THE INDEPENDENT TRANSITIVE INDICATIVE CLAUSE IN DURU

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ABSTRACT

THE INDEPENDENT TRANSITIVE INDICATIVE CLAUSE
IN DURU

By

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The purpose of this thesis is to take the mostfrequently used of the Duru independent indicative clauses, the transitive, and describe it in detail: its contrasts with other indicative clauses; its range of internal variation; and its distribution in higher-level constructions. The derived clause types in Duru are then contrasted with the indicative. The description is based on the tagmemic model.

Nothing has as yet been published on Duru grammar. Duru is a language of northern Cameroun, Africa, spoken by approximately 32,000 people. Dr. J. Greenberg places it in the Adamawa-Eastern subfamily of his Niger-Congo family.

From 1963-1967 we lived among the Duru people, at which time there was occasion to tape record the transcribe the first four folktales of the corpus. The remaining three were written down directly by the informant. A single informant was used for the entire corpus.

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I would like to express my thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Erwin H. Graham of Grosse Pointe Shores, Michigan, through whose generosity several copies of this thesis have been reproduced and made available to a much wider audience than would otherwise have been the case.

I must also thank the Board of World Mission of The American Lutheran Church, under whose auspices I was sent to Cameroun and was assigned to learn and work in Duru.

Lastly, but especially, I owe a vote of thanks to my wife Eloise, whose constant presence and support have meant a great deal.

Lee E. Bohnhoff

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

0.1. The Language. Duru is a language spoken in northern Cameroun by approximately 32,000 people.[1] The chief concentration of Duru population is located in an area north and northeast of Ngaoundéré, and south and southeast of Garoua, although sizeable Duru Quarters have sprung up in both Ngaoundéré and Garoua. This analysis treats one of several Duru dialects, the 'Western' dialect centered around Mbé. Dr. J. Greenberg (1966:9) places Duru (his Durru) with Vere, Namshi, Kolbila, Pape, Sari, Sewe, Woko, Kotopo, and Kutin in the Adamawa group of the Adamawa-Eastern subfamily of the Niger-Congo family. Nothing has as yet been published on Duru grammar. My own acquaintance with the language dates from 1963 to 1967 when I worked among the Duru.

0.2. Corpus and Methodology. My corpus consists of seven folktales, four of which were recorded on tape (totalling approximately 21 minutes), and three of which were committed to paper personally by my only informant, Kadia Matthieu. I transcribed the recorded folktales with

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1 according to census figures varying in date from 1959 to 1962.

Kadia's help before leaving Cameroun in 1967. The clause file which resulted from this corpus contains some 1,500 independent and subordinate clauses, and some 200 serial clauses. Some gaps appear in my charts, since my informant remains in Cameroun.

0.3. Duru Phonemes and Orthography. There are 33 Duru consonant phonemes, contrastive consonant length, eight vowel phonemes, contrastive vowel length and nasalization, and three contrastive tones. The orthography used here is that accepted by the Duru Literature Committee[2] (DLC) in Cameroun. Two non-phonemic distinctions are made in this orthography: ny [ñ] is distinguished from ng [ŋ], and è [ɛ] from e [e]. Table 1 shows in brief the Duru alphabet used by the DLC.

0.4. Basic Theory and Symbolization. The tagmemic model used in this analysis is found chiefly in the following books and articles: Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior, Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages, and 'A Syntactic Paradigm' (Lg. 39.216-30), all by Kenneth L. Pike. Grammar Discovery Procedures by Robert E. Longacre. An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax by Benjamin Elson

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2 Members of this committee include four Duru pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Cameroun, three lay Duru, and myself, in consultation with one of the Norwegian missionaries at Mbé.

STOPS						
-voiceless	p		t	k	' [ʔ]	kp
-voiced	b		d	g		gb
-prenasalized	mb		nd	ng [ŋg]		ngb
-implosives	ɓ		ɗ			
FRICATIVES						
-voiceless		f	s		h	
-voiced		v	z			
NASALS	m		n	ny [ñ]	ng [ŋ]	
FLAP, LIQUID		hv [ⱱ]	l			
TRILL			r			
SEMI-CONSONANTS	w			y		

PREGLOTTALIZED SERIES: 'b, 'm, 'n, 'w, 'y

LENGTH: written by doubling the consonant involved: mm

VOWELS

-oral: i, ie [ɩ], e, è [ɛ], oe [ə], a, o, ò [ʊ], u

-nasal: ĩ, ẽ, õe, ã, õ, ũ

-length: (all oral and nasal vowels occur both long and short) written by doubling the vowel involved: ii, ĩĩ

TONES:[3] high ´, low `, mid unmarked

Table 1: Accepted Duru Orthography

3 The DLC writes only the high tone in its literature,

and Velma Pickett.

Several key concepts of this model should be mentioned at the outset of this analysis: 1) that language may be described in terms of particle, wave, and field, 2) that language is divisible into three interlocking and semi-independent hierarchical structures (phonology, lexicon, grammar), 3) the distinction between construction (syntagmeme) and tagmeme, 4) the distinction between etic and emic, 5) the distinction between nuclear and peripheral tagmemes, and 6) that two structural differences in addition to the usual semantic contrast are necessary to establish an emic construction type.

0.4.1. Particle, wave, and field.[4] Language displays very complicated and intricately interwoven patterns, not all of which are most economically described by any single approach. At times we may describe a linguistic system as though it were composed of discrete, clearly discernible units or particles. For example, t and d are contrastive entities in English phonology, as are noun phrase and verb phrase in English grammar. However, on closer examination in a spoken context, these 'clearly discernible' units often vanish, shading off into fuzzy areas at their boundaries,

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and then only on minimal pairs. This high tone is written by underlining the vowel: gbo = gbó 'he hits'.

4 A fuller treatment of this topic than this sketch can provide is found in Pike 1959.

leaving only something of a 'center' like the crest of a wave compared to the troughs on either side. Environmental considerations exclude a physiologically distinct cut between consonants and vowels, or between some noun phrases, for example. On the other hand we must also consider that any linguistic unit forms part of a total field, that it is a member of a class (e.g. nouns), that it is distributed in certain higher or lower structures in the hierarchy, etc.

In this present analysis we shall first treat the independent transitive indicative clause as a particle and contrast it with other clause constructions (particles). Then we will view our clause internally for variation, showing where the peak of the construction is found and saying something about the trough between it and other clause types. Finally we will describe the general distribution of our clause in higher constructions (field).

0.4.2. Three hierarchies. Tagmemics assumes that language is simultaneously structured in three 'semiautonomous but interlinking modes, phonology, grammar, and lexicon'.[5] Phonologically we may speak of phonemes, syllables, phonological words, phonological phrases, etc., in order of size. Lexically, morphemes are typically distributed in words, while words may be distributed in phrases or idioms which have a meaning apart from their

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5 Longacre, 1964:7.

immediate constituents. This thesis works entirely within the grammatical hierarchy, where the structure is a bit different, being composed of a zig-zag pattern of tagmemes distributed in constructions (syntagmemes) which in turn are distributed into higher- or lower-level tagmemes. Words, phrases, clauses, and sentences are typical construction types.

0.4.3. Constructions and tagmemes. A construction (syntagmeme) is said to be a string of tagmemes. A tagmeme is a functional unit (e.g. subject, predicate, on the clause level), occurring in a describable slot or position and manifested by a particular set of items or 'fillers' (e.g. noun phrase, verb phrase) of that slot. Each tagmeme is thus formalized by two symbols, one for its function, the other for its filler. The interrelationship between the construction and the tagmeme has been succinctly described by Longacre (1964:15):

> The two concepts are correlative. Syntagmemes cannot exist without component elements, i.e. tagmemes. On the other hand, tagmemes exist only by virtue of placement in one or more syntagmemes.

0.4.4. Etic and emic. A very useful distinction made in tagmemics concerns two different points of view, one inherent in a system (emic), the other a more objective, non-systematic view (etic). The differentiation of emic patterns is one of our chief concerns. Mere existence of a particular grammatical pattern (e.g. a reciprocal clause) is not sufficient linguistic evidence for establishing a

reciprocal clause as one of the emic clause types of that language. It may be a variant of the transitive clause. Some definite criteria[6] must be used to distinguish the emic from the merely etic. Although there are some problems in the application of any set of guidelines for establishing emic units, the basic idea seems justifiable.

0.4.5. Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes. The distinction between nuclear and peripheral tagmemes on the clause level is useful in Duru (as in most languages). In general, nuclear tagmemes are those which are either 1) obligatory in a construction, 2) diagnostic of a construction type (e.g. the $object_1$ tagmeme in the Duru transitive clause, although optional, is certainly diagnostic of the clause type and therefore nuclear), or 3) in agreement or in explicit cross reference with the predicate. Peripheral tagmemes are always optional. Several other less important indications of nuclear tagmemes are cited by Longacre (1964: 48-51). Nuclear versus peripheral distinctions are most useful in the discussion of the structural differences thought necessary for emic contrast.

0.4.6. Dual structural contrast. Longacre has proposed (1964:18) the following rule for the identification of contrastive constructions:

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6 See 0.4.6. below.

> For two patterns (syntagmemes) to be in contrast, they must have more than one structural difference between them; at least one of these differences must involve the nuclei of the syntagmemes.

This is, of course, in addition to the usual semantic difference demanded between contrasting constructions. Acceptable structural differences are:

> a) an obligatory difference in the ordering of similar elements ... b) a different internal structuring of sequences manifesting clause level tagmemes, i.e. differences in the structure of words, phrases, and subordinate clauses, c) a difference in emic classes manifesting two tagmas ... d) a difference in the number of tagmas in one type versus the other; presence of a given tagma in one type versus its absence in the other; e) a regularly stateable grammatical transform.[7]

Pike adds a sixth acceptable contrast: distribution.[8] In my analysis I sought to avoid the use of this contrast, since I regard it as the least compelling of the contrasts. I did, however, find it useful in separating the intransitive clause from the reflexive, as seen in chapter one.

Symbolization in my analysis follows closely that used widely in tagmemics. Each tagmeme is symbolized by a formula whose first member indicates the function (slot, position)

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7 Longacre, 1964:47-8.

8 Pike, 1967:472: 'In my own view, ... a structural contrast can meet the requirement of a double difference if one of the two major differences consists in a sharply different external distribution--often carrying with it a different structural meaning--of the item as a whole in a higher-layered hypertagmemic slot.'

of the tagmeme, which is followed by a symbol for the construction (filler) which manifests the tagmeme in question. A colon separates the function symbol from the filler symbol. Thus O_1:NP would indicate that a noun phrase fills the $object_1$ slot. A complete list of abbreviations and symbols used in this paper is found in Appendix E.

0.5. Conventions used in listing of examples. 1) Duru examples quoted in the body of the paper are followed in parentheses by a letter-number composite symbol, the initial small case letter referring to folktale a-g, the number referring to a line of the text as it appears in that folktale in Appendix A. A final f refers to the following line(s) of the text. Thus (d13f) refers to the fourth folktale, lines 13 and 14. An occasional non-corpus reference to my notebooks is made, as (2-2). 2) Literal translations follow examples cited, with a free translation added in parentheses where the literal translation is inadequate or misleading in English. Abbreviations used in the literal translations are identical with those used in Appendix A, q.v. 3) Tagmeme boundaries are clarified in the Duru examples by a solid line over each distinct tagmeme. Occasionally a hyphen is inserted in the Duru text to facilitate the use of these solid lines. 4) References to the bibliography are by author, year, and page, for example: Pike 1967:472.

CHAPTER 1

CONTRAST: AMONG INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE CLAUSES

1.1. Definition of a clause. A clause in Duru is a construction ranking above phrase-level constructions and below the serial clause and sentence constructions. Duru clauses are of two types, verbal and non-verbal.

Verbal clauses contain a person-number (PN) tagmeme, a mode-reference (MR) tagmeme, a tense (T) tagmeme, and one and only one[9] predicate tagmeme. The first three tagmemes mentioned are manifested simultaneously by what is called by laymen a 'pronoun'. This fusion of forms into a single, largely unanalyzable manifestation will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. Suffice it to say here that there is always an overt fused manifestation of these three tagmemes except 1) in the third singular of non-emphatic indicative and completed action clauses, where a zero morpheme 'occurs', and 2) in the second person singular and plural in imperative clauses where the fused morpheme in question

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9 This is not meant to deny embedding or nesting of clauses and/or sentences into the clause level.

may be omitted if its meaning is clear in context. The predicate tagmeme (filled by a verb phrase) is always manifested overtly except occasionally in the transitive introducer clause when ò 'he says' is implicit before a direct or indirect quotation. Minimal formulae for all clauses would show indirect object (I), direct objects ($O_{1,2,3,4,5}$), complement (C), complement-as-goal (CG), or location (L) tagmemes as obligatory in certain types, but they are not essential to a clause definition.[10]

The sole non-verbal clause (equative) contains the usual PN-MR-T tagmemes (as above) which are followed obligatorily by a $complement_3$ (filled by a noun phrase, demonstrative, or verbal noun clause).

Clauses generally fill slots on the serial clause or the sentence level.

1.2. Matrix of independent indicative clause nuclei. If we are to define the independent transitive indicative clause, we must first contrast it with the other indicative clauses. Table 2 displays in matrix form the nuclear tagmemes of indicative clauses. Minimal formulae are easily extracted from the chart by removing optional tagmemes. Maximal formulae will not be given in this analysis for any clause except the clause in question, whose maximal

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10 See 1.2.

formula will be treated in chapter 2.

The CM tagmemes in Table 2 are filled by a series of

Intransitive	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_i			±CM
Reflexive	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{rfx}			±CM
Locative	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_l		+(±L	±CM)
Transitive	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{tr}		±O_1:NP/pr VN Cl	±CM
Reciprocal	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{rcp}		±O_2:NP	--
Ditransitive	+PN-MR-T	+ P:VP_{di}	+I:NP/pr	±O_2:NP	±CM
$Introducer_{tr}$	+PN-MR-T	±P:VP_{say}tr		+O_3:Dir Quo Ind Quo Ind Ord	
$Introducer_{di}$	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{say}di	+I:NP/pr	+O_3:Dir Quo Ind Quo Ind Ord	± CM?
Perception	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{perc}		+O_4:Indic Cl CA Cl	
Desiderative	+PN-MR-T	+P:v_{desid}		+O_5:VN Cl Sb Desid	±CM
Intentional	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{int}	+CG:VN Cl		±CM
Descriptive	+PN-MR-T	+P:v_{desc}	+C_1:n/qual		--
Inchoative	+PN-MR-T	+P:VP_{inch}	+C_2:VN Cl		±CM
Equative	+PN-MR-T		+C_3:NP/dem VN Cl		±CM

Table 2: Nuclear tagmemes in independent indicative clauses

morphemes fully discussed in chapter 2. The morphemes /o/ 'affirmative' and /ne/ 'negative' are in question for all CM tagmemes in Table 2. Non-corpus unelicited text shows ±CM in the reciprocal and descriptive clauses.

1.3. Discussion of contrasts. All clause types have two elements unique to themselves which contrast them with all other types. First, the predicate tagmeme in each clause differs from all the others. The second difference for each clause type is as follows:

Intransitive clauses, like the reflexive, contain no post-predicate nuclear tagmeme other than the optional CM tagmeme. The intransitive differs from the reflexive, however, in being able to occupy any position in a serial clause, while the reflexive does not seem to occur medially or finally in serial clauses.

Locative clauses must contain either a location tagmeme or a unique allomorph -le of the clause marker /o/.

Transitive and reciprocal clause types both differ from all other types by containing an optional object tagmeme while not permitting an indirect object tagmeme. The transitive type, however, may have (O_1) a pronoun in the object slot, but the reciprocal (O_2) evidently cannot.

The ditransitive clause type has an obligatory indirect object tagmeme followed optionally by a direct object tagmeme (O_2).

Transitive introducer clauses have an optional predicate followed by a direct quotation, indirect quotation, or an indirect order manifesting the obligatory object (O_3) slot. In this clause and the ditransitive introducer clause type, optional manner or locative tagmemes occur before the quotation or speech. All other[11] clauses have these tagmemes following the object slot. The ditransitive introducer construction has an obligatory object tagmeme (O_3) manifested by a direct or indirect quotation, or an indirect order.

The perception clause type contains an obligatory object (O_4) slot manifested by indicative and completed action clauses only.

Desiderative clauses contain subordinate desiderative clauses or verbal noun clauses which manifest the obligatory object (O_5) position.

The intentional clause type has a unique obligatory complement-as-goal tagmeme.

Descriptive clauses have only a predicate noun or qualifying adjective manifesting their obligatory complement (C_1) tagmeme.

Inchoative clauses contain an obligatory complement (C_2) tagmeme manifested only by a verbal noun clause.

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11 The perception and desiderative clauses in the corpus do not happen to contain these peripheral tagmemes.

The equative clause has no predicate but contains an obligatory complement (C_3) slot filled by a noun phrase, a demonstrative, or a verbal noun clause.

1.4. Illustrations of independent indicative clause constructions. We now illustrate the nuclear formulae already examined. Occasionally a peripheral tagmeme will appear in these citations, since they are taken unedited from the corpus. PM will stand for the person-number-mode-reference-tense complex referred to earlier.

INTRANSITIVE:

S	PM	P_i	
zóó	vó	dẽ' (g93)	Heart they are-clean (They are happy.)

REFLEXIVE:[12]

PM	P_{rfx}	L	
Ø	dùù gboy	doeoe sìilè (e35)	He follows leaves-himself hole anteater-in (He leaves the anteater hole too.)

LOCATIVE:

S	PM	P_l	L	
gã'	Ø	diè	vángé (g152)	Horn he is-there granary-in (The horn is in the granary.)

TRANSITIVE:

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	CM	
mí	bùù	bã"-e (d7)		I sit-on egg-cm.

- -

12 The term reflexive is used here more in the French sense than the American. The action is self-contained. For example, it can be said: bab báyyó 'the field cultivates itself' in Duru. Compare the passive meaning of the French reflexive personal pronoun.

RECIPROCAL:

PM	P_{rcp}	Relator	
vón	líen	ǎm (f10)	We-will destroy-each-other also.

DITRANSITIVE:

S	PM	P_{di}	I	O_2	
ãn fǎǎ	vó	pó-	n	go'oy máá yè	Mother-my in-law they[13] give-me horse foc this cm (My Mother-in-law gave me this horse here.)
CM					
no (a59)					

INTRODUCER$_{tr}$:

PM	P_{say}tr	O_3	
vó	ǒ:	"vó noo póg..." (e2)	They say, 'We kill animal...'
PM	P_{say}tr	O_3	
vó	taa	ba bin dùù nùng nan tóó (g94)	They think that they-will follow find dough other (They thought they would receive more food.)

INTRODUCER$_{di}$:

S	PM	P_{say}di	I	O_3	
gã'	Ø	ǒdd-	ó:	"mí gã' nanne." (g23f)	Horn it says-to-him, 'I horn dough-cm' (The horn said to him, 'I'm a horn of food.')

PM	P_{say}di	I	O_3
Ø	õd	koeoe	mbìgì wòò bà wó yè nò. (c23f)

He says-to Lion hammer his that it there cm (He tells Lion that his hammer is there.)

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13 Plural of respect.

PERCEPTION:

PM	P_{perc}	O_4	
Ø	nùng	Kpoo noo sɔ̀'ɔ́	(g156)

He finds Baboon dies already-cm (He found Baboon already dead.)

DESIDERATIVE:

PM	P_{desid}	O_5	
mí	hii	i dùù ɔ̀n tóó	(e7)

I want you follow tell-me other (I want you to tell me again.)

INTENTIONAL:

PM	P_{int}	CG	
mí	làà	vɔ́ nènee	(c34)

I go them chasing (I go (to) chase them.)

DESCRIPTIVE:

S	PM	P_{desc}	C_1	
hɔ̀ɔ̀b tèè	Ø	tii	gã' nan	(g12)

Yam that he changes horn dough (The yam has changed into a horn of food.)

INCHOATIVE:[14]

PM	P_{inch}	C_2	
Ø	bàà die	dɔ̀ɔ̀ zole	(c57)

He sits is-in-process-of wine drinking (He is drinking wine.)

EQUATIVE:

PM	C_3	CM	
mí	gã' loo	-e	(g107)

I horn stick-cm (I'm a horn of sticks.)

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14 Inchoative clauses in Duru express either a progressive or an incipient action: 'he is drinking' or 'he is about to drink'. In this example, however, the auxiliary verb <u>bàà</u> makes only the former sense possible.

CHAPTER 2

VARIATION: CONSTITUENT TAGMEMES

2.0. Introduction. This chapter will be devoted to a detailed examination and explanation of the functions and fillers of the constituent tagmemes of the independent transitive indicative clause. We shall examine all constituent tagmemes at this point, even those that cause no clause 'variant', so that details concerning all clause-level tagmemes will be found within a single chapter. Most of our energy, however, will be directed toward elucidating the variants (allo-constructions) of the independent transitive indicative clause.

Several types of variants occur in our clause due to 1) optional presence of nuclear or peripheral tagmemes, 2) optional kinds of fillers for tagmeme slots, 3) optional orders for tagmemes, and 4) occurrence in certain higher constructions. This last group of variants is an exceedingly important one, but we must defer discussion of it until chapter 3 because we have not yet defined or treated serial clauses or sentences. Filler and ordering differences, however, will be discussed in this chapter under the

particular tagmeme in question.

2.1. Obligatory tagmemes (PN-MR-T, P_{tr}).

2.1.1. The PN-MR-T tagmeme composite. There are at least five semantic components involved in this tagmeme composite. Person (P) and number (N) refer to pronominal categories familiar to us in English.[15] Our tagmemic symbol might be PN:pr.

Mode (M) in Duru refers to the indicative, completed action, imperative, nominal, and contrary-to-fact modes which we will meet again in our discussion of the derived clause types (chapter 4). Mode is reflected in the choice of one of two series of pronouns, the mi series[16] (indicative, completed action, indirect quotation) or the ãn series (imperative, most subordinate clauses). If the person referred to by a particular pronoun, however, is the same as the subject of a preceding dominating (generally independent) clause, reference (R) to that person replaces any pronoun of the mi or ãn series by the corresponding member of the bi series. Thus a mi or ãn series pronoun expresses non-reference to the preceding subject, as well as mode. We might use the following formula: MR:mi/ãn/bi.

The tense (T) tagmeme offers us three temporal

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15 There is, however, a dual pronoun as well as first person exclusive and inclusive pronouns in Duru.

16 These series take their names from the first person singular non-emphatic, timeless, subject form: mĩ 'I', ãn 'I-must' or 'let-me'.

possibilities: timeless, future, and past. We might use the formula T:t.

Let us display these ideas in a chart for easier comprehension:

person	number	mode		reference	tense
first	singular	mi:	Indic, CA, Ind Quo	non-reference	timeless
second	dual			bi: reference	future
third	plural	ãn:	Impv, most Sb clauses		past
inclusive					
exclusive					

In actual practice, the three tagmemic notations cited above (PN:pr, MR:mi/ãn/bi, and T:t) are not used. They are replaced by the fused symbol PN-MR-T:mi/ãn/bi, with additional notations such as mi_{subj} or mi_{t} to refer to a specific set of 'pronominal' forms.[17] The long symbol PN-MR-T may be abbreviated PM.

In the independent transitive indicative clause considered alone, the fillers of the PN-MR-T tagmemic slot may be: any person or number, indicative, non-reference, and any tense. This means only mi_{subj} and mi_{t} 'pronoun' sets manifest the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite. It should be noted that the third singular in the mi_{subj} set is always zero, a systematic non-occurrence of a morpheme in this set.

2.1.2. The predicate tagmeme. The predicate tagmeme

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17 See Appendix B for full paradigms of these sets.

of the independent transitive indicative clause is filled by a transitive verb phrase. This phrase has an obligatory head filled by a transitive verb, with or without pre-verb and post-verb auxiliary verbs. The pre-verb modifier always immediately precedes the head, while the post-verb auxiliary often follows the object tagmeme, resulting in a discontinuous phrase (the two elements of the discontinuous phrase are joined by the sign ┌──┐):

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	P	L	
Ø	bé'	vò	dàà	dole...(f27)	He bites them passes leg-in (He bites them in the leg...)

When the object tagmeme is manifested by a pronoun, the auxiliary verb generally follows the pronoun. If a noun manifests the object tagmeme, however, the post-verb auxiliary usually precedes the noun:

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	
Ø	soo dàà	hẽn (g69)	He searches passes thing (He looked all over for the thing.)

