

Possessive constructions in Tongugbe, an Ewe dialect Kpoglu, P.D.

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1. <u>Nar_Fam.flextext (Narrating the deaf play)</u> fémó ee enū-ó kíyiź mí kpý fíé` Famor ee thing-ART.DEF this PRO.1PL see now Famor what we just saw 1 yé gblò enū yié tútútú kpó ewò lé nònòmètátá kíyié vá yì PRO.2SG FOC tell thing this exactly PRO.2SG.see at image this VENT go nấ dzí upper.section DAT-PRO.1SG tell me exactly what you saw in the film 2 3 nònòmètátá kíyié-ó vá lè yì mè-é this-PL VENT go interior.section-FOC be.at image in the film that was just shown 4 mè kpź bé nùtsù álé tsó agblè-mè vá PRO.1SG see QUOT man ART.INDF from farm-interior.section come I saw that a certain man came back from farm 5 6 váyì wò do dédé té ŋú wò vá nò vá ALTR do work fatigue press-PRO.3SG skin PRO.3SG come VENT be.at:PST anyī ground he went to work he was tired he came to sit down 7 8 9 wò dókóé-é บริบริบริ do REFL-ART.DEF little.by.little stretched himself a little 10 kò edò há ný wũ tá then hunger also COP -PRO.3SG kill-PROG so and since he was hungry as well 11 kò wò srò-ó yź bé né vá dó kplõ then PRO.3SG call-HAB spouse-ART.DEF QUOT PRO.3SG.IMP VENT put table he call his wife so she sets the dinning table 12 tsý asī hé klý wò vá dó kpló né wò PRO.3SG VENT put table DAT.PRO.3SG PRO.3SG take hand IT wash she came to set the dinning table before him he washed his hands 13 14 wò nù tsì-é vī alē PRO.3SG drink water-ART.DEF small ART.INDF he drank a little water 15

kò wò dzè nū-ś dù~dǔ dzí then PRO.3SG be.in.contact.with thing-ART.DEF RED~eat upper.section and he started eating 16 kò wò lé dù dũ wò lé then PRO.3SG COP-PRO.3SG eat-PROG PRO.3SG COP-PRO.3SG eat-PROG nvúíé fánvì well fine he ate and ate really well 17 lế mè kpý bé é vè งริงริงริ nέ PRO.1SG see QUOT PRO.3SG throat hold-PROG DAT.PRO.3SG little.by.little I saw that he almost got choked 18 kò wò trś then PRO.3SG turn then after that he 19 tsý tsì-έ kó kpàlà é dzí-í dè take water-ART.DEF some take rinse PRO.3SG upper.surface-FOC he used water to calm it 20 kò wò dù-í nyúíé fányì enū-5 há víví né then PRO.3SG eat-PRO.3SG well fine thing-ART.DEF also sweet DAT.PRO.3SG so he ate really well, enjoyed his meal 21 wò dý fò kò PRO.3SG full stomach then he was satisfied; then 22 mè kpź bé vī alē vī alē tsí wó PRO.1SG see QUOT small ART.INDF small ART.INDF stay PRO.3PL I saw that he had leftovers between 23 ádúté-mè wò dé fast tooth-inside PRO.3SG remove-PRO.3SG fast his teeth; he quickly took it off 24 kò ké-ò vò-á yékò dé then as-PRO.3SG remove-PRO.3SG finish-TOP and.then and taking it off 25 wò kpź bé fífíé yè dố fò vékò wò yź PRO.3SG see QUOT now PRO.LOG full stomach and then PRO.3SG call when he realized that he was okay, he called his 26

vá fò nū-ó srò-ś bé né kố yì spouse-ART.DEF QUOT 3SG.IMP come pick thing-ART.DEF take go wife to come and clear the table 27 wò fờ-έ kó yì esrò-ó bíέ vá vā PRO.3SG come pick-PRO.3SG take go spouse-ART.DEF VENT ask-PRO.3SG bé 00 QUOT oh she cleared it all; the wife asked him that 28 29 é dù nū-ś dý fò nyúíé haa PRO.3SG eat thing-ART.DEF full stomach well PART was he satified? 30 wò bé oo yè dố fò PRO.3SG QUOT oh PRO.LOG full stomach he answered that yes he was satisfied 31 é ká lé dzí wò bé 00 vè ká ha PRO.3SG swear at.PRO.3SG upper.section PART PRO.3SG QUOT oh PRO.LOG swear lé dzí páá at.PRO.3SG upper.section very.much was he sure? he said he was very sure 32 kò wò fò nū-ś kź yì then PRO.3SG pick thing-ART.DEF take go so she cleared the table 33 yέ-ò bé né-ò yì vò-á né wò à-vá and-PRO.3SG QUOT when-PRO.3SG go finish-TOP then PRO.3SG SUBJ-come he asked that she came back after she deposited the things 34 Ké-ò vá yέ-ò bíέ bé yè ví when-PRO.3SG come and-PRO.3SG ask.PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG child nyànùví-é lé haa girl-ART.DEF Q PART when she came back he asked if his daughter was around 35 36 lé wò bé wò bé né yý-έ né PRO.3SG QUOT-PRO.3SG be.at.PRO.3SG PRO.3SG QUOT 3SG.IMP call-PRO.3SG DAT yὲ PRO.LOG she answered that she was around and he asked for her to be called 37

