Digo Narrative Discourse

Steve Nicolle
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Abstract

This paper describes the linguistic features of narrative texts in Digo based on a corpus of non-translated texts. Digo, or Chidigo (Ethnologue code [dig]), is a Bantu language (classified as E73) spoken in the coastal region of Kenya and Tanzania between Mombasa (04°02'S, 039°37'E) and Tanga (05°05'S, 039°04'E).
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<td>clitic</td>
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<td>1, 1A, 2</td>
<td>noun class</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG ETC.</td>
<td>3rd person singular etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>applicative suffix</td>
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<td>complementizer</td>
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<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous aspect</td>
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<td>copula</td>
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<td>DEG</td>
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<td>DEM_DIST</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEM_MR</td>
<td>metarepresentational demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM_NP</td>
<td>non-proximal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM_PROX</td>
<td>proximal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEP</td>
<td>dependent aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCLAM</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FV</td>
<td>final vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOD</td>
<td>hodiernal past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>imperfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITIVE</td>
<td>itive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAS</td>
<td>passive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERS</td>
<td>persisitive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<td>POS</td>
<td>possessive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>potential aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>reciprocal suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>referential marker</td>
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<td>reflexive marker</td>
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<td>REL</td>
<td>relative marker</td>
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<td>SEQ</td>
<td>sequential tense</td>
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<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subjunctive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAR</td>
<td>variant form of demonstrative</td>
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<tr>
<td>VENT</td>
<td>venitive marker</td>
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</table>
Introduction

This account of the narrative discourse features of Digo takes a number of narrative texts as its data. The approach adopted here is global and inductive. By this, I mean that whole texts are analyzed in order to determine how certain functions, such as indicating new paragraphs, tracking participants, and marking the event line, are realized. Generalizations are then made based on the analyses of entire texts, which are then checked against other texts in the corpus.

A note on the texts

There are seven texts in total, six fictional third person narratives and one factual first person narrative, all of which are presented in the appendices. Text 1, Text 2 and Text 3 have a morpheme-based English gloss with a free translation after each sentence. Text 4 has a word-for-word English gloss with a free translation after each sentence. In Texts 3 and 4, expressions referring to the major participants have been color-coded (see section 4 below). Text 5 is presented in charted form with a morpheme-based English gloss and a free translation after the text. Text 6 is the longest text, and it is presented sentence-by-sentence with a free translation in English. Text 7 is a factual first person narrative and has a word-for-word English gloss with a free translation after each sentence. The various ways in which the texts are presented partly reflects the purposes for which each text is used in this study, but is also intended to make the texts accessible and useful to a wide audience. Everyone, even people unfamiliar with Bantu languages, can follow the word-for-word glosses and free translations into English, and for those interested in more detail, morpheme-based glosses are available for four texts.

All of the examples used in this paper are taken from these seven texts. Rather than number the examples consecutively, as is customary in linguistic papers, I have referenced the examples using the text number followed by the sentence number. If a sentence contains more than one clause, letters are used, so example 5.6b is taken from Text 5, sentence 6, clause b.

1 Constituent elements of narrative texts

1.1 Types of narrative texts

Narrative texts differ in many ways, depending on the purpose for which they are told (to inform, to entertain, to warn, etc.), whether they are true or fictional, whether they are told from a first person or a third person perspective, and so on. Some narratives involve a problem or conflict, and the point at which this problem or conflict is resolved or comes to a head forms the climax of the narrative. Such narratives are termed ‘climactic’, and the section in which the climax occurs is termed the ‘peak episode’. Other stories involve a series of related events without a single problem or conflict and corresponding climax. This kind of narrative is termed ‘episodic’.

In the small corpus of fictional Digo narrative texts, Texts 1, 2, 3 and 6 are climatic. In Text 1 Mhegi wa Mihambo (The Setter of Traps), the problem is that the man meets a hyena dragging away the body of a woman who had recently been buried and the hyena later hears the man planning to track him down and shoot him. The climax comes when, instead of ambushing the hyena, the man discovers that it has magical powers and has a pack of hyenas at its command. The hyena curses the man, and he dies. In Text 2 Mwiya anatiwa dibwani ni mkaza ise (Mwiya is put in a pit by his father’s wife), the problem is that Mwiya’s stepmother tries to kill him by burying him in a pit. The resolution comes when his half-brother discovers him and alerts their father. In Text 3 Mbodze na Matsozi (Mbodze and Matsozi), the problem is that the two girls have been caught by an evil spirit which plans to eat them. The resolution comes when an old woman helps the girls to escape. In Text 6 Mchetu yesirya Sima (The Woman who didn’t eat Ugali) the problem is that the man’s wife is caught in a trap and he has agreed to share any meat that he
catches with the owner of the forest, a lion. The resolution to this problem comes when a hare arrives and tricks the lion into stepping into the trap.

Text 4 *Mutu wa Kani* (The Stubborn Man) involves a series of events in which a powerful stranger gives instructions, which the stubborn man ignores. Each time, the stubborn man suffers the consequences, but on the final occasion the stubborn man is blown away and never seen again. The structure of this story is episodic, although the final episode is the most important, and is similar to a peak episode. The structure of Text 5 *Mutu na Mamba* (The Man and the Crocodile) is different in that the initial problem and its resolution are simply ways of leading up to the main problem of how the man can avoid being eaten by the crocodile. It is hard to identify any episode as the peak in this narrative; instead there is a period of tension up to the point at which the man escapes from the crocodile. This is followed by a summary of the story, which functions like a denouement.

The factual first person narrative, Text 7, is also climactic. It concerns an account of how the narrator encountered a lioness whilst walking to work one morning. There is no problem or conflict involved in the story, but the narrator's decision to leave home early precipitates the climax of the story, when he encounters a lioness. The lion roars but then leaves, and the story ends with the narrator continuing to his work place, where he is reassured by his colleagues.

1.2 Structure of narrative texts

A narrative text can usually be divided into a number of sections, each of which serves a particular function.¹ The structure of a typical climactic narrative text is provided in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Typical linguistic features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation section</td>
<td>- Introduces major participants</td>
<td>- Presentational formula for major participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(introduction and setting the scene)</td>
<td>- Provides a time/place setting for the story</td>
<td>- Often a relative clause hinting at story theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Foreshadows story purpose</td>
<td>- Typical background tense/aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- General time and place markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting episode</td>
<td>- Gets the story moving</td>
<td>- Use of point of departure (PoD). Often the phrase 'one day' or equivalent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Often a verb of movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episodes</td>
<td>- Develops the conflict</td>
<td>- Episodes (paragraphs) which develop a conflict needing to be resolved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Often multiple paragraphs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Usage of a narrative tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak episode</td>
<td>- Maximizes tension, bringing story to a climax</td>
<td>- Heightened vividness/detail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Usage of ideophones and direct speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Shift of tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Suppression of transitional markers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denouement</td>
<td>- Resolves tension</td>
<td>- Often includes predictable elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>- Explains moral</td>
<td>- Moral stated directly, or with a proverb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This structure can be seen in the five climactic texts. The numbers in Table 2 refer to sentence numbers in each text.

¹ This division is based on Longacre (1996:33–38), who in turn refers to Thrall, Hibbard and Holman (1961), although as Longacre (1996:34) notes, “the antecedent tradition goes back to classic times.”
Table 2: Sections of a typical narrative text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text 1</th>
<th>Text 2</th>
<th>Text 3</th>
<th>Text 6</th>
<th>Text 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation section</td>
<td>1 – 2</td>
<td>1 – 4, 5 – 6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting episode</td>
<td>3 – 4, 5 – 9</td>
<td>7 – 10</td>
<td>2 – 9</td>
<td>2 – 6</td>
<td>2 – 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak episode(s)</td>
<td>26 – 32</td>
<td>25 – 28, 29 – 31</td>
<td>18, 19 – 23</td>
<td>46 – 49</td>
<td>18 – 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>39 – 40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>34 – 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Text 6, lines 6.24–6.28 constitutes a ‘preliminary peak’ episode, in which the trapper’s wife is caught in one of his own traps and discovered by a lion; the main peak in lines 6.46–6.49 parallels this event as this is the point at which the woman is released, and the lion is tricked into being caught in the trap instead.

1.3 Linguistic features of Digo narrative texts

1.3.1 Orientation section

The orientation section (or introduction) sets the scene for the story by indicating information such as the time and place in which the story takes place, and by introducing the characters (major and minor participants—described in section 4 below) who will be involved. Major participants are usually introduced using a presentational formula. In Text 1 this involves the expression *kuakala na* (there was with) and the use of *mwenga* (one).

1.1a *Hipho kare, ku-a-kal-a na mutu m-mwenga*

16.DEM_NP long_ago 17-PST-be-FV COM 1.person 1-one

‘Long ago, there was one man...’

2.1 is almost identical. 3.1 is similar, but because there are a pair of major participants who always act together, *airi* (two) is used instead of *mwenga* (one). Text 5 and Text 6 use a different presentational verb: *henda* (do).

Major participants are sometimes introduced using a relative clause that describes a characteristic of the participant which will prove important in the story, as in 4.1b and 6.1, where one of the major participants is introduced as follows:

6.1 *m-chetu ye-kal-a ka-ry-a sima a-ry-a nyama bahi*

1-woman 3SG.REL-be-FV 3SG.NEG.PST-eat-FV 9.ugali 3SG.PST-eat-FV 9.meat only

‘a woman who did not eat ugali, she only ate meat’

In Text 7, which is a factual first person narrative, the story itself is introduced using three relative clauses (7.1a, 7.1b, and 7.1c):

7.1a *Chisa ambacho n’ndachisemurira hivi samb,*

7.story which I will relate right now
In the inciting episode, before the event line has begun, major participants who have already been introduced can be referred to using a non-proximal demonstrative; the non-proximal demonstrative may precede the noun, as in 2.6a *Hiye mchetu mvyere* (That senior wife) and 2.6e *hiye mwanawe* (that child of hers), or it may follow the noun, as in 4.3a *Mjeni hiye* (That stranger). Minor participants, in contrast, are referred to using distal demonstratives, e.g. *yuya mchetu mdide* (that junior wife) (2.6d).

### 1.3.2 Inciting episode

The inciting episode\(^2\) is the point at which the event line starts and the (often problematic) situation upon which the story hinges is introduced. A time reference such as *Siku mwenga* (One day) (1.3) may indicate the start of the inciting episode (see also 2.7a). This is often the point at which one or more of the major participants performs his or her first action on the event line. At this point, a major participant which has already been introduced is sometimes referred to using a proximal demonstrative after the noun, e.g. *mutu hiyu* (person this) (1.3) and *Asichana hinya* (these girls):

3.2 *Asichana* hinya a-phyi-a ku-enda-nyendek-a.

2.girls 2.DEM_PROX 3PL.PST-GO-FV INF-ITIVE-WALK-FV

‘These two girls went to go and walk.’

In Text 7, the inciting episode, if it can be called this, describes the narrator’s decision to leave home early (since this caused him to encounter a lioness on his way to work). This episode begins with a detailed time reference:

7.2 *Kala ni mwaka wa 1969 mwezi wa phiri tarehe kumi na tahu.*

it was year 3of 1969 month of second date ten and three

‘It was in the year 1969 on the 13th of February.’

Verbs of movement and/or grammaticalized movement expressions are common in the inciting episode, as in the example above from Text 3 and the following example (see also 2.12c and 6.3):

1.4c *fisi ra-kpwenda-m-fukul-a mura dibwa-ni,*

5.hyena 5.PST-ITIVE-3SG-DIG_UP-FV 18.DEM_DIST 5.pit-LOC

1.4d *ri-chi-m-gurut-a ku-phi-y-a na=ye.*

5-CONS-3SG-DRAG-FV INF-GO-FV COM = 3SG.REF

‘a hyena came and dug her up from in the pit, and it dragged her to go with her.’

### 1.3.3 Developmental episodes

The developmental episodes advance the situation introduced in the inciting episode, and lead (in a climactic narrative) to the peak; for this reason, they are also referred to as ‘pre-peak’ episodes.

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\(^2\) Also called the complicating action (Labov and Waletzky 1967:93, cited in Stegen 2011:109).
Throughout the developmental episodes, the default way of referring to the major participants is with agreement markers only or distal demonstratives, typically *yuya* for third person singular referents and *hara* for third person plural referents (see 3.14b, 3.15a, and 3.16a). This is also the default way of referring to major participants in episodic narratives (see Text 4). There may be a number of paragraphs, each starting with a past tense with subsequent consecutive tense marking (see section 2 for further details).

Direct speech (discussed in section 8) may be introduced with the verb *amba* (say) either with past or consecutive tense marking, or with the continuous aspect marker *na-* as in 6.10, 6.13, 6.14, and 6.15. In Text 5, all of the speeches introduced with the verb *amba* (say) use the continuous aspect marker *na-* from 5.11 forward; lines 3–10 function like an inciting episode, in that they set the scene for the rest of the story, and in this part of the narrative, the consecutive tense marker *chi-* is used when the protagonist is speaking to himself (5.3 and 5.8).

### 1.3.4 Peak episode

In a climactic narrative, the peak episode is the point at which the situation introduced in the inciting episode and advanced in the developmental episodes reaches a climax. The peak may be the point at which a problem is resolved, but it may equally be the point at which disaster strikes. It is not always marked linguistically, and when it is marked, there is often no consistent pattern apart from the fact that “something changes”. In Text 2, the way in which the protagonist (the senior wife) is referred changes at this point. Previously, she had been referred to using the distal demonstrative *yuya* (2.8a and 2.12b) but in 2.30a (below) she is now referred to using a non-proximal demonstrative *hiye*, as she was in 2.6a in the orientation section. The non-proximal demonstrative *hiye* is also used to refer to her in 2.33b and 2.34a in the denouement.

2.30a  *Hiye  m-chetu  a-ri-ye-m-tiy-a  yuya  mwanache  dibwa-ni,*

   1.DEM_NP 1-woman 3SG-PST-1.REL-3SG-put_in-FV 1.DEM_DIST 1.child 5.pit-LOC

2.30b  *wa-gbwir-w-a  ni  mchecheta  a-chi-gbw-a.*

   3SG_PST-seize-pas-FV COP 3.panic 3SG-CONS-fall-FV

‘That woman who had put the child in the pit, she was seized by panic and fell down.’

The peak episode may also be characterized by over-specification of referents; where a subject agreement marker alone may be expected, a noun phrase may be used instead. This is seen in 3.18a where a long descriptive phrase is used for well-established characters *Mbodze na nduguye Matsozi* (‘Mbodze and her sister Matsozi’). Similarly, in 4.27 and 4.28a, the noun phrase *yuya mutu* (that person) is repeated; this final episode constitutes the climax of the story, and as such can be regarded as the peak episode.

The way in which tense and aspect is marked may also change in the peak episode. In Text 6, the present tense is used in the ‘preliminary peak’ episode in lines 6.24d and 6.25a where a consecutive tense would have been expected. Reduced forms may also occur, such as *Kpwedzaguta* (‘Come to touch’) in which the subject concord marker and tense/aspect marker have been elided:

6.47a  *Kpwedza-u-gut-a  hura  muhambo  tu  u-chi-fyuk-a  a-chi-gbwir-w-a*

   VENTIVE-3-touch-FV 3.DEM_DIST 3.trap only 3-CONS-twist-FV 3SG-CONS-catch-PAS-FV

‘When he touched the trap it snapped shut and he was trapped.’

In Text 7, the developmental episodes contain a combination of past tense followed by consecutive tense to mark the main event line, but the peak episode, when the narrator encounters a lioness, does not contain any consecutive tense marking. Instead, past tense is used (7.19a, 7.19b, 7.19c, 7.20c, and elsewhere) culminating at the end of the peak episode in a combination of present tense for background information and past tense for a repeat of the main event (7.23).
In summary, the peak episode may be indicated by changes to the way participants are referred to, over-specification of participants, and changes to the way tense and aspect are used, but none of the narratives in our corpus exhibit all of these effects.

### 1.3.5 Denouement

The denouement often takes the form of a summary of the main events of the story or it may describe events which happen after the peak. As such, the denouement often contains predictable material. In the denouement in Text 3 (3.24–3.26) the ghost is eaten by its friends, as it had predicted it would be, and the denouement in Text 1 (1.32–1.38) consists mostly of the man repeating to himself what the hyena had said and done in the peak episode. In Text 6, there are two parts to the denouement: 6.50–6.52 explains that to this day, the lion is angry and you should therefore sleep in a secure hut when guarding a field at night; 6.53–6.59 ends the story by describing what happened to the woman and her husband. The denouement can also take the form of a summary statement; this is found in the two non-climactic narratives (4.29 and 4.51).

#### 4.29

*Kpwa hivyo hiro ndiro romphaha mutu wa kani.*

Therefore this it-is-this which-got-him person of stubbornness

‘So that is what happened to the stubborn man.’

In some texts, major participants may again be referred to using non-proximal demonstratives (as they often are in the orientation section), as for example in 2.33b and 2.34a, and in 5.41a.

### 1.3.6 Conclusion

Conclusions may present the narrator's perspective on the story, or a summary of the outcome of the story. Either in addition to these elements or in place of them, there is often a formulaic ending. Longacre (1996:38) divides the conclusion into 'closure' which consists of the conclusion proper, which may include a moral, and 'finis' which is a formulaic ending which is a surface feature only rather than part of the notional structure, or plot, of a narrative.

The conclusion may repeat features found in the inciting episode, thereby enhancing the sense of closure of the story. For example, in Text 1, the movement expressions *achedzahalwa* (he *came* and was taken) and *achendabebenwa* (he *went* and was crushed up) in 1.38b–c in the conclusion reflect *rakpwendamfukula* (it *went* and dug her up) and *kuphiya naye* (to *go* with her) in the inciting episode (1.4c–d).

All of the Digo narrative texts end with a formulaic ending. In 2.35, 3.27 and 5.42 this is:

#### 5.42

*Hadisi na ngano i-chi-sir-a na hipho.*


‘The story and fable/riddle ends here.’

6.60 is identical apart from the omission of the comitative marker *na*, and in 1.40 *ichisira* (it has finished) with consecutive *chi* has been replaced by *ikasira* (it has finished) with the sequential *ka* tense marker; 4.30 uses *ikasira* without *na*. 
1.3.7 The role of songs in traditional Digo narratives

Songs are a common feature of traditional stories in many cultures. In Digo narrative texts, songs often occur at important points in the story, such as the transition from the inciting episode to the developmental episodes, where they provide a summary of or a commentary on the story.

The inciting episodes in Text 2 and Text 3 both end with a song (2.10a–c and 3.8–3.9d) which summarizes the situation up to that point. In Text 2, a song also occurs when Mwiya’s half-brother finds the pit where he has been buried (2.18a–b), this time identifying the half-brother’s mother as the culprit. Songs are referred to just before the peak (2.24), and in the peak episode (2.26 and 2.27).

In a number of Bantu languages, including Digo, songs that occur in narratives use either what appears to be an archaic form of the language or the language of a neighboring group. This is seen in 3.8–3.9d. The language used in this song is either Duruma (the language of a related group living inland from the Digo) or an archaic form of Digo; the tense prefix dzi- in 3.8 is the Duruma form of the hodiernal past tense marker used in relative clauses, and ka- in lines 3.8 and 3.9a–c is the diminutive noun class prefix (noun class 12), which is found in neighboring languages but which is no longer used in Digo.

3.8 Si-mi dzi-ku-tsuph-a ka-dziwe, (x2)
    NEG-1SG HOD-2SG-throw-FV 12-5.stone

3.9a U-ka-tsuph-iw-a ni Mbobze ka-dziwe,
    2SG-SEQ-throw-PAS-FV COP NAME 12-5.stone

3.9b na ndugu-ye Matsozi ka-dziwe,
    COM 9.sibling-9.3SG.POS NAME 12-5.stone

3.9c ka-dziwe ng'al-a ka-dziwe, ng'a-a iibu.
    12-5.stone shine-FV 12-5.stone shine-FV brightly

‘It is not I who threw the small stone. It is not I who threw the small stone. You were thrown by Mbobze’s small stone, with her sister Matsozi’s small stone, small stone shine small stone, shine brightly.’

2 Continuity and progression

Within a text it is possible to distinguish both episodes and paragraphs. Episodes are dependent on the content of the narrative itself; each episode serves a distinct purpose within the narrative as a whole. Thus, an orientation section is identifiable because it serves the function within the story of introducing the major characters and setting the scene, and an inciting episode is identifiable because it serves the function of initiating the problem or situation upon which the story will hinge, and so forth. Paragraphs differ from episodes in that their purpose is to help the hearer or reader process the text. This is achieved by grouping together closely related material into a manageable chunk of information. Continuity of participants, time and place is usually maintained within a paragraph (or if there is a change of time or place, this is usually an expected rather than an abrupt change), and so paragraph breaks correspond to places in the text where there is a discontinuity of some kind. To see how this works in practice, we will

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3 Longacre (1976:276) states: “The paragraph is the developmental unit of discourse. It is the typical unit of argumentation or exhortation in hortatory discourse, of explanation and exposition in expository discourse, and of episode in narrative discourse.” I differ from Longacre in that I do not consider paragraphs to be the “typical unit” of episode. Episode boundaries and paragraph boundaries may coincide, but they need not. In a very short story, a single paragraph may contain more than one thematic unit; conversely, in a longer story one episode may consist of a number of paragraphs.
first look at the paragraphs in Text 2, *Mwiya anatiwa dibwani ni mkaza ise* (Mwiya is put in a pit by his father’s wife).

### 2.1 Paragraphs in text 2 Mwiya anatiwa dibwani ni mkaza ise

Text 2 can be found in full at the end of this paper. In this section, the content of each paragraph and the kind of discontinuity that exists between paragraphs will be described.

**Paragraph 1** (2.1–2.4) and **paragraph 2** (2.5–2.6) comprise the orientation section. Paragraph 1 introduces the major participants, and paragraph 2 introduces the theme of the story (the senior wife’s plan to kill the junior wife and her child). The discontinuity between these paragraphs is therefore in the kind of information which they contain.

**Paragraph 3** (2.7) constitutes the inciting episode. It begins with a change of time—more than a week has passed—and ends with a song. Paragraph breaks usually occur after a song or an extended conversation. **Paragraph 4** (2.11) begins with background information concerning the type of work which the two boys used to do; as well as following a song, this paragraph begins a new theme (work) which leads into an account of how Mwiya is (apparently) killed by the senior wife. A new paragraph could have been started at 2.13 which begins *Phofika dziloni* (When evening arrived), but this was kept within paragraph 4, because the lapse of time is a natural one and the whole paragraph explains how everyone believed that the senior wife had killed Mwiya (thus, it constitutes a thematic unit).

**Paragraph 5** (2.16) there is an abrupt change of time, indicated by *Siku mwenga* (One day) and also a change of major participant, as the elder Mwiya (the senior wife’s son) takes a more active role. This paragraph also ends with a song. **Paragraph 6** (2.19) continues with the elder Mwiya reporting what he has heard to his parents. Although there is no abrupt change of participants, time or place here, a new paragraph has been started because of the discontinuity caused in the narrative by the song in line 2.18. This paragraph ends with a short concluding remark (That child and his father kept quiet, they didn’t say a word). At **paragraph 7** (2.23) there is an abrupt change of time, indicated by *Ligundzu ra phiri* (On the second morning).

**Paragraph 8** (2.25–2.28) begins the peak episode. There is no change of participants, place or time, but this is the point at which the boys’ father discovers the truth about his younger son, Mwiya. The paragraph begins by repeating information from the previous paragraph: *Isengbwa ariphosikira hivyo* (His father when he heard this). The noun phrase *Isengbwa* (His father) over-specifies the referent, since there has been no change of subject between 2.24 and 2.25, but this over-specification helps to indicate that a new paragraph is starting. The peak episode ends with **paragraph 9** (2.29–2.31). In the ‘gap’ between 2.28 (end of paragraph 8) and 2.29 (start of paragraph 9) we can infer that the father has reached home and told his friends and his wife what he has discovered, and that they have all returned to the place where the two boys are singing to each other. There has therefore been an abrupt change of time. The paragraph ends (2.31) with a summary ‘Then people knew that it was she who did these things.’

