Geesó Duqa, approaches to an Iraqw tale

Henriette Daudey, Anne-Christie Hellenthal, Maarten Mous, and Heleen Smits

Abstract

This article grew out of a course on oral texts taught by Maarten Mous. We show the crucial aspects of a single Iraqw tale, i.e. its structure, the performance and its coherence, by adapting various literary and linguistic approaches. Anne-Christie Hellenthal applies the theories of Propp to this tale in section 3, Henriette Daudey investigates the performance aspects of the story teller and in particular her use of pauses in section 4 and Heleen Smits made a study of coherence of the tale through the use of demonstratives, section 5. After a short introduction on Iraqw verbal art in section 1, we present the complete story in an English translation in section 2. The Iraqw text with interlineair glosses is given in an appendix.

1 Iraqw verbal art

The Iraqw live in Northern Tanzania between Lake Eyasi and Lake Manyara. They speak a Southern Cushitic language. Information on the language can be found in Mous (1993) and the references therein. The verbal art is quite rich and very much alife. Kiessling presents an overview of their verbal art, Kiessling (1995) and Berger & Kiessling (1998:8). The genre of stories is called *ti'itaa* in Iraqw and traditionally these stories were not supposed to be told during day-time. Ti'itaa typically differ from *alqadoo*, an other prose genre, in that they are perceived as being fictional and not real, and entertaining rather than instructive, Berger & Kiessling (1998:8). *Alqadoo*, which roughly translates as 'testament', contains the important historical information that a man should pass on to his children before he dies. Many of the stories are the usual animal stories about the hare and the hyena. The stories that the Iraqw consider central in their repertoire are the stories of Lach (Mous 1998), Simbooya (Maghway 1995) and Ama Irmi (Kiessling 1995). In these stories the hero is human. Our story of Geesó Duqa also has a human hero. When stories are told, the audience is a mixture of children, women and men. Good storytellers are often women. There is usually one person in the audience who takes up the role of participator. This person makes short remarks or interruptions on a regular basis, often just showing attention or approval. This helps the story teller and it is a regular feature of Iraqw story telling. Collections of Iraqw stories can be found in Berger & Kiessling (1998), Nordbustad (1972,1978), Mous & Sanka (2001), Shohei Wada (1976); and only in translation in Hauge (1981), Kamera (1976), and Kohl-Larsen (1958,1963,1964).

2 The story

The story was told by Maria Sanka on September 18th 1987, in her house in Haylotto. A few children were present. The story was taped, transcribed and translated by Maarten Mous with the help of John Dafay, John Qamlali and Safari Sanka. John Dafay was also present during the recording and he took up the role of participator from the audience. Here we give the full story in an English translation which stays close to the text. The edited original text with glosses is given in the Appendix.

The buffalo and Geesó Duqa

One day, a buffalo was wandering around in a certain valley. When the buffalo was grazing in the valley, Geesó Duqa was there. He pinched the child of the buffalo. When the child of the buffalo cried, the buffalo jumped, it said: "Geesó Duqa, what did you do to the child?" "Nothing, sorry, your calf must be playing." In fact, he was behaving this way —he pinched it again. When the buffalo jumped, it said: "Geesó Duqa, what are you doing to my calf?" "I am not doing anything. Your calf is surely playing." He pinched it three times. Well, the buffalo jumped again and it broke its leg. When it broke its leg, it asked: "Now Geesó Duqa, what do I do now?" "What you do? I will kill you and eat you!" It said: "Don't eat me. What about my child?" He answered: "Now, what about your child; how do I know?" "Your child," he said, "Won't hunger kill the child? What use will it be?" He said: "I don't know what will become of your child." The buffalo said: "Please, don't eat me. Put my meat apart and my bones apart. You should bury them apart. Just bury me." He said: "That is also all right." "Then you should let that child of yours suck your cattle." He said: "First of all, where is the cattle? Do I have them?" It explained: "The cattle will be just there where you bury my bones. Next you should go and dig for it. The cattle will come out. Then you should let that child of mine suck them."

Well then, Geesó Duqa has a wife. The wife is a daughter from the cannibal clan. So Geesó Duqa had a cannibal girl. Well, Geesó Duqa did as told with the meat of the buffalo. He buried it, meat apart, bones apart. Where he dug up the bones, cattle came out.

So he is herding those cattle of his. While he is herding them, the child of the buffalo is sucking his cows. When he herds, he sings. He lets the child graze.

Then the cannibal clan happened to be sitting together. His in-laws said: "That man used to be just a poor man. Where did he get those cattle? How do we get those cattle? To take them would be nice." They said: "Now how do we get them?" One said: "Well, the way we'll get them is to kill him." They said: "If we kill him, how do we kill him? If we kill him, how do we get him? Our girl is there, isn't she?" These things were said while he was out herding. They were saying these things, when Geesó Duqa had gone to herd.

Then he is bringing the cattle home. And the calf is running and running. It says: "Geesó Duqa, let me suck. I have news." He said: "You suck, my dear." And it sucks and sucks. When it is finished sucking, it announces: "Today, you know what? Geesó Duqa, you will be killed by the family of your wife." He says: "Aha. Why will they kill me?" "They said: 'If our cannibal is there, let us take the cattle.' But you will not be killed. Now tomorrow it'll be discussed how they'll kill you," says the calf, "I will tell you." They went home.

When he went herding the next day, they said: "How do we kill him? We'll put a snake at his door. It will spit on him and he will die." The cannibal clan was speaking so in the morning. The snake was ready, it was put in position. Geesó Duqa then returned. The calf was running to him. It said: "Today you will be killed, Geesó Duqa. You know what? Today you will be killed." He said: "Aha." It said: "The cannibals will put a snake at your door today. They say: 'If it spits on him, he will die.'" He said: "Ah, but what shall I do? I will die. Let it be." It told him: "You won't die. First of all you should let that big bull go in front, then you say: 'Spittle has killed it.'" So the bull went in front. Geesó Duqa walked after his cattle. The snake spat on the bull, even before it entered, and the bull died. When the bull died, he called, saying: "Uuuh, people, today this big bull, spittle has killed it. Come, let us eat this giant bull." And the bull was eaten.

The cannibals said: "Well, today that snake left him alive. What shall we do? How do we get to kill him? What do we do?" They decided: "We must place beer and we'll put poison in it." They positioned the beer. It ran, the calf of the buffalo. It said: "Today, Geesó Duqa, today you'll die." He said: "Aha." "The cannibal clan has been discussing again today. They said: 'We'll put poison into the beer.'" "Let it be. I will be killed. What shall I do?" "No, you won't be killed. I'll arrive then and there. If the beer is offered, you should just have it a short time. If I have arrived, you push the cattle outside. If you take the cattle out, I'll be with your cattle and then I'll go grazing at that place." It continued: "Then I'll kick the beer. You just put it to your mouth and I'll spill it. I'll break the calabash too."

When the cannibals arrived they had put beer there. They said: "Geesó Duqa, come for beer. Come! Let us drink beer." Poison had already been put into his beer. When they arrived, they said: "Here, you, take your beer!" His calabash was filled. He put the beer to his mouth. He took his cattle out again. The calf grazed there. That calf of the buffalo was walking, it was grazing. When he was just putting the beer to his mouth —he was not drinking it, he just left it there— the calf arrived in front of him. It kicked and it broke the calabash and so the beer was spilt. Geesó Duqa ran, he ran after the calf. He said: "Today this calf completely spilled my beer. Today, I'll kill it today." "Do you kill an innocent cow because of beer? Leave it, old man, leave it." And he let the calf go. That which was poisoned has vanished in the ground. Well, the next day they said to each other: "He didn't die. Don't you see him? We are going to be exhausted by him." When he went herding, they had a meeting. The calf is aside. The calf is grazing. It

is normally not taken together with the cattle. The calf grazes aside. They said: "Really, girl, come show us his bed. The solution is that we go to his bed during the night. There is no other way for that man, we won't get him otherwise." The girl said: "His bed is there." His wife showed them the bed. They decided: "We'll kill him, when we arrive in the night." She agreed: "That is all right." When the cattle went home, the calf was running. It said: "Geesó Duqa, today they are able to get you, today you will be killed." He said: "Aha." The calf reported: "Today they are going to your bed, they say. Your wife showed your bed as well. She said: 'His bed is that one.' They said: 'Then we'll kill him.' She said: 'All right.'" Geesó Duqa asked: "But what am I to do, my dear? They will kill me." It said: "You won't be killed. You won't be touched." It continued: "Well, while your wife is asleep, you should change, you carry their daughter to your bed. Take the sheet of their girl."

Mother was asleep at night. She was sleeping nicely in bed. She was carried into the bed, the bed of Geesó Duqa. When she was laid in the bed, Geesó Duqa went into his wife's bed. Well, when they arrived, the cannibals took the door out. And hadn't the bed been showed in the afternoon? After taking out the door, they entered the house. When they came at that bed of Geesó Duqa, the person in it was their daughter. Did they know that? They started to kill and were about to kill her when she said: "Don't kill me! I am yours." They said: "He is deceiving us now." When the girl was killed and they were finished killing, they said: "Hey daughter, what now? How about taking those cattle out immediately? Let us get away with these cattle. Come, let's take out the cattle." But Geesó Duqa said: "No father, not like this. An innocent cow, for what reason a hyena should bite it this night? Who will stop you now that you have killed him? Do it in the morning." They answered: "Isn't now much better?" "Well, is there anybody who will stop them, now that he has died?" However, Geesó Duqa was not killed. Whom they had killed was their own daughter.

Well, in the morning, before sunrise, they left. When the cannibals had returned home, the calf, that calf of the buffalo said: "Geesó Duqa, don't you see? Leave with the cattle." So they fled and left with the cattle. In the morning the others were looking for the cattle. The cattle were not there. That man was not in the house. They arrived and looked in the bed at the corpse of their girl. They shouted: "Uuu, the thing that he has done is grave." They nearly cried. "Did we kill our own daughter today?"

Geesó Duqa had left with his cattle. The cannibals were close after him. They were all running after him, but the cattle were walking on the road. They were close to getting him. He told the calf of the buffalo: "They have arrived now, I am dead." It assured him: "You will not die." It said: "Hit there with your stick." He hit the spot with his stick. A huge pit formed there. When the pit had made itself, the cannibals after them fell into it, filling the pit. Geesó Duqa and his calf had already passed with the cattle. The cannibal clan was filling up the pit, and when they finished filling it up, they went on. The others had arrived at the edge of a lake. The calf said: "Hit this lake with your stick." He hit the lake with

the stick. The calf repeated: "Hit the lake with your stick." He hit the lake with the stick. The water opened up. A road formed in the middle, and they passed. They passed with their cattle through there. After they had passed, the cannibals arrived at that lake. They stepped into the lake on that road. The lake turned upon them. And they were exterminated in there, they died in it. And Geesó Duqa and his cattle had passed.

And the calf said: "Now Geesó Duqa, now, don't kill me." It said: "You won't die, you know. When a white bull is born at your house, when it has grown so big that it touches the top door post of the house, then you should kill it; that is, the day you kill it, the day you want to kill it, don't kill it, no matter what." Well, Geesó Duqa lived and lived, and he became old. The children of his grandchildren had died and it was old age that killed them. Those of others had died, and it was old age that killed them. This big bull of his was born. The bull is around. His wife is not with him. He is alone. Then he said: "I don't seem to die, should I not kill this bull? What shall I do? I don't die." And he killed the bull and he called the people. When he had killed the bull, after that, long after that, he died.

3 The structure of the story

We will first look into the major structure of the tale by comparing it to similar versions and related tales in the various collections of Iraqw literature. Then we discuss the structure of our version of this tale and apply a Propp analysis in order to establish the functions of the parts and motifs. We will see that we need some amendments of this approach in order to be able to cope with a story in which the hero does not show any initiative.

3. 1 Division into three sections

A primary division can be made as follows: The first part recounts how Geesó Duqa acquires his special calf and his richness. It is the introduction to the main story. The second section is the most important and the most elaborate one. The calf eavesdrops on the plans of the in-laws of Geesó Duqa. It then passes this information on to its master and thinks up a counteraction, which is then carried out. Thus the snake above the door attacks a big bull; the calf itself kicks the poisoned beer away from the hands of Geesó Duqa; the exchange trick is practised, through which the cannibals kill their own daughter. Of course they have to flee after this episode. During their flight they are almost caught by the cannibals, but again the calf provides a way out. This time a magic staff is used to make a big pit and subsequently this staff creates a path through a lake in which the cannibals are drowned. The third and last section tells us how Geesó Duqa, after a long life, chooses to die. This section has nothing to do with his struggle for life and seems to have nothing to do with the preceding sections, but it is the calf that has given him the prophesy that he will not die unless he kills the bull.

