References


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Website Helen Eaton: [http://www.drhelenipresume.com](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. Majua)
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. 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.

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82 A profile of the consultant 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.

Hare and Civet cat

Long ago, Hare and Civet cat had a strong friendship. Their work was mainly hunting with arrows, setting (bird) traps with stones and setting traps with ropes.

Once they killed an animal, they roasted it and ate meat.

The presence of the verbal linker ẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹẹę
And they diced it and spread it out (to dry in the sun).

They roasted the rest of the meat.

They roasted the meat that was roasted.

So he said to the civet cat:

“My friend, go on roasting, I will come back right now”.

And he replied: “All right my friend”.

When Hare left, he arrived at a pool.

Here he stripped off his skin and hid it in the water, so that it would not dry out.

85 –sâkmeën is a (deverbal) morpheme complex, which expresses ‘with the intention of’. The exact form and meaning of the individual elements are unclear.
Hear! And he returned running,

NARR:INTJ=EXCL CNJ.3 run:SG-INST return

|ō-ŋ̄-nà=à dzâdâsé-wà-tsè-ŋ̄ |ŋ̄n-țè-nà
over_there-LOC-DIR=3 roast.LFACT-PL2-REL-DEF meat-area-DIR

over there where the meat was roasted.

him=à bebà=štì kwàa nìmà-ŋ̄ |àng-é pàà kwàâŋ nì-ŋ̄ thà
SUB:CNJ.3 be_near=TOP2 CNJ.2.3 civet-DEF see-3O CNJ.2.3 be_shocked CNJ-CL run:SG

When he was near, the civet cat saw him, was shocked, and ran.

?if=à kwësëgà ðìmë tsùû hàwên-”lè?ë
thus=3 think maybe animal which..m-???

He thought like this: “What kind of animal is this, I do not know!”

lååîtì kwàìa fiòfèñë=à jìng=à jì-jwà-á
hare CNJ.2.3 hastily=3 meat=3 eat.meat-PL.1-3O

So Hare hastily ate

tshìyà=à dzâdâsé-wà-á-tò-ŋ̄
all=3 roast.LFACT-PL1-3O-NMN:PAT-DEF

all the meat that had been roasted,

mì-ŋ̄ kwââà-ŋ̄ thà-ŋ̄
CNJ-CL return-L run:SG-L

ran back,

hëwë këlémba-ŋ̄g=à siyë-ŋ̄ mì-ŋ̄ jìè-súkà-ts’ì
he (POSS)skin-DEF=3 take:SG-L CNJ-CL enter-Caus2-MID1

took his skin and put it on.

[pàà kà?ë] pàà kwââà hìk’ìŋ̄ kìŋ̄ kìrângî-”lì-țè-nà=à
CNJ.2.3 that CNJ.2.3 return go:SG meat (POSS)rack-LOC-area-DIR=3

[And he said:] And he went back to the meat rack.

?ô-ŋ̄=štì nìmà-ŋ̄ tshèè pàà hàkìts=à ”lìyë-ŋ̄ dárà
here-LOC=TOP2 civet_cat-DEF not_be:3 CNJ.2.3 sit:SG=3 stay:SG-VL

The civet cat was not at this place, so he sat down and waited.

86 The exact meaning of ”lìyë is unclear. It expresses utter surprise and/or uncertainty.
Then the civet cat returned and the hare said:

\[
\text{hiki}-\text{ná} \quad \text{waré}, \quad \text{ný}-\text{xè}-\text{ná} \quad \text{hákú}
\]

“How’s up my friend, where is the meat?”

\[
\text{civet cat-DEF} \quad \text{CNJ} \quad 2.3 \quad \text{return} \quad \text{CNJ} \quad 2.3 \quad \text{hare-DEF-SFOC} \quad \text{that}
\]

And the civet cat replied:

\[
\text{wa’rè}, \quad \text{bôtsò} \quad \text{tsùù–áá=’lé?è} \quad \text{thànnyster–wá–tsbé}
\]

“My friend! I do not know what kind of animal came running at me!?”

\[
\text{civet cat-DEF} \quad \text{CNJ} \quad 2.3 \quad \text{that}
\]

And the hare said: “Ah, it appears this thing has eaten meat, that animal.

\[
\text{meé}=\text{kò} \quad \text{?ùń=ð} \quad \text{kwàfí}
\]

I was scared”.

\[
\text{tomorrow-m-DEF-TOP} \quad \text{CNJ} \quad 2.3 \quad \text{that} \quad \text{CNJ} \quad 2.3 \quad \text{again again=3 that}
\]

The next day they roasted again.

