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PAKANI: A GORWAA STORY

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

BACKGROUND

The Gorwaa constitute a small ethnic group of the eastern branch of the Eastern Tanzanian Rift, and are concentrated primarily in Manyara region, especially in and around Babati and its nearby lake. At the time of recording, the Gorwaa were primarily farmers, but also keep small flocks of goats, sheep, and cattle (all three of which play an important role in Gorwaa culture and their pastoralist identity). The Gorwaa language itself is South Cushitic (phylum: Afro-Asiatic), therefore making it markedly different from the majority of languages in the country, which are Bantu. Recent changes to Gorwaa society, including increasing urbanization and a national government policy which all but bans local languages being used in public life has meant that fewer people are speaking Gorwaa, and fewer children are learning Gorwaa. As a result, the Gorwaa language is endangered, and will face significant challenges to remain spoken into the coming centuries (Harvey 2018: 37-46). Academic work about the Gorwaa people and language is scarce, but some sources include early accounts from explorers (Seidel (1910), Obst (1913), Reche (1914)), a traditional story transcribed and translated into German (Heepe (1930)), a pair of ethnographical accounts (Bagshawe (1930), Wada (1984)), a linguistic analysis in which some Gorwaa data is used in
comparison with another nearby Cushitic language, Iraqw (Whiteley (1958)), a detailed examination of forestry and land-use in and around Babati (Maganga (1995)), and a PhD dissertation on nominal morphosyntax including a sketch grammar (Harvey (2018)).

_Pakani_ was recorded on the 2nd of November, 2015 in Yerotonik village, itself a small community in Manyara Region, north-central Tanzania. The storyteller is Aakó Bu’ú Saqwaré, a consummate singer and knowledge-holder. Born in 1954, Aakó Bu’ú was 61 years old at the time of telling and has spent all of his life in and around what may be construed as the traditional Gorwaa homeland.

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

The story begins in the miombo woodlands characteristic of the area: hilly forests of _bracystegia_ within which the young men of Gorwaaland had withdrawn (ln.8-16), seeking safety in numbers from the _boyäy_ (c.f. English ‘boy’), low-level village headmen employed by Dodó to arrest the young men for transport to the Kenyan border in the north of the country for six months of dangerous military training. Having seen that physical force alone would not work in achieving the desired number of recruits, Dodó turns to the help of the traditional doctors Barandi Kulee and Leeli Tumla, and together they create a powerful medicine to compel the recalcitrant youth to lay down their weapons and to go to the recruiting station of their own accord (ln.17-34). At Babati, the largest community in the area, the youth were weighed (ln.35-47). If an individual was deemed fit, they would be put on a lorry and brought north to the Kenyan border (pakani). Images of desperation are evoked here: fathers pleading with Dodó to spare their sons, going so far as to offer prized cattle in exchange for their freedom. The fear and anger of the recruits is also evident once they board the transport vehicles (ln.48-61), where Dodó’s medicine seems to wear off and they begin cursing him for selling them to a foreign land full of danger and uncertainty. Dodó isn’t, however, the unscrupulous profiteer the youth see him as. During the military training, the Gorwaa traditional doctors under Dodó’s employ are all busy preparing protective medicine to keep the young trainees safe while far from home (ln.62-72). They go so far as to bewitch a bird to fly to the borderland and bring back news of their plight. Upon their return, however (ln.73-100), the youth lambast Dodó in a defiant song, calling the paramount chief and his co-conspirators liars. Enraged at the thankless youth (ln.101-120), Dodó visits the rainmakers, powerful men and women with whom he has traditionally acted as an intermediary for his people. Once there, he conducts rituals which disrupt the seasonal
rains on which his people rely for their food, delivering a devastating multi-year famine as retribution for their contempt. Following three years of famine (ln.121-124), the customary Gorwaa elders gather to mediate a solution. The youth, no doubt ruined by the lack of harvest, ask forgiveness from their leader and administrator Dodó, cattle are brought as ritual atonement, and the rains return once again.

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

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

Figure 1: Deposit page with ‘Search this deposit’ in the upper left
Figure 2: ELAN file with ‘phrase segment number’ as the fourth tier from the bottom

THE STORY

Pakani [20151202e]1,2

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

2  aang            pakani
   aang          pakani   -r’
   in.the.past  borderland   -L.Fr
   in the past, the borderline

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

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

4 Gorwaa  kina  ohín
   Gorwaa - t- ng- i- Ø - na ōh - in ~’~
   Gorwaa.people -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf catch -Ext ~Pst~
   Gorwaa were arrested

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

6 kan  hubin  bará
   t- ng- a- Ø - n húw -ím ~LPA~ bará
   MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Expect bring -Ext Subj in
   pakani  kan
   pakani -r’ t- ng- a- Ø - n
   borderland -L.Fr MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Expect
   /eetimis  pakaniir  eer
   /eét -m- -ág ~LPA~ pakani -r’ áw ~LPA~
   go.down -Ext -Ext ~Subj~ borderland -L.Fr go ~Subj~
   they would be brought to the borderland, they were put down in the borderland

