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A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania

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Website Helen Eaton: <http://www.drhelenipresume.com> [See “Papers & Conferences” for references and links]

Appendix: Texts

The following is a selection of the oral texts that have been collected during the field research trips:

- 1) “Hare and Civet cat” (animal story; speaker J. Majua⁸²)
- 2) “The construction of a beehive and the collection of honey” (procedural text; speaker J. Majua)
- 3) “The hospital” (dialogue; speakers J. Majua and A. Kanuti)
- 4) Two sayings with explanation (speaker P. Nangile)

For each text the same procedure was followed. First, the consultant was asked to prepare a specific type of oral text. The text was then performed (by heart) during a regular fieldwork session, i.e. without further audience. The performance was recorded on mini disc and audio tape, and, in some cases, on digital video tape as well.⁸³ After the recording, the texts were played back and transcribed, glossed, and translated in Swahili during one or more sessions, together with the consultant(s). Most utterances were checked again and used as input for further fieldwork sessions.

The texts are presented as follows: in each set of three lines, the first line is the transcription in Sandawe. Sandawe transcriptions in square brackets are part of the original recording, but were removed by the consultant at the time of playing back and transcribing the recording. The second line contains an interlinear translation with glosses for each identifiable element. The third line is a near-literal translation in English; parts in brackets are added for clarification. See section 1.4 for further information on the orthography and annotation conventions, glossing conventions and gloss list, and a morpheme list. Additional remarks are presented in footnotes.

As far as possible, one line represents one utterance or clause. If space does not permit to show an utterance on one line, a new, indented paragraph is used for the remainder of the utterance.

⁸² A profile of the consultants is given in section 1.3.

⁸³ The recording equipment consisted of a portable mini disc recorder (Sony MZ-N710), a portable cassette recorder (Sony TCM-400DV), and a uni-directional stereo electret condenser microphone (Sony ECM-717). Additional video recordings were made on Mini DV cassettes using a digital video recorder with an internal microphone.

1. Hare and Civet cat

Hare and Civet cat is a story in which Hare tricks his friend Civet cat over and over again. He strips off his skin, scares Civet cat by running at him naked so that he leaves the meat rack, and eats all the roasted meat. One day, Civet cat finds out, takes away Hare's skin and runs. Hare then dries out in the hot sun and dies.

láá?è hàà nìmà
hare and civet_cat
Hare and Civet cat.

ʔútáá láá?è hàà nìmà ʔàà ʔúr=àʔà-ŋ màámá-ŋkí
long_ago hare and civet_cat CNJ2.3PL very=3PL-VL⁸⁴ be_friends-REC
Long ago, Hare and Civet cat had a strong friendship.

hèsó ʔyáʔáʔbô-ŋ ʔúrì-n=sìʔi !'ín-ó dǵaní-ʔiŋ
they POSS.work-DEF very-VL=TOP2 hunt-NMN arrow-INSTR
Their work was mainly hunting with arrows,

màkíʔá-ʔiŋ tìn-ó |'úmú kù-ʔiŋ tìn-ó
stone_trap-INSTR (POSS.)set_trap-NMN waist (POSS.)rope-INSTR (POSS.)set_trap-NMN
setting (bird) traps with stones and setting traps with ropes.

híy-àʔǵ tsùú=ʔà húk'wà=ìʔi ʔàà dzàdzàsé-é nì-ŋ ɲíʔì
SUB:CNJ-3PL animal=3PL kill=SUB CNJ2.3PL roast.FACT-3O CNJ-CL eat_meat
Once they killed an animal, they roasted it and ate meat.

hèsó ʔmántshà-ŋ bàʔá-s-ê-ŋ hèwé
they POSS.food-DEF big-BE-3-DEF he
This was their main food.

ɲ!è ts'éxì ʔàà tsùú=ʔà húk'wà-á,
day one CNJ2.3PL animal=3PL kill-3O
One day they killed an animal,

||'é-ʔéwá-á ʔàà dzàdzàsé-é nì-ŋ phàmpàsé-é
skin-PL1-3O CNJ2.3PL roast.FACT-3O CNJ-CL cut_meat_to_pieces.FACT-3O
skinned it, roasted it and cut it in pieces.

⁸⁴ The presence of the verbal linker **-ŋ** on **ʔúrì** 'very', in combination with a main verb is common. In these cases **ʔúrì** is interpreted as an operator verb (see section 7.1), which expresses intensity.

nà=ʔà-ŋ ɲ!átháŋg-é-ŋ ʔàànákhà-á
 CNJ=3PL-CL dice-3O-VL (VV.)spread_out-3O
 And they diced it and spread it out (to dry in the sun).

ɲ!ŋ hŋgɛ-xê-ŋ ʔàà dzàdzàs-ímá-á
 meat other-COLL-DEF CNJ2.3PL roast.FACT-IT.PL1-3O
 They roasted the rest of the meat.

||dóxì ɲ!ŋ láá ||'iné-wà=tshèé=sìŋ kwàà lááʔè-ŋ máx-ó=à !'dówé
 not_yet meat well ripen-PL2=NEG1.3=TOP2 CNJ2.3 hare-DEF be_clever-NMN=3 find.3O
 The meat had not yet been roasted well, or the hare got clever,

ɲ!ŋ tshíyà ɲ!j-ʔíwá-á-sàkmèènts'=à dzàdzàs-ímá-á-tò-ŋ
 meat all eat_meat-PL1-3O-???⁸⁵=3 roast.FACT-IT.PL1-3O-NMN:PAT-DEF
 he planned to eat all the meat that was roasted.

pàà nìmà-n-ts'=à káʔá
 CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF-LOC=3 that
 So he said to the civet cat:

wàré dzàdzàsé=kò ʔíyé-ŋ ʔíswê |í-sì
 friend:m roast.FACT=2SG:OPT stay:SG-VL now come:SG-1SG:NR
 “My friend, go on roasting, I will come back right now”.

kwàà káʔá ʔááreyò wàré
 CNJ2.3 that all_right friend:m
 And he replied: “All right my friend”.

lááʔè híy-à hík'=ìŋ nì-ŋ !'wáá-tà=à ɲ||éé
 hare SUB:CNJ-3 go:SG=SUB CNJ-CL pool-in=3 enter
 When Hare left, he arrived at a pool.

ʔò-ʔò=sìŋ pàà hewé kèlèmbâ-ŋg=à swáá
 here-LOC=TOP2 CNJ2.3 he (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 strip_off.3O
 Here he stripped off his skin

nì-ŋ ts'á-tà-nà=à ||wáá kwàà mèé 'ɲ|ínk'è
 CNJ-CL water-in-DIR=3 hide.3O CNJ2.3 NEG:OPT dry_out
 and hid it in the water, so that it would not dry out.

⁸⁵ -sàkmèèn is a (deverbal) morpheme complex, which expresses ‘with the intention of’. The exact form and meaning of the individual elements are unclear.

wétsháná=yóóó pàà thā-ŋŋg=à khwàà

NARR:INTJ=EXCL CNJ2.3 run:SG-INSTR=3 return

Hear! And he returned running,

||ô-ŋŋg-nà=à dzàdzàsé-wà-ts'ê-ŋ ŋŋin-tè-nà
over_there-LOC-DIR=3 roast.FACT-PL2-REL-DEF meat-area-DIR
over there where the meat was roasted.

híy-à bèébà=sìŋ kwàà nìmà-ŋ |āŋg-é pàà kwátŋ nì-ŋ thā
SUB:CNJ-3 be_near=TOP2 CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF see-3O CNJ2.3 be_shocked CNJ-CL run:SG
When he was near, the civet cat saw him, was shocked, and ran.

ŋix=à kwèsègà òmè tsùú hàwēŋ-ŋlèŋŋ⁸⁶
thus=3 think maybe animal which?.m-???⁸⁶
He thought like this: “What kind of animal is this, I do not know!”

lāáŋ kwàà hībēhībē=à ŋŋŋg=à ŋŋj-ŋwá-á
hare CNJ2.3 hastily=3 meat=3 eat_meat-PL1-3O
So Hare hastily ate

tshíyà=à dzàdzàsé-wá-á-tò-ŋ
all=3 roast.FACT-PL1-3O-NMN:PAT-DEF
all the meat that had been roasted,

nì-ŋ khwàà-ŋ thā-ŋ
CNJ-CL return-L run:SG-L
ran back,

hèwé kèlèmbā-ŋg=à síyē-ŋ nì-ŋ ŋŋ||èé-súkù-ts'í
he (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 take:SG-L CNJ-CL enter-CAUS2-MID1
took his skin and put it on.