**Paragraph 10** (2.32) begins the denouement by describing a new series of events beginning with the unearthing of Mwiya. In **paragraph 11** (2.34) the theme changes from the description of how the boy Mwiya had been buried by the senior wife to the punishment that the senior wife received. This is indicated by the text-structuring connective *Phahi* (So) (see section 3.4) and by fronting *hiye mchetu adabuye* (that woman her punishment) in which *hiye mchetu* (that woman) is a left-dislocated topic and *adabuye* (her punishment) functions as an external topic or Theme (see section 6.3). Since the punishment is in fact new information (although inferable from the context), it is ‘set up’ as a topic by making the senior wife the first topic before mentioning her punishment: *Phahi hiye mchetu adabuye, wazolwa phara kaya* (So that woman her punishment, she was chased away from her home). **Paragraph 12** (2.35) consists of a formulaic conclusion.

### 2.2 Points of departure

In order to smooth the discontinuities of a narrative, a narrator may use a ‘point of departure’ (PoD) where there is a discontinuity to bridge the two sections (Levinsohn 2003, section 3.1). Thus, the PoD both refers back to what has gone before and points ahead to what will come. For a phrase or clause to
function as a PoD, it must occur at the beginning of a sentence (not counting a conjunction or an
interjection, which may precede it). The following sections look at three types of point of departure:
referential, temporal and spatial.

2.2.1 Temporal points of departure

A number of paragraphs begin with a temporal point of departure: Paragraph 2 (2.5a) Huya mchetu
arihogbwira mimba (That woman when she became pregnant), paragraph 3 (2.7a) Juma na chisiku (After
a week and a bit), paragraph 5 (2.16a) Siku mwenga (One day), and paragraph 7 (2.23a) Ligundzu ra phiri
(On the second morning). Some temporal points of departure take the form of dependent clauses in what
is known as ‘tail-head linkage’. In tail-head linkage, information which has just been mentioned is
repeated in a dependent clause: paragraph 6 (2.19a) Yuya Mwiya mvyere ariphosikira hivyo (When Mwiya
senior heard this) and paragraph 8 (2.25a) Isengbwa ariphosikira hivyo (His father when he heard this).

2.2.2 Spatial points of departure

A dependent clause also occurs in paragraph 9 (2.29a) Hinyo atu ariphofika hipho (Those people when
they arrived there), but in this case the information is new. The location, however, has already been
established, and this is an example of a spatial point of departure, in which the location is already
established but the participants are new.

2.2.3 Referential points of departure

Referential PoDs are topicalized NPs which are “left-dislocated”; that is, shifted to the start of the
sentence. Subjects in Bantu languages typically occur at the start of a clause, before the verb, but they
can also be left-dislocated. This is often indicated by, for example, a long pause between the subject and
the verb, or the use of spacers (a non-argument, like an adverbial, which intervenes between the subject
and the following verb). All of the referential PoDs in Text 2 involve the repetition of a referring
expression. The referential PoD Yuya mwana (That child) occurs in paragraph 4 (2.11a) after a digression
(a song). Referential PoDs also occur when the subject has not changed, as in paragraphs 10 and 11
(2.34 discussed above). In paragraph 10 (2.32a), the people are referred to with a descriptive noun
phrase, Hinyo atu ariongala akedza phara (Those people who had come there) even though this same group
of people was the subject in the previous clause. This over-specification serves to indicate that a new
paragraph is starting.

2.3 Paragraphs in text 1 Mhegi wa Mihambo

To get a fuller picture of how paragraphs are marked in Digo narratives, we must look at more than one
text. In Text 1 Mhegi wa Mihambo (The Setter of Traps) we find the following overt indications of new
paragraphs:

• Paragraph 3 (1.5a) Yuyu bwana (This man)—referential point of departure using a proximal
demonstrative.

• Paragraph 4 (1.10a–b) Yuya mwanadamu … yuya mutu (That human … that person)—referential
point of departure involving repetition of the distal demonstrative. Note that this is a very short
paragraph following a lengthy speech, and is not really a new thematic unit.

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4 This a reference to the junior wife who has just been mentioned in the previous paragraph, but the form is unusual.
The woman is a minor participant, and so the usual way to refer to her in the orientation section is with a distal
demonstrative; however, rather than yuya, the variant form huya is used. This is the only occurrence of this
demonstrative not only in this text but in all six sample narrative texts.
In Text 1, new paragraphs are indicated in three main ways. First, when the subject is referred to with a proximal demonstrative (hiyu, yuyu), this always indicates the start of a new paragraph. When subjects are referred to elsewhere using a demonstrative, this is almost always the distal demonstrative (yuya). Second, paragraphs 2 and 11, at the start of the inciting episode and the denouement, begin with temporal points of departure. Third, text-structuring connectives phahi (so/then) and ndipho (then) occur in paragraphs 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10. These are discussed in section 3.4 below.

3 Connectives

The most common way of coordinating clauses and sentences in Digo narratives is by juxtaposition. This means that connectives are used not as the default means of joining clauses and sentences, but to indicate specific relations between clauses and sentences that might otherwise not be inferable from the context alone. In this section, we will start by looking at the connectives which occur in a single text, in order to get a global perspective on how connectives are used, and then we will look in more detail at three classes of connectives: additives, concessives and text-structuring connectives.

3.1 Connectives in text 5 Mutu na Mamba

To illustrate the uses of various connectives, we will focus on Text 5 Mutu na Mamba (The Man and the Crocodile) which can be found in full at the end of this paper. This text has been charted so that all of the connectives appear in the left-most column, labeled CON.

3.1.1 Connectives between sentences

Most sentences in Digo narratives are juxtaposed; that is, sentences are not usually joined with a connective. In Text 5, only six sentences start with a connective; that is, about one sentence in seven starts with a connective. Excluding Ndipho (then) in 5.22b, which is at the beginning of a speech, they are:

- Lakini (because) line 6a
- Halafu (afterwards) line 7a
- Mana (for) line 14a
- Chisha (then) line 29a
- Nawe (you also) line 32a
- Phahi (so) line 5.36a.

Of these six connectives, two are used at the start of a new paragraph: Chisha (then) in 5.29a and Phahi (so/then) in 5.36a. Chisha also occurs in 5.41b, right at the end of the story. (In addition, Phahi occurs within sentences in 5.3c and 5.40a, but both of these occurrences are within direct speech.) The use of chisha and phahi appears to play a role in structuring the text, specifically in marking new paragraphs, and will be discussed further in section 3.4. However, only a quarter of the paragraphs in
Text 5 begin with a connective, and as we saw in the previous chapter new paragraphs are more often indicated through the use of points of departure and over-specification or marked specification of participants (for example by using a proximal demonstrative).

### 3.1.2 Connectives within sentences

Within sentences, clauses are more often joined with connectives, but again juxtaposition is very common. In Text 5, the following connectives occur within sentences:

- *ili* (so that) line 3d.
- *na* (and) lines 4c, 5c, 9e, 33b, 35e, 41c
- *ela* (but) lines 4d, 7b, 8d, 10c, 33c; *lakini* (but) lines 10b, 27d
- *wala* (nor/neither) lines 6b, 14c, 30e, 32b
- *mana* (for) lines 35d, 37c, 39d
- *ndipho* (then) lines 22b, 37f (both in speech), 38c
- *chisha* (then) line 41b

Note also the occurrence of *nami* (and I/I also) in lines 12e and 37e and *naye* (and he/he also) in line 5.41c. These are additive pronouns, which will be discussed in section 3.2 below.

To compare juxtaposition and the use of a connective, let us look at the use of *ili* (so that) in 5.3d. In 5.3d (below) *ili* indicates that the clause which follows is a desired consequence of what has just been described or an intention for which the previous clause provides the enabling conditions. The following clause is in the subjunctive, as are the next two clauses, which also describe desired consequences of preceding events. However, only the first subjunctive clause is introduced with *ili*.

```
5.3c phahi n-da-rim-a dza phapha na ko Mwamtsola,
   so 1SG-FUT-farm-FV from 16.DEM_PROX COM 17.DEM_NP NAME

5.3d ili ni-phah-e vitu vinji vyanjina ni-guz-e n-igul-e ng’ombe.
   so_that 1SG-get-SUB 8.things 8.many 8.others 1SG-sell-SUB 1SG-buy-SUB 9.cow
   ‘so I will farm from here to Mwamtsola, so that I can get many other things that I can sell so I can buy a cow.’
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Other subjunctive clauses describing desired consequences or intentions occur in 5.9b *Nnaphiya nkauze mlungu...* (I am going so that I can go ask the god...), 5.12d *ukagombe* (so that you can go and say), 5.12f *mphirikire* (so that you take to him), 5.19e *nkuphirike* (so that I can take you), and 5.29g *nkamuambire* (so that I can go and tell him). However, other subjunctive clauses do not describe desired consequences or intentions, such as the commands and instructions in lines 5.13c, 5.15b–c, 5.19d, 5.22c, 5.28a, 5.29f and 5.32a, and the undesired consequences in 5.37d–f, 5.38f and 5.38i. This indicates that the subjunctive alone does not convey the information that the clause describes desired consequences or intentions; this information has to be inferred. The use of *ili* can therefore be seen as constraining or overriding this inferential process by providing this information explicitly.

Rather than describe in detail each of the connectives which occurs in Text 5, we will consider three important classes of connectives: additives, concessives, and text-structuring connectives.

### 3.2 Additives

Text 5 contains two additive connectives: *na* (and) and *wala* (nor/neither), as well as additive pronouns formed from *na* plus a pronominal form.

The connective *na* is actually a ‘comitative’ marker, which means that it indicates that there is an association between two or more elements in a text. When the elements which *na* relates are of the same kind (clause, noun phrase, etc.) *na* functions grammatically as a coordinating conjunction; when the
elements are of different kinds, na functions more like a preposition (and is usually glossed as ‘with’). We are only concerned with the use of na as a coordinating conjunction here.

In this use, na occurs six times, in lines 5.4c, 5.5c, 5.9e, 5.33b, 5.35e, and 5.41c. As an additive, na indicates that the clauses which it joins are to be interpreted together, rather than independently. This is the case, even when there is an inherent contrast between them, as in 5.5c and 5.9e (where the free translation in English uses ‘yet’ and ‘even though’). Similarity or contrast is therefore not part of the meaning of na.

Another additive is wala (nor/neither) which occurs in lines 5.6b, 5.14c, 5.30e, and 5.32b. It introduces negative clauses which are intended to be interpreted together with what has already been mentioned, either because they elaborate on information provided in the preceding clause, as in 5.6b, or because they indicate a negative consequence, as in 5.32 (compare 5.32 with 5.28 which are identical except that 5.28 does not contain wala):

5.6a  Lakini  a-chi-nyamal-a        mutu     yuyu,
         but                      3SG-CONS-stay_silent-FV  1.person  1.DEM_PROX

5.6b  wala  ka-ya-gomb-a        na       mutu.
         nor                       3SG.NEG-PST-speak-FV  COM  1.person

‘But he stayed silent this person, nor did he speak with anyone.’

5.32  Na=we  ka-rim-e             yo      tsulu    wala   ku-nda-on-a   ndzala.
         COM=2SG    ITIVE-farm-SUB  9.DEM_NP  9.anthill  nor  2SG.NEG-FUT-see-FV  9.hunger

‘And you go and farm that anthill and you will not experience hunger.’

5.32 above begins with an additive pronoun comprised of the comitative particle na plus the 2nd person singular pronominal clitic we. In 5.31, the god has just spoken about the food that the crocodile will have and how he will get it, and in 5.32 he talks about the food that the man will have and how he will get it. The situations being described are similar, but the participants are different; nawe indicates that 5.32 is in some way parallel to 5.31, and therefore should be interpreted together with the previous sentence.

Other additive pronouns which occur in Text 5 are nami (I also, 5.12e and 5.37e) and naye (he also, 5.41c):

5.41b  chisha  mamba             a-chi-phiy-a  vyakpwe
         then                      1a.crocodile   3SG-CONS-go-FV  his_way

5.41c  na       yuno    mutu    na=ye    a-chi-phiy-a  vyakpwe.
         com  1.DEM_MR  1.person  COM=3SG  3SG-CONS-go-FV  his_way

‘then the crocodile went on his way and the man also went on his way.’

3.3 Concessives

Concessives are connectives which indicate that the clause which they introduce counters a previous idea, either by directly contradicting an idea previously expressed, or by countering an inference or expectation generated by previous material. In Text 5, ela and lakini (both glossed as ‘but’) occur; ela is twice as frequent as lakini (which is borrowed from Swahili), but they do not appear to differ semantically.

In lines 5.4d, 5.7b, 5.8d and 5.27d, the clause introduced by ela/lakini is surprising or unexpected given what precedes it, and also of some importance in the story. Sentence 5.10 contains both lakini and ela. The man has decided to ask the god why his crops had failed; 5.10a states that he spoke thus (to himself), but (lakini 5.10b) he did not know where the god was, but (ela 5.10c) he was just speaking to himself. This sets the scene for the introduction of the antagonist (the second major participant in the story), the crocodile who has heard the man speaking to himself and offers to take him to the god.
5.10a Wa-gomb-a vira
3SG.PST-speak-fv thus

5.10b lakini ka-many-a pho pha-ri=pho ye mlungu,
but 3SG.NEG-know-FV 16.DEM_NP 16.PST-be = 16.REF 1.DEM_REF 1.god

5.10c ela ye wa-dzi-gomb-er-a tu.
but 3SG.PRO 3SG.PST-REFL-speak-appl-fv only
‘He said this but he didn’t know how to find the god, he was just talking to himself.’

3.4 Text-structuring connectives

The connectives phahi (so/then) and (to a lesser extent) chisha and ndipho (both ‘then’) often mark new paragraphs. In Text 5 chisha (then) occurs in 5.29a and phahi (so/then) occurs in 5.36a, both of which occur in developmental episodes. In Text 1, phahi (so/then) occurs in 1.11a and 1.15a which form part of the developmental episodes, in 1.25a which forms part of the peak, and in 1.32a which forms part of the denouement; ndipho (then) occurs in 1.18a. In Text 2 phahi occurs in 2.34 in the denouement. This suggests that these connectives may play a role in indicating paragraph boundaries, but they are not the only way in which paragraph boundaries are indicated (points of departure being the main alternative, as discussed in section 2) and they are not uniformly distributed across the text corpus. The fact that phahi occurs in the denouement as well as in developmental episodes suggests that it is not a thematic development marker.

Thematic development markers (TDMs) indicate important steps in reaching the story’s objective. They do not necessarily signal discontinuities of time, place, action or participants (although important developments may coincide with new paragraphs), and can therefore be found at various places within a paragraph (not just at the beginning or end). They do not occur in the orientation section of a narrative, because the objective of the story has not been established at this point, and they do not occur in the denouement or conclusion, since by then the objective of the story has already been attained.

In those languages which have TDMs, they can be indicated through particular ways in which clauses and sentences are linked (such as connectives), or they can be indicated by the way in which participants are referred such as through the use of different kinds of demonstrative. In Digo, there is no clear evidence of TDMs, either in the way connectives are used. The fact that the connectives phahi (so/then) and (to a lesser extent) chisha and ndipho (both ‘then’) almost always occur at the start of paragraphs and do not consistently indicate important developments in a story, suggests that their function is primarily to help structure the text rather than to mark thematic developments. Neither is there any clear indication of TDMs in the way in which participants are referred. Demonstratives occur frequently in Digo narratives, but again, their role seems to be in structuring the text rather than in marking significant thematic developments. As we saw in section 1 (and will discuss further in section 4), referential demonstratives, if they occur at all, typically occur in the orientation section and occasionally again in the denouement, proximal demonstratives typically occur in the inciting episode (in Text 1 they also indicated new paragraphs), and distal demonstratives are one of the default ways of referring to major participants when there is a change of subject, or a new paragraph within the developmental episodes.

4 Participant reference

Participants in a narrative (that is, the characters in a story) need to be introduced in some way, and then referred to subsequently (or ‘tracked’) as the narrative develops. The way in which a participant is referred to depends partly on where it occurs in the text, and partly on whether it is a major or minor participant. For example, the way a participant in subject position is referred to depends on whether it was the subject in the previous clause or whether there has been a change of subject. The way a participant is referred to may be different at the start of a new paragraph compared to elsewhere, and
the way a participant is referred to may differ in different episodes (orientation section, inciting episode, developmental episodes, peak episode, and denouement). The way major and minor participants are referred to also differs. Major participants typically receive some specific introduction and are present and active throughout all or most of the narrative; in some narratives major participants play the roles of protagonist (the character which initiates most of the action) and antagonist (the character which reacts to the events initiated by the protagonist). Minor participants often just appear without any specific introduction or are introduced as objects of a verb; they are only present for short periods and usually play a more passive role. It is also possible for a participant to be present in only one or two episodes, but nonetheless to play an important and active role during this time; such participants are termed ‘episodic major participants’.

This section describes participant introductions and participant tracking in two texts primarily, with reference to other texts as necessary.

4.1 Nominal forms in Digo

In Digo, participants can be referred to using a variety of nominal forms, the most common are:

- proper names such as Matsozi;
- descriptive noun phrases such as zimu (ghost) and mutu wa kani (stubborn person);
- noun phrases containing a demonstrative such as rira zimu (that ghost) and yuya wa kani (that stubborn one; literally: that of stubborn); demonstratives may be distal (e.g. rira and yuya), proximal (e.g. hiri and hiyu), non-proximal5 (e.g. hiro and hiye) or metarepresentational6 (e.g. rino and yuno);
- noun phrases containing a relative clause such as mmwenga ambaye kala ana kani (one who was stubborn);
- independent pronouns (also referred to as ‘self standing pronouns’) referring to animate entities, such as iye (she or he);
- additive pronouns, such as naye (see section 3.2 for a discussion);
- incorporated pronouns which consist of a prefix on the verb either referring to the subject such as ri- in richifika (it arrived—referring to the ghost) and wa- in wahenda (he did) where wa-combines reference to a human subject with the past tense marker, or referring to the object such as mu- in amurye (eat him). (The terms ‘prefix pronouns’, ‘agreement markers’ ‘subject marker’, ‘object marker’, ‘verb complement concord’, and others are also found in the literature on Bantu languages.)

To investigate participant reference in Digo we will refer primarily to Text 3 Mbodze na Matsozi (Mbondze and Matsozi) and Text 4 Mutu wa Kani (The Stubborn Man). In both of these texts, references to the major participants have been highlighted. We will begin with Text 4 Mutu wa Kani since this is a simpler text as far as participant reference is concerned, involving only a protagonist and an antagonist, with a supporting cast of a group of hunters who are only ever referred to as a group. Text 3 Mbodze na Matsozi is more complex as it contains a pair of major participants, the girls of the title, who are almost always referred to jointly using a plural reference; another major participant, a ghost; and an old lady, who is an episodic major participant, as she is present for only one episode but plays an active and crucial role in the story. Some unnamed people at the start of the story and the ghost’s friends near the end of the story are minor participants.

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5 This is an established term to describe demonstratives that indicate objects or places that are far from the speaker but near to the hearer. Cognate demonstrative forms in other Bantu languages are sometimes referred to as ‘referential demonstratives’.

6 Metarepresentational demonstratives are used to refer to entities that have not been previously mentioned but whose existence can be inferred, and in narratives when the narrator wishes to comment on part of the story. For further details, see Nicolle (2007) and Nicolle (2012a).
4.2 Participant reference in text 4 Mutu wa Kani

Text 4 is episodic; it contains an orientation section (see section 1.3.1), an inciting episode (see section 1.3.2), and then a series of episodes each of which follows the same pattern, the last episode being the most dramatic and functioning as the peak episode (see section 1.3.4). The story ends with a brief denouement (see section 1.3.5) and the usual conclusion (see section 1.3.6). The major participants are a stranger (the protagonist) and a stubborn man (the antagonist); references to the protagonist have been highlighted in blue, and references to the antagonist have been highlighted in red.

4.2.1 The protagonist

In the orientation section the protagonist is introduced using ‘presentational articulation’ with a locative noun class:

```
4.2 pha-chi-kal-a na m-jeni phapho pha-o lalo-ni
16-CONS-be-FV COM 1-stranger 16.DEM NP 16-3PL POS location-LOC
‘there was a stranger there at their place’
```

After being introduced, the protagonist is referred to in the rest of the orientation section (4.3) using a noun plus a non-proximal demonstrative Mjeni hiye (That stranger) and by the incorporated subject pronoun a- in subsequent clauses.

The inciting episode consists of lines 4.4–4.5 and does not mention the protagonist except as part of the group that decided to go hunting. There then follows a series of episodes in which the protagonist eats an entire elephant (4.6–4.12), drinks an entire lake (4.13–4.22), and finally expels a lot of gas (4.23–4.28). In each of these episodes the protagonist is referred to initially using a distal demonstrative yuya plus the noun mutu (person). The first reference (4.7a–b) provides additional information about the protagonist in the form of a relative clause ambaye kala kamanywa vinono ni hara ayae (who was not known well by his companions). The phrase yuya mutu also occurs whenever there is a change of subject (that is, when the protagonist was not the subject of the previous clause) as in 4.10b, 4.17a, 4.20, 4.24b, and 4.27. Yuya mutu also occurs at 4.11 even though the subject has not changed. This is because 4.11 marks the start of a new paragraph, indicated by the text-structuring connective ndipho (then). Note that line 4.23a also starts a new paragraph, indicated by the text-structuring connective phahi (so) but the protagonist is referred to using an incorporated pronoun only; however, the reference to the protagonist here is in a subordinate clause, and the main verb has the group as its subject.

There is also an occurrence of yuya mutu in line 4.28a. In the previous sentence the protagonist was the subject of the first clause and the antagonist was the subject of the second clause, but it is clear in the context that the protagonist is the subject in line 4.28. Nonetheless the protagonist is referred to using yuya mutu because this is the climax of the entire story, and over-specification of referents is a common feature of peak episodes in Digo.

All other references to the protagonist are through incorporated pronouns, except for 4.17b where an additive pronoun naye is used. In this clause, the protagonist is described as drinking just as his companions were described as drinking in the previous clause.

4.2.2 The antagonist

The antagonist is introduced in the first episode after the inciting episode (4.8b) using a relative clause mmwenga ambaye kala ana kani (one who was stubborn). This is followed by two references using the additive pronoun naye which describe how the antagonist repeated the instructions given by the protagonist but applying them to himself. When there is a change of subject (that is, when the antagonist was not the subject of the previous clause) he is referred to using the distal demonstrative yuya as in 4.18a: yuya wa kani (that of stubborn) or simply as wa kani (of stubborn) as in 4.22 and 4.26b. When the antagonist continues as a subject, he is referred to using incorporated pronouns.
In lines 4.10b and 4.28b the phrase *yuya wa kani* (that of stubborn) occurs in object position; he had not been explicitly mentioned in the previous clauses (4.10a and 4.28a). This indicates that the use of the distal demonstrative is not restricted to marking subjects or active participants. In 4.27 he stubborn man is referred to using just the object marker -m; he was the subject in the previous clause and remained salient enough in 4.27 not to need ‘reactivating’ through the use of a descriptive noun phrase. Finally, in the conclusion (4.29) the stubborn man is referred to using the noun phrase *mutu wa kani* (person of stubborn).

### 4.2.3 Minor participant

The group of hunters functions collectively as a minor participant. They are usually referred to simply with an incorporated pronoun, even at the start of a new paragraph, as in 4.4 and 4.23a. In line 4.10a they are referred to in relation to the antagonist using a distal demonstrative plus a descriptive noun phrase *hara ayae osi* (all those his companions) and in 4.19 by a descriptive noun phrase alone: *Ayae osi* (All his companions). In 4.26a they are referred to as *osi* (all) in contrast to the antagonist in 4.26b.

### 4.2.4 Summary of text 4

In summary, in this text:

- major participants are introduced with a locative presentational articulation or with a descriptive relative clause;
- the protagonist is first referred to using a non-proximal demonstrative in the orientation section;
- both major participants are referred to using a distal demonstrative plus noun when there is a change of subject (always in the case of the protagonist; half the time in the case of the antagonist) and often at the start of a new paragraph;
- the antagonist is also referred to using a distal demonstrative plus noun in object position when he has not been mentioned in the previous clause;
- a descriptive noun phrase without a demonstrative is used the rest of the time for the antagonist when there is a change of subject;
- there is over-specification of participants in the peak episode;
- minor participants are referred to using incorporated pronouns only, except when they are identified in relation to, or in contrast with a major participant, in which case a descriptive noun phrase is used.

### 4.3 Participant reference in text 3 *Mbodze na Matsozi*

In this text the girls Mbodze and Matsozi together function as what I will call the primary major participants; they have been highlighted in red. They are not protagonists in that they do not consistently initiate the action. The ghost is the secondary major participant; it has been highlighted in yellow. The old woman is an episodic major participant; she has been highlighted in blue. Some unnamed people at the start of the story and the ghost’s friends near the end of the story (highlighted in green) are minor participants.

#### 4.3.1 The primary major participants

The primary major participants (Mbodze and Matsozi) are introduced in 3.1 with a locative presentational construction (see section 1.3.1). In the inciting episode (see section 1.3.2) they are first referred to using a noun plus proximal demonstrative (3.2) and subsequently referred to using incorporated pronouns (3.3–3.5).
Reference to the primary major participants through incorporated pronouns continues in paragraph 2 (3.10–3.13). In paragraph 3, the old woman enters the story; she is the subject in lines 3.14 and 3.15, and when the primary major participants become the new subject in line 3.16a, they are referred to using a distal demonstrative plus noun: *Hara asichana* (Those girls), and their names, *Mbodze na Matsozi*. The primary major participants are also referred to as *hara asichana* when they function as objects in lines 3.14b and 3.15a.

Paragraph 4 begins with a reference to the primary major participants as *Mbodze na nduguye Matsozi* (Mbodze and her sister Matsozi). This over-specification may be explained by the fact that this is the point at which the girls escape from their predicament and leave the story, and is therefore part of the peak episode. For the rest of the story references to the girls are either in object or oblique position (3.19a, 3.24b, and 3.26b), or they are referred to individually by name (3.21 and 3.22).

4.3.2 *The secondary major participant*

The secondary major participant (the ghost) is introduced abruptly in line 3.10 after the song at the end of the inciting episode. The ghost is presented as if it has already been mentioned, using the distal demonstrative *yuya* in the expression *yuya mutu ni zimu* (that person was a ghost). In the rest of this paragraph and the next, the ghost functions grammatically as an oblique, and never as the subject of a clause, and is referred to using a bare noun: *zimu* (ghost) as in 3.11b, 3.12a, 3.14c, or distal demonstrative plus noun: *rira zimu* (that ghost) in 3.13.

In the final two paragraphs before the conclusion, the primary major participants have been dismissed from the story and the ghost is the subject of almost every clause. The ghost is referred to using a bare noun: *zimu* (ghost) in lines 3.19a and 3.24a, at the start of paragraphs 5 and 6, and also in lines 3.23a and 3.26c where there is a change of subject (in line 3.26b, the ghost—referred to as *myawao* (their friend)—is the subject of a clause which is dependent on the verb *akuta* (they met) in which the subject is the other ghosts). In all other clauses but one where there is no change of subject, the ghost is referred to using an incorporated pronoun (varying between class 1, indicating human entities, and class 5, indicating supernatural or dangerous creatures).

Even though there is no change of subject or new paragraph, the ghost is referred to using a noun in line 3.21 (‘The ghost called Mbodze and she replied from the cooking stones’). This is because 3.21 is not on the main event line; together with line 3.22 it constitutes an elaboration of the events described in 3.20 (‘That day the ghost called out for those girls and it was answered as usual’). That is, the events described in 3.21 and 3.22 did not occur after those described in 3.20; instead 3.21 and 3.22 describe in more detail the events summarized in 3.20.

4.3.3 *The episodic major participant*

In paragraph 3 (3.14–3.17) there is an episodic major participant: an old woman. She is introduced formally in 3.14a as the complement of the verb *tsupa* (pass) with a locative (class 16) subject concord (this is called ‘locative inversion’):

\[
3.14a \quad \text{pha-}tsup-a \quad \text{chi-chetu} \quad \text{cha} \quad \text{kare}
\]

\[
16.\text{PST-pas-FV} \quad 7\text{-female} \quad 7\text{-ASS} \quad \text{old}
\]

‘... an old woman passed by’

The point at which the old woman first acts (3.15a) could in fact be considered a new paragraph, as it exhibits typical features such as the use of the developmental connective *phahi* (so) and reference to the old woman using a noun phrase: *chira chichetu* (that little woman)—which is only used again in 3.16b in oblique position. In all other references to the woman where there is no change of subject, an incorporated pronoun is used.
4.3.4 Minor participants

Finally, there are two groups of minor participants. The first is the group of people who sing the song at the end of paragraph 1. The second group is the ghost’s friends who appear in paragraph 6. They are always referred to as ‘his friends’ when there is a change of subject or when they function in a non-subject role; when there is no change of subject, they are referred to using incorporated pronouns. Reference to the ghost’s friends varies between class 2 (the plural of class 1, e.g. ayae andakpweda ‘his friends will come’) and class 6 (the plural of class 5, e.g. Mazimu mayawe gariphofika ‘His fellow ghosts when they arrived’).

4.3.5 Summary of text 3

In summary, in this text:

- the primary major participants are introduced with a locative presentational articulation;
- the primary major participants are referred to using a proximal demonstrative in the inciting episode;
- the primary major participants are referred to using a distal demonstrative plus noun when there is a change of subject or when they occur in a non-subject position, but usually not at the start of a new paragraph;
- in contrast, the secondary major participant is almost always referred to using the bare noun zimu when there is a change of subject, when it first occurs in a non-subject position, and at the start of new paragraphs;
- the secondary major participant is also referred to using a bare noun when it is the subject of a clause which is not on the event line, even though there is no change of subject or new paragraph at this point;
- there is over-specification of the primary major participants in the peak episode;
- minor participants are referred to using a noun phrase when there is a change of subject or when they function in a non-subject role;
- in all other cases where there is no change of subject, all major and minor participants are referred to using incorporated pronouns only.

4.4 Generalizations

Digo makes extensive use of demonstratives, typically in conjunction with a noun (phrase), but hardly any use of independent pronouns. In most clauses, an incorporated pronoun (subject concord) is the only reference to a participant (major or minor) where there is no change of subject.

Over-specification—that is, the use of a noun phrase of some kind when an incorporated pronoun alone is sufficient to identify the participant—is sometimes found at the start of a new paragraph and in the peak episode, but not invariably so.

4.4.1 Demonstratives

Throughout most of the narrative, a distal demonstrative plus noun is the usual way to refer to major participants when there is a change of subject or when a major participant appears in a non-subject position. Major participants are sometimes also referred to using a distal demonstrative plus noun at the start of a new paragraph even when there has been no change of subject, and there is one example of a distal demonstrative being used to indicate the subject of a clause that is not on the event line, even though there has been no change of subject.

In some narratives, major participants differ in the extent to which they are referred to using a distal demonstrative plus noun. In both of the texts studied here, a distal demonstrative plus noun was
used far more frequently to refer to the protagonist/primary major participant than to the antagonist/secondary major participant. In the case of Text 3, this may reflect the fact that the secondary major participant is a non-human. In Texts 1, 5 and 6 the primary major participant is a man and he is typically referred to using the distal demonstrative yuya, whereas the secondary major participant is an animal (a hyena, a crocodile, and a lion respectively) which is never or hardly ever referred to using a demonstrative (usually just the noun fisi, mamba or simba is used). In Text 2, all the major participants are human, and all are referred to using a distal demonstrative on occasion.

Other demonstratives occur, but in restricted contexts. Major participants may be referred to using a non-proximal demonstrative in the orientation section, and using a proximal demonstrative in the inciting episode. In other texts, major participants may again be referred to using non-proximal demonstratives in the denouement (see for example 2.33b and 2.34a, and 5.41a).

Minor participants are usually referred to using descriptive noun phrases rather than demonstratives.

5 Tense and aspect in foreground and background

In a narrative, events are organized chronologically. Consequently, foregrounded material consists of events that take place in chronological sequence. This sequence of events is called the event line (also known as the theme line or main line). Typically, most of the events on the event line will be actions performed intentionally by the participants in the story. Non-event material and events presented out of sequence are classified as background material in narrative. Foreground and background materials are often distinguished through the use of tense and aspect.

5.1 Tense and aspect markers in Digo

Narratives primarily relate events that happened in the past. Digo has two past tenses in main clauses: a hodiernal past tense marked by the prefix ka- for events that occurred earlier on the same day, and a general past tense marked by the prefix a- for all other past time events. In complex tense constructions (where a tense and an aspect modify a single verb) and in copula constructions (where there is no verb) the past tense auxiliary kala (identical in form to the verb meaning ‘be’ and to the conditional marker kala which is a shortened form of ichikala ‘if it be’) is used. The past tense marker in relative clauses is ri- but this will not concern us here, since we will only be concerned with tense and aspect in main clauses since tense and aspect in subordinate clauses is not directly affected by whether the clause occurs in foreground or background material. There is also a negative past tense prefix ya- and a ‘negative perfective’ suffix -ire/-ere which occur together with negative prefixes. We will not be concerned with these either, since narratives are typically concerned with events that did happen rather than with events that did not happen.

Once the time has been specified using a past tense to describe an event, subsequent events which follow sequentially may take a consecutive or sequential tense marker. For events following a general past tense, the consecutive marker chi- is used; for events following a hodiernal past tense or any other tense or aspect, the sequential marker ka- is used.

Digo also has 14 aspect markers, 5 ‘movement’ markers, and 3 ‘status’ markers which indicate what could happen or what could have happened (see chapter 5 of Nicolle 2012a, for details).

To investigate the use of tense and aspect in Digo narratives, we will look in detail at Text 6 Mchetu yesirya sima (The Woman who didn’t eat ugali) and Text 7 ‘Meeting a lion unexpectedly’ which is a factual, first person narrative.

5.2 Tense and aspect in text 6

Table 3 lists the tense and aspect markers found in main clauses throughout Text 6 Mchetu yesirya sima (The Woman who didn’t eat ugali). Where an entire line consists of speech, as in lines 6.5–6.6, this has been omitted from Table 3. Where the Background column has ‘speech’ in parenthesis, this indicates that
the last main verb listed in the Foreground column introduces direct speech. Closed conversations, which are sequences of speeches in which two participants each speak in turn, have also been omitted from the analysis, as structurally, closed conversations function as a single event rather than as a sequence of events; closed conversations are discussed in section 8 below.

Table 3: Tense and aspect in sections of Text 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Subject(s)</th>
<th>Foreground (event line)</th>
<th>Background (non-event line)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td></td>
<td>past (presentational construction plus relative clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting episode</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>(long speech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>anterior,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past, present consecutive (x2)</td>
<td>(speech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td>(speech continuing to 5 and 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episode</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past, consecutive (x2)</td>
<td>anterior, present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8a</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>anterior (x2), present (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8b</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>present (passive)</td>
<td>(speech continuing to 23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(closed conversation thru 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episode</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>lion, man</td>
<td>past, consecutive (x2), consecutive, present (x2)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>man</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>lion, man</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>present (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episode (preliminary peak episode)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>past, consecutive (x2), present</td>
<td>past anterior</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>negative anterior, <em>phana</em> (there is)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>anterior (repetition)</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past (x2)</td>
<td>(thought)</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>past</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>present</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(speech continuing thru 32)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>subjunctive, general negative</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(speech continuing thru 36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episode</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td>presentational construction <em>ka phana</em> (there was), continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38a–b</td>
<td>hare</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38c</td>
<td>hare</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>hare</td>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44a</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44b</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>past</td>
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<td>(speech continuing thru 43)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(speech)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.1 Background material in text 6

Foreground and background material are mixed in almost every episode. Background material contains a variety of tense and aspect forms, of which the anterior (perfect) is the most common; this is typically used to describe events that had already occurred prior to the start or continuation of the event line. In 6.17 and 6.20 the anterior is followed by the present/continuous; the anterior describes the first event (or events in 6.20) and the present/continuous describes an events or events which occurred afterwards, but still not on the event line.

6.17a
Ligundzu a-ka-fik-a hipho ni saa mbiri,
morning 3SG-ANT-arrive-FV 16.DEM_NP COP hour two

6.17b
hiyu mutu na=ye a-redz-a saa mbiri na dakika kumi.
1.DEM_PROX 1.person COM =3SG 3SG-come.PRES-FV hour two COM minutes ten
‘In the morning he (lion) had arrived there at eight o’clock, the man also came at ten past eight.’

In 6.38 the anterior functions as part of a tail-head linking construction:

6.38
Phahi tsungula wa-kpwedz-a a-ka-fik-a hipho wa-amb-a...
so hare 3SG.PST-come-FV 3SG-ANT-arrive-FV 16.DEM_NP 3SG.PST-say-FV
‘So the hare came and having arrived there he said...’

The same construction is found in 6.3 and 6.49. 6.3a states that the man went to the forest using the past tense, 6.3b states that ‘having arrived’ (anterior), he saw (past tense) animals. Similarly 6.49a describes people leaving using the consecutive tense, and this information is repeated in 6.49b with the anterior to indicate that ‘those people having left’ the lion died (past tense) there. (This construction is also found four times in Text, 1 in lines 1.4b, 1.21a, 1.23a, and 1.32b, but not at all in Text 2, Text 3, Text 4, Text 5 or Text 7.)

5.2.2 Foreground material in text 6

In the foreground material, past and consecutive are the most frequent tenses. The first foreground clause in each paragraph uses the past tense, but the past tense is also used at other points on the event line in most paragraphs. Past tenses are typically found after long speeches (for example in 6.3a, following the long internal monologue in 6.2b–g), after the anterior used as a linking device (described
above) in 6.3c, 6.38c and 6.49c, and with the speech verb _amba_ (say) in 6.28, 6.35, 6.38, and 6.45. The present/continuous is also fairly common: in 6.3d, 6.22b, 6.31a, 6.44b, 6.46c, and 6.48a it is used with the verb _amba_ (say) to introduce direct speech, including internal monologues. In 6.19b-c the present tense is used to describe two closely related actions that the man performed: taking the meat from the trap and carrying it to his wife.

6.19a  _Yuya mutu na=ye a-ch-edz-a_
       1.DEM-DIST 1.person COM = 3SG 3SG-CONS-come-FV

6.19b–c  _a-na-hal-a zira nyama a-na-phirik-ir-a mche-we._
       3SG-PRES-take-FV 10.DEM-DIST 10.meat 3SG-PRES-take-APPL-FV 1.wife-1.3SG.POS

‘That man also came, took the meat and took it to his wife.’

In lines 6.24d and 6.25a the present tense is used to give heightened vividness to the ‘preliminary peak’ episode, in which the man’s wife is caught in the trap and found by the lion. (Texts 1, 2 and 3 also use the present tense for foreground information occasionally, whereas Texts 4 and 5 do not use it in this way, except with the verb _amba_ and in direct speech.)

5.3  Tense and aspect in Text 7

Table 4 lists the tense and aspect markers found in main clauses throughout Text 7. Subordinate clauses (such as ‘to get ready to go and teach’ in line 7.3b) and speech (such as “Why are you not drinking tea today?” in line 7.8) are not included in this analysis. Since this is a first person narrative, 1sg in the subject column refers to the narrator.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Foreground (event line)</th>
<th>Background (non-event line)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>copula <em>ni</em> (7.1b–c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inciting episode</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>past tense</td>
<td>past tense copula <em>kala ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4, 5a</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>consecutive (x2)</td>
<td>past tense (x3) elaboration of line 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5b, 6</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>consecutive (x3)</td>