7 kan  fundimisó  ay
   t- ng- a- Ø - n fundimis -ó ay ~LPA~
   MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Expect teaching -L.Mo go ~Subj~
   idór  askari  wa ale
   ido -r’ askari -r’ wa.ale
   manner -L.Fr soldier -L.Fr Res.Pro
   they would get lessons on being a soldier

8 Gorwaa  na  si’ii
   Gorwaa - ni -(g)a sií’N
   Gorwaa.people -L.NØ Vent -Prf refuse
   the Gorwaa refused

9 masoomba  na  si’
   masoomba -r’ ni -(g)a sií’.F ~’~
   youth -L.Fr Vent -Prf refuse Pst
   the youth refused
10 masoombár ar díri Yerotoní sleemeroo
masoomba -r’ ar ð -r’ -i Yerotoní sleemeroo
youth -L.Fr Ana.F place -L.Fr -Dem1 Yerotoní entirely
in burumburíit dirqá’
i- Ø -n burumburíit ~LPA~ ð -r’ -qá’
S.3- Aux -Expect gather.together.(intrans) ~Subj~ place -L.Fr -Dem3
ar idór díri kitaangwí
ar idó r’ ð -r’ -i kitaangw -ó -i
Ana.F manner -L.Fr place -L.Fr -Dem1 chair -L.Mo -Dem1
in burumburíit gawá
i- Ø -n burumburíit ~LPA~ gawá
S.3- Aux -Expect gather.together.(intrans) ~Subj~ on
tloomáà
tloomaa -r’ ~’
mountain -L.Fr ~Emph~
the youth of here, Yerotoní, all of them withdrew to there where I sat, they withdrew to the hill

11 ar bartaqá’ ago in
ar bara -tá -qá’ Ø -qo i- Ø -n
Ana.F side -L.Ft -Dem3 Aux -Emph S.3- Aux -Expect
burumburíit dir’ ink gawá
burumburíit ~LPA~ ð -r’ -’ín gawá
gather.together.(intrans) ~Subj~ place -L.Fr -Poss.3Pl on
tloomáà toqá’ dir’ ink neer
tloomaa -r’ ~’ tí -qá’ ð -r’ -’ín neer
mountain -L.Fr Emph DemF -Dem3 place -L.Fr -Poss.3Pl with
lawulu’în
lawulu ~’ -’ín
spears -L.NØ -Poss.3Pl
there they withdrew together in their place in the hill, there in their place with their spears

12 alafí
alafu
then
then
they did not return, they would eat their ugali then they would return [to the hills]

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

the leader who would come was who? how could the grunts go? wouldn't they be killed?
16

heee  i  silahär  kon  muukú
heee -ó  i-  Ø  silaha -r'  koöm  ~LPA~  muu  -kú
person -L.Mo  MP.S.3-  Aux  weapon -L.Fr  have.M  ~Subj~  people -L.Mk

silahär  kon  heé
silaha -r'  koöm  ~LPA~  heee -ó
weapon -L.Fr  be.together  ~Subj~  person -L.Mo

ngu  harahi'iít
ng-  u-  Ø  harahi'iít  ~~
A.3-  P.M-  Aux  move  ~Q~
a person with weapons, people (with) weapons, who will move them?

17
går  tawa  slahhaá  qeerru
ga -r'  t-  Ø  -wa  slahhaá  ~~  qeerru  -ó
thing -L.Fr  MP-  Aux  -Back  hurt.(intrans)  ~Pst~  intelligence -L.Mo

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

heee  ta  bay  Dodoòd  a  wawitumó
heee -ó  t-  Ø  báy  ~LPA~  Dodoòd  Ø  wawitumó -ó
person -L.Mo  MP-  Aux  call  ~Subj~  Dodoòd  Aux  chief  -L.Mo

Gorwaa
Gorwaa  ~
Gorwaa.people -L.NØ
when the thing tired them [the leaders], they changed their philosophy. a person called Dodoòd was the leader of the Gorwaa.