This division into introduction – main story – coda is confirmed by a comparison with other versions

of the tale. In the collection Iraqw texts of Paul Berger (Berger and Kiessling 1998: 2.2.1, 2.3.6) we found two versions of our story. The first version, called 'Ama'irmí', begins with the famous Iraqw monster Ama Irmi. She enters a house and swallows all vessels and a girl. Her brother, being told what kind of monster Ama Irmi is, succeeds in killing her and he takes his sister and everything else out of her body. Then they settle in a land of snakes. The brother has a special calf, which can understand human speech. When the people of the country decide to kill the boy, his calf hears their evil plan to put a snake above the door and plans a counter-action. The boy is saved and marries. When the calf hears that the people will put a snake in the beer of the boy, it kicks his calabash away. The boy curses his calf, not knowing his life is rescued again. After that the calf hears that they want to kill the boy in his own house. When it has sucked milk it tells its master of the threat and says that he should change place and bracelets with his wife. In the night the people kill the wrong person. They discuss whether to take the cattle at that very moment, but they don't find it necessary to do so. The calf and the boy get away. When they have their enemies on their tail the calf tells the man to twirl with a fire-twirling-stick in his urine. A big pit is formed, but the pursuers bring hoes and fill it up again. When the calf urinates again, a lake is formed, which the people cannot pass.

The second version in the Berger collection, called 'Loohay', is much alike, but it begins with people who move their house to another place. A boy and a girl are sent back to fetch ropes. The story tells how they get lost and are caught by two cannibals. Just before they will be eaten they escape and then they come across the hole of Ama Irmi and eat her meat. After that they climb in a tree and, when the monster has returned, urinate upon her. After the third time, Ama Irmi sees them and she wants to climb the tree. The children pretend to help her, but by pulling her up and letting her fall they kill her. When they cut off her little finger they obtain cattle and a white calf. Eventually they settle in a land "where the cattle were hyenas" and the milk tasted bad. They marry both. Then the inhabitants of that country and in particular his in-laws decide to kill the boy out of jealousy. First the inhabitants brew poisoned beer. In this story too the calf hears all the plans, after sucking milk it discloses them to its master, and it tells him how to counter-act, in this situation again it kicks the beer away, breaks the calabash and people go after the calf. In the second attempt again the snake above the door which is meant for the boy falls onto and kills the bull, which is subsequently eaten. When the in-laws plan to kill the boy at night, one of them thinks that the calf is listening, but nobody believes this. The boy approaches his sister, telling her that he wants to prepare medicine. He exchanges his beads and bangles as well as his sleeping place with his wife and the in-laws kill the wife in the dark. They debate as in the other version about taking the cattle away in that night or in the morning. When they return in the morning the boy and his sister are gone with everything they own. One man says that he has warned them that the calf was listening. When they pursue the siblings the calf excretes dung which becomes

burrs. The persuers fetch sandals. The calf then stamps with its foot and a big pit is formed. They fetch hoes to fill the pit and chase them again. The calf now urinates. A lake appears and some people drown in the water. The others return to their home. The boy and his sister settle after a long journey in a land where the cattle are normal and they marry again.

The version in Kohl-Larsen (1966) is shorter than these two. It starts with the calf itself, explaining that it is the calf, which came out of the middle finger of Ama Irmi, and that it lives with its rescuer. In a note Kohl-Larsen remarks that the fairy tale originally represents the end of a story of a monster, and is rather common in East-African tales. He also remarks that this element connects these stories to South African tales about magic helpers. In the story in Kohl-Larsen (1966) the kin of the wife want to kill the hero. But the calf eavesdrops on their plans and, after getting food, warns its master that they will kill him with poisoned beer. But the calf kicks the beer away. When the next day the in-laws put a snake in the roof, he tells his master to let a big bull go first. The bull is killed by the snake and eaten by all the people. Next the exchange trick rescues the man's life, because the in-laws kill their daughter. The calf and its master leave with the cattle. The in-laws had decided to take the cattle in the morning, but found them gone. When they catch up with the man and his calf, the latter excretes dung. The big pit that is formed, has to be filled. Then the pursuit begins again. Now the calf urinates. In the lake that is formed all the in-laws drown.

There is another interesting tale translated by Kohl-Larsen (1966): Long ago, a man who possessed a lot of cattle, received a cow-calf and a bull-calf. Every day the cow-calf runs away. But every day the man chases it and takes it back. One day however, the calf grows and the man can not catch it. A traveller says that it is the calf of Loa. Loa is the sun and a life-giving power, translated by 'god'. The man wants his beautiful cow back and follows it further and further. An old woman tells him more about Loa. The man meets Loa but can't look to the sun-god. The next evening he drinks water. Then he can look into Loa's face. Loa tells the man that he will live long but that he will die if he eats the bull-calf. The man returns home. After many years he eats the bull and he dies immediately.

The beginning of our version of the Geesó Duqa story is very different from that of the other tales. In fact, it is one out of four that has no link with an Ama Irmi story. Kohl-Larsen's suggestion about the link between the Ama Irmi stories and this tale seems valid, because we find clear evidence in the two stories in the Berger collection where the "Geesó Duqa situation" is a logical continuation of the Ama Irmi situation. A person receives in one day a lot of cattle or has better cattle than the others, which is good reason for envy. Also, both situations are presented in the course of events within one tale. We don't know whether the teller of our version Maria Sanka deliberately choose not to link the story to Ama Irmi or whether there is no such link for her. Her first part is not found elsewhere, but this introduction too gives a valid explanation for how Geesó Duqa receives his cattle and magic calf.

Where most of the tales end with the evil people drowned or defeated (and in one of Berger's tales, the final settlement of the of the boy and his sister in a good country), our tale goes on with what we call the third section. It resembles the end of the tale about Loa's calf to a high degree. In both tales the hero is told how he will (be able to) die, i.e., that it will happen only after he eats the meat of the bull-calf. The theme changes here to matters of life and death. Loa gives the man power over his life. He can decide about the moment of his death. In our version this receives almost mythical proportions, because Geesó Duqa outlives at least three generations. He makes his decision to die officially known to the people and sees death only long after he killed the bull. In fact it is also the death of the mother of this calf that provides the means in life in the form of cattle. It is possible that the story teller, Maria Sanka, just thought about how to end her tale in a definitive way and picked a final part of another tale out of her repertoire, or that she (maybe unconsciously) wanted to tell something more after the peak of the story, so that the tension could slow down to normal as is so common in these tales.

It is remarkable that our version is the only one in which the hero has a name. In the others there are just boys and girls or men. Geesó Duqa or Geesóo Duqangw is not a common Iraqw name. The meaning of the name is not entirely clear 'Geesoo-of sharpening/whetting'.

The defining part of all the stories is clearly what constitutes the middle section in our version. An introduction and coda can be added. They all contain a hero and a helpful calf, which can hear and which warns the hero about the evil plans of his in-laws who want to kill him. The first two attempts to kill the hero consist of a poisonous snake above the door and of poisonous beer or similar tricks. They are counter-acted by letting a big bull enter first and by the calf kicking the calabash with beer away. The third trick is an exchange trick. After that the hero and his calf flee and they create obstacles for their persuers until the hero is safe. There is some variation in the nature and the order of these obstacles.

3.2 Structural elements

The three sections, and especially the central one, can be divided into smaller parts again. Here too we find a kind of introduction. Geesó Duqa, a married man, is herding his cattle happily (he is singing) while the calf is sucking his cows. This initial situation is finished when the cannibals enter the stage. They try to kill Geesó Duqa three times in the same setting. When he finally has to flee the last part of the central section begins. We follow the escape route of Geesó Duqa until the danger is over.

The most conspicuous instruments of structure are the ladder, the repetition and the parallelism. Two of these smaller parts consist of a ladder, i.e., a series similar events leading to a new situation. In many tales such series of related events amount to three; sometimes there are four levels, sometimes only two. The first ladder begins with the snake, after which comes along the poisoned beer, and a peak in the story is reached when the best deceiving and most dangerous trick has to be used to avert the murder of Geesó Duqa. Note that the episodes of the snake and the beer can be told in reverse order, but the last trick is always the changing of places. In our story it is also the most elaborate event. In all detail and in a lively manner we are told that the killers don't listen to their daughter and how Geesó Duqa plays the role of his wife. The second ladder starts when Geesó Duqa flees with his cattle and the calf. In our tale it is a short one with only two steps: a big pit and a lake. The flight-with-obstacles episode in other versions has three levels, as is the case in one of Bergers' tales: First there are burrs on the way, but with sandals one can walk over them; then a big pit emerges in front of the pursuers (only by fetching hoes and filling the pit they overcome this problem); finally the lake is formed which appears to be an insuperable obstacle. The pursuers even drown in it. This is the climax of the tale. All versions agree in this final obstacle.

In all parts of the tale we encounter repetitions. We hear the cannibals saying how to kill Geesó Duqa. Next the calf reports it to his master in the very same words. Or the calf foretells what will happen and how Geesó Duqa should behave, upon which we are told the same information when it actually takes place. In addition the storyteller repeats herself in places, explaining what has happened or confirming the victory of Geesó Duqa.

Parallelism constitutes of a series of the same elements which could be the repetition of a ladder or of the same kind of trick. We see parallelism in the fixed sequence of elements including the wording of these elements in certain scenes: The cannibals make their plans when Geesó Duqa is out herding; the calf runs towards him, calls for him, Geesó Duqa says "Aha", the calf tells him the plan, he complains "Oh, I will die", it says "No you won't" and so forth. The story is full of ladders, repetitions and parallels and the distinction between them is not always obvious; they all serve to give structure to the story.

3.3 The Propp-analysis

Vladimir Propp proposed a structural approach to the folktale, similar to that of structural linguistics, putting forward a morphology of the folktale, Propp (1958). While Aarne and Thompson classified types of tales and motifs, Propp studied the construction of the individual tale and in particular the functions of elements within the story and their logical sequence. By asking simple questions like what happens to whom, for what reason and how does this function within the tale, he tried to understand the essence of a story. This resulted in tables and lists which group elements and functions together. The

table below shows such a Propp-analysis of section two of our Geesó Duqa tale. We have added the codes of the motifs according to Stith Thompson's Motif-Index (Thompson 1932-36) in the third row.

Table 1: Table of Propp-analysis

Geesó Duqa has a cannibal wife; buffalo-child sucks, Geesó Duqa is singing while herding	α initial situation: I2b family nomenclature I9 well-being	
Cannibal in-laws decide to kill Geesó Duqa in order to get his cattle	A villainy: I33 first appearance (ζ^1 villains get information) I36 M motivation of villainy A^{xvii} thread of cannibalism among relatives	
Geesó Duqa is bringing the cattle home. The calf runs to him and wants to suck milk.	II58,59 hero's entry IV, $D=F^9$ helper/donor/agent IV78b request of donor	B 411.3 helpful calf
It is allowed to suck and tells Geesó Duqa he'll be killed It promises to tell him about their plans. The cannibals plan to put a snake above the door.	IV79a positive answer of hero B^4 announcement of misfortune f^9 agent indicates he will come in time of need A villainy X preview III46,47,50 person performing/form/aim of villainy	B 211 animal uses human speech
When Geesó Duqa returns home, the calf informs him about the plans of the cannibals. He says: "Ah, I'll die." The calf tells him to let a big bull go first.	$D=F^9$ helper appears/ 1st function of the donor B^4 announcement of misfortune (B^7 lament of hero) V89 wisdom of the helper C=G consent to counteraction; route shown to hero	B 521 animal warns for fatal danger
The snake kills the bull instead of Geesó Duqa. The bull is eaten.	V108,109,116,117 roles of hero and helper Rs^9 salvation of being destroyed	B 520 animal saves person's life
The cannibals discuss their next try and poison beer.	VI: beginning of second move A X planning evil deeds	B 411.3
The calf runs and tells of their plan. Geesó Duqa says:"Let it be, I'll be killed" The calf: "No, but I'll kick the beer" He takes the beer and the calf, grazing nearby, kicks and spills it. He chases it, but they convince him to leave it. The calf again eavesdrop the meeting of the cannibals. They want to kill him at night. The wife shows his bed. The calf runs and tells what happened.	$D=F^9$ B^4 (B^7) C=G K^5 misfortune is done away with through the use of a magical agent Rs^9 A, X planning evil deeds ζ^1 $D=F^9$	B 211 B 521 B 520

Analysing the remainder of section in this manner, we arrive at the following formula:

$$\alpha \text{ A } \zeta^1 \text{ M D=F}^9 \text{ IV78b IV79b B}^4 \text{ [A X } (\zeta^1)^3 \text{ D B}^4 \text{ C=G } (\theta^1 \text{ M})^3 \text{ Rs}^9]\text{x3 C}\uparrow \varepsilon^1 \text{ [Pr Rs}^2]\text{x2 U I}$$

Such a formula gives a quick overview of the headlines of a story. Such analyses also facilitate comparison with other tales and show the elements that are necessary for a certain type of tale. For example, an Ama Irmi story should always have the element of swallowing things or people, otherwise it is not to be grouped under the Ama Irmi stories. Here we are not so much interested in comparison but rather in an understanding of this single story. We have encountered some drawbacks of applying the Propp-apparatus to this particular story and we discuss these in the next section.

