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Appendix 1 - Texts

Capitals, quotes and punctuation are added in the Liko texts to increase readability. In the literal translation, numbers refer to lines where new sentences start.

1.1 Stories (oral origin)

1.1.1 The chief of the animals (T2006.3)

1. Leopard was the chief of the animals. 2. He made [his subjects] clear a large field, 100 by 100 [meters]. 3. He let plant all food that is here under the sun: banana trees, cassava, sweet potatoes, macabo, yams, etcetera. 6. The field was completely full with food. 7. The chief went [to check his field] once, perhaps two times a month. 8. He put Rat\footnote{442 I.e. Gambian pouched rat.} [there], so that he would watch over the field. 9. He, Rat, ate there every day. 10. The other animals were angry\footnote{443 Literally, 'the other animals, hearts hurt them'.}, they said: "We died for Rat and his fellow." 12. They started to eat from the field. 13. Rat left to tell the chief: "There is no beauty on the field. Chief, nothing edible is left across the Mondiyo river. 16. Your clan members have turned the whole field upside down." 17. "Why did you not tell me?\footnote{444 Literally, 'where were you to tell me'.} 18. Let us leave, so that I go to see it with my [own] eyes." 19. As they arrived at the field, Leopard was staggered\footnote{445 Literally, 'the mouth cooled cold'.}. wart hog did not leave\footnote{446 Literally, 'stay'.} any cassava, elephant [any] banana trees, monkey [any] sugar cane or maize, the earth was red, the field totally flat. 23. On the way back, Leopard made Rat keep silent. 24. As they arrived at the village, Leopard [said] to rat that he should go to find rotten mushrooms, [and] when he returns with them, he should insert [them] for him, in the anus, in the nostrils, in the ears, in the mouth and he should smear [them] over his face. 28. When he (Rat) had done like he was told, he played the drum\footnote{447 I.e. the slit drum which is used for communication.} saying: "The chief has died!" 30. On the road,
the -animals started to ask themselves: "How did this happen?" We hear the news of [his] death, but we have not heard the one of illness." They all came together: the small animals, the very big ones, those with horns, the ones who like to climb, all came together. Rat started crying. "Our chief has died", our chief has died "eee". What should we do "eee"? Rat was very distressed.

Aardvark was sent to dig a grave. Aardvark pushed the ground three times with [his] tail, the work was finished. The time to bury the chief had come. They arranged [his corpse], they lifted him up, they started to leave for the grave, while Rat was crying all the time. As they arrived so that they would throw him [in the grave], at that moment Leopard jumped up fast. All the animals jumped up. Leopoard [looked at them] wide-eyed. He [wanted] to grab the monkey, but the monkey jumped too high. All animals [fled] in all directions, he did not catch any of them. That is why Leopard does not get along well with his fellow animals, they destroyed his field.

That is also why Rat fled into holes out of fear for the other animals and out of shame.

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448 Literally, 'this matter was thus how'.
449 Literally, 'the edible ones'.
450 Literally, 'he suffered himself'.

Texts

07 Ngámá nd-ag-á ndi yi-moti⁴⁵¹, yágs⁴⁵² yi-bá ká tumbá.
08 Á-bis-á ndi gbukó bé á-bónd-ág-ì tiko.
09 Lý gbukó á-lyály-ag-á kówá ndi wá gbó wá.
1.PRO 1a.rat 3SG:Graze-PLUR-FV thus P1 there
10 Ba-nyamá bà-gogó, ma-mbengi ú-tól-á ndi, bà-bikó-agá
2-animal 2.ASS-other 6-heart 3SG/PL:2.O-HURT-FV P1 3PL:Say-FV
12 Bá-pung-á ndi ká-ly-á tiko.
3PL:START-FV P1 9b-Eat-FV 9.field
13 Gbukó ní-mu-ná ág-á ndi ká-biky-á ngámá bé:
1a.rat COP-1.DECL.1-CONN 3SG:LEAVE-FV P1 9b:1.O-Say-FV 1a.chief COMP
14 "Bu-nzá 0-ké-gó kó tiko.
14-beauty 3SG:NEG:BE:FV-NEG PREP 9.field
16 Bà va kó kakó bò-dúk-i-ni tiko yá-sti.
2-clan member there 2SG:POSS 3PL-POUR-FV:ANT-PEF 9.field 9.ASS-all
17 "Wá kówá ó bi yám kó-biky-á?
2SG:be thus 3SG:be P1 where 9b:1.SG.O-SAY-FV
18 Tágá⁴⁵³, nind-t ká-un-á no míso." 1PL:LEAVE-FV 1SG:GO-FV:SUBJ 9b-SEE-FV with 6.eye
19 Yékí bà-dwe kó tiko, sukopí mu-nkó á-dúk-á bi-de:
when 3PL:ARRIVE-FV PREP 9.FIELD 1a.leopard 3-MOUTH 3SG:COOL-FV MOD-COLD
20 ngúyá 0-kó-tigó-ól-kú-gó ndi ká nèkú, mbungó ká 1a.warthog 3SG:NEG-STAY-FV:NEG-DIR-NEG P3 PREP 9.cassava 1a.elephant PREP
21 mo-ngí, á-bulá kó ngóngu na bádë, li-tìmbó bì-gwë,
6-banana tree 1b-monkey PREP 9.sugar cane and 9.maize 5-ground MOD-red

⁴⁵¹ Understood is ngóngá '9.time'.
⁴⁵² Short for yágó.
⁴⁵³ I assume that the H tones on tágá are part of the expression 'Let us go!', because it does not correspond to Future, Imperative or Hortative verb forms.
22  tiko  bë-gbatata.
   9.field  MOD-totally flat
23  Ká  yigokú,  sukopi  o-ká-nzin-is-á-gô  gbukó.
   PREP 9:return 1a.leopard  3SG²-NEG:1.O-talk-CAUS-FV²-NEG 1a.rat
24  Yëkt  bá-dwe  ká  mu-sengí,  sukopi  no  gbukó  bë
   when  3PL²-arrive:FV  PREP 3-village  1a.leopard  and  1a.rat  COMP
25  ñnd-i  ká-kís-á  bóbunzá,  o-kig-o-kú  na
26  iyú,  ã-mak-y-a  ká  ì-bó,  bà-sãngû  mo-tíli,  mu-nkó
27  na  ã-gbody-o  kó  mísó.
   and  3SG:1.O-smear-FV  PREP 6:eye
28  Yëkt  ã-ty-a  bëýí,  ã-ngbá-ta  ngûdú  bë:
   when  3SG²-do-FV  like  that  3SG²-play-FV  9.drum  COMP
29  "Ngámá,  o-kw-i-ní."
   1a.chief  3SG:die-FV.ANT-PFV
30  Kó  píši  bà-nyamá  bà-i-ním-túus-o  bë:
   PREP 9.path 2-animal  3PL²-INCH:REFL-ask-FV  COMP
31  "Li-kpómúká  l-tá  a  pìye  bônt  ?"
   5-thing  5.DEM.II-CONN  3SG:be  thus  how
32  Tukón-i  ásì  mó-ngóni  má-ku-kwá-ku  aká,
   1PL:hear-FV.ANT  only  6-news  6.ASS-15-death-15 CT
33  kání  tá-kúkó-i-gú  ní-mís  mó-kóloňû."
   when  1PL-NEG:hear-FV.ANT-NEG  COP-6.DEM.I  6.ASS-1a.illness
34  Bó-sil-y-on-á  nòi  bá-sí,  ní-bó  bá-lyá,  bá-kpukpu,
   3PL²-arrive-APPL-ASS-FV  P3  2.ASS-all  COP-2.DEM.I  2.ADJ-edible  2.ASS-big
35  bá-ma-pákála,  bó-dáká  mákógô,  bá-sí  bó-sil-y-on-o.
   2.ASS-6-horn  2.ADJ-climbing  9-climbing  2.ASS-all  3PL²-arrive-APPL-ASS-FV
36  Gbukó  ã-pong-a  mu-gamû:  "Ngámá  kusù  o-kw-i-ní  eee,
   1a.rat  3SG²-start-FV  3-crying  1a.chief  1PL.POSS  3SG-die-ANT-PFV  "eee"
37  ngámá  kusù  o-kw-i-ní  eee.  Ta-gya  a  bônt  eee?"
   1a.chief  1PL.POSS  3SG-die-ANT-PFV  "eee"  1PL-do-FV  how  "eee"
38  Gbukó  ì-gyogy-i-ní  ìa  kákì.
   1a.rat  3SG:REFL-suffer-ANT-PFV  towards  3SG.POSS
39  Bà-ńük-á  ì-ngbo  ká-kpò  mbóku.
Texts

