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13 TAFI TEXTS

This chapter contains a selection of texts collected during my field trips to Tafi. They include a story, proverbs, riddles and procedural discourses. The texts are presented as follows: each segment consists of four lines. The first line is the transcription, the second presents the underlying forms of the surface forms in line one, line three provides the interlinear gloss of each of the underlying forms in line two and line four gives the free translation in English.

13.1 Kásālā agbaní ekusí ní y'eyiadzì 'Tortoise marries the king's daughter'

Nelson Agbley (Age 66), a native of Tafi Mador told this story on the 2nd of January, 2008 at Tafi Mador.

There was a king who had a very beautiful daughter. She wouldn't agree to marry anybody although swarms of suitors came after her hand in marriage. Finally, the king decides that all the suitors should go up the hill on an appointed day at dawn at a given signal. The first to arrive with a bundle of thatch will be the winner of the princess' hand. So by a very clever strategy, tortoise managed to win the princess' hand. They got married and lived happily until tortoise became too greedy and wanted to play another trick which landed him in trouble. The trick he played was that, first of all, he thought he was not getting enough food from his wife's kitchen so he lied to his wife that he had a lot of guests to entertain with food. The woman prepared a lot of food for the next morning. In the night, when they were all asleep tortoise got up stealthily and crept into the kitchen. He climbed the pot and started eating the food and as he was eating he fell into the pot. He ate and ate and all attempts he made to get out of the pot proved futile. So, he couldn't get out of the pot. The next morning, when the woman woke up and the guests arrived, she tried to dish out some of the food but the ladle was not going into the food. Any time she puts in a ladle, it gets broken. It was then suggested that the pot should be put on fire, so people helped the woman to put it on fire. Tortoise was so filled with food that he was fast asleep in the pot so when the bottom of the pot was becoming hot he did not know it. He shouted when the heat started reaching him. He started moving in the pot so when they were taking the pot quickly off the fire it fell and broke. There tortoise was, disgraced. His trick was discovered so when you look at tortoise's back, you will see patches where the ladle hit. That was how he came by those marks on his shell.

01. ɔdzɪdzɪ mɔ oo
ɔ-dzɪdzɪ mɔ oo
CM-story ADD UFP
'Story story' (Lit.: 'A tale to you.')

02. Odzidzí pá
o-dzidzí **pá**
 CM-story good
 ‘Truly so’ (Lit.: ‘A good tale’)
03. Mí zǎ e,
mí **za** **e**
 1SG.IND be.at:NPRES UFP
 ‘I was (there)’
04. kulí kásālā abáza
kulí **ká-sālā** **a-bá-za**
 CONJ CM-tortoise SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
 ‘and then tortoise happened to be there.’
05. AUDIENCE:
 mh̃m̃
mh̃m̃
 INTJ
 ‘mhm’
06. бага ni pétée bábáza,
ba-ga **ní** **pétée** **bá-bá-za**
 CM.PL-animal DEF all SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
 ‘All the animals were (there).’
07. AUDIENCE:
 Mh̃m̃
Mh̃m̃
 INTJ
 ‘mhm’
08. Banódzyrámī pétée bábáza.
ba-nódzyrámī **pétée** **bá-bá-za**
 CM.PL-human.being all SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
 ‘All the people were (there).’
09. AUDIENCE:
 mh̃m̃⁷⁶,
mh̃m̃
 INTJ
 ‘mhm’
-

⁷⁶ Henceforth audience response of **mh̃m̃** will no longer be glossed.

10. Balı pétée báza ɔma toɖukpoím.
balí pétée bá-za ɔ-ma to-ɖukpó kumu
 3PL.IND all SM-be.at:NPRES CM-town AM-one inside
 ‘They all lived in the same town.’
11. Baganyáága,
ba-ga-nyáá-ba-ga
 CM.PL-animal-DISTR-CM.PL-animal
 ‘All animals,’
12. banódzýráámīnyáánódzýráámī,
ba-nódzýráámī-nyáá-ba-nódzýráámī
 CM.PL-human.being-DISTR-CM.PL-human.being
 ‘all human beings,’
13. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
14. kílē,
kí-lē
 CM-wind
 ‘wind,’
15. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
16. kifú,
ki-fú
 CM-fire
 ‘fire’,
17. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
18. kídiéndɔ́, balı pétée ɔma toɖukpoím láza
kí-dɔ́-nyáá-kí-dɔ́ balí pétée ɔ-ma to-ɖukpó kumu
 CM-thing-DISTR-CM-thing 3PL.IND all CM-town AM-one inside
lá-za
 3PL.DEP-be.at:NPRES
 ‘everything, all of them lived in the same town.’
19. Ekusí téɖíkpo y’áaŋa balabhā.
e-kusí te-ɖíkpo yí á-a-ŋa balí kábhā
 CM-chief AM-one 3SG.IND SM-PSTPROG-eat 3PL.IND top
 ‘One king was ruling over all of them.’
20. AUDIENCE: **mhm**

21. Ó! Ekusí aní eyiadzĩ yuyunõ telí áza y'áhɔɪ.
ó e-kusí a-ní e-yiadzĩ yu-yunõ
 INTJ CM-chief AM-PROX CM-daughter RED-be.beautiful
te-lí á-za yí a-hɔɪ
 AM-INDEF SM-be.at:NPRES 3SG.IND CM-hand
 'O! This king had a beautiful daughter.'
22. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
23. Adzinóvõēn éyi'únõ kpā tsitsitsitsitsitsi [laughter]
a-dzinóvõē ní é-yi bú-nõ kpā tsitsitsitsitsitsi
 CM-girl DEF SM-resemble CM-beauty IDEO IDEO
 'The girl was beautiful to such an unusual degree.'
24. Bányí ní pétée áasée bodo bodo bodo
bá-nyí ní pétée á-a-sá
 CM.PL-man DEF all SM-PSTPROG-swarm
yí bodo bodo bodo
 3SG IDEO IDEO IDEO
 'All the men were swarming around her like flies.'
25. Y'ál'así ábagbantú, y'ál'así ábagbantú, y'al'así ábagbantú.
yí á-lílíní a-sí á-ba-gbaní yí
 3SG.IND AM-DIST SM-say SM-FUT-marry 3SG
yí á-lílíní a-sí á-ba-gbaní yí
 3SG.IND AM-DIST SM-say SM-FUT-marry 3SG
yí á-lílíní a-sí á-ba-gbaní yí
 3SG.IND AM-DIST SM-say SM-FUT-marry 3SG
 'That one said he will marry her, this one said he will marry her, that one said he will marry her.'
26. Adzinóvõē ni tsy'égbe, étéedí ákányááká āmī, tɪ aɖɔ sí ní ní
a-dzinóvõē ní tsyí é-gbé é-tée-dí
 CM-girl DEF too SM-refuse 3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-look
á-kányááká ā-mī tɪ a-ɖɔ sí ní ní
 CM-any CM-face PURP 3SG.DEP-say COMP TOP TOP
 'The girl too refused, she is not looking at any in the face that'
27. y'âní yí y'ádumí akó sí y'ábazano.
yí a-ní yí yí á-dumí a-kó sí
 3SG.IND AM-PROX 3SG.IND 3SG.IND SM-agree SM-give COMP
yí á-ba-zano
 3SG.IND SM-FUT-marry
 'it is this one (or that one) she wishes to marry.'

28. Ákan edí pópópó sí ókě, ẹẹẹ ényí 'ídṣnṣn ɣɪ ábabhutí.
á-kā ní e-di pópópó sí ókě
 CM-father DEF SM-look IDEO.very.much COMP okay
ẹẹẹ é-nyí kí-dṣ nṣ ní
 INTJ 3SG.DEP-know CM-thing wh.ever DEF
ɣɪ á-ba-bhutí
 REL 3SG.DEP-FUT-do
 'The father considered the situation for a long time and said, okay, he knows what to do.'
29. Ọwólago toḍukpó kō, kulí y'akó lebhó
o-wólago to-ḍukpó ko kulí yí a-kó le-bhó
 CM-evening AM-one just CONJ 3SG.IND SM-let 3PL.DEP-beat
 'Then one evening, he let them beat (the gong gong⁷⁷),'
30. bébhó ógá gógóh gógóh gógóh gógóh, eeee ká nonú é lō.
bé-bhó ó-gá gógóh gógóh gógóh gógóh
 3PL-beat CM-gong IDEO.sound IDEO.sound IDEO.sound IDEO.sound
eeee ká no-nú é lō
 INTJ then 2PL.DEP-hear UFP ADD
 'they beat a gong, gogong, gogong, gogong, gogong. This is for your information.'
31. Ekusín ásí ítsiré 'ṣnṣ, w'ányí, w'adzí, w'anóvṣ, w'ayísṣ, w'iebité,
e-kusí ní á-sí í-tsiré wṣnṣ wó á-nyí
 CM-king DEF SM-say 1SG.DEP-tell 2PL 2SG.IND CM-man
wó a-dzɪ wó a-nóvṣ wó a-yísṣ
 2SG.IND CM-woman 2SG.IND CM-child 2SG.IND CM-young.man
wó ke-bité
 2SG.IND young.woman
 'The king said I should tell you that you, a man; you, a woman; you, a child; you, a young man; you, a young woman,'
32. kívū 'ívuṣ, kelí g'ébeyī aza ko anónyáánṣ abā abrónímī ooo,
kí-vū kí-vuṣ ke-lí ɣɪ ké-be-yí
 CM-tomorrow CM-morning CM-day REL SM-FUT-show.up
ka-za ko a-nṣ-nyáá-a-nṣ a-bá
 3SG-be.at:NPRES just CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-come
a-brṣ ní kɪmɪ ooo
 CM-market.square DEF inside UFP
 'early tomorrow morning, immediately the day breaks everybody should come to the marketsquare,'

⁷⁷ A bell that is used by the town crier in making announcements.

33. “kibúí tili ’l m’áhɔi”, kibúí tili lɔ y’áhɔi t’etsiré ’ŋ́ń 000000.
ki-búí ti-lí kɪ-lɪ mɪ a-hɔi ki-búí
 CM-word AM-INDEF SM-be.at 1SG.IND CM-hand CM-word
ti-lí kɪ-lɪ yɪ a-hɔi tɪ e-tsiré
 AM-INDEF SM-be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand COMP 3SG.DEF-tell
ŵŋ́ń 000000
 2PL UFP
 ‘“I have something”, he has something to tell you 0000.’
34. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
35. gógóǵ gógóǵ
gógóǵ gógóǵ
 sound.IDEO sound.IDEO
 ‘gogong, gogong’
 (End of message)
36. O, ɔmanímɪ otu ozi dɪ
o ɔ-ma ní kɪmɪ o-tu o-zi dɪ
 INTJ CM-village DEF inside SM-?? CM-uproar EXP
 ‘Oh! there was a great stir in the town!’
37. Kelín ábázá, kelín ázá ko, banɔn pétée bébéyɪ abróním.
ke-lí ní á-bá-zá ke-lí ní
 CM-day DEF SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES CM-day DEF
á-zá ko ba-nɔ ní pétée
 SM-be.at:NPRES just CM.PL-person DEF all
bé-bé-yɪ a-bró ní kɪmɪ
 3PL-VENT-show.up CM-market.square DEF in
 ‘The day finally broke. Just as it was day, all the people showed up at the marketplace.’
38. Bébéyɪ kutsáním.
bé-bé-yɪ kɪ-tsánɪ ní kɪmɪ
 3PL-VENT-show.up CM-market.square DEF in
 ‘They showed up at the marketplace.’
39. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
40. Banɔn eyúkū ’klí kpeɲ kpeɲ kpeɲ kpeɲ.
ba-nɔ ní be-yúkū ɪ-klí kpeɲ kpeɲ kpeɲ kpeɲ
 CM.PL-person DEF SM-be.full CM-there IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO
 ‘The people filled there entirely.’

41. Kulí ekusín ábá,
kułí e-kusí ní á-bá
 CONJ CM-king DEF SM-come
 ‘Then the king came.’
42. AUDIENCE: **mhm̩**
43. yí nɪ y’eyiadzĩn, yí nɪ y’edziniń,
yí nɪ yí e-yiadzĩ
 3SG.IND COM 3SG.IND CM-daughter
ní yí nɪ yí e-dzini ní
 DEF 3SG.IND COM 3SG.IND CM-wife DEF
 ‘He and his daughter, he and his wife,’
44. y’eyianyálí, ban̩n pétéé nɪ ée ban̩ shishě. Bábáziesí
yí e-yianyí-alí ba-n̩ ní pétéé
 3SG.IND CM-son-PL CM.PL-person DEF all
nɪ ée ba-n̩ shi-she bá-bá-za ke.sí
 COM INTJ CM.PL-person RED-grow 3PL-VENT-sit down
 ‘his sons, all the people and his elders. They took their seats’
45. kulí ekusín ásí aa tsyámĩ alí klí lo?
kułí e-kusí ní a-sí aa tsyámĩ a-lí
 CONJ CM-king DEF SM-say INTJ spokesperson SM-be.at
ɪ-klí lo
 CM-there ADD
 ‘and then the king said, ah, is the chief’s spokesman there?’
46. Tsyámĩ alí.
tsyámĩ a-lí
 spokesperson SM-be.at
 ‘Yes, the chief’s spokesman is there.’
47. Aa, tsyámĩ’ ebenú kibanánĩ ɔman pétéé sɪ benú,
aa tsyámĩ e-be-nú kɪ-ba-nánĩ ɔ-ma ní
 INTJ spokesperson SM-FUT-hear 3SG-FUT-reach CM-town DEF
pétéé sí be-nú
 all COMP 3PL-hear
 ‘The chief’s spokesman will hear and it will reach the entire town that they should hear’
48. TSYIAMÍ: Akó ’élí bá
a-kó kílí bá
 3SG-let 3SG come
 ‘He should let it come.’

49. s'áa ɛɛ y'eyiadzĩ ní yí so ɢɪ ééklũ álí,
 sí aa ɛɛ yí e-yiadzĩ ní yí so
 COMP INTJ INTJ 3SG.IND CM-daughter DEF 3SG.IND so
 ɢɪ é-é-klũ balí
 REL 3SG-PRSPROG-call 3PL
 'that er, his daughter, because of whom he is calling them,'
50. Hĩ hĩ hĩ hĩ
 hĩ hĩ hĩ hĩ
 INTJ INTJ INTJ INTJ
 [Murmurs from the crowd]
51. ẽẽ y'eyiadzĩ ní
 ẽẽ yí e-yiadzĩ ní
 INTJ 3SG.IND CM-daughter DEF
 'Oh! His daughter'
52. ahã, ɔtsóltĩ ábakɔ yɪ anyí e ló, ábakɔ yɪ anyí e ló, ábakɔ yɪ anyí e ló.
 ahã ɔtsóltĩ á-ba-kɔ yí á-nyí e ló
 INTJ now 3SG-FUT-give 3SG CM-man UFP ADD
 á-ba-kɔ yí á-nyí e ló
 3SG-FUT-give 3SG CM-man UFP ADD
 á-ba-kɔ yí á-nyí e ló
 3SG-FUT-give 3SG CM-man UFP ADD
 'Aha, finally, he is about to give her a husband now.'
53. Ányínyáányí édí shú,
 á-nyí-nyáá-ányí é-dí shú
 CM-man-DISTR-CM-man SM-look REFL
 'Every man looked at himself,'
54. Ao Máwú éyĩ tɪ kidzi mí lō,
 ao Máwú é-yĩ tɪ ki-dzi mí lō
 INTJ God SM-show.up COMP 3SG-COP.NPRES 1SG ADD
 'Oh! May it please God that it be me,'
55. Máwú éyĩ tɪ edzi mí lō,
 Máwú é-yĩ tɪ e-dzi mí lō
 God SM-show.up COMP 3SG-COP.NPRES 1SG ADD
 'May it please God that it be me,'
56. Máwú éyĩ tɪ edzi mí lō.
 Máwú é-yĩ tɪ e-dzi mí lō
 God SM-show.up COMP 3SG-COP.NPRES 1SG ADD
 'May it please God that it be me.'

57. Balı pétée bááhwā hlohlohlo, mím.
balı **pétée** **bá-á-hwā** **hlohlohlo** **mím**
 3PL.IND all SM-PRSPROG-move IDEO INTJ
 ‘They are all moving within themselves *hlohlohlo*. [Pause filler]’
58. Obo ɔlī, bábakó adzīn anyí oo.
o-bo **ɔlī** **bá-ba-kó** **a-dzī** **ní** **a-nyí** **oo**
 CM-today 3SG.IND 3PL-FUT-give CM-woman DEF CM-man UFP
 ‘As for today, this woman will be given a husband.’
59. Bábakó adzīnóvōēn anyí oo.
bá-ba-kó **a-dzīnóvōē** **ní** **a-nyí** **oo**
 3PL-FUT-give CM-girl DEF CM-man UFP
 ‘This girl will be given a husband,’
60. Bábakó adz’iebitéan anyí oo.
bá-ba-kó **a-dzī** **ke-bité** **a-ní** **a-nyí**
 3PL-FUT-give CM-woman CM-young.woman AM-PROX CM-man
oo
 UFP
 ‘This woman, young woman will be given a husband.’
61. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
62. Balı pétée báta ató béénū.
balı **pétée** **bá-ta** **ba-tó** **bé-é-nū**
 3PL.IND all SM-be.fixed CM.PL-ear SM-PRSPROG-hear
 ‘All of them are listening, they are all ears.’
63. Ehé, ekusín ásí āā, wūnō pétée nōómō m’eyiadzī,
ehé **e-kusí** **ní** **á-sí** **āā** **wūnō** **pétée**
 INTJ CM-king DEF SM-say INTJ 2PL.IND all
nō-ó-mō **mí** **e-yiadzī**
 SM-PRSPROG-see 1SG.IND CM-daughter
 ‘Oh! The chief said “well, you all see my daughter,”
64. anóíanō áábā.
a-nō-nyáá-a-nō **á-á-bā**
 CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-PRSPROG-come
 ‘everybody has been coming.’
65. Y’ál’áábā, y’ál’áábā, y’ál’áábā
yí **á-lílíní** **á-á-bā**
 3SG.IND AM-DIST SM-PRSPROG-come

yí á-líííí á-á-bā
 3SG.IND AM-DIST SM-PRSPROG-come
yí á-líííí á-á-bā
 3SG.IND AM-DIST SM-PRSPROG-come
 ‘This one is coming, that one is coming, this one is coming’

66. Ítíníyí ǎññ gí íbaákò m’eyiadzīn ííkò kó kliso nonú a?
í-tí-nyí ǎ-nǝ ní gí í-ba-yííkò
 1SG-NEG1-know CM-wh.ever DEF REL 1SG.DEP-FUT-take
mí e-yiadzī ní í-yííkò kó kliso no-nú a
 1SG.IND CM-daughter DEF 1SG-take give so 2PL-hear UFP
 ‘I do not know who I should give my daughter to, therefore, do you hear?’
67. Ee, íbakó nó kídǝ trikpó tɪ nǝbhutí.
ee í-ba-kó wǝñǝ kí-dǝ tri-kpó tɪ nǝ-bhutí
 INTJ 1SG-FUT-give 2PL CM-thing AM-one COMP 2PL.DEP-do
 ‘Er, I will give you one assignment to do.’”
68. Kulí y’áyíko y’áhúdzɔ ní kesukpón kulí y’ákó átsya odi,
kulí yí á-yííkò yí a-húdzɔ ní ke-sukpó
 then 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG.IND CM-horsetail DEF CM-handle
ní kulí yí á-yííkò á-tsya o-di
 DEF CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take SM-draw CM-line
 ‘Then he took the handle of his horsetail and drew a line,’
69. átsya odi gridjɔdɔjɔ aflánǝ,
á-tsya o-di gridjɔdɔjɔ a-flá-nǝ
 3SG-draw CM-line round.IDEO SM-pass-COM
 ‘he drew a circle,’
70. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
71. kulí así ní a “nǝómo odi ɔní gí útsya gridjɔdɔjɔ flánǝ ní dza?”
kulí a-sí ní a nǝ-ó-mo o-di
 CONJ 3SG-say TOP CFM 2PL.DEP-PRSPROG-see CM-line
ɔ-ní gí í-tsya gridjɔdɔjɔ flá-nǝ
 AM-PROX REL 1SG.DEP-draw round.IDEO pass-COM
ní dza
 TOP UFP
 ‘and he spoke as follows: “do you see this circle that I have drawn?”’
72. AUDIENCE: **mhm**
73. Basí “xee”.

ba-sí xee

3PL-say yes

‘They said they do.’

74. “Aa, sí nɔ́mɔ ɔ́lishí tɪbhan?”

aa sí nɔ-ɔ-mɔ ɔlí kishí tɪ-bha ní
INTJ QP 2PL-PRSPROG-see 3SG.IND midst AM-two DEF

“‘Ah! Do you see the centre of it?’”