3.4 Inadequacy of the Propp-analysis

While analysing this tale in Propp's terms, we got the feeling that something was wrong. Too often we could not find a fitting code. Some examples: When the cannibals do not succeed in killing Geesó Duqa, is he having a victory or not? If he does, it is a strange battle since he does not do anything really. When the calf plans how to counteract, is it to be qualified as a magical agent offering its services? It simply tells Geesó Duqa what to do, and this is not used by Geesó Duqa to reach a goal, that is, the calf gives him a form of guidance, but not to a designated (spatial) place. Behind these problems is the fundamental question: Is Geesó Duqa the hero of our tale? In a western pattern of thought a hero does impressive deeds, rescues a princess or performs difficult tasks. The hero, when very young and innocent, can be overwhelmed by villains and rescued by a helper, as in the case of Little Red Riding Hood, but even she has certain tasks, such as to bring food to her grandmother. Geesó Duqa is not a naïve boy, but a married man. He has no task to fulfil nor lack of anything. Neither does he impress us with his wisdom or noble deeds since it is the calf that does the thinking for him. Geesó Duqa is almost too passive to be a hero. Even when he is doing something of his own accord, pinching the calf in the introductory first section, this is not a worthy deed, but rather something that deserves punishment. The calf, however, does not fit the role of hero either: It is given to Geesó Duqa and not threatened by the cannibals whatsoever, as is confirmed by the use of demonstratives, see 5.4. The question arises: Who is controlling the course of events? This passiveness of Geesó Duqa makes the whole story complicated. His role affects the role of the calf and the villainy. There is no seeking-for-something, no complication that makes his task difficult, because he does not lack anything and doesn't have a task. The feeling that prevailed in the end was of wrenching this tale in a false blueprint. With a lot of goodwill it is possible, but in fact the tale and the blueprint don't fit each other well. Many elements from the western-based Propp-tables are present and easily recognisable: envy of rich people, the trick to change places, the villain finally defeated, intelligence always wins, the theme of life and death, etcetera. And the basic entities as such, a hero, villain(s), a helper, to overcome a difficulty, are the basic ingredients of this

story too but their values and therefor their functions are different. The approach seems in need of certain extensions in order to accommodate for the Geesó Duqa story: victory in the form of eliminating a threat, an agent/helper who tells the hero how to counteract; and the inclusion of new elements such as the planning of evil deeds, an inactive hero who does not show social or admirable behaviour. These new elements function again as motivation for other elements, like a new threat posed by the villain. It is our impression that the Geesó Duqa story is not unique among the stories of the Iraqw in portraying an in-active or anti-social hero. The most famous hero in Iraqw stories, Lach, is anti-social to the extreme and he too manages not to be the direct agent of the dreadful things that happen around him (Mous 1998). Possibly similar observations can be made for other African literatures.

4 Performance

Oral texts differ from other literature in the importance of the performance. In telling a story the story teller not only uses her voice, but her whole body. The way she gestures and the way she speaks gives life to the story. For example, a story teller may vary fast speech, as opposed to normal speech; use breathy voice, creaky voice or whisper; use high pitch speech, etc. The effect of using these possibilities is to increase the tension and to mark a climax. Maria Sanka, the teller of the Geesó Duqa story, did not make much use of whisper, breathy or creaky voice. Therefore we attend to fast speech to see if it runs parallel with the climaxes in this story. In order to do so the duration of speech between two pauses is measured and the syllables in this stretch are counted yielding the relative speed of the speech in syllables per second. The thesis is that there is a higher relative speed towards a climax.

Another phenomenon that we look at are the occurrences of pauses. Pauses can mean different things: They can mark the ending of a clause, the ending of a sentence, but also the beginning of a new paragraph. Some pauses are not intended and have no meaning. We take three fragments from different parts of the story and measure all the pauses in order to see if different lengths of pauses run parallel with the different functions, with different developments in the story or with narration versus conversation. The first fragment is taken from the very beginning of the story. It is about the pinching of the buffalo child by Geesó Duqa from line 1 till line 6/7 as numbered in the glossed text in the appendix. The second fragment is about the spilling of the beer, from line 116 till 128. The third fragment is when the calf tells Geesó Duqa that his wife showed his bed to the cannibal clan, from line 164 till 175. The texts of the fragments as presented here sometimes differ from the glossed text in the appendix. This is because in the text in the appendix errors of performance such as stammering are amended. Measurement of the duration of pauses and the stretches between pauses have been carried out using a speech analysis program *Praat*.

4.1 Values

The values for the duration of pauses and stretches of speech between pauses are given in three tables, one for each fragment. The first column is the Iraqw text. The second column shows the length of the text in seconds. The third column shows if the participator (see section 1) made a remark. Here P stands for a pause that does not contain speech by the participator and X indicates a pause in the speech of the story teller during which the participator interrupts. The fourth column shows the length of the pause in seconds. The fifth column shows the number of syllables in that part of speech. Finally, the sixth column shows the relative speed of the text in syllables per second.

Table 2: Durations of fragment 1

	Iraqw text	Length	Remark	Pause	Syll	Speed
1.	Tokaroya	0.855	P+X	1.408	4	4.678
2.	saree/a i bara xatstakarwa qaqeer.	1.645	P	1.567	12	7.295
3.	Saree/a iwa bara xatstawa qaqeer,	1.669	P+X	0.788	12	7.190
4.	nee na/aywos.	0.925	P+X	1.330	3	3.243
5.	Geeso Duqa i didawa iwiiwiit.	1.617	P+X	1.905	11	6.803
6.	Na/oo saree/a gun kutsuuhh.	1.617	P+X	1.211	8	4.947
7.	Na/oo saree/a bira /aa/,	1.565	P+X	0.733	8	5.112
8.	saree/a in /akut	0.922	P	1.812	6	6.508
9.	saree/a bira /akut in o' geeso duqa na/aay gar kwa /is.	2.270	P+X	0.652	18	7.930
10.	I-na oo' maga' ee ar'ee	1.226	P	0.182	8	6.525
11.	damarok in net.	0.992	P+X	2.077	5	5.040
12.	Kar'arlo'	0.542	P	1.495	3	5.535

Table 3: Durations of fragment 2

	Iraqw text	Length	Remark	Pause	Syll	Speed
13.	Ina o' daqani an buura aqo kalaa/. Ku ka too qas bara afa,	2.675	P	0.591	21	7.850
14.	ngay ku'us, qware'amo hleemee u gaas. Tawa hardah,	2.758	P	1.970	15	5.439
15.	naagay	0.709	P	1.198	2	2.821
16.	kar	0.223	P	0.216	1	4.484
17.	tawa hardah	0.804	P	2.084	4	4.975
18.	kar	0.164	P	0.044	1	6.849
19.	tawa,	0.389	P	0.657	2	5.141
20.	kar buura kawa qaas, tana oo' geeso duqa buura awang. Qwalang buura a /ayaan laati buura tos ka qaro sumi qaas.	4.642	P+X	1.571	35	7.540
21.	hhay /aga	0.720	P+X	0.469	3	4.167
22.	tatoo hareros	1.428	P+X	1.119	5	3.501
23.	Kar tawa hardah,	1.032	P	1.883	5	4.845
24.	tana oo' are buura gan. Qware'amowos kwa dalaa/ buuraro.	2.264	P+X	1.075	19	8.392
25.	Is buura gana qaas bara afa.	1.437	P	0.472	10	6.959
26.	Hikwawos ga male duux.	1.189	P+X	0.794	7	5.887
27.	Dama i amodi qeer. Damadar saree/a i hi'it, i qeer.	3.296			13	3.944

Table 4: Durations of fragment 3

28. Ina o' laa kar tun qati ay,	1.263	P	0.860	9	7.126
29. ta axwees. Hare qatnirok hleemee ga laqaan. Ina o' qatniros tiqa'.	2.846	P+X	0.712	21	7.379
30. Tana oo' daqani u gaasaan. Ina o' ka hhoo'.	1.777	P	1.297	14	7.878
31. Kar is ina oo'	0.681	P	0.170	5	7.342
32. ala ma /iis hato'. Tiqo gaas.	1.589	P+X	0.607	9	5.664
33. Ina o' aslay tu gaasiika.	1.516	P	1.767	9	5.937
34. Tu kwatiitiika gaasaro.	1.516	P	0.431	8	5.277
35. Ina o' gimay, hare bira gu,	1.235	P+X	0.710	10	8.097
36. ku dasir do'in kar warahhas bara qatuwok, gagareek.	2.483	P	0.751	13	5.326
37. Inqwarir dasir do'in na tsiiteek.	1.550	P	1.051	10	6.452
38. Kar aama aa gu' xweerawo ka qati tsuuq.	2.121	P	0.836	12	5.658

There are noticeable differences in relative speed. The highest value is 8.392 syllables per second and the lowest 2.821 syllables per second. The pauses vary dramatically too: the longest pause is 2.077 seconds and the shortest 0.044 seconds.

4.2 Conclusions

The measurements are limited to these three segments but before measuring, the text as a whole was marked for pauses and an impressionistic value of these pauses was indicated. The tendencies that were noted in these three fragments were checked and confirmed against the text as a whole. The conclusions are illustrated from specific instances in fragments that were measured. The numbers refer to the lines in Tables 2-4 and not to those of the glossed text in the appendix.

The relative speed is higher in conversation than in narrative.

In fragment one, line 9 and 10 are partly conversation and the speed of these lines is relatively high compared to the other lines in the fragment. But the difficulty is that most of the lines with conversation are partly narrative and partly conversation. Therefore we took one long line, line 24, from the text to measure both the conversation and narrative parts of it, table 5.

Table 5: Narrative and conversation in line 24

kar buura ka-wa qaas, ta-na oo'	1.313	9	6.855	N
Geeso Duqa buura aw-ang. Qwal-ang buura a/ay-aan	1.719	15	8.726	C
laati buura tos ka qaro sum-i qaas.	1.610	11	6.832	N

The first column shows the text of line 24; the second column shows the length of the text in seconds; the third column shows the number of syllables; the fourth column shows the relative speed in syllables per second; in the fifth column the N stands for narrative and the C for conversation.

It is clear that the relative speed of the conversation in this line is higher than the relative speed of the narrative.

Fragment one is a fragment with little conversation, while fragment three has a lot of conversation. we calculated the average relative speed of the two fragments. The average relative speed of fragment 1

is 5.980 syllables per second, and the average relative speed of fragment three is 6.553 syllables per second. Again an indication that the speed in conversation is higher.

The relative speed is higher near a climax.

In lines 20 and 24, the relative speed is respectively 7.540 and 8.392 syllables per second. The story reaches one of its climaxes at that point, i.e. the second attempt to murder Geesó Duqa. The cannibals come to Geesó Duqa and put poison into his beer. And then they ask him to come to drink the beer.

A relatively long pause marks a new paragraph.

In line 11 the pause is 2.077 seconds. The first word after the pause is *kár'arló* 'really, in fact'. This word often marks a new paragraph. It does so in this case as well. The buffalo asks Geesó Duqa: 'What are you doing to my child?', and he answers: 'Nothing'. Then the narrator tells us: '*In fact*, this was what he was doing'. This is the beginning of a new paragraph indicated by *kár'arló'* and a long pause.

In line 17 there is another long pause (2.084 seconds). At this point in the story, a new paragraph begins, but the performer forgets how to begin the new paragraph. The translation is something like:

15. Well…
16. Well…
17. When they arrived…
18. Well…
19. When they…
20. They had put beer there, they said: " Geesó Duqa, come for beer. Come! Let us drink beer." Poison had already been put into his beer.

Pauses in conversation are shorter.

Fragment three is the fragment that has the most conversation. In order to see if the pauses in conversation are shorter, we calculated the average pause of the three fragments. The average pause in fragment three is the shortest, as expected: 0.836 seconds. The average pause of fragments one and two are respectively 1.258 and 1.010 seconds.

In conclusion, we can state that the speed of narration is higher when nearing a climax and in conversation and as a consequence in these circumstances pauses are shorter. Long pauses are used to mark new paragraphs. Some pauses are the result of hesitations or other imperfections of performance.

5 Coherence through the use of demonstratives

In this section the use and meaning of demonstratives in the story of Geesó Duqa are discussed. In order to have a broader impression of the use and meaning of demonstratives in story telling some comparisons are made with demonstratives occurring in the Iraqw stories that were collected in the 1930s by Paul Berger and published by Roland Kiessling, Berger and Kiessling (1998).