18
wawitumó  gadaee  a  milá  ge
wawitumo -ó  ga -r' -dá' -oo  Ø  milá  ge
chief -L.Mo  thing -L.Fr  -Dem4  -Top  Aux  what  Emph
the leader of that is what? [i.e. trying to remember the colonial title for chief]

19
wawitumó  Gorwaa
wawitumo -ó  Gorwaa  ~
chief -L.Mo  Gorwaa.people -L.NØ
leader of the Gorwaa

20
wawitumó  Gorwaa  ta  kahi  aäng
wawitumo -ó  Gorwaa  ~  t-  Ø  kah -i  aäng
chief -L.Mo  Gorwaa  -L.NØ  MP-  Aux  say  -N  in.the.past
Gorwaa said wawitumo in the past
21 a wawitumò Gorwaa tajo
Ø wawitumo-ó ~ Gorwaa - t- Ó -qo
Aux chief -L.Mo ~Emph~ Gorwaa.people -L.NØ MP- Aux -Emph
kahí a wawitumò
kahí -i Ø wawitumo -ó ~
say -3.Subj Aux chief -L.Mo ~Emph~
wawitumò, Gorwaa said wawitumò

22 ee Dodó aăng ta kahi a
ee Dodó aăng t- Ø kah -i Ø
yes Dodó in.the.past MP- Aux say -3.Subj Aux
wawitumò
wawitumò -ó ~
chief -L.Mo ~Emp~
yes, in the past, they said Dodó was the wawutumo

23 a boyimowoká boyimo a heé
Ø boyimó -ó -oo -aká boyimo -ó Ø hee -ó
Aux grunt -L.Mo -Top -Neg.Pres grunt -L.Mo Aux person -L.Mo
amaoohin
seize
he wasn’t a grunt, a grunt is a person who arrests people

24 ga/awusmo a heé ta kitaangwì
ga/awusmo -ó Ø hee -ó t- Ø kitaangwó -ì
official -L.Mo Aux person -L.Mo MP- Aux chair -L.Mo -Ill
ay
áw ~LPA~
go ~Subj~
a ga/awusmo is an official [lit. a person who goes to the chair]

25 adôr hindi bili tawa kahi a
Ø ido -r’ hindi bili t- Ó -wa kah -i Ø
Aux manner -L.Fr now today MP- Aux -Back say -3.Subj Aux
katibu kata
katibu.kata
chairman
like today they are called katibu kata [i.e. chairman of the quarter]

26 alafu tawa sii’
alafu t- Ø -wa sii’ ~
then MP- Aux -Back refuse ~Pst~
so they refused
27 heesi  kuna
hee -ó -sí t- ng- u- Ø -na
person -L.Mo -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf
leleéhh ta bay Barandi Kulee
Red- leéhh ~- t- Ø báy ~LPA~ Barandi -ó Kulee -ó
Plur- look.for Pst MP- Aux call ~Subj~ Barandi -L.Mo Kulee -L.Mo
this person who was sought was called Barandi Kulee

28 nee Leeli oo dó’ Tumla
nee Leeli oo do’ -ó Tumla -ó
and Leeli Ana.M house -L.Mo Tumla -L.Mo
and Leeli of the house of Tumla

29 muukusi  kina  leleéhh
muu -kú -sí t- ng- i- Ø -na Red- leéhh ~-~
people -L.Mk -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf Plur- look.for ~Pst~
kina sláy
 t- ng- i- Ø -na sláy ~-~
MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf get ~Pst~
these people were sought, they were got

30 amama’ô  kana  óh
amama’ô -r’ t- ng- a- Ø -na óh ~-~
bird.sp. -L.Fr MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf catch ~Pst~
Kay  huv
 t- ng- a- Ø -ay huv ~LPA~
MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec bring ~Subj~
an amama’ô [fork-tailed drongo] was caught, it was brought

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

32 ma’aay  kawa  tleéhh  muukusi
ma’aay’- t- ng- a- Ø -wa tleéhh ~-~ muu -kú -sí
water -L.NØ MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Back make ~Pst~ people -L.Mk -Dem2
masoombár  gawá  tloomaa  sleeme  nina
masoomba -r’  gawá  tloomaa -r’  sleeme  ni -na
youth -L.Fr on mountain -L.Fr all Vent -Imprf
wátl
wátl ~-~
return.(intrans.) P ~Pst~
medicine was made, those young men in the hill all returned home
33  lawulu  kina  qaás
lawulu -t- ng- i- Ø -na qaás ~~
spears -L.NØ  MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf  put ~Pst-
they put their spears [in the soil]

34  kilo'ın  tina  arxayé'  amodi
kilo'ın  t- i- Ø -na arxayá -iyé'  amo -r' -dá' -i
themselves  MP- S.3- Aux -Imprf  go -N.Pst  place -L.Fr -Dem4 -Il
kiwa
sla‘ı'
t- ng- i- Ø -wa slaá' -i'
they went themselves to the place where they were wanted

35  amodá'  kilo  kiwa
amo -r' -dá'  kilo -r' ~~  t- ng- i- Ø -wa
sla‘ı'
kiwa
slaá' -i'  t- ng- i- Ø -wa pimiim -m- ~'~
a  Babati
Ø  Babati -r' ~'~
Aux  Babati -L.Fr  ~Emph~
the place where their weight was wanted, they were weighed was
Babati

