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Towards a grammar of the senses: perception in Lushese (Olussese)

Dissertation Thesis

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Preface and acknowledgements

Between 2009 and 2011 I was given the chance to work for a language documentation project with the Institute for African Studies in Cologne conducted by Anne Storch on the Ssese Islands in Uganda. The basic aim of the project was to collect linguistic data on a linguistic variety spoken on the Ssese Islands, which is usually described as being one of the four dialects of Luganda known as Lussese and/or Olussese. As a tribute to the speakers of the language, who kindly allowed me to study and work with them and with the aim to honor the speakers´ own designation of their language, in the present thesis I introduce and will use the term Lushese to refer to the language and the term Bashese to refer to the people speaking it.

The present thesis presents the findings of the documentation project mentioned above and focusses on the use and meaning of verbs of perception in Lushese. I discovered the subject of how language reflects worlds of perception as a student and became more and more interested in the theoretical and methodological challenges that arise within this field. The perspective of conducting a study on the way an African language expresses categories of perception filled me with high expectations: I wanted to experiment with the most innovative methods and try to examine all the various theoretical approaches that inspired me in order to develop further the cognitive model of understanding language. When I first came to the Ssese Islands I was surprised by the extent of the low density of the speakers and the actual extent of the endangerment of the language. I realized that the documentation of Lushese was even more urgent than assumed while various methods usually applied within the field of language documentation I couldn´t apply in this context. The small number and the old age of the speakers, the marginalized status of the community, the fact that the speakers live in different islands combined with the poor infrastructure of the area in general and the lack of transport facilities of the Ssese Archipel in particular, turned out to be challenges far more relevant during fieldwork than any scientific question that motivated me during my preparations. The output of my studies as they are presented in this thesis reflects the gap I was not able to overcome between my expectations and my compromises on field.

Usually in scientific writings the preface gives a brief summary of the following contents and the authors locate their contribution within a scientific field and within a specific theory and/or methodology. Often the preface gives indications of how readers may use the text or, to put it in simple words, what the text is intented to be good for. My intention here is the opposite: I want to sum up the wicknesses of my work that run through the whole process of my research as well as the writing of the present text and put their stamp on the results presented in the following pages, or, to put it in simple words, I want to warn the reader of the issues that will come short till the last page.

For collecting linguistic data in Lushese I failed in applying consequently a methodological strategy. In the very beginning my first concern was to set a relation to at least some of the speakers I could identify. The choice of methods throughout the whole project was rather guided by spontaneous reactions on the people and on actual interactive settings than by scientific standards. Further I was not able to adopt, follow and discuss a stringent theory of language and perception and in consequence the discussion of the findings in Lushese within the contemporary scientific debates on this field remains, if at all, full of questions, gaps and missing links. Besides the missing theoretical and methodological orientation the analysis is marked by the choices of translation. Although I was aware of the difficulties resulting out of the transcription and translation of linguistic material and despite the fact that I tried to adopt various proposals as developed by scientists in order to deal with the issue, it was again not possible to adopt a stringent theory of translation. I discuss again and again this set of

problems in many relevant contexts throughout the main chapters of the thesis and I have decided to give overviews of the scientific views and methodological proposals that inspired me, but the lack of rigor is reflected in the way the findings are presented and discussed.

The value of the present language documentation is further narrowed by the fact that indices on the cultural and historical background of the language and the speakers´ community are only fragmentary. Various and numerous domains of language use could not be enlighted enough through information on the cultural practice and the social evaluation that are associated with the given linguistic practice. To state briefly some of the reasons for this lack of depth I would like to mention the financial and temporal limitations of the project, the absence of previous works on the culture and language of the Bashese as well as the highly endangered status of the language. I tried to bridge this gap by the theatrical project I conducted together with some speakers during the last year of the project, but this effort resulted in further theoretical and methodological challenges, which I will mention, but I could not solve. The social and cultural parameters that shape the language meanings and uses of Lushese come definitely too short.

Index of maps, figures, tables and photos

Photos
Photos are taken by the author if not indicated otherwise.

Abbreviations

1	1st nominal class		**m**	masculine
1Sg	1st person singular		**min/maxS**	minimal/maximal syllable
A	Agens		**N**	nasal
∀	allquantor		**ND**	nominal derivation
ADJ	adjective		**NE**	nominal ending
ADV	adverb		**NEG**	negation marker
APP	applicative		**NP**	nominal phrase
ASS	associative marker		**O**	object
AUG	augment		**OC**	object concord
AUX	auxiliary verb		**P**	Patiens
C	consonant		**PASS**	passive marker
CONN	connective		**PAST**	past tense
Conj	conjunction		**PERS**	personal marker
D	derivation		**Pl**	plural marker
COP	copula		**PO**	politeness marker
diph	diphthong		**POSS**	possessive marker
DEM	demonstrative marker		**Prep**	preposition
DIR	directional		**PRES**	present tense
DIST	distal demonstrative		**PROX**	proximal demonstrative
∃	existential quantor		**Q**	question marker
EXP	Experiencer		**R**	raising tones
EMPH	marker of emphasis		**S**	subject
∇	diadic quantor		**SC**	subject concord
f	feminine		**Sg**	singular marker
F	falling tone		**SPEC**	specific
H	high tone		**V**	verb
IDEO	ideophone		**v**	vowel
IMP	imperative		**VE**	verbal ending
INF	infinitive			
IO	indirect object			
L	low tone			

«Ἀλλ' οὐ νοητά, οὐδὲ νοεῖ ὁ νοῦς τὰ ἐκτὸς μὴ μετ᾽ αἰσθήσεως[1]»

Neither the mental issues nor anything else can our mind conceive out of our perception.

Aristotle

1. Introduction

The basic aim of this study is to describe the way speakers of Lushese express perception. I will relate interpretations of the speakers regarding events of perception as evidence of their linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge, arguing that it is the cultural interpretation of the human body and its sensory apparatus rather than the actual condition of human senses as well as the interpretation of nature rather than the environment as a given physical and predictable reality that shapes the concept of human perception and the way language reflects this as a conceptual event.

1.1 Language and perception in theory

Perception has engaged authors, literates and scientists alike since the dawn of (what later has been labelled) science. Sensory categories like warm and cold, light or dark, colours in general, tastes and odours, but also existential conditions such as vitality and strength or pain and weakness, feelings like The basic aim of this study is to describe the way speakers of Lushese express perception. I will give examples of various constructions based on different lexemes and explain the meaning of linguistic structures in line with the speaker´s use of them with special reference to the verbs of perceptionlove, hate, anger, jealousy, among others, have become a matter with various foci: in different periods of time the investigation of sensual categories follows and at the same time represents synchronic needs and/or perspectives. To define a "main", "most important" or "characteristic" synchronic aspect of a given period of time regarding perception concepts of the same period is, if at all, possible only with respect to several, often conflictive, contexts. A good example of such conflicts which make it, in this case, impossible to pick up "the most important" perspective in matters of perception is the debate between Aristotle and Plato on this issue.

Aristotle[2] categorizes perception as a capacity of the soul[3] which serves as precondition for all other qualities of the same and a precondition for any cognitive activities: it is only through perception that animates (among them, humans) connect with the world. For Aristotle the objective reality exists independent of a perceiving subject. The world consists of real things that have position, size, shape, number, motion or stagnancy. Reality is formed by the motion of real things under the impact of physical rules. Motion is conceived as genuine change, an eternal pending between actual and potential condition; Aristotle defines four domains (substance, quality, quantity and place) and six kinds of motion: rise, collapse, increase, decrease, locomotion and change. He defines perception as a change caused by transfer and/or affliction. For Aristotle, perception is at the same time our only direct access to reality as it corrupts the same: it is a qualitative change depending on the sensual apparatus and the capacity of the afflicted body in combination with the qualities of the stimulus.

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[1] (Περὶ Αἰσθήσεως καὶ Αἰσθητῶν, 445b 20-21)

[2] See Aristotle: De anima, De Sensu et Sensibilibus.

[3] Aristotle understands the soul as a principle of life and not as a quality restricted on animals or human, but as a feature of all living entities. Perception is in his sense the capacity that differentiates plants from other animates.

Plato[4] separates two ways of being: being and partaking. Being is possible only in the inconvertible world of ideas that is exempt from destruction. Partaking is taking place in the perceivable, changeable and always flowing world of the senses. This separation of the true from the real world impacts Plato´s concept of the soul and within it, the role of perception. For Plato, the soul has mainly cognitive and intellectual capacities, but still it is a complex concept and different from the mind in that the soul has desires, pleasures and passions. While the one true world of ideas is perceivable only through mental functions and activities, the other, the real world, is material and perishable; an effect of interaction[5] between the sensual apparatus and a putative reality. In Plato's system, senses are unable or too deficient to understand in the world of ideas; yet they are effective in reality and thus should be engaged for moral education.

Both philosophers have impacted various discourses in various ways through time. While the views of Aristotle serve the image of an observable and controllable world, Plato´s perspective projects the image of justice and balance. Their opposition towards the nature and capacity of central categories like reality, mind, soul, cognition and perception is still today reflected in various contexts (see 1.1.2).

Beside Plato´s and Aristotle´s views on perception, the perspective of rituals during that period should also be considered; perception and shared experience, perception as interaction during symbolic activities, exchange and incorporation of signs, and perception as means for shaping and manipulating reality come into focus. Ritual activities of the ancient Greeks also impact and at the same time represent their evaluation of what perception is; the experience of the divine, the perception of metaphysical categories and interaction with metaphysical entities belong to secret, but at the same time, collective and common practise in the classical Greek period, beside their later evaluation as sources for theatrical performance. The perception of the irrational, which is not accessible by mental functions, is then possible only through simultaneous manipulation of the sensual apparatus and of the reality: this requires loss of bodily control, loss of consciousness, the shut off of mental activities, the use of drugs, music, dance and a variety of means between pleasure and abstinence; processes which stimulate a kind of transition or fusion of the self through the manipulation of perception and consciousness.

These aspects of the classical time induce a further separation of what is meant by perception and how perception is expressed and interpreted within only one period of time, the classic period of ancient Greece. Additionally, they have impacted various discourses through time. The "classical" example should clarify the multilayer complexity of attending to a history of perception: the content of this idea has been and still is too dynamic to fit in a linear schema. Even a brief diachronic overview of perception and language in the development of scientific knowledge would tax the limits of the present dissertation. Diachronic aspects of this relation and its transformation within the scientific discourse and praxis will be engaged only in order to illuminate central implications on perception; but in the following theoretical discussion I will focus on present discussions and concepts of language and perception.

Coming to the present dissertation, I began thinking seriously about the way language reflects perception during the last year of my studies, while I conducted a small study regarding Greek expressions based on the verbs of perception. I wanted to investigate the use of middle voice in Modern Greek and test the model developed by Sweetser in 1990 regarding the verbs of perception in order to prepare these topics for my final examinations. Although the 'Body-as-Mind' metaphor was applicable and fruitful, the resulting data regarding the use of the terms for perception in Modern

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[4] See Plato: Politeia, Nomoi, Phaidon.
[5] The question how the soul is related to non-mental but vital functions remains open by Plato.

Greek could not verify the universal claims; working with some expressions in Kiswahili and Bambanankan with the lecturers of our institute gave the same evidence. The praxis to translate and discuss the examples with speakers of the mentioned languages, using Greek, German and/ or English caused me to realize the complexity of the matter both regarding the translatability and the problematic dispositions of linguistic methods.

In 2009 I was given the chance to work for a language documentation project with the Institute for African Studies in Cologne conducted by Anne Storch in Uganda. The aim of this project was on the one hand to collect linguistic data of Lushese, an East African Bantu language spoken on the Ssese Islands, and on the other hand to investigate the grammar and semantics of the linguistic means employed to express sensory experience. This thesis presents the findings of the project.

1.1.1 Organization of the discussion
After a brief overview of the theoretical framework in which this thesis is embedded in 1.1.2 and 1.1.3, in the next section (1.2) I will present the field: a synchronic portrait of the Ssese Islands is followed by notes on history and information about the speakers of the language. In section 1.3 I discuss the methodical challenges and give an overview of the methods applied during the fieldwork.

Chapter two basically consists of a short sketch of the grammar of Lushese; the last part of which deals with semantics (2.4). I focus on various terms employed to describe sensory experience and precisely on the verbs of perception in order to provide a basis for the main part of this thesis, which consists of four chapters.

The topics that constitute the main part of the thesis are the following: Chapter three deals with the conceptualization of the body and its impact on language, chapters four and five give an overview of expressions that denote emotions and cognition respectively. In chapter six, the role of language within socialisation processes and cultural practices will come into focus. In chapter seven I summarize the findings and discuss them with respect to the scientific discourse regarding language and perception.

The first section of every chapter gives an overview of theoretic approaches and methodological concerns and introduces the main concepts regarding the topic of the chapter that will then be discussed in the next sections. I decided to split the theoretical tracts in this way because of the complexity of each topic: this organization allows a more detailed presentation of the main issues which combines general scientific assumptions on each topic with the local conceptualizations of the same. Every chapter illustrates the linguistic means used in relation to the respective topic focussing on the linguistic meaning of the terms in use. In the last section of every chapter I present the use and meaning of the verbs of perception in relation to the main topic of the chapter.

A further note on the choice of topics as well as on their organization is necessary here. Both during fieldwork and during the writing of this thesis, I faced the problem of how to ask and later to present concepts and contexts that often have dislocated me in the state of aporia. I made the decision to separate the physical, emotional, cognitive and social experience domains into different chapters considering the necessity of representing the language and the cultural model as expressed by the Bashese in a way that will not transfer non-Bashese into the same state of aporia, which I experienced during my work: I anticipated as a scientific duty to present the data in a way that appeals as logical and coherent to readers that could not have personal experience with the speakers, since the cultural model presented here is logically consequent, as well the language is perfect as any other human language in that it expresses and composes meaning according to the speakers´ experience and definition of it. Any other attempt of categorizing the data, for instance dividing chapters dedicated to

the verbs of perception or according to strict linguistic criteria like morphological features lead to a less logical result, which alienated the view of the Bashese even more than the present separation.

1.1.2 General assumptions of the cognitive linguistic framework

This study is guided by the theories of anthropological and cognitive linguistics. While for the relation of language and culture I adopted tools of the anthropological theory that impact methodological matters (on methods see further in section 1.3), the following brief summary of the most basic concepts of the cognitive theory should serve to clarify the views on language and perception that will be discussed later regarding the examples of Lushese.

In line with cognitive linguistics language knowledge is part of the human knowledge that includes further non-linguistic elements. Language is primarily a system of communication between speakers in social roles. Beyond the communicative function, language is a cultural resource in itself as well as a cultural practice (Duranti 1997:3). The main difference between other communication systems and language is that language as a faculty of the mind enhances thought: it makes experience conscious and allows at the same time the evaluation of the experienced; further language allows the manipulation of attention to the experience as a whole or to parts of it.

Defining language as a "faculty of the mind" needs some explanation: the relationship between language and the mind, the human body and its senses in cognitive science is still a work in progress, not only for cognitive linguists, but also for neurologists and psychologists. The complexity of this relationship makes notices on contemporary extralinguistic approaches urgent. In line with neurological evidence, the capacity of perception is a disposition for the building of an active mind (Roth 2001 & 2003, Damasio 2010), but while other species also have an active mind with cognitive abilities that often exceed far beyond what human suggested[6], the rise of a self-object, a self-subject and a self-knower seems to be what allowed for the unique way of human.

Damasio (2010) sketches the evolution of the human mind as a complex chain of biology, experience and interaction; regarding the advantage of the human mind compared to the cognitive capacities of other animals, he identifies two crucial innovations in human development; first, the building of consciousness and second, the rise of an autobiographic self. Consciousness is a condition that is primarily felt:

> Consciousness is in its ordinary form a state of mind that arises, when we are awake and aware of a private and personal knowledge regarding our own existence. This existence positions itself in relation to everything around at a certain place and moment of time. Consequently conscious processes work on knowledge that sources out of various – bodily, visual, auditory etc. - sensual impressions. These impressions offer for the various flowing senses manifold qualitative forms of expression. Conscious states of mind are felt. (Damasio 2010: 170)

Being aware of the body, its unity and the feeling of possessing the body are the manifestations of a self-object. A self-subject manifests itself either as awareness regarding the impact by external sources on one´s own condition and/or as a conscious actor that executes controlled actions within a certain environmental frame, further within the interaction with others. Indeed the observation of others and precisely the capacity of describing the other´s motion and action is for Damasio the crucial break that allowed the imagery of bodily simulation, which then opened the way for "as-if" concepts (ibid: 118). Through these innovations the human mind gains in complexity. The span of memory broadens and allows the development of a complex self with past and thus the experience and the knowledge of the

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[6] For an overview of animal cognitive capacities observed see Heine & Kuteva 2007: 276-279.

one´s own continuity (Roth 2003: 141). While animals with active minds share with the human what Damasio calls "nucleus-self" - which has, just like other innovations within evolution, the function of preserving life - the development of the human autobiographic-self demands as precondition language (Damasio 2010: 183-184). Language is the faculty of the mind that unfolds the cognitive abilities of remembering, knowing and reflecting.

Language developed out of communication needs; at the same time it must have been developed prior to the human autobiographic-self. Combined, these claims about language emphasize the role of socialization. The perception, control and reflection of the own body partaking in a social setting allows at the same time for the conceptualization of the own self in distinction to others as well as making the need of communication with them urgent.

The theory of how aspects of the body shape the mind and thus language is known as embodied mind thesis: as a topic of cognitive sciences it is shared between social and cognitive psychology, neuroscience, cognitive linguistics and philosophy. Perception and emotion are considered as aspects of embodied cognition. The term embodiment denotes the incorporation and evolvement of the body in the mind and thus in language (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Lakoff & Turner 1989). The use of embodiment later further denotes the meaning of the active involvement of the individual in social interaction. Damasio explains the importance of emotional response in social interaction as basic means for non-verbal communication:

> The conscious state of mind of other people is identifiable in a behaviour waken, coherent and purposeful, to which further belong indications of the ongoing emotional reactions. (Damasio 2010: 178)

Again it is the level of complexity rather than the very existence of this feature that distinguishes human from other species: communication through emotions is observable in animal behaviour in everyday life beyond any scientific experiments, but only human can verbally exchange their emotions through their speech, they can refer to the emotions of others and develop an inner speech they make consciously their own (for a detailed analysis on the language´s advantages compared to other "sorts of imagery" see Jackendoff 2007: 104-109).

Summarizing some theoretical problems that concern the concept of embodiment within the cognitive science Zlatev (2007) argues for the concept of bodily mimesis and its derivative concept, mimetic schemas (Zlatev 2007: 272). One of the problems he points out is the strong individualist orientation even in the approaches that try to connect embodiment to society and culture:

> In particular, within the work of those[7] emphasizing the role of the "body in the mind" there is no adequate notion of convention or norm, which is essential for characterizing both human culture and the human mind. (Zlatev 2007: 242)

While "fascinating enough, more and more evidence supports the assumption that cultural development impacts directly the human genome[8]" (Damasio 2010: 308), evidence which positions culture as a crucial factor for human evolution, this field is still full of speculation.

For further discussion, the observation that language itself consists of a body of sounds and how language embodies human conceptualization is of concern. As discussed above, language makes

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[7] This criticism is also a form of self-criticism regarding former work, as the author himself points out (Zlatev 2007: 243).

[8] Damasio offers here the example of dairying that caused lactose tolerance.

internal and external experience reportable and enables reflection. The phonological structure of language, the sounds that constitute speech, is the correlate between experience, thought, attention and consciousness:

> The moment language emerged as a communication system, it necessarily had to involve the level of perception – perceiving both one´s own and other´s overt speech – and thus is automatically afforded a new locus of attention. Moreover like all other kinds of perception, language perception automatically had an imagistic counterpart, namely verbal imagery or inner speech. In turn, by virtue of the architecture of the mind, inner speech and its capability of enhancing thought would have been automatically consequences of the emergence of language as a communication system. In contrast, the reverse would not have been the case: enhancement of thought would not automatically lead to a communication system. (Jackendoff 2007: 108)

A consequence of identifying communication as main source and function of language is the acceptance of motivation behind grammatical structures: while the arbitrary character described for several linguistic levels is by no means dismissed, the choice by the speaker, how to use the language and language knowledge in serving communication is motivated. The motivation of the speaker to choose and combine linguistic structures according to his or hers communicative and expressional needs lies at the focal centre of cognitive linguistics. The speaker´s motivation impacts grammatical structures: they are employed to describe and at the same time they reflect events central to human experience. Further, some actions can be accomplished only through language such as naming a newborn, congratulation or cursing (on speech acts see below and in chapter 6).

What are the events "central to human experience"? It is necessary to distinguish between empirical and conceptual events: the first denote an experienced condition while the second denote the human interpretation of this experienced condition (Wirzbicka 2009: 65). In both cases, the event consists of a setting, of evolved characters and of their evolvement denoted as a motion in time along a path of energy directed by one or some to other characters. These elements are used by the speaker to deconstruct an empirical event and/or to construct a conceptual event. All events consist of the combination and interrelation between these elements and thus are composed of meaningful elements or, in other words, semantic components.

Central events have a prototypical function: they build centres of gravity or points of orientation within a variety of combinations. Events central to human experience are the ones that as a certain combination of semantic components such as settings, characters and evolvement in time, they describe a certain common domain of experience in such a conventionalized way that other, less common domains of experience can be represented as less characteristic combinations that rise out of comparison with the central event. Events are organized in continua with central and peripheral members and within them the semantic components and their combinations are further organized into graded continua. Empirical and conceptual events share a parallel history of development and exhibit features of iconicity; still their relation is as complex as the ones of language and mind or of language and culture.

Recurring to linguistic structure, it is adaptive since language emerged through the need and praxis of communication (Jackendoff 2007: 108): language is structured in line with human conceptualization in that they are both as much cultural phenomena as they are individual phenomena. The term conceptualisation is used to denote fundamental cognitive processes like the ability to build hierarchies and recognize cause and effect or recursion (Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002), schematisation (Talmy 1983) and categorisation (Rosch 1978), grammaticalization (Heine, Claudi &

Hünnemayer 1991) as well as metaphorization (Talmy 1980). Through the adaption of cognitive processes, the above list is by far not exhaustive; the meaningful elements of a linguistic structure are situated along continua of concepts, of which the association paths rise out of speakers' experience and interaction within a community. Among others, the concept of events organized in continua is adapted in linguistic structure with the main advantage being the avoidance of construed oppositions: members of a continuum can diverge from the prototype to a great extent but still belong to the group due to certain features.

Events are templates: they are constructed by meaningful elements (characters participating in a motion in time along a path of energy exchanged between them). The realization of events in sentences requires a mapping between empirical event, conceptual event and linguistic structure. Some events, for example the ones denoting transitive action, tend to be organized in a canonical manner and thus the mapping between, for example, conceptualized "characters" (or: case frames (Fillmore 1968, 1977), semantic roles (Jackendoff 1972, 1976), theta grids (Stowell 1981), thematic roles (Dowty 1991), macroroles (Van Vallin & La Polla 1997)) and grammatical relations like syntactic positions, is to some extent stable. The anthropocentric perspective casts in the form of tendencies in the linguistic structure (Nedyalkov & Silnitsky 1973, Haspelmath 1993, Nichols & al 2004). Another example of canonical mappings cross-linguistically concerns the syntactic position of the subject in transitive clauses: the subject tends to be reserved for animate or precisely human entities, it tends to map with characters that implicate control and volition, as well as on the pragmatic level, the subjects tends to be topic (for a more detailed summary see Slobin 1981: 415-420). Transitive action as a prototypical event consists of an animate actor, who initiates, controls and performs an action that affects a non-animate and concrete object; furthermore, a prototypical action has an end, after which the action is evaluated as accomplished (on prototypical transitivity see Hopper & Thomson 1980, Givon 1985, Naess 2003: 119-151). That this central event of human experience is prototypical means nothing more and nothing less than that actions diverging from this concept of transitivity build peripheral members of an event continuum labelled "action", while linguistic structure reflects this continuum and thus can be creatively engaged by the speaker.

In investigating linguistic expressions that denote perception, the main question is: how do speakers express and communicate perception through language? Perception can be understood as a continuum of empirical events that share semantic components in different combinations along various paths of energy. The speaker then uses patterns of linguistic structure conventionalized along this continuum (and if necessary creates new patterns) to express and communicate his perspective regarding the event of perception. Within the event continuum of perception, some events must be central: these denote salient concepts of perception that serve as prototypes to establish the basis of comparison that binds members of the continuum to each other. Linguistic structure reflects this event continuum labelled "perception", so that along this continuum the speaker can use diverse constructions based on various lexemes according to his or her motivation.

What kind of event is then prototypical for perception? To answer this question, perception must be revised as a mental activity, as a reaction of the sensual apparatus in direct or indirect contact with stimuli and as an individual and internal condition experienced by the speaker. What these three variables have in common is that the perceiving entity is animate or part of an animate, affected by the source or stimulus that causes the experience of perception. Affection as a "path of energy" exchanged between one who experiences and a source or stimulus draws the questions: is affection initialized and controlled? Is the effect intended? In addition to these questions, the evaluation of the event is crucial: was the effect positive or negative? Was the event intense or not? Further questions concern the end of the event: does affection have an end? And if yes, when does it come and what happens after that? These components don´t allow for the identification of one prototype among events describing

perception like in the case of the event continuum "action" above. Linguistic structure reflects this: the mapping between characters and syntactic positions is not stable since the path of energy can be directed in both ways and different characters can be mapped to the position of the subject. Regarding the instability of the system, Jackendoff (2007) notes:

> Such an instability might arise from a conflict between two factors (...). One factor is which character is having an effect on which: the Actor is having an effect on the Patiens and the Stimulus is having an effect on the Experiencer. The other factor is (prototypical) animacy: the prototypical Actor is a volitional Actor, hence animate; the Experiencer is always animate. In the Actor-Patient dyad, these two factors strongly converge in favour of the Actor; in the Experiencer-Stimulus dyad, they are in conflict. (Jackendoff 2007: 211)

Verbs of perception show various properties characteristic for intransitives; further the use of these verbs within the tempus and aspect system of the given language is limited in comparison to other verb classes (on the semantics regarding the role of the Experiencer see Naess 2003: 229-259).

Linguistic structure reflects the complexity of perception in other ways as well since it reflects human conceptualization in general: beside schematization, I will briefly discuss the cognitive processes of categorization, grammaticalization and metaphorization with respect to perception. Linguistic structure is led by these cognitive processes and is thus organized in schemata and categories.

Schematisation refers to "the systematic selection of certain aspects of a referent scene to present the whole, disregarding the remaining aspects" (Talmy 1983: 225): as discussed above "the selection of certain aspects of a scene" referring to perception, thus the schematization of a scene referring to perception, results in the instability of linguistic mappings.

Categorization is the process which allows the treatment of distinct entities as if they were equivalents (Rosch 1978): unfortunately, which categories compose perception and how they are going to be put in language is also a complex issue as what is perceivable is the one crucial question here (which will remain open for a moment). The second question regards the relationship of perceivable categories with linguistic categories: are there mappings? While the agreement about what is perceivable is limited, mapping between linguistic categories and perception is broadly attested. Still universal accepted categories of perception like colour, shape or temperature are realized very differently across languages both with regard to the meaning of lexical elements and with respect to grammatical categories involved. Further, the evaluation of perceived categories differs across languages; in other words, how salient colour, shape or temperature, are supposed to be in certain discourse.

Linguistic structure reflects the complexity of perception also on the level of creating and associating meanings. This impacts both grammar and lexicon: through metonymic and metaphoric associations, meaningful elements are used to denote innovative meanings in a way as economic as possible. A central human experience is, for example, the orientation in space which is necessarily anthropocentric; the human perception of space organizes space around the human body. This is why body parts are used as a source for deriving spatial meanings. Further, the consciousness of having one body and the feeling of the "inner" of the body allows the association of it with conditions felt as individual and internal like feelings and thoughts (on the body in African languages see Heine 1989, 1993; for a summary see Schladt 1997: 117-135). Turning to the lexicon expressing perception, words can be used symbolically within the field of perception or out of it, associating perception with other fields of human knowledge and experience (Johnson 1987, Kövecses 1986, 1990, 1995). The

association of colours and temperature with feelings, of size with power or of odours with social taxonomies are some prominent examples for the symbolic dynamicity of perception categories[9].

The above summary of some cognitive aspects regarding language and perception guide my study. Based on a cognitive approach, the present study makes the following assumptions regarding the linguistic structure expressing perception:

- Morphosyntactic structure has semantic content which reflects human conceptualisation.
- The meaning of linguistic structure is speaker based.
- The occurrence of certain linguistic structures in particular contexts is motivated.

The examples of how Lushese expresses perception should allow an overview to the various words, expressions and combinations denoting categories of perception with respect to the assumptions presented above. Since the issue must be limited because of its complexity, in this thesis the analysis of perception focuses on the use and meaning of the verbs associated with the sensual apparatus: these will be referred to as verbs of perception, or perception verbs.

In the next section I discuss briefly the theoretic development within the cognitive linguistics regarding verbs of perception.

1.1.3 The verbs of perception in linguistic theory

Perception verbs have the prototypical meaning of expressing an activity or reaction of the human sensory apparatus; for example, the verb "to see" is used prototypically for the domain of vision. Previously, scholars discussed the metaphorical use of the perception verbs in European languages, but it is mainly due to the analysis of Viberg (1984) that the focus shifted from metaphoric uses to prototypical and extended meanings of these verbs. He was able to show that there is a modal hierarchy that connects the perception verbs. Hence, he reconstructed this hierarchy on an etymological base. In his later work, Viberg expanded this model to include the metaphorical use of the perception verbs. He considers the binary feature of contact as the crucial one: in his model, both the etymological source and the metaphor chain begin with the visual sense, followed by the auditory and tactile senses for the expression of sensual experience [+/- contact], respectively:

Figure 1: Viberg´s modality hierarchy for the polysemy of perception verbs (1984: 147)
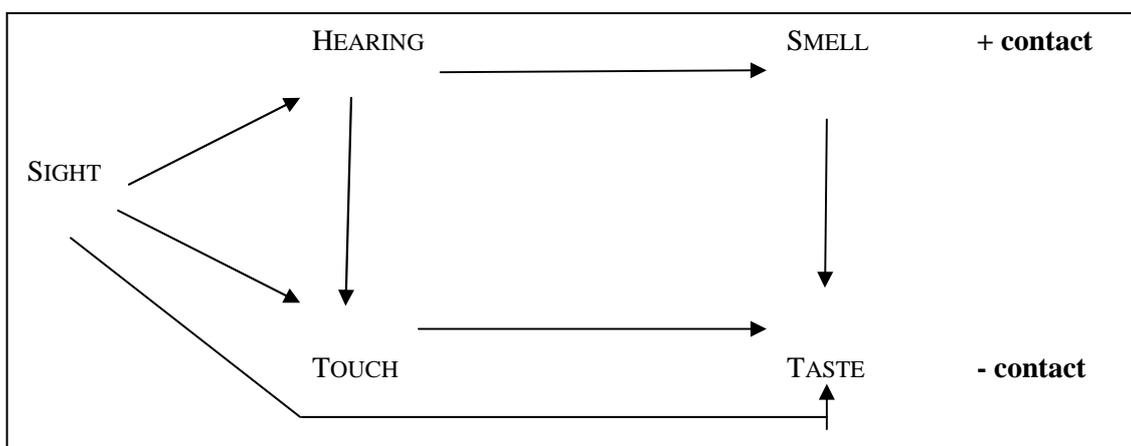
Viberg´s model is applicable, of course, if the language provides evidence for an etymological relation between the verbs and/or metaphoric use.

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[9] On the relation of sounds, music and language see Lévi-Strauss in 1.3.5.3.

In 1990, Sweetser applies main concepts of cognitive linguistics to investigate the verbs of perception. She underlines the relation between cognitive activities and linguistic structure and characterizes both as driven by logic and being "objective": "Linguistic structure is, then, as logical and objective as human cognition, no more and no less" (Sweetser 1990: 17). She formulated the following universals about the perception verbs and their semantic extensions, namely regarding sight: "The objective, intellectual side of our mental life seems to be regularly linked with the sense of vision" (ibid: 37). Further, regarding the remaining senses she claims:

> Hearing is connected with the specifically communicative aspects of understanding, rather than with intellection at large. (...) the sense of smell has fewer and less deep metaphorical connections with the mental domain than the other senses. Taste, however, is deeply linked with our internal self, and it is used to represent our personal likes and „tastes". And the vocabulary of touch and tactile sensation is generally used for emotional sensations of all types. (Sweetser 1990: 43)

Her 'Mind-as-Body' metaphor, though criticized for being Eurocentric, led linguists to tackle a problem that arises time and again in different scientific disciplines: does human conceptualization and language depend on nature, on culture, or on both? What evidence and what criteria do we have to investigate and appraise our decision? The anthropological approach makes a note of caution towards the role of socialization and the impact of culture:

> When almost every other aspect of human bodily existence – from the way we eat to the way we dress – is now recognized as subject to social conditioning, it is surprising that we should still imagine that the senses are left to nature. (Classen 1993: 5)

Evans and Wilkins (1998) were among the first to explore the relationship between body conceptions, cultural practices and linguistic expressions based on the verbs of perception, exemplified with Australian languages. Their critique of Sweetser's universal claims is that the body and its function are even more a matter of interpretation than the semantics of perception verbs. Their conclusion is as follows:

> The trans-field mapping of perception to cognition, it seems is much more plastic and amenable to different cultural interpretations than the intrafield extensions of perception verbs. We have demonstrated that the same domain can have its 'universal' and 'relativistic' sides; a foot in nature and a foot in culture. (Evans & Wilkins 1998: 54)

Evans and Wilkins later summarize the questions regarding the current "anthropology of the senses" and refer to extra linguistic evidence:

> The anthropology of the senses – emphasize (i) the degree to which different cultures weight the relative importance of sensory modalities, (ii) the range of cultural variation in the conscious use of, and appeal to, sensory modalities, and (iii) the culture specific patterns of sensory symbolics, including different patterns in the linking of specific-sensory modalities with specific cognitive states. (Evans & Wilkins 2000: 548)

Anne Storch brings to the point the polarity between nature and culture regarding perception and its linguistic expressions:

Although sensual perception is likely to proceed equally worldwide in a rather universal way, the values, which are allocated to the various senses in different cultures and societies, differ considerably. (Storch 2010: 13).

The questions of how a given language expresses categories of perception in general, and in particular, how the meaning and the use of perception verbs correlate with capacities of the human body, both demand the consideration of social and cultural interpretations regarding the human body, the self, the other as well as consideration of the communicative interaction between speakers. Only within the shared experience and knowledge of the speakers´ community it is possible to localize the meaning of the senses and to explore how linguistic structure reflects and incorporates the speakers´ concepts of perception.

The scientist cannot deny the own origin, the own concepts, the own language and perception of the world. On the other hand some aspects of science seem to be necessary Eurocentric, since the evaluation of what is scientific is located within the scientific tradition as it is established in Europe and because the majority of scholars are both educated and/or conducting research in institutions that belong to this tradition all around the world. Still the actual problem of research in the field of perception expressed in foreign languages is urgent from the point of view of the researcher:

To gain a more satisfactory understanding of what causes such different pathways of semantic development in two different cultures we must ultimately develop more sophisticated ways of documenting contrasts in cultural scripts, and better means of predicting when particular pragmatic extensions will be lexicalized. (Evans & Wilkins 1998: 54)

But how do we do that? How is one supposed to ask something one may not even know whether it exists, and how is one supposed to describe unknown senses, emotions and conceptions without getting lost in translation? The major problem of translation and metalanguage in linguistics in general, but especially in the field of linguistic expression of perception will be discussed with background the present study in (1.3.3). Regarding the Eurocentric character of some scientific claims on language and perception, relevant critique will be carved out in the main parts of the thesis (see organization of the thesis below).

1.1.4 Some Definitions
In this thesis, **language** is understood either as a faculty of the mind with communicative and expressive function or as a synonym to speech. The distinction between language and dialects will be ignored because the criteria for this distinction include political, social and economic aspects.

The term **perception** is used here to denote an event describing an inner change in relation with mental, psychic and/or senso-motoric activities and experience. Perception is defined here as a coherent conceptual domain of knowledge and experience conceptualized as an event continuum.

The other domains of knowledge and experience conceptualized as event-continua in this thesis are the following five: a) the domain of **action**; b) the domain of **emotion**; c) the domain of **cognition**; d) the domain of **social interaction**; and e) the domain of **culture**. Within these domains, experiences are situated in social settings and conceptualized as events describing motion or change in time along paths of energy exchanged between characters.

Every **event continuum** consists of prototypical and peripheral members. The **semantic components** I will use to describe event templates are a) the event characters conceptualized as thematic roles, b)

perception as a concept of inner change as well as c) perception as a reportable experience; they are listed below:

I) **Thematic Roles** (according to Dowty 1991, Van Vallin & La Polla 1997 and Jackendoff 2007)

Affected actor: The entity which responds to an event and as a consequence initiates the action or event denoted by the predicate.

Agent: The entity which initiates and/or accomplishes the action denoted by the predicate.

Effector: The entity that brings about the action or event denoted by the predicate.

Patient: The entity that undergoes the action or event denoted by the predicate.

Theme: The entity that is moved by the action or event denoted by the predicate.

Experiencer: The living entity that experiences the action or event denoted by the predicate.

Goal: The final location or entity in the path of a moving entity or the final location or entity in a directional event.

Beneficiary: The entity that benefits from the action or event denoted by the predicate.

Source: The location or entity from which something moves or origins.

Instrument: The medium by which the action or event denoted by the predicate is carried out.

Locative: The specification of the place where the action or event denoted by the predicate in situated.

Examples (1) and (2) as well as tables (1) and (2) illustrate the mappings between thematic roles and syntactic realizations for the Lushese verb *fumba* 'cook' in a transitive and in an intransitive clause respective:

(1)   M-fúmba   lu-mónge.

        1SgPRES-cook   AUG-11-sweet_potatoes

        'I cook sweet potatoes.'

In a transitive clause the noun *lumonge* 'sweet potatoes' which occurs in object position, simply follows the verb without overt morphological marking either within the verbal slots or within the nominal phrases and it realizes the thematic role patiens. The table below summarizes the thematic roles and syntactic realization for the verb *fumba* 'to cook' in a transitive clause as in ex. (1):

Table 1: Thematic roles and syntactic realizations for the verb *fumba* 'cook' in a transitive clause:

	I (1SgPERS)	Sweet potatoes
Thematic role	Agens	Patiens
Syntactic position	Subject	Object

The next example illustrates the use of the verb *fumba* 'cook' in an intransitive clause, in which the noun *lumonge* 'sweet potatoes' occurs in the position of the subject:

(2)   Lu-monge   gu-fúmba.

        11-sweet_potatoes   11-cook

        Lit.:The sweet potatoes cook.

        'The sweet potatoes are boiling.'

In the intransitive clause the noun *lumonge* 'sweet potatoes' occurs in the position of the subject and therefore the verb *fúmba* 'cook' occurs with the subject concord prefix of Cl. 11 (*gu-*). In the intransitive clause the noun *lumonge* 'sweet potatoes' in the position of the subject realizes the thematic role Patiens: again the semantic change isn´t morphologically marked but it influences the interpretation of the verb. Note that the meaning of the verb *fumba* 'cook' corresponds in this case to the English term 'boil'. Table 2 illustrates the thematic role and semantic realization of the noun *lumonge* 'sweet potatoes' in the sentence illustrated in (2):

Table 2: Thematic roles and syntactic realizations for the verb *fumba* 'cook' in a transitive clause:

	Sweet potatoes
Thematic role	Patiens
Syntactic position	Subject

Grammatical relations are subject to lexical meaning: how information is going to be realized in syntax depends on the relation between different levels of information. As illustrated in the above tables, the relation between thematic roles and syntactic positions exemplifies the interference between lexical meaning, semantic components of the conceptual event and syntactic realization. For defining and describing the mapping of semantic components onto syntax, the intermediate level called argument structure is necessary (Jackendoff 1990, Bresnan 2001). This intermediate level draws the question of the distinction between arguments and adjuncts: it is broadly attested that languages do make a difference between necessary information in an utterance to make it make sense, and additional information, without which an utterance is accepted as grammatically correct but without bringing about the speakers intentions. In frameworks on argument structure, clear universal parameters regarding the distinction between argument and adjuncts are still missing; semantic combined with syntactic criteria are proposed for identifying whether a nominal phrase should be regarded as an argument or an adjunct (for a comparative summary see Lüpke 2005: 48-51).

Applying such criteria as the necessity of a participant resulting in a distinction between optional vs. oblique arguments, or tests through syntactic operations like relativization and passivization is not fruitful in Lushese: the language treats subjects and objects differently from other participants, regardless of a distinction between arguments and adjuncts within them.

II) Perception as **Inner Change**

Regarding the distinction between internal and external change I adopt the line of Lüpke (2005: 41-43) based on the conclusions of McKoon & Macfarland (2000), who summarizes:

Externally caused verbs have a complex event structure containing a CAUSE predicate that modifies a BECOME predicate. Internally caused verbs, in contrast, have a simple event structure containing only a BECOME predicate. (…)

[T]he processing differences can be successfully explained through the contrast uncaused vs. externally caused as through the contrast internally caused vs. externally caused. (Lüpke 2005: 43)

McKoon and Macfarland underline in their corpus study the difference between intrinsically involved causes of change and external causes of change. They show that the properties of the entity undergoing change are crucial for the linguistic realization of causation: concrete or abstract entities demand different event structures.

The conceptualization of perception as an internal response and/or change demands a combination of semantic and pragmatic components mapping with syntactic positions. These components are conceptualized as graded processes and thus may increase or decrease in different events. The components comprising the entity designated as subject are **Affect, Response, Agency, Control, Individuation** and **Volition** while the components comprising the entity designated as object are **Affect** and **Individuation** (cf. Manney 2000: 62-67 and Naess 2003: 230-236). In the following definitions, the term 'change' stands for 'internal or external change':

Affect: The grade of intensity regarding the undergoing change.

Agency: The grade of which a source of action impacts the change.

Control: The ability to determine the outcome of the change.

Individuation: The grade of which an entity is distinct in the setting of the change.

Response: The grade of change which causes a reaction by the entity undergoing the change.

Volition: The grade of which an entity is responsible of and has an intention regarding the change.

The formalizing approach of analysis will be accompanied by comments including semantic information in order to describe precisely the meaning of verbs used in different context, since the fragmentary character of the data in Lushese as well as the fact that a larger corpus in the language is missing are two parameters that do not allow the stringent application of analytical instruments in appropriate way.

III) Perception as **Reportable Experience**

Conceptualizing perception as a reportable experience in which perception is an internal response and/or change takes place means to investigate perception as a world of reference in the context of human relationships and interaction. Perception as a reportable experience presupposes shared knowledge of abstract values framing social norms, cultural interpretations, morals, communicative manners and individual conditions. Exchanging in a world of reference presupposes world-knowledge (*Weltwissen)* and includes the degree of the speaker´s evolvement (if the speaker is reporting own or other´s experience) while it may include the speakers evaluation of the event (or of a component of it) or the source of knowledge (Aikhenvaldt 2004). Speech acts and ritual speech build, in this context, special categories of experience since they are empirical events of social interaction possible only

through language. To give sights in the context of *Weltwissen* and interaction, I will distinguish between five types of expressions regarding their use, which will be collectively referred to as 'epistemic needs':

General Expressions: frequent, common use

Situated Expressions: frequent use, specific experience

Generic Expressions: expressions with normative character

Emphasis: expression that reflects the involvement and/or intensive experience of the speaker

Evidential Strategy: information by the speaker on the source of knowledge

I will provide additional information about the preferences and perspectives of the speakers regarding their choice of expression in order to clarify some uses.

Since my work is focussing on semantics, it is necessary to further clarify conceptual processes of semantic relations: I will use the terms **metonymy**, **metaphor** and **symbolism** to describe complex meaning relations: all three processes consist in the conceptual analogy between a source and a target domain. I will call the semantic relations resulting of contiguous association between source and target domain metonymical, according to Geeraerts 2002. I will use the term metaphor to explain the underlying analogy between source and target domain, which basically consists in similarity according to Lakoff 1980. I will speak about symbolic meaning when the analogy between source and target domain is linked to specific cultural conceptions and/ or practices, out of the context of which the symbolic analogy could not be adequately understood and/ or described.

Metonymical, metaphoric and symbolic relations result in complex semantic structures of linguistic expressions. Precisely in order to describe the semantic complexity of various lexical terms, I adopt the terms **ambiguity**, **polysemy** and **vagueness** as analysed by Tuggy (2006: 167-184) since these labels do not characterize the semantic components of a given lexical root as an ideally stable and/ or independent set of properties, but rather describe the relation between the various possible meanings of a given word depending on different contexts, various syntactic frames and in relation to cultural conceptions. Summarizing the advantages of this model, the author notes that,

> The influence of context (including the possibility of puns between related senses of a polysemous form) is accounted for automatically. (Tuggy 2006: 179)

In addition, the model allows the analysis of in-between cases of polysemy since the distinction between prototypical ambiguity and prototypical vagueness is conceptualized as gradual; thus these categories do not consist in absolute prototypes. Polysemy is seen as an intermediate stage between prototypical ambiguity and prototypical vagueness (ibid: 174). In order to present the semantic networks of lexical items, precisely of the verbs of perception, I will distinguish between three cases of complex lexical meaning, which I define here according to the schema developed by Tuggy (ibid.); these cases are each accompanied by an example in Lushese:

Ambiguity: One and the same phonological structure is associated with two (or more) well entrenched semantic structures, but no elaboratively close scheme links the latter together, resulting in two (or more) different meanings.

Example: Noun: *obumanyi*   'knowledge; power'

Polysemy: One and the same phonological structure is associated with two (or more) semantic structures which are linked together by an elaboratively close schema subsuming them, but either the schema is not salient and/ or distant or the semantic structures are less salient than the schema or both the semantic structures and the schema subsuming them are salient; all sub-cases result in the perception of different but related meanings.

        Example: Noun: *obubonero*   'signs; symptoms'

Vagueness: One and the same phonological structure is associated with two (or more) semantic structures not well entrenched, which are linked to each other through an elaboratively close scheme subsuming them, resulting in two (or more) meanings that are perceived as slightly different variants of one central meaning.

        Example: Adjectival root: *-káalu*   'dry; empty; rural; dead'

For the representation of semantic relations, I will engage the model of **semantic maps**, in which a lexical item placed in the centre of a visual representation, is surrounded by the possible meanings the respective item may have within the coherent conceptual domains of experience I defined above (action, perception, emotion, cognition, social interaction and culture). The links between the central lexical item and its meanings are indicated by lines, which represent semantic extensions. Again this visual representation allows for a sketch of semantic complexity that includes gradual differences along lines of continua, making the definition of primer meanings, compared to others assumed to be secondary meanings, obsolete.

Alexandre François is among the first to propose the visual representation of semantic maps as a way to organize and compare semantic observations; in his "attempt to apply to the lexicon the principles defined by Haspelmath for drawing semantic maps" (François 2008: 177) he underlines the value of the visual representation in cross linguistic studies (cf. ibid: 177-182). Although I adopt a visual representation to describe conceptual or semantic spaces[10] and interrelations, the figures presented in this thesis follow the aim of describing adequately the data of Lushese and have no universal value (cf. the universal claim by Haspelmath (2003: 217) as well François (2008: 178)). A comparison based on semantic maps of the verbs of perception within the group of Bantu languages of the Interlacustrine Zone would be too ambitious, since the data on the use of these verbs in neighbouring languages are scarce. The representation of the meanings in Lushese aims to provide a base for further comparative studies in the lexicon of the languages in the Great Lakes Area.

In the next pages three figures are given as visual examples for depicting the above definitions of the terms ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness. The following semantic map represents the semantic relations for the ambiguous noun *obumanyi* 'knowledge; power':

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[10] Haspelmath defines semantic maps as follows: "A semantic map is a geometrical representation of functions in "conceptual/semantic space" that are linked by connecting lines and thus constitute a network (Haspelmath 2003: 213)."

Figure 2a: The semantic map of the noun *obumanyi*[11]
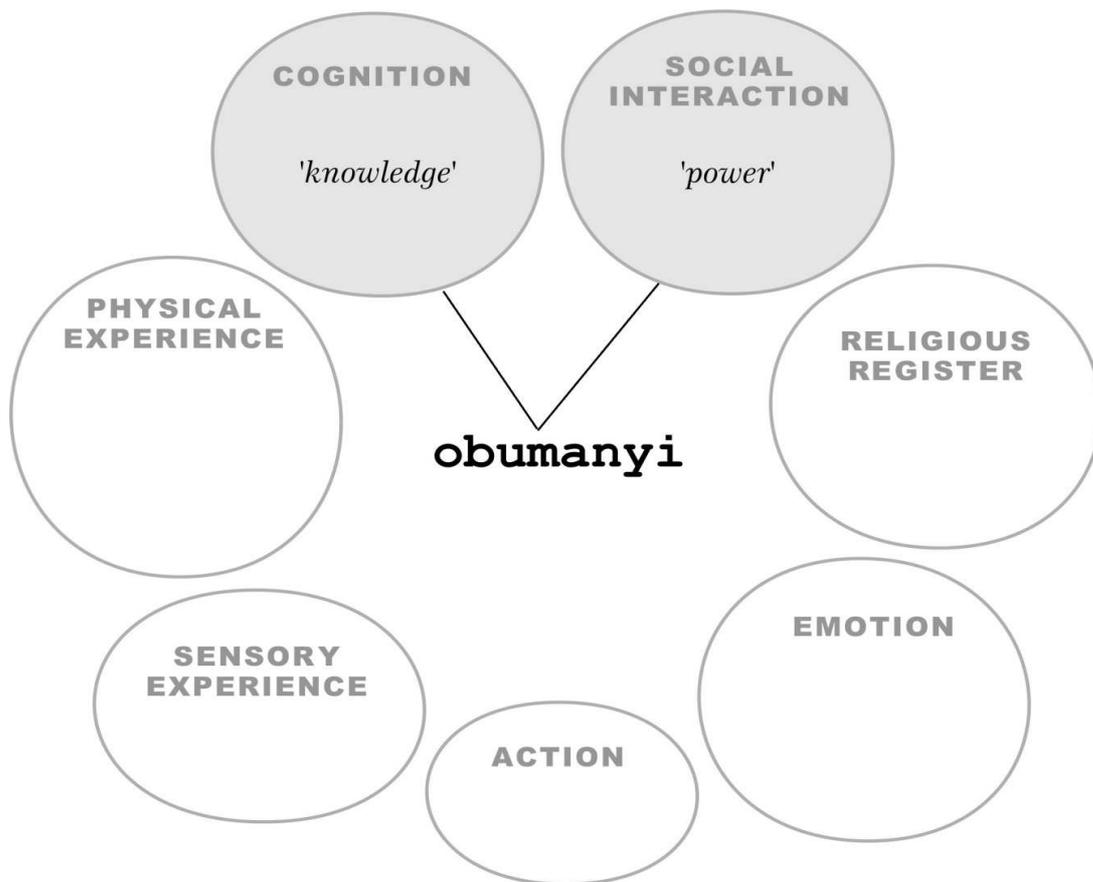
The above semantic map includes all events that are identified within this thesis as domains of experience. The map illustrates that the noun *obumanyi* has two meanings which are associated with two different domains: within the context of cognition this Lushese noun can be approximately translated in English as 'knowledge'; used within the domain of social interaction on the other hand the same noun can be approximately translated as 'power'. The two circles that represent the domains of experience labelled cognition and social interaction respective are independent and not in anyway connected or overlapped in order to illustrate that the two meanings are independent of eachother thus the noun *obumanyi* is ambiguous. Further the figure implies that within the other domains of experience meanings related to knowledge and to power are not expressed through the use of the noun *obumanyi* but by other linguistic means thus these domains are illustrated as empty spaces.

The next figure depicts the semantic relations for the polysemous noun *obubonero* 'signs; symptoms'.

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[11] Source: Thanasoula 2013, data compilation.

Figure 2b: The semantic map of the noun *obubonero*[12]
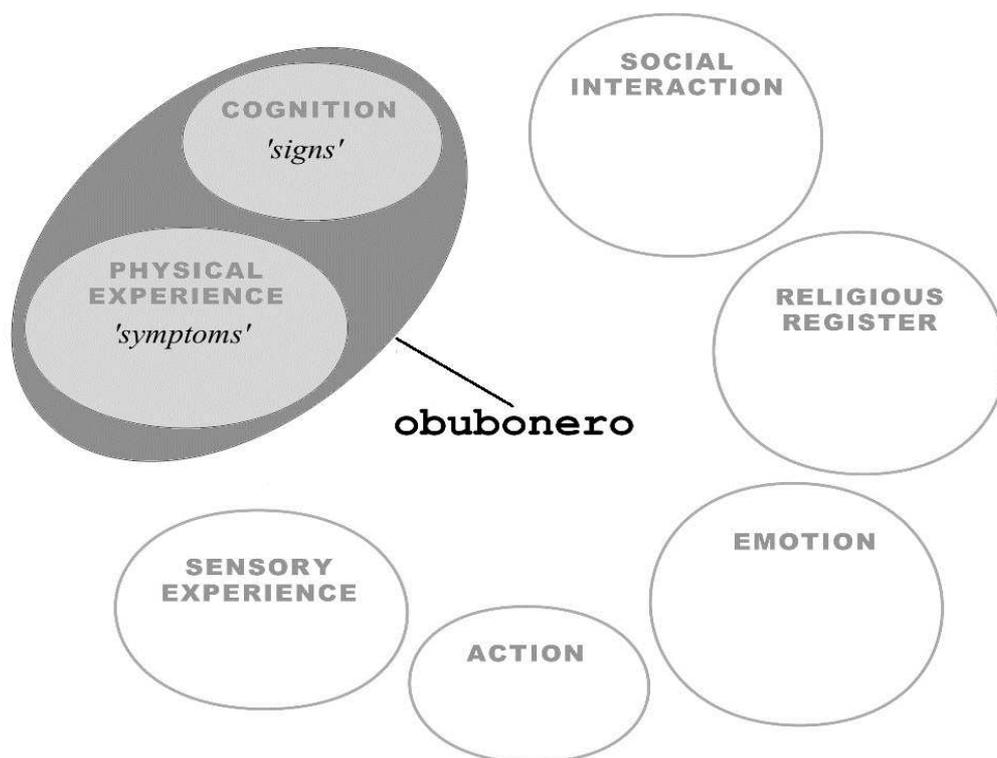
Figure (2b) includes again all events that are identified within this thesis as domains of experience. The map illustrates that the noun *obubonero* has two meanings which are closely associated with each other: within the context of cognition this Lushese noun can be approximately translated in English as 'signs'; used within the domain of physical experience on the other hand the same noun can be approximately translated as 'symptoms'. The two circles that represent the domains of experience labelled cognition and social interaction respective are in this case not independent but connected. The two domains share the same colour (light grey) and are included in a bigger oval shape (dark grey), which indicates that a clear division of the domains physical experience and cognition cannot be held for the noun *obubonero* in Lushese, because the various meanings are closely related: the noun *obubonero* is polysemous. Only one line connects the word *obubonero* with the dark grey area that includes its various meanings: the sole line illustrates that from the point of view of the speakers this word has not two or more but one abstract meaning (that cannot be appropriately interpreted in English). Further the figure implies that within the other domains of experience meanings related to signs and/or symptoms are not expressed through the use of the noun *obumanyi* but by other linguistic means thus these domains are illustrated as empty spaces.

The next semantic map illustrates a case of vagueness depicting the semantic relations for the adjectival root –*káalu* 'dry; empty; rural; dead'.

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[12] Source: Thanasoula 2013, data compilation.

Figure 2c: The semantic map of the adjectival root -*káalu*[13]
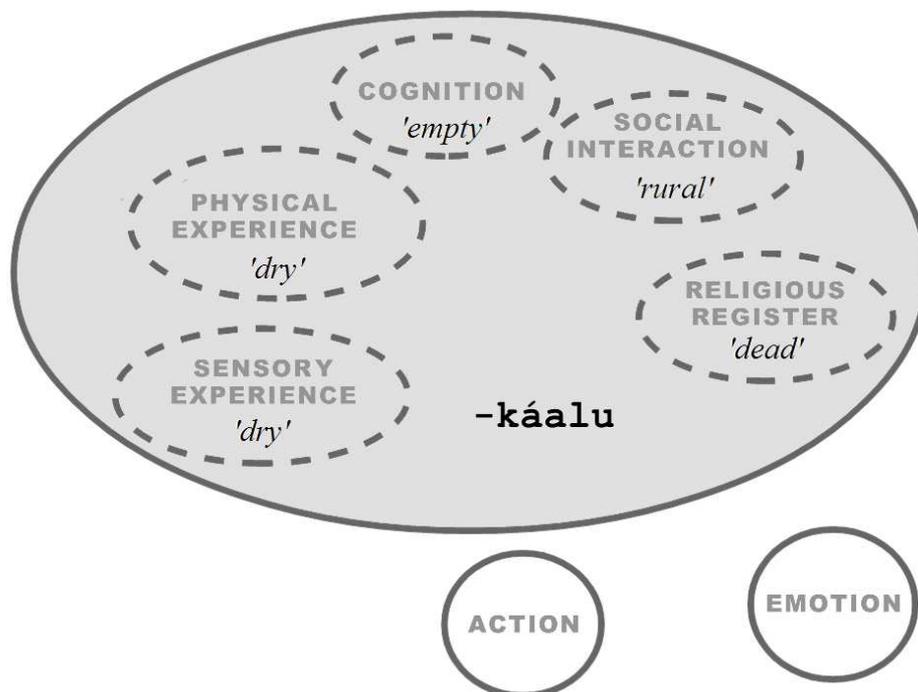
The above semantic map includes all events that are identified within this thesis as domains of experience. The map illustrates that the root -*káalu* has various meanings which are associated with five different domains: within the contexts of sensory and physical experience this Lushese root can be approximately translated in English as 'dry'; used within the domain of cognition this root approximately corresponds to the meaning of the English term 'empty'; within the domain of social interaction on the other hand the same root can be approximately translated as 'rural' and finally, within the domain labelled as religious register the Lushese root –*káalu* can be approximately translated as 'dead'. The five circles that represent these five domains of experience are in this case illustrated by interrupted lines, while all five domains share the same colour and are included in a bigger oval shape. This illustration indicates that the possible interpretations of this adjectival root in Lushese overlap. The root is not connected with any line to the oval shape that represents its semantic relations, but it is itself included within that shape. This illustration is conceived with the aim to visualize the elaboratively close scheme of the semantic relations for this Lushese root: the root –*káalu* is a case of semantic vagueness. Further the figure implies that within the other domains of experience meanings related to dryness/emptiness/urbanity and/or death are not expressed through the use of the root -*káalu* but by other linguistic means thus the domains action and emotion are illustrated as empty spaces.

The three figures above (2a-c) give an example of how semantic maps may visualize semantic relations. In all the main chapters of this thesis various semantic maps are conceived with the same aim and follow the same style. In the following figures the lines, which should connect the lexical items with shapes as in (2a) and in (2b) above, are left out for reasons of simplification. For the same reason domains of experience won´t be included in the figures as empty spaces, where they are not

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relevant for the semantic representation of a lexical item. Interrupted lines are used to visualize similarity paths concerning the thematic roles of the various verbs of perception.

Before the preview of methods applied in fieldwork it is necessary to present the field, since the methodological challenges can be only explained in the light of the speakers´ attitude towards Lushese and the status of the language. The following section gives an overview of the fieldsite, provides historical information and portrays the few remaining speakers that have been consulted.

1.2 The field

Between February 2009 and June 2011, I spent about ten months on the Ssese Islands, namely Bugala. In this section I present the fieldsite (1.2.1) and discuss in section 1.2.2 some historical developments of the near past which, according to my opinion, considerably influence the attitude of the speakers towards their language and consequently the status of Lushese. In 1.2.3 I give some information about the speakers as well as my relation to them.

1.2.1 The Ssese Islands

The Ssese archipelago consists of 84 Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria, of which about 34 are inhabited. According to the census of 2002, the population was estimated to be 34,766 persons (2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census: 5); according to the Uganda Districts Information Handbook 2007-2008 the population estimated was 44,200 people (Uganda Districts Information Handbook 2007-2008: 117). According to the Statistical Abstract 2010 by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) the population on the islands reached 58,000 persons in the year 2010, whereas the estimation for 2011 was 62,000 persons (UBOS 2010: 97). The difference may be a result of the nomadic fishers, who arrive in masses during the fishing periods, but leave the area during other seasons. Another factor for the rapid growth of population may be the immigration of workers targeting jobs by the palm oil plantation BIDCO.

The Ssese Islands consist of an own administrative unit called Kalangala District after the name of the major town Kalangala on the biggest island, which is Bugala. There are two ferry boat lines going to the island, the one coming from the north, the Nakiwogo Bay near Entebbe, the other coming from the west, the Bukakaata village near Masaka. Local busses (called taxis or *matatu*) connect the two ferry docks with the Kalangala town; there is also a road from the town to the south part of the island. Beside the local busses, the transport needs of the main island are covered by one cab as well as motorcycles called bodaboda, a popular means of transportation in Uganda.

Map 1: The Ssese Archipelago (Uganda Districts Information Handbook 2007: 116)
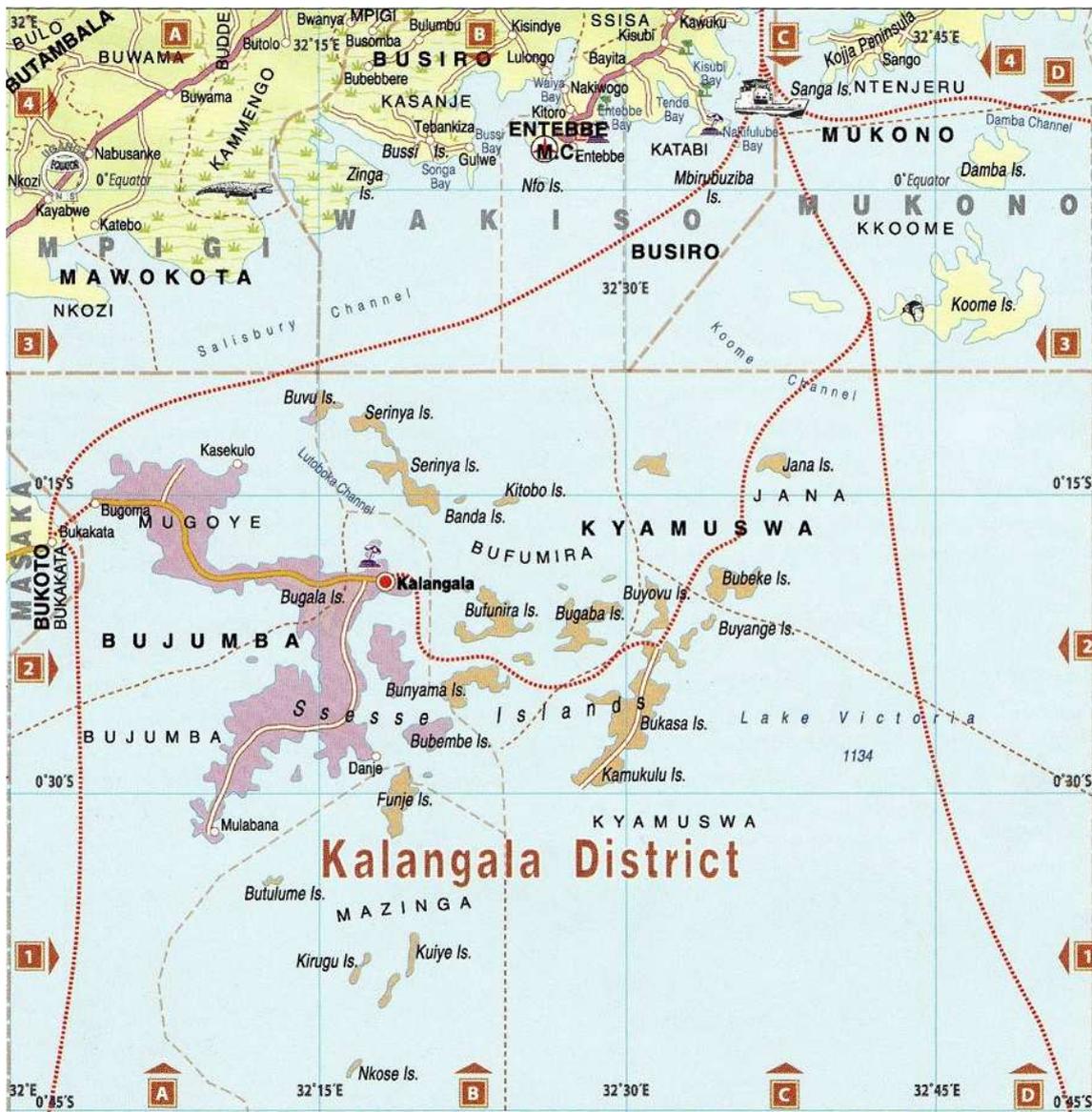
The basic economic activities on the Ssese islands are fishing and agriculture with an emphasis on food crops (cassava, sweet potatoes, bananas, maize, groundnuts), fruits and vegetables, basically pineapples, onions, tomatoes and cabbage.

There are several governmental community-based or private primary schools, a few secondary schools and one tertiary technical institution for agricultural education. The data on enrollment for 2009 suggests 56% of the relevant population attended primary school and only 9.4% attended secondary schools (UBOS 2010: 102). In addition, few primary schools are located on the smaller islands: most educational institutions are based on the island of Bugala.

This mirrors the infrastructure of the Ssese islands in general: the smaller islands are almost undeveloped; there is either no transport to the small islands or rare transport arranged by fishermen.

Among the 11 health centers (UBOS 2010: 130), the only clinic in the district is in Kalangala town and it has four nurses but no medical staff as the area is without a hospital[14].

The electricity and telecommunication networks do not cover the smaller islands; the main island is covered but it is not stable. About 54 NGOs have their offices in Bugala, but only a few of them take into consideration the scope of activities on the smaller islands (for example only two possess a boat).

The access to information about the social and economic reality in Kalangala is intriguing. HIV prevalence in the region is significant and although the trend in Uganda is positive with decreasing infection rates according to the country´s reports between 1990 and 2005 at an average of 6,4% for 2008-2009 (UNGASS Country Progress Report Uganda, March 2010: 18-19); the Kalangala district doesn´t appear at all in the report. The rate in Kalangala district is estimated to be higher than 30% according to Actionaid (Report by local partner: Kalangala District Forum of Person living with HIV/AIDS Network). Despite the high occurance of HIV/AIDS, the availability of AIDS medical services is estimated to cover the needs of the affected population up to only 46% for the period 2007-2009 (UBOS 2010: 145).

The same poor information status holds for statistics considering the poverty rates: the official rate of poverty in Kalangala is estimated to be the lowest in rural areas according to the National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) Report (2008: 251), but the statistics data give a different picture: among the households in Kalangala only 14,5% own land and about 60% own a house (UBOS 2010: 45f) with pit latrine coverage of 52% (ibid: 143); whereas the average rates of the area regarding livestock owning and crops grown are the lowest in comparison to the other central districts of the country and among the lowest regarding Uganda in general (ibid: 46).

The Kalangala District Report for the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process (UPPAP-PPA 2000) gives an overview of the poverty causes: illiteracy, financial constraints, lack of markets, lack of marketing infrastructure, investments and social networks, alcoholism, prostitution, landlessness, bad fishing methods and isolation (UPPAP-PPA 2000: 27-34).

Although the most of the islands are forested by virgin tropical forest and can be considered a bird watcher´s and botanist´s paradise, the above described scarcity of infrastructure holds as well for the touristic facilities: the main accommodation possibilities are on Bugala, except one guest house on Bukasa and one camping site on Banda.

BIDCO, a private palm oil processor based in Jinja, has maintained a 6,100 ha. palm oil plantation in the district since 1990. In addition, outsourced farmers grow palm oil on contract with BIDCO and sell their produce to the processor. The plantation is expanding rapidly on Bugala and Bukasa, the second biggest island, with a considerable impact on the environment and the social life of the islands (see Kalundi 2006, Mwayafu 2009).

The deforestation and the extended fishery as well as hunting and "fishing safaris" create a severe threat to flora and fauna of the Ssese islands (see NEMA Report 2008, for deforestation in Kalangala: 137f and 260f, for fishery: 161). Among the animals endangered in Uganda are a type of antelope known as sitatunga (*tragelaphus spekii sylvestris*), endemic only on the Ssese Islands, and the population of a type of vervet monkey (*chlorocebus pygerythrus*) (International Union for the Conservation of Nature reports 1994-2000). The same alarming decrease holds for the Nile Perch (*lates niloticus*) since the 90s (Kaufmann 1992: 846f).

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[14] Next hospitals are in Masaka and Entebbe/ Kampala. While the travel to Masaka is cheaper, the way is exhausting.

In the next section we will see that the contemporary conditions briefly sketched are the result of the historical processes of the last two centuries. Over a long period of time the Ssese islands have been a place of migration and since the mid 18th century they have become a place of exploitation. They still remain in the minds of today´s Ugandan citizens what they are in the legends: a holy and therefore dangerous place.

1.2.2 Notes on history

In his school book for the secondary school, a historian widely recognized in Uganda, Gordon Kamugunda Kahangi, mentions the word Ssese only once as an "individual East African Bantu tribe" among 25 others[15] of the Interlacustrine zone (Kahangi & Mpairwe 2006: 46). This entry is perplexing: although the history of the great Interlacustrine kingdoms has been written and discussed from several aspects since the 19th. century by African and non-African academia, and despite the fact that, especially to the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro and Busoga, whole library shelves are dedicated to it, the name Ssese appears, if at all, as a geographic name. In searching for historical information about "Ssese", it is better to look for the names of two of the spirits that originated from the islands, Mukasa and Wanema, and in general, pay attention to disquisitions on mythology to obtain results.

The peripheral, footnote-like reference to the Ssese Islands is characteristic for the perception of this area and its people in the historical context. The notion by Kahangi and Mpairwe about the tribe (sic) of the Ssese site by site to the Ganda, Nyoro, Soga etc. "tribes" is therefore at the same time an exception, since he treats the name as an ethnonym and not as a toponym and also in accordance with the historic custom of the fragmentary reference to Ssese.

The oral history documented up to the present says also little about the origin of the Bashese. Two speakers narrated the following story:

The Bashese believe their origin affiliates them with the Banyoro. According to the legend, the king of the Banyoro sent one of his sons, Lukúmbi Lubáala, to conquest in unknown lands over the lake. One of the sons of Lukúmbi was always sad and spoke rarely. When they reached the islands, his father left him on Bugala Island to consider his manners and the prince climbed a mountain and sat under a tree. After three days that he could not solve the problem of his depression, monkeys came and started playing. The prince was looking at them and suddenly he laughed with their ado. Despite the distance, his divine father heard his laugh and said: '*yeishése*', which means he laughed. Lukúmbi decided to leave the son to rule the islands, where he found again his lust for life and named him Ishése, "the one who laughs". The islands name comes according to folk etymology after the first ruling prince.

There are further myths that affiliate the Bashese with the Banyoro, like the legend about the birth of Kintu and his son Kimera, who is supposed to have learned to work with iron with the Banyoro. Kintu is the first human in the Buganda mythology[16]. In the version of his biography as Basoga and Bashese narrated and in opposition to the Baganda telling (where his origin is unknown), he is supposed to come from the Ssese islands. Kimera personifies the iron technology that is supposed to have spread through the Banyoro (Reid 2002: 78f.).

> Although it is now generally accepted that figures such Kintu and Kimera are wholly
> mythical, the economic revolutions which facilitated their transmission into mythology
> were both real and dramatic, and it may be that the clues that provided to the economic

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[15] The other 24 tribes (sic) are: Jita, Kerewe, Kara, Zinza, Naya, Rwanda, Rundi, Kiga, Toro, Kyore, Nkole, Ganda, Soga, Kwera, Kanyi, Gisa, Sysa, Lubya, Suba, Na, Naageza, Subi, Viaza, Jiji.(ibid.)
[16] For the Ganda version of Kintu´s legend see Sir Apolo Kagwa´s folklore stories, first published in Luganda 1927, later bilingual edition 1956 by the Sheldon Press: London.

past should be regarded as being as important as those to political development. In any case, whatever the truth behind these tangled messages, it is again significant that the commonest basic term for iron ore in Buganda is 'matale', which is Lunyoro. (Ibid: 79)

Sheherazad Amin summarizes the importance of the Ssese in various cultures:

> The spiritual importance of the Sesse Islands and Lake Victoria stretches beyond the Buganda Kingdom. Earlier Bacwezi cults which were prolific across the Great Lakes region from the Bunyoro Kingdom of west Uganda to the Nkore kingdom in southern Uganda, and Zinza and Buhaya traditions from north-west Tanzania talk of a spirit named 'Mugasha'. The Cwezi spirit Mugasha was believed to have lived in Isheshe, i.e. the Sesse Islands. Mugasha is comparable to the lake spirit 'Mukasa' in the Buganda Kingdom, whose primary temple was located on Bubembe Island (Roscoe 1911; O'Donohue 1997; Schimdt 1978; Bjerke 1969; Bjerke 1981). Berger relates this and other shared elements between the lubaale and Bacwezi religious systems to stem from deeper antiquity rather than recent interaction (Berger 1973), which would suggest the idea of Lake Victoria and the Sesse Islands as a spiritually significant locale also stretches further back in time. (Amin forthcoming: 13-14)

However, the oral tradition is vulnerable to events that threat whole generations: as a history handed down from generation to generation, information may fall into oblivion when "[W]hole generations sometimes disappear either as a result of natural disasters such as famine, drought or floods, or as a result of man-made disasters such as wars, raids, conquest, or slavery" (Kahangi & Mpairwe 2006: 6). In the case of the Ssese islands some natural disasters are caused to a great extent by human politics rather than by the caprices of nature.

The recent archeological research by the UCL London on the islands brought in light ceramic fragments in characteristic Ugandan style (Urewe Ware) dated back in the early second millennium AD:

> One sample from this single component site gave a radiocarbon date of 1890±60 BP, which not only lies within the accepted timespan for Urewe presence in Uganda, but is actually the earliest known Urewe site in the whole of Uganda and among the earliest non-BC dates from Buhaya, Rwanda and Burundi (Ashley 2005). Considering this is the earliest date for Urewe in Uganda, it can be established that Urewe-producing communities had some kind of maritime technology in order to exploit the lake environment and settle offshore islands (Ashley 2005). (...) While the collection is small, the ceramics were constructed of local clays and the internal consistency suggests a discrete, distinct ceramic phenomenon (Ashley 2005). (Amin forthcoming: 10)

The presence of local ceramic tradition not only stretches back the historical reconstruction of settlement around the lake, it also sheds new light on the identity of the communities. The significance of the Ssese islands as a pivotal point for trade through the lake led scientists to the hypothesis that the islands were settled by migrants; the new findings show that the islanders had their own tradition (ibid: 8-9).

Before 1500, the Ssese islands constituted a kingdom that lost autonomy during the wars between the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro. After the Baganda establish their power at the north shore of the lake, the Ssese Islands build a semi-autonomous region, first organized as chiefdom (chiefs named in

Lushese 'Bagungu'), later as a sub-county (chiefs named in Lushese 'Gombolola') (compare Mutibwa 2008: 235).

Up until the 18th century, hunting and fishing in the river and lake were crucial for the regional nutrition and local economy: by the end of the 19th century, the fishers develop a group consciousness concerning the spirit Mukasa:

> To a considerable degree this collective consciousness stemmed from the cultural affinity of difference to Mukasa, the spirit of the lake and the most powerful deity in Buganda. Mukasa was of course shared by all Ganda, but his influence and the significance attached to his veneration was especially profound at the water´s edge; it might indeed be argued that the professional fishermen of Buganda had closer cultural ties with their colleagues in other lakeside societies than they did with their own compatriots. (Reid 2002: 65)

The Bashese were experts in using line and hook and the economic heart of the islands was fishing (Ibid: 66). Reid (2002), in his work about political power and economy in pre-colonial Uganda, breaks the random historian´s reference to the islands and dedicates a whole chapter to the role of the fishers and Lake Victoria in general for the wealth of the Buganda kingdom, describing the violently forced contribution of the inhabitants of the Ssese islands: the Bashese, "helots of Uganda", as he characterizes them in accordance with temporary descriptions. Mackay (1881) wrote:

> The canoes are all build by the Basese, who are the very slaves of slaves. At the point of a spear, on Mutesa´s orders, they are obliged to leave their homes and paddle all the way to Ukusuma and back receiving <u>no pay</u> and <u>no food</u> for any journey. (Mackay 1881 in: Reid 2002: 238, original emphasis)

Reid shows how exploitation during the 19th century caused a collapse of the local economy on the islands:

> [I]t is likely that in the case of the Ssese islands, the constant drafting of professional oarsmen had an adverse effect on the local fishing economy. The drain on Ssese labour would clearly have interfered with the local economic infrastructure. Worse, the men were often absent at least two or three months, while the labour itself received little or no remuneration. It might be suggested that the islands in the second half of the nineteenth century represent a classic case of underdevelopment; the islanders themselves were closely involved in the expanding cycle of long-distance commerce that was seen to bring economic advancement to Buganda, but they received none of the benefits. (ibid: 240)

Fish and the paddling labour were not the only labours demanded; specific rare types of trees for making canoes, bark cloth and charcoal that originally could only be found in the Bunyoro kingdom or on the Ssese islands and later elsewhere at the north shore of Lake Victoria were also in demand (ibid: 77f.).

In 1896, an epidemic of sleeping sickness (African *trypanosomiasis*) spread to the islands: the one theory suggests through Sudanese soldiers who came from today´s Democratic Republic of Congo and South Sudan (at that time Equatoria) to settle in the Busoga kingdom (Koch 1909: 583) while the other theory being that the disease arrived at the north shore of the lake from the south-east (see Fèvre et all 2004, Berrang-Fong et al 2006). In their reevaluation of the historical epidemic, Berrang-Fong et al confront the reader with the colonial politics towards the disease:

The colonial government of the time responded with a massive evacuation campaign of up to 24 km from the lakeshore area. This early epidemic has been associated with a range of causal factors, including eco-social imbalance caused by colonial disruption, a hut-tax system resulting in widespread movements of labourers and changes in livestock populations following an 1889-1892 rinderpest outbreak. (Fèvre 2004 in: Berrang-Fong et al 2006: 223-224)

The next pages focus on the reports by Robert Koch 1906-1909[17,] who came to the Ssese islands to search for the causal agent of the disease.

When Koch arrives in the area in 1906, he suggests that 60%-70% of the population on the Ssese islands must be infected by the deadly disease (Koch 1906-1909: 521). In the first period of his fieldwork 800 patients visited his laboratory station on Bugala island, near Bumanji (ibid: 522) to be treated.

Koch tested several substances based on arsenic acids and dyestuff already developed for animal trypanosomiasis against the trypanosome (*trypanosoma Brucei*) that causes cerebral infection to human: the most promising two were atoxyl (aminophenyl arsonic acid) and trypan red, a derivative of synthetic dyestuff (benzopurpurine). Although atoxyl showed positive effects against the causative organism, the mortality rate fluctuated between 8% among the light diseased to 22.9% among the severely diseased (ibid: 544), while the most serious side effect of the less efficient trypan red was permanent blindness (ibid: 542).

Although his anthropological approach (Koch 1908a) to the peoples of the Ssese islands is characteristic for his time due to it illuminating the evolutionary gaze of science during that time on the Ssese islands, I will briefly discuss some of his observations while trying at the same time to give relevance to these remarks from the point of view of the present study.

First, Koch attests that the area was semi-autonomous at the time of his expedition and the local authority[18] had power and means as well as the education to assist in matters of identifying patients, educating the population about the illness and further organization issues. The administrative distinction between Buganda, Busoga and Ssese islands for Koch is self-evident (ibid: 547f).

Second, in matters of labour, he describes the hard work of the oarsmen and the negative effects of the men´s absence on the social and economical life of the area (ibid: 546). Further, he gives a portrait of the fisher and a very positive evaluation of captains and boat makers and in this way he attests the role of the islanders in the economic development of the time described above by Reid (ibid: 548). Koch mentions gender based restrictions: men and women are not allowed to do the same works (ibid: 550).

In his effort to define the spread of the disease he identifies the relevance of the nomadic workers at rubber tree plantations that move between the Shores of Kisiba, Mwansa and Shirati. He mentions in similar context the seasonal migration background on the Ssese Islands, which appear as the turntable of the lake (Koch 1906-1909: 539-541).

Koch gives two short anecdotes regarding the belief in the danger of the sea (1908a: 554): the first illustrates the power of the spirit M´Kassa (sic) when it comes to traveling on the sea that is supposed

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[17] The Robert-Koch Institut in Berlin provides the reports as one pdf-document, which includes all four annual reports written by Koch about his experiments on the Islands and the greater Lake region as well as fieldwork-notes and summaries by him and his research team.
[18] The title he uses „Queba" is an Arabic loan in Kiswahili that is not attested in the languages of the area (for authorities titles in Lussese see in chapter 6).

to be respected by some Europeans; the second is a legend about an unknown island in the middle of the sea that people ("we", the Bashese) can reach under certain conditions and that is inhabited by dangerous naked peoples with magical power who probably practice cannibalism (others, not Bashese people).

The first story attests to the broad association of the Ssese islands with the local religion: the identity of the inhabitants is bound to the legends of Mukasa (and further spirits of the area). The recognition of this status by Europeans appears at the same time as a threat, since missionaries perceived such believes as an opposition to Christianity; from a local point of view however, the European reaction is as well a proof, since the seriousness gives gravity to the local context.

The second story shows the principal of the dangerous other: although the Bashese themselves are regarded as dangerous by the inhabitants of the shores, since their ancestors are supposed to be spirits, among other attributes, and although the sea and the water are regarded as inherently dangerous, the Bashese localize the danger in an island outside the Ssese archipelago inhabited by other people, who are then the dangerous ones. These stories give a first glance at the antithetic aspects of the islander identity.

Further remarks in the medical reports between 1906 and 1909 give evidence of how the illness and the treatment were perceived by the inhabitants of the islands: first, they could not believe that the illness was being spread by flies, since flies have always been present without the emergence of the sleeping sickness (Koch 1906: 574 & 1909: 616).

Second, the inhabitants observed themselves that the first visible symptom of the sickness is the swelling of the glands (Koch 1906-1909: 521). Accordingly, they trusted themselves in the hands of the European doctors and missionaries when it came to examination and puncture of the glands, but they had objections and they would even run away in case of other necessary treatment, which was in their eyes not relevant to their condition; for example the lumbar puncture (ibid: 535).

Among the symptoms of patients suffering a light infection, Koch mentions the following psychic ones: excitement and hyperactivity often excelled to raven madness and fear (ibid: 526). Only in the late stages of the illness did the patient lose consciousness and fall asleep; he woke up very easily, so that sometimes it appeared that either the sleeping patient was suddenly giving answers to questions he should not have heard or that the speaking patient fell asleep mid-sentence. (ibid: 527). All these symptoms, isolated or in combination, may occur in cases of spirit possession, which explains why the inhabitants of the islands interpreted them rather in this discourse than in an unknown and unfamiliar medical discourse.

Koch doesn´t give detailed information about the side-effects of the tested substances, but he mentions cases of acute or spasmodic pain, (ibid: 536), intoxication, stomach pain and vomiting, as well as 22 cases of permanent blindness (ibid: 537 & 542) aside from the high mortality rates among the treated patients.

Furthermore, part of the expedition was to investigate how the sickness could be stopped in the already infected areas: Koch identifies the presence of already infected persons and the presence of the fly (*glossina palpalis*) as the main reasons for spreading. He finds out that the fly survives only in humid areas shadowed by bushes or forests near the lake, while its only source of nutrition is the blood of animals. In the case of the Ssese islands, Koch could prove that the most important blood givers are the crocodiles. Not only did he conduct examinations on the (dead) animals similar to the ones he did with human, but, as a solution, he recommends the extinction of crocodiles and deforestation of the shores in order to eliminate the fly; actions he applies in at least two of the Ssese islands, Bugala and

Nkose (ibid: 621-624) and further on the island Sijawanda near Mwansa at the eastern shore of the lake. Among the measures, he also proposes the deportation of the population out of the infected area.

The experiments on the Ssese islands are not regarded as the most prominent ones among the achievements of the 1906 Nobel Laureate German doctor; still his findings signify a new era for the development of drugs. Today, derivates of both substances are still used in chemotherapy (for a historical review on the development of atoxyl and trypan red see Steverding 2010). Unfortunately, the history of Western medicine in Africa and other colonized areas is still written as being a humanitarian action with clear humanitarian intention. Koch himself didn't see it in this way; his work on the Ssese islands has a clear focus on research (Koch 1906-1909: 518), while the examination of patients is seen as a necessary part of the research activities. Clearly he underlines the serious threat of the disease for European population, especially when the Europeans houses are in the middle of areas inhabited by the local people (ibid: 579f) and gives only once a moral comment about his experiments with human:

> *Wenn hier von Versuchen an Kranken die Rede ist, dann darf dabei nicht vergessen werden, daß dieselben an einer absolut tödlichen Krankheit litten und unrettbar verloreln waren, wenn nicht ein Heilmittel gefunden wäre.* (Koch 1906-1909: 590)

> When speaking here about experiments on patients, one should not forget that they are suffering an absolute deadly disease and that they would pass away without any hope of rescue, if a healing medicine would not be found. (own translation)

For the treatment of the diseased, the colonial powers had no resources; despite the success of the medicines developed during this study in curing the sickness. By 1909, the inhabitants of the islands were forced into migration; ironically, most of them landed on the lake shores that Koch already mentions in his records as the other infected areas.

For about twenty years between the 1920s until World War II, the islands were evacuated except for some "sleeping sickness isolation camps" (Fèvre et al 2004: 568); in the 60s, the remaining Bashese returned to their home islands only to realize that the land didn't belong to them anymore. Despite the vast literature about land conflicts in Uganda, the land ownership problems on the Ssese Islands are ignored in historic as well as in synchronic perspectives of the issue. Still some general assumptions about Uganda also hold for the islands:

> Government interventions that have aimed to reduce land conflict in the past do not seem to have been effective. This is not helped by the de facto elimination of the institutions that had traditionally dealt with conflict without establishing new ones to take their place, thus leaving a vacuum, which has fuelled the overall incidence of conflict. (Rugadya 2009: 2)

The history of the last two centuries makes the clarification of the term Bashese urgent, since not all the inhabitants of the Ssese islands today can be considered as speakers of Lushese: several waves of nomadic fishers and general workers before, during and after the colonial period as well as the deadly disease in the beginning of the twentieth century and the destruction of the remaining community left their traces on the population of the islands. As of 2009, only very few speakers of Lushese could be found; in this study only these speakers will be called Bashese.

In 2009 the Bashese were all older than 67. Their memory of the past is impacted by the traumatic experience of their parents and grandparents generations. They consider the politics of the 19th and 20th century as the reason for the loss of their culture; at the same time, their attitude to their cultural and linguistic inheritance is conflictive.

1.2.3 Bashese: the speakers

It was possible to identify only 17 persons who understand Lushese; among them, eight can speak fluently and nine remember words, proverbs and dialogues or utterances from their interaction with their parents. All the men and two of the women finished secondary school and two of the men have a degree in tertiary education. All of them can read and write excellently except the youngest speaker. They all speak Luganda in all domains of everyday life. The men understand some Kiswahili and the ones who have sailing experience also speak Lusoga. While all speakers are multilingual, the healers among them have knowledge of numerous neighboring Bantu languages like Lunyankole, Kinyarwanda, Luluuli and Lukooki.

The main consultants with whom I worked on the word list and on basic morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of Lushese through elicitation were Sseluwagi Dominic, Eliphaz Lubina and Erasto Lubandi. Other speakers contributed in the form of narratives, songs, poems and proverbs as well as in the form of questions and/or clarifications of certain words. The following section gives some information about the Bashese with a focus on their attitude towards their language and their own evaluation about their competence in Lushese when I first met them in 2009 as well as their main contribution to this documentation at the end. All of them wanted to be mentioned here by name and the age they would reach at the time of the writing[19]. I will use their names without titles (Mr. or Miss/Ms./Mrs.), or their counterparts in Luganda or Lushese. They appear in alphabetic order.

Batongole, Alex, 74

When Batóngole heard that we were interested in Lushese, he brought us to his sister, Nampomwa, whom he introduced as the better speaker between them. During our first meeting, he asked to also be present and later for her permission to be part of our future cooperation as a listener, because he also wanted to learn more about the language. He mentioned that he knows some words about boats, but not much else.

Batongole was always very careful in his comments and questions and at the same time very direct. I owe him, besides the boat-technology and the accompanying songs, for information about the sea and fish and also about hunting. Most important was his memory, but also creativity regarding jokes and games.

† Constansia, Nalongo, 92

I only met Constansia two times. She was already very ill and had only support from the neighbours and a grandchild living in distant village. Both times she was happy to speak Lushese, because it reminded her of her parents. She said that only one of her daughters could also speak, but she already had lost her. She gave us the contact to Batongole and Nampomwa. Constansia died 2011, on the day we started the theatrical project.

Lubandi, Erasto, 91

Lubandi had been in bed for months when I first met him. He insisted that it was not worth working with him, not only because of his condition, but because of his limited knowledge of Lushese. Still he liked the idea of having a visitor and welcomed me anytime. We hardly lost one day during my stays in Bugala all the three years. Besides his own competence, it is only due to his patience that we could speak about utterances and stories of other persons. I could have never understood and evaluated

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[19] Which means that all of the speakers wanted to appear as old as possible: this detail gives a glance at the high and positive evaluation of age.

without him; he corrected several grammar issues, provided and explained background information and finally translated some stories of Sseluwagi, another informant, who passed away.

Kamago, Edward, 76

Kamago wanted from the beginning to participate in the documentation as a listener like Batongole and he underlined several times until the end that he knows only fragments of Lushese. Fortunately, among these fragments were, beside hunting and forest vocabulary, the names of the local spirits of the Bukasa Island: he asked the elder ones himself, what they know about these names. Without his questions we would have missed not only some legends about the origin of the spirits, but also the explanation of some of the taboos concerning different Ssese islands.

†Kayege, Joseph, 88

Kayege was very certain; he doesn´t speak any Lushese and understands only words and specific phrases because he left the island very young to study and came back only later as an engineer. He mentioned that he maybe still know songs since he is musician, like his father; unfortunately he had only one instrument left, his harp. It was a big surprise to everybody what Kayege could recall and perform when he had the appropriate instruments and people to sing with him.

†Eliphaz, Lubina, 86

Lubina´s name is the first you hear if you ask for a speaker of Lushese. He participated in a linguistic survey by the Makerere University in the 70s and by the time I met him, he had just finished his first book about the culture of the Bashese people. All other speakers recognize his competence. He explained that he had luck, because he stayed the longest with his parents, who had reached a high age. Still his attitude to Lushese was conflictive: on the one hand he is proud of his knowledge and aware of the differences in grammatical structures, the unique vocabulary and the concepts of Lushese compared to the neighbouring languages Luganda and Lusoga. On the other hand he was insisting that Lushese is only an older dialect of Luganda. Only at the end he expressed his frustration concerning the past and his hope that through his books and our work together Lushese will be rehabilitated. It was hard to win his trust, but I can´t tell, what would happen, if he wasn´t willing to cooperate in our documentation. He is now working on his second book on the mythology of the Bashese. Since 2010, these stories have been broadcasted on Radio Ssese every week.

†Magatto, Andronikos, 91

Magatto is the cosmopolite among the Bashese. He has been to several African countries and studied religion and literature for some time in Italy and England; therefore he is the only one among the Bashese who speaks English fluently. Magatto worked as a teacher in Kalangala during the last period of his life and he is the proud owner of the first tourism facility in the district. Although he is very ill and tends to forget easily, he recalls vividly his childhood. His knowledge of the flora and fauna of the islands is immense, while only with him I could discuss directly some linguistic issues.

†Mageye, Arajab, 78

Arajab Mageye introduced himself as a pupil of Sseluwagi. He claimed that everything he knows from the past, he knows it through the spirits and it is Sseluwagi, the one who helped him in understanding what they say. Although it was impossible to work with him extensively, his contribution is very important because he was the one who organized the transports for the speakers from Bukasa as well as for his clearly positive attitude towards documenting as much as possible of the language before the last fluent speakers pass away. Not to mention that he was the first one who openly spoke about the

spiritual concepts of the Bashese; only during his meeting with Sseluwagi, I had the opportunity to listen to the secret register of Lushese and because of him, I could later continue research in this sensitive field. Further, he introduced us to Edward Mpeke and Tamali Nabirimu.

†Mageye, Francis, 85

I met Francis Mageye only once before he died; he was seriously ill and very weak. He was hoping to recover and participate in the documentation of the language of his father and is the only one who directly expressed his anger against the politics that marginalized the Bashese. He mentioned the dialectal difference of the Lushese spoken on the north and east islands in comparison to the variety of the south and west islands. Thus, he gave evidence that was crucial for understanding some phonological peculiarities.

Mpeke, Edward, 76

Edward Mpeke wanted to participate in the project because he hoped to meet his friends and relatives again. He was very helpful regarding the vocabulary and expressions of different professions, since he was working for a long time with elder people. He was ill at the time we finally came together. Further, he was able to connect us with Perezi Mutuuba.

†Mutuuba, Perezi, 76

I could only meet Mutuuba twice because his illness doesn´t allow him to leave his house and shop. Being a merchant and salesman all his life, he was able to describe very vividly the population movements in Lake Victoria. He is one of the most multilingual speakers among the Bashese and he helped me to understand the contact situation between Lusoga, Luganda, Lushese and Lunyankole. It is Mutuuba who gave the evidence of the proximity between Lushese and Lulamogi by describing his first experiences as a young man, when the traditional way of trade between Lake Kyuga, where Lulamogi is spoken, and Lake Victoria was still held by the fishers of the two lakes through the Mpologoma River, the surrounding wetlands and the islands of the Vuma group opposite to Jinja.

Nakubaza, Gorreti, 49

She is the sister of Sseluwagi and the youngest speaker of Lushese. Gorreti assisted her brother as the translator during his possession and thus knows the secret register better than the everyday register of the language. Gorreti forgot everything after the death of her brother, but she wanted to participate further in the documentation as a listener. She introduced herself to the other speakers as a pupil at the beginning of the theatrical project and it was only through the support of Nampomwa and the convincing voice of Tamale that she trusted us all and allowed us to experience some of her knowledge in spiritual concepts and healing processes.

Nabirimu, Tamale, 90

Tamale belongs to one of the royal clans of the Bashese. She already knew that we would visit her and wanted to prove her knowledge of the language; at the same time she insisted there was nothing worth documenting. She would not participate to the project without the intervention of Arajab Mageye and Edward Mpeke. Although she was always friendly, she was very reserved regarding the information she provided to me or exchanged with the other speakers. As a member of a royal clan she knows both the secret and the everyday register of Lushese and towards the end, she became our specialist when it came to the spiritual concepts, the rituals and the legends of origin of the clans.

Nampomwa, Nalongo, 79

Nampomwa is one of the very few traditional healers on the islands. She still participates in medical workshops aside from the vast number of patients she looks after every day. She had a very bad experience with a student of biology, who claimed to have interest in her knowledge, but after a year of learning at her side, he published his dissertation about herbal medicine without mentioning her name. Accordingly, it was difficult to win her trust. Nampomwa is also very active in socio-political issues and she realized the perspectives and dangers of a theatrical play by the Bashese. Once she agreed to cooperate, she contributed with all her power and knowledge. Without her I could never have collected detailed information about the human body, illness and death. Her dynamic character and the confidence she has as a speaker gave an inspiring example to the other women, who are not used to exchanging with men on the same level.

† Nassali, Lowinsa, 72

It was a niece of Nassali who first accepted me as a sister and named me after her paternal aunt. Only later I understood how important this idea by Anita Nalukwago was. Being the young Nassali was the best possible introduction to the old lady, who laughed when she heard that I wanted to contact her because of Lushese and replied that she was too young to speak it. She regarded Lushese as "something in between; not really a language like Luganda and Lusoga". I asked her to explain and she started to speak vacuously about different worlds and that Lushese should rather be considered as a vehicle between them than as a language for the ordinary human communication. She agreed to teach me how to cook and it was in her kitchen where I learned to speak Luganda fair enough. Although she has very fragmentary knowledge of Lushese, she is an expert in the traditional ways of nutrition, housekeeping and children-raising. Her friendship with Lubandi allowed us to cooperate all together and compensate her lack of vocabulary and his forgetfulness regarding family matters. Being the paternal aunt of one of the oldest families of Bugala, Nassali has social knowledge and communicative skills that impacted to a great extent the development of the project. She was able to appear as the authority that she is, but she made a fun of playing the role of the child among the other speakers, since she is the second youngest. Her questions to them opened, often enough, new fields for discussion.

Nkissa, Edison, 91

We visited Edison Nkissa only once because he resides on Bubeke, a quite distant island at the north-eastern end of the Ssese archipelago. He is an excellent speaker of Lushese and could verify the information I had from Sseluwagi and Lubandi. Further he verified and could give examples of the dialectal differences of Lushese that Frances Mageye already mentioned to me. Unfortunately, he became seriously ill and could not join the theatrical project.

† Sseruwagi, Dominic, 72

Sseruwagi was the first speaker I met and he was curious but reserved regarding my survey. He said that he didn't trust white people in "these matters" and especially not academics, but maybe he could help me later. This "maybe" of Sseluwagi accompanied our cooperation through the whole first part of the fieldwork. He tested me in several ways: he wanted to see, if I would drink and eat the local food with him, he asked me to assist him in his maize field, or left me alone in the forest to test my orientation, before he agreed to document what "maybe" is a language, to use his own words about Lushese. During the first period of our work, he often spoke in Kiswahili, Kinyarwanda or Lunyankole. That was the last test concerning my linguistic skills and after I could prove some profiency, he started to take me more seriously. He fully accepted me as a partner only after a

discussion about Greek mythology. I could convince him that I respect and honour the ancient myths about more than one god and divine heroes, spirits and all other creatures of our legends without being less academic or anti-Christian. Only through coincidences could I realize that he was a spiritual leader, an authority among the traditional healers on the islands and the medium of an ancestral spirit. It became clear to me afterwards that the coincidences were manipulated by him and I am very grateful for the path he carefully opened for me. Later, he introduced me in the clan of the Nkima, which gave me the possibility to participate in ceremonies, even allowing me to participate in two possession rituals, where his sister, Gorreti, functioned as the translator. Sseruwagi´s sudden death during the second fieldwork was the most tragic loss for this documentation and a personal source of mourning for me. I will never forget how keen he was to finish his story about the origin of the Bashese, even on the last day of his life. He had already organized that I receive two of his diaries after his death. With Lubandi´s and Gorreti´s assistance it was possible to translate some of the passages, but unfortunately we could not reconstruct everything.

Tebandi, Ida, 76

Ida Tebandi is a younger sister of Tamale and a close friend of Nassali. She is one of the guards of the house of the spirit Mukasa on the island Bubembe. I met her once. She was very negative regarding the effort of documentation: "The books are good and maybe you can write one, but can you revive the way we used to live?" she asked. Being informed by Nassali and her elder sister, Ida wanted to join us for the theatrical project, but the sudden sickness of one of her relatives didn´t permit her to come.

When I arrived on the Ssese Islands for the first time I was unsure of how to begin, which transformed into serious concerns when I realized that the possible number of Lushese speakers would not exceed one hundred (an evaluation which turned out to be very optimistic). The isolation of the speakers reminded me of marginalised people I met when I was working as dance teacher in Athens. At that time, I had my first experience in communal theatre and suddenly, when faced with overwhelming concern, that particular method, appeared promising regarding the problems I faced in the fieldwork because the long theatrical tradition in Uganda provided the necessary basis for realization. In section 1.3 I present the methods I applied during my fieldwork.

1.3 Methodology

This chapter gives an overview of the methodology applied for this study. In 1.3.1, the types of data and their relevance to linguistic areas of research will be presented, further a short history of the fieldwork area as well as the speaker´s community, the fieldwork setting and the researcher´s own point of view. Section 1.3.2 gives an overview of the methods applied; in 1.3.3 and 1.3.4, the cooking method and the method based on the ideas of the Theatre for Development will be discussed more extensively.

The preparation for my first fieldwork consisted mainly of studying Luganda and reading ethnographic studies carried out in the broader area around Lake Victoria. I decided to prepare no other materials for elicitation except word lists and to include in the field activities the consequent writing of a diary in line with the ethnographic tradition. The materials used for the formal linguistic work are listed in Table 6. I translated and/or modified them with the contribution of native speakers in Luganda and partly in Lusoga. It was impossible to carry out the field work in any other metalanguage but Luganda.

1.3.1 Questionnaires Developed for this Study

The three questionnaires (see Appendix D) developed during this study for the use and the meanings of perception verbs purposed first to open a general discussion about a certain issue and then to clarify in which context the given expressions can be used.

Especially when, at the time of documentation, a language has reached an advanced stage of obsolescence like in case of Lushese, elicitation must be employed to complete paradigms and test possibilities. Still, the very organization of such sessions as well as the use of a lingua franca create rather an imagined hyper-correct language: it is the product of the researcher's idea of how grammar should be and the speakers response to this expectation as well as other personal thoughts and wishes (see Blench 2010), while latter characteristics of actual speech may be fully ignored or excluded.

Working on a previously undescribed language and, at the same time, trying to define the semantic network of perception, make the systematic corrections as well as the analysis of previously said utterances or stories together with the speakers irreplaceable. These discussions often induced more formal work and are integrated in the questionnaires.

Table 3: Overview of the Materials used for Elicitation

Method	Target
600 Word-List for Bantu Languages (Institute for African Studies and Egyptology, University of Cologne)	Standard-word list for Bantu languages, used broadly in the SIL, which alleviated the lexical comparison with other neighbouring languages, especially Luluuli and Lukooki, where only this list is available
Metaphors Across Languages: A Questionnaire. (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig)	Overview of metaphors und metonymies
SIL Comparative African Wordlist 2006	Extension of the basic word list
Questionnaire on Information Structure (Audiovisuelles Zentrum der Universität Potsdam 2006)	Topic-Focus contrasts
Questionnaire: The internal structure of adverbial clauses (University of Amsterdam, EUROTYP Theme Group 1991)	Adverbials, Operatores, Conjunctions
Stimuli & Book-Tools (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Language and Cognition Group 2008-2010), with supplement of a sample of geometric objects	Expression of material properties (structure, form, colour, odour)
Perception Questionnaire I, developed for this study	The use of the verbs of perception in different contexts; focus on physical pain and illness
Perception Questionnaire II, developed for this study	Verbs of perception with respect to the construction grammar and with focus on the thematic roles of the arguments
Emotion Questionnaire, developed for this study	The expression of anger, fear, jealousy, love, and hate

The main aim of the first questionnaire was to take a stab at the well known metaphoric paths of the verbs of perception. The sentences are composed as if they were part of a dialogue in order to discuss with the speakers possible scenarios and dialogues. Although these discussions were fruitful for anticipating the concepts of the speakers regarding perception, the first questionnaire is a good example of what happens when the researcher considers primarily the scientific discourse and develops methods only according to this: some sentences were fully ungrammatical and/or nonsense. Still, I could gain precious clues as to how the Bashese evaluate their world. Below these three problematic sentences of the first questionnaire will be briefly discussed:

(a)   Look these funny clothes (s)he has on, (s)he has a very strange taste.

(b)   I don´t feel good/feel down, maybe it´s the weather.

(c)   I fell in love +IDIOM (my world turned upside down).

In (a), the gender of the supposed person as well as moral and social concepts were crucial; the association of somebody having "strange taste" makes no sense to the Bashese. Clothes are primarily seen as a sign of the person´s status and integrity and the idea of expressing one's personality through clothes is known, but strange to the Bashese: they dislike "such behaviours" or they call people who are so desperately busy with themselves that show it by their strange clothes *mugwagwa*, 'stupid, crazy'. Women in "funny clothes" are associated with prostitution and men in "funny cloths" are supposed to be either pimps or evil magicians.

Sentence (b) is acceptable only if the weather causes physical pain, like rheumatism: the idea of associating the weather with a personal temper is strange. Later, the interpretation of the weather in the mythological world surfaced, which still has no concept of an atmosphere that impacts personal temper.

The concept of "falling in love with somebody" challenged in (c) is also rejected as modern and/or Western by the speakers. The concepts of love, desire and affection will be discussed in chapter 5. Later I extent the questionnaire with the fields of physical pain and illness; the results will be discussed in chapter 3.

