Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/36066 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Wit, Gerrit de
Title: Liko phonology and grammar : a Bantu language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
Issue Date: 2015-11-05

Appendix 1 - Texts

Capitals, quotes and punctuation are added in the Liko texts to increase readability. In the literal translation, numbers refer to lines where new sentences start.

1.1 Stories (oral origin)

1.1.1 The chief of the animals *(T2006.3)*

1. Leopard was the chief of the animals. 2. He made [his subjects] clear a large field, 100 by 100 [meters]. 3. He let plant all food that is here under the sun: banana trees, cassava, sweet potatoes, macabo, yams, etcetera. 6. The field was completely full with food. 7. The chief went [to check his field] once, perhaps two times a month. 8. He put Rat[442] [there], so that he would watch over the field. 9. He, Rat, ate there every day. 10. The other animals were angry[443], they said: "We died for Rat and his fellow." 12. They started to eat from the field. 13. Rat left to tell the chief: "There is no beauty on the field. Chief, nothing edible is left across the Mondiyo river. 16. Your clan members have turned the whole field upside down." 17. "Why did you not tell me?[444] 18. Let us leave, so that I go to see it with my [own] eyes." 19. As they arrived at the field, Leopard was staggered[445]: warthog did not leave[446] any cassava, elephant [any] banana trees, monkey [any] sugar cane or maize, the earth was red, the field totally flat. 23. On the way back, Leopard made Rat keep silent. 24. As they arrived at the village, Leopard [said] to rat that he should go to find rotten mushrooms, [and] when he returns with them, he should insert [them] for him, in the anus, in the nostrils, in the ears, in the mouth and he should smear [them] over his face. 28. When he (Rat) had done like he was told, he played the drum[447] saying: "The chief has died!" 30. On the road,

---

[442] I.e. Gambian pouched rat.

[443] Literally, 'the other animals, hearts hurt them'.

[444] Literally, 'where were you to tell me'.

[445] Literally, 'the mouth cooled cold'.

[446] Literally, 'stay'.

[447] I.e. the slit drum which is used for communication.

the -animals started to ask themselves: "How did this happen?[448]" 32. We hear the news of [his] death, but we have not heard the one of illness." 34. They all came together: the small animals[449], the very big ones, those with horns, the ones who like to climb, all came together. 36. Rat started crying. "Our chief has died "eee", our chief has died "eee". What should we do "eee"? 38. Rat was very distressed.[450] 39. Aardvark was sent to dig a grave. 40. Aardvark pushed the ground three times with [his] tail, the work was finished. 42. The time to bury the chief had come. 43. They arranged [his corpse], they lifted him up, they started to leave for the grave, while Rat was crying all the time. 46. As they arrived so that they would throw him [in the grave], at that moment Leopard jumped up fast. 48. All the animals jumped up. 49. Leopeard [looked at them] wide-eyed. 50. He [wanted] to grab the monkey, but the monkey jumped too high. 52. All animals [fled] in all directions, he did not catch any of them. 54. That is why Leopard does not get along well with his fellow animals, 56. they destroyed his field. 57. That is also why Rat fled into holes out of fear for the other animals and out of shame.

01 Sukopí ă ndɪ ngámá ka-ɓa-nyamá.
1a.leopard 3SG:be P_3 1a.chief GEN-2-animal

02 Ó-dim-ís-á ndɪ tíko yí-dingĭ, míya ká míya.
$3SG^P$-clear-CAUS-FV^P P_3 9.field 9.ADJ-big hundred PREP hundred

03 Ó-kún-is-ă ndɪ ma-lílí má-sɪ ní-mɔ́ kʊ́nʊ kú-silí
$3SG^P$-plant-CAUS-FV P_3 6-food 6.ASS-all COP-6.DEM.I here 17-bottom

04 wa-mɔ́ní: mo-ngí, nékú, nĕnzɪngí, ma-gʊ̆na, ɓʊkwá,
17.ASS-9.sun 6-banana tree 9.cassava 9.sweet potatoes 6-macabo 8:yam

05 ɪ-kí na ɪ-kí.
9a-what with 9a-what

06 Tíko ɓí-bɛɗɛ-bɛɗɛ na ma-lílí.
9.field MOD-full up to the brim with 6-food

---

[448] Literally, 'this matter was thus how'.

[449] Literally, 'the edible ones'.

[450] Literally, 'he suffered himself'.

07 Ngámá ɪnd-ag-ă ndɪ yí-motí[451], yágɔ[452] yɪ́-ɓă ká tɪmbá.
1a.chief 3SG:go-PLUR-FV P_3 9.NUM-one perhaps 9.NUM-two PREP 9.month

08 Á-bis-á ndɪ gbukó ɓɛ́ á-ɓúnd-ág-í tíko.
3SG^P:1.O-put-FV^P P_3 1a.rat COMP 3SG-await-PLUR-FV.SUBJ 9.field

09 ɭyí gbukó á-lyály-ag-a kúwă ndɪ wá gɔ wá.
1.PRO 1a.rat 3SG^P-graze-PLUR-FV thus P_3 there

10 Ɓa-nyamá ɓá-gɔgɔ, ma-mbɛngí ú-túl-ă ndɪ, ɓá-ɓíky-a
2-animal 2.ASS-other 6-heart 3SG/PL^P:2.O-hurt-FV P_3 3PL^P-say-FV

11 ɓɛ́: "Tá-ɬkw-íly-á ndɪ gbukó ma-fíkɪ ɪɓú na mʊ-tú kakí."
COMP 1PL^P:1.O-die-BEN-FV^P P_3 1a.rat 6-ache 2.PRO with 1-man 3SG.POSS

12 Ɓá-pʊng-ă ndɪ ká-ly-á tíko.
3PL^P-start-FV P_3 9b-eat-FV 9.field

13 Gbukó ní-mʊ-ná ág-ă ndɪ ká-ɬɓíky-á ngámá ɓɛ́:
1a.rat COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG^P:leave-FV P_3 9b:1.O-say-FV 1a.chief COMP

14 "Bʊ-nzá ø-ké-gʊ kó tíko.
14-beauty 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG PREP 9.field

15 Ngámá, ɓʊ-nzá ø-ké-gʊ kú-syákʊ wo-Móndíyó.
1a.chief 14-beauty 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 17-side across a river 17.ASS-"Mondiyo"

16 Ɓa-va kú kakú ɓó-ɗuk-í-ni tíko yá-sɪ."
2-clan member there 2SG.POSS 3PL-pour-FV.ANT-PFV 9.field 9.ASS-all

17 "Wá kúwa ǒ ɓi yánɪ ké-ɬɓíky-á?
2SG:be thus 3SG:be P_1 where 9b:1SG.O-say-FV

18 Tágá[453], nínd-ɪ ká-ɪn-á no míso."
1PL:leave:FV 1SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-see-FV with 6:eye

19 Yɛ̌kɪ ɓá-dwɛ kó tíko, sukopí mʊ-nɔkú á-dɪk-á ɓí-dɛ:
when 3PL^P-arrive:FV PREP 9.field 1a.leopard 3-mouth 3SG^P-cool-FV^P MOD-cold

20 ngʊyá ø-kó-tígól-ó-kú-gŭ ndɪ ká nékú, mbʊngú ká
1a.warthog 3SG^P-NEG-stay-FV^P-DIR-NEG P3 PREP 9.cassava 1a.elephant PREP

21 mo-ngí, á-búlá kó ngóngu na bădɛ, lɪ-tɔ́mbú ɓí-gwɛ̌,
6-banana tree 1b-monkey PREP 9.sugar cane and 9.maize 5-ground MOD-red

---

[451] Understood is **ngángá** '9.time'.

[452] Short for **yágɔgɔ.**

[453] I assume that the H tones on **tágá** are part of the expression 'Let us go!', because it does not correspond to Future, Imperative or Hortative verb forms.

22 tíko ɓí-gbatata.
9.field MOD-totally flat

23 Ká yigokú, sukopí Ø-ká-nzin-ís-á-gŭ gbukó.
PREP 9a:return 1a.leopard 3SG^{P}-NEG:1.O-talk-CAUS-FV^{P}-NEG 1a.rat

24 Yĕkɪ ɓá-dwɛ ká mʊ-sɛngí, sukopí no gbukó ɓɛ́
when 3PL^{P}-arrive:FV PREP 3-village 1a.leopard and 1a.rat COMP

25 índ-í ká-kís-á bŭbʊnzá, Ø-kig-o-kú na
3SG:go-FV.SUBJ 9b-search-FV 9.rotten mushroom 3SG-COND:return-FV-DIR with

26 iyú, ã-mak-y-a ká lɪ-bŏ, ɓa-sóngú, mo-tíli, mʊ-nɔkú
9.PRO 3SG:1.O-insert-APPL-FV PREP 5-buttock 2+9-nostril 6-ear 3-mouth

27 na ã-gboɗy-o kó míso.
and 3SG:1.O-smear-FV PREP 6:eye

28 Yĕkɪ á-gy-a ɓɛ́yɔ́, á-ngbát-a ngúɗú ɓɛ́:
when 3SG^{P}-do-FV like that 3SG^{P}-play-FV 9.drum COMP

29 "Ngámá, o-kw-í-ni."
1a.chief 3SG-die-FV.ANT-PFV

30 Kó pĭsi ɓa-nyamá ɓá-ɬním-ɬúus-ó ɓɛ́:
PREP 9.path 2-animal 3PL^{P}-INCH:REFL-ask-FV COMP

31 "Lɪ-kpʊmúká lɪ-ná a píyɛ ɓúní ?"
5-thing 5.DEM.II-CONN 3SG:be thus how

32 Tukón-i ásɪ mó-ngóni má-ku-kwá-kʊ aká,
1PL:hear-FV.ANT only 6-news 6.ASS-15-death-15 CT

33 kání tá-kúkón-í-gʊ ní-mɔ́ mó-ɬkóloɓú."
when 1PL-NEG:hear-FV.ANT-NEG COP-6.DEM.I 6.ASS-1a.illness

34 Ɓó-sil-y-on-ă ndɪ ɓá-sɪ, ní-ɓɔ́ ɓá-lyă, ɓá-kpʊkpʊ,
3PL^{P}-arrive-APPL-ASS-FV P_3 2.ASS-all COP-2.DEM.I 2.ADJ-edible 2.ASS-big

35 ɓá-ma-pakála, ɓú-ɗakă mákúgŭ, ɓá-sɪ ɓó-sil-y-on-o.
2.ASS-6-horn 2.ADJ-climbing 9.climbing 2.ASS-all 3PL^{P}-arrive-APPL-ASS-FV

36 Gbukó á-pʊng-a mʊ-gamú: "Ngámá kusú o-kw-í-ni eee,
1a.rat 3SG^{P}-start-FV 3-crying 1a.chief 1PL.POSS 3SG-die-ANT-PFV "*eee*"

37 ngámá kusú o-kw-í-ni eee. Ta-gy-a ɓúní eee?"
1a.chief 1PL.POSS 3SG-die-ANT-PFV "*eee*" 1PL-do-FV how "*eee*"

38 Gbukó ĭ-gyogy-ĭ-ni yá kakí.
1a.rat 3SG:REFL-suffer-ANT-PFV towards 3SG.POSS

39 Ɓá-ɬtík-á i-ngbo ká-kpɔ̌ mbúkʊ.
3PL^{P}:1.O-send-FV 1c-aardvark 9b-dig:FV 9.grave

40 I-ngbo ó-tíndik-o lɪ-tɔ́mbú ngángá yí-sáá na mʊ-kʊndú,
1c-aardvark 3SG^{P}-push-FV 5-ground 9.time 9.NUM-three with 3-tail

41 li-gubó ó-sy-ó.
5-work 3SG^{P}-finish-FV^{P}

42 Ngbíngó mʊ-ɗɪkɪtă ngámá ó-bĭmon-o.
1a.time 1.ADJ-throwing 1a.chief 3SG^{P}-get closer-FV

43 Ɓǎ-ɓung-us-y-og-o, ɓǎ-bɪnɪk-a, ɓá-pʊng-a
3PL^{P}:1.O-arrange-CAUS-APPL-PLUR-FV 3PL^{P}:1.O-carry-FV 3PL^{P}-start-FV

44 ká-ag-ă ká mbʊ́kʊ, kání gbukó a kʊ́wa ásɪ ká
9b-leave-FV PREP 9.grave when 1a.rat 3SG:be thus only PREP

45 mʊ-gamú áka.
3-crying CT

46 Yĕkɪ ɓó-sil-ó kʊ́wa ɓɛ́ ɓǎ-ɗɪkít-í yɪná ɪ́ˡngátʊ ɓɛ́
when 3PL^{P}-arrive-FV^{P} thus COMP 3PL:1.O-throw-FV.SUBJ thus suddenly

47 sukopí a-nó-bumbuk-ó ɓí-tɪta.
1a.leopard 3SG-INCH-jump-FV MOD-jump fast

48 Ɓa-nyamá ɓá-sɪ ɓá-zŭkan-a.
2-animal 2.ASS-all 3PL^{P}-jump up-FV

49 Sukopí míso ɓí-nganganga.
1a.leopard 6:eye MOD-stare wide-eyed

50 lyí ɓɛ́ a-gwi pómbáyɪ yɪná, pómbáyɪ á-bumbuk-o
1.PRO COMP 3SG:1.O-hold:FV.SUBJ 1a.monkey thus 1a.monkey 3SG^{P}-jump-FV

51 yá kʊ́-gŭ.
towards 17-top

52 Ɓa-nyamá ɓá-sɪ mánzála-mánzála, kání Ø-ká-gwĭ-gʊ
2-animal 2.ASS-all in disorder when 3SG^{P}-NEG:1.O-hold:FV^{P}-NEG

53 gʊtúgʊ ɓé-motí áka.
even 1.NUM-one CT

54 Kínili sukopí Ø-kʊ́kan-an-ag-ɪ-gʊ na ɓa-nyamá
that's why 1a.leopard 3SG-NEG:hear-ASS-PLUR-FV-NEG with 2-animal

55 ɓa-dăkɪ.
2-s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS

56 Ɓǎ-ˡpút-íly-á ndɪ tíko.
3PL^{P}:1.O-destroy-BEN-FV^{P} P$_3$ 9.field

57 Kínili gɔní gbukó á-píkít-á ndɪ ɪyí ká ma-ɓísɔ
that's why also 1a.rat 3SG^{P}-run-FV^{P} P$_3$ 1.PRO PREP 6-hole

58	ká-ʊ-ɓáng-á	ɓa-dăkɪ		no	súni.
	9b-2.O-fear-FV	2-s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS		with	9.shame

1.1.2 Dingopoyo[454], the frightening beast *(T2006.1)*

1. In the village of Bavakwokwo was a trapper called Kibigʊ Kadɪgya ('He did not know what to say'[455]). 3. For shortness, it was cut [short] to Kibi. 4. Kibi did not have his equal in trapping. 5. His trap could not release in vain. 6. He boasted a lot. "When it comes to traps, you will eat raw food.[456] There is no animal which I have not yet killed." 8. He spoke the truth, because where he lived there was always the flavour of a delicious dish. 10. One day, he was at a distillery with people of his clan. 12. They have drunk a lot of wine. 13. What happened? Drunkeness, bursts of laughter. 14. They saw Ngama Ka Ngasa ('With luck he became chief') [saying] to Kibi: "Dear brother, you praise yourself that you kill animals, have you also killed Dingopoyo?" 17. "There is no animal which lives in this forest that I did not kill." 19. "Do you know Dingopoyo already?" 20. "Does it not have another name?" 21. "This is his name, if you want, I will show you his trail, it is there at the spring of Old[457] Odingo." 23. "If it is really his trail, I have just killed it." 24. The other people warned him: "Stop boasting like that among other people." 26. They had all dispersed, after Old Ka Ngasa had said to Kibi that he would acknowledge him to be a trapper when he has brought him Dingopoyo without having been cut to pieces. 30. A few days later Kibi trapped Dingopoyo's trail. 32. The next day it rained for a long time[458]. 33. When the sun came up[459] Kibi went to inspect the trap. 34. Watching intently, [he saw that] the spring was upright, the leaves [around the trap] were bent backwards. 35. He clapped his hands "ɪpʊtʊ", he clapped again, he clapped once more. 37. When he arrived at the trap, he jumped with fright [seeing] the animal. 38. "What kind of animal is this, spotted more than a leopard?"