<td>persisitive aspect <em>chere</em> (still)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8, 9</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episode</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>past tense, consecutive</td>
<td>negative inceptive <em>dzangbwe</em> (not yet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td>persisitive <em>chere</em> (still)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>una</em> ‘it has’ copula <em>ni</em>, past <em>kala kuna</em> (there were with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental episode</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past (x3) iterative events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15a</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15b</td>
<td>vervets</td>
<td></td>
<td>general negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>dependent aspect <em>chi</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.1 Background material in text 7

All sections of this narrative contain some background material, and the orientation section, most of the peak, and the first part of the denouement only contain background material. A large variety of tense and aspect marking is found in the background material. In the inciting and developmental episodes these include copula constructions, past tense, persistive aspect, negative inceptive aspect, general negative and dependent aspect to describe information about ongoing situations in the past (see 7.11 below). In the peak episode past tense, past anterior, and present tense are used for flashbacks and repetitions, and in the denouement conditionals are used to express what could have happened.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peak episode</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20a–b</th>
<th>20d–e</th>
<th>21a</th>
<th>21b</th>
<th>22</th>
<th>23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg lion</td>
<td>1sg lion</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>roar</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>roar</td>
<td>lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past (x3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anterior, present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copula ni, past copula kala ni</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past copula kala ni</td>
<td>past copula kala ni</td>
<td>negative copula kana (x2)</td>
<td>past copula kala ni</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past anterior, present</td>
<td>present (x3), past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denouement</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>25a</th>
<th>25b</th>
<th>26a</th>
<th>26b–c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg lion</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>lion</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>persisitive chere</td>
<td>conditional, future continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past conditional (kala ‘if’ + past)</td>
<td>past anterior (kala ‘past’ + anterior)</td>
<td>past continuous (kala ‘past’ + cont.)</td>
<td>copula ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denouement</th>
<th>27</th>
<th>28</th>
<th>29</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>31</th>
<th>32</th>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dependent condition (x2), past past, negative perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conclusion</th>
<th>34</th>
<th>37</th>
<th>39</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg teachers</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past, consecutive</td>
<td>past, consecutive</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(speech thru 36)</td>
<td>(speech thru 38)</td>
<td>present, dependent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.11a  
Dzuwa ta-ri-dzangbwe-dung-a sawa sawa ta-ri-dzangbwe-tuluk-a sawa sawa,  
5.sun NEG-5-INCEP-pierce-FV completely NEG-5-INCEP-emerge-FV completely

7.11b  
ku-chere chimiri-miri.  
17-PERS half_light  
‘The sun was not yet shining through, it had not yet come out fully, it was still only half light.’

In the inciting episode, there are four past tense markers in a row. Sentence 7.3 presents general information and 7.4–7.5 fill in the details (the events are on the event line, but have been prefigured by
the summary in 7.3 and so are treated as an elaboration of 7.3); the remaining event line verbs in this paragraph use consecutive tense marking (see below). In the second developmental episode, there are six past tense markers and only one consecutive tense marker. This is because this episode describes events that happened repeatedly over a period of time (7.14–7.16), until the narrator emerged from the forest (7.17 with consecutive tense marking) which happens only once.

5.3.2 Foreground material in text 7

In contrast to the variety of tenses and aspects found in background material, foreground material contains only past and consecutive tense markers. The first foreground clause in each paragraph uses the past tense. (The consecutive tense in line 27 follows a dependent clause containing a past tense.) The norm is for this past tense to be followed by consecutive tense marking when events occur in sequence, as in 7.10 (see also 7.16–7.17, 7.31a, and 7.34).

7.10 Phahi ná-hal-a vitabu vyangu, n-chi-ands-a mwendo pore pore.  
so 1SG.pst-take-FV 7.books 7.1SG.POS 1SG-CONS-start-FV 3.way slowly  
‘So I took my books and slowly set out.’

The peak episode only uses the past tense to describe events on the event line. These describe a number of events that happened in very quick succession, although the description is lengthened by the use of extensive background material and repetition.

7.19a Gafula ná-sikir-a chitu chi-na-vum-a, mvumo mkpwulu sana,  
Suddenly 1SG.pst-hear-FV 7THING 7-PRES-roar-FV 3.roar 3.large very

7.19b ná-lol-a mkpwono wangu wa kushoto  
1SG.pst-look-fv 3.hand 3.1SG.POS 3.ass left

7.19c dza hivi ná-on-a dzì-nyama dzì-kulu sana.  
like this 1SG.pst-see-fv 5.animal 5.large very

‘Suddenly I heard something roaring, a very great roar, I looked to the left at that moment I saw a very large animal.’

5.4 Movement expressions

Some Digo narrative texts make use of grammatical expressions of movement, either away from the ‘deictic center’ (that is, the notional location of the narrator, which is usually the location of a major participant) using an ‘itive’ marker, or towards the deictic center using a ‘ventive’ marker. In Text 6, the ventive marker edza- occurs as a lexical verb in its own right both in direct speech (6.5, 6.54) and in the narration (6.17, 6.19, 6.25, 6.29, 6.38, 6.52) and as a modifier of another verb in the narration (6.47).

In Text 7, as well as the lexical verb phiya (go) in 7.9a, 7.16a, 7.31b–c, 7.32, and 7.38b the subjunctive itive marker ka-+-e occurs in 7.3b, 7.4a, 7.9a, 7.9b and 7.38b (note that some sentences contain both the lexical verb and the itive marker).

7.9a N-chì-amb-a “Aha n’nda-phiy-a n-ka-jìt-e kuko mbere  
1SG-CONS-say-fv no 1SG-FUT-go-fv 1SG-ITIVE-cook-sub 17.DEM_NP ahead

7.9b mana na-tak-a ni-fìk-e mapema kura kazi-ni  
for 1SG.PRES-want-FV 1SG-arrive-sub early 17.DEM_DIST work-LOC

n-ka-dzi-tayarish-e.”  
1SG-ITIVE-refl-prep-sub

I said, “No, I will go and cook (brew tea) there ahead because I want to arrive at work early to prepare myself.”
In Text 2, we find the itive marker *enda* (which occurs with a tense or aspect marker) used in 2.12c, 2.14c, 2.19b and 2.28b. These itive markers indicate changes in the location of events whilst backgrounding the actual movement from one place to another (that is, the events described by the verbs are more important than the movement which precedes them).

2.14a *A-ri-pho-on-a* hivyo, *a-pig-a* mbiru
   3PL-PST-16.REL-see-FV  8.DEM_NP  3PL.PST-hit-FV  9.horn

2.14b *a-chi-ih-a* atu osi hipo lalo-ni
   3PL-CONS-call-FV 2.people 2.all 16.DEM_NP 9.area-LOC

2.14c na *a-ch-enda-mu-endz-a* hiko weru-ni.
   COM 3PL-CONS-ITIVE-3SG-search-FV 17.DEM_NP 11.bush-LOC

‘When they saw that, they blew a horn and called all the people from that area and they went to search for him in the bush.’

5.5 Summary

There is a considerable variety of tense and aspect marking in background material, whereas in foreground material the past and consecutive tenses predominate. Typically, the first foreground clause in each paragraph uses the past tense, and subsequent clauses on the event line use the consecutive tense when these clauses describe events that follow in sequence. The past tense may be used for a number of reasons: to resume the event line after a long speech or internal monologue, after the anterior has been used used as a linking device, to mark clauses that elaborate on an event that has just been mentioned, to indicate events that are repeated over a period of time, occasionally with the verb *amba* (say) to introduce speech, and in the peak episode. In Text 6 and some other texts, some foreground clauses are marked as present/continuous with the verb *amba* (say) to introduce speech, to describe closely related events, and in the peak episode.

6 Information structure

Information structure concerns the ways in which narrators help hearers/readers to identify new information in a sentence and to combine it with information that they already have in order to arrive at a coherent interpretation. Information structure in Digo is primarily concerned with the relative order of subject, verb, object and oblique constituents in a sentence.

6.1 Fundamental concepts in information structure

A sentence typically provides information about something; that something is called the **topic**. Usually, a topic is something which has been mentioned explicitly in a previous clause, but this is not always the case. In any communication event there is always a speaker and an addressee, and so they are both available as potential topics even if they haven’t been explicitly mentioned already. A topic can also be a member of a group which has been previously mentioned, or something that is automatically associated with something or someone that has already been mentioned. For example, at the beginning of Text 6, the woman who did not eat ugali is introduced, but in line 6.2a her husband is the topic of the sentence even though he has not been previously mentioned; it is just assumed that the woman has a husband.

In a narrative, the topic of one sentence may continue to be the topic in the following sentence, in which case it is called a **continued topic**. Alternatively, the topic may change, in which case it is called a **switch topic**. It is important to know whether a topic is a continued topic or a switch topic, as this can affect where it occurs in the sentence and the way in which it is referred. Typically, a continued topic is expressed by an incorporated subject pronoun only, whereas a switch topic is expressed using a noun and/or demonstrative before the verb.
The information-bearing part of the sentence (that is, the new information about the topic) is called the focus. The focus may be expressed by a noun phrase (termed argument focus) or by a verb and (optionally) its complements, or a copula construction (both of which are termed predicate focus). In some cases, such as in the orientation section of a narrative, there is no topic and so a whole sentence may contain only new information (this is termed sentence focus).

Topic and focus can be represented in various ways within a sentence, following certain templates or generalized constructions known as sentence articulations. There are three primary sentence articulations: presentational, topic-comment, and identificational. ‘Presentational’ articulation uses sentence focus to introduce a new participant into a narrative without reference to any existing topic or presupposed proposition. ‘Topic-comment’ articulation consists of a lexical (usually nominal) topic plus predicate focus; that is, the ‘comment’ is predicate focus which occurs after the topic. ‘Identificational’ articulation uses argument focus to identify an unknown argument in a proposition; it is typically found in answer to so-called wh-questions. In Digo, it is possible to draw attention to a focused element through the use of the focus marker che, and this will be discussed in section 9.4 below.

6.2 Overview of information structure in text 5 Mutu na Mamba

To illustrate information structure in Digo, we will study the first few lines of Text 5 Mutu na Mamba (The Man and the Crocodile), noting how information structure is expressed within a continuous section of text. We will then look at the different sentence articulations found in Text 5, noting some general rules concerning how information structure is expressed.

Note that, although previously we have tended to ignore material within direct speech, information structure is relevant to all narrative material—both the narration proper and the material within direct speech. However, the distinction needs to be retained, since a topic in the narration (the ‘narrator’s topic’) may span a period of direct speech. That is, a participant which is the narrator’s topic may speak directly, and within that speech there will be other topics and focus elements, but at the end of the speech, if the same participant continues to function as a topic, he will be expressed as a continued topic and not as a switch topic, since from the narrator’s point of view, there has been no change of topic.

5.1a point of departure | sentence focus
---------------------|----------------------------------
Hipho kare,           | kpwhenda mutu na mchewe,
Long ago,             | there was a person and his wife

Participants are introduced through presentational articulation with a locative class 17 subject.

5.1b predicate focus
---------------------
achivyala mwana wao.
they bore their child.

The participants mutu na mchewe in 1a above function as the topic; since this is a single sentence, these participants are treated like a continued topic in 1b.

5.2a predicate focus
---------------------
Achirima tsulu mwenga
They farmed one termite mound

The topic has not changed and so this is a continued topic indicated by an incorporated pronoun only.

5.2b implied topic | predicate focus | (elaboration)
-------------------|----------------|---------------------
vyakuryavye         | taaovimala     | hata kala ni miaka mihau.
its food            | they did not finish it | even after three years.

The topic is left-dislocated object implied by the fact that, if people farm, they expect to produce food.
5.3a  switch topic  predicate focus
Yuya mlume  achiamba,
That man  said

The topic has changed from the food to the man; this is a switch topic which is expressed by a noun phrase before the predicate. The speech in 3b–f functions as the complement of the verb.

5.3b  situational topic  Setting  predicate focus
"Mino  rivyo nthirima tsulu  n'naphaha,
"Me  when I farmed a termite mound  I am getting

a The term ‘Setting’ is taken from Dik (1997:397) where it is defined as “the time and place coordinates defined explicitly or implicitly in the discourse.” In Dik’s earlier work, explicit Settings seem to have been included within a broader notion of Theme, defined as “a domain or universe of discourse with respect to which it is relevant to pronounce the following predication.” (Dik 1981:130) (This is in line with the way Halliday 1985:53–59 defines Theme.) Although Theme usually occurs in sentence-initial position, Dik (1981:135) notes that “in certain circumstances Theme can appear in subordinate clauses” which need not be sentence-initial, as is the case in 5.3b.

Speech participants like mino are automatically available as topics. Placing the Setting between the topic and the focus ensures the focus occurs last where it receives prominence.

5.3c–f  con.  predicate focus  (elaboration)
phahi  n'ndarima dzapapha na ko Mwamtsola,  ili nipahe vitu vinji vyanjina niguze nigule ng'ombe.
so  I will farm from here to Mwamtsola,  so that I can get many other things to sell and buy a cow."

The speaker continues to function as the topic so only an incorporated pronoun is required. The new information (focus) is in the predicate.

5.4a–c  topic  predicate focus
Yuya bwana  warima munda uchifika dzakwera, na hiku uchifika dzakwera Malindi
That man  he farmed a field reaching from Mazeras to Malindi

The narrator’s topic has not changed beyond line 3a (ignoring the intervening speech) but the topic is expressed using a noun phrase before the predicate (which is usually reserved for switch topics). This indicates a discontinuity in the discourse—in this case, a new paragraph.

5.4d  con.  predicate focus (continued topic)
ela  kagwure hata tsere mwenga.
but  he did not peel even a single maize cob.

5.5a  predicate focus
Achidziuza mwakpwe rohoni,
He asked himself in his heart

Continued topic indicated by an incorporated subject pronoun only. The speech in 5b–c is the complement of the verb.

5.5b  switch topic  predicate focus
"Pho munda  nkauhenda mkpwulu
“That field  I have made it big
The field is salient for the man (it is something he has been thinking about, and it may even be in sight) and functions as a new topic. It therefore occurs before the predicate even though grammatically it is an object (note the object pronoun *u-* on the verb).

5.5c

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con.</th>
<th>predicate focus</th>
<th>(elaboration)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>sikaphaha hata tsere mwenga,</td>
<td>kpwanini?“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>I have not got even a single maize cob,</td>
<td>but why?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, *mutu yuyu* is a continued topic (for the narrator, whose last topic was in line 5a). It occurs after the verb even though it is the subject of the clause (that is, it is ‘right-dislocated’). This indicates that there is no new paragraph, in contrast to line 4, where the topic occurs before the verb.

5.6a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con.</th>
<th>predicate focus</th>
<th>continued topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lakini</td>
<td>achinyamala</td>
<td><em>mutu yuyu,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But</td>
<td>he stayed silent</td>
<td>that person,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued topic indicated by an incorporated subject pronoun only.

5.7a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>point of departure</th>
<th>switch topic</th>
<th>predicate focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Halafu</em></td>
<td><em>hura munda</em></td>
<td><em>achuenjereza zaidi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then</td>
<td>that field</td>
<td>he increased it even more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Switch topic indicated by an object noun phrase before the predicate.

5.7b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con.</th>
<th>predicate focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ela</em></td>
<td><em>achikosa vivyo.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>he failed none the less.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued topic indicated by an incorporated subject pronoun only.

6.3 **Sentence articulations in text 5 Mutu na Mamba**

6.3.1 **Presentational articulation (sentence focus)**

New participants or other entities can be introduced into a narrative without reference to an existing topic through presentational articulation. In Digo, the entity being introduced occurs as the complement of a predicate which has a locative noun class as its grammatical subject. When the predicate is a verb, as in the introduction of the man and his wife in 5.1a, this is known as ‘locative inversion’. The newly introduced entities are now immediately available as topics and can be expressed as continued topics through an incorporated subject pronoun alone. When the predicate is a copula (here using the comitative particle *na*) as in the introduction of the crocodile in 5.11 and the introduction of the shaking rock where the god lived in 5.23, this does not make them immediately available as topics. Entities introduced using a copula construction may become topics, as in 5.12a, in which case they are expressed as switch topics using a noun phrase before the verb.

5.11

*EXCLAM 16.DEM_DIST 16.REF = COM* crocodile *3SG-PRES-3SG-say-FV*

‘However right there there was a crocodile. The crocodile said to him...’
However, entities introduced using a copula construction do not necessarily become new topics, and the previous topic may continue (as in 5.24a where the crocodile is a continued topic, despite the mention of the rock in the previous sentence).

5.23  
\[ \text{Pha} = \text{na} \quad \text{dziwe} \quad \text{ri-na-mekamek-a} \quad \text{phapho} \quad \text{ndani} \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{madzi}. \]
16.\text{REF} = \text{COM} \quad 5.\text{stone} \quad 5-\text{PRES-shake-FV} \quad 16.\text{DEM}_{NP} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{of} \quad \text{water} 

5.24a  
\[ \text{A-na-amb-a, ...} \]
3SG-PRES-say-FV
‘There was a rock which was shaking in the water. He (the crocodile) said...’

Sentence focus can also be used to introduce new events (as opposed to new participants) into a discourse without reference to a pre-existing topic; this kind of sentence focus is known as event-reporting sentence focus. There are no examples of event-reporting sentence focus in Text 5, and it is rare in the text corpus as a whole. An example is found in Text 1, line 1.4a, however. This clause describes an event in which a previously unmentioned woman has died; she only functions as a prop, and so the purpose if this clause is not to introduce the woman but simply to record the fact that she had died:

1.4a  
\[ \text{Kumbavi} \quad \text{kuku} \quad \text{kaya} \quad \text{kala} \quad \text{ku-ka-fw-a} \quad \text{m-chetu}, \]
\text{EXCLAM} \quad 17.\text{DEM}_{PROX} \quad 9.\text{home} \quad \text{PST}_{COP} \quad 17-\text{SEQ-die-FV} \quad 1\text{-woman} 
‘However, there at home a woman had died...’

Another example is found in Text 6, line 6.12b. In this clause, the topic is Mino (I) but this is not one of the arguments of the clause; the subject is mpwazangu (my wife) and the object is sima (ugali). Neither is it an oblique element; it is not possible to place mino at the end of the sentence and for it to make any sense. At this point in the conversation (between a man and a lion) the man’s wife has not been mentioned and so she cannot be referred to ‘out of the blue’ using a pre-verbal lexical subject (as this would imply that the wife is a topic, and therefore has already been mentioned). In this sentence, mino functions as an ‘external topic’ (Eaton 2010: 18) or Theme with which the wife can be linked. The clause mpwazangu karya sima (my wife does not eat ugali) exhibits event-reporting sentence focus.

6.12b  
\[ \text{Mino} \quad \text{mkpwazangu} \quad \text{ka-ry-a} \quad \text{siman} \]
1SG \quad 1\text{.wife.1.1SG}_{POS} \quad 3SG\text{.NEG-eat-FV} \quad \text{ugali} 
‘As for me, my wife does not eat ugali.’

6.3.2  Topic-comment articulation (predicate focus with a switch topic)

Most of the new information in a narrative is expressed through predicates (verbs or copulas), and so predicate focus is the most common form of focus. When there is a lexical topic this is usually the subject and it usually precedes the predicate. This can be seen in lines 5.3a, 5.4a (see section 6.2), 5.12a, 5.14a, 5.19b, 5.20, 5.22a, 5.25b, and 5.29a. When this is not the case, the subject is expressed through an incorporated subject pronoun alone (see section 6.3.3). Usually, such topics (i.e. topics which are also subjects) occur immediately before the verb, however it is possible for other material to intervene between the topic and the verb, as in 5.3b where the topic Mino (I) is followed not by the predicate n’aphaha (I was getting) but by the dependent clause riyo nchirima tsula (when I farmed a termite mound) which functions as a Setting. This indicates that the topic Mino (I) is in fact ‘left-dislocated’.

\[ \text{7 I use Theme here in the sense of Dik (1981:129–141): “A constituent with Theme function presents a domain or universe of discourse with respect to which it is relevant to pronounce the following predication.” (Dik 1981:130) For Dik (1981:141–144), the Topic is part of the Predication.} \]
The topic is not always the (logical) subject, however. This can be seen by looking for lexical items which have been preposed before the verb. In 5.2b, 5.5b, 5.7a (see section 6.2), 5.8d, 5.9e, 5.16c and 5.25e the topic is pre-posed from the object/complement column. Note that in each case the verb contains a coreferential object marker (also called ‘verb complement marker’). In 5.29d the topic *chakurya cha madzi* (food of water) has been preposed from the oblique column, and there is no coreferential object marker.

5.25e  *vino munda ná-u-hend-a mkpwulu*  
now 3.field 1SG.PST-3-make-FV 3.big  
‘now the field, I made it large...’

In each of the places where there is a lexical topic, whether this is a subject or an object, either it is a switch topic (that is, there was a different topic in the previous clause) or this is the start of a new paragraph (or there may be both a switch topic and a new paragraph, as in 5.3a). Conversely, switch topics always occur before the predicate.

