

## THE SONG OF LIWAAGA, A THERAPY FOR INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE (IDPS)

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### Summary

The Sahelian countries have been experiencing an unprecedented humanitarian and social crisis for some time which leads their populations into insecurity, poverty and flight. This exodus of populations in search of security from the countryside to urban centers is not without challenges. Due to such a humanitarian catastrophe, how can we survive when we have almost lost everything? Is it not necessary to reinvent mechanisms that give life and hope to these internally displaced people (IDPs)? It is in this respect that this study is conducted, which analyzes the *liwaaga* song “*Gandaad-a taaba*” as a kind of remedy, a catharsis to the traumas experienced and suffered by IDPs. More precisely, it is a question of offering the Burkinabè populations a model of resilience, a reason for relief and appeasement of the ills engraved in the minds through satire and the intra and extra diegetic stagings offered by this song. As a result, ethnolinguistics will constitute the analytical tool that will make it possible to reveal these healing elements of song capable of rocking bruised hearts, restoring a taste for life and instilling grains of hope in IDPs.

**Keywords:** Crisis; IDPs; resilience, *liwaaga* song, catharsis.

### Résumé

Les pays du sahel vivent depuis un certain temps une crise humanitaire et sociale sans précédent plongeant leurs populations dans l’insécurité, la misère et la fuite. Cet exode des populations en quête de sécurité des campagnes vers les centres urbains n’est pas exempt d’épreuves. Face à une telle catastrophe humanitaire, comment survivre quand on a presque tout perdu ? Réinventer des mécanismes qui redonnent vie et espoir ne s’imposent-ils pas à ces personnes déplacées internes (PDI) ? C’est dans cette perspective que s’inscrit cette étude qui analyse la chanson de *liwaaga* “*Gandaad-a taaba*” comme une sorte de remède, une catharsis aux traumatismes vécus et subis par les PDI<sup>1</sup>. Il s’agit plus précisément de proposer aux populations burkinabè un modèle de résilience, un motif de soulagement et d’apaisement des maux gravés dans les esprits par le biais de la satire et des mises en scène intra et extra diégétiques qu’offre ladite chanson. De ce fait, l’ethnolinguistique constituera l’outil d’analyse qui permettra

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<sup>1</sup> PDI : personnes déplacées internes

de révéler ces éléments remèdes de la chanson capables de bercer les cœurs meurtris, de redonner goût à la vie et d'insuffler un grain d'espoir aux PDI.

**Mots-clés :** Crise ; PDI ; résilience, chanson de *liwaaga*, catharsis.

## Introduction

The song is defined as a musical work made of a text and a melody intended to be interpreted by the human voice. Much sought after in societies with an oral tradition such as among the Moose, the song is a faithful companion of men. It is present at all the solemn moments of the community. From good times to dark ages, the song is omnipresent. Considered as a means of excellence for expressing emotions, it allows man to externalize his feelings, his joys and his sorrows. Viewed from this angle, we can question the contribution of such an oral genre to resilience in a country tormented by terrorism and violence. The aim of this work is to show how the song of *liwaaga*, mainly the title "*Gandaad-a taaba*", can participate in the moral construction of victims of insecurity namely Internally Displaced People (IDPs), these women and men left their villages and forced to reside in urban areas far from their natural environment? This analysis will be done from an ethnolinguistic perspective. Promoted by actors like F. Boas (1942), G. C. Griaule (1970), B. Malinowski (1974), and P. Bourdieu (1982), this approach combines language, culture and society and allows a better understanding and rational exploitation of social facts and cultural practices such as songs. It considers language as a tool of conceptualization, so a laboratory where man, his society and his practices can be understood. Based on this conviction, this article raises the issue of the security crisis and resilience and shows how the song can participate in supporting IDPs.

## I. Crisis in Sahel and its impacts

Burkina Faso is one of the Sahelian countries impacted by the security crisis that has shaken the area for more than ten years. Doctors Without Borders<sup>2</sup> wrote on this subject and stated that

For more than a decade, the central Sahel region, mainly Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, has been the scene of conflicts between armed groups and government and international forces. In 2021, Burkina Faso has become the region's main hotspot of violence, with a sharp increase in kidnappings and attacks, such as that in Solhan in June, which killed more than 160 people dead.

