*, [*ē fǰrì?i*] [*máⁿ glò* = *ā*]
 3Inan be.done.Pfv like, [Art craziness] [IpfvNeg it.is Q]
ā *klè*= [*Ø fǰrì?i*] [*ǰⁿ bà?à*]
 3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art craziness] [3AnSg Dat]
 A: ‘It was like, (she was) crazy, wasn’t she?’
 B: ‘It caused her to have craziness (=drove her crazy).’
 [*tá* ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1)]

- (05:03) *áywà* *comme* *ā* *klè*= [Ø *fǰrì?i*] *bè-yá-ró*,
 well as 3Inan be.done.Pfv [Art craziness] thus,
ǰⁿ *wò* *é-fó* [*ǰ* *rō*],
 3AnSg Infin walk.Base-pass.Base [with 3Inan],
 A: ‘Well, it became craziness thus. She went along with it (on her head).’
 [*ǰ rō* Bi dialect for *kà lō*]

- (05:21) áywà, *comme* òⁿ būō [Ø dǒ] [wō fārū],
 well, as 3AnSg get.Pfv [Art man] [Infin marry.Base],
 [ē dò bú-wí èrē],
 [Art man money-owner even],
 A: ‘Well, when she got a husband and married (him), in fact a rich man.’
 [*< /dǒ bú-/; ‘owner’ compounds (§5.1.9); ‘even’ (§19.1.6)*]

- (05:26) áywà, kō sèrò
 well, Infin proceed.to.Base
 [gō— ñ jī= [Ø bí-ǰìō]],
 [Infin— (nasal) give.birth.Base [Art child-Pl]],
 A: ‘Well, (she) proceeded to bear children.’
 [*kō sèrò (§15.3.5.7.1)*]

- (05:29) [ē blāʔā jī] à-māⁿ→, [è bí-ǰìò]
 [Art pond Indef] be.Loc, [Art child-Pl]
 á yíʔí= [[[Ø [fēʔè-lēⁿ]-tǒʔò] n=] =āⁿ,
 PfvNeg go.Base [[[Art [garment-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc] Q,
 A: ‘There was a pond there. Did not the children go (there) in order to wash clothes?’
 [*< /è bí-ǰìō á/; later “clothes” is corrected to “sorghum grain” (see below); purposive -tǒʔò ní⁽ⁿ⁾ (§17.6.2.5), literally ‘to the garment-wash place’, literal (spatial) and abstract (purposive) senses overlap here; speaker later suggested emendation of singular fēʔé to plural fē-ré*]

- (05:32) [è bí-ǰìō] wèʔè
 [Art child-Pl] grow.up.Pfv
 [gò yíʔí= [[Ø [fēʔè-lēⁿ]-tǒʔò] níⁿ]],
 [Infin go.Base [[Art [garment-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc]],
 A: ‘The children had grown up. They went to wash clothes.’

- (05:34) kō rà-ǰíⁿ— [[ē dīʔé], ñ fiēⁿ-èʔè],
 Infin go.Base-see.Base— [[Art karité], (nasal) germinate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
 [[ē yō-dè] úⁿúⁿ] níⁿ,
 [[Art old.woman] head] Loc,
 A: ‘They went and saw that the karité tree had grown on the old woman’s head.’
 [*the karité fruits had germinated and grown into a woody sapling, still in the basket on the old woman’s head*]

- (05:40) ō klè, [ē sù^s] jàⁿ→
 Infin be.done.Base, [Art karité.tree] much.branched
 mlēⁿ-ǰíʔé
 like.this
 A: ‘(It) had become a karité tree, much branched (=spreading), like this (demonstrating).’
 [*jàⁿ→ is an expressive adverbial (§8.5.8); mlēⁿ-ǰíʔé ‘like this/that’ (§8.5.5.1)*]

- (05:42) *donc* [depuis *ǝⁿ* *glō*]
 so [since 3AnSg exit.Pfv]
 [ǎ= *Ø* *yìʔè-pǝⁿ* =ʔ]
 [3Inan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Neg]
 [ǎ= *Ø* *yìʔè-pǝⁿ* =ʔ]
 [3Inan PfvNeg be.unloaded.Base-be.able.Base Neg]
 B: ‘So, ever since she went away, it wasn’t possible to unload it (from her head)!’
 A: ‘It wasn’t possible to unload it.’

- (05:45) *kō* *pēⁿ=* [[*Ø* *úⁿʔúⁿ* *nīⁿ* *jàⁿ→*]
 Infin remain.Base [[Art head] Loc] much.branched
 [mlěⁿ-ʃìʔé *nīⁿ*,
 [like.this Loc],
 A: ‘And (it) remained on (her) head, much branched, like this.’

- (05:47) *ǝⁿ* *ŋ=* *à-lēⁿ=* [[*Ø* *bí-ʃīō* *bàʔà*],
 3AnSg Infin come.Base-stop.Base [[Art child-Pl] chez],
dè *é!*, [*dē* *bù=* *ā* *klē=* [*Ø* *èʔé*] *tē*]
 Quot oh!, [Quot 3Pl Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art what?] Q]
 A: ‘She came and stopped in the children’s presence.’ She said, “oh! What are you-Pl doing?”’
 [< /ǝⁿ *kō* (b)à-lēⁿ ē bí-/; < /dè bùò à klē ē èʔé/; ‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1); final *tē* in quoted interrogative (§13.2.2.2)]

- (05:51) [*ē* *bí-sīō*] *dè* *bùò* *bà* *dè→*,
 [Art child.Pl] say.Pfv LogoPl come.Pfv Quot,
 [*ē* [*gblēⁿʔèⁿ-lēⁿ-tǝʔǝ*] *nīⁿ*,
 [Art [sorghum-wash.Pfv]-place] Loc,
 A: ‘The children said, “we have come in order to wash the sorghum (grain).”’
 [second *dè* functions as complementizer for purposive phrase]

- (05:54) *é!* *d=* *ò* *máⁿ* *sūʔō* [*Ø* *jī*] [*ǝⁿ* *bó*]
 oh! Quot 3Pl IpfvNeg give.Base [Art something] [Dat LogoSg]
 [*wò* *kóⁿ*] *tē*
 [Infin chew.Base] Q
dē= [*Ø* *làʔà*] *wò* [*bó* *nīⁿ*,
 Quot [Art hunger] be [LogoSg Loc],
 A: ‘(Old woman said:) “Won’t you-Pl give me some (of the sorghum) to munch on? I am hungry.”’
 [3Pl for original 2Pl; final *tē* in quoted interrogative; ‘be hungry’ (§11.1.1.6); *kóⁿ* ‘chew, munch’ is the usual ‘eat’ verb for peanuts and dry grain]

- (05:57) *dè* [*jí* *bó* *wō* [\emptyset *dàrìʔr̄ʔ* *jī*]]
 Quot [if LogoSg sing.Base [Art song Indef]]
d = *ò* *gò* *sūʔʔ* [\emptyset *jī*] [∂^n *bó*],
 Quot 3Pl Hort give.Base [Art something] [Dat LogoSg],
donc *wō* = *nì^n*,
 so sing.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘(Old woman:) “If I sing a song, (then) why not give me some (sorghum)!”
 (Children:) “So, sing it!”
 [*jí* ‘if’ (§16.1.1.5); quoted hortative (§17.1.6.3)]

- (06:02) *jání* *jání* *nà=* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání *jání* *nà=* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sì^n sí^n *dá* *tò* *nà=* *ń* *jìgì*
 S mouth remainder come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sì^n sí^n *dá* *tò* *lì* *tó*
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
 remains in the rim of the basket.’

- (06:07) *jání* *jání* *nà=* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání *jání* *nà=* *ń* *jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sì^n sí^n *dá* *tò* *lì* *tó*
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
sì^n sí^n *dá* *tò* *lì* *tó*
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what
 remains in the rim of the basket.’

- (06:12) *kà-sàrɔ̄=* [\emptyset *dìʔé*] *fīē^n*
 whereas [Art karité] germinate.Pfv
 [[∂^n *ú^nʔú^n*] *nī*]
 [[3AnSg head] Loc]
ð^n hɔ̄^n
 uh-huh!
é!
 oh!
 B: ‘Whereas the karité (fruit) had grown on her head?’
 A: ‘Uh-huh!’
 B: ‘Oh my!’
 [*kà-sàrò*] (§15.3.5.7.2)]

- (06:13) *donc*, [è bí-sīō] wō sūʔᵛ [Ø gblèʔᵛᵛᵛ]
 so, [Art child.Pl] Infin give.Base [Art sorghum]
 [ʔᵛ wò kóᵛ],
 [3AnSg Infin chew.Base]
 A: ‘So, the children gave (her) some sorghum for her to munch on.’
- (06:15) [è bí-siò fǒráᵛ] á gbē [Ø dǎriʔᵛáᵛ =] = āᵛ,
 [Art child.Pl too] PfvNeg pick.up.Base [Art song] Q,
 A: ‘Did not the children too pick up (=memorize) the song?’
 [< /dǎriʔᵛáᵛ = āᵛ/]
- (06:20) kò yíʔí = [[Ø nīᵛ] bàʔà],
 Infin go.Base [[Art mother] chez],
 kō rà—, ì sūʔᵛᵛᵛ [à rō],
 Infin go.Base—, (nasal) do.cooking.Base [with 3Inan]],
 A: ‘(They) then went to their mother’s place, to do cooking with it (=song).’
- (06:23) *donc* ò dèᵛ
 so 3Pl arrive.Pfv
 A: ‘So, they arrived (singing:).’
- (06:24) jání jání nà = ń jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 jání bùᵛbùᵛ nà = ń jìgì
 N B come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìᵛsᵛᵛ jání nà = ń jìgì
 S N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
 sìᵛsᵛᵛ dá tò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take my load off (my head)! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’
- (06:31) é!, dē bùò glō [ā [bè dǎriʔᵛáᵛ]] [Ø sē] tē
 oh!, Quot 3Pl exit.Pfv [with [Dem.Def song]] [Art where?] Q
 A: ‘(Mother:) “Oh! Where did you-Pl bring that song from?” ’
- (06:33) dè é!, dè = [Ø yǒ jī→] nà í-yùò = [[Ø blāʔā] nīᵛ]
 Quot oh!, Quot [Art woman Indef] see.Pfv 1Pl [[Art pond] Loc]
 [ŋō wō = nīᵛ],
 [Infin sing.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(Children:) “Oh!, a woman saw us at the pond and she sang it.” ’
 [< /nīᵛ kō/]

- (06:37) *dè í-yùò sūʔ̃ [Ø gblèⁿʔ̃èⁿ] [bó wò kóⁿ],*
 Quot 1Pl give [Art sorghum] [LogoSg Infin munch.Base],
 A: '(Children:) "(She told) us to give (her) sorghum and she would then munch (it)."'
- (06:39) *d= ò bà yíʔ̃= [Ø cōⁿ],*
 Quot 3Pl if go.Base [Art tomorrow],
ò bā rà-ŋīⁿ =òⁿ,
 3Pl if go.Base-see.Base 3AnSgObj,
ò gò súʔ̃= =ò [wō bà],
 3Pl Hort catch.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin come.Base],
 A: '(Mother:) "If you-Pl go (there) tomorrow, if you-Pl go and see her, catch her and come (with her).'
 [< /súʔ̃ú =ò/]
- (06:43) *wáà→*
 right!
ǒ= Ø kōⁿ [dè [bùò mà-máⁿ] =àⁿ] dò,
 3Pl PfvNeg know.Base [Quot [3Pl grandmother] it.is] Emph,
 B: 'Right!'
 A: 'They didn't know that she was their grandmother.'
- (06:47) *ò kò yíʔ̃, kò yíʔ̃*
 3Pl Infin go.Base, Infin go.Base
[gō rà— yíʔ̃— dàⁿ],
 [Infin go.Base— go.Base— arrive.Base],
 A: 'They went. They went and (went and) arrived.'
- (06:50) *kò táⁿ-ŋīⁿ =ò [bè dí-cùⁿʔ̃ùⁿ],*
 Infin do.again.Base-see.Base 3AnSgObj [Dem.Def next.morning],
[è bí-ŋī⁰] bà—,
 [Art child.Pl] come.Pfv—,
bà [gà= à-klè] [ʔ̃ⁿ gò táⁿ-bà],
 come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-do.Base] [3AnSg Infin do.again.Base-come.Base],
 A: '(They) saw her again the next day. The children came and did (that), and she came again.'
 [*táⁿ*- 'do again' (§15.1.3.3)]
- (06:55) *[kā= à-wō] [ò gō sūʔ̃ [Ø gblèⁿʔ̃èⁿ]]*
 [Infin come.Base-sing.Base] [3Pl Infin give.Base [Art sorghum]]
[ʔ̃ⁿ wò kóⁿ],
 [3AnSg Infin munch.Base],
 A: '(She) came and sang and (they) gave (her) sorghum, and she munched (it).'
 [*infinitival phrase sequences with subject switches*]

- (06:58) *dè á dè, [í-yùò nīⁿ] nè [móⁿ yííí],*
 Quot ah! Quot, [1Pl mother] say.Pfv [2Sg go.Base],
móⁿ gbè?é, dè kò yííí [bó bà?à],
 2Sg go.Hort, Quot Hort go.Ipfv [LogoSg chez],
 A: ‘(They) said, “our mother said for you-Sg to go, for you-Sg to (please) go to her place.” ’
[< /nīⁿ dè/; quoted imperative and hortative (§17.1.6); gbè?é ‘(let’s) go’ is hortative, §10.4.2.1.1]

- (07:02) *[ē dǎ] gǒ = [Ø bú-wí], [è bú]—*
 [Art man] be [Art money-owner], [Art money]—
[è bú] klè→, [è náⁿ-bí tù-tù?ù] lò,
 [Art money] do.Pfv, [Art person big] Emph,
 A: ‘The husband was a rich man. The money— The money made (him) a powerful person.’
[final lò (§19.4.2); postnominal tù-tù?ù ‘big’ (§4.5.3.2.2)]

- (07:06) *bó kpè?è kósóbé*
 3AnSg succeed.Pfv a.lot
mā-jī [ē jù?é kě]
 if.you.see [Art God matter]
māⁿ-jīⁿ [ē jù?é kě],
 if.you.see [Art God matter],
 A: ‘He was very well off.’
 B: ‘You see? A matter of God.’
 A: ‘You see? A matter of God.’
[mā-jīⁿ] (§19.5.2)]

- (07:10) *donc ò yī?ē bè-yá-ró,*
 so 3Pl go.Pfv thus,
ò yī?ē [Ø rà-dàⁿ],
 3Pl go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base],
 A: ‘So, they went like that. They (went and) arrived.’
[rà-dàⁿ without infinitival kō (§15.2.3.3.4)]

- (07:13) *áywà, ðⁿ wō wō [Ø dèrìⁿ?íⁿ],*
 well, 3AnSg Infin sing.Base [Art song],
[kō sū?ō— sō [Ø gblèⁿ?èⁿ] [wò kóⁿ],
 [Infin give.Base receive.Base [Art sorghum]] [Infin munch.Base],
 A: ‘Well, she then sang the song, then gave—(or rather) received sorghum and munched it.’
[replacing ‘give’ by sō ‘take, receive’ makes the passage a string of same-subject infinitival phrases, compare @ 06:55 above]

- (07:17) *jání jání nà = ní jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání jání nà = ní jìgì
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò nà = ní jìgì
 S mouth remainder come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Come take what remains in the rim of the basket! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

- (07:23) *jání jání nà = ní jìgì*
 N N come.Imprt 1Sg unload
jání bùⁿbùⁿ nà = ní jìgì
 N B come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò nà = ní jìgì
 S mouth remainder come.Imprt 1Sg unload
sìⁿsíⁿ dá tò lì tó
 S mouth remainder Presentative stay
 A: ‘Niani! Niani! Sinsin, come take what remains in the rim of the basket! Sinsin, stay with what remains in the rim of the basket.’

- (07:28) *háya, ò gō sūʔō [Ø j =] ðⁿ [wò kóⁿ],*
 well, 3Pl Infin give.Base [Art some] Dat.3AnSg [Infin munch.Base],
dè bon dē bà-gbèʔè [ó wò yíʔí],
 Quot well Quot come.Base-go.Hort [1Pl Hort go.Ipfv],
 A: ‘Well, they gave some (sorghum) to her and she munched (on it). (They) said, “Come, let’s go!” ’
[gbèʔé (§10.4.2.1.1)]

- (07:32) *ò gō jùʔò [ðⁿ jīē],*
 3Pl Infin follow.Base [3AnSg behind],
[kò yíʔí, [[ē nīⁿ] bàʔà],
 [Infin go.Base, [[Art mother] chez].
 A: ‘They followed her, and went to the mother’s place.’
[perhaps emend to ‘she followed them’]

- (07:36) *ò yīʔē [Ø rà-dàⁿ, [ē nīⁿ nè é!,*
 3Pl go.Pfv [infin go.Base-arrive.Base, [Art mother] say.Pfv oh!,
móⁿ wō [sðⁿ-wí bó] tē,
 2Sg be [who?-owner Top] Q,
 A: ‘They (went and) arrived. The mother (of the children) said (=asked), “who exactly are you-Sg?” ’
[< /nīⁿ dè/; clause-final tē in question]

- (07:40) [[móⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ bíé dé] klè] fɪná] nīⁿ→,
 [[[2Sg head all however] be.done.Pfv] situation] Loc,
 [ɛ̄ fɪⁿ?ɪⁿ] jè?è
 [Art tree] only

A: '(Mother:) "But the way your whole head (is)!"

B: 'Nothing but tree (branches)!'

[jè?è (dialectally jì?è) 'only']

- (07:44) ðⁿ gō sèrò
 3AnSg Infin proceed.to.Base
 [wò glú] [à lō]] [wō dò],
 [Infin exit(v).Base [with 3Inan]] [Infin speak.Base],

A: 'She (=grandmother) proceeded to explain that.'

[‘exit with X and speak’ = ‘explain X’]

- (07:46) á! dè [bó tó?ó] dà= —
 ah! Quot [LogoSg Foc] IpfvPast —
 [bó ró] kò [(Ø) yúó jèrⁿ],
 [LogoSg Foc] be [Art person Rel],

bó fìè [Ø bí-ɪō], [ɛ̄ yùò sáⁿ],
 LogoSg give.birth.to.Pfv [Art child.Pl], [Art people three],

A: '(Grandmother:) "ah!" she said, "I was—, the person who, I bore children, three (of them).'

[first few words beginning bó tó?ó are pronounced in a strange voice suggesting emotion; 'three children' spoken more smoothly is [è bí-ɪō] [yùò sáⁿ], where yúó 'person' functions as a human numeral classifier]

- (07:52) [[è yúó jōⁿ] kě] dà= à dáⁿ [ðⁿ bó],
 [[Art people two] matter] IpfvPast Ipfv be,pleasant.Ipfv [Dat LogoSg],
 [[è ná-dōⁿ?ōⁿ] jī] rè māⁿ
 [[Art Hum-one Indef] Past be.Loc]
 [[bó kè] máⁿ dáⁿ [ðⁿ bó]],
 [[3AnSg matter] IpfvNeg be.pleasant.Ipfv [Dat LogoSg]],

A: '(Grandmother:) "Two of them were beloved to me. There was another one, she wasn't beloved of me." '

[< /dè à dáⁿ [ðⁿ bó]/ with dative ðⁿ; < /dè māⁿ/]

- (07:56) bó wō bà [[gà = à-ɲī =
 LogoSg Infin come.Base [[Infin come.Base-see.Base
 [[Ø jíglò] cìè [bó bí-ɪō]],
 [[Art hyena eat.meat.Pfv [LogoSg child.Pl]]],

A: '(Grandmother:) "I came and saw that a hyena devoured my children." '

- (07:59) á, [bó fǎráⁿ] =áⁿ yìʔè-pǎⁿ=
 ah! [LogoSg too] PfvNeg take.down.Base-be.able.Base
 [Ø diʔé-ciʔè] [bó kò fó [à rō]],
 [Art karité-basket] [LogoSg Infin pass.Base [with 3Inan]],
 A: ‘(Grandmother:) “Ah, I moreover couldn’t take down the basket of karité. I
 went along with it (on my head).” ’

- (08:02) à g-ā é màⁿ [[bó úʔúⁿ] nīⁿ],
 3Inan Infin-Ipfv walk.Ipfv there.Def [[LogoSg head] Loc],
 bó nàⁿ klè =nìⁿ mlèⁿ=áⁿ tē,
 LogoSg Fut do.Base 3InanObj how? Q,
 A: ‘(Grandmother:) “It walks around (with me) there on my head. How (=what)
 should I make it (=do with it)?” ’
 [< /*(y)é māⁿ bó/*]

- (08:06) á, [sǎⁿ-àⁿ té] wìè =mì [â nī]
 oh!, [heart-2SgPoss Foc.Inan] put.Pfv 2SgObj [3Inan Loc],
 donc, bè yīē rē,
 so, Dem.Def young.woman say.Pfv,
 áywà, [[nóⁿ nìⁿ] nóʔó] wō kǎⁿ,
 well, [[1Sg mother] Foc] be Dem.AnSg,
 B: ‘It’s your (own) disposition (=behavior) that put you in that (difficulty)!’
 A: ‘So, the girl said, “well, this is my mother.” ’
 [2Sg possessor suffix (§4.3.1.2); < /nóⁿ nīⁿ tóʔó/]

- (08:12) móⁿ nà wé [nóⁿ jà̀rǎ̀ⁿ] cǎ!,
 2Sg Past abandon.Base [1Sg Rel] exactly!,
 [nóⁿ nóʔó] ō kǎⁿ
 [1Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg
 wá̀lâ→, mā-jī
 right!, you.see?
 A: ‘(Mother:): “Precisely me whom you-Sg had abandoned, this is me [focus]!” ’
 B: ‘Right! You see?’
 [< /móⁿ rǎ̀/; pronoun-headed relative, cf. @ 08:47 below; cǎ! (§8.5.3.2.2); < /nóⁿ
 jà̀rǎ̀ⁿ cǎ!/; < /nóⁿ tóʔó/]

- (08:15) jí bè =yà, à nàⁿ gǎ̀-ǎ̀ⁿ
 if Dem.Def it.is, 3Inan Fut be.right.Base
 ā nàⁿ gǎ̀-ǎ̀ⁿ
 3Inan Fut be.right.Base
 donc, ðⁿ gō gbē [Ø kǎ̀ʔǎ̀-*kèⁿ*],
 so, 3AnSg Infin take.Base [Art blacksmith-man],
 A: ‘If it’s that (way), it will be right. So, she got a blacksmith.’
 [gǎ̀-ǎ̀ (§8.5.4.2); -*kèⁿ* (§5.1.6.8)]

- (08:19) [ē kòʔò-kèⁿ] gò ɲɔⁿ= [Ø ʃɪⁿʔɪⁿ]
 [Art blacksmith-man] Infin look.at.Base [Art tree]
 [gō sē-glō] [[ʒⁿ úⁿʔúⁿ nīⁿ],
 [Infin carve.Base-remove.Base [[3AnSg head] Loc],
 A: ‘The blacksmith looked at the tree (on her head), and carved it off from her head.’

- (08:23) kò té-sō = nīⁿ,
 Infin put.in.order.Base 3InanObj,
 [kō wō = ò [kã= [Ø ɲūⁿ]],
 [Infin bathe.Base 3AnSgObj [with [Art water]],
 A: ‘Then (he) put it in order, then (she) washed her with water.’
[té-sō dialectal for tó-sō ; most likely there is a covert subject switch here since the mother presumably bathed the grandmother]

- (08:27) kò sú[?]= = ò [g= à-tōrāⁿ]
 Infin catch.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin come.Base-make.sit.Base]
 mais ǎ= Ø dīē= [Ø úⁿʔúⁿ] [bè nī] = rē[?]
 but 3Inan PfvNeg enter.Base [Art head] [Dem.Def Loc] Emph
 A: ‘Then (she) took hold of her and had her come sit.’
 B: ‘But, it (=blacksmith’s tool) didn’t go into (=wound) her head in that way?’
[‘sit’ is arguably transitive ‘seat, cause to sit’ here, alternatively there is a subject switch in the infinitival VP]

- (08:30) [ē sāyò] á dīē = ʔ,
 [Art hatchet] PfvNeg enter.Base Neg,
 móⁿ = àⁿ jī [Ø kò-rò kě] lè,
 2Sg Ipfv know.Ipfv [Art blacksmith-Pl matter] Emph,
 A: ‘The hatchet didn’t go in. You-Sg know how blacksmiths are!’
[sāyò is a short-handled hatchet with a pointed awl-like blade for carpentry, wielded with one hand; lè (19.4.2)]

- (08:34) [úⁿʔúⁿ yá bíē=] [[Ø sòrè-tòʔò] nī]
 [head Dem.InanSg all] [[Art carve.Pfv-place] Loc]
parce que c’est [è nò-réⁿ]— [è nò-réⁿ mùò] klè mlěⁿ-ʃíʔé
 because it’s [Art root-Pl]— [Art root-Pl Top.AnPl] be.made.Pfv like.this
 [ʒⁿ= Ø kú-kú-glō bè-yá],
 [3AnSg PfvNeg Rdp-cut.Base-remove.Base thus],
 B: ‘In order to carve that whole head?’
 A: ‘Because the roots, they were made like that. He (=blacksmith) didn’t cut them out like that.’
[nò-réⁿ plural of néⁿʔéⁿ ‘root’; < /nò-réⁿ bùò; purposive -tòʔò nī (§17.6.2.5)]

- (08:39) *donc* [dè-dè nīⁿ], áywà, ðⁿ wō bà [gà = à—
so [now Loc], well, 3AnSg Infin come.Pfv [Infin come.Base—
ɲ wō =ò [gã = [Ø nūⁿ]]
(nasal) bathe.Base 3AnSgObj [with [Art water]]]
[gō sūʔō [Ø cə̀rú] ðⁿ] [wò dí],
[Infin give.Base [Art tô] Dat.3AnSg] [Infin eat.Base],

A: ‘So now, well, she (=mother) came and (came and) bathed her with water. Then she gave her some tô to eat.’

[smooth out as *bà gã = à-wō = ò*; *tô* (< Bambara-Jula) is local French for pudding-like (dark) millet or (white) rice cakes (main course for meals); 3AnSg dative ðⁿ (§4.3.2.3); ‘X give Z to Y [(for Y) to eat]’ construction (§17.6.2)]

- (08:44) é! [nóⁿ nīⁿ], [[móⁿ tóʔó] wō kǎⁿ tē]
ah! [1Sg mother], [[2Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg Q]
dè ðⁿ dè [bó =à],
Quot 3AnSg say.Pfv [LogoSg it.is],

A: ‘(Mother:) “Oh! My mother, is that really you [focus]?” She (=grandmother) said, “it’s me!” ’

- (08:47) áywà [nóⁿ nóʔó fǎráⁿ] wō kǎⁿ,
well [1Sg Foc too] be Dem.AnSg
móⁿ nà wé [nóⁿ jèrʔⁿ],
2Sg Past abandon.Base [1Sg Rel],

A: ‘(Mother:) “Well, this is me [focus] likewise! Me who(m) you abandoned.”
[< /nóⁿ tóʔó/; fǎráⁿ (§19.1.5), cf. @ 08:54 below; < /móⁿ rà/ (cf. @ 08:12 above)]

- (08:51) *comme* móⁿ wìè nóⁿ,
as 2Sg abandon.Pfv 1Sg,
nóⁿ nàⁿ klè áⁿ tē,
2Sg Fut do.Base how? Q,

A: ‘(Mother:) “As you abandoned me, how (=what) will I do?” ’
[< /wīē nó⁽ⁿ⁾/; áⁿ ‘how?’ (§13.2.3.5.1)]

- (08:54) [ē jùʔè fǎráⁿ] wō l— tàbàrikàlà
[Art God too] Infin (heistation) praise.God!
kō tàⁿ-jùʔè nó
Infin help.Base 1Sg

A: ‘(Mother:) “God too (says) ‘thanks!’ ’

B: ‘“to help me.” ’

[i.e. God is pleased about their rediscovery; tàbàrikàlà Arabic for ‘God be praised!’; < /tàⁿ-jūʔə/]

- (08:56) [nóⁿ fǎráⁿ] wō à-bú— [ē→ tǎrèⁿ-nòⁿ],
 [1Sg too] Infin come.Base-get.Base— [Art sit.Pfv-Agent],
 áywà, [bì té] =yà
 well, [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] it.is
 [Ø bí-ǰǐō] [wō rà-dò kē-à],
 [Art child.PI] [Infin go.Base-say.Base matter-2SgPoss],

A: '(Mother:) "I too came and got a husband. That [focus] is how the children went (=came) and spoke about you."

[‘husband’ literally ‘sit-Agent’ (‘sit’ as in ‘settle down’, hence ‘get married’); bí té dialectal for bè té (§4.4.2.1); rà- ‘go’ in compounds (§15.2.3.3.4); 2Sg possessor suffix -à (§4.3.1.2)]

- (09:01) ǰ nò= [ò jí [ǰ ǰō bà]],
 1Sg say.Pfv [3Pl leave.Base [2Sg Infin come.Base]],
 comme [ǰ bà [gà= à-ǰǐⁿ =mìⁿ nò]],
 as [1Sg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base 2SgObj Emph]],

A: '(Mother:) "I told them to have you come. Like, I have come to see you." '

[ǰǐ variant of já ‘leave, let’; < /ǰ dè ò/ ; < /ǰ kō bà/ ; < /kō à-ǰǐ mìⁿ lò/; proclitic pronouns 1Sg ǰ and 2Sg ǰ (§4.3.1.6)]

- (09:03) áywà, [nóⁿ nóʔ=] ō kǎⁿ [à nǐ],
 well, [1Sg Foc] be Dem.AnSg [3Inan Loc],
 [è úⁿǰúⁿ] á [gbè-yíʔé]-pǒⁿ—,
 [Art head] PfvNeg [be.lifted.Base]-be.able.Base—,
 ǰ ǰó =yò,
 (nasal) look.at.Base 3AnSgObj,

A: '(Mother:) "Well, this is me." The (grandmother’s) head could not be lifted, to look at her.'

[The grandmother can’t look at her daughter out of shame]

- (09:09) [[ē sǎré] bàʔà]
 [[Art shame(n)] Dat]
 [[ē sǎrí] bàʔà], donc, [ē úⁿǰúⁿ] kò kóʔó-tǒⁿ bè-yá-ró,
 [[Art shame(n)] Dat], so, [Art head] Infin be.held.down.Base thus,
 kò kóʔó-tǒⁿ bè-yá-ró,
 Infin be.held.down.Base thus,

B: 'Out of shame.'

A: 'Out of shame. So, the head was hung down in that way. It was hung down in that way.'

[sǎrí ‘shame (n)’ with Ji variant sǎrè ; bàʔà indicating source: ‘out of, due to’ (§8.1.1); cf. kóʔó-tē ‘hold (head) down’]

- (09:15) $mā^n-nī^n$, [\bar{e} $gblē^n?ē^n$],
 you.see?, [Art sorghum],
 $[\bar{e}$ $gblē^n?ē^n$] $bà$ $dīē$] [[[\bar{a} $wō$ $klè$] $ʃɲá$] $nī^n$],
 [Art sorghum] if enter.Base] [[[3Inan Infin do.Base] situation] Loc],
 A: ‘You see? Sorghum, when sorghum ripens, the way it does.’
[some cultivars of sorghum have decumbent grain heads when ripe]

- (09:20) $ɲì^n-ní^n$,
 Prsntv,
 $[[\bar{e}$ $yǒ$ $ǎ^n$], $dó$]
 [[Art woman Dem.AnSg], Poss.Inan]
 $[\emptyset$ $tàyàmàʃíé^n$ $ná=$] $=à$,
 [Art sign(n) Foc] it.is,
 A: ‘There it is! That woman’s (behavior) is the sign (of shame).’
 $[ɲì^n = ì^n nī^n$ presentative (§4.4.4.1); < / \bar{e} $yǒ$ $kǎ^n$ /; < / \bar{e} $tàyàmàʃíé^n$ $tó = à$ /;
 $tàyàmàʃíé^n$ < *Jula*]

- (09:22) $[ð^n$ $ú^n?ú^n$] $má^n$ [$gblī-à-yí?$]- $à-plū^n$ $=?$
 [3AnSg head] IpfvNeg [be.lifted.Ipfv]-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv Neg
 $[ð^n$ $ú^n?ú^n$] $má^n$ [$gblī-à-yí?$]- $à-plū^n$ $=?$
 [3AnSg head] IpfvNeg [be.lifted.Ipfv]-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv Neg
 A: ‘There was no way her head could be lifted.’
 B: ‘There was no way her head could be lifted.’
[Ipfv -plū^n is a stronger denial of ability than simple -pō^n (§15.1.7.1)]

- (09:24) *donc—*
 so—
 $[\bar{e}$ $sàré]$ $sū?ō$ $=ò$
 [Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj
 $[\bar{e}$ $sàrí]$ $sū?ō$ $=ò$
 [Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj
 A: ‘So—’
 B: ‘She was ashamed.’
 A: ‘She was ashamed.’

- (09:26) **mhm!** **kósóbé**
 mhm! a.lot
 $[[\bar{e}$ $sàré]$ $sū?ō$ $=ò]$
 [[Art shame(n)] catch.Pfv 3AnSgObj]
 $[ð^n$ $má^n$ $ɲú-à-plū^n$ $=?$]
 [3AnSg IpfvNeg look.at.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv Neg]
 A: ‘Uh-huh. A lot.’
 B: ‘She was ashamed. There was no way she could look.’

- (09:29) *donc*, *ń* *būō* *jèrón*,
 so, 1Sg get.Pfv Rel,
 [[è *ná-dì-ò*] *dó* *gbà-kà* *nī*,
 [[Art old.person.PI] Poss.Inan] narrate.Pfv-manner] Loc,
 [*bì* *tó?ó*] *wò* *yá*,
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
 A: ‘What I got (=learned) in the way the old people’s (story) was told, that was it.’

- (09:34) *ń* *būō* = *nī*— *gblè* = *nī* [*tò?ò* *jèrón*],
 1Sg get.Pfv 3InanObj— pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel],
ń *tīē* = *nī* *mā*,
 1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def,
 A: ‘Where I got it—picked it up, I put it (back) there.’
 [standard tale-ending formula]

- (09:36) [*bì* *tó? =*] *à*, [*è* *nán-bí*] *kán-kán* *wò*—
 [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Art person] ought Hort—
kò *kàràsí*
 Hort analyse.Base
kò *nḡ =* [*∅* *kě*],
 Hort look.at.Base [Art matter],
kò *bū =* [*∅* *ló?ó*] [*à* *nī*],
 Hort get.Base [Art secret] [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘That is, a person must ...’
 B: ‘... analyse’
 A: ‘... look at a matter, to find the secret in it.’
 [*kán-kán* (§17.4.3.3); *ló?ó* here means ‘hidden significance, secret’ (elsewhere
 ‘esoteric knowledge, magical powers’)]

- (09:43) *mā* *nè* [*má =* = *à*—]
 Proh say.Base [2Sg Ipfv—]
kō— *wórómá*, [*mó* *blé* *ʃìè-[bì-ʃìò]*],
 Infin— differentiate.Base, [2Sg own give.birth.Pfv-[child.PI]],
 A: ‘Don’t say you’ll—, differentiate (=treat unequally) your own birth children.’
 [< /*mā* *dè*/ ; *wórómá* (< *Jula*) ‘select’ or ‘treat unequally’; speaker restarts after
 using the *Jula* word]

- (09:48) ...
 [unintelligible due to speaker overlap]
 [*mó* *tó* [*n* *nè?é*]] *ʃì =* = *ò*
 [2Sg Foc [Sg one]] give.birth.Pfv 3AnSgObj
 A: ‘It was you-Sg alone who bore him/her.’
 [< /*n* *dè?é*/ ; < /*ʃìè = wò*/]

- (09:51) *sú?* = [ò *bíé?*], *móⁿ*
 catch.Base [Pl all], 2Sg
 [[*yúó jèrɔⁿ*] *bē sùtɔrá móⁿ*] [*máⁿ = áⁿ kɔⁿ = ?*]
 [[person Rel] Fut bury.Pfv 2Sg] [2Sg PfvNeg know.Base Neg]
mó má jī = ò
 2Sg IpfvNeg know.Ipfv 3AnSgObj

A: ‘Keep all of them! (As for) you-Sg, you don’t know who (=which of your children) will bury you.’

B: ‘You don’t know him/her.’

[*sùtɔrá* < *Jula sùtúrá*; < /*móⁿ á kɔⁿ = ?*/; two different ‘know’ verbs with different aspectual requirements, §11.2.5.1]

- (09:55) *ɔⁿhɔⁿ*, *donc*, Ø *mà* *sú?* = [ò *bíé*],
 uh-huh, so, 2Sg if catch.Base [Pl all],
cógó-cògò, *áywà*, [*ē jèrɔⁿ*] *mà wō sùtɔrá-kàʔà*,
 anyway, well, [Art Rel] if be bury-Ppl.An,

A: ‘Uh-huh. So, if you keep all of them, anyway, well, if (there is) one who is the (=your) burier, ...’

[*-kàʔà* animate singular participle (§4.5.4, §4.2.3.1)]

- (09:59) Ø *nàⁿ* *jīⁿ* *bó*,
 2Sg Fut see.Base 3AnSg,
māⁿ nè má = àⁿ núⁿ [ɔⁿ klè-kě],
 Proh say.Base 2Sg Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [3AnSg do.Pfv-matter(n)],

A: ‘...you-Sg will see (=recognize) him/her. Don’t say (=think) that you will look at (=understand) his/her behavior.’

[< /*jīⁿ bó*/; < /*māⁿ dè móⁿ à lúⁿ*/ with *lúⁿ* (*Bi* dialect) for *nú* (other dialects)]

- (10:02) *donc* *nóⁿ* *būō* *jèrɔⁿ*, [[*ē dè-fê*] *nīⁿ*],
 so 1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [[Art say.Pfv-talk] Loc],
ó gō lāⁿ = [Ø dígè-rò]
 1Pl Infin advise.Base [PIRefl Recip]

wálà→

right!

A: ‘So, what I got in (=out of) the words, we advise each other (about it).’

B: ‘Right!’

[< /*kō lāⁿ ò dígè-rò*/]

- (10:06) *parce que* Ø *mà* *jūʔ̄5-dè* = [Ø *dèràʔá*],
 because 2Sg if hear.Base-say.Base [Art tale],
 [è [dígè-rò]-làⁿ-níⁿ té] à-māⁿ [à níⁿ]
 [Art [Recip]-advise.Base-VbIN Foc.Inan] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 [bè *tóʔó*] =à *lè*
 [Dem.Def Foc] it.is Emph
 A: ‘Because if you hear tell about tales, advice for each other is in it (=is part of it).’
 B: ‘That’s so.’
 [verbal noun from *lāⁿ* ‘advise’]

- (10:10) *ḡ* *gō* *bà* [à *rō*], *mà* *māà*
 2Sg Infin come.Base [with 3Inan], (false start)
 à *bā* =à-kō [tòʔò *jèróⁿ*],
 3Inan if come-Base-finish.Base [place Rel],
 ò *kō* *lāⁿ* = [Ø *dígè-rò*],
 3Pl Infin advise.Base [PIRefl Recip],
 A: ‘You-Sg bring it (=tale, to other listeners). [false start]. Where it (comes and) ends, they then advise each other.’

- (10:12) *ḡ* *jèróⁿ* *mà* *té-jūʔ̄5* *bè*,
 2Sg Rel if listen.Base Dem.Def,
jí Ø *mā* *dè* *ḡ* *klè* [Ø *náⁿ-bí yá*] *bè-yá-ró*,
 if 2Sg if say.Base 2Sg do.Pfv [Art child Dem.InanSg] thus,
 A: ‘If someone (=you) has heard that, if you say that you have made that child like that,’
 [< /ḡ *jèróⁿ bà*/; ‘you who’ (§14.1.9)]

- (10:16) [ḡ *gō* *jīⁿ* =*nìⁿ*]
 [2Sg Infin see.Base 3InanObj]
 [ḡ *já* =*nìⁿ* *māⁿ*]
 [2Sg leave.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def]
 A: ‘(And you say that) you have seen it, may you leave it there.’

- (10:18) *ḡ* *būō* *jèróⁿ*, [bì *tóʔó*] *gò* *yá*,
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
wàtèrá á-nì-cé
 O thanks
 A: ‘What I got, that is it.’
 B: ‘Ouattara (A’s name), thanks.’
 [tale ending; *á nì cé* from *Jula*]

Text 2017-08 Hare and hyena (tale)

duration 11:14

(A) *Ouattara Drisa* (Biton *quartier*), narrator

(B) *Ouattara Jean-Pierre* (Jinejan *quartier*), respondent

(00:02) *ń* *tīē* = *nìⁿ*, *ē* *nāⁿ-bè?è*,
 1Sg put.Pfv 3InanObj, Art Bouki,
j̀̀róⁿ *à* *lí* *dè* [*∅* *síglò*],
 Rel Ipfv be.called.Ipfv Quot [Art hyena,
 [*è* *súglò*]
 [Art hyena]
bó *kà* [*∅* *blí-ké*]
 3AnSg with [Art hare]

A: ‘I put it (=tale). Bouki, what is called hyena.’

B: ‘Hyena.’

A: ‘It and hare.’

[*nāⁿ-bè?è* (Bouki in local French) is a personal name for the male hyena in tales emphasizing hyena’s greed and gluttony, while *síglò* (Ji dialect *súglò*) ‘hyena’ is the general term for the species; this hyena and this hare were apparently female but their mates appear later; < /*bó kà è blí-ké*/]

(00:11) *ò* *gō→*, *kā=* *à-māⁿ*, *í-á-lò*,
 3Pl Infin, Infin be.Loc, you.know.it,
 [*ē* *wìè-[f̃̀-*rè*]]* *ní-māⁿ* [*ō* *bà?à*],
 [Art wear.Pfv-[garment-Pl] not.be.Loc [3Pl Dat],

A: ‘They were there. You know. They had no clothes to wear.’

[long hesitations, repair as *ò kā= à-māⁿ* ; *í á lò* is a Jula phrase; ‘X not have Y’ expressed as ‘Y be absent [chez X]’ (§11.5.1.2); < /*f̃̀-*ré**/]

(00:18) *áywà*, [*ò* *bíé*] *à* *yíé* [*∅* *wàrè*] = *rê→*,
 well, [3Pl all] Ipfv wear.loincloth.Ipfv [Art leaf.loincloth] Emph,
 é!, [*è* *súglò*] *kà* [*∅* *blí-ké*] = *ē*
 oh!, [Art hyena] with [Art hare] Q

A: ‘Well, they both wore women’s loincloths (made of leaves).’

B: ‘Oh! Hyena and hare?’

[*yīē/yíé/yíé* ‘put on (loincloth)’; *ē (w)àré* ‘woman’s traditional loincloth made of leaves’; = *rê→* (§19.4.4)]

- (00:22) [è síglò] kà [Ø blí-ké]
 [Art hyena] with [Art hare]
 [ò bíé] à yíé= [Ø àré],
 [3Pl all] Ipfv wear.loincloth [Art leaf.loincloth],
 [ē yà-ró] à yíé= [Ø àré],
 [Art woman-Pl] Ipfv gird.on.Ipfv [Art leaf.loincloth],
 A: ‘(Female) hyena and hare, both wore (i.e. girded on) leaf loincloths. Women (not men) wore leaf loincloths.’
 [àré variant of wàré ; the male equivalent at the time was a loincloth (tùfú) made of cotton cloth]

- (00:25) [ē wàré bè] nà yíé
 [Art loincloth Top.Inan] Fut loincloth.be.girded.Base
 [[pètè-nù?ò jàróⁿ bè] nī]
 [[buttock which? Top.Inan] Loc]
 B: ‘The women’s loincloth would be worn on which buttocks?’
 [postnominal inanimate topic bè ; sarcastic rhetorical question: hyenas and hares lack the ample buttocks needed to hold up such loincloths]

- (00:27) é→, à= Ø yíé,
 ah!, 3Inan Ipfv loincloth.be.girded.Ipfv,
 donc ò= Ø yíé= [Ø àré],
 so 3Pl Ipfv wear.loincloth.Pfv [Art leaf.loincloth],
 A: ‘Ah, it (=loincloth) was worn. So, they wore women’s loincloths.’

- (00:30) bon comme ò= Ø yíé= [Ø àré] bè-yá-ró,
 well as 3Pl Ipfv wear.loincloth.Ipfv [Art leaf.loincloth] thus,
 [ē yà-ró] bà wò [yíyí n̄] [[Ø blā?ā] nīⁿ],
 [Art woman-Pl] if be [go.Prog Prog] [[Art pond] Loc],
 A: ‘Well, seeing that they wore women’s loincloths, whenever the women were on the way to the pond,’
 [< /bà kō yíyí nīⁿ ē blā?ā nīⁿ/; progressive (§10.2.4)]

- (00:34) [ò bíé]— ìj à lúⁿ [ò dígè-rò],
 [3Pl all]— (nasal) Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [PIRefl Recip],
 A: ‘Everybody was looking at (=could see) each other.’
 [pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); lúⁿ dialectal for nú]

- (00:37) à→, é!, [ē kō jī],
 ah! oh! [Art day Indef],
 [è blí-ké] k̄ā = à-glú, kō gbē [Ø klòò],
 [Art hare] Infin come.Base-exit(v).Base, Infin take.Base [Art road],
 k-ā é-à-yíí, k-ā é-à-yíí,
 Infin-Ipfv walk.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv, Infin-Ipfv walk.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv,

A: ‘Ah, one day, hare came out and took the road. She was walking along, and walking along.’

[< /kō (b)à-glú/ with ‘come’, since it denotes a single event, compare imperfective infinitival k-ā glú ; é- dialectal for yé-; repeated imperfective infinitival k-ā é-à-yíí to emphasize duration (§15.2.2)]

- (00:46) ðⁿ yīṛē [Ø rà-dāⁿ = [[[Ø sàròò] cáʔá] nīⁿ]
 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[[Art baobab] proximity] Loc]
 [ē dè] tīēⁿ, [ē dè] k-ā b̀,
 [Art sun] be.hot.Pfv, [Art sun] Infin-Ipfv burn.Ipfv,

A: ‘She came and arrived (stopped) next to a baobab tree. It was mid-day (at peak heat), the sun was blazing.’

[baobab tree: *Adansonia digitata*]

- (00:49) ɓⁿ dīē = [[[Ø sàròò] cáʔá] nīⁿ], é!
 3AnSg enter.Pfv [[[Art baobab] proximity] Loc], oh!
 dē = [Ø sàròʔ = á b̀]
 Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg Top.Inan]
 dà = [à lóⁿ] à dáⁿ = nēʔ,
 Quot [3Inan shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,

A: ‘She went in next to the baobab. She said, “oh my! This baobab, your shade is really nice!” ’

[< /dè à lóⁿ à dáⁿ = dēʔ/; à in à lóⁿ converted from direct-discourse 2Sg (§17.1.4)]

- (00:53) é!, [ē sàròò] dè ñ mā dè
 oh! [Art baobab] say.Pfv 2Sg if say.Base
 [[nóⁿ lóⁿ] = ðⁿ dáⁿ],
 [[1Sg shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv],
 ñ pìèⁿ-j́óⁿ [nóⁿ bìⁿʔéⁿ] b̀-ya = ā,
 2Sg taste(v).Pfv [1Sg leaf] thus Q,

A: ‘ “Oh!” the baobab said, “if you say that my shade is pleasant, did you taste my leaves?” ’

[pìèⁿ-j́óⁿ dialectal for perfective pèⁿ-j́ó (base páⁿ-j́ó); ‘leaf’ variably à-bìⁿʔéⁿ or just bìⁿʔéⁿ]

(00:59) s̀̀n-bá= ā sūʔū bè [ʔ̃n bó] =ō,
 who? Ipfv give.Ipfv Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Who will give that to me?” ’
 [*< s̀̀n-bó with s̀̀n ‘who?’ (§13.2.3.1) and bó (§19.1.2.1) as fused topic marker; logophoric dative*]

(01:00) [[ē bìʔ̃éʔ̃] gō dì-só]
 [[Art leaf] Infin fall.Base]
 [ʔ̃n gō gbē bè [kò páʔ̃-nʔ̃]],
 [3AnSg Infin take.Base Dem.Def [Infin taste.Base]],
 A: ‘Then the leaves came falling down. She (=hare) picked them up and tasted (them).’
 [*‘taste’ compound (§15.1.1.11)*]

(01:02) é! dè [[ē s̀̀ròʔ̃= á] bìʔ̃éʔ̃]
 oh! Quot [Art baobab Dem.InanSg] leaf]
 =àʔ̃n dáʔ̃n =nēʔ̃,
 Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh! leaves of this baobab sure are delicious!” ’
 [*< /-bìʔ̃éʔ̃ (y)á/; baobab-leaf sauce is a staple in much of Burkina and Mali*]

(01:04) áywà, dè ʔ̃n mā r̀̀ è [[bó bìʔ̃éʔ̃] =àʔ̃n dáʔ̃n,
 well, Quot 3AnSg if say.Base [[LogoSg leaf] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
 é! d= ʔ̃n p̀̀èʔ̃-nʔ̃ [bó bíó bè] tē
 oh! Quot 3AnSg taste.Pfv [LogoSg fruits Top.Inan] Q
 [bó bíó] tē
 [LogoSg fruit] Q
 A: ‘ “Well,” (the tree) said, “if you say that my leaves are pleasant (=tasty), have you tasted my fruits?” ’
 B: ‘ “my fruits?” ’
 [*bíó ‘fruits’ (< ‘children’); indirect discourse with 3AnSg for original addressee (hare), compare the direct quotation @ 00:53 above; tē quoted interrogative (§13.2.1.2); baobab fruits have an edible sweet white mealy fruit pulp called by Africans pain de singe in French and “monkey bread” in English*]

(01:11) á! dè s̀̀n-wí nàʔ̃n sūʔ̃ò bè [ʔ̃n [í-yùò s̀̀r̀̀é]],
 oh! Quot who? Fut give Dem.Def [Dat [1Pl peer]],
 [è bíó] wò glú [wō dì-só] [ʔ̃n gō gbē],
 [Art fruit] Infin exit(v).Base [Infin fall.Base] [3AnSg Infin take.Base],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Who will give that to the likes of us (animals)?” Then the fruits came off and fell, and she picked them up.’
 [*< ʔ̃n í-yùò ; sequence of infinitival clauses kò glú, kō dì-só, kō gbē with subject switch (§15.2)*]

(01:15) é! dè [[ē sàròʔò á] bíó] à dáⁿ = nēʔ
 oh! Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] fruit] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph
 [à bíó] à dáⁿ
 [3Inan fruit] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv

A: '(Hare:) "Ah, this baobab's fruits are really delicious!" '

B: "The fruits are delicious!" '

(01:18) Ø mā dè [nóⁿ bíó] à dáⁿ,
 2Sg if say.Base [1Sg fruit] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
 [nóⁿ ʃīē-lùʔù] móⁿ pìēⁿ-póⁿ bè = ā
 [1Sg rear-bark] 2Sg taste.Pfv Dem.Def Q

A: '(Baobab:) "If you say that my fruit is delicious, (as for) my bark, did you taste that?" '

(01:22) é! bó nàⁿ klè [áⁿ bè]
 oh! LogoSg Fut do.Base [how? Top.Inan]
 [wò bú bè] tē,
 [Infīn get.Base Dem.Def] Q,

A: '(Hare:) "Oh! What will (=can/must) I do, in order to get that?" '

[áⁿ 'how?' (§13.2.3.5.1)]

(01:23) [ē kè-tèʔè dé =rè] ní-màⁿ [bó bàʔà],
 [Art hand however even] not.be [LogoSg Dat],
 wálà→, [ē sàròʔò-[ʃīē-lùʔù] jī] wō lè-glú,
 right!, [Art baobab-[rear-bark] Indef] Infīn be.torn.Base-exit(v).Base,

A: '(Hare:) "But I don't have hands (fingers)." Right! Then some of the bark of the baobab came off.'

[< / = rē ní-māⁿ bó/; = rē (§19.1.6)]

(01:27) ʔⁿ gō gbē bè [g-ā súáⁿ],
 3AnSgo Infīn take.Base Dem.Def [Infīn-Ipfv chew.lightly.Ipfv],
 dē= [[Ø sàròʔò á] ʃīē-lùʔù] à dáⁿ = nēʔ,
 Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] [rear-skin]] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,

A: 'She then picked that up and was chewing on it. (She) said, "the bark of this baobab sure is delicious!" '

[sūēⁿ/súáⁿ/súáⁿ and variants 'chew lightly (peanuts, soft meat)', cf. klɔⁿ/kɔⁿ/klúⁿ 'chew (kola), munch on (peanuts, grains)']

(01:32) áywà, dè Ø mà jīⁿ [nóⁿ ʃíē-lùʔù] à dáⁿ,
 well, Quot 2Sg if see.Base [1Sg rear-bark] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
 ʔ jàⁿ [nóⁿ níⁿ-bìò] bè tē,
 2Sg see.Pfv [1Sg guts-children] Dem.Def Q,

A: '(Baobab:) "Well, if you have seen that my bark is delicious, have you seen my insides?" '

[< /nóⁿ líⁿ-bìò/; líⁿ 'interior, guts']

- (01:36) **nóⁿ níⁿ-bì,** **é!** [**nóⁿ níⁿ-bì-ò**] **à dáⁿ** **= nē?**,
 1Sg guts-child, oh! [1Sg guts.children] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
 A: ‘(Baobab:) “My inside(s), oh!, my insides sure are delicious!”
- (01:38) **é!** **dè** **sòⁿ-mó** **nàⁿ sū?ò** **bè** [**òⁿ bó**] **= ò→,**
 oh! Quot who? Fut give.Base Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q,
nóⁿ náⁿ klè [**áⁿ bè**] [**g = à-bú** **bè**] **tē,**
 1Sg Fut do.Base [how? Top.Inan] [Infin come.Base-get.Base Dem.Def] Q,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh, who will give that to me? What will (=must) I do to get that?”’
 [< /sòⁿ bó/]
- (01:43) **dè** [**jí bè** **máⁿ glò**] [**bó** **nàⁿ wú?ó** **= nìⁿ,**
 Quot [if Dem.Def IpfvNeg it.is] [LogoSg Fut open.Base 3InanObj],
òⁿ kò **wú?ó—**
 3AnSg Infin open.Base—
 [**ē** **sà-rò?ò**] **kò** **wó?ó** **= nì**
 [Art baobab] Infin open.Base 3InanObj
wú?ó [**òⁿ m’?áⁿ**]
 open.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl]
 A: ‘ “If it isn’t that (=anyway), I will open it.” Then it opened...’
 B: ‘The baobab opened it.’
 A: ‘... opened itself.’
 [*Bi wú?ó = Ji wó?ó ‘open’ (base); reflexive object (§18.1.2)*]
- (01:49) [**è** **blí-ké**] **kò** **wē** [**òⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ**] **mēⁿ-fí?é,**
 [Art hare] Infin put.in.Base [3AnSgRefl head] like.this,
kò **jíⁿ** **ē—**
 Infin see.Base [Art—
é! **kò** **wē** [**òⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ**] **= ūⁿ**
 oh! Infin put.Base [3AnSgRefl head] Q
 A: ‘Hare put her head in like that. She saw—’
 B: ‘Oh! And (she) put her head in?’
- (01:53) **kò** **jíⁿ** [**∅** **fà-ré**], [**è** **fíéríbó**],
 Infin see.Base [Art wrap(n)-Pl], [Art wardrobe],
 [**ē** **fà-ré** **kò-kò-rò**],
 [Art wrap(n)-Pl Rdp-good-Pl],
 A: ‘She saw wraps (clothing). A whole wardrobe of clothing. Good wraps.’
 [*singular fê?é ‘woman’s wrap (rectangular cloth wrapped around body)’; fíéríbó*
 < *Jula; optionally iterated adjective (§4.5.3.2.1)*]

- (01:58) [ē yà-ró] dó, [ē dè-ró] dó,
 [Art woman-Pl] Poss.Inan, [Art man-Pl] Poss.Inan,
 ðⁿ wò yíŋí-ŋíŋí [wō sāⁿ-glō],
 3AnSg Infin get.up.Base [Infin gather.Base],
 A: ‘Women’s. Men’s. She got up and gathered (them) up.’
 [*< yà-ró, dè-ró dropping tones before H-toned dó ; dó default inanimate possessum (§6.2.4.1)*]
- (02:02) ɓⁿ [sèⁿ-glō]-kò [dáŋá jèrɔⁿ],
 3AnSg [gather.Pfv]-finish.Base [time Rel],
 [ē sàròŋò] ò klá [ò ɔŋó-tòⁿ]
 [Art baobab] Infin return.Base [Infin shut.Base]
 oui, [ðⁿ wēŋē-tòⁿ = nì
 yes, [3AnSg shut.Pfv 3InanObj]
 A: ‘When she (=hare) had finished picking (them) out, the baobab closed up again.’
 B: ‘It (=baobab) closed it.’
 [*temporal adverbial relative (§15.3.5.1); < /-kō dáŋá/; ɔŋó-tòⁿ Bi dialect for wáŋá-tòⁿ*]
- (02:07) ðⁿ wò yíŋ = [à rō],
 3AnSg Infin go.Base [with 3Inan],
 ðⁿ gò yíŋ = [à rō],
 3AnSg Infin go.Base [with 3Inan],
 ðⁿ yíŋē [Ø rà-dàⁿ],
 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base],
 ðⁿ gō→, [è téⁿ] klē,
 3AnSg Infin, [Art daybreak] day.break.Pfv,
 A: ‘She took them (=wraps) along. Having taken them along, she went and arrived, and she then—. Day broke.’
 [*perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2); à rō Bi dialect for kà lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’; ‘day broke’ subject-verb collocation (§11.1.1.4)*]
- (02:15) é! [è síglò-yò]
 oh! [Art hyena-woman]
 móⁿ nè fō = [[Ø ānàⁿ?àⁿ] n̄] [kò-kò sú→],
 2Sg IpfvPast pass.Ipfv [[Art front] Loc [Rdp-day all],
 A: ‘Oh, hyena woman, you were going in front every day.’
 [*< /móⁿ dè/; fō is base=Ipfv; kò-kò sú→ ‘every day, always’ (§6.6.1.2)*]
- (02:19) móⁿ máⁿ ŋbāŋā, [[è téⁿ] klē] ðⁿ kō→,
 2Sg IpfvNeg be.big.Ipfv, [[Art daybreak] day.break.Pfv] 3AnSg Infin—,
 [ðⁿ gō sūŋ = [ðⁿ [ðⁿ yǒ]]] [gò bó],
 [3AnSg Infin give.Base [Dat [3AnSg woman]]] [Infin tie.Base],
 A: ‘You (=hare woman) aren’t big. Day broke and then he (=hare man) gave (a wrap) to his wife, to tie on (=wear).’

- [< /máⁿ gbāʔā/; infinitival VP after ‘give’ clause (§17.6.2)]
- (02:22) [ē yǒ] būs [wò glú],
 [Art woman] tie.Pfv [Infin exit(v).Base],
 [ò gà = à-[ló-kàⁿ?àⁿ] [ò dígè-rò]
 [3Pl Infin come.Base-[encounter.Base] [PlRefl Recip]
 d= [ò yíʔi = [[Ø blāʔā] n̄]], á!
 Quot [3Pl go.Base [[Art pond] Loc]], ah!
 A: ‘The (hare) woman tied on (her wrap) and set off. They (=hare woman and hyena woman) came and met up. They intended to go to the pond. Ah—’
 [infinitival ‘come and’ after ‘exit(v)’ (§15.2.3.2.3); future nà⁽ⁿ⁾ is implied but elided in the rapidly spoken ‘they go to the pond’]
- (02:27) kà-sàṛṣ = [Ø wàrè té] tá yíé = ē,
 while [Art leaf.loincloth Foc.Inan] Past be.girded.Base Q,
 [è [blí-ké]-yò] k̄ = à-bó [Ø fêʔé]
 [Art [hare]-woman] Infin come.Base-tie.Base [Art wrap(n)]
 ðhóⁿ
 yes
 B: ‘Whereas a leaf loincloth [focus] had been put on (hyena woman)? (While) hare woman (came and) put on a wrap?’
 A: ‘Yes.’
 [kà-sàṛṣ (§15.3.5.7.2); past perfect (§10.3.1.2)]
- (02:32) [è súglò-yò] máⁿ [k̄ = [Ø fêʔé]] = ē
 [Art hyena-woman] IpfvNeg [with [Art wrap(n)]] Q
 [[è síglò-yò] t̄ⁿ bíé] yìè, ìʔí,
 [[Art hyena-woman] spirit all] leap.Pfv, wow!,
 B: ‘Hyena woman didn’t have a wrap?’
 A: ‘Hyena woman was shocked! Wow!’
 [hyena woman was embarrassed that her junior had elegant clothing while she didn’t; ‘not have’ (§11.5.1.1); < /t̄ⁿ bíé/; collocation ‘X’s whole spirit leap’ = ‘X be shocked’; ìʔí expresses amazement]
- (02:36) [ē cò] glō [bó nīⁿ]
 [Art harm] exit(v).Pfv [3AnSg Loc]
 [è b́rá] s̄ṛṣⁿ
 [Art work(n)] descend.Pfv
 A: ‘A misfortune came upon her!’
 B: ‘The work (=drama) came down (=happened)!’
 [i.e. she was in in shock, with no solution]

- (02:38) $d\grave{e}\rightarrow$, [è [blí-ké]-yò] fó-gbè?é,
 Quot, [Art [hare]-woman] pass.Base-go.Hort,
 [3ⁿ máⁿ fó-gbè?é] [bó wò lúⁿ =āⁿ],
 [3AnSg IpfvNeg pass.Ipfv-go.Hort] [LogoSg Hort look.at.Ipfv Q],
 A: ‘(Hyena woman) said, “hare woman, go ahead! Will you not go ahead, and I’ll watch?”’
 [*hortative gbè?é (§10.4.2.1.1)*]

- (02:42) [è blí-ké] dè áy!,
 [Art hare] say.Pfv oh!,
 [kò-kò sú→] máⁿ = =àⁿ fó mô→,
 [Rdp-day all] 2Sg Ipfv pass.Ipfv concerning,
 kúⁿ?úⁿ móⁿ ŋ = à-rè [nóⁿ fó] tē,
 today 2Sg Infin come.Base-say.Base [1Sg pass.Base] Q,
 A: ‘Hare (woman) said, “oh! Every day you go (=have been going) ahead, (but) today you (come and) tell me to go ahead?”’
 [*clause-final mô→, §19.1.4; </móⁿ à/; </móⁿ kō (b)à-dè/; contrastive setting topic (§19.1.1)*]

- (02:46) $\acute{n}\acute{?}\acute{n}$! nóⁿ máⁿ fīē-pōⁿ =?,
 unh-unh! 1Sg IpfvNeg pass.Pfv-be.able.Base Neg,
 àyí, [móⁿ tó? =] wè?è, [[móⁿ tó? =] à fó]
 no!, [2Sg Foc] grow.up.Pfv, [[2Sg Foc] Ipfv pass.Ipfv]
 A: ‘(Hare woman:) “No, I will not be able to go ahead (of you). No, you [focus] are bigger (than me), you [focus] will go ahead!”’
 [*pōⁿ ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1) in future negative (§10.2.5.4); here and in the following segment there is some ambiguity as to which woman is speaking since they are arguing the same thing*]

- (02:49) dè àyí [bè ní-māⁿ [=àⁿ nīⁿ]]
 Quot no! [Dem.Def not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc]]
 nè [bó máⁿ fīē-pōⁿ =?],
 Quot [LogoSg IpfvNeg pass.Pfv-be.able.Base Neg],
 A: ‘(Hare woman:) “No! That doesn’t exist there (=isn’t appropriate). I will not be able to go ahead.’
 [*</à nī dè/*]

- (02:51) áywà, [[è [blí-ké]-yò] [kè-tè?è]-kè máⁿ glò]
 well, [[Art [hare]-woman] [hand]-matter IpfvNeg it.is]
 [è [blí-ké]-yò] wò fó,
 [Art [hare]-woman] Infin pass.Base,
 A: ‘Well, hare woman had no choice. Hare woman went ahead.’

- (02:56) ðⁿ gō pēⁿ [kpèrèⁿ-jòⁿ nīⁿ],
 3AnSg Infin remain.Base [turn.head.and.look.Prog Prog],
 A: ‘She (=hare woman) kept turning her head to look back (at hyena woman).’
[dialectal, cf. kèⁿ-jò ‘turn head and look (once)’; progressive with ‘remain’
(§10.2.4.1)]
- (02:57) [kō kpèrèⁿ-jòⁿ] [kō kpèrèⁿ-jòⁿ]
 [Infin turn.head.and.look.Base] [Infin turn.head.and.look.Base]
 [fó kò yíyí [gō rà-dàⁿ= [[Ø blā?ā] nīⁿ]]
 [until Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art pond] Loc]]
 A: ‘She turned her head and looked, she turned her head and looked, until (she)
 went and arrived at the pond.’
[Bi dialect kō rà- ‘and went and’ in doubled ‘go’ construction (§15.2.3.3.4)]
- (03:00) [kò gō= [Ø jūⁿ]] [ɲò klá],
 [Infin draw.water.Base [Art water]] [Infin return.Base],
 A: ‘Then she (=hare woman) drew water and went back.’
[< /kō gō ē jūⁿ kō klá/; gbā/gó/gó ~ gú ‘draw (water, at a well)’ , tonally distinct
from gbà/gò/gò ~ gù ‘hit’ or ‘tell (a tale)’]
- (03:02) [kà-sèrò [bó dǒ] à sēⁿ
 [while [3AnSg man] Ipfv gather.Ipfv
 [ē kè-rà-?á jèrèⁿ mō→],
 [Art meat-Pl Rel] concerning],
 bó á gbē bē
 3AnSg PfvNeg take.Base Dem.Def
 [gò táⁿ-bó-wē-tà?à [[Ø cé?é] nīⁿ]] = āⁿ,
 [Infin do.again.Base-tie.Base-put.in.Base-stick.on.Base [[Art hip] Loc]] Q,
 A: ‘Meanwhile, the wild animals that her (=hyena woman’s) husband was
 collecting (by hunting), did she not take them and then tie them fast on her hips
 (=waist)?’
[rhetorical negative question; sèⁿ/sāⁿ/sēⁿ ‘pick up, collect (one by one)’; kè-rà-?á
plural of kà?á ‘meat’, hence ‘game animals’; táⁿ-bó-wē-tà?à quadruple verb
compound; táⁿ- ‘do again’ (§10.3.2.2); cé?é ‘hip’ (dialectally cí?é)]
- (03:07) ē kā-wè-rù
 Art bone-Pl
 cò?!, donc bó sēⁿ= [Ø kā-wè-rù]
 exactly! so 3AnSg gather.Pfv [Art bone-Pl]
 [gò bó [[ðⁿ cé?é] nīⁿ]],
 [Infin tie.Base [[3AnSgRefl hip] Loc]],
 B: ‘The bones.’
 A: ‘Exactly! So, she gathered the bones and tied them on her hips.’
[‘bone’: singular kā-wù?ù; cò?! (§8.5.3.2.2)]

- (03:11) **bó** à lúⁿ n = [àⁿdéⁿʔéⁿ nīⁿ]
 3AnSg Ipfv look.at.Ipfv Quot [appearance Loc]
 [bè tóʔó], [bè bərə́] ā kò-à-fó,
 [Dem.Def Foc], [Dem.Def still] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv-Ipfv-pass.Ipfv,
 [[è [blí-ké]-yò] bàʔà] dò],
 [[Art [hare]-woman] Dat] Poss.Inan],
 A: ‘It seemed to her that that [focus], that was (still) better than the one that was with hare woman.’

[< /lúⁿ dè/; àⁿdéⁿʔéⁿ nī fixed phrase meaning ‘in appearance, like, as though’ (§15.3.1.4), based on French on dirait; bərə́ ‘still’ < Jula bèléⁿ; dó added to PP (§6.2.4.1)]

- (03:15) *ébè*
 wow!
 à fō = [Ø wərə́] =?
 3Inan pass.Ipfv [Art leaf.loincloth] Emph
oui oui
 yes yes

B: ‘Wow!’

A: ‘It was better than a leaf loincloth!’

B: ‘Yes, yes.’

[*ébè* < Jula, cf. perhaps French *eh bien!*; final glottal (§3.2.1.9)]

- (03:17) *donc* ʔⁿ bà [gà = à- —]
 so 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base- —]
 ʔⁿ bà [gà = à-dàⁿ],
 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base],
 A: ‘So, she came and—, she came and arrived (home).’
 [< /kō (b)à-dàⁿ/]

- (03:19) [[[ʔⁿ yìʔè-té = [Ø ɲūⁿ]] ʃɲá] nīⁿ,
 [[[3AnSg unload.Pfv-put.Base [Art water]] situation] Loc],
mais, ʔⁿ gò yíyí [gō rà-, gbē—
 but, 3AnSg Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-, take.Base—
 flō = [Ø [kā-wə]-rù]],
 untie.Base [Art [bone]-PI]],

A: ‘After she took the water down from her head, she went and (went and) took— (or rather) untied the bones.’

[*somewhat broken, smooth out as kō rà-flō =*]

- (03:24) wā = à-[tì-tʔⁿ] = nīⁿ = [[[Ø dò] úⁿʔúⁿ] nīⁿ],
 Infin come.Base-[dump.Base] 3InanObj [[[Art man] head] Loc],
wərə́
 thud!

A: ‘Then she came and dumped it (=bones) on the husband’s head. Thud!’

[*onomatopoeia*]

(03:27) *kō bũʔɔ̄ =ni, dè é!,*
 Infin shout.Base 3InanObj, Quot oh!

[*ē mlàⁿʔáⁿ*] *glō*
 [Art conflict(n)] exit(v).Pfv

[*ē mlàⁿʔáⁿ*] *glō*
 [Art conflict(n)] exit(v).Pfv

B: ‘Then he (=husband) let out a shout, “oh!” ’

A: ‘The conflict came out (=began).’

B: ‘The conflict came out.’

(03:29) *dē ʔⁿ gbē [ʔⁿ— ʔⁿ [kā-wè]-rù]*
 Quot 3AnSg take.Base [3AnSgRefl— 3AnSgRefl [bone]-Pl]
bó má kà—
 LogoSg IpfvNeg with—

A: ‘(She) said, “pick up your bones!” ’

B: ‘ “I don’t have—” ’

[*quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1)*]

(03:32) [*è [blí-ké]-yò tóʔó kàⁿ yīʔē [ō rà-pārē]*]
 [Art [hare]-woman Foc Dem.AnSg] go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-dress.up.Base]
 [*kō pārē*] [*kō pārē*] [*kō pārē*],
 [Infin dress.up.Base] (repetitions),
 [*ē pārè-ní máⁿ glò =ʔ,*]
 [Art dress.up-VblN] IpfvNeg it.is Neg,

A: ‘(Hyena woman:) “That hare woman [focus] went and dressed up, and repeatedly dressed up. It (=this) isn’t beautifying.” ’

[*demonstrative kǎⁿ following focus marker (§13.1.2.2) ...-yò kǎⁿ tóʔó ; pārē*
 ‘dress up, (woman) put on finery’, cf. French (se) parer, parures]

(03:37) [*bó pìèⁿ [ʔⁿ nɔ́ⁿ nīⁿ]*]
 [3AnSg remain.Pfv [3AnSg look.at.Prog] Prog]]
 [*jí bó dà nǎⁿʔáⁿ = [Ø jū]*]
 [if 3AnSg IpfvPast redder.Base [Art eye(s)]]
 [[*bó tètèʔè*] *nàⁿ bē gbèʔè*],
 [[3AnSg waterjar] CFact Fut be.shattered.Pfv],

A: ‘She (=hyena woman) kept looking at it (=hare woman). If she didn’t watch out, her waterjar would be (=was at risk of being) shattered.’

[*i.e. the waterjar that hyena woman carried on her head might fall off and break; ‘remain’ plus progressive (§10.2.4.1); dà variant of dè ; counterfactual nàⁿ (§16.4.2) plus future bē*]

- (03:40) áywà, [ē dǔ]—
 well, [Art man]—
 [ē dǔⁿ] kō [[ǔⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ] cìⁿ]
 [Art pain] be [[3AnSg head] Loc]
 A: ‘Well, the (hyena) husband—’
 B: ‘His whole body was in pain.’
 [composite postposition úⁿ?úⁿ cìⁿ (§8.3.7.3)]
- (03:42) [ē dǔ] [bó náⁿ-jùⁿ?ǔⁿ] = áⁿ kō = ā
 [Art man] [3AnSg anger(n)] PfvNeg be.emitted.Base Q
 [bó náⁿ-jùⁿ?ǔⁿ] klǔ
 [3AnSg anger(n)] be.emitted.Pfv
 A: ‘The husband, did he not become angry?’
 B: ‘He became angry.’
 [lit. ‘his anger was emitted’; Bi náⁿ-jùⁿ?ǔⁿ = other dialects’ náⁿ-jùⁿ?ǔⁿ) ‘anger (n)’, compare verb náⁿ?áⁿ ‘redden’ and noun jū ‘eye(s)’ @ 03:37 above]
- (03:44) [nóⁿ dè] [ò bíé =r=] à-māⁿ [[Ø kpà?à-ń] ñ],
 [1Sg say.Pfv] [3Pl all even] be.Loc [[Art be.poor-VblN] Loc],
 móⁿ ŋ-ā glú [ā [bè pàrè-ń]]
 2Sg Infin-Ipfv exit(v).Ipfv [with [Dem.Def dress.up-VblN]]
 [Ø sē] bè tē,
 [Art where?] Dem.Def Q,
 A: ‘I said, everyone was in poverty. (So) where (=how) is it that you are coming out and dressing up?’
 [< /bíé =rē à-māⁿ/; < /móⁿ kō à glú kà/]
- (03:48) áywà, jǔ→, [ē dǔ] gò yí?í-sì?ì,
 well, look.Base, [Art man] Infin get.up.Base,
 kò yí?í [gō rà— -fē= [Ø blí-ké]
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base— -greet.Base [Art hare]
 A: ‘Well, look, the (hyena) man got up then. He went and (went and) greeted hare.’
 [< /kō rà/]
- (03:55) áywà, ðⁿ fē= [Ø blí-ké], dè é!,
 well, 3AnSg greet.Pfv [Art hare], Quot hey!,
 dè à gō mlèⁿ-áⁿ bè tē,
 Quot 3Inan be how? Dem.Def Q,
 A: ‘Well, he (=hyena man) greeted hare. (He) said, “hey, how is it?”’

- (04:01) á dè= [Ø èʔé jì] ní-māⁿ,
 ah! Quot [Art thing Indef] not.be.Loc,
comme bó— bà bá= à léⁿ
 like LogoSg— come.Pfv LogoSg Ipfv stop.Ipfv
 [wò fē-sùʔò =rê→],
 [Infin greet.Base-give.Base Emph],
 A: ‘(Hare) said, “ah, there is nothing (wrong).” (Hyena:) “Like, I have come, I stop by to say hello.” ’
 [< /bó à léⁿ/]

- (04:05) é! dè nánðⁿ,
 hey! Quot friend,
 [móⁿ yò bó dé] p̄rē =rēʔ,
 [2Sg woman Top however] dress.up.Pfv Emph,
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “hey, friend, your wife sure has dressed up!” ’
 [dé variant of subject-final dó (§19.3.8)]

- (04:09) dè móⁿ glō [à bē=] [Ø sē] tē,
 Quot 2Sg exit.Prv [with Dem.Def] [Art where?] Q,
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “Where did you bring that from?” ’
 [< /kà bē ē sē/]

- (04:12) [è blí-ké] dè á, nóⁿ =nēʔ
 [Art hare] say.Pfv ah!, look.Base Emph
 móⁿ, móⁿ bó, á!,
 2Sg, 2Sg Top, ah!,
 náⁿ= =áⁿ bú =nìⁿ [[Ø tòʔò jì] níⁿ],
 1Sg PfvNeg get.Base 3InanObj [[Art place Indef] Loc],
 A: ‘Hare said, “ah, look! You, you yourself, ah, I didn’t find it in any specific place.” ’
 [< /nóⁿ =dēʔ/; < /nóⁿ á bú/; i.e. I stumbled onto it;]

- (04:21) nóⁿ fē-gbē =n né
 1Sg seek.Pfv-take.Base 3InanObj Foc.Inan
 mó t̄rēⁿ, [nó dá=] á t̄rāⁿ =?
 2Sg sit.Pfv, [1Sg however] PfvNeg sit.Base Neg
 A: ‘(Hare:) “I looked for and got it.” ’
 B: ‘(Hare:) “you (just) sat, whereas I didn’t sit.” ’
 [< /=nì t̄é/; < /nó dé = á/]

- (04:24) **mhm!**, **ō** **nàⁿ** **klè** **jèrɔⁿ**,
 uh-huh!, 3Pl Fut do.Base Rel,
ɔⁿ **ɲò** **yíí,** [**kō** **rà—** **-gbē** [**∅** **nūⁿ**]]
 3AnSg Infin go.Base, [Infin go.Base— -take.Base [Art oil]]
[ɲō **fɛⁿɲèⁿ-wē** **[[ɔⁿ** **ná-klùⁿɲùⁿ** **nīⁿ]],**
 [Infin press.Base-put.Base] [[3AnSgRefl cheek] Loc],
 A: ‘Uh-huh! What they will do (is), he (=hyena man) went, and took some butter,
 and stuffed it into his cheek (to puff it up).’
[ná-klùⁿɲùⁿ ‘inside of cheek’]

- (04:32) **[è** **nūⁿ-ɲbàⁿ** **[n** **dèⁿɲéⁿ]]** **ɲō** **fɛⁿɲèⁿ-wē**
 [Art oil-ball [Sg one] Infin be.pressed.Base-be.put.in.Base
[[ɔⁿ **ná-klùⁿɲùⁿ** **nīⁿ]**
[[3AnSgRefl **cheek]** **Loc]**
[è **blí-ké]** **[è** **súglò]**
 [Art hare] [Art hyena]
ɔⁿhɔⁿ, **kō** **bà-dè** **[bó** **ná-klùⁿɲùⁿ** **= àⁿ** **dīⁿ**
 uh-huh, Infin come.Base-say.Base [LogoSg cheek] Ipfv hurt.Ipfv
 A: ‘One ball of butter was stuffed into his cheek.’
 B: ‘Hare (or) hyena?’
 A: ‘Uh-huh. (Hyena) came and said, “my cheek hurts.”’
*[nūⁿ-ɲbàⁿ dialectal for nū-ɲbàⁿ ‘butter-ball’; < /à dīⁿ/; verb jùòⁿ/dɔⁿ/dīⁿ ‘hurt, be
 in pain’ (< ‘be bitten’)]*

- (04:37) **éⁿ!** **éⁿ!**
 (groaning)
k-ā **cíⁿ**
 Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv
éⁿ! **éⁿ!** **[[ē** **kè-kèʔè]** **ʃīē],**
 (groaning) [[Art wall] behind],
 A: ‘“Oo! Oo!”’ (groaning)
 B: ‘(He) was groaning.’
 A: ‘“Oo! Oo!” Behind the wall.’
[< /kō à cíⁿ/; cīēⁿ/cíⁿ/cíⁿ (Ji dialect) ‘groan, moan’]

- (04:41) **kò** **sêⁿ=** **[[[∅** **blí-ké]** **kè-kèʔè]** **ʃīē]**
 Infin lie.down.Base [[[Art hare] wall] behind]
[k-ā **kíⁿ** **bè-yá-ró,** **éⁿ!** **éⁿ!** **éⁿ!** **éⁿ!**
 [Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv thus, (groaning)
 A: ‘He (=hyena man) lay down behind hare’s (house’s) outer wall. He was
 groaning like that: “oo! oo!”’
[< /sêⁿ è/; kēⁿ/kíⁿ/kíⁿ (Bi dialect) ‘groan, moan’]

- (04:45) [è blí-ké] dè sòⁿ -má= à kíⁿ [[nóⁿ kè-kè?è] ʃīē],
 [Art hare] say.Pfv who? Ipfv groan.Ipfv [[1Sg wall] behind],
 ðⁿ ɲò glú [wà= à-ɲíⁿ]
 3AnSg Infin exit(v).Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base]
 A: ‘Hare said, “who is groaning behind my wall?” He came out to see.’
 [< /sòⁿ bó à/; < /kò glú kò (b)à-ɲíⁿ/]

- (04:49) [nó dé] má kō [Ø dòtòrò],
 [1Sg however] IpfvNeg be [Art doctor],
 mó kã= à-séⁿ
 2Sg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base
 [k-â cíⁿ] [k-â cíⁿ]
 [Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv] [Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv]
 B: ‘(Hare:) “However I am not a doctor. You-Sg came and lay down and you groan and groan.” ’
 [B adopts the role of a character in the tale; má kō ‘not be’ (§11.2.2.2); repeated imperfective infinitival VP (§15.2.2)]

- (04:51) ɲánòⁿ [móⁿ dá=] ā klè [áⁿ bè] tē,
 friend [2Sg however] Ipfv do.Ipfv [how? Top.Inan] Q,
 [è [ná-klùⁿ?ùⁿ]-[dòⁿ-ní] jì ré bà-bú =mìⁿ,
 [Art [cheek]-[hurt-VbIN] Indef Foc.Inan] come.Pfv-get.Base 2SgObj,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Friend, but what have you done? It’s some ailment of the cheek that came and afflicted you.” ’
 [ré < /té/; 2Sg object mì (§4.3.1.3)]

- (04:56) ɲ nè ɲ nàⁿ bà [gà= à-ɲí—
 1Sg Foc 1Sg Fut come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base—
 dàⁿ nīⁿ-àⁿ] [wò só?ó =nìⁿ],
 arrive.Base Loc-2Sg] [Infin be.pierced.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “I said (=decided) that I would come and see—arrive at your place, to have it (=cheek) pierced.” ’
 [2Sg suffix -à (§4.3.1.2)]

- (04:59) é [móⁿ né] wà= á dàⁿ [nóⁿ nìⁿ] kútóru]
 oh! [2Sg however] Infin PfvNeg arrive.Base [1Sg Loc] entirely]
 [móⁿ ɲã= à-séⁿ [[nóⁿ kè-kè?è] ʃīē] rē]
 [2Sg Infin come.Base-lie.down.Base [[1Sg wall] behind] Q]
 [k-â kíⁿ] tē,
 [Infin-Ipfv groan.Ipfv] Q,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Oh, but you didn’t come to me (=my house) fully (=directly). You came and lay down behind my wall, and groaned?” ’
 [< /móⁿ dé/; kútóru as adverb (§6.6.1.3)]

- (05:02) *jánàⁿ bè máⁿ kāʔā =ʔ,*
 friend Dem.Def IpfvNeg be.hard.Ipfv Neg,
ò kō gbē→, [ē bàʃíʔíⁿ], kō kò
 3Pl Infin take.Base, [Art knife], Infin sharpen.Base
 A: '(Hare:) "Friend, that isn't difficult." Then they took a knife, and sharpened it.'

- (05:08) *[kō kò]*
 [Infin sharpen.Base]
dè ò nà [sʔʔ-pló]-wē =ní
 Quot LogoPl Fut [pierce.Base]-put.in.Base 3InanObj
ō nàⁿ sʔʔ-pló =níⁿ
 3Pl Fut pierce.Base 3InanObj
yé→ pà-pà
 wow! (surprise)
 B: 'They sharpened it and they intended to stick it into it (=cheek) and pierce it.'
 A: 'They would pierce it.'
 B: 'Wow!'

- (05:11) *dè bon, [è ná-klùⁿʔùⁿ bó] mlõⁿ*
 Quot well, [Art cheek Top] swell.up.Pfv
[j sʔʔ-lò =n [Ø gbē] =ā] tàⁿ
 [1Sg jab.Base-rip.Base 3InanObj [Art outside] Q] or
[j sʔʔ =n [[Ø níⁿ] n̄] tē,
 [1Sg jab.Base 3InanObj [[Art interior] Loc] Q,
 A: '(Hare) said, "well, the cheek [topic] is swollen. Should I jab (=pierce) it from the outside, or should I jab it from the inside?"'
[tãⁿ 'or' (§7.2.2); [< /è líⁿ níⁿ tē/]

- (05:15) *d= ðⁿ sʔʔ [[ē líⁿ] níⁿ],*
 Quot 3AnSg jab.Base [[Art interior] Loc],
à bà sʔʔ gbē
 3AnSg if be.pierced.Base outside
[[Ø cèrè-níⁿ] nàⁿ gò tùʔù [bó dé],
 [[Art fly(n)-Pl] CFact Hort bother.Base [LogoSg body],
 A: '(Hyena) said, "Jab it from the inside! If it were pierced (from the outside), flies would bother my body!"'
[nàⁿ kò in consequent clause (§16.4.7)]

- (05:19) *é!, jǎ→ [è lóʔó]— jǎ→ [è lóʔ=] à-mā [[Ø kě] ní]*
 oh!, lo! [Art trickery]— lo! [Art trickery] be.Loc [[Art matter] Loc]
[è lóʔ=] à-māⁿ
 [Art trickery] be.Loc
 B: 'Oh! Trickery—there's trickery in that business!'
 A: 'There's trickery!'

