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Appendix: Sample texts

This appendix provides four transcribed texts, including two dialogues and two monologues. These texts are examples of natural speech data that form part of the audiovisual corpus deposit associated with this thesis (see Chapter 3 section §3.6 for details on accessing the corpus). The characteristics of the four sample texts are summarised in Table 9.2.

Text no.	Text name	Text type	Subtype
1	QUIS map task dialogue	Dialogue	Task-based dialogue
2	Dialogue after dancing	Dialogue	Free dialogue
3	Cooking <i>kok</i> recipe	Monologue	Procedural
4	The chicken and the partridge	Monologue	Animal story

Table 9.2: Overview of the four sample texts in this appendix.

The texts are formatted here for a general linguistics audience. This means that each example is interlinearised following the example presentation format used throughout this thesis, as explained in Chapter 4. I also use the same convention of transcribing surface tone and not transcribing unpronounced vowels on the first line, which differs from the Tunen community orthography in which the underlying forms are written (as discussed in Chapter 4). To convert the texts to the community orthography, the information from the underlying transcription line must therefore be combined with the first transcription line. The only difference from example presentation elsewhere in this thesis is that I have adapted the punctuation use for presentation as a text, e.g. using capital letters for the start of each sentence.

9.1 Text 1: QUIS map task dialogue

In this text, PM and EO perform the map task from the Questionnaire on Information Structure (QUIS; Skopeteas et al. 2006), using visual stimuli from the map pair from QUIS Task 20 (Map Task: Contrastive and selective focus in spontaneous dialogue) Item 1 (Skopeteas et al. 2006:155-157). Here, PM has a map with a route indicated on it and EO has a map without the route marked on it (Fig. 9.1). The goal of the task is for PM to instruct EO on what route to take (without showing each other the maps). The two maps are slightly different, which (in contrast to the QUIS procedure version) the speakers were not made aware of in advance. The task is designed to record interactional speech and provides examples of imperatives and corrective focus.

Text name:	QUIS map task
Text type:	Dialogue
Subtype:	Task-based dialogue
Participants:	EO, PM
Also present:	EK
Recording date:	2019-04-29
Location:	DM's house, inside (Ndikiniméki)
Recording set-up:	Zoom H5 + stereo mic (audio), Sony CX625 (video)
Recording duration:	00:04:54 (incl. instructions)
Transcribed by:	PM, EK
File info:	A44-20190429-EK-EOPM-QUISmaptask.wav A44-20190429-EK-EOPM-QUISmaptask.mp4

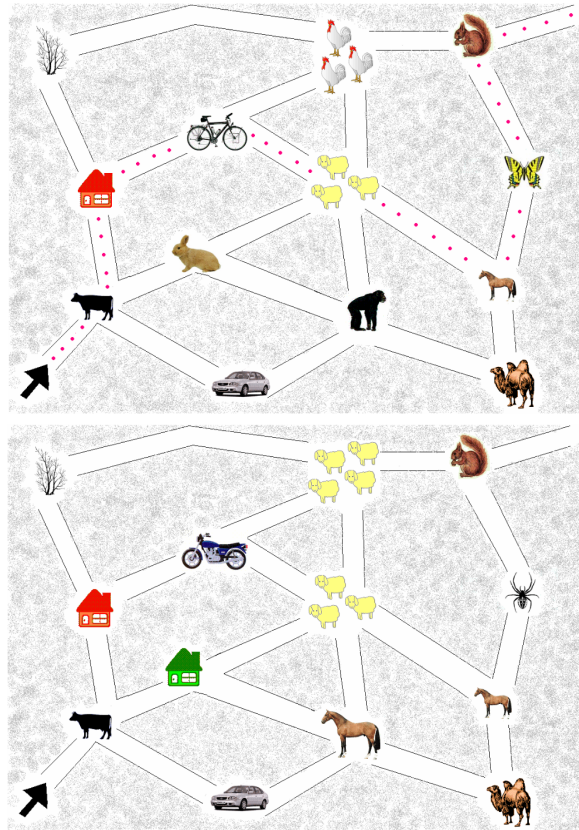


Figure 9.1: Map provided to PM (top) and EO (bottom) (Skopeteas et al. 2006:157).



Figure 9.2: EO (left) and PM (right) performing the QUIS map task.

- (509) Ítiənə, ɔ ná yá ?
 /á³ Itiənə ɔ ná yá/
 VOC Etienne SM.2G PST2 rise
 “Etienne, bonjour.”
 “Etienne, good morning.” [PM 657]
- (510) Éε.
 /έε/
 yes
 “Bonjour.”
 “Good morning.” [EO 658]
- (511) Ó ndo sinə h́oyé ɔhá ɔmbóáŋé wó léá lutá-átɔ ?
 /ɔ ^Hndo sinə h́oyé ɔhá ɔ-mbóáŋé wó léá lutá-átɔ/
 SM.2G PRS see DEM.DISC.LOC REL.LOC 3-arrow SM.3 be draw-PTCP
 “Vois-tu là où est dessinée la flèche ?”
 “Do you see there where the arrow is drawn?” [PM 659]
- (512) Éε.
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [EO 660]
- (513) Yaté yé léá u busíá bó ɔmbóáŋe ?
 /yaté yé léá ɔ busíá bó ɔ-mbóáŋe/
 what SM.7 be PREP 14.front ASSOC.14 3-arrow
 “Qu’est-ce qu’il y a devant la flèche ?”
 “What’s in front of the arrow?” [PM 661]

³This greeting is used in the morning, translating literally as “Did you rise?”. I use free translations to express the equivalent meanings in French and English.

³The vocative particle is found in the dataset as *á*, *a*, *á*, and *a*; here, it is only visible on the surface line from the H tone (via High Tone Spread; Chapter 4 section §4.2). Dugast (1971) treats the vocative as one function of the *á* found in focus expression (cf. Chapter 5). I gloss them as distinct items, as discussed in Chapter 4 section §4.6.1.

- (514) Túbíólúnínó tó le benóme belal.
 /tɔ-bíólúnínó tó lea be-nóme bé-láló/
 13-intersection SM.13 be 8-road 8-three
 “Il y a un carrefour de trois routes.”
 “There is an intersection with three roads.” [PM 662]
- (515) Híbíólúnínó hí búsiá -
 /he-bíólúnínó hé busiá/
 19-intersection ASSOC.19 14.front
 “Le premier embranchement -”
 “The first road -” [PM 663]
- (516) Mé ndɔ sinə ... menyama ekáho.
 /me ^Hndɔ sinə me-nyama e-káho/
 SM.1SG PRS see 9-animal 9-beef
 “I see ... a cow.”
 “Je vois ... une vache.” [EO 664]
- (517) mhm.
 /mhm/
 PTCL
 “mhm.”
 “mhm.” [PM 665]
- (518) Yé [↓]léá⁴ ténématɔ.
 /yé léá ténéma-átɔ/
 SM.7 be stand-PTCP
 “Il est debout.”
 “It’s stood there.” [EO 666]
- (519) ɔ ná ekáho bóho?
 /ɔ ná e-káho bóho⁶/
 SM.2SG PST2 7-cow find
 “Tu as trouvé une vache ?”
 “You’ve found a cow?” [PM 667]

⁴The downstep before *léá* is unexpected.

⁶ For verbs that surface with final H tones in contexts such as the polar question context here, I

- (520) Έε.
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [EO 668]

- (521) Ό οηγό ρ μακάτά (ωό) βενόμ, ό ndo bakatoló siəkin.
 /ó οηγό ρ μακάτά ωó βε-νόμ ε ρ ^Hndo
 SM.2.COND follow PREP 3-hand ASSOC.3 8-right SM.2SG PRS
 bakatoló siəkin/
 7.rabbit see.DUR
 “Si tu tourne à droite, tu verras un lapin.”
 “If you take a right, you will see a rabbit.” [PM 669]

- (522) Mba, ρ l(ε) ετ(ά) ό ενόμε γέ βενόμ - γέ μόκάτά (ωó) βενόμ.
 /mba ρ lε ετά ρ ε-νόμ γέ βε-νόμ γέ
 but SM.2SG NEG take PREP 7-road ASSOC.7 8-right ASSOC.7
 μακάτά ωó βε-νόμ/
 3-hand ASSOC.3 8-right
 “Mais ne prend pas la route du mal - la route droite.”
 “But don’t take the bad road - the one on the right.” [PM 670]

- (523) Μακάτά ωó βενόμε wú búsió ibuŋuluəkə γέ nda báká háaha ρ matá.
 /μακάτά ωó βε-νόμ ωó busiό ε-buŋuluəkə γέ nda
 3-hand ASSOC.3 8-right ASSOC.3 14.front 7-car SM.7 VEN
 bá-aka háaha ρ matá/
 be-DUR DEM.PROX.LOC PREP bottom
 “Il y a une véhicule en bas au premier embranchement à droite.”
 “There’s a car at the bottom on the first road on the right.” [PM 671]

take the tone of that form as the underlying tone to represent in the underlying line of the database, with realisations with final L tone taken to be instantiations of tone reduction rules (Chapter 4 section §4.2.6). This differs from the presentation in Mous (2003:295), where such final H tones are taken to be part of the TAM conjugation rather than represented as part of the tone of the verb root itself. For my database, I use the surface tone for the underlying form in the absence of data indicating deviation. Note here that Dugast’s (1967) lexicon provides the tone for verbs produced in citation form, meaning that the underlying final tone is not retrievable from that source (as noted in Chapter 4 section §4.3.1).

- (524) Έε, μέ ndo sin.⁷
 /έε με ^Hndo sinə/
 yes SM.1SG PRS see
 “Oui, je le vois.”
 “Yes, I see it.” [EO 672]
- (525) ɔ le yé^Ltáyé éno^Lme ɔŋɔ.
 /ɔ le yé^Ltáyé é-no^Lme ɔŋɔ/
 SM.2SG NEG DEM.DISC.EMPH.7 7-road follow
 “Ne suis pas cette route-la.”
 “Don’t take that road.” [PM 673]
- (526) Me le ɔŋɔ.
 /me le ɔŋɔ/
 SM.1SG NEG follow
 “Je ne le suis pas.”
 “I won’t take it.” [EO 674]
- (527) ɔŋɔ - ɔ le ɔŋɔ (á) éno^Lme ɔyéá bakatóló (yé) léa.
 /ɔŋɔ ɔ le ɔŋɔ á⁹ é-no^Lme ɔyéá bakatóló (yé) léá/
 follow SM.2SG NEG follow COP 7-road REL.7 7.rabbit SM.7 be
 “Suis - ne suis pas la route où se trouve le lapin.”
 “Take - don’t take the road with the rabbit.” [PM 675]
- (528) ɔŋɔ (á) éno^Lme ɔyéá ó ndo ka miímó sinə u busí.
 /ɔŋɔ á¹¹ é-no^Lme ɔyéá ɔ ^Hndo ka miímə sinə ɔ busíá/
 follow COP 7-road REL.7 SM.2SG PRS AND house see PREP 14.front
 “Suis la route ou tu vois la maison devant.”
 “Take the road where you see a house in front.” [PM 676]

⁷The verb *sinə* ‘to see’ derives from the verb *siə* ‘to want’ by addition of an applicative. The ability for *sinə* to be used here without an overt object shows that the verb is lexicalised and therefore patterns differently from other applicative verbs (as discussed in Chapter 5). I follow the synchronic behaviour and do not reflect the historical origins of this verb in the glossing (cf. Chapter 4 on glossing decisions).

⁹This *á* is glossed as COP for consistency within the database, although could be analysed as a contrastive marker, as in Mous (1997, 2003); cf. Chapter 5 section §5.3.1. During the transcription session, PM indicated that the *á* was present underlyingly, with the segmental content elided due to vowel elision. However, as the verb *ɔŋɔ* ends in a H tone, the H tone realisation on *éno^Lme* ‘road’ could also be analysed as the result of HTS from the verb, with no *á* present. Because of this complication, I do not commit to an analysis here of a separate *á*.

¹¹See previous footnote. Here, PM indicated that an imperative with *á* would mean ‘do X and nothing else’.

