**Bangime text 01, Eating and drinking taboos**

recorded in Sévaré, Mali, April 2015

00:04

tùndúrú

tale

náàmù

yes

00:09

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́ tìgɛ̀],

[Def person-Pl too],

nì [jàā-nìjɛ̄ mìrⁿā] [∅ ā] [∅ wōrè],

3Pl [death-greet place] [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl go.Ipfv],

‘The people too, they were going to a place of condolences (for a death).’

00:13

nì [∅ dà] [∅ wòrè] [[à jàà-nìjɛ̄] mìrⁿà]

3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl go.Ipfv] [[Def death-greet] place]

jìbɛ̄ dà [∅ màà pááⁿ] ʒíndò kwà,

person and [3Sg Poss friend] two Emph,

dà [∅ màà pááⁿ],

and [3Sg Poss friend],

‘They were going to the place where the condolences were, a person (=man) and his friend (another man), the two (of them). With his friend.’

*[‘two’ applies to the pair, not just ‘friend’, but ‘a person and his two friends’ would have the same form;* kwà *= Fr quoi as clause-final discourse marker, weakly emphatic]*

00:21

nīī [∅ dā] [∅ wōrè],

3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl go.Ipfv],

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ bè] [∅ díjá] tájkòj,

[Def one] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg eat.Pfv1] breakfast,

‘They were going. One (of them) had not eaten breakfast.’

*[tájkòj ‘breakfast’]*

00:25

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ dūgā] būūⁿ [ŋ̄ pèè],

[Def one] [3Sg have.Pfv1] ground.millet [3Sg with],

dà [nì mɛ̀ bɔ́-[bì-ndɛ̀]] [ŋ̀ kām-bà] sɪ̄ìⁿ,

with [3PlPoss Poss father-[children]] [3Pl follow.Pfv1] Recip,

‘The other one had some ground millet on him. They were going together (“following each other”) in a relationship of “father-children”.’

*[comitative postposition* pèè *‘in the custody of’ or ‘with’;* bɔ́-bì-ndɛ̀ *is a compound of* bɔ̀w *‘father’ and* bì‑ndɛ̀ *‘children, babies’ (irregular plural), and denotes the strained relationship among people from different villages who are embarrassed to eat openly in the other’s presence, cf.* [bɔ̀-bìjɛ̄ mɛ̀] má [nìì [ŋ̀ tūmbàrì] *‘ “father-children” (relationship) is between them’;* mɛ̀ *‘possession’ in 1Sg* ∅ mɛ́ *‘mine’, 2Sg* ā mɛ̀ *‘yours’, 3Sg* ∅ mɛ̀ *‘his/hers’]*

00:30

nī [ŋ̄ dā] [∅ wōrè]

3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl go.Ipfv]

hā nī ā [ŋ̄ twāà] [à pɛ̀rɔ̀],

until 3Pl Cmplt [3Pl arrive.Pfv2] [Def wilderness],

[à dùgù-ndɛ́] màā mìrⁿà,

[Def forest-Pl] Pl place,

‘They went along until they reached the wilderness, where the forests are.’

00:36

[ā pāàⁿ] mì kéndé,

[Def friend] SFoc.Pfv say,

mī [∅ dà] [∅ wòrè] náà wá,

3Sg [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg go.Ipfv] the.bush Quot

‘It was the friend (who had the millet) [focus] who said he was going into the bush (=outback).’

*[*wá *is an occasional quotative particle]*

00:42

[∅ wòrè] [[à nāā] ŋ̄-kò]

[3Sg go.Pfv2] [[Def the.bush] Link-in]

[∅ dūgā] bùùⁿ ŋúj̀,

[3Sg have.Pfv1] ground.millet there,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pùgàà] [à būùⁿ],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg eat.ground.millet.Pfv1] [Def ground.millet],

‘He went into the bush (=outback). He had some ground millet there. He ate (=munched on) the ground millet.’

*[*pùgàà*, meaning something like ‘munch’, is the ‘eat’ verb used specifically with* būùⁿ *‘ground millet’]*

00:46

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dījà] [à būùⁿ],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg eat.Pfv1] [Def ground.millet],

[à pààⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def friend] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[ŋ̄ dà] [∅ jāāgīnà],

[3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg be.ashamed.Ipfv],

‘He ate the ground millet. The friend said that he was ashamed (to eat in front of the other).’

*[The speaker repeats the previous sentence using the more general ‘eat (without heavy chewing)’ verb* dījà*]*

00:54

hā nī ā [ŋ̄ twāà] [à dìjà],

until 3Pl Cmplt [3Pl arrive.Pfv1] [Def village],

mùjⁿɛ̀ [∅ sìjɛ̄] [ā pāāⁿ] [∅ kɛ̀] jāārì,

hunger [3Sg catch.Pfv2] [Def friend] [3Sg Pfv] very.much,

‘Eventually they reached the village. Hunger had seriously caught (=afflicted) the friend.’

*[*mūjⁿɛ̀ *‘hunger’; perfect auxiliary* kɛ̀*]*

00:56

nì [ŋ̀ wòrè] ŋúj̀ⁿ tìgɛ̀,

3Pl [3Pl go.Pfv2] there also,

[à pààⁿ] [∅ bè] [∅ tágá]

[Def friend] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg accept.Pfv1]

sɥìì [ŋ̀ díjá] ŋúj̀ tìgɛ̀

meal [3Pl eat.Ipfv] there also

[∅ jāāgīnī] [∅ wāj̀]

[3Sg be.ashamed] [3Sg Rslt]

‘They went back there (to the village). The friend refused to eat a meal there either, he was (too) ashamed.’

01:01

hā nī [ŋ̄ dā] [ŋ̄ kì]

until 3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl KI]

[ŋ̀ kɔ̀rɔ̀] bóndó,

[3Pl go.back.Ipfv] again,

ɥìjɛ̀-pìnɛ̄ [∅ sìjɛ̄] [ā pāāⁿ] [∅ kɛ̀] ʤáátì,

thirst [3Sg catch.Pfv2] [Def friend] [3Sg Prf] indeed,

‘Eventually they were on their way back. Thirst had really caught (=afflicted) the friend.’

*[*kì *plus* kɔ̀rɔ̀ *= ‘go back, return’, cf.* kì *+* kɔ̀rɔ̀ *+* nóó *‘come back (here)’]*

01:07

ɥìjɛ̀-pìnɛ̄ [∅ sìjɛ̄] [ā pāàⁿ],

thirst [3Sg catch.Pfv2] [Def friend],

[à pààⁿ] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kùwɔ̀ndɔ̄] [ŋūwⁿɔ̄ hùⁿ]

[Def friend] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg fail.Pfv1] [walk.VblN on]

‘Thirst afflicted the friend. The friend was unable to walk.’

01:12

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dɔ̀ŋɔ̀ndɔ̄] [∅ wāj̀] ŋ̀-kūwⁿɔ̀,

well, [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg be.ashamed.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt] Link-like.that

‘Well, he was ashamed in that way.’

**Bangime text 02, The Chief and the poor boy**

recorded in Sévaré, Mali, April 2015

00:00

tùndúrú,

tale,

nâ:mùⁿ,

yes,

‘A tale.’

‘Yes.’

*[in the absence of an actual audience, the narrator simulates a tale initiation consisting of the narrator’s* tùndúrú *to offer a story then a formal “yes” that authorizes the narrator to proceed]*

00:06

tàràgá dā ŋìjⁿà,

pauper and mother,

[∅ màà bɔ́w] [∅ bɔ̀n-dɔ̀] mɛ̀ sáŋá,

[3Sg Poss father] [3Sg be.alive.Pfv1] Rel time,

nì [kóróŋgò tòrē] [ŋ̄ dūgà],

3Pl [donkey single] [3Pl have.Pfv1],

‘A pauper and (his) mother. When his father was alive, (only) one donkey [focus] they had.’

*[*bɔ̄n-dɔ̀ *‘be alive’ in perfective-1 form, cf.* jìbɛ̀ bɔ́n-dɔ́ *‘a living person’,* X bɔ̄n-dɔ̀ *‘X is alive’,* ŋ̀ bɔ́n-dɔ́ *‘I am alive’,* à bɔ́n-dɔ́ *‘you-Sg are alive’,* X bè bɔ́n-dɔ́ *‘X is not alive’]*

00:13

[nì màà bɔ́w] [∅ jā-wɔ̄] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Pl Poss father] [3Sg die.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

nì [∅ bè] [∅ dùgà] díjá bōndò,

3Pl [3Pl Neg] [3Pl have] food still,

[nì màā dìjà-kɛ́] [∅ būūⁿ [∅ wāj̀],

[3Pl Poss eat-thing] [3Sg be.used.up [3Sg Rslt],

‘Their father had died. They didn’t have any food any longer. Their food was used up.’

*[<* dūgà*]*

00:22

[à bìjɛ̀] mì kéndé [ŋ́ dùgà] hì:lá,

[Def child] SFoc.Pfv say [3Sg have.Pfv1] solution,

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ dūgā] kàŋŋɛ̀ ŋúj̀ⁿ,

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg have.Pfv1] gold there,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [à púwɔ́ndì]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg search.through.Pfv2]

[ā kāŋŋɛ̀] [à búndī],

[Def gold] [3Sg remove.Pfv2],

‘The child (=boy) said that he had a solution. His mother had some gold there. He went and searched and took out the gold.’

*[<* ā bījɛ̀ *‘the child’; perfective-2 with M to H after motion verb and pronoun* à*]*

00:37

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà] [à kōrōŋgò],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1] [Def donkey],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [[dījā tāāⁿ] ŋ̄-kò],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [[village other] Link-in]

[∅ wòrè] [[à dìjà tāāⁿ] ŋ́-kò]

[3Sg go.Pfv2] [[Def village other] Link-in]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [à sà-w]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg come.down.Pfv2]

[[nì màā àmìrū] hùⁿ]

[[3Pl Poss chief] on]

‘He took the donkey. He went to another village. Having gone to another village, he lodged (“went down”) at their chief’s (home).’

*[*tāràⁿ *‘other’, usually heard as* tāàⁿ*; ‘go down’ as in ‘go (home) in the late afternoon’, the usual phrasing in Malian languages for ‘lodge, dwell (at a house)’]*

00:51

[à kùŋgò màà —]

[Def donkey Poss —]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tìndè] [à kāŋŋɛ̀] [∅ mìndè]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg put.in.Pfv1] [Def gold] [3Sg go.in]

[[à kùŋgò] màà túú] ŋ́-kò]

[[Def donkey] Poss anus] Link-in]

‘The donkey’s —, He put the gold inside the donkey’s anus.’

*[*kúŋgō *variant of* kóróŋgò *‘donkey’;* ā kūŋgò *terraces with L-toned possessive* màà*]*

00:55

sā= [ā kāŋŋɛ̀] [∅ tìndè] [à bìjɛ̄] pààⁿ

if [Def gold] [3Sg put.in.Pfv1] [Def excrement] all

[à kàŋŋɛ̀] —

[Def gold] —

sā [ā kōrōŋgō] [∅ tīndè] [à bìjɛ̄] pààⁿ,

if [Def donkey] [3Sg put.in.Pfv2] [Def excrement] all,

[ā kāŋŋɛ̀] [∅ bāā] [∅ nàw]

[Def gold] [3Sg come.out.Fut] [3Sg Fut]

‘When the gold would defecate, the gold— [correction:] When the donkey would defecate, the gold would come out.’

*[*pààⁿ *‘all’ functions as a right-edge marker for ‘if’ clauses beginning with* sé*]*

01:02

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tūn-dō] [ā kūŋgò] [[à àmìrū] hùⁿ]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg sell.Pfv1] [Def donkey] [[Def chief] on]

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] —,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3SgS say.Pfv1] —,

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sīgà]

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg ask.Pfv1]

[à kùŋgò ká] ŋíì,

[Def donkey Dem] how.much?,

‘He sold the donkey to the chief. The chief said—, the chief asked, how much is that donkey?

*[ā kūngò ‘the donkey’ as in the first line, reverting in the last line to {L}-toned BDO before demonstrative]*

01:09

[à àmìrù] —, [à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def chief] —, [Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

nàā-ŋ̄-kùrì núndī, dà [mìlìjó jìndò],

cow-Link-herd five, and [million two],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[ā àmìrù] hà [ŋ̀ jɔ́bà] ŋ̀-kàw,

[Def chief] Sbjn [3Sg pay.Deon] Link-Dem,

‘The chief— (correction:) The child (=boy) said thus: five herds of cows, and two million (coins), he said that the chief should pay that.’

01:21

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] hàjà,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] okay,

[∅ kòò] [∅ nìŋā] nìmì,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] how?

‘The chief said: okay. He said: how (is that)?’

01:25

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [à kùŋgò káw],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [Def donkey Dem],

sā ā—,

if 2Sg —,

sā [ā nìì] gūʤɛ̄ dā ɥījɛ̄-ndɛ̀ [∅ wàj],

if [2Sg give.Pfv2] grass and water-Pl [3Sg Dat],

kàŋŋɛ̄ [ŋ̄ dà] [ŋ̀ tìndè],

gold [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg put.in.Ipfv],

‘He (=boy) said: this donkey, if you give it grass and lots of water, it will put down (=defecate) gold.’

*[H-toned demonstrative* káw*]*

01:31

sē [∅ tīndē] [ā kāŋŋɛ̀] hā āā [∅ pàà],

if [3Sg put.Pfv2] [Def gold] Sbjn 2Pl [2Pl gather.up.Deon],

hā āā [∅ wā]= [ā sɔ̀-w],

Sbjn 2Pl [2Pl go]= [2Pl pound.Pfv1],

sā āā [∅ sɔ̄] pààⁿ,

if 2Pl [2Pl pound.Pfv2] all,

[ā kāŋŋɛ̄] [∅ bāā] [∅ nàw]

[Def gold] [3Sg come.out.Fut] [3Sg Fut]

‘When it (=donkey) puts down gold, you all should collect (it) and go and pound it (with a pestle). When you all have pounded it, the gold will come out.’

*[*wā= < wòrè *‘go’, sɔ̄ <* sɔ̀-w̄*]*

01:39

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀ hàjà,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus okay,

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pàà-rà],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl gather.up.Pfv1],

[[à kùŋgò] [∅ tìndè] [à bìjɛ̀] mɛ́]

[[Def donkey] [3Sg put.down.Pfv1] [Def excrement] Rel]

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pàà-rà],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl gather.up.Pfv1],

‘The chief said this: okay. They gathered (it) up. The excrement that the donkey had dropped, they gathered it up.’

01:45

nì [ŋ̀ pàà-rà]

3Pl [3Pl gather.up.Pfv1]

[nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [ŋ̄ sɔ̀-w]],

[3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1] [3Pl pound.Pfv2]],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[∅ màà ŋíjɛ́-ndɛ̀] wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss woman-Pl] Dat],

nì à [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ swàà]

3Pl Sbjn [3Pl go.Deon] [3Pl pound.Deon]

‘After they gathered (it) up, they went to pound (it). He (=chief) told his women to go pound (it).’

*[*nì [ŋ̀ pàà-rà, ‘after’ clause with L-toned perfective-1; [ŋ́ wōrē] [ŋ̄ sɔ̀-w] *slightly mispronounced on tape, emended here at narrator’s request]*

01:50

nì [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ sɔ̀-w],

3Pl [3Pl go.Pfv1] [3Pl pound.Pfv2],

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ kā-rà]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl find.Pfv1]

kàŋŋɛ̀-ŋ̀-kíŋbòɛ̄ɛ̄ [∅ ŋ̄-kò]

gold-Link-piece.Dimin [3Sg Link-in]

‘After they went and pounded (it), they discovered a small bit of gold in it.’

*[*kíŋbò-ɛ̀ɛ̀ *‘piece-Dimin’]*

01:54

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[ā àmìrū] wàj]

okay, [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[Def chief] Dat]

sā [ā àmìrū] [∅ jāà],

whether [Def chief] [3Sg see.Pfv1],

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [ŋ̄ jāà],

[Def chief] [∅ Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [3Sg see.Pfv1],

‘Okay, he (=boy) said to the chief, did the chief see (it)? The chief said (yes) he had seen it.’

01:59

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nā=] [ā tɔ̄ẁⁿ],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1=] [Def money],

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nā=]

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3SgS give.Pfv1=]

[ā tɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ wàj],

[Def money] [3Sg Dat],

‘He gave him the money, the chief gave him (=boy) the money.’

*[*nāẁⁿ ‘give’, ā tɔ̄ẁⁿ ‘the money’*]*

02:02

[∅ nà] [à tɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ wàj],

[3Sg give.Pfv2] [Def money] [3Sg Dat],

[mī hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [∅ wāj̀]

[3Sg Topic] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt]

[[nì màā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò]

[[3Pl Poss village] Link-in]

‘After he (=chief) gave him the money, as for him (=boy), he went (back) to their (=his) village.’

*[hɔ̀(ɔ̀)ⁿ topic marker ‘as for’]*

02:08

sīgō tāàⁿ,

week other,

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pàà-rā] gūʤɛ̄-ndɛ̀

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg gather.up.Pfv1] grass-Pl

[à tùūⁿ] [∅ màā gùrù],

[3Sg dump.Pfv2] [3Sg Poss bottom]

‘Some time later, the chief gathered up a lot of grass and dumped it below him (=donkey) (=at its feet).

02:12

[à kòròŋgò] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dījà],

[Def donkey] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg eat.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dījà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg eat.Pfv1],

hā à [∅ báándì],

until Cmplt [3Sg get.tired.Pfv2],

‘The donkey ate (the grass), he ate it (=kept eating) until he was tired.’

*[‘VPed until got tired’ is a standard formula for emphasizing prolongation of an activity]*

02:17

[∅ tìndè] [ā bìjɛ̀] mɛ́,

[3Sg put.Pfv1] [Def excrement] Rel,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [∅ màà ŋíjɛ́-ndɛ̀],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss woman-Pl],

nì à [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ pàà],

3Pl Sbjn [3Pl go.Deon] [3Pl gather.up.Deon]

‘The excrement that it (=donkey) dropped, he (=chief) told his women to go gather it up.’

02:22

nì [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀-kā [ŋ̄ pàā] mìrⁿà],

3Pl [3Pl go.Pfv2] [that [3Pl gather.up.Pfv2] Purp],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [ŋ̀ sɔ̀-w]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1] [3Pl pound.Pfv2]

[[à swàà-kɛ́] ŋ́-kò]

[[Def pound-thing] Link-in]

‘After they went in order to gather that up, they went and pounded (it) in the mortar.’

*[*ŋ̀-kā *for* ŋ̀-kāẁ *‘that’;* swáá-kɛ̀ *‘pound-thing’ = ‘mortar’, for pounding grain]*

02:28

nì [ŋ̀ sù-wɔ̀]

3Pl [3Pl pound.Pfv1]

[ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ jàà-rà],

[3Pl Pfv] [3Pl winnow.in.wind.Pfv1],

nì [ŋ̀ jàà-rà],

3Pl [3Pl winnow.in.wind.Pfv1],

nì [∅ bè] [∅ kà-rà] késì [∅ ŋ̀-kò],

3Pl [3Pl Neg] [3Pl find.Pfv1] anything [3Sg Link-in],

‘After they pounded (it), they winnowed it (in the wind). When they winnowed it in the wind, they didn’t find anything in it.’

*[<* nī bē kārà *‘they didn’t find’;* sù-wɔ̀ *is heard as* [swɔ̀:]*; without the following* kóó *this would be* nīī [ŋ̄ sū-wɔ̀]*;* késì *‘nothing’ behaves like an /H/-melody stem in the uncommon case where it is pluralized or determined:* késí-ndɛ̀*,* máá késì *(‘my’),* máá kèsì-ndɛ́]

02:36

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bùndà]

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg remove.Pfv1]

jáá-ndɛ́ bòrò-ndɛ́ nɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ,

child-Pl young.man-Pl four,

nì à [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ sùrāā]

3Pl Sbjn [3Pl go.Deon] [3Pl look.Deon]

[ā jāāmbɛ̀] [∅ nòò],

[Def child] [3Sg come],

‘The chief took out (picked) four young men, to go look (for) the child (=boy) and bring (him).’

02:41

nī [ŋ̄ wōrē] [ā jāāmbɛ̀] [ŋ̀ sùrāā] mìrⁿà,

3Pl [3Pl go.Pfv1] [Def child] [3Pl look.Deon] Purp,

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ jāà],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl see.Pfv1],

hàjà nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ dōō]

well 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl convey.Pfv1]

[ā jāāmbɛ̀] [∅ wòrè],

[Def child] [3Sg go],

‘After they (=young men) went to look (for) the child (=boy), they saw (=found) (him). Well, they took him (back) (there).’

02:48

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] wàj],

[[3Sg Poss mother] Dat]

[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ ná] [∅ wōrè],

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg go.Ipfv],

‘The child (=boy) said to his mother, “as for me, I will go. ’

02:53

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ sō-rè] mɛ́,

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg know.Pfv1] but,

[sà [∅ dá] [ŋ́ kī] [ŋ̄ kɔ̀rɔ̀],

[whether [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg KI] [1Sg return.Ipfv]

[ŋ̀ só-ré] [nì mí [∅ à] [ŋ̀ jùrà]],

[1Sg know] [3Pl 1Sg [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl kill.Ipfv]],

‘But I don’t know whether (=don’t believe that) I will come back. I know that they will kill me.’

02:57

hàjà nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dōō]

well 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl convey.Pfv1]

[ā jāāmbɛ̀] [∅ wòrè],

[Def child] [3Sg go],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pē-rō] [ā bārì],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl put.down.Pfv1] [Def meeting],

nì [ŋ̀ pē-rò] [à bārì],

3Pl [3Pl put.down.Pfv1] [Def meeting],

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò],

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg arise.Pfv1],

‘Well, they took the child (=boy) (there). They held the (=a) meeting. When they held the meeting, his mother got up.’

03:09

nì mámàà [ŋ̀ pì-jē] [ā bārì],

3Pl before [3Pl put.down.Deon] [Def meeting],

nì mámàà [ŋ̀ wòrè] kéndè,

3Pl before [3Pl go.Deon] firstly,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] wàj]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss mother] Dat]

‘Before they held the meeting, (and) before they went (there), he had said to his mother…’

03:15

[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ ná] [∅ wōrè]

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg go]

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ pààmìndà]

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg understand.Ipfv]

[sà [∅ dá] [∅ bìtà]]

[whether [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg finish.Ipfv]]

‘…(he had said:) “As for me, I am going (there), (but) I don’t understand (=know) whether I will finish (=survive).” ’

03:18

hàjà nī [ŋ̄ dūgā] [sūɥɛ̀ɛ̀ tòrè] ŋúj̀ⁿ,

well 3Pl [3Pl have.Pfv1] [chicken.Dimin one] there,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss mother] Dat],

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ hà] [ŋ̀ túrù],

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg lie.down.Deon],

‘Well, they had a small chicken there. He had told to his mother to lie down.’

03:24

hàjà nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ jāgà]

well 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl cut.Pfv1]

[[à sùɥɛ̀] màā kwāà],

[[Def chicken] Poss neck],

‘Well, they cut the throat of (=slaughtered) the chicken.’

*[Narrator uses plural ‘they’ loosely in this passage but the agent is the boy;* ā sūjɛ̀ *‘the chicken’ terraces with possessive* màà *;* kwāà *‘neck’ remains M-toned as post-possessor* kwāà *instead of dropping to #*kwàà*]*

03:27

nì [ŋ̀ jàgà] [[à sùɥɛ̀] màā kwāà],

3Pl [3Pl cut.Pfv1] [[Def chicken] Poss neck],

pɔ́rⁿɔ́-ḿ-pɔ́rⁿɔ́,

Calotropis,

[pɔ́rⁿɔ́-ḿ-pɔ́rⁿɔ́]-bùràⁿ nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ sūrà] ŋ̀-kāẁ,

[Calotropis]-stick 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl carve.out.Pfv1] Link-Dem,

‘When they had cut the throat of the chicken, (they took) a piece of wood of *Calotropis* (a shrub), they carved out out a cavity in that.’