40 1-ngbo ő-tíndik-o it-tómbó ngándá yí-sáá na mu-kondó,
   1c-aardvark 3SG1.-push-FV 5-ground 9.time 9.NUM-three with 3-tail
41  li-gubó ő-sy-ő.
   5-work 3SG1.-finish-FV
42 Ngbingó mu-dútká ngámá ő-bímon-o.
   1a.time 1.ADJ-throwing 1a.chief 3SG1.-get closer-FV
43 Bá-fúng-us-y-og-o,  bá-buni-a,  bá-pung-a
44 ká-ag-á ká mbóku, kánt gbugó a kówa ásí ká
   9b-leave-FV PREP 9.grave when 1a.rat 3SG:be thus only PREP
45 mu-gámó áka.
   3-crying CT
46 Yëkt 60-sil-ő kówa bé bá-dúkt-í yúná ̀ngááu bé
   when 3PL1.-arrive-FV thus COMP 3PL1.:1.O-throw-FV.SUBJ thus suddenly
47 sukópí a-nó-bumbuk-ó bí-ttta.
   1a.leopard 3SG1-INCH-jump-FV MOD-jump fast
   2-animal 2.ASS-all 3PL1.-jump up-FV
49 Sukópí míso bì-nganganga.
   1a.leopard 6:eye MOD-stare wide-eyed
50 lyí bé a-gwi pómáyí yuná, pómáyí á-bumbuk-o
   1.PRO COMP 3SG1.:1.O-hold:FV.SUBJ 1a.monkey thus 1a.monkey 3SG2.-jump-FV
51 yá ku-gó.
   towards 17-top
52 Bà-nyamá bá-sti mànzála-mánzála, káni 0-ká-GWÍ-gu
   2-animal 2.ASS-all in disorder when 3SG1.-NEG:1.O-hold:FV3.-NEG
53 gutógu bë-motí áka.
   even 1.NUM-one CT
54 Kíníli sukópí 0-kúkan-an-ag-a-gu na bà-nyamá
   that's why 1a.leopard 3SG-NEG:hear-ASS-APPL-FV-NEG with 2-animal
55 6a-dúkt.
   2.s.o. of same age:3SG.Poss
56 Bá-`pót-íly-á ndt tíko.
   3PL1.:1.O-destroy-BEN-FV P3 9.field
57 Kíníli gání gbugó á-púkt-á ndt yýí ká ma-büs3
   that's why also 1a.rat 3SG2.-run-FV P3 1.PRO PREP 6-hole
1. In the village of Bavakwo was a trapper called Kibígu Kádyá ('He did not know what to say').
2. For shortness, it was cut to Kibi. 3. Kibi did not have his equal in trapping. 5. His trap could not release in vain. 6. He boasted a lot. "When it comes to traps, you will eat raw food. There is no animal which I have not yet killed." 8. He spoke the truth, because where he lived there was always the flavour of a delicious dish. 10. One day, he was at a distillery with people of his clan. 12. They have drunk a lot of wine. 13. What happened? Drunkenness, bursts of laughter. 14. They saw Ngama Ka Ngasa ('With luck he became chief') [saying] to Kibi: "Dear brother, you praise yourself that you kill animals, have you also killed Dingopoyo?" 17. "There is no animal which lives in this forest that I did not kill." 19. "Do you know Dingopoyo already?" 20. "Does it not have another name?" 21. "This is his name, if you want, I will show you his trail, it is there at the spring of Old Odingo." 23. "If it is really his trail, I have just killed it." 24. The other people warned him: "Stop boasting like that among other people." 26. They had all dispersed, after Old Ka Ngasa had said to Kibi that he would acknowledge him to be a trapper when he has brought him Dingopoyo without having been cut to pieces. 30. A few days later Kibi trapped Dingopoyo's trail. 32. The next day it rained for a long time. 33. When the sun came up Kibi went to inspect the trap. 34. Watching intently, [he saw that] the spring was upright, the leaves around the trap were bent backwards. 35. He clapped his hands 'tapútú', he clapped again, he clapped once more. 37. When he arrived at the trap, he jumped with fright [seeing] the animal. 38. "What kind of animal is this, spotted more than a leopard?"

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454 mu-póyó '1-mysterious animal living in the water', dingí 'ADJ, big, vast'.
455 I.e. he did not think about the effect of what he said, e.g. his boasting.
456 I.e. If you would need to live on what you catch with traps, you would not have proper food.
457 Used in order to express respect.
458 Literally, 'the next day a long rain'.
459 One day later.
40. He pulled out the spring, he started to pull Dingopoyo. 41. The man [was] overjoyed. 42. He started to sing. "Father, I have killed all animals "eee", except Dingopoyo "eee"; now I have killed the monster, the monster is here." 45. When he dragged the animal into the village, every person who saw it, grew stiff, he became motionless right there. 48. Ka Ngasa had a plot of land at the end [of the village]. 49. When he saw Kibi, he screamed at him: "Friend! Look behind, the people of your clan are exterminated." 52. By looking, people [had become] stiff. 53. Ka Ngasa [said] to him: "Go to a spring, smear yourself with red clay, cover yourself with red leaves. Go fast, when you return, do not look back." 57. As he did like Ka Ngasa had told him, the people all regained consciousness. 59. Kibi was afraid, he abandoned working with traps for ever. 61. That's why pride is not good.

01 Ká mu-sengí ka-Bavakwókwo, á ndí mu-lúká bê-motí 3PREF-3-village GEN-name of "Kwokwo" 3SG:be p3 1-trapper 1.NUM-one
02 íná ndí bê Kíbígu Kádígýá. 3SG:be 5:name p3 COMP "Kíbígu Kadígýá"
03 Ká ɓu-kúdú bá-këgɔ́ kówá ndí bê Kíbi. 3PREF-14-shortness 3PL:be:PLUR-FV thus p3 COMP "Kíbi"
08 À ndí ká-ɓíký-á l'-ngóló áka kyé kó kàkí 3SG:be p3 9b:be:TELL-FV 5-truth CT because there 3SG:POSS 3SG:be:PLUR-FV

460 Literally, 'the man was happy to the heart full'.
461 The meaning of ɓó-kíb-i-γu kpá-dý-gà. 3SG:NEG:be:TELL-FV-NEG 9b:be:TELL-FV, is: 'he will not know [what] to say'.
462 The negative prefix ká- is not present in this form.
463 kó kàkí is an expression meaning 'where he lives'.

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Appendix 1

09 ndt ásti su yá-li-kísì aká.

10 Lá-syé lá-motí a kówá ndt ká baláda na ба-va

5-day 5.NUM-one 3SG:be thus P3 PREP 9.distillery with 2-clan member

11 kó kákí.

there 3SG.POSS

12 Bó-mw-i-ní ma-káná lí-ngúnu.

3PL-drink-FV.ANT-PFV 6-wine 5-truth

13 1-kí pfye? Li-bumá, ɓu-taɓí bi-kyeyékýé.

9a-what thus 5-drunkenness 14-laughter MOD-burst of laughter

14 Báám-in-ag-a ngámá Ká Ngasá na Kíbi be: "Ye

3PL:1.O-see-PLUR-FV 1a.chief "Ka Ngasa" with "Kibi" COMP excuse me

15 mickabá, wí-bt-bag-a be ì-mwǒ-g-ɔ ɓa-nyamá,


16 wá-4mwo-ní gàni Dingopoyó?"

2SG:1.O-kill:PFV also "Dingopoyo"

17 "0-Ké-gu na nyamá ní-ní kó tutú yi

3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG with 1a.animal COP-1.DEM.I PREP 9.forest 9.DEM.III

18 ní-yi ná-ká-4mwo-gu."


19 "Wam-ib-a-tú se mbéyi Dingopoyó?"

2SG:1.O-know:FV-INS thus first "Dingopoyo"

20 "0-Ké-gu-ɓo líno lá-gagɔ?"

3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG-SUPP 5:name 5.ASS-other

21 "Líno kákí ní-İ, wa-ka-pa nu-many-a mándé

5:name 3SG.POSS COP-5.DEM.I 2SG-COND-Want:FV 1SG:2SG.O-show-FV 9.trail

22 kákí. A wá ká lâ-ká ní-İ ka-a-mbékó Odingó."

3SG.POSS 3SG:be there PREP 5-spring COP-5.DEM.I GEN-1b-old person "Odingo"

23 "0-Kik-ó mándé kákí áka ná-mwi-ni."


24 Bá-benganí bá-gbóm-a be: "Wa-sag-á-tu

2-other person 3PL:1.O-advise-FV COMP 2SG:abandon:PLUR-FV-INS

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464 The meaning of ká ngasá. PREP 9.luck, is: 'with luck' (with luck he became chief).

465 Short for míkí ka babá 1a-child GEN 1a-father 'child of the father'.
The movement involved is: hitting the left elbow with the right hand.
The meaning with the Pluractional extension is: kolúmwegó 'to wipe out'.
1. A demon had a beautiful daughter. The girl had a very soft skin. Someone pretty like that is something very good. Her father demanded that her [future] husband will be a man who endures hunger. Mbwoko went to her place to live together with her. At sunset, he was put in a house where ripe bananas were stored. He passed [the night] alone, while he was not even given any drinking water. At sunrise, the man was hungry. [His] eyes started to turn round with dizziness. Mbwoko picked ripe bananas, he ate them raw. When the father of the woman found out, he called [his] sons, they killed Mbwoko. His meat was prepared with condiment. The father of the girl took this food [and] put these cooking pots in the guesthouse, so that whoever, if he would steal, they would kill him likewise. All the men who came, started to steal the meat of Mbwoko and were all killed. If somebody stole [the food], all the joints of his body started to resonate: "Mbwoko-mbwoko, mbwoko-mbwoko", when he started to move or walk. Men lost their lives. What happened? Those who are strong men started to fight with men or their age. All this was of no use, because even if you are a hero, [it] is worthless in the village of someone else. The news went to the villages. The young men refused to go and live together with the demon’s daughter.

