Cover Page

# Universiteit Leiden

**Author**: Orkaydo, Ongaye Oda
**Title**: A grammar of Konso
**Issue Date**: 2013-03-28

# 14. Texts

In this chapter, I provide two transcribed and glossed stories. The first text is the story Teekoole's son's bag, and the second is a story about a second wife. In both texts I use a four-line transliteration: in the first line I represent the Konso sentence as it is recorded, in the second line I indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line I give translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes, in the fourth line I give a free translation of the whole sentence. Both stories were told by my grandmother.

## 14.1.　　　Text 1: ɲolaa a innaá Teekoolíʔ[14]
### Teekoole's Son's Bag

001　　χattaa kiʔni ka innaa Teentooli iʃuʔ ʔinnaa Teekooli ka ollin okkaá ɗawwini.

| χatta = i | kiɗ-ni | ka | innaá |
|---|---|---|---|
| long.time.ago = 3 | say-IPF.PRES | and | child.GEN |

| a | Teentooli | iʃuʔ | innaa | a | Teekooli |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GEN | Teentoole | and | child.GEN | GEN | Teekoole |

| ka | okkaá = i | olli-n | ɗaww-ni. |
|---|---|---|---|
| and | cattle.ACC = 3 | together-INST | herd-IPF.PRES |

'It is said that long time ago, a child of a rich family and a child of a poor family herded cattle together.'

002　　innaá Teekooli ɲolaá ɗapanee kiini.

| innaá | a | Teekooli | ɲolaá = 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| child.GEN | GEN | Teekoole | bag.ACC = 3 |

| ɗap-a-n = i | kiɗ-ni. |
|---|---|
| have-IPF.FUT-P = 3 | say-IPF.PRES |

'It is said that the poor family's child had a bag.'

003　　oo kayti kuyyaʔta takkaayye, innaá Teentooli ka innaá Teekoolik kiɗaye, 'aani ka okkayaa oorʃi!'

| oo | kay-t-i | kuyyaʔta | takka-ayye, |
|---|---|---|---|
| when | reach-3F-PF | day | one.F-BKGRD |

| innaá | Teentooli | ka | innaá |
|---|---|---|---|
| child.GEN | Teentoole | and | child.GEN |

---

*Teekooli-ʔ*    *kidʼ-ay-e,*               *ʻaan-i*        *ka*
Teekoole-DAT   say-PF[3M]-BKGRD    go-IMP.SG      and

*okkayaa*         *oor-ʃ-i!'*
cattle             return-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'One day, Teentoole's boy ordered Teekoole's boy, saying, "Go and drive the cattle back!"'

004     innaá Teekooli ka kiinee ʻinʔoorʃama hindʼo ka ɲolaayyu asseeyidʼ dʼapi anka aano oorʃu.'

*innaá*              *a*            *Teekooli*       *ka*
child.GEN         GEN        Teekoole       and

*kidʼ-ni-e*                *ʻin=oor-ʃ-a-ma*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   1=return-DCAUS-IPF.FUT-but

*hindʼ-o*                  *ka*       *ɲolaa-yyu*
here.you(SG).are-VOC.SG      and     bag-1SG.POSS.M/F

*assi-aye-ʔ*              *dʼap-i*      *an=ka*       *aan-o*
like.this-here-LOC     hold-IMP.SG   1=and     go-DP

*oor-ʃ-u.'*
return-DCAUS-OPT
'Then Teekoole's son said to Teentoole's son, "I will drive the cattle back but hold my bag and let me go and drive [them] back."'

005     innaasineé Teekooli ka okkayaasiniʔ ʔoorissaʔ ʔaanin.

*innaa-siniʔ-é*            *a*       *Teekooli*       *ka*
child-DEF.P-BKGRD.GEN     GEN    Teekoole      and

*okkayaa-siniʔ*        *oor-ʃ-ta-ʔ*            *aan-i-n.*
cattle-DEF.P        return-DCAUS-VN-DAT    go-PF-P
'And the child of the poor family went to drive the cattle back.'

006     oo tiitaaway iʔinnaá Teekoolik kiinee 'ɲolaayyu dʼaaʃi!'

*oo*       *tiitaaw-ay*      *i=innaá*        *Teentooli-ʔ*
when   return-PF[3M]   3=child.GEN    Teekoole-DAT

*kidʼ-ni-e*                *'ɲolaa-yyu*       *dʼaaʃ-i!'*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   bag-1SG.POSS.M/F     give-IPM.SG
'When Teekoole's boy returned, he said to the rich family's child, "Give my bag back!"'

007    *ikiine innaá Teentooli ka kiinee 'ayen can.'*

        *i=kidⁿ-ni-e*                *innaá*       *a*       *Teentooli*

        3=say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD     child.GEN    GEN    Teentoole

        *ka*       *kidⁿ-ni-e*             *'aye=in*

        and    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  here=3NEG

        *kiy-a-n.'*

        be-IPF.FUT-P

        'It is said that Teentoole's boy said, 'It is not here.''

008    *ikka kiinee 'ayʃupaa tayin?'*

        *ikka*    *kidⁿ-ni-e*                *'ayʃa*    *ʔopa=i*    *t"*    *ay-i-n?'*

        and.3  say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  where    to=3       go.away-PF-P

        'And [Teekoole's son] said, "Where has it gone?"

009    *innaá Teentooli ka ayen can*

        *innaá*           *a*       *Teentooli*          *ka*

        child.GEN     GEN    Teentole       and

        *kidⁿ-ni-e*               *'aye=in*       *kiy-a-n.'*

        say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  here=3NEG     be-IPF.FUT-P

        'And Teekoole's child said, "It is not here."'

010    *ooree innaasineé Teekooli imiiroodⁱn ka a Orrotáʔ ʔopa keerinee kiini.*

        *ooree*        *innaa-siniʔ-é*               *a*      *Teekooli*

        then        child-DEF.P-BKGRD.GEN    GEN   Teekoole

        *i=miirood-i-n*       *ka*      *a*      *Orrotá-ʔ*

        3=be.angry-PF-P    and    GEN    Orrota-GEN

        *opa*    *keer-i-n=i*          *kidⁿ-ni.*

        to      run[PL]-PF-P=3    say-IPF.PRES

        'Then, Teekoole's son got angry and ran to Orrota's house.'

011    'Orrota! Orrota!'

        *Orrota! Orrota!*

        '[And he said,] Orrota! Orrota!'

012    *ikka kiinee 'Ooy!'*

        *ikka*    *kidⁿ-ni-e*                  *'Ooy!'*

        and.3  say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  'yes!'

        'And [the Orrota] said "Yes!"'

013    ikka kiinee 'χooyee talaá Teentooli poki poki.'

*ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                  'χooy-i-e*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   come-IMP.SG-BKGRD

*talaá            a         Teentooli      pok-i*
goats.GEN      GEN      Teentoole     shoot.PL-IMP.SG

*pok-i.'*
shoot.PL-IMP.SG
'And he said, "Come and shoot Teentoole's son's goats!"'

014    Orrotak kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?'

*Orrota-ʔ       kiɗ-ni-e               'opa       Teentooli*
Orrota-NOM   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   ASS      Teentoole

*maanaa          koɗ-i-n?'*
what              do-PF-P
'Orrota said, "What have Orrota and his mates done?"'

015    ikka kiinee 'ɲolaa innaá Teekoolee paʃin.'

*ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                  'ɲolaa   a      innaá*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   bag      GEN   child.GEN

*Teekooli = i     paʃ-i-n.'*
Teekoole = 3     lose-PF-P
'And he said, "He has lost Teekoole's son's bag."'

016    ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'

*ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                  'in = tiit-ay.'*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   1 = refuse-PF[3M]
'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'

017    ikiinee ikka a Apittaʔ ʔopa keeray ka 'Apitta! Apitta!' kiɗay

*i = kiɗ-ni-e                  ikka   a       Apitta-ʔ*
3 = say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD     and.3   GEN    fire-LOC

*opa keer-ay             ka    'Apitta! Apitta!'   kiɗ-ay*
to    run[SG]-PF[3M]   and   Fire!   Fire       say-PF[3M]
'And he ran to Fire's house and said, "Fire! Fire!"'

018    ikka kiinee 'Ooy. Ooy.'

*ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                  'Ooy. Ooy.'*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   Yes!    Yes!
'And [the fire] said, "Yes! Yes!"'

019 ikka kiinee 'χooyi ka mana Orrootak kupi kupi!.'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'χooy-i* | *ka* |
|--------|------------|-----------|------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | come-IMP.SG | and |

| *mana* | *Orroota-ʔ* | *kup-i* | *kup-i!.'* |
|--------|-------------|---------|------------|
| house | Orroota-GEN | burn-IMP.SG | burn-IMP.SG |

'And he said, "Come and burn Orroota's house!"'

020 ikka kiinee 'Orroota maanaa koʔti?'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'Orroota* | *maana=i* |
|--------|------------|------------|----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Orroota | what=3 |

| *koɗ-t-i?'* |
|-------------|
| do-3F-PF |

'And he said, "What has Orroota done?"'

021 ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'talaá* |
|--------|------------|----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | goats.GEN |

| *a* | *Teentooli* | *pok-iyaa* | *tiit-t-i.'* |
|-----|-------------|------------|-------------|
| GEN | Teentoole | shoot-VN | refuse-3F-PF |

'And he said, "They refused to shoot Teentoole's goats."'

022 ikka kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'opa* | *Teentooli* |
|--------|------------|--------|-------------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | ASS | Teentoole |

| *maana=i* | *koɗ-i-n?'* |
|-----------|-------------|
| what=3 | do-PF-P |

'And he said, "What have Tentoole and his mates done?"'

023 ikka kiinee 'ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'ɲolaa* | *a* |
|--------|------------|----------|-----|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | bag | GEN |

| *innaá* | *Teekooli=i* | *paʃʃ-i-n.'* |
|---------|--------------|--------------|
| child.GEN | Teekoole=3 | loss-PF-P |

'And he said, "He lost Teekoole's son's bag."'

024 ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'in=tiit-ay.'* |
|--------|------------|------------------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | 1=refuse-PF[3M] |

'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'

025    ikiine ikka a piʃaaʔ ʔopa keerayew.

*i = kiɗ-ni-e*          *ikka*    *a*      *piʃaa-ʔ*
3 = say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD     and.3    GEN    water-LOC

*opa*      *keer-ay-ew.*
to       run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
'And again, he ran to Water.'

026    'Piʃaa-y!       Piʃaa-y!'
water-VOC.P    Water-VOC.P
'Water! Water!'

027    ikka kiinee 'Ooy.'

*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*             *'Ooy!'*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   yes
'And the water said "Yes!"'

028    innaá Teekooli ka kiinee 'χooyi ka Apitta liɓɓiʃi liɓɓiʃi!'

*innaá*             *a*        *Teekooli*      *ka*
child.GEN        GEN    Teekoole     and

*kiɗ-ni-e*             *'χooy-i*      *ka*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   come-IMPF.SG   and

*Apitta*        *liɓɓ-ʃ-i*
fire             extinguish-DCAUS-IMP.SG

*liɓɓ-ʃ-i!'*
extinguish-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'And Teekoole's son said, 'Come and extinguish Fire!''

029    ikka kiinee 'Apitta maanaa koɗay?'

*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*             *'Apitta*         *maana = i*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   fire          what = 3

*koɗ-ay?'*
do-PF[3M]
'And the water said, "What has the fire done?"'

030    ikka kiinee 'tikoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'

*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*             *'tika*    *a*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   house   GEN

*Orrootá-ʔ*       *kup-iya = i*      *tiit-ay.'*
Orroota-GEN    burn-VN = 3      refuse-PF[3M]

'And he said, "He refused to burn Orroota's house."'

031    ikka kiinee 'Orroota maanaa koʔti?'
| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | | *'Orroota* | *maana=i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Orroota | | what=3 |

*koɗ-t-i?'*
do-3F-PF
'And he said, "What has Orroota done?"'

032    ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'
| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'talaá* |
|---|---|---|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | goats.GEN |

| *a* | *Teentooli* | *pok-iyaa* | *tiit-t-i.'* |
|---|---|---|---|
| GEN | Teentoole | shoot-INF | refuse-3F-PF |

'And he said, "He refused to shoot Teentoole's son's goats."'

033    ikka kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?'
| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'opa* | *Teentooli* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | ASS | rich |

| *maana=i* | *koɗ-i-n?'* |
|---|---|
| what=3 | do-PF-P |

'And he said, 'What have Teentole and his mates done?''

034    ikka kiinee 'ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'
| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'ɲolaa* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | bag | GEN |

| *innaá* | *Teekooli=i* | *paʃʃ-i-n.'* |
|---|---|---|
| child.GEN | Teekoole=3 | loss-PF-P |

'And he said, "They have lost Teekoole's son's bag."'

035    ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'
| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'in=tiit-ay.'* |
|---|---|---|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | 1=refuse-PF[3M] |

'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'

036    *ikka keerew.*
| *ikka* | *keer-ay-ew.* |
|---|---|
| and.3 | run[SG]-PF[3M]-again |

'And he ran again.'

037    'Arpa!         Arpa!'
        Elephant!    Elephant!

038    ikka kiinee 'Oooy.'
        *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                    *'Oooy.'*
        and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  yes
        'And he said, "Yes!"'

039    'χooyi ka sirkan piʃaá siiɓɓi siiɓɓi!'
        *'χooy-i*      *ka*      *sirka-n*        *Piʃaá*
        come-IMP.SG  and    trunk-INST     Water.ACC

        *siiɓɓ-i*              *siiɓɓ-i!'*
        take.a.sip-IMP.SG      take.a.sip-IMP.SG
        'Come and sip up Water at once!'