---

\[87 \text{See footnote 86.} \]

\[88 \text{In oral texts, –ná is frequently found after narrative conjunctions. Its presence probably lends extra prominence to what happens next: ‘so then, and then’.} \]
“Go on roasting, I will come right now.”

And again he ran to that same pool.

He stripped off his skin and hid it in the water.

Again he ran and frightened the civet cat.

Hare again ate all the meat and ran!

He put on his skin and returned to the rack,

and waited for the civet cat.

When the civet cat came, he said:

“This animal came running at me again, so I ran!”

Hare did not say anything.
So then the civet cat thought:

**hèwè** **tsì** **wàrè-ŋ**

DEM1.m I (poss.) friend:m-DEF

“This friend of mine,

**hìy-à** **há-ŋ-tè-nà=ké-à=lè-ŋ** **hìk-ŋ**

SUB/CNJ.3 where?-LOC-area-DIR=IND=3=??9 go:SG=SUB

where he goes I do not know,

**pà-xì** **tsùú-áá** **thàih-ŋ-wà-tshé,** **hótso=lè-ŋ**

CNJ.2.3-again animal:SFOC SV.run_towards:SG-PL2-APPL.1SG what?=??90 and the animal that runs at me, what is it?

**dò=kwáá** **phè** **hìy-à** **kòsn=á** **?Ix=ŋ=á** **dìghój-ŋ-ŋ pèeràà** **hìk-ŋ**

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,

**mì-ŋ** **lāng-è-sì**

CNJ-CL see-3O-1SG:NR

and I will see him.

**há-ŋ-tè-nà=á** **hìk-ŋ**-wà

where?-area-DIR=3 go:SG=3

Where does he usually go?”

**?āráá** **phè-ýè-n=á** **lāāò=á** **pà-xì** **dàà** **hìk-ŋ**

really tomorrow-m-DEF=TOP2 hare CNJ.2.3-again cheat.3O.3 go:SG

Truly, the next day Hare again went cheating him.

**nìmì-ŋ** **kwàá** **lāā-ýè** **mì-ŋ** **wà-ts’ì** **?ō-ŋ** **bèēbà**

civet_cat-DEF CNJ.2.3 follow:3O CNJ-CL hide-MID1 here-LOC near

The civet cat followed him and hid himself nearby.

**lāālì-ŋ** **kwàá** **swá-ts’ì** **mì-ŋ** **hèwè** **kèlèmbà-ŋg=á** **wàá** **ts’a-tà-nà=á**

hare-DEF CNJ.2.3 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.
When the civet cat saw this

\[ \text{he ran to the meat rack and sat waiting while he was roasting.} \]

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

\[ \text{He took the skin of the hare and hid it somewhere else.} \]

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

\[ \text{Hare then ran again to eat meat.} \]

\[ \text{When he arrived, the civet cat was not there, so he said: “He has seen me and ran.”} \]

\[ \text{So he ate all the meat and ran in order to take the skin.} \]

\[ \text{But he missed, and he knew} \]
He hastily ran back to the meat rack.

When the civet cat saw the hare, being very red, he ran.

And the hare shouted:

"It’s me, my friend, do not run!"

The civet cat was just running.

Hare ran to (try to) comfort him.

But the civet cat refused him and ran.
Hare then dried out because of the sun and died.

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.

Long ago, trees for beehives were the “dong”, the “se…”, and the “maping”, not the “maping”, the “!weeya”.

Nowadays, when long ago these were all finished,

---

91 The Swahili translation equivalents for dōν and !wèéyà are mkola and mninga, respectively.
**hiki** !’amȅ-sṳ̄n-ńá
How? shape.11-1PL.NR=Q
How will we construct (a beehive)?