- (05:21) *dè* [Ø *ná-klùⁿʔùⁿ*] *mà* *sóʔó* *gbē*,
 Quot [Art cheek] if be.pierced outside,
è *càrè—* [*ē* *càrè-ní^m*] *nàⁿ* *gō* *tùʔù* [*bó* *dé*]
 (hesitation)— [Art fly-PI] CFact Infin bother.Base [LogoSg body]
 [*è* *cārē-nī*] *nà* *tùʔù* [*bó* *dé*]
 [Art fly-PI] CFact bother.Base [LogoSg body]

A: '(Hyena:) "If the cheek is pierced and (the point) is pulled out, flies would come and bother my body."'

B: '“Flies would bother my body.”'

[*sóʔó-gbē* 'pierce and pull back out'; *càrè-ní^m* ~ *cārē-nī* 'flies' (§4.1.2.5.1); *nàⁿ* *kō* in counterfactual (§16.4.7); B echoes A; normally the verb is Ji *tèʔè/tòʔò/tùʔù* (Ji) versus invariant *tùʔù* (Bi)]

- (05:26) [*è* *blí-ké*] *gō* *gbē* [*òⁿ* [*kè-tèʔè*]-*bù*] [*gō* *wē*],
 [Art hare] Infin take.Base [3AnSg hand-digit] [Infin put.in.Base],
 A: 'Then hare took his finger and put it in (hyena's mouth).'

- (05:29) *dè* *bó* *nàⁿ* [*fēⁿ-fēⁿ*]-*ʔóⁿ* = *nìⁿ*,
 Quot LogoSg Fut [press.Base-press.Base]-look.at.Base 3InanObj,
kō *sàrò* [*wō—*, *ŋ* *sóʔó*],
 Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin—, (nasal) jab.Base],

A: 'He intended to push against it to test it. He proceeded to jab (it).'

[< /*fēⁿ-fēⁿ-ʔóⁿ*/; repair last part as *kò sóʔó*]

- (05:33) *bá=* *á* *bú=* [Ø *cì-céʔé*] = *ʔ*,
 3AnSg PfvNeg get.Base [Art intelligence] Neg,
 [[[[*ē* [*kè-tèʔè*]-*bù*] *wìè*] *sìná*] *níⁿ*]
 [[[Art [hand]-digit] be.put.in.Pfv] situation] Loc]
ʔánòⁿ *gō* *dōⁿ-pāⁿ* [Ø [*kè-tèʔè*]-*bù*]
 friend Infin bite.Base-press.on.Base [Art [hand]-digit]

A: 'He (=hare) wasn't intelligent. As soon as (hare's) finger was put in, the friend (=hyena) bit and held the finger (in its teeth).'

[< /*bó á bú*/]

- (05:37) *hàý!*

oh.my!

- dē* *bè* *máⁿ* *glò* = *ʔ*
 Quot Dem.Def IpfvNeg it.is Neg

B: 'Oh my!'

A: '(He) said, "that isn't it!"'

- (05:39) *[ē nū] glō*
 [Art oil] exit.Pfv
[ē nūⁿ] ŋō dī-glō
 [Art butter] Infin be.removed.Base
[[ē nū] gō dī-glō] [[è ná-klùⁿ?ùⁿ] sārōⁿ]
 [[Art butter] Infin be.removed.Base] [[Art cheek] descend.Pfv]
 B: ‘The butter came out.’
 A: ‘The butter was removed (=came out).’
 B: ‘The butter was removed, and the cheek shrank (back to normal position).’

- (05:44) *à→, dè*
 ah, Quot
móⁿ glú [ǎ= [Ø fð-ré bè=] [Ø sē] tē,
 2Sg exit.Pfv [with [Art wrap(n)-Pl Top.Inan] [Art where?] Q,
[nóⁿ dé] g-ā bí móⁿ
 [1Sg however] Infin-Ipfv ask.Ipfv 2Sg
 A: ‘(Hyena) said “ah, so from where did you bring the wraps? I ask you.” ’
 [*< /glú kà/; ‘exit with’ = ‘bring (out)’ or ‘bring from’*]

- (05:47) *móⁿ =áⁿ dð-fíéⁿ?éⁿ nóⁿ tē,*
 2Sg PfvNeg speak.Ipfv-be.white.Ipfv 1Sg Q,
[ē kè-tè?è té] pìèⁿ dð-rè
 [Art hand Foc.Inan] remain.Pfv now
ùⁿhóⁿ
 uh-huh
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “You haven’t spoken clearly to me?”’
 B: The hand [focus] remained now (in Hyena’s teeth).’
 A: ‘Uh-huh!’
 [*‘hand’ is kè-tè?è (Ji) versus kè-tè?è (Bi)*]

- (05:49) *fó ðⁿ dð [Ø fé]*
 must 3AnSg speak.Base [Art talk(n)]
dè→, ē fð-ré =rē, [ē klò?ó jī] gò yá,
 Quot, Art wrap(n)-Pl even, [Art road Indef] be Dem.InanSg,
móⁿ àⁿ gbli [[bè tó?ó] klò?ó],
 2Sg Ipfv take.Ipfv [[Dem.Def Foc] road],
 B: ‘Un-huh, he (=hare) must speak.’
 A: ‘(Hare) said, “(as for) the wraps, here’s a road. You (will) take this very road.” ’

- (05:56) *[k-ā yí?í] [Ø mā dàⁿ]*
 [Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv] [2Sg if arrive.Base]
[Ø mà dīē [[[Ø sàrò?ò] lóⁿ nīⁿ],
 [2Sg if enter.Base [[[Art baobab] shade] Loc],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “You go, and when you arrive, when you go into the shade of the baobab, ...” ’

- (05:58) Ø η̄ō dè é
 2Sg Infin say.Base oh!
 d= [[ē s̄òròʔò á] l̄óⁿ] à dáⁿ = nēʔ,
 Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Then you say, ‘ah, the shade of this baobab sure is nice!’ ” ’
 [< /η̄ kō dè/]
- (06:00) ðⁿ dè
 3AnSg say.Pfv
 [[ē s̄òròʔò] gō pēⁿ-dè,
 [[Art baobab] Infin remain.Base-say.Base,
 A: ‘He said, “the baobab continues saying...” ’.
 [< bó l̄óⁿ à]
- (06:02) Ø mā r̄è [[bó láⁿ=] = àⁿ dáⁿ,
 2Sg if say.Pfv [[LogoSg shade] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
 dè η̄ p̄ìèⁿ-ɲóⁿ [bó b̄ìⁿʔéⁿ m̄è] t̄ē,
 Quot 2Sg taste.Pfv [LogoSg leaf Top.Inan] Q,
 A: ‘“(Baobab will say:) ‘If you say that my shade is nice, have you tasted my leaves?’ ” ’
 [< /η̄ bà dè/; < /p̄ìè-ɲóⁿ bó b̄ìèⁿʔéⁿ b̄è t̄ē/]
- (06:05) á donc wō k̄ùʔǝ= [Ø b̄ìⁿʔéⁿ] [wō s̄ūʔ= ðⁿ]
 ah! so Infin pick.off.Base [Art leaf] [Infin give.Base Dat.3AnSg]
 [wò p̄áⁿ-ɲóⁿ b̄è]
 [Infin taste.Base Dem.Def]
 A: ‘(Hare:) “So, (the baobab) will then pick off some leaves and give (them) to you, to taste that”.’
- (06:07) dè Ø mà k̄ɔ̄ⁿ= [Ø b̄ìⁿʔéⁿ],
 Quot 2Sg if chew.Base [Art leaf],
 η̄ kō dè á dè— [[ē s̄òròʔ= á] b̄ìⁿʔéⁿ]
 2Sg Infin say.Base oh! Quot [[Art baobab Dem.InanSg] leaf]
 à dáⁿ = dēʔ,
 Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “if you chew the leaves, you’ll say ‘this baobab’s leaves sure are tasty!’ ” ’
 [< /dè η̄ bà k̄ɔ̄ⁿ ē/]

- (06:11) *móⁿ bē dè—*
 2Sg Fut say.Pfv—
móⁿ mā dè [[nóⁿ bìⁿ?éⁿ] à dáⁿ],
 2Sg if say.Base [[1Sg leaf] Ipv be.pleasant.Ipv],
móⁿ pìèⁿ-póⁿ [nóⁿ bíó bè] tē
 2Sg taste.Pfv [1Sg fruits Top.Inan] Q
 A: ‘(Hare said,) “You will say—, (the baobab will say:) ‘if you say that my leaves are tasty, have you tasted my fruits?’ ” ’

- (06:15) *kà-sàrò— [ē kè-tè?è] à-mā [[Ø jù?ó] nī]*
 while— [Art hand] be.Loc [[Art mouth] Loc]
[ē kè-tè?è] mon vieux—
 [Art hand] my.old.chap—
 B: ‘Whereas— the hand (of hare) was (still) in the mouth.’
 A: ‘The hand, my old chap, —’
[i.e., the situation was heating up]

- (06:17) *á mais [ē kè-tè?è dá=] à-mā [[Ø jù?ó] nī]*
 oh! but [Art hand however] be.Loc [[Art mouth] Loc]
jí ðⁿ kō klè mlèⁿ-kā
 if 3AnSg Infin do.Base how?
[k-ā bí [k-ā dō bè]],
 [Infin-Ipv get.Ipv [Infin-Ipv speak.Ipv Dem.Def]],
 B: ‘Ah, but the hand was (still) in the mouth. How did he (=hyena) manage to say that?’
[jí ‘if’ here in a more abstract dubitative sense (§17.3)]

- (06:20) *ðⁿ nàⁿ— jí ðⁿ= Ø dō =nìⁿ,*
 3AnSg Fut— if 3AnSg PfvNeg speak.Base 3InanObj,
parce que jí ðⁿ= Ø dō =nìⁿ,
 because if 3AnSg PfvNeg speak.Base 3InanObj,
ðⁿ máⁿ mlēⁿ-tōⁿ =ò dō,
 3AnSg IpvNeg release.Pfv 3AnSgObj Emph,
 A: ‘He will—. If he (=hare) doesn’t say it—. Because if he doesn’t say it, he (=hyena) won’t release him.’
[future negative with máⁿ and Pfv verb (§10.2.5.4)]

- (06:25) *á donc d= ā klè bè-yá-ró,*
 ah! so Quot 3InanSsg be.done.Pfv like.that,
bó gò bú =nìⁿ,
 LogoSg Infin get.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, so, it happened that way, then I got it.” ’

(06:29) á donc, [ðⁿ mā dè [[bó bíó] à dáⁿ]]
 ah! so, [3AnSg if say.Base [[LogoSg children] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv]]
 [ðⁿ mà sūʔɔ̀ bè [ðⁿ móⁿ],
 [3AnSg if give.Base Dem.Def [Dat 2Sg],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, so, when it (=baobab) says ‘my fruits are tasty’, (and) when it
 (=baobab) gives that (=fruits) to you, ...” ’
 [< /ðⁿ bà dè/]

(06:32) ñ ñò dè— Ø mā dè— dè— dè—
 2Sg Hort say.Base— 2Sg if say.Base— Quot— Quot—
 [è bíó] à dáⁿ = nēʔ,
 [Art children] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “You should then say—, when you say that—, that—, ‘the fruits sure
 are tasty’ ” ’

(06:35) dè [ʃīē-lùʔù bó] dè móⁿ pièⁿ-jɔⁿ bè tē,
 Quot [rear-skin Top] Quot 2Sg taste.Pfv Dem.Def Q,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “(Baobab will) say, ‘as for the bark, have you tasted that?’ ” ’

(06:37) á dè á [sǎⁿ à sūʔū bè [ðⁿ móⁿ] tē]
 ah! Quot ah! [who? Ipfv give.Ipfv Dem.Def [Dat 2Sg] Q]
 dē [ðⁿ wō kùʔɔ̀ [bè jī]]
 Quot [3AnSg Infin strip.off.Base [Dem.Def Indef]]
 [wō sūʔē = = ỳⁿ],
 [Infin give.Base Dat.3AnSg],
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Ah, who will give that to you? It will then strip off some of that
 (bark) and give it to you.” ’
*[the first clause here is attributed to hare, but could also be read as addressed by
 the narrator to hyena; sūʔē = ỳⁿ contracted from sūʔɔ̀ ðⁿ yò, variant of sūʔɔ̀ ðⁿ
 (§4.3.2.3)]*

(06:40) dè Ø mà páⁿ-jɔⁿ [ē ʃīē-lùʔù],
 Quot 2Sg if taste.Base [Art rear-skin],
 áywà, ñ gō— dò dè,
 well, 2Sg Infin— speak.Base Quot,
 á d= à= Ø dáⁿ = nēʔ,
 oh! Quot 3Inan Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv Emph,
 A: ‘(Hare:) said, “when you have tasted the bark, well, you then say, ‘it sure is
 tasty!’ ” ’
 [< /ñ bà/; < /dè à à dáⁿ = dēʔ/]

- (06:44) Ø mā dè [nóⁿ ʃīē-lùʔù] à dáⁿ,
 2Sg if say [1Sg rear-skin] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv,
 móⁿ pìēⁿ-póⁿ [nóⁿ nīⁿ-bliʔì bè] tē,
 2Sg taste.Pfv [1Sg guts-wet Top.Inan] Q,
 A: ‘(Hare:) ‘(Baobab will say:) ‘If you say that my bark is tasty, have you tasted my insides?’ ’ ’
 [< /līⁿ-bliʔì/]
- (06:48) é dè sòⁿ-mó nàⁿ sūʔō bè [ʔⁿ bó] tē,
 oh! Quot who? Fut give.Base Dem.Def [Dat LogoSg] Q,
 [ē sàróʔò] wò wúʔó [à līⁿ],
 [Art baobab] Infin open.Base [3Inan guts],
 A: ‘(Hyena) says, “oh, who will give that to me?” (Hare:) “the baobab then opens up its insides.” ’
- (06:52) á, [è náⁿbèʔè] máⁿ glò = ā
 ah! [Art Bouki] IpfvNeg it.is Q
 [ē nābèʔè] =yā lè
 [Art hyena] it.is Emph
 A: ‘Ah, is he not Bouki (the hyena)?’
 B: ‘It certainly is Bouki.’
 [lè clause-final emphatic (§19.4.2)]
- (06:55) bó nàⁿ-dórá= [Ø à-ré], tīē= [Ø fírá-bó],
 3AnSg see.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base [Art thing-Pl], be.put.down.Pfv [Art finery],
 mùfēⁿʃí kō—
 various.things Infin—
 é attention!
 oh! watch.out!
 A: ‘He (=hyena) saw lots of things that were put down, finery, all sorts of things.’
 B: ‘Oh, watch out!’
 [fírá-bó ‘finery’ < Jula féré-bó ; mùfēⁿʃí < Jula ‘what is it?, i.e. various things]
- (06:58) bó dè ʔʔí
 3AnSg say.Pfv (expression of delight)
 [d= ʔⁿ ʔʔó-tòⁿ =n] ʔʔó-tòⁿ =n ʔʔó-tòⁿ =n
 [Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj] (repetitions)
 A: ‘He (=hyena) said, “ooh-ooh-ooh, (to baobab) close it! close it! close it!”’
 [quoted imperative; hyena plans to carry the whole tree to his home]
- (07:00) ó, d= ʔⁿ wáʔá-tōⁿ =nì
 oh! Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj
 d= ʔⁿ ʔʔó-tòⁿ =nìⁿ
 Quot 3AnSg shut.Base 3InanObj
 B: ‘Oh! “Close it!” ’
 A: ‘ “Close it!” ’

(07:02) ʒⁿ= Ø [dī-glò]-bú =ʔ,
 3AnSg PfvNeg [remove.Base]-get.Base Neg,

ʒⁿʒⁿ

unh-unh!

é

oh!

B: ‘He (=hyena) could not manage to take it (=finery) out.’

A: ‘Nope!’

B: ‘Oh!’

[< /ʒⁿ á dī-glō-bú/]

(07:03) [ʒⁿ mà á dī-glō]
 [3AnSg if PfvNeg remove.Base]
 [ʒⁿ nàⁿ sòⁿʒⁿ [kútárú té] lè,
 [3AnSg Fut defecate.Base [entirely Foc.Inan] Emph,

A: ‘If he doesn’t take it out, he will totally shit (=be screwed).’

[< /sòⁿʒⁿ kútárú/]

(07:06) [ē sà-ròʔò tá=] à bē [[Ø sè-tòʔò] nīⁿ]
 [Art baobab Foc] Ipfv come.Ipfv [[Art be.carried.on.head.Pfv-place] Loc]
 há há há

(laughter)

[ʒⁿ kō ʒʔʒ-tòⁿ =nīⁿ,

[3AnSg Infin shut.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘The baobab tree is coming to be carried.’

B: (laughs)

A: ‘It (=baobab) closed it up then.’

[< /té à/; -tòʔò nī (§17.6.2.5)]

(07:10) ʒⁿ wīʔē-tōⁿ =nīⁿ, dè→ [Ø sà-ròʔò],
 3AnSg shut.Pfv 3InanObj, Quot [Art baobab],
 jí ʒⁿ mà wō= [Ø [[náⁿ-dī-ʒ]-dáʔá]-sà-ròʔò),
 if 3AnSg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
 ʒⁿ yíʔí-ʔíʔì [w= à-tārāⁿ
 3AnSg get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
 [[bó úⁿʔúⁿ] nīⁿ]] tārè,
 [[3AnSg head] Loc]] (hyena),

A: ‘Having closed it up, (hyena) said, “baobab! If you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, get up and come sit on top of my head!” ’

[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2); clause-final tārè is common in hyena’s utterances in tales (§19.4.8)]

- (07:18) **bó** **gò** **yíyí-dīē =** **[[Ø tá-tàʔà] = n̄]** **tèrè**
 LogoSg Infin go.Base-enter.Base [[Art open.space] Loc] (hyena)
ā pièⁿ [[à kútóru] sò-ní] dè-rè
 3Inan remain.Pfv [[3Inan entirety] carry.on.head.Base-VbIN] now
[ē sàròʔò] **gò** **yíyí-ʃíʃí** **fùò→,**
 [Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base (sound),
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “I will go into the open space in the courtyard.’
 B: ‘It remained to carry the whole thing (on his head) now.’
 A: ‘Then the baobab got up (=uprooted itself), fuo!’
[kútóru as noun (§6.6.1.3); verbal noun with object NP (§5.1.4); reference is to the female hyena’s courtyard, cf. @ 07:52]

- (07:27) **[ē cīṣⁿ]**— **[ē cīṣⁿ]** **nè** **é→,**
 [Art bird]— [Art bird] say.Pfv oh!,
[kàràfàrá gbàré] **[kàràfàrá gbàré]** **[kàràfàrá gbàré],**
 [custody hard] (repetitions)
 A: ‘A bird said, “custody is serious! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’
[kàràfàrá gbàré < Jula, lit. ‘something entrusted is hard (difficult)’; the bird is in the custody of the baobab and objects to the baobab’s sitting on hyena’s head]

- (07:32) **[ē sàròʔò]** **wò** **klá** **[wò tārāⁿ],**
 [Art baobab] Infin return.Base [Infin sit.Base],
donc [dè-dè nīⁿ]
 so [now Loc]
ʔⁿ mà glú [dè-rè nīⁿ]
 3AnSg if exit(v).Ipfv [now Loc]
 A: ‘Then the baobab went back and sat (in its original position). So now—’
 B: ‘If he comes out now, ...’

- (07:36) **ʔⁿ** **ḡò** **cà-ḡóⁿ** **[ē cīṣⁿ]**
 3AnSg Infin look.up.at.Base [Art bird]
[kò mēⁿ-gbē = ò],
 [Infin throw.at.Base-take.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘He (=hyena) looked up at the bird and hit it (with a rock).’

- (07:39) **ʔⁿ** **kò** **mé—**
 3AnSg Infin throw.at.Base—
ʔⁿ **ḡò** **mēⁿ-kò—** **mēⁿ-kò =** **[Ø cīṣⁿ],**
 3AnSg Infin throw.at.Base-kill.Base— (repetition) [Art bird],
 B: ‘He then hit it—’
 A: ‘He then hit and killed the bird (with a rock).’

- (07:41) ɔ^n $\text{mlɛ}^n\text{-kɔ} =$ [\emptyset ci^n],
 3AnSg throw.at.Pfv-kill.Base [Art bird],
 ɔ^n kɔ kɔ^n [\emptyset $\text{ci}^n\text{-bàrà}^n$],
 3AnSg Infin pluck.out.Base [Art bird-hair],
 A: ‘Having hit and killed the bird, he plucked out the feathers.’
[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2)]
- (07:45) ji wɔ wɛ [\emptyset ci^n] [[ɔ^n júfá n̄],
 if Infin put.in.Base [Art bird] [[3AnSgRefl pocket] Loc],
 A: ‘Whereupon he put the bird in his pocket.’
[ji plus infinitival VP (§15.2.1.2), cf. @ 10:14]
- (07:46) áywà , dè [ɛ $\text{sà}^n\text{rò}^n$]
 well, Quot [Art baobab]
 ji \emptyset mà $\text{wɔ} =$ [\emptyset [[$\text{ná}^n\text{-dì-ò}$]- dá^n]- $\text{sà}^n\text{rò}^n$],
 if 2Sg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
 \emptyset hò $\text{yí}^n\text{-jì}^n$ [$\text{w} =$ à-tà^n]
 2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
 [[nó ú^n]- ní^n]] tà^n ,
 [[1Sg head] Loc]] (hyena),
 A: ‘Well, (hyena) said “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, why don’t you get up and come sit on my head?”’
[formulaic segment now in direct quotation, compare indirect quotation @ 07:10 above]
- (07:52) nó^n wò yí^n [[$\text{bi}^n\text{èbá}$ tá-tà^n] ní^n] tà^n ,
 1Sg Infin go.Base [[B open.space] Loc] (hyena),
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “I will go to the open space in Bieba’s courtyard in that way.”’
[Bieba is the name of the female hyena in tales, wife of Bouki]
- (07:54) [mó^n dó] jà^n [á $\text{kà-rè}^n\text{-}^n$ jà^n bí^n]
 [2Sg however] see.Pfv [Inan many Rel all]
 mó^n nà^n sò [bi tó^n bí^n] [kò yí^n]
 2Sg Fut carry.on.head.Base [Dem.Def Foc all] [Infin go.Base]
 [ɛ yú^n jì bù^n] má^n fā [\emptyset jì] = ā ,
 [Art people Indef Top.AnPl] IpfvNeg seek.Ipfv [Art something] Q,
 A: ‘All the many (things) that you have seen (inside the baobab), you will carry all that [focus] on your head and go, and other people [topic] won’t want anything?’
[narrator addresses hyena; < /kà-rèⁿ-jèⁿ jàⁿ/; bùⁿ as animate plural topic marker (§19.1.2.1)]

- (07:58) [è b́ŕá] s̄r̄ōⁿ
 [Art work(n)] descend.Pfv
 [ē s̄r̄ò?ò] kò yí?í-?í?í
 [Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base
 B: ‘The work (=drama) has come down.’
 A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself).’
 [‘the work has come down’, i.e., the die is cast for hyena]
- (08:00) [ē nābè?è b́ó]
 [Art Bouki Top]
 [ē s̄r̄ò?ò] yí?ē-?í?í fù→
 [Art baobab] get.up.Pfv (sound)
 B: ‘As for Bouki.’
 A: ‘The baobab got up, fù! (sound)’
- (08:02) [ē cīōⁿ wūō-kà?à] kō pēⁿ [[ōⁿ júfá] nīⁿ]
 [Art bird die.Pfv-Ppl.An] Infin remain.Base [[3AnSg pocket] Loc]
 [kàràf̄ŕá gb̀̀ŕé] [kàràf̄ŕá gb̀̀ŕé] [kàràf̄ŕá gb̀̀ŕé]
 [custody hard] (repetitions)
 A: ‘The dead bird remained in his pocket. (It cried out:) “Custody is serious! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!”’
 [the dead bird is still vocalizing; animate singular participial -kà?à after Pfv verb stem (§4.5.4)]
- (08:04) é, [è wūō-kà?à]
 oh! [Art die.Pfv-Ppl.An]
 ðⁿhóⁿ, ðⁿ ŋō wēⁿ = ðⁿ [wō kà],
 uh-huh, 3AnSg Infin roast.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin devour.Base],
 B: ‘Oh my! The dead one?’
 A: ‘Yes. He (=hyena) then roasted it (=bird) and devoured (it).’
 [< /ðⁿ kō wēⁿ = ð/; birds are seared to burn off feathers before cooking; verb n̄?èⁿ/wēⁿ/n̄?īⁿ ‘sear’]
- (08:08) ōⁿ n̄?èⁿ = ð [wō kà],
 3AnSg roast.Pfv 3AnSgObj [Infin devour.Base],
 [[ōⁿ b̀̀rà?à] wō pēⁿ māⁿ]
 [[3AnSg hair] Infin remain.Base there.Def]
 [[è mló-mló] g-ā sò],
 [[Art ants] Infin-Ipfv carry.on.head.Ipfv],
 A: ‘After he roasted it and devoured it, the feathers were still there and ants came and were carrying them away.’
 [perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2); mló-mló ‘ants’, singular mló-mlóⁿ in this dialect; elsewhere singular m̀̀-mlóⁿ, plural m̀̀-mló]

(08:12) á, ðⁿ dè bá = = àⁿ ɲóⁿ,
 ah, 3AnSg say.Pf LogoSg Fut look.at.Base,
 ðⁿ lɛⁿ [kò táⁿ-dò]
 3AnSg stop.Pfv [Infin do.again.Base-say.Base]
 A: ‘He said, “I will take a look.” He stopped and said again ...’
 [*< bó nàⁿ ɲóⁿ ; táⁿ- ‘do again’ initial in verb-verb compound*]

(08:15) dɛ̃ = [Ø sà̀ròʔò],
 Quot [Art baobab]
 jí Ø mà wò = [Ø [[náⁿ-dì-ò]-dáʔá]-sà̀ròʔò],
 if 2Sg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, ...” ’

(08:17) Ø ɲò yíʔí-ʃíʔí [w = à-t̃rāⁿ
 2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
 [[nóⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ] níⁿ] t̃rè,
 [[1Sg head] Loc] (hyena),
 nóⁿ gò yíʔí [[bìèbá tá-tàʔà] níⁿ] t̃rè
 1Sg Hort go.Base [[B open.place] Loc] (hyena)
 oui
 yes

A: ‘(Hyena:) “..., why don’t you get up and come sit on my head? Then I go to the open space in Bieba’s courtyard.” ’

B: ‘Yes.’

(08:21) [ɛ̃ sà̀ròʔò] wò yíʔí-ʃíʔí
 [Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base
 kò ká-[yíʔí-ʃíʔí]
 Infin do.again.Base-[get.up.Base]
 A: ‘The baobab got up.’
 B: ‘(It) came and got up again.’

(08:23) [ɛ̃ sà̀ròʔò] yíʔí-ʃíʔí,
 [Art baobab] get.up.Pfv,
 [ɛ̃ cīṣⁿ-bèràʔà] dè [kà̀ràf̃rà gbèrɛ́] [kà̀ràf̃rà gbèrɛ́],
 [Art bird-hair] say.Pfv [custody hard] [custody hard],
 A: ‘The baobab having gotten up, the bird’s feathers said “Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’
 [*perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2)*]

- (08:28) ðⁿ ηò [ló-póⁿ]-[ló-póⁿ]
 3AnSg Infin [Rdp]-[turn.Base-look.Base]
 [gō [sāⁿ-gbē]-[sāⁿ-gbē] bè]
 [Infin [Rdp]-[gather.Base-pick.up.Base] Dem.Def]
 [gō wē [[Ø dàⁿ?áⁿ nīⁿ]]
 [Infin put.in.Base [[Art fire] Loc]]
 A: ‘He kept turning around to look. He gathered that (=the feathers) up, and put
 (them) on the fire.’
 [reduplication of entire compound verbs]

- (08:31) kò ká-tārāⁿ [[tò?ò ñ-dèⁿ?éⁿ nī]
 Infin do.again.Base-sit.Base [[place Sg-one] Loc]
 jǎ→ [Ø mló-mló] sèⁿ-gbē [Ø jī]
 lo! [Art ants] gather.Pfv-pick.up.Base [Art something]
 [kō wē [[Ø tì?é] nīⁿ]],
 [Infin put.in.Base [[Art hole] Loc]],
 B: ‘And (he) stayed in the same place.’
 A: ‘Lo, the ants took gathered some (feathers) and put (them) in (their) hole.’
 [ká- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2)]

- (08:35) jǎ→ [Ø bérá] à-mā
 lo! [Art work(n)] be.Loc
 ðⁿ ηò táⁿ-léⁿ,
 3AnSg Infin do.again.Base-stop.Base,
 B: ‘There’s work (=trouble) there!’
 A: ‘He (=hyena) stopped again.’
 [táⁿ- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3)]

- (08:36) dē= [Ø sèrò?ò],
 Quot [Art baobab],
 jí Ø mà wò [Ø [[náⁿ-dì-ò]-dá?á]-sèrò?ò],
 if 2Sg if be [Art [[old.people]-time]-baobab],
 A: ‘(Hyena) said, “Baobab, if you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time,’

- (08:38) Ø ηò yí?í-?í?ì
 2Sg Infin get.up.Base
 [wā= à [[nóⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ nīⁿ]] tètè,
 [Infin come.Base [[1Sg head] Loc] (hyena),
 nóⁿ wò yí?í [[bìèbá tá-tà?à] nīⁿ]] tètè,
 1Sg Infin go.Base [[B open.space] Loc] (hyena),
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “Why don’t you get up and come (sit) on my head! I will go to the
 open space in Bieba’s courtyard.”’
 [in this rapid-fire repetition of a formulaic phrase, the speaker omitted -tārāⁿ in
 wā= à-tārāⁿ, compare @ 08:17 above and elsewhere]

- (08:43) [ē sàròʔò] wò yíʔí-ʔíʔí,
 [Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base,
 [ē cīʔⁿ-bèràʔà] wō pēⁿ [[Ø mló-mló-tíʔé] nīⁿ]
 [Art bird-hair] Infin remain.Base [[Art ant-hole] Loc]
 nè, [kàràfàrá gbèré] [kàràfàrá gbèré],
 Quot, [custody hard] (repetition),
 A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself). The bird feathers remained in the ant-hole, saying “custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’

- (08:47) í d= [álè bèré] dè= [Ø jī] à-māⁿ kùé
 oh! Quot [even still] Quot [Art something] be.Loc Emph
 d= [ē jī] à-mā
 Quot [Art something] be.Loc
 A: ‘ “Oh dear” said (hyena), “there are some (feathers) even now!” ’
 B: ‘ “There are some (there)!” ’
 [< ē jī à-māⁿ ; clause-final emphatic kùé < Jula kòy]

- (08:50) ʔⁿ ʔò yíʔí [gō rà-[dī-glō] bè]
 3AnSg Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-[remove.Base] Dem.Def]
 [gō à-wē [[Ø dàⁿ?áⁿ] n̄]],
 [Infin come.Base-put.in.Base [[Art fire] Loc]],
 é
 oh!
 A: ‘He went and (went and) removed that (=feathers in ant-hole) and put (it) in the fire.’
 B: ‘Oh my!’

- (08:52) ā dēⁿ dè-dè
 3Inan arrive.Pfv now
 ā dēⁿ dè-rè, [è yúó jì] ní-mā
 3Inan arrive.Pfv now, [Art people Indef] not.be.Loc
 nà sūʔʔ
 Fut give.Base
 A: ‘It (=situation) has arrived now.’
 B (overlapping): ‘It has arrived now. There is nobody (left) to give (=help ...)’
 [i.e. no custodians left to prevent the disaster]

- (08:55) [ē k̄ā jì] máⁿ d̄è r̄è
 [Art creature Indef] IpfvNeg say.Base Quot
 [k̄àràf̄àrá gb̄àré] [k̄àràf̄àrá gb̄àré],
 [custody hard] (repetition)
 é→ [k̄àràf̄àrá gb̄àré] [k̄àràf̄àrá gb̄àré] tà?à-kó
 oh! [custody hard] (repetition)again
 A: ‘No creature will say “Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” ’
 B (overlapping): ‘(to say) “... oh! Custody is serious! Custody is serious!” any more.’
 [< /máⁿ d̄è d̄è/]
- (08:58) *donc* ðⁿ gò léⁿ, ē s̄àrò?ò,
 so 3AnSg Infin stop.Base, Art baobab,
 jí Ø mà wò [[[Ø ná-dì-ð]-dá?á]-s̄àrò?ò],
 if 2Sg if be [[[Art old.person-PI]-time]-baobab],
 Ø ñò yí?í-?í?ì [w = à-t̄rāⁿ
 2Sg Hort get.up.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base
 [[nóⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ] nīⁿ] t̄àr̄è,
 [[1Sg head] Loc] (hyena),
 A: ‘So, he (=hyena) stopped. “Baobab, If you are a baobab of the ancestors’ time, why not get up and come sit on my head!” ’
- (09:03) nóⁿ ñò rà-t̄rāⁿ [[bìèbá tá-tà?à] nīⁿ] t̄àr̄è,
 1Sg Hort go.Base-sit.Base [[B open.space] Loc] (hyena),
 A: ‘(Hyena:) “Let me go sit in the open space in Bieba’s courtyard.” ’
- (09:05) ñ̄ ñò rà-t̄ē
 1Sg Hort go.Base-put.down.Base
 [wò dī-à-glō = nīⁿ] [wò bó]
 [Hort remove.Ipfv 3Inan] [Hort tie.Ipfv]
 A: ‘Let me go and put down (the baobab) and take it (=finery) out and tie on (the garments, on Bieba).’
 [*imperfective hortatives ‘remove’ and ‘tie’ (§10.4.2.1.2)*]
- (09:07) [kò bó], [à bíé té] kò yá tà?à-kó
 [Hort tie.Ipfv] [3Inan all Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg again
 B: ‘And tie (them) on. That’s all (there is).’
 [kò yá unclear on tape due to speaker overlap]

- (09:09) [ē sèròʔò] wò yíʔí-ʃíʔì fû→,
 [Art baobab] Infin get.up.Base (sound),
 kō bà [w = à-à-[cór-à-pāⁿ] = w̃ⁿ]
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Ipfv-Ipfv-[fall.heavily.on.Ipfv] 3AnSgObj]
 A: ‘The baobab got up (=uprooted itself), fû→. It came and was landing heavily on him (=hyena).’

[córi ‘thrash’ compounded with pāⁿ ‘press on’ (hyena was crushed under the weight), cf. 09:53 below; w = à-à- lenited from k = à-à- in imperfective doubled ‘come’ construction (§15.2.3.2.1)]

- (09:13) [è blí-ké] ā jùʔ = [ʔⁿ ʃīē]
 [Art hare] Ipfv follow [3AnSg behind]
 [w-ā dèⁿ-dèⁿ = w] = ā
 [Infin-Ipfv stalk(v).Ipfv 3AnSgObj] Q
 oui oui
 yes yes

A: ‘Was hare following behind him (=hyena), to stalk him?’

B: ‘Yes.’

[< /jùʔù/ ; dèⁿ-dèⁿ < Jula]

- (09:16) [ē dē-wə-rèⁿ] wò glú
 [Art testicle-Pl] Infin exit(v).Base
 [è súglò] dō-wə-rèⁿ
 [Art hyena] testicle-Pl

A: ‘The (two) testicles came out.’

B: ‘Hyena’s testicles.’

[dialectally dē- or dō-[wə-rèⁿ] ‘testicles (individual)’, singular dō-wèⁿ (contains wéⁿ ‘egg’)

- (09:21) [ē dē-wəⁿ-rèⁿ] glō, ʔⁿ gō gbē bē,
 [Art testicle-Pl] exit(v).Pfv, 3AnSg Infin pick.up.Base Dem.Def,
 [è blí-ké] wò gbē bē [wò yíʔ = [à rō]]
 [Art hare] Infin pick.up.Base Dem.Def [Infin go.Base [with 3Inan]]
 [kò yíʔ = [à lō]]
 [Infin go.Base [with 3Inan]]

A: ‘(After) the testicles came out, he (=hare) picked that (=the testicles) up. Hare picked that up and took it along.’

B: ‘And took it along.’

[à rō Bi dialect for (k)à lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’]

- (09:28) *dè* *é!*, *dè—* [[*è* *síglò-yò*] *bà?à*],
 Quot oh!, Quot— [[Art hyena-woman] Dat],
d= *ǎⁿ—* [*ǎⁿ* *dǔ*], *ɲ* *sàmáⁿ=* [*∅* *dìé*]—
 Quot 3AnSg— [3AnSg man], (nasal) send.on.errand.Pfv [Art sauce]—
 [[*ē* *dìé* *jī*] *ǎⁿ*,
 [Art sauce Indef] Dat.3AnSg,
dè *bó* *bà-sū?* = *ǎⁿ*,
 Quot LogoSg come.Base-give.Base Dat.3AnSg,

A: ‘(Hare) said to hyena’s wife, “oh, your husband sent (me) (to bring) sauce—, some sauce (ingredients) to you. I have come to give (it) to you.”’

[*(ē) dìé* ‘sauce’ or ‘fresh meat (for cooking)’]

- (09:36) [*è* *síglò-yò*] *wō* *sō* [*∅* *jù?ó*]
 [Art hyena-woman] Infin receive.Base [Art testicles]
 [*kò* *tó*] [*wō* *kà*],
 [Infin cook.Base] [Infin devour.Base],

A: ‘The hyena’s wife accepted the testicles, and cooked (them) and ate (them).’

[*tó* ‘cook (sauce)’, *kā* ‘eat (meat)’]

- (09:39) *kà-sàrò* [[*móⁿ* *dò*] *dó* *té*] = *à*
 whereas [[2Sg man] Poss.Inan Foc.Inan] it.is
 [[*ǎⁿ* *dǔ*] *jù?ò* *té* *dá=*] = *à* *glò*,
 [[3AnSg man] testicles Foc however] it.is it.is,

B: ‘And yet it belongs to your husband.’

A: ‘It was her husband’s testicles [focus].’

[*B* addresses female hyena; < /*jù?ó té dó = à glò*/ with *= à glò* ‘it is’ after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5)]

- (09:41) *ǎⁿ=* *∅* *kǎⁿ* = *ɲ* *dò*
 3AnSg PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj Emph
ǎⁿ= *∅* *kǎⁿ* = *nì*
 3AnSg PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj

A: ‘She didn’t know it at all.’

B: ‘She didn’t know it.’

- (09:43) *sārū→*, *fó* [*è* *dá?á* *jā-rē*] *bà-dàⁿ*
 until, until [Art time Indef-Pl] come.Pfv-arrive.Base
 [*ē* *dò*] *máⁿ* *bē* = *?*,
 [Art man] IpfvNeg come.Ipfv Neg,

A: ‘Eventually, some periods of time came (=passed). The husband wasn’t coming (=hadn’t come).’

[*sārū→* dialectal for *fārū→*; imperfective negative in perfect negative sense]

- (09:46) *é*, *ǎʰóʰ*, *mó*ⁿ *nè*
 oh!, uh-huh, 2Sg say.Pfv
 [*nó*ⁿ *dǔ*] [*ʃiʔè*] [*Ø* *kírá*] [*ǎ*ⁿ *mó*ⁿ],
 [1Sg man] give.Pfv [Art gift] [Dat 2Sg]
 A: '(Hyena woman to hare:) "Oh, you said that my husband gave a gift to you (to deliver)."'

- (09:48) *nó*ⁿ *wā* = *à-sō* [*bè* *bíé*] [*kò* *dí*]
 1Sg Infin come.Base-recv.Base [Dem.Def all] [Infin eat.Base]
 [*ǎ*ⁿ *má*ⁿ *jè* = ?], *à* *kō* [*mlèⁿ-áⁿ* *bè*] *tē*,
 [3AnSg IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv Neg], 3Inan be [how? Top.Inan] Q,
 A: '(Hyena woman:) "I (came and) received all that and ate (it), (but) he (=husband) is nowhere to be seen. What's going on?"'
 [*bè* common with content interrogatives (§13.2.3)]

- (09:53) *á*, [*è* *blí-ké*] *dè*, *á*, [*mó*ⁿ *dǔ*],
 oh!, [Art hare] say.Pfv, oh!, [2Sg man],
ē *sàròʔò* = *rē→*, *ḥ* *cārē-kò* [*mó*ⁿ *dǔ*],
 Art baobab Emph, (nasal) crush.Pfv-kill.Base [2Sg man],
 A: '(Hare:) "Ah," hare said, "ah, your husband, a baobab tree crushed your husband to death."'
 [*cárí* 'thrash' (cf. 09:09 above) compounded with *kò* 'kill']

- (10:00) *á*, [[*ǎ*ⁿ *jùʔó-wà-rèⁿ* *né*] *wò* *á*]
 oh!, [[3AnSg testicle-egg-Pl Foc] be Dem.InanSg]
 [*nó*ⁿ *bà*] [*Ø* = *à-sū?* = [*ǎ*ⁿ *mó*ⁿ]]
 [1Sg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-give.Base [Dat 2Sg]]]
é, *yá* *klē* = [*Ø* *kě*]
 oh!, Dem.InanSg be.done.Pfv [Art matter]
 A: '(Hare:) "Ah, that is (=was) his testicles. I came and gave (that) to you."'
 B: 'Oh, that is a (serious) matter!'
 [< /*jùʔó-wà-rèⁿ té*/]

- (10:02) *donc*, [*ē* *yǒ*] *júá-dǔ*, [*ē* *dò*] *ní-māⁿ* = ?
 so, [Art woman] lose.Pfv, [Art man] not.be.Loc Neg
ǎⁿ *dó-dārō* [*Ø* *fēʔé*]
 3AnSg lose.Pfv [Art wrap(n)]
 A: 'So, the (hyena) woman lost out. The husband was absent.'
 B: 'She lost out on the wrap(s).'
 [*júá-dǔ* and *dó-dārō* are dialectal variants]

- (10:07) [ē kā-wə̀-rù jèrɔ́ⁿ] ðⁿ nâ sūʔ = ðⁿ
 [Art bone-Pl Rel] 3AnSg Past give.Base Dat.3AnSg
 [ðⁿ ɲò bó] [ðⁿ gō lò-gbē bè]
 [3AnSg Infin tie.Base] [3AnSg Infin gather.Base-take.Base Dem.Def]
 [wō tì-tɔ́ⁿ [[ðⁿ úⁿʔúⁿ nīⁿ]],
 [Infin pour.Base [[3AnSg head] Loc]],
 A: ‘The bones that he (=hyena) had given to her, that she had tied on, that she had gathered up and dumped on her head, ...’
 [*past perfect /ðⁿ râ sūʔɔ́/*]
- (10:12) ɲìⁿ-nīⁿ móⁿ pìèⁿ = [Ø pàmlúⁿʔúⁿ]
 Prsntv 2Sg remain.Pfv [Art naked]
 mó pìèⁿ = [Ø pàmlúⁿʔúⁿ] dè-rè
 2Sg remain.Pfv [Art naked] now
 A: ‘There you stayed, naked.’
 B: ‘You-Sg stayed naked now.’
 [*presentative (§4.4.4.1, §4.4.4.3); A and B again “address” the protagonist*]
- (10:14) jí [è [blí-ké]-yò] gō pēⁿ [[Ø fèʔé] nīⁿ]
 if [Art [hare]-woman] Infin remain.Base [[Art wrap] Loc]
 A: ‘Meanwhile hare’s wife remained in wraps (=well-dressed).’
 [*jí plus infinitival clause (§15.2.1.2), cf. @ 07:45*]
- (10:17) ɲ́ būō jèrɔ́ⁿ [bè nīⁿ], [bì tóʔó] wò yá,
 [1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Loc], [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
 [[bì tóʔó] =à→] [ē kě],
 [[Dem.Def Foc] it.is] [Art matter],
 A: ‘What I got (=learned) in that (story), that [focus] is it. It’s that [focus], the matter (=content).’
- (10:22) māⁿ nè [má = à— ɲ́ fā-à-dórá =
 Proh say.Base [2Sg Ipfv— (nasal) seek.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.very.much.Ipfv
 [Ø kě kà-rèⁿ-ʔèⁿ],
 [Art matter many],
 A: ‘Don’t say that you will look all over for lots of (other) things.’
 [*< /māⁿ dè mó à/; -dórá (§15.1.2.1.2); kà-rèⁿ-ʔèⁿ (§8.5.2.1.4)*]
- (10:25) [[è dúrnáⁿ] nīⁿ], [Ø mā à-māⁿ māⁿ]
 [[Art world] Loc], [2Sg if be.Loc there.Def]
 [Ø ɲà = à-klè = [Ø kě] dón-dón-dón-dón,
 [2Sg Hort come.Base-do.Base [Art matter] a.little
 A: ‘In this world, if you are there, do a thing gently.’
 [*< /ɲ kò à-klè ē kě/; Jula dón ‘a little’, here repeated as distributive adverb (§8.5.2.2.2)*]

- (10:29) [[móⁿ nàⁿ klè] fɪnáj nīⁿ] [wò bú mǎⁿ],
 [[[2Sg Fut do.Base] situation] Loc] [Infin get.Base there.Def],
 A: ‘After you act in (such) a way, (you) will then succeed there.’
- (10:31) mǎⁿ nè [máⁿ= =àⁿ nûⁿ= [Ø yúó jī]]
 Proh say [2Sg Ipfv look.at.Ipfv [Art person Indef]]
 dè á dè mlɛ̃ⁿ-fɪɲé, ʃⁿʔðⁿ,
 Quot oh! Quot likw.this, unh-unh!,
 A: ‘Don’t say that you look at some person in that way!’
 [*< /mâⁿ dè móⁿ à lúⁿ è/ with Bi dialect lúⁿ, in other dialects jú]*]
- (10:33) [ē jùʔé] bē fɪʔè [[móⁿ fǎráⁿ] dó] [ʔⁿ móⁿ] dò,
 [Art God] Fut give.Pfv [[[2Sg too] Poss.Inan] [Dat 2Sg] Emph,
mais móⁿ bà— pressé bā à—
 but 2Sg if— be.in.hurry (hesitation) —
 bā à-fā =n dò,
 if come.Base-see.Ipfv 3InanObj Emph,
 A: ‘God will truly give you your share too. But if you are in a hurry to come look for it, ...’
- (10:39) á!, à bē mlɛ̃ⁿ-áⁿ tē, *donc* móⁿ ɲàⁿ =nìⁿ,
 oh!, 3Inan come.Ipfv how? Q, so 2Sg see.Pfv 3InanObj.
 móⁿ nàⁿ bè dīē-glō [Ø jī],
 2Sg CFact Fut remove.Pfv [Art something],
 A: ‘How will it be? So, you have seen, would you take something (else)?’
 [*nàⁿ bè (§16.4.6)*]
- (10:42) móⁿ ɲō pɛ̃ⁿ-dè
 2Sg Infin remain.Base-say.Base
 [móⁿ nàⁿ sò [à kútáru bíé?]],
 [2Sg Fut carry.on.head.Base [3Inan entirety all]],
 A: ‘You keep saying that you will carry the whole thing on your head.’
- (10:44) [ā nàⁿ wō sò bè-kā]
 [3Inan CFact Infin be.carried.on.head.Base like.that]
 A: ‘(Then) it would be carried like that.’
 [*counterfactual consequent clause (§16.4.7)*]

- (10:45) *dáʔá-ʃiʔé* *móⁿ* *nàⁿ* *bē* *bà*
 at.that.time 2Sg CFact Fut come.Pfv
 [Ø= *à-ʃiⁿ* = *nìⁿ* *māⁿ*] = *āⁿ*
 [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj there] Q
á, *ʔⁿ* *má* *ʃà* = *nì*
 oh! 3AnSg IpfvNeg see.Pfv 3InanObj

A: ‘At that time, you would come and see it there?’

B: ‘He won’t see it.’

[future negative (§10.2.5.4)]

- (10:47) [*ē* *sàròʔò*] *cāre* *māⁿ* = *nēʔ,* *ʔⁿhóⁿ,*
 [Art baobab] be.long.time.Pfv there.Def Emph, uh-huh,
donc *bè* [Ø *náⁿ-bí*] *máⁿ* *káⁿ* [*kō* *nàtá*],
 so Dem.Def [Art person] IpfvNeg ought [Hort be.greedy],
 A: ‘The baobab lasted a long time (=was ancient). Uh-huh, so in that (situation) a
 person must not be greedy.’

[*káⁿ* *obligational* (§17.4.3.3) ; *nàtá* < *Jula*]

- (10:51) *wála→,* *kō* [*yī-dà*]-*dérá,* *ʔⁿhóⁿ*
 right!, Infin [cross.over.Base]-be.a.lot, uh-huh
 A: ‘Right, (and must not) overstep too far. Uh-huh.’

- (10:53) *parce que bon* *ɨ* *mà* *wō* [[[Ø *kě*] *klě*] *nī*],
 because well 2Sg if be [[[Art matter] do.Prog] Prog],
 [*yúó* *ʔéróⁿ*] *tèrèⁿ* [*dè* *mó* *já* *míʔ-â*],
 [person Rel] sit.Pfv [say.Pfv 2Sg leave.Base Refl-2SgPoss],
dè *mó* *já* *míʔ-â*,
 say.Pfv 2Sg leave.Base Refl-2SgPoss,

B: ‘Because, well, if you are doing something, someone who has sat (there) has
 told you to control yourself, to control yourself.’

[< /*mó* *já* *míʔ-â*/; i.e. a bystander tries to dissuade you from doing something
 dangerous, like the bird in the baobab; progressive with object preceding verb
 (§10.2.4)]

- (10:58) [*bò-wí* *ʃéráⁿ*] *ā* *jùʔù* [*mó* *ʃiè*] *có*,
 [fellow too] Ipfv follow.Ipfv [2Sg behind] exactly,
jí *mó* *dè* [*mó* *má* *jūʔō*] [*bò-wí* *bàʔà*]
 if 2Sg say.Pfv [2Sg IpfvNeg hear.Base [fellow Dat]]

B: ‘The fellow furthermore is behind you (=trying to help you), indeed. If you say
 that you won’t listen to the fellow—’

[< /*mó* *ʃiè* *có*/; *có* §(8.5.3.2.2)]

- (11:00) jó = ɔ̃ⁿ nè jūʔɔ̃ [Ø làⁿ-ní] [[ē cīɔ̃ⁿ] bàʔà],
 if 3AnSg IpfvPast hear.Base [Art advise-VblN] [[Art bird] Dat],
 dáʔá-ŋíʔé ɔ̃ⁿ bè būō [ɔ̃ⁿ mɪⁿʔáⁿ]
 at.that.time 3AnSg Fut get.Pfv [3AnSgRefl Refl]

A: ‘If he (=hyena) had listened to advice from the bird, then he would have gotten (=saved) himself.’

[counterfactual (§16.4.4); < /jí ɔ̃ⁿ de/ ; B overlaps with A but B is unclear on the recording]

- (11:04) [ē náⁿ-bí] bà wō [[Ø láⁿ] ni] [à níⁿ],
 [Art person] if be [[Art advise.Prog] Prog] [3Inan Loc],
 Ø ɲò jūʔɔ̃ [[ɔ̃ⁿ wí] fě],
 2Sg Hort hear.Base [[3AnSg owner] talk(n)],

A: ‘If a person is advising you in that (situation), you must listen to the fellow’s words.’

[progressive (§10.2.4)]

- (11:07) áywà, jèrɔ̃ⁿ būō, [bì tóʔó] wò yá,
 well, Rel be.gotten.Pfv, [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg,
 ɲí gblè = níⁿ [tòʔò jèrɔ̃ⁿ], ɲí tíē = níⁿ
 1Sg take.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel], 1Sg put.down.Pfv 3InanObj

A: ‘Well, what was gotten (=learned), that [focus] is it. (In) the place where I picked it up (=began the tale), I have put it down.’

- (11:10) á, wàtèrá
 oh!, Ouattara
 B: ‘Ah, Ouattara.’
 [surname of speaker A]

Text 2017-09 Elephants

duration 08:54

(A) *Ouattara Drisa* (Biton *quartier*), narrator

(B) *Ouattara Jean-Pierre* (Jinejan *quartier*), respondent

(at about 05:45, *Jean-Pierre* takes over as main speaker with *Drisa* responding)

(00:02) [ē còfó-fè] wò yá,
[Art Tiefo-language] be Dem.Inan,
ó gá-bàʔà [kò— ñ dò—],
1Pl want.it [Hort— (nasal) speak.Base—],
A: ‘This is Tiefo language. We want to speak—.’
[kà-bàʔà ‘want to VP’ construction (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1); preverbal nasal after interruption]

(00:06) [ē bə-ró jə-rō] à-màⁿ [é bàʔà] fāⁿʔāⁿ,
[Art elephant-Pl Indef-AnPl] be.Loc [1Pl chez] here,
A: ‘There are some elephants in our area here.’
[jə-rō animate plural indefinite (§4.4.2.3); < /à-māⁿ é/]

(00:08) áywà, nóⁿ wò dórísà [gò glú bìcūō-lē],
well, 1Sg1 be D [Infin exit(v).Base Biton],
A: ‘Well, I am Drisa and (I) come from Biton (*quartier*).’

(00:12) [ē bə-ró] à-màⁿ [é bàʔà] fāⁿʔāⁿ,
[Art elephant-Pl] be.Loc [1Pl chez] here,
ò gō [[Ø bàʔá] nīⁿ]
3Pl be [[Art damage(v).Prog] Prog],
A: ‘We have elephants here. They are doing damage.’
[progressive (§10.2.4), verb bāʔā ‘misuse, damage’]

(00:16) ō bà-bà [kā jèrɔⁿ],
3Pl Rdp-come.Pfv [manner Rel],
ó gá-bàʔà [wò dò [bè tóʔó]],
1Pl want.it [Hort speak.Base [Dem.Def Foc]],
A: ‘The way they have kept coming, that [focus] is what we want to talk about.’

(00:18) [ò bíé] ō jūʔɔ māⁿ,
[3Pl all] Infin hear.Base there.Def,
A: ‘So that everybody may hear about there (=that place).’
[recording sounds like [èbíé] but tones exclude 1Pl reading]

- (00:20) [ē bǔ] dè bá= à bē,
 [Art elephant] say.Pfv LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv,
 ó dè á= àⁿ jǔⁿ—,
 1Pl say.Pfv 1Pl Fut see.Base—,
 A: ‘When the elephant said (=decided) to come, we decided to look at it.’
 [< /bó à bē/ ; < /ó dè ó nàⁿ jǔⁿ/]
- (00:24) í-yùò dè máⁿ jī = wò = ?,
 1Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg know.Ipfv 3PlObj Neg,
 A: ‘We were unfamiliar with them.’
 [jī ‘know’ (be acquainted/familiar with)]
- (00:26) ó yī?ē-fī?ì [wō jū?ǔ [ǔⁿ wé] = rē→],
 1Pl get.up.Pfv [Infin hear.Base [3AnSg name] Emph].
 A: ‘We grew up (to adulthood) and only then did we hear its (=elephant’s) name.’
 [Bi dialect wé ‘name’ (other dialects: yíé); emphatic = rē→ (§19.4.4)]
- (00:28) [ē bǔ] [n dèⁿ?éⁿ] ō bà,
 [Art elephant] [Sg one] Infin come.Pfv,
 [ē pèⁿ?éⁿ] [n dèⁿ?éⁿ],
 [Art male(n)] [Sg one],
 A: ‘One elephant came. One male.’
 [‘one’ (§4.6.1.1); pèⁿ?éⁿ ‘male (animal)’]
- (00:31) ǔⁿ nè máⁿ gbā?ā bè-yá = rē?,
 3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg be.big.Ipfv thus Emph,
 A: ‘It was not all that big.’
 [< /ǔⁿ dè/ ; past morpheme with stative predicate for past time (§10.3.1.9)]
- (00:33) í!, náⁿ = āⁿ jǔⁿ = = ǔⁿ [dè [Ø bǔ] bà],
 oh!, 1Sg Ipfv see.Ipfv 3AnSgObj [Quot [Art elephant] come.Pfv],
 A: ‘Oh. I see that an elephant has come.’
 [í! exclamation marking beginning of quotation; quotes the thinking of an individual at the time; < /nóⁿ à jǔⁿ = ò/ (but virtually inaudible on recording)]
- (00:35) ó bà jù?ǔ [ó bié] ò yí?í
 1Pl if hear.Base [1Pl all] Infin go.Base
 [gō rà-jǔⁿ = òⁿ],
 [Infin go.Base-look.at.Base 3AnSgObj],
 A: ‘When we heard, all of us went there to look at it.’
 [double ‘go’ construction with kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4)]

- (00:38) **kō** **ɲīⁿ** = **òⁿ** **bè-yá-ró**
 Infin see.Base 3AnSgObj thus
[wò glú [ɔ̃ⁿ mīⁿʔáⁿ]],
[Infin cause.to.exit.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl]],
 A: ‘(We) saw it in that way (as) it brought itself out (=appeared).’
[reflexive object (§18.1.2); glú here transitivized from intransitive with no change in form, distinct from lexical transitive glō]
- (00:40) **jà→ bó** **bā=** **[[Ø t̃ʔ̃] ɲū⁵ⁿ-t̃ʔ̃]** **ɲīⁿ**,
 lo! 3AnSg come.Pfv [[Art place] look.at.Pfv-place] Loc],
 A: ‘Lo, it came in order to look at (=inspect) that place.’
[jà→ ‘lo!’ (§19.3.7); -t̃ʔ̃ ɲīⁿ purposive (§17.6.2.5); the first t̃ʔ̃ ‘place’ is direct object (preverbal in this purposive construction)]
- (00:42) **bó** **bà** **[gà= à-ɲ⁵ⁿ [ē t̃ʔ̃]]**,
 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-look.at.Base [Art place]],
 A: ‘It came to look at the place.’
[‘come and VP’ construction (§15.2.3.2.4)]
- (00:46) **[ē d̃òs̃-ró]** **ō** **bà** **[gà= à-blā =ò]**,
 [Art hunter-Pl] Infin come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-lead.out.Base 3AnSgObj],
kō **yíí** **[à júò]**,
 Infin go.Base [with 3An],
 A: ‘Hunters came and (gently) evicted it, and took it away.’
[kà júò ‘with him/her/it/them’ (animate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]
- (00:50) **f̃** **wō** **rà-[m̃éⁿ-t̃ⁿ]**,
 until Infin go.Base-[throw.out.Base],
[kō bà-[m̃éⁿ-t̃ⁿ]] **[ɔ̃ⁿ wò klá]**,
[Infin come.Base-[throw.out.Base]] [3AnSg Infin return.Base],
 A: ‘Until (they) went and forced (it) out. (They) came and forced (it) out, and it went back.’
[f̃ ‘until’ (§8.3.10.2, §15.3.4.1)]
- (00:53) **ō** **bl̃è** = **ò**
 3Pl force.out.Pfv 3AnSgObj
[kò yíí [gō rà-dàⁿ f̃áⁿɲòl̃ē]]
[Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base Fl]]
 A: ‘They (=hunters) evicted it. (They) got as far as Fandiora (village).’
- (00:55) **[[Ø náⁿ-bí-ó]** **bl̃è]**
[[Art person-Pl] get.tired.Pfv]
[wò séⁿ [Ø-ā d̃ē],
[Infin lie.down.Base [Infin-Ipfv sleep.Ipfv],
 A: ‘The people (e.g. hunters) became weary, and lay down to sleep (at Fandiora).’
[< /k-ā d̃ē/]

- (00:57) [ē bǒ] wò klá
 [Art elephant] Infin return.Base,
 [wō ʃàⁿ fāⁿʔāⁿ = [Ø blíʔí]],
 [Infin appear.Base here [Art night]],
 A: ‘The elephant came back (to Daramandugu) and showed up at night.’
- (00:59) [k-ā glú [[fawó dè] nīⁿ],
 [Infin-Ipfv exit(v).Ipfv [[F field] Loc],
 A: ‘And (it) was coming out into Fawo’s field.’
 [*Fawo is a personal name*]
- (01:01) [ē jō-rō] dè—, [[bó tóʔó] = yà]
 [Art Indef-AnPl] say.Pfv—, [[3AnSg Foc] it.is]
 [ē jō-rō] dè [bó máⁿ glò = ʔ]
 [Art Indef-AnPl] say.Pfv [3AnSg IpfvNeg it.is Neg]
 A: ‘Some people said, “it is him (= the same elephant) [focus]!” Some (others) said “it isn’t him!”’
 [*jō-rō* ‘certain ones’, in parallelistic construction (§4.4.2.3); X = (y)à ‘it is X’ and X máⁿ glò = ʔ ‘it isn’t X’ (§11.2.1.1-2)]
- (01:04) jà→ [bó tóʔó] [[n dèⁿʔéⁿ] jèʔè-có] = à
 lo! [3AnSg Foc] [[Sg one] identical] it.is
 A: ‘In fact, it is (=was) that very same one.’
 [*jā→* (§19.3.7); *jèʔè-có* intensifier for ‘one’ in the sense ‘same’ (§19.2.2)]
- (01:06) [[bó tóʔó] [n dèⁿʔéⁿ] = àⁿ
 [[3AnSg Foc] [Sg one]] it.is
 [bó tóʔó [n nèⁿʔéⁿ] = àⁿ,
 [3AnSg Foc [Sg one]] it.is,
 B: ‘It was the same one.’
 A: ‘It is (=was) the same one.’
 [*B’s turn: echo or question; N-Foc-Num order* (§13.1.2.2)]
- (01:07) ō dè máⁿ wō = [Ø jōⁿ] = nēʔ,
 3Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg be [Art two] Emph,
 ō bà bè-yá-ró,
 3Pl come.Pfv thus,
 A: ‘They weren’t two (different ones) after all! They (=elephants) came thus.’
 [*< /kō ò jōⁿ = dēʔ/; Y má⁽ⁿ⁾ kō X ‘Y isn’t X’* (§11.2.2.2)]

- (01:09) **é, ó bà [gā= à—, -jīⁿ =òⁿ]**
 ah! 1Pl came.Pfv [Infin come.Pfv— -see.Base 3AnSgObj]
[gò já =ò màⁿ [ófòréè-ŋ bà?à]],
 [Infin leave.Base 3AnSgObj there.Def [forester-Pl chez]],
 A: ‘Ah! We came and saw it, then (we) left it there at the (government) forestry (office).’

[*bà [kā= à-...] ‘came and ...’ (§15.2.3.2.4), here interrupted; māⁿ ‘there’ with appositional locational; Eaux et Forêts, government agency that manages hunting, fishing, and forests]*

- (01:13) **kō bà-blà =ò é?é,**
 Infin come.Base-lead.out.Base 3AnSgObj no!,
ǒ= Ø lé= [à nīⁿ] =?,
 3Pl PfvNeg accept.Base [3Inan Loc] Neg,
 A: ‘(They) came to evict it (=elephant), (but) nope! They (=elephants) did not accept it (to go).’

[< /léⁿ [à nīⁿ]/ (§17.4.4.1)]

- (01:15) **ò dē d= =ò máⁿ cùì =?,**
 3Pl say.Pfv Quot 3Pl IpfvNeg kill.Ipfv Neg,
 A: ‘They (=foresters) said that they don’t kill (the elephants).
[the second ‘they’ is impersonal (generic) and is not coindexed with the foresters; kùò/kò/cùì ‘hit, kill’ with k/c (§3.4.2.3)]

- (01:18) **jóⁿ [bó yī?ē rò],**
 look.Base [3AnSg go.Pfv Emph],
bó gò yíí [gō rà-sú? = [ō t̄]],
 3AnSg Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-catch.Base [3Pl other]],
 A: ‘Look! It (=elephant) went away, and it went in order to collect the others.’
[presentative imperative ‘look!’ (§4.4.4); =rò (§19.4.2); < /sú?ú/; ‘others’ (§18.5.2.2)]

- (01:21) **ò gá má kè?è-kè?è =nì—**
 3Pl Past IpfvNeg Rdp-ruin.Ipfv 3InanObj—
ò gá má kè?è-kè?è =nì
 3Pl Past IpfvNeg Rdp-ruin.Ipfv 3InanObj,
 B: ‘They (=elephants) weren’t damaging it much— They weren’t damaging it much?’

[*ká past; this ends up as a question, see the following segment*]

- (01:23) **[bó [n dèⁿ?éⁿ]]**
 [3AnSg [Sg one]]
gá má kè?è-kè?è =nì =ā
 Past IpfvNeg Rdp-ruin.Ipfv 3InanObj Q
 B: ‘It (=one elephant) alone wasn’t doing much damage?’

- (01:24) [bó [n dèⁿ?áⁿ=] =ā,
 [3AnSg [Sg one] Q,
 [bó [n dèⁿ?éⁿ] nè plē
 [3AnSg [Sg one]] IpfvPast be.better.Ipfv
 bó à plé
 3AnSg Ipfv be.better.Ipfv

A: 'It alone? By itself it was better (=less damaging).'

B: 'It was better.'

['one' = 'sole, lone' (§4.6.1.1); /dèⁿ?éⁿ dè/ with dè IpfvPast marker (§10.3.1.1);
 plé 'be better' (§12.1.3); à in final clause unclear on recording]

- (01:26) ā klè [tá [bó dè cɔ̃ʔɔ̃]],
 3Inan be.done.Pfv [like [3AnSg IpfvPast fear.Ipfv]],
 bó— bó rà= á sòⁿ
 3AnSg — 3AnSg (Ipfv)Past PfvNeg accept.Base
 [w-ā kl= [=òⁿ mɪⁿ?áⁿ]
 [Infin-Ipfv do.Ipfv [3AnSgRefl Refl]
 [[bó dè] kà-díⁿ],
 [[3AnSg Foc] manner],

A: 'It was like it (=elephant) was afraid. It— It had been reluctant to make itself that kind of thing (=destroyer).'

[cɔ̃ʔɔ̃ is base=Ipfv; < /bó dè á sòⁿ/ past perfect negative (§10.3.1.2)); sòⁿ < Jula ;
 < /kō (b)à-klè ðⁿ/; dè focus marker (< Jula)]

- (01:30) áyò
 yes
 ðⁿhðⁿ, mais ðⁿ mà rá bú= [Ø náⁿ],
 yes, but 3AnSg if Past get.Base [Art bovine],

B: 'Okay.'

A: 'Uh-huh. But if it (=elephant) encountered a bull, ...'

- (01:33) í→, [[è náⁿ] mà rá jɪⁿ =ò] í-á-lò
 oh, [[Art cow] if Past see.Base 3AnSgObj] you.know.it
 [Ø náⁿ], ð= Ø jɪⁿ-tè? = =ò lò,
 [Art cow], 3Pl PfvNeg see.Base-be.accustomed.Base 3AnSgObj Emph,

A: 'Ah, if a bull saw it, you know that cattle (generic), they (=cattle) aren't used to seeing it (=elephant).'

['if a bull saw it' is antecedent clause, with consequent delayed until the following segment; í-á-lò < Jula 'you knot it' (but indistinct in this recording); < /tè?è =ò/; lò (§19.4.2)]

- (01:36) **bùò gō dè dè [Ø ná-póⁿ = àⁿ]**
 3Pl Infin say.Base Quot [Art bovine-male it.is]
dè bùò nàⁿ bà-jíí [à júò],
 Quot LogoPl Fut come.Base-fight(v).Base [with 3An],
 A: ‘They (=cattle) would say (=think), “it’s a bull” thinking that they (=cattle) would have conflict with the thing (=elephant).’
[júò third person animate pronominal after kà ‘with’ (§4.3.2.4)]
- (01:39) **íí, ò gō sò-gbē**
 oh, 3Pl Infin carry.on.head.Base-pick.up.Base
[gò méⁿ-gà?à [Ø cé?é]],
 [Infin throw.Base-break.Base [Art hip]],
 A: ‘Ah, they (=elephants) would pick them (=cows) up and throw them down and break their hips.’
[cé?é dialectal for cí?é]
- (01:42) **úⁿ, ā pìèⁿ yá-ró,**
 oh, 3Inan remain.Pfv thus,
[ē bǒ] fīē,
 [Art elephant] pass.Pfv,
 A: ‘Well, it (=situation) stayed (like) that (for a while). The elephant went away.’
[cf. bē-yá-ró ‘thus’ (§8.5.5.2.2)]
- (01:45) **[ó dè á jǒⁿ = = w̃ⁿ]**
 [1Pl Quot PfvNeg look.at.Base 3AnSgObj]
[Ø bà-rò kórú dó] klē,
 [Art elephant-Pl herd however] return.Pfv,
 A: ‘Suddenly, the herd of elephants came back.’
*[ó dè á jǒ = w̃ⁿ seems to be a formula for ‘suddenly’, cf. ‘before we knew it, ...’;
 < /bà-ró kórú/; kórú ‘agemate group, cohort’ (for humans), ‘herd’ for animals;
 subject-final dó (§19.3.8)]*
- (01:47) **tíⁿ-tíⁿ-tíⁿ, kō bà [kō = à-jī = [Ø tǝ?ǝ]]**
 many, chain come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base [Art place]]
[gō sò-dór = [é bà?à] bē-yá-ró,
 [Infin receive.Base-do.a.lot.Base [1Pl chez] thus,
 A: ‘Droves (of elephants). They came and looked at the place, and occupied our country in that way.’
[tíⁿ-tíⁿ-tíⁿ intensifier for ‘many’; /kō (b)à-jī/; -dórá ‘do a lot’ (§15.1.2.1.2)]

- (01:52) ò bà dīē [[[móⁿ jà̀rɔ́ⁿ] dè] nīⁿ], é?ē→
 3Pl if enter.Base [[[2Sg Rel] field] Loc], oh.no!
 [è bárá] yí?ē-ŋí?ì
 [Art work(n)] get.up.Pfv
 A: ‘You-Sg in whose field they may enter, oh no!’
 B: ‘Action (=trouble) arose!’
 [< /móⁿ jà̀rɔ́ⁿ/ (§14.1.9)]

- (01:55) [è bárá] būō,
 [Art work(n)] be.found.Pfv,
 [ē nàsà̀rà-kúⁿ] máⁿ pīⁿ māⁿ =?,
 [Art white.person-Blighia] IpfvNeg remain.Ipfv there.Def Neg,
 A: ‘Action (=drama) has occurred! (Even) cashew trees won’t remain there!’
 [The cashew tree, *Anacardium orientale*, planted around fields, is called ‘white man’s Blighia’ after the native tree *Blighia sapida*, which is planted in most villages]

- (01:59) áywà, ò wē [Ø kè-tè?è] dè-dē = [Ø sà̀-rò-ŋó]
 well, Infin put.in.Base [Art hand] now [Art oil.palm-Pl]
 [ē sà̀-rò-ŋó] [ē cù?é]
 [Art oil.palm-Pl] [Art borassus.palm]
 [ē kòⁿ?óⁿ]
 [Art borassus.palm]
 [ē cù?è-ní]
 [Art borassus.palm-Pl]
 A: ‘Well, (they) then lay hands on (=knock down) oil palms.’
 B: ‘Oil palms, (and) the borassus palm.’
 A: ‘The borassus palm.’
 B: ‘Borassus palms.’
 [dialects diverge in term for ‘borassus palm’; plural -ní (§4.1.2.5); sà̀rò ‘oil palm’, not to be confused with sà̀rò?ò ‘baobab tree’]

- (02:04) kà, [ē cǒⁿ], [ē sùⁿ],
 with, [Art fig.tree], [Art shea.tree],
 [è náⁿ-bí jírⁿámá]
 [Art human good]
 má—
 IpfvNeg—
 [è náⁿ-bí jírⁿámá]
 [Art human good]
 A: ‘Along with the sycomore fig tree, the shea tree.’
 B: ‘(Even) human beings.’
 A: ‘Won’t—.’
 B: ‘(Even) human beings.’
 [fig = *Ficus sycomorus*; shea-tree *Vitellaria paradoxa*; jírⁿámá < *Jula*]

(02:09) [ò bíéʔ í-á-lò →
[3Pl all] you.know.it

ò bíéʔ

3Pl all

ō diè fāⁿ?āⁿ [é-yùò bàʔà]
3Pl enter.Pfv here [1Pl chez]

A: 'All of them, you know.'

B: 'All of them.'

A: 'They came in here (to) our (zone).'

[í-á-lò < *Jula*]

(02:12) ó nàⁿ dò-pōⁿ→, est-ce que [[móⁿ bī-dò] dó]
1Pl Fut say.Base-be.able.Base, Q [[2Sg younger.sib] Poss.Inan]

dà= á gàʔà-klè =ā→,

(Ipfv)Past PfvNeg be.first.Base-be.done.Base Q,

fāⁿ?āⁿ

here

A: 'We may say (=ask), had not your younger brother's turn happened first?'

B: 'Here?'

[*B's younger brother was one of the people attacked by elephants; < /bī-dǒ/; dà = á (§10.3.1.2) at (759)*]

(02:16) [...] [[ē ʃì] à-māⁿ [ʒⁿ nìⁿ] mō→]
(indistinct) [[Art life] be.Loc [3AnSg Loc] concerning]

dási= [Ø bǒ] kù= =ò

otherwise [Art elephant] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj

A: '... he had (long) life, ...'

B: 'Otherwise the elephant (would have) killed him.'

[*mō→ at end of counterfactual conditional antecedent; < /kùò = ò/; dási 'otherwise'*]

(02:19) ʒⁿ nè máⁿ wū= =ā→
3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg die.Pfv Q

[Ø bǒ] kù= =ò, ádámá

[Art elephant] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj, A

A: 'Would he not have died?'

B: 'The elephant (would have) killed him. Adama (man's name).'

[*< /wūō/; < /kùò = (y)ò/; rhetorical question in the form of a negative counterfactual consequent with perfective future-in-past (§16.4.4)*]

- (02:20) mó, [ē bǒ] g-ā— à léⁿ [[móⁿ úⁿúⁿ] nīⁿ]
 2Sg, [Art elephant] Infin-Ipfv— Ipfv stop.Ipfv [[2Sg head] Loc]
 jí máⁿ= à-màⁿ [bó cùⁿà-tǒⁿ] mō→,
 if 2Sg be.Loc [3AnSg under] concerning,

A: ‘You-Sg, (suppose) the elephant stops on top of you. If you are under it (=elephant), ...’

[‘on the head of’ (§8.3.2.4); < /móⁿ à-māⁿ bó/; cùⁿà-tǒⁿ ‘under’ (§8.3.8.2); mō→ at end of conditional antecedent (§19.1.4)]

- (02:24) móⁿ nàⁿ— móⁿ nàⁿ bú míⁿ?-âⁿ mē-yá= =ā
 2Sg Fut— 2Sg Fut get.Base Refl-2SgPoss how? Q
 fǒ ðⁿ gō klè [ðⁿ míⁿ?á] [ká wūō-kàⁿà]
 until 3AnSg Infin do.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl] [like die.Pfv-Ppl.An]

A: ‘How will you find (=save) yourself?’

B: ‘To the point that he made himself like a dead critter (=played dead).’

[2Sg reflexive (§18.1.2); ‘like’ (§8.5.1.1); animate singular participle (§4.2.3.1, §4.5.4)]

- (02:26) [ē jùⁿè dǒⁿó] bā dè
 [Art God Foc] if Quot
 [[ē náⁿ-bí] dǒ] á kō =?,
 [[Art person] Poss.Inan] PfvNeg finish.Base Neg,
 [bì tǒⁿó] ò bē,
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def,
 [bè tǒⁿó] ò bē,
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def,

A: ‘(If) God [focus] says that a person’s (role) is not finished, that [focus] is how it is.’

B: ‘That is how it is.’

[lit. “thus is that”]

- (02:30) bē [jǒⁿ-jùⁿó]-dò,
 Dem.Def [two-Ord]-Poss.Inan,
 bē wā= à-klè [í-yùò bàⁿà] mùsǒkǒⁿó
 Dem.Def Infin come.Base-be.done.Base [1Pl chez] M]
 ā klè
 3Inan be.done.Pfv

A: ‘The second one (=incident) of them, that one happened in our (zone) to Musokoro (a woman).’

B: ‘It happened.’

[ordinal (§4.6.2.2); -dò L-toned in discourse-definite partitive function (§6.2.4.3); < /bè kō (b)à-/ (parsing tentative)]

(02:34) **nóⁿ** **kùḁⁿ** **jàrɔⁿ**, **bó** **yī?ē** **àrē**
 1Sg know.Pfv Rel, 3AnSg go.Pfv (her)self
 [[ē [fùḁ-tárú]-tò?ḁ] nīⁿ],
 [[Art [fish(n)-hunt.fish.Base]-place] Loc],

A: ‘What I know of (=have found out about). She went in order to hunt fish (in the water).’

[< /fùḁ tárú/; tò?ḁ nī purposive complement (§17.6.2.5)]

(02:38) **é!** **ó** **dè** [dúm-gà-fá]-kè
 oh! 1Pl Quot [be.sated]-matter
 [bì tó?ó] máⁿ glà = = ā,
 [Dem.Def Foc] IpfvNeg it.is Q,

A: ‘Oh, what we have called self-sufficiency (in food), is it not like that?’

[< Jula dúmú kà fá ‘be full (after eating)’ (Tiefó-D dārē/dé/dé); < /máⁿ glò = ā/]

(02:40) [bè tó? =] = à, [bè tó? =] = à
 [Dem.Def Foc] it.is, [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
 [è náⁿ-bí-ó] wō cāⁿ [gò fó-já bó]],
 [Art person-Pl] Infin disperse.Base [Infin pass.Base-leave.Base 3AnSg]],

B: ‘It is! It is!’

A: ‘The people then dispersed (from the water) and left her (there).’

(02:42) **bó** **gō** **pēⁿ**
 3AnSg Infin remain.Base
 [g-ā sēⁿ [Ø fē-ró] māⁿ [ḁⁿ mīⁿ?áⁿ]],
 [Infin-Ipfv gather.Ipfv [Art fish-Pl] there.Def [3AnSgRefl Refl]],

A: ‘She stayed (behind) to gather fish-Pl there by herself.’

(02:45) **bó** **bà** [gà = à-gbè-yí?é
 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-pick.up.Base-lift.Base
 [ḁⁿ úⁿ?úⁿ]], jí bó nàⁿ-dórá→, [ē blā?ā] yè-fló,
 [3AnSgRefl head]], if 3AnSg see.Pfv-do.a.lot, [Art pond] be.full.Pfv,

A: ‘She then came and raised her head (out of the water). When she saw (that) the pond was full (of elephants),’

[-dórá ‘be/do a lot’ (§15.1.2.1.2)]

(02:50) [ē yī?ē-tò?ḁ] Ø-māⁿ [Ø sē] = ē,
 [Art go.Pfv-place] be.Loc [Art where?] Q,
 [ḁⁿ glō] [dè bá = ā fīⁿ?īⁿ dórɔⁿ→],
 [3AnSg exit(v).Pfv] [Quot LogoSg Ipfv run.Ipfv only],

A: ‘(She thought:) “Where is the way out?” As soon as she got out (of the water) intending to flee (from it), ...’

[‘place’ compound (§5.1.7.3); < /dè bó à fīⁿ?īⁿ/; ‘only’ = ‘as soon as’ (§15.3.5.9)]

- (02:54) [ē bǎ] wò tíⁿ-gbē = ò,
 [Art elephant] Infin pull.Base-pick.up 3AnSgObj,
 kō f̄rì-sūʔ = w̄
 Infin heave.Base-give.Base 3AnSgObj
 A: ‘The elephant pulled her and picked her up, and flung her away.’
 [*< Jula f̄rì ‘heave, fling’; ‘give’ as final in verb compound (§15.1.6.2)*]
- (02:58) é! ā klè, bon, jì-ní,
 oh! 3Inan be.done.Pfv, well, Prsntv,
 é kò dè—, ē b̄èⁿ-kà jī,
 1Pl Hort say.Base—, Art wild.animal Indef,
 B: ‘Oh, it happened! Well, there it is! Let’s say—, it’s like some wild animals.’
 [*presentative (§4.4.4.1, §4.4.4.3)*]
- (03:01) dè bùò dè [(ò) máⁿ c̄ì],
 Quot 3Pl Quot [3Pl IpfvNeg be.killed.Ipfv],
 [ò dó] w̄ [kèʔé nī]
 [3Pl however] be [ruin(v).Prog Prog]
 B: ‘They say, they (=elephants) aren’t (=cannot be) killed. And yet they are wreaking havoc.’
 [*ò in dè ò máⁿ is inaudible on the recording but seems to be syntactically required; progressive construction (§10.2.4)*]
- (03:04) kō gbē = w̄ [gō rà-[méⁿ-t̄òⁿ] = òⁿ]
 Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin go.Base-[throw.Base] 3AnSgObj]
 [wō dí-só],
 [Infin make.fall.Base],
 A: ‘(It) picked her up and proceeded to throw her down.’
 [*kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); dí-só dialectal for d̄i-só*]
- (03:06) ðⁿ wò yíyí māⁿ,
 3AnSg Infin go.Base there.Def,
 kō rà-súʔ = = ò],
 Infin go.Base-catch.Base 3AnSgObj],
 A: ‘It (=elephant) went there, and caught her.’
 [*< /kō rà-súʔú = (y)ò/*]
- (03:08) [ðⁿ dó-dè-f̄è] nīⁿ,
 [3AnSg Poss.Inan-say.Pfv-talk(n)] Loc,
 [[[ðⁿ s̄èⁿ-[ló-càʔà] bó] f̄j̄ná] nī],
 [[[3AnSg lay.down.Pfv-[spread.out.on.back.Base] LogoSg] situation] Loc],
 A: ‘In her words, as soon as it (=elephant) put her down on her back.’
 [*dó-dè-f̄è (§5.1.13.2 at (466)); < /s̄èⁿ-ló-/; f̄j̄ná nī (§15.3.2)*]

- (03:12) *kō* *gbē=* [*ɔ̃ⁿ—*, *ɔ̃ⁿ* *gbè-gbè*]
 Infin pick.up.Base [3AnSg—, 3AnSgRefl chest]
 [*wō* [*tì-tòⁿ*]-*dórá* [*bó* *nīⁿ*] *bè-yá-ró*,
 [Infin [be.poured.Base]-do.a.lot [3AnSg Loc] thus,
 A: ‘It (=elephant) picked up its chest (=torso) and then poured (dropped heavily) on her like that.’
 [*< -dórá (§15.1.2.1.2)*]

- (03:15) *k-ā* *táru* *bó* *bè-yá-ró*,
 Infin-Ipfv weigh.down.on.Ipfv 3AnSg thus,
k-ā *táru* *bó* *bè-yá-ró*,
 Infin-Ipfv weigh.down.on.Ipfv 3AnSg thus,
 A: ‘It (=elephant) was weighing down on her like that. It was pressing down against her like that.’
[repetition of clause marks prolongation; táru associated by assistants with Jula téréké ‘rub’]

- (03:18) [*ē* *klè-kà* *jì* *ní-māⁿ=*]
 [[Art manner.of.doing Indef] not.be.Loc]
 [*∅* *néné-kóre* *bíé*] *bàràⁿ*,
 [Art breath all] be.blocked.Pfv,
 A: ‘There was nothing (for her) to do. Her entire breathing was blocked.’
[< Jula nínákílí ‘breath (n)’, Jula báláⁿ ‘be blocked’]

- (03:20) *ɔ̃ⁿhòⁿ* *mā-jī*
 yes if.you.see
 B: ‘Yes. You see?’
[mā-jī (§19.5.2)]

- (03:22) *donc* *ɔ̃ⁿ=* *∅* *táru-tár=* *=ò* *bè-yá-ró*
 so 3AnSg Ipfv Rdp-weigh.down.on.Ipfv 3AnSgObj thus
ɔ̃ⁿ *gō* *sàrò*
 3AnSg Infin proceed.to.Base
 [*ō* *gbō=* *=ò* [*gò* *méⁿ-tòⁿ* *=ɔ̃ⁿ*],
 [Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj] [Infin throw.Base 3AnSgObj],
 A: ‘So it was weighing down on her like that, before it picked (her) up and threw her.’
[táru-táru verb iteration (§9.5); kō sàrò kō (§15.3.5.7.1) ; < /gbē=ò/]

- (03:24) *kò* *yíyí* [*gō* *rà—*,
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base—
 [*kpàrèⁿ-kpàrèⁿ]-jòⁿ* *=ɔ̃ⁿ*],
 [turn.Base-turn.Base]-look.at.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘It went and examined her by swiveling its body to examine her (for signs of life).
 [*< /-jòⁿ =ò/]*

- (03:27) [ðⁿ fɛ́rɛ́ⁿ] wō—, [ē jùʔé] wō tàⁿ-jūʔɔ̃
 [3AnSg too] Infin—, [Art God] Infin help.Base
 [ðⁿ wò kú] [ðⁿ gùʔó],
 [3AnSg Infin cut.Base] [3AnSgRefl breath],
 A: ‘She too, God helped her to cut (=hold) her breath.’
 [*‘help X to VP’ (§17.4.2.3.1)*]
- (03:30) [ē bɔ̃] g-ā lúⁿ
 [Art elephant] Infin-Ipfv look.at.Ipfv
 d= [àⁿdéⁿʔéⁿ n=] [ðⁿ wūō],
 Quot [looks.like Loc] [3AnSg die.Pfv],
 A: ‘It seemed to the elephant that she had died.’
 [*àⁿdéⁿʔéⁿ < French on dirait (§15.3.1.4)*]
- (03:32) ðⁿ glò-já =ò,
 3AnSg exit(v).Pfv-leave.Base 3AnSgObj,
 kō rà-léⁿ klà-tòʔò]
 Infin go.Base-stop.Base distant.place],
 A: ‘It went away and left her. It stopped far away.’
- (03:35) [ē jū] wìʔè dɔ́ɔ́ní,
 [Art eye] open.Pfv a.little,
 A: ‘The (=her) eyes opened a crack.’
 [*< /wìʔè dɔ́ɔ́ní/ with dɔ́ɔ́ní ‘a little’ (§8.5.2.2.2)*]
- (03:37) é, ðⁿ gò yíʔí-ʃíʔí
 oh, 3AnSg Infin get.up.Base
 [ō báⁿbá] [wō ʃⁿʔíⁿ-dē [Ø blāʔā]]],
 [Infin manage.Base] [Infin run.Base-cross.Base [Art pond]]],
 A: ‘Oh! She got up, and managed to run across the pond.’
 [*báⁿbá ‘manage, find a way’ < Jula*]
- (03:40) ō bà, ɔ̃ⁿ bà [gā= à-dàⁿ],
 Infin come.Base, 3AnSg come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base],
 Ø-ā kó-à-sūʔū,
 Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv,
 A: ‘She came. When she arrived here, she was letting out a wail.’
 [*< /bà kō (b)à-dàⁿ/; < /kō à kó-à-sūʔū/; ‘give’ as final in verb compound (§15.1.6.2)*]
- (03:45) kó-à-sūʔū kó-à-sūʔū
 weep.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv weep.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv
 náⁿ-bíó kō jūʔɔ̃ [ðⁿ kóʔó],
 person-Pl Infin hear.Base [3AnSg weeping(n)],
 A: ‘Wailing and wailing. Then people heard her wailing.’
 [*durative iteration of imperfective clause, shortened from k-à kó-à-sūʔū (§15.2.2)*]

- (03:47) *kō* *bà* [Ø = *à-jìⁿ-dórá* = ò]
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base-do.a.lot 3AnSgObj]
pèrèkètè *bè-yá-ró*,
 wrecked thus,

A: '(They) came and had a good look at her in bad shape.'

