

Beni Text 2005-1.1

O: God [focus] has brought you-Sg.

I: Yes.

O: Health.

I: Just health.

O: How are you?

I: Praise God.

O: Greeting.

I: Peace.

O: Just peace.

I: Our people have spent the day in peace?

O: Praise God.

I: Greeting.

O: Greeting.

I: Greeting.

O: Greeting.

I: Name-giving [focus] is what we have come (to).

O: xxx welcome.

I: Fine. The meaning of name-giving, that which begins (= to begin with), when seven days (after the birth) have arrived, they will say (it) to the people. Everybody will come. They (=some of them) will bring a small basket of millet (ears), others will bring ten riyals (=50 francs) each, they will give it to the woman (=mother of the newborn). It's because of what? It's for her millet-cream-drinking.

It's the money. When she has bought sugar, she will put it in the millet cream and she will drink. Her body will recover (from childbirth). The child will get breastmilk, it will suckle. The women too, some will bring (millet) grains, they will bring soap, they will bring salt, they will bring macari— soumbala (spice), all that (=all those things) they will take and give to the woman. She too, in that (=thereby), she will cook the meal(s) for her mouth and she will eat.

(This) goes on until the arrival (=elapse) of forty days. The period of seclusion is cleaned (=completed). With that (=then) she will go outside. That [focus] is the meaning of name-giving.

Beni Text 2005-1.2

S: The name, how do you-Pl get (=determine) the putting (=giving) of the name? The child's name, how do you get it?

O: We assemble (for) the name-giving. When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), having assembled, we give the name.

S: How do you get the child's name, the name. (That) the name So-and-So, (that) giving (the name) thus [focus] is appropriate, how do you find it?

O: Giving (it) thus [focus] is appropriate, that the father of the child will say. "Your name—, the name of your child, how do you-Sg want them to put (=establish) it?" "I want them to put (=establish) my child's name as So-and-So, thus I ask."

S: The boys, the fact that they bring firewood (bundles), why do they bring it?

O: The boys, the fact that they bring firewood, the new mother will light (=build) fire with it, she will light fire with it, until eventually the forty days (have elapsed). If it's a male (child), thirty days. xxx the new mother cannot (herself) go looking for wood, it's for that reason [focus] that they bring it.

S: The fact that you-Pl get together now to sit and spend the night, as for that, what is its meaning?

O: It is (=has) no other meaning than that (=it just means that) we get together now to sit and spend the night. The boys (=young men), his (=the father's) age-mates, they themselves come, at night, if the name-giving is the next day (=on the eve of the name-giving), they heat (=make) tea, they have fun, (there is) pleasure. "I have gotten a child." Pleasure. "So-and-So (=father) has gotten a child." "She has given birth to a child." "She has given birth in good health." "She has been cured (=has recovered from

childbirth).” The pleasure of that. It’s because of the pleasure of that [focus] that they come—, that they do (it).

S: Uh-huh. You-Sg and fatigue (=thank you for your effort).

O: You’re welcome.

Beni Text 2005-1.3

S: Today the old women came and posted a paper there. I had seen them earlier doing something frivolous (=fooling around). That too, what is its meaning?

I: It’s (about) co-wifhood. It’s because of co-wifhood [focus] that they did it.

S: That too, (is it about) co-wifhood for the newborn?

I: They say she (=new mother) has given birth to and has a girl, (whereas) they said that they would have preferred a boy. It’s a co-wife. But if it were a boy, it would be their husband. If it’s a girl, it’s (their) co-wife. They had fun of (=about) that.

S: The fact that they brought worn-out hides, that too, what is its meaning?

I: Well now indeed, (for) to a co-wife, something bad is normal. (To give) something good to her isn’t normal. It’s for that reason [focus] that they gathered and brought (the hides).

Beni Text 2005-1.4

S: (In) Beni, our town here, water, how did it (=the water situation) happen? How is it done?

I: The water, we found it thus at Tangaso (location in the ravine). In the way we found it long ago, water used to dry up (seasonally), to the point that when we drank (=got water to drink), the ladder would come out (=be used). There was a ladder. Having gathered together, when two neighborhoods in each village would come together and you-Pl would strike the bell, they would go and dig (for water). When we dug, again there we would drink. When it (=water) ended (=dried up), we would dig again, and there we would drink.

When the rain came down again, thanks to God, up here it’s (=there was) water. There they came and poured it (into containers). They did that. We said (=felt) that we were tired. Our women said (=felt) that they were tired. At Tangaso in the mountain, going (=climbing) up and coming down, going up and coming down is hard. We wanted the water up here. We went in order to dig (a well) at Komkuguru. It’s rock. We got tired (from) hammering (with a pick-ax). We got tired (from) hammering. The water didn’t come out. We abandoned (it).

Again, at another water source, now at Bala, we got (water). Bala (has) **a type of rock**. Every morning the boys (=young men) fired (=made explosions) with explosive powder, (then) they hammered and pounded (the rock) with the large pick-ax and so forth. Doing that at length, they got tired. To this day, we haven’t gotten anything else.

Again now, the water of Tangaso, it doesn’t end (=dry up), now. But the water, it’s dirty. It (=water) has a sickness for us. It does (=causes) schistosomiasis (worm disease), they say, it does various things, they say. There is all that in the water. A difficulty, it’s difficult. It’s for that reason [focus] that we are engaged in seeking water up here, it’s all (because of) that.

S: What makes the water at Tangaso dirty, and makes (=causes) the sickness for you-Pl? Is it a lack of care (=maintenance)? Or is it a lack of interest (=neglect)? (Or) the inability to dig?

I: Now the water is abundant and overflows, it doesn’t end (=dry up). It isn’t that we can’t dig. Before (=long ago), when it ended, we used to dig (some more). Nowadays it doesn’t end. It’s (because of) that, going on since twenty years, the dirtiness has sat (=taken root) inside.

S: What they call “tamarind,” it’s that [focus] that makes (=causes) schistosomiasis; that too, is it the truth? Or is it (just) what people say (=false belief)?

I: Ah, thus [focus] they have said. We say (=think) it’s the truth, as for us anyway.

S: If not (=aside from) this water, is there any other water that puts (=causes) the disease for you-Pl?

I: We have not seen (=experienced) another.

S: There is no other at all.

I: There is no other. xxx we drink that. We have no other water.

S: This water source in Beni that you have confidence in (=rely on) in your village, it's just that one.

I: Nowadays, it's that. If it's not (=aside from) that, we have no other water source at all.

Beni Text 2005-1.5

O: Now, (in) Tangaso itself, there is a lot of dirtiness. They say that it makes (=causes) schistosomiasis. The tamarinds that are standing there, when their leaves fall, they say that that [focus] is what makes (=causes) it. We don't know if it's the truth, we don't know if it's a falsehood. We began far away (=long ago) to look for water in other places.

Even the people of (=from) the project here, when they came to us, they asked us what (kind of) difficulty there was for us. (We said:) there is the problem of water for us, there is very much the problem of water for us, (and) there is the problem of food for us. They asked, which is more (important) for us? The thing that we want (=need) the most, we should say that (to them) now, they said. (We said:) we want water more (than anything). They asked us to say (what) (we) want edthe most.

(We said:) well, (as for) that, make-Pl a dam for us! If we have gotten the dam, drawing water at Tangaso, we'll rest (=desist) from it (=drawing water at Tangaso). With that (=on that basis) they dammed up the dam for us. After they finished dammed up the dam, well, we want a well up here. (In) our Tangaso, our water, the water, it is bad water, because it has (=contains) sickness. Well, they themselves, there was not for them (=they didn't have) the power (=capability) to dig a well up here, they said. They would dig a well for us at Bara,¹ they said.

Well, they dug a well for us at Bara. Well, now, that well,² they dug it for us. They told us to put (=establish) a (vegetable) garden there afterwards. They worked at (the infrastructure of) how to put a garden, they worked and worked. Leaving it (=making the garden) to us, well, thus [focus] is how they left (it). Well, now, we have even begun to put the garden in that place.

Even today, if we (can) get (it), here in our lowland (=bottom of ravine) we want (=would like) two (more) wells, not (including) that one's (=Bara's) water. With that (=Bara), we would like to get (=have) all together three wells. Even up here, we want a well, we very much want (it). Well, for that reason now we alone (=without help) up here are digging a well. Well, we don't have the capability of (doing) it. Now if we get some of the white people's explosive, if we do a lot of pounding (with pick-axes), what they call « *calière* » (explosive charge), we'll put (=use) that.

But we don't have (any of) that. Now, we do (it) just with Dogon (=traditional) gunpowder. For two years, we have been working on that up until now. We haven't gotten any presence (=manifestation) of water. Even today, we continue that work, we continue that work. We would like to get a well up here. Our women are tired of Tangaso, our women are tired, (and) the water (there) is (=has) sickness. Well, as for that, we are very much sick and tired of it. There is nothing that we want more than water today, other than food to eat.

S: If your-Pl women are tired, why do your-Pl women, (at) the well that they have dug for you-Pl there at Bara, at the place of the dam, why do they not take the water of that (place)? You-Pl said that the water of that (place), that [focus] is what is good.

O: That [focus] is what is good, (but) the well is far away. (For) carrying (water) with (=on) the head and coming (back), it's far away. It's a (stone) hill, they go up the hill, it's far away. For that reason, the women don't go.

S: You-Pl don't have any (other) means for them to take water?

O: Another means for them to take water, something that (you-Sg) take and (so) you-Sg don't carry (water) on the head, something (with which) they bring water home, we don't have any other means (than the head). We have no power of (capability for) that.

¹ Both Tanga-so and Bara are locations in the long ravine running from Beni toward Dianwely Maoudé.

² Lit., "the well of that" (possessive).

S: Now, all that you-Pl want, it is just water.

O: It's water. There is nothing that we want more today than water up here. Water, and a road.

S: If that water is good, is for you-Pl to take it [focus] good (=better)? Or is for you-Pl to take that (water) of Tangaso over there [focus] good (=better)?

O: That water is good, we like it indeed, in (=as) water to drink.³ But simply because it's far away, we have abandoned it. There are some people who take it (water of Bara) from time to time. If you-Sg have taken and brought it (here) once, you can't go (back) a second time. We take it from time to time as drinking water. One time, (or) two times, the people take it.

Beni Text 2005-1.6

S: As for you-Pl, you-Pl will say, this field is yours-Pl. Now, the hills, here (they are), (the ones) that near the village, they do not belong to the village. Well, as for that, what has made it? In some cases they say, this (land) belongs to this one (=village). In some (other) cases, it belongs to us, (but) this field belongs to the (other) people. The bush (=land without houses), does it belong to one person (as private property), or is it the territory (=property) of the whole village?

O: Is it (=do you mean) the side (=area) of the mountain? Is it the side of the mountain, or the side of Da here (near the mountain)?

S: The whole mountain, this (area) and this (area), all these (ones) that are around here.

O: (In) the whole mountain, it's one person's field, it belongs to one person, it belongs to one person, it belongs to one person, it's like that.⁴ The people of yesterday (=former times), we've heard, ever since (their) coming and sitting (=settling), every person (said) "this is my field," "this is my field," "this is my field." The didn't find anyone (there).

The fields that they claimed, well, that field, even today, you-Sg too, it (=a field) belongs to you-Sg. If you-Sg have (one) here, So-and-So too has (one) here, So-and-So too has (one) here, So-and-So (or) So-and-So has (one) here. Now, (in) this side (=area) of ours, this, the bush (=uninhabited) territory, it's collective territory. We call that (area) "Sene." We say "this Gunjo-goroy side (=area)." We say, "this Koriyom side," this is collective (property). If this Koriyom side (=area) goes (=extends) between us (=Beni) and the people of Perge (a village), it (=Koriyom) brings out (=sets) the boundary.

S: Collective (property), what happened so that it became collective? Did the whole village [focus] go and take (=claim the land) together? Or one person, it was he [focus] who did it, saying that (=because) all of us, the village—, we are people of Beni, and they converted it to collective (property)?

O: It's not (the fact that) we are (all) Beni people [focus] that converted it to collective (property). Nor did the whole village go and take (=claim it) together. (In) that side (=area) over there, (and) in that (other) side over there, there were people (living). Well, the people who were there, yesterday (=long ago), if a village (=group of people) came, if a village came and these (new) people found (=come across) them (=the original natives), (then) the (original) people, if they feared these (new people), they would flee.

Or a certain village, death dances⁵ were many, (because) yesterday (=long ago) sickness was abundant, (and) Fulbe (and) creatures (=wild animals) used to stab (=attack) and kill the people, if their people there were finished (=decimated), you-Pl would take their inheritance (=land). If it was you-Pl [focus] who found them (=original people), you-Pl would take the inheritance (=possession) of the field. When you-Pl had taken it, it was your-Pl property. But the field, its people (=original owners) are (still) there. Its people are (still) there, but they say, "let's make it collective (property) of the

³ Lit., "water that they drink," with nonreferential 3Pl pronominal.

⁴ Each field is individual property.

⁵ Colorful expression denoting disastrous years in which large numbers of people died (in famines, etc.).

whole village.” Now they have done thus. For the whole village, like that, collective (property). Thus they left it (to later generations).

Beni Text 2005-1.7

S: Now, the fields everywhere, it (=a field) belongs to this one, it (=another field) belongs to this one, it belongs to this one, it belongs to this one, you-Pl say. That too, did they buy the fields? Or how (=what) did they do?

I: They didn’t buy (them). Like O said, the property of all Beni, what he (=O) was saying just now, it (=land) is collective (property), it’s the truth. Even among all (the people of) Beni, there are some people who are closer to (=more closely involved) there.⁶ They (=new people), the people of a clan (descended from an apical ancestor), if it’s they [focus] who have taken over the property of others’ as inheritance, if they made it (=property) in common (=collective), they (=other villagers) will ask them (=clan) for it. At Koriyom, there is a side (=area) that they ask for, it belongs to all of Beni, but it’s collective (property). At Dure, there is a side (=area) that they ask for, it belongs to all of Beni, it’s collective. At Sene, there is a place that they ask for, it belongs to all of Beni, it’s collective. Doing like that (=in that way), it was made (=became) collective (property).

Without (=other than) that, as for Oloy (location in the plains) and others, it’s each person (with) his (own) money. Ever since the ancestors, they have bought (land). What they have come and bought, nowadays that is what has become everyone’s field. Gamni Mountain that you (can) see, it’s this one, a big mountain here, there are villages on two (=both) sides. Over by Gamni, it belongs to Gamni (village), it’s (on) this side, it belongs to Gamni. On that (=far) side, it belongs to Ogoyeru (a Jamsay village), (on) one (=the same) mountain. It is thus.

S: You-Pl who are close (=involved). How did it happen that it came to belong to the people of Gamni?

I: It’s they [focus] who came first. We found them (here).

S: Your-Pl (=Beni’s) mountain too, it’s on which side (=area)? You-Pl, your-Pl mountain.

I: (As for us), we don’t have a big mountain of the same size as that (=Gamni Mountain), unless it’s Dure Mountain.

S: Dure Mountain alone, that’s what belongs to you-Pl?

I: Yes, as for that, it belongs to us.

S: So you-Pl too, you-Pl are far from the village.⁷ Did you go and buy (it)? Or did you claim it? Of did you find (=inherit) it from your ancestors?

I: The village, we found it (already) for our ancestors. We found it for our ancestors.

S: But they didn’t say to you-Pl that they had bought it for themselves?

I: Uh-huh. But they bought (it).

S: They bought (it), the mountain.

I: Yes, if you take (=including) the mountain along with its field(s), all the way down below (on the plains). Everyone—, the village, (if) they have gone away for good, (and) you-Sg remain there, who does it (=land) belong to? As for them, (if) they have all gone. Does it not belong to you-Sg? If they have died (off), (and) you-Sg have come and you have found (it), does it not belong to you-Sg? There is (land) that they found (=took over) in that way.

Beni Text 2005-1.8

S: This year, they said the locusts⁸ came. The locusts, (as for) them), how did they come?

⁶ Some people are actively involved in exploiting particular areas of collective land, with the authorization of descendants of the original owners.

⁷ S meant to say ‘from the mountain’.

⁸ kǐ-ká: ‘grasshopper, locust’ denotes any acridian species. The reference here is to *Schistocerca gregaria*, in its gregarious (locust) form, which devoured the millet harvest throughout the local region in 2004.

O: Well, the locusts, as for us, they call them “flying grasshoppers.” As for us, we had never seen them. We had never seen flying grasshoppers come and amazingly eat up the millet. On the radio it was said that the locusts were coming, the locusts were coming. Well, each person, if his millet was a little (=partially) ripe, they told us to harvest (it), just a little (=as much as we could), if it (=millet) has put (=grown) white milk (latex in half-ripe grains), they told us to harvest (it).

In that way we waited, we waited, we waited, until the locusts came to us. Everyone of the same age as me had never seen the locusts. The locusts had come (many years earlier). This year was the 55th year since they had arrived, they said. As for us, we didn’t know (about) them. Well, because of this too, we did not agree to harvest the unripe millet.

All at once (=suddenly), they (=locusts) came in mid-day and descended upon us. In the hottest time of the day, at 12:30. At that time they came and descended upon us.

S: They said that the locusts, as for them, they came twice. The first time they came, what did you-Pl do?

O: When they came the first time, they descended upon us at noon. As soon as they came, we went to the harvest. We were harvesting, we were harvesting, we were harvesting, we were harvesting, in places where they (=locusts) had not arrived. Even at night, we spent the night harvesting. After we spent the night harvesting, they (=locusts) went up and laid down (=rested for the night) in the trees.