**kóngóra?ą bā?átè styé-pò pū théē=ń ṅéé**
axe big take:SG-2SG:NR CNJ2.2SG tree=2SG cut
You will take a big axe and then you cut a tree.

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,

**mísikóó namna-xè?į**
beehive manner 93-like
the way like a beehive (i.e. the desired length of the beehive).

**hí–ń ńix=ń ṅu’iyá–ą–ń !’ôókhá=ń?į?**
SUB:CNJ-2SG thus=2SG do-3O-VL finish=SUB
When you have finished doing that,

**pū kóngóra?ą méé=ń styé**
CNJ2.2SG axe big=2SG take:SG
then you take a big axe

**hàà théē méé=ń pū xðósè=yóóó**
and tree big=2SG CNJ2.2SG hammer.FACT=EXCL
and a big piece of wood and then you start hammering!

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 théē méé hewé–ąng=ń xðósè, hewé–ąng=ń dúbé**
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–ń dúbé=ń?į? kímbá théē hewé tān–ts’i=ń**
SUB:CNJ-2SG bang=SUB hey! tree he tear-MID2=3:NR
When you bang, hey, this very tree will split!

**na híy–ą tān–ts’i–ń !’ôókhá=ń?į?**
and 93 SUB:CNJ-3 tear-MID2-VL finish=SUB
And when it has split apart,

---

92 Swahili insertion: namna ‘manner’.
then you take the big axe again.

Thus, we say: "you will cut out".

Once the hollow space is ready, you take an adze.

This adze …, with it, you make it so that it is good (i.e. smooth the rough edges)

And when all these very pieces are gone,

And when it is hollow,

you cut out the other side as well.

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.
When you have finished covering, (the next step is) the opening of the beehive.

You take the charcoal and you draw, then you take it out (i.e. the wood of the opening).

With the adze then, you hammer the opening of the beehive.

When everything is even with each other,
then you put them together and see if they are really even.

If that is the case, the beehive is ready.

When you are ready,
then you will let it ascend into that tree of this place.

96 See footnote 88.
very-PL we over_there baobab [and] and tree big.PL father-PL-2-be-3-DEF

Here with us, it’s mainly baobabs and very large trees (to place the beehives).

hèwè-xé-nà kè-ìkw-á-pò
he-coll-dir ascend-caus-1-0-sg:nr

You will let it ascend into them

mì-ŋ tänàá !wáá híkí-ŋ lìŋg-ó-pò
cni-cl first opportunity go:s-gn:pl sec-3-o-2sg:nr

and first you will go and see an opportunity.

sùŋ hèwè-xé !wáá-xé-ŋ [kò ká?í] gírítóó
we he-coll opportunity-coll-def top:1-pl that giritoo

We call these spaces “giritoo”

gírítóó-ŋ hí-í mísíkóó-í péé-í?í kwà mèe !'àwé
giritoo-att sub:cni-2sg beehive=2sg put:sg=sub opt:3 neg:opt fall

This giritoo, when you place the beehive, it should not fall out,

kwà mèe í|émésé-klí-áá tìbéténà
opt:3 neg:opt person.m-top-sfoc easily

and a person should not (take it) easily …

?ís-ọ í|émésé-ŋ kwà mèe tìbéténà hóná-í
steal-nmn (poss.)person.m-def opt:3 neg:opt easily collect_honey-3:nr

the thief should not easily collect honey.

hí-í [í'é-í] pàà tàá ìýé=tsheé-í?í
sub:cni-2sg look_at=2sg cni:2:3 good stay:sg=neg:1:3=sub

When you inspect and it doesn’t rest well,

cni:2:3 he beehive-def that_is=cnd later_on=cnd fall-???:sg=opt

that is, if this beehive might fall out,

pì thèè-ŋ ñéé-í !ákí-s-è
cni:2:sg tree=2sg cut=2sg fork-be-3

you cut a forked stick.

hèwè thèè-ŋ ||wá-ŋ sàngàí
he tree-def (poss.)name-def sangasi

The name of this stick is “sangasi”.

