

## IN ALTRE LINGUE

### An Ongota ethnotext on beehive

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#### SOMMARIO

Con etnotesto si intende un esempio di narrativa orale che descrive un aspetto culturale appartenente a una comunità di parlanti. L'etnotesto presentato in questo contributo, con trascrizione, traduzione e annotazione grammaticale, è stato registrato dall'autore da un membro della comunità Ongota. Si tratta di un piccolo gruppo di circa cento persone che vive in Etiopia sud-occidentale. Il testo ha come argomento l'apicoltura ed è in lingua ongota, una lingua non classificata e parlata dagli ultimi quattro anziani.

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#### *1. Language and people*

The name of the Ongota language given by the speakers means “mouth of the people Ongota”. It is *iifà ongota*, where *iifà* is the word for mouth and Ongota shows the initial pharyngeal fricative that in our citation form is omitted<sup>1</sup>.

The Ongota are quite an enigmatic people. They presently number about one hundred and live in a single village, *muts'e*, along the west bank of the *weyt'o* river in southwest Ethiopia (South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and People Federal State of Ethiopia). Their past is obscure. Apparently they have been living in isolation for a long period of time, building up social relations with various ethnic groups in the area, such as Maale, Hamar, Oromo, Konso and Ts'amakko. According to Fleming (2006), however, they have been a much more powerful group that used to dominate the area. In Aklilu's opinion they are the result of the meeting of members of several peoples that got together (p.c).

Obscure is also the origin of the Ongota language, that presently defies proper classification. Lexical comparison point to Afroasiatic origins, such as South Omotic (Ehret p.c.) o a main branch of the Afroasiatic family (Fleming 2006). Morphological comparison takes to Afroasiatic (Dullay, Savà and Tosco 2003) and to Nilo-Saharan (Blažek 2007). Unique lexical and morphological aspects points to an isolate (which is my current present opinion. Also Mous p.c.). A creolised process is behind Aklilu's opinion (p.c) that the Ongota are a melting pot of people and languages that cannot be classified. Also Bender spoke of Ongota as a “mystery language” (1994).

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<sup>1</sup> Calling their own language “mouth of the people x” is very much widespread among the other speech communities in the area.

Nowadays, Ongota is a moribund language. According to the last news only four speakers are left. These are elders that in everyday life speak Ts'amakko (East Cushitic), that is the language the whole community switched to. Amharic, the administrative and interethnic language of Ethiopia, is more and more used for trade and bureaucratic issues. Ongota is therefore used as a sort of secret language among the tiny group of speakers and is basically not passed to children. Only adults understand some Ongota but cannot and do not use it. The death of the four last speakers Ongota will be fatal for the Ongota language.

## 2. The text

Language documentation is a linguistic branch that aims at the most widely possible record of speech of a given language (Himmelman 1998). The methodology is typically based on extensive recording in audio and video and the transcription, translation and annotation of the texts. These are stored in digital archives for further consultation, that is possible associating to it, minimally, a grammatical sketch and a sociological profile of the speech community.

A language documentation project on Ongota was financed by ELDP and conducted by the present writer. The text under analysis in this article has been extracted from the ELAR (Endangered Language Archive) Ongota corpus ([www.soas.ac.uk/elar/](http://www.soas.ac.uk/elar/)).

The topic of the text is apiculture. It is a description of the main operation for honey collection with a focus on beehive. The speaker is Maale Goda, a woman that acted as foster family during my stays in *muts'e*.

The oral text on beehive was recorded during one of my fieldwork periods in 2008. It was one of my planned recording sessions, in which I organized with Maale the recording on the specific topic. The recording setting was open-air, in Maale's compound. The text was re-listened with the speaker in order to transcribe and translate it on paper. Grammatical annotation, that is morpheme parting and glossing, was done by computer using the software ELAN Corpa.

