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Once upon a Time:
A Collection of Five Aghem Folktales

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This article concerns the Aghem language, spoken in Menchum Division, in the Northwest Region of Cameroon.

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1 Introduction

The folktales in this collection were narrated by native Aghem speakers in the Wum area, Wum Central Subdivision, Menchum Division, Northwest Region of Cameroon. Estimates from the year 2000 place the number of Aghem speakers at 26,700.¹ A Grassfields Bantu language in the West Ring cluster, Aghem is spoken in thirteen kingdoms in the Wum area. These tales were told by three storytellers of different genders and varied educational backgrounds, and they were transcribed with the help of native Aghem speakers involved in the Aghem Bible Translation and Literacy Project.

The researcher initially encountered significant difficulty in collecting folktales, making numerous fruitless trips to local sites of presumable cultural interchange, such as drinking houses, farms, and literacy courses. In response to requests (via an interpreter) to produce a story, a variety of speech acts occurred, but none of them seemed to be a story. We were often asked to return at a later date to allow the designated storyteller of the group in question adequate time to prepare. On one follow-up trip motivated by such a request, a gentleman seemed to have very conscientiously prepared something in writing to present, but his offering turned out to be a statement several sentences in length regarding the ways that Aghem culture and tradition are changing. We wondered if this might have been an indirect way of stating – and perhaps apologising for – the fact that he was unable to produce any stories, as Wum is indeed subject to a great deal of outside societal and cultural influences that may detract from the stability and knowledge of traditional Aghem culture within the Aghem community. Since Wum is the Divisional Headquarters of Menchum Division in the Northwest Region of Cameroon, it attracts many outsiders with administrative, business, educational and other purposes. Of course, other possibilities exist, such as the likelihood that people did not feel completely at ease telling a story to someone so foreign to their language community, and in fact, all of our sources ended up being people who knew us relatively well.

Despite the seeming paucity of sources for these tales, the variety of responses that Aghem acquaintances offered upon hearing the recordings of the folktales may indicate that the stories are representative of a range of language skills on the part of the storytellers and demonstrate a variety of Aghem language phenomena. For example, upon hearing the two renditions of “Wandong the Highest Hunter” that we collected from two different speakers, one friend lauded at length the mastery of descriptive language in evidence in the second rendition (the one included in this report) as compared with the first. Conversely, a linguistically aware friend noted several phenomena in these stories that contradicted his sense of correct Aghem, but which he recognised as instances of

¹ Lewis, M. Paul. editor. 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL international. (<http://www.ethnologue.com>)

usages likely motivated by generational language change. Thus, it is our hope that the transcription and analysis of these stories will serve, not only to preserve the valuable cultural heritage that they represent, but also to assist in tracking the evolution of the Aghem language by demonstrating current patterns of usage.

These folktales present themes of cunning, trickery and retribution; lessons about the nature of wisdom and foolishness; and explanations for the physical characteristics of certain animals. The first story, “Kiziṅe Claims to be the Wisest”, teaches that pride and wisdom are incompatible: those who think they are wise probably are not. The second story, “The Tortoise and a Lizard”, cautions that the mistreatment of others may have serious consequences and explains why some lizards have lost their tails. The moral of the third story, “Two Friends: Cripple and Stutterer”, is that what goes around comes around. In the fourth story, “Wandong the Highest Hunter”, trickery is employed by the small to overcome the great. Finally, “The Hawk and the Tortoise” warns that one trick deserves another, and it furnishes an explanation for the markings on the shell of the tortoise and for the segmented body of the ant.

The morpheme analyses of the texts in this collection were greatly facilitated by the work published by Larry Hyman, Stephen Anderson and John Watters in *Aghem Grammatical Structure* (1979)² and by the linguistic work and informal input offered by members of the Aghem Bible Translation and Literacy Project and the Aghem Language Development Committee. We extend our gratitude to them, and to the broader Aghem community for warmly welcoming us to share in their commitment to the development of their language and community.

2 Folktales

2.1 Kiziṅe Claims to be the Wisest

1.1 A **fɪ** **bugho** **an** **tɪ** **li** **kō** , **ghùw** **ù**
 a fɪ bugho -ø an tɪ li k- ō ghùw u
 DS P4 come PFV LOC period of time some 7 OF person 1.AM
lì **ghe** **fɪ** **tɔŋ** **tsìghà** **enyia** **kìzìṅè** .
 lì ghe fɪ tɔŋ -ɔ- tsìghà enyia kì- zìṅè
 certain 3pl.SUB P4 call IPFV HAB COMP 7.A importance
 Once upon a time, there was a person called Kìzìṅè.

1.2 **kìzìṅè** **fɪ** **lo** **êzì** , **ghe** **fɪ** **tɔŋɔ** **wɪn**
 kì- zìṅè fɪ lo êzì ghe fɪ tɔŋɔ -ø wɪn
 7.A importance P4 COP like that 3pl.SUB P4 call PFV 3sg.OBJ

2 Hyman, Larry. editor. 1979. *Aghem Grammatical Structure*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.

enyia kiz̩z̩hè bò' enyia ufughà ù dzim u
 enyia kì- z̩z̩hè bò' enyia u- fughà ù dzim u
 COMP 7.A importance because ADV 8.A thing, material 8.AM whole, all 8.SM
fì lo àz̩z̩jo w̩n
 fì lo à z̩z̩jo w̩n
 P4 COP LOC upon, toward 3sg.OBJ

They called this man Kiz̩z̩hè (importance) because he had everything.

1.3 **Û fì nge kwo enyia E nge kwo**
 u fì nge kwo -ø enyia e nge kwo -ø
 3sg.SUB P4 much know PFV COMP 3sg.LOG much know PFV
aghia ghe n tɔŋlo enyia kiz̩z̩hè
 a- ghia ghe n tɔŋlo -ø enyia kì- z̩z̩hè
 6.A thing, immaterial 3pl.SUB NT call PFV COMP 7.A importance
 He knew that he himself knew many things, so they called him Kiz̩z̩hè.

1.4 **Û ŋ kwo enyia to u mbi win ù**
 u ŋ kwo -ø enyia to u mbi w- in u
 3sg.SUB NT know PFV COMP wisdom 3.AM world 3 this 3.AM
dzim à kì ko ghee
 dzim à kì -ø ko ghee
 whole, all DS have PFV just 3sg.OBJ.LOG
 He knew that all the wisdom of the world was possessed by him alone.

1.5 **A m bùghò tsu' li fo ù sò kwo enyia**
 a n bùghò -ø tsu' li f- o u sò kwo -ø enyia
 DS NT come PFV date other 19 OF 3sg.SUB F1 know PFV COMP
ghî a li gho ghe la'à lu'ũ wila tɔɔ ù
 ghî a li gh- o ghe la' -à lu'ũ w- ila tɔɔ ù
 people 2.AG some 2 OF 3pl.SUB lack IPFV place 8 REL idea 3.SM
lo a te
 lo a te
 COP LOC the

There came another day when he realized that there are other people in the world who lack intelligence.

1.6 **ù m mò'n tsùghù enyia e bo'ò kò'**
 u n mò' -n tsùghù enyia e bo'ò kò'
 3sg.SUB NT think IPFV DIR - down COMP 3sg.LOG carry DIR - up
ndîma ti utò tila e ki e ndûw
 ndîma ti u- tò t- ila e ki -ø e ndûw -ø
 many 13.AM 3.A wisdom 13 REL 3sg.LOG have PFV and go PFV

fêe am bekewin .

fêe -ø am bekewin
sell PFV LOC market

He thought that he should take all the ideas he had and go sell them in the market.

1.7 **U n nim nyi tsughu uto alo**
u n nim -ø nyi -ø tsughu u- to alo
3sg.SUB NT fill PFV enter PFV DIR - down 3.A wisdom LOC

timbìghà .

ti- mbìghà

13.A bag

So he filled bags with wisdom.

1.8 **Su uto am mbìghà , Su uto am**
su -ø u- to am mbìghà su -ø u- to am
stuff PFV 3.A wisdom LOC bag stuff PFV 3.A wisdom LOC

mbìghà , sū , bò'ò kò' alo kituw .

mbìghà sū -ø bò'ò kò' alo ki- tuw

bag stuff PFV carry DIR - up LOC 7.A head

He stuffed and stuffed his wisdom into bags and carried them on his head.

1.9 **Ghia ù bò'ò kò' alo kituw , bwii ko ,**
aṅghia ù bò'ò kò' alo ki- tuw bwii -ø ko
as 3sg.SUB carry DIR - up LOC 7.A head walk PFV just

bwii ko , bwii ko , bwii ko , dzì è tē
bwii -ø ko bwii -ø ko bwii -ø ko dzì è tē
walk PFV just walk PFV just walk PFV just way 9.AG the

ma'â daā .

ma'â -ø da -ā
throw PFV be long IPFV

As he carried them on his head, just walking, walking, walking, the road was long.

1.10 **Ndùw kò' nduw fika' mo fi m bvè**
ndùw -ø kò' -ø nduw fi- ka' mo fi n bvè -ø
go PFV see PFV DIR - away 19.A tree when 19.SM P1F fall PFV

dǎaṅ tsughu dzì .

dǎṅ -a- tsughu dzì

cross IPFV DIR - down way

When he saw a tree that had fallen across the road,

1.11 **Û mo enyia e tsoō ghinlo ênzín to**
u mo enyia e tso -ō ghinlo -ø ênzín to
3sg.SUB said COMP 3sg.LOG really IPFV do PFV how so that

e **tsighà** **si** **kâ'** **fɪn** **a** ?
 e tsighà -ø si -ø kâ' f- ɪn a
 3sg.LOG pass PFV go out PFV tree 19 this QM
 he said, "What should I do in order to pass over this tree?"

1.12 **Kôo** **kî** **m** **buw** **alebùghò** **gbòo** **nùghù** **kò'**
 kôo kî n buw ale- bùghò gbò -o nùghù kò'
 machete 7.SM NT be absent INF come cut IPFV DIR - away DIR - up
 ù **mo** **enyia** **bugho** **e** **bughò** **kā'** **tsughu** **ka'**
 ù mo enyia bugho e bughò -ø kâ' -ø tsughu ka'
 3sg.SUB said COMP if 3sg.LOG come PFV start PFV DIR - down tree
gboō **fo** **fɛ** **eziŋ** **a** **sò** **tsɿa** **kwò** **ghee** ?
 gbo -ō f- o fɛ eziŋ a sò tsɿ -a kwò ghee
 cut IPFV 19 OF here now DS F1 pay IPFV what 3sg.OBJ.LOG
 There was no machete with which to cut it up. He said, "If I start cutting the tree here, who will pay me?"

1.13 **Û** **n** **nùghù** **kò'** **eziŋ** **bwii** **e** **kɪŋò** **è**
 u n nùghù -ø kò' eziŋ bwii -ø e kɪŋò è
 3sg.SUB NT leave PFV DIR - up now walk PFV and DIR - level and
nduw **nyia** **e** **tsoō** **ndûw** **tsô** **fɪkà'** **fɪ**
 nduw nyia e tso -ō ndûw -ø tsô -ø fɪ- kà' fɪ
 DIR - away ADV 3sg.LOG really IPFV go PFV hit PFV 19.A tree 19.SM
bvu'u **ka'** **fɪ** **m** **fũŋ** **sùghò** **wɪn** **ù** **n**
 bvu' -u ka' fɪ n fũŋ -ø sùghò wɪn u n
 break up IPFV tree 19.SM NT punch PFV also 3s.OBJ 3sg.SUB NT
dzɪŋ **kɪŋo** **e** **wo** **bùghò** **ndzù'** **dò'ò** **alo**
 dzɪŋ -ø kɪŋo e wo bùghò -ø ndzù' -ø dò'ò alo
 stagger PFV DIR - level and DIR - toward come PFV plop PFV sit LOC
kitùè

ki- tùè

7.A anus

Then he moved backed so that he could really hit the tree and break it up. But the tree punched him and he staggered back and plopped down on his bottom.

1.14 **Ghia** **ù** **sò** **ghĩŋ** **ko** **èzì** **bughu** **tsughu**
 aŋghia ù sò ghĩŋ -i- ko èzì bughu -ø tsughu
 as 3sg.SUB F1 do IPFV just like that be tired PFV DIR - down
fughu **dò'ò** **tsughu** **fùghù** **èzì** **à** **tsighà** **fɪtsì**
 fughu dò'ò tsughu fùghù èzì à tsighà -ø fɪ- tsì
 there sit DIR - down there like that DS pass PFV 19.A antelope
 He kept on behaving like that, and so he became tired and sat there. Then an antelope passed by.

1.15 **Tsi fī mò â wīn enyīā " ghù kīn ghāa**
 tsi fī mò â wīn enyīā ghù k- in ghā -a
 antelope 19.SM said BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP 2sg 7 this do IPFV

kwò enyī a ?"

kwò enyī a
 what like this QM

The antelope said to him, "What are you doing there?"

1.16 " **Ghù lo alenì kò' mbìghà ghù gā' naŋa**
 ghù lo ale- nì kò' mbìghà ghù gā' -ø naŋa -ø
 2sg COP INF take DIR - up bag 2sg place PFV keep PFV

kò' alo fikà' , ghù kuw tsigha si nduw
 kò' alo fī- kà' ghù kuw -ø tsigha -ø si -ø nduw
 DIR - up LOC 19.A tree 2sg bend PFV pass PFV go out PFV DIR - away

ghù so ndaŋso ni tsigha ndziā am bà kī chí
 ghù so ndaŋso ni -ø tsigha -ø ndziā am bà kī ch- î
 2sg F1 then take PFV pass PFV DIR - ahead LOC half 7.AG 7 that
 ."