97 Swahili insertion: na ‘and’
You stick it in with force and you tie together.

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

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

That’s why we act in this way.
You tie together on the beehive, which is blocked with it. And what follows is medicine: “k’wepéda’.”

This k’wepéda’ has a smell. When they smell it, they have the knowledge and they go there. When they go, hear!, they find it. What will they find? They will find medicine.

And right here, hear!, these bees and others, later on, hear!; find.3

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98 d’esônts’–kà ‘furthermore, what follows’ is a complex form: d’es–d–n–ts’–kà do_again-NMN-DEF-LOC-TOP.

99 This is not the transcription of the original recording. When transcribing with the speaker, he changed |’ékhâ=á=n=á?à| k’ódóthò=á?à| to |’ékhâ=á=n=á?à| k’ódóthò=á?à|, 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.
They will find it here, and they go inside.

They will enter into the beehive.

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

And later on, they go inside.

They build many things inside.

What will they build?

Honey combs.

What follows is clear honey.

---

100 Cf. footnote 85.
What follows is “tumee”.

When they have put them inside, the eggs,

When later on many days have passed,

And he will often go, inspect and have a look at it:

When they are outside the beehive, he knows it: it is full of honey.

Swahili insertion: na ‘and’.
He himself knows the day of collecting,

and he will know, as for collecting honey, it has its period.

When it rains, they say that they usually do not collect.

Those collectors know very well
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.

η||6kό *qiyó
child.pl POSS,mother
J: Mother of the children!

hó
who?
A: Yes?

||6 ó híy–ò nèè–η ||6=γη η||6ο–κς–ςό θíwèè η
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,

?èèè
yes
A: Yes.

hí12 á–ς–ς–"kí
be_hot-NMN3-DEF-TOP
J: the body was hot!

k’wàwé=ké=a xàrè
de_ill=IND=3 or
A: He is ill, or …?

kò k’wàw=a
just be_ill=3
J: Yes, he is ill.

mmm
INTJ
A: really?
**APPENDIX: TEXTS**

---

**k’wàw=â=yóóó**

be_ill=3=EXCL.

J: He is ill!

---

**?áarêyo**

text.

A: All right.

---

**ŋ|dō’ŋ k’wàwé=ga=â**

child.ATT be_ill=CONF=3

J: The child, he is certainly ill!

---

**?èìè**

yes

A: Yes.

---

**mí-ŋ swè=sìʔ-ná hàpú=sìʔ híki=ŋ 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=sìʔ-ná híki=ŋ |åŋ**

intj you=top2=q how?=2sg see

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

---

**kò kís kàʔåŋ tsì=sìʔ-wàʔåŋ**

just top.1sg that.ATT I=top2=CND,ATT

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

---

**mí=ʔò ||úmá bāárá–ŋ, go:pl=1pl:opt divine start-vl**

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

---

**hèwè-xé kòség–ô–ŋ híki–xéʔ=ô–ná kwèsègà hàpú**

he-coll think-nm-def how?-like=2sg=q think you

What do you think of these thoughts?

---

**tsì ?íxi=ŋ kòsègåŋ**

I thus=1sg think.att

J: I think as follows:

---

**?èìè**

yes

A: Yes.
J: Let’s get him to the hospital.

A: Hmm, let’s get him to the diviners.

J: To read the divining board?

A: Yes, let’s shed light on it and see; and you indeed should treat the child.

J: But those over there (i.e. in the hospital), when we go there, they will just know these things (of going to diviners).

A: It’s “ts’ik’a” (disease which causes swollen legs).