36  kina  pimamin  pimamin
kina  pimamin
pimamin
pimamin
wa  Babati  kilo  kuwing
wa Babati -r' ~'~  kilo -r' kuwing
Prep.Abl  Babati -L.Fr  ~Emph~  weight -L.Fr  ProPers.2Sg.M
bura
sii’
tun
bar- u- Ø -(gl)a  sii' ~'~  t- u- Ø -n
if- P.2Sg.M- Aux -Prf  refuse ~Pst~  MP- P.2Sg.M- Aux -Expect
bay
amorgá'
bay ~LPA~  amo -r' -qá'
call ~Subj~  place -L.Fr -Dem3
they were weighed they were weighed down in Babati, if your weight refused
you were told “over there”
37 kodá’ kilo a ya/án
ko -dá’ kilo -r’ i- Ø -(g)a ya/áám ́~
Indef.M -Dem4 weight -L.Fr S.3 - Aux -Prf agree ~Pst~
he whose weight was accepted

38 kun bay tsa/aám gawá
t- ng- u- Ø n báy ~LPA~ tsa/aám -Ø gawá ́~
MP- A.3 -P.M -Aux -Expect call ~Subj~ climb -Imp.Sg on ~Emph~
gawá gaari
gawá gaari -r’ ́~
on car -L.Fr ~Emph~
was told “climb up” into the vehicle

39 tana idosi lawawin lawawin
l- Ø -na ido -r’ -sí Red- lawíím ́~ Red- lawíím ́~
MP- Aux -Imprf manner -L.Fr -Dem2 Plur- go.on ~Pst~ Plur- go.on ~Pst~
lawawin koko ta slukín ta
Red- lawíím ́~ koko t- Ø sluük -uúm ́~ t- Ø
Plur- go.on ~Pst~ Indef.M MP- Aux bribe -Ext ~Pst~ MP- Aux
ta
kahi kilo a sii’
káh -i kilo -r’ i- Ø -(g)a sii’ ́~
say -3.Subj weight -L.Fr S.3 Aux -Prf refuse ~Pst~
they continued in this way, some bribed, they said “your weight
refuses”

40 sluukumaqá’ ar kuúngá’ ar bilihee koko
sluukuma -r’ -qá’ ar kuúngá’ ar bili -oo koko
ago slukín na/áy ma
Ø -qo sluük -uúm ́~ na/áy -ó m- i- Ø -(g)a
Aux -Emph bribe -Ext ~Pst~ child -L.Mo Prohib -S.3 - Aux -Prf
daqáy neer awí
daqáy ́~ neer awú -ó ́~
attend ~Pst~ with bull -L.Mo ~Emph~
that corruption is of you(pl.) of today only! some bribed that their child
not go with a bull
41 gitlây aree ge wawitumo awu ngu
   gitlây ár -ee ge wawitumo -ó awu -ó ng- u- Ø
hey see -Imp.Sg.O Emph chief -L.Mo bull -L.Mo A.3- P.M- Aux

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

daqay
daqay ~LPA~
attend ~Subj~

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

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

ngwa sii' ge
ng- u- Ø -wa sii' ~' ~ ge
A.3- P.M- Aux -Back refuse ~Pst~ Emph
they would say “so-and-so, his weight refused”

43 he‘e kuungá' a xw'â
hee kuungá' Ø- Ø xuu'-a ~~
hey! ProPers.2Pl S.P- Aux know -Inf.Pres ~Q~
why, you(pl.) knew?

44 kina idosîr lalee lalee
   t- ng- i- Ø -na ido -r'-sí -r lalee lalee
MP- A.3- P.3Pl- Aux -Imprf manner -L.Fr -Dem2 -Instr continue continue

lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee lalee
continue continue continue continue continue continue continue continue continue
they continued in this way

45 mnu kilo’în ina daqay asma
   mnu -kú kilo’în i- Ø -na daqay ~' ~ asma
people -L.Mk themselves S.3- Aux -Imprf attend ~Pst~ because

kwa tsuing kwa
   t- ng- u- Ø -wa tsuünq ~' ~ t- ng- u- Ø -wa

tsanguius
tsanguius ~' ~
lure ~Pst~
people went themselves because they were bewitched, they were
drawn
they made something to draw people, people were drawn, they agreed

this thing continued

when it was enough, it was thus:

when the people were enough, when they finished

when they got their amount, when the figure was filled

when that figure was filled
52 tawa  tiatláy  alkwi gaaridú
   t- Ø -wa  Red- tláw  alkwi gaaridú -'
   MP- Aux-Back  Plur- go  now  cars  - L. NØ

kiwa  asloo- qaasi
   t- ng- i- Ø -wa  asloo qaas-i
   MP- A.3- P. N- Aux- Back  fires  put  - N

now they were going, the vehicles were fired up

53 gaaridú  kiwa  asloo-qaasi
   gaaridú -'  t- ng- i- Ø -wa  asloo- qaas-i
   cars  - L. NØ  MP- A. 3- P. N- Aux- Back  fires- put  - N

tana  firin
   t- Ø - na  firiim ~ ' ~
   MP- Aux-Imprf  pray ~ Pst ~

the vehicles were fired up, they cursed

54 tana  oo’  Dodoód  atén
   t- Ø - na  oo’ ~ ' ~  Dodoód - ó  atén
   MP- Aux-Imprf  say ~ Pst ~  Dodoód - L. Mo  ProPers. 1 Pl

kuúng
kuúng
ProPers. 2 Sg. M
they said “you - Dodoód! we...”