In Iraqw, demonstratives are expressed by adding a suffix to the noun stem, whilst a gender linking morpheme is placed between the masculin or feminin noun stem and the demonstrative suffix. In case of a neuter noun the suffix is directly attached to the noun. There are basically four demonstrative suffixes:

DEM1: *-í* or *-ká* (the latter one being an allomorph for neuter nouns): near the speaker;

DEM2: *-síng*: near the addressee;

DEM3: *-qá'*: near neither of them but still visible;

DEM4: *-dá'*: far away.

DEM3 and DEM4 also occur in a reduplicated form: *-qáqá'* and *-dádá'* respectively, see Mous (1993).

The demonstrative suffixes are not always attached to the noun. If the noun is already modified by a possessive suffix, the demonstrative will take the shape of a separate pronoun. Such independent demonstratives are formed by a stem that agrees in gender with the head noun (*ku* for masculin and neuter nouns, *ti* or *ta* for feminine nouns) followed by the appropriate demonstrative suffix. This pronominal form of the demonstrative comes after the modified noun, but may also occur alone, provided that it is obvious from the context to which noun it refers.

Having remarked that a possessive suffix and a demonstrative suffix cannot be attached together to a noun stem and that such a situation is solved through the use of a separate demonstrative pronoun, we will not elaborate on possible suffix combinations involving a demonstrative, nor on morphophonemic processes that may take place. It must be noted however that the demonstratives can be followed by other suffixes and are thus not necessarily in word final position.

We found 51 occurences of a demonstrative in the story: 13 times DEM1 (*-í -ká*), 3 times DEM2 (*-síng*), 8 times DEM3 (*-qá'*), 21 times DEM4 (*-dá'*), once the reduplicated DEM3-DEM3 (*-qáqá'*) and 5 times the reduplicated DEM4-DEM4 (*-dádá'*).

The nouns that the demonstratives are attached to —or in case of independent demonstratives, the nouns with which they must be taken together— can be divided into four categories: nouns of space, time and manner and other nouns including, among others, persons and objects.

5.1 Place

Of the 51 demonstratives used in "The buffalo and Geesó Duqa" 16 are combined with a locational noun, namely with *dii* 'place', *amoo* 'place', *gawa* 'top', *bihhi'* 'side', *bara* 'in' and *tla/amu* 'middle'. We find DEM1 once, DEM3 twice, DEM4 eleven times and DEM4-DEM4 twice. The DEM1 as well as both cases of DEM3 occur in reported speech. All cases of DEM4 on the other hand are found in the narrative text and are used referentially. As for the DEM4-DEM4s, one occurs in reported speech, the other in the narrative.

Remarkable is the cannibals' use of *dirihêekee,* DEM1 (l.50) to express that their daughter lives at Geesó Duqa's house. In this case DEM1 certainly does not mean 'near us'. Here DEM1 must be understood in a referential way. Geesó Duqa's house has not been mentioned, but the cannibals have been talking about him and his cattle. Through using DEM1 they focus on the fact that their daughter is in

the very place that they are talking about, the place where Geesó Duqa and his cattle are. Once established that the girl is in that place, the cannibals can now refer to it with *dirqá'* (DEM3, l.63), expressing that the girl lives somewhere else, not amongst them. Whether or not this place can be seen from where the cannibals are, seems hardly relevant as *–qá'* is not used gesturally but symbolically.

The second *dirqá'* (l.218) is a nice example of gestural use of DEM3. Here the calf actually points to a certain place, saying to Geesó Duqa: "beat there with your stick". Obviously in this case the place is within eyesight of both the calf and Geesó Duqa.

The DEM4s and DEM4-DEM4s refer each time to a —often immediately— preceding noun or phrase. For example *didáwa* (l.2) 'at that place' refers to the place where the buffalo is grazing, as was narrated in the preceding lines. *Baradá'* (l.184), 'inside that', refers to the just mentioned bed of Geesó Duqa. Both DEM4-DEM4s (l.26,237) are used to express 'just there', 'at that exact same place'.

5.2 Time

A noun + demonstrative forming an adjunct of time is used only 3 times: *siwrí* (time-DEM1, l.193), *xweeraka'ee* (night-DEM1, l.196) and *aludá'* (behind-DEM4, l.264).[1] Both DEM1s occur in dialogue: the cannibals and Geesó Duqa —at that moment mistaken for the girl of the cannibal clan— discuss what to do best now. The DEM1s place the actual moment in the centre of their considerations, the listener's attention is directed to the specific moment. In the case of *xweeraka'ee*, 'this night', the DEM1 also serves to contrast this night with other nights.

Aludá' is derived from *ala*, which is actually a locational noun, but one that can be extended into the temporal domain, see Carlin & Mous (1995). *Dá'* refers here to a phrase immediately preceding. The time setting remains rather vague, which may have something to do with the DEM4, but which is of course at least partly due to the imprecise nature of *ala*. The listener's attention is not directed to the specific moment of Gesa Duqa's death, he is just informed that in the end Geesó Duqa died.

In our Geesó Duqa story the narrator makes little use of time demonstratives. It appears that in the Berger collection time demonstratives are not used very frequently either. DEM1 occurs, but only sporadically. DEM2 and DEM3 do not occur at all in combination with a time indicating noun. DEM4, *dá'*, is found more frequently. It seems typically a narrator's instrument, timing one event at (or before or after) the moment or period of another event, like 'by then the sun had set' or 'whenever that time came ..'.

As the Berger texts illustrate, a time noun may be combined with DEM4-DEM4. Here too reference is made to the moment or period of some event that has just been narrated. But in contrast to the time

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[1] The use of *laarí* 'today' (DEM1) was left aside. It is a lexicalized form and the normal way to express 'today'. Mous remarks that *laa,* without the linked demonstrative, expressing 'today', is only used in narration (Mous, 1993:226). Indeed in our story both *laarí* and *láa* are found.

setting through DEM4, which is rather neutral, unemphasized, the reduplicated form establishes a strong time focus. The attention of the listener is drawn to the fact that something happened at just that (same) time: 'There and then, Nambooya let the elephant out' (Berger and Kiessling 1998: 89, 92). An expectation that something is going to happen may thus be invoked.

5.3 Manner

Ado is the Iraqw word for 'manner, way', and it occurs with any of the four demonstratives (Nordbustad 1988:197). In the Geesó Duqa story we come upon just two forms: *adorí* (DEM1) and *adosingeeká* (DEM2). *Adorí* is used twice in the narrative text (l.7,32), referring to a preceding description of a course of action; *adosingeeká* on the other hand is used in a reported speech episode where Geesó Duqa addresses a cannibal and refers to the way in which this cannibal intends to act. The use of DEM2 poses no problem, nor does the use of the DEM1s.

When we look at the distribution of *ado* + demonstrative in the Berger collection we find that it occurs by far the most often with DEM1. It appears a typical narrator's expression used at the end of a description of some kind: "in those times it was like this", "they went on like this" or "the Iraqw do this even nowadays". It is often part of a transition to a new paragraph in the story, as is the case with *adorí* (l.7,32) of the Geesó Duqa story, or it may even mark the end of a story.

5.4 Other nouns

Out of the 51 demonstratives in the story, we find 29 that are used in combination with a person/object noun. We find demonstratives in combination with 'child' (referring to the calf), 'cattle' (Geesó Duqa's cattle), 'man' (Geesó Duqa), 'thing' (the things being said by the cannibals), 'bull' (a bull of Geesó Duqa's herd), 'snake', 'calf', 'beer', 'bed' (Geesó Duqa's bed), 'lake', 'road' and 'bull' (a bull of Geesó Duqa, one that is born later). So, many of the participants occur in some way or another in combination with a demonstrative. Of the main characters only the buffalo (the mother of the calf), the wife of Geesó Duqa and the cannibal clan do not.

DEM2 in combination with a person/object noun appears twice in the story. Both are found in the dialogue between the buffalo and Geesó Duqa, where the buffalo refers to its calf. So, DEM2 occurs in a situation where there is cleary an addressee. It seems a bit strange, however, that the mother should use DEM2 to refer to the child and not DEM1, but this may simply be due to the fact that the child is at that moment standing closest to Geesó Duqa. Yet it may also express something else, namely that in the near future the child is not going to be with her anymore but with Geesó Duqa, as she herself is going to die. The buffalo's use of possessives points in the direction of such a perception, as she even says *na/aywók kusíng* 'that child of yours' (l.24) referring to her own calf.

All instances of DEM3 occur in reported speech or dialogue. We find the cannibal clan speaking

amongst themselves of *gitlaqá'*, 'that man' (l.41), and *hikwaqá'*, 'those cattle' (l.42). From the context it is clear which man is meant, namely Geesó Duqa, as well as which cattle, Geesó Duqa's cattle. It is unlikely that the use of DEM3 here has anything to do with where Geesó Deqa and his cattle actually are at that moment, rather is DEM3 used symbolically. It seems to express the dissociation between the cannibal clan on the one hand and Geesó Duqa and his cattle on the other hand, their not belonging together. The DEM3 here has a negative sound: one hears disapproval, jealousy. Just as DEM2 does, DEM3 offers the audience the perspective of a participant in the story, in this case the perspective of "the bad guys".

In the Berger collection we find two stories that are largely the same as ours, namely the story of Ama Irmi (Berger and Kiessling 1998: 61-64) and the second half of the story of Loohay (ibid: p.112-122), see 3.1. In the story of Ama Irmi a man has moved into a land and the people of that land want to get rid of him. They, too, use DEM3 when they discuss this among themselves: "*Kuqá' mur gaamaamiisaán?*": 'How can we do away with that man?' (ibid: p.61). In the story of Loohay, on the other hand, the people use DEM1 *gitlaawí* 'this man' at this point (ibid: p.115).

In our story of Geesó Duqa we find another instance of DEM3: *gitlaqá'*, 'that man' (l.153). Again the cannibal clan refers to Geesó Duqa and uses DEM3 in a symbolical manner -whether or not Geesó Duqa is around is not an issue-, but this time the cannibals are speaking to their daughter, who is Geesó Duqa's wife. By using DEM3 when they are speaking to Geesó Duqa's wife, they seem to express that they consider Geesó Duqa to be their adversary but the girl to be on their side.

In l.167 the wife of Geesó Duqa points out Geesó Duqa's bed to the cannibal clan: *qatnirós a tiqá'*, using DEM3. Apparently she keeps some distance from the bed and makes a gesture at it. It may be a neutral way of pointing at the bed, like the calf pointed at the bull, but the use of DEM3 in stead of DEM1 might also reveal her attitude towards Geesó Duqa, which appears not too positive as she is quite willing to agree with the plans of her people to kill him.

A gestural use of DEM3 is found in l.86, where the calf says *awqú*, 'that bull'. This bull has not yet been introduced to the audience. Apparently the introduction is done through the use of DEM3: we imagine the calf gesturing to the bull to point him out to Geesó Duqa. At this moment in the actual storytelling the storyteller Maria Sanka will probably have made some gestures to act the situation.

Interestingly, we find in the story of Ama Irmi as included in the Berger collection the reduplicated form DEM3-DEM3 in this exact same situation. This is even more remarkable since DEM3-DEM3 occurs only twice in all the Berger texts. In the story of Loohay, however, no demonstrative is used in this scene.

The one time that a DEM3-DEM3 is used in our story it is used by the cannibals speaking to Geesó Duqa whom they mistake for their daughter. As the cannibals are at Geesó Duqa's place, *hikwaqáqá'*

'those cattle' (l.192) may now actually be within eyesight. And in a more symbolical way the cattle are now —as the cannibals perceive it— no longer out of reach, though they still don't quite have them either. Possibly DEM-DEM3 also expresses the strong focus of the cannibals at the cattle, their desire to have it. *Hikwaká*, using DEM1, in the next line may even express a —somewhat premature— appropriation.

Apart from this DEM1 (l.193) we find not many other instances of DEM1 used with a person/object noun. *Muruwí* and *muru'ín kwí*, 'these things' and 'these things of theirs' (l.51,52) refer to the discussions of the cannibal clan and are used by the narrator. They typically serve to close one scene and pass on to the next one.

Awuwí 'this bull' (l.94 and 260) and *damarí* 'this calf' (l.135) are used by Geesó Duqa. All three of the animals referred to are nearby. The choice of DEM1 is obvious, perhaps even more so since the bulls as well as the calf are owned by Geesó Duqa.

Tlawtí 'this lake' (l.230). is an example of gestural use of DEM1 as the calf is standing at the edge of the lake, pointing it out to Geesó Duqa.

Awuwós kwí, 'this bull of his', (l.256), applying DEM1, is an example of DEM1 used in a referential manner. In a subtle way the narrator asks the audience to remember that this bull has been mentioned earlier. DEM1 establishes the connection with the words of the calf, spoken somewhat further back in the story. Also this DEM1 marks the transition to a new scene.