Here is below the annotated text, followed by free translation and the explanation of abbreviations, glosses and symbols. The text is structured six different tiers:

- The first tier (tx) shows the phonetic transcription in IPA reflecting the actual speech.
- The second tier (lx) contains the phonemic transcription of words. IPA is used except for the following phonemes: [ɕ] = j, [j] = y and [χ] = x.
- The third tier (mb) shows the morpheme breaking of the words.
- The fourth tier (ge) associates a grammatical or lexical gloss to each morpheme or lexical items of tier mb.
- The fifth tier (ps) associates syntactic, pragmatic or other glosses that are useful for data retrieval (such as the Ts'amakko loans, that are marked with the ISO code of Ts'amakko TSB).
- The last tier (lt) is the literary translation tier. Full free translation follows the text.

@SP1 means that the speech is from the main narrator. In a couple of cases, @SP2 indicates the speech of someone in the audience, who helped Maale to remember a verb she could not recall.

tx@SP1 wo:βa ʃiɕɕu /  
 lx@SP1 yooba sijju /  
 mb@SP1 yooba sijju  
 ge@SP1 people POSS.1PL  
 ps@SP1 N PRO  
 lt@SP1 Our people,

tx@SP1 ʔafana gorgora fana //  
 lx@SP1 ʔafana gorgora ʔafana //  
 mb@SP1 ʔafana gorgora ʔa = fan -a  
 ge@SP1 how beehive SBJ.IMPS PST.make\_beehive HAB  
 ps@SP1 Q N PRO V ASP  
 lt@SP1 how is a beehive made.

tx@SP1 gorgouw afanana::j /  
 lx@SP1 gorgora ʔafananay /  
 mb@SP1 gorgora ʔa = fan -a = nay  
 ge@SP1 beehive SBJ.IMPS PST.make\_beehive HAB TOP  
 ps@SP1 N PRO V AS TSB  
 lt@SP1 As for how a beehive is made,

tx@SP1 aro:taba /  
 lx@SP1 ʔarootaba /  
 mb@SP1 ʔa = roota = ba  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.IMPS PST.go CONS  
 ps@SP1 PRO V TSB  
 lt@SP1 one goes

tx@SP1 ʔaḥajde //  
 lx@SP1 ʔaḥayde //  
 mb@SP1 ʔa = ḥay = de  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.IMPS PAST.tie OBJ.IMPS  
 ps@SP1 PRO V PRO  
 lt@SP1 and ties it.

tx@SP1 inta: ʔakkala / biyatte kiddeχi /  
 lx@SP1 ʔinta ʔakkala / biyatte kidexi /  
 mb@SP1 ʔinta ʔakkala biyatte ki = dex  
 ge@SP1 man one on\_the\_ground SBJ.3SG.M PST.wait  
 ps@SP1 N NUM TSB PRO V  
 lt@SP1 One man waits on the ground

tx@SP1 intakkala kigaets' //  
 lx@SP1 ʔinta ʔakkala kigats' //  
 mb@SP1 ʔinta ʔakkala ki = gats'  
 ge@SP1 man one SBJ.3SG.M PST.climb  
 ps@SP1 N NUM PRO V  
 lt@SP1 one man cuts.

tx@SP1 je:da gatf'na:: / furobita //  
 lx@SP1 yeeda gats'na / suro kita? //  
 mb@SP1 yeeda gats' = na suro ki = ta?  
 ge@SP1 DEM PST.climb TOP lifting\_ropes SBJ.3SG.M PST.take p  
 s@SP1 PRO V TSB N PRO V  
 lt@SP1 The one that cuts, takes a lifting rope.

tx@SP1 furo::tu gudu:: / worgorakofu /  
 lx@SP1 surotu gudu / gorgorako ?ufo /  
 mb@SP1 suro =tu gudu gorgora =ko ?ufo  
 ge@SP1 lifting\_ropes ABL down beehive ANAPH he  
 ps@SP1 N CASE POSTP N DEF TSB  
 lt@SP1 Under the lifting rope the beehive.

tx@SP1 tfuroko t'uabaj / ?ihe //  
 lx@SP1 suroko tu?a bayi / ?ehe // 656  
 mb@SP1 suro =ko tu? -a bayi ?ehe  
 ge@SP1 lifting\_ropes ANAPH PST.seize IMP.SG he\_said here\_it\_is  
 ps@SP1 N DEF V PN TSB EXCL  
 lt@SP1 The lifting rope catch, he sais. Here it is.