040    ikka kiinee 'Piʃaa maanaa koɗin?'
        *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                  *'Piʃaa*    *maana=i*
        and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  Water   what=3

        *koɗ-i-n?'*
        do-PF-P
        'What has Water done?'

041    *ikka kiinee 'Apitta liɓɓissaa tiitin.'*
        *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                  *'Apitta*
        and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  Fire

        *liɓɓ-ʃ-ta=i*              *tiit-i-n.'*
        extinguish-DCAUS-INF=3    refuse-PF-P
        'It has refused to extinguish Fire.'

042    'Apitta maanaa koɗay?'
        *'Apitta*         *maana=i*       *koɗ-ay?'*
        Fire            what=3     do-PF[3M]
        'What has Fire done?'

043    'manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'
        *'mana*   *a*     *Orroota-ʔ*     *kup-iya=i*     *tiit-ay.'*
        house  GEN  Orroota-GEN   burn-VN=3   refuse-PF[3M]
        'He has refused to burn Orroota's house.'

044    ikka kiinee 'Orroota maanaa koʔti?'
        *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                  *'Orroota*        *maana=i*
        and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  Orroota         what=3

*koɗ-t-i?'*
do-3F-PF
'And he said, "What has Orroota done?"'

045 **ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'**
    *ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                     'talaá*
    and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  goats.GEN

    *a          Teentooli         pok-iyaa          tiit-t-i.'*
    GEN   Teentoole        shoot-VN        refuse-3F-PF
    'And he said, "He has refused to shoot Teentoole's son's goats."'

046 **ikka kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?'**
    *ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                     'opa    Teentooli*
    and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  ASS     Teentoole

    *maana＝i         koɗ-i-n?'*
    what＝3          do-PF-P
    'And he said, "What have Teentoole and his mates done?"'

047 **ikka kiinee 'ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'**
    *ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                     'ɲolaa   ʔa*
    and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  bag      GEN

    *innaá            Teekooli＝i     paʃʃ-i-n.'*
    child.GEN      Teekoole＝3   loss-PF-P
    'And he said, "They lost Teekoole's son's bag."'

048 **ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'**
    *ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                     'in＝tiit-ay.'*
    and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  1＝refuse-PF[3M]
    'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'

049 **ikka a Kolaltaʔ ʔopa keerayew ka kiinee 'Kolalta! Kolalta!'**
    *ikka     a        Kolalta-ʔ      opa     keer-ay-ew*
    and.3  GEN    Acacia-LOC    to       run[SG]-PF[3M]-again

    *ka    kiɗ-ni-e                     'Kolalta!       Kolalta!'*
    and    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  Acacia! Acacia!
    'And he ran to Acacia's' house, and said, "Acacia! Acacia!"'

050 **ikka kiinee 'ee!'**
    *ikka    kiɗ-ni-e                     'ee!'*
    and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  yes
    'And he said "Yes!"'

051 'χooyi ka Arpa ɠarap pi?i pi?i.'

| 'χooy-i | ka | Arpa | ɠara-? |
|---------|-----|---------|--------|
| come-IMP.SG | and | Elephant | on-LOC |

| pi?-i | pi?-i.' |
|-------|---------|
| fall-IMP.SG | fall-IMP.SG |

'Come and fall on Elephant!'

052 ikka kiinee 'Arpa maanaa koɗay?'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'Arpa | maana=i |
|------|----------|--------|---------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Elephant | what=3 |

| koɗ-ay?' |
|----------|
| do-PF[3M] |

'And he said, "What has Elephant done?"'

053 ikka kiinee 'sirkan piʃaá siiɓɓiyaa tiitay.'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'sirka-n |
|------|----------|----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | trunk-INST |

| piʃaá | siiɓɓ-ya=i | tiit-ay.' |
|-------|------------|-----------|
| water.ACC | sip-VN=3 | refuse-PF[3M] |

'He said, "He refused to sip up Water."'

054 ikka kiinee 'Piʃaa maanaa koɗin?'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'Piʃaa | maana=i | koɗ-i-n?' |
|------|----------|--------|---------|-----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Water | what=3 | do-PF-P |

'What has Water done?'

055 ikka kiinee 'Apitta liɓɓissaa tiitin.'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'Apitta |
|------|----------|----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Fire |

| liɓɓ-ʃ-ta=i | tiit-i-n.' |
|-------------|------------|
| extinguish-DCAUS-VN=3 | refuse-PF-P |

'It has refused to extinguish Fire.'

056 ikka kiinee 'Apitta maanaa koɗay?'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'Apitta | maana=i |
|------|----------|----------|---------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Fire | what=3 |

| koɗ-ay?' |
|----------|
| do-PF[3M] |

'And he said, "What has Fire done?"'

057    'manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'

| 'mana | a | Orroota-ʔ | kup-iya = i | tiit-ay.' |
|-------|-----|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| house | GEN | Orroota-GEN | burn-VN = 3 | refuse-PF[3M] |

'He has refused to burn Orroota's house.'

058    ikka kiinee 'Orroota maanaa koʔti?'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'Orroota | maana = i | koɗ-t-i?' |
|------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | Orroota | what = 3 | do-3F-PF |

'And he said, "What have the Orroota done?"'

059    ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'talaá |
|------|----------|--------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | goats.GEN |

| a | Teentooli | pok-iyaa | tiit-t-i.' |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|
| GEN | Tentoole | shoot-VN | refuse-3F-PF |

'And he said, "He refused to shoot Teekoole's son's goats."'

060    ikka kiinee 'opa teentooli maanaa koɗin?'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'opa | Teentooli |
|------|----------|------|-----------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | ASS | Teentoole |

| maana = i | koɗ-i-n?' |
|-----------|-----------|
| what = 3 | do-PF-P |

'And he said, "What have Teentoole and his mates done?"'

061    ikka kiinee 'ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'ɲolaa | a |
|------|----------|--------|---|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | bag | GEN |

| innaá | Teekooli = i | paʃʃ-i-n.' |
|-------|--------------|-----------|
| child.GEN | Teekoole = 3 | loss-PF-P |

'And he said, "They lost Teekoole's son's bag."'

062    ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'in = tiit-ay.' |
|------|----------|-----------------|
| and.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | 1 = refuse-PF[3M] |

'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'

067    ikka keerayew.

| ikka | keer-ay-ew. |
|------|-------------|
| and.3 | run[SG]-PF[3M]-again |

'And he ran again.'

068    'Kurʃa! 'Kurʃa!'
Rat! Rat!'

069    ikka kiinee 'ee'
*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                    *'ee'*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    'yes!'
'And the rat said, "Yes!"'

070    'χooyi ka Kolalta kelaa hittinnaa ɠuuri ɠuuri!'
*'χooy-i*        *ka*      *Kolalta*      *kela-a*      *hittinnaa*
come-IMP.SG    and      Acacia      under-LOC    roots

*ɠuur-i*             *ɠuur-i!'*
cut[PL]-IMP.SG    cut[PL]-IMP.SG
'Come and cut roots from Acacia!'

071    ikka kiinee 'Kolalta maanaa koɗay?
*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                    *'Kolalta*      *maana=i*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    Acacia        what=3

*koɗ-ay?*
do-PF[3M]
'And he said, "What has Acacia done?"'

072    ikka kiinee 'Arpa ɠarap piʔiyaa tiitay.'
*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                    *'Arpa*      *ɠara-ʔ*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    Elephant    on-LOC

*piʔ-iya=i*       *tiit-ay.'*
fall-INF=3      refuse-PF[3M]
'And he said, "He has refused to fall on Elephant."'

073    ikka kiinee 'Arpa maanaa koday?'
*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                    *'Arpa*      *maana=i*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    Elephant    what=3

*koɗ-ay?'*
do-PF[3M]
'And he said, "What has Elephant done?"'

074    ikka kiinee 'sirkan Piʃaá siiɓɓiyaa tiitay.'
*ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*                    *'sirka-n*
and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    trunk-INST

*Piʃaá*          *siiɓɓ-ya=i*        *tiit-ay.'*
water.ACC        sip-INF=3        refuse-PF[3M]
'He said, "He refused to sip Water."'

075    ikka kiinee 'Piʃaa maanaa koɗin?'
       *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*               *'Piʃaa*   *maana=i*         *koɗ-i-n?'*
       and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   Water   what=3        do-PF-P
       'What has Water done?'

076    ikka kiinee 'Apitta liɓɓissaa tiitin.'
       *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*               *'Apitta*
       and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   Fire

       *liɓɓ-ʃ-ta=i*                *tiit-i-n.'*
       extinguish-DCAUS-INF=3     refuse-PF-P
       'It has refused to extinguish Fire.'

077    ikka kiinee 'Apitta maanaa koɗay?'
       *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*               *'Apitta*  *maana=i*  *koɗ-ay?'*
       and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   Fire     what=3   do-PF[3M]
       'And he said, "What has Fire done?"'

078    'manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'
       *'mana*  *a*       *Orroota-ʔ*     *kup-iya=i*     *tiit-ay.'*
       house  GEN    Orroota-GEN   burn-VN=3    refuse-PF[3M]
       'He has refused to burn Orroota's house.'

079    'Orroota maanaa koʔti?'
       *'Orroota*         *maana=i*     *koɗ-t-i?'*
       Orroota      what=3     do-3F-PF
       '[And he said,] "What has Orroota done?"'

080    ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'
       *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*               *'talaá*
       and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   goats.GEN

       *a*      *Teentooli*     *pok-iyaa*       *tiit-t-i.'*
       GEN   Teentoole    shoot-VN      refuse-3F-PF
       'And he said, "He refused to shoot Teentoole's son's goats."'

081    ikka kiinee 'opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?'
       *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*               *'opa*   *Teentooli*
       and.3    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   ASS    Teentoole

*maana=i*       *koɗ-i-n?'*
what=3       do-PF-P
'And he said, "What have Teentoole and his mates done?"'

082    ikka kiinee 'ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.'
     *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni-e*               *'ɲolaa*            *a*
     and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  bag              GEN

     *innaá*            *Teekooli=i*    *paʃʃ-i-n.'*
     child.GEN       Teekoole=3   loss-PF-P
     'And he said, "They lost the Teekole's son's bag."'

083    'intiitay.'
     *'in=tiit-ay.'*
     1=refuse-PF[3M]
     '[And he said,] "I refuse to come."'

084    ikka    keer-ay-ew.
     and.3   run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
     'He ran again.'

085    Allaʔitta! Allaʔitta!
     Vulture! Vulture!

086    'χooy-i       ka     Kurʃa  ɗay-i         ɗay-i!'
     come-IMP.SG  and   rat    hit-IMP.SG    hit-IMP.SG
     'Come and hit Rat!'

087    oore allaʔittasiʔ ʔa olkela ankaassaɗin male Tapaytasiɗ ɗawtaɗ ɗʷay.
     *oore*    *allaʔitta-siʔ*           *a*           *ol-kela*
     then    crow-DEF.M/F      concerning   each.other-under

     *in=kaassaɗ-in*      *male*        *Tapayta-siʔ*
     3NEG=ask-NEG      without    Rat-DEF.M/F

     *ɗaw-ta-ʔ*      *ɗoy-ay*
     hit-VN-DAT    jump-PF[3M]
     'Then, without asking what happened, the Vulture flew to hit Rat.'

088    Tapayta ka χaʔaɗay ka Kolalta kelaa hittinnaa ɠuuriyaa paayyay.
     *Tapayta ka*    *χaʔaɗ-ay*    *ka*    *Kolalta*
     Rat         and   run-PF[3M]   and   Acacia

     *kela-a*       *hittinnaa*     *ɠuur-iya=i*
     under-LOC   roots        cut[PL]-INF=3

*paayy-ay.*
start-PF[3M]
'[Then] the rat ran and started cutting the Acacia's roots.'

089  Kolalta tammaɠay ka Arpa ɠarpa.
*Kolalta*　　　*tammaɠ-ay*　　　*ka*　　*Arpa*
Acacia　　　　　be.afraid-PF[3M]　and　Elephant
*ɠara-opa.*
on-to
'Acacia was afraid and began falling on Elephant '

090  ikiinee Arpa ka Piʃaa siiɓɓiyaapa.
*i=kiɗ-ni-e*　　　　*Arpa*　　　*ka*　　*Piʃaa*
3=say-IPF.PRES　　Elephant　and　Water
*siiɓɓ-iyaa-opa.*
sip-VN-to
'It is said that Elephant began going to sip Water.'

091  Piʃaa ka Apitta liɓɓissaapa.
*Piʃaa*　*ka*　*Apitta*　　*liɓɓ-ʃ-taa-opa*
Water　and　fire　　　extinguish-DCAUS-to
'And Water [ran] to extinguish Fire.'

092  Apitta ka manoorrootak kupiyaapa.
*Apitta*　　　*ka*　　*mana*　*a*　*Orrootá-ʔ*　　*kup-iyaa-opa*
Fire　　　　　and　　house　GEN　Orrota-GEN　burn-VN-to
'And Fire [ran] to burn Orrota's house.'

093  Orrootak ka tallaá Teentooli pokiyaapa.
*Orroota-ʔ*　　　　　*ka*　　*tallaá*　　　*Teentooli*
Orroota-NOM　　　　and　　goats.GEN　　Teentoole
*pok-iyaa-opa*
shoot[PL]-VN-to
'[Then] Orroota [ran] to shoot Teentoole's son's goats.'

094  maanaa hasay oore?
*maana=i*　　*has-ay*　　　　　　　*oore?*
what=3　　　remain-PF[3M]　then
'What is left, then?

095  ɲolaá innaá Teekooli.
*ɲolaa*　*a*　*innaá*　　　*Teekooli*
bag　　GEN　child.GEN　Teekoole
'Teekoole's son's bag.