[*-dórá* (§15.1.2.1.2); *pèrèkètè* expressive adverbial (§8.5.8)]

- (03:50) ò *báⁿbá* [*wō* *gbē* = ò]
 Infin manage.Base [Infin pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj]
 [*wō* *dèmèⁿ-dém =* = òⁿ],
 [Infin Rdp-do.a.little 3AnSgObj],

A: '(They) managed to pick her up and do what they could for her.'

[*dèmèⁿ-déméⁿ* < *Jula*]

- (03:52) *ō* *bà =* [*à* *júò*] *dòtòsó* *fāⁿʔāⁿ*
 Infin come.Base [with 3An] hospital here
ā *klè*

3Inan be.done.Pfv

A: '(They) came with (=brought) her to the medical center here.'

B: 'It happened.'

[*'come with' = 'bring'*; *kà júò* (§4.3.2.4)]

- (03:54) *áywà* ò *yíí*
 well Infin go.Base
 [*gō* *rà-glú* [*fó* *bànfóra—*, *ḡ* *-dòtòsó*]]
 [Infin go.Base-exit(v).Base [until B, (nasal) hospital]]
ā *klè*
 3Inan be.done.Pfv

A: 'Well, (they) went all the way to Banfora hospital.'

B: 'It happened.'

[*kō rà-*; *fó* 'all the way to'; *Banfora* is the nearest large city; pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]

- (03:57) *é*, *jìⁿ-níⁿ*, *ānāⁿʔāⁿ-yùò*
 oh!, Prsntv, face-people
dè [*ò* *bā* *kèʔè* [*yúó* *jèrⁿ*]]
 Quot [3Pl if damage(v).Base [people Rel]]
 ò *wō* *tāⁿ-jūʔō*,
 3Pl Infin help.Base,

A: 'Oh! There it is! The authorities said that they would give assistance (to) any people whom they (=elephants) harmed.'

[*presentative* (§4.4.4.1); *object relative* (§14.2.2)]

- (04:00) [ē èʔé jì] á bà-[tàⁿ-jũʔɔ] màⁿ jórⁿámá
 [Art thing Indef] PfvNeg come.Base-[help.Base] there.Def well(adv)
 A: ‘(But) nothing good came and helped there very much.’

[scope relationship of negation and indefinite (§6.6.4), also relevant to the following segment]

- (04:02) [é, ānàʔà-yùò kō kɔⁿ =nì]
 [oh, face-people Infin know.Base 3InanObj]
 mais ð= Ø— ð= Ø sũʔɔ [Ø èʔé jì] =ā
 but 3Pl PfvNeg— 3Pl PfvNeg give.Base [Art thing Indef] Q
 B: ‘Oh! The authorities knew about it, and yet they didn’t give anything?’

- (04:05) é→ ā ʃiʔɛ= [Ø sē] =ē
 oh, 3Inan be.given.Pfv [Art where?] Q
 A: ‘Oh! Where was it given?’
 [rhetorical question; passive of ‘give’]

- (04:06) [ē èʔé jà=] á sũʔɔ māⁿ =nēʔ
 [Art thing Indef] PfvNeg be.given.Base there.Def Emph
 A: ‘Nothing was given, mind you!’
 [< /ē èʔé jì/ ; < / =dēʔ/]

- (04:07) bùò dè d= ò mâ kò =ò,
 3Pl say.Pfv Quot 3Pl Proh kill.Base 3AnSgObj,
 [ðⁿ dó] mā kèʔè= [Ø kèʔè-ní]
 [3AnSg however] if ruin(v).Base [Art ruin-VblN]]
 B: ‘They (=government) say that they (=people) musn’t kill it (=elephant)! (Even) when they come and wreak havoc!’
 [quoted prohibitive; dó ‘however’ (§19.3.8); verb with (rare) cognate verbal-noun object (§11.1.2.4)]

- (04:10) dè móⁿ mā kò [n dèⁿʔéⁿ],
 Quot 2Sg if kill.Base [Sg one],
 ā klè [ká [móⁿ kùò [náⁿ-bí-ó ó-rúⁿ] [yúó támwú]]
 3Inan be.done.Pfv [like [2Sg kill.Pfv [person-Pl head-Pl] [people ten]]
 [yúó kplē-kàⁿ]
 [people twenty-five]

A: ‘(They say:) If you-Sg kill one (elephant), it’s like (=the legal equivalent of) you killed ten people.’

B (overlapping): ‘A hundred people!’

[< /móⁿ bà/; ‘heads’ as counting unit; yúó ‘person’ or ‘people’ as human numeral classifier (§6.4.1); “twenty-five” i.e. five twenties = ‘100’]

- (04:14) *móⁿ mà kò [n dèⁿʔéⁿ],*
 2Sg if kill.Base [Sg one],
dè mó kùò [yúó kplē-kàⁿ]
 Quot 2Sg kill.Pfv [people twenty-five]
 B: ‘If you kill one (elephant), (they say) that (it’s like) you killed a hundred people!’

- (04:16) [*ē bǎ*] [*n dèⁿʔéⁿ*]
 [Art elephant] [Sg one]
[è náⁿ-bí-ó á-rúⁿ] [yúó támwú ró] móⁿ kùò
 [Art person-Pl head-Pl] [person ten Foc] 2Sg kill.Pfv
mā-nī
 if.you.see
 A: ‘One elephant. It’s (like) ten people [focus] is what you killed.’
 B: ‘You see?’
[fronted object NP; ró focalizer < tóʔó]

- (04:18) *nóⁿ k-ā sòⁿ*
 1Sg Infin-Ipfv think.Ipfv
d= [ō =rè [yúó kplē-kàⁿ]]
 Quot [3Pl say.Pfv [people twenty-five]]
 B: ‘I think they said a hundred people.’
[< /dè ò dè/]

- (04:20) *āⁿʔāⁿ támwú, ń dīʔē jèrⁿ,*
 nope! ten, 1Sg hear.Pfv Rel,
donc ā ɲàⁿ bè-yá-ró,
 so 3Inan be.seen.Pfv thus,
 A: ‘Nope! Ten, (that’s) what I heard. So, it was seen like that.’
[object relative (§14.2.2)]

- (04:23) [*é bíé*] *wō ɲī =ò*
 [1Pl all] Infin see.Base 3AnSgObj
[wò já =w māⁿ],
 [Infin leave.Base 3AnSgObj there.Def],
 A: ‘All of us saw it (=elephant) and left it (alone).’
[i.e. we didn’t kill any elephants]

- (04:25) [*ē jē-rō*] *wō diē [[Ø blāʔā] nīⁿ],*
 [Art Indef-AnPl] Infin enter.Base [[Art pond] Loc],
kō fòⁿsé, kò wú māⁿ,
 Infin get.stuck.Base, Infin die.Base there.Def,
 A: ‘Some (of them) went into the pond. (They) got stuck (in the mud), and died there.’
[< French enfoncer]

- (04:29) ò wō rà-dò bàré, é! [è náⁿ-bí],
 3Pl Infin go.Base-say.Base still, oh! [Art person],
 móⁿ mà máⁿ jī [Ø kě bē],
 2Sg if IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [Art matter Top.Inan],
 A: ‘They (=villagers) went and spoke about that. Oh! Anyone, if you (generic) aren’t familiar with a (certain) thing, ...’
 [kō rà without preceding motion verb; < /móⁿ bā/; jī ‘know, be familiar with’, imperfective negative conditional (§16.1.1.2)]

- (04:33) [ò gō bē = rē?]
 [3Pl be Dem.Def Emph]
 [gò yíí [gō rà-dò náⁿʔáⁿ [ē —, è ófóré],
 [Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-say.Base speak.with [Art—, Art forestry]
 A: ‘They were like that. (They) went and spoke with the—, the forestry (service).’
 [náⁿʔáⁿ ‘(speak) with (someone) < Jula ní à yé ‘with him/her’, can be emended to Tiefo-D dō = nì kà ‘say it with’]

- (04:36) dē móⁿ—,
 Quot 2Sg—,
 [ʔⁿ mā = à-rè [[móⁿ tóʔó] kù = = ò]
 [3AnSg if come.Base-say.Base [[2Sg Foc] kill.Pfv 3AnSgObj]]
 móⁿ nàⁿ glú [bē nīⁿ] = àⁿ,
 2Sg Fut exit.Base [Dem.Def Loc] Q,
 A: ‘Say that you—. If he comes and says that it was you-Sg [focus] who killed it, will you be able to get out of it?’
 [< /ʔⁿ bā bà-dē/; < /kùò = ò/; conditional]

- (04:39) kò yíí-dò náⁿʔáⁿ [[Ø ófóré] nīⁿ]
 Infin go.Base-speak.Base speak.with [[Art forester] Loc]
 [wō bà],
 [Infin come.Base],
 A: ‘And (then) go speak with the forestry (service) (for them) to come,’

- (04:41) hàyà, [[ē jē-rō] wūō fāⁿʔāⁿ] ò gō bà
 well, [[Art Indef-AnPl] die.Pfv here] 3Pl Infin come.Base
 [gà = à-gbō = = ò] [wò yíí],
 [Infin come.Base-pick.up.Base 3AnSgObj [Infin go.Base],
 A: ‘Well, some (of them) died here. They (=foresters) then came and took them and went (back).’
 [< /kō (b)à-gbē = ò/]

- (04:44) [ò ká-ráⁿʔáⁿ]— [ò ká-ráⁿ-ʔáⁿ íjèrè]
 [3Pl tooth-Pl]— [3Pl tooth-Pl Dem.InanPl]
 [wò fɔ̃= [à rō], é wō jīⁿ bè,
 [Infin pass.Base [with 3Inan], 1Pl Infin see.Base Dem.Def,
 A: ‘Their teeth (=tusks), those tusks of theirs, they came and took them away. We saw that.’
 [íjè-rè ‘these/those (inanimate)’ (§4.4.2.2); < /kō fō à/]
- (04:48) ò bā diè [[[móⁿ jèrɔ̃ⁿ] dè] nīⁿ],
 3Pl if enter.Base [[2Sg Rel] field] Loc],
 áywà, [ē yǎ jī] ò rā yíʔí-ʔíʔí [à nīⁿ],
 well, [Art year Indef] 3Pl Past get.up.Base [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘If they (elephants) come into someone’s (=your) field. Well, one year they (=authorities) had come and gotten involved in that matter.’
 [‘you who’ (§14.1.9); abstract use of locative in dè nīⁿ]
- (04:53) ō diè [[jèró dè] nīⁿ],
 3Pl enter.Pfv [[Rel.AnPl field] Loc]
 ò gò yíʔí [gō rà- íⁿ→,
 3Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base- (hesitation),
 [ɲ] sùʔð dón-dóní-ò còfòrá],
 [(nasal) give.Base a.little-Pl T],
 A: ‘Those (people) into whose fields they (=elephants) entered, they (authorities) went and gave (the villagers) a little each in Tiefora.’
 [can be smoothed out as kō rà-sūʔð; < /sūʔð dón-/; plural of ‘a little’; Tiefora is a town and administrative center on the Banfora-to-Gaoua road to the south of Daramandugu]
- (04:58) [è bú] ká bú [bè yǎ rè]
 [Art money] Past be.gotten.Base [Dem.Def year Emph]
 B: ‘Money had been gotten that year!’
 [past morpheme ká (Ji dialect, §10.3.1.1)]
- (05:00) [è bú] rā bú = dē?
 [Art money] Past come.Base-be.gotten.Base Emph
 A: ‘Money had been gotten (indeed)!’
 [past allomorph rā (Bi dialect, §10.3.1.1)]
- (05:01) [è bú] ká bú bè—
 [Art money] Past be.gotten.Base Dem.Def—
 B: ‘Money had been gotten that—!’

- (05:02) [ē jè-rò] rā bû = [Ø mílyóⁿ]
 [Art Indef-AnPl] Past get.Base [Art million]
 [à = [Ø fīē]] = rē?
 [with [Art rear(n)]] Emph
 A: [overlapping] ‘Some (people) had gotten a million (CFA francs) and then some!’
 [*< /jè-rò/; ‘with a behind’ adds a small amount to the quantity, cf. English a million and change or a million odd, local French un million et la poussière*]

- (05:03) [è bú] ká bú
 [Art money] Past be.gotten.Base
 í!
 dédommager
 oh! pay.for.damages
 B: ‘Some money had been gotten, (for) damages.’

- (05:05) donc [[[[bè tó?ó] fīē] fīná] níⁿ,
 so [[[[Dem.Def Foc] pass.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 é! [ē pèròtì] máⁿ glò ā→,
 oh! [Art politics] IpfvNeg it.is Q,
 A: ‘So, once that was over— Oh! Is it not politics?’
 [*pèròtì < Jula; interrogative of ‘not be X’*]

- (05:08) [[[[bè tó?ó] fīē] fīná] níⁿ,
 [[[[Dem.Def Foc] pass.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 hàyà, ò bà-gbē [kō klè constat],
 well, 3Pl come.Pfv-pick.up.Base [Infin do.Base report],
 A: ‘Once that was over, well, they came and took over and made a report.’

- (05:13) dè, [bè constat—, klè-ní yá]
 Quot, [Dem.Def report—, do-VblN Dem.InanSg]
 fò-ní kó dè
 pass.Base-VblN after Quot
 [Ø constat klè-ní =] [Ø ò-rɔ-?ò] [Ø kàⁿ],
 [Art report do-Vbl] [Art thousand-Pl] [Pl five],
 A: ‘(Saying) that, when that report-making was past, making the report (cost) five thousand (currency units).’
 [*verbal noun with incorporated object; kó reduced from Jula níkó ‘after’; equal to 25000 CFA francs, about fifty US dollars in 2017; ‘thousand(s)’ (§4.6.1.4)*]

- (05:17) ñ mā à-bú māⁿ,
 2Sg if come.Base-get.Base there.Def],
 [bè ò bè]
 [Dem.Def be Dem.Def]
 [ñ mà á à-bú māⁿ],
 [2Sg if PfvNeg come.Base-get.Base there.Def]],
 A: ‘If you-Sg get (=make a profit) there, that’s what it is, (or) if you didn’t get (=make a profit) there.’
 [*< /ñ bà (b)à-bú/ ; < /ñ bà á (b)à-bú/ ; willy-nilly construction*]

- (05:19) [[wí jèrⁿ] bà [[[Ø constat klè] tètè] nīⁿ]]
 [[owner Rel] come.Pfv [[[Art report do.Pfv] place] Loc]]
 [bò-wí] būō [ðⁿ transport] kò-kò
 [fellow get.Pfv [3AnSgRefl fare] firstly]
 A: ‘Whoever came in order to make the report, the fellow at least got his transportation (cost).’
 [*correlative construction with nonspecific indefinite referent (§14.1.10)*]

- (05:22) [[bó jùⁿ?ðⁿ] ní-māⁿ [[Ø jī] nīⁿ],
 [[3AnSg mouth] not.be.Loc [[Art something] Loc],
 A: ‘He has nothing further to say.’
 [*lit. “his mouth is not in anything”*]

- (05:23) *parce que* ò bà [gà = à-bû = [Ø bú]]
 because 3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-get.Base [Art money]]
 d = ò = Ø sū?ō [Ø jī] [ðⁿ bùò],
 Quot 3Pl PfvNeg give.Base [Art something] [Dat 3Pl],
 A: ‘Because they (=such villagers) came and got some money. (It was said,) they didn’t give them anything.’
 [*dative ðⁿ (§8.1.2)*]

- (05:25) wàlà→, *donc* [[ē bè-rò] kónáⁿ]—
 [voilà, so [[Art elephant-Pl] affair]
 A: ‘There. So, the matter of the elephants—.’
 [*kóná ‘matter, affair, case’ < Jula kó-ǰá ‘matter-face’*]

- (05:27) est-ce que bùò rè kā—
 Q 3Pl say.Pfv Infin—
 ò g-ā = sū?ū = nì mā]
 3Pl Infin-Ipfv give.Ipfv 3InanObj there]
 [gā = à-dāⁿ kúⁿ?úⁿ]
 [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base today]
 B: ‘Did they say that— Do they give it (=money) there, up to today (=even nowadays)?’
 [*< /bùò dè/*]

- (05:29) ò m̄ à-kè?è [jèró bà?à]]
 3Pl if come.Base-ruin(v).Base [Rel.AnPl Dat]]
 [bùò yúó] kò yí?í [k= ó-dò =nì]
 [3Pl Pl] Infín go.Base [Infín go.Base-say.Base 3InanObj],
 [ò gō sū?ɔ̄ [Ø èjé jí] =ā
 [3Pl Infín give.Base [Art thing Indef] Q
 B: ‘If they (=elephants) come and do damage to some people (’s field), and their people then go and tell it (to the authorities), do they give anything?’
 [yí?í k= ó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]
- (05:32) [ɲ m̄—, ɲ m̄ =à-yí?í]
 [2Sg if—, 2Sg if come.Base-go.Base]
 ò nàⁿ bà [gō = à-ɲóⁿ =nìⁿ] kè
 3Pl Fut come.Base [Infín come.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj] Emph
 A: ‘If you-Sg go, they will definitely come and look at it.’
 [< /ɲ bā (b)ā-/; < /kō à-ɲóⁿ/; kè (§19.4.5)]
- (05:35) jí [móⁿ tó?ó] bā =à— (-kōⁿ)
 if [2Sg Foc] if come.Base— (-know.Base)
 [dè móⁿ nàⁿ léⁿ-pōⁿ [à rō]]
 [Quot 2Sg Fut stop.Base-be.able.Base [with 3Inan]]
 A: ‘If you [focus] know that you can afford it (fee),’
 [slightly broken, -kōⁿ inaudible; lit. “you can stop with that”]
- (05:37) est-ce que [è náⁿ-bí-ó]—
 Q [ARt person-Pl]—
 [ā jù?ó =rē] glō = [[Ø náⁿ-bí-ó] nīⁿ]
 [3Inan desire(n) even] exit(v).Pfv [[Art person-Pl] Loc]
 [Ø k̄ā j=] à léⁿ [à rō] tà?à-kó =ā
 [Art creature Indef] Ipfv stop.Ipfv [with 3Inan] again Q
 A: ‘Do the people—. Even the desire for it (i.e., to go) has dwindled among the people. Is a creature (=person) able to afford it any more?’
 [=rē ‘even’ (§19.1.6); < /glō ē náⁿ-bí-ó/; < /nīⁿ ē k̄ā jī à/; à rō (Bi) ‘with it/them (inanimate)’, in other dialects k̄ā lō (§4.3.2.4); tà?à-kó ‘again’ here ‘any longer, any more’ (§10.3.2.2), cf. tà?à just below]
- (05:39) [è yúó] máⁿ klè bè tà?à
 [Art people] IpfvNeg do.Ipfv Dem.Def again
 B: ‘The people won’t do that again.’

(05:40) *é!*, [[*ē* *kèʔè-ní* *bó* =*rē*] *dōrē-dōrā*]
 oh!, [[Art ruin(v)-VblN Top even] be.many.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base]
 [*à* *māⁿ* *sàrà-kō-pōⁿ* *dò*],
 [3Inan IpfvNeg be.paid.Base-finish.Base-be.able.Base Emph],
 A: ‘Oh! The damage [topic] has become great. It can’t be fully paid for.’
 [= *rē* ‘even’ (§19.1.6) combined with topic marking (§19.1.2.1); *dōrē-dōrā*
 (§15.1.2.1.2); -*kō* ‘finish’ (§15.1.3.6); -*pōⁿ* ‘be able to’ (§15.1.7.1); *dò* (§19.4.2)]

(05:42) *bò-wí* *ní-māⁿ*,
 fellow not.be.Loc,
á! [[*bè* *nīⁿ*] *nóⁿ* *būō* *jàróⁿ*] [*bì* *tóʔó*] =*yà*
 ah! [[Dem.Def Loc] 1Sg get.Pfv Rel] [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
 A: ‘There is nobody (who will pay that). Ah, in that (matter), what I have found
 (=remembered), that [focus] is it.’
 [fronted adverbial phrase; object relative; ‘it is’]

(05:45) *non*, *dàrisà*, *ní-ń-ká* *dò=* [*∅* *jì*] [*mó* *bàʔà*],
 no, D, if.I.may say.Base/Ipfv [Art Indef] [2Sg Dat],
à *jūō-kà*, *nó* *kōⁿ* [*∅* *jī*]
 3Inan look.at-manner, 1Sg know [Art something]
 [[*bǒ*— *ń* *bà-kà*] *nī*],
 [[elephant— (nasal) come.Pfv-manner] Loc],
 B: ‘No, Drisa (name). If I (may) say something to you, apparently, I know
 something about the way the elephant came.’
 [*B* takes over the main speaking role at this point; *ní-ń-ká* < *Jula* (‘if I’); < /*dò ē*
jī mó/]

(05:53) *ń* *dīʔē*, *nó*, *nó* Jean-Pierre,
 2Sg hear.Pfv, 1Sg, 1Sg JP
nó *ā* *dò=* [*∅* *jī*] [*à* *nī*],
 1Sg Ipfv say.Ipfv [Art something] [3Inan Loc],
 B: ‘Did you hear? I, I Jean-Pierre, I will say something about it.’
 [*uptake check* ‘did you hear?’ (§19.5.2)]

(05:59) *é→*, [*ó* *ná-dì-ò*] *dě=* [*∅* *jī*],
 ah!, [1Pl old.man-Pl] speak.Pfv [Art something],
 parce que *mó*— *má=* *á* *dò* *dě=*
 because 2Sg— 2Sg PfvNeg say.Base Quot
 [*∅* *bǒ* [*n* *dēⁿʔèyⁿ*] *tóʔó*] *ká* *bà* [[*wátí* *jī*] *nī*]
 [Art elephant [Sg one] Foc] Past come.Base [[time Indef] Loc]
 B: ‘Ah, our old men (=our elders) said something. Because did you not say that it
 was one single elephant [focus] that had come, at a certain time?’
 [*wátí* ‘time’ < *Jula* (< *Arabic*)]

- (06:06) [[n̄ d̄ɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ] nó] r̄â bà
 [[Sg one] Foc] Past come.Base
 mó mà jī [ò k-ā d̄ɛ̃ró l̄ò],
 2Sg if see.Bast [3Pl Infin-Ipfv abound.Ipfv Emph],
 A: ‘It was a single one [focus] that had come.’
 B: ‘When you saw they were abundant.’
 [< /n̄ d̄ɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ tó(ʔó)/]
- (06:09) d̄ɛ̃→, [ē t̄àʔà] [[è úⁿ jī] nī],
 Quot, [Art place] [[Art village Indef] Loc],
 [ē làʔà] ká d̄īē mā,
 [Art hunger(n)] Past enter.Base there.Def,
 B: ‘(They) said, (in) a place, in a certain village, a famine had come in there.’
- (06:15) [ē làʔà] diè [[Ø úⁿ jī] nī],
 [Art hunger(n)] enter.Pfv [[Art village Indef] Loc],
 [[ē d̄ī-èʔè] má gú— bí]
 [[Art food] IpfvNeg (error) be.gotten.Ipfv]
 [[ē d̄ī-èʔè] má j̄è =ʔ],
 [[Art food] IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv Neg],
 B: ‘A famine came into a village. There was no food to be gotten, there was no food to be seen.’
 [< d̄ī-èʔè (§4.2.3.2); the two negative clauses are run together prosodically]
- (06:21) donc [è úⁿ-yúó], ò kò yíʔí,
 so [Art village-people], 3Pl Infin go.Base,
 ò kò yíʔí= [[Ø k̄ɛ̃ⁿ jī] bàʔà],
 3Pl Infin go.Base [[Art man Indef] chez],
 j̄ǎ→ [bó k̄ɛ̃ⁿ] à jī, [ē s̄ǔⁿ],
 lo! [3AnSg man] Ipfv know.Ipfv, [Art medicine],
 [ē l̄ē-s̄ùⁿ],
 [Art turn.Pfv-medication],
 B: ‘So the villagers, they went, they went to the place of a certain man. Lo, that man knew magic, transformation magic.’
 [s̄ǔⁿ ‘medication, remedy’ including magical potions etc.]

(06:32) í

oh!

wálà→

right!

ǎⁿ gò ló= [Ø bǎ]
 3AnSg Infin turn.Base [Art elephant]

A: ‘Oh!’

B: ‘Right!’

A: ‘Then he turned into an elephant!’

[‘change’ can be taken here as intransitive (middle), or as transitive with unspecified object]

(06:35) d= ǎⁿ sū?ǎ, [ǎⁿ yúó] gò yí?í,
 Quot 3AnSg send.Base, [3AnSg.Refl people] Infin go.Base,
 donc ǎⁿ sū?ǎ—
 so 3AnSg send.Base—,

B: ‘(He) told him_x (village chief) “send your_x people to go. So, send (them)—
 ...” ’

[3AnSg representing original addressee]

(06:37) ǎⁿ ló— bùǎ= [Ø bǎ],
 3AnSg turn.Base— 3Pl [Art elephant],
 ò kò yí?í [k= ó-fā= [Ø dī-è?è]],
 3Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-see.Base [Art food]],

B: ‘ “... transform them (=villagers) into elephant(s), to go look for food, ...” ’

[there is some ambiguity as to whether the magician or the village chief is speaking; two or three syllables after ló- are indistinct; yí?í k= ó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

(06:42) k= à-sū?=
 Infin come.Base-give.Base [ǎⁿ, [ò b́-sīǎ]]
 [Dat, [3Pl child.Pl]]

dě= [Ø là?à] wō [bùǎ nīⁿ]
 Quot [Art hunger(n)] be [3Pl Loc]

dě= [Ø là?à] gō [bùǎ nī],
 Quot [Art hunger(n)] be [3Pl Loc],

B: ‘ “... and come and give (it) to the children.” ’

A: ‘(He) said: “they are starving.” ’

B: ‘(He) said: “they are starving.” ’

[lit. “hunger is in them” (§11.1.1.6)]

(06:47) donc, mā-nī [[ō piè] nī] [[à wátí] nī],
 so, if.you.see [[3Pl foot.Pl] Loc] [[3Inan time] Loc],

ē décalé

Art type.of.shoe

B: ‘So, you see, on their feet (=tracks) at that time, (they resembled) décalé shoes.’

[plural of pièⁿ ‘foot’; décalé is a durable modern shoe type in slipper-like shape]

- (06:51) *mā-jīⁿ* [ò *tī-tè-rà*]
 if.you.see [3Pl shoe-Pl]
móⁿ *nàⁿ* *dè* [Ø *décalé-[tī-tè-rà]-fí*] = *yà*
 2Sg Fut say.Base [Art type.of.shoe-shoe-Pl]-track] it.is,
 A: ‘If you saw their shoes (=footprints), you’d say that they were footprints of décalé shoes.’
[i.e., ‘they looked like ...’; ‘shoe’ (singular) is dialectally tī-tàʔà (Bi, Ma), tē-tàʔà (Ji, see just below), or ʃī-tàʔà (Fl), in each case with regular rhotic plurals]
- (06:56) non, [*ē tē-tè-rà*] *á* *nī* = ?,
 no, [Art shoe-Pl] PfvNeg see.Base Neg,
 [*ē tē-tè-rà jō-rē*] *à-m* = [*ō bàʔà*]
 [Art shoe-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc [3Pl Dat]
 B: ‘No, no shoes were seen. (But) they had some (kinds of) shoes.’
[< /à-mā ò bàʔà/]
- (07:00) *donc*, [*bè dé*] *gō klè* *bè-kā* *lò*,
 so, [Dem.Def however] Infin be.done.Base thus Emph,
ǝⁿ *yíʔē* *kà—*, *ǝⁿ* *yíʔē* [*kà* = *á-klè* =
 3AnSg go.Pfv Infin—, 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-do.Base
 [[Ø *kǝⁿ*] *gō*, *ǝ* *sūʔō* [Ø *sǝⁿ*]],
 [[Art fellow] Infin, (nasal) give.Base [Art medication]],
 B: ‘So, that happened in that way. He went and—. He went and had the fellow (=magician) give the magic potion.’
[dé variant of subject-final dó ; kà = á- ‘go and ...’ (§15.2.3.3.2); periphrastic causative with klè ‘do, make’ §17.4.2.5.1]
- (07:06) ò *kō* *dīē*, *kò* *yíʔí—*
 3Pl Infin enter.Base, Infin go.Base—
kò *yíʔí* [[*ē [dī-èʔè]-fê-tǝʔǝ*] *nī*]
 Infin go.Base [[Art [food]-seek.Pfv-place]] Loc]
 B: ‘Then they went in. (They) went—, they went in order to look for food.’
[purposive clause, §17.6.2.5]
- (07:10) bon, c’est que *ō* *nà—*
 well, it’s that 3Pl Fut—
dè *bùò* *mà* = *á—* *-bū* = [Ø *dī-èʔè*],
 Quot 3Pl if go.Base— -get.Base [Art food],
 B: ‘Well, they will—. (He) said, if they go and find food,’
[á- ‘go’ as first member of verb-verb compound in conditional (§16.1.1.6.2); dī-èʔè (§4.2.3.2)]

- (07:12) *bùò kà= á-sūʔʂ [Ø jī]*
 3Pl Infin go.Base-give.Base [Art something]
[kò klá [kō ló— sō [Ø sǔʔʂ]],
 [Infin return.Base [Infin turn.Base— receive.Base [Art medicine]],
kò klá [kò ló]
 Infin return.Base [Infin turn.Base]
kò klá [kò ló [ò mǐʔáʔ]],
 Infin return.Base [Infin turn.Base [PIRefl Refl]],

B: ‘Then they would go and give some (food, to the children), and go back and be transformed—, take the potion, and be transformed.’

A [overlapping]: ‘To transform themselves back (into their original human selves).’

[kà= á- ‘ (§15.2.3.3.2); reflexive mǐʔáʔ (§18.1.2)]

- (07:16) *kō sūʔʂ [Ø sùʔ-wí-sàrà]*
 Infin give.Base [Art medication-owner-price]
kò klá
 Infin return.Base
[kō pēʔ= [[Ø ná-béríyá kè] nī],
 [Infin remain.Base [[Art humans matter] Loc],

A: ‘And be given the price of the potion.’

B: ‘And return to the human state.’

[< /sǔʔ-wí-/; sàrà ‘price’ < Jula, cf. Tiefo mǔ]

- (07:20) *ò kà= á-pēʔ [bè tǎʔʂ]*
 3Pl Infin go.Base-remain.Base [Dem.Def place]
[íjàʔà nī] [sáʔ-tíé ò nà klá-bà],
 [business Loc] [when 3Pl Fut return.Base-come.Base],

B: ‘They (= people transformed into elephants) remained in that place going about their business, while they were (getting ready) to come back.’

[sáʔ-tíé indicating a time lapse, said to be < Jula sánì ò cé (§15.3.5.8); íjàʔà ‘thing, matter, business’ (vague term)]

- (07:23) *bùò klē*
 3Pl return.Pfv
[g= à-jīʔ [[Ø sùʔ-wí] fiē],
 [Infin come.Base-see.Base [[Art medicine-owner] pass.Pfv]],
[ē sùʔ-wí] wūō
 [Art medicine-owner] die.Pfv

A: ‘They (eventually) came back, only to see (=find) that the magician had passed (away). The magician had died.’

[some speaker overlap in this segment]

- (07:26) [ē sùⁿ-wí] wūō k-ā—
 [Art medicine-owner] die.Pfv Infin-Ipfv—
 bùò nà klá-pēⁿ mē-kà-díⁿ = íⁿ
 3Pl Fut return.Base-remain.Base how? Q
 donc ò kò dóró-bà
 so 3Pl Infin be.many.Base-come.Base
 B: ‘The magician had died. (So) how will they remain (as elephants)?’
 A: ‘So they became many.’
 [bà ‘come’ as Vb2 in verb-verb-compound (§15.1.5.1)]

- (07:30) jè— [ò dārē], jó [ō pièⁿ [kà-tó nī]]
 (error) [3Pl be.many.Pfv], look.Base [3Pl remain.Pfv [thus Loc]
 [ē klè-kà] ní-māⁿ tà?à
 [Art do.Pfv-manner] not.be.Loc again
 [ē klè-kà jì] ní-mā tà?à
 [Art do.Pfv-manner Indef] not.be.Loc again
 B: ‘They became many. Look! They remained like that.’
 A: ‘There was no other manner (=option) left.’
 B: ‘There was no other manner (=option) left.’
 [‘manner’ compound (§5.1.7.2)]

- (07:35) ō pièⁿ kà-tó [k-ā dóró-à-dārā]
 3Pl remain.Pfv thus [Infin-Ipfv be.many.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.a.lot.Ipfv]
 [k-ā jī-à-yí?í]
 [Infin-Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv]
 [k-ā jī-à-yí?í]
 [Infin-Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv]
 B: ‘They remained like that, they became abundant, they went on reproducing, they went on reproducing.’
 [passage beginning here and through 07:40 below is rapidly spoken and difficult to transcribe; Ipfv à-yí?í functions adverbially in the sense ‘continuously, more and more’]

- (07:38) [kò dóró-dārā] (kō) jī-à-yí?í—
 [Infin be.many.Base-do.a.lot.Base] (Infin) be.seen.Base-Ipfv-go.Ipfv]—
 [è Eaux-Forêt-yúó kā = à-jī
 [Art forestry-people Infin come.Base-see.Base
 B: ‘(They) became more numerous, they went on being seen. The forestry officials came and saw (the elephants).’
 [kā = à-jī ‘come see’ might be misheard for kà = á-jī ‘go see’ here and just below]

- (07:40) [dē ò kā= à-tīēⁿ =nì]
 [Quot 3Pl Infin come.Base-heat(v).Base 3InanObj]
 [ò kā= à-nī]
 [3Pl Infin go.Base-see.Base]
 dè àyí dè [bùò júó] má kò bíé?,
 Quot no! Quot [3Pl possession.An] Neg be all,

B: ‘They (=villagers) put the pressure on (the foresters). They came and saw (them). (They) said, “no, not everything is theirs (=elephants).” ’

[i.e. the government forestry officials determined that some of the elephants were not real elephants; júó default animate possessum invariant for number (§6.2.4.2);]

- (07:45) dē [bùò té] =ō [(Ø) kùòⁿ-yùò],
 Quot [3Pl precisely] be [Art know.Pfv-people],
 [bùò té] kùòⁿ-yùò nà =wò
 [3Pl precisely] know.Pfv-people see.Pfv 3PlObj
 dè [bùò júó] máⁿ gò bíé?
 Quot [3Pl Poss.An] Neg be all
 dè [bùò júó] má kò bíé?,
 Quot [3Pl Poss.An] Neg be all,

A: ‘Precisely they [focus] are the ones who know (=experts). They [focus], the knowers, saw them. (They) said “not everything is theirs (=elephants).” ’

B: ‘ “Not everything is theirs (=elephants).” ’

[té ‘precisely’ (§13.1.1); -yùò agentive plural (§4.2.2)]

- (07:50) bùò júó kō—
 (false start)

bùò à jī jèró, bùò,
 3Pl Ipfv know.Ipfv Rel.AnPl, 3Pl
 jèró glō, [[[ē pō?ō] līⁿ nī],
 Rel.AnPl exit(v).Pfv, [[[Art the.bush] interior] Loc],
 bù= à jī bùò,
 3Pl Ipfv know.Ipfv 3Pl,

B: ‘The ones (=elephants) that they know, they who have gone out into the bush, they know them (elephants).’

- (07:54) [bùò dé] á sū?ō [Ø klò?ó]
 [3Pl however] PfvNeg give.Base [Art road]
 d= ò wò cùì =wò
 Quot 3Pl Hort kill.Ipfv 3PlObj
 nì-ní,
 Prsntv,

A: ‘But they (=foresters) didn’t give the authorization for them (=villagers) to kill them (=elephants).’

B: ‘There it is!’

- (07:57) mais à wō pēⁿ bē-kā,
 but 3Inan Infin remain.Base thus,
 ò dārē-dārā dè-rè
 3Pl be.many.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base now
 B: 'But it stayed like that. They (=elephants) have become very abundant now.'

- (08:01) [è úⁿ?úⁿ] má jī tà?à-kó
 [Art head] IpfvNeg be.known.Ipfv again
 mā-jī
 you-see
 B: 'The reason (for that) is still unknown.'
 A: 'You see?'

- (08:03) donc ò fīè-dórá bē-kā,
 so 3Pl give.birth.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base thus,
 bon ò gblè-dórá = [Ø klò?ó]
 well 3Pl take.Pfv-do.a.lot.Base [Art road]
 ò gblè = nìⁿ = nē?
 3Pl take.Pfv 3InanObj Emph
 B: 'So, they reproduced over and over like that. Well, they took (=occupied) all the paths.'
 A: 'They sure did take it!'
 [< / = nìⁿ = dē?/]

- (08:06) [bè kè?è-ní] kò yá
 [Dem.Def ruin(v)-VblN] be Dem.InanSg
 à má dò
 3Inan IpfvNeg be.said.Ipfv
 jèrⁿ à-māⁿ [à níⁿ]
 Rel be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 B: 'That is the damage. It isn't (=can't be) said (=described).'
 A: 'What(-ever) is in it.'

- (08:10) [ô = Ø-mā [tò?ò jèrⁿ]] [ô = Ø-mā mā],
 [1Pl be.Loc [place Rel]] [1Pl be.Loc there.Def],
 ò kánà kè?è-kò-dórá = [Ø mié]
 3Pl Hort.Neg ruin(v).Base-finish.Base-do.a.lot.Base [Art 1Pl]
 ò kō gbē = [Ø náⁿ-bí-ó]
 3Pl Infin take.Base [Art person.Pl]
 B: 'The place (=situation) where we are, we are there. May they (=elephants) not completely ruin (all of) us!'
 A: 'They have taken people—'
 [< /ó à-mā/; kánà said to be from Jula (§10.4.2.4); mié 1Pl (§4.3.1.4)]

- (08:13) ò má já [Ø sámá-klà?à],
 3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv [Art maize],
 ò má já, [è ná-bí jórⁿámá],
 3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv, [Art person very.good],
 ò má já [bè è?é], [bè è?è] ní-mā,
 3Pl IpfvNeg leave.Ipfv [Dem.Def thing], [Dem.Def thing] not.be.Loc,
 B: ‘They don’t leave maize alone. They don’t leave a human being alone. That thing (which) they don’t leave alone, that thing does not exist.’
 [sámá-klà?à dialectal for súná-klà?à ; correlative with implied but covert relative marking (§14.1.10)]

- (08:18) [è ná-bíó =rē] cè?è,
 [Art person.Pl even] fear(v).Pfv,
 [è yé-ní [ò mí?á] dè-rè,
 [Art walk.Base-VblN] [PlRefl Refl] now,
 kò yé mí?á dè-rè ní-mā,
 Infin walk.Base Refl now not.be.Loc,
 [bè-kā ò mā bà] [ò kò glú ù?ù]
 [thus 3Pl if come.Base] [3Pl Infin exit(v).Base together]
 B: ‘People are even afraid. There is no walking alone (in the bush) now. When they come in that situation, they (will) leave together (in a group).’

- (08:24) [ē nàsèrá-kèⁿ èrē] jà =ò,
 [Art white.person-man even] see.Pfv 3AnSgObj,
 ó jà =ò [bè kō]
 1Pl see.Pfv 3AnSgObj [Dem.Def day]
 wálà→
 right!
 A: ‘Even the white man saw it (=elephant). We saw it that day (=a few days ago).’
 B: ‘Right!’
 [-kèⁿ compound final (§5.1.6.8); the ‘white man’ is the linguist Heath; èrē ‘even’ (§19.1.6)]

- (08:27) [è dí] ðⁿ ná= à jīⁿ?-àⁿ-klā=
 [Art last.year] 3AnSg IpfvPast Ipfv run.Ipfv-Ipfv-return.Ipfv
 [[Ø blā?ā-ti?è] nīⁿ]
 [[Art pond-hole] Loc]
 A: ‘Last year he was hurrying back from the wetland.’
 [< /ðⁿ dè à/]

- (08:29) *ɲó* *ò* *bà*,
 look.Base 3Pl come.Pfv,
 [*ɲó* *ò* *glò*] [*ò* *būò-kà*],
 [look.Base 3Pl exit.Pfv] [3Pl be.gotten.Pfv-manner],
 B: ‘Look (how) they (=elephants) came, look (how) they emerged, how they came to be.’
 [*ɲó* in presentative (i.e. highlighting) function (§4.4.4.1); *-kà* ‘manner’ compound (§5.1.7.2)]

- (08:32) *nó* *dī?ē* *jèrɔʷ*, [[*è* *ná-dì-ò* *jǝ-rǝ*] *ɲù?ó*] *nī*,
 1Sg hear.Pfv Rel, [[Art old.person-Pl Indef-AnPl] mouth] Loc],
 [*ò* *būò-kà* *té*] = *yà* *mlěʷ*,
 [3Pl be.gotten.Pfv-manner Foc.Inan] it.is like that,
 B: ‘What I heard from the mouth(s) of certain old people, the way they (=elephants) came to be is like that.’

- (08:35) *ò* *būò-kà*— *mó* *mà* *ɲó* = [*ò* *dǝrē*],
 3Pl be.gotten-manner— 2Sg if see.Base [3Pl be.many.Pfv],
 [*ò* *dǝrē-kà*] *kà* = *á*, *wálà*→
 [3Pl be.many.Pfv-manner] be Dem.Inan, right!
 B: ‘The way they came to be, if you-Sg see that they (=elephants) are abundant, that is the way they became abundant. Right!’
 [< /*mà ɲí* ò/; < /*kō* (y)á/]

- (08:39) *donc* *comme* *ó* *būò* *jèrɔʷ*ⁿ
 so like 1Pl get.Pfv Rel
ó-yùò *būò* *jèrɔʷ*ⁿ
 1Pl get.Pfv Rel
 A: ‘So, like, what we found, —’
 B: ‘What we found,’

- (08:43) *comme* [*ē* *jǝ-rǝ*] *à-mā* *mā*
 as [Art Indef-AnPl] be.Loc there.Def
wálà→
 right!
ó *nà* *sù?ò-ɲó* = *nì* —, *jó* = *ò* *nà*—
 1Pl Fut give.Base-look.Base 3InanObj—, if 3Pl Fut—
ò *kò* *ká* *dò-ɲó* = [*∅* *jī*]
 3Pl Hort Sbjn speak.Base-look.Base [Art something]
ò *kò* *ká*ⁿ *dǝ* = [*∅* *jī*]
 3Pl Hort ought speak.Base [Art something]
 B: ‘As there are some (other people) present.’
 A: ‘Right!’
 B: ‘We will turn it over, in case they will—, so they may try to say something.’
 A: ‘So they may say something.’
 [i.e. other speakers waiting to be recorded; subjunctive modal *ká* ‘should’]

(08:47) *wálà→, jí [ē jī] kùḡⁿ= [Ø jī] [à nī]*
right, if [Art someone] know.Pfv [Art something] [3Inan Loc]
ô= Ø fā [bè tóʔʔ]
1Pl Ipv seek.Ipv [Dem.Def Foc]
B: ‘Right. If someone else has learned something about it.’
A: ‘... that [focus] is what we are looking for.’

Text 2017-10 Male circumcision

duration: 07:12

A: **Ouattara Drisa** (Biton *quartier*), main speaker

B: **Coulibaly Jean Bakari** (Masaso *quartier*), respondent

- (00:02) [álè kúⁿʔúⁿ] [ē cɔ̃fɔ̃-fɛ̃ = rē] = à,
 [even today] [Art Tiefo-language even] it.is,
 áywà, dè [kě jèrɔ̃ⁿ] fɪ = [é bàʔà],
 well, Quot [matter Rel] pass.Pfv [1Pl chez],
 A: ‘Even (=again) today, it is (still) Tiefo language. Well, talking about the thing(s) that have passed (=ceased to occur) in our area.’
 [álè ‘even’ (§19.1.7); = rē (§19.1.6); kě ‘thing (abstract), matter’; < /fiē é bàʔà/]

- (00:08) éⁿàfɔ̃ [[[í-yùò náⁿ-dì-ɔ̃] nǎⁿ klè—
 anyway [[[1Pl elder-Pl] PastHabit do.Ipfv—
 nǎⁿ láⁿ [[ē dè-rɔ̃] kè-tèʔè]]] sɪnáⁿ nīⁿ],
 PastHabit wash.Ipfv [[Art man-Pl] hand]]] situation] Loc],
 A: ‘The way our elders used to do—used to circumcise men (=boys).’
 [éⁿàfɔ̃ < Jula ‘you will say’; plural of náⁿ-dè ‘elder (n)’; past habitual nǎ⁽ⁿ⁾ (§10.2.2.3); ‘wash X’s hands’ = ‘circumcise X’ (making X ritually clean)]

- (00:12) [[bè tóʔó] fɛ̃] máⁿ glò = [ò = Ø fā] = ā
 [[Dem.Def Foc] talk(n)] IpfvNeg it.is [3Pl Ipfv seek.Ipfv] Q
 [[bì tòʔó] fɛ̃] = à
 [[Dem.Def Foc] talk(n)] it.is
 A: ‘Isn’t talk about that [focus] what they (=linguists) are looking for?’
 B: ‘It’s talk about that [focus].’

- (00:15) [ē [kè-tèʔè]-láⁿ-ní] bó] rā gā
 [Art [hand]-wash.Base-VblN Top] Past be
 [(Ø) támw-â = [Ø jɔ̃ⁿ nīⁿ]] = nēʔ
 [Art ten [Pl two] Loc]] Emph
 à kànì
 3Inan be.thus
 A: ‘Circumcision, it was (done) by twelves (=everybody).’
 B: ‘It was like that.’
 [támw-â = jɔ̃ⁿ ‘twelve’ (§4.6.1.3), dialectally támm k = [ò jɔ̃ⁿ]; ‘twelve (out of twelve)’, i.e. one hundred percent; < /nīⁿ = dɛ̃ʔ/; gā for expected gò ‘be’ (< kō)]

(00:18) *et puis* ò bà rā— ò bà rā rè
 and.then 3Pl if Past— 3Pl if Past say.Base
 [ò nàⁿ klè =nìⁿ],
 [3Pl Fut do.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘And then, if they_x (elders) had told them_y (=boys) to do it, ...’
 [*bà rā* in counterfactual (§16.4.5)]

(00:21) í→, [ē dè-ró] wè?è =rē?,
 ah!, [Art man-Pl] grow.up.Pfv Emph,
 kō kòyò-kòyò
 Infin Rdp-become.robust.Base
 A: ‘The boys grew up and became robust.’

(00:24) kòyò-kòyò *ḡórⁿámá*,
 Rdp-become.robust.Base well(adv),
 [kō wè-dē= [Ø yǒ-fǒrū-nī]
 [Infin be.put.Base-be.sated.Base [Art woman-marry.Base-VblN]
 B: ‘Became really full-grown, and were ripe to marry a woman.’
 [*wè-dē* ‘be well-placed’ here ‘be ready (for marriage)’; *fǒrū* < *Jula*]

(00:27) wàláày, ò gō sàrò [gò sú?ú]
 by.God, 3Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin catch.Base]
 [wō rà- íⁿ -klè =nìⁿ],
 [Infin go.Base- (hesitation) -do.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘By God, they proceeded to take (them) and went to do it.’

(00:30) *mais* *comme* [dè-dè dó],
 but as [now Poss.Inan],
 [bè dīⁿ] ḡā= [à mīⁿ?áⁿ],
 [Dem.Def manner] be [3Inan apart]],
 A: ‘But nowadays, the manner of (doing) that has become different.’
 [*dè-dè dó* ‘nowadays’; < /dīⁿ kō à/; mīⁿ?áⁿ ‘oneself; different’ (§18.1.2)]

(00:33) ò bà [gà= à-nīⁿ
 3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base
 [ò gò já bè māⁿ]],
 [3Pl Infin leave.Base Dem.Def there]],
 A: ‘They (=elders) came and saw that they abandoned that (custom).’

- (00:35) wō→, klè [Ø bí-ʃīō],
 Infin—, do.Base [Art child.Pl],
 kā= à-klè =nīⁿ [Ø bí-ʃīō jírí-kò],
 Infin come.Pfv-do.Ipfv 3InanObj [Art child.Pl small-AnPl],
 A: ‘And (they) make children—they come do it (=circumcision) (to) small children.’
[i.e. babies are medically circumcised nowadays; jírí-kò (§4.5.4 at (356d), §4.5.3.2.2)]
- (00:38) [ā èrè] máⁿ blī =yò =ʔ,
 [3Inan too] IpfvNeg fatigue(v).Ipfv 3PlObj Neg,
 [ʔⁿ ŋō pēⁿ [[bè tóʔó] nīⁿ]]
 [3AnSg Infin remain.Base [[Dem.Def Foc] Loc]]
 A: ‘That (way) doesn’t hurt them (babies). They stay like that.’
[< /èrè/ ; ‘fatigue (v)’ has a general sense ‘be painful for, hurt, make sick’; < /ʔⁿ kō pēⁿ/]
- (00:41) [[ʔⁿ jū] bà wúʔó],
 [[3AnSg eye] if eye.open.Base],
 ʔⁿ wō jīⁿ [ʔⁿ mīⁿʔáⁿ] bè-yá-ró,
 3AnSg Infin see.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl] thus,
 A: ‘When its (=a baby’s) eyes open, it sees (=finds) itself like that.’
[i.e. already circumcised]
- (00:44) jáⁿbè à rè klè bè-yá-ró,
 anyway 3Inan IpfvPast be.done.Ipfv thus,
 A: ‘Anyway, that’s how it was done (in the past).’
[past imperfective (§10.3.1.3)]
- (00:46) náⁿ-dī-ò bà rā—,
 elder-Pl if Past—,
 dè— dè ò kēⁿʔēⁿ [Ø pòʔó],
 say.Base— say.Base 3Pl ascend.Base [Art the.bush],
 A: ‘When the elders told them (=boys) to go up (=out) into the bush, ...’
[quoted imperative with subject, here 3Pl ò]
- (00:50) áywà, ñ kùⁿ =nīⁿ,
 well, 2Sg know.Pfv 3InanObj,
 [ē pōʔō-kēⁿʔēⁿ-ní dá=] =à =dēʔ
 [Art the.bush-ascend.Base-VblN Foc.Inan] it.is Emph
 wàlláày
 by.God
 A: ‘Well, (as) you-Sg know, that was (=really meant) going up (=out) into the bush.’
 B: ‘By God!’
[‘know it’ plus clause (§17.3.1.2); 2Sg proclitic ñ (§4.3.1.6.2); < /té =à/]

- (00:53) ò bà yíyí [bā rà-dàⁿ māⁿ],
 3Pl if go.Base [if go.Base-arrive.Base there.Def],
 ò kō gbē = wò,
 3Pl Infin pick.up.Base 3PlObj,
 A: ‘When they went and arrived there (=in the bush), they took them.’
[double conditional antecedent with ‘go’ (§16.1.1.6.2)]
- (00:57) [ē làⁿdà] máⁿ glò = ā,
 [Art custom] IpfvNeg it.is Q,
 [jèró gō [sìjá nīⁿ],
 [Rel.AnPl be [situation Loc],
 A: ‘Is that not the custom? The ones who are in a role.’
- (1:01) [è jǒ-yùò] à-māⁿ, [è úⁿ-dì-ò] à-māⁿ, ē—
 [Art fetish-owner.Pl] be.Loc, [Art village-chief-Pl] be.Loc, Art—
 [ē lè-kà-rò] à-mā
 [Art citizen-Pl] be.Loc
 [ē lè-kà-rò] à-māⁿ,
 [Art citizen-Pl] be.Loc,
 A: ‘The fetishists are there. The village chiefs are there. Tbe—’
 B: ‘The ordinary citizens are there.’
 A: ‘The ordinary citizens are there.’
[jǒ ‘fetish, animist idol’; singular lè-kò?ò ~ lè-kò ‘ordinary citizen, commoner, underling’ (helps carry out chief’s instructions)]
- (01:06) donc ò = Ø gblī = ñ bè-yá-ró,
 so 3Pl Ipfv pick.up.Ipfv 3InanObj thus,
 [jèró dī?è] [jè-ró] [īē],
 [Rel.AnPl follow.Pfv] [Rel.AnPl behind],
 A: ‘So, they begin it like that. Some followed after others.’
- (01:10) ò wō gbē
 3Pl Infin pick.up.Base
 [wò fó [ānàⁿ?àⁿ nīⁿ] bè-yá-ró, àⁿhāⁿ→
 [Infin pass.Base [face Loc] thus, unhuh
 A: ‘They start going ahead like that.’
- (01:13) nó gà-bà?à [ò bí mó],
 1Sg want.it [Hort ask.Base 2Sg],
 [[ē tò?ò [Ø sáⁿ] jàróⁿ] mó līē mō→,
 [[Art place [Pl three] Rel] 2Sg call.Pfv concerning,
 B: ‘I want to ask you, regarding the three places (=roles) that you mentioned, ...’
[< /tò?ò ò sáⁿ; mō→ (§19.1.4)]

- (01:17) [è úⁿ-dìⁿ] [kǎ= [=Ø jǎ-wì]]
 [Art village-chief] [and [Art fetish-owner]]
 [kǎ= [Ø lè-kè-rò] mǎ→,
 [and [Art citizen] concerning,
 B: ‘Regarding the village chief, the fetishists, and the ordinary citizens.’

s

- (01:20) [[fⁿ-pàrò dɪⁿ bùò],
 [which? AnPl-breed Top.AnPl],
 sò ká ā gǎʔ-à-séⁿ = ēⁿ
 who? Past Ipfv be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv Q
 B: ‘Which category (of people)? Who used to lie down first?’
 [‘which?’ (§13.2.3.6.1-2); ‘who?’ (§13.2.3.1); gǎʔà ‘do first’]

- (01:23) jǎró ā gǎʔ-à-séⁿ, nóⁿ dè,
 Rel.AnPl Ipfv be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv, 1Sg Quot,
 [ē jǎ-yùò ró] rè gǎʔ-à-séⁿ,
 [Art fetish-owner.Pl Foc] IpfvPast be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv,
 A: ‘The ones who (used to) lie down first. I say, it was the fetishists [focus] who lay down first.’
 [this reply is corrected just below; focalizing ró < /tóʔó/]

- (01:29) jí nóⁿ mà= á pē kǎnìⁿ,
 if 1Sg if PfvNeg forget.Base Top,
 [í-yùò bàʔà], jǎró dà= à fō= [[Ø ānàⁿʔàⁿ] nīⁿ],
 [1Pl chez], Rel.AnPl IpfvPast Ipfv pass.Ipfv [[Art face] Loc],
 A: ‘If I have not indeed forgotten, in our zone, the ones who went forward (first), ...’
 [topic marker (§19.1.2.3.1)]

- (01:33) àⁿháⁿ bè jǎ-yùò máⁿ glò,
 uh-huh Dem.Def fetish-owner.Pl IpfvNeg it.is,
 [ē lè-kè-rò ró] dà= à fō= [[Ø ānàⁿʔàⁿ] nīⁿ],
 [Art citizen-Pl Foc] IpfvPast Ipfv pass.Ipfv [[Art face] Loc],
 A: ‘Uh-huh! It wasn’t those fetishists (animist practitioners). It was rather the ordinary citizens [focus] who went ahead (first).’
 [focalizer ró (< /tóʔó/) in a correction)]

- (01:38) [ē jǎ-yùò] wō jùʔà,
 [Art fetish-owner.Pl] Infin follow.Base,
 [ē úⁿ-dìⁿ] gō sǎrò gō—
 [Art village-chief] Infin proceed.to.Base Infin—
 A: ‘The fetishists follow.’
 B: ‘The village chief then proceeds to—.’
 [sǎrò (§15.3.5.7.1)]

- (01:41) [è úⁿ-dìⁿ] kō sèrò
 [Art village-chief] Infin proceed.to.Base
 [wō wē [ǝⁿ júó]], bó kō jùʔò,
 [Infin put.in.Base [3AnSg Poss.An]], 3AnSg Infin follow.Base,
 A: ‘The village chief then proceeds to put in his (people). He follows.’
 [júó default possessum (animate) (§6.2.4.2)]
- (01:45) wàlà→, ā klè tá→, [è úⁿ-dìⁿ] bó mō→,
 voilà, 3Inan be.done.Pfv like, [Art village-chief] 3AnSg concerning,
 bó—, *toujours* bó—, [ē ʃiʔè-yùò] à-māⁿ [à nīⁿ],
 3AnSg —, always 3AnSg —, [Art be.sent.Pfv-Agent.Pl] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘There you are. It’s like, the village chief, concerning him, he—, (his)
 emissaries are there.’
 [singular ʃiʔè-nò⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘emissary, one who is sent to do something’ (§4.2.2); à-mā⁽ⁿ⁾
 à nī⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘in it; therein’ (§4.4.3.1)]
- (01:53) bà [ɲ gō sūʔō—],
 come.Pfv [1Sg Infin send.Base—],
 bà [ɲ gō sūʔō =mìⁿ] mō→,
 come.Pfv [1Sg Infin send.Base 2SgObj] concerning,
 A: ‘“Come so that I (may) send—, Come so that I (may) send you!”’
 [imperative with following different-subject chain; mō→ ‘concerning’ sets up a
 following clause (§19.1.4)]
- (01:55) *est-ce que* bó—, bá= ā
 Q 3AnSg —, 3AnSg Ipfv
 gàʔà g-ā—, kè-klē [ǝⁿ dó] =ā,
 be.first.Ipfv Infin-Ipfv—, ruin.Ipfv [3AnSg Poss.Inan] Q,
 A: ‘Does he (=chief) ruin his thing first?’
 [< /bó à/]
- (01:58) *donc* [è náⁿ-dì-ǝ] nǎⁿ já
 so [Art elder-Pl] PastHabit leave.Ipfv
 [wò fó bè-yá-ró],
 [Infin pass.Base thus],
 A: ‘So the elders used to let (it) go past (=be done) like that.’
 [past habitual nǎⁿ plus imperfective (§10.2.2.3)]
- (02:01) ō bà glú,
 3Pl if exit(v).Base,
 [[[à dè gblè] sɛ̀nǎ] nīⁿ],
 [[[3Inan IpfvPast pick.up.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 A: ‘When they came out, once they had begun (it), ...’

- (02:04) [ò bà— [yí-ʃíʃí]-bà-r =
 [3Pl if— get.up.Base]-come.Base-say.Base
 ò = Ø é,
 3Pl Ipfv walk.Ipfv,
 A: ‘When they get up and come say that they will walk,’
 [< /yí-ʃíʃí-bà-dè/; < /ò à é/; ē/é/é ‘walk’ (Bi dialect) with optional w onset, in
 other dialects with initial y (§3.1.1.2)]
- (02:07) [bó tóʔó wí] à fó [ānàʔàⁿ nīⁿ],
 [3AnSg Foc owner] Ipfv pass.Ipfv [face Loc],
 [ō tò] wō jùʔò,
 [3Pl other] Infin follow.Base,
 A: ‘It’s he [focus] who goes ahead. The others then follow.’
 [focalized form of bō-wí ‘the fellow’ (recently introduced discourse referent), with
 bó treated as focalized possessor (§13.1.3.4); ō tò ‘the others’ (§18.5.2.2) here
 denoting the ordinary citizens]
- (02:10) [náⁿblá dè māⁿ [à nī],
 leader IpfvPast be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 donc bó bà fó [ānàʔàⁿ nīⁿ]
 so 3AnSg if pass.Base [face Loc]]
 [ò wō jùʔò],
 [3Pl Infin follow.Base],
 A: ‘There was a leader there (among them). So, when he went ahead, then they
 followed.’
 [náⁿblá < Jula ná-blá lit. “face-put,” cf. Tiefo-D ānàʔà-nò ‘leader, one in front’]
- (02:13) ò wō jùʔò bè-yá-ró
 3Pl Infin follow.Base thus
 A: ‘They followed like that.’
- (02:16) bè gò fǒ, nó gà-bàʔà—
 Dem.Def Infin pass.Base, 1Sg want.it—,
 [[è dīē-tòʔò] nì] mǒ→,
 [[Art eat.Pfv-place] Loc] concerning,
 B: ‘After that, I want (to ask)—at the eating place, ...’
 [-tòʔò compound (§5.1.7.3)]
- (02:19) [ē dī-èʔè] bā bà,
 [Art food] if come.Pfv,
 kátó→ ò ʒīēʔē [kò =ʔó— -láⁿ [ǝⁿ kī-tèʔè]],
 when 3Pl go.Pfv [Infin go.Base— -wash.Base [3AnSg hand]].,
 B: ‘When the food came, when they went to wash his hand, ...’
 [kátó ‘when’ (< Jula); kò =ʔó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

- (02:24) [ē dī-è?è] bà, [ò dī-è?è]
 [Art food] come.Pfv, [3Pl food]
 sò-wí k = ā gà?-à-cúí = í
 who? Infin-Ipfv be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-cut.Ipfv Q
 B: ‘The food came. Their food, who was the first to cut (it)?’

- (02:27) donc [móⁿ bí-ní] kpè kósóbé,
 so [2Sg ask.Base-VbIN] be.good.Pfv very,
 [ē dī-è?è] bā bà,
 [Art food] if come.Pfv,
 A: ‘So, your question was very good. When the food came,’
 [cf. verb bíē/bí/bí ‘ask (inquire)’; kpè?è/kō?ō/kō?ō ‘be good, succeed’ (§3.4.2.6, §9.4); kósóbé(?) ‘very’ (§8.5.2.1.2)]

- (02:30) énáfó [[[ó dè = níⁿ] sǐná] níⁿ],
 anyway [[[1Pl say.Pfv 3InanObj] situation] Loc],
 [[[ē pò?ó] gló] ǐná] níⁿ],
 [[[Art the.bush] be.left.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 A: ‘Anyway, the way we have said it, the way the bush (=outback) has been left (behind), ...’
 [énáfó < Jula ‘you will say’; sǐná-níⁿ]]

- (02:34) toujours à gō bē-yá-ró,
 always 3Inan be thus,
 [è náⁿblá dá =] ā gà?-à-cúí
 [Art leader Poss.Inan] Ipfv be.first.Ipfv-Ipfv-cut.Ipfv,
 A: ‘It is always thus. The leader is the first to cut (food).’
 [< /dó à; kūō/kú/cúí ‘cut’ ‘cut’ = start eating, cf. English *break bread* or *dig in*]

- (02:38) hàyà [jèró dī?è bùyò] gò kú,
 well [Rel.AnPl follow.Pfv Top.AnPl] Infin be.cut.Base,
 [[jèró dī?è-dī?è bùyò] g-ā cúí]
 [[Rel.AnPl Rdp-follow.Pfv Top.AnPl] Infin-Ipfv be.cut.Ipfv]
 A: ‘The (first) ones who followed (are next to) start eating. The ones who keep following (=arrive later) start eating (in turn).’
 [topical relative clause with bùyò as plural topic marker (§19.1.2.1); reduplicated ‘follow’ indicates a still later group of arrivals]

- (02:41) [è úⁿ?úⁿ-tàrèⁿ-yùò] wō sū?ō [Ø klò?ó],
 [Art head-sit.Pfv-people chain give.Base [Art road],
 á! d = ò gò dí,
 oh! Quot 3Pl Infin eat.Base,
 A: ‘The ones sitting in front give instructions, telling them to eat.’
 [-yùò agentive plural plus compound initial (§5.1.5.1); “give road” means ‘give permission (e.g. to go), authorize, instruct’]

- (02:45) *bè— [è lé] dó = ò,*
 Dem.Def— [Art house] Poss.Inan whether,
[è sáwú-cá?á] dó = ò,
 [Art outside.of.house] Poss.Inan whether,
[à bíé] à dí [[bè tó?ó] dīē-kà],
 [3Inan all] Ipfv be.eaten.Ipfv [[Dem.Def Foc] eat.Pfv-manner,
 A: ‘Whether the one for the house, or whether the one for the outside of the house.
 Both are eaten in that (same) [focus] manner of eating.’
*[lé ‘homestead, house (including courtyard)’ or ‘settlement, cluster of houses’, in
 other dialects lē ; willy-nilly conditional antecedent (§16.3); -kà compound final
 (§5.1.7.2)]*

- (02:50) [Ø náⁿ-dì-ò] nǎⁿ klè bè-yá-ró
 [Art elder-Pl] PastHabit do.Ipfv thus
 A: ‘The elders used to do that.’
[nǎⁿ past habitual (§10.2.2.3)]

- (02:52) mais [[bè tò?ò] nī], ò bà—
 but [[Dem.Def place] Loc], 3Pl if—
[[ò kè-tè?è] bà tâ láⁿ]
 [[3Pl hand] if Past be.washed.Base]
 B: ‘In that (matter), if they—, if their hand had been washed, ...’
[i.e. ‘when they have been circumcised’; bà ‘if’ followed by past tâ]

- (02:54) ò bà bú [dè dāmá] mō→,
 3Pl if get.Base [day a.few] concerning,
 ò tá má yé= [Ø pò?ó] = ā
 3Pl Past IpfvNeg walk.Ipfv [Art the.bush] Q
 B: ‘If they had (had) a few days (to recover), would they not have gone hunting?’
*[counterfactual in form, with past imperfective (§10.3.1.3); yé (Ma) = é (Bi)
 ‘walk’; (y)é= [Ø pò?ó] ‘go hunting’, lit. “walk (in) the bush”; dāmá ‘a little, a few’
 (§8.5.2.2.4)]*

- (02:58) é→ [Ø kè-tè?è] bā = à-láⁿ,
 oh! [Art hand] if come.Base-be.washed.Base],
[à nàⁿ = àⁿ-mû= [Ø yú=]
 [3Inan Fut come.Base-get.Base [Art people]
 A: ‘When the hand was washed (=circumcision had occurred), it (=pain) would
 come and get (=afflict) people.’
[< /nàⁿ (b)à-bú ē yúó/]

- (03:01) [à dé-[jɪʔɛ̃ⁿ-nɪⁿ] mà kɔ̃→],
 [3Inan body[-be.sour-VblN] if finish.Base],
 [ē pòʔó] dè é =rēʔ,
 [Art the.bush] IpfvPast be.walked.Ipfv Emph,
 A: ‘When the pain of it ended, hunting would be done.’
[usually dé-[jɪʔɛ̃ⁿ-nɪⁿ] ‘body-sourness’ denoting a muscular injury, e.g., from sports; lit. “the bush would be walked”; =dēʔ (§19.4.1)]
- (03:04) [nóⁿ àrē] nóⁿ diè= [[Ø tɪʔé] nɪⁿ],
 [1Sg even] 1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art burrow] Loc],
 kò súʔú— [è blí-ké],
 Infin catch.Base— [Art hare],
 A: ‘I myself, I went into a burrow, to catch a hare.’
[àrē (§19.1.6); a burrow originally dug by an aardvark is often occupied later by hares]
- (03:10) nóⁿ diè= [[Ø tɪʔé] nɪⁿ] [wò súʔú= [Ø blí-ké]
 1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art burrow] Loc] [Infin catch.Base [Art hare],
 í-yùò dè māⁿ [g-ā cùʔ= [Ø wònì-ò] kósóbé,
 1Pl IpfvPast be.Loc [Infin-Ipfv kill.Ipfv [Art agouti-Pl] well(adv),
 A: ‘(So) I went into a burrow to catch a hare. We were there, to kill plenty of agoutis.’
[Bi dialect wònìⁿ (plural wònì-ò) agouti = marsh cane rat (Thryonomys)]
- (03:14) [[bè dáʔá] nɪⁿ] [Ø náⁿ-bí-ó bíé]
 [[Dem.Def time] Loc] [Art person-Pl all]
 wò sárúⁿ [Ø lé],
 Infin descend.Base [Art house],
 [ò fiè-já= [Ø pòʔó] māⁿ],
 [Infin pass.Pfv-leave.Base [Art the.bush] there.Def],
 A: ‘At that time, everybody went down (=settled) in the house(s). They went and abandoned (living) there in the bush.’
- (03:18) ɔ̃ⁿhɔ̃ⁿ→ donc [è jɔ̃-[jɪʔɛ̃ⁿ-nɪⁿ] mā bà-bà-kāpā
 uh-huh, so [Art fetish-[run-VblN] if Rdp-come.Base-coincide.Base
 [à—, [ē nàⁿgblàcíó] à-māⁿ,
 [with—, [Art circumcised.group] be.Loc,
 A: ‘So, the fetish-running, if it came and coincided with—, the circumcised (group) was there.’
[“fetish-running”: people went out to the bush to make sacrifices to animist idols]

- (03:23) **ó** **gò** **yíyí** [**gō** **rà-ɲóⁿ**]
 1Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-look.at.Base]
 [[**ē** **wū-tò**] [**n** **dèⁿʔéⁿ**] **jī** **bā** **à-māⁿ**,
 [[Art bungalow] [Sg one] Indef] if be.Loc,
 A: ‘We went and looked, (to see) if one bungalow was there,’
 [**wū-tò** ‘small construction not divided into rooms’, i.e. for sleeping while out in
 the bush, dialectally **wùʔú-tò**]
- (03:26) **ē** **pòʔò-yíyí-tòʔò** **jèrⁿ**,
 Art the.bush-go.Base-place Rel,
ó **gō** **rà-à-cīⁿ** [**bè** **tòʔò**],
 1Pl Infin go.Ipfv-Ipfv-spend.night.Ipfv [Dem.Def place],
 A: ‘The hunting place where (the bungalow was), we would go and spend the
 night at that place.’
 [**kō** **rà-à-** ‘and go(es) and’ (imperfective) (§15.2.3.3.5)]
- (03:28) *donc* **ó** **gō** **rà-à-cīⁿ** [**bè** **tòʔò**],
 so 1Pl Infin go.Ipfv-Ipfv-spend.night.Ipfv [Dem.Def place],
 [**k-ā** **cṵṛ=** [**∅** **kà-rá**]] [**gō** **bà**] [**gō** **bà**] **é!**
 [Infin-Ipfv kill.Ipfv [Art meat-Pl]] [Infin come.Base] [Infin come.Base] oh!
 A: ‘So, having gone and spent the night there, we would kill wild animals, and
 come and come—oh!’
 [first clause is an echo clause, functionally similar to perfective echo clauses
 (§10.2.1.1.2) but in infinitival form; **kà-rá** plural of **kàʔá** ‘meat; game animal’; **kō** **bà**
 repeated to mark multiplicity]
- (03:31) *mais* **ò** **máⁿ** **sūʔū** [**∅** **jī**] [**ʔⁿ** **í-yùò**] = **dēʔ**,
 but 3Pl IpfvNeg give.Ipfv [Art something] [Dat 1Pl] Emph,
é! [**ē** **kě**] **rè** **kāʔā** **dī-nāⁿ-dèⁿ** = **nēʔ**,
 oh! [Art thing] IpfvPast be.hard.Ipfv in.the.past Emph,
 A: ‘But they (=chief et al.) didn’t give us anything! Oh, the thing was indeed
 difficult back in those days!’
 [**<** /**dè** **kāʔā**/; **dī-nāⁿ-dèⁿ** (§8.5.7.1)]
- (03:35) [**móⁿ** **tóʔó**] **ā** **cṵṛ=** [**∅** **kàʔá**]
 [2Sg Foc] Ipfv kill.Ipfv [Art meat]
mais **móⁿ** **máⁿ** **ɲḗⁿ=** [**∅** **kàʔá**] [**∅-ā** **kè**] = **ʔ**,
 but 2Sg IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Art meat] [Infin-Ipfv eat.meat.Ipfv] Neg,
 A: ‘It was you-Sg [focus] who would kill the animal, but you wouldn’t see (=end
 up with) any meat (for you) to eat.’
 [imperfective ‘(meat) to eat’ (§17.7.2)]

- (03:37) [è úⁿʔúⁿ-tà^rèⁿ-yù^ò] wō wūʔō-wūʔō = nìⁿ,
 [Art head-sit.Pfv-people] Infin Rdp-suck.Base 3InanObj,
 tá nàⁿ wūʔō-kò [ò míⁿʔáⁿ],
 like Fut suck.Base-kill.Base [PIRefl Refl],
 A: ‘The leaders gobbled it (=meat) up, like (they) would eat themselves to death.’
 [‘like’ (§8.5.1.1); wìʔè/wūʔō/wūʔū usually means ‘suck (finger)’ or ‘eat (rice, dried couscous)’, emphasizing rapid and total consumption; reflexive object (§18.1.2)]
- (03:41) donc [í-yù^ò bù^ò] [gà— [Ø wǎ-wà-ní],
 so [1Pl Top.AnPl] [with— [Art minnow-Pl],
 [kà [Ø pépà^rè-pépà^rè-kò] í-yù^ò rè dí [bè tóʔó],
 [with [Art Rdp-flat-Ppl.AnPl] 1Pl IpfvPast eat.Ipfv [Dem.Def Foc],
 A: ‘So, we ourselves had minnows, (little) flat fish, that [focus] is what we used to eat.’
 [wǎ-wǎ ‘minnow’; < /fùó/; past imperfective (§10.3.1.3); dí is base=Ipfv]
- (03:48) donc, ó bà rà-ē = [Ø pòʔó],
 so, 1Pl if go.Base-walk.Base [Art the.bush],
 ó bà rà-ē = [Ø pòʔó],
 1Pl if go.Base-walk.Base [Art the.bush],
 A: ‘So, when we went hunting, when we went hunting, ...’
 [bà rà- (§16.1.1.6.2)]
- (03:50) wò yíʔí fó→ è→ [tòʔò jè^róⁿ] ó = à lí
 Infin go.Base until oh! [place Rel] 1Pl Ipfv call.Ipfv
 dè méⁿkpà-blúʔú,
 Quot M-water.spring,
 A: ‘(We) went all the way to the place that we call “Menkpa’s spring.”’
 [fó ‘until, all the way to’ (§8.3.10.2); < /ó à lí/; ‘that we call’; quotative dè with verb ‘call’; méⁿkpà is a person’s name]
- (03:53) é wō rà-wáʔá-glō = [Ø blí-ké jī],
 1Pl Infin go.Base-make.noise.Base-take.out.Base [Art hare Indef],
 sòⁿtùwò-lē tòʔò-gblàʔà
 S in.the.vicinity.of
 sūwō sūwō sūwō sūwō
 sic! sic! sic! sic!
 A: ‘We went and made noise to flush a hare out (of the burrow).’
 B: ‘Near the place Sontuwole (hamlet)’
 A: ‘Sic! sic! sic!’
 [tòʔò-gblàʔà (§8.3.4.5); sūwō is called by hunter to hunting dogs, to sic them on an animal, cf. sūʔō/súʔú/súʔú ‘catch’]

- (03:58) [ē bŭʔō] wō jùʔò [[Ø blí-ké] jīē]
 [Art dog.PI] Infin follow.Base [Art hare] after]
 [ò bíé] gō rà-dīē [[Ø glò-tíʔè] n̄],
 [3Pl all] Infin go.Base-enter.Base [Art aardvark-hole] Loc],
 A: ‘The dogs followed after (=pursued) the hare. They all went into an aardvark’s burrow.’
 [-tíʔè as compound final (§5.1.7.10)]
- (04:02) [è úⁿ-kè] ní-māⁿ [[Ø nàⁿgblàcíó] n̄] = dēʔ,
 [Art head-matter] not.be [[Art circumcised.group] Loc] Emph,
 ò→ nóⁿ diè [[Ø tíʔé] nīⁿ],
 oh! 1Sg enter.Pfv [[Art hole] Loc],
 A: ‘There sure weren’t any worries in (=among) the circumcised boys! Ah, I went into the burrow.’
 [úⁿ-kè (dialectally úⁿʔúⁿ-kè) ‘head-matter’ i.e. ‘problem, worry (n)’]
- (04:06) jà→ [Ø náⁿ-bí-ó] à dī = [ǎ = [Ø jīē]]
 lo! [Art person-PI] Ipfv enter.Ipfv [with [Art behind]]
 [náⁿ = á kòⁿ] [nóⁿ wō dī = [ǎ = [Ø ānàⁿʔàⁿ]],
 [1Sg PfvNeg know.Base] [1Sg Infin enter.Base [with [Art face]],
 A: ‘Lo! (Other) people were going in backward (=feet-first). I didn’t know (that). I went in with my face (=head-first).’
 [jǎ→ (§19.3.7); < /à dīē kà ē jīē/ ; < /nóⁿ kō dīē kà ē ānàⁿʔàⁿ/]
- (04:07) mó gō dīē kè é!
 2Sg Infin enter.Base Emph oh!
 B (overlapping): ‘You actually went in!’
 [kè (§19.4.5)]
- (04:10) mais [ē jùʔé] jùʔèⁿ-glō = mīⁿ,
 but [Art God] rescue.Pfv 2SgObj,
 nóⁿ diè [ǎ = [Ø ānàⁿʔàⁿ]] [wò yíʔí],
 1Sg enter.Pfv [with [Art face]] [Infin go.Base],
 A: ‘But God got you-Sg out safely! I went in forward (=head first).’
 [Jula jùʔwèⁿ ; ‘you’ = ‘me’ with displaced perspective]
- (04:14) [ē glò-tíʔè]— yīʔē [Ø rà-léⁿ],
 [Art aardvark-hole]— go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-be.blocked.Base],
 jà→ [Ø blí-ké] yīʔē [Ø rà-dàⁿ]
 lo! [Art hare] go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base]
 comme [ē tíʔé] lēⁿ rò,
 as [Art hole] be.blocked.Pfv Emph,
 A: ‘The aardvark burrow was (eventually) blocked. Lo, the hare went and arrived, as the burrow was blocked.’
 [final rò (§19.4.2), but indistinct on recording]

- (04:18) $\text{ʃ}^n = \emptyset$ $\text{klè} = [\emptyset \text{ jī}]$ $\text{jù?é-kī}^n = \text{à}^n \nearrow$,
 3AnSg PfvNeg do.Base [Art something] above Q,
 [è blí-ké] ò $\text{kē}^n\text{?ē}^n$ bè,
 [Art hare] Infin ascend.Base Dem.Def,
 ò $\text{kē}^n\text{?ē}^n$ jù?é-kī^n
 Infin ascend.Base above
 àⁿháⁿ, kō $\text{kē}^n\text{?ē}^n$ jù?é-kī^n ,
 uh-huh, Infin ascend.Base above,
 A: ‘Did it (=hare) not do something up above? The hare climbed up.’
 B: ‘Climbed to the top.’
 A: ‘Uh-huh, (it) climbed up.’

- (04:23) nó^n kō yūā [ná = á nī]
 1Sg Infin grope.Base [1Sg PfvNeg see.Base]
 [wō sū?ō [ṅ kè-tè?è]],
 [Infin give.Base [1SgRefl hand]],
 à-sàṛṣ = [∅ būⁿ?ōⁿ] dī?è [wō dīē],
 while [Art dog] follow.Pfv [Infin enter.Base],
 A: ‘I groped along, without seeing. (I) gave (=reached out) my hand, while the
 dog pursued it (=hare) into (the burrow).’
 [1Sg reflexive possessor (§18.1.1); kà-sàṛṣ (§15.3.5.7.2)]

- (04:27) [ē būⁿ?ōⁿ] dī?è [wō dīē = [[∅ blí-ké] [jīē]]
 [Art dog] follow.Pfv [Infin enter.Base [[Art hare] behind]]
 [kō dīē = [[∅ blí-ké] [jīē]]
 [Infin enter.Base [[Art hare] behind]]
 cós! [ē būⁿ?ōⁿ] à-māⁿ pàⁿ-tōⁿ,
 indeed! [Art dog] be.Loc below-Loc,
 A: ‘The dog pursued the hare into (the burrow).’
 B (overlapping and echoing): ‘pursued the hare into (the burrow).’
 A: ‘Exactly! The dog was down below.’
 [cós! §(8.5.3.2.2); ká mā⁽ⁿ⁾ ‘was (somewhere)’ (§10.3.1.7)]

- (04:30) nó^n wō— ṅ sū?ō [ṅ kè-tè?è]
 1Sg Infin— (nasal) give.Base [1SgRefl hand]
 [wò tíⁿ-glō [∅ blí-ké] jù?é-kī^n],
 [Infin pull.Base-take.out [Art hare] above],
 A: ‘I gave (=extended) my hand, to pull the hare up and out.’
 [pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10)]

- (04:34) [è bũⁿ?ɔⁿ] wō— ñ sù= =ò,
 [Art dog] Infin— (nasal) take.Base 3AnSgObj,
 nóⁿ wō dō-sũ?^ɔ
 1Sg Infin say.Base-give.Base
 [ɲ d= ò wò tɪⁿ-glò nóⁿ],
 [1Sg say.Pfv 3Pl Hort pull.Base-take.out 1Sg],

A: ‘The dog took hold of it (=hare). I told them (=other people), I said to please pull me out.’

[< /sùò = (y)ò/ ; -sũ?^ɔ ‘give’ as Vb2 in verb-verb compound (§15.1.6.2); < /dè ò kò/ quoted hortative (§17.1.6.3); < /tɪⁿ-glò nóⁿ/; -glò ‘take out’ in verb-verb compound; quoted imperative]

- (04:38) ò gò tɪⁿ-glò nóⁿ, í! kátérámà,
 3Pl Infin pull.Base-take.out 1Sg, oh! far,
 [ē glò-ti?^ɔ] [ò bí=] à jī =nìⁿ,
 [Art aardvark-hole] [3Pl all] Ipfv know.Ipfv 3InanObj,

A: ‘Then they pulled me out, a long way. The aardvark burrow, everybody knows it.’

[< /ò bíé à/]

- (04:44) [ē jī] à bí
 [Art something] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv
 [métr= [ò sáⁿ]] [métr= [ò wũⁿ?ɔⁿ]] =dē?,
 [meter [Pl three]] [meter [Pl four]] Emph,

A: ‘Some (burrows) can be (as much as) three or four meters (long).’

[à bí ‘is gotten’ = ‘can be’, local French ça trouve (que); < /métré/; numerical lower and upper bounds (§7.2.5)]

- (04:47) donc ò wò tɪⁿ-glò nóⁿ [wò glú],
 so 3Pl Infin pull.Base-take.out 1Sg] [Infin exit(v).Base],
 gō jìⁿ-dórā= [Ø blí-ké] bè-yá-ró, é→,
 Infin see.Base-do.a.lot.Base [Art hare] thus, oh!,

A: ‘So, they pulled me out. They managed to see (=get) hares in that way.’

[< /kō tɪⁿ-glò nóⁿ kō glú/; subject of infinitival ‘exit’ is coindexed with object of ‘pull out’ (§15.2.1.1); -dórā in verb-verb compound (§15.1.2.1.2)]

- (04:51) [è úⁿ-kè] ní-mā= [[Ø bí-ɲō] n̄] =nē?
 [Art head-matter] not.be.Loc [[Art child.Pl] Loc] Emph
 [[Ø bí-sà-rè-ní bē] kòní], [ē wùⁿ?úⁿ-kè] fòè!
 [[Art childhood Top.Inan] truly], [Art head-matter] not.at.all

A: ‘The children had no worries!’

B: ‘Childhood indeed, no worries at all!’

[bí-sà-rè-ní ‘childhood, childishness’, derivative of bí-sīō ‘children’ (§4.1.2.5.6); fòè emphatic ‘nothing, not at all’ (§10.2.5.8.2), also in the following segment]

- (04:54) [ē tîʔé jì] móⁿ ní-māⁿ [[à kūō-tòʔò] nīⁿ],
 [Art hole Indef] 2Sg not.be.Loc [[3Inan cut.Pfv-place] Loc],
 móⁿ gō [diè-ń nīⁿ]
 2Sg be [enter.Base-VblN Loc]
 [ē dàⁿʔàⁿ] ní-māⁿ [móⁿ bàʔà], fòè! fòè!,
 [Art fire] not.be.Loc [2Sg Dat], not.at.all! not.at.all!,

A: ‘A burrow. You-Sg were not there where (and when) it was dug out. You were going into it, (but) you had no fire (=light) at all!’