---

[454] **mu-poyó** '1-mysterious animal living in the water', **-dingǐ** 'ADJ, big, vast'.

[455] I.e. he did not think about the effect of what he said, e.g. his boasting.

[456] I.e. If you would need to live on what you catch with traps, you would not have proper food.

[457] Used in order to express respect.

[458] Literally, 'the next day a long rain'.

[459] One day later.

40. He pulled out the spring, he started to pull Dingopoyo. 41. The man [was] overjoyed.[460] 42. He started to sing. "Father, I have killed all animals "eee", except Dingopoyo "eee"; now I have killed the monster, the monster is here." 45. When he dragged the animal into the village, every person who saw it, grew stiff, he became motionless right there. 48. Ka Ngasa had a plot of land at the end [of the village]. 49. When he saw Kibi, he screamed at him: "Friend! Look behind, the people of your clan are exterminated." 52. By looking, people [had become] stiff. 53. Ka Ngasa [said] to him: "Go to a spring, smear yourself with red clay, cover yourself with red leaves. Go fast, when you return, do not look back." 57. As he did like Ka Ngasa had told him, the people all regained consciousness. 59. Kibi was afraid, he abandoned working with traps for ever. 61. That's why pride is not good.

01 Ká mʊ-sɛngí ka-Ɓavakwókwo, ă ndɪ mʊ-líɭɪká ɓé-motí
PREP 3-village GEN-people of "Kwokwo" 3SG:be P_3 1-trapper 1.NUM-one

02 ínă ndɪ ɓɛ́ Kíbigʊ Kádɪgyă[461].
5:name P_3 COMP "Kibigʊ Kadɪgya"

03 Ká ɓu-kúɗú ɓá-kɔg-ɔ kúwă ndɪ ɓɛ́ Kíbi.
PREP 14-shortness $3PL^P$-cut:PLUR-FV thus P_3 COMP "Kibi"

04 Kíbi Ø-ké-gŭ ndɪ na dăkɪ ká ɓa-kpáká.
"Kibi" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG P_3 with 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS PREP 2 + 9-trap

05 Kpáká kakí Ø-ká-ɓák-ag-ɪ-gŭ ndɪ yú yayá.
9.trap 3SG.POSS $3SG^P$-NEG-sprout-PLUR-FV^P-NEG P_3 9.PRO 9.s.th. worthless

06 A-ní-bɪb-á kúwa kúgbɛ. "Ká kpáká wa-ly-a yí-ɓisi.
3SG-INCH:REFL-praise-FV thus very PREP 9.trap 2SG-eat-FV ADV-raw

07 Ø-Kɛ́-gʊ na nyamá ní-nɔ̌ ná-nã-mwí-gʊ[462]."
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG with 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.I 1SG-*yet*:1.O-kill:FV.ANT-NEG

08 Ă ndɪ ká-ɓíky-á lí-ngʊnú áka kyɛ́ kú kakí[463] ik-ag-ă
3SG:be P_3 9b-say-FV 5-truth CT because there 3SG.POSS 3SG:be-PLUR-FV

---

[460] Literally, 'the man was happy to the heart full'.

[461] The meaning of **Ø-kíb-i-gʊ ká-dɪgy-ă**, 3SG-NEG:know-FV-NEG 9b-say-FV, is: 'he will not know [what] to say'.

[462] The negative prefix **ká-** is not present in this form.

[463] **kú kakí** is an expression meaning 'where he lives'.

09 ndɪ ásɪ sʊ yá-li-kísi aká.
P_3 only 9.smell 9.ASS-5-delicious dish CT

10 Lɪ-syé lí-motí a kúwă ndɪ ká baláda na ɓa-va
5-day 5.NUM-one 3SG:be thus P_3 PREP 9.distillery with 2-clan member

11 kú kakí.
there 3SG.POSS

12 Ɓó-mw-í-ni ma-káná lí-ngʊnú.
3PL-drink-FV.ANT-PFV 6-wine 5-truth

13 l-kí píyɛ ? Lɪ-bʊmá, ɓʊ-tɔtɔ́ ɓí-kyekyékyĕ.
9a-what thus 5-drunkenness 14-laughter MOD-burst of laughter

14 Ɓám-ɪn-ag-a ngámá Ká Ngasá[464] na Kíbi ɓé: "Yɛ
3PL^P:1.O-see-PLUR-FV 1a.chief "Ka Ngasa" with "Kibi" COMP excuse me

15 míkabă[465], wĭ-bɪb-ag-a ɓé ʊ-mwɔ́g-ɔ ɓa-nyamá,
1a.brother 2SG:REFL-praise-PLUR-FV COMP 2SG:2.O-kill:PLUR-FV 2-animal

16 wá-ˡmwó-ní gɔní Dingopoyó ?"
2SG^P:1.O-kill:FV^P-PFV also "Dingopoyo"

17 "Ø-Ké-gʊ na nyamá ní-nɔ̌ kó tutú yi
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG with 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.I PREP 9.forest 9.DEM.III

18 ní-yɪ ná-kā́-ˡmwɔ́-gʊ."
COP-9.DEM.II 1SG-NEG:1.O-kill:FV-NEG

19 "Wam-ib-a-tú sɛ mbéyɪ Dingopoyó ?"
2SG:1.O-know-FV-INS thus first "Dingopoyo"

20 "Ø-Ké-gʊ-nɔ líno lá-gɔgɔ ?"
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG-SUPP 5:name 5.ASS-other

21 "Líno kakí ní-lɔ́, wa-ka-pă nʊ-many-a mándɛ́
5:name 3SG.POSS COP-5.DEM.I 2SG-COND-want:FV 1SG:2SG.O-show-FV 9.trail

22 kakí. A wá ká lɪ-kɔ̌ ní-lɔ́ ka-a-mbɔ̌kú Ódingó."
3SG.POSS 3SG:be there PREP 5-spring COP-5.DEM.I GEN-1b-old person "Odingo"

23 "Ø-Kik-ó mándɛ́ kakí áka nã-mwí-ni."
3SG-COND:be-FV 9.trail 3SG.POSS CT 1SG:1.O-kill:FV.ANT-PFV

24 Ɓa-ɓɛngéní ɓā́-gbŭm-a ɓé: "Wa-sag-á-tʊ
2-other person 3PL^P:1.O-advise-FV COMP 2SG-abandon:PLUR-FV-INS

---

[464] The meaning of **ká ngasá**, PREP 9.luck, is: 'with luck' (with luck he became chief).

[465] Short for **míkí ka babă** 1a-child GEN 1a-father 'child of the father'.

25 ká-ĭ-monís-ó lúgo ka-ɓa-ɓɛngɛ́ní ɓɛ́yɔ́."
9b-REFL-show:CAUS-FV 9.middle GEN-2-other person like that

26 ʅɓú ɓá-sɪ ɓó-misík-ón-óg-i-ní kání a-mbɔ̌kú
2.PRO 2.ASS-all 3PL-disperse:neut-ASS-PLUR-FV.ANT-PFV when 1b-vieux

27 Ká Ngasá a-ɓíky-i-ní Kíbi ɓɛ́ ãm-íb-o ɓɛ́
"Ka Ngasa" 3SG:1.O-say-FV.ANT-PFV "Kibi" COMP 3SG:1.O-know-FV COMP

28 a mʊ-líʅɪkáíba a-duly-í-kú na Dingopoyó
3SG:be 1-trapper it means that 3SG:1.O-arrive:BEN-FV.ANT-DIR with "Dingopoyo"

29 kání Ø-kɛ́-gʊ mʊ-sasă.
when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 1.ADJ-cut up

30 Ká-ag-ă ma-syɛ́ ma-kɛ́ɗɛ́ áka Kíbi á-lík-a mándɛ́
9b-leave-FV 6-day 6.ADJ-small CT "Kibi" 3SG^{P}-trap-FV 9.trail

31 ka-Dingopoyó.
GEN-"Dingopoyo"

32 Ɓʊ́-galóɓi mú-nzɔnzɔ́ ma-ndă.
14-the day after tomorrow 3-long rain 6.ASS-long

33 Na ɓʊ-sɔ́ɓɪ Kíbi índ-a ká-and-á kpáká.
with 14-sunrise "Kibi" 3SG^{P}:go-FV 9b-look-FV 9.trap

34 Ɓɛ́ kyɛ́ ɪ́-kwɪ̌ yɪ má-sú ɓí-gyangala ma-pákʊ ɓí-pɛlɛlɛ.
In order that 9a-looking 9.dem.II 6-spring MOD-raised 6-leaf MOD-bent

35 Á-tw-á ɪpútú, á-tw-á ɓată, á-tw-á ɓata
3SG^{P}-applaud-FV^{P} ADV-hitting[466] 3SG^{P}-applaud-FV^{P} again 3SG^{P}-applaud-FV^{P} again

36 yá-gɔgɔ.
9.ASS-other

37 Wá ó-sil-ó ká kpáká, á-zʊ̌kan-a nyamá.
when 3SG^{P}-arrive-FV^{P} PREP 9.trap 3SG^{P}:1.O-jump up-FV 1a.animal

38 "Í-pígo yá-nyamá tínó sɛ̌ mʊ-ná wa-ma-balangá
9a-species 9.ASS-1a.animal which thus 1.DEM.II-CONN 1.ASS-6-spot

39 ká-ˡkítág-á sukopí mʊ ?"
9b:1.O-pass-FV 1a.leopard 1.DEM.II

40 Ó-muk-o má-sú, á-pʊng-a ká-lut-ó Dingopoyó.
3SG^{P}-pull out-FV 6-spring 3SG^{P}-start-FV 9b:1.O-pull-FV "Dingopoyo"

41 Mʊ-lʊ́kú mazyazyá ká lɪ-mbɛngí ɓí-kpí.
1-man 9.joy PREP 5-heart MOD-full

---

[466] The movement involved is: hitting the left elbow with the right hand.

42 Á-pʊng-a ká-ɪmbíl-á. "Babă nú-mwó-ní ɓa-nyamá
3SG^{P}-start-FV 9b-sing-FV 1a.father 1SG^{P}:2.O-kill:FV^{P}-PFV 2-animal

43 ɓá-sɪ eee, ó-tígól-ó ní Dingopoyó eee, na-mwí-ni
2.ASS-all "*eee*" 3SG^{P}-remain-FV^{P} COP "Dingopoyo" "*eee*" 1SG:1.O-kill:FV.ANT-PFV

44 bangba, bangba a kúnʊ."
1a.monster 1a.monster 3SG:be here

45 Ká-pup-ís-ó nyamá ká mʊ-sɛngí, mʊ-tú wa-sɪ
9b:1.O-leave-CAUS-FV 1a.animal PREP 3-village 1-man 1.ASS-all

46 ní-nɔ̌ ám-ɪn-a, ó-ping-og-o ɓí-kókóló-kokolo,
COP-1.DEM.I 3SG^{P}:1.O-see-FV 3SG^{P}-harden-PLUR-FV MOD-stiff

47 úm-ɪl-ag-a wá áka wá.
3SG^{P}:dry-RES-PLUR-FV there on the spot

48 Ká Ngasá ă ndɪ mu-gĭ ká mu-liɓó.
"Ka Ngasa" 3SG:be P_3 3-plot PREP 3-end

49 Níyɔ́ ám-ɪn-a Kíbi, á-ˡpám-y-a ɓɛ́: "Wayí
When 3SG^{P}:1.O-see-FV "Kibi" 3SG^{P}:1.O-scream-APPL-FV COMP 1a.friend

50 mʊ-ná wĭkwĕ kú-mbúso, ɓa-va kú kakú
1.DEM.II-CONN 2SG:look:FV.INST 17-back 2-clan member there 2SG.POSS

51 ɓá-ˡnó-ˡlúmw-og-ó[467]."
3PL-INCH-hunt-PLUR-FV

52 Ɓɛ́ kyɛ́ í-kwĭ yɪ-ná, ɓa-mbánzó ɓí-kókóló-kokolo.
in order that 9a-looking 9.DEM.II-CONN 2-person MOD-stiff

53 Ká Ngasá áka na ɪyí ɓɛ́: "Wɪnd-á ká lɪ-kɔ̌,
"Ka Ngasa" only with 1.PRO COMP 2SG:go-FV.IMP PREP 5-spring

54 wĭ-gboɗy-ó mʊ-kpúndú má-ngbʊ, wĭ-kungúl-ó
2SG:REFL-smear-FV.IMP 3-clay 3.ASS-red 2SG:REFL-surround-FV.INST

55 nzɛ̆nzɛ yá-ngbʊ. Wɪnd-á ɓí-gala, ká yigŏkú kakú
9.leaf 9.ASS-red 2SG:go- FV.IMP MOD-fast PREP 9a:return 2SG.POSS

56 wa-kíkwe-ní-to kú-mbúso."
2SG-NEG:look:FV- NEGSUBJ-INS 17-back

57 Yĕkɪ á-gy-a ɓɛ́yɔ́ Ká Ngasá á-ˡɓíky-á ndɪ minó,
when 3SG^{P}-do-FV like that "Ka Ngasa" 3SG^{P}:1.O-say-FV P_3 TRACE

58 ɓa-mbánzú ɓá-bɪlɪl-a ɓá-sɪ.
2-person 3PL^{P}-regain consciousness-FV 2.ASS-all

---

[467] The meaning with the Pluractional extension is: **kólúmwógó** 'to wipe out'.