A couple of examples of the pre-verb modifier follow:

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	
vò	la nyòò	kíd...(a16f)	They go build tar...
PM	P_{tr}	O_1	
Ø	bàà bee	yéé tóó (a101)	He sits sings song a-certain (He sings a certain song.)

In the negative, only the verb filling the head slot takes the negative suffix (in agreement with the clause marker).

2.2. Variation by presence of optional nuclear tagmemes (O_1, CM).

2.2.1. The object$_1$ tagmeme. The object$_1$ tagmeme is variously manifested by a pronoun, a limiter ('all', 'some'), any noun or noun phrase, or a verbal noun clause. As just noted, the regular position of the object$_1$ tagmeme is following the predicate. However, if 1)a pronoun fills the object$_1$ tagmeme, and 2) there is a post-verb auxiliary, then the object generally occurs between the head of the verb phrase and the post-verb position.

Examples of nouns and pronouns filling the object slot were given in 2.1.2. An example of a verbal noun clause[18] manifesting the object slot:

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	
mí	kó	hẽn lálé (c44)	I do thing eating (I'm having a feast.)

2.2.2. The clause marker tagmeme. The clause marker (CM) tagmeme, when it occurs, helps to signal the end of the clause. In addition, the clause marker varies in form according to the mode of the clause (indicative, completed action, imperative--verbal noun clauses have no clause marker); it is the main signal for the negative; and it signals hesitation and exclamation. The clause marker is usually the last word in a clause, although certain adverbs may follow it in the negative.

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18 See 4.1.3. on the verbal noun clause.

With reference to our clause, we will discuss the two relevant morphemes: /o/ 'affirmative', and /ne/ 'negative'. The /o/ morpheme occurs in affirmative clauses and is optional, but /ne/ is always obligatory and occurs in negative clauses. Each of these two morphemes is realized by several allomorphs. The precise allomorph to be used in any given clause varies according to the nature of the word immediately preceding the clause marker. Table 3 gives the relevant context words and the clause marker allomorph(s) used in each case. Since not all the relevant context words occur in the corpus before a clause marker, Table 3 represents a summary of what we have found to occur in the language.

In certain cases, the clause marker is suffixed to the preceding word in the accepted Duru orthography, as will be seen in some of the following examples:

PM P_{tr} O_1 CM Ø kó kèbb-e (b14f)	She does trick-cm.
PM P_{tr} CM mí hii ó (a67)	I want cm.
PM P_{tr} O_1 CM mín yógó-m- o (c51)	I-will hide-you-cm.
PM P_{tr} O_1 CM Ø hón hẽn tóó né (d1f)	He sees-not thing some cm-neg (He sees nothing.)
PM P_{tr} L món zóó bùù wóle (d11)	You-will come-down sit-on (eggs) there.

immediately preceding word:	allomorph of /o/ 'affirmative'	allomorph of /ne/ 'negative'
noun qualifying adjective non-personal pronoun	e	ne
verb pronoun (personal) (isolated?) proper name	o	ne
indefinite adjective possessive adjective demonstrative adjective focus adjective aga 'self' ɓoeoe 'today'	no	ne
plural adjective	yo	ne
die 'it is there' pɛ̀ 'it is not there'	le --	-- le
numeral temporal-locative ko ie...wogo 'like' limiter adverb	Ø	ne
ideophone	Ø	?[19]

Table 3: Contexts and allomorphs of clause markers

19 Our present data do not have an ideophone in a negative clause immediately preceding the clause marker, but we would expect the clause marker to be realized as Ø in this position.

S	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	lim	
taye waa	vó	hõ̀-	gõ̀	'waapád	God child they see-him all (All the gods see him.)

(e27)

S	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	Ideo	
bãbããm	Ø	úú	gã'	toeoed	Rabbit he blows horn <u>toeoed</u>.

(g51f)

It should be noted that any <u>e</u> or <u>o</u> appearing in an allomorph in Table 3 stands only for 'fronting' or 'backing' respectively. The height of the clause marker vowel tends to agree with the height of the immediately preceding vowel.

<u>Exclamations</u> generally replace the final vowel of the clause by <u>a</u>. The best example from the corpus is a ditransitive clause (the ordinary locative ending would be <u>yèle</u>):

PM	P_{di}	I	O_2	L	CM	
vó	sà-	n	ãã̀m kín	yèl-	a	They dig-me peanut wild here-cm (They've dug up my peanuts!)

(a7)

<u>Hesitation</u> is expressed by replacing the final clause vowel by <u>ée</u> (with characteristic down-glide from high tone on the vowel). No example of this occurs in the corpus, but we may cite one from other text material (the ordinary numeral ending would be <u>tããno</u>):

bá' wãn'bó' zòò tããnée (2-2) Day ten and three-cm ((Was it) thirteen days (that I worked)?)

2.3. <u>Maximal formula</u>. Before we move to a consideration of peripheral tagmemes, let us examine the maximal formula for the independent transitive indicative clause.

The following peripheral tagmemes are to be added: temporal (Te), subject (S), locative (L), manner (M), instrumental-accompaniment (IA), ideophone (Ideo). In the formula below, either a Te_2 tagmeme may occur <u>or</u> an L, M, or IA tagmeme, which may be followed by an Ideo or CM tagmeme. The maximal formula as it emerges from the corpus is as follows:

$$\underline{\pm}Te_1 \quad \underline{\pm}S \quad +PM \quad +P_{tr} \quad \underline{\pm}O_1 \quad \underline{\pm}P \quad \underline{\underline{\pm}L/M/IA \quad \underline{\pm}Ideo/CM}$$

$$\mp Te_2$$

$$\underline{\pm}$$

By sheer accident of the corpus data, a more accurate picture of the ordering of the post-predicate tagmemes is clouded. By using other (non-corpus) unelicited text data, we are able to postulate a more clear-cut order:

$$\underline{\pm}Te_1 \quad \underline{\pm}S \quad +PM \quad +P_{tr} \quad \underline{\pm}O_1 \quad \underline{\pm}P \quad \mp Te_2 \quad \underline{\pm}L \quad \underline{\pm}IA \quad \underline{\pm}M \quad \underline{\pm}Ideo/CM$$

$$\underline{\pm}$$

2.4. <u>Variation by presence of peripheral tagmemes (Te_1, Te_2, S, L, IA, M, Ideo)</u>. Optional presence of peripheral tagmemes as well as different kinds of fillers brings variants to the clause under study.

2.4.1. <u>The temporal tagmemes</u>. Temporal tagmemes are filled typically by temporal phrases. The signs $\pm \quad \underline{\pm} \quad \mp$ in the formula indicate that both temporal tagmemes are optional but that only one may occur in a given clause. Te_1 often contains the relator <u>máá</u> or <u>téé</u>, which seem to refer

to past and future respectively:

bá' tããno téé (e9) Day three after (after three days)

It may also contain a temporal-locative relator in addition:

piggoo téé (c100) After-it then (after that)

By contrast, Te_2 contains neither of the two types of relators just referred to. The most common filler of Te_2 in the corpus is <u>hãã</u> 'a long time'. This word may be repeated or the vowel lengthened to emphasize the duration of the action.

2.4.2. <u>The subject tagmeme</u>. Nouns and noun phrases (such as <u>taye waa</u> 'god child' or 'sons of the gods') typically fill the subject slot. A full listing of the phrase types that occur here would serve little purpose in our present analysis, being more relevant to the discussion of noun phrase constructions. The non-personal pronoun <u>koo nonna</u> 'each one' also fills the subject slot once in the corpus.

A semantic restriction that the subject refer to an animate being seems to be operative in the transitive clause. Thus we might wish to distinguish a subject-as-actor tagmeme from, let us say, a subject-as-item tagmeme, but there is no suffix or structural sign in Duru that would lead us to insist on such a distinction. In this analysis we shall refer simply to a 'subject' tagmeme.

2.4.3. <u>The locative tagmeme</u>. Locative words and

phrases manifest the locative slot. They often contain an allomorph of the temporal-locative /le/ 'time-location', which serves as relator in a relator-axis construction. The axis is typically filled by a noun or noun phrase:

kóeóe wòòlè (g49) Sack his-in (in his sack)

2.4.4. The instrumental-accompaniment tagmeme. This tagmeme is manifested by a relator-axis construction having kàn 'with, and' as relator and a noun or noun phrase as axis. A typical example:

kàn yúú (a41) With head (with his head)

2.4.5. The manner tagmeme. Manner is typically manifested by an adverb (vangna 'quickly') but may be realized by a verbal noun phrase:

dóólé na'a (e7) Being-good very (very well)

2.4.6. The ideophone tagmeme. Few linguists working in West African languages seem to feel completely satisfied with their treatments of ideophones.[20] Until we have done more research on the function(s) of Duru ideophones, we simply posit an ideophone tagmeme. If indeed the ideophones cited below may be said to modify the predicate and thus fill a 'manner' tagmeme of some sort, we would have to posit

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20 Mary Jo Moore (1968:2) gives the following definition of the Hausa ideophone: 'an expressive unit of phonaesthetic speech which is most commonly used for intensification or impressionistic description, and which is highly dependent on context for semantic value.' She finds ideophones functioning now as adverbials, now as adjectivals, now as nominals in the clause (p. 33).

an M_2 tagmeme for ideophones, since they always seem to follow the ordinary manner tagmeme (when it occurs):

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	M	Ideo	
Ø	dẽng	kíd	náá	kpǎg (a34)	He hits tar like-that kpǎg (i.e. pow!).

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	M	Ideo	
Ø	kè	ɗug	íe	nyogo woeg woeg woeg woeg woeg woeg (c89f)	

He digs race like that woeg woeg woeg woeg woeg woeg (He runs tiredly.)

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	Ideo	
Ø	sá	kuu	dùng dùng (c75)	He raises dust dùng dùng (i.e. by pawing the dirt).

CHAPTER 3

DISTRIBUTION: IN LARGER CONSTRUCTIONS

3.1. Serial clause definition. Serial clause constructions rank above clause constructions and below sentence constructions. However, serial clauses, like non-serial clauses, typically fill slots on the sentence level.

We may speak of component clauses filling initial, medial, and final positions within serial constructions. A clause filling any of these three positions may contain a tagmeme which is then 'shared' with the other positions, but each of the component clauses (from 2 to 7 in the corpus) must have its own predicate. Any other tagmeme, including the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite, occurs only once in a serial construction.

No special attention will be given transitive clauses in this section, since they fit perfectly into the over-all patterns about to be described. Specific restrictions will, of course, be noted in the relevant paragraphs.

There seems to be some hesitation concerning the best method of relating independent clauses and the component clauses in serial constructions. Pike (1966:36-7) sets

forth three possible methods but defers a choice between them until a later date:

> [A component clause] may be seen, from one point of view, as comprising an entire serial clause, as a variant of an independent clause conditioned by coming in an emic cluster.
>
> From a second viewpoint, the object belongs simultaneously--as a 'portmanteau' tagmeme --to both clauses...
>
> A third view treats the cluster as a single complex unit. The advantage: The cluster, not the separate clause, is said to contain the 'shared', non-repeated, elements. The disadvantage: One cannot easily discuss clause in relation to basic and conditioned-variant forms. I shall leave the theoretical situation here indeterminate, and utilize that particular viewpoint (or combination of viewpoints) which is momentarily useful.

Our approach is a combination of the first and second views as set forth by Pike. We treat the component clauses as variants of independent clauses, conditioned by their distribution in an emic cluster (series). The component clauses 'share', non-contiguously, certain specifiable tagmemes. Our task is to specify which (and when) tagmemes are suppressed in clusters and give a set of rules relating any independent clause with its serial-component variant.

3.2. Serial constructions.

3.2.1. Occurrence restrictions. While most of our attention in this chapter is focused on indicative independent clauses and their serial variants, it should be noted that the completed action and imperative modes also occur (but more rarely) in serial constructions. In such

cases, they seem to follow the same rules to be outlined in 3.2.2. The matrix in Table 4 outlines for us the occurrence limitations of independent clauses entering into the serial relationship, as found in the corpus.

The structure of the Duru independent clause, especially of the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite, poses no small difficulty for us in our search for the boundaries of many serial clauses. We have, first, only an optional clause marker closing the construction in affirmative indicative clauses. In addition, we have the (third singular) zero morpheme of the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite. Given these two handicaps, we find many probable serial constructions in the third singular with absolutely no segmental indications of their internal[21] structure! We must, then, analyze and base our present description only on those constructions with overt PN-MR-T fillers.

Where only 'probable' (3 s) serial clauses occur in the corpus, a z appears in Table 4. Non-suspect serial construction occurrences are marked with an x. A blank space indicates lack of occurrence in the corpus.

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21 Externally, of course, a clause marker in the preceding clause or an overt filler of the PN-MR-T tagmeme in the following clause would serve equally well to delineate at least one boundary of an ambiguous serial clause. If my informant were immediately available, the surest way to crack this problem would be to ask him to transform the passage in question to another mode (e.g. the imperative) or to the third person plural indicative, since the PN-MR-T fillers are always overt in those cases.

clause type	initial	medial	final
Intransitive	x	x	x
Reflexive	z		
Locative			x
Transitive	x	x	x
Reciprocal		z	z
Ditransitive	x		x
$Introducer_{tr}$			z
$Introducer_{di}$			z
Perception			
Desiderative			
Intentional	x		z
Descriptive			
Inchoative			z
Equative			

Table 4: Indicative components in serial clauses

3.2.2. Rules for serial-component variant clauses. We may give the following set of rules for relating independent clauses and their serial-component variants:

1. Te_1, S, and PN-MR-T or PN-MR tagmemes may occur only with the initial serial component, being always deleted

in (but shared with) the following component clause(s).

2. In the position(s) following the initial predicate and preceding the final predicate of the series, only the (nuclear) I, O_1, O_2, and CG tagmemes occur.

3. An object tagmeme occurring in one clause is deleted in all following component clauses if it refers to the same object.[22]

4. L, IA, M, and C^M tagmemes may occur <u>only</u> following the final predicate. These tagmemes are shared with the preceding predicates, although deleted in all but final position.

5. Negative predicates may occur <u>only</u> if the final predicate is negative, in which case one or more of the preceding predicates may also be negative.

The following examples will illustrate the above rules. Broken lines show the sphere of influence of 'shared' tagmemes:

1. (Initial and final: intransitive)

Te_1	S	PM	P_i	P_i	L
yógó nyag kã'ãmé máá	nán 'waapád	vò	sóg	yàà	saale (g47f)

```
Te1-----------------S-----------------
                    PM------
                            ----------L
```

Tomorrow mouth morning-in foc man all they gather come village-square-to (Tomorrow morning everyone must gather in

- -

22 In two examples from the corpus, a noun object is replaced by a pronoun in the following component clause.

the village square.)

2. (Initial: intentional, final: locative)

PM P_{int} CG P_1 L

vɔ́ laa- n nan yɔ́ɔ́lé die kaale (a63f)

PM----------

They[23] go-for-me dough working are-there village-in (She went to fix me food in the village.)

3. (Initial, medial, and final: transitive)

PM P_{tr} O_1 P_{tr} P_{tr} L

vɔ́ kéé doeg gàng gbɔ̀ zɔ̀ɔ̀ wɔ̀le ... (b36)

PM-----O_1----------
O_1==========L

They leave pot carry leave go-down there (They carry the pot and leave it there.)

4. (Initial: transitive, final: ditransitive)

PM P_{tr} O_1 P_{di} I P M

... ɔ́ɔ́ yɔ́ɔ́ nan ya pãn ba ya vangna (a66)

PM-----O_1----------
O_1==========M

... that-they[24] work dough come carry-to us-two come fast (... that she should fix the food and bring it to us fast.)

- -

23 Plural of respect.

24 Idem.

5. (Initial and final: transitive)

PM P_{tr} P_{tr} CM E

mí soo hǒn ne sam (g134)

PM------

I search see-not cm-neg at-all (I've looked but I can't find it at all.)

3.3. Relative frequency among indicative clauses in corpus. This analysis would not be complete without some indication of the relative frequency of the clauses under discussion in the corpus.

The first column in Table 5 includes negative forms and all other indicative variants except those that serve as component clauses in serial constructions. The latter are tabulated separately in the second column. This chart serves to alert us to the importance of this particular set of variants in the total picture of clause frequency.

3.4. Sentences. A sentence in Duru is a construction above the clause and serial clause levels but below the paragraph and discourse levels. Sentences seem to consist of 'a single clause, of a patterned combination of clauses, or of a clause fragment (usually of phrasal structure, and often dependent in sense on other sentences in the linguistic context or on context of situation).'[25]

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25 Longacre 1968:125. His definition seems to fit Duru sentence structure quite well.

clause type	indep	serial	clause type	indep	serial
Intransitive	97	197	Perception	13	-
Reflexive	4	9	Desiderative	13	-
Locative	6	19	Intentional	7	3
Transitive	164	233	Descriptive	3	-
Reciprocal	1	3	Inchoative	14	1
Ditransitive	18	21	Equative	5	-
Introducer_{tr}	31	7	TOTALS	469	507
Introducer_{di}	93	14			

Table 5: Frequency of independent indicative clauses in corpus

We may speak of <u>initial</u>, <u>primary</u>, and <u>final</u> positions within the sentence. Such tentative analyses that we have made on the Duru sentence level indicate that independent transitive indicative clauses may fill <u>any</u> primary position[26] on the sentence level with two exceptions: 1) the primary position in contrary-to-fact condition sentences, and 2) the first primary position in imperative sentences. There may be several primary positions in some sentences.

An example of a compound sentence:

26 often called the <u>Base</u> tagmeme.

$Prim_1$:transitive	link:<u>amáá</u>	$Prim_2$:transitive
baa yè hõ ya mbigi ka pè 'waapád, amáá koeoe hǒn ne (c10f)		Man this sees place hammer where falls all, but Lion sees-not cm-neg (This man sees clearly the place where the hammer falls, but Lion does not.)

On the other hand, the contrary-to-fact condition sentence contains no independent transitive indicative clause. It contains an initial position filled by a contrary-to-fact protasis and a primary position filled by a contrary-to-fact apodosis (here separated by a comma):

kan kón kèb ne téé, ka vón gbó wó yo noo ya dõõ ããm kín nyèle (a112f)	If-he-would do-not trick cm-neg if, would they-would hit him cm kill place root peanut wild that-at (If he had not been tricky, they would have hit and killed him among the wild peanuts.

The initial primary position of an imperative sentence cannot contain an independent transitive indicative clause, but the following primary position(s) must do so. In the following example, the initial primary position is filled by an imperative transitive clause, the other two primary positions are filled by indicative transitive clauses (each

position is separated by a comma):

ǎm 'bɛ̀ kẽng nyè, mó maa, mó soeng 'waapád (c99f)	You take monkey this, you roast, you crunch all (Take the monkey, roast it, and eat it all.)

CHAPTER 4

DERIVED CLAUSES

4.0. Introduction. If we may regard indicative clauses as in some sense basic or central to the Duru clause system, we may (with a minimum of repetitiveness) describe the remaining sets of Duru clauses as 'derived' from the indicative. We will state the characteristics (with examples) for each set of derived clauses, always keeping the indicative mode as our point of departure. Only when a tagmeme (in a derived set) differs from its indicative counterpart will it be mentioned here. Each of the modes about to be described is contrastive with the other modes; each set of subordinate clauses contrasts with all other sets of subordinate clauses and with each mode; and emphatic and interrogative constructions are distinct from all other constructions.

The main[27] lines of derivation may be simply explained

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27 As in chapter 3, the independent transitive indicative clause fits into a pattern describable in general for all the clauses of the indicative mode. Some restrictions obtain for certain of the indicative clauses, which cannot be transformed into certain modes, but since they do not affect the clause which is the subject of this analysis, they will not be treated here.

and diagrammed. Indicative clauses may be transformed into any mode, any subordinate clause, and into emphatic and interrogative constructions. Completed action clauses may be transformed into four subordinate clause types, as on Figure 1. Completed action and imperative clauses may be made emphatic or interrogative. Subordinate clauses may be made emphatic. Serial clauses may be composed of clause variants from three modes: indicative, completed action, or imperative; but only one mode may be involved in any one serial construction. Interrogation and emphasis are not mutually exclusive but may occur simultaneously in the same clause.

In Figure 1, solid lines indicate derivations between contrastive types, while broken lines indicate compositional relationships involving non-contrastive variants of the clauses involved.

4.1. Modal derived clauses (CA, Impv, VN, C-to-F).

4.1.1. Completed action mode (CA). The two distinctive features of this mode are: 1) its completed action clause marker; 2) the ordering of certain allomorphs of this clause marker. This mode is not transformable into the verbal noun or the contrary-to-fact modes, as is the indicative mode.

The semantic area covered by this mode is the completedness of an action. Often this action took place in

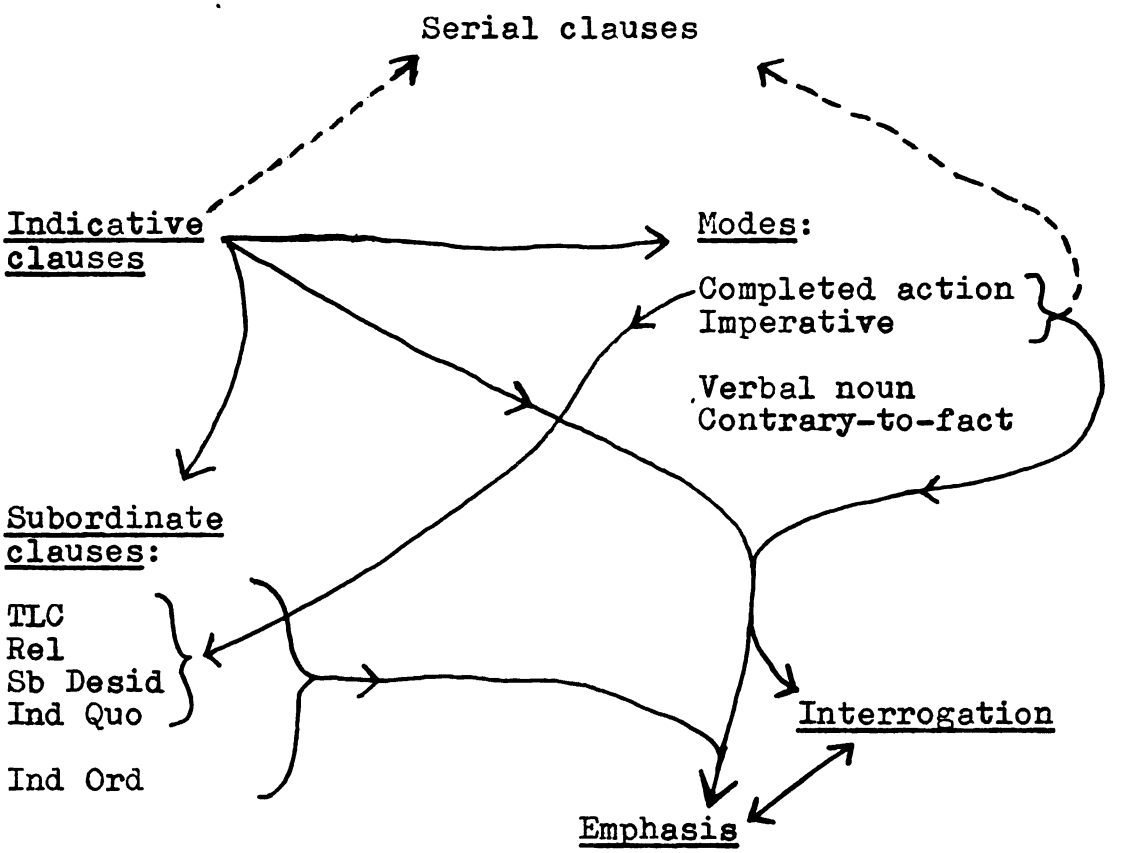

Figure 1: Principal lines of clause derivation

the recent past, but completedness here must not be confused with tense, which is expressed by the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite. Since it is the viewpoint of the Duru speaker that determines what is 'accomplished', a future event may be spoken of as 'completed'.[28] The completed action

28 Thus: 'Tomorrow I-will leave on the bus already.'

clause marker is often translated 'already' by informants.