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468 Ideophone for 'sound of a footstep'.
469 Literally, 'his very light-coloured girl'.
470 Literally, 'like a raffia calabash'.
471 Literally, 'guarded her'.
472 Literally, 'house of ripe bananas'.
473 Literally, 'a human being was cleared'.
474 ɔ́du means 'cricket', an animal known in stories for its smartness.
gave in to the desire\(^{475}\); he was going to the woman. 35. When he arrived the father of the woman praised him very much, as he also had a thumb piano. 37. First he spent two days without feeling hungry, because he was playing the thumb piano all the time. 40. Earlier, he had heard the news about Mbwoko. 41. During the night, when the men had fallen asleep, he carried [away] one pot, he carried it with a strap over his shoulder. 43. He left. 44. He went, he went further and further away. 45. When he was far away [from the village], he started to play his thumb piano. 46. When he came to the river crossing,\(^{476}\) he sat down and relaxed. 47. He ate all the food [from the pot]. 48. [When] he took his thumb piano like he used to, his whole body [sounded] "mbwoko-mbwoko, mbwoko-mbwoko". 50. All the paddlers woke up. 51. They started to look for him. 52. Sɔ́ ɗʊ́ dived into the river, he surfaced down there across the river. 54. He told all his fathers\(^{477}\) and his brothers. 55. That is why men and demons hated each other, because they [the demons] killed Mbwoko.

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475 Literally, 'he tied himself to the attitude of young men to seduce a girl'.

476 Where people could go to the other side in a dugout.

477 Including his father's brothers.
lí-mwō ạka.

5. ADJ-drinking CT

10 Na ɓo-sáni, a-lúkó úm-úkan-a nzá.
with 14-sunrise 1b-man 3SG2:REFL-feel:FV 9hunger

11 Míso á-pung-a ká-ling-ik-on-o na ó-pilípílí.
6:eye 3SG/PL-start:FV 9b-surround-NEUT-ASS-FV with 1b-vertigo

12 Mbwoko á-pw-ág-a guní, á-ly-á yi-bíisi.
"Mbwoko" 3SG2-pick-PLUR:FV 9.ripe banana 3SG2-eat-FV ADV-raw

13 Níyì a-bákti mu-kó á-ndóng-á, ó-mák-a 6o-míkí
when 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG2-discover-FV 3SG2:2.O-call-FV 2-child

14 ɓa-lúkó ɓí, ɓá-mwš Mbwóko.
2-man 2.DEM.III 3PL2:1.O-kill:FV "Mbwoko"

15 Ma-koló kakí bàmb-a na súyì.
6-meat 3SG.POSS 3PL:cook-FV with 9.seed

16 A-bákti mu-stká ná á-va ma-lílí mọ, ó-bíš-o
1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-girl 1.DEM.I 3SG2-take:FV 6-food 6.DEM.I 3SG2:put-FV

17 ɓo-kpokúkú ɓoyí ká ndábú ka-ɓo-bíkó, kyé ná

18 ń-kiib-ọ, ɓá-mwš týí bègeyiş.

19 Ɓa-lúkó ní-bó ɓó-dog-ó-kú ndí bá-sí, bá-4nib-o
2-man COP-2.DEM.I 3PL2:come:PLUR-FV2-DIR P3 2-ASS-all 3PL2-INCH:steal-FV

20 ma-koló ko-Mbwoko, bó-mwšg-ọ bá-sí.
6-meat GEN:"Mbwoko" 3PL2:2.O-kill:PLUR-FV 2-ASS-all

21 Bé-motí ń-kiib-á ndí, mo-zikó má-ję́ ndúyì kakí má-sí

22 á-pung-a kó-ɓük-ọ bé: mbwoko-mbwóko, mbwoko-mbwoko, mbwoko-mbwoko,
3SG/PL2-start:FV 9b-resonate-FV COMP "mbwoko-mbwoko" "mbwoko-mbwoko"

23 käńí a-nó-dw-ọ ảma ká-kaapyán-á.
when 3SG-INCH-move:FV or 9b-walk:FV

24 Míkí ka-mu-mbáñú ă-difm-uk-an-a kówà ndí.
1a.child GEN-1-person 3SG2:clear-NEUT-ASS-FV thus P3

25 1-kí píye? Ní-bó ɓó-túgbó bá-ná-bum-an-ag-á na
9a-what thus COP-2.DEM.I 2-strong man 3PL2-INCH-fight-ASS-PLUR-FV with

26 ɓa-lúkó ɓá-dábu.
2-man 2-5.o. of same age:3PL.POSS
27 Niyɔ yá-ṣi a ást yayá áka, kyé gutógo  
   When 9.Ass-all 3SG:be only 9.s.th. worthless CT because even
28 wa-kik-ọ tutúngyọ a yayá áka, ká mu-gí  
   2SG-COND:be-FV la.hero 3SG:be 9.s.th. worthless CT PREP 3-village
29 ka-féngéni.  
   GEN-1a.other person
30 Mọ-ngóni ũnd-ag-a kówá ndt kó gi-yo.  
   6-news 3SG/PL-:go-PLUR-FV thus P3 PREP 9.village-9
31 Bo-mikí ba-lókó bi bá-ky-á ndt ká-und-á ká  
   2-child 2-man 2.DEM.III 3PL'-refuse-FV P3 9b-go-FV PREP
32 si-liy-su ka-mu-suká ka-a-bulí.  
   7-cohabitation-7 GEN-1-girl GEN-1b-demon
33 Sádu, gutógo mọ-ngóni á ndt ká-dá, i-kand-a  
   "Sádu" even 6-news 3SG/PL:be P3 9b-creep:FV 3SG:REFL-tie-FV
34 l̀-wanzà bé a ká-und-á ká mu-kọ.  
   5-attitude1 COMP 3SG:be 9b-go-FV PREP 1-woman
35 Niyɔ á-dwɛ, a-báktí mu-kó á-bb-a kúgbé,  
   when 3SG'-arrive:FV 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1-woman 3SG:1.O-praise-FV very
36 ýɛ̀kt a s̀ ndt gànnì na li-kembé.  
   as 3SG:be thus P3 also with 5-thumb piano
37 Á-gy-a mbéyí ma-syé má-bá káńí ò-ké-ɡó  
   3SG'-do-FV first 6-day 6.NUM-two when 3SG-NEG:be:FV-NEG
38 ká-ím-ukán-á nžá, kyé á ndt ást ká-ngbát-á  
   9b-REFL-hear-FV 9.hunger because 3SG:be P3 only 9b-play-FV
39 li-kembé áka.  
   5-thumb piano CT
40 Á ndt káńí úkóǹ-ön-í ndt mọ-ngóni ko-Mbwóko.  
   3SG:be P1 when 3SG:hear-ASS-FV.ANT P3 6-news GEN-"Mbwoko"
41 No bítí, káńí ba-mbáńzu bó-lól-ón-i-ní, á-bunk-a  
   with 9.darkness when 2-person 3PL-sleep-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV 3SG'-carry-FV
42 li-ńafí li-motí á-sáw-a.  
   5-pot 5.NUM-one 3SG'-carry1-FV
43 lý ní-mo-ná ó-pup-o mu.  
   1.PRO COP-1.DEM.II-CONN 3SG':leave-FV 1.DEM.II
44 Á-ɡa, á-ɡa, á-ɡa báta.  
   3SG':go.FV 3SG':go.FV 3SG':go.FV again
46. Nyǒ ɗuwe ká il-sú, ìk-o ɓí-ziko. when 3SG:ARRIVE:FV PREP 5-crossing 3SG:Sit-FV MOD-sitting
47. Á-ly-á ma-líi má-st. 3SG:eat-FV 6-food 6:ASS-all
48. Lý bẹ ɗu-ɗi li-kembé báne, nzọyi yá-st. 1:PRO COMP 3SG:take:FV.SUBJ 5-thumb piano like this 9:body 9:ASS-all
49. Mbwọko-mbwọko, mbwọko-mbwọko.
"mbwoko-mbwoko" "mbwoko-mbwoko"
52. Sódu ó-lind-ọ kó lǐbọ, ó-pup-on-o-kú kókwaku "Ṣódu" 3SG: sink-FV PREP 5:water 3SG:leave-ASS-FV-DIR down there
53. Kó-syáko. 17:side across a river
55. Kínlì bá-mbánzó bá-mŏy-án-á na bá-blí, kyé that's why 2-person 3PL:HAte-ASS-FV' with 2:1b-demon because

1.2 History

1.2.1 Circumcision (T2006.4)

1. When the ancestors were [still] alive, circumcision was a big event and it came with much merrymaking. 3. There were two kinds of circumcision. 4. There was the one which they called big circumcision and [the other] "mastů". 6. If you heard "big circumcision", it referred to the one where many children were circumcised. 8. They rounded up all the children of the village and of other villages. 10. These children were circumcised together. 11. What happened there, they went with them to the forest, [where] they built a house for them. 13. All the boys to be circumcised sat over there. 14. Thus [when they were] there, the work
of the boys there in the forest, was setting traps, fishing and other tasks. 17. The day on which they sat [there] to cause them [the boys] to leave [the forest] towards the village, a great ceremony was organized. 19. The circumcisors and the boys started to chant slogans and [to dance] the circumcision dances. 21. If perhaps your child had died, the circumcisors took an anthill, they came with it towards [you], they let you carry it, you the father of the child, you (pl) with his mother'. 24. When [this happens] you will know thus: "My child has died." 25. This circumcision ceremony lasted many days and it had bad luck. 27. "Mastɓu", that is the circumcision we practise these days. 29. The circumcision of "mastɓu" is the one which serves to resolve grudges. 31. If perhaps you (pl) fought with men of the women of the village or about something else. 33. [During] this circumcision the men and the women of the village scant: "Rigo hooo!", "Rigo hooo!". 35. The woman who did something malicious to the village will be punished. "Hooo". 37. [At] the big circumcision our ancestors demanded things like animals, hats, quivers. 39. The circumcision of "mastɓu" is not one with many demands. 41. It is the one you (pl) and your blood brother, like that you (pl) get along well. 43. Old habits have finished, we are now in modern times. 44. That is why the big circumcision no longer exists. 45. That one of "mastɓu" does not have taboos. 46. Young boys do not like to circumcise at a "mastɓu" ceremony.