J: Nowadays they understand a lot, they will know when it is ts’ik’a.
APPENDIX: TEXTS

be_able-3PL:NR:ATT
A: And they will be able (to treat it).

be_able:3PL:NR-CNJ-CL SUB:CNJ-3PL be_able=NEG1.3PL=SUB
J: They will be able and if they can’t…

child kill-3SG:NR=NEG you
A: You will not kill the child, will you?

just NEG:OPT=HORT.3 NEG:OPT=OPT.3 thus
J: Just not, let it not be like that.

yes
A: Yes

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

TOP.3PL that we overcome-MID1-1PL=SUB when they say “we have been overcome”,

3PL:that return-FACT-3O=OPT.2PL home-DIR
A: they say: “You get him back home”.

return-FACT-3O=OPT.2PL home-DIR
J: “You get him back home”.

indeed=1PL return-FACT-3O home-DIR=1PL right
A: And we return him home indeed, right?
A GRAMMAR OF SANDAWE

hap-a$a bo-ts’e=m i tek’a-wa?i podo hew=o ||’a
you-SFOC say-APPL.3O=2SG indeed i02=CND CNJ/2.IPL he=1PL follow

J: What you have said is indeed how it is, and we follow that.

swè k’a k’a?i mdewa tshéè hol ts’a-na na?i=sùñ
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,

kóyówa=nè xàrè ?àsmañì
Koyowa=Y/NQ or Asmani
Koyowa? Or Asmani?

?èèè swè do=.kwáá
INTJ now wait=2SG:HORT

J: Yes, now wait a moment:

au gingiyo gawa-ta-ye-ŋ ts’a-na xéè-sùñ=nè
or10 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?

?àsmañì hèwé-ki=nà hétt’ì
Asmani he-TOP-Q over_there

J: Asmani, really? (He is) over there (far away)!

gingiyo=ná
Gingiyo=Q
A: And Gingiyo?

gingiyo hèwé-ki=nà hétt’ì
Gingiyo he-TOP-Q over_there
J: Gingiyo, really? (He is) over there (far away)!

kóyówa=?ò t’añàñì jàng-ê
Koyowa=1PL:OPT first see-3O
Let’s first see Koyowa.

?áárd
o.k.
A: O.k.

102 The exact meaning of tek’a ‘indeed’ (?) is unclear. The form probably functions as a verb.
103 Swahili insertion: au ‘or’.
?ò bèèbà–yé
here be_close-m
J: The one close-by.

?òèè
INTJ
A: Yes

kóyôwà hèwò tèk’á bèèbà–yé’ŋ
Koyowa DEM1.m indeed be_close-m.ATT
J: This Koyowa, who is close-by indeed,

?òèè
INTJ
A: Yes

béw–òʔè |àng–é
he=1PL.OPT see-3O
J: Let’s see him.

?òò sìphịṭhái–nà lémé
CN2.1PL.OPT hospital-DIR accompany
A: And let’s bring him to the hospital.

hịy–àʔè tèʔè kàʔè kò tsi–ki hùmà–s–á=?í’ŋ
SUB:CN1-3PL later_on that just I-TOP overcome-1SG-3O=SUB.ATT
J: If, later on, they say: “I just lost”

pòò sìphịṭhái–n=ò nìʔè ?árdè
CN2.1PL hospital-DIR=1PL go:PL right
A: Then we go to the hospital, right?

pòò wèṭshá–ná=γòò pòò sìphịṭhái–n=ò nìʔè
CN2.1PL WAP:EXCL CN2.1PL hospital-DIR=1PL go:PL right
J: Then we, hear, then we go to the hospital.

hík’γ=kwá–ŋ khéʔè lábè–ŋ
go:SG=2SG.HORT-VL hear wake_up-VL
A: Be early and go and listen.

kò phè–nà lábè–sì
just tomorrow-DIR(?) wake_up-1SG.NR
J: Tomorrow I will go early.

104 See footnote 102.
A GRAMMAR OF SANDAWE

how? 3.say 105 SUB:CNJ-2SG go:SG=SUB 106 A: What did he say when you went there?

just that ATT child DEM1.m=EXCL ts‘ik’a=Y/NQ ts‘ik’a-SFOC
J: They just said: “This child, is it ts‘ik’a? It is ts‘ik’a.”

yes
A: Yes.

other=TOP2 that not_be:3
J: And that there isn’t anything else.

yes
A: Yes

J: Ts‘ik’a!