096 oore innaá Teentooli ka ɲolaasinee innaá Teekooli ɗaaʃin.

| *oore* | *innaa* | *a* | *Teentooli* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | child | GEN | Teentoole | and |

| *ɲolaa-siniʔ* | *a* | *innaa* | *Teekooli* | *ɗaaʃ-i-n.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bag-DEF.P | GEN | child | Teekoole | give-PF-P |

'Then, Teentoole's son gave back Teekoole's son's bag.'

097 oore innaá Teekooli ka ɲolaaɗi ɠeeɗaɗin.

| *oore* | *innaa* | *a* | *Teekooli* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | child | GEN | Teekoole | and |

| *ɲolaa-ɗi* | *ɠeeɗ-aɗ-i-n.* |
|---|---|
| bag-3SG.POSS.M/F | take-MID-PF-P |

'Then Teekoole's son took back his bag.'

098 ayi ɠaraʔee ɗikkanni torroosini.

| *aye* | *ɠara-ʔ=i* | *ɗikkaɗ-ni* | *torraa-oosiniʔ.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| here | on-LOC=3 | finish-IPF.PRES | story-DEM.P |

'It is here that this story ends.'

### 14.2. Text 2: Ahta a Lammootáʔ A Second Wife

001 χattaa kiini ka, aappaa tokkakka ahawwaa lakkii faɗay.

| *χatta = i* | | *kiɗ-ni* | *ka,* | *aappaa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| long.time.ago = 3 | | say-IPF.PRES | and | husband |

| *tokka-ikka* | *ahawwaa* | *lakki = i faɗ-ay.* |
|---|---|---|
| one.M-and.3 | wives | two = 3 marry-PF[3M] |

'A long time ago, there was a man who took two wives.'

002 oo ahawwaa lakki faɗay, ahta paayyutaa itoʔti.

| *oo* | *ahawwaa* | *lakki* | *faɗ-ay,* | *ahta* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | wives | two | marry-PF[3M] | wife |

| *a* | *paayyuta* | *i = toy-t-i.* |
|---|---|---|
| GEN | first | 3 = die-3F-PF |

'Of the two wives, the first wife died.'

003 oo toʔti ooreeyye, ahta lammattak kuyyaʔta takkaayye

| *oo* | *toy-t-i* | *oore-eeyye* | *ahta* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| when | die-3F-PF | then-BKGRD | wife | GEN |

| *lammatta-ʔ* | *kuyyaʔta* | *takka-eyye* | *luɠɠisa = i* |
|---|---|---|---|
| second-GEN | day | one-BKGRD | leather.skirt = 3 |

| *piɗɗ-t-i.* |
|---|
| buy-3F-PF |

'When she [the first wife] died, one day the second wife bought a leather skirt.'

004 luɠɠisa kiɗeeta uwwaa parraa χattaayyee a χattaateeyyee akata kok-kookaa.

| *luɠɠisa* | *kiɗ-eeta uwwaa* | *parraa* |
|---|---|---|
| leather.skirt | say-INF skirt | years |

| *a* | *χatta-ayyee* | *akata* | *kokkook-aaʔ.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| GEN | long.time.ago-BKGRD | very | strong-P |

'Many years ago leather skirt meant an expensive skirt.'

005 ee luɠɠisasip piɗɗiti oorineeyye, maanaa koʔti, tuparraa maanaa koʔti, tuparraa lakkee piʃaaʔ ʔerkiti.

| *ee* | *luʤʤisa-siʔ* | *piɗɗ-t-i* | *oore-neeyye* |
|------|------|------|------|
| when | leather.skirt-DEF.M/F | buy-3F-PF | then-BKGRD |

| *maana = i* | *koɗ-t-i* | *tuparraa* |
|------|------|------|
| what = 3 | do-3F-PF | girls |

| *lakki = i piʃaa-ʔ* | *erk-t-i.* |
|------|------|
| two = 3  water-DAT | send-3F-PF |

'When she bought the leather skirt, "what did she do?" She sent two girls to fetch water.'

006 takkaʔ ʔenanta χaaɗi.

| *takka-ʔ* | *enanta* | *χaaɗi.* |
|------|------|------|
| one.F-NOM | girl | 3SG.POSS.M/F |

'One was her daughter.'

007 takkaʔ ʔenanta aayyaasinit toʔte.

| *takka-ʔ* | *enanta* | *a* | *aayyaa-siniʔ* |
|------|------|------|------|
| one.F-NOM | girl | GEN | mother-DEF.P |

| *toy-t-i-ʔ* |
|------|
| die-3F-PF-GEN |

'[And] one was a daughter of the deceased mother.'

008 ee piʃaaʔ ʔanniyaaneeyye, maanaa koʔti enantaaɗik kulpa a feyyaaʔ ʔerkti ka enantase aayyaasinit toʔte, maanaa koʔti ʔiʤeetti kaa kulpaaɗi ɗiɗɗiptannee ɗiɗɗiptanne oppa ɠuʔti.

| *ee* | *piʃaa-ʔ* | *an-ni-yaan-eyye* | *maana = i* |
|------|------|------|------|
| when | water-DAT | go-IPF.PRES-3PL-BKGRD | what = 3 |

| *koɗ-t-i* | *enanta-aɗi-ʔ* | *kulpa* |
|------|------|------|
| do-3F-PF | girl-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT | calabash |

| *a* | *feyy-aa ʔ* | *erk-t-i* | *ka* | *enanta-se* |
|------|------|------|------|------|
| GEN | well-P | send-3F-PF | and | girl-DEF.M/F |

| *a* | *aayyaa-siniʔ* | *toy-t-i* | *maana = i* |
|------|------|------|------|
| GEN | mother-DEF.P | die-3F-PF | what = 3 |

| *koɗ-t-i* | *i = ɠeeɗ-t-i* | *ka = i* |
|------|------|------|
| do-3F-PF | 3 = take-3F-PF | and = 3 |

| *kulpa-aɗi* | *ɗiɗɗipta-nn = i* |
|------|------|
| calabash-3SG.POSS.M/F | needle-INST = 3 |

*oppa* *ɠuɗ-t-i.*
into pierce.PL-3F-PF
'When they [the girls] were to go to fetch water, what she [the second wife] did was give her daughter a calabash without holes but she pierced holes in calabash of the daughter of the deceased mother.'

009 oo kulpallaasiniɠ ɠuʔti kammaayyee, enantase a lammitteetak kirrup-pupa iʔanti iʔanti ka piʃaasiniʔ ʔoraapni ka oo immaktu ka ela ɠeetto, kammannee allit tuttuɠmanni.

| *oo* | *kulpallaa-siniʔ* | *ɠuɗ-t-i* | *kammaa-yyee,* |
|------|------|------|------|
| when | calabashes-DEF.P | pierce-3F-PF | after-BKGRD |

| *enanta-si* | *a* | *lammitteeta-ʔ* | *kirra-oppupa* |
|------|------|------|------|
| girl-DEF.M/F | GEN | second.wife-GEN | reiver-into |

| *i=an-t-i* | *ka* | *piʃaa-sini* | *oraap-ni* |
|------|------|------|------|
| 3=go-3F-PF | and | water-DEF.P | fetch-IPF.PRES |

| *ka* | *oo* | *immak-t-u* | *ka* | *ɗela* | *ɠeeɗ-t-o,* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| and | when | fill-3F-DP | and | up | take-3F-DP |

| *kamma-nn=i* | *alliʔ* | *tut-tuɠmaɗ-ni.* |
|------|------|------|
| behind-PATH=3 | away | PL-spill-IPF.PRES |

'The girl fetched the water and when she filled the calabashes and took them up, the calabashes leaked water from underneath.'

010 inansiχ χaaɗi ooreeyye kulpallaaɗi iʔimmakatti ka χaʔatti ka tayti.

| *inanta-siʔ* | *χaaɗi* | *oore-eeyye* |
|------|------|------|
| girl-DEF.M/F | 3SG.POSS.M/F | then-BKG |

| *kulpallaa-aɗi* | *i=immak-aɗ-t-i* | *ka* |
|------|------|------|
| calabashes-3SG.POSS.M/F | 3=fill-MID-3F-PF | and |

| *χaʔaɗ-t-i* | *ka* | *tay-t-i* |
|------|------|------|
| run[SG]-3F-PF | and | go.away-3F-PF |

'Her daughter [however] filled her calabashes and ran and went away.'

011 ataakkaʔ ʔikiitee 'attan assi patta kala ka luɠɠisoosiɗ ɗapa?'

| *ataakka-ʔ* | *i=kiʔ-t-i* | *'atta=in* | *assi* |
|------|------|------|------|
| the.other.one-NOM | 3=say-3F-PF | how=1 | like.this |

| *patta* | *kal-a* | | *ka* | *luɢɢisaa-osiʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| only | return.home-IPF.FUT | | and | skin.skirt-DEM.M/F |

*ɗap-aʔ"*
lose-IPF.FUT
'[And] the other said: "How can I go home without [fetching] water like this and lose the skin skirt?"'

012    Ka immakni inanta laʔayyuk ka yaalti yaalti ka ooreeyye kammaʔ ʔikka ɠarah halkeetaawti.

| *ka* | *immak-ni* | *inanta* | *a* | *laʔayyu-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | fill-IPF.PRES | girl | GEN | someone's-GEN |

| *ka* | *yaal-t-i* | *yaal-t-i* | *ka* | *oore-eeyye* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | toil-3F-PF | toil-3F-PF | and | then-BKGRD |

| *kamma-ʔ* | *ikka* | *ɠara-ʔ* | *halkeetaaw-t-i.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| then-LOC | and.then.3 | on-LOC | be.dawn-3F-PF |

'And the girl filled the calabashes again and again until it was dawn.'

013    ee halkeetaawti maanaa koʔti?

| *ee* | *halkeetaaw-t-i* | *maanaa* | *koɗ-t-i?* |
|---|---|---|---|
| when | be.dawn-3F-PF | what | do-3F-PF |

'When it was dawn, what did she do?'

014    hotaarta a kirra kapaɗ ɗehaye ca.

| *hotaarta* | *a* | *kirra* | *kapa-ʔ* | *ɗeh-ay=i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| acacia.sp | REL | river | near-LOC | sprout-3M=3 |

*kiy-a.*
be-IPF.FUT
'There was an acacia tree near the river.'

015    hotaarsiʔ ʔoppaayye karkaɗaa ca.

| *hotaarta-siʔ* | *oppaa-aayye* | *karkaɗaa=i* |
|---|---|---|
| acacia.sp-DEF.M/F | BKGRD | beehives=3 |

*kiy-a*
be-IPF.FUT
'In the acacia tree there were beehives.'

016    ikka ɠoyrasiʔ ʔoppupa feyyatti ka karkaa ɠaraa kaysaa ela ɠapti.

*ikka*        *ɠoyra-siʔ*        *oppupa*        *feyyad-t-i*
and.then.3     tree-DEF.M/F     into        climb.up-3F-PF

*ka*    *karkaa*        *ɠara-a*        *kaysaa*      *ɗela*
and    beehive        on-DEST        beehive.cover   upward

*ɠap-t-i.*
hold-3F-PF
'And then, she climbed the tree up and pulled the cover of one of the beehives up.'

017    Ka otanta karkaaʔ ʔiʃuʔ ʔa kaysaak karam mukti.

       *ka*       *otanta*      *a*      *karkaa-ʔ*     *iʃuʔ*
       and      centre      GEN    beehive-GEN   and

       *a*      *kaysaa-ʔ*        *kara-ʔ*      *muk-t-i.*
       GEN   beehive.cover-GEN    in-LOC      sleep-3F-PF
       'And then, she lay between the beehive and beehive cover.'

018    ata a hotaartasiʔ ʔoppupa feyyannittooyyee feyyannittooyye karmaa iʃeenna akkay.

       *ata*        *a*      *hotaarta-siʔ*        *oppupa*
       by.the.way    when   acacia.sp-DEF.M/F    into

       *feyyad-ni-kit-t-o-yyee*
       climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-3F-IPF.FUT.DP-BKGRD

       *karmaa*        *iʃeenna*        *akk-ay.*
       lion        3SGF.PRO[ACC]      see-PF[3M]
       'A lion saw her when she was climbing up the tree.'

019    ee mukteeyye, karmaasik ka aanay ka kiinee 'Kelaa ɗela karkaa ɠaraa ɗela kaysaa. kaysaa.      Maanaa otante poori pooriʔ anaa ela ɗeʔnim kee χaa ɗeʔni?'

       *ee*    *muk-t-i-eeyye,*        *karmaa-siʔ*     *ka*
       when   sleep-3F-PF-BKGRD    lion-DEF.M/F   and

       *aan-ay*      *ka*    *kid-ni=i*        *'kela-a*
       go-PF[3M]    and    say-IPF.PRES=3    'under-LOC

       *ɗela*        *karkaa*        *ɠara-a*        *ɗela*
       upward      beehive        on-LOC        upward

| *kaysaa.* | *Maanaa* | *otanta-e* |
|---|---|---|
| beehive.cover | what | middle-BKGRD |

| *poor-i* | *poor-i?* |
|---|---|
| be.black-PF | be.black-PF |

| *ana-a* | *ɗela* | *ɗey-ni-m* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF | up.there | come-IPF.PRES-or |

| *ke-e* | *χaa* | *ɗey-ni?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF | downward | come-IPF.PRES |

'When she was asleep, the lion came and said, "Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you climb down?"'

020    inantasiʔ ʔoppa oorinnin kittu.

| *inanta-siʔ* | *oppa* | *oor-ʃ-ni=in* |
|---|---|---|
| girl-DEF.M/F | into | return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES=3NEG |

| *kit-t-u.* |
|---|
| be-3F-NEG |

'[And] the girl does not respond.'