This clause marker is composed of two morphemes: /sɔ́'ɔ́/ 'affirmative' and /sie...ne/ 'negative'.[29]

The distinctive ordering mentioned above concerns the allomorphs whose first component is <u>sie</u>, for, unlike any other Duru clause marker, this component very seldom occurs clause finally. Its preferred positions are as follows: <u>preceding</u> a noun object (O_1) but <u>following</u> a pronoun object (O_1). (In ditransitive clauses it occurs between the I and the O_2 tagmemes.)

Some examples:

PM P_{tr} CM O_1 CM	You show already body cm
mɔ́ vùd sí'e fɔ̃ɔ̃ o (a33)	(You've exposed yourself.)
PM P_{tr} O_1 CM Te_2 CM	I find-him already today cm
...mí maa-wɔ́ sí'e ɓoeoe o (a76)	(He's caught today.)

4.1.2. <u>Imperative mode (Impv)</u>. The imperative mode is characterized by 1) its PN-MR tagmeme composite filler, which is always an <u>ãn</u> series pronoun,[30] with no tense tagmeme, 2) the optional occurrence of the 2 s and 2 pl PN-MR

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29 See Appendix C for a more complete description of the allomorphs and their contexts.

30 See Appendix B for a complete paradigm of the <u>ãn</u>$_{subj}$ pronoun.

tagmeme composites when the linguistic or situational context makes the meaning clear, and 3) its imperative clause marker.

The PN-MR tagmeme composite involves all three persons and when not in the second person is translatable by 'let me...', 'let him...', or by 'I must...', etc. The second person is the equivalent of our English imperative.

Optionality in the Duru PN-MR tagmeme occurs only here. In all the other modes, all fillers of this tagmeme composite are overt (except, of course, the Ø morpheme for the 3 s in the $\underline{mi}_{subj}$ set).

The imperative clause marker is identical with the indicative /o/ in the affirmative. The negative morpheme, however, is <u>sa</u> in all contexts.

Some examples:

PM P_{tr} O_1 CM		You take stick-cm (Take sticks!)
i 'bee ... hvó́eó́e-é (a78f)		
PM P_{tr} O_1 CM		You accept word his cm-neg
i fẽẽ moo wòò sa (a83)		(Don't believe him!)
PM P_{tr}		Let-him come eat!
a ya lá (e3)		

4.1.3. <u>Verbal noun mode (VN)</u>. The verbal noun clause is characterized by:

1) no Te_1, S, PN-MR-T, or CM tagmemes

2) a verbal noun always fills the P tagmeme

3) lack of a negative form

4) indirect and direct object tagmemes precede the P tagmeme instead of following, as elsewhere

5) its distinctive distribution: filling the C_2 and C_3 slots of the inchoative and equative clauses, the O_1 slot of the transitive clause, the O_5 slot of the desiderative clause, and the CG slot of the intentional clause, as well as filling some slots ordinarily filled by nouns (like head and detail slots in noun phrases and axis slots in relator-axis locative phrases).

The verbal noun mode is not an independent mode, as are the other modes, nor does it fit structurally with the set of subordinate clauses. It might be called a nominal mode. The above list of characteristics probably needs no elaboration for the reader who has followed me this far.

Examples of the intentional and inchoative clauses containing verbal noun clauses may be found in 1.4. Following are examples of verbal noun clauses filling O_1 and O_5 slots:

S	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	M	Rabbit he finds heart being-clean much (Rabbit was very happy.)
			O_1 P_{vntr}		
bãbããm	Ø	nùng	zóó dẽ"e	wãání	

(g19)

PM	P_{desid}	O_5		CM	I like-not arm small pointing
		O_1	P_{vntr}		cm-neg (I don't like finger
mí sèn		nag waa	sale	ne	pointing.)

(f19)

4.1.4. Contrary-to-fact mode (C-to-F). The contrary-to-fact mode is used in the apodosis of contrary-to-fact condition sentences.[31] It is characterized by: 1) the particle ka 'contrary-to-fact' which precedes the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite, and 2) the limiting of fillers of the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite to mi_t pronouns.[32] A demonstrative may occur near the end of the clause.

An example:

?[33]	c-to-f	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	Then contrary-to-fact they-
yee ...	ka	vón	ndùg	bii	would tan him today like that
Te_2	M	dem	CM		would cm (Then they would be
ɓoeoe	íe yogo	yè	no	(all0f)	tanning him today like that.)

4.2. Subordinate derived clauses (TLC, Rel, Sb Desid, Ind Quo, Ind Ord). Subordinate clauses are distinguished from independent clauses by the subordinating phrases or words (or systematic lack of them) which may introduce and/or

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31 There is some evidence to indicate that the contrary-to-fact mode may also be used in displeasure concerning a past event: 'You should not have forbidden him!' No such construction is found in the corpus, however.

32 See Appendix B for a paradigm.

33 Meaning unknown, but this particle seems to introduce a conclusion from previous information.

close the clause. Their distribution on the sentence, clause, or phrase level also serves to contrast them with other clause types. The five most frequent[34] sets of derived clauses will be treated here. General rules and examples will be cited, but no attempt will be made to be complete or exhaustive, since only the transitive indicative clause's derived forms are of particular interest to us here. Most indicative clauses may be transformed into subordinate clauses on the analogy of the transitive clauses given in the following examples. An interesting characteristic of the initial morpheme of the subordinate phrase is that it does <u>not</u> occur initially in the subordinate clause. It occurs between the S and the PN-MR-T tagmemes, which means that Te_1 and S tagmemes precede it.

The 'characteristics' of the clauses listed below are not all distinctive, but at least the first two listed for each set of clauses will be contrastive.

4.2.1. <u>Temporal-locative-conditional</u> <u>(TLC)</u>. The distinctive characteristics of the TLC clause are its subordinating phrase[35] and its distribution in the initial slot in sentences. Its PN-MR tagmeme composite is filled by

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34 Three other probably contrastive types (purpose, concessive, and cause) will not be treated here due to insufficient data in the corpus.

35 See Appendix D.

ãn series pronouns.

Temporal clauses may contain an initial time word, locative clauses an initial locative, and conditional clauses may contain a conditional particle (borrowed from Fulani).

Some examples:

S	Sb-PM	P_{tr}	M	Sb	
nán	kóó	ki	íe yogo	máá	Man when-they hear like that when (When the people heard that...)
(g121)					

Sb	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	L	Sb	
sey ká	Ø	màà	pɔ́g	bɔ́e'	máá	Time when he finds animal close when (When he finds the animal is close...)
(c8)						

4.2.2. Relative (Rel). The characteristics of the relative subordinate clause are:

1) its subordinating phrase,[36] which is always manifested but may not be overt
2) its typical distribution in a modifier slot in noun phrases
3) the negative agreement of the subordinate verb with the verb of the preceding primary clause when this latter verb is negative, although semantically the subordinate verb's meaning remains affirmative
4) the ãn series pronoun filling the PN-MR tagmeme slot.

- -

36 See Appendix D.

An example:

Te_1	Sb-PM	P_{tr}	Sb	
ká bán	kii	pa	yè (e6)	Time-past yesterday which-you announce here (which you announced yesterday)

An example of negative grammatical agreement:

S	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	CM	
bãbããm	Ø	gaan	hẽn a kón	ne	Rabbit he knows-not thing that-he does-not cm-neg (Rabbit doesn't know what to do.)
(a25f)					

The c over the bar indicates concord or agreement.

4.2.3. Subordinate desiderative (Sb Desid). The characteristics of the subordinate desiderative clause are:

1) its systematic lack of a subordinator
2) its distribution in the O_5 slot of the desiderative clause
3) negative agreement between the subordinate verb and the verb in the primary clause (Cf. the relative clause).
4) the ãn series pronoun filling the PN-MR tagmeme composite slot.

The example on p. 17 may be analyzed further here:

PM	P_{di}	I	O_2	
i	dùù ɔ̀-n		tóó	You follow tell-me other ((I want) you to tell me again.)

An example of negative grammatical agreement:

	c					
PM	P_{desid}			O_5		CM
		PM	P_{tr}	O_1	L	
mó	hii̇n	óó	nòòn	bi	móólé lige	ne (e28)

You want-not that-we kill-not you your-at house-at cm-neg

(You don't want us to kill you in your house.)

4.2.4. Indirect quotations and orders (Ind Quo, Ind Ord). Both indirect quotations and orders use the optional subordinating root ba and fill the O_3 slot in introducer clauses. Indirect quotations, however, have a mi series pronoun filling the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite slot while indirect orders have an ãn series pronoun there. Another difference between these two is that indirect quotations may contain only indicative and completed action clause markers, while indirect orders seem to contain only imperative clause markers.

An example of an indirect quotation:

S	Sb	PM	P_{di}		I	P	Rabbit that follows carries
bãbããm	ba	Ø	dùù	pãn	bi	ya	them comes dough other (that
O_2							Rabbit brings them more food)
nan tóó (g105)							

An example of an indirect order:

Sb	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	that they-should announce word
ba	óó	pa	moo (g112)	(that they should announce...)

4.3. Reference variants. As already indicated in 2.1.1., some subordinate clauses may contain a bi series pronoun of reference instead of a mi or ãn series pronoun under certain conditions. Any pronoun[37] in the subordinate clause meeting the 'reference condition' is replaced, whether that pronoun fills the PN-MR-T, I, or O slot.[38] The 'reference condition' is as follows: if a (mi or ãn series) pronoun in a dominated clause refers to the same person as the subject of the preceding dominating clause, that pronoun is replaced by the corresponding pronoun in the bi series.

Two comments are in order: 1) only if the dominating clause precedes the dominated clause can this reference condition be fulfilled, and 2) we must speak of a dominating clause rather than a preceding independent clause, since the dominating clause may itself be a subordinate clause.

The following (sets of) clauses are most frequently dominated in this manner in the corpus:

1) subordinate desiderative
2) indirect quotation
3) indirect order
4) verbal noun clause

Some examples:

- -

37 The same is true of the possessive adjective, which has a special 'reference form'.

38 For bi as O, see 4.2.3.; as I, see 4.2.4.

PM	P_{desid}	O_5				He wants he goes pour-together
		PM	P_{rcp}	O_2	L	wine there (He wants to pour
Ø	híí	bi	la	tõõn	dòò wòle	wine (into it) there.)
(b19f)						
PM	P_{say}tr	O_3				They think that they-will
		Sb	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	follow find dough other
vò	taa	ba	bin	dùù	nùng nan tóó	(They thought they would
(g94)						receive more food.)

See also the second example in 4.2.3. and the first example in 4.2.4.

4.4. Interrogative derived clauses. All clauses in the following three modes may be transformed into interrogative clauses: indicative, completed action, imperative. In addition, emphatic derived clauses may simultaneously be interrogative.

The distinctive characteristics of interrogative clauses are: 1) the morpheme /a/ must occur clause finally,[39] replacing any final vowel the clause marker may previously have had, and 2) an optional interrogative non-personal pronoun may fill the S or O slots (ẽn 'what', nèn 'how', nóó 'who') or the L slot (tè 'where').

An example:

- -

39 See Appendix C for allomorphs of /a/ dependent on context.

PM	P_{tr}	O_1	CM-Q	
mín	kó	nénn-a (b31)		I-will do how-cm-Q (What will I do?)

4.5. Emphatic derived clauses. Clauses may show emphasis in several ways, or in combinations of these ways.

To emphasize the PN-MR-T tagmeme composite, emphatic 'pronouns' are used, with two levels of emphasis visible: strong and very strong.[40] The emphatic pronoun often follows the predicate.

An example:

PM	P_{tr}	PME	O_1	CM	
mí	sén	míí	nyang	ne (g33)	I want-not I foolishness cm-neg (I don't want any foolishness, I don't!)

Predicates may be emphasized by preceding juncture (pause) and doubling of the initial verb consonant (see also c62 and c102):

S	PM	P_{tr}	O_1	$P_{tr}E$	O_1	L	
Bãbããm	Ø	tii	nag kpáág	llà'	kídd-ôle		(a38)

Rabbit turns hand left hits tar-there (Rabbit pulls back his left hand and hits the tar.

This latter example happens to be a serial construction, but this fact does not bear upon emphasis constructions in Duru.

Negative forms are emphasized by adding one of the

- -

40 The form used in strong emphasis is generally describable in the mi series by lengthening the vowel of the free object form of the pronoun; strongest emphasis is shown by adding -no to the mi_t pronoun. The ãn and bi series also have emphatic forms.

adverbs koed or sam to the negative clause marker:

S	PM	P_{tr}	Thing bush pl all they find-
hẽn hṍg vò 'waapád	vò	nùgun	not thing eating cm-neg at-all
O_1	CM	E	(None of the animals could
hẽn lálé	né	sám (glf)	find any food at all!)

The root íe 'the one who' may be involved to give special emphasis:

E	PME	P_{tr}	O_1		CM-Q
íe	víí	kó	hẽn nyẽ́noo ẽn	...	a (c63)

The-ones-who you do thing seed-his what ... cm-Q (What good thing do you do ... ?)

An object or other post-predicate tagmeme may be transposed to pre-subject position, generally with the addition of the particle máá for emphasis:

O_1E	PM	P_{tr}	CM
wõẽõẽ ba yaa sṍ'ṍ máá	Ø	gaa	ne (b12)

Husband that comes already emph, he knows cm-neg (He doesn't know at all that the husband has come already.)

CHAPTER 5

FURTHER STUDIES

Our analysis of Duru grammar has but begun. The immediate future could be devoted to pursuing several areas in the grammatical hierarchy which this thesis has not been able to touch, or which have not yet been the objects of intensive study. An annotated list of some of the more profitable areas for future study follows:

1. Fill out existing charts. Once an informant is again available, the matrices due to the present analysis may be filled in and the 'fields' then surveyed for relevant contributions to the clause level.

2. Ideophones. Ideophones should be studied at length to expose their functions and better explain their relationships to elements of the phrase and clause levels.

3. Serial clause subclusters. There are some indications that certain serial constructions are more limited than the ordinary serial clause in what component clauses they may contain. For example, there may be a 'ditransitive subcluster', whose first component is a transitive clause containing an optional O_1 tagmeme, followed by a ditransitive

predicate (filled by pó 'give' or ẹ́ 'put') which is followed by the obligatory I tagmeme (but not an O_2 tagmeme).

4. Sentences, paragraphs, discourses. Although we must expand our treatment of serial clauses, it is particularly the sentence, paragraph, and discourse constructions that need considerable attention. Present evidence seems to indicate at least these three levels higher than serial clause constructions.

5. Phonology and intonation. Isolating the higher phonological structures and relating them to grammatical constructions of comparable level has yet to be done.

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APPENDIX A

THE CORPUS

The corpus is composed of seven folktales lettered A through G as follows:

A Rabbit Steals

B Two Adulterers

C Lion

D Rabbit and Pigeon

E Hyena and Death

F Hunting

G Rabbit and the Cornucopia

The first four were recorded on tape, the others written down by the informant. The Duru text has been arranged with a free translation below it on the bottom of each set of pages on the left. A more colloquial style was chosen for the free translation because we are dealing with folktales. A literal word-by-word translation is always found on the opposing page, with a number-letter reference to my notebooks in the upper right hand corner.

In the corpus certain departures from the style of this thesis are found: 1) double quotation marks enclose

quotations to avoid confusion over the use of the apostrophe for the glottal stop, 2) no zero third singular pronoun morphemes are indicated, retaining the serial clause ambiguities as they are in spoken Duru. Examples cited in the body of the thesis contain Ø markings for the reader's benefit.

In order to aid the reader the English third singular verbal suffix -s is used in the literal translation: takes.

Ideophones are generally transliterated but some indication is given of their meaning. Words of very uncertain meaning are not translated in the literal translation, but an underlined space is left instead.

A minimum of abbreviations is used in the literal translation:

neg	negative	cm	clause marker
Q	interrogative	-	joins two or more words used to gloss a single Duru Word
pl	plural		
foc	focus		
emph	emphasis		

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

1 Bãbãã̃m Ã̃ã fãã̃ vɔ̀ bàà báb, báb ãã̃m kínné. Vɔ̀ bàà ãã̃m
2 kín hãã̃ ɓɔ́ɔ́lé na'a. Ã̃ã̃m kín pee yɛ̃́g wãã̃ní. Vidde téé
3 Bãbãã̃m lúú, gang tõng ya bà sà Ã̃ã...Ã̃ã fãã̃ vɔ́ ã̃ã̃m líwná,
4 vidde.

4b Nyag kã'ã̃me Ã̃ã fãã̃ kɔ́ɔ́ yaa téé, vɔ̀ màà zɔ́m mbaa
5 pón. Ã̃ã fãã̃ vɔ̀: "Á, yee nánán doo nóó pɛ̃́n ka bàà ɛ̀ɛ̀n
6 mí ã̃ã̃m kín líwná? Nyag kã'ã̃me kɛ́n yaa téé, vɔ̀ sà ã̃ã̃m
7 kín, sà ã̃ã̃m kín, vɔ̀ sàn ɛ̀ɛ̀m kín, vɔ̀ sàn ɛ̀ɛ̀m kín yèla! Nán
8 doo nóó ka kó hẽn sɔ́ɔ́ íe yogo yèla?" Bãbãã̃m Ã̃ã fãã̃ vɔ̀
9 gaan hẽn ɔ̀ɔ̀ kɔ́n ne.

10 Kɔ̀ɔ̀ vɛ̃́' làà vɔ̀ɔ̀ ligge téé, Bãbã̃ã̃m tá'adɔ̀ vidde,
11 lúú vidde, gang tõnga ɛ̀ɛ̀ ã̃ã̃m kínno téé, pãngã mán kɛ̃́ɛ̃́,
12 vɔ̀ lá. Ɛ̀ɛ̀, ya ɛ̀ɛ̀ téé, gang a mán kɛ̃́ɛ̃́, vɔ̀ lá. Sey túm,
13 túm túm mbàà diɛ̀ woo kólé íe yogo.

14 Yógó Ã̃ã fãã̃ kɔ́ɔ́ ya hɔ̀ too máá, vɔ̀ ɔ̀: "Aa'à, ã'ã yè

- -

R's[41] MIL has a field, a field of wild peanuts. She hoes the wild peanuts a lot and they grow real well. At night R takes his hoe and secretly digs up MIL's peanuts.

When MIL comes in the morning she finds some rows (5) dug up. She says, "Hey! Who's secretly stealing my peanuts? Every morning when I come, they've dug up some of my peanuts! Who's doing a thing like that?" R's MIL doesn't know what to do.

(10) After she returns home, R wakes up before dawn, takes his hoe and digs up some peanuts, then takes them to his wife and they eat. Yes, he goes and digs, then takes them to his wife and they eat. He's in the habit of doing this all the time.

One day when MIL sees this again, she says, "Oh no, now

- -

41 R = Rabbit, MIL = Mother-in-law

TEXT A

RABBIT STEALS 3-118--3-120

(1) Rabbit Mother in-law they cultivate field, field peanut wild-cm. They cultivate peanut (2) wild until being-much very. Peanut wild that sprouts much. At-night time (3) Rabbit leaves, carries hoe comes for dig Mother... Mother in-law pl peanut stealthily, (4) night-in.

(4b) Mouth morning-in Mother in-law when-they come when, they find row sit (5) harvested. Mother in-law they (say): "What! Q person his who first that continues digs-me (6) me peanut wild stealthily? Mouth morning-in when-I come when, they dig peanut (7) wild, dig peanut wild, they dig-me peanut wild, they dig-me peanut wild here-cm! Person (8) his who that does thing this like that here-cm-Q?" Rabbit Mother in-law they (9) know-not thing that-they do-not cm-neg.

(10) When-they return go they house-in when, Rabbit awakens-early night-in, (11) leaves night-in, carries hoe-goes digs peanut wild-cm then carries goes find-each-other wife, (12) they eat. Yes, comes digs then, carries-goes find-each-other wife, they eat. Time always, (13) always always continues is-in-process-of it doing like that.

(14) Next-day Mother in-law when-they come see other when, they say: "No, time this

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

15 má náá, mí gaan sí'e hẽn tóó ãn kón ne. Sey mín soo hínaa
16 tóó moo líw máá nyè mà"e pẽn." Ndáá Ãã fáá vò ka là. Vò
17 la nyòò kíd, kíd na' awòle. Vò nyòò kíd kó í'e nánán
18 wogo. Vò gàng kíd pee kad, vò ya lòeòe ɛ́ bab sãame. Vò
19 dàà vɛ̃' ka là lige.
20 Vid ká kó máá, Bãbããm gang ɗag kan tõng yaa die
21 sílé. Ẽm, ẽm, ẽm bo'e' nóó, ẽm to'ego'e nóó, ẽm to'ego'e nóó.
22 Ka nyà ya nyag babe máá, kùù nóó máá hɔ̀ kíd Ãã fãã
23 vòn dìì ɛ́ bab sãamé pee dìì mbàà yò. To'eggò fáááá. Kíd
24 nam né. Ɔ̀: "Láá, yee hẽn wòò ẽn ka dìì nyèla? Kóó nánán
25 vòò dii, vò die...vò dien píla?" Bãbããm gaan hẽn a
26 kón ne. Bãbããm noe'oey hágé, bi hɔ̀ kíddé, kíd noe'oey
27 wòò. Lúú dii dog yúba, kíd lúú woo.
28 Ká vidde ãmáá, ka nam sɔ́'ɔ́ pɛ̃n téé, kíd nyè nam
29 ãm. Ká noe'oey ká' dágá téé, kíd noe'oey wòò. 'Bɛ̀ tõng

- -

(15) I don't know what I can do any more. I must look for some way to catch this thief." Then she goes and builds up some tar, a lot of tar. She shapes the tar in the form of a man. She carries it, sets it up in the middle of the field, and returns home.

(20) When it's night R brings a calabash and hoe, of course. He walks very carefully, looking all around.

When he comes to the edge of the field, he sees the tar standing there that MIL has set up in the middle of the field. He looks at it a long time. The tar doesn't move. He says, "Oh my! What's that standing there? Maybe it's a man. (25) Is he...is he lying in ambush for me?" He doesn't know what to do. He bends down to look at the tar; the tar bends down too. He stands up; the tar stands up too.

Since it's night, whenever he moves, the tar moves too. If he bends down to one side, the tar bends down too. He

(15) foc time, I know-not already thing other that-I do-not cm-neg. Time I-will look-for road (16) some for robber foc this catching first." Then Mother in-law they take-road go. They (17) go build tar, tar is-big very. They build tar like like person (18) like. They carry tar that then, they come plant set field middle-in. They (19) pass return take-road go house-to.

(20) Night when does when, Rabbit carries calabash and hoe comes is-there (21) of-course. Walks, walks, walks looks eye, walks looks eye, walks looks eye.

(22) When arrives comes edge field-at when, opens eye when sees tar Mother in-law (23) that-they make-stand set field-in that stands sits there. Looks-him long-time. Tar (24) moves cm-neg. Says: "What! Q thing his what that stands here-cm-Q? Or person (25) they stand, they are-in-process-of...they are-in-process-of-me stalking-cm-Q?" Rabbit knows-not thing that-he (26) does-not cm-neg. Rabbit bends-down ground-to, he sees tar-cm, tar bends-down (27) itself. Leaves stands goes-up up, tar leaves itself.