The country therefore experienced one of its first terrorist attacks on January 15, 2016 in the heart of its capital Ouagadougou. This attack recorded, according to D. Nanema et alii (2017, p.855), "around thirty deaths, mostly foreign nationals, 71 injured reported and 176 hostages released".

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<sup>2</sup>Doctors Without Borders (February 2, 2022), "Four things to know about the humanitarian crisis in Burkina Faso" <https://www.medicinssansfrontieres.ca/quatre-chose-a-savoir-sur-la-crise-humanitaire-au-burkina-faso>, consulted on 08/21/2024.

Since then, the security situation has stagnated despite the numerous institutional and military responses undertaken on the ground<sup>3</sup>.

The exacerbation of violence led to the closure of several schools and the displacement of thousands of people fleeing the fighting and abuses. According to the monthly statistical report of the Ministry of National Education on education in emergency situations<sup>4</sup>

The number of affected students stood at 1,050,172 and teachers without classes at 31,077 for 6,134 schools closed, 24% of all academic structures in the country. Internally displaced People (IDPs) reach 2.06 million as recorded at March 31st, 2023 by the permanent secretariat of the national emergency relief and rehabilitation council (SP/CONASUR).

These massive displacements of populations show the scale of the security crisis which at the same time generates disastrous consequences on a humanitarian level. Left in makeshift housing and without real economic activities nor real social security, IDPs are in the throes of death to hunger, illness, precariousness and decline. Doctors Without Borders<sup>5</sup> reports the situation through the following lines:

The impact of the conflict on local populations is increasingly significant. Beyond the direct consequences of physical violence, many have lost their homes and their means of subsistence... the availability of food becomes a major concern in this context where so many people depend on agriculture and livestock to feed their families. (Doctors Without Borders)

Beyond this physical violence to which it is possible to offer solutions lie other more virulent, insidious evils such as trauma and psychological disorders. Indeed, the nature of the violence, its scale and its frequency have left indelible marks which eat away these poor depressed souls all day long. E. Kaboré's<sup>6</sup> investigations confirm this:

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<sup>3</sup> Among the initiatives we can cite: the 2021-2025 Strategic Framework launched in March 2021, the Program to strengthen resilience to food and nutritional insecurity in the Sahel (P2RS) proposed in August 2021, the Country Strategic Plan-Burkina Faso (2021-2023 ) established in December 2018, Operationalization of the G5 Sahel joint force in May 2023, Military Operation Laabingol from January 16 to 23, 2022, Anti-terrorist Operation Otapuanu launched on March 7, 2019, Operation "Npoupo" and "'Boulgou 2" from May 25 to 30, 2023 in the central-west region, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Monthly Statistical Report of the Ministry of National Education (March 31, 2023), "Situation of internally displaced persons in Burkina Faso", [https://response.beliefweb.int/burkina-faso/situation-des-personnel-deplacees-internees -in Burkina Faso](https://response.beliefweb.int/burkina-faso/situation-des-personnel-deplacees-internees-in-Burkina-Faso), accessed on 08/21/2024

Article from February 2, 2022 from Médecins Sans Frontières posted online on May 25, 2023.

<sup>5</sup> Article from February 2, 2022 from Médecins Sans Frontières posted online on May 25, 2023.

<sup>6</sup> Kaboré E., 2022-2023, "The place of mental health in the care of internally displaced people in Burkina Faso", Master in population and development sciences, [https://matheo.uliege.be/bitstream/2268.2/16931/4/KABORE\\_Emline\\_SPD2023.pdf](https://matheo.uliege.be/bitstream/2268.2/16931/4/KABORE_Emline_SPD2023.pdf), p. 11, accessed 08/21/2024.

