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APPENDIX A

Sample text

Conversation between wife and husband

The following text is an excerpt of a mock conversation in Kukuya between two male speakers who pretended to act as the wife and the husband and to have a quarrel. The “wife” is labelled as A and the “husband” as B. The glossing on some morphemes in the texts still need further investigation.

- (1) A. Maa-ndáka ma-kítĩ me ka-n-kukí mu
6-word 6-COMP 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG.SM-can 18.LOC
ki-kiele ni.
INF-tolerate NEG
‘The things that I cannot tolerate.’
- (2) B. We kâ-saká mí-pará nziimi!
2SG.PRO HAB-search 4-money much
‘You ask for much money!’

- (3) B. We yáab-i wurí me ka-n-lí ya
 2SG.PRO know-PST 2SG.COMP 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG.SM-COP with
 mi-pára ni!
 4-money NEG
 'You knew that I did not have money.'
- (4) B. Li-m-bák-í me, me m-wî me
 PST-1SG.SM-get-PST 1SG.PRO 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-give-PST 1SG.PRO
 ki-m-wâ we, wũ me ka-ká-mínima ni.
 DEP-1SG.SM-give 2SG.PRO 1REL 1SG.PRO NEG-1SM-be.seen NEG
 'When I got (something), I did give you but (my giving) was not
 seen.'
- (5) A. We ka-maá-múna wurí baa-ndúku báá me
 2SG.PRO NEG-PERF-see 2SG.COMP 2-friend 2.CONN 1SG.PRO
 baa-mó, bá-láa kí-kó ki-kí-tsítse.
 2-other 2SM-wear 7-clothes 7REL-7AGR-clean
 'You have not seen that, my other friends, they wear clean
 clothes.'
- (6) A. Ki-ko ki kíí me wuna ki-fúum-i we
 7-clothes 7REL 7.CONN 1SG.PRO only INF-buy-PST 2SG.PRO
 ngakímó, ná tsúku ki-fá ntséke kâ-láa wúna
 7.one every 5.day DEP-come.from 9.field PRS-wear only
 ké kía.
 7.PRO 7.DEM.II
 'You bought only one piece of clothes for me, everyday I finish
 (working in) the fields I wear only that one.'
- (7) A. Ki-n-yá hé ki-m-fá ntséke
 DEP-1SG.SM-go also DEP-1SG.SM-come.from 9.field
 n-yok-í ma-dzá, m-bvúruk-i
 1SG.SM-take.bath-PST 6-water 1SG.SM-return-PST
 n-lá-i ké kía.
 1SG.SM-wear-PST 7.PRO 7.DEM.II
 'When I go and I come from the field, when I took bath, I always
 wore that piece of clothes.'

- (8) A. We *kâ-múna wurí* we *ki-báká mí-pará mii*
 2SG.PRO PRS-see 2SG.COMP 2SG.PRO DEP-get 4-money 4.CONN
 we *wúna ma-li ki-ɲwâ.*
 2SG.PRO only 6-wine INF-drink
 'You see that if you get your money, you only drink wine.'
- (9) A. We *kâ-múna wurí* *búa* *kí-bvé li-kâ-yé*
 2SG.PRO PRS-see 2SG.COMP 14.DEM.II 7-good 1PL.SM-PRS-go
 mu *ntsá nzó?*
 18.LOC inside 9.house
 'Do you think it's good that we run the family like this?'
- (10) B. We *kâ-laká wurí* me *kâ-ɲwâ* *ma-li,*
 2SG.PRO PRS-say 2SG.COMP 1SG.PRO HAB-1SG.SM.drink 6-wine
maa-ndáka ma bu-kâ-n-súuk-i me
 6-problem 6.DEM.I 14REL-HAB-1SG.SM.solve-PST 1SG.PRO
ku nzó aa ngúku aa we.
 17.LOC 9.house 9.CONN 1.mother 1.CONN 2SG.PRO
 'You say that I drink wine, (but) I solved the problems of your maternal family.'
- (11) A. We *kâ-súuka wúna maá ku nzó aa ngúku*
 2SG.PRO PRS-solve only 6REL 17.LOC 9.house 9.CONN 1.mother
aa we, maá ku nzó aa ngúku aa
 1.CONN 2SG.PRO 6REL 17.LOC 9.house 9.CONN 1.mother 1.CONN
me, we ka-kâ-súuka ni.
 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO NEG-HAB-solve NEG
 'You solve only the problems of your family, the problems in my family you do not solve.'
- (12) B. We *kâ-múna wúna maá kukí me,* we *kâ-laká*
 2SG.PRO PRS-see only 6REL PREP 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO PRS-say
wurí me ka-kâ-m-wá we ní?
 2SG.COMP 1SG.PRO NEG-PRS-1SG.SM-give 2SG.PRO NEG
 'You only see what I do for my side, you say I give you nothing?'
- (13) A. *Bi-kâ-wá* we me *bí-ma?*
 8REL-PRS-give 2SG.PRO 1SG.PRO 8-what
 'What do you give me?'