[pàà káŋŋ] pàà khwàà hík'ŋ ŋŋŋ kìràŋgí-ŋŋ-tè-nà=à
CNJ2.3 that CNJ2.3 return go:SG meat (POSS.)rack-LOC-area-DIR=3
[And he said:] And he went back to the meat rack.

ŋô-ŋŋg-sìŋ nìmà-ŋ tshèé pàà hàkíts'=à ŋŋyē-ŋ dàrà
here-LOC=TOP2 civet_cat-DEF not_be:3 CNJ2.3 sit:SG=3 stay:SG-VL wait
The civet cat was not at this place, so he sat down and waited.

⁸⁶ The exact meaning of **lèŋŋ** is unclear. It expresses utter surprise and/or uncertainty.

híyóó pàà nìmà-ŋ khwàà pàà láá?è-ŋg-àà ká?á
 INTJ CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF return CNJ2.3 hare-DEF-SFOC that
 Then the civet cat returned and the hare said:

híkí=ná wàré, ŋ|ŋ-xê-n=ná hákù
 how?=Q friend:m meat-COLL-DEF=Q where?
 “What’s up my friend, where is the meat?”

nìmà-ŋ kwàà ká?á
 civet_cat-DEF CNJ2.3 that
 And the civet cat replied:

wà’ré, hótsò tsùú-áá=’lé?é thànì-wà-tshé
 friend:m.ATT what? animal-SFOC=??? ⁸⁷ run_towards:SG-PL2-APPL.1SG
 “My friend! I do not know what kind of animal came running at me!?”

ŋ|ó-ts’i-thèé, bútt’i sù-ná thâ
 fear-MID1-??? red CNJ2.1SG-??? ⁸⁸ run:SG
 Something to be feared, red, so I ran.

ŋ|óó=sí
 fear=1SG
 I was scared”.

kwàà láá?è-ŋg-àà ká?á ?á?á hewé-gè-àà [ká?á]ŋ|j-?íwá-á tsùú-ŋ
 CNJ2.3 hare-DEF-SFOC that INTJ he-MIR-SFOC that (SV.)eat_meat-PL1-3O animal-DEF
 And the hare said: “Ah, it appears this thing has eaten meat, that animal.

mèé=kò ?úrì-ŋ kwátì
 NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT very-VL be_shocked
 Do not be too scared.”

phê-yê-ŋ-kì ?à-xì dzàdzàs-ímá-á
 tomorrow-m-DEF-TOP CNJ2.3PL-again roast.FACT-IT.PL1-3O
 The next day they roasted again.

láá?è kwà-xì kòs=à ká?á
 hare CNJ2.3-again again=3 that
 And Hare said again:

⁸⁷ See footnote 86.

⁸⁸ In oral texts, **-ná** is frequently found after narrative conjunctions. Its presence probably lends extra prominence to what happens next: ‘so then, and then’.

dzàdzàsé=kò **ʔiyé-ŋ** **ʔiswê** **ʔi-sì**
 roast.FACT=2SG:OPT stay:SG-VL now come:SG-1SG:NR
 “Go on roasting, I will come right now.”

pà-xì **kòs=a** **!’wáá** **hèwé-nà** **kòs=a** **thâ**
 CNJ2.3-again again=3 pool he-DIR again=3 run:SG
 And again he ran to that same pool.

kèlèmbá **hèwé-ì-ŋg=a** **swáá** **nì-ŋ** **ts’â-tà-nà=a** **||wáá**
 skin he-POSS-DEF=3 stripp_off.3O CNJ-CL water-in-DIR=3 hide.3O
 He stripped off his skin and hid it in the water.

kwàà **kòs=a** **thâ=yóóó** **nìmà-ŋg=a** **ŋ|óó-sú’kw-á**
 CNJ2.3 again=3 run:SG=EXCL civet_cat-DEF=3 fear-CAUS2-3O
 Again he ran and frightened the civet cat.

pà-xì **nìmà-ŋ** **thâ**
 CNJ2.3-again civet_cat-DEF run:SG
 And again the civet cat ran.

lááʔè **kwà-xì** **ŋ|ŋ** **tshíyà=a** **ŋ|j-íwá-á** **nì-ŋ** **thâ=yóóó**
 hare CNJ2.3-again meat all=3 eat_meat-PL1-3O CNJ-CL run:SG=EXCL
 Hare again ate all the meat and ran!

hèwé **kèlèmbâ-ŋg=a** **ŋ||èé-sú’k-é** **nì-ŋ** **khwàà** **kìràngí-ʔí-tè-nà=a**
 he (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 enter-CAUS2-3O CNJ-CL return rack-LOC-area-DIR=3
 He put on his skin and returned to the rack,

pàà **dàrà** **nìmà-n-ts’=a**
 CNJ2.3 wait civet_cat-DEF-LOC=3
 and waited for the civet cat.

nìmà-ŋ **híy-à** **[...]** **ʔi=ʔí** **pà-xì** **káʔá**
 civet_cat-DEF SUB:CNJ-3 come:SG=SUB CNJ2.3-again that
 When the civet cat came, he said:

kòs=a **tsùù-ŋ** **thânì-wà-tshé** **sì** **thâ**
 again=3 animal-DEF run_towards:SG-PL2-APPL.1SG CNJ2.1SG run:SG
 “This animal came running at me again, so I ran!”

lááʔè **thùʔé=tshéé**
 hare reply=NEG1.3
 Hare did not say anything.

t̪eéʔé=sìʔi pàà nìmà-ŋ kwèsègà n=à-ŋ káʔá
 so_then=TOP2 CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF think CNJ=3-CL that
 So then the civet cat thought:

h̪ééw̃ tsí wàrê-ŋ
 DEM1.m I (POSS.)friend:m-DEF
 “This friend of mine,

híy-à há-ʔá-tè-nà=ké=à=ʔl̪éʔé h́ík’=ìʔi
 SUB:CNJ-3 where?-LOC-area-DIR=IND=3=??? ⁸⁹ go:SG=SUB
 where he goes I do not know,

pà-xì tsùú-áá ʔthānì-wà-tshé, h́ótsò=ʔl̪éʔé
 CNJ2.3-again animal-SFOC SV.run_towards:SG-PL2-APPL.1SG what?=??? ⁹⁰
 and the animal that runs at me, what is it?

dó=ʔkwáá ph̪é híy-à kòs=à ʔix=ìʔi d̪ɔ̀d̪ɔ̀ʔi-ŋ p̪èèràà ||’àā-s̪ì
 wait=2SG:HORT tomorrow SUB:CNJ-3 again=3 thus=SUB behind-L beside follow.3O-1SG:NR
 Wait, if he does so again, I will follow him from behind and beside,

nì-ŋ |āng-ê-s̪ì
 CNJ-CL see-3O-1SG:NR
 and I will see him.

há-ʔá-tè-nà=à h́ík’-wà
 where?-area-DIR=3 go:SG-PL2
 Where does he usually go?”

ʔáráá ph̪é-yê-n=sìʔi lááʔè pà-xì dàā ʔh́ík’
 really tomorrow-m-DEF=TOP2 hare CNJ2.3-again cheat.3O.3 go:SG
 Truly, the next day Hare again went cheating him.

nìmà-ŋ kwàà ||’àā-yé nì-ŋ ||wá-ts’í ʔô-ʔò b̪éébà
 civet_cat-DEF CNJ2.3 follow-3O CNJ-CL hide-MID1 here-LOC near
 The civet cat followed him and hid himself nearby.

lááʔè-ŋ kwàà swá-ts’í nì-ŋ h̪èwé k̪èl̪embâ-ŋg=à ||wáá ts’â-tà-nà=à
 hare-DEF CNJ2.3 strip_off-MID2 CNJ-CL he (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 hide.3O water-in-DIR=3
 The hare stripped himself and hid his skin in the water.

⁸⁹ See footnote 86.