Deprived of their property and facing an uncertain future, IDPs are in a vulnerable situation. Global migration crises have highlighted the physical and psychological needs of displaced people as well as the short, medium and long term consequences. Several studies go in this direction to conclude that IDPs are more vulnerable regarding their mental health due to their pre-migration trauma, post-resettlement stress, family conflicts generated, discrimination as well as acculturative stress. All these factors increase the risk of disorders and stress.

This sad specter of the experience of IDPs calls out everyone, as far as possible to make their modest contribution to the resilience of this population.

## II. The notion of resilience

According to B. Cyrulink (2012) taken up by E. Kaboré (2023, p. 16), Resilience is “the ability to succeed in living and developing positively in an acceptable manner despite stress or adversity which normally involves a serious risk of a negative outcome.”

In other words, resilience can be understood as the ability to go beyond the harmful effects of trauma. For the person, it is a question of developing capacities, allowing him to face aversive experiences. According to psychologist A. Block<sup>7</sup> of Health Psychology Center, five factors are necessary for real, strong and lasting resilience. These include connection to others, communication, trust, competence and commitment, and control.

Resilience involves a real overcoming oneself and one's traumatic past. It requires an openness towards others and necessarily a strong desire to move forward instead of letting oneself be consumed by bitterness and sorrow by permanently and perpetually chasing the past. Far from being a forgetting or a denial of one's past, it is a firm desire to turn the page, to take this difficult situation as an opportunity to explore other horizons in order to rebuild a new life made of hope and happiness. This desire to move towards better future is a permanent quest encouraged by the messages conveyed but also by the literary productions addressed to IDPs, mainly songs. In this respect, the *liwaaga* can be quoted as an example.

## III. Overview of liwaaga songs

*Liwaaga* is a traditional Yatenga<sup>8</sup> dance. According to some sources, it started from Leba, a village in Gourcy in Zandoma province<sup>9</sup>. It appears in fact that in this village, a blind man named Ali, unable to farm to ensure his daily subsistence, decided to make singing his profession. To the sound of the *Waaga*, a traditional musical instrument whose dance steps also bear the name of the instrument, Ali had established himself in his locality. From these activities by Ali, the idea of

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<sup>7</sup> Dr. Alison Block, August 5, 2024, “5 Factors that Promote Resilience,” <https://dralisonblock.com/5-factors-that-promote-resilience/>, accessed 08/21/2024.

<sup>8</sup> Yatenga: locality where the Yaadse, the target population of this study, live.

<sup>9</sup> Gourcy: town in Burkina Faso located approximately 240 km from the capital Ouagadougou and 45 km from the regional capital Ouahigouya.

performing the *Wumwaodo*, a traditional dance, under the guise of the *Waaga* of blind Ali was born. And as "Ali" is called "*Li*" among the *Yaadse* of Yatenga, this find which found the assent of the *Yaadse* of the time took the name of "*Li Waaga*" which means the *Waaga* of "*Li*" which later leads to what is known by everyone today as "*liwaaga*". Savadogo T. Michel analyzing the *liwaaga* points out that

The main idea to bear un mind is that *liwaaga* is the result of a blending of several cultures. This allowed it to experience adjustments in the dance steps as well as in the sounds through the addition of new musical instruments which revolutionized and energized it. *Liwaaga* songs are therefore songs produced to accompany the *liwaaga* dance. Those songs have a particularity in that they obey the cadence and rhythm of *liwaaga* as a choreography but also and above all as a vision of a community. (T. M. Savadogo 2024, p. 135)

*Liwaaga* songs are melodious texts accompanying the steps of this traditional dance. The song being a musical work made of a text and a melody intended to be interpreted by the human voice, *liwaaga* songs express, most often, feelings of joy, sorrow, love, anger, frustration, daily experiences and trivial or major events in the community. It is in this logic that A. Zagré maintains:

The *moaaga* song is not only an art for listening, it is an art of life, which penetrates the different moments of existence... This genre uses the various circumstances of life: single life, life of the bride and groom, play, sport, wintering, harvests, abundance, famine, etc., everything that provokes various feelings (joy, sadness, admiration, pain, challenge, courage, etc.). Everything that smacks of the ridiculous, everything that is out of the ordinary of life, a significant event, such as a historic word from a leader, the passing of a leader, a sensational event. (A. Zagré, 1982, p. 119)

Among the Moose, the song is called "*yuille*" in the same way as an animal's horn. The musicologist O. Kaboré shares this opinion when he states:

From an etymological point of view, it is not easy to analyze the term "*yuille*". However, it also designates the horn of an animal. However, an ox's horn for example or certain wild animals are easily transformed into musical wind instruments which accompany songs or transmit messages as hunters did in the past. (O. Kaboré, 1993, p. 82).

