# *Pakani*: A Gorwaa story

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## Abstract

Though formal linguistics may seem far removed from projects of decolonization, the materials with which linguists work are often rich with insights into other ways of knowing, other ways of living, and, for the purposes of this volume, other ways of navigating colonial power. *Pakani*, a story gathered within a larger project to understand the grammar of the Gorwaa language, is a vivid account of how the Gorwaa people responded to a mandatory military training programme in which every able-bodied young man was to be sent far away from the traditional homeland and incorporated into a national fighting force. For a descriptive linguist, *Pakani* is a useful source of grammatical structures. For a reader interested in learning about how one group of people engaged with the sweeping changes brought about by European colonization of East Africa, *Pakani* represents one of the few Gorwaa accounts available in English. This paper presents 134 lines of the *Pakani* story, transcribed, translated into English, along with a linguistic gloss of the words. Additionally, each line of text given may be resolved back to its original utterance in an open access audiovisual record available online through the Endangered Languages Archive at SOAS.

## INTRODUCTION

As a descriptive linguist, much of my work revolves around grammatical structures: observing their distribution, describing their properties, and explaining the system underlying their instantiation. As highly removed from projects of decolonization as this may seem, the materials with which linguists work are often rich with insights into other ways of knowing, other ways of living, and, for the purpose of this current volume, other ways of navigating colonial power.

*Pakani*, a story gathered within a larger project to understand the grammar of the Gorwaa language, is a vivid account of how the Gorwaa people responded to a mandatory military training programme in which every able-bodied young man was to be sent far away from the traditional homeland and incorporated into a national fighting force. For a descriptive linguist, *Pakani* is a useful source of grammatical structures, lain out below in detail. For a reader interested in learning about how one group of people engaged with the sweeping changes brought about by European colonization of East Africa, *Pakani* represents one of the few Gorwaa accounts available in English.

Put differently, the current paper is an exercise in multi-use archiving. Collected by a linguist, the *Pakani* story -- a Gorwaa oral text translated into English as part of the process of linguistic analysis -- is now, with the informed consent of Aakó Bu'ú Saqwaré, openly available online, and accessible to virtually anyone with Internet access. As description of the Gorwaa language continues, so too will the volume and variety of Gorwaa materials (made by Gorwaa people and often, as with *Pakani*, with a Gorwaa audience in mind) increase. For linguists, this is valuable in that it increases the grammatical structures available for the analysis of an underdocumented language. For those engaged in projects of decolonization, this represents a growing body of insight and experience from a people who have experienced (and still do experience) colonialism, and who have come to engage with it in their own way.

## BACKGROUND

The Gorwaa constitute a small ethnic group of the eastern branch of the Eastern Tanzanian Rift, and are concentrated primarily in Manyara region, especially in and around Babati and its nearby lake. At the time of recording, the Gorwaa were primarily farmers, but also keep small flocks of goats, sheep, and cattle (all three of which play an important role in Gorwaa culture and their pastoralist identity). The Gorwaa language itself is South Cushitic (phylum: Afro-Asiatic), therefore making it markedly different from the majority of languages in the country, which are Bantu. Recent changes to Gorwaa society, including increasing urbanization and a national government policy which all but bans local languages being used in public life has meant that fewer people are speaking Gorwaa, and fewer children are learning Gorwaa. As a result, the Gorwaa language is endangered, and will face significant challenges to remain spoken into the coming centuries (Harvey 2018: 37-46). Academic work about the Gorwaa people and language is scarce, but some sources include early accounts from explorers (Seidel (1910), Obst (1913), Reche (1914)), a traditional story transcribed and translated into German (Heepe (1930)), a pair of ethnographical accounts (Bagshawe (1930), Wada (1984)), a linguistic analysis in which some Gorwaa data is used in

comparison with another nearby Cushitic language, Iraqw (Whiteley (1958)), a detailed examination of forestry and land-use in and around Babati (Maganga (1995)), and a PhD dissertation on nominal morphosyntax including a sketch grammar (Harvey (2018)).
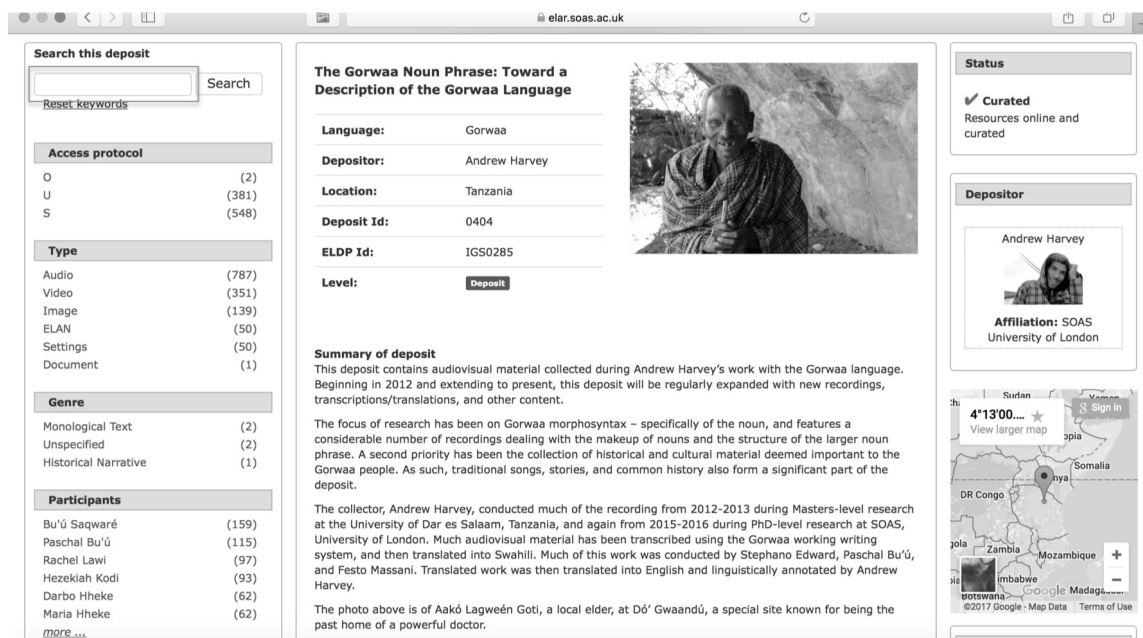
*Pakani* was recorded on the 2nd of November, 2015 in Yerotonik village, itself a small community in Manyara Region, north-central Tanzania. The storyteller is Aakó Bu'ú Saqwaré, a consummate singer and knowledge-holder. Born in 1954, Aakó Bu'ú was 61 years old at the time of telling and has spent all of his life in and around what may be construed as the traditional Gorwaa homeland.

*Pakani*, itself a word borrowed from Swahili, meaning 'borderland' is the story of a historical event which took place either before or shortly after Aakó Bu'ú's birth (that is, it is not told from his personal memory, but has been told to him either in whole or in parts). It happens during a time when the British colonial power exercised Indirect Rule over what is now Tanzania: a policy wherein ethnic groups were governed through chiefs and subchiefs, who in turn were compelled in various ways to carry out the agendas of the colonial administration (Cameron 1937, Ingham 1965, Graham 1976, and Iliffe 1979). In the Gorwaa context, this meant that the existing hereditary chiefdom of the *Harna/aa* clan was given extraordinary new powers to levy taxes, execute colonial works projects such as forest-clearing, as well as punish those who did not comply (often through fines or corporal punishment). This particular story recalls the fallout from the imposition of mandatory military training: the ways and means employed by the paramount chief Dodó Uwo (also pronounced Dodoód) to ensure compliance from his people, and the resistance and defiance of those young men targeted.

The story begins in the miombo woodlands characteristic of the area: hilly forests of *bracystegia* within which the young men of Gorwaaland had withdrawn (ln.8-16), seeking safety in numbers from the *boyáy* (c.f. English 'boy'), low-level village headmen employed by Dodó to arrest the young men for transport to the Kenyan border in the north of the country for six months of dangerous military training. Having seen that physical force alone would not work in achieving the desired number of recruits, Dodó turns to the help of the traditional doctors Barandi Kulee and Leeli Tumla, and together they create a powerful medicine to compel the recalcitrant youth to lay down their weapons and to go to the recruiting station of their own accord (ln.17-34). At Babati, the largest community in the area, the youth were weighed (ln.35-47). If an individual was deemed fit, they would be put on a lorry and brought north to the Kenyan border (*pakani*). Images of desperation are evoked here: fathers pleading with Dodó to spare their sons, going so far as to offer prized cattle in exchange for their freedom. The fear and anger of the recruits is also evident once they board the transport vehicles (ln.48-61), where Dodó's medicine seems to wear off and they begin cursing him for selling them to a foreign land full of danger and uncertainty. Dodó isn't, however, the unscrupulous profiteer the youth see him as. During the military training, the Gorwaa traditional doctors under Dodó's employ are all busy preparing protective medicine to keep the young trainees safe while far from home (ln.62-72). They go so far as to bewitch a bird to fly to the borderland and bring back news of their plight. Upon their return, however (ln.73-100), the youth lambast Dodó in a defiant song, calling the paramount chief and his co-conspirators liars. Enraged at the thankless youth (ln.101-120), Dodó visits the rainmakers, powerful men and women with whom he has traditionally acted as an intermediary for his people. Once there, he conducts rituals which disrupt the seasonal

rains on which his people rely for their food, delivering a devastating multi-year famine as retribution for their contempt. Following three years of famine (ln.121-124), the customary Gorwaa elders gather to mediate a solution. The youth, no doubt ruined by the lack of harvest, ask forgiveness from their leader and administrator Dodó, cattle are brought as ritual atonement, and the rains return once again.