- (529) *Έε, με η(ά) ηηγσ.*
 /έε με ná ηηγσ/
 yes SM.1SG PST2 follow
 “Okay, I’ve taken it.”
 “Oui, je l’ai suivi.” [EO 677]
- (530) *σ - σ ná βόησ?*
 /σ σ ná βόησ/
 SM.2SG SM.2SG PST2 find
 “Tu - tu l’as trouvé?”
 “You - you found it?” [PM 678]
- (531) *Έε.*
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [EO 679]
- (532) *Bon, έκε σ κά φάμά σhá miímə yé ↓léá, σ le ηηγσ σ məkátá wó biən, σhá bóλέá*
bó ka léá.
 /bon έκε σ ka φάμά σhá miímə yé léá
 good.FR when SM.2SG.SBJV AND arrive REL.LOC 3.house SM.3 be
 σ le ηηγσ σ mσ-kátá wó biəni σhá bσ-léá
 SM.2SG NEG follow PREP 3-hand ASSOC.3 8.left REL.LOC 14-tree
 bó ka léá/
 SM.14 AND be
 “D’accord, lorsque tu y arrives là ou il y a la maison, ne suis pas la route de
 gauche, la ou il y a un arbre.”
 “Okay, when you get to the house, don’t take the road on the left, where
 there’s a tree.” [PM 680]
- (533) *Έε.*
 /έε/
 yes
 “D’accord.”
 “Okay.” [EO 681]

- (534) $\text{O } \omega\eta\gamma\acute{o} \text{ } \omega \text{ } \mu\alpha\text{-k}\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \omega\acute{o} \text{ } \beta\epsilon\text{-n}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon \text{ } \omega \text{ } H\text{nd}\omega \text{ } \eta\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\eta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon$
 SM.2SG follow PREP 3-hand ASSOC.3 8-right SM.2SG PRS 19-bicycle
 $\text{ni}\beta\alpha\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha \text{ } \omega\mu\acute{o}\eta\gamma\acute{o}\epsilon \text{ } \text{t}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega/$
 find-DUR DEM.DISC.EMPH.LOC stand-PTCP
 “Suis à droite, tu vas trouver une bicyclette là-bas.”
 “Take a right, you’ll find a bike there.” [PM 682]
- (535) $\text{O } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \beta\acute{o}\eta\acute{o} \text{ } ?$
 $/\omega \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \beta\acute{o}\eta\acute{o}/$
 SM.2SG PST2 find
 “Tu as le trouvé ?”
 “Have you found it?” [PM 683]
- (536) $\text{M}\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \dots \text{ } \mu\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \dots \text{ } \mu\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \beta\omega\eta.$
 $/\mu\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \mu\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \mu\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \beta\acute{o}\eta\acute{o}/$
 SM.1SG PST2 SM.1SG PST2 SM.1SG PST2 find
 “Je ... Je ... Je l’ai trouvé.”
 “I ... I ... I’ve found it.” [EO 684]
- (537) $\text{O}\mu\acute{o}\eta\gamma\acute{o}\epsilon \text{ } \omega\acute{\eta}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \eta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\eta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon \text{ } \eta\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } \downarrow\text{l}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}, \text{ } \beta\epsilon\text{-n}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon \text{ } \beta\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } \text{l}\epsilon \text{ } \beta\acute{\epsilon}\text{f}\acute{\alpha}\text{n}\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}.$
 $/\omega\mu\acute{o}\eta\gamma\acute{o}\epsilon \text{ } \omega\acute{\eta}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \eta\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\eta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon \text{ } \eta\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } \text{l}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \beta\epsilon\text{-n}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon \text{ } \beta\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } \text{l}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}$
 DEM.DISC.EMPH.LOC REL.LOC 19-bicycle SM.19 be 8-road SM.8 be
 $\text{b}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-f}\acute{\alpha}\text{n}\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}/$
 8-two
 “Là où il y a une bicyclette, il y a deux routes.”
 “There where the bicycle is, there are two roads.” [PM 685]
- (538) $(\text{O}) \text{ } \epsilon\text{-n}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon \text{ } \omega\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \gamma\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } H\text{nd}\omega \text{ } \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \text{ } \epsilon\text{nd}\epsilon\text{nd}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda \text{ } \mu\iota\omega\acute{o} \text{ } \gamma\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } \text{l}\epsilon \text{ } \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}.$
 $/\omega \text{ } \epsilon\text{-n}\acute{o}\mu\epsilon \text{ } \omega\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \gamma\acute{\epsilon} \text{ } H\text{nd}\omega \text{ } \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha \text{ } \epsilon\text{nd}\epsilon\text{nd}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon \text{ } \mu\iota\text{-}\omega\acute{o} \text{ } \gamma\acute{\epsilon}$
 PREP 7-road REL.7 SM.7 PRS leave straight_on 10-chicken SM.10
 $\text{l}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha} \text{ } \acute{\epsilon}\text{-l}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{o}/$
 be 10-three
 “Sur la route qui va tout droit il y a trois poules.”
 “The road that goes straight on has three chickens.” [PM 686]

- (539) ɔ ná miɔkó bóŋó é-láló?
 /ɔ ná mi-ɔkó bóŋó é-láló/
 SM.2SG PST2 10-chicken find 10-three
 “Tu as trouvé les trois poules?”
 “Have you found the three chickens?” [PM 687]
- (540) Me ná miɔkó bóŋó í - í - ínisə.
 /mɛ ná mi-ɔkó bóŋó é-nisə/
 SM.1SG PST2 10-chicken find 10-four
 “J’ai trouvé qu- qu- quatre poules.”
 ‘I’ve found f- f- four chickens.” [EO 688]
- (541) Á miɔkó?
 /á mi-ɔkó/
 COP 10-chicken
 “(Tu parles) de poules ?”
 “(Four) chickens?” [PM 689]
- (542) Éɛ.
 /ɛɛ/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [EO 690]
- (543) Okay, é-láló yé ayé háaha léá ɔ ɔwám.
 /okay é-láló yé ayé háaha léá ɔ ɔwámé/
 okay.EN 10-three ASSOC.10 PRN.10 DEM.PROX.LOC be PREP POSS.PRN.1.7
 “Okay, c’est trois qu’il y a ici sur ma carte.”
 “Okay, I have three of them here on mine.” [PM 691]
- (544) ɔ l(ɛ) enóme et(á) ɔyéá yé ^Hndɔ ákána ɔ mi-ɔkó.
 /ɔ lɛ ɛ-nóme etá ɔyéá yé ^Hndɔ ákána ɔ mi-ɔkó/
 SM.2SG NEG 7-route take REL.7 SM.7 PRS leave PREP 10-chicken
 “Ne prends pas la route qui mène aux poules.”
 “Don’t take the road which leads to chickens.” [PM 692]

- (545) Etá (á) éno^{me} o^{yéá} yé ndó ákána o endómb.
 /etá á ε-no^{me} o^{yéá} yé ^Hndó ákána o ε-ndómbá/
 take FOC 7-route REL.7 SM.7 PRS leave PREP 4-sheep
 “Prends rien que la route qui mène aux moutons.”
 “You have to take the road which leads to sheep.” [PM 693]
- (546) Ó nd(o) endómbá sinə hóy(é) é^láló ?
 /o ^Hndó ε-ndómbá sinə hóyé é-láló/
 SM.2SG PRS 4-sheep see DEM.DISC.LOC 4-three
 “Vois-tu trois moutons là ?”
 “Do you see three sheep there?” [PM 694]
- (547) Mé nd(o) endómbá sin.
 /mε ^Hndó ε-ndómbá sinə/
 SM.1SG PRS 4-sheep see
 “Je vois les moutons.”
 “I see the sheep.” [EO 695]
- (548) mhm. Aηóá o^mó^hóyé o^há endómbá yé léá, o ákáká nóyé t^hikíβ, ó ndo k(a)
 ehóse bóηó^ko u busí.
 /mhm aηóá o^mó^hóyé o^há ε-ndómbá yé léá o
 PTCL PRN.2SG DEM.DISC.EMPH.LOC REL.LOC 4-sheep SM.4 be PREP
 ákáká nóyé t^hikíβ o ^Hndó ka ε-hóse bóηó-aka o
 leave thus straight_on SM.2SG PRS AND 7-horse find-DUR PREP
 busíó/
 front
 “Mhm. Toi étant là où il y a des moutons, tu pars ainsi tout droit, tu trouveras
 un cheval devant.”
 “Mhm. With you there where the sheep are, go straight on along that road,
 you’ll find a horse just ahead.” [PM 696]
- (549) Με ná ehós(ε) én.
 /mε ná ε-hóse éna/
 SM.1SG PST2 7-horse notice
 “J’ai vu le cheval.”
 “I’ve seen the horse.” [EO 697]

- (550) mhm. ɔh(á) ɔ nd(ɔ) εhóse sinə, ɔ le híán(á) ɔ məkátá wó benóme, kák(a) ɔ məkátá wó biəní.
 /mhm ɔha ɔ ^Hndɔ ε-hóse sinə ɔ le híáná ɔ
 PTCL REL.LOC SM.2SG PRS 7-horse see SM.2SG NEG return PREP
 mɔ-kátá wó be-nóme ká-aka ɔ mɔ-kátá wó biəní/
 3-hand ASSOC.3 8-right go-DUR PREP 3-hand ASSOC.3 8.left
 “Mhm. Là où tu vois le cheval, ne prends pas la droite, va à gauche.”
 “Mhm. There where you see the horse, don’t take a right, take a left.”
 [PM 698]
- (551) ɔ n(á) éfafálaka bóɲó?
 /ɔ ná ε-fafálaka bóɲó/
 SM.2SG PST2 7-butterfly find
 “As-tu vu un papillon ?”
 “Do you see a butterfly?”
 [PM 699]
- (552) ták(a) á nélal?
 /táká á ne-lala/
 true COP 5-spider
 “N’est-ce pas une araignée ?”
 “Isn’t it a spider?”
 [EO 700]
- (553) Éε,¹² (á) éfafálak.
 /Éε á ε-fafálaka/
 yes COP 7-butterfly
 “Oui, c’est un papillon.”
 “Yes, it’s a butterfly.”
 [PM 701]
- (554) Me ná yam.
 /me ná yama/
 SM.1SG PST2 find
 “Je l’ai trouvé.”
 “I’ve found it.”
 [EO 702]

¹²During the transcription session, PM said that he should have said *Bɔɔ* ‘no’ here instead of *Éε* ‘yes’.

- (555) Εφαφάλaka yé báka hóye ...
 /ε-φαφάλaka yé bá-aka hóye/
 7-butterfly SM.7 be-DUR DEM.DISC.LOC
 “Il y a un papillon là...”
 “There’s a butterfly there...” [PM 703]
- (556) Με ná βῶη.
 /me ná βῶή/ῶ/
 SM.1SG PST2 find
 “Je l’ai trouvé.”
 “I’ve found it.” [EO 704]
- (557) Ὀμό[↓]hóyé, benóme bé lé bá béfandε.
 /ομόhóyé be-nóme bé le bá bé-fandé/
 DEM.DISC.EMPH.LOC 8-route SM.8 NEG be 8-two
 “Là-bas, il n’y a deux routes.”
 “At that point, there aren’t two roads.” [PM 705]
- (558) Bé lé ba béfandε.
 /bé le bá bé-fandé/
 SM.8 NEG be 8-two
 “Il n’y en a pas deux.”
 “There aren’t two.” [PM 706]
- (559) Ηεκῶle hé ka báká hóní u busí káse himondokóloη.
 /he-kῶle hé ka bá-aka hóníῶ ο busíῶ káse
 19-squirrel SM.19 AND be-DUR DEM.DIST.LOC PREP front maybe
 he-mondokóloηo/
 19-mole
 “Là-bas il y a un écureuil, ou peut-être une taupe.”
 “There’s a squirrel there, or maybe a mole.” [PM 707]
- (560) Himondokóloη, με ná βῶη.
 /he-mondokóloηo me ná βῶή/ῶ/
 19-mole SM.1SG PST2 find
 “Une taupe, je l’ai trouvé.”
 “A mole, I’ve found it.” [EO 708]

- (561) ɔ ná himondokóloŋo bóŋó ?
 /ɔ ná he-mondokóloŋo bóŋó/
 SM.2SG PST2 19-mole find
 “Tu as trouvé la taupe ?”
 “You’ve found the mole?” [PM 709]
- (562) Έε.
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [EO 710]
- (563) Bon. ɔ ɔŋg(ó) ɔ məkátá əlimə ye himondokóloŋ, məkátá ...
 /bon. ó ɔŋg(ó) ɔ məkátá əlimə ye
 good.FR SM.2SG.SBJV follow PREP 3-hand 9.behind ASSOC.9
 he-mondokóloŋo məkátá/
 19-mole 3-hand
 “Bon. Si tu suis (la route de) la main derrière de la taupe, la route...”
 “Great. If you follow the right (road) behind the mole, the road...” [PM 711]
- (564) ɔ benóm.
 /ɔ be-nómε/
 PREP 8-right
 “...de droit.”
 “...on the right.” [EO 712]
- (565) ɔ benóm. ɔ le ɔŋg(ó) ɔ məkátá wó biən. ɔŋg(ó) ɔ məkátá (wó) benómε əlimə
 ye himondokóloŋ.
 /ɔ be-nómε ɔ le ɔŋg(ó) ɔ məkátá wó biəni ɔŋg(ó)
 PREP 8-right SM.2SG NEG follow PREP 3-hand ASSOC.3 8.left follow
 ɔ məkátá wó be-nómε əlimə ye he-mondokóloŋo/
 PREP 3-hand ASSOC.3 8-right 9.behind ASSOC.9 19-mole
 “De droit. Ne suis pas (la route) à gauche. Suis à droite derrière la taupe.”
 “On the right. Don’t take a left. Take a right, behind the mole.” [PM 713]

- (566) Ó fámálána ɔ enóm.
 /ɔ =^H fámálána ɔ ε-nómε/
 SM.2SG PROC go_out.DIM PREP 7-route
 “Tu ressors en route.”
 “You go out on the road.” [PM 714]
- (567) Με n(ά) όηγός.
 /mε ná ɔηγός/
 SM.1SG PST2 follow
 “Je l’ai suivi.”
 “I’ve followed it.” [EO 715]
- (568) Έε.
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [PM 716]
- (569) Με ná yam. Με ná binifun.
 /mε ná yama mε ná bé-nífúnό/
 SM.1SG PST2 find SM.1SG PST2 MID-find_again
 “Je l’ai trouvé. Je me suis retrouvé.”
 “I’ve found it. I’ve got there.” [EO 717]
- (570) Ó ná bínífúnό ?
 /ɔ ná bé-nífúnό/
 SM.2SG PST2 MID-find_again
 “Tu t’es retrouvé ?”
 “You’ve got there?” [PM 718]
- (571) Έε.
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.” [EO 719]

(572) (Ὁ) ἐνόμῃ γέεγε.

