

AFRICA

Kyoto University African Study Series 014

Nsenga Proverbs in Zambia

Linguistic, Ethnographic and Logical Analyses

Ngalande Sande

The Center for African Area Studies
Kyoto University

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Printed in Japan
Shoukadoh Book Sellers

Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University
Shimoadachi-cho 46, Yoshida, Sakyo, Kyoto 606-8501

First published 2015 by Shoukadoh Book Sellers

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Ngalande Sande
Nsenga Proverbs in Zambia: Linguistic, Ethnographic and Logical Analyses

ISBN978-4-87974 -683-2

This book was published with the Grant for Young Researchers of the FY 2014 Discretionary Budget of the President of Kyoto University.

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February 2010
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DEDICATION

To my wife, Fanny who motivates me; and my children, Cinthemwa and Natasha, who were born in Japan during my studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to God who gave me good health and made everything possible for me to complete this study. I am grateful to my Chief Supervisor, Professor Shigeki Kaji, for his valuable guidance and mentorship from the start of the research as an idea up to completion. I am equally grateful to the assistant supervisors for all their help during my stay at Kyoto University, in Japan. I am also grateful to all the people at the Graduate School of Asian and Africa Area studies who helped me in any way. Dr. Shinichiro Hisada was particularly helpful in designing the maps in the thesis.

My wife, Fanny, and my children sacrificed their time and comfort to ensure that I was successful. I will always be grateful to them. They were a great source of motivation in the entire period. My parents, especially my mother Mrs. Faith Ngalande, played a critical role in both identifying language consultants (informants) and collecting a number of proverbs.

As I am unable to mention all the people who were helpful, I must thank anybody I have not mentioned who made this work possible. Dr. John Simwinga was very helpful with all my research needs in Zambia. Mr. David Sani Mwanza was a very helpful research assistant. Ms. Akie Kyo, a fellow PhD student, was particularly helpful initially as my tutor and later as a voluntary helper in many issues, which arose during my studies and stay in Japan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

1	1st person
1p	1st person plural
1s	1st person singular
ADJ	adjective or adjectival
ADV	adverb or adverbial
APP	applicative
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
cl1	noun class one
CMP	completive
CND	conditional
CNJ	conjunctive
COP	copula, verb 'to be'
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
ENC	enclitic
FEXT	formal extension
FPR	formal prefix
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
GEN	genitive
GP	general present
GPR	genitive prefix
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INFM	infinitive marker
INT	intensive
LCN	locative noun
LOC	locative
LOC16,17,18	locative pronoun of class 16, 17, 18
MDS	manner-of-doing suffix
MOD	modal
N	nasal
NEG	negative
NOM	nominal
NUM	numeral, numerative
O	object
OC	object concord or agreement
OM	object marker
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PEJ	pejorative
PER	persistive
PERF	present perfect (perfective)
PL	plural marker
POS	possessive
PPR	possessive prefix
PR	prefix
PRG	progressive
PRN	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PRPR	preprefix
PRS	present
PTC	particle
QP	quantitative pronoun
RAD	radical
REC	reciprocal
REF	reflexive
REL	relative pronoun
REP	repetitive
S	semivowel
SBJ	subjunctive
SC	subject concord or agreement (= SM)
SG	singular
SM	subject marker

STM	stem
SUB	subject
TM	tense marker
VER	verb
V	vowel

Symbols

c	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]
j	voiced palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ]
ʰ	aspiration
ng'	velar nasal [ŋ]
ny	palatal nasal [ɲ]
Ø	zero morpheme
sh	voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ]
ŵ	bilabial fricative [β]
zy	voiced palatal fricative [ʒ]

ABSTRACT

As African societies are rich in, and dependent on, orature to transmit societal information, proverbs play a central role in reflecting people's culture and traditions and they are hence entrusted with one of the most important functions of teaching and transmitting ethnic traditions and moral values across generations. It is therefore generally agreed that proverbs are not only the fruit of people's wisdom but also represent general characteristics of a society.

Proverbs exist both orally and in print in the multitude of cultures and languages of the world. Whereas numerous collections already exist, several hundreds of both proverbs and publications on proverbs are added annually world over. Generally, most studies consist in paremiography. Paremiography is the commonest practice in the study of proverbs. Various people of various disciplines have collected proverbs either simply for the sake of making a collection or for specific purposes. Paremiography dates back as far as Aristotle's times and beyond in religious books. However, paremiologists occupy themselves with both the collection and classification of proverbs.

In Africa and particularly Zambia, the majority of proverb information consists in collections more than the study of proverbs. Common in studies on proverbs is also the classification or categorization of proverbs based on discourse functions, conversational meanings and uses of proverbs. It is therefore common practice to find several works listing proverbs on one hand and their meanings on the other. The proverbs are also presented according to general functions and uses. As most African societies are multilingual, proverbs are also presented in local languages and translated into official languages, usually European languages, which are languages of the former colonial masters. In the Zambian case, translations are made in English.

Although proverbs are an important part of language, many linguists have not directly dealt with the subject. Linguists too have involved themselves in classification and collection of proverbs as is the general trend. Some linguists have looked at proverbs under phraseology but there remains the need for linguists to go beyond treating proverbs as phraseological units. In this manner, while research on proverb collections, conversational meanings, functions and use of proverbs abound, there is a dearth of information on the grammar of proverbs in Zambia in particular. Stated as a question, the problem is "What is the grammar of proverbs in Nsenga language?"

The study is a departure from merely documenting proverbs to undertaking intensive analyses of individual proverbs in order to exhaustively deal with meanings and related linguistic and ethnographic aspects of individual proverbs. Thus rather than focus on collecting large volumes of proverbs, more time is allocated to dealing with individual proverbs from various angles or approaches in a holistic manner. The study therefore contributes by developing a new approach in analyzing proverbs. It combines the linguistic, ethnographic and logical approaches to deal with the complexity of the nature of proverbs and meaning in proverbs.

Eight hundred proverbs and their accompanying ethnographic data were collected from the Nsenga people who speak a language called Nsenga using qualitative methods. Nsenga is spoken in Eastern Zambia. While Zambia has at least 73 speech varieties, English is the sole official language and only seven other indigenous languages have been selected as semi-official languages known as "Regional Official Languages". These languages are especially taught as subjects in schools. In Eastern Zambia, Nyanja is used as the official language. As a result, Nsenga is neither taught in schools nor used in any official capacity. It is therefore a minority language that has very little literature.

The linguistic analysis reveals that Nsenga proverbs constitute a special form of language with a number of distinguishing features. The features include eight rhythm patterns based on Nsenga syllable structure that chiefly distinguish the phonology of Nsenga Proverbs from that of ordinary Nsenga. Other features of the phonology of Nsenga proverbs include grammatical and poetic alliteration of both consonant and vowel segments. The study also reveals morphological and syntactic structures that distinguish the grammar of Nsenga proverbs. These include a special form of pronominalization and nominalization. Others are bipartite structures, incomplete structures, imperative structures and the non-compliance to rules of grammar.

The ethnographic analysis shows the manner in which proverbs are performed among the Nsenga people and the various societal characteristics as revealed by the proverbs. This analysis helps to move the study from merely dealing with linguistic meaning to dealing with pragmatic and cultural specific meaning of Nsenga proverbs. The analysis of meaning in proverbs is complemented by the logical analysis, which examines the reasoning pattern displayed in Nsenga proverbs. The study subsequently shows deductive reasoning in the form of Modus Ponendo Ponens as the predominant logic in Nsenga proverbs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten" (Achebe, 1958:6), is one of the most popular lines in Chinua Achebe's magnum opus *Things Fall Apart,* one of the most widely read books in modern African literature. The quote highlights the significance of proverb use in African societies. In Africa, one's wisdom and sophistication in speech is traditionally measured by mastery and appropriate use of proverbs especially in public gatherings. In everyday life people almost subconsciously acquire and use proverbs in various situations and contexts. As African societies are rich in, and dependent on, orature to transmit societal information, proverbs play a central role in reflecting people's culture and traditions and they are hence entrusted with one of the most important functions of teaching and transmitting ethnic traditions and moral values across generations. It is therefore generally agreed that proverbs are not only the fruit of people's wisdom but also capsules of societal general characteristics.

Proverbs exist both orally and in print in the multitude of cultures and languages of the world. Whereas numerous collections already exist, several hundreds of both proverbs and publications on proverbs are added annually world over. Proverbs have long been the focus of scholars of various disciplines for many centuries. Mieder (2008) observes that the earliest collections date back to the third millennium B.C. Their uniqueness in nature generates great interest for various studies. Such uniqueness is in the excitement that proverbs arouse in the user and the audience. It is also in the condensation, multiplicity of meaning, and effectiveness in communicating valuable societal information across generations.