55 giitláy mita  alu-/aayimaar  ge
   giitláy m- t- Ø - (g) a  alu-/aay-im - aar  ge
   hey  Prohib- MP- Aux- Prf  rear  eat  - Ext- Imp. Neg  Emph
don't (you) betray us!”

56 tana  firin  wa  gawá  gaaridiú
   t- Ø - na  firiim ~ ' ~  wa  gawá  gaaridiú - ' ~ ' ~
   MP- Aux-Imprf  pray ~ Pst ~  Prep. Abl on  cars  - L. NØ  ~ Emph- ~
they cursed from the vehicles

57 gidábá  atén  aga  qaro  bará  hoomaa
   gidábá  atén  Ø - Ø - (g) a  qaro  bará  hoomaa  - r'
that  ProPers. 1 Pl  A. P- Aux- Prf  already  in  foreigners  - L. Fr

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

timtindin  tsuu/
   t- m- tindí- Ø - n  tsuu/ ~ L. PA ~
   MP- Q- P. 1 Pl- Aux- Expect  kill  ~ Subj ~

“that we have already gone among strangers, we are going to be lost,
aren’t we going to be killed?”

58

tam milá tam mareerén na/arénn

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

tam ingo araán tam

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

an ki/aan amór

Ø- Ø -n kií/ -aán ~LPA~ amo -r'

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

na/aarénn xu’aanaká

na/a’ - rén xuú’ -aán -akáng

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

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

59

kuú sleeme mit

kuúng sleeme m- t- Ø

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

alu-/aayim -aar

rear- eat -Ext.2 -Imp.Neg

“you - don’t betray us!”

60

Dodó kuna firín

Dodó -ó t- ng- u- Ø -na firiím ~’~

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

Dodó was cursed at

61

iimi ina /ét

iimi -t’ i- Ø -na /ét ~’~

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

people had already gone down [i.e. at the borderline]
62 pakani  kana  tiehhahhiit
pakani -r' t- ng- a- Ø -na Red- tieeëh -iit ~~~
borderland -L.Fr MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~
tiehhahhiit  tiehhahhiit  kina
Red- tieeëh -iit ~~~ Red- tieeëh -iit ~~~ t- ng- i- Ø -na
Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~ Plur- make -Ext ~Pst~ MP- A.3- P.N- Aux -Imprf
fundumamiis  fundumamiis  fundumamiis
fundiis -m- ~'~ fundiis -m- ~'~ fundiis -m- ~'~
teach -Ext- ~Pst~ teach -Ext- ~Pst~ teach -Ext- ~Pst~
ay  slehheeri  lehhò
ay  slehheeri -'  lehhò
Prep.III months -L.NØ six
at the borderland they worked and worked and were taught and taught for
six months

63 slehheeri  lehhò  ki /aay
slehheeri -' lehhò t- ng- i- Ø /aay ~LPA~
month -L.NØ six MP- A.3- P.N- Aux eat ~Subj~
baradee
bara- dâ' -oo
in -Dem4 -Top
six months were finished down there

64 slehheeri  lehhò  birna  faaki'  iimi
sleheeri -' lehhò bar-i- Ø -na faak- i' iimi -r'
month -L.NØ six if- S.3- Aux -Imprf finish -N.Subj people -L.Fr
nina  wâtl
ni -na wâtl ~~~
Vent -Imprf go.home.F ~Pst~
when six months had ended, the people returned

65 ka  qaro  fundiis
t- ng- a- Ø qaro fundiis ~'~
MP- A.3- P.F- Aux already teach ~Pst~
ye they had already been taught

66 ga  ago  askari
ga -r' Ø -qo askari -r'
thing -L.Fr Aux -Empf soldier -L.Fr
they were soldiers
there was nothing of being a soldier that they didn't know

everything - people knew English

but there were no casualties, not even one, because medicine had been made

they had been blessed

it was that bird that had been bewitched here, the amama'o [fork-tailed drongo] had gone there
niwa kí/ tana oó’ muu
ni -wa kí/ ~’ t- Ø -na oó’ ~’ muu -kú
Ventr-Back return.(intr.) ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Imprf say ~Pst~ person -L.Mk
nin waatl gär tlaakw káhh
ni -n waatl ~LPA~ ga -r’ tlaakw káhh
Ventr-Expect return.(intrans.) ~Subj~ thing -L.Fr bad.F.Sg be.absent.F