- (14) B. Ki-bvé we ɲa nzó aa me li,
7-good 2SG.PRO 16.LOC 9.house 9.CONN 1SG.PRO COP
ka-kâ-m-wá ni, we a-bvĩ^x nsiina
NEG-HAB-1SG.SM-give NEG 2SG.PRO PST-fall.PST 9.ground
ɲa kíí me?
16.LOC 7.CONN 1SG.PRO
‘It is good that you are always at my house, (if) I do not give you,
(why) you settle in my home?’
- (15) A. Me ɲa m-bvĩ nsiina mu báana
1SG.PRO 16.PRO 1SG.SM-fall.PST 9.ground 18.LOC 2.children
ba-lí-maá-búra bhií.
2REL-1PL.SM-PERF-give.birth 1PL.PRO
‘I stay here for the children that we have given birth to.’
- (16) A. Bu-n-yí me ɲa kíí we
14REL-1SG.SM-come.PST 1SG.PRO 16.LOC 7.CONN 2SG.PRO
ɲa, bu yiká baa-mbvĩ li-maá-búra
16.DEM.I CONJ ?IMPF 2-white.hair 1PL.SM-PERF-give.birth
báana.
2.children
‘Since I came to your home, I now have white hair and we have
had children.’
- (17) B. Bu bá-maá-tó bá-nna, káli nzaamí ka-ká-sí
CONJ 2SM-PERF-arrive 2-four COND 1.god NEG-1SM-do.SBJV
bú-bí ni, kéne báana bá-yiká ba-táani nké.na.nké
14-bad NEG EMP 2.children 2SM-?IMPF 2-five CONJ
ba-séneme?
2-six
‘As we have four children, if the God does not do bad things,
don’t we have five or six?’
- (18) B. Mu we, li-báká líí me, we wurí
18.LOC 2SG.PRO 5-property 5.CONN 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO 2SG.COMP
me n-yé n-túr-á mu we!
1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-go 1SG.SM-steal 18.LOC 2SG.PRO
‘Because of you, my possessions, you say I’m going to steal be-

cause of you!’

- (19) A. We sé bi-yé túra, we kukí mu ki-balá
 2SG.PRO even NEG-go steal 2SG.PRO can 18.LOC INF-smelt
 nkŵî bu-kítî a-téke a-báká mú-pára
 9.firewood 14-COMP 2SG.SM-sell 2SG.SM-sell 3-money
 a-wá me, me m-fúum-i sé sabúnu.
 2SG.SM-give 1SG.PRO 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-buy-SBJV even 5.soap
 ‘Even if you do not go to steal, you can smelt the firewood in
 order to sell and earn money and give the money to me, I could
 buy even the soap.’
- (20) B. Kǎn mu li-we li-n-yikí me lía,
 CONJ 18.LOC 5-strength 5REL-1SG.SM-?IMPF 1SG.PRO 5.DEM.II
 me m-bvúruka n-somó mu-súru mu kí-balá
 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-return 1SG.SM-enter 3-forest 18.LOC INF-smelt
 nkŵî mu li-we li-n-yikí me
 9.firewood 18.LOC 5-strength 5REL-1SG.SM-?IMPF 1SG.PRO
 lía.
 5.DEM.II
 ‘As my strength is now like this, I return to the forest to smelt the
 firewood?’
- (21) A. Me yiká sabúnu ni, me kâ-m-bvuoká
 1SG.PRO ?IMPF 5.soap NEG 1SG.PRO HAB-1SG.SM-massage
 sabúnu li-bá-kâ-swaaká ma-sáani.
 5.soap 5REL-2SM-HAB-wash 6-plate
 ‘I don’t have soap, I have the massage with the soap with which
 people wash plates.’
- (22) A. We wî me mi-pará, me m-bák-i
 1SG.PRO give.SBJV 1SG.PRO 4-money 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-get-SBJV
 mu m-fúúmá kí-ko yă sabúnu.
 18.LOC 1SG.SM-buy 7-clothes with 5.soap
 ‘You give me money, I get it to buy the clothes and the soap.’
- (23) A. Ba-kái baa-mó wúna bu ba-kǎ-kála.
 2-woman 2-other only 14.PRO 2SM-PRS-stay
 ‘The other women only stay (in their families) in this way.’