dèvĭ-é vá wò tsý gbè hē dó nέ child-ART.DEF come PRO.3SG take voice IT put.on DAT.PRO.3SG when the child came, she greeted him 38 wò bíέ bé fź bé haa wò PRO.3SG ask-PRO.3SG QUOT-PRO.3SG wake.up PART PRO.3SG QUOT yÈ fź PRO.LOG wake.up he asked how she was doing, and she said she was doing fine 39 é dù nũ haa wò bé yὲ dù-í é dź PRO.3SG eat thing PART PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG eat-PRO.3SG PRO.3SG full fò haa stomach PART has she eaten yet? she answered yes. Was she satisfied? 40 41 wó 000 yè tàté yè-ś làmè sé bé PRO.3PL QUOT oh PRO.LOG father PRO.LOG-POSS body.inside strong nyúíέ well she said father, i am feeling good 42 43 yέ-ò gbl**à-**é nέ bé yè flè aló vè tsź and-PRO.3SG tell-PRO.3SG DAT.PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG buy or PRO.LOG take he then told her that he had bought or he had brought 44 45 agbalē alē-ś vέ nέ book ART.INDF-PL come-PRO.3SG DAT.PRO.3SG some books for her 46 haa? tàtě-á bé né yè wò bé 00 yέ yó PRO.3SG QUOT DAT PRO.LOG PART father-ART.DEF QUOT oh PRO.3SG FOC she asked if it was really all meant for her the father said yes, all for her 47 48 wò tsʹ-έ nέ PRO.3SG take-PRO.3SG DAT.PRO.3SG he gave it to her 49 wò lè nū srố yế haa bé é PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.3SG COP thing learn-PROG FOC PART he asked her if she was studying hard 50 wò bé yὲ lé srĩ. é lè amè PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG COP-PRO.3SG learn-PROG PRO.3SG COP person bù haa respect-PROG PART she said yes she was studying hard. Was she being polite?

51 wò bé yè éé PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG yes she yes yes 52 nàně-á nyá sề lé bíέ bé mother-ART.DEF hold-PRO.3SG ask-PRO.3SG QUOT-PRO.3SG issue hear-PROG haa PART the mother asked her if she was paying attention 53 sề wò bé yè lé PRO.3SG QUOT PRO. LOG COP-PRO.3SG hear-PROG she replied she was 54 kò wó ts₅-έ nέ kò é vívĩ nέ then PRO.3PL take-PRO.3SG DAT.PRO.3SG then PRO.3SG sweet-PROG DAT.PRO.3SG so they gave them to her and she was happy about it 55 kò wò wò atú né nàně-á wò váyì dzò kplá né then PRO.3SG do hug DAT mother-ART.DEF PRO.3SG ALTR jump touch DAT then she hugged her mother and jumped into the arms 56 57 wó tàté há POSS father also of her father as well 58 yế kò wố dè ŋú bé asī lé á-tá yì so then PRO.3PL remove hand at.PRO.3SG skin QUOT PRO.3SG.POT-can go they then allowed her to go back 59 kò ké-ò bíé esrò-ó yì vò-á yế kò nyànù-ś then as-PRO.3SG go finish-TOP and then woman-ART.DEF ask spouse-ART.DEF when she had left, the woman asked her husband 60 61 62 bé alò mé lè é tsý m-ý ha QUOT sleep NEG COP PRO.3SG take PROG-NEG Q if he was not feeling sleepy 63 wò tsź tá ké bé lè yè PRO.3SG QUOT-PRO.3SG COP PRO.LOG take-PROG so then he said he was, so 64 yè-ś à-vì xò-mè né wó á-vávì mló anvī PRO.LOG-PL SUBJ-go room-inside so PRO.3PL POT-ALTR lie ground they should go into the room and sleep 65