*[<*ā sūjɛ̀ *‘the chicken’; tones dropped in perfective-1 ‘after’ clause]*

03:32

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà] [à jìjī]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl take.Pfv1] [Def blood]

[ŋ̄ tīndè],

[3Pl put.Pfv2],

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] [[ā sùɥɛ̀] màā jìjī]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl take.Pfv1] [[Def chicken] Poss blood]

[ŋ̄ tīndè],

[3Pl put.Pfv2],

[[à pɔ̀rⁿɔ̀-m̀-pɔ́rⁿɔ́] ŋ́-kò],

[[Def Calotropis] Link-in,

‘They took the blood and put it in (the cavity). They took the chicken’s blood and put it in (the cavity in) the *Calotropis* (wood).’

*[jījì ‘blood’]*

03:38

nì [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] [ŋ̄ tīndè] [∅ ŋ̀-kò],

3Pl [3Pl take] [3Pl put] [3Sg Link-in],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bū-wɔ̀]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg tie.Pfv1]

[[[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] màā kwāà] hùⁿ],

[[[3Sg Poss mother] Poss neck] on]

‘They took and put it (=blood) in it (=cavity). They tied (the piece of wood) on his mother’s neck.’

03:41

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] màà —,

[3Sg Poss mother] Poss —,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bū-wɔ̀]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg tie.Pfv1]

[[[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] màā kwāà] hùⁿ],

[[[3Sg Poss mother] Poss neck] on]

‘His mother’s—. He tied (it) on his mother’s neck.’

03:46

hàjà [à jà:mbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [∅ wāj̀],

well [Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3SgS go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

[∅ wōrè] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss woman] Dat],

‘Well, the child (=boy) went (away). After he went (away), he said to his mother:…’

03:51

[sē nī [ŋ̄ pī-jē] [ā bārì] pààⁿ]

[if 3Pl [3Pl put.down.Pfv2] [Def meeting] all]

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ hà] [ŋ̀ núù] [ŋ̄-kà sááⁿ]

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg come.Deon] [Link-Dem time]

‘(He said) when they have (begun) holding the meeting, his mother should come (there) at that time.’

*[*sááⁿ *optional contraction of* sáŋá *in* ŋ̀-kà sáŋá *‘at that time’]*

03:55

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ nōò],

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg come.Pfv1],

[ā bārī] [ŋ̄ pī-jē] mìrⁿà,

[Def meeting] [3Sg put.down.Pfv1] place,

[∅ nùù] [à kárá]

[3Sg come.Pfv2] [3Sg find.Pfv2]

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́ ŋ́kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ tè-rò] ŋúj̀ⁿ,

[Def person-Pl all] [3Pl sit.Pfv1] there,

‘After his mother came, there where the meeting was held (=being held), she came and found that all the people were sitting there.’

*[<* tē-rò*]*

04:01

[à bàrì] màā mìrⁿà,

[Def meeting] Poss place,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pē-rò] jèrè,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg put.down.Pfv1] shout(n),

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

‘(At) the meeting place, she shouted out:’

*[<* ā bārì ; jèrè *as such not used except with ‘put down’, the independent noun is the compound* jèrò-ŋ̀-péró *‘a shout’]*

04:07

àà ná= [∅ à] [ŋ̀ jì-jè] [[∅ máá bíjɛ́] wàj],

2Pl what?= [2Pl Ipfv] [2Pl do.Ipfv] [[1Sg Poss child] Dat],

àà, [∅ wòò] kīw̄ [∅ wāj̀],

ah, [3Sg become.Pfv2] difficult [3Sg Rslt],

‘ “What are you-Pl going to do to my child? (Killing him) would be terrible (on me).” ’

*[*ná= *contracted from* nɛ́-sìⁿ *~* nɛ́ỳⁿ *‘what?’;* wòò *for* wòrè*]*

04:10

[à bìjɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò],

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg arise.Pfv1],

à sāŋāɛ̀ ŋ̀-kàŋ pááⁿ,

Def time Dem all,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sījɛ̀] [∅ màà ŋíjⁿá]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg catch.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss mother]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāgà] [∅ màā kwāà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg cut.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss neck],

‘(The child (=boy) stood up at this point. He took hold of his mother. He cut her throat.’

*[*wòò *contracted from* wòrè *‘go’ = ‘become’,* kīẁ *‘difficult’]*

04:16

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tūrù]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg lie.down.Pfv1]

[à ŋìjⁿà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ mɛ̀ndɛ̄] mīì,

[Def mother] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg writhe.Pfv1] Refl,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ ʤīm-bò] [∅ wàj] ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg cool.down.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt] Link-thus,

‘She lay down (=collapsed). The mother writhed (as if in agony), (then) she became still as though dead.’

*[*ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀ *here suggests pretense, cf. the related* kùwⁿɔ̀ *‘thus, like this’; ‘writhe’ is a reflexive, followed by 3Sg/3Pl/1Pl* mīì*, 1Sg* mí*, 2Sg/2Pl* à*]*

04:22

[∅ dūgā] [ā sūɥɛ̀] —

[3Sg have.Pfv1] [Def chicken] —

[∅ dùgà] súɥɛ́-ŋ́-kwìì,

[3Sg have.Pfv1] chicken-Link-hair,

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà] [à tíndé]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1] [3Sg put.in.Pfv2]

[[à pɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́] ŋ́-kò],

[[Def bowl-Link-water] Link-in],

‘He had the chicken—, he had a chicken feather. He took (it) and put it in the water of a washing bowl.’

*[‘washing bowl’, i.e. an old-fashioned earthenware bowl to hold water for washing]*

04:25

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ māgà] [[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] hùⁿ],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg shake.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss mother] on],

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò],

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg arise.Pfv1],

‘He shook (the wet feather) over his mother. His mother got up.’

04:30

hàjà, [à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ]

well, [Def chief]

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] màā ŋàrkí] [∅ jāⁿ] [∅ wāj],

[[Def chief] Poss intelligence] [3Sg be.ruined] [3Sg Rslt],

‘Well, the chief said thus. The chief’s intelligence was ruined (=had deserted him in his excitement).’

*[*dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ *‘chief’ is the real Bangime term, cf. ‘emir’ < Arabic in previous segments; it contains* dēgè *‘head’ as compound initial and* tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ *‘possession’ as final’;* ŋàrkí *‘intelligence’, 1Sg possessor* máá ŋàrkí ;  *‘the chief said’ is premature and is followed by background material before the chief’s quotation in the following segment;* jāẁⁿ *perfective-2 of* jàwⁿɔ̀ *‘ruin’ or ‘be ruined’]*

04:35

[à bàrì] [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ ʃààkā] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def meeting] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg disperse.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jèndò→],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg call.Pfv1],

[ā jààmbɛ̀-gùwⁿɔ̀]

[Def child-male]

‘The meeting broke up. He (=chief) called to the boy.’

*[The boy has previously been referred to as ‘child’, here his gender is specified for the first time; jáámbɛ̀-gùwⁿɔ̀ ‘male child’ = ‘boy’]*

04:40

[à jààmbɛ̀-gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

[Def child-male] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

*kà bɔ́w [kā kò] [∅ dà] mìì ɲàà—*

*that father [Dem with] [3Sg Ipfv] Refl show.off—*

*kà bɔ́w [kā kò]—*

*that father [Dem with]—*

[∅ bɔ́w] [kā kò]

[1SgPoss father] [that with]

[∅ dà] kàwɔ̀ [ŋ̀ jì-jè] híŋgá,

[3Sg Ipfv] showing.off [3Sg do.Ipfv] Past,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nā] kà [∅ wáj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1] that [1Sg Dat],

‘The boy said, “with that [focus] my father used to show off. He gave that (magic amulet) to me.” ’

*[Speaker started to pronounce Fulfulde ɲaa*[*ƴ*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C6%B3)*ude ‘show off, strut’ (italicized segment), then corrected to a construction with Bangime noun* kàwɔ̀ *;* nā *contractd from* nāẁⁿ *‘give’; parenthesized false starts omitted from translation]*

04:54

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[nùù má] [∅ máá hààʤɛ́] [∅ dà] [à hùⁿ],

[come.Imprt here] [1Sg Poss need(n)] [3Sg be] [2Sg on],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kà ŋíì,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] Dem how.much?,

‘The chief said thus: “come here, I need you-Sg.” He said, “how much is that?” ’

*[lit. “my need is on you-Sg”;* má *reduced from* ímà *‘here’]*

05:00

à, kùwɔ̀ [∅ wòrè] kíw [∅ wāj̀] dè,

ah, as.for.that [3Sg go.Pfv1] difficult [3Sg Rslt] Emph,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [∅ màà ɥáá],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss price],

hàjà [à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nāⁿ] [∅ wàj],

well [Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1] [3Sg Dat]

‘(The boy said:) “Ah, that is expensive, mind you.’ He said its price. Well, the man (=chief) gave (it) to him.’

*[*kùwɔ̀ *variant of* kā hɔ̀ⁿ *‘as for that’; dè clause-final admonishing emphatic particle]*

05:07

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [ŋ̀ nāⁿ] [∅ wàj],

[Def man] [3Sg give.Pfv1] [3Sg Dat],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [∅ wāj̀] bōndò,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt] again,

‘After the man gave it to him (=boy), he (=boy) went away again.’

*[<* ā gūwⁿɔ̀ *‘the man’, tones dropped in perfective-2 ‘after’ clause;* nāẁⁿ *‘gave’]*

05:12

[à gūwⁿɔ̄] [∅ dà] [ŋ̀ kùmbā]

[Def man] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg look.for.Ipfv]

[ŋ̄ bùndā] mɛ̄ ŋ̄-kò,

[3Sg remove.Ipfv] Rel Link-in,

mì kéndéj̀→,

3Sg say,

‘When the man (=chief) tried it out, he (=boy) said:”

*[combination* kùmbà *and* bùndà *= ‘try out, test’;* kéndé ‘said’ always in subject-focus construction, here intonationally prolonged as kéndéj̀→*]*

05:16

sá= [àà pújɛ́-ndɛ̀] [ŋ̀ dà] nɔ̄ [ŋ̄ dɛ̀gɛ̀],

if [2SgPoss wife-Pl] [3Pl Ipfv] noise [3Pl hit.Ipfv],

[∅ há=] [á síjɛ̀] nīì]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg catch.Deon] 3PlO]

[∅ há=] [á jágà] [∅ màā kwāà]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg cut.Deon] [3Sg Poss neck]

‘(He said:) “if your wives are making noise, you should grab them, and you should cut their throats, (and …)’

*[*nɔ̄ *for* nɔ̀w̄ⁿ*; two deontic subjunctives, ‘cut’ clearly deontic rather than perfective-2* jàgù*]*

05:20

[∅ há=] [á jí-jé]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg get.up.Pfv2(?)]

*[∅ há=] [á ɲá] [à pɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́],*

*[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg take.Pfv2] [Def bowl-Link-water],*

[∅ há=] [á ɲá] [á sùɥɛ̀-ŋ̀-kwìì]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg take.Pfv2]] [Def chicken-Link-hair]

[à tíndé] [[à pɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́] ŋ́-kò],

[2Sg put.Pfv2] [[Def bowl-Link-water] Link-in],

‘ “… (and) get up, *and take the washing bowl [error]—*, and take the chicken feather and put it in the washing-bowl water, (and…).” ’

*[two more subjunctives, but switching to perfective-2 verb no later than* ɲā-ẁⁿ *‘take’ (‘get up’ could be either perfective-2 or deontic), and a final nonsubjunctive perfective-2 clause]*

05:24

[∅ há] [á màgù], [∅ há] [á màgù],

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg shake.Pfv2], [2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg shake.Pfv2],

[∅ há] [á màgù] [[nì màā kwāà] hùⁿ]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg shake.Pfv2] [[3Pl Poss neck] on]

[∅ jī-jè] [∅ nàw]

[3Pl arise.Fut] [(3Pl) Fut]

‘ “… (and) shake (it), shake (it), and shake (it) on their neck(s). They will get up.’

*[*màgù *clearly perfective-2,repeated for duration]*

05:32

hàjà, [à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] hàjà,

well, [Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] okay,

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tāgà],

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg accept.Pfv1],

‘Well, the chief said “okay.” The chief consented.’

05:37

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nā=]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1]

[[à jààmbɛ̀] màā tɔ́ⁿ] [∅ wàj],

[[Def child] Poss money] [3Sg Dat]

‘He (=chief) gave the child’s money to him.’

*[<* ā jāāmbɛ̀ *; <* màā tɔ́ẁⁿ*]*

05:39

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[∅ hà] [ŋ̀ wóré] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg go.Deon] [3Sg Rslt],

‘The chief told him that he should (=could) go.’

*[without the resultative auxiliary this would be:* hà ŋ̀ wórè*]*

05:45

hàjà, [à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ jé→-rèj→],

well, [Def chief] [3Sg do.Pfv2],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò] hèpíí

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg do.Pfv1] in.hurry

ɥījè [∅ bè] [∅ bīn-dà],

morning [3Sg Neg] [3Sg be.sated.Pfv1],

‘Well, the chief was eager to do (it), (but it) was before daybreak (i.e. too early).’

*[*jé→-rèj→ *intonationally prolonged form of* jē-rò *‘did’;* ɥījè *is a noun in two collocations involving day/night transitions: with* bīn‑dà *‘be sated, be full (after eating)’ in the sense ‘day break, be early morning’, and with* kūwɔ̀ⁿ *(cf.* kùwⁿɔ̀ *‘thus’) in the sense ‘night fall’]*

05:49

[∅ màà pújɛ́-ndɛ̀] nɔ̀ⁿ [ŋ̀ dɛ̀gɛ̀] [sīīⁿ hùⁿ],

[3Sg Poss wife-Pl] noise [3Pl hit.Ipfv] [Recip on],

‘It was noise [focus] that his wives were making (=quarreling) on each other.’

*[*nɔ̀wⁿ *‘noise’]*

05:51

àà nɛ́-nɔ̀ⁿ [∅ à] [ŋ̀ dɛ̀gɛ̄] kùwⁿɔ̀,

2Pl what?-noise [2Pl Ipfv] [2Pl hit.Ipfv] thus,

àà nɛ́-nɔ̀ⁿ [∅ à] [ŋ̀ dɛ̀gɛ̄] kùwⁿɔ̀,

2Pl what?-noise [2Pl Ipfv] [2Pl hit.Ipfv] thus,

‘(Chief said:) “What kind of noise are you-Pl making like that? What kind of noise are you-Pl making like that?’

*[*nɛ́ *for* nɛ́j̀̀ⁿ *~* nɛ́-sìⁿ *‘what?’]*

05:54

tɔ̄ [∅ bé] [∅ nìŋā]

yes/no? [1Sg Neg] [1Sg say.Pfv1]

[∅ hà] àà [(à) gómbè]

[2Pl Sbjn] 2Pl [2Pl leave.Deon]

[à nɔ̀ⁿ-ǹ-dɛ́gɛ̀] [∅ wòrè],

[Def noise-Link-hit] [3Sg go.Ipfv],

‘ “Didn’t I tell you-Pl to stop the noise-making?” ’

*[combination of* gòmbè *‘leave, abandon’ and final motion verb* wòrè *~* wóré *‘go’ means ‘cease (VPing)’, here with definite verbal-noun object* nɔ̀ⁿ-ǹ-dɛ́gɛ́*]*

05:56

tɔ̄ [∅ bé] [∅ nìŋā]

yes/no? [1Sg Neg] [1Sg say.Pfv1]

[∅ hà] àà [(à) gómbè]

[2Pl Sbjn] 2Pl [2Pl leave.Deon]

[à nɔ̀ⁿ-ǹ-dɛ́gɛ̀] [∅ wòrè],

[Def noise-Link-hit] [3Sg go.Ipfv],

‘ “Didn’t I tell you-Pl to stop the noise-making?” ’

*[repeated]*

05:59

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sījɛ̄] [jìbɛ̀ tòrè]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg catch.Pfv1] [person one]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāgà] [∅ màā kwāà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg cut.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss throat],

‘He took hold of one person (=woman), and he cut her throat.’

06:02

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sìjɛ̀] [à kɛ̀-tɛ́rɛ́]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg catch.Pfv1] [Def other]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāgà] [∅ màā kwāà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg cut.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss throat]

‘He took hold of the other, and he cut her throat.’

*[*sījɛ̀ ‘caught’ *;* ké-tèrè *‘another’, definite* à kɛ̀-tɛ́rɛ́ *with unusual ATR shift, also* ké-tè*,* à kɛ̀-tɛ́ *with final rhotic syllable truncated]*

06:06

hā [∅ dā] kàwɔ̀ [ŋ̀ jì-jè] [∅ kúmbò]

until [3Sg Ipfv] showing.off [3Sg do.Ipfv] [3Sg look.for.Pfv2]

[nì màā dègè],

[3Pl Poss above],

[∅ dà] kàwɔ̀ [ŋ̀ jì-jè] [∅ kúmbò],

[3Sg Ipfv] showing.off [3Sg do.Ipfv] [3Sg look.for.Pfv2],

‘So he was walking around ostentatiously over them (=women) this way and that. He was walking around ostentatiously.’

*[*kàwɔ̀ *plus verb ‘do’ = ‘show off, strut’; ‘look for’ here in the sense ‘walk all around’]*

06:11

hàjà [à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

well [Def person-Pl] [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1] thus,

à [[àà pújɛ́-ndɛ̀] màā kwāà] [à jāgà]

2Sg [[2SgPoss wife-Pl] Poss neck] [2Sg cut.Pfv1]

à [[àà pújɛ́-ndɛ̀] màā kwāà] [à jāgà]

2Sg [[2SgPoss wife-Pl] Poss neck] [2Sg cut.Pfv1]

‘The people said thus: “it’s your wives’ throat(s) [focus] that you-Sg cut! it’s your wives’ throat(s) [focus] that you-Sg cut!” ’

06:14

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] mí [ŋ́ jágá],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] 1Sg [1Sg cut.Pfv1],

àà [ŋ̀ jí-jɛ̀] [à nā=] āsíjⁿɛ̀,

2Pl [2Pl see.Fut] [2Pl Fut] now,

‘He (=chief) said, “It was I [focus] who cut (their throats). You-Pl will see now.” ’

*[*nā *< future* nàw*]*

06:24

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

dɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ [ŋ̄ dūgā] mɛ̀ ímà,

there.is [1Sg have.Pfv1] Rel here,

[ŋ̀ ná] nì [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] [∅ ŋ̄-kò],

[1Sg Ipfv] 3Pl [1Sg pick.up.Ipfv] [3Sg Link-with],

‘He said thus: “there is (something) that I have here. I will raise them (=women) up with it.” ’

06:30

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] [∅ màà súɥɛ́-ŋ́-kwìì]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss chicken-Link-hair]

dà [à pɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́]

and [Def bowl-Link-water]

‘He took his chicken feather and the washing-bowl water.’

06:32

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1]

[ā sùɥɛ̀-ŋ̀-kwìì] [à tíndé]

[Def chicken-Link-hair] [3Sg put.in.Pfv2]

[[à pɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́] ŋ́-kò],

[[Def bowl-Link-water] Link-in,

‘He took the chicken feather and put it in the washing-bowl water.’

06:35

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ māgà] [à ɥìjɛ̀]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg shake.Pfv1] [Def water]

[[∅ màā kwāà] hùⁿ],

[[3Sg Poss neck] on],

‘He shook (=sprinkled) the water on her neck (i.e. their necks).’

06:39  
nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kùwɔ̀ndɔ̄] [jī-jè hùⁿ],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl fail.Pfv1] [get.up.VblN on],

kà má nì [ŋ̀ jàw̄] [∅ wāj̀]

Dem SFoc.Ipfv 3Pl [3Pl die.Pfv2] [3Pl Rslt]

‘They failed to get up. That’s how they died.’

*[*kùwɔ̀ndɔ̀ *plus* hùⁿ *= ‘fail’, here with PP complement including a verbal noun identical in form to an imperfective]*

06:42

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1]

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1]

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1]

‘They (=people) went, they went, they went.’

*[repeated to indicate duration of action, as background to the following event; no prosodic breaks]*

06:44

[ŋ̄ pī-jē] nīì [[à pàŋgā] hùⁿ],

[3Pl put.down.Pfv2] 3PlO [[Def cemetery] on],

nī [ŋ̄ wōrē] [ŋ̄ pī-jē] nīì,

3Pl [3Pl go] [3Pl lay.down.Pfv2] 3PlO,

‘(They went and) laid them (=two women) down on the burial place. They went and laid them down.’

06:48

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bùndà]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl remove.Pfv1]

[jáá-ndɛ́ bòrù-ndɛ́] kùrɛ̀ɛ̀ bóndó,

[child-Pl young.man-Pl] ten again,

‘They picked out ten young men again.’

*[*bóndó*, polarized tonal variant of* bōndò*]*

06:50

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ wòrè]

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl go.Deon]

[ŋ̀ jèndō] [ā jààmbɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ nóó],

[3Pl call.Deon] [Def child.Dimin] [3Sg come.Ipfv],

‘He (=chief) told them to go summon the child (=boy) to come.’

*[‘Child’ here in diminutive form, with lengthened* ɛ̀ɛ̀*]*

06:53

hàjà, [à jààmbɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

well, [Def child.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[à jààmbɛ̀ɛ̀]—

[Def child.Dimin]—

nì [ŋ̀ twàà-rà] ŋúj̀ⁿ,

3Pl [3Pl arrive.Pfv1] there,

‘Well, the child (=boy) said thus. The child—. They arrived there.’

06:58

[à jààmbɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[Def child.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[àsíjⁿɛ̀ hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ ŋíjⁿá]

[now Topic] [1SgPoss mother]

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ bìtā] [kūwɔ̄ kò] dè,

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg finish.Ipfv] [as.for.that in] Emph,

‘The child (=boy) said, “now, mother, I will not finish (=survive) in that.” ’

07:01

kà má [[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] mɔ́jⁿɛ̀]

Dem SFoc.Ipfv [[1Sg Topic] possession]

[∅ há] [á wóré] kìjà [∅ jáápìnì] [∅ wáj]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg go.Deon] effort [2Sg forgive.Pfv2] [1Sg Dat]

‘(He said:) “Mine (=my situation) is like that. You-Sg must make an effort to forgive me (for not coming back).” ’

*[cf.* wòrè [kījà hùⁿ] *‘make a strong effort, be energetic/courageous’,* [[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] mɔ́jⁿɛ̀] ‘as for me, my possession’*]*

xxxxx

07:05

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

hàjà [ŋ̀ páámíndì],

okay [1Sg understand.Pfv2],

‘His mother said, “okay, I understand.” ’

07:07

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá] [∅ wōrè]—

[3Sg Poss mother] [3Sg go.Pfv1]—

àjì [ā jāāmbɛ̀] [∅ wōrè],

no [Def child] [3Sg go.Pfv1],

[∅ kām-bà] [nī pè(è)] [∅ wōrèj→]

[3Sg follow.Pfv1] [3Pl with] [3Sg go]

‘His mother went—, no, the boy went. He went with them (=ten young men).’