Referring to this homonymy, the Moose assimilate the song (*yulle*) to a weapon of protection like the horn (*yulle*) of the animal. On this subject O. Kaboré (Op.Cit., p.37), declares: "The text sung as it is conceived by this people, germinates and grows out of the person like a horn in the animal and becomes a real weapon of self-defense in society"

Understood from this angle, the song appears as a means of expression and defense. That of the *liwaaga* is fully in line with this logic in the sense that the *liwaaga*, by essence, presents itself as a performance competition, a succession of challenges that the opposite party must meet at every turn. The messages conveyed talk about everyday's life, human relationships and existential

questions. *Liwaaga* competitions are moments of introspection, of questioning the essence of life in society but also of moral lessons and practical pieces of advice. In this context, the songs of *liwaaga* constitute adjuvants of man which accompany him in his quest for well-being. They attempt to respond to society's concerns by directly raising issues of concern in the public area. *Liwaaga* songs allow everyone to speak out and express their anxieties and apprehensions. They can, in fact, contribute to the resilience of IDPs tormented by insecurity with its share of suffering, indignities and humiliation.

#### **IV. Part of *liwaaga* songs to the resilience of IDPs**

*Liwaaga*'s songs address, without taboo, all questions related to life's difficulties. They strengthen human relationships and give each citizen the opportunity to express their feelings, fears and wishes. For people as traumatized as IDPs, these songs can help build their psychological balance. They constitute a space for play, a choice of living, peace and a response to psychological disorders.

##### **IV.1 The *liwaaga* as a space of play**

Referring to the Le Robert dictionary, a play is perceived as a physical or mental activity which aims to give pleasure and well-being. It is organized around a system of rules defining success, gain and loss. Whatever the type of game, it generally pits at least two opponents against each other with the aim of identifying a winner and a loser, all in a friendly spirit and in a peaceful atmosphere. These characteristics, thus defined, make it possible to place *liwaaga* performances in the category of play. It is easy to understand why the Moose call the *liwaaga* scene "*reem-a ziiiga*" or "*rem-a zaka*" which means , literally, "place of the game" or "game house". This name reflects the ultimate objective of the *liwaaga* which remains, above all, a place of play, distraction and entertainment. The competition aims to stimulate the performance of each actor so that they give their best. The victory remains symbolic because everyone comes out a winner. In the case of the song '*Gandaad-a taaba*', the subject of our analysis, the potential opponents who confront each

other are *Goos*<sup>10</sup>, *Segd Wobgo*<sup>11</sup> and *Kut Kadba*<sup>12</sup>. For these three pillars of the *liwaaga*, the game consists of an oratorical duel where the only rule remains victory over the others through the power of one's verve. Each actor grants himself unusual license, the aim being to say everything to destabilize his opponent and provoke hilarity from the spectators. The expressions, although devoid of animosity, remain virulent and ribald. The oratory contest below bears witness to this:

Soloist n°1: *Goos*

**8- A Rasmaan Gãmbó Kaboor tōogr pa naana**

**9- Rīm naab a Kut Sakoosε Adem tōogr pa naana**

**10- M ba yaa waongo**

**11- M ma yaa waongo**

**12- Wand a yīibā tōogr pa naana koe**

*8-Rasmané de Gãmbó, it is not easy to defeat Kaboré.*

*9-Sakoosε, son of Rim naaba Koutou, it is not easy to defeat Adama.*

*10-My father is a mask;*

*11-My mother is a mask;*

*12-It is not easy to defeat the two masks.*

Soloist n°2: *Segd wobgo*

**13-Yak y toore yak y toore**

**14-Yak y toore yak y toore**

**15-Sēn tar-b pusā yāk y toore**

**16-Sēn dūins-b komba yāk b toore**

**17-Ned fāa yāk a toore**

**18-Tōnd gāndaad a tāabā n tar taab n gūud beogo**

*13-Don't get involved, don't get involved!*

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<sup>10</sup> *Goos*: From his real Ouedraogo Adama. *Goos* is taken from his motto “*gomd sã yaa suda, zug goosd a toore*” (when a word is true the head nods by itself).