[i.e. you didn’t know its shape by virtue of having dug it yourself, and you had no light to see your way; à kūō-tòʔò slightly emended from what sounds like kà kūō-tòʔò; fòè emphatic negative (§10.2.5.8.2); ‘be’ plus locative PP of verbal noun, likely prototype of progressive construction (§10.2.4.1)]

- (05:00) [ò k-ā lí jèrɔⁿ dè tà má] [ē sɛⁿ],
 [3Pl Infin-Ipfv call.Ipfv Rel Quot spear] [Art arrow],
 [bè jì-fí] ò máⁿ bē fíʔ= [òⁿ mó],
 [Dem.Def Indef-none] 3Pl IpfvNeg Fut give.Pfv [Dat 2Sg],

B: ‘What they call “spear,” (or) arrow(s), anything at all, they wouldn’t give (it) to you.’

[-fí ‘none’ (like French aucun) < Jula; fronting of heavy NPs; < /ʃiʔè òⁿ/; future negative with bè (§10.2.5.3); ditransitive dative òⁿ (§8.1.2)]

- (05:03) Ø mà jūʔɔ dè tɔⁿ,
 2Sg if hear.Base Quot be.brave,
 [bè tóʔó] rá wò glò,
 [Dem.Def Foc] Past it.is it.is,

A: ‘If you hear “be courageous,” that [focus] is what it was.’

[< /ŋ bà/; focalization of ‘it is/was’ (§13.1.3.5); last three words are equivalent in this dialect to ... dè glò]

- (05:06) ń wō dīē [ò tíⁿ-glō= [Ø blí-ké]],
 1Sg Infin enter.Base [Infin pull.Base-take.out [Art hare]],
 jí-á-m-bè [ē pòʔò bó] rē é kósóbé?,
 otherwise [Art the.bush Top] IpfvPast be.walked.Ipfv well,

A: ‘I went in to pull out the hare. Otherwise, the hunt [topic] was going well.’

[jí-á-m-bè ‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); < /pòʔó bó/; final glottal on kósóbé? (§8.5.2.1.2)]

- (05:11) [bè tòʔò] ń kùɔⁿ= [Ø jī] [à nī]
 [Dem.Dem place] 1Sg know.Pfv [Art something] [3Inan Loc]

B: ‘That place, I found out something about it.’

[topicalized NP with resumptive pronominal; 1Sg ń (§4.3.1.6.1)]

- (05:14) wàlà→, *donc* jí bè =à, é!, jèrɔ̃ⁿ à-māⁿ [à nīⁿ],
voilà, so if Dem.Def it.is, oh!, Rel be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
áywà mā-jīⁿ [dè-dè dó] bà [gō à-klá],
well if.you.saw [now Poss.Inan] come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-return.Base],
A: ‘There you are! So, if it’s that, ah!, what is there. Well, you see, the current
situation has returned (as topic), ...’
[jèrɔ̃ⁿ à-māⁿ... headless relative (§14.1.6); kō à-klá in this case is not contracted
to k̄ā = à-klá]

- (05:20) [ā sīgéⁿ] g-ā fisàyá,
[3Inan fatigue] Infin-Ipfv improve.Ipfv,
k-ā plé,
Infin-Ipfv be.better.Ipfv,
[ā nòwòyá] gō dī = [à nīⁿ],
[3Inan relief] Infin enter.Base [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘The fatigue (=hardship) has improved, it is better. Relief has entered into it.’
[sīgéⁿ ‘fatigue’ and fisàyá ‘improve’ < *Jula*, phrasing equivalent to *Tiefo-D ē bè-
ní k-ā plé; nòwòyá* < *Jula nòwòyá*]

s

- (05:25) à [bè tóʔó] klè [Ø bí-ʃìò j́rí-k̀ò],
ah! [Dem.Def Foc] do.Pfv [Art child.Pl small-AnPl]
é s̀ⁿ-wá = à lúⁿ s̀ⁿ tàʔà-kó,
oh! who? Ipfv look.Ipfv who? again,
A: ‘That [focus] is what made small children (be such that), who looks at who else
any more?’
[< /ē bí-ʃìò j́rí-k̀ò/; j́rí-k̀ò (§4.5.4); < /s̀ⁿ-wí à/; double ‘who?’ interrogative
with indefinite sense (§13.2.3.1)]

- (05:29) jí-á-r̀m-bè ó bà r̄â klè,
otherwise 1Pl if Past do.Base,
blá-glò-níⁿ mā bà, é! é! é!,
sweep.Base-take.out.Base-VblN if come.Pfv, oh! oh! oh!,
ē j̄amá
Art crowd
A: ‘Anyway, when we had done (such that), when sweeping away (=closing the
ceremony) came (=happened),’
B: ‘The crowd.’
[‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); i.e. a collective celebration; < /blá-glò-ní/]

- (05:32) [è kábákó] =à =r̄ē?,
[Art amazement] it.is Emph,
é wō s̄ⁿ [Ø làⁿdá] [wò blá-glò],
1Pl Infin work.Base [Art custom] [Infin sweep.Base-take.out.Base],
A: ‘It was amazing. We performed the traditional ceremony, and then swept out
(=closed it).’
[< *Jula kábá-kó* ‘amazing thing’]

- (05:36) **é** **sāwāʔā**,
 1Pl rattle(n),
kà-sèrò **sáni** **ó** **blá-glō**,
 while before 1Pl sweep.Base-take.out,
 A: ‘Our rattles. Before we swept out (=closed).’
[rattles in the form of pieces of calabash strung together; kà-sèrò (§15.3.5.7.2);
sáni ‘before’ (§15.3.5.8)]

- (05:39) [**ē** **sāwāʔā**] **dè** **māⁿ**
 [Art rattle(n)] IpfvPast be.Loc
kā= [**Ø** **bèⁿʔéⁿ**]
 and [Art tomtom]
 A: ‘There were rattles there.’
 B: ‘And tomtoms.’
[dè māⁿ ‘was/were (there)’ (§10.3.1.7); dialectal for bēⁿʔéⁿ]

- (05:41) [**kō** **gbè** **í-yùò**]
 [Infin pick.up.Base 1Pl]
[kō jī] **í-yùò** **wō** **yíí** **[wō rà-glú]**,
 [day Indef] 1Pl Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-exit.Base],
 {fe—}, **tàfō-lē**,
 (hesitation) Jinejan,
 A: ‘(They) took us one day, we went out from Jinejan (*quartier*).’
[< /kō gbē í-yùò/]

- (05:45) **ó** **bà** **râ** **rè**
 1Pl if Past say.Base
[ó nàⁿ **ló-bāʔā** **= nìⁿ]**
 [1Pl Fut go.around.Base 3InanObj]
[ó wò **glú** **tàfō-lē]**,
 [1Pl Infin exit.Base Jinejan],
 A: ‘If we said (that) we would walk around and leave from Jinejan, ...’

- (05:48) **cù-fíéⁿ-tèⁿ**, [**téⁿ** **klē**] **cù-fíéⁿ-tèⁿ** **fájárí**,
 early.morning, [daybeak day.break.Pfv] early.morning daybreak,
ó **bā** **d=** **ó=** **à** **dī=** **[à— [Ø bēⁿʔéⁿ]]**,
 1Pl if say.Base 1Pl Ipfv enter.Ipfv [with [Art tomtom]],
 A: ‘First thing in the morning, at daybreak, at the (pre-)dawn prayer, if we
 intended to enter (Jinejan) with tomtoms, ...’
[fájárí < Jula (< Arabic)]

- (05:54) bɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ-yúó gò yíʔí, ó máⁿ wáʔá =rɛ̃ʔ,
 tomtom-people Infin go.Base, 1Pl IpfvNeg make.noise.Ipfv Emph,
 [kā jì] máⁿ wáʔá =ʔ,
 [creature Indef] IpfvNeg make.noise.Ipfv Neg,

A: ‘The tomtom people (=players) went (in). We didn’t make noise at all! One didn’t make noise.’

[generic ‘(some-)one’ using kā ‘creature, animate being’; speaker “whispers” from ó máⁿ to end of this segment]

- (05:58) [ó bíé] à yíʔí dón-dón-dón-dón-dón [wò yíʔí],
 [1Pl all] Ipfv go.Ipfv (sound of footsteps) [Infin go.Base],
 ó bā dàⁿ bùm-bùm-bùm ô→,
 1Pl if arrive.Base, (sound of tomtoms) oh!,

A: ‘We were all sneaking along with hushed footsteps. When we arrived, (suddenly it was) boom-boom-boom!’

[dón-dón onomatopoeia for faint sound of people sneaking in; bùm-bùm very loud sound of tomtoms]

- (06:03) í! [[bùò yúó] wō kɔ̃ⁿ =níⁿ]
 oh! [[3Pl people] Infin know.Base 3InanObj]
 [d= ó bà [[ē→, cì] wáʔá-sō tɔ̃ʔɔ̃] níⁿ]],
 [Quot 1Pl come.Pfv [[Art, millet] make.noise.Base-take.Base place] Loc]],

A: ‘Oh! Their people (in Jinejan) knew that we had come in order to make noise and receive millet (grain).’

[‘know that ...’ (§17.3.1.1); < /ē cì wáʔá/; purposive tɔ̃ʔɔ̃ níⁿ) (§17.6.2.5)]

- (06:07) wòráà-wòráà-wòráà-wòráà-wòráà sāwāʔā à wáʔá,
 (sound of rattle) rattle(n) Ipfv make.noise.Ipfv,
 ò gò glú [à [Ø cí] [wō sūʔɔ̃],
 3Pl Infin exit.Base [with [Art millet]] [Infin give.Base],
 A: ‘The rattles made rattling noise. They (=villagers) brought out some millet to give (us).’
 [‘exit with’ = ‘bring out’ (§9.3.2); cí (dialectally cī)]

- (06:14) á! bùò gò jɔ̃ⁿ, [cù-fíéⁿ-tèⁿ]-jòⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ,
 oh! 3Pl Infin dance.Base, [early.morning]-dance(n),
 A: ‘Oh! They danced, the early morning dance.’
 [‘dance’: verb jūɔ̃ⁿ/jɔ̃ⁿ/júⁿ, noun jɔ̃ⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ (§4.2.1.2), tone dropped to -jòⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ as compound final (5.1.1.1)]

- (06:17) [móⁿ [jɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ-ń]-kě] à kāʔā
 [2Sg [wake.Base-VblN]-matter] Ipfv be.hard.Ipfv
 [è jɔ̃ⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ] sūʔō-[fɛ̃ⁿ-tāʔā],
 [Art dance(n)] catch.Pfv-[fall.on.Base]
 A: ‘Your waking up was hard. Dancing (with tomtoms) fell on (=rudely awakened) (you).’

- (06:19) yé! mā-jīⁿ
oh! if.you.see
[[ò bíé] f̄rú] g-ā yōrī,
[[3Pl all] sweat(n)] Infin-Ipfv jump.all.over.Ipfv,
A: ‘Oh! You see, all of them were sweating profusely.’
[‘X’s sweat jumped’ = ‘X was sweating profusely’; yōrī ‘jump’ intensive variant of yī (§9.6)]
- (06:20) [sòⁿ-wí bó] nàⁿ nè [bó máⁿ júⁿ]
[who? Top] Fut say.Base [LogoSg IpfvNeg dance.Ipfv]
A: ‘Who would say, “I don’t dance”?’
[< /nàⁿ dè/]
- (06:21) bò-wí ní-mā mā
fellow not.be.Loc there.Def
A: ‘That fellow isn’t there (=doesn’t exist).’
[bò-wí (§18.5.1.2)]
- (06:22) ó bà glú [bè t̄ò?ò],
1Pl if exit.Base [Dem.Def place],
ó gō s̄èrò [gò→ má-ló]
1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin turn.around.Base]
[gō bà [bùò bà?à] f̄āⁿ?āⁿ]
[Infin come.Base [2Pl chez] here]
A: ‘When we left that place, we proceeded to change direction, to come to your-Pl (place) here.’
[i.e. to Masaso quartier; X bà?à ‘X’s place’]
- (06:27) māsā-lē
Masaso
jàtí!,
exactly!,
B: ‘(To) Masaso (quartier).’
A: ‘Exactly.’
- (06:28) ó bà glú [bè t̄ò?ò]
1Pl if exit.Base [Dem.Def place]
ó gò glú àndò-lē
1Pl Infin exit.Base Flaso
ē lū-f̄ēⁿ
Art Flaso
A: ‘When we leave that place, we go out to Flaso (quartier).’
B: ‘Flaso.’
[Flaso quartier is called àndò-lé by people from Biton, but ē lē-f̄ēⁿ ~ ē lū-f̄ēⁿ by others (§1.3)]

- (06:30) \bar{o} sàrò [\bar{o} glú] [gò fó [ó bàʔà]],
 Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin exit.Base] [Infin pass.Base [1Pl chez]],
 A: ‘Then we proceed to leave (Flaso) and go to our place.’
 [‘our place’ = Biton quartier]

- (06:32) [kètàⁿ dáⁿ] ó dè máⁿ sòⁿ
 [truth pleasant] 1Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg consent.Ipfv
 [g-ā bē fāⁿʔāⁿ bē],
 [Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv here Dem.Def],
 A: ‘Truthfully, we didn’t use to consent (=be willing) to come here like that.’
 [kètàⁿ (Bi) ‘truth’, in other dialects kitàⁿ; past imperfective negative (§10.3.1.3);
 sòⁿ is base=Ipfv; ‘consent’ with infinitival complement (§17.4.4.2); ‘here’ = where
 the recording was made]

- (06:35) [wí jèrɔ̃ⁿ] bà já-sūʔɔ̃ [kě jèrɔ̃ⁿ] māⁿ,
 [owner Rel] if leave.Base-give.Base [matter Rel] there.Def,
 māⁿ dè máⁿ = àⁿ— tīēⁿ [[ɔ̃ⁿ wí] dé] =?
 Proh say.Base 2Sg Ipfv— warm(v).Ipfv [[3AnSg owner] body] Neg
 A: ‘If a fellow (=someone) has abandoned something there, don’t say (=intend)
 that you are warming up the fellow’s body!’
 [wí jèrɔ̃ⁿ and ɔ̃ⁿ wí ‘fellow’ (§18.5.1.2); double relative jèrɔ̃ⁿ as indefinite
 (§14.1.8); já-sūʔɔ̃ (§15.1.6.2); ‘warm up X’s body’ = ‘pester X’, i.e. there is no point
 in going to a quartier whose people have abandoned traditional customs; prohibitive]

- (06:38) Ø ŋō jī [ɔ̃ⁿ wí]
 2Sg Infin see.Base [3AnSg owner]
 [kò já = w̃ mā]
 [Infin leave.Base 3AnSgObj there.Def]
 jàtí
 exactly

B: ‘You-Sg see the fellow and (you) leave him (alone) there.’

A: ‘Exactly.’

[< /ŋ kō jī/]

- (06:40) [ó kòníⁿ] dè é = níⁿ bè-yá-ró,
 [1Pl Top] IpfvPast walk.Ipfv 3InanObj thus,
 [í-yùò kórú] fī = [à jèrɔ̃ⁿ],
 [1Pl generation] pass.Pfv [with Rel],
 [bè tóʔó] gò yá
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg

A: ‘As for us, we used to walk it like that. What our generation went with in the
 past, that [focus] is what that was.’

[< fīē kà jèrɔ̃ⁿ; headless relative as complement of ‘with’ preposition (§14.2.4)]

- (06:45) [à dó] klè ká [à sē]
 [3Inan however] do.Pfv like [3Inan collapse.Pfv]
 [[[bùò tǎ-ró] kǎrú] dè] nī,
 [[[2PI Foc-PI] generation] day] Loc,
 ou bien [è yúó] jǎ-rō] bà
 or.else [Art people Indef-AnPI] come.Pfv
 [gā= à-klè] jī= =ā
 [Infin come.Base-do.Base] behind Q

B: 'However it is as though it collapsed (after) the day (=era) of your-PI [focus] generation. Or do any people come and do it since (then)?'

[< /jīē = ā/; ends with rhetorical question; this turn of B's overlaps with that of A (see just below) and parts are not entirely clear]

- (06:47) ā klè yá-ró,
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus,
 ā klè yá-ró,
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus,

A: 'It happened like that. It happened like that.'

[overlaps with preceding segment; cf. *bè-yá-ró* 'thus']

- (06:50) ā klè [í-yùò nīⁿ], [[[í-yùò fīē] jǎná] nīⁿ],
 3Inan be.done.Pfv [1PI Loc], [[[1PI pass.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 [[ē kǎ jì] dǎ=] á klè-pǎⁿ
 [[Art creature Indef] Poss.Inan] PfvNeg be.done.Base-be.able.Base
 [wō klè],
 [Infin be.done.Base],

A: 'It happened among us. Once we (=our generation) have passed by, nobody's role could be done (=performed) or has been done.'

[< /dǎ á klè/; 'since'; 'be able to VP'; final *wō klè* is added for emphasis]

- (06:53) jǎ-rō dè [bù= ā klè],
 Indef-AnPI say.Pfv [LogoPI Ipfv do.Ipfv],

A: 'Some (people) have said they (still) do it.'

[< /bùò à/; logophoric plural (*bùò*)]

- (06:55) ò gò yí'í [kō rà-klè] = nīⁿ tǎrō-lē],
 3PI Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-do.Base 3InanObj Toussiana],
 ou bien [gō rà-klè] = nīⁿ pǎ-lē],
 or.else [Infin go.Base-do.Base 3InanObj Peni],

A: 'They go and do it in Toussiana, or go do it in Peni.'

[traditional circumcisions are still done in these two towns on the Bobo to Banfora highway on the plateau; *kō rà*]

- (06:58) **kō** [sò-[klá-bà]]-té,
 Infin [carry.on.head.Base-[return.Base-come.Base]]-put.down.Base,
donc **bè** **á** **bú** *valeur*
 so Dem.Def PfvNeg get.Base value
 ǎ= Ø *bú* *fāṅà* =?
 3Inan PfvNeg get.Base power Neg
 A: ‘(They) bring back (the boys) and put (them) down. So that (=traditional
 circumcision) has gotten no appreciation (here).’
 B: ‘It hasn’t found any importance.’
[four verbs in a compound; fāṅà < Jula (cf. Tiefo-D kāṅā-nī)]

- (07:02) [è {séwé} **sáwú** **gbèṅè** [jèrⁿ nīⁿ],
 [Art (false start) shed] be.put.together.Pfv [Rel Loc],
[bè **tóṅó** **klè** [í-yùò **dó**]
 [Dem.Def Foc] be.done.Pfv [1Pl share(n)]
 A: ‘Something in (=for) which a storage shed has been put together, that [focus] is
 what has been made for us.’
[relative with PP complement head (§14.2.4)]

- (07:06) [[ē jùṅé] **kò** *tàⁿ-jūṅ* [Ø *mié*]
 [[Art God] Hort help.Base [Art 1Pl]
[kò sùṅò [sábábú kòṅò]
 [Hort give.Base [chance good]
 B: ‘May God help us. (May He) give (us) a good chance.’
[standard blessings; mié 1Pl in formulaic expressions (§4.3.1.4); < /kò sūṅ
sábábú/; postnominal adjective kòṅò (§4.5.3.1.2)]

- (07:09) **ámín** **ámín** **ámín**, [é jùṅé] ò **sūṅ** [Ø **ānàⁿṅàⁿ]**
 amen! amen! amen! [Art God] Hort give.Base [Art face]
 A: ‘Amen! May God take (us) forward!’

Text 2017-11 Grotto

duration: 11:59

A: *Ouattara Jean-Pierre* (Jinejan *quartier*), speaker

B: *Ouattara La* (Flaso *quartier*), speaker

(00:02) *nó dè, Jean-Pierre tóʔó—, [Jean-Pierre tóʔó] klē-bà,*
 1Sg say.Pfv, (JP) Foc—, [JP Foc] return.Pfv-come.Pfv,
wálà→, [nó kā [là tóʔ=]] à-mā,
 right!, [1Sg with [L Foc]] be.Loc,
 A: ‘I say, it’s Jean-Pierre—, it’s Jean-Pierre [focus] who has come back. Right! I am present along with La.’

(00:09) *ó nà wē— [ē jùʔó] [kò yíí],*
 1Pl Fut put.in.Base— [Art mouth] [Infin go.Base],
[ē dùʔù-tíʔè] t̩ʔ̩-gblàʔà,
 [Art cliff-hole] in.the.vicinity.of,
 A: ‘We will discuss going (to) the grotto area.’
 [‘put mouth’ = ‘discuss’; ‘cliff-hole’ = ‘grotto’; *t̩ʔ̩-gblàʔà* here and in the following segment (§8.3.4.5); *dùʔù-tíʔè* ‘grotto, cave’, *t̩ʔ̩* ‘place’]

(00:15) *[ē dùʔù] t̩ʔ̩-gblàʔà, [dó mərə́] nī,*
 [Art cliff] beside, [Poss.Inan region] Loc],
donc dè-rè—
 so now—
 A: ‘In the area of the cliffs area, so now—’
 [*mərə́* ‘region’ (< *Jula mərə́*)]

(00:20) *ā klè kà-tó*
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
ná= à jūʔō [mó bàʔà] lă
 1Sg Ipfv hear.Ipfv [2Sg Dat] L
 B: ‘It happened thus.’
 A: ‘I’m listening to you, L.’
 [*i.e.* ‘you take over’]

(00:23) *wō dè =nì [ó bàʔà],*
 Infin say.Base 3InanObj [1Pl Dat],
d= ó— [ó dùʔù—] [ē dùʔù-t̩-rè],
 Quot 1Pl— [1Pl cliff—][Art cliff-hole-Pl],
 B: ‘(They) said it to us, our gro(ttos)—, the grottos.’
 [< /*dè ó dùʔù*/]

(00:26) [nó bí-ní] à-mā, mó bà?à,
 [1Sg ask-VbIN] be.Loc, 2Sg Dat,
 dè est-ce que [ē dù?ù-tè-rè yá]
 Quot Q [Art cliff-hole-Pl Dem.InanSg]
 [á kò?ó] ò [Ø kè] [ó bà?à] tē,
 [Inan good] be [Art what?] [1Pl Dat] Q,
 B: ‘My question is (this), to you, those grottos, what good are they for us?’
 [< /dù?ù-tè-ré yá/ (§3.6.2.3); á kò?ó (Fl) ‘good thing (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2); kè
 ‘what?’ (§13.2.3.2.1)]

(00:33) [ē dù?ù-tì?è]
 [Art cliff-hole]
 [ē dù?ù-tì?è] = ā], [ē dù?ù-tì?è érè],
 [Art cliff-hole] Q], [Art cliff-hole Dem.InanPl]
 B: ‘The grotto.’
 A: ‘The grotto? Those grottos.’

(00:37) [nó tó?ó kàròⁿ] kō—,
 [1Sg Foc Top] be—,
 ò tiè [nó tó?ó] fāⁿ?āⁿ [[à = ānà?à] nī],
 3Pl put.Pfv [1Sg Foc] here [[3Inan face] Loc],
 A: ‘I myself am—, they put me [focus] in charge of it here.’
 [< /ò tiē nó/]

(00:41) [nó tó?ó]— [nó tó?ó] kò guide, álè—,
 [1Sg Foc]— [1Sg Foc] be guide, even—,
 álē = [Ø ānà?à-yùò] mà glú tò?ò-tò?ò, kō bà,
 even [Art face-people] if exit(v).Base Rdp-place, Infin come.Base,
 A: ‘I [focus] am the guide. Even when leaders (=officials) come here from
 wherever,’
 [‘even if’ (§16.2.1); distributive iteration (§6.6.2.2); ‘exit (v)’ plus ‘come’ =
 ‘come here from’]

(00:48) dè bà= à yí?í= [Ø dù?ù—,
 Quot LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv [Art cliffs—,
 dè bà= à yí?í= [[Ø dù?ù] tò?ò-gblà?à],
 Quot LogoPl Ipfv go.Ipfv [[Art cliffs] in.the.vicinity.of],
 kò yí?í [[Ø dù?ù] tò?ò-gblà?à],
 Infin go [[Art cliffs] in.the.vicinity.of],
 A: ‘Intending to go (to) the cliffs—, intending to go and go to the cliffs area, to go
 to the cliffs area,’

- (00:51) [mó tǒʔó] à nú [à tǒʔǎ]
 [2Sg Foc] Ipfv look.Ipfv [3Inan place]
 [nó tǒʔó] à—
 [1St Foc] Ipfv—
 [nó tǒʔó] à yíí [à júò]
 [1Sg Foc] Ipfv go.Ipfv [with 3An]
 B: ‘You [focus] watch over that place.’
 A: ‘I [focus] go with them.’
 [“its place” = ‘that place’; < /kà júò/ ‘with him/her/it/them (animate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

- (00:54) [mó tǒʔó] à lāⁿ-āⁿ-fùʔū = [Ø nā-fō]
 [2Sg Foc] Ipfv guide(v).Ipfv [Art guest.PI]
 [nó tǒʔó] à—
 [1St Foc] Ipfv—
 [nó tǒʔó] à lāⁿ-āⁿ-sūʔū [Ø nā-fō]
 [1St Foc] Ipfv guide(v).Ipfv [Art guest.PI]
 B: ‘You [focus] guide the visitors.’
 A: ‘I [focus] guide the visitors.’ [pause]

- (01:00) donc má = à lāⁿ-āⁿ-fūʔū [Ø nā-fō],
 so 2Sg Ipfv advise.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv [Art guest.PI],
 [ē nā-fō = rē] à bē mā],
 [Art guest-PI even] Ipfv come.Ipfv there.Def],
 B: ‘So you guide the visitors. The visitors come there.’

- (01:03) est-ce que ò—, ò bē mā, ē tǎrǎⁿ—
 Q 3Pl—, 3Pl.Ipfv come.Ipfv there.Def, Art benefit—
 [[ē tǎrǎⁿ té] à-mā [à nī]
 [[Art profit Foc.Inan] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 [ò k-ā bē = ā]
 [3Pl Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv Q]
 B: ‘Do they—. (When) they come there, is there some value [focus] there, for them to come?’
 [tǎrǎⁿ ‘profit, benefit’ < *Jula*]

- (01:08) ou bien [[ē kè] já [ò k-ā bē]
 or.else [[Art what?] let.Pfv [3Pl Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv]
 B: ‘Or else, for what (reason) do they come?’
 [overlaps with other speaker; ‘for what (reason)?’ (§13.2.3.2.3)]

- (01:11) [ē tǎ-ré— tǎ-ré jǎ-rē] à-mā,
 [Art hole-Pl— hole-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc,
 parce que [ē tǎʔǎ jī] à-mā,
 because [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
 A: ‘(Because) some holes (=caves) are there. Because there is a place there.’
 [jǎ-rē inanimate plural indefinite (§4.4.2.3)]

(01:15) ó yí?ē-ŋiŋi [kā = à-ŋī = nì],
 1Pl get.up.Pfv [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj],
 [ē ná-dì-ò] bà?à,
 [Art old.person-Pl] chez,
 A: ‘We arose (=were born) and found (=inherited) it, among the old people.’
 [*i.e.* ‘it was there before we were born’; < /kō (b)à-ŋī/]

(01:19) ē dù?ù— ē dù?ù— ē dù?ù— [[ē dù?ù] pɔ] nī,
 (hesitations) [[Art cliffs] leg] Loc,
 ē dù?ù— [ē t̃-ré] à-mā,
 Art cliffs— [Art hole-Pl] be.Loc,
 A: ‘At the foot of the cliffs, there are caves.’

(01:25) [à f̃rāⁿ = āⁿ kò,
 [3Inan too] Ipv be.good.Ipv,
 [ē kě jì] [ó-bé bà?à] [[Ø úⁿ] nī],
 [Art matter Indef] [1Pl chez] [[Art village] Loc],
 A: ‘That too is helpful, a matter among all of us in the village.’
 [*<* /f̃rāⁿ à kò/; kò stative predicate (§9.4); 1Pl ó-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

(01:31) à f̃rāⁿ, à = Ø kò, [ē kě jì],
 3Inan too, 3Inan Ipv be.good.Ipv, [Art matter Indef],
 [ē kě t̃-t̃?ù] bà?à,
 [Art matter big] Dat,
 [ē kē t̃-t̃?ù—] [ē t̃?ò—]
 [Art matter big—] [Art place—]
 A: ‘That too, it is useful (for) something, (for) an important matter, for an important matter—,’
 [t̃-t̃?ù (§4.5.3.2.2)]

(01:37) [bèⁿ-kò j̃-rò f̃rāⁿ =] Ø-mā
 [animal.Pl Indef-AnPl too] be.Loc
 wálâ→
 right!
 [bèⁿ-kò j̃-ró] à-mā mā, [ā t̃?ò] nī,
 [animal.Pl Rel-AnPl] be.Loc there.Def, [3Inan place] Loc,
 A: ‘Some wild animals are there too.’
 B: ‘Right!’
 A: ‘The wild animals that are there, in its (=that) place.’
 [*cf.* singular bèⁿ-kà ‘wild animal’]

- (01:41) à= Ø kò? = [ō màkó],
 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv [3Pl need(n)],
 à= Ø kò? = [ō kě],
 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv [3Pl matter],
 è úⁿ— è úⁿ— [[è úⁿ-bíó] bà?à],
 (hesitations) [[Art village-people] Dat]
 A: ‘It’s good for their needs, it’s good for their affairs, for the villagers.’
 [kò?ò ‘be good for, benefit (sb, sth)’]

- (01:47) à= Ø kò [ō kě],
 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv [3Pl matter],
 [è úⁿ-jàmnà bíé] bà?à,
 [Art village-country all] Dat,
parce que, [ē tò?ò jī] à-mā,
 because, [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
 A: ‘It’s helpful for the whole country. Because, there is a place.’
 [< /úⁿ-jàmnà bíé/; Jula jàmàná ‘nation, country’]

- (01:55) [è→ ná-bí-ó] de(ssin)— úⁿ-jíéⁿ à-mā [à nī]
 [Art person-PI] pain(ting)— head-soul] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 [[è ná-bí-ó] íⁿ-jíéⁿ à-mā [à nī]
 [[Art people] head-soul] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 íⁿ-jíéⁿ à-mā [[Ø tò?ò] nī],
 head-soul be.Loc [[Art place] Loc],
 A: ‘There are human images there.’
 B: ‘There are human images there.’
 A: ‘There are images in the place.’
 [speaker starts to say French *dessin* but quickly repairs with a Tief-D word;
 dialectal pronunciations of ‘picture, figure, image’ are úⁿ-jíéⁿ, íⁿ-jíéⁿ, and íⁿ-jíⁿ (for
 the latter see @ 02:03 below)]

- (02:01) ō jè?è-jè?è-té =ní kè
 3Pl Rdp-write.Pfv-put.in.Base 3InanObj Q
 wálà→ à jì?è-jì?è-té mā
 right! 3Inan Rdp-write.Pfv-put.in.Base there.Def
 B: ‘They wrote (=engraved) it!’
 A: ‘Right. It was written down there.’
 [kè (§19.4.5)]

- (02:03) kō— kō klè =ní [ká= [Ø dessin]]
 Infin— Infin do.Base 3InanObj [like [Art picture]]
 wálà→ nó dè [è ná-bí-ó íⁿ-jíⁿ], è ná-bí-ó íⁿ-jíⁿ
 right! 1Sg say.Pfv [Art people head-soul], Art people head-soul
 B: ‘(They) did it in the form of pictures.’
 A: ‘Right! I said, pictures of people, pictures of people.’

- (02:06) è ná-bíó íⁿ-fíéⁿ
 Art people head-soul]
 wálà→
 right!
 kà= [[Ø pō?ō-kà] íⁿ-fíéⁿ
 Art [[people the.bush-creature.Pl] head-soul]
 wálà→, [à pō-kà]
 right!, [3Inan the.bush-creature.Pl]
 B: ‘Pictures of people?’
 A: ‘Right!’
 B: ‘And pictures of wild animals.’
 A: ‘Right! Its wild animals.’
 [B attempts to correct A’s pronunciation of ‘head-soul’ = ‘picture’; singular
 pō?ō-kà ~ pō-kà ‘wild animal, animal of the bush’]

- (02:13) [kō jò-ró díⁿ bí=] à-mā
 [creature.Pl Rel-AnPl sort all] be.Loc
 [díⁿ bí=] à-mā, dúrná— [è dúrná — dúrná] ní,
 [sort all] be.Loc, world— [Art world— world] Loc,
 A: ‘Every kind of animal that there is.’
 B: ‘Every kind is there, (every kind) in the world.’
 [< /bíé à-mā/]

- (02:17) [ò bíé]—, [ò bíé] à-mā
 [3Pl all]—, [3Pl all] be.Loc
 [ò bíé] à-mā [à ní],
 [3Pl all] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 [[ò bíé] íⁿ-fíéⁿ] à-mā [à ní]
 [[3Pl all] head-soul] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 [[ò bíé] íⁿ-fíéⁿ] à-mā [à ní]
 [[3Pl all] head-soul] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 B: ‘All of them are present.’
 A: ‘All of them are present there. Pictures of all of them are present there.’
 B: ‘Pictures of all of them are present there.’

- (02:21) [bè té] já, [è ná-dì-ò] tâ— tá má—
 [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] letPfv, [Art old.man-Pl] Past— Past IpfvNeg—
 [è ná-dì-ò] tá má sū?ū—
 [Art old.man-Pl Past IpfvNeg give.Ipfv—
 ká á sū? = [ā klò?ó] = dē?,
 Past PfvNeg give.Ipfv [3Inan road] Emph,
 A: ‘That’s why the old men would not— the old men did not use to give—, had
 not given permission.’
 [bè té já (§8.1.3); < /ká á sū?/; ‘give road’ = ‘authorize, give permission’]

- (02:25) ò k̄ā= à-láblà
 3Pl Infin come.Base-authorize.Base
 [d= ò kò nú =nì],
 [Quot 3Pl Hort look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj],
 A: ‘Then they (=old men) came and authorized it, that they (=visitors) see it.’
 [< Jula lá-blà ‘cause to put’; ‘authorize/instruct’ with imperfective hortative
 complement clause (§17.4.3.2)]

- (02:28) donc [[bè t̄òʔò] nī]
 so [[Dem.Def place] Loc]
 [ē nà-bí-ó bíé] tá má dàⁿ mā =?
 [Art people all] Past IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv there.Def Neg
 [è ná-bí-ó bíé] tá má dàⁿ mā =?
 [Art people all] Past IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv there.Def Neg
 B: ‘So, in that place, not everyone used to arrive there.’
 A: ‘Not everyone used to arrive there.’
 [negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); nà-bí-ó (Ma) and ná-bí-ó (Ji) are dialectal
 variants]

- (02:31) é→ jǎ→ ā klè, à tá—,
 ah lo! 3Inan be.done.Pfv, 3Inan Past—,
 [ē t̄òʔò— [ē t̄òʔò jírámá èrē]
 Art place— [Art place excellent even]
 B: ‘Lo, it happened. It was—, an excellent place.’
 [Jula jírámá ‘very good’]

- (02:35) [è ná-bí-ó bíé] tá má dàⁿ mā =?
 [Art people all] Past IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv there.Def Neg
 [t̄òʔò j̄èr̄ʔ], bà kō bè-kā,
 [place Rel], if be thus
 [ā t̄òʔ=] ā kò,
 [3Inan place] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
 A: ‘Not everyone used to arrive there.’
 B: ‘A place that—, if (it) is like that, that place is good.’

- (02:40) donc, comme ó gà-bàʔà,
 so, as 1Pl want.it,
 ò ḡā= à-nī =nì,
 3Pl Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘So, as we want them to come and see it.’
 [kà-bàʔà ‘want’ (§11.2.5.2.1, §17.4.3.1)]

- (02:44) [ē kě jī],
 [Art matter Indef],
 wálà→
 right!
 [ē kě jī] à mà wáʔá-tòⁿ,
 [Art matter Indef] 3Inan if be.shut.Base,
 Ø mà [wáʔá-tòⁿ]-dórá = nì
 2Sg if [shut.Base]-do.a.lot 3InanObj
 A: ‘A thing.
 B: ‘Right!’
 A: ‘A thing, if it is closed off, if you close it quite off,’
 [kě ‘thing (abstract), matter’; -dórá (§15.1.2.1.2)]
- (02:48) ñ bà wáʔá-tòⁿ, mó wēʔē-tòⁿ, [mó miāʔá tōʔó] lè,
 2Sg if be.shut.Base, 2Sg shut.Pfv, [2Sg Refl Foc] Emph,
 B: ‘If (it) is shut, you have shut yourself [focus] out.’
 [lè (§19.4.2)]
- (02:51) [mó úⁿ té] = à, mó wīʔē-tòⁿ [mó míʔá]
 [2Sg village Foc.Inan] it.is, 2Sg shut.Pfv [2Sg Refl]
 A: ‘It’s your-Sg village [focus]. You have shut yourself out.’
- (02:54) [è wúⁿ fǒráⁿ] wēʔē-tòⁿ
 [Art village too] be.shut.Pfv
 wálà→
 right!
 B: ‘The village too is shut out.’
 A: ‘Right!’
- (02:57) [bè té] já, [[ó ná-dì-ò]
 [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv, [[1Pl old.man-Pl]
 kò náʔá= [Ø jū] [kò jó = nì]
 Infin become.red.Base [Art eye(s)] [Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj]]
 [é-yùò bí-fīō] [è bí-fīō] kò jó = nì
 [1Pl children] [Art children] Infin look.at.Base 3InanObj
 wálà→
 right!
 A: ‘That’s why our old men insisted on seeing it (=grotto). Our children (=young people), the children saw it.’
 B: ‘Right!’

- (03:01) *kō tārāⁿ, kò yíŋí = [[Ø ná-dì-ò] bàʔà],*
 Infin sit.Base, Infin go [[Art old.man.Pl] chez]
kō nèʔè [ā klòʔó] [ō bàʔà],
 Infin ask.for [3Inan road] [3Pl Dat],
 A: ‘(The young people) sat, and went to the elders, to ask permission for it from them.’

- (03:06) *[ē t̄ò-ré j̄ò-rē] à-mā fāⁿʔāⁿ*
 [Art hole-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc here
wáŋá→
 right!
á, ó dè = [é à jūʔ = [ā kě]]
 ah!, 1Pl say.Pfv [1Pl Ipfv hear.Ipfv [3Inan matter]]
 A: ‘There are holes (=caves) here, ...’
 B: ‘Right!’
 A: ‘... we said that we hear about it (=them).’
[ā kě ‘about it’, cf. §8.4]

- (03:14) *est-ce que ò nà fūʔʔ-p̄ʔ = [Ø klòʔó] = ò*
 Q 3Pl Fut give.Base-be.able.Base [Art road] Q
è ná-bì-ò—,
 Art person-Pl,
[è [ná-bì-ò]-[íⁿ-íⁿíⁿ] j̄òr̄ʔ =] Ø-mā [à nī]
 [Art [person-Pl]-[head-soul] Rel] be.Loc [3Inan Loc]
 B: ‘Could they give (us) permission (to go there)? The human figures that are in it.’
 A: ‘The humans— the human figures that are in it.’
[two speakers overlap here, some parts unintelligible; < /j̄òr̄ʔ à-mā/]

- (03:19) *est-ce que ò nà fūʔʔ-p̄ʔ = [Ø klòʔó]*
 Q 3Pl Fut give.Base-be.able.Base [Art road]
[[è ná-bí-ó bíé] kò jú = nì]
 [[Art person.Pl all] Hort look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj]
 B: ‘Will they be able to give permission for everyone to look at it?’
[for syntax see @ 02:25 above]

- (03:22) *[è ná-bí-ó bíé] kò jú = nì, jàⁿgó, peut-être,*
 [Art person-Pl all] Hort look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj], so.that, maybe,
à = Ø bē [à nà sūʔ = [òⁿ é]]—
 3Inan Ipfv come.Ipfv [3Inan Fut give.Base [Dat 1Pl]]—
 A: ‘For everyone to look at it. So that, maybe, it comes and it will give us—.’
[< peut-être pronounced [p̄èéti]]

- (03:26) [à— à nà fũ? = [ɔ̃ⁿ é]—
 [3Inan— 3Inan Fut give.Base [Dat 1Pl]—
 [è bú-ní jī]
 [Art get.Base-VblN Indef]
 [ē [ùⁿ-kō]-dàⁿ?àⁿ] ē—
 [Art [forehead]-good] Art—
 B: ‘It will give us—’
 A: ‘Some profit.’
 B: ‘Good luck (for) the—.’
 [‘good luck’ expressed as ‘good forehead’]

- (03:29) è úⁿ
 Art village
 è wúⁿ, ò gō yí?í [ānà?à nī]
 Art village, 3Pl Infin go.Base [face Loc]
 ò gò yí?í [ānà?à nī]
 3Pl Infin go.Base [face Loc]
 A: ‘The village.’
 B: ‘The village, for them to go forward.’
 A: ‘For them to go forward.’
 [úⁿ (Ji) and wúⁿ (Fl) are dialect variants (§3.1.1.2)]

- (03:33) [ē kā sèⁿ-sē-réⁿ-ní] à fā = ní
 [Art creature Rdp-red-P1-P1] Ipfv seek.Ipfv 3InanObj

wá!à→
 right!

B: ‘The white people seek it.’
 A: ‘Right!’

[singular kā [ɛ̃ⁿ-fēⁿ?éⁿ ‘red (i.e. white) person’, plural kā sèⁿ-sē-réⁿ(-ní) in Fl pronunciation (§4.5.3.2.1) with systematic [s] alternation (§3.2.1.2)]

- (03:35) a— a— a— a— a— ā kě—
 (hesitations)
 à Ø-mā [[[Ø kě tū-tū?ù] ānà?à té] nī]
 3Inan be.Loc [[[Art matter big] face Foc.Inan] Loc]
 B: ‘It is at the front of a big thing.’

- (03:40) [bè té] já,
 [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv,
 ó gò— ó gō jī gō fā
 (hesitation) 1Pl Infin see.Base Infin seek.Base
 [é-yùò bí-ʃīō] [kō fāmù [ó díngè-rò]],
 [1Pl child.Pl] [Infin understand.Base [PIRefl Recip]],
 A: ‘For that reason, we have seen (or rather) have sought that we young people understand (=get along with) each other.’
 [gō fā seems to be a correction for gō jī ; é-yùò bí-ʃīō here means ‘we children/young people’ (appositional), elsewhere it can also mean ‘our children’; fāmù < Jula (< Arabic)]

- (03:45) kò yíʔi= [[Ø ná-dì-ò] [[è úⁿ-dìⁿ] bàʔà],
 Infin go.Base [[Art old.man-Pl] [[Art village-chief] chez],
 wálà→
 right!
 kō nèʔè [ā klòʔó],
 Infin ask.for.Base [3Inan road],
 A: ‘(They) went to the old men, to the village chief.’
 B: ‘Right!’
 A: ‘To ask permission of (=for) it.’

- (03:48) [è úⁿ-dìⁿ fǒráⁿ]
 [Art village.chief too]
 kò ká-lí [ǰⁿ ʃīē-yùò],
 Infin do.again.Base-call.Base [3AnSgRefl behind-people]
 wálà→
 right!
 A: ‘The chief in turn recalled (=summoned) his subordinates.’
 B: ‘Right!’
 [ká- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.2)]

- (03:52) kò yíʔ= ā— kò yíʔ= [ā klòʔó],
 (hesitation) Infin go.Base [3Inan road],
 [ò kā= à-sūʔ̄] [Ø klòʔó],
 [3Pl Infin come.Base-give.Base [Art road],
 A: ‘They (=young people) went on the road (=were authorized). They (=elders) came and gave permission.’

- (03:55) ō sūʔ̄ [Ø klòʔó],
 Infin give.Base [Art road],
 ō sūʔ̄ [Ø klòʔó] dè bon,
 Infin give.Base [Art road] Quot okay,
 A: ‘(They) gave permission. They gave permission, saying “okay.”’

- (03:58) *mais*, [[*ē* *tàʔð* *jàrɔ̃ⁿ*] *ʃiʔ=* [*ā* *klòʔó*]
 but, [[Art place Rel] be.given.Pfv [3InaSg road]
ō *ʃūʔɔ̃* [*∅* *klòʔó*]
 Infin give.Base [Art road]
 [*à* *bíé*] *má* *glò* =?
 [3Inan all] IpfvNeg it.is Neg
d= [*ò* *bíé*] *kò* *bē* =*ā*
 Quot [3Pl all] Hort come.Ipfv Q
 A: ‘But, the place that permission was given (for), ...’
 B (overlapping): ‘Did (they) give permission ...’
 A (overlapping): ‘..., it isn’t all of it (the whole zone).’
 B: ‘... for everyone to come?’
 [*< /ē* *tàʔð* *ò* *jɔ̃ⁿ*; *ʃiʔé* ‘manner’ (§8.5.1.3); negation scopes over ‘all’ (§6.6.3); *kò*
bē hortative plus imperfective (§17.1.6.3)]

- (04:02) *ō* *ʃiʔɛ=* [*∅* *klòʔó*], [*ē* *tàʔð* *dámá* *té*] *nī*
 3Pl give.Pfv [Art road], [Art place a.few Foc.Inan] Loc
 A: ‘They gave permission for (just) a few places [focus].’
 [*dámá* (§8.5.2.2.4)]

- (04:04) [*ē* *tàʔð* *mlɛ̃ⁿ*—
 (hesitation)
 [*ē* *tàʔð* *mlɛ̃ⁿ* *té*] *ò* *ʃiʔɛ=* [*∅* *klòʔó*]
 [Art place how.many? Foc.Inan] 3Pl give.Pfv [Art road]
 A: ‘How many places did they give (permission for)?’
 [*fronted focalized content interrogative*]

- (04:05) [*ē* *tàʔð* *dámá* *té*] *nī*,
 [Art place a.few Foc.Inan] Loc,
 [*ē* *tàʔð* *dámá* *té*]
 [Art place a.few Foc.Inan]
ó =*ò* *nū=* [[*∅* *tàʔð*] [*∅* *jɔ̃ⁿ*]] *pour le moment*,
 1Pl Hort look.at.Ipfv [[Art place] [Pl two]] for the time being
 A: ‘In just a few places. Just a few places, (they authorized) us to look at two
 places for the time being.’
 [*(k)ò* plus imperfective complement]

- (04:09) [[*ē* *nūɔ̃ⁿ-təʔð*] [*∅* *jɔ̃ⁿ*]]
 [[Art look.Nom-place] [Pl two]]
wála→, *ǒ=* *∅* *sūʔɔ̃* [*∅* *klòʔó*] [[*à* *bíé*] *nī*],
 right!, 3Pl PfvNeg give.Base [Art road] [[3Inan all] Loc],
 B: ‘Two places to look at.’
 A: ‘Right!. They didn’t give permission for all of it (=zone).’

- (04:12) *parce que* [ē tǝǝ jī] à-mā,
 because [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
 [à bíé] má— [ē tǝǝ jī] à-mā,
 [3Inan all] IpfvNeg— [Art place Indef] be.Loc,
 A: ‘Because there is a place (there), not all of it is—. There is a place (there).’

- (04:17) [à má káⁿ]
 [3Inan IpfvNeg be.pleasing]
 [[é-bé tǝǝ jī] à-mā] [bùò dēǝ-tǝǝ =] = à,
 [[1Pl-all place Indef] be.Loc] [3Pl hide.Pfv-place] it.is,
 A: ‘It (=the place) isn’t good (=safe). There is a place of us all. It’s their secret place.’
[i.e. it is a secret-sacred place; é-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

- (04:19) [à má káⁿ—]
 [3Inan IpfvNeg be.pleasing—]
 [è yúó] má káⁿ [kō dàⁿ [bè tǝǝ]]
 [Art people] IpfvNeg good [Infin arrive.Base [Dem.Def place]]
 A: ‘It isn’t safe. The people aren’t safe arriving at that place.’

- (04:22) [ō dè bè-kà-tó lè] dē [bè dēǝ-tǝǝ] bē,
 [3Pl say.Pfv thus-Foc Emph] Quot [Dem.Def hide.Pfv-place] Dem.Def,
 d= ó mâ lò bè [ǝⁿ [Ø yúó]],
 Quot 1Pl Proh show.Base Dem.Def [Dat [Art people]],
 B: ‘That’s what they said. (They said) that’s the secret place. (They said) for us not to show that to people.’
[quoted prohibitive (§17.1.6.2); ditransitive ‘show’ with ǝⁿ dative (§8.1.2, §11.1.2.5)]

- (04:27) *donc,* álè bùò lè [tǝǝ = á jèrǝⁿ]
 so, even LogoPl show.Pfv [place Dem.InanSg Rel]
 A: ‘So, (they said:) “even that place which we showed (you)—” ’
[relative clause with determiner preceding relative marker]

- (04:29) [ē kā sɛ̃ⁿ-sā-rɛ̃ⁿ fɔ́ráⁿ]
 [Art creature Rdp-red-Pl too]
 dē bùò =rē, má kà-bà?à
 say.Pfv LogoPl even, IpfvNeg want.it
 [ò kò lɔ̃= [[Ø tɔ̃?ò jàrɔ̃ⁿ] má káⁿ]
 [3Pl Hort show.Base [[Art place Rel] IpfvNeg be.right]
 [kō lò [ɔ̃ⁿ bùò]]]
 [Hort show.Base [Dat LogoPl]]]
 wálà→
 right!

B: 'The red (=white) people too say that even they don't want them to show a place that it isn't right to show them.'

A: 'Right!'

[speaker restarts the subordinated clause with kò lò, but without the direct object; kán 'right, appropriate' < Jula]

- (04:35) ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
 [bè té] já,
 [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv,
 [bè tɪ? = á jàrɔ̃ⁿ] lè,
 [Dem.Def hole Dem.InanSg Rel] be.shown.Pfv,

B: 'It happened like that.'

A: 'That's why, (there was) that hole (=cave) that was shown.'

- (04:38) [bè tó?ó] ó — ó kō [[bè tó?ó] [n dɛ̃ⁿ?ɛ̃ⁿ]]
 [Dem.Def Foc] 1Pl— 1Pl be [[Dem.Def Foc] [Sg one]]
 [ē nā-fō] mà glú tɔ̃?ò-tɔ̃?ò,
 [Art visitor.Pl] if exit.Base Rdp-place,
 A: 'That (is why)—, we are (on) (just) that one (grotto). If visitors show up in various places,'
 [distributive iteration tɔ̃?ò-tɔ̃?ò]

- (04:42) [ē túbàbù-ná=] à bē, [è ná-bí-ó jè-ró]—
 [Art white.person Ipfv come.Ipfv, [Art person.Pl Rel.AnPl—
 é-yùò jèrô= Ø-mā [è búrkíná] fɔ́ráⁿ,
 1Pl Rel.AnPl be.Loc [Art B] too,
 A: 'White people come. The people who—, we who are in Burkina too.'
 [< /túbàbù-ní à/]

- (04:47) [ò bí=] à bē,
 [3Pl all] Ipfv come.Ipfv,
 kō tà-à-ńú =nì,
 Infin go.Ipfv-Ipfv-look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj,
 A: 'They all come to go and look at it.'
 [< /ò bíé/ ; kò tà-à-Vb2 imperfective infinitival 'go (and ...)' (§15.2.3.3.3)]

- (04:49) ò kō bà-jī = nì,
 3Pl Infin come.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj,
 dè í→ dā= à= Ø kò,
 Quot oh! Quot 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
 dā= à= Ø kò,
 Quot 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
donc maintenant—
 so now—
 A: ‘They come and see it, and say “oh my, it is nice! It is nice!” So now—’
 [< /dè à à kò/]

- (04:53) d= ò sūʔú-gōrēⁿ = nì
 Quot 3Pl catch.Base-do.well.Base 3InanObj
 d= ò sūʔú-gōrēⁿ = nì
 Quot 3Pl catch.Base-do.well.Base 3InanObj
 [kā jì] mâ—
 [creature Indef] Proh—
 kè-klē = nì
 ruin(v).Base 3InanObj
 B: ‘(They) tell them to take good care of (=preserve) it.’
 A: ‘(They) tell them to take good care of it.’
 B: ‘Nobody must—’
 A: ‘Spoil it.’
 [much speaker overlap in this segment; -gōrēⁿ (§15.1.2.1.1); kā jì ‘any creature (human or animal)’]

- (04:58) ò mā jā= [Ø bí-fīō]
 3Pl Proh leave.Base [Art child.Pl]
 [ò gò-kèʔè [ā tòʔò]]
 [Hort hit.Base-ruin.Base [3Inan place]],
 B: ‘They mustn’t let the young people damage its (=that) place.’
 [já with hortative complement (§17.1.8)]

- (04:59) jí-má-bè [ē tèt-ré bè],
 otherwise [Art hole-Pl Top.Inan],
 [ē tèt-ré] ā kēⁿ mā,
 [Art hole-Pl] Ipfv be.many.Ipfv there.Def,
 A: ‘Otherwise, concerning caves, caves are abundant there.’
 [‘otherwise’ (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); bè as topic morpheme (§19.1.2.1)]

- (05:03) álè= [Ø blō =rē=] Ø-mā, ē blō—,
 even [Art rain(n) even] be.Loc, Art rain(n)—,
 [ē blō] bà tōⁿ = mì,
 [Art rain(n)] if surprise.Base 2SgObj,
 A: ‘Even if rain is there, (when) the rain—, when the rain takes you by surprise,’
 [< /ē blō =rē à-mā/; 2Sg object = mì (§4.3.1.3)]

- (05:07) *mó nà á-dīē* [[[Ø tǝʔǝ jǐ] nǐ],
 2Sg Fut go.Base-enter.Base [[Art place Indef] Loc],
 A: ‘You will go into a (certain) place!’
 [*nà á-* (§10.2.3.2), cf. @ 05:10 below]
- (05:08) *jǎ→ ā klè* [*kā=* [Ø wùʔù tɛ dè]
 lo! 3Inan be.done.Pfv [like [Art house Foc.Inan Emph]
 B: ‘Lo, it (=cave) has become just like a (real) house [Foc].’
- (05:10) *má= à dīē* [tǝʔǝ jǝrɔʔ]
 2Sg Ipfv enter.Ipfv [place Rel]
 [*ē blō =rè*] *má dàⁿ* [*mó nǐ*]
 [Art rain(n) even] IpfvNeg arrive.Base/Ipfv [2Sg Loc]
mā-nǐ
 if.you.see
 A: ‘(In) the place where you go in, the rain doesn’t reach you.’
 B: ‘You see?’
 [< /*mó à dīē*/; < /*ē blō =rē má*/; *mā-nǐ* (§19.5.2)]
- (05:13) *mó nà—*
 2Sg Fut—
 [*ē blò*] *má dàⁿ* [*mó nǐ*]
 [Art rain(n)] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [2Sg Loc]
 A: ‘You will—. The rain doesn’t reach you.’
- (05:14) non, *á* [*ē dùʔù-[tǝ-rè]*],
 no, ah! [Art cliffs-[hole-Pl]],
à kō, à kō [Ø *kě*]—
 3Inan be, 3Inan be [Art matter]—
 B: ‘No, ah! A grotto, it is, it is an (important) thing—’
- (05:17) *má= à sǝⁿ,* *má= à sǝⁿ,*
 2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv, 2Sg Ipfv work.Ipfv,
 [[*ē yǎ*] [*kā=* [Ø *yà bíé*] *mā*]
 [[Art year] and [Art year all]] there.Def]
 A: ‘You (can) work, you (can) work year after year there,’
 [< /*mó à*/; “year with year” (§7.2.4); < /*kà yǎ bíé*/]

- (05:20) [mó à yííí [kà [mó dí-[è-rè] bíé]] mā]
 [2Sg Ipfv go.Ipfv [with [2Sg food-Pl all]] there.Def]
 [k= ó-tóⁿ mā] ē—
 [Infin go.Base-cook.millet there.Def] Art—
 [ē blō =rè] má dàⁿ [mó nī]
 [Art rain(n) even] IpfvNeg arrive.Ipfv [2Sg Loc]

A: 'You go there with all your foodstuffs, and go cook (millet cakes) there. The rain doesn't reach you.'

[k= ó- (§15.2.3.3.1); < /ē blō =rē má/]

- (05:23) bè yíé dè, [ē sēⁿ-wù?ù té] =à glò
 Dem.Def name say.Pfv, [Art lie.down.Pfv-house Foc.Inan] it.is it.is
 B: 'The name of that says (=means), a sleeping house [focus] is what it is.'
 [=à glò 'it is' after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5)]

- (05:26) donc, mā-nī [dù? = á],
 so, if.you.see [cliff(s) Dem.InanSg]
 à kō [Ø kè] [é-yùò bà?à]
 3Inan be [Art matter] [1Pl chez]

A: 'So, you see, those cliffs, they are an (important) thing in our zone.'

[< /dù?ù (y)á/; < /ē kè é-yùò/]

- (05:28) [ē kě tù-tù?ù jírá má] =à =dē?
 [Art thing big extremely] it.is Emph
 [bè tó?ó dù?ù klè, [ē kě jī],
 [Dem.Def Foc cliff(s) be.done.Pfv, [Art thing Indef],

B: 'It's a big thing.'

A: 'Those very cliffs have become an (important) thing.'

[Jula jírá má 'good thing']

- (05:36) ē— [ē mlàⁿ? =] =áⁿ—,
 Art [Art war] PfvNeg—,
 [ē mlàⁿ? =] =áⁿ dīē-pōⁿ =?, [é-bé bà?à],
 [Art war] PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base Neg, [1Pl chez],

A: 'War (=a war party) wasn't able to get in, among us.'

[< /mlàⁿ?áⁿ á/; -pōⁿ 'be able to' (§15.1.7.1); é-bé (§4.3.1.5)]

- (05:39) [ē dù?ù =rē] klè, [é garde-corps]
 [Art cliff(s) even] be.done.Pfv, [1Pl bodyguard]

wálà→

right!

B: 'The cliffs became our protector.'

A: 'Right!'

- (05:43) garde-corps [[ē nàsàrá-fē] nī]
bodyguard [[Art white.person-language] Loc]

wálà→

right!

B: ‘“Garde-corps” (is) in French language.’

A: ‘Right!’

- (05:45) dè [yúó jàró], ðⁿ= Ø tðⁿ—
Quot [person Rel], 3AnSg Ipfv block—

ðⁿ= Ø tðⁿklá= [Ø kě]
3AnSg Ipfv block.Ipfv [Art matter]

[yúó jàró] à tðⁿ-klá= [Ø kě]
[person Rel] Ipfv prevent [Art matter]

wálà→

right!

B: ‘(That means) a person who—, he/she blocks thing(s).’

A: ‘A person who blocks thing(s).’

B: ‘Right!’

[speakers try to paraphrase ‘bodyguard’ in Tiefo-D; tðⁿklá < Jula]

- (05:49) [ē dù?ù fàráⁿ] à jĩⁿ,
[Art cliff(s) too] Ipfv work.Ipfv,
à= Ø klě= [Ø kē-sùⁿ?ðⁿ] [é-yùò bà?à]
3Inan Ipfv do.Ipfv [Art work(n)] [1Pl chez]

A: ‘The cliffs too work, they do work in our zone.’

- (05:52) [ē dù?ù =rē], klè é-yùò—
[Art cliffs even], do.Pfv 1Pl—
[ē sē— dé— dé— dé-lēⁿ?ēⁿ jì] má glò =ā
[Art father— (hesitation) health Indef] IpfvNeg it.is Q

B: ‘The cliffs have made us—’

A: ‘Is it not the fatherland’s prosperity?’

[cut off from sē-lē ‘father-household’ = ‘fatherland’; ‘(good) health’ with extended sense ‘good times, prosperity’]

- (05:58) [é-yùò [dé-lēⁿ?ēⁿ]-tð?ð] té] =à
[1Pl [health]-place Foc.Inan] it.is

[è bú-ní jì] má glò =ā,
[Art get-VblN Indef] IpfvNeg it.is Q,

B: ‘It’s our prosperity place.’

A (overlapping): ‘Is it not a profit (=benefit)?’

- (06:00) [è úⁿ]— [è úⁿ] mà wè-yáʔá,
 [Art village]— [Art village] if be.squeezed.Base
 [Ø mà yíʔí [[ā t̩ʔ̩] nī],
 [2Sg if go.Base [[3Inan place] Loc],
 A: ‘If there is a problem in the village, if you go to that place,’
- (06:04) Ø mā— ñ dàⁿ mā,
 2Sg if— (nasal) arrive.Base there.Def,
 [ē blāʔā]— *parce que* [ē nù] má dó-à-dū mā,
 [Art pond]— because [Art water] IpfvNeg be.lacking.Ipfv there.Def,
 A: ‘If you—arrive there, the pond—, because water is not (ever) lacking.’
 [*< /ñ mā dàⁿ/ (smoothed out); < /ē nū má/; dó-à-dū (§10.1.6.3)*]
- (06:10) [[ē nū jī] à-mā]
 [[Art water Indef] be.Loc
 [ē nū-kě] bā =à glò,
 [Art water-matter] if it.is it.is,
 [ē nū-kě] Ø mà yíʔí bā dàⁿ mā dór̩ⁿ
 [Art water-matter] 2Sg if go.Base if arrive.Base there.Def only
 A: ‘There is water (there).’
 B: ‘If it’s a question of water, a question of water, if you just go and arrive there,’
 [=à glò ‘it is’ after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5); paired antecedent (‘if’) clauses (§16.1.1.1); dór̩ⁿ with final mid pitch (§19.2.1)]
- (06:14) à= Ø kò [mó màkó]
 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv [2Sg need(n)]
 [ē blō] à bē
 [Art rain(n)] Ipfv come.Ipfv
 à kò [mó màkó]
 3Inan be.good [2Sg need(n)]
 A: ‘It is good for (=satisfies) your need(s).’
 B: ‘The rain comes.’
 A: ‘It is good for (=satisfies) your need(s).’
 [màkó ‘need (n)’ < Jula]
- (06:17) [à dé] mà tíéⁿʔéⁿ
 [3Inan however] if be.warm.Base
 [ē kě ō kě] bā =à glò
 [Art matter or matter] if it.is it.is
 A: ‘If however it is hot (outside)—
 B: ‘If it’s whatever question [focus]—
 [dé ~ dó ‘however’; disjunction with ò (§7.2.3)]

- (06:20) [bè té] já, tɔ̀ʔ= á,
 [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv, place Dem.Inan,
 [[bè té] já=] [Ø ná-bí-ó] k-à bē,
 [[Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv] [Art person-Pl] Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv,
 A: ‘That being the case, that place, that’s what the people come for.’
 [*< /tɔ̀ʔð (y)á/; k-à in habitual imperfective sense*]
- (06:24) kō bà [Ø= à-nī =nì],
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj],
 kō bà [Ø= à-nī =nì],
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(They) come and see it. (They) come and see it.’
 [*bà [Ø à-Vb2] (§15.2.3.2.4)*]
- (06:26) kō mà jó =nì] mlěⁿ-ʃiʔé
 Infin if look.at.Base 3InanObj] like.that-manner
 bè kpè kósóbé?
 Dem.Def become.good.Pfv very.much
 A: ‘Then if (they) look at it—’
 B: ‘It has become excellent!’
 [*kō mà (§16.1.1.9); mlěⁿ-ʃiʔé (§8.5.5.1); kpè/kò/kò ‘be(come) good’; kósóbé? (§8.5.2.1.2)*]
- (06:30) é→ [è moyens] Ø-mā [[Ø jō-rō] bàʔà], *parce que*,
 oh! [Art means(n)] be.Loc [[Art Indef-AnPl] Dat], because,
comme [ē tɔ̀ʔ=] á gōrēⁿ,
 as [Art place] PfvNeg be.fixed.Base,
 A: ‘Oh! Some (people) have the means (=resources). Because, as the place has not been maintained,’
 [*Tiefo-D è bú-ní ‘profit, gain(s)’ can replace the French word*]
- (06:34) ē klòʔó— [ē klòʔò jórámá] ní-mā [[Ø tɔ̀ʔð] nī],
 Art road— [Art road good] not.be.Loc [[Art place] Loc],
bon, jí— jó= ò mà jó =nì mlěⁿ-ʃiʔé,
 well, if— if 3Pl if look.at.Base 3InanObj like.that-manner,
 A: ‘There’s no road—no really good road at the place. Well, if they look at it like that,’
 [*Jula jírámá*]

- (06:40) \bar{o} mà nī, á, [tòʔ = á] ā kò,
 3PI if see.Base, ah!, [place Dem.InanSg] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
 bùò nà klè-pⁿ jèrⁿ,
 3PI Fut do.Base-be.able.Base Rel,
 ò— ò kō klè bè,
 3PI— 3PI Infin do.Base Dem.Def,

A: ‘If they see (it), (they’ll say) “ah, this place is good!” Whatever they are able to do, they will do that.’

[*passage switches from quotation (logophoric subject) to external description*]

- (06:45) [álè bé] [[nó kàrⁿ] fâ-ní] à-mà [mó bàʔà],
 [even now] [[1Sg Top] look.for-VblN] be.Loc [2Sg chez],
 [ò jó kà = á-nèʔě = [Ø wānàʔà-yùò],
 [Imprt.PI Hort Hort go.Base-ask.Base [Art face-people],

A: ‘As of now, myself, I have a request for you. Let’s go request (it) from the authorities,’

[*álè bé, variant of álè bère ‘even now(adays)’*]

- (06:50) ò gò ká tàⁿ-jūʔ⁵ [Ø mié], ē→,
 3PI Hort Sbjn help(v).Base [Art 1PI], oh!,
 kã = [[Ø kã sèⁿ-sē-réⁿ jàró] à bè [ó bàʔà]],
 with [[Art creature Rdp-red-Pl Rel.AnPl] Ipfv come.Ipfv [1Pl chez]],

A: ‘May they help all of us! Along with the white people who come to our zone.’

[*subjunctive ká (§10.4.2.3.2, §17.6.2.6); mié (§4.3.1.4); ‘red (=white) people’ (§3.2.1.2, §4.5.3.2.1); < /à bē ó/*]

- (06:55) [ò kō tàⁿ-jūʔ⁵ [Ø mié] kò—
 [3PI Hort help.Base [Art 1PI] Hort—
 ñ klè reboisement [kō klè [[ā tòʔà] nī]]
 (nasal) do.Base reforestation [Hort do.Base [[3Inan place] Loc]]
 [kō sō [Ø sè-ríⁿ] mā],
 [Hort plant(v).Base [Art tree-Pl] there.Def],

A: ‘To help us, to do the reforestation, to do (it) in that place, to plant trees there.’

[*mié (§4.3.1.4); sè-ríⁿ plural of sⁿíⁿ ‘tree’ (§3.2.1.2)*]

- (07:01) donc [à tòʔà] kò lō = [Ø tòʔà jórámá],
 so [3Inan place] Hort turn.Base [Art place excellent],
 [ò kò dī-glō [Ø klòʔò-tūʔú]] [kò yíʔí mā],
 [3PI Hort take.out.Base [Art road-big]] [Hort go there.Def],

B: ‘So that place turns into a beautiful place, and (so) they bring out (=build) a main road to go there.’

[*tonally irregular compound, cf. klòʔó ‘road’ and postnominal tū-tūʔú ‘big’*]

- (07:05) *wálà→*, [[*nó kàròʳ*] *nèʔè-ní*] *à-mā* [*ō bàʔà*]
 right!, [[1Sg Top] ask-VblN] be.Loc [3Pl Dat]
 B: ‘Right! As for me, I have a request for them.’
 [*kàròʳ*] (§19.1.2.2; topical ‘as for me’ is syntactically the possessor of ‘request’)
- (07:07) *á*, *bon*, [*ē nèʔè-ní*] *kō* [*tòʔò jèròʳ*] *mô→*,
 ah, well, [Art ask-VblN] be [place Rel] concerning,
 [*bè nèʔè-ní*] *bon*,
 [Dem.Def ask-Vbl] well,
bè kō, [*ò bíé*], [*è ná-dì-ò*] *bàʔà*,
 Dem.Def be, [3Pl all], [Art old.man-Pl] chez,
 A: ‘Ah, well, concerning where (=to whom) the request is, that request, well, that is (for) everyone, for the old men.’
 [< /*jèròʳ* *mô→*/]
- (07:14) *jí* [*è ná-dì-ò*] *mà— ñ* *fíéʳéʳ—*
 if [Art old.man-Pl] if— (nasal) whiten.Base—
ñ fíéʳéʳ [*ò fíʔé—*] [*kò fíéʳéʳ*] [*ò líʳ*]
 (hesitation)— [Infin whiten.Base [PlRefl guts]]
 [[[*kō sūʔō =nì*] *sìná*] *ní*],
 [[[Infin give.Base 3InanObj] situation] Loc]],
 A: ‘If the old men whiten—, whiten their guts and give it thus.’
 [*middle portion not fully intelligible; “whiten guts” = “be honest”*]
- (07:19) [*ò bí=*] *ā* *nèʔè*
 [3Pl all] Ipfv ask.Pfv
ô= Ø fā =ñ [*Ø ná-dì-ò*],
 1Pl Ipfv seek.Ipfv 3InanObj [Art old.man-Pl],
 A: ‘Everyone makes requests. We want it (from) the old men.’
 [*alternatively phrased with final PP [Ø ná-dì-ò] bàʔà*]
- (07:21) *kò ká fíéʳéʳ-fíéʳ=* [*ò líʳ*],
 Hort Sbjn Rdp-whiten.Base [3Pl guts],
kò ká—, kō sèrò
 Hort Sbjn —, Hort proceed.to.Base
kò—, fíéʳéʳ =ñ [*ó-bé bàʔà*],
 Hort—, whiten.Base 3InanObj [1Pl-all chez]
 A: ‘May they whiten their guts again, and—, and may they proceed to whiten it (guts) among us.’
- (07:26) *kò ká nèʔè =nì* [[*Ø úʳ*] *ní*],
 Hort Sbjn ask.Base 3InanObj [[Art village] Loc],
 A: ‘And may they ask for it in the village.’

- (07:27) [è úⁿ] ò ká fíéⁿ? = [ò líⁿ],
 [Art village] Hort Sbjn whiten [3Pl guts],
 kò léⁿ [[ðⁿ lɛⁿ-tòʔò] ní],
 Hort stop.Base [[3AnSg stop.Pfv-place] Loc],
 jàⁿgó, [ē klòʔó] kò bú,
 in.order.that [Art road] Hort be.gotten.Base,
 A: ‘The village should whiten its guts, and should stand up in (=occupy) its
 (rightful) place, so that the road may be gotten.’

- (07:32) [ē klòʔó] mà bú [à ní],
 [Art road] if be.gotten.Base [3Inan Loc],
 à nà dáⁿ [ðⁿ [ò bíéʔ]],
 3Inan Fut please.Base [Dat [3Pl all]].
 A: ‘If the road is gotten therein (=thereby), it will please everybody.’

- (07:35) ní, [è úⁿ-bíó], [ò bíé] glò = [[Ø dáríⁿ] ní],
 see.Base, [Art village-children], [3Pl all] exit.Pfv [[Art dirtiness] Loc].
 [ò bíé] glò = [[Ø dáríⁿ] ní],
 [3Pl all] exit.Pfv [[Art dirtiness] Loc].
 A: ‘(You) see, the villagers, everyone will get out of squalor (=misery). Everyone
 will get out of squalor.’

- (07:39) já-á-m-bè [fàámá = rē jèrá =] à bē
 otherwise [authority even Rel.AnPl] Ipfv come.Ipfv
 [k = à-à-nú = nì],
 [Infin come.Ipfv-Ipfv-look.at.Ipfv 3InanObj],
 A: ‘Anyway, even the authorities who come and look at it,’
 [já-á-m-bè (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); fàámá < Jula; < /jèró à/; imperfective infinitival
 VP with doubled ‘come’ (§15.2.3.2.1)]

- (07:42) [ē jǝ-rō] dè [nó = nì],
 [Art Indef-AnPl] say.Pfv [look.at.Base 3InanObj],
 [dè = [ē jùʔé]— [dè = [ē jùʔé] mà sō],
 [Quot [Art God]— [Quot [Art God] if receive.Base],
 bùò nà sōⁿ [Ø kē-sùⁿ?ðⁿ j =] [à ní],
 LogoPl Fut work(v).Base [Art work(n) Indef] [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘Some of them have said, “Look, if God—if God accepts, we will do some
 work on it.”’

- (07:48) bùò nà sōⁿ [Ø kē-sùⁿ?ðⁿ jī],
 LogoPl Fut work(v).Base [Art work(n) Indef],
 bē kō [Ø kě kòʔò]
 Dem.Def be [Art thing good]
 A: ‘“We will do some work.”’
 B: ‘That is a good thing.’
 [kòʔò ‘good’ (postnominal) (§4.5.3.1.2)]

- (07:50) *bon, jèró bà [kà = à-ᵐó-ᵐó = nì],*
 well, Rel.AnPl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-Rdp-look.at.Base 3InanObj],
[ò kà̀rò̀] dè = [è fé dò̀],
 [3Pl Top] say.Pfv [Art talk(n) sweet],

A: ‘Well, those who came and looked intensively at it, as for them, they said pleasing words.’

[*kà̀rò̀* (§19.1.2.2); *dò̀* ‘sweet’ (postnominal) (§4.5.3.1.3)]

- (07:55) *[ó = lā =] à láⁿ-àⁿ-jí [ò yúó],*
 [1Pl even] Ipfv wait.for.Ipfv [3Pl people],
kà = à-dàⁿ kúⁿ?úⁿ, ò kò [lá-běⁿ nī],
 Infin come.Base-arrive.Base today, 3Pl be [prepare.Prog Prog],

A: ‘We are waiting for their people, to this day. They are getting ready (=organizing).’

[< *ó = rē à* ; *Jula lá-běⁿ ‘prepare, organize’*]

- (08:00) *ó-bé tiē, parce que*
 1Pl put.down.Pfv, because
[nā-fō jō-rō] mā dè [bù = à bē],
 [visitor.Pl Indef-AnPl] if say.Base [LogoPl Ipfv come.Ipfv],

A: ‘We have installed—, because if some visitors intend to come,’

- (08:03) *ò kō— ó nà té = [Ø è?é jī],*
 3Pl Infin 1Pl Fut put.down.Base [Art thing Indef],
alors [ò mà gō [bǎ nī]]
 then [3Pl if be [come.Prog Prog]]
ò gō mà jī [bè è?é],
 3Pl Infin if see.Base [Dem.Def thing],

A: ‘Then they—. We will then install a thing (a sign). So if they are coming, and if they then see that thing,’

[*kō mà* for sequential ‘if’ clause (§16.1.1.9)]

- (08:07) *bè tō?ó*
 Dem.Def Foc
ò = Ø lí dè, [ē lè-è?è] [ē lè-è?è]
 3Pl Ipfv call.Ipfv Quot, [Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] [Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]

B: ‘That [focus].’

A: ‘They call (it), a road sign—a road sign.’

[*lè-è?è* “lexicalized” inanimate participial (§4.2.3.2); the first occurrence here was slightly mispronounced, hence the repetition with correct pronunciation]

- (08:10) $\delta = \emptyset$ *lí* *dè* [*ē* *lè-è?è*]
 3Pl Ipfv call.Ipfv Quot [Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]
 [*ē* *lè-è?è*],
 [Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
 B: ‘They call it a road sign.’
 A: ‘A road sign.’
- (08:12) *ó nà—* *ò* *mà* *té* = *nì*,
 (hesitation)— 3Pl if put.down.Base 3InanObj,
 [*nā-fōⁿ* *jèrōⁿ*] *mà* *glú* *ē—ē—ē—* *wàgá*,
 [visitor.Pl Rel] if exit(v).Base (hesitation) Ouaga,
 A: ‘If they install it, if a visitor comes from Ouagadougou,’
- (08:18) *ǎⁿ* *mā* *dàⁿ* [\emptyset *bórúnà*],
 3AnSg if arrive.Base [Art B],
 [*dè* *bá=* *à* *bē*]
 [Quot LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]
 A: ‘When he/she reaches Bununa (village), intending to come (to Banfora),’
[Bounouna (French spelling), a village on the highway going south to Banfora;
< /dè bó à/]
- (08:20) *ǎⁿ* *mā* *dè* [*bó* *kò* *yíyí* *bàⁿfòrà* *comme ça*],
 3AnSg if say.Base [LogoSg Hort go.Ipfv B like.that],
ǎⁿ *mā* *dàⁿ* [\emptyset *bórúnà*],
 3AnSg if arrive.Base [Art B],
 A: ‘If he/she intends to go to Banfora like that, when he/she arrives in Bununa,’
- (08:23) *dè* *bá=* *à* *bē* [\emptyset *dèràmandùgú*],
 Quot LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv [Art D],
ǎⁿ *mà* *jī—* *ǎⁿ* *mà* *jī* [*bè* *plákí*],
 3AnSg if see.Base— 3AnSg if see.Base [Dem.Def sign],
 A: ‘(He/she will) say: “I am coming to Daramandugu.” If he/she sees the sign,’
[i.e. a tourist driving south on the highway from Bobo Dioulasso to Banfora will
see the road sign and instead turn east (and then north) to Daramandugu]
- (08:26) *ǎⁿ* *d=* *ǎⁿǎⁿ* *à* *kò=* [\emptyset *plákí* *té=*] = *à*,
 3AnSg say.Pfv uh-huh 3Inan be [Art sign Foc] it.is,
wálà→ [*plákí* *té*] = *à*
 right! [sign Foc.Inan] it.is
 B: ‘He/She says, “uh-huh, it’s a sign!” ’
 A: ‘Right! “It’s a sign.” ’

- (08:29) [ē nàsàrá-fē] à lí dárɔ̃ⁿ dè plákí
 [Art white.person-language] Ipfv call.Ipfv only Quot plaque
 [ē nàsàrá-fē] dè plákí
 [Art white.person-language Quot plaque
 B: ‘White person’s language (=French) just calls it *plaque*.’
 A: ‘White person’s language says *plaque*.’

- (08:32) [é-yùò còfɔ̃] bàʔà, ē lè-èʔè,
 [1Pl Tiefo] chez, Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan,
 [ē lè-èʔè jèrɔ̃ⁿ] à lè= [ē klòʔó], wálà→
 [Art show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan Rel] Ipfv show.Ipfv [Art road], right!
 A: ‘Among us Tiefo, (it’s called) “the road sign, the road sign that shows (=points to) the road.” Right!’

- (08:35) donc—
 so—
 [à= Ø gbāʔā] à bè tiē [ānàʔà pà-pàʔà],
 [3Inan Ipfv be.big.Ipfv] 3Inan Fut be.put.down.Pfv [face flat],
 kō lè [à tiē-kà],
 Infin show.Base [3Inan put.down.Pfv-manner],
 B: ‘So—’
 A: ‘It’s big. It will be installed broadside (i.e. facing motorists), to show (=enhance) its installation position.’
 [bè perfective future (§10.2.1.2); -kà in manner compounds (§5.1.7.2)]

- (08:40) [yúó jèrɔ̃ⁿ] bà Ø [bá= à bē]
 [person Rel] if say.Base [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]
 [kò yíʔ= [[ā tòʔò] ñ] dárɔ̃ⁿ,
 [Infin go.Base [[3Inan place] Loc] only,
 B: ‘Any person who decides to come, as soon as he/she then goes to that place,’
 [dè ‘say’ is inaudible but implied between bà ‘if’ and bá= à bē < /bó à bē/; dárɔ̃ⁿ with final mid pitch (§19.2.1)]

- (08:42) ɔ̃ⁿ bà nī [è plákí] yīʔ— kpèⁿʔèⁿ
 3AnSg if see.Base [Art sign] go— be.planted.Pfv
 [k-ā— k-ā lò-à-fūʔū [Ø tòʔò jèrɔ̃ⁿ]
 [Infin-Ipfv— Infin-Ipfv show.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv [Art place Rel]
 B: ‘If he/she sees that the sign is planted (in the ground), and it shows (=points to) such a place,’

- (08:46) [ɔ̃ⁿ wí] kō yīʔí [[bè tòʔò] tōʔó]
 [3AnSg owner] Infin go.Base [[Dem.Def place] Foc]
 fɛ kò yīʔí [k ó-dāⁿ= [[Ø tòʔò] nī]],
 until Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art place] Loc]],
 B: ‘The fellow goes to that place, until he/she arrives at the place.’
 [ɔ̃ⁿ wí (§18.5.1.2); fɛ (§15.3.4.1)]

(08:49) ò mà té bè [Ø bórú— bórúnà],
 3Pl if put.down.Base Dem.Def [Art (hesitation) B],
 jì yá,
 see.Base Dem.InanSg,

A: 'If they install that at Bununa, see that!'

[< /jì yá/; speaker later suggested revision as infinitival ñ gō jì yá with 2Sg ñ and infinitival kō]

(08:51) ò lè, bè kō dè dè,
 Infin show.Base, Dem.Def Infin say.Base Quot,
 [mó mà jò bè]
 [2Sg if look.at.Base Dem.Def]
 [[ē dèrà máⁿ dùgù yíé] à-mā [à nī]],
 [[Art D name] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],

A: 'And (it) shows, that (sign) says, if you look at that (sign), the name of Daramandugu is on it.'

(08:55) bon, [ē dù?ù-tí?è yíé] à-mā [à nī],
 well, [Art cliffs-hole name] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 [ò kò ká bà]
 [3Pl Hort Sbjn come.Base]

A: 'Well, the name of the grotto is there. Hopefully they come.'

(08:58) dè bon, [ē klò?ó] yí?ē [tò?ò jèr?ó],
 say.Pfv well, [Art road] go.Pfv [place Rel],
 [ē klò?ó] yí?ē [tò?ò jèr?ó],
 [Art road] go.Pfv [place Rel],

A: '(They) say, well, the place where the road went, the place where the road went,'

(09:01) [kò yí?í còfòrá] [[à bíé] fiē còfòrá],
 [Infin go.Base T] [[3Inan all] pass.Pfv T],
 Ø mā dàⁿ còfòrá,
 2Sg if arrive.Base T,

A: 'And went to Tiefora (village), everything continued on to Tiefora. When you arrive at Tiefora,'

[from the main north-south highway one turns east and drives to Tiefora, before turning north on back roads to Daramandugu]

(09:04) wálà→, kō kēⁿ?ēⁿ [Ø jī=] [Ø plákí jī]
 right!, Infin take.up.Base [Art something] [Art sign Indef]
 ē— dē= [Ø è?é jī] à-mā [bè tò?ò],
 (hesitation)— Quot [Art thing Indef] be.Loc [Dem.Def place],

A: 'Right! To put up (another) other sign, saying that there is something (in) that place.'

[another road sign is needed at Tiefora to indicate the turn-off to Daramandugu]

- (09:27) *mó mā à-dàⁿ —*
 2Sg if come.Base-arrive.Base
mó mā à-dàⁿ = [Ø dèràamáⁿdùgù],
 2Sg if come.Base-arrive.Base [Art D],
[[è úⁿ] líⁿ] ní, [ē jī] bè tíē
 [[Art village] guts] Loc, [Art something] Fut be.put.Pfv,
[[è úⁿ-dìè-tò?ò] ní],
 [[Art village-enter.Pfv-place] Loc],

A: ‘When you come and arrive—when you come and arrive in Daramandugu, inside the village, something (=a sign) will be put up at the entrance to the village.’

- (09:31) *wála→, dè mó dèⁿ [[Ø úⁿ] ní].*
 right!, Quot 2Sg arrive.Pfv [[Art village] Loc],
wála→, ā pièⁿ = [Ø tì?é-tò?ò],
 right!, 3Inan remain.Pfv [Art hole-place],

A: ‘Right! Say that you have arrived in the village. Right! There remains the (actual) grotto location.’

[3Inan à subject prospectively resuming ‘hole(=grotto)-place’]

- (09:35) *mó nà káⁿ [kò yí?í = [Ø tò?ò jèrⁿ]]*
 2Sg Fut ought [Hort go.Base [Art place Rel]]
[k = ó-?ó = ní],
 [Infin go.Base-look.at.Base 3InanObj],
ā pièⁿ [bè tò?ò],
 3Inan remain.Pfv [Dem.Def place],

A: ‘The place to which you have to go to look at it (=grotto), it remains (to go to) that place.’

[káⁿ ‘must’ (§17.4.3.3)]

- (09:38) *donc Ø mà— ñ gbē dè-rè, ñ kō—*
 so 2Sg if— (nasal) take.Base now, 2Sg Infin—
ñ nà fí-jâ = [[Ø úⁿ] ní]
 2Sg Fut pass.Base [[Art village] Loc]

A: ‘So, if you take (that road) now, you—, you will go past the village.’

- (09:40) *mó à dīē [[Ø úⁿ] ní],*
 2Sg Ipfv enter.Ipfv [[Art village] Loc],
Ø nà á-ló-fó [kò yí? = [[ē dù?ù] ní]],
 2Sg Fut go.Base-turn.Base-pass.Base [Infin go.Base [[Art cliffs] Loc],
 A: ‘You enter the village. You will go and turn, to go to the cliffs.’

- (09:44) *[ē jī] nà = á-té*
 [Art something] Fut go.Base-be.put.down.base
[bè tò?ò], ē té— [ē tì?é-klò?ó] ní,
 [Dem.Dem place], (hesitation)— [Art hole-road] Loc,
 A: ‘Something (=another sign) will be installed in the grotto road.’

