

1. Speaker F1: s tuman yue wua
 1 ^{III}ti n daam po he la | ti man n dae m pa a yia [wuya]
 We top. past began top, ~~we~~ top. past arrive first
 when we began we arrived first

2 wa wai pompi na dike ti loyoro zi i lei #
 winding pump loc? took over things put-down
 at the borehole + put down over containers

3 ti la ta pa ana to man la t | ti ba ma mi' ko m
 Link+int it fut. reaching over turn they also just
 (when it was reaching over turn) (when) they just had

4 pa ana ti ba ma y wa a ke | ti ma ye ti a
 arrived loc that they should fetch I said oh,
 arrived and wanted to fetch then I said Oh

5 tuma y wo a ke dee bo ba | ti ba ye ti ai
 we will fetch and give them + they said no
 we will fetch ours before they do. And they said no

6 ti ma mi dike bona toy le | ti n ta da ana me m
 + I fetched up something put-under + my companion also
 -in order to collect
 + I took a container and placed it + my companion do

7 pa ana te tu la ay um wa i na | y ga ye ti a toy le
 arrived + we act-together winding somebody said would
 arrived so together we were pumping. Somebody wanted to collect

⇒ [lobakɛ] (fast)

② 1 à yéti ^{right impact} ?áí kò'ó fòoe bóna ^{bump)la} lópbe bahí / #
she said no just removed thing threw leave/let
(+) she said "no" and just took the thing + threw it away

2 Tí mām yagà yéti à (y) ^{gò'ni} ?áí, tí à kò'óm fòora
+ I then said "oh, why?" + she just removing
Then I said "oh, why?" and she was just removing

3 lóbira ^e bá sira # Máj kò'óm ^{vúgò'ni} à kò'óm
throwing leaving I just drag little/she just
and throwing the thing away. When I moved a little she ^{thus} ~~was~~ like this

4 zī mē taraana # ?íga lá ?íga méere | tí mē
held my companion. she (companion) and she (arrival)
were wrestling + I

5 ^{mē} mé yagà ^{pósera} póhóra # tí kò'óm póhóra lá' à
also then separating when - just separating she
was trying to separate them. As I was separating then she ^{top} (arrival)

6 kò'ó' ^u lé ké mām pá'á ^{s bim} ké bim / Tí yagà
just again ^{catch?} me added area. We then
^{deks} ^{that place}
we got me into the fray. Then we

7 kò'óm' tára táabá ^{póyam} póyam póyam
just had each other knocking
engaged each other knocking ~~etc~~

8 tí tá gó'óra zé'óre lá tí bame ^{mí(I)} yagà
we would stopping fight the + they also then
just as we were stopping the fight the other (narrator's)

1 p^háanè, tì[?] bà yàgà kó[?]óm[?] lagum
arrived and they them just joined in
p^hosera

2 p^hòhòrà | Bà p^hòhòrà p^hòhòrà tì tòmà
separating | They separately separating + we
As they On the fighters being separated, we

3 zé kó[?]óm[?] lá^h kíngè dè lèbè, ta p^háí lá^h
carried water the went and returned it. ~~carried~~ arrived
carried (home) the water ~~there~~ ^{and} ^{we} back when we got there

4 tì p^hól'hè p^hògóm gí bà ~~hà~~ mē | zā[?]á wáábè
police already held them | all together
[=z-i]

The police had already arrested them all

5 légóm taabà | tì mām p^háé tí àyíma gwàná
joined each other when I arrived "this one" (of them)
one this-is

6 ? éná kó[?]óm[?] p^háé tí àyíma gwàná ? éná kó[?]óm[?]
anyone just arrived "this is one" anyone just

7 p^háé tí àyíma gwàná | tì bà dáá tá tì
arrived "this is one" And they part[?] sent us
[ay^há ná]

8 kíngè p^hól'sitefèn ná | tì ? a yàgà dá yetí
went police station | + she then just said
in

9 tì mām gubè ? ígá mē, tì tì yàgà dáá kē
- we ganged her ^{up on} + we then part[?] entered
tró?

kó^htu
court (this last line was quite soft)

2. Donatus: \overline{Ti} \overline{bem} \overline{nyaga} \overline{ni} \overline{dai} $\overline{?e}$ \overline{ne} \overline{ko} \overline{ot} $\overline{?}$
+ what then happened at the court?

\overline{Ti} \overline{ni} \overline{dai} \overline{keng} \overline{ko} \overline{ot} \overline{na} \overline{ba} \overline{dai}
When we used to the court they

\overline{le} \overline{soke} \overline{ti} \overline{me} , \overline{Ti} \overline{tuma} \overline{za} $\overline{?a}$
again asked us that ~~we~~ all

~~Text?~~
 \overline{waabi} ~~\overline{gwe}~~ \overline{gwe} $\overline{?i}$ \overline{bee} ~~\overline{ti}~~ ~~\overline{gwe}~~
together heat her or

neg. scope.

\overline{tuma} \overline{za} $\overline{?a}$ \overline{waabi} \overline{ka} \overline{gwe} $\overline{?i}$ \overline{ti} \overline{ti}
we all together not heat her + we

\overline{yete} \overline{ai} \overline{tuma} \overline{za} $\overline{?a}$ \overline{waabi} \overline{ka} \overline{gwe} $\overline{?i}$
said no we all all not heat her

\overline{ti} ~~\overline{hara}~~ \overline{bada} \overline{da} $\overline{?e}$ \overline{na} \overline{ka} \overline{e} \overline{a} \overline{yete}
+ they post were told ~~internal~~ she said
(people's court) thoughts of the opinion

\overline{e} \overline{lo} $\overline{?o}$ $\overline{?o}$ \overline{ba} \overline{e} \overline{ti} \overline{seto} \overline{ni} \overline{ba} \overline{e} $\overline{?}$
her things some lost look
(unless)

→ 21

1 last my

?

1 Donates! Tí bèn Iyá gá n' dái ?éyé kòót' nà ?
And what then top. part make court the loc.
Then what happened at the court?

Tú

2 Speaker Fz! Tí n' dái k'èy kòót' nà bà daa' lé sókè
Link+int we FOC top. part enter-loc.? court the they part again ask
When we went to court they again asked (queried) -
tu

3 ~~ti na~~ tí n' dái k'èy kòót' nà bà daa' lé sókè
us too. Link+int. we all beat her
us, whether we all opt together + beat her
tu yeli tu

4 bée t'umá z'á'á wáabz kà gwé' ?í tí tí yé'tí
or we all not beat her Link we said
or we didn't. And we said

5 àí, t'umá z'á'á wáabz kà gwé' ?í Tí ba daa'
no we all not beat her. Link they ~~was~~
no, ~~it~~ we didn't all beat her part

6 d'è'na l'ée à yé'tí à loger, t'usetu n' b'èe b'èe
he loc she said her things some FOC top. ~~to~~ ~~part~~ were
were informed that - some of her things were (lost)
lost at
meaning

[unclear passage on tape]

6 Made interview

bou?

