

Beni Text 2005-2a.01¹

S: A [vocative], tell us a story.

A: A story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) Yasama, her father, and her mother.

S: May the boundary be made.²

A: Well, Yasama, her father and her mother gave birth to her. If it wasn't her (=other than her), they had no other daughter, it is said.³ The boy (=young man), anyone who (came for) her, the daughter— anyone (=young man) who came in order to speak (=ask for) her (in marriage), when they (=young men) would speak (=ask for) her, they (=parents) said they would not give (her, to them), it is said. They took a small red water jar up to the top of a borassus palm tree. They (=parents) said, anyone (=any young man) who could come, take it, and bring it down, Yasama would belong to him, it is said. When everyone came, they would go up and up, (but) when they reached the middle (of the tree), they would come down, it is said. They couldn't (do it), it is said. They kept doing like that. Many boys came and went. They went up but didn't get (it), it is said.

One with no fingers (or toes) came, it is said. The fingerless one, he came. Well, he loved (=fell in love with) Yasama, it is said. They (=parents) said, if it was true that he loved her, he must go up to the top of the tree, and take and bring down the red water jar, it is said. Okay, he said. He went and looked at the girl. He arrived behind the tree, and he began to go up the tree, it is said. When he touched the tree:

[song:]⁴ Greetings to Yasama's mother, (and) Yasama's father;
Greetings to Yasama's father, (and) Yasama's mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.⁵
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

Thus he spoke, it is said. He began to go up the tree. When he went up a short distance, he repeated:

[song:] Greetings to Yasama's mother, (and) Yasama's father;
Greetings to Yasama's father, (and) Yasama's mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

His heart was trembling. Okay, he said. He went all the way up, it is said. When he had gone all the way up, he took the water jar and placed it on top of his head. He did not touch it with his hand(s), it is said. Saying, "let me go (back) down," he lowered his head.

[song:] Greetings to Yasama's mother, (and) Yasama's father;
Greetings to Yasama's father, (and) Yasama's mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

¹ The speaker in tape 2005-2 texts 1 to 5 is Aminata Kagoye, a woman born c. 1975.

² i.e., "may the story be about them."

³ The quotative (i.e. hearsay) particle occurs liberally in tales.

⁴ The song is sung in Jamsay.

⁵ Lit. "behind is different, among (=the middle of) behind is different." Perhaps the sense is something like 'things are not what they seem to be.'

He began to go down, it is said, again. He kept going down. When he came and reached the middle:

[song:] Greetings to Yasama's mother, (and) Yasama's father;
Greetings to Yasama's father, (and) Yasama's mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

Doing (that), he came until he had come down below (=to the ground), it is said. When he came down below, he carried the water jar (on his head). He went to the door of her (=Yasama's) father.

[song:] Greetings to Yasama's mother, (and) Yasama's father;
Greetings to Yasama's father, (and) Yasama's mother.
If I take and bring down that red water jar,
Yasama will belong to me, you-Pl said.
Behind, and in the rear, are different.
Let me take a look (=to assess it).

When he did that, Yasama began to weep, it is said. The father began to weep, (and) the mother began to weep, it is said. The fingerless one asked them, why were they weeping?⁶ He said, he had pulled them by their (own) mouth-rope;⁷ the water jar was up on top; he had no fingers, he had no toes, he said that he loved their daughter; they said that he should take and bring down the water jar that was up (in the tree) and marry Yasama, and he went up and taken and brought the water jar down; here was their water jar, he said; now they should talk about (=discuss) the matter of the woman so he might go, he said; well, he had taken and brought down the water jar.

They gave him the girl, (but) the girl refused ("did not accept") to go, it is said. Dragging (her) by force, he went with his woman like that. The story is over, the last story is over.⁸

O: (You-Pl) go and guard your-Pl success.⁹

Beni Text 2005-2a.02

S: A [vocative], your tale was very good. (Please) put (=tell) another one for us.

A: Shall I put (=tell)?

S: Put (=tell) another.

A: A story for you-Pl.

S and others: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) boys, about the sister of some girls, or rather the brother of some girls, (named) Asama.

S and others: May the boundary be made on him.

A: Asama, a wound came and appeared on his foot.

S: Yes.

A: That wound, they (=people) treated it (until) they were weary. It refused to heal. The boy was alone. The girl— (or rather) the boy was alone. The girls were seven in number.¹⁰ Here¹¹ the wound had come out on the foot, here the foot was ruined, it is said. They asked, what kind of remedy will make him heal? They (=others) said, he will heal with

⁶ Lit. "... weep [the weeping of what?]"

⁷ I.e., the reins attached to a donkey's mouth.

⁸ Standard story-ending formula.

⁹ Standard compliment from audience at the end of a story.

¹⁰ Lit., "the girls (are/were) seven girls."

¹¹ Presentative (cf. French *voici que ...*).

the tail of a giraffe.¹² One of the girls, she went out; she said, if her brother's foot was to be healed, she would go in order to pull off a giraffe's tail. One (other girl), she replied, telling her (=first girl) not to go, (since) getting a giraffe's tail is difficult. She (first girl) said, if God consents, she would go. She (=second girl) said, well, if it was the case that she was going, she should go and come back in health.¹³ She (=first girl) said, all right. She began to go (=set off) on the path. She kept walking. Before she went, the Chief of the giraffes, he (=Chief) and his followers, she found them sleeping, it is said. She went and pulled off ("uprooted") the tail of the Chief. When she had pulled (it) off, she began to run, it is said. She kept running. A giraffe, if seven days haven't arrived (=elapsed), when it goes to sleep, it doesn't wake up, it is said. Having run, she came, it is said. She (=old woman) had given her (=girl) four kinds of things wrapped up, an old woman, earlier when she (=girl) had been about to go (the first time). Well, the seven days arrived (=elapsed), they (=giraffes) woke up. They too, they followed after (=pursued) her. They all (=girl and giraffes) kept running. She (=girl) had been running, but the girl now was tired. Just as she turned around to look, now they had gotten close. She took out a little stone and threw it, it is said. Well, when she had thrown the little stone, it turned into a huge stone (blocking the giraffes' passage). They (=giraffes) too, they kept gnawing into the rock. The rock now had a hole in it.¹⁴ They (=giraffes) followed after her again, it is said. They ran and came close behind her, it is said. She had some baobab flour, it is said. She tossed it (on the ground). It came and turned into a body of water. Having drunk up the body of water, and having lapped up the mud, before they (could) go (forward). she had again (already) gone far away, it is said. She began to run again, it is said. She was running, (but) they came until they went and got close behind her, it is said. Again she tossed (something), it is said, a seed of scrub-acacia tree.¹⁵ It became a dense thicket. When they had cut (through) it, before they could get past¹⁶ (it), the girl reached the edge of her father's village. When she came and reached the edge of the village, (she sang):

[song]¹⁷ Ya-Ire¹⁸ snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
 Ya-Mere-Ire¹⁹ snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
 The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail;
 The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail;
 The tail of a horse, a giraffe tail;
 Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
 Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

The people in the village did not hear, it is said. Again, a second time, she sang like this, it is said. (Villagers) told each other: well, be quiet, a voice had come out (=appeared) in the edge of their village over there.

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
 Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
 The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail;
 The tail of a horse, a giraffe tail;
 The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail;²⁰

¹² As we see later, the giraffe tail is used to shoo flies away from the infected wound. In real life a cow-tail is used.

¹³ i.e., she wishes her a safe trip (cf. *bon voyage*).

¹⁴ Lit., "the rock, it came and was punctured."

¹⁵ wòrò is the general term for scrubby acacias with particularly nasty thorns, often in impenetrable thickets (focally *Acacia erythrocalyx* and *A. ataxacantha*).

¹⁶ lit., "before they said they had passed."

¹⁷ Sung in Jamsay. However, the normal Jamsay word for 'giraffe' is wílwíl.

¹⁸ The girl's name, but it means 'the best woman'.

¹⁹ Alternative version of the girl's name. Cf. mènⁿé 'kinship relation', hence literally 'best woman of the kinship group' (or the like).

²⁰ The ordering of lines in the middle of the stanza is slightly different in this repetition.

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

She said (=sang) like that, it is said. They said, as for this, (it seems that) Ya-Ire has appeared. Some of the children of her mother (=her sisters) scooped up some water (from a jar), it is said, (and) some (others) picked up some food, it is said. Well, going out like that, they met her on the path. They asked, had she come (back) there? She said, by the grace of God, she had come. They asked, had she gotten (it)? She said, yes, she had gotten (it). She came and arrived at the door of her father (and sang):

Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
The tail of a cow, a giraffe tail;
The tail of a horse, a giraffe tail;
The tail of a goat, a giraffe tail;
Ya-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;
Ya-Mere-Ire snatched, collected a giraffe tail;

She said (=sang) thus. Having come and gone in (the house) like that, when she went in abruptly, well, her brother, she found him lying down (=in bed), it is said. Some flies were on his foot. She shooed (the flies), and the foot was suddenly healed (the scab flying off). The story is over, the last story is over.

Beni Text 2005-2a.03

S: A [vocative], do (=tell) for us another one.

A: A story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put (=told) about a man and his child.

S: May the boundary be made.