59	Mʊ-nɔ́kú	á-dɪk-a		Kíbi	ɓí-dɛ̌,	á-sǎ	ndɪ
	3-mouth	3SG^{P}:1.O-make cold-FV		"Kibi"	MOD-wet	3SG^{P}-abandon:FV	P_3
60	li-gubó	lá-ɓa-kpáká	lí-ngʊnú.				
	5-work	5.ASS-2 + 9-trap	5-truth				
61	Kínili	yíbɪbǎ	Ø-ké-gʊ		yá-nza.		
	that's why	9a:pride	3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG		9.ASS-good		

1.1.3 Mbwoko[468] (T2006.2)

1. A demon had a beautiful daughter[469]. 2. The girl had a very soft skin.[470] 3. Someone pretty like that is something very good. 4. Her father demanded[471] that her [future] husband will be a man who endures hunger. 6. Mbwoko went to her place to live together with her. 7. At sunset, he was put in a house where ripe bananas were stored.[472] 8. He passed [the night] alone, while he was not even given any drinking water. 10. At sunrise, the man was hungry. 11. [His] eyes started to turn round with dizzyness. 12. Mbwoko picked ripe bananas, he ate them raw. 13. When the father of the woman found out, he called [his] sons, they killed Mbwoko. 15. His meat was prepared with condiment. 16. The father of the girl took this food [and] put these cooking pots in the guesthouse, so that whoever, if he would steal, they would kill him likewise. 19. All the men who came, started to steal the meat of Mbwoko and were all killed. 21. If somebody stole [the food], all the joints of his body started to resonate: "Mbwoko-mbwoko, mbwoko-mbwoko", when he started to move or walk. 24. Men lost their lives.[473] 25. What happened? Those who are strong men started to fight with men or their age. 27. All this was of no use, because even if you are a hero, [it] is worthless in the village of someone else. 30. The news went to the villages. 31. The young men refused to go and live together with the demon's daughter. 33. Sɔdʊ[474], in spite of the news that circulated,

---

[468] Ideophone for 'sound of a footstep'.

[469] Literally, 'his very light-coloured girl'.

[470] Literally, 'like a raffia calabash'.

[471] Literally, 'guarded her'.

[472] Literally, 'house of ripe bananas'.

[473] Literally, 'a human being was cleared'.

[474] **sɔ́dʊ** means 'cricket', an animal known in stories for its smartness.

gave in to the desire[475]: he was going to the woman. 35. When he arrived the father of the woman praised him very much, as he also had a thumb piano. 37. First he spent two days without feeling hungry, because he was playing the thumb piano all the time. 40. Earlier, he had heard the news about Mbwoko. 41. During the night, when the men had fallen asleep, he carried [away] one pot, he carried it with a strap over his shoulder. 43. He left. 44. He went, he went, he went further and further away. 45. When he was far away [from the village], he started to play his thumb piano. 46. When he came to the river crossing,[476] he sat down and relaxed. 47. He ate all the food [from the pot]. 48. [When] he took his thumb piano like he used to, his whole body [sounded] "mbwoko-mbwoko, mbwoko-mbwoko". 50. All the paddlers woke up. 51. They started to look for him. 52. Sɔdʊ dived into the river, he surfaced down there across the river. 54. He told all his fathers[477] and his brothers. 55. That is why men and demons hated each other, because they [the demons] killed Mbwoko.

01 A-bʊlí ɓé-motí ă ndʊ na mʊ-sʊká kakí ɓí-tú.
1b-demon 1.NUM-one 3SG:be P_3 with 1-girl 3SG.POSS MOD-light

02 Míkí mu-kó yi ábɛ pápá yá-li-kíngo.
1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III like 9.calabash 9.ASS-5-raffia.

03 Wa-nzá ɓákayɔ lúkí lá-nza ik-ag-a-tú minó.
1.ASS-good like that 5:somethinzg 5.ASS-good 3SG:be-PLUR-FV-INS TRACE

04 A-băkʊ á-pak-á ndʊ ɓɛ́ mbʊnyákʊ ik-o
1b-father:3SG.POSS $3SG^P$-guard-FV^P P_3 COMP 1a.husband:3SG.POSS 3SG:be-FV

05 ndɛ́kɛ mʊ-tú mʊ-pʊlyă nză.
F_3 1-man 1.ADJ-enduring 9.hunger

06 Mbwóko índ-a ká sʊ-lyá-sʊ, kúgɔkú.
"Mbwoko" $3SG^P$:go-FV PREP 7-cohabitation-7 right there

07 Na ɓʊ-gɔgɔ̌, ɓá-maky-a ká ndáɓʊ yá-gʊní.
with 14-sunset $3PL^P$:1.O-put in-FV PREP 9.house 9.ASS-9.ripe banana

08 Á-syɛ́ mʊ-kaká, kání ɓá-ká-ˡpí-gʊ gʊtúgʊ líɓó
$3SG^P$-pass:FV 1.ADJ-alone when 3PL-NEG:1.O-give:FV.ANT-NEG even 5:water

---

[475] Literally, 'he tied himself to the attitude of young men to seduce a girl'.

[476] Where people could go to the other side in a dugout.

[477] Including his father's brothers.

09 lí-mwŏ áka.
5.ADJ-drinking CT

10 Na ɓʊ-sɔ́ɓɪ, a-lúkú ím-úkan-a nzǎ.
with 14-sunrise 1b-man 3SG^{P}:REFL-feel-FV 9.hunger

11 Míso á-pʊng-a ká-ling-ik-on-o na ó-pilípílí.
6:eye 3SG/PL-start-FV 9b-surround-NEUT-ASS-FV with 1b-vertigo

12 Mbwóko á-pw-ág-a gɪní, á-ly-á yí-ɓisi.
"Mbwoko" 3SG^{P}-pick-PLUR-FV 9.ripe banana 3SG^{P}-eat-FV^{P} ADV-raw

13 Níyɔ́ a-bǎkɪ mu-kó á-ndúng-á, ú-mák-a ɓo-míkí
when 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG^{P}-discover-FV^{P} 3SG^{P}:2.O-call-FV 2-child

14 ɓa-lúkú ɓǐ, ɓá-mwɔ́ Mbwóko.
2-man 2.DEM.III 3PL^{P}:1.O-kill:FV "Mbwoko"

15 Ma-kɔlɔ́ kakí ɓámb-a na súyɪ.
6-meat 3SG.POSS 3PL^{P}:cook-FV with 9.seed

16 A-bǎkɪ mʊ-sɪká nɔ̌ á-va ma-lílí mɔ́, ó-bǐs-o
1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG^{P}-take:FV 6-food 6.DEM.I 3SG^{P}-put-FV

17 ɓo-kpokúkú ɓoyí ká ndáɓʊ ka-ɓo-bikó, kyɛ́ nɔ̌
2+9-cooking pot 2+9.DEM.III PREP 9.house GEN-2-visitor because 1.DEM.I

18 ø-kiɓ-ó, ɓá-mwɔ́ ɪyí ɓégɛyɔ́.
3SG-COND:steal-FV 3PL:1.O-kill:FV 1.PRO likewise

19 Ɓa-lúkú ní-ɓɔ́ ɓó-dog-ó-kú ndɪ ɓá-sɪ, ɓá-ˡníɓ-o
2-man COP-2.DEM.I 3PL^{P}-come:PLUR-FV^{P}-DIR P_3 2.ASS-all 3PL^{P}-INCH:steal-FV

20 ma-kɔlɔ́ ko-Mbwoko, ɓú-mwɔ́g-ɔ ɓá-sɪ.
6-meat GEN-"Mbwoko" 3PL^{P}:2.O-kill:PLUR-FV 2.ASS-all

21 Ɓé-motí ø-kiɓ-á ndɪ, mo-zǐko má-ˡnzúyɪ kakí má-sɪ
1.NUM-one 3SG-COND:steal-FV P_3 6-joint 6.ASS-9.body 3SG.POSS 6.ASS-all

22 á-pʊng-a kó-ɓúk-ó ɓé: mbwóko-mbwóko, mbwóko-mbwóko,
3SG/PL^{P}-start-FV 9b-resonate-FV COMP "m*bwoko-mbwoko*" "*mbwoko-mbwoko*"

23 kání a-nó-dw-ǒ áma ká-kpakyán-á.
when 3SG-INCH-move-FV or 9b-walk-FV

24 Míkí ka-mʊ-mbánzú á-dǐm-ɪk-an-a kúwǎ ndɪ.
1a.child GEN-1-person 3SG^{P}-clear-NEUT-ASS-FV thus P_3

25 l-kí píyɛ ? Ní-ɓɔ́ ɓo-túgbǒ ɓá-ná-bʊm-an-ag-á na
9a-what thus COP-2.DEM.I 2-strong man 3PL^{P}-INCH-fight-ASS-PLUR-FV with

26 ɓa-lúkú ɓa-dǎɓʊ.
2-man 2-s.o. of same age:3PL.POSS

27 Níyɔ́ yá-sɪ a ásɪ yayá áka, kyɛ́ gʊtúgʊ
When 9.ASS-all 3SG:be only 9.s.th. worthless CT because even

28 wa-kik-ó tutúngyó a yayá áka, ká mu-gĭ
2SG-COND:be-FV 1a.hero 3SG:be 9.s.th. worthless CT PREP 3-village

29 ka-ɓɛngɛ́ní.
GEN-1a.other person

30 Mó-ngóni índ-ag-a kúwă ndɪ kó gĭ-yo.
6-news 3SG/PL^{P}:go-PLUR-FV thus P_3 PREP 9.village-9

31 Ɓo-míkí ɓa-lúkú ɓi ɓá-ky-á ndɪ ká-ɪnd-á ká
2-child 2-man 2.DEM.III 3PL^{P}-refuse-FV^{P} P_3 9b-go-FV PREP

32 sɪ-lyá-sʊ ka-mʊ-sɪká ka-a-bɪlí.
7-cohabitation-7 GEN-1-girl GEN-1b-demon

33 Sɔ́dʊ, gʊtúgʊ mó-ngóni ă ndɪ ká-ɗă, ĭ-kand-a
"Sɔdʊ" even 6-news 3SG/PL:be P_3 9b-creep:FV 3SG:REFL-tie-FV

34 lɪ-wanzá ɓɛ́ a ká-ɪnd-á ká mu-kó.
5-attitude[1] COMP 3SG:be 9b-go-FV PREP 1-woman

35 Níyɔ́ á-dwĕ, a-bằkɪ mu-kó á-bɪb-a kúgbɛ,
when 3SG^{P}-arrive:FV 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG^{P}:1.O-praise-FV very

36 yĕ̀kɪ a sĕ ndɪ gɔní na li-kembé.
as 3SG:be thus P_3 also with 5-thumb piano

37 Á-gy-a mbéyɪ ma-syɛ́ má-ɓă kání Ø-ké-gʊ
3SG^{P}-do-FV first 6-day 6.NUM-two when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG

38 ká-ĭm-ʊkán-á nzǎ, kyɛ́ ă ndɪ ásɪ ká-ngbát-á
9b-REFL-hear-FV 9.hunger because 3SG:be P_3 only 9b-play-FV

39 li-kembé áka.
5-thumb piano CT

40 Ă ndɪ kání úkón-ón-í ndɪ mó-ngóni ko-Mbwóko.
3SG:be P_3 when 3SG:hear-ASS-FV.ANT P_3 6-news GEN-"Mbwoko"

41 No bití, kání ɓa-mbánzú ɓó-lól-ón-i-ní, á-bɪnɪk-a
with 9.darkness when 2-person 3PL-sleep-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV 3SG^{P}-carry-FV

42 li-ɗakɪ lí-motí á-sáw-a.
5-pot 5.NUM-one 3SG^{P}-carry[1]-FV^{P}

43 lyí ní-mʊ-ná ó-pup-o mʊ.
1.PRO COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG^{P}-leave-FV 1.DEM.II

44 Á-ga, á-ga, á-ga ɓată.
3SG^{P}-go:FV 3SG^{P}-go:FV 3SG^{P}-go:FV again

45 Níyɔ́ í-dukúl-ó, á-pʊng-a ká-ngbát-á li-kembé kakí.
when 3SG^{P}:REFL-pursue-FV^{P} 3SG^{P}-start-FV 9b-play-FV 5-thumb piano 3SG.POSS

46 Níyɔ́ á-dwɛ ká lɪ-sú, ík-o ɓí-ziko.
when 3SG^{P}-arrive:FV PREP 5-crossing 3SG^{P}:sit-FV MOD-sitting

47 Á-ly-á ma-lílí má-sɪ.
3SG^{P}-eat-FV^{P} 6-food 6.ASS-all

48 lyí ɓɛ́ á-vĭ li-kembé ɓɛ́nɛ, nzúyɪ yá-sɪ
1.PRO COMP 3SG^{P}-take:FV.SUBJ 5-thumb piano like this 9.body 9.ASS-all

49 mbwóko-mbwóko, mbwóko-mbwóko.
"*mbwoko-mbwoko*" "*mbwoko-mbwoko*"

50 Ɓa-kangú ɓó-zŭzuk-og-o ɓá-sɪ.
2-paddler 3PL^{P}-wake up-PLUR-FV 2.ASS-all

51 Ɓá-pʊng-a ká-kɪs-a.
3PL^{P}-start-FV 9b:1.O-search-FV

52 Sɔ́dʊ ó-lind-o kó líɓó, ó-pup-on-o-kú kúkwakʊ
"Sɔdʊ" 3SG^{P}-sink-FV PREP 5:water 3SG^{P}-leave-ASS-FV-DIR down there

53 kú-syákʊ.
17-side across a river

54 Ú-ɓíky-o-kú ɓa-băkɪ na ɓa-má^{L}mákɪ ɓá-sɪ.
3SG^{P}:2.O-say-FV-DIR 2:1b-father:3SG.POSS and 2-brother:3SG.POSS 2ASS-all

55 Kínili ɓa-mbánzú ɓá-múy-án-á na ɓa-bɪlí, kyé
that's why 2-person 3PL^{P}-hate-ASS-FV^{P} with 2:1b-demon because

56 ɓá-mwɔ́ ndɪ Mbwóko.
3PL^{P}:1.O-kill:FV P_3 "Mbwoko"

1.2 History

1.2.1 Circumcision *(T2006.4)*

1. When the ancestors were [still] alive, circumcision was a big event and it came with much merrymaking. 3. There were two kinds of circumcision. 4. There was the one which they called big circumcision and [the other] "masɪɓʊ". 6. If you heard "big circumcision", it referred to the one where many children were circumcised. 8. They rounded up all the children of the village and of other villages. 10. These children were circumcised together. 11. What happened there, they went with them to the forest, [where] they built a house for them. 13. All the boys to be circumcised sat over there. 14. Thus [when they were] there, the work

of the boys there in the forest, was setting traps, fishing and other tasks. 17. The day on which they sat [there] to cause them [the boys] to leave [the forest] towards the village, a great ceremony was organized. 19. The circumcisors and the boys started to chant slogans and [to dance] the circumcision dances. 21. If perhaps your child had died, the circumcisors took an anthill, they came with it towards [you], they let you[478] carry it, you the father of the child, you (pl) with his mother'. 24. When [this happens] you will know thus: "My child has died." 25. This circumcision ceromony lasted many days and it had bad luck. 27. "Masɪɓʊ", that is the circumcision we practise these days. 29. The circumcision of "masɪɓʊ" is the one which serves to resolve grudges. 31. If perhaps you (pl) fought with men of the women of the village or about something else. 33. [During] this circumcision the men and the women of the village scant: "Rigo hooo!", "Rigo hooo!". 35. The woman who did something malicious to the village will be punished. "Hooo". 37. [At] the big circumcision our ancestors demanded things like animals, hats, quivers. 39. The circumcison of "masɪɓʊ" is not one with many demands. 41. It is the one you (pl) and your blood brother, like that you (pl) get along well. 43. Old habits have finished, we are now in modern times. 44. That is why the big circumcision no longer exists. 45. That one of "masɪɓʊ" does not have taboos. 46. Young boys do not like to circumcise at a "masɪɓʊ" ceremony.

