APPENDIX B: TEXTS

Introduction
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Introduction
The first text explains the origin of the Makonde people and of the different dialects. The second text is an animal story with songs. Texts 3 and 4 are two accounts of how to prepare common types of food. Then, some proverbs and riddles are given together with brief explanations. Finally, eleven songs are presented which are sung during celebrations such as marriage and initiation.

Each text has an interlinear translation and a free translation. In the interlinear translation, specifiers are preceded by the class number of the noun with which they agree. With verbal forms, the final label identifies the tense, i.e., the combination of the Tense Marker (TM), the Final and the tone pattern; the label is followed by “REL1” or “REL2” in case the verbal form is a Direct Relative or an Indirect Relative, and the label is preceded by “APP”, “ASS”, “NEUT”, “PAS” or “RED” in case the verbal stem contains an applicative, associative, neuter or passive extension, or when it is reduplicated. Tense markers (marked “TM”) and negative markers (marked “NEG”) follow the subject concord and the object concord (if present), which may also be reflexive (marked “REFL”). Subject concords and object concords are marked by their class number. Infinitives (“INF”, “SEC” and “SEQ”) and Imperatives do not have subject concords.

The sound ng represents the velar nasal; in other cases of sounds followed by the symbol ’, vowel coalescence/gliding formation, liaison or the loss of the final syllable is involved.

The small characters above words indicate tonal processes like Tone assimilation and the Intonational H tone, including intonational lengthening. Both instances of intonational lengthening (îî and î) are not described elsewhere in this work. The small characters are explained below, following the list of labels.
Labels for grammatical morphemes:

APP applicative
ASS associative
COND Conditional dti
CONN connexive
DEM1 demonstrative, near
DEM2 demonstrative, far
DEM3 demonstrative, referential
DEM3e demonstrative, referential, emphatic
FUT1 Future 1 (complex tense 1a)
FUT1.REL1 Direct relative Future 1 (complex tense 1a)
FUT2 Future 2 (compound tense 1a)
IMP Imperative (without OC)
INF Infinitive
LOC locative
NEG negative marker
NEUT neuter
NP Non-Past dti
NPPROG Non-Past Progressive (complex tense 1c)
NPPROG.REL2 Indirect Relative Non-Past Progressive (complex tense 1c)
OPT Optative (without OC)
PAPF1 Past Perfective dti
PAPF2 Past Perfective dti
PAPF.REL2 Indirect Relative Past Perfective dti
PAPROG Past Progressive (complex tense 1c)
PAPROG.REL2 Indirect Relative Past Progressive (complex tense 1c)
PAS passive
1PL 1st person plural
2PL 2nd person plural
POSS possessive
PR Present dti
PRPROG1 Present Progressive 1 (complex tense 3b)
PRPROG2 Present Progressive 2 (complex tense 2a)
PR.REL1 Direct Relative Present
PR.REL2 Indirect Relative Present dti
PRPF1 Present Perfective dti
PRPF2 Present Perfective dti
PRPF.REL1 Direct Relative Present Perfective
PRPF.REL2 Indirect Relative Present Perfective dti
QUES question word with question intonation
RED reduplication
REFL reflexive
SEC Subsecutive Infinitive dti
SEQ Sequential Infinitive (complex tense)
1SG  1st person singular
1SGTM  1st person singular incorporated in tense marker
2SG  2nd person singular
SITPF  Situative Perfective \(dj\)
SUPCOND  Suppositional Conditional \(dj\)
SUPCONDPF  Suppositional Conditional Perfective \(dj\)
TM  tense marker

Tone labels above words:
\(\text{H}\) above a sound with a H tone indicates an intonational H tone without which the sound should have a L tone.
\(\text{Hn}\) above a sound with a H tone indicates that the H tone is due to the H tone of the following nasal, or, as found once (text B4), to the H tone of the following vowel; in case the sound is a nasal itself, the H tone is due to a preceding vowel with a H tone (Tone assimilation, without which the sound should have a L tone).
\(\text{He}\) above a sound with a H tone indicates that the H tone is due to a coalescence with a preceding vowel with a H tone, or to a coalescence of the vowel of the following OC (which should have a H tone) with the vowel-initial stem, or to prenasalization of the following OC which should have a H tone (OC-H tone retraction). Without these coalescences, the sound should have a L tone.
\(\text{He}\) above a sound indicates intonational lengthening of the preceding sound with a H tone; the lengthening also has a H tone.
\(\text{H}\) above a sound indicates the raising of a L tone to the level of a lowered H when followed by a sequence of HH or HL in the same syllable (Tone assimilation).
\(\text{Le}\) above a sound indicates intonational lengthening of the preceding sound with a H tone; the lengthening has a L tone.
\(\text{L}\) above a sound with a L tone indicates an intonational L tone without which the sound should have a H tone, due to utterance-final register lowering.
\(\text{HI-}\) indicates question intonation: a final HLH tonal sequence occurs instead of the original (L)RL tonal sequence.
B.1 The Makonde people

litáawa lyá-chimáko’onde.
ethnic group CONN-Makonde nature
The Makonde people.

vamáko’onde, litáwa lyavo liheleke chila’ambo
Makonde people ethnic group POSS5 5.come from.PRPF1 country
The Makonde people, their ethnic group has come from a country

chá-kulééhu, kupitá pá-ng’áambo. ánéekó kuvátándiilike
CONN-far 15.pass.INF LOC-other side DEM3 17.2.begin.PRPF.REL2
far away, farther than Mozambique. It was where they started

kwikalá véeene, vamákonde vatándi vá-chinyákaala.
15.live.INF themselves Makonde people first CONN-old nature
to live themselves, the first Makonde people of the past.