tx@SP1 kihe //  
 lx@SP1 kihed //  
 mb@SP1 ki = hed  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.3SGM tie  
 ps@SP1 PRO V  
 lt@SP1 He ties.

tx@SP1 ta: / kahe?ie: //  
 lx@SP1 ta?a / kahedyee //  
 mb@SP1 ta? -a ka = hed =yee  
 ge@SP1 take IMP.SG SBJ.1SG PST.tie ASS  
 ps@SP1 V PN PRO V TSB  
 lt@SP1 Take! I tied it.

tx@SP1 kita? // kife? k'# /  
 lx@SP1 kita? // kifa? k' /  
 mb@SP1 ki = ta? ki = fa?  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.3SG.M PST.take SBJ.3SG.M add  
 ps@SP1 PRO V PRO V  
 lt@SP1 He takes it. he...

tx@SP1 ki ?e::# //  
 lx@SP1 ki?ee //  
 mb@SP1 ki = ?ee  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.3SGM ?e:  
 ps@SP1 PRO ?e:  
 lt@SP1 he...

|        |   |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
|--------|---|----------------|-----------|-------------------|--------------|----|----------|---|--|
| tx@SP2 | kitagad' //                             |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP2 | kitagats' //                            |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP2 | ki =                                    | tagats'        |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ge@SP2 | SBJ.3SGM                                | PST.make_go_up |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ps@SP2 | PRO                                     | V              |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lt@SP2 | He lifts it up.                         |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| tx@SP1 | kitagas'ifa /                           | kifi? # /      |           | kiʃ# /            |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP1 | kitagats'ba /                           | kifi /         |           | kiʃ /             |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP1 | ki =                                    | tagats'        |           | =ba               | ki =         | ʃi | ki =     | ʃ |  |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SG.M                               | PST.make_go_up |           | CONS              | SBJ.3SGM     | ʃi | SBJ.3SGM | ʃ |  |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                     | V              |           | TSB               | PRO          |    | PRO      |   |  |
| lt@SP1 | He lifts it up and he... he...          |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| tx@SP1 | kihe //                                 |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP1 | kihed' //                               |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP1 | ki =                                    | hed'           |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SG.M                               | PST.tie        |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                     | V              |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lt@SP1 | ties it.                                |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| tx@SP2 | ʃi# /                                   |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP2 | ʃi /                                    |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP2 | ʃi                                      |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ge@SP2 | ʃi                                      |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lt@SP2 | ...                                     |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| tx@SP1 | e:datu::: /                             | ka:ɖik'# /     | m#        | kudikkadije::: // |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP1 | ʔeedatu /                               | kadik /        |           | kudikkadiyee //   |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP1 | ʔeeda =tu                               | ka =           | ɖik       | ku =              | ɖikkadi      |    | =yee     |   |  |
| ge@SP1 | DEM ABL                                 | SBJ.1SG        | ɖik       | M                 | he_finished  |    | ASS      |   |  |
| ps@SP1 | PRO CASE                                | PRO            |           | TSB               | TSB          |    | TSB      |   |  |
| lt@SP1 | After this, I... He finished.           |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| tx@SP1 | ʃuru ta:ki //                           |                | tʃuroki / |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP1 | suro taʔaki //                          | suroki /       |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP1 | suro                                    | taʔ            | -a        | =ki               | suro         |    | =ki      |   |  |
| ge@SP1 | lifting_rope                            | take           | IMP.SG    | OBJ.3SG.M         | lifting_rope |    | ANAPH    |   |  |
| ps@SP1 | N                                       | V              | PN        | PRO               | N            |    | DET      |   |  |
| lt@SP1 | Take the lifting rope! The lifting rope |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| tx@SP1 | kibiʃ # /                               |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lx@SP1 | kibiʃ /                                 |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| mb@SP1 | ki =                                    | biʃ            |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SGM                                | biʃ            |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                     |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |
| lt@SP1 | he...                                   |                |           |                   |              |    |          |   |  |