7 Lixs bém lá bém ní dá ~~boe~~
thing what and what ^{FOC} top. past - perf
What things were missing?

9F1: Tí bá ákèkè lá á fúo tí à dáa dé lá fúo
link-int. they tore-compl. FOC. her cloth link-int. it past
be FOC. cloth
that they tore her cloth, ^{that} and it was a cloth

9M1: Tí à fúo ní dá á sèkèè ?
link-int. her cloth top. past tore-interrog.
~~it was~~ Was it that her cloth got torn?

10F1: ?íí. Á fúo ní dá á sèkèè
yes. her cloth top. past tore-compl
yes. her cloth got torn

11M1: Bá lá má á sèkèè tí bá dáa yéti ya éy lá
that ~~at that~~ link they past say-incompl. you do FOC.
^{time, moment}
~~Was that all?~~ what did they say you ~~did~~ should
at that time, they said do?
12 ^{what} ~~what~~ what did they say you ~~did~~ should do?

13 F1: Tí bá dáa yéti tí yó' fúo lá
link they past say-incompl. we pay-imper. cloth the
they said we should pay for the cloth

8 M1: yà dǎé yǎo fǎu lé bǐ yá kà yǎo
 you-pl past. pay-intenrog cloth the or ~~you-pl neg~~

~~neg-not fut (I) pay~~
 NB you-irreal. neg. pay-pr
 Did you pay for the cloth or you didn't pay?

[laughter]

*? s se'em
 9 F2: pǎo hǎ la 'mǎ n' dǎ lé 'éj' sǐ 'im
 start foc. too top past again do-intenrog what
 I shall also say what happened

Tu zǐbela arege
 10 Tǐ zǐblá bǎ dǎa tá pǎe tǐ bǎ 'ǎj' kó 'om 'lá
 our fight they past ~~result~~ purpose arrived link they fetch-compl.
 -perf water the for
 Our fight, when they arrived to fetch water

se'em
 11 kǐ là gée yǎyǎ yěllè lá dǎa tǐ 'éj' sǐ 'im
enter foc. and then told (he) past ter do? do what
 and came back and then told what happened,

~~Tǐ mǎ yéti~~
 12 Tǐ mǎ yéti tá pǎe tǐ mǎ yéti â wǎnǐ tǐ tǐ
 Link I go-out-imperf purpose arrive-perf link I say-imperf
 ah, ~~why~~ left link
 I went out and reached (there) and said "ah, why

13 bǎ 'éj' lǎyǐn nǐra wó pǎe 'ò dèng sǎm 'pǎe-
 they make queue person all reach-perf your turn if reach
 they make a queue and everybody is there and if
 it's getting to your turn -

14 ^{fu} tí hò 'á kè ^{yoáni} tí 'Iya 'éj bá lá.
 link-int. you ^{-feel} ^{with} ^{-interrog.} link-int. you do that
 for you to feel why should you do that?

15 tí há lé á pòyóm bá hè 'em mé dé tí
 link-int. much left her too and link
 (Dir. ^{speed} ~~reporting~~ -reporting other side)
 "She's even lucky I left her when I did"

16 mán yé tà à kó'ó wá'ana kó'ó kè má lá
 I top talk-impel she just come just entered me for?
 as I was talking she ~~came~~ just came and attacked me

17 méerè tí ^{tu} ⁺ ^{tu} méerè tí bà zèkè 'i tá
 was wrestling ^{we} ^{TOP} ~~wrestling~~ wrestling (N) + they rained & she ^{rippro} ~~talked~~
 wrestling and we wrestled and they She ~~talked~~

18 bá hè kè tí bà wá'ana ! pò hè
 left there and they came separated - compl.

Bin la ^{laegge} ^{tu?}
 19 Bina ná nér'ba kó'ó'á láché níké tí kà békorè
 place ^{Loc} ~~for~~ people just gathered crowded we not look
^{-imperf} ^{-perf} ^{-imperf}
 at that place people just crowded in and we weren't looking

mé ná tí ^{tu?} tí bá pòssé tí tée tí ^{tu} poyé-ya 'á hè
 recognize? they separated us ladies old

∞ ?
 ∞ ?
 ∞

1 lágùm pá'á kè tì bá d'áa wá'á ná ~~Á d'áa~~ p'ók'ò
join reach-imp. + they part come separate
joined in and they come - separated

2 t'ò tì p'ól'íkè ilá wá'á ná. Á d'áa p'óg'ùm á'á h'úm
us and police the come she part already tree
us and the police come. She had already torn

3 t'oma ná l'óg'ò ná t'í má m'è 'é ní k'á d'omá d'áa
our own things too. Our eh, knickers part
our things too. Our knickers are

4 'á h'è lág'ùm pá'è kè tì bá t'á r'è t'è k'è y'è
tree-part join reach and they took us seat
were torn and they rest us to

5 p'ól'íkè t'è h'í ná t'á 'íng'è s'è l'úm
st police station ^{loc} purpose put well-loc, wait for.
the police station to lock us up. We waited

6 ^{yv'oyò} n' y'ó'oyò tì bá wáa b'ém' t'ò. D'íd'áar'í m'è
night until they came bailed us That day
until night when they came and bailed us out. That day

7 Á t'è z'è l'è k'òò r'è t'í bá 'í t'á t'í bá wá'á ná
A funeral ^{funeral} ^{REL} they do-impert + they come for
A funeral ^{was} being celebrated and they come

8 b'è l'ò t'ò. y'óm' b'è r'è t'í l'é l'é b'è p'ól' t'è h'ò t'í
bailed us check morning ^{we?} and again return police sta.
and bailed us. In the morning we went back to the
police station and

1. ^{tu} bā yé tì bā bú kè lá kōt tì kǐz
 they say-impf they book-perf for. court ~~and~~ ^{link perf} west -
 they said they had looked at court and went -

2. ^{tu} tì rì kǐn kōt ~~lā~~ tì bā tá tógà rā
^{link} we went court the + they purp. talk-impf
 we went to court and they were talking

3. ^{tu} tì rì ~~zóm~~ tì bā yí nē rā wóo sókè tì bā tóyè
^{then we} climbed ~~down~~ they called person each asked-perf. link
^{up/head-la?} they talk

We climbed [into the entrance box] and they called each person [and] asked [her] and ^{she} ~~spoke~~ and ~~spoke~~ and

4. nē rā wóo tóyè tì mām mē ~~zóm~~ tì bā sókè
 person each spoke ~~took~~ / for. too climbed ~~the~~ they asked

5. tì mē ?éy táalè bée yí ká ?éy táalè
 Wh? I did offense or ~~not~~ ^{neg} did offense?
 whether I had committed an offense or not

6. Má yé tì mē ká ?éy táalè tì bā yé tì tì ?í
 I say-impf. I neg. do offense ~~at~~ they say-impf
 WH? (she)

I said I didn't commit ~~and~~ offense and they said whether she

7. ?éy táalè bée yí ká ?éy táalè
 did offense or ~~not~~ ^{neg} commit offense
 had committed an offense or not?