The second questionnaire purposed to examine the verbs of perception regarding regularity patterns of the event-structure. This questionnaire worked well in terms of making some tendencies systematic. The speakers liked the second part which tests the verbs according to the criteria of construction grammar: they handled these sentences as a start for stories. The passivation of the sentences (part three) was very problematic. Idioms and proverbs could be framed in later conversations much better during the theatrical project.

The third questionnaire with focus on emotions was composed with respect to my lacks of initial understanding of what is possible to feel by whom, and how this emotion is evaluated and expressed in at least two cases: if the speaker is an observer of other peoples´ emotion and if he speaks of his own emotions, while the use of the verbs of perception should happen if at all accidentally in this sample. In this sense, the questionnaire was effective. Furthermore, the discussions about possible contexts were enlightening, but it was impossible to make a statement about preference and frequency of the expressions. When the speakers later started to speak about their own feelings, they used a lot more expressions in general and more often the ones with the verbs of perception (on emotion see chapter 5).

1.3.2 Stimuli Developed by the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen (Majid et al 2004)

The Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute in Nijmegen developed several samples of haptic, audio, visual and olfactory stimuli in order to make comparative studies more systematic (see Majid et al 2004). Asifa Majid was so kind to lend me the booklets for defining forms, colours, haptic and olfactory experience. We exchanged about the difficulties in working with this method with old speakers and/or in rural areas and I could subsume that the tired eyes and the lack of experience with laboratory apparatus bred bad conditions for the success of the method on the Ssese Islands. On the other hand, the booklets gave a good starting point for further discussion.

Because of the above mentioned reasons, it was impossible to use video and audio samples or booklets with picture stories, such as the frog story, with the Bashese speakers. Furthermore, the olfactory booklet didn´t work either with the Bashese or with the speakers of the neighbouring languages, although they were younger and often socialized in urban environment: the odours appeared primarily as artificial and the speakers couldn´t associate them with natural smells with the exception of fuel imitation.

The three main problems regarding the methodology were the Eurocentric but indispensable character of the scientific discourse as discussed in the previous chapter and the problem rising out of translation and by the use of Luganda as metalanguage. Further social and cultural parameters complicated the fieldwork.

1.3.3 The main methodological challenges during this study

The impact of metalanguage and translation both during the fieldwork and later in the interpretation of the examples is, in my eyes, undervalued; as an example, one should reflect the case of this documentation regarding the chain of languages in my head: I am Greek, and have been studying and living in Germany for ten years, writing in English about a language I documented in Luganda and compared with Lusoga. This Babel in my own head has clearly had a positive effect: I have experience with being lost in translation and try to sharpen my intuition as much as I can. Still, some experiences and intuitions can´t balance the risks of language hopping: in many cases, it made a difference whether the question was in Luganda or in Lusoga. Furthermore, Luganda, being the mother language of the research assistants, had an impact on the interpretation and/or translation.

The writing of this dissertation in English was a decision made prior to the commencement of the research as it would give an opportunity to the people of Uganda to read. Even so, I follow the critique of Anna Wirtzbicka concerning the increased use of English in linguistic texts; the point she makes regarding emotion holds for perception as well:

> Contemporary psychology, like present-day science in general, is dominated by English, and it is common practice for scholars to write about human emotions using English emotion terms, as if these English words could give us an accurate, objective and culture-independent perspective of human emotional experience in general. (…) In reality any discussion of human emotions which relies on English emotion terms is necessarily Anglo-centric. (Wierzbicka 2009: 3)

Being aware of this, I tried to translate Lushese in English, giving in many cases, beside the obligatory interlinear transcription and common English equivalent literal versions, notations on preferred interpretation or context variations. Still the English terms have neither the same meaning nor the same use compared to their counterparts in Lushese.

Beside the controversy regarding elicited data briefly mentioned in the beginning of chapter 1.3 and the above notes on problems regarding translation and metalanguage, challenges arose in specific settings which could not be solved in meetings with small groups: these challenges concern a) the endangered status of Lushese and the language attitude of the speakers; b) social parameters both regarding the relations between speakers and the relations of speakers to me; and c), concepts of danger, fear and prohibition. The influence of these parameters on the fieldwork is briefly discussed below:

a) Language attitude and language status: The speakers are isolated and haven't spoken their language on every day basis for decades. Many of them cannot recall much and were surprised by their sudden broad understanding when I read stories from other informants to them; with time, their own memory increased. Still further interaction in small groups didn´t work well: a kind of competition emerged and very soon, a hierarchy between speakers according to how they evaluate the own and others competence was established.

b) Social parameters: The speakers have tight bonds to each other: they are all related in many ways. Relations deserve respect, which is here communicated by silent agreement and active listening. During meetings with small groups, the atmosphere was very friendly and full of respect and politeness regarding age, gender, the issue of the discussion, linguistic competence, among others. Furthermore, they were full of interaction when it came to storytelling and singing; but only a few dialogues could blossom and then they would switch to Luganda.

Beside the relationships among speakers and my personal relationships to each of them, my status in a group of speakers was swaying between that of a very young child and of an ignorant *muzungu* 'European/white'. This status could be employed for solidarity reasons: as a group the speakers demonstrated for me rules of social order or repeated the same greeting, proverb or other set phrase, fields where all speakers are competent enough; in doing so the speakers affirmed their collective group identity. I didn't feel discriminated and I can´t recall of any incident when the speakers addressed me in an unpleasant way or with obvious negative intention. On the contrary, this situation had positive effects on me, like learning much Lushese and understanding etiquettes. However, it turned out to be almost impossible to engage in participative observation because of the constant expectations on me for active participation and interaction.

c) Concepts of danger and prohibition: Although the speakers like pictures and had in general no objection to recordings, when they agreed to cooperate in the documentation of their language, from the very beginning a majority didn´t want to be filmed. The most common reasons given were either that they were too old to play in a film or that a film could be dangerous, both because you can be identified and because you may be doing something illegal or that should stay secret. Sometimes the speakers refused to be recorded when it came to comments about political and religious issues. The speakers sometimes expressed fear and furthermore they exploited their own fear as well as fear of others to promote an opinion or behaviour. Prohibitions caused in this context regard actions, fields of knowledge and linguistic expressions. Fear, concepts of danger and prohibition were explained by incidents of the past either self experienced or narrated by elders. The problem with these concepts for a documentation effort is primarily that secrecy is part of their nature: a secret given away is no longer a secret. The concepts of fear, danger and as a result prohibitions cause barriers; prohibition means that it is impossible to do something or to speak about something, consequently there is nothing to document except the very observation of a prohibition existing such as a stopped action, a banned issue, a replaced, or an absent word.

Formal linguistic work such as sessions with one speaker or meetings in small groups, didn't enable me to recognize prohibitions as such, or later, to understand at least some causes for the speaker reservation. Again, the dynamicity of the small groups and existing rules of communication underlined the secrecy surrounding prohibitions of any kind rather than assisted in documenting anything about them. The speakers underlined the importance of the secrets and regret the ignorance of the youngster in these matters; the traditional process of knowledge transfer has collapsed due to the impact of the Islamic and Christian religions and furthermore, because of exploitation, disease, forced migration and the constant insecurity I sketched earlier.

For approaching perception, I have chosen cooking and conversation surrounding the action, since I know of no better place than the kitchen for tastes, smells, material and material change, colours and the exchange of jokes. Aside from this, I believe it is important to recall that for several reasons, the consultants in linguistic or, for that matter, scientific surveys are often only men; in the kitchen, one gets to hear female voices.

For better interaction with the speakers, I modified a method of applied drama and carried out a theatrical project with the speakers.

The next two sections present these methods of immersion *vis-a-vis* the cooking (1.3.3) and the theatrical project (1.3.4). During and after these approaches, correction and partly new elicitation of former work as well as clarification of former work ensued.

1.3.4 Cooking talk

Presenting cooking as a method for linguistic documentation may seem incalculable; even if the researcher knows what the dish is going to be, there is no sense in preparing linguistic material about it. During the cooking, one may record, but while writing can be difficult or just impractical, the quality of the recording is often affected by cooking sounds and the energy shortage is always an issue. The main question at hand concerns the systematization of information when the whole event is left to chance and coincidence.

When I first thought about cooking as a fieldwork method, I exchanged the idea with some colleagues; in personal communication, some fellow researcher told me that they occasionally cooked together with speakers and could gain a lot through the good atmosphere, while questioning vocabulary of food and ways of preparation is naturally easier. In these cases, cooking was one of the last activities carried out with the speakers: the relationships between the researcher and speaker community were already established, while the documentation was to a great extent completed. Cooking came up accidentally, often as a proposal by the speakers and an invitation into the kitchen was explained as a sign of recognition for the previous shared experience: "now that you learned our language you must learn how to prepare this local dish to become one of us". The association of a collective identity can be gained in stages, with speaking as a first step while cooking constitutes a kind of initialization to the insider´s level; further, the concept of eating as a symbolic prototype of incorporation will be discussed in chapter 6.

For this study, participating in the cooking was anything but occasional: at least twice a week we prepared meals and every day snacks and tea. I asked to learn how to cook during my first visits to the speakers and Nassali started with the lessons shortly after. Breaking the ice was surely the first positive effect of the cooking project; sooner or later everybody told me that, until then, they thought whites didn't know how to cook at all. This is no surprise in an area where the vast majority of whites come as tourists and the few professionals have housekeepers or host in local families who support them. routine of chatting about what to buy, occasionally where, money and portion issues and later

the news from the market and the neighbourhood was established, which expanded into discussions with the male speakers in the same manner as described below. In the following presentation of the advantages gained through the cooking project, I distinguish between the talk during and the talk about the cooking sessions.

Photo 1: Nassali preparing *mandazi*

The basic advantage during a cooking session for the researcher is the confrontation with the unexpected and the resulting loss of control: the researcher cannot prepare for a cooking session and the result of this inability means that the mind and the attention are free for interaction. Since the speakers are the ones who define what will happen and how, the researcher gives up the control of the session´s content. In doing this (s)he abandons a hypothetical domain of knowledge, where (s)he is supposed to be the expert. It is only when one stops dominating the content that new domains of knowledge can arise, introduced by the speaker. One of our first cooking activities was to prepare coffee. This begun with an inspection of the trees, the cutting of the ripe fruits, continued in drying them, selecting the best beans and so on. Questions about the qualities of coffee like its colour and taste or consumption habits, for instance when you drink and when you chew it, would remain in the best case superficial and in the worst case totally irrelevant or false, if separated from the actual process of preparing coffee.

Beyond the general ease of asking for vocabulary, a major advantage during cooking sessions is the effortless reference to actions and procedures: having the chance to speak about actual events, one obtains the possibility of referring, with precision, to different time sequences within the same action or process. To dissect time while the activity is taking place is no more difficult than to ask "what is this?"; one can directly ask "what is happening now?". The concept of time in general, the start,

duration and end of an action or procedure, changes through time as well as the evaluation of time passing, is as crucial as it is difficult to inquire about. It is the shared activity of cooking that turned abstract concepts into perceivable and referable topics. The resulting discussions about shared experience enabled me to understand time beyond my own idea of it and within the reality of the speakers. The same holds for the whole field of perception: sharing together with the speakers their world of sense during the cooking sessions saved me, to a great extent, from my own prejudices.

On the other hand, a cooking session is an event in itself and thus a referable slice of time; one may ask: "what happened during cooking, just at that moment during cooking?" Talking about what happened afterwards enabled me to describe the activity or parts of the activity, exchange actions and expressions within an actual frame, performed or said by known persons. In this way, I could employ more speakers to control and complete the data; for example, during the cooking, the most frequent tempus was present and in later discussion, the verb forms were used mostly in past tenses. While cooking, the communicative interaction often demanded the use of imperatives, first person singular and plural ('I, we') or second person singular ('You/Sg') and reduced constructions. In later discussions, the action was described in long sequences, the most often used persons were second and third plural ('You/pl, they') and second singular ('You/Sg'); in addition, the differentiation between direct and indirect speech appeared often. The reflection of the cooking sessions was a compass to organize the data and a source of investigating how people use the language.

I tried to show that cooking as a specific, common and manual experience offers at the same time, a) the setting to give up control and experience tastes, odours, actions and procedures; b) a world of knowledge marked by special categories, functions and meanings, and c) as an actual event in real life as cooking sessions offer (after some time) a common scene for reference. Instead of preparing linguistic material, I rather developed the check lists and questionnaires after the sessions as a response to what happened and how words, expressions or story motives were used.
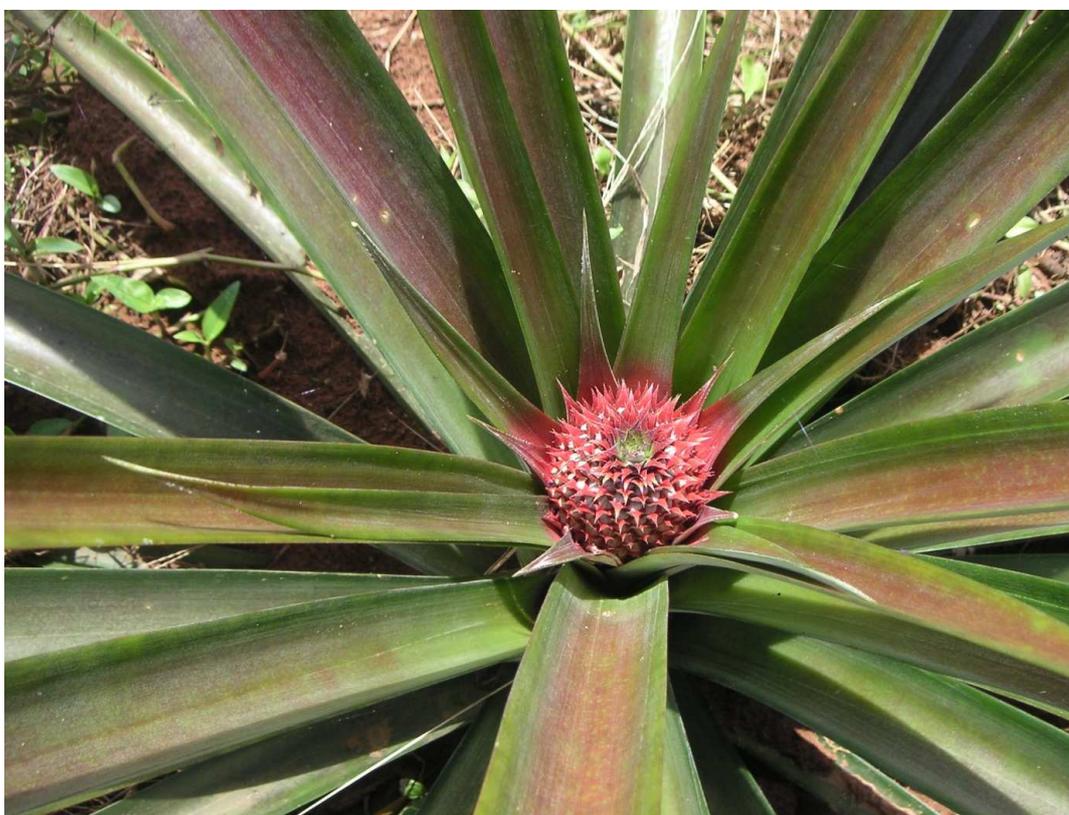
Photo 2: A source for asking colours, tastes and odours: the Ssese variety of ananas (*eigubu*)

1.3.5 Enacted talk

While cooking could start very soon and continued constantly through time, the theatrical project needed a lot of preparation and could be realized only in the last year of fieldwork and it lasted just ten days; however, the reflexion of this project and evaluation of the data occupied all the fieldwork afterwards. The role of performing arts in the African context will be discussed later (see chapter 7); below I present the reasons why I applied theatrical methods for this study (1.3.4.1), the preparation I carried out with the speakers and the assistances for the theatrical project (1.3.4.2), the reasons for and results of the modification of the Theatre for Development (TfD) method and the reflection of the project in 1.3.4.3 and 1.3.4.4 respectively.

1.3.5.1 Why theatre?

As already mentioned above, it is no coincidence that I started thinking about using theatre in order to create a base of communication out of time and space and beyond the social order: my main target was to handle the isolation of the speakers. Since both the interaction during the preparation of a play as well as the performance as an event are dialectic situations, I assumed that the speakers would be stimulated to initiate more dialogues if they participate in a theatrical project.

Further, I expected that the collective work over a collectively spent period of time would have the effect of brainstorming: through intense contact and collective memory, the speakers could exchange and mutually complement their knowledge. Since memory is, to a great extent, defined and organized by feelings, I hoped that the experience of speaking about the past with the people that shared this past would rouse feelings and stimulate the memory of each speaker.

Regarding the historical background and the resulting conflictive language attitude of the speakers, one aspect of the theatrical project was to capture the speaker´s evaluation of the own language and to investigate the reasons and elements of the conflict. My intention was to involve the speakers actively in the documentation of their language by offering them space and time to define according to their own values, what is worth documenting.

I discussed above for the cooking sessions the necessity of giving up control to enter new worlds of knowledge: the priority of the selection and specification of issues by the speakers remains for the theatrical project. Again the aim was to handle the traps of my personal cultural background as well as the Eurocentric view of science.

Finally, I hoped that during a theatrical project, I could participate and observe the interaction of speakers from the background, playing the role of the audience and not the active part of the child or white as expected during our meetings in small groups.

If theatre is "an event made for others" (Beckerman 1970), then regarding the theatrical project carried out on the Ssese Islands, the question arises, "who made the event and who are the others?": from the one perspective, the researcher created the event to give a scene for the speakers to act. On the other hand, the acting speakers created the event for the researcher and audience. I tried to use theatre as an encounter between cultures and as a source of knowledge in the sense of Johannes Fabian:

> If allowed, people will let us get to know them by performing (parts of) their culture. Such knowledge – let us call it performative - demands participation (at least as an audience) and therefore some degree of mutual recognition.

> In a frame of mind I call "informative," that is, one that admits as knowledge only what is based on data first gathered and then controlled by the collector, performances need to be dismissed because they are threatening to any enterprise, project or institution

that depends for its existence on maintain distance and control. Most nation-states, many religions and academic disciplines are of that kind.

It follows then, that admitting theatre as a source of intercultural knowledge involves recognition, not only of performative next to informative knowledge, but also of anarchic vs. hierarchic conceptions of knowledge. (Fabian 1999: 27-28)

1.3.5.2 Preparation

Logistic presented a great challenge during preparation. Aside from practical aspects such as transportation and lodging, it was necessary to explain what the theatrical project would be about and to choose the actors and prepare them and the research assistants.

The basic challenge regarding the preparation of the speakers was again the language of communication: my competence in Luganda increased through work in the field, but still my knowledge of the language came to its limit when I confronted the need to explain the relationship of culture to language in order to propose a theatrical project. Therefore I chose a schematic representation to explain why we should attend a general meeting and why we should choose the theatrical approach for our workshop.

The main advantage of this schema is its composition out of only eight words. It follows the concept of the cultural triangle by Lévi-Strauss (1978) that associates language with culture and music: while language and music share the common element of sounds, language and culture are related through the element of meaning. I extended the relationship of language and culture with one more common element, being the analogy of gestures on the level of language and their counterpart on the level of culture, the performance. In my effort to explain why we should and how we could employ theatre for a better documentation of Lushese, I elucidated that the sound of language can be compared to the music of culture, the gestures of language are comparable to the performances of culture and the meaning of language can constitute the stories of culture. I used the following figure in Luganda during the fieldwork:

Figure 3: Language and culture: schematic explanation for the speakers

Language:	Sounds	Gestures	Meaning
	↓	↓	↓
Culture:	Music	Performance	Stories

In the preliminary discussions, I solidified the idea through questions, picking up some previous comments expressed by the speakers:

a)   How do the Bashese think and feel about their past?

b)   How do they speak/dance/sing/joke/cook?

c)   What technology did they use?

d)   What stories do they know about their origin?

e)   What do they like and don´t like?

The result of these discussions was that the speakers realized that up to that point, our work wasn´t enough to cover these issues which they as well regarded as important. At the end of the second fieldwork, all of the speakers agreed to participate in the theatrical project.

Photo 3: A morning discussion during the TfD project (March 14, 2011, photo taken by Christoph Vogel)

Coming now to the preparation of the assistants, it is important to make a difference between three groups: the first group consists of the three research assistants that helped me during this study in general, the second group consists of the actors that joined us only for the theatrical project, while the third one includes local artists of a dancing and performing group on Bugala Island.

The first group, Kassiim Musiige, Ziyada Namiiro Sumaya, and Christoph Vogel, was familiar with the objectives of my fieldwork and as we exchanged ideas about the perspective of a theatrical project from the very beginning, this idea was known to them. The actors that would carry on the project joined in only some weeks before its realization. It was necessary to introduce to them the historical background of the islands, the goals of the research project followed by a rudimentary depiction of linguistic structure and theory of language and perception. Furthermore, we had to supply them with information about the speakers and exchange ideas about how we could employ theatre with the aim of documentation.

All of the three actors, Mariana Mary Nandawula, Patience Nitumwesiga and Idris Ssegawa, had just finished their studies at the Makerere University and had experience with the Theatre for Development method under the guidance of Dr. Patrick Mangeni, the director of the Department for Music, Dance and Drama. At the same time, the project on the Ssese Islands was the first that the actors would carry out on their own and therefore they were very motivated to find solutions, to experiment and create innovative frames of action.

The dancing group was necessary because of the instruments and other objects used traditionally for performance. Another consideration was that young people of these islands should have a chance to

achieve contact both with their tradition as represented by the culture of the Bashese speakers as well as with the method of communal theatre, which might be attractive for them in future works. Only very briefly I explained to the dancers the general research frame of the documentation and the concept of the theatrical project through the same schematic representation I used with the speakers. Finally, we decided to coordinate ourselves in the following way:

Group A: The assistants

Ziyada Namiiro Sumaya:	observation, active participation
Kasiim Musiige:	public relations, active participation
Christoph Vogel:	logistics, technical support, camera man

Group B: The actors	arrangements, audience
Group C: The dancers	active participation, audience

Photo 4: The group of dancers and musicians attending rehearsal; Kassiim Musiige (dressed in white) catches the chance to play too (April 20, 2011, photo taken by Christoph Vogel)

1.3.5.3 Modification of the Theatre for Development method

One could say that theatre is an applied art by definition since theatrical tradition develops through the function of the performance for the surrounding society. Performance is used to fulfill different functions: it can be regarded as enacted narratives that inform about and at the same time establish the different relations, including the relation to the past, relations in every-day life or the relation of the ruling classes to the ruled ones. While the central question of the distinction between drama and ritual and the conventions characteristic for the symbolic public representation of power will be discussed in the context of socialization processes (chapter 6), below I present a method developed with the clear

political intention of enlightenment and liberation, which is known as Theatre for the Oppressed, Forum Theatre, Invisible Theatre, Communal Theatre or Theatre for Development (TfD).

In Brazil between 1950 and 1960, Augusto Boal reinvented the concept of theatre as means of education for the folk. Standing in the tradition of Bertold Brecht, Boal criticizes the "feudal abstraction" of the theatre by and for the upper classes and advocates for a theatre free from authorities, starting with the authority of the drama author: the ideal drama should be, metaphorically speaking, an organic product of interaction and all the participants should experience the roles of authors, directors, actors and audience. The self-organization should reflect and promote the democratic value of equal participation and in addition, it gives the chance to participate and at the same time observe the deeds on stage. By experiencing and sharing different perspectives on the same event, Boal's wish was that theatre should accomplish its main reason of existence in his eyes: to unclothe and show bare disparity and repression and to empower the oppressed in fighting the lack of justice:

> Dramatic action throws light upon real action. The spectacle is the preparation for action. The poetics of the oppressed is essentially the poetics of liberation: the spectator no longer delegates power to the characters, either to think or to act in his place. The spectator frees himself; he thinks and acts for himself! Theatre is action! Perhaps the theatre is not revolutionary itself; but have no doubts, it is a rehearsal of revolution! (Boal 1979: 135)

Still theatre is also a handcraft: the human body must transform to be able to perform and a group of people must find a way to melt into a troupe of actors. Professionals should assist people with their knowledge in controlling the body and the voice, and transforming an every day event into dramatic action. The accompanying role of specialists is precisely designed to prevent the manipulation of the contents.

To give an example of the promotion of equality through this method, exploring one of the pillars of TfD is necessary: immediately, the participants discuss, decide and vote on a set of simple rules of communication[20] which then become the only rules that are valid during the project and are valid for all the participants in the same way during the whole project. Changes to these rules are possible only through new discussion and election by all the participants. The consistent discipline to such a sample of rules sources from the fact that they are the collective product of a democratic process: together, the sample of rules is decided and they are valid for everybody, so it is not easy to break them in front of or against anybody during the project.

Augusto Boal and Paulo Freire continue to work on their method for making theatre with community members and develop exercises, dialectic plays and moderation alternatives out of their experience in making theatre with several communities in Latin America (see Boal 1979, Freire 1972 and 1989).

While the idea of TfD finds great recognition in Latin America, it has spread into the African continent. Community based theatre has been established in many African countries for about three decades: indigenous forms are employed to create grassroot awareness on contemporary problems (see Fiedbach 1975, Mlama 1991, Breitinger 2003, Odhiambo 2008 among others). In Uganda, the method is part of the curriculum at the Drama Faculty of the Makerere University, while projects of TfD have

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[20] Our rules included: a) that everybody should say always something about every issue, b) the maximal duration of a statement/performance/activity (variable according to issues), c) the power of the drum to stop statements/performances/activities, d) the speakers would decide every day, who is going to be the drum player (*Shéngoma, Nángoma*), while they delegated the decision of who is going to be the moderator of the day to the actors.

been carried out in Uganda targeting gender issues, AIDS-campaigns and the Constitution-Reform in Uganda (see Mangeni Wa´Ndeda 1998, 2000).

For this study, the TfD method was chosen because of three reasons: first, my wish to give to the speakers a chance to document Lushese on their own; second, because it contains a variety of practical solutions for realization, some of them I could observe in previous praxis; and finally, because of the presence of specialists in this field, who agreed to cooperate with me and supported my effort, for which I will remain deeply grateful.

Although TfD has been applied for investigations in social and political science, this method has never been used for the scientific purposes of documenting an endangered language or in linguistic fieldwork in general. Applied theatre is applied theatre, one might think, no matter the reason of application. Consider a crucial difference: in a social and/or political matter, specialists are aware and at least to some extent familiar with the content and thus can give some orientation towards the representation and perspectives of solution of such a matter in order to assist the participants. However, in this documentation project, the targets are previously unknown linguistic and cultural categories. While the desired goal of applying TfD in the course of a social and/or political matter is the enlightenment of the participants, in our case the goal was the enlightenment of the researcher and her assistants.

The threat of misunderstanding the speakers´ performance or any statement for that matter, emerged. Within my fieldwork, the TfD should not only provide a stage for the speakers to express themselves but also an explanatory platform for me and the other contributors. Put aside some practical issues, this is the main reason, why I modified the method as follows:

a) Regarding the time management: Usually TfD projects are carried out in several sessions and between the community workshops the time is used for reflection. Because of the speakers´ duties and the problematic transport infrastructure, this would have been impossible on the Ssese Islands. Still, the need of reflection remained and I decided to incorporate reflection into a daily schedule. The first modification consists of the daily schedule itself: instead of allowing a democratic management of time defined by the participants, I organized the day to secure enough time for reflection and exchange, because of the short duration of the project as a whole and because the age and health of the participants demanded time for resting intervals. Although the time of meals and the pauses between the working sessions were kept very strict, the schedule changed during the project regarding the activities: a routine established consisting of introductory morning discussions, drama activities, rehearsal and performance in the evening.

The following table shows the daily schedule as I composed it in cooperation with the actors and as it was finally realized; in bold are marked the parts of the program that remained:

Table 4: The daily schedule of the theatrical project

Timetable	Proposed activity	Actual activity
08.00 am	**Breakfast**	
08.30 am	**Exercise**	
09.00 am	Game teaching	Reflection of the previous day; Opening discussion
10.00 am	**Break**	
10.30 am	**Drama Activities**	
01.00 pm	**Lunch**	
02.00 pm	**Break**	
04.00 pm	Story	Rehearsal
05.00 pm	Singing	Performance
06.30 pm	**Dinner**	
07.30 pm	**Meeting of Researchers/Free Time for Bashese**	

b) Regarding the setting: The goal to change reality through representing the same requires that a TfD project should be carried out if not in the middle of life, then as near as possible to the surrounding and the everyday life of the participants. On the contrary, for the documentation of Lushese the emerging need was to put the everyday life of the speakers in the background with the aim of activating their memory of the past and to bringing forward the interaction between them. The second modification consists of the choice of place and the setting resulted in inviting the speakers and the other contributors to stay for the whole period of the TfD project at a backpackers´ camp site on the beach.

For the speakers this was a quite unique experience: we organized two separate dormitories for the men and the women respectively, while all meals took place at a big table in the open air restaurant. The speakers had nothing to do except participating in the project, especially the two first days all of them were very happy to sleep longer than usually. In the pauses between working sessions they sat together under the trees, drank tea or took a walk on the beach. They enjoyed listening collectively to the radio during the lunch break and after dinner the men played music in their dormitory till late in the night, while the women kept on their discussion; every now and then the two groups communicated through the walls, addressing with loud voice jokes and exchanging comments. The atmosphere in the late hours was reminiscent of a boarding school.

Photo 5: Tamale takes a break: since smoking is considered as indecent for women, they developed a technique of smoking the cigarette by hiding the flaming end within the mouth (April 21, 2011, photo taken by Christoph Vogel).

c) Regarding the proposal of topics: The aim of giving up the control of the content that should be documented by the speakers was the main reason for choosing the TfD as a method of linguistic fieldwork. Still the perspective of huge amounts of information without structure was frightening and indeed the main question of the speakers before the beginning of the project was how we should proceed. Therefore, I proposed in the beginning of the TfD project some topics for discussion in order to open some concrete themes for orientation. This may appear as a considerable commitment compared to the required absolute freedom of the participants for defining the content within TfD. Still I used the proposal of topics only as a compass or flexible starting point: the participants agreed with some (for example at April 13, see below), but abandoned soon (April 14 or completely ignored (April 15) other cues; in general they transformed these topics in the way they wanted and completed them according to own decisions (April 17-20).

The next table shows the proposed topics (column one), the actual issue of the day developed during the morning discussion (column two) and the drama activities as well as the topic of the play defined, developed and performed by the participants at the end of every day of the project (column three):

Table 6: The topics of the theatrical project

Date April 2011	Proposed Topic	Actual Topic	Play-topic
12th.	Arrival/Welcome		
13th.	Biography/Origin	Childhood, beloved persons, Tastes & Likes	Boat I: Song
14th.	Environment, Nature	Nature, clan-origin, favorite island	Boat II: Taboo: no women allowed in boats
15th.	Everyday life	Gender issues	2 plays: traditional and non-traditional marriage
16th.	Politic organization	Everyday life/traditional ways for balance of power	Advice by the spirit Ngose
17th.	Religion I	Ancestor spirits	Taboo: no sheep on Ssese
18th.	Religion II	Spirits in everyday life	Initiation of twins
19th.	Language I	Emotions	Nampomwa´s youth
20th.	Language II	Signs/activities	2 plays: hunting; cooking
21th.	Breakfast/Departure		

An extensive analysis and appropriate discussion of the TfD project on the Ssese Islands would go too far for this publication, since it is impossible to discuss matters of interest briefly but not superficially; for example why and how the speakers associated the proposed topic of everyday life with gender issues to come up with two plays about marriage (April 15). A brief example for the proceedings during a day´s work (fifth day (April 17) is given in Appendix III. The main contribution of the TfD project to the documentation of Lushese as well as the critique expressed by colleagues will be presented in the next section.

Photo 6: The taboo-breaker (Eliphaz Lubinah), his boat (hand truck) and his sheep (crate) must abandon the village; photo taken by Christoph Vogel during the rehearsal of the play "No sheep on the Ssese islands", April 17, 2011)

1.3.5.4 Reflection

The reflection of the TfD within the documentation of Lushese follows two perspectives: firstly, I will behold to what extent the TfD project served this specific documentation and secondly, I will discuss two critical remarks to this project expressed by the first audience consisting of outsider specialists at the Institute for African Studies and Egyptology in Cologne. Some thought regarding if and under which conditions linguistic fieldwork in general may (or may not) adopt this method are included in chapter 7.

Regarding the impact of TfD in the case of Lushese documentation, the project opened paths of interaction both between the speakers and between me and the speakers; furthermore, because of this project, the speakers had the chance to interact with the research assistants, the actors and the dancers, who, on their part, could insert creative elements out of their experience with the speakers. In addition, the new surrounding, the alternative way of spending time and the collective character of our program with all of us sleeping, waking, eating, working and having fun together, the speakers forgot many conventions of their everyday life and treated each other in a friendly manner that holds beyond age, gender, education or professional occupation.

For inspiring more equality among the speakers, the democratic aspect of the TfD method turned out to be very effective: the consistent keeping of the rules by everybody empowered women, less competent speakers, encouraged younger speakers and shy characters to participate actively, arguing in discussions and improvising in performance and encouraged them to behave equally towards the ones among them that enjoy more social recognition in everyday life.

The TfD project also succeeded in offering the speakers a chance to review their lives and exchange together about the past. In my eyes, the most important aspect of this method was the positive response and the amazing engagement of the speakers. Due to their knowledge, motivation and creativity, not to mention that they responded with increasing openness to our questions, some points could be better clarified, if not in during the project, then in our review of the data with the speakers later.

Since theatre had never before been applied in linguistic fieldwork, already during the preparation of the project as well as after its realization I sought to exchange with fellow researchers and specialists from different academic disciplines and discussed the method during conferences and colloquia. I will now turn to the critique expressed by colleagues in these occasions.

Often a moral debate arose: my effort to enter the - for me new - domains of knowledge shared by the speakers´ community and the invitation to play theatre appeared as an instrumental use of immoral means. In this interpretation, the doubt concerns both my own morals – I am supposed to have set a trap for these people to steal their secrets, and the morality of theatre, which is supposed to be the trap, a betraying event of truth manipulation.

I refuse this view vehemently: first, it is in my eyes very difficult to manipulate people to such an extent that they really confess something that they don´t want you to know. If this were not so, then mankind would have surely more sophisticated techniques of, let us say, police interrogation; second, the image that the Bashese or for that matter any person can be manipulated in actions inspired and performed via improvisation, is not realistic, simply because performing people are not puppets; and finally, the association of theatre with immorality and its conceptualization as a fake event, a covering panel, where costumes hide the true intentions and dramatic roles the real actors, while the whole masquerade trivializes what should remain sacred, is as old as theatre if we look back at reactions of antic authors to the innovation of Thespis (see Andrianou & Ksifara 2001, among others). There is no doubt that theatre can hide intentions as attested in significant historic examples of instrumentalizing theatricality in totalitarian regimes; still theatre can be used for better intercultural relations "as a source or mode of knowledge" (Fabian 1999: 28). Some aspects of how authorities in the area indeed use theatre to manifest their power will engage us in chapter 7.

The other critical remark in the use of TfD considers at first glance the role of two research assistants, who actively participated in some performances together with the speakers. When I presented and discussed the film made the fifth day of the project (Appendix C), the part played by one research assistant was interpreted as very manipulative: in some scenes of the film the research assistant was "obviously telling the speakers what to do during the performance". While it is easy to explain the misunderstanding just by translating these particular scenes[21], the question of how the multilayer relations manifested and developed between the different individuals participating in the project and consequently between the different groups of participants is of great importance: I try to describe the context of statements expressed during TfD that are used here as examples of linguistic interest, including these questions; still an adequate report goes beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

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[21] The research assistant, Ziyada Namiiro, is repeating loudly what the head of the clan, Erasto Lubandi, said; she plays the role of the messenger.

1.4. Data base

The data collected consist of word lists, elicited phrases and sentences based on typological questionnaires as well as on questionnaires developed for this study targeting the expression of cognitive and perceptive categories. Different kinds of data emerged during the documentation of Lushese as a result of the various methodical approaches. Recorded speech of an approximate length of 31 hours covers different genres: narratives, conversation, speeches, songs, games and poems compose the data corpus. Aside from the audio and video recordings and my own field notes and diary, I could obtain the reports and notices of research assistants and actors. A short grammar of Lushese could be worked out (see chapter 2) as well as a basic word lists of 600 entire (see appendix I).

This section presents the typological profile of Lushese (1.4.1), clarifies the extent of linguistic comparison between Lushese and neighbouring languages within my work (1.4.2) and gives an overview of previous scientific contribution on perception as reflected in African languages (1.4.3) as well as the relevance of the findings presented here for future research.

1.4.1 Typological profile of Lushese

Lushese is usually described as being one of the four dialects[22] of Luganda, the local lingua franca of central Uganda, and thus also of the Kalángala district.

Table 6: Genetic affiliation of Lushese (Ethnologue 2009[23])

Niger Congo → Benue Congo → Bantoid →
→ Southern
→ Narrow Bantu
→ Central: Group J
GROUP J10: Hema, Hima, **Ganda**, Soga, Gwere.
DIALECTS OF LUGANDA: Ludiopa, Lukooki, **Lussese**, Luvuma
LEXICAL SIMILARITY: with Lusoga: 71%-86%
with Lugwere: 68%

In the classification of the Bantu languages by Maho (2003), Group J is split between zones D and E. The Group E 10 (J10 according to the classification by Ethnologue 2009), is the Nyoro-Ganda group including the following languages:

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[22] Criteria to distinguish between language and dialect include political, social and economic aspects, thus they will be not considered here; Luganda, Lussese and Lusoga will all be referred to as separate languages.
[23] See online version: www.ethnologue.com, last access Mai 10, 2016.

Table 7: The Nyoro Ganda group E (J) 10 (Maho 2003: 645)

E 11	Nyoro, Kyopi	E 16	Soga
E 12	Tooro	E 17	Gwere
E 13	Nyankole, Nkole	E 18	(West) Nyala
E 14	Ciga, Chiga, Kiga	E 101	Gungu
E 15	**Ganda**	E 102	Bwisi, Talinga

Lushese is a characteristic Bantu language of the Interlacustrine zone in that its morphology is agglutinating, while many elements indicate a strong inflecting tendency. The pragmatically unmarked and most frequently used constituent order is VO

1.4.2 Comparative studies

Beside the questions regarding the genetic affiliation of the language within the Bantu tree, which requires comparative studies, comparing Lushese with neighbouring Bantu languages was necessary for reasons and aims of different nature, like methodical considerations (to reduce the impact of Luganda) and theoretical issues (to investigate similarities and differences regarding the linguistic expressions of perception categories). Regarding the status of documentation in the Great Lakes area, very few languages are fortuned with digital data-corpora and/or academic publications; on the contrary, many of them are to some degree and for various reasons, endangered. For example, while I could easily seize the vast work already done in and about Luganda, I could find only basic word lists of Luluuli and Lukooki. Map 2 shows the neighbouring languages that accounted for the comparison with Lushese.

Map 2: Neighbouring languages used for comparison
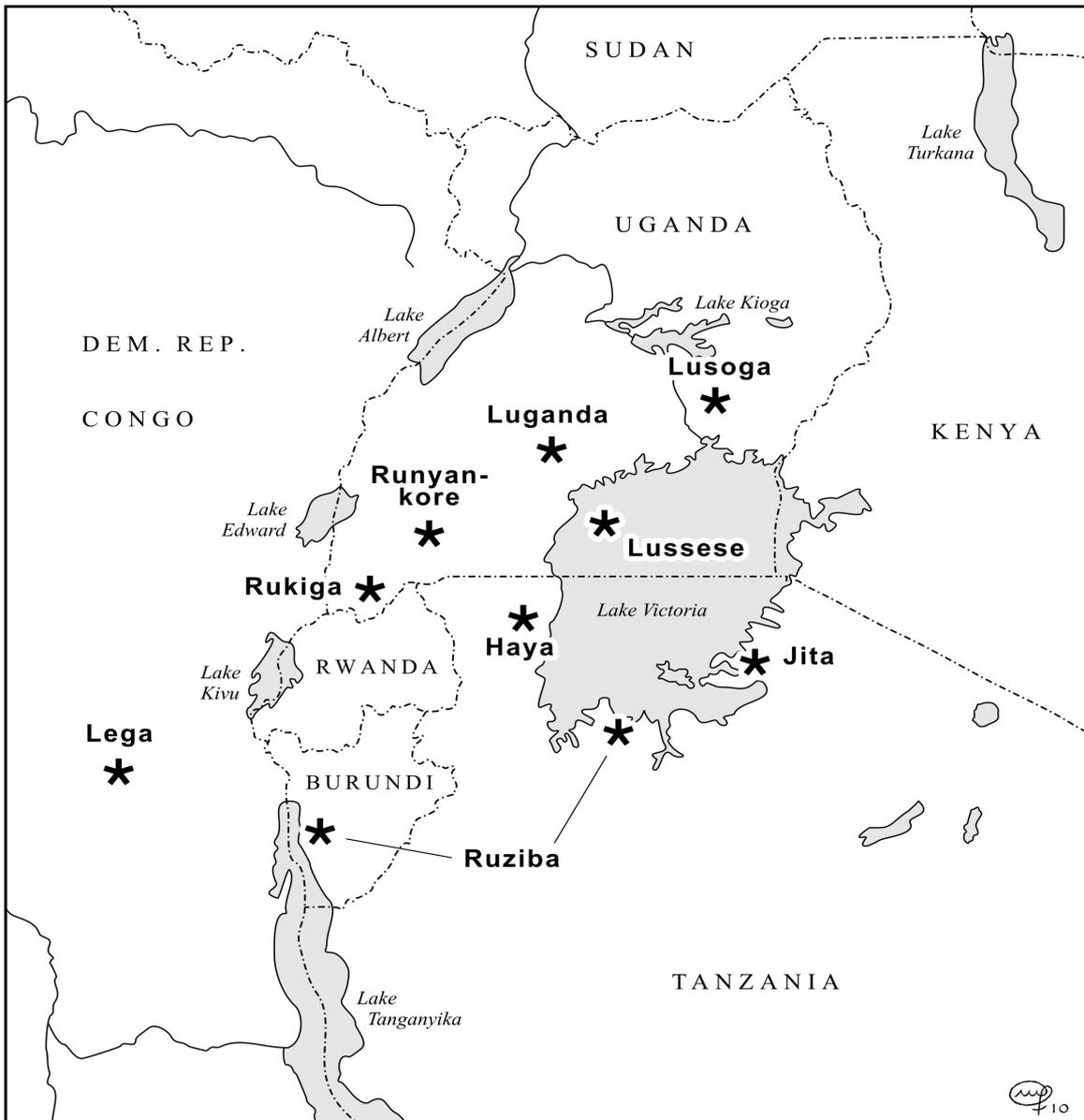
In the comparative data there were only clues, if any, regarding the objectives of my research. For this reason, I carried out field work around the city of Iganga, in a Lusoga speaking area and introduced the idea of self documentation to the speakers there. We decided to create a film documentary which we could realize in a two weeks project comprising some aspects of the Busoga culture.

The work with the Lusoga speakers roots basically on the same concepts as described above for the TfD, since it developed parallel from the preparation to the review afterwards. In this film project, not only speakers of standard Lusoga participated, but further speakers of a variety spoken in the north part of the region near the shores of Kyuga Lake called Lulamogi as well as speakers of a secret register called Luswezi. Only the data relevant for illuminating concepts in Lushese will be discussed in this thesis.

1.4.3 Previous works on African languages

The documentation status of the Bantu languages spoken around Lake Victoria (J group) and the broader area of the Great Lakes varies considerably from language to language. While for Luganda there are plenty of descriptive materials and academic disquisitions on linguistic, cultural and other

scientific issues since the 19th century (Backledge 1904, Crabtree 1921 & 1923, Gorju 1906, Hattersley & Duta 1904, Kitching & Backledge 1925, Le Veux 1882 & 1917, O'Flaherty 1892, Pilkington 1892 & 1911, Wilson 1882) that allow a historical perspective, up to the present day, other languages of the region have only been rudimentary documented; often the only existing linguistic material is a sole wordlist, like in the case of Luluuli and Lukooki (and Lushese until the present publication).

Precious work is accomplished in a series of dictionaries for languages spoken by small communities by the ICLAA; while the entries are organized according to cognitive categories, a short sketch of grammar further introduces some structural aspects of the described language (Kagaya 2005, Kaji 2000 & 2004).

Not only languages of smaller speaker communities lack investigation; no or limited work is produced for languages spoken by millions of people, like Lusoga, in the case of which beside some descriptive works by Harries (1955) and Stoop (1976) only recently short bilingual lexica as well as a monolingual dictionary (Nabirye 2009) have been created.

The synchronic, partly quite extensive work on Luganda emerged in the last six decades, which includes grammars (Ashton et al 1954, Chesswas 1967, Cole 1967, Katamba 1974) and dictionaries (Murphy 1972, Snoxall 1967) as well as disquisitions on phonology and tonology of the language (see Herbert 1974, 1975 &1978; Kalema 1982, Hyman, Katamba & Walusimbi 1987; Hyman & Katamba 1993 & 2006), and has been path breaking for the comparative studies carried out for this thesis as well for the description of Lushese. Bastin 2003 gives a literature review regarding the Bantu languages of the J-group; previous comparative findings in the area are provided by Matovu 1992, Fallers 1968 and Last 1972.

Contemporary work on semantics considers mainly the nominal class system of the Bantu as revised by Maho (1999, 2005) and Contini-Morava (2002), while Merkies (1980) provided a case study on the issue for Luganda. Sporadic non-linguistic studies in the field of visual perception with special focus on the metaphoric uses of colour terminology carried out by Simon (1951); Ssebaggala (1971) and Kaggwa (2006) also discuss visual categories concerning the environment (banana plantation) from ethno-linguistic perspective, while Pollnac (1972) investigates the colour terminology in Luganda in order to show the relation between word meaning and social conditions as well as cultural concepts. Finally some sources of Luganda medical, botanic and toponymic vocabulary (Cook 1921, Nsimbi 1950, 1956, 1980, Snoxall 1946) allow a first glance at concepts of the body, the nature as well as the construction of (group-) identity.

Regarding perception and cognition issues as presented here, studies on African languages in general are rare. Sporadic references or short disquisitions of African languages can be found in some omnibus volumes on relevant topics (Newman (ed.) 2009, Aikhenwald & Storch (eds.) 2013). Ameka (2002, 2005) discusses aspects of the verbs of visual perception in Western African languages. To the field of emotion is dedicated an article by Dimmendaal (2002) with focus on the concepts shared by Bantu of the Great Lake Region and the neighbouring Nilo-Saharan languages as well as a publication edited by Pawlak (2009). Fleisch (2007) discusses cognitive semantics in a case study for Nguni. An anthology about "perception of the invisible" Storch (2010) includes linguistic and anthropologic perspectives on perception, while Thanasoula (2012), Fehn & Thanasoula (in press) discuss aspects of perception in Eastern Bantu and some Khoisan languages respectively. Thanasoula & Rüsch (in preparation) present linguistic expressions of emotion in Kiswahili and Bambara.

The findings presented here are relevant for theories on language, cognition and perception (i), for theories about language and culture with special reference to language register (ii), for semantics and pragmatics (iii) as well as for the discussion about field methodology and language documentation, especially regarding endangered languages (iv). The data of Lushese contribute in addition to the fields of Bantu studies in general and in particular of the languages spoken in East Africa and the Great Lakes Region (v).

(i) Language, Cognition and Perception: The majority of literature on linguistic theory about cognition and perception is based upon data in European languages. When it comes to the interrelation of language, cognition and perception, rare monographs and short publications give attention to languages around the world, while African languages are only fragmentary described regarding this field. Therefore, one major goal of the present study is to broaden the empirical base for theories on language, cognition and perception.

(ii) Language and Culture: While the relationship between language and culture is generally evoked in all relevant disciplines, the analysis of language as a cultural source itself as well as of culture being the conceptual source of language is not systematically anticipated. Culture is often seen as an idiosyncratic domain which may give the reason for some linguistic extravagances, but especially in the course of neuroscience the relation of language and the brain appears far more promising than the relation of language and culture. Considering that within contemporary neuroscience one of the main questions is how culture impacts the cognitive development of human and how the brain accumulates and inherits a kind of collective memory including cultural concepts and social experience (on the relation of nature and culture see Damasio 2010: 299-302), a dichotomy of nature versus culture is obsolete. In line with the history of science, the problem is rather to define meaning than to observe, measure and analyze processes in the brain.

Towards knowledge about the senses we need to describe the various worlds of sense as interpreted in different cultures within different communities and as represented in different languages around the world. Combining cognitive and anthropological linguistic theories and experimenting in addition to linguistic with methods developed in ethnology and social and political science, the present study is an effort to integrate universal and relativistic views in the linguistic analysis and an attempt to approach the interrelation of language and culture of the Bashese.

(iii) Semantics and Pragmatics: Considering the problems of linguistic analysis when it comes to semantics and pragmatics, the field of perception offers plenty of events to share, to speak about and to observe the speakers reactions and expressions. Developing methods of participation will address problems of the linguistic analysis "that are inherent to the study of lesser described languages" (Lüpke 2005: 9). The present study exposes advantages and disadvantages of various methods aiming to contribute in field-based linguistic documentation in general and to elucidate the ties of language meaning and use in particular.

(iv) Language Documentation: As mentioned elsewhere: "the theories of language and perception may appear academic, compared with the urgent need to document endangered languages. I believe that the theoretical and methodological developments in the fields of perception and its linguistic expression will not only contribute to the understanding of the language in and through the cultural and social context of speakers in general, or maybe help to formulate more or less universal universals. To include endangered languages in the field of language and perception means to try through interaction with the speakers to capture some of the "sense" of their language, some of their experience and reality before it is lost forever" (Thanasoula 2011: 326).

(v) Bantu Studies and Areal Linguistics: The grammatical sketch of Lushese, the vocabulary and the texts provided in this study as well as the descriptive analysis of perception terms and expressions contribute to our knowledge of the Bantu languages spoken in the Great Lakes area, many of which are scarcely or not at all documented.

Further, the analysis and comparison carried out here draws the question to what extent language contact impacts linguistic expressions of perception. The data offered builds a corpus for investigating the language of perception as element of convergence within linguistic areas in Africa and beyond (on geographic typology see Hieda, König & Nakagawa 2011).

2. A grammatical sketch of Lushese

Lushese is a characteristic Bantu language of the Interlacustrine zone in that its morphology is agglutinating, while many elements indicate a strong inflecting tendency. The pragmatically unmarked and most frequently used constituent order is VO, whereby the noun occurring in the position of the subject is omitted when known within the discourse:

(3)   **CONSTITUENT ORDER**:   (x) (S)VO (x)

        PHRASE: HEAD – DEPENDENT

The noun occurring in the position of the subject, which can be identified through the subject concord, may realize various semantic roles depending on the argument structure and the semantics of the finite verb. Adjuncts and adverbial expressions occur either in the clause-initial or in the clause-final position.

2.1 Phonology

The present section gives the phoneme and the tone inventories of Lushese (2.1.1-2.1.4) and an overview of the most important morpho-phonological processes (2.1.5), it discusses the syllable structure (2.1.6); finally, it gives an overview of the orthographic conventions adopted in this work (2.1.7).

2.1.1 The vowels

The following table gives an overview of the vowel inventory of Lushese:

Table 8: The vowel inventory of Lushese

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
HIGH	i	ii			u	uu
MID	e	ee			o	oo
LOW			a	aa		

The vowels can occur as short or long ones; there is no correlation between the length and the quality of the vowels. The length of the vowels is phonologically distinctive; the vowels of the following minimal pairs are marked bold for a more convenient reading:

(4)   (a)   o-mu-h**é**mbe   (b)   o-mu-h**ée**mbe

                AUG-3-mango   AUG-3-bad_breath

                'mango fruit'   'bad breath'

Short and long vowels can occur in the same context: this is a feature shared by the Bantu languages of the Great Lakes Region, which distinguishes them from most other Bantu languages.

Long vowels may occur in the first syllable, but they never appear in the last syllable. In example (5), Tucker illustrates this areal feature of the Interlacustrine zone for Luganda, comparing it with Swahili:

(5)   (Tucker & Bryan 1962: 122: own interlinear transcription and accent)

    (a)   LUGANDA   (b)   KISWAHILI

          O-kú-leet-a   'bring'   ku-let-a   'bring'

          AUG-15-bring-VE   15-bring-VE

Lushese has diphthongs. These are constituted by a combination vowel + [i̯]. Only [ai̯] can occur in the last syllable and only [ei̯] in the first.

(6)   [ai̯]:   a-má-idhi   'water'   á-hai   'here'

             AUG-6:-water   AUG-LOC: here

     [ei̯]:   e-i-gùmba   'human bone'

             AUG- 9-bone

     [oi̯]:   e-n-kóidhi   'dog'

             AUG-9-dog

     [ui̯]:   o-mú-iga   'river'

             AUG-3- river

Diphthongs cannot be based on long vowels, e.g. there is no word including [aai̯], [eei̯], [ooi̯] or [uui̯]. While the variation shown in (7a) and (7b) below constitutes a dialectal difference of pronouncing the root *bo(i)na* 'see', the speakers don´t accept a lengthening of the respective vowel before the diphthong, as illustrated in (7c):

(7)   (a)   Bóna!   (b)   Bóina!   (c)   *Booina![24]

        SgIMP:see   SgIMP:see   SgIMP:see

        'See!/Look! (Singular)'   'See!/Look! (Singular)'   *See

---

[24] The speakers did not accept this variant irrespective of the tone: *bóoina*, *boóina*, *booína* or *booinà* have been consequently rejected.

2.1.2 The consonants

Lushese makes use of the following consonants:

Table 9: The consonant inventory of Lushese

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Addental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	**p b**			**t d**			**k g**	
Fricatives		**f v**	**s z ð**		**ʃ**		**ɣ**	**h**
Affricates				**t͡s d͡ʒ**				
Nasals	**m**			**n**		**ɲ**	**ŋ**	
Lateral Approximant				**l**				
Approximants	**w**					**j**		

Regarding the pronunciation of the consonants, there is a clear tendency to aspirate all plosives; however, aspiration is not a phonologically distinctive feature.

Lushese makes no phonemic distinction regarding the length of consonants, e.g., it has no case of double consonants, unlike Luganda[25] and similar to Lusoga and other Bantu-languages of the region.

Nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant; the prenasalized sounds summarized in the next table are a result of regressive assimilation, as shown in (10) and (11) below:

Table 10: Regressive assimilation of the nasal prefixes

	BILABIAL, LABIODENTAL	ADDENTAL, ALVEOLAR	VELAR, GLOTTAL
RULE	N→[m]/_#[Labial]	N→[n]/_#[Dental]	N→[ŋ]/_#[Velar/Glottal]
REALIZATIONS	mp, mb, m, mf, mb	nd, nð , n, nt, ns	ŋg, ŋɣ, ŋ, ŋk

(8) N+bo(i)na → m-bó(i)n-a 'I see.'

   1SgPRES+see 1SgPRES-see-VE

Prenasalized consonants appear in any syllable, as illustrated paradigmatically in the next example; for convenience, the first row includes the word without morpheme but with syllable separation (marked by dots) and with the prenasalized sound marked in bold, the second row illustrates the morphemes, followed by two rows showing the interlinear translation and the approximate English interpretation:

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[25] Ashton notes for Luganda: "In the case of double consonants the first is always pronounced with a slight pause, and has, in fact, syllabic value, i.e. it counts as a syllable. The nearest approach to these sounds in English occurs in expressions such as 'bad dog' (…).The double consonant in Luganda in some cases probably compensates do the loss of 'I' in kindred languages. *Ku-bba* 'to steal', cf. Runyoro: *kw-iba*. Double consonants may be followed by short or long vowels but a long vowel cannot precede a double consonant" (Ashton et al 1954:10).

(9) (a) FIRST SYLLABLE   (b) MIDDLE SYLLABLE   (c) ULTIMA

Ndí.ga   ku.**nd**á.la   o.mu.há.**nd**a

n-díga   ku-n-dála   o-mu-hánda

9-sheep   LOC-9-∃other   AUG-3-way

'the/a sheep'   'on the other (Cl.9.)'   'the/a way'

The next example illustrates the dialectal variation of a verbal root, which constitutes in the assimilation of the nasal according to the following consonant; the sounds are marked in bold for convenience:

(10) (a) Ba**mb**áiga!   (b) Ba**nd**áiga!

SgIMP:walk   SgIMP:walk

'Walk!' (Singular)   'Walk!' (Singular)

2.1.3 Allophones
The language has allophones for the following phonemes:

A) The lateral approximant changes to [r] if it follows front vowels:

[l]→[r] / [e/i]_

(11) (a) o-mu-làla   (b) e-ki-ràla

AUG-1-∃other   AUG-7-∃other

'another (person Cl.1)'   'another (thing Cl.7)'

B) The approximants [w] and [j] are realized as [h] at the beginning of a morpheme:

[w]→[h] / #_   **[j]→[h] / #_**

(12)   ku+wandiik-a   →   ku-hándiik-a   'write'

15+write-VE   15-write-VE

(13)   ku+jeer-a   →   ku-héer-a   'sweep'

15+sweep-VE   15-sweep-VE

2.1.4 Morpho-phonological processes

In the following pages, some morpho-phonological processes will be described concerning vowel changes, the impact of nasals on other sounds and finally, the phonetic motivation behind the augment.

The vowels [u] and [i] behave at morpheme boundaries as follows:

[u] → [w] / C_#V   [i] → [j] / C_#V

(14)	(a)	bu+		-a	→	bw-a	'Associative form/Cl.14'
		Basic form 14+		ASS		14-ASS	

	(b)	gi+		-a	→	gy-a	'Associative form/Cl.4'
		Basic form 4+		ASS		4-ASS	

Following a nasal prefix, the approximants [w] and [j] change as described below: [w] has then the bilabial voiceless realization [p], summarized by the rule [w]→ [p] / N#_ and illustrated in the example below. Note that nasal prefixes preceding [w] also assimilate to the place of articulation as shown by the following rule:

N→ [m] / _#w

(15)	N+	wandiika	→	m-pándiik-a	'I write.'
	1SgPRES+write			1SgPRES-write-VE	

(and not: *mw-ándiik-a)

Following a nasal prefix, [j] assimilates to its place and is strengthened (fortition) as shown in (16).

[j]→ [d͡ʒ] / N#_

Due to co-articulation between nasal prefixes and [j], an epenthetic [d] is inserted:

(16)	N+jeera	→	n-djéer-a	'I sweep.'
	1SgPRES+sweep		1SgPRES-sweep-VE	

The lateral approximant also undergoes a fortition following a nasal prefix:

[l]→ [ð] / N#_

(17)	N+leeta	→	n-dhéet-a	'I bring.'
	1SgPRES+bring		1SgPRES-bring-VE	

2.1.5 Syllable structure

The minimal syllable consists of a vowel or a diphthong or a nasal. The nucleus can be expanded with a consonant onset and a nasal coda; the maximal syllable consists of a consonant and a long vowel and a nasal coda:

$$minS = V/D/N \qquad maxS = CVVN$$

Both nominal and verbal roots are basically mono- or disyllabic and have typically the structure – CVCV or -CVVCV. Lushese has only a few monosyllabic roots. Closed syllables are possible in disyllabic roots and only with a nasal in the coda.

Nasals have syllabic value only if they appear in the initial syllable; only the diphthong [ai] occurs in the ultima and the diphthong [ei] occurs only in the initial syllable. The following example shows three minimal initial syllables marked in bold for convenience in the first raw and with the morpheme separation, the interlinear translation and the approximate English translation in the following rows:

(18)   **a**léenga   **ái**ghia   **n**túla

         a-léenga   á-ighia   n-túla

         3SgPRES-walk   3SgPRES-come   3SgPRES-cut

         '(S)he walks.'   '(S)he comes.'   '(S)he cuts.'

In syllable onset no consonant cluster occur, with the exception of the sequence syllabic nasal plus consonant, like in *nga* 'comparative marker' and the sequence consonant plus approximant, as in *bwa* and *gya*, the associative markers Cl. 14 and Cl. 9 respective.

2.1.6 Tones

Lushese is a register-tone-language. Two types of tone are attested: high (H) and low (L). Falling (F) or rising R tones are not found in simple words, but there are combinations of high and low tones:

HL=HF

LH=LR

Contour tones are attested only as a combination of (HL) and only on long syllables:

(19)   (a)   Léènga!   'Walk!' (Singular)   (b)   a-ka-hóòho   'taste; odour'

               SgIMP:walk   AUG-12-taste_odour

The analysis of tone in Bantu languages in general and especially those of the Eastern and Central African areas has engaged many scholars for decades; Al D. Mtenje summarizes the following specific claims that have been made regarding Eastern Bantu languages as follows:

> (i)   There are no lexical contrasts involving high (H) and low (L) tones in the majority of these languages, particularly in the verbal system. This observation has led to the suggestion that only high tones ought to be lexically specified. Low tones are largely supplied by default rules unless other languages specific rules do so (cf. for example Hyman & Ngunga 1992, Mtenje & Odden 1990, Odden 1987, Goldsmith 1987 and others).

(ii)   The assignment of tones (particularly high tones) is largely predictable since it is achieved by general rules of the languages concerned and such rules are crucially dependent on the tense and aspect morphology of the verbal system. Predictable tone systems of this type, for which various theoretical analyses have been proposed, have sometimes been referred to as accentual systems (cf. for instance Hyman & Byarushengo 1984 for Haya, Kisse berth 1984 for Digo, Goldsmith 1984 for Tonga, Hyman 1982 for Luganda, Mtenje 1986, 1987, Peterson 1987 and Kanerva 1989 for Chichewa, Massamba 1984 for CiRuri and Odden 1987 for Kikuria, among others).

(iii)   The verbal unit in some Bantu languages exhibits a hierarchical structure which establishes domains for rule application including those involving tone assignment. (Mtenje in Davis et al 1995:1)

These three claims seem to be valid also for Lushese, as I will try to show in the following examples; however the problem of an adequate analysis of tone rises from the endangered status of the language: the reduced number of speakers, the low competence of the majority speakers as well the fact that fluent speakers come from three different islands and explain tonal differences as dialectal variation, makes it impossible to define the tonal rules of Lushese. With respect to Mtenje´s observation (i) above, I could identify only one lexical minimal pair involving high and low tone: the word for 'louse/ lice' with H in (20) is attested in two variants, the word with L corresponding to the English 'pregnancy' or 'inside' follows in (21):

(20)   (a)   é-n-da   (b)   éi-n-da

           AUG-9/10-louse   AUG-9/10-louse

           'louse/ lice'   'louse/ lice'

(21)   e-n-dà

           AUG-9-pregnancy

           'pregnancy; inside'

The same minimal pair is attested by Shigeki Kaji for Haya (Kaji 2000: 13) and Runyankore (Kaji 2004: xviii), while in Luganda and Lusoga the word for 'louse/ lice' is *ensekere*, which makes no minimal pair with *enda* 'womb; inside'. In Lunyolo on the other hand two lexemes, the cognate *enda* and *omura*, are both registered by Davis with the meanings 'louse/lice' (Davis 1952: 260) and 'womb' (ibid: 330); however this author hasn´t marked tones[26].

With respect to the second observation by Mtenje concerning tone patterns of verbal roots and their correlation to the tense and aspect morphology, the following two examples illustrate paradigmatically two common patterns in Lushese. While the infinitive form in isolation and the finite verb in present tense share the same tone pattern, the affixes for the past tense affect the tone of the root, which shifts.

(22)   (a)   o-ku-kóla   n-kóla   n-áa-kodh-íre

           AUG-15-work-VE   1SgPRES-work-VE   1Sg-PAST-work-PAST

           'to work'   'I work.'   'I worked.'

---

[26] Neither Ndoleriire, Kintu, Kabagenyi & Kasande (2009) indicate tones in their dictionary.

(22)	(b)	o-ku-hándiik-a	m-pándiik-a	n-áa-handíik-irè
		AUG-15-write-VE	1SgPRES-write-VE	1Sg-PAST-write-PAST
		'to write'	'I write.'	'I wrote.'

Monosyllabic verbs have the following pattern:

(23)		o-kú-ha	m-pá	n-áa-há-ire.
		AUG-15-give	1SgPRES-give	1Sg-PAST-give-PAST
		'to give'	'I give.'	'I gave.'

In (24) the only case of a verb with final high tone is illustrated:

(24)		o-ku-gon-á	n-goná	n-áa-gon-íre
		AUG-15-snore-VE	1SgPRES-snore-VE	1Sg-PAST-snore-PAST
		'to snore'	'I snore.'	'I snored.'

Imperative forms also include a tone pattern: while the high tone remains on the verbal root in the singular imperative form, the morphology of the plural imperative form affects the tone, resulting in a low tone at the ultima:

(25)	(a)	Kóla!	(b)	Mu-kol-è!
		SgIMPwork		2Pl-work-VE
		'Work! (Singular)'		'Work! (Plural)'

Turning to the nouns, normally each lexical root has one tone, but affixes may build a prosodic unit of their own and in general affect the tonal pattern of nouns. Consider the tone shift of nouns with or without augment in isolation:

(26)	(a)	o-mú-ti	(b)	mu-tì
		AUG-3-tree		3-tree
		'the/a tree'		'the/a tree'

Local affixes, pronominal morphemes as well the context of a noun within a phrase with modifiers change the tonal pattern of nouns. The tonal change usually involves tones of the ultima and the penultima. Furthermore, any word can have two tones due to reduplication; the following example illustrates this for a case of partial reduplication:

(27)	(a)	mu-tyámpai	(b)	mu-tyámpai-tyámpai
		1-small		1-small-RED
		'small person'		'very small person'

Since it was not possible to reconstruct all underlying lexical tones in this thesis, the tone marking indicates the superficial tone patterns of the utterances and no tones are marked for lexemes in isolation as well in the wordlist (see appendix I), except for cases when the tone remains always the same (like for example the term *–káalu* 'dry; empty; rural; dead').

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2.1.7 Orthographic conventions

The orthography proposed in this work for Lushese is based on IPA symbols; the following table shows the orthographic conventions adopted. The IPA symbol for the nasal velar will be retained in orthography, in order to distinguish it from ŋg, the prenasalized plosive[27].

Table 11: Orthographic conventions of the IPA symbols

IPA-Symbol	Orthographic Convention
V	v
ɣ	gh
ð	dh
ʃ	sh
ŋ	ŋ
ŋg	ng
ɲ	ny
t͜s	c
d͜ʒ[28]	dj

2.2 Morphology

The next section gives an overview of Lushese´s morphemes, discussing the nominal morphology in 2.2.2-2.2.3 and the verbal morphology in 2.2.4. The strategies for derivation are presented in 2.2.3.5 and 2.2.4.8 for nominal and verbal roots respective. A syntactic profile of the language is provided in section 2.3.

2.2.1 Major word classes distinguished

The word in Lushese can be defined as the smallest constituent of a phrase and as the unit between morphem and phrase. The following distinction of the word classes in Lushese is based on semantic, formal (morphologic) and pragmatic criteria. The language distinguishes open and closed word classes: besides nouns, pronouns and verbs, further word classes attested for Lushese are adjectives, adverbs, nominal quantifiers, prepositions, conjunctions, particles, interjections and ideophones.

The basic distinction between the two major open classes, nouns and verbs, consists of the inherent class-property of the nouns; the categorization of a nominal root into different noun classes influences the meaning of the nouns.

The verbs in Lushese consist of a root, which is accompanied by a final vowel (-*a* or –*e*) and optionally by extensions.

With the exception of a close set of adjectival roots, qualities are expressed through nominal or verbal means. Lushese has a close category of adverbs; very common is the use of local or temporal nouns in

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[27] For a summary about how [ŋg] is attested in the languages of the Interlacustrine Zone see Bastin 2003: 507-508.

[28] Nota bene considering [d͜ʒ]: In the orthography of Luganda both the letters <j> and <g> can realize [d͜ʒ], like in the words (e)jinja [(e)d͜ʒind͜ʒa] ‚stone' and -lungi [lund͜ʒi] ‚good'. No phonological motivation but rather the orthographic tradition is due, which is developed with respect to palatalization rules and further with respect to lexical roots and morphological categories. This phoneme in Lussese will be realized through the letter combination <dj>, in line with all other orthographic conventions result sole from phonological motivation.

adverbial function, mostly in the Cl. 9 and Cl. 14. A close set of nominal quantifiers and numerals are employed to refer to quantity. Conjunctions represent a small word class, while complex clause relations are often expressed through bound morphemes, like relative pronouns. Prepositions in Lushese consist of grammaticalized expressions which are based on body-parts, landmarks and nouns employed for space orientation the use of which is expanded to the reference of time. Interjections appear always in exclamations and are used to transfer emotional meaning or the speaker´s attitude towards the spoken (epistemic meaning). Ideophones may occur in various syntactic positions.

Since not only the heads of both the verbal and the nominal phrase are morphologically marked, but morphology is also employed by dependents so that the phrases are bound through a concord system, each word class will now be discussed in turn in the following section on the morphology of the language.

2.2.2 Nominal morphology

Nouns in Lushese have the ability to function as heads of noun phrases, which not only serve referential needs but can also function as predicates in verbless clauses. Section (2.2.2.1) describes the word order of the noun phrase and 2.2.2.2, the nominal class system of the language. The concord within the noun phrase, the associative construction and verbless predication are treated in sections 2.2.2.3-4. The nominal modifiers are treated in 2.2.3.1-4. Section 2.2.3.5 summarizes the nominal derivation.

2.2.2.1 The noun phrase

A noun phrase (NP) in Lushese is minimally constituted by a head, which can be a noun or a pronoun. Nouns may be accompanied by modifiers that all follow their head with the exception of demonstrative pronouns; these can also precede their head. The internal order is modifier followed by quantifier/numeral. The next example illustrates the basic word order of an NP; note that although several modifiers can occur in one NP, their number rarely exceeds two.

(28)   o-mu-sáighia   o-mú-kairè   ó-y-o   'this old man'

            AUG-1-man   AUG-1-old   AUG-1-DEM

As mentioned above, NPs can function as predicates in verbless clauses. In this case, the head and the (facultative) quantifier, both marked with an initial vowel, are followed by an adjectival modifier without initial vowel (augment), as shown in the next example:

(29)   o-mu-sáighia   (ó-y-o)   mu-kairè   '(This) man (is) old.'

            AUG-1-man   (AUG-1-DEM)   1-old

NPs are marked for gender and number by prefixes to be described in the next sections; however, in Lushese, as in many Eastern Bantu languages, case is expressed implicitly by the order of constituents. If all NP-heads are nouns, the direct object follows the verb and precedes the indirect object. In the following example the verb is extended with the applicative suffix (See Verbal Derivation in 2.2.4.7), because of its ditransitive use.

(30)   [N-áa-fumb-irè]^{VP} [e-n-sálwa]^{NP} [[mw-ámi]^{NP} h-ánge]^{NP}.

            1Sg-PAST-cook-PAST   AUG-9-meat   1-husband   1-1SgPOSS

            'I´ve cooked meat for my husband'.

2.2.2.2 Noun classes

Lushese classifies nouns into 15 nominal classes marked by prefixes before the nominal root. Nouns may be also marked by augments, which are pre-prefixes composed by sole vowels. The vowel of the class marker determines the vowel quality of the preceding augment. In addition to their semantic motivation, the noun class prefixes express number since they are divided into singular and plural classes. The next example illustrates the structure of the noun; (31a) shows the word 'person', in (31b) a noun derived from a verbal root is illustrated:

(31)   (a)   (o-)   mu-   **ntu**

(AUGMENT)-   CLASS PREFIX 1-   ROOT 'entity'

'a/ the person'

(b)   (o-)   mu-   **hiig-**   i

(AUGMENT)-   CLASS PREFIX 1-   ROOT 'hunt'-   NOMINAL DERIVATION

'a/ the hunter'

The next table gives an overview of the nominal class prefixes and the concord prefixes for nominal dependents in the language[29]:

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[29] (cf. for Luganda see a.o. Katamba 2003: 104-107).

Table 12: Overview of the noun classes in Lushese

SINGULAR CLASSES		CONCORD	PLURAL CL.		CONCORD	GLOSS
1	o-**mu**-ntu	w/y-	2	a-**ba**-ntu	b-	'human(s)'
3	o-**mu**-ti gu-		4	e-**mi**-ti	gi-	'tree(s)'
5	e-**ri**-nyo	l/ri-	6	a-**má**-ino	g-	'tooth(Pl)'
	e-**i**-bala	l/ri-		a-**ma**-bala	g-	'name(s)'
7	e-**ki**-tundu	ki-	8	e-**bi**-tundu	bi-	'part(s)'
9	e-**n**-koidhi	g/y/(l/r)i-	10	e-**n**-koidhi	d-	'dog(s)'
11	o-**lu**-naku	gu-	10	e-**i**-naku	d-	'day(s)'
12	a-**ka**-here	ka-	14	o-**bu**-here	bu-	'small child(ren)'
				o-**bu**-ntu		'humanity'
13	o-**tu**-idhi	(tu-)	6	a-**ma**-idhi	g-	'(drop of) water'
15	o-**ku**-lima	ku-				'to dig'
	o-**ku**-huliko	ku-	6	a-**ma**-huliko	g-	'ear(s)'

Beside these classes, further three locative classes generate pre-prefixes in Lushese, which occur before the nominal class prefix or in combination with other grammatical elements.

(32)   LOCAL PRE-PREFIXES

        Class 16: **ha-/ho-**   Class 17: **ku-**   Class 18: **mu-**   Class 23: **è-**

These elements may be suffixed to a verb; then the tone of the verb (and of the following nominal phrase if there is) is impacted:

(33)   Huhàala   a-h-ò!   →   Huhaal-áho!

        IMPsleep   AUG-17-REL   IMPsleep-LOC

        'Sleep there!'   'Sleep there!'

In the following, these elements will be referred to as locative affixes.

To describe the relation between singular and plural classes, a term by Maho (Maho 1999; see also Katamba 2003: 110) is employed: Lushese has three polyplural classes, as shown in table (14) below. Regarding the meanings associated with the nominal classes there is a controversy among scholars on whether the nominal prefixes are strictly inflectional or not. Mufwene summarizes the use of the nominal class system in Bantu languages in the following way:

> [T]here is still a good deal of arbitrariness in that not only do class memberships vary from language to language, but also in the same language little semantic justification can be given for assigning mass and abstract nouns to more than one class. (Mufwene 1980: 246)

His argument that the nominal prefixes do not only show grammatical categories like number or gender, but further allow changes to the meaning of the lexical stem, is valid for Lushese. An overview of the relationship between singular and plural classes is offered in the next table, accompanied by general semantic associations with respect to the distribution of nouns in the nominal class system of Lushese. Still, the meanings listed below are not exhaustive and their summary has normative character:

Table 13: The polyplural classes

SINGULAR	PLURAL	ASSOCIATED MEANINGS
1 ————————	2	human
3 ————————	4	growing things
5	**6**	abstracts/liquids/body parts
7	8	concrete objects/body parts
9	**10**	animals/abstract items/body parts
11		time/manner; body parts
12	**14**[30]	diminutives; abstract items/body parts/'part of'
13		liquids: 'a drop of'
15		Infinitives; body parts

The next section gives insight to the semantics of the noun classes in Lushese with special reference to the human classes.

2.2.2.3 The augment

Similar to neighboring languages of the Interlacustrine zone, in Lushese the nominal and pronominal prefixes can occur with an augment preceding the prefix; thus the augment is a pre-prefix: it aligns to the vowel quality of the nominal prefix through a process of regressive distant assimilation.

$$V \rightarrow [a] / \_\#(C)a \qquad V \rightarrow [o] / \_\#(C)u/o \qquad V \rightarrow [e] / \_\#(C)e/i$$

(34)   (a)   AUG+ ka-her e   =   a-ka-here   'small child'

AUG+   12- child   AUG-12- child

(b)   AUG+ bu-here   =   o-bu-here   'small children'

AUG+   14- child   AUG-14- child

(c)   AUG+ mi-ti   =   e-mi-ti   'trees'

AUG+   4-tree   AUG-4-tree

---

[30] Cl. 14 is here introduced as a polyplural class,but the semantics of Cl 14. Include the formation of abstract nouns without a singular counterpart. For a more detailed analysis on the semantics of the nominal classes see section 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2.

The nasal prefix of the nominal classes 9/10 has the phonetic realization [i] when the root begins with a dental consonant or a nasal, as illustrated in the next example:

(35)   N+naku   →   i-náku   'days'

          10+naku   10-day

The augment has the realization [e] if the root´s first syllable includes short vowels; in the cases where the first syllable of the root includes a long vowel, the augment is realized as [i]:

(36)   (a)   e-i-náku   '(the) days'   (b)   i-i-táala   '(a/the) light[31]'

          AUG-10-day   AUG-9-light

The next table demonstrates the changes regarding the accent of a word, depending on the presence or absence of the augment (note that the word accent is affected by further factors and not only by the augment).

Table 14: Augment and accent of isolated words

TONES	L-H-L	L-H
MORPHEMES	o-mu-ntu AUG-1-person	mu-ntu 1-person
ACCENT	omúntu	muntú
TRANSLATION[32]	'person'	'person'

Words having a diphthong in the first syllable receive the accent on the syllabic element of the diphthong; the augment doesn´t affect this:

(37)   a-má-idhi   má-idhi   'water'

          AUG-6-water   6-water

The augment in Lushese cannot be reduced to a single function. similar to the use of other Bantu languages having augmentation (Katamba 2003: 107). As observed in Luganda (see Hyman & Katamba 1991, 1993) the augment "can play the pragmatic role of indicating definiteness, specificity or focus" (Katamba 2003: 107). In Lushese there is a tendency that subjects are marked with the augment and the following three rules regard the omission of it:

I) No augment in the second nominal phrase within a verbless predication:

(38)   (a)   o-mu-sáighia   o-mu-héna   (b)   O-mu-sáighia   mu-héna

          AUG-1-man   AUG-1-tall   AUG-1-man   1-tall

          'a/the tall man'   'The man (is) tall'

---

[31] Excluding 'daylight' and 'sunlight' which are expressed by the word *o-mu-sana* (AUG-3-sunlight).

[32]The translation of the augment depends on the discourse, about the function of the augment see in 2.2.2.3.

II) No augment if pre-prefixes occur before the nominal class prefix:

(39)   (a)   E-bi-réeng-e   by-ánge   bi-rúma.

                AUG-8-walk-D   8-1SgPOSS   8-bite

                'My legs pain (me).'

        (b)   N(dh)i-nà   o-bu-húnya   ku-bi-réeng-e.

                1SgPRES-COP-CONN   AUG-14-smell   LOC-6-walk-D

                'I have wounds on the legs.'

III) No augment in the nominal phrase after a negation:

(40)   (a)   N-aa-bóin-e   o-mu-sáighia   yé-nkai.

                1Sg-PAST-see-VE   AUG-1-man   1-∀all

                'I saw a single man/only one man.'

        (b)   S-aa-bóin-e   mu-sáighia   yé-nkai.

                1SgNEG-PAST-see-VE   1-man   1-∀all

                'I haven´t seen a single man/any man at all.'

Only the rule concerning the verbless predications is never violated; for reasons of emphasis, contrast and/or in rhetoric/performing speech, an augment may appear before the pre-prefix in case of (II) and despite the negation in case of (III). The next examples illustrate two deviances.

After a speaker had to repeat twice his answer to the question "Where is my medication?" he lost his patience as he was asked for the third time: The next example (41a) shows his first, (41b) his second and (41c) his third answer. The noun *endhyanga* or (*i*)*dhyanga* 'bag' is consistently classified in the nasal classes (9/10).

(41)   (a)   Mu-n-dhyánga.   '(The medicaments are) in the bag.'

                LOC-7-bag

        (b)   E-rí-mu   n-dhyánga.   'They are in the bag.'

                7-COP-LOC   7-bag

        (c)   O-mu-n-dhyánga!   'In the bag!'

                AUG-LOC-7-bag

Example (41c) consists of an elliptic answer, but this doesn´t play a significant role, as the next examples shows. In this case the speaker deplored poverty: while he respects twice the rule regarding negation and augmentation (II above), he adds the augment before the locative prefix as in (41c); the augment is marked with bold for a more convenient reading:

(42) Te-háli   n-kúi,   te-háli má-anda

NEG-COP   7-firewood   NEG-COP 6-charcoal

n´   e-byá-ku-héemba   **o**-ku-ky-óto.

CONN   AUG-8:REL-15-burn_up   **AUG**-LOC-7-fireplace

'There is no firewood, there is no charcoal, nothing to burn in the fireplace.'

The next example demonstrates a case of augmentation despite negation: (43a) demonstrates the frequent expression with respect to the rule, (43b) is an expression of a speaker during performance, who comes back from the beach and says that he saw absolutely nothing (and nobody) there, while the villagers discuss vividly rumours about the arrival of enemies. Part of the deviance is the shift of the tone: if the nominal phrase after a negation appears with augment, the tone shifts to the right, consequently *kántu* in (43a) is realized as *akantù* in (43b); again the augment in this case is marked in bold for more convenience:

(43)   (a)   Te-há-li   ká-ntu   ki-oinà   ha-léeri.

NEG-LOC-COP   12-thing   7-∀all   LOC-far

'There is nothing there at all.'

(b)   Te-há-li   **a**-ka-ntù   ki-oinà   ha-léeri!

NEG-LOC-COP   AUG-12-thing   7-∀all   LOC-far

'There is nothing there at all!'

2.2.2.4 Concord

Adjectives and quantifiers (with the exception of some numerals treated below) must agree with their head. Still, the speakers use the two systems flexibly. Looking at the concord of some nouns, like the one in the next example, which have the prefixes *ei-/ii-,* we cannot say in which class they should be categorized; the Cl. 5/6 and the Cl. 9/10 classes come into question in these cases:

(44)   i-i-rembe   'peace'

AUG-NC-peace

The next example demonstrates three phrases and one non verbal predication, in which only the prefix of the modifier reflects the noun class; the interrelation of number with the meaning of the word and its modifiers must be employed to explain why all four variations are possible (see also quantifiers):

(45)

    (a) FOLLOWING Cl.5:   i-i-rembe   ry-ange   'my peace' (= condition inside me)

                                            5-1SgPOSS

    (b) FOLLOWING Cl.4:   i-i-rembe   gy-ahai?   'Where is peace?'

                                            4-LOC

    (c) FOLLOWING Cl.9:   i-i-rembe   e-yi   'this peace' (= certain time period)

                                            AUG-9DEM

    (d) FOLLOWING Cl.10: i-i-rembe   dh-oina   'the whole period of peace'

                                            10-∀all

For a noun denoting a human subject but not classified in the human classes, the concord may be formed according to the formal class of the noun and not by use of the bound personal pronoun for humans. In the next example the friends occur in Cl.4 within the nominal phrase; though human beings, the prefix attached to the verb in the subject slot is not the third person plural *ba-* but the prefix of Cl. 4 *gi-*. In the same example, the unlucky one, hated by all his friends, is realized only within the verb in the slot of the object and occurs in the human singular class:

(46)   Mi-kwano-yè   gi-ta-mu-sáiga   gy-ó(i)na.

              4-friend-3Sg:POSS   **4**-NEG-1OC-like   **4**-∀all

          'All his friends hate him/her.'

The next example shows the subject concordance of the nominal phrase and the verb in an intransitive (47a) and a transitive (47b) predication. Table (12) summarizes the agreement prefixes for the dependents in the NP (on syntax see section 2.3).

(47)   (a)   E-i-tíba   ly-ánge   li-mogó-ik-ire.

                  AUG-9-plate   9-1SgPOSS   9-fall-STAT-PAST

                  'My plate fell down.'

       (b)   O-bw-ényi-bw-è   bu-lí-ho   a-ka-súsu   a-ka-lúndji.

                  AUG-14-face-14-2SgPOSS 14-COP-LOC   AUG-12-skin   AUG-12-good

                  'Your face has good skin.'

2.2.2.5 Associative construction

As mentioned before, Lushese has no morphologically marked case. The term 'associative construction' will be used in this thesis for the attributive possessive and/or associative NPs, which are formed by the juxtaposition of two NPs. The associative marker –*a* occurs between them. The word order in the associative construction follows the general pattern in the language, hence the dependent NP decoding the possessor follows the possessum, which is the head. The structure of the associative construction is summarized in (48):

(48) **NP POSSESSUM** **–a** **NP POSSESSOR**

Possessum and associative marker must have the same class prefix. The initial vowel may occur in the head NP, but it is not allowed in the dependent NP, as illustrated in the next example:

(49) | e-ki-tábo | ky-a | mu-háala | Ná-lukwaago |
|---|---|---|---|
| AUG-7-book | 7-ASS | 1-girl | f-Lukwago |

'(a/the) book of Ms. Nálukwago'

Although possession is more often expressed by possessive pronouns (see 2.2.3.1.2) than by an associative construction, the latter is very common in Lushese mainly due to the restricted class of adjectives. The next example demonstrates the expression of a quality by an adjective and through associative construction:

(50) (a)	o-mu-límo	o-mu-dhito	(b)	o-mu-límo	gw-a	bubúle
AUG-3-work	AUG-3-hard		AUG-3-work	3-ASS	IDEO

'hard work'   'hard work'

In the next example, the associative marker links an adjective and an infinitive:

(51) | O-mú-ti | o-gw-ò | mu-dhíbu | gw-a | ku-tém-wa. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AUG-3-tree | AUG-3-DEM | 3-difficult | 3-ASS | 15-cut-PASS |

'This tree (is) difficult to be cut.'

Table (15) summarizes the associative markers for all nominal classes. In brackets, frequently used alternative forms are shown and the polyplural classes are marked in bold for a more convenient overview.

Table 15: Associative markers

SINGULAR CLASSES	ASSOCIATIVE MARKER	PLURAL CLASSES	ASSOCIATIVE MARKER
1	w-a, (h-a)	2	b-a
3	gw-a	4	ghi-a
5	l/ry-a	**6**	g-a
7	ky-a	8	by-a
9	y-a, l/ry-a	**10**	dh-a, (z-a)
11	gw-a, (hw-a)		
12	k-a	**14**	bw-a
13	tw-a		
15	(kw-a)		

2.2.3 Nominal modifiers

The following sections present the pronominal forms (2.2.3.1), the adjectives (2.2.3.2), the numerals (2.2.3.3) and the nominal quantifiers (2.2.3.4) in Lushese.

2.2.3.1 Pronominal forms

Lushese provides paradigms of bound morphemes for pronominalization. They can be attached both to lexical roots and grammatically free or bound morphemes.

2.2.3.1.1 Personal

The personal suffixes for human beings in Lushese are illustrated in (52):

(52)   PERSON   SINGULAR   PLURAL

1st.   **-dhe**   **-fe**

2nd.   **-we**   **-mwe**

3rd.   -**ye**   **-bo**

When suffixed to the connective particles *nii-/ ye-,* the above items shape personal pronouns: they occur in the syntactic position of the subject mostly for emphasis, since the syntactic relations of a predication are realized through the verbal morphology and/or the word order of constituents.

(53)   SINGULAR   PLURAL

1. PERSON   n**dhe**   ye**ife**

            1Sg 'I'   1Pl 'we'

2. PERSON   nii**we**   ii**mwe**

            2Sg 'you'   2Pl 'you'

3. PERSON   nii**ye**   ii**bo**

            3Sg '(s)he'   3Pl 'they'

The emphatic use of the personal pronouns is illustrated in (54):

(54)   Nii-we   o-mu-gúngu   o-gu-sáiga   wá-hai?

                2SgPERS   AUG-1-man   2SgPRES-3OC-like   ASS-Q

                'Which man do YOU like/love?' (EMPHASIS)

The personal pronominal suffixes can also be attached to other grammatical elements to express peripheral syntactic relations:

(55)   Á-li   mu-dhíbu-dhíbu   kú-ndhe

                3Sg-be   1-hard-RED   LOC-1Sg

                Lit: (S)he is hard on me.

                'I have problems interacting with this person.'

The subject- and the object-concord prefixes, which constitute further pronominal paradigms for nouns denoting human will be discussed in section 2.3 about syntax.

2.2.3.1.2 Possessive

A second paradigm of suffixes, where only the form for the first person singular is changed, serves to form possessive pronouns. Note that the bilabial nasal of the second person plural often assimilates or is elided:

(56)   SINGULAR   PLURAL

    1. PERSON   **-ange**   **-ife**

    2. PERSON   **-(h)we/-h/wo**   **-(m)we**

    3. PERSON   **-(h/y)e**   **-bo**

For expressing possession, the above are suffixed to the associative markers and form free possessive pronouns. Note that for the first person singular, the *–a* of the associative marker and the *–a* of the possessive marker (*-ange*) merge, as shown in (57a) below; example (57b) illustrates the ordinary formation of the free possessive pronouns:

(57)   (a)   Mu-káidhe   h-ánge   ha-dhá-ire   a-ba-lóngo   (*wa-ange)

                1-woman   1-1SgPOSS   3Sg-born-PAST   AUG 2-twins

                'My wife gave birth to twins.'

      (b)   Mu-káidhe   (h)wa-(h)wè   ha-dhá-ire.

                1-woman   1ASS-2SgPOSS   3Sg-born-PAST

                'Your wife gave birth.'

With the exception of both forms for the first person, in singular and plural, all other suffixes can be attached directly to the entity they modify. Regarding the second person, the singular form changes from *–we* to *–wo* to make a differentiation from the plural, as illustrated in (58): in (58a), only one

listener (you/singular) is implied but in (58b), more than one listener is implied (you/plural). The possessive suffixes in (58a) and (58b) are next and are marked in bold for convenience:

(58)   (a)   Mu-kaidhé-**wo**   a-fúmba   e-n-sálwa?

              1-woman-2SgPOSS   3Sg-cook   AUG-9-meat

              'Is your wife cooking meat?'

(b)   Ba-kaidhe-**bwè**   ba-fúmba   e-n-sálwa?

              2-woman-2PlPOSS   3Pl-cook   AUG-9-meat

              'Are your wives cooking meat?'

In the next example, one listener is supposed to have at least two wives:

(59)   Ba-kaidhe-**bwò**   ba-fúmba   e-n-sálwa?

        2-woman-2PlPOSS   3Pl-cook   AUG-9-meat

        'Are your wives cooking meat?'

Whether the free or the bound possessive pronouns are used is a matter of discourse: the free forms are preferred for introducing an unknown entity in the discourse; for known or already mentioned entities as well as for members of one´s family, the bound forms are favored.

2.2.3.1.3 Demonstratives

Lushese has two kinds of demonstrative pronouns, where one expresses deictic proximity and the other deictic distance. The proximal demonstratives are built by the suffix –*o* attached to the class prefixes for the NP dependents (see table 12). The presence or absence of the initial vowel depends on the noun and its affixes:

(60)   (a)   e-ki-tábu   é-ky-o   (b)   mu-ki-tabu   ky-ò

              AUG-7-BOOK   AUG-7-DEM   LOC-7-BOOK   7-DEM

              'this book'   'in this book'

The proximal demonstrative can also precede its head; then the word order is emphatic. In this case, the pronoun occurs with the initial vowel, but the noun without. However, this word order is very rarely preferred for non-human entities, while it is favored for human beings for reasons of emphasis, as the next example shows (61a/b). Also common is the use of the proximal demonstrative to modify a person´s name in narratives. If so, the pronoun always follows the name (61c):

(61)   (a)   O-mu-gúngu   ó-yo   (b)   ó-yo   mu-gúngu

              AUG-1-chief   AUG-1DEM   AUG-1DEM   1-chief

              'this chief'   'THIS chief' (EMPHASIS)

(61) (c) She-músulo ó-yo

        m-NAME   AUG-1DEM

        'this Shemusulo'

For the human classes, only the proximal demonstratives *oyo* for the first class (singular) and *abo* for the second class (plural) are attested. In case where a person has already been often mentioned in the discourse, the pronoun *onò* can replace the nominal phrase, but this form never occurs after the noun. For distal deixis of human entities, quantifiers are preferred; further, the distal pronoun *ógu* (Cl. 3) is often employed to express distal deixis of a person:

(62)   o-mu-gúngu   ó-yo/ó-gu   (b)   o-nó/

            AUG-1-chief   AUG-1 DEM/ AUG-3-DEM   AUG-1:DEM

            'this chief'   'this one (person we often mentioned)'

While for reasons of emphasis demonstrative pronouns may occur in a phrase initial position as illustrated in (63a), locative pre-prefixes require the basic word order of the noun phrase, e.g. that the pronoun follows the head-noun, as illustrated in (63b):

(63)   (a)   é-ki   e-ki-tábo   ky-a   Lu-gánda

           AUG-7DEM   AUG-7-book   7-ASS   11–Ganda

           '<u>that </u>book of Luganda' (EMPHASIS)

     (b)   mu-ki-tábo   é-ki   ky-a   Lu-gánda

           LOC-7book   AUG-7 DEM   7-ASS   11-Ganda

           'in that book of Luganda'

The following table summarizes the demonstrative pronouns of Lushese; again the polyplural classes are marked with bold for more convenience:

Table 16: Demonstratives

SINGULAR CLASSES	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	PLURAL CLASSES	PROXIMAL	DISTAL
1	óyo, onò	-	2	ábo	-
3	gúno	ógu	4	gíno	égi
5	l/ríno	éri	**6**	gáno	ága
7	kíno	éki	8	bíno	ébi
9	ino	éri	**10**	dhíno	eidhi
11	lu-no	ólu			
12	káno	áka	**14**	búno	óbu
13	túno	(ótu)			
15	kúno	óku			

To refer to a far more distant entity compared to a distal one or to one beyond the visible space, the root *–leere* is employed:

(64)　　(a)　e-kí-ntu　　kí-no　　(b)　e-kí-ntu　　é-ki

　　　　　　　AUG-7-thing　7-DEM:PROX　　　AUG-7-thing　7-DEM:DIST

　　　　　　　'this thing'　　　　　　　　　'that thing'

　　　　(c)　e-kí-ntu　　ki-réere

　　　　　　　AUG-7-thing　7-DEM:far

　　　　　　　'the other thing far there'

However, this root is used far less frequently than the proximal and distal demonstratives and its use is restricted to non-human entities.

For referring to people being far away, the root *–l/rolee(i)re* is employed; both forms derive from a verbal root *l/rolere(i)ra* 'to look at' that appears in Lushese only in this pronominal form[33]. While the form *–l/réere* denotes solely distance from the deictic centre, the restricted human form *–l/rolee(i)re* is used rather as an equivalent to the English 'another' than as a deictic element; in other words *– l/rolee(i)re* is used more often as a nominal quantifier than as a demonstrative pronoun.

2.2.3.1.4 Relatives
The relative clauses in Lushese follow their head NP. The relatives are constituted by prefixing to the dependent verb instead of a subject concord and a tempus prefix the augment and the associative marker, as illustrated in the next example:

(65)　　　　O-mu-kóno-gw-è　　　o-gwà-heneeg-ék-ire　　　gu-mu-lúma.

　　　　　　AUG-3-arm-3-3POSS　　AUG-3REL-break-STAT-PAST　　3-1OC-bite

　　　　　　Lit: His arm, which broke, is biting him.

　　　　　　'His broken arm is hurting him.'

No free relative pronouns are attested; only for persons one relational noun may be employed for emphasis. This noun is constructed by prefixing the appropriate augment and associative marker to the name *Kíntu*, who is one of the ancestral spirits:

(66)　　　　o-wá-kintu　　　a-bá-kintu

　　　　　　AUG-1ASS-NAME　　AUG-2ASS-NAME

　　　　　　'the one(s), who'

The singular form has the free variation *ha-kíntu*.

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[33] As a verb it is attested in Luganda; in Lusoga the verb *okulínga* corresponds to the meaning 'to look at', in Lussese the verb *okutunúla*.

2.2.3.2 Adjectives

Lushese employs a short sample of adjectival roots denoting various qualities; they must concord with the head of the NP appearing with the same nominal prefix. Further, the augmentation is ruled by the head of the phrase:

(67) | | SINGULAR CLASSES | PLURAL CLASSES | ENGLISH GLOSS |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | O-mú-ntu o-mu-néne | a-bá-ntu a-bá-nene | 'big person(s)' |
| | AUG-1-person AUG-1-big | AUG-2-person AUG-2-big | |
| (b) | o-mu-hánda o-mu-léngwa | e-mi-hánda e-mi-léngwa | 'long way(s)' |
| | AUG-3-way   AUG-3-long | AUG-4-way AUG-4-long | |
| (c) | e-i-bála e-i-rúndji | a-ma-bála a-ma-lúndji | 'nice name(s)' |
| | AUG-5-name AUG-5-good | AUG-6-name AUG-6-good | |
| (d) | e-ki-kómpe e-ki-káalu | e-bi-kómpe e-bi-káalu | 'empty cup(s)' |
| | AUG-7-cup AUG-7-dry | AUG-8-cup AUG-8-dry | |
| (e) | e-n-dhyánga e-n-gádhi | e-n-dhyánga dhi-gádhi | 'voluminous bag(s)' |
| | AUG-9-bag AUG-9-wide | AUG-10-bag AUG-10-wide | |
| (f) | a-ka-héera a-ká-mpi | o-bw-éera o-bú-mpi | '(very) short time' |
| | AUG-12-period AUG-12-long | AUG-14-period AUG-14-long | |
| (g) | o-lu-tíiba o-lú-hya | e-i-tíiba é-i-(d)hya | 'new plate(s)' |
| | AUG-11-plate AUG-11-new | AUG-10-plate AUG-10-new | |
| (h) | o-tú-idhi o-tu-tyámpay | a-má-idhi a-ma-tyámpay | '(small) drop of water' |
| | AUG-13-water AUG-13-small | AUG-6-water   AUG-6-small | |
| (i) | o-ku-húliko o-kw-ikò | a-ma-húliko a-ma-ikò | 'dirty ear(s)' |
| | AUG-15-ear AUG-15-dirty | AUG-6-ear 6-15-dirty | |

The above examples demonstrate how flexible the meanings of the adjectival roots are: the root – *lundji* 'good' (67c) which is quite frequently used, correlates with any property that is associated to be a good one among the qualities of the noun modified, thus the phrase 'good name' receives the interpretation 'nice name' in reference to the sound composition or to the meaning. In line with this "good work" may be interpreted as effective work in reference to the result or as profitable in reference to the payment.

The adjective *kaalu* 'dry' may be used in opposition to *ibisi* 'wet', but as shown in example (67d) above in the case of a liquid-container, it denotes the meaning 'empty'. Furthermore, the root *gadhi* 'wide' is associated with the concept of plenty of space: if it modifies landscapes, it is interpreted as 'wide' and if it modifies other entities, like the bag in example (67e) above, it may be interpreted as voluminous, voluptuous or bulky.

Lushese employs three roots for the meanings 'long, tall' and 'short'. Their use depends on the modified noun: human require a certain pair, as shown in (68a) opposed to (68b, c and d) below:

(68)   (a)   mw-ámi   mu-fúpi[34]   'tall man'

                1-man   1-tall

        (b)   mu-sóta   mu-hámbu   'long snake'

                3-snake   3-long

        (c)   mu-tì   mu-hámbu   'tall tree'

                3-tree   3-long

        (d)   lu-lambála   lu-hámbu   'long cloth'

                11-cloth   11-long

Local distance is associated with walking distance, if the way is on land as shown above in example "long way" (69c). The adjective derives from the passive form of the verb *leenga* 'to walk', which is an intransitive verb:

(69)   (a)   -léenga   O-mú-ntu   a-léenga   (ku-mu-hánda).

                            AUG-1-person   3SgPres-walk   (LOC-3-way)

                'A/the person walks (on the way)'.

---

[34] Dialectal variation: *mbúpi.*

(69)   (b)   *-léeng-wa   *O-mu-hánda gu-léeng-wa   (n´o–mú-ntu).

                              AUG-3-way   3SC-walk-PASS   (INSTR AUG-1-person)

                              *The way is walked (by a/the person).

         (c)   -léengwa   O-mu-hánda   mu-léengwa.   'The way (is) long.'

                              AUG-3-way   3-long

The concept of shortness is conceived as opposite to the above categories, thus the following opposing
pairs appear:

Table 17: Adjectival roots corresponding to 'long' and 'short'

HEAD NOUN	LONG	SHORT
HUMAN	-fúpi	-héna
OTHER ENTITIES	-hámbu	-tò
DISTANCE ON LAND	-léengwa	- mpi/ (-tyámpay)

With the exception of a few adjectival roots, qualities are expressed through nominal or verbal
phrases. The following table shows all the adjectival roots of Lushese that could be identified marked
with the most frequent tone pattern[35]. Note that the English translation is tentative: the semantic
properties of the adjectives in Lushese as well as their use do not match the semantic properties and
the use of the English words.

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[35] "Most frequent" in this case means that all speakers usually pronounce the tones as illustrated within this tble;
for reasons of emphasis very rare variation could be observed.

Table 18: Adjectival roots

LUSHESE	APPROXIMATE ENGLISH TRANSLATION
-bì	'bad'
-dhíto	'heavy'
-(d)hyà	'new'
-híka	
-gádhi	'wide'
-hámbu	'long, tall'
-fúpi	
-léngwa	
-ibísi	'wet/ripe'
-ikò	'dirty'
-g/káalu	'dry'
-lúndji	'good'
(mú)se	'physically strong person'
-náfu	'weak'
-néne	'big'
-tò	'short'
-héna	
-mpì	
-tyámpai	'small'
-igúmu	'hard'

Example (70) illustrates a common way of expressing qualities in Lushese through a verbal root: the verb can be classified as such because of the subject concord. While the verbal root *saiga* 'want/like' is a transitive verb, the derived *saiha* 'be(come) delicious' is intransitive. The position of the subject is realized by the noun denoting source of good taste:

(70)   ku-sáiga   →   ku-sáiha   A-m-émbu   ga-sáiha.

           15-want   15-be(come) delicious   AUG-6-mango   6SC-delicious

           'to want'   'to be(come)delicious'   'The mangos are delicious.'

The examples in (71) demonstrate three possibilities for the expression of a quality. In (71a), an ideophone employs verbal morphology; in (71b), an ideophone employs nominal morphology; and in (71c), the same meaning marked in bold for convenient reading is expressed through a prepositional phrase:

(71)   (a)   ya-gwa-gwa-irè   (b)   mu-héme-héme

                  3SgPAST-IDEO-RED-VE   1-IDEO-RED

                  Lit: (S)he became *gwagwa.*   Lit: ((S)he is) *hémehéme.*

                          (71a-b): '(S)he is stupid.'

(71)   (c)   A-ta-li   mu-ma-gedhi.   **(71a-c): '(S)he is stupid.'**

3Sg-NEG-COP   LOK-12-wisdom

Lit: (S)he is not in wisdom

2.2.3.3 Numerals
The numerals listed below belong to different nominal classes: 'one' is categorized in the nasal Cl.6, the numbers 'two to five' and 'ten' are classified in Cl.11, 'six to nine' belong to Cl.3.

Table 19: Overview of cardinal numerals up to hundred

NUMERAL	GLOSS
andala	one
iibiri	two
iishatu	three
iinya, iinha	four
iitano	five
mu-káaga	six
musambu	seven
munáana	eight
mwenda	nine
iikumi	ten
iikumi na andala	eleven
(makumi) abiri	twenty
abiri na andala	twenty one
(makumi) ashatu	thirty
(makumi) annya	forty
(makumi) atano	fifty
(makumi) amukaga	sixty
(makumi) amusambu	seventy
kináana	eighty
kyenda	ninety
kyaasha	one hundred

The ordinal numerals in Lushese may take the prefixes of the nominal dependents or just follow their head or become embedded in an associative construction; the numbers 1-5 concord with the head noun to express the respective ordinal numeral, the numbers 6-10 follow their head without concord (compare (72) and (73)).

(72)   é-m-bwa   e-i-rála   é-m-bwa   dhi-bíri   é-m-bwa   i-ikúmi

AUG-9-dog   9-one   AUG-10-dog   10-two   AUG-10-dog   10-ten

'one dog'   'two dogs'   'ten dogs'

Number 10 takes a concord prefix only with human. Hence, it takes the prefix of the plural human class *ba-* when it qualifies persons, but in no other case:

(73)　　　o-mú-ntu　　　gu-lála　　　　a-bá-ntu　　　ba-(i)bíri　　　a-bá-ntu　　　ba-(i)kúmi

　　　　　AUG-1-person　3-one　　　　AUG-2-person　2-two　　　　AUG-2-person　2-ten

　　　　　'one person'　　　　　　　'two persons'　　　　　　　'ten persons'

As shown in (73) above, the concord prefix of the first nominal class, denoting human singular, is *gu*-hence the concord prefix of the third class: the same concord shows the first nominal class also regarding the proximal demonstratives (see ex.(64)).