/Ὁ ε-νόμῃ γέεγε/

COP.INANIM 7-route DEM.DISC.7

“Voilà la route.”

“That’s the route.”

[PM 720]

End of text 1.

9.2 Text 2: Dialogue after dancing

This text was recorded after the funeral of Papa Daniel Poakam in Ndikiniméki town square. EO, PM, and EK had met in the town square to participate in the celebration and record the *ɛnganda* dancing and drumming. EK and PM also recorded an interview with the leader of the *ɛnganda* group. After returning to DM's house, EO and PM recorded a free dialogue about the day's events. The dialogue shows natural interaction between two friends.

Text name:	Dialogue after dancing
Text type:	Dialogue
Subtype:	Free dialogue
Participants:	EO, PM
Recorded by:	EK
Also present:	-
Recording date:	2019-05-23
Location:	DM's house, inside (Ndikiniméki)
Recording set-up:	Zoom H5 + shotgun mic (audio), Sony CX625 (video)
Recording duration:	00:04:29
Transcribed by:	PM, EK
File info:	A44-20190523-EK-EOPM- DialogueAboutDancing .wav / .mp4

The recordings of the dancing, drumming, and interview are included in the archival deposit alongside this dialogue. The group leader gave consent for these recordings to be shared publicly. The interview with the group leader includes some explanation (in French and Tunen) of the structure of the dance; it is performed in a (semi)circle with members taking turns (arranged spontaneously) to dance in the centre, co-ordinated by a whistle. The *ɛnganda* drumming uses underlying tones rather than surface tone and is therefore of linguistic as well as cultural interest (cf. Chapter 4 section §4.6.4). Example photos of the *ɛnganda* performance are provided in Fig. 9.3 below.

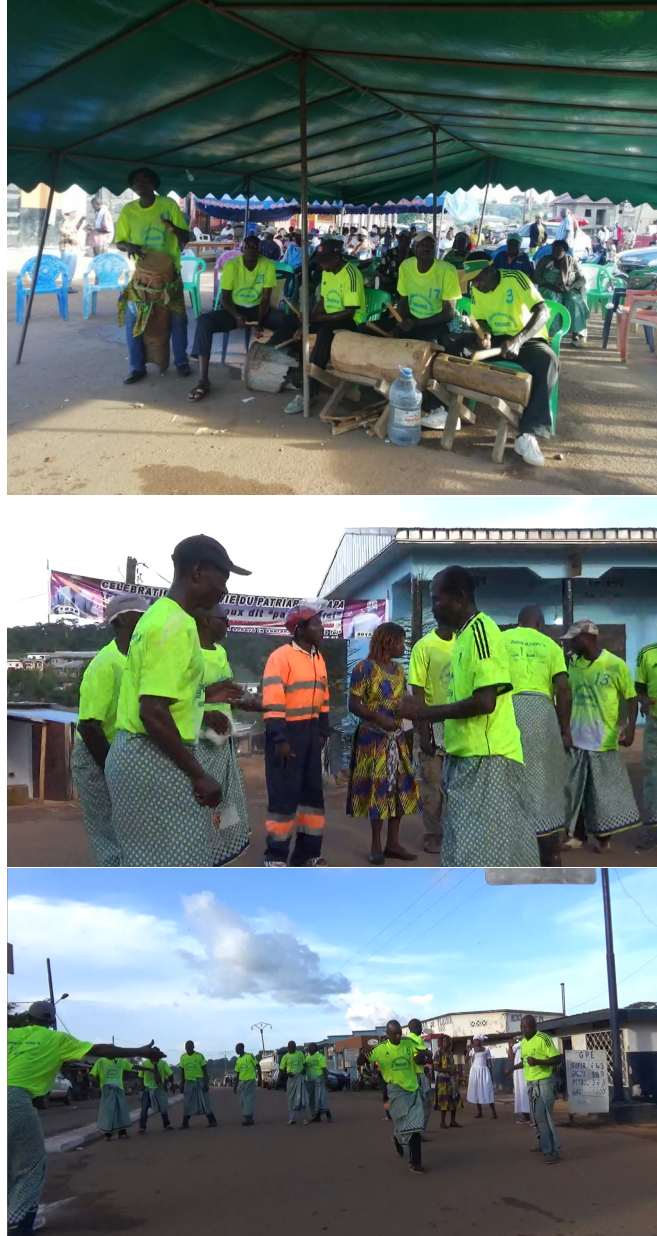


Figure 9.3: Banen drummers from the group *enganda yé endekale* performing in NdikiniMéki town square at the occasion of the funeral of Papa Daniel, 23rd May 2019. The large elongated drum (second from right) is used to relay messages via drumming the underlying tone pattern of Tunen phrases.

- (573) Babá Ítiən,
 /babá Ítiənə/
 1.father 1.Etienne
 “Papa Etienne,”
 “Father Etienne,”
 [PM 996]
- (574) Έε.
 /εε/
 yes
 “Oui.”
 “Yes.”
 [EO 997]
- (575) Ó ndɔ aŋɔ́á bá neɔ́féne ɔ ɛŋganda?
 /ɔ ʰndɔ aŋɔ́á bá neɔ́féne ɔ ɛ-ŋganda/
 SM.2SG PRS PRN.2SG be today PREP 9-occasion
 “Toi, tu étais à la fête aujourd’hui ?”
 “Were you yourself at the party today?”
 [PM 998]
- (576) ɔ yániá ɛŋgand(a) ?
 /ɔ ye-ániá ɛ-ŋganda/
 PREP 9-which 9-occasion
 “À quelle fête ?”
 “At which party?”
 [EO 999]
- (577) ɛŋganda ye buwá.
 /ɛ-ŋganda ye bɔ-wá/
 9-occasion ASSOC.9 14-death
 “À la fête du deuil.”
 “At the party of the funeral.”
 [PM 1000]
- (578) ɔ búániá buwá ?
 /ɔ bɔ-áni bɔ-wá/
 PREP 14-which 14-death
 “À quel deuil ?”
 “At which funeral?”
 [EO 1001]

(579) Káákə! Neoféne miaḡá mba mé aḡá leéna meséá babá Daníéle a ka wó eé?

/káákə neoféne miaḡá mba mé aḡá leéna
 EXCL today PRN.EMPH.1SG but SM.1SG PRN.EMPH.2SG say.APPL
 me-séá babá Daníéle a ka wó eé/
 SM.1SG-say 1.father 1.Daniel SM.1 PST3 die Q

“Bah! Est-ce que c’est moi qui va aujourd’hui te dire que papa Daniel était mort ?”

“Bah! Am I really the one to tell you today that Papa Daniel died?”

[PM 1002]

(580) Mé ndo áme manya ?

/me ^Hndo áme manya/
 SM.1SG PRS PRN.1SG know

“Est-ce que moi je sais ?”

“So I know about it?”

[EO 1003]

(581) Ǿ lé ndo manya ?

/Ǿ le ^Hndo manya/
 SM.2SG NEG PRS know

“Tu ne sais pas?”

“You don’t know about it?”

[PM 1004]

(582) Meaḡá, Meaḡá wa mukóto ?¹³

/meaḡá meaḡá wə mɔ-kóto/
 PRN.EMPH.1SG PRN.EMPH.1SG ASSOC.1 1-Bamileke

“Est-ce que moi je suis Bamileke ??”

“Am I a Bamileke??”

[EO 1005]

¹³This rhetorical question relates to the fact that Papa Daniel (the deceased man) was himself Bamileke rather than a Munen, as is returned to later in the dialogue.

- (583) Mε ná húlá ɔ ɔwáme ɔmbél, me nó ka nibé ɔ neahan, bá nó bikələ tábónaka, mbaá báse neɔféne bá ná umiimə wó babá Daniéle fómí.

/mε ná húlá ɔ ɔwáme ɔ-mbéla mε nó
 SM.1SG PST2 come_from PREP PRN.POSS.1SG.3 3-house SM.1SG PST1
 ka nibé ɔ ne-ahana bá nó be-kələ tábóna-aka
 AND find PREP 5-town_square SM.2 PST2 8-gazebo erect-DUR
 mbaá bá-séá neɔféne bá ná umiimə wó babá
 thus SM.2-say today SM.2 PST2 3.corpse ASSOC.3 1.father
 Daniéle fómí/
 1.Daniel bring_out

“En venant de chez moi, je suis allé trouver au carrefour qu'on a dressé des tentes/hangards, c'est alors qu'on dit qu'on a fait sortir le corps/le cadavre de papa Daniel aujourd'hui.”

“When I left home, I found that they had erected gazebos in the town square, and that's why they say that they brought out Papa Daniel's body today.”

[EO 1006]

- (584) Báse bíŋ bɔŋ bíŋ¹⁴ bá n(ó) ákánana ɔ yəbúá misióni nóyé mé ndɔ áme manya.

/bá-séá bíŋ bɔŋ bíŋ bá nó ákánána ɔ yəbúá
 SM.2-say IDEO IDEO IDEO SM.2 PST1 leave.APPL PREP PRN.POSS.2.9
 misióni nóyé mε ^Hndɔ áme manya/
 9.mission thus SM.1SG PRS PRN.1SG know

“On dit *ping pong ping* - ils sont partis avec (le corps de Papa Daniel) á leur église, c'est tous que je sais.”

“They went *ping pong ping* - they've taken (Papa Daniel's body) to their church, that's what I know.”

[EO 1007]

¹⁴The sequence *bíŋ bɔŋ bíŋ* is an ideophone representing the noise of the cars transporting the corpse as part of the funeral procession.

- (585) Əlimə ye ikúlí mé nda fámá ɔ nəháná ɛŋganda bá ndɔ yakem, bá ndɔ yakem, bá ndɔ yakem,

/əlimə ye ɛ-kúlí me nda fámá ɔ nə-aháná
 9.behind ASSOC.9 7-time SM.1SG VEN arrive PREP 5-town_square
 ɛ-ŋganda bá ^Hndɔ yakema bá ^Hndɔ yakema bá ^Hndɔ
 7-ɛŋganda SM.2 PRS dance SM.2 PRS dance SM.2 PRS
 yakema/
 dance

“Après, quand je suis arrivé au carrefour, ils étaient en train de danser l’ɛŋgand, danser l’ɛŋgand, danser l’ɛŋgand,
 “Afterwards, when I arrived at the town square, they were dancing the ɛŋgand, dancing the ɛŋgand, dancing the ɛŋgand,” [EO 1008.1]

- (586) Á[↓]há mé nó aŋjá yam,

/áhá me nó aŋjá yama/
 thus SM.1SG PST2 PRN.2SG notice

“c’est ainsi que je t’ai aperçu,
 “then I noticed you,”

[EO 1008.2]

- (587) mbaá óse améá á Elísa wəən, mé [↓]ká áme wééya hólí.