⁹⁰ See footnote 86.

nìmà-ŋ híy-à hèwé-xéʔ=à |àng-é=ìʔ

civet_cat-DEF SUB:CNJ-3 he-like=3 see-3O=SUB

When the civet cat saw this

pàà ʔthâ kùràŋgí-ʔí-tè-nà=à nì-ŋ ʔiyé-ŋ dàrà dzàdzàsé-ŋ

CNJ2.3 run:SG rack-LOC-area-DIR=3 CNJ-CL stay:SG-VL wait roast.FACT-VL

he ran to the meat rack and sat waiting while he was roasting.

lááʔè pàà ʔthâ ||ò-ʔò nìm-àá ʔiyé-ŋ dzàdzàsé-ʔé-tè-nà=à

hare CNJ2.3 run:SG over_there-LOC civet_cat-SFOC stay:SG-VL roast.FACT-LOC-area-DIR=3

Then Hare ran to the place where Civet Cat was roasting meat.

nìmà-ŋ híy-à lááʔè-ŋg=à |àng-é=ìʔ pàà thâ

civet_cat-DEF SUB:CNJ-3 hare-DEF=3 see-3O=SUB CNJ2.3 run:SG

When the civet cat saw the hare he ran.

thâ=yóóó

run:SG=EXCL

And he ran!!

lááʔè-ŋ kèlèmbâ-ŋg=à síyè-ŋ ʔ||wáá tàná-ʔá-tè=à

hare-DEF (POSS.)skin-DEF=3 take:SG-VL VV.hide.3O elsewhere-LOC-area=3

He took the skin of the hare and hid it somewhere else.

nì-ŋ thâ=yóóó ||ò-ʔò kùràŋgí-ʔí-tè-nà=à nì-ŋ bèéba=à ||wá-tsʔi

CNJ-CL run:SG=EXCL over_there-LOC rack-LOC-area-DIR=3 CNJ-CL near=3 hide-MID1

And he ran to the place of the rack and hid himself close to it.

lááʔè pàà kòs=à thâ ŋ|í-ŋ ŋ|ínì-sà-nà=à

hare CNJ2.3 again=3 run:SG meat eat_meat-NMN3-DIR=3

Hare then ran again to eat meat.

híy-à ŋ||èé=ìʔ nìmà-ŋ tshèé kwàà káʔá |àn-sá=à-ŋ thâ

SUB:CNJ-3 enter=SUB civet_cat-DEF not_be:3 CNJ2.3 that see-1SG=3-VL run:SG

When he arrived, the civet cat was not there, so he said: “He has seen me and ran.”

pàà ŋ|ìŋ tshíyà=àŋ|í-ʔíwá-á nì-ŋ kèlèmbâ-ŋ síyè-sà-nà=à thâ

CNJ2.3 meat all=3 eat_meat-PL1-3O CNJ-CL skin-DEF take:SG-NMN3-DIR=3 run:SG

So he ate all the meat and ran in order to take the skin.

pàà kʔwámá=à kwàà mànà-á

CNJ2.3 miss=3 CNJ2.3 know-3O

But he missed, and he knew

hèwé wàrê-ŋg-àà ||wáá-¹kw-é tàná-?á-tè=à
 he (POSS.)friend:m-DEF-SFOC hide.3O-BEN-3O elsewhere-LOC-area=3
 that his friend had hidden it from him somewhere else.

nì-ŋ fíbèfíbé=à khwàà-ŋ thâ-ŋ ||ô-?ò kìràngí-?í-tè-nà=à
 CNJ-CL hastily=3 return-VL run:SG-VL over_there-LOC rack-LOC-area-DIR=3
 He hastily ran back to the meat rack.

nìmà-ŋ híy-à láá?è-ŋg=à |àng-é=ì?í búttí ||hwà?é-s-ê pàà thâ
 civet_cat-DEF SUB:CNJ-3 hare-DEF=3 see-3O=SUB red red-BE-3 CNJ2.3 run:SG
 When the civet cat saw the hare, being very red, he ran.

pàà láá?è-ŋ !'áxá n=à-ŋ ká?á
 CNJ2.3 hare-DEF shout CNJ=3-CL that
 And the hare shouted:

tsí=gá=sí=yóóó wàré kòò mèé thâ
 I=CONF=1SG=EXCL friend:m CNJ2.2SG:OPT NEG:OPT run:SG
 “It’s me, my friend, do not run!”

nìmà-ŋ thâ-sà=à títèé
 civet_cat-DEF run:SG-NMN3=3 only
 The civet cat was just running.

láá?è pàà k'ée n=à-ŋ ká?á
 hare CNJ2.3 cry CNJ=3-CL that
 Hare cried and said:

mòò-nà=kò khwàà-x-¹sé, !wàtáts'í=sì wàré
 soul-DIR=2SG:OPT return-BEN-1SG do_wrong.MID2=1SG friend:m
 “Forgive me, I have done wrong my friend.”

nìmà-ŋ thâ-sà=à títèé
 civet_cat-DEF run:SG-NMN3=3 only
 The civet cat was just running.

láá?è pàà thâ-ŋ nì-ŋ thâ-?íng=à mààmà?àsé
 hare CNJ2.3 run:SG-VL CNJ-CL run:SG-INSTR=3 comfort.FACT
 Hare ran to (try to) comfort him.

kwàà nìmà-ŋ ?ísì-¹kw-é nì-ŋ thâ
 CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF refuse-BEN-3O CNJ-CL run:SG
 But the civet cat refused him and ran.

lááʔè pàà ŋ|ɪŋk'è k'ímé-k-m=à n=à-ŋ tʔáásɿ
 hare CNJ2.3 dry_out sunshine-TOP-sake=3 CNJ=3-CL die:SG
 Hare then dried out because of the sun and died.

hàdísí-ŋ-kì ʔô-ʔ=à tshèékì
 story-DEF-TOP here-LOC=3 end
 Here ends the story.

2. The construction of a beehive and the collection of honey

The following procedural text describes how to construct a beehive in order to collect honey. The text elaborates on cutting a tree in shape to become a beehive, applying the smelling k'wededa' which attracts bees, putting up the beehive in a tree, and the process of forming honey. The text introduces terminology which is specifically used for beehives, honey, and tools.

The recording of this text also includes a part on the collection of honey from the beehive, e.g. climbing into the tree, using firebrands, etc. As the utterances in that part could not be verified properly with consultants, they are not included here.

mìsíkóó ʔ!ám-ó hàà tshín hón-ó
 beehive POSS.shape.IT-NMN and honey (POSS.)collect_honey-NMN
 The construction of a beehive and the collection of honey.

ʔútáá mìsíkóó thèé dōŋ hàà sé ... hàà mápín, mápín=ʔts'é, !wèéyà
 long_ago beehive (POSS.)tree dong and se... and mapping mapping=NEG2 !weeya
 Long ago, trees for beehives were the “dong”, the “se...”, and the “mapping”, not the “mapping”, the “!weeya”⁹¹.

ŋ!ê-xê-n-tà ʔútáá híy-à hèwé-xé-áá tshèékí-wà=ìʔi
 day-COLL-DEF-in long_ago SUB:CNJ-3 he-COLL-SFOC end-PL2=SUB
 Nowadays, when long ago these were all finished,

ʔiswê ŋ!ê-xê-n-tà ʔàlèé, mápín hàà séŋ||á
 now day-COLL-DEF-in cactus mapping and sen||a
 nowadays, it's the cactus, the “mapping” and the “sen||a”.

⁹¹ The Swahili translation equivalents for **dōŋ** and **!wèéyà** are *mkola* and *mninga*, respectively.

híkí !'ámé-sùn=ná

how? shape.IT-1PL:NR=Q

How will we construct (a beehive)?

kóngórà?à bà?átè síyé-pò pù thèé=ì ɲ|èé

axe big take:SG-2SG:NR CNJ2.2SG tree=2SG cut

You will take a big axe and then you cut a tree.

hí-ì ɲ|èé-ɲ !'òókhá=ìɲ ?òntè-kì ɲ|èé nù-ɲ ?òntè-kì ɲ|èé

SUB:CNJ-2SG cut-VL finish=SUB over_there-TOP cut CNJ-CL over_there-TOP cut

When you have finished cutting, you cut it over there and over there,

mìsíkóó namna-xè?è

beehive manner⁹²-like

the way like a beehive (i.e. the desired length of the beehive).

hí-ì ɲix=ì ɲ|úɲyá-á-ɲ !'òókhá=ìɲ

SUB:CNJ-2SG thus=2SG do-3O-VL finish=SUB

When you have finished doing that,

pù kóngórà?à méé=ì síyé

CNJ2.2SG axe big=2SG take:SG

then you take a big axe

hàà thèé méé=ì pù xòxòsé=yóóó

and tree big=2SG CNJ2.2SG hammer.FACT=EXCL

and a big piece of wood and then you start hammering!

thèé-kí kóó-s-è, hèwé-kíɲ ká?á kó?à, súɲkìɲ kó?à

tree-TOP be_present:SG-BE-3 he-TOP.ATT that peg our_language peg

There is wood as well (i.e. another piece), as for it, we say a peg, in our language it is “ko’a”.

hàà thèé méé hèwé-ɲɲg=ì xòxòsé, hèwé-ɲɲg=ì dùbé

and tree big it-INSTR=2SG hammer.FACT he-INSTR=2SG bang

together with the big piece of wood, with it, you hammer, with it you bang it.

hí-ì dùbé=ìɲ kím̀bà thèé hèwé ɲǎn-ts'í=ì

SUB:CNJ-2SG bang=SUB hey! tree he tear-MID2=3:NR

When you bang, hey, this very tree will split!

na híy-à ɲǎn-ts'í-ɲ !'òókhá=ìɲ

and⁹³ SUB:CNJ-3 tear-MID2-VL finish=SUB

And when it has split apart,

⁹² Swahili insertion: *namna* ‘manner’.

pù-ná kòsì=ì kóngórà?à bà?átê-ŋg=ì síyé
 CNJ2.2SG-???⁹⁴ again=2SG axe big-DEF=2SG take:SG
 then you take the big axe again.