A: A man, he gave birth to (=sired) a child (=daughter). He married a woman, and he gave birth to a child. He drove away the child's mother, it is said. He said (=intended that) he would marry the child, it is said. The child also (=on the other hand) said that she would not marry her father, it is said. The father said, if it was true that she wouldn't marry him, she must go away from his house forever, it is said. She said, all right. When she had run (away), she went up (=climbed) on top of a borassus palm,²¹ it is said. When she had gone up on top of the borassus palm, the mother left her village and came. She kept looking for her child, (but) she didn't see (=couldn't find) (her). She asked the child's father, what had become of the child? He said, he did not know where she was. She (=mother) went (around) in the neighborhood and asked the children (=young people), it is said. They said that her child had was up on top of a borassus palm. When she (=mother) came under the borassus palm, the girl's name was Denney, when she (=mother) said (called out) "Denney," she (=girl) said "yes?" She (=mother) asked, what had brought her (up) in the borassus palm? She said: uh-huh, her father had said that he would marry her, (but) she had said that she couldn't marry him, (whereupon) he had told her to go away from the house; (as for) her, that [focus] was what had made her go up to the top of the borassus palm. Huh? she (=mother) asked. Yes, she (=girl) said. She (=mother) told her to come down, (but) she (=girl) said she would not come down. She (=mother) went home. She cooked some food. She came under the borassus palm (and sang):

[song]²² She (=mother) said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile²³
After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
(Girl's reply:) Oh mother!

²¹ *Borassus aethiopicum*. This palm has a very long, straight trunk that is difficult to climb.

²² Sung in Tommo-So (=Tombo-So). Transcription and morpheme breaks are approximate.

²³ =Denney, the girl's name.

A man gave birth to me²⁴ yesterday
 (And) today he will marry me.
 I will go to die, and drink the water (there).²⁵

She (=mother) did (that until) she was tired, it is said. She (=mother) went and called her (own) mother, the mother too. The (girl's) grandmother too, she came (and sang:).

She said: Dene-ile, Dene-ile²⁶
 After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
 (Girl's reply:) Oh mother!²⁷
 A man gave birth to me yesterday
 (And) today he will marry me.
 I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

Her (=girl's) agemates came, it is said.

Dene-ile, Dene-ile
 After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
 (Girl's reply:) Oh my neighbors!
 A man gave birth to me yesterday
 (And) today he will marry me.
 I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

They did (that until) they were tired, it is said. She (=girl) did not consent (=refused) to come down, it is said. They told (each other) to chop down the tree. They kept chopping the tree, (and) when it was about to fall, there was another tree right up next to it, it is said. She (=girl) followed (=went along) the branch, she moved over to the other (tree), it is said. When she had moved over to the other (tree), they called a boy who was speaking (=courting) her. They called and brought (him), he too came (and sang:).

Dene-ile, Dene-ile
 After you-Sg come down slowly, take and drink some water!
 (Girl's reply:) Oh So-and-So!
 A man gave birth to me yesterday
 (And) today he will marry me.
 I will go to die, and drink the water (there).

He did (that) until) he was tired, it is said. She did not consent to come down, it is said. They kept chopping the tree, the tree was falling, she (=girl) jumped from there (=up in the tree). She came jumping down, it is said, and the tree fell, it is said. Her bones remain there. The story is over, the last story is over.

Beni Text 2005-2a.04

A: Again, a story for you-Pl.

S and others: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) the girl (of/in) the village.

S: May the boundary be made.

A: Well, the girl, they gave birth to her (=she was born). In the village moreover, when she became an adolescent girl, when she did (that), the rain did not consent to fall, it is said. Well, when the rain did not consent to fall, (when) it (=rain) did that, they said (=asked

²⁴ Lit. 'gave birth to (=sired) and left (there)'. To avoid confusion, 'left' is omitted from the free translation.

²⁵ i.e., "I will drink in the Afterworld."

²⁶ =Denney, the girl's name.

²⁷ One would expect "Oh grandmother!" here.

each other), is something wrong?²⁸ They said, if she (=girl) didn't go up into the sky, the rain wouldn't come down on the earth, it is said.

S: If the girl didn't go up above?

A: Yes, if the girl didn't go up above. They asked, if the girl doesn't go up above, the rain won't come down? They said (=answered), uh-huh, the rain won't come down. The chiefs assembled, they went for (=to the home of) her father and her mother, and they said: well, the rain has dried up like this in their village; if his (=father's) daughter doesn't go up above, the rain won't come down. He (=chief) said to give him (=chief) the girl, the chief. The father said, huh? He (=chief) said, yes! The mother said, huh? He (=chief) said, yes! (The parents) said, if they have said to give (her), they will give (her) to them; they themselves (=parents) (had) thirst and hunger, the animals (had) thirst and hunger; if the girl goes up into the sky and (then) the rain falls, they (=parents) will have given the girl to him (=chief). All right, he (=chief) said. They took out some millet (from the granary), and they pounded (millet grain) (as) a sacrifice,²⁹ they ate (it). In this way they caused the girl to go up above, it is said. She went up above. Well, they kept being (=remained) there. She became a young woman, until she gave birth³⁰ to a child, it is said. When she gave birth to a child, when she had done that, when they said (=decided) they would bring her down (to the ground), the child was a boy, it is said. They told her, when she went (down), she was not to utter the name of her child. The child's name, itself, they put (=called) Arayalogoro, it is said.

S: Arayalogoro?

A: Arayalogoro, [laughs] yes, They put (=called her) Arayalogoro, it is said. All right, she said. When she came down, when she did that, they³¹ made a dog follow after her, it is said. (They) said (=thought): (as for) her, when this (=secret name) goes (down), she won't be able to avoid uttering it.³² If (=when) she has uttered (it), the dog should come and tell (it) to them, (they) said (to the dog). All right, she said. When she came (down), everyone said: Ya-Ire³³ has come! Ya-Ire has come! Ya-Ire has borne a child and has come! She said: uh-huh, she had borne a child. (They) asked, what do they call her child³⁴? But she said: no, as for her, she would not utter her child's name; up there, they had sent her down below, telling her not to utter (it), and she would not utter (it). (They) told her to relent, to utter (the name), to them. She said: well, she, as for them, she would utter (it); her child was called Arayalogoro. Lo, she was not aware of the dog. The dog came, and was lurking unseen in the millet-pounding area. (Now) it came out of hiding, and it went into the neighborhood (singing):

[song]³⁵ They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.³⁶

[laughs] Now Ya-Ire turned her head and looked at it, and (she saw that) it was the dog. Every neighborhood where she (=girl) went, it (=dog) went (and sang):

They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,

²⁸ Lit., "is it peace?" A question typically asked of a visitor arriving at a home, for example.

²⁹ Here, a meal offered to everyone, to earn a blessing from higher powers.

³⁰ Lit. "until she went and came and gave birth ...". Here 'went' is associated with 'until', and 'came' frames the event. Neither verb denotes actual motion by the protagonist.

³¹ 'they' here refers to beings in the upper world.

³² Lit. "she won't do [she didn't say]."

³³ name of the girl (now a young woman).

³⁴ Lit. "how do they say the name of ...".

³⁵ sung in Jamsay. The prosody here is prose-y, unlike the singing by the same speaker in the previous texts.

³⁶ Words with no discernible sense.

Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.

Well, it (=dog) did like that. As for her, now she was going to go (back) up, she said; (she said) she was (previously) unaware of the dog, she had spoken (the name of the child), the dog was calling and wailing (=barking loudly) at her; if she goes up above, they will not leave her (alone), (she) said. Well, when she got up and went (back) up above, (they asked:) had she uttered the name of the child, or had she not uttered (it)? (She) said: as for her, she had not uttered (it). The dog said: she had uttered (it); they had told her not to utter (it), she had said that she would not utter (it), (but) she had said the name of the child Arayalogoro, he (=dog) too (sang):

They said not to cut, she cut.
They said not to scratch, she scratched.
Arayalogoro, Arakalayalogoro,
Nyangkoy, nyangkoy.

He (=dog) spoke (=sang) like that, it is said. Uh-huh. (They) asked, had she uttered (it)? She said, uh-huh, she had uttered (it). They took her there and they made her go (back) down, it is said. Her bones have remained there, it is said.

Beni Text 2005-2a.05

A: Again, a story for you-Pl.

S: Tell it.

A: It was put on (=told about) a woman and her stepmother.³⁷

S: May the boundary be made on them.

A: Well, a woman married a husband, and they (=villagers) brought her (in a procession) to her new home, it is said. When they brought her, she found the senior wife in the house. They told the two of them to go to a pond.³⁸ Now they went to the pond. She (=senior wife), she remained up above; she made the stranger (=new wife) go down. She (=new wife) got her water (in a bucket), and held it out to her (=senior wife). She (=senior wife) took her (own) thing (=water). After she took her own, and put (it) down,³⁹ when the new girl was taking her (own), she (=senior wife) pushed her (=new wife) into⁴⁰ the pond. When she put her in the pond, Rainbow (=Nommon) caught her. He (=Rainbow) caught her and was holding her. The woman, there was her brother whom they called Amasagu,⁴¹ it is said. He was a herder, it is said. Her co-wife (=the senior wife) took her gear, loaded it (on her head), and went. The herder—. When the woman (=senior wife) went, her husband asked: (=what about) his new wife now? (She) said that she hadn't seen his (other) wife; the two of them had gone out to get water, she (=new wife) had said she was going away to the edge of the village (=toilet area), and she had gone away (there); she (=senior wife) had gotten her water and had come; she (=senior wife) was unaware of her (=where the junior wife was). (He) said: eh?, she, the woman, she was new (=a stranger), (yet) she went away to the edge of the village,⁴² (and) when she had gone away to the edge of the village, she (=senior wife) for her part had not gone looking for her? (She) said: uh-huh, as for her, indeed she had not gone looking for her; his (new) wife had gone away to the edge of the village, and had not come (back); how was she (=senior wife) going to go looking for her? All right, he said. Well, the village (=villagers) took the tomtom(s), they went out in order to search for the woman, it is said. They spent the daytime searching for her, (but) they didn't see (=couldn't find)

³⁷ Term applied to a second (or third) wife of one's father (i.e., one's mother's co-wife). Stepmothers are proverbially protective of their own offspring, at the expense of their stepchildren.

³⁸ tã~ 'water source (well, pond, etc.).'