In line 5.27c we find two noun phrases before the predicate: *Uwe bwana* (You sir) which is a vocative and has been placed in the subject column since the man is the subject of the verb *henda* (make), and *munda* (field) which is the object (indicated by the prefix *u-* before the verb *henda*). Both are topics; the speaker wants to make a comment about both the man and the field, namely that he made it big.

When a NP occurs before the verb, it is usually a switch topic; if a continued topic is referred to using a NP this usually occurs after the verb (see section 6.3.3 below). However, when there is some discontinuity in a text, such as the start of a new paragraph, a continued topic may occur before the verb. This can be seen in lines 5.4a and 5.41a. As well as occurring at the start of a new paragraph (the conclusion of the story), 5.41 repeats one of the events that has already been recorded, and is therefore not part of the event line.

5.41  *Ye mwanadamu kala a-ka-tsukul-w-a ni mamba*  
1.DEM.NP 1.human PST 3SG-ANT-carry-PAS-FV by crocodile  
‘The human had been carried by the crocodile...’

An example in which the discontinuity is not due to a new paragraph but to a disruption to the chronological order of the events occurs in Text 3. Line 3.20 describes the ghost calling for the girls, and because the ghost is a continued topic, it is referred to using the subject concord only. Lines 3.21 and 3.22, instead of presenting the next event, describe the same event as in line 3.20 but in more detail. Even though the ghost is a continued topic, it is referred to using a noun phrase before the verb, which is the position usually reserved for switch topics.

3.20a  *Siku Hira ra-hend-a dziva vivyo*  
9.day 9.DEM_DIST 5.PST-do-FV like 8.DEM.NP

3.20b  *na ri-chi-kal-a ri-na-ihik-ir-w-a kama kawaido.*  
COM 5-CONS-be-FV 5-CONS-answer-APPL-PAS-FV as usual

3.21  *Zimu ra-ih-a Mbozwe, a-chi-ihik-a ma-figa-ni.*  
5.ghost 5.PST-call-FV NAME 3SG-CONS-answer-FV 6.cooking_stones-LOC

3.22  *Ri-ri-pho-ih-a Matsozi, a-chi-ihik-a chitsaga-ni.*  
5.PST-16.REL-call-FV NAME 3SG-CONS-answer-FV 7.grannary-LOC

‘That day it did just like that and it was answered as usual. The ghost called Mbozwe and she replied from the cooking stones. When it called Matsozi she replied from the grain store.’
6.3.4 Identificational articulation (argument focus)

There were no examples of argument focus in the first seven sentences described in section, but argument focus does occur elsewhere in Text 5. In line 5.10b we are told that the man did not know where the god lived, and so the crocodile offered to take him on the condition that the man asked the god what food the crocodile could eat (the crocodile having become tired of a diet of water). In line 5.24b the location of the place where the god lived is revealed. In this line, it is presupposed that there is some place where the god lives, and so the focus is on the precise location, which is expressed using the variant form of the class 16 (locative) distal demonstrative pharatu (right there). This is placed at the start of the sentence (left-dislocated), but to indicate that this is not a switch topic, it is followed by a ‘cleft construction’ consisting of a copula ndipho (it is there) plus a relative clause. This construction is sometimes called ‘focus-presupposition’ sentence articulation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.24b argument focus</th>
<th>copula</th>
<th>presupposition (relative clause)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pharatu</td>
<td>ndipho</td>
<td>pharipho na ye mlungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right there</td>
<td>it is there</td>
<td>that is there with the god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Right there is where the god is’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all focus-presupposition sentences contain a relative clause, in Text 6, the fact that the forest has an owner is information that is already known; what is not yet established is who the owner is. In line 6.11a the lion states:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.11a argument focus</th>
<th>copula</th>
<th>presupposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simba</td>
<td>ndimi</td>
<td>mwenye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>it is me</td>
<td>owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I lion am the owner’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Argument focus can also be expressed by placing the focused element after the predicate, as in line 5.31a. Here, the crocodile’s food has already been established as a potential topic in sentence 5.29; what is not known at this point is what the crocodile’s food will be. Formally, 5.31a could express either predicate focus or argument focus, but the context plus the use of the copula verb kala (be) indicate that this is a case of argument focus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.31a switch topic</th>
<th>copula</th>
<th>argument focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chakuryache</td>
<td>chindakala</td>
<td>uwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His food</td>
<td>it will be</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘You will be his food.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 Summary

New entities can be introduced through presentational articulation involving one of the locative noun classes. When an entity is introduced using a verb (with locative inversion) it becomes immediately available as a topic, whereas entities introduced through copula expressions such as phana (there was) do not immediately become topics.

Elsewhere, when there is a new topic (a switch topic) this is expressed as a noun phrase before the predicate. A noun phrase may also occur before the predicate at the start of a new paragraph, even if it is not a switch topic. Continued topics are (almost) always subjects; and, unless occurring at the start of a new paragraph, are usually expressed through incorporated subject pronouns alone. When a continued topic is expressed as a noun phrase and there is no new paragraph, this noun phrase is placed after the predicate (right-dislocated).

Argument focus can be expressed in two ways. The argument which is in focus can be left dislocated and followed by a ‘cleft construction’ consisting of a copula plus a relative clause; this is known as ‘focus-
presupposition' sentence articulation. Alternatively, if the argument is an object, it can occur after the predicate; formally there is no difference between argument focus expressed in this way and predicate focus, but in predicate focus the action or event described by the predicate (a verb) is new information, whereas in argument focus only the identity of the object is new information.

7 Adverbial clauses and relative clauses

We now turn our attention to adverbial clauses, which occur either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence, ‘outside’ the main clause, and in relative clauses, which occur within another clause and modify a noun phrase. We will base this section on analyses of Text 4 Mutu wa Kani (The Stubborn Man) and Text 2 Mwiya anatiwa dibwani ni mkaza ise (Mwiya is put in a pit by his father’s wife).

7.1 Adverbial clauses

As stated above, adverbial clauses are dependent clauses which occur either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. I am excluding from this analysis clauses which function grammatically as the complement of the main verb (such as kumwambira... in 4.10b and kukata nyama in 4.10c).

In Text 4, the following dependent clauses occur:

Before the main clause
4.5a Siku iriphofika (When the day arrived)
4.6 Ariphofika (When they arrived)
4.13 Ariphomala (When he finished)
4.18b kpwa kuona ukulu wa ziya (for seeing the size of the lake)
4.23a ariphomala kunwa madzi (when they finished drinking water)
4.24a Ariphokala achere na siku mwenga afike kpwo (When they were still one day from home)

After the main clause
4.5a kuno akatsukula vyakurya vyao na madzi (whilst carrying their food and water)
4.5b mana kala anaphiya charo cha siku nyinji (for they were going on a journey of many days)
4.8c mana naye walagiza ayae akate nyama ndipho naye akate badaye (for he also instructed his companions to cut meat; then, he also would cut afterwards)
4.9 kpwa kufikiri osi taandaweza kumala nyama zosi (thinking that all of them would not be able to finish all the meat)
4.15 mana aona ziya kulu (for they saw a large lake)
4.17b ili naye anwe badaye (so that he also would drink afterwards)
4.25 ili ashuhe (so that he could pass gas)

In Text 2, the following dependent clauses occur:

Before the main clause
2.3a Kama vyokala desturi ya atu hipho kare (As was the custom of people long ago)
2.3b mutu ka achikala tajiri (if a person was rich)
2.5a Huya mchetu ariphogbwira mimba (That woman, when she became pregnant)
2.6a-b Hiye mchetu myere ariphoona (That senior wife, when she saw)
2.9a Wakati ayae kala anarya chakurya (While his companions were eating food)
2.12a Ariphofika zumare (When his turn came)
2.13 Phofika dziloni (When evening came)
2.14a Ariphoona hivyo (When they saw that)
Similar temporal points of departure involving the class 16 relative marker *pho-* occur in lines 2.16a, 2.19a, 2.23b, 2.24a, 2.25a, 2.26, 2.29a, and 2.33a.

After the main clause

2.6d-e  *kpwa hivyo achiona baha amuolage...* (therefore she thought it best to kill...)
2.27c-d  *ili ammanyise ise kala...* (in order to show his father that...)
2.28b  *kpwendaiha ayae phamwenga na mchewe* (to go and tell his companions and his wife)
2.28c  *edze alole garigo hiko dibwani ichikala ni kpweli* (so they should come and see if the things there in the pit were true)
2.29b-c  *mana asikira sauti...* (because they heard voices...)

From these lists, we see that most of the adverbial clauses which occur at the beginning of a sentence, before the independent clause, function as temporal (or spatial) points of departure. In 2.3a and 2.3b we also find clauses which express the conditions which determine the situation in the main clause.

The adverbial clauses that occur at the end of the sentence, following the independent clause, express manner/temporal overlap (4.5a), reason with *mana* ‘for’ (4.5b, 4.8c, 4.15, 2.29b), result/reason with *kpwa hivyo* ‘therefore’ (2.6d), purpose with *ili* ‘so that’ (4.17b, 4.25, 2.27c), purpose with an infinitive (2.28b) and purpose with a subjunctive verb form (2.28c).

Adverbial clauses introduced by *kpwa* followed by an infinitive verb form (starting with *ku-*) occur both before the main clause (4.18b) and after (4.9) and express reason.

### 7.2  Relative clauses

Relative clauses are dependent clauses which describe or identify a noun phrase. In Digo, relative clauses take two forms: one involving a relative marker which is prefixed to the verb and another involving the independent relative marker *amba*; both forms can modify noun phrases in subject, object and oblique positions. Details of the structure of relative clauses in Digo can be found in Nicolle (2012a) section 7.3, but here we will only be concerned with the functions of relative clauses in narrative texts.

Four functions of relative clauses can be found in these two texts: to introduce major participants or songs, to identify a participant, to describe a participant, and to summarize events as part of an identificational sentence articulation.

#### 7.2.1  Relative clauses introducing major participants and songs

Relative clauses are common when major participants are introduced. The relative clause may simply identify the participant, as in 2.1:

2.1  

2.1  

Often, however, the relative clause describes an important characteristic of the participant, as in 4.8, or it may prefigure the theme of the narrative as a whole, as in 4.1 which indicates the theme of the story, which involves a hunting trip (see also section 1.3.1):

4.8b  

4.8b  

'one who was stubborn'
4.1 **atu amba-o kala a-na-kuluphir-a windza kpwa chakurya chao**


‘people who depended on hunting for their food’

In Text 2, a relative clause is used to introduce a song (see also section 1.3.7):

2.17 **wira weny e a-ri-o-u-imb-a**


‘the actual song which he sang’

### 7.2.2 Relative clauses identifying participants

Once we leave the orientation sections of these narrative texts, the most common function of relative clauses is to identify participants. These are all restrictive relative clauses.

Line 2.4a is the first time that the name “Mwazewe” has been used, and the relative clause identifies this person as Mwiya’s father, who has already been introduced:

2.4a **mzee Mwazewe, amba-ye kala ni ise wa Mwiya**

1.elder name REL-1.REL PST COP 1a.father 1.ASS NAME

‘elder Mwaziwe, who was the father of Mwiya’

Similarly, in line 2.27b a relative clause identifies the person with whom the father can hear singing, but without naming him (since from the father’s perspective, the identity of this person is as yet unknown):

2.27b **yuya a-ri-ye-kal-a dibwa-ni**

1.DEM_DIST 3SG-PST-1.REL-be-FV 5.pit-LOC

‘the one who was in the pit’

A few lines later, a relative clause is used to identify the protagonist at a crucial point in the story, near the end of the peak episode; in the relative clause she is identified as the person who had committed the crime that has just been discovered:

2.30a **Hiye mchetu a-ri-ye-m-tiy-a yuya mwanache dibwa-ni**

1.DEM_NP 1.woman 3SG-PST-1.REL-3SG-put-FV 1.DEM_DIST 1.child 5.pit_LOC

‘That woman who had put the child in the pit’

In Text 4, a relative clause is used to identify the protagonist at the point at which he first acts independently in the story:

4.7 **yuya mutu, amba-ye kala ka-many-w-a vi-nono ni hara aya-e**

1.DEM_DIST 1.person REL-1.REL PST 3SG.NEG-know-8-good by 2.DEM_DIST 2.his_fellows PAS-FV

‘that person who was not known well by his companions’

Both texts also use relative clauses to make negative statements about impossible situations. In 4.18c the stubborn man thinks that “there is no one who can drink all the water in the lake”, and in 2.21b the elder wife denies that her son could have heard his younger brother singing in the pit:

2.21b **Ta-ku = na a-fw-a-ye a-ka-uy-a**

NEG-17 = COM 3SG-die-FV-1.REL 3SG-SEQ-return-FV

‘There is no-one who has died and has returned’
7.2.3  Relative clauses describing participants

Non-restrictive relative clauses, which describe participants, are rarer than restrictive relative clauses, which identify participants, but they do occur. In 2.2 Mwiya’s father is described using a relative clause which starts in 2.2b and continues to the end of 2.2e:

2.2b  amba-ye kala a=na ng’ombe nyinji sana...  
REL-1.REL  PST  3SG = COM 10.cows 10.many very  
‘who had very many cows...’

7.2.4  Relative clauses in identificational sentence articulation

In Text 2, two relative clauses occur in quick succession as part of identificational sentence articulations. The first occurs in 2.31b, at the end of the peak episode, where the elder wife is identified as the person who had buried Mwiya in a pit. The second relative clause in 2.32a identifies the people at the start of the following paragraph and episode (the denouement):

2.31b  iye ndi=ye a-ri-ye-hend-a mambo higa  
3SG  COP = 1.REF  3SG-PST-1.REL-do-FV  6.things 6.DEM_PROX  
‘it was her who did those things’

2.32a  Hinyo atu a-ri-o-kal-a a-k-edz-a phara  
‘Those people who had come there’

In Text 4, a relative clause occurs as part of identificational sentence articulation in the denouement where the fate of the stubborn man is summarized:

4.29  hiro ndi=ro ro-m-phah-a mutu wa kani  
5.DEM_DIST  COP = 5.REF  5.REL-3SG-get-FV  1.person 1.ASS stubbornness  
‘this is what happened to the stubborn man’

8  Reported speech

Digo narratives vary in the amount of direct and indirect speech that they contain. In our corpus, Texts 1, 5, 6 and 7 contain far more direct speech than indirect speech. In these texts, direct speech is used not only to report conversations but also to report the inner thoughts of a participant (either as ‘inner monologues’ or as participants speaking aloud to themselves). Texts 2, 3 and 4 contain hardly any direct speech. We will look in detail at Text 6 as an example of a narrative with predominantly direct speech, and Texts 2 and 3 as examples of narratives with more indirect speech.

8.1  Functions of direct and indirect speech: foreground and background

In Text 6, direct speech involving the protagonist speaking to himself is used in the inciting episode (6.2–6.6) in order to state the problem and the protagonist’s proposed solution. Elsewhere in the text, the private thoughts of the woman and the lion are also expressed using direct speech (in 6.22 and in 6.28b–d, respectively). At other times, direct speech initiates events; there is no indirect speech in this narrative.

In Text 2, direct speech (excluding songs) occurs in 2.20 and 2.21 only. Elsewhere, speech is mentioned in 2.14b (‘they called all the people from that area’), 2.16b–c (‘he heard a voice inside a pit
telling him that...’), 2.19b (‘he went and told his father that...’), 2.28b (‘to go and tell his companions and his wife’), and 2.33 (‘that child explained...’).

In Text 3, the only direct speech occurs in 3.15b, where the old woman, who is an episodic major participant, tells the girls, “Lick up my tears so that I may save you.” Indirect speech occurs in 3.16c (‘she ordered them...’) and is implied in 3.21 (‘The ghost called Mbadze and she replied from the cooking stones’) and 3.22 (‘When it called Matsozi, she replied from the grain store’). All of this speech, both direct and indirect speech, is part of the foreground material. An interesting construction is found in 3.12b: *amanya kukala sisi hundariwa* (they knew that we will be eaten). This is background material in which direct speech (we will be eaten, using the first person plural) is presented in an indirect way.

### 8.2 Speech introducers in direct speech

Unlike some other Bantu languages, Digo does not use quote markers, which are invariable particles that occur immediately before direct (and sometimes indirect) speech. Instead, speech verbs are used. We will look at internal monologues and conversations separately.

Table 5 lists the speech introducers in the three monologues in Text 6.

**Table 5: Speech introducers in monologues**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>Initial verb phrase</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Speech verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2a</td>
<td>yuya mlume</td>
<td>(that man)</td>
<td>waamba (he said – past tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4a–b</td>
<td>achidzikanya</td>
<td>yuyu bwana</td>
<td>achiamba (and said – consecutive tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.22a–b</td>
<td>Anadziusa mwakpwe rohoni</td>
<td>[woman]</td>
<td>anaamba (saying – continuous aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.28a</td>
<td>Simba</td>
<td>(lion)</td>
<td>waamba (he said – past tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30a</td>
<td>Wamaka mwakpwe ndanini</td>
<td>[man]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these examples, the speech verb *amba* (‘say’) is usually used, either after another verb (*kanya* ‘warn’ and *uza* ‘ask’), or alone. In line 6.30a *amba* is omitted, and an internal thought is introduced using the verb *maka* (wonder) alone (see also 1.35a).

Table 6 lists the speech introducers in the conversations in Text 6; conversations are separated by thick lines.

**Table 6: Speech introducers in conversations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>line</th>
<th>Interlocutors</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Speech verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>[man to whomever]</td>
<td>Yuya bwana</td>
<td><em>waiha</em> (he called – past tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>[lion to man]</td>
<td>Yuya bwana</td>
<td><em>anaamba</em> (he is told – continuous aspect, passive verb with the man as subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.10a</td>
<td>[lion to man]</td>
<td>Anamuamba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.12a</td>
<td>[man to lion]</td>
<td>Yuyu mutu</td>
<td><em>achiamba</em> (he said – consecutive tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.13a</td>
<td>[lion to man]</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Anaambwa ni hiye simba</em> (he is told by that lion – continuous aspect, passive verb, man is subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>[man to lion]</td>
<td>Anaamba</td>
<td>(He says – continuous aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.15a</td>
<td>[lion to man]</td>
<td>Anaamba</td>
<td>(he is told – continuous aspect, passive verb, man is subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.31a</td>
<td>[lion to man]</td>
<td>Simba</td>
<td><em>anaamba</em> (he says – continuous aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.35a</td>
<td>[lion to man]</td>
<td>Simba</td>
<td><em>waamba</em> (he said – past tense)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 17 out of 19 direct speeches, the speech introducer consists of the verb *amba* (say) alone. In line 6.7 the verb *iha* (call) is used and in line 6.53a the verb *uza* (ask) is used. Past and consecutive tenses and continuous aspect are used, with no apparent functional difference between them.

The text contains a number of close conversations. Closed conversations (also called ‘tight-knit conversations’) involve two (or occasionally more) speakers responding to each other in turn, without any intervening events or background narration. The longest closed conversation in Text 6 occurs between the lion and the man in lines 6.10–6.16. The lion is named in 6.9 before he speaks in 6.10–6.11, and then the man is named before he speaks in 6.12. Now that the speakers have been established, the speaker is not identified again at the start of each turn. The narrators keeps track of the one who is speaking by alternating between active and passive verb forms:

6.10 (lion) says (active verb form)
6.12 man said (active verb form)
6.13 He is told by the lion (passive verb form)
6.14 He (lion) says (active verb form)
6.15 He (man) is told (passive verb form)

### 8.3 Vocatives

When one participant starts to speak to another participant in Digo narratives, this is very often indicated by the use of a vocative—that is, an expression (often involving a pronoun) which is used to attract the hearer’s attention. Most of the conversations in Text 6 begin with the vocative pronoun *we* plus a noun identifying the addressee: 6.7 *We mchina tsakee* (You owner of the forest), 6.10, 6.31b, and 6.42b *We bwana* (You sir) and 6.44c *We simba* (You lion). In 6.7 the word *tsakee* consists of the noun *tsaka* (forest) plus the lengthened final vowel *ee* which indicates the vocative. (This lengthened final vowel can also be added to proper names when calling a person, e.g. *Omari-ee* ‘Hey Omari.’) In 6.53c *we* (you) is used without an accompanying noun near the end of the sentence. In Text 2, one of the two direct speeches begins *Uwe mwana...* (You child...) using the regular form of the second person singular pronoun *uwe*.

### 9 Emphasis

In this section, we will look at how emphasis (also called ‘emphatic prominence’) is expressed. Emphasis occurs when a narrator draws attention to part of a text, either within the narration or within direct speech (in which case, the speaker is presented as the one who wishes to draw attention to a particular item). Each language has its own ways of emphasizing items within texts; in Digo, among the most important are lexical expressions of emphasis (including exclamations, discourse markers and
ideophones), specialized demonstrative forms, the ‘emphatic’ aspect marker henda-, the focus marker che, and repetition. The primary texts used in the analysis of emphasis are Text 6 Mchetu Siyerya Sima (The Woman who wouldn’t eat Ugali) and Text 1 Mhegi wa Mihambo (The Setter of Traps).

9.1 Lexical expressions of emphasis

Exclamations are expressions of surprise. The narrator may use exclamations to draw the hearer or reader’s attention to an important item in the narrative, as in 1.4a and 1.12 where the exclamation Kumbavi is used to draw attention to important and unexpected events in the story (see also 3.10). The exclamation kumbavi can also be used to indicate something which is newsworthy to one of the participants in the story, but which is already known to the reader. That is, the narrator uses kumbavi to indicate the participant’s perspective on events. This is illustrated in 6.33b where the woman discovers that the intestines of the animals that her husband had trapped had been eaten by a lion, and not—as she had suspected—by another woman. Similarly, in 2.19c kumbavi indicates the participants’ surprise at discovering that the boy Mwiya was alive and not dead, as they had believed. (Note also 1.35a, which contains the reduced form mbavi).

A participant may use an exclamation too in direct speech to express surprise. An example is kpwani which emphasizes a question (the speaker is surprised about something) as in 6.11b and 6.30b, where kpwani is used to express the man’s surprise at finding his wife caught in his own trap, although it is part of his thoughts rather than an actual speech.

Other exclamations include mbona in 1.18d which expresses disbelief, hebu in 6.42b which is used to invite the addressee’s agreement, similar to English “Why not...?”, and ng’oo in 6.34a which expresses the man’s total rejection of the idea that he should disembowel his wife and give her intestines to the lion.