ŋix=ò bô sún=sí?í kò ká?á |hàré-pò
 thus=1PL say we=TOP2 TOP.1PL that cut_out-2SG:NR
 Thus, we say: “you will cut out”.

|hàré=yóóó pàà !'wàsì ?òntè-kì nì-ŋ ?òntè-kì
 cut_out=EXCL CNJ2.3 be_hollow over_there-TOP CNJ-CL over_there-TOP
 Cut out for a long time, and then it is hollow over there and over there (i.e. the two halves).

híy-à !'wâ-ŋg-àà tìé=ì?í pù thóónò?=ì síyé
 SUB:CNJ-3 hole-DEF-SFOC be_enough=SUB CNJ2.2SG adze=2SG take:SG
 Once the hollow space is ready, you take an adze.

hèwé thóónò?òŋ ... hèwé-ŋ māká=wâ?à íáá=ì ŋiyé-ŋ ŋ|wéé=yóóó
 he adze.ATT he-INSTR that_is=CND good=2SG stay:SG-VL do=EXCL
 This adze ..., with it, you make it so that it is good (i.e. smooth the rough edges)

pàà hèwé-xé mà?àlé-xê-ŋg=à tshíyà tshèékì-wá=ì?í
 CNJ2.3 he-COLL a_certain-COLL-DEF=3 all end-PL2=SUB
 And when all these very pieces are gone,

pàà íáá !'wàsì
 CNJ2.3 good be_hollow
 it is hollow in a good way.

nì-ŋ híy-à !'wàsì-ŋ !'òókhá=ì?í,
 CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-3 be_hollow-VL finish=SUB
 And when it is hollow,

pì-xì-ná tē-ŋ phándò-ŋ hèwé-kí |hàré-yé
 CNJ2.2SG-again-???⁹⁵ other-DEF side-DEF he-TOP cut_out-3O
 you cut out the other side as well.

hèwé-kí-áá !'òókhà-ts'=ì?í, pù xùpù?ùsé-é
 he-TOP-SFOC finish-MID2=SUB CNJ2.2SG cover.FACT-3O
 When it is finished, you cover it (i.e. put the two halves on each other).

⁹³ Swahili insertion: *na* ‘and’.

⁹⁴ See footnote 88.

⁹⁵ See footnote 88.

ʔó-ʔ-ɪŋ thée hǎáw-nà kē-⁴kw-é-pò
 here-LOC-POSS tree DEM2.m-DIR ascend-CAUS1-3O-2SG.NR
 then you will let it ascend into that tree of this place.

⁹⁶ See footnote 88.

ʔúrì-ŋ súŋ ʔòntè gélé [na] hàà thèé méʔéwáá bàábà-wà-s-è-ŋ
 very-VL we over_there baobab[and]⁹⁷ and tree big.PL father-PL2-BE-3-DEF
 Here with us, it's mainly baobabs and very large trees (to place the beehives).

hèwé-xé-nà kè-'kw-á-pò
 he-COLL-DIR ascend-CAUS1-3O-2SG:NR
 You will let it ascend into them

nì-ŋ tánáá !wáá hík'ì-ŋ |àng-é-pò
 CNJ-CL first opportunity go:SG-VL see-3O-2SG:NR
 and first you will go and see an opportunity.

súŋ hèwé-xé !wáá-xé-ŋ [kò káʔá] gírítóó
 we he-COLL opportunity-COLL-DEF TOP.1PL that giritoo
 We call these spaces "giritoo"

gírítóó-ŋ hí-ì mìsíkoó-ì pèé-ìʔi kwà mée !'àwé
 giritoo-ATT SUB:CNJ-2SG beehive=2SG put:SG=SUB OPT.3 NEG:OPT fall
 This giritoo, when you place the beehive, it should not fall out,

kwà mée ŋ|èmésé-kí-áá fíbéténà
 OPT.3 NEG:OPT person.m-TOP-SFOC easily
 and a person should not (take it) easily ...

ʔis-ó ŋ|èmésé-ŋ kwà mée fíbéténà hòná-ì
 steal-NMN (POSS.)person.m-DEF OPT.3 NEG:OPT easily collect_honey-3:NR
 the thief should not easily collect honey.

hí-ì |'èé-ì pàà fàá ʔiyé=tshèé-ìʔi
 SUB:CNJ-2SG look_at=2SG CNJ2.3 good stay:SG=NEG1.3=SUB
 When you inspect and it doesn't rest well,

pàà hèwé mìsíkoó-ŋ màká=wàʔà ʔàʔé=wàʔà !'àwé-ná-ìʔi
 CNJ2.3 he beehive-DEF that_is=CND later_on=CND fall-???=SUB
 that is, if this beehive might fall out,

pì thèé-ì ŋ|èé-ì !ákí-s-è
 CNJ2.2SG tree=2SG cut=2SG fork-BE-3
 you cut a forked stick.

hèwé thèé-ŋ ||wà-ŋ sáŋgàsì
 he tree-DEF (POSS.)name-DEF sangasi
 The name of this stick is "sangasi".

⁹⁷ Swahili insertion: *na* 'and'

pù ʔkʔ-sé-é, pù hí'á-wá

CNJ2.2SG get_stuck-FACT-3O CNJ2.2SG tie-PL1

You stick it in with force and you tie together.

hèwê-n-xèʔé ʔéʔé=síʔi m̀síkóó !'àw-í=ts'éʔè

he-DEF-like later=TOP2 beehive fall-3:NR=NEG2

Like this, the beehive won't fall out later on.

kũ m̀ngùrà hàà h́ngè-xê-ŋ kũ-ŋ-kì nèé-s-ê

rope.DEF mungura and other-COLL-DEF rope-DEF-TOP be_present:PL-BE-3

The rope (for raising the hive) is (made of) “mungura” (leaves), but there are other (types of) ropes as well.

pù m̀síkóó-ŋ hí'á-wá-á ||'àʔà-sé nù-ŋ ts'úkhá-é=ì-ŋ

CNJ2.2SG beehive-DEF tie-PL1-3O be_blocked-FACT CNJ-CL cover-3O=2SG-VL

You then tie them together, block, and you cover it.

ʔix=ò-ŋ bô kò káʔá súŋ m̀síkóó 'sámبالáá m̀síkóó 'sámبالáá

thus=1PL-VL say TOP.1PL that we beehive POSS.cover beehive POSS.cover

Thus we say, “sambalaa” of the beehive, the door of the beehive.

hèwé-kí hí-ì h́ngá=ìʔi pù !'ámé=yóóó

he-TOP SUB:CNJ-2SG wake_up=SUB CNJ2.2SG shape.IT=EXCL

This one, you start shaping it,

ts'òntó !hwèé-nà làmà-s-ê-ŋ

small hole-DIR be_appropriate-BE-3-DEF

being appropriate for the small hole (the entrance of the beehive).

pù làlàá=ì síyé-ŋ ||'ín-tà-n=ì pèé

CNJ2.2SG drill=2SG take:SG-VL fire-in-DIR=2SG put:SG

Then you take a drill, put it into the fire and you bore tiny holes

pù !hwèé 'ŋ||ókó=ì |hòròmsé=yóóó

CNJ2.2SG hole POSS.child.PL=2SG bore=EXCL

and you bore tiny holes

|'èkhá h́ŋ||àkì-ŋ t̀t̀t̀-à-mèé

bee enter:PL-VL leave.RED-NMN3-sake

for the bees, in order to enter and leave.

hèwémèénts'=ò ʔixì ŋ|wéé

that's_why=1PL thus do

That's why we act in this way.

p̀̀n h́|’á-wá-á ||’à?à-sé-ká-á-ts’ê-ŋ m̀̀síkóó-n-ǹ̀=ì
 CNJ2.2SG tie-PL1-3O be-blocked-FACT-COM-3O-REL-DEF beehive-DEF-DIR=2SG
 You tie together on the beehive, which is blocked with it.