paváuki’ ánéekó vánihwena nkutándiliiká kwikalá
16.2.go away.PRPF.REL2 DEM3 2.TIM.go,PAPF2 18.15.begin.SEQ 15.live.INF
When they went away from there, they started to live

pá-ng’áambo. akuulá vánimahikáná muchi vaméeto,
LOC-other sideDEM2 2.TIM.be known.PAPF2 as Meto people
in Mozambique. There, they were known as Meto people,

nkwikálá mwitëpwa mwá-pá-ng’ámbo na-tanganyiika. akuulá
18.15.live.SEQ corner CONN-LOC-other side-and-Tanzania DEM2
and they lived in the corner of Mozambique with Tanzania. There

vamahikene muchi vamátáambwe. vamátáambwe, liná lyáávo
2.be known.PRPF1 as Matambwe people Matambwe people name POSS5
they are known as Matambwe people. The Matambwe people got their name

valipete îng’anya yá-litaambwe, líchiv’ ánéeko
2.5.get.PRPF1 cause CONN-haze 5.TIM.be.PAPROG.DEM3
because of the haze, which was there

kuváchiikaala. paváikele mwánda nnéhu kadiíki,
17.2.TIM.live.PAPROG.REL2 16.2.live.PRPF.REL2 time long a bit
where they were living. When they had lived there for quite a long time,

nkuhwéná kú-máchíinga, nkumáhiikaná muchi vamákonde
18.15.go.SEQ LOC-mountains 18.15.be known.SEQ as Makonde people
they went to the mountains, and they were known as Makonde

vá-pá-ng’áambo. vamáko’onde, liná lyáávo valipete îng’anya
CONN-LOC-other side Makonde people name POSS5 2.5.get.PRPF1 cause
of Mozambique. The Makonde people got their name because
of living in a dry area, a place which lacks water.

When the second world war had started there,

they went away from Mozambique and ran to the corner

of Tanzania to the mountains and hid themselves. When they had lived

in the mountains, they went to a high area, and they left while calling themselves:

We are Nimba people. And they left, calling those mountains

the Nimba mountains and Nimba mountains. We are Nimba people,

with companions. PossPPL Makonde ConnMakonde-Ndonde companions.

They live along the border with Mozambique, near the Ruvuma.

They call them Ndonde people. They got their name because of the name
CONN-Ndonde: This is what they call Ndonde:

mãëdi paláumba lwa-luúuma, nkupulúng’anya
water 16.6. be full.PR,REL CONN-Ruvuma 18.15.increase.SEQ
when the river Ruvuma is full of water, it becomes more and more

nkuhwiká kúvalímite manwéelu, nkwikálá
18.15.arrive.SEQ 17.2.cultivate.PR.PF REL.2 fields 18.15.stay.SEQ
and it reaches where they have cultivated the fields, and it stays there

mádúuva kadii, nkuk’ úlauuya, na-upópó tuvelé
days a bit 18.15.leave.SEQ 3.6.return.PR,REL and-DEM3e 1PL.be.PRPF1
for some days, and it leaves while returning. And we also have

na-avéétu váanji vá-chimákóonde, vavachema vámáláaba
with-companions.POSS1PL other CONN-Makonde 2.2.call.PR Maraba
our other Makonde companions, they are called Maraba people.

vaikalá ñ-nyenje mwá-médi makúlungwa, kumangá kweétu.
2.live.PR LOC-aside CONN-water big coast POSS17
They live along the ocean, along our coast.

matangodi laávo lanilékánila na-lá-chimákonde
speech POSS6 6.TM.be different.PRPF2 with-CONN-Makonde nature
Their speech is different from the Makonde-

chá-chiñíima na-lá-chimákonde chá-chíndóonde.
CONN-Nnima nature and-CONN-Makonde nature CONN-Ndone nature
Nnima speech and from the Makonde-Ndone speech.

vanááng’o, malóóve lóóhe vakundanidyé na-chiswahili.
they words many 2.mix.APP.PRPF1 with-Swahili
They, they mix many words with Swahili.

matangoodi lá-vándóonde lakálekánile námeéene
speech CONN-Ndone people 6.NEG.be different.PRPF1 very
The speech of the Ndone people is not very different

na-lá-chimákonde chá-chiñíima. tulekanii’-chi lilóvé
with-CONN-Makonde nature CONN-Nnima nature 1PL.differ.APP.PR-only-word
from the Makonde-Nnima speech. We only differ in
B.2  
Story of reclaiming the monkey

ntaánó  wa-kulóngáná  lingwéele.

machédó  paalá  pavele  múńu  na-ndyáawe,  nkulángá

Some time ago, there was a man and his wife, and they kept in confinement

lingwéele  livé’  na-míchíla  mivílî.  uhíku  ukuáacha,
a monkey with two tails. During the night,

vanáčhimiila  n-chitúùndu.  lisíiku  liímo  nnúúme  apíté
yey lock him up in the enclosure. One day, the man went

mwáanda  nnéêhu  unách’onga.  amuúnó  n-nyuuma  wá-chimááhe

on a long, strolling journey. Meanwhile the woman

nkúchí  ndambel’  ulingá  kadiiki  kulíchimulila  lingwéele,
said: I want to try to give the monkey some freedom,
aongé  kadíki  pa-weélú.  nkúchí  anawáláwaála,
he may take a short walk outside. That is to say, the monkey gets lost

na-vändigonde  na-vamáláaba
one and-Ndondé people and the Maraba people

One, if the Nnima people and the Ndonde people and the Maraba people meet, we are familiar with each other.
1. TM.1. open. APP. COND monkey

5. TM. leap. APP. PRPF2 DEM1 tree

if she releases the monkey; he has left from tree

DEm1 tree monkey 18.15. get lost. SEQ journey CONN-LOC-thickets
to tree, and the monkey got lost, on his journey in the dense thickets.

