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## Word order and information structure in Makhuwa-Enahara

Wal, G.J. van der

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## Appendix

The history of the name “Mozambique” (H15), as told by Joaquim Nazario, September 2006.

- 1 Ekhálái, élá elápw’ éela, akúnyá kha-y-aa-tsúwél-íya.  
long.ago 9.DEM.I 9.country 9.DEM.I 2.Portuguese NEG-2-IMPF-know-PASS.DJ  
‘A long time ago, in this country, the Portuguese were not known.’
- 2 Y-aa-rí alup’ oóriipá-rú paáhi.  
2-PAST-be 2.people.PL 2.dark-EXCL only  
‘There were only black people.’
- 3 Hatá eyaákhá y-a miílí oituséntús i novénta oítu.  
until 9.year 9-CONN thousand eight.hundred and ninety eight  
‘Until the year 1898.’<sup>47</sup>
- 4 Akúnyá aahí-khúmá olishipówá  
2.Portuguese 2.PAST.PERF.DJ-leave 17.Lisbon  
khiyá-r-aaka elápó y’ aahííti,  
NARR.IMPF-go-DUR 9.country 9.CONN 2.Indians  
‘The Portuguese had left Lisbon and went to the country of the Indians,...’
- 5 e-n-iír-íy-áká, e-n-aátsím-íyá Íntia.  
9-PRES-do-PASS-DUR.REL 9-PRES-call-PASS.REL India  
‘...which they say, which is called India.’
- 6 Álá-álá a-vír-áká opahári ya-ttika niíthó,  
2.DEM.I-RED 2-pass-DUR 17.open.sea 2.SIT-throw 5.eye  
y-aa-wéhá él’ ékisírw’ éela.  
2-IMPF.CJ-see 9.DEM.I 9.island 9.DEM.I  
‘They, passing on open sea, when they looked around, they saw this very island.’
- 7 Álé kh-úpuwel-átsá wiírá ni-ń-kúsh-e pakét’ íih’ úúlá,  
2.DEM.III NARR-think-PLUR COMP 1PL-1-carry-OPT 1.ship 1.POSS.1PL 1.DEM.I  
‘And they thought: let’s take our boat,...’

<sup>47</sup> This is presumably meant to be 1498, when Vasco da Gama “discovered” the island of Mozambique. 1898 was the year in which Ilha ceased to be the capital of the country, which was relocated to Lourenço Marques (Maputo).

- 8 ni-row-é ná-múmul-ek-e wakisírwá vale.  
 1PL-go-OPT 1PL.SUBS-rest-DUR-OPT 16.island 16.DEM.III  
 ‘...let’s go and take a rest on that island.’
- 9 Vánó wa-phyi-aly-ááya vá, a-mí-phwányá nlópwáná m-motsá.  
 now 16-arrive-PERF.REL-POSS.2 16.DEM.I 2.PERF.DJ-1-meet 1.man 1-one  
 ‘When they arrived there, they met a man.’
- 10 Ólé aa-rí nákhavokó.  
 1.DEM.III 1.PAST-be 1.fisherman.PL  
 ‘He was a fisherman.’
- 11 Aa-ríná ekalawa ts-áwé ts-a khavóko.  
 1.PAST-have 10.boat.PL 10-POSS.1 10-CONN fishing  
 ‘He had his fishing boat.’
- 12 Álé a-mí-wéh-átsa.  
 2.DEM.III 2.PERF.DJ-1-see-PLUR  
 ‘They looked at him.’
- 13 Nu-m-weh-átsá a-h-uupuwelá masi ni-ń-kóh-e ntsíná n-áwé,  
 RES-1-see-PLUR 2-PERF.DJ-think but 1PL-1-ask-OPT 5.name 5-POSS.1  
 ‘When they had looked at him, they thought “let’s ask him his name,...”’
- 14 o-n-aátsím-íyá pání óla?  
 1-PRES.CJ-call-PASS 1.who 1.DEM.I  
 ‘...what is his name?’”
- 15 Álé a-ń-kóha, masi n’ iikúnya:  
 2.DEM.III 2.PERF.DJ-1-ask but with 9.Portuguese  
 “o-n-aátsím-íyá pani?”  
 2SG-PRES.CJ-call-PASS 1.who  
 ‘They asked him, but in Portuguese: “What is your name?””
- 16 Ólé khaa-tsúwélá ekúnya, kh-i’wwá ekúnya.  
 1.DEM.III NEG.1.IMPF-know.DJ 9.Portuguese NEG.1-hear.DJ 9.Portuguese  
 ‘He didn’t know Portuguese; he didn’t understand Portuguese.’
- 17 Ólé oo-máálá khwíyá-weh-eshésha.  
 1.DEM.III 1.PERF.DJ-quiet NARR.IMPF-see-INT  
 ‘He kept quiet and watched carefully.’