01 Ka-ɓa-tɪtɛ́ ndɪ ɪ-mʊ́ɪ́-sɔ ă ndɪ lɪ-kpʊmʊ́ká lí-dingĭ
GEN-2-grand-parent P_3 19-circumcision-19 3SG:be P_3 5-thing 5.ADJ-big

02 na lá-ma-gyagyă kúgbɛ.
with 5.ASS-6-joy very

03 Mʊ́ɪ́-tɔ ă ndɪ mo-bĭ má-ɓă.
13.circumcision-13 3SG/PL:be P_3 6-group 6.NUM-two

04 Ă ndɪ ní-sɔ́ ɓá-lɪk-y-ag-ă ndɪ ɓɛ́ sɪ-mʊ́ɪ́-sɔ
3SG:be P_3 COP-7.DEM.I $3PL^P$-call-APPL-PLUR-FV P_3 COMP 19-circumcision-19

05 na masɪɓʊ́.
and "masɪɓʊ"

06 Wa-kʊkán-á ndɪ ɓɛ́ sɪ-mʊ́ɪ́-sɔ sí-dingĭ íba
2SG-COND:hear-FV P_3 COMP 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big it means that

[478] Literally, 'them'.

07 ní-sɔ́ ɓú-kɔg-ɔ̌ ndɪ minó ɓo-míkí ɓú-dingǐ.
COP-19.DEM.I 3PL^{P}:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV P_3 TRACE 2-child 2.ADJ-big

08 Ɓú-mʊmʊl-ag-ă ndɪ ɓo-míkí ká mʊ-sɛngí má-sɪ na kó
3PL^{P}:2.O-round up-PLUR-FV P_3 2-child PREP 3-village 3.ASS-all and PREP

09 gǐ-yo yá-gɔgɔ.
9.village-9 9.ASS-other

10 Ɓo-míkí ní-ɓɔ́ ɓú-kɔg-ɔ kúwă ndɪ pa[479] yí-motí.
2-child COP-2.DEM.I 3PL^{P}:2.O-cut:PLUR-FV thus P_3 9.area 9.NUM-one

11 Ik-og-o kúwă ndɪ wá, ɓág-a naɓú ká gbʊndú,
3SG:be-PLUR-FV thus P_3 there 3PL^{P}:leave-FV with:2.PRO PREP 9.forest

12 ɓú-pik-ily-o ndáɓʊ.
3PL^{P}:2.O-build-BEN-FV 9.house

13 Ɓa-múyú ɓá-sɪ ɓík-o kúwă ndɪ kúkwakʊ.
2-boy to be circumcised 2.ASS-all 3PL^{P}:sit-FV thus P_3 over there

14 Kúwă ndɪ wá, li-gubó ka-ɓa-múyú kú ká gbʊndú, ik-og-o
thus P_3 there 5-work GEN-2-boy there PREP 9.forest 3SG:be-PLUR-FV

15 kúwă ndɪ ká-lík-á ɓa-kpáká, kó-lub-ó ma-sɪkɪɗángí na
thus P_3 9b-trap-FV 2+9-trap 9b-plunge-FV 6-fish hook and

16 mo-gubó má-gɔgɔ.
6-work 6.ASS-other

17 Lɪ-syɛ́ ní-lɔ́ ɓík-o kúwă ndɪ minó ká-ŭ-pup-ís-ó-kú
5-day COP-5.DEM.I 3PL^{P}:sit-FV thus P_3 TRACE 9b-2.O-leave-CAUS-FV-DIR

18 kúnʊ ká mʊ-sɛngí dumó mu-dingǐ á-tín-ɪk-a.
here PREP 3-village 1a.feast 1.ADJ-big 3SG^{P}-cut-NEUT-FV

19 Ɓa-sambá na ɓa-múyú ɓá-pʊng-a bilísy-óg-ó[480] na
2-circumcisor and 2-boy 3PL^{P}-start-FV chant slogans-PLUR-FV with

20 mo-ɓíno má-sɪ-múí-sɔ.
6-dance 6.ASS-19-circumcision-19

21 Ø-Kik-á ndɪ, ní míkakú o-kw-í-ni, ɓa-sambá
3SG-COND:be-FV P_3 when 1a.child:2SG.POSS 3SG-die-FV.ANT-PFV 2-circumcisor

---

[479] The LH tone on **pă** surfaces as Low because the High part is linked to the following H tone.

[480] Usually in a construction with **-pʊng-** 'start', the following verb has Infinitive prefix **ká-**. In this case the tone melody is of the Infinitive, but the prefix is missing.

22 ɓá-va i-títí, ɓó-do-kú noyú ɓú-dung-is-o
3PL^{P}-take:FV 9a-anthill 3PL^{P}-come:FV-DIR with:9.PRO 3PL^{P}:2.O-carry-CAUS-FV

23 ɪwɛ a-bǎkɪ míkí ɪɓúnú na a-mákɪ.
2SG.PRO 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1a.child 2PL.PRO and 1b-mother:3SG.POSS

24 Níyɔ́ wĭb-o kúwa ɓé: "Mikǎmɪ ó-kw-ó-ní ndɪ."
when 2SG:know-FV thus COMP 1a.child:1SG.POSS 3SG^{P}-die-FV^{P}-PFV P_3

25 l-múí-sɔ ní-sɔ́ ă ndɪ na ma-syé má-kpʊ na
19-circumcision-19 COP-19.DEM.I 3SG:be P_3 with 6-day 6.ASS-big and

26 mbali wa-nyé.
1a.luck 1.ASS-bad

27 Masɪɓú, a sú ɪ-múí-sɔ ní-sɔ́ ta kúwa minó
"masɪɓʊ" 3SG:be 19.PRO 19-circumcision-19 COP-19.DEM.I 1PL:be thus TRACE

28 ká ma-syé mi ní-ma.
PREP 6-day 6.DEM.III COP-6.DEM.II

29 l-múí-sɔ sá-masɪɓú a sú ní-sɔ́ kó bulyó
19-circumcision-19 19.ASS-"masɪɓʊ" 3SG:be 19.PRO COP-19.DEM.I PREP 9.reason

30 yígbŭma ɓo-yokó.
9a:stopping 2 + 9-grudge

31 Ø-Kik-ó ní má-bʊm-án-á ndɪ na ɓa-mbánzú kó ɓo-kó
3SG-COND:be-FV when 2PL^{P}-fight-ASS-FV^{P} P_3 with 2-person PREP 2-woman

32 ɓá-mʊ-sɛngí ikánígʊ ká lɪ-kpʊmúká lá-gɔgɔ.
2.ASS-3-village or PREP 5-thing 5.ASS-other

33 l-múí-sɔ ní-sɔ́ ɓa-lúkú na ɓo-kó ɓá-mʊ-sɛngí
19-circumcision-19 COP-19.DEM.I 2-man and 2-woman 2.ASS-3-village

34 ɓó-bilisy-og-o kúwă ndɪ ɓé: "Rigo hooo ! rigo hooo !"
3PL^{P}-chant slogan-PLUR-FV thus P_3 COMP "*rigo hooo*" "*rigo hooo*"

35 Mu-kó ní-nŏ a-gy-a ɓo-kólí ká mʊ-sɛngí
1-woman COP-1.DEM.I 3SG-do-FV 2-s.th. malicious PREP 3-village

36 ĭ-gyagy-a ndékɛ. Hooo.
3SG:REFL-punish-FV F_3 "*Hooo*"

37 l-múí-sɔ sí-dingĭ ɓo-titósu[481] ɓá-kúng-ag-ă ndɪ
19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big 2-ancestor:1PL.POSS 3PL^{P}-demand-PLUR-FV P_3

38 minó ma-kpʊmúká ábĕ nyamá, si-kpí-so, mʊ-ɓúkʊ má-ɓo-móngwŏ.
TRACE 6-thing like 1a.animal 19-hat-19 3-quiver 3.ASS-2 + 9-arrow

---

[481] Compound from ɓa-tɪtɛ́ + kusú 'the ancestors 1PL.POSS'.

39 Sɪ-múí-sɔ sá-masɪɓú Ø-ké-gʊ sú na
19-circumcision-19 19.ASS-"masɪɓʊ" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 19.PRO with
40 mo-kúngóni mú-dingĭ.
6-request 6.ADJ-big
41 A sú iɓúnú na mʊ-ganzá dăkʊ aká ɓɛ́yɔ́
3SG:be 19.PRO 2PL.PRO and 1-blood brother friend:2SG.POSS CT like that
42 míb-on-on-og-o minó.
2PL:know-ASS-ASS-PLUR-FV TRACE
43 Má-ndɛ́lɪ[482] ó-sy-ó-ní, ta kʊ́wa ká má-ˡmbíya.
6.ASS-old 3SG/PL^{P}-finish-FV^{P}-PFV 1PL:be thus PREP 6.ASS-new
44 Kínili sɪ-mʊ́í-sɔ sí-dingĭ Ø-ké-gʊ ɓată.
that's why 19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG again
45 Ní-sɔ́ sá-masɪɓú Ø-ké-gʊ isú na ɓɔ̆pɛ́.
COP-19.DEM.I 19.ASS-"masɪɓʊ" 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 19.PRO with 2:taboo
46 Ɓa-wanzá ɓá-ká-pag-ɪ-gʊ ká-kɔ̆ sɪ-mʊ́í-sɔ
2-young person 3PL-NEG-want:PLUR-FV-NEG 9b-cut-FV 19-circumcision-19
47 sá-masɪɓʊ́.
19.ASS-"masɪɓʊ"

1.3 Technical instruction

1.3.1 Palm-nut pit body oil *(T2006.6)*

1. The forefathers used to rub their bodies in with black oil.[483] 2. To make black oil, it is necessary that you first take palm nuts, put them out in the sun, until they are dry, after that crush them. 5. When there are many palm-nut pits,[484] take a clay pot, or perhaps a clay water pot, pour [them] into [the pot], put it on a fire. 8. Sprinkle [in the pot] a little bit of water, rekindle the fire. 10. When the water has completely dried up, take a part of a palm branch, or perhaps a dried stem of a banana leaf, and start to stir "fwa", "fwa", "fwa". 13. A vapour starts to come out [of the pot], it smells good, delicious. 15. This smell goes far, you cough rapidly

[482] Understood is ma-kpʊmʊ́ká má-ˡndɛ́lɪ 'old things, i.e. old habits'.

[483] I.e. oil from the palm-nut pit, French translation given by my Liko consultants is *huile d'amande* 'almond oil'.

[484] Literally, 'the palm nuts [have] grown big'.

"kɔfɔ" "kɔfɔ". 16. Another time, people sprinkle also with red consumption oil, roast slowly. 18. After that, take these palm nuts, break them [with your teeth] "gbwa", if you see that they have become roasted, put [the pot] on the ground. 21. Take a sieve, put it on top of another pot, take some leaves of the "lɪdă" tree, put them [in the sieve], pour [palm nuts] on top of them. 24. Meanwhile take the fruit of the "ɓʊ-sɛkɪ-sɛkɪ" tree,[485] throw it in the oil, the oil cooks "kpwi kpwi kpwi", smell the fragrance of the oil, a nice smell. 27. When it has cooled down, pour it into a container. 28. We do thus, after washing ourselves, cover yourself with it. 30. The body becomes soft, shining black, smooth like the big flying termite "mʊmangwa". 32. If it is evening, you will sleep peacefully. 33. This oil also kills scabies on the body. 35. Also, [from] this pot in which palm-nut pits were roasted, people often drink water, because it causes the water to taste very good.

01 Ɓa-tɪtɛ́ ɓí-tikil-og-ă ndɪ nzúyɪ na mo-lingó mó-pi.
2-old person 3PL^{P}:REFL-rub-PLUR-FV P_3 9.body with 6-oil 6.ASS-black

02 Kó-sumb-ó mo-lingó mó-pi a-kwanan-a mbɛ́yɪ wá-va
9b-roast-FV 6-oil 6.ASS-black 3SG-should-FV fiɪst 2SG-take:FV.INST

03 ndikó, wó-bĭs-o ká mɔ́ní, á-mbʊw-a[486],
9.palm-nut pit 2SG-put-FV.INST PREP 9.sun 3SG/PL^{P}-be cooked-FV

04 kú-mbúso yí wá-gĭng-ag-a.
17-back 17.DEM.III 2SG-shell-PLUR-FV.INST

05 Ndikó kó-bwŏ, wá-va lɪ-ɗakĭ, yágɔgɔ
9.palm-nut pit 9b-grow big:FV 2SG-take:FV.INST 5-clay pot perhaps

06 lɪ-wɛngú wó-ɗuk-o minó, wóm-os-o kó
5-clay water pot 2SG-pour-FV.INST TRACE 2SG:arrive-CAUS-FV.INST PREP

07 ɓukú.
8:burning piece of wood

08 Wá-kpazy-a minó, na ɪ-kyá líɓó, wá-gbŏnd-a
2SG-sprinkle-FV.INST TRACE with 1c-s.th. small 5:water 2SG-rekindle-FV.INST

09 ɓukú.
8:burning piece of wood

---

[485] Used in order to get deodorant.

[486] This is the only case of **-ʊ** with Passive meaning in my data, **ká-amb-á** 9b-cook-FV 'to cook', **ká-ambʊw-á** 'to be cooked'.