*[*kāmbà *‘hold tight by pinching’ plus* [X pè] *‘follow X, go with X, go sticking close to X’, imperative* kàmbà [X ŋ pè]*]*

07:14

[∅ kóó] —

[3Sg Pfv] —

[à dègè-ŋ-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

‘He—. The chief spoke thus:’

07:17

[á hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ jàà] [∅ à],

[2Sg Topic] [2Sg die.Fut] [2Sg Fut],

[á hɔ̀ⁿ] [ā bītī] [à= à],

[2Sg Topic] [2Sg finish.Pfv2] [2Sg Rslt],

[á hɔ̀ⁿ] [á bé] [à dégé] [ŋ́ tàgà] bóndó,

[2Sg Topic] [2Sg Neg] [2Sg head] [2Sg receive.Ipfv] again,

‘(Chief, to boy:) As for you, you-Sg will die. As for you-Sg, you will be finished. As for you, you will not receive (=recover) yourself again.’

*[*à=à *for resultative* [a wāj̀]*]*

07:21

hàjà, [à dègè-ŋ-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀

well, [Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ dòō]

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl convey.Deon]

[ā dīndì], [à kògòrò], [ā kɛ̄gɛ̄rɛ̀] [∅ nòò],

[Def covered.basket], [Def basket], [Def mat] [3Sg come],

‘Well, the chief said thus: they should bring the covered calabash, the palm-frond basket, (and) the mat.’

*[Narrator later suggests deleting ‘covered basket’ and ‘basket’ since only the mat was used]*

07:26

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl take.Pfv1]

[ŋ̄ tīndè] [[ā kɛ̄gɛ̄rɛ̄] ŋ̄-kò]

[3Pl put.in.Pfv2] [[Def mat] Link-in]

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bū-wɔ̀],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl tie.Pfv1],

hā à [∅ mà-wⁿ],

until Cmplt [3Sg be.firm.Pfv2],

‘They took (him) and put (him) in the mat. They tied (him) up (in it) so that it was firm (=tight).’

07:33

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1] thus

[à jàà-ndɛ̄ bòrù-ndɛ́] nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ tùɥɛ̀] [∅ wóré]

[Def child-Pl young.man-Pl] 3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl carry.on.head] [x go]

[ā dèw-nɔ̀wⁿ],

[Def river-mouth],

‘They (=people) said thus: the young men should carry (the boy wrapped in the mat) to the edge of the river.’

[wóré ‘go’ probably has 3Sg subject in this combination, as in other ‘convey’ expressions]

07:38

sē nī [ŋ̄ tùɥɛ̀] [∅ wóré] [á dèw-nɔ̀wⁿ],

if 3Pl [3Pl carry.on.head.Pfv2] [3Sg go] [Def river-mouth],

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ gwìì] [ŋ̀ súɥé] [[á dēw̄] ŋ̄-kò],

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl throw.Deon] [x go.down] [[Def river] Link-in,

‘When they had carried (him) to the edge of the river, they should throw (him) down into the river.’

*[*dèw̄-nɔ̀wⁿ *‘riverbank’;* súɥɛ́ *‘go.down’ indicates the direction of movement of the object of ‘throw’ (=the boy), not the subject of ‘throw’;* jáá-ndɛ́ *‘children’ here as compound-initial like form;* gùwìjì *is heard as* [gwi:]*]*

07:41

hàjà, [à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

well, [Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

à-ndáá [∅ dùù=] [∅ wóré],

PlAddr-Hort [1Pl convey.Deon] [x go],

‘The chief said thus: “let’s take (him there)!” ’

*[*dùù *for* dùgù*, variant of* dōò *‘convey’]*

07:44

sé nɛ̀ [ŋ̀ wòrē] pààⁿ,

when 1Pl [1Pl go.Pfv2] all,

à-ndáá [∅ gwìì] [∅ súɥé] [[á dēw̄] ŋ̄-kò],

PlAddr-Hort [1Pl throw.Deon] [x go.down] [[Def river] Link-in,

‘(Chief:) “When we have gone (there), let’s throw (him) down in the river!” ’

07:47

nì [ŋ̀ dùù=] [∅ wòrè],

3Pl [3Pl convey.Pfv2] [x go],

hàjà, [ā jāmbā] [∅ dīn-dā] gìmpè,

well, [Def group] [3Pl stop.Pfv2] behind,

‘They took (him, to the edge of the river). Well, the crowd stopped in the back.’

*[L-toned background clause]*

07:53

[mī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ dīn-dà] gìmpè,

[3Sg Topic] [∅ stop.Pfv1] behind,

mī [∅ dīn-dā] [[ā jààmbɛ̀] màā kɛ̀rɛ̀],

3Sg [3Sg stop.Pfv1] [[Def child] Poss side],

‘As for him (=chief), he stopped in the back. He stopped beside the child (=boy).’

07:57

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ wòò] [kījà hùⁿ]

[1Sg Topic] [2Sg go.Imprt] [effort on]

[∅ há=] [á súráá] mí

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg look.Deon] 1SgO

[à gómbè] [ŋàrā wàj],

[2Sg leave.Deon] [God Dat]

‘The child said thus: “as for me, try to look at me and leave me (=let me go) for the sake of God!” ’

*[*wòò *contracted from* wòrè *‘go’]*

08:03

mì kéndé ɔ̄ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ,

3Sg say no!,

[á bé] [∅ bìtā] [kūwɔ̄ kò] bōndò,

[2Sg Neg] [2Sg finish.Ipfv] [as.for.that in] again,

‘He (=chief) said, “Unh-unh! You won’t finish (=survive) in that again.” ’

*[tone-polarizing* bōndò *‘again’ here in M-toned form, treating the PP* kūwɔ̄ kò *as M-toned, likewise with* kā kò *in the following segment]*

08:06

[á bé] [∅ bìtā] [kā kò] bōndò dè,

[2Sg Neg] [2Sg finish.Ipfv] [that in] again Emph,

‘(Chief:) “You won’t finish (=survive) in that again, mind you.” ’

08:08

*paskə* [à jé-ró mɛ̄] [∅ wòō] pɛ̀ɛ̄ⁿ [∅ wāj̀],

because [2Sg do.Pfv1 Rel] [∅ go.Pfv2] a.lot [3Sg Rslt],

[à jé-ró mɛ̄] [∅ wòō] pɛ̀ɛ̄ⁿ [∅ wāj̀],

[2Sg do.Pfv1 Rel] [3Sg go.Pfv2] a.lot [3Sg Rslt],

[∅ bé] á [ŋ́ gōmbè],

[1Sg Neg] 2SgO [1Sg leave.Ipfv],

‘(Chief:) “Because what you have done is (too) much. What you have done is (too) much. I won’t leave you (=let you go).” ’

*[French parce que ‘because’ is common in Malian languages;* wòō *for* wòrē *‘go’ = ‘become (Adj)’]*

08:14

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

nī [ā jāāmbɛ̄] ā [ŋ̄ gwìì] [∅ súɥɛ́]

3Pl [Def child] Ipfv [3Pl throw.Deon] [x descent]

[[á ɥìjɛ̄] ŋ̄-kò]

[[Def water] Link-in,

‘He (=chief) told them to throw the child (=boy) down into the water.’

08:17

ŋàrā [∅ pòtī] pùndà [∅ dà] [∅ dóó],

God [3Sg ordain.Pfv2] Pullo [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg pass.by.Ipfv],

dà [∅ màà náá-ŋ́-kùrì],

with [3Sg Poss cow-Link-herd],

[à nàà-ŋ̀-kùrī] pɛ̀ɛ̄ⁿ jāārì,

[Def cow-Link-herd] a.lot very,

‘As God would have it, a Pullo was passing by with his herd of cattle. The herd of cattle was very numerous.’

*[*pūndà *“Pullo” is human singular of “Fulbe,” denoting the local Fula ethnic group (cattle herders), here L-toned* pùndà*]*

08:24

hàjà [à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀

well, [Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ sùrāā]

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl go] [3Pl look]

[ā nàà-ŋ̀-kùrì káw],

[Def cow-Link-herd Dem],

‘Well, the chief said thus: they should go look at that herd of cattle.’

08:27

hàjà, [à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè],

well, [Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1]

‘Well, the chief went (to the herd).’

08:29

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ wōrè],

[Def chief] [3Sg go.Pfv2],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sùràà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg look.Pfv1],

‘After the chief went, he looked.’

08:33

[∅ sùràà→],

[3Sg look.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [∅ wōrē] [à kárá], pūndà,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg find.Pfv2], Pullo,

pùndà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

Pullo [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

nɛ́ má ŋúj̀ⁿ,

what? SFoc there,

‘He kept looking, (then) he went and found the Pullo. The Pullo said thus: what’s over there?’

*[*nɛ́ *common reduction of* nɛ́-sìⁿ *‘what?’,* má *after focused subject including WH-interrogatives, cf.* já má ŋúj̀ⁿ *‘who is there?’ and example in the following section, cf. negative* nɛ́(-sìⁿ) má mɛ̀ bé ŋúj̀ⁿ *‘what is not there?’]*

08:42

[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ mɛ́ɛ́ jáámbɛ̀] má ŋúj̀ⁿ,

[1Sg topic] [1Sg Poss child] SFoc.Ipfv there,

dɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ [∅ jē-rō] [wārī jāŋgā] mɛ᷆,

there.is [3Sg do.Pfv1] [work(n) bad] Rel,

‘(Chief:) “It’s my child (=son) [focus] who is over there. There is a bad thing that he has done.” ’

*[*mɛ́ɛ́ *variant of* máá *‘my’,* má *‘be (somewhere)’ after focused subject]*

08:46

kà má [nɛ̄ hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ wòrē] [∅ wāj̀],

Dem SFoc.Ipfv [1Pl Topic] [1Pl go.Pfv2] [1Pl Rslt],

[∅ há] [á wórè] [á tɛ́mbɛ̀]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg go.Deon] [2Sg push.Pfv2]

[á gwíí] [∅ sùɥè],

[2Sg throw.Pfv2] [3Sg go.down],

‘ “So we are going (back to the village). You-Sg must go and push and throw (it) down (into the river).” ’

*[*[∅ wòrē] [∅ wāj̀] *is normally perfective in the absence of an imperfective particle, but it can be used to denote imminent motion, cf. English I’m off (to work) ].*

08:50

nì [ŋ̀ wòrè] nì [ŋ̀ tìgɛ̀-rɛ̀] [∅ wóré] gìmpè,

3Pl [3Pl go.Pfv1] 3Pl [3Pl run.Pfv1] [x go] behind,

[à pùndà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nō-rē]

[Def Pullo] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg hear.Pfv1]

[ā jāāmbɛ̀] [∅ dà] [∅ nìŋà],

[Def child] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg say.Ipfv]

‘They (=chief and villagers) went, they went running behind. The Pullo heard the child (=boy) speaking.’

*[‘behind’ here appears to mean ‘away (from the river)’]*

08:54

mí [∅ múwɔ́ⁿ] [∅ há] [ŋ́ tí-jè] dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ]

1Sg [1Sg not.want] [1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg sit.Deon] chief]

[∅ hà=] [àà pì-jè] mí dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ [gɔ̀ndɛ̄-ŋ̄-sìjɛ̄ⁿ ŋ̄-kò],

[2Pl Sbjn] [2Pl put.down.Deon] 1SgO chief [chest-Link-force Link-with],

‘(Boy:) “I don’t want to sit (=serve) as chief, that you-Pl install me as chief by force.” ’

[mùwɔ̀ⁿ ‘not want’, negative of màà ‘want’ (defective stative)]

08:57

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ tí-rì],

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg sit],

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ tí-rì],

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg sit],

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ tí-rì],

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg sit],

‘(Boy:) “I will not sit, I will not sit, I will not sit (=serve as chief).” ’

08:59

[à pùndà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nō-rè] ŋ̀-kāẁ,

[Def Pullo] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg hear.Pfv1] Link-Dem,

[à pùndà] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] hàjà,

[Def Pullo] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] okay,

‘The Pullo heard that. The Pullo said, okay.’

09:03

[ŋ̀ dá] á [ŋ̀ pììndù]

[1Sg Ipfv] 2Sg [1Sg untie.Ipfv]

[ŋ̀ dá] [∅ ʃūɥè]

[1Sg Ipfv] [∅ go.down.Ipfv]

[∅ há=] [á múndì] mí [∅ ŋ́-kò],

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg put.inside.Pfv2] 1SgO [3Sg Link-in,

‘(Pullo:) “I will untie you-Sg, (and) I will go down (in your place). You must put me in it (=mat).’

*[cf. 3Sg* dà ʃúɥé*; transitive* mùndì *‘put inside’, cf. intransitive* mūn-dà *‘come in’ and* mīndè *‘go in’]*

09:06

hàjà [à pùndà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pììndù],

well [Def Pullo] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg untie.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ mùndà]—

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg put.inside.Pfv1]—

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bùndà] [à jāāmbɛ̀],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg remove.Pfv1] [Def child],

‘Well, the Pullo untied him (=boy). He (=Pullo) put in—, (correction) he took the child (=boy) out.’

*[*bùndà *‘take out, remove’, antonym of* mùndà *‘put inside, put on (pants, shoes)’, cf. intransitive* bū-rà *‘come out’ and* bīrè *‘go out’]*

09:11

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bū-wɔ̀] [à pùndà],

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg tie.Pfv1] [Def Pullo],

hā à [∅ wòò] gáwⁿ,

until Cmplt [3Sg become.Pfv2] good,

‘The child (=boy) tied up the Pullo (in the mat) until it was nice and tight.’

*[*wòò *for* wòrè*]*

09:14

[∅ bù-wɔ̀] [à pùndà],

[3Sg tie.Pfv2] [Def Pullo],

[∅ bù-wɔ̀] [à pùndà],

[3Sg tie.Pfv2] [Def Pullo],

‘He (=boy) tied up the Pullo, he tied (=kept tying) up the Pullo.’

*[L-toned background clause, repeated]*

09:18

[à pùndà]—

[Def Pullo]—

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̀mbɛ̄] [ā pùndà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg push.Pfv1] [Def Pullo]

[à gwíí] [∅ ʃùɥè] [[à dèw-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́] ŋ́-kò],

[3Sg throw.Pfv2] [x go.down] [[Def river-Link-water] Link-in,

‘The Pullo—. He (=boy) pushed the Pullo and threw him down into the river water.’

09:22

[à pùndà]—

[Def Pullo]—

[∅ tɛ̀mbɛ̀] [à gwíí] [∅ ʃùɥè]

[3Sg push.Pfv1] [3Sg throw.Pfv2] [x go.down]

[[à dèw-ŋ̀-ɥíjɛ́] ŋ́-kò],

[[Def river-Link-water] Link-in,

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ ʧɔ̀kà] [∅ màà náá-ndɛ̀],

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg drive.ahead.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss cow-Pl],

‘The Pullo—. After he (=boy) pushed (him) down into the river water, the child (=boy) drove his (=Pullo’s) cows ahead. He drove the cows ahead.’

*[*ʧɔ̀kà, < Ful √sogg-*, rephrased in the next segment with a native Bangime verb* pɛ̄rɛ̀*]*

09:28

[∅ pɛ̀rɛ̀] [à náá-ndɛ̀],

[3Sg drive.ahead.Pfv1] [Def cow-Pl]

[∅ kóó] [∅ wōrè] [à pɛ̀ndɛ̄]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg pass.through.Pfv2]

[[ā dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] màā dìjà],

[[Def chief] Poss village],

‘After he drove the cows ahead, he (=boy) passed through the chief’s village.’

*[perfective-1* pɛ̀ndɛ̀ *is acceptable here, but perfective-2* pɛ̀ndù *is preferred in such complements]*

09:31

gìlāā sèlì-páná, [hā sàbàkɔ́]

since 2PM.prayer, [until 8PM.prayer]

[á nāā-ndɛ̄] [∅ dā] [∅ dōò],

[Def cow-Pl] [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl pass.Ipfv],

‘(The whole time) from the 2PM prayer to the 8 PM prayer, the cows passed through (the village).’

*[daily Muslim prayers (pre-dawn, 2PM, 4PM, twilight, and 8 PM) are often used to specify times of day;* sèlì-páná *(post-possessor* sélí-pánà*) is treated tonally as a compound; the point here is that the line of cattle was endless]*

09:35

[∅ màā dégè], [∅ màà túú]

[3Sg Poss head], [3Sg Poss rear]

[∅ bè] [∅ dóó-rò] [à dìjā] [ŋ̄ kì],

[3Sg Neg] [3Sg pass.Pfv1] [Def village] [3Sg KI],

[∅ bīīnɔ̀wⁿ],

[3Sg middle],

‘Its (=herd’s) front and its rear did not pass by (=could not fit into) the village (at the same time). In the middle.’

*[verb* dōò *‘pass by’ plus invariant* [ŋ kì]*, two-part predicate ‘pass by, overtake’; ‘middle’, cf.* [à dìjà] [ŋ̀ bíínɔ̀wⁿ] *‘in the middle of the village’]*

09:38

[ā nāā-ndɛ̀] pɛ̀ɛ̄ⁿ jāārì,

[Def cow-Pl] a.lot very,

hā [ā jāāmbɛ̀] à [∅ twáá] [á dìjà],

until [Def child] Cmplt [3Sg arrive.Pfv2] [Def village],

‘The cattle were very numerous. Eventually the child (=boy) arrived in the village.’

09:41

[à àmìrū] [∅ jāā] [ā jāāmbɛ̀],

[Def chief] [3Sg see.Pfv1] [Def child]

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] ā!,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] ah!,

[á hɛ̀ⁿ] nɛ́-ŋ́-ʃìrì [à dūgā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[2Sg Topic] what?-Link-amulet [2Sg have] thus

‘(The) chief saw the child (=boy). He (=chief) said, “ah!, as for you-Sg, what kind of (magical) amulet do you have like that?’

09:47

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] ē→,

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] uh,

[ŋ̀ kéndé] [∅ téndē] [ŋ̄ nā] kà [∅ wáj],

[1Sg say] [1SgPoss grandfather] [3Sg give.Pfv1] Dem [1Sg Dat]

‘The child (=boy) said, “uh, I said (my) grandfather gave that to me.’

*[*téndē *‘(my) grandfather’, with post-possessor overlay and covert 1Sg possessor;* nā kà *for* nāwⁿ kāẁ*]*

09:50

[∅ téndē] [ŋ̄ nāⁿ] kà [∅ wáj],

[(1Sg) grandfather] [3Sg give.Pfv1] Dem [1Sg Dat],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus

kà má [∅ máá kjɛ́ɛ́-ŋ́-kɛ̀]

Dem SFoc.Ipfv [1Sg Poss inherit-Link-thing]

‘Grandfather gave that to me. He said thus: that is my inheritance.’

*[*kjɛ̀ɛ̀-ŋ̀-kɛ̀ *‘inheritance’]*

09:54

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] Link-Dem,

[[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] wàj],

[[Def chief] Dat],

‘The child (=boy) said that to the chief.’

09:58

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[à-ʃíjⁿɛ̀ hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ nùù] ímà,

[now Topic] [x come.Imprt] here,

‘The chief said thus: come here now!’

*[imperative* nūù *‘come!’]*

10:01

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wóré],

[1Sg Pfv] [1Sg go.Pfv1],

nī [ŋ̄ jāā] ʃīìⁿ,

3Pl [3Pl see.Pfv1] Recip,

‘(Boy:) “I have gone (=am on my way) (to you).” They saw (=faced) each other.

10:06

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[∅ màā hààʤɛ́] dà= [[à jāāmbɛ̄] hùⁿ],

[3Sg Poss need] be [[Def child] on],

‘He (=chief) said that he needed the child (=boy).’

10:08

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā],

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

bàà-ʃì [∅ bé] [∅ ŋ́-kò],

trouble [3Sg Neg] [3Sg Link-in,

‘The child (=boy) said “there’s no problem in it.”

*[bāā-ʃī ‘trouble’, mainly in greetings and similar abstractions (< Arabic), behaves like an irregular compound, post-possessor* bàà-ʃí*]*

10:12

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wō—,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go—,

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā],

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

‘He we(nt)—. The chief said:”

10:14

nìmì [à jē-rō]

how? [2Sg do.Pfv1]

[à kwá=] [á kɔ̄rɔ̄=] [à kì] [à núú],

[2Sg Pfv] [2Sg return.Pfv1] [2Sg KI] [2Sg come.Pfv2],

‘(Chief:) “What did you-Sg do to (=How did you) come back (=escape)?” ’

*[*kóó *contracts with following 2Sg* a*]*

10:17

ē→ [ŋ̀ jáá] [àà pújɛ́-ndɛ̀] ŋúj̀ⁿ

eh [1Sg see.Pfv1] [2SgP wife-Pl] there

[dà [à tèndè-rú] ŋúj̀ⁿ pààⁿ,

[with [2SgP grandfather-Pl] there all,

‘(Boy:) “Eh, I saw your-Sg wives there and all your grandfathers (=ancestors).” ’

[tèndè *‘grandfather’ has an alternative plural* tèndè-rú*, and like other basic kin terms it can take reduced forms of 2Sg (and 1Sg) possessor; cf.* [∅ bɔ́ɔ́-rú] *‘my fathers’ below]*

10:19

ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ nì mì kéndé

all 3Pl SFoc.Pfv say

nì [ŋ̀ dà=] á [∅ nìjɛ̀],

3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] 2SgO [3Pl greet.Ipfv],

‘(Boy:) “They all said, they greet you-Sg (=ask about your welfare).’

10:21

sé [ŋ́ núú],

if [1Sg come.Pfv2],

nì [ŋ̀ dà] [à hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̄] [ŋ̄ sìgā] gīŋgàw,

3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] [2SgPoss well.being] [3Pl ask.Ipfv] a.lot,

‘ “When I come (here), they ask a lot (=often) about your-Sg well-being.” ’

*[i.e. when I come here, they want me to ask on their behalf;* hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀ *‘well-being, good health’ is a postposition-like noun, attested only in collocation with ‘ask’, preceded by a reduced possessor: 1Sg* ŋ̀ hɛ́ɛ́rɛ̀*, 3Sg* ŋ̀ hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀*, 2Sg* à hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀*, 3Pl* nì ŋ̀ hɛ̄ɛ̄rɛ̀*, etc.*

10:24

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] hàjà,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] okay,

[ŋ̀ páámíndì]

[1Sg understand.Pfv2]

‘The chief said, “all right, I have understood.” ’

10:28

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó]—,

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv]—,

[à àmìrù] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

[Def chief] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

mì kéndéè→,

3Sg say,

‘The chief—. The chief said, he said:’

10:32

mí nìmì [∅ ná] [ŋ́ jì-jè]

1Sg how? [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg do.IPfv]

[∅ há] [ŋ́ wórè]

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg go.Deon]

[∅ há] [ŋ́ jí-jɛ̀]

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg see.Deon]

[∅ máá pújɛ́-ndɛ̀] ŋúj̀ⁿ àʃíjⁿɛ̀,

[1Sg Poss wife-Pl] there now,

‘(Chief:) “What [focus] can I do to (=How can I) go and see my wives there now?” ’

10:35

*paskə* [nì màā mīīndā] [∅ dà] [∅ húⁿ],

because [3Pl Poss think(ing)] [3Sg be] [1Sg on],

‘(Chief): “Because I miss them.” ’

*[verb* mīīndà *‘think (about) is here nominalized, with a 3Pl possessor denoting the object of thinking: ‘[thinking of Y] is on X’; an alternative is* mīīndà *as simple transitive verb: ‘X thinks about (=misses) Y’]*

10:37

[mí hɔ̀ⁿ] [ŋ̀ máá]

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg want]

[∅ há [ŋ́ jí-jɛ̀] [∅ máá pújɛ́-ndɛ̀]

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg see.Deon] [1Sg Poss wife-Pl]

[∅ máá téndé] dà [∅ bɔ́ɔ́-rú]

[1Sg Poss grandfather] and [1SgPoss father-Pl]

‘As for me, I want to see my wives, my grandfather(s), and my fathers.’