Regarding the presence or absence of augmentation, the ordinal numerals don´t have to concord in terms of augmentation with the head. The presence of the augment prefixed to an ordinal numeral specifies the nominal phrase:

(74)　　　(a)　　a-ma-ihúli　　ga-bíri　　　(b)　　a-ma-ihúli　　a-ga-bíri

　　　　　　　　AUG-6-egg　　6-two　　　　　　　AUG-6-egg　　AUG-6-two

　　　　　　　　'two eggs'　　　　　　　　　　　'the two eggs'

To express that an entity is considered as the first /last, two verbs are employed: *soika*[36] 'to begin' (75a) and *sembeera*, an applicative form meaning 'to end' (75b):

(75)　　　(a)　　o-mu-lúndhi　　(o-)gu-shóik-irè

　　　　　　　　AUG-3-tíme　　　(AUG-)3-begin-PAST

　　　　　　　　'(the) first time'

　　　　　(b)　　o-mu-lúndhi　　(o-)gu-sémbee-irè

　　　　　　　　AUG-3-tíme　　　(AUG-)3-finish-PAST

　　　　　　　　'(the) last time'

Ordinal numerals beyond ten are embedded in an associative construction; in the next example the numeral doesn´t concord with the head noun being in the sixth class. The prefix of the number *munaana* 'eight' is frozen (76a); the same is valid for the prefix *ki-* in *kinaana* 'eighty', but in (76b), the appropriate concord is realized as the prefix of the associative marker:

(76)　　　(a)　　a-ma-húli　　mu-náana　　　(b)　　a-ma-húli　　g-a　　ki-náana

　　　　　　　　AUG-6-egg　　3-eight　　　　　　　AUG-6-egg　　6-ASS　7-eight

　　　　　　　　'eight eggs'　　　　　　　　　　　'eighty eggs'

If the speaker needs[37] to specify a nominal phrase like the one in (76b) above, then the augment will be prefixed to the associative marker (77a) or a verbless predication will be constructed through the use of demonstrative forms[38], as shown in (77b) below:

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[36] Also attested: *shoka,-shoika*.

[37] This seems to be a rare case.

[38] Whether the speaker uses proximal or distal demonstrative forms depends on the context; both may be employed.

(77)

	(a)	a-ma-húli	a-g-a	ki-náana	(b)	a-ma-húli	a-gò	ki-náana
		AUG-6-egg	AUG-6-ASS	7-eight		AUG-6-egg	6-DEM	7-eight

        Lit: eggs of eighty   Lit: these eggs (are) eighty

        'the eighty eggs'   'the eighty eggs'

The reduplication of ordinal numerals denotes that entities are concerned in pairs, triads, quartets etc; while the reduplication of the ordinal numeral –(i)mù 'first' is employed for denoting 'one after the other', for expressing serial meaning the reduplication of all-quantifiers is preferred (as shown below in ex. (84b)). The reduplication of the ordinal numeral –(i)bíri 'second' is employed to denote that non animate entities are concerned as a pair (78), a function expressed for animates through the dyadic quantifier in (79) below:

(78)   a-ma-húli   ga-(i)bíri-ga-(i)bíri   'eggs in pairs (=more than one pair of eggs)'

              AUG-6-egg   6-two-RED

The use of the ordinal numeral –(i)bíri 'second' qualifying animates expresses that two entities are concerned as two separate individuals and not as a pair (79): regarding the interpretation, while the two elders in phrase (79a) may be married, may be colleagues or very good friends, in (79b), no relation between the two elders is implied.

(79)   (a)   a-ba-kairè   b-ómbi   'a pair of elders'

               AUG-2-old   2-∇diadic

      (b)   a-ba-kairè   ba-(i)bíri   'two elders'

               AUG-2-old   2-two

2.2.3.4. Nominal quantifiers

Nominal quantifiers (as well as numerals) in Lushese show a different syntactic behaviour than adjectives: this is why I suggest their classification in a separate word class, despite the fact the quantifiers are also constituted of a closed set of roots which employ nominal prefixes. The same is valid for many nominal modifiers; for instance demonstrative pronouns, which are considered as quantifying expressions in a broad sense[39] and surely not as "adjectives". The main difference between demonstrative pronouns and nominal quantifiers is that demonstratives can replace any noun or NP and can appear in any predication, as long as the concord is appropriate. Quantifiers have a more restricted use, the number of the head noun has direct impact on their meaning; further, the semantics of the predication may impact their meaning. Besides the syntactic arguments and the semantics that result in a separate classification of quantifiers, note that they cannot be derived from or expressed by another word class or phrase, with the exception of the derived existential one -l/roreere(i)re 'another'.

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[39] Other grammatical categories that may be used for quantification consist of adverbial phrases, negation and augmentation.

The criteria to distinguish adjectival roots and quantifiers reflect the use and meaning in interrelation with the head nouns. The main formal criteria concern the augment[40]: the adjectival roots must concord in terms of augmentation with the head noun because otherwise the outcome is not a nominal phrase; however, in a non-verbal predication, the quantifiers occur mostly without augments, independent of the presence or absence of the augment on the noun:

(80)　　　(a)　　e-ki-kómpe　　e-ki-néne　　'the/a big cup'

　　　　　　　　　AUG-7-cup　　AUG-7-big

　　　　　(b)　　e-ki-kómpe　　e-ki-rála　　'the first cup'

　　　　　　　　　AUG-7-cup　　AUG-7-one

　　　　　(c)　　e-ki-kómpe　　ki-rála　　'the other cup'

　　　　　　　　　AUG-7-cup　　7-∃existential

While adjectival roots must follow their head (81a), quantifiers may precede the noun for emphasis (81b):

(81)　　　(a)　　E-bi-kómpe　　e-bi-néne　　bi-mogó-ik-ire.　　*e-bi-nene e-bi-kompe

　　　　　　　　　AUG-8-cup　　AUG-8-big　　8-fall-STAT-PAST　　AUG-8-big　　AUG-8-cup

　　　　　　　　　'The big cups fell down.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*big cups

　　　　　(b)　　B-íngi　　　bi-kómpe　　bi-mogó-ik-ire.

　　　　　　　　　8:∃existential　　8-cup　　8-fall-STAT-PAST

　　　　　　　　　'Many cups fell down (emphatic: "very many" or contrastive: "many, not few").'

The number of the noun doesn´t impact the use and meaning of the adjectival roots; the meaning of the quantifiers is conceived only in interrelation with the meaning and number of the noun and consequently, the existential quantifiers cannot be employed to quantify and/or replace a noun in singular class as this is rejected as grammatically incorrect and/or not logical:

(82)　　　　　　*e-ki-kómpe　　kí-ingi　　*many cup

　　　　　　　　　AUG-7-cup　　7-∃existential

The all-quantifiers are often put to use quantifying nouns in singular classes, but their meaning changes with respect to the number of the head:

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[40] The tone may be considered as further criteria to distinguish the class of adjectives from the class of quantifiers, since adjectival roots are pronounced with stable tonal patterns, while the tone of quantifiers varies depending on the surrounding.

(83)	(a)	e-ki-kómpe	ki-(h)óina	(b)	e-bi-kómpe	by-óina
		AUG-7-cup	7-∀all		AUG-8-cup	8-∀all
		'the whole cup'			'all cups'	

	(c)	e-ki-kómpe	ky-énkai	(d)	e-bi-kómpe	by-énkai
		AUG-7-cup	7-∀all		AUG-8-cup	8-∀all
		'only one cup/a sole cup'			'every cup'	

The reduplication of adjectival roots intensifies the meaning of the root; the reduplication of a quantifier changes the meaning of the all-quantifiers: *-(y)enkai* reduplicated denotes serial appearance:

(84)	(a)	e-ki-kómpe	ki-néne-ki-néne	(b)	eki-kómpe	ky-énkai-ky-énkai
		AUG-7-cup	7-big-RED		AUG-7-cup	7-∀all-RED
		'very big cup'			'one cup after the other'	

Turning to the form *–(h)engene*, it is as well restricted to human and denotes that the predication is valid for at least one person out of a group in a unique way; it has no meaning of reflexivity and consequently its use in reflexive contexts is rejected as grammatically incorrect (on reflexivity see 2.2.4.7). In the following example, its use is demonstrated in an intransitive (85) **Error! Reference source not found.**and in a transitive clause in (86). Regarding its interpretation as equivalent to the English 'alone' in ex. (85), it denotes that among others, only the speaker ate or that among others eating, the speaker ate in isolation, separated from them:

(85)	N-diir-è	Ŋ-éngene.
	1Sg-eat-PAST	1-∃existential
	'I ate alone.'	

In the next example, the implication is that during hunting the speaker killed the hyena without the help of others:

(86)	Na-ishí-re	a-ká-hiimà	Ŋ-éngene.
	1SgPAST-kill-PAST	AUG-12-hyena	1-∃existential
	'I killed the young hyena myself.'		

2.2.3.5 Nominal derivation

The flexibility of grammatical means manifests in the creative ways they are employed to create new words. This section illustrates how the language employs nominal morphology to create nouns and names.

Beginning with the nominal class prefixes, three of them are employed to express local, temporal and modal meanings, among others: these are the classes 9, 11 and 14 which share the abstract nouns of the language. While the nasal prefix of the Cl. 9 used to derive abstract nouns out of verbal roots (87) which cannot be employed in adverbial expressions, the nominal prefixes of the classes 11, as in (88)

and 14, as in (89) with the affixes *lu-* and *bu-* respectively, are used to derive abstract nouns that occur often in adverbial expressions denoting space, time or manner:

(87) -bee-ra   →   e-m-bée-ra

      -COP-APP   AUG-9-COP-APP

      'be from; live in'   'residence; condition'

(88) -kaal-u   →   o-lu-káal-u

      -be(come)_dry-ND   AUG-11- be(come)_dry-ND

      'dry'   'be at dry land= continental(-ly)'

(89) -tuul-ira   →   o-bu-túul-ir-o

      -sit_remain-APP   AUG-14-sit_remain-APP-D

      -'sit down/ stay in'   'be at the bottom= deep(-ly)'

The examples (88) as well as example (89) above demonstrate two derivative strategies employed for the formation of adjectives and nouns out of verbal roots: the suffix *–u* occurs to derive adjectives and the suffix *–o* occurs to derive nouns. Agent nouns are derived through the suffix *–i* as illustrated in (90) and actions results and instruments through the suffix *–o* as shown in (91):

(90) a-híiga   →   o-mu-hiig-i

      3SgPRES-hunt   1-hunt-ND

      '(s)he hunts'   'a/the hunter'

(91) a-húula   →   o-mu-húul-o

      3SgPRES -pestle   AUG-3-pestle-ND

      '(s)he pestles'   →   'a/the pestle'

The prefix *ma-* of Class 6 is employed to derive plurals for collective and non-plural nouns:

(92) e-i-sukáli   'sugar'   a-ma-sukáli   'kinds of sugar'

      AUG-9-sugar   AUG-6-sugar

The prefix *bu-* (Cl. 14) is employed in combination with names: it also forms the name of a country while the name of the people is formed through the human classes (Cl. 1/ 2) and the name of the language the people of a country share is formed through *lu-* (Cl. 11):

(93)   Bu-ganda   Mu-/Ba-ganda   Lu-ganda

           14-ganda   1-/2-ganda   11-ganda

           'Ganda land/kingdom'   'Ganda person/people'   'Ganda language'

The prefix *ki-* (Cl. 7) is frequently used to express 'the way people do something'[41]:

(94)   Tu-fumb-è   e-mále ki-shese!

           1Pl-cook-VE   AUG-9-fish 7-Shese

           'Let´s cook the fish the way the Bashese do!'

The next example shows another productive strategy through the prefix *ki-* employed to derive qualities from nouns:

(95)

(a)   o-mu-saighia   →   ki-sáighia   (b)   O-mu-húulu   ki-ntù ki-sáighia.

         AUG-1-man   7-man   AUG-3-pestle   7.thing   7-male

         'a/the man'   'male[42]'   'The pestle (is) a male object.'

The prefix *ka-* (Cl. 12) is used to derive diminutives:

(96)   a-ka-mbwa   'a/the puppy dog'

           AUG-12-9dog

A very common derivation in Bantu is that trees and fruits are expressed by the same roots in different classes (cf. Schadeberg 2003:83-84); this derivation is productive in Lushese regarding edible plants, most of which are imported. Regarding endemic wild plants, no such derivation is attested; the tree names are classified in classes 3 and 9, or appear with the male suffix *(i)she-* as exemplified in (97):

(97)   (o-)mu-hóbu   she-itáala[43]   (e-)m-peheerè

           (AUG-)3-hóbu   m-itáala   AUG-9-peheerè

           'tree name'   'tree name'   'tree name'

Partial and full reduplication of lexical roots are further derivative strategies illustrated in (98):

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[41] Some language names, like Kiswahili or Kinyarwanda maintain the *ki-* prefix and only occasionally appear with the *lu-*prefix.

[42] About the classification of things in male and female: see in (3.3).

[43] Also attested: *ishetáala*.

(98)   -holola   ki-hohólo   a-ma-hólo-hólo

              -cough   7-cold   AUG-6-coldRED

              'cough[44]   'cold'   'lungs'

Compound nouns are very rare; associative constructions are preferred to express relations between nouns. Predications or associative expressions are sometimes lexicalized, as is the case for the Lushese noun meaning 'goat':

(99)   e-n-dhya-bu-húule   'goat'

              AUG-9-eat-14-grass

              Lit: it eats grass

The local pre-prefixes *ha-, ku-* and *mu-* are employed to derive adverbials; together with other grammatical elements, they derive pronominal forms:

(100)   mu-ky-áhai?   ku-ky-áhai?   ná-mu   ná-ku   kú-ha

          LOC-7-Q   LOC-7-Q   CONN-LOC   CONN-LOC   LOC-LOC

          'in which?'   'on which?'   'and in (it)'   'and on (it)'   'there on/at (it)'

2.2.4 Verbal morphology
In the next section, the verbal phrase and its morphology will be discussed: (2.2.4.1) introduces the verbal phrase, section 2.2.4.2 gives an overview of the formation of the finite verb; (2.2.4.3) discusses the subject and object concord; in (2. 2.4.4) the tense, mood and aspect will be presented, while section 2.2.4.5 shows the negation; (2.2.4.6) gives an overview of the auxiliary and modal verbs, section 2.2.4.7 is devoted to the verbal derivation; finally (2.2.4.8) discusses the derivative morphology of verbal roots.

2.2.4.1 The verbal phrase
Since Lushese has no morphologically marked case-system, the arguments of the verb are identifiable though the word-order of the clause as well through the subject- (and if required object-prefixes) attached to a finite verbal form. Adjuncts occur either in the clause final position or for reasons of emphasis in the clause-initial position. The following sections give insight to the formation and rules of the verbal phrase in the language.

2.2.4.2 Overview of the formation of finite verbs
As mentioned before, the main distinction between verbs and nouns in Lushese consists of the morphology attached to the lexical root. The slots of the verbal morphology can be generalized as follows:

(101)

(NEGATION) SUBJ.-CONCORD TENSE (OBJ.-CONCORD) **VERB-ROOT** (VERBAL DERIVATION) TENSE/MOOD

However, the above generalization is rather an idealization: the verbal morphology shows the strong flectional tendency of this agglutinating language. Especially the first three slots; namely the obligatory subject concord and the tense marking as well as the negation in negative utterances are

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[44] More frequent is the verb *okutyónka* 'cough'.

amalgamated into one morpheme. Furthermore, the tense, aspect and mood suffixes are in some cases merged.

2.2.4.3 Subject and object concord

Since Lushese has no morphologically marked case, the main syntactical functions can be identified due to the word order. The basic word order in Lushese is **(S)VO(x)**. The term 'basic word order' denotes the word order that applies in most contexts and is the most frequent one. Another definition of 'basic word order' regards the aspect of emphasis: it is not favoured, since emphasis in Lushese is rather communicated through morphological variations, intonation, voice volume and/or body language rather than through the change of the word order.

A morphologically based criterion is the following: A subject already known in the discourse will not be repeated or pronominalized, if not for reasons of emphasis. The subject concord in the finite verb is therefore obligatory. The object concord is obligatory only if the object precedes the verb.

The NP in the syntactical function of the subject must be identified as such through a prefix attached to the verbal stem. The two classes for human, (Cl. 1 and 2) correspond to six prefixes that represent persons in singular and plural respectively. The first person singular consists of a sole nasal that assimilates progressively to the root:

Table 20: The subject concord for human (Nominal classes 1 and 2)

PERSONS	CLASS 1	CLASS 2
1st.	**N-**	**tu-**
2nd.	**o-**	**mu-**
3rd.	**a-**	**ba-**

The object concord for human is the same, but reduced in one form: the second and third person in the plural are represented by the same prefix *ba-* as shown in Table 21:

Table 21: The object concord for human (Nominal classes 1 and 2)

PERSONS	CLASS 1	CLASS 2
1st.	**N-**	**tu-**
2nd.	**ku-**	**ba-**
3rd.	**mu-**	**ba-**

The reflexive concord implies that a human entity directs the event described by the verb to the own self[45], consequently being simultaneously source thus subject and goal thus object of the same event. In this case, the reflexive prefix appears after the subject concord in the slot of the object concord:

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[45] To express reflexive meaning in case of other animates Lussese employs the noun equate to 'body' (or body parts), see chapter 2.

Table 22: The reflexive concord for human (Nominal classes 1 and 2)

PERSONS	CLASS 1	CLASS 2
1st.	**ɳ-ee**	**tw-ee**
2nd.	**w-ee**	**b-ee**
3rd.	**h/y-ee**	**b-ee**

The next example exemplifies the use of the reflexive concord:

(102)   Y-ee-bóine[46]   ku-ny-ándha.   '(S)he saw him/her self on the lake (surface).'

          3Sg-REFL-see   LOC-9-sea

The subject and object prefixes for the other classes are identical with the prefixes for the nominal dependents shown in Table (12). The following examples show the use of the subject and object concord: in (103), the obligatory subject concord is exemplified with or without the nominal phrase in the syntactical function of the subject preceding the verb and (104) shows the subject concord of a non-human nominal class:

(103)   (Máawe)   a-fúmba   o-bú-lio.

          (Mama)   3Sg-cook AUG-14-food

          '(Mama)/somebody already mentioned cooks the food.'

(104)   O-bú-lio   bu-hóoma.

          AUG-14-food   14-taste

          Lit: The food tastes.

          'The food has a good taste.'

The next examples show the use of the object concord: since the NP in the syntactical function of the object follows the verb, the object concord is not necessary in (105) whereas in the emphatic word order in (106), the object concord is obligatory:

(105)   Ha-bóin-e   laatáwe   mu-n-tíndi.

          3SgPAST-see-PAST   father   LOC-9-house

          '(S)he sees/meets the father in the house.'

(106)   Laatáwe   ha-mu-bóin-e.

          Father   3SgPAST-3OC-see-PAST

          '(S)he sees/meets the father in the house!'   (EMPHASIS)

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[46] Also attested: *y-ee-móine*.

2.2.4.4 Tense, aspect and mood (TAM)

All the neighbouring languages of the Bantu J-Group have six paradigms for tense marking regarding the finite verb and further tenses composed with auxiliary verbs. In Luganda and Lusoga, aspectual differences are expressed through the use of finite verbs or auxiliary constructions. It may be assumed that Lushese before reaching today´s endangered status may have had a similarly extended tense system, as well as that the variation in the use of plain vs. composed tenses may have been employed for expressing aspect. This hypothesis arises out of the observation that all other languages of the Nyoro-Ganda group share similar TAM paradigms. Unfortunatelly I was not able to collect more or complete the information on issues concerning the TAM. Although it was possible to elicit some tense-paradigms of finite verbs, in the dialogues, narratives and spontaneous utterances the speakers basically use two finite forms for past and present tense respectively and the auxiliary construction for future tense.

(107)

PAST TENSE	PRESENT TENSE	FUTURE TENSE	
N-aa-bámbaig-irè	M-bámbaig-a.	N-ghia	ku-bambáiga
1Sg-PAST-go-PAST	1SgPRES-go-VE	1Sg-FUT	15-go
'I went.'	'I go.'	'I will go.'	

The next table illustrates the conjugation of the regular verb *bambaiga* 'walk, go':

Table 23: Tense paradigm for the verbal root *bambaiga* 'walk, go'

	PAST	PRESENS	FUTURE
FORMATION	SC-PAST-**verb**-PAST	SC-**verb**	SC-AUX 15-**verb**
SINGULAR			
1	N-aa-bámbaig-irè	M-bámbaiga	N-ghià ku-bambáiga
2	H-o-bámbaig-irè	O-bámbaiga	Ó-ighia ku-bambáiga
3	H-a-bámbaig-irè	A-bámbaiga	Á-ighia ku-bambáiga
PLURAL			
1	Tw-a-bámbaig-irè	Tu-bámbaiga	Tw-íghia ku-bambáiga
2	Mw-a-bámbaig-irè	Mu-bámbaiga	Mw-íghia ku-bambáiga
3	B-aa-bámbaig-irè	Ba-bámbaiga	Ba-íghia ku-bambáiga

Verbal roots ending with the lateral approximant [l] regularly change their ablaut with the fricative interdental [ð] for the formation of the past:

(108)

a–**kól**-a	→	ha-**kódh**-ir-e
3SgPRES-work-VE		3SgPAST-work-PAST-VE
'(s)he works'		'(s)he worked'

For reasons of convenience the notion PRES for presens following the subject concord will be often omitted in the interlinear transcription: for verbs in past tense the notion PAST will be always noted.

Aspectual differences are constituted through the use of the copula in a local construction as shown in (109 a,b). The construction may be translated as 'to be in + infinitive' and denotes duration and/or the

relevance of a certain time-frame: it is used more frequently in situated rather than general expressions, as shown in (109 c):

(109)   (a)   A-fúmba.

              3SgPRES-cook

              'She cooks.'

    (b)   A-lí-mu   ku-fúmba.

              3Sg-COP-LOC   15-cook

              'She is cooking.'

    (c)   N-aa-báire   ngá-li-mu   ku-fúmba,

              1Sg-PAST-be   CONJ-COP-LOC 15-cook

              n-aa-hóny-ire   bu-kupà   bw-ánge   mu-ki-óto.

              1Sg-PAST-hurt-VE   14-finger   14-POSS1Sg   LOC-7-fire

              '(The other day/lately) when I was cooking, I hurt my fingers in the fire.'

While the tenses shown in the table above can be employed in generic expressions, the locative construction doesn´t allow generic interpretation, as shown in (110b):

(110)   (a)   E-n-kóidhi   dhi-kábola.

              AUG-10-dog   10-bark

              'Dogs bark (usually)'.   (GENERAL OR GENERIC EXPRESSION)

    (b)   E-n-kóidhi   dhí-ri-mu   ku-kábola.

              AUG-10-dog   10-be-LOC   15-bark

              'Dogs are barking.'   (SITUATED EXPRESSION)

              *'Dogs are typically/usually barking.   (*GENERIC/ HABITUAL INTERPRETATION)

Regarding mood differences, the indicative is denoted through the suffix –a (111). The suffix –e is often used in the present tense to denote change of mood between a main and a dependent sentence as illustrated in (112) and (113) below; the use of the suffix –e is generalised in the past tense, where the suffix –a never appeared (113). On the other hand, in the auxiliary construction for the future, the suffix –e never appears (114):

(111)   Á-ighi-a   kúno   a-ka-hungéedhi.

          3SgPRES-come-VE   ADV   AUG-12-evening

          '(S)he (will) come today evening.'

(112)   N-ghi-à   kú-ha e-i-fúmu   ly-ánge   o-hímbul-e   e-n-sólo.

          1SgPRES-come-VE   2OC-give AUG-9-spear   9-1SgPOSS   2SgPRES-kill-VE   AUG-9-wild

          'I will give you my spear, (so that) you kill a wild animal.'

(113)   Ha-ighí-r-e   e-i-gúlo.

          3SgPAST-come-PAST-VE   AUG-9-TEMP

          '(S)he came yesterday/last evening.'

(114)   A-íghi-a   kw-íghia   e-i-gúlo/é-n-sha.

          3SgPRES-come-Ve 15-come AUG-9-evening/tomorrow

          '(S)he will come tomorrow.'

In imperative forms, both suffixes –a and –e are used: with respect to the number, –a is used in singular (in 115) and -e in plural forms (116):

(115)   (a)   Híimb-a!   'Sing! (Sg)'

                  Sing-VE

          (b)   Tó-hiimb-a[47]!   'Don´t sing! (Sg)'

                  NEG2Sg-sing-VE

(116)   (a)   Mu-hiimb-è!   'Sing! (Pl)'

                  2Pl-sing-VE

          (b)   Te-mu-híimb-e!   'Don´t sing! (Pl)'

                  NEG-2Pl-sing-VE

The next example shows that other prefixes (in (117) the prefix mu- for object concord), don´t impact the formation of the imperative:

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[47] Alternative, emphatic form: o-tá-heemb-a   'Don´t (you/Sg dare to) sing!'
                                     2SgPRES-NEG-sing-VE

(117)   Mu-bó(i)n-a   o-gw-ò   tá-saigà   kw-íghi-a   ku-náaba.

1OC-see-VE   AUG-3-REL   3SgPresNEG-like   15-go-VE   15-bath

Lit: Look at him/her, who doesn´t like to go bathing.

'Look how dirty (s)he is!'

Again the data allows for the suggestion that the mode system must have been as equally complex as the neighbouring languages, but some forms and uses were lost in Lushese because of its endangered status. In the interlinear transcription, both suffixes are abbreviated as 'verbal ending' (VE); often this notion is omitted in the transcription because of space limitations.

2.2.4.5. Negation

Negation is marked only by the verb through the prefix *te-*. In the case of human, the negation marker is fused with the subject concord prefixes, as shown in (118). In all other cases, the negation prefix appears in the initial slot of the finite verb, as illustrated in (119):

(118)   si-kolà   to-kolà   ta-kolà

NEG1SgPRES-work   NEG2SgPRES-work   NEG3SgPRES-work

'I don´t work.'   'You/Sg don´t work.'   '(S)he doesn´t work.'

(119)   ta-tú-kolà   ta-kí-kolà

NEG-1PlPRES-work   NEG-7-work

'We don´t work.'   'It doesn´t work.'

An exception to the above paradigm which must be considered is the formation of the second and the third person singular/present of the verb *saiga* 'to love/like/want': the regular negation which is rarely used is shown in (120a), the forms most frequently used are exemplified in (120b):

(120)   (a)   to-sáiga   ta-sáiga

2SgPRES-love/like   3SgPRES-love/like

'you (sg) don´t like/love'   '(s)he doesn´t like/love'

(b)   o-ta-sáiga   a-ta-sáiga

2SgPRES-NEG-love/like   3SgPRES-NEG-love/like

'you (sg) don´t like/love'   '(s)he doesn´t like/love'

The meanings 'nobody' and 'nothing' are expressed through the negated copula followed by the appropriate noun:

(121) (a) ta-há-li   mú-ntu   (b) taháli   ká-ntu

       NEG-3SgPAST-be 1-person   frozen NEG-be   12-thing

       'nobody'   'nothing'

2.2.4.6 Overview of the auxiliary verbs

The copula *li* 'to be' and the directional verbs *ighia* 'come' and *geenda* 'go' are used as auxiliaries within the tense/aspect paradigm. The following table shows only the conjugation of the copula, which has the irregular form *ba* 'be COPULA' (suppletiv with the form *li*):

Table 24: The copula *li/ba* 'be'

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
FORMATION	SC-PAST-**COP**-PAST	SC-**COP**	SC-AUX 15-**COP**
SINGULAR			
1	n-aa-**bá**-ire	n-**dhi**	n-ghia ku-**bà**
2	h-o-**bá**-ire	ó-**li**	ó-ighia ku-**bà**
3	h-a-**bá**ire	á-**li**	á-ighia ku-**bà**
PLURAL			
1	tw-a-**bá**-ire	tú-**li**	tú-ighia ku-**bà**
2	mw-a-**bá**-ire	mú-**li**	mú-ighia ku-**bà**
3	b-aa-**bá**-ire	bá-**li**	bá-ighia ku-**bà**

Furthermore, regular verbs *(shoka* 'be first', *mala* 'reach')* are used in comparative constructions and/ or to express temporal sequence as demonstrated in 122:

(122)   Shóka   géenda   haléeri,

           SgIMPbe_first SgIMPgo   LOC

           o-tunúul-ere   e-n-tíndi   mu-má-iso   áho,

           2SgPRES-look_at-VE   AUG-9-house   LOC 6-eye   LOC

           kihúuka   emabégha,

           SgIMPturn   LOC

           bw´   o-mal-áho,   shuléendula!

           CONJ   2SgPRES-reach-LOC   SgIMPshout_lululu

       'First you go out (and) see a house in front of you (and) you go behind it (and) when
       you have reached there, shout *lululu*!'

The verb *leeka* 'to let' is used to form indirect and polite imperative forms (123a, b) and the verb *siinga* 'exceed' is involved in comparisons and/or to form degrees of qualities (124):

(123)   (a)   Mu-leeká   a-híimb-e!   'Let (Sg) him/her sing!'

                1OC-SgIMP:let   3SgPRES-sing-VE

    (b)   Mu-leekè   ku-fúumba!   'Let (you/Pl) cook!'

                2PlPRES   15-cook

(124)   Onó   mu-híigi   a-siingá-ko   b-oinà.

                    1DEM   1-hunter   3SgPRES-exceed-P 2-∀all

                Lit: This hunter exceeds all.

                'This hunter is the best of all.'

2.2.4.7 Verbal extensions

The morphemes presented in this section are employed to change the valence of verbs; furthermore, they are used for derivation[48]. The affixes impact the meaning of the verbal root: often the affixed form of a verbal root is lexicalized and in some cases only an affixed form is meaningful and no verbal root can be segmented. Their use for deriving other word classes out of verbs is discussed in (2.3.5).

While all verbal extensions are very productive, they are not equally frequent in use. It was not possible to identify one verbal root that allows the use of all these forms in a meaningful way. The grammatical functions covered by these morphemes are as follows:

APPLICATIVE   It makes the addition of one participant obligatory and is itself obligatory for introducing an indirect object.

CAUSATIVE   It implies an effector.

PASSIVE   It omits the agent.

RECIPROCAL   It involves at least two entities exchanging whatever the content of the verb means, so that both are sending and receiving the same, consequently being source/subject of the one part of the event and receiver/object of the other.

REFLEXIVE   It requires a human entity who directs to his/her self whatever the verb means.

REVERSIVE   It implies the opposite of the verb´s meaning without the extension.

STATIVE   It implies state (opposite of change)

TRANSITIVE   In line with McPherson & Paster 2009, who note: "*Transitive is elsewhere in the literature known as 'Short Causative' (reconstructed for proto-Bantu as *-¸i-*)* (ibid: 57), I distinguish this category from the causative, since this form appears in Lushese only after the applicative, whereas the causative affix is self-standing and may be combined with other extensions beside applicative. The

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[48] The distinction between the two functions of verbal extensions in Bantu languages has engaged a number of authors: for a summary on the set of issues see Welmers 1973 and Claudi 1994.

transitive combination of the applicative and short causative suffix implies a causer (Bastin 1986 and Katamba 1993 analyze for Luganda the suffix *–iza* as an allomorph of the causative *-isa*).

Only the reflexive form engages a prefix; all other morphemes are suffixes. The next examples show the use, morpho-phonological processes and combination of the verbal extensions.

The applicative suffix *–ira* can appear twice as shown in (125a); (125b) exemplifies the reduplicated applicative in the past:

(125)   (a)   Ta-sáiga   ku-him-ir-íra.   '(S)he doesn´t like to stand up[49]'.

                  3SgPRES-like   15-stand_up-APP-APP

          (b)   Ha-hím-ir-iirè.   '(S)he stood up.'

                  3SgPAST-stand-up-APP-APP:PAST

The next example shows the use of the transitive suffix *–idha* and the past tense formation for the auxiliary verb *mala* 'to be enough':

(126)   -mála   -mal-íra   -mal-ir-idhà

          -be_enough   -be_enough-APP   -be_enough-APP-TRANS

          'be(come) enough'   'finish'   'should be enough/ finish'

          -mádh-ire   -madh-íire   madhí-ir-eirè

          -be_enough-PAST -   be_enough-APP:PAST   -be_enough-APP-TRANS:PAST

          'was enough'   -'finished'   'caused to be enough/finished'

The following table summarizes the suffixes and gives examples for main functions of the verbal extensions:

---

[49] The implication is that the person is a coward.

Table 25: Verbal extensions

FUNCTION	PREFIX	SUFFIXES	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
APPLICATIVE		-(i)ra	**-fúmba** -cook **-fumb-íra** -cook-APP	'cook' 'cook for sb.'
CAUSATIVE		-ésa -isha	**-sóma** -learn; read **-som-ésa** -learn-CAUS	'learn' 'teach'
PASSIVE		-(ib)wa,	**-(h)é(i)ta** -call **-(h)eit-íbwa** -call-P	'call' 'be called'
RECIPROCAL		– (ga)n(y)à	**-bóina** -see **-boina-ganà** -see-REC	'see' 'see each other' = 'meet'
REVERSIVE		-ula	**-igála** -open **-ig-úla** -close:REV	'open' 'close'
REFLEXIVE	ee-	-	**M-bóina.** 1SgPRES-see **N-ee-bóina** (**ku-mú-iga**.) 1SgPRES-REFL-see LOC-3-river	'I see'. 'I see myself (on the river).'
STATIVE		-(e)ka	**-bóina** -see **-bo(i)n-eka** -see-STAT	'see' 'be seen; show; appear (as)'
TRANSITIVE (APPLICATIVE +CAUSATIVE)		-ir-ídha -er-édha	**-bo(i)n-er-édha** -dee-APP-CAUS	'punish'

The causative prefix has the allomorph *–(i)sha* when the ablaut of the verbal stems is the dental plosive [t]; (127) shows the applicative and causative forms of the verb *–íta* which means 'kill sb. (human)'[50]:

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[50] Example (112) illustrates a use of the root *hémbula* or *hímbula*, which denotes 'to kill animals'.

(127)   -íta   -it-íra   -ít-isha

           -kill   -kill-a   -kill-CAUS

           'kill'   -'kill for'   -'caused to be killed'

The verbal ending –*a* may be changed to –*e*, then several morpho-phonological processes take place:

(128)   CAUSATIVE: -ésa   →   -íshe

           PASSIVE: -(ib)wa   →   -(ib)úire   →   -húire

           RECIPROCAL: -(ga)nà   →   -(ga)níre

The initial vowel of the applicative suffix changes through progressive assimilation after [ee]:

(129)   -léeta   'bring'   →   -leet-éra   'bring for'

           -bring   -bring-APP

Coming to the possible combinations of the verbal extensions, the examples below give an overview of what is attested in the data. The affixes for the applicative, the causative and the transitive are the most flexible and productive.

The combination of the applicative with the reciprocal form results in the form –*ira-gána* or –*era-gána*. The combination allows both ways of scope relation[51]: if the applicative has scope over the recipient, then the interpretation is that two entities accomplish something reciprocally for a reason (130a); if the recipient has scope over the applicative, then the interpretation is that two entities accomplish something reciprocally for their own sake (130b):

(130)   (a)   -huul-era-gána   (b)   -heemb-era-gána

                 -fight-APP-REC   sing-APP-REC

                 'fight each other for something'   'sing for each other'

The combination of the applicative with the passive results in the forms –*írwa* (or –*érwa)*:

(131)   -dháala/-byála   →   -dhaal-ír-wa/-byal-ír-wa

           -give_bearth   -be_born-APP-PASS

           'give birth'   'be born'

The applicative may also be combined with the stative form:

(132)   -gwana   →   -gwan-ir-éka

           -be_suitable   -be_suitable-APP-STAT

           'be(come) suitable'   'caused to be(come) suitable'

---

[51] About the scope relations within the same combination in Luganda see McPherson & Paster 2009:60 and Katamba 1993: 277-279.

The causative and the passive in combination results in the forms *–ishíbwa* (or *-ishíhwa*); the transitive form combined with the passive form is not attested and has been rejected (**-idhibwa*):

(133)   n-aa-heemb-ish-íbwa   'I was forced to sing.'

          1Sg-PAST-sing-CAUS-PASS

The verbal extensions serve both needs of the argument structure by manipulating the valence of the verb, and needs of semantic expressivity by creating in combination with certain verbs and/or with nominal morphology new semantic content. The next section illustrates some patterns of derivation concerning verbal roots and verbal morphology.

2.2.4.8 Derivation

Coming to the derivative potential of verbal roots in combination with nominal morphology, the past form of verbs in combination with the appropriate class prefix derives equivalents to adjectives or participles (134). The passive extension is productive in the same way (135):

(134)   ha-lwá-ire   o-mu-lwá-ire   e-n-dwá-ire

          3Sg-b(come)_ill-PAST   AUG-1- b(come)_ill-PAST   AUG-9- b(come)_ill-PAST

          '(s)he got ill'   'ill (human)'   'ill (non human)'

(135)   a-líinda   o-mu-línd-wa

          3SgPRES-wait   AUG-1-wait-PASS

          '(s)he waits'   'the one waited[52]'

The reduplication of the applicative form is very productive for expressing qualities and states:

(136)   o-lu-lambála   gu-káala   o-lu-lambála   o-lu-kaal-ír-ira

          AUG-11-cloth   11SC-be(come)_dry AUG-11-cloth   AUG-11-be(come)_dry-APP-APP

          'The cloth becomes) dry/is drying.'   'the/a completely dry cloth'

The stative suffix attached to nouns derives verbs denoting state (137a) and the causative suffix attached to nouns derives verbs denoting caused state (137b):

(137)   e-i-shányu   'joy'   →   (a)   n-aa-ishanyú-ik-ire

                          AUG-9-joy   1Sg-PAST-joy-STAT-PAST

                                                   'I was joyful; pleasured.'

                                      →   (b)   n(i)-ishányu-ish-e

                                                   1Sg-joy-CAUS-PAST

                                                   'Sth. caused me to be joyful.'

---

[52] In Christian contexts also the Messiah; furthermore name for children in special cases. For example, if a child is born after the birth of a deseased one.

2.2.5 The expression of time, space and manner

Temporal and locative indications as well information about quality and quantity can be communicated through a combination of various grammatical means: the use of the local pre-prefixes, the use of noun expressing temporal or special relations, further nouns in adverbial function as well as the few adverbs in Lushese may be employed sole or in combination to refer to time, space and/or direction or manner.

2.2.5.1 Nouns expressing spatial relations

A number of nouns in Lushese can be used to express relation in space. In these cases the nouns are accompanied by various morphological markers including locatives, associatives as well as the connective conjunction. The phrases which are constructed to express spatial relations show features of grammaticalization with respect to the semantic content of the nouns evolved: through metonymic and metaphoric links the nouns are used not in the full sense but rather as source concepts for the orientation in space based on the human and the landscape model (cf. Heine1997: 35-62). On the other hand and despite the semantic change, with respect to the morphological marking the phrases retain the full nominal concord. The next example illustrates two phrases in which the noun used to express special relation occurs in the position of the head of an associative construction; the dependent noun follows the associative marker with or without augment:

(138)   e-ma-bégha   g-a   mu-tì   e-ma-bégha   g´   o-mú-ti

         LOC-6-back   6-ASS   3-tree   LOC-6-back   6-ASS   AUG-3-tree

         'behind a/the tree'   'behind a/the tree'

The next table includes an exhaustive list of the nouns, which are used to express relations of space:

Table 26: Noun constructions expressing spatial relations

CONSTRUCTION		TRANSCRIPTION	GLOSS
(e-)mabegha ga	→	LOC-back+ ASS	'behind'
ha-nsí ha	→	LOC-earth + ASS	'under'
(o-)mu-má-iso ga	→	LOC + eyes/frozen + ASS	'in front of'
ha-igúlu ha	→	LOC-sky + ASS	'up'
ku-mpi na	→	LOC-short + CONN	'near'
(o)mu-ki-fo kia	→	LOC + place + ASS	'at (LOC)'
mu-kifo kye	→	LOC + place + REL	'instead of'
(o-)ku-má-ibali ga	→	LOC + side + ASS	'aside, near at'

2.2.5.2 Adverbs and nouns in adverbial function

Lushese has a closed category of adverbs listed below in Table (28). Very common in Lushese is the use of plain local or temporal nouns in adverbial function that either occur in the first or in the final position of an utterance. The meaning of nouns in adverbial function often depends on the context: for

example, the noun *eigulo* 'evening' expresses both the meaning 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' in interaction with the tense of the verb:

(139)   Tw-áa-si-irè   e-i-gúlo.

          1Pl-PAST-arrive-PAST   AUG-9-evening

          'We arrived yesterday.'

(140)   Tu-íghia   ku-íghia   e-i-gúlo.

          1PlPRES-AUX   15-come   AUG-9-evening

          'We will arrive tomorrow.'

By using the prefix *bu-* (Cl. 14) is it possible to derive adverbs from other lexical roots; the next example demonstrates that the meaning of the root may change:

(141)   –(h)era   'white' →   ki-(h)éra   'white (thing)'

                                        7-white

                         →   bu-(h)éra   'well (ADV)'

                                        14-white

Besides the use of the prefix *bu-* (Cl. 14), prefixes of other noun classes as well the locative morphemes[53] affixed to nouns, verbs, ideophones and pronominal roots, can be employed to form adverbial expressions of place, time, manner, state and degree. The following table gives an overview of the adverbial formatives:

Table 27: Nominal prefixes used as adverbial formatives[54]:

PLACE	TIME	CAUSE/ REASON	MANNER; STATE
LOCATIVE PRE-PREFIXES: **ha-** **ku-** **mu-**	LOCATIVE PRE-PREFIXES: **ku-** **mu-** NOUN CLASS PREFIXES: **lu-** **bu-** **ka-**	NOUN CLASS PREFIX: **lu-**	NOUN CLASS PREFIXES: **lu-** **bu-** **ka-** **ki-** **ma-**

For example the combination of relative pronouns or with the interrogative *otyo* 'how' with the prefixes *lu-* (Cl.11) and *bu-* (Cl.14) results in adverbials of cause or manner respective. The next example illustrates the combination of the relative form with *lu-* and the combination of the interrogative form with *bu-*:

---

[53] The locative pre-prefixes in Lushese show evidence of once having being part of the noun class system, but today they are not productive. For a summury on the reconstruction of the locative classes in Bantu languages see Creissels 2011 a.o.
[54] The table is conceived after the table for adverbial formatives in Luganda by Ashton et al 1954: 248).

(142)   (a)   Lu-lwò   si-sáiga   ku-nywà.

11-11REL   NEG1SgPRES-like15.drink

'For this (reason) I don´t like to drink (alcohol).'

(b)   Tó-haaya   bw-ótyo!

NEG2SgPRES-speak   14-how

'Don´t speak like that!'

The next table defines the close word class of adverbs in Lushese; again tones are here included, since they are stable. Some tonal variation is exemplified below:

Table 28: Exhaustive list of adverbs in Lushese

LUSHESE	GLOSS
áhai, ahò	'here'
enshà	'tomorrow'
erà	'indeed (emphasis)'
halà, halái, haléeri	'far, there'
hánsi, hansì	'down'
ídhi, dhyò	'yesterday'
íinyo, inyò	'much (quintifier)'
iirála	'much (emphatic)'
káno (kaakáno)	'today, now'
kumpí, (piáhai)	'near, almost'

Some words of the above table have tonal variation which depends on the surrounding:

(143)   (a)   e-n-koidhi   hánsi   e-rá   (b)   Íi-ka   hansì!

AUG-9-dog   down   4-LOK   IMPcome   down

'The dog lies down.'   'Come down!'

Besides adverbs, nouns in adverbial function and the formation of adverbs through locative and noun class prefixes, phrases also can be used to express adverbial concepts. The next examples illustrate the use of the comparative conjunction *nga* to express manner: by the means of tone variation the speaker may add emphasis, as shown in (144b):

(144)   (a)   Ha-kodh-íre   ngá-ife.   (b)   Ha-kódh-irè   ngà   ifè.

3Sg-work-PAST   Conj-1PlPERS   3Sg-PAST-work   Conj   1PlPERS

'He has worked like we (did).'   'He has worked like <u>we</u> (did).'

GENERAL EXPRESSION   EMPHATIC EXPRESSION

2.2.5.3 Interjections and ideophones

Interjections and ideophones can be identified as separate word classes due to their phonological structure as well with respect to syntactic criteria, as in the case of interjections, and phonological and morpho-syntactic criteria, as in case of ideophones.

Interjections in Lushese occur only in exclamatory position or isolated. Semantically the interjections imply affirmation or negation and can replace the words[55] *ínya* 'yes' and *pái* 'no':

(145)

	NEGATION		AFFIRMATION	
GENERAL	pái	'no'	ínya	'yes'
EMPHASIS	àá!		hàà	
EXAGGERATION	páipáipái		(h)èè	

While in case of affirmation the speakers may choose between three expressions, the word *hái* 'yes', or the interjections *hàà* and the emphatic *(h)èè*, in case of negation the speakers can choose between the word *pái* 'no', the more emphatic interjection *àá*, which is followed by a stop indicated by the exclamation point in ex. 146, and the very emphatic triplication *páipáipái*.

Lushese has a variety of ideophones, which may occur without any morphological marking or accompanied by verbal or nominal morphology; further they may occur in various syntactic positions. Ideophones employ both nominal and verbal morphology to form various words; they appear almost always reduplicated:

(146)   e-ki-hwá-hwa   'feather'   e-bi-há-ha   'fur'

AUG-7-IDEO-RED   AUG-8-IDEO-RED

The only attested simplex is *ge* 'good' which occurs also in tripled, but never in reduplicated form (147); all other forms constituted reduplications and in many cases triplications, with no corresponding simplex:

(147)   (a)   gé   'good'   (b)   gégégé   'very good'

The tonal pattern of reduplicated form is HF, while all triplications include three high tones (147b) and 148b):

(148)   (a)   'hwá-hwa   'smooth'   (b)   tú-tú-tú   'quick'

gwá-gwa   'to fall/ idiot'   cú-cú-cú   'bad smell'

The triplication *myú-myú-myú* is used to express bright colour (hue) as shown in (149a) below and is associated with red colour (149b); in this case the simplex *myu* requires either nominal (149a,b) or verbal morphological marking (149c). The modifier in (149a) is constructed as if the syllable *ki-* of the frozen form *kitakà* 'brown' were the nominal prefix of the Cl.7:

(149)   (a)   e-n-dhyánga   kitakà   ki-myú-myú-myù   'bright-brown bag'

AUG-9-bag   Øbrown   7-IDEO-TRIPP

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[55] These two words are here also considered as interjections, because they also appear in exclamations only and never appear in adverbial position or function.

(149)

    (b)   e-n-dhyánga   e-i-myú-pu   'red bag'

          AUG-9-bag   AUG-9-IDEO-ND

    (c)   E-n-dhýanga   e-myú-k-irè.   'The bag became red.'

          AUG-9-bag   9SC-IDEO-STAT-PAST

The meaning of ideophones can be reconstructed only in context and the semantic content of the surrounding roots influence the interpretation of the words based on ideophones.

2.2.6 Summary

The affixes of the Lushese morphology are summarized in the next table, which is conceived after Ashton et al for Luganda (1954:25); they are all subject to phonetic change.

Table 29: Reference table of the affixes in Lushese (after Ashton et al 1954:25)

	PREFIXES	SUFFIXES
Nominal classes and Adjectival concords	**mu-, ba-, mu-, mi-, (r)i-, ma-, ki-, bi-, N-, N-, lu-, ka-, bu-, tu-, ku-**	
Noun formatives		**-i, -o, -u, -e, -a**
Masculine noun formatives	**(I)sha-, (I)-she**	
Feminine noun formatives	**Na(i)**	
Augments	**a-, e-, o-**	
Nominal dependents	**w/y-, b-, gu-, gi-, l/ri-, g-, ki-, bi-, d-, k-, bu-, (tu-), ku-**	
Personal subject concords	**N-, (h)o-, (h)a-, tu-, mu-, ba-**	
Personal object concords	**N-, ku-, mu-, tu-, ba-, ba-**	
Reflexive formative	**-ee-**	
Verbal extensions		APP: **-ira** CAUS: **-isa** PASS: **-(ib)wa** REC: **-(ga)na** REV: -**ula** STAT: **-(e)ka** TRANS: -**iridha**
Mood affixes	**ka-**	**-a, -e**
Connective affixes	**nii-, ye-**	**-he**
Negation	**te-, ta-, si-,**	
Adverbial formatives	LOC: **e-, ku-, mu-, ha-** TIME: **ha-, lu-, bu-** MANNER: **lu-, bu-, ma-, ki-** STATE: **bu-**	**-ku, -mu, -ha, -ho**
Politeness affix		**-ko, -no**

2.3. Syntax

As already mentioned in the beginning of the grammatical sketch the term, 'basic word order' is used in this thesis to refer to the pattern of word order which is most frequent and which has less restrictions regarding possible contexts among alternative patterns of word order that speakers may choose; furthermore, in Lushese there is no morphologically marked case system and thus grammatical relations are expressed through the interrelation of morphology and word order. Example (152) generalizes the basic word order pattern in Lushese (cross reference: ex. 3):

(150)   BASIC WORD ORDER

        CONSTITUENT ORDER: **(x) (S)VO(x)**

        PHRASE: **HEAD – DEPENDENT**

The next sections give an overview of the sentence types in the language, treating verbless predications in (2.3.1), exemplifying copula, intransitive, transitive and three place predicates in (2.3.2), interrogative and imperative clauses in (2.3.3) and (2.3.4) respective and various subordinate clauses in (2.4.6).

2.3.1 Verbless predication

The identity of a subject referent to a nominal predicate or, in other words, the concept of equation, as well as the concept of class inclusion are expressed through verbless predications in Lushese. The construction of a verbless predication consists of two nominal phrases in juxtaposition; the first being augmented and the second appearing without the augment, as illustrated in (151b):

(151)   (a)   O-nó   mu-kairè.   (b)   O-mu-kairè   mu-lwáire.

           AUG-1DEM   1-old   AUG-1-old   1-ill

           'This one (is) old/elder.'   'A/The old/elder (is) ill.'

If both nominal phrases involve a local expression, they appear in juxtaposition (152a); this construction differs clearly from parenthetic constructions in that the latter employs the locative prefixes, like *è* as shown in (152b):

(152)   (a)   A-h-ò   Kiténde.   (b)   a-h-ò   è-Kiténde

           AUG-LOC-REL Kiténde   AUG-LOC-REL LOC-Kiténde

           'There (is) Kiténde'.   'there, in Kiténge...'

2.3.2 Main clause

This section consists of four parts, treating the copula constructions, the syntax of main intransitive and transitive clauses as well as sentences with indirect object and furthermore, interrogative and imperative sentences.

2.3.2.1 Copula constructions

Lushese employs the copula *li/ba* accompanied with local expressions to express location:

(153)   (a)   E-ki-kómpe   kí-ri   mu-híibo.

                  AUG-7-cup   7-COP   LOC-basket

                  'The cup is in the basket.'

            (b)   E-ki-kómpe   te-kí-ri   mu-híibo.

                  AUG-7-cup   NEG-7-COP   LOC-basket

                  'The cup is not in the basket.'

In cases where *mu* and *ku* are involved they may be prefixed to the noun as shown above or suffixed to the copula as the next example shows; the tonal structure changes. Because of morpho-phonological rules concerning the nasal sound of the nominal prefix (Cl. 9), the initial sound of the root and the long vowel of the root, when the locative *mu-* is suffixed to the copula, the allomorph *i-* appears realizing the nominal prefix of the Cl. 9. That this element is surely a nominal class prefix and no augment is clear in the case of all other classes. Example (154b) shows that after the suffixed to the locative *ku*, the noun follows without the augment:

(154)

        (a)   E-ki-kómpe   kirí-mu   i-híibo.   (b)   Ba-lí-ku   lu-káalu.

                AUG-7-cup   7-COP-LOC   9-basket   3PlPRES-COP-LOC 11-dry

                'The cup is in the basket.'   'They are at landside.'

This construction is further employed to express aspect: while the copula construction with the locative expression is used when the speaker refers to an actual event (155a), the use of the simple tense is employed as a general declarative statement:

(155)   (a)   A-lí-mu   ku-shíma.   (b)   A-shíma.

                  3SgPRES-COP-LOC   15-dig   3SgPRES-dig

                  '(S)he is digging.'   '(S)he digs.'

                  Situated Expression   General Expression

The copula suffixed with the connective *na* expresses possession. Lushese makes no differentiation between alienable and inalienable possession: possessive pronominal forms and associative constructions as well as the copula construction with *na* express possession in general. The phonetic substance of the copula *–li* (present tense) is often reduced. The lateral approximant is then omitted:

(156)   (a)   A-i-ná   e-i-shóke[56]   dhi-irugábu.   '(S)he has dark hair.'

                3SgPRES-COP-CONN   AUG-10-hair   10-dark

        (b)   Ha-bá-ire-na   e-i-shóke.   '(S)he had hair.'

                3SgPAST-COP-PAST-CONN   AUG-10-hair

If the noun denoting the object of possession is a verbal root in the Cl.15, then the construction expresses the meaning of obligation:

(157)   A-lí-na   (o-)ku-shíma.   '(S)he has to dig.'

        3SgPRES-COP-CONN   (AUG-)7-dig

The copula suffixed by the connective *na/ne* followed by the possessed entity prefixed with *na* expresses temporary possession; if the possessor and possessed entity are associated for a limited period of time, but no ownership can be claimed (according to Heine 1997: 34), the copula construction with double *na/ne* is used:

(158)   A-lí-na   ne   (e-)n-dhya-bu-húul-e,   nayè   te-dhi-rí-he.

        3SgPRES-COP-CONN   CONN   (AUG-)10-eat-14-grass-D   Conj   NEG-10-COP-3SgPOSS

        '(S)he has (the/some) goats, but they are not hers (=she doesn´t own them)'.

2.3.2.2 Intransitive and transitive clauses

The subject concord is obligatory in a finite verb, whereas the object concord is obligatory in some cases, but aside from these, it is flexibly employed to serve the communicative needs of the speaker. The case that a subject follows the finite verb is not attested in Lushese. The next examples illustrate the cases of obligatory object concord.

In case the object precedes the finite verb, the object concord is obligatory:

(159)   A-fúmba   o-bú-lio.   '(S)he cooks food.'   BASIC WORD ORDER

        '3SgPRES-cook   AUG-14-food

(160)   O-bú-lio   a-bu-fúmba.   '(S)he cooks food.'   NON-BASIC WORD ORDER

        AUG-14-food   '3SgPRES-14OC-cook

In case a direct object is introduced, as in (161) below, the direct object precedes the indirect and object-concord is optional. If only one of the objects is realized as a nominal phrase, then the other must be pronominalized through the appropriate object concord (161b, c):

(161)   (a)   N-aa-fúmbi-iirè   e-n-sálwa   mw-ámi   h-ánge.

                1Sg-PAST-cook-APP-PAST   AUG-9-meat   1-husband   1-1SgPOSS

                'I´ve cooked meat for my husband.'

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[56] Morpho-phonological processes may result the alternative pronunciation *n´o i-shóke*.

(161) (b)   N-aa-mu-fumbí-irè   e-n-sálwa.

            1Sg-PAST-1OC-cook-aPP:PAST   AUG-9-meat

            'I have cooked meat for him.'

        (c)   N-aa-(g)i-fúmbi-irè   mw-ámi   h-ánge.

            1Sg-PAST-9--cook-aPP:PAST   AUG-9-meat   1-1SgPOSS

            'I have cooked (it) for my husband.'

In the next example, the beginning of a narrative, illustrates a sequence of main and dependent clauses: the first main clause in (162a) below introduces the subject and demonstrates the basic word order, VO: the toponym *Bwéranga* must be considered as the direct object of the stative verb *sibuka* 'origin'. A dependent intransitive clause introduced by a temporal conjunction precedes the second main clause consisting of a sole finite verb in (162c), to which further clauses are attached through the connective *ne*. The clauses in (162c) below demonstrate the narrative character of the text: the use of two verbs meaning motion creates, beside dynamicity, a causal interpretation of the following action, the settling. The last clause of the text is a main clause with focus on the local expression, which therefore appears initially:

(162)

    (a)   A-ba-gúngu   **b-aa-síbuk-irè**   Bwérenga   lw-a   Kirùlu.

            AUG-2-chief   3Pl-PAST-origin_STAT-PAST   Bwérenga   7-ASS   Kirúlu

    (b)   Bwe   **b-aa-búi-re**;

            Conj   3Pl-PAST-grow_up-PAST

    (c)   **ba-léenga**   ne   **b-aa-géend-irè**   **ba-séng-ire**

            3Pl-walk   CONN   3Pl-PAST-go-PAST   3Pl-settle-PAST

            è-Kiténde   mu-Bushíiro.

            LOC-Kiténde   LOC-Bushíiro

    (d)   A-h-ò   è-Kiténde   **b-aa-luiré-ho**   íinyo.

            AUG-LOC-REL   LOC-Kiténde   3Pl-PAST-stay:PAST-LOC   ADVmuch

            'Our clan leaders originated from Bwerenga of Kirulu. When they grew old they left and went to settle in this Kiténde (which is) in Bushíro. There, in Kiténde, they stayed long.'

Sequences are formed through the use of the emphatic connective *erà* or the modal affixes *ka-a* and *–e/-ko* in combination; these elements connect equal constituents, thus phrases with phrases, main clauses with main clauses and subordinate clauses with the same. The emphatic connective replaces conjunctions and other connectives. The next examples show the use of *erà* (163) and the use of the modal affixes in two alternative constructions of the sentences in (162) above:

(163)

(a)	A-ba-gúngu	b-aa-síbuk-irè		Bwérenga	lw-a	Kirùlu,
	AUG-2-chief	3Pl-PAST-origin_STAT-PAST		Bwérenga	7-ASS	Kirúlu

(b)	**erà**	b-aa-búi-re;
	EMPH	3Pl-PAST-grow_up-PAST

(c)	ba-léenga	**erà**	b-aa-géend-irè	**erà**	ba-séng-ire
	3Pl-walk	EMPH	3Pl-PAST-go-PAST	EMPH	3Pl-settle-PAST

	è-Kiténde	mu-Bushíiro.
	LOC-Kiténde	LOC-Bushíiro

(d)	A-h-ò	è-Kiténde	b-aa-luiré-ho	íinyo.
	AUG-LOC-REL	LOC-Kiténde	3Pl-PAAST-stay:PAST-LOC	ADVmuch

'Our clan leaders, originating from Bwerenga of Kirulu, they grew up and left and went and settled in this Kiténde (which is) in Bushíro. There, in Kiténde, they stayed long.'

The prefix *ka-* replaces conjunctions and all slots preceding the verbal root thus results in serial verb constructions; these either imply simultaneous actions or relate them as different parts of one event, as illustrated in the next example:

(164)

(a)	A-ba-gúngu	**b-aa-síbuk-irè**	Bwérenga	lw-a	Kirùlu,
	AUG-2-chief	3Pl-PAST-origin_STATS-PAST	Bwérenga	7-ASS	Kirúlu

(b)	Bwe	b-aa-búi-re;
	Conj	3Pl-PAST-grow_up-PAST

(164)	(c)	**ká-leenga**	**ka-géend-ire**	**ka-seng-íre**	è-Kiténde	mu-Bushíiro,
		MOD-walk	MOD -go-PAST	MOD -settle-PASTLOC-Kiténde		LOC-Bushíiro

	(d)	**ka-luiré-ho**	íinyo.
		MOD -stay:PAST-LOC	ADVmuch

'Our clan leaders originated from Bwerenga of Kirulu. When they grew up they left and went and settle in this Kiténde (which is) in Bushíro and stayed there long.'

Regarding the three alternative constructions in comparison, (162) shows the spontaneous choice of the narrator, while the two others are results of later discussions between the speakers and me. The speaker accept all as grammatically correct, but their evaluation is that the choice of the narrator should be considered as the most elegant, while the use of *erà* in this context is inelegant and the serial verb construction is evaluated as too quick for beginning a story. Here, in the example below are two of the comments, in (165) regarding (163) and in (166) regarding (164):

(165)	Ng´	o-háy´	ó-ty-o,	to-húlira	gè-gè-gè.
	Conj	2SgPRES-speak	AUG-MANNER-REL	NEG2Sg-feel/hear	'good-RED

'If you speak this way, you don´t know (the language) well.'

(166)	Te-húli-ka	bú-ge,	má-ngu	íinyo	erà!
	NEG-feel/hear-STAT	14-good,	6-quick	ADVmuch	EMPH

'It doesn´t sound good, (it sounds) too quick indeed!'

2.3.2.3 Interrogative clauses

Simple information interrogative clauses are marked only through rising intonation contour:

(167)	Ha-túuk-ire?	Ínya, ha-túuk-irè.	Pái, ta-túuk-irè.
	3Sg-arrive-PAST	yes, 3Sg-arrive-PAST	no, 3SgNEG-arrive-PAST
	'Did (s)he arrive?'	'Yes, (s)he arrived.'	'No, (s)he didn´t arrive.'

Wh-questions employ question markers in bold below (168a-c), which occur in the clause initial position if the questioned constituent is the subject, and in final position in any other case; for contrast a pole question is included in (168d):

(168)   QUESTIONS   ANSWERS

(a)   **Àni**   a-fúmba   o-bú-lio?   Máawe a-fúmba.

       Qwho   3SgPRES-cook   AUG-14-food   mama   3SgPRES

       'Who cooks the food?'   'Mama cooks.'

(b)   (Máawe)   a-fúmba   **kyáhai**?   A-fúmba   o-bú-lio.

       mama   3SgPRES-cook   Qwhat   3SgPRES-cook   AUG-14-food

       'What does she (mama) cook?'   'She cooks food.'

(c)   A-fúmba   o-búlio   **kýahai**?   A-fúmba   e-bi-héemba.

       3SgPRES-cook   AUG-14-food   Qwhat   3SgPRES   AUG-8-beans

       'What (kind of) food does she cook?'   'She cooks beans.'

       POLAR QUESTION   ANSWER

(d)   Ta-fúmba   e-n-tóloódhi?   Pái, bi-héemba by-énkai   a-bi-fúmba.

       NEG3SgPAST-cook AUG-9-chicken   No, 8-beans   8-∀all   SC[57]-8-cook

       'Doesn´t she cook chicken?'   'No, plain beans she cooks.'

The question markers are summarized in the next table; the formative *–ahai* is frozen when used to express the questions 'what' and 'where'. The frozen forms are grammaticalized combinations of the question formative with the nominal class prefix of Cl. 7 and the locative class respectively. Only the formative *–emeka* is compatible with all nominal dependent prefixes.

Table 30: Question markers

QUESTION MARKER	GLOSS
-ahai	'which'
ani	'who', 'whom'
-emeka	'how many; which'
kyahai	'what'
ótya, -tyò	'how'
wahai, hahai, mbalihai	'where'

The nominal class prefixes of classes 11 and 14 in combination with the question markers *–ahai*, *-ani* and *-emeka* derive further interrogative forms; in all these cases the augment precedes the first component. Further the locative pre-prefixes *ku-* and *mu-* may be combined with the question markers;

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[57] 3SgPRES

in this case the prefix *lu-* (Cl. 11) must follow the locative prefix and precede the question marker. The interpretation of these question forms depends on the context.

(169)   o-lw-áhai?   o-lw-áni?   ku-lw-áhai?

       AUG-11-Q   AUG-11-Q   LOC-11-Q

       'For which/Which reason?'   'For whom?'   'On which?'

2.3.2.4 Imperative clauses

No special paradigm of markers commands imperative sentences and thus imperative is not treated under mode (2.3.3.4). The imperative singular is expressed by the verbal root plus the object in cases of transitive verbs. The imperative plural is expressed by the second plural subject concord *mu-* and the verbal root ending in *–e*:

(170)   Íghi-a!   'Come!'   Mu-íghi-e[58]!   'You (Plural) come!'

       Come-VE   2Sg-come-VE

The prefix *ka-* and the suffix *–ko* are employed for expressing politeness (PO): they impact the verbal ending and the tones. The next example shows the two polite alternatives of the imperative singular for the verb *ighia* 'come':

(171)   Ka-ighi-è!   'Come, (please)!'   Ighi-é-ko!   'Come, (please)!'

       PO-come-VE   come-VE-PO

If the speaker wants to make a proposal for collective action including his/her self within the group to which the proposal is addressed, the use of the first plural subject concord in combination with the politeness formatives is preferably employed. Regarding the suffix *–ko*, if the last slot of the verb is occupied by another suffix, then the element *ko* appears after the subject concord and before the verbal root:

(172)   (a)   Ka-tu-geendh-è!   'Let us go!'

           PO-1Pl-go-VE

       (b)   Tu-geendh-éko!   'Let us go!'

           1Pl-go-VE-PO

       (c)   Tu-ko-mal-áho[59]!   'Let us finish here!'

           1Pl-PO-be_enough-LOC

2.3.3 Conjunctions and particles

That there is only a small set of conjunctions in Lushese might be related to the fact that the language makes a pronounced use of relative phrases and clauses to denote complex meanings. The bound

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[58] Also attested: *mu-ghiè, mu-hiè*.
[59] Very often in use the reduced form: *tu-ko-ma-hò*.

morphemes –a and –o introduce phrases in possessive or adverbial function and/or relative clauses. Table (31) shows the conjunctions and particles of Lushese:

Table 31: Conjunctions and particles

LUSHESE	GLOSS
CONJUNCTIONS	
gánde	COMPARISON 'like'
kubánga	REASON 'because'
nayè	OPPOSITION 'but'
ne, na	CONNECTIVE 'and'
ntì	INDIRECT SPEECH 'that'
obà, singà	CONDITIONAL 'if'
PARTICLES	
nominal prefix+ -a	ASSOCIATIVE 'of'
nominal prefix+ -o	RELATIVE
-ko/no	POLITENESS

2.3.4. Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are introduced through conjunctions or implied by the Tempus, Aspect and Mood (TAM) formatives as well as the word order. They may follow or precede the main clause according to the speakers needs. The following examples show the formation of various subordinate clauses:

(173)   SUBJECT RELATIVE

    (a)   O-há-kintu   a-híiga,   ba-mu-héeta   (o-)mu-híig-i.

        AUG-1REL-man   3SgPRES-hunt   3Pl-3OC-call   (AUG-)1-hunt-D

        'The one who hunts is called hunter.'

    (b)   Há-m-pa-irè   e-i-shámbu   e-dhya-káal-ir-irè.

        3SgPAST-1OC-give-PAST   AUG-10-leaf   AUG-10REL-be(come)_dry-APP-a:PAST

        '(S)he gave me the medicine, which are completely dry.'

(174)   OBJECT RELATIVE

        N-áa-fumb-irè   e-kyo-gudh-íre.

        1Sg-PAST-cook-PAST   AUG-7-REL-buy-PAST

        'I have cooke what (Cl.7) you bought.'

(175)   CAUSAL

    (a)   Sí-kula   nga-gú-ire,   kubáanga   e-m-bého   íinyo.

              NEG1SgPRES-like   Conj:6-fall-PAST Conj   AUG-9-wind   ADVmuch

              'I don´t like the rain, because it´s very cold.'

    (b)   Ha-táfuna   e-máale,   nantì   gwa   mu-dhíiro   i-i-gw-è.

              3sgPAST-NEG-eat   AUG-9:fish   Conj   3-ASS   3-taboo   AUG-9-3-3SgPOSS

              '(S)he e doesn´t eat fish, because of (these) taboos of his (her).'

(176)   CONDITIONAL

    (a)   Tó-ighià   bwe   ga-gú-ire.

              NEG2SgIMP-come   Conj   6-fall-TAM

              'Don´t come, if it rains!'

    (b)   Siingà ha-báire-ko   n´   e-n-símbi,   á-ighia   ku-íghia.

              Conj   3SgPAST-COP-PO   CONN AUG-9-money   3SgPRES-come   15-come

              'If (s)he gets some money, (s)he will come.'

(177)   TEMPORAL

        Ha-bá-ire   a-sáig-e   o-kú-ighia,   n-ée-tuus-ir-áho.

        3SgPAST-COP-PAST   3Sg-want-VE   AUG-15-come   1Sg-REFL-arrive-APP-LOC

        'When (s)he wanted to depart, I arrived there.'

(178)   CONTRASTIVE

    (a)   Ha-igh-íre,   h-éngene   a-lwáir-e.

              3SgPAST-come-PAST,   3Sg-REFL   3Sg-be_ill-VE

              '(S)he came, although (s)he is ill.'

(179)   CONTRASTIVE

Ha-igh-íre,   nayé   te-ba-bóin-e.

3SgPAST-come-PAST   Conj   3SgNEG-2-see-VE

'(S)he came, but didn´t see them.'

2.3.5 Summary and comment on grammaticality[60]

In this chapter I have given an overview of the basic syntactic rules in Lushese. Like many languages of the world in which case is not morphologically marked, the word order is crucial for the formation of clauses and the grammatical relation of arguments. Furthermore, in Lushese subjects and objects are treated differently than adjuncts, which appear in clause initial or final positions. Nouns in the position of the subject can be omitted, since subjects must be indicated by morphological marking within the finite verb (subject concord). While the basic word order may be used in the most contexts, in case of emphasis or other pragmatic factors, the word order can be alternated: in these cases, morphological marking is employed to clarify grammatical relations.

As a last remark on syntax I would like to add here a comment on the notion of grammaticality in the light of the speakers´ attitude towards the language as well as its highly endangered status. As mentioned in the introduction, for approximately the last two decades, the Bashese have communicated on an everyday basis mainly in Luganda, while at the same time all speakers are multilingual. A direct consequence of the rare linguistic praxis on the documentation of Lushese consisted in the methodical prerequisite for elicitation. Another consequence lay in the need for discussing and comparing various utterances and expressions with the most competent speakers. In these conversations and later also in more detailed discussions about meanings with and between all speakers, they often used the word *kituufu* 'correct', the negation of it (*si kituufu* '(it is) not correct'), the phrase *tehulika bulungi* 'it doesn´t sound well', as well as the introductory sequence *kituufu era naye* 'it is correct but'. Another characteristic comment specifically amongst the most competent speakers directly depicted the way of speaking: in these cases, speech verbs were employed (in Luganda the verbs *yogera* 'speak; say; tell' and *gamba* 'speak; refer; mention' and in Lushese the counterpart of the former (*hogera*) and the verb *haya* 'speak'. Out of these comments I could gain some insight into the speakers´ sense of grammaticality as well as aesthetic judgement regarding the language. Further, I could anticipate and thus delve into the use and meaning of certain words and expressions that appealed relevant precisely in relation with perception. I would like to point out that despite the various grades of competence, the fact that the Bashese do have an opinion about use and meanings of their language; this language consciousness is surely to some extent influenced, but not suppressed by the complex extralinguistic parameters I depict in the introductory chapter (see in 1.2.3)

For my work with the speakers as well as for later analytical decisions the comments on grammaticality, a sense of various linguistic means has been of high value, not only because they functioned like doors into perspectives I could not imagine myself, but precisely because in many cases I could not be sure what I should take as norm.

In the following sections and chapters I include various evaluations of the speakers referring to them through the expressions: a) grammatically correct/ incorrect, which reflects the use of the word *kituufu*, b) accepted but/ grammatically correct but, which are meant as counterparts for the introductory sequence *kituufu era naye*, and c) elegant/ not elegant, which are intended as equivalents

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[60] The word grammaticality is not used in the sense of Chomsky: with grammaticality I mean grammatical correctness and/ or the value of well-shapeliness (*Wohlgestalt, Wohlgeformtheit*) with respect to the use of linguistic means.

to the phrase *tehulika bulungi*. The comments based on speech verbs were longer and had to do with more complex issues thus I will directly introduce and refer to these.

In the next section I will give an overview of semantic issues with special reference to the semantics associated with perception and concentrate precisely on the verbs of perception.

2.4 Semantics

This section provides basic information on semantics in Lussee and discusses two issues that engage researchers of Bantu languages since the beginning of what we call today Bantuistic linguistic tradition: they concern a) the semantics of noun classes and b) the semantics of verbal extensions. Both issues are intriguing because they represent a paradigm of the way grammatical elements reflect, develop and in some cases melt with semantic concepts as well as with lexical semantic structures. Due to reasons of space it is not possible to provide a review of the relevant literature. In 2.4.1 I will make some notes on the semantics of noun classes. The following section (2.4.2) I will first provide an overview of the verb classes and then makes some notes on the semantics of the verbal extensions. Section 2.4.3 gives an overview of the verbs of perception. In section 2.4.4 I illustrate the linguistic means which serve the reference to the world as stimulus focusing on the use of the verbs of perception within the domain of sensory experience.

2.4.1 Notes on the semantics of noun classes

The noun classes constitute the gender system of the language. Three types of noun gender can be distinguished in Lushese: a) inherent gender, which is lexical and must be part of the lexical description; b) derived gender, which is a product of nominalization or concord within a noun phrase; nouns may undergo class change acquiring derivational meaning, and c) propositional gender, which in Lushese occurs only on the syntactic level, since the locative class prefixes can occur only as pre-prefixes before the noun prefix of the inherent noun gender to give a locative meaning (cf. Hinnebusch 1989: 466). Various analyses of many Bantu languages provide sketches of conventional meanings of the different classes (see Meeussen 1967, Givón 1970 and 1972, Welmers 1973, Creider 1975, Denny & Creider 1986, Contini-Morava 1997, 2000 and 2008). The following pages give insight to the semantic concepts of the noun classes in Lushese.

2.4.1.1 Human classes

Two classes compose the personal classes in Lushese: the nouns of Cl. 1 refer to persons only in singular, while Cl. 2 constitutes the plural counterpart for people only. Aside from the class prefixes which are required for the phrase building with respect to the nominal modifiers, the concord paradigm of the two personal classes includes a set for subject- and for object-concord prefixes, which are required with pronominal roots, but first and foremost in order to form finite verbs, when the respective syntactic positions of the subject (and if so the object) within a clause includes human.

The prefixes *mu-* and *ba-* of the personal classes may be employed in combination with derivative morphemes to form out of other word classes, mostly verbal and adjectival roots, nouns referring to human (see nominal and verbal derivation in 2.2.3.5 and 2.2.4.7 respective). The use of the subject-concord prefixes of Cl. 1 and 2 can be extended to other noun classes either because the noun semantically denotes human, like for example nouns describing kinship and family relations, which are categorized in Cl. 9 and 10, for human names that follow the pattern illustrated in example (182) below, or in order to personalize a non-human entity, e.g. in metaphorical function.

As in many Bantu languages the nouns describing kinship terms in Lushese are not classified in the human noun classes (Cl. 1 & 2) but in the nasal ones (Cl. 9 & 10). Still the agreement patterns regarding subject and object concord, as well the morphology within a nominal phrase, are formed

through the morphological elements belonging to the human classes. With respect to the semantics and grammar of family terms Contini-Morava notes the following:

> In short, the „agreement" patterns found with human relationship terms (...) though complex, are far from arbitrary. All attested patterns are motivated by a combination of the meanings of the noun class prefixes, the Deictic Markers, and the linking elements, the semantic properties of human relationship terms, and the ways in which these elements are used in discourse. (Contini-Morava 2008: 168)

The next table illustrates central kinship terms in Lushese:

Table 32: Kinship terms

WOMEN RELATIVES		MEN RELATIVES	
máawe, inyóko, níina	'mother'	**laatáwe**	'father'
nakanuénue	'wife'	**(i)shénkulu**	'husband'
báaba	'elder sister'	**dáada**	'father´s elder brother'
nyokóshengà	'mother´s elder sister'	**kóiya**	'mother´s elder brother'
náishenga, **máshenga**	'father´s elder sister'		

Some words describing age may be also employed to refer to family relationships. However the word meaning 'grandfather' is associated with social hierarchy rather than with age: while the grandmother is referred to according to her age as 'elder', the grandfather is referred to as leader of the family, thus chief:

Table 33: Age, gender and family relation terms

omugúngu	'chief/ grandfather'
omúkairè	'elder/ grandmother'
omusáighia	'adult man/ husband'
omukádhi	'adult woman/ wife'

The words used to refer to the children of the family are included in the next table. While the words presented in the first column evoke no association of gender, the importance of male children in comparison to the female ones is demonstrated through the number of words referring to the first; only one word is employed to speak to and about girls, young women and/ or daughters:

Table 34: Terms referring to children

NO GENDER		MALE CHILDREN	
enkerebè, akahéembe	'new born'	**omuvúka, omubúka**	'child/ boy'
omúdhukulu	'grandchild'	**omuléndhi**	'son/young boy'
aka-/obuhería	'children, youth'	**eibániki**	'son/ young man'

		FEMALE CHILDREN	
		omúisiki	'girl/ daughter'

Human names are often marked for gender through the prefix *Sh(e)-* (or *Ishe-*) and *Ná-*(or *Nái-*) for males and females respectively; especially names traditionally used within the clan structure are paired through these prefixes. The female prefix *Na-* either replaces S*h(e)-* (180a) or it occurs before the male name to derive a female name from a male one (180b):

(180)   ALL FOUR: HUMAN NAMES

(a)	She-mpáagi	Ná-mpaagi	(b)	Lukwáago	Ná-lukwaago
	m-NAME	f-NAME		m:NAME	f-NAME

All the words presented above, independent of the class they are categorized in, behave and are treated like nouns of the personal classes, e.g the subject and object concord as well the nominal phrase are formed through the morphology of Cl. 1 and 2.

The prefix *mu-* for the singular personal class often overlaps with the homophonous prefix *mu-* for the third class (Cl. 3 see below). This may be explained by the fact that trees, which usually are categorized in Cl. 3, are evaluated as persons, and have often the status of spiritual entities and/ or ancestors. The overlap of these classes consists mainly in the extended use of pronominal forms of Cl. 3 for nouns of the personal singular class (Cl. 1): for example the use of the proximal demonstrative *ogu* of Cl. 3 occurs more often to modify nouns of Cl. 1 than the demonstrative forms of Cl. 1 *oyo/ono*; the next example shows while within the nominal phrase the classes overlap, the subject-concord follows the personal class:

(181)   O-mu-gúngu   ó-gu   ha-lem-íre   ku-tú-hwera.

   AUG-1-chief   AUG-3DEM   3SgPAST-refuse-PAST   15-1PlOC-help

   'This chief refused to help us.'

The use of *ogu* modifying human is extended to nouns of other classes denoting human, as well names.

Class 20 is restricted to a few human nouns not as being the inherent but as the derived gender thus it is in this thesis not considered as a productive noun class of the language. The next example illustrates in (182a) the inherent gender of the noun and in (182b, c), the derivative gender:

(182)   (a)   o-mu-háala   (b)   a-ka-háala   (c)   o-gu-háala

AUG-1-girl   AUG-12-gril   AUG-20 girl

'the/ a girl'   'the /a small/young girl'   'the/ a big girl; prostitute'

Contrastive to the singular human class (182a), the prefix *gu-* expresses either corpulence or pejorative judgement of a person´s morals and/or attitudes (182c). While in the neighbouring languages class 20 is fully productive, in Lushese, the singular class (*gu-*) is restricted to few words and a regular plural is not attested. The only noun denoting human that is inherently classified in Cl. 3 and 4 is *omu-/ emi-kwano* 'friend/s'.

2.4.1.2 Non-human classes

Classes 3 and 4 include non-human animate beings, like trees, plants and spirits, some natural phenomena, like fire and river, as well objects that are associated with these things, for example things made of wood. The singular class may be employed to derive adjectival meaning (see adjectives (2.2.3.2) and adverbs (2.2.5.2)).

Entities occurring in pairs, like body parts and growing things, for example plant parts like fruits, are mostly included in the classes 5 and 6. However these classes include also many abstracts, like nouns denoting time as well liquids, while the plural class 6 constitutes a polyplural class providing the plural counterpart also for nouns categorized in the classes 11, 13 and 15.

Classes 7 and 8 include concrete objects, artefacts as well some body parts, while in classes 9 and 10 are categorized nouns denoting special kind of people, like relatives as discussed above, domestic and wild animals, abstracts denoting time, place and manner as well some body parts. Class 11 includes artefacts and abstracts denoting time and manner as well body parts.

Class 12 and its plural counterpart class 14 include abstracts, body parts as well nouns that constitute parts of other entities. While the singular class 12 is often employed in derivational function to create diminutive meaning, the polyplural class 14 constitutes the plural counterpart for the classes 11 and 12 and includes many abstracts that have no singular counterpart and may be further used to employ derivational abstract meaning (see adjectives and adverbs).

Class 13 includes only liquids and class 15 constitutes the infinitive class, while some body parts are also included. The body part terminology is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

Class 14 is introduced as a polyplural class, because it pairs with two singular classes for the formation of the plural (Cf. table 13) and in this function the use of the prefix *bu-* of Cl.14 is very productive. Although I adopt the label 'polyplural class' as introduced by Maho 1999 and 2003, it is necessary to note here that Cl. 14 includes nouns denoting abstracts, which have no singular counterpart. Further many adverbial expressions can be formed through the prefix *bu-* to express time and manner (Cf. table 27) but in these cases the nominal morphology is reduced (no augmentation).

2.4.2 Notes on the semantics of verbs

In the following section, I identify the verb classes in Lushese according to formal properties. Section 2.4.2.1 gives an overview of the verb classes and 2.4.2.2 focuses in the class of the verbs of perception.

2.4.2.1 Overview of the verb classes

I could identify three major classes of verbs in Lushese by applying formal criteria concerning their argument structure. These criteria are listed below:

I) The number of arguments with which a verb must occur

II) The number of arguments with which a verb can occur

III) The possible valence-changing operations a verb may undergo

VI) The possible meaning change in case a verb undergoes valence-changing operations

The four major verb classes are a) the class of intransitive verbs, b) the class of transitive verbs, c) the class of reflexive-only verbs and d) the class of the verbs of perception.

a) The class of intransitive verbs consists in these which require only one argument in the position of the subject. Their meanings are associated with state, manner and result. They appear in intransitive clauses and can enter transitive ones only through valence- changing operations, which are basically enforced through the causative and/ or the applicative extension. Many verbal roots of this class have no simplex form and appear with the stative suffix –*ka*: their meaning depicts uncaused or internally caused events. The prototypical semantic structure of intransitive verbs is illustrated below:

(183)   PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC STRUCTURE AND ALTERNATION OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

		THEMATIC ROLE
SYNTACTIC POSITION	Subject	Patiens; Goal
ALTERNATION: VALENCE-CHANGE	Subject	Agens; Effector; Source; Instrument
	Object	Patiens; Goal

b) The class of transitive verbs includes all these, which occur in transitive clauses demanding one argument in the position of the subject and a second in the position of the object. Their meaning is associated with directed action and externally caused events; the class includes two motion verbs which demand a locative argument in the position of the object. They may undergo various valence-changing operations employing all verbal extensions. Many verbal roots of this class have no simplex form and appear with the applicative or the reciprocal suffix. The verbs of the transitive class allow the passive alternation. Their prototypical semantic structure of transitive verbs is as follows:

(184)   PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

		THEMATIC ROLE
SYNTACTIC POSITIONS:	Subject	Agens; Effector; Source; Instrument
	Object	Theme; Patiens; Goal; Locative

c) The class of the reflexive-only verbs consists in these which always appear marked through the reflexive prefix and exhibit no simplex form. Their meaning is associated with actions controlled by a single participant and directed to the same. These verbs appear both in intransitive and transitive clauses: in case of the latter they obligatory demand co-referential subject and object. Only exception to this is the case of reflexive verbs which are associated with grooming actions: they can enter transitive clauses by dropping the reflexive prefix, in this case indicating that the grooming action is directed from the entity in the position of the subject to a different one which appears in the position of the object. The prototypical semantic structure of reflexive verbs is illustrated below:

(185)   PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF REFLEXIVE VERBS

                                        THEMATIC ROLE

SYNTACTIC POSITIONS   Subject   Experiencer; Effector; Source

                             Object   Theme; Patiens; Goal

d) The class of the verbs of perception consists in verbs which depict a response of the sensory apparatus: the verbs of perception build a close class characterized by semantic coherence. Verbs of perception may appear both in intransitive and transitive clauses without undergoing valence-change operations. Verbal extensions may result in lexicalisation or cause a valence change or may be employed to highlight a certain semantic component comprising the subject and/ or object: these components are the grade of affect, agency, volition and/ or control and response. In addition, pragmatic needs may be served through morphological marking like for example distance or closeness concerning the depicted event of perception on behalf of the speaker. Since the description of this class of verbs belongs to the main aims of this dissertation, a more detailed overview of the verbs of perception is provided in the next section. I will now come to some remarks on the meaning and use of verbal extensions.

As mentioned at the beginning of section 2.4, the semantics of verbal extensions in Bantu languages remain at the heart of scientific interest; thus it is not possible even to mention here all related literature. The intensive interest is resulted out of the double function of formal elements like in this case the morphological operations through the affixes of verbal extensions, to serve meaning: they may be used to serve lexical derivation and/ or valence- change (inflection). Also, the creativity which the affixes of verbal extensions allow as well as various potential of their combination, are two aspects that engage both authors and researchers alike.

Focussing the section about semantics on the terms used to describe the world as stimulus on the one hand provides a necessary conceptual introduction into local concepts that will be engaged in the main part of the thesis, and on the other hand it gives a deeper insight to the semantics of various nouns and verbs as well as to the interrelation between formal categories and meaning.

2.4.2.2 Overview of the verbs of perception in Lushese

The following table shows the verbal roots employed in Lushese for deriving verbs of perception in alphabetical order and accompanied by approximate English translations:

Table 35: Overview of the perception verbs in Lushese

VERBAL ROOT	SENSORY EXPERIENCE	ENGLISH GLOSS
-bo(i)na	visual	'see'
-geedha	gustatory	'taste; test with the tongue'
-gwa(i)ta	tactile	'catch; hold; feel with the fingers'
-hulira	holistic	'perceive; feel; sense'
	auditory	'hear'
-hunya	olfactory	'smell (bad odours); stink'
-lorere(i)ra	visual	'look at'
-tunuula	visual	'look at; observe'
-nuuka	olfactory	'smell (good odours); scent, be fragrant'

The following figure illustrates the semantic patterns of the verbs of perception with respect to the event continua action, emotion, cognition, social interaction and culture represented by the domain of religious register (on concealed language see further in chapter 6).

The figure illustrates the most frequent uses of the verbs of perception on other domains of experience; included are the most frequent tonal patterns- however the tone of the verbs depends on the surrounding morphology. As we will see in the main chapters of this dissertation all the verbs except *lorere(i)ra* 'look at' and *nuuka* 'smell (scent; good odours)' can be employed in more domains than represented in this figure; hence the figure is not exhaustive. The visual verb *tunuula* 'look at; observe' is used only with the meaning of directing consciously the eyes towards a visual stimulus and has no use in further domains of experience[61] hence this verb is also absend in the following figure. The visual verb *tunuula* 'look at; observe' is used only with the meaning of directing consciously the eyes towards a visual stimulus and has no use in further domains of experience[62] hence this verb is also absend in the following figure.

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[61] It is characteristic that he speakers used it almost only in imperative form.

Figure 4: Overview of the semantic patterns of the verbs of perception in Lushese[63]
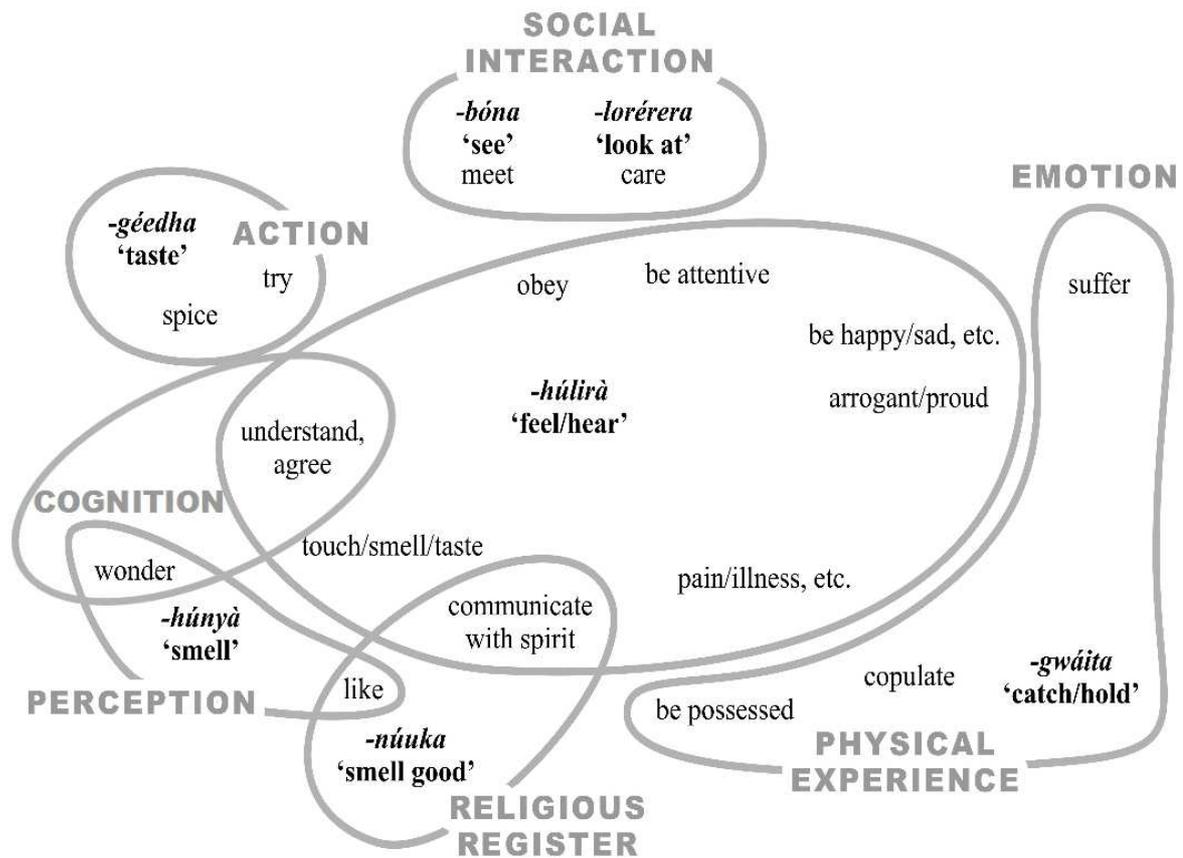
The above figure is inspired by the semantic maps as systematized by Haspelmath 2003 for the domain of the grammar, as well by previous spatial representations employed by various typologists in order to describe polysemy and colexification in specific languages or groups of languages (see among others Matisoff 1978 for the Tibeto-Burman family, Evans & Wilkins 2000 for Australian languages, Enfield 2003 for Southeast Asian languages).

The aim of the present study is to show that the semantic associations and structure of the verbs of perception have transparent motivations, and to describe the components of these motivations in a systematic way.

We will see that the holistic and auditory verb *hulira* 'feel, hear' has a prominent position and its use is different when compared to the use of the other verbs of perception. On the one hand the outstanding position of the verb *hulira* 'hear; feel' is supported both when it comes to the frequency of use compared to the use of the other perceptive verbs, as well as with respect to the fact that only this verb can be employed to refer to all sensory faculties. On the other hand, the function of *hulira* is to underline the view of the (human) Experiencer into an event and not to describe in general a source of perception or to report in an impersonal way about the event of perception. Only the two olfactory verbs are indispensable in describing a source of olfaction or to describe an olfactory event in any way, irrespective of the role and affectedness of the experience; despite that the verb *hunya* is employed in all other domains of experience. The tactile verb has certain semantic connotation and occurs only to modify a source as 'rough and/or sticky'; it is frequently used to create emphasis. The

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[63] Source: Thanasoula 2013, data compilation.

gustatory verb occurs randomly and in a metaphorical meaning that corresponds to the English verb 'try' rather than to the English verb 'taste'. It is also employed to create emphasis.

Some preliminary remarks on the term sense and sensory apparatus are necessary, since the definition of this class of verbs includes this notion. Sense is primarily defined as the capacity of human and animals to perceive stimuli originating inside or outside the body through the sensual apparatus: the senses are organized as domains or faculties of reaction and/or operation of sensory organs. The traditional classification of the senses includes five faculties: sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste. However, the physiological properties of organisms in general and of human in particular are a matter of debate, since the sensory apparatus is extended to receptors as small as cell types and connections (cf. Damasio 2010: 326). Different domains of the human body contribute to our sensory experience beyond the five traditional sense faculties; for example, balance, temperature, direction, time and *kinaesthesia*[64] as well as internal senses like pain, are classified as sense faculties.

The presumed outstanding importance of vision within Western culture is not simply diachronic or synchronic (see Classen 1993: 6-10) [65]: the evaluation of the senses turns out to be a flexible and multidimensional matter due to its dependence on various social, cultural and personal parameters in interaction (see Foucault 1961, 1975, Belting 2008 among others). Still, the hegemony of vision developed within Western culture dominates the evaluation of the senses in scientific discourse. Looking for the basic sense, science rehashes the answer, and since vision is assumed to be the basic sense, the whole visual domain gains importance. The dominance of the scientific image on vision and its presumed direct relation to cognition results economic and political aspects concerning research in Western institutions of higher education that can´t be discussed here for space reasons.

Every sensory domain is associated with specific cultural interpretations as well as practices. In this sense, all domains of perception have their own, unique semantics and thus importance. The specific interpretation and evaluation of properties should be more integrated in the analysis of sensory modalities and their linguistic expression, since to recognize properties as such is a matter of cultural experience; further, to evaluate them and to communicate about these through language are matters of socialization.

The following section gives an overview of the linguistic means used to describe the world as stimulus in order to provide insight into the semantics of terms associated with sensory experience and perception. Finally the semantics of the verbs of perception within the domain of sensory experience will be presented.

2.4.3 Towards a grammar of the senses: speaking about the world as stimulus

Section 2.4.3 gives an overview of the way Bashese speakers use the language to describe their environment and their perception of external stimuli. The experience of the world goes hand in hand with *Weltwissen*, the way people know how to recognize and interpret their surroundings. This section illustrates how Bashese speakers read their environment. Their conceptualization of natural properties is based on the concept of 'inherent' versus 'not-inherent' categories of objects. The description and choice of words in describing the external world depend on the objects and the categories evaluated as prototypical for different kinds of objects: the concept of animacy plays a major role in the classification of surrounding entities and further four tempers are conceived as basic elements that

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[64] Cross-linguistic research on sense faculties beyond the five traditional is contributed by the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, see numerous publications by Majid et al 2004.

[65] Among numerous publications on synchronic use and semantics of perceptive verbs in various European languages, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2008) discusses whether vision metaphors for the intellect are as well attested cross linguistically as implied in major studies: his conclusion is that understanding is not vision, but perception.

constitute every entity including the human. A competition between basic and secondary qualities does not determine the Bashese perspective on the world: rather the concept of balance and the lost of balance lies at the heart of the local perspective. With compass these three basic concepts, the distribution between alive and not living, the four tempers as constitutive elements and balance versus imbalance between the elements, the Bashese developed a very meticulous language to describe their world.

The first part of section 2.4.3 illustrates reference to body posture and change of position followed by an overview of the verbs expressing grooming actions (2.4.3.2). Section 2.4.3.3 illustrates the terms expressing weather conditions and the four tempers, which constitute a predominant concept of the local perspective on the world. The language of taste is illustrated in section 2.4.3.4 and the language of odours in 2.3.4.5. Section 2.3.4.6 illustrates the ways of speaking about shapes and materials. The linguistic means employed to refer to sounds are illustrated in section 2.3.4.7 and the colour terminology as well as some notes on the symbolic interpretation of colours are included in section 2.3.4.8. Section 2.3.5 investigates the way the verbs of perception are employed to communicate about stimuli and sensory experience.

2.4.3.1 Body posture and change of position

The three main body postures consist of standing, lying and squatting. Two intransitive verbs are employed for referring to a standing person: the reflexive one means 'to stand up' as shown in (186) and is more frequently used than the non-reflexive which means 'to be/stay standing' exemplified in (187):

(186)   o-kú-imu-ka   N-ée-hímu-ka.

           AUG-15-stand_up-STAT   1Sg-REFL-stand_up-STAT

           'stand up'   'I stood up.'

(187)   B-oinà   ba-igh-íre   nayè   i-i-báaniki   ha-him-ír-iirè.

           2-∀all   2-leave-PAST   Conj   AUG-9-son   3SgPAST-stand-APP-PAST

           'Everybody left the place, but the son stayed standing.'

Replacment of the two verbs meaning 'stand' in the above sentence is rejected; the reflexive verb can be opposed only to the other verbs expressing postures and/or change of position, e.g. 'squat' or 'lie':

(188)   B-oinà   ba-shiintám-ire   nayé   i-i-báaniki   h-ee-hímuk-irè.

           2-∀all   2-squatted-PAST   Conj   AUG-9-son   3Sg-REFL-stand_up-PAST

           'Everybody sit down/remained sit down, but the son stood up.'

The verb s*hiintama* 'to squat' has the alternative form *okushuuntama*. The verb *humula* means 'to rest/lie'. Coming to general conditions of the body, falling asleep is further expressed by the verb *humula* 'to rest/lie' if the sleep is short, while the verb *(i)nagira* is employed to refer to long and deep sleep.

(189)   O-mu-gúngu   ha-humú-ire.   'The chief rest/is resting.'

AUG-1-chief   3Sg-rest-PAST

(190)   O-mu-gúngu   h-ee-nági-ire.[66]   'The chief slept/is sleeping.'

AUG-1-chief   3Sg-REFL-sleep-PAST

The verb *(i)nagira* is frequently used with the reflexive prefix; its absence implies that the referred person is not sleeping any more:

(191)   O-mu-gúngu   (h)a-nági-irè.   'The chief has slept/was sleeping.'

AUG-1-chief   3SgPAST-sleep-PAST

The verb *ghadala* is used only in case of referring to animals sleeping: the reduced alternative (*egáire*) is the more frequent in use:

(192)   E-n-kóidhi   e-ghádaidh-irè/e-gáire. 'The dog was sleeping.'

AUG-9-dog   9-sleep-PAST/9-sleepPAST

The verbs *kooha* and *tiiha* mean 'to be(come) tired'. Both of these verbs are intransitive but none of them can be used with the reflexive marker. The most frequent expression is illustrated in the next example:

(193)   N-kóoh-ire.   'I am/got tired.'

1Sg-be(come)_tired-PAST

The construction with the copula is less frequently used, when the speaker wants to emphasize that at the time of speaking, (s)he is tired:

(194)   N-dì   mu-kóobu.   'Now I am tired.'

1Sg-COP   1-tired

2.4.3.2 Grooming and taking care

The verb *(i)naaba* 'to bath' appears either with or without the reflexive marker: the difference between (195a) and (195b) is that the reflexive implies that the action takes place in present, while the non-reflexive implies that the action is completed before the time speaking.

(195)   (a)   N-ee-náab-ire.   'I am/was bathing.'

1Sg-REFL-bath-PAST

         (b)   N-aa-náab-ire.   'I took a bath.'

1Sg-PAST-bath-PAST

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[66] Also attested: *heinágire, hahainágire*.

In cases where somebody baths another person, the same verb is used (196a) but the reflexive marker is rejected as grammatically incorrect when a direct object occurs (196b).

(196)　　(a)　　A-náaba　　e-n-keréebe.　　　　(b)　　Ha-mu-náab-ire.

　　　　　　　　3Sg-bath　　AUG-9-baby　　　　　　　　3SgPAST-3SgOC-bath-PAST

　　　　　　　　'She bathes the baby.'　　　　　　　　　'She bathed him/her.'

The same verb is used in the meaning 'to wash/clean (parts of) the body: as illustrated in (197), washing the body requires the use of the reflexive marker, whereas washing body parts requires the absence of the reflexive marker (198):

(197)　　N-ee-náab-ire　　　　o-mu-bíri　　　gw-ánge.　　'I washed my body/ myself.'

　　　　　1Sg-REFL-bath-PAST　　AUG-3-body　　3-1SgPOSS

(198)　　N-aa-náab-ire　　　　o-bu-kupà.　　　　　　'I washed my fingers.'

　　　　　1Sg-PAST-bath-PAST　　AUG-14-finger

2.4.3.3 Weather and the four tempers

As an introduction to the concept of the four elements, the description of the weather will serve. The weather conditions are calculated with respect to the following parameters:

(199)

(a)　e-m-bého　　(b)　o-mu-sána　　(c)　e-n-túbi　　(d)　a-má-idhi

　　　AUG-9-wind　　　　AUG-3-sun　　　　　AUG-9-rain　　　　AUG-6-water

　　　'wind/ dry cold'　　'light/heat'　　　'rain/wet cold'　　'water/wet warm'

The winds and some environmental phenomena they are associated with are listed below; the next table includes all the names used by the fishers and captains among speakers as well some alternatives in brackets. These names belong to spirits controlling weather phenomena and are employed to express winds:

Table 36: The winds

WINDS	COMMENTS
Múguundu	Tomorrow it rains for several days
Lubínga	Dangerous sea
Nkgomà (Nkomà)	No fish
Múlugulu	It brings light rain in the night
Buháandja (Buyáandja)	It brings sun
Nsugù	Dangerous sea
Mbuháagà (Mpuyáaga)	Heavy rain
Mfwémbe (Nfúmbe)	It brings light rain the next day

The winds are further associated with cardinal directions. The cardinal orientation of the Bashese is organized through the gaze to the sunrise (East). South and North are called after the hands (right hand being the South and left hand being the North), while West is called after the sundown.

The winds are cold. For animates that become cold the verb *hola* is used and for non-animates the verb *nyogoga* is employed:

(200)   O-mu-bóin-e   nga   a-kánkana?   A-hóla   íinyo.

            2Sg-3OC-see-VE   Conj   3Sg-tremble   3Sg-be(come)_cold ADVmuch

            'Do you see him, how he is trembling? He has a serious cold.'

(201)   Si-sáiga   ku-nywà   ka-nyógoga.

            1SgNEG-like   15-drink   12-be(come)_cold

            'I don´t like cold drinks/ to drink (things) that are cold.'

Only the verb used for animates generates the metaphorical meaning 'to calm down' (for more on emotions, see chapter four):

(202)   Tá-ighia   ku-hóla,   a-sáiga   o-ku-huulá-na.

            3Sg-NEG-go   15-be(come)_cold   3Sg-like   AUG-15-fight-REC

            'He is not going to calm down; he wants to fight with him.'

The sunlight is associated with dryness and heat. A common expression to comment upon dry and hot weather, which is evaluated as bad weather, is illustrated in the next example:

(203) O-mu-sána gu-gúi-ré, e-i-búgumu[67] íinyo.

    AUG-3-light 3-fall-PAST AUG-9-heat ADVmuch

    Lit.: The sunlight is falling, a lot of heat.

    'It is very hot.'

The monosyllabic verb *gwà* 'fall' is used to express rain falling; the expression with the noun *amaidhi* 'water' in (204a) is more frequently used than the expression in (204b) with the noun *entubi* 'heavy rain'.

(204) (a) A-má-idhi ga-gúi-rè. (b) E-n-túbi   i-gui-rè.

    AUG-6-water 6-fall-PAST   AUG-9-heavy_rain 9-fall-PAST

    'It rained.'   'It rained heavily.'

Example (205) illustrates an elliptic expression that was not commonly in use in Lushese with the verb *tonya*. Some controversy occurred regarding whether this elliptic expression is really Lushese or not:

(205) LUSHESE:

    E-tónyi-irè.   'It rained.'

    9-rain-PAST

This verb is frequently used by speakers of Luganda (206a and b below) and Lusoga (206 c, d) and allows as subject only the nouns for rain or water respectively; although an elliptic use of the verb is understandable, the speakers of both regional languages don´t accept elliptic expressions as grammatically correct. While in the expressions in Luganda and Lusoga, the time of reference is usually the present, in Lushese the verb is used only with the past tense and with reference to past time:

(206) LUGANDA:

(a) E-n-kúba e-tónya.   'It rains.'

  AUG-9-rain 9-fall

(b) E-n-kúba e-tóny-e.   'It rained.'

  AUG-9-rain 9-fall-PAST

  LUSOGA:

(c) A-má-adhi gá-li   kú-toonhà. 'It rains.'

  AUG-6-water 9-COP   15-fall

(d) A-má-adhi e-toonh-i[68]-è.   'It rained.'

  AUG-6-water 9- fall-PAST

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[67] Synonym for ‚heat': *omutíiho*.

[68] Glide (*Gleitlaut)*

For the description of humidity, the following verbal roots and an adjectival root are employed. The difference between being and becoming dry is expressed through the same lexical root illustrated in (207a) employing verbal or the adjectival morphology (207b, c) respective:

(207)

    (a)   o-ku-káal-a   →   (ki)-káal-u

            AUG-15-be(come)_dry-VE   (7)-be(come)_dry-D

            'to be(come) dry'   'dry (thing)'

    (b)   E-i-mwáni   e-káal-a.   (c)   E-i-mwáni   i-káal-u.

            AUG-9-coffee   9-be(come)_dry-VE   AUG-9-coffee   9-be(come)_dry-D

            'The coffee becomes dry.'   'The coffee (is) dry.'