This is, of course, one reading of a complex text, and the reader is challenged to come up with their own. This is facilitated by the provision of the transcription, free translation, and linguistic gloss below. Additionally, the audio and video associated with this story are openly available as part of the Gorwaa deposit at SOAS' Endangered Languages Archive (Harvey 2017). Below, the title of the story has been given along with an alphanumeric code ([20151202e]): the unique identifying number of the recording which allows the reader to locate the recording within the archive. This can be done by visiting the deposit page (https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1014224) and entering the unique identifying number into the box titled 'Search this deposit' in the upper left corner, as shown in Figure 1. This will lead to the contents of the specific bundle, which can be viewed and downloaded.



Figure 1: Deposit page with 'Search this deposit' in the upper left

The number given to each line of text corresponds to the number of the phrase segment in the ELAN (.eaf) file. Once the reader has accessed the bundle from the deposit page, they may download its contents (.wav and/or .mp4, and .eaf), and simply search within the ELAN file to the exact number cited (as shown in Figure 2) in order to listen to and view the exact moment in the recording in which the utterance of choice was produced.
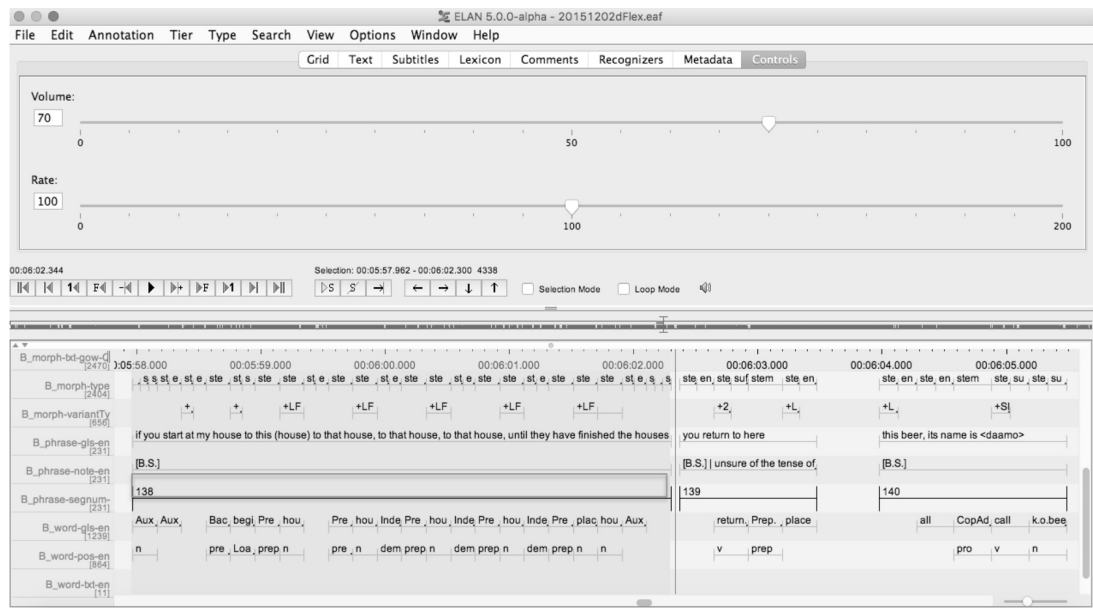
Figure 2: ELAN file with 'phrase segment number' as the fourth tier from the bottom

## THE STORY

### *PAKANI* [20151202E][1,2]

1  *aree*                  *ya*
   ár        -ee           ya
   see       -Imp.Sg.O     thus
   **look here**

2  *aáng*           *pakani*
   aáng             pakani          -r´
   in.the.past      borderland      -L.Fr
   **in the past, the borderland**

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[1] Correspondence between special characters in the Gorwaa orthography and pronunciation (IPA symbol): ny [ɲ], ng [ŋ], ' [ʔ], q [qʼ], sh [ʃ], x [χ], hh [ħ], / [ʕ], y [j], sl [ɬ], ch [tʃ], j [dʒ], ts [tsʼ], tl [tɬʼ], kw [kw], gw [gw], ngw [ŋw], qw [qʼw], xw [χw]. A single vowel is short in length (e.g. o [o]), and a double vowel is long in length (e.g. oo [oː]). Vowels without an accent diacritic are level pitch-accent. Vowels with an acute diacritic are rising pitch accent. Vowels with a grave diacritic are falling pitch-accent. Vowels with a circumflex diacritic are rising-falling pitch accent.

[2] Glossing generally follows the Leipzing Glossing Conventions. Abbreviations: A = agent of transitive clause; Abl = ablative; Ana = anaphoric pronoun; Aux = auxiliary; Back = background 'tense'; Consec = consecutive 'tense'; Dem1 = demonstrative, first degree deixis; Dem2 = demonstrative, second degree deixis, Dem3 = demonstrative, third degree deixis, Dem4 = demonstrative, fourth degree deixis; Emph = emphasis; Expect = expectative aspect; F = feminine gender; Fr = feminine r-type subgender; Ft = feminine t-type subgender; Imp = imperative mood; Imprf = imperfective aspect; L = linker; Lat = lative; LPA = level pitch accent; M = masculine gender; Mk = masculine k-type subgender; Mo = masculine o-type subgender; MP = mediopassive voice; N = neuter gender; Na = neuter a-type subgender; N∅ = neuter ∅-type subgender; Neg = negative; P = patient of transitive clause, or speech act participant; Poss = possessive determiner; Prep = preposition; Prf = perfect aspect; Pro = pronoun; Prohib = prohibitive mood; Pst = past tense; Q = question; Reas = reason; Red = reduplication; S = sole argument of intransitive clause; Temp = temporal; Top = topic; Vent = ventive; 1 = 1st person; 2 = 2nd person; 3 = 3rd person

3   *bará   Gorwaawoo*
    bará    Gorwaawoo
    in      Gorwaaland
    **in Gorwaaland**

4   *Gorwaa                          kina                           ohín*
    Gorwaa          -´      t-    ng-  i-   Ø    -na      óh   -ín  ~´~
    Gorwaa.people   -L.NØ   MP-   A.3- P.N- Aux  -Imprf   catch -Ext ~Pst~
    **Gorwaa were arrested**

5   *masoombár           Gorwaa*
    masoomba  -r´        Gorwaa          -´
    youth     -L.Fr      Gorwaa.people  -L.NØ
    **Gorwaa youth**

6   *kan                              hubin                    bará*
    t-    ng-    a-    Ø    -n        húw  -iím    ~LPA~       bará
    MP-   A.3-   P.F-  Aux  -Expect   bring -Ext   Subj        in

    *pakani              kan*
    pakani       -r´     t-    ng-   a-    Ø      -n
    borderland   -L.Fr   MP-   A.3-  P.F-  Aux    -Expect

    */eetimiis                   pakanír              eer*
    /eét      -m-   -iís ~LPA~   pakani       -r´    áw ~LPA~
    go.down  -Ext-  -Ext ~Subj~  borderland  -L.Fr   go ~Subj~
    **they would be brought to the borderland, they were put down in the
    borderland**

7   *kan                              fundimisó          ay*
    t-    ng-    a-    Ø    -n        fundimis -ó        ay ~LPA~
    MP-   A.3-   P.F-  Aux  -Expect   teaching  -L.Mo    go ~Subj~

    *idór         askarír      wa ale*
    ido     -r´   askari  -r´  wa.ale
    manner  -L.Fr soldier -L.Fr Res.Pro
    **they would get lessons on being a soldier**

8   *Gorwaa                          na           si'ií*
    Gorwaa          -´      ni     -(g)a    sií'.N
    Gorwaa.people  -L.NØ    Vent   -Prf     refuse
    **the Gorwaa refused**

9   *masoomba              na           sí'*
    masoomba -r´           ni     -(g)a  sií'.F   ~´~
    youth        -L.Fr     Vent   -Prf   refuse   Pst
    **the youth refused**

10     *masoombár*        *ar*     *dirí*                         *Yerotoní sleemeroo*

| masoomba | -r´ | ar | di | -r´ | -í | Yerotoní sleemeroo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| youth | -L.Fr | Ana.F | place | -L.Fr | -Dem1 | Yerotoní entirely |

*in*                *burumburit*                       *dirqá'*

| i- | Ø | -n | burumburiít | ~LPA~ | di | -r´ | -qá' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S.3- | Aux | -Expect | gather.together.(intrans) | ~Subj~ | place | -L.Fr | -Dem3 |

*ar*     *idór*       *dirí*               *kitaangwí*

| ar | ido | -r´ | di | -r´ | -í | kitaangw | -ó | -í |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ana.F | manner | -L.Fr | place | -L.Fr | -Dem1 | chair | -L.Mo | -Dem1 |

