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Cultural values and the pragmatic significance of proverbial sayings in Tafi and Ewe

Mercy Bobuafor [1]

Department of Linguistics, School of Languages, College of Humanities, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

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ABSTRACT

Proverbs have cognitive and socio-cultural value. As tools for socialisation, proverbs are channels of shared moral and cultural values in communities of practice. The paper investigates the functions of, and the cultural values embodied in selected proverbial sayings in Tafi, a Ghana-Togo Mountain language, and their counterparts in Ewe, a Gbe language. The analysis is based on a small corpus of proverbs gathered during immersion fieldwork among the Tafi, and relies on ethnographic and linguistic methods. The Ewe versions are extracted from proverb collections and from the equivalents provided by Tafi bilinguals. From a semantic and a pragmatic perspective, proverbs have both textual and indexical, context-dependent, meanings. I explore the textual semantics of some of the Tafi and Ewe proverbial sayings drawing on the semantic template for proverbs used in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). It is suggested that the semantic structure of proverbs comprises framing components of traditionality and of their status as folk wisdom, as well as components describing the message, namely, the recurrent situation that calls forth the proverb, the advice and the analogy in the proverb. The paper reveals that patterns of proverb performance are similar across the languages suggesting shared practices due to language and cultural contact in proverbial language use.

1. Introduction

There is no shortage of literature on proverbs and their significance in various African societies (see e.g., Dzobo, 1973; 1997; 2006; Yankah, 1989a, b; Škara, 1997; Appiah et al., 2007; Tsra, 2005, on the universality of the proverb).[2] Various authors have pointed to their ubiquity and salience in interactional discourse and situations (e.g., Obeng, 1996; Hansford, 2003). Their rhetorical force and oratorical functions are represented in their characterization by Chinua Achebe in his novel *Things Fall Apart* as "the palm-oil with which words are eaten". Proverbs are semantically ambiguous. As such they are viewed as one of the linguistic forms through which "indirection" is achieved in communication (see e.g., Schotmann, 1993; Obeng, 1994). Finnegan (2012: 405) also observes that proverbs are used in African societies "as an oblique and allusive way of communication, as a form of expression with a certain educational relevance, as an artistic activity in its own right, or as all these at

E-mail address: mercybobuafor@gmail.com.
[1] Postal Address: University of Ghana, Department of Linguistics, P. O. Box LG61, Legon, Accra, Ghana, West Africa.
[2] The impression one gets from the literature is that proverbs are universally found in all African linguacultures. This is an exaggeration as the speech genre is not found in Khoisan languages and in some Nilotic languages, for example (see Finnegan, 2012). It appears that proverbs are rather absent in hunter-gatherer cultures. It is also reported that Australian Aboriginal languages also do not use proverbs (Yankah, 1999). As Yankah (1999: 205) put it: "The proverb is widespread, but surprisingly missing among a few cultures including Australian Aborigines, American Indians, and Bushmen in Southern Africa."

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once". The aesthetics of the proverbs is also acknowledged (cf. Yankah, 1989a). They are used and encountered in various genres such as songs and poetry, both traditional and modern forms such as pop-music, folktales as well as in slogans, sermons, advertising and in mass media productions. Knowledge and artful deployment of proverbs in social interaction is a mark of communicative competence in most African cultures.

In interactional discourse, be it of the formal or informal type (cf. Irvine, 1979), proverbs are used to serve various illocutionary functions such as giving advice, persuading, rebuking, ridiculing or strengthening an argument etc. They are deployed in contexts of conflict resolution, and in arbitration as well as in public speeches, in announcing deaths and funerals etc.

Proverbs are representations of a philosophy of a people, a rich source of cultural values; e.g. about gender relations (e.g., Schipper, 2003 on depictions of women in proverbs across the world; Aku-Sika, 2016 on Ewe; Ezeifeka, 2017 on Igbo). Eta and Mogu (2012) use proverbs to argue for epistemology in African philosophy. Proverbs also serve as a window on a society. Awedoba (2000), for instance, studies the Kasena society of northern Ghana and Burkina Faso through Kasem proverbs. Proverbs can thus be studied to reveal the cultural preoccupations and social structure of a group, e.g., proverbs pertaining to social relations.

Because of their high socio-cultural content, proverbs are a tool for socialization and for the transmission of traditional wisdom as well as the history and memory of the experiences upon which they are based (see Arewa and Dundes, 1964; and Penfield and Duru, 1988 on the use of proverbs in Igbo child socialization). As we shall see below, proverbs in Tafi and Ewe are not only used for the socialisation of children but they also relate to the regulation of social interaction norms of adults (see e.g. the discussion of the proverbs in (1) about emotional display).

The significance of proverbs for all aspects of the life of a people cannot be overemphasized. This becomes even more pertinent in the context of endangered languages such as Tafi where some of the proverbs and underlying metaphors might be fading away, and shifts might be occurring (see the contributions in Idström et al., 2012 and Piirainen and Sherris, 2015).

The goals of this paper are two-fold: First, to investigate the conceptual meaning, functions, contexts of use and cultural values of selected proverbial sayings in Tafi, an endangered Ghana-Togo Mountain language, and their counterparts in Ewe, a dominant lingua franca in southeastern Ghana. Second, to show that in a language contact situation such as the one involving Tafi and Ewe, proverbial messages come to be shared. I demonstrate that the Tafi proverbs analysed have counterparts in Ewe, the dominant lingua franca in Tafi communities. Given the intense yet asymmetric contact between Ewe and Tafi where virtually all speakers of Tafi are bilingual in Tafi and Ewe, but there are hardly any speakers of Ewe that use Tafi in the Tafi community, it can be argued that the Tafi proverbs discussed in this paper are calqued from the Ewe ones. The reason for saying so is that the corresponding proverbs in the two languages are very similar in their wording, their grammatical structure, their imagery and their functional contexts of application. As we shall see below, many of the proverbs in the two languages can be matched word for word. The study thus highlights the spread of proverbs as another form of routine expressions that come to be shared in a speech area (cf. Hymes, 1968; and Ameka, 1994, 2006). In the next section, I provide the language context introducing the Tafi people and their language and the contact with Ewe, as well as some typological features of both languages. Section 3 outlines the assumptions for the investigation of the significance of the selected proverbs and provides an analysis of the pairs of Tafi and Ewe proverbs that are counterparts pointing out the frames, messages and their status as part of folk wisdom. Section 4 draws attention to the co-construction of proverbs and Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. The language context

The Tafi live at the foot of the Togo Hills in the Ghana-Togo borderland in the Volta region in four communities: Agɔme, Mádɔ, Abuifé and Atome. Their immediate neighbours are the Nyangbo (to the south) Avatime and Logba (to the east) and the Ewe to the west. The Tafi together with the Nyagbo, Logba and Avatime constitute the Southern Ghana-Togo Mountain (SGTM) Languages group (Ameka 2017). The Tafi are an agricultural people cultivating crops mainly for subsistence, but also some cash crops such as oil palm and cocoa. Their language and some cultural practices are highly endangered largely because there is a growing decrease in intergenerational transmission. Schooling, urbanisation, new religions and mixed marriages are endangering the transmission of Tafi language and lore.