10:41

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg dsy.Pfv1]

nì [∅ à [ŋ̀ gɔ̀gɔ̄] kɛ̀gɛ̀,

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl weave.Deon] mat,

[à sáŋáɛ̀ɛ̀-ŋ̀-kàmpááⁿ]

[Def time.Dimin-Link-?]

‘The child (=boy) said for them to weave a mat, immediately.’

*[*kɛ̀gɛ̀(rɛ̀*) ‘mat’, woven from strips of borassus-palm frond;* [à sáŋáɛ̀ɛ̀-ŋ̀-kàmpááⁿ] *is a rather opaque combination including diminutive sáŋáɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘time, point in time’]*

10:46

hàjà, [à dìjà ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ]

well, [Def village all]

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl arise.Pfv1],

‘The whole village got up.’

10:49

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [ŋ̄ bū-wɔ̀],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1] [3Pl tie],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ gɔ̄gɔ̄] [ā kɛ̄gɛ̄rɛ̀],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl weave.Pfv1] [Def mat],

‘They (=villagers) went and tied up— [correction:] they wove the mat.’

10:55

nì [ŋ̀ gɔ̀gɔ̀] [à kɛ̄gɛ̄rɛ̀],

3Pl [3Pl weave.Pfv1] [Def mat],

hàjà nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ ɲà-rⁿā],

well 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl take.Pfv1],

[ā jāāmbɛ̀] ,

[Def child],

‘They wove the mat. They took it (=mat). The child (=boy)—.’

10:57

nì [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1]

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ tìndē]

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl put.in]

[ā dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ ʃùɥē] [∅ ŋ̄-kò]

[Def chief] [x go.down] [3Sg Link-in

‘They (=villagers) said they should put the chief down in it.’

10:58

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tùɥɛ̀-rɛ̀] [∅ wóré],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl carry.on.head.Pfv1] [x go],

hā nī ā [ŋ̄ twàà→],

until 3Pl Cmplt [3Pl arrive.Pfv2],

[ā dèw-nɔ̀wⁿ],

[Def river-mouth],

‘They carried (mat with chief) on their heads and went. Eventually they arrived, at the edge of the river.’

11:03

nì [ŋ̀ twàà-rā] [ā dèw-nɔ̀wⁿ],

3Pl [3Pl arrive.Pfv1] [Def river-mouth],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà→],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1],

‘When they arrived at the edge of the river, he said—.’

11:05

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pè-rò] ŋúj̀ⁿ,

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl put.down.Pfv1] there,

[à dèw-nɔ̀wⁿ],

[Def river-mouth]

‘They put (it) down there, (at) the edge of the river.’

*[*pē-rò*]*

11:09

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ pē-rò],

well, [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl put.down.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]—

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]—

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] wàj]

[[Def chief] Dat]

‘Well, he put (it) down. He said—, the child (=boy) said to the chief:’

11:14

[á hɛ̀ⁿ] gìlàà= [à nóó] [gàʤíjɛ́ⁿ ŋ́-kò],

[2Sg Topic] since= [2Sg come.Pfv1] [world Link-in,

[à jáá] [jìbɛ̀ mɛ́ [∅ wōrè]]

[2Sg seePfv1] [person Rel [3Sg go.Pfv1]]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nōò] à,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1] yes/no?,

‘ “As for you-Sg, since you came into the world, have you (ever) seen that someone who has gone (=died) has come (back)?” ’

*[*gàʤíjɛ́ⁿ *‘world (of the living)’]*

11:18

mì kéndé [ŋ́ bɔ́-jɛ́],

3Sg say [1Sg not.see],

‘He (=chief) said, “I haven’t seen (it).” ’

*[*bɔ̄-jɛ̀ *‘not see’, irregular fusion of negative* bè *with verb* jāà *‘see’]*

11:20

sà= [à jáá] [jìbɛ̀ mɛ́ [∅ wōrè]]

whether [2Sg see.Pfv1] [person Rel [3Sg go.Pfv1]]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nōò] à,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1] yes/no?,

‘(Boy:) “(I ask) whether you have (ever) seen that someone who has gone has come (back)?” ’

11:22

mì kéndé [ŋ́ bwɛ́ɛ́],

3Sg say [1Sg not.see],

‘He (=chief) said, “I haven’t seen (it).” ’

11:23

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

[á hɔ̀ⁿ] kà má [àà gáʤíjɛ̀ⁿ-ʒììⁿ],

[2Sg Topic] Dem SFoc.Ipfv [2SgPoss world-weeping],

‘The child (=boy) said, “as for you-Sg, your world (=life) is at its end like that.” ’

*[*ʒìì related to the verb ʒīìⁿ *‘weep’ as compound final for ‘world/life’ means ‘limit, end’]*

11:27

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̀mbɛ̀]

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg push.Pfv1]

[à gwíí] [∅ ʃùɥè] [[à ɥìjɛ̄] ŋ̄-kò],

[3Sg throw.Deon] [3Sg go.down] [[Def water] Link-in,

‘The child (=boy) pushed (him) down into the water.’

11:29

kùwⁿɔ̄ [∅ màà gáʤíjɛ̀ⁿ] [∅ būūⁿ] [∅ wāj̀],

that [3Sg Poss world] [3Sg end.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt],

[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] [∅ jàā] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def chief] [3Sg die.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt],

‘That’s how his (=chief’s) life ended. The chief died.’

11:32

hàjà, jāgā nìŋà= [∅ nìŋà], [à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́]

well, lo! say [3Sg say.Pfv1] [Def person-Pl]

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ tìŋāā] [ŋ̄ kì] [∅ wòrē] gìmpè,

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl press.Deon] [3Pl KI] [x go] behind,

‘He (=child) said that the people should push (=move) away to the rear.’

*[Narrator is backtracking here to the point before the boy pushed the chief into the water;* tìŋgàà *‘push on, press’, combination* tìŋ(g)àà *plus* wōrè *‘go’ = ‘move over, move to the side’]*

11:38

dɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ [ŋ̀ dā] dìgà mɛ́ [∅ nìŋā]

there.is [1Sg Ipfv] talk(n) Rel [x say.Ipfv]

[[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] wàj],

[[Def chief] Dat],

‘(Boy:) “There are some words that I will say to the chief (in private).” ’

11:41

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́] [∅ tīŋāā] [ŋ̄ kì] [ŋ̀ wòrè],

[Def person-Pl] [3Pl press.Pfv2] [3Pl KI] [3Pl go.Deon],

hā= à→ [∅ wóré] jùndù,

until= Cmplt [3Sg become.Pfv2] far,

‘The people pushed (=moved) over, a long way away.’

11:45

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ gùùndù] [[ā dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg murmur.Pfv1] [[Def chief] Dat],

[ā dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ]—

[Def chief]—

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[ā dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] wàj] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[Def chief] Dat] thus,

‘He (=boy) murmured to the chief. The chief—. He (=boy) said thus to the chief:’

11:53

sà= [à jáá] [jìbɛ̀ mɛ́ [∅ wōrè]]

whether [2Sg see.Pfv1] [person Rel [3Sg go.Pfv1]]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nōō] à,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1] yes/no?,

‘(Boy): “(I ask) whether you-Sg have seen that someone who has gone has come back?” ’

11:55

mì [∅ kéndé] [ŋ́ bɔ́-jɛ́]

3Sg [3Sg say] [3Sg not.see.Pfv1]

‘He (=chief) said, “I haven’t seen (it).” ’

11:56

sà= [à jáá] [jìbɛ̀ mɛ́ [∅ wōrè]]

whether= [2Sg see.Pfv1] [person Rel [3Sg go.Pfv1]]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nōō] à,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1] yes/no?,

‘(Boy): “(I ask) whether you-Sg have seen that someone who has gone has come back?” ’

11:57

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] [ŋ̀ bɔ́-jɛ́]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [1Sg not.see.Pfv1]

‘He (=chief) said, “I haven’t seen (it).” ’

11:58

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[kà má [∅ ŋ́ ʒììⁿ]]

[Dem SFoc.Ipfv [3Sg Poss weeping]

‘The child (=boy) said, “its (=your world’s) end is like that.” ’

11:58

[à jààmbɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def child] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[kà má [∅ ŋ́ ʒììⁿ]]

[Dem SFoc.Ipfv [3Sg Poss weeping]]

‘The child (=boy) said, its (=your world’s) end is like that.” ’

12:00

[á hɔ̀ⁿ] [à bè] [∅ wóré]

[2Sg Topic] [2Sg Neg] [2Sg go]

[à bè] [∅ nóó] bōndò,

[2Sg Neg] [2Sg come] again

‘(Boy:) “You will not go and come (back) again.”

*[narrator later suggested emending* [à bè] [∅ wóré] *to* sá=[á wòrè] *‘if you go’, since the negation has primary scope over ‘you come back’]*

12:01

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̀mbɛ̀] [ā dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg push.Pfv1] [3Sg chief]

[à gwíí] [∅ ʃùɥè] [[à ɥìjɛ̄] ŋ̄-kò],

[3Sg throw.Deon] [3Sg go.down] [[Def water] Link-in,

‘He (=boy) pushed the chief down into the water.’

12:04

hàjà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[ā jāmbà] wàj̄] kùwⁿɔ̀

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[Def crowd] Dat] thus

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ wòrē] [∅ wāj̀] kūwò,

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl go] [3Pl Incep] house,

‘Well, he (=boy) said to the crowd thus: they should go home.’

[jámbā *‘crowd’]*

12:07

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà] [ā jāāmbɛ̀]—

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1] [Def child]—

[[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] màà jɛ́mbɛ́] [ŋ́ súràà],

[[Def chief] Poss path] [3Pl look.Ipfv],

‘Well, they looked intensely at the child’s— [correction] at the chief’s path (the path that they expected him to come back on).’

*[*jɛ̀mbɛ̀ *‘path’; ‘take’ with second verb as ‘become intensively involved in VPing’]*

12:10

nì [∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] [∅ màà jɛ́mbɛ́] [ŋ́ súràà]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl take.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss path] [3Sg look.Ipfv]

nì [∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] [∅ màà jɛ́mbɛ́] [ŋ́ súràà]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl take.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss path] [3Sg look.Ipfv]

nī [ŋ̄ bɔ̄-jɛ̀],

3Pl [3Pl not.see.Pfv1]

‘They looked at his path. They looked (=kept looking) at his path, (but) they didn’t see him.’

12:16

[ā jāāmbɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò] dègè-ŋ̀ —

[Def child.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg do.Pfv1] ch—,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tē-rò] dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg sit.Pfv1] chief,

[à dìjà ká] kò],

[Def village Dem] in],

‘The young child (=boy) became a ch— He sat (=served) as chief, in that village.’

*[*ká *<* kāẁ*]*

12:20

gìlāā [ā gāʤījɛ̀ⁿ],

since [Def world],

gìlāā [ā gāʤījɛ̀ⁿ] [∅ tē-rò],

since [Def world] [3Sg sit.Pfv1],

[[à hììlà ŋ̀-kà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tììndā] mīì

[[Def solution Link-Dem] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg begin.Pfv1] Refl

[[ā gāʤījɛ̄ⁿ] ŋ̄-kò]

[[Def world] Link-in

‘Since the world—, since the world has sat (=existed), solutions (=stratagems) began (=came into existence) in the world. ‘

12:27

[∅ būūⁿ] [∅ wāj̀]

[3Sg end] [3Sg Rslt]

‘It (=tale) has ended.’

**Bangime text 03, “If I am elected, …”**

recorded in Sévaré, Mali, April 2015

00:06

[dòō hɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ máá] [∅ há] [ŋ́ kúmbò] [dègē mɛ̄]

[this.year Topic] [1Sg want] [1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg seek.Deon] [head Rel]

[[nɛ̀ màā kòmīnī] ŋ̄-kò],

[[1Pl Poss commune] Link-Loc]

‘This year I want (=plan) to seek leadership (as mayor) in our commune.’

*[*dòò *‘this year’;* dègē mɛ̄ *‘leadership’, irregularly related to cf.* dēgè *‘head’;* kòmīnì *‘commune’, i.e. a political district of about 20-25 villages led by an elected mayor; the specific commune in question is administered from Kargué village]*

00:10

àà, sé [ŋ́ kárà] [dègē mɛ̀] níí,

ah, if [1Sg get.Pfv2] [head Rel] Emph

[à dìjà] [∅ ná] [ŋ́ bɔ̀gɔ̄] gīŋgàw,

[Def village] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg help.Ipfv] a.lot,

‘Ah, if I actually get (=win) leadership, I will greatly help the village(s).’

00:14

[nɛ̀ɛ bàŋà-ndɛ̀] [dìjà kííjè]

[1Pl Bangande] [village seven]

[dà [à tòò-ndɛ́]],

[and [Def Duleri-Pl]],

‘We Bangande (are) seven villages, plus the Duleri.’

*[*bàŋà-ndɛ́ *‘Bangande’ (ethnicity), speakers of Bangime; the Duleri are the Dogon subgroup who live above and below the cliffs to the north, speakers of Tiranige; a few Duleri villages including Boui belong to the commune; Fulbe and “Marka” (Bozo) villages are also in the commune]*

00:17

[sé ŋàrā [∅ tàgù]

[if God [3Sg accept.Pfv2]

ŋ̀-kàà-rú [∅ bɔ̀gù] mí,

Dem-Pl [3Pl help.Pfv2] 1SgO,

‘If God accepts (that) those (people) help (=support) me, …’

00:19

sé [ŋ́ gáɲì] níí,

if [1Sg win.Pfv2] Emph,

nì [∅ á] [ŋ́ bɔ̀gū] gīŋgàw,

3PlO [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg help.Pfv2] a.lot,

‘If I actually win, I’ll help them a lot.’

*[French gagner, used widely in Malian languages in connection with sports and politics;* [∅ á] *in allegro speech for* *1Sg imperfective* [∅ ná] oe [ŋ̀ dá] *and other variants, when preceded by an object]*

00:23

[[à dìjà-kɛ́-ndɛ̀] ŋ̀-kò],

[[Def eat-thing-Pl] Link-in],

dà [∅ há] [ŋ́ búndì] [nì màà—

and [1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg remove.Pfv2] [3Pl Poss—

[∅ há] [ŋ́ búndì] [nì màā làmpó-ŋ́-táá],

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg remove.Pfv2] [3Pl Poss tax-Link-half],

‘(I’ll help them) in (=with respect to) food. And I must remove their—, I must remove (=cut) a large part of their taxes.’

*[refers to the annual head tax, in 2015 around 2000 FCFA per adult male, collected at village level]*

00:29

sé [ŋ́ búndì] [nì màā làmpó-ŋ́-táá],

if [1Sg remove.Pfv2] [3Pl Poss tax-Link-half],

[nì màà jɛ́mbɛ̄],

[3Pl Poss road],

[∅ há] [ŋ́ núwáⁿ],

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg repair.Pfv2],

‘When I have removed a large part of their taxes, their roads, I must repair (them).’

00:34

[∅ há] [ŋ́ kúmbò]

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg seek.Pfv2]

[nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ nùwàⁿ]],

[3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl repair.Deon]],

‘I must seek to have them (=the government) repair (them).’

00:37

sé nī [ŋ̄ nūwàⁿ],

if 3Pl [3Pl repair.Pfv2},

[∅ há] [ŋ́ dɛ́rndì] kúúⁿ,

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg erect.Pfv2] market,

‘When they have repaired (the roads), I must establish a (weekly) market.’

*[< Fulfulde* darnude *‘erect (sth), stop (sth)’; as of 2015 the nearest markets were Konna and Sambere along the Mopti-Gao highway]*

00:39

[∅ há] [ŋ́ núwàⁿ] dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ̀rɔ̀-ŋ̀-kúwó,

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg repair.Pfv2] doctor-Link-house,

‘I must fix the medical center.’

*[refers to the CSCOM health center at Kargué village]*

00:41

sé [ŋ́ núwàⁿ] dɔ̀gɔ̀tɔ̀rɔ̀-ŋ̀-kúwó,

if [1Sg repair.Pfv2] doctor-Link-house,

dījā pààⁿ,

village all,

[∅ há] [ŋ́ kúmbò] sàtó [∅ wàj],

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg seek.Pfv2] water.tower [3Sg Dat]

‘When I have fixed the medical center, each village, I will seek (to build) a water tower for it (=village).’

*[French chateau (d’eau)]*

00:48

sé [ŋ́ kúmbò] sàtó,

if [1Sg seek.Pfv2] water.tower,

[ŋ̀-kà sáŋá hɔ̀ⁿ] [nì [ŋ̀ bè] ā [∅ nīì]

[Link-Dem time Topic] [3Pl [3Pl Neg] Sbjn [3Pl say.Pfv2]

[ŋ̀ bé] [∅ jē-rò] wārì,

[1Sg Neg] [1Sg do.Pfv1] work(n),

‘When I have sought (to build) water towers, let them not say that I haven’t worked.’

*[*nì ŋ̀ bè ā nīì *‘may they not say’, negative subjunctive clause with invariant ā, cf.* nì ŋ̀ bè ā ŋ́ dɛ̀gù mí *‘may they not hit me’]*

00:53

[ŋ-kà sáŋá hɔ̀ⁿ]

[Link-Dem time Topic]

jàmátɛ̀ɛ̀ [bīīⁿ pàw],

maybe [year all]

sé [ŋ́ kúmbò] pààⁿ,

if [1Sg seek.Pfv2] all,

nì [ŋ̀ tágà] [∅ nàw]

3Pl [3Pl accept.Fut] [3Pl Fut]

‘At that time, maybe every year, if I have sought (=tried hard), they will accept (me).’

*[*bììⁿ *‘year’]*

00:57

àà [dòò mɔ̄yⁿɛ̄ hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ]

ah [this Poss Topic]

nì [ŋ̀ pùùsī] [∅ kɛ̀] kēndè,

3Pl [3Pl push.Pfv2] [3Pl Prf] for.now,

‘Ah, as for this year’s (electiion), they have pushed (it) out now.’

*[perfect* kɛ̀ *; Fr pousser ‘push (out)’; Elections scheduled for early 2015 were rescheduled for several months later]*

01:00

[à ʃíjⁿɛ̀ hɔ̀ⁿ] hā ŋàrà [ŋ̀ tɛ́rɛ́],

[Def now Topic] Sbjn God [3Sg show.Deon],

[ā ɥījɛ̀],

[Def moon],

[à ɥījɛ̄ tāāⁿ] mɛ̄ [∅ nā] [∅ nōò]

[Def moon other] Rel [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.Ipfv]

nì [∅ nìŋā] mɛ̄ [∅ màà ɥíjɛ́],

3Pl [3Pl say.Pfv1] Rel [3Sg Poss month],

‘Now, may God show (us) the month, the other (=next) month that is coming, its (=election’s) month that they said.’

*[*tāàⁿ *~* tāràⁿ *‘another’]*

01:07

sé ŋ́-kāw [∅ nūù] pààⁿ,

if Dem [3Sg come.Pfv2] all,

nɛ̀ [∅ màà dígá] [∅ à] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà],

1Pl [3Sg Poss talk(n)] [3Pl Ipfv] [x take.Ipfv],

‘When that (month) has come, we’ll take up the matter of it (= election).’

*[note the bracketing of* nɛ̀ [∅ màà dígá]*, contrast the homophonous* [nɛ̀ màà dígá] *‘our talk’]*

01:09

sé nɛ̄ [∅ ɲà] [∅ màà dígá]

if 1Pl [1Pl take.Pfv2] [3Sg Poss talk(n)]

jàmátɛ̀ɛ̀, [∅ níŋá] [∅ ná] [[á dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

maybe, [1Sg say.Fut] [1Sg Ipfv] [[Def village] Link-in

‘When we have taken up the matter of it (= election), I may say (that) in the village(s).’

*[*ɲà *for* ɲā-ẁⁿ *‘take’]*

01:14

*paskə* [à dìjā hɔ̀ⁿ],

because [Def village Topic],

hā nī ā [ŋ̄ pì-jè] bàrì híŋgá,

until 3Pl Sbjn [3Pl put.down.Pfv2] meeting in.past,

‘Because as for the village, they even held a meeting previously.’

01:17

nì [ŋ̀ pè-rò] [à bārì],

3Pl [3Pl put.down.Pfv1] [Def meeting],

nī [ŋ̄ dīŋīnī] [ŋ̄ kɛ̄mbījì],

3Pl [3Pl discuss.Pfv2] [3Pl come.to.agreement.Pfv2],

‘When they held the meeting, they discussed (it) and came to an agreement.’

01:20

nì mì kéndé

3Pl SFoc.Pfv say

sé mí má [ŋ́ kùmbò]

if 1Sg SFoc.Ipfv [x seek.Ipfv]

nì mí [∅ à] [ŋ̀ bɔ̀gɔ̀],

3Pl 1SgO [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl help.Ipfv],

nì [ŋ̀ wɔ̄tā] [∅ nà] [∅ wáj],

3Pl [3Pl vote.Fut] [3Pl Fut] [1Sg Dat],

‘They themselves said, if it’s I [focus] who seeks (=runs for office), they will help me, they will vote for me.’

01:25

sé nì [ŋ̀ wòtì] [∅ wáj],

if 3Pl [3Pl vote.Pfv2] [1Sg Dat],

jàmátɛ̀ɛ̀ sé [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ gáɲà] pààⁿ,

maybe if [1Sg Pfv] [1Sg win.Pfv1] all,

‘If/When they vote for me, if I perhaps win (the election), if I win in Bounou (village) and the Duleri (villages), …’

01:28

sé [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ gáɲà]

if [1Sg Pfv] [1Sg win.Pfv1]

[[būūⁿ dà [à tòò-ndɛ́]] ŋ́-kò]

[[Bounou and [Def Duleri-Pl]] Link-in

‘If I win in Bounou (village) and the Duleri (villages), …’

01:30

[à sà-mí-ndɛ́] [ŋ́ dá] [ŋ́ gàɲà],

[Def Marka-Pl] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg win],

‘I will defeat the Marka (candidates).’

*[*sàmí-ndɛ́ *irregular determined plural; “Marka” or “Marka-Jalaŋ” denotes the local Bozo ethnicity, speakers of Jenaama Bozo, distinct from other ethnicities and languages called “Marka”]*

01:31

[à sà-mí-ndɛ́ hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] nì [∅ bè] [∅ ʤàtā] nɛ̀ɛ̀,

[Def Marka-Pl Topic] 3Pl [3Pl Neg] [3Pl calculate.Ipfv] 1PlO,

[sā [nɛ̄ hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] nɛ̀ jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́],

[whether [1Pl Topic] 1Pl person-Pl],

‘As for the Marka-Djalou, they don’t count (=consider) us (Bangande) to be people.’

*[*ʤàtà *‘calculate, evaluate, count (sth, as sth)’]*

01:35

[à sà-mí-ndɛ́] [∅ bè] [∅ ʤàtā]

[Def Marka-Gentilic-Pl] [3Pl Neg] [3Pl calculate]

[būūⁿ-mī-ndɛ̀ dà [à báŋá-ndɛ̀] ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ],

[Bounou-Gentilic-Pl and [Def Bangande-Pl] all],

‘The Marka do not count (=respect) Bounou people or the Bangande (ethnicity) as a whole.’

01:39

[à sà-mí-ndɛ́ hɔ̀ⁿ]

[Def Marka-Gentilic-Pl Topic]

nì [∅ bè] [∅ ʤàtā] nɛ̀ ʤáátì,

3Pl [3Pl Neg] [3Pl count] 1PlO indeed,

‘The Marka definitely do not count (=respect) us.’