021    karmaasikka amma oppaʔ ʔooray ka kiinee 'Kelaa ɗela karkaa ɠaraa ɗela kaysaa. kaysaa.    Maanaa ʔotante poori pooriʔ anaa ela ɗeʔnim kee χaa ɗeʔni?'

| *karmaa-siʔ* | *ka* | *amma* | *oppa-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| lion-DEF.M/F | and | now | into-LOC |

| *oor-ay* | *ka* | *kiɗ-ni=i* | *'kela-a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| return-PF[3M] | and | say-IPF.PRES=3 | 'under-LOC |

| *ɗela* | *karkaa* | *ɠara-a* | *ɗela* |
|---|---|---|---|
| upward | beehive | on-LOC | upward |

| *kaysaa.* | *manaa* | *otanta-e* |
|---|---|---|
| beehive.cover | what | middle-BKGRD |

| *poor-i* | *poor-i?* |
|---|---|
| be.black-PF | be.black-PF |

| *ana-a* | *ɗela* | *ɗey-ni-m* |
|---|---|---|
| 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF | up.there | come-IPF.PRES-or |

| *ke-e* | *χaa* | *ɗey-ni?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF | downward | come-IPF.PRES |

'And the lion repeated saying, "Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you come down?"'

022     inantasiʔ ʔumma oppa oorinnin kittu.

| *inanta-siʔ* | *umma* | *oppa* |
|---|---|---|
| girl-DEF.M/F | at.all | into |

| *oor-n-ni＝in* | *kit-t-u.* |
|---|---|
| return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES＝3NEG | be-3F-NEG |

'The girl does not respond at all.'

023     oore karmaasiʔ ʔiʔela feyyanniya inantasiɗ ɓeeɗiya ka ɗamtaʔi

| *oore* | *karmaa-siʔ* | *i＝ɗela* |
|---|---|---|
| then | lion-DEF.M/F | 3＝upward |

| *feyyaɗ-ni-kiy-a* | *inanta-siʔ* | *ɓeeɗ-iya* |
|---|---|---|
| climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-IPF.FUT | girl-DEF.M/F | take-INF |

| *ka* | *ɗam-ta-ʔ* |
|---|---|
| and | eat-VN-DAT |

'Then, the lion started climbing up in order to catch the girl and eat her.'

024     inantasiʔ ʔoorinee ikiine 'anaa χata ɗeʔni.'

| *inanta-siʔ* | *oorine* | *i＝kiɗ-ni* |
|---|---|---|
| girl-DEF.M/F | then | 3＝say-IPF.PRES |

| *'ana-a* | *χata* | *ɗey-ni.'* |
|---|---|---|
| '1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF | down | come-IPF.PRES |

'Then the girl said, "It's me who is coming down."'

025     ee lekkatti oore karmaasiʔ ʔikiine 'kin ɗamam anaɗ ɓeetta ka aʔʔektaawu piitan akkayin male irroota sakal ana haʔta ka a kunɗattatiʔ ʔana lekkissa?'

| *ee* | *lekkaɗ-t-i* | *oore* | *karmaa-siʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| when | climb.down-3F-PF | then | lion-DEF.M/F |

| *i＝kiɗ-ni* | *'ke＝in* | *ɗam-a-m* |
|---|---|---|
| 3＝say-IPF.PRES | 2SG.PRO.ACC＝1 | eat-IPF.FUT-or |

*ana=iʔ*        *ɠeeɗ-t-a*     *ka*
1SG.PRO.ACC=2     take-2-IPF.FUT and

*aʔ=ekta-awu*        *piita-n*
2NEG=tail-1SG.POSS.M/F    ground-PATH

*aʔ=kay-in*       *male*    *irroota*    *sakal*
2NEG=reach-NEG    REAS   mountain   nine

*ana*        *haaɗ-t-a*       *ka*    *a*
1SG.PRO.ACC carry-2-IPF.FUT     and    GEN

*kuɗan-ttati-ʔ*    *ana*
ten-ORD-GEN   1SG.PRO.ACC

*lekkiʃ-t-aʔ'*
step.down-2-IPF.FUT
'When she climbed down, the lion said to the girl, "Shall I eat you (SG) or will you (SG) carry me over nine mountains without letting my tail touch the ground, and set me down on the tenth?"'

026   ikka kiine 'aʔ ʔana ɗamtu kapaa irroota sakalin ki ki haaɗa
      ka a kunɗattatik ki lekkiʃa.'
      *ikka*    *kiɗ-ni*        *'a=iʔ*        *ana*
      then.3   say-IPF.PRES   concerning=2 1SG.PRO.ACC

      *ɗam-t-u*       *kapa-a*       *irroota*     *sakal=in*
      eat-2-DP      near-LOC    mountain   nine=1

      *ke*         *haaɗ-a*       *ka*    *a*
      2SG.PRO.ACC carry-IPF.FUT and    GEN

      *kuɗan-ttati-ʔ*    *ki*
      ten-ORD-GEN   2SG.PRO.ACC

      *lekkiʃ-a.'*
      step.down-IPF.FUT
      'And then she said, "Instead of you (SG) eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and set you (SG) down on the tenth mountain."'

027   iʃeeɗɗaá haʔti haʔti ʔinantasik ka irroota sakal tuullissi ka a
      kunɗattateeyye ʃila tokka kapa kayin karmaasiʔ ʔikiinee 'ayikka tikaa-
      woy ana lekkiʃi.'

*iʃeedɗa=i*     *haaɗ-t-i*     *haaɗ-t-i*     *inanta-siʔ*
then = 3     carry-3F-PF     carry-3F-PF     girl-DEF.M/F

*ka*     *irroota*     *sakal*     *tuull-ʃ-t-i*     *ka*
and     mountain     nine     cross-DCAUS-3F-PF     and

*a*     *kuɗan-ttat-eeyye*     *ʃila*     *tokka*     *kapa-a*
GEN     ten-ORD-BKGRD     rock     one.M     near-LOC

*kay-i-n*     *karmaa-siʔ*     *i = kiɗ-ni*
reach-PF-P     lion-DEF.M/F     3 = say-IPF.PRES

*'ayikka*     *tika-awo-y*
here.DEST     house-1SG.POSS.M/F-BKGRD

*ana*     *lekkiʃ-i.'*
1SG.PRO.ACC     step.down-PF
'Then, the girl carried and carried the lion over nine mountains and on the tenth one near a rock, the lion said, "Let me down as my house is here."'

028     ikka lekkissi.
     *ikka*     *lekkiʃ-t-i*
     and.3     step.down-3F-PF
     'And she let him down.'

029     oo lekkisseeyye, karmaasii paayyay ka kiine 'ʃilaaynu passannaa pas.'

     *oo*     *lekkiʃ-s-i-eeyye,*     *karmaa-siʔ = i*
     when     step.down-3F-PF = BKGRD     lion-DEF.M/F = 3

     *paayy-ay*     *ka*     *kiɗ-ni*     *'ʃila-aynu*
     start-PF[3M]     and     say-IPF.PRES     rock-3PL.POSS.M/F

     *passaɗ-naa*     *pas.'*
     detach-NMLZ     IDEO
     'When she let him down, the lion started saying, "O rock opf ours be opened!"'

030     ʃilasik ka olkelaa 'pas' kiɗay.
     *ʃila-siʔ*     *ka*     *ol-kela = i*     *'pas'*     *kiɗ-ay.*
     rock-DEF.M/F     and     together-under = 3     IDEO     say-PF[3M]
     'And the rock opened at once.'

031    ikka kullin.

*ikka     kull-i-n*
and.3   enter-PF-P
'And they went in.'

032    oo kullin kammaa ikka iʃeenna ɗehammi ka kiinee ''oon kutu ka kal-
liyo, ikkiitaʔe 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte.
Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa.'

*oo       kull-i-n        kammaaik     ka      iʃeenna*
when   enter-PF-P     after-LOC     and.3   3SGF.PRO[ACC]

*ɗeham-ni         ka     kiɗ-ni        'oo = in*
advise-IPF.PRES     and   say-IPF.PRES   when = 1

*kut-u          ka      kal-ni-kiy-o,*
hunt-DP        and     enter-IPF.PRES-be-DP

*iʔ = kiɗ-t-a-ʔ           'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte.*
2 = say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte.

*ilɗaa     χurpannaa     χuutte  χuutte.*
eyes      logs         χuutte  χuutte.

*Matta-n       χutt-ayt-oo          χuutte, χuutte.*
head-INST    be.big-AGENT-VOC   χuutte  χuutte

*Kuyyanta     ɠuɗa = i      rop-a,       rop-a.'*
day         on.side = 3    rub-IPF.FUT  rub-IPF.FUT
'After entering, the lion advised her and said to her, "When I go hunt-
ing and come home, you should say [sing] 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte.
Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill]
in the daytime."'

033    antiʔ ʔanka kiɗaa 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɠallaa faayo,
faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo. Soysa faʃfaʃaa faayo faayo.'

*anti-ʔ               an = ka      kiɗ-a         'Faayu*
1SG.PRO-NOM       1 = and    say-IPF.FUT    'Faayu

*faayo,  faayo,  faayo.  ilɗaa     fanɠallaa*
faayo,  faayo,  faayo.  eyes      splinters

*faayo,  faayo.  Kasaraa      faʃʃaanaa      faayo*
faayo,  faayo.  braids       handful        faayo

*faayo. Soysa faffaʃ-aa      faayo   faayo.'*
faayo.  skirt   IDEO-NMLZ    faayo,  faayo

'And I will say, "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo."'

034   **ka assi ollik kiɗin ka ollik kalin**.
      *ka       assi        olli-ʔ            kiɗ-i-n*
      and      like.this e   ach.other-DAT   say-PF-P

      *ka       olli-ʔ           kal-i-n*
      and      each.other-DAT  agree-PF-P
      'They said this to each other, and agreed with each other.'

035   **oo ollik kalin kammaayye, karmaasik kutaymaasinitiʔee aanay.**
      *oo       olli-ʔ            kal-i-n*
      when    each.other-DAT  agree-PF-P

      *kamma-a-yye,          karmaa-siʔ*
      after-LOC-BKGRD      lion-DEF.M/F

      *kut-anaa-sinitiʔ = i            ʔaan-ay*
      hunt-NMLZ-DEF.PL = 3         go-PF[3M]
      'After making the agreement, the lion went hunting.'

036   **Ka oo kutanaasinik kela kalliyo karmaasik ka tika kapa kayay, ipaayyay ka kiinee 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɢallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃʃaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo'.**

      *ka       ʔoo        kut-anaa-sinʔ            kela*
      and      when.3    hunt-NMLZ-DEF.P        under

      *kal-ni-kiy-o                        karmaa-siʔ       ka*
      return.home-IPF.PRES-be-DP      lion-DEF.M/F    and

      *tika     kapa     kay-ay,      i = paayy-ay          ka*
      house   near    reach-PF[3M]  3 = start-PF[3M]       and

      *kiɗ-ni            'Faayu        faayo,   faayo,   faayo.*
      say-IPF.PRES    'Faayu        faayo,   faayo,   faayo.

      *ilɗaa     fanɢallaa        faayo,   faayo.   Kasaraa        faʃʃaanaa*
      eyes     splinters        faayo,   faayo.   braids          handful

*faayo faayo. Soysa faʃʃaʃ-aa faayo faayo.'*
faayo faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ faayo, faayo

'And when the lion was coming from hunting, and reached near the house, he started saying, "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo."'

037    kammaʔ ʔinantasik ka tika karaa ɗesa paayyitew ka kiine 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɢuɗaa ropa, ropa'.

| *kamma-ʔ* | *inanta-siʔ* | | *ikka* | *tika* | *kara-a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| after-LOC | 3SGF.PRO-DEF.M/F | | and.3 | house | in-LOC |

| *ɗesa* | *paayy-t-i-w* | *ka* | *kiɗ-ni* | *'χuutti* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| from | start-3F-PF-again | and | say-IPF.PRES | χuutti |

| *χuutte* | *χutte* | *χuutte* | *ilɗaa* | *χurpannaa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| χuutte | χuutte | χutte. | eyes | logs |

| *χuutte* | *χuutte.* | *Matta-n χutt-ayt-o* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| χuutte | χuutte. | head-INST | be.big-AGENT-VOC |

| *χuutte,* | *χuutte.* | *Kuyyanta* | *ɢuɗa=i* |
|---|---|---|---|
| χuutte | χuutte | day | on.side=3 |

*rop-a, rop-a.'*
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT

'And after that from inside the house, the girl started saying, "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime."'

038    Kammak karmaasiʃ 'ʃilaaynu passannaa pasee' kiɗay.

| *kamma-ʔ* | *karmaa-siʔ* | *'ʃila-aynu* |
|---|---|---|
| after-LOC | lion-DEF.M/F | rock-1PL.POSS.M/F |

| *passaɗ-naa* | *pas=i'* | *kiɗ-ay.* |
|---|---|---|
| detach-NMLZ | IDEO=3 | say-PF[3M] |

'After that, the lion said "O rock of ours be opened!"'

039    ʃilasikka panamay ikka kullay.

| *ʃila-siʔ* | *ikka* | *pan-am-ay* | *ikka* | *kull-ay* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rock-DEF.M/F | and.3 | open-PAS-PF[3M] | and.3 | enter-PF[3M] |

'And the door opened and then he went in.'

040    oo kullay kammaa ʔikiɗaye 'ʃilaaynu luɓɓanna luɓ!'

| *oo* | *kull-ay* | *kamma-a* | *i = kiɗ-ay-e* |
|------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| when | enter-PF[3M] | after-LOC | 3 = say-PF[3M]-BKGRD |

| '*ʃila-aynu* | *luɓɓ-anna* | *luɓ!*' |
|--------------|-------------|---------|
| rock-1PL.POSS.M/F | IDEO-NMLZ | IDEO |

'After entering, he said, 'O rock or ours be closed!''