1. DEM

Hi

1. TM.1. open. APP.  

monkey

5. TM. leap. APP. PRPF 2

DEM1 tree

if she releases the monkey; he has left from tree

DEm1 tree monkey 18.15. get lost. SEQ journey CONN-LOC-thickets
to tree, and the monkey got lost, on his journey in the dense thickets.

H- Hi

ku-mihiițu kwápiitê, ahimenê na-avââke.

LOC-thickets 17.1. pass. PRPF. REL2 1. meet. PRPF1 with-companions POSS1

In the thickets which he passed, he has met his companions.

H- Hi

aáyu mmáâhe, aveéikútâhâ lingwéele, akámwoona.

DEM1 woman 1. be. 18.15. look for. PRPROG1 monkey 1. NEG.1. see. PR

This woman is looking for the monkey, but she doesn’t see him.

na-nnuôume mwândâ waâke wânâpîte, aniûnya. akahwéêna

and-man journey POSS1 3.1. TM. PAPF. REL2 1. TM. return. PRPF2 1. TM. go. COND

And the man has returned from his journey which he had made. When he goes

H- Li

ku-chitúându chá-lingwéele, lingwé’ laâke akályoona. nkûmûdyâ

LOC-enclosure CONN-monkey monkey POSS1 1. NEG. 5. see. PR 18.15. 1. ask. SEQ
to the enclosure of the monkey, he doesn’t see him. And he asked

Hi-Li Hi

ndyâawe ndyâangu lingwelé laângu livé kwâachi.

wife.Poss1 wife.Poss1SG monkey POSS1SG 5. be. PRPF1 where. QUES

his wife: my wife, where is my monkey?

mmáâhe nkûchí ndyaangu nááangu, ngûtûmidîlé

woman 18.15. say. SEQ husband POSS1SG I 1SG. use. PAPF1

The woman said: my dear husband, I was

Hi

úvêelu. ūnîlinga kulîchîmulîlà aongé kadiiki pa-weelu,

stupidity 1SG. TM. PAPF2 15.5. open. APP. INF 1. walk. OPT a bit LOC-field

stupid. I had tried to release him so he that may take a short walk outside,

Hi

viînô, nîkâwîwôna. nnuûume nkûchí lîtaâhe lingwéele,

now 1SG. NEG. 1. see. PR man 18.15. say. SEQ 5. look for. IMP monkey

now, I don’t see him. The man said: look for the monkey,
ulyoône, tuuchi-tupatane úîômbí weetu.
2SG.5 see.OPT 1PL.TM.-1PL.come to terms.FUT 2 marriage POSS1PL.
you should find him, then we will come to terms in our marriage.

Hi
ukanampaaté, na-wäâáko unawalawaâlá, chiliwélewele
2SG.TM. NEG. I get.COND and-you 2SG.TM. get lost.NP 7.5 get lost.PRPF.REL 2
If you don’t get him, yeah you, you will get lost like my monkey has got lost.

Hi
lingwelé lyââângü. mmáâhe nkuûûka, mwâândâ kûûtâha
monkey POSS1SG woman 18.15 go.away.SEQ journey 15.1 look for INF.
The woman went away on a journey to look for

Li
lingwele lyâ-michila mivâili. anihwena mwâanda nnééhu,
monkey CONN-tails two 1.TM.go.PRPF2 journey long
the monkey with two tails. She went on a long journey,

Li
nkhuîmáná na-likûndi lyâ-mangwëële. mmáâhe nkumáá há lûhîmu
18.15 meet.SEQ with-group CONN-monkeys woman 18.15 sing.SEQ song
and she met a group of monkeys. And the woman sang a song:

lingwëële liva tâáâti
lingwëële liva tâáâti
monkey 5.be.PR father
Monkey of father

michila mivâili tâáâti
tails two father
two tails, father

nchîlâ úmô tâáâti
tail one father
one tail, father

nkuîîkîîla:
18.15 answer.SEQ
and the monkeys answered:

loola nchîlâ úmô loola
loola nchîlâ úmô loola
look.IMP tail one look.IMP
look, one tail, look!

lingwëële liva tâáâti
lingwëële liva tâáâti
When the woman saw the group, there was no monkey with two tails, and she arose and went forward. She has gone on a long journey, and she met another group of monkeys. And the woman sang again:

**nkulšína:**

-loola nchila umó loola
-loola nchila umó loola, lóla-yó
-loola nchila umó loola
-loola nchila umó loola

Hi

*máhé pà’weene pa-liíndi nanga lingwële lyá-michila*

woman 16.1.see.PRPF.REL2 LOC-group none monkey CONN-tails

When the woman saw the group, there was no monkey with two tails,

**miviili, nkuúuka nkuhwéná muuyó. aníhwena mwaánánda**
two 18.15.arise.SEQ 18.15.go.SEQ front 1.TM.go.PRPF2 journey

and she arose and went forward. She has gone on a long journey,

**nnééhu, nkuhímáná na-liíndi línji lyá-mangwëele. máhhe**
long 18.15.meet.SEQ with-group other CONN-monkeys woman

and she met another group of monkeys. And the woman

**nkulšína:**

18.15.sing.SEQ again

sang again:

- lingwële liva táátí;  lingwële liva táátí
- michila miviili táátí;  nchila umó táátí

**nkulšína:**

-loola michila miviili loola;
-loola michila miviili loola

look.IMP tails two look.IMP

look, two tails, look!

lingwële liva táátí;  lingwële liva táátí
-michila miviili táátí;  nchila umó táátí

**nkulšína:**

-loola michila miviili loola;
-loola michila miviili loola, lóla-yó
-loola michila miviili loola;
-loola michila miviili loola

nkudlóloká lingwëele lyá-michila miviili, nkukamušulá,
18.15.come out.SEQ monkey CONN-tails two 18.15.1.seize.SEQ

And the monkey with two tails came out, and she seized him,
nkú m’pelekedidýá ŋýdyāwé, ulóḿbi viño mmuíhi.
18.15.1.send.APP.SEQ husband.POSS1 marriage now unripe
and sent him to her husband, their marriage is now like in the beginning.

B.3 Preparation of cassava porridge with cassava vegetable

chivátéléka ntandasa n-chínduúli.
7.2.cook.PR.REL2 porridge LOC-vegetable
How to (they) cook porridge (cassava flour) with vegetable (cassava leaves).

Le
ánéépóo unatandiliká utwálá chínduúli, nkuhéépa
DEM3 2SG.TM.begin.NP 15.take.INF vegetable 18.15.pluck.SEQ
Now then, you begin by taking the vegetable plant and pluck the leaves

nahóóti nkuvíká’ pa, viño unakumbanya moóoto pa-chíúúli,
first 18.15.put.SEQ DEM1 now 2SG.TM.kindle.NP fire LOC-fireplace
first, and put them here, now you kindle a fire at the fireplace,

nkuviká méedi, ulápata mooto. ánéépó viño,
18.15.put.SEQ water 3.6.get.PR.REL2 fire DEM3 now
and put water there while getting fire. Now then,

uponde máháámba’ lá, lá-chínduúli. lakapondéeka,
2SG.pound.OPT leaves DEM2 CONN-vegetable 6.TM.pound.NEUT.COND
you should pound those leaves, those of the vegetable. If they are pounded,

unataáya m-méedi, l’uviki’ pa-chíúúli. ánéépó
2SG.TM.put in.NP LOC-water 6.2SG.put.PRPF1 LOC-fireplace DEM3
you put them into the water which you have put at the fireplace. Then,

laikalá kadiiki, ánéépó kóka utay’ úhuumbwé na-múńyu.
6.stay.PR a bit DEM3 then 25G.put in.OPT coconut milk and-salt
they stay there for a while, now then, you should put into it coconut milk and salt.

vinó chileeke kadiiki chínduúli, chitokoté kadiiki.
now 7.leave.IMP a bit vegetable 7.be boiled.OPT a bit
Now leave the vegetable for a while, it should be boiled for a while.
kōka uteuûle, ánéépó vinó chinduûli, then 2SG.take off fire.OPT DEM3 now vegetable
Then you should take it off the fire, now then the vegetable’s

chínimáliika kutókóôta. nkulilá ntandaasa.
chínimáliika kutókóôta. nkulilá ntandaasa.
7:TM.complete.UNIT.PRPF2 15.be boiled.INF 18.15.eat.APP.SEP porridge boiling is completed. And then it is ready to be eaten with porridge.

viño ndambetëlkâ ntandaasa vitukûtuku vïlembëleewa.
viño ndambetëlkâ ntandaasa vitukûtuku vïlembëleewa.
now 1SG.want.cook.FUT1 porridge things 8.want.PAS.PR.REL1 Now I will cook porridge, the things which are necessary to do that.

chínú chitándi, utândiliika utípû’ úuhûu nkuvûika.
chínú chitándi, utândiliika utípû’ úuhûu nkuvûika.
thing first 2SG.begin.PR 15.pound.INF flour 18.15.put.SEP The first thing, you begin to pound flour and put it there.

 nkukúmbånâ môoto pa-chiûûli, nkuvikâ méêdi. méêdi ánelóo, 18.15.kindle.SEQ fire LOC-fireplace 18.15.put.SEQ water water DEM3 And you kindle a fire at the fireplace, and put water on it. That water,

liinda layaukiile, kókâ upungule méêdi kadiiki, wait.IMP 6.boil.OPT then 2SG.diminish.OPT water a bit wait, it should boil, then you should diminish the amount of water,

ulekelé kadiiki. ánéépó taya úuhu. utwale lúûko, 2SG.leave.APP.OPT a bit DEM3 put in.IMP flour 2SG.take.OPT spoon you should leave it there for a while. Now then, put flour in the water. You should take a spoon,

upindikulaanyé. viño ukapindikûlaanyá, unaónâ 2SG.stir up.OPT now 2SG.TM.stir up.COND 2SG.TM.see.NP you should stir it up. Now if you stir it up, you see

uvenkukâama. ánéépó viño, unitókoôta. 14.be.18.15.curdle.PRPROG1 DEM3 now 14.TM.be boiled.PRPF2 it is getting curdled. Now then, it is boiled.