CNJ-CL hospital-DIR accompany-NMN-VL refuse=3 or
A: And did he refuse to bring (him) to the hospital, or...?

no refuse=NEG1.3
J: No, he didn’t refuse

yes
A: Yes

CNJ-CL that there enter-COM-3O=Y/NQ=2PL
J: And he asked: “Did you bring him there?”

105 Fused form < hik=fà ?mbó
106 At this point, the speakers make a story leap: A has gone to Koyowa and is asked afterwards how things went.
And I said “We didn’t bring him yet”.

J: For him, he was near to (like) fearing.

A: He was alarmed.

J: He was alarmed.

A: Hmm, the use of the negative optative marker with a realis subject clitic expresses ‘almost, near to’.
?èèè
yes
A: Yes

\textit{pòò–ná} \textit{khwàà–sé–é}
CVN2.1PL-??\text{108} \textit{return-FACT-3O}
J: then we return him.

\textit{hí–yà?qà}
SUB:CVN-3PL
A: When they…

\textit{pòò–ná} \textit{khwàà–sé–é–?jà}
CVN2.1PL-??\text{109} \textit{return-FACT-3O=SUB}
J: And when we return him,

?èèè
yes
A: Yes

\textit{pòò–ná} \textit{hàpù} \textit{ts’àà–n=ô} \textit{nóká–á} \textit{ŋ¤òö–ŋ} \textit{hëëw}
CVN2.1PL-??\text{110} \textit{you (POSS.)home-DIR=1PL bring-3O} \textit{child-DEF DEM1.m}
J: We bring this child to your house\text{111}

\textit{pù–ná} \textit{hàp–åå} \textit{|àn–x–’sùŋ} \textit{ŋ¤òö} \textit{hëëw}
CVN2.2SG-??\text{112} \textit{you-SFOC see-BEN-1PL child DEM1.m}
and then you see this child for us

\textit{ts’ükha–pò–në–ŋ}
cover-2SG:NR=V/NQ-L
A: and will you cover him in smoke?\text{113}

cover-2SG:NR=V/NQ-L \textit{treatment-DEF which_m treat-2SG:NR-L}
J: and will you cover him in smoke, and which treatment will you use?

\hspace{1cm}
\begin{flushleft}
\text{108} \text{See footnote 88.}
\text{109} \text{See footnote 88.}
\text{110} \text{See footnote 88.}
\text{111} J reports to A what has been discussed at the home of the traditional healer. J has been advised by him to get the child to the hospital and then come back to him. ‘Your’ refers to the house of this healer.
\text{112} \text{See footnote 88.}
\text{113} A asks this question as if she was there, asking it herself.
\end{flushleft}
A: Aha

Indeed, if like this, then it will not be good for him?

indeed be_good-MID1-3m lie-AG-3pl (poss.)at_home enter=SUB.ATT

A: Ah, it will be good. If we go to the liars’ place,
?èèè
yes
J: Yes

phè  làbè-ká–á=?ò
A: Let’s be early with him tomorrow.

làbè-ká–á  pòdò  níʔ–àŋ  ṭè=tò  èkè–ká–á
J: Be early with him and we go and enter with him there.

?èèè
yes
A: Yes

maana  swè=ò  tèʔè  n=ò–ŋ  hétt’=ò  èkè,
meaning 115  now=1PL  later  CNJ=1PL-CL  over_there=1PL  enter
J: So this means, later on, we enter there,

hétt’=ò  èkè,  hétt’=ò  èkè=ʔò
and there, and there.

táw–à=ts’é
be_good-3:NR=NEG2
A: This will not be good.

ŋ!è  nè=ŋ  l’útshúkú–wá=ì
day  stay:PL-VL  pass:PL=3:NR
J: Days will be passing.

ŋ||òò  k’â?é–sùŋ
child  hurt-1PL-NR
A: We will hurt the child.

ŋ||òò  k’â?é–ts’=à  ñyé–ŋ
child  hurt-MID=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.
J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,

A: That’s true.

J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,

A: That’s true.

J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,

A: That’s true.

J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,

A: That’s true.

J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,

A: That’s true.