75. Basí “xee”.

ba-sí xee

3PL-say yes

‘They said “yes”.’

76. “Nɔ́mɔ kɪtɔkpě ní gɪ líwĩ n̄t̄ ɪkĩ ní dza?”

nɔ-ɔ-mɔ kɪ-tɔkpě ní gɪ lí-wĩ
2PL-PRSPROG-see CM-hill DEF REL 3SG.DEP-appear

ní ɪ-kĩ ní dza
LOC CM-here TOP UFP

“‘You see the hill which appears from here, don’t you?’”

77. Basí xee.

ba-sí xee

3PL-say yes

‘They said “we do”.’

78. “Ãã, sí nɔ́mɔ ekle ní g’etsirí kɪtɔkpě níábhān?”

ãã sí nɔ-ɔ-mɔ e-kle ní
INTJ QP 2PL-PRSPROG-see CM-thatch DEF

gɪ e-tsirí kɪ-tɔkpě ní kábhā ní
REL 3SG.DEP-be.on CM-hillock DEF top TOP

“‘Ah! You see the thatch that is on the hillock, don’t you?’”

79. Basí “xee”.

ba-sí xee

3PL-say yes

‘They said “yes”.’

80. “Aa, kívū ‘ívolɔ olizatɔ mɔ́ɔni, olizatɔ tswyí,

aa kí-vū kí-vulɔ o-lizatɔ mɔ́ɔni⁷⁸ olizatɔ tswyí
INTJ CM-tomorrow CM-morning CM-dawn very.early CM-dawn IDEO

⁷⁸ The term **mɔ́ɔni** is borrowed from English ‘morning’ but it is used in Tafi to mean ‘very early’.

“Ah! Tomorrow morning at early dawn, very early at dawn,”

81. ányínyáányí gí anyápí ekus’edzeyín ásí tí agbanò ko ní a
 á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí gí a-nyá-pí
 CM-man-DISTR-CM-man REL 3SG.DEP-CERT-want
 e-kusí e-dzeyí ní a-sí tí
 CM-king CM-female.child DEF 3SG-COMP COMP
 a-gbánò ko ní a
 3SG.DEP-marry just TOP CFM
 ‘whichever man desires the princess to marry’
82. aló ní y’apamí tí aví butúnádáním,
 a-ló ní yí ká-pamí tí a-ví
 3SG-get.up COM 3SG.IND CM-cutlass PURP 3SG.DEP-go
 bu-tú ní a-da ní kumí
 CM-mountain DEF top.of.head DEF in
 ‘should get up with his cutlass and go to the top of the mountain,’
83. AUDIENCE: mhm
84. kitokpěńíábhā badakp’ekle.”
 kɪ-tukpě ní kábhā ba-da-kpa e-kle
 CM-hill DEF top VENT-ITIVE-uproot CM-thatch
 ‘the hill top to go and cut thatch.’”
85. “Anónyáánò adakp’ekle tí anyá y’óklebó tí babá.”
 a-nó-nyáá-a-nó a-da-kpa e-kle tí
 CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-ITIVE-uproot CM-thatch PURP
 á-nyá yí o-klebhó tí ba-bá
 3SG.DEP-tie 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch PURP 3PL-come
 ‘Each person should go and cut thatch and tie into a bundle and come.’
86. Ǻń ní g’ebedzi anò tutòpu tutòpu tutòpu gí abayíko y’óklebhón ébedzú
 Ǻ-ń ní gí e-be-dzi a-ń tutòpu
 CM-wh.ever DEF REL 3SG.DEP-FUT-become CM-person first
 tutòpu tutòpu gí a-ba-yíko yí o-klebhó
 first first REL 3SG.DEP-FUT-take 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch
 ní é-be-dzú
 DEF 3SG-FUT-put.down
 ‘The one who will be the very first person who will deposit his bundle of thatch’
87. odí ní gí atsyá gridjɔdɔ flánò ní ɔlishí tubha ní a y’ábagbanú adzúnóvò ní é
 oo.
 o-dí ní gí a-tsyá

CM-line DEF REL 3SG.DEF-draw
gridiqidj flá-nɔ ní ɔlí kishí ti-bha
 round.IDEO pass-COM LOC 3SG.IND midst AM-two
ní a yí a-ba-gbanu a-dzinúvɔ ní é oo
 DEF CFM 3SG.IND SM-FUT-marry CM-girl DEF UFP UFP
 ‘in the centre of the circle, HE will marry the girl.’

88. Héhehéhe, ozi ɔtɔ.
héhehéhe o-zi ɔ-tɔ
 IDEO CM-uproar SM-??
 ‘An uproar ensued.’
89. Banyɪ pétée, akanyááká kikikiki akanyááká és’ávupém,áv’atɔyó ’ítapamí.
bá-nyí pétée a-kanyááká kikikiki a-kanyááká é-sí
 CM.PL-man all CM-every IDEO.run CM-every SM-run
á-vɪ bu-pá kɪmú á-vɪ á-tɪ-yó ká-pamí
 SM-go CM-house in SM-go SM-DESID-sharpen CM-cutlass
 ‘All the men, every one of them run away home to sharpen each his cutlass.’
90. Kásālā tsyí évu aló,
ká-sālā tsyí é-vu a-ló
 CM-tortoise too SM-hold SM-get.up
 ‘Tortoise too got himself up (with some zeal),’
91. hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú.
hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú
 IDEO.manner.of.walking IDEO.manner.of.walking
 ‘walking clumsily.’
92. Kásālā tsyí édzí ’ígba.
ká-sālā tsyí é-dzí kɪ-gba
 CM-tortoise too SM-become CM-bachelor
 ‘Tortoise too is unmarried.’
93. Yɪ tsyí áápí ádzín ás’agbanɔ.
yí tsyí á-á-pí a-dzì ní a-sí
 3SG.IND too SM-PRSPROG-want CM-woman DEF SM-COMP
a-gbanɔ
 3SG.DEF-marry
 ‘He, too, desires to marry the princess.’
94. Akámɔ adzì.
a-ká-mɔ a-dzì
 3SG-NEG.PERF-see CM-woman

‘He has not yet gotten a wife.’

95. Y₁ tsyí ekus’edzeyí ní ní ɛɛ ekus’eyiadz’ ’iebitén, kééku y₁ tsyí ’úlí sí t₁ agbanɔ.
yí tsyí e-kusí e-dzeyí ní ní ɛɛ e-kusí
 3SG.IND too CM-king CM-daughter DEF TOP INTJ CM-king
e-yiadzi ke-bité ní ké-é-ku⁷⁹ yí
 CM-daughter CM-young.woman DEF SM-PRSPROG-V 3SG.IND
tsyí bu-lí sí t₁ a-gbano
 too CM-N COMP COMP 3SG.DEP-marry
 ‘He too is desirous of marrying the princess.’

96. ɛhě, kásālā wɔ tsy’óbogban’ ádz’ání dza?
ɛhě ká-sālā wɔ tsyí ó-bo-gbano a-dzi
 INTJ CM-tortoise 2SG.IND too 2SG-FUT-marry CM-woman
a-ní dza
 AM-PROX UFP
 ‘So, tortoise do you also want to marry this woman?’

97. Hoð, kɔɔ
hoð kɔɔ
 INTJ INTJ
 ‘Oh! why not?’

98. Fákɔ wɔ tsy’óóvɪ?
fákɔ wɔ tsyí ó-ó-vɪ
 where 2SG.IND too 2SG-PRSPROG-go
 ‘Where are you too going?’

99. Kɔɔ, flá n’uklɪ t₁ banódzyrámɪ abaflá.
kɔɔ flá ní ɪ-klí t₁ ba-nódzyrámɪ
 INTJ pass LOC CM-there COMP CM.PL-human.being
bá-ba-flá
 SM-VENT-pass
 ‘Give way for human beings to pass.’

100. Anónyáánɔ és’áflá, kahlǎ és’áflá, kehuí és’áflá, banódzyrámɪ és’áflá.
a-nɔ-nyáá-a-nɔ é-sí á-flá
 CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-run SM-pass
ka-hlǎ é-sí á-flá ke-huí é-sí á-flá
 CM-deer SM-run SM-pass CM-bog SM-run SM-pass
ba-nódzyrámɪ é-sí á-flá

⁷⁹ The phrase **kú X bulí** means ‘to lust, feel, or have appetite (for something)’.

CM.PL-human.being SM-run SM-pass
 ‘Everyone ran past, the deer ran past, the bog ran past, human beings ran past.’

101. Ho, kāsālā
Ho ká-sālā
 INTJ CM-tortoise
 ‘Oh! Tortoise ...’
102. hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú,
hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú
 IDEO.manner.of.walking IDEO.manner.of.walking
hulu kpúlú
 IDEO.manner.of.walking
 ‘walking clumsily,’
103. yí tsy’áv’ádásókí y’ásandzyá.
yí tsyí áv á-dá-sókí yí a-sandzyá
 3SG.IND too SM-go SM-ITIVE-bring.down 3SG.IND CM-matchete
 ‘he too went and brought down his matchete.’
104. Adáza kɪɔ shú, áyɔ ’ialí shíshíshíshíshí.
a-dá-za kɪ-yɔ shú á-yɔ kalí
 3SG-ITIVE-sit CM-whetstone surface 3SG-sharpen 3SG
shíshíshíshíshíshí
 IDEO.sharp
 ‘He went and sat by a whetstone, he whetted it very sharp.’
105. Áyɔ ’ialí, ’ial’aza’ŋá sí ní élē ónúgɪ kɪzɔ báfla tsyí tsyréŋkéŋ
á-yɔ kalí kalí ka-za ɔ-ŋá
 3SG-sharpen 3SG 3SG.IND SM-be.at:NPRES CM-sharpness
sí ní élē ónú.gɪ kɪ-zɔ bá-flā tsyí
 COMP TOP CFM COND CM-housefly VENT-pass too
tsyréŋkéŋ
 IDEO
 ‘He whetted it so sharp that if a housefly as much as passed near the cutlass, it is cut into two.’
106. Epúli ábáflā tsyréŋkéŋ, ɔ épī ábáfla tsyí tsyrenken.
e-púli á-bá-flā tsyréŋkéŋ
 CM-yellow.ant SM-VENT-pass IDEO
ɔ é-pī á-bá-flā tsyí tsyréŋkéŋ
 INTJ CM-mosquito SM-VENT-pass too IDEO
 ‘When a yellow ant is walking past, it is cut into two. Oh! When a mosquito is passing by it is cut into two.’

107. Épī ní ame 'elīm akpí bupɪ tubha, kumá tilí.
é-pī ní ka-má kulí kumí a-kpí
 CM-mosquito DEF 3SG-divide 3SG in SM-put.in
bupɪ tu-bha kɪ-má ti-lí
 CM.PL-part AM-two CM-divide AM-INDEF
 'As for the mosquito, it cuts it into two halves at once.'
108. Otsólí, kel' ebélē kásālā adáwŭsŭ 'íesí.
otsólí ke-lí ke-bélē⁸⁰ ká-sālā a-dá-wŭsŭ ke.sí
 now CM-day SM-finish CM-tortoise SM-ITIVE-lie down
 'Now, night fell, tortoise went to lie down.'
109. Kásālā ááza 'lílá sí ô ás'adákp' ekle ní oo átííko ebédzu íklí.
ká-sālā á-á-za bu-lílá a-sí
 CM-tortoise SM-PRSPROG-be.at:NPRES CM-dream SM-COMP
ô a-sí a-dá-kpa e-ke ní
 INTJ SM-COMP 3SG.DEP-ITIVE-uproot CM-thatch DEF
oo á-tí-yíko e-bé-dzu í-klí
 INTJ 3SG-PERF-take SM-VENT-put.down CM-there
 'Tortoise is dreaming that, oh, that he has gone to cut the thatch, oh, that he has already deposited his thatch.'
110. Ô! kivu ní gu lííyí,
ô ki-vu ní gu lí-í-yí
 INTJ CM-drum DEF REL 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-sound
 'Oh! The drum that is sounding,'
111. maboo kivu ní gu líí-yí béébho así tɪ kunyím' alí
maboo ki-vu ní gu lí-í-yí
 unknowingly CM-drum DEF REL 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-sound
bé-é-bho ba-sí tɪ kɪ-nyímu balí
 3PL-PRSPROG-beat SM-COMP COMP 3SG-wake.up 3PL
 'rather it is the drum that is being beaten to wake them up'
112. tɪ baavi, y'ání, kulí y'éénū.
tɪ bá-á-vɪ yí a-ní
 PURP 3PL-PRSPROG-go 3SG.IND AM-PROX
kulí yí é-é-nū
 3SG.IND 3SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-hear
 'to go there that is the one he is hearing.'

⁸⁰ **bélē** 'finish' is a borrowing from Nyagbo and this is the only context where it is used. The Tafi equivalent is **békē**.

113. Akal'áádō trǎ.
a-ka-lí **á-á-dō** **ti-rá**
 3SG-PERS-be.at 3SG-PRSPROG-contact CM-sleep
 'He is still sleeping.'
114. Tǐ kásālǎ abáló ní áo wó gǐ ɔ́tɔ́ga tsyí bátíshǐ álóé.
ti **ká-sālǎ** **a-bá-ló** **ní** **áo** **wó** **gǐ**
 COMP CM-tortoise SM-VENT-get.up TOP INTJ 2SG.IND REL
ɔ́-tɔ́-ga **tsyí** **bá-tí-shǐ**
 2SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-walk too 3PL-PERF-leave
bá-lo **yí**
 3PL-leave.behind 3SG
 'By the time he woke up, oh, you who cannot even walk, they had already left him behind.'
115. Gaké yǐ tsy' évu aló yǐ tsyí áákó yǐ okotokú
gaké **yí** **tsyí** **é-vu** **a-ló**
 but 3SG.IND too SM-hold SM-get.up
yí **tsyí** **á-yúkó** **yí** **o-kotokú**
 3SG.IND too SM-take 3SG.IND CM-sack
 'But he also got up and took his bag'
116. kulí y'abaká 'sǐ ahā kídō tili lǐ y'áhǎ.
kulí **yí** **a-baká** **a-sǐ** **ahā** **kí-dō**
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-remember SM-COMP INTJ CM-thing
ti-lí **lí** **yí** **a-hǎ**
 AM-INDEF be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand
 'and he remembered that, ah, he had got something.'
117. Kulí áśókǐ y'ívu, kivukpuí bhulíyǐ
kulí **á-sókǐ** **yí** **ki-vu** **ki-vukpuí** **bhulíyǐ**
 CONJ 3SG-bring.down 3SG.IND CM-drum CM-drum small
 'He then brought down his drum, a little drum'
118. kulí y'ásókǐ yǐ kizhuě kulí áákó 'kpí okotokúníṁ, áákó 'kpí ɔkpɛtúníṁ
kulí **yí** **á-sókǐ** **yí** **ki-zhuě** **kulí** **á-yíkó**
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-bring.down 3SG.IND CM-flute CONJ SM-take
á-kpí **o-kotokú** **ní** **kumu** **á-yíkó** **á-kpí** **ɔ-kpɛtú**
 SM-put.in CM-sack DEF inside SM-take SM-put.in CM-bag
ní **kumu**
 DEF inside
 'and he also brought down his flute and he put them into the bag'

119. kulí áyíko 'tá ɔwã.
ku **l**í **y**í **á-yí**ko **a-tá** **ɔ-wã**
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG-be.fixed CM-side
 'and he hang it on his side.'
120. Kulí ááko 'tá ɔɣwã ko, kulí yí tsyí hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú.
ku **l**í **y**í **á-yí**ko **a-tá** **ɔ-wã** **ko**
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG-be.fixed CM-side just
ku **l**í **y**í **tsyí** **hulu kpúlú**
 CONJ 3SG.IND too IDEO.manner.of.walking
hulu kpúlú **hulu kpúlú**
 IDEO.manner.of.walking IDEO.manner.of.walking
 'Just as he hung it on his side, he too, then walks off clumsily.'
121. G'enyékú ktokpěniésí g'eten' uwu ko
gí **e-nyé**-kú **ku-tokpě** **ní** **ke.sí**
 REL 3SG.DEP-CERT-reach CM-hill DEF under
gí **e-tén**ɔ **bu-wu** **ko**
 REL 3SG.DEP-start CM-climb just
 'Just as he arrived at the foot of the hill and started climbing,'
122. ɔmo bal' ɔkó ání, gí bagí beputón!
ɔ-mo **balí** **ɔ.kó** **a-ní** **g**í **ba-gí** **be-puto** **ní**
 2SG-see 3PL place CM-people REL 3PL-REL SM-lead TOP
 'see the people of his village, those who had left earlier!'
123. Oo! bátínyá bal' ikebhó bétízhí áábā.
oo **bá-tí-nyá** **balí** **i-kebhó**
 INTJ 3PL-PERF-tie 3PL.IND CM.PL-bundle.of.thatch
bé-tí-zhí **bá-á-bā**
 3PL-PERF-descend SM-PRSPROG-come
 'Oh! they had already tied their bundles of thatch, they had started descending.'
124. Ô! kibúí dǔwē nîn dza?
ô **ki-búí** **dǔwē** **nú** **ɪ-ní** **dza**
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX UFP
 'Oh! What is this?'
125. Éɛ, kásālā y'ahūm áási s'adzā.
éɛ **ká-sālā** **yí** **á-wǔ**hu **kum** **á-á-sí**
 INTJ CM-tortoise 3SG.IND CM.PL-eye in SM-PRSPROG-say
sí **a-dzā**
 COMP 3PL.DEP-become.red
 'Tortoise is becoming desperate.'

126. Bábaáflă, betel'ábáfléé, betel'ábáfléé, betel'ábáfléé.

bá-bá-á-flă

3PL-VENT-PRSPROG-pass

be-telí **bá-bá-flă** **yí**
CM.PL-INDEF SM-VENT-pass 3SG

be-telí **bá-bá-flă** **yí**
CM.PL-INDEF SM-VENT-pass 3SG

be-telí **bá-bá-flă** **yí**
CM.PL-INDEF SM-VENT-pass 3SG

'They are passing, some passed him, some passed him, some still passed him.'

127. Gɪ ámo sɪ laflă békē, gɪ lánýáávɪ 'ɪbóé ko, kulí edéwu ekú kitrekpú til'iabhā ebú y'íahlǎé, y'ivukpuí.

gɪ **á-mo** **sɪ** **la-flă** **békē**
REL 3SG.DEP-see COMP 3PL.DEP-pass COMPL

gɪ **lá-nyá-á-vɪ** **kɪbóé ko**
REL 3PL.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-go little just

kulí **e-dé-wu** **e-kú** **ki-trekpú** **ti-lí** **kábhā**
CONJ 3SG-ITIVE-climb SM-reach CM-anthill AM-INDEF top

e-bú **yí** **ká-hlǎé** **yí** **ki-vukpuí**
3SG-remove 3SG.IND CM-little.trumpet 3SG.IND CM-drum

'Just when he saw that they have passed and were a little distance from him, he then went on top of an anthill, took out his flute and his little drum.'

[Song]

128. Oo, kɔ, kɪgɪ kulí m'úɖɔ aní nānsí ɖɔ ní g'úɖɔ ní akányááká átítsí y'oklebhó édzu pupupu.

oo **kɔ** **kɪ-gɪ** **kulí** **mí** **í-í-ɖɔ** **aní**
INTJ INTJ 3SG-REL 3SG.IND 1SG.IND 1SG-PRSPROG-say TOP

nānsí **ɪ-ɖɔ** **ní** **gí** **í-í-ɖɔ** **aní**
as CM-time DEF REL 1SG.DEP-PRSPROG-say TOP

á-kányááká **á-tí-tsí** **yí** **o-klebhó**
CM-each SM-PERF-take.off 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch

é-dzú **pupupu**
3SG-put.down IDEO.sound

'Oh! What I am saying, in the instant that I am saying it, each and everyone has put his bundle of thatch down.'

129. Ákanyááká átsí y'oklebhó ehú 'iesí.

á-kanyááká **á-tsí** **yí** **o-klebhó**

CM-every SM-take.off 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch

e-hú ke.sí
 3SG-hit down
 ‘Every one of them dropped his bundle of thatch.’