1 tì ma yéti ná ká 'éy táalè tì bà yéti
+ I say-imperf I neg. do offense + they say-imperf
and I said I had not committed an offense and they
said

2 má tó kót. Tò. Má tó kót là, tó,
I insult court. OK. I insult court the, ok,
I have insulted the court. OK. Since I have
insulted the court,

Tumam

3 tì má m zì'á bà náa 'éyè tì bɔrɔ́áhi la
we top sit they past act + men the
we should sit down. they did [something] + the men

4 dáé (ɔ́)ye náirba lá tì bà 'íy sùguri
past saw people the + int, they make pardon

5 bɔrɔ́áhi lá dáé sɪy ~~tá~~ ^{tá nyè} náirba lá
men the past go ^{in order to} see people the

the men went (and didn't) see the people
to see

6 tì bà 'yehé tɔ́yɔ́na wá'a yéren ná máalé
+ they withdrew case ~~the~~ come house ~~the~~ settled
they withdrew the case and came and settled
it in the house

tì a yéte (tì a yéti tì) tì tì ^{hon = la} ^{tu}
fà tì tì tì rí 'áahù 'á !bɔ́n ná, sèé tì (tì)
LINK she say LINK LINK we we ^{casum} ^{tee} her thing the thus we

and she ~~at~~ said when we wore her dress we
and he said ~~to~~ since we

see = Hausa ban

ɔ́ tɔ́yɔ́n la = [tɔ́yɔ́na]

12 (45)

1 y^{oo} s^{ya} dé tì yé-tòp lá m^{aalé} tì
pay-imp^{erf} her before + say-talk the settled +
must pay her before the case is settled ad

2 bà d^{aa} y^o.
they past paid

3 M1: B^{oróah} lá d^{aa} s^{igè} t^a y^o m^e
men the past went prep. pay too
He was went to pay before the case was
settled

4 dée yéhe yé-tòp lá ! b^{ée}
before withdraw say-talk the or?
before the case was withdrawn?

5 F₂: La de séra tì n^á d^{aa} p^{óh} lá
it be truth ~~that~~ ^{we} ~~that~~ top. past start. foc.
It is true that? when we started
tu The fact is,

6 tì d^{aa} ká mí tì lá wó d^é s^ha g^{wá}n^á
we past neg know ^{with} ~~that~~ it fut. be-compl. ~~for~~ WH
we did not know where it would be, ^{deché} ^{hoo}

7 tì tì w^{án} s^{ókè} tì d^{aa} ká s^{ókè} bá b^ág^é
+ we fut. top. ask-perf. we past neg. ask them
know-interesting
[or] we would have asked. We did not ask them to know

8 bà d^{aa} y^o lá g^{wá}n^é bà ^éng lá g^{wá}n^é
they past pay foc. WH-int^{errog} they do foc. WH-int^{errog}
how much they paid, what they did.

1 hó mé'té b'írááhI né sà 'éy s'elá wá'a ná
 you know-impf men cond. do thing come for
 You know that if men do something and come ^{for}

2 hò kà n n'nyé s'ókè bá yé'té gwà'ná lá
 you neg. top. able ask them say-impf WH +
 you can't ask them about it. [what they did]

3 gwà'ná . Ehéé . Gé há n d'è né tí d'aa
 WH. yes. but cond. top. be +-int. past
 But if [we] had ~~known~~

4 m'óné tí w'ón s'ókè n'ím'bá yé'téé yá y'ó lá
 know- we fut. - fut. ask them say-impf-interrog
 you (pl) pay for.

known we would have asked them, say

5 gwà'né yé 'éy lá gwà'né yá s'á'am lá gwà'né
 WH you did for. WH you spent. for. WH
 how much you paid, what you did, how much
 you spent.

6 M1: P'óy-s'í'ká t'è yá d'áé z'è'bì la ka w'íaw'á
 women-that + youpl past fight for her first
 That woman you fought with for first

7 d'áana lá y'ó'oréé
 owner def. name = name-interrog
 what is her name?

1 F1: À yó'òrè de la Alis
her name be foc. Alice
Her name is Alice

2 M1: Alis 'àni
Alice be Alice ^{who} what?

3 F2: Alis Alebiya

~~4 M1~~ 'à amé'gá yó'òrè lá Alis
her herself name def.
Her own name is Alice

5 M1: Dée yá mǎ sǐbá dómá mǎr 'én 'dǎe n
but you-pl. those pl. also do past top.
But those of you who also did and

6 zǎ'òrè lá 'é'ná yá mǎ yó'òrè de lá 'à n
fought foc. her you-pl. names be foc. what
~~zǎ'òrè~~ & clause foc.
fought with her, what are your names?

7 lá 'à n. [wǐz 'à n-sǐ-kǎ]
+ what-interrog.

8 F2: Ansa Akatèrè

9 F1: Compost Akūyó'oma

10 M1: Tǐ kǒtù dómá lá n dǎa tà yé'è bá'á'
+ court people def. top. past pup. said. that
When the court people said she they was

ba'asa

yes

1 ba'ahē wācā^b yāyā yē^{he} yē-tōya la
finished done than without say-talk def.
finished and then without the case

2 wā² yiri tī bā mā^l
come house + -inter. they settle
and brought it home to settle it,

3 yamā pōore dāā pēē bāla mē'yo
you-pl stomach part white that too INTERROG
were you happy about it? ^{meaning TOP}

4 F₂ T_I pōore hāy kà pēē yā, gē tōma
^{our} ~~we~~ stomach cond. ^{top} neg white - but we
[Whether or not] we were happy, we

5 mēyā kā sō' tī mēyā. Tōma mēyā kā^{loc}
selves neg. own our self. We self neg
are not our own masters we ourselves cannot

6 Nyāyē yēti àí. jwó wóo nér'ba ?é sōe tōma
able say no come like people he own-pa us

7 té tōmā bōpā. Nér'ba lá n' sō tī^u lá bāmā
and we ^{at} ~~fall~~ people the top, own us ~~fall~~. they
mēyā n' mā^l yē-tōya la. ^{TOP}
and [thus] we live. The people who control us, they

8 mēyā n' mā^l yē-tōya lá. Tī ka yāyē yēti àí
themselves ^{top} settled case the. We not able say no
settled the case themselves. We cannot say no

16
1 tuma ka tari pàgà ^{nyama} ^{nyama} gwan yàgè yète gwàna
we neg have power with able say with
we don't have the power to say anything

2 La mǎ dé là tǐmè n' sò? mǐnà dǎnà tǐrè
it too be foc? we too top own that person + we
also, we control that person that we

3 zǎbè zǎbǐ lá. Tǔmá mǐ bǐa n' dè'è. À sò lá
^{zaberi}
forgot ~~with~~ the we too child top de (she) her father's
forgot with she'd our child her father's

4 ^{mas} akéba yǐrè bolá tǐ yǐrè. E lǎ
mat-uncle house be foc, over house. Yes
a maternal uncle, in over house Yes

5 Là dé là búurì pǎam. N sò? ba dǎa yé'té
it is foc. ^{clan} relatives in. ^{foc} top own they past said-interr
It is a matter of blood relationship. That is why they said
(why they wanted to)

6 bà mǎlè yé'tsǎ lá
they settled ~~talk~~ speak say-speak the
they settled the case

7 M1 búurì lá 'íyà tǐ yà nǎm -éé-
relations the made ^{COMP} + you agree
Is it because of the ^{clan} relationship that you agreed?

