

Tabi Text 2004-2b.1

X: He (= the linguist) said (= asked about) pounding, (about) the way they pound. Millet grain spikes (ears), the way they use (“take”) their millet grain spikes and work, so that they transform it into flour, they transform it into millet cakes, they make a (grain) meal, (and) then cook sauce, until it comes and reaches (the stage of) millet cakes, (when) it comes out, that [focus] is what he is asking her about.

Y¹: < ... >

X: < ... >²

Y: (I should speak) just like this? Well, well, the millet grain spikes, when the men have taken them out (from the granaries), we go and pound them (to dislodge the grains),³ then when we have come (back home), we measure it (=grain), we distribute it, and we grind it.

(And) when we have ground it, the woman who cooks the millet-cakes⁴ sets the pot (on the fire) there, she cooks those millet cakes. (And) when she has cooked the millet cakes, she serves (= ladles) them (from the pot into the bowls), distributes each person’s share, cooks the sauce (separately), pours the sauce (over the millet cakes), and each person takes (some) at the doorway, delivers his portion, everyone delivers his (own) portion (to his own home).

And now each person eats (the meal). (As for) millet grain spikes indeed, we will pound (the grain spikes), and grind (the grains). When we come, we will measure (the grain), we will distribute it, we will will grind it. The woman who cooks the millet-cakes will cook it now by herself. And then now, she cooks it and distributes it. And now (there is) the distribution of (= to) all the people. She will cook the sauce and everyone will eat.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.02

X: Crisis food.⁵ Crisis foods now, how (= what) they do. (He says) he is asking you-Sg about that now. (For example) (as) crisis food, they strip off leaves.

Y: *Boscia*.⁶

X: They pick (fruits of) *Boscia*.

Y: And now *Boscia*—, I pick and soak *Boscia* (fruits), and I cook them. I strip off (leaves of) *luwo* tree(s) too, and cook them, and mix them (*luwo* leaves and *Boscia* fruits) together, they eat like that.

Z⁷: If there is no millet, (if) there are no (grain-based) meals, (it’s) crisis food. We strip off (leaves of) *luwo* trees,⁸ (and) we pick (fruits of) *Boscia*. When they have picked *Boscia*

¹ Oumou Pathé, sister of Seydou.

² Brief, partially inaudible discussion about speaking into the mike.

³ The pounding to dislodge grains from the millet spikes is generally done in a specific area at the edge of the village, where extra-large mortars and pestles are kept for community use.

⁴ In each extended family (say, fifteen or twenty persons), the millet cakes and the sauce are cooked centrally with one woman in charge.

⁵ Lit. “hunger food.” I.e., foods consumed when the millet has run out.

⁶ *Boscia senegalensis*, a shrub whose seeds, resembling hard peas, are leached in water for 2-3 days and then cooked. This is the primary millet replacement staple in the region.

⁷ Second woman is Oumou Youbi.

(fruits), we will grind them coarsely (to remove the skins), we will leach them (by soaking in water for one or more days), we will cook them, and we will put (=add) liquid potash.

They put in liquid potash and they cook it. And then (they) strain it (in a filtering basket), and at that time (they) cook it, then (they) divide it (into shares) and we eat.

(Leaves of) *luwo* trees, we strip them off. When we have stripped them off, we pick out (= gather) the twigs, we put them in the pot, we cook them. And then, at that time, we divide it up. We gather—, we make balls, we put in millet-flour balls, we divide it up, we get together and eat (it).

Yes, another one, porridge. If (there's just) a small amount of millet (grain), we make porridge, we divide it up, we get together and eat it. It's a crisis food.⁹ If we have not gotten any millet, we put that (in the pots), and then we eat it.

Did you-Sg hear? You-Sg will hear. If you-Sg haven't stopped asking (= have further questions), you-Sg will hear.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.03

X: Now, potash. Dark potash. The way you-Pl make it. The way you-Pl put it in (grain) food.

Where you-Pl begin (making) it, what you-Pl make. By doing what (= how) you-Pl put it in food. Now (he says) he is asking that.

Y: As for dark potash, we rake it up (after burning it in the fields), then when we add a pinch it (to millet cakes). All right. When the (millet) stems (in the field after harvesting) have dried, we burn our potash.¹⁰ Now when we have burned it, now (we use) a filtering pot,¹¹ we take out some broken-up millet grain spikes (from pounding in mortars), we put some broken-up millet grain spike in the holes of the filtering pot,¹² and we put some dark potash (in it). We soak the dark potash (in water), we let it (= liquid) go down (through the holes of the filter). When we have gotten some porridge, then we add a little of it (=liquid potash) (in it).¹³

Tabi Text 2004-2b.04

X: (He says) he is asking you-Pl. Water, the work of drawing (water). When you-Pl go to the artificial ponds, with what [focus] do you-Pl go to draw water? The way one draws (water). That is what he is asking you-Pl about now.

