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A grammar of Sandawe : a Khoisan language of Tanzania

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http://goto.glocalnet.net/maho/eballsamples/sample_w400.html

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 ʔyáʔábô-ŋ ʔúrì-n=sìʔì !'ín-ó dǵàní-ʔìŋ
they POSS.work-DEF very-VL=TOP2 hunt-NMN arrow-INSTR
Their work was mainly hunting with arrows,

màkíba-ʔìŋ tìn-ó |'úmú kù-ʔìŋ 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-àʔà tsùú=ʔà húk'wà=ìʔì ʔàà dzàdzàsé-é nì-ŋ ɲíŋ
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.

ŋ!ê 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=?à-ŋ ɲ!átháŋg-é-ŋ ?àànákhà-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|ɲ hɲŋé-xê-ŋ ?àà dzàdzàs-ímá-á
 meat other-COLL-DEF CNJ2.3PL roast.FACT-IT.PL1-3O
 They roasted the rest of the meat.

||dòxì ɲ|ɲ láá ||'íné-wà=tshèé=sìŋ kwàà láá?è-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|ɲ tshíyà ɲ|ɲ-ŋíwá-á-sàkmèents'=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 ká?á
 CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF-LOC=3 that
 So he said to the civet cat:

wàré dzàdzàsé=kò ɲíyé-ŋ ɲíswê |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 ká?á ?ááreyò wàré
 CNJ2.3 that all_right friend:m
 And he replied: “All right my friend”.

láá?è 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.

?ò-?ò=sìŋ pàà hèwé 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|ɲk'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 -sàkmèen 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 thâ-ŋŋg=à khwàà

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

Hear! And he returned running,

||ó-ŋò-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=sìŋi kwàà nìmà-ŋ |àng-é pàà kwátŋ nì-ŋ thâ
 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.

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

lááŋè kwàà ðbèðbè=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 khwàá-ŋ thâ-ŋ
 CNJ-CL return-L run:SG-L
 ran back,

hèwé kèlèmbâ-ŋg=à síyé-ŋ nì-ŋ ŋ||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 káŋá] 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.

ŋò-ŋò=sìŋi nìmà-ŋ tshèé pàà hàkíts'=à Ŷiyé-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 !éŋé 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're, 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'ŋ 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 hèwé-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** **|i-sì**
 roast.FACT=2SG:OPT stay:SG-VL now come:SG-1SG:NR
 “Go on roasting, I will come right now.”

pà-xì **kòs=à** **!wáá** **hèwé-nà** **kòs=à** **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=à** **swáá** **nì-ŋ** **ts’â-tà-nà=à** **||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=à** **thâ=yóóó** **nìmà-ŋg=à** **ŋ|óó-sú⁴kw-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=à** **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=à** **ŋ||èé-sú⁴k-é** **nì-ŋ** **khwàà** **kìràŋgí-ʔí-tè-nà=à**
 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’=à**
 CNJ2.3 wait civet_cat-DEF-LOC=3
 and waited for the civet cat.

nìmà-ŋ **híy-à** **[...]** **|i=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=à **tsùú-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.

ṭeé?é=sì?ṭi pàà nìmà-ṅ kwèsègà n=à-ṅ ká?á
 so_then=TOP2 CNJ2.3 civet_cat-DEF think CNJ=3-CL that
 So then the civet cat thought:

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

híy-à há-?á-tè-nà=ké=à=’lé?é hík’=ì?ṭi
 SUB:CNJ-3 where?-LOC-area-DIR=IND=3=???⁸⁹ go:SG=SUB
 where he goes I do not know,

pà-xì tsùú-áá ’thânì-wà-tshé, hótsò=’lé?é
 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=’kwáá phê híy-à kòs=à Yix=ì?ṭi dǝdǝYi-ṅ pèèràà ||’áá-sì
 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-ṅ |àng-ê-sì
 CNJ-CL see-3O-1SG:NR
 and I will see him.