|        |  |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
|--------|--|-------------|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|----------|----------|-----|
| tx@SP2 | m̩                                       |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP2 | m̩                                       |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| tx@SP1 | m̩kizammafi //                           |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP1 | kijammafi //                             |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| mb@SP1 | ki =                                     | ɕammafi     |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SGM                                 | he_inserted |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                      | TSB         |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lt@SP1 | he inserts                               |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| tx@SP1 | ele wuraka awolaka //                    |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP1 | ʔele                                     | wuraka      | ʔawolaka | //              |                 |       |          |          |     |
| mb@SP1 | ʔele                                     | wura        | =ka      | ʔa=             | wolak           |       |          | -a       |     |
| ge@SP1 | together                                 | house       | DIR      | SBJ.IMPS        | PSTgo_back_home |       |          | HAB      |     |
| ps@SP1 | TSB                                      | N           | CASE     | PRO             | V               |       |          | ASP      |     |
| lt@SP1 | They go back home together.              |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| tx@SP1 | wuraka awolakana::i /                    |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP1 | wuraka                                   | ʔawolakanay | /        |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| mb@SP1 | wura                                     | =ka         | ʔa=      | wolak           |                 |       |          | -a       | =na |
| ge@SP1 | house                                    | DIR         | SBJ.IMPS | PSTgo_back_home | HAB             |       |          | TOP      |     |
| ps@SP1 | N  | CASE        | PRO      | V               | ASP             |       |          | TSB      |     |
| lt@SP1 | After one goes back home                 |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| tx@SP1 | anoqotoa:: go::rakufo:: /                |             |          | tʃonaqu ʔe //   |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP1 | ʔanoqota                                 | gorgorakoko | /        | ts'onaqo        | ʔe              | //    |          |          |     |
| mb@SP1 | ʔa=                                      | noqot       | -a       | gorgora         | =ko             | =ko   | ts'onaqo | ʔe       |     |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.IMPS                                 | PST.see     | HAB      | beehive         | ANAPH           | ANAPH | bee      | PST.come |     |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                      | V           | ASP      | N               | DEF             | DEF   | N        | V        |     |
| lt@SP1 | one looks at the beehive, the bees come. |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| tx@SP1 | kifa? //                                 |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP1 | kifa? //                                 |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| mb@SP1 | ki=                                      | fa?         |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SG.M                                | PST.add     |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                      | V           |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lt@SP1 | They enter.                              |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| tx@SP1 | kuɕammoʔna::j /                          | ʔah /       |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lx@SP1 | kuzammonnay                              | /           | ʔah      | /               |                 |       |          |          |     |
| mb@SP1 | ku=                                      | zammo       | =na      | ʔah             |                 |       |          |          |     |
| ge@SP1 | M  | honey       | TOP      | ʔah             |                 |       |          |          |     |
| ps@SP1 | TSB                                      | N           | TSB      | EXCL            |                 |       |          |          |     |
| lt@SP1 | There is honey. Hey!                     |             |          |                 |                 |       |          |          |     |

tx@SP1 nda::: /        ʔaxaj //        ə# inanke /  
 lx@SP1 inda /        ʔaxay //        ə ʔinanke /  
 mb@SP1 inda        ʔaxay        ə ʔinanke  
 ge@SP1 come\_on   IMP.SG.come   ə children  
 ps@SP1 TSB        V                TSB  
 lt@SP1 Come on! Come! Children!

tx@SP1 ndaj / a:j# a:jaba::: / m# /  
 lx@SP1 indajee /        aay ʔayaba /        m /  
 mb@SP1 inda        =yee aay ʔaya        =ba        m  
 ge@SP1 come\_on   ASS a:y come\_on   CONS        m  
 ps@SP1 TSB        TSB EXCL V        TSB  
 lt@SP1 Come on! Let's go and

tx@SP1 karo:ba::: /        gorgorakoka noqoio //  
 lx@SP1 karootaba / gorgorako kanoqoyo //  
 mb@SP1 ka =   roota =ba gorgora =ko   ka =   noqot -o  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.1SG PST.go   CONS beehive ANAPH SBJ.1SG PST.see CONS  
 ps@SP1 PRO   V                TSB N        DEF   PRO   V        TSB  
 lt@SP1 I go and I look at the beehive. What is there inside?