130. Bétēnī ’ivu ’uyu glibí hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ.
bé-tēnī ki-vu bu-yu glibí hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ hǎbǎ
 3PL-start CM-dance CM-dance IDEO IDEO.rhythmically
 ‘They started dancing, spellbound.’
131. Báába ’klí gu kásālā éébho ’ivun pu áábo ’ezhwén.
bá-á-ba i-klí gu ká-sālā é-é-bho
 3PL-PRSPROG-come CM-there REL CM-tortoise SM-PRSPROG-beat
ki-vu ní pu á-á-bo ki-zhwé ní
 CM-drum DEF CONN 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-blow CM-flute DEF
 ‘They are coming towards where tortoise was drumming and blowing his flute.’
132. Óo, ákányááká ádzíkī y’óklehóní’ibúí.
Óo á-kányááká á-dzíkī yí o-klebhó ní
 INTJ CM-every SM-forget 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch DEF
ki-búí
 CM-matter
 ‘Oh! Every one of them forgot all about his bundle of thatch.’
133. Kivu ní ko léeyū; kivun ifék’álí.
ki-vu ní ko lé-e-yū
 CM-dance DEF just 3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-dance
ki-vu ní ki-féké balí
 CM-drum DEF SM-lift 3PL
 ‘They were only dancing; the drumming had lifted them up.’
- [Song]
134. Oo, gu lánýáába ko áákó ’édōn ékpu zi dǎká,
Oo gu lá-nyá-á-ba ko
 INTJ REL 3PL.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-come just
á-yíko kí-dǎ ní é-kpu zi dǎká
 3SG-take CM-thing DEF SM-hide times one
 ‘Oh! Just as they approached he hid the things at once.’
135. Ááko ’édōn ékpu kikpu tilí, ékpu ’ídōn zia zia zia zia zia.
á-yíko kí-dǎ ní é-kpu ki-kpu ti-lí
 3SG-take CM-thing DEF SM-hide CM-hide AM-INDEF
é-kpu kí-dǎ ní zia zia
 3SG-hide CM-thing DEF IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly

zia zia zia zia
 IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly
 ‘He hid the things one time, he hid the things quickly.’

136. Gɪ labá así “kibroè?”

gɪ la-bá a-sí ki-búí dǔwē
 REL 3PL.DEP-come 3SG-say CM-matter which
 ‘When they came he said “what’s up?”’

137. Kásālā así fákó láávi?

ká-sālā a-sí fákó lá-á-vɪ
 CM-tortoise SM-say where 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-go
 ‘Tortoise said where are they going?’

138. Sí atsán’ alí labáflā, así o fákó kivuñ íyí?

sí a-tsání balí la-bá-flā
 COMP 3SG-meet 3PL 3PL.DEP-VENT-pass
ba-sí o fákó ki-vu ní kí-í-yí
 3PL-say INTJ where CM-drum DEF SM-PRSPROG-sound
 ‘Surely, he had already met them passing and they asked where the drumming is coming from?’

139. Así óo ãã kivuñ lááɖo lo?

a-sí óo ãã ki-vu ní lá-á-ɖo
 3SG-say INTJ INTJ CM-drum DEF 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-say
lo
 ADD
 ‘He said, oh, are they talking of the drumming?’

140. Ô! As’eyu ridjɖɖɖɖɖ as’atō.

ô a-sí e-yu ridjɖɖɖɖɖ a-sí a-tō
 INTJ 3SG-say 3SG.DEP-dance IDEO 3SG-say SM-be.tired
 ‘Oh! He said he had danced continuously until he was tired.’

141. S’ónū, así banō telí bal’édê Sásámangó pɪ léébho ’ivuñ bábáfl’ézhi Tamlāgu ’ibén?

sí ó-nū á-sí ba-nō te-lí
 QT 2SG-hear 3SG-say CM.PL-person AM-INDEF
balí bé-dé Sásámangó
 3PL.IND 3PL-come.from Sásámangó
pɪ lé-é-bho ki-vu ní
 CONN 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum DEF
bá-bá-flā bé-zhí Tamlāgu ki-bé ní
 3PL-VENT-pass SM-descend Tamlāgu CM-side DEF

‘Do you hear? He said some people from Sasamango drumming have passed and descended towards Tamlagu’

142. Oô, banõn kikikikikiki bes'avı Tamlâgu.
oo ba-nõ ní kikikikikiki be-si
 INTJ CM.PL-person DEF IDEO.sound.of.running SM-run
a-vı Tamlâgu
 SM-go Tamlâgu
 ‘Wow, the people run *kikikikikiki* to Tamlago.’
143. Bááv'etiyú 'ívún⁸¹.
bá-á-vı bé-tı-yú ki-vu ní
 3PL-PRSPROG-go SM-DESID-dance CM-dance DEF
 ‘They are going to dance to the drum.’
144. Ası lası Tamlâgu léébebhı 'ıvun oboń, ıklı láábabhtı 'ıvú óboń.
a-sı la-sı Tamlâgu lé-é-be-bho
 3SG-say 3PL.DEP-say Tamlâgu 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-FUT-beat
ki-vu ní o-bón
 CM-drum DEF CM-today
ı-klı lá-á-ba-bhtı ki-vu o-bón
 CM-there 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-FUT-make CM-dance CM-today
 ‘He said it is being rumoured that it is at Tamlagu that they will be beating the drum today, they will be making music.’
145. Bádzıkı 'ıbuinyéébúi.
bá-dzıkı ki-búi-nyáá-ki-búi
 3PL-forget CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter
 ‘They forgot about everything.’
146. Bésı átónı Tamlâgu 'ıdzo, bávı.
bé-sı ba-tónı Tamlâgu ki-dzo bá-vı
 3PL-run SM-follow Tamlâgu CM-road 3PL-go
 ‘They ran following the Tamlago road, they went.’
147. Gı lávı ko, kásālā édz'agbagbá⁸² rıdıdıdıdı oo ákp'ówúsé,
gı lá-vı ko ká-sālā é-dze a-gbagbá rıdıdıdıdı
 REL 3PL.DEP-go just CM-tortoise SM-V CM-N IDEO
oo á-kpı o-ówúsé
 INTJ SM-put.in CM-strength

⁸¹ During the spontaneous production, the performer used the form **béév'etiyú 'ívún** but during the transcription he corrected himself.

⁸² **Dze agbagbá** ‘try’ is a Verb + Noun collocation borrowed from Ewe.

‘Just as they went away, Tortoise endeavoured continuously, oh, he put in effort.’

148. Áávi, áávi, áávi ádádó y'ékí, étén'utē^{7x}.
á-á-vi á-á-vi á-á-vi
 3SG-PRSPROG-go 3SG-PRSPROG-go 3SG-PRSPROG-go
á-dá-dó yí e-kle é-ténō bu-tē
 SM-ITIVE-contact 3SG.IND CM-thatch 3SG-start CM-cut
 ‘he went and went and took up his thatch-cutting and started cutting, cutting, cutting, cutting, cutting, and cutting.’
149. Ko oo gi éténō oklebhón 'onyá ko ómō 'alí gi ledé Tamlágu gi láábā
ko oo gi é-ténō o-klebhó ní
 just INTJ REL 3SG.DEP-start CM-bundle.of.thatch DEF
bu-nyá ko ó-mō balí gi le-dé Tamlágu
 CM-tie just 2SG-see 3PL REL 3PL.DEP-come.from Tamlágu
gi lá-á-bā
 REL 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-come
 ‘As soon as he started tying the bundle of thatch, there they were returning from Tamlagu.’
150. Gigigigigi, anóíánō ábayíko y'oklebhó.
gigigigigi a-nō-nyáá-a-nō á-ba-yíko yí
 IDEO CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-VENT-take 3SG.IND
o-klebhó
 CM-bundle.of.thatch
 ‘Everyone, hustling and bustling, came and took his bundle of thatch.’
151. Así, oo, kulí, badúdámō alí dza?
a-sí oo kulí ba-di-dá-mō balí dza?
 3SG-say INTJ how 3PL-NEG2-ITIVE-see 3PL UFP
 ‘He asked didn’t they see them?’
152. Así oo ko gi lédékú anóíánō amá?
a-sí oo ko gi lé-dé-kú
 3SG-say INTJ INTJ REL 3PL.DEP-ITIVE-reach
a-nō-nyáá-a-nō a-má
 CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-be.at:NEG
 ‘They said when they reached (there), there was nobody there’
153. oo kulí áyíkí áṅa sí bága kidzo bhlató.
Oo kulí bá-yíkí bá-ṅa sí bá-ga ki-dzo bhlató
 INTJ CONJ 3SG-receive SM-eat COMP 3PL-walk CM-road other
 ‘and that, oh! they believed that they had taken another road.’

154. Gɪ láákɔ iklebhón gɪ láávi ní eketsirí butúníábhā so nɪ nɪ áámɔ al'ásísɪ
n'òdɪda níṁ.

gɪ lá-yíko i-klebhó ní
REL 3PL.DEP-take CM.PL-bundle.of.thatch DEF
gɪ lá-á-vɪ ní e-ke-tsirí
REL 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-go TOP 3SG-PERS-be.on
bu-tú ní kábhā so ní ní á-á-mɔ
CM-mountain DEF top so TOP TOP 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-see
balí asísɪ ní ɔ-dɪda ní kumɪ
3PL at.a.distance LOC CM-valley DEF inside
'When they took their bundles of thatch and they were going, he was still on
top of the thatch hill so he is able to see them in the thatch valley.'

155. Gɪ lebekú ɔma ní beditsá ní,

gɪ le-be-kú ɔ-ma ní be-ditsá ní
REL 3PL.DEP-VENT-reach CM-town DEF CM.PL-outskirts DEF
'Just as they were about to arrive at the outskirts of the town,'

156. y'âní oo lebekú ɔma n'ɔgbótón ko, ezebú yí izhué, ezebú y'ívú.

yí a-ní oo le-be-kú ɔ-ma ní
3SG.IND AM-PROX INTJ 3PL.DEP-VENT-reach CM-town DEF
ɔ-gbótó ní ko e-ze-bú yí ki-zhué
CM-edge DEF just 3SG-REP-remove 3SG.IND CM-flute
e-ze-bú yí ki-vu
3SG-REP-remove 3SG.IND CM-drum
'oh!, just as they reached the edge of the village, he took out his flute, he
took out his drum again.'

[Song]

157. Ákányááká azatsɪ oklebhó ní hú íésí.

Á-kányááká a-za-tɪ yí o-klebhó ní
CM-each SM-REP-take.off 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of. thatch DEF
é-hú ke.sí
SM-hit down
'Each one dropped his bundle of thatch onto the ground again.'

158. Ô! bazebé sí áábā kásālā 'bha.

ô ba-ze-bé-sí bá-á-bā ká-sālā ɔbha
INTJ 3PL-REP-VENT-run SM-PRSPROG-come CM-tortoise side
'O! they began running again to the side of tortoise.'

159. Gɪ lebekú, así ô ko, así â banɔ aní koŋ pɔ, kídē noósusû?

gɪ le-bé-kú a-sí ô ko a-sí â
REL 3PL.DEP-VENT-reach 3SG-say INTJ INTJ 3SG-say INTJ

ba-nɔ̃ a-ní kóŋ pɔ kídē no-ó-susú
 CM.PL-person AM-PROX INT but what 2PL-PRSPROG-think
 ‘When they got there, he said oh! these people at all, what are you thinking?’

160. Laa ko banɔ̃aɲ.....

Laa ko ba-nɔ̃ a-ní
 just.then just CM.PL-person AM-PROX
 ‘Just then these people...’

161. ɔ́tɔ́mɔ̃ g’ílíyú ríqíqíqíqíqíqíqí.

ɔ́tɔ́mɔ̃ gu i-lí-í-yu
 2SG-NEG:PRSPROG-see REL 1SG.DEP-3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-dance
ríqíqíqíqíqíqíqí
 IDEO
 ‘Can’t you see how I have been dancing so much.’

162. Iyú ríqíqíqí ɪ́tɔ̃.

i-yu ríqíqíqí í-tɔ̃
 1SG-dance IDEO 1SG-be.tired
 ‘I danced till I was tired.’

163. Ázafwe pēpēpēpē.

á-za-fwe pēpēpēpē
 3SG-REP-breath IDEO
 ‘He was breathing like one out of breath.’

164. O! kúh dza?

o kúf dza
 INTJ how UFP
 ‘Oh! What’s up?’

165. Así laa ledé Tamlâgu, azasí kô

a-sí laa le-dé Tamlâgu
 3SG-say just.now 3PL.DEP-come.from Tamlâgu
a-za-sí kô
 3SG-REP-say INTJ
 ‘He said just now they were returning from Tamlagu and he again said what?’

166. Basí gu láávɪ Tamlâgu ní ní a

ba-sí gu lá-á-vɪ Tamlâgu ní ní a
 3PL-say REL 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-go Tamlâgu TOP TOP CFM
 ‘They said it was while they were going to the Tamlagu place,’

167. *kulɔ anɔ tel'édétsódzin' alí nu idzoním*
kulí a-nɔ te-lí é-dé-tsódzi-no balí
 CONJ CM-person AM-INDEF SM-ITIVE-return-COM 3PL
ní ki-dzo ní kumu
 LOC CM-road DEF in
 'it was then that somebody on the way turned them back'
168. *así ní nía Asantí Dadzrya uklí bõŋ laavɔ atɔgba tíwũlɔ ní obón,*
a-sí ní ní a Asantí Dadzrya ɪ-klí bõŋ
 3SG-say TOP TOP CFM Asanti Dadzrya CM-there rather
la-a-vɪ ba-ti-gba tí-wũlɔ ní o-bón
 3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-go SM-DESID-keep CM-wake DEF CM-today
 'saying that it was rather Asanti Dadzrya that they were going to keep wake tonight,'
169. *así abrewá shishe tel'etsí n'uklí*
a-sí a-brewá shi-she te-lí e-tsí ní
 3SG-say CM-old.woman RED-grow AM-INDEF SM-die LOC
ɪ-klí
 CM-there
 '(and) that an old woman had died there.'
170. *So ní ní a baavɔ atɔgba tíwũlɔ ní 'klí obón riɖiɖiɖi kel'abaze 'evu flôgo pɪ bebetéjɪ ábáflá 'vɪ Tamlâgu ní dzí.*
so ní ní a ba-á-vɪ ba-ti-gba tí-wũlɔ
 so TOP TOP CFM 3PL-PRSPROG-go SM-DESID-keep CM-wake
ní ɪ-klí o-bón riɖiɖiɖi ke-li ka-ba-za
 LOC CM-there CM-today IDEO CM-day SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
kí-vũ flôgo pɪ be-be-téjɪ bá-bá-flá
 CM-tomorrow before CONN 3PL-FUT-be.able SM-FUT-pass
ba-vɪ Tamlâgu ní dzí
 SM-go Tamlâgu DEF COP.NPRES
 'For that reason, they are going to keep wake until daybreak tomorrow before which they will be able to come and pass to the Tamlagu (already spoken of).'
171. *Ô, kibróenîn?*
ô ki-buí ɖúwě nú ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
 'Oh! What is this?'
172. *As'ao!*
a-sí ao
 3SG-say INTJ
 'He said oh!'

173. ɔtsɔ́tsɔ́ ní ò ɔ́tɔ́vɪ t'òkòm íflá, ɔ́tɔ́vɪ t'òkòm íflá oo.
ɔtsɔ́tsɔ́ ní ò ɔ́-tɔ́-vɪ
 just.now TOP INTJ 2SG-NEG:PRSPROG-go
tu ɔ-kɔ mí í-flá ɔ́-tɔ́-vɪ
 COMP 2SG-let 1SG 1SG-pass 2SG-NEG:PRSPROG-go
tu ɔ-kɔ mí í-flá oo
 COMP 2SG-let 1SG 1SG-pass UFP
 ‘Suddenly, (there was a stampede), “if you won’t go let me pass, if you won’t go let me pass, oo!’
174. Balɪ pétée bááflá ridɪɪɪɪɪ.
balí pétée bá-á-flá ridɪɪɪɪɪ
 3PL.IND all 3PL-PRSPROG-pass IDEO
 ‘All of them passed noisily.’
175. Bávi Asantí Dadzyra.
bá-vɪ Asantí Dadzyra
 3PL-go Asanti Dadzyra
 ‘To Asanti Dadzyra they went.’
176. Asantí Dadzyra pɔ ní ní ɔ́ɔfl'Óguá
Asantí Dadzyra pɔ ní ní ɔ-bo-flá Oguá
 Asantí Dadzyra but TOP TOP 2SG-FUT-pass Oguá
 ‘Whereas to get to Asanti Dadzyra you will pass Oguá,’
177. ɔ́tíflá Tamale flô' p'obokú Asanti Dadzyra beditsyáń, balí nɪ [laughs] balí nɪ
 Oguá áń ɔgamutsyákó
ɔ́-tí-flá Tamale flôgo pɪ ɔ-bo-kú Asanti
 2SG-PERF-pass Tamale before CONN 2SG-VENT-reach Asanti
Dadzyra be-ditsyá ní balí nɪ balí nɪ
 Dadzyra CM.PL-outskirts DEF 3PL.IND COM 3PL.IND COM
Oguá ba-ní ki dzo ɔ-gamɪ.tsyá.kó
 Oguá CM.PL-native CM-path CM-clear.meet.place
 ‘you would have already passed Tamale before you reach halfway to Asanti Dadzyra.’ (i.e. Tamale is between Asanti Dadzyra and Oguá).
178. An'óbón ní!
aní ó-bón ní
 NEG.CL CM-today TOP
 ‘It’s not today!’
179. Kátsyáá tɪ bedekú tklí tɪ bebebísí enú tɪ bababhítu kídɔ nɔ́ uní,
kátsyáá tɪ be-de-kú t-klí tɪ
 by.the.time COMP 3PL-ITIVE-reach CM-there PURP

be-be-bíí **be-nú** **tí** **ba-ba-bhítí** **kí-dǝ** **nǝ**
 3PL-VENT-ask SM-hear PURP 3PL-FUT-do CM-thing wh-ever
t-ní

AM-PROX

‘Before they could get there to make enquiries and accomplish one thing or another,’

180. kásālǎ átínyá y’oklebhǝ ní pétéé, hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú.

ká-sālǎ **á-tí-nyá** **yí** **o-klebhǝ**
 CM-tortoise SM-PERF-tie 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch
ní **pétéé** **hulu kpúlú** **hulu kpúlú**
 DEF all IDEO.manner.of.walking IDEO.manner.of.walking
hulu kpúlú **hulu kpúlú**
 IDEO.manner.of.walking IDEO.manner.of.walking
hulu kpúlú
 IDEO.manner.of.walking

‘tortoise had already tied all his bundle of thatch and set off clumsily.’

181. Kátsyáá tí ago ’ebou ’yíyí tí kásālǎ kú ɪgbótó ní ní,

kátsyáá **tí** **a-go** **kú** **é-yíyí** **tí**
 by.the.time COMP 3SG-remain little CM-time COMP
ká-sālǎ **é-kú** **ɪ-gbótó** **ní** **ní**
 CM-tortoise SM-reach CM.PL-outskirt DEF TOP

‘Suddenly, when it was left with a little time for him to reach the outskirts of the town,’

182. kásālǎ eféké yí a...

ká-sālǎ **é-féké** **yí**
 CM-tortoise SM-lift 3SG.IND
 ‘tortoise lifted (his trumpet).’

183. Baví tí ledí oo!

ba-ví **tí** **le-dí** **oo**
 3PL-go PURP 3PL.DEP-look UFP
 ‘Let them go and see!’

184. Banǝn... Nobodí mǝ oó!

ba-nǝ **ní** **no-bo-dí** **mǝ** **oó**
 CM.PL-person DEF 2PL-VENT-look ADD UFP
 ‘The people... Come and look!’

185. Kásālǎ bǝ́ǝ kal’ ábuso ’obá oo!

ká-sālǎ **bǝ́ǝ** **kalí** **ké-buso** **bu-bá** **oo!**
 CM-tortoise rather 3SG.IND SM-do.first CM-come UFP

‘It is rather tortoise who arrived first!’

186. Kásālā bõŋ ébusó áábā oo!
ká-sālā **bõŋ** **é-busó** **á-á-bā** **oo**
 CM-tortoise rather SM-do.first SM-PRSPROG-come UFP
 ‘It is rather tortoise who is arriving first!’
187. Kásālā bõŋ ébusó áábā oo!
ká-sālā **bõŋ** **é-busó** **á-á-bā** **oo**
 CM-tortoise rather SM-do.first SM-PRSPROG-come UFP
 ‘It is rather tortoise who is arriving first!’
188. Óó! kibroe nîní dza?
óó **ki-buí** **qúwē** **nú** **ı-ní** **dza**
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX UFP
 ‘Oh! What is this?’
189. G’ebú y’ívú,
gı **é-bú** **yí** **ki-vu**
 REL 3SG.DEP-remove 3SG.IND CM-drum
 ‘When he took out his drum,’
190. g’ebú y’íáhlóé,
gı **é-bú** **yí** **ka-hlóé**
 REL 3SG.DEP-remove 3SG.IND CM-trumpet
 ‘when he took out his trumpet,’
- [Song]
191. Kátsyáá ní balí ní betidékú Asanti Dadzyra ní ní,
kátsyáá **ní** **balí** **ní** **be-tí-dé-kú** **Asanti**
 by.the.time TOP 3PL.IND DEF SM-PERF-ITIVE-reach Asanti
Dadzyra **ní** **ní**
 Dadzyra TOP TOP
 ‘In the meantime, those ones, having reached Asanti Dadzyra,’
192. oo! bédékú ’klí ní, oo, anóítánō amá ’klí éébho ’ivu.
oo **bé-dé-kú** **ı-klí** **ní**
 INTJ 3PL-VENT-reach CM-there TOP
oo **a-nō-nyáá-anō** **a-má** **ı-klí**
 INTJ CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-be.at:NEG CM-there
é-é-bho **ki-vu**
 SM-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum
 ‘oh, they arrived there and oh, nobody is making music!’