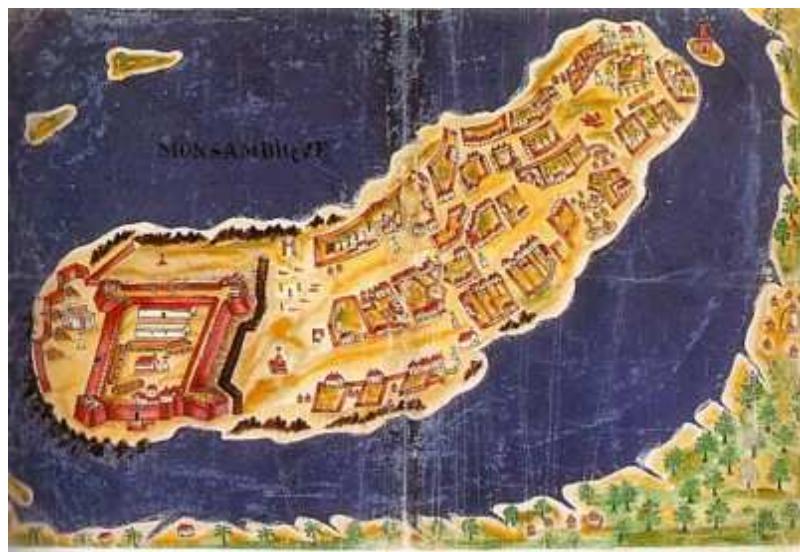
- 18 Álé aa-pácérá w-ií-hímy-ak-átsá akúny' áale, wiírá:  
 2.DEM.III 2.PERF.DJ-begin 15-REFL-say-DUR-PLUR 2.Portuguese 2.DEM.III COMP  
 'They began to identify themselves, those Portuguese:...'
- 19 "Wé, mí ki-n-aátsím-íyá fulánó fulánó  
 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES.CJ-call-PASS so-and-so RED  
 'Hey, I am called so-and-so,...'
- 20 ólé o-n-aátsím-íyá fulánó fulánó (x3)  
 1.DEM.III 1-PRES.CJ-call-PASS so-and-so RED  
 '...he is called so-and-so,...'
- 21 aíkhí wé?"  
 and.how 2SG.PRO  
 '...and you (are)?'
- 22 Válé ólé wa-n-thoony-aly-áaya, oo-wéhá wiírá: "khu,  
 16.DEM.III 1.DEM.III 16-1-point-PERF.REL-POSS.2 1.PERF.DJ-see COMP hmm  
 'When they pointed at him, he went like: "hmm,..."
- 23 khwaátsí o-kí-thóónyá nno a-m-phéélá ntsina n-áka.  
 maybe 15-1SG-point 17.DEM.II 2-PRES.CJ-want 5.name 5-POSS.1SG  
 '...maybe by pointing at me they want my name.'
- 24 Mí t-íir-aly-áaka, mí ki-n-aátsím-íyá Muúsa."  
 1SG.PRO COP-do-PERF.REL-POSS.1SG 1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES.CJ-call-PASS Musa  
 'Well then, my name is Musa.'"
- 25 "Aá! Muúsa. Muúsá pánî?" (2x)  
 aha Musa Musa 1.who  
 "Aha! Musa. Musa who?"
- 26 Hw-ír-áka: "Mí ki-n-aátsím-íyá Muúsá Alí Mpíikhi."  
 NARR-do-DUR 1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES.CJ-call-PASS Musa Ali Mbiki  
 'And he said: "My name is Musa Ali Mbiki."
- 27 Muúsá Alí Mpíikhi naa-rí ntsiná n-a ólá nakhávóko ola.  
 Musa Ali Mbiki 5.PAST-be 5.name.PL 5-CONN 1.DEM.I 1.fisherman 1.DEM.I  
 'Musa Ali Mbiki was the name of that fisherman.'