ǹ̀-ŋ ṭ’ésòntṣ-ŋ-k̀̀ ká?á m̀̀rígì kóó-s-ê k’wédédá?á
 CNJ-CL furthermore-TOP⁹⁸ that medicine be_present:SG-BE-3 k’wededa’
 And what follows is medicine: “k’wededa’”.

hèwé k’wédédá?àn h́m-ó-s-ê
 he k’wededa’.ATT stink-NMN-BE-3
 This k’wededa’ has a smell.

hèw=à?á h́y-à?á k’òóthó=ì?ì |’èkhâ-n-sò hèw=à?á k’òóthó=ì?ì
 he=3PL SUB:CNJ-3PL smell=SUB bee-DEF-PL⁹⁹ he=3PL smell=SUB
 When they smell it, when the bees smell it,

mànà-á-sí-sò hèsó ?àà ||ò-?ò-n=à?á ní?ì
 know-3O-BE-3PL they CNJ2.3PL there-LOC-DIR=3PL go:PL
 they have the knowledge and they go there.

h́y-à?á ní?ì=yóóó=ì?ì ?àà wétshá=yóóó ?àà !’òówé
 SUB:CNJ-3PL go:PL=EXCL=SUB CNJ2.3PL NAR:INTJ=EXCL CNJ2.3PL find.3O
 When they go, hear!, they find it.

hótsò !’òówé-sò=ná
 what? find.3O-3PL:NR=Q
 What will they find?

m̀̀rígì !’òówé-sò
 medicine find.3O-3PL:NR
 They will find medicine.

hàà ?ò-?ò-ŋ wétsháná=yóóó |’èkhá hèsó hàà h̀̀sô-n-sò ṭé?é
 and here-LOC-ATT NAR:INTJ=EXCL bee they and other.PL-DEF-PL later
 And right here, hear!, these bees and others, later on,

⁹⁸ ṭ’ésòntṣ-ŋ-k̀̀ ‘furthermore, what follows’ is a complex form: ṭ’és-ò-n-tṣ-ŋ-k̀̀ do_again-NMN-DEF-LOC-TOP.

⁹⁹ This is not the transcription of the original recording. When transcribing with the speaker, he changed |’èkháxéáá h̀̀wà?á k’òóthóì?ì to |’èkhânsò h̀̀wà?á k’òóthóì?ì, thus using a definite plural noun instead of a collective noun with a subject focus marker. Although non-human nouns usually have (definite) collective marking instead of (definite) plural marking, the plural noun corresponds better to the 3PL subject/modality clitics which are used here to refer to the bees.

híy-àʔà níʔi-sà-má=ìʔi ʔàà khwàà

SUB:CNJ-3PL go:PL-NMN3-sake.??¹⁰⁰=SUB CNJ2.3PL return

when they have the intention to go (i.e. pass the beehive), they will return.

ʔô-ʔô !'òówé-sò=gâʔà ʔàà ʔ||èé

here-LOC find.3O-3PL:NR=CONF CNJ2.3PL enter

They will find it here, and they go inside.

hèwé mìsíkóô-n-tà-nà ʔ||èé-sò

he beehive-DEF-in-DIR enter-3PL:NR

They will enter into the beehive.

hí|'á-ŋ-kì khòô-tà-nà hí|'á-ts'é=ts'é dzàkhá-tè

cover-DEF-TOP house-in-DIR tie-MID1.3=NEG2 outside-area

The cover should not be tied on the inside, but somewhere outside.

ʔàà ʔéʔé ʔ||èé

CNJ2.3PL later enter

And later on, they go inside.

híy-àʔà ʔ||èé-ŋ !'òókhá=ìʔi, ʔàà ʔíiné ʔàà ʔíiné

SUB:CNJ-3PL enter-VL finish=SUB CNJ2.3PL build CNJ2.3PL build

Once they have entered, they build, and build.

kítàʔà-n=àʔà dèé'téé=ʔà ʔí-ʔíwá-á

inside-DIR=3PL many=3PL (SV.)build-PL1-3O

They build many things inside.

híy-àʔà ʔ||èé-ŋ !'òókhá=ìʔi ʔíiné-sò=gâʔà

SUB:CNJ-3PL enter-VL finish=SUB build-3PL:NR=CONF

Once they have entered, they will build.

hótsò ʔíiné-sò=ná

what? build-3PL:NR=Q

What will they build?

tshwàá

honey_comb

Honey combs.

ʔí'ésònts'í-kì tshíŋ phóó

furthermore-TOP honey white

What follows is clear honey.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. footnote 85.

tt'ésònts'ì-kì tùmèé
 furthermore-TOP yellow_honey
 What follows is “tumeé”.

híy-à?à kítà?à-nà kàá-wà-ì?ì dī?á-xê-η=gá=ì?ì,
 SUB:CNJ-3PL inside-DIR put:PL-PL2=SUB egg-COLL-DEF=CONF=SUB
 When they have put them inside, the eggs,

?àà tshíng=à?à kàá-wà-ts'è-é=yóóó kítà?à-nà ?àà ?íì-ìmé-yé
 CNJ2.3PL honey=3PL put:PL-PL2-APPL-3O=EXCL inside-DIR CNJ2.3PL close-IT-3O
 then they add honey inside and close it (i.e. the holes in the honey comb).

híy-à?à ?íì-ìmé-η !'òókhá=ì?ì ?àà dàrà η!ê-n-ts'=à?à
 SUB:CNJ-3PL close-IT-VL finish=SUB CNJ2.3PL wait day-DEF-LOC=3PL
 Once they have closed it, they wait for the day.

híy-à íéé=yóóó [na] η!ê-ηg-àà déé=ì?ì
 SUB:CNJ-3 later=EXCL [and¹⁰¹] day-DEF-SFOC be_many=SUB
 When later on many days have passed,

hón-ó 'η!ê-ηg-àà
 collect_honey-NMN POSS.day-DEF-SFOC
 it's time for collecting honey.

hèéw η|émésê-η mìsíkoó-s-ê-η màná-s-ê
 DEM1.m person.m-DEF beehive-BE-3-DEF know-BE-3
 This person, who has a beehive, has the knowledge:

há?ásù hík'ì-η [nì] hòná-sì
 when? go:SG-VL [CNJ] collect_honey-1SG:NR
 “When shall I go and collect honey?”

nì-η hík'-wǎ-η phàkhé-η |'èé-ì
 CNJ-CL go:SG-PL2-L inspect-L look_at.3:NR
 And he will often go, inspect and have a look at it:

gùmù?ùsé=n=à?à |'èkhâ-n-sò
 stay_outside_beehive=Y/NQ=3PL bee-DEF-PL
 are the bees outside the beehive?

híy-à?à gùmù?ùsé=ì?ì pàà mànáá tshíng !òón-ts'=à
 SUB:CNJ-3PL stay_outside_beehive=SUB CNJ2.3 know.3O honey fill-MID2=3
 When they are outside the beehive, he knows it: it is full of honey.

¹⁰¹ Swahili insertion: *na* ‘and’.

hón-ó ʔŋ!ê-ŋ mànà-á-ì hèwé-kí
 collect_honey-NMN POSS.day.DEF know-3O-3:NR he-TOP
 He himself knows the day of collecting,

nì-ŋ mànà-s-ê ʔiyé-ì hón-ó-kíŋ ŋ!êŋ!ê-wà-s-ê
 CNJ-CL know-BE-3 stay:SG-3:NR collect_honey-NMN-TOP.ATT day.RED-PL2-BE-3
 and he will know, as for collecting honey, it has its period.

híy-à tʔwàng-àà ʔ'óó=ìŋ káʔǎŋ hòná-wà=tshó-sò
 SUB:CNJ-3 rain-SFOC rain=SUB that.ATT collect_honey-PL2=NEG1-3PL
 When it rains, they say that they usually do not collect.

hón-ó hèsó ʔúr-à-ŋ mànà-á
 collect_honey-NMN (POSS.)they very-3-VL know-3O
 Those collectors know very well

hóbè ŋ!ê=ná hàwé-xê-ŋ ŋ!ê-xê-n-tà nì-ŋ hòná-sò
 what? day=Q which?-COLL-DEF day-COLL-DEF-in CNJ-CL collect_honey-3PL:NR
 what day, on which days (and) they will collect.

3. The hospital

The following text is a dialogue between two consultants, acting as a father and a mother who discuss the illness of their son. Beforehand, only the topic of the dialogue was discussed. The plot was improvised by the two speakers during the recording.