Suppose (for example) that one is going away to Yogodogi in the morning. One goes (there) bringing the rubber waterbag, one pulls it, one puts it (=water) into the

⁸ See note on *lùwó* in text 2004-2a.03 (translation page).

⁹ Porridge is also an everyday snack food in times of plenty.

¹⁰ The millet stems are burned, and the ashes are mixed with water to make potash.

¹¹ An earthenware pot with holes on the bottom for letting liquid out.

¹² The holes in the filtering pot are clogged with broken millet grain spikes from the first pounding of millet grain spikes, allowing the liquid to pass through into another container below.

¹³ The liquid potash is used as a condiment in porridge, or with millet cakes. There are also various forms of solid potash used as condiments, or mixed with chewing tobacco, or mixed with gunpowder.

bucket. One pulls—, one brings it, one comes home (with it). That is what he is asking you-Sg about.

Z: Yogodogi, we go to the pond(s) in the morning. When we go to draw water, we go bringing a rubber waterbag. When we—, when we have gone bringing (it), we put the rubber waterbag in the water at Yogodogi. When the water has gone into it (=waterbag), we put it (=water) into a bucket. When we have put it in the bucket, we take it and carry it (on our heads), we come (home). We go to our home, we put (the water) in an earthenware water jar. We come and drink. It's with that that we come and make (=cook) meals.

X: There is nothing else.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.05

X: (He says), is there something that one makes by hand work, that one sells and gets money (thereby)? That is what he (asks) you-Sg—, (he asks) that you-Sg speak to him.

Y: Uh-huh. Whether we do hand-work and get (something)? We weave straw baskets¹⁴, we earn money. We (cut off) strips of branches—, we pull off grass (stems), and we remove (=cut off) strips of branches, and we come and weave baskets¹⁵, we get some money. We make macari¹⁶. We buy roselle (fruits), we make macari, and we sell the macari.

Furthermore, we pick jujube (fruits). We make (dry) jujube balls. The jujube fruits are to one side, the (jujube) balls are to the other side (=different). We go and sell (them), we get some money. We get (fruits of) *burusode* tree¹⁷. When we have stripped them off (the branches), we sell (them), we get some money. Even black luwo (tree), we strip off (its leaves), we mix it (with a little millet grain). We get some money.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.06

X: Now, it will go down. Now the women, the way they weave (palm-frond) fans. The way they buy doum-palm fronds (=leaves), they sit, they weave fans, and how they sell the fans. (He says) he is asking you-Sg about that, you yourself.

Z: Fans. We don't have doum-palm fronds. We (buy) fans—, (or rather) we buy doum-palm fronds. When we have bought the doum-palm fronds, we sit.

Y: Ten riyals (=50 francs CFA).

Z: We buy doum-palm fronds for ten riyals.

Y: Yes, (and) its palm-frond nerves¹⁸.

¹⁴ The two main types of baskets are *tású* (smaller, tightly woven from grass stems) and *jèsú* (larger, used to carry millet grain spikes from the fields at the harvest, loosely woven from strips of branches).

¹⁵ Baskets woven from thin, flexible strips of branches of the tree *Grewia bicolor*.

¹⁶ Black spice made from fermented roselle fruits, widely used in sauces.

¹⁷ *Grewia villosa*.

¹⁸ The rather stiff central nerves in each segment of a doum-palm frond (=leaf). There are many such segments in each doum frond. This is distinct from the very hard, flat petiole connecting the entire frond (leaf) to the trunk of the palm. This petiole becomes the handle of square fans.

Z: We buy some nerves. And after that, we sit and we weave them¹⁹. When we have woven them, we sell them. Its price, with (=for) that—

Y: Fifty riyals (250 francs CFA).

Z: For fifty riyals we sell a fan.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.07

X: Now (he says) he is asking you-Sg, if you-Sg have gotten a girl (=daughter), now, when you-Sg have given (=promised) her to a man. Yes, the way one works (=what one does), the way (=what) one does, until one takes, until her marriage. What you-Sg get (=receive), what you-Sg take out (=pay), what they give you-Sg, (and) what you-Sg take out.