- (09:49) à mà á-té [bè tǝǝ] dè-rè,
 3Inan if go.Base-be.put.down.Base [Dem.Def place] now,
 wálà→ [ɲ gō sǝrǝ]
 right! [2Sg Infin proceed.to.Base]
 ɲ mā dàⁿ, [[ē tǝǝ-tǝǝ] nī],
 2Sg if arrive.Base, [[Art hole-road] Loc],
 A: ‘If it (=sign) is installed in that place now, right, you proceed. When you arrive at the grotto place,’
 [sǝrǝ ‘proceed (to)’ (§15.3.5.7.1)]

- (09:53) [ɲ dèⁿǝⁿ] nà té,
 [Sg one] Fut be.put.down.Base,
 [bè tǝǝ=] à té [bè tǝǝ],
 [Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.put.downIpfv [Dem.Def place],
 A: ‘One (sign) will be installed. That one is installed at that place.’

- (09:55) bè nà klè— kǝǝ kǝsǝbé
 Dem.Def Fut (false start)— be.good.Base very.much
 B: ‘That will be great!’
 [</kǝǝ kǝsǝbé/]

- (09:57) mā-nī, [è yúó] mā dè [bó à bē]
 if.you.see, [Art person] if say.Base [LogoSg Ipfv come.Ipfv]
 ǝⁿ má jǝǝ-bló tǝǝ-kó =?
 3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv again Neg
 A: ‘You see, if a person tries to come, he/she won’t get lost any more.’
 [< /jǝǝ-bló/]

- (09:59) ǝⁿ má jǝǝ-bló tǝǝ-kó =?
 3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv again Neg
 ǝⁿ má jǝǝ-bló kǝǝ =?
 3AnSg IpfvNeg get.lost.Ipfv ever.again Neg
 B: ‘He/She won’t get lost any more!’
 A: ‘He/She won’t get lost ever again.’
 [kǝǝ ‘not again’, cf. Jula kǝǝ]

- (10:01) ǝⁿ kǝ— ǝⁿ kǝ [è nǝsǝrá] wǝ
 (hesitation)— 3AnSg be [Art white.person] or
 [ǝⁿ kǝ [Ø kǝ yùǝ] = ǝ
 [3AnSg be [Art creature black] or
 B: ‘Whether he/she is a white person ...’
 A: ‘Or he/she is an African.’
 [willy-nilly conditional (§16.3), continued in the following segment]

- (10:03) δ^n $k\bar{o}$, [\bar{e} $f\bar{\delta}r\bar{a}-f\bar{f}^n$] $w\bar{o}$,
 3AnSg be, [Art African] whether,
 δ^n $w\bar{o}$ [\bar{e} anglais] $w\bar{o}$,
 3AnSg be [Art English] whether,
 [δ $b\acute{i}\acute{e}$] $m\bar{a}$ $b\grave{a}$, [δ $b\acute{i}\acute{e}$] $g-\bar{a}$ $y\acute{i}\acute{y}\acute{i}$ $m\bar{a}$
 [3Pl all] if come.Base, [3Pl all] Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv there
 B: ‘Whether he/she be an African, or whether he/she be an English person. If they
 all come, then they will all go there.’
 [*Jula f̄arà-f̄f̄n* ‘skin-black’ = ‘African’]

- (10:08) [δ $b\acute{i}\acute{e}$] $k-\bar{a}$ $y\acute{i}\acute{y}\acute{i}$ $m\bar{a}$
 [3Pl all] Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv there
 $\delta^nh\acute{o}^n$, $b\grave{e}$ $n\grave{a}$ $k\grave{o}\delta\grave{o}$ $k\acute{o}s\acute{o}b\acute{e}?$
 uh-huh, Dem.Def Fut be.good very.much
 A: ‘Then they will also go there.’
 B: ‘Uh-huh, that will be great!’
 [$< /k\bar{o}\delta\bar{o} k\acute{o}s\acute{o}b\acute{e}(\delta)/$]

- (10:10) $j\acute{i}-m\acute{a}-b\grave{e}$, [$\delta\grave{u}\delta = \acute{a}$] $j\grave{\delta}r\delta^n = \emptyset-m\bar{a}$ $m\grave{e}^n-f\acute{i}\delta\acute{e}$,
 otherwise, [cliffs Dem.InanSg] Rel be.Loc like.this,
 $\acute{e}-y\grave{u}\delta$ $m\bar{a}$ —
 1Pl Proh—
 $\acute{e}-y\grave{u}\delta$ $m\bar{a}$ $kl\grave{a}-l\grave{o}$ [[$\delta\grave{u}\delta = \acute{a}$] $n\bar{i}$],
 1Pl Proh play.Base [[cliffs Dem.InanSg] Loc],
 A: ‘Anyway, those cliffs that are there like that, we mustn’t play in (=be
 neglectful of) those cliffs.’
 [*j\acute{i}-m\acute{a}-b\grave{e}* (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3); ‘play in’ = ‘take lightly, neglect’]

- (10:16) [\bar{e} $\delta\grave{u}\delta =$] \grave{a} $k\bar{o}\delta\bar{o}$ [\emptyset $k\grave{e}$] [$\acute{o}-b\acute{e}$ $b\grave{a}\delta\grave{a}$],
 [Art cliffs] Ipfv favor(v).Ipfv [Art matter] [1Pl chez],
 $j\acute{a}$ [$m\acute{o}$ $j\grave{\delta}r\delta^n$] $m\grave{a}$ $=\acute{a}$ $k\bar{o}^n$ $=n\bar{i}$,
 if [2Sg Rel] if PfvNeg know.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘The cliffs are valuable for all of us. If someone (=you) doesn’t know
 (=realize) it,’
 [$< k\bar{o}\delta\bar{o} [\bar{e} k\grave{e}]$; ‘you who’ (§14.1.9); *j\acute{a}* for *j\acute{i}* (?)]

- (10:19) $\delta\grave{e}$ [$m\acute{o}$ $t\acute{o}\delta =$] \acute{a} $k\bar{o}^n$ $=\delta$, $\grave{a} = \acute{a}$ $k\grave{o}\delta\acute{o}$
 Quot [2Sg Foc] PfvNeg know.Base Neg, Art Inan good
 A: ‘You [focus] don’t know (=realize), (that) it’s good.’
 [*i.e.* ‘if you don’t realize that the cliffs are important, you don’t know a good thing
 when you see it’; $< /\grave{e} \acute{a} k\grave{o}\delta\acute{o}/$ (§4.5.3.1.2)]

(10:21) [ó t̃á á k̃ɔ̃ⁿ =nì]
 [1Pl Past PfvNeg know.base 3InanObj]

[ó k-ā ñú]
 [1Pl Infin-Ipfv look.at.Ipfv]
 d= ā cùḍⁿ-klā= [Ø mié]
 Quot 3Inan block.Pfv [Art 1Pl]

B: ‘We didn’t realize it. We considered that it (=cliff) was blocking (=was a barrier for) us.’

[cùḍⁿ-klā (base t̃ḍⁿ-klā); mié (§4.3.1.4)]

(10:24) [[bè t̃ḍḍ̃ j̃ā=] Ø-mā]
 [[Dem.Def place Indef] be.Loc]
 [nó t̃ó? =] ā d̃ò =nì [mó bàḥà] l̃ă,
 [1Sg Foc] Ipfv speak.Ipfv 3InanObj [2Sg Dat] L,

A: ‘There’s a place thereof, I will tell it to you, La [name].’

[i.e. ‘I will tell you about it’; bè combining with indefinite j̃ī (§6.5.4)]

(10:26) mó mà d̃īē [[Ø t̃ḍḍ̃ j̃ī] ñ]
 2Sg if enter.Base [[Art place Indef] Loc]

mó má gl̃ú =?
 2Sg IpfvNeg exit(v).Ipfv Neg

A: ‘If you enter a certain place, you won’t leave.’

(10:29) ébé
 wow!

ná-d̃i-ḍ̃ d̃è—

old.man.Pl say.Pfv—

j̃ă→ [ā t̃ḍḍ̃] ā k̃ò =r̃ē?
 lo! [3Inan place] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv Emph

B: ‘Wow!’

A: ‘(The) old men said—’

B: ‘Lo, that place is really good!’

[ébé exclamation of amazement]

(10:32) ná-d̃i-ḍ̃ d̃è =r̃ē?, mó mà d̃īē [[Ø t̃ḍḍ̃ j̃ī] ñi],
 old.man-Pl say.Pfv Emph, 2Sg if enter.Base [[Art place Indef] Loc],

j̃ó= ǒ= Ø d̃ò d̃è [d̃īē [t̃ḍḍ̃ j̃èr̃óⁿ]],
 if 3Pl PfvNeg say.Base Quot [enter.Base [place Rel]],

A: ‘The old men said, if you-Sg enter a certain place, it it’s a place that they didn’t tell you to enter,’

[< /j̃í ḍ̃=ó d̃ō/; quoted imperative (§17.1.6.1)]

- (10:36) [mó mà dīē] [Ø má glú =ʔ],
 [2Sg if enter.Base] [2Sg IpfvNeg exit(v).Ipfv Neg,
 [ná-dì-ò è-ré jǎ-rē] Ø-mā [tǎʔǎ jǎrɔ̃ⁿ]
 [old.man-Pl thing-Pl Indef-InanPl] be.Loc [place Rel]
 A: ‘If you enter, you won’t leave, the place where some things of the old men are.’

[refers to ritual objects]

- (10:38) bon
 well
 bon, bè nī, [èʔé jǎrɔ̃ⁿ] à tàⁿ-àⁿ—
 well, Dem.Def Loc, (hesitation)
 [èʔé jǎrɔ̃ⁿ] ā tàⁿ-àⁿ-jùʔǎ mó,
 [thing Rel] Ipfv help.Ipfv 2Sg,
 ʔ kò ká kǎrɔ̃ʔí =nì]
 2Sg Hort Sbjn observe.Base 3InanObj]
 B: ‘Well ...’
 A: ‘Well, in that (situation), something that helps you, you should watch over (=take care of) it from then on.’

[Jula kǎrɔ̃ʔí ‘watch over’; ká- ‘do again’]

- (10:45) ʔ káⁿ [gò súʔú-gǎrēⁿ =nì]
 2Sg ought [Hort catch.Base-do.well 3InanObj]
 ʔ káⁿ [gò súʔú-gǎrēⁿ =nì]
 2Sg ought [Hort catch.Base-do.well 3InanObj]
 B: ‘You must take good care of it.’
 A: ‘You must take good care of it.’

- (10:48) yúó-yúó ā tàⁿ-àⁿ-jùʔǎ mó, súʔú-gǎrēⁿ= =òⁿ,
 person-person Ipfv help.Ipfv 2Sg, catch.Base-do.well 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘Any person who helps you, hold on to him/her!’
 [yúó-yúó distributive iteration (§6.6.2.2) ; < /súʔú-gǎrēⁿ =ò/]

- (10:50) donc, [è úⁿ-yúó fǎráⁿ], ò mâ ká—
 so, [Art village-people too], 3Pl Proh do.again.Base—
 ò mâ glō [Ø kè-tè? =] [à nī],
 3Pl Proh take.out.Base [Art hand]] [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘So, the villagers too, they mustn’t— they mustn’t abandon it.’
 [lit. “take hand out from it”, partially fused, cf. dī-glō ‘take out, remove’ and cf. kè-tèʔè ‘hand’]

- (10:54) ò jíjà [kò ká—,
3Pl strive.Base [Infin Sbjn—
wē [Ø kè-tà-rè] [[ò díngè-rò] bà?à],
put.Base [Art hand-Pl] [[PlRefl Recip] Dat],
A: ‘They should strive to— give a hand to each other.’
[smooth out as ò jíjà [kō wē [Ø kè-tà-rè] ...]]
- (10:56) jàⁿgó, jàⁿgó, [ē tò?ò] kō—
in.order, in.order, [Art place] be—
à kō klè= [ē tò?ò kò?ò]
3Inan Infin be.done.Base [Art place good]
jí-má-bè [ē tò?ò kò? =] =à,
otherwise [Art place good] it.is,
A: ‘So that the place is—.’
B: ‘It becomes a good place.’
A: ‘In other words, it’s a good place.’
[kò?ò (§4.5.3.1.2) ; jí-má-bè (§16.1.1.5, §19.1.3)]
- (11:01) [ó fē-nī] kò [[ná-dì-ò jèró] ʃɪʔè],
[1Pl greet-VblN] be [[old.man-Pl Rel.AnPl] give.Pfv],
[ná-dì-ò jèró] lè [ā tò?ò] [ʔⁿ é],
[old.man-Pl Rel.AnPl] show.Pfv [3Inan place] [Dat 1Pl],
A: ‘Our salute is (for) the old men who gave (it), the old men who showed that
place to us.’
[‘show’ with ditransitive syntax (§11.1.2.5)]
- (11:05) [ó fē-nī] kō = [ō bà?à], jí-má-bè
[1Pl greet-VblN] be [3Pl Dat], otherwise
jò bè [[nó jà jèróⁿ] nī] mē-ʃɪʔè
look.Base Dem.Def [[1Sg see.Pfv Rel] Loc] thus
A: ‘Our salute is for them. Consider that in what I have seen (=experienced) like
that.’
- (11:07) [ē mlàⁿ? =] =áⁿ dīē-pōⁿ = [[Ø tò?ò] nī],
[Art war] PfvNeg enter.Pfv-be.able.Base [[Art place] Loc],
A: ‘War could not enter that place.’
[< /mlàⁿ?áⁿ á/]
- (11:09) [nó fē-nī =rè] ká à-mā [nàsèrá-kèⁿ kǎⁿ]
[1Sg greet-VblN even] Past be.Loc [white.person-male Dem.AnSg]
jèróⁿ tèreⁿ [[é-yùò ānà?à] nī]
Rel sit.Pfv [[1Pl face] Loc]
B: ‘My salute was (also) to this white man who has sat down (=is sitting) in front
of us.’
[-kèⁿ ‘male (human)’]

- (11:13) wálà→, k-ā gblī [Ø mǔ]
 right!, Infin-Ipfv pick.up.Ipfv [Art voice]
 k-ā gblī [é-yùò— é-yùò dè-fê]
 Infin-Ipfv pick.up.Ipfv [1Pl— 1Pl language]

wálà→

right!

A: 'Right! And is recording the voice(s).'

B: 'And recording our language.'

A: 'Right!'

- (11:16) [álè bārē=] [Ø jùè?é] wò fū?ō [ē fī sàⁿ-sàⁿ?àⁿ]
 [even still] [Art God] Hort give.Base [Art life long]

wálà→

right!

B: 'Even now, may God give long life.'

A: 'Right!'

[< *Jula* (h)álè bèléⁿ 'until today, to this day'; sàⁿ-sàⁿ?àⁿ (§4.5.3.2.2)]

- (11:20) kò ká fū?ō [Ø fī sàⁿ-sàⁿ?àⁿ]
 Hort Sbjn give.Base [Art life long]
 [ó-yùò bī-dǎ kǎⁿ, kō kǎⁿ tǎrèⁿ, mǐrél,
 [1Pl younger.sib Dem.AnSg, be Dem.AnSg sit.Pfv, M,

B: 'And may (He) also give long life to this our younger sibling (=sister), here she sits, Mireille.'

[first demonstrative kǎⁿ is unclear on tape because of speaker overlap; presentative kō kǎⁿ (§4.4.4.2); Mireille is another name of co-author Aminata Ouattara]

- (11:25) kà—
 and—
 [jèrò bíé] bà?à,
 [Rel.AnPl all] Dat,

é→

ǰák

(hesitation) (name)

B: 'And—'

A: 'To all who (are here).'

B: 'Jeff'

[< /jèró bíé/; Fl has some difficulty with a linguist's first name]

- (11:30) [kò ká fū?ō [Ø fī sàⁿ-sàⁿ?àⁿ] [ò bíé?]
 [Hort Sbjn give.Base [Art life long] [3Pl all]
 [bùò jèró] dè bùò nà tǎⁿ-jū?ō [Ø mié]
 [3Pl Rel.AnPl] say.Pfv LogoPl Fut help.Base [Art 1Pl]

B: 'And (may He) keep giving long life to everyone.'

A: 'They who who said that they will help us.'

[mié (§4.3.1.4)]

- (11:34) *[[[ò d= ò nà tàⁿ-jũʔɔ̃ [Ø mié]] sɪná] nī],*
 [[[3Pl say.Pfv 3Pl Fut help.Base [Art 1Pl]] situation] Loc],
[ē jũèʔé] kà [Ø wúⁿ] kà, [ē nā-dì-ò] dùá
 [Art God] with [Art village] and, [Art old.man.Pl] blessing(n)
k-ā tàⁿ-àⁿ-jũʔɔ̃= ɔ̃ [à kō kōʔɔ̃],
 Infin-Ipfv help.Ipfv 1Pl [3Inan Infin be.good.Base],
 B: ‘The way they said they will help us, the blessing of God, the village, and the old men will help us, it will turn out well.’
[Jula dùwá (< Arabic); < /kō à tàⁿ-à-jũʔɔ̃ ɔ̃/]

- (11:40) *c’est ça, donc jí-má-bè= [Ø dùʔù],*
 that’s.it, so otherwise [Art cliff(s)],
á [bè tóʔó =à] kòni,
 ah! [Dem.Def Foc.Inan =it.is] indeed,
 A: ‘That’s right. So, anyway, the cliffs, that’s how it is indeed,’
[jí-má-bè (§19.1.3) Jula kòni ‘truly’]

- (11:44) *[à-bì-písⁿ jèrɔ̃ⁿ=] Ø-mā, álè ā kèⁿ mé,*
 [a.little Rel] be.Loc, even 3Inan be.much.Pfv but,
[bè tóʔó] gò yá
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg
 A: ‘What little (information) is there, even if it is a lot, but ...’
 B: ‘That is it.’
[à-bì-písⁿ (§8.5.2.2.3)]

- (11:48) *d= ó kú =nì dón, wálà→*
 Quot 1Pl cut.Base 3InanObj a.little, right!
d’accord
 okay
nó bũō jèrɔ̃ⁿ
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel
kò á nì cé
 Quot thanks
[bè tóʔó] kò yá
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.InanSg
 A: ‘Let’s cut it (=talk) off a little. Right!’
 B: ‘Okay.’
 A: ‘What (information) I have gotten ...’
 B: ‘Thanks.’
 A: ‘... that [focus] is it.’
[Jula kó á nì cé]

(11:52) *wátérá*

Ouattara

wálà→, oui, [bè tó?ó] má glò =ā, *wálà*→, *donc*
right!, yes, [Dem.Def all] IpfvNeg it.is Q, voilà, so

B: 'Ouattara.'

A: 'Right! Yes. Is it not that [focus]? There it is. So.'

[*Ouattara is the other speaker's surname*]

Text 2017-12 Women greet each other, then tale about marriage

duration 03:11

Coulibaly Ye (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso)

Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo)

Background note: This was the first recording in the session, with two women. They begin by introducing themselves in Jula, then (after whispered discussion) switch to Tiefo-D, with greetings and a tale beginning around 01:42. The tale is not completed because it includes a song in Jula. The tale is repeated more smoothly as 2017-13. The narrator's dialect resembles that of our main male Bi speaker but reflects some dialect mixing.

(00:07) [ē— ē— ē— Coulibaly Ye, kà bó màsàsó
[(hesitations) (name) Infin exit(v) M
A: '(I am) Coulibaly Ye, (I) come from Masaso (*quartier*).'
[Jula kà bó ; Tiefo-D name for Masaso quartier is ē màsā-lē]

(00:13) Ouattara Christine, kà bó sàḡmòḡó
(name) Infin exit(v) Sangogo
B: '(I am) Ouattara Christine, (I) come from Sangogo (*quartier*).'

[pause]

(00:20) [ē dèrà?à =rê→
[Art tale Emph
A: 'A tale, right?'
[< /dèrà?á/]

[unintelligible whispering]

(00:26) dè ná= à fē-à-sū?ū,
Quot 1Sg Ipfv greet.Ipfv-Ipfv-give.Ipfv,
bùò à kēnē mā =ā,
2Pl Ipfv be.healthy.Ipfv there.Def Q
A: '(They said) that I should greet (you). Are you-Pl in good health?'
[< Jula kéné 'be in good health']

(00:30) è dèrà?á-yúó bíé?,
Art courtyard-people all
ō à kēnē
3Pl Ipfv be.healthy.Ipfv
A: '(What about) all the people of (your) household?'
B: 'They are fine.'

- (00:35) è bí-fìdò
 Art children
 [ò bíé] à kēnē
 [3Pl all] Ipfv be.healthy.Ipfv
 A: ‘(What about) the children?’
 B: ‘They are all fine.’
- (00:36) ō kā= à-mā, [è á kòʔò] nī
 3Pl Infin be.Loc, [Art Inan good] Loc
 àⁿháⁿ, [ò bíé] à-mā= [[=á kòʔó] nī]
 uh-huh, [3Pl all] be.Loc [[Art good] Loc]
 A: ‘They are there, in a good state?’
 B: ‘Uh-huh, they are all in a good state.’
 [kà-mā, apparently a variant of à-mā ‘be.Loc’ in this formula; á kòʔò ~ á kòʔó
 ‘good one (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2)]
- (00:39) [ē jùʔé] kò tàⁿ-jūʔɔ̃ [Ø mié]
 [Art God] Hort help.Base [Art 1Pl]
 àmínì
 amen!
 A: ‘May God help us!’
 B: ‘Amen!’
 [hortative in a wish (§10.4.2.3.1); mié (§4.3.1.4)]
- (00:40) [kò sùʔò sáábú] [Ø èʔè [á kó]] é
 [Hort give.Base good.luck] [Art thing [Inan good] 1Pl]
 àmínì
 amen!
 A: ‘(And) give us good luck (and) a good thing!’
 B: ‘Amen!’
 [< /kò sūʔɔ̃ sáábú/ with variant of sáábú; assistants suggest emending final é to
 dative ðⁿ [Ø mié]]
- (00:43) [ē jùʔé] ò sùʔú= [Ø dùgá]
 [Art God] Hort catch.Base [Art blessing]
 àmínà
 amen!
 A: ‘May God receive our prayers!’
 B: ‘Amen!’
- (00:47) ē dèràʔá, é-yùò dèràʔá,
 Art tale, 1Pl tale,
 ē— ē— ē— [ē fōrū—], ē— [ē tètàⁿʔáⁿ-dèràʔá]
 (hesitation) [Art marriage—], (hesitation) [Art marriage-tale]
 A: ‘A tale. Our tale. Marriage. A marriage tale.’
 [fōrū < Jula, corrected by adding the pure Tiefo-D word]

- (00:55) [ǝⁿ wí] dè [bó má t̄rēⁿ =?],
 [3AnSg owner] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg],
 ò kō báⁿbāⁿ, [ǝⁿ wí] gò à-t̄rāⁿ,
 1Pl Infin try.Base, [3AnSg owner] Hort come.Base-sit.Base,
 A: ‘A person said she would not marry. They tried to get her to (come and) get married.’
[‘sit’ also means ‘marry’, short for ‘sit with’; Jula bāmá (local French grouiller)]
- (01:01) [ā t̄rēⁿ-kà] g-ā kò,
 [3Inan sit.Pfv-manner] Infin-Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
 nó dó, commencez!, commencez!
 1Sg Poss.Inan, begin! begin!
 A: ‘Its (=her) way of living was good.’
 B: ‘My turn.’ [pause] ‘Begin! Begin!’
- (01:08) [bì tóʔó] kò yíʔí
 [Dem.Def Foc] Hort go.Base/Ipfv
 ǝⁿ mó gbē
 no! 2Sg take.Base
 B: ‘May that [focus] go (on)!’
 A: ‘No, you take (it)!’
[confusion about which woman is to complete the tale]
- (01:10) ǝⁿ?ǝⁿ [[mó tóʔ=] =ā gò]
 no! [[2Sg Foc] Ipfv narrate.Ipfv]
 [nó à kàⁿ?-àⁿ-fí]
 [1Sg Ipfv reply.Ipfv]
 B: ‘No, you are telling (the tale), I am responding.’
[< /kàⁿ?àⁿ-à-fí/, base kàⁿ?àⁿ-sō]
- (01:11) k-ā gò = [Ø d̄rāʔá]
 Infin-Ipfv narrate.Ipfv [Art tale]
 commencez [Ø d̄rāʔá], commencez [Ø d̄rāʔá]
 begin [Art tale], begin [Art tale]
 A: ‘And tell the tale.’
 B: ‘Begin the tale! Begin the tale!’
- (01:15) ē— ē— ē— [[ē d̄rāʔá =rē] =à]
 (hesitations) [[Art tale even] it.is]
 [ó wō = [[ā gǔ] nī]]
 [1Pl be [[3InanObj narrate.Prog] Prog]]
 A: ‘It is the tale. We are telling it.’
[< /ó kō à/; verb gbà/gò/gò ~ gù ‘tell, narrate (a tale)’, elsewhere ‘hit, kill’, here progressive (§10.2.4)]

- (01:18) àⁿháⁿ, [bè tóʔó] [n dèⁿʔéⁿ] =àⁿ,
uh-huh, [Dem.Def Foc] [Sg one] it.is,
ó kò héré [bè ní],
1PI be at.peace [Dem.Def Loc],
A: ‘Uh-huh, it’s that same one. We are at peace.’
[‘one’ = ‘same’; speaker resumes the greetings; héré < Jula]
- (01:22) [è á kōʔō] ní,
[Art Inan good] Loc,
ē— [[ē jùʔé] bāráká] ní,
(hesitation)— [[Art God] grace] Loc,
A: ‘In a good state. In God’s good graces.’
[bāráká < Jula (< Arabic)]
- (01:28) ē— [è bí-ʃìò] [klà-lò]-èʔè ré] =à,
(hesitation)— [Art children] [play.Base]-Ppl.Inan Foc.Inan] it.is,
ō kō [klà-lò]-yíʔí-ní] ní],
3PI Infin [play.Base]-go.VblN] Loc],
A: ‘It’s the children playing. They are playing and going.’
[proto-progressive construction with verbal noun and locative postposition
(§10.2.4.1)]
- (01:32) ó k-ā fā [à nórámá],
1PI Infin-Ipfv seek.Ipfv [3Inan good.thing],
[álè bèré=] [Ø jùʔé] sūʔō [à nórámá] [ðⁿ [Ø mié]],
[even today] [Art God] give.Base [3Inan good.thing] [Dat [Art 1PI]],
A: ‘We want (=hope for) a good thing. Even now (=always) may God give us its
(=those) good things.’
- (01:39) commencez, kò yíʔí tē→
begin!, Hort go.Base Emph
nó ò yíʔí =rē→,
1Sg Infin go.Base Emph,
B: ‘Begin (the tale)! Go on!’
A: ‘I (will) go.’
[tē→ is the same as the more common enclitic =rē→ (§19.4.4)]
- (01:42) nó ò yíʔí [ā [bè tóʔó]]
1Sg Infin go.Base [with [Dem.Def Foc]]
commencez, [ē yō-[bì-ʃìòⁿ] dój] tē→
begin! [Art woman-[child] Poss.Inan] Emph
A: ‘That’s what I (will) go with (=take).’
B: ‘Begin! (The tale) of the adolescent girl!’
[compound of yō and bí-ʃìòⁿ]

- (01:44) ē yō-[bì-ʃìḏⁿ], donc t̀̀ràⁿʔáⁿ-t̀̀ràⁿʔáⁿ,
 Art woman-[child], so marriage-marriage,
 ʃⁿ nè [bó máⁿ t̀̀rēⁿ = ʔ],
 Art say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg],
 A: ‘An adolescent girl. So, marriage. She said she would not get married.’
 [*‘sit’ here = ‘settle down (in a home)’*, by extension *‘(woman) get married’*]
- (01:48) ò kō gbē— [è b́éⁿʔéⁿ]
 3Pl Infin take.Base— [Art tomtom]
 [wò té [[Ø ʃⁿʔáⁿ nī],
 [Infin put.up.on.Base [[Art tree] Loc]
 A: ‘They took a tomtom and put it up in a tree.’
- (01:51) ō gblè [è b́éⁿʔéⁿ] [wò té],
 3Pl take.Pfv [Art tomtom] [Infin put.up.on],
 [è bíⁿáró] kō kēⁿʔēⁿ,
 [Art leper] Infin ascend.Base,
 A: ‘They took a tomtom and put (it) up (in the tree), then a leper climbed up.’
- (01:54) [ē yīē-bī] kl̀̀èⁿʔéⁿ-té—
 [Art young.woman-child] ascend.Pfv-be.put.up.on.Base—
 [[ē cǒ] nī], [è bíⁿáró] wō kēⁿʔēⁿ
 [Art fromager] Loc, [Art leper] Infin ascend.Base
 ā kl̀̀è k̀̀à-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘The girl (correct to: the leper) climbed up and took position in (=atop) the fromager tree. (Or rather:) the leper climbed up.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 [*‘the girl’ is corrected to ‘the leper’*; *Ceiba pentandra*, a huge tree, in local French fromager; the people challenged suitors of the girl to show their worth by climbing the tree and beating the drum]
- (01:59) [è bíⁿáró] kl̀̀èⁿʔēⁿ lò,
 [Art leper] ascend.Pfv after,
 [è bíⁿáró] wō rà-[g̀̀ḏ-g̀̀ḏ] [à b́éⁿʔéⁿ]
 [Art leper] Infin go.Base-[Rdp-beat.Base] [3Inan tomtom]
 A: ‘The leper climbed up. Then the leper went and kept beating that tomtom.’
 [*l̀̀ò in perfective echo clause (§15.3.5.6)*; *kō rà-* ‘(and) go and...’ (§15.2.3.3.4)]

- (02:03) [ē bɛ̃ⁿʔɛ̃ⁿ-[gbà-gbà]-tòʔò]
 [Art tomtom-[Rdp-beat.Pfv]-place]
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 bè kō klè [[ē—, yǒ] dǒ],
 Dem.Def Infin be.done.Base [Art—, woman] man],
 A: ‘By beating the tomtom, ...’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘... that one (=leper) would become the woman’s man (=husband).’
 [‘place’ here = ‘situation’]
- (02:08) ðⁿ wò sárúⁿ, ðⁿ sārōⁿ lò,
 3AnSg Infin descend.Base, 3AnSg descend.Pfv after,
 ò gò yíʔí= [Ø lē].
 3Pl Infin go.Base [Art home]
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘He (=leper) came down (the tree). When he came down, they went home.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
- (02:12) ò yíʔē [Ø lē].
 3Pl go.Pfv [Art home],
 ò gō rà-gbē = nì, ò gbē = nì,
 3Pl Infin go.Base-take.Base 3InanObj, Infin take.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘They went home. They went and took it. (They) took it.’
- (02:16) ðⁿ ŋ-ā té= [Ø wòmí], [ē dǒ]
 3AnSg Infin-Ipfv put.up.on.Ipfv [Art cakes], [Art man]
 k-ā— yé [ɔ̃ⁿ bàʔà] [[ē wàⁿʔáⁿ] nī],
 Infin-Ipfv— walk.Ipfv [3AnSg chez] [[Art market] Loc],
 A: ‘She would put some cakes up (to cook). The man (=leper) would walk to her place in the market.’
 [*< /ðⁿ kō à té ē wòmí/; the woman would go to the market, and fry and sell millet-flour cakes (galettes de mil) at the market*]
- (02:21) ðⁿ dè [[bó dǒ] má glò = ʔ,
 3AnSg say.Pfv [[LogoSg man] IpfvNeg it.is Neg],
 [ɔ̃ⁿ dǒ tóʔó dá=] = à glò,
 [3AnSg man Foc however] it.is it.is,
 A: ‘She said, “he isn’t my husband”, although (in fact) her husband [focus] was what he was.’
 [*< /bó dǒ má/; < /ðⁿ dǒ tóʔó dó à glò/; = à glò ‘it is’ after focalized constituent (§13.1.3.5)*]

- (02:24) [ē dǒ] kō bà— klá— [ē kō jī]
 [Art man] Infin come.Base return.Base— [Art day Indef]
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘The man went back one day.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’

- (02:28) kō bà-léⁿ [[ē wùʔú] nī]
 Infin come.Base-stop.Base [[Art house] Loc]
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 ʔⁿ pèʔè-léⁿ [[ē wùʔú] nī] bè-yá-ró,
 3AnSg lean.against.Pfv [[Art house] Loc] thus,
 A: ‘(He) would come and stay at the house.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘She lurked near the house in that way.’
 [*compound verb pèʔè-léⁿ/páʔá-léⁿ/páʔ-à-léⁿ ‘lean on (wall); lurk near (house)’*]

- (02:31) [dè-dè nī] [ē dǒ] gò glú = [[Ø wàⁿʔáⁿ] n̄]
 [now Loc] [Art man] Infin exit(v).Base [[Art market] Loc]
 [gō bà],
 [Infin come.Base].
 A: ‘Now the man left the market and came (back).’

- (02:33) ʔⁿ mā dè [bó nà dī-glō [Ø fèʔé]],
 3AnSg if say.Base [LogoSg Fut remove [Art garment]],
 [ē dǒ] kò— [ē yǒ] kò máⁿʔáⁿ-súʔó = =ò,
 [Art man] Infin— [Art woman] Infin roll.Base-catch.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘If he said he would (=if he tried to) take away a garment, the man— (or rather) the woman would hug him tightly.’
 [*< /kō máʔá-súʔú =ò/*]

- (02:38) ʔⁿ mènʔèⁿ-súʔó = =ò lò,
 3AnSg roll.Pfv-catch.Base 3AnSgObj after,
 ʔⁿ nè má klè jèrⁿ
 3AnSg IpfvPast IpfvNeg do.Ipfv Rel
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘After she hugged him, which she (previously) was not doing, ...’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 [*< /ʔⁿ dè máⁿ/*]

- (02:41) ðⁿ wō jàʔǎ = [Ø tàpùʔð fùⁿʔðⁿ],
 3AnSg Infin lay.out.Base [Art mat new],
 kō— tōⁿ = [Ø cèrú], kō wē = [[Ø tásá] nī],
 Infin cook.Base [Art tô], Infin put.in.Base [[Art bowl] Loc],
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘She would lay out a new mat. Then she would cook some tô, and put it in the eating bowl.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[*tô is a basic staple food made from maize or less often millet flour, in the form of a thick pudding, on which sauce is served*]

- (02:46) [kō wē = [Ø tásá = á kōʔō] nī],
 [Infin put.in.Base [Art bowl Inan good] Loc],
 [kò júá = nī]
 [Infin scoop.Base 3InanObj
 wò táⁿ-sūʔ = ðⁿ [[Ø á kōʔō] nī],
 Infin serve.Base-give Dat.3AnSg [[Art Inan good] Loc]

A: ‘(She) put (it) in a fine eating bowl, (she) scooped (it) out, she offered (it) to him in a nice (bowl).’

[*á kōʔō* (§4.5.3.1.2); *júá* ‘scoop (*tô*) from pot into eating bowl’]

- (02:51) kō bà-jāʔǎ [Ø tàpùʔð],
 Infin come.Base-set.out [Art mat],
 [ē dǎ] dè [bó máⁿ séⁿ = ?],
 [Art man] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg lie.down.Ipfv Neg],

A: ‘Then (she) came and laid out a mat. The man said that he wouldn’t go to bed (with her).’

- (02:52) ò gō gbē [Ø fē-yùò]
 3Pl Infin take.Base [Art speak.Pfv-Agent]
 [ē yō-dè] gō bà-fúó,
 [Art woman-old] Infin come.Base-intervene.Base,

A: ‘They got a spokesperson (=intermediary). An old woman came and intervened.’

[*agentive -yùò*]

- (02:55) ðⁿ gò séⁿ,
 3AnSg Infin lie.down.Base,
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘He went to bed.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[*pause as the narrator realizes that the song in the tale is in Jula language*]

Text 2017-13 Girl who refuses marriage (tale)

duration 03:53

A: **Coulibaly Ye** (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), narrator

B: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

(00:04) [è náⁿ-bí jī], ɔ̃ⁿ = Ø kò,
[Art child Indef], 3AnSg Ipfv be.good.Ipfv,
ò kō lò [ɔ̃ⁿ dɔ̃],
3Pl Infin show.Base [3AnSg man],
A: ‘A child (=girl). She was beautiful. They showed (her) her man (=future husband).’

[the respondent echoes the first two parts of this]

(00:08) ɔ̃ⁿ lè [ɔ̃ⁿ dɔ̃],
3Pl show.Pfv [3AnSg man],
ɔ̃ⁿ dè [bó má t̃ɔ̃rɛ̃ⁿ = ?],
3AnSg say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg],
A: ‘They showed (her) her man, (but) she said she would not marry.’
[perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2), one of several in this narrative text; ‘sit’ = ‘settle (in a home)’ = ‘(woman) get married’]

(00:13) dè bó má t̃ɔ̃rɛ̃ⁿ lò
Quot LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv after
ɔ̃ⁿ klè k̄
3AnSg do.Pfv thus
[ē sē] k-ā jè [Ø úⁿ?úⁿ] ní-mā [à nī],
[Art father] Infin-Ipfv see.Ipfv [Art head] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
A: ‘When (she) said she would not marry,’
B: ‘She did that.’
A: ‘The father was seeing that there was no head in it (=that she was stubborn).’

(00:17) [ē sē] kò yí?í-?í?ì [gō nè? = [ē jàmá]],
[Art father] Infin get.up.Base [Infin ask.Base [Art crowd]],
d= ɔ̃—, ɔ̃ kò?ò [bó nī],
Quot (hesitation)— 3Pl benefit(v).Base [LogoSg Loc],
‘The father got up and asked the crowd to do him a service.’
[< /kō nè?è/ ; < /dè ò kò?ò bó/]

- (00:22) kò yíʔí-gbē [è bēⁿʔéⁿ]
 Infin go.Base-take.Base [Art tomtom]
 [wò té [[è cǒ] nī]],
 [Infin put.up.on.Base [[Art fromager] Loc]],
 A: ‘To go pick up a (big) tomtom and put it up in a fromager tree.’
 [fromager is local French for the huge tree *Ceiba pentandra*]
- (00:25) [kō wē= [Ø náⁿ-bí] =rē] [gō kēⁿʔēⁿ],
 [Infin put.in.Base [Art child] Emph] [Infin ascend.Base],
 kò yíʔí [gō rà-tōrāⁿ],
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-sit.Base],
 A: ‘Then (he) had the girl climb up (the tree). Then (she) went and sat (on the top).’
- (00:30) [ē jàmá] fīē, kò fó,
 [Art crowd] pass.Pfv, Infin pass.Base,
 [dè-dè nī] [è bítóró] kō bà [Ø= à-fó],
 [now Loc] [Art leper] Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-pass.Base],
 A: ‘The crowd went away. (They) went away. Now a leper came by.’
 [kō bà [Ø= à-Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4)]
- (00:35) [ē yō-dè] wō [[Ø nū] wǒ] nī],
 [Art woman-old] be [[Art water] bathe.Prog] Prog],
 [ē yō-dè] wō pēⁿ-dè é!,
 [Art woman-old] Infin remain.Base-say.Base hey!,
 [ɔ̃ⁿ bàʔà] ɔ̃ⁿ—, ɔ̃ⁿ cíʔí [bó sāmò],
 [3AnSg Dat] 3AnSg—, 3AnSg clean.Base [LogoSg back],
 A: ‘An old woman was bathing. The old woman kept telling him (=leper), “hey, clean my back.”’
 [‘stay’ = ‘keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); cíʔí ‘clean.Base’ (dialectally cíʔé)]
- (00:43) ɔ̃ⁿ gò [cíʔí nī]
 3AnSg be [clean.Prog Prog]
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 ɔ̃ⁿ cíʔí =nì, ɔ̃ⁿ ŋō nī [Ø mēsàrèⁿ],
 3AnSg clean.Pfv 3InanObj, 3AnSg Infin see.Base [Art needle],
 A: ‘He was cleaning (it).’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘He cleaned it, then he saw a needle.’
 [perfective echo clause; < /ɔ̃ⁿ kō nī ē mēsàrèⁿ/]

- (00:46) $d\bar{e}$ \bar{s}^n $n\bar{a} =$ [\emptyset $d\bar{e}?\bar{e}$] $t\bar{e}$,
 say.Pfv 3AnSg see.Pfv [Art what?] Q,
 \bar{s}^n $d\bar{e}$ [$b\bar{o}$ $n\bar{a}$ [\emptyset $m\bar{e}s\bar{a}r\bar{e}^n$]],
 3AnSg say.Pfv [LogoSg see.Pfv [Art needle]],
 A: ‘(Old woman:) “What did you see?” He said (to the old woman), “I saw a
 needle (in your back).” ’
[first $d\bar{e}$ unclear on recording due to speaker overlap; \bar{e} $d\bar{e}?\bar{e}$ ‘what?’
(§13.2.3.2.1)]

- (00:50) $d =$ \bar{s}^n $d\bar{i}-g\bar{l}\bar{o}$ $= n\bar{i}$,
 Quot 3AnSg take.out.Base 3InanObj,
 \bar{s}^n $\eta\bar{o}$ $d\bar{i}-g\bar{l}\bar{o}$ $= n\bar{i}$
 3AnSg Infin take.out.Base 3InanObj
 \bar{a} $k\bar{l}\bar{e}$ $k\bar{a}-t\bar{o}$
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘So (she) told him to take it out! Then he took it out.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’

- (00:54) $d =$ \bar{s}^n $d\bar{i}-g\bar{l}\bar{o}$ $= n\bar{i}$, $d =$ \bar{o} $b\bar{a}$ $r\bar{a}-d\bar{a}^n$,
 Quot 3AnSg take.out.Base 3InanObj, Quot 3Pl if goBase-arrive.Base,
 $d\bar{e}$ [\emptyset $n\bar{a}-b\bar{i}-\bar{o}$] $w\bar{o}$ [[\emptyset $k\bar{e}^n?\bar{e}^n-\bar{n}$] $n\bar{i}$],
 Quot [Art person-Pl] be [[Art ascend.Base-VbIN] Loc],
 A: ‘(She said:) “Take it out! If they go and arrive, the people are (=will be)
 climbing.’
[the first part is an echo of the preceding; proto-progressive with verbal noun and
locative (§10.2.4.1)]

- (00:59) [\bar{e} $n\bar{a}-b\bar{i}-\bar{o}$] $b\bar{a}$ — [\bar{e} $n\bar{a}-d\bar{o}^n-d\bar{o}^n?\bar{s}^n$] $n\bar{i}$,
 [Art child.Pl] come.Pfv—, [Art person-Rdp-one] Loc,
 \bar{o} $b\bar{a}$ [$\emptyset =$ $\bar{a}-k\bar{l}\bar{i}^n?\bar{i}^n$] $l\bar{o}$,
 3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-ascend.Ipfv] after,
 A: ‘The young men came—, one person at a time. They came and climbed.’
[suitors of the young woman attempted to climb the fromager tree; locative
postposition $n\bar{i}$ is not obligatory here; $b\bar{a}$ [\emptyset \bar{a} -Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4)]

- (01:03) [\bar{e} $n\bar{a}-b\bar{i}$] $g-\bar{a}$ $w\bar{o}$ [\emptyset $d\bar{a}r\bar{i}^n?\bar{i}^n$]
 [Art person] Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song]
 A: ‘The young woman would be singing a song.’
[the following song is in Jula]

(01:28) [dè-dè nī] [è bítáró] gō gbē,
 [now Loc] [Art leper] Infin take.Base,
 A: ‘Now the leper took his turn.’

(01:30) ò dè [jàró pièⁿʔèⁿ] kō [Ø jᵑⁿ-jᵑⁿ],
 3Pl say.Pfv [Rel.AnPl foot] be [Art two-two],
 [jàró kī-tè-rè-ʔè] kō jᵑⁿ-jᵑⁿ [ò klēⁿʔēⁿ-tè mō→],
 [Rel.AnPl hand-Pl] be two-two [3Pl ascend.Pfv-fail.Base concerning],
 A: ‘They said, “given that (even) those who have two legs, those who have two arms, they have failed to climb up.” ’

[lit. “those whose hands/legs are two each”; possessor relative (§14.2.3);
 distributive iteration “two-two” (§4.6.1.6); ‘fail’ compound (15.1.7.2); clause-final
 mō→ (§19.1.4) topicalizing a background clause preceding a question]

(01:34) [è bítáró], mó nà kēⁿʔēⁿ-pᵑⁿ tē,
 [Art leper], 2Sg Fut ascend.Base-be.able.Base Q,
 A: ‘(They said:) “yet you, a leper, will be able to climb?” ’
 [tē interrogative]

(01:37) [è bítáró] wō [gbě nī],
 [Art leper] be [take.Prog Prog],
 [è náⁿ-bí] g-ā wō [Ø dārīⁿʔīⁿ],
 [Art child] Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song]
 A: ‘The leper was taking his turn. The young woman was singing.’

[sings in Jula:]

(01:41) dè mí ḡà sé kà yèlè [bàⁿà-yírí kààⁿ],
 Quot Rel Infin be.able Infin ascend [fromager.tree on].
 wò tígí rè nāmáramá dòn,
 Dem owner Dem gold-tomtom enter
 [mà-sà déⁿ nāmáramá] [mà-sá flá] [mà-sá nāmáramá],
 [king child N] [king two] [king N],

A: ‘ “The one who is able to climb to (the top of) the fromager tree, that fellow will come to Namarama (=young woman’s name), two chiefs, the king’s (child) Namarama.’ ”

(01:49) è ná— [[è náⁿ-bí] à wūō bè]
 (hesitation)— [[Art child] Ipfv sing.Ipfv Dem.Def]
 [[è bítáró] à klēⁿ?-à-yíí],
 [[Art leper] Ipfv ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv],
 k-ā klēⁿ?-à-yíí
 Infin-Ipfv ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv

ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

k-ā klēⁿ?-à-yíí,
 Infin-Ipfv ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.Ipfv,

A: ‘The young woman was singing like that. The leper was climbing up, and climbing up.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘And climbing up.’

[< /klēⁿ?-à-yíí/]

(01:54) fō [è bítáró] gō rà-sú?ú = [Ø béⁿ?éⁿ]
 until [Art leper] Infin go.Base-catch.Base [Art tomtom]
 gō gǔ-gǔ nī, kpōⁿ kpōⁿ-kpōⁿ-kpōⁿ-kpōⁿ,
 be Rdp-beat.Prog Prog, (sound of drumbeats),

A: ‘Eventually the leper went and took hold of the drum and was beating it.’

[iterated verb (§9.5); both occurrences of gǔ with rising tone marking progressive]

(01:58) è náⁿ-bí— ò gò sárúⁿ, ò sārōⁿ lò,
 Art child— 3Pl Infin descend.Base, 3Pl descend.Pfv after,
 A: ‘The young woman— They climbed down. After they climbed down,’
 [perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2) with lò (§15.3.5.6)]

(02:01) [ē sē] wō pēⁿ-rè
 [Art father] Infin remain.Base-say.Base

[è náⁿ-bí] à kó ō→,
 [Art child] Ipfv weep.Ipfv whether,

òⁿ = Ø mīē ō→,
 [3AnSg Ipfv laugh.Ipfv whether,

[òⁿ dò tó?ó] wō kǎⁿ, wálà→,
 [3AnSg man Foc] be Dem.AnSg, right!,

A: ‘The father kept saying, whether the young woman is weeping, or whether she is laughing (i.e. whether she likes it or not), her husband [focus] is that one. Right!’

[pēⁿ- ‘remain’ compounding with VP in sense ‘keep VPing’ (§15.1.3.5); willy-nilly conditional (§16.3); < à kó ‘is weeping’, verb kpē/kó/kó ‘weep’; < /òⁿ dǔ tó?ó/]

- (02:08) [ðⁿ d̀ d́] wō kǎⁿ [ò wò yíí [Ø lē]],
 [3AnSg man Foc] be Dem.AnSg [3Pl Infin go.Base [Art home]],
 [è náⁿ-bí] d̀ [b́ máⁿ t̄rēⁿ =?],
 [Art child] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg sit.Ipfv Neg],

A: ‘“Her husband is that one.” They went home. The young woman said she wouldn’t (=she refused to) get married.’

[< /d̄ d́/; ‘sit’ = ‘settle (in a home)’ = ‘(woman) get married’]

- (02:11) k-ā lā= [Ø ẁmíⁿ]
 Infin-Ipfv fry.Ipfv [Art cakes]
 [ɲ-ā yó [à blíí],
 [Infin-Ipfv become.black.Ipfv [3Inan night],
 [è bítáró] kō wē [ɔⁿ j̀̀̀̀],
 [Art leper] Infin put.in.Base [3AnSg boubou],

A: ‘She would fry cakes until nightfall. The leper would put on his boubou (=outer garment).’

[ẁmíⁿ thin fried cakes made from millet flour with some rice porridge; < /ẁmíⁿ kō à/]

- (02:15) k̀ yíí [kō rà-d̄ [ē ẁmíⁿ [ɔⁿ bà?à]]
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-buy.Base [Art cakes] [3AnSg chez]]
 ā kl̀ k̀-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘Then (the leper) went and bought some cakes at her place.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

- (02:17) ðⁿ mà klā= [Ø d̀̀̀̀],
 3AnSg if return.Base [Art evening],
 ðⁿ n̄= [[Ø yō-d̀] bà?à],
 3AnSg say.Pfv [[Art woman-old] Dat],

A: ‘When she came back in the evening, she said to the old woman,’

[< /ðⁿ ba klā ē d̀̀̀̀/; < /ðⁿ d̀̀̀̀ yō-d̀/]

- (02:19) d̀ b́ nà né— [ē cī-c̀̀̀ jī],
 Quot LogoSg see.Pfv (hesitation)— [Art young.man Indef],
 [ē cī-c̀̀̀] ā k̀ k̀́́́́́?
 [Art young.man] Ipfv be.good.Ipfv very.good,

A: ‘(Young woman:) “I saw a young man. The young man is very handsome.” ’

- (02:24) á jí bó dè bú = ò,
 ah! if LogoSg IpfvPast get.Base 3AnSgObj,
 bó nà tàràⁿ [[bó tóʔó] bàʔà],
 LogoSg Fut sit.Base [[3AnSg Foc] Dat],
 A: ‘(Young woman:) “Ah, if I had gotten him (as husband), I would have married him [focus].” ’
[counterfactual; first two occurrences of bó are logophoric, the third bó is (nonlogophoric) third singular before focus morpheme]

- (02:26) [ē yō-dè] d= [[ʔⁿ júó] =yà],
 [Art woman-old] say.Pfv [[3AnSg Poss.An] it.is],
 dè [bó júó] máⁿ glò,
 Quot [LogoSg Poss.An] IpfvNeg it.is,
 A: ‘The old woman said, “he is yours.” (The young woman) said, “he isn’t mine.” ’
[default animate possessum júó (§6.2.4.2); positive =(y)à ‘it is’ and its negation má⁽ⁿ⁾ glò (§11.2.1.1-2)]

- (02:29) [[ē yō-dè] d= [ʔⁿ júó] =yà]
 [Art woman-old] say.Pfv [3AnSg Poss.An] it.is,
 [dè [bó júó] máⁿ glò],
 say.Pfv [LogoSg Poss.An] IpfvNeg it.is,
 A: ‘(Again) the old woman said, “he is yours.” (Again the young woman) said, “he isn’t mine.” ’

- (02:31) dè bon dè jí ʔⁿ mà á là [bó nī],
 Quot well Quot if 3AnSg if PfvNeg believe.Base [LogoSg Loc],
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus]
 [ē kō jī] ʔⁿ nã= [Ø wòmíⁿ á bí-bī],
 [Art day Indef] 3AnSg see.Base [Art cakes Inan small],
 A: ‘(The old woman) said, “all right, if you-Sg don’t believe me, ...’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘... one day, stir up a little (dough for) cakes.’
[á bí-bì (§4.5.3.2.2, §8.5.2.2.3)]

- (02:35) [ʔⁿ mā là-dàⁿ] [wò tn té bà-bàʔà],
 [3AnSg if go.Base-arrive.Base] [Hort (hesitation) put.in quickly],
 kò léⁿ-klá,
 Infin stand.Base-return.Base,
 A: ‘(Old woman:) “When you arrive, put (some dough) on quickly, then get up and return.” ’
[< /ʔⁿ bà/]

- (02:38) ḡⁿ mà léⁿ-klá lò,
 3AnSg if stop.Base-return.Base after,
 ḡⁿ ḡō bà-léⁿ— ḡ tíⁿ-[páʔá-léⁿ],
 3AnSg Infin come.Base-stand.Base— (nasal) move.over.Base-[lurk.Base],
 A: ‘(Old woman:) “When you have gotten up and returned, come stand and (go) lurk off to the side (near the house).” ’
 [*perfective echo clause (§10.2.1.1.2) with lò (§15.3.5.6); < /ḡⁿ bà/; < /ḡⁿ kō/*]

- (02:42) ḡⁿ mà páʔá-léⁿ, [ē dǔ],
 3AnSg if lurk.Base, [Art man]
 ḡⁿ mā bà [bā à-diè] [dáʔá jèr^o],
 3AnSg if come.Base [if come.Base-enter.Base] [moment Rel],
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘(Old woman:) “When you lurk (around the house), the man, when he comes and enters (=comes in), ...” ’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 [*< /ḡⁿ bà bà [bā bà-dīē dáʔá/ with two occurrences each of bà ‘if’ and bà ‘come’ (cf. §15.1.5.1)]*]

- (02:48) ḡⁿ mē ḡà [ā tǔʔǔ],
 3AnSg Fut see.Pfv [3Inan place],
 è náⁿ-bí— [è bí^tró] bà [Ø = à-dīē],
 Art child— [Art leper] come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-enter.Base],
 A: ‘(Old woman:) “You will see its (=the) place.” The young woman— (or rather), the leper came and went in.’
 [*< /ḡⁿ bē/ with bē future; bà [Ø à- (§15.2.3.2.4)]*]

- (02:51) [ḡⁿ mā = à-dīē]
 [3AnSg if come.Base-enter.Base]
 [dè bó ḡà dī-gló = [Ø jǔʔǔ] [tǔʔǔ jèr^o]]
 [Quot LogoSg Fut take.out.Base [Art boubou] [place Rel]]
 A: ‘When he came and went in, at the point where he was going to take off (his) boubou,’

- (02:53) ò klá-wē = [[Ø bí^tró] jǔʔǔ],
 Infin return.Base-put.in.Base [[Art leper] boubou],
 [è náⁿ-bí] mēʔè-súʔó = = ò,
 [Art child] roll.Pfv-catch.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘... (he) then (changed clothes) and put on the leper’s boubou. The young woman grabbed and held him tightly.’
 [*< /mēʔè-súʔú/*]

- (02:56) [[è náⁿ-bí] mɛ̀ʔɛ̀-súʔó = =ò]
 [[Art child] roll.Pfv-catch.Base 3AnSgObj]
 gō gò [Ø bú-bú],
 Infin emit.Base [Art shout(n)],
 A: ‘She grabbed and held him, and let out a shout.’
 [gò ‘hit’ here in the sense ‘emit, utter’]

- (02:59) [ē yō-dè] gō bà,
 [Art woman-old] Infin come.Base,
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘Then the old woman came.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’

- (03:00) [ē yō-dè] bà,
 [Art woman-old] come.Base,
 [ē yō-dè] gā = à-pēⁿ-dè
 [Art woman-old] Infin come.Base-remain.Base-say.Base
 ò dè é!, d = ʔⁿ já [ʔⁿ míʔá],
 (hesitation) Quot oh!, Quot 3AnSg leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 A: ‘After the old woman came, the old woman came and kept saying, she told the leper, “oh!, give up!”’
 [begins with perfective echo clause; lit. “leave yourself!”]

- (03:03) [è bíʔró] dè [bó má léⁿ = [=è nī],
 [Art leper] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg stop.Ipfv [3Inan Loc],
 ʔⁿ dè é d = ʔⁿ—
 3AnSg say.Pfv oh! Quot 3AnSg—
 [è bíʔró] já [ʔⁿ míʔá],
 [Art leper] leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 A: ‘The leper said that he did not consent (=he refused). She (=old woman) said, oh, he— the leper must give up!’
 [first dè inaudible but implied; < /léⁿ [à nī]/ (§17.4.4.1)]

- (03:08) fɔ ʔⁿ wō— já [ʔⁿ míʔáⁿ],
 until 3AnSg Infin— leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 [ē dǔ] wò já [ʔⁿ míʔáⁿ],
 [Art man] Infin leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 A: ‘Eventually he gave up, the man gave up.’

- (03:12) [ē dò] já [ǝ̃ⁿ mɪⁿ?áⁿ] lò,
 [Art man] leave.Base [3AnSgRefl Refl] after,
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘When the man gave up, ...’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 [*perfective echo clause with lò*]

- (03:14) [è náⁿ-bí] wō dō [kō diē
 [Art child] Infin buy.Base [Infin enter.Base
 [kō sāⁿ-glō = [Ø tá^{sá} á fūⁿ?ǝ̃ⁿ]],
 [Infin pick.out.Base [Art bowl Inan new]],
 A: ‘The young person (=girl) bought and picked out a new eating bowl.’
 [*á fūⁿ?ǝ̃ⁿ (§4.5.3.1.2)*]

- (03:16) kò tǝ̃ⁿ = [Ø cèrù nórámá],
 Infin cook.tô.Base [Art tô very.good],
 kò tǝ̃ = [Ø diē nórámá],
 Infin cook.sauce.Base [Art sauce very.good],
 A: ‘Then (she) cooked a delicious tô, and cooked a delicious sauce.’
 [*verbs tēⁿ/tǝ̃ⁿ/tǝ̃ⁿ ‘knead, cook (tô)’ then tǝ̃rǝ̃/tǝ̃/tǝ̃ ‘cook (sauce)’; tô is maize cakes onto which sauce is served; nouns /cèrú/, /dié/*]

- (03:19) kō sū? = [ǝ̃ⁿ = [Ø dǝ̃]],
 Infin give.Base [Dat [Art man]],
 [ē dǝ̃] wò di
 [Art man] Infin eat.Base
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘And gave (it) to the man. Then the man ate.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 [*< /sū?ǝ̃ ǝ̃ⁿ ē dǝ̃/*]

- (03:22) ǝ̃ⁿ nō bà
 3AnSg Infin come.Base
 [gǝ̃ = [[Ø tàpù?ǝ̃ jèr =] = áⁿ séⁿ-nǝ̃],
 [with [[Art mat Rel] PfvNeg lie.down.Base-ExpPf],
 A: ‘She then brought a (new) mat that had never been slept on.’
 [*-nǝ̃ as -Vb2 for experiential perfect (§15.1.4.3), here negative; < /kà ē tàpù?ǝ̃ jèrǝ̃ⁿ/; intransitive ‘lie down’ as passive ‘be lain on’*]

- (03:24) ɔ̃ⁿ wō gbē [[bè tóʔó] tàpùʔò], [wō jàʔà =]
 3AnSg Infin take.Base [[Dem.Def Foc] mat], [Infin lay.out.Base]
 [Ø dǔ] dè [bó máⁿ séⁿ = ʔ],
 [Art man] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg lie.down.Base Neg],

A: ‘She then took that very same mat and laid (it) out. The man said, “I will not lie down.”’

[focalized prenominal bè (§6.5.3)]

- (03:27) [è náⁿ-bí] wō gò [Ø bú-bú], ē dǔ—,
 [Art child] Infin emit.Base [Art shout(n)], Art man—,
 [ē yō-dè] wō táⁿ-bà
 [Art woman-old] Infin do.again.Base-come.Base
 [Ø = à-fúó] [ɔ̃ⁿ màʔà],
 [Infin come.Base-plead.Base] [3AnSg Dat],

‘The young woman let out a shout. The man— (or rather) the old woman again came (up to him) and pleaded with him.’

[táⁿ- ‘do again’ (§15.1.3.3); verb fūē/fúó/fúó ‘plead’; < /ɔ̃ⁿ bàʔà/]

- (03:31) [[ò kō dīē [wò séⁿ],
 [[3Pl Infin enter.Base [Infin lie.down.Base],
 [ō rà— ō dīēⁿ]] [ɲná] nī],
 [Infin go.Base— Infin unite.Base]] situation] Loc],

A: ‘As soon as they went in and lay down, to go and couple,’

- (03:35) [ē dǔ] dè [bó má léⁿ = [= èⁿ nī]],
 [Art man] say.Pfv [LogoSg IpfvNeg consent.Ipfv [3Inan Loc]],
 ē yǔ— [è náⁿ-bí] wò táⁿ-gò [Ø bú-bú],
 Art woman— [Art child] Infin repeat.Base-emit.Base [Art shout(n)],
 A: ‘The man said, “I do not accept (=I refuse).” The woman— the young woman let out another shout.’

- (03:40) [ē yō-dè] wò táⁿ-bà
 [Art woman-old] Infin do.again.Base-come.Base
 [g = à-fúó], kò fúó = yò
 [Infin come.Base-plead.Base], Infin plead.Base 3AnSgObj
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘The old woman again came and pleaded, (she) pleaded with him.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[= yò variant of 3AnSg object enclitic (§4.3.2.3)]

- (03:42) [ē fōrū] kō bēⁿ,
 [Art marriage] Infin be.in.harmony,
 A: ‘The marriage became harmonious.’
 [fōrū < Jula; bēⁿ < Jula; cf. Tiefo-D [ē təràⁿʔáⁿ] kò tó-sō]

- (03:44) Ø mà jūʔʔ dè→ é-yùò dè→
 2Sg if hear.Base Quot 1Pl say.Pfv
 [Ø còfǝ-ró] d= [ò mâⁿ gblī [ē tǝràⁿʔáⁿ]],
 [Art Tiefo-Pl] say.Pfv [3Pl Proh pick.up.Ipv [Art marriage]],
 A: ‘If you hear that we have said, we the Tiefo have said, “don’t-2Pl (try to) pick
 (your) marriage.”’
 [*< mó bà jùʔʔ ‘if you hear’, cf. má = à jì ‘if you see’*]

- (03:48) [bè tóʔó] kō bè
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.Def
 á! à kǝní, [à ānàʔà té] = à
 ah! 3Inan be.thus, [3Inan face Foc.Inan] it.is
 àlí bè máⁿ glò = ā
 Ali Dem.Def IpvNeg it.is Q
 A: ‘That’s what it is.’
 B: ‘Oh! It is thus. That’s the essence of it.’
 A: ‘Ali, isn’t that it?’
 [*ā kǝní < Jula; Ali is another name for Jean-Pierre*]

Text 2017-14 Preparation of soumbala spice

duration 00:54

A: **Coulibaly Ye** (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker

B: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

Background note: soumbala is a major spice, sold in markets the form of dry black chunks. It is an ingredient in a wide range of sauces and in riz gras. It is produced by fermenting seeds of the *neré* tree, *Parkia biglobosa*. Its fruits are long bivalve pods that, when ripe, can be easily shelled at the sutures, revealing the seeds covered with a mass of bright yellow meal. The meal itself is edible dry as a snack, cooked with millet couscous, or fed to livestock. It too is sold in markets. After removing the meal, the seeds are made into soumbala as described below.

(00:08) [ē sèrùⁿ] Ø-mā [[Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ] nī]
 [Art Parkia.fruit] be.Loc [[Art tree] Loc]

A: ‘Fruit of *Parkia* is in the tree.’

[< /sèrùⁿ à-mā/; *Parkia biglobosa tree, locally known as néré (< Jula-Bambara)*]

(00:11) ā bà sē,
 3Inan if fruit.take.shape.Base,

ó kō kpā = nì,
 1Pl Infin pick.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘After it (fruit) has been produced (by the tree), we pick them (=fruits).’

[singular used generically for pods; free translation uses plural; ‘came and VP’ used by this speaker as ‘after VPed’; verb cùè/kpā/kpē ~ kpē]

(00:13) [ó bà kpā = nì]
 [1Pl if pick.Base 3InanObj]

[ó gō blè = nì]
 [1Pl Infin shell(v).Base 3InanObj]

A: ‘When we have picked them, then we shell them.’

[the fruit pods are split by hand to obtain the seeds; verb blè/blè/blè]

(00:16) ó bà blè = nì,
 1Pl if shell(v).Base 3InanObj,

ó gō cū?ṽ = nì
 1Pl Infin pound.lightly.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘When we have shelled them, then we pound them lightly.’

[after discarding the pods, the seeds are still covered by a thick yellow meal and are pounded to separate seeds and meal; light pounding in a mortar, verb cū?ē/cū?ṽ/cū?ṽ]

- (00:19) kò yíí [kà lō] [[Ø blāʔā] n̄]
 Infin go [with 3Inan] [[Art pond] Loc]
 [wō rà-láⁿ = n̄],
 [Infin go.Base-wash.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(We) then go with (=take) them to the pond, and (we) wash them thoroughly.’
 [‘go with’ = ‘convey, take, deliver’; kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); ‘wash’ lēⁿ/láⁿ/láⁿ]

- (00:21) kō bà [gā= à-gbē] [Ø tètèʔè]
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-take.Base [Art pot]]
 [kō jùʔò],
 [Infin put.up.on.Base],
 A: ‘(We) then come and take a cooking pot and put (it) up,’
 [*< /kō bà kō (b)à-/ (§15.2.3.2.4); kō jùʔò with final H-tone anticipating object = n̄, this is completed in next segment; verb dīʔè/jùʔò/jùʔù ‘put (pot, kettle, etc.) up on (hearth), i.e. over fire or on burner’ (homophone of ‘follow’); a hearth is typically three large stones that form a platform for placing the pot over the fire]*]

- (00:23) [kō jùʔò = n̄] [[ē dàⁿʔáⁿ] n̄],
 [Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj] [[Art fire] Loc],
 à gō bē,
 3Inan Infin be.cooked.Base,
 A: ‘(We) put it (=pot) up over the fire. Then it is done (=cooked).’

- (00:26) à bà bē,
 3Inan if be.cooked.Base,
 ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus-Foc
 ó kō wē = n̄ [[Ø só] n̄]
 1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art mortar] Loc]
 [kò flá = n̄],
 [Infin pound.lightly.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘When it is done (=fully cooked),’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘... then (we) put it in a mortar and we pound it lightly’
 [*verb blè/bē/blē ‘become tired; (food) be cooked, be done; ripen’ (bē is elsewhere the Ipfv, not base, of ‘come’); verb flē/flá/flá ‘pound (usually grain) somewhat lightly, not all the way into fine flour]*]

(00:29) kò klá-yíʔí [gò láⁿ = nì]
 Infin return.Base-go.Base [Infin wash.Base 3InanObj]
 [à ānàʔà] kō [bì tóʔó]
 [3Inan face] be [Dem.Def Foc]

A: 'Then (we) go back (to the pond) and wash it.'

B: 'It's top was like that.'

['return-go and go-wash' with unusual non-supplet repetition of 'go', elsewhere with repeat phrased as kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); B: not fully clear on recording, perhaps contracted from à yíʔí láⁿ ānàʔà]

(00:31) ó bà láⁿ = nì lò,
 1Pl if wash.Base 3InanObj after,
 ó gō bà-flò = nì,
 1Pl Infin come.Base-sauté.Base 3InanObj,

A: 'When we have washed it, we come and sauté it.'

[verb flè/flò/flò 'sauté, dry-cook (e.g. meat) lightly, stirring frequently]

(00:34) ó bà flò = nì,
 1Pl if sauté.Base 3InanObj,
 ó gō wē = nì [[ē klò-gbáʔá] nī],
 1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art calabash-big] Loc],

A: 'When we have sautéed it, we put it in an old, leaky calabash.'

[klò-gbáʔá is an irregular compound denoting a worn-out, leaky calabash that can be used to slowly drain off liquid]

(00:37) kò dóʔó = nì,
 Infin hide.Base 3InanObj,
 ó kō wē = nì [Ø sòkáⁿʔáⁿ],
 1Pl Infin put.inBase 3InanObj [Art chili.pepper],

A: 'Then (we) hide (=cover) it. Then we add chili peppers.'

[the néré seeds in the calabash are covered with leaves; emend wē = nì to just wē, cf. the next segment ; 'chili pepper' also dialectally mùsòkáⁿʔáⁿ and variants]

(00:40) kō wē= [Ø sōⁿ],
 Infin put.in-Base [Art salt],
 kò dóʔó = nì,
 Infin hide.Base 3InanObj,

A: 'Then (we) add salt, then (we) cover it.'

(00:43) à bà dóʔó, [ē d=] [ò sáⁿ],
 3Inan if be.hidden.Base, [Art day] [Pl three],
 à gò glú,
 3Inan Infin exit(v).Base,

A: 'When it has been covered, (after) three days, it comes out (=is taken out).'

[< /ē dè ò sáⁿ/]

(00:45) *à* *gō* *klě=* [*∅* *yèrú*],
 3Inan Infin be.done.Base [Art soubala],
 kò *dí*
 Infin eat.Base

A: 'It has become soubala (spice). Then (we) eat.'

(00:48) *dè* *mó* *dò* *=nì* *dè* *mó*
 Quot 2Sg speak.Base 3InanObj Quot 2Sg
 [*nó* *gblè* *=n̄* [*tò?ò* *jèrɔ̄ⁿ*]]
 [1Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
 [*nó* *tīē* *=n̄* *mā*]
 [1Sg put.down 3InanObj there.Def]

B: 'You tell it.'

A: 'Where I picked it (=narrative) up, I have put it (back) down there.'

Text 2017-15 Brewing sorghum beer 1

duration 00:45

A: **Coulibaly Ye** (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker

B: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

Cf. text 2017-17 below on the same topic. Background note: beer is brewed locally from sorghum as described below. Other alcoholic beverages known in the area are palm wine and mead (local French *hydromiel*) made from honey. Farther north in the sahel of Burkina and Mali, beer is brewed from millet or from a millet-sorghum mix.

(00:07) í-yùò bàʔà, í-yùò à dī-à-glō [Ø gblèⁿʔèⁿ],
 1Pl chez, 1Pl Ipfv take.out.Ipfv [Art sorghum],
 kō wē =nĩ= [[Ø jū] nĩ],
 Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art water] Loc],
 A: ‘Among us, we take out some sorghum (grains). Then (we) put it in water.’
 [transitive compound verb dīē-glō/dī-glō/dī-à-glō ‘take out’, cf. uncompounded
 intransitive glō/glú/glú ‘exit (v), go/come out’]

(00:13) ó bà wē =nĩ= [[Ø jū] nĩ] [kō jèr^s],
 1Pl if put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art water] Loc] [day Rel],
 [ā dè] [ò j^s], ó gò láⁿ =nì,
 [3Inan day] [Pl two], 1Pl Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘When we have put it in water on a given day, the second (=next) day, then we wash it.’
 [first clause mixed relative clause and conditional antecedent (); kō ‘day’ (as
 locator), then dè ‘day’ (as unit of counting); verb lēⁿ/láⁿ/láⁿ ‘wash’]

(00:18) ó bà láⁿ =nì,
 1Pl if wash.Base 3InanObj,
 ó gō tīē =nì [[ē tǒ] nĩ],
 1Pl Infin put.down.Base 3InanObj [[Art ground] Loc],
 A: ‘When we have washed it, we lay it on the ground.’

(00:20) à gō fīⁿ, à bà fīⁿ, ...
 3Inan Infin germinate.Base, 3Inan if germinate.Base, ...

ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

ó kò yí?é— yí?é =nì,
 1Pl Infin (hesitation)— turn.over.Base 3InanObj,

A: 'Then it (=sorghum grains) germinates. When it has germinated, ...'

B: 'It happened like that.'

A: '... then we turn it over.'

[fīⁿ/fīⁿ/fīⁿ 'bud (v); germinate'; yí?é 'turn over (germinated sorghum)']

(00:24) [à dí-cùⁿ?ùⁿ] ó gō cà?à =nì
 [3Inan next.morning] 1Pl Infin dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj,

ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: 'The next morning, we dry it out (in the sun).'

B: 'It happened like that.'

[dí-cùⁿ?ùⁿ (§8.5.7.1); verb cè?è/cà?à/cà?à 'dry out, set out in the sun to dry']

(00:28) ó bà cà?à =nì lò, à bà wó,
 1Pl if dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj after, 3Inan if be.dry.Base.

ó gō sèrò [gō wē =nì= [[Ø mà?ín] Ø]
 1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj] [[Art mill] Loc]

[wō gbè =nì]
 [Infin mill(v).Base 3InanObj]

ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: 'When we have dried it out (in the sun), when it is dry, we proceed to put it (in) the mill machine, to mill (=grind) it.'

B: 'It happened like that.'

[< / =nì ē mà?ín nī/; invariant verb gbè 'grind coarsely, mill (grain) (in milling machine)']

(00:32) ó bà gbè =nì,
 1Pl if mill(v).Base 3InanObj,

à gbè [kō jèróⁿ]
 3Inan be.milled.Pfv [day Rel]

à= Ø jù?ù [bì kò =rê→],
 3Inan Ipfv be.put.up.on.Base [Dem.Def day Emph],

A: 'When we have milled it, the (same) day that it has been milled, it is put up (on the fire, to brew) that same day.'

[verb jù?è ~ dí?è/jù?ò/jù?ù 'put up (on fire)'; < /à à jù?ù bì kō =rê→/ with =rê→ (§19.4.4)]

- (00:35) [à dí-cùⁿ?ùⁿ] ó kō dē = nì,
 [3Inan next.morning] 1Pl Infin boil.down.Base 3InanObj,
 [ā kè] [Ø sáⁿ], à gō nō,
 [3Inan day] [Pl three], 3Inan Infin be.drunk.Base,
 A: ‘The next day, we boil it down. The third day, it is drunk.’
 [dè/dē/dē ‘boil down (beer)’; kè (archaic) = dè ‘day (as locator)’; < /à kè ò sáⁿ/]

- (00:41) [nó gblè = ñ [tò?ò jèrⁿ]]
 [1Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
 [nó tīē = nì mā]
 [1Sg put.down 3InanObj there.Def]
 A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, I have put it (back) down.’

Text 2017-16 Preparation of shea-butter (beurre de karité)

duration 01:30

A: **Coulibaly Ye** (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker

B: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

Background note: Shea-butter is an important oil for cooking and grooming. At moderate temperatures it is buttery in texture, unlike other locally produced oils which are liquid. The fruits contain a large pit covered with sweet yellow pith which is readily consumed. The butter is made from the kernels inside the pits as described below. The shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*) is also the host of the karité caterpillar, *Cirina butyrospermi*, which forms a major protein source for people in the Bobo Dioulasso area around July-August. Because of its usefulness, the shea tree is left standing wherever fields are being cleared.

(00:08) *bon, íⁿ-yùò wò yíí,*
 well, 1Pl Infin go.Base,
 [ē dīʔé] gō sē, [[ē pòʔó] nī],
 [Art shea.fruit] Infin take.shape.Base, [[Art the.bush] Loc],
 A: ‘Okay, we go (out to the bush). Shea tree fruits have developed, out in the bush.’
[verb sàrè/sē/sē (dialectally imperfective sī) ‘shape, carve; take shape, (e.g. fruit) develop’

(00:15) *ó kō sāⁿ = nì,*
 1Pl Infin collect.Base 3InanObj,
 à bà wē-[kè-tèʔè] [[è sóʔó-ń] nī]
 3Inan if give.a.hand.Base [[Art fall.to.ground-VblN] Loc]
 [ó kō sāⁿ],
 [1Pl Infin collect.Base],
 A: ‘We collect them (on the ground). When they are ready to fall to the ground, we collect (them).’
[verb sēʔē/sóʔó/sóʔó ‘fall to ground’; wé-[kè-tèʔè] (§17.4.2.3.2) with human subject means ‘give a hand, help out’]

- (00:19) [ó bà sāⁿ [bà bà = [Ø lē]],
 [1Pl if collect.Base [if come.Base [Art home]],
 [ó gō jùʔò = nì [[ē dàⁿ?áⁿ] nī],
 [1Pl Infin put.up.on 3InanObj [[Art fire] Loc],
 kō flò = nì,
 Infinauté.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘When we have collected it and when (we) have come back home, we put it up on the fire (in a pot). Then (we)auté it.’

[i.e. cook the entire fruits (including skin and pith) lightly, stirring frequently; double conditional antecedent with subject omitted in second clause]

- (00:24) ó bà flò = nì,
 1Pl ifauté.Base 3InanObj,
 ó gō júáⁿ-glō = nì,
 1Pl Infin lick.Base-remove.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘When we haveauté it, we scoop it out (with a metal straining ladle)

[verb jūēⁿ-glō/júáⁿ-glō/júáⁿ-àⁿ-glō ‘scoop (small solids, out of a liquid)’, compound of ‘lick’ and ‘remove’]

- (00:27) kō càʔà = nì,
 Infin dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj,
 [à bā càʔà] [à bà wó],
 [3Inan if dry.in.sun.Base] [3Inan if be.dry.Base].
 ó gō sèrò [kō à cūʔō = nì],
 1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin Ipfv pound.lightly.Ipfv 3InanObj],

A: ‘Then (we) dry it (in the sun). When it has dried out (in the sun) and is dry, we proceed to pound it lightly (in a mortar).’

[double conditional antecedent with omitted subject in second clause; uncontracted kō à (imperfective chain), for some speakers always contracted kā = à ; verbs cèʔè/càʔà/càʔà ‘set out (or be set out) in sun to dry’ and cūʔē/cūʔō/cūʔō ‘pound lightly (in mortar)’, also ‘(bird) peck at’]

- (00:32) ó bà cūʔō = nì,
 1Pl if pound.lightly.Base 3InanObj,
 ó gō wē = nì [[è díbí] nī],
 1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art oven] Loc],

A: ‘When we have pounded it lightly, we put it in an oven.’

[a simple oven constructed from mud with a small opening on top, specifically for this purpose]

- (00:36) à gò wóʔó, à bà wóʔó,
 3Inan Infin be.roasted.Base, 3Inan if be.roasted.Base,
 ó kò yíʔí [gà lō] [[Ø màʃín] nī],
 1Pl Infin go.Base [with 3Inan] [[Art mill(n)] Loc],

A: ‘Then it cooks (in the oven). When it has cooked, then we take it to the grinding mill.’

[wēʔē/wóʔó/wóʔó ‘bake (karité pits) in an earthenware oven’, elsewhere ‘roast (meat); steam (couscous)’; kà lō ‘with it/them (inanimate)’ (§4.3.2.4)]

- (00:41) kò yíʔí [gō rà— ḡ nà = nì],
 Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base— (nasal) grind.Base 3InanObj],

A: ‘Then (we) go and grind it (in the mill).’

[kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); verb nē/nà/nīē ~ nà ‘grind (finely)’]

- (00:44) ó bà nà = nì,
 1Pl if grind.Base 3InanObj,
 ó gō bà-cáⁿ = nì,
 1Pl Infin come.Base-beat.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘When we have ground it, we come (back) and tap it.’

[the mash is tapped with the ends of one’s fingers to begin pressing out the oil; verb cēⁿ/cáⁿ/cáⁿ ‘beat (mash) with tips of fingers (to release oil)’, elsewhere ‘thresh (rice, fonio); beat up (sb)’]

- (00:47) ó bà cáⁿ = nì,
 1Pl if beat.Base 3InanObj,
 ó gò láⁿ = nì,
 1Pl Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘When we have tapped it, we wash it.’

- (00:49) à bà láⁿ,
 3Inan if be.washed.Base,
 ó gō sà̀̀̀̀̀ [gō wē = nì = [[Ø tè-tèʔè] nī]
 1Pl Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art pot] Loc]
 [gō dùʔḡ = [[Ø dàⁿʔáⁿ] nī],
 [Infin put.up.on.Base [[Art fire] Loc],
 kō wē = nì [[Ø tì-tèʔè] nī],
 Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art pot] Loc],

A: ‘When it has been washed, we proceed to put it (=the mash) in a pot and put (the pot) up on the fire, (we) put it in a pot.’

[emended at speaker’s request: in the recording, tè-tèʔè ‘pot’ and dàⁿʔáⁿ ‘fire’ were initially switched: “we proceed to put it in a **fire** and put it up on the **pot**, (we) put it in a **fire**”; the pot is an earthenware jar like that used to brew beer, but smaller]

- (00:55) *kō*—, *kò* *tó* = *nì*
 (hesitation)—, Infin cook.Base 3InanObj
à klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
à gò glú nórámá,
 3Inan Infin exit(v).Base very.well,
 A: ‘Then (we) cook it.;
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘It comes off (the fire) nice.’
 [*verb tār̀̀/̀̀t́/t́* ‘cook (sauce) by slow boiling’, also ‘brew, boil down (beer)’]

- (00:59) [*à*— *à nū*] *gò glú nórámá,*
 [(hesitation) 3Inan oil] Infin exit(v).Base very.well,
à bà glú [gō—, ì sārē = nì],
 3Inan if exit(v).Base [Infin—, (nasal) skim.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘Its oil comes off (the fire) nicely. When it has come off, we skimmed it
 (=skimmed off impurities).’
 [*repair broken sentence as à bà glú [ó gō sārē = nì]; invariable verb sārē, cf. Jula*
séⁿ-séⁿ, ‘skim off (impurities floating on the top, by scooping with a calabash)’]

- (01:04) *ó bà sārē-gārēⁿ* = *nì*,
 1Pl if skim.Base-do.well 3InanObj,
ó gò— ì té-sū?ᵛ = *nì mā*,
 1Pl Infin— (nasal) put.down.Base-give.Base 3InanObj there.Def,
 A: ‘When we have skimmed it off well, we set it down there.’
 [*‘give’ as compound final (§15.1.6.2)*]

- (01:07) [*è téⁿ màⁿ?àⁿ*] *mā klē*,
 [Art daybreak another] if be.done.Base,
ó gō flè = *nì*,
 1Pl Infin strain.off.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘When the next early morning happens (=comes), we pour it off.’
 [*< /téⁿ bàⁿ?àⁿ bà klē/; invariant verb flè ‘strain off (from the top)’; the oil has*
risen to the top and can be poured carefully into another container, leaving unwanted
liquid and sediment behind]

- (01:11) *kō sār̀̀* [*gō gbē = [Ø púⁿ-pù?ᵛ]*]
 Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin take.Base [Art kneading.stick]]
 [*wō wē [à nī]*],
 [Infin put.in.Base [3Inan Loc]].
 A: ‘Then (we) proceed to take a kneading-stick and put (the stick) in it (shea
 butter).’
 [*kneading-stick: a large paddle-shaped wooden implement for kneading dough*]

- (01:13) [ó bà wè = [Ø púⁿ-pù?ð]]
 [1Pl if put.in.Base [Art kneading.stick]]
 [ó gò fɛⁿ = nì],
 [1Pl Infin stir.Base 3InanObj],
 A: ‘When we have put the kneading-stick in, we stir it.’
 [*verb flɛⁿ/fɛⁿ/flɛⁿ*] ‘stir (with stick held vertically and moved or rotated)’]
- (01:15) kò ló-wē = nì [[ē è?é] nī],
 Infin turn.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art thing] Loc],
 dè gō klè [ē nū] [í-yùò bà?à] jórámá
 Quot Infin be.done.Base [Art oil] [1Pl chez] very.good
 [g-ā dí]
 [Infin-Ipfv be.eaten.Ipfv]
 A: ‘To turn it (kneading-stick) back and forth in the thing, so (it) becomes oil among us, very good (oil), for eating.’
- (01:20) [ē bù?ɔ-[tì-tè?è]] nī
 [Art mud-jar] Loc
 [ē bù?ɔ-[tè-tè?è]] nī, ó gō wē = nì
 [Art mud-jar] Loc, 1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj
 [[bì tó?ó] nī] [g-ā dí],
 [[Dem.Def Foc] Loc] [Infin-Ipfv eat.Ipfv],
 B: ‘In an earthenware jar.’
 A: ‘In an earthenware jar. That [focus] is what we put it in, for eating.’
- (01:25) [nó gblè = ñ [tò?ð jèrɔⁿ]],
 [1Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]],
 [nó tīē [tò?ð té]] kò yá
 [1Sg put.down [place Foc.Inan]] be Dem.InanSg
 A: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, here I have put it (back) down.’
 [*kò yá presentative (§4.4.4.2)*]

Text 2017-17 Brewing sorghum beer 2

duration 00:49

cf. text 2017-15

Ouattara Pren Christine (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), monologue

(00:07) [[ē lǎⁿ-[jùʔð-ní]-fě té] =yà
 [[Art beer-[put.up.on-VbIN]-talk(n) Foc.Inan] it.is
 nó nà dò, [nó yíé] Ouattara Pren Christine,
 1Sg Fut speak.Base, [1Sg name]
 B: ‘It’s talk about putting up (=brewing) beer [focus] that I will speak. My name is Ouattara Pren Christine.’