This motto is a well-known proverb among the Moose which shows the obviousness of the truth. “*Goos*” therefore derives from the verb “*goose*” which means to nod the head in approval. Basically, this name is addressed to his detractors to tell them that he is a proven master of the word, of speech and that it is not given to just anyone to measure themselves against him, much less the contradict. This is a truth, an obvious fact that cannot be concealed. Wasted effort then for anyone who wants to measure themselves against him. By publicly challenging others, he demonstrates audacity and temerity. (T.M. SAVADOGO, 2024, p.397).

<sup>11</sup> *Segd Wobgo*: From his real Gansonré Rasmanè. *Segd Wobgo* is taken from his motto “*fo sã yaa zoolg n segd wobgo, fo na bång wobg tuuma*” (if a fool gets in the way of the elephant, he will know what he is capable of). This nickname, coming from a proverb, constitutes a message to those who make the mistake of confronting him Ramanè. Just like the elephant, he has the power and full power of destruction. Whoever considers himself capable can try, he will learn the consequences. (T.M. SAVADOGO, 2024, p.397).

<sup>12</sup> *Kut Kadba*: From his real Gansonré Boureima. “*Kut Kadba*” comes from its motto “*Kut Kadba tōot foobo, sã n tōodg n fo, ti fo yēdga pãrge*” (the iron underpants that refuse to be worn; whoever wears them will see their bottom torn). The message could not be clearer. He, Boureima, constitutes a permanent danger for any imprudent person who wishes to measure himself against him. (T.M. SAVADOGO, 2024, p.398).

- 14-Don't get involved, don't get involved!  
15-Those who are pregnant, do not get involved!  
16-Let those who bear children not interfere!  
17-Let no one get involved!  
18-We, the three daring ones, will compete until tomorrow.

Soloist n°3: Kut kadba

**19- Kelge ra-wēeng zabda a na zab a ba**

**22- Tēng-n-da-wēeng zabda, a zabda a samba**

**21- A ba n dog a toleng woto ye**

**22- Nong bi, a na zab a ba**

**23- Ra-wēeng zabda a na zab a ba**

**24- T'a ba n dog a toleng woto ye**

- 19-It was your father who begat you deformed as you are!  
20-If the ugly person is unhappy with his fate, let him blame his father.  
21-Let the ugly person of the country attack his father if he is unhappy with his fate!  
22-It was your father who begat you deformed as you are!  
23-let him he attack his father!  
24-If the ugly person is unhappy with his fate, let him blame his father.

This table perfectly shows the staging in question, confirming at the same time the playful and recreational nature of the song. It is indeed a question of a duel of words where everything is said without anything untoward, as S.A. Bamogo reminds us:

Everything that is offensive, everything that seems barbaric or vulgar, provocative or humiliating, is done on purpose, there is a need; it is done with the intention of educating, raising awareness, breaking certain taboos. So in fact, there is nothing amoral, everything is justified. (S.A. Bamogo 2009, p. 42)

The song is a source of entertainment. It immerses the spectators in an almost dreamlike universe where the mockery, the rudeness, the laughter as well as the various sounds drown out even for a short moment, the bitterness, the frustrations and the repugnance of life accumulated by the IDPs. *Liwaaga's* song gives back a taste for life and thus helps cultivate the resilience of these IDPs who have lost the sense of smiling. The derision provoked by the intrigue of the soloists, the athletic dance steps, the cries of approval from the crowd help to restore hope and a certain flavor to life.