Speakers are highly multilingual and every Tafi speaker is bilingual in at least Tafi and Ewe (the dominant regional language). The variety of Ewe used in the community is Ewedomegbe (Inland Ewe) (Ansre, 2000) which is the variety also used in the Ewe examples. Ewe is the language of communication with their immediate neighbours and in commercial transactions in the market. It is also the language used in churches, especially the Ewe Bible and Ewe hymnals. Ewe is the medium used in health care centres in the Tafi area as well as in the neighbouring areas. Some speakers also have Akan and English in their repertoire. Tafi is not supported officially for use in the classroom. English is the official language and Ewe is taught as a school subject and is the medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school and in the kindergarten in the Tafi schools.

Tafi is also not used in mass media, e.g., radio or television. The languages used on the regional radio station are English, Ewe and Akan. The same languages are also available on the television in the Tafi area. In addition, though Tafi is spoken at home, most children speak Ewe in school and this is because they have to interact with other children who are not Tafi speakers (cf. Dorvlo, 2014). Contact with these languages has had an effect on the language itself as well as the linguistic practices of the speakers. Some forms of language used in Tafi speech, for example, some appelations for chiefs, are in Akan, while some dirges used at funerals are in Akan or Ewe. Speakers tend to code-mix a lot such that Tafi has a lot of borrowings from Ewe, Akan, and English. As we shall discuss below, some proverbs used by the Tafi seem to be based on the same imagery and the kind of recurrent experiential situation as well as being expressed in equivalent surface linguistic forms. Are such parallel expressions due to genetic inheritance or are they contact-induced? Due to the intense yet asymmetric contact

between Ewe and Tafi, and the pervasive use of Ewe by the Tafi, one cannot rule out the contact process of loan translation which may be playing a role with respect to the proverbs.

The Tafi data are based on a small corpus of proverbs collected during various periods of immersion fieldwork since 2007 in the Tafi area. The interpretations are derived from interview sessions, observed language use and practices and the deployment of the proverbs in folktale narrations. The English renditions of the Tafi proverbs discussed in the paper are provided by a principal research participant, Mr. Nelson Agbley who is a retired secondary school French teacher. To give voice to the community member, I have not modified the translations offered nor tried to align them with those of the Ewe proverbs. For Ewe, I consulted the collections of proverbs by Dzobo (1973, 1997, 2006) and Tsra (2005). I also relied on my "insider" knowledge of Ewe culture and native intuitions about the language. Unless otherwise stated, the interlinear and free translations of the Ewe proverbs are mine.

Before turning to the analysis of the proverbs, I want to draw attention to some typological features of Ewe (see e.g., Ameka, 2001) and Tafi (see Bobuafor, 2013: 8–10). Both languages belong to different subgroups of the Kwa (Niger–Congo) family. Tafi is a Ka-GTM language while Ewe is a Gbe language. From the point of view of typological features, the two languages have some similarities and differences. Tafi has a nine-vowel system with root-controlled Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) vowel harmony, as well as labial harmony triggered by the second person pronoun which has a rounded vowel. Ewe, on the other hand, has a seven-vowel system with mid vowels undergoing different height assimilation processes. In the Tafi examples we thus see high unadvanced ATR vowels *ɪ* and *ʊ*. Both languages are tone languages with Ewe having a two toneme system. In the linguistic orthography employed in the Ewe examples, the high tones are marked with an acute accent (ˊ). Rising and falling tones are phonetically derived. Tafi, by contrast, has three contrasting level tones and contrasting falling and rising tones. In addition to the high tones marked with the acute accent, the mid tones are also marked with the macron (¯). The low tones are left unmarked.

Tafi has an active noun class system with five singular and four plural classes as well as a non-count class. There is agreement between the noun head and some modifiers in the noun phrase: numerals and demonstratives. Subjects are also cross-referenced on the verb signaling agreement. This gives rise to an agglutinative with fusional morphology. By contrast, Ewe is an isolating language with some agglutination in derivational morphology. Both languages are SV and AVO languages. In double object constructions, the Dative argument occurs only in the immediate post-verbal position in Tafi. In Ewe, on the other hand, the Dative argument can occur before or after the Object argument.

Both languages have two classes of adpositions. Tafi has two prepositions, a general locative and a comitative preposition, and a number of postpositions that denote spatial parts and regions anchored to entities. Ewe has about half a dozen prepositions including locative and comitative ones, as well as two dozen or so postpositions. Impersonal constructions, as we shall see in example (1), are expressed by 3PL pronoun subject constructions in both languages. Both languages have serial verb constructions (SVC) although they differ in how the subject is marked on the verbs. In Tafi, the subject in an SVC is expressed once and cross-referenced on the subsequent verbs by agreement markers. In Ewe, the subject is expressed only once on the first verb in the series. Both languages have information structure constructions with distinct slots in the left periphery for frame topics, contrastive topics and focus, marked by particles, some of which are areal particles such as the exclusive particle *ko* 'only' as we shall see in some of the proverbs.

3. The significance and analysis of proverbs

As indicated above, proverbs are used in most African cultures. Many languages have terms for them that distinguish them from other speech genres or forms of verbal art. For the Tafi, the term for proverbs is *akpalɪ*. This term is distinct from the one for folktale, which is *ɔdzɪdzɪ*. The Tafi term for riddles is *adzyo*. Even though the term for proverbs and folktales seem to be indigenous Tafi terms, the riddle term is a borrowing from Ewe: the term for riddle in Ewe is *adzyo*. The Ewe term for folktale is *gli*, and that for proverb is *lódódó*. This is a nominalization of the delocutive verb phrase *dó ló* 'say/tell a proverb'. Anyidoho (1997: 131) suggests that there is a special Ewe proverbial form *abɛbúbú* which "is generally used only by the most skilled orators, mainly because it requires not only wisdom but superb verbal creativity". In fact, *abɛbúbú* is a nominalization also of the borrowed verb phrase *bú abɛ* literally, 'break proverb', from Akan. It is not surprising that it has been specialized for a particular type of proverbial form.