01:42

[à tòò-ndɛ́] dà [à pùndà-ndɛ́]

[Def Duleri-Pl] and [Def Fulbe-Pl]

[∅ máá] ŋ́-kàà-rú tìgɛ̀,

[1Sg want] Link-Dem-Pl too,

‘The Duleri and the Fulbe, I want those too (to support me).’

01:45

[∅ há] [ŋ́ wó] [ŋ́ díŋìndà]

[1Sg Sbjn] [1Sg go] [1Sg discuss. Deon]

[ŋ̀-kàà-rí jà] téé,

[Link-Dem-Pl chez] very.much

‘(I want) to go discuss (it) a lot (=in depth) at their place.’

*[*wó *for* wórè *;* jà *for* jàw *‘chez’]*

01:48

[à dìjā hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ tàgù] ʤáátì,

[Def village Topic] [3Sg accept.Pfv2] indeed,

[à dìjā] [∅ mūndì [[∅ màā sɔ́gɔ̀j] ŋ̀-kò]

[Def village] [3Sg put.in.Pfv2] [[3Sg Poss courage] Link-in

‘The village (Bounou) has definitely accepted (=supported me). The village has encouraged me (“put in my courage”).’

*[*sɔ́gɔ́j̀ *‘courage, moral energy’]*

**Bangime text 04a, Hunters and djinn woman (part 1)**

recorded in Sévaré, Mali, May 2015

00:04

tùndúrú

tale

‘A tale.’

*[usually responded to by* náàmù*]*

00:05

gùwⁿɔ̄ dā [ŋ̄ pāàⁿ],

man and [3SgPoss friend]

[jìbɛ̄ pàw] sísɔ̄gɔ̀,

[person each] hunter,

‘A man and his friend (companion). Both were hunters.

*[with variant possessor* ŋ *(assimilating nasal) reduced before a labial from mɛ̄, alternative to regular* dà [∅ màà pááⁿ]*,* *cf.* ā pāàⁿ *‘the friend’ and* mí nà [∅ ŋ̀ pááⁿ] *‘I and (my) friend’ (variant)]*

00:08

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] hā [∅ wōrē] [ŋ̄ jàw]

[Def one] used.to [3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg chez]

dìgā mìrⁿā bā-pēè,

talk(n) Purp day-every,

‘One of them used to go to his (=the friend’s) place in order to converse every day.’

*[*bā-pēè *‘every day’, specialized form, cf.* dɔ̄ndɛ̀ *or* nìjɛ̀ *‘day’,* ɥìjɛ̄ pɔ̀w *‘every month’,* bìīⁿ pɔ̀w *‘every year’]*

00:12

[dɔ̀ndɛ̀ tòrè] nì [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[day one] 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1] thus,

nì [∅ à [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ kùmbò] kɛ́ wāà,

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl go.Deon] [3Pl look.for.Pfv2] thing Quot,

[[à nàà] ŋ̀-kò],

[[Def the.bush] Link-in],

‘One day, they said thus: they should go look for (=hunt) something out in the bush (=outback).’

*[*dɔ̄ndɛ̀ *‘day’]*

00:17

sé nī [ŋ̄ wōrè],

if 3Pl [3Pl go.Pfv1],

nì mì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ gùjɛ̀ndɛ̀],

3Pl Refl [3Pl Ipfv] [3Pl separate.Ipfv],

‘When they went (to the bush), they were going to separate.’

*[future construction with* à *for* dà*]*

00:20

sé nì [ŋ̀ gùjɛ̀ndī mīì],

if 3Pl [3Pl separate.Pfv2] Refl,

[jìbɛ̄ pàw] [∅ hà] [∅ wóré]

[person each] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg go]

[à kúmbó] [mɛ̀ ŋáwⁿ],

[3Sg look.for.Pfv2] [Poss meat]

‘When they separated, each one went looking for his meat (=animal).’

00:25

hàjà nì [ŋ̀ gùjɛ̀ndɛ̄] mīì,

well 3Pl [3Pl separate.Pfv1] Refl,

hā ɥījɛ̄ à [∅ kúwⁿɔ́] [∅ wāj̀],

until day/night Cmplt [3Sg night.fall.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt],

‘Well, after they separated, eventually night fell.’

00:29

[à ɥìjɛ̄] [∅ dà] [ŋ̀ nóó]

[Def day/night] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.Ipfv]

[∅ kūwɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Sg night.fall.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt],

nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ kūn-dā] ʃīìⁿ,

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl encounter.Pfv1] Recip,

‘When night came and fell, they met.’

00:32

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tā-wɔ̀],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl shoot.Pfv1],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tā-wɔ̀] [kɛ́ tòrè],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl shoot.Pfv1] [thing one],

‘They shot. They shot at the same thing (=animal).’

00:36

nì [ŋ̀ tà-wɔ̀],

3Pl [3Pl shoot. Pfv1],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kārà] [kùʤɛ̄ tòrè],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl get.Pfv1] [dassie one],

‘When they shot, they got (=struck) the same dassie.’

*[*kùʤɛ̀ *‘dassie’ = ‘rock hyrax’ (Procavia capensis), a mammal]*

00:40

[ā kūʤɛ̄ ŋ̄-kā] māá gùɥɛ̀ndɛ̄ mìrⁿà,

[Def dassie Link-Dem] Poss divide.Ipfv place,

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kòrē] [∅ wàj] ŋúj̀,

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl quarrel.Pfv1] [3Pl Rslt] there,

‘At the place for dividing (=sharing) that dassie, they quarreled there.’

*[<* wāj̀*]*

00:45

[jìbɛ̄ pàw] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[person each] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

sé [∅ bé] [á ŋà-m̀-bímɛ̀] [ŋ̀ mɛ᷆]

if [3Sg Neg] [Def meat-Link-liver] [3SgPoss possession]

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kòrē] [∅ wāj̀],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl quarrel.Pfv1] [3Pl Rslt],

‘Each one said, the liver meat must be his. They quarreled.’

*[<* ŋàwⁿ-ŋ̀-bímɛ̀*, post-possessor* ŋáwⁿ-ŋ́-bímɛ̀*, cf.* bìmɛ̀ *‘liver’]*

00:49

nì [ŋ̀ kòrē] [∅ wāj̀],

3Pl [3Pl quarrel.Pfv] [3Sg Rslt],

hàjà nì [ŋ̀ kóó] [ŋ́ nā-ẁⁿ]

well 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [2Pl give.Pfv1]

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ kù-rⁿā] ʃììⁿ má [ʃīgō tāàⁿ],

3Pl [3Pl Sbj] [3Pl encounter.Deon] Recip here [week other],

‘They quarreled (kept quarreling). Well, they gave (=decided) to meet each other there some time later.’

00:55

[[mɛ̀ pàw̄] gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ sóò] [ŋ̀ dà] wā,

[[Rel all] man] [3Sg know.Fut] [3Sg Fut] Quot

hàjà [jìbɛ̄ pàw] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [∅ wāj̀]

well [person each] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt]

[[∅ màā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò]

[[3Sg Poss village] Link-in

‘(They) would know (=find out) whoever (of them) was a man, in his village.’

01:02

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [à níí],

[Def one] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg say.Pfv2],

[[∅ màā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

[[3Sg Poss village] Link-in,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1]

[à níí] [[∅ màā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

[3Sg say.Pfv2] [[3Sg Poss village] Link-in],

‘One (of them) went and said in his village. He went and said in his village.’

01:08

nɛ̀ nà [∅ máá pááⁿ]

1Pl and [1Sg Poss friend]

nɛ̀ [∅ kòrè-ŋ̀-kòrē] [∅ wāj] [mūj hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ],

1Pl [1Pl quarrel-Link-quarrel.Pfv1] [1Pl Rslt] [today Topic],

‘ “I (lit. “we”) and my friend, we quarreled today.” ’

01:12

nɛ̀ [ŋ̀ kòrē] [∅ wāj],

1Pl [1Pl quarrel.Pfv1] [1Pl Rslt],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[jìbɛ̄ pàw] [∅ nà] [ŋ̀ kù-rⁿā] ʃīìⁿ

[person each] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg meet.Ipfv] Recip

[[à wɔ̀gɔ̀-tí kā] hùⁿ],

[[Def time Dem] on],

‘ “When we quarreled, he (=my friend) said that both of us will meet each other at that (=such-and-such a) time.” ’

*[*wɔ́gɔ́-tì *‘time’ < Arabic, treated as a H-H compound]*

01:19

kɔ́mpè-ŋ̀-táá ŋ̀ pèè,

afternoon-Link-half Link having,

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ̄ wōrè],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ̄ wōrè],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1],

‘In the late afternoon, they went. They went (=kept going).’

*[*pèè *postposition ‘with’]*

01:25

*nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kù —,*

*3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl encou(nter) —,*

nì [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1]

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ kù-rⁿā] ʃīìⁿ kɔ́mpè,

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl encounter.Deon] Recip aternoon,

‘They said they should meet each other in the afternoon.

*[italicized false start italicized omitted from translation]*

01:29

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ kóó] [ŋ̄ wōrè],

[Def one] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [à tí-jé],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg sit.Pfv2],

hā à [∅ báándì],

until Cmplt [3Sg be.tired.Pfv2],

‘The other one went. He went and sat until he was tired (=for a long time).’

01:33

[∅ bɔ̄-jɛ̀], hā à [∅ wō] sàw,

[3Sg not.see.Pfv1], until Cmplt [3Sg become.Pfv2] for.long.time,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāā] [∅ dà] [∅ nóó],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg see.Pfv1] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.Ipfv],

‘He didn’t see (his friend) for a long time. (Finally) he saw him coming.’

*[*wō *<* wòrè *(perfective-2);* sàw *‘long time’, used with* hā *‘until’]*

01:38

[à pààⁿ] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kɔ̄rɔ̄] [ŋ̄ kì]

[Def friend] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.back.Pfv1] [3Sg KI]

[à jí-jé] [ŋ̀ dègè] kɛ́, bùjɛ̀-kéérè,

[3Sg become.Pfv2] [3SgPoss head] thing, foot-six,

‘The friend had transformed himself into a six-footed thing.’

*[‘go back’ as part of a collocation ‘become, turn (oneself) into’ (as in Spanish* volverse*)* [à jí‑jé] *and* [ŋ̀ dègè] *can occur in either order here’;* [ŋ̀ dègè] *has reflexive-like function here, and includes a reduced possessor form* ŋ *; ‘six-footed’, bahuvrihi compound with* bùjɛ̀ *and* kēērè*]*

01:43

[∅ kɔ̀rɔ̀] [ŋ̀ kì] [ŋ̀ dègè] [à jí-jé]

[3Sg go.back.Pfv1] [3Sg KI] [3SgPoss head] [3Sg do.Pfv2]

[à kɛ̀tɛ́ tìgɛ̀]

[Def one also]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kɔ̄rɔ̄] [ŋ̄ dēgè] [ŋ̀ kì]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.back.Pfv1] [Poss head] [3Sg KI]

[à jí-jé] ʃímɛ̀,

[3Sg do.Pfv2] stone,

‘When he transformed himself, the other one likewise transformed himself into a stone.’

01:48

ʃímɛ́ mùgùlúbɛ̀ báákò,

rock globular good,

hàjà [à pààⁿ] [∅ kóó] [∅ nōò],

well [Def friend] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1],

‘(It was) a nice (smooth) round stone. Well, his friend came.

*[*símɛ̀ *‘stone’]*

01:52

[∅ kóó] [∅ nōò] [à kárá]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1] [3Sg find.Pfv2]

[∅ bɔ̄-jɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́] ŋúj̀,

[3Sg not.see.Pfv1] [Def one] there,

‘He came and found (that) he could not see the other one there.’

01:54

[∅ bɔ̄-jɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́] ŋúj̀

[3Sg not.see.Pfv1] [Def one] there

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tē-rò],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg sit.Pfv1],

‘He could not see the other one there. He sat down.’

01:56

[∅ dà] [∅ wóré] [∅ tí-rì]

[3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg go.Ipfv] [3Sg sit.Ipfv]

[[à gāndɛ̄ɛ̀ mɛ̄] ŋ̄-kò],

[[Def place.Dimin Rel] Link-in],

símɛ́ mùgùlúbɛ̀ báákò,

rock globular good,

‘The little spot on which he was going to sit was a nice round stone.’

02:01

[à sìmɛ̀ ŋ̄-káw], jàgā [∅ màà pááⁿ],

[Def stone Link-Dem], lo! [3Sg Poss friend],

jàgā [∅ màà pááⁿ],

lo! [3Sg Poss friend],

‘Lo, that stone was his friend! Lo, it was his friend!’

02:07

ŋ̀-kà [ŋ̀ gómbìjɛ̀] [ŋ́ dēgè]

Link-Dem [3Sg change.Pfv1] [Poss head]

[à jí-jé] ʃímɛ̀,

[3Sg become.Pfv2] stone,

hàjà [à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [∅ wāj̀],

well [Def one] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

‘That one [focus] (had) changed himself into a stone. Well, the other one went away.’

*[subject focus with H-toned verb* gómbìjɛ̀*]*

02:12

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ wōrè] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def one] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

[ʃīgō tāāⁿ] nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kūn-dā] ʃīīⁿ bōndò,

[week other] 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl encounter.Pfv1] Recip again,

‘After the other one went away, on another week (=on another occasion) they encountered each other again.’

02:17

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ ʃījɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́],

well, [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg catch.Pfv1] [Def one],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dùù=] [∅ wòrē] ā —

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg convey.Pfv1] [x go] Def —

[[nì màā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

[[3Pl Poss village] Link-in,

‘Well, he (man who had become a stone) grabbed the other one. He took (him) to the—, to their village.’

*[*dùù=wòrè *contracted <* dōō wòrè *as primary L-terrace]*

02:22

[∅ dùù=] [∅ wòrē] [[nì màā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

[3Sg convey.Pfv1] [x go] [[3Pl Poss village] Link-in,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

‘(After) he took him to their village, he said thus:’

02:26

[mí hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [àā kwāà] [∅ ná] [ŋ́ jàgà],

[1Sg Topic] [2SgPoss neck] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg cut.Ipfv],

há [ŋ́ ŋíjɛ́-ndì] [[∅ máá kɔ́rɔ́] ŋ́-kò],

until [1Sg drink-Caus.Pfv2] [[1Sg Poss fetish] Link-in,

‘(He said:) “As for me, I’m going to cut your throat, so that I can sacrifice you to my fetish” ’

*[<* àā kwāà *; as in Dogon languages, ‘cause to drink’ = ‘give drink to’ can mean, among other things, ‘sacrifice (animal etc.) to a fetish (animist idol)’, which involves cutting the throat and offering the blood to the fetish]*

02:32

[∅ máá kɔ́rɔ́],

[1Sg Poss fetish],

gìlāā [ā dìjà káw] [∅ pē-rō] mīì,

since [Def village Dem] [3Sg put.Pfv1] Refl,

jìbɛ̄ [∅ bè] [∅ dōō-rò]

person [3Sg Neg] [3Sg pass.Pfv1]

mìì [∅ ŋíjɛ́-ndì [kɔ̀rɔ̄ ŋ̄-kò]

Refl [3Sg drink-Caus.Pfv2] [fetish Link-in]

‘ “My fetish, (ever) since this village was established (“put itself down”), no person has ever been sacrificed to a fetish.” ’

*[*dòò-rò *‘pass’ is used here as an experiential perfect ‘have ever VPed’; reflexive* mīì*]*

02:36

mí má [∅ nóó] jìbɛ̀ [∅ ŋíjⁿɛ́-ndɛ̀]

1Sg SFoc.Ipfv [1Sg come.Ipfv] person [x drink-Caus.Ipfv]

[[à kɔ̀rɔ̀ ká] kò]

[[Def fetish Dem] in]

‘ “It’s me [focus] who will come and sacrifice a person to this fetish.” ’

*[compare 3Sg* mìì má [∅ nóó] jìbɛ̀ [∅ ŋíjⁿɛ́-ndɛ̀]*, identical except for the initial pronoun; compare perfective subject focus* mí ŋ́ nóó *‘it’s I [focus] who came’]]*

02:40

hàjà, nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kūn-dā] ʃīìⁿ,

well, 3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl encounter.Pfv1] Recip,

[[à àmìrù] màā tàjè],

[[Def chief] Poss home],

[[à dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ] màā tàjè],

[[Def chief] Poss home],

‘Well, they (=villagers) met each other at the chief’s home.’

*[speaker rephrases with the older Bangime name for ‘chief’]*

02:46

nì [ŋ̀ kùn-dà] ʃììⁿ ŋúj̀,

3Pl [3Pl encounter.Pfv1] Recip there,

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́ ŋ́kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ tē-rò]

[Def person-Pl all] [3Pl sit.Pfv1]

‘After they met each other there, all the people sat down.’

02:48

[sàŋàɛ̄ɛ̄-ŋ̄-tōrē pàw] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ ʃījɛ̀],

[moment.Dimin-Link-one all] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg catch.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāgà] [∅ màā kwāà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg cut.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss neck],

‘Suddenly he grabbed (him), and he cut his throat.’

02:51

[∅ jàgà] [∅ màā kwāà],

[3Sg cut.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss neck],

[∅ kóó] [∅ ŋījɛ̄-ndɛ̀] [[∅ màà kɔ́rɔ́] ŋ́-kò]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg drink-Caus.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss fetish] Link-in]

‘After he cut his throat, he sacrificed (him) to his fetish.’

02:55

[∅ ŋìjɛ̀-ndɛ̄] [[∅ màà kɔ́rɔ́] ŋ́-kò],

[3Sg drink-Caus.Pfv1] [[3Sg Poss fetish] Link-in,

hàjà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [ŋ̄ dà] [∅ wòrē] [∅ wā=]

[3Sg Topic] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg go.Ipfv] [3Sg Incep]

[[ā nàà] ŋ̀-kò],

[[Def the.bush] Link-in,

‘After he sacrificed (him) to his fetish, well, he said, as for him, he would set off into the bush (=outback).’

*[*wā *for* wāj̀*]*

03:00

jāgā [[[à kɛ̀tɛ́] màā kúndɛ́ɛ̀] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] mìrⁿā]

lo! [[[Def one] Poss snail] [3Sg take.VblN] Purp]

[∅ wōrè],

[3Sg go.Pfv1],

‘Lo, he went (out to the bush) to take the other’s snail.’

*[*kùndɛ̀ɛ̀ *~* kùndùɛ̀ɛ̀ *‘snail’, diminutive in form; the long purposive clause is focalized, preceding the verb ‘went’]*

03:03

[à kūndɛ̄ɛ̄ ŋ̄-kāẁ],

[Def snail Link-Dem],

sé jìbɛ̄ [∅ tī-jè] [∅ hùⁿ],

if person [3Sg sit.Pfv2] [3Sg on],

‘That snail, if a person sat on it, …”

03:05

[kɛ́ mɛ̀ pàw̄] [∅ dà] mìì [ŋ̀ jì-jè],

[thing Rel all] [3Sg Ipfv] Refl [3Sg do.Ipfv],

gàʤíjⁿɛ́ ŋ̀-kò,

world Link-in,

‘… everything that is (=can be) done in the world, …’

03:08

[ŋ̀ jí-jɛ̀] [∅ nàw],

[3Sg see.Fut] [3Sg Fut],

sé [∅ tī-jè] [[à kūndɛ̄ɛ̀] hùⁿ],

if [3Sg sit.Pfv2] [[Def snail] on],

‘… he (=the person) will see (it), if he sits on the snail.’

*[i.e. it will become reality]*

03:12

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

sé [mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ kārā] [ā kūndɛ̄ɛ̄ ŋ̄-kāẁ],

if [3Sg Topic] [3Sg find.Pfv1] [Def snail Dem]

‘He said (=thought), if he found that snail, …’

03:14

[mīī hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [mīī hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ]

[3Sg Topic] [3Sg Topic]

[sísɔ̀gɔ̄ mɛ́] [∅ à] [ŋ̀ gōmbè],

[hunter Rel] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg leave.Ipfv],

hā [ŋ̄ tī-jè] dègè-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ mɛ̄ wāà,

until [3Sg sit.Pfv2] chief Rel Quot,

‘as for him, as for him, the one who was a hunter would abandon it (=hunting), so that he would sit as the one who was chief.’

03:20

hàjà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè],

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [∅ wō=] [àɲá] [à kūndɛ̄ɛ̀],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg take.Pfv2] [Def snail],

‘Well, he went. He went and took the snail.’

*[*wō *for* wōrè*,* ɲá *for* ɲá-ẃⁿ*]*

03:23

[∅ wòrè] [à ɲáwⁿ],

[3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg take.Pfv2],

[à pāā ŋ̄-kò],

[Def cave Link-in,

‘After he went and took it, into a cave, …’

03:27

[∅ dà] [∅ bāà] [∅ nòò],

[3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.out.Ipfv] [x come],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nì —

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg sa(y)—

[∅ kóó] [∅ nì —

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg sa(y)—

[∅ dà] [∅ bāà] [∅ nòò],

[3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.out.Ipfv] [x come],

‘He was coming out (of the cave). He sa(id)—, he sa(id)—. He was coming out (of the cave).’

*[Repetition and false starts due to an interruption]*

03:32

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kūn-dā] [ā ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg encounter.Pfv1] [Def mother big.Dimin],

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[á hɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ] ná= [∅ à [ŋ̀ jì-jè] má,

[2Sg Topic] what? [2Sg Ipfv] [2Sg do.Ipfv] here,

‘He encountered the old woman. The old woman said thus: “You, what are you-Sg doing here?” ’

*[cf.* ŋìjⁿà bógó *‘old woman’, literally ‘big-Dimin mother’]*

03:37

[à kɛ̀tɛ́ tìgɛ̀] [à gūwⁿɔ̀]

[Def one also] [Def man]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sīgà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg ask.Pfv1]

[á tìgɛ̀] ná= [∅ à [ŋ̀ jì-jè] má,

[2Sg also] what? [2Sg Ipfv] [2Sg do.Ipfv] here,

‘Likewise the other one, the man, asked (her): “You too, what are you doing here?” ’

03:40

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[[ā kūndɛ̄ɛ̀ kā] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] mìrⁿà] [∅ nóó]

[[Def snail Dem] [3Sg take.VblN] Purp] [1Sg come.Pfv1]

‘He said: “I came in order to take that snail.” ’

*[focalized purposive clause]*

03:43

[mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [ŋ̀ páámíndì],

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg understand.Pfv2]

[∅ bè] á mì [ŋ̀ jú-rá] [∅ máá bíjɛ́] à,

[3Sg Neg] 2Sg SFoc.Pfv [2Sg kill.Pfv1] [1Sg Poss child] Q,

‘(Old woman:) “as for me, I understand. Was it not you [focus] who killed my child?’