Generally, most studies consist in paremiography. Paremiography is the commonest practice in the study of proverbs. It is simply the collection of proverbs in general. Various people of various disciplines have collected proverbs either simply for the sake of making a collection or for specific purposes. Paremiography dates back as far as Aristotle's times and beyond in religious books. However, paremiologists occupy themselves with both the collection and classification of proverbs. They address such issues as the definition, form, structure, style, content, function, meaning, and value of proverbs. Thus, paremiology is the study of proverbs.

In Africa and particularly Zambia, the majority of proverb information consists in collections more than the study of proverbs. Common in studies on

proverbs is also the classification or categorization of proverbs based on discourse functions, conversational meanings and uses of proverbs. It is therefore common practice to find several works listing proverbs on one hand and their meanings on the other. The proverbs are also presented according to general functions and uses. As most African societies are multilingual, proverbs are also presented in local languages and translated into official languages. These, usually European languages, were languages of the colonial masters. In the Zambian case, translations are made in English.

Although proverbs are an important part of language, many linguists have not directly dealt with the subject. Linguists too have involved themselves in classification and collection of proverbs as is the general trend. Some linguists have looked at proverbs under phraseology but there remains the need for linguists to go beyond treating proverbs as phraseological units.

1. Statement of the Problem

While research on proverb collections, conversational meanings, functions and use of proverbs abound, there is a dearth of information on the grammar of proverbs in Zambia in particular. Hardly any studies have dealt with proverbs as a specialized form of language and as a means of communication by looking at how they are structured to depict and convey meaning in the society. Meaning of proverbs has usually been presented as translation equivalents between English as the official language and local Zambian languages. Stated as a question, the problem is "What is the grammar of proverbs in Nsenga language?"

2. Rationale

Zambia like many other African countries has adopted English as the sole National Official Language taking after the language of the British Colonial Ruler. She has also designated some seven local languages to operate as regional official languages in a semi-official manner mainly for teaching as subjects in primary schools. This practice has not only marginalized the rest of Zambian languages but also threatened some with extinction. Nsenga is one of the minority languages that is neither taught nor used in any official manner except for religious purposes. There are hardly any studies and let alone any written literature except religious materials written by the Anglican Church missionaries.

The language situation has also affected development of local languages and continuously reduced the number of speakers of minority languages such as Nsenga. As a result, high language competence that allows one to use specialized

aspects of language like proverbs is dwindling in the modern society. It is therefore imperative to study the language in order to prevent total loss of information and especially cultural information embedded in the proverbs.

3. Purpose of the Study

This research is a departure from merely documenting proverbs to undertaking intensive analyses of individual proverbs in order to exhaustively deal with meanings and related linguistic and ethnographic aspects of individual proverbs. Thus rather than focus on collecting large volumes of proverbs, more time is allocated to dealing with individual proverbs from various angles or approaches in a holistic manner. The study therefore contributes by developing a new approach in analyzing proverbs. It combines the linguistic, ethnographic and logical approaches to deal with the complexity of the nature of proverbs and meaning in proverbs. In addition, the study deals with an area that has not yet been explored in Nsenga language.

4. Objectives

The aim of the study is to examine the grammar of proverbs in the Nsenga language. The objectives therefore are:

a) To examine some aspects of grammar such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the Nsenga proverbs.
b) To delve into ethnographic information related to Nsenga proverbs such as cultural background and context of use.
c) To analyze how meaning is depicted and conveyed in proverbs.

5. Scope and limitations

As this is not a study about the complete grammar of the Nsenga language, only grammatical aspects related to proverbs are investigated. Although the aim is to study the grammar of proverbs, the term grammar is used in a broader sense to include various aspects related to language use in general and proverb use in particular. Thus, the term is not used to strictly refer to language structure and rules but to deal with various linguistic levels such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics as they relate to investigated proverbs. There are therefore no formal or academic subdivisions separating some levels of linguistic analysis in the chapters dealing with linguistic analysis.

At the phonological level, the study is limited to providing segmental phonemes alone without their suprasegmental counterparts. Therefore, tone is not marked.

The study does also not deal with origins and definitions of proverbs. Some of the expressions analyzed can be regarded as other sayings rather than proverbs in some schools of thought. As categorization is not the focus of the research and that it does not significantly interfere with the study, all expressions used in the study are generally treated as proverbs.

Finally, the study has not explicitly dealt with dialectal variations. There is what is referred to as standard Nsenga spoken in parts of Petauke district of Eastern Zambia and non-standard Nsenga especially spoken in urban areas. Nsenga is also partly influenced by Kunda and Chewa the languages with which it is in close contact. As a result, sometimes one proverb has been presented in both standard and non-standard Nsenga.

6. The Republic of Zambia

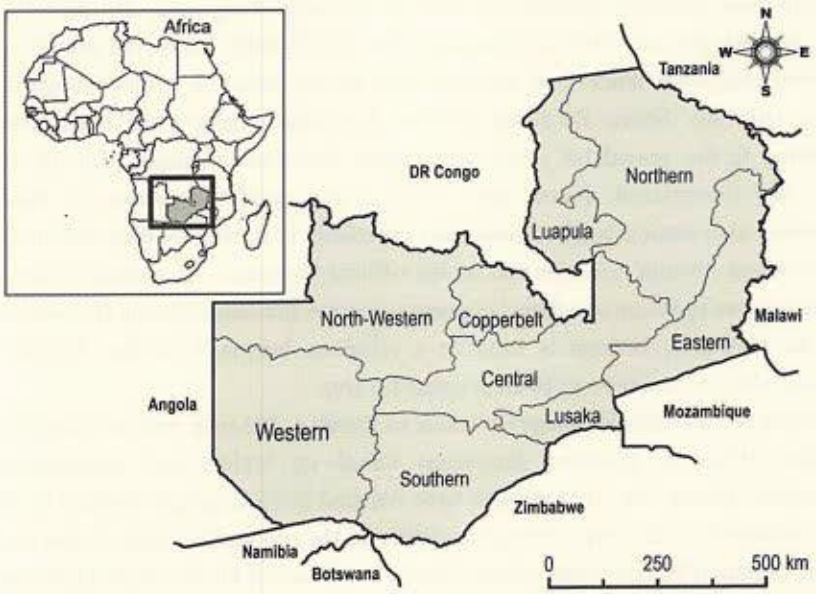
Zambia is a Southern African or Sub-Saharan landlocked country lying between latitudes 8 and 18 degrees (south of the equator), and longitudes 22 and 34 degrees east. Map 1 shows the location of Zambia on the African continent. Zambia has eight neighboring countries namely; Democratic Republic of the Congo and Tanzania in the north; Malawi and Mozambique in the east; Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Namibia in the south; and Angola in the west. She has an estimated population of 13 million people.

The country has been administratively divided into nine provinces for a long time namely, Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Northern, Northwestern, Southern and Western provinces. However, after the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of 2012, the new government added Muchinga as the 10th province. It was the result of the division of Northern and Eastern provinces into three provinces. Lusaka is the Capital city of the country.

Zambia was colonized by Britain by the end of the 19th century. She, however, regained her independence on 24 October 1964. She was governed by a multiparty system from independence up to 1972. Between 1972 and 1991, there was a one party system. After that, the country returned to a multiparty system under democratic governance.

7. The Linguistic Landscape of Zambia

Zambia is a multilingual nation with at least 73 ethnic groupings. It has been very difficult to specify how many languages are spoken in Zambia in the absence of a clear distinction between a dialect and a language. A compromise has however been the fact that there has been a correspondence between ethnic groupings and speech varieties. Thus, it is usually said that there are at least 73 speech varieties (erroneously referred to as languages) because there are at least 73 ethnic groupings. In addition, there is lack of clear research to describe convincingly and clearly the exact Zambia's linguistic landscape. The only substantial work is Kashoki's (1978) *A General Sketch of the Bantu Languages of Zambia*. There has never since been any other comprehensive work. Unfortunately, even the Zambian Government's Department of Central Statistics does not have accurate data on Zambian languages.



Map 1: The Location of Zambia on the African Map

At independence in 1964, the new Government of the Republic of Zambia had problems with which language to adopt as a National Official Language because of multilingualism. In the name of unifying the country, English (the Language of the British, the former colonial ruler) was adopted as the sole

National Official Language. For administrative convenience, however, the country was divided into seven regions. Each of the regions was assigned an indigenous language that was thought to have been widely spoken in the particular region as the Regional Official Language. The languages were and are taught as subjects in schools. These languages are Bemba for Luapula, Northern, Copperbelt and Central Provinces; Nyanja (Chewa) for Eastern and Lusaka Provinces; Tonga for Southern Province; Lozi for Western Province; and Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda for North Western Province.

The decision to divide the country into regions has always been criticized as having been unrealistic because some of the so-called Regional Official Languages are not spoken by some sections of the people in the assigned regions. Nonetheless, the government's decision at independence has allowed some literature to be developed in the seven languages. Consequently, a number of proverbs have been documented in each of the seven languages. On the other hand, English the sole Official Language has significantly hampered growth of Zambian languages since they are not used in any national official domains. Worse still, the Seven Regional Official Languages have even been more stumbling to the growth of other non-official Zambian languages that do not enjoy any recognized status apart from being used as means of basic communication among local communities especially in homes. Nsenga lies in the region where Nyanja is designated as the official language. As a result, Nsenga mother tongue speakers use their language in homes but learn Nyanja (Chewa) in schools. However, Nsenga is used as a religious language for the Anglican Church, which is common in Nsenga speaking area.