041    Oore ʃilasikka ɗufamay

| *oore* | *ʃila-siʔ-ikka* | *ɗuf-am-ay* |
|--------|-----------------|-------------|
| then | rock-DEF.M/F-and.3 | shut-PAS-PF[3M] |

'Then the rock closed.'

042    ka oore waasinee kutaye ka leyʃaye ka iʃan kalaye seni laatak koʔni ka ɗammi.

| *ka* | *oore* | *waasiniʔ* | *a* | *kut-ay-e* |
|------|--------|------------|-----|-----------|
| and | then | thing | REL | hunt-PF[3M]-BKGRD |
| *ka* | *leyʃ-ay-e* | | | *ka* |
| and | kill[PL]-PF[3M]-BKGRD | | | and |

| *iʃa-n* | *kal-ay-e* |
|---------|-----------|
| 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST | return.home-PF[3M]-BKGRD |

| *seni* | *laata-ʔ* | *koɗ-ni* | *ka* | *ɗam-ni.* |
|--------|-----------|----------|------|-----------|
| these | food-DAT | do-IPF.PRES | and | eat-IPF.PRES |

'And then, she prepares the things he hunted and brought home for food and they eat.'

043    kuyyaʔta takkaayye, oo iʃak kutaymaaʔ ʔaanayeeyye, innaasuk ka ʔirroosiɗ ɠarpa horeeta ɗawwin.

| *kuyyaʔta* | *takka-ayye,* | *oo* |
|------------|--------------|------|
| day | one.M-BKGRD | when.3 |

| *iʃa-ʔ* | *kut-aymaa-ʔ* | *aan-ay-eeyye,* |
|---------|---------------|----------------|
| 3SGM.PRO-NOM | hunt-NMLZ-DAT | go-PF[3M]-BKGRD |

| *innaa-suʔ* | *ka* | *irroota-siʔ* | *ɠarpa* |
|-------------|------|---------------|--------|
| child-3POSS.P | and | mountain-DEF.M/F | onto |

| *horeeta* | *ɗaww-i-n* |
|-----------|-----------|
| cattle | herd-PF-P |

'One day, after he [the lion] went hunting, her [girl's] brother herded cattle onto the mountain.'

044    innaasinik ka oorine ʃilasiχ χaayʃuɠ ɠaraaχaa ɠeeɗay ka sinɗaa
sinɗaaway.

| *innaa-siniʔ* | *ka* | *oorine* | *ʃila-siʔ* | *χaayʃuʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| child-DEF.P | and | then | rock-DEF.M/F | their |

| *ɠaraaχa = i* | *sinɗaa* | *sinɗaaw-i-n.* |
|---|---|---|
| from.top.donwards = 3 | urine | urinate-PF-P |

'And then, the boy urinated on top of the rock [and the urine flowed down].'

045    oore inantasiʔ ʔipaayyitee kiini ka kiine 'Maanaa sinɗaa
innaannoʔ ʔinnaannoʔ ʔalaawni alaawniʔ?'

| *oore* | *inanta-siʔ* | *i = paayy-t-i-e* | *kiɗ-ni* |
|---|---|---|---|
| then | girl-DEF.M/F | 3 = start-3F-PF-BKGRD | say-IPF.PRES |

| *ka* | *kiɗ-ni* | *'Maana = i* | *sinɗaa* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | say-IPF.PRES | what = 3 | urine | GEN |

| *innaa-nnó-ʔ* | *a* | *innaa-nnó-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|
| child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN | GEN | child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN |

| *alaaw-niʔ?'* |
|---|
| smell-IPF.PRES |

'And then the girl started saying, "What is it that smells like my brother's urine?"'

046    inatasik ka oppaʔ ʔoorri ka kiinee 'Maanaa sinɗaa innaannoʔ
innaannoʔ alaawni, alaawni, alaawni?'

| *inata-siʔ* | *ka* | *oppa-ʔ* | *oor-ni* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| girl-DEF.M/F | and | into-LOC | return-IPF.PRES | and |

| *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'Maana = i* | *sinɗaa* | *ʔa* |
|---|---|---|---|
| say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | what = 3 | urine | GEN |

| *innaa-nnó-ʔ* | *a* | *innaa-nnó-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|
| child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN | GEN | child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN |

| *alaaw-ni,* | *alaaw-ni,* | *alaawni?'* |
|---|---|---|
| smell-IPF.PRES | smell-IPF.PRES | smell-IPF.PRES |

'And the girl repeats saying, "What is it that smells like my brother's urine?"'

047 iʃak ka lokkoote ʃilasiɗ Ɠaraaχa ɗakkaysannee kiini ka kiinee
'inim maanaa nessa Ɠarooti χannok kiini kiini?'

ʃa-ʔ                ka      lokkoote      ʃila-siʔ
3SGM.PRO-NOM      and      slowly      rock-DEF.M/F

Ɠaraaχa             ɗakkaysaɗ-ni-e
from.on.downwards      listen-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

kiɗ-ni        ka      kiɗ-ni-e            'iniʔ
say-IPF.PRES      and      say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    this

maana=i      nessa      Ɠarooti      χanno-ʔ
what=3      voice      Ɠarooti      1PL.POSS-GEN

kiɗ-ni        kiɗ-ni?'
say-IPF.PRES      say-IPF.PRES
'He [the boy] was listening carefully from the rock downwards and then said "What is it that sounds like our Ɠaroote's voice?"'

048 ikka ʃilasiɗ Ɠuɗaaχa lokkoo lekkaɗay ka nessasiɗ ɗakkaysanni.
ikka          ʃila-siʔ      Ɠuɗaaχa           lokkoo
and.then.3      rock-DEF.M/F    from.side.downwards      slowly

lekkaɗ-ay           ka      nessa-siʔ
climb.down-PF[3M]      and      voice-DEF.M/F

ɗakkaysaɗ-ni.
listen-IPF.PRES
'Then, he slowly climbed down the rock and listened to the voice.'

049 oo ɗakkaysanniyo asu nessa Ɠarootee pahta.
oo           ɗakkaysaɗ-ni-yo        asu      nessa      a
when.3      listen-IPF.PRES-3SGM      just      voice      GEN

Ɠarooti=i      pah-t-a
Ɠaroote=3      resemble-3F-IPF.FUT
'While he was listening, it was just like Ɠaroote's voice.'

050 ikka paayyay ka kiinee 'Ɠaroote! Kee ay karaa caa?'
ikka          paayy-ay      ka      kiɗ-ni-e
and.then.3      start-PF[3M]      and      say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'ɢaroote!     Ke-e         aye     kara-a      kiy-a-a?'
ɢaroote!     2SG.PRO.ACC    here     inside-CLF    be-IPF.FUT-Q
'And then, he started saying "ɢarootte! Is it you inside here?"'

051    iʃeennak         ka kiine 'Haaʔ ʔinnaannu anaa aykara ca.'
      iʃeenna-ʔ          ka     kiɗ-ni-e
      3SGF.PRO-NOM       and     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

      'Haaʔ         innaa-nnu          ana-a
      you.know      child-1PL.POSS.P     1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF

      aykara         kiy-a.'
      herein          be-IPF.FUT
      'She then said, "You know our son, it is me who is in here."'

052    ikka 'ʃilaaynu passanna pas' kiiti
      ikka          'ʃila-aynu          passaɗ-na      pas'
      and.then.3     rock-1PL.POSS.M/F     detach-NMLZ    IDEO

      kiɗ-t-i
      say-3F-PF
      'And then, she said "O rock of ours be opened!"'

053    ʃilasikka 'pas kiɗay'
      ʃila-siʔ-ka          'pas    kiɗ-ay'
      rock-DEF.M/F-and     IDEO   say-PF[3M]
      'And the rock got open.'

054    ikka karaa sookti.
      ikka          kara=i        sook-t-i
      and.then.3     in=3         exit-3F-PF
      'And the she came out.'

055    ikka kiine 'maanaʔ ʔaye kooni?'
      ikka          kiɗ-ni-e            'maana=iʔ
      and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   what=2

      aye     koɗ-ni?'
      here    say-IPF.PRES
      'And then, he said "What are you doing here?"'

056    ikka kiine 'Ha awsee aayyaaɗ ɢeetti ka luɢɢisa piɗɗiteeyye anka piʃaaʔ
      ʔanninnooyye, iʃeennaʔ ʔiɢeetti ka kulpaawuppah hooffaa ɢuʔti ka
      inantaadîʔ a feyyaáɗ ɗaassi.

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'Ha* |
|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.FUT-BKGRD | you.know |

| *awsee* | *aayyaa-ʔ* | *ɢeeɗ-t-i ka* | *luɢɢís* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| that.time | mother-NOM | take-3F-PF and | skin.skirt | |

| *piɗɗ-t-i-eyye* | *anka* | *piʃaa-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|
| buy[SG]-3F-PF-BKGRD | and.then.1 | water-DAT |

| *aan-ni-nno-eyye,* | *iʃeenna-ʔ* |
|---|---|
| go-IPF.PRES-1PL-BKGRD | 3SGF.PRO-NOM |

| *i=ɢeeɗ-t-i* | *ka* | *kulpa-awu* |
|---|---|---|
| 3=take-3F-PF | and | calabash-1SG.POSS.M/F |

| *oppa-ʔ* | *hooffaa* | *ɢuɗ-t-i* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| into-LOC | holes | pierce-3F-PF | and |

| *inanta-aɗi-ʔ* | *a* | *feyy-aaʔ* | *ɗaaʃ-t-i.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| girl-3POSS.M/F-DAT | REL | be.well-P | give-3F-PF |

'And she said, "You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition."'

057     iʃeettaá ʔinantaaɗi ɢeetti ka ɗettow ʔoraapatti ka tayti.

| *iʃeettaá* | *inanta-aɗi* | *ɢeeɗ-t-i* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| then | girl-3SG.POSS.M/F | take-3F-PF | and |

| *ɗettow* | *oraap-aɗ-t-i* | *ka* | *tay-t-i* |
|---|---|---|---|
| on.time | fetch-MID-3F-PF | and | go.away-3F-PF |

'That is why her daughter fetched water quickly and headed home soon.'

058     χayya anka oraapni ka oraapni umma immakaannincan.

| *χayya* | *anka* | *oraap-ni* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| mine | and.then.1 | fetch-IPF.PRES | and |

| *oraap-ni* | *umma* |
|---|---|
| fetch-IPF.PRES | INTENSF.NEG |

| *immak-aaɗ-ni=in-kiy-a-n.* |
|---|
| fill-INCH-IPF.PRES=3NEG-be-IPF.FUT-P |

'And I was pouring water into my calabashes again and again but they were not filling up.'

058    anka issik kiine 'Kaata maanin assi patta kala ka luɠɠisoosiɗ ɗapa?'

| *anka* | *issi-ʔ* | *kiɗ-ni-e* |
|---|---|---|
| and.then.1 | self-DAT | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD |

| *'Kaata* | *maanaʔ=in* | *assi* | *patta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| but | why=1 | like.this | only |

| *kal-a* | *ka* | *luɠɠisa-siʔ* |
|---|---|---|
| return.home-IPF.FUT | and | skin.skirt-DEF.M/F |

| *ɗap-aʔ* |
|---|
| lose-IPF.FUT |

'And, I said to myself "But why should I go home without the water and lose the skin skirt?"'

059    anka oraapni ka oraapni umma immakaannincan.

| *anka* | *oraap-ni* | *ka* | *oraap-ni* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.1 | fetch-IPF.PRES | and | fetch.water-IPF.PRES |

| *umma* | *immak-aaɗ-ni=in-kiy-a-n.* |
|---|---|
| INTENSF.NEG | fill-INCH-IPF.PRES=3NEG-be-IPF.FUT-P |

'And I was pouring water into my calabashes but they would not fill up'

060    oore letta ka oppaɗ ɗumti.

| *oore* | *letta* | *ka* | *oppa-ʔ* | *ɗum-t-i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | sky | and | into-LOC | sun.down-3F-PF |

'Then, the sun went down.'

061    anka ɠeeɗay ka hotaartuppupa feyyaɗay.

| *anka* | *ɠeeɗ-ay* | *ka* | *hotaarta-oppupa* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.1 | take-PF[3M] | and | acacia.sp.-into |

| *feyyaɗ-ay.* |
|---|
| climb.up-PF[3M] |

'And the I climbed up acacia tree.'

062    Ka kaysaa ela ɠapay ka karkaa iʃuk kaysaasiniʔ ʔotanta karam mukay.

| *Ka* | *kaysaa* | *ɗela* | *ɠap-ay* | *ka* | *karkaa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | beehive.cover | upward | hold-PF[3M] | and | beehive |

| *iʃuʔ* | *kaysaa-siniʔ* | *otanta* | *kara-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and | beehive.cover-DEF.P | middle | inside-LOC |

*muk-ay*
sleep-PF[3M]
'And I pulled a beehive cover up and was lying between a beehive and the cover.'