*in*                *burumburit*                       *gawá*

| i- | Ø | -n | burumburiít | ~LPA~ | gawá |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S.3- | Aux | -Expect | gather.together.(intrans) | ~Subj~ | on |

*tloomaà*

| tloomaa | -r´ | ~`~ |
|---|---|---|
| mountain | -L.Fr | ~Emph~ |

**the youth of here, Yerotoni, all of them withdrew to there where I sat, they withdrew to the hill**

11     *ar*   *bartaqá'*        *aqo*           *in*

| ar | bara | -tá | -qá' | Ø | -qo | i- | Ø | -n |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ana.F | side | -L.Ft | -Dem3 | Aux | -Emph | S.3- | Aux | -Expect |

*burumburit*                       *dir'ín*               *gawá*

| burumburiít | ~LPA~ | di | -r´ | -'ín | gawá |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gather.together.(intrans) | ~Subj~ | place | -L.Fr | -Poss.3Pl | on |

*tloomaà*                   *toqá'*         *dir'ín*               *neer*

| tloomaa | -r´ | ~`~ | tí | -qá' | di | -r´ | -'ín | neer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mountain | -L.Fr | Emph | DemF | -Dem3 | place | -L.Fr | -Poss.3Pl | with |

*lawulu'ín*

| lawulu | -´ | -'ín |
|---|---|---|
| spears | -L.NØ | -Poss.3Pl |

**there they withdrew together in their place in the hill, there in their place with their spears**

12     *alafu*

| alafu |
|---|
| then |

**then**

13  *ta*              *watlikáng*              *aqo*        *fa/oo'ín*
    t-  Ø  waátl  -ikáng  Ø  -qo  fa/a  -´  -'ín
    MP-  Aux  return.(intrans.) -Neg.Pst  Aux  -Emph  ugali -L.N0 -Poss.3Pl

    *kin*                        */aay*        *tan*
    t-  ng-  i-  Ø  -n  /aáy ~LPA~ t-  Ø  -n
    MP-  A.3-  P.N-  Aux  -Expect  eat  ~Subj~  MP- Aux  -Expect

    *waatl*
    waátl  ~LPA~
    return.(intrans.)  ~Subj~

    **they did not return, they would eat their ugali then they would return [to the hills]**

14  *fa/oo'ín*                        *kin*
    fa/a  -´  -'ín  t-  ng-  i-  Ø  -n
    ugali  -L.N0  -Poss.3Pl  MP-  A.3-  P.1Sg- Aux  -Expect

    */aay*            *aqo*            *idosí*
    /aáy  ~LPA~  Ø  -qo  ido  -r´  -sí
    eat  ~Subj~  Aux  -Emph  manner  -L.Fr -Dem2

    *iwiwito'ín*                        *aqo*        *tlatla'aangwoo*
    iwiwit -ó  -'ín  Ø  -qo  tlatla'aangw  -ó  -oo
    sitting -L.Mo -Poss.3Pl  Aux  -Emph  midday  -L.Mo  -Top

    *idór*        *kin*                        *ohiingw*
    ido  -r´  t-  ng-  i-  Ø  -n  ohiingw -ó
    manner -L.Fr MP-  A.3-  P.1Sg- Aux  -Expect  seizing  -L.Mo

    *ây*
    áy ~ˆ~
    go ~Q~

    **they would eat in this way, their sitting was in the afternoon - in this way how were they to be arrested?**

15  *wawitumó*            *daqay*            *a*     *ma*     *boyay*
    wawitumo -ó  daqay ~LPA~  Ø  ma  boyay -ó
    chief  -L.Mo  attend ~Subj~  Aux  which grunt  -L.Mo

    *idór*        *daqay*            *ngu*
    ido  -r´  daqay ~LPA~  ng-  u-  Ø
    manner -L.Fr attend ~Subj~  A.3-  P.M-  Aux

    *gasikeê*
    gaás -ikáng  -oo  ~ˆ~
    kill  -Neg.Pst  -Top  ~Q~
    **the leader who would come was who? how could the grunts go? wouldn't they be killed?**

16　　*hee*　　　　*i*　　　　　*silahár*　　　*kon*　　　　　*muukú*
hee　-ó　　i-　　Ø　　silaha　-r´　koóm　~LPA~　　muu　-kú
person -L.Mo MP.S.3- Aux　weapon -L.Fr have.M ~Subj~　　people -L.Mk

*silahár*　　　*kon*　　　　　　　*heé*
silaha -r´　koóm　　　~LPA~　　hee　-ó
weapon -L.Fr be.together　~Subj~　　person -L.Mo

*ngu*　　　　　*harahi'iît*
ng-　u-　　Ø　　harahi'iît ~^~
A.3-　P.M-　Aux　move　　~Q~

**a person with weapons, people (with) weapons, who will move them?**

17　　*gár*　　　　*tawa*　　　　　　　*slahhaá*　　　　*qeeru*
ga　-r´　t-　　Ø　　-wa　slahhaá　　　~´~　qeeru　　-ó
thing -L.Fr MP-　Aux　-Back　hurt.(intrans) ~Pst~ intelligence -L.Mo

*kuna*　　　　　　　　　*warqeés*
t-　ng-　u-　　Ø　　-na　warqeés　　　　~´~
MP-　A.3-　P.M-　Aux　-Imprf turn.around.(trans.) ~Pst~

*hee*　　　　*ta*　　　　*bay*　　　*Dodoód*　*a*　　*wawitumó*
hee　-ó　t-　　Ø　　báy ~LPA~　Dodoód　Ø　　wawitumo -ó
person -L.Mo MP-　Aux　call ~Subj~　Dodoód　Aux　chief　　　-L.Mo

*Gorwaa*
Gorwaa　　　　　　-´
Gorwaa.people　-L.NØ

**when the thing tired them [the leaders], they changed their philosophy.  a person called Dodoód was the leader of the Gorwaa.**

18　　*wawitumó*　　　　*gadaee*　　　　　　　　*a*　　*milá*　*ge*
wawitumo　-ó　　ga　-r´　-dá'　-oo　Ø　　milá　ge
chief　　　　-L.Mo thing -L.Fr -Dem4 -Top Aux　　what　Emph

**the leader of that is what? [i.e. trying to remember the colonial title for chief]**

19　　*wawitumó*　　　　*Gorwaa*
wawitumo　-ó　　Gorwaa　　　　　-´
chief　　　　-L.Mo Gorwaa.people -L.NØ

**leader of the Gorwaa**

20　　*wawitumó*　　　　*Gorwaa*　　　*ta*　　*kahi*　　*aáng*
wawitumo -ó　　Gorwaa　-´　t-　　Ø　　káh　-i　aáng
chief　　　　-L.Mo　Gorwaa　-L.NØ MP- Aux　say　-N　in.the.past

**Gorwaa said *wawutumo* in the past**

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21 *a*  *wawitumò*      *Gorwaa*     *taqo*
   Ø  wawitumo -ó  ~`~  Gorwaa  -´  t- Ø -qo
   Aux  chief  -L.Mo ~Emph~ Gorwaa.people -L.NØ MP- Aux -Emph

   *kahi*    *a*  *wawitumò*
   káh -i   Ø  wawitumo -ó  ~`~
   say -3.Subj Aux chief   -L.Mo ~Emph~
   **wawutumo, Gorwaa said *wawutumo***

22 *ee*  *Dodó* *aáng*   *ta*   *kahi*     *a*
   ee  Dodó aáng   t- Ø  káh -i    Ø
   yes  Dodó in.the.past MP- Aux  say -3.Subj  Aux

   *wawitumò*
   wawitumo -ó  ~`~
   chief  -L.Mo ~Emph~
   **yes, in the past, they said Dodó was the *wawutumo***

23 *a*  *boyimowoká*      *boyimo*   *a* *heé*
   Ø  boyimó -ó  -oo -aká  boyimo -ó  Ø  hee -ó
   Aux  grunt -L.Mo -Top -Neg.Pres grunt -L.Mo Aux person -L.Mo

   *amaohin*
   seize
   **he wasn't a grunt, a grunt is a person who arrests people**

24 *ga/awusmo*    *a*  *heé*   *ta*    *kitaangwi*
   ga/awusmo -ó   Ø  hee -ó  t-  Ø  kitaangw -ó  -i
   official -L.Mo Aux person -L.Mo MP- Aux chair -L.Mo -Ill

   *ay*
   áw ~LPA~
   go ~Subj~
   **a *ga/awusmo* is an official [lit. a person who goes to the chair]**

25 *adór*      *hindí* *bilí* *tawa*   *kahi*   a
   Ø  ido -r´  hindí bilí t- Ø -wa  káh -i   Ø
   Aux  manner -L.Fr now today MP- Aux -Back say -3.Subj Aux

   *katibu kata*
   katibu.kata
   chairman
   **like today they are called *katibu kata* [i.e. chairman of the quarter]**

26 *alafu* *tawa*    *siíʼ*
   alafu t- Ø -wa siíʼ  ~´~
   then  MP- Aux -Back refuse ~Pst~
   **so they refused**

27     *heesí*                *kuna*
        hee   -ó   -sí         t-     ng-   u-      Ø       -na
        person -L.Mo -Dem2      MP-   A.3-   P.M-    Aux    -Imprf