³⁹ Lit. 'put down and left (it)'.
⁴⁰ Lit. 'pushed and put (in) ...'

⁴¹ Lit., 'entrusted to God'. Name given to a first son.

⁴² The reference is to a particular spot on the edge of the village used for defecating. The place is not marked and must be pointed out to a visitor.

her, it is said; they spent the night that (same) way, it is said, (but) they didn't see her, it is said. The next morning, the woman('s)—, the boy, her brother Amasagu went to the pond. He said (=intended) that he would draw water with (=into) a small gourd.⁴³ She (=woman) was inside (=underwater) (and sang:).

song⁴⁴: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating⁴⁵ it?
In the body of water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating it?” “It is me, Amasagu.”
(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out,
(Is it) peace? It's drums of what?”⁴⁶
(Amasagu:) “Ogolum's (wife) Yadinge is not there?
That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”
(Woman:) “I am alive, go tell (them)!
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water),
I am alive, go tell (them)!”

She said (=sang) like that. The boy was reassured (=pleasantly surprised). He said: ah, inside (=under) this water, it is not peace (=something is awful).” Again, a second time he began to draw water (into the gourd).

song: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating it?
“It is me, Amasagu.”
(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out,
It's drums of what?”
(Amasagu:) “Ogolum's (wife) Yadinge is not there, they said.
That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”
(Woman:) “I am alive, go tell (them)!
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water),
I am alive, go tell (them)!”

They (=people) got up and went and told him (=husband), it is said. When they told the chief, well, the chief again summoned the village (=villagers), and said: Amasagu had told (him) that his (=Amasagu's) sister was in (=under) the water; they (=villagers) must now seek⁴⁷ a strategem for him (=chief) how to get (the woman) out (of the water), it is said. They said, all right. They came and summoned her brother to the edge of the water. They told him to approach (the water), draw water (into the gourd), and look. He began to draw water (into the gourd), it is said. He was drawing water.

song: (Woman:) “In the water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating it?
In the body of water, the gourd goes *bum-bum!*
Who is beating it?” “It is me, Amasagu.”
(Woman:) “Amasagu, yesterday our village tomtoms came out,
It's drums of what?”
(Amasagu:) “Ogolum's (wife) Yadinge is not there, they said.
That drum (=the drum for that) is what they are beating.”
(Woman:) “I am alive, go tell (them)!
Co-wife rivalry pushed me in (the water),
I am alive, go tell (them)!”

⁴³ sàbǒl is a very small gourd with a narrow neck that opens wide at the top, good for carrying small quantities of curdled milk and other liquids.

⁴⁴ sung in Jamsay.

⁴⁵ as in ‘beat (tomtom)’.

⁴⁶ The village's drums are beaten to summon the villagers for important matters, including war.

⁴⁷ Lit. ‘go in (to), enter’.

All right, he said. A second time he beat— A second time he put (the gourd) again, it (=song) happened like that (=was repeated). They asked the owner of the water (=water god) for the woman. They got her out (of the water), they said (=intended) to bring her to the house, they were coming (with her). The owner of the water for his part, sent animals (=livestock), slaves, and horses following her like that. When he had sent (all that) following (her), her co-wife (the husband's senior wife) came the next day, she went into (=under) the water, it is said, (and) white smoke (steam?) came out, it is said. The story is over, the last story is over.

Beni Text 2005-2a.06⁴⁸

S: Tell us a story.

B: One old woman. She herself, she was in the bush (=outback), she had accumulated animals, to the point that they were numerous, the goats. Her daughter was the wife⁴⁹ of Lion. She (=daughter) was like that (=married to Lion). Hyena and Hare were not aware of that. One day they (=Hyena and Hare) killed a francolin.⁵⁰ They came bringing the francolin meat. They gave (it) to the old woman. She tossed it into her cotton gear⁵¹. They chatted near her (=old woman) (until) they were tired. They got up and went into the bush. They went and remained there (until) they were tired. Again they came. They said (in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman took out the francolin meat, and held (it) out to them. When they had taken hold of the francolin meat, they told her to take hold of it (=take it back from them) and eat (it); that was the amusement of the grandmother (with her grandchildren), there was no point in it (going) that far. All right, she said. She again put it and left it in her cotton gear. They got up and went into the bush again. A second day they came (and said, in Jamsay:) “Good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” She gave them the francolin thigh. They said to her, as for them, it was (just) chatting (=not serious); did she think it was a lie?; she should eat (it), she anyway. All right, she said.

After she took it and put it (back) in (the cotton gear), her daughter, the wife of Lion, came, took (the meat) out and ate it (all) up. Well, when she had eaten it all up, the next day they (=Hyena and Hare) came. When they said “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!”, she looked for (it) (but) she didn't see it. Well, if she couldn't see (=find) the francolin thigh, she was obligated to give (them) a goat, (they) said. She said, huh? They said, yes! The old woman, for her part, didn't like a lot of talk. She said to them, they should approach and take hold of the goat that they wanted. They took the goat, and they got up and went (back) into the bush. They slaughtered (=cut its throat), roasted (it), and ate it up. Two (or) three days passed. They got up and were coming. Again they repeated: “good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!” The old woman didn't have a francolin thigh, (so) she told them to take a goat this day too. They kept taking (goats). As for the goats, there came to remain of them now only one skinny goat kid. Well, when the skinny goat kid remained, they (=Hyena and Hare) (came and) looked, (and saw that) her goats had gone out (=diminished), they had (nearly) come to an end. (They) said (to her): for this skinny goat kid that they s{aw}—, that she saw (=that were right there), before they (=Hyena and Hare) came another day, if this (goat kid) had not attained the size of a lion, there would be no peace for her. The old woman got up, she kept weeping over that.⁵²

Her son-in-law, the lion, came that day in order to greet her. When Lion came, he said to his mother-in-law: greetings! After finishing the greetings, he asked: why

⁴⁸ The speaker in tape 2005-2 texts 6 and 7 is Ali Boureima Morogoye, born 1948.

⁴⁹ Lit., ‘was in the wife(-hood) of ...’.

⁵⁰ partridge-like bird. *Francolinus* sp.

⁵¹ Doum-palm basket containing implements and materials used in spinning cotton thread (card, rolling stick, etc.).

⁵² Lit. ‘wept [the weeping of that]’.

was it that she had become so skinny and she was there weeping? She said: it was true; the whole herd of goats that he (=Lion) had left in her hand(s), Hyena and Lion had tricked her, they had mercilessly eaten everything; they had said that this skinny goat kid, well, before they come, must become like him, Lion; she was weeping over that. (Lion) said: all right, if that's it (=the situation), it was easy; she should give him the goat kid. The son-in-law for his part took the goat kid. When he had taken it, he remained there. On that day, God having ordained (it), the rain came. Well, they too (=Hyena and Hare) came. Well, the old woman told him (=Lion) to go into the shack and hide. While the Lion had gone in and was hiding there, Hyena and Hare came, (and) said: "good morning, Old Woman! The thigh of the francolin!" They said: well, they had come, in order to take their goat kid. She said, huh? They said, yes. She said: well, their goat kid was in that shack over there, they should go to (the shack) and take (the goat kid). It was dark, it was raining. They (=Hyena and Hare) approached, touched, and looked. Its size was excessive. They said: oh, it's true, the old woman really knows goat raising— the raising of a goat kid; as for this goat kid itself, it could manage (bearing) both of them; they (two) could mount (it) and go at their pleasure. (The other) said, all right. They pulled (it) out. Yes. The hare sat in front, the hyena sat in back. When they went, the lightning ("rain") was flashing. By means of (=by the light of) that lightning flash, when the hare looked, the hare (saw) that it was a lion. He spoke up, he said he was going to urinate. He jumped down.⁵³ When he had gotten down, he began to run. He kept running. When he had gone far away, he said (in Jamsay): Daddy, Hyena, come!. He (=Hyena) said, yes! He (=Hare) said (in Jamsay): could he (=Hyena) see him? He (=Hyena) said (in Jamsay): he could only see him (=Hare) dimly. He (=Hare) said: well, the thing that he (=Hyena) had mounted on, it was their master; when the lightning flashed, he (=Hyena) should look at its mane. When the lightning flashed, he (=Hyena) looked, (and saw that) it was Lion. He (=Hyena) said: "Uncle!" He (=Lion) said: "yes?" He (=Hyena) said that he (=Hyena) was going to defecate, (but) he (=Lion) said that he (=Hyena) would not come down at that place. He (=Hyena) (then) said that he was going to urinate, (but) he (=Lion) said that he (=Hyena) would not come down at that place. He (=Hyena) did like that until he was tired. The other (=Hare) got up and ran far away (=fled). Uh-huh, it was the hyena who ran away, he went. When he went and spoke to his wives, he said: Hare has called his mother [insult]; the two of them had come mounted on Lion like that, when the lightning had flashed he (=Hyena) had seen; by (saying) he was going to the edge of the village (=toilet area), he had run away and escaped; he (=Hyena) had gotten (into) trouble that day. He (=Hyena) went into his house, yes (and sang):

[song (Jamsay)] In the house of Daddy Hares, shouts come out.
 The house of Daddy Hyena, it's cold (=peaceful).
 (Despite) the noise of tomtoms, peace comes to us.

He (=Hyena) was doing that. Hare rode on Lion and came to the door of the hyena. He (=Hare) came, and said (to Hyena): good evening! The hyena rode the hare— (or rather) the hare came riding on the Lion. He (=Hyena) told them, the woman (=his wife) and the children, to come up close to the ceiling cross-sticks.⁵⁴ They were there clinging closely to the ceiling cross-sticks. One (of the hyena children) spoke (in Jamsay), saying: his arm was getting tired. He (=Hyena) told (the child, in Jamsay): hey fucker, he should come down (and be eaten by Lion); if San (=name of mother hyena) was there, she would bear a child (to replace him). He (=child) fell down, and Lion took and ate (him). Eventually the (hyena) woman too fell. Eventually the (hyena) man too, he was there in a worn-out well-bag⁵⁵, and lo the rope was being cut (=was fraying badly). He made (the sound) "tutu!" (with) saliva (=by spitting lightly), he moistened

⁵³ As we see later, the speaker has the characters reversed. It was actually Hyena who got off Lion, leaving Hare on Lion's back.