063   iʃeedɗaa oorine karmaa ana akkay ka ɗeyay ka kiine 'Kin ɗamam ir-
     roota sakaliʔ ʔanan anta ka a kunɗattatiʔ ʔana lekkissaʔ'

| *iʃeedɗaa* | *oorine* | *karmaa* | *ana* |
|---|---|---|---|
| then | then | lion | 1SG.PRO.ACC |

| *akk-ay* | *ka* | *ɗey-ay* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| see-PF[3M] | and | come-PF[3M] | and |

| *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'Ke=in* |
|---|---|
| say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | 2SG.PRO.ACC=1 |

| *ɗam-a-m* | *irroota* | *sakali=iʔ* |
|---|---|---|
| eat-IPF.FUT-or | mountain | nine=2 |

| *ana-n* | *aan-t-a* | *ka* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.PRO.ACC-INST | go-2-IPF.FUT | and | GEN |

| *kuɗan-ttati-ʔ* | *ana* |
|---|---|
| ten-ORD-GEN | 1SG.PRO.ACC |

*lekkiʃ-t-a?'*
step.down-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT
'And then a lion saw me and came and said: "Shall I climb up or you come down and carry me over nine mountains and let me down on the tenth?"'

064   anka kiɗee 'aʔ ʔana ɗamtu kapaa irroota sakalin kin aana ka a
     kunɗattatik ki lekkiʃa.'

| *an=ka* | *kiɗ-ay-e* | *'aʔ* | *ana* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1=and | say-PF[3M]-BKGD | that.2 | 1SG.PRO.ACC |

| *ɗam-t-u* | *kapa-a* | *irroota* | *sakal=in* |
|---|---|---|---|
| eat-2-DP | near-LOC | mountain | nine=1 |

| *ke=in* | *aan-a* | *ka* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.PRO.ACC=1 | go-IPF.FUT | and | GEN |

| *kunɗ-atta-ti-ʔ* | *ki* | *lekkiʃ-a.'* |
|---|---|---|
| ten-ORD-?-LOC | 2SG.PRO.ACC | put.down-IPF.FUT |

'And then, I said, "Instead of you eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and put you (SG) down on the tenth."'

065 oore iʃeedɗaa awsitee ɗesa paayyatte ollin aye kalan.

| oore | iʃeedɗaa | awsitee ɗesa | paayy-aɗ-t-i |
|------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| then | that | from.that.day | start-MID-3F-PF |

| ollin | aye | kal-a-n |
|-------|-----|---------|
| together | here | live-IPF.FUT-P |

'It was then from that day onwards that they began living together here.'

066 ikka kiine 'Kuliʔ ʔinantaaynu aytamut tikupa ɗeʔta ka inu tooyyita?'

| ikka | kiɗ-ni-e | 'Kuliʔ |
|------|----------|--------|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | later |

| inanta-aynu | aytamu=iʔ | tika-opa |
|-------------|-----------|----------|
| girl-1PL.POSS.M/F | when=2 | house-to |

| ɗey-t-a | ka | inu | tooyy-t-aʔ' |
|---------|-----|-----|-------------|
| come-3F-IPF.FUT | and | 1PL.PRO[ACC] | look-3F-IPF-FUT |

'And he said, "So, sister, when will you come home and visit us?"'

067 iʃeedɗaa olliχ χooraa ɠapin ikka pottaata iʃaɗ ɗaassi ika iʃan kalay.

| iʃeedɗaa | olli-ʔ | χooraa | ɠap-i-n |
|----------|--------|--------|---------|
| that.3 | together-DAT | appointment | hold-PF-P |

| ikka | pottaata iʃa-ʔ | |
|------|----------------|--|
| and.then.3 | pumpkin | 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-DAT |

| ɗaaʃ-t-i | ikka | iʃa-n |
|----------|------|-------|
| give-3F-PF | and.then.3 | 3SGM.PRO.[ACC]-PATH |

| kal-ay. |
|---------|
| return.home-PF[3M] |

'So they made an appointment, and then she him a pumpkin and then he went home with it.'

068 innaasiniχ χaayʃuʔ ʔoo tika kayin itoolak kiine 'Haʔ ʔawwi ɠarooti χannun akkay.'

| innaa-siniʔ | χaayʃuʔ | oo | tika | kay-i-n |
|-------------|---------|-----|------|---------|
| child-DEF.P | 3PL.POSS | when | house | reach-PF-P |

| i=toola-ʔ | kiɗ-ni-e ' | Haʔ |
|-----------|------------|-----|
| 3=family-DAT | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | you.know |

*awwi   ɢarooti      χannu=in        akk-ay.*
today   ɢarooti      1PL.POSS.SG/PL=1   see-PF[3M]
'When her brother arrived home, he said to his family, "You know, today, I saw our ɢaroote."'

069   aappaayʃuk ka kiinee 'eeʃ! ɢarootiχ χattaw toʔtey ayʃaayyee
      kitta akka ɢaroote maanat torrini.'
      *aappaa-ayʃuʔ          ka      kiɗ-ni-e*
      father-3PL.POSS.M/F    and     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

      *'eeʃ!   ɢarooti-ʔ      χatta-w*
      IDEO    ɢarooti-NOM    long.time.ago-already

      *toy-t-i-y             ayʃa     a-yye=i        kit-t-a*
      die-3F-PF-BKGRD        where    -LOC=i         be-3F-IPF.FUT

      *akka     ɢarooti ʔ      a       maanaá=iʔ      torr-ni.'*
      that.2   ɢaroot         GEN     what=2          speak-IPF.PRES
      'His father said, "Keep quiet! ɢaroote passed away a long time, [and] where is she that you are talking about?"'

070   ikka kiine 'awwin iʃeenna akkayin kiini.'
      *ikka           kiɗ-ni-e                    'awwi   =in*
      and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD          'today=1

      *iʃeenna                 akk-ay=in       kiɗ-ni.'*
      3SGF.PRO[ACC]           see-PF[3M]=1    say-IPF.PRES
      'And he said, "I am saying that I saw her today."'

071   ikka kiine 'ayʃaʔi?'
      *ikka           kiɗ-ni-e                    'ayʃa-ʔi?'*
      and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD          where-LOC
      'And they said "Where?"'

072   ikka kiine 'ʃila tokka ɢaraaχan sinɗaa sinɗaawin ka ikka kiine
      'Maanaa sinɗaa ʔinnaannóʔ ʔinnaannóʔ ʔalaawin alaawin?'
      *ikka           kiɗ-ni-e                    'ʃila    tokka*
      and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD          rock     one.M/F

      *ɢaraaχa=n              sinɗaa   sinɗaaw=in      ka      ikka*
      on.downwards=1         urine    urinate=1       and     and.then.3

      *kiɗ-ni-e                'Maanaa      sinɗaa   a*
      say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD       what         urine    GEN

*innaa-nnó-ʔ*                  *a*       *innaa-nnó-ʔ*
child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN         GEN     child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN

*alaaw-i-n*        *alaaw-i-n?'*
smell-PF-P        smell-PF-P
'And then he said, "I was urinating on a certain rock. And then some-one said "What smells like my brother's urine?"'

073    anka ɗakkaysanni ikka nessa Ɠarooti χannúp paha anka
lokkoote lekkaɗay ka ʃilasik kapan sookay.

*anka*           *ɗakkaysaɗ-ni*     *ikka*              *nessa*    *a*
and.then.1    listen-IPF.PRES   and.then.3         voice    GEN

*Ɠarooti*          *χannú-ʔ*              *pah-a*
Ɠaroote         1PL.POSS.M/F-GEN     look.like-IPF.FUT

*anka*             *lokkoote*          *lekkaɗ-ay*             *ka*
and.then.1    slowly         climb.down-PF[3M]     and

*ʃila-siʔ*        *kapa=in*       *sook-ay.*
rock-DEF.M/F    near=1          exit-PF[3M]
'And I listened to the voice and it sounded like that of our Ɠaroote, so I climbed down and got close to the rock.'

074    anka kiɗaye 'iniʔ ʔaynoó nessa Ɠarooti χannoƓ Ɠapa?'

*anka*           *kiɗ-ay-e*               *'iniʔ*     *ayno-ó*
and.then.1    say-PF[3]-BKGRD       this     who-CLF

*nessa*    *a*         *Ɠarooti*       *χannó-ʔ*          *Ɠap-a?'*
voice    GEN     Ɠaroote   1PL.POSS-GEN have-IPF.FUT
'And then, I said, "Who is it that has the voice like our Ɠaroote's?"'

075    iʃeeɗɗaak ka kiine 'anaá aykaraa ca innaannu.'

*iʃeeɗɗaa-ʔ*            *ka*     *kiɗ-ni-e*
3SGF.PRO-NOM     and     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

*'ana-á*               *aye-kara-a*      *kiy-a*
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF     here-in-LOC     be-IPF.FUT

*innaa-nnu.'*
child.1PL.POSS.P
'And then she said "It is me inside here, brother."'

076 Ka 'ʃilaaynu passannaa pas' kiiti.

| *Ka* | *'ʃila-aynu* | *passadʼ-na* | *pas'* | *kidʼ-t-i.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | rock-1PL.POSS.M/F | detach-NMLZ | IDEO | say-3F-PF |

"And 'O rock of ours be opened!" she said.'

077 ʃilasik ka panamay ikka karaa sookti ka akkaa aypa anti piisa ant torriti ka anka kuyyaʔtaa oppaayye tikupa dʼeʔtu kuli ollidʼ dʼapni.'

| *ʃila-siʔ* | *ka* | *pan-am-ay* | *ikka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| rock-DEF.M/F | and | open-PASS-PF[3M] | and.then.3 |

| *kara-a* | *sook-t-i ka* | *akka=i* |
|---|---|---|
| in.LOC | exit-3F-PF | and.that=3 |

| *aye-opa* | *an-t-i* | *piisa* | *an-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|
| here-to | go-3F-PF | all | 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT |

| *torr-t-i* | *ka* | *anka* | *kuyyaʔta=i* | *a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| speak-3F-PF | and | and.then.1 | day=3 | that |

| *oppaa-yye* | *tika-opa* | *dʼey-t-u* | *kuli* | *olli-ʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| in-BKGRD | house-to | come-3F-DP | also | together-DAT |

| *dʼap-n-i.'* |
|---|
| hold-1PL-PF |

'And the rock got opened and she came out of hiding and told me how she ended up there. And then we set an appointment for her to come over and visit us here.'

078 oore kuyyaʔtasik kayti ka toolasik ka tikaayʃuh harmisadʼay.

| *oore* | *kuyyaʔta-siʔ* | *kay-t-i* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then | day-DEF.M/F | reach-3F-PF | and |

| *toola-siʔ* | *ka* | *tika-ayʃuʔ* |
|---|---|---|
| family-DEF.M/F | and | house-1PL.POSS.M/F |

| *harmiʃ-adʼ-ay* |
|---|
| prepare-MID-PF[3M] |

'When the appointment day came closer, the family prepared their house [to receive their girl].'

079 dʼarootidʼ dʼootaa aappaadʼi ayen kinnin malla a dʼeʔnaχ χaʔnittooyye ipaayyiti ka kiine 'attan tika patta ayidʼ dʼiiʃa?'

*Ɠarooti-ʔ*      *Ɠoota=i*      *aappaa-adi*      *aye=in*
Ɠarooti-NOM    that=3    husband-3POSS.MF    here=3NEG

*kit-ni-n*      *malla*    *a*    *ɗey-na-ʔ*
be-IPF.PRES-NEG    reason    when    come-NMLZ-DAT

*χaʔ-ni-tto-oyye*      *i=paayy-t-i*
rise-IPF.PRES-PROG-BKGRD    3=start-3F-PF

*ka*      *kiɗ-ni-e*      *'atta=in*      *tika*
and    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD    how=1    house

*patta*    *aye-ʔ*      *ɗiiʃ-a?'*
only    here-LOC    stop-IPF.FUT
'Ɠaroote's husband was not at home and when she was about to start going to her parent's house, she said "How can I leave the house without anybody inside?"'

080    **Ka Ɠeetti ka sookti ka raaka takka ʃilasiχ χaayʃuk kapaayye Ɠoraa Ɠoroonnitu akkiti ka anti ka ɗehamti.**

*Ka*      *Ɠeeɗ-t-i*      *ka*      *sook-t-i*      *ka*      *raaka*
and    take-3F-PF    and    exit-3F-PF    and    old.woman

*takka*    *ʃila-siʔ*      *χaayʃuʔ*      *kapa-ayye*
one.F    rock-DEF.M/F    3PL.POSS.M/F    near-LOC

*Ɠoraa*      *Ɠorooɗ-ni-t-u*      *akk-t-i*
firewood    collect.firewood-IPF.PRES-3F-DP    see-3F-PF

*ka*      *an-t-i*      *ka*      *ɗeham-t-i.*
and    go-3F-PF    and    advise-3F-PF
'And then she went out and found an old woman who was collecting firewood near their rock, and and she went over and advised her.'

081    **Ka oo aappaawu kalliyooyye ka kiiniyo 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo,' ikkiitaaʔe 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta Ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa' kiɗi.**

*Ka*      *oo*      *aappaa-awu*
and    when.3    husband-1SG.POSS.M/F

*kal-ni-yo-oyye*      *ka*
return.home-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD    and

*kiɗ-ni-yo*                 *'Faayo, faayo,    faayo*
say-IPF.PRES-3SGM      faayo,             faayo    faayo.

*ilɗaa*      *fanɢallaa*      *faayo,   faayo.   Kasaraa*
eyes       splinters      faayo,   faayo.   braids

*faʃʃaanaa*      *faayo   faayo.   Soysa   faffaʃ-aa*
handful faayo      faayo.   skirt    IDEO-NMLZ

*faayo   faayo,'*      *iʔ=kiɗ-t-a-ʔ*
faayo,   faayo        2=say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT

*'χuutti*       *χuutte   χutte   χuutte*      *ilɗaa*
χuutti       χuutte   χuutte   χutte.      eyes

*χurpannaa*      *χuutte   χuutte.*        *Matta-n*
logs          χuutte   χuutte.       head-INST

*χutt-ayt-o*        *χuutte,*      *χuutte.*
be.big-AGENT-VOC   χuutte      χuutte

*Kuyyanta*     *ɢuɗa=i*     *rop-a,*     *rop-a.'*
day         on.side=3   rub-IPF.FUT   rub-IPF.FUT
'When my husband comes and says "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes
like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo," you (SG)
should say, "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-
headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the the daytime."'