/mbaá ɔ-séá améá á elísa wəni mé
 thus SM.2SG-say PRN.1SG COP 1.Elizabeth DEM.DIST.1 SM.1SG.SBJV
 ka áme wééya hólí/
 AND PRN.1SG PRN.1 greet

“ainsi tu me dit « voilà Elisabeth, va la saluer ».
 “and so you said to me “Elisabeth is over there, go and greet her””

[EO 1008.3]

- (588) ɔ ná ndá aŋjá bé-nyánánéna ɔban-

/ɔ na nda aŋjá bé-nyánánéna ɔbánɔ/
 SM.2SG PST2 VEN PRN.2SG MID-find.REP only

“Tu es revenu te retrouver comme ça-”
 “You found yourself like that-”

[PM 1009]

- (589) Έε!
 /έε/
 yes
 “Oui!”
 “Yes!” [EO 1010]
- (590) Ɔwáme bέ[↓]múét, ikúílí ɔyéá me ná ká áme tiló ɔ embóma, ɔ[↓]húá mé nó áme
 nibə bá nó neháná ... neɲelen.
 /ɔwáme bəmuete e-kúílí ɔyéá me ná ka áme
 PRN.EMPH.1SG self 7-time REL.7 SM.1SG PST2 AND PRN.1SG
 tiló ɔ e-mbóma ɔ[↓]húá mé nó áme nibə bá nó
 return PREP 7-field then SM.1SG PST1 PRN.1SG find SM.2 PST1
 ne-háná neɲelena/
 5-grand_square surround
 “Moi même, c’est à mon retour du champs que j’ai trouvé qu’ils ont envahi
 le carrefour.”
 “Me myself, it was when I got back from the fields that I found that they had
 amassed at the grand square.” [PM 1011]
- (591) Mé tɔmba, ah bon, ése(a) ikúílí ɔyéá mé [↓]ná bá mé ndɔ áme manya meséá
 neɔféne á wáyíó umiimə wó [↓]ndɔ nda famak bɔkaséá a ka kə wínə ɔ ɔwayé
 bɔnɔɲ, bá ná ká umiimə éta.
 /mé tɔmba ah bon e-séá e-kuili ɔyéá mé
 SM.1SG.SBJV pass ah.FR good.FR SM.7-say 7-time REL.7 SM.1SG.REL
^Lná bá mé ^Hndɔ áme manya me-séá neɔféne
 PST3.REL be SM.1SG.REL PRS PRN.1SG know SM.1SG-say today
 á wáyíó umiimə wó ^Hndɔ nda fámá-aka bɔkaséá a
 COP PRN.POSS.1.3 3.corpse SM.3 PRS VEN arrive-DUR because SM.1
 ka ka wínə ɔ ɔwayéá bɔ-nɔɲɔ bá ná ka
 PST3 AND die.APPL PREP PRN.POSS.1.14 14-village SM.2 PST2 AND
 umiimə éta/
 3.corpse take
 “En passant, ah bon, comme je savais que c’est aujourd’hui que son corps
 arrive, parce qu’il est allé mourir dans son village, on est allé chercher le
 corps.”
 “Passing by, ah bon, as I knew that his body was arriving today, because he
 went to die in his home village, they went there to get the body.” [PM 1012.1]

- (592) Neoféne á bá ná nda faman(a).
 /neoféne á bá ná nda fámána/
 today COP SM.2 PST2 VEN arrive.APPL
 “C’est aujourd’hui qu’on est arrivé avec.”
 “It’s today that they arrived with it.” [PM 1012.2]
- (593) Á mé ná áme bikulə nibə - si^lsisí á mé ná tɔmbaka bikulə bé sá bá.
 /á mé ná áme be-kulə nibə sisí á mé
 COP SM.1SG.DEP PST2 PRN.1SG 8-gazebo find morning COP SM.1SG.DEP
 ná tɔmbá-aka be-kulə bé sá bá/
 PST2 pass-DUR 8-gazebo SM.8 NEG be
 “Lorsque j’ai trouvé les hangards ... ce matin lorsque je suis passé, il n’y avait pas des hangards.”
 “When I found the gazebos ... this morning when I passed by, there weren’t any gazebos.” [PM 1013.1]
- (594) me nó nda híáná əlimə ye kɔsɔ me nó bikulə nib, ʒ^lhóá məséá ata nəní wáyíá umiimə ʒ bóáyéá búwá.
 /me nó nda híáná əlimə ye kɔsɔ me nó
 SM.1SG PST1 VEN return 9.behind ASSOC.9 afternoon SM.1SG PST1
 be-kulə nibə ʒ^lhóá mə-séá ata nəní wáyíá umiimə
 8-gazebo find thus SM.1SG-say even how PRN.POSS.1.3 3.corpse
 ʒ bóáyéá bɔ-wá/
 COP.INANIM PRN.POSS.14 14-death
 “En revenant dans l’après-midi, j’ai trouvé des hangards. C’est ainsi que je me suis dit que dans tous les cas, c’est son deuil.”
 “When I returned in the afternoon, I found the gazebos. So I told myself that it must be his funeral.” [PM 1013.2]

- (595) Έσέα ikúli ɔyéá mé ↓ná ba mé ndo áme manya mesέα bóáyέα buwó neɔfen, me ná áme tɔmb.

/ε-σέα ε-kuili ɔyéá me ná bá me ^Hndo áme manya
 SM.7-say 7-time REL.7 SM.1SG PST3 be SM.1SG PRS PRN.1SG know
 me-σέα bóáyέα bɔ-wó neɔféne me ná áme
 SM.1SG-say PRN.POSS.1.14 14-death today SM.1SG PST2 PRN.1SG
 tɔmbá/
 pass

“Comme je savais que son deuil c’est aujourd’hui, je suis passé.”

“Because I knew it was his funeral today, I passed by.” [PM 1013.3]

- (596) Με νό ka áme beleɲa bé- bí- bíύúnóní, me νό básuala mesέα oo, tɔ le ɔ nenyána n(a) Ilísabete, mé ↓nda sá tɔ... uwəsú nenyán.

/me νό ka áme be-leɲa bé- bé- bé-ύúnóníá mé
 SM.1SG PST1 AND PRN.1SG 8-clothes MID- MID- MID-change SM.1SG
 νό bé-σά-ala me-σέα oo tɔ le ɔ
 PST1 MID-wash-DIM SM.1SG-say PTCL.DISC SM.1PL be PREP
 ne-nyána na Ilísabete mé nda sá tɔ
 5-meeting with 1.Elisabeth SM.1SG.SBJV VEN come SM.1PL
 uwəsúá ne-nyána/
 PRN.POSS.1PL 5-meeting

“Je suis allé me changer, je me suis débarbouillé, je me suis dit, j’ai un rendez-vous avec Elisabeth, que je viens nous... à notre rendez-vous.”

“I went and got changed, I had a quick wash, I told myself, I have a meeting with Elisabeth, so I better get going... to our meeting.” [PM 1014]

- (597) Əlimə ye ikúlí, me nó békólməna meséá bɔɔ, éséá, í-ɔ má[↓]táyé məwə
maŋéŋ, ebáka bá tukokó súbákə bá bínákə.
/əlimə ye ɛ-kuili me nɔ bé-kólməna me-séá bɔɔ
9.behind ASSOC.9 7-time SM.1SG PST1 MID-remind SM.1SG-say no
ɛ-sséá ɛ- ɔ má'táyé ma-wə ma-ŋéŋa ɛ-báka
SM.7-say SM.7 PREP DEM.DISC.EMPH.6 6-funeral 6-big SM.7-be
bá tɔ-kokó súbá-aka bá bíná-aka/
SM.2 13-tam tam drum-DUR SM.2 dance-DUR
“Un instant après, je me suis rappelé que, a l'occasion de ces grands deuils,
on joue souvent aux tam-tams.”
“After that, I remembered that on the occasion of these big funerals, they
normally drum the tam-tams.” [PM 1015.1]
- (598) Me nó wéeya nyɔŋena meséá ɔ miaŋjá wéyé ɔ ɔmbéla mé ndɔ ɔkɔ hikokó hé
ndɔ súbə.
/me nɔ wéeya nyɔŋena me-séá ɔ miaŋjá
SM.1SG PST1 PRN.1 indicate SM.1SG-say COP.INANIM PRN.EMPH.1SG
wéeya ɔ ɔ-ɔmbéla me ^Hndɔ ɔkɔ he-kokó hé ^Hndɔ
PRN.EMPH.1 PREP 3-house SM.1SG PRS hear 19-drum SM.19 PRS
súbə/
drum
“Je lui ai fait signe que voilà, j'entend le son du tam-tams étant chez moi.”
“I let her know that voilà, I hear tam-tams from my house.” [PM 1015.2]
- (599) Ébá ɔ ɔso ɔlɔɔ, ú[↓]ndá sílínə nəní ebáka bá bínákə ikúlí yé buwə á bɔ[↓]léá.
/Ébá ɔ ɔso ɔ-lɔɔ ɔ nda siɔlinə nəní
if SM.2SG be_able INF-come_down SM.2SG.SBJV VEN see.DIM how
ɛ-bá-aka ba bíná-aka ɛ-kúlí yé bɔ-wə á bɔ
SM.7-be-DUR SM.2 dance-DUR 7-time ASSOC.7 14-death COP SM.14
léá/
be
“Si tu peux descendre, voir comment on danse quand il y a un deuil.”
“If you can come down (into town), you will see how we dance when there
is a funeral.” [PM 1015.3]

- (600) Aaa.
/aaa/
EXCL
“Aah.”
“Aah.” [EO 1016]
- (601) Ó[↓]hóá me nó ka áme hualén, me ná tító nda áme fama Ilísabete¹⁵ -
/ó-ɔhɔa me nó ka áme hualéna me ná tító
COP.INANIM-thus SM.1SG PST1 AND PRN.1SG leave SM.1SG PST2 stay
nda áme fámá Ilísabete/
VEN PRN.1SG arrive 1.Elisabeth
“C’est ainsi que je suis quitté, j’ai trouvé Elisabeth -”
“And so I left, I found Elisabeth -” [PM 1017]
- (602) A nó bítíkəlin.
/a nó bé-tíkəlinə/
SM.1 PST1 MID-settle
“Elle s’est déjà installée.”
“She’d already set up.” [EO 1018]
- (603) Há ɔ bebóka a nó bítíkəlin.
/háaha ɔ be-bóka a nó bé-tíkəlinə/
DEM.PROX.LOC PREP 8-place SM.1 PST1 MID-settle
“Là dans les lieux elle était déjà s’installée.”
“There in those places, she was already set up.” [PM 1019]
- (604) Okay. Á muəndu - Á muəndú anyam.
/okay á mɔ-əndú á mɔ-əndú anyama/
okay.EN COP 1-woman COP 1-woman 1.brave
“Okay. C’est une brave femme.”
“Okay. She’s an impressive woman.” [EO 1020]

¹⁵This example is interesting in appearing to be VO rather than the expected OV. Here, the proper name *Ilísabete* ‘Elisabeth’ functions as a locative object, which is always postverbal (see Chapter 6 section §6.2.5). This analysis is supported by the fact that the verb *fámá* ‘arrive’ is intransitive, never taking a direct object.

- (605) $\text{Ó}^{\downarrow}\text{h}^{\downarrow}\text{á}$ mé ná aḡḡá élena meséá « me nó nda áme fámá me le háaha ɔ enaka-
háka hóni ɔ aḡḡá leá eé »?

/ɔ-ɔhḡá mé ná aḡḡá élena me-séá
COP.INANIM-thus SM.1SG.SBJV PST2 PRN.EMPH.2SG call SM.1SG-say
me nó nda áme fámá me leá háaha ɔ
SM.1SG PST1 VEN PRN.1SG arrive SM.1SG be DEM.PROX.LOC PREP
ε-nakaháká hóniá ɔ aḡḡá leá eé?/
7-town square where SM.2SG PRN.EMPH.2SG be Q

“C’est ainsi que je t’ai appelé pour dire que « je suis déjà arrivé ici au carrefour, et toi, tu es où ? » ”

“And so I called you to say that “I’ve arrived here at the town square, where are you?”” [PM 1021]

- (606) Há mé ná tɔmb, h(á) ábá ɔ sá miaḡḡá élena há mé ná tɔmb.

/há mé ná tɔmbá há ábá ɔ sá
thus SM.1SG.SBJV PST2 pass thus if SM.2SG.SBJV NEG
miaḡḡá élena há mé ná tɔmbá/
PRN.EMPH.1SG call thus SM.1SG.SBJV PST2 pass

“Je serais passé. C’est que si tu ne m’avais pas appelé, je serais passé.”

“I would’ve missed you. If you hadn’t called me, I would’ve missed you.” [EO 1022]

- (607) uh huh.