The significance of proverbs is usually talked about in terms of three components or levels (see e.g. Nwoga, 1975): (i) the textual or literal meaning, i.e that which is the surface form. This form can point to the imagery or analogy. (ii) the symbolic or generalised moral and cultural principle that is embodied in the proverb, and (iii) the contextual meaning. This last component relates to issues of pragmatic contextualisation, interdiscursive indexicality as well as the usage rules that govern its appropriate deployment in discourse (cf. Barber, 1999). These elements constitute the understandings of the significance of proverbs, and as White (1987: 152, cited in Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014:185) observed with respect to English proverbs, "certain key understandings make up a kind of kernel of proverb meaning, even though such meanings may be shifted or elaborated in particular contexts of use". The key understandings that make up the 'kernel of the meaning' of a proverb, as White puts it, is what we are concerned with. This kernel, I suggest, is roughly what Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014: 190) refer to as the content of the proverb which is made up of the recurrent situation that underlies the proverb, the proverbial advice and the proverbial analogy. These features make it possible for the proverb to be applied in particular contexts.

In explaining the proverbs, I adopt the semantic template for proverb meanings in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014: 190). It has a maximal five-part componential structure, two of which are constant for all proverbs: The first component spells out the genus of the proverb and is termed Traditionality. This component indicates that the proverb is constituted of more or less a fixed set of words which have been routinely used for a long time. The last component which is also constant for all proverbs is that which spells out their status as folk wisdom. The first and the last component are what

Goddard and Wierzbicka call the framing components (see Fig. 1). The remaining three components of the semantic template are kernel of the understandings of the proverbs (mentioned above). These are (i) the recurrent situation, i.e., the situation upon which the proverb is based, (2) the proverbial advice and (3) the proverbial analogy. Some maxim-like proverbs such as the Tafi proverb *kepi ko kepi* 'Home only home' discussed below lack the analogy component.

[a] TRADITIONALITY OF WORDS AND MESSAGE	Framing Section
[b] IDENTIFYING A RECURRENT SITUATION	Message Content
[c] PROVERBIAL ADVICE	
[d] PROVERBIAL ANALOGY	
[e] STATUS AS AN ITEM OF FOLK WISDOM	Framing Section

Fig. 1. Structure of semantic template for proverb meanings (see Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014:190).

For the description of the meanings of the proverbs I use Minimal English as developed by Goddard and Wierzbicka (Wierzbicka, 2014; Goddard, 2018). They characterise Minimal English as a language "for the elucidation of ideas and explanations of meanings-not only in scholarship but also in international relations, politics, ethics …, and in any context where it is important to explain precisely what one means." (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2018: 8–9).

Minimal English has a restricted vocabulary made up of (i) 65 semantic primes-words that are considered to have translation equivalents in all languages, including action words such as "do", and "say", time words such as "before" and "after", words for logical concepts such as "not", "because", "if" and "maybe", and words that describe qualities such as "good" and "bad". These words cannot be further explicated by using other words to define them. (ii) semantically complex words called semantic molecules that appear to have translations in many languages, but may not be universal, such as "men", "women", "sun", "sky", "teeth", "hard", and "hands". These are useful building blocks for other concepts. (iii) non-universal but useful words that are important in a local context and refer to concrete things and for the Ghanaian context can be words like "hometown", "village", "farm" and "soup". Given that the vocabulary is restricted some of the descriptions offered for the proverbs below may not sound as sophisticated to the English ear, but this facilitates explaining the culture-specific content to cultural outsiders as well as the translation into the languages for the cultural insiders to verify. Also, an anonymous reviewer finds the descriptions vague, but this is because proverb meanings like word meanings are vague. It is in their contexts of use that they get precision in vagueness. To demonstrate the representation of proverbs, consider the proposed explication of the message content of the English proverb M*ake hay while the sun shines* in NSM (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014: 192)[3]:

[A] *Make hay while the sun shines.*

a. for a long time before people said these words at many times TRADITIONALITY
   when they wanted to say something like this:
b. often it is like this: RECURRENT SITUATION
   someone wants to do something in a place
   this someone can't do it at this time because some other things aren't
   happening in this place at this time
c. when it is like this, it is good if this someone thinks like this: PROVERBIAL ADVICE
   "when these other things happen, they can happen for a short time
   because of this, when they happen it will be bad if I don't do it at this time"
   it is not good if this someone thinks like this: "I can do it after"
d. it is like this: PROVERBIAL ANALOGY
   when people in a place want to make [m] hay*,
   they can't do it if the sun [m] is not hot [m] above this place at the same time
   when the sun [m] is hot [m] above a place, it can be like this for a short
   time (not for a long time)
   because of this, it is good if people make [m] hay* at times like this,
   it is not good if they do something else
e. many people live for a long time STATUS AS FOLK WISDOM
   because of this, these people can know many things
   this is one of these things
   it can be good for someone if this someone thinks about this at some times.

[3] See Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014: 190ff for justification of the components. [m] by a word in the explication means that the word is a semantic molecule (as opposed to the primes) and an asterisk by a word such as hay means that it is not a universal term but belongs to the third category of terms in the restricted vocabulary of Minimal English, being a culturally important local term.

In the rest of the paper, I discuss the message content of some Tafi proverbs and their counterparts in Ewe pointing out the values they embody as well as their significance. The discussion is partly inspired by the NSM approach and the elements of the semantic template related to the message - the b, c, and d components in the explication above. I do not adopt the format of representation, although each component of the message that is relevant for the proverbs are discussed. The proverbs are discussed according to their focal functions as conceptual tools (Section 3.1); as tools for socialisation (Section 3.2); as pedagogical tools (Section 3.3); and as reflections of cultural practices (3.4). As a first illustration, before turning to the functions of the proverbs, consider the following Tafi proverb in (1a) and a parallel proverb in Ewe in (1b)[4]:

(1) a. Bétítsū oturoeleté ovutɔ́ ’éfú bʊpʊı lápʊı ɔlím̄ʔ.

bé-tí-tsū	o-turo	e-leté	o-vutɔ́	ki-fú
3PL-NEG-set	CM-lie	CM-owner	CM-roof	CM-fire
bʊ-pʊı	lá-pʊı	ɔlí	kɪmɪ	
CM-scatter	3PL.DEP-scatter	3SG.IND	inside	

‘We do not set fire to a dishonest person’s roof, we tear it apart.’