"You should take the bag and place it up in the tree. Bend and pass under, then take it down to the other side and continue."

1.17 **Û n dzè â tsi fo â wīn enyia**
 u n dzè -ø â tsi f- o â wīn enyia
 3sg.SUB NT say PFV BEN antelope 19 OF BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP

zòŋ kia

zòŋ -ɔ- k- ia
 thank IPFV 7 POSS.2sg

He thanked the antelope.

1.18 **ù ŋ kùw tsìghà sì e nduw danŋo**
 u ŋ kùw -ø tsìghà -ø sì -ø e nduw danŋo
 3sg.SUB NT bend PFV pass PFV go out PFV and DIR - away then

nì sì tsùghù wò mbìghà gā' tsughu
 nì -ø sì -ø tsùghù wò mbìghà gā' -ø tsughu
 take PFV go out PFV DIR - down DIR - toward bag place PFV DIR - down

alo kituw

alo ki- tuw
 LOC 7.A head

He immediately bent down and passed under it, and then took the bag and placed it on his head.

1.19 **ù fī n danŋo tè mò'n tsùghù nû enyia**
 u fī n danŋo tè -ø mò' -n tsùghù nû enyia
 3sg.SUB there NT then reach PFV think IPFV DIR - down FOC COMP

e mbɔŋɔ là'sò sùghò nù , tsi fi ŋ ghee
 e mbɔŋɔ là' -sò sùghò nù tsi fi ŋ ghee
 3sg.LOG really lack CAUS also FOC antelope 19.SM NT 3sg.OBJ.LOG
 tɔ tsìghà .
 tɔ -ø tsìghà -ø
 be intelligent PFV pass PFV

Then he realized that he was actually also foolish. The antelope was wiser than him.

1.20 Û n sà' tsughu mbìghà è te fughu nì
 ù n sà' -ø tsughu mbìghà è te fughu nì -ø
 3sg.SUB NT scatter PFV DIR - down bag 9.AG the there take PFV
 kò' fɛgha u te wo sàŋlò e ma'a tɔɔ
 kò' fɛgha u te wo sàŋlò e ma'a -ø tɔɔ
 DIR - up thing, material 8.AG the DIR - toward spread and throw PFV wisdom
 ù te wo kwila nyia wò mò ù
 ù te w- o kwìn -a nyi -a wò mò u
 3.AG the 3 OF go home IPFV enter IPFV DIR - toward when 3sg.SUB
 ði wò nù .
 ði -i wò nù
 cry IPFV DIR - toward FOC

So he tossed the bag down, picked up its contents and scattered the wisdom around. He returned home, crying.

1.21 Wi m bvua a win a lo kwo a ?
 wi n bvɥ -a a win a lo kwo a
 wife NT ask IPFV BEN 3sg.OBJ DS COP what QM
 Then his wife asked him, "What is it?"

1.22 Nyia tsi fi ŋ ghee tɔ tsìghà .
 nyia tsi fi ŋ ghee tɔ -ø tsìghà
 COMP antelope 19.SM P1F 3sg.OBJ.LOG be intelligent PFV pass
 He replied that it was that an antelope had more ideas than him.

1.23 A fi lo à fɔm kpe zìazìà fi te fi
 a fi lo à fɔm kpe zìazìà fi te fi
 DS there COP DS be well flavored be correct story 19.AG the 19.SM
 m mìa .
 n mìa -ø
 P1F finish PFV
 It is there that the story has finally finished.

2.2 The Hawk and the Tortoise

1.1 A fī lo tsigha ko nû , t̄l̄l̄ki m bw̄i ùfw̄in
 a fī lo tsigha ko nû t̄l̄l̄ki n bw̄i ù- fw̄in
 DS P4 COP HAB just FOC tortoise NT walk 8.A friendship
ghèe mbù'ù kò
 ghèe mbù'ù k- ò
 ACCOMP hawk 7 OF
 Once upon a time, a tortoise and a hawk were friends.

1.2 Mbù'ù k̄ m mgbee bughò bw̄in kò'ò
 mbù'ù k̄ n mgbe -ε bughò -o bw̄i -n kò' -ò
 hawk 7.SM NT be persistent IPFV come IPFV walk IPFV see IPFV
tsìghà ko w̄in
 tsìghà ko w̄in
 HAB just 3sg.OBJ
 The hawk always came visiting him.

1.3 Ù m̄ , " η gh̄uw f̄n , N s̄o mgbee
 u m̄ η gh̄uw f̄n N s̄o mgbe -ε
 3sg.SUB said my person friend 1sg.SUB F1 be persistent IPFV
bughò bw̄in kò'ò ko
 bughò -o bw̄i -n kò' -ò ko
 come IPFV walk IPFV see IPFV just
 He said, "My friend, I always come to visit you."

1.4 Gh̄u lô mughò bughò bw̄in kò'ò zin a ?"
 gh̄u lô mughò bughò -ø bw̄i -n kò' -ò zin a
 2sg F2 1sg.OBJ come PFV walk IPFV see IPFV when QM
 "When will you come to visit me?"

1.5 T̄l̄l̄ki n dzè â mbù'ù kò enyia k̄ ghee
 t̄l̄l̄ki n dzè -ø â mbù'ù k- ò enyia k̄ ghee
 tortoise NT say PFV BEN hawk 7 OF COMP neg P1,2 3sg.OBJ.LOG
l̄um , è k̄ ts̄o bughò gb̄ilà gh̄u
 l̄um -u- è k̄ ts̄o -o bughò -ø gb̄in -à gh̄u
 rush IPFV 3sg.LOG F3 really IPFV come PFV surprise IPFV 2sg
t̄ s̄e e sō a lô nd̄uw gb̄in k̄
 t̄ s̄e e so -ō a lô nd̄uw gb̄in -i- k̄
 just as 1pl.INCL 3sg.LOG say IPFV DS F2 go appear IPFV mushroom

tō

t- ò

13 OF

The tortoise told the hawk, "Do not hurry me. I will just come and surprise you, just as if we, the saying goes, were to unexpectedly come upon some mushrooms."

1.6 E **kê bughò gbìn ghù** , E **ndô'ò**
 e kê bughò -ø gbìn -i- ghù e ndô' -ò
 3sg.LOG F3 come PFV surprise IPFV 2sg 3sg.LOG really IPFV

dzàa zii yò tsu' fila e kê bughoo a
 Dzà -a zì -i yò tsu' f- ìla e kê bughò -o a
 say IPFV start IPFV neg IPFV date 19 REL 3sg.LOG F3 come IPFV LOC

te alô ghù
 te alô ghù
 the LOC 2sg

"I shall come surprise you. I won't really tell you the date that I will come to you."

1.7 **mbù'ù kî n zuw naŋa ko nù**
 mbù'ù kî n zuw -ø naŋa -ø ko nù
 hawk 7.SM NT hear PFV keep PFV just FOC

So the hawk just took note of it.

1.8 **Tòlòki n dò'ò ko**
 tòlòki n dò'ò ko
 tortoise NT stay just

Then the tortoise just stayed for some time.

1.9 **dzè aŋghuu mbù'ù ko enyia tsu'ntsi gbìlà gbìlà tò**
 dzè -ø aŋghuu mbù'ù k- o enyia tsu'ntsi gbìlàgbìlà t- ò
 say PFV BEN hawk 7 OF COMP Sunday morning 13 OF

enyi e lo gbìnlò nù alô ghù , **kiŋ dzì**
 enyi e lo gbìnlò -ø nù alô ghù kiŋ -ø dzì
 like this 3sg.LOG F2 appear PFV FOC LOC 2sg search PFV way

alekiaān naŋa tsughu ghee e lo bughò
 ale- kianlo naŋa -ø tsughù -ø ghee e lo bughò -o
 INF prepare keep PFV DIR - down PFV 3sg.OBJ.LOG 3sg.LOG F2 come IPFV

nù
 nù
 FOC

Finally he said to the hawk, "Sunday morning I will appear at your house. Look for a way to prepare for me. I will be coming."

1.10 **Tòlòki n nyi ngwuun dò'ò tsughu aŋ kàn**
 tòlòki n nyi -ø ngwun -u- dò'ò tsughu aŋ kàn
 tortoise NT enter PFV curl up IPFV stay DIR - down LOC container, tin

e tìzùw nì wò m̀n̄ ghĩn̄ naŋa kò'
 e tì- zùw nì -ø wò m̀n̄ ghĩn̄ -i- naŋa -ø kò'
 9.AM 13.A honey take PFV DIR - toward gum do IPFV put PFV DIR - up

a zĩŋo w̄n̄ nì wò v̄a ti mbv̄a
 a zĩŋo w̄n̄ nì -ø wò v̄a ti mbv̄a
 LOC upon, toward 3sg.OBJ take PFV DIR - toward feather 13.AM chicken

m̀ghàn nàŋa wò a zĩŋò w̄n̄ b̄om
 m̀ghàn -a- nàŋa -ø wò a zĩŋò w̄n̄ b̄om
 plaster IPFV put PFV DIR - toward LOC upon, toward 3sg.OBJ just

b̀ghò tsũ d̀ò'ò kò' ko alo kizæ'e enyi
 b̀ghò -ø tsũ -u d̀ò'ò kò' ko alo ki- zæ'e enyi
 come PFV crouch IPFV stay DIR - up just LOC 7.A heap like this

Then the tortoise got into a honey container and curled himself up there. He took glue and applied it on himself, and took chicken feathers and glued them on himself. He then just crouched down in a heap like this.

1.11 Mb̀'ù ki n sò gb̄o k̄ŋlo èziŋ aŋghia
 mb̀'ù ki n sò gb̄o -o k̄ŋlo -ø èziŋ aŋ- ghia
 hawk 7.SM NT F1 hunt IPFV around PFV now LOC thing, immaterial

f̄n m̀ dzê enyia e lo b̀ghò nù ne , ù
 f̄n m̀ dzê enyia e lo b̀ghò -o nù ne u
 friend P3 say COMP 3sg.LOG F2 come IPFV FOC today 3sg.SUB

m gbo k̄ŋlo
 n gbo -o k̄ŋlo -ø
 NT hunt IPFV around PFV

The hawk then started hunting everywhere since his friend had said that he would be coming today. So he was hunting all over.

1.12 Ghia ù kò' wò dzĩ v̄a tò , ù
 aŋghia u kò' -ø wò dzĩ v̄a t- ò u
 as 3sg.SUB see PFV DIR - toward CNTR feather 13 OF 3sg.SUB

ŋ kwo enyia à lõ w̄ambv̄a
 ŋ kwo -ø enyia à lõ w̄a mbv̄a
 NT know PFV COMP DS COP offspring chicken

When he looked down and saw some feathers, he then knew that it was a chick.

1.13 Tsè s̄i tsùghù wò kō fi ezi
 tsè -ø s̄i -ø tsùghù -ø wò kō fi êzĩn̄
 sneak PFV go out PFV descend PFV DIR - toward just there like that

edzũŋ b̀ghò shw̄i ko lu'u wila (tsu
 e- dzũŋ b̀ghò -ø shw̄i ko lu'u w- ìla tsu -ø
 GER high come PFV shoot down just place 8 REL take up PFV

tsu ù bugho tsughu tsu wàambvè)
 tsu -ø u bugho -ø tsughu tsu -ø wàa mbvè
 take up PFV 3sg.SUB come PFV DIR - down take up PFV offspring chicken
mò ù fi tsu tɔ̀lòki nyia e tsu
 mò u fi tsu -ø tɔ̀lòki nyia e tsu -ø
 when 3sg.SUB there take up PFV tortoise ADV 3sg.LOG take up PFV
wàambvè

wàa mbvè
 offspring chicken

He sneaked down from up high and quickly took up the tortoise in that place, thinking that he was taking up the chick.

1.14 **Kɔ'** **naŋa** **è** **nduw** , **kɔ'** **pfɛa** **naŋa**
 kɔ' -ø naŋa -ø è nduw kɔ' -ø pfɛa -ø naŋa -ø
 climb PFV keep PFV and DIR - away climb PFV cover PFV keep PFV

nduw alo kikɛa nùghù è wo
 nduw alo ki- kɛa nùghù -ø è wo
 DIR - away LOC 7.A maize basket, big leave PFV and DIR - toward

ŋgɛaa kaŋ (ù fi fughu nduw â
 ŋgɛa -a kaŋ -a- u fi fughu -ø nduw â
 go around IPFV around IPFV 3sg.SUB P4 give PFV DIR - away BEN

wɛ enyia wɛ pfɛa naŋa tsughu a kikɛa)
 wɛ enyia wɛ pfɛa -ø naŋa -ø tsughu a ki- kɛa
 child ADV child cover PFV keep PFV DIR - down 7.A maize basket, big

sò nùghù wò , ŋgɛaa nì kãŋ wɪn
 sò nùghù -ø wò ŋgɛa -a nì -ø kãŋ -a- wɪn
 F1 leave PFV DIR - toward go around IPFV take PFV gather IPFV 3sg.OBJ

â kuɛɛ kō alekiŋ wɛa nlè nyia bugho tɛlendzà sò bugho
 â kuɛɛ k- ō ale- kiŋ wɛa nlè nyia bugho tɛlendzà sò bugho -ø
 BEN wind 7 OF INF look cup drink ADV when stranger F1 come PFV

e sô zɔ' **wɪn a te**
 e sô zɔ' -ø wɪn a te
 3sg.LOG F1 entertain PFV 3sg.OBJ LOC the

He went up and kept it covered it in a basket. Coming back, he was circling around (he had given it to a child to keep covered in the basket). The he left and circled around for fresh air and to look for a drink so that he could entertain the stranger when he came.