/uh huh/
PTCL PTCL

“Uh huh.”

“Uh huh.” [PM 1023]

- (608) ɔsea ɔ aḡḡá wɔɔwɔ ebóka bá ndɔ ...

/ɔ-séá ɔ aḡḡá wɔɔwɔ ε-bóka bá ^Hndɔ/
SM.2SG-say COP.INANIM PRN.EMPH.2SG DEM.PROX.1 7-place SM.2 PRS

“Tu dis que tu es là où on - ”

“You said that you were there where they -” [EO 1024]

- (609) - tukokó súb.

/tɔ-kokó súbá/
13-tam_tam drum

“- tape les tam-tams.”

“- drum the tam-tams.” [PM 1025]

- (610) - súb.
/súbá/
drum
“- tape.”
“- drum.” [EO 1026]
- (611) « Ὁ μίανός ωόωω ! »
/ó mianá wóow/ wóow/
COP.INANIM PRN.EMPH.1SG DEM.PROX.1
“ « Me voici ! » ”
““I’m here!”” [EO 1027]
- (612) Έε.
/έε/
yes
“Oui.”
“Yes.” [PM 1028]
- (613) Ὡά βά νδῶ εσῶγῶ γί ... Ὡά βά νδῶ μολό μά ματόά σεμ.
/ohá bá ^Hndō ε-σῶγῶ γέ Ὡά βά ^Hndō
REL.LOC SM.2 PRS 7-oil_crude ASSOC.7 REL.LOC SM.2 PRS
ma-oló má ma-tóá sema/
6.oil_refined ASSOC.6 6-car sell
“ « (Me voici) là où on vend les carburants, pour les voitures. » ”
““(I’m here) where they sell crude oil, where they sell oil for cars.” ”
[EO 1029]
- (614) Μέ βέηέάμέλα με νό Ιλίσα -
/me bé-héámá-éla me nó Ilísa/
SM.1SG MID-look-DIM SM.1SG PST1 1.Elisabeth
“J’ai jeté un coup d’œil et j’ai -”
“I glanced around and I -” [EO 1030]
- (615) - βῶγ.
/βῶγῶ/
find
“- found Elisabeth.”
“- trouvé Elisabeth.” [PM 1031]

- (616) -yam.
 /yama/
 notice
 “- aperçu Elisabeth.”
 “- noticed Elisabeth.” [EO 1032]
- (617) Okay. Bon, bəsú bəkimə tɔ ná siəkinə ɔyé(á) əlimə ye yé^ltáyé ikúílí - bəsú
 bəkimə tɔná siəkinə yaté ɔyéá yé ná bétómbáká, non ?
 /okay bon bəsú bə-kimə tɔ ná siəkinə ɔyéá əlimə
 okay.EN good.FR PRN.1PL 8-all SM.1PL PST2 see.DUR REL.7 9.after
 ye yé^ltáyé ɛ-kuili bəsú bə-kimə tɔ ná siəkinə
 ASSOC.9 DEM.DISC.7 7-time PRN.1PL 8-all SM.1PL PST2 see.DUR
 yaté ɔyéá yé ná bétómbá-aka non/
 what REL.7 SM.7 PST2 MID-pass-DUR no.FR
 “Okay, nous tous nous avons vu que après cet instant - nous tous nous avons
 vu ce que s’est passé, n’est-ce pas ?”
 “Okay, we both saw what was after that moment - we both saw what hap-
 pened, right?” [PM 1033]
- (618) Hé! A Biél,
 /he á Biél/
 EXCL VOC 1.Pierre
 “Eh ! Pierre,”
 “Hey! Pierre,” [EO 1034]
- (619) Papa.
 /papa/
 father.FR
 “Papa.”
 “Father.” [PM 1035]

- (620) Wááyé mɔnd.. á Təniel, á Bóákám Təniel, a ka nɔmɔkɔ háaha u yí(yi) bólikə ye iNdikiníməki.

/wááyé mɔ-ndɔ á Təniel á Bóákám Təniel a
 DEM.DISC.1 1-person COP 1.Daniel COP 1.Boakama 1.Daniel SM.1
 ka nɔmɔ-aka háaha ɔ yéyε bólikə ye
 PST3 live-DUR DEM.PROX.LOC PREP DEM.PROX.7 9.town ASSOC.9
 iNdikiniməki/
 Ndikinimeki

“Cet homme, Daniel, Poakam Daniel, a vécu ici dans cette ville de Ndikiniméki.”

“That man, Daniel, Poakam Daniel, lived here in this town of Ndikiniméki.”

[EO 1036]

- (621) Báse .. mukót ... mba a ka híána munen.

/bá-séá mɔ-kóto mba a ka híána mɔ-nəni
 SM.2-say 1-Bamileke but SM.1 PST3 become 1-Nen

“On dit que c’est un Bamileke, mais il est devenu un Munen.”

“They say he’s a Bamileke, but he became a Munen.”

[EO 1037]

- (622) Munəni oó. Me le aɲá nimb. ɔwáme bémuet mé ndɔ áme manya meséá -

/mɔ-nəni oo me le aɲá nimbə ɔwáme
 1-Nen PTCL.DISC SM.1SG NEG PRN.EMPH.2SG deceive PRN.EMPH.1SG
 bémuetε me ^Hndɔ áme manya me-séá/
 self SM.1SG PRS PRN.1SG know SM.1-say

“Vraiment un munen. Je ne te trompe pas. Moi-même, je sais que -”

“A real Munen. I’m not lying to you. I myself, I know that -”

[PM 1038]

- (623) - Munen !

/mɔ-nəni/
 1-Nen

“- un Munen !”

“- a Munen!”

[EO 1039]

- (624) Mε ka áme fεka mεséá á háaha bá ndó wéεya nyəkə séεbe.
 /mε ka áme fεka mε-séá á háaha bá ^Hndó
 SM.1SG PST3 PRN.1SG think that COP DEM.PROX.LOC SM.2 PRS
 wéεya nyə-aka séεbe/
 PRN.1 bury-DUR even
 “J’ai pensé que c’est ici qu’on va même l’enterrer.”
 “I thought they would even bury him here.” [PM 1040]
- (625) Munen !!
 /mɔ-nəni/
 1-Nen
 “Un Munen !!”
 “A Munen!!” [EO 1041]
- (626) Mε le aɲá nimb.
 /mε le aɲa nimbə/
 SM.1SG NEG PRN.2SG deceive
 “Je ne te trompe pas.”
 “I’m not lying to you.” [PM 1042]
- (627) A ka nyɔkɔ háaha ɔ uwəsú mɔɲeɲ.
 /a ka nyɔ-aka háaha ɔ uwəsú mɔɲéɲa/
 SM.1 PST3 work-DUR DEM.PROX.LOC PREP PRN.POSS.EMPH.1PL much
 “Il a beaucoup travaillé ici chez nous.”
 “He worked a lot here in our region.” [EO 1043]
- (628) ɔ lúmák uwəs, ɔ bíásúá bisá, uwəsú bémuεt, básúá ban, básúá bánan, bá
 ndó wéεya many.
 /ɔ lúmá-aka uwəsú ɔ bíásúá bε-isə uwəsú
 PREP beginning PRN.1PL PREP PRN.POSS.1PL.8 8-father PRN.1PL
 bémuεtε básúá ba-na básúá ba-nana bá
 self PRN.POSS.1PL.2 2-child PRN.POSS.1PL.2 2-child.DIM SM.2
^Hndó wéεya manya/
 PRS PRN.1 know
 “En commençant par nous, nos parents, nous mêmes, nos enfants, nos pe-
 tits enfants, on le connait.”
 “Starting with us, our parents, ourselves, our children, our grandchildren,
 everyone knows him.” [PM 1044]

- (629) Με κα άμε γάγέα ιβήηυλυάκə γί βύσίά σιάκινə ρυέα ά[↓]νά ρnd, ά Ίnyase ά[↓]νά
 bá ά ndə kindi -
 /mε ka άμε γάγέα ε-βήηυλυάκə γέ βύσίά σιάκινə
 SM.1SG PST3 PRN.1SG PRN.POSS.1.7 7-car ASSOC.7 front see.DUR
 ρυέα ά[↓]νά ρndό ά Ίnyase ά[↓]νά bá
 REL.7 SM.1.REL PST3.REL buy COP 1.Inyas SM.1.REL PST3.REL be
 a ^Hndə kindiə/
 SM.1 PRS drive
 “Moi j’avais vu le premier véhicule qu’il a acheté, c’est Inyas qui conduisait
 -”
 “I myself saw the first vehicle he bought, it was Inyas who drove (it) -”
 [PM 1045]
- (630) Με κα άμε σιάκινə.
 /mε ka άμε σιάκινə/
 SM.1SG PST3 PRN.1SG see.DUR
 “Moi, j’ai vu.”
 “I (also) saw it.” [EO 1046]
- (631) - a ka tiləkə « Dieu haït les méchants ».
 /a ka tilə-aka Dieu haït les méchants/
 SM.1 PST3 write-DUR God.FR hates.FR the.FR wicked_people.FR
 “- Il avait écrit « Dieu haït les méchants ».”
 “- He wrote “God hates the wicked.”” [PM 1047]
- (632) Με ka άμε σιάκιν
 /mε ka άμε σιάκινə/
 SM.1SG PST3 PRN.1SG see.DUR
 “Moi, j’ai vu.”
 “I (also) saw it.” [EO 1048]
- (633) « Dieu haït les méchants. »
 /Dieu haït les méchants/
 God.FR hates.FR the.FR wicked_people.FR
 “« Dieu haït les méchants. »”
 ““God hates the wicked.”” [PM 1049]

- (634) Με κα άμε σιάκινə na má[↓]μέά məósə máfandé máam.
 /mε ka áme siákinə na má[↓]μέά ma-ósə má-fandé
 SM.1SG PST3 PRN.1SG see.DUR with PRN.POSS.1SG.6 6-eye 6-two
 máama/
 DEM.PROX.6
 “Moi j'ai vu avec mes propres yeux.”
 “I saw it with my own two eyes.” [PM 1050]
- (635) Bon, νεοφένε βάσε τό wéeya bíkókí táká to ná siákinə, táká báná εηγanda
 bínóká, táká to ná masáká súbóká mba yaté tón ?
 /bon neoφéne bá-séá τό wéeya bíkókí táká to
 good.FR today SM.2-say SM.1PL PRN.1 say_goodbye truth SM.1PL
 ná siákinə táká bá ná ε-ηγanda bínó-aka táká to
 PST2 see.DUR truth SM.2 PST2 7-ηγanda dance-DUR truth SM.1PL
 ná ma-saka súbó-aka mba yaté tona/
 PST2 6-instrument drum-DUR but what also
 “Ainsi, aujourd'hui on dit que nous avons lui dit au revoir, n'est-ce que pas
 que nous avons vu (comment) on a dansé l'ηγand, (comment) on a ap-
 plaudi, mais quoi d'autre ?”
 “So, today they say that we have said our goodbyes to him, have we not seen
 (how) they dance the ηγand, how we clap, but what else?” [PM 1051]
- (636) Ά άyé ákan á behosa falak -
 /á áye ákána á be-hosa fala-aka/
 SM.1.SBJV PRN.1 leave SM.1.SBJV 8-dew disturb-DUR
 “Qu'il aille, qu'il dégage les rosées -”
 “That he may go, that he may pass through the dewdrops -” [PM 1052]
- (637) Ά[↓]ká hótók ...
 /á ka hótó-aka/
 SM.1.SBJV AND rest-DUR
 “Qu'il parte se reposer.”
 “That he may go to rest.” [EO 1053]
- (638) Υəsúá á ενόμε yé bəsú-
 /yəsúá á ε-νόμε yé bəsúá/
 PRN.POSS.1PL.7 COP 7-road ASSOC.7 PRN.1PL
 “C'est notre chemin pour nous-”
 “It's the road for (all of) us-” [PM 1054]

- (639) - bəkim.
 /bá-kimə/
 all
 “- tous.”
 “- all of us.” [PM 1055]
- (640) Ata á é^lyáné á ηο οηγοκ uwəbú owá bá ndo buəkinə, bá behosa falak,
 /ata á é^lyáné á ηο οηγο-aka uwəbú owá bá ^Hndo
 even COP who SM.1.REL FUT follow-DUR PRN.2 REL.1 SM.2 PRS
 buəkinə bá be-hosa fala-aka/
 lead SM.2 8-dew disturb-DUR
 “N’importe qui suivra eux qui s’avance, qui dégagent des rosées,”
 “Even those who follow those who lead, who pass through the dewdrops,”¹⁶
 [PM 1056]
- (641) - falak,
 /fala-aka/
 disturb-DUR
 “- dégagent,”
 “- pass through,” [EO 1057]
- (642) - to ná tíkó sáá. Á kəndaka muəse.
 /to ná tíkó sáá á kənd-aka muəse/
 SM.1PL PST2 stay come SM.1.SBJV travel-DUR well
 “- nous arriverons. Bon voyage a lui.”
 “- we will follow. May his voyage be peaceful.” [PM 1058]
- (643) Έε, ata mianjó nóyé με ná áμε laá meséá á kəndaka muəse. to ná tíkó ósú sáá.
 /έε ata mianjóa nóyé με ná áμε laa me-séá
 yes even PRN.EMPH.1SG thus SM.1SG PST2 PRN.1SG say that
 á kənd-aka muəse to ná tíkó ósú sáá/
 SM.1.SBJV travel-DUR well SM.1PL PST2 stay PRN.1PL come
 “Oui. Moi aussi je lui ai souhaité un bon voyage. Nous, nous arriverons aussi.”
 “Yes. I also wished him a good journey. We will also follow.” [EO 1059]

End of text 2.