        *leleéhh*            *ta*           *bay*       *Barandí*      *Kulee*
        Red- leéhh   ~´~   t-      Ø      báy ~LPA~   Barandí -ó     Kulee -ó
        Plur- look.for Pst   MP-    Aux    call ~Subj~   Barandí -L.Mo   Kulee -L.Mo
        **this person who was sought was called Barandi Kulee**

28     *nee*    *Leelí*   *oo*    *dó'*       *Tumla*
        nee    Leelí   oo    do'   -ó      Tumla -ó
        and     Leelí   Ana.M house -L.Mo   Tumla -L.Mo
        **and Leelí of the house of Tumla**

29     *muukusí*             *kina*                *leleéhh*
        muu   -kú   -sí     t- ng- i-   Ø   -na       Red- leéhh     ~´~
        people -L.Mk -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf     Plur- look.for ~Pst~

        *kina*                *sláy*
        t-    ng- i-   Ø   -na       sláy   ~´~
        MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf     get    ~Pst~
        **these people were sought, they were got**

30     *amama'ó*           *kana*                *óh*
        amama'ó -r´    t-   ng- a-   Ø   -na     óh    ~´~
        bird.sp.    -L.Fr   MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf   catch ~Pst~

        *kay*                *huw*
        t-   ng- a-   Ø   -ay       húw   ~LPA~
        MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec    bring ~Subj~
        **an *amama'o* [fork-tailed drongo] was caught, it was brought**

31     *ma'aay*     *kina*                *alatleéhh*
        ma'aay -´    t-   ng- i-   Ø   -na       alatleéhh       ~´~
        water -L.NØ   MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf     make.together ~Pst~
        **medicine was made together**

32     *ma'aay*     *kawa*               *tleéhh*      *muukusí*
        ma'aay -´    t-   ng- a-   Ø   -wa      tleéhh ~´~    muu -kú    -sí
        water -L.NØ   MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Back     make   ~Pst~ people -L.Mk -Dem2

        *masoombár*          *gawá* *tloomaa*        *sleeme*       *nina*
        masoomba -r´        gawá tloomaa -r´       sleeme       ni -na
        youth       -L.Fr       on    mountain -L.Fr     all        Vent -Imprf

        *wátl*
        wátl             ~´~
        return.(intrans.).F ~Pst~
        **medicine was made, those young men in the hill all returned home**

33    *lawulu*       *kina*                     *qaás*

| lawulu | -´ | t- | ng- | i- | Ø | -na | qaás ~´~ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| spears | -L.NØ | MP- | A.3- | P.N- | Aux | -Imprf | put ~Pst~ |

**they put their spears [in the soil]**

34    *kilo'ín*       *tina*                *arxayé'*      *amodi*

| kilo'ín | t- | i- | Ø | -na | arxáy | -iyé' | amo | -r´ | -dá' | -i |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| themselves | MP- | S.3- | Aux | -Imprf | go | -N.Pst | place | -L.Fr | -Dem4 | -Ill |

*kiwa*                *sla'i'*

| t- | ng- | i- | Ø | -wa | slaá' | -i' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MP- | A.3- | P.3.Pl | Aux | -Back | want | -3.Subj |

**they went themselves to the place where they were wanted**

35    *amodá'*         *kilò*                  *kiwa*

| amo | -r´ | -dá' | kilo | -r´ | ~`~ | t- | ng- | i- | Ø | -wa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| place | -L.Fr | -Dem4 | weight | -L.Fr | ~Emph~ | MP- | A.3- | P.3Pl | Aux | -Back |

*sla'i'*       *kiwa*              *pimimín*

| slaá' | -i' | t- | ng- | i- | Ø | -wa | pimiím | -m- | ~´~ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| want | -3.Subj | MP- | A.3- | P.3Pl- | Aux | -Back | measure | -Ext- | ~Pst~ |

*a*        *Babatì*

| Ø | Babati | -r´ | ~`~ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aux | Babati | -L.Fr | ~Emph~ |

**the place where their weight was wanted, they were weighed was Babati**

36    *kina*                 *pimamín*           *pimamín*

| t- | ng- | i- | Ø | -na | pimiím | -m- | ~´~ | pimiím | -Ext- | ~´~ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MP- | A.3- | P.3Pl- | Aux | -Imprf | measure | -Ext- | ~Pst~ | measure | -Ext- | ~Pst~ |

*wa*         *Babatì*              *kilo*       *kuúng*

| wa | Babati | -r´ | ~`~ | kilo | -r´ | kuúng |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prep.Abl | Babati | -L.Fr | ~Emph~ | weight | -L.Fr | ProPers.2Sg.M |

*bura*             *sii'*        *tun*

| bar- | u- | Ø | -(g)a | sii' | ~´~ | t- | u- | Ø | -n |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| if- | P.2Sg.M- | Aux | -Prf | refuse | ~Pst~ | MP- | P.2Sg.M- | Aux | -Expect |

*bay*           *amorqá'*

| báy | ~LPA~ | amo | -r´ | -qá' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| call | ~Subj~ | place | -L.Fr | -Dem3 |

**they were weighed they were weighed down in Babati, if your weight refused you were told "over there"**

37    *kodá'*        *kilo*     *a*          *ya/án*

ko -dá'     kilo -r´ i- Ø -(g)a    ya/aám ~´~
Indef.M -Dem4     weight -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Prf     agree ~Pst~

**he whose weight was accepted**

38    *kun*               *bay*      *tsa/aám*     *gawà*

t- ng- u- Ø -n     báy ~LPA~ tsa/aám -Ø    gawá ~`~
MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Expect   call ~Subj~ climb -Imp.Sg on    ~Emph~

*gawá gaarì*
gawá gaari -r´   ~`~
on    car -L.Fr ~Emph~

**was told "climb up" into the vehicle**

39    *tana*        *idosí*        *lawawín*       *lawawín*

t- Ø -na    ido -r´ -sí     Red- lawiím ~´~    Red- lawiím ~´~
MP- Aux -Imprf manner -L.Fr -Dem2   Plur- go.on  ~Pst~ Plur- go.on  ~Pst~

*lawawín*       *koko*     *ta*     *slukún*     *ta*

Red- lawiím ~´~    koko      t- Ø    sluúk -uúm ~´~   t- Ø
Plur- go.on  ~Pst~ Indef.M     MP- Aux bribe -Ext  ~Pst~ MP- Aux

*kahi*      *kilo*       *a*       *sií'*

káh -i      kilo -r´     i- Ø -(g)a sií'   ~´~
say -3.Subj    weight -L.Fr S.3 Aux -Prf refuse ~Pst~

**they continued in this way, some bribed, they said "your weight refuses"**

40    *slukumaqá'*      *ar*  *kuungá'*  *ar*   *bilihee*  *koko*

slukuma -r´ -qá'   ar    kuungá'   ar     bilí -oo koko
bribery -L.Fr -Dem3 Ana.F ProPers.2Pl Ana.F    today -Top Indef.N

*aqo*      *slukún*       *na/ay*      *ma*

Ø -qo      sluúk -uúm ~´~    na/ay -ó    m- i- Ø -(g)a
Aux -Emph   bribe -Ext ~Pst~    child -L.Mo   Prohib- S.3- Aux -Prf

*daqáy*   *neer*  *awù*

daqay ~´~   neer   awu -ó    ~`~
attend ~Pst~ with    bull -L.Mo ~Emph~

**that corruption is of you(pl.) of today only! some bribed that their child not go with a bull**

41
| *gitláy* | *aree* | | *ge* | *wawitumo* | | *awu* | | *ngu* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gitláy | ár -ee | | ge | wawitumo -ó | | awu -ó | | ng- u- Ø | | |
| hey | see -Imp.Sg.O | | Emph | chief -L.Mo | | bull -L.Mo | | A.3- P.M- Aux | | |

| *hariís* | | *na/ay'é'* | | | *ma* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hariís | ~´~ | na/ay -ó | -'é' | | m- | i- Ø | -(g)a | |
| bring | ~Pst~ | child -L.Mo | -Poss.1Sg | | Prohib- | S.3- Aux | -Prf | |

| *daqay* | |
|---|---|
| daqay | ~LPA~ |
| attend | ~Subj~ |

**"look, *wawitumo*, I will bring you a bull (that) my child doesn't go"**

42
| *tan* | | | *oo'i* | | *isa'* | | *kilo* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| t- Ø | -n | | oó' -i | | isa' | | kilo -r´ | |
| MP- Aux | -Expect | | say -3.Subj | | so-and-so | | weight -L.Fr | |

| *ngwa* | | | *sií'* | | *ge* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ng- u- Ø | -wa | | sií' | ~´~ | ge |
| A.3- P.M- Aux | -Back | | refuse | ~Pst~ | Emph |

**they would say "so-and-so, his weight refused"**

43
| *he'e* | *kuungá'* | | *a* | | *xu'â* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hee | kuungá' | Ø- Ø | | xuú' -a | | ~ˆ~ |
| hey! | ProPers.2Pl | S.P- Aux | | know -Inf.Pres | | ~Q~ |