(28) Since night-at too-since, when moves already first when, tar this moves (29) too. When bends-down side one when, tar bends-down itself. Takes hoe

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

30 kan dàg ɛ̀ zɔ̀ɔ̀ hage, bàà ẽm sɩ́ɩ́, sɩ́ɩ́, sɩ́ɩ́ séé la kíddoole
31 ká'ade. Õd kíd: "Yow, aséé líw Ã̀n fɩ́ɩ́ vɔ́ɔ́ máá mó nyo.
32 Mo bàà ɩ̀ɩ̀ Ã̀n fɩ́ɩ́ vɔ́ ãã̀m kín líwna man naa? Boeoe máá
33 mí ma'am sɔ́'ɔ́. Mó vùd sí'e fõõ o." Bãbãã̀m séé la wɔ̀ɔ̀lé
34 ká'ade, dẽng kíd náá kpɩ́g. Nag bãã̀mɔ̀ɔ̀ sẽgẽm mbàà la
35 wɔ̀ɔ̀lè. Bãbãã̀m õddɔ́: "Tɔ̀, naa mó líw sɔ́ɔ́ yee? Ã̀ã̀m kín
36 máá kám ɩ̀ɩ̀ Ã̀n fɩ́ɩ́ vɔ́ kám bàà 'bɛ̀ vɔ́ líwne, mó hɩ́ɩ́ bi
37 'bɛ̀n líwna ã̀m na? Ã̀n dɛ́gɛ́m kan nag í'e tɔ́ɔ́ yè sɔ́'ɔ́ pɛ́n
38 téé, món wɩ́ɩ́ hage." Bãbãã̀m tii nag kpáág llà' kíddɔ́le.
39 Nag sẽgẽ mbàà la wɔ́le. Bãã̀m ɔ̀: "Aá', mó ma' nag ɛ́n ya
40 wɔ̀ɔ̀ idu ã̀m naa? To. Ã'ã yè máá ã̀n vɔ́eɔ́em kàn yúú sɔ́'ɔ́
41 pɛ́n téé, món die wɩ́ɩ́ne haga." Bãbãã̀m vɔ́eɔ́e kíd kàn yúú
42 kpɩ́g. Kíd wɩ́ɩ́ ne. Yúú má'ay mbàà la wɔ́le. Bãbãã̀m ɔ̀:
43 "Tɔ̀. Boeoe máá bán kànno. Mó mà' yúú ɛ́n sɔ́'ɔ́ na? Ã̀n
44 tá'ám kan doo dágá kám see món wɩ́ɩ́." Bãbãã̀m kùn doo dágá

- -

(30) sets down his hoe and calabash and walks ever so carefully sɩ́ɩ́ sɩ́ɩ́ sɩ́ɩ́, approaching the tar from the side. He says to the tar, "So you're my MIL's thief! Are you secretly digging up my MIL's wild peanuts? Today I've got you, then. You've exposed yourself." He approaches the side of the tar and hits it kpɩ́g. His hand sticks (35) fast. He says to it, "So! You're the thief, aren't you? Do you want to steal me secretly too, like you steal my MIL's peanuts? If I hit you with my other fist here, you'll fall down." He pulls back his left hand and hits the tar. It sticks there. He says, "Hey, are you grabbing and holding (40) both my hands? So. If I hit you with my head, you'll fall down." He hits the tar with his head kpɩ́g. It doesn't fall down, but his head sticks there. He says, "Aha! Today we'll have this out. You've grabbed my head, have you? If I kick you with a foot, you'll have to fall down." He bends back his leg and

(30) and calabash puts down ground-on, continues walks carefully, carefully, carefully approaches goes tar-to-him (31) side-at. Says-to tar: "Well, really robber Mother-my in-law their foc you there. (32) You continue dig Mother-my in-law pl peanut wild stealthily foc cm-Q? Today foc (33) I catch-you already. You show already body cm." Rabbit approaches goes it-to (34) side-at, hits tar like-that kpǎg. Hand Rabbit-his sticks sits goes (35) him-to. Rabbit says-to-him: "So, neg-Q you robber this then? Peanut wild (36) foc that-you dig Mother-my in-law pl that-you continue take them stealthily, you want you (37) take-me stealthily too cm-Q? If-I hit-you with hand the other this already first (38) if, you-will fall ground-to." Rabbit turns hand left hits tar-there. (39) Hand sticks sits goes there. Rabbit says: "Hey, you grab hand keep-me place (40) his two also cm-Q? So. Time this foc if-I hit-you with hand already (41) first if, you-will be-in-process-of falling ground-to." Rabbit hits tar with head (42) kpǎg. Tar falls cm-neg. Head sticks sits goes there. Rabbit says: (43) "So. Today foc we-will meet-cm. You grab head keep-me already cm-neg-Q? If-I (44) kick-you with foot one then necessarily you-will fall." Rabbit bends foot one

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

45 ta' kíd gúg. Kíd wáá ne. Kéédó doo dágá mbàà hage.
46 Bããm õddó: "Ã'ã yè máá mó ma'an doo, mó ma'an nag, mó
47 ma'an yúú. Kéé doo dágá 'nɛ́ng mí mbààn kanno yo. Ãn
48 sóg doo míí yè 'waapád, ãn tá'án mó só'ó pɛ́n téé, món
49 die wáane hage, mó diin yúba ne." Bãbããm dùù lúú doo
50 zín ba kéé pee, tá' kíddóle. Kíd wáá ne. Bãbããm
51 sóey mbàà sie wóle móó loeng ɗóengee. Tiidó síe
52 go'oye kaɗi, bàà fóó mbàà wóle: mɛ́ddà na', mɛ́ddà na',
53 mɛ́ddà na', mɛ́ddà na'.
54 Sey ká kùù nóó...ká kùù nóó máá, hɔ̀ Mbùù diè
55 dààlee.
56 Mbùù ká dàà máá, beewó: "Héy pãã pãã, ãm yaa o."
57 Mbùù là ya. "Mó diè lààlè tèla?" Õddó...Mbùù õddó:
58 "Mí diè lààlé ka' zule." Õd Mbuu nɛ́nnáá: "Páá, ɔ̀m
59 hɔ̀ síenná, Ãn fáá vó pón go'oy máá yè no. Vó ãn tɔ̀d

- -

(45) kicks the tar gúg. It doesn't fall down. One foot remains on the ground. He says to it, "Now you've grabbed my foot, my hands, and my head. I've only got one foot left. If I kick you with that, you'll fall down; you won't stand up." He takes his (50) remaining foot and kicks the tar, but it doesn't fall down. He hangs there like a swinging vine. It becomes like a horse for him, and he rocks back 'n forth, back 'n forth, back 'n forth, back 'n forth.

When he looks up he sees H[42] passing (55) by.

While he's passing by, R calls to him, "Hey Uncle, Uncle, come!" He comes over. "Where are you going?" He tells him, "I'm going over that way." Here's what he tells H: "See here, Uncle, my MIL's given me this horse. She told me I should guard

- -

42 H = Hyena

(45) kicks tar gug. Tar falls cm-neg. Remains-for-him foot one sits ground-on. (46) Rabbit says-to-him: "Time this foc you grab-me foot, you grab-me hand, you (47) grab-me head. Remains foot one only I sit-together with-it cm. If-I (48) gather-up foot my this all, if-I hit you already first if, you-will (49) be-in-process-of falling ground-on, you stand-not up cm-neg." Rabbit again lifts foot (50) remaining that remains that, kicks tar-there. Tar falls cm-neg. Rabbit (51) attached sits cm there as vine swinging-cm. Becomes-for-him already (52) horse then, continues plays sits there: back-'n forth, back-'n forth, (53) back-'n forth, back-'n forth.

(54) Time when opens eye...when opens eye when, sees Hyena is-in-process-of (55) passing-cm.

(56) Hyena when passes when, calls-him: "Hey uncle uncle, you come cm." (57) Hyena goes comes. "You are-in-process-of going where-cm-Q?" Says-to-him...Hyena says-to-him: (58) "I am-in-process-of going side there-to." Says-to Hyena how-cm: "Uncle, you (59) see now! Mother-my in-law they give-me horse foc this cm. They (say) I-must watch-for

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

60 bi babe, nán tóó ba ãã vò ããm kín líw yèle. Vò ò
61 ãn ya tòd bi bab mbàà yèle, vò pòn go'oy. Mí diè wòy
62 ďáálé yè no. Vò laan nan yóólé die lige. Vò zúng
63 wãã, kan wu' 'wóg, kan wu' zẽẽ. Vò laan nan yóólé
64 die kaale. To, ãm híí bi lá nan yè o só'ó pẽn tèn-
65 náá, ãm ya mó fẽẽ go'oy míí yè ďáá mbàà. Mí kè ďug,
66 mí la bee vò òò yóó nan ya pãn ba ya vangna. Ba lá
67 téé, món dàà nyaa." Mbùù õddò: "Tò, pãã, mí híí ó."
68 Naa ví gaa mbùù kó déém wãání.
69 Ka ki nèng kàn wu' zẽẽ kan wu' 'wóg ãmmáá, hẽn
70 pád híí woo o, màà wòò mèn. Zóó dẽ"o. Ka Bãbããm
71 tõ'õ zòò kíddé, daa fẽẽ ďáá mbàà dòggòlè. Bãbããm kè
72 ďug íe yogóóóóó, là nya ag vòòle.
73 Ka nya maa vò la máá, bee vò: "Nà'a vò, nà'a vò,
74 ya naa...naa mí ma' síe líw baa ví péé áá? Líw máá

- -

(60) her field; somebody's digging up and stealing her wild peanuts. She told me to stay here and guard her field, and she gave me a horse. I'm mounted on it here. She went to fix me food at the house. She's chopping bones, and dried meat, and fresh meat. She went to fix me food in the village. So if you want to eat this food, (65) come take my horse here and mount up. I'll run and tell her to fix the food and bring it to us fast. When we've eaten you can pass on by." H says to him, "Ok, Uncle, I want to." Now you know that H is terribly gluttonous, don't you?

When he hears bones, fresh meat and dried meat too, he (70) wants it all, all for himself. He's very very happy. After unsticking R from the tar, he mounts up and sits there. R runs lickity split and arrives at his MIL's house.

When he finds her, he calls to her, "Mother, mother! Haven't I caught our thief now? Today I've caught the thief

(60) them field, person some that digs them peanut wild robbery here. They say (61) that-I come watch-for them field sit here, they give-me horse. I am-in-process-of it-cm (62) mounting here cm. They go-for-me dough working are-there house-in. They break (63) bones, and meat dry, and meat fresh. They go-for-me dough working (64) are-there village-in. So, if-you want you eat dough this cm already first if, (65) you come you accept horse my this mount sit. I dig race,(66) I go call them that-they work dough come carry-to us-two come fast. We-two eat (67) when, you-will pass pass-by." Hyena says-to-him: "Yes, uncle, I want cm." (68) Q-neg you know Hyena does gluttony much.

(69) When hears bone and meat fresh and meat dry too-when, thing (70) all wants his cm, only his only. Heart is-clean-cm. When Rabbit (71) detaches goes-down tar-from, passes receives mounts sits goes-up-there. Rabbit digs (72) race like thaaat, goes arrives relative them-to.

(73) When arrives finds them goes when, calls them: "Mother pl, mother pl, (74) comes neg-Q...neg-Q I catch already robber our our that cm-Q? Robber foc

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

75 ká baa ãã ví ããm kín, sey 'waapád ká die ví ããm kín
76 ããlé pee mí maawó síe boeoe o ma'ay mbàà diè kíd víí
77 peele." Ãã fáá vó õddó: "Ginaa?" "Èè, ginu. Mí
78 mààwó dóóle. I ya ba làà ví ó. I 'bee hvóeóe...
79 hvóeóeé." Ãã fáá vó 'bee hvóeóe kàn waa vó kéén nag
80 ne.

81 Kóó diè lààlè hínaale máá, Bãbããm ɔ̀d vó: "To
82 kaa làà ví só'ó pɛ́n tɛ́náá, ka bi híí mooe só'ó pɛ́n
83 téé, i fɛ̃ɛ̃ moo wòò sa. Kaa nya ví là ná', ba kɛ́ngo
84 ví, bàà vó gbóléé koed. Ká bi moo mooe só'ó pɛ́n téé,
85 i õddó: "Nyag...líw ka ɛ́ nyagga?" Kɛ́ngo ví gbóléé."
86 Vó ɛ̃m íe yogo, vó nyà màà la. Mbùù sóey mbàà dóóle.

87 Mbùù ká sóey mbàà dóóle máá, Ãã fáá vó dàà nyoo
88 hvóeóe fó...wó vóeóewó dagge kpɛ́g. Mbùù só'ó pɛ́n téé
89 õ: "Aa'à, nà'á vó, ví voeoen leene té"é. I gbó mí

- -

(75) that's been digging up your wild peanuts, that's been digging up your wild peanuts all the time; he's caught in your tar." MIL says to him, "Is that right?" "Yes, it's true. I've caught him; he's there. Come, let's go! Take sticks!" MIL and her children take sticks; (80) not a hand is empty.

While they're on the way, R tells them, "Now then, when we get there, if he wants to talk, don't believe him. Once we get there, let's just begin hitting him. If he wants to speak, (85) tell him, 'Does a thief possess a mouth?' Let's begin beating him." They walk and arrive. H sits there hanging.

While he's hanging there, MIL lifts up her stick and hits him on the head <u>kpɛ́g</u>. When H sees this, he says, "No, mother, you're hitting me without reason. Let me

(75) that continues digs you peanut wild, time all that is-in-process-of you peanut wild (76) digging that I find-him already today cm caught sits is-there tar your (77) that-in." Mother in-law they say-to-him: "True-Q?" "Yes, true. I (78) find-him is-there. You come let-us go us cm. You take stick...(79) stick-cm." Mother in-law they take stick and child pl lacks-not hand (80) cm-neg.

(81) When-they are-in-process-of going road-in when, Rabbit says-to them: "Now-then (82) when-we go we already first when, if he wants word-cm already first (83) if, you accept word his cm-neg. When-we arrive we go like-that, let-us begin-him (84) us, us us hitting only. If he (wants to) speak word-cm already first if, (85) you say-to-him: "Mouth...robber that possesses mouth-cm-Q?" (Let-us) begin us hitting-cm." (86) They walk like that, they arrive go. Hyena attached sits is-there.

(87) Hyena while attached sits is-there while, Mother in-law they pass lift (88) stick pl...she hits-him head-on <u>kpǎg</u>. Hyena already first when (89) says: "No, mother pl, you hit-me being-nothing at-all-cm. You let me

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

90 sò dõdõõ míí pɛ́n."

91 Bãbããm ká ki íe yogo máá, ndog kó ban ɔ̀ moo wòò o.

92 Dàà gbo vúdda kàn hvɔ́eɔ́e íe wòò, voeoe Mbùù náá kpɛ́g.

93 Õddó: "Líw ka ɛ́ nyagga?! Mó líwwe pèla? Mó bi moo...

94 mó bi moo nɛ́nna?" Mda vó sɔ́g síe kàn ãã fɛ́ɛ́ vó, vó

95 gbó Mbùù hɛ́ɛ́, vó gbó Mbùù, vó nòò gbo dàà. Vó 'bè dàà...

96 Mbùù...Mbùù ká noo sɔ́'ɔ́ máá, vó gang pɔ́ Bãbããm.

97 Bãbããm sò kɔ́ɔ́ wòò 'waapád, moo kɛ́ɛ́ bii ba a gàgan waa

98 wòòlè.

99 Sey kɔ́ɔ́ nya la wòòlé lige, kɔ́ɔ́ nyà la ãg vɔ̀ɔ̀lé

100 máá, Bãbããm mbóg kɔ́ɔ́ pee, ndùg, mbàà die ndùggè.

101 Ka die kɔ́ɔ́ pee ndùggé máá, bàà bee yéé tóó, bee...

102 bee yéé nyè vùn dog yúba ne, bàà bee hage, baa bee:

103 "Gbang bamsé yè kɛ́b móó na," tùgùd, "nyaa boeoe ndùggè

104 mó ya," tùgùd, "gbang bamsé yè kɛ́b móó na," tùgùd,

- -

(90) explain myself first."

When R hears this, he's afraid that H will tell his story. He goes fast with his own stick and hits H like this <u>kpɛ́g</u>. R tells him, "Aren't you a thief? What do you want to say?" Then they all together with MIL (95) hit H for a long time. They hit him and kill him.

When H is dead, they give him to R. R removes the whole hide so his wife can carry her children in it.

When they arrive home, when they arrive at MIL's house, (100) R prepares the hide; he's tanning it.

While he's tanning the hide, he sings a certain song. He doesn't sing loudly, but softly. He sings, "Ah, King of mockery, your tricks!", he rubs, "Your tanning (would) arrive today (if you had not been tricky)," he rubs, "Ah, King of mockery, your tricks!", he rubs,

(90) explain case my first."

(91) Rabbit when hears like that when, fear does that-he-will say word his cm. (92) Passes leaves goes-out-goes with stick the-one his, hits Hyena like-that kpã́g. (93) Says-to-him: "Robber that possesses mouth-cm-Q? You robber-cm are-not-Q? You you speak...(94) you you speak how-cm-Q?" Then they come-together already with Mother in-law, they (95) hit Hyena long-time, they hit Hyena, they kill throw pass. They take pass...

(96) Hyena...Hyena when dies already when, they carry give Rabbit. (97) Rabbit removes skin his all, for wife his that she carry-together child (98) it-in.

(99) Time when-they arrive go him-to house-to, when-they arrive go relative them-to (100) when, Rabbit prepares skin that, tans, is-in-process-of tanning.

(101) When is-in-process-of skin that tanning when, continues sings song a-certain, sings... (102) sings song this makes-go-out-not goes-up loud cm-neg, continues sings softly, continues sings: (103) "chief mockery here trick your cm-neg!," rubs, arrives today tanning (104) you cm!," rubs, "chief mockery here trick your cm-neg!," rubs,

TEXT A--RABBIT STEALS

105 "nyaa ɓoeoe ndùggè mó ya," tùgùd.

106 Kɛ̃ɛ̃ ká ki íe yogo máá, là gbo vúdda, beewó:

107 "Zóó waa bà'a, mó bee yéé wòò ẽn yèla?" Hɩ́ɩ́d kɛ̃ɛ̃

108 õddó: "Mí been yéé tóó né, bee yéé kóó ndùggee na?"

109 Waato Bãbããm ɔ̀ aa ba bin kó kèbbe...ba ka bin kón

110 kèb ne sɔ́'ɔ́ pɛ̃́n téé, yee ba ka vɔ̀n ndùg bii ɓoeoe íe

111 yogo yè no. Kàn kèb Bãbããm wòò sɔ́ed sɔ́'ɔ́. Ãg vɔ́

112 gbón noono ne. Kan kón kèb ne téé, ka vɔ̀n gbó wɔ́

113 yo noo ya dɔ̀ɔ̀ ããm kín nyèle. Moo sɔ́ɔ́ dàà sɩ́"a?

114 Woole nyɛ̀.

- -

(105) "Your tanning (would) arrive today," he rubs.

When his wife hears this, she suddenly appears and calls to him, "Father of many children, what song is this you're singing?" He answers his wife, "I'm not singing any particular song; I'm singing a tanning song, aren't I?"

Thus R says that if he had (110) not been tricky, they would be tanning him today like that. By his trick he saves himself. MIL doesn't kill him. If he had not been tricky, they would have hit and killed him among the wild peanuts. Is the story ended? That's it.

(105) "arrives today tanning you cm!," rubs.

(106) Wife when hears like that when, goes leaves goes-out-goes, calls him: (107) "Many child father, you sing song his what there-cm-Q?" Answers-to wife (108) says-to-her: "I sing-not song some cm-neg, sing song skin tanning-cm cm-neg-Q?"

(109) So Rabbit says self that he-past does trick-cm... that if he-past does-not (110) trick cm-neg already first if, then that would they-would tan him today like (111) that would cm. With trick Rabbit he saves-self already. Relative they (112) hit-not kill-not-him cm-neg. If-he-would do-not trick cm-neg if, would they-would hit him (113) cm kill place root peanut wild that-at. Story that passes ends-cm-Q? (114) It-at there.

TEXT B--TWO ADULTERERS

1 Baa yè lààá gáálé, gbò kéé wòò lige. Wayéé vó
2 iddu, vó lààwó nyag saa.
3 Sey íe tóó ka lààá máá, daga tóó gaa ne. Íe yè
4 doeng ɓóeóe tíng, lààá là mààá wakéé, vó die moo mbalé
5 lige.
6 Kóó mba moo háá máá, wõeõe vé' die yààlé hínaale.
7 Sey wõeõe ka yaa só'ó máá, vá' nyag nííme: "Tèè tèè."
8 Kéé ká ki íe yogo máá, dóó kógó, lúú vangna, gàng
9 wayéé...gang wayéé pee la pag doeg gbòò tóólé. Kó
10 gbág daga wáá wóle. Wõeõe dó màga zòò vó mbàà háá.
11 Sey tíng máá, wayéé íe tóó dùù là yaa wòò, gaan
12 nénnáá: wõeõe ba yaa só'ó máá, gaa ne. Sey ka nyà ya
13 ná' máá, dó zòò lig tíng. Ká dó zòò máá, mààá wakéé vó
14 kan wõeõe mbàà yò. Wakéé vó kan dabar vó, waato kó

- -

A certain man goes on a trip; he leaves his wife at home. Two men go to her with seductive words.

When the first one goes, the other doesn't know. The one goes first and finds the wife; they sit talking (5) in the house.

While they're talking a long time, the husband is returning on the road. When he arrives, he calls out a greeting at the door: "Tee tee." When his wife hears that, she's afraid; she gets up fast, takes the man, puts him in a certain large clay pot, and (10) puts the cover on it. The husband enters, finds her and they talk a long time.

Later the other man comes too, and what doesn't he know? He doesn't know at all that the husband has already come. When he arrives, he enters the house. When he enters, he finds the wife and the husband sitting there. The wife has her tricks (Ful), or does her

TEXT B

TWO ADULTERERS 3-133--3-134

(1) Man this goes trip-on, leaves wife his home-at. Man pl (2) two, they go-to-her mouth youth.

(3) Time the one when goes when, neighbor other knows cm-neg. The-one this (4) begins goes-before ahead, goes goes finds woman, they are-in-process-of word talking (5) house-in.

(6) When-they talk word long-time when, husband returns is-in-process-of coming road-in. (7) Time husband when comes already when, greets mouth door-at: "Knock knock." (8) Wife when hears like that when, fear does-her, rises fast, takes (9) man...takes man that goes puts pot big a-certain-in. Does (10) pot one covers there. Husband enters finds-her goes-down, they sit long-time.

(11) Time after when, man the other follows goes comes himself, knows-not (12) what-cm: Husband that comes already emph, knows cm-neg. Time when arrives comes (13) like-that when, enters goes-down house in. When enters goes-down when, finds wife (14) pl and husband sits there. Wife pl with trick pl, or does

TEXT B--TWO ADULTERERS

15 kɛ̀bbe, ká hɔ̀ wayéé ka dó zɔ̀ɔ̀ ná' máá, hɔ́ɔ́ vìgi vangna:
16 "Mó yaa gbág pee ganaa?" Wayéé ɓáá pee hɔ́ɔ́: "Èè, mí
17 yaa wó yo gane."
18 Píg woolé máá, õd wõeõe: "Baa yè ví, baa yè ví,
19 i là pè' gbág ɛ́d baa yè yúba. Ba 'bá'an gbág hɔ́ɔ́ bi
20 là tõõn dòò wóle." Asɛ́ɛ́ wayéé ɪ́e tóó ùd mbàà dɪ̀e
21 dɔ́egge tíng woole. Ɪ́e wõeõe aga lúú dogo, gang gbág
22 pee, kan ɓáá ɪ́e tóó pee tíng woole ɛ́m, gàng ha'ad ɓáá
23 ie nyè yúlé, gang vúd ɛ̃m là hɔ́naale.
24 Ká dɪ̀e lààlé máá, daga tóó ie ba mbàà dɔ́eg tíng
25 pee, beewó: "Dán gboo, dán gboo, úsèni mí dɛ̃m nagge,
26 kám là nyà téé, ãm pid sɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, moo mí mbàà die tíng
27 woole."
28 Daga gboo ka ki ɪ́e yogo máá, zɔ́ɔ́ nyéé kógó, õ:
29 "Yee nóó mó mbàà dɔ́eg tíng yèlo? Mín o gbò!" Daga ie

- -

(15) trick (Duru). When she sees the man enter like that, she asks him quickly, "Have you come to take away the clay pot?" The adulterer answers, "Yes, I've come to take it."

After that, she tells her husband, "Sir, sir, go put the clay pot up on this man's head. He asked me for a pot (20) to pour wine into." Well now, the other man is sitting inside the pot. The husband himself gets up and lifts the pot, with the adulterer in it too, and puts it on the head of this adulterer, who carries it out and walks in the road.

While he's walking, his neighbor who's in the pot (25) calls to him, "Friend, friend, please, I beg you, when you've arrived, put the pot down very gently <u>saaaa</u> because I'm in it."

When his friend hears that, he becomes angry and says, "Who are you in this pot? I'll throw it down and break it to pieces!" His neighbor

(15) trick-cm, when sees man who enters goes-down like-that when, fast asks-him fast: (16) "You come pot that to-carry-cm-Q?" Man adulterer that answers: "Yes, I (17) come it cm to-carry."

(18) After it-at when, says-to husband: "Father here you, father here you, (19) you go lift pot put-on man this up. Past asks-me pot wants he (20) goes pour-together wine there." Now man the other reclines sits is-there (21) pot-in in it-in. The-one husband[43] himself rises goes-up, carries pot (22) that, with adulterer the other that in it-in also, carries puts-on adulterer (23) the-one there head-on, carries goes-out walks goes road-in.