10 Níyɔ́ líɓó a-fá ɓí-gbʊtʊ, wá-va i-gbutú
when 5:water 3SG-dry:FV MOD-viscous 2SG-take: FV.INST 9a-part

11 yá-ɪ-gbʊ̌, yágɔgɔ ɪ-kʊɓú, wá-pʊng-a kó-yʊ̌ ɓí-fuwa,
9.ASS-9a-branch perhaps 9a-stem 2SG-start-FV.INST 9b-stir:FV MOD-"*fʊwa*"

12 fuwa, fuwa.
"*fʊwa*" "*fʊwa*"

13 Múgá a-pʊng-a kó-pup-ó, a-nó-lumb-ó má-nza
3:vapour 3SG-start-FV 9b-leave-FV 3SG-INCH-smell-FV 3.ASS-good

14 ɓí-tʊmbɛ-tʊmbɛ.
MOD-smelling good

15 Sʊ̌ yĭ ɪnd-a ɓyĭ, wá-kɔ́ ɓí-kɔfɔ́, kɔfɔ́.
9.smell 9.DEM.III 3SG:go-FV far 2SG-cough:FV.INST MOD-"*kɔfɔ́*" "*kɔfɔ́*"

16 Ngbíngó wă-gɔgɔ, ɓá-kpazy-ag-a-tú gɔní na mo-lingó má-ngbʊ,
1a.time 1.ASS-other 3PL-sprinkle-PLUR-FV-INS also with 6-oil ASS6-red

17 wó-kóng-o ɓí-wɛsɛɛɛ.
2SG-roast-FV.INST MOD-slowly

18 Kú-mbúso yí, wá-va ndikó yi ní-yɔ́
17-back 17.DEM.III 2SG-take:FV.INST 9.palm-nut pit 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I

19 wó-ɓwóɓw-o ɓí-gbwaaa, wa-kɪn-á ɓɛ́
2SG-cut with teeth-FV.INST MOD-"*gbwaaa*" 2SG-COND:see-FV COMP

20 o-kóng-ík-ón-i-ní, wó-totis-o.
3SG/PL-roast-NEUT-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV 2SG-put down-FV.INST

21 Wá-va lɪ-ndémé, wó-bĭs-o kú-gʊ̌ wa-lɪ-ɗakĭ lá-gɔgɔ,
2SG-take:FV.INST 5-sieve 2SG-put-FV.INST 17-top 17.ASS-5-pot 5.ASS-other

22 wá-va ma-dadă, wó-bĭs-o, wó-kos-on-o kúwa
2SG-take:FV.INST 6-leaf 2SG-put-FV.INST 2SG-pour-PLUR-FV.INST thus

23 kú-gʊ̌ yĭ.
17-top 17.DEM.III

24 Kúwa wa wá-va li-bumó lá-ɓʊ-sɛkí-sɛ́kɪ, wá-makɪt-a
so 2SG-take:FV.INST 5-fruit 5.ASS-14-tree, sp. 2SG-throw-FV.INST

25 kú-sʊ̌ wa-mo-lingó, ó-ɓy-ó ɓí-kpwikpwikpwi,
17-inside 17.ASS-6-oil 3SG/PL^{P}-cook-FV^{P} MOD-"*kpwikpwikpwɪ*"

26 wúkan-a sɛ kúwa sʊ yá-mo-lingó ɓí-duke-duke.
2SG:smell-FV.INST thus thus 9.smell 9.ASS-6-oil MOD-nice smell

27 Níyɔ́ a-dɪk-a kúwa wó-ɗuk-o ká lɪ-súngú.
when 3SG/PL-cool down-FV thus 2SG-pour-FV.INST PREP 5-container

28 Ta-gy-ag-a kúwa ɓé kú-mbúso wa-yĭsʊkʊsagá
1PL-do-PLUR-FV thus COMP 17-back 17.ASS-9a:washing

29 wí-tíkil-og-o nomú.
2SG:REFL-cover-PLUR-FV.INST with:6.PRO

30 Nzúyɪ ó-do-kú ɓí-wɛsɛɛɛ, ɓí-nziki-nziki, ɓí-sɛndɛ-sɛndɛ
9.body 3SG^{P}-come:FV-DIR MOD-soft MOD-shining black MOD-smooth

31 ábĕ mʊ-mángwá.
like 1-big termite

32 Ø-Kik-ó ɓʊ-gɔgŏ, wá-lál-a tŏtɔ ɓí-pɛɛɛ.
3SG-COND:be-FV 14-sunset 2SG-sleep-FV.INST 9.sleep MOD-"*pɛɛɛ*"

33 Mo-lingó mi ní-mɔ́ a-mwɔ́g-ɔ-tú[487] gɔní pándá
6-oil 6.DEM.III COP-6.DEM.I 3SG/PL-kill:PLUR-FV-INS also 9.scabies

34 ká nzúyɪ.
PREP 9.body

35 Gɔní mbɪkɛ́ yi ní-yɔ́ ɓó-kóng-og-o minó ndikó
also 9.pot 9.DEM.III COP-9.DEM.I 3PL^{P}-roast-PLUR-FV TRACE 9.palm-nut pit

36 ɓó-mw-ág-a-tʊ́ minó líɓó kyɛ́ o-lumb-is-og-o
3PL-drink-PLUR-FV-INS TRACE 5:water because 3SG-smell-CAUS-PLUR-FV

37 líɓó lá-nza kúgbɛ.
5:water 5.ASS-good very

1.3.2 The soap bar "agbagɪ" *(T2006.5)*

1. The production[488] of a soap bar is very difficult. 2. Here, where we live in Gbaegbae, we start by collecting banana tree trunks, we arrange them with the fibre of the palm nuts,[489] palm tree flowers, plantain banana peelings, stems of sweet potatoes, "diyongo" bushes,[490] papaya tree pieces and different other objects. 6. When we finish gathering, we cut[491] a lot of firewood, we take all the palm-nut pits and also arrange a fireplace for this fire. 9. Over the fire, we start by putting

---

[487] Vowel copy after height coalescence has applied to the sequence of the high vowel of the [−ATR] -CV- verb and the final vowel **-a**.

[488] Literally, 'work'.

[489] I.e. the fibre which is left after the palm oil is extracted.

[490] These bushes have a very bitter taste.

[491] This verb and the following two have a Past TAM melody.

the palm-nut fibres at all sides, we pour palm-nut pits, we put the banana peelings, followed by "diyongo" bushes, while we are about to tear up banana tree trunks and throw [the pieces] there. 14. The combustion of the liquid consisting of a mix of water and ashes requires effort, because you are finishing by pouring it slowly in the fire, you sit down to heat up[492] the fire, it burns irregularly with a lot of smoke. 17. The whole body takes on just the smell of smoke, you give off a bad smell like a sparrowhawk. 19. When all the ingredients are burned up, you spread them out [until] they cooled down. 21. After that, you lift up all hard embers, pick only ashes.[493] 23. You take something to filter [the ashes] like a worn[494] bucket, a cooking pot, a bowl, or even a [worn] cooking pot and you put it on top of a mortar. 26. When you started filtering, the mix of water and ashes started to ooze, drop, drop, drop. 28. When it swells, lift up the worn clay pot, pour the mix of water and ashes in a cooking pot, put[495] [the cooking pot] on the fire. 31. The making of a soap bar requires a hot "mbimbmibmi" fire; at that time the mix of water and ashes starts to swell "fff", when it starts to turn around "pɛlɛpɛlɛ". 35. If it is almost dry, the cooking pot has become very white at the sides like real[496] salt. 38. [It is the] time of pouring red oil or even white oil. 40. The residue of water and ashes mixes with the oil, it starts to boil different "ɓʊngʊ-ɓʊngʊ", it turns soft like peanut butter prepared with water. 43. Take a woman's knife, start turning [in the pot] while you are about to add a little bit of palm oil, with the fire burning well. 45. We started to see the soap bar swell in the steam of the cooking pot, it is about to become a lot and people reduce it [to bars] in something else. 48. Then they start to pour slowly a little bit of oil, they continue the fire. 50. After that, they put it on the ground, it cooled somewhat down, they wrap [the soap] in packages with dried banana bark. 52. "Agbagɪ" is our soap, it helps us with different jobs, like washing clothes, doing the dishes, washing ourselves, … and

---

[492] Literally, 'push'.

[493] I.e. only ashes are needed for the "agbagɪ".

[494] **ɪgbɔgbɔ̌** is a general term for an object which has become too old to be useful, like in this case something with an open crack to filter the ashes.

[495] **ká-am-á** '9b-limit, end up at, stop-FV' with the Causative extension has the specialized meaning 'put a pot on the cooking stones'.

[496] I.e. salt from salt mines, not the type of salt produced locally.

with many other jobs. 55. The making of soap, here where we live, requires skillfulness.

01 Li-gubó lá-saɓŭni a lá-pŭpu kúgbɛ.
5-work 5.ASS-1a.soap bar 3SG:be 5.ASS-hard very

02 Kúnu kú[497] kusú ká Gbaıgbaı, ta-pung-ag-a ká-mumúl-á
here there 1PL.POSS PREP "Gbaigbai" 1PL-start-PLUR-FV 9b-collect-FV

03 ngbɔngbɔ́, pang-ă-tu na ɓíngo ɓó-bumó, ma-kalá,
9.banana trunk arrange-FV-INS with 2:fibre 2.ASS-9.palm nut 6-palm flower

04 pasí yá-ˡɓúgu, lígi yá-nĕnzıngí, mo-díyongó,
9.peeling 9.ASS-9.plantain banana 9.vine 9.ASS-9.sweet potato 6-bush

05 ɓe-gbutú ɓayá-ɓu-payı-páyı na ma-kpumúká má-gɔgɔ didídĭ[498].
2+9:9a-piece 2+9.ASS-14-papaya tree and 6-thing 6.ASS-other different

06 Ta ká-am-ă ká-mumúl-á, tó-bíng-o sɛ kúwa mísá
1PL:be-FV 9b-limit-FV 9b-collect-FV 1PL^{P}-cut-FV thus thus 9.firewood

07 má-kpu, tá-tup-a ndikó na tó-ɓungusy-o gɔní lítá
6.ASS-big 1PL^{P}-take all-FV 9.palm nut-pit and 1PL^{P}-arrange-FV also 5:fireplace

08 ló-ɓukú ɓĭ.
5.ASS-8:burning piece of wood 8.DEM.III

09 Kú-gŭ wo-ɓukú, ta-pung-ag-a kó-bis-ó
17-top 17.ASS-8:burning piece of wood 1PL-start-PLUR-FV 9b-put-FV

10 pangă-tu ká ɓa-kpólɔ-kpólɔ, tó-ɗuk-o ndikó na
13.hide of palm nut-13 PREP 2-side 1PL^{P}-pour-FV 9.palm-nut pit and

11 tó-bĭs-o pasí yá-ˡɓúgu,
1PL^{P}-put-FV 9.peeling 9.ASS-9.plantain banana

12 ó-sy-on-on-og-o-kú mo-díyongó, kání
3SG/PL^{P}-come down-ASS-ASS-PLUR-FV-DIR 6-bush when

13 ta-ná-yıɓ-á ɓɛ-ngbɔngbɔ́ na ká-ɗıkít-ág-á kúgɔkú.
1PL-INCH-tear up-FV 2+9:9a-banana trunk and 9b-throw-PLUR-FV right there

14 Lı-pyɛpyɛ́ lá-ma-káli a na kɛkɛlé, kyɛ́ wa ká-am-á
5-burning 5.ASS-6-mix[499] 3SG:be with 9.effort because 2SG:be 9b-limit-FV

---

[497] **kú** is changed into **kú** due to assimilation to following [+ATR] **kusú.**

[498] With a plural referent, **di** is triplicated.

[499] Of water and ashes.

15 kó-ɗúk-ús-íl-ó[500] kó ɓukú, wík-o kúwa
9b-pour-CAUS-RES-FV PREP 8:burning piece of wood 2SG^{P}:sit down:FV thus

16 ásɪ kó-túndúl-ó áka ɓukú, a-ná-pyɛ̌
only 9b-push-FV CT 8:burning piece of wood 3SG-INCH-burn:FV
ɓí-ndʊngbʊʊʊ no múkí má-kpʊ.
MOD-disoriented with 6:smoke 6.ASS-big

17 Nzúyɪ yá-sɪ á-va kúwa ásɪ sʊ yó-ˡmúkí áka,
9.body 9.ASS-all 3SG^{P}-take:FV thus only 9.smell 9.ASS-6:smoke CT

18 wó-lumb-o ɓí-gbɔ ábɛ̌ a-tígbɛ.
2SG-emit-FV.INST MOD-bad smell like 1b-sparrowhawk

19 Níyɔ́ ma-kpʊmúká ní-mɔ́ má-sɪ o-sílog-o,
when 6-thing COP-6.DEM.I 6.ASS-all 3SG/PL-burn up-FV

20 wá-gbat-ɪl-a na á-dɪk-a.
2SG-spread out-RES-FV.INST and 3SG/PL^{P}-cool-FV

21 Kú-mbúso yí, wá-túmb-a ma-ká-mʊ má-pŭpʊ má-sɪ,
17-back 17.DEM.III 2SG-lift up-FV.INST 6-ember-6 6.ASS-hard 6.ASS-all

22 á-sɪk-an-a kúwa ásɪ li-bŭ áka.
3SG/PL^{P}-pick-ASS-FV thus only 5-ash CT

23 Wá-va lúkí lí-ˡnyíkisogŏ ábɛ̌ ɪ-gbɔgbɔ̌ yá-katĭni
2SG-take:FV.INST 5:object 5.ADJ-filter like 9a-s.th. worn 9.ASS-9.bucket

24 yá-mu-kadú, basíni, gʊtúgʊ yá-lɪ-ɗakĭ́ áka, wó-bĭs-o
9.ASS-3-cooking pot 9.bowl even 9.ASS-5-clay pot CT 2SG-put-FV.INST

25 kú-gŭ wo-kulúɓi.
17-top 17.ASS-9.mortar

26 Níyɔ́ wá-pʊng-a kó-nyíkísóg-ó, ma-káli á-pʊng-a ká-ɗúk-á
when 2SG^{P}-start-FV 9b-filter-FV 6-mix 3SG/PL^{P}-start-FV 9b-ooze-FV

27 ɓí-tɔ tɔ tɔ.
MOD-"*tɔ tɔ tɔ*"

28 Ø-Ko-bw-ŏ, wá-túmb-a ɪ-gbɔgbɔ̌ yá-lɪ-ɗakĭ́,
3SG-COND-become big-FV 2SG-lift up-FV.INST 9a-s.th. worn 9.ASS-5-clay pot

29 wó-ɗuk-o ma-káli ká mu-kadú, wóm-os-o kó
2SG-pour-FV.INST 6-mix PREP 3-cooking pot 2SG:limit-CAUS-FV.INST PREP

---

[500] **-ɗúk-us-** 'pour slowly', see 7.11.1.

30 ɓukú.
8:burning piece of wood

31 Li-lólómbí lá-saɓǔni a-pag-a ɓukú
5-preparation 5.ASS-1a.soap bar 3SG-want:PLUR-FV 8:burning piece of wood

32 ɓá-pǔ ɓí-mbimbimbi, ngbíngó yi ní-nɔ̌ ma-káli
14.ASS-hard MOD-"*mbimbimbi*" 1a.time 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 6-mix

33 a-nó-ful-ó ɓí-fff, kání o-nó-yikon-ó
3SG/PL-INCH-swell-FV MOD-"*fff*" when 3SG/PL-INCH-turn around-FV

34 ɓí-pɛlɛ-pɛlɛ.
MOD-upside down

35 Ø-Kik-ó kúwa ɓuwóbi ká-fá, mu-kadú
3SG-COND:be-FV thus near 9b-dry:FV 3-cooking pot

36 ó-ɓuɓ-og-o ká ɓa-kpólɔ-kpólɔ ɓí-tú ábɛ̌ li-níko
3SG^{P}-whiten-PLUR-FV PREP 2-side MOD-light like 5-salt

37 lá-li-sénzi.
5.ASS-5-indigenous

38 Ngbíngó mu-ɗukǒ mo-lingó má-ngbʊ gʊtúgʊ má-kambíli kúwa
1a.time 1.ADJ-pour 6-oil 6.ASS-red even 6.ASS-9.white oil thus

39 ní-nɔ̌.
COP-1.DEM.I

40 Ma-káli ɪ-mat-ɪk-an-ag-a na mo-lingó, a-pʊng-a
6-mix 3SG/PL:REFL-add-NEUT-ASS-PLUR-F with 6-oil 3SG/PL-start-FV

41 ká-lʊkút-á di ɓí-ɓʊngʊ-ɓʊngʊ, í-sily-o-kú
9b-boil-FV different MOD-heavy 3SG/PL^{P}:REFL-meet-FV-DIR

42 ɓí-dɪgɪ-dɪgɪ ábɛ séléngúndé wa-í-kpoɗoyíya.
MOD-soft like 1a.peanut 1.ASS-1c-peanut paste

43 Wá-va mbakú, wá-pʊng-a kó-yikós-ó kúwa kání
2SG-take:FV.INST 9.woman's knife 2SG-start-FV.INST 9b-turn-FV thus when

44 wa-ná-matɪl-á mo-lingó ma-kɛ́kɛ́ké, ɓukú ɓí-dɔɓɔ.
2SG-INCH-increase-FV 6-oil 6.ADJ-small 8:burning piece of wood MOD-low[501]

45 Tá-pʊng-a kúwa kám-ɪn-a saɓǔni kó-ful-ó-kú ká mʊ-kálá
1PL^{P}-start-FV thus 9b:1.O-see-FV 1a.soap bar 9b-swell-FV-DIR PREP 3-steam

[501] **ɓídɔɓɔ** signifies a low sound, but can also mean 'functioning well'.