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váyì mló anyī-é fífíé ŋù vá wó vò kè PRO.3PL ALTR lie ground-ART.DEF finish now day VENT open after they had slept the next day 66 67 dèvĭ-é yì sùkú vá child-ART.DEF VENT go school the child went to school 68 kò enū-ś kíyiế wó tsý né-á é lè then thing-ART.DEF this PRO.3PL take DAT-PRO.3SG-TOP PRO.3SG COP vìvĩ nέ sweet-prog DAT.PRO.3SG and what was given her was exciting her 69 mé tsý dèké vá wź tá-á há wó yí PRO.3PL PRO.PR-PL also PRO.3PL NEG take none VENT go her colleagues however did not bring any 70 Sùkú-ś mè-ò school-ART.DEF interior.section-NEG to school 71 ké-ò vá yì-á 00 é vá` dókóé-é as-PRO.3SG VENT go-TOP oh PRO.3SG VENT-COP-PRO.3SG REFL-ART.DEF lé sùkú xòmè tsí grow-PROG at school room-inside so when she went, she started bragging in the classroom 72 73 é-kíyié mé lè sí-ò lè yὲ mìÈ é PRO.3SG-this NEG be.at PRO.2PL hand-NEG PRO.3SG be.at PRO.LOG dèkă yè sí one PRO.LOG hand what you do not have, she is the only one who has it 74 kò ké-ò nò é-kámá-ò fíó wĩ é nò then as-PRO.3SG COP:PST PRO.3SG-that-PL all do-PROG PRO.3SG COP:PST dò-mè vě né-ś tá-á stomach-interior.section pain-PROG DAT-PRO.3PL PRO.PR-PL as she did all that, her colleagues were not happy about it 75 kò dèkă dèkò wò tsó ko tó wó mègbé kò kò zò tè then one just PRO.3SG get.up then walk straight then pass POSS back then one of then just got up, walked straight to her and went behind her 76 77 vá dà dzò wó ágbálé-á dèkă come throw fire POSS book-ART.DEF one and snatched one of her books

78 álíέ káká wò bé yὲ à-trý hέ just.before PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG SUBJ-turn this.way TOP before she could turn this way 79 amè búbǔ há gá fồ é-ké tsý ké wó person another also REP pick PRO.3SG-this PRO.3PL take this some other person took this, picked that 80 wó afòkpà yéyé yié né-ó flè né há POSS footware new this that-PRO.3PL buy DAT.PRO.3SG also má lé lá sī-à 2SG.NEG-SUBJ hold-PRO.3SG at hand-Q instead of holding her new shoes in hand 81 gá tsó-é wò bé yè à-dà PRO.3SG REP take-PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG POT-throw she tried throwing it 82 hátí-é nyànùví há vá tsý deka colleague-ART.DEF girl also VENT take one a colleague girl came to pick one of the pair 83 kò wź há vá lè é flũ then PRO.3PL also VENT COP PRO.3SG mock-PROG there they also started teasing her 84 kò mé dìdì fấ háfí wó gé lé núfíálá vá then NEG take.long too.much before PRO.3PL teacher VENT drop at not long after, their teacher came in 85 wó lé sukú-xó-me-ò dzí PRO.3PL upper.section at school-house-interior.section-NEG on them in the classroom 86 yέ-ò bíź-ś bé wò vá bíé nyànùví-é bé and-PRO.3SG ask-PRO.3PL QUOT PRO.3SG VENT ask girl-ART.DEF QUOT she asked them, she asked the girl about 87 88 nūká-é lè dzòdzõ lé-ś dzí haa what-FOC COP RED~happen-PROG at-PRO.3PL upper.section Q what was happening with them

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yế-ờ fíé asī amé kíyié vá dzò agbālē-á dà and-PRO.3SG show hand person this VENT throw fire book-ART.DEF gbã-tó-é first-PRO.PR-FOC the girl pointed at the person who first snatched the book 90 wò fíé asī-í nέ bé é vá dà dzò PRO.3SG show hand-FOC DAT.PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.3SG VENT throw fire agbálé yè-ś PRO.LOG-POSS book she pointed at him, that he had snatched her book 91 92 kpáó mé nūfíélá bíé wò bé lè é teacher ask-PRO.3SG PRO.3SG QUOT never 3SG.NEG be.at PRO.3SG mè-ò interior.section-NEG the teacher asked but he denied 93 wò dzí bé ká lé ha. wò bé PRO.3SG QUOT-PRO.3SG swear be.at.PRO.3SG upper.section Q PRO.3SG QUOT she asked if he was sure he said 94 95 éé vè ká dzí bé mé lè lé yes PRO.LOG swear at.PRO.3SG upper.section QUOT 3SG.NEG be.at mè-ò é PRO.3SG interior.section-NEG yes, he was sure it was false 96 kpó like né è ké né wò ŋtš è kpź alé nū-ś then if PRO.3SG INT PRO.2SG see like if PRO.2SG see manner thing-ART.DEF là kố wù nu vá yì dé alé è bù bé é VENT go Q how PRO.2SG think QUOT PRO.3SG POT take kill mouth if you observe the actions critically, how do you think it will all end? lè é nuwuwú-é be.at PRO.3SG end-FOC at the end 99 lé wò súsú mè alé è là kpố bế é at PRO.3SG brain interior.section how PRO.2SG POT see QUOT PRO.3SG là vá wu nu-ó POT VENT kill mouth-Q according to you, how will it all end up? le nyè súsú mè-é mè kp⁵ bé be.at PRO.1SG brain interior.section-FOC PRO.1SG see QUOT according to my thinking I forsee that 101 102

