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Manding Ajami samples: Mandinka and Bamana ${ }^{1}$

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## 1. Introduction

The Manding Ajami writing tradition is much less mysterious today than it was thirty or forty years ago, when scholarly literature would settle for its passing mentions and practically no single authentic text was available. However, the number of texts published still remains extremely low, and they reflect poorly on the geographical spread of this writing system. We are still at the stage where every new text introduced into scholarly circulation is a discovery: with a high degree of probability, it represents either a new variety of the writing, a new literary genre, or even establishes the use in a new geographical area where the existence of Ajami was hitherto unknown. The texts presented here exemplify this situation.

In the following, texts of the manuscripts will be represented in four columns: the source texts in Manding Ajami, i.e. Arabic-based script orthography, a Roman script transliteration, a Roman script standard transcription, and an English translation.

In the transliteration, we tried our best to remain true to the Ajami text. We had to interpret spellings in order to segment texts into words,

[^0]whenever Arabic script (based) graphemes are written disconnected to the left. This applies to the letters 'alif, dāl, dā̄l, rā', zāy, wāw, which are always spelt disconnected to the following letters in Arabic script. Therefore, it is most often impossible to judge whether a word boundary was intended by the author of the manuscript after such a letter or not. In the standard transcription, Bamana text is represented following the official orthography of Bamana language, while dialectal forms are being eliminated ${ }^{2}$. We suppose that they can be easily restored from the transliteration. Although tones are not marked in Arabic based script, lexical tones are marked in the standard transcription, while contextual and grammatical tonal changes (among them, the tonal article ${ }^{3}$ ) are ignored.

The Mandinka document is a sample of a magical text. Unlike all the other authentic documents published so far, it is authored, most probably, by an ordinary Muslim, rather than a Muslim cleric, for hunt remains a domain far remote from the sphere of pious Marabouts. 'Allāh and Muḥammad are nevertheless mentioned in these texts, and Arabic words are inserted here and there for possibly extra effectiveness, such as e.g. tamāli $(3: 3,3: 4)^{4}$, and probably also qalaqa (2:2). In essence though, the religious core of this text is quite animist.

[^1]The other set of texts is the very first sample of the authentic Bamana writing tradition published. ${ }^{5}$ They come from San, an ancient commercial center in the southwestern part of Mali, and might represent the earliest piece ever of authentic Bamana literature.

In the following, the texts are reproduced in digitalized form, provided with an exact Roman script transliteration, a normalized transcription (with tones in Mandinka texts following Creissels et al. 1982), and an English translation including comments. Each text is followed by an analysis of the peculiarities of the Ajami variety.

## 2. Mandinka hunter's incantations.

The incantations were shown to Valentin Vydrin by Abdulay Daafee, who was his host in the Samakun village (Sédhiou region, Senegal) in October 2007. His oral comments were very helpful in decoding and transliterating of the texts. However, certain passages (given in italics in the Roman transcription) remain obscure, and their respective transliterations and translations therefore remain tentative. In particular, personal pronouns of second singular í and third plural ì differ only in tone, and the context is usually insufficient to opt for one or the other interpretation. In such cases, decisions were taken more or less at random.

Each incantation begins with an Islamic preamble, followed by magic formulae, which sometimes consist of words which are non-existent in

[^2]Mandinka language (at least, they are absent from Mandinka dictionaries and are not recognized by Mandinka speakers as true words). At the end, the objects and substances are mentioned (apparently, those which are necessary for the magic action), followed by the Arabic word 'اسمه 'ismuhu 'his name'.

## Text 1

|  | Transliteration | Transcription | Translation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| , | bsmi 'llh | 1. Bismi llahi | 1. By the name of God |
| سَّلَّلِّ | sala‘ali | 2. Sala¢a | 2. Greetings to |
| مُحْحَّدِ | muḥam ${ }^{2}$ adi | Muhammadi wa | Mohammed and the |
| وَالَّلِّى | wa'la'liy ${ }_{1}$ | l'¢ali Muhammadi. í | Highest Mohammed. |
|  | muḥam ${ }^{2}$ adi ' nari | nari! | Stop! |
| شبٌ | šubu nari mina ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | 3. Sùboo nari | 3. Animal, stop! Old |
| مَنْ كِّ | $k^{2} y_{2} a$ kutu tunbu | Mìnankaña kòto | male antelope, ruins |
|  | bi' 'i kuntu | túnbup bé í kùntu | will cut you (?). |
|  | $\mathrm{tu}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{bu} \mathrm{ti}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{kun}_{1} \mathrm{u}$ | 4. túnbun t'í kùnup, | 4. Ruins won't swallow |
|  | $\mathrm{f}_{1} a^{\prime} k u^{n}$ dama' | akundamaa | you, faakundamaa, |
|  |  | baakundamaa. | baakundamaa. |
|  | 'i y y $a$ šubu | 5. í ñáa sùboo , | 5. Animal is before your |
| تُنِّنَا ع | tandina' ' $\operatorname{saf}_{1} \mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ ' i | tàa, díina (jínna?), ì | eyes, take them, bush |
| سَّا | $y_{2} \mathrm{a}^{\prime}$ | s'à fàa í ñáa. | spirit, they will kill it before you. |
|  | šutu kiyzitadina' ? | 6. Sùboo kèeñeeta, | 6. The animal has fallen |
|  | $s a f_{1} a^{\prime} \times \mathrm{i} \mathrm{y}_{2} \mathrm{a}$ ' | díina (jínna?), ń s 'à | asleep, bush spirit, I will |
|  |  | fàa í ñáa. | kill it before you. |
| شُشُ | šubu musu 'itandi ? | 7. Sùbu musoo | 7. Show me a female |
| عتُّثر عنَاء | na' ? $s a f_{1} a^{\prime}$ tt | yìtandi ń ná , ń s 'à | animal, l'll kill it. |
|  | ti'yuw 'ani ${ }^{\text {n }}$ mina ${ }^{\text {n, }}$ | 8. Tío ànín | 8. Hair and male |
| مِنِّا كَكِ | kaya tiyuw ni ${ }^{\text {n, }}$ | mìnankaña, tío níp | antelope, hair and the |
|  | $b u^{n} b a^{n}$ sulu | bumban súloo | root of bumbay. |
| اسمه | 'smh $\mathrm{man}_{1}$ kara | 9. Ismahu mànkara | 9. Its name is the horn |
| كَرَّرِبْنِّ | binamu sulawuli ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | bína mú sùla wùlen. | of the mànkara |
| سُلَّولِّ |  |  | antelope, red monkey. |

## Comments

Line 1. The first spelling could be read as خسبِى | <hbsiy ${ }_{1}>$. However, such a reading hardly makes any sense. Most probably, it is an ordinary basmala (>bsm>) written in a fanciful way.

Line 2. Apparently صلَّى لـِ sala‘ali> sala'ali is a modified form of | $\left\langle s l^{2} y_{1}\right.$ l-i> which might be an abbreviated version of the Arabic language formula صلّى الهَ عليهوسلَّل | ṣalla 'Allah ‘alayhu wa sallam 'May God bless him and grant him peace'. In the second and third incantations, it is spelled as | سَلَّلِ

The word nari is absent from all available Mandinka dictionaries. The translation 'stop!' was suggested by Abdulay Daafee.

Line 3. Koto may be also interpreted as another word for 'male' (it usually appears in compounds bàakoto 'he-goat', sàakoto 'ram').

Line 4. Faakundamaa, baakundamaa are ideophones depicting the antelope's walk.

Lines 5, 6. jínna 'bush spirit' is a reading suggested by Abdulay Daafee. The literal reading díina 'religion' does not fit the context.

Line 6. kèeñee is a word from the respectful vocabulary ${ }^{6}$ for 'to sleep'.

Line 7. The final element of the line is transcribed here as tata. In fact, it might be a decorative element indicating the end of the magic formula. Cf. a similar element at the end of the San Bamana text 5.

Lines 8 and 9. It seems to be an enumeration of ingredients for the fabrication of a fetish or amulet. It looks like they were written post

[^3]factum, in the blank space, and line 9 was fitted into the left margin of the page.

Line 9. mànkara or mànkari is an unidentified species of antelope.