uteulî’ mu-nkûungu. na-chinduûli na-chinaûng’ô, 14.serve food.APP IMP LOC-deep dish and-vegetable and-the same Serve it in a deep dish. And the vegetable likewise,

tayá ŋkungu ŋûnji. ánéépó viño, ntandaasá na-chinduûli, put in.IMP deep dish other DEM3 now porridge and-vegetable put it in another deep dish. Now then, the porridge and vegetable,
B.4 Preparation of Likulambila

chivátéléka likulumbiila.
7.2.cook.PR.REL2 Likulambila
How to cook Likulambila (rice with watery pumpkin).

vinö apánö nikuhaulila chivátéléeka chinú chünji,
now DEM1 1SG.2SG.tell.APP.PL 7.2.cook.PR.REL2 thing other
Now then, I tell you how to cook something else

vachema likulambiila. vateleka véene, angáá-víívi,
2.call.PR Likulambila 2.cook.PR themselves folk-ancestor
called Likulambila. They themselves already cooked it,

lí-chimákonde chá-chííniima. likulambila utwala
CONN-Makonde nature CONN-Nnima nature Likulambila 2SG.take.PR
the Makonde-Nnima ancestors. As for the Likulambila, you take

líkong’wé ńkukwáánga. ukakwáánga, ukumbanya
watery pumpkin sp. 18.15.peel.SEQ 2SG.TM.peel.COND 2SG.kindle.PR
a Likong’we and peel it. If you peel, you kindle

móóto nkutwálá nkuviká pá-chííúli, likáavankutókóóta,
fire 18.15.take.SEQ 18.15.put.SEQ LOC-fireplace 5.NEG.be.18.15.boil.PRPROG2
a fire and take the Likong’we and put it at the fireplace, but it is not being boiled yet,

utwala nnyéle wá-m’punga nkutááya. pa-chííúli
2SG.take.PR rice CONN-rice plant 18.15.put in.SEQ LOC-fireplace
you take rice-grain and put it in a cooking pot. At the fireplace,

linjí likóóng’we, utaya muúha mwá-ńnyéele n-chiloóongo,
other Likong’we 2SG.put in.PR top CONN-rice LOC-cooking pot
you put another Likong’we on top of the rice in the cooking pot,
APPENDIX B

B.5  Ten proverbs with short explanations

malonjeëdi.
proverbs.

1.
kupaswük’  ing’üuva.
17.be burst.PRPF.REL1  lightning
Where the lightning has burst.
17.1. speak. PR. REL 2. god 15. rain. INF  rain 2. SG. know. OPT rainy season
Where God speaks rain will fall, you should know there is the rainy season.

2.
paimídůle nnándi mwíva.
16. stand. PRPF. REL 1. tree  thorn
Where a thorn tree stands.

vaánů vaámo, váanji vava mávéelu, váanji valimwìke.
people one others 2. be. PR. mischievous others 2. respect. PRPF. REL 1
People are one, some are mischievous, others behave with respect.

3.
líkaváála yoota.
5. TM. shine. COND  bask. IMP
If the sun shines, bask in it!

apaánó pa-chilaámbó muwóonga, ukayakúula chiínu,
DEM 1. LOC-country 18?. walk. INF 2. SG. TM. carry. COND  thing
When walking here in the country, if you carry something,

unalákáalele, madééngó lanáhoóva.
2. SG. NEG. neglect. OPT  work 6. TM. get lost. NP
you should not neglect it, otherwise the work gets lost.

4.
chikúlúungwa chítúúta.
big  rubbish heap
Big is the rubbish heap.

muúnú akávakámèke vakúlungwá vaáke, paláíkodya
person 1. NEG. 2. recognize. PRPF elders  POSS 1 16. 6. 1. meet. PR. REL 2
A person who does not recognize his elders, when having to face
makúlungwá, unamwoóná.
big  2. SG. TM. 1. see. NP
big problems, you will see him getting into trouble.

5.
chilakèèè' imbúula chikátènde na-liíme.
7. NEG. neglect. PRPF 1. REL 1. rain 7. NEG. do. NEUT. PR. with-dew
Which is omitted by the rain can not be done by the dew.
muunú wahiwohe akápiikaná malóve lá-vakulungwá vaake,
person every 1.NEG.hear.PR words CONN-elders POSS1
Whatever person does not hear the words of his elders,
nanga yúnji ambéŋnyuluá.
ono other 1.want.1.be able.FUT1.REL1
there is nobody else who will get control over him.

6. chá-véene chiyoope.
CONN-themselves 7.fear.IMP
Thing of themselves, fear it!

chiinú chohechóhe chikákuvándüke, chilele chihi
thing every 7.NEG.2SG.concern.PRF1 7.look.APP.IMP only
Everything which does not concern you, look at it only from

kuléehu. nkóoko ayohé ámwálalá řkokó muunu.
far animal 1.frighten.OPT 1.1.kill.PR.REL1 animal person
a distance. An animal should frighten the one who kills the animal: a human being.

7. onga mwá-weéka alinowel' útükúta.
stroll.IMP CONN-alone 1.REFL.be proud.APP.PR 15.run away.INF
Stroll alone, he is proud to run away.

p'uwónga m-madiila, unalinówele anáng'ala
16.2SG.stroll.PR.REL2 LOC-paths 2SG.NEG.REFL.be proud.APP.OPT uncle
When you stroll on paths, you should not be proud that the uncle is yours

váako na-atátaáko. linowele ding’ónó dyaáko,
POSS2SG and-father.POSS2SG REF.L.be proud.APP.IMP intellect POSS2SG
and that someone is your father. Be proud of your own intellect,
wonge námene na'-váako pa-chilaámbo.
2SG.stroll.OPT very and-companions.POSS2SG LOC-country
you should stroll often with your companions in the country.