nūfíélá là gá yì dzí lé á-bíć bé nè ká teacher POT REP go upper.section SUBJ-ask QUOT FOC swear at-PRO.3SG dzí bé mé vè-í tsź-é-ż ha upper.section QUOT NEG PRO.LOG-FOC take-PRO.3SG-NEG 0 the teacher will go on to ask if he was sure he was sure he was not the one who took it 103 mè kpź bé dèvĭ-é à-dó bé éhoo ŋú PRO.1SG see QUOT child-ART.DEF POT-asnwer PRO.3SG-skin QUOT no i think the child will respond no 104 yiế wố vò amé nú yó-é finish person this POSS thing FOC-FOC but the person to whom the thing belongs 105 yέ há à-gblò-é bé yé-é tsɔ́-έ PRO.3SG also POT-tell-PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.3SG-FOC take-PRO.3SG she will also insist that he took it 106 é wó à-vá á-bíé fíέ bé PRO.3SG show QUOT PRO.3PL POT-come SUBJ-ask so they will ask then 107 né dàsé álé lè-ś sí-á wó á-dó if witness ART.INDF be.at-PRO.3PL hand-TOP PRO.3PL POT-response ŋú PRO.3SG-skin if they have witnesses they will answer 108 109 ná mé hè tò kéké vá dzè àgò-é wá if person any VENT be.in.contact.with fault-FOC PRO.3PL-POT pull ear and the person who is found culpable will be punished 110 nέ lé akpā má mè DAT.PRO.3SG at side that interior.section in that regard 111 ké dèvĭ-é kíyié wó nú nyó wó xò lé sí then child-ART.DEF this POSS thing be PRO.3PL receive at.PRO.3SG hand fíé né-ò yì a*f*è-mè dé nūká là dzò-ó now when-PRO.3SG go house-interior.section FOC what POT happen-Q what will happen to child from whom the items were taken when she goes back home? 112 né vì afè-mè-é if-PRO.3SG go house-interior.section-FOC

113 wó tàté má tsɔ́-έ á-ké-ò POSS father NEG-POT take-PRO.3SG SUBJ-forgive-NEG her father will not pardon her 114 là bé lí-έ é mé be né nū-ò PRO.3SG POT QUOT 3SG.NEG hold-HAB care DAT thing-NEG he will say that she is careless 115 lé nūká tá yó at what head FOC why? há là hè tò né nyúíé fányì tá yé so PRO.3SG also POT pull ear DAT.PRO.3SG well fine so he will punish her very well 116 117 le álé wò váyì wò dò vá flè nū má né kplí gà at how PRO.3SG ALTR do work VENT buy thing that DAT.PRO.3SG and money due to the fact that he toiled to buy her the items 119 wò à-váyì tsɔ́-έ dà lέ wź tó-ś PRO.3SG POT-ALTR take-PRO.3SG throw at-PRO.3SG PRO.3PL PRO.PR-PL á-vá tsý lé gbź SUBJ-VENT take at.PRO.3SG vicinity and she left it for her colleagues to take away from her 120 bé tá mé á-gblò lè yè nú bù m-ś 3SG.POT-say QUOT that 3SG.NEG COP PRO.LOG skin think PROG.NEG he will say that she does not appreciate his efforts 121 tá á-hè tò né nyúíé fányì lé gò má mè so 3SG.POT-pull ear DAT.PRO.3SG well fine at side that interior.section so he will punish her in that regard 122 akpe thanks

2. Sto/Viv.flextext (A spontaneously invented folktale) mí dzè' gòmè PRO.1PL be.in.contact.with-PRO.3SG below.section let us start. 1 mè bé má tó glì ná` PRO.1SG QUOT PRO.1SG-SUBJ pound folktale DAT-PRO.2SG I want to tell you a story. 2 Eglì-é né vá né mí-á sè folktale-ART.DEF IMP come so PRO.1PL-SUBJ hear we are ready to hear the story. 3 Eglì-á nyé bé folktale-ART.DEF be QUOT this is the story: 4 gblò né kèsé nyé xlò ké gbè dèkă-é kèsé bōsò wó vá monkey whale PRO.3PL be friend then day one-FOC monkey VENT tell DAT monkey; whale; they are friends. Then one day, the monkey came to tell 6 5 7 8 9 bōsò lè tà tó bé né vá kpź yè gbź lá whale be.at river edge QUOT 3SG.IMP come see PRO.LOG vicinity PART Tthe whale by the riverside that he should visit him. 10 11 fífíé alé bōsò á-wò káfí á-yì kèsé gbσ-έ now how whale SUBJ-do before SUBJ-go monkey vicinity-FOC now the means by which the whale will go to the money 12 é né kèsé υĒ vá sésẽ PRO.3SG VENT-COP strong-PROG DAT monkey little became a difficulty for the monkey. 13 yέ kèsé gblò né bōsò bé né tró vì nkèkè tó gbé then monkey tell DAT whale QUOT 3SG.IMP turn go daytime third day then the monkey told the whale that he should return on the third day 14 15 16 né yè là vá alé wò là wò á-vá yὲ gbś so PRO.LOG POT VENT how PRO.3SG POT do SUBJ-come PRO.LOG viccinity he will come, the means by which he will come to his end 17 18 yὲ fĭέ gbé ké eŋù kè tútútú kò-à le vékò PRO.LOG COP-PRO.3SG show PROSP then day open exactly then-TOP and then he will teach him. Then exactly the day after, then 19 20 21