⁵⁴ The slender branches laid across the ceiling.

⁵⁵ Traditionally, a goatskin waterbag lowered by a rope into a well to draw water.

the rope (hoping to prevent its snapping). The worn-out well-bag was cut (off). Him (=Hyena) too he (=Lion) ate. The story is over, the last story is over.

Beni Text 2005-2a.07

B: It was put on (=told of) Hare and Hyena.

S: May the boundary be made.

B: Well, when the two of them got up, came, and met together, Hare spoke, asking Hyena to teach him intelligence (=craftiness). He (=Hyena) said, huh? He (=Hare) said: yes! He (=Hyena) said, well, if that's it (=the situation), they should leave very early in the morning (=at the crack of dawn). At the time when they had taken their animal-hide shoulder-bags and slung (them, i.e. the cords) over their shoulders⁵⁶ and had gone out, the hare took out two long grain spikes of millet, and he put (them) in his shoulder-bag. The hyena's shoulder-bag was empty. They came up to a place. The antelope⁵⁷, well, she had given birth to two children, she put and left them in a hole and went away to eat. They (=Hyena and Hare) went along and they ran into it (=the hole). They ran into (it), both of them (Hyena and Hare) took one each (antelope child), and they put (them) into their bags. They put (them in) and they continued (on) their way. Antelope got up and went to the place of (=where she had left) her children. She didn't find the children, but tracks ("feet") went up to there. Well, she followed the tracks. She went following it (=tracks), she kept running. She came and emerged on (=encountered) two individuals. It was Hare and Hyena. Well, she blocked their way. She said: it's true, it was their tracks [focus] that she had been following; (so) it was they [focus] who had taken her children.

Before it (antelope) came, well, Hare had spoken (to Hyena): they should snap (=break) the necks (of the children). When he said (that), the hare snapped the millet (spikes) in half, making the noise "toy!" The hyena snapped the neck of the antelope's child, making the noise "tøy."⁵⁸ He (=Hyena) said (in Jamsay): "yours (=your noise) is louder (than mine)." Indeed, a problem has come to you (=Hyena), if his (=Hare's) is louder (than yours).⁵⁹

That's is (when) the mother (antelope) came and blocked their route. She said: it was they [focus] who had taken her children, (now) they must take them out (of the shoulder-bags). At that point, the hare took hold of the bottom of his shoulder-bag, and shook it. The antelope child fell (out), it went and clung to its mother. She (antelope) told Hyena to take (his) out, (but) he did not consent (=he refused) to take (it) out. She pressed (=harassed) him. He took the bottom of the shoulder-bag and simply shook it, (and) thud! The antelope child was dead. The (mother) antelope said: as for this (event), there was nothing that would end (the hostility) between herself and him (=Hyena). At that point, he (=Hyena) arose and got the hell out of there, he ran. Antelope followed after (=chased) him. He kept running, he went to the burrow of an aardvark and ran headlong into it. When he ran in, antelope went (there), she dug it (=burrow). While she was digging, a warthog came and found her there. It (=warthog) said: "what is it?" She said: a man had taken and strangled to death her child; she had chased after him, and he was inside this hole; Warthog should please help her with that (problem), because he (=Warthog) was the owner of teeth (=had powerful teeth). Warthog thereupon got ready (=got in position), he kept digging. Hare came and arrived. When he had come and arrived, he asked: had he (=Hyena) gone in there? He (=Warthog) said, yes. (Hare) said: they should hold off (for a moment); with that, (if) he (=Hare) didn't go in and do something and come out (first), if he (=Warthog) got close to him (=Hyena) and stayed that way (for a while), it wouldn't be good for him (=Warthog); his (=Hare's) friend

⁵⁶ A long thin goat- or sheepskin bag worn under the shoulder, held by a cord over the shoulder. This is the normal bag carried by men into fields or the bush. Local Fr gibezière.

⁵⁷ Tentatively identified as the roan antelope, *Hippotragus equinus*. Large antelopes like this (and the topi) have not been seen in the zone for decades because of desertification.

⁵⁸ Slightly different from the sound of the millet spikes (=ears) being snapped.

⁵⁹ The narrator comments, in the form of a statement addressed to a protagonist in the story. The segment "his is louder" is spoken in Jamsay.

who was in the burrow (=Hyena) wasn't nice. He (=Warthog) said, all right. Hare went in, took some salt out (of his bag), and said: he (=Hyena) should put it in his mouth and hold it in his cheeks; the warthog was digging and digging; when he (=Warthog) came up close to him (=Hyena), he (=Hyena) should spit it (=salt) into his (=Warthog's) eye(s); when he (=Hyena) had spit it into his (=Warthog's) eye(s), he (=Warthog) would back up and go out. The warthog kept digging. When he had come close (to Hyena), when he (=Hyena) spat, lo! the salt [focus] is what he had swallowed, (so) there was none of it in his mouth. Hare noticed that Warthog had approached close to him (=Hyena), (but) his man (=Hyena) was not responding (=doing anything). He (=Hare) said again: he (=Warthog) should hold off (for a moment), he (=Hare) would take a look (first). He (=Hare) went in, he gave him (=Hyena) some (more) salt, he (=Hyena) put it in his mouth. He (=Hyena) was there, holding (it) in his mouth. He (=Warthog) kept digging. He (=Hare) told him (=Hyena) to spit (the salt) when he (=Warthog) had gotten close. He (=Warthog) dug, he got close to him (=Hyena). When he (=Hyena) spat, well, that too, (some of) the salt was lost (=had been swallowed). A little bit (of salt) got into his (=Warthog's) eye(s). He (=Warthog) spoke: something had gotten into his eye(s). He (=Warthog) came out. He (=Hare) asked: had he (=Hare) not said (that if) he (=Hare) didn't go in and perform his thing, both of his (=Warthog's) eyes would burst; but now Antelope should blow on him (=Warthog), perhaps there was a bit of dirt in his eye(s). Antelope blew (on Warthog's eye), and the salt got lost (=came out) and (somehow) got into Antelope's mouth. Its tastiness was excessive. It was tastier to her (=Antelope) than honey, it was tastier to her than meat. Antelope spoke: hey, Warthog, these tears of his (=Warthog's) were tasty! Rabbit, he spoke: he (=Antelope) didn't know (anything); warthog meat was tastier than these tears. Well, that was that, Antelope followed after (=chased) Warthog. She (=Antelope) and Warthog got into a chase⁶⁰ and went away.

Hare spoke, saying that Hyena should come out now; he (=Hyena) had finished learning intelligence (=craftiness). The other one (=Antelope) went and killed Warthog. Before she (=Antelope) had skinned and carried away its (=Warthog's) meat, Hyena—(or rather) Hare went out leading his companion (=Hyena), they got up and went. The story is over, the last story is over.

Beni Text 2005-2a.08

- S: You-Pl, how did Beni get settled?
 C: B [name], good evening.
 B: Good evening to you.
 C: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
 B: Only peace.
 C: Have you spent the daytime in good health?
 B: Only peace.
 C: Have our people (=kin) spent the daytime quietly?
 B: Praise God.
 C: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
 B: Only peace.
 C: Fine.
 B: Are you spending the daytime in peace?
 C: Only peace.
 B: Did your-Sg family spend the daytime in peace?
 C: Only peace.
 B: Nothing bad has happened in the daytime?
 C: Only peace.
 B: Fine.
 C: Fine.
 B: Please.
 C: Well, all right.

⁶⁰ Lit. 'took each other'.

- B: We come in (=because of) a request.
 C: Uh-huh.
 B: Well, we (people of) Beni, the place that we left to come here, (and) the place that (=in which) we settled, we would like to have its story from you-Sg.
 C: Exactly.
 B: You-Pl the old people, it (=telling the story) is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
 C: It's entrusted to Great God. The opening ("doorway") of Beni, it is entrusted to God and it is entrusted to you-Pl. But the Dogon, ...
 B: Yes.
 C: ... two groups, those who followed a dry route, and those who followed the water route (along the river).
 B: Yes.
 C: Those two groups, they separated.
 B: Yes.
 C: The ones who followed the water route, again they separated into two divisions.
 B: Yes.
 C: Now they had become three (groups). That went on. Eventually, this (village) that you-Sg see, you-Pl the people of Beni, how they came in (here), they left (=came from) Mande⁶¹.
 B: Yes.
 C: They settled, they settled (here and there), until they came to Munwil.⁶²
 B: Munwil. Yes.
 C: Munwil. That was it. Now the patronomic family names of Beni, Kagoy (and) Morogoy⁶³. Difficult-to-come-out-of-the-mouth,⁶⁴ Sengere⁶⁵-got-the-village, Is-it-a-boy-that-she-is-pregnant-with-or-Is-it-a-girl-that-she-is-pregnant-with. The pregnant-belly-rip knife⁶⁶ (=exists) even today in Munwil.
 B: Yes.
 S: That Munwil, it's in the area of where (=in what area)?
 C: That Munwil, if you-Sg have gone to Walo, you-Sg will go (on) to Munwil.⁶⁷
 B: Yes, I understand.
 C: Well, in that Munwil⁶⁸, even today, the knife is (still) used.
 B: Yes.
 C: Today in the house, who(-ever) is the last boy, when he goes to the ritual ground⁶⁹, even today he puts the knife over his shoulder and (then) he goes to the ritual ground.
 B: Yes.
 C: That is the knife of Leri-Leri-Kure.
 B: Well, those people of ours, how did they separate? Some settled in Kara, some (=the others) settled in Yuli⁷⁰.
 C: Well, the one who left Kara, ...
 B: Yes.
 C: ... and the one who come around here, ...
 B: Yes.
 C: ... one mother, one father (=they were brothers).
 B: Exactly.