193. Ee , basí abrewá kányááká tsyí editsí ní 'klí.
 INTJ 3PL-say CM-old.lady any too SM-NEG2-die LOC
 ɿ-klí
 CM-there
 'Er, even it is said no old lady had died in that place.'
194. Bekeédz'esí gigigigi gɿ labá ní ní,
 be-ke-é-tsódzi be-sí gigigigi
 3PL-PERS-PRSPROG-return SM-run IDEO.sound
 gɿ la-bá ní ní
 REL 3PL.DEP-come TOP TOP
 'As they run back *gigigigi* in return,'
195. Áo, atíflá klí.
 áo a-tí-flá ɿ-klí
 INTJ 3SG-PERF-pass CM-there
 'Oh! It has become late.' (i.e. The harm has already been done.)
196. Kásālā g'éeḃho 'ivu ní ní...
 ká-sālā gɿ é-é-bho ki-vu ní ní
 CM-tortoise REL SM-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum TOP TOP
 'Tortoise who is beating the drum...'
197. Ákányááká áyíko y'ókḗbhó, bétíkeéténú áflá kásālā,
 á-kányááká á-yíko yí o-kḗbhó
 AM-every SM-take 3SG-IND CM-bundle.of.thatch
 be-ti-ke-é-ténú á-flá ká-sālā
 3PL-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-be.able SM-pass CM-tortoise
 'Everybody took his load of thatch, they were unable to bypass tortoise.'
198. Balí pétée, kánā babátsa odi ní y'ede.
 balí pétée ká-nā ba-bá-tsa o-di ní
 3PL.IND all CM-manner 3PL-VENT-draw CM-line LOC
 yí ke.de
 3SG.IND back
 'All of them, so they formed a single file behind him.'
199. Ákányááká étúkú yí okḗbhó
 á-kányááká é-túkú yí o-kḗbhó
 CM-every SM-carry 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch
 'Each and every one of them carried his bundle of thatch,'

200. pī bebeéyú 'íwún, pī kásālā 'kpasí álí ótúgbán.
pī be-be-é-yú ki-vu ní
 CONN 3PL-VENT-PRSPROG-dance CM-dance DEF
pī ká-sālā kpasí balí ótúgbá ní
 CONN CM-tortoise be.in 3PL.IND CM-front DEF
 'as they are dancing, tortoise is in the lead before them.'
- [Song]
201. Ridiqidi ko nâní, kulí y'áákò y'oklebhó ko nân, azhoyí,
ridiqidi ko ní a-ní kulí yí á-yíko yí
 IDEO just TOP AM-PROX CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG.IND
o-klebhó ko ní a-ní
 CM-bundle.of.thatch just TOP AM-PROX
ázhoyí
 IDEO.sound.of.dropping.the.bundle.of.thatch
 'Until at last, he took his bundle of thatch'
202. kulí y'áákò dzú kídṣ ní...
kulí yí á-yíko é-dzu kí-dṣ ní
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take SM-put.down CM-thing DEF
 'and then he puts it down [in] the thing.'
203. Oo! kásālā y'ágbánī ádzí ní óó.
oo ká-sālā yí á-gbānī a-dzī ní óó
 INTJ CM-tortoise 3SG.IND SM-marry CM-woman DEF INTJ
 'Oh! TORTOISE marries the woman oooo.'
204. Kásālā y'ágbánī adzī nī oo! Kásālā y'ágbánī ádzí ní óó!
ká-sālā yí á-gbānī a-dzī ní oo
 CM-tortoise 3SG.IND SM-marry CM-woman DEF INTJ
ká-sālā yí á-gbānī a-dzī ní óó
 CM-tortoise 3SG.IND SM-marry CM-woman DEF INTJ
 'TORTOISE marries the woman oooo, TORTOISE marries the woman oooo.'
205. Ōtsóli, kulí bábhítu bakonú gugóé ákó álí pétéé, bakpí ehúí ní ákó ádzí ní
 pétéé.
otsóli kulí bá-bhítu ba-konú gugóé bá-kó balí pétéé
 finally CONJ 3PL-do CM.PL-custom last SM-give 3PL all
ba-kpí e-huí ní bá-kó a-dzī ní pétéé
 3PL-wear CM.PL-bead DEF SM-give CM-woman DEF all
 'Finally, they did the rest of the rites for them and they adorned the woman with beads all over.'

206. Bekpé ádzín ákó yí pétée, kásālā agbānō adzīn pī lávī y'ópém̃.
be-kpé a-dzī ní bá-kó yí pétée
 3PL-wed CM-woman DEF SM-give 3SG.IND all
ká-sālā a-gbānō a-dzī ní pī lá-vi
 CM-tortoise SM-lead CM-woman DEF CONN 3PL.DEP-go
yí bu-pá kum
 3SG.IND CM-home in
 'They performed all the bridal customs for the woman for him and tortoise took the woman to his home.'
207. Gī lávī y'ópém̃.
gī lá-vi yí bu-pá kum
 REL 3PL.DEP-go 3SG.IND CM-home in
 'And they went to his house.'
208. Kásālā ēē awá amó gbıgbılā telí.
ká-sālā ēē a-wá a-mó gbıgbılā te-lí
 CM-tortoise INTJ SM-cultivate CM-rice.farm big AM-INDEF
 'Tortoise made a very big rice farm.'
209. Áákp'óká, adzīn áákpě amónúm̃.
á-á-kpí bu-ká a-dzī ní
 3SG-PRSPROG-put.in CM-fence CM-woman DEF
á-á-kpě a-mó ní kum
 SM-PRSPROG-pull.out.weeds CM-rice.farm DEF in
 'While he is making a fence, the woman is pulling out the weeds from the farm.'
210. Áákp'óká, adzīn áákpě amónúm̃.
á-á-kpí bu-ká a-dzī ní
 3SG-PRSPROG-put.in CM-fence CM-woman DEF
á-á-kpě a-mó ní kum
 SM-PRSPROG-pull.out.weeds CM-rice.farm DEF in
 He is making the fence and the woman is pulling out the weeds from the farm.'
211. Gī akp'óká ní békē pétée kulí y'ávī owúlēn obhókó.
gī a-kpí bu-ká ní békē pétée kulí yí
 REL 3SG-put.in CM-fence DEF COMPL all CONJ 3SG.IND
á-vi o-wúlē ní ɔ-bhókó
 SM-go CM-storage.bin DEF CM-mould.place
 When he finished making the fence, he went to mould the (rice) storage bin.'

212. Áábh'owúlēn, adzīn aápóŭ amóní,
á-á-bhɔ **o-wúlē** **ní** **a-dzɪ** **ní**
 3SG-PRSPROG-mould CM-storage.bin DEF CM-woman DEF
á-á-póŭ **a-mó** **ní**
 SM-PRSPROG-harvest CM-rice DEF
 'While he is moulding the (rice) storage bin, the woman is harvesting the rice.'
213. Áábh'owúlēn, adzīn aápóŭ amóní.
á-á-bhɔ **o-wúlē** **ní** **a-dzɪ** **ní**
 3SG-PRSPROG-mould CM-storage.bin DEF CM-woman DEF
á-á-póŭ **a-mó** **ní**
 SM-PRSPROG-harvest CM-rice DEF
 'While he is moulding the (rice) storage bin, the woman is harvesting the rice.'
214. Ridiqidiq, ti abapô amó...
ridiqidiq **ti** **a-ba-pó** **a-mó**
 IDEO COMP 3SG.DEP-VENT-snap CM-rice
 'By the time she could finish harvesting (the) rice...'
215. ô! amóní ébí kó 'álí.
ô **a-mó** **ní** **é-bí** **kó** **balí**
 INTJ CM-rice DEF SM-do.well DAT 3PL
 'oh! the harvest was very good for them.'
216. Kígō élín kánā leklú banōn bebéhu amóní ákó álí.
kí-gō **í-líliní** **ká-nā** **le-klú** **ba-nō**
 CM-year AM-DIST CM-manner 3PL.DEP-call CM.PL-person
ní **be-bé-hú** **a-mó** **ní** **bá-kó** **balí**
 DEF 3PL-VENT-beat CM-rice DEF SM-give 3PL
 'That year, so they called the people to come and thresh the rice for them.'
217. G'lehú amó ní kō ipúpú pétée békē n'íépí.
gɪ **le-hú** **á-mó** **ní** **kō** **i-púpú** **pétée** **békē**
 REL 3PL.DEP-beat CM-rice DEF INTJ CM.PL-door all finish
ní **ke-pí**
 LOC CM-home
 'When they threshed the rice, oh! all doors were finished in the village.'⁸³
218. Gɪ lehú amó ní békē 'íwí 'lín, hm!
gɪ **le-hú** **a-mó** **ní** **békē** **kí-wí** **í-líliní**

⁸³ Doors are used as planks against which the rice plant is hit to thresh the rice.

REL 3PL.DEP-beat CM-rice DEF COMPL CM-day AM-DIST
hm
 INTJ
 ‘When they finished beating the rice that day, come and see!’

219. Gɪ leéfū amón,

gɪ le-é-fū a-mó ní
 REL 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-winnow CM-rice DEF
 As they are winnowing the rice, (they are singing)’

[Song]

220. Kíkápákpō bɔŋa, kíbulí bɔŋa^{3x}

kí-kpákpō bá ɔ-ŋa kí-bulí bá ɔ-ŋa
 CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat
 ‘Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.’

221. avrugú^{4x}

avrugú
 IDEO.sound made by winnowing fans made from palm fronds
 ‘Sounds from winnowing fans made from palm fronds’

222. Kíkápákpō bɔŋa, kíbulí bɔŋa^{2x}

kí-kpákpō bá ɔ-ŋa kí-bulí bá ɔ-ŋa
 CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat
 ‘Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.’

223. Hó! tsyí ní bétééhū amó ní lééhū⁸⁴ békē.

hó tsyí ní bē-téé-hū a-mó ní
 INTJ too TOP 3PL-NEG:PRSPROG-beat CM-rice DEF
lé-é-hū békē
 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-beat COMPL
 ‘Even then, they are not about finishing the threshing of the rice.’

224. Kásālā edéwu ekú osíním, gɪ y’ázha ’dzín

ká-sālā e-dé-wu e-kú o-sí ní kumɪ
 CM-tortoise SM-ITIVE-climb SM-reach CM-tree DEF inside
gɪ yí á-zha ɔ-dzi ní
 REL 3SG.IND SM-sing CM-song DEF
 ‘Tortoise went and climbed into a tree.’

[Song]

⁸⁴ The narrator used **yí** ‘3SG.IND’ instead of **lé** ‘3PL.DEP’.

225. Amó éé éé, amó ee ee! w'agɪ ɔ́bá w'agɪ ɔ́dɪbá, wɔ́ tsyí ɔ́bohu 'ivu oo.^{2x}
a-mó éé éé a-mó ee ee
 CM-rice INTJ INTJ CM-rice INTJ INTJ
wɔ́ a-gɪ ɔ́-bá wɔ́ a-gɪ ɔ́-dɪ-bá
 2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-come 2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-NEG-come
wɔ́ tsyí ɔ́-bo-hu kí-vū oo
 '2SG.IND too SM-FUT-beat CM-tomorrow UFP
 'Rice oo! rice oo! You who come, you who do not come, you too will
 thresh yours tomorrow.' (i.e. if you don't help me today, tomorrow you will
 also need help.)
226. Banɔ́n enú ní ho! gidɣidɣi gidɣidɣi gidɣidɣi gidɣidɣi
ba-nɔ́ ní bɛ́-nú ní ho
 CM.PL-person DEF SM-hear TOP INTJ
gidɣidɣi gidɣidɣi gidɣidɣi
 IDEO.hustle.and.bustle IDEO.hustle.and.bustle IDEO.hustle.and.bustle
gidɣidɣi
 IDEO.hustle.and.bustle
 'When people heard it, oh! (they rushed to go).'
227. Betel' eéhū, betel' áápíí, betel' eehusí, betel' abhɪtɪ ídɔ́ ní.
be-te-lí be-é-hū be-te-lí
 CM-AM-INDEF SM-PRSPROG-beat CM-AM-INDEF
bá-á-pí be-te-lí be-husí
 SM-PRSPROG-winnow CM-AM-INDEF SM-sift
be-te-lí a-bhɪtɪ kí-dɔ́ ní
 CM-AM-INDEF SM-do CM-thing DEF
 'Some are beating, some are winnowing, some are sifting, and some are
 doing this or that.'
- [All this while they are singing:]
- [Song]
228. Kíkɔ́kpɔ́ bɔ́ŋa, kíbulí bɔ́ŋa.
kí-kpɔ́kpɔ́ bá ɔ́-ŋa kí-bulí bá ɔ́-ŋa
 CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat
 'Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.'
229. Kíkɔ́kpɔ́ bɔ́ŋa, kíbulí bɔ́ŋa oo.
kí-kpɔ́kpɔ́ bá ɔ́-ŋa kí-bulí bá ɔ́-ŋa
 CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat CM-a.kind.of.bird come 2SG-eat
oo
 UFP
 'Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.'

230. Béhú ámón pétée.
bé-hú a-mó ní pétée
 3PL-beat CM-rice DEF all
 ‘They threshed all the rice.’
231. Bétúkú ámón pétée áminā, bakpí n’owúlēnīm.
bé-túkú a-món pétée bá-mínā
 3PL-carry CM-rice all SM-bring
ba-kpí ní o-wúlē ní kumu
 SM-put.in LOC CM-storage.bin DEF in
 ‘They carried all the rice and they put it into the rice storage bin.’
232. Owúlēn tótótótótó.
o-wúlē ní tótótótótó
 CM-storage.bin DEF IDEO
 ‘The rice storage bin was filled to the brim.’
233. Bábaŋe ’éwī ní kásālā ’pēm.
bá-ba-ŋa kí-wī ní ká-sālā bu-pá kumu
 3PL-FUT-eat CM-day LOC CM-tortoise CM-house in
 ‘There will be a feast in tortoise’s house.’
234. Anokwáré, kulí lasí ní a kásālā evu aló así ní nía
anokwáré kulí la-sí ní a
 truly CONJ 3PL.DEF-say TOP CFM
ká-sālā e-vu a-ló a-sí ní ní a
 CM-tortoise SM-catch SM-get.up SM-say TOP TOP CFM
 Truly, and it was said that tortoise rose up to declare that’
235. ɛɛ kīvū ní a kulí lábaŋa kíwī ní, ébeklu y’ɔbhualín pétée.
ɛɛ kí-vū ní a kulí lá-ba-ŋa kí-wī ní
 INTJ CM-tomorrow DEF CFM CONJ 3PL-FUT-eat CM-day DEF
é-be-klū yí ɔ-bhua-alí ní pétée
 3SG-FUT-call 3SG.IND CM-friend-PL DEF all
 ‘tomorrow will be the day of the feast. He will call all his friends.’
236. Éée, bag’aplónṣé gɪ bebeli amó ní pétée ní a,
éée ba-gɪ bá-plónṣ yí gɪ be-be-li a-mó ní
 INTJ 3PL-REL SM-help 3SG REL 3PL-VENT-sow CM-rice DEF
pétée ní a
 all TOP CFM
 ‘Ee, those who helped him to sow the rice,’

237. bag'adzé 'édḡń,
ba-gí ba-dzá kí-dḡ ní
 3PL-REL SM-clear CM-thing DEF
 'those who cleared the bushes,'
238. gṽ ladzé édḡń, gṽ lébeli amó ní pétée ní ní a,
gṽ la-dzá kí-dḡ ní gṽ lé-beli a-mó
 REL 3PL.DEP-clear CM-thing DEF REL 3PL.DEP-sow CM-rice
ní pétée ní ní a
 DEF all TOP TOP CFM
 'those who cleared the bushes and those who sowed all the rice,'
239. ébeklũ 'álí, ébekp'álí pétée dínā tṽ labā tṽ laḡe 'edḡ ní y'úpēm tṽ lamō samṽ.
é-be-klũ balí é-be-kpé balí pétée dínā tṽ
 3SG-FUT-call 3PL SM-FUT-invite 3PL all dinner PURP
la-bā tṽ la-ḡa kí-dḡ ní yí
 3PL.DEP-come PURP 3PL.DEP-eat CM-thing LOC 3SG.IND
bu-pá kṽmṽ tṽ la-mō samṽ
 CM-house in PURP 3PL.DEP-see happiness
 'he would call them, he would invite them all to dinner that they should come and eat in his house for them to rejoice.'
240. Kásālā evu yí epidzya degb'aní, kṽpṽdzyaklḡ aní kulí eyí 'íálí, átó 'édḡ.
ká-sālā e-vu yí e-pidzya degbe a-ní
 CM-tortoise SM-catch 3SG.IND CM-goat huge AM-PROX
kṽ-pṽdzyaklḡ a-ní kulí e-yí kalí á-tḡ kí-dḡ
 CM-he.goat AM-PROX CONJ SM-kill 3SG SM-cook CM-thing
 'Tortoise caught his very big and fat he-goat, slaughtered it and prepared food.'
241. Évu y'ókúkóny'óní eyí, átó 'édḡ.
é-vu yí ɔ-kúkónye ɔ-ní e-yí a-tḡ
 3SG-catch 3SG.IND CM-rooster AM-PROX SM-kill SM-cook
kí-dḡ
 CM-thing
 'He caught this rooster of his, killed it and prepared food.'
242. Hm! adzīn áḡbe eqútsū uní.
hm a-dzī ní á-gba i-dútsū ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-woman DEF CM-fry CM.PL-stew AM-PROX
 'The woman made these stews.'
243. Át'ón'óní kulí y'átó ás'âní kulí áákō 'elí pétée áákō abal'akpī ketsukpú
 gbugblā gbugblā gbugblā gbugblā gbugblā tielīmī kulí áákō édḡń áda.

á-tó **o-ní** **o-ní** **kuí** **yí** **á-tó** **á-sí**
 3SG-cook CM-soup AM-PROX CONJ 3SG.IND SM-cook CM-rice
a-ní **kuí** **á-yíko** **kuí** **pétéé** **á-yíko** **a-balı** **a-kpí**
 AM-PROX CONJ SM-take 3SG all SM-take SM-pour SM-put.in
ke-tsukpú **gbugblā** **gbugblā** **gbugblā** **gbugblā** **gbugblā** **tie-lí**
 CM-pot big big big big big AM-INDEF
kumu **kuí** **á-yíko** **kí-dō** **ní** **á-da**
 in CONJ SM-take CM-thing DEF SM-cover
 ‘She prepared this soup and cooked this rice and she put it all into a very
 big pot and covered it.’

244. Kásālā, mhm! kídō ziilō flāflāflāflāflāflāflā kú yí.
ká-sālā **mhm** **kí-dō** **zi-í-lō** **flāflāflāflāflāflāflā**
 CM-tortoise INTJ CM-thing REP-PRSPROG-smell IDEO
kú **yí**
 reach 3SG
 ‘Oh, tortoise, the thing (food) is smelling so good to him.’
245. Gú kel’abazá pı bebeklú banōn pı lababaje ’édō ní, mhm, kidiku kásālā áwō.
gú **ke-lí** **ka-ba-za**
 REL CM-day SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
pı **be-be-klú** **ba-nō** **ní**
 CONN 3PL-FUT-call CM.PL-person DEF
pı **la-ba-ba-ŋa** **kí-dō** **ní**
 CONN 3PL.DEF-FUT-VENT-eat CM-thing DEF
mhm **ki-di-kú** **ká-sālā** **á-wō**
 INTJ 3SG-NEG2-reach CM-tortoise CM-??
 ‘That it should be daybreak for them to call the people in to come and eat
 the food, oh, no! He couldn’t endure it.’
246. Kelín átááza kōé y’ááza.
ke-lí **ní** **ká-táá-za** **kō** **yí**
 CM-day DEF SM-NEG:PRSPROG-be.at:NPRES DAT 3SG
yí **a-á-za**
 3SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-be.at:NPRES
 ‘Daybreak was not approaching fast enough for him.’ (i.e. He couldn’t
 wait till the next morning.)
247. Kásālā ’kla padíésí, ridjıdjı akl’atō,
ká-sālā **a-kla** **padíésí** **ridjıdjı** **a-kla** **a-tō**
 CM-tortoise SM-count beams IDEO SM-count SM-become.tired
 ‘Tortoise counted the beams again and again until he became tired’
248. kulí y’así o mm, áávu tı adátā así ní ’íbóé, edemín’edí

klí yí a-sí o rúm á-á-ví ti
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-say INTJ INTJ SM-PRSPROG-go PURP
a-dá-tā a-sí ní kibóé
 3SG.DEP-ITIVE-chew CM-rice DEF little
e-de-míni é-dí
 3SG-ITIVE-taste SM-look
 ‘and he said mm, he is going to eat a little of the rice, to go and have a taste.’