Interjections are similar to exclamations, but are not really lexical expressions. They express emotion in very general terms. Examples are O in 1.6b and Aa in 1.35a.

Discourse markers are also similar to exclamations, but are less immediately emotional. They indicate that the information which they introduce is meant to be understood as expressing the speaker’s perspective on the information which they introduce. In 1.7b and 1.18b the discourse marker amba is used in direct speech to indicate that the speaker in each case is attributing the truth of the following statement to the other person, rather than guaranteeing it himself. In 6.43b, haya is used to signal that the speaker is satisfied with what has happened so far (the woman has been released from the trap and is sitting nearby, without attempting to flee) before continuing with his instructions.

Digo also makes use of ideophones for emphasis. Ideophones normally mimic the sound of what they are describing, and are commonly used to describe the sounds of acting without care; e.g., animal sounds, breaking, falling, quickness, water, etc., either together with or replacing a verb, noun, etc. which expresses the idea that they represent. They can also express ideas such as vivid colors, completeness, finality, etc. In some Bantu languages, ideophones are introduced by quote markers, but since—as we saw in section 8—Digo does not use quote markers to introduce direct speech, unsurprisingly ideophones in Digo occur without any introductory particles. In Text 1, the ideophones tse-tse-tse, bii, and kikiri kikiri occur:

1.8d usiseme tse-tse-tse (do not report anything at all), expressing completeness.
1.10d Mdigo siye mutu bii (a Digo isn’t a person at all), expressing a total absence of a quality.
1.16a Kikiri kikiri ya madzi kuhekpwa, (Glug glug of water being drawn), expressing the sound made by water being drawn from a well or stream.

9.2 Specialized demonstrative forms

Digo has a complex system of demonstratives (for details, see Nicolle 2012a, section 3.4). Emphasis can be expressed by the use of ‘metarepresentational’ demonstratives, ending in -no (Nicolle 2007) and the variant forms of distal demonstratives, ending in -tu.
In most other Bantu languages which have demonstratives ending in -no, these indicate very close proximity to the speaker. This is not the case in Digo; instead, this demonstrative form can be used either to refer to an entity which has not been previously mentioned and which is not physically present, but which the speaker assumes the hearer can identify because it forms part of their shared knowledge, or to express the speaker’s perspective on the event or situation being described (see Nicolle 2012b). It is this second use which is most often found in narratives. Metarepresentational demonstratives usually occur in direct speech when the speaker is expressing surprise, disapproval or shock. In fact, 89% of metarepresentational demonstratives in narrative texts are found in direct speech or thought, of which more than half were questions or provided background material to questions.

In 1.18 the man’s wife is surprised to find the corpse of a woman in the place where her husband said he had trapped an antelope. The use of the discourse marker Amba plus the metarepresentational demonstrative yuno in 1.18b indicate her surprise and shock:

1.18b “Amba we u-ka-amb-a kala yuno maiti u-ka-mu-on-a na fisi...”

say 2SG 2SG-HOD-say COMP 1.DEM 1a.corpse 2SG-HOD-3SG-see-FV COM 5.hiena

“Say, you said that that corpse you saw it with a hyena...”

In his response in 1.19b, the man also uses yuno when referring to his wife, as he is equally shocked at finding a corpse where an antelope should have been. Other metarepresentational demonstratives are rino and phano in 1.22b, gano in 1.35a. Note also the form of the first person singular independent pronoun mino in 1.19c and 1.22c, which functions in a similar way to the metarepresentational demonstratives. Metarepresentational demonstratives and pronouns are also found in Text 6, for example in lines 6.31b, 6.33b and 6.56a.

In Digo there are variant demonstrative forms of proximal, non-proximal and distal demonstratives, with both long and short versions of the proximal and non-proximal forms. The long variant forms of the distal demonstratives, ending in -tu, emphasize the sameness or preciseness of the entity to which it refers. Text 1 has four of these: pharatu (right there) in 1.15b, yuyatu (that very same) in 1.17b, kuratu (there) in 1.23c, and pharatu (that exact place) in 1.24b. In Text 6, there is only Kuratu (Right there) in 6.25a (see also 3.10). Note also that in direct speech in 1.37b, a regular non-proximal demonstrative is lengthened for emphasis: miwewe hiyoo (that is my fear).

9.3 The ‘emphatic’ verbal aspect marker henda-

Among various tense, aspect and movement markers on the verb, Digo has one which is used to emphasize the action described; this is the prefix henda- which is derived from the verb henda (do). It occurs once in Text 6, in line 6.2c. Here, the man is thinking aloud to himself about the fact that his wife only eats meat, and he emphasizes the fact that this meat has to be bought by using the emphatic aspect marker:

6.2c nyama za soko-ni za ku-henda-gul-a

10.meat 10.ASS market-LOC 10.ASS INF-EMPH-buy-FV

‘meat from the market that has to be bought’

The emphatic aspect marker also occurs in Text 1 in line 1.35a, which contains an interjection Aa, an exclamation mbavi, a metarepresentational demonstrative gano, and the emphatic verbal aspect:

1.35a Wamak-a, “Aa, mbavi gano ma-fisi ga-henda-lagiz-w-a...”


‘He wondered, “Ah, really those hyenas were actually instructed...”’
9.4 The focus marker che

The focus marker che occurs before the part of a clause which expresses focus (either predicate focus or sentence focus; no examples of che preceding argument focus have been recorded). If the focus element is preceded by a topic, che intervenes between the topic and the focus, and there is a notable pause after the topic, indicative of left-dislocation of the topic. In the majority of occurrences, the topic expression is one of the independent personal pronouns, usually the metarepresentational forms of the first and second person (mino etc.). Although the focus element contains new information and is therefore inherently ‘noteworthy’, che serves to draw special attention to it. Che is typically found in direct speech.

Most of the texts in our corpus do not have any occurrences of che; Text 5 has one occurrence (5.39d) and all the others occur in Text 6. In Text 6, these cluster together in three direct speeches: 6.31, 6.53, and 6.54–6.56. Below, the final four occurrences of che have been presented so as to illustrate the relation between che and the information structure of each sentence:

6.53c  we che Ukalungani
       you FOC for what were you looking
       [Topic] [Predicate Focus]

6.54b–c Mino ... che ndona gaga maini ...
       Me FOC I thought those Livers
       [Topic] [Predicate Focus ... ]

6.55a mino che nákulunga–lunga
       me FOC I followed you
       [Topic] [Predicate Focus]

6.56a Mino che náriwa ni Wivu
       Me FOC I was eaten by jealousy
       [Topic] [Predicate Focus]

In 6.31c–e, che emphasizes the predicate within a conditional clause (indicated by kala ‘if’) and in a subordinate clause (following mana ‘for’):

6.31c–e mino kala che ni m‘-baya, che si-ku-ih-a mana che ku-many-a...
       1SG if FOC COP 1-bad FOC 1SG.NEG-2SG-call-FV for FOC 2SG.NEG-know-FV
       ‘as for me, if I had been bad I wouldn’t have called you because you didn’t know...’

9.5 Repetition

Another means of emphasizing an action is through repetition. In Text 6 this occurs twice, in 6.24 and 6.27, both times in the narration rather than in direct speech. These form part of the ‘preliminary peak’ episode, in which the woman is caught in her husband’s trap and discovered by the lion. Repetition draws attention to the way the woman secretly followed her husband into the forest (6.24) and the pivotal event of her being caught in the trap (6.27).

6.24a Yuya mchetu wa-phiy-a ku-dzi-fwitsa-fwits-a
       1.DEM-DIST 1.woman 3SG.PST-go-FV INF-REFL-hide-FV

6.24b a-chi-dzi-fwitsa-fwits-a a-chi-dzi-fwitsa-fwits-a
       3SG-CONS-REFL-hide-FV 3SG-CONS-REFL-hide-FV
       ‘That woman went hiding herself, she hid she hid...’
Appendices: Narrative texts

Text 1 *Mhegi wa Mihambo* (The Setter of Traps)

The following text was spoken on tape by Ali Madzi Nyembwe and transcribed by Rodgers Maneno. It was published in 2002 as part of Digo Language Story Book 2, *Nia Mwenga Anaphaha Uliwali*, arranged and revised by Rodgers Maneno, Joseph Mwalonya, and Juma Mwayani, and published in Nairobi by BTL.

**Paragraph 1**

1.1a  *Hipho kare, ku-a-kal-a na mutu m-mwenga*  
16. DEM_NP  long_ago  17-PST-be-FV  COM  1.person  1-one

1.1b  *kazi-ye i-chi-kal-a ni ku-heg-a mi-hambo.*  
9.work-9.3SG.POS  9-CONS-be-FV  COP  INF-set-FV  4-traps
Long ago, there was one man (and) his work was to set traps.

1.2a  *Wa-heg-a mi-hambo a-chi-heg-a mi-hambo,*  
3sg.pst-set-fv  4-traps  3sg-cons-set-fv  4-traps

1.2b  *siku z-anjina a-na-gbwir-a.*  
10.days  10.some  3sg-cont-catch-fv
He set traps and he set traps, and some days he caught (something).

**Paragraph 2**

1.3  *Siku mwenga, mutu hiyu wa-gbwir-a kulungu.*  
9.day  9.one  1.person  1.DEM_PROX  3SG.PST-catch-FV  1a.antelope
One day this person caught an antelope.

1.4a  *Kumbavi kuku kaya kala ku-ka-fw-a m-chetu,*  
EXCLAM  17.DEM_PROX  9.home  PST.COP  17-SEQ-die-FV  1-woman

1.4b  *a-chi-zik-w-a, a-ka-zik-w-a hiye m-chetu,*  
3SG-CONS-bury-PAS-FV  3SG-SEQ-bury-PAS-FV  1.DEM_NP  1-woman

1.4c  *fisi ra-kpwenda-m-fukul-a mura dibwa-ni,*  
5.hyena  5.PST-ITIVE-3SG-dig_up-FV  18.DEM_DIST  5.pit-LOC
Paragraph 3

1.4d ri-chi-m-gurut-a ku-phiy-a na = ye.
5-CONS-3SG-drag-FV INF-go-FV COM = 3SG.REF
However, there at home a woman had died, she was buried, and having been buried, that woman, a hyena went and dug her up from in the pit, and it dragged her to go with her.

1.5a Yuyu bwana ambu-ye ni m-hegi wa mi-hambo
1.DEML.PROX 1a.man REL-1.REL COP 1-setter 1.ASS 4-traps
This human said, "Neither are evil, say yours is good and also mine is good for me, the antelope, I am going with it."

1.5b na = ye a-chi-gurut-a kulungu-we,
COM = 3SG.REF 3SG-CONS-3SG-drag-FV 1a.antelope-1.3SG.POS
The hyena answered this person telling him, "Oh, your burden and mine, which is good?"

1.5c ko mbere a-ch-enda-kutan-a na fisi
17.DEML.NP ahead 3SG-CONS-TITIVE-meet-FV COM 5.hyena
This man who was a setter of traps he also dragged his antelope, and there ahead he went and met with the hyena dragging that woman.

1.5d ri-na-gurut-a yuya m-chetu.
5-CONT-drag-FV 1.DEML.DIST 1-woman
This man who was a setter of traps he also dragged his antelope, and there ahead he went and met with the hyena dragging that woman.

1.6a Fisi ra-jibu hiyu mutu ri-na-mu-amb-a,
5.hyena 5.PST-answer 1.DEML.PROX 1.person 5-CONT-3SG-say-FV
The hyena answered this person telling him, "Oh, your burden and mine, which is good?"

1.6b "O m-zigo-o na w-angu m-zuri ni u-phi?"
INTERJ 3-burden-3.2SG.POS COM 3-1SG.POS 3-good COP 3-Q

1.7a Yuyu mwanadamu wa-amb-a, "Y-osi y-osi ta-pha mu-i,
1.DEML.DIST 1.human 3SG.PST-say-FV 4-all 4-all NEG-16 3-evil
That human said, "Neither are evil, say yours is good and also mine is good for me, the antelope, I am going with it."

1.7b we ambu ku-ako ni m-zuri
2SG DM 17-2SG.POS COP 3-good

1.7c na = mi wangu ku-angu ni m-zuri,
COM = 1SG.REF 3.1SG.POS 17-1SG.POS COP 1-good

1.7d kulungu n’na-phiy-a na = ye."
1a.antelope 1SG-CONT-go-FV COM = 3SG
That human said, "Neither are evil, say yours is good and also mine is good for me, the antelope, I am going with it."

1.8a Fisi a-na-amb-a, "U-chi-fik-a kaya
5.hyena 3SG-CONT-say-FV 2SG-DEP-arrive-FV 9.home

1.8b u-si-phiy-e u-cha-mu-ambir-a m-che-o
2SG-NEG-go-SUB 2SG-DIST-3SG-tell-FV 1-wife-2SG.POS

1.8c kukala yuya m-chetu ye-zik-w-a dzana
COMP 1.DEML.DIST 1-woman 1.REL-bury-PAS-FV yesterday
1.12

n-ka-mu-on-a na fisi, u-si-sem-e tse-tse-tse.

1SG-HOD-3SG-see-FV COM 5.hyena 2SG-NEG-report badly-SUB IDEO

The hyena says, “When you arrive home don’t go and tell your wife that that woman who was buried yesterday, you have seen her with a hyena, don’t give a bad report at all.

1.9a

Hal-a kulung-o u-phyi-e vy-ako

take-FV 1a.antelope-2SG.POS 2SG-go-SUB 8-2SG.POS

1.9b

na=mi n’-na-hal-a maiti w-angu

COM=1SG 1SG-CONT-take-FV 1a.corpse 1-1SG.POS

1.9c

n’-phyi-e vy-angu ku-angu ma-pango-ni.”

1SG-go-SUB 8-1SG.POS 17-1SG.POS 6-caves-LOC

Take your antelope and go (on) your way and I will take my corpse and go (on) my way to my place in the caves.”

Paragraph 4

1.10a

Yuya mwanadamu a-ka-kal-a a-na-phyi-a vy-akpwe,

1.DEM_DIST 1.human 3SG-SEQ-be-FV 3SG-CONT-go-FV 8-3SG.POS

1.10b

ku nyuma fisi wa-m-pim-a yuya mutu,

17.DEM_PROX behind 5.hyena 3SG.PST-3SG-measure-FV 1.DEM_DIST 1.person

1.10c

a-chi-amb-a, “N'= lazima a-ka-mu-ambir-e mche-we yuya,

3SG-CONS-say-FV COP = necessity 3SG-ITIVE-3SG-tell-SUB 1.wife-1.3SG.POS 1.DEM_DIST

1.10d

mana M-digo si=ye mutu bii.”

for 1-digo NEG = 3SG.REF 1.person IDEO

That human was going (on) his way, there behind the hyena judged that person, saying, “It is inevitable (that) he will go and tell his wife that one, for a Digo isn’t a person at all.”

Paragraph 5

1.11a

Phahi yuya mutu wa-kweds-a hata kaya,

so 1.DEM_DIST 1.person 3SG.PST-come-FV until 9.home

1.11b

a-na-fik-a hiph-o kaya wa-mu-amb-a mche-we,

3SG-CONT-arrive-FV 16.DEM_NP 9.home 3SG.PST-3SG-tell-FV 1.wife-1.3SG.POS

1.11c

“We m-kaz-angu, yuya ning’anya mino n-ka-mu-on-a na fisi

2SG 1-wife-1.1SG.POS 1.DEM_DIST 9.so and so 1SG 1SG-HOD-3SG-see-FV COM 5.hyena

1.11d

a-na-gurat-w-a ku-phyi-a ko ma-pango-ni.”

3SG-CONT-drag-pas-FV INF-go-FV 17.DEM_NP 6-caves-LOC

So that person went all the way home, arriving there at home he said to his wife, “You my wife, that so-and-so, me I have seen her with a hyena being dragged towards the caves.”

1.12

Kumbavi fisi ro ri pho ndzingo kare ri-na-sikir-a.

EXCLAM 5.hyena 5.DEM_NP 5SC 16.DEM_NP 9.behind_house already 5-CONT-listen-FV

Now that hyena was already there behind the house listening.
Paragraph 6

1.15a Phahi, fisi ra-uk-a fuli ri-enda-hal-a yuya kulungu
so 5.hyena 5.pst-return-fv quickly 5-cons-itive-take-fv 1.DEM_DIST 1a.antelope

1.15b ri-chi-rich-a yuya maiti pharatu.
5-cons-leave-fv 1.DEM_DIST 1a.corpse 16.DEM_DIST VAR
So, the hyena went and took that antelope and left that corpse right there.

1.16a Kikiri kikiri ya madzi ku-hek-w-a
IDEO IDEO 9.ASS 6.water INF-draw-pas-fv

1.16b hata ku-gany-a miyo y-ao, ndipho “Haya hu-phi-e,”
until INF-share-fv 4.bowls 4-3pl.pos then okay 1pl-go-sub
Glug glug of water being drawn until sharing their bowls, then, “Okay let’s go.”

1.17a A-na-fik-a hiph o kulungu ta-ph a = na
3pl-cont-arrive-fv 16.DEM_NP 1a.antelope NEG-16 = COM

1.17b a-ri-ye=pho ni yuyatu maiti.
3sg-cop-3sg.rel = 16.ref COP 1.DEM_DIST VAR 1a.corpse
They arrive there and there is no antelope, what is there is that very same corpse.

Paragraph 7

1.18a Yuyu m-chetu ndipho a-na-us-a,
1.DEM_PROX 1.woman then 3sg-cont-ask-fv

1.18b “Amba we u-ka-amb-a kala yuno maiti u-ka-mu-on-a na fisi,
DM 2sg 2sg-hod-say-fv comp 1.DEM_MR 1a.corpse 2sg-hod-3sg-see-fv comp 5.hyena

1.18c na = we u-ka-gbwir-a kulungu,
COM = 2sg 2sg-ant-catch-fv 1a.antelope
The antelope has been taken by the hyena, but there is no word. (Lit: but lakini)

Then the woman asked, “Say, you said that that corpse you saw it with a hyena, whereas you had caught an antelope, (so) why is it that woman that is here and the antelope isn’t?”

That person wondered greatly in his heart, “What should I say to that woman of mine, and me I knew that the antelope was mine and I am he who brought it here and I placed it here at the camp, (then) I fetched my wife, but now the antelope isn’t here, the corpse which I saw with the hyena that is what has been placed here!

That person pondered greatly in his heart, “What should I say to that woman of mine, and me I knew that the antelope was mine and I am he who brought it here and I placed it here at the camp, (then) I fetched my wife, but now the antelope isn’t here, the corpse which I saw with the hyena that is what has been placed here!

The antelope has been taken by the hyena, but there is no word.” (Lit: but what can I say.)

Paragraph 8

1.18d mbona ye m-chetu ndi=ye a-ri-ye phapha

1.18e na ye kulungu ka=pha?”

1.19a Yuya mutu wa-angalal-a sana mw-akpwe roho-ni,

1.19b “Ni-mu-amb-e=dze yuno m-kaz-angu, na

1.19c nino che n’na-many-a kala kulungu ndi=ye wangu na

1.19d ndi=ye che-m-reh-a hipha n-ka-mu-ik-a hipha ndala-ni,

1.19e n-ka-lung-a m-kaz-angu, ela vino kulungu ka=pho,

1.19f ye maiti n-chi-ye-mu-on-a na fisi

1.19g ndi=ye a-chi-ye-iw-a hipha!

1.20a Yu kulungu a-ka-hal-w-a ni yuyu fisi,

1.20b lakini ta-pha=na neno.”

1.21a A-uy-a kaya na mche-we, a-ka-uy-a kaya,

1.21b yuya m-lume wa-uk-a a-ch-endo-lunga–lung-a

1.21c hura mguruto wa kulungu hata panga-ni,
Paragraph 9

1.21d a-ka-meny-a panga-ni na fisi.
3SG-SEQ-enter-FV 5.cave-LOC COM 5.hyena
He returned home with his wife, on returning home, that man left and went and followed the track of the antelope to a cave, it had entered the cave with the hyena.

1.22a Yuya mutu a-chi-amb-a,
1.DEM_DIST 1.person 3SG-CONS-say-FV

1.22b “Ri = vyo rino fisi ri-ka-meny-a panga-ni phano,
(3SG-)COP = 8.REF 5.DEM_MTR 5.hyena 5-HOD-enter-FV 5.cave-LOC 16.DEM_MTR

1.22c mino usiku n-redz-a n-ri-lats-e.”
1SG_MTR 14.night 1SG-come.CONT-FV 1SG-5-shoot-SUB
That person said, “Since that hyena has entered this cave, me tonight I am coming to shoot it.”

1.23a Wa-uy-a kaya yuya mutu, a-ka-fik-a phara kaya

1.23b wa-sagal-a ye hata saa mb-iri,
3SG.PST-stay-FV 1.DEM_NP.VAR until 10.hour 10.two

1.23c a-chi-uk-a a-chi-phyi-a kuratu panga-ni.
3SG-CONS-leave-FV 3SG-CONS-go-FV 17.DEM_DIST_VAR 5.cave-LOC
He returned home that person, he arrived there at home (and) he stayed until eight o’clock, (then) he left and went (back) there to the cave.

1.24a A-ri-pho-fik-a hipho, wa-kpwer-a dzulu ya mu-hi

1.24b ku-lol-a pharatu pha-tuluk-ir-a = pho fisi.
INF-see-FV 16.DEM_DIST.VAR 16.PST-emerge-APPL-FV = 16.REF 5.hyena
When he arrived there, he climbed up a tree to see that exact place from where the hyena would emerge.

Paragraph 9

1.25a Phahi wa-kal-a hipho hata zi-na-pig-a saa n-ne,
so 3SG.PST-be-FV 16.DEM_NP until 10-CONT-hit-FV 10.hour 10-four

1.25b ra-tuluk-a fisi, ri = na chitswa dza cha mutu,
5.PST-emerge-FV 5.hyena 5 = COM 7.head like 7.ASS 1.person

1.25c ri-na-ng’al-a kama bafuta, ri-na-amb-a,
5-CONT-shine-FV like 9.linen 5-CONT-say-FV

1.25d “Tuluk-a-ni anangu edz-e n-ku-lagiz-e-ni.”
emerge-FV-PL 2.child.2.1SG.POS come-SUB 1SG-2PL-instruct-SUB-PL
So he remained there until it was ten o’clock, a hyena emerged, it had a head like (that) of a person, it was shining like linen, it was saying, “Come out my children come (so that) I may instruct you.”
Okay go, (as for) me I am going into the house.

We, phiy-a hipho, pha=na mbuzi zi-ka-angam-ik-a,

Okay die thus), come here to the

This person, even if he flees it will be pointless, he will die come what may (lit: he will
time)

Hiyu quickly when you go and take that goat come and take this person who is here up the tree.

Upesi female, go and take the billy goat and come with it, for that wom

And you also go, there are a person and his wife they have gone to a dance, go and take

chickens (and) come (back) with them.

We, - - - - - - - -

for

You also, go to (the place of) that so-and-so, she has left her goats in the house, male and
female, go and take the billy goat and come with it, for that woman has gone to a dance.

Very quickly when you go and take that goat come and take this person who is here up the tree.

Hiyu mutu ye hata a-ka-chimbir-a n’=kazi ya bure,

This person, even if he flees it will be pointless, he will die come what may (lit: he will
die thus), come here to the cave.

Haya phiy-a-ni, mino na-menya-a nyumba-ni.”

Okay go-FV-PL 1SG 1SG.CONT-enter-FV 9.house-LOC

Okay go, (as for) me I am going into the house.”
Paragraph 10

1.32a Phahi, fisi ra-ment-a mw-akpwe panga-ni,  
so 5.hyena 5.pst-enter-fv 18-3sg.pos 5.cave-loc  
1.32b ri-ka-ment-a panga-ni fisi, ye che-lagiz-w-a  
5-seq-enter-fv 5.cave-loc 5.hyena 1.dem_np.var 3sg.ant.1.rel-instruct-pas-fv  
1.32c chila mutu a-ka-hum-w-a a-ka-phiy-a.  
each 1.person 3sg-seq-send-pas-fv 3sg-seq-go-fv  
So, the hyena entered its cave, on entering the cave, the one who had been instructed  
each person was sent and went.

1.33a Yuya bwana phara dzulu a-ka-mak-a, a-na-dzi-uz-a  
1.dem_dist 1a.man 16.dem_dist up 3sg-ant-wonder-fv 3sg-cont-refl-ask-fv  
1.33b ndipho, “Pho mino n-chi-chele-w-a phapha  
then 16.dem_np.var 1sg 1sg-dep-delay-fv 16.dem_prox  
1.33c si-nda-kpwedz-a n-ka-hal-w-a ni yuyu che-hum-w-a?”  
1sg.neg-fut-come-fv 1sg-pot-take-pas-fv cop 1.dem_prox.var 3sg.ant.1rel-send-pas-fv  
That man up there in the tree was amazed, then he was asking himself, “Then (as for) me if I  
delay here will I not come and be taken by this one who was sent?”  
1.34a Wa-tserer-a, a-chi-gbwar-a na vuwe-ni  
3sg.pst-descend-fv 3sg-cons-seize-fv com 9.savanna-loc  
1.34b a-si-on-an-e na yuya a-chi-ye-hum-w-a hata kaya.  
3sg.neg-see-recip-sub com 1.dem_dist 3sg-ant-1.rel-send-pas-fv until 9.home  
He descended, (and) he went through (lit caught with) the savanna so that he would not be  
seen by that one who had been sent, until (he reached) home.  
1.35a Wa-mak-a, “Aa, mbavi gano ma-fisi ga-henda-lagiz-w-a  
3sg.pst-wonder-fv interj exclam 6.dem_mr 6-hyenas 6.pst-emph-instruct-pas-fv  
1.35b ga-chi-kal-a ga-na-phiy-a ga-ka-tsum-e!  
6-cons-be-fv 6-cont-go-fv 6-tive-gather-sub  
He wondered, “Ah, really those hyenas were actually instructed (and) they were  
going to gather!

1.36a Si-many-ire mino, na n-ka-amb-w-a hata n-ka-chimbir-a  
1sg.neg-know-pfv 1sg com 1sg-hod-say-pas-fv until 1sg-pot-flee-fv  
1.36b n’nda-dzi-yug-a bure, mino n’nda-fw-a  
1sg-fut-refl-disturb-fv pointlessly 1sg 1sg-fut-die-fv  
1.36c edz-e n’hal-w-e ni fisi vivyo.  
come-sub 1sg-take-pas-sub cop 5.hyena 8.dem_np.var  
(As for) me I didn’t know, and I was told that even if I fled I would be putting myself  
out for nothing, me I would die (and) come (and) be taken by the hyena thus.
Paragraph 11
1.38a Siku ya n-ne ya tsano, yuya mutu wa-lum-w-a n’= chitswa,
1.38b a-chi-fw-a na a-ch-edza-hal-w-a ni ma-fisi
3SG-CONS-die-FV COM 3SG-CONS-VENT-take-PAS-FV COP 6-hyenas
1.38c a-ch-enda-beben-w-a ko ma-tsaka-ni.
3SG-CONS-TIVE-crunch-PAS-FV 17.DEM_NP.VAR 6-forest-LOC
On the fourth or fifth day, that person got a headache, (then) he died and came
and was taken by hyenas (and) he was crunched up there in the forest.

Paragraph 12
1.39 Hadisi na ngano i-ka-sir-a na hipho.
The story and fable ends here.

Text 2 Mwiya Anatiwa Dibwani ni Mkaza Ise (Mwiya is put in a pit by his father’s wife)

The following text was spoken on tape by Oda Zani and transcribed by Rodgers Maneno. It has not
previously been published.

Paragraph 1
2.1 Zamani za kare, ku-a-kal-a na mvulana m-mwenga ye-ih-w-a Mwiya.
Long_ago 17-PST-be-FV COM 1.young_man 1-one 1.REL.PST-call-PAS-FV NAME
Long ago, there was one boy who was called Mwiya.

2.2a Mwiya wa-vy-ah-w-a ni ise takiri
NAME 3SG.PST-born-PAS-FV COM 1a.father wealthy

2.2b na amba-ye kala a=na ng’ombe nyinji sana,
COM REL-1.REL PST 2SG = COM 10.cows 10.many DEG

2.2c na kala a-chi-rim-a ku-akpwe mi-nda-ni
COM PST 3SG-DEP-farm-FV 17-3SG.POS 4-field-LOC

2.2d na a-chi-tseng-a vyakurya vi-nji, matsere, muhama
PST 3SG-IMPFV-harvest-FV 8.food 8-many 6.maize 3.millet

2.2e ngano, mphunga na vyakurya vy-anjina vi-nji.
9.wheat 3.rice COM 8.food 8-others 8-many
Mwiya was born to a wealthy father, who had very many cows, and who when he farmed
in his fields used to harvest a lot of food, maize, millet, wheat, rice and lots of other food.
Paragraph 2

2.4a Phahi mzee Mwazewe,amba-ye kala ni ise wa Mwiya,
so 1.e elder NAME REL-1.REL PST COP 1a.father 1.ASS NAME

2.4b na=ye piya wa-lól-a m-chetu wa phiri.
COM=3SG also 3SG.PST-marry-FV 1-woman 2.ASS second
So elder Mwaziwe, who was the father of Mwiya, he also married a second wife.

2.5a Huya m-chetu a-ri-pho-gbwir-a mimba,
1.DEM_DIST.VAR 1-woman 3SG-PST-16.REL-catch-FV 9.womb

2.5b wa-vyal-a mwana wa chi-lume,a-chi-mu-ih-a Mwiya.
3SG.PST-bear-fv 1.child 1.ASS 7-male 3SG-CON-3SG-call-FV NAME
That woman, when she became pregnant, she gave birth to a son and she called him Mwiya.

2.6a Hiye m-chetu m-vyere a-ri-pho-on-a m-chetu mya-we
1.DEM_NP 1-woman 1-elder 3SG-PST-16.REL-see-FV 1-woman 1.fellow-1.3SG.POS

2.6b na=ye a-ka-vyal-a mwana wa chi-lume,
COM=3SG.REF 3SG.PST-bear-FV 1.child 1.ASS 7-male

2.6c wa-many-a hira mali i-nda-gany-w-a,
3SG.PST-know-FV 9.DEM_DIST 9.wealth 9-FUT-divide-PAS-FV

2.6d kpwa hivyo a-chi-on-a baha a-mu-olag-e yuya m-chetu m-dide
therefore 3SG-CON-see-FV better 3SG-3SG-kill-FV 1.DEM_DIST 1-woman 1-younger

2.6e phamwenga na hiye mwana-we na utsai.
together COM 1.DEM_NP 1.child-1.3SG.POS COM 14.witchcraft
That senior wife, when she saw that he co-wife had also given birth to a son, she
realized that the inheritance would be divided, therefore she thought I best to kill that
junior wife together with her son by witchcraft.

Paragraph 3

2.7a Juma na chi-siku yuya m-chetu m-dide
9.week COM 7-day 1.DEM_DIST 1-woman 1-younger

2.7b wa-fw-a gafula na u-kongo m-baya sana.
3SG.PST-die-FV suddenly COM 14-illness 14-bad DEG
After a week and a bit that junior wife died suddenly from a very bad illness.