In the morning again, when it was 7:00, they again came down into the fields. Well, (as for) them, when they came down into the fields, they didn’t get up (=fly off) any more. Whatever they found, if it was fresh (vegetation), they ate up (completely).

S: They came twice. (What about) the second time when they came.

O: The second time, as for that, when they (=locusts) went away, what they did at mid-day, as for that, they had eaten (completely). They passed (=moved on) over this way. The second day, precisely on the second day, the others too (=another swarm of locusts), they came, at 1:00 they came. Well, at 1:00, as for them, when they came, they didn’t go away. It’s they [focus] who came and ate (completely).

S: Fine. The locusts, when they came, what did the people say about them? What did you-Pl think about them? ...

O: We (tried to) drive them away.

S: ... For example, did you-Pl think it was like (divine) destruction? Or did you-Pl think it was like something that harms the world (of the living)? How (=what) did you-Pl think, about it?

O: As for us, the locusts, when they came, there was nothing in this world that we didn’t think of (=imagine). We thought that they also would not leave the millet stems. They came and clustered together on top of the millet (plants). When they clustered, and the millet (plants) would go (=topple) onto the ground, they (=plants) would fall with a thud!

S: Fine. For example, (about) that now, did you-Pl think that the world was ruined⁹ so they came? Or did you-Pl think that a (divine) disaster had come down?

O: We thought it was a (divine) disaster. We had never seen anything equal to it. Never had we seen anything equal to it, other than (hearing) what they (=old people) said. As for it, another (divine) disaster, we too, we thought we wouldn’t survive any more in this world.

S: When the locusts came, you-Pl only, did you-Pl (try to) chase them away by yourselves, or did you get help of (=from) the powerful ones (=government)?

O: We chased the locusts away, we chased them away, we chased them away. We went running into the field and we came back running. We went running and we came back running. When you-Sg went rushing headlong, they (=locusts) were (doing) like this (on) the millet, the way they were, they didn’t get up (=fly away). If you-Sg looked up at the top of the trees, the trees could not be seen (=were covered with locusts). If you looked at the millet, it couldn’t be seen. If you looked at the ground, there were (even) more of them there.

⁹ I.e. humanity has misbehaved.

Doing that, we got tired. The powerful ones (=government), the day after that, the airplane came here. The airplane came and it was pumping (insecticide) at them for us there, it kept pumping at them until the 4 PM prayer. When the first one (=airplane) came, when it was time for the 4 PM prayer, well now, the locusts are dead, they will not come (back) again, they will not come (back) again, they are dead, we thought.

As for it, again a further swarm of locusts came, at exactly 1:00 PM. Here was the airplane going, here were the locusts coming. The airplane was pumping at these locusts. We didn't see a single locust die.

S: The locusts, was it when they had eaten (all) the millet that they went away? Or was it (because) the time for their going had arrived that they went away?¹⁰

O: When they had eaten the millet, they went away. When they had eaten every last bit of millet, they went away. Everything fresh that they found, they had eaten. All of the fresh millet they had eaten. When they had eaten, thus [focus] they went away.

S: They went and did not come (back) any more?

O: They went and did not come (back) any more.

I:¹¹ The first time, we had chased them. We got together and chased the locusts the first time, we did (that), they had gone away. We stayed (thus), thinking that they will go now, they will go away being chased. When they came the second time, we chased them but they didn't go. At that point, everyone got up and went into the harvest. They were harvesting at night, they were harvesting during the day. This went on, until the end of the harvest arrived.

When they (=locusts) came, they ate the (half-ripe) millet with milky liquid (and) the unripe millet. The millet that has dried (=hardened) a little, as long as there is (also) some fresh millet, they won't eat it (=dry millet). With that, when they came, they ate up our millet. It happened like that.

Beni Text 2005-1.9

S: How do you-Pl put (=get) honey? How do the bees go into aviaries (for beehives) in such a way that they put (=make honey) and they finish?

I: Aviaries. A balanzan tree that has a cavity (hollow interior), we go and cut it down. When we have set fire to it, we expand the cavity. When it has become bigger, we look for a covering (to close up the opening). When we have covered (the opening), we give it (=aviary) a smell. We give it a smell using onion, and doum-palm nuts, and cow manure, until its good. We'll cover it (=opening) and we'll leave it. We'll slap mud on it. We'll go and take it (=mud) and we'll put it on the tree.

When three days, or four days, have arrived (=elapsed), maybe some bees have come and gone in. If they have gone in, when three months have gone and arrived (=elapsed), the bees have put (=made) honey.

When they (=bees) have made honey, you-Sg yourself, at night you-Sg will go and tie a straw torch, you will hold a calabash, you will go and find them. You will strike a fire and put it on the straw torch, and you'll bring it close to the opening (of the aviary). You'll blow, you'll blow, you'll blow (so smoke goes in), on that side. They (=bees) will all go (=fly) away through the hole on that (other) side (of the aviary).

Over there, you-Sg now, at the opening on this side, where you-Sg are, you'll open it (=aviary) up. The honey that is there, when you-Sg find the honey, you-Sg will take it out and put it in the calabash, you-Sg will take it out and put it in the calabash, you-Sg will take it out and put it in the calabash.

If there are worms (=larvae), you-Sg left them (there). If it's the yellow stuff, you-Sg will take it out. If it's liquid honey, you-Sg will take it out. You-Sg keep doing that, then when the right situation (=time) to arrive (=finish) has arrived, you will leave there (=that place). You-Sg will take (honey) and cover up (the hole) and leave (the place). Now, you-Sg take (it) out, (and) you-Sg come home again.

S: When you-Pl have come home, what do you-Pl do for (=with) the honey?

¹⁰ Did they leave because there was no millet left to eat, or did they go on their own schedule?

¹¹ I's first contribution to this text.

- I: For the honey, when we come back home, your-Sg people, all of you-Pl will sit down together and you-Pl will swallow (=eat some). You-Sg will give (some) to your-Sg neighboring house (=neighbors). You-Sg will give (some) to the good people that you love. You-Sg will sell (some), it's money. (You) having sold it, it's money, with that you will accumulate (=save). Honey, that [focus] is what we do with it.
- O: If a disease has caught (=afflicted) a person, if he has come for his need (=for medical help), you-Sg give (some honey) to him.
- I: We put it in a a tin can and give it to him, to (the) sick person. That'

Beni Text 2005-1.10

- S: You-Pl now, at which place do you-Pl begin the dry (farming) work of the rainy season?
- O: The dry work of the rainy season, we begin now at this time (of year). Now at this time of year, we call that "dry work." If there are stems and roots in your-Sg field, you-Sg will go and uproot (them). If there are thorns, you will go and keep raking them and gather them, then you will proceed to put (=set) fire (in them). When you have already put them (in the fire), (and) you are (=remain) like that for a little while, if you-Sg are (=remain) there, when a little while happens (=passes), now when May (and) these months (=May and neighboring months) have arrived, (there is) dry sowing. We call that "toy bisi."
- I: There is manure gathering.
- O: We gather manure, it is the truth. Manure gathering is first (=ahead of time). Having gathered up the manure, well, now, the way they are like that, we do the dry sowing. They call it "dry sowing." If you-Sg have done the dry sowing, from then until the rainy season has arrived—, at the boundary of the place (=part of the field) where you are doing the dry-sowing, when you have completely sowed (it), you-Sg remain at rest. You-Sg are like that, until it (=rainy season) comes, (and) the rain falls.
- When the rain has fallen, again you sow seeds then; they call that "wet sowing." When the seeds have come and sprouted, when the seeds have sprouted, when the seeds have sprouted, (on) like (=approximately) the fifteenth day, we don't do farm work, we (just) stay like like. When the fifteenth day has passed, when the seeds have sprouted well, a second rain falls. When the second rain has fallen, we begin the farming (=weeding).
- Now, before that (=weeding) has arrived, before you-Sg go and do the farming (=weeding), if there is an empty (=fallow) area, a place where you-Sg haven't sowed, you-Sg will proceed to keep plowing (the earth) with a plow and drop (the seeds) ("drink"). We grow peanuts and the like. Well, that's how (=what) we do, (until) the farming work (=weeding) arrives.
- S: If it isn't (=other than) plowing and seeding with a plow, do they not sow otherwise (=with any other method)?
- O: In a place where you-Sg have already sowed seeds?
- S: (Suppose) you have sowed (but) it hasn't sprouted, what you-Sg plowed and seeded ("drank") with a plow.
- I: They do over-sowing.
- O: They do over-sowing. (Suppose) you go to your-Sg field, if the sowing was not enough, you will over-sow and put down (the seeds), in the mounds (where seeds are dropped), you will over-sow and put down (the seeds).
- S: When the sowing is completed, now how (=what) do you-Pl do?
- O: When all the sowing is completed, farming work (=weeding) [focus] is what follows it (=sowing).
- S: Farming work, is there one (period of it), or two?
- O: Farming work (=weeding) is (in) two (periods).¹² They call it, the first (period of) farming "wongoro-kunju." When you have already done the *wongoro-kunju*, if your field is finished, (then) it's "senje." You will do the *senje* (second period of farming work).

¹² Between sowing (June) and harvesting (October), the heavy work consists of removing weeds to allow the millet to grow well. This work may be more or less continuous in July and August, but

- S: (Between) *wongoro-kunju* and *senje*, which (of them) is more difficult?
- O: *Wongoro-kunju* is harder, *wongoro-kunju* is harder. (As for) *senje*, if you-Sg go to some spots, you-Sg don't find that the grasses (=weeds) are enough (=very abundant), where you passed through doing farm work (=weeding) the first time.
- S: Fine. Peanuts and other things, do you-Pl plant those during the (millet) weeding? Or do they plant (them) back during the (millet) sowing?
- O: We plant them during the (millet) weeding. Well, (sometimes) when we have done the weeding earlier, and we have left (=completed) it, we will go and plant peanuts. Some (other) times, (when) we haven't yet begun the (millet) weeding, we go and plant peanuts. In that way we do the (millet) weeding, when we have already planted the peanuts. (In) some years, when we have done the (millet) weeding previously, we plant peanuts.
- S: When you-Pl have done the weeding, now what do you-Pl do, if you-Pl have already planted both of them (millet and peanuts)?
- O: We have done the first period of weeding, (and) we have done the second period of weeding. When we have done the second period of weeding, until the millet ripens, you-Sg will remove (by hand) some early millet grains and you-Sg will be chewing them, (and) in some fields you will do (more of) the second period of weeding, where there is grass (=weeds).
- S: Now if you-Pl have done the second period of weeding, (and) the millet has ripened, what do you-Pl do?
- O: When the millet has all ripened, the women harvest (with a sickle) the *yu-do* (a small, early-ripening variety of millet). They call that *yu-do*, the very dark millet. That and the very small *yu-dengembere* (another early-ripening variety).¹³ They call that *yu-do* reaping, we reaping *yu-do*. When they have reaped all of the *yu-do*, the (regular) millet will become dry (=hard), (and) now we will harvest (it).
- S: How do you-Pl do the harvest?
- O: The harvest, they call it *porkiya* (hand-knife).¹⁴ They call it hand-knife. Certain people harvest with a (regular) knife, (and) certain (other) people harvest with the hand-knife. Here you-Sg jab (=make a hole in the handle), you-Sg put it on your finger. You-Sg (also) sling a skin (=hide shoulderbag) over your shoulder (by the strap). When you-Sg harvest (=cut off the grain spikes), you put (them) in the skin. When it's full, you-Sg go dump and leave it (in a small pile). When it's full (again), you-Sg go dump and leave it.
- S: Do they dump (the spikes) in one place (=in a heap)? Of do they dump (it) in lots of places (=randomly)?
- O: If (it's) just you-Sg (in the field), you-Sg dump in various places that you find. When you-Sg have dumped about three skins full¹⁵ here, and around four skins full over there, the people will come, and gather and gather (the dumped millet ears), and go and bring them near (=together) into the big millet pile.¹⁶
- S: Those people too (who carry millet ears to the big pile), are they apart (=specialists in that job)? Or how is it?
- O: In your-Sg house, if there are girls, or if there are your younger brothers, if there are people who help you, when you harvest, they too will gather (millet), they too will gather what you have dumped, and they will take it (=millet) out (of the field) into the large millet-ear pile.

it is conventionally divided into two periods, one when the millet has sprouted well, and one when the millet is half-grown.

¹³ *yu-do* is described as being tall but thin (stem and spike). *yu-dengembere* is described as having a short but thick stem and spike. These are the two first varieties to ripen.

¹⁴ A small knife with a hole in the handle for one's finger to go through, used for cutting off the seed spike (ear) of millet.

¹⁵ Lit., "three skin mouth."

¹⁶ *yu-tere* '(large) millet pile' on the side of a field consists of several heaps of millet ears, laid horizontally on top of each other. The individual heaps are rectangular, but several such heaps are positioned in spoke-like fashion around a central point. When this has been piled high, outer rings of individual heaps are added. As a whole, this large pile represents the bulk of the millet crop for the year. The millet will later be carried in baskets to granaries in the village.

- S: Well, when you-Pl have harvested, is it in the field [focus] that you-Pl leave (the millet) there? Or how (=what) do you-Pl do?
- O: When we have harvested, (it's) in the field. If you-Sg have harvested in this field, you will leave (the millet) here for now. (If) you-Sg go and harvest in (another) field over there, you-Sg will leave it there for now. (If) you-Sg go and harvest in (another) field over there, you-Sg will leave it there for now. When we have harvested (completely), we will carry the millet (in baskets on our heads) like this.
- I: Do you-Pl uproot (millet stems) and cover (the millet grain spikes in the pile)? Or do you-Pl not cover (them)?
- S: When we have uprooted the stems, we cover (the millet spikes), in some fields.
- I: Don't you-Pl (also) reap (=harvest with a sickle) roselle?¹⁷
- S: Indeed we reap roselle.
- I: They reap roselle?
- S: We reap roselle. Before the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first.
- I: Do men reap (it)? Or do women reap (it)?
- S: Women— (or rather) men reap it.
- I: Men reap (it).
- S: Mhm. Before the (millet) harvest, roselle ripens first. When we have reaped the roselle, (then) we begin the (millet) harvest like that.
- I: The big (horizontal) pile of the millet (spikes)? Or is it the small vertical millet-spike pile?¹⁸
- S: We make the small vertical millet-spike pile, (and) we make the large horizontal millet-spike pile. they make the small vertical millet-spike pile with skins (=hide bags).
- I: They dump (the millet spikes) with the skins?
- O: If you-Sg come (with) the skins, you-Sg will dump (the ears) with the skins.
- I: Erect (vertically).
- O: They call it *yu-juro*, the one which is erect.
- I: The (other) one that is flat (with spikes laid horizontally), how (=what) do they call it?
- O: They call it *yu-tere* (large horizontal pile), what they dump with (=out of) baskets.
- I: With a crowd (of people)—
- O: With baskets, going all around, you-Sg will dump (millet spikes) and keep going with (the basket).¹⁹ When it (=heap) is tall at the top (=millet has been piled high in an inner ring), you dump and keep going with (the basket) again, a second time (to form an outer ring of the pile). When it is tall, you dump and keep going with (the basket) a third time (to form another outer ring).
- S: When they have carried the millet (in baskets on their heads) and brought it to the houses, what do you-Pl do (then)?
- O: The carrying and bringing of the millet to the houses, as for that, when we have gone and carried the millet, we separate it (into categories). One they call *yu-buburu* (partially ripe millet), (the kind) that isn't greatly²⁰ (=especially) ripe. They call the one that is very ripe *yu-na* (normal millet).²¹ We carry it and bring it to the houses. When we have carried and brought it to the houses, we put it in granaries.
- S: In the granaries, do they put the *yu-buburu* and the *yu-na* in one (=the same) place? Or separated?
- O: We put (=store) them separately. If you-Sg put the *yu-na* on this side (of the granary), you-Sg will put the *yu-buburu* on that (other) side. If you-Sg have two granaries also, one—, you-Sg will put the *yu-na* in one granary, and you-Sg will put the *yu-buburu* in one (=the other) granary.
- S: Fine. Having done the (millet) harvest, when you-Pl have carried the millet (to the houses), do you-Pl not have any further work?

¹⁷ Hibiscus sabdariffa (cultivated). In French *oseille* or *dah*.

¹⁸ *yu-juro* is a smaller pile on the side of a field for grain spikes (ears) of millet, planted vertically in the sand (rather than laid down horizontally), and usually kept as seedstock for the following year's sowing.

¹⁹ This speaking turn describes the concentric rings made in the *yu-tere*.

²⁰ Lit. "in big(-ness)," here as adverb 'to a great extent'.

²¹ *yu-na* (normal millet) has hard grains that are suitable for long-term storage in granaries. The *yu-buburu* (semi-ripe millet) is softer and is consumed first.