#### **IV.2 The *liwaaga* or the choice of life**

The *liwaaga* constitutes, as already mentioned, a competition. It is built on a background of transgressions and deviances which implies that each candidate, to enjoy the flavor of this confrontation, forgets his ego and his pride. Gibes, insults and discourteous talks are part of the

rules of the game. Indeed, if liwaaga songs are so adored by the crowds, it is because they are made up of obscene, vulgar, mocking and outrageous words which are borderline intriguing in an environment as punished as that of the Moose. The themes covered can only be covered in this framework for reasons of decency, ethics or good morals. Bashful questions related to sexuality, outrages against parents or customary authorities, relationships with in-laws and other societal taboos are transgressed without embarrassment and without shocking anyone. These licentious subjects, far from being a regression on a social level, constitute tests to the self-control and personality of each competitor. The objective pursued, beyond entertainment, is to build the character of each person to make them wise. In other words, it is about instilling humility in each actor because life is not just about victory. There are many situations where you have to suffer setbacks, do violence to yourself, go through some turbulence before regaining your balance. Otherwise we could miss the point. These obscene words are well appreciated by the public who show their approval with cries of joy and encouragement. Each soloist is thus forced, if he wants to steal the spotlight from his counterpart has to redouble his ingenuity and ribaldness. This sequence of the song highlights these obscenities and outrages.

Highlighting obscene term

27- Kelge f tv maam **f sādame**

28- Yāmb tv maam ya **y sādame**

29- Pagba, y tv maam ye **y sādame**

30- A Goos tv maam ye **a sādame**

*27-Listen! If you insult me **you will defecate.***

*28-If you insult me, **you will defecate.***

*29-You women, if you insult me, **you will defecate.***

*30-If Goos insults me **he will defecate.***

Highlighting the outrages

31- Foo la yunda foo la yunda

**32- Zug ne wa yūug zugu**

**33- Sokda nin ne wa vēvē n kē wamde**

34- Foo la yunda foo la yunda

*31-Are you the singer? Are you the singer?*

*32-Your head looks like that of the cat*

*33-The eyes of the Choir are like a gourd infested with insects*

*34-Are you the singer? Are you the singer?*

*Liwaaga* songs therefore constitute a school of resilience. They teach everyone that life is far from being a quiet river. We must then, take things philosophically, adapt to circumstances and know how to bounce back from the different challenges that arise. It is a saving wisdom for the IDPs

who have lost everything: fields, villages and relatives. It constitutes a psychological victory which relieves these innocent victims.

### **IV.3 *Liwaaga*, a remedy for psychological disorders**

*Liwaaga* songs represent a scene where speech is freed without hindrance and without restriction. Subjects on which we usually struggle to express them are easily approached. This freedom offered by *liwaaga* songs constitutes a safety valve which prevents psychological disorders. Indeed, unsatisfied and constantly repressed desires in the unconscious, due to lack of a suitable channel to realize themselves, could at a given moment express themselves in an inappropriate manner. According to the Freudian schema, this forced, abrupt and violent realization which is no longer under the control of the “ego and the superego”, instances of normal legitimization and validation of desires, causes neurosis. The “id”, due to the great pressure, drowns the “ego and the superego”, thus causing disorder and psychological disorders. With *liwaaga* songs, all repressed desires are expressed. Taboo subjects, particularly those relating to sexuality, copulation, crude insults as well as the denial of all forms of authority or normative bodies are experienced by the singers and spectators who find there a channel for externalizing compressed desires. Through this, *liwaaga* songs ward off psychological disorders. They provide the opportunity to trick social norms and censorship. I. Ouédraogo. (1992, p. 40) Shares this opinion when regarding some oral texts considered ribald, he declares “Free art is practically non-existent in Africa; every oral literary genre conveys lessons.”

*Liwaaga* songs relieve and soothe. They promote the psychological balance of the individual and thus strengthen social cohesion and peace.