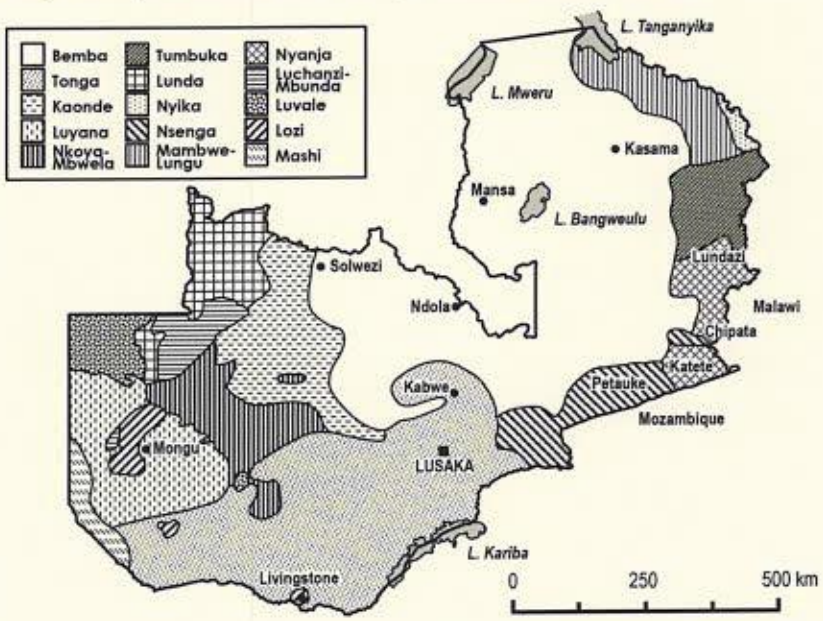
Map 2 shows main language divisions in Zambia. The map was an attempt in the late 1970s at grouping languages based on lexical and grammatical similarities. Hence, the 73 languages were reduced to 15 languages spoken in the areas indicated on the map. Nsenga is spoken in the red shaded area. As the map shows, although Nyanja (also called Chewa) is spoken in the purple shaded area, Nyanja is used as the official language for all of Eastern Province, which is the colored area on the map. The map therefore helps to highlight the marginalization of Nsenga as a minority language.

8. On the Orthography of the Nsenga Language

Since Nsenga is neither one of the Regional Official Languages nor taught in schools, it has no official writing system. Any writer who wishes to write on Nsenga therefore chooses his or her own writing system. This means that most of

the little literature available, most of which was written by missionaries, has no standard writing system. For the sake of consistency, this study uses general recommendations made by the Ministry of Education of the Zambian Government in 1977 (GRZ., 1977). Most of the graphemes have been borrowed from Nyanja or Chewa which is the Regional Official Language being used in Nsenga Speaking Area. The graphemes that do not exist in Nyanja but are found in Nsenga have been borrowed from other Regional Official Languages. Since most of the graphemes are the same as (International Phonetic Alphabet) IPA symbols, only graphemes that are not part of the IPA have been explained as part of the abbreviations used in the study.

The whole study is reported in nine chapters including this introductory one and the final concluding chapter. Chapter 2 separately deals with literature review. Chapter 3 explains the design of the study by dealing with methodology separately. Chapters 4 and 5 are the findings of the study. Thus, Chapter 4 presents linguistic and ethnographic analysis findings while Chapter 5 presents logical analysis findings. Chapter 6 discusses findings according to linguistic analysis while Chapter 7 discusses findings according to ethnographic analysis. The eighth chapter discusses the findings according logical analysis.



Map 2: Zambia's Main Language Divisions. Adapted from Ministry of Lands, Survey Department.

CHAPTER TWO

RELATED WORK

There are huge volumes of studies on proverbs. In fact, there exist different long bibliographies on proverbs and related studies. Evidence shows that there has been more work done on collecting proverbs than studying proverbs themselves. Technically stated, there seems to be more paremiographical than paremiological effort. The former refers to collection and the latter study of proverbs. However both paremiography and paremiology date back to many centuries back. Given that the present research is concerned with the linguistic, ethnographic and logical study of proverbs, the literature review not only attests the availability or non-availability of such studies but also shows trends in the study of proverbs.

There are several renowned paremiologists from all continents of the world. Paremiologists occupy themselves with the collection and classification of proverbs; they address such issues as the definition, form, structure, style, content, function, meaning, and value of proverbs. We will look in detail at what paremiologists and other scholars have been doing.

1. The History of Proverb Studies

Charles L. Briggs who is the distinguished Professor in Folklore at University of California, Berkeley rightly observes that the proverb has presented something of an enigma for researchers (Briggs, 1885). In the study of proverbs in New Mexican Spanish, Briggs (1985) indicates that everyone has encountered proverbs in conversation and that proverbs have figured in the literatures of the ancient Sumerians and Egyptians, the Talmud and Bible, and the Renaissance Commonplace Books.

Briggs' (1985) study shows that proverb studies have produced two basic types of research. One group of scholars, drawn mainly from Europe and Russia, has focused on the formal properties of proverb texts, and their semantic content. Barley (1972), Giovannini (1978), Holbeck (1970), Krikmann (1974a) and (1974b), Kussi (1969) and (1972), Milner (1969), Permyakov (1979), and Zolkovskij (1978) are sited as typical examples of studies that have focused on the formal properties of proverb texts, and their semantic content. The other group mentioned is said to have centered in Great Britain and the United States and has concentrated on the role of proverbs in communication and social life.

Examples of such studies are exemplified as those of Abrahams (1967, 1968 and 1972), Arewa and Dundes (1964), Bird and Shopen (1979), Burke (1941), Evans-Pritchard (1962), Firth (1926), Gossen (1973 and 1974), Herzog and Blooah (1936), Jason (1971), Loeb (1952), and Messenger (1959).

Wolfgang Mieder is one of the internationally renowned American paremiologist who has published several books and articles on proverbs and is the editor of the journal *Proverbium*. Mieder (2008) has also observed that there are literally thousands of proverbs in the multitude of cultures and languages of the world. He notes that the earliest proverb collections can be traced back to the third millennium B.C. when proverbs were inscribed on Sumerian cuneiform tablets as commonsensical codes of conduct and everyday observations of human nature. He mentions that the long history of proverb collections from classical antiquity to the present ranges from compilations of texts only to richly annotated scholarly compilations. He further observes that for most languages there are major multivolume proverb collections available to readers interested in the origin, history, and distribution of proverbs. A significant observation is that the existing bibliographies of proverb collections have registered over 20,000 volumes with about 200 new publications each year.

One study specifically deals with the history of proverb studies in one particular language. Arvo Krikmann and Sarv (1996) look at the source history of the Estonian proverbs, which has been divided into three periods. The first one is the establishment of an international journal of paremiology. The second one is the compilation of an international typological index of proverbs. The final one is the comparative publication of proverbs of North European peoples. The study deals with activities in these three periods and extensively discusses the last period.

2. The Origin and Definition of the Proverb

The scholarly study of proverbs begins with Aristotle, and many Greek proverbs have been found in the works of Plato, Sophocles, Homer, Aristophanes, Aeschylus, and Euripides among others (Mieder, 2008). There are many studies on proverbs based on biblical studies as well as some from other religious books. Despite the rich history of paremiology, nobody has ever been successful in tracing the origin of proverbs in general. Generally, literature shows no consensus on the origin and definition of the proverb. Some efforts have been made to trace particular proverbs to certain individuals or areas. However, the problem is that

we can only base our concrete judgments on written research. Proverbs as part of folklore go beyond written records.

By common sense, we can assume that there must be an originator of a proverb but proverbs as the product of collective human experience can only be attributed to a group of people. It is usually assumed, at least by common sense, that any proverb should begin from somebody somewhere. However, there is hardly ever any fruitful effort to trace any proverb to an individual. It is therefore very difficult to trace the origin of a proverb in a particular language. In this paper, therefore, the view that society is the author is upheld.

One of the thorny issues in studying proverbs has been to define the proverb in a clearly, comprehensively and satisfactorily manner. Whilst an ordinary human being knows what a proverb is, defining the proverb has caused much chagrin to various scholars of various disciplines (Mieder, 2004). Meider (2004) also concurs with Archer Tailor considered by many as the father of paremiology. Tailor (1931:3) prefers simply to identify proverbs by their characteristic features rather than by definition. He therefore observes that:

> The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis, we should not even then have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. Hence no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial. Those who do not speak a language can never recognize all its proverbs, and similarly much that is truly proverbial escapes us in Elizabethan and older English. Let us be content with recognizing that a proverb is a saying current among the folk. At least so much of a definition is indisputable.