- O: Having done the (millet) harvest, when we have carried the millet, we indeed do have further work.
- I: There's the calabash field.
- O: It's calabashes,²² we sow (them). We sow calabashes. In a field in which we (earlier) put (=planted) millet, there are the calabash plants that we sowed.²³ When we have carried (the millet), xxx we go and uproot the stems. When you put a little water on the calabashes, it (=calabash vine) spreads by itself, it propagates a little.
- Well, now (when) we—, when you-Sg have uprooted all of the (millet) stems, you-Sg cut some thorns (thorny acacia branches) and you-Sg make a fence (to keep animals out). When it is (like that) for a long time, the calabashes (=plants) will bear fruit. Well, now, again, that [focus] is what we will work, the work of (leveling) a (new) calabash field. Well, (if there is) someone who doesn't have a calabash field, he too, he will put (=plant) a garden.²⁴ Well, that [focus] is our work.
- S: Fine. You-Pl say that you-Pl plant peanuts. When you have planted the peanuts, do you-Pl leave them there like that? You-Pl don't bring them home—
- O: We do uproot peanuts. We uproot peanuts. When we have uprooted the peanuts, we carry and bring (them) to the houses. Peanuts—
- S [overlapping]: Do women uproot? Or do men uproot (peanuts)?
- O: A man—. If it's for herself [focus] that a woman has planted (peanuts), she will uproot. If a man plants his own, he will uproot. A woman, if her husband uproots (peanuts) for her, (so that) God catches her (=gives her rest), that too is good. If you-Sg (=a woman) don't have a person who uproots (for you), if you-Sg (as) a woman go to your own (field), it's you-Sg [focus] who will uproot.
- S: When you have uprooted (the peanuts), do you-Sg pick (peanut pods from the plants) there (in the field)? Or do you-Sg pick (them) at the house?
- O: Certain people pick (them) there (in the field), (and) certain (other) people bring them to the houses and pick (them), the peanuts.

Beni Text 2005-1.11

X: Granaries, why do you-Pl build them? How do you-Pl build them?

Y: (In) our thinking, we build (granaries) in order to put (=store) millet. When we begin (building), down below, when we have swept the place, the (square) base structure, we will build (it) first. When we have covered it, when it has dried out a little, while we mold bricks (of mud-gravel mix), while we mold bricks, the base structure that we build will dry out. When we have gathered the bricks, we put (them) down next to it and leave (them).

We say to all of the villagers, “today our granary—, (as of) today when five days have arrived (=elapsed), it's (time for) building our granary. (You-Sg) help me!” When they have said that to everyone, when that (aforementioned) day arrives, each boy (=young man) goes to a water source (e.g. pond), (and) he gets water and brings (it). When they have brought the water, they will stomp on the earth (to mix it with the water, for bricks).

The old men who know how to build will go up, they will set up the (raised) foundation.²⁵ A young man who knows (=who has experience) will go among them (=old men). Those who are strong will stomp on the earth, (and) they will toss the

²² I.e. the gourd plant (*Lagenaria siceraria*), a trailing vine of the melon family. A calabash is a semi-spherical container (e.g. for milk) consisting of a sawed-off half of a gourd fruit.

²³ When the millet has been removed, the small mounds on which millet plants grew must be leveled to prepare for planting the calabash vines.

²⁴ French *jardin*, i.e. vegetables (onions, lettuce, etc.), generally sold for cash. Such off-season gardening is possible in villages with a dry-season source of water such as a large pond or a mountain spring.

²⁵ The granary must be above ground to keep insects out. The foundation is a low wall (often rectangular) on which the granary proper is built.

bricks up (to the others), they will give bricks (to them). While they are giving bricks, when they have set (the bricks) in the interior, you-Sg will **overlap**²⁶ with that—.

When they have struck them (=overlapped the bricks), a meal has come out (=is ready to be served). They will come down and eat. When the (meal) break has gone on for a little while, again they go up. Now, they keep building. When it goes (up), (so that) it is the height of a person's head, it reaches the place (=height) that the owner wishes, when it reaches the desired place (height) for the bricks, they will cover (the bricks) with the transom.²⁷

When it is covered by nine (=layers of bricks), (it's layers) ten and eleven, eleven (layers of) bricks, they lay them (=layers) on top of each other. When (layer) eleven has arrived, the granary has reached (its full height). Now, each person's millet cream they—. The women also pound (millet for) millet cream.

When the millet cream goes out (=is ready to be served), the building of the granary is finished (simultaneously). When they (=builders) come down, each person, they drink their millet cream, (and) they get up and disperse (=go their separate ways). A short time later, when a month has arrived (=elapsed), they will cover (=roof) the upper part furthermore. When they have roofed it, if there is millet for you-Sg to put (=store), you-Sg will put (it) there (=in the granary). That [focus] is granary building. Isn't it so, U?

U: It is so.

S: Why do you-Pl build granaries? For what thing (=purpose) do you-Pl build (it)?

I: (For) putting (=storing) millet. We put our millet that we have gotten there. We put roselle there. We even put calabash (fruits) there.

S: Millet, if it isn't in a granary, if it spends a year below (=on the ground), it will go bad ...

I: It will get cool (and damp).

U: ... it will get cool.

I: For that reason, we build the granary up high.

S: The roofing of it (=granary) too, do they summon people (to help), or how (=what) do they do?

I: They will summon the boys (=young men). They (=young men) will come to help you, they will do the roofing.

S: As with this roofing of houses?

U: From (one) roofing to (another) roofing, the villagers will get together and do the roofing.

S: (That) the villagers get together and they do the roofing, what is its meaning (=point)?

U: Today you-Sg roof mine, tomorrow too I will roof yours. That is how we did the roofing yesterday (=in the past).

Beni Text 2005-1.12

S: Cow-peas,²⁸ how do they plant them?

I: Cow-peas are apart (=different). There are those (people) who plant fields of it. Even within a field we—, in long row after long row (of plants), within the field they call it “cow-pea ripping.”²⁹ That too, we “rip” (plant them in millet fields). We plant them separately in their (own) fields also. Well, that's how we plant cow-peas.

S: Sowing them (cow-peas), and the remainder (=other ways of sowing), are they one (=the same)?

O: Sowing them (cow-peas), and the remainder, they are not the same. They (=farmers) sow (cow-peas) far apart. Because it (=cow-pea plant) spreads out (as a trailing vine), if it's close together [focus] that you-Sg have sowed (it), if it is in a millet field, the millet won't come out (=grow). But if you-Sg plant it (=cow-peas) alone, then you-Sg will sow it close together. They (=cow-pea plants) will spread out (as a vine) and will come and tangle with each other, (and) they will bear (fruit).

²⁶ Each upper layer of bricks is skewed horizontally by half a brick-length to the layer beneath it.

²⁷ Wooden block laid horizontally at the top of the doorway.

²⁸ The locally cultivated bean (Fr. *haricot*) is the cow-pea, *Vigna unguiculata*.

²⁹ In this “ripping” technique, cow-peas are planted in the alleys between the rows of mounds of millet plants.

- S: Cow-peas, when they have ripened and dried (=fully ripened), what do they (=farmers) do?
 O: They collect them. One at a time, they collect them, they stuff (them) into baskets, and they bring (them) to the houses.
 I: With the wet (not fully ripe) ones, they pick (them) and eat (them).
 O: Before it dries (=ripens fully), we pick (them) and eat (them). Before it dries.
 S: When you-Pl have brought them to the houses, how (=what) do you-Pl do?
 O: They dump them on the roofs. They dump them on the roofs, until they dry. When they have dried, they shell them (=pound them to remove the pods). When they have shelled them, they put the grains (=peas) in sacks and put them down (=store them).
 S: Do they put (cow-peas) in granaries? Or, like the one (used) for roselle, do they put (them) down on the ground and bury them, in an enclosure?³⁰
 O: An enclosure. If you-Sg store (cow-peas), you-Sg put (them) in an enclosure. Ashes and fine earth, when you-Sg have mixed and stirred those two together, you-Sg will tamp them down like this in the enclosure (to pack the earth firmly), if you-Sg are storing (the cow-peas). If it isn't that (=otherwise), they will become infested (with insects), as for that, when a month has arrived (=elapsed), they will be infested.
 If you-Sg put (cow-peas) in sacks, there is a medicine (=insecticide), a medicine of the whites. If you-Sg put that medicine in sacks, the cow-peas, you-Sg will put (the insecticide) on them ("on its head"). If you-Sg sell yours (=your cow-peas), furthermore, you-Sg will go to the market and sell yours and leave them.
 S: The enclosure, do they make it in a granary? Or is it in any place?³¹
 O: The enclosure, they make it inside a granary. You-Sg (can) make (it) also in any place. Circular enclosures like this (gesture), it too they build with bricks.

Beni Text 2005-1.13

- S: Why do the people here want to have many children?
 O: We indeed want children. Well, for us, the work of the place (=farming), our work is hard ("dry") work. You-Sg yourself, you-Sg work and work. When you have (the age of) fifty years, from then on you don't have the strength to work. If you-Sg have children, your-Sg children, it's they [focus] who will work.
 It's farming work (=weeding), something that they do with (their) strength. You-Sg can't do the farm work, (as) a person of fifty years (age). Your-Sg children will help you do the farm work. When they have done the farming, you-Sg will eat. Even sowing, they—, it's they [focus] who sow. For that reason, we want to have (many) children.³²
 S: If it's not that (=other than that), you-Pl want to have children—. If it's not that, is there no other reason?
 O: There is indeed another reason. Well, if (you) have two or three children, one will go and study Koran, one will go and study at the (public) school, (and) one will help you-Sg do the farming. Well, the one who is studying (Koran), (as for) him, he will do his work well (=will be successful); the one who is studying over there (at the public school) will do his work well, (and) the one who is helping you to do the farming, he too, he will do his work well.
 If you-Sg have no children at all, when you-Sg have fifty years (of age), you-Sg won't be able to do the farming, there will be nobody who helps you farm. If you-Sg haven't farmed, furthermore, you won't eat meals. Ah, now, as for you-Sg, now on the contrary you will remain in a pitiful state.
 O: Having many children is obligatory?
 S: Having many children, for us anyway it is obligatory. Well, us—, if our path (=tradition), in our religion (=Islam), (as for) children, it (=religion) says to you-Sg to bear many (of them). Bearing many children is obligatory, in our religion.

³⁰ /tòŋgôm/ is a small, uncovered enclosure consisting of mud-brick walls, often in a granary or in a house, containing sandy earth mixed with some ashes, in which cow-peas are buried for long-term storage.

³¹ Lit., "in an empty place."

³² Lit., "if we have had many children, we want (=like it)."

- I: That [focus] (is why) we do (=practice) marrying two women, that's it.
- O: We (=men) marry two women, we marry three women, we marry four women. All of them will bear (children). There are some people (=men) who have thirty children, there are some people who have twenty, there are some people who have ten.
- I: It's they [focus] who have more rest (=have an easier life). Whatever work (they do), it's they [focus] who have more rest.
- O: (At) one time (=when you are old), you-Sg won't do any work. Your children will go and work, you-Sg will just lie down at home. All sorts (of work), your children will go and work and work, (and) when they bring (something) you-Sg will eat. (You) having sired children, if they are blessed (=successful and well-behaved), you will enter (the state of) chief (=live like a chief).
- (But) you-Sg who have not had children, you-Sg will never have any rest. Even (aged) one hundred, it's you-Sg [focus] who will go and do your (own) work.
- I: For this reason, we have a desire for many children.

Beni Text 2005-1.14

- S: For (=among) you-Pl over there, what is marrying a woman like?
- O: Among us over here, (as for) marrying women, there is (marriage by) betrothal of a woman. There is betrothal,³³ and there is (the practice by which) you-Sg marry (a woman) by you-Sg going out and (saying) (to) a girl "I love you-Sg" (and) "I love her."
- S: Betrothal, how—, how (=what) do they do?
- O: Betrothal, (at) a young age, when she is born,³⁴ saying "it is the woman (=future wife) of So-and-So," as for that, they promise (=bestow her). Saying "well, for this (girl), it is the woman of So-and-So (=future husband)," they promise (her). Well, when they have promised that, later when the woman herself has gotten (=attained the age of) approximately eight years,³⁵ well, now, when the holy day of Ramadan and the Feast of the Ram arrive, they give some soap and a little money.³⁶ It's thus [focus] that you-Pl do, until later the woman goes and attains woman(-hood).
- S: Fine. The talk (=negotiating) of you-Sg (=the prospective husband) alone by yourself, it too, how do they speak?
- O: If you-Sg go just you-Sg yourself, you will say to the girl that you love her, (that) you yourself love her. If she doesn't love you-Sg, she will say that she doesn't love you-Sg. If she has fallen in love with you-Sg, well, if it happens that (both) you-Sg love her and she loves you-Sg, you will speak to the father and the mother (of the girl).
- Well, they, furthermore, if they have given (=promised) (her) to you-Sg, at that point you-Sg tie (=contract) the betrothal (=marriage agreement). The betrothal, it isn't the white people's marriage, mind you! Well, So-and-So (=the woman) says, this woman, she loves him. This woman says that she loves him. The boy too says that he loves her.
- The mother and the father (of the girl), furthermore, they have given (her) to him. Well, when the Muslim (community) has come, they go out to (bear) witness.
- I: They will set a date ("put a day"), they will set a date.
- O: They will set a date. They will say, "today, it's a betrothal." They will set a date, on a Friday. The Muslim (community) will come and assemble. They will say "well, So-and-So and So-and-So have said that they love each other." They will say, "there is a betrothal." They will say, "there is a witness-bearing."
- The money that you-Sg (=bridegroom) have put down, they will call out the name (=amount) of the money. They say "well, their witnessing (is), such-and-such amount of money, that is what it is." Well, any person who has heard, he too will go out to bear witness the next day. So-and-So, and the woman of So-and-So, that [focus] is the witnessing of it, that [focus] is our marriage.

³³ A religiously sanctioned marriage agreement requiring the consent of the girl's parents, prior to the wedding.

³⁴ lit. "when they give birth to her."

³⁵ Lit., "eight years or."

³⁶ The prospective husband gives periodic gifts to the family of the girl.

- S: If it isn't (=other than) money, they don't give anything (else)?
- O: They give fabric (=clothing), (and) they give shoes. If you-Sg didn't get that, you (may) tie (=contract marriage) also (=alternatively) with just money, (so) there are no shoes or clothes.
- S: The woman, (and) the man. (If he's) one who wants (to), is it he alone who goes and speaks (=negotiates)? Is it his friend (=a friend of his) who speaks? Is it another person who speaks?
- O: Just you-Sg go and speak—, just you-Sg go and speak. If you alone cannot, you-Sg will send your father, (or) you will send your sister, (or) you will send your friend. Just you, if they (=girls' parents) gave (her) to you, furthermore, that's it. But if just you-Sg all alone go and say "I love a woman," their giving (her) to you is difficult (=rare).
- I [overlapping]: They won't give (her) to just you (alone). xxx
- O: In another village, they will say, "may your-Sg father come!" Now, he knows—, if they (=girl's parents) have known (=been assured) that your father wants (the marriage), (and) uh, if they have known that your elder brother wants (the marriage), (then) they give the woman in this way. Betrothal of one mother, one father (=among blood relatives).
- S: The betrothal, is it at the house of the girl's father [focus] that they do it? Or is it at the house of the boy's father that they do it?
- O: Fine. When they have tied (=contracted) the betrothal now, how do they remain, the two of them?³⁷
- S: When they have contracted the betrothal, you-Sg (=bridegroom) ask for the woman, telling (them) to give (her) to yourself.
- O: They go and entrust (the bride, to her parents).³⁸ When a person (=friend of the bridegroom) goes out and goes (there), he entrusts (her). The woman that they have contracted (=given) in marriage, between (=within) ten days, when the person goes straight to the house (of the bride), he entrusts (her).
- After he has entrusted (her), a person (=another friend of the bridegroom) goes out again. They ask for her, saying, "it's the woman('s) looking at the (new) house." They will set a date. The date that they set initially, it won't stand (=is false). They will set (a date) a second time, that [focus] is what will stand (=is fulfilled).
- At night, they will go transfer (the bride, to her new house). The boys will shoot rifles (in the rifle dance). When she has gone to the (new) house there, when she has drawn water in the morning, she will remain there (at the new house). When she has remained there ten to twenty days, again she goes to her father's house. It's this, a woman's coming (to her new house). Again it remains (like this) for a long time.
- In the past,³⁹ it was child-bearing (that sealed the marriage). When you-Pl had one child, before you had another (child), she (=bride) would definitively come and move to the husband's house. They used to do thus. Nowadays, they don't wait until that (=until a child is born). Before she bears a child, they ask for her (to go to) the husband's house.
- When the (time for) the major (=definitive) moving out comes, they ask for (her), until they set a date. All the people gather, they pound (grain for) millet cream, they come and sit. When the woman comes, they make (=pronounce) blessings. "May God blacken the cross-beams (of the house)."⁴⁰ "May God make the house old like this." "May God do this (and that)," they say.
- When they have made (=pronounced) all the blessings that they want, they get up and disperse (=go home). Well, now, is it not finished on (=with) that?
- O: It is finished on that.
- I: Is it not finished on this? Or is it not thus, S?
- O: That is the moving out of the woman.

³⁷ Lit., "their two."

³⁸ The bride has already been "given" to the future husband, but she is then "entrusted" to her own parents for a time.

³⁹ Lit. "if it is (was) in the past."

⁴⁰ I.e., may the marriage last a long time. The cross-beams of the roof will turn black from many years of smoke from cooking below.

S: Is there no other fun (=celebration)?

I: This is the moving out of the woman. The women, they dance their dance in the courtyard. If it was in the past (=formerly), they used to beat calabash (drums) in the *koroba* (a musical style). Nowadays, we have left (=abandoned) playing the *koroba*.

Just the women beat calabash (drums) in the house of their neighbors. They (also) beat *bulu* drums (made with clothing), they dance a dance. This today is the women's role. As for men, there is nothing else that they do (=nothing else for them to do). As soon as they have made the blessings, they get up and disperse.

S: When that has passed, there is no other fun (=celebration) otherwise?

I: There is nothing else.