**why, you(pl.) knew?**

44
| *kina* | | | | | *idosír* | | | | *lalee* | *lalee* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| t- | ng- i- | Ø | -na | | ido | -r´ -sí | -r | | laleé | laleé |
| MP- | A.3- P.3Pl- | Aux | -Imprf | | manner | -L.Fr -Dem2 | -Instr | | continue | continue |

| *laleé* | *laleé* | | *laleé* | *lalee* | *lalee* | | *lalee* | *lalee* | *lalee* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| laleé | laleé | | laleé | laleé | laleé | | laleé | laleé | laleé |
| continue | continue | | continue | continue | continue | | continue | continue | continue |

**they continued in this way**

45
| *muu* | | *kilo'ín* | *ina* | | | *daqáy* | | *asma* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| muu | -kú | kilo'ín | i- Ø | -na | | daqay | ~´~ | asma |
| people | -L.Mk | themselves | S.3- Aux | -Imprf | | attend | ~Pst~ | because |

| *kwa* | | | | *tsuúnq* | | *kwa* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| t- | ng- u- Ø | -wa | | tsuúnq | ~´~ | t- | ng- u- Ø | -wa | |
| MP- | A.3- P.M- Aux | -Back | | bewitch | ~Pst~ | MP- | A.3- P.M- Aux | -Back | |

| *tsanguús* | |
|---|---|
| tsanguús | ~´~ |
| lure | ~Pst~ |

**people went themselves because they were bewitched, they were drawn**

46     *gár*        *ta*                 *tleehh*           *a*        *tsangusa*

ga -r´    t- Ø -(g)a        tleéhh ~LPA~       Ø      tsangusa -r´

thing -L.Fr    MP- Aux -Prf       make ~Subj~      Aux    lure      -L.Fr

*muu*         *kuna*                   *tsanguís*

muu -kú    t- ng- u- Ø -na      tsanguús ~´~

people -L.Mk   MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf    lure       ~Pst~

*iwa*               *ya/àn*

i- Ø -wa         ya/án       ~´~    ~`~

S.3- Aux -Back       be.possible ~Pst~ ~Emph~

**they made something to draw people, people were drawn, they agreed**

47     *gasí*                 *kana*                         *laleé*     *laleé*

ga -r´ -sí      t- ng- a- Ø -na       laleé     laleé

thing -L.Fr -Dem2    MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf     continue   continue

*laleé*

laleé

continue

**this thing continued**

48     *tawa*            *bu'uút*           *ya*

ta- Ø -wa     bu'uút    ~´~       ya

Temp- Aux -Back    be.enough ~Pst~     thus

**when it was enough, it was thus:**

49     *iimi*        *tawa*               *bu'uút*          *tawa*

iimi -r´    ta- Ø -wa      bu'uút    ~´~      ta- Ø -wa

people -L.Fr   Temp- Aux -Back    be.enough ~Pst~     Temp- Aux -Back

*hhe'eés*

hhe'eés ~´~

finish    ~Pst~

**when the people were enough, when they finished**

50     *hardodá'*          *ta*            *slay*         *tawa*

harda -ó -dá'    ta- Ø       sláy ~LPA~   ta- Ø -wa

quota -L.Mo -Dem4   Temp- Aux     get   ~Subj~   Temp- Aux -Back

*haáts*          *hesabudá'*

haáts ~´~     hesabu -dá'

be.full ~Pst~   figure -Dem4

**when they got their amount, when the figure was filled**

51     *hesabudá'*              *tawa*              *haáts*

hesabu -dá'       ta- Ø -wa      haáts ~´~

figure -Dem4       Temp- Aux -Back     be.full ~Pst~

**when that figure was filled**

52  *tawa*            *tlatláy*        *alkwí   gaaridú*
    t-  ∅  -wa         Red- tláw       alkwí   gaaridu -´
    MP- Aux -Back      Plur- go        now     cars    -L.N∅

    *kiwa*                    *asloo- qaasi*
    t-  ng- i-  ∅   -wa        asloo   qaas -i
    MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Back    fires   put  -N
    **now they were going, the vehicles were fired up**

53  *gaaridú*            *kiwa*                       *asloo-qaasi*
    gaaridu -´          t-  ng- i-  ∅    -wa         asloo- qaas -i
    cars    -L.N∅       MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Back       fires- put  -N

    *tana*                *firín*
    t-  ∅   -na           firiím ~´~
    MP- Aux -Imprf        pray   ~Pst~
    **the vehicles were fired up, they cursed**

54  *tana*                *oó'*           *Dodoód*          *atén*
    t-  ∅   -na           oó' ~´~         Dodoód -ó         atén
    MP- Aux -Imprf        say ~Pst~       Dodoód -L.Mo      ProPers.1Pl

    *kuúng*
    kuúng
    ProPers.2Sg.M
    **they said "you - Dodoód! we...**

55  *gitláy   mita*                    *alu-/aayimaar*             *ge*
    gitláy   m-       t-  ∅   -(g)a     alu-  /aay -ím  -aar        ge
    hey      Prohib- MP- Aux -Prf       rear  eat  -Ext -Imp.Neg    Emph
    **don't (you) betray us!"**

56  *tana*                *firín*         *wa*           *gawá  gaaridù*
    t-  ∅   -na           firiím ~´~       wa           gawá  gaaridu -´       ~`~
    MP- Aux -Imprf        pray   ~Pst~     Prep.Abl     on    cars    -L.N∅    ~Emph~
    **they cursed from the vehicles**

57  *gidabá*       *atén*        *aga*          *qaro   bará  hoomaa*
    gidabá        atén         ∅-  ∅   -(g)a     qaro    bará  hoomaa    -r´
    that          ProPers.1Pl  A.P- Aux -Prf     already in    foreigners -L.Fr

    *kawaán*              *agaqo*                *qwanáy*          *awaán*
    káw -aán ~´~          ∅-  ∅   -(g)a -qo      qwanay -ó         áw -aán ~´~
    go  -1.Pl ~Pst~       S.P- Aux -Prf -Emph    loss     -L.Mo    go -1.Pl ~Pst~

    *timtindin*                  *tsuu/*
    t-  m- tindi- ∅   -n          tsuú/ ~LPA~
    MP- Q- P.1Pl- Aux -Expect     kill  ~Subj~
    **"that we have already gone among strangers, we are going to be lost,**

**aren't we going to be killed?"**

58     *tam    milá  tam     mareerén                na/arén*

        tam      milá  tam      maree -´    -rén         na/a'  -´     -rén

        Concess what Concess houses -L.NØ -Poss.1Pl     children -L.NØ -Poss.1Pl

        *tam             inqo                          araán          tam*

        tam            Ø- i-   Ø    -n      -qo       ár -aán ~´~   tam

        Concess      A.P- P.N- Aux -Expect -Emph    see -1.Pl ~Pst~ Concess

        *an                 ki/aan                  amór*

        Ø- Ø   -n          kií/          -aán ~LPA~ amo -r´

        A.P- Aux -Expect     return.(intr.) -1.Pl ~Subj~  place -L.Fr

        *na/aarén                 xu'aanaká*

        na/a'  -´    -rén         xuú' -aán -akáng

        children -L.NØ -Poss.1Pl    know -1.Pl -Neg.Pres

        **"even our houses, our children, we don't know if we will see them, we don't even know if we shall return to our children"**

59     *kuú                 sleeme        mit*

        kuúng            sleeme        m-     t-     Ø

        ProPers.2Sg.M      also             Prohib- MP-  Aux

        *alu-/aayimaar*

        alu-    /aay -ím   -aar

        rear-   eat   -Ext.2 -Imp.Neg

        **"you – don't betray us!"**

60     *Dodó           kuna                      firín*

        Dodó -ó      t-  ng- u-  Ø    -na       firiím ~´~

        Dodó -L.Mo    MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf    pray ~Pst~

        **Dodó was cursed at**

61     *iimi          ina                /ét*

        iimi   -r´   i-  Ø   -na       /ét        ~´~

        people -L.Fr  S.3- Aux -Imprf    go.down.F ~Pst~

        **people had already gone down [i.e. at the borderland]**

62    *pakani*             *kana*                   *tlehhahhiít*
        pakani     -r´        t-   ng- a-   Ø   -na        Red- tleéhh -iít   ~´~
        borderland -L.Fr     MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf      Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~

        *tlehhahhiít*                *tlehhahhiít*          *kina*
        Red- tleéhh -iít   ~´~        Red- tleéhh -iít   ~´~     t-   ng- i-   Ø     -na
        Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~     Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf

        *fundumamiís*         *fundumamiís*         *fundumamiís*
        fundiís -m-   ~´~      fundiís -m-   ~´~      fundiís -m-   ~´~
        teach -Ext- ~Pst~    teach -Ext- ~Pst~    teach -Ext- ~Pst~

        *ay*           *slehheerí*        *lehhó*
        ay          slehheeri -´        lehhó
        Prep.Ill      months -L.NØ     six
        **at the borderland they worked and worked and were taught and taught for six months**

63    *slehheerí*           *lehhó ki*           */aay*
        slehheeri -´        lehhó t-   ng- i-   Ø     /aáy ~LPA~
        month    -L.NØ    six    MP- A.3- P.N- Aux    eat ~Subj~

        *baradee*
        bará -dá'   -oo
        in    -Dem4 -Top
        **six months were finished down there**