Referring to eating utensils like pots, bottles, calabashes and cups, among others, allows for the use of the root *shuba* out of which derive adjectives with the meaning of dryness (208a). The use of it in combination with other kinds of objects except eating utensils is rejected, as illustrated in (208b). An idiomatic expression based on this root is illustrated in example (281b) below.

(208)   (a)   E-ki-kómbe   e-ki-shúba.   (b)   *O-lu-lambáala   o-lu-shúba.

            AUG-7-cup   AUG-7-dry   AUG-11-cloth   AUG-11-dry

            'dry cup'   *dry cloth

The verb *nyereera* usually has the meaning 'be(come) acidic' as illustrated in (209a). It can be employed to express dryness in cases of hair (209b), feather and fur (209c):

(209)   (a)   O-bú-lio   bu-nýere-irè.

            AUG-14-food   14- be (come)_acid

            'The food is/becomes acidic/sour (=rotten).'

    (b)   E-i-shóke   ri-nyéreera.   (c)   E-bi-háha   bi-nyéreera.

            AUG-9-hair   9- be (come)_acid   AUG-8-fur   8- be (come)_acid

            'The hair becomes dry.'   'The fur becomes dry.'

The verb *kakanyala*[69] 'tremble' expresses dryness only in case of cloths:

(210)   E-m-búho   dhi-kakányadh-irè.   'The cloth became dry.'

        AUG-10-cloth   10-tremble-PAST

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[69] The speakers use more often the verb *kankana* to refer to trembling.

Wetness is expressed through the adjective –*bisi* and the verb *toba*. The adjectival root –*bisi* (Cf. table 19) is associated with the concepts of roughness[70] and wetness; it is used when the quality described is either regarded as innate (honey=liquid) or the quality described is already complete/ observable. Example (211a) shows the noun derived from this adjectival root that means juice. In example (211b), the oil which is regarded as inherently wet, loses this quality once it become out of date and therefore it is anymore not suitable to cook with:

(211)　　　(a)　　　-bisi　　　　→　　　o-mu-bísi　　　gw´　　　é-i-ndjuki　　　'honey'

　　　　　　　　　　-ADJ wet　　　　　　　　AUG-3-wet　　　3-ASS　　　AUG-9-bee

　　　　　　　　　　'(be) wet'　　　　　　　　Lit.: juice of bee='honey'

　　　　　　(b)　　　O-mu-dhígo　　　　gu-gwáita,　　　té-ri　　　　mu-bísi　　　gègègè.

　　　　　　　　　　AUG-3-oil　　　　　3-catch/hold　　　NEG-COP　　　3-wet　　　goodRED

　　　　　　　　　　Lit.: The oil catches, it is not wet in a good way.

　　　　　　　　　　'The oil is solid (=it is out of date).'

The preferable interpretation of this root depends on the context. In the case of fruits and vegetables, -*bisi* expresses that they are unripe:

(212)　　　E-i-kúbukúbu　　　　i-bísi,　　lindá-ko,　　　mu-inánge,　　ka-tu-táfuna　　énsha.

　　　　　　AUG-9-pumpkinRED　　　9-wet　　IMP wait-PO　　1-1SgPOSS　　PO-1Pl-eat　　ADVtomorrow

　　　　　　'The pumpkin (is) unripe; wait, my dear, let us eat (it) tomorrow.'

In cases of something in the process of becoming wet or something which is not inherently wet, the verbal root illustrated in (213a) is used. Out of the past form an adjective can be derived:

(213)　　　(a)　　　o-ku-tóba　　　　　　　(b)　　　(ki)-tób-irè

　　　　　　　　　　AUG-15-become_wet　　　　　　　　　(7)-become_wet-PAST

　　　　　　　　　　'to become wet'　　　　　　　　　　'wet (thing)'

The next example shows that liquid entities like oil cannot be combined with this root: the sentence in (214) is rejected as nonsense:

(214)　　　　　　*O-mu-dhígo　　　　gu-tóba/ gu-tób-irè.

　　　　　　　　　AUG-3-oil　　　　　3-become_wet/ 3-become_wet-PAST

　　　　　　　　　*The oil becomes/became wet.

The next two examples show the use of this root (215a) in comparison to the use of the adjectival root –*bísi* (215b). The meaning of the latter depends on the context: since the clothes are not regarded as inherently wet or liquid, the only possible interpretation of (215b) is that the cloth is rough; still this meaning is expressed preferably through other constructions (on tactile experience see in 2.4.3.6):

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[70] For tactile sensation see (2.4.3.6.1).

(215)   (a)   O-lu-lambáala   gu-tób-irè.   'The cloth became wet.'

                AUG-11-cloth   11-become_wet-PAST

    (b)   ? O-lu-lambáala   lu-bísi.   ? 'The cloth (is) rough.'

                AUG-11-cloth   11-wet

The four tempers consist of cold, hot, dry and wet: these elements are conceived as being inherent in a precise balance in any surrounding entity of the world, including living beings. The description of different entities depends on the conceived inherent character of a given entity: the Bashese choose different words to describe objects and processes according to their knowledge of the inherent tempers within a given entity. Processes are conceived as changes of balance, while the loss of balance is associated with damage.

Turning now to the linguistic expression of tastes and odours, this section illustrates the rich lexical means of Lushese to describe and differentiate the gustatory and olfactory experience. Again it depends on the nature of the object and the categories conceived as inherent parts of it, which impact the speaker´s choice of words to describe it adequately.

2.4.3.4 The gustatory experience

For the expression of taste, a variety of verbs are employed; among them, the most frequent examples are illustrated below. Good taste is associated with sweetness, while bad taste with sourness and bitterness.

(216)   (a)   O-bú-lio   bu-hóom-ire.   'The food was sweet/ tasty.'

                AUG-14-food   14-be_sweet-PAST

    (b)   O-búli´   óbu   te-bu-hóoma.   'This food is not sweet/ tasty.'

                AUG-14-food   14:DEM NEG-14- be_sweet

Good taste is expressed in any case with the verb *hooma* 'be sweet/ tasty'. The next example shows the verb in a generic expression and in a situated one: the generic interpretation in (217a) is preferred, because of the plural and of the present tense, while in (217b) the speaker was eating a sugarcane when he spoke the sentence.

(217)   (a)   GENERIC EXPRESSION

                E-bi-téenga   bi-hóoma.   'Sugarcanes are sweet/ tasty.'

                AUG-8-sugarcane 8-be_sweet

(217) (b)   SITUATED EXPRESSION

E-ki-téenga   ki-m-póom-ere-irè.   'The sugarcane tasted good to me.'

AUG-7-sugarcane 7-1OC-be_sweet-APP-PAST

For the meaning that fruits and vegetables be(come) ripe, the verb *ngengera* is used:

(218)   A-mémbu   ga-ngénge-re-irè   bú-ge,   ga-hóoma   íinyo.

AUG-6:banana   6-be(come)_ripe-APP-PAST   14-good   6-be_sweet   ADVmuch

'The bananas became ripe in a good way; they are very sweet/ tasty.'

Beside the use of *hooma* marked with negation as shown in (216b) above, the expressions for bad taste are characterized by more variety: many verbs are employed depending on various criteria, like innate tastes, conditions (uncooked/unripe or rotten) or consistency (dry/hard/bitter/wet).

Innate bitter taste is expressed through the verb *kaiha* 'be bitter':

(219)   (a)   Ka-muláali   ka-káiha.   'Pepper is bitter.'

12-pepper   12-be_bitter

(b)   E-i-shámbu   li-káiha.   'This leaf/ herbal medicine is bitter.'

AUG-9-leaf   9- be_bitter

If the bitter taste is an indication of rotten food, the verb *gambaiga* is used:

(220)   O-lu-Ɗerekéeto   gu-gambáiga.

AUG-11-fish_name   11-become_bitter/rotten

'The fish *olungerekéeto* tastes bitter/ is rotten.'

The next two examples illustrate expressions for sourness and/ or bitterness. In (221a), the innate sour taste of lemons while in (221b), sour taste indicates that the food is rotten:

(221)   (a)   E-i-nímu   dhi-baalála.

AUG-10-lemon   10-be(come)_sour

'Lemons are/taste sour.'

(b)   O-bú-lio   bu-sáakai-rè.

AUG-14-food   14-be(come)_sour-PAST

'The food tastes sour/is rotten.'

The verb shown in (221a) above meaning sour taste is employed further with the meaning that fruits are unripe:

(222)   O-mu-héembe ógu   mu-tò, gu-baalála.

AUG-3-mango   3DEM   3-small   3-be(come)_sour

'This mango (is) unripe, it tastes sour.'

The verb shown in (221b) above is employed with the meaning that fruits are rotten:

(223)   O-mu-héembe gu-sáakai-rè.

AUG-3-mango   3-be(come)_sour-PAST

'The mango tastes sour/is rotten. '

Speakers use various expressions for expressing the meaning 'unripe': the most frequent ones employ the colour term for 'green' as shown in (224a). Also, one of the verbs meaning 'be(come) dead' in past form generates, in this context, the meaning 'be rotten', as illustrated in (224b). The verb can be used only for natural edible products and not for prepared food, as illustrated below:

(224)   (a)   E-bi-ríme   bi-ragála.

AUG-8-vegetables   8-green

Lit.: The vegetables (are) green.

'The vegetables (are) unripe.'

        (b)   E-bi-ríme   bi-honogóke-irè.[71]

AUG-8-vegetables   8-die-PAST

Lit.: The vegetables died.

'The vegetables are rotten.'

Four verbs are employed for the meaning of food that is rotten: *gambaiga*, when bitter taste indicates the rotten condition; *saakaira*, when sour taste indicates the rotten condition; *honogokira* (alternate: -*henegekira*), when the rotten food is edible without being cooked; and *yioma* (alternate: *hioma*), when a product must be cooked (or in general prepared adequately to become edible). The next example (225a) illustrates the use of *henegékira* in the expression regarding rotten milk while example (225b) explains the use of *yioma* regarding rotten cooked food. Examples (225c) and (225d) show that the two verbs cannot replace each other:

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[71] Also attested: *bi-henegékeirè*.

(225)   (a)   A-má-ita   ga-henegé-ki-irè.   (b)   O-bú-lio   bu-yiómi-re[72].

        AUG-6-milk   6-die-STAT-PAST   AUG-14-food 14-be_rotten-PAST

        'The milk is sour.'   'The food is rotten.'

        (c)   *A-má-ita   ga-yiómi-re[73].   (d)   *O-bú-lio   bu-henegé-ki-irè.

        AUG-6-milk   6-be-rotten-PAST   AUG-14-food 14-die-STAT-PAST

        *The milk is sour.   *The food is rotten.

Naturally, edible liquids are considered to be water, butter, animal fat as well as insect gel. In the case of oil in Lushese, the context implies whether the oil is edible or not: for example, the verbal root in (226a) is used only with animate entities or substances, while the verbal root in (226b) is used without restrictions in the choice of the subject:

(226)   (a)   O-mu-dhígo   gu-honogó-ki-irè.   (b)   O-mu-dhígo   gu-kairè.

        AUG-3-oil   3-die-STAT-PAST   AUG-3-oil   3-old

        Lit.: The oil died.   Lit.: The oil (is) old.

        'The (cooking) oil is rotten.'   'The (engine) oil is old.'

In the neighboring languages the difference between cooking and engine oil is lexicalized: the loan word *mafuta* is employed for non-edible oils (engine oil, petrol etc.):

(227)   LUGANDA   LUSOGA

Cooking oil: **butto, omuzigo**   **omuzigo**

Engine oil: **mafuta**   **mafuta**

For edibles which have a high temperature, the frozen form *ayoshia* of the verb (*okw)oshia* is employed: its meaning used to be 'stop raining, become dry through the sunlight', but it is not used in context of weather conditions any more. The form is not embedded in the nominal or verbal morphology thus no concord prefixes is used: as shown in (228a) and (228b), the term *ayóshia* remains the same although it modifies two nouns belonging in different noun classes (Classes 6 and 3 respectively):

(228)   (a)   a-má-idhi   ayóshia[74]   (b)   mu-hógo   ayóshia

        AUG-6-water hot   3-cassava   hot

        'hot water'   'hot cassava'

For non-edible things of high temperature, the verb *babirira* is used: its meaning concerns the sealing of pottery in the fire (to burn a pot =to make earthenware strong in the fire):

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[72] Also attested: *bu-hiómire* in (b) and *ga-hiomire* in (c) respectively.
[73] Also attested: *gahiómire*.
[74] Also attested: *ahiósha*.

(229) Ha-babír-irè   e-n-támu   n´   e-bi-rála.

3SgPAST-burn_pot-PAST   AUG-9-earthenware   Conj   AUG-8-∃

Lit.: (S)he was burning earthen pots and others.

'(S)he was a potter.'

The next example shows this verb modifying a noun: in this context, the preferable interpretation is that the cooking pot has a high temperature (i.e., hot). While in the case of an iron pot the only interpretation is that the pot is hot as illustrated in (230a) and in case of an earthen pot, the meaning depends on the context: in a plain kitchen, it means that the pot reaches a high temperature while in the working place of a pottery maker, it means that the pot is sealed in the fire:

(230)   (a)   e-n-tángo   e-i-babírira   (b)   e-n-súbi[75]   e-i-babírira.

AUG-9-iron_pot   AUG-9-burn_pot   AUG-9-earthen_pot   AUG-9-burn_pot

'hot iron-pot'   'hot/fired earthen-pot'

Used to modify humans, the verb generates the meaning 'to die because of thirst'. The next sentence shows the comment of a speaker concerning people in Somalia. The locative phrase in (231) is an emphasis concerning the temporal repetition: the noun *omusana* here is used with the meaning 'day':

(231)   Nga   ki-táalo   íinyo!   O-bwá-kintu[76]   ba-bábir-irà   mu-musána!

Conj   7-interj   ADV   AUG-14ASS-kintu   2-burn_pot-APP   LOC-3-sunlight

'How sad! People are dying of thirst every day!'

The next example illustrates the same utterance, if the meaning of the noun *omusana* is interpreted as sunlight. I asked the speaker to express that the people die both because of thirst and the heat in the desert; below is the response of the speaker. In bold is marked the locative prefix and in brackets the temporal expression that, in addition, could express in this case temporal repetition:

(232)   O-bwá-kintu   ba-bábir-irà   **ku**-musána   (bu-lí-yo[77]).

AUG-14ASS-kintu   2-burn_pot-APP   LOC-3-sunlight   14-COP-REL

'People are dying of thirst and heat (every day).'

The following section illustrates the language of smells: in case of edibles, the gustatory and the olfactory experience share the same words. For example, good odour and good taste are expressed through one noun, derived of the root *hooma* '(be(come) sweat/tasty' as shown in (233a); the polysemy of this noun results in ambiguity, as illustrated in (233b):

(233)   (a)   -hóoma   →   a-ka-hóo-hò

-be(come)_sweat/tasty   AUG-12- be(come)_sweat/tasty-D

'be(come) sweat/tasty' →   'good taste/odour'

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[75] Also attested: *i-ishúbi.*

[76] For a closer analysis of the word *obwakintu* see ex. 68.

[77] Also attested: *bu-lí-ho*.

(233)　(b)　O-bú-lio　　　　　ta-kúli　　　　a-ka-hóo-hò

　　　　　　　AUG-14-food　　　NEG-COP　　AUG-12- be(come)_sweat/tasty-D

　　　　　　　Lit.: The food has no good taste/odour.'

　　　　　　　'The food tastes/smells bad.'

2.4.3.5 The olfactory experience

Lushese has two verbs of perception for the meaning 'smell': *nuuka* and *hunya*. If something smells good, then the verb *núuka* will be employed. If something smells bad, the verb *hunya* will be used. The verb *húnya* expresses further general matters of odours while the verb *nuuka* is not so frequently used in the everyday register; however, in the concealed language, it is the only verb used for 'smell' (see chapter six). The next example illustrates the semantic difference between the two verbs when they modify something, such as flowers, that is conceived as having no odour or good odour:

(234)　　　(a)　E-ki-múli　　ki-núuka.　　　　　(b)　　E-ki-múli　　ki-húnya.

　　　　　　　　AUG-7-flower　7-smell_good　　　　　　　AUG-7-flower　7-smell_bad

　　　　　　　　'The flower smells good.'　　　　　　　'The flower smells bad.'

　　　　　　(c)　E-ki-múli　　ta-ki-núuka　　　　(d)　　E-ki-múli　　ta-ki-húnya.

　　　　　　　　AUG-7-flower　7-smell_good　　　　　　　AUG-7-flower　7-smell_bad

　　　　　　　　'The flower doesn´t smell good (=smells bad).'　'The flower has no scent.'

Sentences (234a) and (234d) above do not have the same meaning and are the ones preferably used, when it comes to the odour (or the absence of it) of flowers. Sentences (234b) and (234c) have the same meaning, while the speakers prefer the negated form of *nuuka* to express the bad smell of flowers as illustrated in (234c). Sentence (234b) is accepted as grammatically correct as well meaningful, but not elegant.

The next example illustrates the meaning of the two verbs when they modify the noun fish, which either has no smell and thus is fresh or it has a bad smell indicating spoilage:

(235)　　　(a)　E-i-móme　　　i-núuka.　　(b)　　E-i-móme　　　i-húunya.

　　　　　　　　AUG-9-fish_name　9-smell_good　　　AUG-9-name　　　9-smell_bad

　　　　　　　　'The fish *eimóme* smells good.'　　　'The fish *eimóme* smells bad.'

　　　　　　(c)　E-i-móme　　　te-i-núuka.　　(d)　　E-i-móme　　　te-i-húunya.

　　　　　　　　AUG-9-name　　　NEG-9-smell_good　　　AUG-9-name　　　NEG-9-smell_bad

　　　　　　　　'The fish *eimóme* doesn´t smell good (= b).'　　'The fish *eimóme* doesn´t smell bad.'

While (235a) and (235c) above are accepted as grammatically correct, the speakers would not use the verb *nuuka* to refer to fish; for them it is a strange expression. The use of *hunya* is preferred as the

appropriate option when it comes to the smell of fish: sentence (235b) is frequently used to express that the fish is rotten and (235d) notes that the fish is not quite fresh but still edible.

Both verbs can be modified through the adverbs 'good' and 'bad' as shown in (236): either the modifiers intensify the inherent meaning of the verbs as shown in (a) and (b) or they reverse the meaning (c and d):

(236)   (a)   E-núuka   bú-ge.   (b)   E-húunya   bu-bì.

                9-smell_good   14-good   9-smell_bad   14-bad

                '(It) smells very good.'   '(It) smells very bad.'

          (c)   E-núuka   bu-bì.   (d)   E-húunya   búge.

                9-smell_good   14-bad   9-smell_bad   14-good

                '(It) smells bad.'   '(It) smells good.'

While the sentences (238a, b and d) above are used frequently, sentence (236c) is regarded by the speakers as grammatically correct but strange. Beside the verb *nuuka*, the noun *akahooho* is used to express pleasant odours (see also in 2.4.5.2 below). The vocabulary of bad odours is richer than the vocabulary of good odours, with a variety of verbs and nouns specifying different kinds of malodour, as the following examples illustrate. The bad smells of animates are expressed through the terms *kiguungu* 'important' and *inume* 'male'. Although both terms can be used for human and animals, there is a preference to use the first term for animals (237) and the second for men (see ex. (239) below).

(237)   **E-n-koidhi**

          AUG-9-dog

          E-m-bíshi   **e/(a)-húunya**   **e-ki-gúungu**.

          AUG-9-hyena   9/(3Sg)-smell_bad   AUG-7-important

          O-mu-sáighia

          AUG-1-man

                For all: 'The dog; hyena; man smells very bad.'

Speaking of the odour of women is considered as "words of shame". Regarding the odour of people after bathing and after long period of not have taken a bath, the Bashese have only used the verb of perception *nuuka* for women (238 a-b), but employ variety of expressions for men (238 c-d) and (239):

(238)   (a)   O-mú-isiki   a-núuka.   (b)   O-mú-isiki   ta-núuka.

                AUG-1-girl   3Sg-smell_good   AUG-1-girl   NEG3Sg-smell_good

                'The girl smells good.'   'The girl smells bad.'

(238) (c)   O-mu-léndhi   a-núuka.   (d)   O-mu-léndhi   a-húunya.

       AUG-1-boy   3Sg-smell_good   AUG-1-boy   3Sg-smell_bad

       'The boy smells good'.   'The boy smells bad.'

The following examples illustrate the various expressions referring to the bad odour of a male person. In (239a), the intensity of the bad odour is implied by the choice of the subject concord: instead of the prefix mu- of the 1st nominal class, the prefix of the third nominal class is used. Since the boy is a male person, referring to that inherent gender quality generates the meaning of bad odour, as illustrated in (239b). In (239c), another gender quality of males, importance, just because it is conceived as a natural quality of boys, generates, in combination with the verb of perception *hunya,* the meaning of bad smell:

(239)   (a)   O-mu-léndhi   gu-húunya.   'The boy stinks'.

                  AUG-1-boy   3SC-smell_bad

           (b)   O-mu-léndhi   mu-inúme.   'The boy stinks.'

                  AUG-1-boy   1-male

                  Lit.: The boy (is) male.

           (c)   O-mu-léndhi   a-húunya   bu-gúungu.   'The boy stinks.'

                  AUG-1-boy   3Sg-smell_bad   14-important

                  Lit: The boy smells importance.

In the sentences (239d) and (239a) above, the choice of concord reflects semantic difference: with sentence (239b), the speaker implies that the boy smells in an unpleasant way at the actual time of speaking while the sentence in (239d) is used if the boy usually stinks (because of any reason, like his profession, that he is dirty, because he doesn´t bath etc.). According to the speakers there is no difference between the meaning of (239b) and (239c); both are interpreted as emphatic, while (239c) is perceived as funny and implies that the boy is starting to become a man.

The verbal root *buundha* is employed in association with mouldy and wet conditions. The use of the verb is grammatically incorrect if the source of malodour is animate, as illustrated in (240a) and (2420):

(240)   (a)   * O-wá-kiintu   a-búundha/   ha-búundh-ire.

                  AUG-1REL-kintu   3Sg-mould   3SgPAST-mould-PAST

                  *The person smells badly.[78]

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[78] The sentence makes no sense. In case of somebody's death, other verbs express the incident.

(240) (b) *E-n-kóidhi i-búundha/ ha-i-búundh-ire.

AUG-9-dog 9-smell_bad NEG-9-mould-D

*The dog smells bad.

In the case of edibles, the bad smell is associated with rotten food. In example (241a), the speaker implies that the food smells bad, but maybe it is still edible. The use of the verbal root in past tense as illustrated in (241b) has the meaning that the food is so smelly that it is certainly not edible:

(241) (a) O-bú-lio bu-húunya e-ki-búundh-u.

AUG-14-food 14-smell_bad AUG-7-mould-D

'The food smells like it's becoming rotten.'

(b) O-bú-lio bu-búundh-ire.

AUG-14-food 14-mould-PAST

'The food smells like it is rotten.'

The noun *ekibuundhu* derived out of the verb *buundha* 'mould' can be employed to express bad odours with respect to various sources (242a-d):

(242) (a) O-wá-kiintu a-húunya e-ki-búundh-u.

AUG-1REL-kintu 3Sg-smell_bad AUG-7-mould-D

(b) E-n-kóidhi e-húunya e-ki-búundh-u.

AUG-9-dog- 9-smell_bad AUG-7-mould-D

(c) O-bú-lio bu-húunya e-ki-búundh-u.

AUG-14-food 14- smell_bad AUG-7-mould-D

(d) E-n-tíndi e-húunya e-ki-búundh-u.

AUG-9-house 9-smell_bad AUG-7-mould-D

For all (a-d): 'The person; dog; food; house smells bad/ like mould.'

A further noun derived out of this root is the noun *iibuundhu*[79] from Cl. 9, which has the meaning 'wound'. The next examples illustrate the description of a wound through its odour:

(243)   I-i-búundh-u   e-húunya,   e-sáiga   e-i-shámbu.

          AUG-9-mould-D   9-smell_bad,   9-like   AUG-9-medicine

          'The wound smells bad; it needs medicine.'

While the noun *ekibuundhu* 'mould' accompanies usually (but not only) the verb *huunya* 'smell bad', the noun *ekisu* 'dirt' used for the meaning 'malodour' occurs only with *nuuka*. This noun can also be employed with respect to various sources (244 a-d):

(244)   (a)   O-wá-kiintu   a-núuka   e-ki-sù.

                 AUG-1REL-Kintu   3Sg-smell_good   AUG-7-dirt

          (b)   E-n-kóidhi   e-núuka   e-ki-sù.

                 AUG-9-dog-   9-smell_good   AUG-7-dirt

          (c)   O-bú-lio   bu-núuka   e-ki-sù.

                 AUG-14-food   14-smell_good   AUG-7-dirt

          (d)   E-n-tíndi   e-núuka   e-ki-sù

                 AUG-9-house   14-smell_good   AUG-7-dirt

          For all (a-d): 'The person; dog; food; house smells bad/ dirty.'

The noun *olwaaho* 'milk odour' is used to express the smell of milk and its products; it can be used with both verbs of perception; the odour is valued as positive (245a) or negative (245b) dependent upon their use:

(245)   (a)   A-ka-kómpe   ka-núuka   o-lw-áaho.

                 AUG-13-cupt   13-smell_good   AUG-11-milk_odour

                 'The drinking pot smells nice, like milk.'

          (b)   A-ka-kómpe   ka-húunya   o-lwáa-ho.

                 AUG-13-cup   13-smell_bad   AUG-11-milk_odour

                 'The drinking pot smells bad, like (sour) milk.'

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[79] Also attested: *i-i-húundhu, e-ki-húundhu*.

The general expression for referring to the action of belching in people and animals and which is associated with smell coming out of the mouth, engages the verb *begegaigala* 'belch':

(246)   Bw´   e-madh-íre   o-ku-táfuna   b-aa-begégaig-íre.

               Conj   9-be_enough-PAST   AUG-14-eat   3Pl-PAST-belch-PAST

               'When they finished eating, they belched.'

The speakers explained the noun *embiihi* 'belch' 'wind of the stomach' and mentioned that it is phonetically similar the word *embeho* 'wind'. It is used to refer to the belch of all animals except snakes and rats: in the case of snakes and rats, they are associated with a typical smell coming out of their mouth that is lexicalized by the words illustrated in (247a) and (247b):

(247)   (a)   E-m-bíihi   e-n-ghé-ri   o-mu-sotà   ba-héeta   e-i-kálalumé.

                  AUG-9-belch   AUG-9-REL-COP   AUG-3-snake   3Pl-call   AUG-9-snake_belch

                  'The belch of the snake is called *eikalalume*.'

          (b   E-m-bíihi   gy-é-m-beba   ba-héeta   o-mu-fúngu-fúngu.

                  AUG-9-belch   9ASS:AUG-9-rat   3Pl-call   AUG-3-rat_belch-RED

                  'The belch of the rat is called *omufungufungu.*'

Both nouns can be used with the prefix *gu-*, which implies rat and snake belches carry an intensely bad odour.

2.4.3.6 The language of shapes and materials

This section illustrates the words used in Lushese which describe shapes and materials. However, these qualities are often associated with certain entities and therefore implied by them in a metonymic way. Often the speakers used comparisons to explain the shape and material of an object. In these comparisons, they used copula constructions and the verb *fwana* 'resemble'. Two sentences illustrated in (248) were responses during the use of the MPI-booklet for tactile sensation. The speakers are asked to wear a mask over their eyes and feel with their fingers a sample of surfaces. The following sentences are synonymous and refer to hard paper surface with curved or straight ridges of different space:

(248)   (a)   Kí-no   n-áa-li-nga   ki-tábu.   'This feels like a book.'

                  7-DEM   1SgPAST-COP-Conj   7-book

          (b)   Ki-no   ki-fwána   ki-tábu.   'This feels like a book.'

                  7-DEM   7-resemble   7-book

Further comparisons can be used to express the meanings of 'rough', 'soft' and 'smooth' as illustrated in the next examples (249-251). An object being soft but without an even surface is compared to a feather, whereas an object being soft and even is compared to the surface of a mirror:

(249)   Ki-fwána   e-i-ríba   ly-´   e-n-dhiabuhúule.   'It is rough.'

7-resemble   AUG-9-fell   9-(ASS) AUG-9-goat

Lit: It resembles a goat´s fur.

(250)   Ki-fwána   e-bi-háha.   'It is soft.'

7-resemble   AUG-8-feather

Lit: It resembles feather.

(251)   Ki-fwána   e-i-moné-sh-o.   'It is smooth (even).'

7-resemble   AUG-9-see-CAUS-D

Lit: It resembles a mirror.

Still these comparisons are rather employed to describe unfamiliar objects or employed in emphatic manner. The tactile experience is more often described through verbs as illustrated in the next section.

2.4.3.6.1 The tactile experience

Four verbs are frequently used to express material qualities with respect to different surfaces. The meaning of all four verbs varies depending on the object they describe. The two verbs illustrated in the next example can be used only in intransitive sentences; subject being the source of tactile experience or, in other words, the entity that is supposed to have the properties denoted by the verb:

(252)   -goondha   'be soft, elastic'

-séemera   'be slippery, soft/even, wet/sticky'

The interpretation of the meaning depends on the context. In the case of a rope, the preferable interpretation of *goondha* is that the rope is elastic (253a) and not that it is soft, as in the case of wood (253b). With the verb *seemera,* the preference of the speakers regarding the meaning is that the rope is slippery or wet (253c), while the wood is rather considered as having an even surface (253d):

(253)   (a)   O-mú-niga   gu-góondha.   (b)   É-n-gui   e-góondha.

AUG-3-rope   3-be_soft/elastic   AUG-9-wood   9- be_soft/elastic

'The rope is elastic.'   'The wood is soft.'

        (c)   O-mú-niga   gu-séemera.   (d)   É-n-gui   e-séemera.

AUG-3-rope   3-be_soft/ slippery   AUG-9-wood   9- be_soft/ slippery

'The rope is slippery.'   'The wood is even.'

It is not accepted as grammatically correct to introduce an experiencing human entity in combination with the verbs above, through none of the constructions that may be used in such cases, as the next

two false sentences illustrate. Neither the use of the applicative nor the common use of locative classes for introducing new arguments is allowed with the verbs g*oondha* and *seemera:*

(254)   *Ki-n-góondh-ire.   *Ki-góondh-a/ire   kú-ndhe.

                    *Ki-n-séemere-ire.   *Ki-séemer-a/ire   kú-ndhe.

                    7-1Sg-be_soft-PAST   7-1Sg-be_soft-PRES/PAST   LOC-1Sg

                    *It is soft according to my sense.

If the entity described is human, then the verbs express inner qualities of the character: *goondha* 'being soft/elastic' is associated with obedience, a positive personal value, as shown in (255).

(255)   O-mú-dhukulu   a-góondha.

                    AUG-1-grandchild   3Sg-be_soft

                    Lit.: The grandchild is soft/elastic.

                    'The grandchild is obedient (=good character).'

Being 'soft/even/wet/slippery/sticky', *seemera,* is associated with somebody with whom one likes to snuggle and implies a close and living relationship to that person:

(256)   I-i-nyóko   a-séemera.

                    AUG-9-mother   3Sg-be_soft

                    Lit.: the mother is soft/even/wet/slippery/sticky.

                    'Mother is affectionate (the speaker has an innate relation to his/her mother).'

Two de-verbal adjectives, *-heheera* and *-heheembu*, express smoothness (257) and are associated with beauty when used to modify persons (258a and b):

(257)   O-lu-lambáala   o-lu-hehéera/   o-lu-hehéembu.

                    AUG-11-cloth   AUG-11-(be)smooth/   AUG-11-(be)smooth

                    'smooth/ soft cloth'

(258)

    (a)   Á-i-na   o-lu-súsu   o-lu-hehéera/   o-lu-hehéembu.

             3SgPRES-COP-CONN   AUG-11-skin   AUG-11-(be)smooth/ be)smooth

             '(S)he has smooth skin (= nice skin)'.

    (b)   Á-i-na   o-bw-éni   o-bu-hehéera/   o-bu-hehéembu.

             3SgPRES-COP-CONN   AUG-14-face   AUG-14-(be)smooth/ be)smooth

             '(S)he has a smooth face (= beautiful face).'

The following two verbs, *saala* 'cut' and the verb of perception *gwaita* 'touch; hold' are often used in intransitive sentences with inanimate entities in the position of the subject to express material qualities. The next example illustrates the use of *saala* 'cut'. In (259), the verb is used in an intransitive sentence with the noun 'knife' in the position of the subject: based on the same verbal root, a noun with the meaning 'sharp knife' is derived:

(259)   A-ka-mbè   ka-sáal-e   bú-ge,   ba-ká-(h)eeta a-ka-sáa-z-o[80].

            AUG-12-knife   12-cut   14-good   3Pl-12-call   AG-12-cut-CAUS-D

            'The knife that cuts well is called a sharp knife.'

The next example shows the use of the verb to describe an entity that is rough, hence one may injure (cut) the own fingers; as the next example illustrates, the rope may be considered as being rough to such an extent that it is sharp:

(260)   O-mú-niga   gu-sáala.   'The rope is rough.'

            AUG-3-rope   3-cut

            Lit.: The rope is cutting.

The same verb is used further to describe entities that are not dangerous, but just rough, like a cloth:

(261)   O-lu-lambála   lu-sáala.   'The cloth is rough.'

            AUG-11-cloth   11-cut

The verb can be used also in reduplicated form; then the meaning is emphasized:

(262)   O-mú-niga   ó-gu   gu-sáala-sáala.

            AUG-3-rope   3-DEM   3-cut-RED

            'This rope is very rough.'

The verb can be used in passive form (263). The reduplication of the passive form derives an adjective which generates the meaning of roughness (264):

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[80] A sharp knife is called *akógi* and *akokihódi* among fishers and carpenters.

(263)   O-mu-tì   gu-sál-wa.   'The tree is felled.'

               AUG-3-tree   3SC-cut-PASS

(264)   O-mu-tì   mu-sálwa-sálwa.   'The tree (is) rough (= has rough surface).'

               AUG-3-tree   3-cut_PASS-RED

Further, the reduplicated form of the verb *hinya* 'break/ divide' can be used to express rough or disfigured surface:

(265)   A-i-na   o-lu-súsu   o-lu-hínya-hínya.

               3Sg-COP-CONN   AUG-11-skin   AUG-11-break-RED

               '(S)he has disfigured skin.'

The verb of perception *gwaita* 'touch; hold' used in intransitive constructions with inanimate entities in the position of the subjects expresses rough and sticky material or thick and sticky fluid. There is a difference in the meaning between (266) and (267): while the use of *saala* implies that the material is rough and dry, the use of *gwaita* means that the material is rough and wet/sticky, not sharp:

(266)   O-mú-niga   gu-gwáita.   'The rope is rough and sticky.'

               AUG-3-rope   3-touch_hold

(267)   O-mu-sáhi   gu-gwáita,   té-ri   ng´   a-má-idhi   o-gwa-séemere-irè.

               AUG-3-blood   3-touch_hold   NEG-COP   Conj   AUG-6-water   6:REL-be_soft-PAST

               'The blood is thick and sticky; it is not like water, which is smooth.'

The introduction of a human entity experiencing the qualities expressed by the verbs *saala* and *gwaita* as illustrated in the above examples is not accepted as grammatically correct. The use of the verbs *saala* and *gwaita* in transitive sentences produces other meanings that have nothing to do with tactile experience.

2.4.3.6.2 Recognizing shapes and materials

Lushese lexicalizes three dimensional shapes: out of the verbal root *heenga* 'curve' (268a), two nouns in different nominal classes are derived with the meaning triangle and square respective (268b):

(268)   (a)   Ha-heeng-íre   o-bu-shéenio.   'He carved wood.'

                   3SgPAST-curve-PAST   AUG-14-wood

      (b)   Class 7/8:   e-ki-héenge, e-bi-héenge   'triangle'

            Class 12/14   a-ka-héenge, o-bu-héenge   'square'

The root *tooloobu* expresses round shape:

(269)   (a)   I-i-toolóobu   erà!   (b)   E-n-dhab-ish-ó   é-ri   i-toolóobu.

                    AUG-9-round   9:COP   AUG-9-see-CAUS-D   9-DEM 9-round

                    'It is a circular!'   'This mirror (is) round.'

For the expression of three dimensional shapes, Lushese employs different strategies: for example, the following words are used metonymically to express shape:

(270)   (a)   e-n-djúba   'sun'   →   'big sphere'

                    AUG-9-sun

            (b)   e-i-húli   'egg'   →   'oval'

                    AUG-9-egg

For three dimensional rectangles, two words that associate the shape with its function are employed:

(271)   (a)   -lemba   →   e-ki-rémba   'rectangle 3D'

                    -receive   AUG-7-receive

            (b)   i-i-shánduuki   →   'rectangle 3D'

                    AUG-9-box

            (c)   -shiika   →   e-ki-shíiki   'cylinder'[81]

                    -fry/smoke   AUG-7-fry/smoke

The next example illustrates further nouns that express dimensional shapes; in the case of a cone, aside from the noun *ensoigo* 'cone', the verb *giiriidha* 'turn around the own axis' derives a noun that has the meaning 'cone put on the edge':

(272)   (a)   o-mu-kúunda   'cube'

                    AUG-3-cube

            (b)   e-n-kúluungó   'small sphere'

                    AUG-9-small_sphere

             (c)   e-n-sóigo   'cone put on its base'

                    AUG-9-cone_base

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[81] Note that the association concerns a cylinder made of wood which is used to smoke fishes.

(272) (d)   -giiríidha   →   e-n-giiríidh-i   'cone put on the point'

            -'turn around the own axis'   AUG-9-cone_edge-ND

The verb *fwana* 'resemble' is often employed to describe shapes (273a). In case of equal shape, the reciprocal form of this verb or the verb *kankana* 'tremble' can be used (273b):

(273)   (a)   A-ma-ibáli   g-a   ki-rémba   te-ga-fwána/   te-ga-kánkana.

                AUG-6-side   6-ASS   7-receive   6-resemble/   NEG-6-tremble

                'The sides of that box/3D rectangle are not all equal.'

       (b)   A-ma-ibáli   g-´   o-mu-kúunda   ga-fwaná-na/   ga-kánkana.

                AUG-6-side   6-ASS   Aug-3-cube   6-resemble-REC   6-tremble

                'The sides of the cube are all equal.'

The noun *ensonda* 'edge' can be employed in an associative construction with the meaning of rough surface:

(274)   (a)   E-i-húli   n´   e-n-kulúungo   te-dhi-ri-na   e-n-sónda.

                AUG-10-egg   CONN   AUG-10-small_sphere   NEG-10-COP-CONN   AUG-9-edge

                'Oval objects and (small) spheres have no edges.'

       (b)   I-i-shánduk´   í-no   e-rí-na   ma-ibáli   g-a   n-sónda.

                AUG-9-box   9-DEM   9-COP-CONN   6-side   6-ASS   9-edge

                'This box has rough (edgy) sides.'

Many objects can be employed to express shape and material qualities that are associated with them in a metonymic way. Different words lexicalize types of earth, wood and stones that are associated with different qualities.

(275)   EARTH   WOOD   STONES

       (a)   e-i-tósi   (b)   é-n-kui   (c)   e-ki-áhi

                AUG-9-muddy_earth   AUG-9-wood_cooking   AUG-7-lake_stone

                'wet/ muddy earth'   'wood for cooking'   'stone of the lake'

       (d)   e-i-táka   (f)   o-bu-shéenio   (g)   o-lu-kwángo

                AUG-9-earth   AUG-14-cut_wood   AUG-11-path_stone

                'dry earth'   'cut wood'   'stone on a path'

The two words employed for iron and gold respectively are loan words, as in many languages of the region; in associative constructions, they are used to express the material qualities of the respective metals, colour included (for colour terms see 2.4.3.8 below):

(276)　　　　　　　'iron'　　　　'gold'

LUSHESE　　e-ky-úma　　i-i-dháabu

LUGANDA　　e-ky-úma　　e-z-zábu

LUSOGA　　e-ki-úma　　e-i-záabu

The material of everyday objects like, for example kitchen containers, is implied by different words, and in cases of cooking pots, also the size:

(277)　　(a) COOKING POTS MADE OF...　　　　(b) DRINKING POTS MADE OF...

	IRON	EARTH	PUMPKIN	GLASS	PLASTIC[82]
SMALL	**e-n-súha**	**e-n-támu**	**e-ki-kómbe**	**e-gi-ráasi**	**e-ki-nyw-ò**
	AUG-9-iron pot	AUG-9-earthen pot	AUG-7-cup	AUG-9-glass	AUG-7-drink-D
BIG	**e-n-tángo**	**e-n-súmbi**			
	AUG-9-big ir. pot	AUG-9-big earthen pot			

Being empty or full can be expressed in many ways; the next figure shows the concepts associated with being empty:

(278)　　CONCEPTS ASSOCIATED WITH EMPTINESS

　　　　Empty　　　→　　Negation + Locative

　　　　Empty　　　→　　not inhabited　　→　　dry/dead

The use of the negated and impersonal form of the copula *tahali* 'there is not' followed by a locative expression means that something is empty:

(279)　　(a)　Ta-háli　　mú-ntu　　mu-ntíndi.　　'There is no one at home.'

　　　　　　NEG-COP　　1-person　　LOC-house

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(279)	(b)	Ta-háli	ká-ntu	mu-ntíndi.	'There is nothing at home.'
		NEG-COP	12-thing	LOC-house	

The association of emptiness with dryness is also very common; the preference of the speaker whether to use a negation or the association with dryness to express emptiness depends on the modified entity and the intention of the speaker. For some entities, the negation is used more often; thus dryness has emphatic value and for other entities the opposite is preferred. Regarding the example (281) above, both sentences are less emphatic than the expression 'dry house', shown in (280):

(280)   E-n-tíndi   e-n-gáalu[83].

AUG-9-house   AUG-9-dry

'dry house (=empty house)'

In the case of cups, the use of the negation in (281a) is more emphatic than the association with dryness as shown in (281b):

(281)	(a)	Ta-háli	ká-ntu	mu-ki-kómbe.
		NEG-COP	12-thing	LOC-7-cup

'There is nothing in the cup.'

	(b)	E-ki-kómbe	ki-bá-ire	ki-gálu/ ki-shúba.
		AUG-7-cup	7-COP-PAST	7-dry/ 7-dry

'The cup was dry (=empty).'

In combination with the noun 'head', the root *shúba* meaning dryness and/or emptiness expresses low cognitive ability:

(282)		O-nò	á-i-na	a-ka-hánga	ka-shúba.	'(S)he is stupid.'
		1-DEM	3Sg-COP-CONN	AUG-12-head	12-dry/empty	

Lit: (S)he has a head (which is) dry.

Empty nests and/or caves are conceived as not inhabited places and are thus associated with infertility or death.

(283)	(a)	E-m-búgu	e-fúluu-ka.	'The cave is empty.'
		AUG-9-cave	9-be(come)_dead-STAT	

	(b)	E-m-búgu	e-búu-ka.	'The cave is not empty/ inhabited.'
		AUG-9-cave	9-breed-STAT	

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[83] Also attested: *e-n-káalu*.

While the word *ekituli* 'hole' is used in association with all kinds of entities (284a), tree-holes are lexicalised as shown in (284b):

(284)   (a)   E-ki-kómbe   ki-ri-na   e-ki-túli.

AUG-7-cup   7-COP-CONN   AUG-7-whole

'The cup has a hole.'

(b)   O-mu-tí   o-mu-gúlu   gu-dju-irè   n´   e-i-nombe.

AUG-3-tree   AUG-3-sky   3-be_full-PAST   CONN   AUG-9-tree_hole

'The old tree is full of hollows.'

Empty holes of any kind can be referred to either through the use of negation or through the association with dryness (285a) whereas empty tree hollows are conceived as uninhabited places and thus are referred to through expressions of infertility or death (285b):

(285)   (a)   E-ki-túli   ki-káalu.   'The hole (is) empty.'

AUG-7-hole   7-dry

(b)   E-i-nómbe   e-fúluu-ka[84].   'The tree hollow is empty.'

AUG-9-tree_hole   9-be(come)_dead-STAT

While the language of shapes and materials exemplifies the world-knowledge on which the language is footed, the concept of emptiness elucidates the importance of the dichotomy between animate and inanimate entities.

2.4.3.7 The language of sounds

Lushese employs a variety of means to communicate about sound: different voices and sounds are expressed through various lexemes, while playing with pitch and volume, lengthened vowels, repetition as well as onomatopoeia and gestures producing sound like clapping with the hands or snapping the fingers are included in the repertoire of the speaker to express and stimulate auditory experience. The next two sections discuss some ways in which the speakers utilized different voices and sounds; however, a serious effort to adequately describe the full range of speaking about and with sounds would tax the limits of this dissertation.

Speaking about voices engages the noun *eiraka* 'voice', which can be generally modified as follows:

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[84] To speak about wet or dry tree-holes, speakers prefer to use other expressions, like the associative construction with the noun water or the negation of it.

(286)   (a)   e-i-ráka   i-i-néne   'high volume'

                 AUG-9-voice   AUG-9-big

       (b)   e-i-ráka   e-n-týampai   'low volume'

                 AUG-9-voice   AUG-9-small

       (c)   e-i-ráka   e-n-sáighia   'low pitch; male voice'

                 AUG-9-voice   AUG-9-male

       (d)   e-i-ráka   e-n-káidhi   'high pitch; female voice'

                 AUG-9-voice   AUG-9-female

A variety of verbs express different kinds of speaking: most of them are associated with speech acts and social interaction, thus with social aspects of speaking as well with volume, speed and pitch.

(287)   -shiirika   'be(come) quiet'

           -haya   'speak, converse'

           -teenda   'speak, announce'

           -heeta[85]   'call, speak with loud voice'

           -miisha   'complain, speak with loud voice'

           -shulendula   'celebrating sound, shout *lululu*'

           -lekelela   'mourning sounds'

           -inyikira   'complain in low voice'

           -(h)iiha   'make a rustling sound'

           -bisha   'whisper'

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[85] Also attested as -*heeta*.

The voices of animals reflect if they are domesticated or not; the voice of all domesticated animals can be expressed through the verb *liira* 'cry':

(288)   (a) DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

E-m-punu

AUG-10-pig

E-n-dhybuhúule

AUG-10-goat   **dhi-ríirà.**

E-n-tè   10-cry

AUG-10-cows

E-i-kápa

AUG-10-cat

For all: 'Pigs; goats; cows; cats cry.'

Exceptions to the use of the verb *liira* 'cry' concern the reference to the voice of dogs and cocks and hens:

(288)   (b)   E-n-kóidhi   dhi-kábola.   'Dogs bark.'

              AUG-10-dog   10-cry_dog

        (c)   E-m-pánga   dhi-kokólima.   'Cocks crow.'

              AUG-10-cock   10-cry_crow

        (d)   E-n-góko   dhi-kékema,   dhi-sáiga   o-ku-bíika.

              AUG-10-hen   10-cry_hen   10-like   AUG-15-lay_eggs

              'The hen clucks, they are about to lay eggs.'

The voice of wild animals is expressed though the verb *huugula* (see ex. 290). The polysemous noun *enkoidhi* can illuminate the meaning of this verb opposed to the verb *kabola* which is used to refer to the voice of dogs. The word *enkoidhi* can be used either to refer to male dogs or to male wild animals in general. The following example shows how the choice between different verbs expressing sound may clarify the meaning of this noun:

(289)   E-n-kóidhi   dhi-kábola.   'Dogs bark.'

                  AUG-10-dog   10-cry_dog

The following examples illustrate the use of *huugula* to refer to the voice of different wild animals:

(290)   (a)   E-n-kóidhi   dhi-huugúla.   'Lions roar.'

                      AUG-10-lion   10-cry_wild_animal

          (b)   WILD ANIMALS

E-m-pologomá

AUG-10-lion

E-m-búbu

AUG-10-Hippo

E-n-túiga   **dhi-huugúla**.

AUG-10-giraffe   10-cry_wild_animal

E-m-bogó

AUG-10-buffalo

For all: '(Lions; Hippos; giraffes, buffalos) cry/roar.'

The verb *shii(h)a* expresses both the voice and the sound of the movement of serpents and may cause ambiguity:

(291)   (a) SERPENTS

E-mi-sotà

AUG-4-snake   **gi-shíi(h)a.**

E-mi-nyà   4-cry/move_serpents

AUG-4-lizard

For all: 'Snakes; Lizards cry/ move.'

The two meanings of this sound-iconic verb are related through metonymic processes: the verb *shiiha* expressing the sound of serpents is used further to refer to their motion. In case of crocodiles the ambiguity of the verb *shiiha* persists, however the speakers prefer to interpret the verb as 'cry' rather than 'move'. The speakers explained their preference by mentioning the characteristic sound of crocodiles crying which they perceive as a sign of danger:

(291) (b)   E-i-thémbe   dhi-shíi(h)a.   'The crocodiles cry (move).'

               AUG-10-crocodile   10-cry/move_serpents

The singing of the birds can be expressed in many ways; two verbs are employed to differentiate between pleasant or unpleasant perceptions of bird song:

(292)   (a)   E-bi-nyónyi   bi-híimba.   'The birds sing in a pleasant way'.

                    AUG-8-bird   8-sing

(292) (b) E-bi-nyónyi   bi-héeha.   'The birds sing in unpleasant way'.

        AUG-8-bird   8-lough

The voices of different kinds of birds can be expressed through ideophones; these give the source of the bird´s name as well as intransitive verbs with the meaning of respective bird-voices:

(293)   IDEOPHONE   BIRD´S NAME

        (a)   ŋòá   i-i-ŋáa-gà   'hornbill'

                                      AUG-9-IDEO-D

        EXAMPLE FOR THE VERBAL USE:

        (b)   E-i-gúlo   e-ŋáa-g-iré-nyo.   'Yesterday (the hornbill) was loud.'

                 AUG-9-yesterday   9-IDEO-D-PAST:ADV

        IDEOPHONE   BIRD´S NAME

        (c)   tútútú   e-i-tútuma   '?name of bird'[86]

                 AUG-9-IDEO:D   AUG-8-bird

        EXAMPLE FOR THE VERBAL USE:

        (d)   E-bi-niónyi   e-bye-tútuma   bi-híimba   mámbia.

                 AUG-8-bird   AUG-8:REL-IDEO:D   8-sing   dawn

        'The birds which make the sound *tútútú,* sing at dawn.'

Voices of animals other than birds can also be expressed through ideophones, but these do not derive words:

(294)   ANIMAL   IDEOPHONE

        (a)   a-má-begundó   'cow'   ŋò

                 AUG-6-cow

        (b)   e-n-dhiabuhúle   'goat'   méééè

                 AUG-9-goat

Further, the various voices of different drums constitute a special group of voices that goes hand in hand with clan traditions: the drum is conceived as an animate entity, as the medium through which

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[86] It was not possible to identify the latin name of these birds.

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the ancestral spirits speak. Drums and voices are named after the corresponding spirit. A speaking drum has its own agency. Some brief remarks on the social role of the drums are included in chapter six.

Some last remarks about the language of sounds: special expressions are dedicated to the sound of storm and thunder. The sound of a storm is referred to through a specific verb with the noun 'sky' in subject position, while the noise of thunder is referred to by using a frozen relative form of the verb 'arrive'.

(295)   E-i-gúlu   ri-idhúma.   E-gwá-tuuka.

            AUG-9-sky   9-storm.   AUG-9:REL-arrive

            Lit: The sky is storming.   The (thunder) arrives.

            'The large storm is accompanied by loud thunder.'

The ideophone *pá* is often used to express loud sounds, or to intensify loud sounds:

(296)   A-má-buki   ga-gú-ire   ne   PÁ!   E-gwa-túuk-iré-nyo.

            AUG-6-water   6-fall-PAST   CONNj   IDEO   AUG-9:REL-arrive-PAST-ADV

            'Heavy rain fell and there was a loud clap of thunder.'

The triple repetition of this ideophone is used to express quick serial actions and noises:

(297)   Ha-kúb-ire   pàpàpà!n´   e-n-sólo   li-honogóo-k-ire.

            3SgPAST-hit-PAST IDEO   CONN   AUG-9-beast   9-die-STAT-PAST

            'He hit the beast again and again, while making a loud noise, until it died.'

The Bashese speakers like to enrich their speech with voice and sound imitations and in general they use the volume and pitch of their voice to catch the attention of the listener. When somebody tells a longer story, these elements are accompanied with speed variation and the playful juggling of words that sound similar but have different meanings or by innovative compositions of words that sound funny.

2.4.3.8 The language of colours
While there are words that correspond to the English nouns 'taste', 'odour', 'sound' and 'voice' and the Bashese evaluate these words as their own as well, despite the fact that only the word *eiraka* 'voice' is not shared by other neighboring Bantu languages as is the case for 'taste', 'odour', and 'sound', the speakers don´t lexicalize abstract ideas corresponding to the English nouns 'shape' and 'material'. They use the word *erangi* 'colour', but evaluate it as a loanword imported recently through the neighboring languages. The conscious negative attitude towards the word 'colour' is symptomatic of their awareness that the conceptualization of colour has changed though time and that the new concepts represented by the word *erangi* are not the same as concepts which the Bashese speakers evaluate as own and older. The aim of this section is not only to provide information about the use and meaning of colour terms, but also to explain the attitude of the speakers with respect to the conceptualization of colour.

Colour terminology in Lushese consists of words common among the Bantu languages of the region with the exception of three terms: the roots *ishámbu*[87] 'green' and *igúbugúbu* 'orange' as well as the word *mámbia*, which describes the colour of the sky at dusk. These words appear only in Lushese and mean nothing to speakers of Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamodji as far as I could test. The Arabic loanword *bunì* 'brownish' is also a word that neighboring Bantu languages don´t employ. The colour terms in Lushese originate from various associations as well as loanwords. The next table gives an overview of the terms and their respective sources of origin:

Table 37: Colour terms in Lushese and their origin

COLOUR TERM	ENGLISH GLOSS	SOURCE	ENGLISH GLOSS
-hémbu	'yellow'	**o-mu-hembe** AUG-3-mango	'mango-fruit'
-irugábu	'black'	**e-i-rugabu** AUG-9-dark	'darkness'
-ishámbu	'green'	**i-i-shambu** AUG-9-leaf	'very fresh leaf'
kikúshi	'grey'	**o-m(w)-oshi** AUG-3-smoke	'smoke'
kitakà	'brown'	**e-i-taka** AUG-9-earth	'earth'
-myúpu	'red'	**o-ku-myu-ka** AUG-15-red-STAT	'to be/get_red'
kakobè	'purple'	**i-i-kobe** AUG-9-yam	'yam'/royal clan
igúbugúbu	'orange'	**e-i-gubu** AUG-9-pinapple	'pineapple'
-héra	'white'	Common Bantu Root v. intr: *-yed- v.intr:*-wel-	 'become white' 'be covered with white sand'
kachúngwa	'light green'	Loanword (Cl. 12)	(Chinese or Indian source)

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[87] The tones are included here, because they remain indifferent in any context; the same applies to the colour terms listed in the table (but not for the source nouns and the stative verb).

Some of the colours have various counterparts that correspond to different hues. In the following table, the words expressing the colours 'brown', 'red' and 'purple' are listed:

Table 38: Synonymic terms for 'brown, red, purple'

COLOUR TERM	ENGLISH GLOSS	SOURCE	ENGLISH GLOSS
kabugò	'dark brown'	**e-i-bugò**	'bark_cloth'
kasáahi	'dark red'	**mu-sáahi**	'blood'
mámbia	'purple sky'	?	-
bunì	'brownish'	?Arabic	-

The term *mámbia* only refers to the colour of the sky during dusk and thus can only be used as a temporal adverb; Lushese has a noun for dusk, *omuherima*, which is unknown to both Baganda and Basoga speakers. In (298), the nouns and the temporal Lushese expressions for dusk are compared with Luganda and Lusoga:

(298) (a) LUSHESE:

o-mu-herima   má-mbia

AUG-3-dusk   6-?purple_sky

'evening'   'at dusk-time'

(b) LUGANDA:

ka-wungée-zi   obwa   bu-wungéera

12-become_evening-ND   CONJ   14-become_evening

'evening'   'at dusk-time'

(c) LUSOGA:

n-kúngù   nkyò

9-evening   ADV

'evening'   'at dusk-time'

Colour has its own status among other properties, although the colour terms do not constitute a word class of their own. The terminology of colours derives from other word-classes as well as other properties; some colours can be regarded as adjectival roots while others do not behave like adjectives. Among them, there are many morphologically frozen forms; further, the reduplication strategy shows a different evaluation of the colour-semantics compared with the semantics of other properties.

2.4.3.8.1 Colour as a quantity

In terms of syntax, the colours behave like other dependents: they follow the head-noun, and as far as they allow concordance, they employ the same nominal morphology that marks the head-noun as in (299a). In (299b) you see the frozen behaviour of 'brown':

(299)   (a)   e-n-dhyánga   e-i-héra   'white bag'

                  AUG-9-bag   AUG-9-white

    (b)   e-n-dhyánga   kitakà   'brown bag'

                  AUG-9-bag   Øbrown

Colours can be modified through one de-verbal adjective and two expression that are rooted in associative constructions. The colour modifiers in bold and their sources are illustrated in the next table.

Table 39: Colour modifiers

ENGLISH GLOSS	SOURCE	MODIFIER
Bright	**-tangáala**	**-tangábu**
	'to be(come) bright/light'	
	'to be(come) clear: weather'	
Dark	**-ky-á-fu**	-kwáfu
	-7-ASS-dirt	
	'thing of dirt'	
Light	**-(ky)-a-má-idhi**	**-amáidhi**
	-(7)-ASS-6-water	
	'of water'	

The modifiers follow the colour term and occur in concord with the colour term and not with the head noun of the nominal phrase, as their combination with frozen forms illustrates in (300b): the modifier is constructed as if the syllable *ki-* of the frozen form *kitakà* is the nominal prefix of Cl.7. The augment is also missing, although the head noun is augmented:

(300)   (a)   e-n-dhyánga   e-i-rugábu   i-i-kwáfu   'dark black bag'

                  AUG-9-bag   AUG-9-black   AUG-9-dark

    (b)   e-n-dhyánga   kitakà   ki-kwáfu   'dark brown bag'

                  AUG-9-bag   Øbrown   7-dark

Reduplication constitutes a further strategy to modify colour terms. Reduplication is a common strategy of emphasis in the language and an indicator of emotive speech. Duplicating adjectival roots intensifies the meaning, as illustrated in (301a). But duplicating a colour term dilutes the meaning (301b). The reduplicated forms of colour terms correspond to the English difference between blue and bluish, or the German *rot* versus *rötlich*: for colour-terms, the reduplication is an indication of an 'inexact colour' or a colour considered slightly out of spectrum[88]:

(301) (a) mu-tyámpai-tyámpay (b) kitakà-takà

        1-small-RED   Øbrown-RED

        'very small (person)'   'not really brown'

This example shows clearly that reduplication is a sophisticated strategy; it is not just emphasizing something without respect to a specific reason. The meaning of the words play a crucial role for the interpretation of a reduplicated form: in terms of colours, in Lushese colour cannot be intensified: it can be described as hues and shades through specific words or in combination with modifiers, as we saw above. Reduplication can also express colour which is somehow taken out of its accepted spectrum.

The Bashese could identify the colour-spectra that correspond to colour terms on the colour sample developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen. Discussing this sample illuminated the gap between computer-produced colours and their presentation as small spots on a table and the speakers´ conceptualization of colour, which is tightly bound to the objects of their environment. The speakers found the task very amusing and cooperated vividly, but they expressed their objection regarding the colours on the table: a comment often expressed concerned the fact that the colours on the table are *erangi* 'colour', but the colour terms in Lushese are not *erangi* (see ex. 308 below): the Bashese explained in many ways that they understand the local colours as signs (*obubonero*) and that the sample resembles the idea of colour as introduced in schools. For them, the local conceptualization is a quite distant because it reflects knowledge of the environment that is missing; for instance, when somebody learns that a red plastic cup may be described by the same word as red earth, red skin or red feather.

Some colour terms on the table (Cf. Figure 5a, b below) could not be identified at all: both terms corresponding to brown, *kitakà* and *kabugò* as well as the terms *mámbia* 'purple sky' and *kasáahi* 'bloody red' were commented upon by many speakers that "these colours are not there". White, yellow and orange are described by the majority of the speakers as one spectrum. The two male speakers with higher education could clearly discuss and explain the difference between the local unified conception of these colours and the way they have been taught to recognize them as three different colours at school. Further, the spectrum of 'black' covers all dark hues on the sample and not just the one spot that is meant to be pure black: dark brown, dark red, dark green, dark blue and dark mauve are all included in the spectrum of *irugábu* 'dark; black'. The answers reflect the origin of the word meaning 'dark'. The figures below show an empty colour table (5a) as conceived by the Language and Cognition group of the Max Planck Institute for Psychilinguistics in Nijmegen, as well as a second table which illustrates some colour spectra corresponding to some Lushese colour terms:

Figure 5a: Colour table (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics/Nijmegen)

The colour table presented in (5a) includes all the colours of the colour-booklet, which is part of the field manuals for the elicitation of terms associated with perception. The overview-table allows the indication of the various colours by naming them easily through a combination of numbers and letters (for example white can be labelled as A0), so that terms like turquoise, which are higly a matter of interpretation, can be avoided. Further it can be used as a base in order to illustrate the colour spectra in different languages: the empty spaces between the colour spots can then be filled up with one colour that corresponds to the spectrum as described by the speakers of the given language. As mentioned above, the effort to identify the colour terms in Lushese by using the booklets was lean. Still I carved out a colour-table that visualizes some of the colour spectra as attested by the Lushese speakers, because I consider it as helpful in order to understand better which colour concepts overlap. The visualization of the spectra is also conceived by the colleages in Nijmegen, to whom I would like to express once more here my deep gratefulness both for the generous provision of their field manuals as well as for their comments and advices before and after I used their materials on the field.

Figure 5b: Some colour spectra as attested by the Bashese[89]

Figure (5b) illustrates some colour spectra as attested by Bashese speakers. I provide this illustration here only with the aim to introduce some of the terms, which have been discussed in the present section as well as some of the issues on the cultural interpretation of colours, which follow in the next pages.

All speakers agreed that A0 can be labelled as –*hera* 'white' and B0 can be labelled as *kikushi* 'grey'. C0 on the contrary was identified either as *kikushi kyafu* 'dirty grey' or as *kikushi-kiskushi* 'not really grey'. All colour spots of the line A correspond to the modifier –*amaidhi* 'light (colour)' and all colour spots of the line D correspond to the term –*irugabu* 'dark; black'.

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[89] The table is designed after the equivalent tables for other languages by the MPI/Nijmegen. Source: Thanasoula 2014, data compilation.

The spectrum corresponding to brown (*kitaka*) and the spectrum corresponding to green (*-ishambu*) occupy bright areas on the table, which may be due to the prominence of these two terms with respect to their cultural associations and symbolic values. These two spectra were the less problematic to identify because of the high grade of agreement[90] between the speakers in these two cases.

On the contrary the spectrum of *-hembu* 'yellow'(A1-2 and A19-20) is in figure (5b) very optimistically illustrated: the speakers had various and conflicting views regarding the term *–hembu*, which for some overlaps with A0, as well as with the spectrum A3-A6. The area A3-A6 is here illustrated as orange for reasons of better visibility. This spectrum corresponds to the terms – *hembu* 'yellow', *igubugubu* 'orange' and *kachungwa* 'light green', while again the speaker´s views were highly devided regarding how to label the spots included in the area A3-A6 as well as regarding which spots of the table correspond to the terms *–hembu, igubugubu* and *kachungwa*.

The spectrum of *–myupu* 'red' occupies the areas B1-2 and B19-20 thus it stands very close to the areas of *kitaka* 'brown'. In fact any clear boundary between brown and red as it is indicated in the figure (5b) must be seen again as very optimistic, since there was a lot of controversy regarding the spectrum of *–myupu*: according to some speakers *–myupu* is not at all on this table, others identified the areas represented here as *–myupu*, a third group identified with this term only one spot but not the same one (either B1 or B20) and one speaker identified only B19 as *–myupu*. The term *kakobe* 'purple' was less problematic, since the speakers agree that the spectrum C13-16 and AB16-AB17 corresponds definitely to their colour-term.

The figure includes the spectrum of blue (B13 and AB14-AB15), although there is no Lushese term for this colour, as it will be discussed in the next pages. Some speakers refused completely to discuss the spectrum of the terms *bbulu* or *iburu* (Luganda: 'blue'), because they consider these terms as a loanword from Luganda and/or English and because according to their view there is no such colour in Lushese. Other speakers didn´t refuse to identify *bbulu* or *iburu* although they also share the view that these terms are not Lushese and that this colour doesn´t exist in the own cultural interpretation of the environment. I included in this figure the indications of the latter group regarding the possible spectrum of blue first, with the aim of introducing the controversy on that matter and second, in order to mention that precisely the colour-variants between the spectrum of green and the spectra of blue and purple, e.g. the area AC11-AC12 and 13 (whole raw) have been a matter of high controversy. Some speakers lebelled the colour variants of this area and partly the spectrum illustrated here as blue with the term *–ishambu* 'green', others labelled the same as *kakobe* 'purple', or as *kikushi* 'grey', or as *kachungwa-kachungwa* 'not really light green' and others again labelled this area with the term *bbulu/iburu* 'blue'. In comparison, the area B13 and AB14-AB15 which here corresponds to the terms *bbulu/iburu* 'blue' didn´t cause such a big controversy: the group of the speakers that wanted to identify this colour agreed with eachother on the boundaries of this area. Some of the other speakers labelled this area as *kakobe* 'purple',or as *kakobe-kakobe* 'not really purple' or as *kakobe katangabu* 'bright purple'.

After illustrating the controversy on colours which rather reflects the methodological problems of the issue than the point of view of the speakers, I will turn now to the symbolic interpretation of colours, which clarifies the use and meaning of the Lushese terms.

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[90] Regarding the spectrum corresponding to brown, some speakers couldn´t identify at all any colour-spot on the table that they would call *kitaka* 'brown', others named the same area as *buni* 'brown'. The table illustrates the choice of those speakers, who could refer to some of the colour-spots on the table by the terms *kitaka* 'brown'and/or *buni* 'brown': among these speakers the degree of agreement was high.

2.4.3.8.2 Symbolic interpretation of colours

The notes on the symbolic value of colours are ranked according to their importance as evaluated by the speakers of the language. Evaluated as the most important colour, brown leads the list followed by green. The interpretation of red, black and white complete the comments on the cultural concepts associated with colours. The last part of this section concerns the missing colour: blue.

A preliminary comment on the symbolic value of colours concerns their relation to clans. Specific colours stand for clans; thus members of the clan use the colour to express membership or to announce indirectly their position regarding an event or political issue. Colours function as means of communication and elements of identity. The concept is shared by neighboring Bantu peoples: brown, for example, is widely occupied by the royal clans. Unfortunately, this versatile aspect of colour symbolism could not be investigated adequately during this documentation hence it is left to future fieldwork.

a) Brown

Brown is evaluated as the most important colour, the colour of the earth and woods. It is associated with power and thus it is the colour of kings and priests. It is also the colour of the monkey clan (*engúku*), which has been a leading clan in the social structure of the Ssese Islands. It is interpreted positively as the source of life. At the same time it is associated with death due to the extended use of bark cloth in burial-rituals.

In former times, the bark-cloth was used in various ritual contexts celebrating life such as baptism and marriage following the Christian or Muslim canons; however, recently there´s have been a shift in ritual practices and today the bark-cloth is used only in burials. However, in Lushese the term *kitakà* 'earth-brown' is conceptualized positively whereas the term *kabugò* 'bark-brown' has a negative connotation. The expression "brown in the belly" is a synonym for brotherhood:

(302)   (Tu-lí-(na))   kitakà   mu-lu-béenge

           (1Pl:PRES-be (CONN))   brown   LOC-11-belly

           Lit: We are/ have brown in the belly.

           'We are blood brothers'.

Formerly during a ritual, warriors received coffee-tattoos on the belly, which led to scars. In this way two men with the same tattoo became blood brothers and fought side by side. An equal expression also exists in Luganda although the speakers questioned didn't know the origin of the idiomatic expression. If the copula or the possessive verbs are used with this expression, then the subject occurs always in the plural form.

b) Green

Green is associated to life, youth, freshness, and is the colour of healing. The conceptualization reflects the high value of plants within the Bashese culture. Trees are seen as wise ancestors and, in some cases, as divine beings. Names of trees stand for high values like justice, wisdom and protection. The concept of healing rests on the knowledge of the relationship between plants and medicine: for example, the word *eishambu* has both the meaning 'leaf' and 'medicine' and reflects the local healing practice. The interpretation of green as young and fresh is explained as an analogy to fresh leafs and fruits of light green colour and young bananas: they symbolize life and the hope of remaining alive. This semantic path leads not only to positive, but also to negative connotations: the concept of being green and thus unripe applies literally for not yet edible plants and parts of plants as well as

metaphorically to refer to a young person´s ears. The phrase "green ears" refers to a youngster behaving ignorantly:

(303)   O-mú-dhukúlu   á-i-na   a-ma-húliko   a-ma-iragála.

            AUG-1-grand_child   3Sg-COP-CONN   AUG-6-ear   AUG-6-green

            Lit: The grand child has green ears.

            'The grandchild behaves like someone with no experience.'

c) Red
Red is symbolically associated with beauty. The ideal red hue is the red of the earth, likened to terracotta. The stative verb *myuka* 'to be(come) red', used for humans, means that someone is beautiful:

(304)   O-mu-hála   (h)a-my-k-iré-nyo.

            AUG-1-girl   3SgPAST-be(come)_red-STAT-PAST:ADVmuch

            'The girl is very beautiful.'

On the other hand, blood red is considered as dangerous and not regarded as a nice colour. "If you see your own blood, you have a problem", is the explanation of the most speakers. The two healers among them mention the rituals of sacrifice, where the *kitakà*-brown, positively laden bark-cloth becomes *kasáahi*-bloody-red, thus negatively laden. The whole act of sacrifice is symbolized by the colour change of the ritual cloth. Other kinds of red are classified as more or less dangerous, according to the entity or practice that the colour is associated with.

e) Black & white
Black and white are a matter of controversy. Two concepts of different positions are expressed by the speakers: some of them associate these colours with witchcraft practices and thus interpret black as dangerous and white as pure. Black is the colour of the shadow, which is conceived as an intermediate entity between the material and spiritual world and has dangerous potential. Other speakers evaluate black and white primarily as skin-colours and associate black with African peoples and white with European, American or Australian peoples; consequently black is regarded as positive and white as negative. White is often explained as colour of death and illness. It is also described as the colour of smoke, which is a sign of a spiritual presence and hence bears dangers. Both concepts are not unique to the region, but shared among speakers of different communities. The choice of a rather negative or a rather positive interpretation of these two colours depends strongly on the context. The next proverb illustrates a relationship of balance expressed by the two colours:

(305)   E-n-yénde   e-i-rugábu: a-dháala   á-ma-ta   ma-héera.

            AUG-9-cow   AUG-9-black   3Sg-give_dirth   AUG-6-milk   6-white

            'Even a black cow produces white milk'.

When considering the colours of animals which are used in sacrifices, such as cows, goats and cocks, the symbolic evaluation of the colour and the underlying theme; black is considered dangerous while white is considered pure. This doesn´t apply to other entities; for example, a "white tongue" symbolizes an untrustworthy person or a person who is lying.

(306)   A-háya   n´   o-lu-lími   o-lu-héera.

          3SgPRES-speak   CONN   AUG-11-tongue   AUG-11-white

          Lit: (S)he speaks with white tongue.

          '(S)he is not to be trusted, (s)he lies.'

The dark part of the eye, the pupil, symbolizes the ability of recognizing signs and is associated with the knowledge of old people. The following proverb illustrates this positive association of black:

(307)   A-há-irugábu: e-m-óne   dhi-bóina.

          AUG-LOC:REL-black   AUG-10-eyes   10-see

          Lit: Where is black: the eyes see.

          'One needs specific attributes to be able to master specific tasks.'

All the colours listed above are further associated with specific myths, tales, animals, spirits and historical personalities. These contexts influence the symbolic value of the colours, but the colour terms are not necessarily expressed overtly in speech: the names of specific referents imply culturally known attributes. For example, the snake-spirit Bémba is conceived as a black spirit, while Kihánuuka, the spirit of the storm and the clouds, is associated with *mámbia* 'purple sky'.

f) What about blue?

Last but not least the missing colour - blue! In Luganda and Lusoga, blue is a loanword, *bbulù* or *ibùru* respectively, from English. However, for the Bashese, the European definition of the colour blue and its employments in descriptions aren't present; they use instead other descriptive mechanisms which are associated with weather conditions or a specific time period, even a point of view from a vantage point. Using the colour as a common identifier for things such as the sky or lake does not occur within Lushese, because the speakers denote, with what we call blue, a locative or temporal accident which has nothing to do with properties considered as being characteristic for the sky and the lake.

The description of the colour blue as proposed by Anna Wierzbicka is clearly rejected by the Bashese speakers. In her effort to distinguish blue as conceived in English and blue as conceived in Polish and Russian, she describes the colours by using semantic primes and molecules: blue can be expressed as "the colour of the sky, in places where there are no clouds", or "the colour of the sea" (cf. Wierzbicka 2005: 226-227 and 242). In Lushese, blue is considered not to be a colour at all, precisely because of the sky and the lake. Blue flowers, birds and butterflies used to be described through *kakobè* 'purple'. It is believed that the sacred nature of purple mirrors the fact that natural purple may only be seen on animates, so symbolically the colour reflects life. On the other hand, purple is also a colour of the Catholic Church, so the traditional association to life accidentally overlapped with the imported Christian association and the notion of purple shifted from a reflection of life to a reflection of power. Blue is irrelevant for the Bashese; it is seen as a labile attitude of weather and time, a caprice; blue is not a proper property.

The symbolic interpretation and metaphorical use of colours are rooted in cultural associations and practices. It is neither a scientific colour-spectrum nor the idea of the environment as a given and objective reality that matters for the Bashese speakers, as we can see by the absence of blue: it is the interpretation of the environment that governs the colour semantics.

The basic colours for the Bashese are brown and green, followed by purple, red, black and white. The only correspondence to the universalist´s view on colours as proposed by Berlin, Muffi and Kay concerns the fact that red originates from a verbal root. According to that theory, since blue is missing, the colour terms for brown, purple, grey and orange should not exist at all: blue is located higher in the supposed evolutionary hierarchy and thus is supposed to be a precondition for further development of the so called secondary colours. This approach ignores completely the inherent cultural evaluation of the Bashese speakers and is unhelpful in analyzing the local conceptualization of colours or the use of colour terms in this language.

The universalist's hierarchical frame doesn´t assist when it comes to comparison with the concepts inherent in neighboring languages since the conceptual shifts observed in Lusoga and Luganda show how urbanization and globalization as well as the contact with English semantics impact the local concepts rather than being analyzed as a "cognitive evolution" of speakers. The traditional concepts of colour terms for Luganda speakers were investigated by Richard Pollnac in the 1970s (cf.: Pollnac 1972, 1975). The author observed at that time that many of the concepts described in his work were unknown to the younger generation. For central Luganda and Lusoga speaking areas, this gap has expanded since his commentary and this research.

In everyday life and in urban environments, colours are perceived as in any European city today. The classification of colours as "warm" or "cold", the knowledge of complementary colour pairs, the use of colours in advertisement, but also the relation of colours with feelings and gender categories as well as the symbolic relation of colours and abstract ideas like the association of red with romantic love or green with hope, attest vividly to the shift in colour interpretation. While many local contemporary artists integrate in their work the opposites and parallels in traditional and recently developed perceptions of colours, the Bashese speakers interpret the way young people speak about colours or use colour terms as ignorance. The negative attitude they show towards the word 'erangi' can be explained as a rejection since the new concepts threaten and displace their own: the word stands for a political and cultural issue. The Bashese are fighting for their identity when they claim that there are no colours in Lushese.

Already within the first weeks of field work 2009 various speakers resisted speaking about *erangi* and pointed out that their language "has no such thing". Only at the very end of our documentation project, Erasto Lubandi explained to me that the colours implied by this word are only visible and bear no power, while the meanings of colour terms in Lushese requires deep knowledge of the environment. Since we were conversing in Luganda, I asked him to translate this explanation in Lushese:

(308)	A-ba-ndi	ba-bóina	e-r-ángi,	ne	te-ba-húnya	ky-onkài
	AUG-2-∃other	2-see	AUG-10-colour	Conj	NEG-2-smell	7-∀all

	nahéngene	a-ba-ishese	ba-húlira	o-bu-bonéro	bw-a-ifè,
	Conj	AUG-2-Ssese	2-feel/hear	AUG-14-sign	14-ASS-1Pl

	Lw-a-ki?	Kubánga	tu-lohóla!
	11-ASS-Q	Conj	1Pl-be_able

Lit: Others see colours but they don´t smell a thing, while we can feel/hear the signs of our (culture). Why? Because we are able to.

'Others see colours but they haven´t the slightest idea of anything, while the Bashese can perceive and interpret (them as) signs of our culture. Why? Because we are capable of it (=we preserve, still have this kind of knowledge).'

2.4.3.9 Summary

In section 2.4.3 I focused on the semantics of the linguistic means used in descriptions of surrounding stimuli. Speaking about the world as stimulus requires the knowledge of the environment and the ability to understanding the properties and interpreting certain signs. This section illustrates the way the cultural conception of the environment governs the domain of sensory experience and consequently the way cultural parameters are reflected in the use and meaning of linguistic means with which the speakers use to describe the surrounding world as a stimulus.

In addition, the examples illustrated semantic phenomena of polysemy, ambiguity and vagueness concerning various nouns and verbs which are associated with different kinds of stimuli. To a large extent, properties are expressed through verbs associated with manner and result, which often are sensitive with respect to tempus morphology. Further, the semantic content of words is sensitive to context: many lexical items shown within the section 2.4.3 can be only characterized in terms of meaning within certain constructions. The section gives also an insight into the creativity, with which formal and lexical elements are combined to create meaning.

In the next section, I discuss the use of the verbs of perception within the discourse of describing surrounding stimuli and communicating about sensory experience. As we will see, the verbs of perception within this domain serve specific semantic needs.

2.4.4 The verbs of perception expressing sensory experience

Within the domain of sensory experience, the verbs of perception in Lushese are employed in situated expressions rather than in general expressions. Further, they give information about the knowledge of the speaker referring to a source of sensory experience; thus they serve evidential contexts. The section is organized as follows: 2.4.4.1 illustrates the use and the meanings of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear'. Section 2.4.4.2 summarizes the uses of the two olfactory verbs. In section 2.4.4.3 I illustrate the way the tactile verb is used to express sensory experience. The following section (2.4.4.4) gives an overview of the use and meaning of the visual verbs.

2.4.4.1 The use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear'

The verb *hulira* 'hear; feel' can be employed to express any kind of sensory experience: in this case the sensory modality arises from the object as the semantic interpretation of the verb depends upon the source of perception. This is illustrated in the next example; the verb occurs with various objects. The ambiguous interpretation of sentence (309b) is a result of the ambiguous semantics of the word *akahooho*, (see ex. (233) above).

(309) (a) M-púlira   e-i-ráka   h´   i-i-nyóko.

       1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-9-voice   9-(ASS) AUG-9-mother

       'I hear mother´s voice.'

       (b) M-púlira   a-ka-hóohò   k´   o-bú-lio.

       1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-12-taste/odour   12-(ASS)   AUG-14-food

       'I taste/I smell the aroma of the food.'

       (c) M-púlira   o-bu-nyógo-bu bw´   o-mu-bíri   gw´   o-mu-sotà.

       1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-14-cold-D   14-ASS AUG-2-body   3-(ASS) AUG-3-snake

       'I feel the coldness of the snake´s body.'

       (d) M-púlira   o-bu-gáalu   bw´   e-i-dhíba.

       1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-14-dry   14-(ASS) AUG-9-fur

       'I feel the fur´s dryness.'

       (e) M-púlira   e-r-ángi   dh´   o-lu-laambáala.

       1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-10-colour   10-(ASS) AUG-11-cloth

       'I see the colours of the cloth.'

All above sentences are accepted as grammatically correct and meaningful; however, only (309a) and (309b) are accepted by speakers as elegant and thus possible to employ in normal conversation. The examples (309c) and (309d) are criticized as too complicate: the speakers prefer to use a secondary sentence to express the meaning that corresponds to the approximate English translation. Example (309e) is criticized because of the use of the verb *hulira* in combination with the object *erangi*: the speakers prefer to choose the visual verb *boina*, because the word *erangi* is associated with a sole visual and alien concept of colour. The next examples (310a and 310b) illustrate the speakers´ preferences with respect to (309c) and (309d) above respective; example (310c) illustrates a sentence exemplifying the use of *hulira* as compatible with other visually perceived events:

(310) (a) M-púlira   nti   o-mu-bíri   gw´   o-mu-sotà   gu-nyogó-bu[91].

          1Sg-feel/hear   Conj   AUG-3-body   3-(ASS)   AUG-3-snake   3-cold-D

          'I feel (with my fingers) that the snake´s body (is) cold.'

      (b) M-púlira   nti   e-i-dhíba   i-káalu.

          1Sg-feel/hear   Conj   AUG-9-fur   9-dry

          'I feel (with my fingers) that the fur (is) dry.'

      (c) M-púlira   nt´   i-ná-ibubi   ri-dhímba   ha-léeri/   ha-igúlu.

          1Sg-feel/hear   Conj   AUG-f-spider   9SC-build   LOC-DIST/   LOC-sky

          'I see that a spider makes a nest there/up there.'

The preferred interpretation of (310a) and (310b) above expresses the meaning of direct tactile experience as implied by the phrase "with my fingers" in the English interpretation. Still the speakers employ the verb *hulira* in a different way when they want to refer to own sensory experience of external sources. In spontaneous utterances, speakers construct sentences with the source in the position of the subject and the type of perception in the position of the object; the human experiencer, mostly the speaker, doesn´t have to be mentioned:

(311) (a) O-mu-bíri   gw´   o-mu-sotà   gu-húlira   gu- nyogó-bu.

          AUG-3-body   3-(ASS)   AUG-3-snake   3SC-feel   3-cold-D

          'The snake´s body feels cold (to me).'

      (b) E-i-dhíba   li-húlira   i-káalu.

          AUG-9-fur   9SC-feel   9-dry

          'The fur feels dry (to me).'

The person, indicated by the phrase "to me" in the English interpretation, is implied by the very use of the perception verb: the speaker makes the choice of using the perception verb to communicate from the point of view of the experiencer in a given situation. When explaining the same sensory experience out of the perspective of the personal experience, the speakers choose a plain syntactic construction, like the predicative noun construction. The next example gives an overview of the way speakers use different constructions in discourse:

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[91] Also attested: *gunyohófu*.

(312)   (a)   GENERAL EXPRESSION

E-i-dhíba   li-gáalu.   'The fur is dry.'

AUG-9-fur   9SC-dry

(b)   SITUATED EXPRESSION

E-i-dhíba   é-iho   i-gáalu.   'This fur (is) dry.'

AUG-9-fur   9-DEM   9-dry

(c)   GENERIC EXPRESSION

E-i-dhíba   dhi-gáalu.   'Fur (use to be) dry.'

AUG-10-fur   10-dry

(d)   EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE EXPERIENCE   'The fur feels dry (to me).'

E-i-dhíba   li-húlira   i-gáalu.

AUG-9-fur   9SC-feel 9-dry

(e)   EMPHASIS ON THE TACTILE EXPERIENCE

M-púlira   nti   e-i-dhíba   i-gáalu.

1Sg-feel/hear   Conj   AUG-9-fur   9-dry

'I feel (with my fingers) that the fur is dry.'

The same pattern functions to communicate not only the tactile experience, but visual, gustatory and olfactory events as well. The patterns within the domain of olfactory experiences are based on the use of the two olfactory verbs *hunya* and *nuuka*. The use of *hulira* in this domain is possible, but not frequent. It offers a way of emphasis on the role of the experiencer; but not in a preferable way, which is also based on the use of the verbs *hunya* and/ or *nuuka* and will be discussed in the next section.

In the case of auditory events, the speakers employ the stative form of the verb *hulira*, which is *hulika* if they put the acoustic source in the position of the subject. The pattern of uses within the domain of acoustic experience is as follows:

(313)   (a)   GENERAL EXPRESSION

E-ki-nóni   ki-héemba   bú-ge.   'The bird sings nicely.'

AUG-7-bird   7-sing   14-good

(313) (b)   SITUATED EXPRESSION

E-ki-nóni   ki-no   ki-héemba   bú-ge.

AUG-7-bird   7-DEM   7-sing   14-good

'This bird sings nicely.'

(c)   GENERIC EXPRESSION

E-bi-nóni   bi-héemba   bú-ge.

AUG-8-bird   8-sing   14-good

'Birds sing nicely.'

(d)   EMPHASIS ON HUMAN EXPERIENCER

M-púlira   o-lu-héembo   lú-ge   gw´   e-bi-nóni.

1Sg-hear   AUG-11-song   11-good   11-ASS   AUG-8-bird

'I hear/ listen to the nice song of the birds.'

(e)   EMPHASIS ON THE SOURCE OF SOUND

E-bi-noni   bi-húli-ka   bú-ge.

AUG-8-bird   8-hear-STAT   14-good

'The birds sound nice.'

If one wants to ask about sources of sensual experience, the appropriate way to ask is by using the verb *hulira* irrespective of which sensory modality is implied. This depends on the context. The subject concord as well the concord prefix of the interrogative pronoun aligned with the nominal class of the noun in the position of the subject, which doesn´t have to be mentioned if known in discourse: in the following examples, an object classified in the Cl. 7 is implied:

QUESTION:

(314)   (a)   Ki-húlira   ki-áhai?   'How does it feel?'

               7-feel/hear   7-Q

POSSIBLE ANSWERS:

(b)   Ki-húlira   ki-káalu.   'It feels dry (to me).'

      7-feel/hear   7-dry

(314)   POSSIBLE ANSWERS:

      (c)   Ki-húlira   ki-nene.   'It feels/looks large (to me).'

            7-feel/hear   7-big

      (d)   Ki-húlira   e-i-tolóbu.   'It looks round (to me).'

            7-feel/hear   7-round

The same question about a sound is formed through the stative form of the verb (*hulika).*

QUESTION:

(315)   (a)   Ki-húli-ka   ki-áhai?   'How does it sound?'

            7-hear-STAT   7-Q

POSSIBLE ANSWERS:

      (b)   Ki-húli-ka   ki-néne   'It sounds loud.'

            7-hear-STAT   7-big

      (c)   Ki-húli-ka   ki-káalu   'It sounds hollow.'

            7-hear-STAT   7-dry

The verbs *hulira* 'feel/hear and *hulika* 'sound' can be accompanied by a dependent clause introduced by the conjunctions *nti* and *nga*.

(316)   (a)   M-púlira   nti   e-bi-nyóni   bi-héemba   bú-ge.

            1SgPRES-feel/hear   Conj   AUG-8-bird   8-sing   14-good

            'I hear/listen to the birds singing nice.'

      (b)   M-púlira   nga   e-bi-nyóni   bi-héemba   bú-ge.

            1SgPRES-feel/hear   Conj   AUG-8-bird   8-sing   14-good

            'I hear/listen to how nice the birds sing.'

There is a slight difference in the meanings between (316a) and (316b) above: in case of (316a), the emphasis lies on the fact that the speaker is the experiencer. In (316b), the emphasis lies on the positive evaluation of the birds´ singing by the speaker. The conjunction *nti* creates a less personal context than the conjunction *nga*.

The verb *hulira* can be used in the passive form only if the speakers refer to personal bad odour:

(317)   O-lu-mbì   o-lw-ò-ku-mála   o-ku-kóla   mu-ki-sáahe,

AUG-11-after   AUG-11-REL-15-be_enough   AUG-15-work   LOC-7-field

tu-hulír-wa   bu-bì.

1Pl-feel/hear-PASS   14-bad

'After working on the field, we smell bad.'

This section allows a first glance at the complex semantics of the holistic verb of perception: since it has a quite generalized meaning of 'perceiving sense' I argue that the semantic structure of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' is characterized by vagueness: only in the context of other elements it is possible to identify the meaning of this verb of perception. When speaking about stimuli and in the context of sensory experience, the main function of this verb is to highlight the perspective of the Experiencer and further to communicate the grade of distance or closeness and of intensity with respect to the event of perception depicted.

2.4.4.2 The use of the verbs *hunya* 'smell (bad odours)' and *nuuka* 'smell (good odours)'
As already illustrated in the section 2.4.3.5 the main linguistic means for speaking about the domain of olfaction consists of the two perceptive verbs *hunya* 'smell (bad)' and *nuuka* 'smell (good)'. The frequency of use shows that the verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' can be employed in more contexts that the verb *nuuka* 'smell (good)'. Both verbs can be used in intransitive and transitive clauses: The pattern of uses within the domain of olfactory experience is the same for both verbs and it is illustrated for the verb *hunya* as follows:

(318)   (a)   GENERAL EXPRESSION

E-ki-múli   ki-húnya.   'The flower smells bad.'

AUG-7-flower   7-smell_bad

(b)   SITUATED EXPRESSION

E-ki-múli   kí-no   ki-húnya.   'This flower smells bad.'

AUG-7-flower   7-DEM   7-smell_bad

(c)   GENERIC EXPRESSION

E-bi-múli   (bi-no)   bi-húnya.   '(These) flowers smell bad.'

AUG-8-flower   (8-DEM)   8-smell_bad

(318) (d)   EMPHASIS ON THE ROLE OF THE EXPERIENCER

M-púnya   e-ki-múli   e-kye-ki-húunya/   a-ká-hooho-ky-è

1SgPRES-smell_bad   AUG-7-flower   7-REL-7-smell_bad/   AUG-12-odour-7-REL

'I smell the flower, which stinks/ its´ (bad) odour.'

(e)   EMPHASIS ON THE KIND OF ODOUR

M-púnya   nga   ki-múli   ki-núuka   bú-ge.

1SgPRES-smell_bad   Conj   7-flower   7-smell_good   14-good.

'I smell the good odour of the flower.'

The demonstrative pronoun in brackets in the generic expression above implies that the flowers, as a category, are classified as smelling good; hence the speakers use frequently the verb *nuuka* in generic expressions about the odour of flowers. This is illustrated in (318c). For this reason, a generic expression concerning the bad odour of flowers would be associated with a specific kind of flowers (these flowers).

While the preposition *nti* can also be used in combination with the two olfactory verbs, and the difference between the use of *nti* and the use of *nga* creates the same semantic shade as illustrated in the case of the verb *hulira*, the speakers prefer to use within the olfactory domain the conjunction *nga* which emphasizes the kind of odour perceived. Emphasis on the bad odour of flowers would be expressed as shown below:

(319)   M-púnya   nga   ki-múli   ki-húnya   bu-ibì.

1SgPRES-smell_bad   Conj   7-flower   7-smell_bad   14-bad

'I smell how bad the flower stinks.'

2.4.4.3 The use of the erb *gwaita* 'catch; hold'
The verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold'is employed to express the meaning that an object or surface is rough and sticky. In this case, the source of the tactile perception occurs in the position of the subject. The Experiencer can be overtly expressed through a prepositional or locative construction with the noun 'fingers'. These constructions are grammatically incorrect, if used with other verbs denoting different kinds of material, as illustrated in section 2.4.3.6:

(320)   O-mú-niga   gu-gwáita   kú-ndhe/   mu-bu-kupà.

AUG-3-rope   3-touch_hold   LOC-1Sg   LOC-14-finger

'The rope is rough and sticky to me/ in (my) fingers.'

2.4.4.4 The use of the verb *geedha* 'taste; try'
The language of tastes consists in a rich vocabulary presented in section 2.4.3.4. The perceptive verbs *hulira* 'feel; hear' and *hunya* 'smell (bad)' can further be employed within the domain of gustatory experiencer to lay the emphasis on the role of the experience. The next examples illustrated the use of both *hulira* and *hunya* to refer to taste. The sentence formed with the verb *geedha*, which means primarily 'taste/try' expresses a totally different meaning (321c):

(321)   (a)   O-húlira   e-i-múnyu   mu-bu-lío?

                    2SgPRES-feel/hear AUG-9-salt   LOC-14-food

                    'Do you taste (the) salt in the food?'

        (b)   O-húnya   e-i-múnyu   mu-bu-lío?

                    2SgPRES-smell   AUG-9-salt   LOC-14-food

                    'Do you taste (the) salt in the food?'

        (c)   O-geedhá-ko   e-i-múnyu   mu-bu-lío?

                    2SgPRES-taste-LOC   AUG-9-salt   LOC-14-food

                    Lit: Do you taste/try salt in the food?

                    'Are you going to spice the food with salt?'

This needs an explanation: the verb *geedha* marked with the locative suffix requires a second locative object and in this construction it means 'to spice'. The frequent use of the holistic/auditory and olfactory verbs within the domain of gustatory experience makes the use of the primarily gustatory verb obsolete: this verb generates a new meaning because of its use in a specific context and in combination with certain grammatical components. I consider this as an example of how needs for meaning can be satisfied by creatively employing grammatical strategies which open the way for innovative extension from one domain of knowledge to another (or within the same domain as is the case here).

2.4.4.5 The use of the verbs *bo(i)na* 'see' and *lorere(i)ra* 'look at'
When speaking about visual properties, the Bashese speakers employ copula constructions and the verb *fwana* 'resemble' as discussed in 2.4.3.6.2. The verbs *bo(i)na* 'see' and *lorere(i)ra* 'look at' shift the emphasis of a visual event onto the observer.

The verb *bo(i)na* 'see' can be used in more contexts than the verb *lorere(i)ra* 'look at', which connotes a controlling action. The use of the verb *bo(i)na* 'see' in the present tense has the specific interpretation of 'being able to see from that point of view' or 'being capable of seeing so far as to that point' (322); in the past tense, the general meaning that corresponds to the English 'see' is the preferred interpretation (323):

(322)   N-aa-bóin-e   e-n-sólo   mu-n-sikò.

                  1Sg-PAST-see-PAST   AUG-9-wild_animal   LOC-9-jungle

                  'I saw a wild animal in the jungle.'

(323)   M-bóina   e-n-sólo   mu-n-sikò.

1SgPRES-see   AUG-9-wild_animal   LOC-9-jungle

'I can see the/a wild animal in the jungle.'

In the future tense, the interpretation preferred corresponds to the English verbs 'find' (324a) or 'meet' depending on the context: in cases where the noun in the position of the object is a person, the meaning as expressed by the English 'meet' is preferred (324b):

(324)   (a)   N-ghiá   ku-bóina   e-n-sólo   mu-n-sikò.

1Sg-go   15-see   AUG-9-wild_animal   LOC-9-jungle

'I will find a wild animal in the jungle.'

          (b)   N-ghiá   ku-bóina   o-mu-híigi   mu-n-sikò.

1Sg-go   15-see   AUG-1-hunter   LOC-9-jungle

'I will meet the/ a hunter in the jungle.'

The meaning of the verb *lorere(i)ra* 'look at' doesn´t change when used in different tenses; the future tense sentence below (325c) is criticized as being grammatically correct but having silly content (One speaker asked for example: "How can you know that you will meet a wild animal to announce that you will look at it?").

(325)   (a)   N-aa-loréreir-è   e-n-sólo   mu-n-sikò.

1Sg-PAST-look-PAST   AUG-9-wild_animal   LOC-9-jungle

'I looked at the/ a wild animal in the jungle.'

          (b)   N-doleréira   e-n-sólo   mu-n-sikò.

1SgPRES-look   AUG-9-wild_animal   LOC-9-jungle

'I look at the/a wild animal in the jungle.'

          (c)   N-ghiá ku-loréreira   e-n-sólo   mu-n-sikò.

1Sg-go   15-look   AUG-9-wild_animal   LOC-9-jungle

'I will look at the/a wild animal in the jungle.'

In case the noun in the object position is a person, then the verb 'look at' creates a negative shade: it means that someone is looking at somebody in order to evaluate and control him or her:

(326)   N-doleréira   o-mu-hígi   mu-n-sikò.

          1SgPRES-look   AUG-1-hunter   LOC-9-jungle

          'I observe the hunter in the jungle (in order to control what he is doing).'

2.4.4.6 Summary

The section 2.4.4 summarizes the use and meanings of the verbs of perception when it comes to speaking about the world as stimulus and/ or the reference of sensory experience. This domain is at the heart of the event continuum labelled perception thus serves as an introduction to the main chapters of this thesis. The section gives a first insight into the semantic complexity of these verbs. Since the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' can be employed in any context of sensory experience and can be used for terms of reference of all sensory modalities, I argue that the semantic structure of this verb can be at best described through the concept of vagueness. All other verbs of perception can be used in specific contexts and expose restrictions for argument selection with the result that these derive less meanings compared to the holistic verb. I will show that all other verbs of perception are cases of polysemy with the exception of the gustatory verb *geedha* 'taste; try' which exhibits a case of ambiguity. Still, the use and meaning of each verb can be predicted in all domains they are applied within and beyond the domain of sensory experience, as we will see in the next chapters, which constitute the main part of this dissertation.

3. The body

As we saw in the introductory sketch of the Lushese grammar (chapter two), specifically in the two last sections on semantics, Lushese speakers are endued with various linguistic means including creative strategies of applying the grammar of the language to describe the world as a stimulus (2.4.3) and to express nuances of individual perception (2.4.4). The language of stimuli description as well the way verbs of perception may be used to refer to external impetus illustrate the prominent role of cultural interpretation of the environment: the local conception of shapes, colours, sounds, tastes and odours must be taken into account in order to approach the grammar and meaning of language use. On the contrary, a naturalistic approach to the environment which focuses on biological, physical and chemical properties of environmental stimuli as being naturally given thus objective, rather fails in analysing and explaining the use and meaning of Lushese terms.

In this chapter I discuss the significance of the human body in the creation of linguistic meaning. I will focus on the relevance of the local conceptualization and evaluation of the human body within the semantic domains of perception, emotion and cognition. Further, the way the words associated with the body are used as linguistic means within the domain of social interaction will be of concern.

The perspective of the human body as explained by the Bashese differs to a great extent from the Western conceptions of the human body. Claiming that language reflects cultural concepts, it is considered necessary here to present the local perspective on the human body to be able to access the meaning and use of linguistic expressions in Lushese. Since the Western perspective on the body still provides the basis of the dominant paradigms in science, the reflection of the Western interpretation aims to reduce misinterpretation in the analysis of Lushese. Consequently section 3.1 discusses the evaluation of the human body from a Western point of view and includes the perspectives of African cultures on the same issue. Aim of section 3.1 is to serve as an introduction for a better comprehension of the human body as conceived and evaluated by the Bashese.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: section 3.2 presents the body as source of grammar and meaning with special reference to the use of body based metaphors in the domains of emotion, cognition and social interaction. Section 3.3 gives an overview on the language of gender and illustrates the cultural interpretation of sex and the influence of the local gender concepts on language. In 3.4 the concept of innate body capacities is presented. Section 3.5 illustrates the two types of suffering and section 3.6 summarizes the way the verbs of perception are employed to express physical experience.

3.1 Body concepts
The following synopsis of two different concepts of the human body is necessary for the further development of my analysis, which mainly reflects the approach of linguistic relativity (see Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in Matthews 2005 (among others) and Evans & Levinson 2009): As I will demonstrate, this bias impedes the understanding of concepts developed under different historical and cultural parameters. While the hegemony of the Western conceptions can lead to misinterpretations with social, political, economic and scientific consequences, the innate concept and evaluation of the human body as expressed by the speakers serves as a key concept to understand the domain of physical experience, further to anticipate the significant role of perception from the point of view of the Bashese in other domains of experience, like emotion, cognition and social interaction.

3.1.1 The Western perspective on the human body

Despite the considerable differences between various Christian confessions and despite the fact that Christianity didn´t appear suddenly out of nowhere, but developed based on Jewish (Mc Grath 2006, Mc Keehan & Mc Keehan 2002, Kessler 2004) and Hellenic traditions (Kessler & Wenborn 2005, Fragkoudaki & Dragonas 1997, Matsoukas 2009) the among all confessions shared pillars of the Christian religion impact the conceptualization of the human body in Western cultures basically in the same way: the body is conceived as the locus of pain and sin and it is associated with death. The negative evaluation of the body serves antithetically its positively laden counterpart: the soul, which is conceived as the immortal locus where humanity meets the divine grace. The association of the human body with the ephemeral and the sinful, the emphasis on the difference between nature/creation, human nature and divine nature, the concept of salvation through suffering, the location of truth and justice beyond the physical world, beyond human experience and the afterlife, the associations of life as a challenge to access eternal life and of death as penalty, are the basic religious parameters that form the negative perspective on the human body developed in Western culture.

For science, the human body has been the frontline of the battle against religion: the gradual deconstruction of the sacred body, enabled to live through divine breath, and of the sinful body, cursed to and saved through pain because of the original sin, to the body as biological material subject to natural laws, exemplifies the Western conflict between science and Christianity paradigmatically: Science manifests itself by violating the sacred and dissecting the human body. It justifies itself by protecting it from diseases that have been interpreted as divine anger caused by the weak and sinful flesh, consequently science develops more methods and instruments to observe the human body and claims to approach it objectively as a natural fact; the complete secularization of the human body symbolizes then the victory of science over Christianity (see Foucault 1961).

At the end of the nineteenth century science begins to classify the world in taxonomies. Again it is the human body that provides a line of evidence: the assumption of different races allows the rise and development of whole scientific disciplines as well as of the concepts of natural selection and evolution. Lévi-Strauss argued that any statement about race is a statement about culture and vice versa (Lévi-Strauss 1979: 325); the construction of race and the impact of this concept in science, art and politics are summarized by Young as follows:

> In the nineteenth century racial theory, substantiated and 'proved' by various forms of science such as comparative and historical philology, anatomy, anthropometry (including osteometry, craniology, craniometry and pelvimetry), physiology, physiognomy and phrenology, became in turn endemic not just to other forms of science, such as biology and natural history, to say nothing of paleontology, psychology, zoology and sexology, but was also used as a general category of understanding that extended to theories of anthropology, archaeology, classics, ethnology, geography, geology, folklore, history, language, law, literature and theology, and thus dispersed from almost every academic discipline to permit definitions of culture and nation. (Young 1995: 93)

The political expression of this concept finds its realization in imperialism and colonialism (see Said 1989, 1995). Young criticizes the "not-so-benign neglect" (ibid: 90) of the complex interrelation between race and culture and regarding science he concludes that,

> Even after some of the scientific claims began to ebb away, racist assumptions remained fundamental to the knowledge of the West and to the Western sense of self. It is clear from the work of historians such as Lorimer or Chamberlain and Gilman that

racial theory was a form of cultural self-definition. Western culture has always been defined against the limits of others, and culture has always been thought through as a form of cultural difference. (ibid: 93)

The developments in genetics and neurology at the end of the last century caused both a revival of the debate between scientific and Christian views and a re-naturalization of the human body[92]. Paraphrasing Levi Strauss I will argue that any statement about the human body is a statement about culture, thus presupposes and implies a culturally specific concept of the human body which interprets the organic entity turning physical characteristics and experience into abstract concepts. Any scientific statement regarding the human body presupposes and implies the perspective of Western culture on the body.

The Western culture has developed a conflictive and negative concept of the human body characterized by the dichotomy of body and mind. Robert Young summarizes the development of this dichotomy:

> [F]or more than a thousand years prior to the seventeenth century, the reigning mode of explanation sorted out reality and causality along quite different lines or, rather, without the sort of lines associated with a sharp dichotomy between the mental and the physical. Nor were there sharp distinctions between ideas of causality, of what is ultimately real (ontology) and of how we can know with certainty (epistemology). (...) History is always messy, and intellectual history is no exception to this rule. In the case of the mind-body problem, this means that Aristotelian thinking never died and was perpetuated, for example, in the study of living phenomena ('biology' is a nineteenth-century term). Similarly, Platonic ideas of the universality of ideal forms linked to geometrical and numerical properties continued, as did mystical and alchemical notions which were intermixed with the persistence of Aristotelian and Platonic notions. These admixtures persisted in the work of the leading figures of the Scientific Revolution, for example, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo and Newton. Moreover, materialist and atomist philosophies were being advocated, some of them drawn from classical sources, in the writings of Hobbes and Gassendi. (Young 1990: 1)

Descartes brings the dichotomy of mind and body to the center of existence: while the capacities of the mind and the individual introspection are promoted as sources of knowledge linked by the thinking subject, the surrounding world is governed by laws that can be detected through science. These laws describe physical qualities that can be verified through experimental methods and can be expressed mathematically. The physical world consists of a small set of physical qualities out of which other, non-basic qualities are derived. The affectivity of scientific abstraction leads to the hegemony of scientific knowledge:

> In the first place, we must note its astounding efficiency as a system of concepts for the organisation of scientific research. (...). It is still reigning. Every university in the world organises itself in accordance with it. No alternative system of organising the pursuit of scientific truth has been suggested. It is not only reigning, but it is without rival. (Whitehead 1985: 68-69, in: Young 1990: 4)

Despite the monopolization of knowledge, the dichotomy of mind and body raises the problem of interaction between them: although science defined the differences between primary and secondary or

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[92] With naturalization I mean the assumption that an issue is independent of cultural, historical and political parameters.

derived physical qualities and separated mental events, the interaction of physical and mental world can not be explained in terms of causality; as such, the sensual experience shared between body and mind has come into the focus of scientific discourse. Different scientific movements try to solve the problem of interaction, the three most influential being the theory of materialism, of behaviourism and of parallelism; while materialists claim that the mind is a result of physical and physiological phenomena, behaviourism rejects the existence of mind, replacing it by the observable behaviour and the theory of parallelism claims that mental and physiological processes develop parallel and in analogy to each other, but not necessary within a causal relation (for a summary and critical comment see Young 1990).