In the dialogue, a father (J) and a mother (A) discuss the swollen leg of their son. They wonder if they should bring him to the hospital or to a diviner in order to have him treated for “ts’ik’a” (a disease which causes swollen legs). Several names of different diviners are mentioned. When they have seen one of the diviners, who advises them to go to the hospital, they finally decide to bring their son to the hospital.

ŋ||ókó ʔíyó

child.PL POSS.mother

J: Mother of the children!

hó

who?

A: Yes?

||ô híy-ò nèé-ŋ ||’ô=ìŋ̩ ŋ||ðó-x-’súŋ thwèéŋ

over_there SUB:CNJ-1PL stay:PL-VL sleep=SUB child-COLL-we night.ATT

J: While we were sleeping there with the child, in the night,

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes.

hí||’á-sà-ŋ-’kí

be_hot-NMN3-DEF-TOP

J: the body was hot!

k’wàwé=ké=à xàré

be_ill=IND=3 or

A: He is ill, or ...?

kô k’wàw=â

just be_ill=3

J: Yes, he is ill.

mmm

INTJ

A: really?

k'wàw=â=yóóó

be_ill=3=EXCL

J: He is ill!

?áárèyò

all_right

A: All right.

ŋ||òóŋ k'wàwé=gá=a

child.ATT be_ill=CONF=3

J: The child, he is certainly ill!

?èèè

yes

A: Yes.

nì-ŋ swê=sìŋ=ná hàpú=sìŋ híkí=ì kwèsègà-wà-ts'è-é

CNJ-CL now=TOP2=Q you=TOP2 how?=2SG think-PL2-APPL-3O

J: And now, you, how do you think about it?

mmm, hàpú=sìŋ=ná híkí=ì |âŋ

INTJ you=TOP2=Q how?=2SG see

A: Hmm, you, how do you see it?

kô kîsî kà?ăŋ tsí=sìŋ=wà?ăŋ

just TOP.1SG that.ATT I=TOP2=CND.ATT

J: Well, if it would be me personally, I would say:

ní=?ò ||úmá bàárà-ŋ,

go:PL=1PL:OPT divine start-VL

A: Let's go and start reading the divining board,

hèwé-xé kóség-ô-ŋ híkí-xé=?ì=ná kwèsègà hàpú

he-COLL think-NMN-DEF how?-like=2SG=Q think you

What do you think of these thoughts?

tsí ?ixì=sî kòsègàăŋ

I thus=1SG think.ATT

J: I think as follows:

?èèè

yes

A: Yes.

m̀̀m̀ m̀̀m̀, ||úma-sà-n=ò?ò xéé
 INTJ divine-NMN3-DIR=1PL:OPT bring:30
 A: Hmm, let's get him to the diviners.

ገድድ ገዕፅ ለዕጠ-ኅ ላእከ, ከ-ክዕ-ኅ ከሰሰ ሠጥጽፍ ከገዕፅ
 yes CNJ2.1PL:OPT illuminate-VL VV.see CNJ=2SG:OPT-CL indeed treat child
 A: Yes, let's shed light on it and see; and you indeed should treat the child.

hàásò-kì wâ?àntè hiy-ò ní?=í?í
DEM2.PL-TOP there SUB:CNJ-1PL go:PL=SUB
J: But those over there (i.e. in the hospital), when we go there,

mà-nà-wà-sísò=gâ?à kô màkàámàkàá
 know-PL2-BE-3PL=CONF just thing.RED
 they will just know these things (of going to diviners).

ŋ||òó ||hàtâ-ŋ swàkú-wà-?òŋ |ân-nì=ì
child (POSS.)leg-DEF (POSS.)swell-PL2-INF see=Y/NQ=2SG
A: Have you seen the swellings of the legs of the child?

kô swàkú hèwé tshiyà
just swell he all
J: That is, all have swollen, yes..

ts'ik'a
ts'i'k'a
A: It's "ts'ik'a" (disease which causes swollen legs).

kô mà-nà-á..., mà-nà-á-sò mì-rì-gì-xê-ŋ-kì mà-nà-wá-á-sò
just know-3O know-3O-3PL:NR medicine-COLL-DEF-TOP know-PL1-3O-3PL:NR
J: Just know it..., they will know it, even the treatments they will know.

hèéxwè ɲ!ê-xê-n-tà ʔúr-àʔà mìníkì mànà-á-sò ts'ík'á-yó-ʔòŋ
DEM1.COLL day-COLL-DEF-in very=3PL understand know-3O-3PL:NR ts'ík'a-???-INF
Nowadays they understand a lot, they will know when it is ts'ík'a.

dàá-sòǒŋ

be_able-3PL:NR.ATT

A: And they will be able (to treat it).

dàásò nì-ŋ híy-à?à dàá='tshó=ì?ì

be_able:3PL:NR CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-3PL be_able=NEG1.3PL=SUB

J: They will be able and if they can't...

ŋ||dò wák'-á-á-pò=ts'é hàpú

child kill-3O-2SG:NR=NEG2 you

A: You will not kill the child, will you?

kô mèé=kwàrà ... mèé=kwà ?ixùts'ì

just NEG:OPT=HORT.3 NEG:OPT=OPT.3 thus

J: Just not, let it not be like that.

?èèè

yes

A: Yes

híy-ò ní?-ì?ì bô-x-'sún-sò, híy-à?à hùmà-ts'í-wà=ì?ì,

SUB:CNJ-1PL go:PL=SUB say-BEN-1PL-3PL:NR SUB:CNJ-3PL overcome-MID1-PL2=SUB

J: When we go, they will tell us, and when they have been overcome,

?ákà ká?á súŋ hùmà-ts'-ó=ì?ì

TOP.3PL that we overcome-MID1-1PL=SUB

when they say "we have been overcome",

?áká?á khwàà-sé-é=kwè ts'áá-nà

3PL.that return-FACT-3O=OPT.2PL home-DIR

A: they say: "You get him back home".

khwàà-sé-é=kwè ts'áá-nà

return-FACT-3O=OPT.2PL home-DIR

J: "You get him back home".

pòò híísí=ò khwàà-sé-é ts'áá-n=ò, ?árèè

CNJ2.1PL indeed=1PL return-FACT-3O home-DIR=1PL right

A: And we return him home indeed, right?

hàp-áá bô-'ts'é=ì lék'á=wâ?à pòdò hèw=ò ||'áá
 you-SFOC say-APPL.3O=2SG indeed¹⁰²=CND CNJ2.1PL he=1PL follow
 J: What you have said is indeed how it is, and we follow that.

swê kù ká?á mdéwà tshéé hó ts'áá-nà ní?ì-sùŋ
 now TOP.2SG that Mdewa not_be:3 who? (POSS.)home-DIR go:PL-1PL:NR
 A: Now you said that Mdewa isn't home, whom will we go to,

kóyòwà=nè xàré ?àsmânì
 Koyowa=Y/NQ or Asmani
 Koyowa? Or Asmani?

?èèè swê dó='kwáá
 INTJ now wait=2SG:HORT
 J: Yes, now wait a moment:

au gùŋgíyò gáwà-tà-yê-ŋ ts'áá-nà xéé-sùŋ=nè
 or¹⁰³ Gingiyo mountain-in-m-DEF (POSS.)home-DIR bring-1PL:NR=Y/NQ
 Or will we get him to the house of Gingiyo, the one from the mountain?

?àsmânì hèwé-kí-'ná hétì?ì
 Asmani he-TOP-Q over_there
 J: Asmani, really? (He is) over there (far away)!

gùŋgíyò=ná
 Gingiyo=Q
 A: And Gingiyo?

gùŋgíyò hèwé-kí-'ná hétì?ì
 Gingiyo he-TOP-Q over_there
 J: Gingiyo, really? (He is) over there (far away)!

kóyówà=?d táánàŋ |àng-é
 Koyowa=1PL:OPT first see-3O
 Let's first see Koyowa.

?ááàè
 o.k.
 A: O.k.

¹⁰² The exact meaning of **lék'á** 'indeed' (?) is unclear. The form probably functions as a verb.

¹⁰³ Swahili insertion: *au* 'or'.

ʔò bɛ́ɛbà-yé

here be_close-m

J: The one close-by.

ʔɛ̀ɛ̀

INTJ

A: Yes

kóyowà hɛ́ɛ̀w ɛ́k'á bɛ́ɛbà-yé ɲ

Koyowa DEM1.m indeed¹⁰⁴ be_close-m.ATT

J: This Koyowa, who is close-by indeed,

ʔɛ̀ɛ̀

INTJ

A: Yes

hɛ̀w-òʔò |ǎŋg-é

he=1PL:OPT see-3O

J: Let's see him.