(24) When is-in-process-of going when, neighbor other the-one who sits pot in (25) that, calls-him: "Neighbor-my friend, neighbor-my friend, please I clap-you hand-cm, (26) when-you go arrive when, you put-down gently, because I sit am-here in (27) it-in."

(28) Neighbor-his friend when hears like that when, heart red does-him, says: (29) "Q who you sit pot in here-cm-Q? I-will break leave!" Neighbor the

- -

43 The informant misspoke here. "The-one <u>wife</u> herself" = husband.

TEXT B--TWO ADULTERERS

30 tóó pee dẽng nag õddó: "Ba' míí baa, mí dẽm nagge,

31 ãm o sa lo. Mín kó nénná? Ãm pin sáá." Õddó: "Mín

32 o gbò, míí o kò̀ed, món die téé, kám mbàà móó doeg yè

33 tíng woolela?" Dẽnno síe nag wóle íe nyogo.

34 Sey ká nyà là máá, baa pee pid dóeg pee sáááá é

35 zò̀ò̀ hage. Daga tóó pee vúd dògò doeg tíng hãd dii

36 mbàà...dii yò. Vó kéé doeg gàng gbò zò̀ò̀ wóle, ya vóó

37 iddu ãm, vó dàà hie'ien, vó kà là, nónna dàà kà là

38 liggoole, nónna dàà là lig íe woole. 'Wáá só'ó.

- -

(30) pleads with him, "Father sir, I beg you, don't break it. What'll I do? Put me down gently sáááá." He tells him, "I'll throw it down myself, really, and break it to pieces. Where were you, that you're inside this clay pot?" That's the way he pleads with him.

When he arrives, the man puts the pot down (35) on the ground very gently sáááá. The other neighbor gets out of the pot, sweat streaming down. They carry the pot and leave it there, both of them. They separate and go their ways, the first going to his house, the other going to his own house. It's finished.

(30) other that claps hand says-to-him: "Father my sir, I clap-you hand-cm, (31) you break not cm. I-will do how-cm-Q? You put-down-me gently." Says-to-him: "I-will (32) break leave myself cm really, you-past are-there where, that-you sit yourself pot this (33) in it-in-cm-Q?" Claps-him already hand there like that.

(34) Time when arrives goes when, man that puts-down pot that geeeently puts (35) goes-down ground-on. Neighbor other that gets-out goes-up pot in sweat stands-out (36) sits ...stands-out there. They leave pot carry leave go-down there, place them (37) two also, they pass separate, they take-road go, one passes takes-road goes (38) house-his-to, other passes goes house the-one him-to. Finishes already.

TEXT C--LION

1 Baa tóó diele. Sey 'waapád bàà làà kõeõele hõge.
2 Zágá ie tóó yè máá, là kóeóelé kodde. Ém háá, hòn
3 póg vò ne.
4 Sey ka yaa máá, ya màà póg die lálé, gbaga póg
5 pee. Koeoe die póg dágá pee gbagane ãm.
6 Sey báá pee ká hò Koeoe máá, yóg mbàà hage.
7 Koeoe gbaga póg háá háá háá háá.háá.
8 Sey ká màà póg bó'e' máá, Koeoe lúú dòg 'bè mbìgì
9 wòò, gbo póggóle. Gbo póg sod, mbigi nyaa háá dàà pè
10 là ya tóólé. Póg dàà lúú hẽnnaa wòò dùg. Baa yè hõ
11 ya mbigi ka pè 'waapád, amáá Koeoe hòn ne. Koeoe ya
12 sòò, sòò dàà hẽn, sòò dàà hẽn, sòò mbìgì hòn nè.
13 Tó'egó'e nóó la' yúba, hòn ne.
14 Sey ká diè dàà hẽn sòòlé máá, kùù nóó máá hò ta'

- -

There's a certain man who goes hunting in the bush all the time. One day he goes hunting in the forest. He walks a long time but doesn't see an animal.

When he comes to a certain place, he sees an animal eating and stalks (5) it. L[44] is stalking this same animal too.

When this man sees L, he hides flat on the ground. L stalks the animal a very long time <u>háá</u> <u>háá</u> <u>háá</u> <u>háá</u> <u>háá</u>.

When he finds the animal is close, L jumps up and throws his hammer at it. He throws at the animal but misses; the hammer passes on a long ways and falls (10) someplace. The animal leaves his eating at a run. This man sees clearly the place where the hammer falls, but L doesn't. L searches and searches for his hammer, but he can't find it. He looks in the trees but he can't see it.

While he's searching around for this thing, he spies

- -

44 L = Lion

TEXT C

LION 3-137--3-139

(1) Man a-certain is-there-cm. Time all man goes hunting bush-in. (2) Day the other this past, goes hunting forest-in. Walks long-time, sees-not (3) animal pl cm-neg.

(4) Time when goes when, comes finds animal is-in-process-of eating, stalks animal (5) that. Lion is-in-process-of animal one that stalking too.

(6) Time man that when sees Lion when, hides sits ground-on. (7) Lion stalks animal long-time long-time long-time long-time.

(8) Time when finds animal close when, Lion leaves goes-up takes hammer (9) his, throws animal-there. Throws animal misses, hammer passes a-long-ways passes falls (10) goes place some-in. Animal passes leaves thing-small his race. Man this sees (11) place hammer where falls all, but Lion sees-not cm-neg. Lion comes (12) searches, searches passes thing, searches passes thing, searches-for hammer sees-not cm-neg. (13) Looks eyes tree up, sees-not cm-neg.

(14) Time when is-in-process-of passes thing searching-for when, opens eye when sees shooter

TEXT C--LION

15 kpaa pee yóg mbàà diè hage. Õd ta' kpaa: "Dán gboo,
16 mí kón mó sãgã ne. To ãm hò ya hẽn míí yè ka...ya
17 mbigi míí yè ka pè, to ãm hò yaga o téé, mí híí ãm
18 tú'uno. Mí noon mó né ãm. Mín kón mó hẽn tóó né,
19 bán mbàà dág gboo sey 'waapád." Amá baa pee dóó kógó
20 wããní sey ká ki Koeoe ka õddó moo máá.
21 Kóó íe yogo sĩ', Koeoe dẽnno nag, to bà a hò ya
22 mbigi bìì só'ó pẽn téé, ba a tú'ud bi o. Ta' kpaa pee
23 lúú, ẽmma, ẽmma, ẽmma, la nyà ya mbigi bà pè peele, õd
24 Koeoe mbìgì wòò bà wó yè nò. Kàdì Koeoe vó kón síe
25 dág gboo kan nánán pee wóle. Koeoe õddó: "Ã'ã yè
26 máá ba kón síe dág gboo o. Koem síen geen mó né. Ãm
27 vẽ' laa móólé lige. Sey kán...kám ki kán kẽng hõd
28 tíng téé, mó yaa, mónna nùng koemmo. Mín ma' póg, mín
29 ẽm." Baa pee ka daa vẽ' ka là woolé lige, là mbàà.

- -

(15) this archer hiding flat on the ground. He says to the archer, "Friend, I'm not practicing magic on you. If you see where my thing...where my hammer fell, if you see its whereabouts, I want you to show me. I won't kill you either. I won't do anything to you; we'll be friends forever." But the man is terrified (20) when he hears L speak to him.

Nevertheless L pleads with him that if he sees the location of his hammer, he should show him. The archer rises and walks quite a ways; he arrives where the hammer fell and tells L that his hammer is there. Thus L makes (25) friends with this man. He tells him, "Now we are friends. You'll never lack meat. Go home. When you hear me roaring in the grass, come and you'll find meat. I'll kill an animal and save it for you." The man returns home and waits.

(15) bow that hides sits is-there ground-on. Says-to shooter bow: "Neighbor-my friend, (16) I do-not-to you marvel cm-neg. So if-you see thing my this which...place (17) hammer my this where falls, so if-you see place-his doubt if, I want you (18) show-me-cm. I kill-not you cm-neg also. I-will do-not you thing other cm-neg, (19) we-will sit neighbor friend time all." But man that fear does-him (20) very-much time when hears Lion when says-to-him word when.

(21) Although like that although, Lion claps-for-him hand, if that he sees place (22) hammer his already first if, that he show him cm. Shooter bow that (23) leaves walks-goes, walks-goes, walks-goes, goes arrives place hammer where falls that-in, says-to (24) Lion hammer his that it there cm. Thus Lion they do-together already (25) neighbor friend and man that there. Lion says-to-him: "Time this (26) foc we do-together already neighbor friend cm. Meat it-will lack-not-for you cm-neg. You (27) return go you-to house-to. Time when-I...when-you hear that-I roar grass (28) in when, you come, you-will-come find meat-cm. I-will catch animal, I-will (29) guard-for-you." Man that time-past passes returns takes-road goes him-to house-to, goes sits.

TEXT C--LION

30 Zãgã ĩe tóó yè máá, Koeoe ya gbo zee.

31 Koeoe ká gbo zee sɔ́'ɔ́ máá, lúú ẽm yaa ya dìì nyag

32 babbe, zoe': "Iiyà, iiyà."

33 Sey daga gboo pee ká ki ĩe yogo máá, õd kẽẽ vɔ́:

34 "Kpɔ́ɔ́ vɔ́ yà die nyag babe, mí làà vɔ́ nènee." Lúú dó

35 là hõge, la màà Koeoe. Koeoe pàngà tú'udɔ́ kan zee

36 ba ma' ɛ̃ddɔ́ pee. Daga gboo so pɔ́g pee 'waapád gang

37 yààn lige. Baa kó sĩe hẽn nyè ĩe yogo hãã, hãã, hãã

38 hãã sey 'waapád baa dieddɔ́ pɔ́g ma"ee. Baa ma' pɔ́g

39 pɔ́gɔ́ wòò ĩe yogo, vɔ́ bàà lá mbàà kan kẽẽ vɔ́ lige.

40 Zãgã ĩe tóó yè máá, ya kó dòò, kó dòò ɓɔ́ɔ́lé na'a

41 woolé lige. Bee daga dõng vɔ́, bà ɔ̀ɔ̀ ya zo dòò, bi zon

42 dòò dõnge.

43 Sey ká kó dòò 'wàà sɔ́'ɔ́ máá, vẽ' làà hõge là õd

44 Koeoe, õddɔ́ nɛ̃nnáá: "Dán gboo, mí kó hẽn lálé, mí

- -

(30) One day L kills a buffalo.

After he kills it, he rises and walks to the edge of the field and roars, "Iiyà, iiyà."

When his friend hears that, he tells his wives, "Baboons are at the edge of the field; I'll go chase them away." He enters (35) the bush and finds L. L takes him and shows him the buffalo he's killed and saved for him. His friend skins out the whole animal and carries it home. He does this thing habitually over a very long period of time; he kills him animals all the time. He kills an animal and gives it to him like that. The man and his wives eat it at home.

(40) One day the man makes wine, a large quantity of wine, at his home. He invites his circumcision friends to come drink wine, to drink circumcision wine together.

When he's finished making the wine, he goes back into the bush and speaks to L. What does he tell him? "Friend, I'm having a feast; I want

(30) Day the other this foc, Lion goes throws buffalo.

(31) Lion when throws buffalo already when, leaves walks comes comes stands edge (32) field-in, roars: "Iiya, iiya."

(33) Time neighbor friend that when hears like that when, says-to wife pl: (34) "Baboon they come are-there edge field-in, I go them chasing." Leaves enters (35) goes bush-in, goes finds Lion. Lion carries-comes shows-him and buffalo (36) which catches guards-for-him that. Neighbor friend skins-out animal that all carries (37) brings house-to. Sits does already thing this like that long-time, long-time, long-time (38) long-time time all sits is-in-process-of-for-him animal catching-cm. Sits catches animal (39) gives-him him like that, they sit eat sit and wife pl house-in.

(40) Day the other this foc, comes makes wine, makes wine being-much very (41) him-at house-at. Calls neighbor circumcision pl, that they come drink wine, they drink-together (42) wine circumcision-cm.

(43) Time when makes wine finishes already when, returns goes bush-in goes says-to (44) Lion, says-to-him how-cm: "Neighbor-my friend, I do thing eating, I

TEXT C--LION

45 hǐǐ bi bee dan dõng vó óó yaa vó sóg vó lá ǎm, vó
46 dẽ' zóóé. Mí hǐǐ ãm yaa mó là mbàà míílé." Koeoe
47 õddó nénnáá: "Aa'à, dán gboo, íe míí yè, mí míí hẽn
48 hógge. Mó hǐǐ ãn làà ãm, ãn là mbàà móólé kíílé máála?
49 Síen doeng néé hẽn nyè síen kóy máálá? Aa'à, mí làà
50 ne." Daga gboo tee no tee õddó: "Káy, ãm yaa o, mó
51 làà ò, mín yògómo. Mín vùn mó fõõ ne." Koeoe õddó:
52 "Tóó, ba làà bò, amáá ǎm vùn fóó só'ó pén téé, zágá
53 nom móó wó yè no." Vó lúú kàn Koeoe ãm, vó nyà ya,
54 ya 'bè Koeoe é kapigim, là mbóg vángòò sé' dóólé na'a,
55 'bè Koeoe pàg é tínggoole, 'bè kuu váng sú'. Kãã dòò
56 gàng dòggà pógó wóle, yóó nan pàng dòggà pó Koeoe wóle.
57 Koeoe bàà die lálé, bàà die dòò zole. Hẽn lálé ka pó
58 daga dõng vó 'waapád téé, pàngà pó Koeoe pén.
59 Kóó zo síe dòò zágáááá máá, dòò kíí síe daga gboo

- -

(45) to invite my circumcision friends. We'll eat together and be happy. I want you to come be at my house." What does L tell him? "No, my friend, me I'm a wild animal. You want me to go, to be in your compound? How can this thing be done? No, I won't go." (50) His friend says to him, "No no! You come, I'll hide you. I won't expose you." L tells him, "Ok, let's go then, but if you expose me, that'll be the day of your death." He and L arrive. He puts L behind the village, goes and prepares his granary, roofing it very well; (55) he puts L inside and closes the cover. He strains wine and gives it to him there; he prepares food and gives it to L there. L eats; he drinks wine. Whatever food he gives to his circumcision friends, he gives some to L first.

After they drink wine all day long, the wine inebriates

(45) want I call neighbor-my circumcision pl that-they come, we meet, we eat too, we (46) make-clean heart-cm. I want you come you go sit me-at." Lion (47) says-to-him how-cm: "No, neighbor-my friend, the-one-who me here, I I thing (48) wild-cm. You want that-I go also, that-I go sit you-at compound-at foc-cm-Q? (49) It-will begin how thing this it-will do-itself foc-cm-Q? No, I go (50) cm-neg. Neighbor friend foc ____ ____ says-to-him: "Oh! You come cm, you (51) go cm, I-will hide-you-cm. I-will expose-not you body cm-neg." Lion says-to-him: (52) "So, we go then, but if-you expose-me body already first if, day (53) death your it here cm." They leave with Lion too, they arrive come. (54) Comes takes Lion puts behind, goes prepares granary-his thatches being-good very, (55) takes Lion puts-in puts in-it-in, takes cover granary covers. Strains wine (56) carries goes-up-goes gives-him there, works dough carries goes-up-goes gives Lion there. (57) Lion sits is-in-process-of eating, sits is-in-process-of wine drinking. Thing eating which gives (58) neighbor circumcision pl all which, carries-comes gives Lion first.

(59) When-they drink already wine all-day-long when, wine makes-drunk already neighbor friend

TEXT C--LION

60 pee o.

61 Dòò ka kííwó máá, hàà dàgà dõng vó, õd vó: "Íe
62 víí yè ví víí nán som llógód leena té', ví fan moo
63 kàn mí á? Íe víí kó hẽn nyẽnnoo ẽn víílé yèle la?
64 Kíí híí aa fan ví moo yè só'ó pẽn téé, i kó hẽn néélé
65 víí máá, i tú'un mí hõ̀ o. Amá ie míí mín tú'ud ví hẽn
66 kán diè kanno máá." Daga gboo vó õddó: "Kàyyà, yee
67 hẽnnoo ẽn pẽn món diè síe kanno, món kód vó yèle pẽn,
68 vón ndòg máálá?" Daga gboo õd vó: "Ẽẽ mín kód ví á?
69 I faa ó téé, mín vùd hẽn tóó gbòd ví yèle, dóó síen kó
70 ví. Vín lúú ɗug 'waapád. Nán tóó á kéé ne." Vó
71 õddó: "Hvád móó, vó faa o. Ãm vud vó hẽnno, vó hõ̀
72 pẽn." Dòò ká mààwó síe ãm máá, wó kè...kè ɗug vángná,
73 la gàng la' váng gbò dòg vángé, ɗáá dòg, kùù kuu váng
74 gbò là hage. Báá, Koeoe gàng gbò vúd zõ̀ò síe tínggoole.

- -

(60) the friend.
When he's drunk, he insults his circumcision friends and says, "You here, you're really terrible good-for-nothings; are you discussing affairs with me? What good thing do <u>you</u> do at your houses? If you want us to discuss affairs together, do something dramatic, (65) show me so I can see it. But me, I'll show you something that I have." His friends say to him, "Good grief, what do you have, that when you show it to us here, we'll be afraid?" Their friend tells them, "Oh, should I do it for you? If you doubt it, I'll bring out something and give it to you here; fear will overcome (70) you and you'll all run away. Not a man will be left." They tell him, "It's a lie! We doubt it. Bring this thing out for us so we can see it." Since he has had enough wine, he runs fast and brings the ladder to the granary, climbs up and opens the cover, throwing it to the ground. Suddenly L appears from within and jumps down.

(60) that cm.

(61) Wine when makes-drunk-him when, insults neighbor circumcision pl says-to them: "the-ones-who (62) you here you you man affair no-account being-free very, you discuss-together word (63) with me cm-Q? The-ones-who you do thing seed-his what you-at here-at cm-Q? (64) If-you want that we discuss-together we word this already first if, you do thing being-strong (65) your foc, you show-me I see cm. But the-one-who me I-will show-to you thing (66) which-I am-there with-it which." Neighbor friend they say-to-him: "Now-really, Q (67) thing-his what first you-will be-there already with-it, you-will do-to us here first, (68) we-will be-afraid foc-cm-Q?" Neighbor friend says-to them: "Oh I-will do-to you cm-Q? (69) If-you doubt doubt if, I-will bring-out thing a leave-to you here, fear it-will do (70) you. You-will leave race all. Man other he-must lack cm-neg." They (71) say-to-him: "Lie your, we doubt cm. You bring-out-for us thing-cm, we see (72) first." Wine because is-enough-for-him already also because, he digs... digs race fast, (73) goes carries wood granary leaves goes-up granary-at, climbs goes-up, opens cover granary (74) leaves goes ground-to. Suddenly Lion carries leaves goes-out goes-down already in-it-from.

TEXT C--LION

75 Koeoe ǎd dàà kuu, ǎd dàà kuu, sá kuu dùng, dùng, nɛ̀ng
76 nán vɔ́ hǎǎ.
77 Ká hɔ̀ daga gboo ká vùddɔ́ sí'e fɔ̃ɔ̃ ɔ́ máá, ká nèng
78 nán vɔ́ 'wàà sɔ́'ɔ́ máá, vɛ́' yaa ya ma' daga gboo pee,
79 ma"ɔ́, kpɔ̀ɔ̀wɔ́ hǎǎ kéé gàng gbògo zɔ̀ɔ̀ wɔ́le, dàà lúú kà
80 là hɔ̃d tíng, noonó nyaggɔ̀ɔ̀le ne. Là mbàà hǎǎǎǎ bá'
81 tɔ́ɔ́ ka nya dàà ɔ̀ɔ̀lé na'a máá, daga gboo pee zán 'wàà
82 sɔ́'ɔ́.
83 Daga gboo ká zán sɔ́'ɔ́ máá, Koeoe làà, là gbo
84 kɛ̃ng, Koeoe ká gbo kɛ̃ng máá, gang Koeoe...gang kɛ̃ng,
85 ya hà' ɛ́ tǔtǔ"é, dàà ɗáá mbàà, dàà zoe': "Iiyà, iiyà,
86 iiyà."
87 Daga gboo ká ki í'e nyogo máá, õd kɛ́ɛ́ vɔ́: "Tɔ̀,
88 ì baa hɛ̃n laan dèna! Mí yaa diele." 'Bɛ̀ koeddɔ̀ɔ̀ kan
89 kpàà bèm ya kímagge, kè ɗug í'e nyogo woeg, woeg, woeg,

---

(75) He paws the dirt several times and throws up dust dùng, dùng; he chases the men a long time.

When he sees that his friend has exposed him, after having chased the men, he returns and grabs his friend. He grabs him and drags him around in the dirt a long time, then leaves him there, going off (80) into the grass; he doesn't kill him on the spot. He waits a long time until many days have passed, until his friend has completely forgotten the incident.

After his friend has forgotten, L goes and kills a monkey. After killing the monkey, he carries it (85) and puts it on an anthill. He sits down and roars, "Iiyà, iiyà, iiyà."

When his friend hears this, he tells his wives, "Keep hoeing and wait for me! I'll be right back." He takes his quiver and bow, slings them over his shoulder and runs like this woeg, woeg, woeg,

(75) Lion paws passes dust, paws passes dust, raises dust dung, dung, (76) chases man pl long-time.

(77) When sees neighbor friend that exposes already body cm when, when chases (78) man pl finishes already when, returns comes comes grabs neighbor friend that, (79) grabs-him, rubs-him long-time leaves carries leaves-him goes-down there, passes leaves takes-road (80) goes grass in, kills-not-him mouth-it-at cm-neg. Goes sits looooong-time day (81) other when arrives passes being-many very when, neighbor friend that forgets finishes (82) already.

(83) Neighbor friend when forgets already when, Lion goes, goes throws (84) monkey, Lion when throws monkey when, carries Lion...carries monkey, (85) comes places puts ant-hill-on, passes climbs sits, passes roars: "Iiya, iiya, (86) iiya."

(87) Neighbor friend when hears like that when, says-to wife pl: "So, (88) you hoe thing wait-for-me then! I come am-there-cm." Takes quiver-his and (89) bow slings-on-shoulder place armpit-under, digs race like that woeg, woeg, woeg,

TEXT C--LION

90 woeg, woeg woeg kè ɗug hãã hãd díí yo.

91 Làà là máá,...ka làà máá, gang nóó sà là kẽnge.

92 Hɔ̃n pɔ́g né, ndà doo dii dàà. Koeoe õddɔ́: "Ãm gang sí'e

93 pɔ́ggo yè no!" Làà ne. Koeoe õddɔ́ nɛ̃́nnáá: "Dán gboo,

94 ká bán mí õm nɛ́n máá na? Mí õm: "Mí làà ne, mónna

95 vùn fõõe." Mó õ: "Áá'a, ãm làà o, mín vùn mó fõõ

96 ne." Mó been, mó 'máána wɔ̀le, mó pãng, mó là vùn fõõ

97 gbɔ̀ sɔ́'ɔ́. Ɩ́e móó máá, zãgã́ ɓoeoe máá, sí'ɩ́d móó wɔ́ yè

98 no. Mó hɔ̀ móó ɓoeoe zãgã́ gbɔ̀lee. Amá món hõn zãgã́

99 dólé né." Koeoe õddɔ́: "Ãm 'bɛ̀ kẽng nyè, mó maa, mó

100 soeng 'waapád. Piggoo téé, mín noom." Daga gboo...

101 daga gboo pee sa kpàà dii mbàà, ɔ̀n moo tɔ́ɔ́ ne, dɔ́ɔ́

102 kógo sɔ́'ɔ́. Koeoe lúú ya, mmà"ɔ́, gàng gbo hage,

103 noowɔ́ sɔ́'ɔ́. Koeoe dàà vɛ́', kà là hẽn waa woo hɔ́d

104 tíng.

- -

(90) woeg, woeg woeg; he runs until the sweat pours down. As he runs he spies the monkey. He doesn't see an animal, so he sets his foot and stops still. L tells him, "Carry off your animal there!" He doesn't move. What does L tell him? "My friend, a while back what did I tell you? I said, 'I won't go, you'll (95) expose me.' You said, 'No, go, I won't expose you.' You called me; you pressured me into going there; you took me; you exposed me. As for you, today is your last. You saw the sunrise, but you won't see the sunset." L tells him, "Take the monkey, roast it, (100) and eat it all. After that I'll kill you." His friend sets his bow on the ground and stands there, saying nothing. He's afraid. L gets up, grabs him, throws him to the ground and kills him. L takes a path and returns to his affairs in the grass.