- 28 Álé a-h-aántíkha ntsíná nne.  
 2.DEM.III 1-PERF.DJ-write.Arabic 5.name 5.DEM.III  
 'They wrote it down, that name.'
- 29 Yoo-phiyá ewórá y-aa-rów-áyá elápó y' oohíntia.  
 9.PERF.DJ-arrive 9.hour 9-IMPF-go.REL-POSS.2 9.country 9.CONN 17.India  
 'The time came that they went to the country of India.'
- 30 Aa-rówá, aa-várá ts-aa-vár-áyá, aa-hókólówá,  
 2.PERF.DJ-go 2.PERF.DJ-grab 10-IMPF-grab.REL-POSS.2 2.PERF.DJ-return  
 aa-r-áátsá mpákhá olishípówa.  
 2.PERF.DJ-go-PLUR until 17.Lisbon  
 'They went, they did their work, they returned, they went to Lisbon.'
- 31 Wa-phiy-aly-aaya olishipowá, aa-hímýá wiírá  
 16-arrive-PERF.REL-POSS.2 17.Lisbon 2.PERF.DJ-say that  
 'When they arrived in Lisbon they said:...'
- 32 "Ni-h-oón-él-elá ekisírw' é-motsá e-m-phwany-al-ééhū  
 1PL-PERF.DJ-see-APPL-APPL 9.island 9-one 9-PRES-meet-PERF.REL-POSS.1PL  
 nlópwáná m-motsá o-n-aátsím-íyá Muúsá Alí Mpíikhi  
 1.man 1-one 1-PRES-call-PASS.REL Musa Ali Mbiki  
 "We discovered an island where we met a man named Musa Ali Mbiki."
- 33 Vá elápó ele ni-vah-é ntsíná n-a  
 16.DEM.I 9.country 9.DEM.III 1PL-give-OPT 5.name 5-CONN  
 Muúsá Alí Mpíikhi."  
 Musa Ali Mbiki  
 'Let's give this island the name Musa Ali Mbiki.'"
- 34 Masi okhálá wiírá Muúsá Alí Mpíikhi ntsina n-oórékama,  
 but 15.stay COMP Musa Ali Mbiki 5.name.PL 5-long  
 'But because Musa Ali Mbiki is a long name,...'
- 35 álé hw-ír-áka: "naáta, yoóréerá ni-hel-ek-é Musa Mpíikhi."  
 2.DEM III NARR-do-DUR no 9.good 1PL-put-DUR-OPT Musa Mbiki  
 '...they said: "No, it is better to make it Musa Mbiki."'

- 36 Álé khú-hélá tsítsáale wiírá noo-phiyá elápó,  
 2.DEM III NARR-put 10.like.that COMP 1PL.PERF.DJ-arrive 9.country  
 noo-vírá elápó e-n-aátsím-íyá Musampíikhi.  
 1PL.PERF.DJ-pass 9.country 9-PRES-call-PASS.REL Mozambique  
 ‘They put it just like that: we arrived in a country, we passed by a country that is called Mozambique.’
- 37 Válé okhúmá nihukú né-ñné, okhúmá eyaáká éelé,  
 16.DEM.III 15.exit 5.day 5.E-5.DEM.III 15.exit 9.year 9.DEM.III  
 ‘From that very day, from that year on...’
- 38 nláttú w-a nakhávók’ oolé t-uúhálá okhúm-él-élá  
 3.matter 3-CONN 1.fisherman 1.DEM.III COP-15.stay 15.exit-APPL-APPL  
 ntsíná nna-ínná n-a Musampíikhi.  
 5.name 5.DEM.I-RED 5-CONN Mozambique  
 ‘...it is because of that fisherman that this name “Mozambique” emerged.’
- 53 T-iílá ti-hántis’ iilá y’ eelápw’ ééh’ ñila.<sup>48</sup>  
 COP-9.DEM.I COP-9.story 9.DEM.I 9.CONN 9.country 9.POSS.1PL 9.DEM.I  
 ‘This is the story of our country.’

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<sup>48</sup> The second part of my recording of the story, about the original name of Ilha de Moçambique (*onhipithi*), is rather incoherent. Therefore sentences 39-52 are left out, but the concluding sentence of the story (line 53) is included.



Ilha de Moçambique com a representação da fortaleza de São Sebastião (Cat. 47).

Old map of Ilha de Moçambique, 1635.  
("Ilha de Moçambique com a representação da fortaleza de São Sebastião", Bocarro  
1635)