1.15 **Tɔ̀lòki n danso tsɛ kɔ' ko kɛkɛa êziŋ**
 tɔ̀lòki m danso tsɛ -ø kɔ' ko kɛ- kɛa êziŋ
 tortoise NT then open PFV DIR - up just 7.A maize basket, big now
bùghò sɪ dò'ò kɔ' e wɪn zō akì uchùà
 bùghò -ø sɪ -ø dò'ò kɔ' e wɪn z- ō akì u- chùà
 come PFV go out PFV sit DIR - up 3sg.LOG 3sg.OBJ 5 OF on 3.A bed

Then the tortoise opened up the basket, came out unscathed and sat on the bed.

1.16 **Wε** **ghi** **n** **lo** **mo** **ghe** **mô** **sàa** **kaŋlo** **abeē**
 we ghi n lo mo ghe mò sà -a kàŋlo -ø abeē
 child 2.SM NT COP P2 3pl.SUB P2 play IPFV around PFV outside
bùghò **nyì** **kò'** **kō** **Tòlòki** **an** **ndughu** **tɔŋɔ** **ko** "
 bùghò -ø nyì -ø kò' -ø kō Tòlòki an ndughu tɔŋɔ -ø ko
 come PFV enter PFV see PFV just tortoise LOC house call PFV just
Paa !
 Paa
 Pa

1.17 **Pa** !" "

pa
 Pa

Then the children who had been playing all over outside came in and saw the tortoise in the house and called, "Papa! "Pa!"

1.18 **tilendzà** **zìlà** **ghù** **mo** **dzaa** **è** **sò** **bùghò** **nù** ,
 tilendzà z- ìlà ghù mo dza -a è sò bùghò -o nù
 stranger 9 REL 2sg P3 say IPFV 3sg.LOG F1 come IPFV FOC
zì **m** **bùghò** .
 zì m bùghò -ø
 9.PRO P1F come PFV

"The stranger who you were saying would be coming, he has come."

1.19 **Tsele** **n** **dzè** **enyia** **ghè** **ya** **sô** **ghaā** **kwò** **kò**
 tsele n dzè -ø enyia ghè ya sô gha -ā kwò k- ò
 father NT say PFV COMP 2pl then F1 do IPFV what 7 OF
kwu **sì** **wò** **ko** **nlo** **mbvɔ** **a** **tsila**
 kwu -ø sì -ø wò ko nlo mbvɔ a tsila
 catch PFV go out PFV DIR - toward just 2pl.IMP chicken LOC underneath
kikĩa .

ki- kĩa

7.A maize basket, big

The father then said, "What then are you doing? Go out and fetch the chicken from under the basket."

1.20 **Wε** **a** **mò** **e** **ndûw** **dza'ā** **kɔ'** **kikĩa**
 we a mò e ndûw -ø dza' -ā kɔ' ki- kĩa
 child 2.SM when and go PFV lift IPFV DIR - up 7.A maize basket, big
shwiiin .

shwiiin

empty

When the children went and lifted up basket, it was completely empty.

1.21 Mbù'ù ki n dzàa " hĩn !
 mbù'ù ki n dzà -a hĩn
 hawk 7.SM NT say IPFV exclamation

The hawk exclaimed, "Huh!"

1.22 Mbvæ e fughu wo â ghè enyia ghè
 mbvæ e fughu -ø wo â ghè enyia ghè
 chicken 3sg.LOG give PFV DIR - toward BEN 2pl ADV 2pl
 pfua naŋa nyia ghe mâa pfua naŋa mbvæ fe
 pfua -ø naŋa -ø nyia ghe mâa pfua -ø naŋa -ø mbvæ fe
 cover PFV keep PFV ADV 3pl.SUB P2F cover PFV keep PFV chicken here
 , à fi lo enyia zì n saŋ a ?
 à fi lo enyia zì n saŋ -ø a
 DS there COP COMP 9.PRO P1F disappear PFV QM

"The chicken that I gave to you for you to cover, did you cover it here? Does it means that it has disappeared?"

1.23 Mbù'ù kǎ n ðim kaãŋ ko enyii
 mbù'ù kǎ n ðim -ø kaŋ -ã- ko enyi -i
 hawk 7.SM NT struggle PFV around IPFV just like this REDUP
 kiŋ kpe'e ko wàambvæ , ghuw ki ndùw tsi
 kiŋ -ø kpe'e ko wàa mbvæ ghuw ki ndùw -ø tsi -ø
 search PFV again just offspring chicken foot 7.SM go PFV pay PFV
 e kò' ù n ndùw è bugho bughò zò'
 e kò' u n ndùw -ø è bugho bughò -ø zò' -ø
 and DIR - up 3sg.SUB NT go PFV and when come PFV entertain PFV
 tsùghu ghùwfin tɔŋ lu'u wila Tòlòki lo a te
 tsùghu ghùwfin tɔŋ -ɔ- lu'u w- ila tòlòki lo a te
 DIR - down fellow friend call IPFV place 8 REL tortoise COP LOC the
 The hawk searched everywhere for another chick. He was fortunate to have another one. He then came back and entertained his friend, called Tortoise.

1.24 Tòlòki mò è zi , mæ nlê kidzûŋ , ù
 tòlòki mò è zi -ø mæ -ø nlê ki- dzûŋ u
 tortoise when and eat PFV drink PFV drink 7.A good, fine 3sg.SUB
 m bvæa â ghùwfin enyia " Ghù sò bwii nù a ñkãa
 n bvæ -a â ghùwfin enyia ghù sò bwii nù a ñkãa
 NT ask IPFV BEN fellow friend COMP 2sg F1 sleep FOC QM or
 ghù sò nùghùn nù a ?"
 ghù sò nùghù -un nù a
 2sg F1 leave IPFV FOC QM

And after he ate and drank well, the hawk asked his friend, "Will you sleep or will you leave?"

1.25 **Ghùwfin n dzaā " êṅgāṅ ."**
 ghùwfin n dza -ā êṅgāṅ
 fellow friend NT say IPFV no
 His friend said, "No."

1.26 **E sô nùghùn ko nù .**
 e sô nùghù -un ko nù
 3sg.LOG F1 leave IPFV just FOC
 "I will be going."

1.27 **U n dò'ò ko enyî alenùghù dzì n sô**
 u n dò'ò ko enyi -i ale- nùghù dzì n sô
 3sg.SUB NT stay just like this REDUP INF leave way NT F1
yo aledzàa ndûw sugho ṅgwò dzì zilā ù
 yo ale- dzà -a ndûw sugho ṅgwò dzì z- ilā ù
 neg COP INF say IPFV DIR - away also kind way 9 REL 3sg.SUB
mò bughò a te .
 mò bughò -ø a te
 P3 come PFV LOC the
 He sat just like that for quite a while, for there was no way to leave nor tell the kind of way which he had come.

1.28 **Tuw ki n sô dîlà enyia ghùwfin sò kele (kind**
 tuw ki n sô dîl -à enyia ghùw fin sò kele
 head 7.SM NT F1 be heavy IPFV ADV fellow friend F1 know
) **ghia e lo mo e ṅ ghinlo .**
 ghia e lo mo e ṅ ghinlo -ø
 thing, immaterial 5.SM COP P3 3sg.LOG P1F make PFV
 He was already ashamed that his friend should know what he had done.

1.29 **Ghuwfin n dzè â wîn enyia to e mô**
 ghuw fin n dzè -ø â wîn enyia to e mô
 fellow friend NT say PFV BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP like 3sg.LOG when
nduw tîma ghù êziṅ .
 nduw -ø tîma ghù êziṅ
 go PFV escort 2sg now
 His friend then said to him, "When may I go see you off now?"

1.30 **ù n dzè enyia zyîṅ tsughu ko nû ,**
 u n dzè -ø enyia zyîṅ -i- tsughu ko nû
 3sg.SUB NT say PFV COMP wait IPFV DIR - down just FOC
zyîṅ tsughu kō nû .
 zyîṅ -i- tsughu kō nû
 wait IPFV DIR - down just FOC
 He then said, "Just hold on, just hold on."

1.31	Û	n	dzè	enyia	ghia	e	lô	fe	ezin	,		
	u	n	dzè -ø	enyia	aŋghia	e	lô	fe	ezin			
	3sg.SUB	NT	say	PFV	COMP	as	3sg.LOG	COP	here	like that		
u	n	dzè	fùghù	mè'è		ndùw	ko	nù				
u	n	dzè -ø	fùghù -ø	mè'è		ndùw	ko	nù				
3sg.SUB	NT	say	PFV	give	PFV	all, completely	DIR - away	just	FOC			
bò'	kwò	ù	ŋ	kò'	enyia	dzìi	yo	dzî				
bò'	kwò	u	ŋ	kò' -ø	enyia	dzì -i	yo	dzî				
because	what	3sg.SUB	NT	see	PFV	COMP	way	REDUP	neg	COP	neg	CNTR

Then he told how he got there; he confessed it all completely because he saw that there was no other way.

1.32	Û	n	dzè	fùghù	ndùw	â	ghùwfin	nyia			
	u	n	dzè -ø	fùghù -ø	ndùw	â	ghùw fin	nyia			
	3sg.SUB	NT	say	PFV	give	PFV	DIR - away	BEN	fellow friend	COMP	
"	ghia	è	lô	fe	ezin	dzì	mò	yò	dzî	â	
	aŋghia	è	lô	fe	ezin	dzì	mò	yò	dzî	â	
	as	3sg.LOG	COP	here	like that	way	P2	neg	COP	CNTR	BEN
mùghò	alebùghò	kò'5		kò'	ghù	fe		"			
mùghò	ale-	bùghò	kò' -5	kò' -ø	ghù	fe					
1sg.OBJ	INF	come	climb	IPFV	see	PFV	2sg	here			

He confessed to his friend, "As I am here now, there was no way for me to come up and see you here."

1.33	E	mô	fe	dzê	enyi	E	nyĩŋ	ghĩŋ				
	e	mò	fe	dzê -ø	enyi	e	nyĩŋ -ĩ-	ghĩŋ -i-				
	3sg.LOG	when	here	say	PFV	like this	3sg.LOG	run	IPFV	make	IPFV	
tsùghuu	kô	tò	wín	enyi	e	bugho	kô'	lu'u				
tsùghu	-u	kô	tò	w- in	enyi	e	bugho -ø	kô' -ø	lu'u			
descend	IPFV	just	idea	3	this	like this	and	come	PFV	see	PFV	place
kíá	kílà	ghù	mùghù	a	te							
k- íá	k- ìlà	ghù	mùghù	a	te							
7	POSS.2sg	7	REL	2sg	live	LOC	the					

When he said that he was really struggling to come up with this idea to come see the place where he lived,

1.34	A	n	lo	mo	nəgha	wǐ	m	pfà	boon	mbù'ù		
	a	n	lo	mo	nəgha	wǐ	n	pfà -ø	bon -o-	mbù'ù		
	DS	NT	COP	P3	stomach	3.SM	NT	burn	PFV	hurt	IPFV	hawk
kò	enyia	ghù	fe	tsoo		ghĩŋ	kílà	ghia				
k- ò	enyia	ghù	fe	tso	-o	ghĩŋ -i-	k- ìlà	ghia				
7	OF	ADV	2sg	here	really	IPFV	make	IPFV	7	REL	thing, immaterial	

ghin aziño ghee enyi a ?

gh- in a ziño ghee enyi a
6 this LOC upon, toward 3sg.OBJ.LOG like this QM

The hawk's stomach was churning. How could he do this kind of thing to him like that?

1.35 **Û n dzè â mbù'ù kò enyia tsughu**
u n dzè -ø â mbù'ù k- ò enyia tsughu -ø
3sg.SUB NT say PFV BEN hawk 7 OF COMP descend PFV

dzăa ndùw aṅghulô wi ù ghee enyia ù
dză -a ndùw aṅghulô wi ù ghee enyia ù
say IPFV DIR - away BEN wife 1.AM 3sg.OBJ.LOG COMP 3sg.SUB

naṅa tsughu ufəgha alo kibe , ghe zîi
naṅa -ø tsughu u- fəgha alo ki- be ghe zîi
put PFV DIR - down 8.A thing, material LOC 7.A compound 3pl.SUB start

naṅa tsughu fəghà ù bùghùn wō tò N sô
naṅa -ø tsughu fəghà ù bùghùn w- ò tò n sô
put PFV DIR - down thing, material 8.AG soften 8 OF so that 1sg.SUB F1

nughù sīa tsughu wô , M bughô
nughù -ø sī -a tsughu -ø wô M bughô -ø
leave PFV go out IPFV descend PFV DIR - toward 1sg.SUB come PFV

bvâa tsughu a tē .
bvâ -a tsughu a tē
fall IPFV DIR - down LOC the

He then told the hawk to go down and tell his wife that she should put things down in the compound. They should lay down things that are soft, so he might fall down on them.

1.36 **Mbù'ù kî mò e nduw tsughu dzê aṅghûu**
mbù'ù kî mò e nduw -ø tsughu -ø dzê -ø aṅ- ghûu
hawk 7.SM when and go PFV descend PFV say PFV LOC hand

wî ù tɔ̀lòki enyia num wâa dzê enyia e
wî ù tɔ̀lòki enyia num w- âa dzê -ø enyia e
wife 1.AM tortoise COMP husband 1 POSS.2sg say PFV COMP 3sg.LOG

sò è tsoō dêe tsughu da'a kî wîn kila
sò è tso -ō dê -e tsughu da'a kî wîn k- ila
F1 HORT really IPFV show IPFV DIR - down power 7.AM 3sg.OBJ 7 REL

e ki tsìghà nē .
e ki -ø tsìghà nē
3sg.LOG have PFV HAB today

But when the hawk went down, he told the tortoise's wife that her husband said that he really wanted to show his power today.