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kèsé váyì tsó agblè-nū kó yì tsò tó-ó nu monkey ALTR take farm-thing take IT cut river-ART.DEF mouth the monkey took a hoe and went to the bank of the river 22 23 wò nò edò kũ ví ví ví PRO.3SG COP:PST hole dig-PROG little little little and started digging little by little. 24 né kù dò-5' hã vá υĒ kò tsì-é if-PRO.3SG drive hole-ART.DEF a.little then water-ART.DEF too come whenever he dug a little, there was a little water in it. 25 me né kù dò-5' υĒ kò PRO.3SG-interior.section if-PRO.3SG drive hole-ART.DEF little then tsìé xá water-ART.DEF gather le dò má kù' etsì-é wò ví ví ví le PRO.3SG COP hole that dig-PROG little little little water-ART.DEF COP vù kékéké k5 vá kèsé mè vá wá PRO.3SG-interior.section come-PROG until until take come monkey POSS gòmè tī-έ stick-ART.DEF below.section he dug little by little, and with the water filling the holes, he managed to get the river extended to under the tree 26 gá kè , nyé ŋkèkè tó yékò eŋù-ś gbè kò wò then daylight-ART.DEF REP open be daytime third day then PRO.3SG then, the next day, three days later, 27 váyí gblò-é né bōsò bè fífíé á-tá yὲ gbź vá ALTR tell-PRO.3SG DAT whale QUOT now SUBJ-can come PRO.LOG viccinity he went to tell the whale that he can now come to his place. 28 kò bōsò-ś zò etsì-έ dzí vū kò vá kèsé then whale-ART.DEF walk water-ART.DEF upper.section until then come monkey then the whale swam to the monkey's. 29 gbś ké bōsò và kèsé gbό-έ vicinity when whale come monkey vicinity-FOC when the whale came to the monkey, 30 kó akòdí álé kó dà wó lé atī álé PRO.3PL take banana ART.INDF take throw at stick ART.INDF dzí upper.section a banana was placed on a certain tree. 31

vù dù váí tsố kèsé nyá vè vlì vē yékò yé kè when monkey MOD play play little then PRO.3SG run race ALTR take after playing for a while, the monkey went for 32 kòdi-é lè dùdũ yế bōsò bìè bé 00 banana-ART.DEF COP eat~eat-PROG and whale ask-PRO.3SG QUOT oh the banana and started eating. Then the whale asked him: oo 33 nòví-nyè tsý nū-ý mà dèké nú mà sibling-PRO.1SG 2SG-POT take thing-ART.DEF none DAT PRO.1SG-Q my brother, will you not give me some of the food? 34 yź-ò bé yè-ś yèś dé yè-ś núdú and-PRO.3SG QUOT PRO.LOG-PL PRO.LOG-PL hometown PRO.LOG-PL food ŋ-kíyé be-this he replied that, for them, this is their only meal 35 dé′ lè hấ wó wź be.at PRO.3PL also PRO.3PL hometwon-FOC as for them, 36 dè-ś nò tsàtsã lé tò-mè FOC-PRO.3PL COP:PST roam-roam-PROG at river-interior.section they roam in water. 37 yέ tá ke-ý lè gíyiế PRO.3SG so as-PRO.3SG be.at here-FOC so then, even as he was there 38 nànéké mé lè tó-mè yὲ là kố nέ nothing NEG be.at river-interior.section PRO.LOG POT take DAT.PRO.3SG there was nothing in the river he could give him. 39 Hàlèké-ò yékò bōsò dó dzìkǔ enū yić wò à-kp5 kò-à yet-NEG then whale put.on anger thing this PRO.3SG POT-see then-TOP the whale then got angry before he could say utter a word, 40 41 kèsé klé kòdí-é hế dù fíóó monkey peel banana-ART.DEF IT eat all the monkey peeled and ate all the banana. 42 yékò bōsò dó dzìkǔ kò dzó. ké bōsò dzó-é then whale put.on anger then leave then whale leave-FOC the whale got angry and left. when the whale left, 43 44