Text 2

|  | Transliteration | Transcription | Tran |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| سَلَلِّلِ مُحَّدِّ | salali muḥam <adi | $1 . \quad$ Salali | 1. Greetings |
|  | $a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ aliy ${ }_{1}$ | Muhammadi wa-l- | Mohammed and the |
| كُحَّكَّ | muḥam ${ }^{2}$ adi | Galii Muhammadi. | Highest Mohammed. |
|  | $\underline{d i} i^{n} b i^{n \prime}{ }^{\text {d }} \mathrm{i}^{n} \mathrm{~b} i^{n}$ | Jimbin jimbin. | Jimbin jimbin. |
| حِبِ فَفَفِ | $\mathrm{g}^{\mathrm{n}} \mathrm{bi}^{\mathrm{n}} \quad \mathrm{q}_{1} \mathrm{alac}^{\text {a }}$ | 2. Jimbin kalaka | 2. Jimbin kalaka |
| فف | $\mathrm{q}_{1} \mathrm{alaq}_{1} \mathrm{a} \mathrm{g}^{\text {n }}{ }^{\text {b }} \mathrm{bi}^{\text {n }}$ | kalaka jimbin. | kalaka jimbin. |
|  | mina ${ }^{\text {n }}$ kaya kutu | 3. Mìnaŋ kaña kòto | 3. Old male antelope, |
|  | ǧi ${ }^{\text {b }} \mathrm{bi}^{\text {n }}$ niti'ala | jinbin n'í té à lá | jimbin. If you don't |
|  | kudasi 'smh ka |  | sing this, <br> 4. be puny. Its name |
| ذَبَبُمْ | da ${ }^{\text {n }}$ bamu | kásalaa jàmba mú. | is the leaf of the kasalaa grass. |

Comments

Lines 1-2. Jimbin kalaka kalaka jimbin is a magic formula. There is a Mandinka word jimbi 'a headgear with fringes', but it hardly fits this context. Kalaka is not a Mandinka word, but might possibly be related to qalaq 'anxiety, insomnia (Arabic)'.

Line 4. Kùdasi is a verb meaning 'to remain underdeveloped', 'to fail to reach normal size' (absent from Creissles et al. 1982).

Kásalaa is an unidentified type of grass, also known as kàcancároo.
Abdulay Daafee commented: Í s'à buru jàn '(After the incantation is pronounced,) you should rub it'.

Text 3

|  | Transliteration ${ }^{\text {salali muhamªdi }}$ | Transcription Salali | Translation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Muhammadi wa-l- | Mohammed and the |
| مُحْكِ | muham ${ }^{2}$ adi | ¢ali: Muhammadi. | Highest Mohammed. |
| دَجْدِ | daği ${ }^{n}$ daǧi ${ }^{n}$ warikan ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | 2. Dajin dajin | 2. Cut dajin dajip |
| ورِ | warikan ${ }^{n} u^{n} \mathrm{tu}^{n}$ | warikan warikan | warikan warikaŋ, |
|  |  | kuntun, |  |
|  | ama'li sakata ${ }^{\text {n }}$ | 3. tamaali sákatùn | 3. always, that is, |
| تَّالْالِ | tama'li $\mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{abi}$ | tamaali fàa bì. | always, to kill today. |
| تَحَالِّلِ بُّبِ | tama'li $\mathrm{f}_{1}$ ubi | 4. Tamaali fó bii | 4. Always, up to this |
| عَبَّا | 'abada ${ }^{\text {n' }}$ tt | ábadan. | day, forever. |
| اسمِهِ كِ | Psmih kisi musu ran | 5. Ismihu kèse | 5. Its name is a rubber |
| مس | mu | mósoraŋ mú. | bullet. |

Comments

Line 2. dajiŋ dajin warikan warikan are magic formulae - These are not Mandinka words.

Lines 3, 4. تَتَالِ | <tama'li> tamaali is certainly Arabic tamalli 'always' (this word is absent from the everyday Mandinka).

Line 3. . | <sakatan> sakatan was read by Abdulay Daafee as sókotùn 'that is'. Cf. in Creissels et al. 1982 sàko, sòko 'surtout, encore plus, à plus fort raison'.

Line 5. Mósoran is an instrument name from the verb móso 'to rub while spitting and pronouncing incantations'. This line denotes the destination of the incantation.
3. Grammatological remarks to the Mandinka hunters' incantations

On the grounds of the spelling of the palatal nasal sonant $n^{7}$, these texts would belong to the main Mandinka Ajami variety (cf. Vydrin, this volume): $n<\tilde{n}>$ is OK represented by ي. Further grammatological characteristics of this document are:

- $\quad-s$ is usually written as $\sin$, except for one case where it is written as šīn, i.e. ${ }_{\text {Hén }}^{\text {شُ }}$ | <̌̌ubu> sùbu 'animal, meat'.
- $\quad-j$ (a voiced palatal affricate) is spelled as eiher $\dot{\text { i }}$ or, with the latter appearing both word-initially and word-finally ${ }^{8}$.
- $\quad \varepsilon$ is used as support for any diacritic expressing a vowel, when it is not preceded by a consonant. Furthermore, it also is used for spelling of the palatal oral sonant $y$, although there is only one occurence in the text, i.e. بِتُH | <'itan di> yìtandi 1:7 'to show'.
- The nasal syllabic phoneme $\eta$ (which appears in Mandinka in only two words: ந́ 'I', ウ̀ 'we') is written as hamza, i.e. - (Which could also be an ‘ain, i.e. ع) without any support or vocalic diacritics.
- Letters representing emphatics in the orthography of Arabic are not used, with the only exception of the rather obscure word $<q_{1}$ alaq $_{1} \mathrm{a}>(2: 2)$.
- Nūn, qāf and fā' are written in the Maǵribī way: In word-final positions, nūn has normally (with only one exception) no dot, while qāf is always spelled with one dot above, i.e. ف̀, and fä’ always with one dot below, i.e. بـ.

[^4]- Only the three standard vocalic diacritics, i.e. $=$, , , and $\stackrel{\text { - }}{ }$, are used and there are no attempts to differentiate closed and mid vowels.
- 'Alif, wāw, and yā' do not indicate in any way length of vowels. These letters appear mainly at the end of words, sometimes in disagreement with the preceding vocalic diacritic, and always without any visible correlation to vowel length, e.g. بٍ bé 'imperfective marker'. However, such 'fake length' is much less frequent than in some other Mandinka Ajami texts.
- The syllable-final nasal element is usually rendered by tanwin, e.g. | سُلُوَلٍٍ | sulwulin> sùla wùlen 'red monkey' (1:9), and rarely by nūn as in 1 مَ 1 كَرَ <man kara> mànkara 'species of antelope' (1:9).


## 4. Bamana texts from San

In 1972, during one of his sojourns in Mali, Gérard Dumestre dispatched a friend of his, Almamy Malik Yattara, to the ancient commercial town of San to look for old Bamana manuscripts. Almamy Yattara was a remarkable representative of the Muslim intelligentsia of Mali, and two books were dedicated to him (Yattara \& Salvaing 2000; 2003). Being a Muslim cleric, it was much easier for him than for a white man to gain confidence among his coreligionists. A couple of weeks later, Almamy Yattara returned to Bamako with copies of five manuscripts: Bory Bary, the head of one of the Islamic families of San, allowed him (for a modest recompense) to copy by hand texts, which had originally been written by Bary's father, Amadu Bary, in 1911.

Being literate in French, Almamy Yattara provided each manuscript with a brief comment, which yet proved difficult to understand at times. These comments are reproduced here in an English translation, while the French originals are given in footnotes in the author`s own orthography. There is also a comment written by Almamy Yattara referring to the entire set of the documents:

The length of this sheet is equal to the origin. I have written them from a white paper, the characters are equal.

The gift for these five documents was 6000 Malian Francs, for I gave 3000 Francs for two initial ones, when I saw that I was too tough, and I did it in order to have more, if any. And for the other three manuscripts I gave 3000 Franc. It is the time of working the farm. Nobody has time. By Almamy Yattara. ${ }^{9}$

Today, 39 years after the manuscripts were copied by Almamy Yattara and exactly 100 years after they were created, we proceed to their publication.

## Text 1

Almamy Yattara's comment:

[^5]The possessor of the document "Karantela Kolomba, the sacred well of San", Bory Bary. Written by his father in Arabic characters in San for him in 1911. The copyist Almamy Malik Yattara in San in 1972. ${ }^{10}$

## Page 1

Transliteration


نَبِّرْ يَنْ beya' Su $_{1} r u_{1}$ yan $_{1}{ }^{0}$

سِكِرْ كَكُّنْ





أكَا جَى لَحْ.