8 F2 Mǎm pǎpǎm yé'ti yà là dǎpè pǎpè lá mǎgá
I top. already say part. it not-be woman the self
-imper
I already said it is not the woman herself.

tu 'iya ghere tu

1 zé-nyorá hó 'iṅá ghé'iré mé là hó wó
porch your body shiver-impert. you fat
to the porch, your body is shivering too and you

2 'iyáṅṅé tóṣé yé-tó'ya yéti' gwáná. [laughed]
able speak-of case say something
won't be able to say anything about the case.

Tu tu

3 M1 (Dor.): Tí yéti tí káṅṅé síla káṅkánṅé dé! (lé)
we-int. say we-int. know what important is fac-
interesting

The important thing we (want to) know is

Tu m mi ti pɔgɛri

4 tì m mé té pɔpɔsɛ yalá' bò mé' tíya wá
we top. know (link+int.) women trouble is-at too earth
we know that women's problems exist here on earth

5 nánnannánda tí tí s'í'ba lá tí sò né kó'í
now +int. our husbands + our father ^{now} just
nowadays, and our husbands and fathers ^{just}

6 to'è yéti tí náaké bá Tóma ní déṅ s'í'ba ná
group say that settle them. + We top. ^{already} own ^{decisive}
take it upon themselves to settle them. We already own ^{part.}

7 bá bá lá yalá tí tí b'ó'ra tí tí b'á'ṅé yá ná
them that saying ^{that} we want + we know you-pl
them, therefore we want to know, you

8 'índé pɔpɔsɛ la dee 'iyé yá yé lé táre
as women ^{DEP} = qe see your problem took

1 sɪŋ kɔtɔm wɔ bɛ tɔɪ yɛmɛ nɛ sɪŋ
went court-loc. or they took you pl too ~~out~~
(?)

went to court, or they took you too to

2 kɔtɔm tɪ yɛ sɔɪmɛ yɛtɪ bɛe yɛ 'sɛr'ba ō
court-loc. + your fathers said or your husbands oh,
court, and your fathers or your husbands said oh,

3 yɛ bɛhɛ dɛ tɪ bɛ tɛrɛ lɛm yɛrɛ wɛ mɛalɛ,
you leave (it) + int they take again (loc) house come
LINK settle

you leave it alone, and again they took it to the
house to settle it

4 lɛ sɛn dɛ yɛ mɛ pɔ tɛɛ rɛ sɛ pɛm yɛ mɛ
it condit be (detected) your thoughts inside you
if it were your inner thoughts, [could/do] you
ne = tu?

5 dɛɛ nɛ wɔ bɔɔɔ nɛ tɪ yɛ mɛ mɛalɛ yɛ tɔɪ sɛ bɪnɛ
past top. fɛrɛal. like you settle case they
could you ~~want~~ to settle the case there [-bɪmɛa.]
bɪɪ have dɛtɛd

6 bɛe yɛ mɛ bɔtɪ nɛ yɛ. hɛ mɛ pɔ pɛm yɛtɪ yɛ
or you-pl want you condit. already say you
or would you ~~want~~ to have liked to

7 yɛkɛ yɛ mɛ yɛ tɔɪ yɛkɛ bɪ bɔɔɔɛ sɛŋ kɛ
go-out yɛr self tɔkɛ go-out or men go
withdraw it yourself or men go and it
get yourself out of? ɛmɛɛ
?

20

puvre

1 yéhe bó yà. yà nǎ pǎo cǎi pǐe bàla
 take-out give you. Your-stomach-white that
 withdrew ~~it~~ for you. Were you happy ~~at it~~ that,
 bōdānǐ nǐ yese ^{det} ~~it~~ about

2 bōrǎohē jǐ yéhe ^{LINK-LINK} yà nǎ dǎo pǎo y
 men top take-out ~~it~~ ^{or} you past even
 men withdrew it without ~~telling~~ you
 kǎ mí nǎ dé yé li là, wó yà nǎ ^{en}
 NEG know eat? words DEF ~~it~~ you make
 knowing about it, as ~~the~~ you ~~take~~
 [As you are women?]

3 dè pǎo gōu wǎ
 the women this DET
 are women.

4 P2: Tò mǎ nǐ dè pǎo gōu lá dé wò bǐ mǐ —
 we top. are women the he like there [why] —
 The reason why we are women is that — (incompl)

Fun ^{bo}
 5 Hóm mí tǐ! ōè là bō lá tó kǎ tó kǎ
 you-top know-interrog ah there are for. different-different
 you know -ah - there are differences
^{myage} [in gender behaviours]

6 Tò mǎ nǐ mǎ yǎ kǎ yǎ yě sǐ (ǎ) nǎ tó mǐ sǐ ^{turning} ^{rel of mǎ yǎ}
 we top self neg able own for/or ourselves
 We do not own — cannot own ourselves
 [cannot be independent]

7 bō rǎo sǎn ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{force} zúo yé tǐ tǐ tǐ ^{tu} ^{en} wǎ (ǎ) nǎ
 man condit.-top. more head say link we do come
 If a man decides that we should do (something)
 (cont'd pg 29)

1 ^{Fu m fu miya} hũ m ho meya zõtîi lá hũ yéti áì . Hũng
you-top your self dear for you say no . you-for.
you will be afraid to say no . You

2 ^{fu, nya, yaa} ká' nyãgɛ hũ ^{lye, yeli se'em fu} òyĩ yáà . ʔĩgɛ ʔyéli sé'em hũ
neg. able you see-interesting . 3ps say what you
cannot, you see? Whatever he says you

3 ^{dóli} dóli, ^{la} lá nǒ - 'déng hũ ^{fu ka n nyaga, gagesa} kan ʔyān ʔáyěsɛ
follow for. math-that you neg. able refuse
do exactly that, you cannot refuse

4 yéti hũ kàn dóde déng
say you neg. follow That
and may you won't do it.

5 M1 : [unclear passage] ^{po ká wá' m bɔ ká'alam wá}
woman this for. be- here ~~for~~ DET
present

6 ^{this woman here} yéti á bɔdɔ́ tì tì á báyè lá pɔyɔsɛ ^{progen}
sadd she went ^{come} like-ut she know for. women's
sadd she wants to know women's

7 ^{pu} pótɛ'érá ^{la-ee-} píám ^{lae} lɛe ^{psych} pɔyɔhɛ ^{yéllí} ʔĩgɛ ^{ɛ'ɛ}
thought in-loc. and - women's problems dealing
opinions about dealing with women's

^{pu} píá yéllí ^{siá n dáang bá máyasɛ} woo
in problems, there top. disturb them resemble ^{be-} like
problems, like

1 ~~30~~ bá ^{tu} ɛ̀n táa yétoya púam. Bála tí tí ^{tu} they do have case in-loc. That link we when they have a case. That is why we

2 bóta tí tí báyè yámá (^mé) bõe ké^malam wá? want link-int. we know you he-at here if want to know [how] you present here. ^{DEPT}

3 ^{Tu} Tí mí yé tí má sá mí tá yéllè (^mé) pójá we know say I cond. top pup. tell my wife We know that if I tell my wife

4 ^{yéllè tu} yé tí - a - bász dé tí méalè y wó say ah leave link+link settle top fut. leave it for me to settle I will

5 yé tí à botí á yé tí à zín lá má mé. say she want she say she equal for. me part, say she wants to say she is equal to me.