This is a saying that people have performed for a long time. Its content includes the recurring situation upon which it is based, namely, sometimes people do something bad and other people (community members) want to know why the person did it. After they have come to know why the person did it, they can do something to the person. The proverbial advice it contains is that one must thoroughly and patiently investigate the person who does something bad before doing anything to them. The proverbial analogy is one between instantaneous destruction of the roof or the house of the wrong doer, a liar, and the systematic tearing down of the roof or the house bit by bit to discover anything that this person may be hiding further. The tearing down bit by bit takes time and requires patience. This represents the kernel—the key understandings of the proverb.

A contextualized use of this proverb occurs in a folktale about a striped mouse who stole food reserved for a child. It so happened that one day, striped mouse's mother-in-law sent him to go and work for her on her farm. So, he called all his relations and his friends to accompany him. Lunch was prepared and all the animals were invited to come and eat. When the other animals like lion, elephant and monkey were having lunch, striped mouse indicated that he was not hungry because he was feeling shy of his mother-in-law and therefore, he didn't want to eat in her presence. So, although he was indeed feeling hungry, he said he was not feeling hungry as yet. He was doing this for his mother-in-law to see that he was industrious, so he continued working. Meanwhile some of the fufu[5] had been reserved for a child who was taking a nap. At a point in time, striped mouse was very hungry and as he went to sharpen his cutlass, he found the food reserved for the child. He went and took the food and ate when nobody was watching him. When the child woke up, his food was nowhere to be found. The animals did not want to lose face before their friend's mother-in-law. So, they decided that they would look for the fufu-thief through a trial by ordeal. Each of the animals present would pass under a huge falling trap and once the guilty animal passes under the trap he would be crushed. All the other animals went through the ordeal successfully. It was the turn of striped mouse. Each time he was asked to undergo the ordeal he would give an excuse. He was procrastinating. He would say: “I have to take my bath”; after that he would say, “I need to apply lotion to my body before I can come among people”. Another time he would say he would have to iron his clothes etc. etc. The other animals were patient with him and gave him as much time as he needed so that they could determine whether he was the culprit or not. This proverb was cited as the reason why the animals were patient with him and gave him all the time to get ready to undergo the ordeal. The predictions of the proverb were met. Eventually, striped mouse ran out of excuses to delay his trial and he failed the test. As he passed under the trap, he made an attempt to run out as the trap descended. The trap was made of palm branch stems. The thorns on the palm branch stems scratched his back, his tail and the middle of his head. This is used to explain why there are stripes on the skin of the striped mouse. The advice contained in the proverb relates to the need to investigate any misdemeanor thoroughly, and it suggests that patience with an accused person is a value that should be upheld.

There is a parallel proverb in Ewe with a similar structure and whose words and information structure can be matched. Consider the Ewe proverb in (1b) taken from Dzobo (1973: 93):

[4] In this paper, the Tafi examples are presented in four (4) lines. The first line represents the spoken form and shows word divisions. In the second line, the data is presented with hyphens (–) symbolising morpheme breaks. The morphs in the first line are fully spelt out as morphemes in the second line thus initial consonants and syllables deleted are presented in their recoverable forms. The interlinear gloss and a free English translation provided in single quotes are given in the third and fourth lines respectively.

[5] Fufu is a local staple food made from pounded tubers such as yam, cassava or cocoyam and plantain. It is eaten with soup.

(1) b. wó-mé-tɔ́-á dzo gbe*f*olá *f*é xɔ o,
3PL-NEG-stab-HAB fire liar POSS house NEG
ɖe wó-ka-nɛ
pFOC 3PL-scatter-HAB:3SG
'You do not set a liar's house on fire, you search it diligently.' (interlinear glosses and morphemic breaks added (MB))

Dzobo (1973:93) gives the moral teaching for the proverb as: "Patience and painstaking effort overcome certain difficulties." This is parallel to the proverbial advice proposed for the Tafi proverb. Dzobo further explains that one ought to painstakingly search the house of a dishonest person before setting fire to it, so that one can have a good record of its contents, otherwise the owner who is a liar can always claim other things to be there and the one who sets the fire will be held accountable. Thus, the message of the two proverbs are very similar. Moreover, and as noted earlier, the words in the versions of the two languages can be matched to a large extent. The Tafi version in (1a) uses the roof metonymically for house whereas the Ewe version in (1b) uses the basic term for house. In terms of structure, both languages use a complex sentence structure with the first clause providing the frame topic and the second clause has a predicate focus structure. Ewe marks its predicate focus in this context with the particle *ɖe* 'pFOC' while Tafi expresses it by fronting a copy of the verb to clause initial position and nominalising it. These parallels suggest a process of calquing from Ewe into Tafi. I argue that this is the pattern of transfer as there are Tafi-Ewe bilinguals and hardly any Ewe-Tafi bilinguals due to the asymmetric nature of the contact between the two languages. The same arguments can be given for the pairs of corresponding proverbs discussed in the subsequent sections.

3.1. Proverbs as conceptual tools

Proverbs are tools for achieving various functions in lingua-cultures. Some proverbs are conceptual tools for representing salient cognitive and perceptual features (cf. Honeck, 2013). One such proverb is the Tafi proverb given in (2a) with its Ewe counterpart in (2b). In order to draw out the parallels in wording and structure in the two proverbs, the forms and interlinear glosses are presented and then the free translation is given.

(2)a. Ɔtsrĭ kuusū nɪ ɔlí tíyíyékē. Tafi
ɔ-tsrĭ kuusū nɪ ɔlí tí-yí-yékē
CM-leg small COM 3SG.IND CM-RED.swell

b. Afɔ ví kplí wó te-te Ewe
leg small COM 3SG:POSS RED-swell
'A small leg and the extent to which it can be swollen' i.e., a small leg swells according to its size.'

These proverbs are based on the observation that a foot or leg's swelling is proportional to its size. The proverbial advice contained in these proverbs is that if one wants to do something (especially good) one does it according to one's capacities and possibilities. The message of these proverbs is similar to the one contained in the English saying "Cut your coat according to your size."

It is striking that the structure of the proverb in both languages is very similar. The utterances are comitatively conjoined noun phrases. The first NP is a simple noun phrase comprising the noun head and an adjective 'small' in both languages. The second NP in both languages is a possessive phrase with the possessor pronoun referring to the first NP while the possessed NP is a deverbal nominal in both languages. They are verbless clauses. They are similar in usage as well. For Ewe, Dzobo (1997:2) suggests that the proverb may be used in two ways: "It can be used to tell people to appreciate the contribution of others, however small they may be. It is also used as a warning to people not to attempt what is beyond their powers." Similar contexts may call for the use of the proverb in Tafi. One of my Tafi consultants explained the ethical principle of the proverb as "to everything, there is a standard by which people measure it".