While it is not the objective of this study to deal with the problem of defining the proverb, it considers a proverb as a condensed form of language current among the folk by which society informs itself and future generations about its values, beliefs, cultural practices and life's experiences as well as benchmarks for good conduct.

3. The Classification of Proverbs

Given that it has been difficult to define the proverb, it is unsurprising that classification of proverbs has also been difficult. Classification is always difficult

in the absence of proper definitions. However, effort has been made to differentiate between proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, adages and other genres. Cognizant that people know proverbs, it might not always be necessary to insist on making a clear definition and classification. However, it is generally agreed as Mieder (2008) and Schipper (1991) also agree that proverbs are similar in shape and structure with broadly agreed markers. Mieder and Dundes (1981:60) provide one of the markers of proverbs as follows:

> The proverb appears to be a traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment. This means that proverbs must have at least two words. Proverbs which contain a single descriptive element are non-oppositional. Proverbs with two or more descriptive elements may be either oppositional or non-oppositional.

The condition that proverbs must have at least two words already creates problems as it asserts that there are no single-word proverbs. In agglutinative languages like Bantu languages where one word can translate as a sentence in English, this view remains questionable.

The current study is cognizant of the various genres of folklore but does not treat the various genres separately as the separation does not interfere with the aim of the study. Lieber (1984) also assumes a similar view as the author too violates folklore orthodoxy by temporarily treating proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, and adages as a single category, using the terms interchangeably. The author thinks that the discrete categories appear to form a unit functionally to the extent that they are used rhetorically in the same manner. However, the author does not deny that there may be significant differences between them but she only keeps the problem of usage very firmly in the foreground.

4. The Structure of Proverbs

Briggs (1985) opens the paper with a statement that eight features characterize performances of proverbs in Northern New Mexico. He systematically discusses the eight features, namely tying phrase, identity of "owner", quotative, proverb text, special association, general meaning and/or hypothetical situation, relevance to context, and validation of the performance. He therefore does not treat proverb texts in isolation but in relation to the seven other features since the proverb text is regarded as a feature in itself.

Mieder (2006) talks about Allan Dundes' contribution on the structure of proverbs in his tribute to a man he considers his hero and friend. He describes Allan Dundes (1934-2005) as one of the giants of international folkloristics. Dundes wrote extensively on anthropology, culture, folklore, language, literature and psychology among other things. As a result, he is said to have made a major impact on interdisciplinary and comparative paremiology. Mieder (2006) describes Dundes' (1975) paper "On the Structure of the Proverb" as a major paremiological contribution. Dundes (1975) says a proverb is a traditional saying that sums up a situation, passes judgment on a past matter, or recommends a course of action for the future. He also says proverbs consist of at least one topic and a corresponding comment. They can have as few as two words as earlier mentioned in Mieder and Dundes (1981). He gives English examples of "Money talks" and "Time flies" as such proverbs.

Jang (1999) also acknowledges the bipartite structure in the discussion of Hausa proverbs. The discussion identifies the syllable structure of the subject part on one hand and the complement part on the other. This is as good as agreeing with Dundes (1975) about proverbs having a topic and the comment. However, Jang (1999) discusses the structure as part of the poetic structure of proverbs. The article shows how Hausa proverbs are poetically formed by focusing on balance and the bipartite structure. The structure is defined as the division of proverbs into two sections of equal or nearly equal length in terms of the number of syllables within each section. It is pointed out however that although there is no difficulty in identifying the point that quantitatively splits a given proverb into two sections, in grammatical division there is no single criterion that can be applied to all cases. The article also identifies the difficulty in equating the bipartite division to binary opposition as many proverbs are considered to have at least two parts in binary opposition.

Nevertheless, assuming that all proverbs have a binary structure is to presuppose that there is no proverb with a single or indeed multiple structures. While this rule applies to many proverbs in Hausa, it is necessary to recognize exceptions or the possibility in which special single-structure proverbs may exist in some languages.

Within the framework of sociolinguistic theory, proverbs can be categorized as speech acts (Hymes, 1974: 53) in that they are shaped by specific sociocultural factors within a given speech community. Proverb users must know when, why, to whom, and for what purpose a proverb should be used. Daniel et al. (1987) refer to the sociolinguistic theory in categorizing proverbs as speech acts

according to Hymes et al. (1974) in their study of Black African-American communities in the United States of America. 'Speech act' is a technical term used in linguistics and the philosophy of language to try to understand what really happens when somebody utters something. The theory looks at three things namely; (a) locution - the basic linguistic meaning of an utterance; (b) illocution - the speaker's intended meaning or force; and (c) perlocution - the effect of the utterance on the listener. Thus, the theory has also been used to discuss proverb performances. Since proverbs are shaped by specific sociocultural factors within a given speech community, it is also assumed that they are also speech acts. In this manner, proverb users have to know when, why, to whom, and for what purpose a proverb should be used.

Daniel et al. (1987) also observe that the sociocultural context governing proverb use includes the structural patterns of the speech community that are its traditions, historical development, and norms of interaction among other patterns. They also notes that the whole community's corpus of proverbs provides a mechanism for storing and disseminating the speech community's attitudes, beliefs, values, philosophical assumptions, virtues, vices, and the worldview.

Hoffman and Honeck (1987) say proverbs are often signaled by specific grammatical patterns such as conditionals' and imperatives. They are also signaled by semantic markers such as paradox and contrast (or binary opposition), and by phonic markers such as rhyme, meter, and alliteration. Hoffman and Honeck (1987) agree with other scholars like Jang (1999) and Mieder and Dundes (1981) that many proverb structures can be described according to a binary theme of topic and comment but points out that proverbs are not restricted to such formulas since they can be rendered in any linguistic structure.

Hoffman and Honeck (1987) also make important linguistic observations on proverb studies. They agree, first with Chomsky (1965) and Katz (1973) that many traditional theories of figurative language and of language in general focus on creativity, novelty, transformations, and generativity. They observe that language has as many creative elements as there are non-creative elements. For instance, proverbs and most actual figurative communication is said to be somewhat repetitive or formulaic. Hoffman and Honeck (1987) view that formulas are considered as relatively fixed in syntax and content words and therefore non-creative is similar to that of Chafe (1968) and Fraser (1970). They also say that proverbs are usually stated in the non-past tense, which makes them temporally unrestricted in application. This means that meaning in proverbs applies from the indefinite past through the indefinite future. It is believed

generally that indefiniteness of temporal reference helps to make a general rather than a particular interpretation. The need for a general interpretation is also believed to be signaled by indefinite noun phrases that have no particular contextual counterpart.

Although it is true that proverbs are repetitive and formulaic in nature, it is also true that the characteristic of proverbs that allows them to be applied to unlimited various situations and contexts makes them to be part of the creative aspect of language after all. No two situations and contexts are the same. Thus while there is general or basic meaning of proverbs, particular meaning is required in a particular situation. This is also, what makes proverbs to be treated as speech acts according to Hymes' (1974) Speech Act Theory. It can therefore be argued that a proverb renews itself in different situations and contexts because of its applicability to various such situations and contexts. Language creativity generally requires that one use a limited set of linguistic elements to produce and understand an unlimited set of other linguistic elements (Fromkin et.al, 2003).

5. General Trends in Proverb Studies

Ďurčo and Garabík (2009) observe that a paremiography dictionary treats lexicographic description of a language into a broader realm of commonly used expressions. They note that proverbs can be seen as a subset of collocations. However, a proverb is considered as a self-contained, independently functioning language unit compared to a collocation that is considered as almost a random and high frequency sequence of words.

As we have already shown, paremiographical work abounds in literature. Concerning Slovak language, Ďurčo and Garabík (2009) think that a compilation of over 10 000 different proverbs by Adolf P. Záturecký (1896) has not been surpassed as a paremiography collection. The work is said to have immensely influenced subsequent paremiography compilations. The collection is reported to have been reprinted several times with the orthography and language progressively converted to modern Slovak. The core of the collection is made up of proverbs, sayings and locutions, which are divided into 20 thematic groups. These include man, one's age, sex, family and home, human body, needs, disease and death, social circumstances, social classes, status, descent and employment, possession and nourishment, food, clothes, cleanliness and dance, human intellect, general rules of wisdom and carefulness among others. This organization into themes is common in many proverb collections in other languages.

Arewa (1970) voices a concern of many paremiologists in concentrating on paremiography alone. He observes that many published collections of the major forms of folklore show that some important aspects of folklore scholarship have not been adequately emphasized. He mentions two problems concerning proverb studies. First, there is an overemphasis on the recording of proverb texts without treatment of context and related ethnographic information. There is need to record meanings and usage of proverbs from the folk that use them. Giovannini (1978) echoes Arewa (1970) on the need for considering context and ethnographic information. Giovannini's (1978) study illustrates how ethnographically relevant cognitive and evaluative themes can be encoded in proverb form. It shows proverbs as important sources of cultural meaning. Agyekum (2009) also highlights that early scholars of African oral literature were mainly interested in the texts and devoted much time to collection and analysis of texts.