As mentioned above, the scientific discourse comes along with socio-political developments. In the late 18th. century the body began to be the main target of and medium for social reformation. The control of the body transformed subjects to judicial power into individual bodies and/or human population, through subjection to norms, through watching and classifying physical appearance and behaviour, through corporal punishment and internment, and especially through the normalization of sexuality. Michel Foucault identifies these developments as the manifestation of a new kind of power and names this form of repression bio-power (*biopouvoir*). He describes the transformation of the body into an instrument for the regulation of birth, and mortality rates, reproduction, health and residence matters of a new subject, the population:

> It would be wrong to say that the soul is an illusion, or an ideological effect. On the contrary, it exists, it has a reality, it is produced permanently around, on, within the body by the functioning of a power that is exercised on those punished- and, in a more general way, on those one supervises, trains and corrects, over madmen, children at home and at school, the colonialized, over those who are stuck at a machine and supervised for the rest of their lives. (Foucault 1995: 29)

Consequently Foucault rejects the idea of the natural body as a matter of (any) discourse: the natural, pre-discursive body exists as a reality, but this internal experience of being is not verbalized; in other words, we have the certainty but not the language for the natural existence of the body. Since the body functions as a toehold for demoralization and regulation, any conceptual discussion about the body outside of any discourse is impossible; any discussion about the nature of the body is impossible out of the mechanism of norms, which define both nature and the human body.

The medical view has, in particular, contributed to the normalization of the human body and the significance of vision (see further in chapter four), while science in general served the political needs by providing the necessary theoretical justification and verifying the same through identification, selection and classification of putative facts. Robert Young again describes the relation between science and society as follows:

> Science is not something in the sky, not a set of eternal truths waiting for discovery. Science is a practice. There is no other science than the science that gets done. The science that exists is the record of the questions that it has occurred to scientists to ask, the proposals that get funded, the paths that get pursued, and the results which lead curiosity to rest and scientific journals and textbooks to publicize the work. My view is that the problem of racism in science teaching is a special case of this deeper issue. The agendas in scientific and technological research reflect the prevailing values of a given culture. Research and development are the embodiment of values in theories, therapies and things. A racist society will have a racist science. A different society could have

different science and, indeed, could break down the convenient and confusing barrier between science and the rest of society. (Young 1987: 304f)

The debates on human body and nature epitomize the development of Western society in the opposition between mind and body, the idealization of the first and naturalization of the latter, further the opposition between nature and culture and the hierarchic evaluation of minds, bodies and knowledge thus of nature and culture. In accordance with the socio-political and economical needs of the Western society, the concept of the human body reflects the imperial seize of power: purity and norm are employed to evaluating human bodies worldwide. The assumed causal relation between body and culture justifies colonialism, further the colonialized body provides the perfect projection screen: it is subject to repression, object of disgust and desire and vehicle for the definition of the own identity.

An example for the crucial role of body and race in politics is given by Naranch (2000) in his analysis on the politics of reconstruction in Germany and East Africa between 1906 and 1910. He discusses the action of the banker and financier Bernhard Dernburg, a colonial director during the period of Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow. Von Bülow tried to convey the public perception that „things are falling apart in the colonies" (Naranch 2000: 300). In November 1906, arguing for German expansion, the Chancellor interpreted colonialism to the parliament as a manifestation of health:

> The impulse to colonize for the expansion of one´s own people is present in every *Volk* that enjoys a healthy growth and powerful life-energy. Since the beginnings of world history the German people... have been a colonizing people... and will remain a colonizing people as long as we have healthy marrow in our bones. (in: Naranch 2000: 311, translation and limitation by Naranch)

At the same time the colonialized body is a source of danger: as an object of passion it fell into a category rejected as irrational thus negative. But primarily, it is the contact with the colonialized body that bears danger nourished by the fear of degeneration (see Naranch 2000: 328).

The Western concept of the body sketched briefly above has a considerable impact on science and society down to the present day. The dichotomy between body and mind and the excessive emphasis on the difference between human minds and bodies still influences scientific, social and political developments. Criticizing the theoretical and ideological implication of the new image of Amazonia, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1996) concludes- not bearing some irony- with remarks that may be extended to all areas of Western invasion[93]:

> Caught between European (or world) History and American (or human) Nature, indigenous societies are reduced to mere reflexes of a contigency and a necessity that are equally extrinsic. We should perhaps recall that the history of these peoples did not begin in 1492 (on the contrary, for many of them it ended then), just as it was not from 1492 on that adaption **to** nature was replaced by adaption **of** nature. [...] Above all, we should not reason as though up to that point the indigenous populations of Amazonia were following a "natural" evolutionary path, determined exclusively by the interaction among technology, demography and environment, a trajectory then truncated by the interruption of History. (Viveiros de Castro 1996:194, original emphasis)

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[93] Interestingly the invasion of Latin America is euphemized with the term „conquest", while Africa´s invasion is denoted with the term „discovery"

Having outlined the dominant ideologies about the human body and their major underlying cultural preconceptions prevailing in the Western world, I would like to highlight here that these concepts considerably influence linguistics in general and semantic analysis in particular; furthermore the Western views on the body distort, according to my opinion, the linguistic research of universals: considering precisely the language of perception, both Sweetser´s and Viberg´s models fail to include alternative conceptions of the human body beyond the Western view thus impose on the world´s languages an analysis which to a great extent alienates their semantic coherence. In the next section, I will discuss how the human body and its place within nature are conceived by the Bashese.

3.1.2 Local perspectives on the human body

This section presents perspectives on the human body as devised by the Bashese and partly as reported with respect to peoples living in neighbouring areas. The following presentation of the local conception of the body does not include the historical perspective, first and foremost because there are no sources to investigate the issue from a historical point of view. In addition, when it comes to the historical analysis of African cultures and values, considerable problems emerge: not only that the majority of works is written mostly by non-African authors but in general, the history of the continent is characterized by breaks, gaps and generalizations. It would be necessary at this point to reconstruct the conceptualization of the body before the arrival of Europeans in East Africa and precisely in the Great Lakes area:

> The reconstruction of precolonial culture is a difficult and artificial task. On the one hand, the effort to establish a baseline implies a stative society which of course was never the case. But in order to make sense of the processes of continuity and discontinuity, fracture and reconfiguration, we need to know something of the world in earlier times. (Behrend 2011: 27)

Even if there were some sources which would allow a historical reconstruction, the linguistic data presented here reflect the synchronic use of language: in order to avoid the implication that cultural traditions are stative, it should farther be accounted for the contact of East African societies to each other as well to various non-African peoples and cultures that have influenced and still influence the precise area. Unfortunately, the absence of any specific, e.g. temporally or locally limited, or comparative research on how the body has been conceptualized and evaluated among the various communities though time cannot be acquitted here.

Various scholars[94] have identified the body concept as a shared link among historically diverse precolonial cultures in Africa emphasizing the holistic conceptualization and the positive evaluation[95] of the human body. This concept consists of the affirmation of the living, working and performing body. Not only in function, also its essence is conceived as positive: the positive concept of the body and its expression should not be understood as a result of mere instrumentalization. The holistic concept of the human body, its connection with the mind and its interference with the world is also shared by the Bashese speakers.

The following analysis of their perspective is a result of interviews on medical issues, of spontaneous comments and of discussions on mythological and religious issues during the theatrical project,

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[94] It is not possible to mention the vast number of researchers engaged with the matter from various scientific disciplines; relevant references will be mentioned further in chapter seven in the context of personhood and agency.
[95] Especially till the 70s many scholars assume on behalf of various African peoples an exotic concept of body and mind that has been criticized by philosophers (Derrida, Foucault, Lévinas) and psychoanalysts (Lacan); with respect to the comparison of values between different cultures first and foremost Edward Said (1978) introduces in his critique on the assumed exotic images the notion of the constitutive other.

accompanied by the linguistic data that draw an inference to the holistic concept of the body as explained by the Bashese. As mentioned in the methodological treatise of the dissertation, explanations and comments of the speakers were basically expressed in Luganda; in later sessions we translated various utterances to Lushese together with the competent speakers.

First and foremost the holistic concept of the (human) body reflects the significance of life and the unity of nature. The interrelation and interdependence of the cosmic elements complete the holistic concept of nature and the human body. Ssesluwagi Dominic explained it once as follows:

> All is one, don't you see, when the forest suffers, the lake is ill, when the brain suffers, the body is lame and when the body suffers you can't concentrate on anything else but the pain. We were not used to say "my leg is broken", like you whites do, we say: "I am broken on the leg", because if the leg is ill, the whole body gets out of health. The body must be treated as a whole. (Sseluwagi Dominic, May 2009).

The basic ontological dichotomy consists of animate entities vs. non-animate entities; nature is conceived as a manifestation of life, part of which is also humanity. Both the human body and the world are conceived as vessels containing power. The concept of power is again holistic: power is not afflicted by moral divisions between good and bad, it is not separated in material and immaterial forms. Natural, supernatural and human power are not seen as different or even opposite categories, consequently individual, divine, political or religious power don´t exist as such: they are manifestations of one and the same concept in different levels.

Power exchanged between bodies has impact on them in a productive or destructive way dependent on the given situation. It has its materialistic and its spiritual form intrinsically bound to each other: the human body is conceived as a container of substances, liquids, passions, feelings, thoughts. For example, personhood is consequently just one among other elements filling the human body; under certain circumstances this element may decrease or become repressed, even fully replaced. The balance, the exchange and the transformation of the elements contained in the bodies of individuals, in the social body and in creature; in other words, the cosmic harmony is based on the ambivalent concept of power: the degree of intensity and the notions of agency and passivity are the relevant categories to interpret, if power in a given situation should rather be interpreted as a positive or as a negative relation.

The human body is regarded as a unity characterized by various capacities and qualities that cannot be isolated, separated from each other or evaluated in comparison. Mary Douglas revealed this aspect claiming for the human body that "it is a complete structure. The functions of its different parts and their relation afford a source of symbols for other complex structures" (Douglas 1966:115).

The word *amakulu* in Lushese expresses the wholeness of the human body paradigmatically: it represents both the meanings 'sense' and/or 'knowing' and is interpreted as a main human capacity. The meaning of the word *amakulu* expresses precisely that there is no knowing without a sensual experience and implies that every sensual experience is a source of knowing for human beings. Still, this fundamental capacity depends further on other human qualities, it is conceived rather as a process than as a condition, it can be cultivated or, due to ignorance or false attitude, it is absorbed. Participating in the world of the spirits consists of a special form of *amakulu* that can only be acquired by the ones the spirits choose (see chapter seven). The next examples show the use of this noun: (327) is a generic expression in which *amakulu* is used to denote a human capacity, that other animates do not possess. Consequently, the speakers use the word *obwakintu*, which literally means 'the ones

(children) of Kintu[96]' classified in the abstract noun class (Cl. 14), when they refer to all humans in generic expressions:

(327)   O-bwá-kintu   ba-lí-na   a-ma-kúlu,

          AUG-14REL-Kintu   3PlPRES-Cop-CONN   AUG-6-sense/meaning

          o-bwa-irála   te-ba-lí-na.

          AUG-14REL-Ǝ   NEG-3Pl-COP-CONN

          'Human have *amakulu*, other beings don´t.'

The other word that reflects through its meaning the holistic concept of the body is the holistic verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear'. The next question contains *amakulu* accompanied by this verb: among the verbs that may accompany this noun, the most frequent one is the holistic verb of perception:

(328)   O-húlira   a-ma-kúlu   g-a   i-nyokó-shengà?

          2SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-6-sense/meaning   6-ASS   9-mother-aunt

          'Do you feel/understand the wisdom/experience/meaning of (our) aunt?'

While in the example above, the verb cannot be interpreted as 'hear', *amakulu* can also be a feature of the speech: words having *amakulu* make sense or are valued as very important. The meaning of the verb in the next example can be translated with 'feel/understand' and/or 'hear' in the sense of identifying *amakulu* in somebody´s speech:

(329)   O-húlira   a-ma-kúlu   mu-bi-gámbo   by-a   i-nyokó-shengà?

          2SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-6-sense/meaning   LOC-8-words   8-ASS   9-mother-aunt

          'Do you feel/understand/hear the wisdom/experience/meaning in the words of (our) aunt?'

The next example demonstrates that while a newborn baby has *amakulu*, it has not yet developed the cognitive aspect of it and thus the baby cannot do something with it, it has no experience; the newborn baby is not yet able to understand:

(330)   E-n-kerebè   ta-téeber-erà   a-ma-kúlu.

          AUG-9-newborn   3SgNEG-understand   AUG-6-sense/meaning

          'The newborn cannot understand (yet).'

The human body, the social body and nature share spiritual and material elements: they are made of the same substances. The cosmic elements remind of the view on human physiology by Galen[97]: he defined four constitutive elements: blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm, claiming that the balance of these is the precondition of health. Describing the body conception within the Swahili

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[96] For a detailed analysis see section 5.1.3.

[97] Galen´s theory continues the lines of Hippocrates who identified the same four bodily fluids as "temperaments" and associated them with four features, cold, hot wet and dry, as well as the worldview of Embedokles regarding the elements earth, water, fire and air as the constitutive cosmic powers; on the historic development of the theory of the four elements (humorism) see Nutton 1993.

culture of Mombasa[98], Swartz mentions four elements that the Bashese also regard as constitutive, namely cold, hot, dry and wet, and comments the following:

> The same four elements are present in everyone, but there are important differences among individuals in the relative amounts or strength of each and in the nature of the balance among the four of them. (Swartz 1992: 41)

The access to the own self, the access to the other human as well as to other living organisms and the surrounding in general is possible only through the body. Behrend underlines its significance in the precolonial cosmology of the neighbouring culture of the Tooro in Western Uganda:

> [I]n the give and take of social life, connections that emerge between individuals are embodied connections in the fullest sense. It is from the materiality of the body, its flesh, blood, milk, semen, spittle and so forth that relationships are nurtured, formed and transformed. (Behrend 2011: 4)

The exchange and transformation of substances results, among other processes, out of actions of incorporation: "The idea of incorporation depends upon and creates a radical division between inside and outside, an inside often associated with good while the outside tends to be related to bad. It is this division that produces the desire to return to oneness and total unity" (Kilgoue 1990:4-5 in Behrend 2011: 27). Describing the dialectics of flow and blockage, Behrend summarizes the cosmology in Tooro and Bunyoro as well as in other Interlacustrine kingdoms and underlines the significance of incorporation forms:

> [A]s Christopher Taylor (1992) has shown, the human body, society and cosmos followed - and to a certain extent still follow – the dialectics of flow and blockage. Liquids such as milk, rain, blood, beer, semen, saliva and urine guaranteed the flow between heaven and earth, the king and his subjects, men and women, and the living and the dead. While the flow was valued positively, producing health and fertility, blockage was seen as negative, as associated with infertility, sickness, harming and witchcraft. (ibid.: 32)

Besides preparing, sharing and consuming food, other forms of incorporation include sex, spirit possession, verbal communication (cf. ibid.:27-29) as well as performance and ritual experience. All these domains of incorporative action are accessed through the human body and at the same time they define and transform the position of the individual within the social and cosmic frame through the corporal experience.

The concept of the society as a body in neighbouring communities is expressed through the symbolism of the royal body. In his investigation of the royal rituals in the kingdom of Buganda, Benjamin Ray has pointed out the following aspects regarding the person of Kabaka, the king of Buganda:

> Although the Kabaka was not considered to be holy or divine, he was treated as an exalted and extraordinary personage, because he was the political and symbolic centre of the state. (...) [H]e personified both the institution of the kingship and its history - he embodied the kingship in his person. (Ray 1990: 105)

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[98] Avicenna represents the theory of the four elements in the Islamic medicine, emphasizing the importance of the four features regarding temperature and moistness, see van Sertima 1992. For the development of similar concepts in other Asian cultural see the three Doshas in Ayuverda and the Tao healing tradition (Durrell 1982) and the five elements Wu Xing within the Chinese philosophy (Behrendt & Yin Na 2009).

The royal ceremonies not only express political change, but transact it, as Ray shows in his work; the ceremonial behaviour with respect to the king, the etiquette and the court language underlined the royal authority as well as the significance of the king´s body, actions and corpse. The significance of eating and drinking shows another aspect of the merge of spiritual and material qualities within the body.

The gender construction further characterizes the whole cosmic system: independent of animacy, the world is constructed across two gender categories, male and female. The gender system constitutes the arbour of power and existence. The two constitutive elements adjudge ideally in balance, which is fragile in everyday life: the humans must protect and respect the balance between gender categories, for, if they do not, the consequences will fall negatively on them. Rules and prohibitions aim to guard or restore the gender balance between objects and bodies, human and environment:

> Human society comes about through human agency which results in two things: the separation of human from the sphere of the divine (...) and the emergence of reproductive human sexuality. Symbolic praxis and interpretation in relation to gender and fertility are thus philosophical reflections on the ontological nature of being, on the origins of gendered difference and human society itsel. (Moore 1999: 25)

Both gender categories are seen as archetypes associated with positive and negative concepts, so that their interpretation is again ambivalent: male and female are source and force of life associated with the positive values of fertility and potency. On the other hand, if not in balance, male and female are a source of danger; they are forces of creation but also of destruction. Again, the interpretation of their impact lies in the relation between male and female rather than in isolated moral implications regarding the one or the other gender.

> Interpretation is a process, not a single event. African societies make this explicit in the way they link knowledge to age, in the way understandings of gender shift over the life course in response to a changing relation to knowledge (...). Language, like embodied praxis, has no single meaning. (ibid: 23)

The human body is the medium to experience the world; gender is the medium for understanding the own experience and the relation to the world and at the same time a medium for participating in the world in which,

> The human body, its feelings, postures and orientations, extend into the natural and cosmic worlds through physical engagement and linguistic reflection. [...] Bodily experiences are thus tied to the imaginative and practical possibilities of being a gendered individual in a specific context. (ibid.)

While the Western perspective of gender emphasizes the bondage of this category to corporal features, the difference between masculine and feminine and the hierarchical relation between them, and despite of recent anthropological works showing the variety of gender conceptions across cultures, implicit assumptions of the Western conceptualization of gender are still evident in science (ibid: 24).

Gender in many African societies and elsewhere is rather a result than as a source of actions: far from being "natural", gender is not a stable, given cultural construction either, but emerges through actions; thus gender is a process, it is not there, it must be performed[99]. Performing gender the human forms the own identity and as a gendered subject participates in the social, economical and political life.

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[99] Judith Butler (1991, 1993) provided this line of argumentation also for Western constructions of gender.

Consequently gender is not restricted to the domain of the bodies of men and women: objects, places, foods, spirits, rituals and everyday practices like cooking, eating, sitting, travelling, smoking and hunting form the complex dynamicity of gender in many African societies and beyond (cf. Sanders 1999: 44). Mary Douglas describes the interrelation between the individual body and the social body:

> The social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the categories though which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other. (Natural Symbols, page 93 in: Swartz 1992: 40)

The concept of an open body which can be compared to a container capable of accessing to and exchanging of various spiritual and material elements is linked with a similarly open concept of gender which beyond natural sex reflects various instantiations of personhood. The link between the body, gender and personhood will engage us further in chapter six about the language of spirit possession (on gender concepts and its´ implications on spirits possession from a synchronic point of view see Behrend & Luig 1999).

The Bashese draw a holistic concept of the world and within it, of humanity; the body is characterized by the coherence of the human being, the relation of the individual body to the social body, the significance of balance as well as the ambivalent conceptions of power and gender. The next section gives an overview of the body and its parts as source of language.

3.2 The body as source of grammar and meaning

The human body is a source of various linguistic expressions and its referential function is crucial for cognitive linguistics (for a summary of the views on the body developed within the cognitive linguistic theory see Schladt 1997: 1-17). Familiar bodily experience and actions are employed to denote less familiar, more abstract, in general other, non-body related issues. The linguistic strategies that allow the reference to the body for the expression of other meanings, such as temporal concepts are metaphor and metonymy. Hopper and Traugott define the way and the interrelation of metaphoric and metonymic associations employed to solve problems in the communication:

> Metaphorical change involves specifying one, usually more complex, thing in terms of another not present in the context. Metonymic change, on the other hand, involves specifying one meaning in terms of another that is present, even if only covertly, in the context. (...) While metaphor is correlated primarily with solving the problem of representation, metonymy and lexicalizing of conversational meanings are correlated with solving the problem of expressing speaker attitudes. In summary, metonymic and metaphorical inferencing are complementary, not mutually exclusive, processes at the pragmatic level that result from the dual mechanisms of reanalysis linked with the cognitive process of metonymy, and analogy linked with the cognitive process of metaphor. (Hopper & Traugott 1999: 87)

The word *omubiri* is a general term used in Lushese to refer to bodies as a whole of animates including humans:

(331)   (a)   O-mu-bíri   gw-oinà   gu-mu-lúma.

            AUG-3-body   3-∀all   3-3SgOC-bite.

            'The whole body is hurting him/her.'

(331) (b) O-mu-bíri   gw´ e-n-kóidhi   gu-i-núma.

AG-3-body   3-ASS AUG-9-dog   3-9OC-bite

'The whole body of the dog is hurting.'

The term *eitumbi* is employed to refer to corpses of animates and humans (334 a, b).

(332)   (a) Tu-dhimb-íre   e-i-túmbi   e-i-gúlo.

3Pl-burry-PAST   AUG-9-corpse   AUG-9-evening

'We buried the corpse yesterday.'

(b) E-i-túmbi   y-´   e-n-gúku   e-húnya   íinyo.

AUG-9-corpse   9-(ASS) AUG-9-monkey   9SC-smell_bad   ADV

'The dead body of the monkey smells very bad.'

The term *omulambo* is used only for human corpses, while for referring to the dead body of a king the word *enjole* is employed. Not only the living king compared to other persons, but also his corpse compared to other dead bodies, has special properties as demonstrated in (333):

(333)   E-n-jóle   te-húunya,   e-núuka   bú-ge.

AUG-9-royal_corpse   NEG-smell_bad,   9SC-smell_good   14-good

'The dead body of the king doesn´t smell bad, it smells very good.'

The concept of the body and its parts is presented in the following figures after the body-partonomy for Kenyan languages by Schladt (1997: 60).

Figure (6a-f): The body-partonomy

(a)　　　　　　　　　　**o-mu-bíri**　　**'body'**

a-ka-hángamíro　　**e-hi-híimbi, a-ka-líigi-ríigi**　　　　　　**e-mi-kóno**　　**e-bi-réenge**

'head'　　　　　　'chest'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　'arms'　　　'legs'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　o-lu-búndha; o-lu-béenge

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　'belly'

(b)　　　　　　　　　**A-ka-hánga-míro**　　**'head'**

o-bú-fwa 'brain'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**o-ku-húliko** 'ears'

　o-bw-éini 'forehead'　　　　　　　　　　**e-(i)-móne** 'eyes'

　　e-i-shóke 'hair'　　　　　　　　**e-ní-indo** 'nose'

　　　a-ma-itáma　　　　**o-mu-nwà**　　　**a-má-ino** 'teeth'

　　　'cheeks'　　　　　　'mouth'　　　　**o-lu-lími**

　　　　o-lubà　**a-ka-lébu**　　　　　　'tongue'

　　　　'jaw'　　'chin'

(c)　　　　　**e-hi-híimbi, a-ka-líigi-ríigi**　　**'chest'**

a-ma-láka 'throat'　　　　　　　　　　　**a-ma-hólohólo** 'lungs'

　　e-i-kóshi, e-bi-kyà 'neck'　　　　　**o-mw-óyo** 'heart'

　　　e-bi-béngudhò 'shoulder'　　**i-i-béere** 'breast'

　　　　　e-m-bábu, a-má-la 'ribs'

(d)　　　　　**o-lu-búndha; o-lu-béenge**　　**'belly'**

e-n-dirà, e-i-kúndi 'navel'　　　　　　　　　　　**e-n-sígo** 'kidneys'

　　e-i-gúmba 'bones'　　　　　　　　**è-é-ni** 'liver'

　　　o-mu-téedhi, e-mi-dhíiga 'vein'　　**e-e-ndhà** 'intenstines'

　　　　　o-mu-sáa(h)i 'blood'

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Figure 6(a-f) continued: the body partonomy

(e) e-mi-kóno 'arms'

```
                    /  |  \      \
         e-n-kwáhwa  e-ki-bátu  o-lu-kupà  e-n-jála
         'armpit'    'hand'     'finger'   'finger nails'
```

(f) e-bi-réenge 'legs'

```
               /  |     \        \
         é-i-vi   a-ka-kógobulè  a-ka-héefe  a-ka-shindhíiro
         'knee'   'ankle'        'foot'      'heel'
```
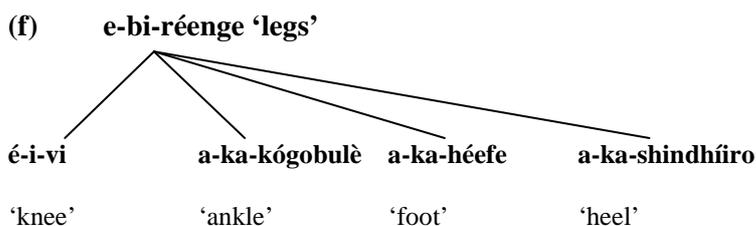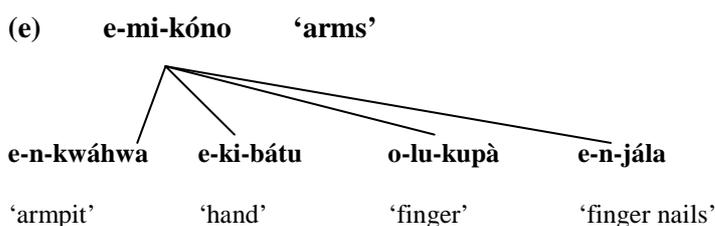
With respect to the categorization of the nouns denoting body parts into the nominal class system of the language, the Lushese body part terms illustrate the difficulty of identifying consequent concepts that might lead to a generalized abstract meaning of each nominal class. The body parts in Lushese are categorized in all nominal classes except the human ones (Cl.1/2) and the Cl. 13 which is generally quite restricted and includes only liquids (but not blood, saliva, tears or sweat). The only body part that is categorized in Cl. 15 (the class that includes all infinitives) is the noun *okuhuliko* 'ear'. Assuming that extremities, which grow out of the body, should be categorized in one class, ideally in the classes of "growing things" (Cl. 3/4) matches with the categorization of the arms (*omukono, emikono*), but fails in case of the legs (*ekireenge, ebireenge*) which appear in Cl. 7/8. Body parts that appear normally in pairs, like eyes, ears, breasts, cheeks etc. are also categorized in various classes. No analogy to the categorization in the nominal class system can be drawn either regarding inner and outer body parts, or with respect to body parts being part of other body parts, or considering up-down and front-back orientation of the body.

Since body parts are evaluated as consistent vocabulary, the cross linguistic comparison of body part terms allows hypotheses about the genetic affiliation of the languages compared (Cf. Heine 1997: 132). Considering the fifty terms denoting body parts in Lushese, Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamodji (see appendix: word lists) the following observation can be revealed with respect to the number of cognates shared between Lushese, Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamodji:

Table 40: Body part terms in comparison

	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamodji
Lushese	-	22	22	21
Luganda	22	-	31	19
Lusoga	22	31	-	39
Lulamodji	21	19	39	-

As summarized in the table above, Luganda and Lusoga, which are classified as two different languages, share more cognates than Luganda and Lushese, whereupon the later is classified as a dialect of the former. While the close relation of Lusoga and Lulamodji is reflected in the high number of shared cognates, the nineteen words shared by Luganda and Lulamodji are also shared by Lusoga and Lushese, e.g. they are common in all languages. While in Lulamodji only one word can be found,

that differs from the respective terms all other languages included in the table above, Lushese has sixteen words that are not shared by any of the other three languages: the language shares some of these terms with languages of the Western and/ or Southern areas, precisely with Ruziba[100], further with Luluuli and Lukooki[101]. Unfortunately, all three of them are only rudimentary documented so that adequate comparison cannot be attempted yet. These observations support the suggestion of Lushese being a distinct language rather than being a dialectal variation of Luganda. Still a lexicostatistic comparison would spread the limits of this study (for a summary on the classification including remarks on cognates of Eastern Bantu languages see Hinnebusch, Nurse and Mould 1981). In order to illustrate the diversity and/ or similarity of the basic vocabulary Appendix I includes the basic 600 word lists of Lushese, Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamodji; however the meaning of the terms cannot be illuminated by plain lists out of context, so that we once more reach to the point where African researchers use to say: more research on the languages of the region is needed.

From the point of view of the meaning of words in use it is intriguing that lexemes denoting genital parts, buttocks and the hip are here missing. The absence reflects the speakers´ attitude when it comes to these body parts: they are associated with social and cultural prohibitions and evaluated as dangerous and/ or shameful words. While some speakers completely refused to speak about these things with me, some of them accepted to speak about these body parts only after a long course of interaction. Words associated with sexuality are treated below in section 3.3.

The following sections present the metonymic and metaphorical associations of body part terms in Lushese; they are organized with respect to conceptual schemata as summarized by Bernd Heine (1997: 131-146) in his work on cognitive foundations of grammar.

3.2.1 From one part of the body to another
Lushese employs two metonymic strategies, the top-down and the part-to-whole strategy, for deriving body part terms from other body parts (cf. Heine 1997: 134-137, Schladt 1997: 59-65).

The top-down concept allows the use of the term for finger to refer to toes and in analogy the term for fingernails is used as referent for toe nails:

(334)   o-lu-kupà   'finger'   →   o-lu-kupà   gw´   e-ki-géere   'toe'

            AUG-11-finger   AUG-11-finger   11-ASS   AUG-7-leg

The next example illustrates the part-to whole relationship: the word 'arm' is used to refer to 'hand' (336) and the word for 'hand' to refer to the 'palm'(337):

(335)   o-mu-kóno   'arm'   →   'hand'

            AUG-3-arm

(336)   e-ki-bátu   'hand'   →   'palm'

            AUG-7-hand

The next example demonstrates the part-to-whole strategy regarding one body part term: the root of the word 'forehead' classified not in Cl. 14 but in the Cl. 7 means the face as a whole (337). The meaning 'forehead' in turn may be derived from the word for 'head' in a local construction (338):

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[100] Information on Ruziba I could find only in two publications by Hermann Rehse from 1914 (here the language is called Ruzinza) and 1915.
[101] I would like to express my gratitude to Saudah Namyalo and Viola Nalowooza for the manuscripts on these two languages.

(337)	o-bw-éini	'forehead'	→	e-ky-éini	'face'
	AUG-14-forehead			AUG-7-forehead	

(338)	a-ka-hángamíro	'head'	→	ku-ká-hangamíro[102]	'forehead'
	AUG-12-head			LOC-12-head	

3.2.2 From body part to space

Two frozen terms, *maiso* and *emabeegha* for 'eyes' and 'back' respectively are sources of grammaticalization: these two terms are used only within the associative construction to refer to special relations; in any other case the terms *e(i)mone* and *eimabegha*, *amabegha* are used for 'eyes and 'back' (cf. figures 6 a-f) respective. Among the body part terms presented in figures (6 a-f) above, the following ones are associated with abstract spatial schemata (cf. Object deictic orientation, Heine 1997: 137):

(339)	e-e-ndhà	'intestines'	→	mu-(i)ndhà	'inside'
	AUG-9-intestines			LOC-(9) intestines	

(340)	o-mu-nwà	'mouth'	→	mu-nwà gw-a	'at the edge of'
	AUG-3-mouth			3-mouth 3-ASS	
			→	mu-mu-nwà gw-a	'in the opening'
				LOC-3-mouth 3-ASS	

(341)	e-bi-réeng-e	'legs'	→	ku-bi-réenge by-a	'at the foot of'
	AUG-8-legs			LOC-8-legs 8-ASS	

These metaphorical processes are common in many languages throughout the world and arise from the need to express abstract concepts, in this case spatial orientation, by using schemata which are known and well understood through the everyday experience. The terms in Lussese have started loosing their semantic content but the associative construction is still based on the nominal class concord (Cf. section 2.2.5.1). The next section illustrates the metaphorical links between the body and the mind.

3.2.3 Body and mind

Human languages are to a great extent anthropocentric since they arise from and are employed to express human experience: abstract and/or not clearly describable experience like feelings, thoughts and ideas or spatial orientation and time are described through means concrete and common in everyday life: human create metaphorical links to conceptualize and communicate delineable experience (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 115). The body and its parts play a central role in substantiating abstract concepts and internal experience. The inside of the body in metaphoric

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[102] Also *ku-há-hangamíro* attested.

expressions is conceptualized as an internal space, where emotion, cognition and volition are localized (cf. Schladt 1995: 6 and 1997: 116).

Again, metonymic and metaphorical processes are employed in combination: while the individual experience of own bodily reactions caused by internal states and changes builds a metonymic basis, the linguistic expression for describing these through body (part) terms is metaphoric, since a) the source concept (body) and the target concept (internal experience) are different referents, b) the transfer from the source concept to the target concept is not formally expressed, c) the metaphoric expression, if taken literally, is false. Comparing the criteria for what is a metaphor according to Heine (1997: 139), only one of the four criteria remains a matter of debate: are the source concept (body) and the target concept (internal state) two different domains of experience? Considering the Bashese concepts of the unity of body and mind and of the spiritual and material balance makes a clear answer arduous. Uncontrolled bodily reactions caused by feelings show especially how difficult it is to separate external corporal from internal experience; Western science developed the concept of embodiment to deal with the evidence that internal states and change indeed impact the body and vice versa, bodily reactions can result internal states and change (see Ziemke, Zlatev and Frank 2007 among others).

The next example demonstrates how trembling of the whole body is used to express intense negative feelings: through the predication presented in (342) the speaker verbalized intense fear, while other speakers used the same to refer to intense anger:

(342)   O-mu-bíri   gw-ánge   gw-oinà   gu-kán-kan-a.

          AUG-3-body   3-1SgPOSS   3-∀all   3-IDEO-RED-VE

          Lit.: My whole body is shaking/ trembling.

          'I am very scared/ angry.'

While somebody may be literally shivering because of fear or furious anger thus a metonymic transfer can be assumed, the above linguistic expression may be employed even if the person is not literally shaking, just to express the high intensity of the feeling; thus the transfer should be regarded as a metaphor.

In Lushese the association of body parts as locus, source or cause of internal experience is limited in only two terms: the brain is interpreted as place of intelligence:

(343)   O-bú-fwa   bw-e   bu-kódh-ire.

          AUG-14-brain   14-3SgPOSS   14-work-PAST

          '(S)he was wise/ intelligent'.

The word *omwoyo* is polysemous and means 'heart/ spirit': it is the locus of feelings, as shown in the next example and personal qualities, at the same time of wisdom and intelligence (see example (347) below).

(344)   Ha-bá-ire   mu-náfu   bu-náfu[103]   mu-mw-óyo.

        3SgPAST-COP-PAST   1-weak   14-weak   LOC-3-heart/spirit

        Lit.: (S)he was weak weak in the heart.

        '(S)he was very sad'.

Discussing similarities and differences regarding intelligence in terms of *obufwa* 'brain' compared to *omwoyo* 'heart/ spirit' with the speakers, they all described an asymmetric conception: to be clever in terms of *obufwa* is regarded as useful in everyday life and interpreted as practical intelligence; the intelligence that is associated with *omwoyo* is deeper and more worth: it is not just about being clever or well-informed, but it includes personal and social skills, empathy, wisdom, experience as well as a positive attitude to life. The next example contains a critical comment referring to an elder man who is successful but lacks wisdom. Because of the age of that person, the comment is interpreted as very negative: the one referred to is not to be trusted and the implication is that he maybe uses his intelligence in a negative way. While somebody may be intelligent in terms of *obufwa* (345a), but not stringently in terms of *omwoyo*, the opposite is not regarded as possible (345b).

(345)

(a)   O-bú-fwa   bw-è   bu-kóla,   náye   tá-i-na   o-mw-óyo.

       AUG-14-brain   14-3SgPOSS 14-work   Conj   NEG-COP-CONN AUG-3-heart/spirit

       Lit.: His brain works but he has no heart/spirit.

       'He is clever but not wise.'

(b)   *Á-i-na   o-mw-óyo,   náye   o-bú-fwa   bw-è   te-bu-kóla.

       3Sg- COP-CONN AUG-3-heart/spirit Conj   AUG-14-brain   14-3SgPOSS   NEG-14-work

       *He has heart/spirit, but his brain is not working.

The capacity and quality of the brain is simply expressed through the verb *kola* 'work' as shown in (345a) above, but *omwoyo* 'heart/spirit' can be modified through various verbs, adjectives and constructions that shed light on the diversity of this concept.

The next example illustrates two ways of employing the heart to refer to somebody´s character: both metaphors express that somebody is stubborn and lacks empathy:

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[103] Note that the reduplication of adjectives by applying the appropriate class concord prefix in the first term followed by the same adjectival root prefixed with the concord of the abstract noun class (Cl. 14 or Cl. 9 in the most cases) creates emphasis (see in 2.2.3.2); the approximate translation reflects this through the English adverb very.

(346)   (a)   A-lí-na   o-mw-óyo   o-mu-malin̄bu.

                3Sg- COP-CONN AUG-3-heart/spirit   AUG-3-hard

                Lit.: (S)he has a hard heart.

                '(S)he is stubborn and has no empathy.'

      (b)   O-mw-óyo   gw-e   gu-gúm-ire.

                AUG-3-heart/spirit   3-3SgPOSS   3-be(come)hard-PAST

                Lit.: Her/his heart got to be hard.

                '(S)he is stubborn and has no empathy.'

Further metaphoric expression in which the term *omwoyo* 'heart' is employed will engage us in the chapters dealing with cognition and social interaction, since this body-part is associated with wisdom and character.

3.2.4 Society as body

The conceptualization of the society as a body is crucial in order to understand the fundamental role of perception from the point of view of the Bashese. The interrelation between individual bodies and the social body becomes manifest in perceiving the individual self as part of the collective self. This concept results in the evaluation of perception beyond the physical and/or sensual experience as an all-embracing experience which integrates human in the surrounding nature and connects humans to each other. This section gives an overview of the way the concept of society as a body is reflected in the use of body parts to refer to social prototypes: the nose is associated with the self, while other body parts are used to refer to other characters of the social life, like the elders. This use of body parts is frequent in proverbs and narratives.

The next example demonstrates the use of the nose to refer to the own self and the use of the (small) mouth to refer to children. The fact that children dependent on adults, who are responsible for the survival of the children, is associated with the schema of feeding; this metaphor is implied here:

(347)   O-gwés-e   mu-n-íindo: o-yee-tá-bon-erà   ka-mwà?

                2SgPRES-put_in-VE   LOC-9-nose   2Sg-REFL-NEG-see-A   12-mouth

                Lit.: You put in the nose and forget the small mouth?

                'You should not take care/feed yourself before your children.'

The next proverb shows again the use of nose as self and the use of the shoulders to refer to elder people, which are associated with wisdom. The shoulders stand for wisdom, because they connect the arms with the body: without this connection people could not create anything by using arms and hands. Elders play a fundamental role in the society, since without their wisdom[104] nothing can function:

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[104] Considering that the elder´s council is often, especially in the small islands, the only really functioning institution, fact is that in many cases without the elder´s permission nothing functions indeed.

(348)   E-n-íindho   te-huny-íre: e-lámusa   a-má-begundhò.

          AUG-9-nose   NEG-smell-PAST   9SC-ask   AUG-6-shoulder

          Lit.: The nose couldn´t smell: it asks the shoulders.

          'If you don´t know further, ask the elder.'

The nose is further associated with privacy and discretion (see below).

The noun *endira* 'navel' is associated with the clans. This metaphor illustrates vividly the constitutive connection between individuals and society: the body part which indicates the own birth attests also the membership to the social unit. The noun *endira* 'navel' derives a reflexive verb that is employed to express clan-membership:

(349)   W-ee-ndíra   mbálihai?[105]   N-ee-ndíra   n-gúku.

          2Sg-REFL-navel   Q   1Sg-REFL-navel   9-monkey.

          Lit: which (is) your navel?   My navel (is) the monkey.

          'In which clan do you belong?'   'I am member of the monkey clan.'

Social behaviour is further associated with certain body parts: the hands represent work and cooperation (350), but the fingers represent doubt, inner conflict and/or malicious intentions as implied in (351):

(350)   E-ki-ku-gwái-sh-ire   e-mi-kóno: ki-ku-kwís-e   n´   e-n-ghiála.

          AUG-7-2SgOC-touch/hold-CAUS-PAST   AUG-4-arms   7-2SgOC-kill-VE CONN AUG-9-hunger

          Lit.: What holds your hands tied, it kills you with hunger.

          'What disturbs work causes hunger.'

(351)   O-gwà-háya   bi-sób-i: ng´   o-bu-kupà.

          AUG-3REL-speak 8-be_wrong   Conj   AUG-14-finger

          'The one who speaks contradictorily: ((S)he is) like the fingers.'

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[105] Also attested: *kyahai* 'what', or *yahai* 'which'.

The ears are primarily associated with obedience, which is valued as positive and necessary for the social net. The next proverb speaks about female obedience and male industriousness that are evaluated as the base for a good marriage:

(352)　　　O-mw-ámi　　　　　a-fúmbira　　　a-ma-húliko

　　　　　　AUG-1-husband　　　　3Sg-marry　　　AUG-6-ear

　　　　　　n´　　o-mw-ésiki　　a-fúmbir-wà　　n´　　e-mi-kóno.

　　　　　　CONN　AUG-1-wife　　3Sg-marry-P　　CONN　AUG-4-arm

Lit.: The husband marries ears and the wife is married to hands.

'The husband expects obedience and the wife expects to be provided.'

The mouth is often used as a metaphor for the hungry person that because of hunger is not able to think/act properly. Further it is associated with public communication; "the mouth speaks" means then to gossip something in public, a rather not appreciated behaviour, as shown in (353):

(353)　　　O-mu-nwà　　te-gu-kádhira　　a-ka-tyámpai.

　　　　　　AUG-3-mouth　　NEG-3SC-reject　　AUG-12-small

'The mouth doesn´t reject the little (even if it should).'

The following example illustrates that the nose is associated with sovereignty: one can grow stronger than their hunger with the right attitude. The proverb is ambiguous and its interpretation depends on the context: it may be used to remind, that sovereign persons don´t change their attitude even if they are threatened with hunger or worse danger. It may also be used with the meaning that the one who really doesn´t want, will not announce something he should not in public:

(354)　　　E-n-íindho　　kye-tá-kula,　　　o-mu-nwà　　te-gu-ki-táfuna.

　　　　　　AUG-9-nose　　7REL-NEG:9SC-like, AUG-3-mouth　NEG-3SC-7OC-eat

'What the nose refuses, the mouth won´t eat.'

The next example shows the nose and mouth as a pair of contradiction: the nose is associated with privacy and confidentiality, whereas the mouth, as mentioned above, stands for making something public. The following sentence is frequently used as comment or as rhetorical question; often the speaker implies the first part and spells out only the second clause:

(355)　　　Ba-lámus-e　　n-íindho,　　　o-hánuuka　　ka-mwà?

　　　　　　2PlPRES-ask-VE　9-nose　　　　2SgPRES-answer　12-mouth

Lit.: They call nose and you answer mouth?

'Don´t betray the other´s trust and be discreet when you are asked for.'

The eyes are regarded as superficial and thus not reliable: knowing only by seeing is of lower valued than knowing by listening/feeling:

(356)   O-mu-hulír-wa   ha-síinga-ko   o-gwa-bóin-è.

             AUG-1-feel/hear-P   3Sg-exceed-M   AUG-3REL-see-VE

             Lit.: The hearer/experiencer exceeds the viewer.

             'The one who knows (something) through hearing/feeling, knows more (about it) than somebody that only saw (it).'

The morphological marking of the words meaning the hearer/experiencer and viewer in (358) supports the superior interpretation of the former (the the hearer/experiencer is put in the human class) to the later (the viewer is expressed by a word of the third class).

We turn now to the opposition between the eyes, which can only see passively and superficially, and the heart/spirit, which is capable of action and participation. The opposition is based both on the polysemy of the word *omwoyo* 'heart/ spirit', and on the meaning of the verb *bandaiga* 'walk', which is associated with progress and affectivity, so that 'to walk' means here to move something forward or to develop something:

(357)   E-m-óne   dhi-bóina   náye   o-mw-óyo   gu-bandáiga.

             AUG-10-eyes   10-see   Conj   AUG-3-heart/spirit 3SC-walk

             'The eyes see but the heart/spirit walks/moves.'

The interpretation of this proverb is possible only in context: it may be used to remind that observing is not enough, one should participate or that keeping distance from a problem is not the solution, instead one should get seriously involved to solve a problem and that superficial knowledge about something cannot replace deep knowledge about it. In all alternative contexts, the eyes represent the wrong attitude and are associated with passivity, distance and ignorance, while the heart in opposition represents activity and participation, sovereignty and wisdom.

3.3 A world of gender

The term gender in this dissertation is used to refer to the cultural interpretations and implications of the physical properties that have to do with reproduction. From the point of view of the Bashese, male and female are conceptualised as essential elements of the world characterizing animate as well inanimate entities. Male and female must be in balance in order to develop the positive forces that are associated with them and are a source of life and creation. The balance of gender is a balance of power: if one element is stronger and suppresses the other, then the negative forces that are associated with male and female respectively will cause destruction. Two nouns in the *bu-* Class (Cl. 14) express the abstract concepts of manhood/masculinity and womanhood/femininity respectively:

(358)   (a)   o-bu-sáighia   'manhood'

                   AUG-14-male

       (b)   o-bu-káidhi   'womanhood'

                   AUG-14-female

The term for the male genital (360c) is derived through the lexical root shown in (358a) above put in a different nominal class; this is not the case for the female genital as indicated as fals within brackets in (358d):

(358) (c)   a-ka-sáighia   'penis'   (d)   e-i-mána   'vagina'

AUG-12-male   AUG-9-vagina

(and not: *a-ka-káidhi[106])

The next section illustrates how gender reflects a hierarchy regarding animates in the language; section 3.3.2 is dedicated to the female body.

3.3.1 Gender and other essential elements

Inanimate entities are distributed in gender categories according to various concepts, for example external properties: male objects are long and/or hard, female ones are round and/or soft. Further the use of objects is crucial for the categorization into gender: women and men are occupied in different domains and do different activities: for example, stones are distributed in different gender according to their use: cooking stones are regarded as female while stones used for hunting are regarded as male.

Further, metaphorical associations impact the identification of an entity as male or female: the sea and the earth for example are conceptualized as sources of life and thus are regarded as female, while the river and the wind are conceptualized as dynamic elements that bring motion and change and thus are regarded as male. The spiritual world influences the interrelation between inanimate entities and gender: not only the gender of the spirits, but also their regalia (spears, shields, cloths etc.) impact the way various entities may be associated with the male or female element (about spirits see in section 6.3).

The following table exemplifies how various concepts influence gender according to speaker´s intuition:

Table 41: Examples of concepts that influence gender (not exhaustive)

CONCEPT	MALE	GLOSS	FEMALE	GLOSS
SHAPE	**o-mu-húulo** AUG-3-pestle	'pestle'	**e-kí-nu** AUG-7-mortar	'mortar'
USE	**a-ma-sáighia** AUG-6-male	'male stones' (used for example for hunting)	**a-ma-káidhi** AUG-6-female	'female stones' (used for example for cooking)
POSITIVE CAPACITY	**e-m-bého** AUG-9-wind	'wind' (dynamic)	**é-n-si** AUG-9-earth	'earth' (fertile)
SPIRITS	**Kihánuuka** (Male name)	'thunder' (male spirit)	**Nálubáale** (Female name)	'lake (Victoria) ' (female spirit)

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[106] I consider this as an example of linguistic avoidance, where in the contemporary use of the language a word like *akakaidhi* is considered as grammatically incorrect and is replaced by another, completely different term.

The above table opens the question of the interrelation of gender with the four cosmic elements or tempers; wet, dry, cold and hot. Since wind and thunder are regarded as male, while earth and lake as female, the assumption emerges that maybe dry and hot are associated with male, while wet and cold with female. Still, the interrelation of gender with the four tempers is complex and depends on the context. Again it is the balance of the four elements within gender rather than a direct mapping between the two gender elements and the four tempers, which is the crucial and negotiable issue.

For example, water is considered cold as compared to milk: the association of milk with femininity causes then that water in the context of milk will be interpreted as male entity. Water represents naturally the wet element when compared to the bones: in the context of bones, water is then interpreted as female entity, since bones are regarded as male due to their shape and constitution. Moreover, different bones are associated with different gender: the jaw is considered as a male body part and the pelvis as a female one. This then impacts the interpretation of water in context of these specific bones. While the four tempers will engage us further into aspects of suffering (bad-tempered body), in the following, the linguistic expressions of male and female with respect to a hierarchy of animates will come into focus.

While the general lexical roots -*saighia* 'male' and –*kaidhi* 'female' both derive various gender terms with respect to human and/or inanimate, natural and supernatural entities, for the reference to gender of animals, the term –*saighia* is not used; instead two other terms are employed (below marked in bold), depending on the differentiation between domesticated and wild animals:

(359) DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

e-m-búdhi **i-i-húundu** e-m-búdhi e-n-káidhi

AUG-9-pig AUG-9-bad_smell AUG-9-pig AUG-9-female

'male pig' 'female pig'

(360) WILD ANIMALS

e-m-pologomà **e-n-kóidhi** e-m-pologomà e-n-káidhi

AUG-9-lion AUG-9-male AUG-9-lion AUG-9-female

'lion' 'lioness'

The terms *enkoidhi* 'male wild animal' and *enkaidhi* 'female animal' are further used to refer to dogs; the gender of domesticated animals is often expressed through lexicalisation. Collective and generic reference is expressed either through the one or through the other term and I couldn´t identify any conceptual link between gender and collective or generic interpretation. Cognates of the term *inyende* 'bull' in Lushese are employed to refer to 'cow(s)' and/ or 'cattle' in numerous Bantu languages:

(361) MALE DOMESTICATED ANIMALS FEMALE DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

i-n-óondiròndi 'cock' e-n-tolotóodhi 'hen/ chicken'

i-n-yénde 'bull/ cattle' a-ma-bégundò 'cow'

Living trees are conceptualized as elder and thus beyond gender, as the term in (362b) illustrates.

(362)   (a)   e-mi-ti   'trees'   (b)   a-ma-kairè   'trees'

                   AUG-4-tree   AUG-6-old

The majority of nouns denoting tree names are categorized in Cl. 3/4; a few are found in Cl. 9/ 10:

(363)   TREE NAMES

         (a)   o-mu-vulè   o-mu-báfu   o-mu-gomáti

                AUG-3- tree name   AUG-3-tree name   AUG-3-tree name

                'Chlorofora excelsa'   'Canarium schweinfurthii'   'Cordia abysinica'

         (b)   e-m-péhere   e-n-kálagi

                AUG-9-tree name   AUG-9-tree name

                'Piptadenia africana'   'Gardenia thunbergia'

Still external features as well associations with male and female spirits may be the source of gender characterization for trees. Some are clearly referred to as male marked by the prefix *she-* (male) as illustrated below.

(364)   MALE TREE NAMES

                 shé-koba   she-itáala

                 m- tree name   m- tree name

                 'Trichilia redacta'   'Polyscias fulva'

The use of the female prefix *na-* (female) implies that the tree is very old. The speakers explained that adding this prefix to the common name of the tree derives the meaning that this kind of tree is a "mother-tree":

(365)   VERY OLD TREES MARKED WITH THE FEMALE PREFIX

                 na-mu-vulè   na-n-kálagi

                 f-3- tree name   f-9- tree name

                 'very old chlorofora excelsa'   'very old gardenia thunbergia'

The female prefix cannot be used to refer to trees with names which include the male suffix (as in example 364).

The names of trees which include the male prefix *she-*, can be modified through adjectives, or the name of the tree accompanies the noun *omugungu* 'chief' in order to imply that the tree is very old:

(366)　　　(a)　　shé-koba　　　mu/ba-kairè　　(b)　　o-mu-gúngu　　shé-koba

　　　　　　　　m-tree name　　1/2-old　　　　　　　AUG-1-chief　　m-tree name

　　　　　　　　Lit: old trichilia redacta　　　　　　Lit: chief trichilia redacta

　　　　　　　　'very old trichilia redacta'　　　　　'very old trichilia redacta'

The concord marking of nominal dependents modifying humans (Cl. 1/2) used here for trees illustrates that the two species are conceptualized as relatives. Trees are regarded as ancestors; for example the demonstratives *ogu* and *guno* (Cl. 3) are often used to modify human (see in 2.2.3.1.3), a use which is rejected in the neighboring languages.

3.3.2 Female bodies and affairs
In this section the female body as well menstruation, pregnancy and birth will be discussed. As implied above (see: body-partonomy) Lushese makes no difference between male and female breast; the language makes a difference between the human breast and an animal udder either through the use of different nominal classes or through lexicalisation:

(367)　　　i-i-béere　　　'breast'　　　e-ki-béere　　'udder'　　　o-mu-háko　　'udder'

　　　　　　AUG-9 breast　　　　　　　AUG-7-breast　　　　　　AUG-3-udder

All the three nouns in (369) can be pluralized by employing the regular plural classes (Classes 10, 8 and 4 respective). The term for 'womb' is a *singularium tantum* and used both for human and other mammals:

(368)　　　na-bá-ana　　　'womb'

　　　　　　f-2-child

Three terms differentiate the ovarian system of women, mammals and oviparous animals (369); these terms can be pluralized: the human term by class 10 and by class 6 the non-human terms (in brackets):

(369)　　　HUMAN　　　　　　　　MAMMAL　　　　　　　　OVIPAROUS

　　　　　　e-n-séke　　　　　　　　é-i-ghi (a-má-ighi)　　　e-i-húli (a-ma-húli)

　　　　　　AUG-9(10)-human_ovary　　AUG-9(6)-mamal_ovary　　AUG-9(6)-egg

　　　　　　'ovary'　　　　　　　　　'ovary'　　　　　　　　'egg'

The following expressions are employed to refer to things that are related with prohibitions both in speaking about them and in case of social interaction with women in respective conditions. The language of avoidance developed to refer to the body and the sexuality of women as well the event of birth is characterized by periphrastic metaphors (on avoidance and word tabooing see Storch: 2011: 34-38).

The time of menstruation is periphrastically expressed through the following constructions (marked in bold for convenience):

(370)

    (a) **e-n-sónga**   **y-a**   **a-bá-isiki**

        AUG-9-matter   9-ASS   AUG-2-woman

        Lit.: women´s matter

    (b) **o-lwá-lo-mw-édhi**   'menstruation period'

        AUG-11ASS-11REL-3-moon

        Lit.: (at the time of) the moon

Note that the example (372b) above is based on an elliptic construction in which the reference to time is only expressed through the use of Cl. 11, while a noun meaning time is only implied: in an attempt to reflect this I use the phrase "at the time of" (within the brackets) in the literal translation.

For referring to a woman having period locative expressions involving the moon or blood are employed; while the use of the noun *mwedhi* 'moon' is used anytime, the use of the noun *musaahi* 'blood' is employed within the context of medical care. Men never use the expression including the noun 'blood':

(371)   A-li   mu-mw-édhi/   mu-mu-sáahi.   'She has (her) period.'

               3Sg-COP   LOC-3-moon/   LOC-3-blood

               Lit: She is in the moon/ in blood.

This example illustrates gender diversity in the use of language: the menstruation blood is considered as dangerous for the male fertility thus men have to avoid speaking about it directly. The language of avoidance here illustrates that the cultural value of fertility as well the concept of balance between the two essential elements male and female brings forth a gendered register: men and women use different linguistic means in order to preserve balance of gender and avoid the danger that could result in case any of the two elements gets ahead of the other. The gender diversity with respect to the use of language illustrates further the power associated with the speech. Both aspects the gendered register and the power associated with speech, will engage us further in the chapter dealing with social interaction.

The next examples show the characterization of a woman being infertile: the lexical root engaged is the same as in the noun for 'bone' exemplified for Lushese in (372a); although the lexical root is different in Luganda and Lusoga, in these languages appears the same relation as shown in (372b) and (372c). The first column illustrates the phrase which is used to refer to a barren woman within a copula construction, the second column includes the noun 'bone' in singular and plural form in all languages respective.

(372)   (a) LUSHESE

        A-li   mu-gúfwa.   'She is barren.'   e-i-gúfwa, a-ma-gúfwa   'bone(s)'

        3Sg-COP 1-bone   AUG-9-bone, AUG-6-bone

(372) (b) LUGANDA

A-li   mu-gúmba.   'She is barren.'   e-g-gumba, a-ma-gumba   'bone(s)'

3Sg-COP 1-bone   AUG-9-bone, AUG-6-bone

(c) LUSOGA

A-li   mu-gúmba.   'She is barren'   e-i-gumba, a-ma-gúmba   'bone(s)'

3Sg-COP 1-bone   AUG-9-bone, AUG-6-bone

While being unable to have children is considered as a handicap both for men and women, there is no specific linguistic means for the reference to an infertile man. The following (common in Uganda) proverb says a lot about the local conception of pregnancy:

(373)   E-i-búndha   i-tabáalo   y-a   a-ba-káidhi.

AUG-5-belly   9-war   9-ASS   AUG-2-female

Lit: The belly (is) war of women.

'Pregnancy (is) the war of women'.

Just like men in war, by being pregnant women take a responsibility towards society, grow in a new social role, and are at the same time threatened by death. The change of the social frames because of a pregnancy for the pregnant woman as well as of all the other members of her family is far more relevant than corporal conditions. For example, although the woman is carrying the foetus and thus has the big belly, the (pregnant) belly is considered to be owned by the father. The next example shows how a lady announced who is the father of the child expected by her sister[107]:

(374)   Báaba h-ánge   a-twáala   e-i-bundh-áhe.

f-sister   1-1SgPOSSS   3Sg-carry   AUG-9-belly-3SgPOSS

Lit.: My sister is carrying his belly.

'My sister is expecting his child.'

The nouns *eendha* 'intestinen' and *eibundha* 'belly' are employed for expressing impregnation, but only the latter is used for referring to a woman being pregnant: in the copula construction shown in (376a) the prefix of Cl. 12 is obligatory (marked in bold):

(375)   o-ku-géera   é-e-ndha/ e-i-búndha   'to conceive'

AUG-15-become   AUG-9-intestines/AUG-9-belly

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[107] The pregnant woman is a clan sister of the speaker.

(376)

(a)	A-li	**ka**-búndha.	
	3Sg-COP	**12**-belly	
(b)	A-twáala	e-i-búndha.	'She is pregnant.'
	3Sg-carry	AUG-9-belly	
(c)	A-fúuna	e-i-búndha.	
	3Sg-bring	AUG-9-belly	

Asking a woman when she expects to give birth as well as two possible answers are illustrated in the next examples:

(377) (a) O-lu-fu-iré-mu mw-édhi gw-áhai?

2Sg-TEMP-bring-PAST-LOC 3-moon 3-Q

'Which month are you expecting to give birth?'

(b) O-gwò-i-sháatu. (c) N-dhi mu-dhíto.

AUG-6DEM-9-three 1Sg-COP 1-heavy

Lit.: In the third (month)[108]. Lit.: I am heavy.

'(I will give birth) in March.' 'I will give birth within the next four weeks'.

Two nouns are employed for referring to human infants "before and after the birth" to put it in the words of Námpomwa:

(378) (a) i-Ŋ-óodhi[109] (b) e-n-keréebe[110]

AUG-9-human_foetus AUG-9-human_baby

'human foetus' 'human new born, baby'

Two nouns are used to refer to the amniotic fluid, again with respect to the time before (*ensumbwa*) or after (*ensungwa*) the birth[111]. The sentence in (379a) means that the water broke too early and implies a difficult birth because of this, while the sentence in (379b) means that the baby arrived when the water broke (which implies that the birth was easy):

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[108] The noun *omwedhi* 'month' is here only implied by the use of the concord for noun class 6, in which this noun is categorized. Again an elliptic construction based is used to refer to time.

[109] *Engodhi* means the cloth arranged for carrying children (cf. *engozi* in Luganda and Lusoga).

[110] Also attested: *enkereebè*, *enkerémbe* and *enkerembè*

[111] A note on phonology here: this is the only minimal pair of two prenasalised consonants, in any other case variation in pronouncing prenasalised consonants causes no semantic difference and may be account to dialectal difference.

(379)

	(a)	E-n-súmbwa	e-híis-ire.		(b)	E-n-súngwa	e-híis-ire.
		AUG-9-amniotic fluid	9-flow-PAST			AUG-9-amniotic fluid	9-flow-PAST

    'The water broke too early.'   'The water broke in time.'

The bodily fluids consist of water, oil, fat and/ or milk. All of them may have a positive or if not in balance, a negative impact on the body. The amniotic fluids belong to the positive waters and oils of the body (380a); negative fluids are characterized as generally as "dirty" (380b):

(380)   (a)   a-má-idhi   n´   a-ma-dhígho   a-ma-lúndji/   a-ma-gè

                AUG-6-water   CONN   AUG-6-oil   AUG-6-good   AUG-6-good

                Lit: good waters and oils

                'positive bodily fluids'

    (b)   o-bu-iyáma,   o-bu-háima

                AUG-14-dirty   AUG-14-dirty

                'negative bodily fluids'

The phrase in (380a) and the words illustrated in (380b) may be used for the same substances: for example referring to urine by using the positive phrase as illustrated in (380a) above ('good water'), the speaker expresses that the fluid is a sign of health, e.g. the colour and consistence allows the implication that the person is healthy. Calling urine *obuiyama* on the other hand implies that the colour and/ or consistence of the fluid allow the implication that the person is ill. Exception to this is the reference to milk: it is always considered as positive and referred to by the phrase *amata amage* 'good milk'. In case the milk is not enough or of week nutritional value verbal negation is employed (for example: *Táina máta magè* 'She has no good milk').

The unborn is regarded as spirit, a concept which further impacts the interpretation of several issues considering pregnancy and birth (on the social aspects of pregnancy and birth see chapter six).

3.4 Innate capacities of the body

Two general capacities of the body are implied by two verbs: *beera* 'be(come) able' and *(h)iinza* 'being capable of'. Their semantic difference will be discussed in the following examples.

(381)   (a)   A-béera   o-ku-héendha.   (b)   A-híinza   o-ku-héendha.

                3Sg-be_able   AUG-15-paddle   3Sg-be_capable   AUG-15-paddle

                'He is able to paddle.'   'He paddles well/ knows how to paddle.'

Paddling, is a corporal activity performed exclusively by men, hence it is gender specific and does not correspond to all humans. Being able to paddle meaning that a man is strong enough to paddle is expressed through the verb *beera* 'be able', as illustrated above. The use of the other verb, *hiinza* 'be capable of' in this context is metaphorical. This verb is associated with the concept of innate capacity of living bodies (not only human) to perform certain actions. These include breathing, perceiving,

moving and speaking[112]. Paddle doesn´t belong to this set thus the meaning of the verb *hiinza* in combination with this activity changes: the verb is used metaphorically to express effectiveness and knowledge.

Breathing is considered as innate capacity of living bodies and thus the use of the verb *beera* 'be(come) able' is rejected since it makes no sense (382a). The use of *hiinza* implies that breathing was difficult and/or painful for some reason but the person is again capable of normal breathing:

(382)   (a)   *A-béera   o-ku-héeha.   (b)   A-híinza   o-ku-héeha.

                  3Sg-be_able   AUG-15-breath   3Sg-be_capable   AUG-15-breathe

                  *(S)he is able of breathing.   '(S)he can breathe (again).'

All verbs of perception express meanings that belong to the set of the innate capacities of bodies: they also can occur only in combination with the verb *hiinza* 'be capable of'. Implied is that the perception of something in a given situation has been impossible because of external parameters and this condition has changed, e.g. the perception of something is not limited anymore. Example (382c) illustrates this paradigmatically in case of sight:

(382c)   A-híinza   ku-bóina.   '(S)he is able to see (again/ now).'

          3Sg-3Sg-be_capable   15-see

To express that somebody is generally hindered to see or hear e.g. blind or deaf, either nominal constructions or negated forms of the verbs of perception are employed.

The semantic difference of the verbs *beera* 'be(come) able' and *(h)iinza* 'being capable of' may be explained as a difference in the degree of agency: while the first verb occurs in contexts of controlled actions, the later verb is associated with the inner capacities and/ or states of animates thus it can be regarded as less agentive and controlled. The verb *(h)iinza* 'become able of' will engage further in relation with verbs of cognition (see in chapter five).

3.5 Suffering

Suffering is conceived as disturbed balance and as the invasion of one´s healthy body by an external force. The human body as space or container gets occupied, consequently contains then some alien entity that suppresses the self. Pain and the symptoms of an illness are consequently interpreted as signs of the other. Suffering is associated with loosing balance and control. Further, these conditions are not regarded as being personal or individual: social parameters build the internal causal frame of a disease, like the respect to norms and prohibitions or the relations between members in the social group of the person fell ill. In general the intentions and behaviour of the social group and each of its members invite external forces and allow them to enter the body of a member and through it the body of the community:

> A number of studies of disturbance and illness in Africa have equally stressed that whilst causation of misfortune may be looked for externally, this is usually accompanied by strong feelings of guilt, moral anxiety and disturbances of conscience (Jackson 1982: 30-31, Parkin 1979, Janzen 1978: 9-11). An important feature emerging from these studies is the rationalisation of the causes of illness as due to actions of a malevolent outside force, the reasons for its successful invasion being seen to be due to

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[112] Note that speaking is not regarded as an activity restricted to humans.

the disharmony and confusion caused by disputes, bitterness and envy within a social group. (Rowlands 1992: 120)

The concept of suffering not only links physical, emotional and cognitive conditions but it builds the bridge to the metaphysical world: the context of spirits´ possession and witchcraft also includes loss of balance and control, it is referred to as illness and it is associated with invasion of the body by external forces. Still these forces are not evaluated always as malevolent: spirits may affect humans positively, even rescue them. The notion of agency is more ambivalent compared to the loss of control in case of purely physical suffering, because in case of spirits possession the initial loss of control may lead to exceptional power and knowledge. Suffering in the context of spirits possession will be discussed in chapter six.

To anticipate the concepts of illness and death presupposes the understanding of what is health and life: Life and health are associated with balance of the four elements cold, hot, dry and wet; pain and illness are associated with high temperature and humidity. The following example shows the use of the noun *omubiri* 'body' to express illness: the metaphoric association indicates a loss of balance with respect to temperature:

(383) (N-di) mu-lwáire, o-mu-bíri gw-ánge gu-tógota.

(1Sg-COP) 1-ill AUG-3-body 3-1SgPOSS 3-boil

'(I am) sick, my body is boiling.'

The next example shows the description of high temperature in case of fever and/ or malaria:

(384) N(dh)ii-nà o-mu-súighia, o-mu-sáahi gw-ánge gu-tógota.

1Sg-COP-CONN AUG-3-fever/malaria AUG-3-blood 3-1SgPOSS 3-boil

'I have fever/malaria, my blood is boiling.'

While speaking about suffering the speaker may employ various expressions to describe semantic nuances or the degree of affectedness- in case the speaker speaks about own physical conditions, or of involvement- in case the speaker speaks about others, speaking about health and good corporal condition can be expressed only through the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear'.

Death is generally regarded as part of life: it is neither conceived as the opposite of life nor as the end. Death is rather conceived as (the passing to) another condition. Still death can be caused by social disharmony, thus conflict and war, disease and/or crime. Then the verbs *huula* 'struck' and *hembula* 'kill' get employed:

(385) O-mu-súighia gu-mu-húu-irè/ gu-mu-hémbu-irè.

AUG-3-fever/malaria 3-3sg-OC-beat-PAST/ 3-3sgOC-kill-PAST

Lit.: Malaria/high fever beat/killed him/her.

'(S)he died because of malaria/high fever.'

This example illustrates paradigmatically that the agentive power is exert by an external force, *omusuighia* 'Malaria/ heavy fever' appearing in the syntactic position of the subject, on the suffering human entity, indicated through the object concord marking.

The present section shows that the absence or involvement of spirits constitutes a parameter in the categorization of suffering types. It influences the use and meaning of the verbs of perception within the domain of suffering as we will see in the last section of this chapter.

3.5.1 Fatigue, pain, hunger and thirst

Speaking about tiredness involves an intransitive verb. Fatigue is conceived as a temporary physical condition and not as an invasion by an external force[113]:

(386)   N-kóoh-ire.   'I am/ have become tired.'

     1Sg-be(come)_tired-PAST

The association of pain with agency opposed to the passivity of the suffering entity is linguistically reflected through the semantic relations: when speaking about pain or illness, the most frequent verb is *luma* 'bite'; the source of the suffering (pain/ illness) is realized in the syntactic position of the subject and the entity suffering is realised in the position of the object or indicated as participant (Patiens) in a passive construction.

The noun *obulumi* 'pain' is derived from the verb *luma* 'bite' and is polysemous: it expresses 'pain' in general, but also has the literal meaning of 'a snap between the teeth'. The derived noun *obulumi* in subject position of its source verb is redundant: the speaker may include it for emphasis. The entity suffering pain is indicated by the passive. The combination of the noun *obulumi* with the verb *luma* in an active construction is refused as non-sense or incorrect.

(387)   (O-bu-lúmi) bu-lum-ír-wa. 'I suffer due to pain (=I have (a) pain).'

     AUG-14-bite/pain 14-bite-APP-PASS

     Lit.: I am bitten (by pain).

The next example illustrates the same with a non-human Patiens:

(388)   E-n-kóidhi gu-lum-ír-wa. 'The dog suffers due to pain (It has pain).'

     AUG-9-dog   3-bite-APP-PASS

This example illustrates the generalized use of Cl. 3, which in many cases replaces the correct concord. Again the dog as subject of a passive construction is the entity suffering, while the cause or Agens which bites the dog is only implied.

Localization of pain and/ or illness in parts of the body brings the suffering body part in the position of the subject/source.

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[113] If somebody feels tired all the time, which means tiredness is permanent, fatigue may be interpreted as symptom of an invasion, e.g. illness/ spirit.

(389) E-ki-réenge ki-ánge ki-rúma/ (ki-i-núma[114].)

AUG-7-leg 7-1SgPOSS 7-bite (7-1SgOC-bite)

Lit.: My leg is biting (me).

'My legs hurt.'

In case of broken bones, the reflexive construction reflects the holistic body concept as explained by the late Sseruwagi Dominic above; the next example shows the relevant part of his utterance in Lushese:

(390) A-ba-ishése ba-téend-irè: N-ee-hínya ku-ki-réenge.

AUG-2-Ssese 2-speak-PAST 1Sg-REFL-break LOC-7-leg

Lit.: The Bashese said: I am broken on the leg.

'The Bashese used to say: my leg broke.'

The use of the reflexive form is limited to the first person, hence only if the speaker speaks about the own broken body; when referring to broken body parts of others, the reflexive construction is rejected as grammatically incorrect, instead the verb occurs in reduplicated form in an intransitive construction:

(391) E-ki-réenge-ky-è ki-hínya-hinyí-ire[115].

AUG-7-leg-7-3SgPOSS 7-break-RED-PAST

'Her/ his leg broke.'

The broken body part may be of course source of suffering:

(392) E-ki-réenge ky-ánge e-ki-hínyi-ire ki-i-núma

AUG-7-leg 7-2SgPOSS AUG-7-break-PAST 7-1SgOC-bite

'My broken leg is hurting me'.

Hunger and thirst are expressed by two nouns respectively; usually they appear in combination with the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' (see below 3.6.1), or with the verb *luma* 'bite':

(393) (a) E-n-yónta e-i-núma. (b) E-n-djála e-i-núma.

AUG-9-thirst 9-1SgOC-bite AUG-9-hunger 9-1SgOC-bite

Lit.: Thirst is biting me. Lit.: Hunger is biting me.

'I am thirsty.' 'I am hungry.'

While fatigue is associated with non permanent dysphoria and expressed through a intransitive verb, pain, hunger and thurst are conceived as forces that enter the body. Especially the reference of hunger and thirst as something outside the body is documented in languages throughout the word (cf. Newman 2009 among others). Illness is also associated with invasion, but it is further conceived as

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[114] Also attested: *kindhuma, kinyuma*.

[115] The suffix for past suppresses the verbal ending –*a*: many reduplicated verbal forms differ in that the first part includes the verbal ending –*a*, but the second part may be marked with TAM as illustrated here.

sign of spirits entering the body. The next section presents the types of suffering that are associated with metaphysical power.

3.5.2 Pregnancy, illness and death

Pregnancy is associated with the spirits basically because the unborn is seen as a spirit. The language of female sexuality and affairs is characterized by avoidance, periphrastical expressions and metaphors. Speaking about illness involves the construction presented in the former examples. The noun *obulwaire* 'illness' is frequently found in the position of the subject of an active construction with the verb *luma*[116] 'bite':

(394)   O-bu-lwáire   bu-i-núma.   'I suffer because of illness (=I am ill).'

              AUG-14-ill   14-1SgOC-bite

              Lit.: (The) illness is biting me.

Death is expressed by two verbs *hembuka* and *honogoka*[117] corresponding to the meaning 'to die'. A pragmatic difference between them consists in the use of the former to refer to oneself, while the later is associated with other animates:

(395)   (a)   Sí-kula   ku-hémbuka.

                  1SgNEG-want/like 15-die

                  'I don´t want to die.'

           (b)   Ha-honogók-irè.   (c)   E-n-kóidhi   e-honogók-irè.

                  3SgPAST-die-PaST   AUG-9-dog   9SC-die-PAST

                  '(S)he died.'   'The dog died.'

The spirit of the dead is capable of revenge and protection, further it announces and realizes its intentions. In order to refer to death as this kind of other condition it is often personified as the spirit Wálumbe. In these cases the context of dying occurs more frequently in a construction such as in (398) instead of using a verbal construction involving one of the above mentioned verbs meaning 'to die'. The following expression has collective and/ or generic character: this is indicated by the use of the word *obwakintu*, which literally means 'the ones from Kintu' (Cf. ex.66).

(396)   O-bwá-kintu   te-bá-kula   Wálumbe.

              AUG-14REL-Kintu   NEG-3Pl-want/like Wálumbe

              Lit: The children of Kintu don´t like Wálumbe

              'Human beings don´t like death/ to die.'

The preference to employ the above expression and not the verbs *hembuka* or *honogoka* 'die' is explained as follows by the speakers: Walumbe´s name, although the spirit is frightening and

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[116] The form *buinuma* results from an interplay between a nasal prefix and a root starting with the lateral approximant; attested are also the forms *bundhuma* and *buiruma*. The form *buinuma* has been used by all speakers, the other two were employed by few speakers.
[117] Alsoattested: *henegeka*.

dangerous, sounds smoother than the respective verbs. Their preference is shared by speakers of many languages throughout the world, which avoid spelling the harsh word 'die' for several reasons.

The use of the irregular verb *fa* 'die' (Past form: *fuire*) is regarded by the speakers as loan by the neighbouring languages. The next example shows its use in Lushese, Luganda and Lusoga:

(397)	LUSHESE	LUGANDA	LUSOGA
	E-n-kóidhi e-fú-ire.	E-m-bwà ya-fúdde.	É-m-bwa e-fúluk-irè.
	AUG-9-dog 9SC-die-PAST	AUG-9-dog 9SC-die:PAST	AUG-9-dog 9SC-die-PAST
	'A/The dog died.'	'A/The dog died.'	'A/The dog died.'

In case of human beings speaking about death includes elements of linguistic avoidance which reflect the evaluation of speech as an action high spiritual power.

3.6 The Verbs of perception within the domain of physical experience and suffering

This section illustrates the use of verbs of perception with respect to the body, physical experience and suffering. Section 3.6.1 shows the use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear', 3.6.2 gives an overview of how *gwaita* 'touch; hold'and *hunya* 'smell (bad)'are employed in expressions of physical experience.

The use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' in intransitive sentences to express physical condition underlines the semantic vagueness of the verb which gives the meaning of general physical condition rather than of perception. Further the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' is frequently employed in light-verb constructions in which the direct object specifies the kind of perception and the verb the mode of perception. The examples following in the next pages illustrate a variation of the verbal meanings with respect to two kinds of physical experience: fatigue, hunger, thirst and pain constitute the first semantic domain, for which the verb *hulira* has a semantic content of perceiving a type of physical state. Pregnancy, illness and death constitute the second semantic domain for which the same verb has a meaning of presentiment. As discussed in the former sections of this chapter, the Bashese point of view the main difference between these two groups of physical experience is in the first case the reasons of suffering have to do with what is happening in the obvious world, while pregnancy, illness and death are interrelated with physical transformation and the world of the spirits.

The use of the perception verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold'within the domain of physical experience results emphasis. In the constructions illustrated in section 3.6.2 the verb is used metaphorically. The prototypical event structure of the verb which requires an animate agent directing the agentive power involving a theme creates the template of the metaphor: while in literal uses the agent of the tactile verb *gwaita* consists of an animate entity, in the metaphorical use of the verb within the domain of physical experience the participant meaning source or cause frequently occurs in the position of the subject, while the animate entity occurs in the position of the direct object. This structure underlines the high degree of agency spilling out of the source/ subject and at the same time the absence of control and high affectedness of the Patiens/ object.

The third verb of perception which will be discussed below is the olfaction verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)': it is used in transitive sentences with an animate noun in the position of the subject and requires in the position of the object either the noun 'hunger' or 'thirst' or 'pain': in combination with this nouns the verb has the metaphorical meaning of presentiment of a collective event. The semantic extension of the verbal meaning from the domain of perception to the domain of cognition relies on the

construction type and the restriction with respect to the participants required and precisely the participant utilizing the direct object. The next two sections illustrate in examples the constructions involved to illuminate the role of the verbs of perception when employed for the reference to body affairs.

3.6.1 The use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear'

The verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' is the one most frequently used to express physical experience of any kind. The following example illustrates the two common expressions for speaking about a general condition primarily of the body. The verb is used in an intransitive sentence followed by manner adverbs. The main criteria for identifying the words *buge* 'good' and *bubi* 'bad' as adverbs and not as abstract nouns of the Cl. 14 is basically because a noun may occur with or without augment, but augmentation in this case is rejected as ungrammatical; further the word *buge* 'good' can be replaced by the ideophone *gègègè*[118] denoting manner, in this case obligatory without noun class marking:

(398) (a) M-púlira bú-ge. (b) M-púlira bu-bì.

   1SgPRES-feel/hear 14-good 1SgPRES-feel/hear 14-bad

   'I am fine/ feel good.' 'I feel bad.'

'Feeling good/bad' are in this case English translations that correspond to a minimum to the meaning of the Lushese expressions. A "good general condition" presupposes the physical and emotional health and strength the speaker is used to be in and includes the absence of other sources of suffering beyond the speaker´s personal condition. A "bad general condition" presupposes source of suffering, but the case that the speaker refers to his/her own personal condition is rare: the Bashese consider pains, sicknesses and physical aches as minor, as long as they don´t really threat life.

(399) M-púlira búge, nayè mu-lwáire.

   1SgPRES-feel/hear 14-bad Conj 1-ill

   'I feel good, but I am a little bit sick.'

The expression in the next example implies that the speaker is suffering a very severe sickness:

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[118] A note on the tones here: while the triplication clearly and always is thrice accented through the low tone, the use of the simplex form accompanied with morphological markers results in tonal variation which is depending on the context. For example both variants *búge* and *bugè* are attested in adverbial position with the same meaning.

(400)   M-púlira   bu-bì,   mu-lwairè.

         1SgPRES-feel/hear   14-bad   1-ill

         'I feel very bad, because of severe illness.'

More often "feeling bad" is used to imply that somebody beyond the close relatives died, which means it expresses emotional state. Example (401) illustrates the announcement of such news; the hearer is expected to include in his response the question about who the deceased is:

(401)   M-púlira   bu-bì   mu-inánge,   ki-táalo   í-nyo.

         1SgPRES-feel/hear   14-bad   1-1SgPOSS   7-condolence   9-ADV

         Lit.: I feel very bad, my child, many condolences.

         'I feel bad, because (somebody around) died.'

The following examples show the use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' in combination with the first type of physical suffering which is normally[119] not associated with metaphysical powers. For speaking about tiredness an intransitive verb may be used (402b). The use of the verb of perception followed by an object clause creates a less situative and more polite meaning (402a):

(402)   FATIGUE

(a)   M-púlira   nti   n-kóoh-ire.   (b)   N-kóoh-ire.

       1SgPRES-feel/hearConj   1Sg-be(come)_tired-PAST   1Sg-be(come)_tired-PAST

       'I feel tired.'   'I am/got tired.'

       (GENERAL EXPRESSION, MORE POLITE)   (SITUATED EXPRESSION, MORE DIRECT)

In case of hunger, thirst and pain the use of the verb of perception is again associated with a kind of suffering lighter compared to constructions with the verb *luma* 'bite': the use of *hulira* 'feel; hear' in these cases indicates that the person feels a minor dysphory, while the use of the verb *luma* 'bite' indicates that the suffering is acute and of higher degree. Note that the participant structure of the sentence with the verb of perception requires in the position of the subject an animate entity in the role of the experiencer, while the sentence with the verb *luma* 'bite' requires the source of suffering in the position of the subject:

(403)   HUNGER

(a)   M-púlira   e-n-djála.   (b)   E-n-djála   e-i-núma.

       1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-9-hunger   AUG-9-hunger   9SC-1SgOC-bite

       Lit: I feel/hear hunger.   Lit: Hunger bites me.

       'I am hungry (now).'   'I suffer because of hunger.'

       (GENERAL EXPRESSION, LIGHT HUNGER)   (SITUATED EXPR., ACUTE HUNGER)

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[119] As mentioned before any kind of physical suffering may be interpreted as sign/symptom of spirits entering the body; still in the everyday context fatigue, hunger, thirst and pain are evaluated as primarily physical conditions that are not interrelated with metaphysical aspects.

In case of pain again, the verb of perception provides the general and lighter variant, while the expression for describing pain which involves the verb *luma* 'bite' in a passive construction is employed for referring to acute and/ or serious pain. Also in this case the participant structure of the two verbs is exactly the opposite. While in the sentence with the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear the source is realised in the position of the object, in the passive construction with the verb *luma* 'bite' the source is realized in the position of the subject:

(404)   PAIN

(a)   M-púlira   o-bu-lúmi.   (b)   (O-bu-lúmi)   bu-lum-ír-wa.

1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-14-bite/pain   AUG-14-bite/pain 14-bite-A-PASS

Lit.: I feel/hear pain.   Lit.: I am bitten (by pain).

'I have (a) pain.'   'I suffer due to pain (=I have (a) pain).'

(GENERAL EXPRESSION, MINOR PAIN)   (SITUATED EXPRESSION, SERIOUS PAIN)

The perception verb is also employed to refer to localized pain:

(c)   M-púlira   o-bu-lúmi   ku-ki-réenge.

1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-14-bite/pain LOC: on-7-leg

'My leg hurts.'

(d)   E-ki-réenge   ki-ánge   ki-lúma/(ki-n-núma).

AUG-7-leg   7-1SgPOSS   7-bite (7-1SgOC-bite)

Lit.: My leg is biting (me).

'My leg hurts.'

All other body parts require the locative prefix *ku-* 'on/at' in the construction shown in (405a) above with the exception of the 'belly, which allow only the use of the prefix *mu-* 'in' and the 'head', which allows the use of *ku-* and *mu-* differing pain inside the head, or outside, on the skin/scalp:

(405)   (a)   M-púlira   o-bu-lúmi   ku-ka-hángamíro.

1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-14-bite/pain   LOC:on-12-head

'I feel pain on the head (scalp)'.

(b)   M-púlira   o-bu-lúmi   mu-ka-hángamíro.

1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-14-bite/pain   LOC:in-12-head

'I have headache'.

While in the cases of fatigue, hunger, thirst and pain the use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' is the most frequent and compatible in the most of the contexts compared to other expressions have almost the

same meaning, in the cases of pregnancy, illness and death, *hulira* expresses presentiment: the use of this verb implies that the speaker interprets signs, but is not sure, if the suggestion is true. The English translation 'think' is here preferred with the intention to transfer the cognitive value of *hulira*:

(406)   PREGNANCY

(a)   M-púlira   (n-di)   ka-búndha.

          1SgPRES-feel/hear   (1Sg-COP)   12-belly

          'I think that I am pregnant.'

(b)   M-púlira   a-li   ka-búndha.

          1SgPRES-feel/hear   3Sg-COP   12-belly

          'I think that she is pregnant.'

(407)   ILLNESS

(a)   M-púlira   mu-lwáire.

          1SgPRES-feel/hear   1-ill

          'I think that I am getting ill.'

(b)   M-púlira   o-bu-lwáire.

          1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-14-ill

          'I think that there is sickness around.'

In the next example, whether death is coming for the speaker or others are threatened depends on the context:

(408)   DEATH

          M-púlira   Wálumbe.

          1SgPRES-feel/hear   Wálumbe

          'I think that I am going to die soon/ (s)he is going to die soon.'

Tables (42) and (43) show the mappings between thematic roles and syntactic realization of the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' for the two domains of physical experience:

Table 42: *hulira* 'feel; hear' and the first type of physical experiences

	ANIMATE ENTITY	FATIGUE, HUNGER, THIRST, PAIN
THEMATIC ROLE	Experiencer	Source
SYNTACTIC POSITION	Subject	Object
SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION	General expression of the physical experience	

Table 43: *hulira* 'feel; hear' and the second type of physical experiences

	ANIMATE ENTITY	PREGNANCY, ILLNESS, DEATH
THEMATIC ROLE	Affected Agent	Source/Theme
SYNTACTIC POSITION	Subject	Object
SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION	Expression of presentiment regarding the physical experience	

The verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' within the domain of the body, of physical experience and suffering is employed to express either general physical condition, and then it is used in an intransitive sentence, or for referring to light and general physical conditions by transitive sentences, in which the animate entity experiencing occurs in the syntactic position of the Subject. On the other hand the verb has a metaphorical extension to the domain of cognition when it is used in the context of physical conditions that are associated with metaphysical powers. The animate entity in the position of the subject realizes rather the role of an affected agent than of an experiencer, since the cognitive meaning of presentiment presupposes more control and agency. In addition the nouns occurring in the position of the direct object can be interpreted as sources of signs and/ or symptoms, which result to the presentiment, but also as theme of the presentiment, since they indicate the assumed result of the presentiment.

The next section illustrates the uses of the two other verbs of perception within the domain of the body; *gwaita* 'touch; hold' and *hunya* 'smell (bad)'.

3.6.2 The use of other verbs of perception
The replacement of the verb *luma'* 'bite' with the verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' emphasizes the intensity of the suffering; in combination with both verbs the source of suffering appears in the position of the subject and the suffering animate entity occurs in the position of the object. The use of *gwaita* implicates higher degree of affectedness with respect to the suffering animate entity (Patiens) and higher degree of agency with respect to the source of suffering. The next two examples illustrate the use of the verb in combination with the nouns *obulumi* 'pain' and *obulwaire* 'illness'.

(409)　　(a)　　O-bu-lúmi　　bu-n-gwáis-irè[120].　　'I suffer because of severe pain.'

　　　　　　　　AUG-14-bite/pain　14-1SgOC-catch-PAST

　　　　　　　　Lit.: The pain caught me.

　　　　(b)　　O-bu-lwáire　　bu-n-gwáis-irè.　　'I suffer because of severe illness.'

　　　　　　　　AUG-14-ill　　14-1SgOC-catch-PAST

　　　　　　　　Lit.: The illness caught me.

The verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' can also be employed with the nouns hunger and thirst to express intense suffering. It cannot be employed with the second type of suffering which is associated with the metaphysical world: the speakers reject its´ use in combination with nouns or other expressions meaning pregnancy or death as being ungrammatical and/ or as having no sense. The use of this verb in combination with the noun *obulwaire* 'illness' illustrates that illness is an ambiguous concept, which is primarily interpreted as purely physical suffering: in this sense the suffering can be emphasized though the verb *gwaita*. If illness is associated with the intervention of metaphysical forces, the use of the tactile verb *gwaita* makes no sense (but the use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' may be employed to indicate presentiment, as we saw in the former section).

The next tables summarize the relation of thematic roles and syntactic positions for the verbs *luma* 'bite' and *gwaita* 'touch; hold' and indicates that the difference in the semantic interpretation relies on the use of the verbs in context. Note that the situated expressions involving the use of *luma* 'bite' are more frequent than the emphatic expressions with the verb *gwaita* 'catch/hold'. This can be explained with respect to various parameters. First, a general psychological one: people use to speak about situated and/or acute suffering but emphasizing on the own pain, illness etc. may cause a negative evaluation by the hearer, who may consider the moaning person as eminently weak. Second, a pragmatic one, which reflects the attitude of the Bashese towards problematic situations of any kind: in the moment that the trouble or the cause of trouble is not seriously threatening survival they are considered as minor problems. Speaking about physical suffering the speakers choose emphasis only if the case is severe and dangerous enough.

Table 44: *luma* 'bite' within the domain of physical experience

	PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE	LIVING ENTITY
THEMATIC ROLE	Source	Patiens
SYNTACTIC POSITION	Subject	Object
SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION	Situated expressions of suffering	

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[120] The regular past form of *gwaita* is *gwaisire*.

Table 45: *gwaita* 'touch; hold' within the domain of physical experience

	PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE	LIVING ENTITY
THEMATIC ROLE	Source	Patiens
SYNTACTIC POSITION	Subject	Object
SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION	Emphasis regarding the suffering	

Now we turn to the use of the olfaction verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' within the domain of physical experience. When it comes to hunger, thirst and pain, the verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' may be employed to express presentiment:

(410)

(a)	M-púnya	e-n-djála.	(b)	M-púnya	o-bu-lúmi.
	1Sg-smell_bad	AUG-9-hunger		1Sg-smell_bad	AUG-14-pain
	Lit.: I smell hunger.			Lit.: I smell pain.	
	'I think that there will be famine.'			'I think that there will be suffering.'	

In these cases the speaker announces a presentiment about future suffering for a large group of people, for example a whole family, clan or village. The use of this verb with the second group of physical experience (pregnancy, illness and death) is rejected by the speakers as ungrammatical and absurd. Also in this case the animate entity occurring in the position of the subject cannot be interpreted as an experiencer, but rather as an affected agent in order to indicate the higher agency of the cognitive event. Hunger, thirst and pain are yet no sources of suffering but due to certain signs they are assumed to becoming sources of suffering. Note that in the construction with the verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' all three nouns are associated with collective and not individual suffering.

Table 46: *hunya* 'smell (bad)' and the first type of physical experiences

	LIVING ENTITY	HUNGER, THIRST, PAIN
THEMATIC ROLE	Affected Agent	Theme
SYNTACTIC POSITION	Subject	Object
SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION	Expression of presentiment regarding a collective physical experience	

3.7 Summary

Lushese employs a variety of expressions to verbalize physical experience. The holistic interpretations of body and nature impact the use and the meaning of the vocabulary used for physical expression. The interrelation of the body with spiritual aspects results a distinction between non-spiritual physical experience (fatigue, hunger, thirst and pain) and spiritual physical experience (pregnancy, illness, death). This distinction impacts precisely the meaning of the perception verbs *hulira* 'feel; hear',

gwaita 'touch; hold' and *hunya* 'smell (bad)' within this domain, which create new, less prototypical meanings. The use of different expressions depends on the context: the next two tables give a schematic overview of the speakers´ preferences in comparison; figures (6a) and (6b) below visualize the same.

Table 47: Expressions within the first type of physical experience in comparison

	GENERAL EXPRESSION	SITUATED EXPRESSION	EMPHASIS	PRESENTIMENT
VERB	hulira	other (luma)	gwaita	Hunya
EXAMPLES	Mpúlira obulúmi.	Bulumírwa.	Obulúmi Bungwaisíre.	Mpúnya obulúmi.
LITERAL INTERPRETATION	I feel/hear pain.	(Pain) is biting me.	Pain caught me.	I smell pain.
APPROX. TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	I have (a) pain.	I have (a) pain now. I suffer because of pain.	I suffer because of severe pain.	There will be suffering.

Table 48: Expressions within the second type of physical experience in comparison

	GENERAL EXPRESSION	SITUATED EXPRESSION	EMPHASIS	PRESENTIMENT
VERB	other	luma	gwaita	hulira
EXAMPLES	Ndi mulwáire.	Obulwáire buinúma.	Obulwáire bungwaisíre.	Mpúlira obulwáire.
LITERAL INTERPRETATION	I am ill.	Illness is biting me.	Illness caught me.	I feel/hear illness.
APPROX. TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	I am a bit sick.	I am ill.	I suffer because of severe illness.	I think I am getting ill.

The following figures summarize the use of the three verbs of perception within the domain of physical perception: figure (7a) gives an overview of the uses when speaking about the body and figure (7b) shows the organization of the verbs of perception within the domain of physical perception.

Figure 7a: When speaking about the body: the verbs of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear', *gwaita* 'catch; hold' and *hunya* 'smell (bad)' within the domain of physical experience[121]
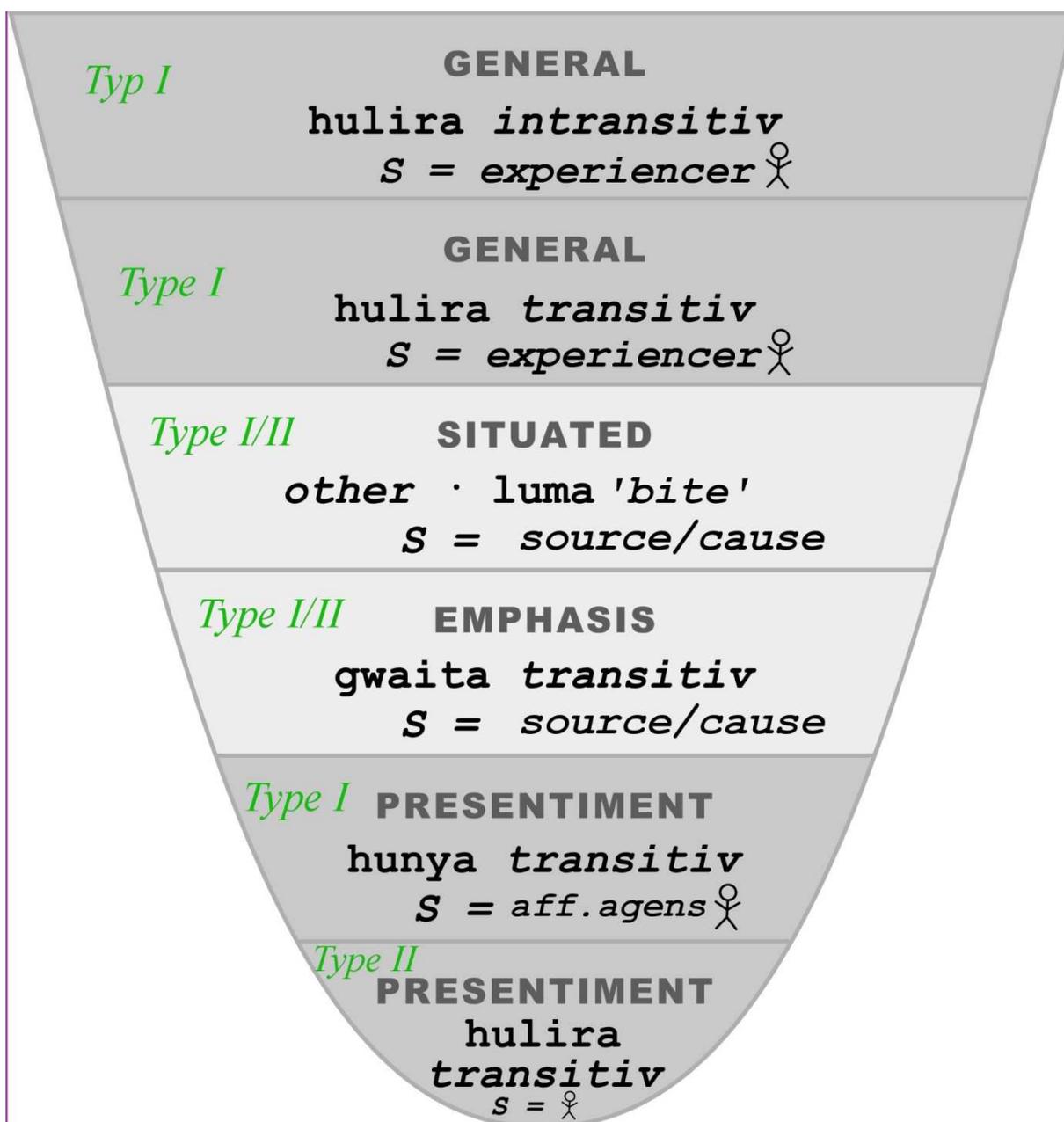
The figure illustrates discourse in the form of an inverted pyramid insisting on levels of epistemic needs depicted as rows. In green letters, the two types of physical experience are indicated: type I is the non-spiritual physical experience consisting of fatigue, hunger, thirst and pain, while type II is the spiritual physical experience consisting of pregnancy, illness and death. Reading from top to bottom, the first two rows are labelled 'general', meaning general physical condition. The first row contains the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' in intransitive uses, which is employed to refer to physical perception resulting from an unspecific source/ cause. The second row includes the same verb in the transitive form which is employed to refer to physical condition resulting from a specific cause; in this case the nominal phrase appearing in the position of the object realizes the thematic role of source and/ or cause. These two rows describe the constructions used to refer to various kinds of non-spiritual physical experience (Type I). The next two rows illustrate constructions which are used to refer to

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[121] Source: Thanasoula 2011, data compilation.

both types of physical experience, for this reason these two rows share the same hue. They contain the two most preferred ways of referring to physical experience: speaking about actual, specific and / or personal suffering, the speakers prefer to use other lexical means which are not verbs of perception: the most frequently employed verb is *luma* 'bite'. The row labelled 'emphasis' illustrates the speakers' preference to use the tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' with the noun, meaning the source/ cause of suffering appearing in the position of the subject. The next two rows illustrate the case of presentiment regarding suffering: in case of the first type (non spiritual physical experience) the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' is used and for predicting the second type of spiritual physical experience, the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel/hear' is employed. In both cases of predicting physical experience, the noun appearing in the position of the subject contains a human entity thus realizing the thematic role of Affected Agens.

The next figure illustrates the semantic maps of the three verbs of perception according to their use and meaning within the domain of physical experience:

Figure 7b: The verbs of perception within the domain of the body[122]
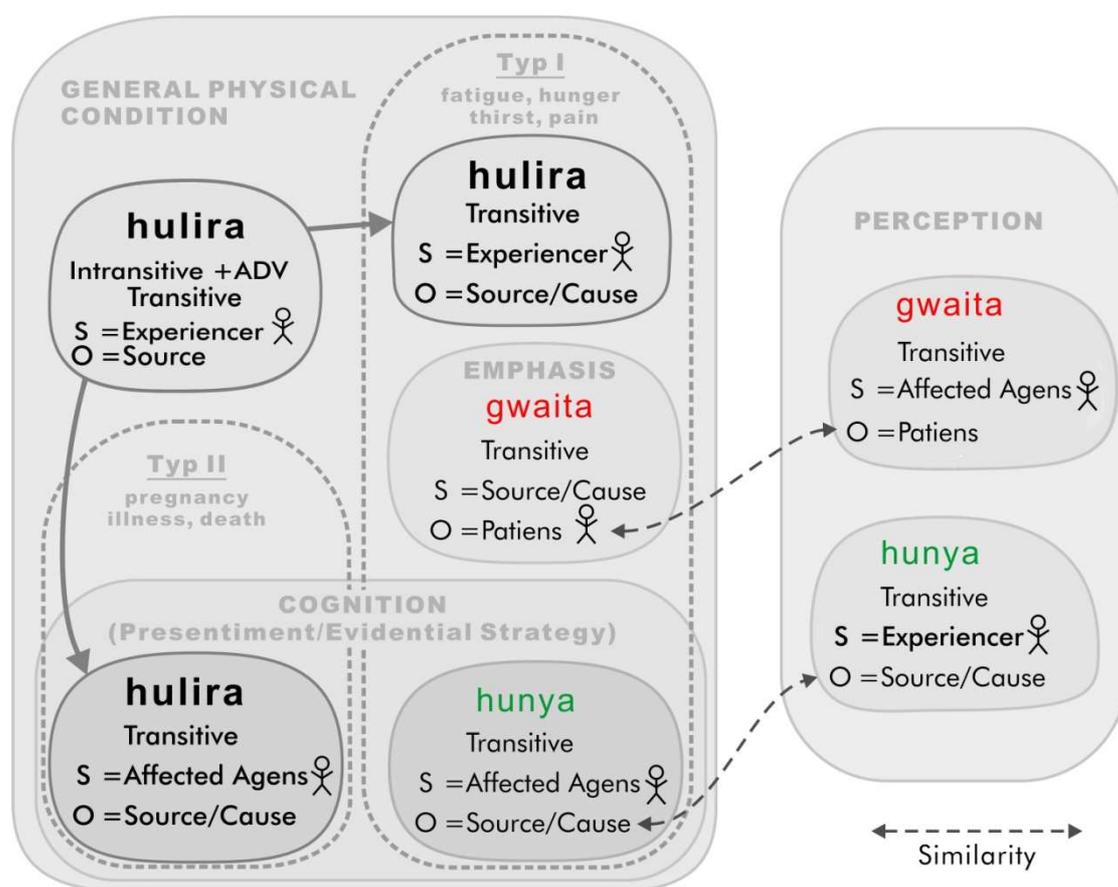
The figure illustrates the domain of physical experience on the left, which consists of three areas: the broader marked in light grey represents general physical experience and bodily conditions. Within this domain the two types of suffering are marked through interrupted lines. The holistic verb of perception *hulira* 'feel, hear' is employed to express general physical experience, further it is the preferred means to refer to non-spiritual physical experience (type I) as well as it is employed as an evidential strategy with respect to spiritual physical experience (type II). Only in general expressions the holistic verb appears in intransitive sentences accompanied by adverbs; in both other ways of use it appears in

transitive sentences in which the human entity utilizes the subject. In case of presentiment (Type II) the underlying thematic role Affected Agens (Subject) reflects the fact that in this case the human entity is not experiencing but predicting a physical condition related to the spiritual world. The not-interrupted arrows visualize the tight but semantically vague relation of the three uses of the holistic verb within the domain of physical experience.

The use of the tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' for creating emphasis and the use of the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell(bad)' as an evidential strategy are illustrated within the area representing the non-spiritual physical experience (Type I). To the right the area labelled 'perception' is included for convenience: the arrows between the domain of physical experience and the domain of perception illustrate the links that support the polysemy of these two verbs. In case of the tactile verb it is the thematic role of Patiens utilized for the human entity in object position that motivates the underlying metaphorical process for emphasis. In case of the olfactory verb hunya 'smell (bad)' the thematic role of source/ cause utilizing the object links the domain of perception with the evidential use within the domain of physical perception: again the thematic role Affected Agens reflects the fact that the human entity does not experience but predicts a physical condition of type I.

The figure visualizes the difference between the holistic verb and the other two verbs of perception as used within the domain of physical experience: while the former appears in various contexts and only through the surrounding context it is possible to identify the meaning of the verb, in case of the tactile and olfactory verbs the polysemy consists in only one level for each verb.

This analysis allows the prediction of the verbal meanings according to their uses, and accounts for the innate evaluation of the body and its´ affairs as described by the speakers.

4. Emotion

This chapter discusses emotion as a domain of experience with special focus on the relation between emotion and perception as expressed by the use of language. We will see that besides the ample linguistic expressions used to refer to emotional experience, the language of perception and precisely the use of the verbs of perception within the domain of emotion are employed to express the speakers´ particular attitude, involvement and/ or evaluation of the emotion referred to. From the speakers´ point of view, emotional states and responses are located within the discourse of balance as key experiences. Emotions link individuals to each other hence they must be interpreted within the social frame. In order to anticipate the discrepancy between the local conception and evaluation of emotion and scientific approaches of the same matter section, 4.1 gives an overview of concepts developed to define emotion and explore the relationship between emotion and language and outlines the methodological challenges emerging in the research of the language of emotion. Section 4.2 presents the linguistic means employed to express various emotional states in Lushese while section 4.3 summarizes the use of the verbs of perception to express emotions.