### **Conclusion**

*Liwaaga* songs are popular moments of rejoicing. Simulated competition, far from encouraging effrontery and disorder, is a stimulant that encourages people to speak out. Beyond entertainment, a moment of relaxation and inner peace for these thousands of IDPs tormented by anxiety and fear of the unknown, these songs constitute a framework for expressing the problems linked to life in society. The pieces of advice and lessons give hope to all these victims who have remained silent for a long time. The dirty talk, the clownish words and the transgressions of decency, adored by the public, are a form of catharsis which contributes to psychological balance. *Liwaaga* songs thus contribute to the resilience of IDPs, arouse hope and encourage life.

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## Appendix

### The corpus

The transcription of the present corpus in Moore<sup>13</sup> language is based on the orthographic one in accordance with the rules decreed by the national sub-commission of Moore created by decree n°8/ENJS of 23-1-1970 and recorded in the work How to correctly transcribe Moore<sup>14</sup>. It has also respected the spirit of decree No. 79/055/PRES/ESR of February 2, 1979 which harmonizes the different alphabets used to transcribe the national languages in Burkina Faso. This corpus consists of the *liwaaga* song entitled *Gāndaad a tãabã* (the three reckless) by the Naba Yadéga troupe based in Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso. In its presentation, the first statement presents the transcription of the song in the *yaadre* variant of moose materialized in bold. The second corresponds to the literal translation which gives the meaning of each word of the French transcription in order to offer more elements of understanding to the non-Moorephone<sup>15</sup> subject. The third statement concerns literary translation materialized in italics. It takes into account grammatical and semantic rules so that the text is dissociable from the Moore corpus and understandable to the speaker of the French language. It should be noted that the arrangement of the text in the corpus follows a deliberate choice to align the verses on the left and the refrains in the center to allow a distinction between the two.

### 1. Abbreviations

**acc.** : accomplished

**a.f.**: auxiliary of the future

**app.** : appellative

**c.cord.** : coordinating conjunction

**d.** : defined

**was.** : future

**imp.** : imperative

**inacc.** : unaccomplished

**interj.** : interjection

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<sup>13</sup> *Moore*: spoken language of all Moose including the Yaadse.

<sup>14</sup> National Moore Subcommittee; Ouagadougou, 1976.

<sup>15</sup> *Moorephone*: speaker of the Moore language.

loc. : rental  
 m.acc. : mark of the accomplished  
 m.c.: conditional mark  
 m.d.: declaration mark  
 m.pl : plural mark  
 neg. : negation  
 p.a: support particle  
 p.ins. : insistence particle  
 p.int. : intonational particle  
 poss. : possessive  
 pred.v: verbal predicative  
 close. : here  
 Pron.rel: relative pronoun  
 p.v: particle with vocative value

## 2. Transcription and translations

*Gāndaad a tāabā* (the three reckless)

1-D yeka taaba, n dat n bao bi-bεεga

Meet us (pres.) together pred.v want (inacc.) pred.v seek (inacc.) bandit

*We met to designate the most reckless*

2- D yeka taab ka yaa

Meet us (pres.) together here

*We found ourselves here*

3- D yeka taab ka yaa

Meet us (pres.) together here

*We found ourselves here*

4- N dat n bao gāndaooogo

Préd.v want (pres.) pred.v seek (pres.) fearless

*To designate the most reckless*

5- Kelge waong tōogr pa naana

Listen (pres.) mask overcome (pres.) neg. Easy

*Listen! It is not easy to overcome a mask*

6- Waogdg rεmb kelge

Ouagadougou inhabitants listen (pres.)

*Residents of Ouagadougou listen*

7- Kaboor tōogr pa naana

Kaboré to defeat (inac.) neg. easy

*It is not easy to defeat Kaboré*

8- A Ramaan Gāmbō Kaboor tōogr pa naana

P.v Rasmané Gãmbó Kaboré defeat (inac.) neg. Easy  
*Rasmané de Gãmbó, it is not easy to defeat Kaboré*

**9- Rīm naab a Kut Sakoosε Adem tōogr pa naana**

Rīm chef p.v Koutou Sakoosε Adama vanquish (inac.) neg. Easy  
*Sakoosε, son of Rim naaba Koutou, it is not easy to defeat Adama*