(00:12) nó nà fū⁵ⁿ [Ø cī], kúⁿʔúⁿ,
 1Sg Fut soak.Base [Art grain] today,
 ē cōⁿ, nó kò júⁿ =nì,
 Art tomorrow, 1Sg Infin strain.Base 3InanObj,
 B: ‘I will soak (sorghum) grain, today. Tomorrow, I will strain it (=drain off the water).’
[ē cī can mean specifically ‘millet (Cenchrus americanus)’ or more generally the combination of millet and sorghum; here the reference is to sorghum]

(00:18) è dí-còⁿ, nó kō láⁿ =nì,
 Art next.day, 1Sg Infin wash.Base 3InanObj,
 [nó bà láⁿ =nì] [nó gō sēⁿ =nì]
 [1Sg if wash.Base 3InanObj] [1Sg Infin lay.down.Base 3InanObj],
 [Ø blíʔ=] [ò sáⁿ],
 [Art night] [Pl three]],
 B: ‘The day after tomorrow, I wash it. When I have washed it, I lay it down (to germinate) for three nights.’
[dí-còⁿ ‘next day’, cf. dí-cùⁿʔúⁿ ‘next morning’ (§8.5.7.1); < /ē blíʔí/]

(00:22) [[à blíʔ=] [ò sáⁿ] bā yì-fló]
 [[3Inan night] [Pl three] if be.full.Base]
 [nó gò yíʔé =nì],
 [1Sg Infin turn.over.Base 3InanObj],
 kō càʔà =nì,
 Infin dry.in.sun.Base 3InanObj,
 B: ‘When the three nights have elapsed, I turn it over, and (I) set it out to dry.’
[yì-fló ‘fill, be filled’ or ‘(time) elapse’]

(00:25) à bā càʔà-kō, à bà wó,
 3Inan if dry.in.sun.Base-finish.Base, 3Inan if be.dry.Base,
 [ē dè] [ò sáⁿ], nó kō jùʔò =nì,
 [Art day] [Pl three], 1Sg Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj,
 B: ‘When it has dried out in the sun, when it is dry, (after) three days, I put it up
 (on the fire, in a vat with water, to brew).’

(00:30) nó bà jùʔò =nì,
 1Sg if put.up.on.Base 3InanObj,
 nó nà fā [Ø dīⁿʔōⁿ],
 1Sg Fut seek.Base [Art firewood],
 B: ‘When I have put it up, I will look for firewood’

(00:33) kō wē =nì= [[Ø dàⁿʔáⁿ] nī],
 1Sg put.in.Base 3InanObj [[Art fire] Loc],
 kò tó =nì,
 Infin brew.Base 3InanObj,
 B: ‘Then (I) will put it (vat with grain and water) on the fire, to brew it.’
 [*verb tārò/tó/tó ‘boil slowly in water’, hence ‘cook (sauce)’ and ‘brew, boil down
 (beer)’*]

(00:35) [ā d=] [ò sáⁿ] kō, kō jùʔò =nì,
 [3Inan day] [Pl three] finish.Base, Infin put.up.on.Base 3InanObj,
 [à dí-kùⁿʔùⁿ] à kō dē],
 [3Inan next.day] 3Inan Infin boil.down.Base],
 B: ‘(When) the three days are completed, to brew it, (by) the next day it boils
 down.’
 [*< ā dè ò sáⁿ; bà ‘if’ is implied before kō ; variant of dí-cùⁿʔùⁿ*]

(00:40) [ā d=] [ò sáⁿ], [à bára] kò sárúⁿ,
 [3Inan day] [Pl three], [3Inan work(n)] Infin descend.Base,
 ó kō nō =nì, [ó-bé dígè-rò] nī,
 1Pl Infin drink.Base 3InanObj, [1Pl other-Pl] Loc,
 B: ‘Its (=the) third day, the work descends (=is finished). We all drink it,
 together.’
 [*bára ‘work (n)’ < Jula; ‘together’ (§18.4.2); ó-bé (§4.3.1.5)*]

(00:45) nó gblè =nì [tòʔò jàróⁿ],
 1Sg take.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel],
 [à tīē [Ø tòʔò tóʔó]] =yà
 [3Inan be.put [Art place Foc]] it.is
 B: ‘Where I picked it (=narrative) up, that is the place where it is put (back)
 down.’
 [*final =yà may be contracted from presentative kò yá, since ‘it is’ is normally
 expressed as =à glò after a focalized constituent*]

Text 2017-18 The leprous husband (tale)

duration 01:30

A: **Coulibaly Ye** (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker

B: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

(00:08) è náⁿ-bí jī, ðⁿ yīʔē-ʃīʔì [ē yō-[bì-ʃìðⁿ]],
 Art child Indef, 3AnSg get.up.Pfv [Art woman-child],
 kō bà-tǎrāⁿ [Ø dǔ-tàràⁿ?àⁿ],
 Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Art man-sit.Nom],
 A: ‘A child. She grew up to be a young woman, and (she) came and got married.’
 [C̣ often flattened to C̣̄- as compound initial, as here with yō- ‘woman’ and
 dǔ- ‘man’; “man-sitting” = ‘(woman’s) marriage’, i.e. ‘settling down with a man’]]

(00:13) ðⁿ máⁿ gō = [[[Ø náⁿ-bí] bú] ní],
 3AnSg IpfvNeg be [[[Art child] get.Prog] Prog],
 A: ‘She was not getting (=bearing) a child.’
 [transitive progressive with object preceding verb (§10.2.4.1)]

(00:15) à gō ā klè
 3Inan Infin Ipfv be.done.Ipfv
 [ká nà klè [ē fliʔ =] [[ē yō] bàʔà],
 [like Fut be.done.Base [Art insanity] [[Art woman] chez],
 A: ‘It (=situation) was like the woman would go crazy.’
 [‘like’ clause (§15.3.1.2); lit. “it will become insanity on the woman”; < /fliʔi/]

(00:17) [ē yō] g-ā yé-à-kó-à-yé
 [Art woman] Infin-Ipfv walk.Ipfv-Ipfv-weep.Ipfv-Ipfv-walk.Ipfv
 à klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘The woman went around weeping.’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 [< /yé-à-kó-à-yé/, imperfective of three-verb compound (§10.1.6.1), including
 kpē/kó/kó ‘weep’]

(00:19) ðⁿ yīʔē [wō rà-dàⁿ [[Ø fǎrá] ní]
 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base] [[Art stone.shelf] Loc]
 A: ‘She went and arrived at a flat stone shelf.’
 [kō rà- (§15.2.3.3.4); < Jula fǎrá ‘rock’]

(00:21) [è fàrá] kò bí =ò,
 [Art stone.shelf] Infin ask.Base 3AnSgObj,
 d= ðⁿ— ðⁿ= Ø kó [dè= [Ø gèʔé] tē,
 Quot 3AnSg— 3AnSg Ipfv weep.Ipfv [Quot [Art what?] Q,
 A: ‘The stone shelf asked her, “why are you weeping?”’
*[original ‘you’ expressed as third person pronominal in quotation; gèʔé ‘what?’
 in Bi dialect (§13.2.3.2.1)]*

(00:26) ðⁿ d= [ē kètàⁿ] =yà,
 3AnSg say.Pfv [Art truth] it.is,
 [è [náⁿ-bí]-làʔà] dè glō [à bó],
 [Art [child]-hunger] Quot exit.Pfv [with LogoSg],
 A: ‘She said, “it’s true. Craving for a child had brought me out.”’
[kètà, dialectal for kità]

(00:28) [bì tóʔó] [bó k-ā kó],
 [Dem.Def Foc] [LogoSg Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv],
 [è fàrá] dè [jí bè =yà =rē→],
 [Art stone.shelf] say.Pfv [if Dem.Def it.is Emph],
 A: ‘(Woman:) “That’s why I am weeping.” The stone shelf said, ‘If that is the
 case, ...’’
[clause-final =dēʔ (§19.4.1), here prolonged as =rē→]

(00:30) d= [ðⁿ yíʔí],
 say.Pfv [3AnSg go.Base]
 à klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 [ē d=] [ò ɲūⁿ?ɔⁿ] mà yì-fló, ðⁿ wò klá,
 [Art day] [Pl four] if be.full.Base, 3AnSg Hort return.Base,
 A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “Go (away), ...”’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
 A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “and when four days have elapsed, you should return (here)!”’
[< /dè ò/]

(00:35) ðⁿ mà klá-bà
 3AnSg if return.Base-come.Base
 [Ø= à-nī [mèrèké jèrɔⁿ]],
 [Infin come.Base-see.Base [angel Rel]],
 [ðⁿ júó] =yà, ðⁿ wò gbō= =ò,
 [3AnSg Poss.An] it.is, 3AnSg Hort take.Base 3AnSgObj,
 A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “The angel that you will come back and see, it is yours, you
 should (=welcome) it.”’
[bà [Ø à-Vb2 (§15.2.3.2.4); júó (§6.2.4.2); < /gbē =ò/]

- (00:39) [ðⁿ mâⁿ já
[3AnSg Proh let.Base
[ðⁿ ɲò táⁿ-dàⁿ [bó n̄] tàʔà-kó] =?,
[3AnSg Infin return.Base-arrive.Base [LogoSg Loc] again] Neg,
A: ‘(Stone shelf:) “Don’t let it come back to me again.” ’
[já ‘leave, let’ with infinitival clause (§17.4.2.5.4); táⁿ- (§15.1.3.3)]
- (00:42) ɲó, [è náⁿ-bí] būō,
look.Base, [Art child] be.gotten.Pfv,
[è náⁿ-bí] wō pēⁿ [ɔ̄ⁿ bàʔà],
[Art child] Infin remain.Base [3AnSg chez],
A: ‘Look! The baby was gotten. The child stayed (=lived) with her.’
- (00:45) k-ā yé-à-ló-à-blī
Infin-Ipfv walk-Ipfv-turn.Ipfv-Ipfv-go.around.Ipfv
[k-ā klē= [Ø cī-cùʔò],
[Infin-Ipfv be.done.Ipfv [Art young.man],
A: ‘And he was walking around, and he was becoming a young man.’
[imperfective of three-verb compound (§10.1.6.1)]
- (00:47) kō bà-glú [w= [ðⁿ dígè-rò]],
Infin come.Base-exit(v)-Base [with [3AnSg other-PI]].
[è dígè-rò] wò yíí
[Art other-PI] Infin go.Base
[fó wō rà-dàⁿ [[ē tʔò] nī]],
[until Infin go.Base-arrive.Base [[Art place] Loc]],
A: ‘And he (came and) went out with his companions. The group went until (they) arrived at the place.’
[i.e. at the stone shelf; dígè-rò ‘others’, hence ‘(someone’s) peers, companions’ (collective), also part of reciprocal construction]
- (00:51) [ē tʔò-yúó] gō sðⁿ [Ø náⁿ-bí],
[Art place-people] Infin accept.Base [Art child],
[è náⁿ-bí]— [è yǒ] kō bà-léⁿ
[Art child]— [Art woman] Infin come.Base-stand.Base
[g-ā kó],
[Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv],
A: ‘The people of the place accepted the child (=young man). The child—(or rather) the woman (=his mother) stood and wept.’

[sings in Jula:]

- (00:57) *dè kpàná, kpàná jóná-jóná*
 Quot hurry! hurry! fast!-fast!
kà tá fǒ [[n̄ dēⁿ] yè→],
 Infin go say [[1Sg child.Def] Dat],
kó fǎrá kà dēⁿ mnà wò→,
 Quot stone.shelf Infin child.Def catch (meaningless).
 A: [song:] “ ‘Hurry! Fast! Go tell my child, (say) that the stone shelf has captured the child.’ ”
 [< *mìnà* ‘catch’]

- (01:04) [*è yǒ*] *k-ā kó* [*k-ā bē*],
 [Art woman] Infin-Ipfv weep.Ipfv [Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv],
 [*è bēⁿǎ-ǎ-blēⁿ-yùò*], *bùò kō sō =n̄* *dè*
 [Art tomtom-beat.tomtom.Pfv-Agent], 3Pl Infin take 3InanObj Quot
 A: ‘The woman was weeping and coming. The drummer took it (=started playing).’

- (01:08) *dùn-dún,*
dùn-dún-dún-dún-dún dùn-dún-dún-dún-dún-dún-dún-dún-dún-dún
 A: (sound of drums)

- (01:12) [*ē jǎrá-yúó*] *wō sō =n̄,* *dè*
 [Art balaphone-people] Infin take.Base 3InanObj, Quot
 A: ‘The balaphone people took it (=started playing).’

- (01:14) *è-lē→ lé-lé-lé-lé-lé-lé*
lè-lé-lè-lè-lé-lé-lè-lè→ lè→ lè→ lé-lé-lé-lè-lé-lè-lè-lè→ lè→
 A: (sound of balaphones)

- (01:19) [*bè tóó*] *būō— būō* [*ē yǒ*],
 [Dem.Def Foc] (hesitation)— get.Pfv [Art woman],
 [*è náⁿ-bí*] *má nèǎ-à-ǎ-ǎ-plūⁿ* [*ē èǎ*]
 [Art child] IpfvNeg ask.Ipfv-Ipfv-receive.Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv [Art thing]
 [*è fǎrá*] *bàǎ* *tàǎ-kó,*
 [[Art stone.shelf] Dat] again,
à klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: ‘That [focus] is what got (=happened to) the woman. One can’t any longer ask for and get a thing from a stone shelf.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

[*-plūⁿ* imperfective of *-pōⁿ* ‘be able’ (§15.1.7.1)]

(01:25) [[nó gblè [ē dèrà?á] [tò?ò jèrɔⁿ]]
[1Sg take.Pfv [Art tale] [place Rel]]
[à tīē mā]
[3AnSg be.put.Pfv there.Def]
à klè kà-tó
3Inan be.done.Pfv thus

A: 'Where I picked up the tale, it has been put (back) there.'

B: 'It happened like that.'

[standard tale-ending formula]

Text 2017-19 Childbirth and name-giving

duration 00:46

A: **Coulibaly Ye** (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), main speaker

B: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), respondent

(00:08) $\text{ɪ}^n\text{-yù}^ò$ $\text{bà}^{\text{?à}}$, [$\bar{\text{e}}$ $\text{y}^{\text{ǒ}}$] bà lé^n ,
 1Pl chez, [Art woman] if become.pregnant.Base,
 $[\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{k}^{\text{ǒ}}$] bā dà^n ,
 [3Inan day] if arrive.Base,

A: ‘In our area, when a woman becomes pregnant, when its (=the) day arrives,’
 [lé^n elsewhere means ‘stand, stop’, in sense ‘become pregnant’ short for phrase
 $\text{lé}^n = [[\emptyset \text{pl}^{\text{?ǔ}}] \text{nī}]$ with PP ‘in the belly’]

(00:13) ǔ^n mà ʃi ,
 3AnSg if give.birth.Base,
 ó gō — ŋ gbē [\emptyset $\text{ʃi-è}^{\text{?è}}$],
 3Pl Infin— (nasal) take.Base [Art give.birth-Ppl.Inan],

A: ‘When she gives birth, we take the placenta,’
 [$< / \text{ǔ}^n \text{bà} /$]

(00:17) $\text{k}^{\text{ò}}$ $\text{yí}^{\text{?í-pl}^{\text{ó}}}$ = [\emptyset $\text{tí}^{\text{?é}}$]
 Infin go.Base-dig.Base [Art hole]
 $\bar{\text{a}}$ klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 $\text{k}^{\text{ō}}$ wē = nì ,
 Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘Then (we) go and dig a (narrow) hole.’

B: ‘It happened like that.’

A: ‘Then (we) put it (=placenta) in (the hole).’
 [*the placenta is buried in the earth*]

(00:21) jí gō wō n— [$\bar{\text{e}}$ nī],
 if Infin bathe.Base (hesitation)— [Art mother],
 $\text{k}^{\text{ō}}$ wō nè— [$\bar{\text{e}}$ $\text{ná}^n\text{-bí}$],
 Infin bathe.Base (hesitation) [Art child],

A: ‘Then (we) bathe the mother, and then bathe the baby.’

[*first part somewhat broken; jí kō (Biton dialect); verb wè/wō/wō ‘bathe’*]

- (00:26) *kō* *sēⁿ*
 Infin lay.down.Base
ā *klè* *kà-tó*
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 A: ‘Then (they) lay (the baby) down (to sleep).’
 B: ‘It happened like that.’
- (00:28) *à* *bà—* *ó* *gō* *gò—*
 (false start)
ó *gō—* *gò* *dáⁿ=* [*ǝⁿ* *úⁿʔúⁿ*] *sāⁿ,*
 1Pl Infin— Infin shave.Base [3AnSg head] simultaneously,
 A: ‘We shave its head simultaneously.’
 [*sāⁿ* (§19.4.7)]
- (00:31) [[*ǝⁿ* *glō-kò*] *bā* =à *glò*]
 [[3AnSg exit.Pfv-day] if it.is it.is]
ó *kò* *dāⁿ=* [*∅* *úⁿʔúⁿ*],
 1Pl Infin shave.Base [Art head].
 A: ‘When it is his/her (=the baby’s) day for coming out, we shave its head.’
 [*glō-kò* (§5.1.10.1); < /*kō dáⁿ ē úⁿʔúⁿ*/]
- (00:33) [*ē* *nī*] *wò* *glú,* [*ē* *yǒ*] *bà* =à *glò,*
 [Art mother] Infin exit(v).Base, [Art woman] if it.is it.is,
 [*ē* *d=*] [*ò* *ŋūⁿʔōⁿ*], [*ǝⁿ* *úⁿʔúⁿ*] *wò* *dáⁿ,*
 [Art day] [Pl four], [3AnSg head] Infin be.shaved.Base,
 A: ‘The mother comes out (with the baby). If it’s a girl, four days (after the birth), her head is shaved.’
 [< /*ē dè ò*/]
- (00:39) [*ē* *dǒ*] *bà* =à *glò,*
 [Art man] if it.is it.is,
 [*ē* *dè—* *dè=*] [*ò* *sáⁿ*], [*ǝⁿ* *úⁿʔúⁿ*] *wò* *dáⁿ,*
 [Art (hesitation) day] [Pl three], [3AnSg head] Infin be.shaved.Base,
 A: ‘If it’s a boy [focus], three days (after the birth), his head is shaved.’
- (00:42) [*nó* *gblè* =*n*] [*tǝʔǝ* *jèrǝⁿ*]
 [1Sg pick.up.Pfv 3InanObj [place Rel]]
 A: ‘Where I picked it up, ...’

Text 2017-20 Childbirth and name-giving in the old days

duration 00:51

A: **Ouattara Pren Christine** (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), main speaker

B: *Coulibaly Ye* (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), respondent

Note: In this recording speaker B takes the lead, while A generally repeats what B says. The content is basically the same as that of 2017-19.

(00:10) *bon*, [[è fóló-fóló] nī] kòní,
 well, [[Art old.days] Loc] Top,
 [è fóló-fóló] nī
 [Art old.times] Loc
 A: ‘In the old days,’
 B: ‘In the old days,’
 [*Jula fóló-fóló*, cf. *Tiefo-D ē dī-nā-dēⁿ*]

(00:12) [ó kòní] yì fī
 [1Pl Top] Past.Ipfv give.birth.Ipfv
 ó rè fī
 1Pl IpfvPast give.birth.Ipfv
 A: ‘We would give birth.’
 B: ‘We would give birth.’

(00:14) mó gā = à-gbē [Ø plò?ò]
 2Sg Infin come.Base-take.Base [Art belly]
 Ø mā = à-gbē [Ø plò?ò]
 2Sg if come.Base-take.Base [Art belly]
 A: ‘(When) you then come and get pregnant.’
 B: ‘You come and get pregnant.’
 [*< /kō bà-gbē/ ; < /ḥ mā gbē/*]

(00:16) à bà yì-fló [Ø fê-rè] [ò kàⁿ-ḡūⁿ?ṣⁿ]
 3Inan if be.full.Base [Art month] [Pl five-four]
 [è fê-rè] [ò kàⁿ-ḡūⁿ?ṣⁿ]
 [Art month] [Pl five-four]
 A: ‘When it (=belly/womb) is full for nine months,’
 B: ‘Nine months.’

(00:18) *kō* *bà-fī*
 Infin come.Base-give.birth.Base
 Ø *mā* *à-fī*
 2Sg if come.Base-give.birth.Base
 A: ‘Then (you) comes and give birth.’
 B: ‘When you give birth.’
 [</ðⁿ bà fī/]

(00:20) [*ē* *dǔ*] *bà* =à *glò*
 [Art man] if it.is it.is
 [*ē* *dǔ*] *bà* =à *glò*
 [Art man] if it.is it.is
 [*ē* *d=*] [*ò* *sáⁿ*]
 [Art day] [Pl three]
 [*ē* *dè*] [*ò* *sáⁿ*]
 [Art day] [Pl three]
 A: ‘If it’s a boy, ...’
 B: ‘If it’s a boy.’
 A: ‘Three days (after the birth).’
 B: ‘Three days.’

(00:23) [*ē* *yǒ*] *bà* =à *glò*
 [Art woman] if it.is it.is
 [*ē* *yǒ*] *bā* =à *glò*
 [Art woman] if it.is it.is
 [*ē* *d=*] [*ò* *ŋūⁿ?ɔⁿ*]
 [Art day] [Pl four]
 [*ē* *dò=*] [*ò* *ŋūⁿ?ɔⁿ*]
 [Art day] [Pl four]
 A: ‘If it’s a girl, ...’
 B: ‘If it’s a girl.’
 A: ‘Four days (after the birth).’
 B: ‘Four days.’

(00:27) *donc* *ò* *bà* *dâⁿ=* [Ø *úⁿ?úⁿ*]
 so 3Pl if shave.Base [Art head]
ò *bà* *dâⁿ=* [Ø *úⁿ?úⁿ*]
 3Pl if shave.Base [Art head]
 A: ‘So, when they have shaved the head,’
 B: ‘When they have shaved the head,’

- (00:29) [[è fóló-fóló nī] ò nà dáⁿ = ñ
 [[Art old.days] Loc] 3Pl Fut shave.Base 3InanObj
 [kà— [ē l̩ⁿ—] [ē l̩ⁿ-bèⁿ]]
 [with— [Art chicken—] [Art chicken-young]]
 ò nà dáⁿ = ñ [ŋǎ = [Ø l̩ⁿ-bèⁿ]]
 3Pl Fut shave.Base 3InanObj [with [Art chicken-young]]

A: 'In the old days, they would shave it with a young chicken.'

B: 'They would shave it with a young chicken.'

[the biological father brought a three-month-old chicken as an acknowledgement of paternity, whereupon the child's head was shaved; the baby is treated grammatically as inanimate 'it' as in English, see also @ 00:34 below; < /dáⁿ = ñⁿ kà ē/; l̩ⁿ-bèⁿ (§5.1.6.3)]

- (00:32) kò yíí-sēⁿ = [Ø ná-bí =] [[[Ø jò] pól] nī]
 Infin go.Base-lay.down.Base [Art child] [[[Art fetish] leg] Loc]
 kò yíí-sēⁿ = [Ø náⁿ-bí =] [[[Ø jò] pól] nī]
 Infin go.Base-lay.down.Base [Art child] [[[Art fetish] leg] Loc]

A: 'Then (they) would go and lay the baby down at the foot of the fetish.'

B: 'Then (they) would go and lay the baby down at the foot of the fetish.'

[kò yíí-sēⁿ could be elaborated as kò yíí kò ó-sēⁿ or Bi kò yíí kò rà-sēⁿ ; < /ē jǒ pól/; the fetish would be on a kind of altar]

- (00:34) kō s̩̀r̀ò [wò dáⁿ = ñ]
 Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin shave.Base 3InanObj]
 ñ s̩̀r̀ò [à ź̩é]
 (nasal) give.Base [3Inan name]
 kō s̩̀r̀ò— kō s̩̀r̀ò [à yíé]
 Infin give.Base— Infin give.Base [3Inan name]

A: 'Then they would shave it, and give its name'

B: '(And) give—, give the name.'

[pre-resumption nasal (§3.1.1.10); ź̩é ~ yíé 'name']

- (00:37) [ē l̩̀m̀d̀g̀ó]
 [Art joking.relative]
 gō à-gbē-glō = ò
 Infin come.Base-take.Base-take.out.Base 3AnSgObj
 [ē l̩̀m̀d̀g̀ó] gō à-dī-glō = ò
 [Art joking.relative] Infin come.Base-take.out.Base 3AnSgObj

A: 'A joking relative then comes and picks it up and takes it out.'

B: 'A joking relative then takes it out.'

[speaker A uses gbē-glō 'pick up and take out', second speaker uses the more common dī-glō 'remove, take away, take out'; joking relationships are based on clans, e.g. Ouattara and Coulibaly]

- (00:41) [ðⁿ ʒíé], kō wē= [[Ø ná-bí] ʒíé]
 [3AnSg name], Infin put.in.Base [[Art child] name]
 kō wē= [[Ø náⁿ-bí] yíé]
 Infin put.in.Base [[Art child] name]

A: 'Then (they) put (=announce) the name, (they) put the child's name.'

B: '(They) put the child's name.'

[the father chooses the name; the joking relative announces it when the baby is brought out]

- (00:43) [dè-rè nī] kō continuer [kà [Ø bórá]] [kò fó]
 [now Loc] Infin continue [with [Art work(n)]] [Infin pass.Base]
 ò kō continuer [kō gbē= [Ø bórá]]
 3Pl Infin continue [Infin take.Base [Art work(n)]]
 [kò fó [à lō]]
 [Infin pass.Base [with 3Inan]]

A: 'Now (they) get back to (their) work.'

B: 'They take (their) work and move on with it.'

[dè-rè (dialectally dè-dè) 'now'; bórá < Jula]

- (00:47) nó būō jàróⁿ [bì tó?ó] =yà
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
 A: 'What (knowledge) I have gotten, that [focus] is it.'
[for final =yà see comment on the end of 2017-17]

Text 2017-21 A riddle

duration 00:17

A: *Ouattara Pren Christine* (grew up in Jinejan, married into Sangogo), main speaker

B: *Coulibaly Ye* (grew up in Biton, married into Masaso), respondent

Note: Some verbatim repetitions by B are omitted in the transcription.

(00:05) [nó sē] dèrè = [Ø sò jī] [ō sūʔ = [ðⁿ nó]]
[1Sg father] buy.Pfv [Art horse Indef] [Infin give.Base [Dat 1Sg]]
A: 'My father bought a horse and gave (it) to me.'

(00:08) ðⁿ k-ā ʃɪⁿʔɪⁿ,
3AnSg Infin-Ipfv run.Ipfv,
ðⁿ = Ø ʃɪⁿʔɪⁿ [k-ā ʃɪⁿʔɪⁿ] [k-ā ʃɪⁿʔɪⁿ]
3AnSg Ipfv run.Ipfv [Infin-Ipfv run.Ipfv] [Infin-Ipfv run.Ipfv]
A: 'It (=horse) was running. It was running and running and running.'
[repeated imperfective infinitival clauses to emphasize duration (§15.2.2)]

(00:10) ðⁿ máⁿ ló-à-ɲú
3AnSg IpfvNeg turn.Ipfv-Ipfv-look.Ipfv
A: 'It doesn't look back.'

(00:12) [bè kóró] dò
[Dem.Def meaning] speak.Base
A: 'Say its meaning!'
[imperative, with object fronted before verb (in this formulaic utterance only)]

(00:13) [bè kóró] dè = [Ø ɲū]
[Dem.Def meaning] Quot [Art water]
B: 'Its meaning is water.'

Text 2018-01 Choosing a new chief

duration 02:25

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

- (00:02) ó nà dò,
 1PI Fut speak.Base,
 [[ē còfó-[màsà-cé]]] [tèrèⁿ-kà]]-[cógó-yá], [ē còfó] bà?à,
 [[Art Tiefo-[chief]]] [sit.Pfv-manner]]-[manner], [Art Tiefo] chez,
 ‘We will speak (about), the way a Tiefo chief is seated (=enthroned), among the
 Tiefo.’
 [màsà-cé < Jula ‘chief-man’, cf. mäsà-yá ‘chieftood’ (<Jula); Tiefo-D equivalent
(è) wúⁿ-dìⁿ ‘chief’, see 01:57 below; cógó-yá < Jula; ‘Tiefo chief’ as possessor (or
 arguably subject within the compound)]

- (00:14) [ámì, [kà— bàkàrì] tò?á=] à-mā [à nī],
 [Aminata [with— B] Foc] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 [ē [còfó-[màsà-cé]]-[tèrèⁿ-kà], [ē wù?ú-kě] =yà,
 [Art [Tiefo-[chief]]-[sit.Pfv-manner], [Art house-matter] it.is,
 [ē wù?ú-kě] =yà,
 [Art house-matter] it.is,
 ‘It is Aminata and Bakari [focus] who are here. The way a Tiefo chief is seated
 (=installed) is a family matter. It’s a family matter (and)’
 [Aminata (co-author) and Bakari (another name for the speaker); < /tó?ó à-mā/;
 compound-final -kà ‘manner’ (§5.1.7.2); ‘sit’ and transitive ‘seat’ in this text refers to
 being installed as chief; repetition of ‘it’s a family matter’ is an echo setting up the
 following segment]

- (00:24) [à— ò— ē wù?ú-yúó] kō tārāⁿ,
 [(hesitation) Art house-people] Infin sit.Base,
 kō nī [ò dígò-rò],
 Infin see.Base [PIRefl Recip],
 kō dò-té =nī= [Ø tò?ò [n dèⁿ?éⁿ]],
 Infin say.Base-put.Base 3InanObj [Art place [Sg one]],
 ‘The members of their family sit (=have a meeting), they see each other
 (=discuss). They converge their words in one place.’

- (00:36) [yúó jèròⁿ] ká-káⁿ [wò tārāⁿ],
 [person Rel] ought [Hort sit.Base],
 [yúó jèròⁿ] kò ná-dè,
 [person Rel] be person-old,
 ‘The person who deserves to sit (=be installed as chief). A person who is senior.’
 [ká-káⁿ < Jula (§8.5.4.3)]

- (00:41) [ē [màsà-cé]-[tèrèⁿ-kà]] nī, ò kò nó = nì,
 [Art [chief]-[sit.Pfv-manner]] Loc, 3Pl be look.Base 3InanObj,
 [[ē màsà-cé], fiè-já]— [bí-ḡō jèró],
 [[Art chief], pass.Pfv-leave.Base]— [children Rel.AnPl],
 ‘On the seating of the chief, they look at (=consider) the children that the
 (deceased) chief went away and left (behind).’
- (00:52) [ò kò nó = nì [jí= [Ø dē jī]—
 [3Pl Infin look.Base 3InanObj [if [Art elder.sib Indef]—
 [ē bī-dǒ jī] bā à-mā [[Ø màsà-cé] bà?à],
 [Art younger.sib Indef] if be.Loc [[Art chief] chez],
 ‘They look at (=consider) whether there is some elder sibling— (or rather) some
 younger sibling (of the deceased chief) at the chief’s place (=family).’
 [jí ‘if, whether’ (clause-initial, optional) distinct from postnominal indefinite jī
 ‘some’; ‘sibling’ in this context means ‘brother’; bī-dǒ (§5.1.8)]
- (00:57) [ò kō—, ñ dō= [[Ø bī-dǒ] bà?à],
 [3Pl Infin—, (nasal) say.Base [[Art younger.sib] Dat],
 [móⁿ dē] kpà,
 [2Sg elder.sib] finish.Pfv,
 ‘They say to a younger brother, “your-Sg elder brother has passed away.” ’
- (01:03) [ò ká-káⁿ— [[ē blō]= [ò sáⁿ]] zìè-fló,
 [3Pl ought— [[Art rain(n)] [Pl three] fill.Pfv,
 [ò ká-káⁿ [wò té móⁿ],
 [3Pl ought [Hort put.Base 2Sg],
 [[móⁿ dē] plàsí] nī,
 [[2Sg elder.sib] place] Loc,
 ‘“It is right to—. Three rainy seasons (=years) have been filled (=elapsed). It is
 right to put (=install) you-Sg in your elder brother’s place.” ’
 [plàsí < Frech place]
- (01:09) [ò kō fūṣ?ṣ= [Ø fé] wⁿ,
 [3Pl Infin give.Base [Art talk(n)] Dat.3AnSg,
 [ṣⁿ ṡō—, ñ dō [ṣⁿ dó],
 [3AnSg Infin—, (nasal) say.Base [3AnSgRefl Poss.Inan],
 ‘They give him the word (=allow him to speak). He speaks his thing (=states his
 position).’
 [cf. French on lui donne la parole ; fūṣ?ṣ Ma dialect for sū?ṣ, for dialectal f ~
 s/f correspondences see §3.2.1.10); ṣⁿ dative 3AnSg (§4.3.2.3)]

- (01:45) [ō gō fā [Ø ə-ré], [è báⁿ],
 [3Pl Infin seek.Base [Art thing-Pl], [Art sheep],
 kō fā [Ø ə-ré], [è báⁿ] à-mā [à nī],
 Infin seek.Base [Art thing-Pl], [Art sheep.Sg] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 [kà= [Ø l̥ⁿ]] [kà= [Ø l̥ⁿ]],
 [with [Art chicken]] [with [Art beer]],
 ‘They (family) look for (=go around getting) the things (for the ceremony), (such as) a sheep. They look for the things. There’s a sheep, and a chicken, and (sorghum) beer.’

[ə-ré plural of èʔé ‘thing, object’; < kà [ē l̥ⁿ] etc.; l̥ⁿ a rare monosyllabic noun stem with <LM> rising tone]

- (01:55) ò kō yìʔí, [kō yìʔí [kò =ʔó=té =ò],
 3Pl Infin go.Base, [Infin go.Base, [Infin go.Base-put.Base 3AnSgObj],
 ‘They go, they go and install him.’
 [kō yìʔí Ma dialect for kò yìʔí (§3.6.1.5); kò =ʔó- (§15.2.3.3.1)]

- (01:57) [è wúⁿ-dìⁿ bàⁿʔàⁿ tòʔá=] à glú=
 [Art chief other Foc] Ipfv exit.Ipfv
 [[Ø tòʔò jī] n̄] [kō à-té =ò],
 [[Art place Indef] Loc] [Infin come.Base-put.Base 3AnSgObj],
 ‘Another chief [focus] goes out to a certain place, and comes and installs him.’
 [bàⁿʔàⁿ (§18.5.2.3); < /tóʔó à glú ē/; kō à-té could also be parsed as kō à té with Ipfv à, but compare 02:03 below with ‘go and put’ parallel to ‘come and put’ here]

- (02:02) [ðⁿ má tārēⁿ [ðⁿ miàʔá],
 [3AnSg IpfvNeg seat(v).Ipfv [3AnSgRefl Refl],
 ‘He doesn’t (=cannot) seat himself (as chief).’
 [miàʔá dialectal for míʔá reflexive object (§18.1.2); imperfective negative (§10.2.5.6)]

- (02:03) [è wúⁿ-dìⁿ bàⁿʔàⁿ tòʔá=] à glú= [[Ø tòʔò] nī]
 [Art chief other Foc] Ipfv exit.Ipfv [[Art place] Loc]
 [wò yìʔí [kò =ʔó-té =ò],
 [Infin go.Base [Infin go.Base-put.Base 3AnSgObj]],
 ‘Another chief goes out to the place and goes and installs him.’

Text 2018-02 Duties of chiefhood

duration 01:27

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

(00:02) [bon, [ē màsà-cé] bà t̄rāⁿ, ̄ⁿ t̄rèⁿ k̄,
[well, [Art chief] if sit.Base, 3AnSg sit.Pfv finish.Base
̄ⁿ ká-káⁿ [ɲò s̄ⁿ [Ø kē-sùⁿ?̄ⁿ j̄r̄ⁿ]],
3AnSg ought [Hort work(v).Base [Art work(n) Rel]],
‘When the (new) chief has been seated (=installed), the work that he is expected to perform.’

(00:09) [ē nà-bí-ó] kò k̄ⁿ = ñ
[Art person-Pl] Hort know.Base 3InanObj,
[d̄= [Ø màsà-cé] k̄ k̄ⁿ,
[Quot [Art chief] be Dem.AnSg],
‘The people must know, this is the (new) chief.’
[nà-bí ‘person’, dialectal (Fl Ma) for ná-bí, reflecting wider variation between ná- and nā- (§5.1.5.5); k̄ⁿ ‘know’ with 3Inan object resuming attached quotative complement (§17.3.1.1)]

(00:12) ̄ⁿ má káⁿ
3AnSg IpfvNeg ought
[kò, è klè [[k̄ j̄r̄ⁿ] má kò],
[Hort, (hesitation) do.Base [[thing Rel] IpfvNeg be.good.Ipfv],
‘He must not do anything that is bad.’
[má káⁿ negates ká-káⁿ (§8.5.4.3), which occurs in the following section]

(00:16) [̄ⁿ ká-káⁿ [kò klè—],
[3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base—]
[ē nà-bí-ó], [ē nà—] [è yúó]— [ɲámál̄]-kàʔa,
[Art person.Pl], [Art per(son)—] [Art people]— [be.watchful]-Ppl.An,
‘He must do—. The people— The people, watchful ones.’
[< Jula ɲá-má-l̄ said to be segmentable as ‘eye-person-stop’; animate participial -kàʔa, singular since yúó can be generic singular ‘a person’, cf. explicitly plural -kò]

(00:23) [yúó j̄r̄ⁿ] s̄rè,
[person Rel] be.straight.Pfv,
[̄ⁿ ká-káⁿ [kò klè [[bó tòʔó] wí],
[3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base [[LogoSg Foc] owner],
‘A person who is straight (honest), it must be himself (who becomes chief).’
[s̄rè/s̄rò/s̄rò ‘be straight’; wí ‘owner’ in the generic (specific indefinite) sense ‘person, fellow, guy’ (§18.5.1.2)]

- (00:27) [ē nà-bí-ó] má káⁿ [wò glō= [Ø jū]
 [Art person.PI] IpfvNeg ought [Hort exit(v).Base [Art eye]
 [[[Ø nà-bí-ó] yè-ró] nī],
 [[[Art person] woman-PI] Loc],
 ‘People must not cast an eye on (other) people’s women.’
 [*< glú [ē júú] ; impersonal ‘they’ is used starting here, but it seems to refer mainly to chiefs, whose behavior must be exemplary*]
- (00:30) [ò má káⁿ [kò nǒ—],
 [3Pl IpfvNeg ought [Hort look.Base—],
 [ò má káⁿ [wò fē],
 [3Pl IpfvNeg ought [Hort steal],
 ‘They (=people) must not look—. They must not steal.’
 [*first part is cut off*]
- (00:34) [ðⁿ ká-káⁿ [kò klē= [[Ø nà-bí-ó bíé] bàʔà],
 [3AnSg ought [Hort do.Base [[Art person.PI all] chez],
 ‘He must be fair to all people.’
 [*literal ‘do [chez X]’ has a vague sense ‘be fair, be open to X’*]
- (00:37) [ðⁿ mà jī= [Ø yúó jī]],
 [3AnSg if see.Base [Art person Indef],
 [bà kō [[[Ø kè] má [[á kòʔó jī] nī]]
 [if be [[[Art thing] IpfvNeg [[Inan good Indef] Loc]]
 ‘If he sees someone, if (the person) is (involved) in something bad, ...’
 [*< /ðⁿ bà jī ē yúó/; á kòʔó ‘good (inanimate)’ (§4.5.3.1.2); negative má is interpreted as negating ‘good’ at the lexical level, i.e. ‘no good, bad’*]
- (00:40) [ðⁿ ɲò dò =nì]
 [3AnSg Hort say.Base 3InanObj
 [ɲì yá] [kò já =nì mā],
 [see.Base Dem.InanSg] [Hort leave.Base 3InanObj there.Def],
 ‘... he (=chief) should (him) to see (=imagine) that and should leave it there.’
 [*i.e. the chief should tell him to resist the temptation to do it; < /ɲì yá/*]
- (00:43) [ðⁿ nà fūʔú {t̩ⁿ}, [ē wúⁿ-kě],
 [3AnSg Fut catch.Base {...}, [Art village-matter],
 {kè} [[ē [lèkàrè-só]-kě],
 {...} [[Art [school-house]-matter],
 ‘He handles village matters and school matters.’
 [*fūʔú Ma dialect for súʔú (§3.2.1.10, §3.6.1.5); {t̩ⁿ} and {kè} are audible on the recording but are uninterpretable and the speaker asked that they be edited out; lèkàrè-só ‘school-house’ < Jula (cf. French l’école)*]

(01:20) [ɔ̃ⁿ fɔ́rɔ́ⁿ] má káⁿ [wò dò [Ø jɔ̃ⁿ-jɔ̃ⁿ]],
 [3AnSg also] IpfvNeg ought [Hort say.Base [Pl two-two]],
 [ɛ̀ màsà-cé] à= Ø kò [kò dò [n dèⁿʔéⁿ]],
 [Art chief] 3Inan Ipfv be.good.Ipfv [Infīn say.Base [Sg one]],
 [è fé] [n dèⁿʔéⁿ]
 [Art talk(n)] [Sg one]

‘He furthermore mustn’t speak double-talk. It is good that the chief speak one (language), with one (=a single) language.’

[*distributive iteration jɔ̃ⁿ-jɔ̃ⁿ (§4.6.1.6), here indicating ambiguity or vagueness, cf. doubletalk; ‘one’ used as opposite, i.e. ‘clearly, unambiguously, frankly’*]

Text 2018-03 Planting crops

duration 00:52

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

- (00:01) [ē bàʔá], [ē còfó bàʔà],
 [Art farming(n)] [Art Tiefo chez],
 [é—, é kō sāⁿ [Ø pè-rè-ʔè]
 [1Pl—, 1Pl Infin gather.Base [Art twig-Pl]
 ‘Farming, among the Tiefo. We gather up the stalks.’
[dried stalks of grain crops from the previous year are removed; sèⁿ/sāⁿ/sēⁿ
‘gather, pick up (one at a time)’; pè-rè-ʔè plural of pòʔò with vocalic shift (§3.3.9)]
- (00:11) [ē pè-rè-ʔè] bà sāⁿ-kō, ò [kō sàrò]
 [Art stalk] if gather.Base-finish.Base, 3Pl [Infin proceed.to.Base]
 [kò sòʔó-gbè-yíʔé sòʔó-gbè-yíʔé = [Ø tòʔò],
 [Infin dig.Base-lift.Base-get.up.Base (repeat) [Art place],]
 ‘When the stalks have been gathered, they (=people) proceed to plow and plow
 the place (=field).’
[kō ‘finish’ (§15.1.3.6); kō sàrò (§15.3.5.7.1); < /sòʔó-gbè-yíʔé/ with sòʔó ‘jab;
dig by jabbing’, gbè ‘pick up, take’, and yíʔé ‘turn over (earth)’]
- (00:15) [kō commencer [è dú-ní], [ò = Ø gàʔà
 [Infin begin [Art sow(v)-VblN], [3Pl Ipfv be.first.Ipfv
 [g-ā dú = [Ø sù má-klàʔà]], [[ē dèràʔá] jùʔó] ní],
 [Infin-Ipfv sow.Ipfv [Art maize], [[Art courtyard] mouth] Loc],
 ‘(They) begin the planting. They first plant maize just outside the courtyard.’
[French commencer; < /ò à gàʔà/; < /kō à dú ē sù má-/]
- (00:21) ò bà dú = [Ø sù má-klàʔà] [[[Ø dèràʔá] jùʔó] ní,
 3Pl if sow.Base [Art maize] [[[Art courtyard] mouth] Loc],
 [ò kò dú [ē gbíʔíʔí], kō dū, [ē jùsú],
 [3Pl Infin sow.Base [Art peanut], Infin sow(v).Base, [Art cotton],
 ‘When (=after) they have planted maize just outside the courtyard, they plant
 peanuts, they plant cotton.’
- (00:31) kō bà dú [ē kàcù],
 Infin come.Base plant.Base [Art red.sorghum],
 kò dú [ē cù-fíéⁿ],
 Infin sow.Base [Art millet],
 ‘They plant red sorghum, they plant millet.’
[distinction between gbèⁿʔèⁿ ‘(ordinary) sorghum’ and kàcù ‘red sorghum’ (used
for beer brewing); cù-fíéⁿ ‘pearl millet’ (§5.1.3.2)]

(00:39) [è súmá-klàʔà [Ø jɔ̃ⁿ-jùʔó],
 [Art maize [Pl two-Ord],
 [[ɲ dàʔá] bà dàⁿ] ò kò dú bè,
 [[3AnSgRefl time] if arrive.Base] 3Pl Infin sow.Base Dem.Def,
 ‘The second maize (crop), when its time arrives, they plant that.’
 [ordinal adjective (§4.6.2.2); dàʔá Ma dialect for dáʔá]

(00:44) [ē còfó] bàʔà]
 [Art Tiefo] chez],
 [ē bàʔá] à *commencer* bì-kà-té = è
 [Art farming] Ipfv begin.Ipfv thus it.is
 ‘Among the Tiefo, farming begins like that.’
 [té = è (§13.1.1)]

Text 2018-04 Farming

duration 00:44

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

- (00:03) [è súmá-klàʔà] bà dú,
[Art maize] if sow.Base],
[à= Ø ʃɪ̃^n [[Ø fɛ̃-r=] [ò sá^n]],
[3Inan Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl three]],
à kō sèrò [kō dà^n],
3Inan Infin proceed.to.Base [Infin arrive.Base],
'When the maize has been planted, it does three months, (then) it proceeds to arrive (=ripen).'

[klè 'be done' can be substituted for ʃɪ̃^n ; < /fɛ̃-rè ò sá^n/]

- (00:09) [ē gbɪ̃^nʔɪ̃^n],
[Art peanut],
[bè fɔ́rá^n wō [[Ø fɛ̃-r=] [ò sá^n]],
[Dem.Def too] be [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl three]],
'Peanut(s), that one too is three months.'

- (00:14) [ē kàcù], [[ē fɛ̃-r=] [ò sá^n]],
[Art red.sorghum], [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl three]],
[bè fɔ́rá^n à-mā mā,
[Dem.Def too] be.Loc there.Def,
'Red sorghum, three months. That one too is there.'

- (00:20) [ē cù-fíé^n],
[Art millet],
bè kō—, [[ē fɛ̃-r=] [ò ŋũʔʔ]],
Dem.Def be—, [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl four]],
'Millet, that one is four months.'

- (00:24) bè bà—, [[ē fɛ̃-r=] [ò ŋũʔʔ]],
Dem.Def if—, [[Art moon-Pl] [Pl four]],
ò kō gò =nì,
3Pl Infin hit.Base 3InanObj,
'If that one—. Four months, they harvest it.'

[cut off from 'if that one has lasted four months' or similar; 'hit' in the specific sense 'knock down (stem, to harvest)', relevant to pearl millet]

(00:29) [ē jùsúⁿ], [bè fɔ́ráⁿ],
 [Art cotton], [Dem.Def too],
 bè būō [[Ø fɔ̃-r =] [ò ɲū̄ʔʔ]],
 Dem.Def get.Pfv [[Art month-Pl] [Pl four]],
 ‘Cotton, that one too requires four months.’

(00:37) ò kō— ñ dē = ñì,
 3Pl Infin— (nasal) pick.cotton.Base 3InanObj,
 à dē-à-wī [[Ø bɔ̀tɔ́] nī],
 Ipv pick.Ipv-Ipv-put.Ipv [[Art sack] Loc]],
 ‘They pick (=harvest) it (=cotton). (They) pick it and put it in a sack.’

(00:41) kā= à ló-ā-[tì-à-tīⁿ] = ñ
 Infin Ipv turn.Ipv-Ipv-[flip.Ipv] 3InanObj
 ‘(They) dump it.’

[picked cotton is dumped out of sacks into a huge pile which is later collected by a truck; < /ló-à-tì-à-tīⁿ/ with imperfective of lē/ló/ló ‘turn’ and tì-à-tīⁿ/tì-tīⁿ/tì-à-tīⁿ ‘spill’]

Text 2018-05 Women's versus men's farming

Women's versus men's farming

duration 01:11

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

(00:02) [ó dè, [[ē bē-[è-rè] tù-tè-rù] kě],
[1Pl say.Pfv, [[Art cultivate.Pfv-[Ppl.Inan-Pl] big-Pl] matter],
[è= Ø bé—, [è sù má-tòʔò fò ráⁿ]],
[3Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv—, [Art sesame too]],
‘We have spoken concerning the main farming matters. They grow sesame too.’
[kě ‘matter (of)’, cf. §8.4; participle (§4.5.4); sù má-tòʔò ‘sesame’, dialectally sù áⁿ-tòʔò and other variants]

(00:08) [k-ā bé]—, ē yè-ró—,
[Infin-Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv]—, Art woman-Pl—,
[ē yè-ró] à bé= [Ø mè-tàʔà],
[Art woman-Pl] Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [Art okra-plot],
‘(And they) cultivate—. The women—, the women cultivate a small plot of okra.’

(00:12) kà, [ē— ē kě-tàʔà],
with, [Art— Art cowpea-plot],
[ē dè-ró] à bé= [Ø kě-tàʔà fò ráⁿ],
[Art man-Pl] Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [Art cowpea-plot too],
‘And a cowpea plot, the men cultivate a small plot of cowpeas too.’

(00:17) ò= Ø tó-à-bé =n̄]
3Pl Ipfv assemble.Ipfv-Ipfv-cultivate.Ipfv 3InanObj]
[kà= [Ø yè-ró]],
[with [Art woman-Pl]],
‘They (=men) get together with the women to cultivate it.’
[< /ò à tó-à-bé ni kà ē yè-ró/]

(00:19) [donc ò bà bá [Ø gbíⁿ?íⁿ],
[so 3Pl if cultivate.Base [Art peanut],
[ē yè-ró] gō— kō à kpē [ō mē],
[Art woman-Pl] Infin— Infin Ipfv harvest.Ipfv [PIRefl okra],
‘So, when they have cultivated peanuts, the women harvest their okra.’

- (00:26) k-ā kòⁿʔóⁿ = ò,
 Infin-Ipfv cut.up.Ipfv 3InanObj,
 [kō tàⁿ-jūʔó [Ø dèràʔá-wí] [[[ē dié] kě] ní],
 [Infin help.Base [Art courtyard-owner] [[[Art sauce] matter] Loc],
 ‘They cut it up. They help out the head of household with regard to (ingredients for) sauce.’

[kòⁿʔóⁿ *Ma dialect for kóⁿʔóⁿ ; dèràʔá-wí *Ma dialect for dóráʔá-wí]**

- (00:29) [donc ʔⁿ bā tàⁿ-jūʔó [Ø dèràʔá-wí]
 [so 3AnSg if help.Base [Art courtyard-owner]
 [[[ē dié] kě] ní]
 [[[Art sauce] matter] Loc]
 ‘So, when she has helped out the head of household with regard to sauce, ...’

- (00:32) [ʔⁿ wō jī [Ø jī]
 [3AnSg Infin see.Base [Art something]
 [kò glú-já [è wùⁿʔúⁿ-kě] ní] dóní],
 [Infin exit.Base-leave.Base [Art head-matter] Loc] a.little],
 ‘... he (=head of household) sees (=gets) something, to reduce (=relieve) the problem a little.’

[*the head of household has the burden of allocating the day’s food for the entire household; wùⁿʔúⁿ- *Ma dialect for (w)úⁿʔúⁿ- ; dóní (§8.5.2.2.2)]**

- (00:38) [ē gbíⁿʔíⁿ-tàʔà jóri-rè],
 [Art peanut-plot small-InanPl],
 [ē yè-ró] à bé [bè fóráⁿ],
 [Art woman-Pl] Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv [Dem.Def too],
 ‘Little plots of peanuts, the women cultivate that too.’
 [jóri-rè (§4.5.4)]

- (00:42) [k-ā wī-ā-tìʔi [é-yùò dè-ró],
 [Infin-Ipfv help.Ipfv [1Pl man-Pl].
 [ò dó], kō, [ē [wē-tàʔà]-ní],
 [3Pl Poss.Inan], be, [Art [help]-VbIN],
 ‘(The women) help us men. Their (role) is helping.’
 [wē-tàʔà (base form) is another compound meaning ‘help’, cf. tàⁿ-jūʔó @ 00:26 above; é-yùò ‘we’ in apposition to ‘men’]

- (00:48) [ē jī] kò glú-já
 [Art Indef] Infin exit.Base-leave.Base
 [[[ē dè-ró] wùⁿʔúⁿ-kě] ní],
 [[[Art man-Pl] head-matter] Loc],
 ‘Something is reduced with regard to the men’s problem (of providing food).’

- (00:53) [bè fǎráⁿ=] Ø-mā mā, [ē bí-ḥīō]—
 [Dem.Def too] be.Loc there.Def, [Art child.Pl]—
 [ḥ dǎ-bò-ní], [ē yǎ-ró] ā tàⁿ-àⁿ-jūḥū—
 [(nasal) body-be.hot.Base-VblN], [Art woman-Pl] Ipfv help.Ipfv—
 ‘That too is there, the children’s illness(es). ‘The women help—.’
[heat is associated with illness, coolness with relief]
- (00:58) [ē gbíⁿ?íⁿ-tǎḥà jǎrí-rè yá]
 [Art peanut-plot small-InanPl Dem.InanSg]
 [jǎ-rè, fǎráⁿ] à wī-ā-tí?í= [Ø dǎ-ró],
 [Indef-InanPl too] Ipfv help.Ipfv [Art man-Pl],
 ‘Those little plots of peanuts (cultivated by women), some (things) too help the men.’
- (01:04) [ò kō— ḥ bú [Ø fǎⁿgǎḥà]
 [3Pl Infin— (nasal) get.Base [Art power]
 ‘They (=men) get power.’
[fǎⁿgǎḥà < Jula fǎḥgǎ ‘power’, ‘power’ here in the sense of ability to provide]

Text 2018-06 Millet farming

duration 01:17

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

- (00:02) [ē [cù-fiɛ̃ⁿ]-[bá-ní]],
 [Art [millet]-[cultivate.Base-VbIN]],
 kã = [Ø [cù-fíɛ̃ⁿ]-[dìè-ní]],
 with [Art [millet]-[entert.Base-VbIN]],
 ò kò dú = nì,
 3Pl Infin sow.Base 3InanObj,
 ‘Millet cultivating millet, and millet ripening. They plant it.’
- (00:11) à bà, è kpéⁿ,
 3Inan if, (hesitation) sprout.Base,
 [ò kō klùⁿ-wé = nì],
 [3Pl Infin weed(v).Base-get.rid.of.Base 3InanObj]
 ‘When it has sprouted (=grown a little), they weed around it.’
[smooth out as à bà kpéⁿ ; wīē/wé/wé ‘abandon, get rid of’]
- (00:17) ò bā [klùⁿ-wé = nì] kō,
 3Pl if [weed(v).Base-get.rid.of.Base 3InanObj] finish.Base,
 ò kō bà pòʔó = nì,
 3Pl Infin come.Base aerate.Base 3InanObj,
 ‘When they finish weeding around it, they come and turn over (the earth).’
*[The earth around each growing plant is turned over for aeration with the daba;
 pòʔó Ma dialect for póʔó]*
- (00:24) ā pòʔó-ní, c à klè fō—,
 3Inan aerate-VbIN, Dem.Def Ipfv be.done.Ipfv until—,
 [ē cūṣ-cūṣ fêʔè=] n̄,
 [Art August month] Loc,
 ò kō pòʔó = nì [bè nī],
 3Pl Infin aerate.Base 3InanObj [Dem.Def Loc],
 ‘The turning over (=aeration of the earth). That is done through the month of August, they turn it over then.’
[cf. Jula cò-cò ‘light rain’, here associated with August]
- (00:32) ò bà pòʔó = nì = [[Ø cūṣ-cūṣ fêʔè=] n̄],
 3Pl if aerate.Base 3InanObj [[Art August month] Loc],
 ò kō—, à kō wàʔà,
 3Pl Infin—, 3Inan Infin grow.high.Base,
 ‘When they have aerated it in the month of August, it grows tall.’

- (00:38) à bā wàʔà, à kō à gò,
 3Inan if grow.high.Base, 3Inan Infin Ipfv be.hitd.Base,
 [ē— ē [yǎ-kpà]-fèʔě=] n̄,
 [Art— Art [year-finish.Pfv]-moon] Loc,
 ‘When it has grown, it is harvested, in the last month of the year (December).’
 [gò ‘hit’, here specifically ‘harvest (millet) by knocking down stalks’]
- (00:46) [ē cù-fièⁿ fǒráⁿ] à bà kōʔō,
 [Art millet too] 3Inan if be.good.Base,
 [à còrú] à tóⁿ, ò kò dí = nì,
 [3Inan tô] Ipfv tô.be.cooked.Base, 3Pl Infin eat.Base 3InanObj,
 ‘When the millet too has become good, its tô is cooked. They eat it.’
 [tô is maize or millet cakes, on which sauce is served]
- (00:54) [ē kù-klùʔú] à lá = nì,
 [Art couscous] Ipfv cook.couscous.Base 3InanObj,
 [ē nà-bí-ó] kō wūʔʔ,
 [Art person-Pl] Infin eat.couscous.Base,
 ‘Couscous is cooked. They eat (it).’
 [lá ‘cook (couscous)’; wūʔʔ Ma dialect for wūʔ ‘eat (rice, couscous) with dry handfuls’]
- (01:01) [[ē jì fǒráⁿ=] Ø-mā] [ò klè = nì],
 [[Art Indef too] be.Loc] [3Pl do.Base 3InanObj],
 [kō wòʔó = ni, dē [Ø pètèpliʔí],
 [Infin steam(v).Base 3InanObj, Quot [Art millet.balls],
 ò kō dī,
 3Pl Infin eat.Base,
 ‘There is something else, they make it. They steam it, (it’s) called millet balls.
 They eat (it).’
 [wòʔó Ma dialect for wóʔó; Millet balls (Jula pòŋkóⁿ) are cooked with coarsely
 ground millet, ground-up cowpea greens, and some soda ash and spices, formed into
 balls and steamed]
- (01:08) [ē cù-fíéⁿ], [ŋ bà bá = ò]
 [Art millet], [2Sg if cultivate.Base 3InanObj]
 [ŋ bà bú = ò],
 [2Sg if get.base 3InanObj],
 ‘Millet, if you cultivate it and you get (=harvest) it (successfully), ...’
 [reduced ŋ 2Sg subject proclitic]
- (01:12) [à kòni] = àⁿ dáⁿ kósóbéʔ
 [3Inan Top] Ipfv be.pleasant.Ipfv very
 ‘As for it (millet), it’s very good.’
 [kòni (§19.1.2.3.1)]

Text 2018-07 The *quartiers* of Daramandugu

duration 01:34

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue

(00:02) ē d̀̀rà máⁿ dùgú, kà [[Ø wúⁿ j́rí-r̀̀] nī],
 Art D, with [[Art village small-InanPl] Loc]
 ‘Daramandugu, and the small villages (*quartiers*).’
*[Daramandugu is a cluster of several widely separated settlements (quartiers),
 each with its own name]*

(00:06) ē m̀̀sā — [ē m̀̀sāⁿ-d̀̀], ē t̀̀f̃-l̀̀,
 Art Masa— [Art Masaso-village], Art Jinejan-village
 ē b̀̀cūō-l̀̀, ē l̃f̃ēⁿ, ē s̀̀ⁿgb̀̀d̀̀-l̀̀,
 Art Biton-village, Art Flaso, Art Sangogo-village,
 ē ʃ̃nùⁿʔ̀̀-l̀̀, ē l̃-f̃ⁿʔ̀̀ⁿ,
 Art Sunugu-village, Art Sokura,
 ‘Masa—, Masaso, Jinejan, Biton, Flaso, Sangogo, Sunugu, Sokura.’
[for quartier names see §1.3]

(00:23) [ē l̃-f̃ⁿʔ̀̀ⁿ] d̀̀b̀̀b̀̀- k̀̀r̃í,
 [Art Sokoura] (other name),
 [̀̀ b̀̀í] kà [̀̀ wúⁿ-d̃ⁿ-ñí] = ỳ̀,
 [3Pl all] with [PIRefl village.chief-Pl] it.is,
 ē wúⁿ-d̃ⁿ j́rí-k̀̀—, [ē wúⁿ-d̃ⁿ-ñí] = ỳ̀,
 Art village.chief small-AnPl—, [Art village.chief-Pl] it.is
 ‘Lifuo (and) Dobokiri (two names for Sokoura). All of them (=quartiers) are with
 (=have) their (own) chiefs, (have) small (=local) chiefs.’
*[as opposed to the higher chief of all of Daramandugu; -ñí plural suffix
 (§4.1.2.5); j́rí-k̀̀ (§4.5.4); smooth out broken phrase as wúⁿ-d̃ⁿ j́rí-k̀̀ = ỳ̀]*

(00:36) bon, ̀̀ = Ø— ̀̀—
 all.right, 3Pl Ipfv— (nasal)
 w̃ [Ø t̀̀ràⁿʔ̀̀ⁿ] [[̀̀ d̃g̀̀-r̀̀] nī],
 put.Ipfv [Art marriage] [[PIRefl Recip] Loc],
 [ē t̀̀ràⁿʔ̀̀ⁿ] má w̃ = ʔ, k-ā wórómá,
 [Art marriage] IpfvNeg be.put.Ipfv Neg, Infin-Ipfv pick.out.Ipfv,
 ‘All right, they (=quartiers) arrange marriage with each other (=intermarry).
 Marriage isn’t contracted by picking out (distinguishing one *quartier* from another).’
[wórómá < Jula wólómá ~ wórómá]

- (00:47) [k-ā wī [Ø tāràⁿʔāⁿ=] [[Ø dígè-rò] nī],
 [Infin-Ipfv put.Ipfv [Art marriage] [[PIRefl Recip] Loc],
 k-ā yìí,
 Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv,
 ‘(They) contract marriage among each other, and (they) go.’
[i.e. the brides move to the other village; k-ā yìí Ma dialect for k-ā yíí]
- (00:52) [ē tàfō-lē], ò fōrū = [Ø màsā-lē],
 [Art Jinejan] 3Pl.Ipfv marry.Ipfv [Art Masaso],
 [ē màsā-lē], à fōrū = [Ø lūfēⁿ],
 [Art Masaso], Ipfv marry.Ipfv [Art Flaso],
 ‘Jinejan, they marry Masaso. Masaso marries Flaso.’
[fōrū ‘marry’ < Jula]
- (01:00) [ē lūfēⁿ] à fōrū = [Ø bìcūō-lē],
 [Art Flaso] Ipfv marry.Ipfv [Art Biton],
 [ē bìcūō-lē] à fōrū = [Ø ʃɲùʔò-lē],
 [Art Biton] Ipfv marry.Ipfv [Art Sunugu],
 ‘Flaso marries Biton. Biton marries Sunugu.’
- (01:04) [à bíé] à fōrū [[ò dígè-rò] nī],
 [3Inan all] Ipfv marry.Ipfv [[PIRefl Recip] Loc],
 [ē nà-bí-ó] tārèⁿ-ɲágámí [[ō gě] nī],
 [Art person.PI] sit.Pfv-mix.Base [[PIRefl Recip] Loc]
 ‘They all marry each other. They are settled (=married) mixed among each other.’
[Jula ɲágámí ‘mix together’; gě alternative to reciprocal dígè-rò (§18.4.3)]
- (01:09) [ò fōrū-gō], [ē còfó-fōrū],
 [3Pl marriage, [Art Tiefo-marriage],
 [à má kāʔā bì-kà-díⁿ,
 [3Inan IpfvNeg be.difficult.Ipfv thus,
 ‘Their marriage—, Tiefo marriage, it isn’t all that difficult (=complicated).’
*[fōrū-kō ‘marriage matter(s)’ < Jula; bì-kà-díⁿ variant of bè-kà-dí^m ‘thus’
 (§8.5.5.2.4)]*
- (01:17) ē wàⁿʔáⁿ-tàʔà, à-mā,
 Art market, be.Loc,
 à má kō [jùò-ń té] nī, [bì tòʔó]
 3Inan IpfvNeg be [sell.Base-VblN Foc.Inan] Loc], [Dem.Def Foc]
 ‘The (weekly) market, it is there, (but) it isn’t involved in (real) selling [focus], for that reason.’

- (00:40) [ē bə̀-ró], à-mā mā [é-yùò bàʔà],
 [Art elephant-Pl], be.Loc there.Def [1Pl chez],
 [ē dəràmádùgú-pòʔó] ní, [ē dəràmádùgú],
 [Art D-the.bush] Loc, [Art D],
 ‘Elephants, we have (them) there, in the brousse (outback) of Daramandugu.
 Daramandugu.’
[singular bə̀ʔó ‘elephant’]
- (00:58) [ē wàʔáʔn-tàʔà] à-mā mā
 [Art market] be.Loc there.Def
 [Ø sàʔgbə̀ʔò-lè té] =è,
 [Art Sangogo-village Foc.Inan] =it.is
 ‘The (weekly) market is there in Sangogo [focus].’
- (01:09) [ē klòʔò fə̀ráʔn], [ē klòʔò] ní-mā [é-yùò bàʔà],
 [Art road too], [Art road] not.be.Loc [1Pl chez],
 [ē dəràmádùgú], [ē dəràmádùgú], à gbāʔā,
 [Art D], [Art D]. Ipfv big,
 ‘A (paved) road too. We don’t have a (paved) road. Daramandugu, Daramandugu
 is big.’
*[< /klòʔó fə̀ráʔn/; as of 2018 there were only dirt roads (pistes) in the area
 (including Daramandugu) east of the cliffs, from Tiefora in the south to the Bobo-
 Diebougu highway in the north]*
- (01:24) [è wúʔn jə̀-rè bíé] nó líē,
 [Art village Indef-InanPl all] 1Sg call.Pfv,
 [à bíé] kà wúʔn-dìʔn-ní =yà
 [3Inan all] with chief-Pl it.is
 ‘All of the various villages (that) I have spoken of, each one has its (local)
 chief(s).’

Text 2019-01 Hare, monkey, and dog (tale)

duration: 01:37

A: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, narrator

B: *Lanbi Issa Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, respondent

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:05) [nó yíé] dè nǎsǎʔǎʔ wátórá,
 [1Sg name] Quot N W,
 kò glú bǎfóbǎ-lē,
 Infin exit(v).Base B,

A: ‘My name is Nason Ouattara, coming from Bofoboso.’

(00:15) [nó, yíé] dè láʔbi,
 [1Sg, name] Quot L
 kò glú bǎfóbǎ-lē, láʔbi wátórá
 Infin exit(v).Base B, L W

B: ‘My name is Lanbi, coming from Bofoboso. Lanbi Ouattara.’

(00:22) ó nà té = nì
 1Pl Fut put.down.Base 3InanObj
 [[ē bũʔǎʔ] kǎ = [Ø tǔplípàʔ] kǎ = [Ø blí-ké]] nì,
 [[Art dog] and [Art monkey] and [Art hare]] Loc,

A: ‘We will tell it (=tale) about dog, monkey, and hare.’

[*postposition with entire conjoined NP as complement (§7.1.2)*]

(00:28) [è blí-ké] kǎ = [Ø tǔplípàʔ] tóʔó,
 [Art hare] and [Art monkey] Foc
 gblē [Ø bũʔǎʔ-mè] [k-ā jàʔà],
 get.Base [Art dog-juvenile] [Infin-Ipfv raise.animal.Ipfv]

A: ‘Hare and monkey got a puppy and were raising (it).’

[*focalization of a conjoined NP (§7.1.2); variant of bũʔǎʔ-bèʔ*]

(00:33) [è blí-ké] dē = [[Ø tǔplípàʔ] bàʔà]
 [Art hare] say.Pfv [[Art monkey] Dat]
 d = ó nà té = [[Ø bũʔǎʔ] yíé]
 Quot 1Pl Fut put.down.Base [[Art dog] name]
 dè mē-ŋā tē
 Quot how? Q

A: ‘Hare said to monkey, “how shall we put (=call) dog’s name?”’

[*variant of mē-kā ‘how?’*]

- (00:37) dè [[Ø bùⁿ?ðⁿ] yíé] dè,
 Quot [[Art dog] name] Quot,
 [[ò bíé] jū] nà jī = nì,
 [[3Pl all] eye] Fut see.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘Dog’s name is “everyone’s-eye-will-see-it” ’
- (00:40) [ò tīē [[Ø bùⁿ?ðⁿ] yíé] kà-tó [kò-kò sú→]
 [3Pl put.down.Pfv [[Art dog] name] thus [Rdp-day every]
 [k-ā sū?ū] [Ø dī-è?è],
 [Infin-Ipfv give.Ipfv] [Art food],
 A: ‘They put dog’s name like that every day, and fed it.’
- (00:43) [ē kō jī] ò k= á-pēⁿ [m̄-pūⁿ?ðⁿ tōⁿ]
 [Art day Indef] 3Pl Infin go.Base-stay.Base [grass under]
 [ē dè [ò sáⁿ]] ǒ= Ø bà = ?,
 [Art day [Pl three]] 3Pl PfvNeg come.Base Neg,
 A: ‘One day, they (hare and monkey) went and stayed in the grassland. For three days they didn’t come (back).’
- (00:47) [è blí-ké tó?ó] gè?è-bà-dìè
 [Art hare Foc] be.first.Pfv-come.Base-enter.Base
 [[[Ø dórá?á] līⁿ nī],
 [[[Art courtyard] interior] Loc],
 A: ‘Hare [focus] was the first to come and enter inside the courtyard.’
- (00:49) [[ē būⁿ?ðⁿ] kō glùⁿ]
 [[Art dog] Infin growl.Base]
 [dè úⁿ]
 [Quot (sound)]
 A: ‘Dog growled. (Hare) said, “huh?” ’
[the dog was angry about not being fed for three days]
- (00:51) d= [[[ò bíé] jū] nà jī = nì]
 Quot [[[3Pl all] eye] Fut see.Base 3InanObj]
 d= [ē bē-gè] =à tē,
 Quot [Art what?] it.is Q,
 A: ‘(Hare:) “Everyone’s-eye-will-see-it, what’s the matter?” ’
- (00:53) [ē būⁿ?ðⁿ] gò yí?í-?í?ì [ðⁿ ?īē]
 [Art dog] Infin get.up.Base [3AnSg behind]
 ðⁿ ŋō lò-dīē [[[è kpàⁿ?áⁿ-bè-rèⁿ] cá?á] nì]
 3AnSg Infin rush.in.Base [[[Art squash-leaf-Pl] area] Loc]
 [kò séⁿ]
 [Infin lie.down.Base]
 ‘Dog got up and (went) after him (=hare). He (=hare) rushed in next to a squash plant and lay down (to hide).’

- (00:58) [ē t̀̀pl̀̀pàⁿ] bà,
[Art monkey] come.Pfv,
[ē b̀̀uⁿ?⁵] b̀̀ gl̀̀ⁿ,
[Art dog] if growl.Base
A: ‘Monkey came. When dog growled,’
- (01:00) [ē t̀̀pl̀̀pàⁿ] d= [[[ò bíé] j̀̀] nà j̀̀ = ǹ̀]
[Art monkey] say.Pfv [[[3Pl all] eye] Fut see.Base 3InanObj]
d= [ē b̀̀-gè] =à t̀̀,
Quot [Art what?] it.is Q,
A: ‘Monkey said, “Everyone’s-eye-will-see-it, what’s the matter?” ’
- (01:05) áⁿ?àⁿ, [ē k̀̀t̀̀àⁿ] ní-mà [k̀̀úⁿ?úⁿ-dò ǹ̀] = ǹ̀é?,
unh.unh, [Art truth] not.be.Loc [today-Poss.Inan Loc] Emph,
[ē b̀̀uⁿ?⁵] ỳ̀í?ē-?í?ì [k̀̀ j̀̀?è= [[Ø t̀̀pl̀̀pàⁿ] ?íé],
[Art dog] get.up.Pfv [Infin follow.Base [[Art monkey] behind],
A: ‘(Dog:) “Unh-unh! There is no truth (=rational discussion) for today.” The dog got up and (went) after him (=monkey).’
[-dò (§6.2.4.3)]
- (01:10) à t̀̀ⁿ?éⁿ,
3Inan get.hot.Pfv,
?ⁿ gò ỳ̀í?í-?í?ì [k̀̀ s̀̀ú?ú= [Ø ?̀̀ⁿ?ⁿ]],
3AnSg Infin get.up.Base [Infin catch.Base [Art tree]],
A: ‘It heated up! He (=monkey) got up and grabbed onto a tree.’
- (01:13) [ē b̀̀uⁿ?⁵] k̀̀ tá-k̀̀éⁿ?éⁿ,
[Art dog] Infin do.again.Base-ascend.Base,
[?ⁿ mà s̀̀r̀úⁿ], [ē b̀̀uⁿ?⁵] ò tá-s̀̀r̀úⁿ
[3AnSg if descend.Base], [Art dog] Infin do.again.Base-descend.Base
A: ‘Dog climbed up too. When he (=monkey) climbed down, dog climbed down too.’
[t̀̀á- ‘do again’, here in the sense ‘do too’ (§15.1.3.3)]
- (01:18) [?ⁿ mà k̀̀éⁿ?éⁿ] [m̀̀ d̀̀ “é!”],
[3AnSg if ascend.Base] [if say.Base “oh!”]
d= [ē j̀̀?è] má jí
Quot [Art God] IpfvNeg leave.Base
[ē j̀̀] kl̀̀ [[ē t̀̀] júó]
[Art something] be.made.Base [[Art earth] Poss.An]
A: ‘When he went (back) up, he (=monkey) said, “Will God not cause one thing (=species) to belong to the ground,” ’
[jí ‘leave’ variant of já ; equivalent to k̀̀ kl̀̀ ; júó animate default possessum (§6.2.4.2)]

- (01:21) [ē jī] kō klè= [Ø jùʔé-cīⁿ] jàtí,
 [Art something] Infin be.made.Base [Art above] indeed,
 [ē bŭⁿʔɔ̄ⁿ] dè [bá= à klīⁿʔīⁿ]
 [Art dog] say.Pfv [LogoSg Ipfv ascend.Ipfv]
 [[ē bŭⁿʔɔ̄ⁿ] klēⁿʔēⁿ-tē],
 [[Art dog] ascend.Pfv-fail.Base],

A: '(Monkey:) "and another thing to belong up high." ' Dog said he would (=attempted to) climb, (but) dog was unable to climb.'

[*-tē* 'fail to do' (§15.1.7.2)]

- (01:27) [ē bŭⁿʔɔ̄ⁿ] ò séⁿ
 [Art dog] Infin lie.down.Base
 [Ø-ā= cā-à-ŋú=] [Ø tùplípàⁿ] [[ē ʃīⁿʔīⁿ] cīⁿ],
 [Infin-Ipfv look.up.at.Ipfv] [Art monkey] [[Art tree] over],

A: 'Dog lay down and was looking up at the monkey up in the tree.'

- (01:29) nó gblè= [Ø dèràʔá] [tòʔò jèrɔ̄ⁿ]
 1Sg take.Pfv [Art tale] [place Rel]
 [nó tīē =nì [bè tòʔò]]
 [1Sg put.down.Pfv 3InanObj [Dem.Def place]]

A: 'Where I picked up the tale, I have put it back there.'

[*standard tale closure*]

Text 2019-02 Moral of tale of hare, monkey, and dog (tale)

duration: 00:23

A: Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, narrator

B: *Lanbi Issa Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, respondent

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:03) mā-jī [Ø bũⁿ?ɔ̃ⁿ]
 if.you.see [Art dog]
 mà má klĩⁿ?-àⁿ-plũⁿ [Ø ʃĩⁿ?ĩⁿ] tà?à-kó
 if IpfvNeg ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv [Art tree] again
 A: ‘You see, when dog couldn’t climb the tree any more,’
 [*mà is superfluous*]

(00:05) ā bà bɛ̀-kà tɛ̀→,
 3Inan come.Pfv thus Emph,
 [ɛ̀ tũplípàⁿ] nɛ̀?ɛ̀= [Ø jũ?ɛ̀]
 [Art monkey] request.Pfv [Art God]
 A: ‘It (=situation) came (=arose) thus: monkey prayed to God ...’
 [*< /bɛ̀-kà/*]

(00:07) dè jĩ= [Ø bũⁿ?ɔ̃ⁿ] pɛ̃ⁿ [[Ø tʃ] nĩ]
 Quot Hort [Art dog] stay.Base [[Art earth] Loc]
 [bó kō pɛ̃ⁿ [[Ø jũ?ɛ̀] ɛ̃ⁿ],
 [Logo Infin stay.Base [[Art above] over],
 A: ‘... that dog should stay on the ground, and he (=monkey) should stay up
 above.’
 [*hortative with overt subject (§10.4.2.1.3)*]

(00:12) donc [[ɛ̀ bũⁿ?ɔ̃ⁿ] nə klĩⁿ?ĩⁿ [Ø ʃĩⁿ?ĩⁿ]]
 so [[Art dog] PastHabit ascend.Ipfv [Art tree]]
 [[ɛ̀ tũplípàⁿ] à klĩⁿ?ĩⁿ [Ø ʃĩⁿ?ĩⁿ]],
 [[Art monkey] Ipfv ascend.Ipfv [Art tree]],
 A: ‘So dog used to climb trees, and monkey (also) climbed trees.’
 [*past habitual (§10.2.2.3)*]

(00:15) [ɛ̀ jũ?ɛ̀] bà [Ø= à-sú?ú]
 [Art God] come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-catch.Base]
 [[ɛ̀ tũplípàⁿ] jũ?ɛ̀-nɛ̀?ɛ̀-nĩ]]
 [[Art monkey] God-request.Base-VblN]]
 A: ‘God (came and) granted monkey’s prayer.’
 [*bà [Ø= à-...] (§15.2.3.2.4)*]

- (00:18) [bè tóʔ=] =à
 [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
 [[ē bũʔʔʔ] gō pēʔ [[∅ tʂ] nī]]
 [[Art dog] Infin stay.Base [[Art earth] Loc]]
 A: 'That's it, dog (came to) stay on the ground.'
- (00:19) ʔʔ má klĩʔ-àʔ-plũʔ [∅ ʃĩʔʔʔ] tàʔà-kó
 3AnSg IpfvNeg ascend.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv [Art tree] again
 A: 'He (=dog) couldn't climb trees any longer.'
- (00:21) ā klè kà-tó
 3Inan be.done.Pfv thus
 B: 'It happened like that.'

Text 2019-03 Cotton farming

duration: 03:55

A: *Nason Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, speaker

B: *Lanbi Issa Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, speaker

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

Note: the two take turns speaking, starting with A

(00:04) [nãṣḍⁿ tóʔó] kō [bã nī]
[N Foc] be [come.Prog Prog]
[[ē dè-tòʔḍ] nī],
[[Art speak.Pfv-place] Loc],
A: ‘It’s Nason who is coming to speak.’
[*purposive Vb.Pfv-tòʔḍ nī* (§17.6.2.5)]

(00:07) [[ē jùsúⁿ] bàʔà] [ó nà táʔáⁿ = nì],
[[Art cotton] Dat] [1Pl Fut begin.Base 3InanObj],
[ó bē-kà] nī,
[1Pl cultivate.Pfv-manner] Loc,
A: ‘About cotton, we will begin it, in our way of cultivating.’
[‘cotton’ is dialectally jùsúⁿ or jùⁿsúⁿ]

(00:11) [ē klàʔá-nùʔó] mà súʔú,
[Art rainy.season-mouth] if be.caught,
ó kò táʔáⁿ = [Ø bàʔá], kà [Ø fíʔé],
1Pl Infin begin.Base [Art farming(n)], with [Art daba]
A: ‘When the rainy season begins, we begin farming, with a daba (=hoe).’
[‘mouth’ = ‘opening, onset’]

(00:17) ó kō pãⁿ = [Ø dè],
1Pl Infin clear.Base [Art field],
[ó bà pãⁿ = [Ø dè]] [bā kō],
[1Pl if clear.Base [Art field]] [if finishBase],
A: ‘We clear a field. When we have finished clearing the field,’
[*clearing field = removing new brush from a field already in use; double bà ‘if’ with same-subject VP* (§16.1.1.3)]

(00:22) [[ē pãⁿ-ní] mà kō]
[[Art clear.Base-VblN] if finish.Base]
[[ē blō] bà wó],
[[Art rain(n)] if rain(v).Base],
A: ‘When the clearing is finished, (and) when it has rained,’
[*double bà ‘if’ with new subject* (§16.1.1.3)]

- (00:24) ó gō sèrò [kò táʔáʔn]
 1Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin begin.Base]
 [è bá-ní],
 [Art cultivate.Base-VbIN],
 A: ‘Then we begin cultivating (crops).’
- (00:28) [kò bá =nì kò-kò, [kō sèrò
 [Infin cultivate.Base 3InanObj firstly, [Infin proceed.Base
 [kō bà [Ø= à-dú =nì]],
 [Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-sow.Base 3InanObj]]],
 A: ‘We plow first, then we come and plant (=sow) it.’
[here bá has the narrow sense ‘plow the earth’ into rows of mounds, with an actual plow or by hand with a daba; dú (dialectally jú) ‘sow, plant (seeds)’]
- (00:32) [ē jùsúʔn] tà ní-mà,
 [Art cotton] Past not.be.Loc,
 ó nǎ dū= [Ø cī], kǎ= [Ø gbíʔíʔn],
 1Pl PastHabit sow.Ipfv [Art millet], and [Art peanut],
 A: ‘There didn’t use to be cotton. We used to plant millet, and peanuts.’
[cī ‘pearl millet (and other cereals)’; tà variant of past rà]
- (00:38) [è sù máklàʔà], [ē jùsúʔn] mà wē-tàʔà [à ní],
 [Art maize], [Art cotton] if be.added.Base [3Inan Loc],
 [ò bíé] à sùʔú= [Ø [kē-sùʔʔn]-jùʔó],
 [3Pl all] Ipfv catch.Ipfv [[Art [work(n)]-mouth],
 A: ‘(And) maize. When cotton was added to them, everybody begins the work.’
[‘catch X-mouth’ = ‘begin X’]
- (00:45) [è sùʔú-ní], [ē bàʔá-[kē-sùʔʔn]-sūʔō-kà]
 [Art catch.Base-VbIN], [Art farming(n)-[work(n)]-catch.Pfv-manner]
 [Ø jùsùʔn] tē,
 [Art cotton] Emph,
 A: ‘The beginning, the way the farming work begins, it’s (with) cotton.’
[somewhat broken segment]
- (00:48) ó bà sùʔú =nì [kǎ= [Ø jùsúʔn]]
 1Pl if catch.Bas 3InanObj [with [Art cotton]],
 [ē jùsúʔn-[bē-kà] té] wò yá,
 [Art cotton-[cultivate.Pfv-manner] Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg,
 A: ‘When we start it (=farming) with cotton, here’s how cotton is cultivated.’
- (00:51) ó kò bá [ā tòʔò] kò-kò,
 1Pl Infin cultivate.Base [3Inan place] firstly,
 kò dú =nì,
 Infin sow.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘First we plow the spot, then (we) plant (the seeds).’

- (00:57) ó bà dú =nìⁿ [mā dàⁿ,
 1Pl if sow.Base 3InanObj [if arrive.Base,
 [è éké jí] ní]], ó gò léⁿ,
 [Art height Indef Loc]], 1Pl Infin stop.Base,
 A: ‘When we have planted it and it has reached (=has grown to) a certain height,
 we stop.’
 [éké < Jula]

[change of speakers]

- (01:04) —, ó bà sú?ú =nì,
 (unintelligible), 1Pl if catch.Base 3InanObj,
 à kàròⁿ, [ā [jù?ó-sū?ō]-dà?à] à lè kò,
 3Inan Top, [3Inan [mouth-catch.Pfv]-time] 3Inan IpfvPast be.good.Ipfv,
 B: ‘When we started, as for it, in the beginning (=at first), it was good.’

- (01:09) mais à bā dāⁿ [[dêⁿ-tò?=
 but 3Inan if arrive.Base [[arrive.Pfv-place Dem.InanSg Rel] Loc],
 á, [ē kè?è-ná=] à-mā [à ní],
 ah!, [Art be.ruined.BBase-VblN] be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 B: ‘But in the (situation) which has arrived (nowadays), ah!, there is deterioration
 in it.’

- (01:13) [ē kè?è-ná] à-mā [à nī] =nē?,
 [Art be.ruined-VblN] be.Loc [3Inan Loc] Emph,
 [è pió],
 [Art larva.Pl]
 B: ‘There sure is deterioration in it! Insect larvae.’
 [especially caterpillars]

- (01:15) [ē blò] fǒráⁿ,
 [Art rain(n)] also,
 dè má kō [[ānà?à gbě] ní] tà?à-kó,
 Quot IpfvNeg be [[front take.Prog] Prog] again,
 B: ‘The rains too, they are no longer reliable.’
 [‘take ahead’ = ‘be well distributed’, i.e. ‘be reliable’; progressive with ānà?à as
 preverbal object]]

- (01:19) bon, [ā mù] má ŋō [gbě ní] tà?à-kó,
 well, [3Inan price] IpfvNeg be [be.taken.Prog Prog] again,
 dè, [[bè dó]— bē-ní] k = [ó-yùò ní],
 Quot, [[Dem.Def Poss.Inan]— be.tired.Base-VblN] be [1Pl Loc],
 B: ‘Well, its price isn’t stable (=reliable) any more. So, the suffering of (=due to)
 that is on us.’
 [< /mũ kō/]

(01:25) *ó nǎ bí mǎ [à nī],*
 1Pl PastHabit get.Ipfv there.Def [3Inan Loc],
 mais *kúⁿ?úⁿ ciáⁿ,*
 but today truly,

B: 'We used to gain (=make a profit) on it.'
[apparently < Jula cǎná 'truly']

(01:27) *ó má piè [Ø dígè-rǎ],*
 1Pl IpfvNeg praise.Ipfv [PlRefl Recip]
à Ø-mǎ mǎ [[tǎ? = á jǎrǎⁿ] nī],
 3Inan be.Loc there.Def [[place Dem.InanSg Rel] Loc],

B: 'We don't praise (=delude) ourselves, in that place (=state) where it is,

(01:29) *é, [ā bù?ǎ] gò [glú nī] [ó nī]*
 ah!, [3Inan attraction] be [exit(v).Prog Prog] [1Pl Loc]
é má kò [[sámáklǎ?à bú] nī],
 1Pl IpfvNeg be [[maize get.Prog] Prog],

B: 'Ah, we are losing interest in it. We aren't getting any maize.'
[i.e. without the cash from selling cotton, we can't afford the cost of growing maize (fertilizer, etc.); progressive construction (§10.2.4)]

(01:32) *[ó dó] má kō [[jùsùⁿ bú] nī],*
 [1Pl however] IpfvNeg be [[cotton get.Prog] Prog],
[ē ānǎ?à-yùò fǎráⁿ] má kò [[ó jǎⁿ] nī],
 [Art in.front-people too] IpfvNeg be [[1Pl look.at.Prog] Prog],

B: 'We aren't getting any cotton. Furthermore the government people aren't looking at (=considering) us.'