478 Literally, 'them'.
In this case the tone melody is of the Infinitive tone.

Usually in a construction with -pung- 'start', the following verb has Infinitive prefix ká-. In this case the tone melody is of the Infinitive, but the prefix is missing.
Appendix 1

22 bà-va i-títí, bó-do-kú noyú bű-dung-is-o
23 iwe a-bákt mìkí ibúnú na a-mákt.
2sg.PRO 1b-father:3SG.POSS 1a.child 2PL.PRO and 1b-mother:3SG.POSS
24 Nìyó wìb-o kówa bë: "Mìkàmù six-kw-ó-ní ndí,"
when 2SG:know-FV thus COMP 1a.child:1SG.POSS 3SG^2-die-FV^6-PFV P3
25 l-múí-sò nì-sò á ndí na ma-sỳé mú-kpù na
19-circumcision-19 COP-19.DEM.I 3SG:be P3 with 6-day 6.ASS-big and
26 mbáli wa-nỳé.
1a.luck 1.ASS-bad
27 Mástó, a sú t-múí-sò nì-sò ta kówa minó
"mástó" 3SG:be 19.PRO 19-circumcision-19 COP-19.DEM.I 1PL:be thus TRACE
28 ká ma-sỳé mì ní-má.
PREP 6-day 6.DEM.III COP-6.DEM.II
29 l-múí-sò sá-mástó a sú nì-sò kó bułyó
30 yígbòmà bó-yòkó.
9a:stopping 2 + 9-grudge
31 ø-Kik-ó ní má-bum-án-á ndí na ɓa-mbánzó kó ɓo-kó
3SG-COND:be-FV when 2PL^3-flight-ASS-FV^9 P3 with 2-person PREP 2-woman
32 bá-mu-sengí ikànìgu ká ɓì-pumóká lá-aàgà,
2.ASS-3-village or PREP 5-thing 5.ASS-other
33 l-múí-sò nì-sò ɓa-lúkó na ɓo-kó bá-mu-sengí
19-circumcision-19 COP-19.DEM.I 2-man and 2-woman 2.ASS-3-village
34 bó-bílsì-og-o kówa ndí bë: "Rigo hoo ! rigo hoo !
3PL^3-chant slogan-PLUR-FV thus P3 COMP "rigo hoo" "rigo hoo" 3
35 Mu-kó ní-nò a-gy-a ɓo-kóli ká mu-sëngí
1-woman COP-1.DEM.I 3SG-dye-FV 2-S.th. malicious PREP 3-village
36 I-gagy-à ndéke. Hoo.
3SG:REFL-punish-FV F3 "Hoo" 4
37 l-múí-sò sì-dìŋí ɓo-tìtí-sù ɓá-kóng-ag-à ndí
19-circumcision-19 19.ADJ-big 2-ancestor:1PL.POSS 3PL^3-demand-PLUR-FV P3
38 minó ma-kpumóká ábë nyámá, si-kpi-so, mu-bóku má-ɓó-móngwó.
TRACE 6-thing like 1a.animal 19-hat-19 3-quiver 3.ASS-2 + 9-arrow

481 Compound from ɓa-ttí + kusú 'the ancestors 1PL.POSS'.


1.3 Technical instruction

1.3.1 Palm-nut pit body oil (*T2006.6*)

1. The forefathers used to rub their bodies in with black oil. 2. To make black oil, it is necessary that you first take palm nuts, put them out in the sun, until they are dry, after that crush them. 5. When there are many palm-nut pits, take a clay pot, or perhaps a clay water pot, pour them into the pot, put it on a fire. 8. Sprinkle a little bit of water, rekindle the fire. 10. When the water has completely dried up, take a part of a palm branch, or perhaps a dried stem of a banana leaf, and start to stir "fwa", "fwa", "fwa". 13. A vapour starts to come out of the pot, it smells good, delicious. 15. This smell goes far, you cough rapidly.

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482 Understood is ma-kpumúká má-ndéh 'old things, i.e. old habits'.
483 I.e. oil from the palm-nut pit, French translation given by my Liko consultants is *huile d'amande* 'almond oil'.
484 Literally, 'the palm nuts [have] grown big'.
Another time, people sprinkle also with red consumption oil, roast slowly. After that, take these palm nuts, break them [with your teeth] "gbwa", if you see that they have become roasted, put [the pot] on the ground. Meanwhile take the fruit of the "lso-sek-seki" tree, throw it in the oil, the oil cooks "kpwi kpwi kpwi", smell the fragrance of the oil, a nice smell. When it has cooled down, pour it into a container. We do thus, after washing ourselves, cover yourself with it. 30. The body becomes soft, shining black, smooth like the big flying termite "mumangwa". If it is evening, you will sleep peacefully. The body becomes soft, shining black, smooth like the big flying termite "mumangwa". 32. If it is evening, you will sleep peacefully. 33. This oil also kills scabies on the body. 35. Also, [from] this pot in which palm-nut pits were roasted, people often drink water, because it causes the water to taste very good.

01 Ńa-tutë ɓi-tikil-og-à ndì nzöyi na mo-lingó mó-pi. 17-back 17.DEM.III 2SG-shell-PLUR-FV.3P
02 Kó-sumb-à mo-lingó mó-pi a-kwanan-a mbéyi wá-va 9b-roast-FV 6-oil 6.ASS-black 3SG-should-FV first 2SG-take:FV.INST
03 Ndikó, wó-bís-o ká múmí, á-mbuw-aâ66, 9.palm-nut pit 2SG-pit:FV.INST.PREP 9.sun 3SG/P Everything be cooked-FV
04 Kú-mbúso yí wá-gúng-gúng-a. 17-back 17.DEM.III 2SG-shell-PLUR-FV.INST
05 Ndikó kó-bwó, wá-va ɓí-dákí, yágo 9.palm-nut pit 9b-grow big:FV 2SG-take:FV.INST 5-clay pot perhaps
06 Lít-wengó wó-dúk-o minó, wóm-os-o kó 5-clay water pot 2SG-pour:FV.INST.TRACE 2SG-arrive-CAUS:FV.INST.PREP
07 Fúkú. 8:burning piece of wood
08 Wá-kpazy-a minó, na t-kyá lībó, wá-gbũnd-a 2SG-sprinkle:FV.INST TRACE with 1c-s.th. small 5:water 2SG-rekindle:FV.INST
09 Fúkú. 8:burning piece of wood

485 Used in order to get deodorant.
486 This is the only case of -u with Passive meaning in my data, ɓá-amb-à 9b-cook-FV 'to cook', ɓá-ambu-w-à 'to be cooked'.
10 Niyó libó a-fá bi-gbutu, wá-va ì-gbutú
   when 5:water 3SG-dry:FV MOD-viscous 2SG-take:FV.INST 9a-part
11 ýá-i-gbó, ýá-gagó i-kuɓó, wá-pung-a kó-yó bi-fuwa,
   9.a-branch perhaps 9a-stem 2SG-start:FV.INST 9b-stir:FV MOD="fuwa"
12 fuwa, fuwa.
   "fuwa" "fuwa"
13 Múgá a-pung-a kó-pup-ó, a-nó-lumb-ó má-nza
14 bí-tumbe-tumbe,
   MOD-smelling good
15 Sù yí und-a byí, wá-kó bi-kafó, kafó.
   9.smell 9.DEM.ILL 3SG:go:FV far 2SG-cough:FV.INST MOD="kafó" "kafó"
16 Ngbingó wá-gagó, bá-kpazy-ag-a-tó gání na mo-lingó má-ngbu,
   1a.time 1.ASS-other 3PL-sprinkle-PLUR-FV-INS also with 6-oil ASS6-red
17 wó-kóng-o bí-wesee,
   2SG-roast:FV.INST MOD-slowly
18 Ká-mbúso yí, wá-va ndíkó yí ní-yí
19 wó-fwóbw-o bí-gbwáa, wa-ken-a bi
   2SG-cut with teeth:FV.INST MOD="gbwáa" 2SG-COND:see-FV COMP
20 o-kóng-ik-ón-i-ní,
   wó-totis-o.
   3SG/PL-roast-NUUT-ASS-FV.ANT-PFV 2SG-put down:FV.INST
21 Wá-va l-tndémé, wó-bís-o kú-gó wa-li-ɗákí lá-gagó,
   2SG-take:FV.INST 5-sieve 2SG-put-FV.INST 17-top 17.ASS-5-pot 5.ASS-other
22 wá-va ma-dáda, wó-bís-o, wó-kos-on-o kówa
   2SG-take:FV.INST 6-leaf 2SG-put-FV.INST 2SG-pour-PLUR-FV.INST thus
23 kó-gó yí.
   17-top 17.DEM.ILL
24 Kówa wa wá-va li-bumó lá-ɓu-sekí-sékt, wá-makt-a
   so 2SG-take:FV.INST 5-fruit 5.ASS-14-tree, sp. 2SG-throw:FV.INST
25 kó-só wa-mo-lingó, ɓ-ɓy-ɓí ɓí-kpwikwikpwi,
   17-inside 17.ASS-6-oil 3SG/PL-°-cook-FV° MOD="kpwikwikpwí'
26 wókan-a se kówa so yá-mo-lingó ɓí-duke-duke.
   2SG-smell:FV.INST thus thus 9.smell 9.ASS-6-oil MOD-nice smell
27 Niyó a-dık-a kówa wó-dúk-ɓo ká lín-súngó.
   when 3SG/PL-cool down:FV thus 2SG-pour-FV.INST PREP 5-container
1.3.2 The soap bar "agbag" (T2006.5)