6 À mé ká ní tá^z zíná mám. éhèè. Déé gé She too neg top cannot equal to me. yes. But look she cannot be equal to me. yes. But ^{fun}

7 hõn ní dè píkà là tí bà yéllè bála yámá you top be woman the link they said that-thing you you are a woman, they said do & you

8 bésíte bóla ^{suja} an sija yó e perceive that-thing be-good interrog. think that that is good?

?an suja or ?an-suja ?

1 F2: ³ Là ^{suva} ?án sɔ́gá de la ^{ʔɪgá} ?éjá ^{ʔn} ɛ́n sò hó tɪ ³
 it ^{PA?} ché? good he for. he top. own you link
 It is good because he controls you, so that

2 fù b'na la a há yéti jwǎnǎ tó^{tu} hó yéti
 you be-at for. he condit. say WH ~~gá~~ you say
 you live here. If he says something to you and
 you say

3 àí béere ^{yie} yé tɪ yéle séere gǎnǎ bála
 no tomorrow break link trouble another surpass that
 -prob.

no, the next day a ~~bigger~~ another problem is
 worse than that one

4 à wó yéti kó'om táa hóm pójum gǎnǎ mǎm.
 he will say just have you before/already surpass me.
 he will say you handle it, you are stronger than me

5 Hó mǎ' ká táa págá wó yéti àí bǎ [dè] mǎalè.
 you too neg. have power ^{wà n' kɛn down you} ^{da} say no they fut. settle
 fut. top. -neg

You also don't have the power to say they should
 not settle it.

Maxims

6 Mǎalǎ lǎ mé ?án sɔ́gá.
 settle-ment the too she good
 The settlement is good.

7 M12 (to F1): Hó mé ú tɪ ?ɪ hɪ lǎa jwǎnǎ
 you too top. think for. -inter. what-inter.ing
 How do you also think about it?

[For on both V + WH]

1 FI: Má ú tí'ísi (tí) bórà lá sá n' yéti à [wó] ^{wá' n}
I top. think link man the condit. top-say the fut.
I think that if the man says he will

2 mǎǎlè, là dé péúgǐrè tó hó báhè tí ^{comp p'g'è} ^{tí hó}
settle, that is respect link- you leave link
settle it, it is compulsory that you let it go for
_{fun}

3 ba mǎǎlè. Dáye hó yéti a'í hū kó'ó tóye.
they settle is-not you say no you just talk
them to settle. It is not for you to continue.

4 Hū kó'ó n' yǐrè dí zǐ'ǎ tí bə sé'ere tí ^{fun, n} ^{n' yǐrè}
you just top. see its end link day some link
you see the end of it and then some day

5 yéllé tá gána bála'. Tí a yéti tá'á tó ^{tí a} ^{tí}
problem pup. surpass that. link you say have link
there is a bigger problem. And he says you
handle it, and

6 hò "yáyè kà mí nà hū wà'íj' sǐ'ím ^{fun, n} ^{se'em}
you then neg know part. you fut. do what
and when you won't know what to do.

7 MI (Don.): Dè vóorè? wó n' tí yámá sáyè ^{tí tí}
Its meaning resembles top. link you agree
It is like this, you agree (let

8 bō bōrāhí tí bā mǎǎl là dé' wóo
give men link-int. they settle for. is like
with the men that they settle it because
the men settle things)

1 yéllí béere sè ní bònà gánà balá yà kà y yáǵé
 trouble tomorrow condit. top, be-~~for~~ exceed that you neg;-fut
 pad. top, able
 if there is worse trouble tomorrow, you won't be able

2 náalè lá^h o'iyà. Déé dékè yá 'póte'ere zí'irè
 settle for. that-thing. past take your opinion put
 do settle-it?
 Now imagine

3 bóbí- se'ere tée yé yetéè hèn dī n yéti
 place some say that you say cond. top, it top. say
 a position, say that you say, if there were
 it
 yéti ti yéti ti yéti ti

4 yéllé, sè m pàa yà zína koo dáasè'ám
 trouble, cond. top. reach you today or day-3
 trouble, if it happened today or the day after
 tomorrow

5 yá pényà péni yá pàa tí yá wó tà'á
 your strength be-^{full} pad. reach link you fut, able
 that you are strong enough that you can
 wá n

6 náalè ya mnya yé yéllé yámā tí'isi (tée) là
 settle you self your problem you think link it
 settle your problem yourself, do you think it
 yéti ti

7 ñ naxí tee mēm kó'ata anyé (é) yéllé
 top. proper link I go-get (top) see my trouble
 getting that I look to my problem
 → t a .

a yéti) ti → yetu (yél'ti) long vowel diphthong before pause

1. tí n' t'áaana wé' n' z'í wá' k'ò' yéti é
 and my companions come sit DEF just say he
 and my companions here just says he
2. yése dé tí g' kà t'áa ~~bó tí r'è~~ tí n' dé
 withdrew the link top. neg. get thing-knowing link top. be
 withdrew [the case] without [my] knowledge,
 because
~~g' yéti g' yéti g' yéti~~ yéti
3. á yéti k'á g' yéti
 his junior-brother interrog.
 I am this junior brother?
4. F2: hó anye [bóna] n' d'è 'éy sí'ím lé
 (bóna la)
 you saw thing the last year happen what for.
 you saw how it happened last year,
 do you understand what
5. yá à la-dé / dé lé tí m' má' 'íngá k'í tí
 listen-interrog it he for. over mother she die link
 (didn't you), it was over mother, she died and
 listen,
6. bà 'í t'á k'óurè. Ner'k'ó'ng'ò'ò lé' n'dé
 they were-during funeral. person-crowd def. then
 they were during the funeral. The crowd of people
 lág'era t'og'era
7. l'á'ese t'ó'ora hò k'á 'yá'ng'è' f'ó'ze z'ú'ó
 were gathered talking. you neg. able raise move come out head
 were gathered and talking. You can't single
 yourself out

1. yéti áí, lá dè juàrè y kà sáke
say no, it is WH- I see agree
and say no, then and it, I don't agree

2. Nérikoungò hǔ sǎ fòoe zuo bà yǎ tì lá fò m
person - crowd you condit. stick-up head they see fa. you
a crowd of people, if you make yourself conspicuous

3. hò yé nà, hǔ ǎyè yàa. Bála lá n sòe tì
you alone you see hear-interesting. That def. top. own link
[it is] you alone, you understand? Because of that

4. bòráchi fá mǎ kǎy tá nyè néra lá. báma
men def. too west. purp. see person def. They
the men also went to see the person. [husbands]