3.2. Proverbs as tools for socialisation

Proverbs are used as a tool for socialisation not only as a didactic tool for children but also as a means of regulating the social behaviour of adults. For instance, in both Tafi and Ewe there are proverbs that warn against the public display of bad feelings by people who are considered to be above others (elders) in the communities. Consider the following proverbs.

(3)a. Anɔ shishe átínyınyā 'mī, kıbhım y'ányınyāʔ. Tafi

a-nɔ	shi-she	á-tí-nyınyā	a- mī	
CM-person	RED-grow	SM-NEG-frown	CM-face	
kı-bhım	yí	á-nyınyā		
CM-anus	3SG.IND	SM-frown		

b. Ame.tsi.tsi mé-yɔ-ɔ ŋkú.me o Ewe

person.elder	NEG-frown-HAB	face	NEG
gbi	wò-yɔ-ɔ		
buttocks	3SG-frown-HAB		

'An elder does not frown his/her face, it is the buttocks he/she squeezes.'

Note again the word-for-word matching as shown in the examples and the identity of the literal translation. The information structure is also similar, the frame topic is a prohibition expressed by the negative and the comment part is a clause in which the object is fronted for focus. The parallels here again point to calquing in an asymmetric contact situation. These proverbs can be seen as being culturally prescriptive and providing guidelines as to how a person with status should go about expressing their feelings especially bad feelings in public (cf. Grzybeck, 1994 on the semiotics of proverbs). The message content can be roughly paraphrased in Minimal English as follows:

[B]

a. for a long time before people said these words at many times TRADITIONALITY
when they wanted to say something like this:
b. often it is like this: RECURRENT SITUATION
often someone does something bad.
When one thinks about this bad thing,
one feels something.
Because of this, this person does something to the face at the same time.
Because of this, other people can see that this person is feeling something bad.
c. when this happens to someone people think of it like this: PROVERBIAL ADVICE
this person is above other people
it is good if this person does not do anything to their face
This person can do something to another part of their body,
other people cannot see this other part
Because of this people will not know that this person is feeling something bad
it is good if people who are thought of as above other people can do this
d. When one feels something bad one can show it PROVERBIAL ANALOGY
on a part of the body people can see
Because of this people can know what a person feels
When one feels something bad one can do something to another part of the body
people cannot see
Because of this people cannot know what a person feels

The proverbial advice contained in these sayings is that elders or respected people should not show their negative emotions in public. They should hide any such feeling especially from those who hold them in high esteem. This is like a cultural script for emotional display which works on the analogy between frowning one's face which people can see and squeezing one's bottom which people cannot see.

This pair of proverbs reflect a cultural expectation of display of feelings in public and points to a value of not showing bad feelings in public, especially of people in authority.

While the proverbs in (3) relate to the display of bad feelings in public, the next pair of proverbs which are also used as tools for socialisation relate to the interdependence between members of a social unit such as a family, a village or an entire ethnolinguistic group. Consider the proverbs in (4).

(4)a. Ɔtsrí kɔkʊlɔ̃ ɔl'ɔ́vɔ aput'otiti ɔdzyʊdzyɔ ní. Tafi

ɔ-tsrí	kɔkʊlɔ̃	ɔlí	ɔ́-vɔ	
CM-foot	crooked	3SG.IND	SM-be.smeared.with	
a-putɔ́	o-titi	ɔ-dzyʊdzyɔ	ní	
CM.PL-mud	SM-smear	CM-straight	DEF	

'It is the crooked leg that smears the straight one with mud.'

b. Afɔ gɔ́-glɔ̃́-ɛ̃́ yé fa-a ba Ewe

leg	RED-crooked-DEF	FOC	be.smeared.with-HAB	mud
ʃú-ná	dzyɔ-dzyɔ-ɛ		ŋu	
strike-HAB	RED-straight-DEF		outer.surface	

'It is the crooked leg that smears the straight one with mud.'

The two proverbs again can be matched word for word as well as in information structure. The first NP is marked for focus in the versions of the two languages. The proverbs are structurally SVCs. They are based on an observation that one can walk with two legs in a muddy place without being smeared with mud. However once one leg goes astray, i.e., is not straight, then it causes mud to be smeared on the other leg. The imagery is that because of the crooked nature of one leg, the other leg, the straight one gets mud splashed onto it. There is also the idea that to move on, the two legs have to work in unison and not one going astray, being crooked. The message of the proverbs involves a recurrent situation where people who can be thought of as being part of the same unit, e.g., a family, engage in various activities. When these people want to do things, they should think that whatever they do reflects on the group as a whole. Because of this, they should strive to do only good things. The proverbial advice is that when one member of the group goes astray or does something bad, it affects the other members as well. The proverbs admonish people to behave appropriately in order not to soil the name or reputation of the socio-cultural unit to which they belong. One of my Tafi consultants interpreted the proverb as "The misdeeds of a bad relation will have an adverse effect on an innocent one".

These proverbs reflect the premium that is placed on group or social face in these communities like other African societies (Nwoye, 1992; De Kadt, 1998). Social or group face concerns the idea that people who belong to a group, be it family, clan or the ethno-cultural group at large, lose face, i.e., their faces die literally, when one member of the group does something that is not socially approved of. This cultural value is what is enshrined in the proverbs in (4). These proverbs are used in advice as well as for didactic purposes in socialisation.

3.3. Proverbs as pedagogical tools

Some proverbs are based on observations of things happening in the environment and which provide the basis of life lessons. These tend to be used to advice people who find themselves in situations that call forth the proverbs. Thus, the pair of

(5)a. Ɔkɔ́ tóɖúkpó láshɔ̄ ’elú g’lʊbɛ ’ɛfɔ́. Tafi

ɔ-kɔ́ to-ɖukpó lá-shɔ̄

CM-place AM-one 3PL.DEP-urinate

be-lú gɪ lʊ-bá kɪ-fɔ́

3PL-put.down REL 3SG.DEP-come CM-lather

‘It is by urinating at one place that lather is formed.’

b. Teƒé ɖeká wó=ɖɔ́-á aɖuɖɔ́ ɖé-e Ewe

place one 3PL=put.on-HAB urine ALL-3SG

wò=tsó-a fú

3SG=rise-HAB lather

‘It is one place one urinates and it foams’.

proverbs in (5) are used to advice people who cannot concentrate on one task at a time. The proverbs in both languages have similar wording and are based on the same observation of happenings in the physical world.