1. The production of a soap bar is very difficult. 2. Here, where we live in Gbaegbæ, we start by collecting banana tree trunks, we arrange them with the fibre of the palm nuts, palm tree flowers, plantain banana peelings, stems of sweet potatoes, "diyongo" bushes, papaya tree pieces and different other objects. 6. When we finish gathering, we cut a lot of firewood, we take all the palm-nut pits and also arrange a fireplace for this fire. 9. Over the fire, we start by putting...
the palm-nut fibres at all sides, we pour palm-nut pits, we put the banana peelings, followed by "diyongo" bushes, while we are about to tear up banana tree trunks and throw [the pieces] there. 14. The combustion of the liquid consisting of a mix of water and ashes requires effort, because you are finishing by pouring it slowly in the fire, you sit down to heat up\(^{492}\) the fire, it burns irregularly with a lot of smoke. 17. The whole body takes on just the smell of smoke, you give off a bad smell like a sparrowhawk. 19. When all the ingredients are burned up, you spread them out [until] they cooled down. 21. After that, you lift up all hard embers, pick only ashes.\(^{493}\) 23. You take something to filter [the ashes] like a worn\(^{494}\) bucket, a cooking pot, a bowl, or even a [worn] cooking pot and you put it on top of a mortar. 26. When you started filtering, the mix of water and ashes started to ooze, drop, drop, drop. 28. When it swells, lift up the worn clay pot, pour the mix of water and ashes in a cooking pot, put\(^{495}\) [the cooking pot] on the fire. 31. The making of a soap bar requires a hot "mbimbimbi" fire; at that time the mix of water and ashes starts to swell "ffip", when it starts to turn around "pélépèle". 35. If it is almost dry, the cooking pot has become very white at the sides like real salt. 38. [It is the] time of pouring red oil or even white oil. 40. The residue of water and ashes mixes with the oil, it starts to boil different "bòngu-bòngu", it turns soft like peanut butter prepared with water. 43. Take a woman's knife, start turning [in the pot] while you are about to add a little bit of palm oil, with the fire burning well. 45. We started to see the soap bar swell in the steam of the cooking pot, it is about to become a lot and people reduce it [to bars] in something else. 48. Then they start to pour slowly a little bit of oil, they continue the fire. 50. After that, they put it on the ground, it cooled somewhat down, they wrap [the soap] in packages with dried banana bark. 52. "Agbagt" is our soap, it helps us with different jobs, like washing clothes, doing the dishes, washing ourselves, … and

\(^{492}\) Literally, 'push'.

\(^{493}\) I.e. only ashes are needed for the "agbagt".

\(^{494}\) \(\text{gbogbò}\) is a general term for an object which has become too old to be useful, like in this case something with an open crack to filter the ashes.

\(^{495}\) \(\text{ká-ká-ábá} \) '9b-limit, end up at, stop-FV' with the Causative extension has the specialized meaning 'put a pot on the cooking stones'.

\(^{496}\) I.e. salt from salt mines, not the type of salt produced locally.
with many other jobs. 55. The making of soap, here where we live, requires skillfulness.

01 Li-gubó lá-sàũní a lá-pūpu kūgbé. 5-work 5.ASS-1a.soap bar 3SG:be 5.ASS-hard very
02 Kōnu kú497 kusú ká Gbaäbu, ta-pung-ag-a ká-mumúl-á here there 1PL.POSS PREP “Gbaäbu” 1PL-start-PLUR-FV 9b-collect-FV
05 ḃe-gbutú bayá-òu-payt-páyì na ma-kpůmólá má-gó 5.9b.peeling 2+9a-piece 2+9.ASS-14-papaya tree and 6-thing 6.ASS-other different
06 Ta ká-am-á ká-mumúl-á, tó-bíŋ-ọ se kúwa misú 1PL:be-FV 9b-limit-FV 9b-collect-FV 1PL'-cut-FV thus thus 9.firewood
07 má-kpo, tá-tup-a ndikó na tó-bungusy-o góní lílá 6.ASS-big 1PL'-take all-FV 9.palm nut-pit and 1PL'-arrange-FV also 5:fireplace
08 tó-bukú bí. 5.ASS-8:burning piece of wood 8.DEM.III
09 Kú-gó wò-bukú, ta-pung-ag-a kó-bis-ó 17-top 17.ASS-8:burning piece of wood 1PL-start-PLUR-FV 9b-put-FV
10 pangá-tu ká ìká-kpůló-kpůló, tó-duk-ó ndikó na 13.hide of palm nut-13 PREP 2-side 1PL'-pour-FV 9.palm-nut-pit and
12 ó-sy-on-on-og-o-kú mo-diyongó, kání 3SG/PL'-come down-ASS-ASS-PLUR-FV-DIR 6-bush when
13 ta-ná-yìb-á bë-ngbongbó na ká-dukit-ág-á kúgúkó. 1PL:INC-tear up-FV 2+9a-banana trunk and 9b-throw-PLUR-FV right there
14 ìt-pyepý̕è lá-ma-káli a na kekélé, kò̕yè wa ká-am-á 5-burning 5.ASS-6-mix499 3SG:be with 9.effort because 2SG:be 9b-limit-FV

497 kó is changed into kú due to assimilation to following [ + ATR] kusú.
498 With a plural referent, di is triplicated.
499 Of water and ashes.
kó-dúk-úš-Il-dú 500 kó bükú, wík-o kówa
9b-pour-CAUS-RES-FV PREP 8:burning piece of wood 2SG\^2:sit down:FV thus
ásí kó-túndúl-ó áka bükú, a-ná-pyé
only 9b-push-FV CT 8:burning piece of wood 3SG\^3-burn:FV
bé-ndúngbúu no múkí má-kpu.
MOD-disoriented with 6:smoke 6.ASS-big
Nzóya yá-st á-va kówa ást su yó-4múkí áka,
9.body 9.ASS-all 3SG\^2-take:FV thus only 9.smell 9.ASS-6:smoke CT
wó-lumb-o tí-gbó ámb a-tígbé.
2SG-emit-FV.INST MOD-bad smell like 1b-sparrowhawk
Niyá ma-kpumúká ní-mstå sá-sílog-ó,
when 6-thing COP-6.DEM.1 6.ASS-all 3SG/PL-burn up-FV
wá-gbatul-a na á-dík-a.
2SG-spread out-RES-FV.INST and 3SG/PL\^2-cool-FV
Kú-mbúso yí, wá-túmb-a ma-ká-nu má-púpu má-st,
17-back 17.DEM.III 2SG-lift up-FV.INST 6-ember-6 6.ASS-hard 6.ASS-all
á-sík-an-a kówa ást lí-bú áka.
3SG/PL\^2-pick-ASS-FV thus only 5-ash CT
Wá-va lúkí li-\^4nyíkusógó ámb t-\^4gb\^4gbó yá-kátíni
2SG-take:FV.INST 5:object 5.ADJ-filter like 9a-s.th. worn 9.ASS-9.bucket
yá-mu-kadú, basíni, gótógu yá-li-dákí áka, wó-bís-o
9.ASS-3-cooking pot 9.bowl even 9.ASS-5-clay pot CT 2SG-put-FV.INST
kó-gó wo-kulúbí.
17-top 17.ASS-9.mortar
Niyá wá-pung-a kó-nyíkusóg-ó, ma-káli á-pung-a ká-dúk-á
when 2SG\^2-start-FV 9b-filter-FV 6-mix 3SG/PL\^2-start-FV 9b-ooze-FV
bé-tó tó tó.
MOD-\^1tó tó tó"n
O-Ko-bw-ó, wá-túmb-a t-\^4gb\^4gbó yá-li-dákí,
3SG-COND-become big-FV 2SG-lift up-FV.INST 9a-s.th. worn 9.ASS-5-clay pot
wó-dúk-o ma-káli ká mu-kadú, wóm-os-o kó
2SG-pour-FV.INST 6-mix PREP 3-cooking pot 2SG:limit-CAUS-FV.INST PREP