ʔòò sɪphɪ́tháɪ-nà ɛ́mɛ́

CNJ2.1PL:OPT hospital-DIR accompany

A: And let's bring him to the hospital.

híy-àʔà ɛ́ɛ̀ʔɛ́ káʔá kò tsí-kí hùrà-s-á=ʔɪ ɲ

SUB:CNJ-3PL later_on that just I-TOP overcome-1SG-3O=SUB.ATT

J: If, later on, they say: "I just lost"

ʔòò sɪphɪ́tháɪ-n=ò níʔɪ ʔárɛ̀

CNJ2.1PL hospital-DIR=1PL go:PL right

A: Then we go to the hospital, right?

ʔòò wɛ́tshána=yóóó ʔòò sɪphɪ́tháɪ-n=ò níʔɪ

CNJ2.1PL NAR:INTJ=EXCL CNJ2.1PL hospital-DIR=1PL go:PL

J: Then we, hear, then we go to the hospital.

hík'ɪ=kwaá-ɲ kɛ́ʔɛ́ làbɛ́-ɲ

go:SG=2SG:HORT-VL hear wake_up-VL

A: Be early and go and listen.

kò phɛ́-nà làbɛ́-sì

just tomorrow-DIR(?) wake_up-1SG:NR

J: Tomorrow I will go early.

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 102.

híkâmbò hí-ì hík'áŋ

how? .3.say¹⁰⁵ SUB:CNJ-2SG go:SG=SUB

¹⁰⁶ A: What did he say when you went there?

kô káŋŋ ŋ||òó hèéw=yóóó ts'ík'á=nè ts'ík'-áá

just that.ATT child DEM1.m=EXCL ts'ík'a=Y/NQ ts'ík'a-SFOC

J: They just said: "This child, is it ts'ík'a? It is ts'ík'a."

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes.

tè=sìŋ káŋ tshèé

other=TOP2 that not_be:3

J: And that there isn't anything else.

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

ts'ík'-áá

ts'ík'a-SFOC

J: Ts'ík'a!

nì-ŋ sìphùtháŋ-nà !ém-ó-ŋ ʔísá=à xàré

CNJ-CL hospital-DIR accompany-NMN-VL refuse=3 or

A: And did he refuse to bring (him) to the hospital, or...?

ʔàʔá ʔísí=tshèé

no refuse=NEG1.3

J: No, he didn't refuse

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

nì-ŋ káŋá hétt'ŋ ŋ||èé-ká-á=nè=è

CNJ-CL that there enter-COM-3O=Y/NQ=2PL

J: And he asked: "Did you bring him there?"

¹⁰⁵ Fused form < **híkí=à ʔâmbò**

¹⁰⁶ At this point, the speakers make a story leap: A has gone to Koyowa and is asked afterwards how things went.

sìì kɪsɪ káʔá ɲòóxì ɲ||èé-ká-á=tshúnj
 CNJ2.1SG TOP.1SG that not_yet enter-COM-3O=NEG1.1PL
 And I said “We didn’t bring him yet”.

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

hèwé-kí mèé=à ɲ||òó-sà-xéʔ=à
 he-TOP NEG:OPT=3¹⁰⁷ fear-NMN3-like=3
 J: For him, he was near to (like) fearing.

kwátá=à

be_alarmed=3

A: He was alarmed.

kwátá=à

be_alarmed=3

J: He was alarmed.

ǹǹǹǹ

INTJ

A: Hmm

ni-ɲ táá-x-’sín tánánj=kwèrá hèéw ɲ||òó-ɲ ||ò-ʔò ɲ||èé-ká-á
 CNJ-CL friend-COLL-you:PL first=2PL:HORT DEM1.m child-DEF over_there-LOC enter-COM-3O
 J: And (he said:) “You friends, first bring this child over there (to the hospital)”.

ni-ɲ híísí khwàà-sé-é

CNJ-CL indeed return-FACT-3O

A: And then indeed return him.

híy-àʔá káʔá ||ò-ʔò hóbè=ké hóbè=ké=ìʔí
 SUB:CNJ-3PL that over_there-LOC what?=IND what?=IND=SUB
 J: When they say this and that over there,

pàà íáá làmà-ts’i=tshèé=íʔí
 CNJ2.3 good be_appropriate-MID1=NEG1.3=SUB
 and when it does not match well (with what the diviner said),

¹⁰⁷ The use of the negative optative marker with a realis subject clitic expresses ‘almost, near to’.

???

yes

A: Yes

pòd-ná khwàà-sé-é
CNJ2.1PL-??? ¹⁰⁸ return-FACT-3O
J: then we return him.

hí-yà?à

SUB:CNJ-3PL

A: When they...

pòd-ná khwàà-sé-é=ʔʔ
CNJ2.1PL-??? ¹⁰⁹ return-FACT-3O=SUB
J: And when we return him,

???

yes

A: Yes

pòò-ná hàpú ts'áá-n=ò nóká-á ɲ||òò-ɲ hèèw
CNJ2.1PL-??? ¹¹⁰ you (POSS.)home-DIR=1PL bring-3O child-DEF DEM1.m
J: We bring this child to your house ¹¹¹

pìi-ná	hàp-áá	âan-x- ¹ sún	ŋ óó	hèéw
CNJ2.2SG-???	¹¹² you-SFOC	see-BEN-1PL	child	DEM1.m
and then you see this child for us				

ts'úkha-pò=ně-ŋ

cover-2SG:NR=Y/NQ-L

A: and will you cover him in smoke?¹¹³

ts'úkxhá-pò=ně-ŋ mǐrǐgǐsô-ŋ hàwêŋ mǐrǐgǐsé-pǒ-ŋ
cover-2SG:NR=Y/NQ-L treatment-DEF which?.m treat-2SG:NR-L
J: and will you cover him in smoke, and which treatment will you use?

¹⁰⁸ See footnote 88.

¹⁰⁹ See footnote 88.

¹¹⁰ See footnote 88.

¹¹¹ J reports to A what has been discussed at the home of the traditional healer. J has been advised by him to get the child to the hospital and then come back to him. 'Your' refers to the house of this healer.

¹¹² See footnote 88.

¹¹³ A asks this question as if she was there, asking it herself.

ʔàǎǎ

INTJ

A: Aha

ʔék'á=wáʔǎ hɛwé=wáʔǎ káʔǎ ʔáwé-ká-á=tshèé

indeed¹¹⁴=CND he=CND that be_good-COM-3O=NEG1.3

J: Indeed. If like this, then it will not be good for him?

ʔá, ʔáw-ts'í-ì fārê-y-sò ts'áákù ɲ||èé=ʔɲ

INTJ be_good-MID1-3:NR lie-AG-3PL (POSS.)at_home enter=SUB.ATT

A: Ah, it will be good. If we go to the liars' place,

ʔèèè

yes

J: Yes

ʔàà ʔááw hɛwé

CNJ2.3PL good.m he

A: this is good.

tsí-kí=ná hɛwé=gá-sí kwèsègà

I-TOP=Q he=CONF=1SG think

J: As for me, I think so too.

híy-à hɛw-áá hùmà-ts'=íʔɲ,

SUB:CNJ-3 he-SFOC overcome-MID1=SUB

A: When this has failed,

ʔèèè

yes

J: Yes

hèsó-ts'ènè fār-ó ɲ||òmósò=íʔɲ,

they-??? lie-NMN (POSS.)person.PL=SUB

A: since these are liars,

ʔèèè

yes

J: Yes

||úmá-sô-n-sò ʔàmàná híy-àʔǎ hès-áá hùmà-ts'íʔɲ ...

divine-PL-DEF-PL maybe SUB:CNJ-3PL they-SFOC overcome-MID1.ATT

A: (these) diviners. Maybe, if they have failed, ...

¹¹⁴ See footnote 102.

ʔèèè

yes

J: Yes

phê lăbê-ká-á=ʔò

tomorrow wake_up-COM-3O=1PL:OPT

A: Let's be early with him tomorrow.

lăbê-ká-á pòò níʔ-àŋ ||ô=ʔò ŋ||èé-ká-á

wake_up-COM-3O CNJ2.1PL go:PL-??? there=1PL enter-COM-3O

J: Be early with him and we go and enter with him there.

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

maana swê=ò ɬêʔè n=ò-ŋ hétt'=ò ŋ||èé,

meaning¹¹⁵ now=1PL later CNJ=1PL-CL over_there=1PL enter

J: So this means, later on, we enter there,

hétt'=ò ŋ||èé, hétt'=ò ŋ||èé=ʔŋ

over_there=1PL enter over_there=1PL enter=SUB

and there, and there.