082    oo annittooyye, iɠeetti ka hinkiikkataa pohatti ka pohatti ka poruppan
       ɗela luukiyan hakaa tikasee χatta oppaa ɗalatti kaynittuʔe ɠoffallaa is-
       kamman ɗakkiti.

*oo*            *aan-ni-tto-oyye,*        *i=ɢeeɗ-t-i*
when.3       go-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGRD   3=take-3F-PF

*ka*    *hinkiikkata*   *poh-aɗ-t-i*       *ka*
and   *hinkiikkata*   pick-MID-3F-PF   and

*poh-aɗ-t-i*       *ka*    *pora-oppa-n*    *ɗela*
pick-MID-3F-PF    and    road-into-INST  upwards

*luuk-iya-n*        *haka*   *tika-se*     *a*
eat.fruit-VN-PATH   until   house-DEF.M/F REL

*χatta*      *oppa-a*      *ɗal-aɗ-t-i*
long.time.ago    into-LOC      beget-MID-3F-PF

*kay-ni-ttu-ʔ=i*      *Goffallaa*
reach-IPF.PRES-3SGF-LOC=3   skins

*is-kamma-n*      *ɗakk-t-i.*
self-after-PATH throw.PL-3F-PF
'While she was going to her parents' place, she picked lots of *hinkiik-kta* fruits and until she reached the place where she was born, she ate the fruits and dropped the skins behind her.'

083    oo tikan sookteeyee, toolaayʃuʔ ʔalleeta kelapaa iʃeenna kulliʃay ka kanta ɗamtah haliyay.
       *ʔoo*       *tika-n*       *sook-t-i-eyee,*
       when.3      house-PATH    exit-3F-PF-BKGRD

*toola-ayʃuʔ*      *alleeta*   *kela-opa=i*
family-3PL.POSS.M/F   hut      under-to=3

*iʃeenna*       *kull-ʃ-ay*             *ka*
3SGF.PRO[ACC]     enter-DCAUS-PF[3M]   and

*kanta*      *ɗamta-ʔ*      *haliy-ay.*
neighbours   food-DAT      call-PF[3M]
'When she arrived, her parents had her enter into the hut and called the neighbours for food.'

084    Karmaasiʔ ʔoorine ikalay ka kiine 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ilɗaa fanGallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃʃaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo.'
       *Karmaa-siʔ*    *oorine*       *i=kal-ay*
       lion-DEF.M/F   then         3=return.home-PF[3M]

*ka*     *kiɗ-ni*      *'χuutti*
and    say-IPF.PRES   χuutti

*χuutte*   *χutte*   *χuutte*       *ilɗaa*    *χurpannaa*
χuutte    χuutte   χutte.       eyes     logs

*χuutte*   *χuutte.*      *Matta-n*      *χutt-ayt-o*
χuutte    χuutte.      head-INST     be.big-AGENT-VOC

*χuutte,*       *χuutte.*       *Kuyyanta*      *Guɗa=i*
χuutte       χuutte       day         on.side=3

*rop-a,*      *rop-a.'*
rub-IPF.FUT    rub-IPF.FUT

'And then, the lion came home from hunting and said, "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the the daytime.'

085    Kammaayye, raakasik ka paayyitew ka kiine 'χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ilɗaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɠuɗaa ropa, ropa.'

*Kammaa-ayye*    *raaka-siʔ*            *ka*
after-BKGRD    old.woman-DEF.M/F    and

*paayy-t-i-ew*          *ka*      *kiɗ-ni*       *'χuutti*
start-3F-PF-again       and     say-IPF.PRES   χuutti

*χuutte*   *χutte*   *χuutte*         *ilɗaa*     *χurpannaa*
χuutte   χuutte   χutte.          eyes       logs

*χuutte*   *χuutte.*      *Matta-n χutt-ayt-o*
χuutte   χuutte.       head-INST      be.big-AGENT-VOC

*χuutte,*         *χuutte.*        *Kuyyanta*     *ɠuɗa=i*
χuutte           χuutte        day         on.side=3

*rop-a,*        *rop-a.'*
rub-IPF.FUT    rub-IPF.FUT

'And after that the old woman started saying [with a coarse voice], "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime."'

086    ikka paayyay ka kiine 'ee! awwi maanaa ki paayyay ka nessaayti ka assi paha?'

*ikka*           *paayy-ay*      *ka*     *kiɗ-ni-e*
and.then.3      start-PF[3M]    and    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

*'ee!*   *awwi*   *maanaa ki*          *paayy-ay*
Wow!   today   what   2SG.PRO.ACC   start-PF[3M]

*ka*     *nessa-ayti*        *ka*     *assi*
and    voice-2SG.POSS.M/F   and    like.this

*pah-a*
resemble-IPF.FUT

'And then, he started saying, "Wow! What has happened to you (SG) today that your voice is like that?"'

087    Ɠeedi ka Ɠoʔtaayti kara harmisadu!'
*Ɠeed-i       ka    Ɠoʔta-ayti          kara   harmʃ-ad-u!'*
take-IMP.SG  and  throat-2SG.POSS.M/F  in     prepare-MID-OPT
'And clear you throat!'

088    ikka harmisatti.
*ikka           harmʃ-ad-t-i*
and.then.3      prepare-MID-3F-PF
'And then she prepared herself.'

089    ikka paayyayew ka kiine 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fanɠallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faʃfaʃaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaanaa faayo faayo.'
*ikka           paayy-ay-ew           ka*
and.the.3       start-PF[3M]-again    and

*kid-ni-e               'Faayu       faayo,       faayo,*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD  faayu        faayo       faayo

*ildaa    fanɠallaa       faayo,  faayo.  Kasaraa*
eyes    splinters       faayo,  faayo.  braids

*faʃʃaanaa    faayo  faayo.  Soysa  faffaʃ-aa*
handful  faayo    faayo.  skirt   IDEO-NMLZ

*faayo  faayo'*
faayo,  faayo
'And again he said, "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo."'

090    Raakasik ka nessasee paayyutatinnew kiiti.
*Raaka-siʔ            ka     nessa-se        a*
old.woman-DEF.F     and    voice-DEF.M/F GEN

*paayy-uta-tinn-ew        kid-t-i.*
start-ORD-INST-again  say-3F-PF
'And the old woman welcomed the lion with the same voice as before.'

091    ikka miirooday ka 'ʃilaaynu passannaa pas' kiday ka ela kullay.
*ikka           miirood-ay           ka     'ʃila-aynu*
and.then.3     be.angry-PF[3M]      and    rock-1PL.POSS.M/F

*passaɗ-na    pas'  kiɗ-ay      ka  ela   kull-ay.*
detach-NMLZ IDEO say-PF[3M]  and up    enter-PF[3M]
'And then he got angry and said, "O rock of ours be opened. And went into the rock house.'

092    oo kullay raaka kokeettitaa aye ca.
    *oo      kull-ay       raaka          kokeettita=i*
    when    enter-PF[3M]  old.woman      skinny=3

    *aye     kiy-a.*
    here    be-IPF.FUT
    'When he entered, he found a skinny old woman.'

093    Ka ɠeeɗay ka apittuppaɗ ɗela raakasik katay ka ɠeeɗay ka ɲaɠaw ki?ʃay.
    *Ka      ɠeeɗ-ay       ka       apitta-oppa-?*
    and     take-PF[3M]   and      fire-into-LOC

    *ɗela    raaka-si?             kat-ay              ka*
    upward old.woman-DEF.F     throw-PF[3M]         and

    *ɠeeɗ-ay          ka       ɲaɠaw kiɗ-ʃ-ay.*
    take-PF[3M]      and      IDEO  say-DCAUS-PF[3M]
    'And then he threw the old woman into the fire, [and after a while] took her out of the fire and put her in his mouth and then swallowed her'

094    Ka sookay ka ahtasiχ χaaɗi faɗiya paayyay.
    *Ka      sook-ay       ka       ahta-si?          χaaɗi*
    and     exit-PF[3M]   and      wife-DEF.M       3POSS.M

    *faɗ-iya        paayy-ay*
    find-NMLZ      start-PF[3M]
    'And he went out and started to look for his wife.'

095    oo faɗɗiniyooyye ɠolfaa a hinkiikkatá? ?a poruppan ɗela olkammaʃ ʃirfaye?e ?akkay ka ollew aanay aanay.
    *oo      faɗɗ-ni-yo-oyye                ɠolfaa    a*
    when.3  find.SG-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD  skin      GEN

    *hinkiikkatá-?   a       pora-oppa-n           ɗela*
    tree.sp.-GEN    REL     road-into-PATH        upward

    *ol-kamma-?            ʃirf-ay-e?=i         akk-ay       ka*
    together-after-LOC    line.up-PF[3M]-P=3   see-PF[3M]   and

*olle-w*      *aan-ay*      *aan-ay.*
together-again    go-PF[3M]     go-PF[3M]
'While he was looking for her, he saw *hinkiikata* peels which were lying in a long row and he followed them.'

096     **Ka olle aanay ka tikasee ahtaaɗi karpa kulliti kapan sookay.**
         *Ka*      *olle*           *aan-ay*        *ka*       *tika-se*
         and     together go-PF[3M]     go-PF[3M]    and      house-DEF

         *a*       *ahta-aɗi*          *kara-opa*       *kull-t-i*
         that    wife-3SG.POSS.M     in-to         enter-3F-PF

         *kapa-n*        *sook-ay.*
         near-PATH      exit-PF[3M]
         'And then he followed the *hinkiikkata* peels and reached the house into which his wife had entered.'

097     **Ka karpa kullay.**
         *Ka*      *kara-opa*       *kull-ay.*
         and     in-to         enter-PF[3M]
         'And he went in.'

098     **oo kullay kammaa orra lakaytaa ʔakkay ka kiine 'ahtaawu ɗaaʃa!'**
         *oo*           *kull-ay*       *kammaa orra*     *lekayta=i*
         when.3      enter-PF[3M]   after         people   many=3

         *ʔakk-ay*        *ka*      *kiɗ-ni-e*
         see-PF[3M]      and    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

         *'ahta-awu*          *ɗaaʃ-a!'*
         wife-1SG.POSS.M     give-IMP.PL
         'After he entered, he saw many people and said, "(You (PL)) Give me my wife!"'

100     **ikka kiine 'ahtaayti ayen kittu.'**
         *ikka*         *kiɗ-ni-e*            *'ahta-ayti*
         and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD   wife-2SG.POSS.M

         *aye=in kit-t-u.'*
         here=3NEG    be-3F-NEG
         'And they said, "Your wife is not here."'

101     **ikka oppaʔ ʔooray ka kiine 'ahtaawu ɗaaʃa!'**

| *ikka* | *oppa-ʔ* | *oor-ay* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | into-LOC | repeat-PF[3M] | and |

| *kiḏ-ni-e* | | *'ahta-awu* | *ḏaaʃ-a!'* |
|---|---|---|---|
| say-IPF.PRES.BKGRD | | wife-1SG.POSS.M | give-IMP.SG |

'And then he repeated and said '(You (PL)) Give my wife back!''

102 ikka kiine 'ahtayti ʔayen kittu.'

| *ikka* | *kiḏ-ni-e* | *'ahta-ayti* |
|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | wife-2SG.POSS.M |

| *aye = in* | *kit-t-u.'* |
|---|---|
| here = 3NEG | be-3F-NEG |

'And they said, "Your wife is not here."'

103 ikka kiine 'aχχaykittaay kutiʔi ka ḏamta ḏami ka kuliʔin torriyaannay.'

| *ikka* | *kiḏ-ni-e* | *'aʔ = χaykitta-ay* |
|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | 2 = guest-BKGRD |

| *kutiʔ-i* | | *ka* | *ḏamta* | *ḏam-i* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| sit.down-IPM.SG | | and | food | eat-IMP.SG | and |

| *kuliʔ = in* | *torriy-aaḏ-n-a-y.'* |
|---|---|
| later = 1 | speak-MID-1PL-IPF.FUT-BKGRD |

'And then they said, "Since you (SG) are a guest, sit down and have some food, and we shall discuss later!"'

104 ikka kiine 'anheenu. ahtaawow anaḏ ḏaaʃa!'

| *ikka* | *kiḏ-ni-e* | *'an = heen-u.* |
|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRESBKGRD | 1NEG = want-NEG |

| *ahta-awu-w* | *ana-ʔ* |
|---|---|
| wife-1SG.POSS.M/F-only | 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT |

| *ḏaaʃ-a!'* |
|---|
| give-IMP.PL |

'And then he said, "I do not want [to sit down]. (You (PL)) just give my wife back!"'

105 ikka ɢeeḏin ka ahsiχ χaaḏi ɢuḏap palatteewwaa hiḏin ka napan iʃeenna ḏaʔtin.

| *ikka* | *ka* | *ɢeeḏ-i-n* | *ka* | *ahta-siʔ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| when.3 | and | take-PF-P | and | wife-DEF.M/F |

χaadi         ɠuɗa-ʔ         palatteewwaa
3POSS.M/F     on-LOC         pieces.of.cloth.for.holding.pot

hiɗ-i-n       ka       napa-n        iʃeenna
tie-PF-P      and      soot-INST     3SGF.PRO[ACC]

ɗàʔt-i-n.
paint-PF-P
'And then, they put rags on his wife and also painted her with soot.'