4.1 Notes on language and emotions

Aside from the individual emotional states and bodily responses being core subjects of psychological and neurological studies, further interdisciplinary studies involving linguistic, literary and historical research have led to the acceptance of cultural impact on human emotions. Language is the main source of both the individual expression and the cultural interpretation of emotions; the following pages illustrate the scientific discourse of the relation between emotion and language as well the way Lushese expresses emotions from a culture-internal perspective.

Emotion can be defined as a state of mind, an embodied experience and as social interaction. It is a complex notion oscillating between conscious and unconscious and between internal and external world, which reflects subjective impressions and responses as well social norms and values. Recent studies underline the importance of emotions with respect to various aspects; their function for survival and their role in socialization processes begs the question of to what extent human emotions should be acknowledged as different from animal emotions and which emotions should be considered as fundamental human emotions. The linguistic research on emotions reflects upon these questions by looking for linguistic equivalents to basic human concepts of emotion and by evaluating cross linguistic variety and differences both with respect to linguistic means and concepts as determined by culture; models based on a social approach link the term "emotion" to the notion of personality and the concept of the collective mind. In line with the social approach, the focus of research concerns the interrelation between private experience, culture- and language- specific conventions as well as how these elements impact the conceptualization of emotion. Social and anthropological studies focus on the cultural description and social evaluation of it and based on that, its linguistic representation rather than the physical manifestation or "feelings" that accompany emotion. Section 4.1.1 gives an overview of universalist´ views on language and emotion as well as alternative approaches of the issues which include social parameters. Section 4.1.2 outlines the scientific work on language and emotion with special reference to African languages, while in section 4.1.3 some notes on methodological issues will be discussed to introduce how the theatrical method contributed to the study of emotions in Lushese.

4.1.1 Looking for the basic emotions

The prime role of emotion in communication and socialization is investigated from an interdisciplinary perspective and it expands far beyond the human species. Considering human socialization as a process that separates human from other beings (that consequently have non-human thus their own way(s) of socialization) requires that the discussion concerning basic emotions will be limited to the human species. This introduction is necessary to make clear that the scientific debate on emotion integrates other species, both with a focus on shared emotions and with a focus on emotional reactions to certain events. With the term "basic emotion", one could define only emotions shared by most or all species; consequently, the term "human emotion" can define only emotions that humans do not share with other species. Despite similarities and shared experiences between human and other species when it comes to emotions, the human way of perception, expression, recognition and evaluation of emotions must be reexamined as the precondition for human socialization. As basic emotions then are the ones considered to be pan-human albeit analogous with the emotional behaviour of other species.

Research on the nature of emotions has a long diachronic tradition and includes philosophical, psychological and biological perspectives. Within European culture, the impact of Christianity has been crucial for the conceptualization of emotion. The implication that the spirit and its products, e.g. thoughts and ideas, furthermore it´s power, e.g. control, are divine, while the diabolic and the sinful origin in the body and its products, both its necessities and feelings, has been a dominating schema in the Christian tradition. In concert with social Darwinism of the 19th century, science and society constructed an opposition which consisted of a 'white identity' conceived as rational, objective and cognitively operating, opposed to an 'identity of the others' characterized as being emotional, subjective and therefore incapable of logical decision and action. The historical and political aspect of the lower evaluation of emotions in relation to the ideal of "pure" cognition and the exploitation of the schema emotion vs. rational in order to legalize oppression and further construct a false imperative of "civilizing" and "rationalizing" the world´s peoples cannot be discussed further here, since it would tax the limits of the thesis; still it is necessary to recall that emotion concepts have a political impact and can be instrumentalized in order to gain, maintain and/or legalize power. We will see that from the Bashese point of view, the notion of power and precisely the social aspects of emotion are considered as central in order to understand the role of emotion both for individuals and for the society.

Research on universal human emotions can be summarized with two queries: first, which emotions should be regarded as pan-human and second, whether or not the shared emotional experiences account for shared linguistic and/or other means of expression and communication of emotions. The first question will be only briefly discussed here in order to provide the frame for the more extensive debate in section 4.1.2 on the second question as it pertains to emotions and language.

The following table gives an overview of scientific views regarding a universal set of emotions within the last century in chronological order. The table below may give the false impression that the mentioned authors have been working on the same project in an interactive and cooperative way and that the chronological line goes hand in hand with collective progress when, in fact, the authors listed below have worked on different scientific solutions for the same question and employ distinguished and even contradictory lines of argumentation. The set of six basic emotions by Ekman is the most broadly accepted and referred to by other scientists.

Table 49: Scientific Proposals on a set of Basic Emotions

AUTHOR	BASIC EMOTIONS
McDougall (1926)	Anger, care, disgust, elation, fear, subjection, wonder
Watson (1930)	Fear, love, rage
Mowrer (1960)	Pain, pleasure
Arnold (1960)	Anger, aversion, courage, dejection, desire, despair, fear, hate, hope, love, sadness
Izard (1977 & 1993)	Anger, contempt, disgust, distress, fear, guilt, interest, joy, shame, surprise
Plutchik (1980)	Acceptance, anger, anticipation, disgust, joy, fear, sadness, surprise
Panksepp (1982)	Expectancy, fear, rage, panic
Ekman et al (1982)	Anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, surprise
Hochschild (1983)	Joy, sadness, anger, elation, jealousy, envy, despair
Weiner and Graham (1984)	Happiness, sadness
Tomkins (1984)	Anger, interest, contempt, disgust, distress, fear, joy, shame, surprise
James (1984)	Fear, grief, love, rage
Gray (1985)	Anxiety, joy, rage and terror
Frijda (1986)	Desire, happiness, interest, surprise, wonder, sorrow
Oatley and Johnson-Laird (1987)	Anger, anxiety, disgust, happiness, sadness
Ortony & Turner (1990)	No set of basic emotions

The debate about what should be considered as 'basic' in terms of emotions is far more faceted than the choice of a universal set. The facial expression of emotions and whether there are patterns of pan-human recognition and interpretation of facially expressed emotions is an additional subject of the scientific discourse[123]. In addition, empirical evidence shows that various emotional events are culture-specific and determined by cultural values as well by specific ways of interaction in certain social settings. Theorists looking for universal principals of emotion do not deny this; however the way culture shapes emotion and determines physical perception and expression of emotion is still a field for pioneers. One of the main problems consists in the fact that in comparative research on how cultural parameters impact human emotions, the participants, both the researchers and the test persons mainly originate from only two cultures: the Western and the Far East Asian[124]. This limitation impacts both the results and their interpretation and moreover, it does not justify the universal aim, since only

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[123] On universal claims about facial expressions see the work of Ekman and Izard a. o.

[124] An overview of comparative data provides Prinz 2004.

evidence from two human cultures amongst all human cultures is examined. A further considerable but broadly neglected limitation of various studies on emotion, as well of cognition and behaviour in general, consists in the sample of participants: with respect to the majority of psychological, neurological and further related studies both the groups of researchers and of test persons belong to a quite specific class of white males with academic background. In their critical article about this instantance and its impact on universal claims regarding psychology as well as the research of the language of emotion, Henrich, Heine and Norenzayan (2010) characterize this class as "the WEIRDest people in the world", the acronym standing for "Western Educated Industrialized Rich Democrat" (Henrich, Heine & Norenzayan 2010: 61) and underline that the implicit generalizations based on a thin slice of humanity show a lack of epistemic vigilance (ibid. 63).

The questions of consciousness and intensity further open the door for scientific controversy: within this discourse, 'emotion' is termed as unconscious states, while 'feeling' is termed as conscious states. Within this thesis, this kind of opposition will not be considered: emotion and feeling are meant and will be used as synonyms, because the linguistic expression of emotions presupposes consciousness (on this issue, see Damasio 2000 & 2010). Wierzbicka and Enfield (2002) make a difference between 'emotion' being a Western concept, and 'feeling' as being a universal prime: this approach will also not be considered here, since this dissertation has no ambition of making universal claims.

The Appraisal Theory provides an alternative model for understanding emotion which focuses on the question of why people react differently in similar situations (Arnold 1960). The link between personality, individual experience and the perception of a given situation with respect to emotional reactions is of crucial importance in this theory. The past, the expectations, the personal motivation and intention of a person all influence his or her emotional reactions and interaction within specific cultural and social settings. Emotion consists of three components: a) the relational component that includes the given situation, b) the motivational component that means the role and intentions of the person within the given situation, and c) the cognitive component that involves the person´s evaluation of the given situation and the person´s reflection, how salient the happening may be within the own life[125]. Further aspects of emotion are considered urgency, control and power (Scherer et al 2001), responsibility and motive consistency (Roseman & Smith 1996) as well as automatic processes of emotional reaction.

The sociologist Arlie R. Hochschild (1983) opened the field for research of the social components within emotional events and in her work she continues to investigate the impact of social and political parameters both on collective conceptualizations and on individual experience of emotions[126]. Lisa F. Barrett,[127] on the other hand, categorically denies any natural or biologically based hypothesis on emotions and claims that emotion events are nothing but constructed: in her Conceptual-Act-Model, she defines emotion as a mental event that is constructed by four systems. The four components of emotion as a mental event in her model are: a) a core affect; b) conceptualization; c) linguistic expression; and d) executive control. The four systems work interactively and produce a large variety of mental events, only a few of which we use to label "emotions". Her main critique on the universalist´s approach of emotion concerns two main aspects: the hypothesis of an objective, pan-

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[125] See the analysis of the three components and further implications of this model in Lazarus 1991; each component is developed further by various other authors. Lazarus is a prominent theoretician of the structure model of appraisal, but within the theory other authors work on process models of appraisal. This scientific opposition will not play a role in this thesis.

[126] For an analysis of the synchronic link between the markets and the intimate self see Hochschild 2012.

[127] Lisa F. Barrett is a leading researcher at the Interdisciplinary Affective Science Laboratory of the Northeastern University in Boston. Among the rich publications by she and her team, I summarized here the basic concepts of the developed model according to Barrett 2006 and Barrett, Lindquist & Gendron 2007.

human, physically-based experience and the hypothesis of unconscious emotion: both concepts are in her view scientific constructions that lack justification through empirical data. Paolo Santangelo arguing for a primarily social and cultural interpretation of human emotions outlines the following:

> Human beings bear elementary drives and specific interests as aspects of their original nature, and above these they assume various normative structures from society, which are internalized as models and expectations. This means that the root of behaviour is in these drives, but consciousness, the conscience, decisions, justifications, and the representations of themselves and their emotions all resort to the intellectual and symbolic tools supplied by the given society and its culture. This means that even "spontaneous" phenomena like emotions in fact are "constructed" on the basis of cultural events. (Santangelo 2009: 15)

The ongoing scientific debate on the nature and the manifestation of human emotion impacts linguistic studies on emotion to a great extent: theoretical assumptions lead to different choices of methodological tools and to different analysis of the data. Cognitive linguists rather reflect in their work the universalists´ questions regarding emotion whereas anthropological linguists apply theories based on various components in order to integrate specific cultural concepts on emotion. The methodological dilemmas and the solutions striven for during the fieldwork for this study will be discussed in section 4.1.3. In closing on this brief overview of scientific views on emotion, I would like to highlight the lack of data from areas beyond the Western and East Asian societies as a major issue in my eyes; the present chapter aims to provide detailed information on the conceptualization and linguistic expression of emotions in one of the many neglected areas of the world in order to broaden our understanding of human emotion and to contribute to future comparative studies. In order to sketch the theoretical groundwork of this chapter, the next section provides an overview of linguistic approaches to emotion with special reference to the research of African languages.

4.1.2 Language and emotion in cognitive linguistic theories

Among the various theories on language and emotion, the Conceptual (or Cognitive) Metaphor as developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) has been most influential for the development of cognitive linguistics: the authors introduce the idea that metaphors are not just linguistic means, but also that the linguistic reflections of metaphors correspond to culturally influenced image schemata that govern the perception and evaluation of the speakers and, consequently, the way they speak. Conceptual metaphors are mental solutions for understanding something effectively: they are based on the link between a domain well-known to the speaker and a new domain that the speaker constructs by using tools (s)he has already developed for the known-domains. The analogy is created between the well-known incident, which functions as source domain for the metaphor and a new incident, which is the target domain of the metaphor. Conceptual metaphors are considered as prevalent to communication and are not limited within linguistic communication. The linguistic metaphor is considered to be only a surface manifestation of conceptual metaphors. The correspondence between source domain and target domain is labeled as 'mapping': mapping is also considered a mental activity which serves as a precondition to language and is based on fundamental human experience[128](see also in 1.1.2) .

Within the theory of conceptual metaphors, emotion is considered to be an aspect of embodied cognition that governs the link between sensory/bodily experience and the individual´s behaviour both in terms of uncontrolled reactions and motivation towards goal-oriented actions. Zoltan Köveszes summarizes the critical arguments regarding the standard conceptual metaphor theory that consist of:

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[128] For a summary and a bibliographic sample of the classical Theory of Metaphor see Lakoff 1992.

a) the methodological problem of emphasizing the role of concepts rather than focusing on the meaning and use of words; b) the preference of a top-down direction of analysis instead of a bottom-up analysis; c) the aim that metaphors have a super-ordinate status with respect to meaning and are not considered as part of the basic level of meaning creation; and d) the emphasis on universal assumptions regarding embodied metaphors and the neglect of cultural parameters that determine bodily experience (Kövecses 2002, 2008). The conceptual metaphor of the human body as a container for emotions as proposed by Lakoff is adopted and developed by Kövecses and defined as follows:

> The container image defines an "inside-outside" perspective for the human body. This perspective seems to be at least a near-universal. Consequently, emotions in many cultures throughout the world are seen as occurrences inside the body (see, for example, Kövecses 1995). The container image schema also defines a large and varied set of metaphorical implications for the comprehension of emotion in general. (see Kövecses 1998: 133)

Another universal (and at the same time cultural) approach to the relationship between emotion and languages is provided by Anna Wierzbicka and her team who first criticize that the literature on emotions often contrasts biology with culture, as if the two were mutually exclusive (Wierzbicka & Harkins 2001:18-19) and suggest that:

> The emotional world or emotional universe of the speakers in Chinese, Russian, Mbula or Malay is much richer than just their set of lexical labels for particular feelings. Emotion talk or talk about people´s feelings- one´s own or other people´s feelings or both- may receive greater or lesser emphasis in each social setting, but in every language examined thus far, people don´t just name feelings: they have recourse to a whole realm of discourse about human feelings and their manifestations. (Wierzbicka & Harkins 2001:18-19)

In her study of emotional universals Wierzbicka (1999) proposed a set of working hypotheses on language and emotion. Kövecses provides an overview of the concepts developed in linguistic research on language and emotion (Kövecses 2000: 1-19); in this overview he classifies the approach of Wierzbicka as a prototype approach and criticizes that the role of metaphorical and metonymic understanding is not considered in the model (ibid: 12-13 and 189). In his alternative model of conceptual metaphor, Kövecses proposes a new synthesis of the aspects influencing the relation of language and emotion:

> The cognitive, pragmatic and bodily factors together provide the key constituents of the experience of emotion in human society for beings working under certain biological pressures, with a particular brain and cognitive system for handling these pressures, communicating in language or otherwise under certain pragmatic conditions, and having a particular kind of body. It is not really possible to take any one of these factors out from a comprehensive view of human emotions. They jointly define and constitute what we as human beings experience as emotion. (ibid: 189-190)

He considers three large systems hierarchically related to each other that govern the conceptualization and linguistic manifestation of emotion: a) the force dynamic system; b) the event-structure metaphor; and c) the general conceptual system. The first system consists of a mapping between the experience of physical and external forces and the experience of emotion as an internal force. The event structure aspect involves causation: forces cause events and consequently, events describing emotion reflect force dynamics. Since the force dynamics metaphor and the event structure metaphor are parts of the

general conceptual system, the latter determines how general dimensions of the emotional experience, like control, existence and intensity, will be manifested within the domain of emotion (ibid: 192-193). Control should be considered as a multidimensional issue within the domain of emotion: "Control is a complex notion that in the realm of emotion, it can be broken down into at least three parts, or stages: attempt at control, loss of control, and lack of control (Kövecses 1998: 141)". The author underlines that the language of emotion does not have an exclusive set of specific metaphors and compares the language of emotion with the linguistic expression of human relationships, morality and rational thought indicating the tight relation between the ways of conceptualization of various mental activities (Kövecses 2001: 197).

The linguistic strategies of African languages covering the domain of emotion have engaged scientists the last four decades with special focus on the role of body-part terminology within this domain. The theories influenced, to a great extent, African studies on emotion and language; the most prominent, with reference to the impact on African studies, have been the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff & Turner 1989) and the Theory of Grammaticalization (Traugott 1982, Heine & Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991). Further, the concept of psycho-collocation, briefly 'psi' (Matisoff 1986) for the analysis of poly-morphemic expressions referring to emotional events, influenced African studies on emotion and languages (Heine 1993, Dimmendaal 2002).

The rise of cognitive linguistics in the 90s resulted in publications that depict universal claims and provide evidence for the relation of language and emotion in African languages (see Reh 1998 for Dholuo, Amberber 2001 for Amharic, Taylor & Mbense 1998 for Zulu, Ameka 2002 on jealousy in Ewe, 2004 for a comparison between Ewe and Twi and 2005 for a comparison between Likpe and Ewe, Kraska-Zlenk 2005 for Swahili, Ibriszimow & Zulyadaini 2008 for the association of food with happiness in Afro-Asiatic languages and two recent publications dedicated to emotion in African languages, namely Pawlak 2009 and Batic 2011[129]. Various scholars discuss precisely two matters within the domain of emotion: the polysemies of visual and auditory verbs of perception and the location of emotions within the body. The polysemy of the auditory verb in African languages is broadly attested both in the domain of emotions as well in the domains of cognition and social interaction. While visual perception allows less metaphorical meanings compared to the rich semantics of auditory verbs, the semantic paths rather relate vision to social interaction or to cognition than to emotion (see Agyekum 2005 for Akan); this reflects to a great extent the universalists´ views of the semantics of perception. With regard to the localization of emotion with respect to the human body, many examples in African languages illustrate that inner organs are conceived as the locus of emotion; often these are the liver, the stomach and the heart (see Heine& Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Kilian-Hatz & Schladt 1997, Reh 1998, Dimmendaal 2002, McPherson & Prokhorov 2011 among others). Further attributes associated with the relevant location may play a significant role, like colour, motion and/or temperature (for examples in Nilo-Saharan and Bantu languages spoken inter alia in Uganda in comparison see Dimmendaal 2002, on emotion, colour and qualities in Hausa see Baldi 2011).

With respect to the research of perception and emotion in African languages, the urgency stems from the lack of data. In addition, the theoretical and methodological choice of the researchers in this field seems to be a paradox; while the majority of publications are orientated to general scientific debates and present a limited number of case studies in order to falsify or verify universal claims by applying universalist's methods of gathering and comparing linguistic data, all authors emphasize the importance of cultural background and social interaction (the social aspect becomes increasingly

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[129] A bibliography of emotion in African languages cannot be provided here, mainly because many contributions published in local and/or smaller series are not accessible.

relevant especially after the publication on politeness and the relevance of social norms and practices for the use of language by Brown and Levinson 1987). The paradox consists of the unchallenged adoption of universalist´s perspective at the same time with the general consensus that cultural and social parameters specifically impact the concepts of emotion and consequently the linguistic manifestation of emotional events. Aside from the quantity of data, the quality of data is also an issue; in depth studies that aim to reflect the speakers´ concepts and attitudes regarding emotion are sporadic at best.

4.1.3 Notes on methods

In her introduction to a comparative volume regarding emotion in the languages and literature of Asian and African cultures, Nina Pawlak mentions the lack of data and underlines the importance of social interaction for expressing emotions:

> Though the languages of the world have still not been fully investigated in terms of their lexical inventory and systemic means of coding emotions, the pragmatic aspects of language and their connection with cultural practice open a new area of research. It means that not only language, but also various forms of social activities manifest the emotion fundamentals of societies. This recognition is essential for understanding the differences in emotion codes and their cultural background. (Pawlak 2009: 9)

Recognizing the importance of social interaction for understanding the relationship between language and emotion is indeed a necessary theoretical step which leads to the more urgent methodological question: how can social interaction be elaborated upon in the fieldwork of a linguistic documentation? In this section, I introduce briefly the main challenges I faced during the fieldwork when it came to emotions, and discuss how I applied various methods with special reference to the theatrical project.

Social parameters have numerous implications for the use of language especially when it comes to expressing emotion, since it is an experience personal and intimate on the one hand, but also shaped by collective values and sharing on the other. Among various social parameters, I identified the following parameters as the most influential when I tried to document and understand the language of emotion: a) my own status among and relationship with the speakers; b) the relationships of the speakers to each other; c) the personal involvement or the distance of the speakers with respect to an emotional event; d) the reasons of the speaker to speak about emotion, e.g. his or her motivation and intention to communicate (about) emotions; and e) the evaluation of emotions and its´ influence on the speakers´ identity and auto-promotion.

Being young, white and female determined the asymmetric relationship between the Bashese and me, which led our discussions about emotion to dead end: first, the Bashese had the intention of guiding and teaching me in good manners, so often enough speaking about emotions was completely unexplored, since it was considered as an issue quite inappropriate for a young girl like me; second, the speakers did not trust me enough to share their personal feelings, so even when I had the opportunity to speak spontaneously about actual emotional events in their life and the life of the neighborhood, the reactions were short, reserved and polite and for the same reason, the speakers felt no need to instigate conversation with me concerning their own or other peoples´ feelings; and finally, the speakers know the Christian evaluation of certain feelings and reflected it vehemently, in order to appear as good Christians. In general, when it came to emotions, it was obvious in many dialogues that the speakers wished to show their most dignified, wise and respectful side. Further, some speakers often chose not to comment upon some expressions I repeated to them after having heard them by other speakers. It was not difficult to understand that this has to do with gender: men said, for

example, "we don´t say this, this is wrong" for certain expressions I heard among women, while women, when asked about some expressions that men said to me, just laughed without saying anything except that I always ask "funny things". Very soon, I had no idea what exactly to ask and to whom.

During the second period of fieldwork 2010 I started to work with the speakers on the questionnaire I developed myself (see Appendix II) as well on the scenarios for emotions developed by the Language and Cognition Group of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen (field-manual 2009, pp 28-30). I received surprisingly consistent answers that were limited in the use of the verb *hulira* 'hear; feel' in combination with various nouns. I was irritated though by the fact that different linguistic expressions in Luganda were translated in Lushese by using only the one mentioned linguistic pattern (*hulira* in combination with various nouns). Further, I noticed that when it came to emotions, speakers of Luganda more often used other linguistic means than the one already mentioned briefly above; for example, locative constructions or intransitive verbs as well the body parts *omutima* 'heart' and *kibumba* 'liver'. Still the Bashese did not use any of the two body parts to refer to emotion.

In 2010, it was possible to organize meetings with four speakers; the priority as defined by the Bashese was directed towards singing rehearsals in order to prepare songs for recording. I was seeking an occasion to observe the interaction between speakers, since until that moment I had only experienced one on one interactions between the speakers and me. At the end of the first singing session, I said how happy I was that we could meet together and expressed my hope that the speakers also felt good about it. The speakers reacted benevolently with short polite answers and smiles and the one who was regarded as the most respectable person spoke in an official manner representing the others and said that they also appreciated my efforts. Suddenly, another speaker interrupted him and made a joke that I could not understand[130] and then, as the person who had the best time during this meeting, he must announce that he feels really great pleasure singing the old songs and that he is very happy meeting the others for a different occasion other than Sunday church or funerals. This was the first time I heard the derived form of the holistic verb (*hulika*) used to express an actual, personal and relatively intensive emotion in Lushese. I tried to immediately ask about this and discuss the expression used, but this was ignored in a nonchalant way since the speakers continued to speak mainly about music. When I asked about this scene in later sessions, some speakers explained that such differences have to do with dialectal variation, others rejected the one or the other expression as being grammatically incorrect in Lushese; it was also considered that the various alternations exemplified the influence of Luganda and other Bantu languages. This sole personal moment was not enough to start a productive discussion about feelings and the questionnaire and the stories of fictive emotional situations didn´t reveal anything further.

This incident encouraged me to include biographies in the theatrical project carried out 2011 in order to let the Bashese speak about emotions within the frame of their own lives; since the collective aim of the project was to recall the past, memories would awake feelings. We had engaged biographic questioning already during the first morning of work (April 13, 2011), but my expectations regarding how much the speakers would divulge about feelings were too optimistic: the speakers spoke in personal ways and expressed spontaneous feelings, which was for my work already a big progress, but they didn´t speak about emotions because other issues were much more relevant in their view.

During the project, the actors, the assistants and I decided to dedicate the second to the last day (April 19, 2011) to emotion. We tried to introduce the issue by speaking about reactions to the weather and

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[130] Later I was told that the joke consisted of the following comment: „You speak like a teacher but I am a carpenter". The sentence has been evaluated as funny by all others, inuding the addressee.

the seasons, but had limited success: the Bashese 'read' the weather in terms of preparing appropriate actions or in association with physical conditions like pain or fatigue and not as a phenomenon related to feelings. In an alternative approach, we asked the speakers to reflect upon stories told about beloved persons and islands as well as fears, and explaining their feelings in relation to those reflections created a more productive discussion. Still, with the exception of two speakers, the rest were concerned with social norms considering the reference to feelings in public. The first was Nampomwa Nalongo, who spoke about anger and disappointment in her youth. She did not make any effort to summarize briefly or to speak politely; she even ignored thrice the drum-signal which was agreed upon to function as a speech-time indicator. She was interrupted by other speakers, and being annoyed, she chose to end abruptly saying that she felt disappointed. No one wanted to comment upon this and the following speakers continued without referring to Nampomwa or her story. The second speaker who decided to circumvent social norms during this discussion, was the last speaker in the line, Erasto Lubandi. He said that he shared the disappointment of Nampomwa, because everybody speaks too formally and presents deeds which put them in very positive light. He would like to hear something more personal and, for example, to speak about how he felt not being able to play with other children, because of his disability. He wanted to give his speech-time to Nampomwa so that she could finish her story, because, in his eyes, her story has been the only interesting one. The other speakers started then to defend themselves saying that no one had the intention to insult anyone, but that the rule of keeping time must be the same for everyone. Nampomwa denied taking the time of Lubandi and we skipped to further issues. After the tea break, when the Bashese were supposed to define the content of the day's play for themselves, they chose and performed the biography of Nampomwa with her in the main role. They explained to us later that hers was indeed the most interesting story and that playing it was a way to rectify the interruption she experienced during the morning session.

The performance succeeded the hour and included various persons and scenes. The story tells how Nampomwa became a healer and begins with her difficulty to supply her family, when she was a young mother and since the father failed to do this. After her success in buying and selling on behalf of others on the street and from door to door, she tried to start up a small shop, but had problems with the owner of the shop, who didn´t want to cooperate with her and broke his word at the last minute, as well as with several (male) officials. She felt that this happened because she was a woman, which she performed in a monologue that ended the first act. Nampomwa found in her brother, Batongole Alex playing himself, the only person who supported her. Together with him she could realize her last chance: to apply the knowledge inherited by her mother and aunt regarding the healing properties of various plants. Nampomwa finished this act again with a monologue full of gratitude and positive feelings for the people who supported her. After a scene illustrating the mistrust that this occupation evoked in the beginning, the performance ended up with a synchronic scene at the place where she practices, with plenty of people waiting in the whole courtyard. The last monologue summarizes the story and ends with a dialogue between her and her brother in the style called Mikando: This is a very quick dialogue constituting answers to unsaid questions. Mikando is the name of a girl who knows everything, which is performed by the one speaker, while the other plays the role of an elder who is calling for Mikando´s help. The dialogue is performed as a funny play with spontaneous comments on the actual setting and reference to the present people and has educative character. At the end of Nampomwa´ s story Mikando spoke about the happiness of having done a long journey from island to island and arrive safe back home. The long journey was meant as a metaphor for a person´s life.

The performance provided numerous examples of emotive speech and language of emotion in general. In my eyes, the most important contribution consisted of the story itself, providing rich and concrete context, vivid characters and their deeds. In the following weeks, I could refer to Nampomwa´s story, point out feelings from different aspects and discuss the reaction of different characters or focus on

specific reactions within particular scenes. Later, reflection together with Nampomwa Nalongo and Batongole Alex and speaking about this story with other Bashese enabled me to understand the way they speak about emotions, because the story functioned as a common world of reference, while the performance has been a shared experience for us all. Suddenly, the speakers spoke vividly and with pleasure about their personal and other´s emotional states and reactions, about different evaluations of feelings within the plot, about events that happened during the rehearsal and the performance of Nampomwa´s story, or they reconstructed a debate regarding the means of performing in order to explain to me solutions they found to put emotions on stage[131]. In the later discussions, I had the possibility to ask directly about emotions and could experiment myself with various linguistic means that I had heard during the project in order to test the speakers´ reactions, especially in reference to Nampomwa´s story. The Bashese have corrected and commented upon my efforts and I asked them to explain their preference or rejection regarding various linguistic means. These discussions about emotions were very enlightening for me and they were possible only within the frame of the theatrical project and only after our collective experience that allowed us to create different types of relationship not common in our everyday life.

The methodological challenges discussed above as well as the solution in the form of encouraging, observing and speaking about performed events and staged feelings as adopted within my fieldwork underline the difficulty of collecting linguistic data within the domain of emotion: speaking of and about emotions is influenced not only by cultural values not necessarily shared between researcher and speakers of the target language, but further by the social roles between the participants and between groups of participants, as well as by the individual but also collective experience and evaluation of emotional states and responses. Speaking of and about emotions cannot be separated from the motivation, attitude and self-awareness of the speakers in a given time within actual conditions; therefore a specific context of reference should be regarded as requirement for the exploration of the language of emotion. Still, creating this specific context is complicated if not impossible without breaking the trivial relationship between researcher and speakers and between the speakers themselves. The theatrical method allowed us to do so and it is significant that talking of and acting on and with emotions came up only at the end of the project, when we reached, through interaction, a new level of confidence.

Through the intensive interaction during the theatrical project I could allude and anticipate innate conceptions of emotion as expressed, performed and commented upon by the speakers, the summary of which indicate a folk theory on the essence and function of emotion as seen by the speakers. How people in general talk about an issue and the scientific analysis of the same subject constitutes two different ways to approach any matter. A seldom and therefore precious example of the relationship between expert theories and folk theories is presented by Kövecses (2000) in his work on the metaphors of emotion. He investigates the relationship between folk theories on emotion based on ordinary used language and scientific theories that are constructed to account for the same issue; this resulted (Kövecses 2000: 114) in the question of whether metaphors of emotion reflect cultural models, as aimed by Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), or constitute cultural models, as proposed by Quinn (1991) (Kövecses 2000: 115-122). He observes that the assumed discrepancy between folk theories and expert theories is oversimplifying a rather complex issue. He points out four aspects of the relationship between folk understanding and scientific theories: a) that scientific theories on emotion often elaborate at least one aspect of the folk model; b) that there is a positive correlation between the acceptance of scientific theories and the amount they overlap with folk models; c) that scientific

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[131] For example the arrogance of the "shop-owner" was indicated through his choice of greetings: he treated Nampomwa as if she were a child. He was sitting higher than others and was accompanied by mute persons who had only the role of being obedient to him.

models that explain emotions in terms of concepts missing from the folk understanding of emotion may appear more scientific but are less appealing in matters of intuition; and d) that scientific theories spread ordinary but mistaken beliefs of folk models out (ibid: 126-127). Kövecses is still reluctant to conude that expert theories constitute merely a structured variant of folk theories, since a number of scientific views don´t correlate at all with folk beliefs (ibid: 137f) and suggests that the investigation of the relationship between folk models and scientific approach should be more elaborated into the scientific analysis and include historical parameters in order to understand the development, the differences and similarities of emotion concepts (ibid: 138). The next session is an effort to present the folk theory of the Bashese on emotions and at the same time to elaborate some scientific aspects: Section 4.2 gives insight to the language of and about emotions.

4.2 Speaking about emotions in Lushese

Unlike many African languages including many neighbouring Bantu languages, in Lushese emotions are not associated with body-parts, especially not with the liver, which is a very common locus of emotion in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa. Body parts and the body as a whole are associated with the context of symptoms and the domain of various kinds of illness, physical, mental, psychological or metaphysical. While the body itself and its parts are conceived as indicators of balance and vitality (balance = health, no balance = illness), in addition, the body is conceived as a container that can be filled up with emotions. Further, the conceptual metaphor of emotion being a force determines the way of speaking about emotions: whether the speaker has the feeling of controlling or not being able to control the force of emotion makes a difference. The personal involvement or the distance of the speaker is the most important criteria in choosing the linguistic means for expressing emotions. When speaking in general of emotions, the speakers consistently used the expression that fits in the most contexts: the combination of *hulira* 'feel; hear' with certain nouns meaning various emotions. Also when it came to conversing in a semi-formal way about emotional events within the everyday life or with reference to neighbours, the Bashese constantly preferred linguistic means that are associated with neutral interpretations and don´t include implications regarding the attitude or evaluation of the speaker with respect to the referred emotional state.

When communicating about actual and/or personal feelings, rising either spontaneously during interaction or announcing and describing actual feelings, the speakers preferred to use either the stative derivation *hulika* of the perceptive verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' or the copula combined with a locative construction. On the other hand, when speaking about emotions of high intensity or about emotions that involve the speaker in an outstanding way, emphasis was created beyond voice, gesture and mimic, by the choice of linguistic means.

Speaking about frequency in terms of use within the domain of emotion can be intriguing: speakers speak about emotions when they are personally involved, when emotions are intense and when an emotion is relevant to the rest of an actual dialogue. The speakers do not speak about fictive emotions or emotional events that are distant to them. Further, in formal settings or certain settings within the family, it is often inappropriate to speak about emotions. There is a way to refer to emotions by implying low involvement, distant relationship, formal context and the intention of the speaker to appear neutral and there is a way to refer to emotions by communicating high involvement, intense emotion, close relationship, intimate context and high motivation of the speaker. The label General Expressions includes the distant way of speaking about emotions, while the term Situated Expressions includes the personal way of speaking about emotions. Both ways of expression must be considered as basic or unmarked, since the speakers use them with preference in the most dialogues (for the definition of these categories see in chapter one (1.1.4)).

Except for the linguistic means employed to communicate emphasis, the Bashese make use of the language to share information about sources of knowledge. In the context of evidential strategies the Bashese refer to feelings of other people and implicate at the same time how they know about it.

This section is organized as follows: section 4.2.1 illustrates happiness and sadness while section 4.2.2 is dedicated to the feeling of personal preference which includes liking and love. Anger is discussed in 4.2.3, fear in 4.2.4 and the emotion of shame and guilt in 4.2.5. All these emotions are related to cultural concepts and to social interaction. Section 4.2.6 illustrates jealousy as the emotion most influenced by cultural and social parameters. The uses of the verbs of perception are integrated in 4.2 to a great extent. The last part of this chapter, section 4.3, gives an overview of further uses of the holistic verb *hulira* 'hear; feel' and summarizes the meaning and the use of the verbs of perception within the domain of emotion.

4.2.1 Happiness and mourning

Conveying happiness in Lushese presupposes an occasion beyond the daily circumstances and events of the everyday life: happiness is associated with important events for the family, like birth and marriage or a reunion with beloved ones, or with outstanding achievements reached by the speaker or beloved persons, like a good school degree, the entrance in the university or a good job opportunity. In the same manner there is no sadness, but negative feelings and/or moods are associated with non-trivial events like death, serious sickness or remarkable bad luck thus the English term mourning is rather corresponding to negative emotions as described by the Bashese than the English term sadness. It is evaluated as rude, ungrateful or asinine to speak about what one calls sadness in other languages for reasons less important than the ones mentioned.

Two nouns correspond to the meaning 'happiness' in Lushese: *eisanyu* meaning 'a light form of being happy' and *ebyenya* meaning 'intense happiness'. There is no noun or other lexical form corresponding to the meaning 'sadness': Lushese employs an idiomatic expression that involves the noun *einaku* 'day' when it comes to speaking about sadness. This metaphor may be explained by the negative metaphoric association of the sun: the sun is evaluated as dangerous because it often results in extreme heat and dryness[132]. The examples below illustrate how speakers refer to happiness or sadness implying a distant attitude towards the emotion. The sentence in (411a) has been used to announce the marriage of a neighbor´s daughter while the sentence in (411b) involved information about the death of the house cat:

(411)   GENERAL EXPRESSIONS:

(a)   M-púlira   e-i-sányu.   (b)   M-púlira   e-i-náku.

   1SgPRES-feel/hear AUG-9-happiness   1SgPRES-feel/hear AUG-9-day

   'I am happy.'   'I am sad.'

The expressions above implicate the low involvement of the speaker with respect to the emotional state or the occasion that resulted in the feelings of happiness or sadness. They are often used in formal or semi-formal dialogues and in reports about the emotional state of persons not close to the speaker. The next example illustrates how the Bashese speak about personal, intense or actual feelings or about the emotional state of persons close to them. The underlying conceptual metaphor is that of the feeling being a location, a place. Linguistically, this is constructed by the use of the copula in combination with the locative pre-prefix *mu-*: in the case of happiness, only the noun *eisanyu* with light semantics can be included in this expression, but not the noun *ebyenya* with semantics of high intensity: the

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[132] On the negative association of sun in African languages see Heine & Stolz 1993 a.o.

speakers reject this combination as grammatically incorrect. On the other hand, the situated expression which is illustrated in (412b) has the specific meaning of grieving for somebody:

(412)   SITUATED EXPRESSIONS

      (a)   N-di   mw-i-sányu.   'I am happy (now)'.

             1SgPRES-be_happy   LOC-9-happiness

             Lit: I am in happiness.

      (b)   Ndi   mw-i-náku.   'I am grieving for somebody.'

             1SgPRES-be   LOC-9-days

             Lit: I am in day.

There is no scale of emphasizing sadness. The speakers explain that except for death and/or severe illness that causes death no other condition allows speaking about the feeling of sadness: lamenting about less important events is considered as inappropriate if not as a sign of weak character. Behaving like this (moaning without cause) can be dangerous: metaphysical powers may intervene to teach the sissy the true pain of unexpected death.

Happiness on the other hand can be emphasized through various means. The noun *ebyenya* 'intense happiness' cannot replace the noun *eisanyu* in a sentence with the locative construction (ex. a below): instead, the stative form of the perceptive verb *hulira* 'hear;feel' which is *hulika,* is employed to express actual and/or intense emotion. The expression in (413b) below is evaluated by the speakers as being almost synonymous to (412a) above, but it expresses a higher intensity of the feeling.

(413)   (a)   *N-di   mu-by-énya.   *I am very happy now.

             1SgPRES-be_happy   LOC-8-intense_happiness

      (b)   M-púli-ka   e-by-énya.   'I am very happy (now)'.

             1Sg-feel/hear-STAT   AUG-8-intense_happiness

The use of the stative verbal extension *-ka* instead of the basic active verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' implies loss of control: the more intense the feeling, the less the experiencer can control it. The morphological marking illustrates here the conception of emotion as a force. Intense happiness can be further expressed by the use of the noun *ebyeny*a in two ways. First, it can be utilized in the position of the subject of the verb *shinga* 'exceed' as shown in (414a); this expression can be reduced to the relative clause and thus used elliptically. It can also be used in combination with the verb *funa* 'bring' in the position of the object, whereas in the position of the subject occurs the source that results in the emotion as illustrated in (414b):

(414)   (a)   (M-púli-ka)   e-by-énya   e-bi-shínge-irè.

(1Sg-feel/hear-STAT)   AUG-8- intense_happiness   REL-8-exceed-PAST

Lit: I feel that happiness exceeded.

'I feel very happy; my happiness is overwhelming.'

(b)   E-m-bagà   y´   o-bu-golè   e-fúnya   e-by-énya.

AUG-9-marriage   9-(ASS) AUG-14-bride   9-bring   AUG-8-intense_happiness

Lit.: The marriage of our relatives from the bride´s side brought (us/me) happiness.

'We are/I am very happy because of the marriage of our relative from the bride´s side.'

As indicated in the example (414b) above, an important social event, like a marriage, is associated with collectiveness: the speaker uses the first person singular but implies that (s)he is happy as a member of a group and is thus sharing the feeling with other people.

Another means of emphasizing happiness consist in the use of an intransitive verb which is constructed by the lexical root *isanyu* and the stative suffix. This verb is used only in the past tense form:

(415)   EMPHASIS

Na-isányu-ki-irè   (íinyo).   'I am really (very) happy'.

1SgPAST-be_happy-STAT-PAST   (ADV)

The expression illustrated in (415) appears frequently because it is used to show politeness and as an appropriate response to good news. The same verb can occur with the causative suffix and in combination with an inanimate entity in the position of the subject and with a human in the position of the object as illustrated in (416a). Animate entities in the position of the subject are not allowed: the speakers evaluated such sentences as exemplified in (416b) as grammatically incorrect or immoral (or both):

(416)   INANIMATE SOURCE IN THE SUBJECT-SLOT, HUMAN EXPERIENCER IN THE OBJECT-SLOT:

(a)   O-ku-sáiga-gwo   gu-n-sanyú-sh-i(r)a[133].

AUG-15-love_like-2SgPOSS   15-1Sg-be_'happy-CAUS-A

'Your love/sympathy/affection makes me happy'.

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[133] The correct subject concord of Cl.15 is *ku-* and not *gu-*, which is the subject concord of Cl.3; also the preceding possessive suffix should be *–kwo* and not *–gwo* for the same reason; even so I transcribe both the suffix *–gwo* and the prefix *gu-* here as belonging to Cl.15 assuming a progressive assimilation caused by the consonant of the verbal root.

(416)   (b)   *O-n-sanyú-sh-i(r)a.

         2Sg-1Sg-be_happy-CAUS-A

         *You make me happy. (Obscene/ Incorrect)

Note that the majority of speakers just rejected the construction as grammatically incorrect and lapidary mentioned that the possible meaning of such a construction would be non-sense and/ or morally unacceptable; one person explained that the association emerging in case the source of the above construction is animate (including human, as in example (416b) above, animals and plants) is an obscene one: it would mean that the person gains sexual satisfaction by abusing an animate entity. While negating the sentence in (416a) simply generates the opposite meaning ('your love/sympathy/affection doesn´t make me happy'), the speakers underlined that the negative form of this verb although grammatically possible is not in use due to politeness; no one would use the negated form because it is evaluated as highly aggressive towards the hearer.

The linguistic means employed to express happiness and mourning as well as the absence of an emotion which would correspond to the English term sadness illustrate the influence of cultural concepts and social values: happiness may be expressed through various means, while emphasising the feeling provokes the use of less agentive morphological marking like the stative and causative suffixes and/ or the use of intransitive verbs. Emphasis is a reflection of emotion conceived as force: the more intense the feeling the lesser agency and control is associated with the human experiencer. On the other hand, there is no sadness but emotions and/or moods which are described as generally negative are primarily interpreted as a emotions caused by death or deadly danger: the finality of this experience doesn´t allow any kind of variation or emphasis, hence the language of mourning is restricted in two idiomatic expressions. Besides the cultural conceptions of happiness and mourning social parameters like politeness and morals influence the meaning and the use of linguistic means.

4.2.2 Personal preference (liking/love)

Love is conceived as part of a larger concept which includes any kind of personal preference: this means that to love somebody or something is expressed with the same linguistic means employed to express liking somebody or something. The meaning depends on the context and precisely on the entity in the object position which denotes the source of this feeling. Two verbs express personal preference: *saiga* and *kula,* both corresponding to the English meaning 'love; like'. The first is more frequently used than the second, but they are evaluated as being synonymous by the speakers[134]. The next example illustrates the interpretation of the verb *saiga* according to different contexts: (417a) illustrates a generic expression, while (417b) expresses the personal preference of a specific person in relation to her children:

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[134] This evaluation of the speakers may be due to the high degree of endangerment of the language that causes them not to remember all possible uses of these two verbs, on the base of which the semantic content of the verbs might be better defined.

(417)

(a)　　A-ba-niina　　ba-sáiga　　a-ba-hería　　ba-bwè.

　　　　AUG-2-mother　2-like_love　AUG-2-child　2-3PlPOSS

　　　　'Mothers (usually) love their children.'

(b)　　Maawe [135]　a-saiga　　mu-lendhi　　o-ku-shínga-ko　　mu-haalá-he.

　　　　mother　　3Sg-like_love　1-son　　AUG-15-exceed-PO　1-daughter-3SgPOSS

　　　　'The mother likes (her) son more than her daughter.'

The idea that the mother in (417b) above may love one child more than the other is not anticipated by the Bashese. In sentence (417b), the verb *saiga* is interpreted as liking: its implication is that the mother prefers the one child because of a concrete reason. The verb *kula* can replace the verb *saiga* without any change in meaning[136]. This is illustrated in the next examples, which include different kind of sources in the position of the object as well tense variation. In all sentences, the one verb can replace the other without any change in the meaning as shown paradigmatically in (418a) and (418b):

(418) GENERAL EXPRESSIONS

(a)　　N-ku-sáiga　　　　(íinyo).　　(b)　　N-kú-kula　　　　(íinyo).

　　　　1SgPRES-2Sg-love_like　(ADVmuch)　　　　1SgPRES-2Sg-love_like　(ADVmuch)

　　　　'I love/ like you.'　　　　　　　　　　'I love/ like you.'

(c)　　E-n-kóidhi　　　　o-gi-saig-íre　　　　mbálihay?

　　　　AUG-9-dog　　　　2SgPRES-9-love_like-PAST Q/LOC

　　　　'Where is the dog you love/like?'

(d)　　Si-kula　　　　ku-míira　　　　e-i-shámbu.

　　　　1SgNEG-love_like　15-swallow　　AUG-9-medicine

　　　　'I don´t like to swallow medicine.'

In combination with the verb *hulira* 'hear; feel' the verbs of personal preference express the meaning of an actual feeling: the speaker refers to his positive perception and evaluation of a specific situation, person or object. The next example illustrates a case when no specific source is overtly expressed: a general atmosphere is implied by this construction. The use of the construction is possible also when

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[135] Three nouns correspond to the English term 'mother': these are *niina, inyoko* and *maahwe* or *maawe*, all nouns of Cl.9. They are not synonymous: while *maawe* is the woman who gave birth, *niina* can be any woman appearing in the social role of a mother; *inyoko* is the mother of twins.

[136] Cf. the footnote 134 above on the meaning of these verbs. Again the speakers´view is one thing, the semantic relation of these two verbs another that unfortunately could not be clarified further.

an object is overtly expressed, as the object concord indicates (put in brackets). Note that the two verbs are not linked by a conjunction or by any other grammatical means, like a subjunctive:

(419) SITUATED EXPRESSION

        M-púlira   n-(ku-)sáiga/ n-(ku-)kúla.

        1SgPRES-feel/hear   1SgPRES-love_like

        'I like the present atmosphere here very much/ (I like you very much/ I am in love with you).'

The Bashese reject the idea of the kind of romantic love that is implied by the English phrase 'to fall in love with somebody': liking or loving somebody very much can be expressed through the same construction by adding the person in the object slot of the second verb, as indicated in the example above within the brackets.

If the subjects of the two verbs are not the same, then the speaker gives information about his knowledge regarding the other person´s preference. Again, there is no grammatical link between the two verbs. In the object slot of the second verb may occur the goal of the other person´s preference:

(420) EVIDENTIAL STRATEGY

        M-púlira   o-(mu)-sáiga.

        1SgPRES-feel/hear   2SgPRES-(3Sg)-love_like

        'I heard: you like/love something (somebody).'

Both verbs do not allow the construction of an abstract noun meaning 'preference', 'liking' or 'love' (421a). The speakers commented that the word *obusaiga* may be interpreted as pedophilia, in this case it is not considered as grammatically incorrect but as forbidden word (taboo). Only the infinitive forms with the prefix of the class 15 can be used as nouns (421b):

(421)   (a)   bu-saiga   *bu-kula   (b)   ku-saiga   ku-kula

               14-love_like   14-love_like   15-love_like   15-love_like

               'pedophilia'   *Abstract noun love_like   both: 'to like/love (INF)'

The only way to emphasize the feeling of personal experience beyond the facultative use of the adverb *iinyo* 'much' is to employ the stative form of the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' which is *hulika*: in this case, the subject of the two verbs must be the same or a conjunction must be used. The grammatically correct options are illustrated in (422a) and (422c), while (422b) includes the incorrect form:

(422)　　　(a)　　M-púli-ka　　　　　　　n-sáiga.

　　　　　　　　1Sg-feel/hear-STAT　　1Sg-like_love

　　　　　　　　'I like (the present atmosphere here (very much).'

　　　　　　(b)　　*M-púli-ka　　　　　　o-sáiga.

　　　　　　　　1Sg-feel/hear-STAT　　2Sg-like_love

　　　　　　　　(-)

　　　　　　(c)　　M-púli-ka　　　　　　nti　　o-sáiga.

　　　　　　　　1Sg-feel/hear-STAT　　Conj　2Sg-like_love

　　　　　　　　'I anticipate that you like (it here very much).'

Also in case of personal preference the social and cultural values are reflected by the use of linguistic means: this feeling includes any kind of affection while romantic love is not seen as a special form of personal preference thus there is no special expression for this. On the other hand maternal love is seen as naturally given, so that a sentence meaning that a mother doesn´t love her children never emerges: a mother may not like her children for specific reasons, but still her love is never out of question even in this case. The two verbs meaning 'like/love' seem to be synonymous, since they can replace each other in any case: the only difference rises out of the effort to derive abstract nouns based on these verbal roots: while the root *saiga* may produce a noun that has then the negative meaning of pedophilia hence it is considered as immoral and belongs to the prohibited vocabulary (taboo), the root *kula* cannot produce any kind of abstract noun. This indicates that there must have been a semantic difference, which cannot be reconstructed anymore. Again the emphasis of personal preference is accompanied by the use of the verb of perception with the stative extension which implies loss of control. In case of this emotion the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' can be employed for an evidential strategy: this interpretation presupposes two human entities in the subject positions of the respective verbs.

4.2.3 Anger
Anger can be expressed through two lexical roots that derive nouns and verbs. The difference of their meaning is characterized by the intensity of the feeling: the first root illustrated in (423a) is associated with intense anger and includes passive morphology, while the root in (423b) expresses a lighter form of anger and involves reflexive morphology. The examples illustrate the infinitive forms of the verbs (Cl.15) and the abstract nouns class 14 respective; the passive suffix in (423a) and the reflexive prefix in (423b) are marked in bold for convenience:

(423)

 (a) o-ku-súng-**wa**,   o-bú-sung-**wà** 'to be very angry; heavy anger'

   AUG-15- be_very_angry-PASS AUG-14-be_very_angry-PASS

 (b) o-kw-**é**-nyiga,   o-bu-nyíga 'to be angry; light anger'

   AUG-15-REFL be_angry AUG-14-be_angry

In both cases, the grammatical means indicate loss of agency and control: the semantic difference of intensity is reflected in that the higher the intensity, less agency is indicated. While the passive morphology of the root meaning heavy anger is included in the abstract noun, this is not the case for the reflexive marking of the verb meaning light anger.

Speaking about anger in a distinguished manner is rare and thus the following general expressions are not frequently used in the first person singular. The two intransitive verbs exemplified below (424) can be employed to refer to other people's feelings, while again the tendency is to choose a more emphatic way even in this case:

(424) General Expressions

 (a) H-aa-súng-w-írè.   (b) H-ée-nying-íre[137].

   3Sg-PAST-be_very_angry-PASS-PAST   3Sg-REFL-be_angry-PAST

   '(S)he was very angry.'   '(S)he was angry.'

The more frequent way of expressing anger in general involves the copula in combination with the locative pre-prefix *mu-* in case of heavy anger as shown in (425a) below or the use of the copula with the connective *na* 'and/with', which corresponds to the meaning 'have', as illustrated in (425b) in case of light anger.

(425) Situated Expressions

 (a) N-di   mu-bu-súngwa (b) N-di-nà   o-bu-nyíga.

   1SgPRES-be LOC-14-heavy_anger   1SgPRES-COP-CONN AUG-14-light_anger

   Lit: I am in heavy anger.   I am with light anger.

   'I am very angry now.'   'I am angry now.'

The metaphoric conception of emotion as locus is discussed also in former sections and is used in situated expressions employed to refer to any kind of feeling, pleasant or unpleasant. While the intensity of pleasant feelings is expressed by constructions with the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' or its stative counterpart *hulika*, the intensity of all unpleasant emotions except sadness can be expressed with the verb of perception *gwáita* 'touch; hold'. Although both lexical roots meaning anger

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[137] Only this form (3SgPast) is also attested as *heehíingire*; while this form all speakers accept and understand, the root *híinga* cannot be used to derive any other form within the verbal conjugation , or a noun or an infinitive form.

can be employed in the emphatic construction illustrated below, usually the verb with the meaning 'heavy anger' is preferred in this case:

(426) EMPHASIS

> O-bu-súngwa   bu-n-gwait-íire
>
> AUG-14-heavy anger   14-1Sg-hold/touch-PAST
>
> Lit: Heavy anger has caught me.
>
> 'I am extremely angry/really furious.'

The grammatical means of this construction reflect again loss of agency and control as well the concept of emotion as force: the human experiencer appears in the syntactic position of the object, while the emotion appears in the syntactic position of the subject.

Only the feeling of being very angry can be further intensified through a metaphor of taste; the emphatic construction involves the gustatory verb of perception *geedha* 'taste/try' followed by the verb meaning heavy anger in past form; the two verbs are not linked through grammatical means like conjunctions or subjunctive:

(427) EMPHASIS OF INTENSE ANGER

> N-géedha   n-súng-w-irè.
>
> 1SgPRES-taste   1SgPRES-be_very-angry-PASS-PAST
>
> Lit.: I taste, I am very angry.
>
> 'I´ve reached my limit of anger/I am furious.'

This expression which reflects the highest degree of anger involves the symbolism of tasting and/ or putting something (in this case a very intense unpleasant emotion) in the mouth: taste in this use can be seen as an act of incorporation where tasting anger symbolically means being anger. The symbolic interpretation rises out of the local concept of the body as a container, which in this case is full of the emotion. The one who tastes anger is not in person anymore, explain the speaker: the symbolism of incorporation expressed through the metaphor of taste underlines the concept of emotion as force, which in the highest degree of intensity totally occupies one´s body and suppresses the human entity. This condition is evaluated as very dangerous, not only because the person has absolutely no control of action and decision, but also because once the body is occupied by something else, evil spirits may catch the chance and enter: then the loss of the human entity may turn out to be permanent.

Coming to another use of the verbs of perception within the experience of anger the examples below illustrate evidential strategies. The constructions involve the two nouns meaning anger as objects of verbs of perception: in these cases the source of knowledge about other people´s emotion is indicated, as illustrated in the next three examples: the olfactory verb is associated with uncertainty, the holistic verb is associated with knowing by others and the visual verb is associated with knowledge because of personal experience:

(428) EVIDENTIAL STRATEGIES

    (a)   M-púnya   o-bu-súngwa/ o-bu-nyíga

           1SgPRES-smell_bad   AUG-14- heavy/ light anger

           'I sense there is going to be (a lot of) anger.'

    (b)   M-púlira   o-bu-súngwa/ o-bu-nyíga

           1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-14- heavy/ light anger

           'I heard there is (a lot of) anger.'

    (c)   M-bóina   o-bu-súngwa/o-bu-nyíga

           1SgPRES-see   AUG-14- heavy/light anger

           'I know, because I saw it with my own eyes: someone is (very) angry.'

The evidential meanings will be discussed further in the next section and summarized in the last section of this chapter.

4.2.4 Fear
The verb *tya* expresses fear and in the intransitive form, it means 'to be fearful or to be a coward', whereas in the transitive form it means to be afraid of somebody or something:

(429) GENERAL EXPRESSIONS

    (a)   N-tyà.   (b)   N-tyà   o-mu-sotà.

           1SgPRES-be_afraid   1SgPRES-be_afraid   AUG-3-snake

           'I am a coward.'   'I am afraid (of) snakes.'

With the reflexive prefix, the verb has the meaning 'to lack confidence':

(430)   N-ee-tyà,   si-sáiga   ku-háaya   ku-lu-sángo.

           1Sg-REFL-be_afraid   1SgNEG-like   15-speak   LOC-11-reason

           'I have no confidence, I don´t like to speak in formal meetings.'

Expressing actual fear involves the use of the perception verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' while emphasis is expressed by replacing it with its neutral form, as illustrated in the next two examples. In both cases the two verbal forms are not linked by grammatical means:

(431) SITUATED EXPRESSION

        M-púlira   n-tyà.   'I am afraid now.'

        1SgPRES-feel/hear   1SgPRES-be_afraid.

(432) EMPHASIS

M-púli-ka	n-tyà.	'I am very afraid now.'
1SgPRES-feel/hear-STAT	1SgPRES-be_afraid	

Emphasis can be further expressed by employing the verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold': in this case, the emotion occurs in the position of the subject and the human experience is implied by the object concord:

(433)   O-ku-tyà   ku-n-gwais-íre.   'I am very afraid.'

AUG-15-fear   15-1Sg-hold_touch-PAST

Lit.: Fear has grasped me.

Referring to the source of knowledge about other people´s fear is expressed by the three verbs of perception, with one difference regarding the interpretations of the visual and the holistic verbs: in the context of fear the visual verb doesn´t mean personal experience and attestation, but it expresses an assumption less justifiable than the assumption expressed by the use of the verb -*hunya* 'smell (bad)'. The holistic verb in turn expresses personal experience and attestation and the unknown by report of others:

(434) EVIDENTIAL STRATEGIES

(a)   M-púnya   o-kú-tyà.   'I sense (there will be) fear.'

1SgPRES-smell_bad   AUG-15-be_afraid

(b)   M-bóina   o-kú-tyà.

1SgPRES-see   AUG-15-be_afraid

'I suppose there may be (something that will cause) fear.'

(c)   M-púlira   o-kú-tyà.

1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-15-be_afraid

'I know, because I feel it on my own: (there is) fear.'

The speakers underlined the nature and importance of this emotion: fear functions as an alarm and may save your life. This is the reason why recognizing and interpreting signs of fear is evaluated as a crucial human competence. Visible signs of fear are considered as obvious; thus, just as many other signs are considered as being obvious like sweating, odour or trembling, they can be expressed as objects of the holistic verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear'. Ambiguous signs which are difficult to recognize are expressed through the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell bad', which is associated with uncertainty. The visual verb is employed to express that the speaker is assuming a threat but not recognizing the direct source of danger or sign of fear.

4.2.5 Shame and guilt

Shame and guilt are conceived as two sides of the same coin in Lushese: having done something wrong brings about shame and at the same time, the person can be seen as guilty by others. The following examples give an overview of the various words that are associated with shame and guilt:

(435)   (a)   e-n-sony-i   'shame; guilt'

                    AUG-9-shame   _guilt-ND

        (b)   o-ku-sonyih-wa   'be ashamed; feel guilty; ask for forgiveness'

                    AUG-15-shame_guilt-PASS

        (c)   o-mu-sonyih-w-e   'the forgiven one (person)'

                    AUG-1-shame_guilt-PASS-ND

        (d)   o-mu-sonyih-i   'the forgiver (person)'

                    AUG-1-shame_guilt-D

The listed words in (435) share the lexical root *sonyi* and are used frequently to express shame or guilt; (436) consists of a verb that the speakers mentioned to explain the emphatic word *obuswabu* which expresses a more heavy form of shame or guilt and is derived out of the verb *swala*, but the latter has never been used.

(436)   (a)   (o-ku-swála)   'to feel very ashamed/guilty'

                    AUG-15-intense_shame_guilt

        (b)   o-bu-swa-bu   'heavy shame/guilt'

                    AUG-14-intense_shame_guilt-ND

        (c)   o-mu-sango   'reason; formal meetings, like clan meetings or a court'

                    AUG-3-reason

The noun *omusango* can be used only if the reason of shame or guilt is so heavy that a court must decide what to do about it. It can be used as an emphasis for the feeling of shame or guilt even if there is no case to be brought to court, hence metonymically. The next example illustrates the stative verb *hemuka*, which is also associated with shame and/or guilt:

(437)   (a)   o-ku-hem-uk-a   'to look like been ashamed/guilty'

                    AUG-15-look_ashamed-STAT-VE

      (b)   o-ku-he-hem-uk-a   'to be found guilty of a severe crime'

                    AUG-15-be_guilty-RED-STAT-VE

With respect to the morphological marking, the appearance of passive and stative suffixes in the terms expressing shame and/or guilt indicate the loss of agency and control in a way parallel to other unpleasant emotions as discussed in the former sections.

The stative verb *hemuka* is used to comment upon someone´s reaction in a negative way: the speakers mean that the person looks and/or reacts as if being ashamed or guilty. Among the signs described by the speakers, most included nervousness in form of motion, like for example a nervous glance, nervous fingers, speaking too quickly or too slowly. This verb is used only in reference to third persons except the speaker and hearer(s):

(438)   O-nó   a-hém-uk-a!

               AUG-1SgDEM   3SgPRES-STAT-VE

          'He appears ashamed/ behaves like being guilty.'

The partial reduplication of the root derives the meaning of being found guilty of a severe crime. Although this meaning seems to be narrower since it is concrete and not ambiguous in comparison to the meaning of the simple root, reduplication here reflects in an iconic way the increase of guilt as well the increase of ferocity of the crime comitted.

As indicated above (435) the passive verbal form *sonyihwa* in Lushese can correspond to three meanings in English: it depends on the context if the speaker refers to a feeling of shame or of guilt. The preference is to associate the idea of shame with oneself but the idea of guilt with other persons. Although referring to feelings of shame or guilt in the past is grammatically possible through the auxiliary constructions, this verb is frequently used in the present tense:

(439) GENERAL EXPRESSIONS

      (a)   N-sonyíh-wa,   kubánga   s-aa-bá-ire   ku-héemba   ky-óto.

            1SgPRES-shame_guilt-PASS Conj   1SgNEG-PAST-COP-PAST 15-light_on   7-fire

          'I feel ashamed/ask you to forgive me, because I haven't kindled the fire.'

      (b)   A-sónyih-wa,   kubánga   h-aa-bá-ire   ku-héemba   ky-óto.

            3SgPRES-shame_guilt-PASS Conj   3SgNEG-PAST-COP-PAST 15-light_on   7-fire

          '(S)he is the one guilty, because (s)he hasn't kindled the fire.'

The verb can be used to admit a mistake and thus ask for forgiveness and in this case it occures either in combination with the copula or in combination with additional morphological marking, either with

object concord or with the reciprocal suffix. The next example illustrates the reciprocal form of this verb:

(440)   Ka-tu-soonyíh-wa-ganà!   'Let us forgive each other!'

          MOD-1PlPRES-shame_guilt-PASS-REC

Feeling ashamed about something that others did or about something that happened and the speaker was not directly involved requires the use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear'. The next example consists of a comment by a speaker with reference to riots in the capital city that resulted in death[138]:

(441) SITUATED EXPRESSION

M-pulira	e-n-sonyi	n´	o-bu-swá-bu,
1Sg-feel/hear	AUG-9-shame_guilt	Conj	AUG-14-intense_shame_guilt-D

kubánga	a-bá-kintu	bá-ngi	ba-hémbuke-irè.
Conj	AUG-2-Kintu	2-Q	2-kill-PAST

'I feel very ashamed, because so many people (had to) die.'

The verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' can be employed to refer to the feeling of shame in others:

(442)   Ta-háya,   kubanga   mu-tyámpai: a-húlira   e-n-sónyi.

          3Sg-speak   Conj   1-small   3SgPRES-feel/hear AUG-9-shame_guilt

          'He doesn´t speak, because he is young; he feels ashamed.'

The derived stative form *hulika* is used when the speaker is highly involved or the feeling referred to is intense. Conversing about the riots, the speaker expressed his frustration regarding all people that use violence:

(443) EMPHASIS

          M-púli-ka   e-n-sónyi   n´   a-bò.

          1SgPRES-feel/hear-STAT   AUG-9-shame_guilt   CONN   AUG-3PlDEM

          'I feel very ashamed of them (who are violent).'

A further possible interpretation of the sentence above is that the speaker has an intense feeling that the ones referred to are guilty of severe violence. Also in cases of shame and guilt, both forms of the verb of perception, the simple and the stative one, are employed to create emphasis while the stative form indicates more intense feeling and/ or involvement of the speaker. Again intensity is expressed by less agentive morphology.

Naming, with emphasis, the source resulting in the feeling of shame or guilt requires the use of two forms of the tactile verb: in cases where the source is human or human behaviour, the verb *gwáita* 'touch; hold' must be employed; in any other case, the causative form *gwá(i)sha* 'cause to

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[138] The speaker is referring to incidents that happened in Kampala between April and May 2011.

grasp/catch/hold' is employed. The next example consists of complaining expressed by a speaker with reference to the unexcused absence of a friend during burial rituals. The person is accused of having brought shame to his clan, a member of which is also the speaker. Note that the clan as collective Patiens is only implied in Lushese (translated as plural personal pronoun within brackets):

(444) Emphasis on Human Source of Shame/Guilt

Ha-igh-íre	n´	a-gwait-é	n-sónyi.
3SgNEG-come-PAST	CONN	3SgNEG-touch_hold -VE:Subj	9-shame_guilt

Lit.: He didn´t come and hold shame.'

'Because he didn´t come, he caused (us) to feel shame.'

The phrase *okugwaita omusango* means that 'with a severe mistake somebody creates a case that has to be taken to court'; this phrase can be used metaphorically and ironically to refer to someone causing shame or having guilt even in minor cases that won´t be taken to court. The next example illustrates an emphatic way to refer to an abstract (445a) and a non-human source (445b) of shame or guilt:

(445) Emphasis

(a)

E-n-djála	li-gwá(i)-sha	e-n-sónyi.
AUG-9-hunger	9-touch_hold-CAUS	AUG-9-shame_guilt

'Hunger brings shame and guilt.'

(b)

E-n-kóidhi	é-ri	ri-gwa(i)-sh-íre	e-nsónyi.
AUG-9-dog	AUG-9DEM	9-touch_hold-CAUS-PAST	AUG-9-shame_guilt

'This dog caused shame (to the owner).'

While the sentence in (445a) above consists of an emphatic comment on the negative effect of hunger towards self confidence and/ or behaviour, the sentence in (445b) was said, when a young dog which was travelling for the first time in a boat, got scared and fell into the water. The use of the causative form of the tactile verb reflexes the concept of source or causer as force with agentive character which brings shame and guilt to human: the choice between simple or causative form of the tactile verb depends on an animacy split, since human are treated exceptionally to all other animate or inanimate entities.

Shame and guilt can be distinguished only in context, since all roots involved within this domain are polysemous: still within a sentence and/ or the reality of dialogue, the utterances are not ambiguous. The different interpretation when speakers refer to own condition in comparison to reference on other people´s similar condition and/ or behaviour consisting in the preference to interpret the own emotion as shame but the other´s similar behaviour as guilt may be explained through psychological parameters: we tend to evaluate more positively the own behaviour and more negatively the other´s behaviour. Once again I personally prefer to explain this difference of meaning by taking into account the flexible concept of personhood as described by the speakers: while nobody would query the own personal coherence and integrity hence the own condition and/ or behaviour is interpreted as shame,

by commenting a similar behaviour of others the speaker doubts their integrity, hence the meaning of guilt emerges.

4.2.6 Jealousy

Jealousy is a feeling which is conceived as being different for men and women; further, jealousy is not limited in interpersonal relationships. Women and men are supposed to feel differently in cases of envy or jealousy.[139] Two nouns are employed to express jealousy for women and men respective:

(446)   e-i-háli   e-i-húba

             AUG-9-feminine envy   AUG-9-masculine envy

             'envy/jealousy'   'envy/jealousy'

The difference in meaning has to do firstly with the sources of the feeling: men are supposed to be jealous of actions or achievements while women are supposed to be jealous of states and products. Also, the actions resulted from jealousy are conceived as being different. In cases of danger, obvious brutality is evaluated as less problematic precisely because corporal violence is subsumable and has a subsumable effect hence it can be directly rejected, be stopped and/ or be punished. Danger is conceived as more problematic if the source is hidden and the violation consists of actions that can be hardly proven: in this case, the evil may be not identified at all or only very late. Since direct danger is associated with men and indirect danger is associated with women, the male jealousy is evaluated as less and the female jealousy as more hazardous. Women´s jealousy is implicit and associated with indirect actions or witchcraft while men´s jealousy is associated with violence and therefore evaluated as overt but not so dangerous, except if it results in death.

The reference to this emotion can be also graduated: speaking about jealousy in a distant way is associated with the metaphor of jealousy as an object that one possesses. The general expression is employed rather to refer to other people´s jealousy than to refer to the speaker's personal feeling:

(447) GENERAL EXPRESSION

         Ha-li-na   i-háli/i-húba.   '(S)he is envious.'

         3SgPRES-COP-CONN   9- f/m envy

         Lit: (S)he is with envy; (s)he has envy.

Referring to personal jealousy or higher involvement with respect to other people´s jealousy is possible through the stative form *hulika* of the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear':

(448) SITUATED EXPRESSION

         M-púli-ka   i-háli/ i-húba.   'I am now envious.'

         1Sg-feel/hear-STAT   9- f/m envy

Emphasis on the intensity of the feeling is expressed by the use of the locative construction:

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[139] There is no difference between envy and jealousy in Lussese.

(449) EMPHASIS

> N-di   mw-i-háli/ mw-i-húba.   'I am very envious.'
>
> 1SgPRES-COP   LOC-9-f/m envy

A higher degree of intensity can be expressed though the use of the causative form of the tactile verb *gwaisha* 'cause to be hold/ caught' in past tense: in this case, the emotion appears in the position of the subject, while the human entity occurs on the slot of the object:

(450) HIGHER INTENSITY

> I-háli/ i-húba   i-n-gwái-sh-irè.   'I am badly envious.'
>
> 9-f/m envy   9-1SgOC-touch_hold-CAUS-PAST
>
> Lit: Jealousy has caught me.

The former examples of this section illustrate that male and female jealousy can be referred to by the use of different linguistic means, which are employed depending on the intensity of the emotion and/ or the involvement of the speaker: in these domains, the metaphorical links are distributed in the same way as for other (unpleasant) emotions: the use of copula constructions create general meaning and indicate low degree of intensity and/ or distance; the locative metaphor appears in specific contexts and indicates more intensity and/ or involvement; the stative form *hulika* of the holistic verb of perception creates emphasis and indicates loss of control; the causative form *gwaisha* of the tactile verb may be employed to increase the intensity of emotion. Within the domain of jealousy, only the marked forms of the verbs of perception may be employed to elevate emphasis. The use of the simple form *hulira* 'feel; hear' creates evidential meaning, as we will see below.

The highest degree of intensity can be expressed by the use of the gustatory verb *geedha* 'taste, try': this verb can be employed only in combination with female jealousy, as the following examples illustrate. The sentence in (451b) which involves the noun meaning male jealousy is rejected by the most of the speakers as grammatically incorrect, while some (men) evaluated the sentence as grammatically possible, but meaningless, since "you don´t taste this (male jealousy) in the mouth, you feel it on the body":

(451)   (a)   A-geedh-íre   e-i-háli.

> 3-Sg-taste_try-PAST   AUG-9-f_envy
>
> 'She was furious because of (her) jealousy.'

      (b)   *A-geedh-íre   e-i-húba.

> 3-Sg-taste_try-PAST   AUG-9-m_envy
>
> *He was furious because of (his) jealousy.

The use of the taste metaphor which symbolically is linked to incorporation only in cases of female jealousy, a condition associated with total loss of bodily control and with the possibility of personal action and decision, since the human personhood is completely suppressed by the force of emotion reflects the evaluation of the female variant of jealousy as being more dangerous than the male variant.

Only women can be possessed by this feeling and only their bodies can be then entered by spirits that may cause most negative effects. The association of bad intention which causes the evil realization of power is linked with the concept of witchcraft; cases of female jealousy causing the interference of metaphysical powers are evaluated as most dangerous. Asking whether male sorcerers feel jealousy either was a question rejected as out of context: male sorcerer with bad intention may be possessed by anger, an emotional condition also evaluated as highly dangerous. Male jealousy and anger are conceived as almost the same, but only anger can lead to the interference of metaphysical power. Female sorcerer possessed by anger on the other hand, surely may misuse their power with bad intention and therefore cause evil, but it is also possible that through anger they repair the balance of something unjust: female anger may restore justice, while female jealousy can only cause severe problems, even death. The same conceptions do not apply to the metaphysical entities although they also have gender: male and female spirits may be angry and therefore very dangerous because human behaved in a bad way, but spirits are conceived as being able to feel jealousy. The only association of jealousy with the interference of spirits is that spirits (male and female) may enter a female body possessed by the most intense female jealousy, so in case a woman "tastes" her own intensive emotion.

Coming to evidential strategies within the domain of jealousy, evidential meaning is achieved by the use of the three verbs of perception as illustrated in the former sections discussing unpleasant emotions (except in the case of fear):

(452) EVIDENTIAL STRATEGIES

| (a) | M-púnya | e-i-háli/ e-i-húba |
| | 1SgPRES-smell_bad | AUG-9- f/m envy |

'I sense someone is going to be jealous/envious.'

| (b) | M-púlira | e-i-háli/ e-i-húba |
| | 1SgPRES-feel/hear | AUG-9- f/m envy |

'I heard someone is jealous/ envious.'

| (c) | M-bóina | e-i-háli/ e-i-húba |
| | 1SgPRES-see | AUG-9- f/m envy |

'I know, because I see it with my own eyes: someone is jealous/ envious.'

Once again the olfactory verb is employed with the meaning of presentiment, the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' indicates knowing by hearing, while the visual verb expresses knowledge because of own experience. The next section summarizes the use and meanings of the verbs of perception within the domain of emotion.

4.3 The verbs of perception expressing emotional experience

The former sections include the various ways the verbs of perception may be employed within the domain of emotion: the frequency of use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' in this domain is striking, while other perception verbs are used for reasons of emphasis or in evidential contexts. The following section illustrates first some further uses of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' to express feelings that cannot

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be expressed another way and summarizes concluding remarks about the meaning and use of the verbs of perception within the domain of emotional experience.

4.3.1 The use of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear'

Some feelings can be communicated through language only by using the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' in idiomatic constructions; the next example illustrates the expression corresponding to excitement:

(453)   M-púlira   e-n-síisi.

               1SgPRES-feel/hear   AUG-9-earthquake

               'I am excited/ I feel the earthquake.'

The sentence above is ambiguous: it can be literally interpreted in case of an earthquake. In everyday discourse the expression is metaphorically used: earthquake stands for excitement. In this case, the language exemplifies the concept of emotion as motion (on emotion as motion see Zlatev, Blomberg & Magnusson 2012). The uncontrolled shaking of earth during an earthquake offers the metaphorical frame to express the emotional state of excitement. The metaphorical path branches into two parallel concepts: the first, that the person feeling excited is unable to control the feeling and due to the emotional condition (s)he fails to control the body or parts of the body, the second, that excitement is conceived as an innate motion, or as an earthquake inside. Two additional emotional states can be put into language only by using the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' in its reflexive form: in these cases, the reflexive subject concord occurs before the verbal root as illustrated in the next example:

(454)   (a)   N-ée-húlira.   (b)   Y-ée-húlira.

                 1SgPRES-REFL-feel/hear   3SgPRES-REFL-feel/hear

                 'I am proud.'   'He is arrogant.'

The examples above illustrate that the interpretation of the reflexive form of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' corresponds to two emotional states depending on whether the speaker speaks of a personal emotional state or if the speaker refers to the emotional state of somebody else. Reference to personal feelings is linked to a positive evaluation of the verb: the person speaking announces that (s)he is proud of a personal achievement (454a). Referring to the feelings of others evokes a negative evaluation of the same reflexive form. The speaker cannot speak about the pride of somebody else, but he can recognize the behaviour of another person as conceited thus he employs the reflexive form to criticize arrogance (454b).

Associating pride in a positive way when speaking about the personal emotion, but evaluating in a negative way when speaking about the behaviour of others, is parallel to the difference between shame and guilt, while in case of pride and arrogance the preference of interpretation is less sensitive to other contextual and pragmatic parameters thus it may be evaluated as more stable: observe the semantic difference in the next example. The speakers used the sentence in (455a) to speak about their shared cultural knowledge, while the expression in (455b) illustrates a common critique regarding the behaviour of whites:

(455)   (a)   Tw-ee-húlira   íinyo,

                       1PlPRES-REFL-feel/hear   ADV much

                       kubánga   o-bu-hángwa   bw-aifè   bu-kairè.

                       Conj   AUG-14-tradition   14-1PlPOSS   14-old

                       'We are proud of our tradition because it is old.'

    (b)   A-bá-dhungu   b-ee-húlirà.

                       AUG-2-white_person   3Pl-REFL-feel/hear

                       'Whites are arrogant.'

As discussed in the former sections of this chapter, the use of the verb *hulira* 'feel /hear' within the domain of emotion is central: the verb not only lexicalizes feelings that cannot be communicated by other linguistic means, but it is also employed to provide evidence for the source of knowledge of a speaker referring to the emotional states of others. Further its stative derivation, the verb *hulika* is used for expressing intense emotion, high involvement on the speaker's part and actual or very salient feeling.

4.3.2 The use of other verbs of perception

The verb *gwáita* 'touch; hold' is frequently employed within the domain of emotion to communicate the intensity of a negative feeling: in this case the noun in the position of the subject is the feeling itself while the human experience is indicated through the object concord in the verb. The construction reflects the concept of intense feelings being conceived as forces and associated with lack of agency and control on the human part. Further the use of *geedha* 'taste/try' can be employed in cases of anger, fear and shame or guilt to communicate high intensity; in cases of jealousy, this degree of intensity is associated only with female jealousy. The metaphor of taste as highest degree of intension and involvement can be explained through the symbolical interpretation of tasting or putting something inside the mouth as an act of incorporation.

The verb *húnya* 'smell (bad)' and the verb *bo(i)na* 'see' are employed within the domain of emotion only in evidential function and they express then the meaning of certainty and/or the source of knowledge about other persons´ feelings. The evidential interpretations within the domain of emotion both of *hulira* 'to feel; hear' and of *bo(i)na* 'see' are interesting in comparison to the theoretical frame of evidential strategies as analysed by Alexandra Aikhenvald (2004). On the one hand the use of the verbs of perception in Lushese reflect the link between a source of knowledge and the use of the domain of perception to imply it; on the other hand the use of all these verbs in contexts of evidential meaning is more formally marked in Lushese, since no conjunction or other marking introduces the following verb (cf. ibid: Aikhenvald 2004: 369). This kind of syntactic structure is possible only with verbs of perception and gives evidence for arguing that the verbs of perception consist of a subclass of verbs with their own semantics and grammatical behaviour in Lushese.

4.3.3 Summary

The links between emotion and social interaction and shared values as well as cultural interpretation and personal experience are reflected by the speakers´ linguistic choice in expressing emotion: as shown in this chapter, speakers can choose between various expressions according to the degree of intensity, to their involvement and personal motivation as well as according to their source of knowledge and their evaluation when speaking about others. Speaking about personal or other persons´ feelings is, in some cases, crucial for the positive or negative interpretation of a word. Not only the choice of vocabulary but also the choice of grammatical means reflects the speakers intention and needs when speaking about feelings: the promotion of the source of emotion or of the feeling itself in the position of the subject, the degradation of the human experience to the position of the object use, and further the uses of the reflexive prefix as well of the stative, passive and causative suffixes affixed to various verbs when it comes to expressions of emotion, show that the concept of force dynamics and loss or lack of control, further intensity and personal involvement, should be understood as continua consisting of various grades.

The following figures aim to visualize the coherence of linguistic structure by illustrating the various linguistic means along a scale of intensity, a scale of evidence and along a continuum of pragmatic necessities. The scales illustrate further that the local concept of emotion allows more linguistic means when referring to unpleasant emotion than when referring to pleasant emotions: the former can be described with more linguistic variation than the later: especially the highest degrees of intensity as well evidential meanings apply only in case of the unpleasant feelings: this may be explained by the salience of unpleasant emotions, which may cause severe trouble, even death. Cultural conceptions and social parameters like the local ideas of gender and of personhood or the salience of finality with respect to death impact more directly the interpretation, evaluation and therefore the use and the meaning of linguistic means employed to express unpleasant emotional conditions.

Figure 8: Speaking about feelings: the verbs of perception within the domain of emotional experience[140]
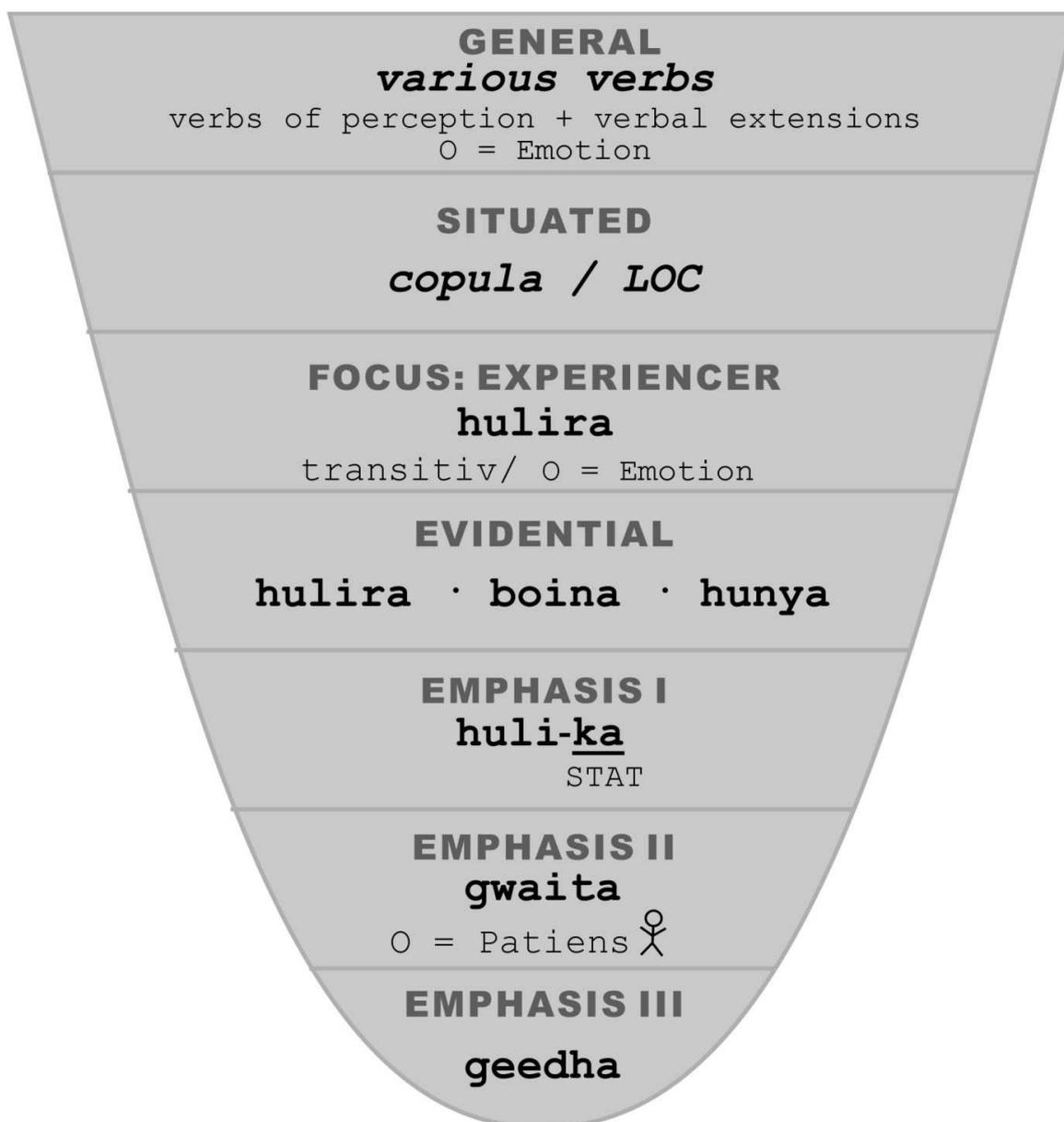
The figure illustrates discourse in the form of an inverted pyramid insisting on levels of epistemic needs depicted as rows. Reading from top to bottom the first two rows are labelled 'general' meaning general emotional experience. The first row indicates that besides other verbs, lexicalised forms of various verbs of perception may be employed to refer to various emotions; in these cases, the nominal phrase appearing in the position of the object contains the relevant emotion. The second row illustrates the expressions employed when speaking about actual, specific and / or personal emotional events: copula and/ or locative constructions are preferably employed to meet this epistemic need. Placing focus on the role of the human experiencer on the other hand, is possible through the use of the holistic verb *hulira*. The row labelled 'evidential' illustrates that predicting emotions or speaking about sources of knowledge with respect to an emotion requires the use of three verbs of perception, the

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holistic *hulira* 'feel/ hear', the visual *boina* 'see' and the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)'. The next three rows illustrate the three possible degrees of emphasis when speaking about an emotional event: the lowest grade (Emphasis I) contains the use of the holistic verb in stative form (*hulika*); this verb can be employed as a way of emphasis regarding emotions evaluated as pleasant and at the same time it can be used as the lowest emphasis on emotions evaluated as unpleasant. The row labelled 'emphasis II' illustrates the speaker´s preference to use the tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' with the noun meaning an unpleasant emotion appears in the position of the subject and the human entity appears in the position of the object and realizes the role of patiens. The last row illustrates the highest grade of emphasis when referring to an event of unpleasant emotion: in this case, the gustatory verb *geedha* is employed (with the noun meaning the human experience appearing in the position of the subject).

The next three figures contain the semantic maps of the holistic verb as well as the tactile and gustatory verbs, which are employed to create emphasis on emotions evaluated as unpleasant:

The following semantic map visualizes the use and meanings of the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel/hear' within the domain of emotional experience.

Figure 9: Semantic map of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' within the domain of emotion[141]
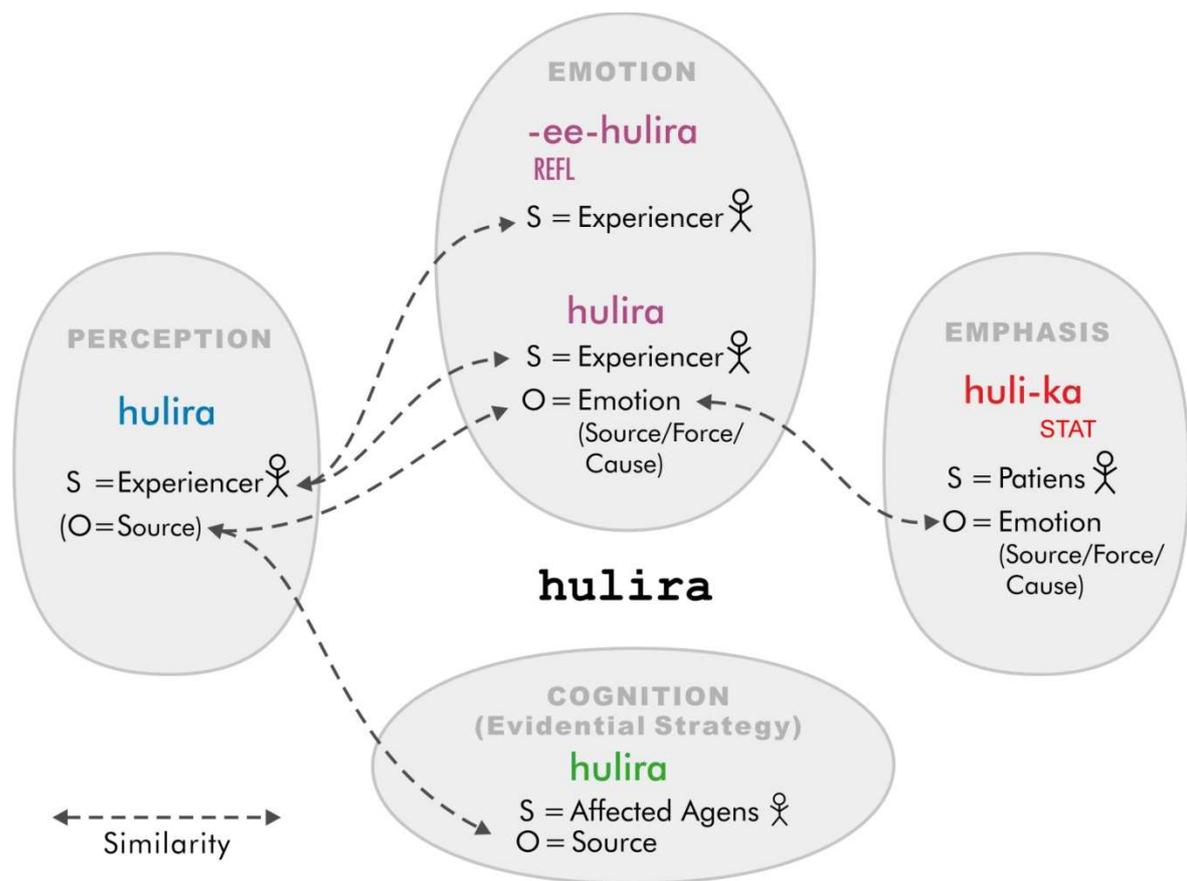
The figure illustrates the domain of perception on the left: the semantic components regarding subject (and object in case of transitive use) of the verb used within this domain are linked (arrows) to the

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[141] Source: Thanasoula 2011, data compilation.

domain of emotion (background area marked in light grey), insisting in three areas. The top of the figure labelled 'emotion' includes the lexicalised reflexive form (*-ee-hulira*) of the holistic verb as well as the possibility of using the verb in transitive clauses to refer to emotions in general expression. In these cases, the human entity is the experience of the emotion. At the bottom of the figure, 'cognition' means the case of predicting an emotional event. In this case, the holistic verb is used as an evidential strategy and the human entity isn't experiencing an emotion but predicting an emotional event; in the position of the object appears the nominal phrase or object-sentence that contains the source of presentiment. The right figure is labelled 'emphasis': this area contain the stative form of the holistic verb (*hulika*). In this use, the verb is employed to express the degree of emphasis on suffering; the morphological marking of the verb reflects the loss or lack of control with respect to the human subject.

While the semantic map of *hulira* 'feel; hear' within the domain of emotion contains three different areas which are interrelated through similarities both with respect to the subject and the object, the following semantic maps illustrating the use of the tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' and of the gustatory verb *geedha* 'taste; try'; they contain the only one use of these verbs within the domain of emotion which is interrelated to the domain of perception.

Figure 10(a,b): Semantic maps of the verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' and *geedha* 'taste; try'[142]
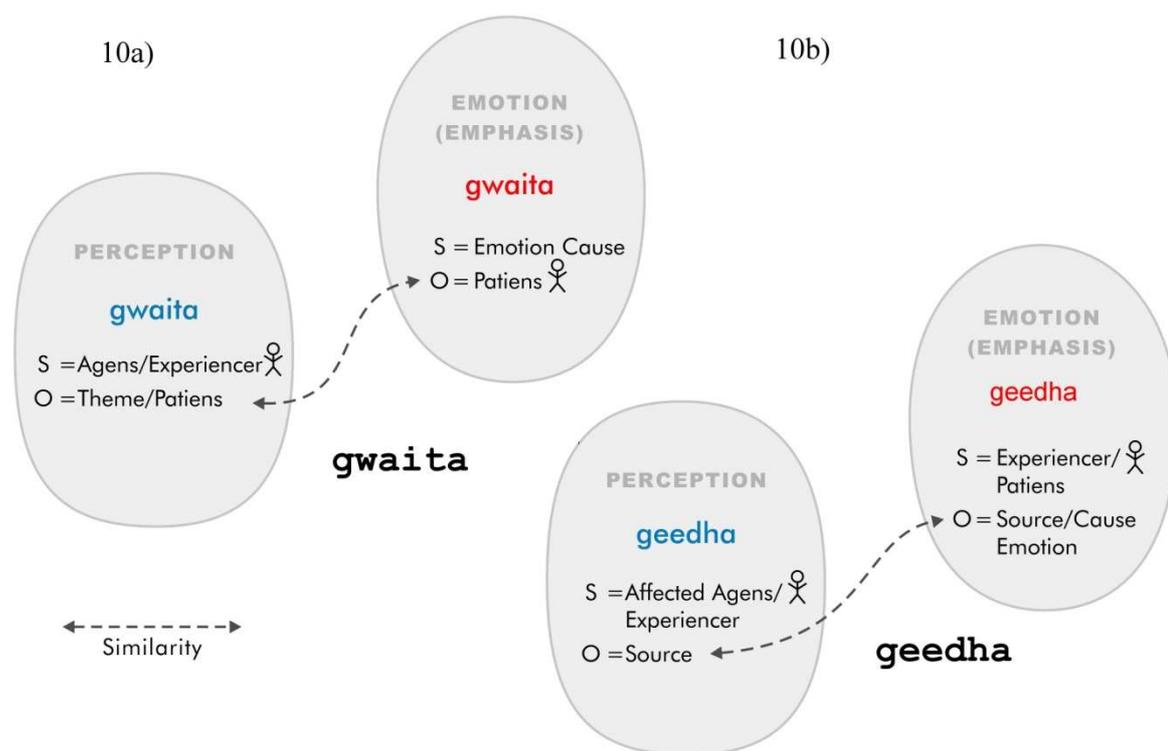
In both figures (10a and b) two domains are illustrated: the left (perception) and the right (emotion) sides of the figures above are linked in similar ways for both verbs of perception and depict the way the verbs are used to express intensive emotions that are evaluated as unpleasant (ways of suffering). The tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' highlights the loss or lack of control on behalf of the human entity, which within this use appears in the position of the object. The figure (10a) shows through the

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[142] Source: Thanasoula 2011, data compilation.

arrow that the semantic component patiens with respect to the entity appearing in the position of the object of the tactile verb within the domain of perception provides the base of similarity for its emphatic use within the domain of emotion. Figure (10b) is designed in the same way: it depicts the emphatic use of the gustatory verb *geedha* 'taste; try' within the domain of emotion. Again it is the semantic component patiens which links the use of the verb within the domain of perception and within the domain of emotion; however, in this case the human entity appears in both domains in the position of the subject. The emphatic use of *geedha* 'taste; try' to express the highest intensity of suffering in Lushese can only be approached through the symbolic analysis of incorporation. The grammatical structure of this verb, both with respect to the syntactic and semantic elements is not sufficient enough to explain and interpret the emphatic use of the verb within the domain of emotion.

Furthermore, the three figures presented above illustrate the difference between the use of the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' and the tactile and gustatory verbs of perception: while the semantic structure of the former covers many uses and depends highly on the surrounding construction, the two latter verbs each cover only one epistemic need within the domain of emotion. This incident supports the argument that the semantic structure of the holistic verb can be at best described as a case of vagueness while on the contrary, the semantic structure of the tactile and gustatory verbs can be at best described as cases of polysemy, motivated by the metaphorical and symbolic processes as analysed above.

5. Cognition

So far I have depicted the impact of cultural conceptualization on linguistic meaning and language use focusing on the semantics of the verbs of perception: in chapter three I have closed on body concepts and the language related to the body (both concerning the communication of physical experience and metaphors associated with the body and body parts). In chapter four I discussed the conceptualization of emotion and the links between perception, emotion and linguistic expression. Now I will turn to the conceptualization of the mind as described by the speakers of Lushese and the way perception and cognition are interrelated and influence the meaning and use of linguistic means. I will provide an analysis of the language associated with mental activities aiming to explain the use and meaning of the verbs of perception within the domain of cognition.

Section 5.1 outlines the analytical challenges of representing alternative models of the mind within the scientific discourse, followed by an overview of the local concepts of the mind. Section 5.2 illustrates the linguistic means employed to refer to various mental activities such as knowing, remembering, thinking, and understanding. Section 5.3 discusses the way the perceptive verbs are employed to express cognitive experience in Lushese.

5.1 Conceptualizing the mind

The relationship between perception and intellect has been target of research especially within cognitive linguistics. As discussed in the introductory chapter (1.1.2) visual metaphors for mental activities are often considered as being universal. The predominance of vision over the other senses is challenged mainly by anthropological and descriptive linguistic studies[143], whose authors criticize the claim that cognition is universally linked to vision as being Eurocentric. Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2008) summarizes the critical arguments of various scholars when it comes to the relationship between perception and the mind and concludes:

> Since cultures are not the same for all human beings, the properties that apply to one sense in one culture (e.g. vision in the West) might be applicable to a different sense in another culture (e.g. hearing in Australian languages); there are *shifts* of properties. Therefore rather than identifying one specific sense with one specific cognitive ability (e.g. UNDERSTANDING IS VISION), it is necessary to formulate these relationships on a more general and abstract level (e.g. UNDERSTANDING IS PERCEPTION). (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009: 29)

For an approach of the relation between perception and cognition under consideration of the local views on the issue, it is necessary to recall the holistic concepts of nature in general and of human nature in particular as discussed in the former chapters. The image of unity and of balance both in relation to nature and to the body impact the conceptualization of the mind: mental activities are not regarded by the Bashese as something that can be separated from social skills and behaviour or environmental and cultural knowledge. In other words, it makes for them no sense to speak about knowing, thinking, remembering or understanding without referring to social and cultural parameters. The mind is embedded within the local concept of the cosmic elements as well within the values of the community. The world of memories, thoughts, knowledge and conscience includes the parameters of personal and collective experience, behaviour, intention and consequence. Section 5.1.1 discusses the

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[143] For critique from a typological point of view on language and perception based on cross linguistic comparison see various publications by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, among others: Majid, A. 2015: Comparing lexicons cross-linguistically.

discrepancy between the local conceptualization of the mind and the scientific representation of it within the present thesis. Section 5.1.2 gives an overview of the sources and faculties of knowledge. Section 5.1.3 sketches the holistic approach of cognition as explained by the speakers.

5.1.1 Dissecting the data

The former chapter about emotion discusses the relation between folk theories and scientific theories of approaching the issue of emotion and the interrelation of emotion and the linguistic means used to express emotional experience (Cf. 4.1). In the case of cognition, the discrepancy between folk understanding and scientific views of the mind and its activities couldn´t appear bigger, especially when it comes to the concepts of mind as expressed by people who developed different cultural models than the European-based and Christian governed culture. The scientific theories on cognition are characterized by the dichotomy between body and mind, the distinction between physical, emotional and rational response, the separation of conscious and unconscious mental activities and the ignorance of social and cultural parameters. Cognition is basically regarded by science as an individual quality, precisely as the capacity of an individual brain. Further, the scientific approach results in an evaluation of the defined categories within a hierarchical model, in which the ideal of purity plays a significant role: the assumed pure cognitive activities are considered as higher in comparison to mental activities that are associated with other kind of responses, which again are evaluated as higher compared to non-cognitive activities, like emotion, perception or instinctive reaction. The criteria of this hierarchy include clearly biological sets, like for example the size of the head (19th. century) or the number of synapses (21st. century), further the notion of control by consciousness: the more consciously the mind is involved, the higher the activity is considered. Still the consequences of the scientific theory of the mind extend in explaining social and cultural issues (for example the social Darwinism in the 19th century or the debate whether there exist such things as the free will in contemporary science as well within the contemporary discourse on this matter in mass media). Cornelios Castoriades introduced the term "technoscience" as a negative counterpart of the term science to criticize the developments with respect to the very definitions of mind, cognition and ratio, the predominance of the term in scientific discourses as well the political influence of the academic obsession regarding ratio on aspects of everyday life (Cf. Castoriades 2001: 87-109).

The scientific approach of cognition corresponds to a significant extent to the beliefs and folk theories of the mind of this specific cultural model developed basically in Europe and influenced by Christianity; however, reporting the historical development of the scientific theories of cognition in relation to ordinary European views of the mind seems at this point redundant, since it arises from the concept of the body in general as illustrated in the theoretical part of the thesis (Cf. sections 1.1 and 3.1) and sketched in the introductory sections of all previous chapters. My concern here is to underline that the role of vision within the concept of knowledge in Western science, both with respect to the assumed importance of observation as a technique and to the interpretation of vision as being objective, can be explained by the developments of science and the interrelation of science with Western politics through time rather than by the physiology of perception and cognition or the anatomy of the eye. On the relation between body and knowledge Johannes Fabian notes:

> Critique of the visual bias in a theory of knowledge is not just a matter of rehabilitating the ear (hence sound) and the other senses. Its aim must be to undermine a conviction that visualism has been made to serve in our tradition. Vision requires distance from its objects; the eye maintains its "purity" as long as it is not in close contact with "foreign objects". Visualism, by instituting distance as that which enables us to know, and purity or immateriality as that which characterizes true knowledge, aimed to remove all the other senses and thereby the body from knowledge production (this, incidentally, is also a context in which the gender question needs to be raised). (Fabian 1994: 98-99)

My above brief summary appears too polemic and, in contrast to some indications for new theoretical perspectives on the matter in previous chapters, it ignores the latest scientific approach of cognition, which highlights the influence of perception and physical experience on the mind and the interrelation and interaction of mental, emotional and physical activities and responses. The polemic line here is an effort to highlight the dilemma of the present thesis, which finds its pick in the present chapter: the separate analysis and presentation of a domain labeled 'cognition' may reflect the scientific theory in which I am educated, as well the cultural background, in which I have grown up, but it is contradicting the conceptualization of the mind as believed and expressed by the speakers of the language I am supposed to be describing.

Although the distinction of body, physical experience, emotion, cognition and socialization contradicts the holistic view of these matters from the point of view of the speakers, the order of the chapters is an effort to reflect their association (cf. 1.3): perception is conceived as the bridge between the human and the surrounding world, emotion is understood as the ultimate link both between inner and outer self, as well between human and environment, further between human and supernatural entities; as thus, emotion is located at the heart of this thesis while mental activities are conceived as the human capacity that connects individuals with the community.

For the Bashese, cognition is less a matter of personal capacity than it is a shared value that requires the notion of intersubjectivity (cf. Fabian 1994: 99). Further knowledge is rather a matter of praxis and reception which is relative and transformable than it is a matter of abstraction and solidity. The local conception and evaluation of what is knowledge, its different sources and faculties are illustrated in the next section.

5.1.2 Sources and faculties of knowledge

The traditional way of knowledge transfer was structured though the social roles within the community: every person received specific knowledge with respect to social factors, the most prominent ones being the gender, the membership to the clan and the occupation of the direct family members. This way of knowledge transfer has been gradually interrupted by the historical developments discussed in section (1.2.2). However not only the Bashese were forced to abandon their tradition, even though the fate of their community appears quite dramatic precisely because of the massive forced migration and the assignment of their territory: worldwide the colonial state had the explicit politic of "civilizing the savage" through religious and scientific education: the missionary work and, based on it, the educative institutions formed the spearhead of this effort. The moral order, the contents of the curriculum, the authoritarian discipline not least the politics of language characterize the Western expansion and exploitation through education. The interrelation and interdependence of the cultural identities both of the colonializing and of the colonialized people with special reference to education and concepts of knowledge engage a number of authors and disciplines and thus cannot be summarized here[144]. The following pages summarize the concepts of knowledge as described by the speakers of Lushese: the social and practical character of knowledge, further the active and interactive way of acquiring knowledge should serve as an introduction for the local concept of the mind and cognition.