O: There is nothing else, in the moving out of the woman. When it has passed, there is no other fun.

I: It's the final one.

Beni Text 2005-1.15

S: When the rainy season has arrived, where do they lead (=take) the animals (livestock)? In the hot season also, where do they lead (them)?

O: When the rainy season has arrived, if the rainy season has arrived and the seeds sown have sprouted, each person guards his animals. He puts his animals into herding (under the care of a herder). He does not allow them (=animals) to go into (cultivated) fields. He goes and has (them) eat (=takes them to pasture). This goes on until they do the farm work (=weeding). Animals (=livestock) and (cultivated) fields do not meet (=must stay apart). Because of that, they have (the animals) eat.

S: Because of the animals, in the rainy season, (as for) the animals, do they (=people) leave them (=animals) at home (=in the village)? Or do they lead them into the bush?

O: There are (some) animals who stay at home, (and) there are (some) who go to the bush. When you-Sg have (them) eat, you-Sg bring (them) home. When you-Sg bring them home, when you-Sg bring them home and have them return (in the afternoon), they (=animals) will spend the night there. There are (also) some who stay out in the bush.

S: (The fact) that they lead (the animals) into the bush, why is it?

O: (The fact) that they lead (the animals) into the bush, it isn't for anything else (=any other reason than), if you-Sg are in the bush, the bush is better (than the village) for the animals. You-Sg, furthermore, you'll get manure. If the animals have defecated, it becomes manure.

Well, millet, also, if you plant (it) in the place of that (=where the animals have defecated), it's (in) that [focus] that the millet will ripen better. If there is no manure, the millet cannot ripen (well). Your farming (=field), (no matter) how spacious (=vast) it is, you-Sg cannot get millet like one who has manure. For animals too, the bush, its benefit (=value) is greater for them (=animals). It's for that reason [focus] that they take (animals) to the bush.

S: When the end of the rainy season has gone out (=ended), do they (=animals) come to the houses (=village)? Or do they remain out in the bush?

O: When the end of the rainy season has gone out, there are some who remain out in the bush, (and) there are some who come home (=to the village). There are some animals who always stay out in the bush, (and) again there are some who stay at home. The ones who stay home, them—. The excrement that they (=animals) make, when they (=people) gather their manure, they will take (=transport) (the manure) to the fields out in the bush. If you-Sg are in the bush, furthermore, you-Sg will keep pulling (=shifting the location of) your things there (such as) the animal pen.⁴¹

S: When the end of the rainy season has gone out, how (=what) do you-P1 do for (=with) them?

O: For the animals?

S: Do they remain (=continue) feeding them entirely like this thing (=system) of the rainy season? Or how (=what) do they do?

⁴¹ The animal pen (with thorn-branch fencing) is shifted when it has too much dung.

O: The end of the rainy season having gone out, now when the work of all the fields, when all the work of (growing) millet has ended, (then) it's the work of (growing) calabashes. When all the work of calabashes has ended, the animals, as for them (=animals), they (=people) drive out and send (=let them loose).

Now there is no feeding (=tending the animals), because there is nothing that they (=animals) (can) damage. When they (=animals) come to a water source (e.g. pond), they (=people) let them drink. When they have come to (the) water source, (and) when they (=people) have let them drink, they (=animals) will go and eat (=graze) by themselves.

S: In the rainy season and in the hot season, is the body (=physical state) of animals one (=the same), or is it different?

O: In the rainy season and in the hot season, can the body of animals be the same? In the rainy season they eat fresh (=green) grass. In the hot season there is no (fresh) fodder, they eat dry grass. One who eats dry grass and one who eats fresh grass cannot be the same. In the hot season their route is more—. In the rainy season, their body is better (=healthier).

S: Driving them out in the hot season, is that [focus] what makes them plumper? Or (the herder's) accompanying them and going and letting them feed (=graze), is that [focus] what makes them plumper?

O: There are people who accompany them and go. Accompanying and going and letting (them) eat, that [focus] is more—. Accompanying and going, that is what benefits them (=animals) more. But they don't have (=can't manage) accompanying and going.

The children will not consent to you-Sg, even if you-Sg tell them, "go accompany (the animals)!" This child won't have (them) eat (=tend them); this child won't have them eat; this child won't have them eat. Well, even if you-Sg tell your (own) child "have (them) eat!," he will not consent. Well, for that reason, now, everyone drives out and sends (the animals).

Furthermore, having gone out to the bush, apart (=away from the village), there is nothing in the way of damage that they (can) hit (=do) for the people, like (they do) in the rainy season, (since) they have already harvested the millet (and) the (farming) work is completed.

I: When they (=animals) go along by themselves, if a cow has fallen down, doing what (=in what way) do you-Pl see (=find) it?

O: When they go along by themselves, if a cow have fallen down, (then) if a person of God (=a good Muslim) has seen (it),⁴² he will come and tell you-Sg. If it is not the case that a person of God has seen (it),⁴² if a cow has fallen—, has fallen, (and) nobody saw it, it dies while being unslaughtered, you-Sg don't even get and eat the meat,⁴³ you-Sg have lost.

I: Well, if someone goes and accompanies (the animals) now, (like) your-Sg child.

O: If your-Sg child goes and accompanies (the animals), if a cow falls down, he will come and tell you-Sg, "So-and-So (vocative), a cow has fallen down." You-Sg will go and tell the people. They will go and take and lift (the fallen cow).

I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, that's it.

O: That [focus] is the best thing for it, that's it.

I: For that reason, in the hot season they don't drive out and send (the animals). Any (people) who watch over their cows, it's for that reason [focus] that they follow (=tend) their cattle.

O: It's for that reason [focus] that they watch over (the) cattle.

I: That [focus] is the best thing for it, it is said.

Beni Text 2005-1.16

⁴² Lit., "if a person of God has not seen it." I.e., the negative has wide scope.

⁴³ Muslims cannot eat meat of an animal that has died without being properly slaughtered (with the throat cut).

S: The Dogon, their cattle, is it they (=Dogon) [focus] who feed them? Or do they give (them) to Fulbe? If they give (them) to the Fulbe, furthermore, the fact that they give (them), why is it?⁴⁴

O: Well, now, the Dogon, many people do not give their cows to the Fulbe. At first (=formerly), the Dogon didn't know cattle (well). If they acquired cow(s), when the Fulbe man came, he (=Fulbe) would say, give it to him! They (=Dogon) would give it to him.

Well, when the Fulbe would go, if they sold your-Sg cow, a cow that had not died, and were eating (=spending the money), they would say "it died." They would cut off the tail of another cow for you-Sg and come. "Well, your cow died," they would say, "here is its tail." The Dogon person too would not know (=recognize it) if he had seen the entire cow, never mind (just) with the cow tail.

When he (=Dogon man) took the cow tail, he would lay it down at his home. He would say to the children of his father, "this cow of mine died, they say." They (=Fulbe) kept doing thus, until the Dogon came and knew (=learned about) that. When they knew, now many people do not give their cattle to the Fulbe any longer. Their (=Dogon's) children have them (=cattle) eat. Our cattle, it's we [focus] who have them. There are (still) some (Dogon people) who give (their cattle) to Fulbe, but those who give are not numerous. The Fulbe having tricked us beyond the limits (=outrageously) that way, (the practice) of giving—or rather) of not giving (cattle) to them (=Fulbe) began like this.

S: How many times a day do you-Pl milk a cow?

O: They milk a cow twice a day, morning and night.

S: Do you-Pl milk (cows) with a calabash (as container)? Or do you-Pl milk with what (special) gear?

O: They milk with a calabash? There is (also) what they call *karawal*, a thing that is carved out of wood.⁴⁵ They milk with it. They also milk with small wooden bowls.

S: Now, when cows have gone to the bush (=to pasture), as they come along, their mothers encounter them, (and) they suckle. How (=what) do you-Pl do for (=with regard to) that?

O: There is a herder of (=for) the adult cows, (and) there is a herder of the calves. If it's (in) the rainy season, the adult cows, (if) children don't follow (them), (if) someone doesn't follow them, the calf, if a child doesn't follow it, if with that they (=calves) encounter (their mothers) in the bush, they will suckle thoroughly. You-Sg won't get anything (=any milk).

S: Now when a cow (=calf) has reached (the age of) weaning, (and) it refuses weaning (=keeps trying to suckle). How (=what) do you-Pl do for (=with) it?

O: When it has reached weaning, if it refuses weaning, they put on (=apply) a muzzle(-stick).⁴⁶ There is what they call "muzzle." They put on a muzzle. After they cut off a stick, they put (it) on its (=calf's) nose. Sometimes they jab (=puncture) the nose. When they have jabbed the nose, they put the stick there and leave it. That (way) too, it (=calf) gets nothing to suckle.⁴⁷ All that we call "muzzle."

S: What thing prevents its suckling? When they have put it (=muzzle) on, how does it prevent its suckling?

O: When they put it (=muzzle) on, when it reaches the nose, if it's (=there is) a muzzle, they do it with thorns. When they have done it with thorns, when it (=calf) says (=thinks) it is going to suckle like that, the thorns prick its mother's milk (=udder). The mother (cow) will break into a run. Even if its (just) the stick, the stick will hit hard, (in) the udder there, (and) it (=calf) gets nothing to suckle.

I: Until it (=milk) dries (=is depleted, i.e. by being milked).

O: Until it dries.

⁴⁴ The Fulbe are the cattle-herding people of the zone. Many Dogon who own cattle entrust them to Fulbe, who consume or sell the milk in exchange for tending the animals.

⁴⁵ A "milk bucket" carved out of a single block of wood.

⁴⁶ /tó:nè/ is related to a Fulfulde word meaning 'provoke, tease, pester'.

⁴⁷ Lit., "does not get (=obtain) and suckle." The negation has scope over both verbs.

Beni Text 2005-1.17

S: What is the value of a cow? What is the value of an animal overall?

I: A goat, their (=people's) taking it out to the bush is not common. They remain at home. It is because of what? The excrement that it defecates at home, they (=people) gather it and they take (=transport) it to the bush (=fields). First (=formerly) they used to do that. As for it, it makes a lot of work. Nowadays, for that reason, many people have their goats lie down (for the night) in the bush.

They (=some goats) are at home, others remain in the bush. But the one that stays in the bush, it [focus] is the one that has more ease (=lives better). The goat is sated from (eating) fodder (=grass), milk is its thing (=it has a lot of milk). He (=goat's owner) doesn't carry manure, it (=manure) is already there in the field. It (=goat) defecates. It's because of the usefulness of that.

S: The value of an animal overall (=of any kind) is what? The usefulness is what? An animal ...

I [overlapping]:

S: ... overall.

I: An animal overall, fixing (=satisfying) your-Sg need(s). If a need comes to you-Sg, (for example) you contract a betrothal (=marriage), having sold it (=animal) you-Sg contract (=pay the brideprice). (If) a famine comes, having sold it (=animal) you-Sg eat. This is it, it is the need of (=for) an animal. (If) a good (=important) guest of yours-Sg comes, you-Sg can take (it) and give (it) to him, if you can afford (to). xxx

S: (At) child(ren)'s name-givings, how (=what) do they do?

I: Name-giving(s), if a name-giving comes, (it's) a goat. When seven days have arrived (=elapsed), when we take a goat, we slaughter (it), we put (=give) the child's name. A sheep or a goat, it's in (=a choice between) those two. Whatever is easy (=convenient) for you-Sg. A name-giving, this [focus] is what we do.

S: The value of animal hides too, it is what?

I: The hide, it's our usefulness (=it's useful to us). We drink with that.⁴⁸ For example, if having worked (at) the harvest (you have) anything to conceal and bring home, (or) if having gone to the bush (you have) anything to conceal and bring home, (or) if (you have) anything to take away (from the field or bush), when you-Sg put it there you-Sg will conceal (it). This [focus] is the usefulness of the hide shoulderbag.⁴⁹

S: If it isn't (=other than) that, there is nothing else?

I: This [focus] is the usefulness of the hide shoulderbag. A well-bag, (with which) they (=people) let cattle drink, we make (it) with that (=animal hide), with a goat hide. (As for) cow hide (=leather), we lay it (=spread it on the ground) and lie down (on it). Cow hide, we (also) make shoes (with it). We do all that with cow hide.

S: The usefulness of an animal overall, that's what it used to be.

I: The usefulness that we talked about. Ah, O, if you-Sg can add (anything), you may add a little.

O: Milk. Milk, having milked a cow, we eat milk.⁵⁰ If there is a lot of it, we sell it, (and) we eat it, (and) you-Sg feed your family (with it). Well, the usefulness of milk too, this [focus] is it.

I: The thing that has (=makes) a distinction between a Fulbe person and us (is that), a Fulbe person can guard (=tend, watch over) an animal better than we (can). He himself is a person of the bush. Animals (=livestock) also—, they (=Fulbe) keep (animals) in the bush. (As for) us (Dogon), (anything) like what they (=Fulbe) can do in the bush, we cannot do that in the bush, even today.

For that reason, their (=Fulbe's) animals are more numerous. They (=Fulbe) can make (the animals) plump more (than we can). We cannot make an animal plump as much as they (can). What has (=makes) a distinction between us and the Fulbe, this is it.

⁴⁸ Waterskins from the entire hide of a goat kid (or lamb).

⁴⁹ A long, thin hide bag (French gibecière), worn under the arm and held by a strap over the shoulder, part of the normal "bush gear" taken by men to the fields or into the bush.

⁵⁰ 'Eat' instead of 'drink' here, since milk is often mixed with millet cakes (tô) and eaten.

S: (Was it) because first (=formerly) the Dogon did not have (many) children (that) they used to give animals to the Fulbe? Or why was it?

I: The farming, your-Sg child's doing the farming, farming is better. (If there is) a single child, instead of him having the animals eat (=tending the herd), farming millet is better. Because of the thought of this, we used to give (animals to Fulbe).

When we looked, there was nothing better (=no better way) in farming. It was the animals [focus] that were lost—. In their (=Dogon children's) hand they (=animals) would be lost, (as for) that, they would be finished (=would die out). Well, now, when we look, that practice, it is not a practice that is possible (=acceptable). It isn't better, hey! We take out and put (our children), now, we simply follow (=tend) cows. The value of the cows, with that (=at that point) we have begun to see.⁵¹

Beni Text 2005-1.18

I: The collective hunt—

S: The hunt, how do they do it?

I: The hunt, (as for) us, the little thing that we found (=inherited from elders). A hunter, himself, in order to make his sauce (=meal) good-tasting, he begins a hunt. He shoots, he hunts, he shoots meat (=wild animals). One day the village assembles, they say “let's put (=carry out) a collective hunt.” Between the seventh and the eighth month (of the year). They will fix (the date of) the collective hunt. The sun has come out now, with that (=at that point) the wild animals cannot run. The villagers,⁵² be it rifles, be it (wooden) clubs, be it spears, everyone goes with what(-ever) he has. They throw (stones) and they hit (with clubs), they shoot (with rifles), they stab (with knives). They go and get together and surround (the animals), in the hottest time of the day. A flying animal cannot fly. If (we) are able to surround (them), everyone, whatever he gets is his (wild) animal (=belongs to him).⁵³ If you-Sg were able to shoot (it) with a rifle, it's your animal. If you-Sg were able to strike it with a (thrown) stick, it's your animal. If you-Sg pierced it with a spear, it's your animal. If you caught it by hand, it's your animal. The village, we get together. When they come, at the edge of the village, they (=villagers) will divide up (into groups). While you-Pl stay over there, we will stay on this side here. The boys (=young men), the rifle dance now, they shoot at each other (with gunpowder but no bullets). (For example,) this one comes (forward from his group) and shoots (at the opposite group), (and) this one goes (from the other group) and shoots (at the opposite group). Anyone who has meat bring his meat and mocks the others (in the opposite group), (saying) “I got some meat, you-Sg didn't get (any)!” He mocks (them). If the other one (=someone from the other group) has something, he takes it out, comes running (forward) and mocks you-Sg. They shoot the rifle over it (=meat). Anyone who has a spear comes (forward), he does like (=pretends to) heave (them). Anyone who has a stick (=club) comes (forward), he does like (=pretends to) hit. They go back (to their groups). They keep doing that until the twilight comes in. That (meat), that collective hunt—the meat that they have gotten in that collective hunt, the portion of (=reserved for) the oldest (man) of the village will come out (=be offered).

S: Will something (=a portion of meat) of each person come out (=be offered)? Or will you-Pl take it (a portion) out together.⁵³

I: Nope, they don't put all of it together (=meat). They, each person (=man) who brings (meat), he gives it to the oldest (man) of his house (=family), he gives the thing (=share) of the oldest (man) of his house. When you-Pl have brought (it), it belongs to the oldest (man) in your-Pl extended family (=clan). You-Pl go and give (it) to the oldest (man). They (on the other side) too will go and give (a share) to the oldest (man) (of their extended family). When they go (on) the second collective hunt, each person (=man), what(-ever) he gets, it is his. There is no giving to the oldest (man). Each

⁵¹ End of track A of tape Beni 2005-1.

⁵² Generally men only.

⁵³ I.e., will the oldest man of the village get a small portion of each animal carcass, or some other portion taken from the overall quantity of meat?

person (=man) eats what(-ever) he has gotten. That is the second collective hunt. The hunt.

S: In a year, do they do it (=collective hunt) twice? Or do they do it once?

I: They do it twice.

S: Between the two times, how many months **intervene**?

I: A week, or a month. A month—, it doesn't pass (=exceed) two weeks (or) three weeks. It doesn't pass (=exceed) the two weeks (or) three weeks.