J: And if we are early and go there, when the day breaks,
?áráá=gá?q
right=CONF
A: True

hēwē tētā mānā–ásō ηŋkwáʔq–sūn–sō
he genuine know-3O-3PL.NR reprimand-1PL-3PL.NR
J: This they will absolutely know, they will reprimand us.

phē lāb=ðʔq ?áře
tomorrow be_early=1PL.OPT o.k.
A: Let’s be early tomorrow, shouldn’t we?

tēk’á=wáʔq
indeed 117=CND
J: That’s how it is.

?ēēē
yes
A: Yes

phēŋ, ?inšts’i=kwārā ?áře
tomorrow.ATT thus=HORT.3 o.k.
J: Tomorrow, let it be so, shouldn’t it?

thūn’thūŋ
darkness.RED
A: In the dark.

thūn’thūŋ
darkness.RED
J: In the dark.

?árdá
right
A: Right

wēṭshána=yōōō niʔi–ŋ hospitali heēw ḥang–é
NAR:INTJ=EXCL go:CPL-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

bó–x–súń–sò
say-3NL-3PL:NR
J: They will tell us.

?èèè
yes
A: Yes

bó–x–súń–sò
say-3NL-3PL:NR
J: They will tell us.

SUB:CNJ-3 overcome-CAUS1-3O=SUB CNJ2.1PL Koyowa (POS) home-DIR=1PL return-FACT-3O
A: If he fails, we return him to Koyowa’s house.

pòò kóyówà ts’àá–n=ò nì?ì
CNJ2.1PL Koyowa (POS) home-DIR=1PL go:PL
J: We go to Koyowa’s house.

haya
all_right119
A: All right.

?ìñìts’=kùwàrè ?àrè
thus=HORT.3 right
J: Let it be like this, not?

?ìñìt=kwà ñìyè
thus=OPT.3 stay:SG
A: Let it so be.

?áàrè
right
J: All right.

tsí–kí mèénà–á=sj swè=sñì?
1-TOP love-3O=1SG now=TOP2
A: I agree now.

119 Swahili insertion: haya ‘all right’.
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.

bôgoló ‘ŋ!tũ phì!’i–wà–s–è
bag POSS.mouth turn_over-PL-BE-3
The openings of bags are turned over

yesterday (PSS.)year Kurio (PSS.)people Msara-LOC=3PL fetch-PL CNJ-CL drink-CAUS1
Last year, the people of Kurio fetched water and drenched in Msara.

bhëw màákha msèrá ŋjõmós–lâ kûryò–?ã hàwè–ŋ ñ–ŋ t’sâ–kũ
DEM1.m year Msara (PSS.)people-SFOC Kurio-LOC fetch-PL CNJ-CL drink-CAUS1
This year, the people of Msara fetch water and drench in Kurio.

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.

mänâkkhêŋ bahati k’ómé–s–è, swè tsì–tê phè hàpû–tè
its meaning.ATT 120 luck 121 move-BE-3 now I-area tomorrow you-area
Which means: luck usually moves, today it is on me, tomorrow on you.

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.

tłaśj mírktà=s=ts'è
dead age-group=BE-3=NEG2
Death does not have age groups.

mànàkhè tłaśj bà?è 1'à=tshèè
it's meaning death be big follow=NEG1.3
It means, death does not follow the (old) ones.

η|dó=ki=wà?à tłaśi=1  k'arde=ki=wà?à tłaśi=1
child-TOP=CND die-3:NR youth-TOP=CND die-3:NR
Would it be for a child, it may die, for a youth, he may die,

dì=seè=ki=wà?à tłaśi=1  tì'abisò=ki=wà?à 1'ìwì=1
elder-TOP=CND die-3:NR stomach-TOP=CND fall-3:NR
for an elder, he may die; a pregnancy may fail.

hèwè=meè=kò bò kà?à
he-sake NEG:OPT=2SG:OPT say that
Therefore, do not say:

làbà hì=1 hàp-áà tłaś=ì?ì hàpú màkàà tśì tì'â=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.

mànà-s=po=ts'è hó báàrà-ŋ tłaśi=0ŋ
know-3o-2SG:NR=NEG2 who? start-VL die-INF
You cannot know who will die first.