The observation of the real-world situation is that lather is created when one urinates at one spot. If one moves about as one urinates no lather is formed. The essential message of these proverbs can be paraphrased in [C] as follows: From here on, as the traditionality and folk wisdom components are constant for all proverbs, they are left out of the explications.

[C]

a. sometimes people want to do something RECURRENT SITUATION
at the same time, they want to do different things.
Because of this they may not be able to do what they want
b. When one wants to do something one should do that thing alone PROVERBIAL
one should not do other things at the same time ADVICE
c. when one does this, one can finish doing what they want to do
d. It is like this: PROVERBIAL ANALOGY
If someone urinates at one place on the ground for some time
After some time, one can see something white in the same place
It is the same as
If someone wants to do something
If they do the same thing for some time
After some time one can know this: this person did something they wanted to do

The analogy and imagery involved relates to how one urinates at one spot and obtains foam. If one is doing different things, it is comparable to urinating in different places and this does not achieve the goal of having lather formed, that is, the goal of what one wants is not achieved. In a sense these proverbs advise to concentrate on one task at a time.

Another pair of proverbs in both Tafi and Ewe which have very similar wording and structure is given in (6). These proverbs are used to show the importance of one's hometown and to advice people not to neglect their native hometowns no matter how rural or underdeveloped it may be. They are used to enjoin community members to be proud of their hometown.

These proverbs use the rhetorical device of tautology. The structure of the proverbs in the two languages is where the heads of the two juxtaposed NPs are the same and the first NP contains the exclusive intensifier *ko* ‘only’ which is used across the two languages. One difference between the two languages lies in the use of a focus marker to mark the comment part of

(6)a. Kepí ko kepí. Tafi

ke-pí ko ke-pí

CM-home only CM-home

‘Home is home.’ (i.e., There is no place like home.)

b. Aƒé ko aƒé=é Ewe

home only home=FOC

‘Home is home.’

the tautology in Ewe. There is no such marker in the Tafi expression. By and large the words in the two proverbs can also be matched, indicating a loan translation process.

As Wierzbicka (2003: 446) notes tautologies are "like convenient all-purpose vessels, into which 'basic truths' can be poured". She adds that these basic truths vary from culture to culture. A basic truth about African cultures is that people have a special affinity to a place which they view as their native home. This is a place which is their parental heritage and to which their lineage and clan belong. Various practices attest to the special importance attached to a hometown, in particular, many people think that it is a good thing if one is buried in a place they call their hometown. The recurrent situation upon which these proverbs are based is one where sometimes people can harbour negative attitudes and thoughts about their hometown. These proverbs are maxims and as such they lack an analogical component (cf. Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014: 193). The proverbial advice is that a place that one calls the hometown is always home and has to be accorded the respect and attitude it deserves. No other place is as good as one's hometown. It is good if one thinks of this place as a very good place.

There are other sayings in the languages which give specific instructions about how to relate to one's hometown. For instance, in Ewe there is the proverb in (6c):

(6)c.	Wó-mé-tsɔ́-á	mia	fiá-á	ame	de	o.
	3PL-NEG-take-HAB	left	show-HAB	person	hometown	NEG

'One does not use the left hand to point to one's hometown.'

Dzobo (2006; xiv) notes that proverbs like this simply state a prohibition on behaviour. He indicates that the approved behaviour implied in the proverb in (6c) is "Be proud of the village or country of your origin and do not be ashamed of it or downgrade it." Pointing to your hometown with the left hand would amount to downgrading or not showing respect to it. The cultural meaning of the left hand in many cultures, including Ghanaian lingua-cultures is that it is a dirty hand and it is impolite or an insult to use it in interaction including using it to point (see e.g. Kita and James, 2001). Thus, it is contemptuous to point to one's hometown with the left hand. The proverb has an evaluative meaning and moral truth about the hometown which is being conveyed also in the proverbs in (6a) and (6b) through tautologies in both Tafi and Ewe.

The pairs of proverbs discussed so far from both Tafi and Ewe have all been based on the same elements and structures. The pair of proverbs in (7) however differ in structure and in the standard of comparison upon which the analogy is based. Compare the two proverbs below:

(7)a.	Banɔ́dzyrámī	telí	'ídī	ozi	oo.	Tafi
	ba-nɔ́dzyrámī	te-lí	kí-dī	o-zi	oo	
	CM.PL-human.being	AM-INDEF	CM-type	CM-hole	UFP	
	'Some human beings are deep pits.'					
b.	amegbetɔ́	nyé	tɔ	go-glo		Ewe
	human.being	COP	river	RED-deep		
	'A human being is a deep river.'					

The Tafi expression is made up of two NPs which are just juxtaposed and the utterance is completed with an utterance final particle whose illocutionary force is to draw an interlocutor's attention to the statement. The first NP serves as a Topic and the second as the Comment. By contrast the Ewe expression is a copular clause with the two NPs linked by the equative copula. Both expressions involve a comparison of similarity or resemblance, and in both expressions a human being is likened to something

which is deep. In Tafi, it is a pit and in Ewe it is a river. The imagery and analogy are thus similar. One difference between the two proverbs is that the Tafi one is predicated only about some people while the Ewe one is stated as a general truth about humans.

The message of the proverbs in both languages is very similar. It can be roughly paraphrased as follows:

[D]

a. sometimes when people do some things, RECURRENT SITUATION
other people do not know why they do them
b. one cannot know what a person thinks PROVERBIAL ADVICE
because of this one should not think like this:
I can know what other people think
c. It is like this: PROVERBIAL ANALOGY
If there is something deep
When one looks inside it, one cannot see the bottom part of it
One can think of a person like this:
A person can be bad
One cannot know all things about a person

The analogy and imagery is that just as one cannot see the bottom of a deep pit (Tafi) or a deep river, so one cannot also know everything about other people. The extreme depth of the pit or the river is meant to indicate danger. The comparison is meant to point to the idea that a person is dangerous. Therefore, one needs to be extra careful when dealing with people. With respect to the Ewe proverb, Tsra (2005:24) suggests a context of use, namely, that it is used for "people who do not tell the truth".