5. mǎ dǎyè bá mǎ kǎy tá nyè bà tǎ bà
too give-birth-to them too west purp. saw them link they
are also their [opposing ~~women~~ side] fathers and they
went to see them and they

6. yéti ti yé tée bà mǎalè tì lá dè lǎá, búurò lá.
said they settled link that is for. relations def.
said they settled it, and the they in they are
relatives

7. Gée sǎ n dǎ tǎa wúo tǎ y kò n zé wa
but condit. top. ~~were~~ be ^{deictic} like link top. just sit here
but if it were just as we are positioned here

wúo every
wúo such as

36
 fu kine kina kina
 1 TI kene mé kina kina TI tuma lé n'era
 we walking part. walking walking link we and person
 we are walking along and we

2 té tó'usse táaba. Sároò p'va zéβra,
 part. meet each-other. Road in fight,
 meet somebody. [not a relative] Fighting on the road
 [with a ^{non} relative]

3 zéβi là bo l'ap di t'ka. H'v ná h'v
 fight the thing def. be difference. You and you
 [that kind of] fighting is different. You and you
 Pen la fan

4 n'era là bo l'é di t'ka,
 person def. thing def. be difference.
 relative is different

5 HI (Don.): Ho boori tó h'e yéti ee, búuro la
 you want link you say de relationship def.
 You want to say, [they settled it because of]
 the relationship

6 ?'iyà n' soé tee ya sáke máalk'ò lé. Déé
 own link you agree to settlement def. But
 Because of that you agree to the settlement. But

7 sá n d'è'é yéti yétee hó k'ó'ó tá
 condit were say saying you just purpose
 up it were, say, you just

8 tó'usse là n'era tó hó ká mé ná
 met for person link you neg. know for.
 meet somebody you didn't know

- 1 "é" béere lá deare tí ya ní zébrè tí
 oh, tomorrow ^{tomorrow} def. day - 3 link you fighting link
 some time in your life you are fighting and
- 2 ho sáa sám pògè yé tí hò bá hè dé tí
 your husband condit. top. ^{help} even say you leave take
 if your husband tells you to take it away
 [handle it]
- 3 ké mure sán ká péé fú ká à báa?
 your heart condit. - top neg white you neg. top. leave
 would you be happy/content with that?
- 4 F2: ho sáa lá sám pògè ká péé ^{nyé?} iyáa
 your heart def. condit. top, even neg white (see-)
^{interrog}
 even if you are not happy, see?
- 5 dé tí 'ìz sán dèy yé tí, wóo à sán
 take he condit first said like he condit.
 if he already said it, or if he
- 6 yé tí bá hè kè ^{ya?} yaa. là dé lá péngùrè tó
 say leave for. ^{INT} that is for. compulsory link
 says to leave it you have to
- 7 ho sàkè à nòu lá. hù hè y ká sé kè
 you agree hèe mouth def. you condit. top. neg. agree
 agree with him if you don't agree

1 hũ mí tòmá "à yeti àa" - Bée sã'əm
you know our "hite" Tomorrow
[embarrassed laughter]
"A yeti a buuro . . ."

2 yèl-sé'ere sã'm páam a yeti àa kò n
trouble - some condit. top. arrive - /ə. he say oh
if some trouble arrives he says just top
just top

3 táa tée hũ pòyùm gáana mà ná.
here link you already exceed me /ə.
take [it] as you are stronger than I.

4 Hũ pòyùm gáana mà ná.
you already exceed me /ə.
You are already stronger than I.

5 'Hũ kó' táa lé hũ mà'álè. Hũ v̄ y wò
you just have /ə: you settle. You intent. top. fat
you just take care of it. You will

6 ?íy sí'əm gée hũ pòyùm gáana là
do what but you already exceed /ə: ?
do what? but you are stronger

7 hũ kó' a táa dè ?íya kán ?yãg
you just int. have it he neg. top. able
you ^{would} just deal with it. He cannot

1 pɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ hóm bó tì sí'ím hu' íyɛ.
force you want What you do
control you, [you] do whatever you want to.

2 M1 (Chris): Mám bó tì t́ng yéllé sí'ím dé
[attempt at restaurant] I want link top. say What is

3 lá'ɛ̀ là dáyɛ kámáá ^{yeli ti tu} tée t́ sí'íba lá' —
that that not-be like link our husbands def
that, it is not as if our husbands

4 bé tée t́ sí'íba lá' — dáya tée bá ^{yeli to}
or link our husbands def in-not link they
- or our husbands - it is not that they

5 pɛ̀.íqurɛ t́ m̃é . Bámá m̃é yá yé m̃é
forced us too they know part. say
forced us. ~~They~~ ~~what~~ ~~they~~ They know

6 m̃ bó tì sí'ím gée là di lá máarǵò lá lá'ɛ̀
top. want what ~~is~~ ^{but} it be for. peaceful def. and
- settlement
what they want, but it is for a peaceful settlement
with

7 gírín sí'á t́ yá táarɛ bó'íra yá
respect - link you here give you
the respect that you have for your

8 s̃í'íba lá' là déhá tée bá h̃ín t̃á ra ^{yeli to}
husbands def. that be link they condit. top. have
husbands, that if they have

1 pò-té-déne wá? na yé ti tée yélli wa?
openior - that come part. say link trouble for.
loc

2 ní déy lói wá? bàhe yé ti tí mǎalè.
already followed for. leave PART link we settle
DET

3 Bé la tí a wó sákè dée là dǎuǎi lǎe
that link/she will agree but that is-not
On account of that it is agreed but it is not

4 pǎngǎrè bó'orà yǎmǎ pǎyisú tí bǎráahu
force give you women link men
that you women are freed, that men

5 ní zǐ'ím bǎta tí bá dékèe bó de bǎráahu fá
top. assume want link they take thing it men def

6 zúò pǎrǐge yá? - Là ba 'éjè bǎmǎm bǎti
head freed part. that they do they want
[men] - that the men

7 sí'ím déti (i) yá-mǎm sǎure ká pǎrǐgǎ
what take your heart neg. white
want to do what will make you unhappy

8 Bée m/pǎrǐ/mǎe Bée m pari me?
Or lying part-interrog
Or am I telling lies?

1 Fi: ɔ̃. lɛ̀ de lɛ̀ bala, la de lae, ti
yes. that is for. that, that is lak
yes, that is so, it is that
fu tuna

2 hu to na ti bira sũre pɛra. Dɔɛ ti ñ
you believe link man heart white is-not link top.
you act so that the man is happy, not

3 to na ta'a sũre ka pɛra. Hu sa n
believe intend heart neg. white you cond. top
so that (he) would be annoyed. If you

4 ta tãa zɛbrɛ̀ ta'ɔ̃ sɛla⁴ kũv ɔ̃yɛ̃yɛ̀
intend bring fight-intend do something - or outside
bring trouble

5 hã' hũ ta taɛ sɛla jã ñdè yɛ̀lɛ̀, ta ta
these you-intend bring sth that is trouble, link-intend