bōsò wó súsú váyì gblò né yế xlź bé eyè yὲ whale POSS brain ALT tell DAT PRO.3SG QUOT PRO. LOG PRO.LOG friend má nvé kèsé-é that be monkey-FOC the whale conceived of the idea that, that friend of his, the monkey, 45 46 yὲ yὲ là blé á-ký vá gbź PRO.LOG POT deceive-PRO.3SG SUBJ-take come PRO.LOG vicinity he was going to deceive him to his place. 47 né blé yÈ vá yÈ gbź kò-à yὲ when PRO.LOG deceive-PRO.3SG come PRO.LOG viccinity then-TOP PRO.LOG gbó wù gbé come PRO.3SG.kill PROSP If he managed to lure him to his place, he will then kill him. 48 yέ ké kèsé mé nyá nànéké ò then monkey PRO.3SG NEG know nothing NEG the monkey had no idea. 49 enū yić vá dzà nyé bé bōsò tró kèsé vávì tsì nù thing this VENT happen be QUOT whale turn monkey ALT water drink fé le tó nū place at river mouth what happened later was that, the whale returned (hesitation) the monkey went to drink water by the river bank, 50 ké kèsé nù fé vá yì tsì le tó-nu kò-à then monkey VENT go water drink place at river-mouth then-TOP when the monkey went to drink water by the bank, 51 yékò bōsò hò lá yékò then whale come.up PART then then the whale poped up in the distance, and then 52 wò kpó kèsé yékò` vù dù vá tò-ó-nū PRO.3SG see monkey then-PRO.3SG run race VENT river-ART.DEF-mouth it saw the monkey and quickly came to the bank. 53 hấ né yékò` bé ōyέ vá srá vè kpź then-PRO.3SG QUOT oh PRO.3SG also 3SG.IMP come visit PRO.LOG see Then he said oo he should also come and visit him . 54 55 yέ kèsé gblà né bé and monkey tell DAT-PRO.3SG QUOT Then the monkey told him that 56

ò kpó hā nòví-nyè má vá srá wò oh PRO.1SG-SUBJ come visit PRO.3SG see Q sibling-PRO.1SG wò bé éé PRO.3SG OUOT ves You really want me to come and visit you my brother? he said yes. 57 yò enyè kòdí mè dù-ś ló. wò bé ō tò-tó n-kíć ok PRO.1SG banana PRO.1SG eat-HAB PART PRO.3SG QUOT oh river-edge be-this dé FOC I eat bananas, he responded ooo this is a river bank, 58 59 60 kòdí-tí là vá sế kòdí nế sóŋ lé yὲ banana-tree lot be.at.PRO.3SG PRO.LOG POT VENT cut banana DAT-PRO.3SG there are a lot of banana trees; so he will havest bananas for him 61 gbś wà kó á-yì tò-ó-mè lé yè PRO.3SG-POT take SUBJ-go river-ART.DEF-interior.section at PRO.LOG vicinity so he takes into the river with him. 62 63 yékò kèsé bé yò then monkey QUOT ok Then the monkey said okay. 64 ké nū yiế vá dzò gbè dèkă nyé bé then thing this VENT happen day one be QUOT What happened one day was that, váyì kplò hátí-ý bé né-ś kèsé é vá monkey ALTR accompany PRO.3SG colleague-PL QUOT that-PRO.3PL come yὲ gbź PRO.LOG vicinity the monkey called his friends and invited them to his place. 66 67 wó nò dzòdzõ lá tī-é dzí nò PRO.3PL COP:PST RED~jump-PROG at tree-ART.DEF upper.section COP:PST dzí dzò~dzõ lá tī-é υū RED~jump-PROG at tree-ART.DEF upper.section until They jumped up and down the tress until 68 wá kpý lá kò yékò PRO.3PL-POT see PART then then when they realized, 69

kèsé nòví alé váyì tsó kódí álé wá monkey sibbling ART.INDEF ALTR take banana ART.INDF PRO.3PL mè vè kā person two take a sibbling of the monkey brought two bananas, 70 yē' wò vέ vá tsɔ́-έ né nòví-é dèkǎ come-PRO.3SG and PRO.3SG VENT take-PRO.3SG DAT sibbling-ART.DEF one and he gave it to another sibbling of his. 71 mé dù kòdí-é yékò kèsé ò then monkey NEG eat banana-ART.DEF NEG Then the monkey did not eat the banana. 72 ké nū vá dzò nyé bé amé má hấ gá kpló then thing VENT happen be QUOT person that also REP accompany é xlź PRO.3SG friend búbú yìké nyé lã tòdzó lé ntí yiế-ố yś bé another that be animal this-PRO.3SG call-HAB QUOT cat at skin What happened was that, that person also brought another friend, the cat, along. 73 tòdzó viế mé nò akòdí-é dù m-ś yế tòdzó hấ bé cat this NEG COP:PST banana-ART.DEF eat PROG-NEG and cat also QUOT The cat did not eat banana. Then the cat also said that 74 75 tsý nūdúdú enū yić dzò nyé bé dè dzè bé wá thing this happen be QUOT FOC worthy QUOT PRO.3PL-POT take food búbú kó kpé lé enū-ó nú né yè hã yè-à kpò another take add at thing-ART.DEF skin DAT PRO.LOG also PRO.LOG-POT see dè á-dù ART.INDF SUBJ-eat They should have added some other food on, so that he could also get something to eat; 76 yékò wź tètè wó vá dù akòdùí-é kò eyè hấ then PRO.3PL alone PRO.3PL VENT eat banana-ART.DEF then PRO.LOG also vá tsí ànyì yὲ PRO.LOG VENT stay ground and they have ate the bananas while he stayed without eating; 77 yétá yē` vè mā gá dó hà kplí so PRO.LOG PRO.LOG NEG-POT REP put.on crowd and-PRO.3SG hấ-ò again-NEG because of that, he was no more going to be a friend of his 78