*[*á mì *for* áw mì*, compare* mí [ŋ́ jú-rà] *‘it was I [focus] who killed’,* mì [ŋ̀ jú-rá] *‘it was he/she [focus] who killed’]*

03:46

[mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [ŋ̀ dá] [∅ nōō]

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg come.Ipfv]

[ŋ̄ kùmbō] [ā nìì],

[1Sg look.for.Ipfv] [2Sg in.custody],

‘(Old woman:) “As for me, I will come and seek (it) from you-Sg.” ’

*[*à nìì *‘(from) your custody’ indicating source,* nìì *is a postposition derived from the noun* nìì *‘hand’]*

03:48

[∅ máá bíjɛ́] [∅ dà] mɛ̀ pàāⁿ

[1Sg Poss child] [3Sg Ipfv] Rel all

[∅ jì-jè] [∅ wáj],

[3Sg do.Ipfv] [1Sg Dat]

[∅ máá] [∅ há=] [á jí-jè]

[1Sg want] [2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg do.Deon]

[∅ há=] [á jí-jè] ŋ̀-kà [∅ wáj],

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg do.Deon] Link-Dem [1Sg Dat]

‘ “Everything that my child (=son) was doing for me, I want you-Sg to do that for me.” ’

*[*pààⁿ *‘all’]*

03:52

sá= [á bè] [∅ jé-rò] ŋ̀-kā tɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ,

if [2Sg Neg] [2Sg do.Pfv1] Link-Dem Counterf,

á [∅ dá] [ŋ́ jù-rà],

2SgO [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg kill.Ipfv]

á [∅ dá] [ŋ́ jù-rà],

2SgO [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg kill.Ipfv]

‘ “If you-Sg were to not do that, I’d kill you. I’d kill you.” ’

*[*tɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ ~ tàmà *in counterfactual]*

03:59

hàjà, [ā gūwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] kùwⁿɔ̀

well, [Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus

[hàjā kòj], [ŋ̀ nó-ré],

[okay Emph], [1Sg hear.Pfv1],

‘Well, the man said thus: “all right. I heard (you).” ‘

*[*hàjā kòj *(regional ‘okay’ expression, e.g. Fulfulde* haya koy*)]*

04:03

sé jōò [∅ kūwⁿɔ̀],

if nightfall [3Sg night.fall.Pfv2],

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀]

[Def mother big.Dimin]

‘When night fell, the old woman (went out).’

*[collocation* jōò kùwⁿɔ̀ *‘night fall’, cf.* jììjè *‘night’]*

04:05

sé [jííjé-hùⁿ]-ŋ̀-bíínɔ̀wⁿ [∅ twāà]

if [night]-Link-middle [3Sg arrive.Pfv2]

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́ ŋ́kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ tūrū [∅ wāj̀],

[Def person-Pl all] [3Pl lie.down.Pfv1] [3Pl Rslt],

‘When the middle of the night came, all the people went to sleep.’

04:09

[∅ hà] [∅ jí-jé] [à wòrē]

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg get.up.Pfv2] [3Sg go.Pfv2]

[[ā dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

[[Def village] Link-in,

[∅ hà] [∅ wòrē] [[à gūwⁿɔ̀] jàw],

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg go.Pfv2] [[Def man] chez],

‘She got up (then) to go to the village. She went to the man’s home.’

04:12

[∅ màà] kɛ́ mɛ̀ pààⁿ,

[3Sg want] thing Rel all,

[∅ hà] [ŋ̀ níì] [∅ wàj]

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg give.Pfv2] [3Sg Dat]

‘Everything that she wanted, he should give her.’

04:15

sá= [á gūwⁿɔ̀] [∅ nīī] [∅ wàj],

if= [Def man] [3Sg give.Pfv2] [3Sg Dat],

[mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] hà [∅ wòrē] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Sg Topic] Sbjn [3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt]

[bà-pèè ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀], [bà-pèè ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀],

[day-every Link-like.that], [day-every Link-like.that],

‘When the man had given (it) to her, as for her, she would go. (It was) like that every day. It was like that every day.’

*[*bā-pēè *‘every day’]*

04:20

hā [dɔ̄nɛ̀ tòrè], [ā gūwⁿɔ̀]—, [ā gūwⁿɔ̀]—,

until [day one], [Def man]—, [Def man]—,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [∅ jàw],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg chez]

‘Then one day, the man—, the man—. He went to her home.’

04:26

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ máá] [á kɛ̀ kāẁ],

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg want] [Def thing Dem],

[∅ há] [á náwⁿ] [∅ wáj]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg give.Pfv2] [1Sg Dat],

‘He said thus: “as for me, I want you to give me this thing.” ’

04:29

[mì kéndé] bààʃì [∅ bé] [∅ ŋ́-kò],

[3Sg say] trouble [3Sg Neg] [3Sg Link-in,

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nāⁿ] [∅ wàj]

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1] [3Sg Dat]

‘She said, “there’s no problem in that.” The old woman gave (it) to him.’

04:33

ŋ̀-kà màà ʃìgò tááⁿ, [à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀]

Link-Dem Poss week other, [Def mother big.Dimin]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ gòmbìjɛ̄] [ŋ̄ dēgè] [à jí-jé],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg change.Pfv1] [Poss head] [3Sg become.Pfv2],

jáá-pùjɛ̀ bóndó,

child-woman again,

‘Some days after that, the old woman changed herself into a young (adolescent) woman.’

*[<* ŋ-kāẁ*]*

04:38

[∅ gòmbìjɛ̄] [ŋ̄ dègè] [à jí-jé],

[3Sg change] [Poss head] [3Sg become.Pfv2],

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāà],

[Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg see.Pfv1],

‘(After) she changed herself, the man saw (her).’

04:43

[ā gūwⁿɔ̄] [∅ jāà],

[Def man] [3Sg see.Pfv1],

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] tījà→,

[Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] hello,

[ā ŋījɛ̄rɛ̀] [∅ bè] [∅ jóó-rò],

[Def woman] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg reply.Pfv1],

‘(After) the man saw her, the man said (to her), hello!’ The woman did not answer.’

04:45

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] tījà→,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] hello,

[ā ŋījɛ̄rɛ̄] [∅ bè] [∅ jóó-rò],

[Def woman] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg reply.Pfv1],

‘(Again) he said, hello! The woman did not answer.’

04:48

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dòò-rō]

[Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.past.Pfv1]

[ā wòrè] [∅ wā=] [[ā pāà] ŋ̀-kò],

[3Sg go.Pfv2]] [3Sg Rslt] [[Def cave] Link-in,

‘The man kept going and went to the cave.’

*[wā for wāj̀]*

04:50

[∅ dòò-rò] [∅ wóré] [[á pāà] ŋ̀-kò],

[3Sg go.past.Pfv1] [x go] [[Def cave] Link-in,

[ŋ̀-kà sáŋá], [à ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ gòmbìjɛ̄] mīì

[Link-Dem time], [Def woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg change.Pfv1] Refl

[à jí-jé] [ŋìjⁿà bógó],

[3Sg become.Pfv2] [mother old],

‘(After) he kept going and went to the cave, at that time the woman changed herself into an old woman.’

04:56

dà [mɛ̄ bàà-sɔ́ɔ́ⁿ dìŋìndà],

with [Poss woman’s.wrap dirty],

[à bàà-sɔ́ɔ́ⁿ] dìŋìndā jāārì,

[Def woman’s.wrap] dirty very,

‘With her dirty wrap (garment). The wrap was very dirty.’

*[*mɛ̄ *<* mɛ̀ *between L-toned]*

05:00

[à bè] [∅ só-ré]

[2Sg Neg] [2Sg know.Pfv1]

sà [kì ʃíwⁿɔ́] nà, kì bújɛ́, kì pɔ́ɔ́rɛ̀,

whether [thing white] or, thing red, thing black,

‘You (=anyone) didn’t know whether it was white, red, or black.’

*[i.e. because it was so dirty;* sjɔ́ɔ́ⁿ *variant of* símá *‘white’;* kì *related to* kɛ́ *‘thing’ used as a prop for adjectives]*

05:03

jɛ̀-tɔ́-sì [∅ bè] [∅ só-ré],

nobody [3Sg Neg] [3Sg know.Pfv1],

à —, [∅ màā —,

Def —, [3Sg Poss] —,

[∅ màā bùrù],

[3Sg Poss description,

‘Nobody knew the—, its—, its color.’

*[*jɛ̀-tɔ́-sì *‘nobody’, contracted from* jìbɛ̀ ŋ̀ tɔ́gɔ́-sì *‘not any person’;’* būrù *‘color’ or more generally ‘features, attributes (of sth)’]*

05:06

hàjà, [à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāà],

well, [Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg see.Pfv1],

‘Well, the man saw (her).

05:08

[ā gūwⁿɔ̄] [∅ jāà],

[Def man] [3Sg see],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[á hɛ̀ɛ̀ⁿ] kótè [à bú-rá],

[2Sg Topic] where? [2Sg come.out.Pfv1],

‘(After) the man saw (her), he said thus: “as for you, where did you come from?” ’

05:12

à nà [àà sɔ́ⁿ] dìŋìndā kùwⁿɔ̀,

2Sg and [2SgPoss garment] dirty thus,

‘(Man:) “your garment is so dirty.” ’

*[*sɔ̀wⁿ *‘garment’]*

05:14

hàjà, mí má= [á jú-rá] mɛ̀-sɛ́ⁿ] màà ŋíjⁿá],

well, 1Sg SFoc= [2Sg kill.Pfv1] Rel-Def] Poss mother],

mí má= [á jú-rá] mɛ̀-sɛ́ⁿ] màà ŋíjⁿá],

1Sg SFoc= [2Sg kill] Rel-Def] Poss mother],

‘Well, (she said:) “I am the mother of the one you-Sg killed.” ’

*[*mɛ̀-sɛ́ⁿ *definite form of relative mɛ̄, especially with covert head noun]*

05:18

[∅ bɔ́] [∅ bè] [∅ bɔ́n-dɔ́],

[1SgPoss father] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg be.alive.Pfv1],

[∅ ŋíjⁿá] [∅ bè] [∅ bɔ́n-dɔ́],

[2SgPoss mother] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg be.alive.Pfv1]

[∅ máá kándē] [∅ bè] [∅ bɔ́n-dɔ́],

[1Sg Poss husband] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg be.alive.Pfv1]

‘(Woman:) “My father is dead, my mother is dead, my husband is dead.” ’

*[*bɔ̀w *‘father’; lit. “not living”]*

05:22

[ŋ̀ dúgá] [á bījɛ̄ tōrɛ̀ɛ̀ mɛ̄] tīgɛ̀,

[1Sg have] [Def child one.Dimin Rel] too,

[∅ há] [á jūrū] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg kill.Pfv2] Link-Dem,

‘(Woman:) “The only child that I also had, you killed that one.” ’

*[*tìgɛ̀*, terraced with* mɛ̄*]*

05:26

hàjà ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀ [∅ bè] [∅ wóré] dè [∅ wáj],

well as.for.that [3Sg Neg] [3Sg become.Pfv1] sweet [1Sg Dat]

‘(Woman:) “Well, that didn’t please me.” ’

*[*dèj *‘sweet’ as dynamic predicate with* wōrè *‘go’ and with dative experiencer]*

05:28

hàjà, [mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ máá] mɛ̀ pàw

well, [1Sg Topic] [1Sg want] Rel all

ŋ̀-ká= [á=à] [ŋ̀ jì-jè] [∅ wáj] dè,

Link-Dem= [2Sg=Ipfv] [x do.Ipfv] [1Sg Dat] Emph,

‘(Woman:) “Well, everything that I want, that’s what you-Sg will do for me.” ’

*[*dèj *‘sweet, pleasing’ (dative experiencer)]*

05:30

sá= [á gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sīgà] nìmì,

if= [Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg ask.Pfv1] how?,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

‘When the man asked, “how?,” she said:’

05:35

[∅ màà] —

[3Sg want] —

[∅ màā] mɛ̀ pàw,

[3Sg want] Rel all,

‘Everything that she wanted.’

05:37

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

sé [∅ màā hààʤɛ́] [∅ dà] [díjá hùⁿ],

if [1Sg Poss need(n)] [3Sg be] [food on],

[∅ hà] [∅ wòrē] [[ā gūwⁿɔ̀] jàw],

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg go.Deon] [[Def man] chez],

‘She said, if she needed food, she would go to the man’s place.’

05:41

sé [∅ màā hààʤɛ́] [∅ dà] [[kɛ́ mɛ̀ pàw̄] hùⁿ],

if [1Sg Poss need(n)] [3Sg be] [[thing Rel all] on

[∅ hà] [∅ wòrē] [[ā gūwⁿɔ̀] jàw],

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg go.Deon] [[Def man] chez],

‘If she needed anything (else), she would go to the man’s place.’

05:44

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ hà] [ŋ̀ nīī] [ŋ̄ wàj],

[Def man] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg give.Pfv2] [3Sg Dat],

hā [[ā gùwⁿɔ̀] màà pújɛ́-[ɲá-rⁿá]] [à twáá],

until [[Def man] Poss wife-[taking]] [3Sg arrive.Pfv2],

‘The man would give (it) to her. Eventually the man’s (planned) marriage (ceremony) arrived.’

*[<* ā gūwⁿɔ̀ *;* nìì *‘give’,* pùjɛ̀-[ɲá-rⁿá] *‘wife-taking’ = ‘(man’s) marriage’]*

05:49

[[à gùwⁿɔ̀] màà pújɛ́-[ɲá-rⁿá]] [∅ twàà-rà],

[[Def man] Poss wife-[taking] [3Sg arrive.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nā] tūmbɛ̀

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1] message

[[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́ ŋ́kíí-pàāⁿ] wàj],

[[Def person-Pl all] Dat],

‘When the man’s marriage arrived, he gave a message (=invitation) to all the people.’

05:55

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ màà-rà] bɛ́mbɛ̄,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg build.Pfv1] courtyard

‘He built a courtyard.

*[i.e. he built walls to form a courtyard]*

05:57

[∅ màà-rā] [ā bɛ̄mbɛ̀],

[3Sg build.Pfv2] [Def courtyard],

[∅ kóó] —

[3Sg Pfv] —

bɛ́mbɛ́ bógò,

courtyard spacious,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ màà-rā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg build.Pfv1] Dem,

‘After he built the courtyard, he—. A spacious courtyard, he built that.’

06:03

[∅ màà-rā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg build.Pfv2] Dem,

[∅ màā kùtúú-nɛ̀ɛ̀]

[3Sg Poss wedding-day]

[à kūūrù] —

[Def courtyard] —

[à bɛ̀mbɛ̀ ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ dām-bà] jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́,

[Def courtyard all] [3Sg be.full.Pfv1] person-Pl,

‘(After) he built that, on his wedding day, the courtyard—, the entire courtyard filled up with people.’

*[*-nɛ̀ɛ̀ *probably related to* nìjɛ̀ *‘sun, day’;* kùùrù *‘courtyard’ < Fr. cour, repaired with the Bangime term* bɛ́mbɛ̄*, but repeated later]*

06:10

[à bɛ̀mbɛ̀] [∅ dàm-bà] jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́,

[Def courtyard] [3Sg be.full.Pfv1] person-Pl,

[∅ màà ŋíjⁿá bògòɛ̀ɛ̀]

[3Sg Poss mother big.Dimin]

[ŋ̀-kà sááⁿ] [∅ dà] [ŋ̀ nōò],

[Link-Dem time] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.Ipfv],

‘(When) the courtyard filled up with people, at that time his old woman was coming.

*[from* [∅ dà] [ŋ̀ nōò] *‘is coming’]*

06:14

[ŋ̄ nōò],

[3Sg come],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

hàjà [mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ màà] [∅ hà] [∅ mìndē]

well [3Sg Topic] [3Sg want] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg go.in.Deon]

[[à kūūrù] ŋ̀-kò],

[[Def courtyard] Link-in,

‘(After) she came, she said, well, as for her, she wanted to go into the courtyard.

*[‘want’ with same-subject complement]*

06:19

[à gàrdìŋɛ̀-ndɛ́] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def guard-Pl] [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1]

[∅ bè] [∅ míndé],

[3Sg Neg] [3Sg go.in.Ipfv],

‘The guards said she would (=could) not go in.’

*[i.e. because of her dirty clothing]*

06:21

mɛ̀-nɛ́ [∅ nā] à —,

Rel-Pl [3Pl be] Def —,

mɛ̀-nɛ́ [ŋ́ dīn-dà] [à kō-nɔ̀wⁿ]

Rel-Pl [3Pl stand.Pfv1] [Def doorway]

nì [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl say.Pfv1]

[ā ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̄ɛ̄] [∅ bè] [∅ míndé],

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg go.in.Ipfv],

‘The ones who were—, the ones who were standing at the doorway (=gate) said the old woman would (=could) not go in.’

06:24

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̄ɛ̄] [∅ bè] [∅ tágá],

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg accept.Pfv1],

‘The old woman refused.’

06:27

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] nī [∅ à] [ŋ̀ ʒèndò]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] 3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl call.Deon]

[à sìsɔ̀gɔ̀-gúwⁿɔ́] [ŋ́ nòò]

[Def hunter-man] [x come]

‘She said, they should summon the hunter to come.’

06:30

nì [ŋ̀ jèndò] [ŋ̀ nòò],

3Pl [3Pl call.Pfv1] [3Sg come],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

‘When they called him (and) he came, he said:’

*[cf.* nì ŋ̀ jèndò á nòò *‘they called you-Sg to come’]*

06:33

á, [mí hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] nì [∅ nìŋà-nìŋà] mā mìndē dè,

ah, [1Sg Topic] 3Pl [3Pl say-say] Proh go.in.Deon Emph,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nā=] [à tùmbɛ̀] [∅ wóré],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg give.Pfv1=] [Def message] [x go],

‘ “As, as for me, they keep saying (to me): don’t go in!” She sent the message.” ’

*[*ā tūmbɛ̀ *‘the message’]*

06:38

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā-nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ wòrè]

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [1Sg go.Deon]

[∅ nìŋā=] [à= à] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg say.Deon] [2Sg Dat] thus,

[∅ hà] [ŋ̀ tíndè] [sɔ̀m báákò],

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg put.in.Deon] [garment good],

‘He (=hunter) kept telling them to go tell you-Sg thus, to wear a nice garment.’

*[*sɔ̀m *for* sɔ̀wⁿ*; subjunctive in 3Sg form]*

06:43

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] àjí

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] no!

[mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ bè] [∅ wóré],

[3Sg Topic] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg go.Ipfv]

‘She said: no, she wouldn’t go.’

06:45

[∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg say.Pfv2] that,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bùndā] [tūmbɛ̄ tāāⁿ] bōndò,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.out.Pfv1] [message other] again,

‘(After) she said that, he (=hunter) took out (=sent) another message.’

06:48

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ wòrè] [∅ nìŋà],

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl go.Deon] [3Pl say.Deon],

[à sìsɔ̀gɔ̀ góm-bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ hà] [ŋ̀ nūù],

[Def hunter man-old.Dimin] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg come.Deon],

‘He said they should go and tell the old hunter to come.’

*[*gòm-bógó *‘old man’ contracted from* gùwⁿɔ̀ ŋ̀ bógó*]*

06:50

[à sìsɔ̀gɔ̀ gōm-bògò] [∅ kóó] [∅ nōò],

[Def hunter man-old] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] [∅ ŋíjⁿá],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [1SgPoss mother],

[mūj hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] jāmbā dɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ jāārì,

[today Topic] crowd there.is a.lot,

‘The old hunter came. He said: “my mother, today there is quite a crowd.” ’

*[‘mother’ as term of respect for an old woman]*

06:55

[∅ há] [á wórè] [à búndí] [àà sɔ́ⁿ ŋ́-kāẁ]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg go.Deon] [2Sg remove.Pfv2] [2SgPoss garment Link-Dem]

[à nó-ré] à,

[2Sg hear.Pfv1] Q,

‘(Old hunter:) “You must go take off that garment of yours, did you hear?” ’

*[*sɔ́ⁿ *for* sɔ́wⁿ*]*

06:59

hàjà [à ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

well [Def woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [ŋ̄ bē] [∅ kwàà] [ŋ̀ kì]

[3Sg Topic] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg be.able.Pfv1] [3Sg KI]

[∅ wòrè] bóndó,

[x go] again,

‘Well, the woman said thus: as for her, she could not go (back) again.’

*[*bè *with LL#-to-LM#]*

07:03

hàjà [∅ gōmbè] sá= á —

okay [x leave.Imprt] if Def —

sé [nɛ̀ ŋìjⁿɛ̀-rú]

if [1Pl mother-Pl]

nɛ̄ [∅ bē] [∅ mīndè],

1Pl [1Pl Neg] [1Pl go.in.Pfv1],

‘(Woman:) “okay, leave (it), if the—, if we mothers didn’t (=couldn’t) go in, …’

*[*ŋìjⁿɛ̀-rú *slightly irregular plural of* ŋìjⁿà *‘mother’]*

07:06

jáá-rú má [∅ míndé],

who?-Pl SFoc [3Pl go.in.Ipfv],

[à kùtúú] [∅ jì-jē] mìrⁿà,

[Def wedding] [3Sg do.VblN] Purp,

‘…“(then) who-Pl did go in to hold the wedding?” ’

07:08

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] ɔ́ⁿʔɔ̀ⁿ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] no!,

[∅ wòrē] [sɔ̀m báákò] [∅ tìndè] [∅ ŋíjⁿá]

[x go.Imprt] [garment good] [2Sg put.in.Ipfv] [1SgPoss mother]

‘He said: “Unh-unh, go put on a nice garment, my mother!” ’

*[s*ɔ̀wⁿ *; tīndè ‘put in’]*

07:12

hàjà, [∅ bè] [∅ tāgà],

well, [3Pl Neg] [3Pl accept.Pfv1],

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̄ɛ̄] [∅ dà] [∅ wóré] [∅ wāj̀]

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg go.Ipfv] [3Sg Incep]

‘Well, she refused. The old woman was leaving.’

07:16

[[à gūwⁿɔ̀] [à sìsɔ̀gɔ̄] [∅ dūgà]

[[Def man] [Def hunter] [3Sg have]

[à ʃīrī-ndɛ̀ mɛ̀ pàw]],

[Def amulet-Pl Rel all]],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dùù=] [∅ rē] [ŋ̄ kɛ̄] [ŋ̄ pèè],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg convey.Pfv1=] [x go] [3Sg Prf] [3Sg with],

‘All the amulets of the the man, (of) the (original) hunter, she had taken (them) with her.’

*[*sìrì *‘amulet’ with magical powers]*

07:21

hàjà, sísɔ̀gɔ̀ —,

well, hunter —,

mɛ̀-nɛ́ pààⁿ [∅ dà] ŋúj̀ [[à kūūrū] ŋ̀-kò],

Rel-Pl all [3Pl be] there [[Def courtyard] Link-in],

ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ ʃìrì-ŋ̀-tjɛ́ɛ́ⁿ-ndɛ̀,

all amulet-Link-owner-Pl,

‘Well, hunter(s)—. All (people) who were in the courtyard, everyone had amulets.’

07:26

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ hɔ̀rɔ̀ndɔ̄=]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl test.Pfv1=]

[ā sìsɔ̀gɔ̀] ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀ [ŋ̀ sūràà],

[Def hunter] Link-like.that [3Pl look.Pfv2],

‘They looked and checked the hunter in that way (to see if he had amulets).’

07:29

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [ŋ̀ kārà]

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl go.Pfv1] [3Pl find.Pfv2]

késì [∅ bé] [ŋ́ nìì]

nothing [3Sg Neg] [3Sg in.custody]

‘They went and found that he had nothing (=no amulets) on him.’

07:30

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ dōō] [∅ màà ʃírì]

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg convey.Pfv1] [3Sg Poss amulet]

[∅ wòrē] [ŋ̄ kɛ̄],

[x go] [3Sg Prf],

‘The old woman had taken his amulet.’

*[compare with 1Sg subject:* [ŋ̀ dóó] [màà ʃírì] [∅ wòrè] [ŋ̀ kɛ́]*]*

07:34

hàjà ǹdóó-ndɛ̀ nì [∅ kóó]

well other-Pl 3Pl [3Pl Pfv]

[ŋ́ sàŋā [ŋ̀ sāŋà] [∅ ŋ̀-kò],

[3Pl have.fun [3Pl have.fun.Pfv1] [3Sg Link-in,

hā ɥījè à [∅ bì-wⁿ],

until day/night Cmplt [3Sg day.break.Pfv2],

‘Well, the other people, they had fun with him.’