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

xay

xay
Emph
so

*tindiwa tana tindiwa*

= ni -wa t- Ø -na = ni -wa
MP- Ventr-Back MP- Aux -Imprf MP- Ventr-Back

waatl
waatl ~’
return.(intrans.) ~Pst~
*when they returned*

tare daá’
t- Ø -re daá’ ~’
MP- Aux -Consec sing ~Pst~
they sang

Gorwaa Dodó kuna
Gorwaa ‘ Dodó -Ø t- ng- u- Ø -na
Gorwaa.people -L.NØ Dodó -L.Mo MP- A3- P.M- Aux -Imprf
da’aangwa óh
da’aangw -Ø -wa óh ~’
song -L.Mo -Prep.Abl catch ~Pst~
*the Gorwaa made a song of Dodó*

Gorwaa niwa watliyi’
Gorwaa ni -wa waatl iy’
Gorwaa.people -L.NØ Ventr-Back return.(intrans.) -N.Pst
*the Gorwaa returned home*
they sang "Dodó haylee he Dodó he"

of the house of Uwo he

"the house of Dodó Uwo, lick our arses Dodó, we have returned"

"of the house of Uwo, we have returned"

"you Dodó lick (our) arses"

"Tsoxoli hayle Tsoxoli"
they sang “Dodó haylee he Dodó he

of the house of Uwo he

“the house of Dodó Uwo, lick our arses Dodó, we have returned

“of the house of Uwo, we have returned

“you Dodó lick (our) arses

“Tsoxoli hayle Tsoxoli

“Tsoxoli hayle Tsoxoli
85  

dó’  Nyumba  heé  lama

do’ -ó Nyumba -ó hee -ó lama -tá

house -L.Mo Nyumba -L.Mo person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft

“of the house of Nyumba, a man of lies

86  

Tsoxoli  heé  lama

Tsoxolí -ó hee -ó lama -tá

Tsúxolí -L.Mo person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft

“Tsoxoli a man of lies

87  

Tsoxoli  heé  lama  dó’  Nyumba

Tsoxolí -ó hee -ó lama -tá dó’ -ó Nyumba -ó

Tsoxolí -L.Mo person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft house -L.Mo Nyumba -L.Mo

heé  lama

hee -ó lama -tá

person -L.Mo lies -L.Ft

“Tsoxoli a man of lies of the house of Nyumba a man of lies

88  

Tsoxoli  heé  dó’  Dodó  Uwo

Tsoxolí -ó hee -ó dó’ -ó Dodó -ó Uwo -ó

Tsoxolí -L.Mo person -L.Mo house -L.Mo Dodó -L.Mo Uwo -L.Mo

kuí  kura  mahheek

kuìng  kura -tá  maáhh -ee

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

“Tsoxoli a person of the house of Dodó Uwo, lick (our) arses

89  

Dodó  atén  na  waitlán

Dodó -ó atén ni -(g)a waáltl  -aán  ~’~

Dodó -L.Mo ProPers.1Pl Vent -Prf return.(intrans.) -1.Pl ~Pst~

“Dodó we have returned

90  

Dodó  he

Dodó -ó he

Dodó -L.Mo hey

“Dodó hey

91  

heelo  hayle  he  Dodó  Uwo  hayle  he

heelo hayle he  Dodó -ó Uwo -ó hayle he

heelo hayle hey  Dodó -L.Mo Uwo -L.Mo hayle hey

“heelo hayle he Dodó Uwo hayle he
“Tsokoli he Tsokoli of the house of Nyumba hayle tomorrow

“hey countrymen he he

“of the house of Uwo he

“Dodó we have returned

“of the house of Nyumba hayle tomorrow

“Tsokoli you are a liar of the house of Nyumba hey
100 orojo he
orojo he
hey.everyone hey
“hey countrymen he”

101 aluwo ya
aluwo ya
then thus
then

102 Dodoòd
Dodoòd -ó
Dodoòd -L.Mo
Dodoòd

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

104 ina dir muukudá’ oo thuway
i- Ø -na di -r’ muu -kú -dá’ oo thuway -ó
S.3- Aux -Imprf place -L.Fr people -L.Mk -Dem4 Ana.M rain -L.Mo
káy
káy ~~~
go ~Pst~
he went to the place of the rainmakers

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

106 xay
xay
Emph
hey
107 giyeé ngina leéhh dir
giyeé -r’ ng- a- ø na leéhh ~’~ di -r’
famine -L.Fr A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf look.for ~Pst~ place -L.Fr
a káy tam an dó’
i- ø -(g)a káy ~’~ tam ø -n do’ -ó
MP.S.3- Aux -Prf go.M -Pst~ Concess Aux -Expect house -L.Mo
Ngawdá’ tam an dó’ Alawa
Ngawdá’-ó tam ø -n dá’ Alawa -ó
Ngawdá’ -L.Mo Concess Aux -Expect hey Alawa -L.Mo
do’oko ngwa káy
do’ -ó -ko ng- u- ø -wa káy ~’~
house -L.Mo -Indef.M A.3- P.M- Aux -Back go ~Pst~
he went looking for famine, the place he went I don't know, Ngawdá’ or
Alawa, he went to one of those houses