ɬáw-ì=ts'é

be_good-3:NR=NEG2

A: This will not be good.

ŋ!ê nèé-ŋ |'útshúkù-wá=ì

day stay:PL-VL pass-PL2¹¹⁶-3:NR

J: Days will be passing.

ŋ||òó k'àʔé-sùŋ

child hurt-1PL:NR

A: We will hurt the child.

ŋ||òó k'àʔé-ts'=â ʔiyé-ŋ

child hurt-MID1=3 stay:SG-VL

J: The child continues suffering.

¹¹⁵ Swahili insertion: *maana* 'meaning'

¹¹⁶ The plural marker has an underlying low tone, but is realized as a high tone before the low-toned non-realis subject marker.

ʔáráá

right

A: That's true.

nì-ŋ ʔò-ʔò-kì híy-ò làbé-ŋ níʔ=íʔi ɲ!ê-ŋg-àà ɲ!é=íʔi
 CNJ-CL over_there-LOC-TOP SUB:CNJ-1PL wake_up-VL go:PL=SUB day-DEF-SFOC dawn=SUB
 J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,

pòò sìphìtháfi-nà níʔ=íʔi
 CNJ2.1PL hospital-DIR go:PL=SUB
 and we go to the hospital.

ʔàà ɲ||ŋkwàʔà-sún

CNJ2.3PL reprimand-1PL

A: They will reprimand us.

ɲ||ŋkwàʔà-sún ʔàà káʔá hákw=è nèé=yóóó
 reprimand-1PL CNJ2.3PL that where?=2PL stay:PL=EXCL
 J: Reprimand us and say: “Where did you stay?”

nènè

INTJ

A: Hmm

nì-ŋ ɲ||òó=tàxì |àn-sí-sì-ŋ k'wàwésé pèé
 CNJ-CL child=just see-BE-2PL:NR-DEF ill_person.m put:SG
 J: “And the child you saw, it was ill, but you left it.”

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

nóká-á='tshí-sìŋ

bring-3O=NEG1-2PL

J: “You didn't bring it”

hàásò mànà-á-sí-sò há-ʔá-tè-n=ò níʔi-ŋ,
 DEM2.PL know-3O-BE-3PL where?-LOC-area-DIR=1PL go:PL-L
 J: Those know where we go,

há-ʔá-tè-n=ò níʔi-ŋ, há-ʔá-tè-n=ò níʔi-ŋ
 where?-LOC-area-DIR=1PL go:PL-L where?-LOC-area-DIR=1PL go:PL-L
 and where we go, and where we go,

?áráá=gâ?à

right=CONF

A: True

hèwé tètà mánà-á-sò ŋ||ŋkwà?à-sún-sò

he genuine know-3O-3PL:NR reprimand-1PL-3PL:NR

J: This they will absolutely know, they will reprimand us.

phê làb=ô?ò ?áre

tomorrow be_early=1PL:OPT o.k.

A: Let's be early tomorrow, shouldn't we?

fék'á=wâ?à

indeed ¹¹⁷=CND

J: That's how it is.

?èèè

yes

A: Yes

phê ŋ, ?ixùts'í=kwàrà ?áre

tomorrow.ATT thus=HORT.3 o.k.

J: Tomorrow, let it be so, shouldn't it?

thún'thún

darkness.RED

A: In the dark.

thún'thún

darkness.RED

J: In the dark.

?árá

right

A: Right

wétsháná=yóóó ní?i-ŋ hospitali hèéw |àng-é

NAR:INTJ=EXCL go:PL-VL hospital ¹¹⁸ DEM1.m see-3O

J: Hear, go and see this hospital.

¹¹⁷ See footnote 102.

¹¹⁸ Swahili insertion: *hospitali* 'hospital'.

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

bô-x-ʔsún-sò

say-BEN-1PL-3PL:NR

J: They will tell us.

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

bô-x-ʔsún-sò

say-BEN-1PL-3PL:NR

J: They will tell us.

híy-à hùmà-kw-á=ʔí ʔòò kóyòwà ts'áá-n=ò khwàà-sé-é

SUB:CNJ-3 overcome-CAUS1-3O=SUB CNJ2.1PL Koyowa (POSS.)home-DIR=1PL return-FACT-3O

A: If he fails, we return him to Koyowa's house.

ʔòò kóyòwà ts'áá-n=ò níʔí

CNJ2.1PL Koyowa (POSS.)home-DIR=1PL go:PL

J: We go to Koyowa's house.

haya

all_right¹¹⁹

A: All right.

ʔix̣ʔs'ɪ=kwàrà ʔárè

thus=HORT.3 right

J: Let it be like this, not?

ʔix̣ʔ=kwà ʔiyé

thus=OPT.3 stay:SG

A: Let it so be.

ʔáárè

right

J: All right.

tsí-kí mèénà-á=sí swê=sìʔí

I-TOP love-3O=1SG now=TOP2

A: I agree now.

¹¹⁹ Swahili insertion: *haya* 'all right'.

ʔà, ʔix̩tsʔ=kwa

INTJ thus=OPT.3

J: Ah, let it so be.

m̩m̩m̩

INTJ

A: Hmm

4. Two sayings with explanation

The openings of bags are turned over

Explanation: If you are lucky, do not start glorifying yourself; tide may turn.

bògòlò ʔɪ!ũŋ phí!ʔi-wà-s-ê

bag POSS.mouth turn_over-PL-BE-3

The openings of bags are turned over

ʔútè màákhà kúrìyò ŋ|òmósò mséra-tsʔ=àʔà hàwé-ŋ nì-ŋ tsʔà-kù

yesterday (POSS.)year Kurio (POSS.)people Mséra-LOC=3PL fetch-VL CNJ-CL drink-CAUS1

Last year, the people of Kurio fetched water and drenched in Mséra.

hèèw màákhà mséra ŋ|òmós-àà kúrìyò-ʔò hàwé-ŋ nì-ŋ tsʔà-kù

DEM1.m year Mséra (POSS.)people-SFOC Kurio-LOC fetch-VL CNJ-CL drink-CAUS1

This year, the people of Mséra fetch water and drench in Kurio.

sàndawé ʔix=àʔà ʔáárè-tsʔi káʔá bògòlò ʔɪ!ũŋ phí!ʔi-wà-s-ê

Sandawe thus=3PL right-MID1 that bag POSS.mouth turn_over-PL-BE-3

Thus, the Sandawe believe that openings of bags are turned over.

mààákhèŋ bahati kʔómé-s-ê, swê tsí-tè phê hàpú-tè

its_meaning.ATT ¹²⁰luck ¹²¹move-BE-3 now I-area tomorrow you-area

Which means: luck usually moves, today it is on me, tomorrow on you.

hèwé-mèé hí-ì !ʔówé=ìʔi mèé=kò hàlé-tsʔi

he-sake SUB:CNJ-2SG get.3O=SUB NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT glorify-MID1

Therefore, if you get it, do not glorify yourself.

¹²⁰ Cf. Swahili *maana yake* ‘its meaning’.

¹²¹ Swahili insertion: *bahati* ‘luck’.

Death does not have age groups

Explanation: Death is the same for everyone, either young or old.

tlaásì mǎríkà-s-é=ts'é

death age_group-BE-3=NEG2

Death does not have age groups.

mànáákhè tlaásì bà?é ||'áá=tshéé

its_meaning death be_big follow=NEG1.3

It means, death does not follow the (old) ones.

ŋ||òó-kí=wâ?à tlaásì-ì, k'arèé-kí=wâ?à tlaásì-ì,

child-TOP=CND die-3:NR youth-TOP=CND die-3:NR

Would it be for a child, it may die, for a youth, he may die,

dì?isèé-kí=wâ?à tlaásì-ì, tí'ábísóó-kí=wâ?à !'áwí-ì

elder-TOP=CND die-3:NR stomach-TOP=CND fall-3:NR

for an elder, he may die; a pregnancy may fail.

hèwé-mèé mèé=kò bô ká?à

he-sake NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT say that

Therefore, do not say:

làbá hí-ì hàp-áá tlaás-ì? tlaás-ì? hàpú màkàá tsí tí'áá-sì

later SUB:CNJ-2SG you-SFOC die=SUB you (POSS.)wealth I take:PL-1SG:NR

When you will die, I will take (inherit) your properties.

màná-á-pò=ts'é hó bàárà-ŋ tlaásì-?òŋ

know-3O-2SG:NR=NEG2 who? start-VL die-INF

You cannot know who will die first.