(01:35) *á!, [ā bè-nī] kò [ó nī],*
 ah!, [3Inan be.tired.Base-VblN] be [1Pl Loc],
jí-má-bè, à kà— [à kǎnì]
 otherwise, (hesitation) [3Inan Top]

à lè tàⁿ-àⁿ-jū?ū [Ø mié],
 3Inan IpfvPast help.Ipfv [Art 1Pl],

B: 'Ah, its suffering is on us. Anyway, as for it, it used to help all of us.'
[jí-má-bè (§19.1.3); à kǎ ā kǎnì can be edited out]

(01:40) *[ā [nù?ǎ-sū?ō]-dǎ?à] nī, [ó būō mǎ]*
 [3Inan [mouth-catch.Pfv]-time] Loc, [1Pl get.Pfv there.Def]
[ē jǎ-rō] būō [Ø fǎⁿ?èⁿ-è?è],
 [Art Indef-AnPl] get.Pfv [Art run.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]

B: 'In its beginning (=early days), we got (something) there, some (of us) got a vehicle (=motorcycle).'

- (01:46) [è nɔ́] dè tá ní-mà [ó-bé bàʔà]
 [Art cow.Pl] Past Past not.be.Loc [1Pl Dat]
 [ò bíé] bũō= [Ø nɔ́]
 [3Pl all] get.Pfv [Art cow.Pl]
 [kō klè= [Ø bē-èʔè] tàʔà-kó,
 [Infin make.Base [Art cultivate.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] again,

B: 'We didn't use to have cattle. (Then) everyone got some cattle, and made them into farming things (=oxen drawing ploughs) lately.'

[double past marking dè tá (§10.3.1.1)]

- (01:49) [bè fǎráʳ], bè tɛ̃ⁿ-jũʔɔ̃ [Ø mié] [bè tɔ̃ʔɔ̃],
 [Dem.Def too], Dem.Def help.Pfv [Art 1Pl] [Dem.Def place],
 mais à bà mí-tɔ̃ⁿ [Ø mié] [Ø pió]
 but 3Inan if throw.away.Base] [Art 1Pl] [Art larva.Pl]

B: 'That (=cattle) too, that helped us in that situation. But when it (=cotton farming) disrupted us with insect larvae,'

- (01:53) [ē sùⁿ] má sùʔù
 [Art medicine] IpfvNeg be.given.Ipfv
 [ó k-ā fú =ní] tàʔà-kó,
 [1Pl Infin-Ipfv spray.Ipfv 3InanObj] again,

B: 'The medicine (=insecticide) wasn't given to us to spray it any more.'

[< sũⁿ ; infinitive as purposive clause (§17.6.2.1)]

- (01:57) bon, [[bè bíé] bē-ná=] à-mà [é-yùò ní] tàʔà-kó,
 well, [[Dem.Def all] be.tired-VblN] be.Loc [1Pl Loc] again,
 nó bũō jèrɔ̃ⁿ, [ē jùsúⁿ-bàʔá] ní,
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [Are cotton-cultivation] Loc,
 [bè tóʔó] kō kǎⁿ
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg

B: 'Well, the suffering of all that has been on us lately. What I got in (=from) growing cotton, there it is.'

[< /bè-ní à-mā/; presentative, with normally AnSg kǎⁿ in abstract sense]

[change of speakers]

- (02:05) [ē jùsúⁿ-bàʔá],
 [Art cotton-cultivation],
 sání à bà dǎⁿ= [Ø dē-ní],
 when 3Inan if arrive.Pfv [Art pick.cotton.Base-VblN],
 A: 'Cotton farming. By the time it has reached (the time for) picking,'
 [sání < Jula (§15.3.5.8)]

- (02:09) à bà sē, [mó jū] gā = [à nī]
 3Inan if take.shape.Base, [2Sg eye] be [3Inan Loc]
 [à k-ā kò],
 [3Inan Infin be.good.Ipfv],
 A: ‘When it (=cotton) takes shape, your eyes are on it, it’s good.’

- (02:13) [ē sùⁿ] má Ø-ā bí
 [Art medicine] IpfvNeg Infin-Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv
 jèrɔⁿ à lēⁿ [Ø pìó] [à nī],
 Rel Ipfv expel.Ipfv [Art larva.Pl] [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘Medicine (=insecticide) isn’t (=can’t be) gotten, (insecticide) which drives the insects away from it.’
 [*< sùⁿ ; apparent Ipfv à added irregularly after IpfvNeg má, perhaps really < má (k)-ā bí ; extraposed relative clause*]

- (02:16) ò bà commencer [Ø [jùsúⁿ-tàʔà]-dē-nī],
 3Pl if begin.Base [Art [cotton-plot]-pick.Base-VblN],
 [[ē dè] līⁿ nī],
 [[Art field] interior] Loc,
 A: ‘When they begin the picking of the cotton plot, inside the field,’
 [*dē-nī, M-toned verbal noun*]

- (02:19) [ē dè [á tū-tūʔū]] [ē jùsúⁿ [á bí-bī],
 [Art field [Inan big]] [Art cotton [Inan small],
 [ē fāŋà] ní-mā [à nī],
 [Art strength] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘A big field (but) little cotton. There is no power (=productivity) in it.’

- (02:22) [ē blò fǎráⁿ] má wó-à-gǎrēⁿ,
 [Art rain(n) too] IpfvNeg rain(v).Ipfv-Ipfv-do.well.Ipfv,
 A: ‘Also it doesn’t rain much.’

- (02:24) [ē blō] bà commencer-gǎrēⁿ = [Ø wó-nī]
 [Art rain(n)] if begin.Base-do.well.Base [Art rain(v).Base-VblN]
 [ē jùsúⁿ] mà sē [bā dàⁿ] [Ø dáʔá jī]
 [Art cotton] if take.shape.Base [if arrive.Base [Art time Indef]]
 A: ‘When it starts raining well, when the cotton yields well and it ripens at a given time,’

- (02:28) [[ē jùsúⁿ] gò lēⁿ]
 [[Art cotton] Infin stand.Base]
 [[à jùsùⁿ bíé] gō tì-tǎⁿ],
 [[3Inan cotton all] Infin be.poured.Base],
 A: ‘The cotton (plants) stand high, (and) all the cotton spills (to the ground).’

- (02:30) [à wá-réⁿ jèrôⁿ = Ø-mā [[à líⁿ ní]
 [3Inan egg-Pl] Rel be.Loc [[3Inan interior] Loc]
 [jèrôⁿ mā gbò?ò-bú] [[bè bíé] gō wūō],
 [Rel if burst.Base-get.Base] [[Dem.Def all] Infin rot(v).Base],
 A: ‘Its grains (“eggs”) which are inside it, when they manage to burst open, they are all rotten.’
- (02:32) [à púⁿúⁿ té ná-dōⁿ?ōⁿ] [kà = [á fāⁿ?āⁿ]
 [3Inan fiber Foc.Inan only] [with [Inan lightweight]
 A: ‘Only the fibers (remain) with their lightness (=weakness).’
 [ná-dōⁿ?ōⁿ ‘only’ (§19.2.3)]
- (02:35) [Ø mà gbē]
 [2Sg if take.Base]
 [Ø mà dōⁿ?ōⁿ = nì [ē cùèⁿ-è?è] ní],
 [2Sg if add.Base 3InanObj [Art weigh.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] Loc]
 A: ‘When you take it and add (=place) it on the scales,’
- (02:37) [ò kō nī]
 [3Pl Infin see.Base]
 [ò kō dò [á bí-bī séⁿ→] [ḡ bà?à],
 [3Pl Infin say.Base [Inan small tiny] [2Sg Dat],
 A: ‘They tell you-Sg, it’s tiny.’
 [séⁿ→ (§8.5.2.2.5)]
- (02:40) [Ø mā jūō = nì]
 [2Sg if sell.Ipfv 3InanObj]
 [à bú] rē má bē nà,
 [3Inan money] IpfvPast IpfvNeg Fut be.seen.Pfv,
 A: ‘When you sold it, money for it would not be seen (=gotten).’
- (02:42) [à = Ø yí?í = [[Ø blō [Ø ḡù?ó] ní] dè]
 [3Inan Ipfv go.Base [[Art rain(n) [Pl four] Loc] this.year]
 [ó má bí = [Ø jùsùⁿ-bú]],
 [1Pl IpfvNeg get.Ipfv [Art cotton-money]],
 A: ‘(As of) this year, for four rainy seasons (=years) we haven’t gotten any cotton money.’
 [i.e. haven’t made a profit after expenses and paying off debt; < /blō ò ḡū?ó/]
- (02:45) à = ānà?à-yùò, gouvernement wà,
 Art in.front-people, government or,
 ó má jī-à-gōrēⁿ [ò yíé] = dē?,
 1Pl IpfvNeg know.Ipfv-Ipfv-do.well.Ipfv [3Pl name] Emph,
 A: ‘The officials, the “gouvernement” or (whatever), we really don’t know their name well,’

- (02:51) [ò fɔ́rǎⁿ], bà gbē jèrɔ́ⁿ [mā sūʔɔ́]
 [3Pl too], if take.Base Rel [if send.Base]
 [jèrɔ́ⁿ = Ø-mā [[Ø ānàʔà] nī]
 [Rel be.Loc [[Art in.front] Loc]
 dè ìjǎ,
 Quot union,

A: ‘What they too take and send to the one (=office) that is in front (=in charge), called “the Union.”’

- (02:55) [ē ìjǎ bè] kùd-dórá [Ø mié] pé-pé,
 [Art union Top.Inan] kill.Pfv-do.a.lot.BAse [Art 1Pl] totally,
 [ó má jì [[[ó nà klè] sɛ́ná] nī] tàʔà-kó],
 [1Pl IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [[[1Pl Fut do.Base] situation] Loc] again],

A: ‘As for the Union, it totally screwed us. We don’t know what to do any more.’

- (02:58) [è dí] ō piè = [Ø mié]
 [Art last.year] 3Pl flatter.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
 [dē bùd kò [[(Ø) bú] sùʔɔ́] nī]
 [Quot LogoPl be [[Art money] give.Prog] Loc]
 álè kǎ = à-dàⁿ kúⁿʔúⁿ,
 until Infin come.Base-arrive.Base today,

A: ‘Last year they led us on, saying that they are giving money out, right up to today.’

- (03:02) dèyà-dò kǐⁿ kò ká-tà [à nī]]
 this.year-Poss.Inan credit Infin do.again.Base-add.Base [3Inan Loc]]
 [ó bē klè jèrɔ́ⁿ] ɔ́ = á kɔ́ⁿ = ʔ,
 [1Pl Fut do.Pfv Rel] 1Pl PfvNeg know.Base Neg,

A: ‘The debt of this year is added to it (=last year’s debt). What to do, we don’t know.’

[-dò (§6.2.4.3); kǐⁿ variant of cǐⁿ]

[change of speakers]

- (03:07) [bè tóʔó] fě [n dèⁿʔá =] = àⁿ,
 [Dem.Def Foc] talk(n) [Sg one] it.is,
 [ʔⁿ kàrɔ́ⁿ] dè bè-kǎ,
 [3Inan Top] say.Pfv thus,

B: ‘It’s all the same talk. As for him, he spoke like that.’

- (03:11) [ó dé] máⁿ gō
 [3Pl however] IpfvNeg be
 [[[ē èʔé] jǐ] jǐ́] = nǐ] [à nī],
 [[[Art thing Indef] see.Prog] Prog] [3Inan Loc],

B: ‘We however aren’t seeing (=getting) anything from it.’

[progressive negative (§10.2.5.7)]

- (03:12) *[nóⁿ mó =rē] bà?à,*
 [1Sg Top even] Dat,
à= Ø-mā [[tò?ò jàróⁿ] nī]
 3Inan be.Loc [[place Rel] Loc]
 B: ‘As far as I am concerned, where it (=situation) is,’
[< /nóⁿ bó/]
- (03:15) *jí í-yùò bē-yùò— būō—, [è ló?ó jī],*
 if 1Pl cultivate.Pfv-Agent.Pl— get.Pfv—, [Art trick Indef],
ó dè bè glō [[Ø pièⁿ?èⁿ] nī]
 1Pl IpfvPast Fut exit.Pfv [[PIRefl foot] Loc]
 B: ‘If we farmers find a solution, we would be about to go out on our own feet.’
[< /ō pièⁿ?èⁿ/]
- (03:18) *[jí ò bà bē klè [kā [jàróⁿ kâ]]]*
 [if 3Pl if Fut do.Pfv [with [Rel manner]]]
[ò kò klè],
 [3Pl Hort do.Base],
 B: ‘If they are going to do it in some way, let them do it.’
[possessor (or compound initial) relative (§14.2.3)]
- (03:21) *mó ñò wò-à-séⁿ, [ē dè] nī,*
 2Sg Hort bend.over.Ipfv, [Art sun] Loc,
[ē dè-[wò-séⁿ]-ní, à kâ?ā =dē?,
 [Art sun-[bend.over.Base]-VblN, Ipfv be.hard.Ipfv Emph]
 B: ‘You bend over in the sun (to farm). Bending over in the sun sure is hard!’
[< /wò-à-séⁿ/; imperfective hortative (§10.4.2.1)]
- (03:26) *kō à ló [ē yà kámá [n dèⁿ?éⁿ],*
 Infin Ipfv turn.Ipfv [Art year entire [Sg one]],
mó mà bè būō-pōⁿ [ē è?é jī]
 2Sg if Fut get.Pfv-be.able.Base [Art thing Indef]
 B: ‘And (you) go around one entire year. If you manage to earn anything,’
[< /ē yā/; kámá ‘entire’ with temporal nouns (‘year’, ‘day’, etc.)]
- (03:30) *[[è blá-kò jà-ró] à-mā]*
 [[Art livestock.Pl Rel-AnPl] be.Loc]
[bùò bíé] kò [yí?í nī] [[ē kīⁿ-cì?é] nī],
 [3Pl all] be [go.Prog Prog] [[Art credit-hole] Loc],
 B: ‘The livestock that is there, they all are going into (paying off) the debt.’
[variant of cīⁿ-tí?é; i.e. one has to sell livestock to pay off the cotton debt]

- (03:32) *mó* *mè* *dē* *mè-ŋà-díⁿ*,
 2Pl Fut raise.child.Pfv how?,
 [*mó* =*rē*] *bà* *ŋī*=
 [2Sg even] if see.Base
 [[Ø *lá-fù?ù* *èrē*] *dōrē* [[*è* *úⁿ* *nī*]],
 [[Art disease even] abound.Pfv [[Art village] Loc]],
 B: ‘How are you going to raise (=feed) (your children)? If you see that disease has become common in the village,’
 [< /*mó⁽ⁿ⁾ bē*/]

- (03:36) [*bè* *tó?ó*] *gō* [[*kè* *yá* *té* *èrè*] *dó*],
 [Dem.Def Foc] be [[matter Dem.InanSg Foc.Inan even] Poss.Inan],
 [*mó* *gā*= *à-pēⁿ*,
 [2Sg Infin come.Base-stay.Base
 B: ‘That [focus] is the result of that very situation. You just stay (there),’
 [< /*kè yá té èrē dó*/]

- (03:38) *wò* *séⁿ*, [*kō* *pēⁿ*], [[*ē* *sǎⁿ*] *nī*] *mô*→,
 Infin lie.down.Base, [Infin stay.Base], [[Art thought(n)] Loc] concerning,
àlámáⁿ *à* *kò* [*yí?í* *nī*]—
 the.end 3Inan be [go.Prog Prog]—
à *kò* [*yí?í* *nī*] [[*è* *lá-fù?ù* *té*] *nī*],
 3Inan be [go.Prog Prog] [[Art disease Foc.Inan] Loc],
 B: ‘And (you) lie there (at night), and (you) keep worrying. In the end, it’s going—it’s on the way to disease [focus].’
 [< *Jula àlámáⁿ bāⁿ* ; alternative parsing is progressive *té nī* ‘is putting/causing’]

- (03:46) *jó*= *ò* *úⁿ?úⁿ-yùò*
 if 3Pl head-people
bà *á* *ŋó* [*ā* *tò?ò* *bè*] *cǎⁿ*,
 if PfvNeg look.at.Base [3Inan place Top.Inan] truth,
 B: ‘If their leaders don’t consider its situation, in truth,’
 [*cǎⁿ* < *Jula*]

- (03:48) *à*= Ø *kà?=*ó* *bà?à*] *kō-kō*,
 3Inan Ipfv be.hard [1Pl Dat] Rdp-day,
wálà→
 voilà
 B: ‘It’s hard for us these days. There it is.’*

Text 2019-04 Cotton follow-up

duration: 00:50

Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) [ē jùsúⁿ mà bá,
 [Art cotton] if be.cultivated.Base,
 à bā à-kóʔó,
 3Inan if come.Base-succeed.Base,
 ‘When cotton has been grown, if it is successful (=bountiful),’

(00:06) [à tīē-tʔʔ] nī,
 [3Inan put.down.Pfv-place] Loc,
 [é kō gbē [Ø [kē-sùⁿ?ʔⁿ]-yùò],
 1Pl Infin take.Base [Art [work(n)]-people],
 ‘In its (=cotton’s) place for being put down, we then take some (volunteer) workers.’

(00:09) [é yè-ró] [kà [é bí-ó]], kò glú,
 [1Pl woman-Pl] [with [1Pl child-Pl]], Infin exit(v).Base,
 kō wò-sēⁿ = [[Ø dè] nī],
 Infin bend.over.Base [[Art field] Loc],
 ‘Our women and our young people then go out, and stoop over in the field.’

(00:13) [è dáʔá jè-rè] á s̄ⁿ
 [Art time Rel-InanPl] PfvNeg work(v).Base
 [ē fèʔè nórámá] [[ē jùⁿsúⁿ-dē-ñ] nī]
 [Art month genuine] [[Art cotton-pick.cotton-VbIN] Loc]
 ‘The times in (=time spent on) picking the cotton hasn’t amounted to (even) a solid month.’
[because the fields didn’t produce much cotton this year; in a good cotton harvest three months may be needed]

(00:17) [ē jùsúⁿ Ø má wā-ā-jè =?
 [Art cotton] 2Sg IpfvNeg come.Ipfv-Ipfv-see.Ipfv Neg
 ‘The cotton, you don’t come and see (it),’
 [*< /jùsúⁿ ñ má bē-ā-jè/*]

- (00:18) ó nǎ— bē= [Ø jùsúⁿ],
 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art cotton],
 [[[ē gbìⁿʔⁿ tē→] kě] nī]
 [[[Art peanut Foc.Inan] matter] Loc]
 ‘We used to grow cotton, instead of peanuts [focus],’
- (00:21) [kò bú= [Ø bú] [kò bâ= [Ø súmáⁿ-klàʔà]],
 [Infin get.Base [Art money] [Infin cultivate.Base [Art maize]],
 [ē dī-nā-dēⁿ] ó nǎ bē= [Ø súmáⁿ-klàʔà],
 [Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art maize],
 ‘In order to get money to cultivate maize. In the old days we used to grow maize,’
- (00:24) [è dǎrⁿʔⁿ] má wī [à nī]
 [Art manure] IpfvNeg be.put.Ipfv [3Inan Loc]
 [è súmáⁿ-klàʔà [n dèⁿʔⁿ có]
 [Art maize] [Sg one only]
 ‘Fertilizer wasn’t put on it. One single maize (cob),’
[i.e. it didn’t need fertilizer; the term for ‘manure’ is also applied to modern chemical fertilizer]
- (00:25) [ē jǎ-rō =rè] má klúⁿ-àⁿ-plūⁿ =nì,
 [Art Indef-AnPl even] IpfvNeg chew.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv 3InanObj,
mais [kúⁿʔⁿ nī] [à bíé] pìèⁿ [[Ø á kǎʔā] nī],
 but [today Loc] [3Inan all] stay.Pfv [[Art Inan empty] Loc],
 ‘Some people couldn’t chew it. But nowadays it has all stayed (=become) worthless.’
[one cob was more than some people could eat, because the cobs were so well-developed then]
- (00:29) bon ǝⁿ sùð= [Ø ǔⁿ-yúó]
 well 3AnSg receive.Pfv [Art rope-people]
 [kō wē [[[Ø ʃⁿʔⁿ-èʔè] līⁿ] nī],
 [Infin put.Base [[[Art run.Pfv-Ppl.Inan] interior] Loc],
 ‘Well, he (=Union agent) has taken the rope people (=indebted cotton farmers), and put (the cotton) inside a vehicle.’
- (00:32) [é-yùò tǎ-rá=] ā sò =nì [k-ā wī]
 [1Pl Foc.AnPl] Ipfv carry.on.head.Ipfv 3InanObj [Infin-Ipfv put.in.Ipfv]
 [è bú] má jè [à nī],
 [Art money] IpfvNeg be.seen.Ipfv [3Inan Loc],
 ‘It’s us [focus] who carry it and put (it) in. Money isn’t seen (=received) from it.’
[< /tǎ-ró à sò/]

- (00:36) [kúⁿ?úⁿ kè bè] ó à fā [kò klá
 [today Emph Top.Inan] 1Pl Ipfv look.for.Ipfv [Infin return.Base]
 [[ó]i-ò] dó [á dī?ē]] nī
 [[1Pl father-Pl] Poss.Inan [Inan old]] Loc
 ‘Nowadays, we are seeking to return to the old ways of our fathers.’
 [kè ‘precisely’ with spatiotemporal adverb (§8.5.3.2.6); < /]i-ó/]
- (00:39) ó rà= à bé jèrⁿ,
 1Pl IpfvPast Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv Rel,
 [ē gbīⁿ?īⁿ], [è sù má-klà?à]
 [Art peanut], [Art maize]
 ‘What we used to cultivate, peanuts, maize,’
 [< /ó dè à/]
- (00:41) ó bè klē [[è tó?ó] nī],
 1Pl Fut return.Pfv [[Dem.Def Foc] Loc],
 ó nà klè mlēⁿ, è sù máⁿ-tò?ó
 1Pl Fut do.Base how?, Art sesame
 ‘We will return to that [focus]. How (=what) will we do? Sesame.’
 [dialectal for [bè tó?ó] nī; ‘what will we do now?’ here means ‘what will we talk
 about next?’]

Text 2019-05 Maize farming

duration: 01:10

A: *Lanbi Issa Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, main speaker

B: *Nason Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, respondent

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) ó nǎ bé—, [ē dī-nā-dèⁿ] ó nǎ—
 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv—, [Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit—
 fī-ó nǎ bé [è sù má-klàʔà té]
 father-Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art maize Foc.Inan]
 [kǎ = [Ø cī]],
 [and [Art millet]]

A: ‘We used to grow— In the old days, we used to— (our) fathers (=ancestors) used to grow maize [focus] and millet.’

[cī ‘millet’ can include sorghum (gros mil) as well as pearl millet]

(00:08) [ó = rè] má wī = [Ø dǎríⁿʔíⁿ],
 [1Pl even] IpfvNeg put.in.Ipfv [Art manure],
 jǐ = [Ø jù sùⁿ-bàʔà té] bā bà,
 look.Base [Art cotton-farming(n) Foc.Inan] if come.Pfv,
 A: ‘We didn’t use to put fertilizer (on it). Look, when cotton farming came in,’
 [< /bàʔá/]

(00:10) [ó kò yíʔí-fíʔí] [ò bíé]
 [1Pl Infin get.up.Base] [3Pl all]
 kō dī = [à nī]] jǐ [dè-rè mlèⁿ]
 Infin enter.Base [3Inan Loc]] look.Base [now now]
 A: ‘We got up and everyone went into it (=cotton). Look now,’
 [< /kō dīē/]

(00:12) ó bà bá [mlēⁿ nī],
 1Pl if cultivate.Base [now Loc],
 jí má = à wē = [Ø dǎríⁿʔíⁿ],
 if 2Sg Ipfv put.in.Ipfv [Art manure],
 A: ‘When we do farming now, if you-Sg put fertilizer on,’

(00:14) à má bè kpèʔè = [Ø èʔé jī] bā,
 3Inan IpfvNeg Fut benefit.Pfv [Art thing Indef] at.all,
 ó bà jī [Ø úⁿʔúⁿ] ní-mà [à nī],
 1Pl if see.Base [Art head] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘It doesn’t benefit anything at all. When we see that it (=fertilizer) has no value (“head”),’

- (00:20) [ē tò bíé =rē] wūō,
 [Art earth all even] die.Pfv,
 álè mó bē [Ø è?é [á bí-bī]],
 even 2Sg cultivate.Pfv [Art thing [Inan small]],
 A: ‘The soil has died. Even if you-Sg have grown a little,’
 [< /tʃ/]
- (00:22) jí ñà= á wē= [Ø dóríʔíʔ] [à nī],
 if 2Sg PfvNeg put.in.Base [Art manure] [3Inan Loc],
 mó má bí= [Ø dī-è?è] [à nī],
 2Sg IpfvNeg get.Ipfv [Art food] [Art Loc],
 A: ‘If you-Sg don’t put manure on it, you won’t get any food out of it.’
 [unusual combination 2Sg PfvNeg ñà= á for usual mó á (§4.3.1.6.2)]
- (00:24) jô= [Ø tó?ó] klè [[ò bíé] kò yíʔí-ʔíʔí
 look.Base [Dem.Def Foc] do.Base [[3Pl all] Infin get.up.Base
 [kò kpàʔàʔ= [Ø pièʔèʔ] [à nī] [mlēʔ nī]],
 [Infin implant.Base [Art leg] [3Inan Loc] [now Loc]],
 A: ‘Look, that [focus] is what has caused everyone to get up and put our foot
 down on it now.’
 [i.e. to discontinue growing cotton; elided < /bè tó?ó/ ; klè ‘cause’ plus infinitival
 clause (§17.4.2.5.1)]
- (00:28) má glò— [jí [bè kē] rè má glò]
 IpfvNeg it.is— [if [Dem.Def matter] IpfvPast IpfvNeg it.is]
 [[è ná-dì-ð] dè bé =nì],
 [[Art old.man-Pl IpfvPast cultivate.Ipfv 3InanObj],
 A: ‘(If) not—, if it were not a matter of that (=fertilizer), the old men used to grow
 it.’
- (00:30) [ó bíé] ó-ñùò [ó rè dí jèrʔíʔ]
 [1Pl all] 1Pl-people [1Pl IpfvPast eat.Ipfv Rel]
 [kò yíʔí-ʔíʔí] [kò klè [Ø [ná-bí]-ùʔùʔ] [kúʔúʔ nī]],
 [Infin get.up.Base [Infin be.made.Base [Art [person]-head] [today Loc]],
 A: ‘All of us, we people, what we used to eat, in order to get up and become
 (=count as) a person today,’
 [‘person-head’, cf. ‘head (of cattle etc.)’ in counting]
- (00:33) ó rè bí [bè díʔ] tē,
 1Pl IpfvPast get.Ipfv [Dem.Def peer] Q,
 è dóríʔíʔ-bà-ní,
 Art manure-come-VblN,
 A: ‘Did we used to get anything like that (misfortune)? The coming of fertilizer,’

- (00:36) [ē jùsúⁿ-bàʔà té] bà,
 [Art cotton-farming(n) Foc.Inan] come.Pfv,
 kǎ= [Ø t̄-wú-n=] [ó bàʔà],
 with [Art earth-die.Base-VblN] [1Pl chez],
 A: ‘Cotton-farming [focus] came with (=brought about) the death of the soil among us.’
 [wú-ní ‘death’]

- (00:39) [[ó k̄-t̄ʔ̄è] k̄] má glò tàʔà,
 [[1Pl arm] matter] IpfvNeg it.is again,
 bá-k̄, é bàmà [k̄ tá-fā
 must, 1Pl try.hard.Base [Infīn do.again.Base-look.for.Base
 [Ø t̄ʔ̄ jī] [à nī] t̄→,
 [Art place Indef] [3Inan Loc] Emph,
 A: ‘It isn’t a matter of (being in) our hands any more. We must look again for another situation for it.’
 [*i.e. there’s nothing we can do about it; < /k̄ má/; bá-k̄ ‘must’ (§17.1.8)*]

- (00:45) k̄ klá [[ó [dī-nā-d̄ⁿ]-d̄] nī],
 Infīn return.Base [[1Pl [old.days]-Poss.Inan] Loc],
 [k̄ gb̄-ɲó [ē j̄ʔ̄é] [k̄ l̄],
 [Infīn take.Base-look.at.Base [Art God] [with 3Inan]
 A: ‘To return to the ways of our old days, to try to take (the grace of) God with it.’
 [-d̄ (§6.2.4.3); -ɲó (§15.1.7.2)]

- (00:48) [ē j̄ʔ̄é] bā d̄ j̄r̄ⁿ cógò-cògò,
 [Art God] if speak.Base Rel regardless,
 ó d̄ [ó n̄—]
 1Pl say.Pfv [1Pl Fut—]
 A: ‘Whatever God says, we said we will—’

- (00:50) ó b̄ [ò dī-è-d̄] b̄,
 1Pl get.Pfv [PlRefl eat.Pfv-share] Dem.Def.
 [ē t̄] má n̄-à-c̄ī= [Ø ná-bī],
 [Art earth] IpfvNeg fail.to.help.Ipfv [Art person],
 A: ‘We have gotten our share of food thus. The earth doesn’t fail a person.’
 [*< /t̄ má/; n̄-k̄ (base stem) ‘withhold help from, fail to help’*]

- (00:52) jí má= á w̄= [Ø d̄r̄ⁿʔ̄ⁿ],
 if 2Sg PfvNeg put.in.Base [Art manure],
 é! mó má b̄= [Ø súáⁿ-kl̄ʔ̄à] [k-ā dī],
 ah! 2Sg IpfvNeg get.Ipfv [Art maize] [Infīn-Ipfv eat.Ipfv],
 A: ‘If you-Sg don’t put fertilizer (on it), ah!, you won’t get any maize to eat.’
 [*‘to eat’ purposive (§17.6.2.1)*]

- (00:55) [[bè tòʔò] nī] [bè tóʔó] jèrɔ̃— [ò bíé]
 [[Dem.Def place] Loc] [Dem.Def Foc] Rel— [3Pl all]
 kō bà-[yíʔí-ʃíʔí] [kò míʔé-dīē] [à nī],
 Infin come.Base-[get.up.Base] [Infin spread.out.Base-enter.Base [3Inan Loc]],
 A: ‘In that situation, that [focus] is (why)—, everyone has come and gotten up and
 has diversified into it.’

[i.e. everyone is doing their own thing]

- (00:59) [kúʔúʔ nī] [è ná-bí] à-mā [kúʔúʔ nī],
 [today Loc] [Art person] be.Loc [today Loc],
 [ʔʳ rē=] =é bá [Ø jùsúʔ]
 [3AnSg even] PfvNeg cultivate.Base [Art cotton]
 A: ‘Nowadays, a person is there (in that situation) today, he hasn’t grown cotton,’
 [< /ʔʳ rē á/]

- (01:00) mais ʔʳ kò [dí nī],
 but 3AnSg be [eat.Prog Prog],
 ó bè klè [[ó ná-dì-ò]—,
 1Pl Fut return.Pfv [[1Pl old.man-Pl]—,
 A: ‘But (at least) he is eating. We will go back (to the way of) our old men—.’

- (01:02) [[[óʃi-ò] dó] nī],
 [[[1Pl father-Pl] Poss.Inan] Loc],
 nó būō jèrɔ̃, [bè tóʔó] kō kǎʳ
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel, [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg
 A: ‘To the way of our fathers. That [focus] is what I have gotten (=learned).’

- (01:06) [bè tóʔó] =rē] =à
 [Dem.Def Foc even] =it.is
 B: ‘That’s it.’

Text 2019-06 Maize follow-up

duration: 00:58

Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) [ē dī-nā-dèⁿ] ó nǎ bê = [Ø súáⁿ-klà[?]à],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art maize],
kà [Ø fí[?]é-tú[?]ú], kò kú-mē[?]ē [Ø dè],
with [Art long.hoe], Infin slash.in.line.Base [Art field],
‘In the old days we used to cultivate maize, with a long-handled hoe. (We) made slashes (in the earth) in straight lines.’
[rows similar to the ridges and furrows of an ox-plowed field]

(00:09) kò bá = nì,
Infin cultivate.Base 3InanObj,
kō sà^rè [kò dū = [Ø súáⁿ-klà[?]à]],
Infin proceed.Base [Infin sow.Base [Art maize]],
‘Then (we) cultivate it (=formed mounds with the hoe), and sow the maize.’
[seeds are sown on the mounds, to protect them from being flooded by the first rains]

(00:12) [è súáⁿ-klà[?]à] bà dú [bà yí[?]í-[?]í[?]í] [bā dàⁿ],
[Art maize] if be.sown.Base [if get.up.Base] [if arrive.Base],
ē dè [Ø támú], [ē dè [Ø támw-á = ā kàⁿ]
Art day [Art ten], [Art day [Art ten and five]
‘When the maize has been sown (=planted), and has grown (high), and has ripened, (after) ten or fifteen days,’
[‘arrive’ = ‘(grain) ripen’; ‘fifteen’ (§4.6.1.3)]

(00:15) ó kō wē [Ø cī] [à nī],
1Pl Infin put.in.Base [Art millet] [3Inan Loc],
[bè dá[?]á sárē =] [Ø blō] lè mà
[Dem.Def period peer] [Art rain(n)] IpfvPast be.Loc
[tá nà wú],
[like Fut make.die.Base],
‘Then we put millet in with it. The rain of times like that was there (enough) to kill.’
[millet is planted between maize plants; it used to rain heavily; wú ‘die’ here apparently as causative ‘cause to die’; < /ē blō lè mā/; tá nà (§15.3.1.2)]

- (0019) [kúⁿ?úⁿ nī], mó mà gbê= [Ø fí?é-tú?ú]
 [today Loc], 2Sg if take.Base [Art long.hoe]
 dè má =àⁿ wò-séⁿ =rē,
 Quot 2Sg Fut bend.over.Base even,
 ‘Nowadays, if you take the long-handled hoe, and say (=intend) you will bend
 over (to hoe the earth),’
 [*< /mó nà wò-séⁿ/*]

- (00:21) Ø má bũð= [Ø yú=] [à nī] =rē?,
 2Sg IpfvNeg find.Pfv [Art person] [3Inan Loc] Emph,
 ká [mó fí?é =rè] má jī= [Ø fí?é-tú?ú],
 like [2Sg kind even] IpfvNeg know.Ipfv [Art long.hoe],
 ‘You won’t find anyone in it, as though your kind isn’t familiar with the long
 hoe.’

- (00:23) nó ó k-ā bé
 look.Base 1Pl Infin-Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv
 [kà [Ø nó dó]] dè-dè,
 [with [Art cow.Pl Poss.Inan]] now,
 ‘Look, we cultivate (=plow) with the cattle thing (=ox-drawn plow) now.’

- (00:25) [ē jùsúⁿ dá=] à jũ?ũ= [Ø nó]
 [[Art cotton Foc.Inan] Ipfv give.Ipfv [Art cow.Pl]
 [ē jùsúⁿ] klē [k-ā fā=
 [Art cotton] return.Pfv [Infin-Ipfv look.for.Ipfv
 [Ø nó bíé] dí-kò-ní] tà?à-kó,
 [Art cow.Pl all] eat.Base-finish.Base-VblN] again,
 ‘Cotton is what gives (=pays for) cattle. Now cotton has changed to seek to finish
 (=be on the verge of finishing) eating up all the cattle lately.’
 [*< /té à/; cotton is a money-loser and makes us sell our cattle to pay off debt*]

- (00:30) mais álè [mlēⁿ nī], ó dà= à glú
 but until [now Loc], 1Pl IpfvPast Ipfv exit.Ipfv
 [kò klá [k-ā fā= [Ø fí?é-tú?ú] tà?à-kó],
 [Infin return.Base [Infin-Ipfv look.for.Ipfv [Art long.hoe] again],
 ‘But right now, we were getting out (=abandoning it), we (now) go back to look
 for (=prefer) the long hoe again,’
 [*first phrase barely audible; restore rest of segment as ‘we have gone back to look
 for the long hoe that we used to cultivate with’*]

- (00:33) ò ká klá [[Ø bí-?ìò] kò tá-bàmà
 Hort Sbjn return.Ipfv [[Art child.Pl] Hort do.again.Base-try.hard.Base
 [kō kōⁿ =nì]],
 [Infin know.Base 3InanObj]],
 ‘Wishing to go back, the young people may make a renewed effort to know it,’
 [*kò ká in wishes (§10.4.2.3.2)*]

- (00:35) ó á kɔ̃ⁿ [bè tóʔó] [ō bàʔà],
 1Pl PfvNeg know.Base [Dem.Def Foc] [3Pl chez],
 kàtá = à kō [mlɛ̃ⁿ nì] [kúⁿʔúⁿ nī],
 when 3Inan be [now Loc] [today Loc],
 ‘We don’t know that [focus] among them, as it is nowadays.’
[i.e. we don’t know what they think about that; < kàtó (§15.3.5.3)]
- (00:39) ó nǎ bé [Ø dī—]
 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Base [Art ol[d.days]—]
 ó nǎ bé [à [Ø fʔé-túʔú =]] [[Ø kè-tèʔè] nī],
 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Base [with [Art long.hoe]] [[Art hand] Loc],
 ‘We used to cultivate in the old d[ays]— We used to cultivate with the long-
 handled hoe in (our) hands,’
- (00:42) kō wò-séⁿ [wō kō [Ø fɛ́rú]], mais kúⁿʔúⁿ
 Infin bend.over.Base [Infin suffer.Base [Art sweat(n)]], but today
 [ò bíé] à lɛ̃ⁿ = [Ø jùʔé-cíⁿ] [k-ā bé],
 [3Pl all] Ipfv stand.Ipfv [Art above] [Infin-Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv],
 ‘And (we) bent over and sweated. But nowadays, everybody stands up high to
 work.’
*[i.e. the fields are worked by ox-drawn plows so farmers don’t have to bend over
 to hoe; klò/kɔ̃/kō ~ kū ‘suffer’ plus noun ‘sweat’ = ‘to sweat, to emit sweat’, partially
 homophonous with kpà/kɔ̃/kō ~ kū ‘finish’]*
- (00:45) [è nó-fíʔé] nī, [bè tóʔó] tâ bà [ǎ = [Ø jùsúⁿ]],
 [Art cow.Pl-daba] Loc, [Dem.Def Foc] Past come.Base [with [Art cotton]],
 k-ā sūʔū [Ø èʔé jèrɔ́ⁿ],
 Infin-Ipfv give.Ipfv [Art thing Rel],
 ‘In (=with) the ox-drawn plow. The thing that they had brought cotton to give (it)
 (to farm with).’
[relativization on object within subordinated infinitival clause (§14.2.6)]
- (00:49) bè fɔ́ráⁿ, kà-bàʔà [k-ā bē
 Dem.Def too, want.it [Infin-Ipfv come.Ipfv
 [[[à bíé] gblè-tòʔò] nī] tàʔà-kó,
 [[[3Inan all] take.Pfv-place] Loc] again,
 ‘That too wants to come in order to take everything again.’
*[‘want’ with infinitival complement for Bi/Bo dialect (§17.4.3.1); purposive
 with -tòʔò nī (§17.6.2.5)]*

Text 2019-07 Peanut farming

duration: 01:37

Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

(00:02) [ē dī-nā-dèⁿ é-yùò nǎ bí [Ø gbīⁿ?īⁿ],
 [Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art peanut],
 [ē gbīⁿ?īⁿ = =rē] nǎ bí = =rē,
 [Art peanut even] PastHabit be.cultivated.Ipfv even,
 ‘In the old days we used to cultivate peanuts. Peanuts too used to be cultivated.’
 [< /ǎrē/]

(00:07) ē f̃h-rè [ò ŋū?ǔ],
 Art month-Pl [Pl four].
 ó rā wē =nì [[ē cì té] nī],
 1Pl Past put.Base 3InanObj [[Art millet Foc.Inan] Loc],
 ‘Four months (growing time). We had put it in with the millet [focus].’
 [< /cī/; peanut, a low bushy plant, can grow in spots between tall millet plants;
 since wē is clearly base, rā wē is past perfect]

(00:11) kò yí?í-?í?ì [kà [Ø fí?é]]
 Infin get.up.Base [Infin [Art daba]]
 [kō dīē [kō gò =nì],
 [Infin enter.Base [Infin cut.Base 3InanObj],
 ‘Then (we) get up with a small daba (=hoe), and go in (the field) and slash it.’
 [the full-grown plant is slashed at the roots with a short-handled hoe (which
 requires bending over), to loosen the plant so it can be uprooted]

(00:13) f̃ǔ = [[Ø jī] nī] ñ kō bà— [ñ kō dīē]
 until [[Art Indef] Loc] 2Sg Infin come.Base— [2Sg Infin enter.Base]
 [kō bá-sāⁿ =nì té[ǎ = [Ø kè-tè?è]],
 [Infin cultivate.Base-gather.Base 3InanObj Emph [with [Art hand]],
 ‘Even in some cases you-Sg come—you go in (the field) and dig and gather them
 up by hand.’
 [i.e. without slashing the plant first]

(00:17) [[ē jī] nī] ñ gò t̃ǔ = [Ø lǎⁿ],
 [[Art Indef] Loc] 2Sg Infin brew.Base [Art beer],
 kō nè?è [Ø ná-bí-ó],
 Infin ask.Base [Art person-Pl],
 ‘In some cases, you brew beer and ask people’
 [sorghum or millet beer is offered to volunteer workers]

- (00:20) ò kō bà [kā = à-kpā = nì],
 3Pl Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-pick.Base 3InanObj],
 [à = rè] má kpē-à-kó,
 [3Inan even] IpfvNeg pick.Ipfv-Ipfv-finish.Ipfv,
 ‘To come and pick (the peanuts from the roots). They can’t even be fully picked.’
[because the plants produce huge numbers of peanuts]
- (00:22) mais [Ø mā là-jūō = nī [[ē wàʔáʔ nī]
 but [2Sg if go.Base-sell.Base 3InanObj [[Art market] Loc]
 [è [gbóʔn-gbóʔn]-pé] [ē kpàʔn [kā = [Ø támm]]],
 [Art [large.can]-full] [Art twenty [and [Art ten]]],
 ‘But if you go sell them in the market, one large can full is (worth) thirty currency
 units (=150 francs CFA).’
*[< /ŋ bà là-/ (§16.1.1.6.2); gbóʔn-gbóʔn-pé is a large can whose volume is equivalent
 to ten tin cans (gbóʔn-gbóʔn) of tomato; it is used as a dry measure for market
 transactions (peanuts, millet, maize, etc.)]*
- (00:26) è táʔóʔn-sò, [bè jūā-èʔè]—
 Art iron-horse, [Dem.Def divide.Pfv-Ppl.Inan]—
 [ē kpàʔn té]
 [Art twenty Foc.Inan]
 ‘A bicycle, a half load on it, twenty [focus] currency units.’
- (00:30) mais [kúʔúʔn nī], yé!, á!, ē fèʔè jī—
 but [today Loc], oh!, ah!, Art moon Indef—
 [ē bàʔá] kō bà-ló,
 [Art farming(n)] Infin come.Base-turn.Base,
 ‘But these days, alas, a month—. Farming has changed.’
- (00:37) [ē fè-rè [ò sáʔn]] glō,
 [Art moon-Pl [Pl three]] exit(v).Pfv,
 mais Ø mà kpā bè kúʔúʔn [bè nī],
 but 2Sg if pick.Base Dem.Def today [Dem.Def Loc],
 ‘Three moons have come out (=three months have passed), but if you pick them
 (=peanuts) today in that (way),’
- (00:42) bè-kà— [ē [dī-nā-dèʔn]-dò] má kō [dèʔéʔn nī],
 thus— [Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan] IpfvNeg be [one Loc],
 ‘Like that—, (and) the one (=farming) of the old days aren’t the same.’
- (00:46) Ø mà kʔʔ5 bè [bè fè-r = [ò sáʔn]],
 2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def [3Inan moon [Pl three]],
 Ø mà kʔʔ5 bè
 2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def,
 ‘If you uproot (=harvest) them, (when) three months of it—; if you uproot them,’

- (00:48) [bè fê-r = [ò sáⁿ]] bà yíʔí-[yì-fló] [tòʔò jèrɔⁿ],
 [3Inan moon-Pl [Pl three]] if go.Base-[be.filled.Base] [place Rel],
 Ø mà kɔʔɔ bè, ɲ g-ā kpē bè.
 2Sg if uproot.Base Dem.Def, 2Sg Infin-Ipfv pick.Ipfv Dem.Def,
 ‘Wherever three months of it have been filled (=have elapsed), if you have
 uprooted them (=plants), for you to pick them (nuts),’
- (00:51) kō bà-càʔà,
 Infin come.Base-lay.out.Base,
 mais [Ø mà kānā [ã = [Ø blō]]]
 but [2Sg if coincide.Base [with [Art rain(n)]]]
 ‘(You) then come and lay them out (to dry). But if you coincide with the rains,’
- (00:54) [è blò] má lēⁿ [= èⁿ nī],
 [Art rain(n)] IpfvNeg accept.Ipfv [3Inan Loc],
 ɲ gò táⁿʔāⁿ = [Ø kpàʔà-ní]
 2Sg Infin begin.Base [Art be.poor.Base-VbIN]
 ‘The rains don’t allow it (to dry). You begin (=fall into) neediness.’
- (00:57) à bā [fê-fê]-bú mā,
 3Inan if [get.a.little.Base]-be.gotten.Base there.Def,
 ɲ gò yíʔí [kà bè] [kō rà-jūō = nì]
 2Sg Infin go.Base [with Dem.Def] [Infin go.Base-sell.Base 3InanObj],
 ‘When whatever meager amount has been gotten there, you take it (to the market)
 to sell it.’
 [fê-fé < *Jula* ‘get a little, get a meager amount’]
- (01:00) mais bè k-ā dúʔú,
 but Dem.Def Infin-Ipfv be.heavy.Ipfv,
 [ē gbìⁿʔìⁿ dó bè kà^ròⁿ],
 [Art peanut Poss.Inan Top.Inan Top],
 ‘But it’s heavy. As for the peanuts’ (price),’
- (01:02) [è á bí-bí] à bí [bè nī],
 [Art Inan small] Ipfv be.gotten.Ipfv [Dem.Def Loc],
 k-ā ʃⁿ [Ø jū-kè],
 Infin-Ipfv work(v).Ipfv [Art eye-matter],
 ‘A modest amount (of money) is gotten out of it, to satisfy (your) needs.’
- (01:07) é! máⁿ glò, ē— [ē [dī-nā-dèⁿ]-dò jèrɔⁿ],
 ah! IpfvNeg it.is, Art— [Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan Rel],
 [ē tòwíé],
 [Art dry.season],
 ‘Anyway, those (peanuts) of the old days, in the dry season,’
 [reduced from jí bè má glò ; the peanut cultivars of the old days took four months
 to mature and could be harvested well after the rainy season]

- (01:11) [ē tòwíé té]
 [Art dry.season Foc.Inan]
 ó nǎ bé-à-sēⁿ = nì tē→,
 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv-Ipfv-gather.Ipfv 3InanObj Emph,
 ‘It was in the dry season [focus] that we used to slash them (with the hoe) and gather them.’
[the current cultivar takes three months, but doesn’t hold up if the harvest is delayed well into the dry season]
- (01:13) kō sāⁿ = nì, kō wē= [Ø bórá = rē],
 Infin gather.Base 3InanObj, Infin put.in.Base [Art work(n) even],
 [kò tó= [Ø ǎⁿ]], [è ná-bí-ó] kō bà,
 [Art brew.Base [Art beer]], [Art person-Pl] Infin come.Base,
 ‘(We) gathered them (=peanuts), and (we) put (volunteer) labor(ers) in, and (we) brewed millet beer. Then the people came.’
[cooperative work by villagers, helping each other in turn]
- (01:16) [à = rè] má kō = ?,
 [3Inan even] IpfvNeg finish.Ipfv Neg,
mais kúⁿ?úⁿ-dò,
 but today-Poss.Inan,
 ‘They (=peanuts) have no end. But today’s (way),’
- (01:18) [ē bà?á] bà [Ø= à-klè bē-kā],
 [Art farming(n)] come.Pfv [Infin come.Base-be.done.Base thus],
 [ē jà-rò dó],
 [Art Indef-AnPl Poss.Inan]
 ‘Farming has come to be done like that. For some other (people),’
- (01:20) [mó = rē] bà bú
 [2Sg even] if get.Base
 [ē ũⁿ [n dèⁿ?éⁿ]], ñ būō mā,
 [Art rope [Sg one]], 2Sg get.Pfv there.Def,
 ‘If you-Sg get a rope, you have it there.’
[i.e. a bundle or bale of cotton]
- (01:22) [ē jì dó = rē] má bè būō [n dèⁿ?éⁿ] = rē?,
 [Art Indef Poss.Inan even] IpfvNeg Fut get.Pfv [Sg one] Emph,
 kò tíⁿ-kó?ó dē ò dē= [Ø jè?è-jùò],
 Infin pull.Base-bend.over.Base Quot 3Pl say.Pfv [Art write.Pfv-Agent.Pl],
 ‘Some (people) won’t be able to get even one (bundle), to be yanked away, (the union) saying that the (cotton) agents (are the problem),’
[= dē? ; the speaker criticizes the cotton union for the low prices, not the agents who weigh the cotton; jè?è-jùò nasalized from jè?è-yùò]

(01:24) dè ó kò wóʔó= [[Ø bí-ʃìò] jū]
 Quot 1Pl Hort open.Base [[Art child.Pl] eye]
 [bè bíé] à gbli-à-wī [bè ní],
 [Dem.Def all] Ipfv be.taken.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.put.Ipfv [Dem.Def Loc],
 ‘(They) tell us to open the eyes of the children (=by paying their school expenses),
 everything (we earn) is applied to that (=schooling).’

(01:28) kō tōrāⁿ [Ø [kè-tèʔè]-kāʔā],
 Infin sit.Base [Art [hand]-empty],
 [ē gbīⁿʔīⁿ] bà [kà [bē-kà jòróⁿ]],
 [Art peanut] come.Pfv [with [cultivate.Pfv-manner Rel]],
 ‘(For us) to sit empty-handed. The way of farming whereby peanuts came,’
 [for kè-tèʔè [á kāʔā] ‘empty hand’, distinct from kè-tèʔè kāʔā-èʔè ‘hard hand’
 (used like English tight fist(ed))]

(01:32) [bè tóʔó] wō kǎⁿ
 [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg
 ‘That is it.’
 [“AnSg” demonstrative kǎⁿ with inanimate referent]

Text 2019-08 Cowpea farming

duration: 00:54

Nason Ouattara, from Bofoboso.

Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoboso

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

Nason speaking

(00:02) [ē dī-nā-dèⁿ] ó nǎ bē= [Ø kě],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Are cowpea],
ó wō wē =nì [ē gbìⁿʔìⁿ té] nī],
1Pl Infin put.in.Base 3InanObj [Art peanut Foc.Inan] Loc],
‘In the old days we used to cultivate cowpea. We put it in among peanut (plants).’
[*cowpea is Vigna unguiculata, the basic “haricot” of the zone, in several cultivars*]

(00:07) [[ē jī] nī] [ē kě] à bí
[[Art Indef] Loc] [Art cowpea] Ipfv get.Ipfv
[ē f̂-r= [ò ɲūʔɔ]], [Ø f̂-r= [ò sáⁿ]],
[Art month-Pl] [Pl four]], [Art month-Pl [Pl three]],
‘In some cases, cowpeas take four months (to grow), (or) three months.’
[‘in some cases’ (§4.4.2.3)]

(00:11) ó k-ā dú =nì= [[Ø gbìⁿʔìⁿ-tàʔà] nī]
1Pl Infin-Ipfv sow.Ipfv 3InanObj [[Art peanut-plot] Loc]
[ó bà kpā =nì],
[1Pl if pick.Base 3InanObj],
‘We plant them in the peanut plot. When we have picked them (=cowpeas),’
[*cowpeas tend to grow faster than peanuts, so cowpeas are planted later and harvested first*]

(00:14) [ā= à-bìⁿʔéⁿ] [ē yè-ró] k-ā ɲúá [ā= à-bìⁿʔéⁿ]
[Art leaf] [Art woman-Pl] Infin-Ipfv pick.leaves.Ipfv [Art leaf]
[k-ā tō= [Ø dìé] [à lō],
[Infin-Ipfv cook.sauce.Ipfv [Art sauce] [with 3Inan],
‘The greens, women pick off the leaves, and cook sauce with them.’
[< /ē à-bìⁿʔéⁿ/; *only fresh young leaves can be used in sauce so the women carefully pick the good ones*]

- (00:19) *kō klè =nì [ē kànàʔà-ʃiʔé],*
 Infin make.Base 3InanObj [Art cowpea.greens-spine],
[à bíó] bā dàⁿ,
 [3Inan fruit] if arrive.Base,
 ‘To make it spiny cowpea greens. When its seeds (=beans) are ripe,’
[the leaves are sun-dried for one day, after which they are somewhat sharp]
- (00:22) *ó kō kōʔō [Ø kě],*
 1Pl Infin uproot.Base [Art cowpeas],
[kō tārāⁿ = [[Ø lóⁿ] nī] [kō kpā =nì],
 [Infin sit.Base [[Art shade] Loc] [Infin pick.Base 3InanObj].
 ‘Then we uproot the cowpea (plants), and (we) sit in the shade and (we) pick them
 (=the pods containing the beans) off.’
- (00:25) *kò mé-tōⁿ [à sáráʔá],*
 Infin discard.Base [3Inan stem.and.leaves],
kō bà-cāⁿ = [Ø kě], kō dī-glō [à bíó],
 Infin come.Base-thresh [Art cowpea], Infin remove.Base [3Inan fruit],
 ‘Then we discard the (rest of) the plant, and (we) come and thresh the cowpea
 (pods) to extract its seeds (=beans).’
- (00:30) *kò dós-sūʔō =nì [ó dígè-rè] [kò dí]*
 Infin divide.Base-give.Base 3InanObj [1Pl Recip] [Infin eat.Base]
[mlēⁿ nī], [ē kě], má kōʔō tàʔà, tá [ē dī-nā-dēⁿ],
 [now Loc], [Art cowpea], IpfvNeg succeed.Ipfv again, like [Art old.days],
 ‘Then we divide them up for each other, to eat. Nowadays, cowpeas don’t succeed
 (=turn out well) any longer, like (they did) in the old days.’
- (00:37) *[[[ē blō] kě] nī] [[ē blò] má kōʔō],*
 [[[Art rain(n)] matter] Loc] [[Art rain(n)] IpfvNeg succeed.Ipfv],
[ē blō] nǎ wó = [Ø dī-nā-dēⁿ],
 [Art rain(n)] PastHabit rain.fall.Ipfv [Art old.days],
 ‘Because of the rains. The rains aren’t sufficient. (The way) the rains used to fall
 in the old days,’
[speaker could have added ʃipá nī at the end of this segment]
- (00:40) *[ē blò] má wó tàʔà-kó,*
 [Art rain(n)] Ipfv rain.fall.Ipfv again,
à-kā [Ø kè-díⁿ] bíé] lē,
 thus [Art cowpea-breed all] turn.Pfv,
 ‘The rains don’t fall any more (like they did). Thus all the varieties of cowpea
 have changed.’
[à-kā obscure, perhaps à kā ‘its manner’]

- (00:43) [é-yùò =rè] má jī-à-plūⁿ
 [1Pl even] IpfvNeg know.Ipfv-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv
 [[[ó nà klè] sìná nī],
 [[[1Pl Fut do.Base] situation] Loc],
 ‘We cannot (=don’t) know what we will do.’
- (00:45) [kō kōⁿ=] [Ø dīⁿ jèrōⁿ=] Ø-mā,
 [Infin know.Base] [Art breed which?] be.Loc,
 [ó= à bé té]
 [1Pl Ipfv cultivate.Ipfv Emph]
 ‘To know which kinds (of cowpea) that are there. We just cultivate ...’
[i.e., there is a confusing range of varieties in seedstock]
- (00:47) [jàⁿgó ó bú [ē cì-pú?ó] [à nī]
 [in.order 1Pl get.Base [Art porridge] [3Inan Loc]
 ‘... in order to get some porridge out of it.’
[jàⁿgó purposive clause (§17.6.2.4)]

Text 2019-09 Yam farming

duration: 01:30

location: Bofoboso brousse

Lanbi Ouattara, from Bofoboso, monologue

comment: the cultivated and commercialized yam (French *igname*) is *Dioscorea alata*.

- (00:02) [ē dī-nāⁿ-dè] ó nǎⁿ bé= [Ø tì-tó],
[Art old.days] 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv [Art yam],
[è fí?é-tú?ú té] nǎ gbli [gò só-sàⁿ?àⁿ],
[Art big.hoe Foc.Inan] Past.Habit be.gotten.Ipfv [Infin form.line.Base],
‘In the old days, they would cultivate yams. The big hoe [focus] used to be used.
They formed a line (laterally across the field).’
[each farmer would move forward in his own row, parallel to and in unison with others]

- (00:06) [k-ā—, k-ā kàⁿ-tó [ā jèr^m] [ŋ-ā yí?í],
[Infin-Ipfv— Infin-Ipfv pile.up.Ipfv [3Inan mound] [Infin-Ipfv go.Ipfv],
[bè bā là-kō] ò wō sèrò
[Dem.Def if go.Base-be.finished.Base] 3Pl Infin proceed.Base
[gō tārāⁿ [kò kóⁿ?óⁿ = nì],
[Infin sit.Base [Infin cut.up.Base 3InanObj],
‘And they would pile up (earth) to make its mounds, and go. When that was
finished, they would then sit and cut them (=yams) up.’
*[pieces of a yam are cut up and planted as grafts; jèr^m small mound under which
yam or sweet potato is grafted]*

- (00:13) [kō sèrò kō—, dú-dú-yí?í [à rō]
[Infin proceed.Base Infin—, Rdp-sow.Base-go.Base [with 3Inan]
[ē yè-ró] kō gà?ǎ= [Ø à-bè-réⁿ],
[Art woman-Pl] Infin break.off.Base [Art leaf-Pl],
[kò wá?á-tòⁿ [à úⁿ?úⁿ]] [gò yí?í],
[Infin cover.Base [3Inan head] [Infin go.Base]
‘And they proceeded to plant with them (yam pieces) here and there, and went
with (=after) that. The women broke off some leaves, and covered up the top (where
the yam was planted) and went away.’
[for kò yí?í [à rō], dialectal for /kà lō/]]

- (00:44) [kō— kō gbàʔà-[lò-báʔá] [bè tɔʔɔ],
 [Infin— Infin put.together.Base-[surround.Base] [Dem.Def place],
 [kō sàrò [ò ʔí-tú = nì],
 [Infin proceed.Base [Infin go.Base-pull.up.Base 3InanObj],
 ‘Then (you) enclose that place, before going and pulling it up.’
 [< /gbāʔā-ló-/]
- (00:48) [kō bà [k= à-wē = nì]],
 [Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj]],
 [Ø mà wē = nì kō,
 [2Sg if put.in.Base 3InanObj finish.Base,
 ‘Then come and put them (yams) inside. When you have finished putting them
 in,’
- (00:50) à bà bú—,
 3Inan if get.Base—,
 [ē wátí jī, ñ gò yíʔí,
 [Art time Indef], 2Sg Infin go.Base,
 ‘When it has gotten (=spent) a period of time, you-Sg go (to the yams),’
 [wátí < Jula]
- (00:55) [kò wóʔó = nì]
 [Infin open.Base 3InanObj]
 [gō dīē] [gò dáⁿ-glō
 [Infin enter.Base] [Infin shave.Base-remove.Base
 [ā ʃíʔé ɲàrè bí=] [à nī]],
 [3Inan spines Dem.InanPl all] [3Inan Loc]],
 ‘Then you uncover it, and go in and shave off all those spines (on the skin of the
 yams) from on them.’
 [ʃíʔé also means ‘fishbone’, here it denotes the pointed projections on the skin of
 the yams, which are trimmed off]
- (01:00) wò té-sūʔɔ̄ = nì,
 Infin put.down.Base-give.Base 3InanObj,
 [jí ñ mà bè dē jàrɔ̄ⁿ]
 [if 2Sg if Fut sell.Pfv Rel]
 [ñ gō jūō [à jóri-rè]],
 [2Sg Infin sell.Base [3Inan small-InanPl]
 ‘Then (you) store them (=yams). (Whatever) you are going to sell, you sell the
 little ones.’

- (01:03) ñ̄ gō klè bè [ē dī-è?è],
 2Sg Infin do.Base Dem.Def [Art eat-Ppl.Inan],
 ó nǎⁿ bé tì-tó kǎ,
 1Pl PastHabit cultivate.Ipfv yam manner,
 ‘(You) make that into (your) food. The way we used to grow yams.’
[for bè kǎ ‘that way’, cf. (01:15) below]
- (01:07) mais, kúⁿ?úⁿ nī, móⁿ mà bá = nì,
 but, today Loc, 2Sg if cultivate.Base 3Inan,
 [ē b̄-ró] dè máⁿ bè jē = nì mā,
 [Art elephant-Pl] Quot IpfvNeg Fut leave.Pfv 3InanObj there.Def
 ‘But nowadays, if you cultivate them, the elephants won’t leave them alone.’
[dè is optional here; jē ‘leave.Pfv’ in Bi dialect, elsewhere invariant já]
- (01:11) [bè [wè-yá?á]-ní à-mā
 [Dem.Def [squeeze.Base]-VblN be.Loc
 [í-yùò nì]kósóbé,
 [1Pl Loc] very.much
 ‘That pressure is on us extremely.’
- (01:15) nóⁿ būō j̄r̄ⁿ [[ē [tì-tó]-bē-kà] nī],
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel [[Art [yam]-cultivate.Pfv-manner] Loc],
 á! [bè tó?ó] gō kǎⁿ
 ah! [Dem.Def Foc] be Dem.AnSg
 ‘What I got (=learned) in (=about) yam cultivation, there it is!’
[variant phrasing of [bè tó?ò] kò yá with inanimate demonstrative]

Text 2019-10 Marriage

duration: 05:52

location: Bafo

A: [Traore Diouenia](#), born Biton, main speaker

B: [Nason Ouattara](#), from Bofoboso, respondent-interviewer

Notes: B “interviews” A, prodding her with leading questions to speak about marriage customs from the old days that B already knows about. The excision practice described here is no longer practiced.

(00:02) *Traoré jíswáⁿyà*

T J

A: ‘(My name:) Traoré Jisouaia.

(00:06) *est-ce que, ò bā sūʔɔ̄, [ē yīē-biʔiʔⁿ] [ʔⁿ = [Ø dɔ̄]],*
 Q, 3Pl if give.Base, [Art young.woman] [Dat [Art man]],
ò kò táⁿʔáⁿ = [Ø kē-sùⁿʔⁿ bó] mì-kā = = ā,
 3Pl Infin begin.Base [Art work(n) Top] how? Q,
kā = à-dāⁿ [Ø dɔ̄-lèⁿ],
 Infin come.Base-arrive.Base [Art man-village],

B: ‘When they give a young woman to a man, how do they begin the activities, to arrive in the man’s village?’

[dative ʔⁿ [ē dɔ̄] ‘to a/the man’ and ʔⁿ [ʔⁿ dɔ̄] ‘to her man/husband’ are both pronounced ʔⁿ [Ø dɔ̄] and are indistinguishable throughout this text]

(00:15) *ò kò táⁿʔáⁿ = nì,*
 3Pl Infin begin.Base 3InanObj,
kō sūʔɔ̄ [Ø láⁿ], kō sèrò [kō bà],
 Infin give.Base [Art beer], Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base],
 A: ‘They begin it, they give beer. Then they come,’

(00:20) *ɲ fā [Ø klòʔó], [[ē ʃiè-yùò] bàʔà]*
 (nasal) look.for.Base [Art road], [[Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.PI] Dat]
ò bā dè ɓⁿ yìè-fló,
 3Pl if say.Pfv 3AnSg be.full.Pfv,

A: ‘(They) seek permission from the (girl’s) birth people (=family). If they say that she is ready,’

(00:28) *ò kò té = ò mā,*
 3Pl Infin put.Base 3AnSgObj there,
jí ʔⁿ mā yì-fló,
 if 3AnSg if be.full.Base,
 A: ‘They put her there, if she is ready.’

(00:30) ò kō sàrò [kō sūʔ̄ [Ø klòʔ̄ó]]
 3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin give.Base [Art road]
 [kō jò = yò],
 [Infin swallow.Base 3AnSgObj],
 A: ‘Then they proceed to give permission to excise her.’
 [‘swallow’ = ‘excise (girl)’, also ‘circumcise (boy)’]

(00:36) ò bā jò-kō,
 3Pl if swallow.Base-be.finished.Base,
 ò gō sàrò [gō bà-ŋī],
 3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base-see.Base],
 A: ‘When they have excised her, they proceed to come and see,’

(00:39) [kō rà-sūʔ̄ = [ʔ̄ⁿ [Ø dǒ]]
 [Infin go.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art man]]]
 ò bā sūʔ̄ = [ʔ̄ⁿ [Ø dǒ]],
 3Pl if give.Base [Dat [Art man]],
 A: ‘Then (they) go give (her) to the man. When they have given (her) to the man,’

(00:43) è tēⁿ-wē-dàʔ̄à bā dàⁿ
 Art knead.Pfv-put.in.Base-time if arrive.Base,
 ò kō sàrò [kō wē = ò = [[Ø wùʔ̄ú] t̄ⁿ]]
 3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin put.in.Base 3AnSgObj [[Art house] under]]
 A: ‘When it comes time for her to cook and serve (tò), they proceed to put her
 inside the house.’
 [< /kō wē = (y)ò ē/]

(00:48) kō wē = ò = [[Ø wùʔ̄ú] t̄ⁿ]]
 Infin put.in.Base 3AnSgObj [[Art house] under]]
 ò má sūʔ̄ū [Ø èʔ̄é jī] = ā
 3Pl IpfvNeg give.Ipfv [Art thing Indef] Q
 B: ‘They put her inside the house. Do they not give anything?’

(00:52) ò kō sūʔ̄̄ [Ø t̄-tó], kà [Ø súmá-klàʔ̄à],
 3Pl Infin give.Base [Art yam], and [Art maize],
 kà = [Ø cī], kà = [Ø gbīⁿʔ̄ⁿ], kà [Ø súmá-t̄ʔ̄ó],
 and [Art millet], and [Art peanut], and [Art sesame],
 A: ‘They give yams, and maize, and millet, and peanuts, and sesame,’
 [súmá-t̄ʔ̄ó also pronounced súáⁿ-t̄ʔ̄ó (see 02:23 below)]

(01:00) kà = [Ø f̄èʔ̄é], kà [Ø súkára],
 and [Art wrap(n)], and [Art sugar],
 kà = [ē s̄ⁿ], kà—
 and [Art salt], and—
 A: ‘And a wrap (woman’s garment), and sugar, and salt, and—.’

(01:11) [ē kàʔà] ní-mā [à nī] =ā
 [Art meat] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc] Q
 B: ‘Is there no meat therein (=included)?’
 [< kàʔá]

(01:12) ē kàʔá
 Art meat
 A: ‘(And) meat.’

[pause]

(01:19) [ē kàʔá] bà sūʔǝ,
 [Art meat] if be.given.Base,
 ò kò tǝ= [Ø dǝʔ-làʔn]
 3Pl Infin brew.Base [Art in.law-beer]
 B: ‘When the meat has been given, they brew the in-law beer.’

(01:23) ǝʔn kā= à-tǝ, [ē lǝʔn], kō sūʔǝ,
 3AnSg Infin come.Base-brew.Base, [Art beer], Infin give.Base
 kō sǝrǝ [kò bá— [[è dǝʔ] bàʔà]]
 Infin proceed.Base [Infin cultivate.Base— [[Art in.law] Dat]]
 A: ‘She comes and brews the beer, and gives (it). Then (they) do farm work for the in-law.’

(01:35) sání [ē yǝ] bā dǝʔn [ǝʔn dǝ-lē]
 when [Art woman] if arrive.Base [3AnSgRefl man-village]
 est-ce que [Ø [klà-lò]-jùʔǝ dǝ] à-mā =ā
 Q [Art [have.fun.Base]-talk(n) Foc.Inan] be.Loc Q
 B: ‘When the woman arrives at her husband’s village, was there any festivity?’

(01:40) kō rà-[klà-lò] [ǝʔn klà-lò-ní]
 Infin go.Base-[have.fun.Base] [3AnSg have.fun.Base-VblN]
 A: ‘Then they go and have festivities.’
 [singing and dancing]

[pause]

(01:45) kō sǝrǝ kò súʔú-sūʔ= [ǝʔn [Ø dǝ]]
 Infin proceed.Base Infin catch.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art man]]
 B: ‘Then (they) take hold (of her) and give (her) to the man.’

(01:46) kō sǝrǝ kò súʔú-sūʔ= [ǝʔn [Ø dǝ]]
 Infin proceed.Base Infin catch.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art man]]
 A: ‘Then (they) take (her) and give (her) to the man.’

- (01:48) [ē yǒ] bà sū? = [ǰⁿ [Ø dǒ]],
 [Art woman] if be.given.Base [Dat [Art man]],
 [[[comme [Ø nī] dè] sǰná] nī]
 [[[as [Art mother] say.Pfv] situation] Loc]
 B: ‘When the woman has been (taken and) given to the man, as the mother says,’
[the “mother” here is an older woman on the bride’s side]
- (01:51) [[ē yǒ] bà sū? = [ǰⁿ [Ø dǒ]]]
 [[Art woman] if be.given.Base [Dat [Art man]]]
 ò kō nē?è = ò, [[ǰⁿ fī-ó] bà?à],
 3Pl Infin ask.Base 3AnSg, [[3AnSg father-Pl] chez],
 B: ‘When the woman has been (taken and) given to the man, then they discuss
 with (=formally advise) her, at her fathers’ place.’
*[nē?è denotes any of several serious speech acts: praying, asking for forgiveness,
 formally requesting, etc.]*
- (01:54) kǎ = [Ø lǎⁿ], kō sèrè [kō bà— jò],
 with [Art beer], Infin proceed.Base [Infin come.Base— swallow.Base],
 [bè dá?á-sáré =] [Ø jò-ní] tá à-mā,
 [Dem.Def time-peer] [Art swallow-VbIN] Past be.Loc,
 B: ‘With beer. Then (they) come and— excise (her). In times like those, there was
 excision.’
[smooth out as kǎ = à-jò]
- (02:03) donc, [ē jò-ní] tá à-mā,
 so, [Art swallow-VbIN] Past be.Loc,
 [[dá?á jèrǒⁿ] nī], à kā dè tá wō bè,
 [[time Rel] Loc], 3Inan manner Past Past be Dem.Def,
 B: ‘So, in the time when excision existed, the way was like that.’
[double past marking dè tá (§10.3.1.1)]
- (02:06) [bè tó?ó] kò [é-yùò dó] = rē,
 [Dem.Def Foc] be [1Pl Poss.Inan] even,
 B: ‘That [focus] is ours (=our practice).’
[barely audible, transcription approximate]
- (02:10) [ē tì-tó], kǎ = [Ø cī], kǎ = [Ø sǒⁿ],
 [Art yam], and [Art millet], and [Art salt],
 jèrǒⁿ ā lè [ē [kè-tè?è]-lè-è?è],
 Rel Ipfv be.showed.Ipfv [Art [hand]-show.Pfv-Ppl.Inan],
 B: ‘Yams, and millet, and salt, which are showed (=presented).’

- (02:16) *kō* *dò*, [*ē* *mākàrú* [*n* *dèⁿʔéⁿ*]], *kà* [*Ø* *fátórá*],
 Infin buy.Base, [Art skirt [Sg one]], and [Art shawl],
kà= [*Ø* *fùʒ*], *kà=* [*Ø* *sōⁿ*] *kō* *sūʔō*,
 and [Art fish], and [Art salt], Infin give.Base,
 [*è* *dóⁿ-nè-rò*]
 [Art in.law-female-PI]

B: ‘Then (they) buy one skirt, and a head shawl, and fish, and salt, and give (them), (to) the in-laws.’

[*gifts from bride’s family to groom’s family*]

- (02:23) *kà=* [*Ø* *súáⁿ-tòʔʒ*]
 with [Art sesame]
 ‘And sesame.’

- (02:24) *súáⁿ-tòʔʒ*, *Ø* *mà* *sō* *bè*,
 sesame, 2Sg if receive.Base Dem.Def,
wálà→ *mó* *būō* [*Ø* *yǒ*] *dè-dè*,
 voilà 2Sg get.Pfv [Art woman] now,

B: ‘(And) sesame. When you-Sg (=groom) have received (all) that, there it is, you have gotten your woman now.’

- (02:28) *à* *ká* *má* *kō* *bè-kà-té* =*ē*
 3Inan Past IpfvNeg be thus Q
àⁿháⁿ
 uh-huh!

B: ‘Did it not use to be like that?’

A: ‘Yes!’

- (02:30) *donc*, *è* *dēʔē-bù*, [*ò* *bā* *jò*]
 so, Art brideprice, [3Pl if swallow.Base]
 [*bà* *jō*] [*ē* *jùʔé-cīⁿ*],
 [if carry.on.shoulder.Base [Art above]],

B: ‘So, the brideprice. When they have excised (her) and carried her up on their shoulders,’

[*dēʔē-bù* ‘brideprice (paid in currency)’ dialectal for *bàʃíⁿʔíⁿ-bú* ‘knife-money’, paid by the groom’s family to the bride in a ceremony where the money is placed next to a knife embedded in the ground while people dance around it]

- (02:37) *kō* *sūʔō* [*Ø* *wùʔʒ* [*n* *dèⁿʔéⁿ*]],
 Infin give.Base [Art thousand [Sg one]],
kà [*Ø* *bú*] [*Ø* *kō-jǒⁿ*],
 with [Art money [Art hundred-two]],

B: ‘Then (they) give (her) one thousand, and two hundred currency units.’

[*currency unit bú* in counting money in all native languages is worth 5 CFA francs, so 1200 units = 6000 FCFA]

- (02:41) à [Ø bú-fiàⁿ?àⁿ]
with [Art cowry]
'And cowries.'
- (02:42) à [Ø bú-fi-ràⁿ], [kò mí =ní]
with [Art cowry-Pl], [Infin throw.Base 3InanObj]
kō sū?ǎ, [kò mí =ní],
Infin give.Base, [Infin throw.Base 3InanObj],
B: 'And cowries. Then they toss (the cowries) to give (to them), and toss them.'
[cowries, used as currency before the colonial period]
- (02:45) [ò bíé] kò jǎⁿ, kō sǎrǎ
[3Pl all] Infin dance.Base, Infin proceed.Base
[kò tǎ= [Ø láⁿ] [[ò bíé] kō cǎⁿ],
[Infin brew.Base [Art beer]] [[3Pl all] Infin spend.night.Base],
B: 'Everyone dances. Then they brew beer. Everyone stays up all night.'
- (02:51) kǎ= [Ø fǎ-rè-?é], donc [bè dá?á]
and [Art wrap(n)-Pl], so [Dem.Def time]
ǎ būō yō-à dè-dè,
2Sg get.Pfv woman-2SgPoss now,
B: 'And wraps (worn by women). So at that time, you have gotten your woman now.'
- (02:54) donc, jí bè á klè =?,
so, if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done.Base Neg,
yō-à á bú tàⁿ =?,
woman-2SgPoss PfvNeg be.gotten.Base yet Neg,
B: 'So, if that isn't done, your woman has not yet been gotten.'
[tàⁿ '(not) yet' (§10.3.2.4)]
- (02:58) kúⁿ?úⁿ-dò dè má kō bè,
today-Poss.Inan IpfvPast IpfvNeg be Dem.Def,
bè ká kō [Ø dī-nā-dèⁿ—]
Dem.Def Past be [Art old.days—]
B: 'That wasn't (like) the way it is nowadays. That was the old days' (way)—.'
- (03:01) [ē [dī-nā-dèⁿ]-dò té] rà kō bè,
[Art [old.days]-Poss.Inan Foc.Inan] Past be Dem.Def,
ó ò râ klè =ní
1Pl Infin Past do.Base 3InanObj
'That was the way of the old days [focus]. We used to do it.'

[pause]

(03:06) [dê-dê]-dò bɛ̃] lɔ̃
 [[now]-Poss.Inan Top.Inan] after
 B: ‘What about the way it is now?’
 [lɔ̃ ‘what about (X)? (§15.3.5.6) at (1217)]

(03:08) dɛ̃-rɛ̃ dò, dɛ̃ dɛ̃ kò bú dɛ̃ = [Ø tɛ̀ràⁿʔáⁿ],
 now Poss.Inan, say.Pfv Quot Hort tie.Ipfv Quot [Art marriage],
 dɛ̃ ò gò dī-à-glō dɛ̃ = [Ø bòⁿbóⁿ],
 Quot 3Pl Hort take.out.Infin Quot [Art candy],
 A: ‘The way now, they say to get married, (they say) to bring out candy.’
 [imperfective hortative (§10.4.2.1.2); tɛ̀ràⁿʔáⁿ ‘married life’, related to the verb
 ‘sit’; French bonbon]

(03:16) kà [Ø támáró], kǎ = [Ø wɛ̀rò ɲérámá],
 and [Art dates], and [Art kola.nut very.good],
 kō bà-sū? = [ɔ̃ⁿ = [Ø ʃìè-yùò]],
 Infin come.Base-give.Base [Dat [Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.Pl]],
 A: ‘And dates, and excellent kola nuts, and give (them) to the (bride’s) birth
 family.’

(03:22) ò kō sɛ̀rɔ̃ [kò bú = [Ø klòʔó]],
 3Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin get.Base [Art road]],
 kō dò [Ø náklò],
 Infin buy.Base [Art rice].
 A: ‘Then they get the permission. They buy rice,’

(03:27) kō bà [kǎ = à-lá [ò ná—
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-cook.couscous.Base [3Pl ri(ce)—
 [ò kù-klùʔú], kō tīɛ̃ [Ø gbīⁿʔīⁿ] [à nī],
 [3Pl couscous], Infin scoop.sauce.Base [Art peanut] [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘Then they come and cook ri(ce)—, couscous, they serve peanut (sauce) on it
 (=couscous).’
 [lá ‘cook (couscous, rice)’; tīɛ̃ ‘serve (sauce) by scooping with a ladle’]]

(03:33) ɲɛ̀rɔ̃ⁿ mà á tīɛ̃ = [Ø gbīⁿʔīⁿ]
 Rel if PfvNeg scoop.sauce.Base [Art peanut]
 [bó gō dɔ̃ [Ø nǔ]],
 [3AnSg Infin buy.Base [Art oil]],
 ò kò lá [Ø kù-klùʔú],
 3Pl Infin cook.couscous [Art couscous],
 A: ‘If (it’s) someone who doesn’t serve peanut sauce, she buys (vegetable) oil,
 and they cook couscous.’
 [combination of relative and conditional antecedent (§14.1.7); antecedent with
 PfvNeg (§16.1.1.2)]

- (03:38) *kō sūʔ=* [*ʔⁿ* [*∅ ná-bí-ó*] [*kò dí*],
 Infin give.Base [Dat [Art person-Pl]] [Infin eat],
jí kō sà̀r̀̀ [*kō klà-lò* [*ē klà-lò-ní*]],
 if Infin proceed.Base [Infin have.fun.Base [Art festivity]],
 A: ‘Then they give it to the people to eat. And then they have fun (sing and dance).’
[jí here highlights having fun as the climactic event (§16.1.1.5)]

- (03:43) *kō* *bà-gbē*
 Infin come.Base-get.Base
 [*kò fó* [[[*ō dè-r̀̀*] *yúó*] *bàʔà*]],
 [Infin pass.Base [[[3Pl man-Pl] people] chez]]
 A: ‘Then (they) come and get (the bride) and keep going (with her) to the place of their men’s people (=the groom’s kin).’

- (03:45) [*è bú*] *máⁿ* *klè* [*bè ní*] = *ā*
 [Art money] IpfvNeg be.done.Base [3Inan Loc] Q
 B: ‘Money wasn’t involved in that?’

- (03:46) *è bú,* *è bú,* *è bú,*
 Art money, (hesitations)
ē ẁ̀-r̀̀-ʔ̀̀ [*támm,* [*k=* [*ò j̄ⁿ*]],
 Art thousand.Pl [ten, [with [Pl two]],
 A: ‘Ten plus two (=twelve) thousand currency units.’
[equivalent to 60,000 francs CFA]

- (03:53) *dè* [*bè tóʔ=*] *ā sūʔū,*
 Quot [Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.given.Ipfv,
 [*ʔⁿ* [*∅ j̄̀̀-ỳ̀̀*]],
 [Dat [Art give.birth.Pfv-Agent.Pl]],
 A: ‘That [focus] is what is given, to the (bride’s) birth family.’

- (03:55) *ò kō sō,* *kō sà̀r̀̀*
 3Pl Infin receive.Base, Infin proceed.Base
 [*kò bú=* [*∅ klòʔó*]].
 [Infin get.Base [Art road]],
 A: ‘They receive it. Then (the groom) gets permission.’

- (03:58) [*ē dī-nā-dēⁿ*] est-ce que
 [Art old.days] Q
b̀̀̀ dè má f̄̀̀ [*∅ bú*] = *ā*
 3Pl IpfvPast IpfvNeg take.Ipfv [Art road] Q
 B: ‘In the old days, did they not take money?’

- (04:00) [ē dī-nā-dèⁿ] [é-yùò dó] rà wō [(Ø) lō tó-ró],
 [Art old.days] [1Pl Poss.Inan] Past be [Art chicken.Pl Foc-AnPl],
 ē lō [(Ø) támm] [w= [ò jǫⁿ]],
 Art chicken.Pl [Art ten] [with [Art two]],
 A: ‘In the old days, our way was chickens [focus]. Twelve chickens.’
 [< /ē lō/]
- (04:05) jí [jǝrǝⁿ dó tǝʔǝ] má kèⁿ =?,
 if [Rel Poss.Inan place] IpfvNeg be.many.Ipfv Neg,
 ò wō [Ø lō [Ø kàⁿ]],
 3Pl be [Art chicken.Pl [Pl five]],
 A: ‘If someone doesn’t have a lot of places (to make sacrifices), they are five chickens.’
- (04:09) jí [jǝrǝⁿ dó tǝʔǝ] bā kèⁿ,
 if [Rel Poss.Inan place] if be.many.Ipfv,
 ò wkō [Ø támm] [k= [ò jǫⁿ]],
 3Pl be [Art ten] [and [Pl two]],
 A: ‘(For) whoever has a lot of places, they are twelve (chickens).’
- (04:12) [ē jì dó] wō dè—
 [Art Indef Poss.Inan] Infin Quot—
 ē lō [Ø kàⁿ-dí],
 Art chicken.Pl [Art six]],
 A: ‘Someone (other person’s) way is—, six chickens.’
- (04:16) [ē jì dó] wō [Ø lō [Ø kàⁿ-jǫⁿ]],
 [Art Indef Poss.Inan] be [Art chicken.Pl [Pl seven]],
 bè-kā gō [Ø [dī-nā-dèⁿ]-kè tē→]
 thus be [Art [old.days]-matter Foc.Inan]
 A: ‘Someone (else’s) way is seven chickens. That [focus] is the way of the old days.’
- (04:20) [ē lō] bā sùʔǝ mǝ→,
 [Art chicken.Pl] if be.given.Base concerning,
 ò má sūʔū [Ø èʔé bǝⁿ?ǝⁿ=] [Ø lō fǝē] =ē,
 3Pl IpfvNeg give.Ipfv [Art thing other] [Art chicken.Pl after] Q,
 B: ‘What about when the chickens have been given? Don’t they give anything else, after (=besides) the chickens?’
 [< [sūʔǝ mǝ→]]
- (04:23) [ē lǝⁿ] dè má sūʔ= ā
 [Art beer] IpfvPast IpfvNeg be.given.Ipfv Q
 B: ‘Wasn’t beer given?’