- (24) A. Ma-tála, se mfú yii baa-mó,
 IMP-look even 10.hair 10.CONN 2-other
 bu-n-kíni me bu, mfú ki-tsúu
 14REL-1SG.SM-?be.attractive 1SG.PRO 14.DEM.I 10.hair INF-plait
 ni.
 NEG
 ‘Look at others’ hair, (though) I am still presentable, (I could not) plait the hair.’
- (25) A. Bá-tsúa yii taata,yii me yiká kâ-kalá wúna
 2SM-plait 9.CONN well 9.CONN 1SG.PRO ?IMPF PRS-stay only
 yii bu yii.
 9.CONN CONJ 9.CONN
 ‘They plait the hair well, my hair always stays like this.’
- (26) B. Nyáka nzaamí kâ-nyanima bi-dí-desu
 let.IMP 1.God 1SM.PRS-recompense 8-DIM-bean
 bvi-n-sí me bvía.
 8REL-1SG.SM-do.PST 1SG.PRO 8.DEM.II
 ‘If the God recompense all the beans that I worked for.’
- (27) B. Taará aa we á-sí-i bu-ta, lí-téke
 1.father 1.CONN 2SG.PRO 1SM.PST-leave-PST 14.gun 1PL.SM-sell
 bu-ta bu-kítĩ li-baká mi-pára mi-kítĩ lí-kâ-fúuma
 14-gun 14-COMP 1PL.SM-get 4-money 4-COMP 1PL.SM-PRS-buy
 bi-lóko.
 8-thing
 ‘Your father left a gun, we sell the gun to get money in order to buy things.’
- (28) A. ɲaa we yi-ká yii ndáka kâ-sénema ku
 now 2SG.PRO ?IMPF 9.CONN 9.problem PRS-meet 17.LOC
 ntsá maa-nzó máá me, wurí yi-ká
 inside 6-house 6.CONN 1SG.PRO 2SG.COMP ?IMPF
 ba-bá-kâ-dzwá me.
 2REL-2SM-PRS-kill 1SG.PRO
 ‘Then you are meeting a big problem with my family members, they will kill me!’

- (29) B. Bu-tá búú nzó ki-taará, wurí n-téke,
 14-gun 14.CONN 9.house 7-father 2SG.COMP 1SG.SM-sell
 n-téke bu-ní?
 1SG.SM-sell 14-which
 'The gun of (your) father's family, (if) I sell, how do I sell?'
- (30) A. We ki-yé kuki yă nzáli, pfúr-i wurí bu-tá
 2SG.PRO DEP-go PREP with 1.river lie-SBJV 2SG.COMP 14-gun
 bú-bvĩ mu ma-dzá.
 14SM-fall.SBJV 18.LOC 6-water
 'You go to where there is a river, you may lie that the gun falls into the water.'
- (31) A. ɲa ku-kâ-tsuomó we wurí me
 16.LOC 17REL-PRS-think 2SG.PRO 2SG.COMP 1SG.PRO
 m-bvúruka n-kalá ɲa kíí we wó me
 1SG.SM-return 1SG.SM-stay 16.LOC 7.CONN 2SG.PRO or 1SG.PRO
 n-yé?
 1SG.SM-go
 'Now you think that I stay here or I go?'
- (32) B. Búa bu-kâ-múna we, we ka mbuurú
 14.DEM.II 14REL-PRS-see 2SG.PRO 2SG.PRO EMP 1.person
 á-maá-múna ku ntáli, ka bu ní?
 2SG.SM-PERF-see 17.LOC 9.other.place NEG 14.PRO NEG
 'So as you see, you have met with a person in other place, isn't it?'
- (33) A. Me ka ku-kítĩ me n-yé ku
 1SG.PRO NEG 17-COMP 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-go 17.LOC
 maá-múna mbuurú mu kí-ma ni.
 PERF-1SG.SM.see 1.person 18.LOC 7-what NEG
 'If I leave, that is not because I met with someone else.'