249. Gú ávú g’édémín’edí ní mm, tsutsutsutsu.
gú á-ví gú é-dé-míni é-dí ní
 REL 3SG-go REL SM-ITIVE-taste SM-look TOP
rúm tsutsutsutsu
 INTJ IDEO
 ‘When he went and tasted it, mm, no, no, no.’ (i.e. ‘it is so tasty’).
250. Ágblá mítá kó ’ebúí.
á-gblá-mítá kó ki-búí
 3SG-EXC-be.not.good DAT CM-matter
 ‘It is overwhelmingly good.’ (So he couldn’t resist the temptation to eat some.)
251. Ô! áts’áhoun akpí, áátā áátā áátā.
ô á-tsí a-hou ní á-kpí
 INTJ 3SG-take.off CM-hand DEF SM-put.in
á-á-tā á-á-tā á-á-tā
 SM-PRSPROG-chew SM-PRSPROG-chew SM-PRSPROG-chew
 ‘He dipped his hand into it, eating, eating, and eating.’
252. Ô! di tasālē ’evu
ô dí ká-sālā ki-vu
 INTJ look CM-tortoise CM-stomach
 ‘Oh! Look at tortoise’s stomach.’
253. Akaábubo ti ebu ’idzya tilí ko, kásālā kplō kawólí kú ketsukpúním.
a-ka-á-bubo ti e-bú ki-dzya
 3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-bend PURP 3SG.DEP-remove CM-meat
ti-lí ko ká-sālā kplō
 AM-INDEF just CM-tortoise IDEO.sound.of.falling
ka-wólí kú ke-tsukpú ní kumí
 SM-fall ALL CM-pot DEF inside
 ‘Just as he bent again to pick another piece of meat, tortoise fell inside the pot.’

254. Ô! kibroe nînt? Kibroe nînt?
ô ki-búi dúwē nú ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
ki-búi dúwē nú ɪ-ní
 CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
 ‘Oh! What problem is this? What problem is this?’
255. Kásālā edze agbagbá sí ti ...
ká-sālā e-dze.agbagbá sí ti
 CM-tortoise SM-try COMP COMP
 ‘Tortoise tried to ...’
256. Kásālā ’bhítí ’ibuinyéébúi ’ídí sí ti kevlekóéyí ní ketsukpúním pétée
 ketééténú ékóéyí.
ká-sālā a-bhítí ki-búi-nyáá-ki-búi kí-dí sí
 CM-tortoise SM-do CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter CM-type COMP
ti ke-vle-kóéyí ní ke-tsukpú ní kumu pétée
 COMP 3SG.DEF-again-exit LOC CM-pot DEF inside all
ke-tée-ténú ké-kóéyí
 3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-be.able SM-exit
 ‘Tortoise tried every kind of thing in a bid to get out of the pot again (but)
 he was not able to get out.’
257. Kelín ázé ’évolón, kásālā, bápí ’iásālā pétée badumɔ.
ke-lí ní ka-za kí-vuló ní
 CM-day DEF SM-be.at:NPRES CM-morning DEF
ká-sālā bá-pí ká-sālā pétée ba-dí-mɔ
 CM-tortoise 3PL-look.for CM-tortoise all 3PL-NEG2-see
 ‘Day broke, in the morning, they looked for tortoise all over, they did not
 find (him).’
258. Banɔ ní, bánón gɪ lekpé, bánón abá pétée.
ba-nɔ ní bá-nɔ ní gɪ le-kpé
 CM.PL-person DEF CM.PL-person DEF REL 3PL.DEF-invite
bá-nɔ ní ba-bá pétée
 CM.PL-person DEF SM-come all
 ‘The people, the invited guests, all the people came.’
259. Bátáámɔ kásālā.
bá-táá-mɔ ká-sālā
 3PL-NEG:PRSPROG-see CM-tortoise
 ‘They cannot find tortoise.’

260. “Ā! ee d’omín’id5 nt ɔ́kɔ ’mínā tɪ lodí⁸⁵ oo”.
ā ee dɪ ɔ-mín kɪ-d5 ní
 INTJ INTJ go 2SG-do.as.a.last.resort CM-thing DEF
ɔ-yíko ɔ-mínā tɪ lo-dí oo
 SM-take SM-bring COMP 1PL.DEP-look UFP
 “‘Ah! As it is, bring the food for us to look at!’” (i.e. since the host is no where to be found, there was nothing to do than for the food to be served).
261. Kulí adzɪn aló gɪ avunɔ agbě, avunɔ ’esígbé, avunɔ ’edɔnyɔ́ sɪ tɪ aye ’édɔn
 akpí ákɔ́ banɔn.
kulí a-dzɪ ní á-lɔ́ gɪ á-vunɔ
 CONJ CM-woman DEF SM-get.up REL 3SG.DEP-take.with
a-gbě á-vunɔ kɪ-sígbé á-vunɔ kɪ-dɔ
 CM-bowl SM-take.with CM-earthen.bowl SM-take.with CM-thing
nyɔ́ sɪ tɪ á-ya kɪ-d5 ní
 all COMP COMP 3SG.DEP-cut.off CM-thing DEF
a-kpí á-kɔ́ ba-nɔ ní
 SM-put.in SM-give CM.PL-person DEF
 ‘Then the woman got up and she took a pan, she took earthenware bowls, she took other things in order to serve the people.’
262. Gɪ áyíko ’ebhluxɔ́é, ákpí, ákpí, ákpí.
gɪ á-yíko kɪ-bhluxɔ́é á-kpí á-kpí á-kpí
 REL 3SG.DEP-take CM-spoon SM-put.in SM-put.in SM-put.in
 ‘When she took a ladle, she dipped it in, dipped it in, and dipped it in.’
263. Ákpí ’ibhluxɔ́én, étū, ákpí ’ibhluxɔ́én, étū.
á-kpí kɪ-bhluxɔ́é ní é-tū
 SM-put.in CM-spoon DEF SM-hit
á-kpí kɪ-bhluxɔ́é ní é-tū
 SM-put.in CM-spoon DEF SM-hit
 ‘She put in the ladle and it hit (something) she put in the ladle and it hit (something).’
264. Ee, ásín étéékóéyí.
ee á-sí ní é-téé-kóéyí
 INTJ CM-rice DEF SM-NEG:PRSPROG-exit
 ‘Er, the rice is not coming out.’
265. Ákpí ’ibhluxɔ́én, étū, ákpí ’ibhluxɔ́én, étū.
á-kpí kɪ-bhluxɔ́é ní é-tū
 SM-put.in CM-spoon DEF SM-hit

⁸⁵ The form of the dependent pronoun should have been **lo** with a +ATR vowel.

á-kpí **ki-bhluxɔ́é** **ní** **é-tū**
 SM-put.in CM-spoon DEF SM-hit
 ‘She put in the ladle and it hit (something), she put in the ladle and it hit (something).’

266. Oqútsū otóókóéyī.
o-qútsū **o-tóó-kóéyī**
 CM-stew SM-NEG:PRSPROG-exit
 ‘No stew is coming out.’

267. O! kibúí qúwē nín dza?
o **ki-búí** **qúwē** **nú** **ɪ-ní** **dza**
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX UFP
 ‘Oh! What is this?’

268. Bétu ’kín, betu ’kín, betu ’kín, betu ’kín, â!
bé-tu **ɪ-kí** **ní** **bé-tu** **ɪ-kí** **ní** **bé-tu** **ɪ-kí**
 3PL-hit CM-here DEF 3PL-hit CM-here DEF 3PL-hit CM-here
ní **bé-tu** **ɪ-kí** **â**
 DEF 3PL-hit CM-here INTJ
 ‘They hit here, they hit there, they hit here, they hit there, ah!’

269. Kulí lasí ô! kibúí uní, alasí tɪ lefekê kitsikpí tɪ bááko adatrɔ́ ’efú tɪ lahtɪh’alí
 ’ubóé ádupí elishí ní a kulí levu aglɔ́.
kulí **la-sí** **ô** **ki-búí** **ɪ-ní**
 CONJ 3PL.DEP-say INTJ CM-matter AM-PROX
a-lí **a-sí** **tɪ** **le-féké** **ki-tsikpí** **tɪ**
 3SG-be.at SM-COMP COMP 3PL.DEP-lift CM-pot PURP
ba-yíko **á-dá-trɔ́** **ki-fú** **tɪ** **la-huha** **alí**
 3PL-take AM-ITIVE-put.on CM-fire PURP 3PL.DEP-heat 3PL
kubóé **ádupí** **e-lishí** **ní** **a** **kulí** **le-vu** **áglɔ́**
 little perhaps CM-night DEF CFM CONJ 3PL.DEP-catch RECIP
 ‘Then they said as for this, they should carry (the) pot and put it on fire to warm it a bit, perhaps in the night the rice solidified.’

270. Klíso babhtí ’ídɔ́ ní.
klíso **bá-bhtí** **kí-dɔ́** **ní**
 so 3PL-do CM-thing DEF
 ‘Therefore they must do this.’

271. Kulí ledéfékē kídō nī⁸⁶ mambo kāsālā avūn' trā.
kulí **le-de-féké** **kí-dō** **ní**
 CONJ 3PL.DEP-ITIVE-lift CM-thing DEF
mambó **ká-sālā** **á-vi-nó** **ti-rá**
 not.knowing CM-tortoise SM-go-COM CM-sleep
 'Then they lifted the thing (i.e. the pot), not knowing, tortoise was asleep.'
272. Gū latrō 'itsikpīn' ifún pī kesín á ...
gū **la-trō** **ki-tsikpī** **ní** **ki-fú** **ní** **pī**
 REL 3PL.DEP CM-pot DEF CM-fire DEF CONN
ke-sí **ní** **á**
 CM-bottom DEF CFM
 'When they put the pot on fire and the down part... (was beginning to heat up),'
273. ô! íkpas'ítsikpíním, íkpas'ítsikpínímī oo, íkpas'ítsikpínímī oo, nōts'ítsikpī
 ní oo.
ô **í-kpasí** **ki-tsikpī** **ní** **kumí** **oo**
 INTJ 1SG-be.in CM-pot DEF inside INTJ
í-kpasí **ki-tsikpī** **ní** **kumí** **oo**
 1SG-be.in CM-pot DEF inside INTJ
nó-tsí **kí-tsikpī** **ní** **oo**
 2PL-take.off CM-pot DEF INTJ
 'oh! I am in the pot, I am in the pot, I am in the pot, take the pot off the fire'
274. Pī lats'itsikpī ní p'íál'ááhwa hlohlohlo p'itsikpín íwólí n'ual'ahwa ní...
 agboyaa.
pī **la-tsí** **ki-tsikpī** **ní**
 CONN 3PL.DEP-take.off CM-pot DEF
pī **kalí** **ká-á-hwā** **hlohlohlo**
 CONN 3SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-move IDEO
pī **ki-tsikpī** **ní** **kí-wólí** **ní** **kalí** **ka-hwa** **ní**
 CONN CM-pot DEF SM-fall COM 3SG.IND SM-move TOP
agboyaa
 IDEO.sound
 'When they took the pot from the fire with him moving in it (then) the pot fell... (with a loud noise).'
275. Kitsikpī yě, béédī úsālā.

⁸⁶ The performer said **y'ání** 'this one' which was corrected to **kídō ní** 'the thing' during the transcription.

ki-tsikpĩ yě bé-é-dĩ ká-sālā
 CM-pot break 3PL-PRSPROG-look CM-tortoise
 ‘The pot breaks, they are looking at tortoise.’

276. Ô! kásālā, w’ɔbhutĩ ’íbúí uníí!
ô ká-sālā wó ɔ-bhutĩ ki-búí ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-tortoise 2SG.IND SM-do CM-matter AM-PROX
 ‘Oh! Tortoise, you did this thing?’

277. Kulí adzinúvōn áló n’íwĩ gĩ etsódz’avĩ y’enĩ nĩ y’akā ’kō.
kulí a-dzinúvō ní á-ló nĩ ki-wĩ
 CONJ CM-girl DEF SM-get.up COM CM-shame
gĩ é-tsódzi a-vĩ yĩ e-nĩ nĩ
 REL 3SG.DEP-return SM-go 3SG-IND CM-mother COM
yĩ á-kā ɔ.kō
 3SG-IND CM-father place
 ‘And the girl got up with shame and went back to her parents place.’

274. Gĩ banḡaĩ báló átónō kásālā.
gĩ ba-nō a-ní bá-ló bá-tónō
 REL CM.PL-person AM-PROX SM-get.up SM-follow
ká-sālā
 CM-tortoise
 ‘Then these people rose up upon him.’

275. Ô, kibroe nĩnĩ, kibroe nĩnĩ, kibroe nĩnĩ!
ô ki-búí qúwē nú ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
ô ki-búí qúwē nú ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
ô ki-búí qúwē nú ɪ-ní
 INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
 ‘Oh! what is this?, What is this?, What is this?’

276. Kulí kásālā etú ’kóeyĩ nĩ ɔmaním.
kulí ká-sālā e-tú e-kóeyĩ ní ɔ-ma
 CONJ CM-tortoise SM-pack.out SM-exit LOC CM-town
nĩ kumĩ
 DEF in
 ‘And tortoise packed out of town.’

277. Kulí ómō kásālē ’ēklō obón ní ní,
kulí ó-mō ká-sālā kɪ-klō o-bón ní ní
 CONJ 2SG-see CM-tortoise CM-shell CM-today DEF TOP
 ‘Therefore, when you see tortoise’s shell today,’

278. tklí gɪ kɪbluxɔ́é nɪ gɪ betu yɪ pétéé,
t-klí gɪ kɪ-bhluxɔ́é nɪ gɪ be-tu yɪ pétéé
 CM-there REL CM-ladle DEF REL 3PL-hit 3SG all
 ‘where the ladle hit,’
279. kɪl’ebi nɪ pétéé al’áfi kásāl’iede ooo.
kɪl’ é-bɪ nɪ pétéé alí a-lí ká-sālā
 3SG.IND CM.PL-scar DEF all 3SG.IND SM-be.at CM-tortoise
ke-de ooo
 CM-back UFP
 ‘all the marks are on his back.’
280. Kulí kó sí nɪ kásāl’iede katsa idi nɪ pétéé oo óbótón’obón.
kulí kó sí nɪ ká-sālā ke-de ka-tsa
 3SG.IND cause COMP TOP CM-tortoise CM-back SM-draw
i-di nɪ pétéé oo ó-bótón’ o-bón
 CM.PL-line DEF all CFM 2SG-VENT-follow CM-today
 ‘That is why the back of tortoise has lines up till today.’
281. Kliso, ót’osí aní kásālā buyíkɔ́ y’aáko kídɔ́ gbɪgbɪlā pɪpɪ, ɛɛ, kídɔ́ gbɪgbɪlā
 ɲɲa aáko ehú ahɔ́ ’uté nɪ,
kliso ó-ti ɔ-sí aní ká-sālā bu-yíkɔ́
 so 2SG-know SM-COMP NEGCL CM-tortoise CM-take
yɪ a-yíkɔ́ kɪ-dɔ́ gbɪgbɪlā pɪ-pɪ
 3SG.IND SM-take CM-thing big RED-want
ɛɛ kɪ-dɔ́ gbɪgbɪlā ɲɪ-ɲa á-yíkɔ́ e-hú a-hɔ́
 INTJ CM-thing big RED-eat SM-take SM-hit CM-hand
kɪ-té nɪ
 CM-chest DEF
 ‘That is why had it not been that tortoise was given in to greed and gluttony,’
282. tsyínā lóó kásālā y’uyísɔ́ ’ha lɔdɔtsyáí.
tsyínā lóó ká-sālā yɪ bu-yísɔ́ ɔ-ha
 otherwise ADD CM-tortoise 3SG.IND CM-handsomeness CM-group
lɔ-dɔ-tsyáí
 3SG-ITIVE-be.left.over
 ‘his good looks would have been hard to beat.’
283. Tsyínā lóó akagbání ekus’edzini, ekus’edzin’eyí, ekus’edzēyí.
tsyínā lóó a-ka-gbání e-kusí e-dzini
 otherwise ADD 3SG-PERS-marry CM-king CM-wife
e-kusí e-dzini e-yí e-kusí e-dzeyí
 CM-king CM-wife CM-chlid CM-king CM-daughter

‘Otherwise, he would still have been married to the king’s daughter, the princess.’

284. Tsyínā lóó bakalí obón ní é óó.

tsyínā lóó ba-ka-lí o-bón ní é óó
 otherwise ADD 3PL-PERS-be.at CM-today DEF UFP UFP
 ‘Otherwise, they would still have been there today.’

285. Kliso ní a, wə anō ólī, kídō nōn gɪ lāsɪ latbɪhɪ ko ní ní tɪbhɪtʰ?

kliso ní a wə a-nō ó-lī kí-dō nō
 so TOP CFM 2SG.IND CM.person SM-be.at CM-thing wh.ever
ní gɪ la-sí la-tɪ-bɪhɪtʰ ko ní ní
 DEF REL 3PL.DEP-say 3PL.DEP-NEG1-do just TOP TOP
tɪ-bɪhɪtʰ
 NEG1-do
 ‘Therefore, as a person, if you are there and there is something forbidden,
 do not do it.’

286. Bási ɔdɪza kɪvū tʰɔbɔŋa ko ní ní gɪ latɪtʰ ʼedōn elú ko

bá-sí ɔ-dɪ-za kí-vū tɪ
 3PL-say 2SG-ITIVE-be.at.NPRES CM-tomorrow COMP
ɔ-bɔ-ŋa ko ní ní gɪ la-tɪ-tʰ
 2SG-FUT-eat just TOP TOP REL 3PL.DEP-PERF-cook
kí-dō ní be-lú ko
 CM-thing DEF 3PL-put just
 As the food has already been prepared if they say wait and eat
 it tomorrow (just wait).’

287. Kídō nōn gɪ ɔsʰɔbhɪtʰ ko, bɪhɪ ʼulɪ tɪ lɪ ná óó.

kí-dō nō ní gɪ ɔ-sí ɔ-bɪhɪtʰ ko
 CM-thing wh.ever DEF REL 2SG-say SM-do just
bɪhɪ kɪlɪ tɪ lɪ-ná óó
 do 3SG COMP 3SG.DEP-be.sufficient UFP
 Whatever you want to do, do it the right way.’

288. Mʰɔdzídziésí, mʰɔdzídziábhā,

mí ɔ-dzɪdɪ ke.sí mí ɔ-dzɪdɪ kábhā
 1SG.IND CM-story under 1SG.IND CM-story top
 ‘This is the head and tail of my story.’

289. ɔfítɪ klumí, ɔza klumí, okpókpo ʼɔbɔnɔ, ɔbɔnɔ tséj.

ɔfítɪ klumí ɔza klumí okpókpo bɔbɔnɔ ɔbɔnɔ tséj
 ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? ??? IDEO
 [A formula for ending a story]

290. Ayígoo.
ayígoo
 ‘well.done’

291. Yagoo.
Yagoo
 ‘Response’

13.2 Tɔgbœmɪ akpalí telí ‘Some proverbs in Tafi’

Proverbs are wise sayings which are used to give advice or to tell people something about human life and problems in general. The proverbs were provided by Nelson Agbley who is about 66 years old and Beatrice Amodza who is about 78.

01. Ɔtsrí kəkulɔ̃ ɔl'ɔvɔ aput'otiti ɔɔzyudzyɔ ní.
ɔ-tsrí kəkulɔ̃ ɔl' ɔ-vɔ a-putɔ
 CM-foot crooked 3SG.IND SM-besmeared.with CM.PL-mud
o-titi ɔ-dzyudzyɔ ní
 SM-smear CM-straight DEF
 ‘It is the crooked leg that besmears the straight one with mud.’

Interpretation: The misdeeds of a bad relation will have an adverse effect on an innocent one.

02. Ɔtsrí tsyí ishú ɔhɔi tsyí ishú.
ɔ-tsrí tsyí i-shú ɔ-hɔi tsyí i-shú
 CM-leg also CM-body CM-arm also CM-body
 ‘The leg is a part of the body equally so is the arm.’

Interpretation: Every member of the community deserves due regard.
 OR All members of the community should be treated equally.

03. Aní nyɔ́é kú nɪ bɔ́é gú.
aní nyɔ́é kú nɪ bɔ́é gú
 NEGCL nose develop COM tobacco sniff
 OR
 aní kánā gɪ lekú 'íyĩntɔ́ nɪ légu asrān.
aní ká-nā gɪ le-kú kɪ-yĩntɔ́ nɪ
 NEGCL CM-manner REL 3PL.DEP-develop CM-nose COM
lé-gu a-srā ní
 3PL.DEP-sniff CM-tobacco DEF
 ‘The size of the nose does not determine the amount of snuff to be sniffed.’