64    *slehheerí*           *lehhó birna*         *faakí'*      *iimi*
        slehheeri -´        lehhó bar- i-   Ø   -na     faák -í'      iimi    -r´
        month    -L.NØ    six     if-   S.3- Aux -Imprf finish -N.Subj people -L.Fr

        *nina*        *wátl*
        ni   -na      wátl      ~´~
        Vent -Imprf    go.home.F ~Pst~
        **when six months had ended, the people returned**

65    *ka*                *qaro*        *fundiís*
        t-   ng- a-   Ø       qaro        fundiís ~´~
        MP- A.3- P.F- Aux    already       teach   ~Pst~
        **they had already been taught**

66    *ga*               *aqo*       *askari*
        ga   -r´     Ø   -qo      askari -r´
        thing -L.Fr     Aux -Emph    soldier -L.Fr
        **they were soldiers**

67 *gár*   *ta*   *askari*  *káhh*     *ar*
   ga -r´  t- Ø   askari -r´ kaáhh  ~´~  ar
   thing -L.Fr  MP- Aux   soldier -L.Fr be.absent ~Pst~  Ana.F

   *ta*    *xu'iká*    *kàhh*
   t- Ø    xuú' -ikáng   kaáhh  ~`~
   MP- Aux   know -Neg.Pst   be.absent ~Emph~
   **there was nothing of being a soldier that they didn't know**

68 *umó garoo*      *Keengereesa*   *iimi*
   umó ga -r´ -oo   Keengereesa -r´  iimi -r´
   every thing -L.Fr -Top   English    -L.Fr people -L.Fr

   *kan*       *xuu'*
   t- ng- a- Ø -n   xuú' ~LPA~
   MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Expect  know ~Subj~
   **everything - people knew English**

69 *lakini heé*    *ta*     *gaas*   *kaahh*  *tam*   *oo*
   lakini hee -ó  t- Ø    gaás ~LPA~ kaáhh  tam   oo
   but person -L.Mo MP- Aux    kill ~Subj~ be.absent Concess Ana.M

   *wák*  *asma*   *ma'aaydá'*     *ta*    *tleéhh*
   wák  asma   ma'aay -´ -dá' t- Ø    tleéhh ~´~
   one  because  water -L.NØ -Dem4 MP- Aux   make ~Pst~
   **but there were no casualties, not even one, because medicine had been made**

70 *aáng*    *ka*        *tsuúnq*
   aáng    t- ng- a- Ø -(g)a tsuúnq ~´~
   in.the.past   MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Prf  bewitch ~Pst~
   **they had been blessed**

71 *a*   *tsir/idá'*      *ta*    *tsuúnq*    *wa*
   Ø   tsir/i -r´ -dá'  t- Ø   tsuúnq ~´~  wa
   Aux  bird -L.Fr -Dem4   MP- Aux   bewitch ~Pst~ Prep.Abl

   *dirí*      *amama'o*    *a*     *tleér*
   di -r´ -í    amama'ó -r´   i- Ø -(g)a tláw ~´~
   place -L.Fr -Dem1  bird.sp. -L.Fr   S.3- Aux -Prf  go  ~Pst~

   *ay*     *baraqá'*
   ay     bará -ó -qá'
   Prep.Vent  side -L.Mo -Dem3
   **it was that bird that had been bewitched here, the *amama'o* [fork-tailed drongo] had gone there**

72   *niwa*         *kí/*              *tana*            *oó'*      *muu*
     ni -wa        kií/        ~´~    t- Ø  -na         oó' ~´~   muu -kú
     Vent -Back    return.(intr.) ~Pst~  MP- Aux -Imprf  say ~Pst~ person -L.Mk

     *nin*          *waatl*                 *gár*    *tlaakw*  *káhh*
     ni  -n        waátl          ~LPA~     ga -r´   tlaakw   káhh
     Vent -Expect  return.(intrans.) ~Subj~  thing -L.Fr bad.F.Sg be.absent.F

     *tam*     *ar*          *ninaaw*
     tam       ar           ninaaw
     Concess Ana.F           small.F.Sg

     **it returned and it said "the people will return, everything is alright, not
     even anything small [will happen]"**

73   *xay*
     xay
     Emph
     **so**

74   *tindiwa*          *tana*            *tindiwa*
     ta- ni -wa         t- Ø  -na         ta- ni -wa
     MP- Vent -Back     MP- Aux -Imprf    MP- Vent -Back

     *waátl*
     waátl              ~´~
     return.(intrans.) ~Pst~
     **when they returned**

75   *tare*           *daá'*
     t- Ø -re         daá' ~´~
     MP- Aux -Consec  sing ~Pst~
     **they sang**

76   *Gorwaa*              *Dodó*      *kuna*
     Gorwaa        -´     Dodó -ó    t- ng- u- Ø  -na
     Gorwaa.people -L.NØ  Dodó -L.Mo MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf

     *da'aangwa*                     *óh*
     da'aangw -ó     -wa            óh  ~´~
     song     -L.Mo -Prep.Abl   catch ~Pst~
     **the Gorwaa made a song of Dodó**

77   *Gorwaa*                    *niwa*      *watliyí'*
     Gorwaa        -´           ni -wa      waátl              -iyí'
     Gorwaa.people -L.NØ        Vent -Back  return.(intrans.) -N.Pst
     **the Gorwaa returned home**

78    *ta*          *kahí'*         *Dodó*       *haylee*  *he*  *Dodó*      *he*

        t-   Ø        káh -iyí'    Dodó -ó      haylee  he  Dodó -ó    he

        MP- Aux    say -N.Pst  Dodó -L.Mo  haylee  hey  Dodó -L.Mo   hey

        **they sang "Dodó *haylee he* Dodó *he***

79    *dó'*          *Uwo*        *he*

        do' -ó     Uwo -ó     he

        house -L.Mo  Uwo -L.Mo  hey

        **"of the house of Uwo *he***

80    *dó'*          *Dodó*       *Uwo*     *kuú*         *kura*

        do' -ó     Dodó -ó    Uwo -ó   kuúng        kura -tá

        house -L.Mo  Dodó -L.Mo   Uwo -L.Mo  ProPers.2Sg.M  anus -L.Ft

        *mahhee*           *Dodó*        *atén*       *na*

        maáhh -ee        Dodó -ó     atén       ni  -(g)a

        lick   -Imp.Sg.O    Dodó -L.Mo  ProPers.1Pl  Vent -Prf

        *watlaán*

        waátl            -aán ~´~

        return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~

        **"the house of Dodó Uwo, lick our ar es Dodó, we have returned**

81    *Dodó*           *he*

        Dodó -ó      he

        Dodó -L.Mo  hey

        **"Dodó *he***

82    *dó'*         *Uwo*       *atén*       *na*

        do' -ó     Uwo -ó     atén       ni  -(g)a

        house -L.Mo  Uwo -L.Mo   ProPers.1Pl  Vent -Prf

        *watlaán*

        waátl            -aán ~´~

        return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~

        **"of the house of Uwo, we have returned**

83    *kuú*          *Dodó*      *kura*      *mahhee*

        kuúng         Dodó -ó    kura -tá     maáhh -ee

        ProPers.2Sg.M Dodó -L.Mo  anus -L.Ft    lick   -Imp.Sg.O

        **"you Dodó lick (our) arses**

84    *Tsoxolí*     *hayle*  *Tsoxolí*

        Tsoxolí -ó     hayle  Tsoxolí -ó

        Tsoxolí -L.Mo  hayle  Tsoxolí -L.Mo

        **"Tsoxoli *hayle* Tsxoli**

78    *ta*         *kahí'*         *Dodó*         *haylee*   *he*   *Dodó*         *he*
        t-    Ø         kái -iyí'       Dodó -ó     haylee   he   Dodó -ó     he
        MP- Aux   say -N.Pst   Dodó -L.Mo    haylee   hey   Dodó -L.Mo    hey
        **they sang "Dodó *haylee he* Dodó *he***

79    *dó'*         *Uwo*         *he*
        do' -ó     Uwo -ó    he
        house -L.Mo   Uwo -L.Mo   hey
        **"of the house of Uwo *he***

80    *dó'*         *Dodó*         *Uwo*      *kuú*           *kura*
        do' -ó     Dodó -ó     Uwo -ó    kuúng        kura -tá
        house -L.Mo   Dodó -L.Mo    Uwo -L.Mo   ProPers.2Sg.M   anus -L.Ft

        *mahhee*           *Dodó*       *atén*       *na*
        maáhh -ee       Dodó -ó      atén        ni  -(g)a
        lick     -Imp.Sg.O     Dodó -L.Mo   ProPers.1Pl   Vent -Prf

        *watlaán*
        waátl           -aán  ~´~
        return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
        **"the house of Dodó Uwo, lick our arᴇes Dodó, we have returned**

81    *Dodó*         *he*
        Dodó -ó     he
        Dodó -L.Mo   hey
        **"Dodó *he***

82    *dó'*         *Uwo*         *atén*       *na*
        do' -ó     Uwo -ó    atén        ni  -(g)a
        house -L.Mo   Uwo -L.Mo    ProPers.1Pl   Vent -Prf

        *watlaán*
        waátl           -aán  ~´~
        return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
        **"of the house of Uwo, we have returned**