Arewa and Dundes (1964) emphasize the need to go beyond texts in order to address contexts. They suggest that one embarking on a study of proverbs should ask a number of questions. These could include what counts as a proverb? What are the rules governing who can use proverbs and to whom? Questions should also ask upon what occasions, in what places, with what other persons present or absent, and using what channel? Do restrictions or prescriptions as to the use of proverbs or a proverb have to do with particular topics and with the specific relationship between speaker and addressee? What exactly are the contributing contextual factors, which make the use of proverbs, or of a particular proverb, possible or not possible, appropriate or inappropriate? These questions summarize the need for treating context with significance in the study of proverbs.

Almost every scholar appreciates the proposition that proverbs are a rich collection of human experience. This implies proverbs being custodians of both culture and human history. Proverbs can also be thought of as a mirror of society. Fischer and Yoshida (1968) use proverbs to discuss speech in Japanese society and they note that traditional beliefs and values about speech are codified in proverbs. They use Japan as a case study to observe major themes in Japanese proverbs dealing with speech. Daniel et el. (1987) also say that the sociocultural context governing proverb use encompasses the structural patterns of the speech community which include the community's traditions, historical development, and norms of interaction among other patterns. They observe that proverbs are a mechanism for storing and disseminating a speech community's attitudes, beliefs, values, philosophical assumptions, virtues and vices, and, its worldview.

Proverbs are considered an essential part of communication in Africa and the African Diaspora. Arewa and Dundes (1964) list Daniel's (1972) five areas as significant areas of study relative to the proverb tradition. The areas include: (1) proverbs as an index of cultural continuity and interaction; (2) proverbs as part of the socialization process; (3) proverbs as central to mental development and abstract thinking and reasoning; (4) proverbs as significant rhetorical devices in arguments; and (5) proverbs as indices of cultural assimilation. They also list many possible uses of proverbs including expression of truth; guiding in good conduct, expression of society and encoding history and general way of life, disseminating the speech community's attitudes, beliefs, values, philosophical assumptions, virtues and vices, and, in general, much of its worldview.

However, using proverbs to make general statements about a group of people, nation, or region is something that must always be treated with caution. Mieder (2008) cautions that when looking at proverbs as expressing aspects of a certain worldview or mentality of a people there should be no stereotypical conclusions drawn about the so-called "national character". He exemplifies many popular proverbs that are current in various cultures from classical, Biblical and medieval times. However, he says that it would be foolish to think of them as reflecting some imagined national character such as Chinese or Finnish. He nevertheless, agrees that the frequent use of certain proverbs in a particular culture could be used to formulate valid generalizations.

Proverbs have also been studied as an important part of the judicial system and conflict management in African societies. Arewa and Dundes (1964:70) say that "the impersonal power of proverbs is perhaps most apparent in the well-known African judicial processes in which the participants argue with proverbs intended to serve as past precedents for present actions." They relate the judicial power of proverbs to the European courtrooms where lawyers cite previous cases to support the validity of their arguments. Finnegan (1976), a renowned paremiologist of African folklore, lists three important characteristics that make proverbs appropriate for handling conflict. These include the depersonalized nature, which protects the speaker and often the addressee from the message conveyed by the proverb; the authority that adds power and force to the message; and prestige, which by association elevates the speaker and allows role players to display their skill in language and the ways of the culture.

Mieder (2008) has shown that social scientists have made major contributions to studies about the multi-faceted characteristics, uses, functions, and meanings of proverbs. He lists some of the major research areas as abstraction, attitude,

behavior, cognition, communication, community, ethnicity, experience, gender, intelligence, memory, mental health, perception, schizophrenia, socialization, transmission, validity, and wisdom. He further observes that while social anthropologists have dwelt with proverbs since the 19th century, sociologists regrettably have had much less interest in proverbs. He thinks that as part of the study of social organizations and the behavior of people in them, it would make sense for sociologists to consider how proverbs relate and participate in social structures and life.

Mieder (2008) also notes that social psychologists have used proverbs to examine ways of helping people to deal with various behavioral problems such as alcohol and drug addictions. He further shows that psychologists and psychiatrists have been interested in proverbs for testing intelligence, attitudes, aptitudes, and various mental illnesses for a long time. The psychologists have also used proverbs to study the mental development of children and comprehension of metaphors.

Proverbs are also studied as means of dealing with face threatening acts (FTAs). FTAs are a result of Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson (1978) theory of politeness. The theory proposes that all humans carry two faces (positive and negative) and that humans try by all means to preserve the face of self and others. The positive face is when others like or approve of us and the negative face being when we feel we cannot be constrained by others. Obeng (1996) uses politeness theory to discuss Akan proverbs. He observes that Akan elders engage in facework in advising children. They note that elders acknowledge the vulnerability of "face" and therefore take necessary steps to maintain the face. The proverbs are used to mitigate possible and potentially difficult, tense, or risky utterances. The proverb is used to soften the force of the impending FTA. Without the mitigating power of proverbs, the FTA is understood as a verbal assault or a constraining act.

As part of studies in rhetoric, proverbs are themselves considered important rhetorical devices. Rhetoric is, in simplicity, the art of using language effectively. Proverbs have long been thought of as rhetorical forces because of being used as figures of speech or metaphors that are above the rules of grammar. Aristotle is said to be one of the earliest scholars to refer to proverbs as metaphors (Kirby, 1997). Schipper (199I) divides African proverbs into two main groups namely, (1) direct statements such as moral sayings and (2) metaphorical forms. Chong (2001) too agrees with this nature of proverbs by defining a proverb as a short sentence that expresses views in a metaphorical form.

Ambiguity in proverbs has been one of the major areas of interest in proverb studies. Proverbs in being principally used as analogies have caused more problems in interpreting meaning. They have resultantly been considered to be paradoxes. Lieber (1984) observes that proverbs are largely used in situations that are reasonably complex. Proverbs are also said to serve as interpreters of complex situations by resolving them. Thus, proverbs are used to disambiguate complex situations. However Seitel (1977) notes that the paradox is that proverb usage functions to disambiguate complex situations but the use of a proverb as an analogy is in itself inherently ambiguous.

In his study, Mieder (2008) identifies many other areas that are associated with proverbs. These include culture and folklore, meaning; genesis and evolution; empiricism and paremiological minimum; semiotics and performance; culture, folklore, and history; proverbs and the social sciences; use in folk narratives and literature; religion and wisdom literature, pedagogy and language teaching; and mass media and popular culture. It is eveident therefore that proverbs are part of multidisciplinary disciplines.

6. On the Currency and Permanency of Proverbs

Studies have also tried to answer the question of currency and relevancy of proverbs in modern societies. Madumulla (1998-2001) says proverbs have a quality of permanency or ability of being retained in meaning across generations. His study observes that the truth of a proverb is in its simplicity, which accords it its acceptance even among the so-called developed societies today. On the other hand, Daniel et al. (1987) in their study of African American Speech Communities in the USA observe that research and data collection in the Diaspora continue against the backdrop of the long-standing controversy over the existence of Africanisms in the culture and life of the Black people in both the United States and the Caribbean. They suggest that by focusing on the use, not origin of proverbs, they can claim no African origin for any of the proverbs in their data. However, they do claim that the use of proverbs as a rhetorical tradition infuses aspects of African Diaspora life and reflects the continuity of the African consciousness among the "New World" Blacks.

Arewa and Dundes (1964) in their discussion of proverbs as part of the legal system do show however, that one who is removed from a particular society cannot effectively apply proverbs in that society. Appropriate application of the proverbs is considered as an important aspect of the judicial system. They observe therefore that in African legal system, it is not enough for an advocate of

a cause simply to know the proverbs but also to be necessarily an expert in applying them to new situations. They note that cases are not usually won by the person who knows the most proverbs but by the man who knows best how to apply the proverbs s/he knows to the problem at hand. They record a story of an Ibo youth, studying at the University of California at Berkeley, who says, "I know the proverbs, but I don't know how to apply them." The youth is reported to have explained that his Western-oriented education in Nigeria had cut him off from the daily use of proverbs. In this manner, while he did recall the texts of a great number of proverbs, he was not really certain how to precisely and when to employ them in particular situations.

Fischer and Yoshida (1968) in their study note that since Japan is a highly differentiated society, proverbs are used differently in different sectors of the society. They liken the use of the proverb in Japan to that of many European countries where the proverb is used to support one's positions in arguments with peers and to control their deviations from social norms. However, they also note that to enforce moral standards seniors use proverbs toward juniors. On the hand, they generally observe that many urban Japanese consider proverbs rather old-fashioned. They report an investigation of the summer of 1965 where certain aspects of linguistic usage in the household were examined. They inquired about the use of proverbs among some post-war immigrant Japanese families in the San Francisco Bay Area. They found out that none of the families reported much use of proverbs. They conclude that in spite of the use of proverbs in social control among adults and because Japan has had written law for centuries, proverbs have recently not had the near-legal status which characterizes proverb use in some African societies.