-A normal pinch of snuff is sufficient even if one has a nose of prodigious size.

Interpretation: We must exercise moderation in all things.

04. Agudũ ágiganı tsyí áfĩ ɖɔɖɔ.
a-gudũ á-giganı tsyí á-fĩ ɖɔɖɔ
 CM-bear SM-be.strong also SM-defecate slowly
 ‘Even though the bear is a powerful animal it is known to defecate slowly.’

Interpretation: We should not overdo things.

05. Elishĩ até ’ékpá.
e-lishĩ a-tá kĩ-kpá
 CM-night SM-swell CM-knot
 ‘The night has a lumpy knot to it.’

Interpretation: We should be careful about saying secret things in the night as the dark may be hiding an eavesdropper.

OR

Walls have ears, so be careful when saying secret things in the night.

06. Anóvĩ ámo tsyí bésĩ éshishe ámo tsyí bésĩ.
a-nóvĩ á-mo tsyí bésĩ é-shishe á-mo tsyí bésĩ
 CM-child SM-see also 3PL-run CM-RED.old SM-see also
 3PL-run
 ‘Even if the one who spotted the approaching danger and alerts others is a child we may all run for our lives.’

Interpretation: We may run for our lives even if the one who spotted the danger is a mere child.

07. ɔkɔ́ tódúkúpó láchĩ ’elú g’lube ’efĩ.
ɔ-kɔ́ to-ɖukúpó lá-shĩ be-lú gĩ
 CM-place AM-one 3PL.DEP-urinate 3PL-put.down REL
lu-bá kĩ-fĩ
 3SG.DEP-come CM-lather
 ‘It is by urinating at one place that lather is formed.’

Interpretation: We get the desired result when we concentrate on one activity.

08. Kepi 'ibúí 'tídi an5 'unú?.

ke-pí ki-búí kɪ-tí-dɪ a-n5 bu-nú
 CM-home CM-matter SM-NEG1-surpass CM-person CM-limit
 'A home problem does not defy all solutions.'

Interpretation: In the comfort of (the) home, one has the leisure to try many more alternatives or solutions.

09. Ónúgɪ kihuí duya kede líyí.

ónú.gɪ ki-huí duya ke-de lí-yí
 COND CM-trap spring CM-back 3SG.DEF-show.up
 'If a trap springs, it moves backwards.'

Interpretation: Win or lose, one always comes back home.

10. Itúkpé tɪ kasi 'óbobo.

i-túkpé tɪ í-kasí bú-bobo
 CM-bullet 3PL.IND SM-show CM-bow
 'It is the level of the flying bullets that determines how low one must bow.'
 Interpretation: Every problem provides a suggested solution.

11. Kedzi kal' ád5 ákpí 'ítrékpú.

ke-dzi kalí ká-d5 ká-kpí ki-trekpú
 CM-rat 3SG.IND SM-cause SM-put.in CM-anthill
 'It is the rat that gets an anthill involved.'
 'When a rat makes an anthill its abode, it gets hunters to demolish the anthill.'

Interpretation: A mischief-maker will involve his family or community in reprisal action.

12. Olizat5 ónúgbúim lól5nīm ebúitibúí edekóeyí.

o-lizat5 o-nugbu kɪmɪ ló.l5 ní kɪmɪ
 CM-dawn CM-mouth inside RED.smell DEF inside
e-búitibúí e-de-kóeyí
 CM.PL-word.of.wisdom SM-ITIVE-exit
 'Out of the smelly mouth of early dawn good counsel flows.'

Interpretation: Much wisdom is heard in discourses at early dawn.

13. I-shú xúxwé so gɪ liyi 'ínfl5.

i-shú xú.xwé so gɪ li-yi kɪ-yínfl5
 CM-body RED.scratch because REL 3SG.DEF-grow CM-fingernail
 'It is for scratching the body that one grows fingernails.'
 Interpretation: Everything we must possess is for a purpose.

14. Ágbahgba átísā adzɪ ohui ákó anɔ̃.
á-gbahgba á-tí-sā a-dzɪ o-hui á-kó
 CM-bachelor SM-NEG1-tie CM-woman CM-charm SM-give
a-nɔ̃
 CM-person
 ‘A bachelor does not make a credible seller of love charms.’
 Interpretation: One cannot be trusted to give what one does not have.
15. Anóvɔ̃ éyí kázhué gɪ etínyí átísó ’íálí flôgo gɪ áyúkó ákásí y’akā sí eklú
 kal’inyí kóé?
a-nóvɔ̃ é-yí ká-zhué gɪ e-tí-nyí
 CM-child SM-kill CM-bird REL 3SG.DEP-NEG1-know
á-tí-só kalí flôgo gɪ á-yúkó á-kásí
 3SG-NEG1-pluck 3SG before REL 3SG.DEP-take SM-show
yí á-kā a-sí e-klú kalí ki-nyí
 3SG.IND CM-father SM-COMP 3SG.DEP-call 3SG.IND CM-name
kó yí
 DAT 3SG
 ‘When a child shoots an unknown bird he must not pluck it before asking
 his father to tell him what bird it is.’
 Interpretation: It is unwise to tamper with a matter when one requires a
 better informed opinion on it.
16. Áka shishe etítsiré éshúí kelí’fbē ’ibúí pɪ edebísí ákā ’sí kíúgba dza?
á-kā shi.she e-tí-tsiré é-shúí kelí.kibē
 CM-father RED.old SM-NEG1-tell CM-grandchild CM-older.time
ki-búí pɪ e-de-bísí á-kā a-sí
 CM-matter CONN 3SG.DEP-ITIVE-ask CM-father SM-COMP
kíúgba dza
 CM-truth UFP
 ‘A wise grandchild does not seek to verify from his father what his
 grandfather has told him about things that happened long ago.’
 Interpretation: We must have respect for authority when it comes to
 information.
17. Anɪ ’utsá láytko ’epú ɔwɪsí nɔ̃.
anɪ kɪ-tsá lá-yúkó be-pú ɔ-wɪsí
 NEGCL CM-needle 3PL.DEP-take SM-punch CM-axe.handle
nɔ̃
 COM
 ‘We do not punch a hole into an axe handle with a needle.’

Interpretation: To every operation, (there is) an instrument that is appropriate.

18. Bétíkū 'íkṑṑtsó ṑ láyíkṑ ekṑú kewulútsúkpú?
bé-tí-kū **kí-kṑṑtsó** **ṑ** **lá-yíkṑ**
 3PL-NEG1-develop CM-inflated.scrotum CONN 3PL.DEP-take
be-kṑú **ke-wulútsúkpú**
 SM-hide CM-bath.pot
 'A man cannot hide from the bath tub an inflated scrotum he has developed.'

Interpretation: There is a limit to all secrecy.

19. Onugbu odinú kíkuísí?
o-nugbu **o-di-nú** **kí-kuísí**
 CM-mouth SM-NEG2-COP CM-knee
 'The mouth is not a knee.'

Interpretation: People will always say what is on their minds, no matter what.

20. Kitíkplī ní ḡ anṑn edzí ní tíḡṑ sí áfṑ otshutshuī ḡ lááko 'elí oturo?
ki-tíkplī **ní** **ḡ** **a-nṑ** **ní** **e-dzí** **ní** **tí-ḡṑ**
 CM-stool DEF REL CM-person DEF SM-sit TOP NEG1-say
sí **á-fṑ** **o-tshutshuī** **ḡ** **la-yíkṑ** **kúfí**
 COMP 3SG.DEP-exude CM-fart REL 3PL.DEP-take 3SG
o-turo
 CM-lie
 'We do not doubt the stool one is seated on when it declares that the person has just farted.'

Interpretation: There is always an authoritative source to every piece of information.

21. Kútṑkpú tíza ákpíkṑ ṑ láyíkṑ kikutú ekumú 'íkuísí?
ki-tṑkpú **tí-za** **ákpíkṑ** **ṑ** **la-yíkṑ** **ki-kutú**
 CM-head NEG1-stay empty CONN 3PL.DEP-take CM-hat
be-kumú **kí-kuísí**
 SM-cover CM-knee
 'We do not put the cap on the knee while the bare head lies waiting.'

Interpretation: It is wise to give to everyone his/her due place in society.

22. Tsyǎǎví nɪ y'áyakpá.
tsyǎǎví nɪ yí á-yakpá
 orphan COM 3SG.IND CM-bush
 'To the orphan, his bush.'

Interpretation: A person deprived of a provider is always in the field and abroad trying to fend for himself.

23. Osí ní gɪ lɔlí anɔ ahɔú ɔlí layíko 'ehū éblidzya.
o-sí ní gɪ lɔ-lí a-nɔ a-hɔú ní
 CM-stick DEF REL 3SG.DEP-be.at CM-person CM-hand TOP
ɔlí la-yíko be-hū é-blidzya
 3SG.IND 3PL.DEP-take SM-hi t CM-snake
 'It is the stick one has in hand that one uses to hit a snake.'

Interpretation: We work with the means and tools we have at our disposal.

24. Tshǎǎví étíxwí kívoló 'úxwí ko gɪ amɔ samɪ.
tshǎǎví é-tí-xwí kí-voló bú-xwí ko
 orphan SM-NEG1-be.satisfied CM-morning CM-satisfaction only
gɪ a-mɔ samɪ
 REL 3SG.DEP-see happiness
 'The orphaned child does not rejoice over an early morning full belly.'

Interpretation: Uncertain is the condition of a motherless child.

25. Ónúgɪ ɔsí atutanyí ní étíbebí?
ónú.gɪ ɔ-sí a-ti-tanyí ní
 COND 2SG.DEP-say 3SG-NEG1-burn TOP
é-tí-be-bí
 3SG-NEG1-FUT-be.well.cooked
 'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or well-cooked.'

Interpretation: To gain anything, one must be prepared to make some sacrifice.

26. Banɔ tuabhē 'eshí épídzýá étíklěñɔ ɔto 'uza.
ba-nɔ tu-bhā ki.shí e-pidzya é-tíklěñɔ
 CM.PL-person AM-two midst CM-goat SM-be.proned.to
ɔ-to bu-za
 CM-outside CM-stay
 'A goat that is reared between two keepers apart strays very often.'

Interpretation: Anybody's responsibility is nobody's job.

27. Ósí oní ní g'ṣísí ní kùbhloxóéníésí lóṣísí ɔdo 'iesí so ótimíní ɔl ní ɔg'ɔkpasí kùbhloxóénímí bɔbáṣ lóbal kú anɔ́ ǎmí?.
- ṣ-sí** **o-ní** **ní** **gú** **ṣ-sísí** **ní** **kí-bhloxóé**
 2SG-say CM-soup DEF REL 3SG.DEP-drip LOC CM-ladle
ní **ke.sí** **lɔ-tí-sísí** **ɔ-dó** **ke.sí** **so**
 DEF under 3SG.DEP-NEG1-drip SM-fall under so
ó-tí-míní **ɔl** **ní** **ɔ-gú** **ɔ-kpasí** **kí-bhloxóé**
 2SG.DEP-DESID-lick 3SG TOP 3SG.REL SM-be.in CM-ladle
ní **kúmí** **bu-balí** **lɔ-balí** **kú** **a-nɔ́** **ǎ-mí**
 DEF inside CM-pour 3SG.DEP-pour ALL CM-person CM-face
 'If you insist that drips of soup under the ladle should not drop and you want to lick it as well, the soup in the ladle will spill into your eyes.'

Interpretation: We should not be greedy.

28. Tikulú w'ení y'enyínē edziní ɔsí w'ení, buni gú lasísí ní ekle ovutóésí dũṣṣo kením'uní?.
- tí-klú** **wó** **é-ní** **yí** **e-nyínē** **e-dziní**
 NEG1-call 2SG.IND CM-mother 3SG.IND CM-husband CM-wife
ɔ-sí **wó** **é-ní** **bu-ní** **gú** **la-sísí**
 SM-COMP 2SG.IND CM-mother CM-water REL 3PL.DEP-harvest
ní **e-kle** **o-vutó** **ke.sí** **dí-sɔ́-nɔ́**
 LOC CM-thatch CM-roof under NEG2-be.equal-COM
ke-ní **kúmí** **bu-ní**
 CM-river inside CM-water
 'Do not call your mother's co-wife your mother, water collected from the eaves of the thatched hut is not the same as that from a river.'

Interpretation: However good a substitute may be, we may still miss the original or it cannot be compared to the original.

29. ɔtsrĩ kuusū nɪ ɔlɪ tíyíyékē.
- ɔ-tsɹĩ** **kuusū** **nɪ** **ɔlɪ** **tí-yí-yékē**
 CM-leg small COM 3SG.IND CM-RED.swell
 'The small foot too has its swelling.'

Interpretation: To everything, the standard by which people measure it.

30. Ónúg' ɔféké kitukún ɔtrɔ́ kíkuísí ní ká ɔpuoyíko é.
- ónú.gú** **ó-féké** **kí-tukú** **ní** **ɔ-trɔ́** **kí-kuísí** **ní**
 COND 2SG.DEP-lift CM-load DEF SM-put.on CM-knee DEF
ká **ɔ-pĩ** **bu-yíko** **é**
 then 2SG.DEP-be.good CM-take CFM

‘When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it on your head.’

Interpretation: When one has the self-help spirit, assistance comes easily.

31. Kíwǝhǝ́n ípu tsyí trǎ kpasí ’ulím.
kí-wǝhǝ́n ní ki-pú tsyí ti-rá kpasí kulí kum
 CM-eye DEF SM-pierce also CM-sleep be.in 3SG.IND inside
 ‘A blind eye still has sleep in it.’

Interpretation: Nature is quick to adopt to conditions.

32. Bétítsū oturoeleté ovutó ’éfú bopui lápui olím?
bé-tí-tsū o-turo e-leté o-vutó ki-fú
 3PL-NEG1-set CM-lie CM-owner CM-roof CM-fire
bu-pui lá-pui olí kum
 CM-scatter 3PL.DEP-scatter 3SG.IND inside
 ‘We do not set fire to a dishonest person’s roof, we tear it apart.’
 (He must be having some valuables hidden away in the roof.)

Interpretation: When you thoroughly investigate a case involving a dishonest person, you end up discovering more hidden facts.

33. Ónúgí ðeke évu wó ní y’eyíálí botí látí ní anǝ ’evuabhā.
ónú.gí ðeke é-vu wó ní yí e-yí-álí
 COND crocodile SM-catch 2SG TOP 3SG.IND CM-child-PL
bu-tí lá-tí ní a-nǝ ki-vu kabhā
 CM-crawl 3PL.DEP-crawl LOC CM-person CM-stomach top
 ‘When a crocodile has captured you (even) baby crocs will crawl on your belly.’

Interpretation: If you are in someone’s power even the one’s children tend to treat you with scorn.

34. Bátíyíkǝ ǝhǝ kuusuǝ ’adaatsrakí ǝgbugblá?
bá-tí-yíkǝ ǝ-hǝ kuusu ní bá-dá-á-tsarakí
 3PL-NEG1-take CM-arm small DEF SM-ITIVE-PRSPROG-exchange
ǝgbugblá
 SM-big
 ‘We do not exchange a smaller arm with a bigger one.’

Interpretation: We are advised against attacking one that is clearly more powerful than we are.

35. Kígí anǝ áŋa ní kulí bubó y’élū.

ki-gi a-n̄ á-ŋa ní kílí bu-b̄ yí
 3SG-REL CM-person SM-eat TOP 3SG.IND CM-fat 3SG.IND
é-lū
 SM-form
 ‘What you eat, it is that whose fat will form in your body.’

Interpretation: What we put in determines the end result we should expect.

36. Otúgba búgā lí.
o-túgba bú-gā lí
 CM-front CM-walk be.at
 ‘The journey lies in the moving forward.’

Interpretation: Progress comes in pressing on.

37. An̄ ní gí átaánā kitukún y’aq̄ así kiga ní kílí ’mítá?
a-n̄ ní gí á-táá-nā ki-tukú
 CM-person DEF REL 3SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-be.able CM-load
ní yí a-d̄ a-sí ki-ga ní kílí
 DEF 3SG.IND SM-say SM-COMP CM-head.pad DEF 3SG.IND
ki-mítá
 SM-be.not.good
 ‘The one who cannot carry the load says that it is the head-pad that is not good.’

Interpretation: An unskilled artisan usually puts the blame on the tools he has to work with.

OR

A bad workman quarrels with his tools.

38. Onugbu tolí lótízŋe ’éd̄ gí onugbu bhlat̄ p’oz̄kpasā?
o-nugbu to-lí ló-tí-z̄-ŋa kí-d̄ gí
 CM-mouth AM-INDEF 3SG.DEP-NEG1-REP-eat CM-thing REL
o-nugbu bhlat̄ p̄ z̄-z̄-kpasā
 CM-mouth other CONN 3SG.DEP-REP-move
 ‘One mouth should not be eating while another mouth should be seen moving.’

Interpretation: The real beneficiary ought to be identified.

39. Eyí n̄ ní gí así y’ení atud̄ trā elishí yí tsyí agúsí abad̄?
e-yí n̄ ní gí a-sí yí é-ní
 CM-child wh.ever DEF REL 3SG.DEP-say 3SG.IND CM-mother

á-tí-dó **tí-rá** **e-lishí** **yí** **tsyí** **a-gí-sí**
 SM-NEG1-sleep CM-sleep CM-night 3SG.IND too SM-NEG3-say
á-ba-dó
 SM-FUT-sleep
 ‘The child who would not let its mother sleep will also not sleep.’

Interpretation: When we do good or bad we are also affected by the result.

40. An⁵ ní gí w’ewě kpasí y’ónúgbúimí bátítá y’ ákóé?
a-n⁵ **ní** **gí** **wó** **kí-wě** **kí-kpasí** **yí**
 CM-person DEF REL 2SG.IND CM-finger SM-be.in 3SG.IND
o-nugbu **kí** **bá-tí-tá** **yí** **á-kóé**
 CM-mouth inside 3PL-NEG1-throw 3SG CM-fist
 ‘You do not knock a person on the head when your finger is in his mouth.’

Interpretation: We should always beware of our points of vulnerability.

41. Ómó taab’eyí bátíwūsó ɔwǎ todupóíábhā etité láwūsó?
ó-mó **tia-bha** **e-yí** **bá-tí-wūsó** **ɔ-wǎ**
 2SG-bear AM-two CM-child 3PL-NEG1-sleep CM-side
to-dukpo **kábhā** **e-tité** **lá-wūsó**
 AM-one top CM-back 3PL.DEP-sleep
 ‘When you give birth to twins you must not lie down on one side you must lie on your back.’

Interpretation: We must be fair in matters of divided responsibility.

42. Kásālā ’tímō eyí gí edéyí kíbulí?
ká-sālā **ka-tí-mō** **e-yí** **gí** **e-dé-yí**
 CM-tortoise SM-NEG1-bear CM-child REL 3SG.DEP-ITIVE-resemble
kí-bulí
 CM-snail
 ‘The offspring of a tortoise will not resemble a snail.’

Interpretation: It is always a thing of pride to maintain one’s identity.

43. Ekus’eyí átínáwǎ akó éfleté ’éplúkpá?
e-kusí **e-yí** **á-tí-náwǎ** **a-kó** **é-fleté**
 CM-chief CM-child SM-NEG1-hurry SM-give CM-leopard
ke-plukpá
 CM-skin
 ‘The chief’s child should not be in a hurry to see the leopard’s skin.’
 Interpretation: Man should not hasten in life.

44. An⁵ shishe átínyunyā 'mī kúbhūm y'ányunyā?
a-n⁵ **shi-she** **á-tí-nyunyā** **ā-mī** **kí-bhūm**
 CM-person RED-grow SM-NEG1-frown CM-face CM-anus
yí **á-nyunyā**
 3SG.IND SM-frown
 'An elder does not frown his face; he contorts his anus.'
- Interpretation: At a certain age, we are no longer expected to show our emotions that openly.
45. An⁵ tedikpó átíjā exwī ko gū láq⁵ así ɔman ɔpī?
a-n⁵ **te-dikpó** **á-tí-jā** **e-xwī** **ko** **gū**
 CM-person AM-one SM-NEG1-eat SM-satisfy just REL
lá-q⁵ **a-sí** **ɔ-ma** **ní** **ɔ-pī**
 3PL.DEP-say SM-COMP CM-town DEF SM-be.good
 'One man's filled belly is not an indication that there is progress in town.'
- Interpretation: Progress must be seen in the well-being of all.
46. Kútsintóé tíédíkpó ayadí átídā kipluí eyí ní yí 'oyēm?
kí-tsintóé **tíé-díkpó**⁸⁷ **a-yadí** **á-tí-dā**
 CM-row.of.yam.mound AM-one CM-farmer SM-NEG1-plant
kí-pluí **e-yí** **ní** **yí** **bu-ya** **kumí**
 CM-gourd CM.PL-seed LOC 3SG.IND CM-farm inside
 'A farmer whose plot has only one row of yam mounds should not plant the seed of a calabash.'
 (If he does the tendrils will creep into neighbouring farms.)
47. Ekpú etíyukū odziré?
e-kpú **e-tí-yúkū** **o-dziré**
 CM-corpse SM-NEG1-be.full CM-grave
 'A corpse does not fill its grave.'
- Interpretation: Everything has its limits.
48. Ényínē 'dzíní ní gū ádí an⁵ 'unú neenī léklū yí.
é-nyínē **é-dzíní** **ní** **gū** **á-dí** **a-n⁵**
 CM-husband CM-wife DEF REL 3SG.DEP-surpass CM-person
bu-nú **neenī** **lé-klū** **yí**
 CM-limit mother 3PL.DEP-call 3SG
 'A co-wife who is too powerful for you, you address her as your mother.'