⁶¹ The famous Mande Empire of Sundjata.

⁶² A village somewhere between Mande and Beni.

⁶³ Two founding brothers.

⁶⁴ This and the following are archaic expressions, partially in Jamsay, that are called out by griots.

⁶⁵ Said to mean 'mutual agreement', but not otherwise in use.

⁶⁶ Lit. "are set down."

⁶⁷ I.e., Munwil is located beyond Walo.

⁶⁸ Lit. "in the Munwil of that."

⁶⁹ The area just outside the village where the community gathers in the morning on major Islamic holy days.

⁷⁰ Village near Beni.

- C: Well, he said: come, let's go! As for the other, he said: himself, this one whom you-Sg see⁷¹ was stubborn (*kará:rè*⁷²), he couldn't go.
- B: xxx
- C: In that (place), with that he stayed put.
- B: Yes.
- C: He kept staying there. Our (maternal) uncles the Maba ...
- B: Yes.
- C: ... came and settled next to them.
- B: Exactly.
- C: Well, the people of Beni governed the territory, our (maternal) uncles commanded the chiefhood.
- B: Yes.
- C: Up until today, it's our (maternal) uncles [focus] who are chiefs.
- B: Yes.
- C: Both the territory and the word are in the hand(s) of the people of Beni.
- B: Exactly. We understand.
- C: When it came to Beni, Morogoy and Kagoy (patrononymics), that's what there was.
- B: Yes.
- C: In that Walo, Awandu and Mema (neighborhoods).
- B: These two.
- C: They are (=correspond to) Kasaru and Oduro (neighborhoods in Beni).
- B: Yes.
- C: As for me, this is my knowledge.
- B: That Oduro and that Kasaru, (they have) one mother (and) one father, they said. That too, how is it?
- C: Well, you the people of Beni, here you are. That (matter), it is entrusted to God, and it is entrusted to you-Pl.
- B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is ...).
- S: Grandpa, he said that he *kará:rè* and he wouldn't go. What is the meaning of that (word) *kará:rè*?
- C: That *kará:rè*, if you-Sg have only heard (=understood) the meaning of "I whom you see here *kará:rè* (=am stubborn) in a household (=family), I am a person who has not consented (=who has refused).
- B: He has become a man.
- C: There is no longer anything of people saying "I will get up because of someone (else)."⁷³
- B: Is it understood?
- C: Uh-huh.
- B: For my part, what I have heard there (=about that) (is), in Kara, they left some (people) there. Some (others) who got up, the younger and elder brothers who got up, they came to Yuli and settled (there).
- C: Exactly.
- B: When they came and settled at Yuli, well, he the elder brother, he was a hunter, it is said. The hunter kept going around. He got up and went down into the valley (=bottom) of Oloy⁷⁴, he went down through the dense forest. He came and went up the rocky slope. When he looked down, (he saw) the place was pleasant, it was very good, the place (=land) for them to farm was good.
- C: Exactly.
- B: On top⁷⁵ too, a place for them to settle and die.⁷⁶ When that had taken place, well, he made one brick there, he left it on this side. He got up and went, and found his younger

⁷¹ The quotation is a mix of "direct" discourse (hence 'you-Sg') and "indirect" discourse (hence Logophoric á representing the quoted speaker).

⁷² An uncommon word describing one who is stubborn (e.g. a child who refuses to carry out orders, etc.). S will later inquire about its meaning.

⁷³ I.e., I will no longer take orders from an adult.

⁷⁴ An area at the bottom of the ravine next to Beni.

⁷⁵ I.e. on the flat rocky shelf above the ravine, where the current village of Beni is.

brother. When he found his younger brother, he said: it's true, he had seen a place over there, he had seen a place for them to settle over there. When he had spoken, the younger brother for his part replied, to his elder brother: he (=elder) should not go away, having left him (=younger) now. He pleaded with him. He (=elder) said, all right. The younger brother too, one day, when he was walking around and he came (there), he too saw the place. He spoke to his elder brother: he (=elder) had spoken the truth; the good place for settling, the place that he (=elder) had spoken of; he himself (=younger) had arrived there this day. Well, after that, the two of them got up one day and came there. Before they came (=arrived) there, the elder brother left his marker. It's he who is the person of Kasaru (neighborhood). His marker was found there. I don't like (to speak of) the departure. His marker was found there. He spoke: that place, the sky is claimed, the earth is claimed. He went back to the place. They (=two brothers) gathered up their baggage over there (at Yuli). They got up, well, they came and built a house. They built a house and were (living) there. Snakes were plentiful (there). Vipers, vipers were plentiful (there). If it bites, there is no antidote. Hey, there is no way for that to work out well. In that case, (they) said: let's move up (to the rocky shelf above the ravine) a little way. At that time, then, this whole area was just a flat rocky shelf. There was no soil. Well, at that time, they came and build a house there on the shelf. They built (it) and they were (living) there. (They) said: there too, well, necessarily, if they haven't spoken the sacred words, if they haven't spoken the sacred words, settling in that place is difficult (=dangerous). Well, it went on like that. The one of (=from) Oduro (neighborhood) (=younger brother) spoke to the one of Kasari (=elder) : he (=younger) [focus] must speak the sacred words, because after he (=younger) was the first to claim the place, he (=younger) [focus] would speak the sacred words; a young woman who had fully-developed breasts, she was healthy; well, now, that being the case, he (=younger) bore the burden (=responsibility) of (saying) the sacred words. When he said that he would bear (the burden), the old people said: that being the case, they wouldn't kill (the girl) (first) and then stick her in (the hole); (instead) in life (=while she was alive) they would dig the spot until it (=hole) was deep; they would put her there (=in the hole), until it reached this level, and they would cover (her) up; the village would get peace.

C: Exactly.

B: He (=older brother) said, fine; if this village of his father would get peace, he would bear the burden of that. After that, she the girl of Kasari, in the Yasumoy⁷⁷ shed, there [focus] they stuck her in.

C: Exactly.

B: It was after that [focus] that Beni was able to be settled. Even today, we are in it.

C: Exactly.

B: I learned (it) like this. That too, it is entrusted to God (and) it is entrusted to you-Sg.

C: It is entrusted to great God. It is thus.

B: Yes.

C: May God preserve us.

B: Amen.

D⁷⁸: She told them to visit her.

C: Uh-huh, the fact that she asked them to visit her.

B: Yes, they took and burned it.

C: Well, the fact that she asked them to visit her.

B: Exactly.

C: Well, that is it.

B: Exactly.

C: One person, what you-Sg see, the one who (had) said that.

B: Yes.

C: He said, he was a healer.

B: He was a heal.

⁷⁶ I.e. an excellent place that one would never want to leave.

⁷⁷ Name of the covered shed. Literally "woman-sand".

⁷⁸ *Mamoudou Abdou Kagoye, born 1941.*

C: A healer.

B: Yes.

C: It was he [focus] who was Karakinde [name].

B: That *Karakinde* was it, he was the healer.

C: Yes.

B: Yes, yes.

C: The other one was Yasumoy. She (=girl) had said (before being buried): as soon as the rainy season is over (=after the harvest), they should visit her.

B: Yes.

C: Because of that (request) that they visit her, today if that thing (=visit) has come. What is that?

[song in Tommo-So:] Today, Yasumoy, get up!

B: Exactly.

C:

[song in Jamsay] Karakinde, get up!
 We are going, we are coming.
 Karakinde, get up!
 Yasumoy, hah-hey!
 Yasumoy, hah-hey!
 In the war of the Fulbe, the reply is by tomtoms.

B: Exactly. It's just like that. We heard (it) just like that, (from) the mouth(s) of the old people.

C: Like that they said (it).

B: If God wills, let him (=the linguist) turn (the tape recorder) off now.

D: A short matter, a short matter.

B: Yes.

D: Well, the way the woman came to be more shameful, Yasumoy.

B: Yes.

D: Well, if a person goes in there (=Beni), the snake's biting and killing, it became difficult (=intolerable).

B: Yes.

D: Well, it's true,⁷⁹ they (=you) said that the village belonged to them; it was they (=you) who first claimed (it); again, they (=you) in the villages, they don't drive in the post; the snakes bite people excessively; the things (snakes etc.) are wearing the people out; they (=other people) mock (you); they go to a water source (=pond) and they constantly mock (you); they mock (you) at the grain-pounding place (at the edge of the village); they constantly gossip (about you). It was after that that she (=girl) said to her father, it (=the situation) is shame(ful); they should cover up on (=bury) herself; when the rainy season is over, they should weep for her death; they must not forget. She said like that.

B: Exactly, exactly. It (=what you say) has been understood, it is sound (=valid) exactly like that. Now, let him (=the linguist) turn it off⁸⁰.

D: That is it.

Beni Text 2005-2a.09

S: Uh-huh, let's go.

B: Well, Walo (village) and Beni, (they are of) one father and one mother. Well, (at) the time before now (=long ago), as we heard from the mouth(s) of the old people, and the little that we (ourselves) know. If the oldest man (in either village) had died in Walo, when three years have passed, they would make an announcement: not (just) a man, not (just) a woman, (rather) anyone (male and female) whose leg(s) can deliver them to Walo,

⁷⁹ This passage is from the point of view of visitors, complaining to the local people about the latter's failure to make a sacrifice.