tx@SP1 ne: idatu guskutu //  
 lx@SP1 nee ʔidatu guskutu //  
 mb@SP1 nee ʔida =tu guskutu  
 ge@SP1 what be ABL inside  
 ps@SP1 Q   V    CASE POSTP  
 lt@SP1 What is there inside?

tx@SP1 aro:tana:::i /  
 lx@SP1 ʔarootanay /  
 mb@SP1 ʔa =        roota        =na  
 ge@SP1 SBJ.IMPS   PST.go        TOP  
 ps@SP1 PRO        V                TSB  
 lt@SP1 One goes and

tx@SP1 gorə::: /        a:gga# /        kigets' //  
 lx@SP1 gorgora /        agga /        kigats' //  
 mb@SP1 gorgora        agga        ki =        gats'  
 ge@SP1 beehive        agga        SBJ.3SG.M PST.climb  
 ps@SP1 N                        PRO        V  
 lt@SP1 the beehive he climbs.

tx@SP1 kita / ʔakkala /  
 lx@SP1 kita /        ʔakkala /  
 mb@SP1 kita        ʔakkala  
 ge@SP1 IDP.3SG.M   one  
 ps@SP1 PRO        NUM  
 lt@SP1 He one

tx@SP1      ʔadɸa biaki kia:mi // e:lete kiʔa:minai /  
lx@SP1      ʔadda biyaki           kiʔaami // ʔeelete kiʔaaminay /  
mb@SP1      ʔadda biya =ki       ki=           ʔaami ʔeelete ki =       ʔaami    =na  
ge@SP1      there earth DIR       SBJ.3SGM sit    while SBJ.3SG.M PST.sit TOP  
ps@SP1      ADV N CASE PRO       V TEMP PRO       V       TSB  
lt@SP1      sits there on the ground. While he is sitting there

tx@SP1      oʔonneko:: /  
lx@SP1      ʔoxoniko /  
mb@SP1      ʔoxoni       =ko  
ge@SP1      fire           ANAPH  
ps@SP1      N            DEF  
lt@SP1      the fire

tx@SP1      koaʔ / kiki::kki gi:f //  
lx@SP1      koʔa /                   ki    ki    kigiis //  
mb@SP1      koʔ   -a               ki =       ki =       ki =       giis  
ge@SP1      kindle JUSS.1SG       SBJ.3SGM   SBJ.3SGM   SBJ.3SG.M PST.say  
ps@SP1      V PN                PRO        PRO        PRO        V  
lt@SP1      let me kindle! He sais.

tx@SP1      daita qarra /   ada:jaba /  
lx@SP1      dayta qarra /   ʔadayaba /  
mb@SP1      day -ta       qarra. ʔa =       day       -a       =ba  
ge@SP1      do IMP.PL before SBJ.IMPS   PST.do   HAB       CONS  
ps@SP1      V TAM TSB PRO        V        ASP        TSB  
lt@SP1      Let's do this before

tx@SP1      ki:ta kihaʔ /  
lx@SP1      kita kihaɸ /  
mb@SP1      kita       ki =           haɸ  
ge@SP1      IDP.3SG.M SBJ.3SG.M PST.collect  
ps@SP1      PRO        PRO        V  
lt@SP1      one does this he collects honey

tx@SP1      kiʔgats'iβa / XXXXXX intase:: /  
lx@SP1      kigats'ba /        XXXXXXXX ʔintase /  
mb@SP1      ki =           gats'           =ba ʔinta -se  
ge@SP1      SBJ.3SG.M PST.climb   CONS man DEF  
ps@SP1      PRO        V            TSB N TSB  
lt@SP1      he climb and the man

tx@SP1      kiha /           ʔoaʔ# /       gʔumutu //  
lx@SP1      kihaɸ /           ʔoaʔ /       q'umotu //  
mb@SP1      ki =           haɸ           ʔoaʔ q'umo       = tu  
ge@SP1      SBJ.3SG.M PST.collect ʔoaʔ honey\_calabash ABL  
ps@SP1      PRO        V            N            CASE  
lt@SP1      he collects with the calabash.