3.4. Proverbs and cultural practices

Proverbs tend to be generalisations over a community's experiences. The next two pairs of proverbs use concrete images related to cooking (and eating) to imply some cultural values that are viewed as basic truths by the Tafis and Ewes. The cultural activity in (8) relates to roasting on hot coals. Typically, in these communities, one way of preparing food items like tubers of yam or cassava and plantain or maize on the cob is to put them in direct contact with hot coals (see Bobuafor, 2018 for a description of the lexicalisation of this process in Kwa languages of Ghana). The observation which is being represented is that when one is preparing such food items in this way one can only be sure that they are well done if one allows them to be slightly burnt. The Tafi proverb in (8a) has a close Ewe counterpart as shown in (8b).

(8)a Ónúgɪ ɔsí atɪtanyí ní étíbebí?. Tafi

ónú.gɪ ɔ-sí a-tɪ-tanyí ní

COND 2SG.DEP-say 3SG-NEG-burn TOP

é-tí-be-bí

3SG-NEG-FUT-be.well.cooked

'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or well-cooked.'

b. Né è=bé má-a-fiá o lá Ewe

COND 2SG=say 3SG.NEG-POT-burn NEG TOP

má-a=bí o

3SG.NEG-POT=be.cooked NEG

'If you do not want it to be burnt, it will not be cooked.'

The recurrent situation associated with these proverbs is that sometimes people want to do some things and to accomplish them. Sometimes when this happens people do not want any obstacle to stop them from achieving their goal. At the same time, people want only good things to happen when they are doing these things. The proverbial advice is that if one wants to achieve good results one should sacrifice one's pleasures over and above what one would expect and know that these sacrifices lead to good results. As a Tafi consultant interpreted it: "To gain anything, one must be prepared to make some sacrifice".

It is noteworthy that the structure of the expression in both Tafi and Ewe is very similar: The expressions comprise a conditional protasis which is marked in both languages as a scene-setting topic followed by the consequence clause. Like in

the other cases, it is not clear if this is a case of proverb calquing between Ewe and Tafi or it is the case of the spread of conceptual proverbs in the cultural area. One way of addressing this issue is to investigate whether proverbs with similar structure and wording are used in the other languages in the area. For instance, if there are such proverbs in Ga or Akan, one might conclude that it is an areal proverb. However, if we do not find such parallels then the potential of loan translation between Ewe and Tafi cannot be ruled out. The proverbs can be used in a situation for example where one is advising a student to sacrifice some pleasures and study hard in order to achieve success in schooling.

A second set of proverbs related to the cultural practice of cooking and eating are also close in structure and form, as can be seen in (9).

(9)a. Ɔ́sí oní ní g'ɔ̌sísí ní kɪbhlʊxɔ́níésí lɔtɪsísɪ̄ ɔdo 'iesí so ótimínī ɔlí ní ɔg'ɔkpasí Tafi
kɪbhlʊxɔ́nímī bʊbalɪ lɔ́balɪ kú anɔ amɪ̄ʔ.

ɔ́-sí	o-ní	ní	gɪ	ɔ́-sísí	
2SG-say	CM-soup	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-drip	
ní	kɪ-bhlʊxɔ́	ní	ke.sí	lɔ-tɪ-sísɪ̄	
LOC	CM-ladle	DEF	under	3SG.DEP-NEG-drip	
ɔ-dɔ́	ke.sí	so	ó-ti-mínī	ɔlí	ní
SM-fall	under	so	2SG.DEP-DESID-lick	3SG	TOP
ɔ-gɪ	ɔ-kpasí	kɪ-bhlʊxɔ́	ní	kʊmɪ	
3SG-REL	SM-be.in	CM-ladle	DEF	inside	
bʊ-balɪ	lɔ́-balɪ	kú	a-nɔ̃	a-mī	
CM-pour	3SG.DEP-pour	ALL	CM-person	CM-face	

'If you insist that drips of soup under the ladle should not drop and you want to lick it as well, the soup in the ladle will spill into your eyes.'

b. Né è-bé tsyí gɔme-tɔ má-a-gé o lá Ewe
If 2SG-say ladle under-one NEG-POT-drop NEG TOP
é-dzí-tɔ ɖe wò-*ƒ*ú-á gbe ɖé
3SG-top-one pFOC 3SG-contact-HAB bush ALL
ŋkú.me ná ame
face DAT person

'If you do not want the soup under the ladle to drip, the one inside it pours out onto one's face.'

The experience or real world situation on which the proverbs are based is that when you ladle some soup, some of the soup that sticks to the bottom of the ladle may be dripping and in an attempt to save it you might end up spilling the bit that is in the bowl of the ladle. The recurrent situation that the proverbs evoke is that sometimes people have something. They do not want to lose an iota of what they have. In an attempt to protect every bit of the thing, they may lose a more significant part of the thing. The proverbial advice as well as the cultural value entailed is that one should not be greedy. That is, one should not want more and more of things. The analogy that is invoked relates to a comparison of droplets of soup to a whole bowl of soup where in an attempt to get more of the soup from under the ladle you might end up losing everything. The lesson is that greed is not good.

4. Proverb performance: Co-constructing proverbs

There is a debate in folklore about what is involved in the enactment of proverbs in social interaction and in other folkloric genres. Some like Yankah (1989a) would argue it is performance and metaphor. Others like Barber (1999) draw attention to their quotation as part of prepatterned formulaic utterances. Cram (1983), for instance, thinks that proverbs are lexical elements with a quotational status. As such they are utterances that invite comment, analysis and assessment. People judge whether a proverb is used in an appropriate context or not.

There is an aspect of proverb performance which has been less attended to and it is the situation where two interlocutors co-construct the proverb in discourse. This draws on various properties of proverbs. First, proverbs tend to be part of the

communicative knowledge of communities of practice. Second, proverbs tend to have fragments which are indicative of the full utterance. The majority of proverbs have a bipartite structure and both parts can function as proverb fragments. Most of the proverbs we have discussed have such bipartite structure. Recall that for most of the proverbs there is a topic part and a comment part, sometimes explicitly indicated by lexicogrammatical means. This structure allows interactants to co-construct them. The co-construction performance of proverbs typically works like this: Because of their quotational status, speakers know and recognise proverbs of their language. During an interaction, a speaker may invoke or quote a proverb fragment, typically the topic part, then an interlocutor may complete the proverb with the comment fragment. For instance, consider the full Tafi proverb in (10a). It has two parts, a topic part and a comment part. A speaker may cite the topic part, and the interlocutor completes it, as illustrated in (10b) and (10c).