*[*sāŋā-ndì *or* sàŋā-sāŋà *‘(he/she) had fun’;* ɥījè *occurs as subject of day/night transition collocations]*

07:37

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ ʃààkā] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def person-Pl] [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl disperse.Pfv1] [3Pl Rslt],

‘The people dispersed.’

07:39

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́] [ŋ́ ʃààkā] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def person-Pl] [3Pl disperse.Pfv1] [3Pl Rslt],

[à sìsɔ̀gɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def hunter] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

‘(After) the people dispersed, the hunter said thus:’

07:43

áá, [mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [∅ máá ʃírì ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ]

ah, [1Sg Topic] [1Sg Poss amulet all]

[∅ wùū] [∅ wā] dè,

[3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt] Emph,

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ dùù=] [∅ ré] [ŋ́ kɛ̀],

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg convey] [x go] [3Sg Prf],

‘ “Ah, as for me, all of my amulets are gone. The old woman has taken them.” ’

*[*wùū wā *contracted from* wòrē wāj̀*]*

07:49

hàjà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ kùwɔ̀ndɔ̄] [∅ hùⁿ]

well [3Sg Pfv] [ŋ́ fail.Pfv1] [3Sg on]

‘Well, he failed in it (=was powerless).’

07:51

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò] tàràgá

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg become.Pfv1] pauper

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò] tàràgá

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg become.Pfv1] pauper

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jē-rò] tàràgá

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg become.Pfv1] pauper

áá, hā à [∅ báándì],

ah, until Cmplt [3Sg be.tired.Pfv2]

‘He became a pauper. He became a pauper. He became a pauper. Ah, until he became tired (=for a long time).’

*[repeated in rapid succession for emphasis]*

07:56

[∅ màà pújɛ́],

[3Sg Poss wife]

sé [∅ bé] ʃìjɛ̄

if [3Sg Neg] firewood

[ā wòrè] [ŋ̀ kɔ̄ndɔ̀],

[3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg snap.Deon],

‘His wife, she had to go out collecting firewood.’

*[‘if not …’ translated as obligational ‘have to VP’; 3Sg* à *plus perfective‑2]*

08:00

sé [∅ kɔ̀ndì] [à ʃījɛ̀],

if [3Sg collect.firewood.Pfv2] [Def firewood],

hà [∅ núú] [[à dìjā] ŋ̄-kò],

until [3Sg come.Pfv2] [[Def village] Link-in,

hà [∅ tùndɛ̀], dà dɛ́mɛ̀,

until [3Sg exchange.Deon], with millet,

‘When she went out collecting firewood, eventually she came into the village and bartered it for millet.’

08:06

sé [∅ tùndɛ̀],

if [3Sg exchange.Pfv1],

nì [∅ à] [ŋ̀ wòrè] [ŋ̀ dìī] ŋ́-kāẁ,

3Pl [3Pl Sbjn] [3Pl go.Deon] [3Pl eat.Pfv2] Dem,

‘When she exchanged (it), they would go and eat that (millet).’

08:10

hàjà, bà-pèè ŋ̀-kúwⁿɔ̀,

well, day-every Link-like.that,

hā hɔ̄ɔ̄là [∅ mìndē] [∅ wāj̀]

until trust(n) [3Sg go.in.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt]

[nì ŋ̀ túmbārì],

[3Pl Link between],

‘Well, every day was like that, so (a sense of) trust entered between them.’

*[i.e. they came to trust each other]*

08:14

[à hɔ̀ɔ̀lā] [∅ mīndè] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def trust] [3Sg go.in.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ s —

[Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg a(sk) —

‘(After) the trust entered (between them), the man a(sked)—:’

*[cut-off* sìgà *‘ask’]*

08:17

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[[∅ màà pújɛ́] wàj],

[[3Sg Poss wife] Dat],

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[Def man] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[[∅ màà pújɛ́] wàj],

[[3Sg Poss wife] Dat],

‘The man said to his wife, the man said to his wife:’

08:22

àà, [mí hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [ā ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀ káw],

ah, [1Sg Topic] [Def mother big.Dimin Dem]

[ŋìjⁿà bōgòɛ̀ɛ̀], jàgà márágà [ŋ̀ bé] [∅ sō-rè],

[mother big.Dimin], lo! djinn [1Sg Neg] [1Sg know.Pfv1],

‘ “Ah, as for me, I don’t know whether that old woman is (really) an old woman, (or) lo! she’s a djinn (devil).” ’

08:28

ŋ̀-kà [ŋ̀ dóó] [∅ máá ʃírí-ndɛ̀ ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ]

Link-Dem [3Sg convey.Pfv2] [1Sg Poss amulet-Pl all]

[∅ wóré] [ŋ́ kɛ̀],

[x go] [3Sg Prf],

‘ “That one (=the old woman) [focus] has taken all my amulets away.” ’

08:30

[∅ dùù=] [∅ rē] [ŋ̄ kɛ̄]

[3Sg convey.Pfv2] [3Sg go] [3Sg Prf]

ŋ̄-kà [ŋ̀ pé-ró] [á tàràgá mɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ húúⁿ],

Dem [3Sg put.down.Pf1] [Def poverty possession] [1Sg on],

‘(Man:) “(Because) she he has taken (them) away, that [focus] imposed the poverty that is on me.” ’

08:34

[à ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

sé [∅ bé] [∅ hà] [ŋ̀ jì-jɛ̄]

if [3Sg Neg] [3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg see.Deon]

[ā màràgà káw],

[Def djinn Dem],

‘The woman (=wife) said thus: she had to see that djinn.’

*[again, ‘if not’ = ‘have to’]*

08:38

bā-pēē hā [∅ wōrē] [∅ kūmbō-kūmbò],

day-every until [3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg look.for-look.for],

bā-pēē hā [∅ wōrē] [∅ kūmbō-kūmbò],

day-every until [3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg look.for-look.for],

[[à nàà] ŋ̀-kò]

[[Def the.bush] Link-in

‘Every day she would go out looking (for the old woman). Every day she would go out looking, out in the bush.’

08:43

[∅ bé] [á mārāgà] [ŋ̀ jì-jɛ̀],

[3Sg Neg] [Def djinn] [x see.Ipfv],

‘She wasn’t seeing (=couldn’t see) the djinn.’

*[imperfective negative]*

08:45

[à dɔ̀ndɛ̀ tɔ́rɛ́] [á mārāgà],

[Def day one] [Def djinn],

[à màràgà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bàŋàndā] mī [∅ hùùⁿ],

[Def djinn] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] Refl [3Sg on],

jáámbɛ́-ŋíjɛ́rɛ́ báákò,

child-woman good,

‘One day the djinn (was there). The djinn showed herself to her (=the wife), (as) a pretty young woman.’

08:50

[ŋ̀ tɛ̀gɛ̀] gāⁿ jāārì,

[3SgPoss manner] good very,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sìgā] [[ā sìsɔ̀gɔ̄] màà pújɛ́],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg ask.Pfv1] [[Def hunter] Poss wife],

‘She was very beautiful. She questioned the hunter’s wife.’

*[*gāⁿ *for* gāẁⁿ *‘be good’; final line perhaps reduced from e.g. ‘she asked the hunter’s wife, what’s up?’; L-toned* à sìsɔ̀gɔ̀ *does not terrace with L-toned* màà*]*

08:55

[[à sìsɔ̀gɔ̄] màà pújɛ́] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[[Def hunter] Poss wife] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[mí hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [ŋìjⁿà bōgòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ ná] [ŋ́ kùmbò],

[1Sg Topic] [mother big.Dimin] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg look.for.Ipfv],

‘The hunter’s wife said thus: “As for me, it’s an old woman [focus] that I’m looking for.” ’

09:00

dà [∅ máá kándē]

and [1Sg Poss husband]

nī [ŋ̄ sō-rē] ʃīīⁿ [ŋ̄ kì],

3Pl [3Pl know.Pfv1] Recip [3Pl KI],

‘(Wife:) “(She) and my husband, they recognized each other.” ’

*[*sō-rè *‘know’ plus* kì *= ‘know (sb), be acquainted with (sb)’]*

09:03

[[ŋ̀-kà màā kùmbō] mìrⁿà] [ŋ̀ nóó],

[[Link-Dem Poss seek.VblN] Purp] [1Sg come.Pfv1],’

‘(Wife:) “To look for that one (=old woman) [focus] I have come.” ’

*[with 3Sg subject:* [ŋ̀ nōò] *]*

09:05

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[à jààmbɛ̀] —

[Def child] —

[à jààmbɛ̀-ŋíjɛ́rɛ́] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[Def child-woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

‘The old woman said thus: (or rather:) the young—, the young woman said thus:’

*[of course the current “young woman” and the earlier “old woman” are two disguises of the djinn woman; the speaker has some difficulty in this passage choosing terms for the two women]*

09:10

[mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] [ŋ̀ só-rè] [ŋ̀ kì],

[1Sg Topic] [1Sg know.Pfv1] [1Sg KI],

mɛ̀ɛ̀ [á bé] [ŋ́ jì-jɛ̀],

but [2Sg Neg] [2Sg see.Ipfv],

‘(Young woman:) “As for me, I know (her). But you won’t see her.” ’

09:12

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [∅ nūū] [ŋ̄ tī-jè]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [x come.Imprt] [x sit.Pfv2]

‘She (=young woman) said: “come and sit down!” ’

*[cf*. nūū ŋ̄ tì-w *‘come and fall!’]*

09:15

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ sīgà] [à ŋìjɛ̀ —,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg ask.Pfv1] [Def wom[an]—,

[à ŋìjⁿà ——, [ā ŋījɛ̄rɛ̀],

[Def mo[ther]—, [Def woman],

[∅ sìgà] [[à sìsɔ̀gɔ̄] màà pújɛ́],

[3Sg ask.Pfv1] [[Def hunter] Poss wife],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] all [3Sg Dat]

‘She questioned the wom[an]—, the old [woman]—, the woman. When she questioned the hunter’s wife, she (=hunter’s wife) told her everything.’

09:21

mì kéndé

3Sg say

sā= [[àà kándē] [∅ jē-rō] mɛ̄ kà] gāⁿ= à,

whether [[2SgPoss husband] [3Sg do.Pfv1] Rel Dem] good= Q,

mì kéndé [∅ bè] gáwⁿ,

3Sg say [3Sg Neg] good,

‘She (djinn woman) said (=asked), “was that (thing) that your husband did good?” She (=hunter’s wife) said, “it wasn’t good.” ’

*[*gāⁿ *for* gāẁⁿ *; the latter then becomes* gáwⁿ *in negative predicate with 3Sg subject]*

09:24

sā= [[àà kándē] [∅ jē-rō] mɛ̄ kà] gāⁿ= à,

whether [[2SgPoss husband] [3Sg do.Pfv1] Rel Dem] good= Q,

mì kéndé [∅ bè] gáwⁿ,

3Sg say [3Sg Neg] good,

‘She (djinn woman) said (=asked), “was that (thing) that your husband did good?” She (=hunter’s wife) said, “it wasn’t good.” ’

*[repeated]*

09:28

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [∅ tì-jè] má,

well, [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [x sit.Imprt] here,

[∅ ná] [ŋ́ wòrè] [∅ ná] [ŋ́ nōò],

[1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg go] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg come],

‘Well, she (djinn woman) said “sit down here! I’m going and coming back.” ’

*[*tī-jè, wōrè*]*

09:31

[∅ ná] [∅ wōrè]

[1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg go]

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ jēndò] [ŋ̀ nòò],

[Def mother big.Dimin] [1Sg call.Pfv2] [x come.Deon],

‘(Djinn woman:) “I’m going (there) to summon the old woman to come.” ’

*[the final* [∅ jēndò] [ŋ̀ nòò] *is invariant for subject categories]*

09:34

sé [ŋ́ jéndò] [ŋ̀ nòō] pààⁿ

if [1Sg call.Pfv2] [x come.Deon] all

àà má [á díŋíndì] [á kɛ̄mbījì],

2Pl SFoc.Ipfv [2Sg discuss.Pfv2] [2Sg agree.Pfv2],

‘(Djinn woman:) “When I’ve called (her) to come, it’s you (two) [focus] who must discuss (things) and resolve (them).” ’

09:37

hàjà [à ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè] [∅ wāj̀],

well [Def woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt],

[∅ gòmbìjɛ̀], [à ŋī —,

[3Sg change.Pfv1], [Def wo(man) —,

‘Well, the (djinn) woman went away. She turned (herself into)—. The wo(man)—.’

*[this broken segment is repaired and rephrased in the following segment]*

09:40

[à jàà-pùjɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrè],

[Def child-woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [∅ gòmbìjɛ̄] mīì,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg change.Pfv1] Refl,

‘The young woman (=djinn woman) went away, she turned herself (back into an old woman).’

*[<* ā jāā-pùjɛ̀ *; the second part of this segment repairs and rephrases the broken first part]*

09:43

[sàŋàɛ̄ɛ̄ tòrē pàw] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ jāà]

[moment one all] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg see.Pfv1]

[ŋìjⁿà bōgòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ dà] [ŋ̀ nóó] bōndò,

[mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come] again,

‘All of a sudden she (=hunter’s wife) saw that an old woman (=the djinn) was coming again.’

09:46

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̄ɛ̄] [ŋ̄ nōò],

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg come.Pfv1],

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ nōò]

[Def mother big.Dimin] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1]

[à sígú],

[3Sg ask.Pfv2],

‘When the old woman (=djinn) came, the old woman came and questioned her (=hunter’s wife).’

09:48

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

kɔ́ndà= [à jààmbɛ̀-ŋíjɛ́rɛ̀] mɛ̄ [∅ dà]

where.is? [Def child-woman] Rel [3Sg be]

[àā kɛ̀rɛ̀] àʃíjⁿɛ̀ kùwⁿɔ̀ hɛ́ⁿ,

[2SgPoss side] now thus huh?,

‘She (=djinn) said: “where is the young woman who was beside you just now like that, huh?” ’

*[predicative* kɔ́ndɔ̀ *‘where is?’]*

09:51

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[∅ wòrē] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Sg go.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt],

‘She (=hunter’s wife) said: “she (=young woman) went away.” ’

09:53

mì kéndé

3Sg say

[∅ dà] [∅ wòrè]

[3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg go.Ipfv]

á [∅ jéndò] [ŋ̀ nòò] wá,

2SgO [3Sg call.Pfv2] [x come] Quot,

‘(Hunter’s wife:) “She said she was going to summon you to come.” ’

*[L-toned 3Sg subject imperfective]*

09:54

hàjà, mì kéndé [mí má mīì],

well, 3Sg say [1Sg SFoc.Ipfv 3Sg],

‘Well, she (=djinn) said, “I [focus] am she.” ’

09:56

mì kéndé sísɔ̀gɔ̀-ndɛ́,

3Sg say hunter-Pl,

[∅ dà] [nɛ̀ màā túmbàrì],

[3Sg be] [1Pl Poss between],

[ā gūndù] mɛ̀ [∅ dà] ŋúj̀

[Def murmur(n)] Rel [3Sg be] there

[∅ bé] mì [ŋ̀ dìŋìndà] [[jìbɛ̄ pàāⁿ] wàj]

[3Sg Neg] Refl [3Sg discuss.Ipfv] [[person all] Dat]

‘She (=djinn) said, “Between us (djinns) and hunters, murmuring (=gossiping) (about) what is there, it isn’t discussed (=revealed) to (just) anybody.” ’

*[noun* gùndù *‘murmur(ing), gossip’;* mɛ̄ *forms L-terrace with* dà *;* jìbɛ̄ pààⁿ *‘everybody, anybody’]*

10:03

hàjà, nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tē-ro],

well, 3Pl [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg sit.Pfv1],

nì [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dìŋìndà],

3Pl [3Pl Pfv] [3Pl discuss.Pfv1],

‘Well, they sat down. They spoke.’

10:06

[à kɛ̀tɛ́] [∅ dūgā] à —, kɔ̀rɔ̀-ndɛ́,

[Def one] [3Sg have] Def—, fetish-Pl,

kɔ̀rɔ̄ tààrù,

fetish three,

‘The other one (=djinn) had the—, (some) fetishes. Three fetishes.’

10:10

mì kéndé

3Sg say

kā [ā ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀] màā kándē mɛ̀ɛ̀],

Dem [Def woman] Poss husband possession],

kā [mīī màà bíjɛ́ mɛ̀ɛ̀],

Dem [3Sg Poss child possession],

kā [mīī mɛ̀ɛ̀]

Dem [3Sg possession]

‘She (=djinn) said: this one (=fetish) belonged to the woman’s husband (=the hunter). This one belonged to her (=djinn’s) child (=her dead son). This one belonged to her (=djinn woman).’

*[This segment describes the ownership of each of the three fetishes.]*

10:15

mì kéndé sé [∅ tɛ̀rù]

3Sg say if [3Sg show.Pfv2]

sé [∅ tɛ̀rù] à —

if [3Sg show.Pfv2] Def —

à kɔ̀rɛ̀ɛ̀ dāgàɛ̀ɛ̀ mī-ndɛ̀ pààⁿ,

Def fetish.Dimin small.Dimin Dimin-Pl all,

‘She (=djinn) said, when she showed, when she showed the—, all the little fetishes, …

*[*mī-ndɛ̀ *optional pluralizer for diminutives]*

10:19

[∅ hà] [à níí] kāẁ,

[3Sg Sbjn] [3Sg say.Pfv2] Dem,

kà má [[∅ màà bíjɛ́] mɔ̄jⁿɛ̀],

Dem SFoc [[3Sg Poss child] possession],

kà má [[∅ màà pújɛ́] mɔ̄jⁿɛ̀],

Dem SFoc [[3Sg Poss wife] possession],

kà má [[á ŋì(jɛ̀rè) —] màà bíjɛ́] mwɛ̄ɛ̀ⁿ],

Dem SFoc [[Def wo(man) —] Poss child] possession],

‘… she should say (that) this one, this one [focus] belonged to her (=djinn’s) child (=son), this one [focus] belonged to his (=hunter’s) wife, this one [focus] belonged to the woman’s child (=the hunter’s wife’s future child).’

*[this segment identifies the potential victims associated with each of the three fetishes;* mī-ndɛ̀ *optional pluralizer for diminutives]*

10:26

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] sá= [á ɲáⁿ] kāẁ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] if= [2Sg take.Pfv2] Dem,

[àà kándē] [∅ jāā] [∅ nàw],

[2SgPoss husband] [3Sg die.Fut] [3Sg Fut],

‘She (=djinn) showed (the fetishes). She said, “if you take this one, your husband will die.’

*[<* ɲà-ẁⁿ*]*

10:32

[∅ mámàà] [ŋ̀ jàà],

[3Sg before] [3Sg die. Deon],

kòrè [∅ ā] [ŋ̄ nɛ̀gɛ̀],

belly [2Sg Ipfv] [2Sg put.up.load.Ipfv],

‘(Djinn:) “Before he dies, you will become pregnant.” ’

*[lit. “you will put (your) belly (as a load) up,” verb* nɛ̀gɛ̀ *elsewhere ‘put (heavy load) up on sb’s head’; compare 1Sg* [∅ mámáá] [ŋ́ jáà], *2Sg* [á mámáá=] [á jáà*]*

10:34

[sá= [á nɛ̀gù] [àà kóré] pààⁿ]

[if [2Sg put.up.load.Pfv2] [2SgPoss belly] all]

[ā nà= [àà bíjɛ́]] má

[2Sg and [2SgPoss child]] SFoc.Ipfv

[àà màà gáʤíjɛ̀ⁿ] [ŋ̀ jì-jè],

[2Pl Poss world] [2Pl do.Ipfv],

‘ “When you have become pregnant, you-Sg and your-Sg child [focus] will make your-Pl (own) world (=life).” ’

10:38

hàjà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́] tìgɛ̀,

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] [Def one] also,

‘Well, she showed the other one (=the second fetish) too.’

10:40

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] sá= [á ɲáⁿ] kāẁ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] if= [2Sg take] Dem,

[á jāā] [∅ nàw],

[2Sg die.Fut] [2Sg Fut],

‘She (=djinn) said, “if you-Sg take this one, you-Sg will die.’

10:44

[á mámáá=] [á jáà]

[2Sg before=] [2Sg die.Deon]

[bìjɛ̄ tòrē] [∅ à] [ŋ̀ kùrà]

[child one] [2Sg Ipfv] [2Sg give.birth.Ipfv]

‘(Djinn:) “Before you die, you will bear a child.” ’

10:47

sá= [á kùù] ŋ̀-kāẁ,

if [2Sg give.birth.Pfv2] Link-Dem,

[à bìjɛ̀ ŋ̀-káw] bār-kè [∅ nà] [∅ mùndà],

[Def child Link-Dem] blessedness [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg put.in.Ipfv],

hà à [∅ kárá] [gàʤíjⁿɛ́ dèrì],

until Cmplt [3Sg find.Pfv2] [world pleasant],

‘If you bear that one, that child will put blessedness in (=will be blessed), so he will find (=have) a pleasant life.’

*[*bār-kè *‘blessing, blessedness, spiritual power’ (< Arabic), treated tonally as compound, post-possessor* bàr-ké*; compare 1Sg* bàr-kè [ŋ̀ ná] [∅ mùndà] *‘I will be blessed’]*

10:52

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

mì ŋ̀-ká [∅ à] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà],

3Sg Link-Dem [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg take.Ipfv],

‘She (=hunter’s wife) said, that [focus] is the one she would take.’

10:54

mɛ̀ɛ̀ [à ŋījɛ̄rɛ̄ hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ]

but [Def woman Topic]

[∅ jāā] [∅ nà] [∅ wāj̀],

[3Sg die.Fut] [3Sg Fut] [3Sg Incep]

‘But as for the woman (=hunter’s wife), she was going to die.’

10:56

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] mīì —,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] 3Sg —,

‘She (=hunter’s wife) said: she—.’

10:57

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́] tìgɛ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] [Def one] also,

[à màràgà-ŋíjⁿá bògòɛ̀ɛ̀]

[Def devil-mother big.Dimin]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́] tìgɛ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] [Def one] also,

‘She (=djinn) showed the other (=the third fetish) too. The djinn old woman showed the other (=the third fetish) too.’

11:01

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] kùwⁿɔ̀

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus

sá= [á ɲáⁿ] kāẁ,

if [2Sg take.Pfv2] Dem,

[àà kándē] [∅ jāā] [∅ nàw],

[2SgPoss husband] [3Sg die.Fut] [3Sg Fut],

‘She (=djinn) said thus: “If you take this one, your husband will die.” ’

11:04

[á nà [àà bíjɛ́]]

[2Sg and [2SgPoss child]]

hā āā [∅ jī-jè] [àà màà gáʤíjⁿɛ̀],

until 2Pl [2Pl do.Pfv2] [2Pl Poss world],

‘(Djinn:) “You-Sg and your-Sg child will make your-Pl (own) world.” ’

11:07

hàjà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀] ŋ̀-kā tìgɛ̀,

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] Link-Dem also,

[à ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀] [∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà],

[Def woman] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1],

‘Well, she (=djinn) showed that too. The woman (=hunter’s wife) took (it).’

11:10

mìì [∅ dà] [∅ jàā] [mɛ̄ ŋ̄-kò] —

3Sg [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg die.Ipfv] [Rel in] —

[ā ŋījɛ̄rɛ̀] [∅ dà] [∅ jàā] [mɛ̄ ŋ̄-kò],

[Def woman] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg die.Ipfv] [Rel in],

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1] Link-Dem,

‘The one by which she was going to die—. The one by which the woman (=hunter’s wife) was going to die, she took that one.’