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

?áráá phê-yê-n=sì?ṭi láá?è pà-xì dàà ’hík’
 really tomorrow-m-DEF=TOP2 hare CNJ2.3-again cheat.3O.3 go:SG
 Truly, the next day Hare again went cheating him.

nìmà-ṅ kwàà ||’áá-yé nì-ṅ ||wá-ts’i ?ò-?ò bèébà
 civet_cat-DEF CNJ2.3 follow-3O CNJ-CL hide-MID1 here-LOC near
 The civet cat followed him and hid himself nearby.

láá?è-ṅ kwàà swá-ts’i nì-ṅ hèwé kèlèmbâ-ṅg=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-xé?=à |àng-é=ìŋ

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

When the civet cat saw this

pàà †thâ k̀ràŋgí-ŋ-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.

láá?è pàà †thâ ||ò-?ò nìm-àá ʔiyé-ŋ dzàdzàsé-?é-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 láá?è-ŋg=à |àng-é=ìŋ 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!!

láá?è-ŋ k̀lèmbâ-ŋg=à síyè-ŋ †||wáá tàná-?á-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-?ò k̀ràŋgí-ŋ-tè-nà=à nì-ŋ bèébà=à ||wá-ts'í

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.

láá?è pàà k̀òs=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||è=ìŋ nìmà-ŋ tshèé kwàà ká?á |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|ŋ tshíyà=àŋ|í-ŋwá-á nì-ŋ k̀lèmbâ-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 k'wámá=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 táná-ŋá-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-ŋò kíràngí-ŋí-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=ìŋí bútt¹ŋ ||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, !wátáts¹ŋ=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-ŋŋg=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 ŋísì-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.

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

hàdisi-η-kì ?ô-?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.

mìsikóó *!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.

?útáá mìsikóó thèé dōŋ hàà sé ... hàà màpín, màpín='ts'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.

η!ê-xê-n-tà ?útáá híy-à hèwé-xé-áá tshèékì-wà=ì?ì
 day-COLL-DEF-in long_ago SUB:CNJ-3 he-COLL-SFOC end-PL2=SUB
 Nowadays, when long ago these were all finished,

?iswê η!ê-xê-n-tà ?àlèé, màpín 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 ñ|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 ñ|èé-ñ !'òókhá=ì?í ?òntè-kì ñ|èé nì-ñ ?òntè-kì ñ|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 ?ix=ì ñ|ú?iyá-á-ñ !'òókhá=ì?í

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-kíñ ká?á kó?à, súnkì?iñ 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-?iñg=ì xòxòsé, hèwé-?iñg=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=ì?í khimbà thèé hèwé fǎn-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 fǎn-ts'í-ñ !'òókhá=ì?í

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

And when it has split apart,

⁹² Swahili insertion: *namna* ‘manner’.

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

ʔix=ò bô sún=síʔi kò káʔá |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 ʔòntè-kì nì-ṅ ʔòntè-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 !'wá-ṅg-àà tìé=ìʔi pì thóónòʔ=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 thóónòʔòṅ ... hèwé-ʔiṅ màká=wáʔá ʔáá=ì ʔiyé-ṅ ṅ|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 màʔalé-xè-ṅg=à tshiyà tshèékì-wá=ìʔi
 CNJ2.3 he-COLL a_certain-COLL-DEF=3 all end-PL2=SUB
 And when all these very pieces are gone,

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

nì-ṅ híy-à !'wàsì-ṅ !'òókhá=ìʔi,
 CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-3 be_hollow-VL finish=SUB
 And when it is hollow,

pì-xì-ná tē-ṅ phándò-ṅ 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 !'òókhá-ts'=ìʔi, pì xùpùʔùsé-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.

p̀̀ **x̀̀p̀̀p̀̀s̀̀é=ŋ** **!d̀̀okhá=iŋ** **m̀̀s̀̀k̀̀óó** **ŋ!úŋ**
 CNJ2.2SG cover-VL finish=SUB beehive POSS.mouth
 When you have finished covering, (the next step is) the opening of the beehive.