(10) a. Kɪtɔkpú tíza ákpíkpá pɪ layíkɔ kikutú ekumú ’íkuísí?. Tafi

kɪ-tɔkpú tí-za ákpíkpá pɪ

CM-head NEG-stay empty CONN

la-yíkɔ ki-kutú be-kumú kí-kuísí

3PL.DEP-take CM-hat SM-cover CM-knee

‘We do not put the cap on the knee while the bare head lies waiting.’

b. Speaker A intones the topic fragment:

kɪ-tɔkpú tí-za ákpíkpá

CM-head NEG-stay empty …

‘The head does not stay empty (i.e. without a covering) ….’

c. Speaker B completes the utterance with the comment:

pɪ la-yíkɔ ki-kutú be-kumú kí-kuísí

CONN 3PL.DEP-take CM-hat SM-cover CM-knee

‘And one uses the hat to cover the knee.’

Similarly, the two fragments of the Ewe counterpart of the proverb can be performed by two interlocutors in a sort of call and response pattern. The full Ewe proverb is provided in (11a) while the two fragments are presented in (11b) and (11c) respectively.

(11) a. Ta mé-nɔ-a anyí Ewe

Head NEG-be.at:NPRES-HAB ground

klo ɖɔ́-á kúkú o

knee put.on-HAB hat NEG

‘If the head is there, the knee cannot wear the hat.’

b. Speaker A intones the topic fragment

Ta mé-nɔ-a anyí Ewe

Head NEG-be.at:NPRES-HAB ground

‘The head cannot be there ….’

c. Speaker B completes the proverb

klo ɖɔ́-á kúkú o

knee put.on-HAB hat NEG

‘And the knee wears the hat.’

The conceptual underpinnings of the pair of proverbs are the same but the forms here are a bit different. Nevertheless, they are based on a cultural practice of how and where one wears the hat. A hat is worn on the head, so when the head is available, the hat should be worn on it. I think the analogy to the knee is based on a practice where when one takes off one's hat, e.g., for politeness reasons, one hangs it over the knee. The recurrent situation is that sometimes when there is someone who should carry out a particular task, people sometimes want someone else to do it. The proverbial advice is that one should let the appropriate person do the things that are required. The analogy is that one wears the appropriate clothing on the appropriate body part.

The co-construction of proverbs in performance has the effect of creating an adjacency pair of the two fragments of the proverb. It is similar to the pattern of call and response displayed in the performance of praise names or appellations (Agbedor, 2008). Praise names also have a bipartite structure and especially if addressed to the bearer of the praise name have a call-response pattern. The caller intones the praise name and the addressee responds by completing the appellation. Agbedor (2008:5) in discussing the performance of such names in Ewe notes that when two people (A and B) meet and A calls to B by uttering part of the full name, B responds by completing the discourse. (12a), for instance, exemplifies the full discourse of the praise name. (12b) is the initial part of the praise name (the call) and (12c) is the response.

(12) a. Gbeve mé-nyi-a vi o Ewe

Voice.two NEG-raise-HAB child NEG

à-vá-gblɛ́ vi ná vi-tɔ́

2SG:POT-VENT-spoil child DAT child-owner

'Two voices do not raise a child, you will spoil the child for the owner (parent)'

b. Speaker A calls out to Speaker B

Gbeve mé-nyi-a vi o Ewe

Voice.two NEG-raise-HAB child NEG

'Two voices do not raise a child, ...'

c. Speaker B responds by completing

à-vá-gblɛ́ vi ná vi-tɔ́

2SG:POT-VENT-spoil child DAT child-owner

'you will spoil the child fo the owner (parent)'

(Adapted from P. Agbedor 2008: 5).

The co-construction of proverbs in discourse is a manifestation of a performace strategy which applies to other genres such as praise names. The co-construction involves a completion of an intoned fragment. This is possible because of conventionality and the shared knowledge of the structure and form of the relevant proverb or name.

5. Conclusion

In the foregoing, I have examined the message content of pairs of proverbs from Tafi and Ewe, two languages that are in contact. I have outlined the situation that may engender the proverbs, the advice they contain and the analogy or imagery that is embodied in them. I have discussed the proverbs in terms of their use as tools for socialisation, for representing perceptual conceptualisations, for pedagogic purposes and for reinforcing and articulating cultural practices as well as cultural values. The argument is that the messages or significance of the proverbs as outlined are the kernel meanings of the proverbs on the basis of which they are deployed in specific contexts in interaction. I have highlighted two features of the proverbs: first, since the Tafi proverbs and the Ewe proverbs share similar information structures and wording, it is suggested that the Tafi proverbs seem to be calques of the Ewe ones or the conceptual patterns may have spread in the Ghanaian or West African cultural area. This raises the question of how to explain the similarity of the proverbs that occur in Ewe and Tafi which are historically related as Kwa languages and therefore could have inherited from a parent language. Or are the similarities to be explained as being contact-induced, as these languages are in close asymmetric contact? The extent of the spread of such similar proverbs in the southern Ghana linguistic area is an issue to be further investigated. Finally, I drew attention to the performance of proverbs involving co-construction between the interactants using proverb fragments. I noted that the members of a community of practice know the proverbs so once a speaker intones it, the interlocutor can complete it. I also

noted that other genres such as praise names are also co-constructed. The articulation of this in everyday discourse deserves further investigation, but the co-construction of proverbs does involve the joint creation of form, and to some extent of ideology and of identity.

Abbreviations

AM	Agreement Marker
CM	Class marker
CMPL	Class marker (plural)
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complementiser
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DEP	Dependent
DISJ	Disjunctive
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
IND	Independent
INDEF	Indefinite
INTJ	Interjection
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative
PERF	Perfective
pFOC	predicate focus
PL	Plural
POT	potential
PROX	Proximal
PRSPROG	Present progressive
RED	Reduplicative
REL	Relative marker
REP	Repetitive marker
VENT	ventive
1PL	First person plural
2SG	Second person plural
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
SM	Subject marker
TOP	Topic marker

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None.

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Mercy Bobuafor (PhD, Leiden University, 2013) is a senior lecturer in the Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana, Legon. Her research interests are in language documentation and description, lexicography, and anthropological linguistics. She focuses on Kwa languages especially, Ewe and Gbe languages, Tafi and other Ghana-Togo Mountain languages. She has done immersion fieldwork among the Tafi and has published a grammar and other articles on the syntax and semantics of the language. She is a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies-African Humanities Program (ACLS-AHP), 2018–2019, and currently a Visiting Fulbright Scholar (ARSP), 2020–2021, at the University of Florida.