⁸⁰ Lit. "kill and do-first."

they should assemble. Taking horses, taking donkeys, that [focus] is what we used to ride on long ago⁸¹. They would get up and go to that Walo. (For) the death (=funeral) in the (extended) patrilineal family, (we would stay) two days, up to three days. When we went, they would slaughter cows, they would slaughter goats, they would slaughter sheep. They would bring milk in plentiful amounts. Every person would eat as (much as) they wanted. When eventually the three days would arrive (=elapse), we would get up and come (back) here (=to Beni). When we had come (back) here, here too, if a good (=respected) old person (=man), or someone of the same age group as the oldest man, had fallen (=died), they (=people of Walo) too, during the full three years, they would get themselves ready. When the three years were completed, they would make an announcement: from Debere (village) to Tomboru (village), everyone whose leg(s) were fast, with (=on) whatever thing one could mount, would get up and come here to Beni. When they would come here, they would slaughter cows, they would slaughter goats, they would slaughter sheep, milk. As for the food, for three days it would not be pushed and go.⁸² They would have activities, (for) the death in the patrilineal family, in that way they would get up and go. We were (=did) like that for a long time. Nowadays, hard times having come in, well, the (rituals for) a death in the patrilineal family, as for it, now we have abandoned it. However, necessarily, when a good (=important) person has died, even today, we have not abandoned (the rites for) each other. One father, one mother. Well, (you may) tell him (=the linguist) to turn (it) off.

⁸¹ ‘Long ago’, literally “first time.” Jamsay pó:ró has the same usage.

⁸² Phrase indicating extreme abundance.

Beni Text 2005-2b.01

B: Uh-huh. What we want now, the history that— how⁸³ we got our own peace, it's the history (of that) [focus] that we will do (=tell) now. That is which (=what)? Before today came (=in the old days), our old people who have passed (=died), in (the era of) slavery, it was people [focus] that they kept (as slaves). When the whites came, we exited (=abandoned) slavery. After we exited that, we came together and remained (like that). Well then, some people would come, they would take some people, and they would go and make them fight.⁸⁴ Well, at that time there were no rifles. Machete blades, that [focus] was there.

D: Spears.

B: Spears, that [focus] was there. Clubs (=fighting sticks), that [focus] was there. They assembled them (=people) here. They went (on foot) like (the distance to) Ouagadougou, they would make them fight. They went like (the distance to) Dedougou. If you-Sg died, that was it. If you-Sg came back (alive), that was it. Well, some (of them) fought, to the point that they were wounded. Some came (back) with one arm missing, (or) they came (back) with one leg missing. Of them, some received pay, some (others) did not receive pay. Up to this day, as for today, if it's the case that they have taken you-Sg away (for) something like military service⁸⁵, there is pay. The day has broken (=come) (that) everyone wants to go (into military service). Today—. Well, military service isn't obtained just freely (=haphazardly). It happens like that. Well, the talk is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg, D [vocative].

D: Well, it's like that. Nowadays, definitely by God, praise God. It, France, it (=France) came and did good things for us after that. What was (that)? The way he—, the way B said (=described) it just previously, it was exactly like that. They (=slave traders) took us like slaves, they went and took our people and sold them. Because they said, Sekou⁸⁶ collected and sent down (=sold into slavery) seven hundred people each, on roughly three occasions.

B: Yes.

D: With that, they took us, they went and ruined our name, because we are black people. Well, after that, Sekou Fouta⁸⁷ got up and came. Well, he told the Dogon(s) to help him now; when they had helped him, he now would leave them (=Dogon) as they wished. They helped him, Sekou Whatchamacallit (=Sekou Pouté). They removed Sekou Amadou (from power). After that, Sekou (Amadou), him too now, what did (=would) you say? The holy man Sekou Tijani, Amadou Tijani, as for him, what did (=would) you say?, he left us each person as they wished. Because of that, Islam⁸⁸ did not use force against (=oppress) us.

B: Exactly.

D: Well, the *dalidali*⁸⁹ was precisely like that. But the white man, he too came afterward. Sekou, what did (=would) you say?, he (=white man) removed Sekou (Amadou), he removed (Sekou) Fouta. The white man, when he removed him (=Sekou Fouta) too, he (=white man) too came himself and settled. Well, he tired (=oppressed) us a little (at first), but later he came again and let us rest.

B: He gave us peace.

D: He rested and gave us peace. We were like that (for a long time), he taught us various things a little. They (=villagers) too saw (some) things, they said they would take charge of them. Their capability of doing various things definitively, they could not, if they left them (=villagers) (alone), they (=whites) said that they were not capable of (managing) households, (but) they (=villagers) said they were capable (=self-

⁸³ Lit., “doing [it].”

⁸⁴ Lit. “fight a fight.”

⁸⁵ *sáru-úsù*, perhaps an adaptation of Fr *service*.

⁸⁶ Sekou Amadou, leader of the Fulbe Empire based in Hamdallaye near Mopti in the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

⁸⁷ Sekou from Fouta Diallo, a rival of Sekou Amadou. Not the same as Sekou Amadou.

⁸⁸ I.e. the Fulbe Empire, which was fervently Muslim.

⁸⁹ Obscure word, perhaps ‘chiefhood’ or the like.

sufficient). Well, it was what? They (=whites) asked them (=villagers) about various types of gear. They (=whites) asked about hats. He (=a villager) showed the traditional clothing⁹⁰ to them—to him (=white). They (=whites) asked about boubous (=upper-body garments), they (=villagers) showed traditional clothing. He (=white) asked about pants, they showed traditional clothing. Anything that—. They asked about shoes, they showed leather shoes. They asked about fire, they took and showed flint lighters. Well, they (=villagers) kept saying that they were capable (=self-sufficient). The white came. Now, what would you-Sg say it was?⁹¹ He the Frenchman, taking independence in his hand, he told us to take—what would you-Sg say it was?—(charge of) ourselves. At that point, the fact that we came in—what would you-Sg say it was?—and we settled (=lived) by ourselves, that was that. It is this way we are today. If there is someone else (here) who has (something to say), let him take (over). A long speech (=story), just one person cannot keep telling (it).

B: Exactly, yes. Cut!

Beni Text 2005-2b.02

B: Well, the way it was long ago, that territory of ours. Well, it was a village of poor people. (In) the world (here), people also did not use to be as many as this (=as they are now). Well, any person (=man) who had not become a (true) man of the bush, he could not walk (a distance) like leaving here (=Beni) and going to Amba (village), (or) like leaving here and going to Douentza.⁹² What was it (=the reason for that)? The marauding Fulbe were numerous.

D: People did not use to be as sophisticated⁹³ as this (=as now).

B: Those people, well, their mind (=sophistication) was very small. The second (=other) thing of it, not (just) a man, not (just) a woman, they (=men and women) would do only (=nothing but) work of (=in) the bush (=farming), all of them. When they would go to work, they would leave at home the children, the sick people, and the like, and they would get up and go to work (in the fields). Well, when they went to work, there were raiders. We call them the marauding Fulbe, the marauding Fulbe. They (=Fulbe), some of them had horses, some (others) too had nothing it if wasn't spears⁹⁴. They would come to the edge of the village, they would do some running around (hustle and bustle). The men, when able-bodied people (=Dogon men) are not at home, if they (=Fulbe) found children, they would take (=kidnap) them. They would put them up on the horses. Taking them (=children) along, they would go like (the distance from here to) Bourougou (village)⁹⁵ and sell them.

D: They would stuff rags in the(ir) mouths.⁹⁶

B: When they had gone like (to) Bourougou, they too (=people at Bourougou), they would keep buying them up (=accumulating them), and they would export them to the land of the whites. When they sold (the children) there, they (=whites) would put them (=children) in boats, they too (=whites) took them again, they exported them onwards (=abroad). They were slaves. They (=whites) went there and sold (them). They kept doing that. Well, the good world (=better times) came. When the good world came, they (=Fulbe) thought that after that they would not exit (=desist from raiding), (but) they (=whites) made them exit from that (practice). Its latest (version) is that today they have gone into livestock rustling⁹⁷. The Fulbe, that is their work (=habitual activity). (To D:) take over the word (=speak)!

⁹⁰ I.e. Dogon-style clothing made from locally woven cotton cloth.

⁹¹ Lit., “what is it? if you-Sg say.”

⁹² I.e. on the order of 8 to 18 kilometers.

⁹³ Lit. “awake.” Local French *éveillé* is also used to describe modern, urbanized people, as opposed to traditionalist villagers.

⁹⁴ I.e., what they had was none other than spears.

⁹⁵ Village near Mopti, in predominantly Fulbe territory.

⁹⁶ They would gag the children so they wouldn't shout.

⁹⁷ Lit. “they became [in [thieves of livestock]].”

D: Help them!⁹⁸ As for the Fulbe person, as for the Fulbe person, he is the Fulbe person. All of us (=Dogon and Fulbe), we are all black-skinned ones (=Africans), (of) one father (and) one mother. The Fulbe, he is a betrayer (of trust). They used to call (it) “betrayal.” This (same) way that B has come and spoken (just) now, it was exactly like that. The Fulbe, as for them, they didn’t work (in the fields). They said that they were (=they claimed to be) livestock herders, (but) they would tell falsehoods on (=about) themselves. They would keep going around, they would keep taking (=kidnapping) people, they would keep doing like that to us, they used to weary (=make life hard for) us. Our people (=kin), because of that, even if they (=our people) would go (away) somewhere, they would place (“make sit”) a watchman (*atewru*) (at home). When they had placed the watchman, where the Fulbe (...) with (=on) horses—

S: That *atewru* is what?

D: If it’s an *atewru*, stand watch! A watchman (guard), uh-huh, *atewru* is a watchman.

B: *gardien* (in French).