ts'úts'ú=ŋg=i **síyé=ŋ** **p̀̀ràràé=yóóó** **p̀̀** **téte'kw=é**
 charcoal-DEF=2SG take:SG-VL draw=EXCL CNJ2.2SG remove.CAUS1-3O
 You take the charcoal and you draw, then you take it out (i.e. the wood of
 the opening).

hèwé tóónò=iŋ **p̀̀** **m̀̀s̀̀k̀̀óó** **ŋ!úŋ** **p̀̀nà** **|hàré=yóóó**
 he adze-INSTR CNJ2.2SG beehive POSS.mouth CNJ2.2SG-???⁹⁶ hammer=EXCL
 With the adze then, you hammer the opening of the beehive.

p̀̀ **hèwé=nà** **làrà=ts'í**
 CNJ2.3 he-DIR be_appropriate-MID1
 And then it is even with it.

ŋ̀̀ntè **|úk̀̀yê=ŋ-k̀̀i-àà** **hèwé=nà** **làrà=ts'í**
 over_there under-m-DEF-TOP-SFOC he-DIR be_appropriate-MID1
 the lower one over there is even with it.

híy-à **ts'híy-àà** **làrà=ts'í-kwàŋk̀̀i=iŋ**
 SUB:CNJ-3 all-SFOC be_appropriate-MID1-REC=SUB
 When everything is even with each other,

p̀̀ **x̀̀p̀̀p̀̀s̀̀é=é** **|àng-é** **ŋára=ná** **làrà=ts'í-wà**
 CNJ2.2SG cover.FACT-3O see-3O really=Q be_appropriate-MID1-PL2
 then you put them together and see if they are really even.

híy-à **làrà=ts'í=ŋ** **!d̀̀okhá-wá=iŋ**
 SUB:CNJ-3 be_appropriate-MID1-VL finish-PL2=SUB
 Once they are even,

hèwé **m̀̀k̀̀á=wàŋ?** **m̀̀s̀̀k̀̀óóŋ** **ŋt̀̀éms-ó**
 he that_is=CND beehive.ATT POSS.be_ready-NMN
 if that is the case, the beehive is ready.

hí-i **ŋt̀̀émsé=ŋ** **!d̀̀okhá=iŋ**
 SUB:CNJ-2SG be_ready-VL finish=SUB
 When you are ready,

ŋ̀̀=i-ŋ **thèé** **hàwà=nà** **k̀̀e-ŋkw=é-p̀̀**
 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 sún 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-ʔkw-á-pò
 he-COLL-DIR ascend-CAUS1-3O-2SG:NR
 You will let it ascend into them

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

sún 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 mìsíkáóó=ì pèé=ìʔi kwà mèé !'awé
 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 mèé 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 mèé 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 mìsíkáóó-ŋ màká=wàʔá ʔàʔé=wàʔá !'awé-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 ||wâ-ŋ sánŋásì
 he tree-DEF (POSS.)name-DEF sangasi
 The name of this stick is “sangasi”.

⁹⁷ Swahili insertion: *na* ‘and’

pìi fík'ì-sé-é, pìi 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-xè?è ǎé?é=sí?í m̀s̀í kóó !'àw-í=ts'è?è

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

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

k̀ú ̀m̀ng̀urá hàà híngè-xê-η k̀ú-η-k̀ì n̄èé-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.

p̀ìi m̀s̀í kóó-η hí|'á-wá-á ||'à?à-sé ǹì-η ts'úkhá-é-ì-η

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.