6 pãɛ̀ ti ɔ̃yɛ̀ ti basè yɛ̀t lã̀ ti hu yɛ̀t
reach link he say leave trouble the link you say
and he says leave it (to me) and you say

7 hũ y ka m bahi dɛɛ kũ? tɔ̀ ña hũm
you neg leave but just act-part. you
you won't leave it to him but continue to do-as you

8 bõti sɛ'ɛm nɛra-woo yɛ̀m wõn tɛ̀ yɛ̀sɛ̀ koo
went what person-all wisdom fut. top. intent.
come-out you-intend.
went, everyone's idea about you will change (for
the worse)

1 bála lé là de lá hù sǎi é tǎ sǎ lá' gé
That ~~for~~ ^{DEF} it be top. you condit. doing something ^{think}
because of that, when you are doing something ~~and~~ ^{but} ~~out~~

2 tǐ bǎcá bǐnà bím kǎo hò táacaná
Iak man be-top. place or your companion
a man is around or your companion

3 pǒxǔm bǐnà yéti hù 'éti sǎ lá lá
even be-top. say you do what def it
is there saying what you are doing ~~it~~

4 ka'án sǔya básè. Lè n naxi tí
neg. be good leave. It top, suitable link
is not good, leave it. It is reasonable for

5 hò 'éy sǔgùri.
you do pardon
you to comply.

6 H1 (Don.): 'yámǎ jǔyǎ ná dá tá bé sè
you then top. past intend looked at it
when you looked at it later

7 yeti nǎrǐba ní sǎe yámǎ sǎ yetéé básè
say people top own you condit. say leave
that if the people who own you say leave it

8 yámǎ kǎ tá' 'áí' yéti yé kǎ n básèra
you neg. can no say you neg. leave
you cannot say you won't leave it.

1 Dáa sákè bà nòore bala' déti ja tasáana
 then agree their mouth that took your fellow
 then [you] agreed with them about it and your
 fellow [opponent]

2 là mǎ nǎ yé ti yè yó' à lóyora lá tí
 def too la? said you pay-impet. her things def.
 Pink

she said you should pay for the things

3 yá ?áá hǔ yamé n' dǎe yó'ó k' dí kè
 you top. you top. past pay-interrog. top. pick
 you are. Did you pay - ~~take~~ took

4 lígiri dá? lóyora lá yó' bée là dè lá
 money bought things def. pay-for or it was for.
 the money and paid for the things, or was it that

5 yá sǎi ba lá n' dǎe yó'ó lóyora lá
 your husbands def. top. past paid-for thing def.
 your husbands paid for the things.

6 F2: Tòma náa kǎ kà sókè yé ti báma yó'ó. bá yé n' ¹
 we past not neg ask say they paid-~~interrog~~
 We did not ask whether they paid, they just

7 bá hè yé tóyó lá mǎe tòma n' dǎ kà sókè.
 left case def too interrog. we past neg ask
 finished the case too. We didn't ask.

1 nànnànnàwà lá^h yàma ká mí[?] lóyòrò lá^h
now fr., you neg know things the
So now, you don't know if the things

2 dǎa yóó yá, bà dǎa ká yóó[?]
were paid for or they weren't paid-for
past pay-for past they past neg pay-for

3 F2: Tùme tíc lóyòrò lá bá yóó yá? Gée bà
We know take things the they paid past. but they
We know that they paid for the things. But they

4 ká yé/ tò yé/ bá yóó yá? Tùmá mí y ká
neg ^{tell} us say they paid past. We also top. neg
didn't tell us they had paid. And we didn't

5 sókè wá[?] [yé] bá 'éj bála lá. Bà yó
yétú
ask come say they ~~to~~ did that for-interrog
They paid-for
ask whether they had done that. They paid for

6 lóyòrò lá bée bá ká yóó[?] tò ká sókè bà, à máá
things the or they neg. pay we neg. ask them, but
We didn't ask whether they paid for the things,

7 bà yó lóyòrò lá? Gée là dè léè bée yó
they pay-for things def. But it is for - they paid
but they paid for the things. But definitely they paid

8 mí ká^h. Tùmá ní dè ní síba-pòtè[?] 'é rē lé
past. we top. were people - ^{thought} ~~opinion~~ the

1. ká bóé ; dàbém mé ní táúé hò to hó wá
not be at fear too have you link you fut.
We didn't think of it - fear too holds you when you

2 sèyé ké zèa' bà nínà, yètee lá 'éy'
go stand their front say it happened
go stand before them to say ~~it~~ happened,
what

3 gwá'íà là ya yó lóyòrò [leβee] yá kà
WH for you pay-for things lá bée you ng
the or
~~the way~~ did you pay for the things or not

4 yó. Déé mé mé lóyòrò lá' póka lá yé ti
pay but I know things the woman the said
and

but I know the woman's thing she said

5 bó 'éà 'éyé lóyòrò lá tí bà yó lóyòrò lá
they take her things def. link they paid-for-imper
things def.
they take, they should pay for the things

6 díti bà málé tóyo lá ; bà yó lóyòrò lá.
take they settle case def. they pay things bef.
before they settled the case; they paid for the things.

7 M (Don.): Tí' yá sèríba dá yó lóyòrò lá
link so your husbands past paid things
def - ukrrg
so your husbands paid for the things?

1. Pz: Tì ~~sí~~ síiba lá' d'áa y'ó yà' gée tì
 our husbands def. past pay past but we
 our husbands paid, but we
- 2 ká n' yāngē lé yèke tá sókè tì síiba yéti
 neg. top. able agree ~~good~~ go-out intent. ask our
 husbands say
 could not then go and ask our husbands
- 3 ée yá dá b'p'p' lá y'ó lá yà yò b'p'p'
 oh you buy things def. pay for-interest
 you pay things
 oh, did you pay for the things, did you pay
- 3 lé mē gé tì t'p'p' ná m'áalé bee ya ka yó
 for. part.-interest link-link case def. settle or
 you neg. pay-for
 for the things before the case was settled or
- 4 mē dé tì là m'áalé.
 you didn't pay before it was settled
 top.-interest take it settle
- 5 Tì ká yāngē sókè bà bála
 we neg. able ask them that
 We cannot ask them that.
6. M1 (Chia): Mā y ka tē'ese síla m'áalé tara
 I top. neg. thought WH I fut. agree here
 I have not thought of anything more

- 1 sɛla wɔ́ gá jè de láè mǎ m bēhe wá' tùmám
 WH like pass be def- 1 top. we
 beyond that among we
- 2 tì gòsì fáfá ì bée tì gurúyò púa ^{mǎ m} ^{ɛ á m}
 Gusi Fafra or Gurungo in it is
 Gusi, Fafra, or in Gusi land it is
- 3 sɛ'el lá'. Póka 'én. zèe wá póka, hò sán
 WH def. woman she stand part. woman you condit.
 there as she is a woman, if you
- 4 tǎa ho pɔ́ya 'à ní k'ó'òm ká tǎa 'ámíyǎ
 have your wife she neg-just neg have [=amɛya]
 have your wife she does not have her-own
- 5 pó-sɛká tǎ wa dèkɛ tǔn à míyǎ 'ém bôte
 stomach tǎ fut take work her-self she-top. want
 -some link-she
 direction that she works along for what she wants
- 6 sɛ'ém ná. Déé la dè láè hóm bóyáa lá
 WH-def. but it is for. you-top man def
 but it is you, the man,
- 7 hóm tǎ bóta sɛ'ém ná. Sǎn tóye bō
 you-top. intent. want WH def. condit. talk give
 what you want. if [you] talk to