7. Linguists' Contributions to Proverb Studies

It should be common sense that proverbs as a special form of both communication and language should attract a lot of interest to linguists. However, linguists in general have not been very helpful in solving the proverb enigma. Obeng (1996) and Okolo (1985) observe that although proverbs abound in language, they have been excluded in most linguistic treatments. As a result, linguistic theory that directly deals with proverbs is lacking. In this manner, the concern has been with the manner in which linguists have studied the proverb. Mieder (2008) also agrees that most linguists deal only tangentially with proverbs in their publications. Linguists usually indicate that proverbs are very special phraseological units.

In as much as linguists need to do a better job in studying proverbs, the worst would always be to study the language texts in isolation. Just as this research is designed, a holistic approach is necessary in order to deal with the texts in their context of use. A good example of a holistic approach is Shongolo and Schlee's (2007) allocation of much space to a single proverb rather than rushing to giving a translation or equivalent in another language. In their work, they suggest steps to follow in studying proverbs. These include (1) present the proverb as transcribed in the original language; (2) give the morpheme by morpheme representation of the proverb as well as underlying forms; and (3) present a morpheme by morpheme translation and assigning meaning and function in the language into which the proverb has been translated. Others are (4) give a grammatically correct version in the language into which the proverb has been translated; (5) provide additional explanations such as cultural context; and (6) give examples for using the proverb. They implement these steps in their study of 100 Boran proverbs. These steps are necessary in providing the missing link between the proverb text in the original language and the meaning presented in the Meta language as this is the common way of presentation. Step 2 particularly helps in bridging the gap between the original text and the literal translation by providing some linguistic information. Steps 5 and 6 are helpful in providing necessary ethnographic information.

8. The Study of Proverbs in Zambia

Evidence of paremiological work is scanty in Zambia. With a few exceptions, such evidence is usually part of larger pieces of work that only treat paremiology as a topic within a larger subject. Let alone, there is a dearth of linguistic contribution to the study of proverbs in Zambia. Much of the evidence, nonetheless, is in paremiography. Thus, there are collections with, in some cases, explanations of meanings and functions of proverbs. Some of the works that can be cited are S. S. Mulenga's (1982) *Ubulungu Tabupita Pakafundo,* a collection of Bemba proverbs and J. C Chakanza's (1982) *Wisdom of the People: 2000 Chinyanja Proverbs,* a collection of Nyanja proverbs (A book from the neighboring Malawi but also used in Zambia). Others are S. Kamanga's (1949) *Nzeru Zakale,* a collection of Nyanja proverbs; and N. Sumbwa's (1993) *Zambian Proverbs,* a collection of proverbs in six Zambian languages.

Part of the motivation for this study stems from my own work on my Master's thesis "*A Logical Analysis of Selected Texts in Nyanja*" which has been published under the same title (Ngalande, 2011). Part of the text that was analyzed in the

study was proverbs. The study concerned itself with analyzing the type of syllogisms of human beings constructed from various texts including proverbs. The study revealed that proverbs exhibited a higher and a more sound form of human reasoning than other forms of human discourse.

9. Conclusion

Literature has revealed an impressive amount of both proverb collections and proverb studies. Although numerous studies and collections add to the existing lists every year in their tens of thousands, the proverb continues to be an enigma for scholars. The mystery is evident in failure to both define the proverb and to come up with a comprehensive approach to studying proverbs. There is no doubt however that overwhelming evidence shows that proverbs are an important part of people's, especially Africans', daily lives.

Proverbs have continued to be part of multidisciplinary disciplines, a practice that is also part of an emerging approach. The call for a holistic and multidisciplinary approach emerges from a concern over the common tendency in dealing with proverb texts in isolation. This is a phenomenon described as a "mistaken emphasis in folklore upon the lore rather than upon the folk" (Arewa and Dundes, 1964:70).

It remains unclear, in the absence of meaningful contributions by linguists, what the language of proverbs really is. Presentations of proverb texts with accompanying translations and meanings have only dealt with important areas of how meaning is realized in proverbs in a superficial manner. An approach that does not only reveal the complex realization of meaning in proverbs but also comprehensively and holistically describe the grammar and nature of proverbs is lacking.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The study deals with proverbs as a special form of language by looking at proverb texts from the linguistic point of view. Even though linguistic analysis is the primary objective, it is intentional to deal with proverbs within context of use in society. In this manner, a method is required that allows the researcher to collect and analyze data within the context of the Nsenga speaking society. As Rudestam and Newton (1992) observe, the qualitative approach facilitates access to the psychologically rich and in-depth understanding of the individual and his or her social context. Further, Mason (1996) stresses that qualitative research is concerned with how the world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. Since proverbs mirror society, the qualitative approach is used as the most appropriate one for this particular study. In answering the question why people do qualitative research, Yin (2011:4) observes that, "you just might want to study a real-world setting, discover how people cope and thrive in that setting - and capture the contextual richness of people's everyday lives." In this manner, the qualitative approach is used in order to study proverbs in the real world setting.

1. Theoretical Framework

In order to deal with the three main objectives of the study, a triangulation of methods is necessary. The objectives of the study are: (1) to examine some aspects of grammar such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Nsenga proverbs; (2) to delve into ethnographic information related to Nsenga proverbs such as cultural background and context of use and (3) to analyze how meaning is depicted and conveyed in proverbs.

1.1. Linguistic Approach

The linguistic approach is used to deal with the first objective. Thus, the approach is the first to be applied in order to understand the grammar and basic (surface) meaning of proverbs in Nsenga. As earlier said, this approach does not require strict examination of rules and structure of the Nsenga language but is applied to understand how various levels of linguistic analysis help in both reciting proverbs and understanding their meanings. These levels include the phonetics and phonology of Nsenga proverbs; morphology, syntax, semantics,

and pragmatics of Nsenga proverbs. However, since levels constitute only academic divisions, the levels are dealt with almost simultaneously. The linguistic approach is also generally helpful in bridging the linguistic gap between proverb texts in Nsenga and their literal translations in English.

1.2. Ethnographic Approach

The second objective is addressed by the ethnographic approach and therefore this approach is the second to by applied. Since proverb texts in proverb collections are seldom supplemented with ethnographic or societal information, their actual use and contextual function in societies usually remains hidden. Given that folklore is used primarily as a means of communication, and the notion that it needs to be studied as communication, there is a common practice of recording just the texts alone, a practice consistent with the mistaken emphasis in folklore upon the lore rather than upon the folk (Arewa and Dundes, 1964). To understand proverbs, one must not only look at the texts, but also the context in which they are used, and delve into related ethnographic information. In this manner, the researcher conducted two field trips to Nsenga speaking area in three years and lived in the area as a participant observer. The approach was necessary because ethnography typically refers to fieldwork conducted by a single investigator thorough participant observation (Van Maanen, 1996). As proverbs are part of people's daily lives, this approach is necessary and appropriate.

1.3. Logical Approach

The third and last objective is achieved by using the logical approach. Deductive logic theory is used to investigate the nature of arguments in Nsenga society that are behind the use of proverbs. The approach helpes to understand how meaning is realized in proverbs. Thus, it is used to examine the argument or reasoning patterns of Nsenga people as embedded in the Nsenga proverbs. It is furthermore used to complement the understanding of meaning in proverbs as viewed from the linguistic and ethnographic approaches. Sometimes it is difficult to appreciate the reasoning behind some proverbs in the absence of argument patterns. In this manner, this approach is the final to be applied as it helps to show why Nsenga people think in a particular way.

2. Data Collection

As we have shown, Nsenga as a minority language has not been officially written. As a result, almost all data sources were dependent on oral sources. This

study therefore used primary materials that were collected during the period of study.

2.1. Setting

The proverbs were collected from the Nsenga speaking people in five research areas. These areas showing on Map 3 include Lusaka, Nyimba, Petauke, Chipata and Mambwe. Most of the materials were collected in four areas and a few in Lusaka. In Lusaka, the Capital City, a smaller cluster of Nsenga speakers are said to live mainly in one township called Chawama. This follows a tendency by various people migrating from the countryside to live according to ethnic groups who speak similar languages mainly for survival purposes. Chipata and Nyimba areas represented urban settings while Petauke and Mambwe areas represented rural settings.



Map 3: Nsenga Speaking Area

The only available demographic data is quoted in Kashoki's (1978) work which shows 207 364 Nsenga speakers representing 5.2 % of the total African population at the time. The data is based on the 1969 National Census Report (Miti, 2001). Zambia's population in 1969 was 4.1 million (GRZ, 2005). Zambia's current population is estimated at 13 million. Since the demographic landscape has significantly changed, we can longer rely on this old data.