Y: Well.

X: (He says) that is what he is asking now. Until **they** marry her (to a man). The gear (=things) of the marriage negotiations, what they pick up and take out (=to pay), (he says) that is what he is asking you about.

Y: Well, all right. If they have married her, if they have proposed (=asked for the marriage), if they have asked. Calabashes, tankards, that is what they bring. They bring (it), at first. Furthermore, gifts, salt, they bring it. Furthermore, while they have not (=before they have) married, when they arrive at (the time) to marry, meat, the marriage meat, they give the marriage meat. Well, when they are going to get married, the marriage millet-bundle, they tie up (and give) the marriage millet-bundle, they give the marriage meat, they give the proposition calabash, they give the gift, the men will give all that. You-Sg too, you the mother, **that which**, you-Sg too. You-Sg too, your mother, there is nothing now that you-Sg take out. At this time, they make millet cakes (tô), the millet cakes of (=for) the millet. Well, now they have ceased (doing that). Now, the mother, what she marries her child (=daughter) (with), she takes out her bracelets, she takes out her fabric, she takes out her shoes. Furthermore. Did I say (=mention) fabric?

Z: She takes out a boubou.

Y: She takes out a boubou (outer garment), she takes out a head shawl, she takes out a wide-shouldered boubou

Z: Rings.

Y: She takes out rings. She takes out gold (jewelry). She takes out necklace chains with rings (on them). Uh-huh. What more is left (to mention)?

Z: When (the day of) the marriage has come, —

Y: The marriage—. Well, when (the day of) the transfer of the bride (to her husband's house) has come, at that point, calabashes, forty-four calabashes, ten wooden eating bowls, eight fans, six (drinking) tankards, six ladles.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.08

X: He says, what he is asking you about now, the women, when the women get together in a large group, they take (=hold) marriages, they **celebrate** holy days. The day before, their hairdoes, their finery (jewels etc.), the way they (used to) do. (He says) that is what he is asking you-Sg about now. He is asking.

¹⁹ The fronds are cut into thin strips that are woven together.

Y: The marriage comes. Yesterday—the day (that...)—a holy day has come. Here—, we wash the clothes. Our head (=hair) is braided. They attach head rings (to the hair). They put on necklaces. They put on (finger) rings. They put on arm rings (above the elbows). They put on gold. If guests are coming, we (do) everything, we braid our heads (=hair), we wash the clothes **ahead of time**, we tie (=wear) our fine clothing, and we go. We get together, and after that we celebrate (with song and dance). All that we do. Until (=even) nowadays.

Tabi Text 2004-2b.09

X: Now, (he says) he is asking you-Sg: children get sick, a sickness catches(=afflicts) them. When they get sick, how (=what) you-Pl used to do, what you-Pl would treat them with. That is what he is asking you-Sg about now. From what they used to do yesterday (=in the past), all the way to what you-Pl do nowadays, for treating (sick) children. That is what one is asking you-Sg about.

Y: Yesterday (=in the past), we didn't know (about) white people's medical treatment. Yesterday, (it was) breaking off (plant) medicines. Whatchamacallit, *Calotropis* shrub, *Solanum* bush. Furthermore, broad-leafed fig tree. That other one.

X: What they have a child drink.

Y: Yes, yes, what they have a child drink.

X: *Guiera* shrub.

Y: There is *Guiera* shrub. With that—

X: *Cadaba* bush.

Y: That's it, *Cadaba* bush. With that they have a child drink. Well, *Solanum* bush, that too, when a child gets sick, then they treat (him) with that. Well now, if children have gotten sick, (if) there is some, we put (=use) medicaments. We have (them) drink pills. We have them drink medicines. Black (=African) people, and the white people, get together. Now we treat (them), we jab (=give injections to) (them). There is nothing that we don't do now. Well, the work of the mountain, that too we work. We soak the medicines (=medicinal herbs). We bathe (them, in it). We have (them) drink (it).

Tabi Text 2004-2b.10

X: (He says) now he is asking: Fulbe women bring milk here (to the village). They come **to sell milk**. Milk, how, with what (=at what price) **you-Pl** buy (it), how you-Pl measure (it). You-Sg give them gear (containers).

Y: The Fulbe bring milk. When they have brought it, we take (it) out **its grain**²⁰. We measure the milk **of/and** the grain with ladles. When we are measuring that milk, we put (out) the price of the milk first.

...

²⁰ The millet grain that the Dogon exchange for the milk.