¹⁶Here, the discussion of ‘passing through the dewdrops’ is a metaphor used to express the idea of the journey of the soul into the afterlife. When EO and PM continue to say ‘we will follow’, this refers to the fact that everybody is mortal and will therefore make this journey.

9.3 Text 3: Cooking *kok* recipe

This text is from a session in which JO demonstrates how to cook the Banen dish *hekɔke* (*kok* in French). *Kok* is a dish made from *hekɔke* leaves (a type of collard greens) which is cooked with ground peanuts and smoked fish (or beef, if available). The recipe video was filmed at JO's house, with a short summary video following the cooking process. Between the recording files, there were gaps as the *kok* cooked (meaning that the duration of the cooking process was over an hour).

Text name:	Cooking <i>kok</i> recipe
Text type:	Monologue
Subtype	Procedural
Participant(s):	JO (+ EK)
Also present:	EK, JO's children, neighbouring children
Recording date:	2019-06-16
Location:	JO's house, Ndikiniméki
Recording set-up:	Zoom H5 + stereo mic (audio), Sony CX625 (video)
Recording duration:	00:30:03
Transcribed by:	JO, EK
File info:	A44-20190616-EK-JO- Kok01-PreparingPeanuts Kok02-DryingPeanuts Kok03-HowToPrepareGreens Kok04-OilWashWaterFish Kok05-LeavingToCook Kok06-GrindingPeanuts Kok07-CookingKok-01 Kok08-CookingKok-02 Kok-09-CookingKok-03 Kok10-FinishedKok

.wav / .mp4



Figure 9.4: Stages of the cooking process: sorting the peanuts, drying the peanuts, the dried leaves, washing the leaves, boiling with water/oil/salt, adding the fish, leaving to cook, grinding the peanuts, combining the ingredients, the finished *kok*.

- (644) Bon, miɔkɔ á mé ndɔ téf.
 /bon mɛ-ɔkɔ á mɛ ^Hndɔ téfa/
 good.FR 4-pebble COP SM.1SG PRS sort
 “Bon, ce sont les cailloux que je trie.”
 “So, I’m picking out the pebbles.” [JO 1333]
- (645) Miɔkɔ, les cailloux, na tɔmbaŋa tɔ məhilə, les arachides sales, túítə á mé ndɔ tɛfa mba mé ombóko.
 /mɛ-ɔkɔ les cailloux na tɔ-mbaŋa tɔ ma-hilə les
 4-pebble the.FR pebbles.FR and 13-peanut ASSOC.13 6-dirt the.FR
 arachides sales túítə á mɛ ^Hndɔ téfa mba
 peanuts.FR dirty.FR PRN.OBJ.13 COP SM.1SG PRS sort so
 mé ombóko-aka/
 SM.1SG.SBJV throw-DUR
 “Ce sont les cailloux et les arachides sales que je trie pour jeter.”
 “I’m sorting the pebbles and the spoiled peanuts to throw them out.”
 [JO 1334]
- (646) Mɛ ná hɔ.
 /mɛ ná hɔ́a/
 SM.1SG PST2 finish
 “J’ai fini.”
 “I’ve finished.” [JO 1335]
- (647) Étase mé ... mé hiwə ti mí hisini tálá ɔ hiwə, mɛ ángak, mé kútákí mba mé ɔkókɔ ɔ məsínə
 /étase mɛ =^H mɛ =^H hiwə tiə mɛ =^H hɛ-sini
 very_soon SM.1SG PROC SM.1SG PROC 19.fire light SM.1SG PROC 19-pot
 tálá ɔ hiwə, mɛ ánga-aka mɛ =^H kútákíə mba
 put PREP 19.fire SM.1SG roast-DUR SM.1SG PROC dry.DUR so
 mɛ =^H okó-aka ɔ ma-sínə/
 SM.1SG PROC crush-DUR PREP 6-machine
 “Je vais allumer le feu, je pose la marmite, je grille, je fait sécher, à fin j’écrase dans la machine.”
 “I’ll light the stove, I’ll put the pot on, I’ll roast (the peanuts), I’ll dry (them), at the end I’ll crush (them) in the machine.” [JO 1336]

- (648) Με ná hisini tálá ɔ hiwə. Mba mi tɔmbaŋa kútákí. Éke tó kótáká, mba tú fámá muese.

/mɛ ná hɛ-sini tálá ɔ hiwə mba mɛ tɔ-mbaŋa kútákíə
SM.1SG PST2 19-pot put PREP 19.fire thus SM.1SG 13-peanut dry.DUR

éke tó kótáká mba tó fámá-aka muese/

when SM.13 dry.DUR thus SM.13 turn_out-DUR well

‘J’ai posé la marmite au feu. Alors, je vais secher des arachides. Quand ils sont séchés, ils vont bien sortir.’

‘I’ve put the pot on the fire. So, I will dry the peanuts. When they’ve dried, they’ll turn out well.’ [JO 1337]

- (649) Mé sá tɔmbaŋa háá tukim. Mé sá tɔmbaŋa háá tukim bɔkwásiá tó le tuən. éke mɛ háá tukimə ba tó hɛkəkɛ tɛŋákén.

/mɛ sá tɔ-mbaŋa háá tó-kimə mɛ sá tɔ-mbaŋa háá
SM.1SG NEG 13-peanut add 13-all SM.1SG NEG 13-peanut add

tó-kimə bɔkwásiá tó lea tɔ-ənyí éke mɛ háá tó-kimə bá
13-all because SM.13 be 13-many when SM.1SG add 13-all be

tó hɛ-kəkɛ tɛŋákéna/

SM.13 19-kok spoil

‘Je n’ai pas mis tous les arachides. Je n’ai pas mis tous les arachides parce que c’est beaucoup. Si je mets tous, ça va gater le kok.’

‘I haven’t added all the peanuts. I haven’t added all the peanuts because there are a lot. If I add them all, the kok will be spoiled.’ [JO 1338]

- (650) Με κα άκάν(α) (ο) εμβόμ, με ná ηεκκε κέτάκ, με ná nda híáná ο ombél, με ná τάβónάκα, τóánd̄ζε τóβιά με ombokok. με ná τάβónάκ, με ná όλókók, με ná σέλák, ówa hé léá nána ... voilà.¹⁷

/με κα άκάνά ο ε-μβόμα με ná ηε-κκε κέτά-ακα
 SM.1SG PST3 leave PREP 7-bush SM.1SG PST2 19-kok gather-DUR
 με ná nda híáná ο ο-μβέλα με ná τάβónά-ακα
 SM.1SG PST2 VEN enter PREP 3-house SM.1SG PST2 arrange-DUR
 τó-ánd̄ζε τó-βιά με ombokoko με ná τάβónά-ακα
 13-leaf 13-bad SM.1SG throw.REP SM.1SG PST2 arrange-DUR
 με ná όλókók με ná σέλá-ακα ówa hé léá
 SM.1SG PST2 attach.REP SM.1SG PST2 cut-DUR REL.3 SM.19 be
 nána voilà/
 like_that voilà.FR

“Je suis partie en brousse, j’ai cueilli le kok, je suis revenue à la maison, j’ai arrangé les mauvaises feuilles, je les ai jétées, j’ai attaché, j’ai coupé, c’est devenu comme tu vois ... voilà.”

“I went to the bush, I gathered kok, I returned home, I arranged the bad leaves, I threw them out, I attached the leaves, I cut (them), as you can see ... voilà.” [JO 1339]

- (651) Moló ?

/moló/

6.oil

“L’huile?”

“Oil?”

[EK 1340]

- (652) Uh-huh, moló, mi ná moló ha.

/uh huh moló με ná moló háá/

PTCL PTCL 6.oil SM.1SG PST2 6.oil add

“Uh-huh, l’huile, j’ajoute l’huile.”

“Uh-huh, oil, I’m adding oil.”

[JO 1341]

¹⁷The phrasing ‘attach the leaves’ refers to the fact that you hold the leaves in your hand to cut them.

- (653) Tɔmbaŋa tó huhákə, éke tú huhákə, mba tú okóko ɔ məsínə.
 /tɔ-mbaŋa tó huhá-aka éke tó huhá-aka mba tó
 13-peanut SM.13 cool-DUR when SM.13 cool-DUR then SM.13
 okó-aka ɔ ma=sínə/
 crush-DUR PREP 6-machine
 “Les arachides doivent se refroidir, quand ça se refroidi, on va écraser dans
 la machine.”
 “The peanuts need to cool, when they’ve cooled, then you crush them in
 the machine.” [JO 1342]
- (654) Eséájáka mé hekəke sááka.
 /eséájáka me =^H he-kəke sáá-aka/
 now SM.1SG PROC 19-kok wash-DUR
 “Maintenant, je lave le kok.”
 “Now, I wash the kok.” [JO 1343]
- (655) Mé hekəke sááka
 /me =^H he-kəke sáá-aka/
 SM.1SG PROC 19-kok wash-DUR
 “Je lave le kok.”
 “I wash the kok.” [JO 1344]
- (656) Me ná hójá ɔ ɔsɔa
 /me ná hójá ɔ ɔ-sáá/
 SM.1SG PST2 finish PREP INF-wash
 “J’ai fini de laver.”
 “I’ve finished washing (it).” [JO 1345]
- (657) mé əmbókínə ɔ mol.
 /me =^H əmbókínə ɔ moló/
 SM.1SG PROC throw.REP PREP 6.oil
 “Je (le) lance dans l’huile.”
 “I’m throwing (it) into the oil.” [JO 1346]
- (658) Me ná hekəke əmbínə ɔ moló.
 /me ná he-kəke əmbínə ɔ moló/
 SM.1SG PST2 19-kok throw PREP 6.oil
 “J’ai lancé le kok dans l’huile.”
 “I’ve thrown the kok in the oil.” [JO 1347]

- (659) Bon, eséájáka mé kónónáka.
 /bon eséájáka me =^H kónóná-aka/
 good.FR now SM.1SG PROC stir-DUR
 “Maintenant, je tourne.”
 “Now, I stir.” [JO 1348]
- (660) Mé mənifá ha.
 /mε =^H ma-nifá háá/
 SM.1SG PROC 6-water put
 “Je met l'eau.”
 “I'm adding water.” [JO 1349]
- (661) Mé ibusá ha, ibusá.
 /mε =^H ε-busá háá ε-busá/
 SM.1SG PROC 7-salt put 7-salt
 “Je met le sel, le sel.”
 “I'm adding salt, salt” [JO 1350]
- (662) Mé bilóló tábónáka mé ha.
 /mε =^H bε-lóló tábóná-aka mε =^H háá/
 SM.1SG PROC 8-smoked_fish arrange-DUR SM.1SG PROC add
 “J'arrange les poissons fumés, (et puis) j'ajoute.”
 “I'm sorting the smoked fish, (and then) I('ll) add (them).” [JO 1351]
- (663) Mε ná bilóló ha.
 /mε ná bε-lóló háá/
 SM.1SG PST2 8-smoked_fish add
 “J'ai mis les poissons.”
 “I've added the fish.” [JO 1352]
- (664) Mí hu. hí lúmə ɔ ɔfəna.
 /mε =^H huə hé lúmə ɔ ɔ-fəna/
 SM.1SG PROC cover SM.19 start PREP INF-boil
 “Je couvre. Ca commence a bouillir.”
 “I'm putting the lid on. It will begin to boil.” [JO 1353]

- (665) Ikúílí ɔ nó hekɔkɛ há, ɔ nó tɔ-ibusé há, na məníf, na ... tuɔfɔ, ɔ ná tálá ɔ hiwə,
 ɔ ná hu, í[↓]kúílí ébáka hé mɔŋaka mba hé benak.