O:⁵⁴ If they have gone and come (back) here (since) a week ago today, again a second week, they will leave(=delay it) again (for) a second week, (so it is) two weeks ago today. (The time) between the two (collective hunts) doesn't exceed fifteen days (two weeks).
55

I: It doesn't exceed fifteen days.

S: Do they prepare (=plan) and set (the two dates) on a single (=the same) day? Or do they do this one (=the first collective hunt) completely, then again on another day they prepare (plan) that one's (=set the date for the second one)?

I: After having set (the date for) this, when they have gone to this (=first collective hunt), they will set (the date for) this (=second hunt). "This hunt, it's of which (=which kind of hunt) today? When they have finished doing (it), the one of that other (=the second hunt), it will be (in) ten days (=two weeks)," (they) say. Everyone pounds (=crushes) gunpowder. A trap-setter will set his trap(s). The collective hunt—, uh, one who goes and shoots in secret will go at night and shoot his thing (=meat) in secret.⁵⁶ One who catches (by hand) will catch (an animal). Before it (=daytime collective hunt) arrives, like (=for example) (if) it's tomorrow, they will go and catch (an animal tonight), no? Everyone catches. It's thus (=this) [focus] that they do, the collective hunt.

S: The (regular) hunt, how do they hunt, (in) the (regular) hunt?

I: The hunt. (In) the hunt, you-Sg take a rifle. You-Sg go (to) the bush. You-Sg keep going (=walking). If you see a wild animal, you-Sg stop. If it sees you-Sg, you-Sg will hide from it. You-Sg will lie down on the (=your) belly. When you-Sg have lain down on the belly, if it doesn't (=can't) see you-Sg, you-Sg will go having lain down on the belly. You will go crawling (on your belly). (You) go—. When you-Sg have gone and arrived at a place where it can't see you-Sg, "that place, uh-huh, when I have arrived (there)." (There) where it (=bullet) will hit it (=animal),⁵⁷ you-Sg stay there and shoot. Nope, now, you-Sg have looked (and) it hasn't seen you-Sg, if you-Sg see it first (=before it sees you), you will shoot while standing. If it (=bullet) has hit, (it) fall—, when you-Sg go running (and) you-Sg take out a knife, you-Sg will slaughter (=cut the throat of) your thing (=meat). You-Sg take it and put it in your-Sg shoulder-bag. You-Sg have gotten some meat.

If it's in the collective hunt, the animals (=meat) that they shoot, everything that fell (=dead), they say (of it): *tara je, tara je*. With that, they have gotten some mea. If anyone at all [focus] gets (an animal), they all will shout. But now, if you-Sg say that it's (exclusively) yours, when you shoot your thing (=animal) you take (it) and put (it) in your shoulder-bag. (If) you-Sg shoot while lying down, with that (=that way), without it seeing see-Sg, you hide (from it) and shoot, that is (called) lying in wait. That is (called) lying in wait for a thing. If it's not that (=other than that), *gora*.

O: That is is, it is thus.

I: You-Sg can't add anything else?

O: It is thus. No, it's not worth adding (anything). (As for) that collective hunt, you-Sg have spoken of how they hunt the (regular) hunt, (and) you-Sg have spoken of how they hunt the collective hunt. Well, the collective hunt, it's (done by) two neighborhoods (of the village). When they make (=organize themselves into) two neighborhoods, this neighborhood and this (other) neighborhood, well, when they have gone and gotten some meat (=killed some wild animals), the neighborhood (people), they too,

⁵⁴ Speaker I speaks overlappingly in the first part of O's turn, but I's words are not clear on the tape.

⁵⁵ Calqued from French *quinze jours* 'fifteen days' = 'two weeks'.

⁵⁶ I.e., some men who fear they may be humiliated by not killing any animals during the collective hunt will shoot an animal in secret the night before, then flaunt it after the hunt.

⁵⁷ i.e., a place that provides camouflage but is also close enough to the animal for a shot.

themselves, with that (=meat) they have some fun for (=with) each other. “We got (some), you-Pl didn’t get (any)!” Ah, (as for) the (=people) of this side, this neighborhood along here remains, (and) this (other) neighborhood along here remains (=they face each other). Well, when you-Pl go running (toward the opposing side), you-Pl keep coming and shooting the rifles at each other like that, you-Pl shoot at each other like that. They make (=organize themselves into) two neighborhoods. That is the collective hunt.

S: When the (regular) hunt has passed, (and) the collective hunt has passed, on the fourth day of that, or on the second day, or all the way (=as late as) five (days) arriving (=elapsing), do they not, uh, have some fun (=celebrate) just because of that (=the hunting)?⁵⁸

O: That celebration, as for me, I have never seen (=witnessed) it.

I: At night, they spend the night dancing the women’s dance. They liked (it). The night of that (=of the collective hunt), they used to dance the women’s dance. Nowadays there is not even the collective hunt.

S: (They dance) just because of it (=collective hunt).

I: Yes, just because of it they used to dance the dance, formerly.

O: Nowadays, they have even abandoned (=stopped doing) the collective hunt. There is no collective hunt any longer.

S: Why did they abandon it, the collective hunt?

O: It’s **for (=because) of the fact that** it is said that the religion (=Islam) that we are in, and it (=collective hunt), do not meet (=mix well).

S: So, why did they use to do (that) formerly?

O: When precisely the same day (as this day) the following week would arrive, it was the collective hunt. (As for) the (regular) hunt, it is good (=allowed by Islam), it is said. When precisely the same day (as this day) the following week would arrive, the fact that we would cut (=pick out) and set (that day) for the collective hunt, (or) when precisely this (particular) month would arrive, the fact that we would cut and set (that month) for the collective hunt.⁵⁹ As they have said that the religion that we are in now and that (practice) do not meet (=mix well), we have abandoned all of that.

I: What they used to do formerly (was), at the time when the millet now—, as for now, it’s (time for) beginning to do the work of (growing) millet. Sometimes if they have gotten (=hunted) a certain (kind of) meat, exactly that meat, it’s (=it means) millet-ripening.⁶⁰ If they have gotten a certain (kind of) meat, for the meat, if they have gotten a lot of meat. “Uh-huh, as for that large amount of meat, (it means that) this year it’s millet-ripening! We have gotten (a good harvest).” They have (at some point) seen, there used to be something that they had (at some point) seen of that sort. They hunted the collective hunt for that reason. “If we have gotten this (kind of) meat, if we have gotten a lot of this meat, (then) the millet, this year the millet will ripen (well).” With that they do their work, with (=in) their happiness.

S: Having gotten an animal, when we have already gotten it, if this (particular) animal has been gotten, (then) it shows (=is a presage of) millet-ripening. Does that animal exist, or doesn’t it?

I: It exists.

S: Which animal is it?

I: **Porcupine**.⁶¹

S: It has a lot of spines?

I: **Porcupine**, (and) hedgehog.⁶² All these, the way that they have spines, if you-Sg get them, the millet too will ripen (well) like that, it is said.⁶³

⁵⁸ I.e., is there not a further celebration a few days after the hunt?

⁵⁹ i.e., the reason the collective hunt is counter to Islam is the fact that a day (or month) must be specifically reserved for the hunt.

⁶⁰ If certain (totemic) animals were taken in the collective hunt, it was formerly thought to presage a good millet harvest.

⁶¹ *Hystrix cristata*. cèm̄sèŋ̄é is the Jamsay word.

⁶² *Atelerix albiventris*.

- O: The Dogon (people), it's their thinking (=belief). It's their thinking.
 I: It's thinking (=a belief). Well, it's like this that, as for them, they used to have their fun (=celebration). Nowadays, as for us, we have abandoned all that.
 S: That now, is it your-Pl (=of Beni) collective hunt? Or is it the collective hunt of all the villages, it's like that?
 I: It's the collective hunt of all the villages, it's like that. It is this thinking of (=about) the collective hunt of all the villages.

Beni Text 2005-1.19

- I: Hunting of (=with) dogs. (Suppose) you-Sg have been able to raise dogs. If you-Sg taught them meat (=wild animals), you-Sg will go out with them into the bush. Some people go out with dogs at night, they will go walking around catching animals. Some (other) people go with them in the morning, they catch animals with them. An animal—, they (=people) go. Whenever an animal comes out, they set loose (the dogs, on the animal), they say “suy!”⁶⁴ The dogs hear that word, they go running and surround (the animal). If it goes into a hole, they will wait (=stand). The master (=hunter) comes. They will dig. When they have dug, if it is he [focus] who is able to catch (it) and he slaughters (it), it is finished. If it (=animal) comes out, they (=dogs) will follow it. They catch it and give it to their master. Even if it goes up into a tree, they surround and keep (it there). The master comes. When he comes, when he has driven (the animal) out and it (=animal) comes down, they (=dogs) will catch (it) and give (it) to him. He will slaughter it. Those (=hunters) of the night, as for them, they have a hooked pole,⁶⁵ they stab with a hooked pole. As for them (=night hunters), thus they bring them (=animals in trees) to the ground.⁶⁶ As for the hunt of animals, as for me, what I know, this is it, I think. You-Sg too, if you-Sg can add (anything), add a little to that.
- O: As for hunting with a dog, this that you-Sg have said is it. You-Sg raise it (=dog) for that (=hunting), you-Sg raise it for that, in order to have it (=dog) hunt. Since (=from) the (first) day you-Sg raise it, “watch out!, it's for hunting—, for (wild) animals—, it's only for hunting that I am raising you-Sg.”⁶⁷ You-Sg will speak to it like this. They say that you-Sg will train it (=dog) like this on (=from) the first day. Well, you-Sg will teach it that too. (In) hunting with a dog, they the whites call that “entrainment” (=training). Now, when you-Sg see a (wild) animal, just as you-Sg said, you will set it (on the animal), “suy!” When you-Sg have set it, (if) it has gone and gotten the animal, if you-Sg find it (=animal) alive, having said “bisimillahi” (=“In the name of God”), if you-Sg set (the dogs on the animal), if you-Sg find it alive, it's good, you-Sg will slaughter it. Even if you-Sg do not find it alive, if you-Sg said “bisimillahi” and (then) set (the dogs on the animal), when you-Sg go (to the dead animal) you-Sg (may) eat it, even if you-Sg did not find it alive.⁶⁸ Well, that too, they said it's like this. Hunting with a dog, that is it.

Beni Text 2005-1.20

- O: Uh-huh, speak! Trap-hunting. They do the hunt with traps, speak (about it)!
- I: What they hunt with traps. When you-Pl go to the bush, right then in the morning, where they (=animals) passed by the night before, you-Sg will look at (=notice) the path (=tracks). On this route, wild animals go past (you realize). When you-Sg have a good look, you-Sg will go in the late afternoon (before sunset). When you-Sg have gone

⁶³ A millet stem has a single erect grain spike (like a corn ear), which resembles the spine of a porcupine or hedgehog.

⁶⁴ Cf. English *sic!*.

⁶⁵ A pole with a hooked end, to which a blade may be attached. Also used for knocking fruits out of trees.

⁶⁶ Lit., “(cause to) lie down.”

⁶⁷ Said, figuratively, to a puppy.

⁶⁸ Reference is to an Islamic prohibition on eating hunted animals that have not been slaughtered (by cutting the throat), unless “In the name of God” is uttered before the dogs are set on them.

carrying your-Sg trap, you-Sg will dig (in) a place, right (there) where they (=animals) will step. Where they do not (=cannot) pass by without stepping here, there [focus] you-Sg will cover up (the trap, with sand). You-Sg will wipe away (traces of the trap) well. When you-Sg have wiped (it) away, you-Sg will leave (it) like that. When it (=animal) comes out at night, when it comes (there) it will step on it. In the morning, before you-Sg go (there), you-Sg will find that it (=trap) has caught it (=animal), you-Sg have gotten some meat. Well, if it's birds furthermore, in the grain-pounding place,⁶⁹ a place where pigeons come down (=alight) a lot, or a place where lots of birds come down. When you-Sg have gone to the grain-pounding place, you-Sg will cover (the trap) in chaff and leave it. Afterwards, you-Sg stay far away, (and) you-Sg watch. They (=birds) keep coming down. When they have come down, it (=stap) will suddenly catch one (of the birds). You-Sg will go running. You-Sg will remove it from the trap. Again you-Sg will set (the trap), you-Sg will go hide (yourself). They (=birds) don't know (=are not wary), it (=trap) will catch (a bird) again, you will remove (it) again. When you-Sg get tired, you-Sg will come to the house again. If again (=on the other hand) you-Sg do not get tired, all day long, as for them, as long as their (time for) sleeping has not arrived, it (=trap) will remain (there) and (will) keep catching (them). As for them (=birds), they don't know. That is a bird-trap (*atiw*).

O: That is a bird-trap. That is a Dogon (=native) trap.

I: A Dogon trap. They have it tied with a string. At the (place for) the millet-ear pile (at the side of a field), or any place where the birds do a lot of eating., a place where they peck. When you go there, you will tie (it) with a string and leave (it). When you-Sg have made the string and left it, when they (=birds) come, the food that you-Sg have put down (there), they themselves (=birds) will peck (it). In that way, when they peck, that [focus] is what catches their neck(s). The neck [focus] is what it squeezes. If it doesn't (=can't) find a way out, it's not a lot (=it's rare) that you-Sg go and find it (alive), it dies. Like that, from three to four (times), when you-Sg have done it (=set it), four (or) three (or) four (times) it will catch (a bird), (and) you-Sg go and take it out. Again you keep stretching it (=string) out well and leaving it.

O: That now, is it what they make with horse hairs?

I: They make it with (hairs of) a horse tail. That's it, they make it with (hairs of) a horse tail. You-Sg go again and hide (yourself). Before you go (hide), it catches (a bird) again, it catches a lot (of them), that which (=number of birds) reaches four, five, up to six, as much as that which reaches ten, it (=trap) catches. Again you-Sg take (them) out. When the sun sets, again you-Sg wait until the next day. (If) the sun hasn't set (yet)—. As for them, the bird-trap, they work (=use) it only in the morning, as for it. **xxx**. Now, that (=bird-trap) doesn't catch (birds) at night.

O: There is also what they made with a stick (and) that they call *atiw* (bird-trap).⁷⁰ They (=people) come and they make it like this with a stick. They come and with the stick—

I: The stick strikes (the bird).

O: They call that *atiw* (bird-trap) too.

I: They call it also *atiw*.

O: That now, is it a Dogon (=native) trap?

I: It's a Dogon (=native) trap. Both of them (=both kinds of *atiw*) are of the Dogon. The metal one (=iron animal trap) is of the whites. That is *atiw*, (it and) the one with the stick. That is *atiw*. Both of them are *atiw*. It is a Dogon—. (As for) us, it [focus] is what we used to put (=set). But the metal one is of the whites, we didn't know it. Is not the thing that exists like that?

O: The thing that exists is like that.

I: Do they (=shall we) add something else? Or do then (=shall we) not add?

O: As for trap-hunting, that is it.

I: Yeah.

Beni Text 2005-1.21

⁶⁹ A spot at the edge of the village where women come together to pound grain in mortars. Birds come to eat the chaff and other debris from the grain.

⁷⁰ A different kind of bird-trap, called by the same name (*atiw*) as the one described above.

I: Now, it's slaughtering a sheep.

O: Mhm.

I: xxx if you-Sg have slaughtered (=cut the throat), the nephews (=sister's children) come, they will skin and butcher the sheep. When they have removed the skin, they rip the intestines.⁷¹ When they have removed the intestines apart (from the rest), they wring (it) out. When they have wrung it out, they fold (it) and put (it) down and leave (it). Now they remove (cut off) all of the large meat sections. They remove the upper foreleg(s), they remove the rib sections, they remove the back section, (and) they remove the kidney section(s). Well, now, (they) say that it is finished. The oldest man ("old person") comes. (He asks:) "have you-Pl finished?" "Yes." The rib section belongs to the oldest man, they give it to the oldest man, no?

O: Exactly.

I: They give the head to the Chief. Formerly the neck belonged to (=was for) the nephew. The section (of the back) behind the neck they give to the blacksmith. The kidney section(s) they give to the sisters. Or is it not thus?

O: It is thus.

I: (As for) the rest of the meat, the intestines and the rest, having given (them) to the women, it is (now) cooking a meal at the house. The rest. Is it not so? Does any further division arrive (=take place), or did it not arrive?

O: Uh-huh. The division has arrived, ...

I [overlapping] xxx

O: ... now what you-Sg said now. A goat, for what (reason) is an animal slaughtered (and) they divide (it) up?

I: Animals—

O: (As) a sacrificial animal? Why is an animal slaughtered?

I: (If) not (as) a sacrificial animal.⁷² The villagers now, the people, it's due to respectfulness that (there is) a goat that they slaughtered for (other) people, either that or they slaughtered due to a sanction (against someone). Now it's the sanction. When they have slaughtered due to a sanction, whichever person committed the offense, when they have slaughtered, the upper foreleg section belongs to him. The head belongs to the Chief, (and) the skin belongs to the Chief. The remainder (of the meat and organs), everyone who finds (=happens to get some) will gather (it) up and eat (it). It's the sanction, as for it. Now, if you-Pl have done (it) out of respect for a person (=man), or if they slaughtered (it) for a woman, if it was done (happened), now what I said (before), if you-Sg slaughter out of respectfulness (for someone), all of that (=the precise distribution of parts) comes out (=is carried out) there.