Transcription

1. Karantzla kว̀lənba. Dùgu béع y'à sว̀r yàn
2. tùma mín dùgu sigira kà
kว̀lon sว̀r yàn.
3. Màa k j̀row y'à fó ánw yé kó k̇̀lon tàna dè yé ní fúlaw nàna,
4. ù kàn 'à yé $k$ 'à lájé. Bàri ní fúlaw y'à láǰ́ à b'ù fíyen

## Translation

1. Big well of Karantela. When the entire village found it here,
2. when the village was founded the well was here.
3. Old people told us that the taboo of the well is: if Fulbe come,
4. they should not see it. But if Fulbe see it, it will blind them,
5. n'à 5. if they are lucky, kùnnadíyara, n'ò té, à tìgi b $\varepsilon$ sà. Ní à má sà, otherwise, they will die. If he does not die,
6. à $b$ \&́fíyen. Karantzla kว̀lənba, túlonke bé ké à dálá 7. sàn ó sàn . Ní mónniketuma séra, màaw b $\varepsilon$ táa mónni ké 8. kj̀ lá. Kう̀ mín tóg Sankeeree.
7. Ní túlonk $\varepsilon$ má
 sว̀ro. Ù bé fólว
$\mathrm{key}_{1}$ 10. kà túlonk $\varepsilon$ k $\varepsilon$
8. he will become blind. Plays are organized near the big well Karantela 7. every year. When the time of fishing comes, people go to fish
9. to the river. The river whose name is Sankere.
10. If games are not played near it, there will be no fish. First, 10. they play near

[^6]

بنّى

سُرُ بِج سِن
لَ．هبرى
تَنَا يَا نِدُكُ
بَا بِلَ سُمَّ

بَكِّا بَنَا بِنَا

مَسَاْنْا كُنْ

بسَا دِمِسَّوْ
بِبَنَا تَسُمَا
بتلْكِ بُرُوْ

Page 2

با دُ．دُنَوْ تا ${ }^{\text {دُ }}$ b＇dur ．dunaw ${ }^{0}$ t＇



دُكْلوْ
پِتَرَوْرْ
بَبِرَوْ يُمْرِوْ
چچ
نِبْوْ وُلْلَ
تَرَوْرُرْْ لَ．أَ
نَتَا نَا ْيِنْ

جـ
$f_{1} u_{1} l u_{1} k u_{1} l u_{1} n_{1}$ da la． $k^{k a s u_{1} r u_{1}} k a^{\prime} k_{4} i y e y a '$
$\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{ey}_{1}$ mu＿nik $_{4} e b a{ }^{0}{ }^{0}$ biǧik $_{4}-i$ san ${ }^{0}$ keyre la wur tuma tulu $_{1} n^{0} k_{4}-e$
min $^{0}$ keyra yen ${ }^{u}{ }^{\text {＇Py }}{ }_{1}$ $k u_{1} l u_{1} n_{1}^{0}$ da la．$w u_{1}$ $y_{3} u_{1} k_{4} u_{1} n_{1}^{0} \quad$ bik－e $\mathrm{mu}_{1}$ nikey $\mathrm{yu}_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ la．
sankey $_{1} r$ la．$w_{1}$ yey $_{1}$ $s^{2} w u_{1} W_{1} \quad \operatorname{san}_{1}$ ． niduk $4-u$ ma＇bila sumay $_{1}$ by $_{3}$ еу $_{1}$
$s u_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ bik－e sene la．14．sذ̀rว bé ké heyrey $_{1}$ bita＇ya＇．sદ̀nє lá，hére bé niduk4－u ya＇bila suman $_{1-}$
bk4leya＇bana＇bita＇ya＇ kelebik－e ǧamana＇ $k_{1} n u_{1}$ masa＇$w^{0}$
bisa＇
bibana＇tasuma＇ bity $_{3}$ lik－e $y_{1} r u_{1} w^{0}$ la
sう̀rכ kà jànya

11．wò k ว́fદ̀ mónnikとbaaw bé jìgin Sankeere la Wò tùma túlonke 12．mín k દ́ra yèn à yé（？）kう̀lon dálá．Wò nכ̀gכn bé ké mónnikeyorכ lá．
13．Sankeere la ． Wò yé sàn ó sàn ． Ní dưgu m＇à bìla， sùman bé nદ̀，
move away

11．then the fishers descend to Sankere． At that time the game
12．that is played there ．．．？near the well．The same thing is done at the fishing place，
13．near Sankere．It happens every year． If the village does not abandon it（the rite），food will be abundant，
14．the harvest will be good，the peace will advance．If the village abandons it， food

15．will be scarce， diseases will get ahead，there will be a war in the country， rulers
16．bé sà，16．will die，children dénmisenw bé will fall ill，fire will bàna，tásuma b દ́ wreak havoc． tíneli ké yórow lá．
15．bé gèlعya， bàna b દ́ táa ná， kદ̀lદ bé kદ́ jàmana kónว，màsaw

1. dùgulenw dè b＇à well．Foreigners dón．Dúnanw t＇à don＇t know its yóro dón，
2．fóo dugulenw
Dùgulenw ye
Taraworew yé
Teeraw yé móriw yé．
3．Ní dénw wólola Taraworew lá ，ù bé táa n＇à yé yèn k＇à fó k̀̀lon yé

4．＂Karantzla kう̀lonba，á ní sú！É dè yé dùgulen yé ， é dè yé dúnanw
whereabouts，
2．only natives do． Natives are Traore， and Tera are Muslims．

3．When Traore children are born， they bring the child there and say to the well：
4．＂Karantela，the Big Well，good evening！You are the native，it is you

| يْتَكِيْيَى دُنَوْ | ǧatik4iyey $_{1}$ dunan $_{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| س | $\mathrm{su}_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1} l a$. dunan $_{1}$ mus |
| وَلِمَا دنْتْ | u na'na. walima den ${ }^{0}$ te na'na |
| نَانَنِ. |  |
| أَبَا كَا كُلْكِ | 'Pu ba' $\mathrm{kulu}_{1} \mathrm{n}^{\text {U }} \mathrm{k}_{4}$ uelu ${ }_{1}$ |
| كُلُّن دَا | $\mathrm{ku}_{1} l u_{1} \mathrm{n}_{1}^{0} \mathrm{da}^{\prime}$ la siyey |
| سِبِّى سِّبا | saba' tilebif $_{1} \mathrm{ey}_{1}$ |
| تلبفى | ${ }^{\prime}$ Paniku ${ }_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1} \mathrm{n}^{0} \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{ey} y_{1}$ |
|  |  |
| بَا | ba' fia 'Pani. |
| ورد | $w_{1} r_{1}$ duk $_{4}-u . \quad$ '?u |
| بِلَبَنْ كَ كَ | bilaban ${ }_{1}^{0}$. kadew ${ }^{0}$ bila |
| بِّلَ كُرْكِ | $k_{1} \mathrm{ray}_{1} k^{\text {kasek}} 4{ }^{\text {ina' }}$ |
| كُبكِنِّا يـ | $y^{\text {yey }}$ |
| سٌ | $\mathrm{su}_{1} k u_{1} \mathrm{n}_{1} \mathrm{U}_{1}$ |
| نِبْنُكُودِ | niden ${ }^{0}$ kuwdi se |
| ¢ِّ | kulu $_{1} \mathrm{n}_{1}^{0}$ niyu $\mathrm{ru}_{1}$ bibu |
| نِيٌِ بِب | $\mathrm{su}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4} \mathrm{U}_{1} \mathrm{la}$ |
|  |  |
|  | $\mathrm{niwu}_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ la nidek ${ }_{4}$-e |
| كرُ سَّبَّ | kuru saba wu ${ }_{1}$ bedi |
|  | $\mathrm{ku}_{1} l u_{1} \mathrm{n}^{2} a^{\prime} \quad$ suf $_{1} e y_{1}$ |
| ذُذلِّ | $\mathrm{du}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1}$ lil'a |
|  | ma' tibenima' yeyı |
| دُكُكِ تِلْفَا | duk $_{4}-u$ tilama' $f_{1} e y_{1}$ |
| وُنُتَى. | $w_{1}$ tumay ${ }^{\text {. ' }}$ ' ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ba' $n_{1} a$. |
| بَانَ. |  |

5. jàtigi yé, dúnan 5 . who hosts sj̀rola.
Dúnanmuso nàna, strangers, there is a nàna". a man has come".
6. Ù b 'à
7. They roll the child kòlonkolon $k$ ilon near the well thrice dálá sì nع sàba on the western side tillebin $f$ غ̀ àní and on the eastern kóron fè,
8. bá fàn àní side,
9. in the north and in wòrodugu. Ù b $\varepsilon$ lábán kà dénw bìla kó lá kà sègin n'à yé
10. só kónכ. Ní dén kùndi séra , kòlon níyวro bé bó sògo lá
11. ní wòro lá ní dège kùru sàba , wò bé dí kòlon ná sú fદ̀ dògoli lá
12. màa té bèn ní màa yé
dùgutilama f $\mathfrak{\text { c̀, wò }}$ tùma. À bánna.
the south. When they finish, they put the child on their back and bring him back
13. home. When the time of baptism comes, a share of the well is taken from the meat
14. and from the cola nuts, and three lumps of dough, this is given to the well by night secretely
15. by midnight, at the time when one meets nobody. It is the end.