- (34) A. Me li ma-n-yúka bóri tsúku ngalímo
 1SG.PRO RPST PERF-1SG.SM-hear 2.COMP 5.day 5.one
 mu-kái wu-téneme we ku balabála, we tá
 1-woman 1REL-meet 2SG.PRO 17.LOC ?9.street 2SG.PRO ?EMP
 maá-fúuma ndé ki-mbúuni.
 PERF-buy 1.PRO 7-?cloth
 'I heard that one day you met a woman on the street, and you
 bought her a piece of cloth.'
- (35) B. Wũ-lak-í we ndáka yía, wúa wũ-ka-dzií
 1REL-say-PST 2SG.PRO 9.parole 9.DEM.II 1.DEM.II 1REL-PRS-like
 we wó wũ-bel-í bu li we ŋa kí
 2SG.PRO or 1REL-dislike-PST 14REL COP 2SG.PRO 16.LOC 7.CONN
 me?
 1SG.PRO
 'The one who said this to you, he likes you or he does not like
 that you are in my house?'
- (36) A. Mu-káli aa we, ndé-nkúlu ya báa-ndúku
 1-wife 1.CONN 2SG.PRO 1.PRO-RFL with 2-friend
 á-lak-í ndíri ki-ko ki ki-kí-fúúm-í
 1SM.PST-say-PST 1.COMP 7-clothes 7.DEM.I 7REL-7SM-buy-PST
 má-kángu máá me.
 6-?fiance 6.CONN 1SG.PRO
 '(It was) your 'woman', herself with her friends, she said that the
 clothes were bought by my husband.'
- (37) B. Me tá hé a-maá-n-yuká kúa líí
 1SG.PRO ?EMP also PST-PERF-1SG.SM-hear 17.DEM.II 5.CONN
 we hé nziimí nziimí, me a-m-bí m-khúula.
 2SG.PRO also much much PST-1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-NEG 1SG.SM-ask
 'I also heard a lot (what was said) about you, but I did not ask.'

- (38) A. Me ka-n-yáab-i ba-balaka ba-kima ni ba-kítí
 1SG.PRO NEG-1SG.SM-know-PST 2-male 2-other NEG 2-COMP
 we lak-í me ni, bu-n-yá me
 2SG.PRO say-PST 1SG.PRO NEG 14REL-1SG.SM-come 1SG.PRO
 ɲa kíí we, we a-maá-múna me
 16.LOC 7.CONN 2SG.PRO 2SG.PRO 2SG.SM-PERF-see 1SG.PRO
 n-yení ki-mokó ku nzó aa mbuurú?
 1SG.SM-go.away INF-?date 17.LOC 9.house 9.CONN 1.person
 ‘I did not know the other man you said, since I came to your house, you have seen me go to meet others in anyone’s house?’
- (39) A. Wúna ɲa-kâ-ya ndé ɲa bu, me
 only 16REL-HAB-come 1.PRO 16.PRO 14.PRO 1SG.PRO
 ki-n-túmá ndé ki-balá me li-kwî, ndé
 DEP-1SG.SM-use 1.PRO INF-smelt 1SG.PRO 5.firewood 1.PRO
 bal-í me li-kwî, bhíí yă ndé
 smelt-PST 1SG.PRO 5-firewood 1PL.PRO with 1.PRO
 ka-lí-li ya li-bála ni, kéné we
 NEG-1PL.SM-COP with 5-connection NEG EMP 2SG.PRO
 maá-múna?
 PERF-see
 ‘Only when he comes here, if I ask him to smelt the firewood for me, he smelts the firewood for me, we don’t have relationship, have you seen that?’
- (40) B. Ka me hé a-n-yuk-í, li-tála mhoî ku
 EMP 1SG.PRO also PST-1SG.SM-hear-PST 1PL.SM-look 6.all 17.LOC
 ma-tsúku máá bú-su.
 6-day 6.CONN 14-front
 ‘But I did hear (that), let us both see the days to come.’
- (41) B. Ma-tála ku-líí-fí, ma-tála
 IMP-look 17REL-1PL.SM.PST-come.from.PST IMP-look
 ku-líí-yé.
 17REL-1PL.SM.FUT-go
 ‘(Let us) see where we came from and where we will go.’

- (42) A. Me n-dzii kéné me n-kal-í ŋa
 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-like EMP 1SG.PRO 1SG.SM-stay-SBJV 16.PRO
 mu kê-sá mú-sálá yă bé.
 18.LOC HAB-do 3-work with 2PL.PRO
 ‘(Then) I like to stay here to work with you.’

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