108 do’dá’ hindi ani uga slawikáng
do’ -ó -dá’ hindi ani ø - u- ø -(g)a sláw -ikáng
house -L.Mo -Dem4 now ProPers.1Sg A.P- P.M- Aux -Prf get -Neg.Pst
I'm not getting (i.e. I can't remember) that house now

109 dosl ngwa káy giyeè
do’ -ó -sí ng- u- ø -wa káy ~’~ giyeè -r’
house -L.Mo -Dem2 A.3- P.M- Aux -Back go ~Pst~ famine -L.Fr
na tleér
ni -(g)a tleer ~’~
Vent -Prf go.F ~Pst~
he went to that house and famine came

110 xay
xay
Emph
he

111 giyeè na tleér kureeri tám
giyeè -r’ ni -(g)a tleer ~’~ kureeri ’- tám
famine -L.Fr Vent -Prf go.F ~Pst~ years -L.NØ three
famine came for three years

112 ar Gorwaa qwari
ar Gorwaa ’ qwari -kú
Ana.F Gorwaa.people -L.NØ hunger -L.Mk
for the Gorwaa - hunger

113 giyee  na  tleér  asma  Dodó
giyéé -r’ ni -(g)a  tleér ~~ asma  Dodó -ó
famine -L.Fr  Vent -Prf  go.F ~Pst~ because  Dodó -L.Mo
kuwa  firin
t- ng- u- Ø -wa  firin ~~
the famine came because Dodó was disrespected [lit. prayed for]

114 i  kah  ihii  ahheé  kuungá’  ani
i- Ø  káh -i  ihii  ahheé  kuungá’  aní
burtunduna  /etiis  ani
bar- tundu- Ø -na  /éét  -iís ~’ ~ ani
if- P.2.Pl- Aux -Imprf  go.down -Ext ~Pst~  ProPers.1Sg
misa  firindé’
m- i- Ø -s -(g)a  firim -é’ ~’ ~
Q- P.1.Sg- Aux -Reason -Prf  pray -2Pl ~Pst~
ani  kuungá’  tundun  hhamís-slaá’
ani  kuungá’  tundu- Ø -n  hhamís- slaá’ ~LPA~
ProPers.1Sg  ProPers.2Pl  P.2.Pl- Aux -Expect defeat- love ~Subj~
aní  tundun  gwa’arár  slaá’
aní  tundu- Ø -n  gwa’ara -r’  slaá’ ~LPA~
ProPers.1Sg  P.2.Pl- Aux -Expect death -L.Fr want ~Subj~
such that he [Dodó] said “ah, harumph, those who were sent, why are they
disrespecting me? I want you(pl.) to die!”

115 idodá’  kwa  firin  giyee
ido -r’ -dá’ t- ng- u- Ø -wa  firin ~~ giyéé -r’
manner -L.Fr -Dem4 MP- A.3- P.M- Aux -Back  pray ~Pst~  famine -L.Fr
ngina  leéhh
ng- a- Ø -na  leéhh ~’ ~
A.3- P.F- Aux -Imprf  look.for ~Pst~
in that way he was cursed, famine was brought

116 tsee/amá  nina  paá/  kureeri
tsee/amá’ ni -na paá/ ~’ ~ kureeri ~’
sunshine -L.NØ  Vent -Imprf  shine.(of.sun) ~Pst~ years -L.NØ
aree
ár -ee
see -Imp.Sg.O
the sun shone harshly for ~ look [gestures 'three'] years
117  iimi  na  qwarit
iimi  -r'  ni  -(g)a  qwarit  ~'
people  -L.Fr  Vent  -Prf  hunger:F  ~Pst~
people went hungry

118  tluyway  kaâhh
tluyway-ô  kaâhh  ~'
rain  -L.Mo  be.absent  ~Emph~
there was no rain

119  tluyway  bira  tluiw  aluwo  in
 tluyway-ô  bar-  i-  ø  -(g)a  tluiw-~'  aluwo  i-  ø  -n
rain  -L.Mo  if  S.3-  Aux  -Prf  rain  ~Pst~  then  S.3-  Aux  -Expect

  tsatíit  balaangw'in  tawa
  tsaat-îft  ~'  balaangw-ô  'în  t-  ø  -wa
cut  -Ext  ~Pst~  millet  -L.Mo  -Poss.3Pl  MP  -Aux  -Back

kaâhh
kaâhh  ~'
be.absent  ~Emph~
if it rained, it soon stopped, their millet went to nothing