hádóhá hấ-ò gá nyé yè-5 má 3SG.NEG-POT REP be PRO.LOG-POSS play.mate again-NEG he will not be his mate anymore. 79 yé kèsé gblà bé ō alé wó kátấ wó vá vè and monkey tell QUOT oh how PRO.3PL all PRO.3PL come PRO.LOG yὲ gbź-é là wò dòdò lé-ó nú vicinity-FOC PRO.LOG POT do plan at-PRO.3PL skin Then the monkey said that, as they all have come to visit him, he will make adequate plans for all. 80 kéné tòdzó dzó-é when cat leave-FOC When the cat left, 81 yékò tòdzó váyì nò egbè gòmè tefě álé then cat ALTR be.at:PST grass below.section place ART.INDF the cat sat under grass somewhere 82 wò lé nò afì dí né wà PRO.3SG COP:PST mouse look.for-PROG so PRO.3SG-POT catch he was looking for a mouse to catch. 83 afì vić dĩ tòdzó-ś nò né wà lé υū mouse this look.for-PROG cat-ART.DEF COP:PST so PRO.3SG-POT catch until As he looked for the mouse. 84 yékò` kò-à kpź then-TOP then-PRO.3SG see he saw, 85 yέ nò zò~zõ vū kò` yì tò-tó kò PRO.3SG COP:PST RED~walk-PROG until then-PRO.3SG go river-edge then he walked towards the bank of the river, 86 gblò né ee wò kpó bōsò lá-á. ké bōsò vá` PRO.3SG see whale at-PART then whale VENT-COP tell DAT ee he saw the whale in the distance. The whale however had gone to tell, 87 88 89 wó-tź-ź lã hấ-wò bé POSS-PRO.PR-PL animal also-PL QUOT his colleague animals that 90 yὲ lè nā~nā gé kèsé á-vá vè gbź kò-à PRO.LOG COP RED-give PROSP monkey SUBJ-VENT PRO.LOG vicinity then-TOP he was going to lure the monkey to his place; 91

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kò kèsé vá tsí yè gbź then monkey VENT stay PRO.LOG vicinity then the monkey was going to be stuck at his place; 92 kèsé má gá yì wó dé hấ-ò yékò tòdzó se monkey NEG-POT REP go POSS hometown again-NEG then cat hear nyà-á issue-ART.DEF the monkey will not get to go back home. The monkey heard the story. 93 94 tòdzó yé nyá tsì fúfú tá-é cat PRO.3SG know water RED~throw.limps so-PART Because the cat could swim, 95 gblò né yékò tòdzó bé né nyé bé eyὲ yì yà-é then cat QUOT if QUOT PRO.LOG go PRO.LOG-POT-IT tell DAT be kèsé bé monkey QUOT The cat thought that immediately he returned, he will tell the monkey that 96 edð hĩ bōsò là tá và blé gbè dékǎ tá-é some-PL maybe whale POT can come deceive-PRO.3SG day one so-PART the whale could get to deceive him one day; 97 né bōsò vá blé-è yέ hã né dzè ayè when whale VENT deceive-PRO.3SG PRO.3SG too IMP be.in.contact.with trickery and that if the whale decieved him, he should also be cunning. 98 ké sè nyá kò é kό-έ dé kèsé tá-mè when monkey hear issue then PRO.3SG take-PRO.3SG put.on head-interior.section When the monkey heard this, he kept it in mind. 99 gbè dèkă kò enū vić gá vá dzò nyé bé thing this REP VENT happen be QUOT day one then What happened later was that, one day, 100 bōsò gá vá gblò né kèsé bé yè gbà-á gbź whale REP VENT tell DAT monkey QUOT PRO.LOG come-HAB PRO.3SG.viccinity the whale told the monkey that he was coming to visit. 101 yékò kèsé bé ō yè là yì then monkey QUOT oh LOG POT go The monkey then said, he will go. 102