|        |  |                 |               |             |               |         |
|--------|--|-----------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------|
| tx@SP2 | XX kifarat //                            |                 |               |             |               |         |
| lx@SP2 | XX kifarat //                            |                 |               |             |               |         |
| mb@SP2 | ki = farat                               |                 |               |             |               |         |
| ge@SP2 | SBJ.3SGM                                 | send_away       |               |             |               |         |
| ps@SP2 | PRO                                      | V               |               |             |               |         |
| lt@SP2 | He sends it out.                         |                 |               |             |               |         |
| tx@SP1 | e:da katte zo:ba kigaftisiba /           |                 |               |             |               |         |
| lx@SP1 | ʔeeda                                    | katte           | zooba         | kigaftisiba | /             |         |
| mb@SP1 | ʔeeda                                    | katte           | zooba         | ki =        | gaftisi       | = ba    |
| ge@SP1 | DEM                                      | fire            | beeswax       | SBJ.3SG.M   | he_made_stick | CONS    |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                      | TSB             | N             | PRO         | TSB           | TSB     |
| lt@SP1 | On this fire he adds beewax and          |                 |               |             |               |         |
| tx@SP1 | keheʔeʔ ba /                             |                 |               |             |               |         |
| lx@SP1 | kihedba                                  | /               |               |             |               |         |
| mb@SP1 | ki =                                     | hedʔ            |               | = ba        |               |         |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SG.M                                | PST.tie         |               | CONS        |               |         |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                      | V               |               | TSB         |               |         |
| lt@SP1 | he ties it and                           |                 |               |             |               |         |
| tx@SP1 | q'omuβa /                                | e::: oxoniba /  |               |             |               |         |
| lx@SP1 | q'umoba                                  | /               | ee            | ʔoxoniba    | /             |         |
| mb@SP1 | q'umo                                    |                 | = ba          | ee          | ʔoxoni        | = ba    |
| ge@SP1 | honey_calabash                           |                 | CONS          | ee          | fire          | CONS    |
| ps@SP1 | N  |                 | TSB           |             | N             | TSB     |
| lt@SP1 | the calabash and the fire and            |                 |               |             |               |         |
| tx@SP1 | dzooba illema kiti he //                 |                 |               | keʔurri //  |               |         |
| lx@SP1 | zooba ʔillema                            | kita            | hedʔ //       | kixurri     | //            |         |
| mb@SP1 | zooba                                    | ʔillema         | kita          | hedʔ        | ki =          | xurri   |
| ge@SP1 | beeswax                                  | together        | IDP.3SG.M     | PST.tie     | SBJ.3SG.M     | he_sent |
| ps@SP1 | N  | TSB             | PRO           | V           | PRO           | TSB     |
| lt@SP1 | the beewax he ties together, he sends it |                 |               |             |               |         |
| tx@SP1 | kikiʔ# /                                 | tagatʃinna::: / |               |             |               |         |
| lx@SP1 | ki ki                                    | /               | inda          | gats'na     | /             |         |
| mb@SP1 | ki =                                     | ki =            | inda          | gats'       | = na          |         |
| ge@SP1 | SBJ.3SG.M                                | SBJ.3SG.M       | come_on       | PST.climb   | TOP           |         |
| ps@SP1 | PRO                                      | PRO             | TSB           | V           | TSB           |         |
| lt@SP1 | he, he, come on! climbs and              |                 |               |             |               |         |
| tx@SP1 | noqatu ene gorgora::: kotu::: /          |                 |               |             |               |         |
| lx@SP1 | noqota                                   | ʔeni            | gorgorakotu / |             |               |         |
| mb@SP1 | noqot -a                                 | ʔeni            | gorgora       | = ko        | = tu          |         |
| ge@SP1 | see                                      | IMP.SG          | DEM           | beehive     | ANAPH         | ABL     |
| ps@SP1 | V  | PN              | PRO           | N           | DET           | CASE    |
| lt@SP1 | see what is inside the beehive.          |                 |               |             |               |         |