46 má-mu-kadú, o-nó-gw-on-on-ó ɓí-gbɪya-gbɪya na ɓá-pʊng-a
3.ASS-3-cooking pot 3SG-INCH-fall-ASS-ASS-FV MOD-multiplied and 3PL-start-FV

47 ká-gbag-á kú-sɔ̌ wo-lúkí lá-gɔgɔ.
9b-reduce:PLUR-FV 17-inside 17.ASS-5:object 5.ASS-other

48 Kúwa wa, ɓá-ˡnó-ɗuk-us-ó mo-lingó ma-kɛ́kɛ́ké,
thus there 3PL-INCH-pour-CAUS-FV 6-oil 6.ADJ-small

49 ɓó-dukul-og-o ɓukú.
3PL-continue-PLUR-FV 8:burning piece of wood

50 Kú-mbúso yí, ɓá-totis-o, á-dɪk-a minó yɪ-kéɗɛ́,
17-back 17.DEM.III 3PL-put down-FV 3SG^{P}-cool-FV TRACE ADV-small

51 ɓá-ˡɓʊ́w-ag-a kó mo-ɓúki no púkú-pukú.
3PL:1.O-wrap-PLUR-FV PREP 6-package with 9.dried banana bark

52 Á-gbágí ní saɓŭni kusú, a-tí-tʊngbʊl-ag-a ká mo-gubó
1b-soap COP 1a.soap bar 1PL.POSS 3SG-1PL.O-help-PLUR-FV PREP 6-work

53 didídĭ ábĕ ká-sʊkús-á ɓo-tú, ká-ŭ-sʊkús-á ɓa-sănɪ,
different like 9b-wash-FV 2 + 9-clothes 9b-2.O-wash-FV 2-plate

54 ká-ĭ-sʊkús-ág-á, … na mo-gubó má-gɔgɔ má-kpʊ ɓată.
9b-REFL-wash-PLUR-FV and 6-work 6.ASS-other 6.ASS-big again

55 Li-lólómbí lá-saɓŭni kúnʊ kú kusú a-kúng-ag-a
5-preparation 5.ASS-1a.soap bar here there 1PL.POSS 3SG-demand-PLUR-FV

56 ɓʊ-gĕgɛlɛ́.
14-technique

1.4 Moral instruction

1.4.1 A good girl *(T2006.9)*

1. A girl is like ivory, a valuable object of her family. 3. The eyes of family members are upon her, they do not want that their child would cause talk when she is to be married. 6. How does a good girl behave? 7. She listened to the advice of her father and her mother, she has learned the practices of housekeeping: cooking, cutting[502] firewood, sweeping the yard, doing the dishes, she has learned the work in the field. 11. She should not be a lazybones, [not] a person of laughing in front of people, when she starts to seduce someone softly, nor someone playing with the

[502] I.e. cleaving with an axe.

boys. 14. She should not be a person who begs [nor someone] with bad behaviour. 16. She should not be a person who steals.[503] 17. Likewise, she does not walk unkempt or not properly dressed,[504] she does not eat on the road. 19. She does not take off her clothes[505] to wash herself [in a stream] near the road. 21. The girl who listens to her fathers and her mothers will be a child of honour in the village. 24. The man who wants to marry her, he will come to a neat courtyard. 26. The men of the village look at her, because if there is a marriage, they are the ones who go to bring her [to the village of her husband]. 28. This is how a good girl should be.

01 Míkí mu-kó yǐ a ábɛ síɓá, lúkí lí-dingǐ
1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 3SG:be like 9.ivory 5:object 5.ADJ-big
02 lá-ɪ-vananza kakí.
5.ASS-9a-family 3SG.POSS
03 Míso ka-ɓɛ-vananza ik-og-o kú-gǔ kakí,
6:eye GEN-2+9:9a-family 3SG/PL:be-PLUR-FV 17-top 3SG.POSS
04 ɓá-ká-pa-gʊ ɓɛ́ míkaɓú ká-agă vonóni
3PL-NEG-want:FV-NEG COMP 1a.child:3PL.POSS 9b-go:FV 9.marriage
05 ɓík-i minó ká-yʊng-á ɓo-buló.
3PL:be-FV.SUBJ TRACE 9b-tell-FV 2-speech
06 Míkí mu-kó yǐ wa-nzá ik-og-o ɓúní ?
1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 1.ASS-good 3SG:be-PLUR-FV how
07 Úkan-ag-a mʊ-túʊ ka-a-bǎkɪ na a-mákɪ,
3SG^{P}:hear-PLUR-FV 3-advice GEN-1b-father:3SG.POSS and 1b-mother:3SG.POSS
08 íb-on-on-o na yǐgyɪgyǐlyá yá-ku-káká-kʊ: yambámbá,
3SG^{P}:know-ASS-ASS-FV with 9a:practice 9.ASS-15-housekeeping-15 9a:cooking
09 kó-ɓíng-ó mísá ká-kpă pă, ká-sʊkús-á ma-kpʊmúká,
9b-cut-FV 9.firewood 9b-sweep:FV 9.area 9b-wash-FV 6-thing
10 íb-on-on-o na li-gubó ló-tíko.
3SG^{P}:know-ASS-ASS-FV with 5-work 5.ASS-9.field
11 Ø-Ké-gʊ a-dándá, mʊ-tú wa-kɪtítɪbyǎ kámbwa
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 1b-lazybones 1-man 1.ASS-9.laughter 17:front

---

[503] Literally, 'with a long arm'.

[504] Literally, 'disorderly'.

[505] Literally, 'she does not pull out nudity'.

12 ka-ɓa-mbánzú, kání a-ná-ˈwísɪl-y-ă ɓí-wɛsɛ-wɛsɛ,
GEN-2-person when 3SG-INCH:1.O-seduce-APPL-FV MOD-soft

13 Ø-ké-gʊ mʊ-tú mʊ-zʊnă na ɓo-míkí ɓa-lúkú ɓĭ.
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 1-man 1.ADJ-playing with 2-child 2-man 2.DEM.III

14 Ø-Kɛ́-gʊ mʊ-tú wa-kɪkúkʊngyă na yĭgya
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG 1-man 1.ASS-9.begging with 9a:habit

15 yá-ɗabú-ɗabú.
9.ASS-9.bad behaviour

16 Ø-Kɛ́-gʊ na kʊ-ɓɔ́ˈkú-kɔ kʊ-ndă.
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG with 15-arm-15 15.ADJ-long

17 Ø-Ká-kpakyan-ag-ɪ-gʊ gbalɪ ɓégɛyɔ́, Ø-ká-lyály-ag-ɪ-gʊ kó
3SG-NEG-walk-PLUR-FV-NEG disorderly likewise 3SG-NEG-graze-PLUR-FV-NEG PREP

18 pĭsi.
9.path

19 Ø-Kí-nyɔg-ɪ-gʊ ndúmbú ká-ĭ-sʊkús-ág-á kó
3SG-NEG:REFL-pull out:PLUR-FV-NEG 9.nudity 9b-REFL-wash-PLUR-FV PREP

20 pĭsi.
9.path

21 Míkí mu-kó yi ní-nɔ̌ ʊm-úkan-ag-a[506]
1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 3SG:2.O-hear-PLUR-FV

22 ɓa-băkɪ na ɓa-mákɪ, ik-og-o míkí
2:1b-father:3SG.POSS and 2:1b-mother:3SG.POSS 3SG:be-PLUR-FV 1a.child

23 wa-ɪ-bɪbă ká mʊ-sɛngí.
1.ASS-9a-honour PREP 3-village

24 Mʊ-lúkú Ø-ká-pă ká-vă, o-do-kú ká pa
1-man 3SG-COND-want:FV 9b-take:FV 3SG-come:FV-DIR PREP 9.area

25 yá-ngba.
9.ASS-shining

26 Ɓa-tú ɓá-mʊ-sɛngí ɓám-ɪn-a, kyɛ́ Ø-kik-ó vonóni,
2-man 2.ASS-3-village 3PL:1.O-see-FV because 3SG-COND:be-FV 9.marriage

27 ɪɓú ɓɔ́ ɓínd-a ká-bis-ó.
2.PRO 2.DEM.I 3PL:go-FV 9b:1.O-put-FV

---

[506] The H part of the LH tone on the vowel of the object prefix, **ʊ̌-**, is associated with the initial vowel of the verb **-ʊkan-** 'hear'.

28 Míkí mu-kó yǐ wa-nzá ik-og-o ɓɛ́yɔ́.
1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 1.ASS-good 3SG:be-PLUR-FV like that

1.4.2 A good boy *(T2006.8)*

1. It is expected of a boy to have a house, because a house is something very good. 2. To make known that you are a young man, you need to start to build a house when you grow up. 5. At the time when you become an adult someone will no longer force[507] you to build. 7. Even if you will have more wives, someone will not advise you again, my child. 9. Why[508] am I saying this to you? 10. If you marry a woman, you will put her in that house [that you have built]. 12. Your belongings, you will store in your house. 13. If visitors come to meet you, you will not wander[509]. 14. They will know that you are truly a young man[510], because you certainly have a house. 16. My child, a boy does not wander around incessantly.

01 O-kwonón-i míkí mʊ-lúkú yǐ ká-ik-ó na ndáɓʊ,
3SG-should-FV.ANT 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III 9b-be-FV with 9.house
02 kyɛ́ ndáɓʊ ní lúkí lá-nza kúgbɛ.
because 9.house COP 5:object 5.ASS-good very
03 Ká-ib-ís-ík-ón-ís-ó ɓɛ́ wa míkí mʊ-lúkú yǐ,
9b-know-CAUS-NEUT-ASS-CAUS-FV COMP 2SG:be 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III
04 o-ɓosíl-i ká-pʊng-á kó-pik-ó ndáɓʊ kání wo kó-ping-ó.
3SG-need-FV.ANT 9b-start-FV 9b-build-FV 9.house when 2SG:be 9b-grow up-FV
05 Ngbíngó yi ní-nɔ̌ wʊ́t-a minó mʊ-lúkú mu-dingǐ,
1a.time 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 2SG:change-FV TRACE 1-man 1.ADJ-big
06 Ø-kú-gyagy-ɪ-gʊ ɓata kó-pik-ó.
3SG-NEG:2SG.O-punish-FV-NEG again 9b-build-FV
07 Gʊtúgʊ wa-kik-ó na ndɛndí áka,
even 2SG-COND:be-FV with 9.polygamy CT
08 Ø-kú-tiwoly-i-gʊ ɓata míkămɪ.
3SG-NEG:2SG.O-advise:APPL-FV.ANT-NEG again 1a.child:1SG.POSS

---

[507] Literally, 'punish'.

[508] The combination **kyɛ́ ɓóní** 'because how' is the way to express 'why'.

[509] I.e. to find a place to sleep for the visitors.

[510] Literally, 'a young man of truth'.

09 Na ká-ʊ-ɓíky-á kyɛ́ ɓʊ́ní ?
1SG:be 9b-2SG.O-say-FV because how

10 Wa-ka-vă mu-kó, wa-mak-y-á ká ndáɓʊ yi
2SG-COND-take:FV 1-woman 2SG:1.O-put in-APPL-FV PREP 9.house 9.DEM.III

11 ní-yɔ́.
COP-9.DEM.I

12 Mu-kúmbó kakú, wa-maky-a ká ndáɓʊ kakú.
1-luggage 2SG.POSS 2SG-put in-FV PREP 9.house 2SG.POSS

13 Ɓo-bikó ɓa-ku-sily-ó-kú, wá-kámam-ɪ-gʊ.
2-visitor 3PL-COND:2SG.O-meet-FV-DIR 2SG-NEG:wander-FV-NEG

14 Ɓúm-ib-o ɓɛ́ wa míkí mʊ-lúkú yĭ
3PL:2SG.O-know-FV COMP 2SG:be 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III

15 wa-lí-ngʊnú, íba kyɛ́ wa-tó na ndáɓʊ.
1.ASS-5-truth it means that because 2SG:be-INS with 9.house

16 Míkămɪ, míkí mʊ-lúkú yĭ ø-kámam-ag-ɪ-gʊ
1a.child:1SG.POSS 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III 3SG-NEG:wander-PLUR-FV-NEG

17 ɓí-gbagbagba.
MOD-incessant

1.4.3 The advice of chief Ogiyatu and chief Bamuka *(T2006.7)*

1. A chief should have a [good] behaviour, be a good example, in order to protect his village, the property and his people. 4. A chief does not like evil. 5. The road should be clear.[511] 6. We chiefs are not at ease[512] when[513] we have said to the people: "Attention!", they should work, but they don't. 9. It is very good to work, because if we do not work, how would people live? 11. [It is] thus very [good] when you have visitors. 12. The road should be clear. 13. Because if the road would not be clear, where would our brother Engama travel [to come] here? 15. That is to say, all people would have a problem to come here. 16. It is not only the road, it is also necessary to have fields, because the field is supporting us regarding other needs. 19. A chief also keeps an eye on the water that his people drink, because the water should be clear, clean, clean water in the calabash. 22. With

[511] Literally, 'the road should not be with rubbish, i.e. (partly) overgrown'.

[512] Literally, 'do not hear well'.

[513] Literally, 'at the time and within the period'.

respect to education,[514] the chief should not be silent either, because if there were no schools, the Liko language, how would we learn it? 26. It is good if children enter the school, because a child is a banana shoot, because this banana shoot will give us bananas later. 29. A chief should also manage the work of a hospital, because our body loves illnesses.[515] 31. You Liko people "ooo", you his brothers "aaa", you there my clan members "aaa", let us do all the work. 32. Let us fix up the village so that we would be well.

01 Ngámá o-kwonón-i ká-ik-ó na yĭgyă, na li-kingyosí
1a.chief 3SG-should-FV.ANT 9b-be-FV with 9a:habit with 5-example
02 lá-nza kó bulyó yíɓúulyogŏ mu-gĭ kakí, mu-kúmbó na
5.ASS-good PREP 9.reason 9a:protection 3-village 3SG.POSS 3-transport with
03 ɓa-tó kakí.
2-man 3SG.POSS
04 Ngámá ø-ká-pag-ɩ-gʊ lúkí lá-nyɛ.
1a.chief 3SG-NEG-want:PLUR-FV-NEG 5:object 5.ASS-bad
05 Ndáki ø-kik-o-ní ˡtɔ́-gʊ na tɔ́ˡní-tɔ.
9.road 3SG-NEG:be-FV-NEGSUBJ INS-NEG with 13.rubbish-13
06 Iɓúsú ɓa-ngámá tí-kím-úkan-ag-ɩ-gʊ[516] ɓí-nza kó
1PL.PRO 2-chief 1PL-NEG:REFL-hear-PLUR-FV-NEG MOD-good PREP
07 ngbíngó na dînga ní-nŏ tʊ-ɓíky-i minó ɓa-mbánzʊ́
1a.time with 1a.period COP-1.DEM.I 1PL:2PL.O-say-FV.ANT TRACE 2-person
08 ámbɛ ɓá-gy-ĭ li-gubó kání ɓá-kɛ́-gʊ ká-gy-ă.
ATT 3PL-do-FV.SUBJ 5-work when 3PL-NEG:be:FV-NEG 9b-do-FV
09 Li-gubó a lá-nza kúgbɛ kyɛ́ tó-kó-gy-ĭ li-gubó
5-work 3SG:be 5.ASS-good very because 1PL-COND-do-FV.NEG 5-work
10 íba ɓa-mbánzʊ́ ɓá-gy-ag-a ɓʊ́[517] ?
it means that 2-person 3PL-do-PLUR-FV 2.PRO

---

[514] Literally, 'on the side of the school'.