The Bashese describe both knowledge and cognition as power: both concepts are associated with the notion of capability to survive, to preserve and promote life, but, since any kind of power is considered

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[144] On a historical as well critical perspective of the empire´s education see Said 1978 and Willinsky 1998, on culture, knowledge and identity see Bhaba 1994, on aspects of postcolonial criticism regarding education see Dirlik 1994 and Ahmad 1995, for a comparative overview of various views on colonial education see Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia 2006, for a critical theory on science and knowledge see Foucault 1969, a plea for decolonializing scientific methodology in Smith 1999.

as ambivalent thus may cause good or evil, the power of knowledge and of the mind in general may turn to be an instrument to destroy the balance of life and cause death or disease. It is the human will and integrity that determines the outcome. The Bashese described three faculties of knowledge: the knowledge of human relations, the knowledge associated with occupations and the knowledge of the spiritual world. While the first two faculties are acquired through the contact of the individual with its´ community and their acquisition is a matter of participating and discussing between human, the knowledge of the spiritual world can be acquired only if an individual is chosen by the spirits. Knowledge and power are expressed by one and the same noun:

(456)   o-bu-mány-i   'knowledge; power'

                       AUG-14-know_be able to-ND

Lacking knowledge in terms of human relations and occupations is expressed through the same word that is used to refer to physically disabled people as illustrated in (457a). Not lacking but on the contrary, having knowledge of the spiritual world can be expressed by the same word which is used to refer to mental or psychical disorder[145] as shown in (457b):

(457)   (a)   o-mú-lemà   (b)   o-mu-lalù

               AUG-1-desabled_ignorant   AUG-1-crazy_possessed

               'disabled/ ignorant'   'crazy/being possessed by spirit'

The polysemy of the above words is untranslatable: the English term 'ignorant' in (457a) above is employed to express the meaning 'not having knowledge, being incapable of doing something because of ignorance', while both English words crazy and possessed in the example (4570b) above are the two English terms that resemble to some extent the meaning of the word *mulalu* in Lushese that may be interpreted as a kind of mental or psychical disorder that may have many sources, one of which may be the interference of a spirit. The following example illustrates a comment about a speaker, who due to a disease in his childhood, he has a lame leg, but due to his wisdom and intelligence, he enjoys the respect of the community. The statement is an emphasis, attested by the choice of the demonstrative *ono* instead of the more usual *oyo* as well by the choice of the conjunction *nahengene* instead of the more common *naye*:

(458)   O-nò   mu-lemà   ku-ki-réenge,   nahéngene   mu-géedhi.

         AUG-1REL   1-disabled   LOC-7-leg   Conj   1-wise_intelligent

       'He is disabled (with respect to) the leg, but (he is really very) wise/ intelligent.'

The above utterance shows that physical weakness can be localised (through a locative pre-prefix) and be clearly distinguished from the mental capability, however the word *mulema* is often used to refer to people that are considered as ignorant with respect to a certain context and don´t suffer of any physical incapability. Still this word is rather avoided when it comes to the reference of own ignorance: in this case the word *mutyampay* 'small/young' is preferred. The speakers explained that the expression 'I am young in doing something' is employed with the meaning 'I don´t know something very well.' The metaphor of age indicates that the older a person grows, the more wisdom (s)he gains in general and more knowledge of specific matters in particular, and reflects both the high evaluation of experience as well as the high social status of elders. The next example consists of the statement of the speaker

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[145] A similar concept is attested in Maaka (Anne Storch p.c.)

with the disabled leg, who is older than ninety, speaking about his little knowledge considering songs in Lushese:

(459)   Si-ri   mu-lemà,   mu-tyámpay   mu-ku-hímba.

1SgNEG-COP   1-disabled   1-young   LOC-15-sing

Lit: I am not disabled, (I am) young in singing.

'I am not completely ignorant, I know how to sing a little.'

Specific talents are regarded as gifts given by the spirits or as wisdom, in the sense of big amount of knowledge with respect to a specific activity that someone could gain through life. Musical instruments are regarded as living bodies that have their own voice, they may be possessed by spirits, but they also may bless a human with the talent of playing good music. Among the speakers one is a very talented musician. Some admired this by saying the following:

(460)   A-lí-na   e-ki-rábo   ky-a   e-bi-búga.

3Sg-COP-CONN   AUG-7-gift   7-ASS   AUG-8-music_instrument

Lit.: He has the gift of the musical instruments.

'He is very talented in playing music.'

Another comment regarding the talented musician underlines the agentive power of the musical instrument:

(461)   E-m-báliga   e-mu-fúnyi-r-e   e-ki-rábo.

AUG-9-instrument   9-1OC-bring-APP-PAST   AUG-7-gift

Lit.: The *embaliga* gave him a gift.

'He is very talented in playing the long drum *embaliga.*'

All three faculties of knowledge are regarded as part of culture, further the three kinds of knowledge should be understood rather as a continuum than as three clearly distinct categories: human relations play a direct role to the choice of occupation, but also occupations may impact human relations, further both human relations as well as certain occupations may cause the attention of the spirits, thus their calling to enter the spiritual world, while knowledge of the spiritual world influences human relations and occupations.

The term culture includes all parts of knowledge and it is associated with the meaning of life, as a speaker explained:

(462)   O-bu-hángwa   bi-oinà   erà,   e-bye-ba-kíntu

         AUG-14-culture   8-∀all   COP   AUG-8REL-2-human

         e-byé-mi-rímu   gy-oinà-gyoinà nˊ   e-bye-lu-báale.

         AUG-6REL-4-work   4-∀-all-RED   CONN   AUG-8REL-11-spirit

         O-bu-hángwa   ma-húlu   erà,   o-húlira?

         AUG-14-culture   6-sense_meaning COP   2Sg-feel/hear

'Culture is everything, which (is of the) people, which (is of the) different kinds of work and which (is of the) spirits. Culture is the meaning/sense, don´t you realize?'

The faculty of knowledge in human relations is related to gender roles as well as to birth, marriage and death, the most important events within life. While children are regarded as having no gender, they become men and women through the acquisition of gender-specific rights and obligations and knowledge about the male or female body, the ways they should take care of it in order to be desirable, ways of satisfying the partner and further of being successful in any part of the family life and of the clan activities. This kind of knowledge used to be transferred through rites of passage. The knowledge of human relations does not include a general concept of social competence: the English words 'behaviour' and 'behave' have no lexical counterpart in Lushese (nor in the neighbouring languages as far as I know). The knowledge of behaving in an appropriate way is expressed through various lexical means in relation to specific cases; social competence is associated for example with obedience or with the appropriate use of authority, with the way of speaking and other ways of interaction.

The faculty of knowledge concerning occupations has been to a great extent a matter of inheritance within the family and/ or the clan and used to be transferred through observation and participation. As mentioned above, the faculty of knowledge that concerns the spiritual world has to do with the will of metaphysical entities: human cannot influence this kind of knowledge, but only accept it. Unfortunately it was not possible for me to delve further into the worlds of knowledge and knowledge acquisition. In this thesis I include everything the speakers shared with me in these matters in the present and the next chapter, which focuses on social interaction. The next section is an effort of assembling the mind in order to understand the value of cognition from the point of view of the speakers.

5.1.3 Assembling the mind

The Bashese evaluate not only knowledge but the intellect as a source and/or a sign of power. High cognitive abilities are associated with success either in surviving and life in general or with respect to a specific domain of activity. Intelligence and wisdom are expressed by the same lexemes which come from the verb of gustatory perception *géedha* 'taste/try'. The conceptualization of being intelligent, clever and/or wise includes the ideas of action, innovation and experience, all of which are associated with this verb:

(463)

o-ku-géedha	o-mu-géedh-i	a-ma-géedh-i
AUG-15-taste_try	AUG-1-taste_try-ND	AUG-6-taste-try-ND
'to taste; try'	'wise; clever (person)'	'wisdom; inteligence'

The metaphor of taste has the symbolic extension of incorporation, as discussed in the former chapter: in case of cognition, the taste metaphor on which the lexemes meaning wisdom and intelligence are based highlights the merge of perception and cognition in the local conceptualisation[146].

A common way of reference to the intelligence of others is illustrated in (467a); speaking about the own mental capacity the speakers prefer to use a negated form shown in (467b): the direct reference to the own intelligence is evaluated as arrogant and/ or impolite:

(464) (a)

A-li	mu-ma-géedhi.	(b)	Si-li	mu-gwá-gwa.
3Sg-COP	LOC-6- taste-try-ND		1SgNEg-COP	1-IDIOM-RED
Lit.: (S)he is in wisdom.			Lit.: I am not *gwágwá*.	
'(S)he is intelligent/wise.'			'I am intelligent/wise.'	

The next example illustrates the other verbal root out of which a noun meaning intelligence and wisdom in a metaphoric sense can be derived; however this root and the respective noun are rarely used and I have no example of its meanings in a sentence or speech sequence. The speakers explained that this root is employed in specific contexts, for example in hunting.

(465)

o-ku-kéisha	o-bu-kéish-i
AUG-15-investigate	AUG-14-investigate-D
'to investigate; spy out'	'investigation; intelligence; wisdom'

Intelligence and/or wisdom means to use the right means in the right way:

(466)

E-n-túbiro	e-t-ée-ku-mirè:	te-ku-gwái-sha	ku-n-kánaga.
AUG-9-morast	AUG-NEG-REFL-2SgOC-swallow	NEG-2Sg-touch/hold-CAUS	LOC-9-thorntree

Lit.: The swamp that doesn´t swallow you: It doesn´t cause you to catch a thorn-tree.

'When you are in trouble you do not use means more painful than necessary'.

Intelligence and/or wisdom[147] are relative values: a wise person is able to formulate the right question to the right person. This is illustrated in the next two proverbs: in (467a) is expressed the fact that wise people know many ways and are able to choose the right means according to a specific need. In (467b) regarding matters of the sea, the wise one asks advise from the fishermen. There are plenty of alternations of this proverb: regarding a matter of the kitchen, one should ask the cook, regarding a matter of the family, one should ask the head of the family or of the clan, etc.

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[146] Cf. the polysemous term *amakulu* or *amahulu* 'meaning; sense' see section 3.1.2.
[147] The English terms will be used in the next pages as synonyms.

(467) (a) E-kí-fo   e-ki-rála: te-ki-sála   ma-géedhi.

            AUG-7-place   AUG-7-one   NEG-7-cut   6-wisdom

            'A single place: it brings no experience.'

       (b) E-ki-fa   mu-i-nyándha: ki-buudhí-bwa mu-vúbi.

            AUG-7-die   LOC-9-lake   7-ask-PASS   1-fisherman

            Lit.: Something dies in the lake: the fisherman must be asked (about) it.

            'For things considering the lake: you must ask the fisherman.'

In the proverb above the absence of the connective *ne* which in case of passive is employed to introduce the (facultative) actor, makes clear that the fisherman is not the one asking, but the addressee of the question set by another person, who is not overtly mentioned. Both proverbs have metaphoric meaning and teach that a wise person knows whom to ask regarding a specific problem; the intelligent ones neither do always the same according to their own restricted experience nor hesitate to ask the one who may know more about the situation than themselves.

Obedience is considered as a positive value in general and as a sign of intelligence in particular:

(468) N-di   mu-géedhi: nga   mu-húlir-e.

       1Sg-COP   1-wise   Conj   1-feel/hear-D

       'I am wise: if I obey.'

Wise people know that they have to be obedient and follow others, for example the leaders or the elders, as illustrated in (469a); still in certain cases the intelligent one may choose an action that erodes authorities, as shown in (469b):

(469)

       (a) E-tém-wa   n´   o-mu-gúngu: te-nyíga   o-mu-géedhi.

            AUG-cut-PASS   CONN   AUG-1-elder   NEG-squeeze   AUG-1-wise

            Lit.: What is cut by an elder the wise person does not squeeze.

            'The decision taken by an elder/the authority isn´t resented by the wise.'

       (b) A-ka-igò   a-ká-ku-ba   mu-lála: a-ká-boina   a-ka-kásuka   ku-n-síko.

            AUG-13-stick   AUG-13-15-beat 1-other   3Sg-13-see   3-Sg-13-throwCAUS LOC-9-wild

            Lit.: The stick that beats the other one: she sees it and throws it in the jungle.

            'An intelligent person knows how to act on the own behalf even if the actions seems to be contradictory to the own interest and even if this means to be not obedient.'

This proverb needs some explanation: Implied is that one man has at least two wives. When the one of them finds the stick, that the husband uses to beat a co-wife, if she is intelligent, then she eliminates it, because she knows that one day the husband may use the stick to beat her too. Although one may think that she should be satisfied that the husband beats the co-wife and despite the fact that in this case the man is without doubt the authority, the woman is considered to act in an intelligent way, since she protects herself from future suffering and at the same time shows solidarity with the co-wife. The interpretation of the third person singular in this case is without doubt that the person implied is a woman, because men are usually not beaten with sticks. When asked if the person implied could be a child, since they may be beaten with sticks too, the speakers explained that implying that a child does such an action would not create a word of wisdom. The way the verbs follow one another without any means of subordination underlines the speed of decision and action. A quick and correct reaction is considered as a further sign of intelligence.

Intelligence means to have a pragmatic attitude and to be realistic:

(470)   S-ée-gomba   e-i-nyíndo   e-m-pámbu: n-ée-gomba   kú-isha[148].

         1SgNEG-REFL-test_tongue AUG-9-nose   AUG-9-long   1Sg-REFL-test_tongue   15-breath

         'I don´t need a big nose, I (just) need to breath.'

The verb *gomba* corresponds to the English expression 'test with the tongue': with the reflexive suffix though it expresses the meaning of 'need': there is no other verb that expresses this meaning and the use of the reflexive form of the verb is more often used than the use with the prefixes of the subject concord. Besides the meaning of testing something by using the tongue the verb without the reflexive prefix reflects the sexual connotation of licking, which creates a taboo: it is not considered as proper or polite to speak about this action, further the verb is forbidden to women when male relatives are present. The reflexive form on the other hand is not associated with sexuality thus used without restrictions.

Intelligence is linked to solidarity: a person can be wise only within the social group. Clever is considered to be the one whose acting serves not only his or her needs and wishes, but promotes the interests and the harmony of the community. The example of the wife that eliminates the stick with which the co-wife is bitten, includes the aspect of solidarity (Cf. ex. 469b above). The following proverb links intelligence with solidarity and good governance. A wise person doesn´t use power for own purposes:

(471)   Ba-kú-pa   o-bu-gúngu: o-tafún-ira?

         3Pl-2SgOC-give   AUG-14-chief   2Sg-eat-A

         Lit.: They give you the chiefdom (and) you eat it?

         'They give you power and you use it only for your own advantage?'

The above proverb implies that one who is acting selfish is considered as being not clever, since the misuse of power will lead to losing it, while on the contrary a wise person would use power to serve the community and in this way will succeed in serving also personal interests. Selfishness is associated with dissocial behaviour or incapability of making relationships, which is conceived as danger: the selfish person is not able to survive and thus is not intelligent at all:

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[148] Also attested: *kuhéeha*.

(472)   A-hée-boina   o-mu-bíri,   a-tá-boina   mu-inè: a-héeta   Málumbè.

     3Sg-REFL-see   AUG-3-body   3Sg-NEg-see   1-friend   3Sg-call   Malumbe

     Lit: The one who looks at the own body and doesn´t look at the friend: He is calling Malumbe.

     'The one who takes care only of his own and neglects others is going to die.'

Malumbe is the spirit of death, an entity that no clever person would ever call. Precisely the evocation of the spirit that brings death underlines the idiotic nature of a selfish person, as expressed in the proverb. Not only intelligence in general but particular domains of cognition like knowing, remembering, thinking and understanding are conceived both as mental and social capacities that link the individual person with the community and culture, out of which nobody is able to survive. The next sections illustrate how language is used to express different kinds of mental activities.

5.2 Mental activities

Mental activities are associated with different kinds of knowledge. The following table serves as an overview to the verbs that will be presented in this section accompanied by some notes on the use of these verbs with respect to the faculties of knowledge. The verbal roots are presented in the left column. Horizontally are illustrated different kinds of knowledge; besides the three already mentioned ones (human relations, occupations, knowledge of the spiritual world), the table includes a column labeled "mental activities" in order to show which mental verbs allow a combination with each other. The column labeled "evidential strategies" is also included since this term denotes the source of knowledge.

Table 50: Overview of the verbal roots meaning mental activities

	HUMAN RELATIONS	OCCUPATIONS	SPIRITUAL WORLD	MENTAL ACTIVITIES	EVIDENTIAL STRATEGIES
-manya 'know'	-	+	-	-	-
-tebeera 'understand'	+	-	-	+	-
-tebeere-ra 'understand'+APP	-	+	-	-	-
-lohoonkanya 'think'	-	+	-		-
-tetenganya 'think'	+	-	+	+	-
-ighiuka;-idhukira 'remember'	+	-	-	+	-
-henya 'understand/make signs'	+	+	+	+	-
VERBS OF PERCEPTION (holistic/auditory & olfactory)	+	+	+	+	+

As illustrated in the table above, Lushese has two lexical forms (*manya* and *tebeera*) that correspond to the English term 'understand' and one form that may be translated as 'understand signs'; further, two reciprocal forms correspond to the English term 'think'. As implied by the table, the verbs should not be regarded as synonyms, since they are used with respect to different kinds of knowledge. On the other hand the two verbs that correspond to the English word 'remember' consist of dialectal

variations, as will be shown below (5.2.2); the one can replace the other in both contexts of their use without any difference of meaning. While the holistic/auditory verb of perception *hulira*'feel; hear' in its plain form or morphologically marked can be associated with all kinds of knowledge, two verbs of perception (*hulira* and *hunya*) are the only means to produce evidential meaning; their use will be presented in 5.3.

The next sections illustrate how the above listed verbs that describe mental activities are used in Lushese. In order to elucidate semantic difference the use of adverbs (qualitative *buge* 'well' and quantitative *iinyo* 'much') as well the use of the verb *hinza* 'be able to' in combination with the verbs meaning various mental activities will be employed. We will see that mental activities evaluated as important are conceived as qualities and not as quantities. Highly evaluated mental activities are seen as an inherent human capacity and their use often requires present tense; past tense implies that the person referred to is not living anymore. Further, the negation of various verbs in context either is not resulting in a meaningful and/ or grammatically correct sentence or it produces a new meaning. The following sections illuminate also how the tight association of certain activities with specific social roles and social interaction in general influence considerably the concept of knowing and performing these activities and therefore the use and interpretation of cognitive verbs and verbs of perception employed within the domain of cognition.

5.2.1 Knowing and understanding

Two verbal roots, *manya* and *tebeera*, express the meaning 'know' and/or 'understand' in Lushese: the choice which of them should be used depends to a great extent on the context as we will see below; still they cannot be regarded as synonyms. The noun 'expert', which may be used also with the meaning 'the person who knows' in more general sense can be derived only from the verbal root *manya*:

(473) (a)   o-ku-manyà   (b)   o-mu-mány-i

  AUG-15-know   AUG-1-know-ND

  'to know'   'the expert; the one, who knows'

While the root *manya* never appears with verbal extensions, the root *tebeera* may appear with the applicative suffix: in this case it can replace the verb *manya* in any context.

(474) (a)   o-ku-tébeera   (b)   o-ku-tebéere-ra

  AUG-15-understand   AUG-15-understand-APP

  'to understand'   'to understand something= to know'

Knowing how to do properly any possible activity is usually expressed through the use of the verbal root *manya*; the next examples illustrates that the verbal root *tebeera* with the applicative suffix can replace *manya*. Cooking is seen as an activity that women, especially wives, are expected to perform; men in general are not allowed to cook (but they are allowed to fry for example; on food and other prohibitions see next chapter).

(475) (a) Na-kanuénue   h-ánge   a-manyì   ku-fúmba.

f-wife   3Sg-1SgPOSS   3Sg-know   15-cook

'My wife knows how to cook.'

(b) Na-kanuénue   h-ánge   a-teebére-ra   ku-fúmba.

f-wife   3Sg-1SgPOSS   3Sg-understand-APP   15-cook

'My wife knows how to cook.'

The use of the verbal root *tebeera* without the applicative suffix is rejected as false in the context of the sentences above. With the conjunction *nga* the verb may be used, but then it produces a different meaning, as the next example illustrates: implied through this construction is that the referred wife has a talent in cooking, e.g. that her food is very tasty:

(476)   Nakanuénue   h-ánge   a-tebéera   nga   ku-fúmba.

f-wife   3Sg-1SgPOSS   3Sg-understand   Conj   15-cook

'My wife knows how to cook (very tasty) food.'

The next examples introduce another verbal root *hinza* 'be able to do something', which may also be used to express knowledge of activities in general. This verb will serve to highlight the difference between the use of *manya* and *tebéera*.

(477)   Na-kanuénue   h-ánge   a-hínza   ku-fúmba.

f-wife   3Sg-1SgPOSS   3Sg-be_able   15-cook

Lit: My wife is able to cook.

'She knows how to cook well.'

While the negation of the sentences (475a, b) above express the meaning that the wife doesn´t know how to cook properly, the negation of a sentence with *hinza* implies that the wife is not able to cook due to a reason that prevents her from doing so, for example an illness:

(478)   Na-kanuénue   h-ánge   ta-hínza   ku-fúmba,   (mu-lwa-irè).

f-wife   3Sg-1SgPOSS   3SgNEg-be_able   15-cook   (1-be_ill-PAST)

'My wife is not able to cook; ((she is) ill).'

Emphasizing on the ability of knowing how to accomplish general activities that belong to the everyday life can be expressed through the addition of the adverbs *iinyo* 'much' or *buge* 'good'. The verb *manya* as well the verb *hinza* 'to be able to do something' allow the use of both:

(479) (a) A-manyì   ku-fúmba   íinyo.

3Sg-know   15-cook   ADVmuch

'She knows how to cook well.'

(479) (b) A-manyì   ku-fúmba   bú-ge.

3Sg-know   15-cook   14-good

'She knows how to cook well.'

(c) A-hínza   ku-fúmba   íinyo/ bú-ge.

3Sg-know   15-cook   ADVmuch/14-good

'She knows how to cook very well.'

The verb *tebeera* on the other hand, with the applicative suffix, which can replace the verb *manya* in the context of knowing how to accomplish general activities, allows only the use of the qualitative adverb *buge*; hence it cannot be emphasized through the use of the quantitative verb *iinyo*:

(480)   (a) *A-teebére-ra   ku-fúmba   íinyo.

3Sg-understand-APP   15-cook   ADVmuch

*She knows how to cook well.

(b) A-teebére-ra   ku-fúmba   bú-ge.

3Sg-understand-APP   15-cook   14-good

'She knows how to cook well.'

In cases of mental activities, the speakers prefer the use of the verb *tebeera*. Besides thinking and remembering, teaching and learning are associated with speech as illustrated in example (481b) below are further regarded as mental activities; in these cases, the verb *tebeera* can be emphasized with both the quantitative or the qualitative adverbs.

(481)   (a) A-tébeera   ku-tetéŋ-ganyà (íinyo/ bú-ge).

3Sg-understand   15-think-REC   (ADVmuch/ 14-good)

Lit.: (S)he understands thinking (a lot/well).

'(S)he knows how to think (properly/very well).'

(b) A-tébeera   ku-hikiridha   (íinyo/ bú-ge).

3Sg-understand   15-teach   (ADVmuch/ 14-good)

Lit.: He understands teaching (a lot/well).'

'(S)he knows how to teach (properly/very well).'

The use of the verbal root *manya* 'know' in the above sentences is accepted as correct, but the speakers explained that the sentences are not elegant; a native speaker would not say them. The use of

the verb *hinza* 'to be able to' produces not an emphatic meaning comparable to the examples above which illustrated the context of general activities (ex. 479 above), but exactly the opposite: in the context of mental activities, the use of the verb *hínza* implies that a person is able to think or teach just a little, but cannot perform the cognitive task properly. The meaning that someone may not be able to think at all does not emerge: thinking is considered as inherent human capacity, which may be disturbed, interrupted or harmed by the influence of a force more powerful like for example an intensive emotion, severe suffering, illness and the inference of spirits.

(482)   (a)   A-hínza   ku-tetéŋganyà.

          3Sg-be_able   15-think

          '(S)he is able to think (=but is not successful in this, e.g. not very intelligent).'

          (b)   A-hínza   ku-hikiridha.

          3Sg-be_able   15-teach

          '(S)he is able to teach (=but is not successful in this, e.g. no good teacher).'

Using the adverb *iinyo* 'much' or *buge* 'good' reverses the meaning of the above sentence; in contrast the speakers evaluate a sentence as illustrated in the following example as not elegant; in their own words "the sentence may be grammatically correct but it has a funny meaning":

(483)   ?A-hínza   ku-tetéŋganyà   íinyo/bu-ge.

               3Sg-be_able   15-think   ADVmuch/14-good

          ?'(S)he is able to think well.'

All the verbs presented in this section so far cannot be put into past tense, if the person in the position of the subject is alive. Only referring to deceased people allows the use of the verbs of knowing and understanding (or the use of the verb *hínza* in the context of mental activities) in past tense. The explanation of the speakers is that once you know and/or understand something either you keep it in mind until you die or you forget it, but this case is then overtly expressed through certain expressions that will be illustrated in section 5.2.2 in association with the context of memory.

Related to the concept of knowledge is the context of teaching and learning. The Bashese regard the growth of cognitive and social competences as a matter of interaction. Intelligence and knowledge are resulting from the contact of the individual with the social group. Teaching the younger belongs to the central duties of the community, since only if the knowledge-transfer from generation to generation comes out without loss of knowledge, the community has a chance to survive. For the remaining speakers the arrival of the European powers accompanied by the massive epidemic of sleeping sickness and the forced migration in the beginning of the 20th Century has interrupted the transfer of knowledge and led to are the reason of the loss of their culture and language.

Before the arrival of the European missionaries[149], when the community still had the power and possibility to accomplish the knowledge transfer in their own way and according to their own

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[149] Surely I cannot attest how the terms discussed here have been used in past times: I reflect the comments of the speakers regarding the following expressions. Similar ideas have been expressed further by neighbouring

tradition, the words expressing teaching and learning were associated with the specific contexts of knowledge. For example the phrase "someone is going to the jungle" was used to express that a pubescent would take part in the initiation rites of his or her clan in order to enter adult life:

(484) A-génda   ku-n-sikò.

       3Sg-go   LOC-9-jungle

       Lit: (S)he is going to the jungle.

       '(S)he is taking part to the initiation rites of his/her age group and clan.'

While the above sentences was used to refer to the accumulation of knowledge that has to do with human relations, the teaching and learning of occupational skills has been expressed through the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' in the causative form (*hulisa*). The connective *ne* introduces the person who acts as source of knowledge, e.g. the teacher:

(485) (a) Ba-ighí-re   ku-huli-sà   ne   ma-shengà.

            3Pl-come-PAST   15-feel/hear-CAUSCONN   6-paternal_aunt

            'They came to be taught by the paternal aunt.'

       (b) Ba-ighí-re   ku-huli-sà   n´   a-ba-híigi.

            3Pl-come-PAST   15-feel/hear-CAUSCONN   AUG-2-hunter

            'They came to be taught by the hunters.'

Because of the strict regulation with respect to gender, the implication is clear that in sentence (485a) above the persons who are going to listen to the lesson of the paternal aunt can be only girls; for the same reason the persons who are going to be taught by the hunters in sentence (485b) above can be only boys.

Between 1900 and 1920 European missionaries introduced the educational concept of the school with main objectives the spread of reading and writing skills in the native population[150]. For this kind of teaching and learning the verbal root *soma* is used, accompanied by the causative suffix with the meaning teaching, or without meaning learning.

(486) (a) Tu-sóm-irè   ku-sóma   ne   ku-hándiika.

            1Pl-learn-PAST   15-read   CONN   15-write

            We have learned reading and writing.'

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communities, precisely by older Basoga and Balamodji with respect to the education system former to colonial missions.

[150] For a summary of the British colonial education in East Africa see Beck 1966.

(486) (b) Àni   a-ku-som-ésa   Lu-gánda?

QM   3Sg-2OC-learn-CAUS   11-Ganda

'Who taught you (to speak) Luganda?'

As illustrated in (486a) above the verb is also used as a counterpart of the English verb 'read'. The polysemous meaning of the verb can be explained as a metonymic association of reading to studying and learning in general. If the speaker´s intention lies in making a difference in the meaning between reading and studying a book the applicative form may be used to connote the serious purpose of studying, as illustrated in (487).

(487)   (a) Tu-sóma   e-ki-tábo.   (b) Tu-sómi-ra   e-ki-tábo.

1Pl-read A   AUG-7-book   1Pl-read-APP   AUG-7-book

'We are reading a/the book.'   'We are studying (a)/the book.'

While the use of the verb *soma* and its´ causative form *somesa* are spread in any domain of knowledge among most of the speakers, two idiomatic expressions that have to do with the knowledge of cultural prohibitions (taboos) and of the knowledge of the logical relation between the cause and the consequence are constructed through the use of two verbs, which highlight the collective concept and intersubjective character of cultural knowledge and of cognition:

(488)   o-ku-hikiridha e-i-hihoombu   'to teach/know taboos'

AUG-15-teach   AUG-9-taboo

(489)   o-ku-teesa   ku-n-songa   'to discuss on the case/to know the reason'

AUG-15-discuss LOC-9-reason

The interpretation of the above idiomatic constructions depends on the context: whether a person teaches somebody else the cultural prohibitions or it is rather meant that a person knows the taboo depends on the presence or absence of the object concord:

(490)   (a) A-mu-hikiridhà   e-i-hihóombu.

3Sg-3SgOC-teach   AUG-9-taboo

'(S)he teaches him/her the taboo.'

(b) A-hikiridhà   e-i-hihóombu

3Sg-teach   AUG-9-taboo

'(S)he knows the taboo.'

Knowing cultural prohibition consists basically in respecting them, integrate them in the personal behaviour and practice them in the appropriate way with respect to given situations. The concept of cultural prohibitions will be further discussed in the next chapter on socializing processes.

Coming to the means used for the reference of cause and effect, a second idiomatic expression will be investigated. Whether it is meant that a group of people discussed a case and after identifying cause and consequence, the group took collectively a decision, or the interpretation involves a sole person knowing the reason of a specific matter, depends on whether the subject appears in singular or in plural:

(491)   (a)   Tu-téesa   ku-n-sónga

        1Pl-discuss   LOC-9-reason

        'We discuss on the case.'

    (b)   N-téesa   ku-n-sónga

        1Pl-discuss   LOC-9-reason

        'I know the reason.'

Again the interpretation of knowing the taboos and/or the reason of a given situation (494b) cannot be put in past tense, if the person referred to is alive; in contrast, teaching the taboos and discussing collectively a case (491a) allow the use of past tense, with the meaning that the event described has taken place in the past.

The following verb is associated with the knowledge of signs: this kind of knowledge is evaluated as high individual and social competence and includes the notion of preventing danger or unpleasant situations in general. The verb has the meaning of understanding or recognizing a sign correctly, but in reduplicated form it expresses the meaning of making/giving a sign:

(492)   (a)   o-ku-hénya   (b)   o-ku-hénya-hénya

        AUG-15-understand_sign   AUG-15-understand_sign-RED

        'to understand a sign'   'to make/give a sign'

The reduplication of this verbal root reflects in an iconic way the increase of cognitive competence: making a sign presupposes knowing it, while knowing a sign is not necessary associated with actual performance.

The verb *hinza* 'be able to' in combination with the reduplicated form expresses the meaning that somebody, who was for some reason not able to give a sign, is at the actual moment of speaking enabled to perform the action: the following example illustrates a common comment during hunting, when the hunters must communicate without being noticed by the hunted animal. Being able to give a sign means that the hunter referred to can perform the action without attracting in the attention of the animal:

(493)   A-hínza   ku-hénya-hénya.

        3Sg-be_able   15-understand_sign-RED

        'He is (now) able to give (us) a sign.'

The use of the verb in combination with the plain (not reduplicated) form produces the meaning that somebody is not very capable of understanding signs:

(494)   A-hínza   ku-hénya.

              3Sg-be_able   15-understand_sign

              'He is able to understand signs (=but not quite good in that task).'

Expressing that somebody knows well and/or is very capable of understanding signs properly is expressed through the verbal root '*tebeera* 'understand'. In this case the emphasis both through the quantitative or the qualitative adverbs is allowed:

(495)   A-tébeera   ku-hénya(-hénya)   íinyo/ bú-ge.

              3Sg-understand   15-understand_sign (RED)   ADVmuch/ 14-good

              'He is very good in understanding/making signs properly.'

The use of the verb *manya* in the sentence above is evaluated by the speakers as grammatically correct, but not elegant. The verb *henya* as well as its reduplicated form can be put into the past tense meaning that the cognitive performance described has taken place in the past. Both the recognizing and interpreting signs correctly and the making of proper signs in the right moment is evaluated primarily as cognitive performance and secondary as a physical action.

This section discussed the concepts of understanding and thinking as reflected in the use and meaning of the mental verbs *manya* 'know' and *tebeera* 'understand': while the former is conceived both as a quality and as a capacity that can be increased quantitatively, the latter is associated with inherent human qualities that cannot be increased or get lost, as exemplified through their use in combination the quantitative and qualitative adverbs. Their use in combination with the verb meaning general ability *hinza* indicates different evaluation of knowing and/ or understanding with respect to different domains of knowledge: high cognitive competence is treated in another way and therefore produces different meaning and allows different use of the verbs involved than the domain of knowing everyday occupations. The verbal root *tebeera* 'understand' produces the meaning 'to understand and be able to perform a mental activity in the proper way' when combined with other mental verbs. This semantic connotation can be explained through the evaluation of high cognitive activities as being inherently human. In the context of teaching and learning the influence of colonial education and the introduction or writing and reading as the generalized use of the verb *soma* 'read/study' illustrates. Still within domains of knowledge that associated with collectivity and intersubjectivity require the use of other linguistic means in order to express teaching and learning of this specific kind of knowledge.

5.2.2 Remembering and thinking
Memory is evaluated as a crucial mental activity since it connects the past with the presence and the individual with its ancestors. The Bashese use two verbs that express the meaning 'remember; recall', both seem to be derived from the verbal root *ighia* 'come'. Both verbs can be used in transitive and intransitive sentences, although the verb in (496a) never appears but the one in (496b) always appears with the applicative suffix:

(496)   (a)   o-kw-ighi-u-ka   (b)   o-kw-idh-u-ki-ra

                 AUG-15-come-REV-STAT   AUG-15-come-REV-STAT-APP

                 'to remember (something)'   'to remember something'

The variation of the root may be explained as a phonological variation, since the two verbs can replace each other in all transitive contexts without any change to the meaning. The verbs of the two

neighboring languages Luganda and Lusoga are illustrated in comparison in the next table in order to illuminate the phonological equivalence of the roots:

Table 51: 'to come' and 'to remember' in the two major neighboring languages

GANDA	SOGA	ENGLISH GLOSS
o-ku-jja	**o-kw-idha**	'to come'
AUG-15-come	AUG-15-come	
o-ku-jj-u-ki-ra	**o-kw-idh-u-ki-ra**	'to remember'
AUG-15-COME-REV-STAT-APP	AUG-15-COME-REV-STAT-APP	
o-ku-jja-ko; o-ku-jj-u-ki-za	**o-kw-idhu-ki-za**	'to remind'
AUG-15-come-LOC AUG-15-come-REV-STAT-CAUS	AUG-15-come-REV-STAT-CAUS	

In Lushese, both the verbs *ighiuka* and/or *idhukira* 'remember' are the main linguistic means to express the concept of memory which is regarded as a mental activity and belongs to the domain of cognition. Being old is associated with the ability to remember and evaluated as a sign of intelligence and wisdom. Memory is not conceived as a matter of quantity, but as a matter of quality: from the Bashese point of view it is not important to remember a lot of things, but to remember in a proper way, which means to associate things in a positive way. Both verbs don´t allow the use of the quantitative adverb iinyo, thus they can be emphasized only through the qualitative adverb *buge*. The following example illustrates this in a sentence with *ighiuka:*

(497)   (a)   Mu-zéi, n-di   kw-ighi-ú-ka   (bú-ge).

             1-old   1Sg-COP 15-come-REV-STAT   (14-good)

             '(I am) old, I can remember (well).'

             (b)   *Mu-zéi,   n-di   kw-ighi-ú-ka   (íinyo).

             1-old   1Sg-COP   15-come-REV-STAT   (ADV much)

             *(I am) old, I can remember (a lot).

When remembering something, the speakers employ the verbal root *manya* 'know' rather than the verbs associated with memory. More often they use the verbs *ighiuka* and/or *idhukira* 'remember' in the negative form and in past to express the meaning of forgetting:

(498)   Na-bá-ire   na-mu-háih-irè   a-ma-húlir-e,

               1SgPAST-COP-PAST   1Sg-3SgOC-speak-PAST   AUG-6-feel/hear-ND

               ta-ha-ighuk-irè   ku-mu-tebéere-ra   málume.

               NEG-3SgPAST-remember-PAST   15-3SgOC-understand-APP   mother´s_brother

               'When I told him/her the news, (s)he forgot to announce them to the uncle (mother side) of his/her.'

The sentence in the above example was used by a speaker who was emphasizing on the fact that a third person has forgotten to inform the uncle. When forgetting something and refer to this in a casual manner, the speakers prefer to use the visual verb *bo(i)na* 'see' in the reflexive form *-ee-bo(i)na* 'forget' (see in 5.3.2). The emphasis in the utterance above consists of the speaker´s choice to use the verb *ighiuka* in negated form to express the meaning 'forget'. The verbs *ighiuka* and/or *idhukira* 'remember' occur in utterances that are associated with mental activities, e.g. with cultural knowledge, signs, speech as well with complicated series of ideas or associations. The next example illustrates a sentence, in which the speaker referred to the own ability of speaking Lushese after her last relative with whom she could speak in the language died:

(499)   O-bw-a   máhue   ha-hémbuk-irè   si-idhuk-irè   Lu-shése.

               AUG-14-ASS   older_sister   3SgPAST-die-PAST   1SgNEG-remember-PAST   11-Ssese

               'When my older sister[151] died, I forgot (how to speak) Lushese.'

Forgetting to accomplish things of the everyday life is evaluated by the Bashese as impossible, thus it is a sign of inappropriate behaviour, of lacking intelligence or of becoming senile. The next two examples illustrate these cases. In (500a) the speaker refers to a married woman who forgets to cook: the implication is she is no good wife. The emphasis consists of both the choice of the verb and the double marking of subject and negation. In (500b) the speaker insists that a hunter cannot forget how to hunt: if he does, then he must be becoming old and senile.

(500)   (a)   O-nò   a-tá-ha-ighiukà   o-ku-fúmba   bu-lí-ho.

                     1-DEM   3Sg-NEG-3SgNEG-remember   AUG-15-cook   14-COP-LOC

                     'This one forgets to cook every day. (=She is a bad wife.)'

          (b)   O-mu-híigi   tá-ighiuka   o-ku-híiga,   mu-híigi   erà!

                     AUG-1-hunt   3SgNEG-remember   AUG-15-hunt   1-hunt   EMPH

                     'The hunter doesn´t forget how to hunt, the real hunter!'

Referring to others as having forgotten something consists in evaluating them negatively: it is a way of negative comment with respect to the intelligence and/ or the social integrity of the person. Admitting

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[151] The sex of the speaker impackts the choice of words for referring to brothers or sisters: the term *mahue* expresses that the speaker and the relative referred to are of the same sex.

an own moment of forgetfulness is communicated more often through the use of the reflexive *–ee-bó(i)na* 'forget' which has lighter semantics than through the use of the verbs *ighiuka* and/or *idhukira* 'remember' in negative forms (see 5.3.2).

Coming to the mental activity of thinking we need to recall that Lushese has two counterparts for the English term 'to think': while the first verb illustrated below (501a) is associated with intention, the second verb is employed to express mere cognitive capacity (501b):

(501)   (a)   o-ku-lohóon-kanya   (b)   o-ku-tetéŋ-ganya

         AUG-15-think-REC   AUG-15-think-REC

         'to think; to intend'   'to think'

In both verbs, the reciprocal suffix is lexicalized: no simplex forms could be attested. The speakers commented that the mental activity of thinking implies the presence of a community, in which values and orders are set. Every person is considered as able to reflect the ideas shared, which means to think. The verbs cannot be considered as synonyms, because they are used in different contexts: the form *lohoonkanya* is employed in everyday life, when speakers refer to their intentions of doing something or when they are organizing time. It appears only in transitive sentences or accompanied by an object secondary clause, as illustrated in the following examples (502a, b):

(502)   (a)   N-dolohóon-kanya   ku-beerá-ho   mu-n-kirò.

                1Sg-think-REC   15-get-LOC   LOC-9-night

                'I think I will be there at night.'

         (b)   Tu-lohóon-kanya   tu-saig-è   ku-húmuula   ka-tyámpay.

                1Pl-think-REC   1Pl-like-VE   15-rest   13-small

                'We think that we would like to rest a little bit.'

The verb *teteŋganya* on the other hand is associated with high cognitive activity: it is the verb employed to refer to somebody´s intelligence. In this case, it often appears with the noun 'brain' in subject position. The verb can be used both in intransitive and in transitive sentences (503 and 504):

(503)   O-bu-hóngo-bw-è   bu-tetéŋ-ganyà.

                AUG-14-brain-14-3SgPOSS   14-think-REC

                Lit: His/her brain is thinking.

                '(S)he is intelligent.'

(504)   Tu-tetéŋ-ganyà   e-i-bála   dh-a   má-kai   g-a   Lubáala.

                1Pl-think-REC   AUG-10- name   10-ASS 6-family   6-ASS Lubaala

                'We are thinking of the names of the spirit´s Lubaala family (members).'

The example above implies an intensive way of thinking and associating names and biographies of the spirits; the verb *teteŋganya* includes to a great extent the concept of memory. In all the sentences presented here the verbs *lohoonkanya* and *teteŋganya* cannot replace each other: as mentioned above, the two terms are no synonyms in Lushese. The next two examples illustrate the difference of meaning between the two verbs used in the context of the same sentence:

(505)   (a)   N-dolohóon-kanya   o-lu-géero   lw-a   Ngóshe.

                  1Sg-think-REC   AUG-11-story   11-ASS Ngoshe

                  'I think, (I am going to tell) the story about (the king) Ngoshe.'

    (b)   N-tetéŋ-ganya   o-lu-géero   lw-a   Ngóshe.

                  1Sg-think-REC   AUG-11-story   11-ASS Ngoshe

                  'I think (of how) the story about (the king) Ngoshe (goes).'

While in sentence (505a) above the speaker expresses his intention of telling the story about King Ngoshe, the second sentence implies that the speaker is thinking of the plot and considers the appropriate way of arranging the story. The next example illustrates that thoughts about abstract ideas allow only the use of *teteŋganya*:

(506)   (a)   N-tetéŋ-ganya   e-i-tabáalo   i-bì   erà.

                  1Sg-think-REC   AUG-9-war   9-bad   EMPH

                  'I think (that) war is very bad.'

    (b)   *N-dolohóon-kanya   e-i-tabáalo   i-bì   erà.

                  1Sg-think-REC   AUG-9-war   9-bad   EMPH

                  *I think (that) war is very bad.

The use of the correct verb (*teteŋganya*) is meaningful: the sentence (506a) above expresses the speaker´s verdict on the war.

The same sentence with the verb *lohoonkanya* is rejected as non-sense and as being ungrammatical. Further difference in the use consists of the way of emphasis: the verb *lohoonkanya* allows only the quantitative adverb iinyo, while the verb *teteŋganya* allows only the qualitative adverb *buge*:

(507)   (a)   N-dolohóon-kanya   íinyo.   (b)   *N-dolohóon-kanya   bú-ge.

                  1Sg-think-REC   ADVmuch   1Sg-think-REC   14-good

                  'I have a lot to think/organize.'   *I have a lot to think/organize.

(507)	(c)	*N-tetéŋ-ganya	íinyo.	(d)	N-tetéŋ-ganya	bú-ge.
		1Sg-think-REC	ADVmuch		1Sg-think-REC	14-good
		'I have a lot to think/consider.'			'I have a lot to think/consider.'	

The verb *hinza* 'to be able to' in combination with the two verbs underlines their semantic difference: the verb *lohoonkanya* is conceived as an ordinary action of the everyday life; its´ combination with the verb *hinza* 'to be able to' produces the meaning that the person is not able of concentrating at a specific moment of time. On the other hand the verb *teteŋganya* is evaluated as a high mental activity which belongs to the human nature, thus the use of the verb *hinza* 'to be able to' produces the meaning of being less capable of thinking (Cf. ex. 481-483 above).

(508)   (a)   A-hínza   ku-lohóon-kanya.

        3Sg-be_able   15-think-REC

        '(S)he is able of thinking (=she can concentrate now).'

        (b)   A-hínza   ku- tetéŋ-ganya.

        3Sg-be_able   15-think-REC

        '(S)he is able of thinking (=but not very successful in this, e.g. not intelligent).'

As mentioned above, the verb *teteŋganya* invokes memory. The following sentence consists of the comment by a speaker after a morning discussion during the theatrical project (19.04.2011). He referred to the problems the speakers had to recall occupations and signs which are associated with them, and expressed his happiness that after this discussion they could remember many words and types of signs:

(509)   Tu-kodhé-sa   ma-géedhi   mu-ku-tetéŋ-ganya.

             1Pl-work-CAUS   6-intelligence_wisdom   LOC-15-think-REC

             'We produced a lot of wisdom/have been intelligent by thinking/recalling all together.'

This section illustrated the domain of cognition as conceived by the speakers including different types and sources of knowledge, the concept of intelligence and wisdom and the linguistic means that are used to refer to mental activities. The linguistic means have been presented in comparison and in combination in order to illuminate the underlying conceptualization of the mind and of the different domains of knowledge. The next section presents the ways the verbs of perception can be employed within the domain of cognition.

5.3 The verbs of perception expressing cognitive experience

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, cognition and perception are not conceived as two distinct domains. The local concept of cognition includes perception and social behaviour. The use of the verbs of perception within the domain of cognition is very frequent und underlines the relation of perception and cognition as well the intersubjective character of the mental activities. Section 5.3.1 illustrates the use of the holistic/ auditory verb *hulira*, while 5.3.2 gives an overview of the way the other verbs of perception are employed within the domain of cognition.

5.3.1 The use of the verb *hulira* 'hear; feel' within the domain of cognition

The holistic verb *hulira* can replace any verb that denotes mental activities. The use of the verb of perception is frequent in situated expressions, while employing the verbs which denote mental activities includes generic interpretation or emphasis. The following examples give a comparative overview of the relation between various verbs of cognition and the verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' as well the derived form *hulikira* marked with the stative and applicative suffix.

The following three sentences (510a-c) express the same meaning and are associated with the faculty of knowing occupations. The adverbs in brackets indicate how the sentences may be intensified: while the two verbs denoting mental activities allow either the quantitative or the qualitative adverb respective, the verb of perception with the stative and applicative suffixes can replace them both and in this context it allows the use of both adverbs:

(510)

GENERAL EXPRESSION:

(a)	A-manyi	ku-híiga	(íinyo).
	3Sg-know	15-hunt	(ADVmuch)

'He knows how to hunt (well).'

EMPHASIS:

(b)	A-te-béere-ra	ku-híiga	(bú-ge).
	3Sg-understand-APP	15-hunt	(14-good)

'He (really) knows how to hunt (well).'

SITUATED EXPRESSION:

(c)	A-huli-k-irà	ku-híiga	(íinyo/ bú-ge).
	3Sg-feel/hear-stat-APP	15-hunt	(ADVmuch/ 14-good)

'This one knows how to hunt (well).'

As illustrated above, the use of the verb of perception within the faculty of knowledge associated with occupations requires the causative and applicative suffixes. Thinking and understanding can be expressed by the verb *hulira* without suffixes. The next example illustrates another pair of sentences with the same meaning: the sentence in (511a) is presented as ex. (503) above and repeated here for convenience. Again while the use of the verb *teteŋganya* 'think' has emphatic character, the same sentence with the verb of perception is the commonly employed verb in situated expressions:

(511) GENERIC EXPRESSION / EMPHASIS:

(a)	O-bu-hóngo-bw-è		bu-tetéŋ-ganyà.
	AUG-14-brain-14-3SgPOSS		14-think-REC

Lit: His/her brain is thinking.

'(S)he is intelligent.'

(511)   SITUATED EXPRESSION:

    (b)   O-bu-hóngo-bw-è   bu-húlira.

            AUG-14-brain-14-3SgPOSS   14-feel/hear

            Lit: His/her brain is thinking.

            '(S)he is intelligent (in a specific matter).'

The next example illustrates that the verb *hulira* can replace the verb *tebeera*:

(512)   EMPHASIS:

    (a)   A-tébeera   ku-hikiridhà   (íinyo/ bú-ge).

            3Sg-understand   15-teach   (ADVmuch/ 14-good)

            Lit.: (S)he understands thinking (a lot/well).

            '(S)he knows how to teach (properly/very well).'

            SITUATED EXPRESSION:

    (b)   A-húlira   ku-hikiridhà   (íinyo/ bú-ge).

            3Sg-feel/hear   15-teach   (ADVmuch/ 14-good)

            Lit.: (S)he has a (very good) feeling/knowledge of teaching.'

            '(S)he knows how to teach (properly/very well).'

The implication in (512b) above is that the teaching is taking place in actual time, or that the speaker is among the students hence speaks about own experience or that the teacher is very good in teaching a specific matter (without having necessary teaching as occupation). As presented in the former section, the verb of perception with the causative suffix has the meaning of teaching matters that are associated with knowledge of social relations and cultural values (Cf. ex. 514b).

The verb can also replace the two verbal roots that are associated with knowing and teaching of specific cultural issues; ex. (489) is repeated here for convenience:

(513)   (a)   o-ku-hikiridha e-i-hihoombu

            AUG-15-teach   AUG-9-taboo

            'to teach; know taboos'

     (b)   o-ku-teesa   ku-n-songa

            AUG-15-discuss   LOC-9-reason

            'to discuss on the case; to know the reason'

While knowing the taboos or the reason of something can be expressed through the verb *hulira*, teaching cultural prohibitions requires the use of the causative form of the verb *hulisa*, as shown in

(514b). In parallel style knowing the reason of a specific matter can be expressed through the verb *hulira*, but taking part in an official meeting can be expressed through the reciprocal form of the verb with a subject concord in plural, as illustrated in (515b):

(514)   (a)   M-púlira   e-hi-hóombu.   (b)   M-púli-sa   e-hi-hóombu.

         1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-9-taboo   1Sg-feel/hear-CAUS   AUG-9-taboo

         'I know the taboo.'   'I teach the taboo.'

(515)   (a)   M-púlira   e-n-sónga   (b)   Tu-hulira-ganà   e-nsónga.

         1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-9-case   1Pl-feel/hear-REC   AUG-9-case

         'I know the reason.'   'We discuss on the case.'

The holistic/ auditory verb can be employed in sentences that include abstract ideas: The difference of meaning between (516a) and (516b) below is the degree of involvement of the speaker: while in (516a) the speaker is highlighting the fact of reflexion about the consequences of war, in (519b) the speaker implies that his thoughts reflect own experience of war.

(516)   (a)   N-tetéŋ-ganya   e-i-tabáalo   i-bì   erà.

         1Sg-think-REC   AUG-9-war   9-bad   EMPH

         'I think (that) war is very bad (= I evaluate war in an abstract way).'

         (b)   M-púlira   e-i-tabáalo   i-bì   erà.

         1Sg-feel/hear   AUG-9-war   9-bad   EMPH

         'I know (that) war is very bad (=I reflect my own experience of war).'

From the Bashese point of view the knowing that is based on own experience is evaluated as more precious than knowing that results from abstract thinking. For example the combination of the verb *hulira* with the verb *henya* 'to know signs' produces the meaning that somebody knows, e.g. has great experience in knowing and understanding appropriately signs, as illustrated in (517b). Example (495) is repeated here as (517a) for convenience:

(517)   (a)   A-tébeera   ku-hénya(-hénya)   íinyo/ bú-ge.

         3Sg-understand   15-understand_sign (RED)   ADVmuch/ 14-good

         'He is very good in understanding/making signs properly.'

         (b)   A-húlira   ku-hénya.

         3Sg-feel/hear   15-understand_sign

         '(S)he knows/ is very experienced in making signs (properly).'

The combination of the verb of perception with the reduplicated form of *henyahenya* 'to make/give signs' means that the subject of the sentence understands the signs given by another person and not that he is very capable of making appropriate signs. In the case that the signs include sound the interpretation of the perception verb is 'to hear':

(518)   A-húlira   ku-hénya-hénya.

          3Sg-3Sg-feel/hear 15-understand_sign-RED

          a) 'He understands the sign (which is given by another person and doesn´t include sound).'

          b) 'He hears the sign (which is given by another person and includes sound).'

The holistic/ auditory verb of perception can be further used with the meaning 'to follow somebody´s argument' or 'to agree with somebody'. Because these uses are depending to a great extent on the pragmatic frame of a dialogical situation, they are presented in chapter six, which illustrates the languages of social interaction. The use of the verb within the domain of knowledge that is associated with the spiritual world is also excluded here: again the instance of social interaction with the metaphysical entities is the reason why the interpretation of the verb *hulira* within this specific domain of knowledge is presented in chapter six.

Besides the uses of the verb *hulira* within the domain of cognition that are included in this chapter, the same verb can be used as an evidential strategy. This kind of use is already included in former chapters and will be summarized for all verbs of perception in section 5.3.3.

5.3.2 The use of other verbs of perception within the domain of cognition
The visual verb *boina* 'see' has a negative value within the domain of cognition: the eyes as source of knowledge are evaluated as superficial thus not to be trusted. The following proverb expresses this concept: one who trust only what he sees, is not capable of identifying the most common things:

(519)   A-háya   e-bye-bóine: Kabáka   a-mu-héeta   kaláka.

          3Sg-speak   AUG-8REL-see   Kabáka   3Sg-PAST-   kaláka

          'The one who speaks (according to) what he sees: he calls the king with the wrong name.'

As mentioned in section 5.2.2 the reflexive form of the visual verb is the most frequent counterpart of the English term 'to forget'. Especially when speakers admit the own failing of memory, they use the reflexive form in the past tense:

(520)   N-ée-bo(i)n-irè   o-kú-ghia   a-má-idhi.

          1Sg-REFL-see-PAST   AUG-15-come   AUG-6-water

          'I forgot to bring water.'

The speakers refuse the concept of forgetting completely things that concern the everyday life: the above sentence implies that the speaker forgot to fetch the water in the right moment, but surely (s)he knows how or where to fetch water. The use of the reflexive form is casual and related to specific and short time frames: it doesn´t associate with the cognitive competence of a person, hence its use to comment others is evaluated as an expression of surprise rather than as a negative comment:

(521)   O-hée-bóin-ire   ku-fúmba!   Lw-a-kí?

               2Sg-REFL-see-PAST   15-cook   11-ASS-Q

               'You forgot to cook! Why?'

Compared with the use of the negative forms of the verbs *ighiuka* and/or *idhukira* 'to remember' the use of the reflexive verb of perception is less emphatic:

(522)   (a)   Si-dhuk-irè   Lu-shese.   (b)   N-ée-bóin-ire   Lushese.

               1SgNEG-remember-PAST 11-Ssese   1Sg-REFL-see-PAST   11-Ssese

               'I forgot (how to speak) Lushese.'   'I forgot (how to speak) Lushese.'

               EMPHASIS   GENERAL EXPRESSION

The reflexive form of the visual verb *–ee-boina* 'to forget' cannot be accompanied by qualitative expressions in order to be emphasized. The use of the quantitative adverb *iinyo* is accepted as grammatically correct but not very elegant: the speakers prefer to emphasize in this context by using expressions of time:

(523)   N-ee-bóina   ká-ntu   bu-lí-ho.

               1Sg-REFL-see   13-thing   14-COP-LOC

               'I always forget details.'

In the next section we will see the use of the verb *boina* 'see' creates evidential meaning.

The verb *gwa(i)ta* 'to touch; hold' can be used within the domain of cognition to create dynamicity and emphasis: in the context of mental activities the use of the haptic verb denotes quick understanding. The metaphoric association of grasping with understanding is common in many languages (Cf. Sweetser 1990 a.o.) and reflects the concept of knowing (having something in the mind) as possessing (having something in the hand). The next two examples illustrate the use of the verb in Lushese in an affirmative and in a negative sentence. The verb can be used in any tense.

(524)   A-gwais-íre   a-ma-húlu   g-a   ku-lióha

               3Sg-touch_hold-PAST   AUG-6-sense_meaning   6-ASS   15-meet

               'He grasped the meaning of the meeting (=he understood quickly what the meeting was about).'

(525)   Ta-gwáit-a   e-bi-gámbo   by-à   ifè.

               3Sg-touch_hold   AUG-8-word   8-ASS   1PlPERS

               'He doesn´t understand what we are saying.'

Similar to the sentences build with holistic/ auditory verb of perception *hulira* this verb can be intensified by using both the quantitative and the qualitative adverbs. All verbs of perception cannot be combined with the verb *hinza*, which is associated with the concept of general ability to do something; this holds for their use within the domain of cognition. While the verbs that denote mental activities

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may occur in combination with the verb *hinza* as illustrated in various examples in section 5.2, and despite the fact that the semantic interpretation in these cases may need explanation for people unfamiliar to the local concept of perception and cognition, the verbs of perception employed to express mental activities cannot be combined with the verb *hinza*: this is consequent to the direct links between life and animacy, perception, and cognition that cannot be restricted by specific time frames[152].

5.3.3 The use of the olfactory verb to create evidential meanings within the domain of cognition

As an introduction to the speakers´ indices regarding his or her source of information will serve the use of the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)': the verb can be employed to express intuition:

(526)   M-púnya   a-ighi-è./   a-ighià   ku-ighia..

           1Sg-smell_bad   AUG-come-VE   3Sg-come   15-come

           'I think that (s)he is coming/ (s)he will come.'

In a negative sentence the verb expresses doubting without having a specific reason or having no clue:

(527)   Si-húnya   obá   a-ighià   ku-ighia.

           1Sg-smell_bad   Conj   3Sg-come   15-come

           'I rather don´t think that (s)he is going to come/ doubt whether (s)he is going to come or not.'

The verb *bushabusha* 'to doubt', which appears only in reduplicated form, denotes also the meaning of doubt, but cannot replace the verb *hunya* in the above or in similar sentences, first because the verb *bushabusha* implies a reason more specific than just intuition that results to doubting, and second, because the verb *bushabusha* can be used with reference to any tense, while the verb *hunya* when used to express intuition or doubt allows only reference to actual (present) or future events, but not to events that happened in the past:

(528)   (a)   M-búsha-mbúsha   obá   a-ighià   ku-ighia./   ha-igh-íre.

                 1Sg-doubt-RED   Conj   3Sg-come   15-come   3SgPAST-come-PAST

                 'I doubt that (s)he is going to come./   …that (s)he came.'

           (b)   *Si-húnya   obá   ha-igh-íre.

                 1Sg-smell_bad   Conj   3SgPAST-come-PAST

                 *I doubt that (s)he came.

Both verbs cannot be intensified either with qualitative or with quantitative expressions; the verb *bushabusha* cannot be emphasized in any way. Further it cannot be used to express indirect disagreement ("I doubt that what you say is true"). To express disagreement the Bashese use other linguistic means, which are presented in chapter six. The verb *hunya* used with the meaning of knowing something by intuition can be emphasized through expressions of time; in this case it appears

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[152] The same applies for the verb *lohola* 'to be able to accomplish an action immediately' within the domain of cognition.

in past tense; the verb in the secondary clause cannot follow in past tense: it must occur in present (or future) tense, as illustrated in the next example:

(529) EMPHASIS

Na-húnyi-re   o-ighi-e   bu-hwiirè.

1Sg-smell_bad   2Sg-come-VE   14-daytime

'The whole day I knew that you (will) come.'

The same way of emphasizing is allowed also in negative sentences, when the verb *hunya* is employed to express doubt.

(530) EMPHASIS

Si-húnyi-re   o-ighie   bu-hwiirè.

1Sg-NEG-smell_bad-PAST 2Sg-come-VE   14-daytime

'The whole day I doubted whether you (will) come.'

The causative form of the olfactory verb which is *hunyis(h)a* expresses the meaning 'to be surprised or astonished by an unexpected event', consequently it cannot be used in combination with temporal expressions. The speakers explain that expectations are a form of presentiment: they evaluate the causative form as a contrast to the plain form of the verb (*hunya*). The negation of the causative form has the same semantic content as the plain form, but has pragmatically a highly emphatic value. Also the use of this form requires that the following verb occurs in present tense marked with the modal suffix:

(531) M-púnyi-s(h)a   o-ighi-e.

1Sg-NEG-smell_bad-PAST 2Sg-come-VE

'I am surprised that you came (because I thought that you will not be coming).'

During fieldwork I was myself surprised that the state of being surprised or astonished is not evaluated as an emotion, as I expected. The speakers explained that unexpected events causing a feeling are expressed through different linguistic means depending on the context: being surprised by something potentially dangerous like a snake would be referred to through a construction such as "the snake frightened me", being surprised by something positive would rather lead to employ a metaphor of happiness (Cf. on happiness and fear 4.2.1 and 4.2.4 respective). The use of the causative form *hunyis(h)a* presupposes that the one referred to has been thinking on a specific issue and an unexpected event causes that the previous idea appears wrong or that the speaker had a presentiment that turns to be wrong.

5. 4 Summary

The local conceptualization of cognition is characterized by a holistic approach of the mind and the high evaluation of cultural values and social interaction when it comes to mental activities. Knowledge is conceived as power and is divided in specific faculties that reflect cultural values, social hierarchies as well as the everyday experience of the speakers. Cognition and perception are not seen as two separated categories, rather they may be described as a continuum or as the different sides of the same

coin: while the language of the mind includes various means, the use of the verbs of perception within the domain of cognition highlights the role of the human experience, is preferred for the reference to specific events of cognitive interaction and is employed to create emphasis and evidential meaning within the domain of cognition. The following figure visualizes the way linguistic means are employed in the discource of cognitive experience and mental activities:

Figure 11: Speaking about cognition: the verbs of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear', *gwaita* 'touch; hold' and *hunya* 'smell (bad)' within the domain of cognitive experience[153]
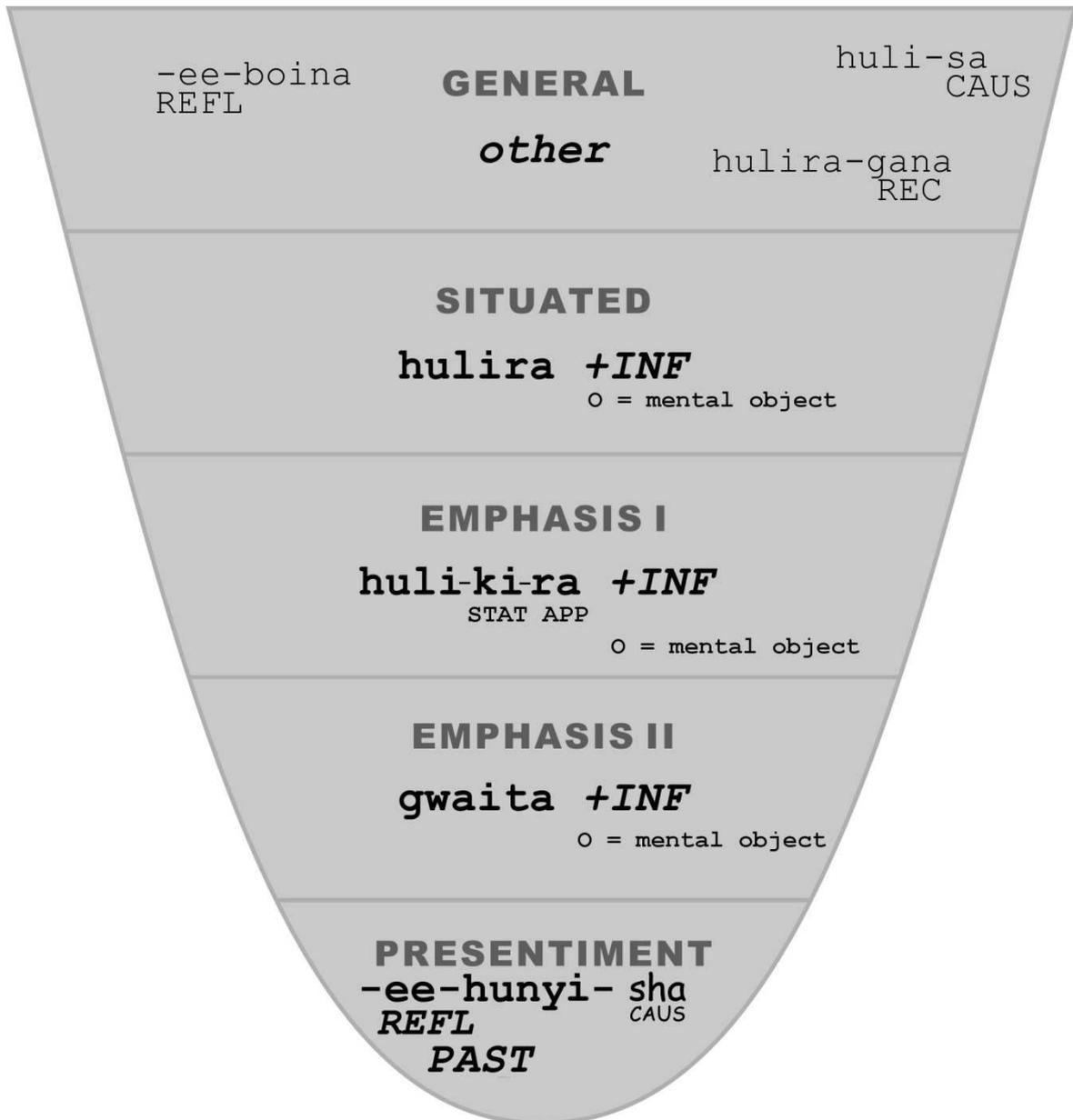
The figure illustrates discourse in the form of an inverted pyramid insisting on levels of epistemic needs depicted as rows. Reading from top to bottom the first row is labelled 'general' meaning general cognitive experience. The first row indicates that besides other verbs, lexicalised forms of two verbs of

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[153] Source: Thanasoula 2011, data compilation.

perception (the reflexive form of the visual verb *–ee-boina*, the causative and reciprocal forms of the holistic verb *hulisa* and *huliragana*) may be employed to refer to various mental activities. The second row is labelled 'situated expression, hence it illustrates the expressions employed when speaking about actual, specific and / or personal cognitive events: in this case the holistic verb *hulira* accompanied by a mental object is preferably employed to meet this epistemic need. The next two rows illustrate the two possible degrees of emphasis when speaking about a cognitive event: the lowest grade (Emphasis I) contains the use of the holistic verb in stative/applicative form (*hulikira*); this verb can be employed as a way of emphasis regarding mental activities evaluated as well performed. The row labelled 'emphasis II' illustrates the speaker´s preference to use the tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' meaning a mental activity performed very quick. The last row illustrates the discourse of presentiment when referring to an event of cognition: in this case, the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' is employed in non derived form or in the reflexive or in the causative form. Further, the use of the olfactory verb in past tense expresses knowing by intuition.

Except the lexicalised derived forms of the verbs *boina* 'see' and *hulira* 'feel; hear' illustrated in the top row of the above figure and the three ways of using the olfactory verb within the same domain illustrated in the bottom row of the above figure, the use of the verbs of perception within the domain of cognition requires the presence of a mental object which usually appears in form of infinitive: again it is the construction and the surrounding elements in combination with the semantic of the verbs that allow the interpretation of each case. The various uses of the holistic verb within the domain of cognition again underline the difference between this verb and the other verbs of perception. The following semantic map visualizes the use and meanings of the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel;hear' within the domain of cognitive experience.

Figure 12: The holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' within the domain of cognitive experience[154]
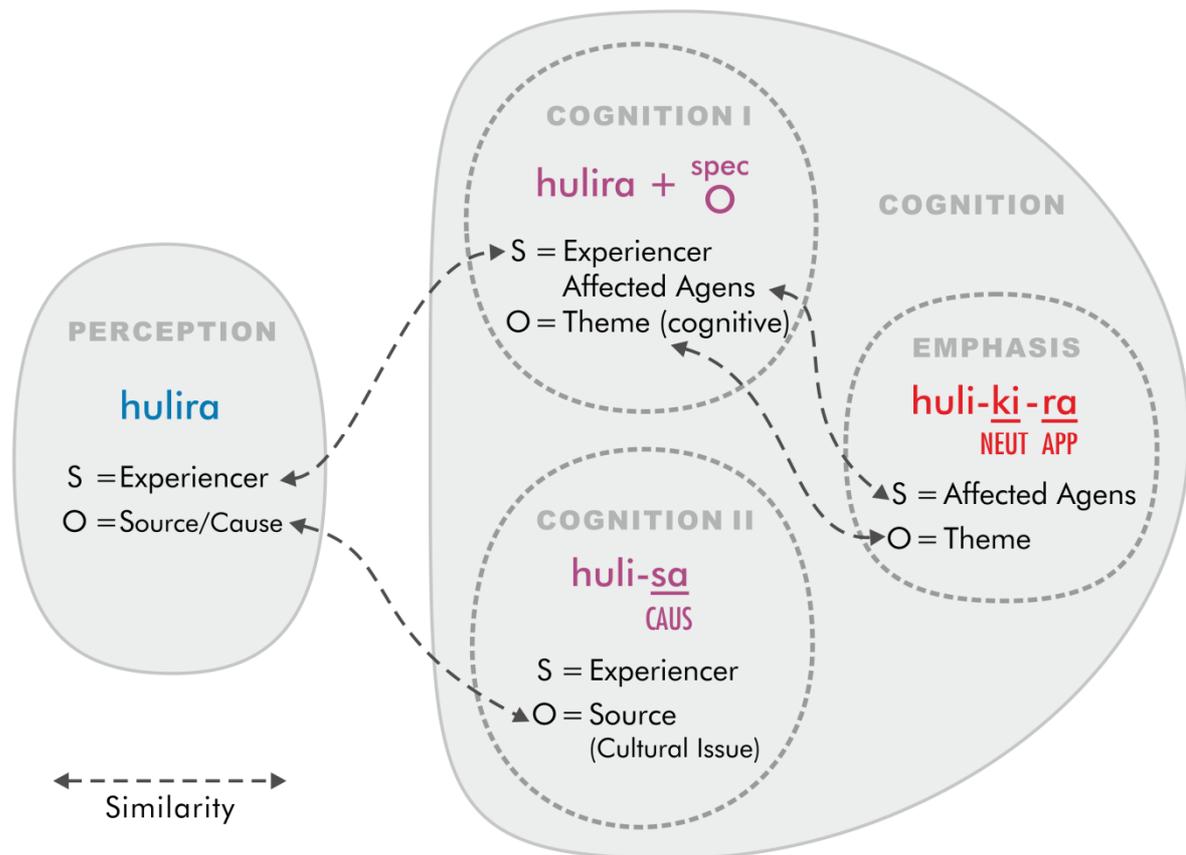
The figure illustrates the domain of perception on the left: the semantic components regarding subject (and object in case of transitive use) of the verb used within this domain are linked (arrows) to the domain of cognition (background area marked in light grey), insisting in three areas. The top of the figure labelled 'Cognition I' includes the use of the holistic verb as well as the possibility in situated expression to refer to actual, specific and/ or personal events of cognition. In these cases, the human entity is the experience or Affected Agens of the mental event. At the bottom of the figure, 'cognition II' means the case of knowing/ teaching a cultural issue. In this case, the holistic verb cannot be replaced by any other lexical means denoting cognitive events. The right figure is labelled 'emphasis': this area contain the stative/ applicative form of the holistic verb (*hulikira*). In this use, the verb is employed to express the degree of emphasis the mental skills and/ or performance with respect to the human subject. The figure does not include the reciprocal use of the holistic verb (within the domain of cognition I) because this would increase unacceptably the visual complexity. Again the semantic structure of the holistic verb as illustrated within the domain of cognition can be at best described as a case of vagueness, while the semantic structures of the visual, the tactile and the olfactory verb can be at best described as cases of polysemy motivated by metaphorical processes.

The next chapter discusses the social interaction and the use of the verbs of perception within this domain.

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6. Language in the light of social interaction

This chapter consists of a synopsis of the linguistic means employed for participating in and speaking about social life among the Bashese: it is through language that personhood comes about; through language people communicate and build up relationships with each other. Section 6.1 provides information on some basic concepts that rule social life. Section 6.2 includes the vocabulary of social interaction between people and the way the verbs of perception are employed within this domain. Section 6.3 gives information on the secret register of the language which is used to communicate with spirits.

6.1 Socialization under the light of cultural values

The term socialization includes various processes fundamental for human being; socialization is not only a necessary strategy for survival, a way of cooperating between human or the regulation of human relationships within a social group. Moreover, socialization processes consist of a complicated and multileveled network that creates meaning, preserves and entails it. Within the social network, practical needs, cultural, political and aesthetical values as well collective and individual experience come into practice and thus into existence: through the direct experience of socializing with each other, humans define, exchange, reflect and evaluate what is significant to them. In other words, what is supposed to have meaning and to take it a step further, what kind of meaning. Socializing is the only way of being and of knowing, "a window out of and into the chaos" as Castoriades (2001:77) notices. The present section focuses on the interrelation between social life and cultural values and concepts among the Bashese and discusses the impact of the community loss on the attitude of the speakers towards their language and therefore toward the fieldwork.

The aspects presented in the following pages include the notion of personhood, the crucial interrelation between behaviour and character, the influence of gender constructions, the concept of cultural prohibition and the parameter of metaphysical intervention; the role of language within the local experience of socialization will be highlighted. It is necessary to mention here that the concepts, values and processes described by the Bashese are similar to systems described for others and is not limited to neighboring African cultures. Still, the vast number of scientific work including ethnographic, historical, religious, psychological, social and political perspectives on socialization processes in other African communities will not be engaged here: the aim of the following sections is only to give an account of the ideas expressed by the speakers and the comparison to other. Comparisons with the neighboring cultures are omitted, mainly because of two reasons: first, any comparison would lack basis due to the significant difference between social practice and understanding within existing larger communities, and would only be a reflection of these shaped by the absence of a larger community as has been the case for decades for the remaining Bashese speakers; and second, because of the linguistic orientation of this documentation. My anticipation of cultural concepts was limited to the levels that directly influence the use of language. Therefore it would create theoretical, methodological and therefore substantial asymmetries to compare observations of culture which emerged through my fieldwork with the observations and interpretations expressed by researchers, who were aimed to and prepared for focusing on cultural and/ or social

processes[155]. The aim of the present chapter is to illustrate and explain the role of language within the cultural background and social experience of the speakers following the principal that linguistic use and meaning cannot be understood or described adequately out of specific contexts.

Beginning with the term society in Lushese, the polysemous word *obuhángwa* corresponding to the meanings 'society; culture; religion' illustrates at best that these three notions are conceived as the same from the local point of view, since the same word is used when referring to society, culture and the local religion[156]. Other ways of referring to society in an abstract way include the use of the word *obubonero* corresponding to the polysemous noun *akabonero* meaning 'signs; symptoms', and *obutebe*, an abstract noun that includes the root corresponding to the English word 'seat' and associates society and the geographical parameter of residence. These terms are employed in associative construction in which the possessor is always indicated by the first person plural; the use of this plural pronoun indicates both collectivity and identification :

(532) (a) o-bu-bonéro bw-á-ife (b) o-bu-tebè bw-á-ife

AUG-14-sign_symptom 14-ASS-1PlPOSS AUG-14-seat 14-ASS-1PlPOSS

Lit: Signs/ symptoms of ours Lit: Seat of ours

'our culture, society and religion' 'our culture society and religion'

Coming to socialization processes, the prominent question is: who is to be classified as a person? Speaking about concepts that form social life requires the question of personhood[157] because it is the person that comprises the smallest entity within a social structure and it is the person, its experience, its needs, desires, goals as well its interaction with the others that form social life. The question of personhood is an ontological one that cannot be investigated outside of the cultural background: while the experience of individuality and personhood may be considered as a panhuman shared phenomenon, the definition and attributes of personhood vary among cultures remarkably. Further, the participants of a certain culture subjectively apprehend the various aspects of their culture and adopt their own way of coping with cultural values and social norms, while negotiating these values and norms with others:

> Thus, from whichever way we approach our enquiry we see how important it is to keep in mind the two aspects of personhood. Looking at it from the objective side, the distinctive qualities, capacities and roles with which society endows a person enable the person to be known to be, and also to show himself to be the person he is supposed to be. Looked at from subjective side, it is a question of how the individual, as actor, knows himself to be – or not to be- the person he is expected to be in a given situation and status. The individual is not a passive bearer of personhood; he must appropriate the qualities and capacities, and the norms governing its expression to himself. (Fortes 1973: 287 in: Jackson & Karp 1990: 16)

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[155] A further dimension, the dimension of contact- since no community is absolutely isolated from others- should be taken into account in order to interpret the local cultural conceptions and social practices adequately and discuss them within larger scientific debates, but again the orientation of this study as well the limitations of time and means that result out of it are mainly the reasons why this matter must be excluded here.

[156] Non local religion like Christianity and Islam are referred to as *eidini* 'religion', which is a loanword from Arabic.

[157] On personhood in various African cultures see Turner 1983, MacGaffey 1986, Jackson & Karp 1990, Maw & Pincton 1992, Geurts 2002; on personhood, its´ cultural conceptualization and sociolinguistic parameters see Storch 2010 and 2011.

The speakers consider personhood as a flexible idea that mainly depends on the social role someone is supposed to play within a social group; however, it is also influenced by the experiences gained through life. Personhood is conceived rather as a performance consisting of actions and kinds of speech than as a stable, constant and inherent value that human possess. The polysemous noun *embis(h)a* illustrates the relation between individual and performance within the social group paradigmatically, since it corresponds both to the English terms 'behaviour' and 'character':

(533)   e-m-bís(h)a   'behaviour; character'

             AUG-9-behaviour_character

Personal behaviour is considered as the crucial criteria to be able to define and/ or evaluate a person´s character. At the same time, making a comment on someone´s behaviour is a comment on personhood and on the person´s integrity. As mentioned in the former chapter about wisdom and intelligence, elder people are considered as being wise. Because of the experience they could gain through their long lives, elders are expected to know the appropriate behaviour for any situation. The role of the elder is integrated in proverbs as a personification of the mature adult, which through good manners displays signs of having good character. The following proverb illustrates this; within the proverb, the noun *embis(h)o* 'needle' is used as a metaphor meaning *embis(h)a* 'behaviour/ character'. The sound relation of the two nouns in Lushese underlines the metaphoric link between the implied principals of a strong character and a useful (and made of strong material, for example metal) instrument like the needle[158]. The wise elder acts according to principles without indoctrinating others: (s)he is regarded as an example of good behaviour and character even without mentioning in an explicit way which values and principals should guide someone in a given situation. The deeds and speech of a good character presuppose the consideration of principals, which can be understood basically by the person´s performance: like the proper use of a needle, which can be seen in the quality of clothes, while fidgeting with it is evaluated as a non-sense action. Still the clothes can be done only through the use of a needle, even if you do not find it on the clothes, when they are ready to use them.

(534)   O-mu-gúngu   ta-gálula   m-bíso: nga   te-gi-shánga.

             AUG-1-elder   3SgNEG-fidget 9-needle   Conj   NEG-9-find

             Lit: An elder doesn´t fidget (with) the needle: like it should not be found.

             'A strong character speaks and acts according to principles.'

The role within a social setting is the criteria for examining if someone has a good character: the next proverb describes someone who is not a chief or noble by birth (not born within a royal clan), but through being brave during a battle, he proves to have the qualities of a leader.

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[158] Another word that is used in proverbs to symbolize behaviour and character is *embisi* 'hyena': on the one hand again the nouns sound similarly, on the other hand the hyena is a character within narratives: the animal is associated with danger and aggression but also with collective effectiveness, solidarity and intelligence.

(535)   Ishè-ba-bínga: mu-gáb-e.

           m-2OC-chase   1-give-ND

           Lit: The one chasing them (the enemies) away: (he is) the given one.

           'The man who chases the enemies away is the real leader.'

The tight relation of character with deeds and precisely with speech can be exemplified through many proverbs in which the character is metaphorically indicated by the use of the noun *omunwa* 'mouth'. The metonymic association between speech and the physical source of speaking (being the mouth) is attested in numerous languages throughout the world, many Africans among them. From the point of view of the Bashese, a person saying evil things is unbearable to the community. The following saying has two possible interpretations with respect to the introducing metaphor with the noun meaning 'small mouth': the evil speech and/or the bad character of a person are implied[159].

(536)   A-ka-mwa   aká-haaya   ki-bì: ka-tá-tuul-ir-áho.

           AUG-12-mouth   12REL-speak   7-bad   12-NEG-sit-APP-LOC

           Lit: a small mouth which says evil (words): it will not sit here any longer.

           a) 'The one speaking evil will not be accepted to stay here (= to sit with us).'

           b) 'Bad behaviour/ character will not be accepted in our society/ culture.'

The concord of Cl. 7 prefixed to the adjectival root *–bi* 'bad' indicates an elliptic construction: the implied noun *ekigambo* belongs to Cl. 7 and corresponds to the English noun 'word'. The second verb of the utterance is marked with the applicative suffix, which is facultative: the meaning of the verb *tuula* 'sit' allows the addition of locative information without morphological marking. The applicative form indicates here the parameter of time: 'sitting somewhere longer' has the meaning 'to stay; to settle[160]'; sitting is associated with society, since society can be referred to as "our seat" (Cf. ex. (532b) above)

The following example consists of a proverb that criticizes the inappropriate behaviour of a husband towards his wife: it causes her to abandon him, and only too late the man will reflect how foolishly he has been behaving. The plot between the married couple is used here as a parable for any relationship. The preceding demonstrative to the noun *(o)munwa* 'mouth' creates emphasis:

(537)   O-gwò   mu-nwà: a-tégeera   a-húir-e.

           AUG-3DEM   3-mouth   3Sg-understand   3Sg-depart-VE

           Lit: Such a (harsh) mouth: (he) will understand (his foolishness) when she leaves.

           'A bad behaviour/ character results in loss of good relationships.'

The importance of speaking in acquiring good manners as a person grows up and hence becoming a person with integrity and character is highlighted by the following proverb: like goats that even if they have long fur, they soon enough become dry again when they fall into the water and get completely

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[159] From the point of view of the speakers the two approximate translations in (a-b) are the same: saying evil things is a kind of bad behaviour which results of bad character. The sentence is not evaluated as ambiguous, by some speakers not even as polysemous.
[160] Settling down can be expressed through various linguistic means.

wet, a young person who does not speak will remain the same and won´t be able to improve behaviour and character by exchanging the own experience with others. Always staying quiet[161] is evaluated as a sign of weakness and/ or low cognitive capacity:

(538)   O-mu-búbuka[162]   atá-haaya: n-dhiabuhúle   y-a   i-geirè,

        AUG-1-young   3SgREL/NEG-speak   9-goat   9-ASS   9-long_fur

        bwe   i-gwà[163]   mu-máidhi,   i-gála   o-lwa-irò.

        Conj   9-fall   LOC-water   9-become_dry   AUG-11REL-evening

        Lit: The young one who doesn´t speak (is) like a goat with long hair: when it falls into the water, it becomes dry till noon.

        'A young persons who doesn´t speak: (s)he cannot change easily (= improve).'

This proverb indicates that by changing, the young person improves behaviour and personal skills: the saying includes again the positive association of age with intelligence, wisdom, good behaviour and integrity. Further, it brings out the flexible concept of personhood, constructed as a value that depends on development and is the result of interaction and change. The concept of personhood as something which remains the same through time is not anticipated by the speakers: the principals that should guide human behaviour are stable, but any human reflects and adopts these shared principals according to specific parameters. Choosing the right means in the right way is what matters and someone able of doing so is evaluated as having good character.

The direct reference to the character qualities of another person does not occur very often, because it is considered as impolite[164]. Describing actions and speech of the person referred to is preferred instead. The expression "to have behaviour/ character" is a general way of communicating about another person´s qualities. The negation of the following sentence is evaluated as very impolite thus is not used although it would be grammatically correct. The affirmative sentence is positively associated with proper behaviour and/ or integer character:

(539)   Á-i-na   e-m-bís(h)a.   '(S)he has (good) behaviour/ character.'

        3Sg-COP-CONN   AUG-9-behaviour_character

The possessive structure combined with the noun *embis(h)a* 'character' as illustrated here was twice used spontaneously: in the first occurrence, the speaker refers to a young niece and her knowledge of how to behave as a wife as the young woman is described as having good character because she wakes up early and performs her everyday work quickly and effectively without spending too much money; in the other occurrence, the speaker refers to the studiousness of his great granddaughter in school, who is among the best in her class. Later discussion within fictional scenarios regarding the character of a young wife who is always reading and a young girl who makes first housework and afterwards

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[161] While speaking in an appropriate way according to the given situation is seen as sign of wisdom and intelligence (Cf. chapter 5), silence at the right moment is also associated with wisdom. Staying quiet is not considered as being the same like being silent when appropriate.

[162] This verb has the meaning of an animal nest being inhabited: the association implied is that of someone who is still in the parental nest and thus is young.

[163] Also attested: *bwígwa*.

[164] On the relation between politeness and directness see Brown & Levinson 1987 and Aikhenvald 2010.

schoolwork revealed that the speakers in these two cases evaluated the actions as negative. In both cases, the person fails in the role expected of them. The expectation of specific behaviour within a specific setting, in this case mainly with respect to the age but also with respect to the family hierarchy, is expressed by the following saying:

(540)   O-ku-tyà   o-ku-sék-wa:

                AUG-15-fear   AUG-15-laugh-PASS

                o-mu-hére   te-gúmi-ra   lu-lambáala   lw-a   laatáwe.

                AUG-1-child   3SgNEG-wear-APP   11-cloth   11-ASS   (9)father

                Lit: The fear of being laughed at: the child does not wear the father´s clothes.

                'One gains approval by other people by behaving as (s)he should/ it is expected with respect to the status within a social group/ to the given situation.'

Besides age, gender, and the position within the family and/or clan, hierarchy consists of two main parameters that influence the behaviour and character of a person. "Having good behaviour/ character" is generally associated with solidarity, obedience, honesty and industriousness; but the good behaviour/character of a woman or a man is associated with different attitudes, deeds and speech. The noun *obusaighia* which correspond to the meaning 'manhood' is associated with positive character values that are all considered equally important:

(541)   O-bu-sáighia   bu-kirá-na.

                AUG-14-man   14-surpass-REC

                Lit: Male (abstract elements) surpass each other.

                'All good elements of a person are equally important.'

The importance of gender results in numerous sayings that portray the different expectations towards a person with respect to gender. Begging is considered to be an asocial action: the beggar is asking for something instead of working for it. Only women are able to beg without shame if they are mothers in distress, which means they are not able to provide for their children:

(542)   I-i-nyóko   a-ka-sab-íra: t-ee-sonyí-hwa.

                AUG-9-mother   2Sg-12OC-ask-APP   NEG-REFL-shame/guilt-PASS

                Lit: The mother asks (on behalf of) it (the child): she feels not ashamed/ guilty.

                'Begging is bad: it is allowed only for mothers who cannot supply for their children.'

Another example consists of a saying that portrays a hunter who gets lost in the forest: while just anyone should be fearful of unknown places in the forest (because getting lost there may cause death), the hunter who gets lost is the one who brings food: it is his duty to be brave and clever enough to find his path back home. Being effective as a hunter sometimes includes a kind of behaviour that is evaluated as dangerous, silly and/ or bad from the perspective of non-hunters. Variations of this saying portray traders, who go too far and captains that go out to sea on their own: all occupations associated with this kind of behaviour are performed by men who, according to specific needs, behave in a way

that is not accepted in other cases. The behaviour and good or bad character of men gives rise to plenty of proverbs based on archetypical characters inherent in different occupations, family members of any age, disabled people of any kind, as well the characters of the stranger, the visitor, the friend, the neighbor, the rich, the poor, the king, the chief, the free person and the slave. In contrast the proverbs commenting the behaviour and character of women are restricted in following archetypical roles: the young daughter who should be clean, be able to support in the household and should not argue with elders; the young wife who should be able to take care of her husband and not argue with him; the mother, who should be able to take care of her children (and nobody answers her back); the barren woman who is evaluated as useless but socially competent, and the lazy woman, who is considered both as useless and as being asocial (Cf. ex. 543) below).

The design of gender based archetypes includes rules of behaviour as well as rules of prohibition which are called *ekihombu* and/ or *emidhiro*[165]: in order to remain or restore the balance of gender, the performance of certain actions, including ways of speech, must be avoided. The speakers[166] reject the translation of these nouns with the word "taboo" as they prefer the English term "cultural prohibition" and evaluate violation of such behavioural and linguistic rules as dangerous and/ or dissocial. They explained that the word taboo evokes a religious connotation that is not meant by the noun in Lushese. The behavioural and linguistic rules consisting in form of various prohibitions are seen as product of cultural concepts. The cultural interpretation of gender results in a variety of prohibitions which all serve in obtaining or restoring the balance of power, in this case the balance of gender. The notion of cultural prohibition will engage us further in the context of interaction with metaphysical powers.

Alone the diversity of male stereotypes compared to the few female stereotypes which are restricted within the family hierarchy as used symbolically in proverbs illuminates the difference in expectation and evaluation of the behaviour, character and social competence of men and women respective. The cultural values remain for all the same but for example, while a man may be considered as brave and intelligent if he puts his self in danger for the correct reason, a woman may be considered as being brave and intelligent if she succeeds in her tasks within the family against contradictory parameters, for example by begging if she cannot provide for her children in a proper way. Referring to a man´s laziness the speakers may choose a proverb portraying a bad host, a hungry slave, a senile elder, a tired traveler and so on, while speaking about a woman´s laziness the speakers portray either a woman of any age and marital status who fails in performing the expected actions (a daughter who forgets to bring water, a young wife who forgets to cook and so on) or simply speak of the "lazy woman" directly: the meaning "lazy" is associated with weakness in case of women.

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[165] They are considered and used as synonymous; while the noun *ekihombu* is evaluated as being Lussese, the noun *omudhiro* more often used in the plural form *emidhiro* is regarded as loanword.
[166] A note on "the speakers" here may be necessary, because I really mean their judgement with respect to an English translation: firstly the word taboo is known to all speakers irrespective of their competence in English. Secondly the speakers mainly referred to here are the few ones that speak English and indeed expressed an opinion on the use and meaning of the English word taboo.

(543)   O-mu-kádhi   o-mu-náfu: a-lwála   ku-kiréenge,

AUG-1-woman   AUG-1-weak   3Sg-be(come) ill   LOC-leg

ta-lwála   ku-m-béta.

3SgNEG-be(come) ill LOC-finger

Lit: The weak woman: she becomes ill on the leg, but not on the finger.

'A lazy woman has a sore foot, but not sore hands.'

Implied is that a lazy woman may have to walk more, because she doesn´t perform effectively her tasks, but for sure her hands will look like of somebody that doesn´t work enough/ properly. In case of lazy men other lexical means are employed, but not the word *munafu* meaning the 'weak one.'

Two emotions are associated precisely with gender diversity and social interaction as discussed in the fourth chapter: anger is conceived as source of male dissocial behaviour, while jealousy is seen as source of female dissocial behaviour. Out of this conception two archetypical roles rise: the angry husband or chief who causes loss of justice and/ or death and the jealous co-wife, who causes great suffering and/ or death. Although both archetypical character are employed to highlight the danger of violence, the female indirect violence as portrayed by the actions of the jealous co-wife is considered as being more dangerous, since direct violence (male action) least allows defense, but indirect violence (female action) can be identified only through the effect hence too late. The different expectation and interpretation of a man´s and a woman´s response under intense negative emotive conditions result in a link between the discourse of freedom and scope of action according to gender roles and the discourse of metaphysical interference. In order to anticipate this link we need to trace back to the notion of personhood from the local point of view.

Social competence and personhood are tightly interrelated with each other hence personhood is a flexible category influenced by social parameters and the expectations of the social group upon any person. Abrupt or incomprehensible change of behaviour is evaluated as a sign that the persons is losing control, in first stage the control of the own body: the human self is getting suppressed by a more potent force. This force may be a kind of severe suffering (like illness, pain, famine etc.) or an unpleasant and intense feeling (like anger, jealousy, fear) or a metaphysical entity that tries to enter the body.[167] Behaving includes speech also in this case: in fact the use of "weird" language is conceived as sign or symptom of possession. The obsessed one may speak in an unusual pitch with too loud or too low volume, in an incomprehensive way or may use another language including animal languages (voices of animals), the speech may sound as having no meaning at all or the meaning must be interpreted by specialists. The iconic way of using language to portray the "other" belongs to the mimetic strategies which are characteristic in cases of secret language and/ or religious registers in general and precisely among African traditions of spirit mediumship and possession:

As various othering strategies, spirit languages used in mediumship are mimetic, in the
sense that they are to a certain extent imitations of language considered characteristic
for the represented spirit, or, as synecdoche, may mime a certain feature of imitated or

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[167] The interference of one force does not exclude the parallel inference of another one: suffering from famine may cause intense pain and anger and/ or jealousy which lead to dissocial behaviour and at the same time make the human body vulnerable for becoming possessed by spirits.

embodied god. Extralinguistic features such as voice-disguising very often are associated to spirit languages as additional markers of otherness. (Storch 2011:89)

The new inhabitant of the body instantiates or becomes visible/ perceivable by behaviour: in form of actions and through the way of language use. The force not only takes the body in possession but also expresses the own personhood by using the mouth in own way. As discussed in the introduction of the present section, the metonymical relation of mouth with speech leads to the symbolic use of the mouth as human behaviour and/ or character. With background this symbolism the image of a force speaking through someone´s mouth leads to the interpretation that the one who is acting and speaking is not anymore to be considered as a human person: agency, control and speech are under the influence or total guidance of something or somebody else, more powerful than the human.

The local conceptualization of personhood can be described as performance rather than as an abstract kind of personal estate. Personhood depends on the perception and evaluation[168] of behavioural patterns; in other words, on coherent boundaries consisting of actions including speech which are always to be located and interpreted within specific events. The notion of personhood from the local point of view cannot be described as a stable ideal of ego consisting in diverse but constitutive and permanent aspects. The local notion of balance and crisis[169] is crucial here: an exceptional event may introduce the inference of forces that appear in the form of unexpected and not easily comprehensible behaviour. Under specific circumstances different people may appear; further, they may contest each other within the space of a single body. In this case, overcoming the crisis and restoring balance is what matters: again, this includes more possibilities than achieving an exact former condition[170], for example, that the human person being suppressed returns without any change, while the alien person disappears forever. Balance may be achieved in taking over of the different persons. This is then a new discourse which elaborates not only the interference of but further the interaction with metaphysical powers. A human being able to serve as medium for spirits "to act and to behold the swelling scene[171]" may suffer physically and emotionally but on the other hand gains more freedom and brighter scope of action compared to other human[172]: the new power expresses itself again in form of behavioural patterns including speech which in initial stage consist in violating in action and speech rules of prohibition. The cursed and at the same time blessed one may become able of healing, of justice dispensation, of communicating with spirits and of further skills that could not be achieved sole by the human person. On the level of language the communication with spirits consists in the use of a specific linguistic register which is associated with secret knowledge.

Within the domain of social interaction basic local concepts dominate various responses and ways of interaction as well as the choice of language; these concepts include: a) the flexible ideal condition consisting of balance of power, b) the holistic image of the body as a container, c) the flexible notion

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[168] This argument may be interpreted as highlighting the prominence of the social group and the collective aspect of personhood, but unfortunately this matter cannot be treated here: however the speakers often exchange on own expectations and evaluation of personal responses, behaviour and words.

[169] For a paradigm of crisis and the interrelation of social and political parameters and metaphysical powers see Behrend 1993: 31-45.

[170] For a paradigm of restoring social balance through ritual stages among the neighbouring Baganda see Ray 1990.

[171] If they become mediums or not is something that human cannot influence in anyways (stop or introduce). The choice for entering this world is only up to the spirits: in this discourse these are the persons that really behold the scene and dominate plot and truth, while the delusively felt real world is there just to tell their story, as the narrator longs for in the prologue of Henry V.

[172] On the paradox of witchcraft conceived as disempowerment but having the social function of empowerment see Gluckman 1963, Comaroff 1985, Behrend 1993 among others; on linguistic aspects of this paradox see Storch 2011.

of personhood as staged, enacted performance, d) the interpretation of gender roles, e) the prominent role of actual perception and evaluation when it comes to behavioural patterns, f) the interrelation between personhood, behaviour and agency, and g) the possibility of control loss or increase indicated by the discourse of interaction with metaphysical entities. Socialization processes used to reflect and promote these cultural values and further categories, implications and evaluations that result out of them. The abrupt and forced split of the Bashese community caused a break in socialization processes and culturally marked events, which when the few Bashese who left returned to the island were never reintroduced. None of the speakers has directly experienced collective events that used to be tradition, like initiation rituals, celebration after hunting, various festivities of the clans, welcome and farewell gatherings when travelling by boat etc. Only the oldest speakers have the experience of celebrating events such as birth, marriage and death within a limited group of relatives and friends, when spices used to be cooked the Ssese way and traditional entertainment, included dancing the local way, singing and narrating in Lushese. The instant of never having a realistic chance for direct experience of the own culture and language, while at the same time the cultural and linguistic heritage caused discrimination by others- an experience quite direct for the remaining Bashese speakers, must be taken into consideration here because it influences considerably the attitude of the speakers towards their culture and language. The fragmentary nature of their memories, the awareness of knowing far less than passed relatives and friends with respect to own traditions as well language, the efforts to open new perspectives for the own offspring, the pride associated with the own cultural heritage, accompanied by the denial and devaluation of the same as expressed by other people and institutions provoked antithetical feelings, perspectives and evaluations. The conflicts reflected in the attitude of the speakers towards their language and culture influence the way they speak about, evaluate and explain cultural, linguistic as well social matters: while idealizing some aspects like for example the importance and instantiation of balance, other aspects have been hushed up, like the intervention of metaphysical powers. Among the many challenges resulted out of this instant during fieldwork, one of the most complicated has been that I could not differ by applying any consequent criteria what can be seen as significant within the culture and what must be seen as significant mainly with respect to individual speakers. Only within the collective experience during the theatrical project it was possible to create space for extensive discussions on culture and society and for this reason some relevant events of this collective experience will serve as background in the following sections, which illustrate the use and meaning of language in human interaction (6.2) and give information about use and meaning of linguistic means within the discourse of interaction with metaphysical entities (6.3).

6.2 Bashese people in action

The use of language in everyday life consist in choosing the correct words, putting them in the appropriate form in order to combine several levels of information, for example an opinion about the actual subject of discourse, the personal attitude towards this issue, further in finding the appropriate tone within the actual frame of a certain social relationship to the other participant(s) of the discussion and in serving adequately the needs of response within a dialogical situation. Apart from two meetings with three speakers in order to sing, only during the theatrical project a group of speakers was present and could develop dialogue. The speakers communicated in Luganda with each other, sometimes using other Bantu languages of the region as well English and Arabic words. Lushese came in use very seldom: considering ca. 14 hours of recording including films the Lushese parts all together have the duration of almost one hour, while no dialogical part (narration, songs and games excluded) is longer than three minutes. Still remembering Lushese was the target of the whole meeting and although speaking in Lushese was restricted, speaking about Lushese words and their use and meaning emerged all the time.

Among the words that all speakers know and use the kinship terms and the family relations were the words and context respective that all speakers remembered with pleasure and affection. Although speaking freely in Lushese about any matter was not possible for all the speakers, all of them used immediately Lushese greetings. The context of signs and symptoms provoked the discussion on gender roles and occupations, which further lead to speaking about politeness, speech acts and cultural prohibitions. The following sections summarize the social significance of kinship terms (6.2.1), give an overview of the greetings (6.2.2) and include some notes on politeness and other means of expressing closeness or distance including the use of the verbs of perception within the domain of social interaction (6.2.3). Cultural prohibitions will be illustrated mainly in the folowing section which presents the discourse of metaphysical intervention (6.3). All the next sections bring out first and foremost the fragmentary character of the data collected. With respect to the interrelation between cultural and social parameters as well the use of language within the domain of social interaction more questions are left over than answers are given.

6.2.1 Family relations

The first morning meeting we spend by introducing each other and discuss the rules of our project[173]. We sat in cycle and starting with the actress who coordinated the discussion all the participants said something about their selves. After the name all the Bashese mentioned their clan membership and informed about their relatives, first naming the parents, then their spouse and offspring and finally naming the living siblings. Birth place, actual residence and occupation followed very briefly after[174]. Family relations, clan relations and issues of clan membership as well the local association of persons, events, and stories referred to engaged us over and over during the first three days of the theatrical project. Regarding kinship terms it was a female speaker that proposed to discuss about the most beloved person and the most beloved word in Lushese. She explained her association of person and word because of the loving memory on her mother and the fact that she has no person to call *maawe* 'mother' since her mother died: this word in Lushese she likes the most. Speaking about family relations and beloved relatives and remembering use and meaning of the Lushese kinship terms the speakers exchanged on and explained the meaning of these words, clarified family hierarchies and spoke about the expectations that accompany the different roles and relationships within the family. This section sums up information about family affairs.

While the father (*laatawe*) is regarded as the head of the family enjoying the most respect, three words correspond to the English term 'mother': *maawe* meaning the biological mother and *niina* meaning one or more female persons that take the social role of the mother, while the term *inyoko* is used to refer to the mother of twins. All three are associated with positive qualities: the affection of all types of mother towards her children is taken for given in any case. The term *inyoko* 'mother of twins' inspires a lot of respect and recognition[175]. Giving birth of twins results in upgrading the status of the mother. The term *inyoko* is used in the first months after birth and till the ceremony of the twins initiation and a woman in this period is associated with good luck and fertility and vulnerability and she must be protected from evil powers; on the other hand people who visit her in good purpose may share some of her good luck and fertility she is bringing. During the initiation of the twins their parents as well all members of their close family get a new name that mostly replaces the clan name of

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[173] For example the speakers decided that the line of participating in the morning discussion was always starting with the Bashese speakers, coming to the actors, the dancers if present and finally to the scientific assistants.
[174] All other participants introduced their selves by mentioning first the name, then the origin place and their occupation, then informed on something more personal, either the family or hobbies, wishes for the future a.o; partly they didn´t mention the clan at all or only briefly at the end of their speech.
[175] On the cultural significance of twins and the respective rituals among the neighbouring Baganda see Mutebi 1971 and Kibuuka 1974.

the person. Mother and father of the twins are then called Nálongo and Shélongo[176]: these names can be seen as titles, because the parents of twins are very much honoured and respected.

The father, the husband and the grandfather are the persons respected the most within the family hierarchy: while the term *laatawe* 'father' is associated with affection, the terms *(I)shénkulu* 'husband' and *omugungu* 'grandfather' include the notion of social prominence and importance. The term *omugungu* is polysemous and corresponds to the meanings 'grandfather, chief, leader, male elder'. The following example illustrates the meaning of the root *-nkulu* put in different noun classes which express the meaning 'important/ adult/ leader':

(544)   mu-nkúlu   ki-nkúlu   (i)shé-nkulu

                 1-important/ adult/ leader   7-important   m-husband

                 'important, adult; leading (person)'   'important (thing)'   'husband'

The hierarchy within the family puts *náishenga*[177], the older sister of the father, to the next highest position after him[178]: she is the actual leader for family affairs and gives the tone in the household. She is also responsible for the education of all children: in case of girls, she is the one teaching them, in case of boys she has to discuss the matter with the next important relative, the *kóya*, who is the elder brother of the mother. The hierarchy of relatives includes the sisters of the mother: *báaba* is called the elder and *nyokóshenga* the younger. The aunties of the mother´s side perform often the role of the mother and then children use to call the *niina* 'mother'. The three terms corresponding to the meaning 'aunt' include the notion of respect and are used within the family for reasons of politeness and always in presence of less familiar people. Also the term *omukaire* 'grandmother' is associated with respect and with the wisdom expected from elders; below all the meanings of this term:

(545)   o-mu-kairè   'elder person, grandmother'

                 AUG-1-old

If the term is used to referred to an elder man then less respect is expressed by this term, since the proper way to speak about an elder man is to call him *omudhéi* 'wise man' or *omugúngu* 'grandfather; chief'.

Further the family may include co-wives. The polysemous term *omukazi* corresponds to the meanings 'adult woman/ first wife' but also to the meaning 'worker' if the one referred to is a man. The co-wife(s) is called *nakanuénue*; the following example clarifies the composition of this noun: the root –*nuénue* is attested only in one further word, an intransitive verb with the meaning 'insinuate; slander':

(546)   (a)   na-ka-nuénue   'co-wife'

                 f-12-insinuate

           (b)   o-ku-nuénue-ka   'insinuate evil things; slander'

                 AUG-15-insinuate-STAT

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[176] Also attested: *Shálongo, Ishélongò*.
[177] Also attested: *máshenga*.
[178] On the significance of the father´s elder sister and the matriarchic elements in the royal court of the Baganda see Ray 1991.

While first wives are associated with industriousness and efficiency[179], the co-wives are portrays of calculating persons with false attitude. A co-wife of good character is called *omuisiki* 'daughter' by the other members of the family (ex. (548) below) or *niina* 'mother' (in this case not used only by the children she takes care of).