tx@SP1       fo:ka kuidænæ /  
 lx@SP1       fooka kuʔidanay /  
 mb@SP1       fooka ku =       ʔida = na  
 ge@SP1       honey SBJ.3SG.F be TOP  
 ps@SP1       N PRO V TSB  
 lt@SP1       If there is honey

tx@SP1       eni ke::zo //  
 lx@SP1       ʔeni kizooʔ //  
 mb@SP1       ʔeni ki =       zooʔ  
 ge@SP1       DEM SBJ.3SG.M PST.collect\_honey  
 ps@SP1       PRO PRO V  
 lt@SP1       he collects it.

ref@SP1       BXE\_NARR\_004\_134  
 tx@SP1       annoqota ʔokki ellakollana ʔi //  
 lx@SP1       ʔanoqota ʔokke ʔellako kollana ʔi //  
 mb@SP1       ʔa =       noqot -a ʔokke ʔellako kolla = na ʔi  
 ge@SP1       SBJ.IMPS PST.see HAB cubs only about TOP disappointment  
 ps@SP1       PRO V ASP TSB ADV TSB TSB EXCL  
 lt@SP1       If one sees and there are only bee eggs one says "ʔi".

tx@SP1       worindatu::: ʔokauni baʔm /  
 lx@SP1       wura ʔindatu       fooka ʔuni baʔ /  
 mb@SP1       wura ʔinda =tu   fooka ʔuni baʔ  
 ge@SP1       house DEM ABL honey today there.is.not  
 ps@SP1       N PRO CASE N TSB V  
 lt@SP1       Today there is no honey at home.

tx@SP1       asa gi:s //       ʔa /       oʒoni::: /  
 lx@SP1       ʔasa giis //       ʔa /       ʔoxoni /  
 mb@SP1       ʔasa giis       ʔa       ʔoxoni  
 ge@SP1       so PST.say       ʔa       fire  
 ps@SP1       TSB V       N  
 lt@SP1       So one says. The fire

tx@SP1       kaʔakiba /       ʔuʔ# ʒor //  
 lx@SP1       kaʔakiba /       ʔuʔ xor //  
 mb@SP1       kaʔ -a       =ki       =ba       ʔuʔ xor  
 ge@SP1       hold IMP.SG   OBJ.3SG.M CONS       ʔuʔ send  
 ps@SP1       V PN       PRO       TSB       TSB  
 lt@SP1       hold and send

|        |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--------|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| tx@SP1 | ne idatu gusgutu //                         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lx@SP1 | nee ?idatu guskutu //                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mb@SP1 | nee ?ida =tu guskutu                        |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ge@SP1 | what be ABL inside                          |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ps@SP1 | Q V CASE POSTP                              |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lt@SP1 | What is there inside?                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| tx@SP1 | ?a:::x / kaba?ma::: /                       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lx@SP1 | ?aax / kaba?ma /                            |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mb@SP1 | ?aax ka = ba? = ma                          |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ge@SP1 | ?a:x SBJ.1SG there.is.not SIT               |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ps@SP1 | EXCL PRO V TSB                              |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lt@SP1 | ?ax, I have nothing inside.                 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| tx@SP1 | okke e:lla ko ?idama::: // kuddami?i: /     |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lx@SP1 | ?okke ?ellako ?idama // kudami?ii /         |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mb@SP1 | ?okke ?ellako ?ida =ma ku = dam -i = ?ii    |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ge@SP1 | cubs only be SIT SBJ.3SG.F arrive PROGR INT |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ps@SP1 | TSB ADV V TS PRO V ASP Q                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lt@SP1 | There are only bee eggs. Will it come?      |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| tx@SP1 | ie:::?e ?ura //                             |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lx@SP1 | ie?e xura //                                |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| mb@SP1 | ie?e xura                                   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ge@SP1 | contradiction let.me.leave.it               |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ps@SP1 | EXCL TSB                                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lt@SP1 | No, let me leave.                           |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## 2.2 Translation

How we make a beehive.