Ƴ̀x-ò-η b̀ò k̀ò ká?á s̀ú ̀m̀s̀í kóó 'sám báláá m̀s̀í kóó 'sám báláá

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-k̀ì hí-ì hángá=ì?í p̀ìi !'ámé=yóóó

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

This one, you start shaping it,

ts'òn'tó !hwèé-nà làmà-s-ê-η

small hole-DIR be_appropriate-BE-3-DEF

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

p̀ìi làlàá=ì síyé-η ||'ín-tà-n=ì p̄éé

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

p̀ìi !hwèé 'η||ókó=ì |hòròm sé=yóóó

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

and you bore tiny holes

|'èkhá héη||àk̀ì-η t̀t̀t̀-ì-sà-mèé

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

for the bees, in order to enter and leave.

hèwémèénts'=ò Ƴ̀x̀ì η|wéé

that's_why=1PL thus do

That's why we act in this way.

pì **hí|’á-wá-á** **||’à?à-sé-ká-á-ts’ê-η** **mìsíkóó-n-nì=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.

nì-η **t’ésònts’ì-kì** **ká?á** **mìrìgì** **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** **hím-ó-s-ê**
 he k’wededa’.ATT stink-NMN-BE-3
 This k’wededa’ has a smell.

hèw=à?à **híy-à?à** **k’òóthó=ì?ì** **|’èkhâ-n-sò** **hèw=à?à** **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?à** **ní?ì**
 know-3O-BE-3PL they CNJ2.3PL there-LOC-DIR=3PL go:PL
 they have the knowledge and they go there.

híy-à?à **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?

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

hàà **?ò-?ò-η** **wétsháná=yóóó** **|’èkhâ** **hèsó** **hàà** **hìsô-n-sò** **fé?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 **t’ésònts’ì-kì** ‘furthermore, what follows’ is a complex form: **t’és-ò-n-ts’ì-kì** do_again-NMN-DEF-LOC-TOP.

⁹⁹ This is not the transcription of the original recording. When transcribing with the speaker, he changed **|’èkhâxéáá hèwâ?à k’òóthó?ì** to **|’èkhânsò hèwâ?à k’òóthó?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-à?à ní?í-sà-má=ì?í ?àà 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.

?ô-?ò !'òówé-sò=gâ?à ?àà η||èé

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

They will find it here, and they go inside.

hèwé mìsíkoó-n-tà-nà η||èé-sò

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

They will enter into the beehive.

hí|'á-η-kì khòó-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.

?àà íé?é η||èé

CNJ2.3PL later enter

And later on, they go inside.

híy-à?à η||èé-η !'òókhá=ì?í, ?àà tñiné ?àà tñiné

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

Once they have entered, they build, and build.

kítà?à-n=à?à dèé'téé=?à tñí-?íwá-á

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

They build many things inside.

híy-à?à η||èé-η !'òókhá=ì?í tñiné-sò=gâ?à

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

Once they have entered, they will build.

hótsò tñiné-sò=ná

what? build-3PL:NR=Q

What will they build?

tshwàá

honey_comb

Honey combs.

tí'ésònts?í-kì tshíη phóó

furthermore-TOP honey white

What follows is clear honey.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. footnote 85.

tɪ'ésòntsʔi-kì tùmèé
 furthermore-TOP yellow_honey
 What follows is “tumeé”.

híy-àʔà kítàʔà-nà kàá-wà-ìʔi dɪʔá-xê-ŋ-gá-ìʔi,
 SUB:CNJ-3PL inside-DIR put:PL-PL2=SUB egg-COLL-DEF=CONF=SUB
 When they have put them inside, the eggs,

ʔàà tshíŋg=àʔà kàá-wà-ts'è-é=yóóó kítàʔà-nà ʔàà ʔíí-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-àʔà ʔíí-ìmé-ŋ !'òókhá=ìʔi ʔàà dàrà ŋ!ê-n-ts'=àʔà
 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 ʔéé=yóóó [na] ŋ!ê-ŋg-àà déé=ìʔi
 SUB:CNJ-3 later=EXCL [and¹⁰¹] day-DEF-SFOC be_many=SUB
 When later on many days have passed,

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

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

háʔásù híkʔi-ŋ [nì] hòná-sì
 when? go:SG-VL [CNJ] collect_honey-1SG:NR
 “When shall I go and collect honey?”

nì-ŋ hík'-wǎ-ŋ phàkhé-ŋ |'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:

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

híy-àʔà gùmùʔùsé=ìʔi pàà mànáá tshíŋ !dón-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 tʔwǎŋg-àà ||'óó=ìʔi 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?

||ó híy-ò nèé-ŋ ||'ó=ìŋí ŋ||òó-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 ...?

kó 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=à

child.ATT be_ill=CONF=3

J: The child, he is certainly ill!