As for the thing (=sacrificial animal) of the Feast of the Ram, the goat that they slaughter because of the Feast of the Ram, whatever (meat cuts and organs) are going to someone else, the nephew, the neck is his portion. He (=nephew) will (also) make *lotol*.⁷³ (As for) the remainder, it belongs to the owner of the slaughtered animal. They give the kidney section to the woman (=the owner's wife), it is her portion. A kinsman (agnatically related), the oldest man of the house (=family), they give the liver to the oldest man of the house. When they have added (as complement) (some of) the rib section, regardless of what meat (=what kind of animal) they slaughtered, when it has gone (=been given) to the oldest man, it's his portion. Either that (=liver) or the rib section goes (to him), one (or other) among the two will go. It too (=slaughter for the Feast of the Ram), its path (=practice) is like that. If they add (=do) anything else, (please) add (it).

O: That is (how) an animal is slaughtered as a sacrificial animal.

I: It is slaughtered with (=on the occasion of) the Feast of the Ram.

O: Well, it's good.

⁷¹ i.e., they make an incision in the belly and remove the entrails.

⁷² I.e., for the Feast of the Ram (see below). *láyá:rù* (Sg *láyá:rù·m*) 'sacrificial animal (sheep or goat) for the Feast of the Ram'. The related term *láyà* can denote the Feast of the Ram, or the sacrificial animal.

⁷³ Pieces of meat and fat are wrapped up in the secondary digestive organs of the animal and cooked.

I: What else is there (to say)?

O: Well, that is it.

I: That is is, no?

O: Yes, that's it.

Beni Text 2005-1-22

S: The fight(s) that you-Pl fight, you-Pl and (other) people, the fight is about what?

I: The fight, the thing (=fight) that comes, most of it is about land. There is also (fighting) about a woman, but (disputes about) land have more force than (those about) a woman. (As for) the land, our ancestors, the land used to belong to them. The land belongs to them. Afterwards, other (people), if you-Sg have a lot of your-Sg places (=areas), the good (=best) place that you-Sg have, you-Sg now, you-Sg will farm that (good place) over there. You keep farming, (and) it has gone on for a long time. His one (=other person's area), it's he [focus] who farms it. He keeps farming. When it has lasted a very long time, when the thing (=situation) has lasted a long time, it (=land used by the other person) goes out from (=ceases to be) yours-Sg. It's a fight of (=between) the (other) people and us. Well, when it has lasted a long time, if you-Sg go, you-Sg too, one day, a difficulty comes to you-Sg, this place now, I want to sow millet. When you-Sg say (to him), "I will arrive (at the field) and scatter (=plant) roselle,"⁷⁴ anyone there who had (the use of) yours-Sg, who had (the use of) what was entrusted (to him), he will say, ah, he himself, he cannot leave this (field). As for it (=field), as for him himself, it was in (=from) the mouth of his grandfather [focus] that he heard this, (namely that) it belongs to him. "You said that this field belongs to you?" "Yes." "Huh? We used to give the field to you-Pl in trust (=for temporary use); you-Pl used to acknowledge (each year), you-Pl used to bring firewood;⁷⁵ now you-Sg said that this place belongs to you?" "Yes!" "I do not consent." You-Sg also get up, if the two of you have argued and gotten tired, and you-Sg go to the villagers, (you say:) "Ah, the villagers, people—, here, our oldest people, it's the truth, I have gone and spoken about the field like this. The people of that village, the (people of) Such-and-Such (village), said that (the field) belongs to them." (Village elders:) "the field?" (You:) "Yes." (Elders, incredulously:) "No, (about) the field, they didn't say (that)!" (You:) "He did say that. I spoke (to him) today, that very field, in (=from) the mouth of his old person (=grandfather), he said it belonged to him, he said it was **his field**." (Elders:) "He has gone crazy,⁷⁶ it's not for nothing (=without a cause) that he did (it)." The oldest men assemble. (One elder:) "You-Pl, don't you-Pl hear? So-and-So's (plural) spoke, saying that that field belongs to them. You-Pl also, how did you-Pl hear (that)?⁷⁷" (One elder:) "No, they didn't say (that)." (Another elder:) "No, they didn't say (that). The field, it isn't theirs."

Well, now they go to meetings for each other (=at each other's villages). They come, they go, they come, they go and come. "That field does not belong to you-Pl." "That field, its origin is (with) us." "You-Pl used to get firewood for us." "It's to us that you-Pl used to (come and) greet." "Today, now that you-Pl have been (here) for a long time, (you claim it is) your-Pl property. It (=agreement) was made⁷⁸ by So-and-So and So-and-So. Even today, as for us, we do not abandon (=give up our ownership rights to it), it's (as) our property [focus] that we follow (=keep it). That too, if it has stayed like that now, we have said a greeting (i.e. good-bye) to all that, you-Pl abandon (the field)! Abandon everything that you-Pl have! From this (spot) all the way to (over) here, it all belongs to us. You-Pl are farming (the field) on a temporary basis. We refuse (to cede the land). When today has passed (=after today), if your-Pl sowing hoe has gone into there, uh-huh, you-Pl will have brought trouble." This (argument) keeps going on, then

⁷⁴ A conventional formula by which the owner of a field takes back the use of a field that he has previously allowed another man to farm.

⁷⁵ Each year, a man given the use of a field by its owner would bring a load of firewood to the owner, and would acknowledge the latter's ownership.

⁷⁶ Lit., "he has gone up (in) craziness."

⁷⁷ I.e., "what is your-Pl recollection of that?"

⁷⁸ Lit. "followed and entered [X and Y]."

when you-Pl are tired of the meeting, everyone will go and stay at his home. When the rainy season arrives, we will not let you-Pl by (on the path). Anyone who comes on the path, you-Pl will go and encounter (=accost) him. If fighting comes (=breaks out), it follows (=comes after) that. (You say:) well, So-and-So,⁷⁹ it's farming on a temporary basis (in someone else's field), it doesn't belong to him; it (=field) belongs to this village, it doesn't belong to that village (over there). This goes on, until they come and take spears, they take rifles, (and) they take sticks (=clubs) for (=against) each other. They go for (=to) the authority (=judge). The authority makes a judgement. Again, they (=judges) themselves know (that) this land is the land (=property) of this (person), this is not the land of this (other person), they know. If they want the truth, (the judges say): "Well, So-and-So (vocative)." (Other:) "Yes?" (Judges:) "You-Sg went down on (=trespassed against) this (person); the land belongs to this (person)." If the talking goes down (=ends) on this, it is fine. If it drags on unresolved and does not finish on that (judgement), the people of the authority (=judges) will say to (=ask) you-Pl, what did the villagers encounter (=inherit)?⁸⁰ (You say:) "as for us, we encountered (=inherited) the sacred object."⁸¹ (Judges:) "Did you-Pl drink (from) the sacred object?" "Yes." If they are good (=honest, competent) authorities, they will make you-Pl drink from the sacred object. When they have made you-Pl drink (from) the sacred object, there it won't be long (before) the (true) owner comes out (=is revealed). With that, everyone will settle it (=the issue of the field). Either they will settle⁸² it with hitting (=fighting), or with force (=weapons) now, or they settle it once and for all⁸³ it by drinking from the sacred object (=by sacred oaths).⁸⁴ It's one or the other (of these).⁸⁵ (To O:) How did you-Sg see (it), ...

O: Uh-huh, with that, a field—

I: ... our fighting?

O: As for the land, fighting (about) land now, what he (=I) said, that is it. Only in the aftermath of that (=land dispute), fighting (about) land comes (=happens). Some person, the thing (=land) doesn't belong to him, (but) if it (=his using the land) lasts a long time, he says (=claims) that it belongs to him. You-Sg the (rightful) owner say you won't abandon (=cede it), and he too says he won't abandon (it). The fight (about) land comes after this, just like the way he (I) said now. We too, that sort of thing has happened to us. Only in (=on the basis of) these (situations) and the likes of these (situations), the (other) people and we used to argue like that.

S: Fine, for example, if fighting is done like that now, do you-Pl set a date, and say (for example) "on this same day next week, let's meet each other (to fight)"? Or do they come and go down on (=attack) you-Pl when you-Pl are unaware (=not expecting it)?

O: They don't come to your-Pl village and go down on (=attack) you-Pl. You-Sg the owner of the field say, "after today passes, don't come to the field! It doesn't belong to you, (so) don't come!" He, the other (person), does not accept (=refuses). (You say:) "Ah, if you-Sg come to my field here, (when) today has passed, when I see you-Sg, there will be no peace for you-Sg." He too refuses. Well, with that (=at that point), if the two of you go there and encounter each other, with that you two will fight. Ah, when you-Sg come and speak to (your) village, he will go speak to his village (and) you-Sg will come speak to your-Sg village. (You say:) "Don't you-Pl come again to ours (=our field), it is our territory; don't you-Pl put your feet again in our field." (As for) that, if you-Pl go and encounter them (there), well that (is when) the fight will come out (=break out) between the two of you, it will be like that.

⁷⁹ Indirect-speech vocative.

⁸⁰ I.e., what was the situation handed down by ancestors.

⁸¹ Animist ritual object on which solemn oaths were sworn (an untruth sworn to would lead to annihilation of the family or village concerned).

⁸² 'settle (it)', literally "go out behind (it)."

⁸³ Lit. "pass go and go out behind (it)."

⁸⁴ 'Either ... or ...' here translates a construction with parallel polar questions: "Do they ...? Or do they ...?"

⁸⁵ Lit., "this comes."

- S: Fine. When you-Sg have fought, by doing how (=what) do you-Pl come back again and be reconciled?
- O: If you-Pl have fought, it's Satan [focus] who put you-Pl (up to it). If the one who is at fault has accepted⁸⁶ (=recognized) his fault, you-Pl will be reconciled. If the one who is at fault does not accept his fault, on the other hand, every day we will remain like that (=in conflict) indefinitely.
- S: If you-Pl have fought, when you-Pl have held another meeting again, do you-Pl ask: "who has (=is in) the right, who has (=is in) the wrong?"
- O: If they have come and showed who is in the wrong and who is in the right, if the one in the wrong carries (=recognizes) his fault, there they will offer their excuses (=seek pardon). If he (=man at fault) says (=requests): "be patient (tolerant), give the field to him, let him plant (crops)!", the owner of the thing (=field) will take (it) and give (it) to him.
- I: Other villagers who offer excuses (as intermediaries) come.
- O: Other villagers will offer excuses (as intermediaries). The members of the neighboring families, it's they [focus] who offer excuses (on behalf of the man who occupied the field). Him (=man who occupied field), if at that point he refuses (to offer excuses), it remains like that (=in dispute). You-Sg (-field owner) too won't give him (the field), you-Sg won't let him plant there, (saying:) "if today he says it belongs to him, tomorrow too he will say it belongs to him." You-Sg won't give him (the field). Things like this,⁸⁷ ...
- I: We will fight.
- O: ... following it, a fight like that, a field, a fight over land comes (=happens) like that. A fight over a field comes like that.

Beni Text 2005-1.23

- S: Why is it that you-Pl leave your-Sg village and go seek work far away?
- Y: The fact that we leave our village and go seek work far away, all of us men, go in order to search (of work), we go and get (work) or don't get (work), we go in order to seek wealth (=make a living). Some years, having gone, they even leave here and go to Abijan (capital of Côte d'Ivoire), they go to Ghana, they go to Nigeria, even some people go to France. Even if it's not that, they go to the cities of the whites. They go in order to seek wealth. Women run away⁸⁸ (without permission). As for the women, immorality⁸⁹ makes them leave, we don't want them to go,⁹⁰ us too, (but) if we have no power (to stop them). As for them (=women) too, because we go, they (also) run away. Formerly, in our childhood, we did not find (=experience) any woman going to the bush (=running away), other than (=only) a man. But now girls keep running away. It's their immorality that makes them leave. All the men go to seek wealth.
- S: In your-Pl thinking (=opinion), is immorality [focus] what makes them go? Or is it to become immoral [focus] that they go?⁹¹
- O: Them, it's to become immoral [focus] that they go. They having gone, when they go, we see that they become immoral. It's not one, two, or three (=it's many). What they—
- S: When they have gone (away), if not (=aside from) the immorality, they don't come (back) in goodness (=with anything good), they don't bring any good (back)?
- O: We don't see anything good that they bring (back). One who has a husband (=a married woman) having gone, she has left her husband at home. If she goes and stays (away) for two years (or) three years, even if it's good for her, it's harm(ful) to her husband. If it's a long time (away from home), some of them come (back) in a state of pregnancy.

⁸⁶ Lit., "take and carry (on head)."

⁸⁷ Lit. "this and the peer of (=something resembling) this."

⁸⁸ Lit. "run and go."

⁸⁹ *ñáwⁿà* means 'damage, ruin, malfunction'.

⁹⁰ Young women travel to big cities to seek work as housemaids. They sometimes come back to the village pregnant.

⁹¹ I.e., do preexisting bad morals induce them to go, or do they go (for other reasons) and develop bad morals away from home? The sense of 'to behave badly' here is not purposive, rather to locate the change in a future time.

There is nothing more ruinous than that. That's the immorality (=ruin) that we speak about, that's it.

- S: Fine. When men go, on the other hand, when they now go, what things do they bring?
- O: When they go there, the good children (=young men) go into work. Now, once they have gone into work for someone (=a boss), when they work, (some) they pay them by the month, (or) by the day, (and) some also practice commerce. Well, some people get (=make) money. They bring money and give (it) to their fathers. Like this year, if they went, some people, now the rainy season has come down, when they come, they bring something like (=approximately) the money for two hundred-kilo (bags) of grain (=millet), (or) they bring something like the money for three hundred-kilo (bags), (or) they bring something like the money for one hundred-kilo bag. Well, it's better for you-Sg (=the father). Many children, many boys have gone.
- S: The men, when they go, they don't become ruined (immoral)?
- O: The men (can) be ruined too. As for a man, when he goes, whether he will be ruined or he will not be ruined. They (=men) will go to seek wealth. He has gone and gotten (wealth), and he has not gone and gotten (wealth), among them (=both groups) there are some who are ruined. There are some who get (wealth) and waste (it), (and) there are some who get (wealth) and don't waste (it), (among) the boys too. Ah, (as for) them, their going (to seek work) is obligatory for us, their going is like that.
- I: Their going, there is a lot of good there.⁹² Because one person, you-Sg are at home, (thinking:) "he (=another young man) has worked, God has given (=showed) him the (right) path, he has gotten a motor vehicle, he has driven and brought the vehicle here into his father's village; every boy (=young man) of your age; if he (=another young man) has gone to the bush (=the big city)⁹³ (for work) and gotten (wealth), I too will go and get (wealth)," he will say (=think), no? One person comes (back) with a motorcycle. "Where did it (=motorcycle) come from?" "It came from the bush (=the big city)." If (something) like that is obtainable in the bush (=the big city), if it's work [focus] (that produces it), I too would like to go and work. He will go too, (and) will get (wealth). (With) their frequent going (to the city), there is (in general) a gain. The frequent going of women, is ruination. Abortion and long absence from the marriage (=from the husband), the frequent going of women, this is (the cause of) that frequent ruination. (For) a man precisely, his ruination is not frequent (=is rare). Because this year, the men, (just) the way O said, this year the men, look!, some people (gave) ten hundred-kilo (sacks)—, the locusts ate up (the harvest), (so) they (=men working in the cities) will give ten hundred-kilo (sacks), (or) they will give five, (or) they will give one, (or) they will give a half (sack), (or) they will give two (sacks) (to their fathers). It's beneficial, no?. The fact that many children (=young men) go, that's it. We too (=fathers), we wait for (=rely on) them (and) we wait for (=rely on) God. That is the big path (and) the good path (=what is best) for us. It very much has a benefit (=is beneficial). That is what has brought (about) that going away (for work).
- O: Every person (=father), if his child (=son) went away (for work), he (=father) waits for (=relies on something from him).
- I: He waits for (it).
- O: There is nothing for the mouth to eat, the locusts ate up (the harvest). Every person (=man), if his child went away (for work), whether the child (eventually) brings (something) or does not bring (anything), he (=father) waits for (something), everybody. A child (=son) who has courage (=is industrious) too will bring (something), a good child too will bring (something). If you-Sg see that the fellow (=child) has not brought (anything), (you assume that) when the child went there, either he didn't find any work, or a disease caught him, or it's ruination (=bad behavior). If it's not ruination (=if he's not immoral), he will think of his father, he will think of his parents (mother and father), his father and his mother, the way he left them at home. It's like that also.

⁹² For the most part, it's good.

⁹³ Here *ɔrⁿó*: 'the bush, outback' means 'far away (from the village)', implicitly 'the big city (e.g. Bamako)'.