500 <dúk-us> 'pour slowly', see 7.11.1.
Appendix 1

30 ɓukú.
8:burning piece of wood
31 Li-lólómbí lá-sábúni a-pag-a ɓukú
5-preparation 5.ASS-1a.soap bar 3SG-want:PLUR-FV 8:burning piece of wood
32 ɓá-pó ɓí-mbimbimbi, ngbéngó yi ní-ní ma-kálí
14.ASS-hard MOD-”mbimbimbí” 1a.time 1.DEMLII COP-1.DEMLI 6-mix
33 a-nó-fúl-ó ɓí-fff, kání o-nó-yikon-ó
3SG/PL-INCH-swell-FV MOD-“HP” when 3SG/PL-INCH-turn around-FV
34 ɓí-pele-pele.
MOD-upside down
35 ɓ-ɓik-ó kówa buwóbi ká-fá, mu-kadú
3SG-COND:be-FV thus near 9b-dry:FV 3-cooking pot
36 ɓó-bu-b-og-o ká bá-kpóls-b-kpsó ɓí-tú ábé li-níkó
3SG²-whiten-PLUR-FV PREP 2-side MOD-light like 5-salt
37 lá-li-sénní.
5.ASS-5-indigenous
38 Ngbéngó mu-ɗukó mo-lingó má-ngbu gutúgu mú-kambíli kówa
1a.time 1.ADD-pour 6-oil 6.ASS-red even 6.ASS-9.white oil thus
39 ní-ní.
COP-1.DEMLI
40 Ma-kálí t-mat-ik-an-ag-a na mo-lingó, a-pung-a
6-mix 3SG/Pt.REFL-add-NEUT-ASS-PLUR-F with 6-oil 3SG/PL-start-FV
41 ká-lökót-á di ɓí-ɓungu-ɓungu, t-sily-o-kú
9b-boil-FV different MOD-heavy 3SG/Pt.REFL-meet-FV-DIR
42 ɓí-dúg-dúg ñábe sélèngúndé wa-í-kpodojiya.
MOD-soft like 1a.peanut 1.ASS-1-peanut paste
43 Wá-va mbáku, wá-pung-a kó-yikós-ó kówa kání
2SG-take:FV.INST 9.woman's knife 2SG-start-FV.INST 9b-turn-FV thus when
44 wa-ná-matul-á mo-lingó má-kéékéké, ɓukú ɓí-dóóóó.
2SG-INCH-increase-FV 6-oil 6.ADD-small 8:burning piece of wood MOD-low
45 Tá-pung-a kówa ká mín-a sábúní kó-fúl-ó-kú ká mú-kálá
1PL²-start-FV thus 9b:1.O-see-FV 1a.soap bar 9b-swell-FV-DIR PREP 3-steam

501 ɓóóóó signifies a low sound, but can also mean 'functioning well'.
1.4 Moral instruction

1.4.1 A good girl (T2006.9)

1. A girl is like ivory, a valuable object of her family. 3. The eyes of family members are upon her, they do not want that their child would cause talk when she is to be married. 6. How does a good girl behave? 7. She listened to the advice of her father and her mother, she has learned the practices of housekeeping: cooking, cutting\(^{502}\) firewood, sweeping the yard, doing the dishes, she has learned the work in the field. 11. She should not be a lazybones, [not] a person of laughing in front of people, when she starts to seduce someone softly, nor someone playing with the

\(^{502}\) I.e. cleaving with an axe.
boys. 14. She should not be a person who begs [nor someone] with bad behaviour. 16. She should not be a person who steals.\(^{503}\) Likewise, she does not walk unkempt or not properly dressed,\(^{504}\) she does not eat on the road. 19. She does not take off her clothes\(^{505}\) to wash herself [in a stream] near the road. 21. The girl who listens to her fathers and her mothers will be a child of honour in the village. 24. The man who wants to marry her, he will come to a neat courtyard. 26. The men of the village look at her, because if there is a marriage, they are the ones who go to bring her [to the village of her husband]. 28. This is how a good girl should be.

\(^{503}\) Literally, ‘with a long arm’.

\(^{504}\) Literally, ‘disorderly’.

\(^{505}\) Literally, ‘she does not pull out nudity’.
The H part of the LH tone on the vowel of the object prefix, ɓ, is associated with the initial vowel of the verb -ɓakan- 'hear'.

506 The H part of the LH tone on the vowel of the object prefix, ɓ, is associated with the initial vowel of the verb -ɓakan- 'hear'.
1. It is expected of a boy to have a house, because a house is something very good.
2. To make known that you are a young man, they will know that you are truly a young man, because a house is something very good.
3. A good boy advise you again, my child.
4. When you grow up, someone will no longer force you to build.
5. Even if you will have more wives, someone will not advise you again, my child.
6. If visitors come to meet you, you will not wander around incessantly.
7. At the time when you become an adult someone will no longer need to start to build a house.
8. Your belongings, because you need to start to build a house, someone will not wander around incessantly.
9. My child, a boy does not wander around incessantly.

507 Literally, 'punish'.
508 The combination kyé bōn' because how' is the way to express 'why'.
509 I.e. to find a place to sleep for the visitors.
510 Literally, 'a young man of truth'.

Appendix 1

28 Míkì mu-kó yí wa-nzá ik-og-o béyí.
   1a.child 1-woman 1.DEM.III 1.ASS-good 3SG:be-PLUR-FV like that

1.4.2 A good boy (T2006.8)

01 O-kwónón-i mìkì mu-lókó yí ká-ik-ó na ndábu,
   3SG-should-FV.ANT 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III 9b-be-FV with 9.house

02 kyé ndábu ní lükí lá-nza kógbe.
   because 9.house COP 5:object 5.ASS-good very

03 Ká-ib-is-ik-ó:n-is-ó bë wa mìkì mu-lókó yí,
   9b-know-CAUS-NEUT-ASS-CAUS-FV COMP 2SG:be 1a.child 1-man 1.DEM.III

04 o-bósif-á ká-pung-á kó-pik-ó ndáábu kánt wo kó-ping-ó.
   3SG-need-FV.ANT 9b-start-FV 9b-build-FV 9.house when 2SG:be 9b-grow up-FV

05 Ngbíngó yi ní-ní wú:t-a minó mu-lókó mu-dingfí,
   1a.time 1.DEM.III COP-1.DEM.I 2SG:change-FV TRACE 1-man 1.ADJ-big

06 o-kú-gyagy-i-gú báta kó-pik-ó.
   3SG-NEG:2SG:O-punish-FV-NEG again 9b-build-FV

07 Gutógu wa-kik-ó na ndendí áka,
   even 2SG-COND:be-FV with 9.polygamy CT

08 o-kú-tiwoly-i-gú báta mìkámi.
   3SG-NEG:2SG:O-advice:APPL-FV.ANT-NEG again 1a.child:1SG.POSS
09 Na ká-o-ɓoky-á kyé ɓóní?
   1SG:be 9b-2SG.O-say-FV because how
10 Wa-ka-vá mu-kó, wa-mak-y-á ká ndáɓo yí
11 ní-yí.
   COP-9.DEM.I
12 Mu-kúmbó kakó, wa-maky-a ká ndáɓó kakó.
   1-luggage 2SG.POSS 2SG:PUT in-FV PREP 9.HOUSE 2SG.POSS
13 Bo-bikó ɓa-ku-síly-ó-kú, wá-kámam-t-gú.
   2-visitor 3PL-COND:2SG.O-MEET-FV-DIR 2SG-NEG:wander-FV-NEG
14 Búm-ib-o bé wa míkí mu-lókó yí
   3PL:2SG.O-KNOW-FV COMP 2SG:BE 1.A.CHILD 1-MAN 1.DEM.III
15 wa-li-ngúnó, ñba kyé wa-tó na ndáɓó.
   1.ASS-5-truth it means that because 2SG:BE-INS with 9.HOUSE
16 Mikámú, miki mu-lókó yí ɓá-kámam-ag-t-gú
   1A.CHILD:1SG.POSS 1A.CHILD 1-MAN 1.DEM.III 3SG-NEG:wander-PLUR-FV-NEG
17 bé-gbagbagba.
   MOD-incessant

1.4.3 The advice of chief Ogiyatu and chief Bamuka *(T2006.7)*

1. A chief should have a [good] behaviour, be a good example, in order to protect his village, the property and his people. 4. A chief does not like evil. 5. The road should be clear. 6. We chiefs are not at ease when we have said to the people: “Attention!”; they should work, but they don’t. 9. It is very good to work, because if we do not work, how would people live? 11. [It is] thus very [good] when you have visitors. 12. The road should be clear. 13. Because if the road would not be clear, where would our brother Engama travel [to come] here? 15. That is to say, all people would have a problem to come here. 16. It is not only the road, it is also necessary to have fields, because the field is supporting us regarding other needs. 19. A chief also keeps an eye on the water that his people drink, because the water should be clear, clean, clean water in the calabash. 22. With

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511 Literally, ‘the road should not be with rubbish, i.e. (partly) overgrown’.
512 Literally, ‘do not hear well’.
513 Literally, ‘at the time and within the period’.
respect to education,\textsuperscript{514} the chief should not be silent either, because if there were no schools, the Liko language, how would we learn it? 26. It is good if children enter the school, because a child is a banana shoot, because this banana shoot will give us bananas later. 29. A chief should also manage the work of a hospital, because our body loves illnesses.\textsuperscript{515} 31. You Liko people "ooo", you his brothers "aaa", you there my clan members "aaa", let us do all the work. 32. Let us fix up the village so that we would be well.

\textsuperscript{514} Literally, 'on the side of the school'.

\textsuperscript{515} The author wants to say that Liko people easily attract diseases.

\textsuperscript{516} The vowel of the subject prefix \textsuperscript{ta-} has assimilated to the following high vowel of the reflexive prefix \textsuperscript{ta}.