**10- M ba yaa waongo**

My father be (be) mask  
*My father is a mask*

**11- M ma yaa waongo**

My mother be(pres.) mask  
*My mother is a mask*

**12- Wand a yīibā tōogr pa naana koe**

Masks det. two overcome (pres.) neg. Easy inter.  
*It is not easy to defeat the two masks*

**13- Yak y toore yak y toore**

Remove (pres.) yourself, remove (pres.) yourself  
*Don't meddle, don't meddle*

**14- Yāk y toore yāk y toore**

Remove (pres.) yourself, remove (pres.) yourself  
*Don't meddle, don't meddle*

**15- Sēn tar- b pvsā yāk y toore**

C.sub possess (pres.) they belly remove (pres.) yourself  
*Those who are pregnant, do not get involved*

**16- Sēn dūins- b komba yāk b toore**

C.sub carry (pres.) they children remove (pres.) yourself  
*Let those who bear children not interfere*

**17- Ned fāa yāk a toore**

Everyone remove everything (pres.) p.v even  
*Let no one interfere*

**18- Tōnd gāndaad a tāabā n tar taab n gūud beogo**

We intrepid det. three pred.v hold (pres.) together pred.v wait (pres.) tomorrow  
*We three reckless people, we compete until tomorrow*

**19- Kelge ra-wēng zabda a na zab a ba**

Listen (pres.) naughty fight (inac.) him m.was to fight his father  
*If the ugly person is unhappy with his lot, let him take it out on his father*

**20- Tēng-n-da-wēng zabda, a zabda a samba**

Inhabitant-villain to fight (inac.) him to fight (pres.) him father  
*Let the ugly person of the country attack his father if he is unhappy with his lot*

**21- A ba n dog a toleng woto ye**

Him father pred.v give birth (accom.) him twisted like this interj.

*It was his father who fathered him malformed as he is*

**22- Nong bu, a na zab a ba**

Wanting (pres.) him m.was to fight him father

*That he wants to attack his father*

**23- Ra-wēeng zabda a na zab a ba**

Villain brawl (pres.) him m.was to brawl him father

*If the ugly person is unhappy with his lot, let him take it out on his father*

**24- T'a ba n dog a toleng woto ye**

Him father pred.v give birth (accom.) him twisted like this interj.

*It was his father who fathered him malformed as he is*

**25- Kur-wiir a yembr biig la wā**

Single thread belt here you go

*His father's real child*

**26- Gāmbre ne Nobgē biiga la wā**

Gāmbre and Nobgē son there you go

*He is the son of Gambre and Nobgin*

**27- Kelge f tv maam f sādame**

Listen (imp.) you insult (inac.) me defecate you (fut.)

*Listen ! If you insult me you will defecate*

**28- Yāmb tv maam ya y sādame**

You insult (inac.) me interj. defecate (fut.)

*If you insult me you will defecate*

**29- Pagba, y tv maam ye y sādame**

Women insult you (inac.) me interj. defecate (fut.)

*You women if you insult me you will defecate*

**30- A Goos tv maam ye a sādame**

P.v Goos insulter (inac.) intrej. m.fut. defecate

*If Goos insults me he will defecate*

**31- Foo la yunda foo la yunda**

You be (pres.) singer, you be (pres.) singer

*Are you the singer? Are you the singer?*

**32- Zug ne wa yūug zugu**

Head be (pres.) like cat's head

*Your head looks like a cat's*

**33- Sokda nin ne wa vēvē n kē wamde**

Choir eyes be (pres.) like insect e.l penetrate (pres.) calabash

*The eyes of the choir are like a gourd infested with insects*

**34- Foo la yunda foo la yunda**

You be (pres.) singer, you be (pres.) singer

*Are you the singer? Are you the singer?*

**35- Zug ne            wa yũug zugu**

Head be (pres.) like cat's head

*Your head looks like a cat's*

**36- Sokda nin ne wa    vĕvĕ            n            kĕ                            wamde**

Choir eyes be (pres.) comminsect pred.v penetrate (pres.) calabash

*The eyes of the choir are like a gourd infested with insects*