Text 2

## Almamy Yattara's comment:

The possessor of the document "Janaba koli" is the same Bory Bary, inherited from his father who wrote (it) in order to teach religion to the Bamana people. The copyist Almamy Malik Yattara. ${ }^{11}$

[^7]Transliteration
nin $^{0}{ }^{\text {y }}{ }^{2} y_{1}$
kwliyey $_{1}$
جَنَابَ كُولِ بِكِ أَبِكِنِ
?


 كا كإِدا مُكْرِ

كَإِنْ كُ كَوْ بِّا

كِ
بالْ كَ

إِ
كـ إِ بِّن كو

كولِ دمِن

كَوْ سِنِ بِّ
كــ إِ جَنْكْلِ كَو

k-a '? ${ }_{\mathrm{p} i} \quad \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{an}^{0}$ kele
$\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{w} \quad \mathrm{kiniy}_{1}$
bulu $_{1} f_{1} \mathrm{ey}_{1} \quad \mathrm{ka}^{\prime}$ numabul ${ }_{1}$
كي كَالَّجي



بِجِى لَسِ

 مَا

8


' $P_{i} k-t u_{1} w n^{\prime} a^{\prime} k a '$ ğiyk-i ${ }^{\prime} \gamma_{i}$ ğuw kunaw ${ }^{0}$ ma' ' $P_{i}$ biği $y_{1}$ lase
' ${ }^{2}$ i ka' ka'na'. ka' ğik4-i ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{i}$ bara $\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ ma' 'ᄀii kağan ${ }^{0} \mathrm{tu}_{1}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}$ yere l'a '? ${ }_{i}$ kana' sey ${ }_{1}$ ' $\mathrm{p}_{\mathrm{i}}$ keya' la ni' ${ }^{i}$ i bulu $_{1} y^{2} y_{1} W_{1}$ tuma w ku ${ }_{1}$ wli
kele '? biywasa seliğiy ${ }_{1}$ la. $w u_{1}$ de kuw siy4ey ${ }_{1}$ saba niğiyy ${ }_{1}$ sera 'pa bela '~ii biğiyy ${ }_{1}$ lase

Transcription
ǧn'b 1. Nìn yé jànaba kòli yé.
2. Jànaba kòli $b$ ह́ kદ́, à b $\varepsilon$ k $k$ ní jí
sániyalen yé. í bé
fól $\mathrm{kà}$
3. í kórıla kò kà í tége fila kò kà í dá múguri
4. kà í nún kò k 'í néda kò k'í bólo
5. fila kò $k$
kùnkolo màsá ${ }^{12}$ k'í túlo màsá
6. k'í sèn kò . Wò tùmaíb ह́nà kòli dámìns.

sìne sàba
8. k'í fàn kélen kò kínibolof $\varepsilon$ ह̀, kà númabolo
9. kò k'à láj $\varepsilon$ ní jí

## jí lásé

10. í kòton ná kà jí ké íjùkunanw mà. í bé jí lásé
11. í kó à ká nà kà jigin í bàrak oro mà, í ká jàntó í yèr lá
12. í kàná sé í
kèya lá ní í bólo
yé. Wò tùma wò kòli
13. kélen, à b 'í

Translation

1. These are the ablutions.
2. The ablutions are performed with clean water. First of all,
3. wash your lower parts and your both hands, rinse your mouth,
4. wash your nose, wash your face, wash both of your
5. hands, scrape your head and your ears,
6. wash your feet. Then begin your ablutions.
7. Start with your head and wash it thrice,
8. wash one side with your right hand, whash your left
9. hand and examine if water has reached everywhere. Bring water
10. to the lower part of your back, pour water on your buttocks. Make it in a way
11. that the water may reach the lower belly, take care of
12. not touching your private parts with your hand. Then the ablutions
13. are performed, the ablution water
[^8]| كوربِّ |  | dè yé jànabakoli yé | has sufficed you These are the |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | '112ah |  | tions |
| سبرّاى | sira'yla | síra lá. | mentioned in God' |
| الهَ كَا | $\mathrm{Pn}_{1}{ }^{\text {U }}$ | 15 | way. ${ }^{\text {15. }}$ May |
| بِمنّا | emena' 'myn ${ }^{\text {a }}$. | dèmena. Àmiina. | Amen! |

Text 3

Almamy Yattara's comment:
The possessor of the document "Kalan bidamine ni alatogo ye", Bory Bary, inherited from his father, the same Madou Bari, who wrote (it) in order to teach the Bamana people. The copyist Almamy Malik Yattara in San in 1972. ${ }^{13}$

| Page 1 | Transliteration | Transcription |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | kalan ${ }^{0}$ bidamine ni | 1. Kàlan bé dámìne | Learning |
|  | ${ }^{\prime} 11^{2 a h} \quad \mathrm{tu}_{1} k_{4} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{yey}_{1}$ | ní Ála t ógo yé àní | with the name of God |
| صَّلِّلِّ | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{1}$ s salila ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{1 / 2} \mathrm{~h}$ tiyra | sálila Ála círa lá | and greeting to the |
| هِيرَ |  |  | Messenger of God |
| مِينِ | $\mathrm{miyn}_{1}{ }^{\text {U }} \mathrm{tu}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{k}-\mathrm{u}_{1}$ | 2. mínt ógo kó | 2. whose name is |
|  | mḥmd hin ey ${ }_{1}$ nikisi | Muhammad, híne | Muhammad, he |
|  | bi'r k-a. 'Pa k-u | ní kísi b ¢ à kàn. À | merciful and he is the |
|  | a'meya' | kó silameya | Saviour. Besides, |
| سَقْابِّ | ma'sen ${ }_{1}{ }^{\text {a }}$ yey ${ }_{1}$ | 3. sàmasen yé | has |
|  | duwru yey ${ }_{1}$ | dúuru yé : kà | uttresses: to witness |
|  | kasereyak-e tiy ${ }_{3}$ batu | sèereya k | the verity of the King |
|  | asa mak-e | màsa | Lord: |
|  |  |  |  |
| فْوْ نِّسَن | $\iota_{1} W$ | fó ní màsa | say |