2.8a Yuya m-chetu m-vyere kala a-chi-jit-a chakurya
1.DEM_DIST 1.woman 1-elder PST 3SG-IMPF-cook-FV 7.food

2.8b a-na-mu-ph-a mwana-we bahi,
3SG-CONT-3SG-give-FV 1.child-1.3SG.POS only

2.8c na yuya mwana wa ku-fw-erer-w-a,
COM 1.DEM_DIST 1.child 1.ASS INF-die-APPL-PAS-FV

2.8d kala a-chi-m-tsuhp-ir-a ma-kanda ga palawanda.
PST 3SG-IMPFV-throw-APPL-FV 6-skins 6.ASS 10.vegetable
That senior wife used to cook food giving to her own child only, and that child of the deceased, she used to throw him palawanda skins.

2.9a Wakati aya-e kala a-na-ry-a chakurya
14.time 2.fellows-2.3SG.POS PST 3SG-CONT-eat-FV 7.food

2.9b yuya mwana m-gayi kala a-chi-imb-a wira huno:
While his companions were eating food that poor child used to sing this song:

2.10a Palawanda ndi=zo m-chi-zo-ry-a, palawanda.
10.vegetables COP=10.REF 2PL-ANT-10.REL-EAT-FV 10.vegetables

2.10b Ku-tsats-a ma-kanda m-ryango-ni.
INF-collect-FV 6-skins 3-door-LOC

2.10c Mayo dzana wa-olag-w-a.
1a.mother yesterday 3SG.PST-kill-PAS-FV
“Palawanda is what you have eaten, palawanda. Collecting the skins at the door. My mother was killed a short while ago.”

Paragraph 4

2.11a Yuya mwana kala nku-hen-er-an-a ma-zuma
1.DEM_DIST 1.child PST HAB-do-APPL-RECIP-FV 6-turns

2.11b ga ku-ris-a mbuzi na ng’ombe z-a0
6.ASS INF-graze-FV 10.goats COM 10.cows 10-10.3PL.POS

2.11c na ndugu-ye Mwiya m-vyere.
COM 1a.brother-1.3SG.POS NAME 1-elder
That child used to take turns grazing their goats and cows with his brother, Mwiya senior.

2.12a I-ri-pho-fik-a zuma-re,
9-PST-16.REL-arrive-FV 5.turn-5.3SG.POS

2.12b yuya nine m-vyere wa-m-lung-a hiko weru-ni
1.DEM-DIST 1a.mother 1-elder 3SG.PST-3SG-follow-FV 17.DEM_NP 11.bush-LOC
2.12c a-ch-enda-mu-olag-a chiwanga ndani ya dibwa.
3SG-CONS-ITIVE-3SG-kill-FV secretly inside 9.ASS 5.pit
When his turn came, that senior mother followed him into the bush and went and killed him secretly in a pit.

2.13 (1-ri-)Pho-fik-a dziloni, mbuzi na ng’ombe za-uy-a macheye.
When evening came, the goats and cows returned on their own.

2.14a A-ri-pho-on-a hivyo, a-pig-a mbiru
3PL-PST-16.REL-see-FV 8.DEM_NP 3PL.PST-hit-FV 9.horn

2.14b a-chi-ih-a atu osi hipho lalo-ni
3PL-CONS-call-FV 2.people 2.all 16.DEM_NP 9.area-LOC

2.14c na a-ch-enda-mu-endz-a hiko weru-ni.
COM 3PL-CONS-ITIVE-3SG-search-FV 17.DEM_NP 11.bush-LOC
When they saw that, they blew a horn and called all the people from that area and they went to search for him in the bush.

2.15 Lakini Mwiya, ta-a-mu-on-ere mwisho-we a-chi-us-a hanga.
but NAME NEG-3PL-3SG-see-PFV 3.end-3.3SG.POS 3PL-CONS-remove-FV 9.funeral
But Mwiya, they didn’t find him, and finally they held a funeral.

**Paragraph 5**

2.16a Siki mwenga yuya Mwiya m-vyere a-ri-pho-kal-a hiko marisa-ni,
9.day 1.one 1.DEM_DIST NAME 1-elder 3SG-PST-16.REL-be-FV 17.DEM_NP 6.grazing-LOC

2.16b wa-sikir-a sauti ndani ya dibwa ku-m-many-is-a
3SG-PST-hear-FV 9.voice inside 9.ASS 5.pit INF-3SG-know-CAUS-FV

2.16c kukala ndugu-ye Mwiya m-dide a-chere m-zima.
COMP 1a.brother-1.3SG.POS NAME 1-younger 3SG-PERS 1-alive
One day, when Mwiya senior was at the grazing place, he heard a voice inside a pit telling him that his brother Mwiya junior was still alive.

2.17 Wira w-enye a-ri-o-u-imb-a kala ni huno wa ku-sononek-a:
The actual song which he sang was this sorrowful one:

2.18a Mwiya, Mwiya, bombo Mwiya.
NAME NAME EXCLAM NAME

2.18b Yuno mayo ndi=ye mu-i bombo Mwiya.
1.DEM_MR 1a.mother COP = 1.REF 1-evil EXCLAM NAME
“Mwiya, Mwiya, bombo Mwiya. Your mother is evil bombo Mwiya.”

**Paragraph 6**

2.19a Yuya Mwiya m-vyere a-ri-pho-sikir-a hivyo
1.DEM_DIST NAME 1-elder 3SG-PST-16.REL-hear-FV 8.DEM_NP
2.19b wa-kpwenda-mu-ambir-a ise kukala
3SG.PST-TIVE-3SG-tell-FV 1a.father COMP

2.19c kumbavi Mwiya ka-fwere ni m-zima.
EXCLAM NAME 3SG.NEG-die-PFV COP 1-alive
When Mwiya senior heard this he went and told his father that incredibly Mwiya had not died (but) was alive.

2.20 N-ka-m-sikir-a a-na-imb-a dibwa-ni ko marisa-ni.
1SG-HOD-3SG-hear-FV 3SG-CONT-sing-FV 5.pit-LOC 17.DEM_NP.VAR 6.grazing-LOC
“I heard him singing in a pit there at the grazing place.”

2.21a Nine a-chi-amb-a, “Uwe mwana u-na-ang-a tsona u vyoni!
1a.mother 3SG-CONS-say-FV 2SG child 2SG-CONT-babble-FV add 2SG abnormal

2.21b Ta-ku = na a-fw-a-ye a-ka-uy-a, wala a-ka-sikir-w-a a-na-imb-a,
NEG-17 = COM 3SG-die-FV-1.REL 3SG-SEQ-return-FV nor 3SG-SEQ-hear-PAS-FV 3SG-CONT-sing-FV

2.21c phahi koma dza koma.
so madness like madness
His mother said, “You child are talking nonsense, and you are abnormal! There is no-one who has died and has returned (to life), nor has been heard singing, that is madness total madness.”

2.22a Yuya mwana na ise-ngbwa a-chi-nyamal-a
1.DEM_DIST 1.child COM 1a.father-POS 3PL-CONS-keep_silent-FV

2.22b wala ta-ya-gomb-a chitu.
nor NEG-3PL-PST-speak-FV 7.thing
That child and his father kept quiet, they didn’t say a word.

Paragraph 7

2.23a Ligundzu ra phiri, yuya Mwiya a-ri-pho-kal-a a-na-phiy-a
5.morning 5.ASS second 1.DEM_DIST NAME 3SG-PST-16.REL-be-FV 3SG-CONT-go-FV

2.23b marisa-ni, ise wa-m-lunga-ung-a chisiri.
6.grazing-LOC 1a.father 3SG.PST-3SG-follow-FV secretly
The following morning, when that Mwiya was going to the grazing place, his father followed him secretly.

2.24a Chisha a-ri-pho-kal-a a kure chi-dide na yuya mwana-we,
then 3SG-PST-16.REL-be-FV 3SG far 7-little COM 1.DEM_DIST 1.child-1.3SG.POS

2.24b wa-sikir-a sauti za attu a-iri a-na-imb-a ma-zuma,
3SG.PST-hear-FV 10.voices 10.ASS 2.people 2-two 3PL-CONT-sing-FV 6-turns

2.24c m-mwenga a dibwa-ni na w-anji na a kondze.
1-one 3SG 5.pit-LOC COM 1-other 3SG outside
Then when he was a little way from his child, he heard the voices of two people singing in turn, one in the pit and the other outside it.
Paragraph 8

2.25a  
\text{Ise-ngbwa a-ri-pho-sikir-a hivyo,}  
1.a.father-POS 3SG-PST-16.REL-hear-FV 8.DEM.NP

2.25b  
\text{wa-phiy-a mairo mpaka phara pho-kal-a pha-imire mwana-we.}  
When his father heard this, he ran to where his son was standing.

2.26  
\text{A-ri-pho-fik-a hipo, yuya mwana wa-zidi ku-imb-a.}  
3SG-PST-16.REL-arrive-FV 16.DEM.NP 1.DEM_DIST 1.child 3SG.PST-increase INF-sing-FV
When he reached there, that child sang even more.

2.27a  
\text{Kala a-na-imb-a ma-zuma,}  
PST 3SG-CONT-sing-FV 6-turns

2.27b  
\text{ku-phokes-an-a na yuya a-ri-ye-kal-a dibwa-ni,}  
INF-pay-RECIP-FV COM 1.DEM_DIST 3SG-PST-1.REL-be-FV 5.pit-LOC
He was singing in turns, exchanging with the one who was in the pit, in order to show his father that what he said the day before was true.

2.27c  
\text{ili a-m-many-is-e kala gara a-ri-go-gomb-a dzana}  
so 3SG-3SG-know-CAUS-SUB COMP 6.DEM_DIST 3SG-PST-6.REL-speak-FV yesterday

2.27d  
\text{ni ga kpwei.}  
COP 6.ASS true (Class 6 gara... refers to implicit maneno ‘words’.)
He was singing in turns, exchanging with the one who was in the pit, in order to show his father that what he said the day before was true.

2.28a  
\text{Na=ye yuya mzee wa-katik-a mairo kaya}  
COM=1.REF 1.DEM_DIST 1.elder 3SG.PST-cut-FV fast 5.home

2.28b  
\text{ku-enda-ih-a aya-e phamwenga na mche-we,}  
INF-ITIVE-call-FV 2.fellows-2.3SG.POS together COM 1.wife-1.3SG.POS

2.28c  
\text{edze a-lol-e ga-ri=go hiko dibwa-ni i-chi-kal-a ni kpwei.}  
come-SUB 3PL-see-SUB 6-COP = 6.REF 17.DEM.NP 5.pit-LOC 9.DEP-be-FV COP true
And that old man ran quickly home to go and tell his companions and his wife, so they should come and see if the things (happening) there in the pit were true.

Paragraph 9

2.29a  
\text{Hinyo atu a-ri-pho-fik-a hipo, a-tezek-a sana}  
2.DEM.NP 2.people 3PL-PST-16.REL-arrive-FV 16.DEM.NP 3PL.PST-wonder-FV DEG

2.29b  
\text{mana a-sikir-a sauti za atu a-iri,}  
for 3PL.PST-hear-FV 10.voices 10.ASS 2.people 2-two

2.29c  
\text{m-mwenga a kondze na w-anjina a dibwa-ni.}  
1-one 3SG outside COM 1-other 3SG 5.pit-LOC
When those people arrived there, they were astonished because they heard the voices of two people, one outside and the other in the pit.
Paragraph 10

2.30a Hiye m-chetu a-ri-ye-m-tiy-a yuya mwanache dibwa-ni,
1.DEM_NP 1.woman 3SG-PST-1.REL-3SG-put_in-FV 1.DEM_DIST 1.child 5.pit-LOC

2.30b wa-gbwir-w-a ni mchecheta a-chi-gbw-a.
3SG.PST-seize-PAS-FV COP 3.panic 3SG-CONS-fall-FV
That woman who had put the child in the pit, she was seized by panic and fell down.

2.31a Ndipho atu a-chi-many-a kukala
then 2.people 3PL-CONS-know-FV COMP

2.31b iye ndi=ye a-ri-ye-hend-a mambo higo.
3SG COP = 1.REF 3SG-PST-1.REL-do-FV 6.things 6.DEM_NP
Then people knew that it was her who did those things.

Paragraph 11

2.32a Hinyo atu a-ri-o-kal-a a-k-edz-a phara

2.32b a-m-fukul-a yuya mwanache mura dibwa-ni
3PL.PST-3SG-unearth-FV 1.DEM_DIST 1.child 18.DEM_DIST 5.pit-LOC

2.32c na a-chi-m-tuluz-a m-zima a-chi-phiy-a na=ye kaya.
COM 3PL-CONS-3SG-remove-FV 1.alive 3PL-CONS-go-FV COM = 1.REF 9.home
Those people who had come there, they unearthed the child from inside the pit and got him out alive and took him home with them.

2.33a Atu a-ri-pho-fik-a kaya, yuya mwanache wa-elez-a

2.33b vira a-ri-vyo-ti-w-a mura dibwa-ni

2.33c ni hiye nine m-vyere.
COP 1.DEM_NP 1a.mother 1-senior
When the people arrived home, that child explained how he was put into the pit by that senior wife (lit: his senior mother).

2.34a Phahi hiye m-chetu adabu-ye wa-zol-w-a phara
so 1.DEM_NP 1.woman 9.punishment-9.3SG.POS 3SG.PST-chase-PAS-FV 16.DEM_DIST

2.34b kaya, na yuya mzee a-chi-lól-a m-chetu w-anjina
9.home COM 1.DEM_DIST 1.elder 3SG-CONS-marry-FV 1.woman 1-other

2.34c a-chi-sagal-a na ana-e osi vinono.
3PL-CONS-stay-FV COP 2.children-2.3SG.POS 2.all 8.good
So that woman her punishment, she was chased away from her home, and that old man married another woman and they lived happily with both of his children.
Paragraph 12
2.35 Hadisi na ngano i-chi-sir-a na hipo.
Paragraph 1
3.1 Hipho kare kpwa-kal-a na asichana a-wiri M bodze na Mat sozi.
long_ago 15.PST-be-FV COM 2.girls 2-two NAME COM NAME
Paragraph 12
3.3 Wakati a-na-nyendek-a Mat sozi watsola chi-dziwe-ngbwa a-chi-chi-tsuh-p-a.
14.time 2-cont-walk-FV name 3sg.pst-pick_up-fv 7-5.stone-pos 3sg-cons-7-throw-fv
Paragraph 1
3.4a A-chi-phiy-a ko phiy-a = ko kata na-uy-a phatu pharatu
Paragraph 1
3.4bamba-pho pha-tso-l-w-a chi-dziwe pha-ka-gbwir-an-a na mlungu.
REL-16.REL 16.PST-pick_up-PAS-FV 7-5.stone 16-ANT-seize-RECIP-FV COM 4.heaven
Paragraph 1
3.5a Pha-gbwir-an-a = pho na mlungu
Paragraph 1
3.5b a-chi-kal-a ta-a = na njira ya ku-tsuh-ir-a
Paragraph 1
3.5c na pha-chi-kal-a pha = na atu a-nji
COM 16-CONS-be-FV 16 = COM 2.people 2-many
Paragraph 1
3.5damba-o kala a-na-tak-a ku-tsuh-a piya.
REL-2.REL PST 3PL-CONT-want-FV INF-pass-FV also
Paragraph 1
3.6a Sambi a-chi-andz-a ku-imb-a kpwa a-pat-e ku-tsuh-a,
now 3PL-CONS-start-FV INF-sing-FV 15.ASS 3PL-get-SUB INF-pass-FV
3.6b  ela a-imb-a  m-mwenga m-mwenga.
    but 3PL.pst-sing-FV 1-one 1-one
Now they started to sing so they could get past and they sang one after the other.

3.7  Wira  u-chi-amb-a:
    14.song 14-cons-say-FV
The song said:

3.8  Si-mi dzi-ku-tsuph-a ka-dziwe.  (x2)
    NEG-1SG HOD-2SG-throw-FV 12-5.stone
It is not me who threw the small stone.

3.9a  U-ka-tsuph-iw-a ni M bodze ka-dziwe, na ndugu-ye Matsozi ka-dziwe,
    2SG-seq-throw-PAS-FV COP NAME 12-5.stone COM 9.sibling-9.3SG.POS NAME 12-5.stone
3.9b  ka-dziwe ng’al-a ka-dziwe, ng’a-a iibu.
    12-5.stone shine-FV 12-5.stone shine-FV brightly
You were thrown by M bodze small stone, with her sister Matsozi small stone, small stone
shine small stone, shine brightly.

**Paragraph 2**

3.10  X-sal-a=pho  pharatu  kumbavi yuya  mutu  ni  zimu.
    3PL.remain-FV =16.REF 16.DEM_DIST EXCLAM 1.DEM_DIST 1.person COP 5.ghost
While they stayed there suddenly appeared this person, a ghost (lit. surprisingly that person
was a ghost).

3.11a  X-na-l-a  pharatu
    3PL.CONT-come_from-FV 16.DEM_DIST
3.11b  X-chi-tsukul-w-a ni zimu  hata  kpwa-kpwe  nyumba-ni.
    3PL.CONS-carry-PAS-FV COP 5.ghost until 17-17.3SG.POS 9.house-LOC
From that place they were carried by the ghost to his house.

3.12a  X-ri-pho-fik-a  hiko  nyumba-ni  kpwa  zimu
    3PL.pst-16.REL-arrive-FV 17.DEM_NP 9.house-LOC 17.ASS 5.ghost
When they reached the ghost’s house they knew that they [lit. ‘we’]
would be eaten.

3.12b  X-many-a  kukala  sis  ku-nda-ri-w-a.
    3PL.pst-know-FV COMP 1PL 1PL-FUT-eat-PAS-FV
When they reached the ghost’s house they knew that they [lit. ‘we’]
would be eaten.

3.13a  X-fikiri-y-a  ra  ku-hend-a
    3PL.pst-think.APL-FV 5.ASS INF-do-FV
3.13b  ili  X-sedze  X-ka-ri-w-a ni rira  zimu.
    so that 3PL.lest 3PL.pot-eat-PAS-FV COP 5.DEM_DIST 5.ghost
They thought about what to do so that they would not be eaten by that ghost.
Paragraph 3


3.14b  *bada* ya *ku*-on-a *hara* asichana a-ir *wana*-on-er-a *mbazi* after 9.ASS INF-3PL-see-FV 2.DEM_dist 2.girls 2-two 3SG.PST-3PL-see-APPL-FV 9.mercy

3.14c  *mana* wa-many-a *kukala* a-nda-ri-w-a *ni* zimu. for 3SG.PST-know-FV COMP 3PL-FUT-eat-PAS-FV COP 5.ghost

While they were wishing (not to be eaten) there passed by a little old woman, and after she saw those two girls she was sorry for them because she knew that they would be eaten by the ghost.

3.15a  *Phahi* chira chichetu cha-th-a *hara* asichana g-chi-a-amb-ir-a, so 7.DEM_dist 7-female 7.PST-call-FV 2.DEM_dist 2.girls 3SG-CONS-3PL-say-APPL-FV

3.15b  “N’lamba-ni-lamba-ri mahongo gangu ili ni-ku-tivy-e-ni.”

So that little woman called those girls, and told them, “Lick up my tears so that I may save you.”

3.16a  *Hara* asichana, *Mbobze* na *Matsozi* a-m-lamb-a-lamb-a 2.DEM_dist 2.girls NAME COM 3PL-PST-3SG-lick-FV-lick-FV

3.16b  na *bada* ya *ku*-mal-a -hew-a *hirisi* ni chira chichetu, COM after 9.ASS inf-finish-FV 3PL.PST-be-given-FV 9.charm by 7.DEM_dist 7-female


Those girls, Mbobze and Matsozi licked her and after they finished they were given a charm by that little woman, and she ordered them they excrete everywhere inside the house.

3.17  *Bada* ya *ku*-hend-a hivyo a-chi-yay-a. after 9.ASS INF-do-FV 8.DEM_NT 3SG-CONS-disappear-FV

After doing that she disappeared.

Paragraph 4

3.18a  *Phahi* Mbobze na ndugu-ye *Matsozi* a-injir-a so NAME COM 9.sibling-9.3SG.POS NAME 3PL.PST-enter-FV


3.18c  mi-vunguriri-ni, ma-figa-ni, nyungu za madzi, vitsaga-ni, 4-under_beds-LOC 6-cooking_stones-LOC 10.pots 10.ASS 6.water 8.granaries-LOC

3.18c  na *badye* a-chi-chimir-a a-chi-phiy-a vyao. COM afterwards 3PL-PST-flee-FV 3PL-PST-go-FV 8.3PL.POS

So Mbobze and her sister Matsozi went into that house and they excreted everywhere, under the beds, at the cooking stones, in the water pots, in the grain stores and afterwards they ran away and went on their way.
Paragraph 5

3.19a Zimu kala ri = na tabiya ya ku-ih-a hara asichana
5.ghost PST 5 = COM 9.habit 9.ASS INF-call-FV 2.DEM_DIST 2.girls

3.19b wakati kala ri-chi-fik-a phephi na hira nyumba-ye.
The ghost had a habit of calling out for those girls when it was coming close to its house.

3.20a Siku hira ra-hend-a dza vivyo
9.day 9.DEM_DIST 5.PST-do-FV like 8.DEM_NP

3.20b na ri-chi-kal-a ri-na-ihik-ir-w-a kama kawaida.
COM 5-CONS-be-FV 5-CONS-answer-APPL-PAS-FV as usual
That day it did just like that and it was answered as usual.

3.21 Zimu ra-ih-a Mboodzi a-chi-ihik-a ma-figa-ni.
5.ghost 5.PST-call-FV NAME 3SG-CONS-answer-FV 6-cooking_stones-LOC
The ghost called Mboodzi and she replied from the cooking stones.

3.22 Ri-ri-pho-ih-a Matsozi a-chi-ihik-a chitsaga-ni.
5-PST-16.REL-call-FV NAME 3SG-CONS-answer-FV 7.grannary-LOC
When it called Matsozi she replied from the grain store.

3.23a Zimu ra-tezek-a mana ra-kut-a ri-na-ihik-ir-w-a
5.ghost 5.PST-be-astonished-FV for 5.PST-meet-FV 5-CONT-answer-APPL-PAS-FV

3.23b ni ma-shonde ga mavi.
COP 6-piles 6.ASS 6.excrement
The ghost was astonished because it found that it had been answered by piles of faeces.

Paragraph 6

3.24a Siku hiyo zimu kala ri-ka-lik-a aya-e
9.day 9.DEM_NP 5.ghost PST 5-ANT-invite-FV 2.fellows-2.3SG.POS

3.24b ili l-edz-e l-ry-e hara asichana.
so that 3PL-come-SUB 3PL-eat-SUB 2.DEM_DIST 2.girls
That day the ghost had invited its friends to come and eat those girls.

3.25a A-ri-pho-l-kos-a ra-kal-a na wasiwasi mana
3SG-PST-16.REL-3PL-miss-FV 5.PST-be-FV COM 9.worry for

3.25b ra-many-a kukala aya-e l-nda-kwedz-a a-mu-ry-e.
5.PST-know-FV COMP 2.fellows-2.3SG.POS 3PL-FUT-come-FV 3PL-3SG-eat-SUB
When it could not find them it was worried because it knew that its friends will come and eat him.

3.26a Ma-zimu maya-we ga-ri-pho-fik-a
6-ghost 6.fellow-6.3SG.POS 6-PST-16.REL-arrive-FV
When the ghost’s friends arrived they found that their friend did not have the girls, so that ghost was killed and eaten by its friends.

Paragraph 7
3.27 Hadisi na ngano i-chi-sir-a hipo.
The story and riddle end here.

Text 4 Mutu wa Kani (The Stubborn Man)

Written by Joseph Mwalonya, Translator with the Digo Language and Literacy Project. The major participants have been color coded.

Paragraph 1
4.1a Hipo kare kwakala na atu
There long-ago there-were with people

4.1b ambao kala anakuluphira windza kwpa chakurya chao.
who were depending-on hunting for food their
Long ago there were people who depended on hunting for their food.

4.2 Chisha phachikala na mjeni phapho phao laloni.
Again there-was with stranger there their locality
Now there was a stranger there at their place.

4.3a Mjeni hiye kala kamanywa arivyo, lakini
Stranger that was he-was-not-known how-he-was but

4.3b achikala anahenda kazi sawa na ayae osi a hipo laloni.
he-was doing work equally with his-fellows all of there locality
No one knew much about that stranger, but he worked just as hard as all his companions there in that place.

Paragraph 2
4.4 Phahi aikana chilagane cha kuphiya windzani.
So they-set-up agreement of going on-hunt
So they agreed to go hunting.

4.5a Siku iriphofika auka kuno akatsukula vyakurya vyao na madzi
Day when-it-reached they-left while carrying food their and water

4.5b mana kala anaphiya charo cha siku nyinji.
for were going journey of days many
When the day arrived they left carrying their food and water because they were going on a journey of many days.
Paragraph 3

4.6 Ariphofika bahati yakala yao mana aolaga ndzovu.
When they arrived luck it was theirs for they killed elephant
When they arrived they were lucky because they killed an elephant.

4.7a Phahi yuya mutu, ambaye kala kamanywa vinono
So that person who was not known well

4.7b ni hara ayae, wagomba achiamba,
by those his-fellows he talked and said

4.7c “Chila mmwenga naakate nyama kadiri ya awezayo kutsukula.”
Each one let him-cut meat extent of how he can to-carry
So the person who was not known well by his companions spoke up and said, “Let each person cut as much meat as he can carry.”

Paragraph 4

4.8a Lakini kahi ya hawa atu
But among of those people

4.8b kala phana mmwenga ambaye kala ana kani,
was there-with one who was he has stubbornness

4.8c mana naye wala ngisa ayae akate nyama ndipho naye akate badaye.
for he also he ordered his fellows they cut meat then he also he cut afterwards
But among those people there was one who was stubborn, because he also told his companions to cut meat then he also would cut afterwards.

4.9 Wahenda hivyo kpwa kufikiri osi taandaweza kumala nyama zosi.
He did thus by thinking all they can not finish meat all
He did that thinking that all of them would not be able to finish all the meat.

4.10a Phahi hara ayae osi akata nyama awezazo kutsukula,
So those his fellows all they cut meat which they can to-carry

4.10b yuya mutu wazidi kumwambira yuya wa kani akate nyama,
that person he increased to tell him that of stubbornness he cut meat

4.10c lakini warema kukata nyama.
but he refused to cut meat
So his companions cut as much meat as they could carry, and that person [the stranger] carried on telling the stubborn man to cut meat, but he refused to cut any meat.

Paragraph 5

4.11 Ndipho yuya mutu wasagala achianda kurya nyama.
Then that person he sat and he began to eat meat
Then that person [the stranger] sat down and started to eat meat.
4.12a Pore pore a chirya chingo, nyama, mifupha,
Slowly he ate hide meat bones

4.12b na bada ya kumala chila chitu walamba-lamba hata mlatso uriosala.
and after finishing each thing he licked-up even blood which remained
Gradually he ate the hide, the meat, the bones, and after finishing everything he even licked up all the blood which remained.

4.13 Arip homala wa ambira ayae aandze charo cha kuuya kpwo.
When he finished he told them his fellows they begin journey of returning at theirs
When he had finished he told his companions to begin the journey back home.

**Paragraph 6**

4.14a Himo njirani amala madzi gao ga kunwa
In there on way they finished water their of drinking

4.14b na achikala na chiru.
and they were with thirst
On the way back they finished their drinking water and became thirsty.

4.15 Lakini achikala na bahati mana aona ziya kulu.
But they were with luck for they saw lake big
But they were lucky because they saw a large lake.

4.16 Achihula mizigo yao.
They put down loads their
They put down their loads.

4.17a Yuya mutu achiambira ayae anwe madzi kukolwa
That person he told them his fellows they drank water to be satisfied

4.17b ili naye anwe baday.
so that he also he drank afterwards
That person [the stranger] told his companions to drink as much water as they wanted so that he too would drink afterwards.

4.18a Lakini yuya wa kani wauyira kuhenda kani,
But that of stubborn he returned to do stubbornness

4.18b kpwa kuona ukulu wa ziya achifikiri
for to see size of lake he thought

4.18c takuna awezaye kumala kunwa madzi ga ziya rosi.
there is not he who can finish drinking water of lake whole
But the stubborn man was stubborn again, for seeing the size of the lake he thought there is no one who can drink all the water in the lake.
4.19 *Ayae osi anwa na achiheka viburu vyao.*
All his companions drank and filled their small gourds.

4.20 *Mwishowe yuya mutu achiandza kuganwa gara madzi.*
Finally that man [the stranger] started to drink the water.

4.21 *Pore pore madzi nago waganwa gosi hadi matope.*
Gradually he drank up all the water, and even the mud.

4.22 *Waka a chisala na chiruze.*
The stubborn man remained thirsty.

**Paragraph 7**

4.23a *Phahi ariphomala kunwa madzi*
So when he-finished to-drink water

4.23b *aandza tsona charo cha kuuya kpwao.*
they began again on their journey of to-return at-theirs

4.24a *Ariphokala achere na siku mwenga afike kpwao,*
When they were they-still with day one they-arrive at-theirs

4.24b *Yuya mutu wasikira kushuha.*
that person he-heard (felt) to-pass gas

4.25 *Achiambira hara anjina akale mbere ili ashuhe.*
He-told-them those others they-be ahead so that he-passed gas

4.26a *Phahi osi asikira achitsupa mbere,*
So all they-listened and they-passed ahead

4.26b *Lakini wa kani wasala nyuma.*
but of stubbornness he-remained behind

4.27 *Yuya mutu wambembeleza akale mbere na ayae, lakini achirema.*
That person he-urged-him to-be ahead with his-fellows but he-refused
That man [the stranger] tried to persuade him to go ahead with his companions, but he refused.

4.28a *Kpwa hiyo yuya mutu washuha na ushuziwe uchikala dza phuto kali*
Therefore that person he-passed gas and his-flatulent like wind fierce
4.28b richimuhala yuya wa kani dza chifusi na kayaonekana tsona. 
it-took-him that of stubbornness like rubbish and he-was-not-seen again
So that man went ahead and passed a flatulent like a fierce wind, and it blew the stubborn
man away like a piece of rubbish, and he was never seen again.

Paragraph 8

4.29 Kpwa hivyo hiro ndiro romphaha mutu wa kani.
Therefore this it-is-this which-got-him person of stubbornness
So that is what happened to the stubborn man.

Paragraph 9

4.30 Hadisi na ngano ikasirira hipo.
Story and riddle it-has-finished there
The story and riddle ends here.
**Text 5 Mutu na Mamba (The Man and the Crocodile)**

The following text was spoken on tape by Ali Madzi Nyembwe and transcribed by Rodgers Maneno. It was published in 2002 as part of Digo Language Story Book 2, *Nia Mwenga Anaphaha Uliwali*, arranged and revised by Rodgers Maneno, Joseph Mwalonya, and Juma Mwayani, and published in Nairobi by BTL. The text is presented in the form of a chart with a morpheme-based gloss; this is followed by a free translation.

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<th>Verb / Copula</th>
<th>Object / Complement</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
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<td>vyakurya-vye &lt;&lt; ta-a-vi-mal-a</td>
<td>A-chi-rim-a</td>
<td>tsulu mwenga</td>
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<td>vyakurya-vye &lt;&lt; 7.food-7.3SG.POS</td>
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| 10b | lakini | but | ka-many-a | 3SG.NEG-know-FV | pho pha-ri = pho ye mluungu | 16.DEM_NP 16-PST = 16.REF 1.DEM_NP 1.god tu |
| 10c | ela | ye | wa-dzi-gomb-er-a | 3SG.PST-REFL-speak-to-FV | 10.2SG.POS | only |

| 11 | Kumbavi | pharatu | pha = na | 16 = COM | mamba. | 1.crocodile |

<p>| 12a | Mamba | a-na-mu-amb-a | 1.crocodile | [separate clause] |
| 12b | [ “Uwe ] | u-chi-kal-a | 2SG | |
| 12c |       | u-na-phiy-a | 2SG-CONT-go-FV | |
| 12d |       | u-ka-gomb-e | 2SG-ITIVE-speak-SUB | shida-zo | na hiye mluung |
|     |       |                     | 10.problems- | COM DEM_NP 1.god |
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<td>&quot;Mino&quot;</td>
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<td>chakurya chani?&quot;</td>
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<td>37a</td>
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<td>4.culture</td>
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<td>hadi</td>
<td></td>
<td>u-fik-e</td>
<td>2SG-arrive-SUB</td>
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<td>na-mi</td>