1.37 **Ghia e lo mo e tso lò tsigha tǒ figbin**
aṅghia e lo mo e tso lò tsigha tǒ fî- gbin
as 3sg.LOG COP P2 3sg.LOG really COP HAB like 19.A cat

“And as he has always been just like a cat,

1.38 **Nyia tiin naŋa kaāŋ tsìgha nlò ghon**
 nyi -a ti -in naŋa -ø kaŋ -ā- tsìgha -ø nlò ghon
 enter IPFV pin IPFV put PFV around IPFV pass PFV 2pl.IMP spear
gho , kwanj u tisò' , ukôo
 gh- o kwanj u ti- sò' u- kôo
 6 OF piece 8.AM 13.A bottle 8.A machete
 go pin spears, pieces of broken bottles and machetes all over.”

1.39 **Ghè tiin naŋa kaŋ wo**
 ghè ti -in naŋa -ø kaŋ -a- wo
 2pl pin IPFV put PFV around IPFV DIR - toward
 “You should pin them everywhere.”

1.40 **E so e tsoō bughò dèe tsughu**
 e so e tso -ō bughò -ø dè -e tsughu
 3sg.LOG F1 3sg.LOG really IPFV come PFV show IPFV DIR - down
da'a ki ghee ne
 da'a ki ghee ne
 power 7.AM 3sg.OBJ.LOG today
 “Today he really wants to show his power.”

1.41 **Tòlòki n ndùw nughù sì tsughù wò**
 tòlòki n ndùw -ø nughù -ø sì -ø tsughù wò
 tortoise NT go PFV leave PFV go out PFV DIR - down DIR - toward
to a fi ezi èdzūŋ tsughù bvè tsu'nlo
 to a fi êzìn è- dzūŋ tsughù -ø bvè -ø tsu' -nlo
 like LOC there like that GER high descend PFV fall PFV pierce ITER
ùghue fè alo aghòŋ , kwanj ù tisò'
 ù- ghue fè alo a- ghòŋ kwanj u ti- sò'
 3.A body here LOC 6.A spear piece 8.AM 13.A bottle
 The tortoise then went down from right up there and fell and pierced his body on the spears and pieces of broken bottles.

1.42 **Ghù kò'o ghue u win u lô kaāŋ tsìghà**
 ghù kò' -o ghue u win u lô kaŋ -ā- tsìghà
 2sg see IPFV body 3.AM 3sg.OBJ 3sg.SUB COP around IPFV HAB
ezî kuukuu a fi lo ghia ù fî nughù
 ezî kuukuu a fi lo aŋghia ù fî nughù -ø
 like that rough, marked DS there COP since 3sg.SUB P4 leave PFV
sî tsughu wo tsughu bàn kanjo
 sî -ø tsughu -ø wo tsughu bàn -a- kanjo -ø
 go out PFV descend PFV DIR - toward DIR - down shred IPFV around PFV

ùghue

ù- ghue

3.A body

You see, his body is rough all over because he went down and cut his body all over.

1.43 **Ghùw wàlà ù bùghò bighasi wān à lò**
 ghùw w- àlà u bùghò -ø bighasi -ø wān à lò
 person 1 REL 3sg.SUB come PFV save, rescue PFV 3sg.OBJ DS COP

kiḡiḡobvəbvə

ki- ḡiḡobvəbvə

7.A ant

The person who saved him was the ant.

1.44 **ḡiḡobvəbvə ki sô tsìgha wān â dzi bùghò kò'**
 ḡiḡobvəbvə ki sô tsìgha wān â dzi bùghò -ø kò' -ø
 ant 7.SM F1 pass 3sg.OBJ LOC way come PFV see PFV

wò ḡhia Tòlòki lo a te mò ù n
 wò aḡhia Tòlòki lo a te mò u n
 DIR - toward as tortoise COP LOC the P2 3sg.SUB NT

soōm dò'ò kaḡlo alo ushom , alo ushom
 som -ō- dò'ò kaḡlo alo u- shom alo u- shom
 break into pieces IPFV sit around LOC 8.A piece LOC 8.A piece

The ant was passing along the road and came sand saw how the tortoise was sitting broken all over in pieces.

1.45 **ḡiḡobvəbvə ki kuuwn kuum kaḡ wò ko**
 ḡiḡobvəbvə ki kuwn -u- kum -u- kaḡ -a- wò ko
 ant 7.SM change IPFV pick IPFV around IPFV DIR - toward just
wān nyùḡ kaḡ ko wān , nyùḡ kǎḡ ko
 wān nyùḡ -u- kaḡ -a- ko wān nyùḡ -u- kǎḡ -a- ko
 3sg.OBJ join IPFV around IPFV just 3sg.OBJ join IPFV around IPFV just

wān enyi
 wān enyi
 3sg.OBJ like this

The ant collected and shuffled the pieces around and patched him back up like so.

1.46 **ḡiḡobvəbvə ki kuuwn bùghò tè kò' êziḡ**
 ḡiḡobvəbvə ki kuwn -u- bùghò -ø tè -ø kò' êziḡ
 ant 7.SM change IPFV come PFV reach PFV DIR - up now

alebùghò kīaa wān
 ale- bùghò kia -a wān
 INF come speak IPFV price

The ant now came frequently to ask him to pay that debt.

1.47 Û n dzàa " ho !
 ù n dzà -a ho
 3sg.SUB NT say IPFV exclamation
 He exclaimed, "Ho!"

1.48 O abo ghia ghù mò tso bughò ghiiŋ kɔ'
 o abo aŋghia ghù mò tso bughò -ø ghiiŋ -i- kɔ'
 oh man, boy as 2sg P2 really come PFV make IPFV DIR - up
 fi mò ghù nyàaŋ tɔɔ' enyi ghù vaa ù kòm
 fi mò ghù nyàaŋ tɔɔ' enyi ghù vaa u kòm -o-
 there when 2sg be small like this 2sg then 3sg.SUB return IPFV
 bughò nūmso ghee tsu'u min n dzim
 bughò -ø nūmso -ø ghee tsu'u m- in n dzim
 come PFV pressure PFV 3sg.OBJ.LOG date 6a this 6a.AM whole, all
 "Oh boy! As small as you are, you come every day to pressure me.

1.49 Tsu'u min n dzim , tsù'u min n dzim ghù
 tsu'u m- in n dzim tsù'u m- in n dzim ghù
 date 6a this 6a.AG whole, all date 6a this 6a.AG whole, all 2sg
 e bughò nūmso ghee , ù ŋ kwù
 e bughò -ø nūmso -ø ghee ù ŋ kwù -ø
 HORT come PFV pressure PFV 3sg.OBJ.LOG 3sg.SUB NT hold PFV
 sɪ wò sùghò kigiŋobvəbvə enyi , kwù
 sɪ -ø wò sùghò kɪ- giŋobvəbvə enyi kwù -ø
 go out PFV DIR - toward also 7.A ant like this hold PFV
 sɪ è wo te tsughu enyi
 sɪ -ø è wo te -ø tsùghù -ø enyi
 go out PFV and DIR - toward cut PFV DIR - down PFV like this
 kòm bɔɔm nyùŋ nyì wò sùghò èbàm
 kòm -o- bɔɔm nyùŋ -ø nyì -ø wò sùghò èbàm
 turn around IPFV just join PFV enter PFV DIR - toward also back
 "Every day, every day, you come to pressure me." And he held out the ant like so, and as he held it out, he cut it off and just joined it back together again.

1.50 Ghù kò'ò ghia giŋobvəbvə ki bùghò tsughu nyàaŋ tō
 ghù kò' -ò aŋghia giŋobvəbvə ki bùghò -ø tsughu -ø nyàaŋ tō
 2sg see IPFV as ant 7.SM come PFV descend PFV be small
 tsughu fɛ alo fitùu , bùghò kò' dùw
 tsughu fɛ alo fi- tùu bùghò -ø kò' dùw -ø
 DIR - down here LOC 19.A abdomen come PFV DIR - up get big PFV
 tsùghù fɛ
 tsùghù fɛ
 DIR - down here
 You see that the ant becomes smaller at the abdomen and then becomes bigger here.

1.51 à fɪ fɛ tsi si sugho wɪn tū' e te
à fɪ fɛ tsi -ø si -ø sugho wɪn tū' e te
DS P4 here pay PFV go out PFV also price share, lump 5.AG the
zō enyia ndūŋ e ghà' à ghù biin kpeē
z- ō enyia ndūŋ e ghà' à ghù bin -ī- kpe -ē
5 OF ADV game 9.AM 1pl.excl ACCOMP 2sg mix IPFV balance IPFV
tsughu

tsughu

DIR - down

This was how each share was paid out so that their game was completely balanced.

1.52 **Akpimkiso'**

akpimkiso'

the end

2.3 The tortoise and a lizard

1.1 A fɪ lo alo ena' ghia ghi ntsò' ghɔ̃
a fɪ lo alo e- na' ghia ghi n- tsò' ghɔ̃
DS P4 COP LOC 5.A village thing, immaterial 6.AM 6a.A salt 6.SM
n tughuu fughu , ghe n tum tɔ̀lɔ̀ki enyia è
n tughu -u fughu ghe n tum -ø tɔ̀lɔ̀ki enyia è
NT difficult IPFV there 3pl.SUB NT send PFV tortoise COMP 3sg.LOG
ndùw zue ntsò' a n lo mò dzì zì ntso'
ndùw -ø zue -ø n- tsò' a n lo mò dzì zì n- tso'
go PFV buy PFV 6a.A salt DS NT COP P2 way 9.AM 6a.A salt
e te lɔ̃'so dāa
e te lɔ̃'so dā -a
9.AG the be far off be long IPFV

Once in a village, there was a salt crisis. They sent a tortoise to go buy salt, but the salt was a long way away.

1.2 Ghia tɔ̀lɔ̀ki tsò lo ù ŋ ki yo ghū gho ,
aŋghia tɔ̀lɔ̀ki tsò lo ù ŋ ki yo ghū gh- o
as tortoise really COP 3sg.SUB NT have neg IPFV hand 6 OF
Ù ŋ kwō yo ghia ù lò alebò'ò
u ŋ kwō -ø yo ghia ù lò ale- bò'ò
3sg.SUB NT know PFV neg IPFV thing, immaterial 3sg.SUB COP INF carry
kɔ' tsò' n te mò a tē
kɔ' tsò' n te m- ò a tē
DIR - up salt 6a.AG the 6a OF LOC the

As the tortoise had no hands, he didn't know how to carry the salt.

1.3 Ũ n nì wo kàbā' êziŋ faŋa tsughu
 ũ n nì -ø wo kî- bā' êziŋ faŋ -a tsughu
 3sg.SUB NT take PFV DIR - toward 7.A rope now tie IPFV DIR - down
ntso' , **kèlè** **nyì** **tsughu** **am** **mwè** .
 n- tso' kèlè -ø nyì -ø tsughu am mwè
 6a.A salt hang PFV enter PFV DIR - down LOC neck
 He took the rope and tied the salt, hanging it around his neck.

1.4 Mbìghà è fìtsò'dò n ló'so lò fè ezin mò zì
 mbìghà è fì- tsò'dò n ló'so lo fè ezin mò zì
 bag 9.AM 19.A salt NT be far off COP here like that when 9.PRO
n **fughu** **wīn** **â** **gha** **kō** **fè** , **U** **n** **ló'so**
 n fughu -ø wīn â gha k- ō fè U n ló'so
 NT give PFV 3sg.OBJ BEN distance 7 OF here 3sg.SUB NT be far off
lò **fì** **êzi**
 lo fì êzi
 COP there like that
 The bag of salt was very far behind him at such a distance that it was out of sight.

1.5 Û n sêe ndùw , tsò sèe ndùw .
 u n sê -e ndùw tsò sè -e ndùw
 3sg.SUB NT pull IPFV DIR - away pull IPFV DIR - away
 He was just dragging it along, dragging it along.

1.6 Kòn kî n sî è wo sò tsìghàa wīn
 kòn kî n sî -ø è wo sò tsìghà -a wīn
 lizard 7.SM NT go out PFV and DIR - toward F1 pass IPFV 3sg.OBJ
â **dzi** **ù** **moō** **enyā** **hō** !
 â dzi u mo -ō enyā hô
 BEN way 3sg.SUB said IPFV COMP exclamation
 A lizard came out and as he was passing his way, he exclaimed, "Wow!"

1.7 tso' fia fì tsìgha yia e ko'ò yo ghùw .
 tso' f- ia fì tsìgha yia e ko' -ò yo ghùw
 salt 19 that 19.SM pass then 3sg.LOG see IPFV neg IPFV person
 Salt is passing and I am not seeing anybody with it.

1.8 U mò è ló'so kô'ò ndùw fì êzi èsì
 u mò è ló'so kô' -ò ndùw fì êzi èsì
 3sg.SUB when and be far off see IPFV DIR - away there like that front
kò' **ndùw** **tòlòki** , **tòlòki** **sêe** **wô** **tsô'** **fô** .
 kò' -ø ndùw tòlòki tòlòki sê -e wô tsô' f- ò
 see PFV DIR - away tortoise tortoise pull IPFV DIR - toward salt 19 OF
 He looked far ahead and saw the tortoise dragging the salt.

1.9 U n leen tsò' fì te fo gbò kìa
 u n len -e- tsò' fì te f- o gbò -ø kìa -ø
 3sg.SUB NT observe IPFV salt 19.AG the 19 OF cut PFV strike PFV
nùghù è tsughu
 nùghù è tsughu
 DIR - away and DIR - down
 He looked at the salt and cut it off.