Beni Text 2005-1.24

- O: Uh, now, you-Sg are studying, you-Sg are studying at (the public) school. Now, you-Sg will begin (school) at Dianwely.⁹⁴ When you leave Dianwely, you-Sg will go and study in Douentza. When you-Sg have finished studying in Douentza, now you-Sg will go all the way to Sévaré and study. Now when you-Sg have finished studying, if you-Sg get (a good job), what is your-Sg thought (=plan)?
- S: When I have finished studying now, what I am thinking in my heart (is), may God give me work (=a job). When I have gotten a good job, I will fix (=build up) my (native) village. I will fix (=build up) the world. That's what I seek. I want to study—, (as for) me, on the path where I am, that field⁹⁵ (of study), that field of study, where will it go and come out (=what will it lead to)? It (=my field) [focus] is what will go and come out in (=lead to a career as) judge. Where will it go and come out? It will go and come out in something of the ones with power (=a career in government). If I have been able to go out (=graduate) there, just that [focus] is what I ask from God. If I have been able to study (and) if I have gotten (=made) some money, (then) I will fix up (=build for) myself, I will fix up my kin, I will fix up my village, (and) I will fix up every Muslim. That [focus] is what I want.
- O: Well, may God give you-Sg what you-Sg envisage, may great God transform it into (something) good. Well, as for your-Sg father and your-Sg mother, they put you-Sg into studying (=enrolled you in school). They have planned (something) good for you-Sg. You-Sg too, (may) great God—, (if) you have gotten (=wealth), if you-Sg do (something) good for them, you-Sg (will) have added good on top of good. If that [focus] is what is in your-Sg plant, may great God give you-Sg that which you-Sg plan. They (=your parents) have asked (God) for this blessing too, your-Sg mother and your-Sg father, your-Sg parents. Unh-uhn, even if you-Sg were to think (something) evil, may God make (it) good. Well, having children, having given birth to a child, it's benefit (is), (the question) “will we get (wealth)?” Tell your-Sg white man Jeff what we are thinking of. (As for) us, the benefit of (having) children, because of that [focus] we do (thus). If we have given birth to two or three children, (we decide) we will put this one in studying (=enroll him in school), we will put this (other) one in farming, we will put this (other) in herding animals. Well, all of them, When he has studied, when you-Sg are at home, one day, when he comes (back), your-Sg child will benefit you-Sg. He will come with (=in) a motor vehicle, he will send (“give and send”) money to you-Sg, you-Sg will eat (=live off) it. If you haven't given birth to a child, when you-Sg get (=reach the age of) fifty (or) sixty years, your-Sg strength will have ended. The children of (other) people won't give you-Sg (anything). You-Sg also won't be able to work. If you-Sg sit (=remain thus), you-Sg will die like that in shame (=pitiful state) and in hunger. Well, that [focus] is why we (want) two (or) three children, that [focus] is why we want children. Well, (may) great God—
- I: Well, in Sévaré, lodging now, are you lodging⁹⁶ at (the house of) your relative(s)? Or at whose house are you lodging?
- S: Well, as for me, I studied here (Dianwely), I had the the year six (=sixth grade), I went (away) then, (to) Douentza. I went to Douentza and studied there. After I studied there, Sévaré, I moved on (=advanced) to year ten (=tenth grade) over in Sévaré. I moved on there. The person (at whose home) I lodged, it wasn't my person (=relative), it wasn't my kinsman. All of us (=I and they), the language(s) (that we speak), even they are not one (=the same). It's a person of God.⁹⁷ He came here (once) for work. He and I saw (=met) each other. We saw each other, (then) he asked me (for) my name, (and) I asked him (for) his name. We said each other's name(s). We liked each other. I did the work that he said (=asked me to do). That went on until his heart was refreshed. At that point,

⁹⁴ The primary school (first cycle, grades 1 to 6) serving Beni was in Dianwely Maoudé, a 4 km walk. For the next level (second cycle), a pupil would go to Douentza. To continue at a lycée, a pupil would go to Sévaré or Bandiagara.

⁹⁵ French *branche* ‘branch’, referring to higher education (usually in Bamako): law, medicine, etc.

⁹⁶ Lit. “going down” (i.e., going home after work or school).

⁹⁷ I.e., one who hosts out-of-town school pupils as a good deed, not as an obligation to kin.

the person went away. When he went away, he said well, when(-ever) I was studying and had need of him, or (when) they gave us (=pupils) a vacation, I should come (to him). I said, all right! I went like that. When I went, God made (it happen that) the year when I went, I moved up (a grade) there again. When it moved up—, when I moved up, he said that I should come to Sévaré. I said, all right! I went like that. That person (=man) was not my kinsman. The two of us kept being (=living) there, we spent one year. It was that one year, it was last year. So then, I went (there) for a second year. When I went for the second (year), I and they, we stayed (together) for three months. In the third month, they gave us a vacation. When they gave us the vacation, he said: well, when I went (home for vacation), as for him, now, he couldn't say anything (=about hosting me in the future), (so) I should come (=back from vacation) looking for (another) lodging. (I asked:) why? He said: well, as for him, his work (=job) here was going to end; he did not like⁹⁸ (the situation) where he was now; he was going to go away from there (=Sévaré). (I asked:) (as for) him furthermore, where was he going? He said, he himself didn't know where he was going. With that, he told me that I should look for a (new) lodging. I said, all right. I didn't say anything (else). When I came (to Beni), I didn't speak to our people (=kin), I didn't say anything. I know that our people had no other person there (in Sévaré), unless it was I myself [focus] who looked for (a host). I went away (from Beni), I went back there (=to Sévaré). I arrived in Douentza, I telephoned him. He said: yes, he had gotten another job, he was going to leave here (=Sévaré). I didn't say anything. As for me, I went to Sévaré. When I went there, God made (it happen that) in the place (=area) of my house, there was a woman. She furthermore had left her husband behind in Sé{varé}— (or rather) in Bamako, she had left her children behind (in Bamako), only she was there (in Sévaré). She was (living) there. It was me [focus] whom she sent (on) all her errands, there was nobody (else) next to her. Sometimes, if she was going (to some) places today, she would give and leave me the keys to her house, (and) she would tell (=ask) me to spend the night there, I would spend the night in her house for her, I would guard (it) for her. I would wash her motorcycle. It was like that, it was I [focus] who washed everything. Well, that woman, when the others (=my host and his family) said they were going (away), she asked me, what was I going to do now? I answered too: as for me, he (=previous host) had told me to look for another lodging; as for me, that [focus] is what I will seek. She said, if it's that, there was no point in looking (further), I should stay there (in her house). I said, all right. I stayed there. When I had stayed there, I went and looked over there (at the previous house) again, my (previous) host, they say his name (=they call him) G, the place where they took him and Sévaré are not far apart, but the school (in Sévaré) where his children are is very strong.⁹⁹ It's the school of the powerful (=rich) ones, they pay money (for tuition), 4000 riyals (=20,000 CFA) per month (for) each person, they (=his children) are two. There (where he is now), there is no school equal to that school. If they were to go (=leave their school in Sévaré), they would lose everything that they have studied, they will be weak in French. Well, for that reason, as for him, he was staying (=still living) there, he said. If I wanted, I could come (back) to my place (at his house), he said. I said, uh-huh, (but) I did not leave (the house of) the woman again. Were I to go, furthermore, it would displease the woman. Even today I am in my place (at her house).

- I: Well, the teachers, when you-Sg go to study (at school), as for you-Pl (=pupils), how (=what) do they (=teachers) do with you-Pl?¹⁰⁰ Do they beat you-Pl, or what do they do?
- S: If we go to school, the teachers don't hit you-Sg, (if) it's not after you-Sg hit (them). If you-Sg go (=arrive) late, there is an "entry ticket" for you-Sg. You-Sg take the paper and you-Sg go in with it. When you-Sg go in with it, they take two points off your score. What they call "conduct," (they will say) you-Sg are ill-behaved, or you-Sg don't accept (=follow) the rules that they give. At that (point), they will take off two points

⁹⁸ Lit. "... was not sweet (=pleasing) to him."

⁹⁹ Lit. "... has a lot of strength."

¹⁰⁰ Corporal punishment in public schools was formerly common but was officially prohibited several years before the time of the recording.

for us. Because of that, everybody himself goes (early) in the morning. If you-Sg haven't gone in to the school, it's you yourself [focus] who will hit yourself. If not that (=other than that), no person will raise his arm and hit you-Sg. Over there (=at school), any more hitting—, they have killed (=abolished) hitting, there is no hitting.

I: You-Sg go running (to school) early in the morning?

S: You-Sg go running early in the morning, if you-Sg have gotten up. You-Sg have no other work (=activity), you-Sg came only (=strictly) for that (=school). You-Sg will go running for that early in the morning. There is nothing (=no other work) that will make you-Sg late, if you-Sg have the will of (=to do) that.

I: Well, a spoiled (“ruined”) child, how (=what) does he/she do in that (respect)?

S: A spoiled child, it's he—, they (=spoiled children) come. When they come (to school), they don't go into the classroom. Even on a day when they do go in, they disturb themselves, they disturb (any) other person, they anger our teacher. Because they go in, you-Sg who do not like noisy talk they will force to engage in noisy talk, you-Sg who are near them, you-Sg who like to follow (the lesson), because of their noisy talk you cannot follow (it). They keep making conversation, you-Sg will follow (them). They will put you-Sg to the side (=cause you to fail). They keep doing that, When Madame (=female teacher) has chased them out, if she has chased them out and left them (outside), they (=noisy students) will provoke you-Sg too, so you-Sg and they go out (together). How (=what) do the Dogon say? They say (proverbially), a widow wants (to have) a companion. They (=teachers) will chase you-Sg out (with them). All of you-Pl will be chased out. When you-Pl have gone out, they (=bad students) will go outside and laugh at (=make fun of) you-Sg. They will smoke their cigarettes. They stay (=keep doing) like that. As for them, they are the children of a boss (=rich person). There are also certain persons (=students), they don't know the reason for which they came (to school), xxx they (=teachers) have chased them out. When the (school) year is finished, when they don't get (=pass), they repeat (a year) there, it isn't their need (=they don't care). They go around (=circulate) like that. Those people (=students), when you-Sg encounter those people, there is no way you-Sg (can) go.

O: Ah, that child (=such a child), if you-Sg (=father) give birth to him and you-Sg put him in school, you-Sg will fall down (=be ruined). If your-Sg mother and your-Sg father have given birth to you-Sg and they have put you-Sg in this work (=schooling), you-Sg too, (as for) that work, if you know (=appreciate) its value, if you-Sg are a good child, if you-Sg are a child who has the blessing (of his father), you-Sg will do that work. (If your-Sg father and your-Sg mother think that you-Sg are doing that work, (but in fact) you-Sg have left (=dropped out of) that work, you-Sg have thrown (away) that work, (then) you-Sg will anger them. Tomorrow (=in the future) you-Sg will not see the path, they (=parents) will say it's you-Sg [focus] who are the spoiled (=ruined) child. That's it. Well, may great God keep that away from all good children. Well, what you-Sg have said now, if you-Sg are like that, may great God leave you-Sg like that, may great God take you-Sg forward (in your schooling). It pleases our hearts to (no end).

I: In French, how do they say the name (=word) of that (kind of) child?

S: They call him *impoli*.¹⁰¹

I: *Impoli*.

S: Uh-huh.

O: That (word) *impoli*, what is it's meaning (=translation) in Dogon language?

S: He's a big-headed (=arrogant) child. He is big-headed, he doesn't accept (=obey) things.

O: He doesn't accept things.

I: How do they say (=call) the one who is good?

S: They say, *poli*.

I: They say, *poli*.

S: Uh-huh. It's *he* [focus] who is good, that's it.

O: It's he [focus] who is good. The one who respects (other) people, it is he. It (=behavior) is well done.

¹⁰¹ Lit., “impolite (one)” or “unpolished (one),” but used in local French as a strong insult for a badly-behaved young person.

Beni Text 2005-1.25

S: The Gambian rat,¹⁰² how is it?

I: The Gambian rat, it's size is superimposed on (=exceeds that of) the mouse. Or is it (about) its behavior? Is it talking of (=about) behavior? The rat is a thief. It gathers up dried wild-grape¹⁰³ pits, it gathers up peanuts. If it sees (=gets) peanuts, it won't leave (them). As for its food (=diet), (it is) excrement, peanuts, karité¹⁰⁴ pits. As for those, it gathers (them) and goes and deposits (them). It causes ("hits") damage, regarding karité pits. The Gambian rat, this is its behavior. In your-Sg house, it digs, it goes in and stays there. All the damage that I said to you-Sg now, it keeps doing ("hitting") to you-Sg. The behavior of the Gambian rat, this is it. This one also, who (=what) is it?

S: The unstriped grass rat.¹⁰⁵

I: The unstriped grass rat.

S: This one is it.

I: It's in the bush (not the village). It stays in (=inhabits) fenced enclosures (=vegetable gardens). If you-Sg have fenced off calabashes (=gourd plants), it (=rat) makes holes in the bottom of the calabashes (=gourd fruits). When it makes holes in your-Sg calabashes, it damages (them). It (=rat) too, this is its work (=behavior). It eats the soft parts of the calabash (=gourd fruit). The calabash (plant's) vine goes, it spreads out (on the ground), what you-Sg think is good, it (=rat) cuts it. It damages it, to the point that it (=calabash plant) is finished.

S: Do they (=people) eat its meat?

I: They eat its meat.

S: (It and) the Gambian rat, the two of them are the same (=both eaten)?

I: They eat the meat of the Gambian rat. Children don't leave it (=they eat it avidly). Adults, (wonder) whether it's best (=appropriate, to eat) a little (=occasionally) or how (=what to do).

S: The white mouse¹⁰⁶ too. It stays in houses, up above (=in the roofing). It doesn't come down below. If it comes down below, it's in order to drink that it comes down. It stays up above, it burrows in your-Sg house, it makes the earth (in the ceiling) come down on your head. It doesn't leave (=it constantly eats) peanuts. Over there where it (=mouse) is, anything that is like the food that it eats (=whatever it can eat), it eats a meal (of that), the food that you-Sg have eaten and have left over (=your leftovers). This is its work (=behavior), white mouse. (As for) millet, it eats all day and it eats all night, it doesn't go out of the granary. If it goes out (of the granary), it's in order to drink water that it has gone down, it comes out. If it's not that (=other than to drink), there is no place that it goes (to). As for it (=white mouse), this is its work.

S: The white-toothed shrew¹⁰⁷ too.

I: As for the work of the white-toothed shrew, as for the work of the white-toothed shrew, when you-Sg have gathered millet ears into a large pile (at the harvest), in the bush (=fields), it (=shrew) will stay inside it. If not itself (=a shrew of the same species), no other mouse that is like itself (=of similar size) will go in. When you-Pl go to gather millet, if it has gone into the baskets and has come (to the houses) following the women (who carry the baskets), that's it. (Or) if it has run into an uncultivated field, that's it. Now, when it comes to the house, it chases out the mice that are in the house, they say.

¹⁰² The large local rat is *Cricetomys gambianus* (about 1-2 kilos). The tail is half black, half white. It is much larger than any local mouse or shrew, and is caught and (avidly) eaten by children.

¹⁰³ *Lannea microcarpa* (wild-grape tree). The berry-like fruits have a little flesh that is eaten by people. The pits can be pressed for oil.

¹⁰⁴ *Vitellaria paradoxa* (karité tree). The fruits have a large oily pit (from which shea-butter is made) covered with some flesh that is eaten by people.

¹⁰⁵ *Arvicanthis niloticus*, a moderately large field mouse. Killed specimens of this and other mice were present at the recording.

¹⁰⁶ Seems to apply to both local species of small, light-colored mice: *Mastomys erythroleucus* (tail not longer than body, belly hairs greyish at base) and *Myomis daltoni* (tail longer than body, belly hairs all-white).

¹⁰⁷ *Crocidura* sp. (perhaps *Crocidura cinderella*). Small mouse-like mammal, insectivorous, with pointed snout. An aggressive animal capable of chasing away larger field mice.

- It is nasty to them, it bites them a lot. It too, this is its work. The odor of its body is not sweet (=fragrant).
- S: The black mouse¹⁰⁸ also.
- I: The black mouse, it is not a good thing. A(ny) year where it is abundant, they say it's a (year of) famine, (in) their abundance. Millet, they eat millet to an excessive degree, the millet that is in the granaries. Your-Sg water, any water that you-Sg have put (=stored) in the house, they (=black mice) will drink it. If they can't get water, they will run away. When they have run (away), they will go to another place, (to) water. After drinking, they will come (back). They cannot stand thirst at all. The black mouse, it does this, (and) it eats peanuts. It eats the remainder (=leftovers) of your-Sg food. It even bites you-Sg, this black mouse, it is its work (=behavior). This is what I know for (=about) it.
- O: Uh-huh. The black mouse, if you-Sg are sleeping, at night, it will bite your finger(s).
- S: The spiny-haired mouse¹⁰⁹ too.
- O [to I]: speak about the spiny-haired mouse.
- I [overlapping]: the spiny-haired mouse, I saw it on the edge of the village.¹¹⁰ It eats things that are over on the edge of the village, (such as) excrement. The spiny-haired mouse, it is an eater of excrement.
- S: Well, they say that it transforms itself into a hedgehog.¹¹¹ Is it the truth, or is it a falsehood?
- I: It (=spiny-haired mouse) doesn't transform itself. The hedgehog, it is born (naturally). It (=hedgehog) too, its kind (=species) is apart (=distinct). That (=what you asked about), it's a falsehood. It (=spiny-haired mouse) cannot transform itself into a hedgehog. There is no manner by which it transforms itself. They are (merely) similar, because of that fact that it (=spiny-haired mouse) has spine-hairs a little. It itself, it can't transform itself. The hedgehog is separate, this one's (spiny-haired mouse's) child is separate. That one (=spiny-haired mouse) too, what we know (about it) is this.
- O: The hedgehog gives birth to a child (=its young). The child that it bears, even if it has given birth today, you-Sg will find it (=young) with spines. The spiny-haired mouse, as for it, it is always at the edge of the village.
- I: It's at the edge of the village.
- O: It eats excrement at the edge of the village.
- I: But it doesn't transform itself.
- O: It eats excrement, it eats tree leaves.
- I [overlapping]: By doing what does (=could) it (=spiny-tailed mouse) transform itself? Its tail here, if it is cut off? (Or) by doing what? It cannot transform itself. That (=what you asked about) is not the truth. It too, its kind (=species). As for what I know about them (=spiny-tailed mice), as for me, this is it. Can you-Pl add, a little?
- O: That is it. Their work (=behavior), that is it. What you-Sg said now, that is it.