?èèè

yes

A: Yes.

nì-ŋ swê=sì?í=ná hàpú=sí?í 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=sí?í=ná híkí=ì |âŋ

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

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

kô kùsì kà?ăŋ tsí=sí?í=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 ?íxì=sì kòsègàăŋ

I thus=1SG think.ATT

J: I think as follows:

?èèè

yes

A: Yes.

sìphìthárì-n=ò?ò xéé
 hospital-DIR=1PL:OPT bring:3O
 J: Let's get him to the hospital.

mè mímì, ||úmá-sà-n=ò?ò xéé
 INTJ divine-NMN3-DIR=1PL:OPT bring:3O
 A: Hmm, let's get him to the diviners.

||úmá-†sá=ná
 divine-NMN3=Q
 J: To read the divining board?

?èè ?òò ||òmé-ŋ †|àn, nì=kò-ŋ híísí m̀r̀g̀sé ŋ||òó
 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.

hààsò-kì wá?àntè híy-ò ní?=ì?ì
 DEM2.PL-TOP there SUB:CNJ-1PL go:PL=SUB
 J: But those over there (i.e. in the hospital), when we go there,

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

ŋ||òó ||hàtá-ŋ swàkú-wà-?òŋ |àn=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?

kò swàkú hèwé tshíyà
 just swell he all
 J: That is, all have swollen, yes..

ts'ík'á
 ts'ík'a
 A: It's "ts'ík'a" (disease which causes swollen legs).

kò mànà-á..., mànà-á-sò m̀r̀g̀ì-xê-ŋ-kì mànà-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 ŋ!ê-xê-n-tà ?úr=à?à m̀m̀ík̀ì mànà-á-sò ts'ík'á-yó-?òŋ
 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 ?ixìts'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 sún 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 íék’á=wâ?à pòd 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 kì ká?á mdéwà tshèé 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 hétí?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 hétí?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.

?áàrè
 o.k.
 A: O.k.

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

¹⁰³ Swahili insertion: *au* ‘or’.

ʔò bɛ́ɛ̀bà-yé

here be_close-m

J: The one close-by.

ʔèèè

INTJ

A: Yes

kóyowà hɛ́ɛ̀w ɛ́ék'á bɛ́ɛ̀bà-yé ɲ

Koyowa DEM1.m indeed¹⁰⁴ be_close-m.ATT

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

ʔèèè

INTJ

A: Yes

hèw-òʔò |àng-é

he=1PL:OPT see-3O

J: Let's see him.

ʔòò s̀ìph̀h̀thá̀h̀-̀nà ɛ́émé

CNJ2.1PL:OPT hospital-DIR accompany

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

h́íy-àʔà ɛ́éʔé káʔá kò tsí-kí h̀ùmà-s-á=ʔí 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 s̀ìph̀h̀thá̀h̀-̀n=ò níʔí ʔárèè

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

A: Then we go to the hospital, right?

ʔòò wétshána=yóóó ʔòò s̀ìph̀h̀thá̀h̀-̀n=ò níʔí

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

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

h́ík'ɲ=kwáá-ɲ khéʔé làbè-ɲ

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

A: Be early and go and listen.

kò phê-nà làbè-s̀ì

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 hèèw=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 káŋá 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 hétŋ 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.

sì kísí ká?á ||òóxì 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-xé?=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.

ńńń

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-à?á ká?á ||ò-ʔò hóbè=ké hóbè=ké=ì?í
 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=í?í
 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’.