[^9]|  |  | yé mín yé Ála Muhamadu fána Ála kà cíden dòn; | one, and it is God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God; |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ka' $\mathrm{i}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{l}$ ğiǧan ${ }_{1}{ }^{\text {c }}$ sali la' | 5. kà í jíjà sáli lá | 5. to be assiduous in |
| لَا لَا أَنِ | 'Pani saniya' $\mathrm{kasun}_{1}{ }^{0}$ | àní sániya ; kà sún | prayer and |
|  | sun ${ }^{0} \mathrm{kalu}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ la ka' | súnkalo lá; kà jáka | cleanliness; to keep |
| لِّ كَا | zaka' bu ${ }_{1}$ w. | bó; | Lent; to donate alms; |
|  | kahiǧik-e niseba' | 6. kà híji k \&́ | 6. to make hadj if you |
|  | yey $y_{1} \mathrm{nin}^{0}$ duwru, | b'à yé. Nìn dúuru, | can. These five |
| س | nunun $_{1}{ }^{0}$ de yey ${ }_{1}$ | nìnnu dè yé | (duties), it is the |
| سِّامبِّ | sil'meya' yey ${ }_{1}$ | silameya yé. | Isla |
|  | nima' yey ${ }_{1}$ ninun $_{1}{ }^{0}$ | 7. Ní màa yé nìnnu | 7. If a person knows |
| دُّ كْ | $\mathrm{du}_{1} \mathrm{n}_{1}{ }^{0} \mathrm{ka}$ ' ba'ra. '? | dón k'à báara , à | these (duties) and |
| ¢ | keyra sila'mayey ${ }_{1}$ | kźra silama yé | performs them, he is |
|  | yзuman ${ }^{\text {ya'. }}$ | Nùmanya. | a Muslim. Goodness. |
|  | $y_{3} \mathrm{um}$ | 8. Nùmanya: | 8. Goodness: It is |
| إِكَ اله | $y_{2}$ umawn ${ }^{\text {y }}$ yey ${ }_{1}$ | nùman yé í ká Ála | good that you |
|  | a ' $\mathrm{Il}^{2 a} \mathrm{~h}$ tiy ${ }_{3} \mathrm{tik}_{4} \mathrm{iyey}_{1}$ | tìnctigiya kà | recognize the truth of |
| - | ka' mḥmd ti y ${ }_{3}$ tikya' | Muhammadu | God and Muhammad, |
| إِ كَا ملكِّ | ${ }^{\prime} P_{i} \mathrm{i}$ ka' melekew ${ }^{0}$ | tìnetigiya, í ká mèlck $\varepsilon w$ | the truth of |
|  | $\mathrm{tiy}_{3} \mathrm{tk}_{4} \mathrm{lya}_{1} \mathrm{y}_{1} \quad k a{ }^{\prime}$ | 9. tìnctigiya, kà | 9. angels, the truth of |
|  | ' $\mathrm{Pal}^{0} \mathrm{ǧan}{ }^{2} \mathrm{a}$ | àlijana tìnctigiya kà | Paradise, and also |
|  | tiy3tik4iyay | jàhanama | the truth of Hell, the |
|  | ğah²an²ama | tìnctigiya fána kà | truth |
| كا | tiy $_{3} \mathrm{tk}_{4} \mathrm{iya}^{\prime} \quad \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{anay}_{1}$ ka' 'Pal ${ }^{\text {kiy }}{ }^{0}{ }^{0}$ ma | álikiyama |  |
| دُ وُ تُبِّكِّ | $\mathrm{du}_{1} \mathrm{wu}_{1}$ tiy $_{3} \mathrm{tik}_{4} \mathrm{iyay}{ }_{1}$ | 10. dón wò | 10. of the Doomsday, |
| وُ بُ بِّكا كِّ | $\mathrm{wu}_{1}$ de bima' ke | tìnctigiya, wò dè bé | it is what makes one |
|  | sila'ma' | màa k ¢́ silame | a good Muslim. A |
|  | $y_{3} u m a{ }^{0}{ }^{\text {yey }}{ }_{1}$. <br> sila'ma' | nùman yé. Silame | Muslim, |
| أْبوَكِّلِ الها | 'Pabiwakali 'II ${ }^{<2} \mathrm{~h}$ | 11. à bé wàkali Álla | 11. he relies on God. |
|  | wakali y $\mathrm{y}_{3}$ umunyey ${ }_{1}$. | lá. Wàkali nùman | To rely, it means: |
|  | wakali de yey ${ }_{1}$ nima' | yé. Wàkali dè yé: ní | whatever one |
| بِ يِّى نِمَا | yemin ${ }_{1}{ }^{\text {su }} \mathrm{su}_{1} \mathrm{ru} \mathrm{l}_{1}$ | màa yé mín sòro, | receives, |
| أُكَا كَا | 'a ka' ${ }^{\text {du }} \mathrm{en}_{1} \mathrm{n}_{1}{ }^{\prime \prime}{ }^{\text {a }} \mathrm{h}$ de | 12. à $k$ 'à $d$ ón, Ála | 12. he knows that it |
|  | ya' diyma' nima' | dè y 'à d 'í mà ; n'í | is God who has given |
|  | $m_{i y n}{ }^{0}{ }^{2} \mathrm{su}_{1} r u_{1}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{k}$ ' $d u_{1}{ }^{\prime} l^{a} h$ de ma' | má mín s j̀ro, ík 'à dón, Ála dè m'à | it to him; whatever you do not receive, |
|  |  |  | you know that it is God who |
| دِبِّى نِّ | diymay $_{1} \quad$ ni' ${ }_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}$ | 13. d'í mà . Ní | 13. hasn't given it to |
| إِكَا دُ الَّهِ | banana' 'Pil ka' du | bànana ík 'à d ón | you. If you have |
| يا سِبِّى | 'lla ${ }^{\text {a }}$ de ya' siymay ${ }_{1}$ | Ála dè y 'à s 'í mà | fallen ill, you know |
| سَّارَ الهِّ بـ | ni'Pii sa'ra 'lla ${ }^{\text {a }}$ de $y^{\prime}$ | n'í sàra, Ála dè y 'à | that it is God who has |
| بِيهِى | seymay $_{1}$ | sé é mà | ent it to you, if you |

die，it is God who has sent it to you．


نا بإبرَى أنَا سظْنَا كُقْتا
 جَارَ أَنَا
سِكْيَ نَا
 مينَى سْنُكْرَ


 مينْ
سِغِلِّلَ أنَا


 yey ${ }_{1}$ ？＇ani
ban ${ }^{0}$ k $_{4}$ eyeyw
$\mathrm{bimu}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1}$
15．N＇à d $\varepsilon$ ह́sعra，à ná s $\varepsilon$ と̀gen．N＇à kógəra，à ná sદ̀gen． N＇à fàara ，à ná sègen．N＇à tí sìnวgo，
16．à ná sk̀gen．N＇à méعna sìn $\supset g \supset$ lá，à ná s દ̀gधn．N＇à méعnna jذ̀li lá，à ná sદ̀gとn．N＇à méとn（na）
17．sìgili lá ，à ná sègen．Wò tùma màa ká Ála d ón ní kó béع（？）yé，àní bánge yé（？），wò bé mògo

Page 2
1．wò dè $b$ ह́ mògo 1 ．he saves man．May kísi．Ála má án God save us． kísira．
2．À bánna．
14．The world，God has created it with sufferings．If a human being is born，he will suffer．
15．If he fails，he will suffer．When he arrives to maturity， he will suffer．If he is killed，he will suffer．If he is not asleep，
16．he will suffer．If he sleeps too long he will suffer．If he stands too long，he will suffer．If he 17．sits too long，he will suffer．So，man should know that God is everything，he is Creator（？），he －

2．It is the end．

Text 4

## Almamy Yattara＇s comment：

The possessor of the medical document for hernia that is named ＂kookily foura＂．The same Bory Bary．Written by his father Amadou Bary，a Muslim cleric．The copyist Almamy Malik Yattara in 1972 in San．${ }^{15}$