8. náunjúme mpini w’imbeedo p’ulúmuuka,
full grown man handle CONN-axe 16.1.break.PR.REL2
When a full grown man breaks the handle of an axe,
mpaváýáaha, náñúume muúnú wa-kuhúva.
?16.2.throw away.PR.REL2 full grown man person CONN-15.have problems.INF
and when they throw it away, the full grown man is a person in trouble.

nnúme wohewóóhe avé na-madeén, na-madéngó ntiíma,
person every 1.be.PRPF1 with-work and-work heart
Everyone has work, and work is heart,

ukánáave na-nííma, madéngó ukálahúúula,
2SG.TM.NEG.be.SUPCOND with-heart work 2SG.NEG.6.be able.PR
if you had no heart, you would not be able to work;
unaava muchí mpíní upaswíke, valeeká-chi
2SG.TM.be.NP like handle 3.be split.PRPF.REL1 2.leave.PR-only
you are like a handle which is split, they just leave it

ukú-nyíítu, nk’úyá na-imbédó wéeka.
?LOC-thicket 18.15.return.SEQ with-axe alone
in the thicket, and return with the axe on its own.

9.
chikapele mw-ilaánga, tukáníheépa.
7.TM.bear fruit.SUPCONDPF LOC-wasteland 1PL.TM.TM.pluck.SUPCOND
If it would bear fruit in the wasteland, we would pluck it.

chíínú chohechóhe chá-mw-ilaánga ukáyúuwa,
thing every CONN-LOC-wasteland 2SG.NEG.ask for.PR
Anything of the wasteland you do not ask for,
chvéle pa-kááya unayúuwa.
7.be.PRPF.REL1 LOC-homestead 2SG.TM.ask for.NP
you will ask for what is at home.

10.
akáplikana unáúduma mpátiila.
1.NEG.hear.PR 2SG.TM.1.rebuke.NP big bag
You rebuke a deaf person for being a big bag.

mwána wá-chimááhe akáplikana malonjeédi lá-vákúlúngwá vaáke
child CONN-female 1.NEG.hear.PR sayings CONN-elders POSS1
A girl does not hear the sayings of her elders,
B.6 Twelve riddles with short explanations

nachíhe.  nachiláwa.
(I ask) a riddle!  (I give) the solution!

1. imuúka tumwálóote nnuúngu.  kutipúula.
awake.IMP 1PL.1.point.OPT god 15.pound.INF
Wake up, let us point at God.  To pound.

uhiku ukáacha,  vá-pa-chimááhe madéngó makulúungwa
night 14.TM.dawn.COND CONN-LOC-female work big
At dawn, the big work for the women is

kutípúula,  vá-váana vaalyé ntandaasa.  patútípuula
15.pound.INF CONN-children 2.eat.OPT cassava porridge 16.1PL.pound.PR.REL2
to pound, the children should eat cassava porridge. When we pound,

mwíihi tulodya muúha.
pestle 1PL.be directed towards above
we direct the pestle towards the sky.

2. nnyumbaila nkáliwéléle.  utoóhi.
2PL.limp.PR 2PL.NEG.REFL.kill.PRPF1 chicken droppings
You limp, you have not hurt yourself.  Chicken droppings.

ukalyóona wááako uvelé na-chiínu, unaléeke
2SG.TM.5.see.COND you 2SG.PRPF1 with-thing 2SG.NEG.leave.OPT
If you see you have something, you should not leave

chihwéni ch’úvélekwiidiye,  nkúvá muchi ukadembe
gait 7.2SG.be born.PRPF.REL2 18.15.beSEQ like 2SG.step in.PRPF1
the gait with which you were born, to be as if you had stepped into

móóvi, aváako vaachí-vakutíile.
excrements companions.POSS2SG 2.TM-2.2SG.run away.FUT2
excrements, your companions will run away from you.
3. ngwá’ ŋkululóla. lihiíchi.
(sound of) stubbing 18.15.REFL.look at.SEQ stump
Stub, and look at oneself. Stump.

Hu
p’úteenda chiíú chohechóóhe apánó pa-chilaámbo,
16.2SG.do.PR.REL2 thing every DEM1 LOC-land
When you do anything here in the country,
unalóváìiìe n-nyúíma m’úhéeleke,
2SG.NEG.forget.OPT LOC-back 18.2SG.come from.PRPF.REL2
you should not forget where you have come from,
unalóole chiíhi méhó muuyo.
2SG.NEG.look.OPT only eyes front
you should not only look ahead.

4. chindóóla’ achi. chitánóóno.
7.1SG.look.PR.REL2 DEM1 small hole
This thing that looks at me. Window.
muínu wohewóihe unaachi p’ákulólola, akulólá
person every 2SG.TM.say.NP16.1.2SG.look.PR.REL2 1.2SG.look.PR
Anyone you say that when he looks at you, he looks at you
ukátápáála, avelé na-láake muunda.
15.be good.INF 1.be.PRF1 with-POSS2SG inside
nicely, he hides something.

5. chivášíhinikíila. chiiííma.
7.2.NEG.cover.APP.PR.REL2 well
What they do not cover. Well.
mého naanga chikálóola pañóng’a chihekeleenge,
eyes no 7.NEG.look.PR 16.stink.PR.REL1 7.be dirty.PRF.PREL1
The eyes, there is really nothing that looks at the place where it stinks badly,
mého kulóóla.
eyes 15.look.INF
the eyes only look.
6. **padéenge wá-nanjipí pa-nnaángo. atikúulo.**
   padenge CONN-short LOC-door padlock
   The short Padenge at the door. Padlock.
   