ʔǎǎ

INTJ

A: Aha

ʔék'á=wáʔǎ hèwé=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 fàrê-y-sò ts'áákù ŋ||èé=ʔíŋ

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

ʔà ʔááw hèwé

CNJ2.3PL good.m he

A: this is good.

tsí-kí=ná hèwé=gá-sí kwèsègà

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

J: As for me, I think so too.

híy-à hèw-áá hùmà-ts'=íŋ,

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

A: When this has failed,

ʔèèè

yes

J: Yes

hèsó-ts'èné fàr-ó ŋ|òmósò=íŋ,

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'íŋ ...

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 lǎbé-ká-á=ʔò

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

A: Let's be early with him tomorrow.

lǎbé-ká-á pòò níʔ-àŋ ||ò=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 íêʔè 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=íʔi

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

and there, and there.

íáw-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 ||ò-ʔò-kì híy-ò làbé-ŋ níʔ=íʔì ŋ!ê-ŋg-àà ŋ!é=íʔì
 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=íʔì
 CNJ2.1PL hospital-DIR go:PL=SUB
 and we go to the hospital.

ʔàà ŋ||ŋkwàʔà-sún

CNJ2.3PL reprimand-1PL

A: They will reprimand us.

ŋ||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?”

m̀m̀m̀

INTJ

A: Hmm

nì-ŋ ŋ||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 níʔì-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 níʔì-ŋ, há-ʔá-tè-n=ò níʔì-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,

ʔaráá=gâʔà

right=CONF

A: True

hèwé tétà mánà-á-sò ŋ||ŋkwàʔà-sún-sò

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

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

phê láb=ôʔò ʔárè

tomorrow be_early=1PL:OPT o.k.

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

ʔék'á=wâʔà

indeed ¹¹⁷=CND

J: That's how it is.

ʔèèè

yes

A: Yes

phê ŋ, ʔixìts'í=kwàrà ʔárè

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.

ʔára

right

A: Right

wétshána=yóóó níʔi-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'.

?èèè

yes

A: Yes

bô-x-'sún-sò

say-BEN-1PL-3PL:NR

J: They will tell us.

?èèè

yes

A: Yes

bô-x-'sún-sò

say-BEN-1PL-3PL:NR

J: They will tell us.

híy-à hùmà-kw-á=í?ì pòò 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.

pòò kóyòwà ts'áá-n=ò ní?ì

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

J: We go to Koyowa's house.

haya

all_right¹¹⁹

A: All right.

?ixìts'ì=kwarà ?árè

thus=HORT.3 right

J: Let it be like this, not?

?ixì=kwà ?iyé

thus=OPT.3 stay:SG

A: Let it so be.

?áárè

right

J: All right.

tsí-kí mèénà-á=sí swê=sì?ì

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

A: I agree now.

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

ʔà, ʔix̩ts̩ʔi=kwà

INTJ thus=OPT.3

J: Ah, let it so be.

m̀m̀m̀

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.

b̀g̀d̀l̀l̀ ʔŋ!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 tsʔ-à-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 tsʔ-à-kù
DEMI.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 ʔáàré-tsʔi káʔá b̀g̀d̀l̀l̀ ʔŋ!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.

m̀ǹà̀á̀kh̩ŋ 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.

tlaási mǎríkà-s-ê=ts'é
 death age_group-BE-3=NEG2
 Death does not have age groups.

mànáákhè tlaási bà?é ||'áá=tshéé
 its_meaning death be_big follow=NEG1.3
 It means, death does not follow the (old) ones.

ŋ||dó-kí-wá?à tlaási-ì, k'arèé-kí-wá?à tlaási-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,

dí?isèé-kí-wá?à tlaási-ì, tí'ábísóó-kí-wá?à !'awí-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?á
 he-sake NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT say that
 Therefore, do not say:

làbá hí-ì hàp-áá tlaási-ì? tlaási-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 tlaási-ì?òŋ
 know-3O-2SG:NR=NEG2 who? start-VL die-INF
 You cannot know who will die first.