[^10]|  | Transliteration | Transcription | Translation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | niyey $_{1} \quad \mathrm{f}_{1}$ ura | 1. Nìn yé fúra | 1. These are words of |
| كُكَّبَى كُوكِ | kumayey $_{1} \mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ kili | kúma y é, kókili fúra | a medicine, a testicle (hernia) medicine |
| برْ | $\mathrm{f}_{1}$ ura $\mathrm{miyn}_{1}{ }^{0}$ be $\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ | 2. Fúra mín b غ́ | 2. A medicine which |
| كُوكِّ | kili $f_{1}$ ura k-e. $\mathrm{ku}_{1}$ w kili | kókili fúrak É. | heals testicles. |
| كـ |  | Kókili, | Testicles, |
|  | na' banana' '? bik-e | 3. n'à bànana, à | 3. if there is a |
| بَرَكْرْ دِمِّْى | baraku $_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ dimiyey $_{1}$ |  | disease, it manifests itself as an ache of the lower belly. |
| ورَكِكِّكُو | $w_{1} f_{1}$ urak-e suk ${ }_{4}$ uw | 4. Wò fúrak | 4. Here is a means to |
| مُوْكَا كُوكُ | ${ }^{\prime}$ 'ie bi $k_{4} u w k u n_{1}{ }^{0}$ muwk $_{4} a^{n^{3}}$ | súgu: éb ह́ gòkun ${ }^{16}$ mùgan | treat it: get twentyone beans of the wonderbean plant (Canavalia ensiformis), |
| أنِ | 'Pani kele butw 'Pii | 5. àní kélen b ó, | 5. boil them till they |
| بٌ | $\mathrm{bu}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ tu $\mathrm{l}_{1} \mathrm{bi} k \mathrm{a}^{\prime} \mathrm{mu}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ | b'ò tóbi $k$ 'à m | are very well cooked. |
|  | $\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{su}_{1}$ be | kós |  |
|  | $w_{1}$ tuma 'Pii ba' | 6. Wò tùma í b 'à | 6. Then peel them, |
| إِبْ | wu1ru 'Pii bi tum ${ }^{\text {O }}$ butu | wóro, íb | put a little salt of |
| ك ك | $\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{du}_{1} \mathrm{wniy}_{1}$ | Tumbutu kj̀go dóvni | Tombuktu |
| كَالَ | ka' la $f_{1} a^{\prime} k$ - timiyay ${ }_{1}$ | 7. k'à lá f 'à ká | 7. to make it mild. |
| تِبِيَى إِفْ | 'Pi b' siyy | tímiya. Í b 'à sìi só | Put it in the house |
|  | $\mathrm{su}_{1} \mathrm{Ku}_{1} \mathrm{nu}_{1} \mathrm{w} \quad \mathrm{ka}$ datuk $_{4}-u$ | kón k'à dátúgu | and close it |
| كَا سِّ | ka' $\mathrm{su}_{1} \mathrm{w} \quad \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{anay}_{1}$ | 8. | 8. and also close the |
| حَّكُّا | datuk ${ }_{4}$-u '? da' la | dátúgu à dá lá . Ní | door of the house. At |
| نِكُكِّ كِيَارَ | niduk4-u k4iya'ra | dùgu jźra | dawn, |
| إِبْ | 'Pii bu wta ka' dun ${ }_{1}{ }^{\text {d }}$ | 9. í b'ò tà k 'à dún | 9. take it and eat it |
| دُّ | $\mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{a}^{\prime} \mathrm{kiy}_{1} \mathrm{ku}_{1} n u_{1}$ bara | f'à k'í kónobara fá. | so that it fills your |
| كَّنْ بَرَ بَا | $f_{1} a^{\prime}$ niğiy ${ }_{1}$ ba' la | Ní jí b'à lá | belly. If there is a |
| نِجِيّ |  |  | juice, |
| إبو هِيِ. | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{i}$ bw miyn ${ }_{1}$. niyey $_{1}$ | 10. í b 'ò mìn. N'Í | 10 drink it. If you can |
| نِّبِ نُكْلِّ | $n \mathrm{k}_{4} \mathrm{eleni}$ su $\mathrm{su}_{1}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}$ | yé ngèlennin sòro í | get a ground squirrel, |
| سِّرْ إِبَا بَا | ba' $f_{1} \mathrm{ak}_{4}-\mathrm{a}$ ka' kili | b'à fàga k'à kíli bó | kill it, take its |
| كَا كِلِ بِّو | $\mathrm{bu}_{1} \mathrm{~W}$ |  | testicles |
| كَا دُّ | ka' dun ${ }^{0}$ ka' haera '? | 11. k'à dún kà | 11. and eat them, |
|  | k-a wu ${ }_{1}$ tumay $_{1}{ }^{\prime} P_{i} \mathrm{i}$ | héra à kàn . Wò | and be reassured |
|  | biyǧan ${ }^{0} \mathrm{tu}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ ' $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{l}$ yerae | tùma í b 'í jàntó í | with it. Then abstain |

[^11]|  | la muws ${ }^{\llcorner } u_{1} w^{0} f_{1} e y_{1}$ | yère lá mùsow fè | from women |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| جُا كِّبِّ | $\mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{u}^{\prime}$ kasey $_{1}$ tile $\mathrm{muk}_{4}$ - | 12. fó à ká sé tìle | 12. about twenty |
|  | $a y_{3} u_{1} w k_{4} u_{1} n^{2} a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} u_{1}$ | mùgan nògon ná | days. then |
| 1 ُّ | tuma | Wò tùma |  |
|  | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{l}$ keneyaray ${ }_{1}$. | 13. ík źneyara. | 13. you will be |
| فَجْرَ |  | Fúra, à b ć ké kà | healed. The |
| تُكُـْكُ يُو | tuk $_{4}-\mathrm{u}$ tuk ${ }_{4}-\mathrm{u}$ y $\mathrm{y}_{3} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ | tùgu-tùgu nógon | medicines follow |
| نَى | $\mathrm{nay}_{1}$ | ná | each other |
| جَا كَا | $f_{1} a^{\prime}$ ka' daf $a_{1} a^{\prime}$ na' | 14. f'à ká dáfá | 14. till it is |
| دَدَّارَ إِنَا | daf $_{1}{ }^{\text {a'ra }}$ 'Pil na' | N'à dáfára, ín 'à | completed. When it is |
| نَّبجّى الهَّ كُوْ | naf $_{1}$ ayey $^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime 2}{ }^{2 a} \mathrm{~h} \mathrm{ku}{ }_{1} \mathrm{w}$ | nàfa yé. Álakò | completed, you will see its benefit. |
| بُرْر كَكِ نِكَلَنْ | $\mathrm{f}_{1}$ ura kak-e nikalan ${ }^{0}$ | 15. fúra ká k ع́ ní | 15. the medicine be |
| هِى | yey $_{1}$ niy $_{1}$ yiri yey ${ }^{\text {. }}$ | kàlan yé ní yíri yé. | applied according to |
|  | 'Pam ${ }^{0}$ ba' naf ${ }^{\text {a' }}$ | Án b'à nàfa sòro, | the instructions and |
| س | $\mathrm{su}_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ |  | with a reason. We shall benefit from it |
| نِّى | niy $_{1}$ masa'. su ${ }_{1}$ wnay $_{1}$ | 16. ní Màsa s j̀nna | 16. if Lord agrees, for |
| سَوْنَّ | miyn $^{0}$ yey $_{1}{ }^{\prime} l^{2 a} h$ yey ${ }^{\text {. }}$ | mín yé Ála yé. | God. |

Text 5

## Almamy Yattara's comment:

The possessor of the document "cilissi foura" is again Bory Bary. Found in the belongings of his father Amadou Bary, a Muslim cleric. Copied by Almamy Malik Yattara in 1972 in San. ${ }^{17}$

Transliteration Transcription Translation

kilis-i fuwra

1. Nìn yé kílisifura
2. This it a medicine yé. Ní m j̀go bànana,
3. í mána bàna
for magic spell. If a person falls ill,
4. if you see that

[^12]$\mathrm{k}_{4} \mathrm{eleyalen}_{1}{ }^{u}$ yey $_{1}$ gèlદyalen yé $m$ j̀gゝ $\mathrm{mu}_{1} k_{4} u_{1} \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{ey} y_{1}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}$ ba＇fદ̀，í b＇à bólo mìnє bulu ${ }_{1}$ mine
ka＇узеs－i yiri ma＇wu yirinin $_{1}^{0} \quad$ tu $_{1} k_{4}-u_{1} \quad k-u_{1}$ kun $^{0}{ }^{\text {ǧey }} 1$

3．k＇à nésín yíri mà， wò yírinin t ógo kó kùnje．

4．Í b＇à f ó yíri mà yíriba kùnj $\varepsilon$ ．É dè
 yey1 yiri
$\mathrm{ku}_{1} r u_{1}$ de bibana＇5．kj̀ro dè $b$ ع́ bàna ku $_{1} r u_{1} f_{1} u r a k a e y_{1} . ~ k \grave{r \supset ~ f u ́ r a k z ́ . ~}$ banaba＇tu＿ni＇＇Pa Bànabaatっ，ní à seray $_{1}$ ma＇ $\mathrm{ku}_{1} r u_{1} w^{0}$ séra màa kj̀row bદ́ع bela ＇？u masey 1 ka＇bana＇ $k_{1}$ ru $_{1} f_{1}$ urakey ${ }_{1}$ ka＇ keneya＇kun ${ }^{0}$ ǧey．
$\mathrm{m}^{U}$ biydeli nif $_{1}$ ura yey ${ }_{1}$
7．ń b＇í déli ní fúra yé mín b＇í kàn búluw lá tìlebinbulu
niku $_{1} r u_{1} n^{U_{f}}{ }_{1} y_{1}$ bulu 8．ní kóronfebulu ní niba＇f $f_{1} a$
niwu $_{1} \mathrm{ru}_{1}$ duk $_{4}-u$ bulu yeyı
$w_{1}$ tuma＇${ }_{j} i$ byǧu1 $y_{1}$ $d_{1} w u_{1} n i y_{1} \quad w u_{1} t u m a$ ＇Pi bulukari $f_{1} a^{\prime} n^{0}$ bef $_{1}$ ey $_{1}$
 bitana＇yey ${ }_{1}$＇Pi táa n＇à yé í ká só ，í $k^{k a s u_{1} w}$＇Pii ba＇tu $b i$ b＇à tóbi，bànabaatっ banaba＇tu ba＇mi ka＇ku＿w ka＇mi ka＇ku $w$ ka＇$k u_{1} w$ $\mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{~W}$ siy $_{3}$ isek $_{4}-\mathrm{i}$
tilesek ${ }_{4}$－i $\mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{nu}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ bnba＇tu ${ }_{1}$＇Pa bkeneya＇． ＇b＇ muy $_{3} u d u_{1} w^{0}$ niy $_{1}$ lá 6．ù má sé kà bàna kj̀rə fúraké k＇à kéneya．Kùnje 11．b＇à mìn k＇à kò k＇à mìn k＇à kò k＇à kò fóo sìne séegin