\textsuperscript{517} Short for \textsuperscript{tib}.
Kúwa kúgbé kánt wa na ṣó-bíkó.
thus very when 2SG:be with 2-visitor

O-kkonón-i ọsí ọ-ík-ì bì-ngà.
3SG:should-fv.ANT 9:path 3SG:be-fv.subj MOD-clean

Kyé ndáki ọ-kík-ì bì-ngà, ìba mó'mósú
because 9:road 3SG-COND:be-fv.NEG MOD-clean it means that brother:1PL.POSS

bèyò ka-Engama à o-byi-kù bì yámi?
like that GEN-"Engama" 3SG-follow:fv.ANT-DIR P1 where

ìba ìba-tù ìá-stì bò bì na ìbu-kpekì-kpekì kó-do-kù.
it means that 2-man 2.ASS-all 3PL:be P1 with 14-problem 9b-come:fv-DIR

ọ-Ké-gù àsì ndáki aká, o-kkonón-i gẹ̀nì ká-ík-ò
3SG-NEG:be-fv.NEG only 9:road CT 3SG:should-fv.ANT also 9b-be-fv

na bì-tíko, kyé tìko yá a ká-tí-tungból-áág-á
with 2+9-field because 9.field 9.DEM.I 3SG:be 9b-1.PL.O-support-plur-fv

kà ìba-mápumó ìá-gàgà.
PREP 2-family need 2.ASS-other

Ngáma and-ag-a-tó gẹ̀nì lìbó ní-ló ìta-tú kakí
1a.chief 3SG:look-plur-fv-ins also 5:water COP-5.DEM.I 2-man 3SG:POS

bì-mw-òg-o, kyé o-kkonón-i lìbó ìk-ò
3PL-drink-plur-fv because 3SG:should-fv.ANT 5:water 3SG:be-fv

bì-ngápá-ngápá, bì-ngò, lìbó bì-ngápá-ngápá kà pápà.
MOD-clean MOD-clean 5:water MOD-clean PREP 9.calabash

Kà a-mbámbá wa-kalási ngáma ọ-ká-dak-i-gù minó
PREP 1b-side 1.ASS-1a.school 1a.chief 3SG-NEG:be silent-fv-Neg TRACE

bègyà, kyé ọ-kík-I bì kalási ìba
likewise because 3SG-COND:be-fv.NEG P1 1a.school it means that

nì-ìt-ná lá-Li-likó ìt-ná tì pìye
COP-5.DEM.II-CONN 5.ASS-5-Liko language 5.DEM.II-CONN 1PL:be thus

kà-ìb-ò hìkì?
9b-know-fv how

A bì-ìná ọó-mìkì bìngyì-ì kà kalási, kyé mìkì
3SG:be MOD-good 2-child 3PL:enter-fv.subj PREP 1a.school because 1a.child

mmómósú is a compound based on mmámì íbáñà, literally 'our mother', the meaning is 'the son of our mother'.

bèyò ka when followed by a proper name means 'called' (only for animates).
Appendix 1

1.5 New story (written)
To illustrate how the language codes new information, contrast, participant activation, and external topics, comments on information structure are added.

1.5.1 Ikoũ (T2009.21)\(^{520}\)
1. My children, listen now how Old Ikoũ got himself killed when poverty took the upper hand. 4. Ikoũ had a friend of his age group called Zangya. 6. These two men loved each other very much. 8. They were different, but they always went out together. 10. Be it setting traps, fishing, going to the market, no matter where. 12. If you saw Ikoũ, then you had also seen Zangya. 14. What [was it] good at first! 15. Some time later, the war, which is called poverty, arrived at them. 17. The men even tried to fish with fish hooks, but the fish did not show up. 19. They also tried to set traps, other kinds of traps, they cut the long barrier\(^{521}\), nothing was successful. 22. It became difficult for them to see how they would get any income.\(^{522}\) 24. They stopped to appear at the market, even in church. 26. The

\(^{520}\) Author: Kamenabake Ndukoni Jean-Pierre.

\(^{521}\) I.e. a type of barrier in the forest with holes for traps.

\(^{522}\) Literally, 'A visible way to income came with difficulty to them'.
clothes that Zangya had, these were all torn to the thread "tututu", the man was white "tu". He stayed hidden in the house, he prayed to God that He would not abandon him. So he went to search for food or to draw water during the night, because people, if they were there, they scorned him. His friend Ikoɓu, he was likewise [poor]. But, he still had one worn pair of trousers and a shirt. He asked himself: "These threadbare clothes here, if they are gone, what shall I do?" Not long afterwards, Ikoɓu was about to think that his friend called Zangya had died. Zangya thought as well that Ikoɓu had died. When Ikoɓu came to that conclusion, he went to a band of robbers to ask for his death, because he did not want that he would die like an ant. He [said] to the chief of the robbers: "Chief, I am longing to die, because life is for me very hard, I do not have any clothes left, they are gone. The chief of the robbers [said] to him: "You come at the right time, let us go to the hill." The chief called the robbers, they went with Ikoɓu to the hill where they used to kill people, they called [the hill] forehead. The clothes were so worn that one could see the light through the holes, he was almost naked. Literally, 'many days did not meet each other again'. Literally, 'when he saw that'. Literally, 'men without mercy'. Literally, 'clothes had finished on me'. Literally, 'clothes'.

523 The clothes were so worn that one could see the light through the holes, he was almost naked.
524 Literally, 'many days did not meet each other again'.
525 Literally, 'when he saw that'.
526 Literally, 'men without mercy'.
527 Literally, 'clothes had finished on me'.
528 I.e. the clothes.
they gave them to Zangya. 80. Zangya left outside, he started to walk. 81. Friend, oh!, do not think that you are the only one in poverty. 83. Someone else certainly also has some other need, more than you.

01 Bo-mika-mamá, ukón-ô-ni mbéyì béyà a-mbòskó
   2-children:GEN-1a.mother 2.O:hear-FV.IMP-ADDR first like that 1b-old person
02 Ikòbù i-mwis-is-â ndî minó, n'yangyá
   "Ikòfu" 3SG:REFL-kill:CAUS-CAUS-FV P3 TRACE when 9.poverty
03 a-bedúl-i-ní.
   3SG-surpass-FV.ANT-FV

New information: bëyà ambskò Ikòbù f'mwisis ndî minó, introduction of the subject of the story, how Ikòfu got himself killed.

04 Ikòbù ã ndî na wayí dàkì bëyà
   "Ikòfu" 3SG:be P3 with 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS like that
05 ka-Zangyá.
   GEN-"Zangya"

New information: wayí dàkì bëyà ka Zangyá. introduction of the second main character, friend Zangya.

06 Ba-lòkù bá-â bì ni-ña-ná bá-pan-an-ag-à
   2-man 2.NUM-two 2.DEM.III COP-2.DEM.II-CONN 3PL:want:ASS-ASS-FV
07 ndî kóbô.
   P3 very

New information: bòpananagá ndî kóbô, they loved each other very much.

The two men are the topic and presented as present (type II demonstrative bá).

08 Bík-og-à ndî dididì, lükí li-motí bá-kpàkà-â ndî pa
   3PL:be-PLUR-FV P3 different 5:object 5.NUM-one 3PL:walk-PLUR-FV P3 9.area
09 yi-motí áka.
   9.NUM-one CT
10 Êk-i ká bá-kpágá, ká ma-skidánpì, ká bá-sòkà, gútúgú se
   3SG:be.SUBJ PREP 2+9-trap PREP 6-fish hook PREP 2-market even thus

529 Short for kánì.
New information: **bíkóga ndi didídi**, the men were different. 
Contrasting being different: **pa yímotí áka**, they did everything together.

External topic: **kùmbúso wa masyé**, some time later.
New information: **lônga ndí fóliyaga bë yangyá súliyá ndi**, poverty arrives.

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11 piye yám. 
 thus where 

12 Wa-kam-in-á ndi Ikóbu i ba kyé 
 2SG:COND:1.O-see-FV P₁ "Ikóbu" it means that because 

13 wam-in-i-ní gómí Zangyá. 
 2SG:1.O-see-FV.ANT-PFV also "Zangyá" 

14 1-kí mbéyí yá yá-nza bëyá! 
 9a-what first 9.DEM.1 9.ASS-good like that 

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15 Kú-mbúso wa-ma-syé, lônga nú-ló bá-lúk-y-ag-a bë 
 17-back 17.ASS-6-day 5:war COP-5.DEM.1 3PL²-call-APPL-PLUR-FV COMP 

16 yangyá ú-síl-y-á ndi. 
 9.poverty 3SG²:2.O-arrive-APPL-FV P₃ 

New information: **lônga ndí fóliyaga bë yangyá súliyá ndi**, poverty arrives.

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17 Bá-lókú bá-kúngul-ag-á ndi gútúgu bë bó-lúb-óg-í 
 2-man 3PL²-try-PLUR-FV P₃ even COMP 3PL-plunge-PLUR-FV.SUBJ 

 6-fish hook when 2-fish 3PL-NEG:be:FV-NEG 9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV 

19 Bá-kúngul-a gómí ká-lúk-á-g-á ma-bómbú, bá-galápí, bá-ká 
 3PL²:try-FV also 9b-trap-PLUR-FV 6-trap 2+9-trap 3PL²-cut:FV 

20 mú-palú ní-ma-ná má-ní ndó, gútúgu mbéyí kó-bók-ís-ó 
 3-barrier³⁵⁰ COP-3.DEM.2-CONN 3.ASS-long even first 9b-grow-CAUS-FV 

21 áka. 
 CT 

22 Písí yá-kínisónó na bù-yí 9-do-kú ndi na tóó 

23 yá-púpu. 
 9.ASS-strong 

New information: **bólúbógi maskudángi** and **kíliyága mábómbú, bágalápí, báko múpaló nímaná mándá**, the men try all kinds of things.