After a beehive is made, one man goes and ties it on a tree.

One man stays on the ground, one man goes and ties it on a tree.

The one who climbs takes a lifting rope.

Under the lifting rope there is a beehive and the man on the tree says “catch the lifting rope, here it is!”

The man on the ground ties the beehive with the lifting rope.

The man on the ground says “take it! I tied it!”.

The other man takes it.

The man on the tree lifts the beehive up and ties it on the tree.

After this, he finished.

One says “take the lifting rope!”.

The other one inserts the lifting rope in the beehive.

They go back home.

After going home, one still checks the beehive and sees the bees coming.

The bees get in the beehive.

There should be honey.

“Hey! Come one, stand up!”

“Guys, let me go and check the beehive”

What will be inside?

The person goes and climbs towards the beehive.

Another one sits on the ground.

While he is sitting there, he says “let me kindle the fire”.

One says “let's do this before” and sets up the fire. The other climbs to collect the honey.

This man collects it with the calabash.

The man on the ground ties together a kindled piece of wood, some beewax and the calabash.

He sends everything up Then, he says “come on, climb and see what there is in the beehive”, if there is honey he will collect it. If one looks and only finds bee eggs he get disappointed. It

will be said that there is not honey at home that day. The man on the tree says “Hold the piece of kindled wood and send it”. The man on the ground asks “What is there

inside?” There is nothing inside, only bee eggs.

“Will the honey come? No, let me leave”.

### ***3 Abbreviations, symbols and glosses***

#### ***3.1 Abbreviations***

|      |   |
|------|---|
| tx   | Phonetic transcription tier                 |
| lx   | Phonemic/lexical transcription tier         |
| mb   | Morpheme breaking tier                      |
| ge   | English glosses tier                        |
| ps   | Part of speech (and other annotations) tier |
| lt   | Literary translation tier                   |
| @SP1 | Main speaker tiers                          |
| @SP2 | Second speaker tiers                        |

#### ***3.2 Symbols***

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| /   | Minor prosodic unit  |
| //  | Major prosodic unit  |
| :   | Phonetic lengthening   |
| ::: | Expression lengthening (longer than :)                                 |
| -   | Morpheme boundary  |
| =   | Clitic boundary  |
| .   | Link of portmanteau grammatical meanings                               |
| _   | Link of English words conveying the meaning of one lexical Ongota item |
| #   | Unexpected stop in speech (Ongota)                                     |

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| ... | Unexpected stop in speech (translation)  |
| X   | Unintelligible speech bit (the longer it is, the higher is the number of X's)            |
| “ ” | Empty slot in ge, ps and lt tiers when the translation is not sure or in case of fillers |

### 3.3 Glosses

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| 1     | First person      |
| 2     | Second person     |
| 3     | Third person      |
| ABL   | Ablative          |
| ADV   | Adverb            |
| ANAPH | Anaphoric         |
| ASP   | Aspect            |
| ASS   | Assertive         |
| CASE  | Case              |
| CONS  | Consecutive       |
| DEF   | Definite          |
| DEM   | Demonstrative     |
| DET   | Determinative     |
| DIR   | Directive         |
| EXCL  | Exclamative       |
| HAB   | Habitual          |
| IDP   | Independent       |
| IMP   | Imperative        |
| IMPS  | Impersonal        |
| JUSS  | Jussive           |
| M     | Masculine         |
| N     | Noun              |
| NUM   | Numeral           |
| OBJ   | Object            |
| PL    | Plural            |
| PN    | Person and number |
| POSS  | Possessive        |
| POSTP | Postposition      |

|       |                           |
|-------|---------------------------|
| PRO   | Pronoun                   |
| PROGR | Progressive               |
| PST   | Past                      |
| Q     | Question marker           |
| SBJ   | Subject                   |
| SG    | Singular                  |
| TAM   | Time Aspect Mood          |
| TEMP  | Temporal                  |
| TOP   | Topic                     |
| TSB   | Ts'amakko word (ISO code) |
| V     | Verb                      |

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