D: *gardien*. When they had placed the watchman, when they worked (in the field), if they (=Fulbe) appeared on horses or (whatever) anywhere over there, they would (...) each other—, this watchman would speak. At that point if the Fulbe would get up and become aware (of the danger) and flee, they (=Dogon) would chase after them. A Dogon (man), if he has gotten a Fulbe (in this fashion), he would not keep him as a slave⁹⁹; (instead) they (=Dogon) would stab and kill him (with a spear or dagger) or— what do (=would) you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—or they (=Dogon) would shoot and kill them (=Fulbe thieves) (with a rifle), or they would beat them to death and throw them away (=dump their bodies in the bush). The Fulbe, they too (for their part), if they got (children), they would take (them) away and sell (them). Well, it was like that [focus] that they used to do, they say. Well, now, this was (just) a short talk (=comment). If you-Sg have anything else, put (=speak) a little.

I: Well now, this is it.

S: Well now, if they (=Fulbe) got (=captured) those people, to whom-Pl did they export (them)?

B: They—

D: (To) America there. They would take some (of the captured children) over there, they would export them to the land of the whites there. (In) America now, the black people whom they call “negro(es).”

B [overlapping]: The ones whom they call “negro(es),” it’s they [focus] who were sold like that.

D: That (=those sold into slavery), and, now—what would you-Sg say?—they would say (=plan) that they would fight a war, they would export them (=captives) there. Some, when the war was over, some—what would it be if you-Sg said (it)?—there in America they would remain. Some (others) too now—what would you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—we in Africa, we say Liberia, now—if you say what?—Monrovia, they would bring (them) to that land and they would settle them and leave them there. For that reason they (=whites), the whites did not govern them, it is said. When the war was over, as for them (=blacks), it’s thus [focus] that they (=whites) settled them. That is “liberated”—what is it (that you-Sg would say)?—, Liberia. It’s thus [focus] that they settled them and left them there.

B: Exactly.

D: Uh-huh.

B: History—

D: Exactly, history, now, what we hear, it’s thus. Our grandparents recount (it) to us thus, it is said.

B: Well, turn it off.

Beni Text 2005-2b.03

S: Islam, how did it come to your-Pl village?

⁹⁸ D asks the listeners to chime in, but there are no takers, so D himself proceeds.

⁹⁹ The Dogon would have had the right to keep an apprehended Fulbe livestock thief as a slave.

B: Islam, its coming, it came by force. It came by force.

S: How did it come by force?

B [overlapping]: Shall I bring (it)? Well, all the people, idol(s), that [focus] was their work (=practice).

D: Totems.

B: Totems. They used to worship (“run”) them. They worshiped them. It (=Islam), who brought it? Do you-Sg know the name of the Fulbe man who brought Islam? Houidi Oumar, or who?

D: It was Sekou Amadou.

B: It was Sekou Amadou. It was Sekou Amadou. When he came into a village, if he found that they had not traced out (the walls of) a mosque, well, he would not give¹⁰⁰ (them) peace. He made them contribute. He assessed a fine (=tax) on them, that is what they paid for the various things with. Furthermore, if (there was) a place like (=suggestive of) a fetish that he saw, he would go and hit and smash (=destroy) it. After he hit and smashed it, he asked the village (population): did it (=his action) please them, or was it not good (=pleasing)? If (you-Pl said) it wasn’t good, he would show (=give) you-Pl trouble. If you-Pl had said that it was good, he would build and leave a mosque there in the village. Even our village here, the first mosque, now, if you go to (the house of) Yatom Hamadou (a woman), that place over there, the house of Bedaru (a man), that place [focus], there [focus] they put the first mosque, it is said. Did you-Sg understand? When he left here also, (each) village that he went and encountered further, he would not allow you-Pl to consume tobacco, he would not allow (you) to chew tobacco. Other than hiding (=in secret), he would not allow (you) to get and chew tobacco. If he had seen that you-Sg were chewing tobacco, they would not give you-Sg peace. Furthermore, if it wasn’t (=if there wasn’t) the mark (=foundation outline) of a mosque, in that event too, he would give (you) no peace. Well, in that way, as for us, in (=according to) what we have heard, we believe that it was he [focus] who brought the first (Muslim) religion. It (=the discussion) is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.

D: It was like that (=as you said). Sekou Amadou came like that, and he came and found our ancestors here like that. The thing (=Islam) came, those ancestors of ours, they too, like two or three (at a time), they went out and circulated (=traveled around) and observed. Uh-huh, they saw that the path (=way) of that religion was the path of truth. In that way, they too studied (Islam). When they had studied thoroughly¹⁰¹, when they had seen the truth, they too arose and came. They helped the people of this village of ours understand (=explained it). When they had helped (them) understand, our people too studied, and they saw the thing (=Islam). This is the religion of Islam, the path (=way) of the religion of Islam. That [focus] is what they showed to us. Even today, as for us now, necessarily that [focus] is what we are studying. The way we heard before (=long ago), (it was) long ago, long ago, a hundred years ago, (that) the Mus—, (that) our ancestors went into (=adopted) Islam. Well, (as for) us now, that [focus] is what we have taken (=adopted). That [focus] is what we trust (=have faith in). Well—what would you say if you said (it)?—, that [focus] is what we follow (=adhere to) also. Islam came to us like that. Yes.

[inaudible whispered discussion]

D: Yes. The person (=man) who brought Islam to Beni, (so) we have heard, was our great-grandfather (whom) they called Akile.

B: Akile.

D: Akile. That Akile, it was he [focus]—if you said (it)—who long ago arose and brought (it) to us in Beni, we heard (the story) like that, we ourselves. Him, as for us, ourselves, we were born in that (religion), we came out and found (=inherited) (it) like that, but we heard from the mouth(s) of our old people that it was Akile [focus] who brought (it), they said that it was he [focus] who brought (it) and let us understand.

S: How did Akile bring Islam?

D: Islam—

¹⁰⁰ Lit. “cause to give birth to.”

¹⁰¹ Lit. ‘having studied, they were sated’.

- S: By doing what (=how) did he bring it?
 D: He, Islam, he too, now, he heard the news about Sekou Amadou. At that point, he too again—what would you-Sg say if you-Sg said (it)?—, he understood, well, he himself brought people—his children out, and taught (them) Islam. When they had studied thoroughly, they came (back) to Beni and spread (Islam), it is said.
 B: Him, he was at Bandiagara.
 D: Exactly.
 B: That Akile.
 D: Yes.
 B: Staying in Bandiagara, ...
 D: Exactly.
 B: ... it's there [focus] that he learned Islam.
 D: Yes.
 B: Bandiagara.
 D: Exactly.
 B: Well, following (=after) that, he came to Beni here. After (doing) that here, that Islam, he told all of them (=his people) to follow (=adopt) it. In that also, the mouths (=opinions of the people) were divided, to the point that they fought each other.
 D: They argued.
 B: They argued, to the point that they argued with each other. Well, they kept doing that. Great God, with His might, ...
 D: He was helping them.
 B: ... helped them, and most of the people came and, well, went into (=took) his side. Following that, some of us were born in Islam (=brought up as Muslims). Even today, we are in that (religion). May God take out (=lead) our Islam forward.
 D: Amen.

Beni Text 2005-2b.04

- S: What is the meaning of Beni?
 A: Beni (means), “a village where one may remain,” it is said. The village, one may remain. What is the meaning of that? That place is good. They came too and settled, a village was found (=created) too. That (fact that) it¹⁰² (=Beni) doesn't accept (being pushed around), it didn't come out (=just begin) today.
 B: Exactly.
 A: Since it (=Beni) came and arrived, it does not not accept (being pushed around), that [focus] is what there is (=the situation) for it (=Beni). That (original) village that it came from, the fact that it would not accept (being pushed around), that [focus] is what made it leave (the original village), even today that [focus] is what there is.
 B: Exactly.
 A: (That) someone (else) has dominated (=been stronger than) him, the person (=man) of Beni did not accept that.
 B: (Not) at all.
 A: Now, since we came out (=were born), we haven't heard from the mouth(s) of our grandfathers, we haven't heard from the mouth(s) of our great-grandfathers (that anyone from Beni was dominated). Well, even today one cannot dominate them (=men of Beni).
 B: Exactly.
 A: That (means), they can remain in Beni, it is said.
 B: Exactly.
 A: This fact that the village is sitting on the flat stone shelf, it isn't for nothing (=accidental), they say. All of the places (=areas near Beni) are arid flatlands. You-Sg may go to many villages, a village that is settled as nicely as this village ...
 E: It (=such a village) is rare.

¹⁰² Beni, and inanimate pronouns referring to it, are used extensively in this passage to refer to the population of the village.