2.2. Language Consultants

A network of language consultants (commonly referred to as informants) was created in each of the five areas by snowball sampling. Investigating an unwritten language on one hand and collecting data from urban communities, where not many showed competence in use of proverbs necessitated the use of snowball sampling. This problem was highlighted by one respondent in Chipata urban area who said that "there are no proverbs in Nsenga language." Since local people knew which people were competent in proverb use through their daily interactions, snowball sampling was thought of as most effective in order to get referrals from one source to another (Merkens, 2004). It is worth noting that older people were more helpful with information than younger ones. My mother was very helpful as a Nsenga speaker in collecting various problems. In addition, rural areas had more information than urban areas. This is attributed to the fact that the Nsenga language is in less contact with other languages in the rural areas than urban areas. Nsenga also has less chances of being used in urban areas than rural areas. In urban areas, preference is given to the official languages English and Nyanja as well as urban versions of the Nsenga language.

2.3. Strategies of Data Collection

The main instruments of data collection were participant observation, interviews and questionnaires. Interviews were done by use of unstructured and open-ended questions guided by general interview schedules merely for guiding in soliciting answers. Simple questionnaires were also made with open-ended questions. The goal was to collect proverb texts and related ethnographic information. As this information varied considerably depending on competency levels of participants, the unstructured and open-ended approach was adopted to allow flexibility and room for participants to give whatever information they had. Some participants were able to cite several proverbs, others fewer, and others none. Others were able to recite both proverbs and give additional ethnographic information while others could only quote proverbs as they remembered them.

The data were mainly recorded in notebooks as most of the interviews and questionnaires were administered to individuals. However, both notebooks and voice recordings were used for few focus group discussions. Focus group discussions were mainly used for the youth in some schools and village communities. It was easier for youths to help each other in giving information in a group as they reminded each other of missing pieces of information. Very few

youths, especially in urban areas, were able to individually give substantial information.

Whereas I personally conducted participant observations in the five research areas, research assistants in each of the five areas helped in collecting data through questionnaires and interviews.

2.4. Ethical Considerations

In especially rural societies, prior permission had to be obtained from traditional leaders in order to conduct research in their respective areas. To avoid the bureaucracy involved in getting permission from the Chiefs, the purpose of the research was clearly explained to individuals involved and participants were free to join or leave the study at any time, although nobody left the study in due course. In urban areas, only individual consent was necessary except in schools where permission had to be obtained after informing school authorities.

In order to protect the privacy of respondents, no biographical data were recorded with any of the responses in either interviews or questionnaires, as the data was not necessary for this study. Respondents participated in the study at their own free will. Those that participated were given an agreed token-of-appreciation for the time spent doing the work. In the few focus group discussions that were made, participants were aware of the recordings and had therefore given consent to recordings after the research had been fully explained.

3. Data Analysis

Data analysis was actually a continuous process from the start of the study. Thus, data collection was simultaneously done with initial data analysis of proverb texts and related ethnographic information.

3.1. Linguistic Analysis

Before treating proverbs within their ethnographic contexts, proverbs texts were generally analyzed according to various levels of linguistic analysis, which include phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Consequently, the collected proverb texts were transcribed into Nsenga. Morphemes and various other linguistic elements were identified and presented against the transcribed Nsenga proverbs.

In terms of phonetics and phonology, the proverb texts were transcribed into the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The IPA helped to recognize the various phonological changes that phonemes undergo in various phoneme

environments. Many of these changes are necessary in providing particular rhythm to proverbs, which is necessary in proverb recitals.

Morphemes were identified as part of morphological analysis. The noun class system and identified functions of various morphemes was included in syntactic analysis. As a Bantu language, the noun classes have considerable syntactic significance in Nsenga. The examination of the combination of phonemes and morphemes and the function of morphemes helped to ascertain basic meaning of proverbs in Nsenga. Determination of meaning itself was part of an overall semantic analysis of various linguistic elements. Thus, meanings and syntactic functions of various linguistic elements were crucial in determining the basic meaning of proverbs. The pragmatic analysis was helpful in determining deeper meanings of proverbs as proverbs usually have both basic (surface) and deeper meanings.

The semantics and pragmatic analyses helped to arrive at the actual meaning of proverbs as understood by Nsenga speakers. However, meaning was only comprehensively analyzed by combining linguistic analysis with other analyses under the ethnographic and logical approaches. After identifying various linguistic elements, the literal meaning of Nsenga proverbs was presented in English. The linguistic analysis therefore generally helped to ascertain the linguistic nature of proverbs in Nsenga.

3.2. Ethnographic Analysis

The ethnographic analysis was generally designed to answer the following questions. What are the rules governing who can use proverbs, or particular proverbs? To whom are these proverbs addressed, on which occasions, in what places, and with what other persons present or absent? Do restrictions or prescriptions concerning the use of proverbs have to do with particular topics, or with the specific relationship between speaker and listener? What exactly are the contributing contextual factors that make the use of proverbs possible or impossible, appropriate or inappropriate? Most of these questions were answered because of participant observation and interviews with Nsenga speakers.

Many proverbs used objects to make metaphors and analogies. The cultural and ethnographic background to the objects mentioned in proverbs was investigated in order to determine how the objects not only helped to store particular meanings but also to transmit those meanings.

Generally, background and ethnographic information relating to context of use for each proverb was analyzed. The ethnographic information was presented

between literal meaning and actual meaning in order to examine both surface and deeper meanings of proverbs. Whereas surface meaning was a direct result of linguistic analysis, deeper meaning was the result of ethnographic analysis. However, meaning was generally appreciated in many cases after both analyses were completed. The analyses worked, in this manner, in a complementary relationship.

3.3. Logical Analysis

To extract logical data, proverbs in Nsenga as an ordinary language were changed to logical language by crafting or formalizing arguments. The logical analysis was undertaken using the following steps, similar to Ngalande's (2011): (1) The text indicating the meaning of proverbs arrived at after application of linguistic and ethnographic approaches was the starting point; (2) arguments were constructed or formalized from the meaning of proverbs in step one; (3) valid and invalid arguments were identified; (4) types of constructed or formalized syllogisms were identified; and (5) identified argument types were further analyzed in order to examine meaning in proverbs.

The analysis resulted in producing three types of data. The first set of data was about five major categories of argument types. These categories showed how reasoning was generally structured among Nsenga people. The second set of data was the specific or minor types of arguments, which had direct implications on understanding the nature of the arguments embedded in proverbs. The final data were the manner in which arguments were presented in actual speech. This data was helpful in determining how much weight of logical information a particular proverb carried.

4. Validation and Reporting

Validation of findings was a continuous process as well simultaneously done with data collection and data analysis. Both consistencies and inconsistencies were observed in order to arrive at conclusions. For example, similar proverbs were collected from a number of people in order to get the consistent wording for proverbs.

The second field trip was used to validate the initial findings of the research. Initially, the participants that were involved in data collection were given a chance to look at the data in in order to get their reaction to not only what they had provided but also what other participants had provided. The findings were

also presented to new participants in order to get a more neutral reaction to the findings.

The validated results were used for final analysis but disputed results were subjected to further examination by both the researcher and participants. Some of the disputed results ranged from the wording of proverbs to the perceived meaning by various participants and context of use. At the end, only verified data was used in the final analysis. Triangulation of data collection and analysis methods was in itself used as a validation too. Thus, consistency in the data from the three approaches as it contributed to overall meaning of proverbs in Nsenga was important.

Reporting of results is also done according to the format of analysis. Accordingly, there are three categories of results, namely linguistic, ethnographic and logical data findings. Linguistic and ethnographic data are presented together in order to see a clear progression and relationship between the two sets of data. The logical data is also provided as it is used to validate meaning as viewed from linguistic and ethnographic approaches.

5. The Holistic Approach

The triangulation of the three approaches is necessitated by a desire to assemble a holistic approach to the study of proverbs. Figure 1 shows at what

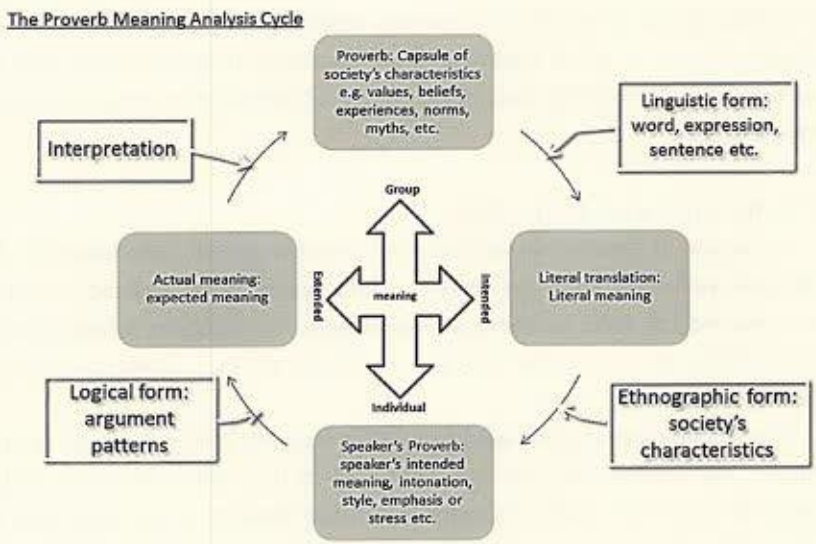


Figure 1: The Holistic Analysis of Proverbs

point the three approaches are applied in the cycle of how meaning is realized in Nsenga proverbs. The basic principle of the approach is to comprehensively deal with one proverb before moving to the next one. Likewise, an individual proverb is analyzed at three stages or subjected to three different types of analyses.