<td>COM-1SG</td>
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<td>inside of water</td>
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<td>ndipho</td>
<td>then</td>
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<td>n-ku-ambir-e</td>
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<td>u-ka-amb-w-a</td>
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<td>nyama yevesi 1.animal 1.any</td>
<td>ndi-ye-men-y-a FUT-1.REL-enter-FV u-m-gbwir-ee 2SG-3SG.seize-SUB</td>
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<td>Haya well</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>kala n-ka-ku-ambir-a if 1SG-POT-2SG-tell-FV ku-ka-nil-ry-a 2SG-FUT-be-FV</td>
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<td>we 2SG</td>
<td>che 2SG FOC</td>
<td>u = na 2SG = COM</td>
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<td>Kpwa-heri phahi, goodbye then</td>
<td>mi 1SG</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>n-na-phiy-a 1SG-CONT-go-FV 7.food u-ri-cho-raqiz-w-a 3SG-PST-7.REL-order-PAS-FV ni COP</td>
<td>vyangu my.place</td>
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<td></td>
<td>uwe na-we 2SG AND-2SG</td>
<td>chakurya &lt; &lt; 7.food</td>
<td>—— [pre-posed]</td>
<td>——</td>
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<tr>
<td>41a</td>
<td>Ye mwanadamu story and proverb</td>
<td>kala a-ka-tsukul-w-a PST.COP 3SG-ANT-carry-PAS-FV</td>
<td>ni mamba, by 1.crocodile</td>
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<td>chisha then</td>
<td>mamba 1.crocodile</td>
<td>a-chi-phiy-a 3SG-CONS-go-FV</td>
<td>vyakpwe his.place</td>
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<td>41c</td>
<td>na and</td>
<td>yuno mutu 1.DEM_MR person 1.com</td>
<td>a-chi-phiy-a 3SG-CONS-go-FV</td>
<td>vyakpwe his.place</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Adisi na ngano</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>i-chi-sir-a 9-CONS-finish-FV</td>
<td>na hipho. COM 16.DEM_NP</td>
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Free translation Text 5: The Man and the Crocodile

Long ago a man and his wife had a child. They farmed a small hill (anthill) and had enough food to last them three years.

The man said, “Just as I have farmed this hill and got a lot, if I also farm like that somewhere else and harvest even more I’ll be able to get lots of things that I can sell so I can buy a cow.”

The man dug a huge field, but he didn’t get as much as one grain of maize to sell. He asked himself, “I made this field large yet I haven’t got a single grain of maize, why is this?” But he kept quiet and didn’t speak to anyone. Then he made the field even bigger, but still got nothing. He said, “When I farmed an anthill I harvested plenty, but now I have made my field so big, I don’t get a single thing. I’m going to ask the god what I have done wrong even though I and my wife made the field big.” He said this but he didn’t know how to find the god, he was just talking to himself.

However right there was a crocodile. The crocodile said, “If you are going to tell your problems to the god, I’ll give you a message to give to the god. If you see him, tell him that the food he gives me isn’t enough.” The crocodile had just been given water as his food and didn’t eat anything else. “If you see him tell him to increase my food as water doesn’t fill me up.” The man said, “If I see him I’ll give him your message.” The crocodile asked, “Are you going now?” and the man said “Yes”. So the crocodile said, “I’m here at the edge of the water, hold on to my back and I’ll carry you.”

The man held on and the crocodile carried him a long long way. Eventually he said to the man, “Here is the place where you should give your message.” There was a rock which was shaking in the water. He said, “That is where the god is, so say what you have to say.” So the man said, “I am a farmer and when I farmed an anthill I got loads of maize, but now I’ve dug a huge field I don’t get anything. Why not? I was told that there is a god here.” He heard a voice inside the rock saying, “You dug a huge field but got nothing. You have overstepped the boundary pegs put by me the god, go and farm your anthill and you won’t go hungry.”

Then the man said to the god, “I was given a message by the crocodile. He says that water isn’t enough for him and he wants you to tell me what food he can have so that I can tell him.” The god said, “You came here from home with the crocodile and I’ll speak so that he can’t hear. His food will be you. If you go into the water you can be eaten by the crocodile. Likewise a goat or any wild animal, if they ever go into the water they can be eaten. This is the food I have given the crocodile. Now go and farm your anthill and you won’t go hungry. Well, you came with the crocodile and I have spoken but he didn’t hear. Don’t go with him and tell him what I told you on the way. Don’t tell him what his food is until you are out of the water, for if you tell him while you are in the water you will be eaten.”

So the crocodile came and they went together and when they were in the middle of the water the crocodile asked, “What food have I been given?” The man said to him, “You’re not supposed to ask me until you get me to the shore.” So the crocodile took the man to the shore and the man said, “You were told that if I enter the water you can catch me and eat me. The same goes for cows and any other animal that goes into the water. So if I’d told you back there you would have eaten me, because you are still hungry. So goodbye. I’m going home and that is the food that you have been permitted.”

The man had been carried by the crocodile, then the crocodile and the man both went off to their homes.

That is the end of the story.
Paragraph 1

6.1 *Hipho kare, kpwahenda mchetu yekala karya sima, aryha nyama bahi.*

Long ago there was a woman who wouldn’t eat maize meal, but would only eat meat.

Paragraph 2

6.2 *Phahi yuya mlume waamba, “Mkpawazangu karya sima, aryha nyama za sokoni za kuhendagula, n’ndaremwa; baha niphie tsakani nkahege mihambo ili mkpwawazangu aphaehe nyama.”*

So her husband said, “My wife doesn’t eat ugali, I’ll get tired of going to market to buy meat; it’s better that I go to the forest and lay traps so that my wife will get meat.”

6.3 *Waphiya yuya bwana hiko tsakani, akafika waona nyama akavyoga-vyoga, anaamba, “Nchihega phano nyama achedza mino ni nimbwire kare.”*

He went to the forest and saw animals there and said to himself, “If I lay traps here I’ll surely catch things.”

6.4 *Lakini achidzikanya yuyu bwana, achiamba, “Ko kuhega n’kpweli, ela amba mumu tsakani muna mwenye.*

But he warned himself that man, “This is a good place to trap, but there must be an owner.

6.5 *Sikumanya kuhega ukedzakosana na mwenye mchina-tsaka.*

If I am not careful I will end up getting into trouble with the owner of the forest.

6.6 *Godza niihe ye mchina-tsaka edze hushibane kpwandza.”*

Let me wait and call the owner to come and talk with me first.”

Paragraph 3

6.7 *Yuya bwana waiha, “We mchina-tsakaee, we mwenye mchina-tsakaee.”*

The man called, “Hey you, owner of the forest, hey you, owner of the forest!”

6.8 *Kpwaihkika mutu kuko tsini, anaambwa, “Ndzo00.”*

Someone answered him from below, he was told, “Come”.

6.9 *Achinyamala yuno bwana achyeyeiha, nako ka kuna mwango, achinyamala, achinyamala hata anatsoloka phapho ni simba.*

The man who had called was silent, and stayed there on the hill, he stayed quietly until there appeared a lion.

6.10 *Anamuamba, “We bwana unataka mwenye mchina-tsaka, mwenye mchina-tsaka ni mimi.*

He said to him, “You sir you wanted the owner of the forest, he owner of the forest that’s me.

6.11 *Simba ndimi mwenye, kpwani una ni?”*

I lion am the owner, so what do you want?”
The man said, “My wife won’t eat maize meal, only meat, so I thought if I laid my traps here without telling you, it wouldn’t be good, better to come and talk about things.”

He was told by the lion, ‘If you catch an animal what will you give me?’

He said, “I’ll give you the innards/intestines.”

He was told, “OK that’s fine, you can set traps.

Tomorrow come and hunt, and I’ll follow you behind to see if you get anything, if you leave it for me, I’ll eat and then I’ll leave you your part”

The next morning he went there, it was 8am, and the man also came at ten past 8.

The lion saw the intestines and ate them and then left.

The man came and fetched the meat and took it to his wife.

Every time he came an animal had been caught, the lion had eaten his portion and the man took his portion to his wife.

In this way his wife started to really put on weight.

She asked herself in her soul, “That man goes and gets meat for me, and it’s because I won’t eat maize meal, but the livers and the intestines where do they go?

I’m going to follow him to where he sets his traps.”

The woman followed him secretly, and crossed the fence while she was going.

There behind the lion was also coming to see the man usually left the meat.
6.26  Mana kambwodza akakutana kpw a vira phana lichigo likulu sana.
They didn’t usually come face to face because of the big fence.

6.27  Simba waona yuya mcetu achigbwrwa ni mhuamb, akagbwrwa ni mhuamb yuya mcetu.
The lion saw the woman being caught in the trap, and now she was trapped, that woman.

6.28  Simba waamba, “Yuya anaphiya akaondze na kauya tsonga mpaka machero, hebu godza nimuihe, ‘Wee
bwan a ndzoo nyama h’yu akagbwrwa nyumazo, nkaona kumricha mpaka machero, sivyo, ndzoo!”
The lion said, “The man has gone hunting and he won’t come back again until tomorrow, so let
me call him, ‘Hey mister come an animal has been caught behind you, I didn’t think it would be
good to leave it until tomorrow, so come.’”

Paragraph 6

6.29  Yuya bwana wakpwedza, akatsoloka, wakuta ni mchewe chegbwirwa ni mhuamb.
The man came and when he appeared he found that it was his wife who had been caught in the
trap.

6.30  Wamaka mwakpwe ndanini, “Akalungani kuno kpwani?”
He wondered to himself, “What was she looking for here?”

6.31  Simba anaamba, “We bwana, usinicheleweshe phano, mino kala che ni mbaya, che sikuiha, mana che
kumanya kala nyama akagbwrwa nyumazo.
The lion said, “You mister, don’t keep me waiting here, because if I had been bad I wouldn’t have
called you, because you didn’t know that an animal had been trapped behind you.

6.32  Muhumbule, nirye maini gangu mino, nawe uhale nyamazo.”
Disembowel it so that I can eat my livers, and then you can take your meat.”

6.33  Yuya mcetu ndiph o achimany a kumbavi gano mahumbo gari ni simba!
Now the woman knew that those intestines had been eaten by the lion!

6.34  Yuya bwana ahumbule mchewe, ng’oo, wala kumuamba kala ni mkpwazangu, piya kaamba.
Should the man kill his wife? No! But he didn’t tell the lion that this was his wife either, he didn’t
say anything.

The lion said, “We agreed that you would give me the intestines, and you would take the meat.

6.36  Muhumbule nhale vitu ambavyo waamba undanipa nawe uhale nyamazo.”
Disembowel it so that I can take the thing you said you’d give me and you take your meat.”

Paragraph 7

6.37  Lakini vyo ambavyo analumbana pho chiphephi ka phana tsungula, anasikira atu anaheha.
But as they were arguing there nearby was a hare, he heard people disputing.

6.38  Phahi tsungula wakpwedza, akafika hipho waamba, “Mnaheha nani?”
So the hare came, and having arrived he said, “What are you arguing about?”

6.39  Simba achiamba, “Hiyu wahega tsaka rangu, achiniiha achiamba achigbwrira nyama andanipa
mahumbo.
The lion said, “This man set traps in my forest, he called me and said that if he caught any animal
he’d give me the intestines.
Paragraph 8

6.40 Pho vino hiyu nyama akagbwirwa chinyume che anauka, ela bada nkamuona kadzangbewekutuluka himu tsakani mino nkamüha edze amuhumbule nhale maini gangu, naye ahale nyamaze aphiye kaya.

Now this animal was caught just after he left, but when I saw that he hadn’t yet left the forest I called him to come and disembowel it so that I could take my livers and he could take his meat and go home.

6.41 Ndipho hunashindana.”

That’s what we were arguing about.”

Paragraph 9

6.42 Yu tsungula achiamba, “We bwana, hebu mvugule ye mchetu, kana kukala andachimbira.

The hare said, “You mister, now let the woman out, she won’t run away.

6.43 Sagala hipha we mchetu, haya uhege tsona nyo mhambo we mlume.”

Sit down here miss, now set the trap again you man.”

6.44 Achiuhega, anaambwa, “We simba nionyesa vyo achivyogbwirwa hiyu mchetu, che u phaphi we hata uniambe akagbwirwa hiphax, nawe nkuone ukagbwirwa ni muhambo.”

He set it again and the hare said (lit. he was told), “You lion show me how that woman got trapped, where were you that you can tell me that she was caught here, and that you saw her being trapped.”

6.45 Simba waamba, “Haya.”

The lion said, “OK.”

Paragraph 10

6.46 Simba wavyoga, achivyoga, anaamba, “Nchiphofika hipha nkamuona kutiya chiguluche phano, akagbwirwa.”

The lion stepped forward saying, “When I reached here I saw her putting her foot here, and she was caught.”

6.47 Kpwesawaguta hura mhambo tu, nao uchifyuka, achigbwirwa.

As soon as he touched the trap it snapped shut, and he was trapped.

6.48 Tsungula anaamba, “Mriche phapha muhamboni, hala mcheo uphiye kaya nami piya n’naphauka.”

The hare said, “Leave him here in the trap, take you wife and go home and I’m off too.”

6.49 Atu haraa achiuka osi, akauka, nyuma simba wafwa phapho.

All those people left, and behind them the lion died there.

Paragraph 11

6.50 Simba wafwa ela akatongewa ni ani?

The lion died, but who had tricked him?

6.51 Ni mwanadamu na Tsungula, hata vivi kwako mndani ichikala unarinda, lala chibanda cha mana.

It was the man and the hare, so that’s why now when you go to guard you field, sleep in a secure hut.
Paragraph 11

6.52 **Ukalala chibanda cha koma koma, uredza ugbwirwe ni simba, mana ye wareya hangu phapho hadi sambi.**

If you sleep in a flimsy hut, you risk being caught by a lion, because he is still angry from then until now.

**Paragraph 11**

6.53 **Phahi yuya mchetu wauzwa ni mlumewe, “Mino nakurehera nyama chila siku, sambi kura tsakani we che ukalungani?”**

So the woman was asked by her husband, “I used to bring you meat every day, now what were you looking for there in the forest?”

6.54 **Anaamba, “Mino hata nkedza nyuma mlume wangu, che náona gaga maini kuna mchetu kuko ahewaye.**

She said, “I came after my husband, well I suspected that the livers there was another woman who was being given them.

6.55 **Sambi mino che nákulunga-lunga edze nikutane na hiye mchetu nipigane naye, anípige nímpige.**

Now I followed you in order to meet this woman and fight her, we would fight each other.

6.56 **Mino che náriwa ni wívú, kumbavi mahumbo gariwa ni simba.”**

I was eaten up with jealousy, but oh the intestines were eaten by the lion.”

6.57 **Yuya bwana waamba, “Kuphiya tsona mihamboni mino siphiya, sitaki kupelelezwa.”**

That man said, “I’m not going to go hunting again, I don’t like being spied upon.

6.58 **Mana uwe nkakupeleleza tahuuka hosi, phahi nipeleleza rohoni, ela si kunipeleleza hovyo hovyo, mino simendze.”**

For if I spied on you we wouldn’t be together, so look at my heart but don’t spy on me malevolently, I don’t like that.”

6.59 **Yuya mchetu wakala ndipho anarya sima na yuya mlume naye kayaphiya tsona mihamboni.**

The woman then began to eat maize meal and that man also never went trapping again.

**Paragraph 12**

6.60 **Hadisi na ngano ichisira hipho.**

That is the end of the story.
Text 7 Meeting a lion unexpectedly

The following text was written by Robert Maneno in January 1999 while he was leader of the Digo Language and Literacy Project. It has not previously been published.

Paragraph 1
7.1a Chisa ambacho n’ndachisemurira hivi sambi,
which I will relate right now
7.1b ni chisa ambacho chaniphaha miaka minji yotsupa
is story which it got me years which passed
7.1c na n’chisa ambacho n’cha kpwel.
and is story which is of true

The story which I will tell you now is a story which happened to me many years ago and it is a story which is true.

Paragraph 2
7.2 Kala ni mwaka wa 1969 mwezi wa phiri tarehe kumi na tahu.
it was year 3 of 1969 month of second date ten and three

It was in the year 1969 on the 13th of February.

7.3a Nālumuka chiti ligundzu sana kaya Vyongwani,
I awoke early morning very at home Vyongwani
7.3b kudzitayarisha nkafundishe hiko Golini skuli ya msingi.
to prepare myself I go teach there Golini school of foundation

I woke up very early in the morning at home in Vyongwani, to get ready to go and teach in the primary school in Golini.

7.4a Mwenye ndāamba na-rauka nkadzitayarishe
myself I said I am rising early that I prepare myself

7.4b mana kala si-dzangbwe kutayarisha masomo ga siku hira.
for past I have not yet to prepare lessons of day that

I said to myself I am getting up early to go prepare myself because I have not yet prepared the lessons for today.

7.5a Nārauka, ichikala saa kumi na mwenga hivi, ná-piga msuwaki,
I rose early if it is hour ten and one thus I hit toothbrush

7.5b nchidsitayarisha mara mwenga phara.
I prepared myself time one there

I got up early, about 5 a.m. and brushed my teeth, and I got myself ready at once.

7.6 Nchiwala nguwo z-angu, nchimlamusa baba na mayo.
I put on clothes my I greeted father and mother

I got dressed and greeted my father and mother.
In those days my father still had his full strength.

I took leave of my mother and she asked me, “Why are you not drinking tea today?” I said, “No, I will go and cook (brew tea) there ahead because I want to arrive at work early to prepare myself.”

So I took my books and slowly set out.

The sun was not yet shining through, it had not yet come out fully, it was still only half light.

I climbed the hill, which in those days had very large trees on it.

It was a frightening forest and many times there were leopards there.

So as I passed there on the way I looked about me here and there, sometimes it sounded as if something had fallen down, sometimes it sounded like there was an animal climbing around.
7.15a Lakini náfikiri kala ni chima,  
but I thought that it is vervet (also generic monkey)

7.15b na mara nyinji chima taahenda rorosi.  
and times many vervets they do not do anything  
But I thought it was a monkey, and usually monkeys do not do any harm.

7.16a Phahi náphiya pore pore nchidandanda gara mawe  
so I went slowly I was balancing on those rocks

7.16b phara dzulu ya mlima wa Vyongbwani.  
there on top of hill of Vyongwani  
So I went very slowly balancing carefully across those rocks at the top of the hill of Vyongwani.

7.17a Nchituluka tsaka rira, photuluka námanya takuna matatizo gogosi,  
I came out of forest that when I came out I knew there are not problems at all

7.17b mana tsaka ukarima kura ambako kunatisha kukasira.  
for forest you have farmed there where there frightens there has finished  
So I came out of that forest (and) when I came out I knew (that) there were no problems at all,  
because where the forest has been cultivated is no longer a frightening place.

Paragraph 5
7.18 Phahi hali ya kunyendeka pore pore nkaremwa nalola photsi.  
so state of walking slowly being tired I am looking down  
While I was walking slowly I was tired and was looking down.

7.19a Gafula násikira chitu chinavuma, mvumo mkpwulu sana,  
suddenly I heard thing it is roaring roar large very

7.19b náloza mkpwono wangu wa kushoto  
I looked hand my of left

7.19c dza hivi náona dzinyama dzikulu sana.  
like this I saw beast huge very  
Suddenly I heard something roaring, a very great roar, I looked to the left at that moment I saw a very large animal.

7.20a Rangiye ni kama ambayo i kundukundu si kundukundu  
its colour is like which is reddish not reddish

7.20b lakini kala ni nyama ambaye námuona hipho chitambo,  
but past is animal which I saw it there period  

7.20c námuona chiphephi lakini nyama hiye hasa kala n’simba,  
I saw it nearby but animal that exactly past is lion

7.20d tsona kala n’simba mchetu mana simba mchetu kana cheru  
moreover past is lion female for lion female has not beard
and it has not those hairs hairs on face
Its color was some kind of reddish hue but it was an animal which I saw there for a while, I saw it close up and that animal was definitely a lion, it was a female lion, because female lions do not have a beard and do not have those big hairs (mane) on their face.

But it was a female lion and that roar which it did there it scared me.

So there it was, it had come from the bush and was about to go down into the forest.

And I am coming out of the forest, so I am walking without fear, I am looking down but suddenly my companion (the lion) saw me first.

But for sure if it had wanted, because it had seen me first, it could have jumped on me and killed me or mauled me, left me there or eaten me.

God is big and I still thank him even now today

for I would have been my (life) it ended day that
and I would be I was forgotten I not be remembered again
But God is great and I still thank him even to this day because my (life) would have ended that
day and I would have been forgotten and not remembered any more.

Paragraph 7
7.27  Lakini ariphouka nchibaki pharatu nakakama na wasiawsi.
but when it left I remained right there I am shaking with fear
But when it left I stayed shivering with fear in the same place.

7.28  Nádziuza niuye kuko, niuye kaya.
I asked myself that I return there that I return home
I wondered should I return there, should I return home.

7.29a  Lakini nchiuya, ko nlako n’tsakani,
but if I return there where I come from is forest

7.29b  na nchiuya dza vira indakala piya ni hatari
and if I return like that way it will be also is danger

7.29c  mana námanya mara nyinji simba kanyendeka macheye-macheye.
for I knew times many lion it does not walk alone
But if I return, there where I came from was forest, if I return the same way it will also be
dangerous because I knew that often a lion does not walk on its own.

7.30a  Na námanya kuna simba anjina phephi,
and I knew there are lions others near

7.30b  lakini simanyire a upande gani.
but I did not know they are side which
And I knew that there other lions nearby, but I do not know in which direction it is.

7.31a  Lakini nádzidinisa chilume nchiamba, “Aha,
but I held myself firm manly I said Aha

7.31b  bada nkaturuka kare hiri tsaka na simba hiye akaphiya vyakpwe,
since I have left already that forest and lion that it has gone on its way

7.31c  richa njese kuphiya pore pore kuno n’phiye ko mbere,
leave that I try to go slowly whilst that I go there ahead

7.31d  nchikala n’ndakutana nao wala sindakutana nao
if I be I will meet with them nor I will not meet with them

7.31e  Mlungu azidi kunisaidiya.”
God that he increase to help me
But I plucked up courage and said, “Aha, I have already left the forest and this lion has gone
away, so instead I will try to go on slowly, while shivering, I will go forwards, if I should meet
them or if I don’t meet them God will continue to help me.”
7.32 Nchiphiya pore pore nchifika ko mbere nchipata barabara nchinyendeka.
I went slowly I arrived there ahead I got road I walked
I went slowly and arrived at the road in front and I walked.

7.33 Nányendeka mário mário mpaka náfika skuli.
I walked quickly quickly until I arrived school
I walked almost running until I arrived at school.

Paragraph 8
7.34a Náfika skuli nchiambira alimu ayangu,
I arrived school I told teachers my fellows

7.34b "Hebu nilolani myawenu rero,
well look at me your colleague today

7.34b mana vivi sambi n'ngekala simanya n'kuphi.
for now now I would be I do not know is where
I arrived at school and told my fellow teachers, “Now look at me your colleague today, because
right now I don't know where I would be.

7.35a N'ngekala nkagbwurwa-gbwurwa na nkamwamulwa chila chitu
I would be I could be mauled and I could be torn apart every thing

7.35b mana nkaponea katika tundu ya sindano.
for I have survived in hole of needle
I could have been mauled and been torn apart completely because I have been saved through
the eye of a needle.

7.36 Na kala n'bahati sana ama n'ngekala náolagbwa ni simba hiye.”
and past is luck very or I would be I was killed by lion that
I was very lucky or I would have been killed by this lion.”

7.37a Ayangu achinivoyera phara achiniambira,
my fellows they prayed for me there they told me

7.37b “Pore kpwa vira ukafrica hipha mzima, usitiye wasiwası
sorry for how you have arrived here whole do not put in fear

7.37c uwe zidi na kuvoya nasi hundakuvooyera.
you increase and to pray and we we will pray for you
My fellow teachers prayed for me then they told me, “Sorry, do not be worried because you
have got here alive, you carry on praying and we will pray for you.

7.38a We sagala hunakutengezera chai vinono hipha
you stay we are making for you tea well here
7.38b *na urye vinono udzitayarisha uphiye ukahende kaziyo.*
and that you drink well you prepare yourself that you go that you go do your work
You sit down and we will prepare some nice tea for you here and eat well and then prepare
yourself to go do your work.”

7.39a *Phahi ndashukuru kpwa vira anipha moyo,*
so I thanked them for how they give me heart

7.39b *na kula siku na hira nazidi kumshukuru Mnangu nchiamba,*
and from day and that I increase to thank him God saying

7.39c “*Chila mmwenga mbavi afwa na sikuze.*”
every one really he dies with his day
So I thanked them for their encouragement, and from that day I thank God all the more when
I say, “Every person dies on the day appointed for him.”

References