1.10 Ghù kwō ènyia bugho ghù sò faṅā kelē fiḡha
 ghù kwō -ø ènyia bugho ghù sò faṅ -ā kelē fiḡha
 2sg know PFV COMP if 2sg F1 tie IPFV possess thing, material
ko aziṅò ghù abugho ghe gbô kìa
 k- o a ziṅò ghù abugho ghe gbô -ø kìa -ø
 7 OF 1pl.SUB 2sg whenever 3pl.SUB cut PFV strike PFV
tsughù ghù sò kèle nù ghia ki nughù
 tsùghù -ø ghù sò kèle nù ghia ki nughù -ø
 DIR - down PFV 2sg F1 know FOC thing, immaterial 7.SM leave PFV
zàṅsò ndûw sugho
 zàṅsò -ø ndûw -ø sugho
 be light in weight PFV DIR - away PFV also
 You know how when you tie a rope around you, and then someone cuts it off, you realize that the thing has become lighter.

1.11 Ghia ki nughù zàṅsò nduw , ù
 aṅghia ki nughù -ø zàṅsò -ø nduw -ø ù
 as 7.SM leave PFV be light in weight PFV DIR - away PFV 3sg.SUB
n nùghù kèle tsughù enyia ghe m gbò
 n nùghù -ø kèle tsùghù -ø enyia ghe m gbò -ø
 NT leave PFV know DIR - down PFV COMP 3pl.SUB P1F cut PFV
 As the rope became lighter, he realized that they had cut it.

1.12 U mò e fàla wô ùghue , lenlo
 u mò e fàla wô ù- ghue lenlo -ø
 3sg.SUB when and suffer DIR - toward 3.A body observe PFV
bùghò daṅso kò' wò kàkòn dzè aṅghulo kòn
 bùghò -ø daṅso kò' -ø wò kà- kòn dzè -ø aṅghulo kòn
 come PFV then see PFV DIR - toward 7.A lizard say PFV BEN lizard
ko enyia e mô kì fìtsô'o fe ezin e mô
 k- o enyia e mô kì fì- tsô'o fe ezin e mô
 7 OF COMP 3sg.LOG P2 have 19.A salt here like that 3sg.LOG P2
faṅā naṅa
 faṅ -ā naṅa -ø
 tie IPFV keep PFV
 He turned around to look. Then he saw the lizard and told him that he had had salt that was

tied to him.

1.13 **Kòn kì n dzè enyia à bòn nùghù**
 kòn kì n dzè -ø enyia à bòn -ø nùghù
 lizard 7.SM NT say PFV COMP DS pick PFV DIR - away
ghee e bòn kō' nù
 ghee e bòn -ø kō' nù
 3sg.OBJ.LOG 3sg.LOG pick PFV DIR - up FOC
 The lizard said that he took it from him- that he picked it up.

1.14 **E tsô tsìghà sì wò ko alo kighè**
 e tsô tsìghà -ø sì -ø wò ko alo ki- ghè
 3sg.LOG really pass PFV go out PFV DIR - toward just LOC 7.A grass
ya e kō' tsō' fo , tsō' fi seē wo
 ya e kō' -ø tsō' f- o tsō' fi se -ē wo
 then 3sg.LOG see PFV salt 19 OF salt 19.SM drag IPFV DIR - toward
e kâ ghùw kō'
 e kâ ghùw kō' -ø
 and neg P1,2 person see PFV
 He just came out from the grass and saw the salt passing, and he didn't see anyone with it.

1.15 **Tòlòki m bu kighū anghū win enyia fi lo**
 tòlòki n bu -ø ki- ghū anghū win enyia fi lo
 tortoise NT hit PFV 7.A hand BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP there COP
fitsò' na' e mô tum mugho a te kee
 fi- tsò' na' e mô tum -ø mugho a te ke -e
 DIMIN salt village 5.SM P2 send PFV 1sg.OBJ LOC the oblige IPFV
to â ghù à lò tsō' fi ghee
 to â Ghù à lo tsō' fi ghee
 so that BEN 2sg DS COP salt 19.AM 3pl OBJ
 The tortoise begged him, saying that it was the salt the village sent him to buy. "Please, it is their salt."

1.16 **Kòn kì n dzâa hăe , e kō' fitsò' e**
 kòn kì n dzâ -a hăe e kō' -ø fi- tsò' e
 lizard 7.SM NT say IPFV no 3sg.LOG see PFV 19.A salt and
kâ ghùw kō'
 kâ ghùw kō' -ø
 neg P1,2 person see PFV
 The lizard said no, he saw the salt and he didn't see anyone with it.

1.17 **U n zìghà mà'à nduw ko êzi ,**
 u n zìghà -ø mà'à -ø nduw ko êzi
 3sg.SUB NT allow PFV throw PFV DIR - away just like that

nùghù kwìn è wō
 nùghù -ø kwìn -ø è wō
 leave PFV go home PFV and DIR - toward
 He just let him go and he came back home.

1.18 Û mò è bugho , nā' zi ŋ kiŋ wīn
 u mò è bugho -ø nā' zi ŋ kiŋ -ø wīn
 3sg.SUB when and come PFV village 5.SM NT fine PFV 3sg.OBJ
 ù mò è tsi , u n tsi tsô' fi te
 u mò è tsi -ø U n tsi -ø tsô' fi te
 3sg.SUB when and pay PFV 3sg.SUB NT pay PFV salt 19.AG the
 fo
 f- o
 19 OF
 And when he came, the village fined him and he paid for the salt.

1.19 Ghù kwo abugho ghuuw e tsùghuu sugho kòn kǎ
 ghù kwo -ø abugho ghuuw e tsùghu -u sugho kòn kǎ
 2sg know PFV whenever rain 5.SM descend IPFV also lizard 7.SM
 n nyi ndùw am bigha ki ndughu naŋa sè
 n nyi -ø ndùw am bigha ki ndughu naŋa -ø sè
 NT enter PFV DIR - away LOC wall 7.AM house keep PFV DIR - out
 wo kisaŋ abee
 wo kì- saŋ abee
 DIR - toward 7.A tail outside
 You know when it is raining, the lizard enters into the wall of a house, keeping out its tail.

1.20 Ghia ghuuw e kâ' tsughu sugho aletsughu kòn
 aŋghia ghuuw e kâ' -ø tsùghù -ø sugho ale- tsughu kòn
 as rain 5.SM start PFV descend PFV also INF descend lizard
 kî n tî nyi ndùw èghūuw am bigha ki
 kî n tî -ø nyi -ø ndùw è- ghūuw am bigha ki
 7.SM NT run away PFV enter PFV DIR - away 5.A rain LOC wall 7.AM
 ndughu a kibù' naŋa sè wo sùghò kisaŋ
 ndughu a kì- bù' naŋa -ø sè wo sùghò kì- saŋ
 house LOC 7.A hole keep PFV DIR - out DIR - toward also 7.A tail
 abeē
 abeē
 outside
 As the rain started falling, the lizard ran into a hole in the wall of a house and kept out his tail.

1.21 Tòlòki n tsèen ko enyii bùghò kwù tsùghù
 tòlòki n tsè -en ko enyii bùghò -ø kwù -ø tsùghù
 tortoise NT sneak IPFV just like this come PFV hold PFV DIR - down

sùghò saŋ kɪ kɪkòn zhwiin kwu kele kɔ' enyi kòn
sùghò saŋ kɪ kɪ- kòn zhwiin kwu -ø kele kɔ' enyi kòn
also tail 7.AM 7.A lizard lift hold PFV possess DIR - up like this lizard
kɪ n sô dzàa win zìghà saŋ kaŋa ko ,
kɪ n sô dzà -a win zìghà -ø saŋ k- aŋa k- o
7.SM NT F1 say IPFV 3sg.OBJ allow PFV tail 7 1sg.POSS 7 OF
zìghà saŋ kaŋa ko ù n dzàa hǎe ñ
zìghà -ø saŋ k- aŋa k- o u n dzà -a hǎe ñ
allow PFV tail 7 1sg.POSS 7 OF 3sg.SUB NT say IPFV no 1sg.SUB
kô' kɪsaŋ , ñ kâ ghùw kô' .
kô' -ø kɪ- saŋ ñ kâ ghùw kô' -ø
see PFV 7.A tail NT neg P1,2 person see PFV

The tortoise sneaked up like this and held the lizard's tail, suspending it. The lizard said, "Let go of my tail, let go of my tail." He said, "No. I have seen a tail but I have not seen anybody with it."

1.22 **U ñ kwu tsughu saŋ ki kɪkòn chwè**
u ñ kwu -ø tsùghù saŋ ki kɪ- kòn chwè -ø
3sg.SUB NT hold PFV DIR - down tail 7.AM 7.A lizard cut off PFV
kɪa tsùghù è sugho .
kɪa -ø tsùghù è sugho
strike PFV DIR - down and also
He held the lizard's tail and also cut it off.

1.23 **Ghù kò'ò ghia kòn li kɪ bùgho kɪ n lo**
ghù kò' -ò aŋghia kòn li kɪ bùgho -ø kɪ n lo
2sg see IPFV as lizard some 7.SM come PFV 7.SM NT COP
mo kɪ ki yo saŋ ko am bù' kɪ kitùe ,
mo kɪ ki n yo saŋ k- o am bù' kɪ kɪ- tùe
P2 7.SM have neg IPFV tail 7 OF LOC hole 7.AM 7.A buttocks, anus
à mo fi chwe kiā tòlòki .
à mo fi chwe -ø kiā -ø tòlòki
DS P2 there cut off PFV cut PFV tortoise
You see that there are some lizards who do not have any tails. They were then cut off by the tortoise.

1.24 **Ghia a te a fi mia nù êzì** .
ghia a te a fi mia -ø nù êzì
thing, immaterial 6.AG the 6.SM there finish PFV FOC like that
These things are finished like that.

1.25 **Akpimkiso'**
akpimkiso'
the end
The End.

2.4 Two friends: Cripple & Stutterer

1.1 **A fi bugho ko nû ghî li ghi lo tsigha**
 a fi bugho -ø ko nû ghî li ghi lo tsigha -ø
 DS P4 come PFV just FOC people some 2.SM COP pass PFV

afin a bighà , Ghùwmo'ò àsùghò
 a- fin a bighà Ghùw mo' -ò à sùghò
 2.A friend 2.AG two person stutter IPFV ACCOMP also

Kìngwûndùghù

Kì- ñgwûn ndùghù

7.A curl up house

Once upon a time there were two friends, Stutterer and Cripple.

1.2 **Ghe n tsighàsò kílàn fughu alo ena' enyia ghùw**
 ghe m tsighà -sò kì- làn fughu alo e- na' enyia ghùw
 3pl.SUB NT pass CAUS 7.A law there LOC 5.A village ADV person

yo alekòom mughù an ndughu kiwè
 yo ale- kòom mughù an ndughu ki- wè
 neg IPFV INF return live LOC house 7.A thatching grass

A law was passed in a village that no one should live in a house with a thatched roof anymore.

1.3 **Ghùwmò'ò win lo mò wàadzăm m bigha**
 ghùw mò' -ò w- in lo mò wàa dzăm n bigha -ø
 person stutter IPFV 1 this COP P2 offspring aunt P1F build PFV

fughu wīn a be ko be tsughu aŋ
 fughu -ø wīn a be k- o be -ø tsughu aŋ
 give PFV 3sg.OBJ LOC compound 7 OF roof PFV DIR - down LOC

ukwa

u- kwa

8.A zinc

Stutterer was living in a house with a zinc roof built by his cousin.

1.4 **Û n nà'à tsughu kìngwûndughu enyīa e**
 u n nà'à -ø tsùghù kì- ñgwûn ndughu enyīa e
 3sg.SUB NT invite PFV DIR - down 7.A curl up house ADV 3sg.LOG

ŋ kele be fughu ko ù bùghò to
 ŋ kele be fughu -ø k- o u bùghò -ø to
 NT possess compound new PFV 7 OF 3sg.SUB come PFV so that

ghe zì

ghe zì -ø

3pl.SUB eat PFV

He invited the cripple to come and eat because he had a new compound. He came so that they could eat together.

1.5 **Ghe** **ŋ** **kùu** **tsùghù** **ufaghazia** **tsùghù**
 ghe ŋ kùu tsùghù u- fùgha zì -a tsùghù -ø
 3pl.SUB NT stew DIR - down 8.A thing, material eat IPFV descend PFV

dò'ò **tsughu** **enyia** **ghe** **zi**
 dò'ò tsùghù enyia ghe zì -ø
 sit DIR - down ADV 3pl.SUB eat PFV

The prepared food and sat down to eat.

1.6 **U** **nì** **kǒ'** **mùghù** **n** **sùuw** **ŋ** **ghū**
 u nì -ø kǒ' mùghù n sù -uw ŋ ghū
 3sg.SUB take PFV DIR - up water 6a.AG wash IPFV 6a.AM hand

mò **sì** **naŋa** **nduw** **abeē** **ghe** **n** **sia**
 m- ò sì -ø naŋa -ø ndùw abeē ghe n sì -a
 6a OF go out PFV put PFV DIR - away outside 3pl.SUB NT go out IPFV

nduw **sùuw** **aghū** **abeē** **nyia** **bùghò** **zǎ**
 nduw sù -uw a- ghū abeē nyi -a bùghò -ø zǎ -a
 DIR - away wash IPFV 6.A hand outside enter IPFV come PFV eat IPFV
 He took water for washing his hands and put it outside. They went and washed their hands outside and then came in to eat.