⁸⁷ The expected form of the numeral 'one' for the **ki**- class is **trikpo** however this was the form produced spontaneously.

Interpretation: Certain constraints do impose on us things we would not do in better circumstances.

49. Anóvō ní gɪ ákányó edí ní y'áqɔ ásí y'eni y'ényí 'ító dí.
a-nóvō ní gɪ á-ká-nyó e-dí ní
 CM-child DEF REL 3SG.DEP-NEG.PERF-roam SM-look TOP
yí á-qɔ á-sí yí é-ní yí
 3SG.IND SM-say SM-COMP 3SG.IND CM-mother 3SG.IND
é-nyí kɪ-tó dí
 SM-know CM-cook surpass
 'The child who has never travelled says that his mother is the best cook.'

Interpretation: Lack of travel does limit a person's outlook on life.

50. ɪklí g' ɔmɔ kásālān ɪklí womúnō 'talí.
ɪ-klí gɪ ɔ-mɔ ká-sālā ní ɪ-klí wó
 CM-there REL 2SG.DEP-see CM-tortoise DEF CM-there 2SG.IND
o-múnō kalí
 SM-find 3SG
 'It is where you saw the tortoise that you can be said to have found it.'
 Interpretation: It is where an opportunity presents itself that we should avail ourselves of it.

51. Bátíkpi kifú ávuvɔ gɪ layíko kíbuli akp'ílímí?
bá-tí-kpí ki-fú ávuvɔ gɪ la-yíko kí-buli
 3PL-NEG1-set CM-fire new REL 3PL.DEP-take CM-snail
ba-kpí kílí kumí
 SM-put.in 3SG.IND inside
 'You do not light a new fire and put a snail into it.'
 (The juice from a roasting snail will quench a newly-lit fire.)

Interpretation: There is a right moment for every operation.

52. Ónúg' ónyí ɔsí ɔ́lɔ́ ní bátíf'ɔtshutshuí ní ɔhe 'eshí?
ónú.gɪ ó-nyí ɔ-sí ɔ-ɔ-lɔ́ ní
 COND 2SG.DEP-know SM-COMP 2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell TOP
bá-tí-fɔ́ o-tshutshuí ní ɔ-ha ki.shí
 3PL-NEG1-exude CM-fart LOC CM-group midst
 'If you know that you have bad body odours you do not fart in public.'

Interpretation: We need self-realisation.

53. Enyí así y'ikutú tídu yí?
e-nyí a-sí yí ki-tukú tí-du yí
 CM-elephant SM-say 3SG.IND CM-load NEG1-surpass 3SG

‘The elephant said its load is not too heavy for it.’

Interpretation: One has to bear every responsibility he is faced with.

54. Bu-bhɪ tɪyɪ anɔ̃ pɪ lákpɪ kíkūgbɛ ʼɛfú?.
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| bu-bhɪ | tɪ-yɪ | a-nɔ̃ | pɪ | lá-kpɪ |
| CM-hunger | NEG1-kill | CM-person | CONN | 3PL.DEP-set |
| kí-kūgba | ki-fú | | | |
| CM-yam.barn | CM-fire | | | |
- ‘You don’t set fire to your yam barn because you are hungry.’
55. Súbhe ʼehlɔ̃mɪ ɔ̃ɲɛ ʼelín éɡū ká óshuku é.
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| súbha | kɪ-hlɔ̃mɪ ⁸⁸ | ɔ̃-ɲa | kúlí | ní | é-ɡū | ká |
| rain | CM-plant | 2SG-eat | 3SG | TOP | 3SG-thunder | then |
| ó-shuku | é | | | | | |
| 2SG.DEP-shiver | CFM | | | | | |
- ‘When you eat the rain’s cocoyam when it thunders you will shiver.’

Interpretation: A lawless person always has a guilty conscience.

56. Agē ʼetukú kulí dʼiepí.
- | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| a-gā | ki-tukú | kulí | dɪ | ke-pí |
| CM-fool | CM-load | 3SG.IND | go | CM-home |
- ‘A fool’s load reaches home.’

Interpretation: He who is wise in his own eyes never succeeds.

57. Éfū étínyí ʼívɔ̃ɛm?.
- | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| é-fū | é-tí-nyí | kɪ-vɔ̃ | kɪmɪ |
| CM-stranger | SM-NEG1-know | CM-swampy.place | inside |
- ‘A stranger does not know a swampy area during the dry season.’

Interpretation: A stranger does not know all the secrets of the community he is in so he should not take the lead in making decisions.

58. Éfū átíbo kizhué?.
- | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| é-fū | á-tí-bo | ki-zhué |
| CM-stranger | SM-NEG1-blow | CM-whistle |
- ‘A stranger does not blow a whistle.’

For the interpretation of this proverb, see (57).

⁸⁸ **Súbha kɪhlɔ̃mɪ** is a type of plant like the cocoyam plant.

13.3 Adzyo ‘Riddles’

Riddles are verbal puzzles or word games (which are not straightforward) in which statements are put forward in challenge and responses are offered. When one is presented with a riddle, s/he is required to think deep in order to figure out what is being described. Thus, children learn a lot through the telling of riddles even though they are used primarily for entertainment.

In Tafi, during a riddle telling session, the people do not necessarily need to divide themselves into groups. The riddle is given and whoever knows the answer gives it. The expression in (A) illustrates how riddles are started and (B) is the response.

Adzyo is a loan word from Ewe.

- A: Adzyo kó ‘úńǎ oo
a-dzyo kó wúnǎ oo
 CM-riddle DAT 2PL UFP
 ‘A riddle to you.’

- B: Kɔ y’ábá.
kó yí á-bá
 let 3SG.IND SM-come
 ‘Let it come.’

When a correct answer is given, the person who posed the riddle responds with the statement in either (C) or (D). However, when the answer is not correct, the response is as shown in (E). When the person responding to the riddle does the give the correct answer, others are also given the opportunity to respond.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>C. Óvu yí.
 ó-vu yí
 2SG-catch 3SG
 ‘You’ve got it.’
 (Lit.: ‘You have caught it.’)</p> | <p>D. Óyíkɪ yí.
 ó-yíkɪ yí
 2SG-get 3SG
 ‘You have got it.’</p> |
|---|--|

- E: Anɪ ’ana.
aní ká-nā
 NEGCL CM-manner
 ‘That is not it.’

The following are the riddles collected.

01. Oma tol’ ɔlí, kidzo má ɔlí shú.
ɔ-ma to-lí ɔ-lí ki-dzo má ɔlí
 CM-town AM-INDEF SM-be.at CM-road be.at:NEG 3SG.IND

shú

surface

‘There is a town, there is no road leading to it.’

Answer: **Kídzē**

‘Egg.’

02. Ányí tel’ alí, bákákp’ ohui ní yí shú átítóní ’ídzó.
á-nyí **te-lí** **a-lí** **bá-ká-kpí** **o-hui**
 CM-man AM-INDEF SM-be.at 3PL-NEG.PERF-put.on CM-rope
ní **yí** **shú** **á-tí-tónó** **ki-dzo**
 LOC 3SG.IND surface 3SG-NEG1-start CM-road
 ‘There is a man unless a rope is attached to him he cannot embark on a journey.’

Answer: **Kítsá**

‘Needle’

03. M’akā áfátí ’égbu ákóm, ízeialabhā kō kadzyá.
Mí **á-kā** **á-fátí** **ke-gbu** **á-kó** **mí**
 1SG.IND CM-father SM-carve CM-stool SM-give 1SG
í-za **kalí** **kábhā** **ko** **ka-dzyá**
 1SG-sit 3SG.IND top just 3SG-break.off
 ‘My father made a stool for me when I sit on it then it breaks off.’

Answer: **Ogblódó/ Otúhló**

‘Mushroom’

04. Anó tel’ alí, áhū tatá y’éyi pō trikpóimī ko y’ébī yiyo agano.
a-nó **te-lí** **a-lí** **á-wóhū** **ta-tá** **yí**
 CM-person AM-INDEF SM-be.at CM.PL-eye AM-three 3SG.IND
é-yi **pō** **tri-kpó** **kumí** **ko** **yí** **é-bī.yiyo**
 SM-germinate but AM-one in just 3SG.IND SM-cry
a-gano
 SM-pass.through
 ‘There is someone who has three eyes but sheds tears through only one eye.’

Answer: **Kihu**

‘Palm kernel’

05. Ánó tel’ alí, ényéwulú ko ká éébī yiyo é.
á-nó **te-lí** **a-lí** **é-nyé-wulú** **ko** **ká**
 CM-person AM-INDEF SM-be.at 3SG-CERT-bath just then

é-é-bi.yiyo **é**
 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-cry CFM
 ‘There is someone, whenever s/he takes a bath then s/he is weeping.’

Answer: **Okwěnsá**
 ‘Bathing sponge’

06. Kídō til’ ulí, óóbū n’ulíshú ká kiíkpe é, óóytko ’plíno ’elí ká kiíféke é.
kí-dō **ti-lí** **ki-lí** **ó-ó-bū** **ní**
 CM-thing AM-INDEF SM-be.at 2SG-PRSPROG-remove LOC
kuí **shú** **ká** **ki-í-kpe** **é**
 3SG.IND surface then 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-become.plenty CFM
ó-ó-ytko **o-plíno** **kuí**
 2SG-PRSPROG-take SM-add 3SG
ká **ki-í-béke** **é**
 then 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-finish CFM
 ‘There is something, if you take part from it then it enlarges but if you add to it then it diminishes.’

Answer: **Ozi**
 ‘Hole’

07. Íkp’ánō sí édeklú Tsě ákóm, Tsě ébuso anō ní g’íkpiń ’úbá.
í-kpí **a-nō** **sí** **é-de-klú** **Tsě** **á-ko**
 1SG-send CM-person COMP 3SG.DEP-ITIVE-call Tsě SM-give
mí **Tsě** **é-buso** **a-nō** **ní** **gu** **í-kpí**
 1SG Tsě SM-do.first CM-person DEF REL 1SG.DEP-send
ní **bu-bá**
 TOP CM-come
 ‘I sent someone to call me Tsě but Tsě arrived before the person.’

Answer: **Ogodi**
 ‘Coconut’

08. Kení tiel’ alí, kídō bhulí til’ ínáyáwólí kú ’íálím ko ká keyí é.
ke-ní **tie-lí** **ka-lí** **kí-dō** **bhulí** **ti-lí**
 CM-river AM-INDEF SM-be.at CM-thing small AM-INDEF
ki-nyá-wólí **kú** **kalí** **kumí** **ko** **ká** **ke-yí**
 SM-CERT-fall ALL 3SG.IND in just then 3SG.DEP-overflow
é
 CFM
 ‘There is a river, whenever something small falls into it then it overflows.’

Answer: **Kíwǎhū**
 ‘Eye’

09. Oma tol' olí, kidzo bhulí trikpó ko kulí l'ólíshú.
o-ma to-lí o-lí ki-dzo bhulí tri-kpó ko
 CM-town AM-INDEF SM-be.at CM-road small AM-one just
kulí l' olí shú
 3SG.IND be.at 3SG.IND surface
 'There is a town, it has only one narrow road leading to it.'
- Answer: **Kipluí aló tumpá**
 'Gourd or bottle'
10. Adzī tel' alí, átíd'iením pɔ buni za y'íétsúkpúúm 'ibenyéébe.
a-dzī te-lí a-lí á-tí-dí ke-ní kum pɔ
 CM-woman AM-INDEF SM-be.at 3SG-NEG1-go CM-river in but
bu-ní za yí ke-tsukpú kum
 CM-water be.at:NPRES 3SG.IND CM-pot in
ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
 CM-time-DISTR-CM-time
 'There is a woman, she never goes to fetch water (at the riverside) but she always has water in her pot.'
- Answer: **Ogódí**
 'Coconut'
11. Adzī tel' alí, átíd'iením pɔ éwulú 'ibenyéébe.
a-dzī te-lí a-lí á-tí-dí ke-ní kum pɔ
 CM-woman AM-INDEF SM-be.at 3SG-NEG1-go CM-river in but
é-wulú ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
 3SG-bath CM-time-DISTR-CM-time
 'There is a woman, she does not go to fetch water (at the riverside) but she always takes her bath.'
- Answer: **Osubha**
 'Hearth'
12. Ekusí tel' aza, ónúgí etsí ní y'ísígbé wɔ y'ódzir'íábhā kibenyéébe.
e-kusí te-lí á-za ónú.gí e-tsí ní
 CM-king AM-INDEF SM-be.at:NPRES COND 3SG.DEP-die TOP
yí kí-sígbé wɔ yí o-dziré kábhā
 3SG.IND CM-ring remain 3SG.IND CM-grave top
ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
 CM-time-DISTR-CM-time
 'There was a king, when he died his ring remained on his grave.'
- Answer: **Kíragbugbu**
 'Millipede'

13. Án5 tel'alí, gɪ lam5é ko ékúmū 'ikutú édzí kegbunabhā.
á-n5 **te-lí** **a-lí** **gɪ** **la-m5** **yí**
 CM-person AM-INDEF SM-be.at REL 3PL.DEF-bear 3SG
ko **é-kúmū** **ki-kutú** **é-dzí** **ke-gbu** **ní** **kábhā**
 just 3SG-wear CM-hat SM-sit CM-chair DEF top
 'There is someone who was born with a hat on his head and is sitting on a chair.'

Answer: **Ablendě**
 'Pineapple'

13.4 Budzo tót5 'Preparation of palm oil'

Palm oil plays an important role in the everyday life of the Tafi people. It is produced for both domestic and commercial purposes. Palm nuts are very useful to every family because of its advantages. The juice extracted from the flesh of palm nuts can be used to prepare soup or palm oil. To prepare palm oil, the palm nuts are boiled, allowed to cool, pounded, and mixed with water. The mixture is kneaded gradually until the oil starts rising to the surface of the water. The oil is then removed from the surface of the water into a pot and put on fire until it is well cooked. It is then removed from the fire and allowed to cool. Beatrice Amoadza (Age 78) describes how palm oil is prepared. The recording was made in her home on the 13th of October, 2009.

01. Kánā gɪ lát5 budzo ní Baagbo
ká-nā **gɪ** **lá-t5** **bu-dzo** **ní** **Baagbo**
 CM-manner REL 3PL.DEF-cook CM-palm.oil LOC Tafi
 '(This is) how palm oil is prepared by the Tafis.'
02. ɔbɔpɪ elí, buní, unyí, osubha, agbě, kesisí, osísí, ɔsɔě, aló kushɔé, ɔdʒébhluxɔé, bomu, gaze nɪ ɔnyunyɔsí.
ɔ-bɔ-pɪ **e-lí** **bu-ní** **ɪ-nyí**
 2SG-FUT-look.for CM.PL-palm.nut CM-water CM-firewood
o-subha **a-gbě** **ke-sísí** **o-sísí** **ɔ-sɔě** **aló**
 CM-hearth CM-bowl CM-mortar CM-pestle CM-strainer DISJ
ki-shɔ-é **ɔ-dʒébhluxɔé** **bu-mwɪ** **gaze** **nɪ**
 CM-basket-DIM CM-metal.ladle CM-salt metal.bowl COM
ɔ-nyunyɔ.sí
 CM-kneading.stick
 You will look for palm nuts, water, firewood, hearth, a pan, a mortar, pestle, colander or a small basket, metal ladle, salt, metal pot and a kneading stick.'
03. Kɪlɪ sɪ t'ɔto elín odzu layɔ pétée flôgo t'otú álí.

ki-li **sí** **ti** **ɔ-tɔ** **e-lí**
 3SG-be.at COMP COMP 2SG.DEP-cook CM.PL-palm.fruit
ní **o-dzu** **la-yɔ** **pétéé** **flôgo**
 DEF SM-put.down 3PL.DEP-cool all before
ti **o-tú** **alí**
 COMP 2SG.DEP-pound 3PL
 ‘You will have to boil the palm fruit, put it down to cool before pounding it.’

04. **Kliso** **óbotégú** **ótó** **élin** **kívoló** **ɔwulágo** **ká** **ótú** **alí** **é**
 so 2SG.DEP-FUT-be.able SM-cook CM.PL-palm.fruit DEF
kí-vuló **ɔ-wulágo** **ká** **ótú** **alí** **é**
 CM-morning CM-evening then 2SG.DEP-pound 3PL CFM
 ‘So you can boil the palm fruit in the morning then you pound it in the evening’
05. **alóó** **ɔ-bɔ-tɔ** **e-lí** **ní** **ɔ-wúlago**
 DISJ 2SG-FUT-cook CM.PL-palm.fruit DEF CM-evening
ɔ-ló **o-lizato** **píníí** **o-tú** **alí**
 SM-get.up CM-dawn IDEO SM-pound 3PL
 ‘or you will boil the palm fruit in the evening (and) you rise up very early at dawn to pound it.’
06. **Ótú** **alí** **békē** **ko** **ó-bú** **alí** **kpí** **a-gbē**
 2SG-pound 3PL COMPL just 2SG-remove 3PL put.in CM-bowl
kumi
 inside
 ‘After pounding it, you pour it into a pan.’
07. **Óshuí** **bu-ní** **kubóé** **ɔ-kpí** **ká**
 2SG-fetch CM-water little SM-put.in then
ɔ-yíko **ɔ-nyunyɔ-sí** **ká** **ɔ-nyunyɔ** **é**
 2SG.DEP-take CM-kneading-stick then 2SG.DEP-knead CFM
 ‘You add a little water then you use a kneading stick to knead it.’
08. **Óbɔɔnyunyɔ** **ɔbɔnání** **kibe** **nô** **n’íbe** **g’ɔmɔ** **’sí** **élin** **étén** **’uló**.
 2SG-FUT-REP-knead 2SG-FUT-reach CM-time wh.ever
ní **ki-be** **gɪ** **ɔ-mɔ** **ɔ-sí** **e-lí**
 DEF CM-time REL 2SG.DEP-see SM-COMP CM.PL-palm.fruit

ní é-tén̄ bu-l̄s

DEF SM-start CM-rise

‘You will knead it again and again until the time that the stuff starts rising.’

09. Ónúgí léétén̄ ’ulón k’óshui ’un’okp’ ál’íábhā.

ónú.gí lé-é-tén̄ bu-l̄s ní ká
COND 3PL.DEF-PRSPROG-start CM-rise TOP then

ó-shui bu-ní ó-kpí alí kábhā
2SG.DEF-fetch CM-water SM-put.in 3PL top

‘When it starts rising you then add water.’

10. Óbóbali ’un’ okp’ál’íábhā, ɔzɔnyunyo ’ebóé, ’ibóé, ’ibóé, ’ibóé.

ó-bó-bali bu-ní ó-kpí alí kábhā
2SG-FUT-pour CM-water SM-put.in 3PL top

ɔ-zɔ-nyunyo kíbóé kíbóé kíbóé kíbóé
2SG-REP-knead little little little little

‘You will pour water on it and knead (it) gradually again and again.’

11. G’om̄o ’sí buni ní tsyáká n̄ elín pétéé ko

gí ɔ-m̄o ɔ-sí bu-ní ní tsyáká
REL 2SG.DEF-see SM-COMP CM-water DEF mix

n̄ e-lí ní pétéé ko
COM CM.PL-palm.fruit DEF all just

‘When the water is well mixed with the stuff’

12. ɔm̄o ’sí budzo ní l̄s bá bunín̄ ām̄ín̄m̄.

ɔ-m̄o ɔ-sí bu-dzo ní l̄s bá
2SG-see SM-COMP CM-palm.oil DEF rise come

bu-ní ní ām̄í ní kum̄i
CM-water DEF CM-face DEF inside

‘you see that the oil rises on top of the water.’

13. Ká otén̄i ’udzɔn̄ ’uyi kpí gazéím̄ é.

ká o-tén̄i bu-dzo ní bu-yi kpí
then 2SG.DEF-start CM-palm.oil DEF CM-scrape put.in

gazé kum̄i é
metal.pot inside CFM

‘Then you start removing the oil into a metal pot.’