(90) woeg, woeg woeg digs race long-time sweat stands there.

(91) Goes goes when,...when goes when, carries eye sees goes monkey-cm. (92) Sees-not animal cm-neg, braces foot stands passes. Lion says-to-him: "You carry already (93) animal-cm this cm!" Goes cm-neg. Lion says-to-him how-cm: "Neighbor-my friend, (94) time-past yesterday I tell-you how foc cm-neg-Q? I tell-you: 'I go cm-neg, you-will-go (95) expose-me body-cm.' You say, 'No, you go cm, I-will expose-not you body (96) cm-neg.' You call-me, you pressure-me-go there, you carry, you go expose-me body (97) leave already. The-one-who you foc, day today foc, end your it here (98) cm. You see you today sun leaving-cm. But you-will see-not sun (99) entering cm-neg." Lion says-to-him: "You take monkey this, you roast, you (100) crunch all. After-it then, I-will kill-you." Neighbor friend... (101) neighbor friend that sets-end-on-ground bow stands sits, says-not word a cm-neg, fear (102) does-him already. Lion rises comes, grabs-him, carries leaves ground-on, (103) kills-him already. Lion passes returns, takes-road goes thing small his grass (104) in.

TEXT D--RABBIT AND PIGEON

1 Bãbããm là kóeóelé hód tíng. Kóeóe hááááá. Hòn hẽn
2 tóó né. Kóó nóggaa aga ãm, tà'a ne.
3 Sey ká die ya vé"é máá, 'béé dòg nóó la' yúba,
4 hò Gbokìì bùù mbàà diè bã"e.
5 Ká soo hínaa, ká híí bi ma' Gbokìì bi soegó máá,
6 õd dòg Gbokìì be"e: "Páá, mó kó ẽn nyèla?" Gbokìì
7 õddó: "Mí bùù bã"e." Bãbããm dùù õddó: "Bã' kám
8 dògga bùù la' yúba nyè níí, ya wòò dóó ne. Amá mí
9 híí bi òm: ãm yaa, mó ya pèd...mó ya bùù bã' móó haga
10 yèle. To ãm híí ó só'ó pén téé, mín mám ba...waa móó
11 mbóggé. Téé món zòò bùù wóle." Gbokìì híí õddó: "Tò
12 mí híí ó, pãã." Gbokìì sí zòò, Bãbããm mánnó waa
13 mbóggé 'waapád, hage. Gbokìì gáng bã"òò zòò é mbàà
14 wóle, bùù bã' pee.

- -

R[45] goes hunting in the grass. He hunts a long time but sees nothing. He can't even shoot a small bird.

While he's returning, he glances up into a tree and sees P[46] sitting on his eggs.

(5) After looking for a way, for he wants to catch P and eat him, he says to P up in the air, "Uncle, what are you doing there?" P tells him, "I'm sitting on my eggs." R then says to him, "The place where you're sitting on your eggs up there in the tree isn't good. I tell you, come sit on your eggs on the ground (10) here. If you want, I'll help you build your nest. Then you can come down and sit here." P gets down and R helps him build his whole nest on the ground. P carries his eggs down and puts them there, then sits on them.

- -

45 R = Rabbit, P = Pigeon

46 Although Duru has no gender distinction in its pronouns, P is called "uncle" and must therefore be male.

TEXT D

RABBIT AND PIGEON 4-3--4-5

(1) Rabbit goes hunting grass in. Hunts long-time. Sees-not thing (2) some cm-neg. Even bird-small self also, shoots-not cm-neg.

(3) Time when is-in-process-of comes returning when, lifts goes-up eye tree on, (4) sees Pigeon sits sits is-there egg-on.

(5) When searches road, because wants he grabs Pigeon he crunches-him because, (6) says-to goes-up Pigeon sky-in: "Uncle, you do what there-cm-Q?" Pigeon (7) says-to-him: "I sit-on egg-cm." Rabbit follows says-to-him: "Egg which-you (8) go-up-go sit-on tree up there which, place his is-good cm-neg. But I (9) want I say-to-you: you come, you come lay...you come sit-on egg your ground-on (10) here. If if-you want doubt already first if, I-will help-you that ...nest your (11) preparing. Then you-will come-down sit there." Pigeon answers says-to-him: "Yes (12) I want cm, uncle." Pigeon gets-down goes-down, Rabbit helps-him nest (13) preparing all, ground-on. Pigeon carries egg-his goes-down puts place (14) there, sits-on egg that.

TEXT D--RABBIT AND PIGEON

15 Sey ká bùù bã' mbàà wɔ̀le máá, Bãbããm dàà sãã vɛ̃́'
16 làà sí'e lige o. Gbokìì gaa 'waapád, Bãbããm ba sɔ́ɔ́ bi
17 sɔ́ɔ́léé.
18 Sey Bãbããm ká làà sɔ̀'ɔ́ máá, Gbokìì dùù vɛ̃́' gáng
19 bã"ɔ̀ɔ̀ dɔ̀ggà ɛ̃́ waa see wɔ̀ɔ̀ peele. Daa dɔ̀ggà bùù mbàà
20 wɔ̀le.
21 Sey vid ká sã' máá, Bãbããm làà wɔ̀ɔ̀lé ligge. Là
22 gàng ɓàà nóó tɔ́eɔ́ed gbɔ̃ɔ̃ ba'a í'e yogo, làà vɛ̃́' ya moo
23 Gbokìì ma"e. Ẽm í'e yogɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́.
24 Sey ká nya ya Gbokìì ká pèd bã'...bùù bã"e pee
25 máá, tɔ́egoe dàà nóó, tɔ́egoe dàà nóó, tɔ́egoe dàà nóó,
26 hɔ̀n Gbokìì ne. Sey wɔ̀ɔ̀ máá vid sã' sɔ́'ɔ́, hɔ̀n nóó
27 dɔ́ɔ́lé na'a ne. Tɔ́eg dàà nóó, tɔ́eg dàà nóó.
28 Ká hɔ̀n ya Gbokìì wɔ̀ɔ̀ pee ne máá, ɔ̀: "'M̀, í'e yè
29 máá, mín kɛ̃́ng sí'e wɔ̀ɔ̀ kɔ́léé. Vid sã' sɔ́'ɔ́ kan hɔ̀n

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(15) While he sits there on his eggs, R returns home. P knows well that R is tricking him with trickery.

When R has gone, P carries his eggs back up and puts them in his old nest again. He climbs up and sits (20) there.

When night has fallen, R goes to his house. He carries a very big basket, large-holed like this, and returns to catch P. He walks like thaaaat.

When he arrives where P was sitting on his eggs, he looks all around (25) several times. He doesn't see P. Night has fallen, so he doesn't see very well. He looks and looks.

Since he doesn't see where P is, he says, "Oh, well, this time I'll do it by chance. Night has fallen and I don't see very

RABBIT AND PIGEON--TEXT D 4-5--4-6

(15) Time when sits-on egg sits there when, Rabbit passes returns returns (16) goes already house-to cm. Pigeon knows all, Rabbit that tricks him (17) tricking-cm.

(18) Time Rabbit when goes already when, Pigeon follows returns carries (19) egg-his goes-up-goes puts nest old his that-in. Climbs goes-up-goes sits sits (20) there.

(21) Time night when darkens when, Rabbit goes his-to house-to. Goes (22) carries basket eye wide big very like that, goes returns comes for (23) Pigeon catching. Walks like thaaaaat.

(24) Time when arrives place Pigeon where lays egg... sits egg-on that (25) when, looks passes eye, looks passes eye, looks passes eye, (26) sees-not Pigeon cm-neg. Time his foc night darkens already, sees-not eye (27) being-good very cm-neg. Looks passes eye, looks passes eye.

(28) When sees-not place Pigeon his that cm-neg when, says: "Oh-well, the-one here (29) foc, I-will begin already it doing-cm. Night darkens already that-I see-not

TEXT D--RABBIT AND PIGEON

30 nóó né yè no." Bãbããm gàng ɓàà nóó tóeóed sú' yèle,
31 dàà lúú sú' yèle, dàà gàng sú' yèle, dàà gàng sú' yèle,
32 hɔ̀n Gbokìì ne. Aséé Gbokìì ɗáá dòggà mbàà die wòò la'
33 yúba, mbàà diegie hɔ̀lè. Gbokìì mbàà diegie wòò hõlé ni.
34 Sey ká sú' ɓàà hááááá, ká hɔ̀n Gbokìì ne máá, Gbokìì
35 mbàà zòò la"e, õddó...vìgi: "Pááá, mó kó ẽn nyèla?"
36 Gbokìì...Bãbããm õddó: "Hã', pãã, mí naa zanánne náá?"
37 Gbokìì õddó: "Pãã míí, mó naa zanán sóó bã' míílá?
38 Vó naa zanán lígé náá?" Ndáá, kaɗi, Bãbããm sém
39 kógo síe, gàng ɓàà nóó tóeóed pee dii mbààn síe nage
40 koengngng, gaan hẽn tóó a kón síe né. Dàà sãã vé"ɔ̀le,
41 kà là wòòle lige. Daa sí' dàà wòòlé nyè.

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(30) well." R takes his large-holed basket and puts it down here, moves and puts it down there, then here, then there; he can't see P. Now P has climbed up and is sitting there in the tree looking at him. He's looking at him all this time.

After R has put the basket down over and over in different places, but still can't see P, (35) P sits in the tree and asks him, "Uncle, what are you doing there?" R tells him, "Oh! Uncle, I'm dancing the circumcision dance, aren't I?" P tells him, "My uncle, are you dancing the circumcision dance on my eggs? They dance the circumcision dance at home, don't they?" Then R is ashamed; he holds his large-holed basket and stands there with it in his hand (40) <u>koengngng</u>. He doesn't know what he can do. He returns, taking the path to his house. The story is ended there.

(30) eye cm-neg here cm." Rabbit carries basket eye wide puts here, (31) passes leaves puts here, passes carries puts here, passes carries puts here, (32) sees-not Pigeon cm-neg. I-say Pigeon climbs goes-up-goes sits is-there him tree (33) up, sits is-in-process-of-him seeing. Pigeon sits is-in-process-of-<u>him</u> seeing so.

(34) Time when puts basket loooong-time, when sees-not Pigeon cm-neg when, Pigeon (35) sits goes-down tree-in, says-to-him...asks-him: "Uncle, you do what there-Q?" (36) Pigeon...Rabbit says-to-him: "Oh! Uncle, I dance circumcision-dance-cm cm-neg-Q?" (37) Pigeon says-to-him: "Uncle my, you dance circumcision-dance that egg my-on-Q? (38) They dance circumcision-dance home-at cm-neg-Q?" So, then, Rabbit shame (39) does-him already, carries basket eye wide that stands sits-together already hand-in (40) <u>koengngng</u>, knows-not thing other that-he does-not already cm-neg. Passes returns returns-there, (41) takes-road goes his-to house-to. Thing ends passes it-at this.

TEXT E--HYENA AND DEATH

1 Taye waa vò mà' pɔ́g ɛ́ kan nom. Vò pa moo ya 'waa-
2 pád vò ɔ̀: "Vó noo pɔ́g, vó ɛ́ diele kàn nomme. To nán
3 a hɩ́ɩ́ nommo téé, a ya lá, bá' tɑ̃ɑ̃nó téé vón noowò."
4 Nán 'waapád vò sɛ̀n ne.
5 Mbùù ká ki ɪ́e yógó máá, ya ɗug taye waa vòòle, vì
6 vò: "Ví ɔ̀ nɛ̀nna? Moo ká bán kii pa yè mí kin moo wòò
7 dòòlé na'a ne. Mí hɩ́ɩ́ i dùù ɔ̀n tóó." Vò ɔ̃ddò: "Vó
8 noo pɔ́g ɛ́ wò nyè no kàn nomme. Nán a hɩ́ɩ́ nommo téé,
9 a ya lá, bá' tããno téé, vón noowò." Mbùù mà' yúú wòò
10 mbàà hɑ́ɑ́, taa moo vò kɔ́ed kɔ́ed wòòlè zɔ́ɔ́lé. Ɔ̀d vò:
11 "Tò, mí ki sò'ò. Yógó téé mí yaa diele." Mbùù la nyà
12 wòòlé lige, zɔ́ɔ́ ndènno ne kàn dɛ̃ɛ̃m. Dùù sàà vɛ́' wòle
13 làà taye waa vòòlè. Taye waa vò vìgì: "Kó nɛ̀nna?"
14 Ɔ̃d vò: "Kón hɛ̃n tɔ́ɔ́ né. Mí hɩ́ɩ́ pɔ́g láléé." Vò ɔ̀ddò:

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The gods catch an animal and guard it with death. They announce everywhere: "We've killed an animal, and we're guarding it with death. If anyone wants death, let him come and eat. Three days later we'll kill him." All men refuse.

(5) When H[47] hears this, he runs to the gods and asks, "What did you say? Yesterday when you made your announcement I didn't hear it very well. I want you to tell me again." They tell him, "We've killed an animal and are guarding it here with death. If anyone wants death, let him come and eat. Three days later we'll kill him." H takes his head in his hands and (10) sits a long time; he thinks many thoughts in his heart. He tells them, "Ok, I want to. Tomorrow I'll come." He goes to his house, but his heart is restless with gluttony. He returns there, going to the gods. The gods ask him, "What are you doing?" He tells them, "Oh, nothing. I want to eat the animal." They tell him,

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47 H = Hyena

TEXT E

HYENA AND DEATH 3-54I

(1) God child they catch animal guard with death. They announce word place all (2) they say: "We kill animal, we guard is-there with death-cm. If man (3) if-he wants death-doubt if, let-him come eat, day three after we-will kill-him." (4) Man all they want-not cm-neg.

(5) Hyena when hears like that when, comes race god child to-them asks (6) them: "You say how-Q? Word time-past yesterday which-you announce here, I hear-not word his (7) being-good very cm-neg. I want you follow tell-me other." They say-to-him: "We (8) kill animal guard it there cm with death-cm. Man if-he wants death-doubt if, (9) let-him come eat, day three after, we-will kill-him." Hyena grabs head his (10) sits long-time, thinks word pl different different his-in heart-in. Says-to them: (11) "So, I hear already-cm. Tomorrow future I come am-there." Hyena goes arrives (12) his-at house-at, heart is-calm-not-for-him cm-neg with gluttony. Follows returns returns there (13) goes god child them-to. God child they ask-him: "Do how-Q?" (14) Says-to them: "Do-not thing some cm-neg. I want animal eating-cm." They say-to-him:

TEXT E--HYENA AND DEATH

15 "Pɔ́g ka yèla, ãm lá síenná!" Zɔ́ɔ́ dẽ' Mbùù wããní. Mbùù
16 ɗáá mbàà yúú pɔ́gge, lá pɔ́g hɔ́ɔ́, hɔ́ɔ́. Vì vɔ́: "Yee téé
17 kaa lá téé, ba zòn mam na?" Vɔ́ ɔ̀ddɔ̀: "Vɔ́ há'an mam
18 zòle ne." Mbùù fíí là zɔ̀ mam, dùù vẽ' ya ɗáá mbàà yúú
19 pɔ́gge, lá hɔ́ɔ́, hɔ́ɔ́, pɔ́g kéé waa ná', dùù vì vɔ́: "Yee
20 téé ba lààn búú né ɔ́mmá?" Vɔ́ ɔ̀ddɔ́: "Vɔ́ há'an búú
21 lààlɛ̀ nɛ̀." Mbùù làà búú dùù vɛ́' ya mbàà yúú pɔ́ggé.
22 Mbùù lá pɔ́g 'wàà koentoeng. Taye waa vɔ́ ɔ̀ddɔ́: "Ãm
23 làà mɔ́ɔ́lé ligé bo. Bá' iddu, tããno wɔ̀ɔ̀ téé vɔ́ laa
24 diele." Mbùù dàà vɛ́' làà wɔ̀ɔ̀lé lige kàn zɔ́ɔ́ dẽ"e.
25 Mbùù là ùd woole lige bá' iddu tããno woo, ká gaa
26 taye waa ba vɔ́n yaa diele máá, lúú là yɔ́g hõge.
27 Sey ka diɛ̀ yɔ́ggé máá, taye waa vɔ́ hɔ̀gɔ̀ 'waapád.
28 Vɔ́ vìgi: "Mɔ́ hɔ́ɔ́n ɔ́ɔ́ nɔ̀ɔ̀n bi mɔ́ɔ́lé lige ne, mɔ́ hɔ́ɔ́ oo
29 noo bi sie yèlaa?"

- -

(15) "The animal is here! Eat then!" H is very happy. He climbs up, sits on the animal, and eats for a long time. He asks them, "While one eats, can he drink water?" They tell him, "We don't forbid drinking of water." He goes and drinks, returns, climbs up, sits on the animal, and eats ~~for~~ for a very long time. When there's only a little of the animal left, he asks again, (20) "Can one go relieve himself too?" They tell him, "We don't forbid relieving oneself." He goes and relieves himself, returns and sits on the animal. He finishes eating the <u>whole</u> animal <u>koentoeng</u>. The gods tell him, "Go to your house, then. After two days, the third we'll be there." He returns to his house with a happy heart.

(25) He stays home two days, and the third, when he knows the gods will be there, he leaves and hides in the bush.

While he's hiding, all the gods see him. They ask him, "You don't want us to kill you in your house; do you want us to kill you here then?"

(15) "Animal exclamation here-cm, you go then-cm!" Heart makes-clean Hyena much. Hyena (16) climbs sits on animal-on, eats animal long-time, long-time. Asks them: "Q then (17) when-one eats when, one drinks-not water cm-neg-Q?" They say-to-him: "We forbid-not water (18) drinking cm-neg." Hyena returns goes drinks water, follows returns comes mounts sits on (19) animal-on, eats long-time, long-time, animal remains little like-that, follows asks them: "Q (20) then one goes-not intestine cm-neg also-Q?" They say-to-him: "We forbid-not intestine (21) going cm-neg." Hyena goes intestine follows returns comes sits on animal-on. (22) Hyena eats animal finishes koentoeng. God child they say-to-him: "You (23) go your-to house-to then. Day two, three his future, we go (24) be-there-cm." Hyena passes returns goes his-to house-to with heart being-clean.

(25) Hyena goes lies-down his-at house-at day two three his, when knows (26) god child that they-will come be-there when, leaves goes hides bush-in.

(27) Time when is-in-process-of hiding when, god child they see-him all. (28) They ask-him: "You want-not that-we kill-not you your-at house-at cm-neg, you want that-we (29) kill you already here-Q?"

TEXT E--HYENA AND DEATH

30 Mbùù ka ki ie yogo máá, lúú ɗug, kè ɗúg hǽǽ, hǽǽ,
31 hǽǽ, là dó yǒg doeoe sìilè.
32 Ka kùù nóó máá, hɔ̀ taye waa vɔ́ dìì mbàà yò, vɔ́
33 dùù ɔ̀ddɔ́: "Ã'ã yè máá mó nùng sí'e bèg ɔ́ɔ́ dommɔ́le máá
34 sɔ́'ɔ́. Óó noom sɔ́mmá?"
35 Mbùù ká ki í'e yógó máá, dùù gboy doeoe sìilè, kè
36 ɗug fáá, fáá, fáá, hãd dii yo. Tɔ́eg hɔ́ɔ́ gbõõ tóó kaa
37 dìe kàn neele mbàà tíng woole kɔ́ɔ́ hɔ̀n ba ne máále.
38 Dó yǒg mbàà wɔ́le. Taye waa vɔ́ dùù ɔ̀ddɔ́: "Mó hǽǽ oo
39 noon bi doèoè sìile ne, mó hǽǽ nom hɔ́ɔ́ tíng yèla?"
40 Mbùù ká dùù ki ie yogo máá, gboy ɗug hɔ́ɔ́ tíng dùù
41 kè ɗug hǽǽ, hǽǽ, hǽǽ, gàgày wǽǽ hágá kim, tii na noo
42 dàà wɔ́le.

- -

(30) When he hears this he leaves at a run, runs a long long time and hides in an anteater hole.

When he looks up, he sees the gods standing there. They tell him again, "Now you've found a grave where you'll be buried. Should we kill you then?"

(35) When he hears this, he leaves the anteater hole, too, and runs a long long long time. His sweat streams down. He spies a certain large forest where a person can't be seen. He goes in and hides there. The gods tell him again, "You didn't want us to kill you in the anteater hole, do you want death in this forest?"

(40) When he hears this again, he leaves the forest on the run; again he runs a very very long time. He's lifted up, falls down heavily to the ground <u>kim</u>, flips head over heels, and dies there.

(30) Hyena when hears like that when, leaves race, digs race long-time, long-time, (31) long-time, goes enters hides hole anteater-in.

(32) When opens eye when, sees god child they stand sit there, they (33) follow say-to-him: "Time this foc you find already grave which-they bury-you-there which (34) already-cm. Should-we kill-you then-Q?"

(35) Hyena when hears like that when, follows leaves-himself hole anteater-in, digs (36) race long-time, long-time, long-time, sweat stands there. Looks forest big a-certain where-one (37) is-there and being-strong sits in it-in where-they see-not one cm-neg where-in. (38) Enters hides sits there. God child they follow say-to-him: "You want that-we (39) kill-not you hole anteater-in cm-neg, you want death forest in this-in-Q?"

(40) Hyena when follows hears like that when, leaves-himself race forest in follows (41) digs race long-time, long-time, long-time, carries-self falls ground-on <u>kim</u>, flips like-that dies (42) passes there.

TEXT F--HUNTING

1 Koeoe, Mbùù, Zág kàn Bieieg vò làà hóg kóeóelé.

2 Sey kóó nya ya úúd vòó só'ó máá, kóó nónna mbóg

3 ya úúddòò.

4 Pig kóó mbóg ya úúd vòó 'wàà só'ó máá, Mbùù ò:

5 "Hẽn míí kán sèn ne máá, wó moo vìlee. Mí híí nán a

6 vìn mí moo ne." Zág dàà ò wòò: "Íe míí ám, mí sèn

7 nán a san mí nag waa ne sam." Koeoe dàà ò wòò: "Mí ám

8 mí sèn nán a sa kúú gbòn mí né." Bieieg dàà vúd ya ò:

9 "Hẽn kán mán míí máá, wó hẽn 'ná"e, nán a 'ná'an téé,

10 vón líen ám."

11 Sey vid ka sã' só'ó máá, Mbùù dó la hõge gàng nèng

12 mbàà soeng ya úúd woole, ɓad ɓad ɓad ɓad.

13 Sey Zág ka ki hẽn sóene Mbùù wòò máá, lúú dòg yúba

14 ò: "Ká' ká', ɓoeoe bán noe ví ya yèlee?"

- -

Lion, Hyena, Panther, and Snake[48] go hunting.

When they arrive at their sleeping place, each prepares his bed.

When they've finished preparing their beds, H says, (5) "The thing I don't like is questions. I don't want anyone to question me." Pr says, "Me, I don't like anyone ever to point a finger at me." L says, "Me, I don't like anyone raising dust and throwing it on me." S comes out and says, "Me, the thing that I hate is stepping on things. If someone steps on me, (10) we'll not be in agreement."

After nightfall H goes into the bush, carries out bones, and sits crunching on them in his bed ɓad ɓad ɓad ɓad.

When Pr hears H's crunching, he stands up and says, "Hey you, will we sleep here today?"

- -

48 hereafter L, H, Pr, and S respectively.

TEXT F

HUNTING 4-9B

(1) Lion, Hyena, Panther, and Snake they go bush hunting.

(2) Time when-they arrive come place lying-down their already when, even who prepares (3) place lying-down his.

(4) After when-they prepare place lying-down their finish already when Hyena says: (5) "Thing my which-I like-not cm-neg which, it word asking-cm. I want man he (6) asks-not me word cm-neg." Panther passes says he: "The-one-who me also, I like-not (7) man he points-me arm small cm-neg at-all." Lion passes says he: "I also (8) I like-not man he raises dust throws-at-not me cm-neg." Snake passes comes-out comes says: (9) "Thing which-I hate I which, it thing stepping-on, man if-he steps-on-me if, (10) we-will destroy-each-other also."