- A: ... finding (such a village) is difficult. They (=people of Beni) have a territory, they have a hard (=tough) heart¹⁰³, the place is good.
- B: Exactly.
- A: Well, they say, this is it, one can remain at Beni.
- B: Well, how many villages have come to find¹⁰⁴ it, or else it (=Beni) find the (other) village?
- A: Well, the (older) village that it (=Beni) came and found it. It found Jimbel.
- B: Truly.
- A: It found Gamni.
- B: Truly.
- A: It found Anda. Well, the rest, the rest, they (=other villages) found (Beni), it too. When it (=Beni) came and found them (Jimbel, Gamni, Anda), furthermore, there was no man who accepted (being dominated by Beni), and it (=Beni) did not accept (being dominated by) any village that it (=Beni) came and found.
- S: Anda, Gamni, and Jimbel. Was it they [focus] who came and found (=came after) Beni? Or did Beni come and find them?
- A: Beni [focus] came and found them.
- S: Beni came here and found them.
- A: Uh-huh.
- B: Well, did it (=Beni) find Kapemde¹⁰⁵? Or did it not find (it)?
- A: It found it.
- B: Did it (=Beni) find Titangay¹⁰⁶? Or did it not find (it)?
- A: It found it.
- B: Well, how was it that they (Kapemde and Titangay) got up and fled once and for all, having left Beni (behind)?
- A: Well, as for me, my knowledge of that is small (=limited).
- B: Speak!
- A: No. About that, my knowledge is small. About that, my knowledge is small.
- B: Your-Sg knowledge about that is small.
- D: You-Sg too, speak and put (=add)! If you-Sg know (something).
- A: Well, again, (here is) what I have heard. Beni, it came. When it came and settled here, it found Titangay. Well, it found Jemesornoturu¹⁰⁷, it found Kapemde, (and) it also found Da¹⁰⁸. When it (=Beni) came and settled in the middle of (all) that, the place, they had a low estimation of it. But when they came and settled, the place became a good place. They (=Beni) were told to get up and go away. They (=Beni) replied: as for them (=Beni), this place of theirs was a place where one could stay; this was Beni; they (=Beni) were not people who would go away, (from) there. Well, at that point they just kept arguing. The one (=population) of Beni, it had a shoe. The shoe was an iron shoe. They called it “yari-ka,” the shoe. Yari-ka. With the Yari-ka, its possessor may get up in the middle of the night, go to your-Sg village, (when) he had gone around it in (the manner of) baobab-leaf sauce going around¹⁰⁹ and goes past, for seven years you-Pl won't (be able to) get anything to eat; in view of that, they (=the affected villagers) will go away. In that way, they (=inhabitants of some other villages) got up and went away. Here are something like four or five empty (=abandoned) houses. Their people did not die off! Their people are (still) present (=living). Yari-ka, that [focus] is what drove them out. I too heard this (story) like that.
- S: Yari-ka, it's the name of the shoe?
- A: It's the name of the shoe.
- S: An iron shoe?

¹⁰³ I.e. they are strong-willed (determined), in a good sense. The adjective mǎ: can mean ‘dry’ or ‘hard(ened)’, but

¹⁰⁴ Here ‘X find Y’ (X and Y names of villages) means ‘X was settled after Y’. The image is of a group of settlers entering a new country and stumbling upon older villages.

¹⁰⁵ An abandoned village near Beni, on the track leading to Gamni.

¹⁰⁶ Another abandoned village near Beni.

¹⁰⁷ Abandoned village west of Beni.

¹⁰⁸ Abandoned village between Beni and Gamni.

¹⁰⁹ Millet cakes (tô) are served in bowls, surrounded by baobab-leaf sauce.

- A: An iron shoe. Yari-ka. It is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.
- B: Well, that's it. What I said previously too, that's it. I said, a person (=man) of Beni is a person who does not accept (being dominated).
- A: D! [vocative]
- D: It's a right-footed shoe? Or it's left-footed?
- B: There are both.
- A: Whatever shoe they put on and go around the village and keep going. The shoe, it's a left-footed shoe.
- B: Exactly.
- A: The left-footed (shoe), you-Sg (will) put it on (your) right foot. Likewise, if it's the right-footed (shoe) [focus] that you-Sg have taken, you-Sg (will) put it on (your) left foot.
- D: There's the little bit that you-Sg have heard, that you-Sg have heard.
- A: It's in that way that you-Sg go around the village. I heard this (story) like that.
- D: Exactly.
- A: If it pleases God.
- B: If he (=the man with the iron shoes) leaves his village, he puts his things in a shoulderbag and he takes them away.
- A: He stops up (=closes) a (goatskin) shoulderbag too and he goes away. He stops up a shoulderbag too. He does not touch any cloth.
- S: So he doesn't put (=use) any cords?
- A: He certainly doesn't use any cords. He doesn't use cords.
- D: As for that, the old people certainly used to have some things.
- A: He doesn't use cords. They used to work this in that way.
- D: In the villages now, did he use to go (all the way) around (it)? Or did he use to go and put his foot down on it and pick it (=foot) up again (just) once like that?
- A: When he has gone to the village at night—
- E: xxx—. Speak, speak, speak!
- A: He goes (all the way) around, and (at the end) he comes and puts his foot where he began, where he stepped previously. When he has stepped right on top of that (=his initial footprint), he does not look back, until he gets up and comes into his village. I heard it like that.
- D: Yes. You-Sg too, there is something that you-Sg heard. I too, what little I know there (=about that), let me add (=help) just a little there.
- A: All right.
- D: As for him, if he has gone straight there, in the middle of the village, when he has put the (=his) left foot like that, he doesn't bring anything else down. He doesn't put the second (foot) on top of it, he doesn't put anything else on top of it. He used to go out like that, they said. I too, I hear a little. Let me help you-Sg.
- A: Yes. It is understood. All that is just helping. It is understood.
- D: Yes.
- A: Uh-huh. Yes.

Beni Text 2005-2b.05

- A: Well, now, what (we will) say—
- S [overlapping] In Beni, who was it who fought with a lion?¹¹⁰
- A: Amadou Titey and the lion fought.
- S: How was it?
- A: The way that it was (=happened), well, the lion got up and came into our ravine here. Coming into the cows' pond, the lion roared there. When it roared, it was not hidden from (=unnoticed by) the whole village, (not) even a little. The young women and young men, they all got up, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it, saying (=intending) that they would go and catch it by hand.
- S: Women and men?
- A: Women and men. They said not to put any iron in its body. They came and brought out the tomtoms. When they had brought (them) out, the young men and young women came

¹¹⁰ Lit. “[who? and lion] [focus] fought a fight?”

here, they embellished themselves, they got up and headed for the lion. When they went, they crossed Dadia.¹¹¹ Now they were not very far from it (=lion).

E: It put (out a roar) again, a second time.

A: Again, a second time, it gave out a roar. Some of the people had already gone up to the top of trees.

S: Huh?

A: Some people had gone up in trees. Amadou Titey spoke up now: if things were like that, (with) this roar that they were hearing, it wasn't a crowd (of people) who would fight with it (=lion); it was (=would be) one person (=man) and it; if a crowd got up and headed for it, the destruction (=casualties) that it would cause to them would be greater, instead of gaining a (good) name¹¹²; in that case they must entrust (the fight) to him; if he would fight (with it), there it is!; if he would blow (on it, magically), there it is! Well, some people said to entrust (it) to him, other people (said) they should all go (=rush it en masse); whatever (=however many people) it would destroy, let it destroy (them); they for their part, let them kill it, then they would come (back) with their triumph. Having said (that), they went and approached. Again it put out a roar. No, there was no way to approach (it). Amadou Titey was looking (=considering), (but) there was no peace (=easy solution). At that point, he picked up some sand (in his hand), and let it slip through his fingers like this. He blew, all of it. Well, the lion took off¹¹³ on the way to Douentza.

S: Eastward.

A: Eastward. Well, at that point, the lion having abandoned the place, they (=people) came to the place, and went and saw its tracks, but they were not able to see the lion. They got up and went.

B: It put out a roar over there.

A: It put out a roar over there. Well, it has gone far away, they said.

B: It did it (=roared) again.

A: At that point, they got up, the people got up again like that and came home.

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A: Well, the thing (=story) of the hyena, it is entrusted to God, it is entrusted to you-Sg.

B: Well, after that (=the fight with the lion), here, as for it, with our own visual knowledge (=experience), a hyena came here.

E: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy¹¹⁴.

B: We had gone to Gunjo-Goroy over there. The hyena came. Over there, the people of Perge (village), pursuing it to the edge of their territory, turned (the next stage of pursuit) over to us. When they turned it over (to us), there is a place called Koruyom, there the hyena and we were in a chase¹¹⁵. With much hubbub we came to Tangaso¹¹⁶. When we came (=arrived), our young men were excited about it (=hyena). The hyena, they slapped its cheek(s). They caught it. They cut its throat, slash! Amadou De Tey let some sand slip through his fingers (as an act of magic). In the house(s), the house(s)—, that is (=meaning) Beni, in that Beni, men of (=like) that are not rare. It was that (kind of) toughness (“dry heart”) that we found (=observed) before (=in the old days), as well. What I said, that is it. With that, they caught the hyena and slash!, they cut its throat. Uh-huh. Slash! They cut its throat. Here, at that point, having cut its throat and skinned it, they came (home) with it. At that time, Muslims used to be thinly interspersed with others. They (=Muslims) said, they (=people in general) don't eat it. Some people of that (type), those who understood, took (it) and ate (it), (while) some others discarded (it). That happened like that.

After that, moreover, they got a hyena.

¹¹¹ Name of a rocky area with some caverns, near the ravine.

¹¹² i.e. by fighting with it single-handedly.

¹¹³ Lit. ‘took its eye(s) [=face].’

¹¹⁴ A oued (seasonally flowing stream bed).

¹¹⁵ Lit. “caught each other.”

¹¹⁶ Place where people of Beni draw water.

E: They went to Gunjo-Goroy.

B: They went to Gunjo-Goroy.

E: There had been a small disagreement between the village and us.

B: There had been a small disagreement, too, between the village and us. After that, too, they got the news (of) a hyena. They went out to meet it. They went over there, pursuing the hyena. There is a place here that is called Piriye¹¹⁷. It went into a hole (=den). They followed it in and kept going. It (=hyena) said (=intended) that it would get angry and come out for (=attack) the people. At that point, they (=people) sent (=shot) their bullet(s), (and) it (=bullet) went in where they said (=intended) that it go in, (namely) in the eye(s). The hyena fell on its back there. At that point, they went in, they pulled it out. That's it.

X [overlapping (unclear)]: That is how they killed it.

B: Do you-Sg hear? A second time.

D: They wrestled with a hyena.

B: A second time, they wrestled with a hyena.

D: They killed it too.

B: They killed it too.

S: (They) caught the other one, they slapped its cheek(s), and they destroyed it¹¹⁸.

B: It was the cheek(s) [focus] that they slapped.

D: Exactly.

B: Yes, uh-huh.

¹¹⁷ A forested area.

¹¹⁸ Lit. "broke its house." A common phrasing in languages of the zone, including Songhay.