[515] The author wants to say that Liko people easily attract diseases.

[516] The vowel of the subject prefix **ta-** has assimilated to the following high vowel of the reflexive prefix **ĭ-**.

[517] Short for **ɩɓʊ́**.

11 Kúwa kúgbɛ kání wa na ɓo-bikó.
thus very when 2SG:be with 2-visitor

12 O-kwonón-i pĭsi ø-ík-í ɓí-ngɔ.
3SG-should-FV.ANT 9.path 3SG-be-FV.SUBJ MOD-clean

13 Kyɛ́ ndáki ø-kík-i ɓí-ngɔ́, íba mó↓mósu[518]
because 9.road 3SG-COND:be-FV.NEG MOD-clean it means that brother:1PL.POSS

14 ɓéyɔ́ ka-Engama[519] o-ɓyi-kú ɓi yánɪ ?
like that GEN-"Engama" 3SG-follow:FV.ANT-DIR P_1 where

15 Íba ɓa-tú ɓá-sɪ ɓŏ ɓi na ɓʊ-kpɛkí-kpɛkí kó-do-kú.
it means that 2-man 2.ASS-all 3PL:be P_1 with 14-problem 9b-come:FV-DIR

16 ø-Kɛ́-gʊ ásɪ ndáki aká, o-kwonón-i gɔní ká-ik-ó
3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG only 9.road CT 3SG-should-FV.ANT also 9b-be-FV

17 na ɓo-tíko, kyɛ́ tíko yɔ́ a ká-tí-tʊngbúl-ág-á
with 2+9-field because 9.field 9.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b-1PL.O-support-PLUR-FV

18 ká ɓa-mápʊmʊ́ ɓá-gɔgɔ.
PREP 2-family need 2.ASS-other

19 Ngámá and-ag-a-tú gɔní líɓó ní-lɔ́ ɓa-tú kakí
1a.chief 3SG:look-PLUR-FV-INS also 5:water COP-5.DEM.I 2-man 3SG.POSS

20 ɓó-mw-óg-o, kyɛ́ o-kwonón-i líɓó ík-o
3PL-drink-PLUR-FV because 3SG-should-FV.ANT 5:water 3SG:be-FV

21 ɓí-ngápá-ngápá, ɓí-ngɔ́, líɓó ɓí-ngápá-ngápá ká pápá.
MOD-clear MOD-clean 5:water MOD-clear PREP 9.calabash

22 Ká a-mbámbá wa-kalásɪ ngámá ø-ká-dak-ɪ-gʊ minó
PREP 1b-side 1.ASS-1a.school 1a.chief 3SG-NEG-be silent-FV-NEG TRACE

23 ɓégɛyɔ́, kyɛ́ ø-kík-ĭ ɓi kalásɪ íba
likewise because 3SG-COND:be-FV.NEG P_1 1a.school it means that

24 ní-lɪ-ná lá-Li-likó lɪ-ná ta píyɛ
COP-5.DEM.II-CONN 5.ASS-5-Liko language 5.DEM.II-CONN 1PL:be thus

25 ká-ib-ó lɪkí ?
9b-know-FV how

26 A ɓí-nzá ɓo-míkí ɓíngy-í ká kalásɪ, kyɛ́ míkí
3SG:be MOD-good 2-child 3PL:enter-FV.SUBJ PREP 1a.school because 1a.child

---

[518] **mómosú** is a compound based on **mamá ibúsú**, literally 'our mother', the meaning is 'the son of our mother'.

[519] **ɓéyɔ́ ka** when followed by a proper name means 'called' (only for animates).

27 nɪ a-kɔ́ngɔ́, kyɛ́ a-kɔ́ngɔ́ nɔ̌ a-tí-pag-a
COP 1b-banana shoot because 1b-banana shoot 1.DEM.I 3SG-1PL.O-give:PLUR-FV
28 má-ɓúgʊ kú-mbúso.
6-banana 17-back
29 Ngámá ămaly-ag-a-tú gɔní li-gubó lá-li-pitálʊ kó bulyó
1a.chief 3SG:manage-PLUR-FV-INS also 5-work 5.ASS-5-hospital PREP 9.reason
30 kyɛ́ nzúyɪ kusú a-pa ɓo-kóloɓú.
because 9.body 1PL.POSS 3sg-want:FV 2-illness
31 Iɓúnú Ɓo-likó ooo, iɓúnú ɓa-máˡmákɪ aaa, iɓúnú
2PL.PRO 2-Liko person "*ooo*" 2PL.PRO 2-brother:3SG.POSS "*aaa*" 2PL.PRO
32 ɓa-va kú kămɪ aaa, tó-gy-ĭ-ni mo-gubó má-sɪ.
2-clan member there 1SG.POSS "*aaa*" 1PL-do-FV.SUBJ-ADDR 6-work 6.ASS-all
33 Tó-ɓungúsy-í-ni mʊ-sɛngí íba tík-i ɓí-nza.
1PL-arrange-FV.SUBJ-ADDR 3-village it means that 1PL:be-FV.SUBJ MOD-good

1.5 New story (written)

To illustrate how the language codes new information, contrast, participant activation, and external topics, comments on information structure are added.

1.5.1 Ikoɓu (T2009.21)[520]

1. My children, listen now how Old Ikoɓu got himself killed when poverty took the upper hand. 4. Ikoɓu had a fried of his age group called Zangɪya. 6. These two men loved each other very much. 8. They were different, but they always went out together. 10. Be it setting traps, fishing, going to the market, no matter where. 12. If you saw Ikoɓu, then you had also seen Zangɪya. 14. What [was it] good at first! 15. Some time later, the war, which is called poverty, arrived at them. 17. The men even tried to fish with fish hooks, but the fish did not show up. 19. They also tried to set traps, other kinds of traps, they cut the long barrier[521], nothing was successful. 22. It became difficult for them to see how they would get any income.[522] 24. They stopped to appear at the market, even in church. 26. The

[520] Author: Kamenabake Ndukoni Jean-Pierre.

[521] I.e. a type of barrier in the forest with holes for traps.

[522] Literally, 'a visible way to income came with difficulty to them'.

clothes that Zangɪya had, these were all torn to the thread "tututu", the man was white "tu".[523] 29. He stayed hidden in the house, he prayed to God that He would not abandon him. 32. So he went to search for food or to draw water during the night, because people, if they were there, they scorned him. 35. His friend Ikoɓu, he was likewise [poor]. 37. But, he still had one worn pair of trousers and a shirt. 39. He asked himself: "These threadbare clothes here, if they are gone, what shall I do?" 42. Not long afterwards,[524] Ikoɓu was about to think that his fried called Zangɪya had died. 45. Zangɪya thought as well that Ikoɓu had died. 47. When Ikoɓu came tot that conclusion,[525] he went to a band of robbers[526] to ask for his death, because he did not want that he would die like an ant. 50. He [said] to the chief of the robbers: "Chief, I am longing to die, because life is for me very hard, I do not have any clothes left,[527] they are gone. 54. The chief of the robbers [said] to him: "You come at the right time, let us go to the hill." 56. The chief called the robbers, they went with Ikoɓu to the hill where they used to kill people, they called [the hill] forehead. 59. On the road, Zangɪya watched them, while he was inside the house, he said: "Father God, Ikoɓu was still alive?" 62. He yelled at the chief of the robbers, he said: "Father, please, come here, I do not have the strength to leave this place to where you are, because I am naked." 65. The chief came. 66. Zangɪya asked him: "Where are you going to with Ikoɓu?" 67. The chief [said] to him: "They are going to kill him, because he himself asked for his death." 69. Zangɪya said to the chief: "Chief, if you (pl) kill Ikoɓu, come (pl) to give me his clothes, so that I go outside with them[528]." 72. The chief agreed. 73. When Ikoɓu heard the voice of Zangɪya, he said to the chief: "Hey! Father, please forgive me, I was believing, look! I was the only one in crisis." 76. But, they listened to him no longer. 77. They went with him, they started to pull him "dakpa-dakpa" to the hill, they hit him with sticks like a snake, they killed him, they came with his clothes,

---

[523] The clothes were so worn that one could see the light through the holes, he was almost naked.

[524] Literally, 'many days did not meet each other again'.

[525] Literally, 'when he saw that'.

[526] Literally, 'men without mercy'.

[527] Literally, 'clothes had finished on me'.

[528] I.e. the clothes.

they gave them to Zangıya. 80. Zangıya left outside, he started to walk. 81. Friend, oh!, do not think that you are the only one in poverty. 83. Someone else certainly also has some other need, more than you.

01 Ɓo-míka-mamá, ukón-ó-ni mbéyı ɓéyɔ́ a-mbɔ̌kú
2-children:GEN-1a.mother 2.O:hear-FV.IMP-ADDR first like that 1b-old person
02 Ikóɓú í-mwís-ís-á ndı minó, nt́[529] yangyá
"Ikoɓu" 3SG^{P}:REFL-kill:CAUS-CAUS-FV^{P} P_3 TRACE when 9.poverty
03 a-bedúl-i-ní.
3SG-surpass-FV.ANT-PFV

New information: **ɓéyɔ́ ambɔ̌kú Ikóɓú ímwísísá ndı minó**, introduction of the subject of the story, how Ikoɓu got himself killed.

04 Ikóɓú ă ndı na wayí dăkı ɓéyɔ́
"Ikoɓu" 3SG:be P_3 with 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS like that
05 ka-Zangíyá.
GEN-"Zangıya"

New information: **wayí dăkı ɓéyɔ́ ka Zangíyá**, introduction of the second main character, friend Zangıya.

06 Ɓa-lúkú ɓá-ɓă ɓi ní-ɓa-ná ɓá-pan-an-ag-ă
2-man 2.NUM-two 2.DEM.III COP-2.DEM.II-CONN 3PL^{P}-want:ASS-ASS-PLUR-FV
07 ndı kúgbɛ.
P_3 very

New information: **ɓápananagă ndı kúgbɛ**, they loved each other very much.
The two men are the topic and presented as present (type II demonstrative **ɓa**).

08 Ɓík-og-ă ndı didídi, lúkí lí-motí ɓá-kpakyan-ag-ă ndı pa
3PL^{P}:be-PLUR-FV P_3 different 5:object 5.NUM-one 3PL^{P}-walk-PLUR-FV P_3 9.area
09 yí-motí áka.
9.NUM-one CT
10 Ík-i ká ɓa-kpáká, ká ma-sıkıɗángí, ká ɓa-sɔ́kɔ, gutúgu sɛ
3SG:be.SUBJ PREP 2+9-trap PREP 6-fish hook PREP 2-market even thus

[529] Short for **kání.**

11 píyɛ yánɪ.
thus where

12 Wa-kam-ín-á ndɪ Ikóɓú íba kyé
2SG-COND:1.O-see-FV P_3 "Ikoɓu" it means that because

13 wam-ín-i-ní gɔní Zangíyá.
2SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT-PFV also "Zangɪya"

14 l-kí mbéyɪ yɔ́ yá-nza ɓéyɔ́ !
9a-what first 9.DEM.I 9.ASS-good like that

New information: **ɓíkogă ndɪ didídi**, the men were different.
Contrasting being different: **pa yímotí áka**, they did everything together.

15 Kú-mbúso wa-ma-syé, lónga ní-lɔ́ ɓá-lɪk-y-ag-a ɓé
17-back 17.ASS-6-day 5:war COP-5.DEM.I $3PL^P$-call-APPL-PLUR-FV COMP

16 yangyá ú-sil-y-ă ndɪ.
9.poverty $3SG^P$:2.O-arrive-APPL-FV P_3

External topic: **kúmbúso wa masyé**, some time later.
New information: **lónga nílɔ́ ɓálɪkyaga ɓé yangyá úsilyă ndɪ**, poverty arrives.

17 Ɓa-lúkú ɓá-kɪngɪl-ag-ă ndɪ gʊtúgʊ ɓé ɓó-lub-ŏg-í
2-man $3PL^P$-try-PLUR-FV P_3 even COMP 3PL-plunge-PLUR-FV.SUBJ

18 ma-sɪkɪɗángí, ní ɓo-sí ɓá-ké-gʊ ká-in-ís-ón-ó.
6-fish hook when 2-fish 3PL-NEG:be:FV-NEG 9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV

19 Ɓá-kɪngɪl-a gɔní ká-lík-ág-á ma-ɓɔ́mbʊ, ɓa-galápɪ, ɓá-kɔ
$3PL^P$-try-FV also 9b-trap-PLUR-FV 6-trap 2 + 9-trap $3PL^P$-cut:FV

20 mʊ-palú ní-ma-ná má-ndă, gʊtúgʊ mbéyɪ kó-ɓók-ís-ó
3-barrier[530] COP-3.DEM.II-CONN 3.ASS-long even first 9b-grow-CAUS-FV

21 áka.
CT

22 Pĭsi yá-kĭnisonŏ na ɓu-yí ó-do-kú ndɪ na ɪɓú
9.path 9.ASS-9.s.th. visible with 14-money $3SG^P$-come:FV-DIR P_3 with 2.PRO

23 yá-pŭpʊ.
9.ASS-strong

New information: **ɓólubŏgí masɪkɪɗángí** and **kálíkágá maɓómbu, ɓagalápɪ, ɓákɔ mupaló nímaná mándă**, the men try all kinds of things.

---

[530] A barrier in the forest with passage ways where traps are installed.

Contrasting all the effort they put into it: **gʊtúgʊ mbéyɪ kóɓókísó áka**, it was all without success.

24 Ɓá-sa ká-in-ís-ón-ó ká ɓa-sɔ́kɔ gʊtúgʊ ká ndáɓʊ
3PL^{P}-abandon:FV 9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV PREP 2-market even PREP 9.house
25 yá-Múngu[531] aká.
9.ASS-1a.God CT

New information: **ɓása káinísónó ká ɓasɔ́kɔ**, they stop going to the market.
Contrasting the market: **gʊtúgʊ ká ndáɓʊ yá Múngu aká**, even to church.