As mentioned in the grammar sketch (2.4.1.1) the children can be referred to in collective terms which differ age: *enkerebe* 'new born', *akahería* 'child(ren) and *obuhería* 'youth'. The grand child is called *omudhukulu* meaning 'descendant; offspring'. While many terms make difference among male children only one word is used in case of girls (Cf. table 34):

(547) (a) o-mu-léndhi 'son; boy' (b) o-mu-bú(bu)ka 'son; young man'

AUG-1-boy   AUG-1-young man

(c) e-i-bániki 'first born son; young man'

AUG-9-first_son

The term *omusiki* 'daughter' is polysemous, as illustrated below:

(548) o-mú-isiki 'daughter; girl; young woman; co-wife of good character'

AUG-1-girl

The use of kinship terms depends on the distance or closeness as well on the evaluation of the person´s attitude with respect to the position someone has within the family hierarchy. Further the asymmetry of gender includes a paradox: although the abasement of women is regarded as given and the father/ husband seen as the head of the family, it is his sister who practically enjoys the position of the family leader. All female relatives including co-wives may be called 'mother' in order to express closeness to that person and/ or affectionate relation. In case of the co-wives calling them 'daughter' expresses that the one referred to is of good character, while the term *niina* is used to express more respect and acceptance towards this person. Precisely the indifferent term *omuisiki* used to refer to all girls and younger women of the family as well the link expressed by the word *omukaire* 'grandmother' and the use of the term to address or refer to a less wise elder man highlight the asymmetry of gender roles within the family hierarchy.

Coming to the clans the Bashese explained that they basically belong into two[180]: the clan of the monkey (*engúku*)[181] and the clan of the lung-fish (*eimámba*). These clans are shared also by the Baganda and Banyolo, but not by the Basoga. The clan Mvuma is one of the royal clans among the Bashese: the name is given after an underwater plant of the Lake Victoria called *omuvuma*. The clans are conceived as extended families: also between the clans family relations are associated, which reflect a circular concept of generations and ruling-heritage. Among the Bashese the monkey-clan Enguku is regarded as being the elder clan of the lung-fish clan (Ei)mamba. The royal clan Mvuma is

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[179] Or the opposite: among the archetypical roles in proverbs the one of the lazy first wife is used as measure of uselessness and brashness.

[180] The clan structure includes decades of clans: the speakers refer to the present and near past memberships of their community. Various communities around the Lake believe that the altogether three clans mentioned here origin from the Ssese islands, an association that may influence the speakers´ opinion on the clan memberships among their community.

[181] Lule 1908 mentions that the monkey clan consist of three branches, one of them being located on the Ssese islands (Lule 1908: Appendix A).

regarded as the oldest one. This instant resulted in a lot of jokes between the speakers, since younger speakers belonging to the monkey-clan addressed the very old speakers of the lung-fish clan as 'grand-children'. Every clan used to have certain leaders and was associated with certain duties, further with certain spirits (ancestors), symbols and ritual actions[182]. The only person who knew about these things among the speakers belongs to the Mvuma clan and refused vehemently to speak about it, although all the others asked again and again, because such information belongs to secret knowledge and cannot be taught to people who do not belong in a royal clan and/or out of certain events and context. The next section gives an overview of politeness formulae including greetings and condolence: the few indices of the appropriate language when referring to the death of kings and queens were given by the lady belonging to the Mvuma clan. During the project she was addressed to with the word *omugungu* meaning 'grandfather/ chief' which is normally used for elder men; the speakers explained that the use of this word is the proper one, because it expresses respect towards the age and wisdom of the person and her royal line of origin. Only a friend of her among the other ladies, a much younger member of the monkey-clan, used sometimes the term *baaba* 'elder sister' to address her, although within the hierarchy of the clans the Mvuma clan is considered to be ancestor of the Nguku-clan.

6.2.2 Organizing relations

The section illustrating ways of politeness starts with the greetings, since greeting in the proper way belongs to the most important skills in everyday life. Alike neighbouring communities, the Bashese used to greet each other unhurriedly, ask first for information on the state of relatives and friends, comment actual events and pass over smoothly to further conversation. Departing requires a similar set of greetings that includes wishing good luck and health. The following examples illustrate greetings formulas.

The first greeting words (welcoming) require some questions on the state of the sea: as many sailor folks throughout the world, the Bashese involve the lake into their everyday meetings.

(549) (a) Má-ira íino!   'Welcome!'

       6-sea_water ADVmuch

       Lit: A lot of sea water (since we met last time).

    (b) Gá-ira lí-ndi?   'How are you?'

       6SC-sea_water COP-Q

       Lit: How is the sea?

    (c) Gá-ira-gè.   'Everything is fine.'

       6SC-sea_water-IDEO (good)

       Lit: The sea is in good condition.

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[182] On the social function, the structure and symbolic interpretation of clan affairs and traditions among Bantu speaking communities of the Interlacustrine Area see Kagwa [1912] 1949, Lukongwa 1961, Mulira [1951] 1970, Ray 1972, 1976 and 1990 among others.

After asking how is the sea the general question on the state of somebody involves the noun *m(w)óyo* 'heart, spirit' in elliptic constructions as illustrated in (550a) or the use of a reduplicated form of the word *mulaamu* 'alive, healthy (person)' as shown in (550b):

(550)   QUESTIONS   ANSWERS

(a)   M-óyo íinyo?   M-óyo íinyà.   M-óyo-gè.

        3-heart ADVmuch   3-heart yes   3-heart-IDEO (good)

        Lit: Enough heart?   Positive heart.   Good heart.

        'Are you feeling good?   'I am fine.'

(b)   QUESTION   ANSWER

        O-li mu-láamu-laamù?   N-di mu-láamu.

        2Sg-COP1-alive-RED   1Sg-COP1-alive

        Lit: Are you alive/ healthy?   I am alive/ healthy.

        'How are you?   'I am fine.'

Some greeting formulae vary according to daytime: Greetings in the morning should include a question on the quality of sleeping, while at the end of the day wishing good sleep is a polite way to bid farewell:

(551)   O-súdh-ir(e) ó-tya?   'How did you sleep?'   Bú-ge.   'Well.'

        2Sg-sleep-PAST 2Sg-how   14-good

        Bu-keir-è bú-ge[183]!   'Sleep well!'   Ná-ihwe!   'You too!'

        14-lay-VE 14-good   CONN-2Sg

A set of questions is required to ask for the state of relatives: the formulas are introduced through a general question which refers to the members of the family in a collective way:

(552)   A-b-éeka-hò b-aalí?   B-ee-b-áali.   B-aalì ba-láamu.

        AUG-2-many-LOC 2-COP   2-REFL-2-COP   2-COP 2-alive

        Lit: Many are there?   They are there.   They are alive/ healthy.

        'How is your family?'   'They are fine!'   'They are fine!'

Visitors identify themselves before entering a compound/ house by making the use of the loud and high pitched ideophon *Hùhúu!* The host answers then: *Íngira, íngira!* 'Come in! Come in! The farewell formula varies according to the way someone is going to leave: if travelling by sea, a wish for remaining alive is expressed, in other case a locative expression is used.

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[183] Also used in short form: *Bukokéreirè!*

(553)   Bá-ish-e!   Kyo-(h)o-gè!

               3Pl-breath-VE   7REL-LOC-IDEO good

               Lit: (Stay among) the ones who breath!   Lit: (Be/ Go at) a good place!

               'Farewell (sea)!'   'Farewell (road)!'

The greetings illustrate the importance of environment and life experience for the community: the sea, the daytime, the relation and attitude of the participants as well the significance of life and health are reflected in the greeting formulae. The following section gives an overview of the linguistic strategies to create closeness and distance.

6.2.3 Linguistic etiquette

The rules of politeness require the expression of thanks in many cases every day. The Bashese may choose between three formulae. The most frequent involves the verb *siima* 'appreciate' and is used in any case (554a); more emphasis is created by using a relative construction involving the noun *mateindi* 'adorable ones' as illustrated in (554b); the expression in (554c) is used in special occasions to express deep gratitude:

(554)   (a)   In-síim-iré-(i)nyo.   'Thank you!'

                 1sg-appreciate-APP:PAST-ADV

                 Lit: I appreciate a lot.

          (b)   O-hwè   ma-téind-i.   'Thank you very much!'

                 2Sg-2Sg   6-like-ND

                 Lit: You (are among the) adorable one.

          (c)   Tu-lèeka   ngá-ho.   'I am very grateful to you!'

                 1Pl-leave   Conj-LOC

                 Lit: Let us leave it here.

To express gratitude but also at the end of a dialogue the speakers use to employ a wish that involves the positive interference of a divine power.

(555)   Shèmuhándala a-kú-(k)ub-i!   'God bless you!'

               (Name of spirit)   3Sg-2SgOC-give-VE

               Lit: Shemuhandala shall provide you.

Signalizing obedience and willingness belongs to the usual manner of politeness thus within everyday interaction the use of the following expressions is frequent based on the verb *ísha* 'breath' in idiomatic constructions. The general word *káishe* 'ok' can be marked for the person speaking (subject concord) and for thee addressee who is indicated by suffixing in case of women the syllable *ma* (out of *maawe* 'mother') and in case of men the syllable *ta* (out of *lataawe* 'father'):

(556)   Ká-ish-e!   'Ok; all right'

         MOD-breath-VE

         N-ká-ish-e-mà!   'Yes, mother/ madam! '

         1Sg-MOD-breath-VE-mother

         N-káishe-tà!   'Yes, father/ sir!'

         1Sg-MOD-breath-VE-father

Congratulations are expressed by using either the formula of thanking which is based on the verb *siima* 'appreciate' (Cf. ex. 554a) or by using the causative form of the emotive verb *sanyusa* 'caused to feel happy' (Cf. section 4.2.1). These are also employed in case of births, except if twins are born. Then the word *bwéeza* must be used, which is an abstract noun derived out of the verb *hinza* 'be able to' and is associated with the power and capacity of life and living entities. The speaker underlined the fact that greetings and further the appropriate verbal behaviour are evaluated as being crucial for a good social interaction and balance within the community by explaining what happens if the rules of politeness get ignored: this brings out negative feelings which may cause the intervention of evil powers. Precisely in case of twins birth not to use the word *bwéeza* is regarded as dangerous: it may harm the mother of twins or cause the death of the new born.

The formulae used in case of condolence on the other hand allow the identification of a language register that is associated with the royal clans and precisely with the court of the king. The general expression in case of death requires the use of the word *kitaalo* 'condolence', but if a clan-head, chief or king dies, then the word *mabugo* 'bark-cloth' is employed to replace *kitaalo*. The language of avoidance in case of members of the royal clans and especially of the king and queen does not allow using common expressions associated with burial in their case[184]. The following examples illustrate the usual expression for referring to a human burial which also may be employed to refer to interring any alive. In case of human the verb *dhiika* 'to bury' is marked by the infinitive prefix *ku-* accompanied by a relative pronoun which indicates the corpse (*omulambo* 'corpse', a noun of Cl.3) of the person as illustrated in (560a); in case of animals the infinitive prefix is omitted so that the first verbal slot consist in the appropriate object concord as illustrated in (557b):

(557)

    (a)   Tu-ighià   ku-dhíika   o-gw-è.   'We are going to bury his/her (corpse).'

          1Pl-go   15-bury   AUG-3REL-3Sg

    (b)   Tu-ighià   gi-dhíika   (e-n-kóidhi).   'We are going to bury it (the dog).'

          1Pl-go   9OC-bury   (AUG-9-dog)

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[184] For an overview of the language of avoidance in relation to social hierarchies and royal clans/ courts see Storch 2011; examples of this strategy in Luganda see Storch 2011: 152-155).

The evaluation of burial as an event of collective character is reflected through the subject slot which is in case of the verb *dhiika* 'to bury' always the first person plural. The speakers reject the concept that someone would bury alone anybody, even a dog. The next examples show the appropriate expressions if the king (558a) or queen (558b) are going to be buried: the speakers must avoid the use of the verb *dhiika* 'to bury'; instead they employ the verb *singa* 'exceed; surpass', the subject concord of the verb indicates the corpse hence the prefix of Cl. 3 appears in the subject slot. The community is indicated again in a collective way by the object-concord *tu-* (first person plural). The applicative morphology introduces compound nouns which correspond to the words 'king' and 'queen' respective and come out of associative constructions which meant 'father/ mother of us':

(558)

    (a)   Gu-tu-síngi-irè   i-i-bá-ife!   'We mourn for our king.'

           3-1plOC-exceed-APP   AUG-9-3Pl-1PlPOSS

           Lit: The corpse of our father surpasses us.

    (b)   Gu-tu-síngi-irè   i-i-ná-ife!   'We mourn for our queen.'

           3-1plOC-exceed-APP   AUG-9-f-1PlPOSS

           Lit: The corpse of our mother surpasses us.

Another expression of avoidance in order to refer to a royal burial employs the causative form of the verb *lamusa* 'to greet': the object concord of Cl. 9 in this case indicates that the corpse referred to is a royal one: not the common word *omulambo* (Cl. 3) corresponding to the meaning 'corpse' is implied, but the noun *enjole* 'royal corpse' is indicated by the object concord marking (Cl. 9). Again the king is referred to as father of men[185]:

(559)   Tu-ighia   ku-i-lam-idhà   l-ya   Ishe-bá-ntu.

          1Pl-go   15-9-greet-CAUS 9-ASS m-2-men

          Lit: We are going to cause greetings to the (royal corpse) of the king.

          'We are going to bury the king.'

Politeness is expressed by using the verbal markers *ka-*, *-ko* and *–no* in order to avoid a direct imperative form which is evaluated as being too harsh thus impolite: the next examples illustrate the use of this morphemes. The left column show the expressions evaluated as impolite, while the right column includes some of the polite variations for the same meanings:

(560)   Íghia!   'Come!'   Ighiá-ko!   'Please, come!'

          SgIMPcome   come-MOD

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[185] The counterpart noun for the queen is Inabántu and means 'mother of men' or Inabáana 'mother of o all children'.

(560)   Hulir-è!   'Pay attention/ Listen!'   Hulirá-no!   'Please, pay attention!'

SgIMPhear/feel-MOD   hear-feel-MOD

Tu-geendh-è!   'We go now!'   Ka-tu-geendh-é(-ko)!   'Let us go now!'

1Pl-go-MOD   MOD-1Pl-go-MOD (-MOD)

The holistic verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' is employed within the domain of social interaction very often as discourse marker which the hearer uses to signalize that the speaker enjoys his or her attention. The causative form of this verb which is *huliridha* has the meaning of listening to somebody very carefully and is also often used in dialogues as well in educative games.

The following examples illustrates a part of the dialogical game called Mikando after the name of a young girl who always wants to know everything and therefore she makes questions all the time. The Mikando dialogue engages two persons, the one playing Mikando and improvising in short sentences, the other playing the elder who shall give the answers. The role of the elder is reduced in the repeating of Mikandos name in order to add rhythm in the whole interaction, while it is Mikando who speaks the whole time and must be interrupted by the elder. This game was often performed for us by Nampomwa Nalongo in the role of Mikando and her brother Batongole Alex in the role of the elder.Once the attention of Nampomwa was caught by strangers passing nearby. Her brother, instead of just saying the name Mikando interrupted her by ordering her to focus on their game (561). His order and her answer (562) are illustrated in the following examples:

(561)   Batongole playing the elder: Mikando!   O-húlira!

                                             (name of girl)   2-feel/hear

                                             Lit: Mikando! You are listening!

                                             'Mikando!   Be attentive!'

(562)   Nampomwa playing Mikando: M-púlira   ne   m-puliri-dha!

                                           1Sg-feel/hear   Conj   1Sg-feel-hear-TRANS

                                           Lit: I am listening and caused to listen.

                                           'I am listening and indeed I am very attentive!'

This emphatic answer caused laughter among the Bashese: they commented her response as a bit impertinent for a young girl as Mikando is supposed to be, but appropriate for a wise woman like Nampomwa.

Besides the function within a dialogue the holistic verb of perception is employed within the domain of social interaction to denote the meaning of obeying: the knowledge of social hierarchies rules the interpretation of the verb, as illustrated by the next examples:

(563)   (a)   A-ba-kairè   ba-húlira   o-bu-hería.

                    AUG-2-elder   3Pl-feel/hear   AUG-14-child

                    'The elders are listening to the children/ are able to hear the children (being near).'

    (b)   O-bu-hería   ba-húlira[186]   a-ba-kairè.

                    AUG-14-child   3Pl-feel/hear   AUG-2-elder

                    'The children obey the elders.'

The preference to interpret the sentence in (563a) above as description of a physical event (listening/ perceiving sound) results out of the knowledge that elder peoples would never obey children, since elders are settled higher than youngsters within the social hierarchy; the preferred interpretation of sentence (563b) above results of the same social concept: children have to obey the elders, the physical ability of listening to them is not so salient in this case. These examples highlight the importance of *weltwissen* in order to interpret correctly the meaning of words in context.

Three verbs of perception are often used within the domain of social interaction marked with the reciprocal morpheme –*gana*:

(564)   (a)   o-ku-hulira-gana   'to agree with somebody'

                    AUG-15-feel-hear-REC

    (b)   o-ku-boina-gana   'to meet somebody'

                    AUG-15-see-REC

    (c)   o-ku-gwaita-gana   'to agree with somebody on a certain issue'

                    AUG-15-touch_hold -REC

While the reciprocal form of the holistic verb of perception *hulira* 'feel; hear' expresses general agreement and implies that two people have similar attitudes and thoughts towards many instants, the reciprocal use of the haptic verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' indicates that two people agree in a specific matter but not necessarily share opinions in other cases. The meaning of the reciprocal form of the visual verb *boina* 'see' results of a metonymic link between seeing and meeting someone. The use of these verbs compared to synonymous expressions indicates a more familiar and friendly relation between the conversing participants. The next two examples illustrate the different ways a speaker used to refer to a meeting with the chief (565a) and to a meeting with a friend (565b):

(565)   (a)   N-ghia   ku-búudha-kò o-mu-gúngu   ya-ifè

                    1Sg-come   15-ask-MOD   AUG-1-chief   3SgASS-1PlPOSS

                    'I am going to meet our chief.'

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[186] Also possible here: *buhulira*.

(565) (b) Tu-ghia ku-boina-gana.

1pl-come 15-see-REC

'I am going to meet with a friend.'

The asymmetric relation of the speaker to the chief is indicated by the use of the verb *buudha* 'ask' marked with the politeness marker –*ko*. The reciprocal form of the visual verb indicates that the persons referred to are rather of equal status and surely have a friendly relationship. Another pair of utterances illustrates the closeness implied when the reciprocal forms of the verbs of perception are employed in comparison with other expressions. The sentence in (566a) below indicates that the two people working on the same field have no other relationship except the professional one, while sentence (566b) implies that the persons are also friends and/ or relatives, and working together is interpreted as sharing the work. The noun *omulimu* 'work' is indicated by the relative pronoun in (566b).

(566) (a) Tu-kóla fei-nà ku-ki-sáahe.

1pl-work 1Pl-CONN LOC-7-field

'We work both on the same field.'

(b) Tu-gwaita-gana o-gwò-ki-sáahe.

1Pl-touch_hold -REC AUG-3REL-7-field

Lit: We hold together (the work) on the field.

'We share working on the same field.'

A further use of the haptic verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' marked with causative corresponds to the meaning 'to rape'. This is the only way to refer to a rape directly in Lushese. The verb must be put in past tense; the subject concord is always interpreted as male, while the victim[187] either is implied or indicated through the object concord in a more emphatic construction (within brackets):

(567) Ha-(mu)-gwái-sh-e. 'He raped (her). '

3SgPAST-(3SgOC)-touch_hold -CAUS-PAST

Lit.:He caused (her) to be caught (by him).

The causative form of this verb is evaluated as bad vocabulary that should be avoided, because the event described is a severe crime and mentioning it may cause bad luck to the speaker. The meaning of the haptic causative *gwaisha* results out of the metonymic and metaphoric link between having something in the hand and the domain of control.

This section gave a fragmentary overview of the ways of linguistic etiquette as well as some examples of avoidance language in Lushese. Speaking about others and addressing requires the use of a rich vocabulary as well as various proverbs and saying which allow to the speaker to say what (s)he has in mind without directly insulting anyone thus respecting cultural values and social hierarchies. The

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[187] The speakers refused to refer to the victims of rape extensively, still they indicated that usually but not necessary the victims of a rape are women.

verbs of perception within this domain create familiarity and the interpretation of their meaning presuppose the knowledge of social structure. The next section gives some information on the secret register of Lushese which is employed for speaking within the discourse of interaction with metaphysical powers.

6.3 Concealed language

For all local religions around the lake the spirits and divine entities origin from the Lake Victoria and speak their own language, which is also the medium of communication when they possess a human being. At least for the members of the Nnyoro, Tooro, Ganda and partly the Soga cultures among other secret languages also Lushese has this status[188]. In Lushese there is a register that is used only in case of interaction with the spirits, during central collective events and rituals or during possession and is known only to specialists (only the three healers among the speakers could give some information about it).

The register consists in unique lexemes, various linguistic manipulations including stem-variations and reduplications, further the untypical use of morphology, like the obligatory stative marking in all verbs or the locative suffix attached to a person, which would be grammatically incorrect in the everyday language. The concealed language consisted in many exclusive lexemes, but the speakers mentioned only the following three examples:

(568)   EVERYDAY REGISTER   SECRET REGISTER

         a-ma-idhi   a-ma-buk-i   'water'

         AUG-6-water   AUG-6-bread-ND

         o-mu-líro   o-lu-béeng-e   'fire'

         AUG-3-fire   AUG-11-sharpen-ND

         o-mu-sáahi   e-n-táah-i   'blood'

         AUG-3-blood   AUG-9-go_away-ND

All three terms of the secret register consist in compounds that describe a quality associated with water, fire and blood respective: water is described as "the entity which breads" reflecting the association of water as source of life; fire is described as "the entity which sharpens" which reflects the practice of forging and includes the notion of danger which is associated with fire; blood is described as "the entity that goes away" reflecting rituals of sacrifice.

The following examples include two sentences produced in the secret register: the linguistic manipulations are marked in bold and consist in: a) the root variation of the visual verb *boina* 'see' pronounced as *moina* and accompanied by the obligatory stative suffix *–ka*; the root variation of *geendha* 'go' pronounced as *heendha*; the adding of the stative suffix *–ka* after the suffix of the past tense (which is rejected as grammatically incorrect in the everyday register, but it is possible within

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[188] I adopt the main definition of secret language as described by Storch 2011: the term secret language and secret register within this thesis means the deliberate manipulations of language by the speakers depending on social and cultural contexts (Cf. Storch 2011: 3).

the secret register as illustrated below); further in the triplication of the last syllable of the noun *eigulu* 'sky/ up':

(569)   **Na-móine-ka**   Ngóshe   ha-**h**éendh-iré-ka   ha-i-gúlu-**lu-lú**.

      1SgPAST-see-STAT   (name of spirit)   3SgPAST-go-PAST-STAT   LOC-9-sky-RED-RED

      'I know, because I saw it with my own eyes (being possessed): Ngóshe went to the sky'.

Within the secret register of the language the verb *moina* which corresponds to the visual verb of perception *boina* 'see' expresses the meaning that someone witnessed something during possession. The stative form of the holistic and auditory verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' which is *hulika*, expresses that the speaker has been informed by others something that they witnessed during possession. The two verbs of perception are employed to give information about a source of knowledge; the evidential strategies of the secret register are designed in a similar way as within the domain of emotion (Cf. chapter four): the visual verb is employed to express direct knowledge, while the holistic and auditory verb is employed to express knowing by hearing. The linguistic manipulations are again marked in bold; besides the variation of the verbal morphology this example illustrates the use of the locative suffix attached to a name: this would be rejected as incorrect in the everyday language:

(570)   **Na-húli-ka**   ba-**h**éendh-iré-**ka**   **ha**-Ngóshe.

      1SgPAST-STAT   3Pl-go-PAST-STAT   LOC-Ngóshe

      'I know, because others being possessed told me: they went to Ngóshe.'

Within the secret register the general olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell bad' must be replaced by the verb *nuuka* 'smell good', which is not used so often in the everyday register. The reduplicated form of the verb (*nuuka-nuuka*) corresponds to the meaning 'to dream', which is expressed by the verb *loota* in the everyday language. According to the three speakers who have competence of the secret register, the spirits are normally not perceivable by any means. They are invisible except you dream of them or you meet them in a state of trance. They usually announce their coming by causing uncontrolled actions of human bodies or by signs that seem to have no logical explanation, like for example smoke without fire or a shadow in the dark or without a physical source. Calling the spirits presupposes knowledge of a secret and dangerous domain: the human can achieve this stage only after the spirits have chosen them. All the three healers among the Bashese gained their capacity of understanding and interacting with metaphysical powers after severe illnesses: the one almost died by an infection, the other suffered meningitis and the third suffered of very high fever caused by intensive rage. Still ignorant persons may invite spirits unwillingly by violating cultural prohibitions and social rules of politeness. For example whistling is seen as dangerous, because it is a signal for spirits to appear hence whistling is rejected vehemently.

The majority of cultural prohibitions the speakers talked about are associated with the balance of gender and gender roles: women and men must follow some rules of behaviour in order to respect and retain the balance of gender. This includes the use of equal number of objects symbolizing male and female power to produce anything: for example while cooking the cook must use male and female instruments, the former having a round and/ or hollow shape, the later consisting in sharp and/ or long objects. Some actions are not allowed if relatives of the opposite sex are present, for example women should not prepare long shaped roots, like sugarcanes if male in-laws are present: this would endanger their fertility (of the men). Speech rules also include prohibition with respect to gender: men are not allowed to speak about menstruation or birth if women relatives are present. Also certain foods cannot be shared by a mixed group of men and women, for example almost all kinds of fish, cock and goat-

meat. Eating lung-fish is prohibited for the members of the lung-fish clan and eating monkey is prohibited for all Bashese: the consumption of the animal which is associated with the clans has the status of cannibalism; it is symbolically interpreted as eating the ancestors hence prohibited. Cocks and goats on the other hand are regarded as food of the spirits and are often sacrificed: if women and men eat together their meat the spirits may fell invited in the meal, something that does not happen if women and men eat the meat of cocks and goats separated. Keeping a barrier between the sexes is in this case a form of protection.

The most prohibitions I could observe or heard of applied to women, but this may be because I spend more time between women than between men. Precisely a pregnant woman or new mother must follow many rules of behaviour till the initiation of her child in order to be protected. Her body is evaluated as vulnerable and it could be easily entered by metaphysical powers. For examples she is not allowed to near the lake, to use the words which are associated with the lake and surely not to travel by boat: the interpretation of the prohibition with respect to the lake has to do with the concept of fertility. The lake and waters in general are conceived are source of life; a pregnant woman or new mother also possesses for short time the power of life hence the presence of two fertilizing powers would cause imbalance. This concept illustrates that no abstract idea is per se evaluated as being morally good or bad. The power of life and fertility is rather interpreted as positive value, but too much fertility is evaluated as dangerous.

Some cultural prohibitions have to do with precise events in the traditions, for example sheep are not allowed on the Ssese islands, either alive or in form of parts, because in a story about the ancestor spirit Ishemugógo his children get poisoned by eating sheep meat a stranger gave to them. Since then all Bashese spirits can´t stand the smell of sheep and punish anyone who brings sheep on the islands.

During the theatrical project the speakers engaged concepts of cultural prohibitions in various plays. They performed rules of travelling by boat, rules of hunting and cooking and what happens if the community or an individual (in all plays this part was portraying a young stranger) violates the cultural prohibitions associated with these actions. In the first such performance the people go to ask for the advice of the ancestor spirit Ngóshe in order to stop a series of bad luck and illness. In order to explain precisely the concept of cultural prohibition the speakers organized two whole plays: the one brings on stage the event of twin birth once within a family that follows the tradition of rituals and prohibitions associated with this event and once within a modern family. In the later case the babies die.

The other plot picturing a cultural prohibition illustrates what happens if sheep arrive on the Ssese islands: then the father of the sky Lubaala Ghiúndo, the king of the metaphysical powers, punishes the community by immediate and collective loss of body control and consciousness. This was staged by everybody first fainting and staying freeze for some minutes and then by rising up in slow motion accompanied by stiff movements of the arms while shouting, crying and singing instead of speaking till one of the participants suggests to ask another spirit, the powerful Mugasa, son of the Lake-mother, for help. Restoring balance after the violation of a cultural prohibition requires a good deed: Ngóshe advices the community to plant a certain tree which is interpreted as guarding justice. Restoring the balance of powers involves often the planting of trees, explained the speakers: trees are conceived as ancestral spirits of great wisdom and kindness, therefore their intervention influences positively angry spirits.

Finally two performances, one by the group of men and one by the group of women bring on stage the prohibitions applied for the two genders once in case of hunting and once within the education of girls in order to get married. The men composed a dynamic and very quick action contrasting the ignorance of young hunters compared to the efficiency of the old ones, who know the appropriate behaviours

during hunting. The women´s play consisted in a monologue of the responsible Náishenga, the elder paternal aunt, who gives advice to younger women how to prepare the food and make a mat. The scene had the duration of almost one hour with very short interruptions by the younger women showing impertinent behaviour towards the Náishenga: at the end the cheeky monkeys have to find a modern occupation because they cannot find a (proper) husband.

The information included in this chapter results out of these plays and the accompanying comments and explanations of the speakers. The speakers performed plots precisely in order to illuminate the interdependency of social and cultural parameters. During these plays the role and intervention of spirits included awkward bodily motion and responses as well the production of awkward language instead of the secret register that is unknown to all but three speakers. The two healers participating in the theatrical project have kept the secret register secret: only afterwards and in private they spoke about it with me and finally accepted to assist me in order to translate the unfinished story of the other healer who died during the second fieldwork about Mugasa´s holy birth in the Lake. An adequate analysis of the theatrical project must be left for the future, since it would spread the limits of this dissertation; as a method applied within a linguistic frame the theatrical interaction influenced positively the attitude of the speakers towards the documentation of their language, and by breaking the social norms of the everyday life it empowered the ones that for several reasons enjoy less respect than others in everyday life.

6.4 Summary

The chapter about social interaction reflects the fragmentary character of the data sample: since the large community does not existing any more, the few remaining speakers lose linguistic competence. The highly endangered status of the language results out of the loss of its social significance. Still the interrelation of social and cultural parameters is evident and can be traced through the concepts of personhood, the concept of balance with special reference to gender and the interrelation between individual body, agency, control, and the intervention of metaphysical powers. The language of social interaction reflects social hierarchies and presupposes *Weltwissen*, a multileveled kind of knowledge that combines personal, cultural and social experience within actual frames. Perception is considered as being crucial for social interaction, because it accomplishes the process of recognition: perceiving and interpreting the behaviour and speech of others and giving adequate response are the preconditions of social cooperation. Personhood is defined by the perception and evaluation of actual responses within actual frames. Metaphysical entities are included within personhood: their difference compared to human consists basically in categories of perception: spirits are not perceivable, but they may be attracted by sensual events. Further linguistic etiquette, use of linguistic means to avoid direct violation of culturall values and social hierarchies as well as a secret register of concealed language allow an insight into the strategies, trough which speakers negotiate their role and status within social hierarchies.

The use of the verbs of perception within this domain reflects two aspects: first, they are employed to express closeness between discoursing participants; second, they are employed within the discourse of intervention with metaphysical powers with the meaning of knowing something out of a state of trance. Their use in creating evidential meaning within the domain of emotion and within the domain interaction with metaphysical powers highlights the local concepts which link unexpected events, unpleasant and intensive feelings and the intervention of spirits.

7. Conclusion

This chapter gives a summary of the findings and discusses the contribution of the data presented here to language description as well as to the theories of language and perception. In section 7.1 I summarize the present study. In section 7.2 I discuss the outcome in terms of deocumenting and discribing endangered languages. In section 7.3 I turn to the main issue of my dissertation, the way language is used to express perception, and in 7.4 I discuss possible perspectives of future research into language of perception within the broader area of East Africa.

7.1 Summary of the thesis

The objective of my dissertation was on the one hand to describe Lushese and on the other hand to investigate the linguistic means used to express categories of perception focussing on the verbs of perception in this language. In chapter one, I provided the theoretical frame which guided my study and discuss the terms and definitions employed for the analysis; further, chapter one also included information on the field, the speakers, as well as the methods applied during my fieldwork. Chapter two constituted a sketch of the grammar with a special focus on the semantics of perception in Lushese; both the basic grammar and the introductory semantics of perception serve as a necessary background for the analysis in later chapters. Chapters three through six concerned the main objectives of this thesis in investigating the way cultural conceptualizations impact the choice and meaning of linguistic means expressing perception. In chapter three, I presented the body and the domain of physical experience; chapter four focused on emotion and gave an overview of the concepts and linguistic means used to speak about emotional experience. In chapter five, I discussed the domain of cognition and the way language is employed to express mental activities. Chapter six discussed the way language reflects social relationships as well as the way linguistic means are employed to establish, negotiate and/or avoid social status. The tenor of all core chapters of my study was that local cultural concepts as well as the social experience of the speakers´ community dominate the way language expresses various categories of perception; precisely regarding the use and meaning of the verbs of perception within the domains of physical, emotional, cognitive and social experience.

7.2 Contribution in language description

The present dissertation constitutes the first description of Lushese, a Bantu language (Nyoro-Bantu group E according to Maho 2003) of the Intrelacustrine Zone spoken in Uganda. The documentation of Lushese is based on 11 months of fieldwork which resulted in the collection of a corpus of 31 hours of recorded data, including various texts genres. Only 18 speakers of the language could be identified, all being older than 70 at the beginning of research: because of the highly endangered status of Lushese, the data collected during the first and the second fieldwork (2009 and 2010 respectively) are mainly products of elicitation resulting from the use of questionnaires. These data were complemented by applying the cooking method as well as by the use of various stimuli including the samples developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen which resulted in more detailed semantic descriptions of the linguistic means used to express categories of perception.

During the third fieldwork (2011) a communal theatrical project was realized in cooperation with the speakers´ community with the purpose of giving to the speakers the opportunity to identify, on their own, aspects of their language and culture worthy of documentation as well as with the purpose of observing communicative events between the speakers. The theatrical project resulted in 10 films documenting the speaker´s performance as well as further audio data including their preliminary discussions and rehearsals of the plays as well as songs, educative games and poems. This sample allowed the verification of the analysis based on individual speakers and the investigation of concealed language.

The most prominent reason of using the cooking and the enacted methods was the small number of speakers as well as the difficulty to cooperate with them: while the cooking method allowed the sharing of everyday life and the testing of perception categories in actual settings, the enacted method gave to the speakers the opportunity to identifying themselves the aspects worth of documenting regarding their language and their culture.

Since all speakers were multilingual and mentioned the relationship of Lushese with neighbouring languages, namely Luganda and Lusoga, I conducted comparative studies with speakers of these languages guided by the use of the questionnaires developed for my study as well as in the use of the stimuli developed by the MPI Nijmegen (2010): these data helped me to clarify similarities and differences both regarding various conceptualizations and the linguistic means used to express perception. In addition to this, in 2011 I initialized a film project in the district of Iganga, a Lusoga speaking area, with the purpose of documenting some aspects of the Busoga culture that appeared relevant compared to cultural practices as described by the Bashese. This project helped me to understand the discourse of danger and prohibition, gave insight into marginalized speaker communities and the way language is employed to deal with social status; furthermore, it allowed me to observe the use of Luswezi, a concealed language based on Lusoga and Lunyankole which has similarities to the secret register of Lushese, as well as gave me the opportunity to collect some data on Lulamogi, a dialectal variety of Lusoga that helped me to clarify the relation of Luganda, Lusoga and Lushese. The comparative studies resulted in a film on cultural practices of the Basoga and recorded 5 hours of data including elicitation as well as qualitative interviews in Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamogi.

Because of the length of the audio and video material, this dissertation presents only the data which are relevant for the analysis of language and perception in Lushese as well as the basic word list in Lushese, Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamogi.

7.3 Perception in Lushese

I now will turn to the way Lushese is used to express categories of perception. The introductory presentation of the semantics of perception illustrates the rich vocabulary of Lushese for the description of the world as stimulus. The description of weather phenomena, of grooming and taking care actions as well as the language of tastes, odours, sounds, colours, shapes and materials illustrates the way the speakers interpret their environment. The linguistic means used to express environmental knowledge, physical properties and sensory experience are characterized by the sensitivity of semantic content to context: many lexical items can be only characterized in terms of meaning within certain constructions. The language of perception reflects two core concepts of the speakers: first, the holistic approach of nature and life and the interdependence of natural elements and second, the paramount value of cultural knowledge in order to understand and interpret the environment as a system of physical and metaphysical signs.

The images of the human body, emotion, cognition as well as social relationships are governed by the same two aspects: the body, the feelings, mental states as well as social concepts like personhood and character, are conceived as tightly interrelated and compose a unity that can only be identified and interpreted within the background of cultural values and collective norms shared by the community. Perception is conceived as the link between human and environment and between human with each other, a capacity again characterized by the holistic approach and the importance of cultural knowledge: it unites internal and external bodily experience, emotional experience, mental activities and social behaviour. The verbs of perception illustrate paradigmatically the holistic conceptualization of perception, since their use and meaning covers all these domains in sophisticated ways. Compared to various linguistic means employed to express the domains of physical, emotional, mental and social

experience, the verbs of perception primarily serve the speaker's need to focus on the own experience and to communicate sources of knowledge. Formal analytical instruments could be used in order to investigate certain constructions, but unfortunately the lack of an extended corpus as well as the competence of the speakers did not always allowed the application of formal analysis precisely regarding the thematic roles of the verbs of perception. Still the motivation of use and the prediction of semantic content of the verbs of perception can be adequately described only by considering specific cultural conceptualizations of the various domain of experience.

Within the domain of the body, the holistic approach governs precisely the use and meaning of the verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' which can replace all other verbs of perception in general expressions. The conceptualization of two different kinds of suffering depending on the relation between physical and spiritual world impacts the use and meaning of *hulira* 'feel; hear', *gwaita* 'touch; hold' and *hunya* 'smell (bad)' within the domain of physical experience and allows the prediction of their use and meaning within this domain to serve epistemic needs, namely as emphatic and evidential strategies.

Within the domain of emotion the cultural evaluation of feelings and the link between emotions and social interaction are reflected by the speakers´ preferences with respect to the choice of linguistic means. The concepts of forced dynamics and loss or lack of control, the degree of intensity and the degree of personal involvement create continua of events consisting of various grades. The reference to emotions conceived as unpleasant in comparison to the ones conceived as pleasant varies, since more linguistic means may be employed to refer to the former than to the latter; this reflects the salience of unpleasant feelings in local life. Furthermore, cultural conceptualizations like the gender construction, the idea of open and flexible personhood as well as the salience of death impact the language of emotion. Within this domain, the verbs of perception serve mainly epistemic needs, precisely as emphatic strategies. Again the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' may be employed in general expressions referring to various unpleasant emotions, while derived forms of the verb provide the only lexical means to verbalize certain emotions and the stative form *hulika* is employed as the highest degree of emphasis when referring to pleasant feelings and as the lower degree of emphasis when referring to unpleasant feelings. The causative form of the tactile verb *gwaisha* is used to create more emphasis on unpleasant emotions, while the gustatory verb *geedha* serves the highest degree of emphasizing unpleasant feelings.

Coming to the local concept of the mind, perception and cognition are not conceived as distinct human capacities and/ or domains of experience: cognition includes the perception as well as the notion of social behaviour. The use of the verbs of perception within the domain cognition underlines these tight interrelations as well as the intersubjective aspects of mental activities and processes from the local point of view. Also in this domain the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' and two derived forms of it can replace any verb denoting cognitive experience. The use of the holistic verb of perception is preferred by the speakers in order to refer to an actual event including mental experience (situated expressions) and it can be employed in any sentence that includes abstract ideas in order to express higher degree of involvement. Furthermore, in the context of specific cultural issues, namely cultural prohibitions (taboos) and the participation in official meetings this verb serves the meaning of knowing and in the causative form (*hulisa*) teaching. While the tactile verb *gwaita* 'touch; hold' can be employed with the meaning of understanding within the domain of cognition in order to create emphasis and dynamicity, the visual verb *'boina'* is associated with the negative concept of forgetting: the reflexive form of the visual verb *(-ee-boina)* consists of the only lexical way of verbalizing the concept of forgetting. The use of the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad) 'in past tense or in the reflexive or causative forms within the cognitive domain expresses presentiment.

Although the use of Lushese in the light of social interaction was limited because of the highly endangered status of the language, the interrelation of cultural and social parameters could be traced through the linguistic means used to express concepts of personhood, the local conceptualization of gender, the notion of agency and its impact on concepts of the individual body, society as a body as well with the background intervention of metaphysical powers. The language of social interaction not only reflects cultural values, but further is governed by the notion of a multileveled kind of world-knowledge (*Weltwissen*) that unites individual and collective experience. Within this field, perception is considered as crucial because it serves and accomplishes the process of recognition through speech and behaviour. While language in the light of social interaction serves to negotiate identities and to speak about the invisible hierarchy that governs social cooperation without violating social and cultural values, the verbs of perception within this domain are employed to serve two needs. First, they express closeness between discoursing participants. In reciprocal forms, they are used to refer to several ways of social interaction: while the visual verb (*boina-gana*) expresses the meaning of meeting somebody, the olfactory verb is used to refer to positive attitude to somebody (*hunya-gana*) and the tactile verb expresses sharing and agreeing with somebody on a certain issue (*gwaita-gana*); while in the causative form (*gwaisha*) the tactile verb denotes raping somebody, the use of the holistic verb covers the meanings of agreeing, understanding each other and obeying, further it is used as discourse marker. Second, the verbs of perception are employed in concealed language. Within the discourse of intervention with metaphysical powers, the verbs of perception express the meaning of knowing something out of a state of trance. Their use as evidential strategies in the concealed language underlines precisely the local holistic conceptualization that links unexpected events, unpleasant and intensive emotions and the intervention of metaphysical powers.

Within this domain the olfactory verb *nuuka* 'smell (good)' can be employed to refer to the odour of metaphysical powers: the pleasant sent of these invisible entities was explained as a sign of their existence. The association of pleasant scent with the divine occurs in many cultures throughout the world and highlights the human need to define metaphysical concepts in terms of perception. Unfortunately it was not possible to investigate the concealed language in Lushese more adequately, since the issue came out only during the last period of fieldwork and it is considerably impacted by the conflicting attitude of the speakers towards religion.

The predominant role of the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' compared to the other verbs of perception is highlighted within all domains of experience, in which this verb is used to express various meanings as well as various epistemic needs and pragmatic conditions. While the use and meaning of all the other verbs of perception in each domain can be analysed through metaphorical processes which create polysemy, the semantic structure of the holistic verb covers each domain in various ways and is far less transparent. In other words the use and meaning of the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear' depends considerably to the surrounding context and only within certain constructions is it possible to identify the semantic content of the verb in various cases. For this reason the semantic structure of this verb can be at best described as a case of vagueness. The link between the different structures consists in the emphasis on the human experience as well as the expression of general perception, which -from the local point of regarding the body, provides the necessary base for any physical, emotional and cognitive experience as well as social interaction.

The next figure presents solely the holistic verb of perception within the different domains: while in all domains the morphologically unmarked form can be employed to meet different epistemic needs, various morphologically marked forms of the holistic verb serve specific semantic contents within the different domains. The figure below is not exhaustive, since the inclusion of all possible meanings of the holistic verb in all domains would result in unacceptable visual complexity:

Figure 13: The semantic map of the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel; hear'[189]

COGNITION
huli-ki-ra
STAT APP
'know'
hulira+INF
'know' / 'understand'

SOCIAL INTERACTION
'obey'
hulira-gana
REC
'agree'
huliri-dha
TRANS
'listen very carefully'

CONCEALED LANGUAGE
'know'
huli-sa
CAUS
'know' / 'teach'

PHYSICAL EXPERIENCE
'know'
Typ II pregnancy
illness
death
'feel'
Typ I pain
hunger
fatigue
thirst

GENERAL PERCEPTION
hulira
Emphasis on Human Experiencer

SENSORY EXPERIENCE
huli-ka
STAT
'sound'
hulir-wa
PASS
'stink'
'hear'
ACTION

EMOTION
Emphasis huli-ka
STAT
hulira musiisi
'be excited'
-ee-hulira
REFL
'proud'
'arrogant'

The figure illustrates all domains of experience in which the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel/hear' can be used: the morphologically marked forms of the verbs are included in every domain marked in mauve. The overlapping areas illustrate the two most prominent cases of vagueness: a) between the domains of physical experience and cognition, in which the type II of spiritual physical experience is suspended between the physical and mental experience (Type I & II marked in blue lettering), and b) between perception as sensory experience and perception as action. More if not all areas could overlap, like for example the domain of cognition with the domain of concealed language, or the domain of emotion with (at least) the domain of physical experience; I rejected this visualisation because of the resulted degree of complexity. The case of emphasis on emotional experience is marked in red lettering, but this area does not overlap with the area of sensory experience and action to the left, since the stative form *hulika* in the former case requires restricted and different semantic components than the same form as it is used within the domain of sensory experience.

Regarding the extent of the use of the other verbs of perception within various domains of experience, the tactile verb *gwaita* 'catch/hold' as well as the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' are employed in all domains. The tactile verb is used in all domains to create emphasis, which is motivated by the dynamic image of grasping and thus metaphorically interpreted as having something under control. On the other hand, the olfactory verb is employed in all domains as an evidential strategy to express presentiment (knowing by intuition) motivated by the image of predicting and/ or doubting; thus metaphorically interpreted as a scent, hence as an invisible, soundless, intangible and distant albeit perceivable and existent category.

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[189] Source: Thanasoula 2013, data compilation.

The visual verb *boina* 'see' is employed as an evidential strategy within the domain of emotion, furthermore, it expresses the negative concept of forgetting within the domain of cognition (in this case usually but not solely in the reflexive form). While the evidential use of the visual verb within the domain of emotion is motivated by the image of the directly observing and therefore prominent witness of an event, the association of forgetting with the visual sense highlights the local interpretation of the invisible world which is related with metaphysical intervention as being more important compared to the visible, and thus, superficial phenomena. Further, the reflexive form of the visual verb which expresses forgetting as well reflects the prominence of social interaction in the local conceptualization: knowing is conceived as an intersubjective matter hence the image of someone looking at his/herself per analogy serves the meaning of forgetting and/ or not knowing anymore. In addition, this verb in the reciprocal form as well as the other visual verb (*loreira* 'to look at') can be employed within the domain of social interaction denoting meeting and taking care of somebody respectively.

The use of the gustatory verb *geedha* 'taste/try' is limited within the domain of emotion: the gustatory verb is employed as the highest degree of intensity regarding ways of suffering. The symbolic action of incorporation provides the motivation for this use; I prefer the term symbolic rather than the term metaphoric in this case, because incorporation includes cultural parameters and actions that the word metaphor cannot account for.

Coming to a summary of the evidential uses of the verbs of perception, in Lushese three verbs of perception, the visual, the holistic and the olfactory verbs, can be employed to express three sources of knowing: the visual verb *boina* 'see' is employed to refer to source by own witness, the holistic verb *hulira* 'feel/hear' is employed to referred to knowledge by report and the olfactory verb *hunya* 'smell (bad)' is used to refer to presentiment (knowledge by intuition). Although in Lushese the verbs of perception are not fully grammaticalized into evidential markers in terms of Aikhenvald (2004), the language has the first stage of an evidential system including three choices: visual, reported and non-visual/ sensory. The highly endangered status of Lushese makes further linguistic development rather implausible, however the three choices at this stage may be identified as a B3 type of evidential system (ibid: 366).

The use and meaning of the linguistic means expressing categories of perception, precisely of the verbs of perception in Lushese, illustrate that the motivation of various constructions within this broad domain can only be investigated by engaging the relevant local cultural conceptualizations and social parameters. The cultural context but also the communicative needs of the speakers as well as various domains of experience have been taken into account to elucidate various semantic structures in comparison. The approach to language and perception and the findings presented in this thesis raise perspectives and possible directions of future research, to which I turn in the next section.

7.4 Perspectives of further research

From the perspective of documenting endangered languages, the case of Lushese shows the necessity of applying elaborative methods such as the cooking or the enacted method in fieldwork: the social status of marginalized communities should be taken more into account in linguistic documentation, since the social experience of the speakers impacts their attitude to language. Furthermore, various linguistic phenomena like for example religious register, concealed language and language of avoidance, reflect the effort of individual speakers and/ or of the speakers´ community to preserve or protect their linguistic and cultural inheritance. Giving to speakers of endangered languages the possibility of choosing the aspects worthy of documentation according to their opinion not only opens far more perspectives of research, but it restores to some extent the balance between outsider (researchers) and insiders (speakers) which often enough distorts linguistic documentation.

From the perspective of linguistic theories on the relationship between language and perception, the present thesis shows that detailed analysis of local cultural conceptualizations and social parameters must be taken into account in order to minimize the impact of Western views on this issue, which imply a hierarchy of the senses as well as a predominance of vision.

From a Bantu perspective, the findings in Lushese raise a number of questions: future research in the Bantu languages of the broader Interlacustrine Zone are necessary in order to understand to which extent the languages share (or don't) concepts of perception beyond lexemes. A comparison of the urban and rural settings of languages spoken by larger communities in order to investigate to which degree categories of perception are shared or not by speakers belonging to various milieus is also necessary.

From a language contact perspective the question rises of whether or not the languages spoken in the broader area belonging to three different phyla (Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic), share concepts of perception; in other words, if perception may be regarded as an areal feature of the East African linguistic areal and/ or the Interlacustrine Zone.

I hope that this dissertation has shown that a study of the language of perception is of interest to different areas of linguistics and African studies. Since we know very little about the semantic structure of terms expressing perception in non-European languages, specifically African languages, more empirical case studies are necessary in order to understand the relationship between language and perception.

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Appendices

Appendix (I) presents the basic word list of Lushese (1st. column), Luganda (2nd. column), Lusoga (3d. Column) and Lulamogi (4th. column); synonyms are separated through semicolon, variations of lexical roots with comma. Despite the fact that all four languages are tone-languages, in this appendix tones are not marked, because it was not able to analyze the tone adequately in Lushese or in all the four languages so that comparison would become possible. I decided to exclude the tones in the following list in order to avoid similarities or differences that I cannot explain or verify. Only the Lushese list includes all expressions mentioned by speakers either in isolation or within context; on the contrary the lists of Luganda, Lusoga and Lulamoji are not exhaustive. Regarding nouns of the nasal nominal class (Cl. 9/ 10) the augment is often included within brackets. In cases of exceptional pluralisation the plural is given (within brackets).

Appendix I

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
1 body	mubiri	mubiri	mubiri	mubiri
2 head	kahangamiro	mutwe	mutwe	mutwe
3 brain	bufwa; bwongo	bwongo	bwongo	bwongo
4 hair	(e)ishòke	(e)nviiri	(e)nviiri	
5 forehead	kuhahangamiro; bwenyi gwenyi	mpumi; bweni	bweni	mpumi; bweni
6 face	kyeni; bweni	kyeni	mumaiso	mumaiso
7 cheek	maitama	ttama		(e)itama
8 jaw	luba; kalebu	luba	kalevu	lusaya
9 chin	kalebu	akaleevu	mulevu	mulevu
10 beard	mulebu	mulevu, birevu	kilevu	kirevu
11 nose	(i)niindo	(e)nnyindo	(e)nnyindo	(e)niindo
12 eye	(e)moni; biroodho	(e)riiso	(e)riiso	(e)riiso
13 tear	madhiga	maziga	maziga	Maliga

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
14 ear	kuhuliko	kutu	kutu	kitwi
15 mouth	munwa	mumwa	munwa	munwa
16 lips	minwa	mumwa	munwa	munwa
17 tongue	lulimi	lulimi	lulimi	lulimi
18 tooth	(e)rinyo (Pl: maino)	(erinyio (Pl: mannyo)	(e)riino (Pl: maino)	(e)riino (Pl: maino)
19 throat	malaka	mumiro	mamiro	mamiro; madookoli
20 neck	bikya (Pl: mákya)	(e)nsingo	(e)nkoto	(e)ikoti
21 shoulder	bibengudo	kibegabega	mabega	(e)ibega
22 arm	mukono,	mukono	mukono,	mukono,
23 armpit	(e)nkwahwa	(e)nkwawa	(e)nkwawa	nkwaha
24 elbow	lukookola	lukokola	lukokola	lukookola
25 left hand	mukono mumosho	mukono mukazi	mukono mugooda; mukazi	mukono mugooda; mukazi
26 right hand	mukono gwa bulío	mukono musajja	mukono musaaadha	mukono musaaadha
27 palm	kibatu	kibatu	kibatu	kibatu
28 finger	lukupa, (Pl: bukupa)	ngalo	Lugalo; lwala	lwala
29 finger-nail	njala	njala	lukumu	lukumu
30 back of the body	mabengudo; mabega	mabega mugongo	mugongo	mugongo
31 rib	mbabu	lubiriizi	mbavu	mbavu
32 chest	kaliigi(riigi); (e)hihimbi	kifuba	kifuba	kifuba

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
33 breasts	(i)ibeere	mabeere	mabeere	mabeere
34 navel	ndira	kkundi	idhondho; mudhondho	mudondo
35 knee	eivi, (Pl: mabwi)	vviivi	kivu (Pl: mavu)	kizwi (Pl: mazwi)
36 foot	kireenge	kigere	kigere	kigere
37 ankle	kakogobule	kakogovule	kakogovule	kakongoivule
38 heel	kisindhiiro	kisinziiro	kisinziiro	kitindiro
39 skin	lususu; luhuluhu	lususu	lususu	lususu; luhu
40 fresh meat	(i)inyama	(e)nnama	(e)mamba	(e)mamba
41 bown	(e)igufwa (Pl: magufwa)	(e)ggumba (Pl: magumba)	(e)igumba (Pl: magumba)	(e)igumba (Pl: magumba)
42 vein	midhiiga	musiwa	musigha, musiwa	musiha
43 blood	musaa(h)i	musaayi	musaayi	musaahi
44 intestines	Eenda; iinda	byenda	byenda	byenda
45 heart	mwoyo	mutima	mwoyo	mwoyo
46 lungs	maholoholo	mawuggwe	mawuwe	mahuhwe
47 to breath	kuheeha kwisha	kussa	kwisa	kuheera
48 liver	eini, eeni	ekibumba	eini	ini
49 kidney	nsigo	nsigo	nsigo	Sg: ensigo Pl: onsigo
50 saliva	n´úsun´úsu	malusu	malusu; matanta	matanta; malusu
51 sweat	lutuuho	ntuuyo	lugezi	lugezi; ntuuyo
52 to take a bath	kunaaba	kunaaba	kunaaba	kunaaba
53 to wash hands	kunaaba ebukupa/ engalo	kunaaba engalo	kunaaba engalo/ mungalo	kunaaba engalo/ mungalo

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
54 to neeze	kufuesa	kuyiza	kudfeesa	kufeesya
55 to be tired	kutiiha; kukooha	kukowa	kukoowa	kukooha
56 to sleep	kuhuyala	kwebaka	kutenduka	kulambaala, kuhongera
to feel sleepy:	kuhongera	kuwongera	kuwóngera	kuhuumula
to have rest:	okugaandala; kuhuumula	kuwumula	okugáandala; kuwumula	
57 to dream	kuloota	kuloota	kuloota	kuloota
58 dream	kirooto	kirooto	kirooto	kirooto
59 to snore	kugona	kufuluuta	kufuluuta	kufuluuta
60 blind	mudhibe	muzibe	mutulu	muhofu
61 dumb	kasiru(siru)	kasiru	kasiru	asiru
62 deaf	kasiru; mpoigole	kasiru	kasiru	musiha
63 sickness	Lurwaire, bulwaire	bulwadde	bulwaire	bulwaire
64 to fall sick	kulwala	kulwala	kulwala	kulwala
65 fever	musuighya	musújja	musuudha	musuugya
66 to shiver	kutiira; kuteengesa; kutibatiba	kutengera	kutengera	kutengera
67 to vomit	kutanaka	kutanaka kusesema	kusesema	kusesema
68 to cough	kukotyonka; kukohola	kukolola	kukolola	kukohola
69 wound	buhunya kinuukuka	kivundu	kunuubuka; eibwa, ibwa	kunuubuka; ibwa

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
71 to get hurt	kulumidhibwa; kunyigibwa	kulumizibwa	kulumizibwa; kunyigibwa	kulumizibwa; kutenyeka
72 to build	kudhimba	kuzimba	kuzimba	kuzimba
73 blister	(e)ibabu	(e)bbavu	kazimba, kasogosogo	kazimba, kasogosogo
74 scar	nkobu	nkovu	nkovu	nkozu
75 to cure	kuhona mpónire	kuwona	kuyigha; kuwonhia	kuhona
76 medicine	ishambu	ddagala	bulezi	bulezi
77 to give birth	kudhaala: kubwaga; kubyala	kuzaala	kuzaala	kuzaala
78 to be born	kudhairwa; kubwagalwa	kuzaalibwa	kuzaalibwa	kuzaalibwa
79 to go	kuleenga, kubandáiga	kugeenda	kugya	kwaba
80 to go away	kutaaha	kuvaawo	kuvaawo	kuzweho
81 to leave	kukyayira, kukyahira	kugeenda	kugolola	kukanga
82 to remain	kushigala	kusigala	kusigala	kusigala
83 to come from	kwidha	kudda	kuva	kuzwa
84 to come	kwighya	okujja	kwidha	kwiza
85 to arrive	kutuuka	kutuuka	kutuuka	kutuuka
86 to wait	kulinda; kuteega	kulinda	kulinda; kuteega	kulinda

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
87 to rest	kuhumula, kunagira	kuwumula	kuwumula	kuhumula
88 to stand	kuhimirira	kuyimirira	kwemerera	kwemerera
89 ?	-	-		
90 to squat	kus(h)iitama kushuntama	kusitama	kusuntumala	kusuntumala
91 to walk	kubambaiga kuleenga	kutambula	kutambula	kutambula
92?				
93 to follow	kuhondera; kubobonera	kuwondera	kunonereza	kusengererya
94 to return	kutaaha	kudda	kwira	kwira
95 to send	kutuma	kutuma	kutuma	kutuma
96 to bring	kuleeta	kuleeta	kuleeta	kuleeta
97 to take	kutwala	kutwala	kutwala	kutwala
98 to seize	kubumbaga kugwata	kukwata	kugema	kukwata
99 to lay down	kuna(a)ka kutahansi	kussa wansi	kwisa	kwikya
100 to swim	kuhuga	kuwuga	kuwuga	Kugyugya
101 to jump	kuguluka	kubuuka	kutuuma	kutuuma
102 to throw	kugakasa	kukasuka	kusuula	kusuula
103 to fall	kwenaka; kunagira; kugwa	kugwa	kugwa	kugwa
104 person	muntu	muntu	muntu	muntu
105 name	(e)ibala, (i)ibaala	liinnya	liinha	Liina

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
106 tribe	(i)ihaanga, (e)ihanga	kabira	(e)ighanga	(e)ihanga
107 elder	mukaire; mukulu	mukadde; muzei	mukaire; muzeeyi	mukaire; muzeeyi
108 friend	mwinihahwe; mukwano	mukwano	mukagwa	mukagwa
109 guest	mugeni	mugeni	mugeni	mugeni
110 family	makai	maka	maka	maka
111 marriage	mbuga; bufumbo	bufumbo	bufumbo	bufumbo
112 marry	kuhasa; kubahira; kuhayíra musáighia/ mukyala; kufumbirwa	kuwasa, kufumbirwa	kuwasa; kufumbirwa	kuhasa; kufumbirwa
113 husband	sheluhaire	mwami	mwami	mwami
114 wife	mwesiki; mukadhi	mukazi	mukazi	mukali
115 father	laata(h)we	taata	lata; baaba	baaba; teite; yaya
116 mother	maawe; niina; inyoko	maama	maama	maama
117 to love	kusaiga	kwagala	kwenda	kutaka
118 to obey	kuhulira; kuhulika	kuwulira	kuwulize	kuhulize
119 m´brother	malume	kojja	dhaadha	Koiza
120 f´sister	maishenga; nykosenga	ssenga	songa	isenga
121 child	muhere, kahere, kaheria, buhere, buheria	mwana	mwana	mwana

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
122 son	mutabani; mulendhi; muishoke	mutabane	mutabane	mutaane
123 daughter	muhala; mwisiki	muwala	mughalawe	muhalawe
124 elder brother (According to the speaker´s sex	baabáwe	mugandawo mukulu	mugandawo mukuulu	mugandawo mukuulu
125 elder sister (According to the speaker´s sex	muhala mahuè muhala máwe	mwanyinaze omukulu	baabawe	baabawe
126 boy	mulendhi	mulenzi	mulenzi	mwisuka
127 girl	muhala mwesiki	muwala	mughala	muhala
128 twins	balongo	balongo	balongo	balongo
129 man	musaighia	musajja	musaadha	musaiza
130 woman	mukadhi	mukazi	mukazi	mukali
131 barren woman	mukazi mugumba	mukazi muŋgumba	mukazi mugumba	mukazi mugumba
132 baby	nkerembe	mwana muto	mwana muto	mwana mutomuto
133 elder	mugungu; mukaire mulamuse; mudhei	mukulu; muzei	mukulu; muzeeyi	mukulu; muzeeyi
134 voice	(e)iraka; (e)iroboodhi	(e)ddobozzi	(i)roboozo	(i)roboozi
135 to shout	kuhohola; kushulendula	kulekaana; kwo(wó)gana	wasiikana; kulenkaana	kushulendula; kuhoigana; kulenkaana
136 to call	kweta, kuheta; kumi(i)sha	kuyita	kweta	kweta

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
137 to cry	kulira	kukaaba	kulira	kukunga
138 language	lulimi	lulimi	lulimi	lulimi
139 to speak	kuhaya kuteenda	kwogera	kwogera	kutumula
140 to tell	kumuteberera	kubuulira	kukobera	Kukobeera
141 tale	lughero; luhero	lugero	lugero	lugero
142 conversation	kuhaya	kunyumia	kuloodha; kughaya	kuhaya
143 to chat	kuhaya	kuwaya	kuhaya	kuhaya
144 to ask	kulamusa; okubuudha	kubuuza	kubuuza	kubuulya
145 to answer	kwanuka; kwieramu	kuddamu	kwanukula; kwiramu	kwanukula; kwiramu
146 to ask for	kusaiga; kusubira	kusaba	kusaba; kubuuza	kusaba; kubuulya
147 to help	kuhwera	kuyamba	kuyamba	kuyamba
148 to refuse	kulema	kugaana	kudheema; kuloba	kugaana
149 to permit	kwikiridha; kula	kukkirizza	kuwa olukusa	kuha olukusa
150 to give	kuha	kuwa	kuwa	kuha
151 to get/receive	kutunda	kufuna	kufuna	Okusuna
152 gift	kirabo	kirabo	kirabo	kirabo
153 to show	kulaangisa	kulaga	kwoleka; kulaga	kulangisa; kulaga
154 to look at	kulorere(i)ra; kutunuula	kutunulira	kulingirira	kulingirira
155 to explain	kuteberera	kunyonyola	kwinhongola	kwinyonyola

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
156 to teach	kusomesa; kuteberera	kusomesa; kuteberera	kusomesa	kusomesya
157 to learn	kuhiga kutebererwa	kuyiga	kwega	kwega
158 to read a book	kusoma ekitabo	kusoma ekitabo	kusoma ekitabo	kusoma kitabo
159 to write	kuhandiika	kuwandiika	kuwandhiika	kuhandiika
160 quarrel	Kushoodja; kuhengana	kuyomba	kusoola	kutongana
161 to quarrel	kuhuula	kukuba	kusoola	kutongana
162 to slap	kuhuula oluhi	kukuba oluyi	Kukuba oluyi	kuukuba oluhi
163 to beat	kuhuula	kukuba	kukuba	kukuba
164 to hit	kuhuulera	kukona	kukonta; kukuba	kukonta
165 war	(e)itabaalo	lutalo	lutalo	lutalo
166 to fight	kuhuulana	kulwana	kulwana	kulwana
167 violence	bugugungire	katabanguko	bugumbalano	bugumbulano
168 to chase	kushoighiana	kuyoba	kubiinga	ugudya
169 to steal	kwiba	kubba	kwiba	kwiba
170 to deceive	kusheeha	kulimba	kulimba	kubeiha
171 to hide	kushereka	kukweka	kugisa	kugisa
172 to curse	kukolima	kukolima	kulaama	kulaama
173 to insult	kuswadha	kuswaza	kuswaza	kuswazya
174/ to lie	kusheeha	kulimba	kulimba; kusubagha	kubeiha
175 lawsuit	musango	musango	musango	musango
176 law	(e)iteka	(e)tteka	(i)teeka	(i)teeka
177 judge	mulamudhi	mula(mu)zi	Mulamuzi	mulamuzi

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
178 to judge	kulamula; kugondhola	kulamula	ulamula	kulamula
179 to accuse	Kubunaana; kuhahabira	kuvunaana	kughaghabira	kuhahabira
180 to admit guilt	kwikiridha; kushiinga omusango	kukkirizza omusango	kwikiriza	kwikirirya
181 to deny	kuleema	kwegaana	kwegaana	kwegaana
182 truth	madhima	mazina	mazima	mazima
183 oath	kirahiro	kirayiro	kulayira	kirahiro
184 to command	kuduuma/-ira	kuduuma/-ira	kulagira	kulagira
185 to forbid	kutangira	kuziyiza	kulobera	kulobera
186 to agree	kwikiridha	kukkirizza	kwikiriza	kwikirirya
187 to punish	kuboneredha	kubonereza	kubonereza	kubonerezya
188 dance	madhina	mazina	makina	makina
189 to dance	kudhina	kuzina	kukina	kukina
190 drum	ŋgoma; embutu	ŋgoma	ŋgoma	ŋgoma
191 to laugh	kusheka	kuseka	kuseka	kuseka
192 to play	kuligita; kudhanya	kuzanya	kuzanha	kuzaanya
193 to sing	kuhimba	kuyimba	kwemba	kwemba
194 song	luhimba	luyimba	lwembo	lwembo
195 to get drunk	kutamiira	kutamira	kutamiira	kutamiira
196 to build	kudhimba	kuzimba	kuzimba	kuzimba
197 house	ntindi[190]	nnyumba	nhumba	Nyumba

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[190] In Luganda the word (*e*)*ntindi* is considered as old fashioned and is used to refer to traditional buildings like shrines.

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
198 wall	kisenge; dhibabu	kisenge	kisenge	kimante
199 roof	kasolya	kasolya	kasulya	kasulya
200 window	(e)idirisha	ddirisa	diriisa	diriisa
201 door	lwighi	lujji	lwigi	lwigi
202 to open	kwigulaho	kuggulawo	kwigulawo	kwigulaho
203 to close	kukinga; kwigalaho	kuggalawo	kwigalawo	kwigalaho
204 to enter	kuhendira; kwindira	kwingira; kuyingira	kwingira	kwirigira
205 wall	kishiika, dhibadhi	kisenge	kimante	kimante
206 enclosure	lwigo	luggo	kigo	kigo
207 fence	kuheenga; kuhiinga	kukomera	lusito	lusito; lukomera
208 well	luidhi	luzzi	nsulo	nsulo
209 garden	nimiro	nnimiro	nimiro	nimiro
210 fireplace	ki-oto[191]	kyoto	kyoto	kyoto
211 to candle fire	kubira omuliro, kuheemba	kukuma omuliro	kukoleeza	kukunaania
212 fire	muliro; lubeenge	muliro	muliro	musyo
213 to burn up	kwoshia; kubabula	kwokya	kwokya	kwokya

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[191] The Bashese pronounce this word by producing clearly two distinct syllables thus ignoring in this case the general phonological rule regarding the vowels.

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
214 charcoal	manda	manda	manda	manda
215 smoke	mwika; m(w)oshi	mukka	mwosi	mwosi
216 ashes	ebù, éibu	evvu	ivu	ikoke
217 to extinguish	kudimya	kusikiza	kuzikiza	kulikirya
218 firewood	busheenyo; (é)nkwi	nku	nku	nkwi
219 bundle of wood	kinywa kyo busheenyo	kinywa kyénku	kinhwa kyenku	kinwya kyenkwi
220 cooking stones	(e)insiga	masiga	mayiga	mahiga
221 to cook	kufumba	kufumba	kufumba	kufumba
222 to frie	kushiika; kukalan(a)ga	kusiika	kusiika	kusiika
223 to bake	kufumba	kufumba	kufumba	kufumba
224 to boil	kutogota	kutokota	kutogosa	kutokotya
225 metal cooking plate	nweso; nsumbi; ntango	nsuwa	nsuwa	nsuha
226 earthen cooking plate	ntamu	ntamu	nsaka; ntamu	Nsaka; ntamu
227 to drow water	kughia amaidhi	kusena amazzi	kusena maadhi	kusena maizi
228 to carry water	kwetwika amaidhi	kwetikka amazzi	kwetwika maadhi; kwetwika ensuwa	kwetwika maize; kwetwika ensuha
229 to pour	kuhiwa	kuyimira	kuyuwa	kusuka
230 to shake	kunyogomya	kunyeenya	kuneenhia	kunyenya
231 to strain	kukenenura	kusengejja	kusengeedha	kukengeiza

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
232 to fill	kwidhudha; kwidjudha	kujjuza	kudhuza	kwizulya
233 to mix	kukologa	kutabula; kukologa	kutabula	kutabula
234 to cover pot	kufunyika	kusaanikira	kusandikaku	kusandikira
235 to uncover	kubikula; kufumula	kusaanukula	kusandukula	Kusandukira
236 to cut	kuhenga; kutula (gutula)	kusala	kusala	kusala
237 to smash	kwihira;	kusanyawo	kunhiga	kunyiga
238 to pound	kunugunya kusekula	kukasuka kusekula	kusekula	kusekula
239 to grind	kushia	kusa	kusa	kusya
240 mortar	kinu; kihuulo	kinu	kinu	kihuulo
241 pestle	musekudho; muhuulo	musekuzo	mukonko	mukonko
242 bed	kitanda	kitanda	kitanda	kitanda
243 chair	kiikalo; ntebe	ntebe	ntebe	ntebe
244 mat	mukeeka	mukeeka	mukeeka	mukeeka
245 bag	ndyanga	nsawo	nsawo	nsaho
246 basket	(e)i/(i)ihiibo	kibbo	kiibo	kiibo
247 bottle	nsekula	ccupa	ihupa	kyupa
248 gourd	ndeku	ndeku	ibuga	ibuga
249 hammer	mpulo; mpudho	nnyondo	nyundo	nyundo
250 match	mwambe; muholo	jjambiya	kipanga	muholo

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
251 axe	ntemesho; mbaidhi	mbazzi	mpasa	mpasa
252 knife	kasazo	kambe	kambe	kambe
253 sharp knife	kasazo	kambe koogi	kambe koogi	kambe koogi
254 blunt knife	kambe kafunyire; kasiha	kambe kafunye	kambe kasigha	kambe katyo; kambe kasiha
255 broom	lweiyo; lweeho	lweyo	kyeyo	kyeyo
256 to sweep	kwera; kuhera	kwera	kweya	kweya
257 lamp	ndavisho; (i)itaala	(e)ttala	itaala	itaala
258 mirror	ndolerwamu	ndabirwamu	mbonerwamu	mbonerwamu
259 rope	muniga	muguwa	mugugha	muguha
260 knot	kifundiko	kifundikwa	kifundwa	kifundwa
261 hang up	kuhanika	kuwanika	kughanika	kuhanika
262 to split firewood	kwasa; kwahulya	kwasa	kwasaaga	kwasaaga
263 to sew	kusuna	kutunga	kutunga	kutunga
264 to wash clothes	kukuuta (olubago)	kwoza (engoye)	kwoza	kwozya
265 field	nimiro; kisaahe	nnimiro	nimiro	nimiro
266 to cultivate	kulima; kubyala	kulima	kulima	Kulima
267 to dig	okushima	kusima	kusima	kusima
268 hoe	mfuka	nkubi	mbago	mbago
269 to rake earth	kukandula	kukandula	kukandula	kukandula
270 to plant	kuhima	kusimba	kusimba	kukoma

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
271 to weed	kukoola	kukoola	kudhuba	kuzuba
272 to harvest	kukungula	kukungul	kukungul	kukungul
273 to gather fruits	kushoola; kukuumakuma; kukunganya	kukunganya; kunoga	kunoga	kunoga
274 to pick up	kulonda	kulonda	kulonda	kulonda
275 load	mugugu	mugugu	kutwika	kutwika
276 stock	kyaghi	kyagi	kyagi	kideero
277 barn	lugogo	lugogo		
278 cattle	(e)nyende	(e)nte	(e)nte	(o)nte
279 to rear	kuliisa	kulunda	kwaya	kwaya
280 to herd	kulunda; kushumba	kulunda	kwaya	kwaya
281 bull	enyende iguungu	ente ennume	ente enume	onte onume
282 cow	mabegundo	mugongo	mugongo	onte omulusi; onte okisonga
283 to milk	kukamula	kukoma	kukama	kukama
284 to churn	kusunda	kkusunda	kusunda	kusunda
285 donkey	ndogoyi	ndogoyi	ndogoyi	ndogoyi
286 goat	ndhyabuhule	mbuzzi	mbuzi	mbuli
287 sheep	ndiga	ndiga	ntaama	ntaama
288 pig	mbidhi	mbizzi	mbiidhi	mbiizi
289 chicken	ntolotoodhi	nkoko	nkoko	nkoko
290 cock	nondirondi	mpanga	mpanga	Mpanguzi
291 cat	ikapa	kkapa	pusi	puusi
292 dog	nkoid(h)i	mmbwa	mbwa	mbwa
293 to hunt	kuhiiga	kuyigga	kuyiga	kuhiiga

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
294 hunter	muhiigi	muyizzi	muyizi	muhiigi
295 bow	kalaso	kalaso	kalaso	kalaso
296 arrow	kassale	kasaale	kasaale	kasaale
297 gun	ifumu; imundu	mmundu	mundu	mundu
298 to shoot	kutilika; kutulisa; kuhuula eimundu	kukuba emmundu	kukuba mundu; kuteeba	kukuba mundu; kuteebe
299 spear	ifumu	ffumu	ifumo	isimo
300 to pierce	kukyoma, kuhioma	kufumita	kufumuta	kusumita
301 to kill	kuhembula	kutta	kwita	kwita
302 shield	ngabo	ngabo	ngabo	ngabo
303 stick	mwigo	muggo	mwigo	mwigo
304 trap	mumaaso	mutego	kitego	kitego
305 canoe	kahoola; bwato	lyato	lyato	lyato
306 paddle	ngashi; mpahulu	nkasi	nkasi	nkasi
307 to paddle	kubuga; kuhenda kukuba, kukola engashi	kuvuga lyato; kukuba enkasi	kuvuga lyato; kukuba enkasi	kuvuga lyato; kukuba enkasi
308 to fish	kububa	kuvuba	kuvuba	kuvuba
309 fish hook	(e)irobo, (i)iroobo	ddobo	(e)irobo	ndobo
310 animal	nsolo	nsolo	nsolo	kisolo
311 to bite	kuluma	kuluma	kuluma	kuluma
312 fur	biháha	byoya	byoya, mooya	byoya
313 horn	ihembe	jjembe	iyiga	ihiga
314 tail	muhira	mukira	mukira	mukira

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
315 buffalo	mbogo	mbogo	mbogo	mbogo
316 elephant	njobu	njovu	ndhobu	ngyovu
317 giraffe	ntuiga	ntugga	ntuiga	ntuiga
318 hippo	mbubu	nvubu	nvubu	nvubu
319 hyena	mbisi	mpisi	mpisi	mpisi
320 leopard	ngo	ngo	ngo	mpala
321 lion	mpologoma; nsolo	mpologoma	mpologoma	mpologoma
lioness	nsolo muesiki	nkozi		
322 fruit bat	-	-	-	-
323 baboon	-	-	-	-
324 monkey	kabudimuti nguku	nkima	nkembo	nkembo
325 rat	mbeba	mmese	mpubr	mese
326 fish	imome, imale	kyennyanja	kyenhandha	kinyanza
327 crab	ndjaba	-	-	-
328 crrocodile	igoonya, luthembe	ggoonya	goonya	goonya
329 python	itiimba	ttimba	timba	ziriryamiye
330 snake	musota	musota	musota	musota
331 lizard	munya	munya	mbulu	ngaiza, kidolo
332 snail	eikobu	kkovu	ikovu	kikovu
333 frog	kikere	kikere	kikere	kikere
334 worm	lusiriŋanyi	lusiriŋanyi	kiwuuka	kiruuka
335 bee	njuki	njuki	ndhuki	mzoki
336 soldier ant	-	-	-	-

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
337 termite	nswa; amage	nswa	amage; ige	ige
338 house fly	nsohera	nsowera	nsowera	nsohera
339 mosquito	nsiiri	nsiri	nsiri	nsiri
340 spider	inaibubi	nnabubi	nabumbuli	nabumbuliye
341 louse	nsekere	nsekere	nsekere	nsekere
342 bird	kinoni	kinyoni	nhoni	nyonyi
343 feather	kih(w)ah(w)a	kyoya	mooya, lyoya	iviiri
344 wing	kihaahaatiro	kiwaawaatiro	iwaawa	ihaaha
345 to fly	kubuuka	kubuuka	kubuluka	kuguluka
346 guinea fawl	nkofu, nkobu	nkofu	nkofu	nkofu
347 hawk	kakubampanga	kakubampanga	kakubi	kakubi
348 vulture	nsega	nsega	nsega	nsega
349 pigeon	ngiibwa	njiibwa	ngiibwa	ngiibwa
350 to begin	kutandiika, kushooka	kutandiika	kwinhama; kutandiika	kutandiika
351 to finish	kumalaho	kumala kusonjola	kumaliriza	kumalirya
352 to do	kukola	kukola	kukola	kukola
353 work	mulimu	mulimu	mulimo	mulimo
354 to work	kukola	kukola	kukola	kukola
355 to try	kugeedhaako	kugeezako	kugeezaku	kugezyako
356 to pull	kushika	kusika	okusika	kusika
357 to push	kushindika	kusindika	kusindika	kushindika
358 to put into	kuteega; kwisa	uteeka kussa	kutaamu; kwingizaamu	kuteekamu; kwingiryamu

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
359 to turn	kugeruka; kuhiuka	kukyuka	kukyuka	kukyuka
360 to bend	kuhéta	kuweta	kwegodamu	kwegeda
361 to break	kuhinyahinya	kumenya kukutula	kumenha	kumenya
362 to tear	kukambula	kuyuza	kuyuza	kukanula
363 to devide	kuhinyahinya		kugabizaamu	kugabaniamu
364 to lift	kusitula	kusitula	kusitula	kusitula
365 to mould	kuhumbahumba	kubumba	Kuwumba	kuhumba
366 to carve	kusala; kutula; kuheenga	kusala	kubaadha; kuluuka	kubaiza, kuluka
367 to forge	kugambaga	kugagamba	kugagamba	kugagamba
368 iron	kyuma; ihiomi	kyuma	kyuma	kyoma
369 to melt	kusaanuuka; kuhingulahingula	kusaanuuka	kusaanuka	kusaamuukya
370 to paint	kusiiga	kusiiga langi	kusiiga langi; kumyula	kumyula
371 to twist	kubhetabheta	kunyoola	kuniola	kuniolyezya
372 market	gatale	katale	katale	katale
373 to buy	kugula	kugula	kugula	kugula
374 to sell	kutunda	kutunda	kutunda	kutunda
375 to exchange	kuhiindula	kuwaanisiganya	kuwanisa	kuswanisya
376 debt	ibanghia	bbanja	ibandha	ibanza
377 to pay	kusasula	kusasula	kusasula	kusasula

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
378 money	Múhaand; insimbi; lushimbako; bumuli	nsimbi; ssente	sente	sente; boola
379 cheap	kyedhire	kya mwero	kyayala	kye sente itono; kyayalire
380 expensive	mwendo munene; nkanamu	kya muwendo munene	kya muwendo	kye sente nyingi; kya muhendo
381 hunger	ndjala, ndhala	njala	ndhala	nzala
382 to eat	kulia; kutafuna	kulia	kulya	kulya
383 food	bulio	mmere	mere	mere
384 to swallow	kumira	kumira	kumira	kumira
385 to be satiated	kutí(i)ha; ikweguta	kumatiza	kwiguta	kwikuta
386 to belch	kwebaidjagala	kubbejjagala	kubadhagala	kubaizagala
387 thirst	inyonta; nkalamata	nnyonta	nhonta	ndiho
388 to drink	kunywa	kunywa	kunhwa	kunwa
389 egg	(e)ihuli	(g)gi	igi	igi
390 honey	mubisi	mubisi	mubisi	mugyenene
391 meat	nsalwa	nnyama	mamba	mamba
392 milk	matai	mata	mata	mata
393 oil	mudhigho	bbutto	bwito	bwito
394 banana	membu; itooke	memvu; ttooke	matooke	matooke
395 orange	muchungwa	muchungwa	muthungwa	mukyungwa

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
396 sugarcane	kiteenga	kyikajjo	kikaadho	kikaajo
397 mango	muhembe	muyembe	muyembe	muyembe
398 beans	biheemba	kijanjalo	bidhandhaali	bigyangyali
399 tomato	nnyanya	nnyanya	naanha	nyanya
400 cassava	mutere; muhogo	muwogo	muwogo	muhogo
401 potato	lumonge; mudinamwai	lumonde	mbooli	mbooli
402 yam	endaigu	ndaggu	kiyuni	kiyuni
403 pepper	kaamulali	kaamulali	kalali	kalali
404 salt	munudo	muunyu	muunhu	muunyu
405 flour	obuhunga	buvunga	buse	busiani
406 maize	kasooli	kasooli	duuma	duuma
407 mtama	mutama	mutama	mutama	mutama
408 rice	mutyere	mupunga	mutyere	mutyere
409 cloth	lulambaala	ngoye	ngoye, lugoye	ndobe; olugoye
410 to wear	kugumira	kuguma	kuvaala	kuzwala
411 to dress	kudhjuala	kwambala	kuvaala	kuzwala
412 to undress	kunubula	kweyambula	kweyambula	kweyambula
413 hat	njáò –(ho)	nkofiira	nkofiira	nkofiira
414 shirt	shaati	ssaati	saati	saati
415 Shorts	kabidhi	kabidhi	mpale nhimbi	mpale nyimbi
416 trousers	mpale	mpale mpavu	ndabada	ndabada
417 to iron	-	kugolola	kugolola	kugolola
418 stockings	-	sitokisi	sookisi	sookisi
419 shoe	ngaito	ngatto	ngaito	Ngaito

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
420 fingerring	mbeta	mpeta	mpeta	mpeta
421 tp plait	-		kusiba nviiri	kusiba nziiro
422 sky	ibire; haigulu	bbire; ggulu	bireri; ghaigulu	bireri; haigulu
423 dark	iirugabu	ddugavu	iirugavu	irugazu
424 dawn	mambya; muherima			
425 light	musana	musana	kitangaala	kitangaala
426 sun	ndjuba	njuba	ndhuba	njuba
427 to shine	kasana; gwaka	kasana	kwaka	kwaka
428 shadow	kisiikiridhe	kisiikirize	kyesense	kyeriirye
429 heat	ibugumu	bbugumu	ibugumu	ibugumu
430 moon	mwedhi	mwezi	mwezi	mwezi
431 star	imunye	mmunyeenye	munhienhie	munyenye
432 wind	mbeho; butiti	mpewo	mpewo	mpeho
433 to blow	kufuuha	kufuuwa	kufuuwa	kufuuha
434 cloud	kire	kire	kireri	kireri
435 rain	nkuba; maidhi	nkuba	maadhi	ikendi
436 to rain	kutoinya; okugwa	kutonya	kutoonha	kutoona
437 lightning	kumyansa	kumyansa	kumyansa	kumyansuka
438 thunder	bwabwatuka; kudhudhuma	kubwatuka	lukuba	kukuba; kubwatuka
439 world	bulinsi	buli ommu; nsi yonna	nsi yoina	nsi yoina
440 land	nsi; itaka	nsi; ttaka	nsi; itaka	nsi; itakali

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
441 forest	nsikò; kibira	kibira	kibira	kibira
442 mountain	lusodhi luhambu	lusozi lwamvu	lusozi	lusozi
443 rock	lwadhi; ibaale	lwazi	ibaale	ibaale
444 valley	kihombu	kikko	kiiko	kiiko
445 plain	-	mutala	mutala	mutala
446 cave	mbugu	musetwe	mpuku	mpuku
447 hole	kiereredhi; kituli; kiina	kyererezi; kituli	kituli; kiina	kituli; kiina
448 water	maidhi; mabuki	maazi	maadhi	maizi
449 river	muiga	mugga	mwiga	mwiga
450 lake Victoria	nnyandha Nalubaale	nnyanja Nalubaale	nhandha Nalubaale	nyanza Nalubaale
451 stone	ibaale; kiaadhi; ibuye	jjinja	dhindha; ibaale	ibaale
452 dust	ifuufu	nfuufu	nfuufu	nfuufu
453 mud	itoosi; ibumba	ttosi	bityanka	bityanka
454 sand	musenyu	musenyu	musenho	musenyo
455 soil	itaaka	ttaka	itaka	itakali
456 path	ikubo; muhanda	kkubo	ngira, kagira	kazira, nzira
457 road	luguudo	luguudo	luguudo	luguudo
458 place	kifo; kitundu	kifo	kifo; kitundu	kifo

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
459 village	kyalo	kyalo	kyalo	kyalo
460 plant	kimera	Kimera	kusimba	kukoma
461 to sprout	kumuhika	kumula	kumulika	Kumulika
462 tree	muti	muti	muti	muti; musaale
463 root	mulandira	mulandira	mulandira	mulandira
464 branch	itabi	ttabi	lusaga	lusaga
465 leaf	mugo; lubabi; ishambu	muko; kikoola; lulagala	ikoola	kikoola
466 thorn	lihua	liggwa	iwa	ihwa
467 fruit	kibala	kibala	kibala	kibala
468 unripe	igù; kibisi	kibisi	kibisi	kibisi, ikyenyi
469 to ripen	kihivi	kwengeza	kwenga	kwenga
470 to be rotten	kibundu	kivundu	kivundu	kivundi
471 date tree	-	-	-	-
472 grass	kyalire, ishubi	ssubi	isubi	isubi
473 pumpkin	insuidju	nsujju	kiryo; iriibwa	iriibwa
474 number	bungi	bungi	bungi	bungi
475 many	Bingi; bwera	bingi	bingi	bingi
476 crowd	kibiina	kibiina	ikukuubira	kwebungirira
477 few	butyampay	bitono	bitono	bitono
478 alone	yenkay; mulala	yekka	kyonka	kyonka
479 all	bwoina	bwona, byona	byonabyona	byonabyona

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
480 to be full	kidjuirè; musera	kijjuvu; musera	kiidhuvu	kizuli
481 to count	kubala	kubala	kubala	kubala
(482-510: ordinal numbers; excluded here, see table 19)				
511 to meisure	kupima; kulenga	kupima	kupima	kupima
512 weight	kiditoha, kulengo	buzito	buzito	buzito
513 boundary	ka-/ ki-komo; musa; lusalo	kkomo	lusalo	lubibi
514 line	mudjiitali	muttale	musitaale	musitaale
515 far	hala, haleri	wala	hala	hala
516 near	kumpi, haampi; piáhai	kumpi; kutera	kumpi	kumpi
517 difference	ndjahulo	njawulo	ndhawulo	njahulo
518 other	kindi	kirala	kindi	kindi
519 thing	kintu	kintu	kintu	kintu
520 sign	kabonero	kabonero	kabonero	kabonero
521 end	kumaliridhà; ikomerero	budde kiseera	nkomerero	nkomerero
522 time	ogwire; obuire; kiseera	budde; ssaawa	saawa; kiseera	sawa; kiseera
523 year	yaka, ihyaka; iraidha	mwaka	mwaka	mwaka

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
524 week	buthyo	wiiki	saasira	sabiiti
525 day	kadhobha	lunaku	lunaku	lunaku
526 daytime	(bu)hwiire	kumakya	musana	musana
527 night	nkiro	nkiro	bwire	bwire
528 morning	Kumaliri; kunhya	lwaggulo	nkyo	makeezi
529 evening	igulo; kahungedhi	ggulo; budde; kiseera	igulo; kanzimyezimye	igulo; kanzimyezimye
530 today	kano	(lwa)leero	(lwa)leero	lwahati
531 tomorrow	keire; nhya; idhjo	nkya	nkyo; idho	izo
532 yesterday	idhjo; luleere	ijjoo	idho	izo
533 the past	bwire	budde bujjaa	ira	ira
534 anger	busungu	busungu	busungu	busungu
535 to be angry	ku(e)hinugu(h)a; kuniiha	kusunguuwavu	Kusunghala; kunhiiga	kunyiga
536 to hate	kukyaha (PAST: alekíre; hahíganya)	kukyawa kukijjanya	kukyagha	kukyaha
537 mercy	mugisa; busaasizi	kisa; busaasizi	kivunika; kisa	kisa
538 desire	kusaiga; kukula; kweegomba	kwagala kwegomba	kwenda	kutaka

Number/English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
539 to be astonished	Kwehuunya, -isha kuhunyiridha	kwewuunyisa kusamaaliriza	kusamaalirira	kwehuunya, kusamaalira
540 doubt	Kubuusabuusa	kubuusabuusa	kubuusabuusa	kubuusyabusya
541 fear	kutiisa, kutya; (etengero)	kutya	kutya	kutya
542 shame	nsonyi kusyonyihwa	nsonyi kukwasa ensonyi	kuswala	kuswala
543 tears	kulira madhiga	kukaaba maziga	kulira maziga	kulira maliga
544 pain	bulumi; bubalagaze	bulumi	bulumi	bulumi
545 joy	ishanyu; byennya	ssanyu	isanhu	isanyu
546 proud	kwehulira	kwewulira	kwewulira	kumalala; kweyagala
547 fatigue	bukoohu	bukoowu	bukoowu	bukoohu
548 smell	kuhunya; kunuuka	kuwunya	kuwunha	kuhunya
549 to stink	kuhunya; kucuuma	kuwunya; kucuuma	kuwunha	kuhunya
550 to remember	kwidhukira, kwighiukira	kujjukira; kuteerabira	kwidhukira	kwijukira
551 to forget	kwerabira	kwerabira	kwerabira	Kwerabira
552 to think	kulohoodha; kuteteŋganya; kufumiitiriza	kulowooza; kufumiitiriza	kulowooza	kulohoonya
553 to know	kumanya; kuteeberera kuhulikira	kumanya; kutegeera	kumanha	kumanya

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
554 to hear	kuhulira	kuwulira	kuwulira	kuhulira
555 noise	kuleekaana; luhoogaano	kuleekaana; luyoogaano	keerere	keerere
556 to see	kubo(i)na	kulaba	kubona	kubona
557 to touch	kugwa(i)ta; kukomireko	kukwaata; kukomako	kugema	kugema
558 to taste	kugeedha; kuleha	kulegako; kulooza	kulegako	kulegako
559 bitter	kihaire	kambaga	kika; kikaawa	kukaaha
560 life	bulamu	bulamu	bulamu	bulamu
561 to die	kuhembuka; kuhenegeka	kufa; kutuuka	kufa	kufa
562 death	kuhembuka; Kimbe, Walumbe	kufa; Walumbe	kufa	kufa; Lumbe
563 corpse	mulambo; mutulumbi (gwa nkoidhi)	mulambo; mutulumbi	mulambo	mulambo
564 to bury	kudhiika; kubumbika	kuziika; kuvumbika	kuziika	kuziika
565 grave	butuulo	ntaana; malaalo	magombe	magombe
566 God	Mukama; Katonda; Shehanaka; Shemuhandala; Luhanga; Lugaba	Mukama; Katonda	Katonda; Musengwa	Katonda

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
567 ghost	mudhimu	muzimu	musambwa	muszimu; musambwa
568 taboo	midhidho; kihombu	muzizo; kiko	muziro	muzizo; muziro
569 devine	kulagula	kulagula	kulagula	kulagula
570 medicine man	mulogo	mulogo	muyigha	muyiha
571 sorcerer	mushirishimbi	mulogo	mulogo	mulogo
572 to bewitch	kuloga; kushihiirira	kuloga	kuloga	kuloga
573 witchcraft	irogo	ddogo	irogo	Irogo
574 big	kinene; kiromugaso	kinene; kya mumaso nnyo	kinene	kinene; kiba
575 small	kityampai	kitono	kitono	Kitono
576 long	kihambu; kushokira	kiwamvu; kasoobo	kiwanvu	kireehi
577 short	kimpi; kityampera; kapinkiginya	kimpi	kimpi	kimpi
578 wide	kigadhi	kigazi	kigazi	kigazi
579 narrow	katyampaityampai; kifundire; kitonihirè	kifunda	kifunda	kifunda
580 heavy	kidhitoha	kizito	kizito	kizito
581 light	kiibi; kishuma	kibbi	kyangu	kihuuhu

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
582 good	kirungi; kihera; kikalamu; ge	kirungi	kirungi; kikalamu	kisa
583 bad	kiibi	kibbi	kibi	kibiibi
584 clean	kigoghofu; kigwogwo; kihera	kiyonjo; kirongoofu	kiyondho; kirihiriro	kinyirira; kiyongyo
585 dirt	iíko; ndiro; hatinkirwa	kko; jjama	kikyafu	kigubi
586 hard	kigumire; kikakanyabu; kikalanga	kigumu; kikanyavu	kikalangufu	kikalanguki
587 soft	kigombu; kiheheembu; kiholoba; kisainege; kiseemera	kigonvu; kiweweeru	kigonvu	kigondi
588 wisdom	mageedhi	magezi	magezi	magezi
589 stupid	(ha)gwagwaire; (mu)hemeheme; (ata)li mu magedhi	busirusiru; (mu)gwagwa	busiru	(mu-; bu)siru
590 black	kirugala, kiirugabu	kiddugavu	kiirugavu	kirugazu
591 red	kimyukire; kimyúpu	kimyufu	kimyufu	kimyufu

Number/ English	Lushese	Luganda	Lusoga	Lulamogi
592 white	ki(h)erà	njeru	kyeru	kyeru
593:				
fat person	mudeibhu	mugenvu	munene	munene
fat meat	nsábwa; amasabu	nsavà	mamba ya nsolo	mamba ya kisolo
594 sweet	kinula, kikinula; kihooma	kiwooma	kiwooma; kidhundhula	kihooma; kigyugyula
595 weak	kinafu	kinafu	kinafu	kinafu
596 cold	kiholaholoholo; kiinyiga	kinnyogowu; kinnyiga	kwinyogovu	kwinogoki
597 dry	Kigalu, kikaalu	kikalu	kikalu	kikalu
598 to be sufficient	kimala	kimala	kimala	kimala
599 to be switable	kisaanire; kiamála; kigwana; kigwanireka	kisaanira; kituukirawo	kitukaana	k; kisaanira
600 new	kiaighia	kiggya	kiyaaka	kityaka
(601) strong	muse	mumaanyi	kigumu	kigumu
(602) last	kiheraho; twinuke tuyataha	kindi; kisembayo	kisembayo; kughangala	kisembayo; kuhangaala
(603) difficult	luhia; kikalangabu	luzibu	kikalangafu	kikalanguki

Appendix (II) presents the questionnaires developed for the fieldwork, while appendix (III) gives an overview of one day during the theatrical project (April 17, 2011).

Appendix II

Appendix two includes two questionnaires developed for this study: questionnaire (A) illustrates the sentences developed 2009 to investigate the use of the verbs of perception and questionnaire (B) illustrates sentences and contexts for further discussion developed 2010 for the investigation of various linguistic means to express perception as well as sentences developed with background the theoretical frame of construction grammar.

Questionnaire A

1) Look! There, behind the tree, can you see the small cat?

2) Where do you think this might be leading us?

3) I can´t see any problem in the fact that she´s a woman.

4) After lunch he used to listen to the radio.

5) Listen, I really don´t believe a word of what he says, he is not to be trusted.

6) He´s stubborn, he never listens to anybody.

7) You should listen to your parents and give up smoking.

8) After working on the field we all smell like horses.

9) These flowers smell nice/have no smell.

10) Don´t you smell anything? I think something is burning.

11) This food has no flavour/tastes really nice/awful.

12) I have a cold, I can´t taste anything.

13) Look these funny clothes (s)he has on, (s)he has a very strange taste.

14) I was looking in the dark for my clothes and touched yours with dirty fingers, I´m so sorry!

15) I don´t feel good/feel down, maybe it´s the weather.

16) Did you feel the earthquake? Did you hear the thunder?

17) Cold? I don´t feel cold, it´s just fresh air!

18) You really don´t feel the difference? Well, feel it, this is cotton and this is silk/this is iron and

    this is wood!

19) I fell in love +IDIOM (my world turned upside down).

20) Doesn´this goat feel smooth?

Questionnaire B

    1. PHYSICAL PERCEPTION AS EXPERIENCE

1a)   Lubandi saw the cat.

1b)   Lubandi heard the cat mewing/purring.

1c)   Lubandi saw the cat eating.

1d)   Lubandi heard the cat crying.

1e)   Lubandi felt cold.

1f)   Lubandi felt a stone under his feet.

1g)   Lubandi smelled the smoke.

1h)   Lubandi smelled her aroma in the room.

1i)   Lubandi tasted the food.

1j)   Lubandi tasted pepper in the food.

    2. PHYSICAL PERCEPTION AS ACTION

2a)   Lubandi looked at the cat.

2b)   Lubandi listened to the birds.

2c)   Lubandi felt the goat´s back to see if the skin is soft.

2d)   Lubandi smelled the fish to see if it´s still fresh.

2e)   Lubandi tasted the food to see if it is salty.

2f)   Lubandi grasped his weapon.

    3. PERCEPTION WITH BACKGROUND THE CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR

Is it possible to say the following and if yes, what does it mean?

3a)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted my father.

3b)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the car.

3c)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the boat.

3d)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the tree.

3e)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the grass.

3f)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the street.

3g)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the story.

3h)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the rain.

3i)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the wind.

3h)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the stone.

3i)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the dance.

3j)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the freedom.

3k)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the kingdom.

3l)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the love.

3m)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the cat.

3n)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the chicken.

3o)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the fish.

3p)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the bird.

3q)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the lion.

3r)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the snake.

3s)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted my arm/leg/head/stomach.

3t)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted your arm/leg/head/stomach.

3u)   I saw/heard/felt/smelled/tasted the book/plate/cooking pot/cooking stone.

    4. PASSIVATION OF THE ABOVE SENTENCES (1-3)

    5. PERCEPTION AS QUALITY

5a)   Nassali looked happy.

5b)   Nassali seems to be happy.

5c)   Nassali sounded happy.

5d)   Nassali smelled good/of jasmine.

5e)   The skin of the goat felt soft.

5f)   The food tasted good/salty.

5g)   The flowers smell.

5e)   The flowers smell good.

    6. IDIOMS
    i)   Give a short context where the below sentences are the pointe and translate:
       To have a hazy notion,
       I see what you mean,

to shed light,
on the same wavelength,
to ring the bell
this is music to my ears
this is greek/chinese to me
to grasp an idea
to catch one´s eye
to feel warm inside
it beats me

ii) Construction of small stories/dialogues, where the idioms are mentioned: is their use possible like presented? What do they mean in the given contexts?

iii) Other way of use? Let the informant give an example in the form of a small story

7. PROVERBS

What do they mean? In which situation are they appropriate? Ask the speakers to give an example in the form of a story/dialogue.

8. CAUSATIVES

All verb classes in pairs; animate/inanimate subjects; perceptive verbs should be mixed in the sample and not occur one after the other.

8a) Nassali laughed.   Lubandi made Nassali laugh.

8b) Nassali died.   Lubandi killed Nassali.

8c) The child eats.   (i) The mother feeds the child.

                             (ii) The mother made the child eat.

8d) Nassali sat down.   Lubandi gave Nassali a seat.   The mother seated the child.

8e) Nassali is learning Lushese.   Lubandi is teaching Nassali Lushese.

8f) Nassali saw a bird.   Nassali showed Lubandi a bird.

8g) Nassali is angry.   Lubandi made Nassali angry.

8h) The water boiled.   Nassali boiled water.

    The food is cooked.   Nassali cooked the food.

    The meat is roasted.   Nassali roasted the meat.

8i) Nassali smelled the flowers.   Nassali gave the flowers to her mother to smell them.

8j) Nassali is afraid.   Nassali is afraid of snails.   The snail frightened Nassali.

8k) The dishes dried/are dry.   Nassali dried the dishes.

8l) Nassali tastes the food.   Nassali gave some food to her mother to taste if it is salty.

8m) The boat turned over.   Lubandi turned the boat over.

8n) The window opened (by the wind).   Nassali opened the window.   The window is open.

8o) Nassali heard the birds.

Nassali took her lame mother out to hear the birds singing.

8p) Nassali touched the cloth to see if it is soft enough to make a shirt for the baby.

Nassali gave the cloth to her mother to touch it and see if it is soft enough to make a shirt for the baby.

8q) The stone fell.   Nassali dropped the stone down/let the stone fall down.

9. REFLEXIVES

Are the above sentences grammatically correct? Are there any restrictions regarding their meaning/use? If yes, ask the informant to give examples of the appropriate contexts in the form of a story.

9a)	Nassali washed.	Nassali washesd the clothes.	Nassali washed herself.
9b)	Lubandi cut.	Lubandi cut the tree.	Lubandi cut himself.
9c)	Nassali saw.	Nassali saw the bird.	Nassali saw herself.
9d)	Lubandi heard.	Lubandi heard the bird.	Lubandi heard himself.
9e)	Nassali smelled.	Nassali smelled the flowers.	Nassali smelled herself.
9f)	Lubandi tasted.	Lubandi tasted the food.	Lubandi tasted himself.
9g)	Lubandi felt.	Lubandi felt a stone under his feet.	Lubandi felt himself.
9h)	We hate/love.	We hate/love them.	We hate/love ourselves.
9i)	We praise.	We praise them.	We praise ourselves.

10. RECIPROCAL

10a)   The women see each other (to control their hair style).

10b)   The boys hit each other.

10c)   The girls washed each other.

10d)   The men heard each other. (context?)

10e)   The children smelled each other .(context?)

10f)   The girls felt each other (to see if their skin is softer with or without body-oil).

+ various reciprocal contexts in small stories: Nassali said that the boys should hear each other and not argue etc.

After analyzing the above, compare with other verb classes and only then test polysemies: Which of the below sentences are grammatically correct? What do they mean? Are there any restrictions in their use? If yes, give an example in the the form of a story.

11. Cognition and Emotion

11a)	I have a problem.	I have an idea.	I have a solution.
11b)	I see a problem.	I see an idea.	I see a solution.
11c)	I hear a problem.	I hear an idea.	I hear a solution.
11d)	I smell a problem.	I smell an idea.	I smell a solution.
11e)	I touch a problem.	I touch an idea.	I touch a solution.
11f)	I feel a problem.	I feel an idea.	I feel a solution.

Similarly treat the below sentences:

11g)	I have pain.	I have pain on the leg.	I have pain in the stomach.
11h)	I have thirst/hunger.	I have thirst for milk.	I have hunger for meat.
11i)	I have sadness.	I have happiness.	

Appendix III

Appendix three includes notices regarding the fifth day of work during the theatrical project.

The fifth day of work during the theatrical project (April 17, 2011)

PREPARATION: the evening before, 16.94.2011 together with the actors and assistants.

Identified problem: Christians vs. spirit-specialists

Good atmosphere: more freedom?

In case of too much preaching: Personal questions

MORNING SESSION:

Exercises: Kayege immitates the goat

Challenge: People question themselves - today everybody asks whatever (s)he wants to know.

Q1) What´s the difference between culture and religion?

Q2) Origin of the clans? → Intervention: Everybody shall tell us a story!

Q3) Difference between *Lubaale* and other kinds of spirits?

Q4) Faith and worship differences between old religion and monotheistic religions

Q5) *Lukumbi/Nkose*: Who is human and who is spirit?

Q6)   Families of the spirits (example: *Musiisi, Mukasa*)

Q7)   Do they all have the same power?

Q8)   Why some islands are associated with specific taboos/stories?

Q9)   Connection between language and politics?

→WE GET PERMISSION TO ASK: Where are the female spirits?

→QUESTIONS TO US: Do we have any story about spirits?

                                     What will happen with the data?

THE PLAY

Issue: Taboo: No ships on the Ssese Islands

Rehearsal: one act: end when the sinner goes

Play 1:   2nd act: addition of meeting/letter to *Lukumbi*

Play 2:   3rd act: addition of planting the tree/reconciliation

EVENING SESSION

→ Spontaneous discussion after the play: Did we understand?

→ We have permission to ask: Reconciliation issues

→ 3 poems with educative character, *Mikando* game (issue this time: diseases and forced migration/contemporary element: me!)

→We are forced to show/perform something out of our culture

Idriss/Kasiim: Men go out in the night in Kampala

Patience/Mariana: Song/game of the students in the university

Christoph: Snow-White story

Marilena: The battle of the titans/migration song

→ Questions/comments about what they saw: gender issues, women in modern times, status of the hunter, nature of dwarfs, poison practices, difference between gods and titans, cannibalism, geography/language/history of Europe, comparison Germany/Greece.