Beni Text 2005-1.26

- S: This young girl's scorpion¹¹² now, what is it like?
- O: This one, the young girl's scorpion, they didn't set (the name) for it "young girl's scorpion" for nothing.¹¹³ It (once) stung¹¹⁴ a young girl, and the young girl died.
- S: What things does it eat?

¹⁰⁸ Black-furred variety of *Mastomys natalensis*, a house mouse somewhat larger than the "white mice," and typically on the ground rather than on roofs. The species also occurs locally in a variety with light gray-brown fur.

¹⁰⁹ *Acomys johannis*. The hairs on its back are indeed slightly spiny.

¹¹⁰ Area at the edge of the rocky shelf on which the village (Beni) is located, sloping down with many large boulders, where people go to defecate.

¹¹¹ Hedgehogs (like porcupines) have thorn-like spines on their bodies.

¹¹² Term denoting a biting centipede (scolopendre), not a true scorpion. Chilopoda, family Scolopendridae.

¹¹³ i.e., for no reason. Lit. "for (an)other thing (=reason)."

¹¹⁴ Lit. 'kicked', term used for the sting of the scorpion's tail.

O: This, rotten (=slimy) things, earth (in fields). Those things it eats. They say that it eats various other things also. Well, that is its work. Its stinging doesn't hurt as much as the other (=real) scorpion's stinging. (But) it does sting. It stings, (but) it doesn't hurt as much as the other one's stinging. But it stung a young girl, and she died, they say. It's name is "young girl's scorpion," this is it (the reason).

This millipede, we call this one the "black millipede"¹¹⁵. Well, it itself, the (black) millipede, it is in the bush (=outback). Ants and other things, as for it, those are what it licks (=eats). It licks rotten (=slimy) things. It makes a cry too, it goes "pi:!", it makes a cry. If it's not in the rainy season, it doesn't remain in the hot (dry) season.¹¹⁶ Only in the rainy season is it seen.

S: This one (=young girl's scorpion) too, is it also seen in the hot season?

O: This one too, in the hot season, this one is seen in the hot season. It is seen in the hot season. The stones, if you-Sg displace (them) now, sometimes you-Sg will find it there. It is seen in the hot season. But as for the millipede, it isn't (present) in the hot season, if it's not in the rainy season. Well, that one too, it is thus.

S: The other scorpion,¹¹⁷ too.

O: The other scorpion. The scorpion, it stings a person. If it has stung you-Sg, it hurts. (As for) it, the painfulness, it is greater than the painfulness of a snake (bite). (The only) thing as painful as it, (is) embers of fire (=hot coals), what they take (=embers) and put on your-Sg foot, it hurts only like that. If it (=scorpion) has stung certain people now, tomorrow if the (same) time (of day) has not arrived now, twenty-four hours, if that hasn't arrived, the painfulness won't subside ("calm down"). If it has stung certain (other) people, now it will keep hurting until tomorrow morning. Now, among the medications, when it's this medication [focus] they come and make, anything at all that relieves it (all) at once, as for that medication, we haven't seen it up to now. As for what (=a medication that) relieves it all at once, unless (=except that) there is a medication that makes it (somewhat) better. Well, for (=concerning) the scorpion, that's what is found.

S: What (sorts of) things are its food (=diet)?

O: The scorpion. The scorpion's food. It stays in a hole. Exactly what that (=its food) is, the scorpion, as for me, exactly what is this [focus] that it eats ...

I: It catches grasshoppers.

O: ... I don't know. Well, it catches grasshoppers, they say.

I: It eats grasshoppers.

O: It eats grasshoppers, it is said. I don't know what else it (may) eat. It eats grasshoppers, they say. Well, it [focus] is the scorpion. What (=the one that) they call "*sakelem* scorpion,"¹¹⁸ the *sakelem*, as for it, it is a scorpion apart (=another type). The *sakelem* doesn't get big, it is like that (=small). The child (=young) of this (other) one (=ordinary scorpion), the young one, they call it "scorpion-child," it isn't the *sakelem*. The *sakelem* doesn't get big, as for it, it is always in (the form of) *sakelem*. Its sting isn't as painful as (like) that (=it isn't terribly painful); it isn't as painful as the sting of this (=ordinary scorpion). It, where they (=people) bathe, in the bathing areas, it (=sakelem) stays there. When you-Sg pour (water) in the bathing area, when you have poured water, if the wetness touches it (=sakelem), it will come up. When it has come up, it will bite¹¹⁹ you-Sg there.

¹¹⁵ The local giant millipede is a soft-bodied, dark brown, non-biting, herbivorous creature that reaches full growth in the late wet season. Diplopoda, Iulida, Odontopygidae. There is also a much smaller scarlet-red centipede (likewise order Diplopoda) that is commonly seen scurrying across fields at the end of the rainy season. The term gòrònr-góm:jó is used for either.

¹¹⁶ More or less literal translation, clumsy in English. 'if it's not ...' in opposition to a parallel phrase may mean 'it's only ...'.

¹¹⁷ I.e. the true scorpion.

¹¹⁸ It is said (here and elsewhere) that *sakelem* is a different species. However, the single specimen obtained at Beni and described as *sakelem* was a juvenile of the same species as the larger local scorpion.

¹¹⁹ The speaker uses kúwó- 'bite, eat (meat)' instead of támbí- 'kick; (scorpion) sting', with reference to *sakelem*.

- S: The two of them (=ordinary scorpion and *sakelem*), do they eat one (=the same) food?
 O: The two of them eat one (=the same) food. Well, the sting of *sakelem* is not as painful as the sting of the other one, it's not as painful as the sting of the large scorpion. There is (also) the "horse's scorpion," it is very big. But we haven't got it here,¹²⁰ we haven't seen it. It, the horse's scorpion, as for it, if it has bitten a person, it will give¹²¹ no peace to the person. Well, the matter of scorpions, this is it.

Beni Text 2005-1.27

- S: The *leyla*¹²², how is it?
 O: *Leyla*, it (is) in the month of fasting (=Ramadan), *layla* enters (=occurs) in it. On the twenty-seventh night of the month. Well, on that day, they call (it) *leyla*. As for it, it is the public (=for everybody) *leyla*. But the Envoy, the Envoy of God (=the Prophet Muhammad), said: when you-Pl have had twenty days (of Ramadan), the ten days that remain, all of it is *leyla*. That very day ("the day of this day"), the night of *leyla*, what they call "the angels" will come down. It is said that they (=angels) hasn't let anyone know (when), God hasn't let anyone know (when), but it is said that it's (some time) during the ten nights. Well, the (Muslim) holy men went by themselves and studied a great deal and looked, they say: it is thought that it's the twenty-seventh night. It's because of that [focus] that they make that night *leyla*. That night you-Sg pray, you recite (Koranic verses).¹²³ If you-Sg are in the path of God, that night great God—, the angels will come down, it is said. Anyone whom they find in the path of God, or whom they have found in prayer, now if they have found you-Sg in any (activity of) God's path, the (divine) reward that you-Sg will get that night is greater than the (divine) reward of a thousand months (of ordinary living). The (divine) reward that they give you-Sg that night. Now, (the whole time) from now until (=through) next year will find you-Sg (alive). It is said that on that night they divide up (good and bad fates). This thing, from now until before you-Sg die—, (from now until) next year arrives, you-Sg will get (something good), (or) you will not get (it), on that night they will divide (it) up, (their) fate(s),¹²⁴ it is said. Well, God ordains all those things on that night, it is said. The thousand years— (or rather) the thousand months, we have added up its (equivalent in) year(s), (and) it's eighty-three years. Well, that night, its (divine) reward, that [focus] is what they give you-Sg, it is said. The angels (do that) to the point that they come and xxx. (Divine) reward—, they keep calling out blessings for you-Pl. Until five o'clock, (at) the time for the morning prayer, at that point they (=angels) will go (back) up, it is said. Well, this is it, the benefit of *leyla* that the holy men tell us (about), this is it.
- S: If it's not that (=other than that), there is nothing else in *leyla*?
 O: I don't know any other meaning of it, if it's not that.
 S: Also if you-Sg don't do (=stay up for) *leyla*, what is it?
 O: (If) you don't do *leyla*, a Muslim, twenty-seven days, a month you-Sg have fasted ("tied your mouth"), (but) if you-Sg didn't do *leyla*, (something) is missing for you-Sg.¹²⁵ You-Sg didn't do (it) now, why didn't you-Sg do (it)? The big (divine) reward that they (=holy men) spoke (of), don't you-Sg want it? Don't you-Sg want (to go to) paradise? If you-Sg don't want it, there's no point in fasting. For what reason will (=would) you-Sg omit (doing *leyla*)? Speak! Why will (=would) you-Sg omit (it), not doing it?
 I: You-Sg, one who (can) stand hunger and thirst.
 O: If you-Sg have said (=explained) that, (namely) why you-Sg didn't do (*leyla*), (then) if I know something like that (=on that subject) now, I will say (it) to you-Sg.

¹²⁰ I.e. in the collection of specimens present at the time of the recording.

¹²¹ Lit. "bear, give birth to."

¹²² *layl-a* is the Arabic word for 'night'. In Mali, *leyla* (or variant) denotes the night of the 27th of Ramadan (fasting month). People try to stay up all night, hoping that angels will come by (distributing good fortune).

¹²³ Same verb (jáǰǰé) translated 'study' above. The common thread is 'read (the Koran)'.

¹²⁴ I.e., you will learn your fate for the coming twelve months.

¹²⁵ I.e., 'you have missed out' (not gotten the proper reward for the effort of fasting).

I: There isn't (anything).

S: Fine. If you-Sg don't do *leyla*, is there (=does it count as) a sin? Or is there not?

O: (If) you-Sg are in good health, (and) nothing is hurting (=ailing) you-Sg, (then) if you-Sg don't do *leyla*, you-Sg have a sin. Great God instructed¹²⁶ (each) Muslim, He said "do (it)!."

S: Is that it?

O: Uh-huh, that is it.

Beni Text 2005-1.28

S: What is the work (=behavior) of a *seytan*?¹²⁷

O: If you-Sg have heard (about) the work of a *seytan*, (as for) a *seytan*, a *djinn*¹²⁸ and a *seytan* are one (=are the same), (from) one mother and one father.

S: Why have they said, this one is a *djinn* and this (other) one is a *seytan*?

O: If you-Sg hear (about) a *djinn*, he himself, the *djinn*, he is a Muslim.¹²⁹ They the Muslims¹³⁰ call that one *djinn*. When people pray a prayer, when we the children of Adam pray a prayer, they pray following (=along with) us. They didn't send down a separate envoy (=Prophet) for them (*djinns*). Our Envoy (=the Prophet Muhammad), He is their Prophet (too). They (=djinns) perform prayers. They (=people) call one who prays a *djinn*. They call him *djinn*, the *djinn*.

Well, they (=people) call the ones who do not pray, them the kefirs (non-Muslims). *seytans*. Well, this [focus] is what distinguishes them.

S: They (=seytans) do only (=nothing but) evil.

O: They do only evil. People, if you-Sg (=a person) go (there), if it doesn't please them, they will strike you-Sg. If you-Sg enter a place where they are surrounding (you), they—, they see us (but) we don't see them. Just like this way we see a person, they see us like that, (but) we don't see them. Well, they are the *seytans*. The ones who provoke (=pick fights), they are the *seytans*.

S: Well, the *nyere* (dwarves) too.

I: *Awaynam*, well, he now, it's he [focus] who holds (up) a boulder, (and thinks) if somebody comes, he'll put down (=drop the boulder). He remains (there). When someone comes, sleepiness takes hold of him. Is that him?

O: No. Sleepiness, now, if you-Sg come, (and) if he says (=intends) to do this to you-Sg, (then) great God puts forgetfulness on him. When you-Sg come and arrive near him, he has forgotten. If it's not that (=if it weren't for that), people—, in this world (of the living) he (=awaynam) doesn't leave people (alone), he doesn't let people walk around. Well, it's great God alone [focus] who holds (=restrains) them.

That *nyere* (=dwarf), he himself, the *nyere*, they come and stay in the (dense) forests. From the dense forests to the stone caverns, they are there. They too, in (=according to) the way that they (=people) say, they (=nyere) see us, (but) we don't see them. When you-Sg go, their gear (=belongings), if you-Sg put (your) foot in certain of their thing(s), they will catch your-Sg foot and throw it, it is said. They too (=on the other hand), if they wish (something) good for you-Sg, they will give you-Sg something good, they (=people) say. Even going into the deep bush, certain people, like children (and) human dwarfs,¹³¹ they (=nyere) wash and put down their (=short people's) clothing, they (=short people) see (it). They (=short people) see water in their (=nyere's) ponds. If you-Sg say (=intend) that you'll come and go and call a person and show (the *nyere* to him), you-Sg won't (be able to) come (back to the pond). They (=nyere) will have made it disappear. God has put (=established) darkness (=invisibility) between all of us (=us and them). Well, those are the *nyere*. They see us,

¹²⁶ tó:rí· is often translatable 'authorize'.

¹²⁷ From Arabic šayṭān-, cf. *Satan*.

¹²⁸ From Arabic jinn-, cf. *genie*.

¹²⁹ i.e., looks and acts like a normal person.

¹³⁰ Lit. "their Muslims."

¹³¹ I.e., the dwarfish sprites (*nyere*) feel an affinity to very short humans.

- (but) we don't see them. They too, they are the nyere. Short-short, they are short, they are short.
- S: As for them, if they don't do anything evil to people, —
- O: As for them, that they do anything evil to people is not common (=is rare), as for them, as for them.
- S: That *iblis*¹³², who (=what) is that?
- O: *Iblis*, it's he [focus] who is the *seytan*. He is *abalcinne*. It's he [focus] now who Jeff said was the (cabinet) minister,¹³³ it's him. There is no evil that he doesn't do. He puts (=does) nothing good for your-Sg heart (=spirit), it puts (=does) only evil to your-St heart. He makes you-Sg think of evil, he tells you-Sg, "do this evil thing! Do this evil thing! It is nothing (=it won't hurt you)," he says. He instigates evil only.
- S: He follows after you-Sg.
- O: He follows after you-Sg. They say, as for him, he even runs in the blood.¹³⁴ xxx well, (as for) that, if you-Sg say "in the name of God,"¹³⁵ he will leave there, they say. For that reason, as a Muslim, whatever you-Sg do, say "in the name of God," it is said. If you-Sg say "in the name of God," it will run far away, it is said.
- S: I hear them (=people) saying, either they say it's a *seytan*, as for me, or they say it's a *djinn*, uh, or they say it's an *iblis*.
- O: Uh-huh.
- S: It is said of him, of him now, if he gets up in the morning, he instructs these *seytans* (pointing): "This one, go!" "This one, kill!" "This one, —." "(You-Pl) go kill a person and come (back)!"¹³⁶ He who has been able to kill a person, the one who gives a hat of gold—, that one, who is it, among those two?¹³⁷
- O: He is the *djinn*—, or rather he is the *seytan*. When he gets up in the morning, he calls his people (=devils) together. "Well, you-Pl go this way and work (=do) this!" "You-Pl (others) go that way and work (=do) this!" "You-Pl (others) go that way and work (=do) this!" Thus he instructs his people, it is said. They go. (When they return, he asks:) "How (=with what result) have you-Sg come?" "Oh, I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; there used to be friendship between the two of them, (now) the two are ruined (=have broken up). I stirred up trouble between a woman and her husband; there used to be friendship (=love) between them, (now) the woman has left." This (=other) one too comes and says (something) like that. (*Seytan*:) "Ah, as for you-Sg, you-Sg haven't done anything else, of any bigness (=significance)." "I have ruined (=broken up the friendship of) a friend and a friend." (*Seytan*:) "Ah, you-Sg too, you-Sg haven't done anything else." "I stirred up trouble between So-and-So and So-and-So; the two of them hit each other (=fought) and one of them died." (*Seytan*:) "You-Sg [focus] are the one who has done some work!" He (=seytan) picks up a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said. He (=seytan) picks up a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said. "The people that you-Sg stirred up, haven't you-Sg seen that there are some who will present excuses (=be reconciled); if they don't die, they will present their excuses. As for you-Sg, you-Sg haven't done any work." Well, he (=seytan) takes a hat of gold, and (gives it) to the person (=devil) who killed a person: "After you-Sg stirred (him) up, the person killed his friend." He (=seytan) takes a hat of gold and gives it to him, it is said.
- S: The *seytan*—.
- O: It's the *seytan* [focus] who does that.
- S: Their chief.

¹³² Arabic ?ibliis-, another type of devil.

¹³³ I.e., a high "official" among devils. The speaker alludes to a discussion prior to the recording, perhaps misunderstood.

¹³⁴ Expression meaning 'stick closely to, be inseparable from'.

¹³⁵ In Arabic. This phrase is commonly used among people as an invitation (to come in, to eat, etc.), or as an invocation (before eating, traveling, etc.).

¹³⁶ Lit., "if/when you-Pl kill a person, come!." Only the final verb is (plural-subject) imperative in form, but the series of verbs is interpreted as a single complex command.

¹³⁷ S is asking which of the categories of devil is the commander who sends the other devils out to do harm to people.

O: Uh-huh. It's he [focus] who does that.

S: That was it?

O: Uh-huh. This is his work.