DEM4 is used quite often and —when in combination with persons/objects— always in the narrative text. DEM4 allows the narrator to connect remarks she makes concerning the same persons or things throughout the story. DEM4 establishes such connections in a kind of neutral manner, less emphasizing than DEM1 does. Interestingly, the narrator never combines DEM4, nor DEM1 for that matter, with the characters that gave her story its title: Geesó Duqa and the buffalo (the calf's mother). The buffalo is being referred to with the word for buffalo *saree/a* or with the morpheme expressing third person singular. For Geesó Duqa she uses his name or again the third person singular. There is however one exception: *heedádá'* 'that man', used in the narrative text and applying DEM4-DEM4, see below. As we already mentioned earlier, the cannibal clan is never combined with any demonstrative. The cannibals are referred to with *hhay /aga* 'cannibal clan' or with the impersonal subject marker *ta*, see also Klomp (1993). It is especially the calf that the narrator identifies a few times through the use of *dá'*: *na/aywós kudú saree/a,* 'that child of a buffalo' (l.36) and *damadár saree/a* 'that calf of a buffalo' (l.128,203,216).

In Burunge, a language related to Iraqw (both are being classified as belonging to the West-Rift branch of Southern Cushitic) two demonstrative suffixes have referential use. The one *–iri* or *–ira* refers to nouns mentioned a bit further back in the narrative, the other one *–ee* is used when the noun has just been mentioned. Kiessling (1994:80-81) observes that the use of these demonstratives often goes

together with a hierarchy of the actors: the main actors tend to be referred to with –*ee*, the less important actors tend to be referred to with –*iri* or –*ira*. In the story of Geesó Duqa we do not find such a clear opposition between demonstratives that correlates with a role hierarchy. Nevertheless there are distinctions found in the story. The title heroes —one could argue about the importance of the buffalo though— are not referred to by the narrator through any referential demonstratives, nor are the cannibals who, like Geesó Duqa, play a main role in the story as his enemy. The calf on the other hand is on a few occasions referred to by the demonstrative -*dá'*. This may have the effect of putting it in a secondary place, in spite of the fact that it is quite important in the story. Apparently the narrator doesn't consider the identity of the calf, after its first introduction of course, self-evident enough to be not in need of further explanation. And as we saw above, the narrator once uses DEM1 in combination with a character of her story, namely to remind the audience of the bull, about which the calf had spoken earlier. But on the basis of this one story it is not possible to generalize about role hierarchy and its possible reflection in the use (or absence) of demonstratives in Iraqw stories. A quick look at the Berger collection reveals that narrators vary quite a lot in their use of DEM1, DEM4 and also DEM4-DEM4 attached to the characters of their stories.

Finally, the use of DEM4-DEM4 in the story of Geesó Duqa has to be considered. As we saw above, it is used twice together with a locative noun, expressing 'precisely there', 'just there'. In combination with a person/object noun it is used once by the cannibals: *fanfe'amodádá'* 'that snake' (l.96) and twice by the narrator: *heedádá',* 'that man' (l.207) and *tlawtidádá'* 'that lake' (l.239). Mous remarks on the DEM4-DEM4 that it is used with nouns that have already been mentioned and are either invisible or in the past. The invisibility is not necessarily caused by long distance, someone or something may be concealed from sight through other causes, see Mous (1993:91). With some imagination one could say that indeed the snake was hidden by the cannibals, Geesó Duqa —'that man'— is out of sight for the cannibals as he has fled with his cattle, and the lake partly disappears, forming a road for Geesó Duqa to cross. Apart from this, the DEM4-DEM4s rather seem to focus the listener's attention to the unexpectedness, the miraculousness of the things that are happening. In the Berger collection, some stories contain relatively many DEM4-DEM4s whereas others lack them. The story of Numbay is the most striking example here, accounting for one fifth of all the DEM4-DEM4s. Once the youths of the village, the wife of Numbay, her father and the neighbours have been mentioned, the narrator of this story repeatedly refers to them using the DEM4-DEM4. Why he does this is not clear. Apparently the use of a noun with DEM4-DEM4 does not necessarily imply invisibility or a setting in the past. Of course "Numbay" is a story about former times, but that is nothing special for an Iraqw story and normally doesn't trigger such abundance of DEM4-DEM4. In our story, the DEM4-DEM4s used with person/object nouns could, with some imagination, indicate that something or someone is "invisible", but apparently

this is not a necessary feature of DEM4-DEM4.

Looking at the distribution of demonstratives in the Berger texts we find a total of some 1100 demonstratives, distributed as follows: 36% DEM1, 6% DEM2, 6% DEM3, 43% DEM4, 0% DEM3-DEM3 (found only twice!) and 9% DEM4-DEM4. In the story of Geesó Duqa we find a remarkably varied use of the demonstratives (25% DEM1, 6% DEM2, 16% DEM3, 41% DEM4, 2% DEM3-DEM3 and 10% DEM4-DEM4), contributing to the different perspectives in the story and definitely adding to its liveliness.

5.5 Summary of the findings

On the basis of the story "The buffalo and Geesó Duqa" we come to the following observations concerning the use and meaning of demonstratives:

DEM1 is used by characters in the story, expressing "near me" in a spatial sense, but possibly also referring to a concept of ownership or belonging together, expressing an attitude. Combined with a time noun DEM1 focusses to a specific moment and may also establish a contrast with other moments. On the other hand DEM1 is used referentially. The narrator uses DEM1 to refer to information that is given somewhat further back in the story or to a preceding episode, therewith closing that episode off and preparing the scene for a next event.

DEM2 (*-síng*) is only found in dialogue and indicates "near you (the addressee)". This nearness can be just spatial, but it seems also possible that DEM2 expresses a kind of ownership, a being connected to the addressee. Surely this is the case with the manner noun, but it may also be valid for person/object nouns combined with DEM2.

DEM3 (*-qá'*) is only found in reported speech and dialogue, never in narrative text. In dialogue DEM3 can be used gesturally, meaning within eyesight of the participants in the conversation, but at some distance from the speaker as well as from the addressee. A gestural use of DEM3 by one of the characters in the story may at the same time serve as an introduction of a new person (or object). DEM3 can also be used in a symbolical manner. In these cases DEM3 seems to express an attitude of the character that is speaking, expressing his or her dissociation from the person or object that is referred to.

DEM4 is used referentially, referring to something or someone just mentioned. Other than DEM1, DEM4 establishes connections in an unemphasized manner.

DEM3-DEM3 is used in dialogue and establishes a strong focus.

DEM4-DEM4 occurs in reported speech as well as in the narrative text. It establishes a strong focus in a referential way. DEM4-DEM4 seemingly emphasizes the unexpectedness, the miraculousness of an event. Invisibility may also play a role.

In the story under scrutiny the narrator does not indicate the main characters through the use of

demonstratives, apart from once using DEM4-DEM4 'that man' for Geesó Duqa. But when she refers to the calf she uses a few times DEM4. Possibly the use of demonstratives reflects a role hierarchy of the characters in the story. A quick look a the Berger texts, however, shows that other patterns than that in our story can be found. In general it appears that in the Berger texts additional ways of use of demonstratives are found.

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Appendix: Saree/a nee Geesoó Dúqangw The buffalo and Geesó Duqa

1. **tokaro-yâ saree/a i bará xats-ta-ka-r-wa qa-qéer.**
   once-BREAK buffalo S3 in:CON valley-F1-INDEF-F-ABL HAB-graze:3.SG.F

2. **saree/a i-wa bará xats-ta-wa qa-qéer, geesó duqa i di-dá-wa iwiiwiit.**
   buffalo S.3-BGND in:CON valley-F1-ABL HAB-graze:3.SG.F geesó duqa S3 place-DEM4-ABL sit:HAB:3.SG.M:PRES

3. **na/óo saree/a g-u-n kutsuuhh.**
   child:M:CON buffalo O.3-O.M-EXPEC pinch:3.SG.M:PRES

4. **na/óo saree/a bir-a /aa/, saree/a bir-a /akút i-n o'**
   child:M:CON buffalo COND:S3-INF cry:3.SG.M buffalo COND:S.3-INF jump:3.SG.F S.3-EXPEC say:3.SG.F

5. **geesó duqa na/aay gá-r kw-a /ís a milá.**
   geesó duqa child thing:CON-F O.3:DEP.S.1/2:O.M-PERF do:2.SG COP what

6. **i káhh ar'ée dama-r-ók i-n nét.**
   S.3 be:absent:3.SG.F sorry calf-F-2.SG.POSS S.3-EXPEC play:3.SG.F

7. **kar'arló', ado-r-í g-a-na /imíis, g-a-na malé kutsúuhh**
   truely manner-F-DEM1 O.3-O.F-PAST do:DUR:3.SG.M:PAST O3-O.F-PAST again pinch:3.SG.M:PAST

8. **saree/a bir-a /akút i-n o'**
   buffalo COND:S.3-INF jump:3.SG.F S.3-EXPEC say:3.SG.F

9. **geesó duqa dama-r-'ée' adór ka /ís.**
   geesó duqa calf-F-POSS.1.SG manner: F:CON O.3:DEP.S.1/2:O.F do:2.SG.M

10. **án adó-r nga láaq i káhh. dama-r-ók i-n nét**
    1.SG manner: F:CON O.3:DEP.S.1:O.F:PERF do:1.SG S.3 be:absent:3.SG.F calf-F-2.SG.POSS S.3-EXPEC play:3.SG.F

11. **ki/ima tám-ee g-a-na kutsúuhh. kar ís i-na malé /akút**
    turn three-BGND O.3-O.F-PAST pinch:3.SG.M:PAST well 3.SG S.3-PAST again jump:3.SG.F

12. **ya'e g-a-ri geeqéer**
    leg O.3-O.F-CONSEC break:3.SG.F

13. **ya'e ngi-wa geeqéer, i-na ó'**
    leg O3:DEP.S3:O.F-BGND break:3SG.F S3-PAST say:3SG.F

14. **hám geesó duqa daxata adór ni laaq.**
    now geesó duqa now manner: F:CON DEP.S.1.SG do:1.SG:SBJV

15. **adór ta laq a-qo i-n gáas i-ri /áay.**
    manner: F:CON DEP.S1/2 do:2SG:SBJV COP-EMPH O2SG.F-EXPEC kill:1SG O.2SG.F-CONSEC eat:1SG

16. **i-na ó' án m-i /ay-aar, adór na/ay-'ée'.**
    s3-PAST say:3SG.F 1SG PROH-O1SG eat-NEG.IMP manner: F:CON child-1SG.POSS

17. **i-na óo' hám daxta adó-r na/ay-w-ók an-á-qo x–u'-a**
    s3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST now now manner: F:CON child-M-2.SG.POSS 1.SG-O.F-EMPH know:1SG:INT-INF

18. **na/ay-w-ók, i-na óo', na/ay qwari g-u gas-i-kee**
    child-M-2.SG.POSS S 3-PAST say:3.SG.M:PAST child hunger O.3-O.M kill:3.SG.F-S.3:INF:INT-NEG:BGND

19. **gár i bu'-i. i-na óo'**
    thing:F:CON S3 sufficient-3SG.M:SBJV S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST

20. **án adór na/ay-w-ók a xuu'-a-ká**
    1SG manner:f:CON child-M-2SG.POSS O.F know-INF-NEG

21. **i-na ó' gimáy aníng án m-i /ay-aar.**
    s.3-PAST say:3.SG.F please 1.SG 1.SG PROH-O.1.SG eat-NEG.IMP

22. **fu'unay-'ée' dimbé duux-eek fadu dimbé ki dimbé fol.**
    meat-1.SG.POSS different take:out-IMP.SG.TR bones different O3:DEP.S1/2:O.N different bury:2SG:SBJV

23. **an-á-qo infolít. i-na ó' ka hhoo' hleemee.**
    1SG-O1.SG-EMPH bury:MIDDLE:2.SG S3-PAST say:3SG.F O3:IMPS:O.F nice:F also

24 **na/ay-w-ók ku-síng daqaní ku bihháa hikwa-wóg-wa nunu-m-ís.**
child-M-2SG.POSS INDEP.M-DEM2 then O.3:DEP:S1/2:O.M side:N:CON cattle-2SG.POSS-ABL suck-DUR-CAUS:2SG

25 **i-na óo' áangw hikwa i diimá, i kôom-a**
S3-PAST say:3.SG.M:PAST before cattle S3 where O.N have:1.SG:INT-INF

26 **i-na ó' hikwa i dayá' di-dá-dá' fadu-'ée' ki fol.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F cattle S3 be:present:N place-DEM4-DEM4 bones-1SG.POSS O3:DEP:S1/2:O.N bury:2SG:SBJV

27 **daqaní ka xwará-r eer. hikwa i-qo ti'iit-iyá'.**
then O3:DEP:S1/2:O.F digging:F:CON go:2SG:SBJV cattle S3-EMPH go:out-3PL