106   oore ikka ɠeeɗin ka tuparraa alleeta kelaa ca takka takkaa sookinni ka
      kiine 'iniʔe?'
      oore   ikka        ɠeeɗ-i-n     ka    tuparraa alleeta
      then   and.then.3  take-PF-P    and   girls    hut

      kela=i        kiy-a         takka    takka
      under=3       be-IPF.FUT    one      one

      sook-ʃ-ni              ka     kiɗ-ni-e                'iniʔ-e?'
      exit-DCUAS-IPF.PRES    and    say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD      this.one-Q
      'And then, they started bringing the grils inside the hut out one by one
      and for each girl they said, "Is this one her?"'

107   ikka kiine 'ininninn.'
      ikka           kiɗ-ni-e                'ininninn.'
      and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD      not.this.one
      'And then he said, "Not this one."'

108   opan ka amma apliyaas sookin ka kiine ''iniʔee?'
      opan       ka       amma          apliyaaʔ
                 and      now           another

      sook-ʃ-i-n             ka      kiɗ-ni-e
      exit-DCAUS-PF-P        and     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

      'iniʔ-e?'
      this.one-Q
      'And they made another [girl] come out and asked him "Is this one
      her?"'

109   ikka kiine 'ininninn.'
      ikka           kiɗ-ni-e                'ini-inninn.'
      and.then.3     say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD      this.one-not
      'And then he said, "Not this one."'

110 oo iskatta atooka sookay kammaayye iɢeeɗin ka ahsiχ χaaɗi sookʃin ka
kiine 'iniʔe?'

| *oo* | *iskatta* | *atooka* | *sook-ay* |
|------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| when.3 | women | other | exit-PF[3M] |

| *kammaa-ayye* | *i=ɢeeɗ-i-n* | *ka* | *ahta-siʔ* |
|---------------|-------------|------|-----------|
| after-BKGRD | 3=take-PF-P | and | wife-DEF.M/F |

| *χaaɗi* | *sook-ʃ-i-n* | *ka* |
|---------|--------------|------|
| 3POSS.M/F | exit-DCAUS-PF-P | and |

| *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'iniʔ-e?'* |
|------------|-------------|
| say-IPF.PRES.BKGRD | this.one-Q |

'After the other women came out of the hut, they had made his wife
come out of the hut and asked him, "Is this one her?"'

111 ikka kiine 'aa.'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'aa.'* |
|--------|------------|---------|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | yes |

'And he said, "Yes!"'

112 oorine ikka iʃak kiɗine χaykumak kutiʔi.

| *oorine* | *ikka* | *iʃa-ʔ* |
|----------|--------|---------|
| then | and.then.3 | 3SGM.PRO-NOM |

| *kiɗ-i-n-e* | *χaykuma-ʔ* | *kutiʔ-i.* |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| say-PF-P-BKGRD | guest.ABS-DAT | sit.down-IMP.SG |

'And then they asked him and said, "(You (SG) Sit down as a guest!"'

113 ikka kutiʔay.

| *ikka* | *kutiʔ-ay.* |
|--------|-------------|
| and.then.3 | sit.down-PF[3M] |

'And then he sat down.'

114 Sikkammaa ooree meertaa ɢalin ka uupeeyye ɢeeɗin ka oktaappap pal-
tittaa χarʃin.

| *Sikkammaa* | *ooree* | *meertaa* | *ɢal-i-n* |
|-------------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| after.that | then | fattened.ox | slaughter-PF-P |

| *ka* | *uupe-eyye* | *ɢeeɗ-i-n* | *ka* | *okta-oppa-ʔ* |
|------|------------|------------|------|---------------|
| and | knowingly-BKGRD | take-PF-P | and | pot-into-LOC |

| *paltittaa* | *χarʃ-i-n.* |
|-------------|-------------|
| white.rock | cook[beans]-PF-P |

314

'After that they brought a fattened ox and slaughtered it but instead of the meat, they knowingly put a piece of white rock in the pot.'

115　Ka paltittasicɗ ɓeecɗin ka kiine 'apuyya apuyya kee kokkookeey χooyi ka ɓaraa ɲaχi!'

| *Ka* | *paltitta-si?* | *ɓeecɗ-i-n* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and | white.rock-DEF.M/F | take-PF-P | and |

| *kicɗ-ni-e* | *'apuyya apuyya* |
|---|---|
| say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | uncle　uncle |

| *ke-e* | *kokkook-i-ey* |
|---|---|
| 2SG.PRO[ACC]-CLF | be.strong-PF-BKGRD |

| *χooy-i* | *ka* | *ɓara-a　ɲaχ-i!* |
|---|---|---|
| come-IMP.SG | and | on-LOCdish.out-IMP.SG |

'And then, they said [to the lion] "Uncle, uncle, come and dish out the stuff from the pot as it is you who is strong enough to do so!"'

116　ikka oowsacɗay.

| *ikka* | *oowʃacɗ-ay* |
|---|---|
| and.then.3 | agree-PF[3M] |

'And then he agreed.'

117　oo ɲaχniyooyye, oktaasik ka pacɓti ka piʃaasinikka ɓarap tucɓmacɗin.

| *oo* | *ɲaχ-ni-yo-oyye,* | *okta-asi?* |
|---|---|---|
| when | dish.out-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD | pot-DEF.M/F |

| *ka* | *pacɓ-t-i* | *ka* | *piʃaa-sini?* | *ikka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | break-3F-PF | and | water-DEF.P | and.then.3 |

| *ɓara-pa* | *tucɓmacɗ-i-n.* |
|---|---|
| on-to | be.spilled-PF-P |

'When he was dishing out, the pot broke, and then the [hot] water spilled all over him'

118　ikka akata male lucɓɓay.

| *ikka* | *akata* | *male* | *lucɓɓ-ay.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | very | much | scald-PF[3M] |

'And then he was very badly scalded.'

119　Paltitasik ka iʃa ɓarap pi?ayew.

| *Paltitasi?* | *ka* | *iʃa* | *ɓara-?* |
|---|---|---|---|
| white.rock-DEF.M/F | and | 3SGM.PRO[ACC] | on-LOC |

*piʔ-ay-ew.*
fall-PF[3M]-again
'And again, the white rock fell on him.'

120    Karmaasiʔ ʔoo toʔniyooyye sakaa sakay ka kiine 'oo kokaawu issaltan ʔikka kokooyye Ɠarooti pattaa issalmaa ʔoppaayye huuɓa ɗiiʃeeyye nama a piliya inhuuɓu.'

| *Karmaa-siʔ* | *oo* | *toy-ni-yo-oyye* |
|---|---|---|
| lion-DEF.M | when.3 | die-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD |

| *saka=i sak-ay* | *ka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* |
|---|---|---|
| will=3 will-PF[3M] | and | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD |

| *'oo=iʔ* | *kokaa-awu* | *issal-t-a-n* |
|---|---|---|
| when=2 | skin-1SG.POSS.M/F | peg-2-IPF.FUT-P |

| *ikka* | *kok-o-oyye* | *Ɠarooti* | *patta=i* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | be.dry-DP-BKGRD | Ɠaroote | only=3 |

| *issalmaa* | *oppa-a-ayye* | *huuɓ-a* |
|---|---|---|
| pegs | in-LOC-LOC | pull.PL-IPF.FUT |

| *ɗiiʃe-eyye* | *nama* | *ʔa* | *piliya* |
|---|---|---|---|
| otherwise-BKGRD | person | REL | other |

*in=huuɓ-u.'*
3NEG=pull.PL-NEG.
'While the lion was dying, he pronounced his last wishes and said, "After you (P) spread my skin to dry, nobody except Ɠaroote must pull the pegs."'

121    oo karmaasiɠ Ɠalin ka kokaasiχ χaaɗi issalin ikka kallaptaawnittooyye roopaa ayee ɗeʔni.

| *oo* | *karmaa-siʔ* | *Ɠal-i-n* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| when.3 | lion-DEF.M/F | slaughter-PF-P | and |

| *kokaa-siʔ* | *χaaɗi* | *issal-i-n* | *ikka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| skin-DEF.M | 3SG.POSS.M/F | peg-PF-P | and.then.3 |

| *a* | *kallapta-aw-ni-tto-oyye* | *roopa* |
|---|---|---|
| when | late.evening-VL-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGR | rain |

| *ka* | *aye=i* | *ɗey-ni.* |
|---|---|---|
| and | here=3 | come-IPF.PRES |

'When they slaughtered the lion and spread its skin to dry and when it was becoming a late afternoon, rain was coming.'

122     ikka kiine 'aana ka kokaase a appaase ɠarooti huuɓɓa!'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *aan-a* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | go-IMP.PL | and |

| *kokaa-se* | *a* | *appaa-se* | *ɠarooti* |
|---|---|---|---|
| hide-DEF.M | GEN | husband-DEF.M/F | ɠarooti |

*huuɓɓ-a!'*
pull.SG-IMP.PL

'And they said, "(You (PL)) Go and pull the hide of ɠaroote's husband!"'

123     ikka aanin ka issalmaa huuɓin ka huuɓin ka a oppaa caa huuɓin ma issalmitta tokkaa orra malaalay.

| *ikka* | *aan-i-n* | *ka* | *issalmaa* | *huuɓ-i-n* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | go-PF-P | and | pegs | pull.PL-PF-P |

| *ka* | *huuɓ-i-n* | *ka* | *a* | *oppaa* | *kiy-a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | pull.PL-PF-P | and | REL | into | be-IPF.FUT |

| *huuɓ-i-n* | *ma* | *issalmitta* | *tokka=i* | *orra* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| pull.PL-PF-P | but | peg | one=3 | people |

*malaal-ay.*
be.unable.to-PF[3M]

'And then they went and [started] pulling the pegs from the skin but one peg refused to be pulled out.'

124     opa ka ekkayʃin ka ekkayʃin ka malaalin.

| *opa* | *ka* | *ekkayʃ-i-n* | *ka* | *ekkayʃ-i-n* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and.then | and | try-PF-P | and | try-PF-P | and |

*malaal-i-n.*
be.unable.to-PF-P

'And then they tried and tried but were unable to pull it.'

125     ikka kiine 'Nammay! aana ka ahsiχ χaaɗi haliya ikka ɗeʔtu ka huuɓɓitu.'

| *ikka* | *kiɗ-ni-e* | *'Nammay!* |
|---|---|---|
| and.then.3 | say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD | guys |

*an-a*       *ka*       *ahta-siʔ χaadi*
go-IMP.PL    and     wife-DEF.F    3SG.POSS.M

*haliy-a*      *ikka*       *ɗey-t-u*        *ka*
call-IMP.PL   and.then.3    come-3F-OPT     and

*huuɓɓ-t-u.'*
pull.SG-3F-OPT
'And they said, "Men! Go and call upon his wife and let her come and pull it [the peg] out"'

126    oore ɢarootesik ka ɗeʔti ka takkan tafti issalimittasi.
      *oore*     *ɢaroote-siʔ*          *ka*       *ɗey-t-i*
      then     ɢaroote-DEF.M/F       and     come-3F-PF

      *ka*       *takka-n*      *taf-t-i*         *issalimitt-asi*
      and     one-FREQ     grab-3F-PF     peg-DEF.M/F
      'Then ɢaroote came and pulled the peg at once. '

127    issalmittasiʔ ʔitturaʔee iʃeenna ɢeeɗay ka kokaasiʔ ʔollin moontupa
      tayin.
      *issalmitta-siʔ*          *is-tura-ʔ=i*         *iʃeenna*
      peg-DEF.M/F        self-in.front-LOC=3    3SGF.PRO[ACC]

      *ɢeeɗ-ay*       *ka*      *kokaa-siʔ*     *olli-n*
      take-PF[3M]    and    skin-DEF.M/F   together-INST

      *moonta-opa*      *tay-i-n.*
      sky-to          depart-PF-P
      'The peg took her straight away and together with the skin they departed to the sky.'

128    awsite ɗesa paayyatte ini ɗuutiniyo anka ɢaʔawwaa kiininno, kokaase a
      aappaase ɢarooti.
      *awsite*        *ɗesa*     *paayy-aɗ-t-i*        *ini*
      that.time     from    start-MID-3F-PF    this.one

      *ɗuut-ni-yo*              *anka*    *ɢaʔawwaa*
      thunder-IPF.PRES-3SGM     that.1   thunder

      *kiɗ-ni-nno,*           *kokaa-se*     *a*      *aappaa-se*
      say-IPF.PRES-1PL    skin-DEF.M    GEN   husband-DEF.M

      *a*      *ɢarooti.*
      GEN    ɢaroote

'From that day onwards this thing that thunders and that we call it thunder is the skin of Ɠaroote's husband.'

129   akkamsim minaʔew, awsitee ɗesa paayyatte hankaaɗoosip 'pilliiʃ' ki-
      iniyo ka hankaaʔniyo, iniɗ ƉarƉarootasee Ɠarootí.

| *akkama-siʔ* | *minaʔ-ew,* | *awsite* | *ɗesa* |
|---|---|---|---|
| like.that-DEF.M/F | like.that-again | that.time | from |

| *paayy-aɗ-t-i* | *hankaaɗa-osiʔ* | *'pilliiʃ'* |
|---|---|---|
| start-MID-3F-PF | lightning-DEM.M/F | IDEO |

| *kiɗ-ni-yo* | *ka* | *hankaaɗ-ni-yo,* |
|---|---|---|
| say-IPF.PRES-3SGM | and | lighten-IPF.PRES-3SGM |

| *iniʔ* | *ƉarƉaroota-se* | *a* | *Ɠarotí-ʔ.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| this.one | hair.pin-DEF.F | GEN | Ɠaroote-GEN |

'Similarly, since that day, the lightning that flashes [in the storm] is Ɠaroote's hairpin.'