1. pòka lá tì pòka lá sǎn sáǎsǎ, bála
 women def link women def. condit.-top. refuse, that
 if you talk to the woman and she refuses, that is
2. nē tó dínà tée bésì'írè pòka lá sǎn
 def. ^{intent} purp. he-for link-fut. day-any woman def. condit
 the ~~mean~~ result that in future of the woman
3. yé à yéle hò mǎ yél ʔé yéti à wóo
 has after problem you too say eh say-interesting yes
 has a problem, you too will say well,
4. à dǎa pɔɔvɔm / pɔɔn yé'í hò. Hò tó lá lá'
 top past already told you You ^{do} act for that
 I already told you what to do
5. tó kó zǎǎsǎ. zína yé'í wà, ǎ wà'a ná wà.
 link you refused Today problem ~~is~~ top. come ~~is~~ for
 but you refused. Today's problem has come.
6. hò mǎ n tána dée mǎ fòòè ʔín nǎ'usi tē
 you too have but I remove my hands link
 you deal with it, I ~~am~~ 'm not touching it
7. à yǎǎ dǎ'a ná' yé'í sǎ'íre ǎ kò yǎkǎ
 that is for. problem WH just involve
 that is a problem ~~which~~ ~~just~~ involves
8. pòka wà' tó ho ká mǎ ná hò m ǎ wò
 woman this link you neg. know-for. you top-fut
 this woman, and you don't know what you

1 ʔéŋ sɪ'um . Bála ñ tã só'na tì tùmám
do what. That top. intent own- link we
will do. ~~be~~ Owing to that, ^{imperf-def} we our

2 pɔ́yɔ́kɛ sɛɪba ñè há n tã ye le sí'ure
women husbands def. condit. intent. see? ~~it~~ ^{something}
women's husbands, when they see (say) thing

3 síi tì ba sákè ba sɛɪba lá noóre.
[no alternative] they agree their husbands def. mouth
they must agree with their husbands.

4 - - - Amóã ñ booté ñ sókè yà lá
Amoa. interrog want ask you-pl. +
Amoah, I want to ask you

5 sé'ere. Néi-séba tì yà dóe zé bè lá
something. Person-those link you part fought +
something. Those people that you fought with

6 bà , bà mǎ dé là bɛhá' nɛrɪbà
them they be for ~~be from from~~ ^s-where people
where are they from?

7 Tɪndɔ́j mɔ́lɔ́gò tɪndaana yíre pɔ́yɔ́se
"Tɪndaana-red" earth priest's house women
Women from the house of the priest of T (village)

8. Tɪndaan kɔ́ra yíre
priest former house
The former priest's house.

1 M1(c): wāiwāi la bó lè bɛ haⁿ
 pump def. he for. where
 where is the pump?

2 F2: Pobaɣa (a village)

3 M1(c): Pobaɣa kála/roã¹
 Pobaɣa this WH-interrog?¹ oh
 this Pobaɣa here?

4 wāiwāi la zé la bíniⁱ
 pump def. stand for. place-interrog
 is that where the pump is?

5 Bala lá yámá lá Tindomokhe tá bú lèⁿ
 that def-interrog you + Tinda people ~~with~~ ever
 about that; did you and the (village) people

6 táua nǒ-kwé² enǐ^r ywén sé²ère ha bée
 have mouth-disagreeing-interrog.
 WH - ~~some~~? or
 ever quarrel before, or

7 kó²om lá má²ã zúò yá dáa zé bɛ^laⁿ
 water def. ~~that~~ head you past fight
 did you only fight about the water?

8 F2: Kó²om lá má²ã zúò tɛ dé zé bɛ^laⁿ
 water def. this head ~~that~~ we last-year? for fight
 we only fought because of the water.

1 Bala mā'ā lá bà zí'am lá' h d'á' h ka
that this for. their place-loc def. last-year neg.
at that time, their place didn't

2 táre kó'om bà 'á'g'ic lá t'umám zé'á.
have water they fetched for. our place
(# 'á'ke perf.)
have water, they were fetching from our place.

3 tí ká táu zé'p'í'è lá táabà. tí sá m' p'oe
we neg have fight ^{for} each other. we condit. reach
We didn't have any ^{with} fights. If we met

4 tí p'ú'v'ú'v'ú' táabà m'è.
we greeted each other too.

5 M1(c) Ho yetée 'wá'wá'è lá zé lá
you said pump def. stand for.
You said the pump is

6 p'òb'á'g'a p'ú'am kó'ó. yamé m'è yéhe lá
p. ~~at~~ Pòbò in-loc ~~is~~? you also ^{come} from
at Pòbaga? You are also from

7 p'òb'á'g'a wá p'ú'am. tí t'ind'om'ok'hè dé
Pòbaga their in-loc, link T-people last-year
Pòbaga here. And the T-people didn't

8 ká táre kó'om 'á'g'ia g'ée k'ina lá' h
neg have water to-fetch but went- for
didn't have water to fetch but went

1. yè Pòbága ká'alam nà 'á'áasta kò'om
 your Pòbaga here loc. fetching water
 to your Pòbaga here for water
2. dée yámà lá bàmà ká tá'βì'k' tana
 but you + they neg. ones here
3. nò-ké'èni zì'á zì'á
 mouth-disagreeing place place-interrog
 quarrels anywhere?
- 4F2: Tòmá lá bàmà ká tá nò-ké'èni
 we and they neg. hav mouth-
 We and they had no misunderstandings
- [bolga kpé'eni, kwe'eni, elawh ke'eni]
- 5 M1(c): Tí yá'yè bótí tí báy síla dé léá^{e?}
 we able went we know will be faint
 What we want to know is,
6. Ámòá, hó lá Àkomyí'oma, yá di léá^{lái}
 Amoa-interg, you and A's mother you be fa-inter^{ry}
 Amoa, you and A's mother, are you
7. néra lá à yeltáá néra lá à bíá. tí yé tí
 person def? her co-wife person and-interrog her
 and-interrog child. We say
 co-wives? mother and daughter? We want

1 yá pá'á'è" lǎ yám n'boè sé'em yiri
 you explain fr-interest you are-at ~~how~~ how
 you to explain how you are related

2 púam
 in-1a.

3 Mám bía "í n dè Ákũnyó'o-ma má n
 my child she he, A my
 she is my child A is my

4 sésa kéemà bía n dè Ákũnyó'o-ma,
 husband elder-ho. child is A,
 husband's elder brother's child.

5 Mǎ yirè "í nǎ n bía. á mǎ n dè má
 I call her my child. Her mo. he I
 I called her my child. I am her mother.