(11) Time night when darkens already when, Hyena enters goes bush-in carries bones (12) sits crunches place lying-down his-in, ɓad ɓad ɓad ɓad.

(13) Time Panther when hears thing crunching Hyena his when, rises goes-up up (14) says: "Hey hey, today we-will sleep we place this-in-cm-Q?"

TEXT F--HUNTING

15 Sey Mbùù ká ki Zág ka ɔ̀ íe yogo máá, Mbùù lúú bee
16 Zág: "Pãã, pãã! Mín ɔ̀m nɛ́n máálá? Naa mí ɔ̀m mí sɛ́n
17 moo vìle ne na?" Zɔ́ɔ́ nyéé kó Mbùù, Mbùù lúú sad Zág
18 nag, Zág ɔ̀d Mbùù: "Pãã, mín ɔ̀m nɛ́n máálá? Náá mí ɔ̀m
19 mí sèn nag waa sale ne na?" Zɔ́ɔ́ nyéé kó Zág, Zág lúú
20 màà Mbùù vɔ́ kó nyag hɛ́ɛ́, vɔ́ làà là sa kùù gbòd Koeoe.
21 Koeoe ka hɔ̀ íe yogo máá, gà lúú dòg gúba ɔ̀: "Moo
22 ẽn pɛ̃́n kíí kó hẽn íe yogola? Ba mín ɔ̀d ví nèn máálá?
23 Naa mí ɔ̀d ví nán a sa kùù gbòn sa na?" Koeoe kó zɔ́ɔ́
24 nyéé lúú dó nyagge. Vɔ́ sɔ́g ya vɔ́ tããno ãm, vɔ́ kó nyag
25 hɛ̃́ɛ̃ hɛ̃́ɛ̃ hɛ̃́ɛ̃. Vɔ́ làà màà Bieieg ya úúd woole, vɔ́ 'ná"ɔ́.
26 Íe Bieieg wòò máá, ɔ̀n moo tóó ne sam. Lúú dòg gúba
27 simna, bé' vɔ́ dàà dole ya vɔ́ tããno ãm, kpad kpad.
28 Mbùù noo, Zág noo, Koeoe noo. Vɔ́ noo ya vɔ́ɔ́ tããno ãm
29 'waapád. Bieieg 'bè kpaa wòò kàn koed wòò ùg, daa fíí
30 ka la kaale.

- -

(15) When H hears Pr speak, he gets up and says to Pr, "Uncle, uncle! What did I tell you? Didn't I say I didn't like questions?" H is angry and points his finger at Pr. Pr tells him, "Uncle, what did I tell you? Didn't I say I didn't like finger pointing?" Pr is angry; Pr (20) flies at H and they fight a long time; they raise dust and throw it on L.

When L sees this, he jumps up and says, "Why do you do a thing like that? What did I tell you? Didn't I tell you that no one should raise dust and throw it on me?" He's angry and enters the fight. All three of them fight (25) for a very long time. They go to S in his bed and step on him. As for S, he says nothing at all. He stands up silently and bites all three of them in the leg, kpad kpad. H dies, Pr dies, L dies. All three die. S takes his bow and quiver, puts them on his shoulder, and (30) takes the path back to the village.

(15) Time Hyena when hears Panther when says like that when, Hyena gets-up calls-to (16) Panther: "Uncle, uncle! I-past say-to-you how foc-Q? Neg-Q I say-to-you I like-not (17) word asking cm-neg cm-neg-Q?" Heart red does Hyena, Hyena rises points-at Panther (18) arm, Panther says-to Hyena: "Uncle, I-past say-to-you how foc-Q? Neg-Q I say-to-you (19) I like-not arm small pointing cm-neg cm-neg-Q?" Heart red does Panther, Panther rises (20) finds Hyena they do mouth long-time, they go go raise dust throw-at Lion.

(21) Lion when sees like that when, jumps rises goes-up up says: "For (22) what first that-you do thing like that-cm-Q? Time-past I-past say-to you how foc-Q? (23) Neg-Q I say-to you man that-he raises dust throws-at-me cm-neg cm-neg-Q?" Lion does heart (24) red rises enters mouth-in. They gather place pl three also, they do mouth (25) long-time long-time long-time. They go find Snake place lying-down his-at, they step-on-him. (26) The-one-who Snake him foc, says-not word other cm-neg at-all. Rises goes-up up (27) silently, bites them passes leg-in place pl three also, <u>kpad</u> <u>kpad</u>. (28) Hyena dies, Panther dies, Lion dies. They die place pl three also (29) all. Snake takes bow his and quiver his puts-on-shoulder, passes returns (30) takes-road goes town-to.

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

1 Sey tóólé máá gõm kó dòòn dóenné. Hẽn hóg vò 'waa-
2 pád vò nùgun hẽn lálé né sám. Bãbããm bàà ãã hããb hód
3 tíng yààn kéé vò kan waa vò wòle.
4 Zãgã íe tóó yè máá lúú là hããb ããlè, ãã hããb íe
5 yógóóóóó.
6 Mèn ka kó máá, gang hããb ya mbààn nyag mam gbõõ
7 tóólé. Mbàà tè hããb, tè hããb.
8 Sey ka diè hããb tèle máá, hããb méég hee kéed
9 goey pè zòò mam tíng.
10 Ka hò íe yogo máá, kéé hããb íe tóó naga pee gbò
11 dàà haga, yo dùù zòò íe ba goey pè zòò mam tíng pee.
12 Ka zòò máá, là nùng hããb tèè tii gã' nan.
13 Sey ká nùng hããb ka tii síe gã' nanno máá, Bãbããm
14 vì gã': "Gã' yè mó gã' ẽna?" Gã' hííddò ò: "Mí gã'

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Once there was a big famine. None of the animals could find any food at all. R[49] used to dig wild yams in the grass and bring them to his wife and children.

One day he went digging wild yams and dug them like (5) thaaaat.

In the afternoon, he took the yams and sat on the bank of a certain large river, and washed them.

While he was washing them, the gleaming white <u>kéed</u> end of one yam broke and fell into the water.

(10) When he saw this he left the other yams on the ground and dove in after the broken one that had fallen into the water.

When he got down there, he found the wild yam changed into a horn of food.[50]

When he found the wild yam changed into a horn of food, he asked the horn, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It answered, "I'm a

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49 R = Rabbit

50 lit. dough, or cous-cous, the basic Duru food.

TEXT G

RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA 4-9D

(1) Time other-in past hunger does is-good-not much-neg. Thing bush pl all (2) they find-not thing eating cm-neg at-all. Rabbit sits digs yam grass (3) in brings wife pl and child pl there.

(4) Day the other here past leaves goes yam digging, digs yam like (5) thaaaat.

(6) Afternoon when does when, carries yam comes sits-together edge water big (7) a-certain-on. Sits washes yam, washes yam.

(8) Time when is-in-process-of washing when, yam end white <u>kẽẽd</u> (9) breaks-itself goes-down water in.

(10) When sees like that when, leaves yam the other hand-in that leaves (11) passes ground-on, dives follows goes-down the-one who breaks-itself falls goes-down water in that.

(12) When goes-down when, goes finds yam that changes horn dough.

(13) Time when finds yam when changes already horn dough-cm when, Rabbit (14) asks-it: "Horn this you horn what-cm-Q?" Horn answers-him says: "I horn

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

15 nanne." Bãbããm ɔ̀d gã': "Ãm pɔ́nna nandoo, mí hɔ̀lee."
16 Gã' ɔ̀ddɔ́: "Ãm úún sie pɛ́nné." Bãbããm 'bè gã' úú toeoe,
17 nan vúd hĩ' hag ság. Bãbããm lá nan hɛ́ɛ́ hɛ́ɛ́ hãg hĩ'
18 dɔ̀gɔ̀ dìì zɔ́ɔ́lé. Bãbããm ɔ̀d nan á dɔ́ là ɔ̀, nan vɛ́' dɔ́
19 gã' tíng. Bãbããm nùng zɔ́ɔ́ dẽ"e wãání. 'Bè gã' wɔ̀ɔ̀
20 pàg koeoele, gang kán hɔ̀ɔ̀b wɔ̀ɔ̀ daa vẽ' yàà lige.
21 Sey ka nya sí'e lige o máá, bee kɛ́ɛ́ woo vɔ́ kàn waa
22 woo vɔ́, vɔ́ sɔ́g yaa wɔ̀ɔ̀le tíng. Dɔ̀d zɔ̀ɔ̀ nag kɔ́eɔ́elé
23 hɔ̀eɔ̀e gã' tíd nage ɔ̀: "Gã' yè mɔ́ gã' ẽna?" Gã' ɔ̀ddɔ́:
24 "Mí gã' nanne." Bãbããm ɔ̀ddɔ́: "Ãm pɔ́n ya nandoo mí
25 hɔ̀lee." Bãbããm 'bè gã' pèd fieied, nan yúd hĩ' lig
26 ság kàn wu' ãm. Bãbããm kɛ́ɛ́ vɔ́ kàn waa vɔ́, vɔ́ lá nan
27 hɛ́ɛ́ hɛ́ɛ́ hɛ́ɛ́ vɔ́ hã', hãg dɔ̀gɔ̀ dii voege yo.
28 Nyág kã'ãm ka tú máá, Bãbããm 'bè gã' wɔ̀ɔ̀ pàg
29 kɔ́eɔ́elé dàà làà gbánaa vɔ̀ɔ̀lè.

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(15) horn of food." He told it, "Give me food, so I can see it." The horn told him, "Blow me first, then." He took the horn and blew toeoe; food came out and piled up on the ground ság. He ate for a long time until his stomach was filled up to his heart. He told the food to enter and it returned into the horn. R was very happy. He took his horn and (20) put it in his sack, carried it with the wild yams, and returned home.

When he arrived, he called his wives and children; they gathered before him. He put his hand in his sack, took out the horn and held it in his hand, saying, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It told him, "I'm a horn of food." He told it, "Give me food so I can (25) see it." He took the horn and blew fieied; food and sauce came out and filled the house ság. His wives and children ate a very long time; they were full; their stomachs came up to their necks.

When morning came, he took his horn, put it in a sack, and went to the chief's.

(15) dough." Rabbit says-to horn: "You give-me-come dough-his, I seeing-cm." (16) Horn says-to-him: "You blow me already first-cm." Rabbit takes horn blows toeoe, (17) dough comes-out fills ground sag. Rabbit eats dough long-time until stomach fills (18) goes-up stands heart-in. Rabbit says-to dough that-it enters goes cm, dough returns enters (19) horn in. Rabbit finds heart being-clean much. Takes horn his (20) puts sack-in, carries with yam his passes returns comes house-to.

(21) Time when arrives already house-at cm when, calls wife his pl and child (22) his pl, they gather come him-to before. Puts-in goes-down hand sack-in (23) pulls-out horn holds hand-in says: "Horn this, you horn what-cm-Q?" Horn says-to-him: (24) "I horn dough-cm." Rabbit says-to-him: "You give-me come dough-his I (25) seeing-cm." Rabbit takes horn blows fieied, dough comes-out fills house (26) sag and sauce also. Rabbit wife pl and child pl, they eat dough (27) long-time long-time until they are-full, stomach goes-up stands neck-in there.

(28) Mouth morning when is-clear when, Rabbit takes horn his puts (29) sack-in passes goes chief them-to.

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

30 Ka nyà là nyag níímé máá, vá': "Tee, tee."
31 Gbánaa vó sɛ̀n hɩ́ɩ́lé né. Gõm dɔ́ɔ́n vó dɔ́ɔ́nné sám. Bã-
32 bããm dùù vá' nyag níímé: "Tee, tee!" Zɔ́ɔ́ nyéé kó
33 gbánaa vó, vó hàà Bãbããm: "Mí sɛ̀n míí nyãg ne. Gõm
34 míí ka dɩ̀ɛn nyale yè na?" Bãbããm ɔ̀d gbánaa vó: "Bà'
35 nàà, i kó zɔ́ɔ́ nyéé sá." Gbánaa vó ɔ̀d Bãbããm: "Ãm dó
36 zɔ̀ɔ̀ ɔ̀." Bãbããm dó màà gbánaa vó lig tíng, dɔ̀d zɔ̀ɔ̀ nag
37 kɔ́ɛɔ́elé hɔ̀ɛɔ̀e gã' dɔ̀gɔ̀ vìgi: "Gã' yè mó gã' ɛ̃na?" Gã'
38 ɔ̀ddó: "Mí gã' nanne." "Ãm pɔ́n ya nandɔ̀ɔ̀ mí hɔ̀lee."
39 Bãbããm 'bɛ̀ gã' úú tɛ̃ɛ̃d. Nan vúd hɩ̃' lig gbánaa vɔ́ɔ́ ság.
40 Gbánaa vó lá nan hɩ́ɩ́ hɩ́ɩ́ hɩ́ɩ́, vó hã'. Vó gàng mam dàg
41 gbɔ̀ɔ̀ ná', vó zo hà' wɔ́le. Bee kɛ́ɛ́ vó sɔ̀g ya 'waapád
42 vó yàà tíng Bãbããm wɔ̀ɔ̀lè. Bãbããm 'bè gã' dùù úú nag
43 'màngnà. Nan dùù vúd dɔ́ɔ́n nóó hɔ̀le doenne. Gbánaa kɛ́ɛ́
44 vó kàn waa vó, vó lá nan hɩ́ɩ́ hɩ́ɩ́ ya zɔ́ɔ́ vɔ̀ɔ̀ ka hɩ́ɩ́lé.

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(30) When he arrived at the door, he called a greeting, "Tee, tee." The chief didn't want to answer. The famine had not been good to him at all. R again called a greeting at the door, "Tee, tee!" The chief became angry and insulted him, "I don't want any foolishness, I don't. Isn't there a famine at my house?" R told the chief, (35) "Rich father, don't be angry." The chief told him, "Enter." He entered and went to the chief in the house, put his hand in his sack, and took out the horn, saying, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It told him, "I'm a horn of food." "Give me food so I can see it." He took the horn and blew tɛ̃ɛ̃d. Food came out and completely filled the house of the chief ság. (40) The chief ate food a very very long time; he was full. He took a large calabash of water, drank, and put it down. He called his wives together from everywhere; they came before R. R again took the horn and blew. A lot of food came out again for the eye to see. The chief's wives and children ate as long as their hearts desired.

RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA--TEXT G 4-9E-G

(30) When arrives goes mouth door-at when, greets: "Tee, tee." (31) Chief they want-not answering cm-neg. Hunger is-good-to-not them much-neg at-all. Rabbit (32) follows greets mouth door-at: "Tee, tee!" Heart red does (33) chief pl, they insult Rabbit: "I want-not I foolishness cm-neg. Hunger (34) my which is-in-process-of-me arriving this cm-neg-Q?" Rabbit says-to chief pl: "Father (35) riches, you do heart red cm-neg." Chief they say-to Rabbit: "You enter (36) come-down cm." Rabbit enters finds chief pl house in, puts-in goes-down hand (37) sack-in brings-out horn comes-up asks-it: "Horn this, you horn what?" Horn (38) says-to-him: "I horn dough-cm." "You give-me come dough-his I seeing-cm." (39) Rabbit takes horn blows tẽẽd. Dough comes-out fills house chief their sag. (40) Chief they eat dough long-time long-time long-time, they are-full. They carry water calabash (41) big like-that, they drink put there. Calls wife pl gather place all (42) they come before Rabbit him-to. Rabbit takes horn follows blows hand (43) newly. Dough follows comes-out is-good-to-not eye seeing much-not. Chief wife (44) pl and child pl, they eat dough long-time long-time time heart their which wanting.

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

45 Bãbããm ɔ̀d gbánaa vɔ́ ba ɔ́ɔ́ pa moo yógó nán ba ɔ́ɔ́ làà
46 babe sa. Gbánaa ba' moo ɔ̀d ɪ́e nii vɔ́ 'waapád kan náá
47 saa vɔ́: "Yógó nyag kã'ã́mé máá, nán 'waapád vɔ́ sɔ́g yàà
48 saale." Bãbããm 'bè gã' wòò pàg kɔ́eɔ́elé ùg bàà ẽm ẽm
49 ɗáá dòg ègè dènne, dòd zɔ̀ɔ̀ nag kɔ́eɔ́e wòòlè, 'bè gã̀'
50 vùd dog wɔ́le, vìgi: "Gã' yè mɔ́ gã' ẽna?" Gã' hɪ́ɪ́ õ:
51 "Mí gã' nanne." "Ãm pɔ́n ya nan woo, mí hɔ̀lèe." Bãbããm
52 úú gã' toeoed, nan vúd hɪ̃' saa ság. Nán vɔ́ lá nan hã́ã́
53 hã́ã́, tóó vɔ́ hãg dey. Bãbããm vɛ̀' gã' wòò pàg kɔ́eɔ́elé,
54 dàà fíí làà wòòlé lige.
55 Sey gõm ka nyà kɛ́ɛ́ vɔ́ kàn waa vɔ́ téé, úúd vɔ́ gã',
56 téé vɔ́ nùng nan láwɔ́le.
57 Zã́gã́ tóó máá, Bãbããm 'bè gã' wòò dòggà ɛ́ vángé,
58 dàà lúú làà hõg kɔ̃eɔ̃ele. Gõm dɔ́ɔ̀n Kpoo vɔ́ doenne.
59 Zã́gã́ sããme máá Kpoo bà'à lúú ya màà Bãbããm waa vɔ́, vì

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(45) R told the chief that he should announce that the next day no one should go to the fields. The chief sent word telling all the elders and young people, "Tomorrow morning everyone must gather in the village square." R took his horn, put it in his sack which he slung on his shoulder, climbed up on the drummer's rock, put his hand into his sack, took (50) out the horn, and asked it, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It answered, "I'm a horn of food." "Give me food so I can see it." He blew on the horn toeoed; food came out and filled the village square ság. The people ate a very long time, and the stomachs of some burst. R put his horn back in his sack and returned to his house.

(55) Whenever his wives and children became hungry, he would blow on the horn for them, and they would have a lot of food.

One day R took his horn, put it in the granary, and went hunting. B[51] was very hungry. At noon the father B came to R's children and asked

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51 B = Baboon

RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA--TEXT G 4-9G-H

(45) Rabbit says-to chief pl that they-should announce word tomorrow man that they go (46) field-to cm-neg. Chief sends word says-to the-one-who old pl all and child (47) young pl: "Tomorrow mouth morning-in foc, man all they gather come (48) village-square-to." Rabbit takes horn his puts sack-in slings-on-shoulder sits walks walks (49) climbs goes-up stone drummer-on, puts-in goes-down hand sack his-in, takes horn (50) takes-out comes-up there, asks-it: "Horn this you horn what-cm-Q?" Horn answers says: (51) "I horn dough-cm." "You give-me come dough his, I seeing-cm." Rabbit (52) blows horn toeoed, dough comes-out fills village-square sag. Man they eat dough long-time (53) long-time, some pl stomach burst-itself. Rabbit returns horn his puts sack-in, (54) passes returns goes his-to house-to.

(55) Time hunger when arrives wife pl and child pl when, blows-for them horn, (56) then they find dough much.

(57) Day other foc, Rabbit takes horn his goes-up-goes puts granary-in, (58) passes leaves goes bush hunting. Hunger is-good-to-not Baboon pl much-neg. (59) Day middle-in foc Baboon father rises comes finds Rabbit child pl, asks

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

60 vò: "Ví baa kó ví ẽn yèle kàn bà' víí vò kíí bàà
61 hie'ie sey 'waapád yèla?" Bãbããm waa vò õddò: "Bà'
62 vóó 'mẽ́ng gã' nan ka úúd vo téé, nan vúd wòle, vó lá
63 lá. Moo woo no zõõ kà bàà dẽ' vó zãgã́ 'waapád pẽ́n kóó
64 hí'í'e yè no." Kpoo õd vò: "Gõm nya déy sã́ng vò die
65 yèle. I pón mí là úúd vò òò lá, téé mín vẽ' pãn ví
66 ya." Bãbããm waa daga ɗáá dòg vángé 'bè gã' nan pó Kpoo.
67 Kpoo 'bè gã' kànnà hõd tíng lààn doen koed.
68 Nyág mènné Bãbããm ka fíí ya hõge máá, nyaa ko'eng
69 dàà ɗáá dòg vángé, soo dàà hẽn, soo dàà hẽn, hõn gã'
70 wòò tee ne. Sí zòò haga vì waa vò: "Gã' yèle máá,
71 làà dìe tèla?" Waa vò õddò: "Zãgã́lé máá, Kpoo ba yàà
72 yèle vì vo: "Ví hí'í'e ví ẽn kàn bà' víí kàn nà' víí
73 vò na'ala?" Vó õddò: "Bà' vóó 'mẽ́ng gã' nan ba úúd vó,
74 mà vó lá wò yo. Zõõ ká dẽ' vó yè no." Mà õd vó ba oo

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(60) them, "What are you doing here with your father that you're laughing all the time?" R's children told him, "Our father found a horn of food. When he blows it for us, food comes out and we eat and eat. That's why we're happy every day, and why we laugh here." B tells them, "Your young brothers[52] here are hungry. (65) Give me the horn and I'll blow it for them so they can eat, then I'll bring it back here." One of R's children climbed into the granary, took the horn of food, and gave it to B. B took the horn and went into the bush, never to return.

That afternoon when R returned from the bush, he went immediately koeng and climbed into the granary, looked all over for the thing. He couldn't find (70) his horn. He climbed down on the ground and asked the children, "The horn there, where did it go?" The children told him, "During the day B came here and asked us, 'What are you laughing so much at, you and your father and your mother?' We told him, 'Our father found a horn of food which he blows for us, then we eat. That's why we're happy here.' Then he told us we should

- -

.e., his own children.

(60) them: "You sit do you what here with father your pl that-you sit (61) laugh time all here-Q?" Rabbit child they say-to-him: "Father (62) our finds horn dough when blows-for us when, dough comes-out there, we eat (63) eat. For it cm heart which sits is-clean-for us day all first that-we (64) laugh this cm." Baboon says-to them: "Hunger arrives neighbor small they are-there (65) here. You give-me I go blow-for them that-they eat, then I-will return carry-to you (66) come." Rabbit child one climbs goes-up granary-in takes horn dough gives Baboon. (67) Baboon takes horn takes-road-together-goes grass in goes-together only different.

(68) Mouth afternoon-in Rabbit when returns comes bush-in when, passes koeng (69) passes climbs goes-up granary-in, searches passes thing, searches passes thing, sees-not horn (70) his that cm-neg. Gets-down goes-down ground-on asks child pl: "Horn here foc, (71) goes is-there where-Q?" Child they say-to-him: "Day-in foc, Baboon that comes (72) here asks us: 'You laugh you what with father your and mother your (73) pl much-cm-Q?' We say-to-him: 'Father our finds horn dough that blows-for us, (74) then we eat it cm. Heart which is-clean-for us this cm.' Then says-to us that we-should

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

75 pó bí, bí pãng úúd waa bii vò, téé ba bín vẽ' pãng ya
76 diele. Mà kà lààn koed yè no." Bãbããm kó zõõ nyéé
77 hãã hãã.
78 Ká dùù ùd, nyag kã'ãm ka tú máá, 'bè tõng kíí kàn
79 koeoe wòò dàà kà là hõge, ãã hããb zãgãã.
80 Nyag mèn ká ko máá, dùù gang hããb yà mbàà nyag
81 mam dágá peele. Tè hããb, tè hããb, hããb goey ne. Bã-
82 bããm ma' hããb goe koogna gbò zòò mam tíng, dùù yo dùgù
83 zòò pigim.
84 Ka zòò máá, là nùng hããb téé tii gã' sò'ò. 'Bè
85 gã' tee tíd dòg nage vìgi: "Gã' yè mó gã' ẽna?" Híid-
86 dò: "Mí gã' gbómgbólooe." Bãbããm õddò: "Ãm gbón ya
87 mí hòlee." Loo vò vúd kàn waa vò, vò gbó Bãbããm mam
88 tíng hãã hãg zõy dii yo. Õd loo òò dó la o. Loo vò
89 vẽ' do síng. Bãbããm vúd dòg 'bè gã' loo wòò pàg ko'eo'e

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(75) give it to him, that he'd take it and blow it for his children, then bring it back here. Then he took a path and didn't come back here at all." R was angry for a very long time.

The next morning he took his hoe and sack and took the path into the bush; he dug wild yams all day.