14. Óbɔyi udzɔn̄ pétéé ókpí gazéím̄ békē ní,

ó-bɔ-yi bu-dzo ní pétéé ó-kpí
2SG-FUT-scrape CM-palm.oil DEF all SM-put.in

gazé kum̄i békē ní
metal.pot inside COMPL TOP

‘After removing the oil into a metal pot,’

15. bunínímí óbómó 'sí ehu nì tìnò kpasí
bu-ní ní kumí ó-bo-mó ó-sí
 CM-water DEF inside 2SG-FUT-see SM-COMP
e-hu nì tì-nó kpasì
 CM.PL-palm.kernel COM CM-chaff be.in
 'you will see that palm kernel and chaff are in the water.'
16. Óbóká tìnón pétéé óbú ní bunínímí
ó-bo-ká tì-nó ní pétéé ó-bú ní
 2SG-FUT-squeeze CM-chaff DEF all SM-remove LOC
bu-ní ní kumí
 CM-water DEF inside
 'You will squeeze all the chaff out of the water.'
17. Óbobu ehu nì tsyí pétéé ní bunínímí k'ókpi kashóémí
ó-bo-bú e-hu ní tsyí pétéé ní
 2SG-FUT-remove CM.PL-palm.kernel DEF too all LOC
bu-ní ní kumí ká ó-kpí ka-shó kumí
 CM-water DEF inside then 2SG.DEF-put.in CM-basket inside
 'You will remove all the palm kernels also from the water into a basket.'
18. Otsyínā buní úlílín tsyí.
o-tsyínā bu-ní ú-lílíní tsyí
 2SG-turn CM-water AM-DIST also
 'You pour out that water also.'
19. Flôgo g'òbotsyínā 'lì ní óbotsódzì nì tìnó élílíní óka pétéé.
flôgo gí ó-bo-tsyínā bulí ní ó-bo-tsódzì-nì
 before REL 2SG.DEF-FUT-turn 3SG TOP 2SG-FUT-return-COM
tì-nó í-lílíní ó-ká pétéé
 CM-chaff AM-DIST SM-squeeze all
 'Before you will pour out that water, you will have to re-squeeze that chaff.'
20. Óómó 'sí budzò 'éboé zibá buníní àmínímí.
ó-bo-mó ó-sí bu-dzò kubóé zì-bá
 2SG-FUT-see SM-COMP CM-palm.oil little REP-come
bu-ní ní à-mí ní kumí
 CM-water DEF CM-face DEF inside
 'You will see that there is still some oil on top of the water.'
21. Óyì budzòn tsy' ókpí bug'òtíyí níábhā,
ó-yì bu-dzò ní tsyí ó-kpí
 2SG-scrape CM-palm.oil DEF also SM-put.in
bu-gí ó-tí-yí ní kábhā
 3SG-REL SM-PERF-scrape DEF top

‘You remove that oil also and add (it) to that which you have removed,’

22. K’otsí otsyínā buní ní é.
ká **otsí** **o-tsyínā** **bu-ní** **ní** **é**
 then now 2SG.DEF-turn CM-water DEF CFM
 ‘it’s now that you pour out the water.’
23. Budzo ní gɪ ɔyɪ odzu gazéníṃ ní, otsódzín’ ɔl’ɔkpí agběém
bu-dzo **ní** **gɪ** **ɔ-yɪ** **o-dzu** **gazé**
 CM-oil DEF REL 2SG.DEF-scrape SM-put.down metal.pot
ní **kɪmɪ** **ní**
 DEF inside TOP
o-tsódzɪ-nɪ **bulí** **ɔ-kpí** **a-gbě** **kɪmɪ**
 2SG-return-COM 3SG SM-put.in CM-bowl inside
 ‘The oil that you removed and put in the metal pot, you pour it into a pan again’
24. k’ɔzɔbalt bun’ ɔkpí é.
ká **ɔ-zɔ-balt** **bu-ní** **ɔ-kpí** **é**
 then 2SG.DEF-REP-pour CM-water SM-put.in CFM
 ‘then you add water again.’
25. Bun’úlílín wɔ́k’oplú budzoń
bu-ní **ú-lílíní** **wɔ́** **ɔ-yíko** **o-plú** **bu-dzo** **ní**
 CM-water AM-DIST 2SG.IND SM-take SM-wash CM-palm.oil DEF
 ‘You will use that water to wash the oil (i.e. clear it of all the dirt)’
26. k’òtsí ɔyɪ ’ɔlɪ pétéé ɔ́k’ ɔkpí gazéím,
ká **otsí** **ɔ-yɪ** **bulí** **pétéé** **ɔ-yíko** **ɔ-kpí**
 then now 2SG.DEF-scrape 3SG all SM-take SM-put.in
gazé **kɪmɪ**
 metal.pot inside
 ‘you now remove it and pour it back into the metal pot,’
27. ká ɔ́féké ɔ́trɔ́ ’efú é
ká **ɔ-féké** **ɔ-trɔ́** **ki-fú** **é**
 then 2SG.DEF-lift SM-put.on CM-fire CFM
 ‘then you lift (it) and put (it) on fire.’
28. ɔ́trɔ́ ’ɔlɪ ní ’ifúń ɔ́bɔza ’ɔl’ɔbhā.
ɔ-trɔ́ **bulí** **ní** **ki-fú** **ní** **ɔ-bɔ-za** **bulí** **ɔbha**
 2SG-put.on 3SG LOC CM-fire TOP 2SG-FUT-stay 3SG side
 ‘When you put it on fire you’ll have to be by it.’
29. Buúyabe ’ebéé ko ká ɔ́tsyínā ’lɪ

bu-ú-yaba **kibóé ko** **ká** **ó-tsyínā** **bulí**
 3SG-PRSPROG-boil little just then 2SG.DEP-turn 3SG
 ‘When it boils a little, you then pour it out’

30. **ká** **ósís** ’ulí ní **kushóémī** **alóó** **osóéém**.
ká **ó-sísí** **bulí** **ní** **ki-shóé** **kumí** **alóó**
 then 2SG.DEP-strain 3SG LOC CM-basket inside DISJ
o-sóé **kumí**
 CM-strainer inside
 ‘Then you will strain it with a small basket or a strainer.’
31. **Óbósí** ’ul’ **odzú** **buóyó** **ká** **ókā** **túnón** **pétéé**.
ó-bo-sísí **bulí** **o-dzú** **bu-ú-yó**
 2SG-FUT-strain 3SG SM-put.down 3SG-PRSPROG-become.cool
ká **ó-ká** **ti-nó** **ní** **pétéé**
 then 2SG.DEP-squeeze CM-chaff DEF all
 ‘You’ll strain it to let it stand for a while, when it is getting cold, then you squeeze all the chaff.’
32. **Budzo** **úlílín** **óko** ’**tsyáká** **ní** **budzo** **g’lo** **kpasí** **gazéním**
bu-dzo **ú-lílíní** **o-yíko** **ó-tyáká** **ní** **bu-dzo** **ní**
 CM-palm.oil AM-DIST 2SG-take SM-mix COM CM-palm.oil DEF
gi **lu-kpasí** **gazé** **ní** **kumí**
 REL 3SG.DEP.be.in metal.pot DEF inside
 ‘You will mix that oil (you get from squeezing the chaff) with that (oil) in the metal pot’
33. **k’otsí** **óféké** **tró** **éfú** **é**.
ká **otsi** **ó-féké** **tró** **ki-fú** **é**
 then now 2SG.DEP-lift put.on CM-fire CFM
 ‘then now, you lift it and put (it) on fire.’
34. **Gí** **óféké** **úl’** **ótró** **ánā**, **kú** **sí** **tí** **w’áhū** **aza** ’**ulíshú**
gi **ó-féké** **bulí** **ó-tró** **ká-nā**
 REL 2SG.DEP-lift 3SG SM-put.on CM-manner
ki-lí **sí** **tí** **wó** **á-wóhū** **a-za**
 3SG-be.at COMP COMP 2SG.IND CM.PL-eye SM-be.at:NPRES
bulí **shú**
 3SG surface
 ‘As you put it on fire, you’ve got to be watching it’
35. **onání** **kibe** **nó** ’**ibe** **gi** **bobaziyabá** **g’lú** **babí**.
o-nání **ki-be** **nó** **ki-be**
 2SG-reach CM-time wh.ever CM-time
gi **bu-ba-zí-yabá** **gi** **lú-ba-bí**

REL 3SG-FUT-REP-boil REL 3SG.DEF-FUT-be.cooked
 ‘while it is boiling until it is done.’

36. Buúv’ obikó ko buúbí
bu-ú-ví o-bikó ko bu-ú-bí
 3SG-PRSPROG-go CM-cook.place just SM-PRSPROG-be.cooked
 ‘If it is about to be well-cooked and it is ready,’
37. k’ómo ’sí budzón, ɔfɔ ní gɪ lótsirí ’ulíabhān ótén ’udzá.
ká ɔ-mɔ ɔ-sí bu-dzo ní ɔ-fɔ ní
 then 2SG-see SM-COMP CM-palm.oil DEF CM-lather DEF
gɪ ló-tsirí bulí kábhā ní ɔ-ténɔ bu-dzá
 REL 3SG.DEF-be.on 3SG top TOP SM-start CM-become.red
 ‘you’ll then see that the foam on the surface of the oil starts to turn red.’
38. Budzo ní tsyí ténɔ ’ulɔ́ huuhu
bu-dzo ní tsyí ténɔ bu-lɔ́ huuhu
 CM-palm.oil DEF also start CM-smell IDEO
 ‘The oil also starts giving a pleasant smell.’
39. Óny’ ɔsí bubí ko ká ɔtsí ’úli é.
ɔ-nyí ɔ-sí bu-bí ko ká
 2SG-know SM-COMP 3SG-be.cooked just then
ɔ-tsí bulí é
 2SG.DEF-take.off 3SG CFM
 ‘Then you know that it is ready and it is then that you take it off the fire.’
40. Óts’ ɔl’ ɔdzu p’lɔ́dɔ ní, ká ɔsísí ’udzo ní é.
ɔ-tsí bulí ɔ-dzu pɪ ló-dɔ
 2SG-take.off 3SG SM-put.down CONN 3SG.DEF-land
ní ká ɔ-sísí bu-dzo ní é
 TOP then 2SG.DEF-strain CM-palm.oil DEF CFM
 ‘As you take it off the fire and put it down and it settles, then you strain the oil.’
41. Budzo ní g’ɔsísí ɔdzú ní, apotó alóó kibó ní gɪ lɪlɪ budzɔniesí ní
bu-dzo ní gɪ ɔ-sísí ɔ-dzú ní
 CM-palm.oil DEF REL 2SG.DEF-strain SM-put.down TOP
a-potó alóó ki-bó ní gɪ lɪ-lí
 CM.PL-dregs DISJ CM-sediment DEF REL 3SG.DEF-be.at
bu-dzo ní ke.sí ní
 CM-palm.oil DEF under TOP
 ‘The sediment under the oil you pour out,’

42. kulímí óbòkpí bómù
kuí kùí ó-bò-kpí bu-mù
 3SG.IND inside 2SG-FUT-put.in CM-salt
 ‘it is in it that you put salt’
43. k’ ótsódzín’ òtrɔ́ ’ēfú.
ká ó-tsódzi-nɔ ɔ-trɔ́ ki-fú
 then 2SG.DEP-return-COM SM-put.on CM-fire
 ‘and then you put it on fire again.’
44. Yí léklu así beku.
yí lé-klù ba-sí beku
 3SG.IND 3PL.DEP-call SM-COMP beku
 ‘That is what is called **beku**.’
45. Yí tsy’ ébí ko ní, bómù ní ítsyáká kúúm
yí tsyí é-bí ko ní bu-mù
 3SG.IND also SM-be.cooked just TOP CM-salt
ní í-tsyáká kú yí kùí
 DEF PRSPROG-mix ALL 3SG.IND inside
 ‘If it is also well cooked and mixed with the salt,
46. ká óts’ ódzú é
ká ó-tsí ó-dzú é
 then 2SG.DEP-take.off SM-put.down CFM
 ‘then you take it off (the fire) and put (it) down.’
47. Ká y’enū bodzò títútú ní blǎ Baagbo.
ká yí e-nū bu-dzò tí-tú-tú ní blǎ
 then 3SG.IND SM-COP CM-palm.oil CM-RED-cook LOC 1PL.IND
baagbo
 Tafi
 ‘That is palm oil preparation in our Tafiland.’
48. Yoo, w’óbhítífbúí oo
yoo wó ó-bhítí ki-búí oo
 okay 2SG.IND SM-do CM-matter UFP
 ‘Okay, thank you.’
49. yoo wó tsyí w’óbhítífbúí oo
yoo wó tsyí wó ó-bhítí ki-búí oo
 ok 2SG.IND also 2SG.IND SM-do CM-matter UFP
 ‘Ok, thank you too.’

13.5 Kımukó gige ‘Preparation of red rice porridge’

Kımukó ‘red rice porridge’ is a traditional dish of the Tafi people. Formerly, it used to be prepared very often but now it is prepared mainly during ceremonies such as puberty rites and marriages. The preparation of **kımukó** is described by Euphelia Avorklai who is about 50 years old. This was recorded on the 14th of October, 2009.

Kımukó is prepared from red rice also known as hilly rice. The red rice is roasted and milled. The texture of the flour will not be very fine. To prepare this dish, water is boiled to the boiling point and then you add the riced flour at different stages. While adding the flour, you stir the mixture with a wooden ladle until you achieve the right consistency and it becomes well cooked. It is then moulded into balls and served. It is served with beans palm nut soup containing fish and vegetables. It has to be eaten right away because when it is cold it becomes very hard.

01. Kımukó gige ní Baagbo kil’ínū
kı-mukó **gi-ge** **ní** **Baagbo** **kılí** **ki-nū**
 CM-red.rice.porridge RED-drive LOC Tafi 3SG.IND SM-COP
 ‘Preparation of red rice porridge in Tafi is’

02. s’óopí amó, ómó amó ní,
sí **ó-bo-pí** **a-mó**
 COMP 2SG.DEP-FUT-look.for CM-unpolished.red.rice
ó-mó **a-mó** **ní**
 2SG-see CM-unpolished.red.rice DEF
 ‘that you will look for unpolished red rice, if you get the rice,’

03. ká ópí ádoyí, ópí elí
ká **ó-pí** **á-doyí**
 then 2SG.DEP- look.for CM.PL-bean
ó-pí **e-lí**
 2SG-look.for CM.PL-palm.nut
 ‘then you look for beans and palm nuts.’

04. Plónō ní óbókó akpă óbókó’ ot’óní nō
plónō **ní** **ó-bo-yíkó** **a-kpă** **ó-bo-yíkó**
 add TOP 2SG-FUT-take CM.PL-fish SM-FUT-take
ó-tó **o-ní** **nō**
 SM-cook SM-soup COM
 in addition, you will use fish in preparing soup.’

05. Blǒ ní, búú ká lǒgba é.
blǒ **ní** **bú-tú** **ká** **lǒ-gba** **é**

1PL.IND TOP 1PL-pound then 1PL.DEF-roast CFM
 ‘As for us, we pound (the rice) and then roast it.’

06. Búagbá n’ogbadzéeĩm ká lɔdɔhɔ é.
bú-ba-gbá ní ɔ-gbadza kum
 1PL-FUT-roast LOC CM-roasting.pan in
ká lɔ-dɔ-hɔ é
 then 1PL.DEF-ITIVE-grind CFM
 ‘We will roast (it) in a roasting pan then we go and grind (it).’
07. Bonán tɪbapé faánɔ?
bu-ná ní tɪ-ba-pé faánɔ
 CM-flour DEF NEG1-FUT-be.well.ground too.much
 ‘The flour will not be very fine.’ (i.e. the rice will not be well-ground)
08. Búhɔ ’olí békē ko ká búbat’óní,
bú-hɔ bulí békē ko ká bú-bá-tɔ ó-ní
 1PL-grind 3SG COMPL just then 1PL-VENT-cook CM-soup
ní
 DEF
 ‘After grinding it, we then prepare the soup.’
09. Bútɔ áɔyí’ óni pétée n’elí lo.
bú-tɔ á-ɔyí ó-ní pétée ni e-lí lo
 1PL-cook CM.PL-bean CM-soup all COM CM.PL-palmtree ADD
 ‘We prepare peas soup using palm nuts.’
10. Bukpí ákpă, kíduéndō ’ídí gɪ lɔbakpí g’lɔbɔzɔdzɪ ko búɔ békē.
bu-kpí á-kpă kí-dɔ-nyáá-kídɔ kí-dí gɪ
 1PL-put.in CM.PL-fish CM-thing-DISTR-CM-thing CM-type REL
lɔ-ba-kpí gɪ lɔ-bɔ-za ɔ-dzɪ
 1PL.DEF-put.in REL 3SG.DEF-FUT-be.at:NPRES CM-sweetness
ko bú-tɔ békē
 just 1PL-cook COMPL
 ‘We put in fish and whatever thing that we will put in it to make it tasty then we finish preparing it’
11. Ká lɔtr’ okóní.⁸⁹
ká lɔ-trɔ o-kóní
 then 1PL.DEF-put.on CM-water
 ‘then we put the water for preparing the porridge on fire.’

⁸⁹ **Okóní** is the term used to refer to the water used for cooking the porridge.

12. Butr⁵ okónín ní,
bu-tr⁵ **o-kóní** **ní** **ní**
 1PL-put.on CM-water DEF TOP
 ‘When we put the water on fire,’
13. okónín óyabā goragura búshuí dzú.
o-kóní **ní** **ó-yabā** **goragura** **bú-shuí** **dzú**
 CM-water DEF SM-boil IDEO 1PL-fetch put.down
 ‘(and) the water boils we fetch some and put down.’
14. Buatsí ’unán kpí okóníní.
bu-ba-tsí **bu-ná** **ní** **kpí** **o-kóní** **ní** **kumí**
 1PL-FUT-pour CM-flour DEF put.in CM-water DEF in
 ‘We will pour (some of) the flour into the water.’
15. Okónín butibatsí kpí ko gí lóoge?
o-kóní **ní** **bu-ti-ba-tsí** **kpí** **ko** **gí**
 CM-water DEF 1PL-NEG1-FUT-pour put.in just REL
ló-bo-ge
 1PL.DEF-FUT-drive
 ‘We don’t just add the flour to the water and start stirring (it).’
16. Bútsí kpí ní búakó yí yabá mínití lóf⁵.
bú-tsí **kpí** **ní** **bú-ba-kó** **yí** **yabá** **nânsí** **mínití**
 1PL-pour put.in TOP 1PL-FUT-let 3SG boil like.say minute
lóf⁵
 ten
 ‘When we add the flour we will let it boil for about ten minutes.’
17. Otsúgo lókpí ogige ko loge ’ulí pétée.
otsúgo **lo-kpí** **o-gige** **ko** **lo-ge**
 now 1PL.DEF-put.in CM-wooden.ladle just 1PL.DEF-drive
bulí **pétée**
 3SG all
 ‘It is now that we put in the wooden ladle then we stir it.’
18. Kúgígani búkpí ’uní,
ki-í-giganí **bú-kpí** **bu-ní**
 3SG-PRSPROG-be.hard 1PL-put.in CM-water
 ‘If it is too hard, we add water,’
19. kíubobo faán⁵ alasí budí ’lókó sí kípí.
ki-í-bobo **faán⁵** **a-lí** **a-sí** **bu-dí**
 3SG-PRSPROG-be.soft too.much 3SG-be.at SM-COMP 1PL-look

kuí **ɔ.kɔ** **sí** **ku-pĩ**
 3SG.IND place COMP 3SG-be.good
 ‘if it is too soft, we must see to it that it has the desired texture.’

20. Kibí ko búbú.

ki-bí **ko** **bú-bú**
 3SG-be.cooked just 1PL-remove
 ‘When it is ready then we dish it out.’

21. Búbú ko ní ká búten’ ’ɔ̀ŋa é.⁹⁰

bú-bú **ko** **ní** **ká** **bú-ténɔ̃** **bɔ-ŋa** **é**
 1PL-remove just TOP then 1PL-start CM-eat CFM
 ‘When we dish it out then we start eating it right away.’

22. Yénū kumokó gige ní Baagbo.

yí **é-nū** **ku-kɔ** **gi-ge** **ní** **Baagbo**
 3SG.IND SM-COP CM-porridge RED-drive LOC Tafi
 así amɔ ’íkó n’ílílín.
a-sí **a-mó** **ku-kó** **nu** **í-lílín**
 SM-COMP CM-unpolished.rice CM-porridge COP AM-DIST
 ‘That is porridge (unpolished red rice porridge) preparation in Tafi.’

23. Yoo, w’óbhiti’ ’íbúi oo.

yoo **wó** **ó-bhiti** **ki-búi** **oo**
 okay 2SG.IND SM-do CM-matter UFP
 ‘Ok, thank you.’

24. Yoo.

yoo
 Okay
 ‘Okay’

⁹⁰ The **kumokó** ‘red rice porridge’ has to be eaten immediately after it has been dished out because after sometime it becomes cold and very hard.