28 **daqaní na/ay-'ée' ku-síng ku gawa-dí nunu-m-ís**
than child-1SG.POSS INDEP.M-DEM2 O3:DEP:S1/2:O.M top-DEM4:DIR suck-DUR-CAUS:2SG

29 **kar naagáy. kar geesó duqa i haré-r kón.**
well well well geesó duqa S3 wife:F:CON have:3SG.M

30 **hare a dasí-r dóo /aga.**
wife COP girl:F:CON house:CON cannibals

31 **kar dasí-r dóo /aga geesó duqa ngi-wa kón,**
well girl:F:CON house:CON cannibals geesó duqa O3:DEP.S3:O.F-BGND have:3SG.M

32 **kar geesó duqa fu'unáy saree/a g-ay ado-r-í láaq,**
well geesó duqa meat:CON buffalo O3-O.N:CONSEC2 manner-F-DEM1 do:3SG.M

33 **g-ay fol-íit, fu'unay dimbé, fadu dimbé.**
O3-O.N:CONSEC2 bury-MIDDLE:3SG.M meat different bones different

34 **di-dá-r fadu g-a-na xwáar, hikwa ng-ay ti'iit-ír.**
place-DEM4-F bones O3-O.F-PAST dig:3SG.M cattle 3PL:O3-O.F:CONSEC2 go:out-3PL

35 **kar'ee hikwa-wós ku-dá' g-i de'a'ín.**
well cattle-3SG.POSS INDEP.N-DEM4 O3-O.N herd:HAB:3SG.M

36 **kar ngi-wa de'a'ín, na/ay-w-ós ku-dú saree/a**
well O3:DEP.S3:O.N-BGND herd:HAB:3SG.M child-M-3SG.POSS INDEP.M-DEM4:M:CON buffalo

37 **ku-n nunumamiis dír hikwa-wós ku-dá'.**
O3:IMPS:O.M-EXPEC feed:DUR:PRES at cattle-3SG.POSS INDEP.N-DEM4

38 **ís bir de'én i dáa' na/ay g-u-n qaqáy.**
3SG COND:S3 herd:3SG.M S3 sing:3SG.M child O3-O.M-EXPEC let:graze:HAB:3SG.M

39 **kar loo'itléer hháy /aga naxés aa iwít dinkwa.**
well next:day clan:CON cannibals accidently S3:PERF sit:3SG.F together

40 **múk dóo taat-óo hare-r-ós tana óo'**
people:M1:CON house:CON grandfather-M:CON wife-F-3SG.POSS IMPS-PAST say:PAST

41 **gitla-qá' baré aangw a mak narkutamo.**
man-DEM3 behold before COP just pauper

42 **hikwa-qá' dí-r ngi-wa hláy a diimá.**
cattle-DEM3 place:F:CON O3:DEP.S3:O.N-BGND get:3SG.M COP where

43 **hikwa-qá' hám loohí-r ki-r hayoh-áan a gaalá.**
cattle-DEM3 now way:F:CON O3:DEP:S1/2:O.N-INSTR take-1PL COP which

44 **gár ki-wa hhóo' a hayoha.**
thing:F:CON O3:IMPS:O.N-BGND nice COP taking

45 **ta-na óo' hám adó-r ki-r hlaw-aan.**
IMPS-PAST say:PAST now manner:F:CON O3:DEP.S1/2:O.N-INSTR get-1PL:SBJV

46 **i-na óo' gim adó-r ki-r hlaw-aan-yâ**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST well manner:F:CON O3:DEP.S1/2:O.N-INSTR get-1PL:SBJV-BREAK

47 **a-qo u-n gaas-áan**
COP-EMPH O.M-EXPEC kill-1PL

48 **ta-na óo' aha, gimsé bur gaas-áan, adó-r ku-r gaas-aan.**

IMPS-PAST say:PAST aha well COND:O.M kill-1PL manner:F:CON O3:DEP.S1/2:O.M-INSTR kill-1PL:SBJV

49 **ís hamí bur gaas-áan adó-r ku-r hlaw-aan a adoomá.**
3SG now COND:O.M kill-1PL manner:F:CON O3:DEP.S1/2:O.M-INSTR get-1PL:SBJV COP how

50 **dasí-r doo-rén i-qo di-r-i-hêe-kee.**
girl:F:CON house:M-1PL.POSS S3-EMPH place-F-DEM1-BGND:INT-NEG:BGND

51 **a-qo ís bir-a de'éengw áy, muruw-í ku-n axwees.**
COP-EMPH 3SG COND:S3-PERF herding:CON go:3SG.M things:M-DEM1 O3:IMPS:O.M-EXPEC say:PRES

52 **inín ta muru-'ín kwí axwees,**
3PL IMPS things:M-3PL.POSS INDEP.M:DEM1 say:PRES

53 **geesó duqa bir-a de'éengw áy**
geesó duqa COND:S3-PERF herding:CON go:3SG.M

54 **kar ís i hikwá dáaf.**
well 3SG S3 cattle:CON return:home:3SG.M

55 **kar dasi i-n /akmamít i-n /akmamít**
well girl S3-EXPEC run:DUR:HAB:3SG.F S3-EXPEC run:DUR:HAB:3SG.F

56 **i-n ó' geesó duqa, an-á /ipíis, lama a kóom.**
S3-EXPEC say:3SG.F geesó duqa 1.SG-S1/2 suck:1.SG witness O.F have:1.SG

57 **i-n oo'-i kíing nunúu' ható'**
S3-EXPEC say-SBJV 2SG.F suck:IMP my:niece

58 **kar i-n nunú' nunú'**
well S3-EXPEC suck:3SG.F suck:3SG.F

59 **kar nunu'a -r-o bir-a hhe'és**
well sucking-F-BGND COND:S3-INF finish:3SG.F

60 **i-n ó' láa kú m-a xú',**
S3-EXPEC say:3SG.F today 2SG.M Q-O.F know:2SG.M

61 **geesó duqa, kú tu gaas nee múk dóo taatú hare-r-ók.**
geesó duqa 2SG.M IMPS:O.2SG.M kill:PRES by people:M1:CON house:M:CON grandfather:M:CON wife-F-2SG.POSS

62 **i-n oo'-i aha, gá-r ti-s gaas-i.**
S3-EXPEC say-SBJV aha thing:F:CON IMPS:O.1.SG-REAS kill-3SG.M:SBJV

63 **ta-na óo' /agmo-rén bir-qo di-r-qá',**
IMPS-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST cannibal:M-1PL.POSS COND:S3-EMPH place-F-DEM3

64 **hikwa i-n hayoh-áan**
cattle O.N-EXPEC take-1PL

65 **i-na ó' tu gaas-ii-ká.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F IMPS:O.2SG.M kill-S3:INF-NEG

66 **hám matlo gá-r tu-r gaas-i, ka-qo kwahleemuut.**
now tomorrow thing:F:CON IMPS:O.2SG.M-INSTR kill-3SG.M:SBJV O3:IMPS:O.F-EMPH discuss:PRES

67 **i-na ó' án ngi-qo óo'.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F 1SG O3:DEP.S1.SG:O.F-EMPH say:1SG

68 **kar ta-na wáatl.**
well IMPS-PAST return:home:PAST

69 **kar loo'itléer ís i-wa de'éengw áy,**
well next:day 3SG S3-BGND herding:CON go:3SG.M

70 **kar naxés ta kay-i**
well accidently IMPS say-3SG.M:SBJV

71 **hám gá-r ku-r gaas-aan a milá.**
now thing:F:CON O3:IMPS:O.M-INSTR kill-1PL:SBJV COP what

72 **gimsé fanfe'amo u-n af-kú do'-i qaas-áan,**
well snake O.M-EXPEC mouth-M1:CON house-DIR put-1PL

73. **g-u-n tsaxaar, i-ri gwaa'.**
O3-O.M-EXPEC attack:3SG.M:PRES S3-CONSEC die:3SG.M:PRES

74. **kar matlatlee-r-o hhay /aga i kat.**
well morning-F-BGND clan cannibals S3 say:3SG.F

75. **fanfe'amo kwa-qo hhe'ées, kwa qáas.**
snake O3:IMPS:O.M:PAST-EMPH finish:PAST O3:IMPS:O.M:PAST put:PAST

76. **kar ís laarí i daaf,**
well 3SG today S3 return:home:3SG.M:PRES

77. **kar dama i-na /akmamít**
well calf S3-PAST run:DUR:HAB:3SG.F

78. **i-na ó' kar geesó duqa kar láa tu gaas.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F well geesó duqa well today IMPS:O.2SG.M kill:PRES

79. **kú m-a xú'. kú láa tu gaas.**
2SG.M Q-O.F know:2SG.M 2SG.M today IMPS:O.2SG.M kill:PRES

80. **i-na óo' aha.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST aha

81. **i-na ó' hhay /aga láa fanfe'amo g-u bará gawá af-kú do'-i qás.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F clan cannibals today snake O3-O.M in:CON on:CON mouth-M1:CON house-DIR put:3SG.F

82. **ta kay buru-nga tsaxaar, i gwaa'.**
IMPS say:3SG.M:SBJV COND:O.M-O3:DEP.S3:O.M:INF attack:3SG.M S3 die:3SG.M:PRES

83. **i-na óo' ah, ala adó-r ni laaq a-qo gwáa'.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M ah but manner:F:CON DEP.S.1SG do:1SG:SBJV S1/2-EMPH die:1SG.M

84. **kí maw-eek**
2SG.F leave-IMP.SG.TR

85. **i-na ó' a gwa'-a-ká.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F S1/2 die:2SG-INF-NEG

86. **daqaní aw-qú yaqamba ku geerahar-ís.**
then bull-DEM3:M:CON giant O3:DEP.S1/2:O.M go:front-CAUS:2SG

87. **kú daqaní ta ó' tsunqa g-w-a tlaq-ír.**
2SG.M then S1/2 say:2SG saliva O3-O.M-PERF cut-3PL

88. **kar awu i-na geeraháar.**
well bull S3-PAST go:front:3SG.M:PAST

89. **ís i-na ti'íit alá hikwa-wa alé.**
3SG S3-PAST go:out:3SG.M:PAST behind cattle-ABL RESPRO

90. **awu fanfe'amo g-u-na tsaxáar,**
bull snake O3-O.M-PAST attack:3SG.M:PAST

91. **tóo aangw i-wa dah-i, awu i-ri gwáa'.**
in:vain before S3-BGND enter-S3:INF bull S3-CONSEC die:3SG.M:PAST

92. **awu i-wa gwáa' i-na atéet**
bull S3-BGND die:3SG.M:PAST S3-PAST call:3SG.M:PAST

93. **i-na óo'**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST

94. **ori'ók uu, láa awu-w-í yaaríir tsunqa ngwa tlaq-ír,**
people today bull-M-DEM1 big:M saliva O3:DEP.S3:O.M:PERF kill-3PL

95. **qwal-ang saree/á-r awu a /ay-áan. awu kway /áay.**
come-IMP.VENT buffalo:F:CON bull O.F eat-1PL bull O3:IMPS:O.M:CONSEC2 eat:PAST

96. **ta-na óo' láa kar fanfe'amo-dá-dá' gwa geexáy.**
IMPS-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST today well snake-DEM4-DEM4 O3:O.M:PERF leave:3SG.M:PAST

97. **adó-r kar ta /iis-aan, adó-r ku-r hlaw-aan gaasa-r-o,**

manner:F:CON well DEP.S1/2 do-1PL:SBJV manner:F:CON O3:DEP.S1/2:O.M-INSTR get-1PL:SBJV killing-F-BGND

98 **adó-r ta /is-aan.**
manner:F:CON DEP.S1/2 do-1PL:SBJV

99 **ta-na óo' gimsé a buura a-n qaas-áan.**
IMPS-PAST say:PAST well COP beer O.F-EXPEC put-1PL

100 **kay sumu-w-i qaas-áan.**
O3:DEP.S1/2:O.F:CONSEC poison-M-DIR put-1PL

101 **kar buura ka-na qáas.**
well beer O3:IMPS:O.F-PAST put:PAST

102 **ís i-na /akút damá-r saree/a,**
3SG S3-PAST jump:3SG.F calf:F:CON buffalo

103 **i-na ó' geesó duqa, laarí a gwá', laarí.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F geesó duqa today S1/2 die:2SG today

104 **i-na óo' aha.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST aha

105 **i-na ó' hhay /aga laarí aa malé kwahleemamút.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F clan cannibals today S3:PERF again discuss:HAB:3SG.F

106 **i-na o'-iyé' buura a-n sum-i qaas-áan.**
S3-PAST say-3PL:PAST beer O.F-EXPEC poison-DIR put-1PL

107 **i-na óo' kí maw-eek.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST 2SG.F leave-IMP.SG.TR