   **ukaikódyá ing’áande vachimile vén’ ing’áande,**
   2SG.TM.9.meet.CONDhouse 2.shut.APP.PRPF1 owners house
   If you come upon a house the owners have closed,
   
   **ikalá ŋ-núpéénu, uvalliinde vén’ ing’áande vachumuule,**
   stay.IMPLC-LOC-verandah 2SG.2.wait.OPT owners house 2.open.OPT
   stay at the verandah, you should wait for the owners to open it,
   
   **kóka vakuhaúule idá’ ng’áande.**
   then 2SG.tell.APP.OPT come.IMP house
   then they should tell you: come in.
   
7. **váán’ ámbáango vakimbila chihúko chiimo. dihomeélo.**
   children wild pigs 2.drink.PR pool one beams
   The young wild pigs drink from one pool. Roof beams.
   
   **angáá-vivi vá-chií núma vavélé na-káya itumbwíle,**
   folk-ancestor CONN-Nnima nature 2.be.PAPF1 with-homestead 9.be big.PRPF.REL1
   The Nnima ancestors had a big homestead,
   
   **vaánu vaava vóóhe, angáá-táata, angáá-mááma na-udúkúulu.**
   people 2.be.PR many folk-father folk-mother and-grandchild
   the people are many, fathers, mothers and grandchildren.
   
   **pavátélèka chákuulya, vá-chímááhe vanachémana vahívóóhe,**
   16.2.cook.PR.REL2 food CONN-female 2.TM.call.ASS.NP all
   When they cook food, the women call everybody together,
   
   **nkúlyá pámoo muchi miláandi mw-isúngula ing’áande.**
   18.15 eat.SEQ together like trees LOC-pole house
   and they eat together like the beams in the roof of the house.
8.

Hi
mwaná waángu p’ávélekwidýé npindo nnéhu.
child POSS1SG 16.1.be born.PRPF.REL2 piece of cloth long
When my child was born, a long cloth for private parts

ntóota na-ndíidi.
needle and rope
Needle and thread.

mwána wohéwóhe p’ávéleekwa, mwing’a mápiíndi
child every 16.1.2.be born.PRF.2 piece of cloth long
Give every child when it is born a long cloth

Hi
nkúmwáadya, akakulúmúuka, atenda mwéne madeéngo.
18.15.1.dress.SEQ 1.TM.grow up.COND 1.do.PR self work and dress it; if it grows up, it does the work itself.

9.

ung’ukú wangu ataidi’ pá-múva.
chicken POSS1SG 1.lay egg.PRPF1 LOC-thorns
My chicken has laid an egg in the thorns

chikoówo./lulimi na-mééno.
pineapple/tongue and teeth
Pineapple/Tongue and teeth.

Hi
muúnú nkúwá aavá na-mavaánga muchí p’úchéketa
person thief 1.be.PR with-marks of wounds like 16.2SG.chop.PR.REL2
A thief has marks of wounds like when you chop

chikoówo, miíva inakúhoóma. ung’üuku ukamwóóna
pineapple thorns 4.TM.2SG.pierce.NP chicken 2SG.TM.1 see.COND
a pineapple, thorns pierce you. If you see a chicken

wóónga, akávéle wa-ku-’wé, unámwíwe.
15.stroll.INF 1.NEG.be.PRPF1 CONN-2SG.you2SG.NEG.1.steal.OPT
strolling, and it is not yours, you should not steal it.

10.

Hi
lihahamaángá l’-íngulúvé likápya moóoto. indíila.
hair on back CONN-pig 5.NEG.be burnt.PR fire path
The hair on the back of a pig is not burnt. Path.
hi

pavéle muúnú nkúlúungwa, wahiwóóhe apéele
16.be.PRPF.REL1 person big everybody 1.spring up.PRPF.REL1
When there was a big person, everybody who was born

máchéedo aavá na-ding’aáno muchi chiv’óonga indiilá vakóóko.
last year 1.be.PR with-intellect like 7.2.walk.PR.REL2 path animals
last year is intelligent in the way the animals walk on the path.

11.

chilongó changu chinilhuniika. mavéle f’-úngóómbë.
cooking pot FOSS1SG 7.TM.REFL.cover.PRPF2 milk CONN-cow
My cooking pot has covered itself. Milk of the cow.

imboówà nang’ umwádiilikà, muúnú mwápííta
vegetable no 15.spill.NEUT.INF person 18?.1.pass.PR.REL2
A vegetable without being spilled; a person passing

wánach’óonga, ahimánta na-vakóóko vóóhe, vakóóko véene,
3.1.TM.TM.stroll.NPPROG.REL2 1.meet.PR with-animals many animals self
while strolling meets many animals, the animals themselves,

mavéle lalolite pááhi. viíno ukáachi-ul’óone
breasts 6.look.PRPF1 ground now 2SG.NEG.TM-2SG.6.see.FUT2
the breasts point down to the ground. Now you will not see the milk

ulámwádiliikà, vatuhaulilá tuvayóope,
3.6.spill.NEUT.PR.REL2 2.1PL.tell.APP.PR 1PL.2.fear.OPT
while being spilled; they tell us we should fear them,

vatuvelééêeke.
2.1PL.give birth.PRPF.REL1
they who have given birth to us.