26 Ɓo-tú ní-ɓayɔ́ Zangíyá ă ndɪ na ɓoyú
2+9-clothes COP-2+9.DEM.I "Zangɪya" 3SG:be P_3 with 2+9.PRO
27 á-tín-ɪk-ag-ă ndɪ ɓayá-sɪ ɓí-tutútu, a-lúkú ó-ɓuɓ-ă
3SG^{P}-cut-NEUT-PLUR-FV P_3 2+9.ASS-all MOD-bright 1b-man 3SG^{P}-be white:FV
28 ndɪ ɓí-tú.
P_3 MOD-bright

New information: **ɓotú níɓayɔ́ Zangíyá ă ndɪ no ɓoyú átínɪkagă ndɪ ɓayásɪ ɓítutútu**, Zangɪya's clothes no longer cover his body.
Use of substitutive (**ɓoyú**) to emphasize something important: clothes (**ɓotú**) are a key element in the story.

29 Ik-og-o kúwă ndɪ ká ndáɓʊ aká ɓí-du,
3SG:be-PLUR-FV thus P_3 PREP 9.house CT MOD-deep
30 a-ná-ˡkúng-a Kúnzi ɓé
3SG-INCH:1.O-demand-FV 1a.God COMP
31 ø-kas-o-ní ˡtɔ-gʊ ɓáka.
3SG-NEG:1.O:abandon-FV-NEGSUBJ INS-NEG please
32 ɭnd-ag-a kúwă ndɪ ká-kís-á ma-lílí ikání ká-túg-á
3SG:go-PLUR-FV thus P_3 9b-search-FV 6-food or 9b-draw water-FV
33 líɓó no bití, kyé ɓa-mbánzú ɓa-kik-o-ní
5:water with 9.darkness because 2-person 3PL-COND:be-FV-PFV
34 ká-ˡtíb-á.
9b:1.O-laugh-FV

[531] Swahili loanword.

Contrasting going out during the day (which would be normal): **ká ndáɓu aká**, Zangıya hides himself in the house.
New information: **ındaga kówă ndı kákísá malílí ikánígu kátógá líɓó no bití**, in the dark, Zangıya leaves to search for food and water.

35 Wayí dăkí ɓéyɔ́ ka-Ikóɓú ik-og-o
1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS like that GEN-"Ikoɓu" 3SG:be-PLUR-FV
36 kúwă ndı ıyí ɓégɛyɔ́.
thus P_3 1.PRO likewise
37 Lúkí lí-motí á-tu mbéyĭ ndı ɓată ıyí na ı-gbɔgbɔ
5:object 5.NUM-one 3SG:be-INS first P_3 again 1.PRO with 9a-s.th. worn
38 yá-patalú[532] yí-motí[533] na yá-simízi.
9.ASS-1a.trousers 9.NUM-one with 9.ass-1a.shirt
39 A-ním-úus-ó kúwa ɓé: "Bɛ-gbɔgbɔ̌ ɓayá-ɓo-tú
3SG-INCH:REFL-ask-FV thus COMP 2+9:9a-s.th. worn 2+9.ASS-2+9-clothes
40 ɓi[534] ní-ɓayı Ø-ka-pút-ík-án-á sɛ píyɛ kúwa,
2.DEM.III COP-2+9.DEM.II 3SG-COND-destroy-NEUT-ASS-FV thus thus thus
41 nĭ-gy-a kúwa ımı ɓúní ?"
1SG:REFL-do-FV thus 1SG.PRO how

New information: **ıyí ɓégɛyɔ́**, Ikoɓu is in the same situation, but **átu mbéyĭ ndı ɓată ıyí na ıgbɔgbɔ yá patalú yímotí na yá simízi**, he still has one set of worn clothes.
Use of substitutive (**ıyí**, two times) to emphasize the subject (Ikoɓu).

42 Ma-syɛ́ má-kpu ɓá-kó-sil-y-on-og-i-gŭ ndı ɓată.
6-day 6.ASS-big $3PL^P$-NEG-arrive-APPL-ASS-PLUR-FV-NEG P_3 again
43 Ikóɓú a-ná-ˡtáman-á ɓé wayí dăkí ɓéyɔ́
"Ikoɓu" 3SG-INCH-think-FV COMP 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS like that
44 ka-Zangíyá ó-kw-ó-ní ndı.
GEN-"Zangıya" $3SG^P$-die-FV^P-PFV P_3
45 Zangíyá a-ná-ˡtáman-ag-á gɔní ıyí ɓé Ikóɓú ó-kw-ó-ní
"Zangıya" 3SG-INCH-think-PLUR-FV also 1.PRO COMP "Ikoɓu" $3SG^P$-die-FV^P-PFV

---

[532] French loanword, *pantalon*, like **simízi** in the same sentence, from *chemise*.
[533] Agreement with 1a:trousers would require **ɓé-motí** 1.NUM-one, but class 9 enumerative prefix is used.
[534] For this class 2 concord, see 6.1.2.

46 ndɪ.
P_3

New information: **wayí dǎkí ɓéyɔ́ ka Zangíyá ókwóní ndɪ** and **gɔní ɪyí ɓé Ikóɓú ókwóní ndɪ**, Both think that the other is dead.

47 Níyɔ́ Ikóɓú ín-á ɓéyɔ́, índ-a ká ɓo-nzikaɓú,
when "Ikoɓu" 3SG^P:see-FV^P like that 3SG^P:go-FV PREP 2-man without mercy

48 ká-kúng-á ku-kwá-kʊ, kyɛ́ Ø-kɛ́-gŭ ndɪ kápa ɓɛ́
9b-demand-FV 15-death-15 because 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG P_3 9b-want:FV COMP

49 ó-kw-í kúwa ábɛ̌ mʊ-kɔ́tɪ.
3SG-die-FV.SUBJ thus like 1-ant

50 ɪyí áka na ngámá ka-ɓonzikaɓú ɓɛ́: "Ngámá, na
1.PRO only with 1a.chief GEN-2-man without mercy COMP 1a.chief 1SG:be

51 kápă ku-kwá-kʊ, kyɛ́ ɔɓílí a kúwa na ɪmɪ
9b-want:FV 15-death-15 because 1a.life 3SG:be thus with 1SG.PRO

52 wa-pŭpʊ kúgbɛ, ɓo-tú é-ˡsy-ó-ní kúwa
1.ASS-strong very 2+9-clothes 3SG/PL^P:1SG.O-finish-FV^P-PFV thus

53 ɓayí-syŏ gɔní."
2+9.ADJ-finish also

New information: **índa ká ɓonzikaɓú, kákúngá kukwáku**, Ikoɓu goes to robbers and asks to be killed.

54 Ngámá ka-ɓo-nzikaɓú áka na ɪyí ɓɛ́:[535] "Wo-du-kú[536]
1a.chief GEN-2-man without mercy only with 1.PRO COMP 2SG-come:FV-DIR

55 ɓí-nza, tógó-ni ká ngúpá."
MOD-good 1PL:go:FV-ADDR PREP 9.hill

56 Ngámá ú-mák-á ɓo-nzikaɓú, ɓágă ndɪ na Ikóɓú
1a.chief 3SG^P:2.O-call-FV^P 2-man without mercy 3PL^P:go:FV P_3 with "Ikoɓu"

57 ká ngúpá ní-yɔ́ ɓú-mwɔ́g-ɔ̌ ndɪ minó ɓa-mbánzú,
PREP 9.hill COP-9.DEM.I 3PL^P:2.O-kill:PLUR-FV P_3 TRACE 2-person

58 ɓálɪk-y-ag-ă ndɪ ɓɛ́ ɪ-kpúkpúkú-sɔ sá-mŭ.
3PL^P:call-APPL-PLUR-FV P_3 COMP 19-forehead-19 19.ASS-3:head

---

[535] Alternative for **á-ˡɓíky-a ɓɛ́** 3SG:1.O-say-FV COMP 'he said to him'.

[536] The usual form is **wodokú.**

New information: **ngópá níyɔ́ ɓómwɔ́gɔ̌ ndɪ minó ɓambánzɔ́**, a hill, where the robbers used to kill people, called **ɪkpúkpúsɔ sá mɔ̌**, forehead.

59 Kó pǐsi, Zangíyá ú-ɓɪmy-a, ní a ɪyí ká ndáɓʊ
PREP 9.path "Zangɪya" 3SG^{P}:2.O-spy on-FV when 3SG:be 1.PRO PREP 9.house
60 aká, á-ˡɓíky-a ɓɛ́ : "Kúnzi babă, Ikóɓú ă ndɪ ɓata
CT 3SG^{P}:1.O-say-FV COMP 1a.God 1a.father "Ikoɓu" 3SG:be P_3 again
61 ká ɔɓílí áka ?"
PREP 1a.life CT

New information: **Zangíyá úɓɪmyá**, Zangɪya is hidden and watching what happens outside.
External topic: **kó pǐsi**, the road.
Contrasting the road: **ká ndáɓʊ aká**, in the house.
Contrasting Zangɪya's thinking that Ikoɓu is dead: **ɓată ká ɔɓílí áka**, Ikoɓu is alive.

62 Á-ˡmák-ă ndɪ ngámá ka-ɓo-nzikaɓú, á-ˡɓíky-a ɓɛ́ :
3SG^{P}:1.O-call-FV P_3 1a.chief GEN-2-man without mercy 3SG^{P}:1.O-say-FV COMP
63 "Babă, kíkilíki, dɔ̌-ni-kú mbéyɪ kúnʊ, ná-kɛ́-gʊ
1a.father please come:FV.IMP-ADDR-DIR first here 1SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG
64 no ngŭ yí-pupo[537] kú mó minó kyɛ́ na ndúmbú."
with 9.strength 9.ADJ-leaving there 2PL:be TRACE because 1SG:be 9.nudity
65 Ngámá ó-do-kú.
1a.chief 3SG^{P}-come:FV-DIR

New information: **áˡmákă ndɪ ngámá ka ɓonzikaɓú**, Zangɪya calls the headman of the robbers, and **ngámá ódokú**, the headman comes.

66 Zangíyá ám-uus-o ɓɛ́ : "Má ˡká-ɪnd-á na Ikóɓú yánɪ ?"
"Zangɪya" 3SG^{P}:1.O-ask-FV COMP 2PL:be 9b-go-FV with "Ikoɓu" where
67 Ngámá áka na ɪyí ɓɛ́ : "Bá ˡká-ɪnd-á ká-ˡmwɔ́ kyɛ́
1a.chief only with 1.PRO COMP 3PL:be 9b-go-FV 9b:1.O-kill:FV because
68 ɪyí gɔní nɔ̌ o-kúng-i ku-kwá-kʊ."
1.PRO also 1.DEM.I 3SG-demand-FV.ANT 15-death-15

New information requested: **yánɪ**, where do you take Ikoɓu?
New information: **ɓá ˡkáɪndá káˡmwɔ́**, they are going to kill him.

---

[537] The H tone of the LH on the final vowel of the derived adjective has merged with the following H tone.

Left-dislocation for textual reference: **ɪyí gəní nǒ**, re-introduces Ikoɓu, who asked to die.

69 Zangíyá á-ˡɓíky-ă ndɪ ngámá ɓɛ́ : "Ngámá, ma-ka-mwɔ́
"Zangɪya 3SG^{P}:1.O-say-FV P_3 1a.chief COMP 1a.chief 2PL-COND:1.O-kill:FV
"

70 Ikóɓú, mó-do-kú kɛ́-ˡpá ɓo-tú kakí
"Ikoɓu" 2PL-come:FV-DIR 9b:1SG.O-give:FV 2+9-clothes 3SG.POSS

71 nó-pup-í na ɓoyú kú-nzi."
1SG-leave-FV.SUBJ with 2+9.PRO 17-outside

72 Ngámá ó-ɓíngisy-ă ndɪ.
1a.chief 3SG^{P}-accept-FV P_3

New information: **módokú képá ɓotú kakí**, Zangɪya asks the headman to give him Ikoɓu's clothes after they have killed him. **ngámá óɓíngisyă ndɪ**, the headman agrees.
Notice how substitutive (**ɓoyú**) is used again, emphasizing the clothes (**ɓotú**).

73 Níyɔ́ Ikóɓú úkán-á lɪ-yŭ ka-Zangíyá, á-ˡɓíky-a ngámá
when "Ikoɓu" 3SG^{P}:hear-FV^{P} 5.voice GEN-"Zangɪya" 3SG^{P}:1.O-say-FV 1a.chief

74 ɓɛ́ : "Hiii babă, i-pilyón-o[538] ɓáka, nŏ ɓi
COMP "*hiii*" 1a.father 1SG.O-forgive:ASS-FV.IMP please 1SG:be P_1

75 ká-pand-á ámbɛ ɪmɪ aká kúwa nǒ na wa-kăngya."
9b-believe-FV ATT 1SG.PRO CT thus 1.DEM.I 1SG:be 1.ASS-1a.crisis

New information: **úkáná lɪyŏ ka Zangíyá**, Ikoɓu hears the voice of Zangɪya, and **ipilyóno ɓáka**, Ikoɓu beggs not to be killed.
Contrasting reality: **ɪmɪ aká**, Ikoɓu believed: I am the only one suffering.

76 Lúkí lí-motí ní ɓā́-kám-ukon-i-gʊ ɓată.
5:object 5.NUM-one when 3PL-NEG:1.O-hear-FV.ANT-NEG again

77 Bínd-ă ndɪ na ɪyí, ɓá-ˡná-lut-ó ɓídakpa-dakpa ká
3PL^{P}:go-FV P_3 with 1.PRO 3PL-INCH:1.O-pull-FV MOD-staggering PREP

78 ngʊ́pá, ɓá-bʊm-ă ndɪ na ɓɛ-ngbíngílí ábɛ nzʊ́ka, ɓá-mwɔ́,
9.hill 3PL^{P}:1.O-hit-FV P_3 with 2+9:9a-stick like 1a.snake 3PL^{P}:1.O-kill:FV

79 ɓó-do-kú na ɓo-tú kakí, ɓá-ˡpá Zangíyá.
3PL^{P}-come:FV-DIR with 2+9-clothes 3SG.POSS 3PL^{P}:1.O-give:FV "Zangɪya"

---

[538] **ɪpɪlyánɔ** 'please forgive me' (single addressee), **ipilyóno** 'please forgive me' (plural addressee).

New information: **ɓákámukonigu ɓată ... ɓámwɔ**, the robbers do not listen, they drag Ikoɓu, beat him and kill him, and **ɓódokú na ɓotú kakí, bá'pá Zangíyá**, the robbers give Ikoɓu's clothes to Zangıya.

80 Zangíyá ó-pup-ă ndı kú-nzi, á-pʊng-a ká-kpakyán-á.
"Zangıya" 3SG^{P}-leave-FV P_3 17-outside 3SG^{P}-start-FV 9b-walk-FV

New information: **Zangíyá ópupă ndı kúnzi**, Zangıya comes out of the house

81 Wayí aaa, wa-ko-tómon-o-ní 'tɔ́-gʊ ɓé ıwɛ aká nɔ̌
1a.friend "*aaa*" 2SG-NEG-think-FV-NEGSUBJ INS-NEG COMP 2SG.PRO CT 1.DEM.I

82 wa na yangyá.
2SG:be with 9.poverty

83 Mʊ-tú wă-gɔgɔ a-tú gɔní na yangyá yá-gɔgɔ
1-man 1.ASS-other 3SG:be-INS also with 9.poverty 9.ASS-other

84 ká-ʊ-kítág-á ıwɛ.
9b-2SG.O-pass-FV 2SG.PRO

Contrasting the opinion of the hearers: **ıwɛ aká**, do not think that you are the only one who is poor.