(80) When it was afternoon he again carried the wild yams and sat by the same river. He washed the wild yams but no yam broke. He took one yam, broke it by force and threw it into the water, then dove in after it as before.

When he got down there, he found the wild yam changed into a horn. He (85) took the horn and held it in his hand, asking, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It answered him, "I'm a horn for beating you with sticks." He told it, "Beat me so I can see it." The stick and its children came out and beat R in the water until his stomach swelled up badly. He told the sticks to reenter and they returned silently síng. He got out of the water, took his horn of sticks, put it into the sack,

(75) give him, he carries blows-for child his pl, then that he-will return carry come (76) is-there. Then takes-road leads different this cm." Rabbit does heart red (77) long-time long-time.

(78) When follows lies-down, mouth morning when is-clear when, takes hoe long-shank and (79) sack his passes takes-road goes bush-in, digs yam all-day.

(80) Mouth afternoon when does when, follows carries yam comes sits mouth (81) water one that-at. Washes yam, washes yam, yam breaks-itself cm-neg. Rabbit (82) grabs yam breaks with-force leaves goes-down water in, follows dives follows-it (83) goes-down behind.

(84) When goes-down when, goes finds yam that changes horn already-cm. Takes (85) horn that holds goes-up hand-in asks-it: "Horn this you horn what-Q?" Answers-(86)-him: "I horn beat-you-beat-stick-cm." Rabbit says-to-it: "You beat-me come (87) I seeing-cm." Stick they come-out and child pl, they beat Rabbit water (88) in long-time stomach swells-itself stands there. Says-to stick that-they enter go cm. Stick they (89) return enter silently. Rabbit goes-out goes-up takes horn stick his puts-in sack

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

90 tíng dàà vɛ́' yàà lige.

91 Pig ká nya sí'e lige o máá, bee kɛ́ɛ́ vɔ́ sɔ́g ya kan

92 waa vɔ́.

93 Sey kɛ́ɛ́ kɔ́ɔ́ kàn waa vɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́ sɔ́g ya máá, zɔ́ɔ́ vɔ́ dɛ̃'.

94 Vɔ́ taa ba bin dùù nùng nan tóó. Bãbããm dɔ̀d zɔ̀ɔ̀ nag

95 ko'eo'elé vùd dogo gã' loo vìgi: "Gã' yè mó gã' ɛ̃na?"

96 Gã' hɪ́ɪ́ddɔ́: "Mí gã' looe." "Ãm kón ya hɛ̃n loo wɔ̀ɔ̀ mí

97 hɔ̀lee." Bãbããm 'bè gã' úú toeoed, kéé gã' gbɔ̀ zɔ̀ɔ̀

98 haga dàà lúú là yɔ́g kapigim. Loo vɔ́ vúd kàn waa vɔ́,

99 vɔ́ gbɔ́ Bãbããm kɛ́ɛ́ vɔ́ kàn waa vɔ́ hɛ́ɛ́ hɛ́ɛ́ wãnyag mbàà

100 lige bɔ́lóóng. Bãbããm mbàà dɔ̀g pigim lígé ɔ̀d loo a

101 dɔ́ la o, loo vɔ́ vɛ́' dɔ́ gã' tíng.

102 Nyag mènne máá, 'bè ko'eo'e wɔ̀ɔ̀ ùg dàà dɔ̀g gbánaa

103 vɔ́ɔ́le, vá' nyag nɪ́ímé: "Tee, tee!" Gbánaa vɔ́ hɪ́ɪ́

104 vangna: "Yaa o, dɔ́ ya o, séé ya mbàà yèle." Gbánaa

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(90) and returned to his house.

When he arrived, he called his wives and children together.

When they had come together, they were happy. They thought they'd receive more food. He put his hand (95) into the sack, took out the horn of sticks, and asked it, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It answered him, "I'm a horn of sticks." "Do the stick thing for me so I can see it." He took the horn and blew it toeoed, threw the horn down on the ground, and hid behind the house. The stick and its children came out and beat R's wives and children a long time until their cries filled (100) the house bɔ́lóóng. R, from behind the house, told the sticks to reenter, and they returned into the horn.

That afternoon he took his sack, put it on his shoulder, went up to the chief's, and called a greeting at the door, "Tee, tee!" The chief answered quickly, "Come in, come in, come near and sit here." The chief

(90) in passes returns comes house-to.

(91) After when arrives already house-at cm when, calls wife they gather come and (92) child pl.

(93) Time wife when-they and child pl when-they gather come when, heart they are-clean. (94) They think that they-will follow find dough other. Rabbit puts-in goes-down hand (95) sack-in brings-out comes-up horn stick asks-it: "Horn this you horn what-Q?" (96) Horn answers-him: "I horn stick-cm." "You do-me come thing stick his I (97) seeing-cm." Rabbit takes horn blows toeoed, leaves horn leaves goes-down (98) ground-on passes leaves goes hides behind. Stick they come-out and child pl, (99) they beat Rabbit wife pl and child pl long-time until cry sits (100) house-in bǒloong. Rabbit sits goes-up behind house-at says-to stick that-it (101) enters goes cm, stick they return enter horn in.

(102) Mouth afternoon-in foc, takes sack his slings-on-shoulder passes goes-up chief (103) them-to, greets mouth door-at: "Tee, tee!" Chief they answer (104) fast: "Come cm, enter come cm, approach come sit here." Chief

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

105 vò taa Bãbããm ba dùù pãn bi ya nan tóó. Bãbããm dó
106 zòò mbàà haga, dòd nàg ko'eo'elé vùd dòg gã' tínggoole
107 vìgi: "Gã' yè mó gã' ẽna?" Hiíddò: "Mí gã' looe."
108 "Ãm kó hẽn loo wòò bà hòlee." Bãbããm úú gã' to'eo'ed,
109 kéé gã' gbò zòò haga vúd ɗug tii nag pig tó' lig gbò
110 gbánaa vò wòle. Loo vúd gbó gbánaa vò hãã́ hãã́. Bã-
111 bããm mbàà dòg pigim lige òd loo a dó la o. Loo vò dó
112 síng. Bãbããm òd gbánaa vò ba òò pa moo yógó nán ba a
113 làà babe sa, íe nii kàn náá sã́ng ã́m. Íe nii kaa dágá
114 lúú là dìì saale pa moo ò; "Baa vò! I ki la o!
115 Gbánaa vò moo yógó nán a laa babe dágá aga sá woo o.
116 Yógó nán 'waapád a só́g saale."
117 Nyag kã'ãmé máá, dúú 'waapád só́g saale kàn gbang
118 kẽẽ́ vò 'waapád, sey gbánaa wò kéé lige wò daga. Bã-
119 bããm ya ɗáá dìì dòg ègè dènne, 'bè gã' vùd dòg ko'eo'elé

(105) thought R would bring him more food. He went in and sat on the ground, put his hand into the sack, took out the horn and asked it, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It answered him, "I'm a horn of sticks." "Do the stick thing so it can be seen." R blew on the horn toeoed, threw it down on the ground and left on the run; he put his hand behind him to close the door, leaving (110) the chief there. The sticks came out and beat the chief for a very long time. R, from behind the house, told the sticks to enter, and they returned silently síng. R told the chief he should announce that the next day no one should go to the fields, neither elder nor youngster. One of the elders went and stood in the village square and announced, "Gentlemen ! Hear now! (115) The chief says that tomorrow no one, not even one person, should go to the fields. Tomorrow everyone must come together in the village square."

In the morning the whole multitude came together in the village square with all the chief's wives; only the chief remained at home. R climbed up on the drummer's stone, took the horn out of the sack,

(105) they think Rabbit that follows carries them comes dough other. Rabbit enters (106) goes-down sits ground-on, puts-in hand sack-in brings-out comes-up horn in-it-in (107) asks-it: "Horn this you horn what?" Answers-him: "I horn stick-cm." (108) "You do thing stick his that seeing-cm." Rabbit blows horn toeoed, (109) leaves horn leaves goes-down ground-on goes-out race turns hand behind closes house leaves (110) chief pl there. Stick comes-out beats chief pl long-time long-time. Rabbit (111) sits goes-up behind house-at says-to stick that-it enters goes cm. Stick they enter (112) silently. Rabbit says-to chief pl that they-should announce word tomorrow man that he (113) goes field-to cm-neg, the-one-who old and child young too. One-who old village one (114) rises goes stands village-square-in announces word says: "Gentleman pl! You hear go cm! (115) Chief they say tomorrow man he-must go field-to one self cm-neg emph cm. (116) Tomorrow man all he-must gather village-square-in."

(117) Mouth morning-in foc, crowd all gathers village-square-in with chief (118) wife pl all, only chief he remains house-in he one. Rabbit (119) comes climbs stands goes-up stone drummer-on, takes horn brings-out comes-up sack-from

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

120 vìgi: "Gã' yè mó gã' ẽna?"

121 Nán kóó ki íe yogo máá, vó moo ba gã' nanne tóó.

122 Gã' híí nyag ɔ̀ddó: "Mí gã' gbómgbólooe." Bãbããm ɔ̀d

123 gã': "Ãm kó ya hẽn loo wòò mí hɔ̀lee." Gã' ɔ̀ddó: "Ãm

124 úún síe pɛ́nné." Bãbããm 'bè gã' úú toeoed, kéé gã' gbɔ̀

125 zɔ̀ɔ̀ haga 'bè doo wòò ɛ́ duge, dàà zɔ̀ɔ̀ là yɔ́g mbàà kapi-

126 gim. Loo vó vúd kan waa vó, vó gbó nán vó hãã hãã

127 hãã kaa 'waapád màà wãnyag mɛ̀n. Bãbããm mbàà dɔ̀gɔ̀ ka-

128 pigim ɔ̀d loo a dó la o. Loo dó síng. Bãbããm vɛ́' ya

129 'bè gã' wɔ̀ɔ̀ pàg koeoelé dàà fíí làà wɔ̀ɔ̀lé lige, dùù

130 vùd gã' loo wòò dɔ̀ggà pàg ɛ́ vángé, dàà lúú làà hõge.

131 Zãgãle máá, Kpoo bà'à tèè dùù là yaa màà Bãbããm

132 waa vó die mbaalee, vá' vó. Kpoo ɔ̀d vó: "Gã' nan

133 kíí pɔ́n tee, ti sɔ́'ɔ́. Mí soo hãã bi vẽ' pãng ya o.

134 Mí soo hɔ̀n ne sam." Kpoo dùù vì vó: "Mí ki ba vín

- -

(120) and asked it, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?"

When the people heard that, they said it was another horn of food. The horn answered, "I'm a horn for beating you with sticks." R told the horn, "Do the stick thing so I can see it." It told him, "Blow me first." R took the horn and blew toeoed, threw the horn (125) down on the ground, put his feet to running, and hid behind a house. The stick and its children came out; they beat the people a very very long time until the whole village was full of cries. R, from behind the house, told the sticks to enter, and they returned silently síng. He came back and took his horn, put it in the sack, and returned to his house; he (130) took his horn of sticks out again, put it in the granary, and went into the bush.

During the day the father B came again to R's children remaining there and greeted them. He told them, "The horn of food that you gave me is lost. I've looked a long time in order to bring it back. I've looked but I can't find it at all." B asked them again, "I hear you've

(120) asks-it: "Horn this you horn what-Q?"

(121) Man when-they hear like that when, they say that horn dough-cm other. (122) Horn answers mouth says-to-him: "I horn beat-you-beat-stick-cm." Rabbit says-to (123) horn: "You do come thing stick his I seeing-cm." Horn says-to-him: "You (124) blow-me already first-cm." Rabbit takes horn blows toeoed, leaves horn leaves (125) goes-down ground-on takes foot his guards race-cm, passes goes-down goes hides sits be-(126)-hind. Stick they come-out and child pl, they beat man pl long-time long-time (127) until village all only cry only. Rabbit sits goes-up be-(128)-hind says-to stick that-it enters goes cm. Stick enters silently. Rabbit returns comes (129) takes horn his puts-in sack-in passes returns goes his-to house-to, follows (130) brings-out horn stick his goes-up-goes puts-in guards granary-in, passes leaves goes bush-in.

(131) Day-in foc, Baboon father that follows goes comes finds Rabbit (132) child they are-in-process-of sitting-cm, greets them. Baboon says-to them: "Horn dough (133) which-you give-me which, is-lost already-cm. I search long-time I return carry come cm. (134) I search see-not cm-neg at-all." Baboon follows asks them: "I hear that you-past

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

135 dùù nùng gã' nan tóó máálá. Mí híí i pón mí là úú pó
136 dey sãng óó lá sa'a. Gõm dóón vó doenné sám. Téé mín
137 vẽ' pãng yààn." Bãbããm waa vó õddó: "Ãm la 'bè mbàà
138 diè vángé. Kpoo ɗáá dòg vángé 'bè gã' vìgi: "Gã' yè
139 mó gã' ẽna?" Õddó: "Mí gã' gbómgbólooe." Kpoo õddó:
140 "Ãm gbón ya mí hòlee." Gã' õddó: "Ãm úún sie pénné."
141 Kpoo 'bè gã' úú toeoed. Loo vó vúd kàn ság wòò ãm,
142 vó gbó Kpoo hãã hãã.

143 Bãbããm waa kóó ki loo ka die Kpoo gbólé máá, vó
144 lúú vangna vó là sú' váng gbò Kpoo tíng woole. Kpoo
145 wàà wãnyág hãã hãã hãã.

146 Nánán a goed loo vó máá, pèle. Kpoo tii ná noo
147 dàà.

148 Kpoo ka noo yè sĩ', loo vó bàà gbó mbàà vóó wóle
149 hãã nya sey Bãbããm ka fíí ya hõge.

- -

(135) found another horn of food. I want you to give it to me and I'll go blow it for your young brothers so they can eat. They're very very hungry. Afterwards I'll bring it back." R's children told him, "Go take it; it's in the granary. He climbed into the granary, took the horn and asked it, "Horn, what kind of horn are you?" It told him, "I'm a horn for beating you with sticks." He told it, (140) "Beat me so I can see it." It told him, "Blow me first." He took the horn and blew toeoed. The stick came out with its whole herd too; they beat B for a long long time.

R's children, when they heard the sticks beating B, went fast and put the cover on the granary, leaving him inside. He (145) screamed a long long time.

There was no one to muzzle the sticks. B turned over and died like that.

Even though B was dead, the sticks kept beating him until R arrived, returning from the bush.

(135) follow find horn dough other foc-cm. I want you give-me I go blow give (136) neighbor young that-they eat cm. Hunger is-good-for-not them much-neg at-all. Then I-will (137) return carry bring." Rabbit child they say-to-him: "You go take sits (138) is-there granary-in. Baboon climbs goes-up granary-in takes horn asks-it: "Horn this (139) you horn what-Q?" Says-to-him: "I horn beat-you-beat-stick-cm." Baboon says-to-it: (140) "You beat-me come I seeing-cm." Horn says-to-him: "You blow-me already first-cm." (141) Baboon takes horn blows toeoed. Stick they come-out and herd its also, (142) they beat Baboon long-time long-time.

(143) Rabbit child when-they hear stick when is-in-process-of Baboon beating when, they (144) leave fast they go cover granary leave Baboon in it-in. Baboon (145) cries cry long-time long-time long-time.

(146) Man he muzzles stick pl foc, is-there-not. Baboon turns like-that dies (147) passes.

(148) Baboon although dies this although, stick they sit beat sit they there (149) until arrives time Rabbit when returns comes bush-from.

TEXT G--RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA

150 Sey Bãbããm ka yaa máá, ki hẽn gbólé váng tíng,

151 vì waa vó: "Ẽn die váng tíngá?" Vó õddó: "Kpoo bà

152 yaa yèle, vì vó gã' yèle, vó õddó: "Gã' diè vángé." Aa

153 dàà ɗáá dòg 'bè gã' úú. Kóó ki loo ka gbó hẽn máá, vó

154 gang kuu váng sú' gbògo dóóle." Bãbããm mbàà dòg haga

155 ɔ̀d loo a dó la o. Loo vó dó síng.

156 Bãbããm ɗáá dòg vángé làà máá, nùng Kpoo noo sɔ́'ɔ́.

157 Bãbããm gàng Kpoo nom gbò zɔ̀ɔ̀ haga, waa vó wòò gàng

158 là gbò hɔ́d tíng. Daa sí' là wɔ̀lè.

- -

(150) When he came, he heard the beating in the granary and asked his children, "What's in the granary?" They told him, "B came here and asked us for the horn; we told him, 'The horn's in the granary.' He climbed in himself, took the horn and blew. When we heard the sticks beating, we took the granary cover and covered it, leaving him in there." R, from the ground, (155) told the sticks to enter. They entered silently <u>síng</u>.

He climbed up into the granary and found B dead.

He threw the dead B down to the ground and his children dragged him and threw him into the grass. The story ends there.

RABBIT AND THE CORNUCOPIA--TEXT G 4-9N

(150) Time Rabbit when comes when, hears thing beating granary in, (151) asks child pl: "What is-there granary in-Q?" They say-to-him: "Baboon that (152) comes here, asks us horn here, we say-to-him: "Horn is-there granary-in." Self (153) passes climbs goes-up takes horn blows. When-we hear stick when beats thing when, we (154) carry cover granary cover leave-him is-there." Rabbit sits goes-up ground-from (155) says-to stick that-it enters goes cm. Stick they enter silently.

(156) Rabbit climbs goes-up granary-in goes when, finds Baboon dies already-cm. (157) Rabbit carries Baboon dead leaves goes-down ground-on, child they drag carry (158) go leave grass in. Thing ends goes there.

APPENDIX B

PRONOMINAL PARADIGMS

The PN-MR-T tagmeme composite fillers may be conveniently labelled according to their series (mi, ãn, or bi) with additional notations to distinguish the tenses.

The subscript subj means 'non-reference timeless', and the subscript t means 'future/past'. Future forms (listed below) have a higher tone than past forms (not listed here), but are otherwise identical.

Suffix allomorphs occur when the preceding word is ka 'subordinator, time past'. Note synonyms for the 3 s in the mi_t set. The predicate and its suffixes and pronoun object (if any) occur between the two halves of the 1 pli discontinuous morpheme.

	mi_{subj}	mi_t	$ãn_{subj}$	bi_{subj}	bi_t
1 s	-n/mí	mín	ãn	bi	mín
2 s	-m/mó	món	ãm	bi	bín
3 s	ø	wǒn/sǐen	a	bi	bin
d	ba	ban	ba	bi	ban
1 ple	vó	vón	óó	bi	vón
1 pli	ba...ví	ban...ví	ba...ví	bi	ban...ví
2 pl	ví	vín	i	bi	bin
3 pl	vó	vón	óó	bi	bin

APPENDIX C

COMPLETED ACTION AND INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE MARKERS

The completed action clause marker /sɔ́'ɔ́/ seems to have several allomorphs, not all of which occur in the corpus: sɔ́'ɔ́, sie, ma, sie...±/o/. Little can be said at present about contextual pressure on the choice between these allomorphs, which is so strong a characteristic of the indicative clause marker. There does, however, seem to be much more freedom in the choice of allomorph here than in the indicative.

Only the following tentative statements about context seem to be consistently valid: 1) if a verb closes the clause, the form sɔ́'ɔ́ is used, 2) if one or more peripheral tagmemes occur following the predicate, the allomorph sie... ±/o/ is used. In such case, the /o/ of this allomorph is distributed in context like the indicative clause marker /o/ (Table 3, p. 24). Significant differences of order involving this split morpheme have already been discussed in 4.1.1.

The negative completed action clause marker morpheme /sie...ne/ seems to have the following allomorphs, only two of which occur in the corpus: sie...ne, na...ne, ndɛ̀...ne,

sɔ̀'ɔ̀ ne. The meaning is 'not yet'. No distinctive distribution can be discovered for these allomorphs.

The interrogative /a/ might be analyzed as being a clause marker or as a distinctive interrogative morpheme. When it occurs, it may be said in general to replace any vowel the clause marker had. In addition to the clause markers, verbal nouns, numerals, the temporal-locative /le/ 'time-place', and ko ie...wogo 'like' all replace their final vowel with a, as a rule of thumb. The completed action clause marker sɔ̀'ɔ̀ replaces 'both' vowels, since emically two short identical vowels split by a glottal stop are treated as a single long vowel in Duru. The indicative clause markers (Table 3) and the completed action clause markers above, when followed by /a/, appear as follows:

affirmative/negative	interrogative
-e	-a
o	a
Ø	a
no	a/na
ne	na/nela
-le	-la
yo	a/ya
sɔ̀'ɔ̀	sa'a/sɔ̀'ɔ̀la
sie...±/o/	sie...a
sie/na/ndɛ̀...ne	sie/na/ndɛ̀...na
sɔ̀'ɔ̀ ne	sɔ̀'ɔ̀ na

APPENDIX D

SUBORDINATING PHRASES

The two subordinating phrases which concern us here are those which occur in the temporal-locative-conditional and the relative subordinate clauses.

The TLC subordinating phrase may be introduced by a locative root (e.g. ya 'place'), a temporal root (e.g. sey 'time'), or a condition root (to 'if'), the latter two morphemes borrowed from Fulani. The subordinator ka, filling the head slot, may then occur immediately preceding the PN-MR tagmeme composite. Either a demonstrative (especially máá or téé) or the adverb ná' 'so' may close the clause. The phrase is thus made up of three optional discontinuous elements, but one of them must occur. The formula:

$$SbP_{tlc} = \pm\text{Initial}:\overbrace{\text{te/l/to} \ldots \pm\text{H}:\text{ka} \ldots \pm\text{Final}:\text{dem/ná'}}^{+}$$

The relative subordinating phrase is also a discontinuous phrase, and again both elements are optional. There are some relative clauses whose only overt signal of their nature is the ãn series pronoun filling the PN-MR tagmeme

composite slot. The head slot, filled by the subordinator ka or ba, occurs immediately preceding the PN-MR tagmeme composite, and the clause may be closed by a demonstrative or ná' 'so', or nii 'meaning unknown'. The formula:

SbP_{rel} = ±H:ka/ba ... ±Final:**dem**/ná'/nii

APPENDIX E

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

[ ]	phonetic brackets
/	or
/ /	morpheme title indicator
ø	zero allomorph, morpheme
´	high tone
`	low tone
(dl3f)	reference to corpus
(2-2)	reference to personal notebooks
-	joins two or more English words used to gloss a single Duru word
' '	enclose glosses
+	obligatory
±	optional
┌──────┐	joins discontinuous elements of a linguistic unit
c ┌──────┐	indicates agreement, concord
┌── ± ──┐ ± ±	both elements are optional, but only one may occur in a single construction
+ (± ... ± ...) or ┌── + ──┐ ± ±	both elements may occur, but one must occur

C	complement tagmeme
CA	completed action mode
CG	complement-as-goal tagmeme
Cl	clause
CM	clause marker tagmeme
cm	clause marker
C-to-F	contrary-to-fact mode
c-to-f	contrary-to-fact particle
d	dual
dem	demonstrative
desc	descriptive
desid	desiderative
di	ditransitive
Dir Quo	direct quotation
E	emphasis tagmeme
foc	focus
Ful	Fulani
H	head slot
I	indirect object tagmeme
i	intransitive
IA	instrumental-accompaniment tagmeme
Ideo	ideophone tagmeme
Impv	imperative mode
inch	inchoative
indep	independent
Indic	indicative mode
Ind Ord	indirect order derived clause
Ind Quo	indirect quotation derived clause
Init	initial slot
L	locative tagmeme
l	locative
lim	limiter
M	manner tagmeme
MR	mode-reference tagmeme
n	noun
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
O	object tagmeme
P	predicate tagmeme
perc	perception
pl	plural
ple	plural exclusive
pli	plural inclusive
PM	= PN-MR-T
PN	person-number tagmeme
PN-MR-T	person-number-mode-reference-tense tagmeme composite
pr	pronoun

Prim	primary sentence slot
Q	interrogative
qual	qualifier
rcp	reciprocal
Rel	relative subordinate derived clause
rfx	reflexive
S	subject tagmeme
s	singular
Sb	subordinator/subordinate
Sb Desid	subordinate desiderative derived clause
SbP_{rel}	relative subordinating phrase
SbP_{tlc}	temporal-locative-conditional subordinating phrase
T	tense tagmeme
t	tense
Te	temporal tagmeme
te	temporal
TLC	temporal-locative-conditional subordinate clause
tr	transitive
VN	verbal noun mode
vn	verbal noun
VP	verb phrase