- (04:23) [ē làⁿ—] [ē làⁿ té] kō bà-kō
 [Art beer] [Art beer Foc.Inan] Infin come.Base-finish.Base
 [kō bà-nè?è]
 [Infin come.Base-ask.for.Base]
 A: ‘Beer, beer [focus] has already come, to ask for (marriage).’
- (04:27) [ē lō—] [ē làⁿ] ní-mà [à nī] =í
 [Art chicken.Pl—] [Art beer] not.be.Loc [3Inan Loc] Q
 B: ‘Chickens— Beer is not (included) in it?’
- (04:28) [ē làⁿ bè], [ē làⁿ] nè mā [à nī]
 [Art beer Top.Inan], [Art beer] IpfvPast be.Loc [Art Loc]
 A: ‘Beer (topic), beer used to be in it.’
 [< /làⁿ dè/]
- (04:30) [ē lō bùò] ò = Ø cùt̃=
 [Art chicken.Pl Top.AnPl] 3Pl Ipfv kill.Ipfv
 [[Ø t̃ò?ò-kà?à] nī] bā = ā
 [[Art place-bare] Loc] anyway Q
 B: ‘The chickens, do they kill (them) casually in an ordinary (=nonsacred) place?’
 [as opposed to ritual slaughter at an animist altar; cf. á k̃ā?ā ‘empty (thing)’]
- (04:32) [ē lō bùò] tá má cùt̃=
 [Are chicken.Pl Top.AnPl] Past IpfvNeg be.killed.Ipfv
 [[Ø t̃ò?ò-kà?à] nī], ò nà á-t̃= [Ø làⁿ],
 [[Art place-bare] Loc], 3Pl Fut go.Base-brew.Base [Art beer],
 A: ‘The chickens were not killed in an ordinary place. They would go and brew beer,’
 [t̃ēr̃/t̃ó/t̃ó ‘brew (beer)’, also ‘cook (sauce)’ (i.e. slowly boil it down); we parse nà á-t̃ as future with á- ‘go’ since the vowel of t̃ó is clearly audible, but past habitual ñá t̃ó ‘used to brew’ would also be appropriate here]
- (04:35) kō sò [kò yí?í],
 Infin carry.on.head.Base [Infin go.Base],
 ò kō rà-sū?ō = ñ,
 3Pl Infin go.Base-give.Base 3InanObj,
 [[ē lō-kùò-t̃ò?ò] nī]
 [[Art chicken.Pl-kill.Pfv-place] Loc]
 A: ‘Then (they) carried it and went and gave it (to people) at the chicken slaughtering place.’
- (04:40) ò kō kò [[ō j̃] nī]
 3Pl Infin kill.Base [[PIRefl fetish] Loc]
 B: ‘They slaughtered (the chickens) on their fetish (=animist altar).’

- (04:41) ðⁿðⁿ ò kō kò [[ō jǒ] nī]
uh.huh 3Pl Infin kill.Base [[PIRefl fetish] Loc]
A: ‘Uh-huh, they slaughtered (them) on the fetish.’
- (04:43) *wálà*→
voilà
B: ‘There it is!’
- (04:44) ò = Ø dò dè
3Pl Ipfv say.Ipfv Quot
ó má kò dò = nì
1Pl IpfvNeg Hort say.Base 3InanObj
A: ‘They tell us not to say (=talk about) it.’
- (04:47) à má dò mì-kā = ā
3Inan IpfvNeg say.Base why? Q
B: ‘Why isn’t (=shouldn’t) it be said?’
- (04:48) ō dè, [ó ʃi-ó] kō sō
3Pl say.Pfv, [1Pl father-Pl] Infin hold.Base
[kō kò = [[Ø jǒ] nī]],
[Infin kill.Base [[Art fetish] Loc]],
A: ‘They said, our fathers (=ancestors) took (the chickens) and killed (them) on the fetish.’
- (04:51) kō sà̀r̀ò [wō sū?ō [Ø mié],
Infin proceed.Base [Infin give.Base [Art 1Pl]]
A: ‘Then (they) gave them to us.’
- (04:54) jí b̀è á kl̀è
if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done.Base
B: ‘If that wasn’t done?’
- (04:55) [jí b̀è á kl̀è]
[if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done.Base]
[ē t̀à̀r̀àⁿ?àⁿ] ní-mà = ?,
[Art marriage] not.be.Loc Neg,
A: ‘If that wasn’t done, there was no marriage.’
- (04:57) [ē kl̀ò?ò] ní-mà
[Art road] not.be.Loc
[[[ē d̀è-r̀ò] yúó] bà?à] [gò sù?ú = [Ø mié]]
[[[Art man-Pl] people] Dat] [Infin catch.Base [Art 1Pl]]
A: ‘The men’s (=groom’s) family didn’t have the right to catch (=marry) us.’
[< d̀è-r̀ó]

(05:03) *kō*— *ò* *bā* *kò*= [*Ø* *jǒ*] =*nì*]],
 Infin— 3Pl if kill.Base [[Art fetish] Loc]],
dē *bè-kèʔé* *tē*, *dè* *dé-lēʔéⁿ*—
 Quot what? Q, Quot health—
 B: ‘If they slaughtered (the chickens) on the fetish, why is that? Good health—’
 [‘why?’ (§13.2.3.2.3) but *bè-kèʔé tē* barely audible]

(05:06) *è* *dé-lēⁿʔéⁿ*, *ò* *bā* *rà-tōrāⁿ* [[*ò* *tàràⁿʔáⁿ*] *nī*]
 Art health, 3Pl if go.Base-sit.Base [[PIRefl marriage] in]
 [*è* *dé*] *kò* *líⁿ*,
 [Art body] Infin be.cool.Base,
 A: ‘Good health. When they go and get married, the body is cooled (=healthy).’

(05:09) [*ò* *nàmù*] *kō* *bēⁿ* [*kò*= [*ò* *dè-ró*]],
 [3Pl talk(n)] be harmonize.Base [with [3Pl man-PI]],
 A: ‘Their (=women’s) words are in harmony with their husbands.’
 [< /*kà* *ò* *dè-ró*/]

[pause]

(05:15) *jí* *bè* *bā* *klè-kō*,
 if Dem.Def if be.done.Base-finish.Base,
 [*ē* *dǒ* *bàⁿʔàⁿ*] *má* *dàⁿ* [[*bó* *yǒ*] *nī*] *tàʔà*
 [Art man other] IpfvNeg arrive.Base [[3AnSg woman] Loc] again
 B: ‘If that has been done completely, another man won’t come to his (=the husband’s) woman any more.’

(05:19) *ò* *bā* *klà-lò* [*Ø* *klà-lò-ní*] *kō*,
 3Pl if have.fun.Base [Art have.fun.Base-VblN] finish.Base,
 [*ē* *yǒ*] *má-nà* *kàⁿʔàⁿ-klú* [*kà*= [*Ø* *dǒ* *bàⁿʔàⁿ*]],
 [Art woman] Proh get.together.Base [with [Art man other]],
 A: ‘When they have finished the festivities, the woman may not get together with another man.’

(05:24) *bá-kò* [*bó* [*kà* [*bó* *dò* *tóʔó*]],
 must [3AnSg [and [3AnSg man Foc],
 [*fó* [*kà*= [*Ø* *jùʔé-lē*]]]
 [until [with [Art God-house]]]
 A: ‘It must be (just) her and her husband, until God’s house (=death).’
 [*bá-kō* (§17.1.8)]

(05:27) *jí* [*ē* *jùʔé* *dé*] *bā* *lèⁿ-só*
 if [Art God however] if take.away.Base
 [[*jèròⁿ* *dó*] *tàràⁿʔáⁿ*],
 [[Rel Poss.Inan] marriage],
 A: ‘However, if God has taken away someone’s marriage (=spouse),’
 [possessor relative (§14.2.3)]

- (05:29) *bó* *kō* *sèrò* [*kò* *yí?í*]
 3AnSg Infin proceed.Base [Infin go.Base]
 [*kō* *rà-t̄rāⁿ* [[\emptyset *dǒ* *bàⁿ?àⁿ*]] *bà?à*],
 [Infin go.Base-sit.Base [[Art man other] chez]],
 A: ‘She then goes and settles at another man’s place.’

- (05:33) *jí* *bè* *á* *klè* *ǎíó*,
 if Dem.Def PfvNeg be.done at.all,
 [*mó* *k̀̀nì*] [*k̀̀ =* [\emptyset *dǒ* *bàⁿ?àⁿ*]]
 [2Sg Top] [with [Art man other]]
 A: ‘If that isn’t done at all, you and another man,’
 [*ǎíó* variant of *fóè* (negative exclamation)]]

- (05:36) *bùò* *má* *k̀̀àⁿ?àⁿ-fó*
 2Pl IpfvNeg get.together.Base
 [*é-yùò* *k̀̀-*má*-*k̀̀** *tù-tù?ù*] *kō* *bè*
 [1Pl taboo big] be Dem.Def
 A: ‘You-Pl don’t get together. Our great prohibition is that.’

Text 2019-11 Cooking tô

duration: 02:26

A: *Traore Diouenia*, born Biton, main speaker

B: *Nason Ouattara*, from Bofoboso, respondent-interviewer

location: Bafo

Note: some marginally audible prompts from B to A are omitted in the transcription.

(00:04) ó bā rò nà *commencer*
 1Pl if say.Base Fut
 [è [wēⁿ-tè]-tòʔò] nī],
 [Art [hearth]-place] Loc],

A: ‘If we say that we will (=if we want to) begin, in the cooking area,’
[< /bà dò/]

(00:11) ó kò blá= [Ø tòʔò],
 1Pl Infin sweep.Base [Art place],
 [kò láⁿ= [Ø tè-tèʔè], kō jùʔò,
 [Infin wash.Base [Art pot], Infin put.on.Base,
 A: ‘We sweep the place, then (we) wash the pot, then we put (it) up (on the fire).’

(00:17) [kō sãⁿ-gbē [Ø ðìⁿʔóⁿ] [kō wē] —,
 [Infin gather.up.Base [Art firewood] [Infin put.in.Base] —,
 [kō sãⁿ-gbē [Ø ðìⁿʔóⁿ] [kō wē],
 [Infin gather.up.Base [Art firewood] [Infin put.in.Base],
 A: ‘Then (we) gather up firewood and feed it in— (brief interruption), we gather
 up firewood and feed it in.’

(00:25) [ē tè-tèʔè] bā à-kō,
 [Art pot] if come.Base-start.to.boil,
 [ó gò fēⁿ-wē = nì,
 [1Pl Infin stir.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘When the pot begins to boil, we stir it in.’
 [klò/kō/kō ~ kū ‘(water) start to boil, become agitated’, distinct from kpà/kō/kō ~
 kū ‘finish’; fēⁿ ‘stir by rotating a vertically held stirring stick’ (used like an old-
 fashioned egg-beater)]

- (00:29) [kò fɛ̃ⁿ-wē = nì kà [Ø mɔ̃ⁿʔɔ̃ⁿ],
 [Infin stir.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj [with [Art flour]],
 [kò tɔ̃ⁿ= [Ø cə̀rú]],
 [Infin knead.Base [Art tɔ̃]],

A: ‘(We) stir in some flour, and knead the tɔ̃.’

[tɔ̃, local French for spongy cakes of maize or other grains, a staple meal normally served with a sauce; it is kneaded during cooking with a paddle-like stick (púⁿ-pù^ʔ)]

- (00:32) [ē cə̀rú] bà tɔ̃ⁿ-kɔ̃,
 [Art tɔ̃] if be.kneaded.Base-finish.Base,
 ó gō gbē = [Ø kátèⁿʔèⁿ], kò júáⁿ = nì,
 1Pl Infin get.Base [Art basket], Infin scoop.Base 3InanObj,

A: ‘When the tɔ̃ has been kneaded (=cooked), we get a small basket and scoop it (=tɔ̃) (into the basket).’

- (00:36) ò nāⁿ= [Ø cù-pùó], [kō nɔ̃ⁿ],
 Infin crumble.Base [Art porridge], [Infin drink.Base],
 kò nāⁿ= [Ø cù-pùó]
 Infin crumble.Base [Art porridge]
 [kō sū^ʔ= [ɔ̃ⁿ dè-ró]], ò gō nɔ̃ⁿ,
 [Infin give.Base [Dat man-Pl]], 3Pl Infin drink.Base,

A: ‘We crumble up (leftover tɔ̃) into porridge, and drink (it). (brief interruption)
 (We) crumble up (leftover tɔ̃) into porridge, and give it to the men. Then they drink.’
 [leftover tɔ̃ is crumbled up and water is added to make porridge]

- (00:48) ó gō sà̀rò [gò láⁿ [bè wè-ré]],
 1Pl Infin proceed.Base [Infin wash.Base [Dem.Def thing.Pl],
 kò té-sū^ʔ
 Infin put.down.Base-give.Base

kō gbē [Ø dié-tɔ̃rɔ̃-tè] [kō jù^ʔ],
 Infin take.Base [Art sauce-cook.sauce.Pfv-pot] [Infin put.on.Base],

A: ‘We then proceed to wash those things. We put them away, and get the sauce pot and put it up (on the fire).’

[wè-ré dialectal for è-ré ‘things’, -tè as compound final reduced from tè-tè^ʔ ‘pot’; for verb tɔ̃rɔ̃ see the next segment]

- (00:52) kō gbē [Ø kà̀nàⁿʔàⁿ],
 Infin take.Base [Art cowpea.greens],
 kō wē [[Ø tè-tè^ʔ] nīⁿ] [ɲò tó],
 Infin put.in.Base [[Art pot] Loc] [Infin sauce.be.cooked.Base],

A: ‘Then (we) take some cowpea greens, and put them in the pot to be cooked (boiled).’

[tɔ̃rɔ̃/tó/tó ~ tú ‘cook (sauce)’, distinct from tɛ̃ⁿ/tɔ̃ⁿ/tɔ̃ⁿ ‘knead (and cook) (tɔ̃)’]

- (00:59) [kō wē [Ø gbīⁿʔīⁿ] [à nī],
 [Infin put.in.Base [Art peanut] [3Inan Loc],
 [Ø mà á-wē [Ø gbīⁿʔīⁿ] [à nī],
 [2Sg if go.Base-put.in.Base [Art peanut] [3Inan Loc],
 A: ‘(We) add some peanut (paste) to it. When you-Sg have gone and added some peanut (paste) to it,’

- (01:02) [ɨ̀ gò tó =nĩ= [Ø cù-cù],
 [2Sg Infin cook.sauce.Base 3InanObj [Art simple.sauce],
 [ē à-bè-réⁿ è-ré], kò dí,
 [Art leaf-Pl thing-Pl], Infin eat.Base,
 A: ‘We cook it (without peanut paste) into simple sauce, some leaf things, then (we) eat.’
 [cù-cù ‘simple sauce (from cowpea or roselle greens plus spices) without peanut paste’]

- (01:08) ɨ̀ mà— [mɔⁿʔɔⁿ bè], sáⁿdè móⁿ mā rè
 2Sg if— [flour Top.Inan], when 2Sg if say.Pfv
 [má àⁿ tɔⁿ= [Ø càrú]] bè mɔⁿ→,
 [2Sg Fut knead.Base [Art tô]] Dem.Def concerning,
 [è mɔⁿʔɔⁿ bá=] à-bí mɛ-gā tãⁿ→
 [Art flour Top] come.Base-be.gotten.Base how? Q
 B: ‘If you—, the flour, concerning when you say you will (=when you decide to) knead the tô,
 [sáⁿdè < Jula; mɛ-kā ‘how?’; tãⁿ→ a dialectal add-on to ‘how?’]

- (01:13) ó kò pló =nì,
 1Pl Infin pound.Base 3InanObj
 ó kò plô= [Ø mɔⁿʔɔⁿ],
 1Pl Infin pound.Base [Art flour],
 kō sèrò [kò jáʔá],
 Infin proceed.Base [Infin sift.Base],
 A: ‘We pound it (in a mortar). We pound the flour, then we sift (it).’

- (01:20) [ègè è dīⁿ mól]
 [which? Art kind Top]
 [è súáⁿ-klàʔà] ou bien
 [Art maize] of
 B: ‘What kind (of flour)? Maize or ...?’
 [sú má-klàʔà]

- (01:22) [è [súáⁿ-klàʔà]-mòⁿ? = = àⁿ-mā,
 [Art [maize]-flour be.Loc
 [ē gblèⁿ?èⁿ-mòⁿ? = = àⁿ-mā,
 [Art sorghum-flour be.Loc,
 [ē [cì-fíéⁿ-mòⁿ? = = àⁿ-mā,
 [Art [millet]-flour be.Loc,
 A: ‘There’s maize flour, (and) there’s sorghum flour. And there’s millet flour.’

- (01:28) [bè tóʔ =] à tɔⁿ = [Ø cèrú]
 [Dem.Def Foc] Ipfv be.kneaded.Ipfv [Art tô]
 A: ‘That [focus] is what is kneaded (=cooked) in tô.’

- (01:33) mais jĩ = [Ø kànàⁿ?àⁿ] máⁿ glò mō→,
 but if [Art cowpea.greens] IpfvNeg it.is concerning,
 B: ‘What about if it isn’t cowpea greens?’

- (01:34) ē kànàⁿ—
 Art cowpea.greens
 A: ‘Cowpea gr—.’

- (01:35) [ē dié] bà máⁿ tɔ-à-plūⁿ
 [Art sauce] if IpfvNeg sauce.be.cooked-Ipfv-be.able.Ipfv
 B: ‘If sauce cannot be cooked.’

- (01:36) [ē āklàʔ =] à-mā, [è súáⁿ-tòʔó],
 [Art roselle] be.Loc, [Art sesame],
 [ē mē-dòⁿ?óⁿ] à-mā, [ē sèrò-dòⁿ?óⁿ] à-mā,
 [Art okra-green.sauce] be.Loc, [Art baobab-green.sauce] be.Loc,
 [è tákplò-blòʔò] à-mā
 [Art Corchorus] be.Loc,
 A: ‘There’s roselle. Sesame. There’s okra sauce. There’s baobab-leaf sauce. There’s *Corchorus* (sauce).’

[< /sèròʔò/; leaves of the herbs *Corchorus spp.* (*C. fascicularis*, *C. olitorius*) are collected in the wild or occasionally cultivated; dialectal synonym of *tákplò-blòʔò* is *plàⁿ?àⁿ*]

- (01:48) ó gō gbē bè [kò tó-tó],
 1Pl Infin get.Base Dem.Def [Infin Rdp-cook.sauce.Base],
 kō sèrò [wò bú = [[Ø cèrù-dīē-tòʔò] nī]
 Infin proceed.Base [Infin get.Base [[Art tô-eat.Priv-place] Loc]
 A: ‘Then we get it and cook sauces. Then (we women) proceed to get tô to eat.’
 [purposive -tòʔò nī (§17.6.2.5)]

- (01:53) *[ē dié jì] tá à-mā,*
 [Art sauce Indef] Past be.Loc,
ò tá à lí-lí= [Ø cètá-kènè-yiè]
 3Pl Past Ipfv Rdp-call.Ipfv [Art (mystery sauce)]
[bè kā] kō jèrèⁿ dīⁿ táⁿ→,
 [Dem.Def manner] be which? kind Q,
 B: ‘There used to be a sauce, they called it (in Jula) **cètá-kènè-yiè** (mystery sauce).
 What kind was it?’
[see comments on this sauce below]

- (01:58) **cètá-kènè-yiè,** [*à bíé*] *gō [Ø diè] tē→*
 (mystery sauce), [3InaSg all] be [Art sauce] Emph
 A: ‘**cètá-kènè-yiè** (mystery sauce), all of them were sauces.’

- (02:02) *cètá-kènè-yiè, [ē dè-rò] má jà= [á bli?i],*
 (mystery sauce) [Art man-Pl] IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Inan wet]
ē [màsà-kú]-bìⁿ?èⁿ
 Art [sweet.potato]-leaf

B: ‘**cètá-kènè-yiè** (mystery sauce), “men don’t see it uncooked,” sweet-potato greens.’

*[< /má jè á/; ‘men don’t see it uncooked’ is the Tiefò-D translation of Jula **cètá-kènè-yiè**; the idea is that sweet-potato greens were not considered by men to be true sauce herbs, so women cooked them secretly and presented it to the men as already cooked sauce]*

- (02:07) *ē [màsà-kú]-bìⁿ?èⁿ, mùsòkánⁿ?áⁿ-bìⁿ?èⁿ,*
 Art [sweet.potato]-leaf, chili.pepper-leaf,
[ē gbīⁿ?iⁿ-bìⁿ?èⁿ],
 [Art peanut-leaf],
 A: ‘Sweet potato greens, chili pepper greens, peanut greens.’

- (02:11) *sāⁿ-gbē [kò tó]*
 gather.Base [Infin cook.sauce.Base]
dě= [Ø dè-rò] má jà= [á bli?i],
 Quot [Art man-Pl] IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Inan wet],
 B: ‘Gather it and cook sauce, so the men don’t see it uncooked.’
[< /dè ē dè-ró má jè á/]

- (02:15) *dě= [Ø dè-rò] má jà= [á bli?i]*
 Quot [Art man-Pl] IpfvNeg see.Ipfv [Inan wet]
 A: ‘So the men don’t see it uncooked.’

Text 2019-13 Women's marriage songs

duration: 05:14

recorded in Bofoboso brousse (offshoot settled from Bofoboso)

A: **Ouattara Bakaia** (female), born Biton, speaker and singer

B: *Traore Diouenia* (female), born Biton, speaker and singer

C: **Nason Ouattara** (male), from Bofoboso, respondent-interviewer

[note: text 2019-12 was defective and was not transcribed]

(00:01) d = [ē yō jì tóʔó] tá à-mā mō→, [ʔⁿ yō-yò],
 Quot [Art woman Indef Foc] Past be.Loc concerning, [3AnSg cowife],
 [wēⁿ yō-yò] wá sūʔō = [ʔⁿ náⁿ-bí],
 [3AnSg cowife] Past come.Base-give.Base [3AnSgRefl child],

A: 'There was a woman there. Her co-wife, her co-wife had given her (own) child (to her).'

[one woman had inherited the daughter of a co-wife; wá variant of past kâ]

(00:10) d = ò yíʔí, [kō dī-glō—
 say.Pfv Imprt.Pl go.Base, [Infin remove.Base]—
 wēⁿ [ē sùⁿʔóⁿ],
 burn.Base] [Art ashes]

A: '(She) said to go take out—burn some ashes.'

(00:14) [[ē yō-yò] náⁿ-bí] yíʔē [kã = [Ø yō-yò dígòʔò]]
 [[Art cowife] child] go.Pfv [with [Art cowife other]]
 [ē sùⁿʔóⁿ-ɲùèⁿ-tòʔò] ní],
 [[Art ashes-burn.Pfv-place] Loc],

A: 'The co-wife's child went with the other co-wife, to the ashes burning place.'

[co-wives (both married to the same man) are proverbially protective of their own children and callous toward those of the other woman; ɲùèⁿ Pfv of wēⁿ 'burn'; can also be translated 'went ... in order to burn ashes']

(00:20) ʔⁿ yíʔè [Ø á-dàⁿ] [dáʔá jèrⁿ],
 3AnSg go.Pfv [Infin go.Base-arrive.Base] [time Rel],
 ʔⁿ gō tàʔà [[ē yě-yò-rè-ní] ní]
 3AnSg Infin practice.Base [Art cowifeness] Loc]

A: 'When he had gone and arrived, she practiced co-wifeness (on him).'

[contracted < /yíʔē k(ō) á-dàⁿ/; tēʔè/tàʔà/tàʔà [X ní] 'be engaged/absorbed in (doing X)'; co-wives are notoriously protective of their own children and oppressive toward those of another co-wife]]

- (00:21) kō wēⁿ [[ē yō-yò] náⁿ-bí],
 Infin roast.Base [[Art cowife] child]
 ò kō lò [ā sùⁿʔóⁿ],
 3Pl Infin gather.Base [3Inan ashes],
 A: ‘Then (she) burned the co-wife’s child. They gathered up its ashes.’

- (00:25) ðⁿ mà pē =nì, [[ē yō-yò] náⁿ-bí]
 3AnSg if drain.Base 3InanObj, [[Art cowife] child]
 kō commencer, k-ā wō [Ø dèrìⁿʔíⁿ],
 Infin begin, Infin-Ipfv sing.Ipfv [Art song],
 A: ‘When she strained it (to make soda ash), the co-wife’s child began to sing.’

[sings in Jula]

- (00:31) kò ná-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tó,
 mother mother mother
 A: Oh mother!
[the child calls to his mother in Jula songwords]

[sings in Tiefo-D through 00:48]

- (00:35) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó sè] má-nà dí =nì,
 [1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If they cook me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’
[< /nó sē/; prohibitive má-nà (§10.4.1.2.2)]

- (00:38) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó nì] má-nà dí =nì,
 [1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’
[< /nó nī/]

- (00:40) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó sè] má-nà dí =nì,
 [1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

- (00:43) ná-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tó,
 mother mother mother
 A: ‘Oh mother!’

(00:45) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó nì] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(00:48) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó sè] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’
 [stops singing]

[pause, laughter]

[resumes song, 00:59 to 01:17]

(00:59) ná-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tó,
 mother mother mother
 A: ‘Oh mother!’
[the child calls to his mother in Jula songwords]

(01:01) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó sè] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’
[prohibitive má-nà (§10.4.1.2.2)]

(01:04) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó nì] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don’t eat it!’

(01:07) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó sè] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: ‘If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don’t eat it!’

(01:10)n á-yè ná-yè, ná-yè tó,
 mother mother mother
 A: ‘Oh mother!’

- (01:12) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó nì] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg mother] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: 'If she cooks me (in the sauce), my mother, don't eat it!'

- (01:15) ðⁿ mà tó nó
 3AnSg if cook.sauce.Base 1Sg
 [nó sè] má-nà dí = nì,
 [1Sg father] Proh eat.Base 3InanObj,
 A: 'If she cooks me (in the sauce), my father, don't eat it!'

[pause]

[a riddle]

- (01:29) est-ce que [è nɔ́ jɔ̃-rɔ̃] wò [yí?í nī]
 Q [Art cow.Pl Indef-AnPl] be [go.Prog Prog]
 [[è nū-nù-à-tò?ò] nī, [ò lè-rì bíé] kō kēⁿ-kēⁿ,
 [[Art water-drink.Pfv-place] Loc, [3Pl horn-Pl all] be Rdp-be.bent.Base,
 B: 'Some cows are going to the drinking place, all their horns are bent.'

- (01:35) ò bà kō [bǎ nī] [Ø lē]
 3Pl if be [come.Prog Prog] [Art village]
 [ò lè-rì bíé] kō sàrò-sàrò
 [Art horn-Pl all] be Rdp-be.straight.Base
 B: 'When they are coming (back) to the village, all their horns are straight.'

[answer to riddle]

- (01:38) bè kō-kō [è dū-è?è]
 Dem.Def be [Art small.waterjar]
 A: 'That's a small waterjar.'

[optional doubling of kō 'be'; women carry small earthenware waterjars on one shoulder and therefore tilted to the side on the way to the well or other water source, but after being filled with water they are carried straight on top of the head on the way back]

[a riddle]

- (01:42) [í nà [Ø bí-sīō jè-rò jírí] [[è klò?ó] nī],
 [1Sg see.Pfv [Art child.Pl Indef-AnPl small.Pl] [[Art road] Loc],
 [[è dò?ó] dèⁿ] í gā = à-nī
 [[Art afternoon] arrive.Pfv] 1Sg Infin come.Base-see.Base
 [[ò bíé] kō wā?ā]
 [[3Pl all] Infin grow.up.Base]

B: 'I saw some children, very young, on the road. (When) late afternoon arrived, I came and saw that all of them had grown up.'

[unusual order N-Indef-Adj]

[answer:]

(01:45) *bè* *kō* [*ē* *wòʔó*]
 Dem.Def be [Art mushroom]
 A: ‘That is mushrooms.’

[pause]

(01:52) *ɲ* *bùò* *jàrɔ̃ⁿ* [*bè* *tóʔ=*] =*à*
 1Sg get.Pfv Rel [Dem.Def Foc] it.is
 B: ‘What I have found (=remembered), that [focus] is it.’

[a riddle]

(01:57) *à=* *∅* *yē-à-[ló-à-dáⁿ]*,
 3Inan Ipfv walk.Ipfv-Ipfv-[meander.Ipfv]
 A: ‘It turns here and there as it walks.’
[i.e. it doesn’t walk in a straight line]

[answer]

(01:59) *bè* *kō* [*∅* *pùʔó*]
 Dem.Def be [Art stick]
 B: ‘That’s a walking stick.’
[because it is placed here and there by the walker]

[a riddle]

(02:02) *à=* *∅* *yé-à-wáʔá*
 3Inan Ipfv walk.Ipfv-Ipfv-make.noise.Ipfv
 A: ‘It makes noise as it walks.’

[answer]

(02:04) *bè* *kō* [*∅* *wàré*]
 Dem.Def be [Art leaf.skirt]
 B: ‘That’s a leaf skirt.’
[garment made of leaves formerly worn by women]

[a riddle]

(02:04) [*è* *úⁿ-yúó* *jǝ-rō* *à-mā*]
 [Art village-people Indef-AnPl] be.Loc
 [*ò* *bíé*] *à* *gbl̩=* [*∅* *fú*], [[*è* *pó*] *ní*]
 [3Pl all] Ipfv get.Ipfv [Art pregnancy], [[Art leg] Loc]
 A: ‘Some villagers are there. All of them are pregnant in the leg.’

[answer]

(02:11) *bè* *kò* [*∅* *súáⁿ-klàʔà*]
 Dem.Def be [Art maize]
 B: ‘That is maize.’
*[because maize spikes (corn cobs) grow on the sides of the stalk; ‘maize’
 dialectally also *súmá-klàʔà* ~ *sámá-klàʔà*]*

[pause, laughter]

[a riddle]

(02:20) [è úⁿ-yúó jǝ-rǝ] à-mā,
 [Art village-people Indef-AnPl] be.Loc,
 [è tɛⁿ] mà klē,
 [Art daybreak] if day.break.Base,
 [ǝ bíé] gǝ lǝ = [Ø gbàflà?à jìèⁿ]
 [3Pl all] Infin turn.Base [Art hat red]

A: ‘Some villagers are there. When day breaks, all of them turn into red hats.’

[answer]

(02:24) bè, [è súáⁿ-klà?à, [súáⁿ-klà?à]-[nāⁿ-bè-rǝ]
 Dem.Def [Art maize, [maize]-[beard]

B: ‘That (is) maize beards (=corn silks).’

[the silks (female flowers) emerge from the tip of young corn ears]

[pause]

A and B (overlapping)

(02:38) [ē dǝrà?á] à-mā = dē?
 [Art tale] be.Loc Emph
 [ā fǝnà] gbà-sǝ [[ē blèjǝ-rè-ní tɛ] nī],
 [3Inan power] be.solved.Pfv [[Art Jula.hood Foc.Inan] Loc],

A-B: ‘There sure are (lots of) tales, but most of them are answered in Jula.’

[in this segment the two women overlap; the transcription is rough but tries to catch the main point; ‘tales’ include riddles; cf. blèjǝ ‘Jula (person)’, plural blèjǝ-rǝ]]

(02:43) jí-áⁿ-bè = [Ø dǝrà?á] ā kèⁿ bè
 otherwise [Art tale] Ipfv be.many.Ipfv Dem.Def

A: ‘Anyway, there are many tales (thus).’

[variant of jí-má-bè (§19.1.3)]

[pause]

(02:50) [ā klè-lǝ-sù?ǝ] [[nó tǝ?ǝ] bà?à]
 B: [3Inan do.Pfv-turn.Base-give.Base [[1Sg Foc] Dat]

‘It (=microphone) has turned to me [focus].’

(02:55) [ē jī bǝ=] [[Ø sǝbɛ] nī]
 [Art Indef Top.Inan] [[Art truth] Loc]
 [ē lǝⁿ-jù?à] [à bíé] nàyàmì-dérá dǝ-rǝ
 [Art intestine] [3Inan all] mix.Pfv-be.much.Base now

‘Some (other) ones (=tales), truthfully, (my) intestines are all mixed up now.’

[i.e. I am confused]

[song]

- (03:22) [è wúú] kùò-kō [Ø mié]
 [Art death] kill.Pfv-finish.Base [Art 1Pl]
 [ó dé] má cō?ō = [Ø wúú] tà?à
 [1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] again
 A: ‘Death has killed us off, but we don’t fear death any more.’

[aside to B]

- (03:26) mó gò kàⁿ?àⁿ-fī = nì
 2Sg Hort reply.Ipfv 3InanObj
 A: ‘You should accompany it (as respondent).’

[A sings, with B repeating softly, through 05:03]

- (03:29) [è wúú] kpā = [Ø mié]
 [Art death] kill.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
 [ó dé] má cō?ō = [Ø wú] kè
 [1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
 A: ‘Death killed us, but we don’t fear death at all.’

- (03:34) [è wúú] lē [Ø tàpù?ò]
 [Art death] turn.Pfv [Art mat]
 [ō mié] k-ā dīē-à-séⁿ
 [Art 1Pl] Infin-Ipfv enter.Ipfv-Ipfv-lie.down.Ipfv
 A: ‘Death has turned into a mat; we go into it to sleep.’
[variant of ē mié]

- (03:39) [è wúú] lē [Ø dàⁿgó]
 [Art death] turn.Pfv [Art blanket]
 [ó bíé] k-ā dī = [à nī]
 [1Pl all] Infin-Ipfv enter.Ipfv [3Inan Loc]
 A: ‘Death has turned into a blanket; all of us go into it.’

- (03:43) [ó dó] nà cō?ō [è wúú] tó
 [1Pl however] Fut fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
 kō dīē [Ø sē]
 Infin enter.Base [Art where?]
 A: ‘We will fear death, to go into where?’

- 03:49 [è wúú] kpā = [Ø mié]
 [Art death] finish.Pfv [Art 1Pl]
 [ó dé] má cō?ō = [Ø wú] tà?à
 [1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] again
 A: ‘Death killed us, but we don’t fear death any more.’

- (03:54) [ó dó] nà cɔʔɔ [è wúú] tó
 [1Pl however] Fut fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
 kō diē [Ø sē]
 Infin enter.Base [Art where?]
 A: ‘We will fear death, to go into where?’

- (03:58) [è wúú] kùò-kɔ [Ø mié]
 [Art death] kill.Pfv-finish.Base [Art 1Pl]
 dó má cɔʔɔ [è wúú] tàʔà
 however IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] again
 A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death any more.’
 [for [ó dó]]

- (04:03) nó wè-dé
 1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
 nó wè-dé
 1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
 A: ‘I am well bathed, I am well bathed.’
[i.e. excision has cleansed me; the final in wè-dé ‘bathe well, be well-bathed’ is an assimilated variant of -dé as in ò-dé ‘eat well, be full (after eating)’ (§15.1.2.3)]

- (04:08) nó dè mā= [[Ø dúʔú] tɔ̃]
 1Sg IpfvPast be.Loc [[Art forest] under]
 [nó tɔ̃] yìè rē→
 [1Sg calmness] jump.Pfv Emph
 A: ‘I was in a (dense) thicket, I was frightened.’
[said by a girl being excised in the forest]

- (04:12) tó nó nɔ̀yè-glú mlɛ̃ⁿ
 (songword) 1Sg escape.Pfv thus
 nó ...
 1Sg [unintelligible]
 A: ‘I have survived (=am all right) like that,’

- (04:18) ò yíʔí-nàʔà [nó sē]
 Imprpt.Pl go.Base-inform.Base [1Sg father]
 dè nó nɔ̀yè-glú
 Quot 1Sg escape.Pfv
 A: ‘You-Pl go inform my father that I have survived (=am all right).’
[< /nāʔā/ ‘inform’, Bi dialect nāʔāⁿ]

- (04:22) ɔ̃ⁿ= Ø diē-à-dí mlɛ̃ⁿ
 3AnSg Ipfv enter.Ipfv-Ipfv-eat.Ipfv thus
 nó wè-dé
 1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
 A: ‘She (=girl) goes in to eat. I am well bathed.’

- (04:28) ò bà tó [Ø dḡʔḡʔ] mlɛ̃ⁿ,
 3Pl if cook.Base [Art green.sauce] thus,
 nó nà sò-dí
 1Sg Fut receive.Base-eat.Base
 A: ‘If they cook green sauce, I will take and eat (it).’
 [< /sō-dí/]
- (04:31) [nó sē] ò bà nā = [Ø cèrú]
 [1Sg father] 3Pl if crumble.Base [Art tō]
 nó nà sō-nō
 1Sg Fut receive.Base-drink.Base
 A: ‘My father, if they crumble (=cook) tō, I will take and drink (it).’
 [lumps are broken up during cooking of tō]
- (04:35) [nó nī] ò bà nā = [Ø cèrú]
 [1Sg mother] 3Pl if crumble.Base [Art tō]
 nó nà sō-nō
 1Sg Fut receive.Base-drink.Base
 A: ‘My mother, if they crumble (=cook) tō, I will take and drink (it).’
- (04:40) [[ē kpèʔè-kàʔà] náⁿ-bí]
 [[Art pauper] child]
 má tàràⁿ = [Ø dié] =?
 IpfvNeg avoid.Ipfv [Art sauce] Neg
 A: ‘The child of a pauper doesn’t snub the sauce.’
 [i.e. isn’t picky about what to eat]
- (04:45) nó dè [[ē bàkpìʔi] náⁿ-bí]
 1Sg say.Pfv [[Art pauper] child]
 má tàràⁿ = [Ø dié] tàʔà
 IpfvNeg avoid.Ipfv [Art sauce] again
 A: ‘I said, the child of a poor man doesn’t snub the sauce any more.’
- 04:49 [è wúú] kùò-kḡ [Ø mié]
 [Art death] kill.Pfv-finish.Base [Art 1Pl]
 [é dó] má cḡʔḡ [è wúú] kè
 [1Pl however] IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
 A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death any more.’
- (04:49) [è wúú] kùò-kḡ [Ø mié]
 [Art death] kill.Pfv-finish.Base [Art 1Pl]
 dó má cḡʔḡ [è wúú] kè
 however IpfvNeg fear.Ipfv [Art death] Emph
 A: ‘Death has killed us off, but (we) don’t fear death at all.’

(04:53) *nó* *wè-dé*
 1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
 nó *wè-dé*
 1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv
 A: ‘I am well bathed, I am well bathed.’

(04:58) *nó* *wàsá* *mlěⁿ*
 1Pl escape.Pfv thus
 dó *k-ā* *dīē-à-dí*
 however Infin-Ipfv enter.Ipfv-Ipfv-eat.Ipfv
 A: ‘I have survived (=am all right) thus, (I) go in to eat.’

(05:03) *nó* *wè-dé* *kpí-kpí*
 1Sg be.well.bathed.Pfv indeed
 nó *à* *dīē-à-dí*
 1Sg Ipfv enter.Ipfv-Ipfv-eat.Ipfv
 A: ‘I am well-bathed indeed, I go in to eat.’

(05:07) *j=* *ó* *já* *=nì* *mā*
 Hort 1Pl leave.Base 3InanObj there
 A: ‘Let’s leave it there.’

Text 2021-01 History #1

duration: 01:06

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (Masaso *quartier*), monologue
with some prompts from Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan *quartier*)

(00:05) **ē** **còfó,** **ǎ** **glō,**
Art Tiefo, 3AnSg exit(v).Pfv,
‘Tiefo, it (=they) came (from)—,’
[‘Tiefo’ here is a collective denoting the ethnicity, but animate singular in form]

J-P prompt:

(00:07) **mó** **wè** **yí-à** **mā**
2Sg put.Base name-2SgPoss there.Def
‘Put (=state) your name there.’
[< /wē yíé-à/; 2Sg (reflexive) possessor suffix (§4.3.1.2)]

(00:08) [**nó** **yíé]** **dè,** *Couibaly* **kétèklú**
[1Sg name] Quot, C K
[**ē** **còfó,** **ɲ** **glō,** [**ē** **nùmùdórá,**
[Art Tiefo], (nasal) exit(v).Pfv, [Art N],
‘My name is Coulibaly Keteklu. Tiefo, it (=they) came from Numudara (village).’

(00:16) [**ē** **mlàⁿʔá]** **gō** **bà-bà,**
[Art war] Infin Rdp-come.Base,
ò **kò** **yíʔí-ʃíʔí** [**kò** **mí-jāʔā,**
3Pl Infin get.up.Base [Infin disperse.Base],
‘War came (=broke out). They arose and dispersed.’
[iterated **bà-bà** to indicate multiple individuals; compare 00:26 below]

(00:21) **kò—** **é-yùò** **kò** **yíʔí** [**kò** **glú—** [**ē** **bāndūgū],**
Infin— 1Pl Infin go.Base [Infin exit.Base— [Art B],
ó **tàrèⁿ** [**bè** **tòʔò],**
1Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place],
‘We then went and then came out—, at Bandougou. We settled there.’
[Bandugu is a village east of Sideradugu; **glú** followed by a place name usually means ‘exit (from), leave’, so an emendation to **dīē** ‘enter’ is suggested]

- (00:26) *kò* *cárí* *mā,* *kō* *sèrò*
 Infin be.long.time.Base there.Def, Infin proceed.Base
 [*kō* *à-bà*] [*kō* *à-tārāⁿ*, [*ē* *còfèrá*]],
 [Infin come.Base-come.Base] [Infin come.Base-sit.Base, [Art T]],
 ‘And (we) spent a long time there. Then (we) proceeded to come and settle in Tiefertora.’
[in kō à-bà the first (b)à- may be the highlighting ‘come and’ compound initial, followed by true ‘come’ in its lexical sense; Tiefertora is a large town south of Daramandugu on the main east-west road from Banfora to Sideradugu and Gaoua]
- (00:32) *donc* [*ē* *còfèrá*], *gò* *glú=* [*∅* *còfèrá*],
 do [Art T], Infin exit(v).Base [Art T],
kō *à-tārāⁿ* [*∅* *sàⁿcūō-lē*]
 Indef come.Base-sit.Base [Art S]
 ‘So Tiefertora, then (we) left Tiefertora, to come and settle in Sancuole.
[sàⁿcūō-lē is a small settlement in the Biton area]
- (00:35) *ò* *kā=* *à-dè*
 3Pl Infin come.Base-say.Base
 [*∅* *úⁿ-dīⁿ*] *má* *káⁿ* [*kā* [*bè* *tò?ò*]],
 [Art village-chief] IpfvNeg must [with [Dem.Def place]],
 ‘They said, the chief must not (be connected) with that place.’
- (00:39) *dè* *ǝⁿ* *klò-bà,* *ǝⁿ* *gō* *klò-bà*
 Quot 3AnSg approach.here.Pfv, 3AnSg Infin approach.here.Base
 [*kā=* *à-tārāⁿ* *fāⁿ?āⁿ* [[*ē* *blā?ā-nù?ò*] *nī*],
 [Infin come.Base-sit.Base here [[Art pond-mouth] Loc],
 ‘(Said) they (the Tiefertora) should come farther (in this direction). Then they came farther and settled here at the edge of the pond.’
- (00:43) *jèrǝⁿ* *à* *lí* *dè,* *ē* *dàrà— dàràⁿmáⁿ-dùgú,*
 Rel Ipfv be.called.Ipfv Quot, Art (hesitation)— D,
dàràⁿbáⁿ-dùgú, *donc* *ò* *kā=* *à-tārāⁿ* [*bè* *tò?ò*],
 D, so 3Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Dem.Def place],
 ‘Which is called, Daramandougou, Daramandougou. So they came and settled there.’
[J-P prompts correction of pronunciation to dàràⁿbáⁿ-dùgú with b, cf. dàràⁿbá (name of the pond); -dùgú is Jula ‘village, town’]
- (00:51) *kō—* *dè-rè* *ó* *kā=* *à-mā* [*bè* *tò?ò*],
 Infin— now 1Pl Infin be.Loc, [Dem.Def place],
 ‘Now we are in that place.’

- (00:53) [ē còfó-fè kònì] ká ā dò mā
 [Art Tiefó-language Top] Past Ipfv be.spoken.Ipfv there.Def
 [kā = à-dàⁿ kúⁿʔúⁿ],
 [Infin come.Base-arrive.Base today]],
 ‘Tiefó language has been spoken there, down to the present.’

- (00:56) [[è wúⁿ t̃] nī]
 [[Art village remaining] Loc]
 [à ní-mà mā [bè kònì],
 [3Inan not.be.Loc there.Def [Dem.Def Top],
 ‘In the remaining villages, it (=language) is not present there (thus), as for it.’

- (00:58) *donc* nó kòⁿ-ní à-mā [j̃r̃ⁿ nī],
 so 1Sg know.Base-VblN be.Loc [Rel Loc],
 [bè t̃òʔó kònì] kò yá
 [Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.InanSg,
 ‘So what I know about, that [focus] is it.’
 [lit. “that in which my knowledge is”, relativization on complement of
 postposition (§14.2.4)]

Text 2021-02 History #2

duration: 03:30

Jean-Pierre Ouattara (Jinejan *quartier*), in the presence of Coulibaly Jean Bakari

(00:02) *donc*, [ē cəfɔ́-fɛ̃ tɛ̃ [n dɛ̃ʔɛ̃]]—
 so, [Art Tiefo-language Foc.Inan [Sg one]]—
 fé-dò-ní = à,
 talk(n)-speak.Base-VblN] it.is,
 ‘So, the same Tiefo language— it’s speaking (that) language.’
 [somewhat broken; i.e. ‘it’s that same Tiefo language that we’re going to speak’]

(00:09) *bon*, dè wō dò-wē = nì,
 well, Quot Infin speak.Base-put.in.Base 3InanObj,
 [è úʳ] bà-kà,
 [Art village] come.Pfv-manner,
 ‘Well, to describe it, how the village (population) came,’

(00:15) *donc*, [nó jɛ̃ʳʳ] nà dò mlɛ̃ʳ
 so, [1Sg Rel] Fut say.Base thus
 [nó yíé] dè, wátórá m̀désèʳ, *Jean-Pierre*,
 [1Sg name] Quot, O M, JP
 ‘So, I who will speak (thus), my name is Ouattara Midesen, Jean-Pierre.’
 [variant m̀nɛ́sèʳ]

(00:21) *donc*, *comme* [[è úʳ-dìʳ] dè—
 so, as [[Art village-chief] say.Pfv—
 ɲ dè] s̀j́ná] nī,
 (nasal) say.Pfv] situation] Loc
 ‘So, as the chief said,’
 [refers to 2021-01]

(00:27) [ē cəfɔ́-ùʳ]—
 [Art Tiefo-village]—
 [[[ē cəfɔ́-ùʳ] bà] s̀j́ná] nī,
 [[[Art Tiefo-village] come.Pfv situation] Loc,
 [[[ē cəfɔ́-ùʳ] bà] s̀j́ná] nī,
 [[[Art Tiefo-village] come.Pfv situation] Loc r,
 ‘The way the Tiefo village came,’

- (00:32) *parce que,* ē dè-ró [nùò sé]—
 because, Art man-Pl [person (mispronounced)]—
 ē dè-ró [nùò sé]—
 Art man-Pl [person (mispronounced)]—
 ē dè-ró [nùò sáⁿ], kǎ= [Ø yǒ—]
 Art man-Pl [people three], with [Art woman—]
 kǎ= [Ø yǒ [n dèⁿ?éⁿ]].
 with [Art woman [Sg one]],
 ‘Because, three men, and a woman—, and one woman’
[some false starts in this segment; nūō as human classifier (variant of yùò) in Ji dialect before numeral ‘2’ or ‘3’, dropped to nùò before H-toned sáⁿ ‘3’ (§4.6.1.2)]
- (00:40) ò glō, ò glō bāⁿdūgū,
 3Pl exit(v).Pfv, 3Pl exit(v).Pfv B,
 [[kǎ-tó ɔ̃ⁿ dè] sìná] nī,
 [[manner 3AnSg say.Pfv] situation] Loc,
 ‘They left Bandugu, the way he said.’
- (00:44) [ē dè-ró [nùò sáⁿ] kō-yùò] nī,
 [Art man-Pl [people three] Dem.AnPl] Loc,
 e→, jè-ró gè?è-bà fāⁿ?āⁿ,
 eh, Rel-AnPl be.first.Pfv-come.Base here,
 ‘Among those three men, ah, the ones who were first to come here,’
[word-order Art-N-Num-Dem (§6.1.1)]
- (00:49) kō klè ká è úⁿ— è úⁿ—
 Infin do.Base like (hesitations)
 è úⁿ-yúó, [ē dèràⁿmáⁿdùgù úⁿ-dìⁿ],
 Art village-people, [Art D village-chief],
 ‘They acted as notables (=leaders), the Daramandugu chief(s).’
- (00:55) *donc,* bó *Coulibaly* mìnésèⁿ, wálà→,
 so, 3AnSg C M, voilà
 jí kō dɔ̃ⁿ?ɔ̃ⁿ, *Coulibaly* mìnésèⁿ, *Coulibaly* kòfé,
 if Infin be.added.Base, C M, C K,
 ‘So, he (was) Coulibaly Minesen. To come next, (after) Coulibaly Minesen, (was) Coulibaly Kofe.’
[Coulibaly is the surname associated with the chiefly clan]
- (01:10) é, *Coulibaly* dóbà,
 eh, C D
donc, [ē yǒ [n dèⁿ?éⁿ] à-mā [ò nī],
 so, [Art woman [Sg woman] be.Loc [3Pl Loc],
 ‘(and) Coulibaly Dobla. So, one woman was among them.’

- (01:19) [[bó yǒ] yíé], dè, Coulibaly jìni-[kā-kāʔā],
 [[3AnSg woman] name], Quot, C N
 wálà→, jìni-[kā-kāʔā],
 voilà, N

‘That woman’s name was Coulibaly Nyini-Kakaa.

[bó functioning as animate singular discourse-definite preceding a noun, like inanimate bè (§6.5.3)]

- (01:26) donc, [dè-ró [jùò sáⁿ] kō-yùò] nī, ò—, ò bī-dǒ—,
 so, [man-Pl [people three] Dem.AnPl] Loc, (hesitations)

[ò bī-dǒ tóʔó] kō— [ē yǒ-jùò],
 [3Pl younger.sibling Foc] be— [Art woman-Poss.An],

‘So, among those three men, precisely their younger sibling (=sister) was that woman.’

[L-toned -jùò (§6.2.4.3)]

- (01:34) wálà→, [bè té] já,
 voilà, [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv,
 ò tē-tē [kà [bó tóʔó]],
 3Pl do.together.Pfv-be.put.Base [with [3AnSg Foc]],

‘There you are. That [focus] is why they (=the three men) went together with her [focus].’

[bè té] já (§8.1.3); tē-tē is a compound (base stem tó-tē) of two distinct verbs, not an iteration of the same verb]

- (01:37) [bó tóʔó] kâ kō [Ø yǒ] [ò nī]
 [3AnSg Foc] Past be [Art woman] [3Pl Loc]
 [[ò jùò sáⁿ] nī],
 [[3Pl people three] Loc],

‘She [focus] was the woman among them, among the three of them.’

[kâ past marker (§10.3.1.1); < /ò jùò sáⁿ/; numeral with pronominal “possessor” (§4.6.1.2)]

- (01:39) ò bā bà, ò bà [kā= à—]
 3Pl if come.Pfv, 3Pl come.Pfv [Infin come.Base—]
 [[[comme ò dè =nì] sìná] nī,
 [[[as 3Pl say.Pfv 3InanObj] situation] Loc,
 fǒ kā= à-tǎrāⁿ, [ē māsā-lē] fāⁿʔāⁿ,
 until Infin come.Base-sit.Base, [Art M] here,

‘When they came, they came and—, just as they said, eventually they came and settled, here at Masaso.’

- (01:46) *donc*, \bar{o} $t\grave{a}r\grave{e}^n$ [$b\grave{e}$ $t\grave{o}?\grave{o}$],
 so, 3Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place],
 [\bar{e} $d\grave{a}-r\acute{o}$ [$n\grave{u}\grave{o}$ $s\acute{a}^n$]] [\bar{e} $y\check{o}$] $n\bar{i}$
 [Art man-Pl [people three]] [Art woman] Loc
 ‘So, they settled at that place. Between the three men (and) the woman,
 [emended from: [[\bar{e} $y\grave{a}-r\acute{o}$ $n\grave{u}\grave{o}$ $s\acute{a}^n$]/
- (01:52) [\grave{o} $j\grave{i}$ $j\acute{i}$] $m\acute{a}$ —, \grave{o} $m\acute{a}$ $f\bar{i}r\bar{u}$ —
 [3Pl Indef any] IpfvNeg 3Pl IpfvNeg marry.Base
 \grave{o} $m\acute{a}$ $s\bar{u}?\bar{o}-p\grave{o}^n$, [\bar{e} $t\grave{a}r\grave{a}^n?\acute{a}^n$] $n\bar{i}$,
 3Pl IpfvNeg catch.Pfv-be.able.Base, [Art marriage] in,
 ‘None of them (could)—, they (could) not marry—, they could not acquire her in
 marriage.’
 [$j\grave{i}-j\acute{i}$ ‘not any, none (of)’; speaker rephrases to avoid Jula borrowing $f\bar{i}r\bar{u}$]
- (01:55) \grave{o} $k\bar{o}$ $gb\bar{e}$ [\emptyset $y\check{o}$],
 3Pl Infin get.Base [Art woman],
 $k\bar{o}$ $s\bar{u}?\bar{=}$ [\check{o}^n —, $k\grave{o}c\grave{u}?\acute{e}$],
 [Infin give.Base [Dat—, K],
 ‘They took the woman and gave (her) to Kocue.’
 [Kocue was from Flaso]
- (02:00) $w\acute{a}l\grave{a}$ —, $k\grave{o}c\grave{u}?\acute{e}$ [\emptyset $m\grave{a}$ $j\bar{i}$ [\emptyset $l\bar{e}-f\bar{e}^n$]], [$k\bar{a}$ $m\grave{a}s\bar{a}-l\bar{e}$],
 voilà, K, [2Sg if see.Base [Art F]], [with M],
 [\grave{o} $b\acute{i}\acute{e}$], [\bar{a} $t\grave{o}?\grave{o}$] $k\bar{o}$ $kl\bar{e}=\$ [[\emptyset $d\bar{e}^n?\acute{e}^n$] $n\bar{i}$],
 [3Pl all], [3Inan place] Infin be.made.Base [[Art one] Loc],
 ‘There it is, Kocue, if you see Flaso and Masaso (*quartiers*), both of them, the
 (two) places (=quartiers) became as one.’
 [*i.e. they were united by marriage; \bar{e} $d\bar{e}^n?\acute{e}^n$ ‘one’, cf. [n $d\bar{e}^n?\acute{e}^n$] as modifying
 numeral]*
- (02:07) *donc*, \grave{a} $s\bar{u}?\bar{o}$ —, \grave{a} $s\bar{u}?\bar{o}$ —,
 so, (hesitations)
 [\grave{a} $s\bar{u}?\bar{o}-k\bar{a}$ $t\acute{e}$] $k\grave{o}$ $y\acute{a}$,
 [3Inan catch.Pfv-manner Foc.Inan] be Dem.InanSg,
 ‘So, this is how it originated.’
 [$< /s\bar{u}?\bar{o}-k\bar{a}/$]
- (02:11) *donc*, [\grave{e} \acute{u}^n —] \emptyset $m\grave{a}$ $j\bar{i}$
 so, [Art village—] 2Sg if see.Base
 [\grave{e} $\acute{u}^n-d\bar{i}^n$] $j\bar{i}-m\acute{a}-b\grave{e}$ [[[\bar{o} $d\grave{e}$] $s\grave{i}n\acute{a}$] $n\bar{i}$],
 [Art village-chief] otherwise [[[3Pl say.Pfv] situation] Loc],
 ‘So, the (chief)—, if you see, the chief, anyway as they said,’

- (02:13) [ò k̄a= à-t̄rāⁿ, [ē sàⁿcūō-lē], ō dè
 [3Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base [Art S], 3Pl say.Pfv
 [[Ø úⁿ-dīⁿ] má káⁿ gō, ñ t̄rāⁿ, [[è kí] nī],
 [[Art village-chief] IpfvNeg must Infin, (nasal) sit.Base, [[Art side] Loc],
 ‘Then they came and settled in Sancuole. They said, the chief mustn’t settle on the
 side (of the settlement).’

[i.e. the chief must reside inside the settlement]

- (02:19) ðⁿ káⁿ gō bà,
 3AnSg must Infin come.Base.
 ðⁿ mā t̄rāⁿ= [[Ø kí] nī],
 3AnSg Proh sit.Base [[Art side] Loc],
 ‘They (=Tiefo) must come here, they must not settle on the side.’

- (02:22) ē mlàⁿ?á— [[ē mlàⁿ?á] mā bà]
 Art war— [[Art war] if come.Base]
 [mā à-gà?à] [mā t̄ⁿ [bó nī]],
 [if come.Base-be.first.Base [if attack.Base [3AnSg Loc]],
 ‘In case a war party came, and attacked him (=chief) first,’

- (02:27) [è ná-bí-o jèrô=] Ø-mâ= [Ø sècù?ò] lò,
 [Art person-Pl Rel.AnPl] be.Loc [Art middle] after,
 à má kpè,
 3Inan IpfvNeg be.good.Pfv,
 ‘The people who are in the center (of the village), it won’t be good (for them).’
 [sècù?ò variant of sícù?ò ; clause-final lò (§15.3.5.6); future negative (§10.2.5.4)]

- (02:31) [bè té] já [ò kò jâ= [[Ø úⁿ-dīⁿ
 [Dem.Def Foc.Inan] let.Pfv [3Pl Infin leave.Base [Art village-chief]
 ò bà [k̄a= à-t̄rāⁿ, [[è kíⁿ] nī] fāⁿ?āⁿ—
 Infin come.Base [Infin come.Base-sit.Base], [[Art side] Loc] here—
 [è sècù?ò] fāⁿ?āⁿ, [ē màsā-lē]],
 [Art middle] here, [Art M]],
 ‘That [focus] is why they had the village chief come and settle on the side— (or
 rather) in the middle here, in Masaso.’
 [stacked causatives with já ‘leave, let’ (§17.4.2.5.4)]

- (02:37) donc, ō t̄rèⁿ [bè t̄?ò jèróⁿ,
 so, 3Pl sit.Pfv [Dem.Def place Rel],
 [è ná-bí-ó t̄] ò t̄rāⁿ= [[Ø ká-rí] nī],
 [Art person-Pl other] Infin sit.Base [[Art side-Pl] Loc],
 ‘So, there where they (chief’s group) settled, the other people then settled on the
 sides.’

- (03:06) [[bó tóʔó] t̩ʔò] bè gbàʔà-fó [[ò bíé] dó],
 [[3AnSg Foc] place] Fut be.big.Pfv-pass.Base [[3Pl all] Poss.Inan],
 n̩-ní, ò kò já [bó k̄ = à-t̄r̄āⁿ],
 there.it.is, 3Pl Infin leave.Base [3AnSg Infin come.Base-sit.Base],
 ‘His [focus] space (really) should be bigger than everyone else’s. There it is, they
 had him come and sit (in the center).’

[gbàʔà-fó adjectival comparative (§12.1.1); dó default inanimate possessum
 (§6.2.4.1)]

- (03:09) comme [Ø ml̄ⁿʔáⁿ] mā bà,
 as [Art war] if come.Base,
 sáⁿ-tíé = [Ø ml̄ⁿʔáⁿ] mà— táⁿʔáⁿ [Ø bí-ʃīō]—
 when [Art war] if— begin.Base [Art child.Pl]—
 [[è úⁿ-yúó] n̩],
 [[Art village-people] Loc],
 ‘Like, if a war comes, whenever a war begins among young people—among the
 villagers,’

[sáⁿ-tíé < *Jula* (§15.3.5.8), also at (03:18) just below]

- (03:14) [è úⁿ-d̩ⁿ] kō pēⁿ f̄āⁿʔāⁿ, è sécùʔò,
 [Art village-chief] Infin stay.Base here, Art middle,
 k-ā ló-ló, k-ā ló-ló,
 Infin Rdp-turn(Ipfv), Infin Rdp-turn(Ipfv)
 ‘The chief stays here, in the center, and keeps moving around (organizing the
 fighting).’

- (03:18) yàní f̄āⁿʔāⁿ [sáⁿ-tíé] [Ø ml̄ⁿʔáⁿ] mā dàⁿ]
 so here [when [Art war] if arrive.Pfv]
 [bó yīʔē-ʃīʔi] [k̄ = [̄ⁿ ml̄ⁿ-bì-ò]],
 [3AnSg get.up.Pfv [with [3AnSgRefl war-child-Pl]],
 ‘So here, whenever the fighting starts, he (will) get up with his warriors.’
 [yàní < *Jula*]

- (03:22) kò wáʔá-t̄ⁿ, donc, Ø mà n̩ =
 Infin shut.Base, so, 2Sg if see.Base
 [[Ø úⁿ-d̩ⁿ] t̄r̄ēⁿ-k̄ā] [[è k̄í] n̩]
 [[Art village-chief] sit.Pfv-manner] [[Art side] Loc]
 f̄āⁿʔāⁿ [è sécùʔò]
 here [Art middle],
 ‘To surround (the enemy). So, you see, the chief’s way of settling on the side, in
 the middle here,’

(03:26) [à sūʔō-mlèⁿ té] nī,
[3Inan be.caught.Pfv-manner Foc.Inan] Loc,
wálà→, *merci*
voilà, thanks
'The way it originated, there it is. Thank you.'

Text 2021-03 History #3

duration: 01:17

Coulibaly Jean Bakari (aka Coulibaly Keteklu)

with some prompts from Jean-Pierre Ouattara

(00:03) [ē còfó kònì], depuis ò mlēⁿ-jā?ā [Ø nùmùⁿdórá],
 [Art Tiefo Top], since 3Pl disperse.Pfv [Art N],
 é-yùò kā = à-tārāⁿ fāⁿ?āⁿ, ē dèràⁿbádùgú,
 1Pl Infin come.Base-sit.Base here, Art D,
 ‘As for the Tiefo, after they dispersed from Numudara, we came and settled here,
 in Daramandugu.’

(00:10) [ē mlāⁿ?āⁿ bó kònì] á dīē-pōⁿ =?
 [Art war Top Top], PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base Neg,
 [é-yùò bà?à] [[[ē jùè?é] [kà [Ø ná-dì-ò] bóraká] nī],
 [1Pl chez] [[[Art God] [and [Art old.man-Pl] blessing] Loc],
 ‘As for war, it could not enter among us, by the grace of God and the old men.’
 [bóraká ‘spiritual power’ < Jula (< Arabic)]

(00:14) parce que [ē lēⁿ-tò?ò] tē =] Ø-mā [ō bà?à],
 because [Art stand.Pfv-place Foc.Inan] be.Loc [1Pl chez],
 álè ò bà jū?ō = nì,
 even 3Pl if hear.Base 3InanObj,
 ‘Because there is a sacred place among us. If they hear about it (=war),’
 [lēⁿ-tò?ò ‘stand-place’ denotes a secret location with ritual objects]

(00:17) [è wúⁿ], ò yè-ló-bā?ā [è wúⁿ cāmá],
 [Art village], 3Pl go.around.Pfv [Art village many],
 d = ò nà dīē,
 Quot 3Pl Fut enter.Base,
 ‘The village, they (=enemies) have gone around to several villages, they are about
 to come in.’
 [wúⁿ dialectal for úⁿ ‘village’; ‘several villages’, e.g. Numudara and Toussiana;
 cāmá ‘many’ < Jula, cf. Tiefo-D kàrèⁿ?èⁿ]

(00:23) [[ē lēⁿ-tò?ò] bè kònì] à gbā?ā]
 [[Art stand.Pfv-place Top.Inan Top] Ipv be.big.Ipv]
 [ē mlāⁿ?āⁿ] á dīē-pōⁿ mā,
 [Art war] PfvNeg enter.Base-be.able.Base there.Def,
 ‘As for the sacred place, it is great (=powerful). War (parties) cannot enter there.’

- (00:26) fó k̄ā = à-té = nì [kùⁿʔúⁿ nī],
 until Infin come.Base-put.Base 3InanObj [today Loc],
 [ó dīʔē = nì [[Ø nā-tò té] nī],
 [1Pl hear.Pfv 3InanObj [[Art ear Foc.Inan] Loc],
 ‘Right down to the present, we have heard in (=with) (our) ears [focus],’
- (00:29) d= [ē mlàⁿʔáⁿ-bì-ò] fīē fāⁿʔāⁿ fīē fāⁿʔāⁿ, mais
 Quot [Art war-child-Pl] pass.Pfv here pass.Pfv here, but
 [[ē jùèʔé] [kà [é-yùò nā-dì-ò] lēⁿ-tòʔò] bóraká kòni],
 [[Art God] [and [1Pl old.man-Pl] stand.Pfv-place] grace Top],
 ‘that (enemy) warriors have come through here off and on, but as for the grace of
 God and the sacred place of our old men,’
- (00:34) é-yùò— [ē mlàⁿʔàⁿ] á dīē mā,
 1Pl [Art war] PfvNeg enter there.Def,
 [ó kòni] bà-jūʔō jèrōⁿ = [[Ø nā-dì-ò] bàʔà] kòni,
 [1Pl Top] come.Pfv-hear.Base Rel [[Art old.man-Pl] chez] Top,
 ‘We—. War (parties) have not entered there. As for us, what we came and heard
 from the old men,’
 [*‘come and hear’ in the sense of learning oral history from the mouths of elders*]
- (00:38) [bè tòʔó kòni] kò yá,
 [Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.InanSg,
 [ò wúⁿ-dì-ò-ní] k-ā klè [ò nā-mù [n dèⁿʔéⁿ],
 [3Pl village-chiefl] Infin-Ipfv do.Ipfv [PlRefl talk(n) [Sg one],
 [ō dè-fē] [n dèⁿʔéⁿ],
 [PlRefl talk(n) [Sg one],
 ‘That is it. The village chiefs unify their talk, unify their words,’
 [*synonyms for ‘talk (n), words’*]
- (00:44) [ō dè-fē kòni] ò k-ā klè = nì [n dèⁿʔéⁿ],
 [3Pl talk(n) Top] 3Pl Infin-Ipfv do.Ipfv 3InanObj [Sg one].
 ā klè-kā, [ē kè cāmá] zìè-dā = wò,
 3Inan do.manner, [Art matter many] jump.Pfv 3PlObj,
 ‘As for their words, they (=people) make them one (=agree). (In) that method,
 many (bad) things have jumped past them (=did not afflict them).’
 [*cāmá < Jula; zìè-dā = yìè-dā*]
- (00:48) donc [bè tòʔó bè kòni] à-mā mā,
 so [Dem.Def Foc Top.Inan Top] be.Loc there.Def,
 kō dō, [è wúⁿ-dìⁿ jèrò fíráⁿ] tèreⁿ
 Infin speak.Base, [Art village-chiefl Rel.AnPl too] sit.Pfv,
 ‘So, that [focus] is what there is, to say. The additional chiefs who have sat (as
 chiefs),’

- (00:53) *é→, è yúó—, è yúó kàⁿ-dí,*
 eh, Art people—, Art people six,
[ò [kàⁿ-jɔ̃ⁿ]-dà̀rò] kò nó,
 [Pl [seven]-Ord] be 1Sg,
 ‘Ah, (they) are six. I am the seventh.’
[numerals ‘6’ and ‘7’ (§4.6.1.2); ordinal (§4.6.2.2)]
- (00:58) *donc [bè tòʔó bè kònì] à-mā mā,*
 so [Dem.Def Foc Top.Inan Top] be.Loc there.Def,
ó dìēʔē jà̀rɔ̃ⁿ [[Ø nā-dì-ò] bàʔà],
 1Pl hear.Pfv Rel [[Art old.man-Pl] Dat],
 ‘So, that [focus] is what there is. What we have heard from the elders,’
- (01:02) *[bè tòʔó kònì] kò yá, dè màsā-lē,*
 [Dem.Def Foc Top] be Dem.InanSg, Quot M,
màsā-lē kònì, jà̀rɔ̃ⁿ gèʔè-dīē, [bè tòʔó],
 M Top, Rel be.first.Pfv-enter.Base, [Dem.Def Foc],
 ‘That [focus] is it. As for Masaso, the first (chief) who went in (there),’
[‘first’ (§4.6.2.1)]
- (01:10) *[è wúⁿ-dìⁿ [yúó [kàⁿ-dí]-dà̀rò tó-ró] fīē,*
 [Art village-chief [people [six]-Ord Foc-AnPl] pass.Pfv,
[ò [kàⁿ-jɔ̃ⁿ]-dà̀rò] kò nó,
 [Pl [seven]-Ord]be 1Sg,
 ‘The first six chiefs have passed on. I am the seventh.’
[here the ordinal ‘sixth’ encompasses the five predecessors, hence plural tó-ró]

Abbreviations and symbols

Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb(ial)
An	animate
Art	article
ATR	advanced tongue root
C	consonant (in CvCv, etc.)
CFact	counterfactual (§16.4.2)
cpd	compound
Dat	dative
Def	definite
Dem	demonstrative
EA	expressive adverbial
Emph	emphatic
Eng	English
ExpPf	experiential perfect
Foc	focus
Fr	French
Fut	future
H	high tone
Habit	habitual (in PastHabit, §10.2.2.3)
Hort	hortative
Imprt	imperative
Inan	inanimate
Indef	indefinite
Ipfv	imperfective
L	low tone
Loc	locative
Logo	logophoric
M	mid tone
N	noun
Neg	negative
Num	numeral
O	object (in “SVO”)
Obj	object
Pfv	perfective stem of verbs
Pl	plural
Poss	possessor (in 2SgPoss), possessum (in Poss.An, Poss.Inan)
PP	adpositional phrase
Ppl	participle
Prsntv	presentative
Prog	progressive

Abbreviations and symbols

Proh	prohibitive
Q	question
Recip	reciprocal
Refl	reflexive
Rel	relative-clause marker
S	subject (in “SVO”)
Sbjn	subjunctive
Sg	singular
TAMP	tense, aspect, mood, polarity
Top	topic
V	verb (in “SVO”)
v	vowel (in CvCv, etc.)
Vb1	initial verb (in verb-verb compounds)
Vb2	final verb (in verb-verb compounds)
Vb	verb
VbIN	verbal noun
W	Winkelmann

symbols

=	clitic boundary or phonological liaison
&	and
#	ungrammatical
*	reconstructed
→	in transcriptions: prolongation

tone diacritics

ˆ	high tone
˘	low tone
ˉ	mid tone
ˇ	rising tone (<LH>)
ˆ	falling tone (<HL>)
˘	rising tone (<LM>) due to contraction at boundaries
˘	falling tone (<ML>) due to contraction at boundaries
˘	falling tone (<HM>) due to contraction at boundaries
ˇ	rising-falling tone (<LHL>) due to contraction at boundaries
ˇ	falling-rising tone (<HLH>) due to contraction at boundaries

Appendix: User's guide to Tief-D lexical spreadsheet

The lexicon is in the form of spreadsheets, initially an Excel spreadsheet in xlsx format divided into multiple worksheets: nouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs, other, and places. "Other" includes grammatical morphemes (pronouns, postpositions, inflectional markers, etc.) as well as basic adverbs (especially spatiotemporal and manner). The organization of each worksheet is customized for the relevant stem-class.

Each xlsx worksheet corresponds to a separate csv spreadsheet for permanent archiving.

Noun worksheet

For nouns, from left to right the column have the following headings: code, syll #, shape, tone, cpd, med C, pl, Jinejan, Masaso, Flaso, Biton, Tief-D, Ji, Ma, Fl, Bi, English, French, comment, scientific name, basis for ID. The codings in each column can be used to sort the lexicon by any of the semantic, prosodic, tonal, and morphological characters that are coded.

"code" indicates semantic category (for flora-fauna see the following paragraphs): abstr[act], activ[ity], body, celest[ial], constr[uction], ethn[icity], fire, food, garm[ent], impl[ement], kin, liquid, med[ical], money, part plant (i.e. parts of plants), person, place, sense, shape, speech, subst[ance], thing, time, topog[raphy], weather.

Natural species labels in the "code" column are the following, beginning with fa[una] and fl[ora]. Domestic animals (e.g. livestock, donkey, dog) are fa mam dom. Wild fauna are classified as fa bird, fa fish, fa herp[etological], fa ins[ect], fa mam[mal], fa mol[lusc]. Birds, fish, and molluscs are not further subcategorized.

All herps are subgrouped into fa herp (croc[odile]), fa herp (lizard), fa herp (snake), and fa herp (tortoise).

"Insect" is used broadly; some species are further subgrouped as fa ins (ant), fa ins (arth[ropod]), fa ins (bee), fa ins (bug), fa ins (fly), fa ins (grasshopper), fa ins (larva), and fa ins (termite). Others are just fa ins.

Most wild mammals are further subgrouped into fa mam (antelope), fa mam (bat), fa mam (cat), fa mam (mouse), fa mam (primate), fa mam (squirrel). Others that don't fit into a substantial subgroup are just fa mam.

For flora, cultivated species (e.g. grain crops) are fl cult. All others are just fl.

The next several columns have phonological and morphological information.

"syll #" is the second column from left. indicates syllable number, distinguishing regular syllables (v or Cv) from diphthongal (Cuv, Civ), glottalic (Cv?v), and rhotic (Cərv), where "v" is any vowel. Codes use are of the type 1, 2, 3 etc. (for simple syllables), 1di (one diphthongal syllable), 1gl (one glottalic sesquisyllable), 1rh (one rhotic sesquisyllable), 1rh/gl (one rhotic and glottalic sesquisyllable), 1el (one Clv syllable), 1el/gl (one Clv?v sesquisyllable), 2gl (one regular syllable and one glottalic sesquisyllable), 2rh (one regular syllable and one rhotic sesquisyllable), and 2di (one regular and one diphthongal syllable). For long stems (three or more syllables) we are less precise about glottalic and rhotic. No

Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

count is given for composite nouns, which just have “cpd,” “rdp,” or “cpd rdp” in this column.

“**shape**” is the canonical shape of uncompounded nouns, e.g. CvCv, Civ, Cuw, Cv?v, Cərv, CvCvCv. Some short compounds are marked up with hyphens as in Cv-Cv. Most compounds are not marked up in this column. Simple reduplications (labeled “rdp only” in the “cpd” column) are marked up as Cv-Cv, Cv-Cv?v (or similar), or as “iterative” (fully reduplicative and heavier than Cv-Cv).

“**tone**” is the tone melody for uncompounded stems (H, L, M, and combinations such as LH and ML). For compounds the tone patterns of each part are separated by hyphens, e.g. L-M-L.

The “**cpd**” column indicates compound and/or reduplication status and type. Forms whose only internal structure is reduplication (or full-stem iteration) are coded as “rdp only.” Ordinary noun-noun compounds are indicated by x, xx, or xxx to indicate how many non-reduplicative hyphens there are. This may be followed by “rdp” after a comma if one or two of the compounding elements is/are reduplicative. Other pieces of information added after commas include abstr[active], agent[ive] (V-n̄ or N-V-n̄), bahuv[rihi], dimin[utive], n+adj (noun plus adjective, either modifying or compounded), n+num (noun plus numeral), ppl (animate participle -kàʔà), phrase (including a predicate), sex (male or female), V-shift (reduplicative but with a shift in vowels), V-N (verb-noun), N-V-N (noun-verb-noun), VbIN (verbal noun with or without incorporated object), and a few common compound finals (animal, bag, child, grub, house, manner, owner, place, stick, thing, time, tree). “final” and “initial” in this column means that the form occurs only as compound final or initial.

The “**r/?**” column indicates selected consonants in final sesquisyllables: ʔ, r, or both (“r, ʔ”). For compounds, only the final element is considered.

The “**pl**” column indicates the form(s) of plural of the noun, if any are attested. The codings are: a/o (final a→o), o/o (final unnasalized o→o), u/i (final u→i), denas[alization], NI (-ní suffix), O (suffix -o ~ -o), R (rhotic plural), and R-NI (rhotic plus -ní suffix), suppl[etive].

The columns “**Jinejan**,” “**Masaso**,” “**Flaso**,” and “**Biton**” contain the data for each dialect. We worked intensively with one adult speaker for each dialect, so there may be some individual idiosyncracies in the data. The form of the article ē ~ è is given in parentheses after the singular noun. Many cells have singular \ plural pairings with the plural following \. Only closely related forms are given in each row. When a dash — appears in a cell, it means that the dialect does NOT have a form in that set. Either the speaker didn’t know the word, or the speaker used a distinct synonym for that sense. As a result, the same gloss may reappear in two or more rows, each row containing one synonym (perhaps with small variations in pronunciation). The “comments” column often includes pointers to synonyms.

The column “**Tiefo-D**” contains a citation form extracted from the primary data in the four preceding columns. It normalizes tonal markings by undoing the effects of glottalic sesquisyllables on tones of H-toned words in Ma and Fl dialects. The Tiefo-D column may be useful in practical dictionary production.

The columns “**Ji**,” “**Ma**,” “**Fl**,” and “**Bi**” simply indicate which dialects are represented with forms in the relevant row. This was mainly useful during the fieldwork itself.

The columns “**English**” and “**French**” give glosses valid for the Tiefo forms in the same row.

Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

The “**comment**” column has miscellaneous additional information, which may include a collocation, a synonym, an IPA transcription, or other background.

For natural-species terms only, the final columns are “**scientific name**” and “**basis**”. The latter indicates whether the species was seen or collected locally, or was elicited using images, recorded bird calls, or descriptions. The flora identifications should be reliable since most were seen locally by Heath. For fauna, Heath made use of field manuals, bird-call recordings, web images, his own substantial collection of images from previous flora-fauna work in the zone, and oral descriptions. Identifications for some birds (hawks and songbirds), fish, and locally extinct mammals are less reliable.

Adjectives worksheet

The “**category**” column codes for semantic domain: age, color, condition, difficulty, dimension, dirtiness, distance, fullness, heat, moisture, quality, quantity, shape, size, taste, texture, weight.

The “**rdp**” column uses the code “rdp” to indicate that the forms in that row are reduplicated. Some adjectives occur only in reduplicative form, others have both simple and reduplicated forms.

The “**Jinejan**,” “**Masaso**,” “**Flaso**,” and “**Biton**” columns contain the data. For modifying adjectives (as opposed to verbs), typically singular and plural are given with \ as the separator. The “**Tiefo-D**” column has a composite citation form based on the primary data, as for nouns.

The “**Ji**,” “**Ma**,” “**Fl**,” and “**Bi**” columns indicate which dialects are represented with data in that row, as for nouns.

The column “**form**” is customized for adjectives. The categories are stative, deverbal inan[imate], deverbal an[imate], postnom[inal], inan[imate], an[imate], and adverb. Stative is an imperfective verb, which generally has no Pfv form. The two deverbal forms are participles derived from the stative. The postnominal form can often be taken as lexically basic, and the regular inanimate form (with **á**) and the regular animate form (with **kā**) can be derived from it by morphophonological processes. The regular inanimate and animate forms can replace the postnominal form after a noun, or they can be used absolutely (without a noun). After animate **kā**, many adjectives have a special reduced form that also occurs as a compound final, especially in natural-species terms. The adverb category here refers to expressive adverbials, which are usually unrelated to regular adjectives. They may have special senses like ‘lukewarm’, or they may be intensifiers for ordinary adjectival senses. They can be made predicative by the copula **kō** ‘be’.

“**English**” and “**French**” columns have glosses. The “**comments**” column has cross-references to semantically related verbs and nouns, and other background. The “**examples**” column has phrasal examples, including predicates with copula **kō** and expressive adverbials.

Numerals worksheet

The “**code**” column has the codings num (up to ‘10’), num decimal (multiples of ten up to ‘100’), num high (starting with multiples of hundred), and ord[inal].

The data are in the “**Jinejan**,” “**Masaso**,” “**Flaso**,” and “**Biton**” columns. The numerals are followed by the plural classifier ò (‘2’ to ‘9’) or by the nominal article (ē), in parentheses. The “**Tiefo-D**” column has a suggested general form derived from the dialectal data.

“**English**” and “**French**” columns are either in numeral or spelled-out form.

“Comments” describe morphemic structure and/or usage.

Verbs worksheet

Each regular verb has Pfv (perfective), base, and Ipfv (imperfective) stems. For any given verb, they may all be identical, or two of them might be identical but distinct from the third, or all three are distinct. Some verbs lack a Pfv stem, either because they occur only as noninitial verb in compounds or because they are semantically stative.

The “**type**” column summarizes identity relationships among the three stems for the relevant verb: P=B=I (all three identical), P vs B=I (base and Ipfv identical but distinct from Pfv), or P vs B vs I (all three distinct), or rarely P=B vs I.

The “**tone**” column summarizes the tones of the three stems. Some Jula borrowings have invariant forms with a contour tone, indicated by (LH)x3 or {HL)x3. All uncompounded native Tiefo-D verbs have level-toned stems, but the Pfv or rarely the Ipfv may differ tonally by one notch from the other two. The codings for these verbs are a) LLL, MMM, and HHH for tonally invariant verbs, and b) LMM, MHH, or rarely LLH for verbs showing tonal variation. No uncompounded verb has a mix of L and H stems. For verb-verb compounds, parentheses are used, e.g. (L-H), (H-H)x2 if the Pfv is L-H and the other two stems are H-H, and (L-H)x2, (M-H) if Pfv and base are L-H and Ipfv is M-H.

In the “**syll**” column the number and type of syllables are indicated for uncompounded verbs (compounds have just “cpd”). Codings can be simple 1, 2, 3, but diphthongal, rhotic, and glottalic syllables are specified. Thus 2rh means two syllables including a rhotic sesquisyllable, 1gl means one glottalic sesquisyllable, and 1di means one diphthongal syllable (beginning Ci or Cu).

In the “**diph**” column the diphthong is shown as ui, uo, iε, etc. sometimes specified as e.g. Pfv iε or Ipfv iε (diphthong limited to the Pfv or to the Ipfv stem). Diphthongs in glottalic sesquisyllables as well as nonglottalic syllables (e.g. Ciʔe and Ciε) are included.

The “**cpd**” column distinguishes compounds from various types of reduplication. For compounds the coding indicates whether the second verb is invariant (Vb2 inv) or has different forms, normally one in the composite Pfv and base versus a distinct form in the composite Ipfv (Vb2 var). Reduplicative stems are coded as rdp Cv-Cv, rdp Cv- (just Cv- repeated from a heavier base), rdp iter (iteration of the full base, which is heavier than Cv-), rdp irreg[ular], and rdp ident[ical] (where the base varies in form and the reduplicant matches these forms).

In the “**P voc**” and “**B/I voc**” columns, any change in vowel quality between Pfv and base=Ipfv is noted. Most subc verbs have a front vowel in the Pfv versus a low or back vowel in the base=Ipfv, e.g. ε versus ɔ or e versus o (keeping ATR value constant). If base and Ipfv also differ, this is indicated by codings like ɔ/o or ɔ/u in the B/I voc column. For verbs that do not change vowel quality among the three different stems, these columns are blank.

Appendix: Guide to the lexical spreadsheet

In the “**r/?**” column, final rhotic and/or glottalic sesquisyllables are indicated: ? for glottalic (Cv?v), r for rhotic (Cərv), and “r, ?” for both (Cərv?v).

In the “**C alt**” column, consonantal mutations (alternations) are indicated. For verb-verb compounds, only Vb1 is considered. Generally the Pfv and/or the Ipfv has a different initial consonant, often in association with an intrusive semivowel that creates a diphthongal syllable. The codings include the intrusive semivowel unless it is present in all three stems. Two-part codings are either Pfv versus base=Ipfv or less often Pfv=base versus Ipfv, the codings being c/k, d/ju, di/ju, fi/su, j/d, ju/d, ju/gb, gb/g, kp/k, k/c, n/lu, nu/w, w/lu, yu/w,. A rare three-part coding is kp/k/c (all three stems with different initial consonant). We do not include s/ʃ, ʒ/y, or v/w alternations which are essentially subphonemic.

Instead of basing the data columns on dialect, we use “**Pfv**,” “**base**,” and “**Ipfv**” columns to present the three stems for each verb. Each triplet of Pfv-base-Ipfv functions as a single variant. If triplets from two dialects differ in even one stem, they are presented as distinct rows. Therefore the “same” verb may appear in up to four rows with slightly different triplets. The base stem is used as citation form and in most respects is lexically basic. Pfv stems are often formed by fronting the base vowel, dropping the base tone one notch, and/or adding a semivowel or a liquid after C1. Ipfv stems are often identical to base stems. If not, the Ipfv may shift the vowel from [-ATR] {**e o**} to [+ATR] {**e o**} or raise it to {**i u**} (the latter especially for Jinejan dialect), and/or may add **l** after C1.

After each triplet, the next columns are “**Ji**,” “**Ma**,” “**Fl**,” and “**Bi**” and indicate which dialects are associated with that triplet. A dash — in one of these cells indicates that the dialect uses a different triplet, or occasionally a completely different verb. A blank in a cell simply means that we have no data.

The next columns have “**English**” and “**French**” glosses. End-users can usually find the full set of dialect forms for the same lexical item by sorting the worksheet based on the English or French glosses.

The final “**comments**” column has background information, mainly about related lexical items and collocations.

Other worksheet

This worksheet collects elements that do not fit into any of the main stem-class categories.

The “**code**” column groups the entries into the following: adv[erb], adv manner, adv space, adv time, anaphora, comparative, coord[ination], discourse, interrog[ative], neg[ation], NP, NP foc[alization], NP indef[inite], ordinal, postp[osition], pred[icate], pronoun, quant[ifier], subord[inator],

This is followed by data in the dialect-specific columns “**Jinejan**,” “**Masaso**,” “**Flaso**,” and “**Biton**,” then by a proposed general citation form in the “**Tiefo-D**” column. Then the usual “**English**,” “**French**,” and “**comments**.”

Substantially all of the information in this worksheet can be found in the grammar with more reader-friendly analysis.

Places worksheet

The columns are “**places**” which contains the Tief-D place name, “**French**” which gives the official name (as in maps), “**location**” which places the location in geographical context, and “**comments**” which include literal glossing of phrasal names.