1.7 **Ghùw** **wilà** **ù** **fì** **lo** **mò** **ù** **lo** **kingwùndughu**
 ghùw w- ìlà u fì lo mò ù lo ki- ŋgwùn ndughu
 person 1 which 3sg.SUB P4 COP P2 3sg.SUB COP 7.A curl up house

n **sì** **nduw** **abeē** **ù** **n** **sùw** **kǒ'**
 n sì -ø nduw abeē u n sùw -ø kǒ'
 NT go out PFV DIR - away outside 3sg.SUB NT wash PFV DIR - up

aghu

a- ghu

6.A hand

The man who was the cripple went outside. He washed his hands.

1.8 **Û** **mò** **e** **bùghò** **nyia** **tê** **mo** **ghū** **ghi**
 u mò e bùghò -ø nyi -ā tê -ø mo ghū ghi
 3sg.SUB when and come PFV enter IPFV reach PFV when hand 6.SM

n **dzi**

n dzi -ø

P1F be dirty PFV

By the time he came in, his hands had become dirty.

1.9 **U** **n** **sì** **nduw** **èzìŋ** **sùw** **è** **kǒ'**
 u n sì -ø nduw èzìŋ sùw -ø è kǒ'
 3sg.SUB NT go out PFV DIR - away now wash PFV and DIR - up

ù mò e bùghò nyiā tê mo ghū ghi n
 u mò e bùghò -ø nyi -ā tê -ø mo ghū ghi n
 3sg.SUB when and come PFV enter IPFV reach PFV when hand 6.SM P1F
dzi kpe'e

dzi -ø kpe'e
 be dirty PFV again

He went outside again and washed. When he came in his hands were dirty again.

1.10 Tûwbàghà vè mò â wīn enyia si sūuw
 tûwbàghà v- è mò â wīn enyia si -ø -u- suw
 lord 1 that said BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP go out PFV IPFV wash

kɔ' ghū gho ghū a dzia nù
 kɔ' ghū gh- o ghū a dzi -a nù
 DIR - up hand 6 OF hand 6.SM be dirty IPFV FOC
 Stutterer told him, "Go wash your hands. They are dirty."

1.11 Û n sùw wò èzìŋ , ù mo e
 u n sùw -ø wò èzìŋ u mo e
 3sg.SUB NT wash PFV DIR - toward now 3sg.SUB when 3sg.LOG

si ghàaŋ nyia bùghò tê
 si -ø -a- ghaŋ nyi -a bùghò -ø tê -ø
 go out PFV IPFV crawl enter IPFV come PFV reach PFV
 He washed them again, and when he went crawling to come in,

1.12 Ghùwmò'o mo â wīn enyia si sūuw
 ghùw mò' -o mo â wīn enyia si -ø -u- suw
 person mean IPFV said BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP go out PFV IPFV wash

wò ghū gho ghū ghia à dzia nù
 wò ghū gh- o ghū aŋghia à dzi -a nù
 DIR - toward hand 6 OF hand as 6.SM be dirty IPFV FOC
 Stutterer told him to go wash his hands because they were dirty.

1.13 Û m fimso zee ko wīn êzì ù n
 u n fimso -ø zee ko wīn êzì ù n
 3sg.SUB NT trouble PFV stay all day just 3sg.OBJ like that 3sg.SUB NT

ndùw nyì wò mo ghe m fūghàzia
 ndùw -ø nyì -ø wò mo ghe n fūghà zì -a
 go PFV enter PFV DIR - toward when 3pl.SUB P1F thing, material eat IPFV
u zì mè'è
 u zì -ø mè'è

8.SM eat PFV all, completely

He troubled him all day like that. He entered when they had eaten all the food.

1.14 **Kìngwûndughu** n ðim ko tòm ko ùmwà'sò
 kì- ngwûn ndughu n ðim -ø ko tòm -ø ko ù- mwà'sò
 7.A curl up house NT struggle PFV just write PFV just 8.A letter

anghulô waatidzääm gho aŋ kùw tòm ko
 anghulô waa ti- dzääm gh- o aŋ kùw tòm -ø ko
 BEN offspring 13.A aunt 2 OF LOC forest write PFV just
 So the cripple just struggled to write letters to his cousins outside the village.

1.15 **ghe m boo kò' alebùghò baā fùghu**
 ghe n boo -ø kò' ale- bùghò ba -ā fùghu -ø
 3pl.SUB NT accept PFV DIR - up INF come roof IPFV give PFV

sùgho be ki wīn
 sùgho be ki wīn
 also compound 7.AM 3sg.OBJ
 They accepted to come and also roof his compound.

1.16 **Ghe n ndùw è bugho be fughu kò'**
 ghe n ndùw -ø è bugho -ø be -ø fughu -ø kò'
 3pl.SUB NT go PFV and come PFV roof PFV give PFV DIR - up

be ki wīn
 be ki wīn
 compound 7.AM 3sg.OBJ
 They came and roofed his own compound.

1.17 **Û n nà'à tsùghù sùghò èzi nyiā è m**
 u n nà'à tsùghù sùghò èzi nyiā è n
 3sg.SUB NT announce DIR - down also like that COMP 3sg.LOG P1F

bigha be ko , nà'à tsùghù aghî alo ena'
 bigha -ø be ko nà'à tsùghù a- ghî alo e- na'
 build PFV compound just invite DIR - down 6.A people LOC 5.A village
ghî ghǐ n lùe wò è sugho
 ghî ghǐ n lue -ø wò è sugho
 people 2.SM NT fill PFV DIR - toward and also
 He then announced that he also had built a compound and invited the people in the village. Many people came.

1.18 **Û ŋ wì ndùw kikwelebugha , kianlo**
 u ŋ wì -ø ndùw ki- kwelebugha kian -lo
 3sg.SUB NT kill PFV DIR - away 7.A pig prepare ITER
ùfaghàzia , ghe n zùuŋ wò sùghò
 ù- faghà zi -a ghe n zùuŋ -u- wò sùghò
 8.A thing, material eat IPFV 3pl.SUB NT gather IPFV DIR - toward also

fūghù èzì nà'à tìbìlà
 fūghù èzì nà'à tì- bìl -à
 there like that invite 13.A dance IPFV

He slaughtered a pig and prepared food. They gathered there and invited dancers.

1.19 **Ghia ghe nyi wo êziṅ bùghòo alebùghò**
 aṅghia ghe nyi -ø wo êziṅ bùghò -o ale- bùghò
 as 3pl.SUB enter PFV DIR - toward now come IPFV INF in order to

zi ù n dzè â ghùwmò'ò enyia ù
 zi -ø u n dzè -ø â ghùw mò' -ò enyia ù
 eat PFV 3sg.SUB NT say PFV BEN person stutter IPFV COMP 3sg.SUB

fūghuū wô ègòṅlò tò ghe zi
 fūghu -ū wô è- gòṅlò tò ghe zi -ø
 give IPFV DIR - toward GER pray so that 3pl.SUB eat PFV
 As they entered then coming to eat, he told Stutterer to give a prayer so that they could eat.

1.20 **Ghùwmò'o m mō' ko alegòṅlò , mo' ko**
 ghùw mò' -o n mō' -ø ko ale- gòṅlò mo' -ø ko
 person stutter IPFV NT stutter PFV just INF pray stutter PFV just

alegòṅlò , mo' ko alegòṅlò aletsuā kō' asi
 ale- gòṅlò mo' -ø ko ale- gòṅlò ale- tsu -ā kō' a- si
 INF pray stutter PFV just INF pray INF open IPFV DIR - up 6.A eye

kò' mo ghe n zì mè'è
 kò' -ø mo ghe n zì -ø mè'è
 see PFV when 3pl.SUB P1F eat PFV finish
 Stutterer tried to pray, stuttering, stuttering. Upon opening his eyes, he saw that they had finished eating.

1.21 **Ghùwmò'o m bvæ â wīn enyiā , " ð**
 ghùw mò' -o n bvæ -ø â wīn enyiā ð
 person stutter IPFV NT ask PFV BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP hey

abughu yia e tsô lô fè gòṅlò ghe yia kuūwn
 abughu yia e tsô lô fè gòṅlò -ø ghe yia kuwn -u-
 boy, man then 3sg.LOG really COP here pray PFV 2pl then instead IPFV

ziā

zi -ā
 eat IPFV

The Stutter said to him, "Hey, man! I am here praying but you are eating."

1.22 **à lò mwam ù kwò wò êzi a ?"**
 à lo mwam ù kwò w- ò êzi a
 DS COP behavior 3.AG what 3 OF like that QM

"What kind of behavior is that?"

1.23 Û n dzè â w̄n enyia " a mò bugho
 u n dzè -ø â w̄n enyia a mò bugho -ø
 3sg.SUB NT say PFV BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP 1pl.SUB P3 come PFV

alô ghù an ndzɔŋ e zî , ghù n nì kɔ'
 alô ghù an ndzɔŋ e z- î ghù n nì -ø kɔ'
 LOC 2sg LOC month, moon 9.AG 9 that 2sg NT take PFV DIR - up

mùghù n s̄uw ŋ ghū mò s̄i naŋa
 mùghù n -u- suw ŋ ghū m- ò s̄i -ø naŋa -ø
 water 6a.AG IPFV wash 6a.AM hand 6a OF go out PFV put PFV

ndùw abēe , e n sùw zēe ko aghu ,
 ndùw abēe e n sùw -ø zēe ko a- ghu
 DIR - away outside 3sg.LOG NT wash PFV stay all day just 6.A hand

sùw zēe ko aghū bùghò mò ghù n z̄i
 sùw -ø zēe ko a- ghū bùghò -ø mò ghù n z̄i -ø
 wash PFV stay all day just 6.A hand come PFV when 2sg NT eat PFV

mè'è .
 mè'è
 finish

The cripple said to him, "We came to you last month. You took water for washing hands and kept it outside. I spend the whole time washing my hands, washing my hands and arrived when you had finished eating."

1.24 E kùu edzūŋ , z̄i ŋ kùm sùghò
 e kù -u e- dzūŋ z̄i ŋ kùm -ø sùghò
 5.PRO happen IPFV GER high 5.PRO NT arrive PFV also

ètsin .
 è- tsin
 GER cover
 What happens up also happens down.

1.25 **Àkpimkiso'** .
 àkpimkiso'
 the end
 The End.

2.5 Wandong the Highest Hunter.

1.1 A f̄i bugho an t̄i li ko , wandɔŋ mà'à f̄i
 a f̄i bugho -ø an ti li k- o wandɔŋ mà'à f̄i
 DS P4 come PFV LOC period of time some 7 OF Wàndɔŋ P4F

ŋge gbom t̄wele .
 ŋge gbom -ø t̄wele
 much, very hunt PFV SUPER

Once upon a time, Wandong was the best hunter.

1.2 **Bugho ù si gbom zo lfm ki wfn ki**
 bugho u si -ø gbom z- o lfm ki wfn ki
 when 3sg.SUB go out PFV hunt GER OF odor 7.AM 3sg.OBJ 7.SM
ngwùu tsùghù ena' è dzim
 ngwù -u tsùghù e- na' è dzim
 circulate IPFV DIR - down 5.A village 5.AG whole, all
 When he went out hunting, his odor spread throughout the entire village.

1.3 **Nwfn mǎ n tiigh mian ndzia wfn**
 nwfn mǎ n ti -igh mìa -n ndzia wfn
 bird 6a.SM NT run away IPFV finish IPFV DIR - ahead 3sg.OBJ
nyôm tì n tiigh mian ndzia ghe n
 nyôm tì n ti -igh mìa -n ndzia ghe n
 animal 13.SM NT run away IPFV finish IPFV DIR - ahead 3pl.SUB NT
nàn zée è nduw , zee ndzia tìdziŋ
 nàn -ø zée è nduw zee ndzia tì- dziŋ
 cover PFV stay all day and DIR - away stay all day DIR - ahead 13.A hunger
 The birds then ran away from him, and the animals ran away and hid everywhere, staying hungry the whole day.

1.4 **Û n tsoo boom wò sùghò yò**
 u n tso -o boo -m wò sùghò yò
 3sg.SUB NT really IPFV accept IPFV DIR - toward also neg IPFV
 But he would not give up.

1.5 **Ndzòŋ è lì mò è si nyôm tì m**
 ndzòŋ è lì mò è si -ø nyôm tì n
 month, moon 9.AG other when and go out PFV animal 13.SM NT
bɔɔm lò ko an dziŋ ù sò gbom twele
 bɔɔm lo ko an dziŋ u sò gbom -ø twele
 precisely COP just LOC hunger 3sg.SUB F1 hunt PFV SUPER
 When another month came, the animals were still hungry because he was the best hunter.

1.6 **A m bùghò ko nɛ , tsɔ'ɔ e mo enyiā wandɔŋ è**
 a n bùghò -ø ko nɛ tsɔ'ɔ e mo enyiā wandɔŋ è
 DS NT come PFV just today quail 5.SM said COMP Wàndɔŋ 9.AG
te , e gboo sùghò nǔ wandɔŋ
 te e gbo -o sùghò nǔ wandɔŋ
 the 3sg.LOG hunt IPFV also FOC Wàndɔŋ
 One day, a quail said, "I will also hunt for Wandong."

1.7 **Ghia** **tsɔ̃'ɔ** **e** **bughò** **tsigha** **wàndɔŋ** **daŋso** **kò'**
 aŋghia tsɔ̃'ɔ e bughò -ø tsigha -ø wàndɔŋ daŋso kò' -ø
 as quail 5.SM come PFV pass PFV Wàndɔŋ see PFV

kɔ' **etsɔ'**

kɔ' e- tsɔ'

DIR - up 5.A quail

As the quail passed by, Wandong immediately saw it.

1.8 **Tsɔ'** **zi** **n** **zìghà** **bvà** **nyì** **tsùghù** **ndzia**
 tsɔ' zi n zìghà -ø bvà -ø nyì -ø tsùghù ndzia
 quail 5.SM NT fly PFV fall PFV enter PFV DIR - down DIR - ahead

aŋ **wǎaakùw**

aŋ wǎaakùw

LOC swamp

The quail flew and fell into a swamp.