83    *kuú*         *Dodó*         *kura*       *mahhee*
        kuúng        Dodó -ó     kura -tá     maáhh -ee
        ProPers.2Sg.M  Dodó -L.Mo   anus -L.Ft     lick    -Imp.Sg.O
        **"you Dodó lick (our) arses**

84    *Tsoxolí*       *hayle*   *Tsoxolí*
        Tsoxolí -ó     hayle   Tsoxolí -ó
        Tsoxolí -L.Mo   hayle   Tsoxolí -L.Mo
        **"Tsoxoli *hayle* Tsxoli**

85   *dó'*          *Nyumba*              *heé*          *lama*
     do' -ó         Nyumba -ó             hee    -ó     lama -tá
     house -L.Mo    Nyumba -L.Mo          person -L.Mo  lies   -L.Ft
     **"of the house of Nyumba, a man of lies**

86   *Tsoxolí*      *heé*          *lama*
     Tsoxolí -ó     hee    -ó      lama -tá
     Tsoxolí -L.Mo  person -L.Mo   lies   -L.Ft
     **"Tsoxoli a man of lies**

87   *Tsoxolí*      *heé*          *lama*          *dó'*          *Nyumba*
     Tsoxolí -ó     hee    -ó      lama -tá        do'  -ó        Nyumba -ó
     Tsoxolí -L.Mo  person -L.Mo   lies   -L.Ft    house -L.Mo   Nyumba -L.Mo

     *heé*          *lama*
     hee    -ó      lama -tá
     person -L.Mo   lies  -L.Ft
     **"Tsoxoli a man of lies of the house of Nyumba a man of lies**

88   *Tsoxolí*      *heé*          *dó'*          *Dodó*        *Uwo*
     Tsoxolí -ó     hee    -ó      do'  -ó        Dodó -ó       Uwo -ó
     Tsoxolí -L.Mo  person -L.Mo   house -L.Mo    Dodó -L.Mo    Uwo -L.Mo

     *kuú*                  *kura*          *mahheek*
     kuúng                  kura -tá        maáhh -ee
     ProPers.2Sg.M          anus -L.Ft      lick    -Imp.Sg.O
     **"Tsoxoli a person of the house of Dodó Uwo, lick (our) arses**

89   *Dodó*          *atén*          *na*          *watlaán*
     Dodó -ó         atén            ni  -(g)a     waátl                 -aán ~´~
     Dodó -L.Mo      ProPers.1Pl     Vent -Prf     return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
     **"Dodó we have returned**

90   *Dodó*          *he*
     Dodó -ó         he
     Dodó -L.Mo      hey
     **"Dodó hey**

91   *heelo  hayle  he*   *Dodó*          *Uwo*          *hayle  he*
     heelo  hayle  he     Dodó -ó         Uwo -ó         hayle  he
     heelo  hayle  hey    Dodó -L.Mo      Uwo -L.Mo      hayle  hey
     **"*heelo hayle he* Dodó Uwo *hayle he***

92  *Tsoxolí*          *he*      *Tsoxolí*          *dó'*                *Nyumba*
    Tsoxolí -ó        he        Tsoxolí -ó        do' -ó            Nyumba -ó
    Tsoxolí -L.Mo hey        Tsoxolí -L.Mo house -L.Mo   Nyumba -L.Mo

    *hayle   motloo*
    hayle   motloo
    hayle   tomorrow
    "**Tsoxoli *he* Tsoxoli of the house of Nyumba *hayle* tomorrow**

93  *orojo*            *he*      *he*
    orojo            he        he
    hey.everyone hey        hey
    "**hey countrymen *he he***

94  *Dodó*            *kuúng*                *kura*            *mahhee*
    Dodó -ó          kuúng                kura -tá        maáhh -ee
    Dodó -L.Mo    ProPers.2Sg.M          anus -L.Ft      lick      -Imp.Sg.O
    "**Dodó lick (our) arses**

95  *dó'*              *Uwo*              *he*
    do' -ó          Uwo -ó            he
    house -L.Mo   Uwo -L.Mo        hey
    "**of the house of Uwo *he***

96  *Dodó*            *atén*                *na*                *watlaán*
    Dodó -ó          atén                ni    -(g)a      waátl              -aán ~´~
    Dodó -L.Mo    ProPers.1Pl    Vent -Prf        return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~
    "**Dodó we have returned**

97  *Tsoxolí*                *hayle*  *Tsoxolí*
    Tsoxolí -ó            hayle  Tsoxolí -ó
    Tsoxolí -L.Mo          hayle  Tsoxolí -L.Mo
    "**Tsoxoli *hayle* Tsoxoli**

98  *dó'*              *Nyumba*                *hayle*  *motloo*
    do' -ó          Nyumba -ó            hayle  motloo
    house -L.Mo   Nyumba -L.Mo          hayle  tomorrow
    "**of the house of Nyumba *hayle* tomorrow**

99  *Tsoxolí*            *kwa*                *heé*          *lama*          *dó'*
    Tsoxolí -ó          kuú                Ø  hee -ó      lama -tá        do' -ó
    Tsoxolí  -L.Mo ProPers.2Sg.M Aux person -L.Mo lies   -L.Ft      house -L.Mo

    *Nyumba*                *he*
    Nyumba -ó            he
    Nyumba -L.Mo          hey
    "**Tsoxoli you are a liar of the house of Nyumba hey**

100    *orojo          he*
orojo         he
hey.everyone hey
**"hey countrymen *he*"**

101    *aluwo ya*
aluwo ya
then   thus
**then**

102    *Dodoód*
Dodoód -ó
Dodoód -L.Mo
**Dodoód**

103    *ina                tláy*
i-  Ø  -na        tláw ~´~
S.3- Aux -Imprf    go  ~Pst~
**he went**

104    *ina           dír       muukudá'        oo    tluway*
i-  Ø  -na  di  -r´    muu -kú -dá'  oo    tluway -ó
S.3- Aux -Imprf place -L.Fr   people -L.Mk -Dem4 Ana.M rain     -L.Mo

*káy*
káy ~´~
go  ~Pst~
**he went to the place of the rainmakers**

105    *dó'        Ngawdá'         nguna            káy*
do'  -ó    Ngawdá' -ó        ng- u-  Ø  -na   káy ~´~
house -L.Mo   Ngawdá' -L.Mo      A.3- P.M- Aux -Imprf go  ~Pst~
**he went to the house of Ngawdá'**

106    *xay*
xay
Emph
**hey**

107 *giyeé*   *ngina*    *leéhh*    *dír*

giyeé -r´  ng- a- Ø -na  leéhh ~´~   di -r´

famine -L.Fr A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf look.for ~Pst~  place -L.Fr