12.

hunikahuniika n-kaátí lhúla lyá-nááswe. nááši.
cover.RED.IMP LOC-centre rag CONN-white coconut
Cover deeply inside a white rag. Coconut.

véne angáá-víivi vatuhaulilá tunnyóópe nnuúngu,
self folk-ancestor 2.1PL.tell.APP.PR 1PL.1.fear.OPT god
The ancestors themselves tell us we should fear God, what He has created
B.7 Eleven songs

dihímu.

Songs.

dihímú aadi div’imba pa-lihángáwila lyohelyóóhe,
songs DEM1 10.2.sing.PR.REL2 LOC-crowd every
These songs people sing when they are together for any celebration,
lyá-ulóombi naméne lyá-malaangwe (kuyálúká vana vá-chilúme
CONN-marriage especially CONN-initiation 15.initiate.INF children CONN-male
of marriage and especially of initiation rites (to initiate boys
na-vá-chimááhe).
and-CONN-female
and girls).

Dance: chingéénge.

1.
unááche kunówá chingéénge ching’áti chiilo.
14.NEG.dawn.OPT 15.enjoy.INF Chingenge middle night
It should not become light to enjoy the Chingenge in the middle of the night.

2.
ápááno p’ánáikele ntwáalo, ntúmé w’-álláahi
DEMI 16.1.TM.live.PAPF.REL2 husband.POSS2SG prophet CONN-Allah
Here where your husband had lived, Prophet of Allah (oath)!
napambanya dikaänga dyá-namwááka, nayavaanya.
1SGTM.tie together NP cloths CONN-this year 1SGTM.divide.NP
I will fasten together the cloths of this year and divide them.
apaânhô p’ânâîkele ntwâalo, ntûmê wâlláahi.
napambanya muûnda wâ-namwâaka, nayavaanya.
1SGTMT.fasten together field CONN-this year 1SGTMT.divide.NP
I will fasten together pieces of the field of this year and divide them.

apaânhô pânâîkele ntwâalo, ntûmê wâlláahi.
apambanya muûnda wâ-namwâaka, nayavaanya.

3. nnyitu wâ-dimbéléenje namwâaka unaliîme,
thicket CONN-not full grown this year 2SG.NEG.cultivate.OPT
The thicket which is not full grown you should not cultivate this year,
njopa malólîhe tîndîînga. (2x) kulékâ live ngóó.
1SG.fear.PR words hee ruin.IMP 15.leave.INF 5.be PRPF1 oh
I fear the words, hee, ruin it! To leave it is bad.

ukahwêna ku-chîbalûwâ, ntwângu unatiîme,
2SG.TM.go.COND LOC-work together husband.POSS1SG 2SG.NEG.linger.OPT
If you go to the place of working together, my husband you should not linger,

unankodya mwâna hêêê ku-mayaya-kôôô, ku-mayaya-hêêê.
2SG.TM.1.meet.NP child heee LOC-village-DEM1 LOC-village-heee
you meet a child in this village, in the village.

4. unangutenda dachi ŋ’ândâ mwâângu wee. (2x)
2SG.TM.1SG.do.NP what master POSS1SG wee
What are you doing to me my husband?

mwâna ndikidîîki pa-muûtwê panatóhoôma ee.
child small LOC-head 16.TM.go up and down.NP ee
On the baby’s head, the fontanel goes up and down.
njama njama hee njama, ngupate lûwóóno
1SG.go to bed.PR hee 1SG.get.OPT sleep
I go to bed, I go to bed, I go to bed, I should get some sleep.

Dance: machéênga.

5. mahaâmba lá-ntinguulu kupákkátika chiîlo,
leaves CONN-ntungulu tree 15.full bit by bit.INF night
The leaves of the Ntungulu fall bit by bit at night,
companions.


Our companions are asleep.

These songs the boys sing when they go into the thicket.

LOC-initiation rites
to the initiation rites.

Dance: ing’oole ya-vangaliiba ‘dance of the ones who circumcise’.

[No instruments, hand clapping.]

6.

hassani nakatapadya vannya wile kwiva wee kwiva wee

Hassani Nakatapadya, they have told him to steal.

ee kwiva wee ee ee.

likavele mwa-litaano, likavele litanwike

If it were something like a lid, it would have widened, widened wide, to make it wider. If it would be something like a gourd,

chikavele mwa-chitúumba,

it would have broken that thing, broken that thing, broke,

chitumbwike-chó chitumbwike-chó tumbu

kutúmbúkíla

to break it to pieces.

hassání nakatapadya vannya wile

kwíva wee kwíva wee ee kwíva wee ee ee.

7.

nchenje, (7x)

source of heat and fire

The sun,

kupwétéka m’-mátiúmbo nkanamwali, lipwalele.

15.hurt.INF LOC-abdomens caretakers of girl REFL.feel uncomfortable.IMP to hurt the caretakers of the girl in the abdomens, let them feel uncomfortable!
8. namáháamba mwálápéelele, tumpiinde dachi.
Namahamba snake be long, how should we bend him?

9. váná’ mbángo vachumulile v’ende véeene n-chivaava eee.
The children of the wild pig while having opened (it), let them enter themselves the haunt.

10. [No drum, hand clapping.]
litéwe litéwe kuúúya litéwe kuúúya kundagaala. (3x)
initiates return initiation place
The initiates return, the initiates return from the initiation place.

11. [No drum, hand clapping.]
ayúúno mwána daudi mwachichi akálóombwa,
DEM1 child Daudi say NEG marry
This child Daudi was saying she will not been married,
now he, who.