1.9 **Ghia** **ù** **so** **bvâ** **nyì** **tsughu** **êzì** **aŋ**
 aŋghia u so bvâ -ø nyì -ø tsùghù êzì aŋ
 as 3sg.SUB F1 fall PFV enter PFV DIR - down like that LOC

wǎaakùw , **wandɔŋ** **n** **nughu** **nì** **tsùghù** **ko** **enyiã** "

wǎaakùw wandɔŋ n nughu -ø nì -ø tsùghù ko enyiã
 swamp Wàndɔŋ NT leave PFV take PFV DIR - down just COMP

Àhà **mùghò** **ŋ** **kò'** , **Àhà** **mùghò** **ŋ** **kò'** ."

Àhà mùghò ŋ kò' -ø Àhà mùghò ŋ kò' -ø

Aha 1sg.SUB P1F see PFV Aha 1sg.SUB P1F see PFV

As he fell like that into the swamp, Wandong just said, "Aha! I have seen you, I have seen you!"

1.10 **Ghia** **ù** **nyih** **nyi** **tsughu** **ndzia** **ndùw**
 aŋghia u nyih -ø nyi -ø tsughu -ø ndzia ndùw -ø
 as 3sg.SUB run PFV enter PFV descend PFV DIR - ahead go PFV

kò' **tsùghù** **etsɔ'** **mo** **zi** **n** **tuw** **ki** **nân** ,

kò' -ø tsùghù e- tsɔ' mo zi n tuw ki nân -ø
 see PFV DIR - down 5.A quail when 5.PRO P1F head 7.SM hide PFV

ù **ŋ** **kuee** **è** **kɔ'** **nyanlo** , **nyanlo**

u ŋ kuee -ø è kɔ' nyanlo -ø nyanlo -ø
 3sg.SUB NT pick PFV and DIR - up look over PFV look over PFV

dzè **enyia** **êeε** !

dzè -ø enyia êeε

say PFV COMP hey

As he ran down there, he saw the quail, which had hidden its head. He picked it up and looked it over, exclaiming, "Hey!"

1.11 N yo alepfɛ nyòm mò è kì yo
 n yo ale- pfɛ -ø nyòm mò è kì yo
 1sg.SUB neg COP INF chew, eat PFV animal when 9.PRO have neg IPFV
 tuw ko , " ù m ma'à tsùghù èbàm nùghù
 tuw k- o u n ma'à -ø tsùghù èbàm nùghù -ø
 head 7 OF 3sg.SUB NT throw PFV DIR - down back leave PFV
 sɪ kɔ' è nduw
 sɪ -ø kɔ' è nduw
 F1 PFV DIR - up and DIR - away

"I cannot eat an animal without a head." He threw it back and went back up.

1.12 ù n zuw ko " yekekele , yekekele , yekekele "
 u n zuw -ø ko yekekele yekekele yekekele
 3sg.SUB NT hear PFV just yekekele yekekele yekekele
 ù n nyì tsùghù e ndùw , ù ŋ
 u n nyì -ø tsùghù -ø e ndùw u ŋ
 3sg.SUB NT enter PFV descend PFV and DIR - away 3sg.SUB NT
 kuce e kɔ' nyanlo e tsughu u n dzè
 kuce -ø e kɔ' nyanlo -ø e tsughu u n dzè -ø
 pick PFV and DIR - up look over PFV and DIR - down 3sg.SUB NT say PFV
 enyia e pfɛ yo nyòm mò è kì yo
 enyia e pfɛ -a yo nyòm mò è kì yo
 COMP 3sg.LOG chew, eat IPFV neg IPFV animal when 9.PRO have neg IPFV
 tuw ko mà'à tsùghù èbàm
 tuw k- o mà'à -ø tsùghù èbàm
 head 7 OF throw PFV DIR - down back

Then he heard, "Yekekele, yekekele, yekekele." He went down and he picked it up, looking it over again. Then he said that we would not eat an animal without a head and threw it back.

1.13 Tò tinigha ti tè ù zuūw ko yekekele ,
 tò ti- nigha ti tè u zuw -ū- ko yekekele
 like 13.A time 13.AG five 3sg.SUB hear IPFV just yekekele
 yekekele tsughuu nyaan kè
 yekekele tsughu -u nyan -a- kè -e
 yekekele descend IPFV look over IPFV neg CNS IPFV
 Five times he heard, "Yekekele, yekekele," and he went down, but he did not see anything.

1.14 A m bùghò ko êziŋ alendùw si alo tinigha
 a n bùghò -ø ko êziŋ ale- ndùw si -ø alo ti- nigha
 DS NT come PFV just now INF go go out PFV LOC 13.A time
 tũu ghia ù zuw yekekele , yekekele
 tũu aŋghia ù zuw -ø yekekele yekekele
 six as 3sg.SUB hear PFV yekekele yekekele
 It was now going on the sixth time that he heard, "Yekekele, yekekele."

1.15 Û n dzàa " mùghò η ghù kô' , mùghò η
 u n dzà -a mùghò η ghù kô' -ø mùghò η
 3sg.SUB NT say IPFV 1sg.SUB NT 2sg see PFV 1sg.SUB NT
 ghù kô' , ka nân , ka nân , ka
 ghù kô' -ø ka nân -ø ka nân -ø ka
 2sg see PFV neg P1,2 hide PFV neg P1,2 hide PFV neg P1,2
 nân ."
 nân -ø
 hide PFV

He said, "I have seen you, I have seen you, I have seen you! Don't hide! Don't hide! Don't hide!"

1.16 Mo ù kà bù' kò' ù n nyèη
 mo u kà bù' -ø kò' -ø u n nyèη -ø
 when 3sg.SUB neg P1,2 initiate PFV see PFV 3sg.SUB NT run PFV
 nyè tsùghù e nduw ghia ù tsùghù
 nyè -ø tsùghù -ø e nduw aηghia u tsùghù -ø
 enter PFV descend PFV and DIR - away as 3sg.SUB descend PFV
 kô' tsughu tso' zo , ù m bvua â tso'
 kô' -ø tsughu tso' z- o u n bvua -a â tso'
 see PFV DIR - down quail 5 OF 3sg.SUB NT ask IPFV BEN quail
 zo enyia " he !
 z- o enyia he
 5 OF COMP exclamation

Meanwhile, though he had not even really seen him, he ran down. As he descended, he saw the quail and said to him, "Hey!"

1.17 ò abughu mbàη lò ghû aη ghia ghin yia
 ò abughu mbàη lo ghû aη ghia gh- in yia
 hey boy, man just COP 2sg LOC thing, immaterial 2 this then
 n sô ò ndûw siā tsughu wô mò
 n sô ò ndûw -ø si -ā tsùghù -ø wô mò
 1sg.SUB F1 1sg.SUB go PFV go out IPFV descend PFV DIR - toward when
 ghù tuw kà kà ghinlo ênzin ?"
 ghù tuw k- à kà ghinlo -ø ênzin
 2sg head 7 poss.2sg 7.SM do PFV how
 "My friend, you are just like this, so that I should come down, when you have done what with your head?"

1.18 Tso'ò zi n dzē â win enyia " ghin lò
 tso'ò zi n dzē -ø â w- in enyia gh- in lo
 quail 5.SM NT say PFV BEN 1 this COMP 6 this COP

ghia ghà' mughu a te , gha' yia a ziā
ghia ghà' mughu a te ghà' yia a zī -ā
thing, immaterial 1pl.excl live LOC the 1pl.excl then 1pl.SUB eat IPFV
kuūw a te .
kuw -ū- a te
be content IPFV LOC the
The quail told him, "This is the way we live and how we thrive."

1.19 Wīn lò ushâghà tò mùghò e dê anghûu
w- in lo u- shâghà tò mùghò e dê -ø an- ghûu
8 this COP 8.A miracle like 1sg.OBJ 3sg.LOG show PFV LOC hand
ghù bugho ghù ki ghê zo ghù lo egbom nyòm mīn
ghù bugho ghù ki ghê z- o ghù lo e- gbom nyòm m- in
2sg if 2sg have interest 4 OF 2sg COP GER hunt animal 6a this
m mbi mīn ñ dzim ghà' zia à te ."
m mbi m- in ñ dzim ghà' zī -a à te
6a.AM world 6a this 6a.AM whole, all 1pl.excl eat IPFV LOC the
"This is a miracle that I can show you if you are interested. You can be a hunter of all the animals on earth. This is how we eat."

1.20 Wàndōŋ mò â wīn enyiā " dêe ."
wàndōŋ mò â wīn enyiā dê -e
Wàndōŋ said BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP show IPFV
Wandong said, "Show me!"

1.21 Tsò'ò e mo â wīn enyiā , " ghù gbòo tsùghu
tsò'ò e mo â wīn enyiā ghù gbò -o tsùghu
quail 5.SM said BEN 3sg.OBJ COMP 2sg cut IPFV DIR - down
dzì tuw kī ghee bugho e sô bīn , è
dzì -ø tuw kī ghee bugho e sô bīn è
remove PFV head 7.AM 3sg.OBJ.LOG when 3sg.LOG F1 dance 3sg.LOG
bīn nīgha to tī tē alendùw sī alo tīnīgha tūu
bīn nīgha t- o tī tē ale- ndùw sī -ø alo tī- nīgha tūu
dance time 13 OF 13.AG five INF go go out PFV LOC 13.A time six
ghù so daŋso nyuŋ wo tuw kī ghee ko .
ghù so daŋso nyuŋ -ø wo tuw kī ghee k- o
2sg F1 then join PFV DIR - toward head 7.AM 3sg.OBJ.LOG 7 OF
The quail said to him, "First cut my head off. After I dance five times, on the sixth time, you should immediately reattach my head."

1.22 ghù daŋso kele tsughu .
ghù daŋso kele tsughu
2sg know DIR - down
"Then you will immediately know the secret."

1.23 ù m gbò tsughu tuw ki etsò'ò , tsò'ò è
 u n gbò -ø tsughu tuw ki e- tsò'ò tsò'ò è
 3sg.SUB NT cut PFV DIR - down head 7.AM 5.A quail quail 5.SM
 mò e bin , e bin nya è bughò
 mò e bin -ø e bin -ø nya è bughò -ø
 when and dance PFV and dance PFV ADV 3sg.LOG come PFV
 dê wàndòŋ mo e ba' ."
 dê -ø wàndòŋ mo e ba' -ø
 show PFV Wàndòŋ when and block PFV
 So he cut the quail's head. When the quail danced and danced, he came to show Wandong, and Wandong turned him away.

1.24 Tsò'ò e mò e bin , e bin nya è
 tsò'ò e mò e bin -ø e bin -ø nya è
 quail 5.SM when and dance PFV and dance PFV ADV 3sg.LOG
 bughò dê wàndòŋ mo ē ba' nya kò'ò
 bughò -ø dê -ø wàndòŋ mo ē ba' -ø nya kò' -ò
 come PFV show PFV Wàndòŋ when and block PFV ADV climb IPFV
 ndùw alo tinigha ti tè alenduw kùm alo
 ndùw alo ti- nigha ti tè ale- nduw kùm -ø alo
 DIR - away LOC 13.A time 13.AG five INF go arrive, reach PFV LOC
 tinigha tũu .
 ti- nigha tũu
 13.A time six

The quail danced and danced. Then he came to show Wandong. Wandong refused him up to five times. Then they reached the sixth time.

1.25 ghia tsò'ò e so e bughò dè ndzià
 aŋghia tsò'ò e so e bughò -ø dè -ø ndzià
 as quail 5.SM F1 3sg.LOG come PFV show PFV DIR - ahead
 kètuw , tuw ki mò e nyuŋ .
 kè- tuw tuw ki mò e nyuŋ -ø
 7.A head head 7.SM when and join PFV
 When the quail went to show his head, the head was rejoined.

1.26 Tsò'ò zin tee e kò' dzè â wàndòŋ â
 tsò'ò z- in tee e kò' -ø dzè -ø â wàndòŋ â
 quail 5 this stand and climb PFV say PFV BEN Wàndòŋ BEN
 wīn a ghù ŋ kò'ò , dēe wò kīa kò
 wīn a ghù ŋ kò' -ò dē -e wò k- îa k- ò
 3sg.OBJ 2sg NT see IPFV show IPFV DIR - toward 7 poss.2sg 7 OF
 m gbò tsughu .
 m gbò -o tsughu
 1sg.SUB cut IPFV DIR - down

The quail stood up and said to Wandong, "Have you seen? Show yours and I will cut it off."

1.27 **Wàndɔŋ n dè ndzĩa kɪtuw tsɔ' e gbô**
 wàndɔŋ n dè -ø ndzĩa kɪ- tuw tsɔ' e gbô -ø
 Wàndɔŋ NT show PFV DIR - ahead 7.A head quail 5.SM cut PFV

tsughu wàndɔŋ .

tsughu wàndɔŋ

DIR - down Wàndɔŋ

Wandong showed his head and the quail cut it off.

1.28 **Wàndɔŋ mò e bin , e bin nyia e**
 wàndɔŋ mò e bin -ø e bin -ø nyia e
 Wàndɔŋ when and dance PFV and dance PFV ADV 3sg.LOG

bugho dê tsɔ'ɔ e mò e ba' .

bugho -ø dê -ø tsɔ'ɔ e mò e ba' -ø

come PFV show PFV quail 5.SM when and block PFV

Wandong danced and danced and came to show his head, but the quail turned him away.