vù kékéké wó kátấ wó yékò kèsé b nò yĩ then monkey agree until until PRO.3PL all PRO.3PL COP:PST go-PROG wó nò yĩ υū PRO.3PL COP:PST go-PROG until Then the monkey agreed; and they went along until 103 ké nū yiế dzò nyé bé wó váyì dó tèfě yìké tsì-é then thing this happen be QUOT PRO.3PL ALTR reach place that water-ART.DEF what happened was that, they got to a place where the water 104 kèkè lá yé bōsò gblò-é nē` bé open PART then whale tell-FOC DAT-PRO.3SG QUOT was very expanded. Then the whale told him that 105 yὲ yè-ś né vá nò dzìmè yé 3SG.IMP VENT be.at:PST PRO.LOG PRO.LOG-POSS back and kèsé vá nò dzìmè né yὲ yè-ś monkey 3SG.IMP VENT COP:PST PRO.LOG PRO.LOG-POSS back he, the monkey, should sit on his back. 106 yékò kèsé lò váyì lè bōsò wó dzìmè then monkey agree ALTR be.at whale POSS back Then the monkey agreed and went to sit on the back of the whale. 107 vū kékéké wó tờ wó dòmè váyì dó until until PRO.3PL ALTR reach river POSS mid.section Then they got to the middle of the river. 108 ké dó tà-á-á bōsò gblò né wó dòmé yέ then PRO.3PL reach river-ART.DEF-POSS mid.section then whale tell DAT bé fífíé QUOT now When they got to the middle of the river, the whale told him that, now, 109 110 111 nūdú-ś hấ vò lé sí food-ART.DEF also finish at-PRO.3SG hand he had no food, 112 nūdú áléké mé gá lè yè là tsố nế sí yÈ food none NEG REP be.at PRO.LOG hand PRO.LOG POT take DAT-PRO.3SG hấ ò again NEG he did not have food to give him, 113

nyé kíyié. yé kèsé gblò né bōsò bē yétá wó sélá*f*é so therefore POSS end.point be this and monkey tell DAT whale QUOT so, this was his end. Then the monkey told the whale that, 114 115 ō nòví-nvè ō mè nvá ò-à oh sibling-PRO.1SG oh 2SG.NEG know NEG-Q My brother, did you not know? 116 117 mí-ś kèsé-5 né mí tsó-é PRO.1PL monkeyPL when PRO.1PL get.up-FOC for us monkeys, when we move, 118 mí kź míś dzì nó yìyì m-ò PRO.1PL take-HAB PRO.1PL heart COP:PST RED~go PROG-NEG we do not move with our hearts, 119 yέ tá enyè nyè dzì tsí e afè-mè PRO.3SG so PRO.1SG PRO.1SG heart stay erm house-interior.section so my heart is back home, 120 wò káfé nyè mà dè dzìmè before PRO.1SG PRO.1SG-POT reach PRO.3SG back even before i climbed unto your back. 121 yế bōsò trō gbl**ò-**έ nέ bé aa and whale turn.back tell-PRO.3SG DAT-PRO.3SG QUOT ah Then the whale told him again that, 122 wó dzì tútútú-í hiế nế yè POSS heart exactly-FOC need DAT PRO.LOG he needed his heart, 123 tsó né yè-ó-tó né yὲ á-yì lã-ś so.that PRO.LOG SUBJ-go take DAT PRO.LOG-POSS-PRO.PR animal-PL so that he can give it off to his fellow animals. 124 yέ wó dzì-í hiế nế yè PRO.3SG POSS heart-FOC need DAT LOG His heart is what he wants 125 né yè tsó né yè-ó-tó lã-ś á-vì né so PRO.LOG SUBJ-go take DAT PRO.LOG-PL-PRO.PR animal-PL DAT wá dù PRO.3PL-POT eat so he gives to his fellow animals so they eat; 126

ké yé tsí gámá then PRO.3SG stay there so he is left all by himself. 127 yέ-ò bé ō eyè-ś kèsé-5 yè-ś lá né and-PRO.3SG QUOT oh PRO.LOG-PL monke-PL TOP when PRO.LOG-PL yè-ś tsó lá dè yè-ò dì-È yè-ś dzì LOG-PL get.up TOP FOC PRO.LOG-PL remove-HAB PRO.LOG-POSS heart ký dà lé dzì káfí nò yì~yĩ take throw at upper.section before COP:PST RED~go-PROG Then he said, for they monkeys, they always leave their hearts in the trees when moving out. 128 yéé bōsò là tró á-tsó kèsé vù kékéké á-vá ký dà so whale POT turn SUBJ-take monkey until until SUBJ-VENT take throw lé gò at bank The whale then brought the monkey back to the shoreline. 129 yέ wò kό-έ dέ vá dà vò-e yé kèsé gblò then PRO.3SG VENT take-PRO.3SG throw PART finish-FOC then monkey tell When he had finished descending him, the monkey told 130 nέ bé nòví-nvè xòlò vódí né nvś DAT.PRO.3SG QUOT sibling-PRO.1SG friend evil 2SG.IMP be him that, my brother, you are a wicked friend! 131 132 mè nyá nū wú-ò PRO.1SG know thing than-PRO.2SG I am more intelligent than you! 133 gíyié kèsé kplí bōsò wó lá-é xl**5**-me nú wù here monkey and whale PRO.3PL friend-inside mouth finish PART-FOC η-kíέ be-this This is how the monkey and the whale's friendship ended 134 akpē thank Thank you 135

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