108 **án ti-qo gaas. án ado-r ni laaq**
109 1SG IMPS:O.1SG-EMPH kill:PRES 1SG manner:F:CON DEP.S.1SG do:1SG:SBJV

110 **i-na o' e'e' tu gaas-ii-ká**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F no IMPS:O.2SG.M kill-S3:INF-NEG

111 **i-na o' daqaní án i-qo hardáh buura bar-ki-nga haniis,**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F then 1SG DIR-EMPH arrive:1SG beer COND-O3:IMPS:O3-O3:HIT:O.F give:PRES

112 **ka too kooma-kóon.**
O3:DEP.S1/2:O.F in:vain HAB-have:2SG

113 **án binda hardáh, kúung hikwa ki tseewa dúx.**
1SG COND:HIT:PERF arrive:1SG 2SG.M cattle O3:DEP.S1/2:O.N outside take:out:2SG

114 **hikwa bir dúx ala an-á dí-r hikwa-wók,**
cattle COND:O.N take:out:2SG but 1SG-S1/2 place:F:CON cattle-2SG.POSS

115 **án daqaní ni amo-dí qawó-r áw.**
1SG then DEP.S.1SG place-DEM4:DIR grazing:F:CON go:1SG

116 **i-na ó' daqaní án buura a-qo kaláa/.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F then 1SG beer S1/2-EMPH kick:1SG

117 **kú ka tóo qás bará afa,**
2SG.M O3:DEP.S1/2:O.F in:vain put:2SG in:CON mouth

118 **ng-ay ku'ús, qware'amo hleemee u gáas**
O3:DEP.S.1SG:O.F-CONSEC2 spill:1SG calabash also O.M kill:1SG

119 **ta-wa hardáh, kar buura ka-wa qáas,**
IMPS-BGND arrive:PAST well beer O3:IMPS:O.F-BGND put:PAST

120 **ta-na óo' geesó duqa buura aw-ang.**
IMPS-PAST say:PAST geesó duqa beer go-IMP.VENT.TR

121 **qwal-áng buura a /ay-áan**
come-IMP.VENT beer O.F eat-1PL

122 **laatí buura tós ka qaró sum-i qáas.**
well beer INDEP.F:3SG.POSS O3:IMPS:O.F already poison-DIR put:PAST

123 **kar ta-wa hardáh, ta-na óo' aré buura gán.**
well IMPS-BGND arrive:PAST IMPS-PAST say:PAST here beer you

124 **qware'amo-w-ós kwa daláa/.**
calabash -M-3SG.POSS O3:IMPS:O.M:PAST fill:PAST

125 **ís buura g-a-na qáas bará afa.**
3SG beer O3-O.F-PAST put:3SG.M:PAST in:CON mouth

126 **hikwa-wós ga malé dúux.**
cattle-3SG.POSS O3:O.N:PERF again take:out:3SG.M:PAST

127 **dama i amo-dí qéer.**
calf S3 place-DEM4:DIR graze:3SG.F

128 **dama-dá-r saree/a i hi'ít, i qéer.**
calf-DEM4:F:CON buffalo S3 walk:3SG.F S3 graze:3SG.F

129 **ta'o buura ngi-wa qáas bará afa,**
in:vain beer O3:DEP.S3:O.F-BGND put:3SG.M:PAST in:CON mouth

130 **ga wah-an-a-ká. ga tóo máy.**
O3:O.F:PERF drink-DUR:3SG.M-INF:PAST-NEG O3:O.F:PAST in:vain leave:3SG.M

131 **dama i-na hardát dí-r geera-w-ós.**
calf S3-PAST arrive:3SG.F place:F:CON front-M-3SG.POSS

132 **g-a-na kalá/, qware'amo gway gás,**
O3-O.F-PAST kick:3SG.F calabash O3:O.M:CONSEC2 kill:3SG.F

133 **buura i-ri ku'-út.**
beer S3-CONSEC spill-MIDDLE:3SG.F

134 **kar ís i-na /akúut, dama g-a-na al /akúut.**
well 3SG S3-PAST run:3SG.M:PAST calf O3-O.F:PAST together run:3SG.M:PAST

135 **i-na óo' láa dama-r-í**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST today calf-F-DEM1

136 **buura-r-'ée' ngi-wa-qo ku'us-i.**
beer-F-1SG.POSSO3:DEP.S3:O.F-BGND-EMPH spill-S3:INF

137 **laarí a gáas, laarí. ís i kay**
138 today O.F kill:1SG today 3SG S3 say:3SG.M

139 **hlée-r afá boo/ a-n gâs-a**
cow :F:CON mouth:CON black:F O.F-EXPEC kill:2SG:INT-INF

140 **asma buurâ-r-o maw-eek aako, maw-eek.**
because beer:INT-F-BGND leave-IMP.SG.TR old:man leave-IMP.SG.TR

141 **dama gay máy.**
calf O3:O.F:CONSEC2 leave:3SG.M

142 **ti-dá' sumú kóon aa fák yaamu.**
INDEP.F-DEM4 poison:CON have:3SG.F S3:PERF finish:3SG.F land

143 **kar naagáy loo'itléer ta-na óo'**
well accidently next:day IMPS-PAST say:PAST

144 **aa gwa'-ii-ká u ga/eer-a'-â-kee.**
S3:PERF die-INF:PAST-NEG O.M look:at:2-PL-INF:INT-NEG:BGND

145 **u-ga har-hlaqat-áan, ta-na óo'.**
O.M-PERF nearly-be:tired-1PL IMPS-PAST say:PAST

146 **ís i-wa de'éengw áy yâ, ta kwahleemúut.**
3SG S3-BGND herding:CON go:3SG.M BREAK IMPS:PERF meet:3SG.M:PAST

147 **dama i dí-r bihhi'-i dama i qéer.**
calf S3 place:F:CON side-DIR calf S3 graze:3SG.F

148 **ka ha-huw-i-ká bará hikwa.**

O3:IMPS:O.F HAB-bring-S3:INF-NEG in:CON cattle

149 **dama i dí-r bihhi-dá-wa qéer.**
calf S3 place:F:CON sides-DEM4-ABL graze:3SG.F

150 **ta-na óo' gimsé, xáy dási,**
IMPS-PAST say:3SG.M well really? girl:VOC

151 **kíing qatni-r-ós na laqam-ang.**
2SG.F bed-F-3SG.POSS come:on show-IMP.VENT.TR

152 **a-qo u-n qat-i aw-áan xweera-wo.**
COP-EMPH O.M-EXPEC bed-DIR go-1PL night-BGND

153 **loohí-r gitla-qá' ar hatlá' i káhh,**
way:F:CON man-DEM3 INDEP.CON.F other S3 be:absent:3SG.F

154 **a hlaw-an-a-ká.**
S1/2 get -1PL-INF-NEG

155 **dasi i-na ó' qatni-r-ós handáy.**
girl S3-PAST say:3SG.F bed-F-3SG.POSS there

156 **hare-r-ós qatni g-a-na laqáan.**
wife-F-3SG.POSS bed O3-O.F-PAST show:3SG.F

157 **ta-na óo' atén xweera-wo binda**
IMPS-PAST say:PAST 1PL night-BGND COND:HIT:INF

158 **hardah-áan a-qo u-n gaas-áan, ta-na óo'**
arrive-1PL COP-EMPH O.M-EXPEC kill-1PL IMPS-PAST say:PAST

159 **i-na ó' ka hhoo'.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F O3:IMPS:O.F nice:F

160 **kar naagáy hikwa i-wa daaf-ír,**
well well cattle S3-BGND return:home-3PL

161 **ís i-na ta'a'íin. i-na ó' geesó duqa,**
3SG S3-PAST run:HAB:3SG.F S3-PAST say:3SG.F geesó duqa

162 **láa tu ahlay láa tu gaas.**
today IMPS:O.2SG.M can today IMPS:O.2SG.M kill:PRES

163 **i-na óo' aha.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.M aha

164 **i-na ó' láa kar tu-n qati**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F today well IMPS:O.2SG.M-EXPEC bed:DIR

165 **áy, ta axwees.**
go:3SG.M IMPS say:PRES

166 **hare qatni-r-ók hleemee g-a laqáan.**
wife bed-F-2SG.POSS also O3-O.F show:3SG.F

167 **i-na ó' qatni-r-ós a ti-qá'.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F bed-F-3SG.POSS COP INDEP.F-DEM3

168 **ta-na óo' daqaní u gaas-áan.**
IMPS-PAST say:PAST then O.M kill-1PL

169 **i-na ó' ka hhoo'.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F O3:IMPS:O.F nice:F

170 **kar ís i-na óo' ala m-a /íis ható'. ti-qo gaas.**
well 3SG S3-PAST say:3SG.M:PAST but Q-S1/2 do:1SG my:niece IMPS:O.1SG-EMPH kill:PRES

171 **i-na ó' tu gaas-ii-ká. tu kwatiit-ii-ká gaasa-r-o.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F IMPS:O.2SG.M kill-S3:INF-NEG IMPS:O.2SG.M touch-S3:INF-NEG killing-F-BGND

172 **i-na ó' gimáy, hare bir-a gú',**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F well wife COND:S3-INF sleep:3SG.F

173 **kú dasí-r do-'ín ka-r warahhas bará qat-uw-ók, gagar-eek.**
2SG.M girl:F:CON house-3PL.POSS O3:DEP.S1/2:O.F-INSTR change:2SG.F:SBJV in:CON bed-M-2SG.POSS carry-IMP.SG.TR

174 **inqwarí-r dasí-r do-'ín na tsiit-eek.**
sheet:F:CON girl:F:CON house-3PL.POSS come:on wear-IMP.SG.TR

175 **kar aama aa gú' xweera-wo ka qat-í tsúuq.**
well mother s3:PERF sleep:3SG.F night -BGND O3:IMPS:O.F:PERF bed-CON:DIR spit:PAST

176 **ka-na gagáar ay bará qata,**
O3:IMPS:O.F-PAST carry:PAST to in:CON bed

177 **ay bará qat-uw-ós oo geesó duqa.**
to in:CON bed-M-3SG.POSS INDEP.CON.M geesó duqa

178 **kar qaatisa-r-o ka-wa hhe'ees**
well laying -F-BGND O3:IMPS:O.F-BGND finish:PAST

179 **geesó duqa i-na qáat bará qatú hare.**
geesó duqa s3-PAST lie:3SG.M:PAST in:CON bed:M:CON wife

180 **kar inín ta-wa hardáh, piindo ka-na dúux,**
well 3PL IMPS-BGND arrive:PAST door O3:IMPS:O.F-PAST take:out:PAST

181 **ala qatni ka tlata/ang-wa laqan- i-kee.**
but bed O3:IMPS:O.F:PERF midday-ABL show:3SG.M-INF:PAST:INT-NEG:BGND

182 **piindo duuxa-r-o ka-wa hhe'ées ta-na dáh bará do'.**
door taking:out-F-BGND O3:IMPS:O.F-BGND finish:PAST IMPS-PAST enter:PAST in:CON house

183 **ta-wa hardáh bará qatni-dá-r geesó duqa,**
IMPS-BGND arrive:PAST in:CON bed.F-DEM4:F:CON geesó duqa

184 **gá-r bara-dá ta-r dasí-r do'-ín inín ka x–u'-i.**
thing:F:CON in-DEM4:CON DEP.BE-INSTR girl:F:CON house-3PL.POSS 3PL O3:IMPS:O.F know:S3:INT-S3:INF

185 **ka-na i dáh gamis-uw-o. ka-ri gáas.**
O3:IMPS:O.F-PAST DIR enter:PAST killing:DUR-M-BGND O3:IMPS:O.F-CONSEC kill:PAST

186 **ís i-n ó' án m-i gaas-ara,**
3SG s3-EXPEC say:3SG.F 1SG PROH-O1SG kill-IMP.PL

187 **an-á to-húng.**
1SG-COP INDEP.F -POSS.2.PL

188 **inín ta kay. ti-n al/ag-ín kar laarí.**
3PL IMPS say IMPS:O.1PL-EXPEC deceive-DUR:3SG.M well today

189 **kar ka-wa hhe'ées gaasa-r-o,**
well O3:IMPS:O.F-BGND finish:PAST killing-F-BGND

190 **kar dasi gaasa-r-o ka-wa hhe'ées,**
well girl killing-F-BGND O3:IMPS:O.F-BGND finish:PAST

191 **ta kay xáy dási hám a adoomá.**
IMPS say hé girl:VOC now COP how

192 **hikwa-qá-qa' bir siw-r-í duux-áan.**
cattle-DEM3-DEM3 COND:O.N time-F-DEM1 take:out-1PL

193 **hikwa-ká i-r tlaw-áan. qwál, hikwa duux-ang.**
cattle-DEM1:N O.N-INSTR leave-1PL come cattle take:out-IMP.VENT