## 12．tìle séegin

 kóno．Bànabaatכ，à bé kéneya．À b＇àthe person is seriously ill，take him by the hand
3．and direct him to the plant whose name is kunje （Guiera senegalensis shrub）．
4．You say about the plant，Kunje big tree．You have seen a big tree，it is an old
5．tree that heals old disease．A sick person，if it was a question of any old person，
6．they could not treat old diseases and heal them． Kunje，

7．I beg you，if all the medicine that you have in foliage， the western foliage 8．and eastern foliage，and northern foliage and southern foliage，
9．then stay a little bit，then cut it everywhere，

10．keep it and bring it to your house，cook it，let the sick person
11．drink it and mùnu dóכnin
tuk 4 －u tile sek $_{4}-i$ na＇ 13 ．túgun tìle
نَا ما كْنِيا．إِ m＇keney＇．＇Pil bisek4－i

|  | ${ }^{\text {'Pe }} \mathrm{bif}_{1} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{lu}_{1}$ tak $_{4}$-e | kéneya, í b'à sègin, é bé fólo tá ké | recovered, repeat it, do it as for the first time |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{a}^{\prime} \mathrm{k}-\mathrm{a}$ seda'n^a' ' $\mathrm{P}_{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}$ | 14. f'à ká sé dàn | 14. till the end. Go |
| ! بِ بِّتَّا |  | ná. Í bé táa só, í b'à | home, cook it and |
|  | $k a^{\prime} k-e f_{1} u_{1} u_{1}$ | tóbi k'à ké fólo | do it |
|  | ta' $\mathrm{y}_{2} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{n}^{\text {U }}$ yey $\mathrm{c}_{1}$. | 15. tá nògon yé | 15. like the first |
| بُوْ سِ بِّبِّ | $\mathrm{fu}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ siy3ey ${ }_{1}$ sek4-i | fóo sì ne séegin. Ni | time, and so, eight |
|  | nibnba'tu ${ }_{1}$ m' keneya' | bànabaato má kénとya | times. If the sick person has not recovered |
|  | wui la w tuma 'r bisa'. | 16. wò lá, wò tùma | 16. this time, then |
| بِّنَا وْ | $\mathrm{wu}_{1}$ de yey ${ }_{1} \mathrm{kun}^{0} \mathrm{~g}$ gey ${ }_{1}$ | à b é sà. Wò dè yé | he will die. It is the |
|  | $\mathrm{f}_{1}$ uwra yey ${ }_{1}$ tt | kùnjefura yé. | medicine of kunje. |
| ت |  |  |  |
| اَبَانَ | $a b a{ }^{\prime}{ }_{1} a$ | 17. À bánna. | 17. It is the end. |

## 5. Grammatological properties of the Bamana Ajami from San

| Table | : Independent units of | f the Bamana Aja | Transliteration |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L | $\varnothing$ | $\varnothing$ |  |
| ب | $b$ | /b/ | b |
| ت | $t, c$ | /t/, /t/] | t |
| $\tau$ | $h$ | /h/ | h |
| ج | j | /d3/ | ğ |
| د | $d$ | /d/ | d |
| J | $r$ | /r/ | r |
| j | j | /d3/ | z |
| س | $s$ | /s/ | S |
| $ص$ | $s$ | /s/ | S |
| - | $f$ | /f/ | $\mathrm{f}_{1}$ |
| ف | $g$ | /g/ | q |
| S | $k$ | /k/ | k- |
| ذ | $g$ | /g/ | $\mathrm{k}_{4}$ |
| J | 1 | /I/ | 1 |
|  | $m$ | /m/ | m |
| ن / ¢18 | $n ;$ vocalic nasality | /n/ | $\mathrm{n}_{1} / \mathrm{n}$ |
| - | $n$ | /n/ | $\mathrm{y}_{3}$ |
| - | $h$ | /h/ | h |
| 9 | $w$; length of $u, o, \nu$ | /w/, /V:/ | w |
| ي | $y, n$; length of $i, e, \varepsilon$ | /j/, /n/, /V:/ | y |
| ي | $\wedge$ | /n/ | $\mathrm{y}_{2}$ |

[^13]
## Comments:

- $\tau$ appears only in the name of the Prophet محمد $\mid$ <mḥmd> Muḥammad.
- $\quad j$ is used representing $j$ only once in an Arabic loan, i.e. زَكَا | <zak'> jáka 'alms' (3:5) (from Arabic zakāt)
- ص appears only once, in an Arabic loan, i.e. صَلِّل | <ṣalila> sáli lá 'with a greeting' (3:1) (from Arabic ṣalā).
- $\quad \varepsilon$ appears only once $(2: 15)$, with its meaning remaining unclear.
- ق (with two upper dots as in Mašriqī) representing g occurs only once,
 (perfective form)' (3:15).
- Nūn in word-final position appears usually without a dot, i.e. as u. However, the dotted variant, i.e. ن, is also encountered in the texts.
- The usual graphemic representation of $n$ as $\quad$ (with two lower dots and one upper dot) never appears in word-final positions. If a word has $\Omega$ in the final syllable, $ن$ is always followed by $v$. Therefore, it is impossible to figure out which Arabic character served as its base, i.e. s or
- $\quad$ is used representing $n$ in only one single case, i.e. سِبِى | \ll sine 'time' (1/2:6) (which may be a copyist's or author's error).
 nùman yé 'it is good...' (3/1:8), and in yé 'with each other' (5:15).
- Prenasalization of initial consonants is marked in the same manner as word-internal nasalization by a nūn with a sukūn, i.e. نं $\left|<n^{0}\right\rangle$, such

 is attested in Charles Bailleul's dictionary (2007) as ngj̀ (the prenasalization in this word might be absent from the dialect of the manuscript's author).


### 5.1 Diacritics

Fatḥa, kasra, and ḍamma are used for representation of $a, i$, and $u$ respectively, while sukūn represents the lack of any vowel (in fact, it used only with nūn).

Tašdīd is rarely employed representing gemination of a nasal sonant
 with unclear purpose, e.g. دِمِسَّ | <dimis ${ }^{2} \mathrm{aw}^{0}>$ dénmisenw 'children' (1/1:16). Also, it occurs in Arabic loans in order to reproduce the original
 <ǧah²an²ama> ${ }^{19}$ jàhanama 'hell' (3/1:9).

In the Bamana Ajami orthography, new diacritics have been introduced for the representation of middle vowels: an 'inversed ḍamma', i.e. : $\left|<u_{1}\right\rangle$, representing $o$ or $\nu$, as well as a lower dot, i.e. : $\mid<e>$, representing $e$ and $\varepsilon$. There is also a combination of lower dot + fatḥa, i.e. $\because \mid<$ ae>, which represents the open front vowel $\varepsilon$, and which is used only

[^14] (4:11).

Generally, vocalic diacritics are provided. However, they may be omitted from time to time, apparently due to negligence of the writer or copyist.

Diacritics representing vowels which are not preceded by a consonant are placed on top of a supporting 'alif hamza, i.e. ${ }^{1} \mid<' ?>$ or ! |
 emphatic)' (1/2:3).

Vocalic nasality is marked either by mīm in word-internal position, when the nasal vowel is followed by a labial consonant, or by nūn with sukūn, i.e. نُ $\left|<n^{0}\right\rangle$, in all the other contexts, e.g. كَرَنْبَل كُلْمْبَا $\mid<k a r a n{ }^{0}$ tela
 yàn 'here' (1/1:1). Not infrequently, the nasality remains unmarked in word-final positions, such as e.g. د $\left|<\mathrm{du}_{1}\right\rangle$ versus $\dot{\sim}\left|<d u_{1} \mathrm{n}_{1}{ }^{0}\right\rangle$ dón 'to know' (1/2:1) (both spelling variants appear in the same line),
 become blind' (1/1:6), كب | <kele> kélen 4:5 'one'. More rarely, and probably by negligence, it also remains unmarked in word-internal positions, as e.g. in بِنْكُودِ | <den ${ }^{0}$ kuwdi> dénkundi 'baptism' (1/2:8). When followed by the plural marker -w /ù/, nasality is never marked in the spelling of vowels - e.g. ${ }^{\text {| دُكُّوْ , }}$ | <dunaw ${ }^{0}>$ dúnanw 'strangers' (1/2:1), نִִْ $\mid$ <nidew ${ }^{0}>$ nídénw... 'if children...' (1/2:3).