120  hamarikâng
hamaâr-îkâng
ripen  -Neg,Pst
it didn't ripen

121  bare  tawa  babây  tawa
bare  t-  ø  -wa  babây  ~'  t-  ø  -wa
whyever  MP  -Aux  -Back  continue  ~Pst~  MP  -Aux  -Back

  babây  tawa  babây
babây  ~'  t-  ø  -wa  babây  ~'
continue  ~Pst~  MP  -Aux  -Back  continue  ~Pst~

  tawa  slahhaahhaâ
  t-  ø  -wa  Red-  slahhaâ  ~'
MP  -Aux  -Back  Plur  hurt,(intrans)  ~Pst~
so they continued, when they were hurt

122  tare  axweês  barisee  ire
  t-  ø  -re  axweês-~'  barisee-  r-  i-  ø  -re
MP  -Aux  -Conseq  speak  ~Pst~  old.men  -L.Fr  S.3-  Aux  -Conseq

  iwiti  yaamî
iwiti-~'  yaamú  ~'
sit  ~Pst~  down  ~Emph~
they spoke, the elders sat down
123 bariseér mila ina iwít yaamú
barisee -r mila i- Ø -na iwít ~' yaamú ~'
old.men -L.Fr custom S.3- Aux -Imprf sit.F ~Pst~ down ~Emph~
tare axwemamiis axwemamiis
t- Ø -re axwees -m- -iís ~'~ axwees -m- -iís ~'~
MP- Aux -Consec speak -Ext- -Ext ~Pst~ speak -Ext- -Ext ~Pst~
the customary elders sat down, they talked and talked

124 gasí kare sláy tare
ga -r' -sí t- ng- a- Ø -re sláy ~'~ t- Ø -re
thing -L.Fr -Dem2 MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec get ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Consec
yiikwa huw
yiikwa -' huw ~LPA~
cattle -LNØ bring ~Subj~
they settled up [lit. got] this, they sent a cow

125 yiikwa kare huw dó'
yiikwa -' t- ng- a- Ø -re huw ~LPA~ do' -ó
thing -LNØ MP- A.3- P.F- Aux -Consec bring ~Subj~ house -L.Mo

Dodoód
Dodoód -ó
Dodoód -L.Mo
a cow was brought to the house of Dodoód

126 ta nanahaángw ay gidábá gitlág kar
p- Ø nanahaangw -ó ay ~LPA~ gidabá gitlág kara
MP- Aux begging -L.Mo go ~Subj~ that hey so
na'as gitlág thuway i thuwi
na'as gitlág thuway -ó i- Ø thuwi -i
please hey rain -L.Mo S.3- Aux rain -3.Subj
they begged him that “please, that it rains

127 gitlág na'as
gitlág na'as
hey please
“please

128 gár afkudá' ya a afkudá'
 ga -r' afa -kú -dá' ya Ø afa -kú -dá'
thing -L.Fr mouth -L.Mk -Dem4 thus Aux mouth -L.Mk -Dem4
ya tawa loori-huw
ya t- Ø -wa loori huw ~'~
thus MP- Aux -Back lorry bring ~Pst~
“if it is about the language when the vehicles carried (us)
129 afladá' amór hhoo
afa -kú -dá' amo -r' hhoo
mouth -LMk -Dem4 place -LFr good.F
“we take back those words”

130 afladá' amór hhoo
afa -kú -dá' amo -r' hhoo
mouth -LMk -Dem4 place -LFr good.F
“we take back those words”

131 yiikwa kina hariís
yiikwa -' t- ng- i- 0 -na hariís~’~
cattle -LNØ MP- A3- P.N- Aux -Imprf give ~Pst~
they brought cows

132 yiikwa kiwa hariís tluwáy
yiikwa -' t- ng- i- 0 -wa hariís~’~ tluway~’
cattle -LNØ MP- A3- P.N- Aux -Back give ~Pst~ rain -LNØ
iimi ire tluw’ iimi
iimi -r’ i- 0 -re tluw’~’ iimi -r’
people -LFr S3- Aux -Consec rain ~Pst~ people -LFr
ire /aayind
i- 0 -re /aáy -ind ~’~
S3- Aux -Consec eat -Ext.F ~Pst~
they brought cows, the people’s rain came, the people ate

133 shiida ire diri alkwi
shiida -’ i- 0 -re di -r’ -i alkwi
problem -LFr S3- Aux -Consec place -LFr -Dem1 now
axweesani a fák
axweesani -tá i- 0 -(g)a fák ~’~
utterance -LFt S3- Aux -Prf finish.F ~Pst~
the problems of this place now, (and) the discussions had ended

134 iimi ire /aayind tare
iimi -r’ i- 0 -re /aáy -ind ~’~ t- 0 -re
people -LFr S3- Aux -Consec eat -Ext.F ~Pst~ MP- Aux -Consec
kii/ bará axama bará gwala/u
kii/ bará axama -kú bará gwala/u -ó
return in satiety -LMk in happiness -LMo
and the people ate and they returned to satiety, to happiness
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