 *a*      *káy*    *tam*  *an*  *dó'*

i-  Ø -(g)a   káy ~´~  tam Ø -n  do' -ó

MP.S.3- Aux -Prf  go.M ~Pst~  Concess Aux -Expect house -L.Mo

 *Ngawdá'*   *tam*  *an*   *dá'*  *Alawa*

Ngawdá' -ó  tam   Ø -n   dá'  Alawa -ó

Ngawdá' -L.Mo Concess  Aux -Expect hey  Alawa -L.Mo

 *do'oko*      *ngwa*     *káy*

do' -ó -ko     ng- u- Ø -wa  káy ~´~

house -L.Mo -Indef.M   A.3- P.M- Aux -Back go ~Pst~

**he went looking for famine, the place he went I don't know, Ngawdá' or Alawa, he went to one of those houses**

108 *do'dá'*    *hindí* *aní*   *uga*    *slawikáng*

do' -ó -dá'  hindí aní   Ø- u- Ø -(g)a sláw -ikáng

house -L.Mo -Dem4 now ProPers.1Sg A.P- P.M- Aux -Prf get -Neg.Pst

**I'm not getting (i.e. I can't remember) that house now**

109 *dosí*     *ngwa*     *káy*   *giyee*

do' -ó -sí   ng- u- Ø -wa  káy ~´~  giyeé -r´

house -L.Mo -Dem2 A.3- P.M- Aux -Back go ~Pst~ famine -L.Fr

 *na*    *tleér*

ni -(g)a  tleer ~´~

Vent -Prf  go.F ~Pst~

**he went to that house and famine came**

110 *xay*

xay

Emph

**hey**

111 *giyeé*    *na*    *tleér*   *kureerí*  *tám*

giyeé -r´  ni -(g)a  tleer ~´~  kureeri -´ tám

famine -L.Fr Vent -Prf  go.F ~Pst~ years -L.NØ three

**famine came for three years**

112 *ar*  *Gorwaa*      *qwari*

ar  Gorwaa    -´   qwari -kú

Ana.F Gorwaa.people -L.NØ  hunger -L.Mk

**for the Gorwaa - hunger**

113   *giyee*          *na*        *tleér*     *asma*     *Dodó*

giyeé -r´   ni  -(g)a   tleér  ~´~   asma     Dodó -ó

famine -L.Fr  Vent -Prf   go.F  ~Pst~  because    Dodó -L.Mo

*kuwa*                    *firín*

t- ng- u- Ø -wa      firín  ~´~

MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back   pray.M ~Pst~

**the famine came because Dodó was disrespected [lit. prayed for]**

114   *i*         *kah*      *ihii*   *ahheè kuungá'*   *aní*

i- Ø          káh -i     ihii     ahheè kuungá'   aní

S.3- Aux      say -3.Subj  Exclam. Exclam. ProPers.2Pl ProPers.1Sg

*burtunduna*          */etiís*         *aní*

bar- tundu- Ø -na      /eét   -iís ~´~   aní

if- P.2.Pl- Aux -Imprf   go.down -Ext ~Pst~  ProPers.1Sg

*misa*                  *firindé'*

m- i- Ø -s -(g)a     firiím -é' ~´~

Q- P.1Sg- Aux -Reason -Prf   pray -2Pl ~Pst~

*aní*        *kuungá'*   *tundun*     *hhamís-slaá'*

aní        kuungá'   tundu- Ø -n   hhamís- slaá' ~LPA~

ProPers.1Sg  ProPers.2Pl  P.2.Pl- Aux -Expect defeat- love ~Subj~

*aní*       *tundun*     *gwa'arár*   *slaa'*

aní        tundu- Ø -n   gwa'ara -r´  slaá' ~LPA~

ProPers.1Sg  P.2.Pl- Aux -Expect  death  -L.Fr want ~Subj~

**such that he [Dodó] said "ah, harrumph, those who were sent, why are they disrespecting me? I want you(pl.) to die!"**

115   *idodá'*          *kwa*             *firín*     *giyee*

ido -r´ -dá' t- ng- u- Ø -wa   firín ~´~   giyeé -r´

manner -L.Fr -Dem4 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back  pray ~Pst~   famine -L.Fr

*ngina*          *leéhh*

ng- a- Ø -na     leéhh  ~´~

A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf   look.for ~Pst~

**in that way he was cursed, famine was brought**

116   *tsee/amá*       *nina*     *paá/*        *kureerí*

tsee/amá -´       ni -na   paá/     ~´~  kureeri -´

sunshine -L.NØ    Vent -Imprf shine.(of.sun) ~Pst~ years -L.NØ

*aree*

ár -ee

see -Imp.Sg.O

**the sun shone harshly for - look [gestures 'three'] years**

117     *iimi*         *na*            *qwarít*

         iimi  -rˊ     ni  -(g)a      qwarít     ~ˊ~

         people -L.Fr   Vent -Prf      hunger.F  ~Pst~

         **people went hungry**

118     *tluway*        *kaàhh*

         tluway -ó      kaáhh    ~`~

         rain    -L.Mo  be.absent ~Emph~

         **there was no rain**

119     *tluway*         *bira*                  *tluíw*        *aluwo*  *in*

         tluway -ó      bar- i-  Ø   -(g)a     tluúw ~ˊ~     aluwo i-  Ø  -n

         rain    -L.Mo  if-  S.3- Aux -Prf     rain   ~Pst~    then    S.3- Aux -Expect

         *tsatiit*                *balaangw'ín*            *tawa*

         tsaát -iít  ~ˊ~        balaangw -ó    -'ín       t-  Ø   -wa

         cut   -Ext ~Pst~      millet     -L.Mo -Poss.3Pl   MP- Aux -Back

         *kaàhh*

         kaáhh     ~`~

         be.absent ~Emph~

         **if it rained, it soon stopped, their millet went to nothing**

120     *hamarikáng*

         hamaár -ikáng

         ripen.   -Neg.Pst

         **it didn't ripen**

121     *bare*          *tawa*                *babáy*             *tawa*

         bare        t-  Ø  -wa        babáy  ~ˊ~        t-  Ø   -wa

         whyever      MP- Aux -Back      continue ~Pst~      MP- Aux -Back

         *babáy*              *tawa*            *babáy*

         babáy  ~ˊ~      t-  Ø  -wa       babáy   ~ˊ~

         continue ~Pst~    MP- Aux -Back     continue ~Pst~

         *tawa*            *slahhahhaá*

         t-  Ø   -wa        Red- slahhaá      ~ˊ~

         MP- Aux -Back      Plur hurt.(intrans) ~Pst~

         **so they continued, when they were hurt**

122     *tare*            *axweés*            *barisee*      *ire*

         t-  Ø  -re        axweés ~ˊ~       barisee -rˊ  i-  Ø   -re

         MP- Aux -Consec     speak   ~Pst~      old.men -L.Fr S.3- Aux -Consec

         *iwít*             *yaamù*

         iwiít ~ˊ~      yaamú ~`~

         sit   ~Pst~   down  ~Emph~

         **they spoke, the elders sat down**

123    *bariseér*     *mila*    *ina*            *iwít*         *yaamù*

        barisee -r´     mila    i-  Ø  -na            iwít ~´~     yaamú ~`~

        old.men -L.Fr custom S.3- Aux -Imprf     sit.F ~Pst~   down  ~Emph~

        *tare*               *axwemamiís*           *axwemamiís*

        t-  Ø  -re         axweés -m-  -iís ~´~     axweés -m-  -iís ~´~

        MP- Aux -Consec     speak  -Ext- -Ext ~Pst~   speak  -Ext- -Ext ~Pst~

        **the customary elders sat down, they talked and talked**

124    *gasí*             *kare*              *sláy*     *tare*

        ga   -r´  -sí       t- ng- a-  Ø  -re     sláy ~´~  t- Ø -re

        thing -L.Fr -Dem2    MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec   get  ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Consec

        *yiikwá*      *huw*

        yiikwa -´       húw  ~LPA~

        cattle -L.NØ  bring ~Subj~

        **they settled up [lit. got] this, they sent a cow**

125    *yiikwa*       *kare*             *huw*          *dó'*

        yiikwa -´     t- ng- a-  Ø  -re     húw  ~LPA~      do' -ó

        cattle -L.NØ  MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec  bring ~Subj~     house -L.Mo

        *Dodoód*

        Dodoód -ó

        Dodoód -L.Mo

        **a cow was brought to the house of Dodoód**

126    *ta*           *nanahaángw*        *ay*         *gidabá*     *gitláy kar*

        t- Ø         nanahaangw -ó     ay ~LPA~    gidabá     gitláy kara

        MP- Aux         begging      -L.Mo go ~Subj~    that        hey  so

        *na'as*  *gitláy*  *tluway*       *i*           *tluuwi*

        na'as  gitláy  tluway -ó     i- Ø        tluuw -i

        please hey    rain   -L.Mo S.3- Aux       rain  -3.Subj

        **they begged him that "please, that it rains**

127    *gitláy*  *na'as*

        gitláy  na'as

        hey     please

        **"please**

128    *gár*        *afkudá'*            *ya*    *a*     *afkudá'*

        ga  -r´    afa -kú -dá'      ya  Ø   afa  -kú -dá'

        thing -L.Fr    mouth -L.Mk -Dem4 thus  Aux   mouth -L.Mk -Dem4

        *ya*   *tawa*         *loori-huw*

        ya   t- Ø -wa       loori húw ~´~

        thus  MP- Aux -Back      lorry bring ~Pst~

        **"if it is about the language when the vehicles carried (us)**

129   *afkudá'*             *amór*         *hhoo*
        afa  -kú  -dá'     amo -r´     hhoo
        mouth -L.Mk -Dem4  place -L.Fr    good.F
        **"we take back those words**

130   *afkudá'*             *amór*         *hhoo*
        afa  -kú  -dá'     amo -r´     hhoo
        mouth -L.Mk -Dem4  place -L.Fr    good.F
        **"we take back those words"**

131   *yiikwa*       *kina*                *hariís*
        yiikwa -´   t-  ng- i-  Ø  -na       hariís ~´~
        cattle  -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf   give  ~Pst~
        **they brought cows**

132   *yiikwa*       *kiwa*                *hariís*      *tluwáy*
        yiikwa -´   t-  ng- i-  Ø  -wa      hariís ~´~    tluway -´
        cattle  -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Back     give  ~Pst~   rain    -L.NØ

        *iimi*           *ire*                 *tluúw*      *iimi*
        iimi  -r´    i-  Ø  -re         tluúw ~´~    iimi  -r´
        people -L.Fr   S.3- Aux -Consec     rain  ~Pst~  people -L.Fr

        *ire*                   */aayínd*
        i-  Ø  -re         /aáy -índ  ~´~
        S.3- Aux -Consec      eat   -Ext.F ~Pst~
        **they brought cows, the people's rain came, the people ate**

133   *shiida*              *ire*                *dirí*           *alkwí*
        shiida  -r´        i-  Ø  -re        di  -r´  -í       alkwí
        problem -L.Fr       S.3- Aux -Consec     place -L.Fr -Dem1    now

        *axweesani*              *a*                *fák*
        axweesani -tá        i-  Ø  -(g)a      fák   ~´~
        utterance -L.Ft      S.3- Aux -Prf       finish.F ~Pst~
        **the problems of this place now, (and) the discussions had ended**

134   *iimi*            *ire*               */aayínd*         *tare*
        iimi  -r´   i-  Ø  -re        /aáy -índ  ~´~     t-  Ø  -re
        people -L.Fr   S.3- Aux -Consec     eat  -Ext.F ~Pst~     MP- Aux -Consec

        *kii/*  *bará*  *axama*      *bará*  *qwala/u*
        kii/   bará  axama -kú  bará  qwala/u -ó
        return in      satiety -L.Mk in    happiness -L.Mo
        **and the people ate and they returned to satiety, to happiness**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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