11:14

[∅ ɲà-rⁿā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg take.Pfv2] Link-Dem,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] mì ŋ̀-ká [∅ à] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say] 3Sg Link-Dem [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg take.Ipfv],

‘(After) she took it, she said, she would take this one.’

11:17

hàjà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ wōrē] [∅ wāj̀] [∅ kùwò],

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg go.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt] [Poss house],

[∅ dà] [∅ wóré] —

[3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg go] —

‘She went home. She was going—’

*[L-toned kùwò adverbially ‘(to) home’, tones as in definite* à kùwò *‘the house’ or possessed forms]*

11:19

[∅ mámàà] [ŋ̀ wòrè],

[3Sg before] [3Sg go.Deon],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[ā mā —

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[Def dj(inn) —

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] [[ā mārāgà] wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] [[Def djinn] Dat],

‘Before she went, she said to the dj[inn]—, she said to the djinn:’

11:23

mì kéndé [mí hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ]

3Sg say [1Sg Topic]

késì [∅ bè] [∅ báándà] mí,

nothing [3Sg Neg] [3Sg make.tired.Ipfv] 1SgO,

sé [∅ bé] [∅ há] [á níí],

if [3Sg Neg] [2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg say.Pfv2],

[∅ há] [á nìì] [[∅ máá kándē]

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg give.Pfv2] [[1Sg Poss husband]

[∅ dà] [ŋ̀ dègè] [ŋ̀ kàrā] [mɛ̄ ŋ̄-kò]]

[3Sg Ipfv] [Poss head] [3Sg find.Ipfv] [Rel Link-in]]

‘She said (to the djinn): “as for me, nothing wearies me (=makes me suffer), You must say— you must give that with which my husband can find himself (as before).” ’

*[i.e. she asks the djinn to give her husband an amulet for his self-defence]*

11:30

háátì [á bè] [∅ náwⁿ]

even.if [2Sg Neg] [2Sg give.Ipfv]

[∅ màà ʃírí-ndɛ̀ ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ wàj]

[3Sg Poss amulet-Pl all] [3Sg Dat]

‘ “Even if you (=djinn) don’t give him all of his amulets.” ’

*[recording was accidentally cut off at this point; it resumes as text 04b]*

**Bangime text 04b, Hunters and djinn woman (part 2)**

recorded in Sévaré, Mali, May 2015

*[continuation of text 04a after a brief interruption]*

00:04

[∅ há= [á nìì] [∅ màà ʃírí-ndɛ̀ ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ] [∅ wàj],

[2Sg Sbjn] [2Sg give.Pfv2] [3Sg Poss amulet-Pl all] [3Sg Dat],

‘(Hunter’s wife:) “You should give him all of his amulets.” ’

00:06

[∅ dà] —

[3Sg Ipfv] —

sā [∅ dà] [∅ báà]

whether [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg come.out.Ipfv]

[[∅ mɛ̀ɛ̄ mɔ̀kɔ́ndɛ̄] ŋ̄ túmbārì]

[[3Sg Poss comrade] Link between]

‘(Hunter’s wife:) “He will—. So he might go out among (=with) his peers.” ’

*[*mɛ̀ɛ̀ *variant of possessive màà ;* sā *‘whether’ indicating uncertainty]*

00:09

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

well, [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

[mīī hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [ŋ̄ kwàà] [ŋ̀ nìì] kīrɛ̀ɛ̀ [∅ wàj],

[3Sg Topic] [3Sg can] [3Sg give.Pfv2] a.little [3Sg Dat]

mɛ̀ɛ̀ [∅ bé] ŋ́kíí-pààⁿ [ŋ̀ nāⁿ] [∅ wàj],

but [3Sg Neg] all [3Sg give.Ipfv] [3Sg Dat],

‘Well, she (djinn) said, as for her (=djinn), she could give him (=hunter) a little, but she couldn’t give him all (of it).’

*[*nāⁿ *<* nàwⁿ*]*

00:14

[∅ bè] [∅ náⁿ] ŋ́kíí-pààⁿ [∅ wàj],

[3Sg Neg] [3Sg give] all [3Sg Dat],

mɛ̀ɛ̀ [à gò-ŋ̀-bògòɛ̄ɛ̄]

but [Def man-Link-big.Dimin]

[ŋ̄ kārā] [ŋ̄ dēgē] [ŋ̄ kɛ̀],

[3Sg find.Pfv2] [Poss head] [3Sg Prf],

‘She didn’t give him all (of it). But the old man (=hunter) had found himself (again).’

00:19

dɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ [ŋ̄ kwàà] [à jí-jé] mɛ̀ àʃɛ́wⁿɔ̀,

there.is [3Sg be.able] [3Sg do.Pfv2] Rel now,

nī [ŋ̄ kwàà] [ŋ̀ ʤīī-ndì] [ŋ̀ dēgè],

3Pl [3Pl be.able] [3Pl eat-Caus.Pfv2] [Poss head],

‘There was (something) that he could do now. They (=hunter and wife) could feed themselves.’

*[i.e. without having to collect and sell firewood;* dɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ *‘there is’]*

00:22

[ŋ̀ ʤìì-ndā] [ŋ̄ dēgè] —

[3Sg eat-Caus.Perf2] [Poss head] —

‘(After) they fed themselves —

00:24

hàjà, [nì mámàà] [ŋ̀ ʤìì-ndā] [ŋ̄ dēgè]

well, [3Pl before] [3Pl eat-Caus.Deon] [Poss head]

[à ŋìjⁿà bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] —

[3Sg mother big.Dimin] —

[∅ màà pújɛ́] [∅ twàà-rà] ŋúj̀,

[3Sg Poss wife] [3Sg arrive.Pfv1] there,

Well, before they fed themselves, the old woman— (or rather) his wife arrived there.’

00:30

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] —

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] —

gìlāā [∅ màà pújɛ́] [∅ bè] [∅ twáá-rà] ŋúj̀,

since [3Sg Poss wife] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg arrive.Pfv1] there,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

‘He said—. Back when his wife had not yet arrived there, he (had) said:’

*[i.e. ‘before his wife arrived’]*

00:36

[ŋ̀ só-ré] [mūj hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ]

[1Sg know.Pfv1] [today Topic]

[à jí-jé] [hɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̄ mɛ̀] ʤáátì,

[2Sg do.Pfv2] [noble(n) Rel] indeed,

[ŋ̀ só-ré] [mūj hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ]

[1Sg know.Pfv1] [today Topic]

[à jí-jé] [hɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ̄ mɛ᷆],

[2Sg do.Pfv2] [noble(n) Rel],

‘(Hunter to wife:) “I know that today you-Sg have done (deeds) of nobles indeed. I know that today you-Sg have done (deeds) of nobles.” ’

*[repetition is due to an interruption; ‘noble’ = freeborn person, not slave or of caste]*

00:41

gìlāā [∅ twàà-rà] ŋúj̀

since [3Sg arrive.Pfv1] there

[∅ màà kándé] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg Poss husband] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] Link-Dem,

‘After she arrived (back) there, her husband said that.’

00:43

hàjà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[ŋ̀ jáá] [màràgà-ŋíjⁿá bògòɛ̀ɛ̀] ʤáátì,

[1Sg see.Pfv1] [djinn-mother big.Dimin] indeed,

‘Well, she (=wife) said, “I saw a djinn old woman indeed.” ’

00:45

[ŋ̀ jáá]

[1Sg see]

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ níŋà] [∅ wàj],

[1Sg Pfv] [1Sg say.Pfv1] [3Sg Dat],

‘(Wife:) “I saw her, and I said (it) to her.” ’

00:48

[ŋ́ níŋà] [∅ wàj],

[1Sg say.Pfv2] [3Sg Dat],

[∅ bè] [∅ tááŋgà],

[3Sg Neg] [3Sg refuse.Pfv1],

‘(Wife:) “(After) I said (it) to her, she did not refuse.” ’

00:51

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ bɔ̀gɔ̀] mí,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg help.Pfv1] 1SgO,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà] ŋ̀kíí-pààⁿ [∅ wáj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] all [1Sg Dat],

[∅ jè-rò] mì [àbɔ́ mɛ̄]

[3Sg make.Pfv1] Refl [manner Rel]

‘(Wife:) “she helped me. She told me everything, the way it happened.” ’

*[‘make self’ = ‘happen’]*

00:56

[ŋ̀ tígɛ́] [ŋ́ kóó] [∅ níŋà]

[1Sg too] [1Sg Pfv] [1Sg say.Pfv1]

[àā wārì] [∅ bè] [∅ sá-wɔ̄],

[2SgPoss work(n)] [3Sg Neg] [3Sg come.down.Pfv1],

‘(Wife:) “I too said (to her), “your work (=action) didn’t come down (=wasn’t right).” ’

00:58

hàjà, [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

well, [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀], [kɔ̀rɔ̄ tààrù],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1], [fetish three],

‘Well, she said, “She showed (them), three fetishes.” ’

01:01

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

sé [ŋ́ ɲá] mɛ᷆,

if [1Sg take.Pfv2] Rel,

[ŋ̀-kà màā bàr-ké] [∅ ná] [ŋ́ kàrà],

[Link-Dem Poss blessing] [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg get.Ipfv],

‘(Wife:) “She said: ‘if it’s the one (=fetish) that I take, I am getting that one’s blessedness (=spiritual power).’ ” ’

01:07

hàjà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀], kétè,

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1], one,

‘(Wife:) “Well, she showed one (of them).

[kétè *‘one’, pl* kétè-ndɛ́*, irregular determined form* kɛ̀tɛ́ *with vowel change (see just below)]*

01:09

[∅ tɛ̄rɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́],

[3Sg show] [Def one],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kùwⁿɔ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] thus,

‘(Wife:) (After) she showed the (first) one, she said:’

*[*kétè *‘one’, pl* kétè-ndɛ́*, determined* kɛ̀tɛ́*;* á *for 2Sg* áw*]*

01:12

sé [ŋ́ ɲá] kāẁ,

if [1Sg take.Pfv2] Dem,

á [∅ jāā=] [ā nàw],

2Sg [2Sg die.Fut] [2Sg Fut],

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) if I take that one, you (=husband) will die.’

*[*á *for 2Sg independent pronoun* áw*]*

01:15

mɛ̀ɛ̀ [á mámáá=] [á jáà],

but [2Sg before] [2Sg die.Deon],

bìjɛ̀, [bìjɛ̀ [bār-kē]-tùgù]

child, [child [blessedness]-owner]

[∅ ná] [ŋ́ kàrà],

[1Sg Ipfv] [3Sg get.Ipfv],

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) But before you (=husband) dies, a child—, I will get a blessed child.’

*[*[bār-kē]-tūgù *‘(one) who has blessedness’, a construction also attested in* tèrì-túgú *‘one who carries (and can transmit to others) (good or bad) luck’,* ŋìjɛ̀rɛ̀ térí túgù *‘a woman who…’ ]*

01:19

[nɛ̀ nà ŋ̀-kà] má

[1Pl and Link-Dem] SFoc.Ipfv

[∅ màà gáʤíjⁿɛ̀] [ŋ̀ jì-jè],

[3Sg Poss world] [1Pl make.Ipfv],

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) We and that one (=our child) [focus] will make his world (=life).’

01:23

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀] kétè bóndó,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] one again,

‘(Wife:) She showed (me) another one.’

01:25

[∅ tɛ̀rɛ̀] kàw

[3Sg show.Pfv1] Dem

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] kāẁ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] Dem,

‘(Wife:) (After) she showed (me) that one, she said: that (one) …’

01:27

sé [ŋ́ ɲá-ẃⁿ],

if [1Sg take],

[∅ jàà] [∅ náwⁿ]

[1Sg die] [1Sg Ipfv]

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) If I take (it), I will die.’

*[<* jāà*]*

01:30

mɛ̀ɛ̀ [∅ mámáá] [ŋ́ jáà],

but [1Sg before] [1Sg die.Deon],

kòrè [∅ ná] [ŋ́ nɛ̀gɛ̀],

belly [1Sg Ipfv] [1Sg put.load.up.Ipfv],

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) But before I die, I will become pregnant (and bear a child).’

01:33

àà nà [àà bíjɛ́]

2Pl and [2SgPoss child]

hā= āā [∅ jī-jè] [àà màà gáʤíjⁿɛ̀],

until 2Pl [2Pl make.Pfv2] [2Pl Poss world],

bíí-gùwⁿɔ̀

child-male

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) So you-Sg and your-Sg child will make your-Pl world (without me). A male child.’

*[lit. ‘you-Pl and your child”; cf. 2Sg* há=á jí-jé*, 3Sg* hà ∅ jí-jé*, 1Sg* há ŋ́ jí-jé*, 2Pl* āā hā=ā jī-jè, *1Pl* nɛ̄ hā ŋ̄ jī-jè*, 3Pl* nī hā ŋ̄ jī-jè*;* bíí- *‘child’, cf. noun* bìjɛ̀*]*

01:37

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ tɛ̄rɛ̀] [à kɛ̀tɛ́] tìgɛ̀,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg show.Pfv1] [Def other] also,

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà]

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

‘(Wife) She showed me the other one (=fetish) again. She said:’

01:39

sé [ŋ́ ɲá] kāẁ,

if [1Sg take.Pfv2] Dem,

[à bìjɛ̀] má [∅ jàà]

[Def child] SFoc.Ipfv [3Sg die.Ipfv]

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) “If I take that one, it’s the child [focus] who dies.” ’

01:41

sé á —

if Def —

sé nɛ̄ [ŋ̄ kùù] [ā bījɛ̀] pààⁿ,

if 1Pl [1Pl give.birth.Pfv2] [Def child] all,

[à bìjɛ̀] má [∅ jàà],

[Def child] SFoc [3Sg die.Ipfv],

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) When the—, when we give birth to the child, it’s the child [focus] who dies.’

01:45

[à bìjɛ̀] —

[Def child] —

[à bìjɛ̀] [∅ jáá] [∅ nàwⁿ],

[Def child] [3Sg die.Fut] [3Sg Fut],

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) It’s the child—, it’s the child [focus] who will die.’

01:47

[nɛ̀ nà á] jíndò

[1Pl and 2Sg] two

nā= [∅ ā] [ŋ̄ jī-jè] [nɛ̀ màà gáʤíjⁿɛ̀]

1Pl [1Pl Ipfv] [1Pl make.Ipfv] [1Pl Poss world]

‘(Wife, paraphrasing djinn:) The two of us (you-Sg and I), we will make our world (=life).’

*[*jìndò *~* ʒìndò *‘two’]*

01:50

hàjà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

bàà-ʃì [∅ bé] [∅ ŋ́-kò],

trouble [3Sg not.be] [3Sg Link-in,

‘Well, he (=husband) said: “there’s no problem in it!” ’

*[*bāā-ʃì*]*

01:52

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿà],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1],

[[mìì [∅ dà] [∅ jàā] [mɛ̄ ŋ̄-kò]]

[[3Sg [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg die.Ipfv] [Rel Link-in]]

[∅ kóó] [∅ ɲà-rⁿā] ŋ̄-kāẁ,

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg take.Pfv1] Link-Dem,

‘She took it (=fetish). The one by which she (herself) would die, she took that one.’

01:55

[∅ ɲà-rⁿā] ŋ̄-kàw, [∅ kóó] ŋ́ —,

[3Sg take.Pfv1] Link-Dem, [3Sg Pfv] 3Sg —,

[∅ kóó] [ŋ́ dōō] ŋ̄-kà [∅ wóré],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg convey.Pfv1] Link-Dem [x go],

‘(After) she took it, she —, she took it (there).’

01:59

[∅ dòò] ŋ̀-kà [∅ wóré],

[3Sg convey.Pfv1] Link-Dem [x go],

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄-kāw

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say] Link-Dem

[[∅ màà kándē] wàj],

[[3Sg Poss husband] Dat],

‘(After) she took it (there), she said that to her husband.’

02:02

[∅ màà kándē] [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

[3Sg Poss husband] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

bàà-ʃì [∅ bé] [∅ ŋ́-kò],

trouble [3Sg not.be] [3Sg Link-in,

‘Her husband said: “there’s no problem in it.” ’

02:04

hā ŋàrā [∅ pòtì],

until God [3Sg ordain.Pfv2],

hà à [∅ núú] [à kárá] —

3Sg Cmplt [3Sg come.Pfv2] [3Sg get.Pfv2] —

hà à [∅ núú] [á nɛ̀gū] kòrè,

3Sg Cmplt [3Sg come.Pfv2] [3Sg put.load.up.Pfv2] belly,

hā à [∅ kúú],

until Cmplt [3Sg give.birth.Pfv2],

‘Eventually God ordained that she (=wife) came to get—that she became pregnant. Eventually she gave birth.’

02:10

[à jìbɛ̀-ndɛ́ ŋ́kíí-pààⁿ]

[Def person-Pl all]

nì [∅ dà] [à jààmbɛ̀] màā nīì] [ŋ̀ kùmbò]

3Pl [3Pl Ipfv] [Def child] Poss name] [3Pl look.for.Ipfv]

‘All the people were looking for the child’s name.’

*[*à jāāmbɛ̀ *‘the child’, here terraced with possessive* màà *;* nīì *‘name’ with irregular post-possessor form* nīì*]*

02:13

mì kéndé→,

3Sg say,

àà má= [āā dēgè] [ŋ̀ bààndà]

2Pl Proh [2PlPoss head] [2Pl tire(v).Deon]

‘He (=hunter) said, “Don’t-2Pl tire yourselves out!” ’

*[plural-addressee prohibitive (negative imperative), cf. singular-addressee* màà [à dégé] ŋ́ bààndà*]*

02:16

[∅ máá jáá(mbɛ̀)] — [[∅ máá bíjɛ́] màā nīì],

[1Sg Poss child] — [[1Sg Poss child] Poss name]

hà-à-sáwrà

(name)

‘(Hunter:) My child—, my child’s name is Ha-a-sawra.” ’

*[cf. Bambara* sabali*, Fulfulde* sawr*u]*

02:19

ŋ̀-kà má [[∅ máá bíjɛ́] màā nīì]

LinkDem SFoc.Ipfv [[1Sg Poss child] Poss name]

hà-à-sáwrà [gàʤíjⁿɛ́ ŋ́-kò],

(name) [world Link-in],

ŋ̀-kà má [[∅ máá bíjɛ́] màā nīì],

Link-Dem SFoc [[1Sg Poss child] Poss name]

‘(Hunter:) That is my child’s name, Ha-a-sawra, in (this) world. That is my child’s name.” ’

02:24

hàjà, ŋ̀-kà [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ twàà-ndà],

well, Dem [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg arrive-CausPfv1],

ŋ̀-kà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā]

Link-Dem [3Sg Prf] [3Sg say.Pfv1]

[[ā jāāmbɛ̀] màā nīì],

[[Def child] Poss name],

‘Well, he (=hunter) delivered that (message). He said that is the child’s name.’

02:28

[∅ nìŋā] [[ā jààmbɛ̀] màā nīì]

[3Sg say] [[Def child] Poss name]

hà [ā jāāmbɛ̀] [∅ à] [∅ wó] bōgò,

until [Def child] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg become] big,

‘(After) he said the child’s name, eventually the child grew up.’

*[*wó *for* wóré*]*

02:31

hàjà, [à ŋījɛ̄rɛ̄ hɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ] —

well, [Def woman Topic] —

[à ŋījɛ̄rɛ̄ hɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ] [∅ jàā] [∅ wāj̀],

[Def woman Topic] [3Sg die] [3Sg Rslt],

‘Well, as for the woman—, as for the woman (=hunter’s husband), she died.’

02:35

[[ā ŋījɛ̄rɛ̀] [∅ dà] [∅ jàā] mɛ̀ sááⁿ]

[[Def woman] [3Sg Ipfv] [3Sg die.Ipfv] Rel time]

[∅ nùù] [à kárá] [á ŋījɛ̄(rɛ̀) —

[3Sg come.Pfv2] [3Sg find.Pfv2] [Def wom(an) —`

‘At the time when the woman was dying, it happened that the wo(man)— [error]’

02:37

[à gùwⁿɔ̀] [∅ jì-jè] [∅ wàj] bórómbɛ̀,

[Def man] [3Sg become.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt] young.man,

[à bìjɛ̀] [∅ jì-jè] [∅ wàj] bórómbɛ̀,

[Def child] [3Sg become.Pfv2] [3Sg Rslt] young.man,

‘(It happened that) the male (child) had become a young lad. The child had become a young man.’

*[<* [ā gūwⁿɔ̄] [∅ jī-jē] [∅ wāj̀*; rephrased with ‘child’ replacing ‘man’, but* gùwⁿɔ̀ *also means ‘male’ and strictly speaking it is not incorrect in denoting a male child]*

02:42

[∅ jè-rò] [à bōrōmbɛ̀],

[3Sg become.Pfv2] [Def young.man]

[∅ kóó] [∅ nūù] [à kárá] [∅ màà —

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg come.Pfv1] [3Sg get.Pfv2] [3Sg Poss —

[∅ màà bɔ́w],

[3Sg Poss father],

‘(After) he became the young man, he came and found his—, his father.’

*[*nūù *variant of* nōò *in this combination]*

02:47

[∅ màà bɔ́w] [∅ ʃījⁿɛ̄] [∅ wāj],

[3Sg Poss father] [3Sg old] [3Sg Rslt],

hàjà [∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋà],

well [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1],

‘His father had grown old. He (=hunter) said:’

*[dynamic adjectival predicate without* wòrè *‘became’]*

02:50

mɛ̄ [∅ jē-rò] ŋ̀-kāẁ

Rel [3Sg do.Pfv1] Link-Dem

[ŋ̀ kóó] [∅ níŋà] [àā nīì] sàwrù,

[1Sg Pfv] [1Sg say.Pfv1] [2SgPoss name] Sawru,

hà-à-sáwrà],

(name)

‘(Hunter:) “What made me say that your name is Sawru (is) that you need to be counseled.” ’

*[subject relative with* mɛ̄ *and no head noun; verb sāwrà seems to mean ‘be in need of counsel (from elders), i.e. ‘be delinquent’]*

02:54

páskə̀ sé [ŋ́ bé] [∅ sàwrà]

because if [1Sg Neg] [1Sg need.counsel.Pfv1]

sé [ŋ́ bé] [∅ sàwrà] híŋgá,

if [1Sg Neg] [1Sg need.counsel] past,

‘(Hunter:) “Because if I were not in need of counsel, if I hadn’t been in need of counsel, …” ’

02:57

tɔ̀ɔ̄ⁿ [ŋ̄ nūū] [∅ nà] [à kárá]

Counterf [3Sg come.Fut] [3Sg Fut] [3Sg find.Pfv2]

[nɛ̄ jīndò pàw] [hā mūj̀]

[1Pl two all] [until today]

nɛ̀ [∅ nà] [[dègē mɛ̄] ŋ̄-kò],

1Pl [1Pl be] [[head Rel] in],

‘(Hunter:) “It might have turned out that the two of us were in the chiefhood to this day.” ’

*[*tɔ̀ɔ̀ⁿ *for* tàmà *in consequent clause of counterfactual; speaker suggests emendation* tàmā [ŋ̄ nùù] [à nā] [ŋ̄ kàrà]

03:00

[∅ kóó] [∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄-kà [[ā bījɛ̀] wàj],

[3Sg Pfv] [3Sg say.Pfv1] Link-Dem [[Def child] Dat],

[∅ nìŋā] ŋ̄-kàw,

[3Sg say] Link-Dem,

‘He said that to his child. He said that.’

03:04

[à dìgà] [∅ kóó] [ŋ́ būn-dī] [∅ wāj̀] ŋúj̀

[Def talk(n)] [3Sg Pfv] [3Sg finish.Pfv1] [3Sg Rslt] there

‘The talk (=story) has ended there.’

*[*à dīgà *‘the talk’]*