194 **kar geesó duqa i kay ahla'a y baabá ado-sing-e-ká,**
well geesó duqa s3 say no father manner-DEM2-BGND-NEG

195 **hlée-r afá boo/ gá-r baha xweera-ka'-ee ngi-s kíhh a milá**
cow:F:CON mouth:CON black:F thing:F:CON hyena night-DEM1:N-BGND O3:DEP.S3:O.F-REAS bite:3SG.F COP what

196 **hée g-a saga áw, ís bur-a gas-é' a matlatlee**
man:CON O3-O.F head go:1SG 3SG COND:M-PERF kill:2-PL:PAST COP morning

197 **ta-na óo' hám tsuwa tsini-hêe-ke,**

IMPS-PAST say:PAST now for:sure better-BGND:INT-NEG:BGND

¹⁹⁸ **kar hée g-i iláa/ i dêer-o. ís bir-a gwáa'**
well man:CON O3-O.N prevent:M S3 exist:INT-BGND 3SG COND:S3-PERF die:PAST

¹⁹⁹ **ma laatí kw-a gaas-ii-ká.**
but behold O3:IMPS:O.M-PERF kill-INF:PAST-NEG

²⁰⁰ **ma laatí gá-r ta gáas a dasí-r do'-ín.**
but well thing:F:CON IMPS:PERF kill:PAST COP girl:F:CON house-3PL.POSS

²⁰¹ **kararló' matlatlee-r-o ságw loo'a-r-o kar ta-na tláy,**
well morning-F-BGND head:M:CON sun-F-BGND well IMPS-PAST leave:PAST

²⁰² **inín ta-wa wáatl,**
3PL IMPS-BGND return:home:PAST

²⁰³ **dama i-na ó', dama-dá-r saree/a i-na ó'**
calf S3-PAST say:3SG.F calf-F-DEM4:F:CON buffalo S3-PAST say:3SG.F

²⁰⁴ **geesó duqa m-a ga/éer, tlaw-áng nee hikwa-wo.**
geesó duqa Q-O.F see:2SG eave-IMP.VENT with cattle-BGND

²⁰⁵ **kar ta-na tla-tláy, tlaa-tláy nee hikwa-wo.**
well IMPS-PAST HAB-leave:3SG.M HAB-leave:3SG.M with cattle-BGND

²⁰⁶ **matlatlee-r-o ino'ín ta hikwa leehh hikwa i kahh-ír.**
morning-F-BGND 3PL IMPS cattle look:for:PRES cattle S3 be:absent-3PL

²⁰⁷ **hee-dá-dá' i kaahh do'-o.**
man-DEM4-DEM4 S3 be:absent:3SG.M:PRES house-BGND

²⁰⁸ **ta-na hardáh ta-na qaytsíit bará qatni tuwá-r dasí-r do'-ín.**
IMPS-PAST arrive:PAST IMPS-PAST inspect:PAST in:CON bed corpse:F:CON girl:F:CON house-3PL.POSS

²⁰⁹ **ta-na óo' uu gá-r i tleehh-ahh-iit-i ka ur.**
IMPS-PAST say:PAST thing:F:CON S3 make-HAB-MIDDLE-S3:INF O3:IMPS:O.F big

²¹⁰ **ta hara-/aa/amín.**
IMPS nearly-cry:3SG.M

²¹¹ **láa dasí-r kilá-r doo-rén a-na gaas-ân-i?**
today girl:F:CON just:F:CON house:M-1PL.POSS O.F-PAST kill-1PL:INT-INF:PAST

²¹² **ís aa hikwa-wós-ar tláy.**
3SG S3:PERF cattle-3SG.POSS-INSTR leave:3SG.M

²¹³ **kar kw-a nakáa/, ku-na al ta'a'ín.**
well O3:IMPS:O.M-PERF be:close:PAST O3:IMPS:O.M-PAST together run:HAB:3SG.M

²¹⁴ **ala hikwa i hi'iit- ya loohi-r-o.**
but cattle S3 walk-3PL:INT way-F-BGND

²¹⁵ **kar kw-a nakáa/ ooha-r-o.**
well O3:IMPS:O.M-PAST be:close:PAST getting-F-BGND

²¹⁶ **dama-dá-r saree/a g-a-na báy**
calf-DEM4-F buffalo O3-O.F-PAST call:3SG.M

²¹⁷ **ti-nda hardáh daxta, an-á-ga gwáa'.**
IMPS-HIT:PERF arrive:PAST now 1SG-S1/2-PERF die:1SG

²¹⁸ **i-na ó' a gwa'-a-ká.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F S1/2 die:2SG-INF-NEG

²¹⁹ **i-na ó' di-r-qá' hlahh-eek ar hhara.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F place-F-DEM3 beat-IMP.SG.TR INSTR stick

²²⁰ **kar dii g-a-na hláahh ar hhara.**
well place O3-O.F-PAST beat:3SG.M INSTR stick

²²¹ **wa/ángw yaaríit yaaríit i-na di-dá-wa tsat-íit.**
pit:CON big big S3-PAST place-DEM4-ABL cut-MIDDLE:3SG.M:PAST

222 **kár wa/angw i-wa tsat-íit,**
well pit S3-BGND cut-MIDDLE:3SG.M:PAST

223 **ino'ín ta-na alá wa/angw-i dáh tiping-o.**
3PL IMPS-PAST behind:N:CON pit-DIR enter:PAST covering:DUR-BGND

224 **ino'ín ta qaró waráahh nee hikwa-wo.**
3PL IMPS already pass:PAST with cattle-BGND

225 **hhay /aga i wa/ángw tip-íin, tip-íin.**
clan cannibals S3 pit:CON cover-DUR:3SG.F cover-DUR:3SG.F

226 **wa/angw ku-wa hhe'ées tiping-o,**
pit O3:IMPS:O.M-BGND finish:PAST covering:DUR-BGND

227 **inín ta-na malé waráahh**
3PL IMPS-PAST again pass:PAST

228 **kar naagáy ta-na hardáh,**
well well IMPS-PAST arrive:PAST

229 **ta-y dí-r af-kú tlawi.**
IMPS-CONSEC2 place:F:CON mouth-M1:CON lake

230 **i-na ó' tlaw-t-í hlahh-eek hhar-t-o.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F lake-F1-DEM1 beat-IMP.SG.TR stick-F1-BGND

231 **kar tlawi g-a-na táahh hhar-t-o**
well lake O3-O.F-PAST beat:3SG.M:PAST stick-F1-BGND

232 **dama i-na ó' tlawi tahh-eek hhar-t-o.**
calf S3-PAST say:3SG.F lake hit-IMP.SG.TR stick-F1-BGND

233 **tlawi g-a-na táahh ar hhara.**
lake O3-O.F-PAST beat:3SG.M:PAST INSTR stick

234 **ma'ay n-i-na bihhee-r-i binki/it-ír.**
water PL-S3-PAST sides-F-DIR spread:aside-3PL

235 **balbalá i-na bará tla/amu-dá-r**
road S3-PAST in:CON middle-DEM4:F:CON

236 **tleehh-ar-út ta-ri waráahh.**
build-ar-MIDDLE:3SG.F IMPS-CONSEC pass:PAST

237 **kar ta-na waráahh nee hikwa-'in-ee ar bara-dá-dá'**
well IMPS-PAST pass:PAST with cattle-3PL.POSS-BGND INSTR in-DEM4-DEM4

238 **kar warahham-o ta-wa hhe'ées**
well passing:DUR-BGND IMPS-BGND finish:PAST

239 **hhay /aga i-na hardát dí-r tlaw-ti-dá-dá'.**
clan cannibals S3-PAST arrive:3SG.F place:F:CON lake-F1-DEM4-DEM4

240 **ta-wa waráahh, i-na hi'ít bará tlawi.**
IMPS-BGND pass:PAST S3-PAST walk:3SG.F in:CON lake

241 **balbalá-dá' tlawi g-i-na bara-dí hara-kí/.**
road-DEM4 lake O3-O.N-PAST in-DEM4:DIR towards-return:3SG.F

242 **ta-y bara-dí faak. ta-y qaatl.**

243 IMPS-CONSEC2 in-DEM4:DIR finish:PRES IMPS-CONSEC2 die:PRES

244 **geesó duqa nee dama-r-ós ta-ri waráahh**
geesó duqa and calf-F-3SG.POSS IMPS-CONSEC pass:PAST

245 **kar i-ri ó' hám geesó duqa,**
well S3-CONSEC say:3SG.F now geesó duqa

246 **hám m-i gaas-aar.**
now PROH-O1SG kill-NEG.IMP

²⁴⁷ **i-na ó' kú daxta hám a gwa'-a-ká.**
S3-PAST say:3SG.F 2SG.M now now S1/2 die:2SG-INF-NEG

²⁴⁸ **kú hám a xû'-a.**
2SG.M now S1/2 know:INT-INF

²⁴⁹ **awú /awáak do'-og-ee bur-kwa laqwáal,**
bull:CON white:M house-2SG.POSS-BGND COND:M-O3:IMPS:O.M-PERF give:birth:PAST

²⁵⁰ **bal bur-a gás sanká-r do' binga kwatíit,**
day COND:M-INF kill:2SG door:top:F:CON house COND:O3.DEP.S3:O.F:PERF touch:3SG.M

²⁵¹ **daqaní ku gás. bal bur gaasa-r-wa hlá'**
then O3:DEP.S1/2:O.2SG.M kill:2SG day COND:M killing-F-ABLwant:2SG

²⁵² **to-r-o m-u gaas-aar**
in:vain-F-BGND PROH-O.M kill-NEG.IMP

²⁵³ **kar geesó duqa i-na hoot-at-ín hoot-at-ín, i-ri dín.**
well geesó duqa S3-PAST live-HAB-DUR:3SG.M live-HAB-DUR:3SG.M S3-CONSEC be:old:3SG.M

²⁵⁴ **na/áa nang-ós n-ay qatl-ír. a-qo dimay g-i-na tsúu/.**
children:N:CON grandchild-3SG.POSS PL:S3-CONSEC2 die-3PL COP-EMPH old:age O3-O.N-PAST kill:3SG.M

²⁵⁵ **awa hatlá' n-ay malé qatl-ír. a-qo dimay g-i-na tsuu/**
INDEP.CON.N other PL:S3-CONSEC2 aga in die-3PL COP-EMPH old:age O3-O.N-PAST kill:3SG.M

²⁵⁶ **awu-w-ós kwí kw-a laqwáal.**
bull-M-3SG.POSS INDEP.M-DEM1 O3:IMPS:O.M-PERF give:birth:PAST

²⁵⁷ **awu i hi'iimamiit.**
bull S3 walk:DUR:HAB:3SG.M:PRES

²⁵⁸ **aama-r-ós i-qo káhh ís a-qo kilós.**
mother-F-3SG.POSS S3-EMPH be:absent:3SG.F 3SG COP-EMPH just

²⁵⁹ **loo'itléer i-na óo'**
next:day S3-PAST say

²⁶⁰ **kar a gwa'-a-ká daxta alá awu-w-í u-n gaas-âa-kee.**
well S1/2 die-INF-NEG now but bull-M-DEM1 O.M-EXPEC kill-INF:INT-NEG:BGND

²⁶¹ **adó-r ni láaq, a gwa'-a-ká.**
manner:F:CON DEP.S.1SG do:1SG S1/2 die -INF-NEG

²⁶² **awu g-u-ri gáas. muu g-w-ay ádbay.**
bull O3-O.M-CONSEC kill:3SG.M:PAST people O3-O.M-CONSEC2 call:3SG.M:PAST

²⁶³ **awu ngu-wa gáas alu-dá alá saw-a i-ri gwáa'.**
bull O3:DEP.S3:O.M-BGND kill:3SG.M:PAST behind-DEM4 after:N:CON far-INF S3-CONSEC die:3SG.M:PAST

²⁶⁴ **aa fák.**
S3:PERF finish:3.F

Abbreviations

1/2	first or second person	EMPH	emphasis	MIDDLE	middle
3	third person	EXPEC	expectational	N	neuter
ABL	ablative	F	feminine	NEG	negative
BGND	background	F1	feminine (subgroup)	O	object
BREAK	intonation break	HAB	habitual	PAST	past
CAUS	causative	HIT	hither	PERF	perfect
CON	construct case	IMP	imperative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	IMPS	impersonal	POSS	possessive
CONSEC	consecutive	INDEF	indefinite	PRES	present
CONSEC2	consecutive	INF	infinitive	PROH	prohibitive
COP	copula	INT	interogative	RESPRO	resumptive pronoun
DEM	demonstrative	INDEP	independent pronoun	S	subject
	(distance 1-4)	INSTR	instrumental	SG	singular
DEP	dependent clause	M	masculine	SBJV	subjunctive
DIR	directional	M1	masculine	TR	transitive
DUR	durative		(subgroup)	VENT	ventive