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³⁵⁰ A barrier in the forest with passage ways where traps are installed.
Appendix 1

Contrasting all the effort they put into it: gutógu mbéyn kóbóbókó áka, it was all without success.

24 Bá-sa ká-in-is-ón-ó ká ɓa-síkó gutógu ká ndábó 3PL-abandon:FV 9b-see-CAUS-ASS-FV PREP 2-market even PREP 9.house

25 yá-Múngu³¹ aká.

9.ASS-1a.God CT

New information: bása káṁsónó ká fasókó, they stop going to the market.

Contrasting the market: gutógu ká ndábó yá Múngu aká, even to church.


27 á-tín-ik-ag-à ndí bayá-sí bí-tutúútú, a-lókú 6-ɓuɓ-à

3SG²-cut-NEUT-PLUR-FV P3 2 + 9.ASS-all MOD-bright 1b-man 3SG²-be white:FV

28 ndí bí-tú. P3 MOD-bright

New information: ɓotú níbáyá Zangýá à ndí na boyú átúnkagá ndí bayá-sí bítutúútú, Zangya's clothes no longer cover his body.

Use of substitutive (boyú) to emphasize something important: clothes (botú) are a key element in the story.

29 Ik-og-o kówá ndí ndábó aká bí-dú, 3SG:be-PLUR-FV thus P3 PREP 9.house CT MOD-deep


31 0-kas-o-ní 4-pó-gu báka. 3SG-NEG:1.O:abandon-FV-NEGSUBJ INS-NEG please

32 ɗnd-ag-a kówá ndí ká-kiš-á ma-llí ikání ká-tóg-á 3SG:go-PLUR-FV thus P3 9b-search-FV 6-food or 9b-draw water-FV

33 líbó no bití, kyé ɓa-mbánzó ɓa-kik-o-ní 5:water with 9.darkness because 2-person 3PL-COND:be-FV-PFV

34 ká-’tib-á. 9b:1.O-laugh-FV

531 Swahili loanword.
Contrasting going out during the day (which would be normal): ká ndáfu aká, Zangya hides himself in the house.

New information: ndaga kōwà nd            malùf ìkánu kátùgá lìbó no bitì, in the dark, Zangya leaves to search for food and water.

35 Wayí dákí bêyó ka-Ikóbù ik-og-o 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS like that GEN-"Ikobu" 3SG:be-PLUR-FV
36 kōwà ndí tyí bégeyó, thus P3 1.PRO likewise
37 Lúkì li-motí á-tú mbéyí ndí báta tyí na 1-gbàgbọ 5:object 5.NUM-one 3SG:be-INS first P3 again 1.PRO with 9a-s.th. worn
38 yá-pataló 512 yì-motí 533 na yá-simiži. 9.ass-1a.trousers 9.NUM-one with 9.ass-1a.shirt
41 ní-gy-a kówa ímí bùní? 9.1SG:REFL-do-FV thus 1SG.PRO how

New information: tyí bégeyó, Ikobu is in the same situation, but átu mbéyí ndí báta tyí na 1-gbàgbọ yá pataló yìmotí na yá simiži. he still has one set of worn clothes.

Use of substitutive (tyí, two times) to emphasize the subject (Ikobu).

42 Ma-syé má-kpú bá-kó-siý-on-og-i-gó ndí báta. 6-day 6.ass-big 3PL-NEG-arrive-APPL-ASS-PLUR-FV-NEG P3 again
43 Ikóbù a-ná-táman-á bê wayí dákí bêyó "Ikobu" 3SG:INCH:think-FV COMP 1a.friend 1a.s.o. of same age:3SG.POSS like that
44 ka-Zangíyá ó-kw-ó-ní ndí. GEN-"Zangya" 3SG2-die-FV*-PFV P3
45 Zangíyá a-ná-táman-ag-á gùmí tyí bê Ikóbù ó-kw-ó-ní "Zangya" 3SG:INCH:think-PLUR-FV also 1.PRO COMP "Ikobu" 3SG2-die-FV*-PFV

512 French loanword, pantalon, like simbi, in the same sentence, from chemise.
533 Agreement with 1a.trousers would require bé-motí 1.NUM-one, but class 9 enumerative prefix is used.
534 For this class 2 concord, see 6.1.2.
Both think that the other is dead.

New information: *wayá dákí bëyë́ ka Zangáyá ókwó̱ní ndá and gän' yë́ bë Ikó̱bu ókwó̱ní ndá.*

54 Ngámá ka-bo-nziakaɓó ăna na łyẃ bë́.535 "Wo-du-kú́536 1a.chief GEN-2-man without mercy only with 1.PRO COMP 2SG:come:EV DIR


56 Ngámá ő-má̱k-á bo-nziakaɓó, bágá ndt na Ikó̱bu 1a.chief 3SG:2.O-call-FV 2-man without mercy 3PL:3:go-FV P₃ with "Iko̱bu"


535 Alternative for ɓó̱dìkó̱-ɓé́ 3SG:1.O-say-FV COMP 'he said to him'.

536 The usual form is *wodokú.*
The H tone of the LH on the final vowel of the derived adjective has merged with the following H tone.
Left-dislocation for textual reference: **tyi genf nọ, re-introduces Ikofu, who asked to die.**

69 Zangyá á-ɓíky-á ndí ngámá ɓé:  "Ngámá, ma-ka-mwọ  
"Zangyá 3SG;1.O-say-FV ọ, 1a.chief COMP 1a.chief 2PL-COND;1.O-kill:FV

70 Ikofu, mó-do-kú kẹ-ɗá ɓo-tú kakí  
"Ikofu" 2PL-come:FV-DIR, 9b:1SG.O-give:FV 2+9-clothes 3SG.Poss

71 nó-pup-i na ɓọyú kú-nzi."  
1SG-leave:FV.SUBJ with 2+9.PRO 17-outside

72 Ngámá ɓíngisyá ndí.  
1a.chief 3SG-accept:FV P3

New information: **módokú képé botú kakí.** Zangyá asks the headman to give him Ikofu’s clothes after they have killed him. **ngámá ɓíngisyá ndí.** the headman agrees.  
Notice how substitutive **(boyu)** is used again, emphasizing the clothes **(botú).**

73 Nyọ Ikofu ọkán-ọ h-yọ ka-Zangyá, ɗí-ɓíky-a ngámá  
when "Ikofu" 3SG;hear-FV 5.voice GEN:"Zangyá" 3SG;1.O-say-FV 1a.chief

74 ɓé:  "Hii father, i-pilýíno-ọ ɓáka, nọ bi  
COMP "hii" 1a.father 1SG.O-forgive:ASS-FV.IMP please 1SG:be P1

75 ká-pand-á ɗíbe umi ɓa kówa nọ na wa-kángyá."  
9b-believe:FV ATT 1SG.PRO CT thus 1.DEM.1 1SG:be 1.ASS-1a.crisis

New information: **óbála lyọ ka Zangyá.** Ikofu hears the voice of Zangyá, and **ipilýíno ɓáka.** Ikofu begs not to be killed.  
Contrasting reality: **um aká.** Ikofu believed: I am the only one suffering.

76 Lúkí lí-motí ní ɓá-káma-ukon-i-gó ɓátà.  
5:object 5.NUM-one when 3PL-NEG;1.O-hear-FV.ANT-NEG again

77 Bínd-á ndí na tyi, ɓá-ɗá-lut-ọ ɓídakpa-dakpa ká  
3PL;go-FV P3 with 1.PRO 3PL-INC1;1.O-pull-FV MOD-staggering PREP

78 ngópá, ɓá-bum-á ndí na ɓe-ngbíngiĩí ɓé ɓé-nyọka, ɓá-mwọ,  

79 ɓó-do-kú na ɓo-tú kakí, ɓá-ɗá ɗí Zangyá.  
3PL-come:FV-DIR with 2+9-clothes 3SG.Poss 3PL;1.O-give:FV "Zangyá"

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538 **ipilýíno** ‘please forgive me’ (single addressees), **ipilýíno** ‘please forgive us’ (plural addressees).
New information: ɓákámukonig ɓatá ... ɓámwo, the robbers do not listen, they drag Ikoɓu, beat him and kill him, and ɓódokú na ɓotú kakí, ɓépá Zangyá, the robbers give Ikoɓu's clothes to Zangyá.

80 Zangyá ɓópup-á ndi kú-nzi, á-pung-a ká-kpakyán-á.
"Zangyá" 3SG³-leave-FV P₁ 17-outside 3SG³-start-FV 9b-walk-FV

New information: Zangyá ɓópup ndi kúnzi. Zangyá comes out of the house

81 Wayí aaa, wa-ko-tómon-o-ní ɗi-gó bė iwe aká nš
1a.friend "aaa" 2SG-NEG-think-FV-NEGSUBJ INS-NEG COMP 2SG.PRO CT 1.DEM.I
82 wa na yangyá.
2SG:be with 9.poverty
83 Mu-tó wá-gó a-tó góní na yangyá yá-gó
1-man 1.ass-other 3SG:be-INS also with 9.poverty 9.ass-other
84 ká-o-kítá́g-á iwe.
9b-2SG.O-pass-FV 2SG.PRO

Contrasting the opinion of the hearers: iwe aká, do not think that you are the only one who is poor.