1.29 **Wàndɔŋ mò è bin , è bin nyia e**
 wàndɔŋ mò è bin -ø è bin -ø nyia e
 Wàndɔŋ when and dance PFV and dance PFV ADV 3sg.LOG

bùgho dê tsɔ'ɔ e mò è ba' .

bùgho -ø dê -ø tsɔ'ɔ e mò è ba' -ø

come PFV show PFV quail 3sg.LOG when and block PFV

Wandong danced and danced and came to show his head, but the quail turned him away.

1.30 **Wàndɔŋ n sa' kiŋo wò kàm sa'**
 wàndɔŋ n sa' -ø kiŋo -ø wò kàm sa' -ø
 Wàndɔŋ NT shuffle PFV go level PFV DIR - toward leader shuffle PFV

kiŋo wò kàm Hàe è zūm zo .

kiŋo -ø wò kàm hàe è zūm -ø z- o

go level PFV DIR - toward leader no 5.AG empty PFV 5 OF

Then Wandong shuffled along like the leader of a dance, again and again, but no way.

1.31 **Wàndɔŋ m biŋlo a ghuetsi , biŋlo a ghuetsi hàe**
 wàndɔŋ n biŋlo -ø a ghuetsi biŋlo -ø a ghuetsi hàe
 Wàndɔŋ NT roll PFV LOC ground roll PFV LOC ground no

è zum zo .

è zum z- o

5.AG empty 5 OF

Wandong rolled on the ground again and again, but there was no way.

1.32 **Wàndɔŋ ŋ ghàaŋ kiŋo è wo ghàaŋ**
 wàndɔŋ ŋ -a- ghaŋ kiŋo è wo -a- ghaŋ
 Wàndɔŋ NT IPFV crawl DIR - level and DIR - toward IPFV crawl

kiŋo e wo , mwà' kiŋo mwà' kiŋo
 kiŋo e wo mwà' -ø kiŋo mwà' -ø kiŋo
 DIR - level and DIR - toward sway PFV DIR - level sway PFV DIR - level

e wo hàè è zum zo .
 e wo hàè è zum -ø z- o
 and DIR - toward no 5.AG empty PFV 5 OF

Wandong crawled along again and again, then swayed again and again, but there was no way.

1.33 **Wàndɔŋ mò è tee bvɛ e ndzia kòom**
 wàndɔŋ mò è tee bvɛ -ø e ndzia -o- kom
 Wàndɔŋ when and stand fall PFV and DIR - ahead IPFV return

bvɛ ndzia am bùghu zin nyia e bughò
 bvɛ -ø ndzia am bughu z- in nyia e bughò -ø
 fall PFV DIR - ahead LOC side 5 this ADV 3sg.LOG come PFV

dê è zum zo .
 dê -ø è zum -ø z- o
 show PFV 5.AG empty PFV 5 OF

Wandong stood and fell over and over again, on this side, so he could show himself, yet nothing.

1.34 **Gwɪn e wàndɔŋ zɪ n saa mè'e kɔ'ɔ**
 gwɪn e wàndɔŋ zɪ n sa -a mè'e kɔ' -ɔ
 corpse 5.AM Wàndɔŋ 5.SM NT be cold IPFV finish climb IPFV

wò tsɔ'ɔ zɪ ŋ ki ko nû .
 wò tsɔ'ɔ zɪ ŋ ki -ø ko nû
 DIR - toward quail 5.SM NT have PFV just FOC

Wandong's corpse was almost cold and the quail just held it.

1.35 **Wàndɔŋ n zū'so tsughu enyi " pf , pf , pf , pf ."**
 wàndɔŋ n zū'so tsughu enyi

Wàndɔŋ NT sweat DIR - down like this
 Wandong sweated like this, "Pf, pf, pf, pf."

1.36 **Wàndɔŋ n zuŋ tsughu ughue sa' kàm ,**
 wàndɔŋ n zuŋ tsughu u- ghue sa' -ø kàm
 Wàndɔŋ NT gather DIR - down 3.A body shuffle PFV leader

sa' kàm , sa' kàm mò'n ko enyia e kâ
 sa' -ø kàm sa' -ø kàm mò'n ko enyia e kâ
 shuffle PFV leader shuffle PFV leader think just COMP 3sg.LOG neg P1,2

tò' sa' nyia e bughò dê hàè è
 tò' sa' -ø nyia e bughò -ø dê -ø hàè è
 well shuffle PFV COMP 3sg.LOG come PFV show PFV no 5.AG

zum zo .
 zum -ø z- o
 empty PFV 5 OF

Wandong regained his energy and shuffled and shuffled, just thinking that he had not danced well.

So he came to show his head, but to no avail.

1.37 Wàndɔŋ n ðim ko fughu ghèe wīn , ghèe
 wàndɔŋ n ðim -ø ko fughu ghèe wīn ghèe
 Wàndɔŋ NT struggle PFV just there ACCOMP 3sg.OBJ ACCOMP

tsɔ' zo gwin e Wàndɔŋ zi n sè mè'è è
 tsɔ' z- o gwin e wàndɔŋ zi n sè -ø mè'è è
 quail 5 OF corpse 5.AM Wàndɔŋ 5.SM NT be cold PFV finish and
 tsughu

tsughu

DIR - down

Wandong just struggled there with him, with the quail. Wandong's corpse finally got completely cold.

1.38 Tsɔ'ɔ zi m bò'ò kɔ' Wàndɔŋ n danso kɔ' tee
 tsɔ'ɔ zi n bò'ò kɔ' wàndɔŋ n danso kɔ' -ø tee
 quail 5.SM NT carry DIR - up Wàndɔŋ NT then climb PFV stand

kɔ' an tuw ki fikà'
 kɔ' an tuw ki fi- kà'

DIR - up LOC head 7.AM 19.A tree

The quail carried Wandong and stood with him up on the top of a tree.

1.39 bù' sɪ wò kɪbɔŋ " nyòo min n
 bù' -ø sɪ -ø wò kɪ- bɔŋ nyòo m- in n
 shout PFV go out PFV DIR - toward 7.A noise meat 6a this 6a.AG
 dzim n dzim n dzim n dzim n dzim n dzim
 dzim n dzim n dzim n dzim n dzim n dzim
 whole, all 6a.AG whole, all 6a.AG whole, all 6a.AG whole, all 6a.AG whole, all

n dzim n dzim ghè e nyiŋo wo â
 n dzim n dzim ghè e nyiŋ -o wo â
 6a.AG whole, all 6a.AG whole, all 2pl HORT run IPFV DIR - toward BEN

kɪŋò me'e mò m gbô wàndɔŋ an tuw
 kɪŋò m- e'e m- ò n gbô -ø wàndɔŋ an tuw
 wooden dish 6a 2pl.POSS 6a OF 1sg.SUB cut PFV Wàndɔŋ LOC head
 fikà'

fi- kà'

19.A tree

He shouted out, "Each and every animal, you all should run and come with your wooden dishes. I have cut up Wandong on top of a tree.

1.40 Ghia ù zom ko êzi nyòo mǎ n zuw
 aŋghia u zom -ø ko êzi nyòo mǎ n zuw -ø
 as 3sg.SUB sing PFV just like that animal 6a.SM NT hear PFV

tsughu am mbi e dzim enyi kpe sɪ è
 tsughu am mbi e dzim enyi kpe sɪ -ø è
 DIR - down LOC world 9.AG whole, all like this every go out PFV and
 wo

wo

DIR - toward

As he just sang like that, so that every animal heard it all around the world and came out.

1.41 Nyia ghe n da dzàa ghù gbò wàndɔŋ a
 nyia ghe n da -ø dzà -a ghù gbò -ø wàndɔŋ a
 COMP 3pl.SUB NT be long PFV say IPFV 2sg cut PFV Wàndɔŋ QM

nùghuun wo ko nù
 nùghu -un wo ko nù
 leave IPFV DIR - toward just FOC

They said with surprise, "Have you really killed Wandong?" as they were coming out.

1.42 Kìchìa ŋ ki ko tû'ù fì kibiigh kichìa
 kì- chìa ŋ ki -ø ko tû'ù fì kì- biigh kì- chìa
 7.A whoever NT have PFV just group 19.AM 7.A camwood 7.A whoever

ŋ ki ko tû'ù fì kibiigh
 ŋ ki -ø ko tû'ù fì kì- biigh
 NT have PFV just group 19.AM 7.A camwood
 Each and every one had a bundle of camwood.

1.43 ghia ghe danso nduw bugho fughu kò' ndzìa
 aŋghia ghe danso ndùw -ø bugho -ø fughu kò' -ø ndzìa
 as 3pl.SUB then go PFV come PFV there see PFV DIR - ahead

wàndɔŋ ghe dzì tsughu etsò'ò alo kibigh tso'sò
 wàndɔŋ ghe dzì -ø tsughu e- tsò'ò alo kì- biigh tso'so
 Wàndɔŋ 3pl.SUB fan PFV DIR - down 5.A quail LOC 7.A camwood rub

dzò tsughu fwee ŋ wīn enyia è lò lu'u
 dzò -ø tsughu fwee ŋ wīn enyia è lo lu'u
 be nice PFV DIR - down leg 6a.AM 3sg.OBJ ADV 3sg.LOG COP place

wila gha' wàndɔŋ lô a te
 w- ìla gha' -ø wàndɔŋ lô a te
 8 REL defeat PFV Wàndɔŋ COP LOC the

As they came out and saw Wandong there, they fanned the quail with the camwood, rubbing his legs nicely with it because he had defeated Wandong.

1.44 Ghe n sà ndzìa ko wàndɔŋ
 ghe n sà -ø ndzìa ko wàndɔŋ
 3pl.SUB NT split in pieces PFV DIR - ahead just Wàndɔŋ

sà		ndzà		ko	wàndɔŋ	sà		ndzà		ko
sà	-ø	ndzà		ko	wàndɔŋ	sà	-ø	ndzà		ko
split in pieces	PFV	DIR - ahead		just	Wàndɔŋ	split in pieces	PFV	DIR - ahead		just
wàndɔŋ	kìchìa	ŋ	kwìla		nyia	ndzà	mò			
wàndɔŋ	kì- chìa	ŋ	kwìn	-a	nyì	-a	ndzà	mò		
Wàndɔŋ	7.A	whoever	NT	go home	IPFV	enter	IPFV	DIR - ahead		when
ghe	n	zi	kuw							
ghe	n	zi	-ø	kuw	-ø					
3pl.SUB	P1F	eat	PFV	be content	PFV					

So they just split Wandong into many pieces, and everyone went home when they had eaten their full.

1.45 **Akpimkiso'** .

akpimkiso'
the end

A. Abbreviations

1sg = first person singular	F1 = near future
1pl = first person plural	F2 = tomorrow future
2sg = second person singular	F3 = distant future
2pl = second person plural	FOC = focus marker
3sg = third person singular	GER = gerund
3pl = third person plural	HAB = habitual
1 = noun class one, singular	IMP = imperative
2 = noun class two, plural	INF = infinitive
3 = noun class three, singular	IPFV = imperfective
4 = noun class four, plural	ITER = iterative
5 = noun class five, singular	INCL = inclusive
6 = noun class six, plural	LOC = locative
7 = noun class seven, singular	LOG = logophoric
8 = noun class eight, plural	NEG = negative
9 = noun class nine, singular	NT = narrative tense
13 = noun class thirteen, plural	OBJ = object
19 = noun class nineteen, singular	OF = out of focus
6a = noun class six a, plural	P1 = very recent past
A = A form of noun	P1F = very recent past, focused
ACCOMP = accompaniment	P2 = earlier today past
ADV = adverbializer	P3 = yesterday past
AG = agreement marker	P4 = distant past
AM = associative marker	P4F = distant past, focused
BEN = benefactive	PFV = perfective
CAUS = causative	POSS = possessive
CNS = consecutive	PRO = pronoun
CNTR = contrast	QM = question marker
COMP = complementizer	REDUP = reduplication
COP = copula	REL = relativizer
DIR = directional	SM = subject marker
DS = dummy subject	SUB = subject
EXCL = exclusive	SUPER = superlative

B. Consent Form

Research Authorisation

Project: Aghem language

Date:

Location:

My name is Robyn Hackett. I am working with an organization called SIL. We do linguistic research resulting in literacy, translation and development. I am working with the Ministry of Research and Scientific Innovation (MINRESI).

After I have told you about the research and answered any questions you have, I will ask whether you are willing to help me with this research on your language. You are free to agree to participate or to refuse. Your decision does not waive any of your legal rights.

The current research I am doing will take approximately one year. My goal is to grow in understanding of the Aghem language and culture by collecting and studying the texts of stories told by Aghem speakers. If you agree to help me, I will ask you to tell one or more stories in your language and/or help with writing down stories after they have been told. I expect the process to last however long it takes to tell your story, unless you are helping to write down the stories after they are told, which will take much longer.

I think you will enjoy using your language skills. Your participation may help with the development of literacy and development programs for your people. I am asking you to voluntarily help with this research.

I will need to ask you some information about yourself, such as your age, schooling and places you have lived. This information, along with the specific language data you give will be combined with that of other participants for compilation and use in a body of stories in the language and a brief report to MINRESI. Your identity will be totally protected, as we will not put your name on the data.

The stories you provide will be recorded digitally with a voice recorder. Later they will be written down and glossed with an English translation. This body of language data, along with a brief written report of observations, will be compiled when the study is finished, and copies will be available at the SIL offices in Yaounde and Bamenda, at MINRESI and at the University library in Yaounde.

Before I ask you whether you will help me or not, do you have any questions?

Based on what I have told you and what you have read, do you agree to help me?

Yes/No

Will you allow us to use the information you provide for presentation in reports and scientific papers? Yes/No

Researcher: Robyn Hackett

Participant:

Interpreter / Witness:

Signed: _____

Signed: _____

Signed: _____