The syllabic nasal ń, which occurs in the first singular pronoun of Bamana is featured in the texts only once, where it is followed by a labial
consonant and expressed by a mīm with a sukūn, e.g. b'í déli 'I beg you' (5:10). Supposedly, in all other contexts it is rendered by nūn (in the same way as prenasalization and syllable-final nasal).
 sj̀ro 'all have found it...' (1/1:1), but $\mid$ <tiy ${ }_{3}$ batu> tìncbaatว 'truthful' (3/1:3). On the other hand, letters marking vocalic length in Arabic orthography, i.e. 1 , ي, and و, may appear where there is no vocalic length in Bamana: نَانَ | < نَمَابنْ $\mid$ <na'na> nàna 'came' (1/1:3) <sama'sen ${ }_{1}^{0}$ > sàmasen 'buttress' (3/1:3), مِينْ | $\mid<\mathrm{miyn}_{1}{ }^{0}>$ mín relativization marker (3/1:2).

Quite regularly, vocalic assimilation (usually referred to in the description of Bamana as "elision") is expressed by a letter representing a long vowel in Arabic orthography, particularly when the resulting vowel is a long aa or oo: : أُ كَنَا چِى كَالَجْى | <'Pu kana' yey ka' laǧey $_{1}>$ ù kàn'à [kànáà] yé
 [bóò] tóbi 'you will cook it' (4:5). If this assimilation results in an $i$, it is represented as a separate syllable: In such a case, ii is written as kasra below a supporting 'alif hamza, with an additional kasra on the preceding
 wash your feet' (2:6).

Very frequently, word-finally 'length letters' are encountered which do not express any length in Bamana Ajami orthography, as they do in other orthographic traditions, e.g. وُ $\mid<\mathrm{Fu}_{1} \mathrm{ku}_{1} \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{ey}_{1}>$ wò $k$ ó f f 'after
 (1/1:13), سُكُو | <suk4uw> súgu 'sort' (4:4).

The plural marker, /ù/, is rendered by a wāw with a sukūn, i.e. $\mathfrak{\rho} \mid$
 (1/1:3).

The author of the texts makes an effort to maintain the original orthography in Arabic loans, although he does not always succeed, as e.g. in أَلْكَيْوْمَ | <'Pal ${ }^{\text {¹ }} \mathrm{Kiyaw}^{0}$ ma> àlikiyama 'Doomsday', which should rather be (القِّامة which have undergone phonological changes following Bamana Ajami orthographic tradition, such as e.g. جृ. $\mid<$ ğiy $y_{3} y_{1}>$ jíne 'world' (cf. Arabic


### 5.1 Orthographic segmentation of words

Segmentation of written speech into graphic words in San Bamana Ajami is more or less orderly (especially in comparison with the specimens published in Vydrine 1998). Content words are normally written separately and are fused together only rarely, e.g. as in مَا تِبْنِمَا پٍ | <ma' tibenima' yey $_{1}>$ Màa té bèn ní màa yé 'people do not meet each other' (literally 'a man does not meet a man') (1/2:9).

Postpositions are mostly, albeit not always, written together with the

 ${ }^{\prime}$ Paniku $\mathrm{ru}_{1} \mathrm{n}^{0} \mathrm{f}_{1} \mathrm{ey}_{1}>$ tilebi fè àní kóron fè 'on the western side and on the eastern side' (1/2:6). Monosyllabic auxiliaries (predictive markers) are usually written together with either the preceding or the subsequent word.

In some instances, derived words are split up orthographically in accordance with their morpheme boundaries, e.g. دُغْ لَرَا $\mid<\mathrm{Su}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1}$ lila'> dògoli lá 1/2:9 'secretely'.

### 5.2 The dialectal characteristics of the texts

The manuscripts are written in a Bamana variety quite close to what is today Standard Bamana, with certain features typical of the eastern dialects, such as the imperfective marker bí, as opposed to bé in Standard Bamana.

Most often, the lexeme for 'person' appears in its eastern dialectal form, i.e. | <ma'> màa (1/1:3,5:5). However, occasionally it may also appear in the western dialectal form, i.e. ${ }^{\text {S. }} \mid<\mathrm{mu}_{1} \mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1}>$ mògว (5:1). Throughout all the manuscripts, western forms predominate, e.g. <tu $\mathrm{k}_{4}-\mathrm{u}_{1}>$ tógo 'name' (1/1:8, 3/1:1, 5:3 ) (cf. the eastern form twàa).

Occasionally, intervocalic velars are elided, as for example in سِيِى | <siyy ${ }_{1}>$ sii 'to sit' (4:7) (cf. Standard Bamana sigi), or نُّ $\mid<y_{3} \mathrm{u}_{1} \mathrm{w}$ nay $_{1}>$ תכ́כn ná 'to each other' (4:13) (cf. Standard Bamana nógon ná). Elision of intervocalic velar consonants is typical of Maninka and Mandinka languages spoken in the western part of the Manding area, but also for numerous Manding variants on the southern and eastern periphery of that area.

Also, at times archaic forms are encountered in the texts, such as
 ya, Proto-Manding *xóyi, and in certain Maninka varieties gé).

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The authors would like to thank Charles Riley who volunteered to correct the English texts.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ The Ajami writing reflects a dialectal form, different from the Standard Bamana one.
    ${ }^{3}$ In Bamana, a definite article is represented by a floating low tone following a noun or a noun group. In current transcription practice, it is rarely marked even in texts with tonal notation.
    ${ }^{4}$ In referencing to the texts, the first number (preceding the colon) represents the number of the text, and the second one (following the colon) represents the line.
    For the Bamana two-page texts, the figure preceding a slash represents the number of the text, while the second figure (following the slash) represents the page number, and the third figure, following the colon, represents the line.

[^2]:    ${ }^{5}$ The only Bamana texts published so far (Vydrine 1998) were written at the request of Valentin Vydrin. Therefore, they may be considered as evidence for the study of the orthographic tradition of Bamana Ajami, but they do not exemplify its genres.

[^3]:    ${ }^{6}$ A special register used for expressing respect. For more information, see Vydrin (2008).

[^4]:    ${ }^{7}$ In the text, there is not a single word containing a $p$, which makes the other diagnostic criterion (see Vydrin, present volume) inapplicable.
    ${ }^{8}$ In one word $j$ is probably written using dāl, However, we are not sure about the interpretation of this word.

[^5]:    ${ }^{9}$ The original text:
    les longere de sette feille et egal de loriginal. je les estrié de papié Bilansse le karactere et egalla
    le cado de cet 5 dockimen. eté 6000 faran. pissique les 2 prumier je done 3000 F lorssque jevi jessi tro diure et je fai sa pour avar encor si yana. et avec le 3 maniscri- lotre je done 3000 F. ya le travaus de samnp. toule monde nonpa de tan. par Almamy Yattara

[^6]:    ${ }^{10}$ The original text:
    le détentéer de docimen Karantéla Kolomba le piu sacré de- san. Bory Bary ecri par son pere an karactere- arabe a san pour loui, en 1911 a san. le copisste Almamy malick Yattara a san en 1972.

[^7]:    ${ }^{11}$ The original text:
    le detantere de docimen de janaba koli le meme Bory Bary airite a son pere que ecri pour - enssenge les Banbara en religon. Ie copissite Almamy malick Yattara.

[^8]:    ${ }^{12}$ A form inexistent in Standard Bamana, which might be Maninka in origin.

[^9]:    ${ }^{13}$ The original text:
    le detantere de locimen kalan bidamine ni alatogo ye Bory Bary airite a son pere le meme Amadou Bari que eciri pour enssenge le Bambara. le copisste - Almamy malick yattara. a san en 1972
    ${ }^{14}$ The syntax of this phrase is not clear.

[^10]:    ${ }^{15}$ The original text：

[^11]:    le detantere de docimen medicalman pour le hérni conapele kookili foura. le meme Bory Bary - eciri par son pere Amadou Bay marabou. le kopisste Almamy malick Yattara. a 1972 a san.
    ${ }^{16}$ It could be also nkòkun 'head of a species of locust', although the following context makes this interpretation less probable.

[^12]:    ${ }^{17}$ The original text:
    le detantere de dociman de cilissi foura. tougoure Bory Barty tourve danles afer de son pere - Amadou Bary le marabou. copié par Almamy malick yattara a san en 1972 a san

[^13]:    ${ }^{18}$ In final position.

[^14]:    ${ }^{19}$ The tašdīd on top of the hā' was put here mistakenly by the writer.