/ε-kúílí ɔ nó hɛ-kɔkɛ háá ɔ nó tɔ- ε-busé háá na
 7-time SM.2SG PST1 19-kok put SM.2SG PST1 13- 7-salt put with
 ma-nífə na tɔ-ɔfɔ ɔ ná tálá ɔ hiwə ɔ ná
 6-water with 13-fish SM.2SG PST2 put PREP 19.fire SM.2SG PST2
 huə ε-kúílí ε-bá-aka hé mɔŋa-aka mba hé bəná-aka/
 cover 7-time SM.7-be.DUR 19 last-DUR then SM.19 cook-DUR

“Quand tu mets le kok, tu mets le- le sel, avec l’eau, et... le poisson, tu as couvert, c’est en ce moment que ça dure/ça met du temps au cuire.”

“When you’ve put the kok, you’ve added the- the salt, and water, and ... fish, you’ve put the lid on, it’s at that point that it takes a long time to cook.”

[JO 1354]

- (666) Tó ndɔ titənə éke tu huhákə mba tú okóko o məsín.

/tɔ ^Hndɔ titənə éke tó huhá-aka mba tɔ okó-aka ɔ
 SM.13 PRS heat when SM.13 cool-DUR then SM.13 crush-DUR PREP
 ma-sínə/
 6-machine

“Ça chauffe quand ça va se refroidir, on va écraser dans la machine.”

“They heat up, when they’re cooled, you crush them in the machine.”

[JO 1355]

- (667) Tú huhákə mba tú okók.

/tɔ huhá-aka mba tó okó-aka/
 SM.13 cool-DUR then SM.13 crush-DUR

“Ça va se refroidir, ça va s’écraser.”

“When they’re cooled, you crush them.”

[JO 1356]

- (668) Έκε hekεke hé lúmá ɔfena mba tó ha, mba tó tɔmbaɲa ha.
 /έκε he-kεke hé lúmá ɔ-fena mba tó háá mba tó
 when SM.19-kok SM.19 start INF-boil then SM.13 put then SM.13
 tɔ-mbaɲa háá/
 13-peanut put
 “Quand le kok va commencer à bouillir, on va mettre, on va mettre les
 arachides.”
 “When the kok has started to boil, you add, you add the peanuts.”
 [JO 1357]
- (669) Tɔmbaɲa tú nú huhək.
 /tɔ-mbaɲa tó ná huhə-aka/
 13-peanut SM.13 PST2 cool-DUR
 “Les arachides se sont refroidies.”
 “The peanuts have cooled.”
 [JO 1358]
- (670) ɔ mäsínə máama étase tó tɔmbaɲa okók.
 /ɔ ma-sínə máama étase tó tɔ-mbaɲa
 COP.INANIM 6-machine DEM.PROX.6 very_soon SM.1PL.SBJV 13-peanut
 okó-aka/
 crush-DUR
 “Voici la machine, on va écraser les arachides.”
 “Here’s the machine, we’ll crush the peanuts.”
 [JO 1359]
- (671) Mé mäsínə lɔɲá hán.
 /mε =^H ma-sínə lɔɲá hóniə/
 SM.1SG PROC 6-machine fasten DEM.DIST.LOC
 “Je fixe la machine là-bas.”
 “I’ll set up the machine over there.”
 [JO 1360]
- (672) Mé tɔmbaɲa okók
 /mε =^H tɔ-mbaɲa okó-aka/
 SM.1SG PROC 13-peanut crush-DUR
 “J’écrase les arachides.”
 “I’m crushing the peanuts.”
 [JO 1361]

- (673) Με ná hɔ.
 /mɛ ná hɔ́/
 SM.1SG PST2 finish
 “J’ai fini.”
 “I’ve finished.” [JO 1362]
- (674) (*À l’enfant/to child:*)
 Káka mæsínə tótóní.
 /Káka ma-sínə tótóní/
 go 6-machine guard
 “Va garder la machine.”
 “Go sort out the machine.” [JO 1363]
- (675) Ubusiá ɔbɔ́á mé tɔmbaŋa ha, mé bulólə, mé manyá ɔwá mənífə má báka
 hɔ́ánánátɔ
 /ɔ-busiá ɔbɔ́á mé tɔ-mbaŋa háá mɛ =^H bulólə
 PREP-14.front REL.14 SM.1SG.SBJV 13-peanut put SM.1SG PROC turn
 mé manyá ɔwá ma-nífə má bá-aka hɔ́ánána-átɔ/
 SM.1SG.SBJV know REL.1 6.water SM.6.SBJV be.DUR suffice-PTCP
 “Avant de mettre les arachides, je tourne, pour m’assurer que l’eau est suffi-
 sante.”
 “Before putting the peanuts in, I stir, so that I know there’s enough water.”
 [JO 1364]
- (676) Mənífə má lé bá hɔ́ánánátɔ.
 /ma-nífə má lé bá hɔ́ánána-átɔ/
 6-water SM.6 NEG be suffice-PTCP
 “L’eau ne suffit pas.”
 “There isn’t enough water.” [JO 1365]
- (677) Yé báka ɔwá mé mómɔté mənífə kónɔda.
 /yé bá-aka ɔwá mé má-mɔté ma-nífə kónɔda/
 SM.7 be-DUR REL.1 SM.1SG.SBJV 6-one 6-water add
 “C’est que je dois ajouter l’autre.”
 “I need to add more water.” [JO 1366]

- (678) Mé tɔmbaŋa ha.
 /mɛ =^H tɔ-mbaŋa háá/
 SM.1SG PROC 13-peanut put
 “Je met les arachides.”
 “I’m adding the peanuts.” [JO 1367]
- (679) Mé tɔmbaŋa ha. Mí bulák.
 /mɛ =^H tɔ-mbaŋa háá mɛ =^H bulák-aka/
 SM.1SG PROC 13-peanut put SM.1SG PROC turn-DUR
 “Je met les arachides. Je tourne.”
 “I’m adding the peanuts. I stir.” [JO 1368]
- (680) Mba mé siákinə káase tó ná hójánána.
 /mba mɛ =^H siákinə káase tó na hójánána/
 then SM.1SG PROC see.DUR whether SM.13 PST2 suffice
 “Je vais voir si ça (les arachides) suffit.”
 “I’ll see whether there are enough.” [JO 1369]
- (681) Étase mé mənífə kónɔda.
 /étase mɛ =^H ma-nífə kónɔda/
 very_soon SM.1SG PROC 6.water add
 “Je vais ajouter de l’eau.”
 “I’ll add some water.” [JO 1370]
- (682) Tɔmbaŋa ɔtá tó ná bémák, tuitə á mé ndɔ tɛsa háaha.
 /tɔ-mbaŋa ɔtá tó ná bɛ-máka tuitə á
 13-peanut REL.13 SM.13 PST2 MID-form_clumps PRN.OBJ.13 COP
 mé ^Hndɔ tɛsa háaha/
 SM.1SG.REL PRS separate DEM.PROX.LOC
 “Les arachides qui ont formé les boules, c’est elles que je suis en train d’écraser ici.”
 “The peanuts that have clumped up, it’s them that I’m separating here.” [JO 1371]

- (683) *Á tótɔ nána. Á tót. Étase mé tesáka.*
 /á tótɔ nana á tótɔ étase me =^H
 COP DEM.PROX.13 like_this COP DEM.PROX.13 very_soon SM.1SG PROC
 tesá-aka/
 separate-DUR
 “Voici ça ici. Voici. Je vais les écraser.”
 “Look at the ones here. Look. I’m breaking them up.” [JO 1372]
- (684) *Moló má lé bá hóánánátɔ*
 /moló má le bá hóánána-átɔ/
 6.oil SM.6 NEG be suffice-PTCP
 “L’huile ne suffit pas.”
 “There isn’t enough oil.” [JO 1373]
- (685) *Mé mómɔté kónɔda.*
 /me =^H má-mɔté kónɔda/
 SM.1SG PROC 6-one add
 “Je vais ajouter l’autre.”
 “I’ll add some more.” [JO 1374]
- (686) *Étase mí hu, tɔmɔɔa tó bénáka na moló, éke tɔmɔɔa tó hɔ́á ɔ ɔbéna mba mé sumún.*
 /étase me =^H huə tɔ-mɔɔa tó béná-aka na
 very_soon SM.1SG PROC cover 13-peanut SM.13.SBJV cook-DUR with
 moló éke tɔ-mɔɔa tó hɔ́á ɔ ɔbéna mba me
 6.oil when 13-peanut SM.13 finish PREP INF-cook then SM.1SG
 =^H sumunə/
 PROC remove
 “Je vais couvrir, quand les arachides et l’huile vont finir de cuire, je vais enlever (de feu).”
 “I’ll put the lid on, when the peanuts and the oil have finished cooking, I’ll take (them) off the heat.” [JO 1375]

- (687) Mé ndo búŋúlə ɔwá tɔmbaŋa tó lé titə ɔ matá.
 /mɛ ^Hndo búŋúlə ɔwá tɔ-mbaŋa tó lé titə ɔ
 SM.1SG PRS turn.DIM REL.1 13-peanut SM.13.SBJV NEG burn PREP
 matá/
 bottom
 “Je tourne pour que les arachides ne brûlent pas en bas (de la marmite).”
 “I’m stirring (the pot) so that the peanuts don’t burn on the bottom.”
 [JO 1376]
- (688) Tɔmbaŋa tó ndo káyéna ɔ matá.
 /tɔ-mbaŋa tɔ ^Hndo káyéna ɔ matá/
 13-peanut SM.13 PRS stick PREP bottom
 “Les arachides collent en bas.”
 “The peanuts stick to the bottom.”
 [JO 1377]
- (689) Ikúílí mé ndo bulə nána mé ndo káyóna ... na hiɔs.
 /ɛ-kúílí mɛ ^Hndo bulə nána mɛ ^Hndo káyóna na
 7-time SM.1SG PRS turn like_this SM.1SG PRS stick.RVS with
 hɛ-ɔsɔ/
 19-spoon
 “Quand je tourne ainsi je décolle (les arachides) ... avec la louche.”
 “When I stir like this I unstick (the peanuts) ... with the ladle.” [JO 1378]
- (690) Mé ndo ɔkóləna ábá ibusá yé bák.
 /mɛ ^Hndo ɔkóləna ábá ɛ-busá yé bá-aka/
 SM.1SG PRS taste if 7-salt SM.7 be-DUR
 “Je goute si il y a le sel.”
 “I taste a bit to see if there’s salt.” [JO 1379]
- (691) Mí húú tɔmbaŋa tó bənək.
 /mɛ ^{=H} húú tɔ-mbaŋa tó bəná-aka/
 SM.1SG PROC cover 13-peanut SM.13 cook-DUR
 “Je couvre les arachides pour cuire.”
 “I put the lid on so the peanuts cook.” [JO 1380]
- (692) Voilà, c’est bon.
 /voilà c’est bon/
 voilà it_is.FR good.FR
 “Voilà, c’est bon.”
 “Voilà, it’s good.” [JO 1381]

- (693) Mhm, mues !
 /mhm muése/
 PTCL well
 “Mhm, c’est bon !”
 “Mhm, it’s good!” [EK 1382]
- (694) Μέ úbúná mulúkúlúku wó famak.
 /mε =^H úbúná mɔ-lúkúlúku wó fámá-aka/
 SM.1SG PROC open 3-vapour SM.3 leave-DUR
 “J’ouvre pour que la vapeur sorte.”
 “I take the lid off to get rid of the vapour.” [JO 1383]
- (695) ɔ ná siákinə é^lséá a báka bá hekɔke talé(a) eé ?
 /ɔ ná siákinə é^lséá a bá-aka bá he-kɔke taléá-aka eé/
 SM.2SG PST2 see.DUR how SM.1 be-DUR SM.2 ɪg-kok cook-DUR Q
 “Est-ce que tu as vu comment on prépare le *kok* ?”
 “Have you seen how we cook *kok*?” [JO 1384]
- (696) *Mέ ná sin.¹⁸
 /mε ná sinə/
 SM.1SG PST2 see
 Intd.: ‘J’ai vu.’
 Intd.: ‘I have seen.’ [EK 1397]
- (698) ɔ ná talɛaka na ...
 /ɔ ná taléá-aka na/
 SM.2SG PST2 cook-DUR with
 “Tu as cuisiné avec...”
 “You cooked (it) with...” [EK 1399]

¹⁸This example is marked as ungrammatical but appears in a natural speech text as it was produced by myself (EK) during the session in answer to JO’s question. The grammatical version has a durative suffix on the verb, as given below by JO in the transcription session:

- (697) Μέ ná siákin.
 /mε ná siákinə/
 SM.1SG PST2 see.DUR
 “J’ai vu.”
 “I have seen.” [JO 1398]

Summary:

- (699) *He̞kɔke (á) tɔ́ ná taléák.*
 /he-kɔke á tɔ́ ná taléá-aka/
 19-kok COP SM.1PL.REL PST2 cook-DUR
 “C’est le *kok* que nous avons préparé.”
 “What we cooked was *kok*.” [JO 1328]
- (700) *He̞kɔke búésúá bɔ́lábónéá bó bənəni.*
 /he-kɔke bɔ-ésuə bɔ-lábónéá bó ba-nəni/
 19-kok 14-PRN.POSS.1PL 14-food ASSOC.14 2-Nen
 “Le *kok*, c’est notre nourriture des Banen.”
 “*Kok* is our food amongst the Banen.” [JO 1329]
- (701) *Bon... εβά... bənəni (εβάκα) bá he̞kɔke hikəkiə embát.*
 /bon εβά ba-nəni ε-bá-aka bá he-kɔke hikəkiə embáta/
 good.FR if SM.2-Nen SM.7-be-DUR SM.2 19-kok like a_lot
 “Bon... les Banen aiment beaucoup le *kok*.”
 “So... Banen people really love *kok*.” [JO 1330]
- (702) *Elóáyé nóyé mé ná hikəkiə ɔwá, é[↓]séá ɔ́ ná nda fámá nána ɔ siəkinə é[↓]séá bá ndɔ he̞kɔke, tálea uwəsú ɔ Bənən.*
 /elóáyé nóyé me ná hikəkiə ɔwá é^Lséá ɔ́ ná nda fámá
 for thus SM.1SG PST2 like REL.1 like SM.2SG PST2 VEN arrive
 nána ɔ́ siəkinə é^Lséá bá ^Hndɔ he-kɔke taléá ɔ-wəsú
 thus SM.2SG see.DUR like SM.2 PRS 19-kok cook PREP-PRN.1PL
 ɔ́ ba-nəni/
 PREP 2-Nen
 “C’est la raison pour laquelle j’ai voulu que, comme tu es arrivée (à la maison), tu vois comment on prépare le *kok* chez nous, les Banen.”
 “That’s why I wanted that, when you came here (to the house), you would see how we cook *kok* here amongst the Banen.” [JO 1331]

(703) Ο ná siəkinə é^lséá bá ndo hekoke tále enákéá ó ákáná hóní, ó úhúló ó ηγο sá taleaka, eé ? ... Voilà !

/o ná siəkinə é^lséá bá ^Hndo he-koke taléá enákéá
 SM.2SG PST2 see.DUR like SM.2 PRS 19-kok cook when
 ó ákáná hóníó ó úhúló ó ηγο sá
 SM.2SG.SBJV leave DEM.DIST SM.2SG.SBJV return SM.2SG FUT DIST
 taléá-aka eé voilà/
 cook-DUR Q voilà.FR

“Tu as vu comment on prépare le *kok*, quand tu vas aller là-bas [en Europe], (quand) tu vas rentrer, tu vas (le) préparer, non ? ... Voilà !”

“You have seen how we cook *kok*, when you go back there [to Europe], when you return, you will cook (it), no? ... Voilà!” [JO 1332]

End of text 3.

9.4 Text 4: Short story *The chicken and the partridge*

In this text, JO tells a short children’s story entitled *La poule et le perdrix* (‘The chicken and the partridge’). This is an example of an animal story, in which an explanation is provided for why the animals behave as they do today. JO first prepared the story in writing before telling it without a script, basing it on a book of animal stories from West Africa. She recounted the story first in Tunen and then in French. The French translations provided here are from the transcription session of the Tunen version (transcription conducted by EK and JO). The story shows the linguistic features of personification of animals in a story context, nominal compounding, and variation in referent tracking.

Text name:	Histoire Poule Perdrix
Text type:	Monologue
Subtype	Story (animal story)
Participant:	JO
Also present:	EK
Recording date:	2021-11-27
Location:	JO’s house, inside (Ndikiniméki)
Recording set-up:	Zoom H5 + shotgun mic (audio), Sony CX625 (video)
Recording duration:	00:01:24
Transcribed by:	JO, EK
File info:	A44-2021127-EK-JO-HistoirePoulePerdrix.wav A44-2021127-EK-JO-HistoirePoulePerdrix.mp4



Figure 9.5: JO recounting the story at her kitchen table.

- (704) ɔ híté^lyí hiɔŋɔ, məhuə má sa bá mas.
 /ɔ híté^lyí hɛ-ɔŋɔ ma-huə má sa bá ma-ése/
 PREP DEM.DISC.EMPH.19 19-year 6-harvest SM.6 NEG be 6-good
 “Cette année, la récolte n’était pas bonne.”
 “This year, the harvest wasn’t good.” [JO 1744]
- (705) Miɔkó a bébátak(a) asɛ :
 /miɔkó a bé-báta-aka a-séá/
 9.chicken SM.1 MID-ask-DUR SM.1-say
 “La poule s’est demandé :”
 “The chicken asked herself:” [JO 1745]
- (706) Nəní mba mé kéáka mba mé bá^lmíá báná lúkák(á) eé ?
 /nəní mba mé kéá-aka mba mé bá^lmíá
 how then SM.1SG.SBJV do-DUR thus SM.1SG.SBJV PRN.POSS.1SG.2
 ba-ná lúkák-aka eé/
 2-child feed-DUR Q
 “« Comment je vais faire pour nourrir mes poussins ? »”
 ““How am I going to feed my children?”” [JO 1746]
- (707) Hɛsémbá hé ná hul.
 /hɛ-sémbá hé ná húlá/
 19-partridge SM.19 PST2 come
 “Le perdrix est venu.”
 “The partridge came along.” [JO 1747]
- (708) A ná wéeya léná héɛɛ :¹⁹
 /a ná wéeya léná hɛ-séá/
 SM.1 PST1 PRN.1 say.APPL 19-say
 “Elle lui a dit :”
 “She said to her:” [JO 1748]

¹⁹JO noted in later discussion of this example that the class 1 form of the complementiser (*áɛ*) would also be possible here, illustrating that the agreement can correspond to the noun class of the noun *hɛsémbá* ‘partridge’ or to the class for human animates, reflecting the use here for personified animals within a story context.

- (709) « Tuəná yəb! »
 /tuəná yəbə/
 stay calm
 “« Restez tranquille! »”
 ““Stay calm!”” [JO 1749]
- (710) « Embóma yé báka hóní na beηgwet. »
 /ε-mbóma yé bá-aka hóní na be-ηgwetε/
 7-field SM.7 be-DUR DEM.DIST.LOC with 8-potato
 “« Il y a un champ de patates là-bas. »”
 ““There’s a potato field over there.”” [JO 1750]
- (711) « Mba tú ákáná tú ka - tú ka siək. »
 /mba tó ákáná tó ka tó ka siə-aka/
 so SM.1PL.SBJV leave SM.1PL.SBJV AND SM.1PL.SBJV AND search-DUR
 “« Alors nous allons partir chercher. »”
 ““So let’s go - let’s go search (over there).”” [JO 1751]
- (712) Bá n(á) ákan.
 /bá ná ákáná/
 SM.2 PST2 leave
 “Elles sont parties.”
 “They left.” [JO 1752]
- (713) A ná yaáy(á) éηgwáyε miəkó léna ase :
 /a ná yáyéá ε-ηgwáyε miəkó léna a-séá/
 SM.1 PST2 PRN.POSS.1.7 7-friend 9.chicken say.APPL SM.1-say
 “Elle dit à son amie (la poule):”
 “She said to her friend the chicken:” [JO 1753]
- (714) « ɔ bétátáka ! »
 /ɔ bé-tátá-aka/
 SM.2SG MID-watch.out-DUR
 “« Fait attention ! »”
 ““Watch out!”” [JO 1754]

- (715) « Muití émbóma á ndo nda hulək. »
 /mɔ-ití^H=ε-embóma a^Hndɔ nda húlá-aka/
 1-owner ASSOC.1-7-field SM.1SG PRS AND come-DUR
 “« Le propriétaire du champ va venir. »”
 ““The owner of the field is coming.”” [JO 1755]
- (716) Bá ná beɣwete siək.
 /bá ná be-ɣgete siə-aka/
 SM.2 PST2 8-potato search-DUR
 “Elles ont cherché le patat.”
 “They searched for the potatoes.” [JO 1756]
- (717) Bá ná bíóbu niak.
 /bá ná bíóbu nea-aka/
 SM.2 PST2 PRN.POSS.2.8 eat-DUR
 “Elles ont mangé pour eux.”
 “They each ate their part.” [JO 1757]
- (718) Muəndú téá - Muéta téá a ná etá béfande.
 /mɔ-əndú téá mɔ-éta téá a ná etá bé-fandé/
 1-woman each 1-each each SM.1 PST2 take 8-two
 “Chacun a pris deux patats.”
 “Each of them took two potatoes.” [JO 1758]
- (719) A ná békóóná, a ná muití embóma bóɣɔ ɔ ɔsákɔn.
 /a ná bé-kóóná a ná mɔ-ití ε-embóma bóɣɔ ɔ
 SM.1 PST3 MID-return SM.1 PST2 1-owner 7-field find PREP
 ɔ-sákɔna/
 INF-come.PROG
 “Elle se retourné, elle a vu le propriétaire du champ venir.”
 “She turned around, she saw the owner of the field coming.” [JO 1759]
- (720) A ná miókó lén(a) ase :
 /a ná miókó léná a-séá/
 SM.1 PST2 9.chicken say SM.1-say
 “Elle a dit à la poule :”
 “She said to the chicken.” [JO 1760]

- (721) « Muití embóma a nó nda fam. »
 /mɔ-ití ε-mbóma a nó nda fámá/
 1-owner 7-owner SM.1 PST1 VEN arrive
 “« Le propriétaire du champ est déjà arrivé. »’
 ““The owner of the field just got back.”” [JO 1761]
- (722) A ná bíáyéá béηgwete bat.
 /a ná bíáyéá be-ηgwete báta/
 SM.1 PST2 PRN.POSS.1.8 8-potato collect
 “Elle a ramassé ses patates.”
 “She collected up her potatoes.” [JO 1762]
- (723) A ná hulúlúá a n(á) ákan.
 /a ná hulúlúá a ná ákána/
 SM.1 PST2 flee SM.1 PST2 leave
 “Elle s’est envolé.”
 “She fled.” [JO 1763]
- (724) Miókó a lé óso ɔ beηgwete (ɔ) ɔbáta.
 /miókó a lé óso ɔ be-ηgwete ɔ ɔ-báta/
 9.chicken SM.1 NEG can PREP 8-potato PREP INF-collect
 “La poule, elle ne pouvait pas ramasser ses patats.”
 “The chicken wasn’t able to collect up her potatoes.” [JO 1764]
- (725) Mui(i) émbóma a ná wéeya halén.
 /mɔ-ití ^H=ε-mbóma a ná wéeya haléna/
 1-owner ASSOC.1-7-field SM.1 PST2 PRN.1 catch
 “Le propriétaire du champ l’a arrêté.”
 “The owner of the field caught her.” [JO 1765]
- (726) A ná wéeya ákanána ɔ wáayé ɔmbel.
 /a ná wéeya ákánána ɔ wáayé ɔ-mbéla/
 SM.1 pst2 PRN.1 leav.APPL PREP PRN.POSS.1.3 3-house
 “Il l’a amené dans sa maison.”
 “He took her into his house.” [JO 1766]

- (727) U bótólókia ɔ hité^lyi hinó, miokó a ná héána -
 ɔ bótólókia ɔ hi^ltéyi he-nó miokó a ná
 PREP from PREP DEM.DISC.EMPH.19 19-day 9.chicken SM.1 PST2
 héána
 become
 “À partir de ce jour, la poule est devenue -”
 “From this day on, the chicken has become -” [JO 1767]
- (728) A níjókə na béndɔ ɔmbél.
 /a níjə-aka na bendo ɔ-mbéla/
 SM.1 live-DUR with 2.person 3-house
 “Elle vivait avec les hommes à la maison.”
 “She lives with humans in their homes.” [JO 1768]
- (729) A beɔnó neakak, béndɔ bá neak.
 /a be-ɔnó neaka-aka bendo bá néá-aka/
 SM.1 8-egg make-DUR 2.person SM.2 eat-DUR
 “Elle pond des œufs; les hommes les mangent.”
 “She lays eggs; people eat them.” [JO 1769]

End of text 4.