Figure 1 shows that meaning in proverbs can be communal or can be dealt as group meaning to refer to what society communicates through the proverb. Individual meaning therefore corresponds to an individual's interpretation of the proverb. However, meaning in proverbs is intended when it constitutes the meaning of proverbs according to the speaker's world and extended when the meaning of proverbs is dependent on the listener's world. The figure shows that the meaning of each proverb is stored in three forms, namely linguistic, ethnographic and logical forms. The overall, deeper meaning, of a proverb constitutes all the three forms.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have looked at how the three triangulated approaches informed the data collection and analysis of proverbs. However, the overall approach of the study was qualitative. It has been shown that the complexity of the nature and meaning of proverbs requires a holistic approach that deals with proverbs within context of use. The major steps that were taken to carry out the study have been outlined. In the following chapters therefore, the findings of the study are presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LINGUISTIC, ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LOGICAL ANALYSES OF NSENGA PROVERBS

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings according to the study objectives namely; (1) to examine some aspects of grammar such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Nsenga proverbs; (2) to delve into ethnographic information related to Nsenga proverbs such as cultural background and context of use; and to analyze how meaning is depicted and conveyed in proverbs. Eight proverbs were collected and analyzed. Every proverb therefore is presented with all the three analyses as follows:

1. Proverb text in Nsenga in Arabic numerals.
   a. Morpheme by morpheme Linguistic analysis with linguistic glosses. This part identifies linguistic elements contained in a proverb.
   b. Literal translation in English, which consists of the surface meaning.
   c. Actual meaning which consists of the deeper meaning and expected interpretation.
   d. Logical analysis showing crafted arguments
   e. Logical analysis of crafted arguments in three parts separated by slashes. The first part is the major argument type, the second part is the argument execution (premise) and the final part is argument assessment (minor category).
   f. The last part is ethnographic information related to the proverb.

As earlier noted in Chapter 3, logical analysis shows how reasoning is generally structured among Nsenga people. Thus, the argument assessment (Minor Type) shows the specific arguments, which have direct implications on understanding the nature of the arguments embedded in proverbs. The abbreviations are used in the logical analysis sections in (d) and (e).

C	Cogent
F	Fallacy
MPP	Modus Ponendo Ponens
MTT	Modus Tollendo Tollens
PF	MPP Fallacy

TF	MTT Fallacy
UCS	Uncogent but Strong
UCW	Uncogent and Weak
VS	Valid and Sound
VUS	Vallid but Unsaound

2. Research Findings

1. Acikulile angakolwe lini na owa.
   a. a-a ci-kul-il-e a-nga-kolw-e lini na
      cl2-GEN cl7-big-APP-FV cl1-MOD-get.drunk-FV NEG CNJ
      u-owa
      cl14-mushroom
   b. Old people cannot be intoxicated by mushroom.
   c. Old people know how to distinguish between good and bad or moral and immoral behavior.
   d. If s/he is an old person, then s/he cannot be intoxicated (fail to recognize) by poisonous mushroom (bad behavior), S/he is old, so s/he cannot be intoxicated.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Mushroom is a seasonal delicacy among Nsenga people. Traditionally, mushrooms are not grown but picked from the bush once they are in season. Only elderly people that have had experience with picking mushroom know what mushrooms are poisonous or not and thereby edible or not. Such experience is related to the experience old people have acquired in dealing with life's issues. It is better to seek for advice about choices from elderly because they know more than young ones do. In addition, Elderly people's advice is based on knowledge and experience, hence it is advisable to heed their advice or otherwise one makes a wrong choice, which on first impression looks good but is actually dangerous.

2. Acimbwi akayamba kuseka.
   a. a-cimbwi a-ka-yamb-a ku-sek-a
      cl2-hyena cl2-CND-start-FV INFM-laugh-FV
   b. When hyenas begin laughing.
   c. Excitement is a sign of good things.

d. When hyenas (people) find something good, the begin laughing, they are laughing, so they have found something good.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Hyenas are believed to laugh like humans when they are happy. Hyenas usually attack Nsenga people's livestock when they cannot find animals to eat. It is said that the noise that hyenas make when they find an animal, usually dead, is a kind of laughter.

3. Acipungu kwati koo kuli nyama sangalile cililelile kwaya nkhumbalume.
a. a-cipingu ku-a-ti koo ku-li n-nyama
cl2-vulture cl17-cl2-say IDEO cl17-be cl9-meat
si-a-nga-lil-e ci-lil-e-lile ku-a-a-y-a
NEG-cl2-MOD-cry-FV cl7-cry-FV-cry-FV cl17-cl2-PERF-go-FV
n-khumbalume
cl9-hunter
b. When a vulture cries it means the hunters have killed an animal.
c. Excitement is a sign of good things.
d. Vultures (excitement) are a sign of a dead animal (good things), there are vultures, so there is a dead animal.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Vultures are known to be opportunistic birds that feast on dead animals killed by others. Sometimes local people and hunters themselves follow vultures to find out where an animal is lying dead.

4. Akankhala pankhalo iweme akuti afumepo lini.
a. a-ka-nkhal-a pan-khalo i-weme a-ku-ti
cl1-CND-stay-FV cl16-cl9-lifestyle cl9-good cl1-GP-say
a-fum-e-po lini
cl1-move-FV-ENC NEG
b. When s/he is wealthy s/he says s/he will never be poor.
c. Anybody can easily slip from a comfortable life position.
d. Anybody can easily slip from a comfortable life position. I am rich, therefore I will not be poor.
e. F/Major/UCW
f. The proverb is meant for people who think that they will always be in comfortable positions and therefore disregard others. This acts as a

reminder that sometimes-unusual circumstances can force someone to fall from a lofty position.

5. Akazi ŵamfumu kumeka nga amfumu niŵeve.
   a. a-kazi ŵa-a a-mfumu ku-mek-a nga a-nfumu
      cl2-wife cl2-GEN cl2-chief INFM-boast-FV CNJ cl2-chief
      ni ŵa-eve
      COP cl2-3PRN
   b. The chief's wife boasts as though she is the chief herself.
   c. Don't boast of what you are not.
   d. If you are a chief then you can be proud, you are not a chief, therefore you cannot be proud.
   e. TF/Major/UCW
   f. Traditional leaders who command the most respect from their citizens by virtue of their position are not expected to take advantage of their subjects' loyalty. The first lady also commands as much respect as the chief but she is never expected to show that she enjoys the privilege. She is regarded as the mother of all citizens who should keep an open-arm policy to all citizens. Thus, when citizens notice she is unapproachable and boastful, citizens complain through their many social gatherings. The proverb is a typical complaint aimed at such a first lady.

6. Akolwe asila munda.
   a. a-kolwe a-a-sil-a munda
      2-monkey cl2-PERF-finish-FV cl3-cultivation.field
   b. Monkeys have finished eating all crops in the field.
   c. You cannot leave a thief alone in your house.
   d. If there is a monkey (thief) and if the monkey eats (steals) crops (things) then I should not leave the monkey (thief) near the crops (things)at it might eat (steal). If there is a monkey (thief), then if the monkey eats (steals) crops (things) then I should not leave the monkey (thief) near the crops (things) at it might eat (steal).
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. Monkeys have always been in conflict with the Nsenga people for destroying crops especially maize the staple food grain. Whereas other animals like warthogs pose danger too, monkeys are believed to be the most notorious of all. Thus once you notice monkeys nearby you must

always find means of chasing them far away. A picture of leaving monkeys to freely feast on the crops is likened to a situation where a known thief is left alone in a home.

7. Akolwe osekana vinkhang'a.
   a. a-kolwe a-ku-sek-an-a vi-n-khang'a
      cl2-monkey cl2-GP-laugh-REC-FV cl8-cl9-scar
   b. Monkeys laugh at each other's shiny red marks on their buttocks.
   c. Look at your own issues before you ridicule other people's issues.
   d. You cannot ridicule others when you have your own issues, I have my own issues, therefore I cannot ridicule others.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. Monkeys are familiar to local rural people most of whom are peasant farmers. From the bushes that are near their fields, they are able to observe the behavior of monkeys.

8. Akolwe oziŵana opasana vizimbili.
   a. a-kolwe a-ku-ziŵ-an-a a-ku-pas-an-a
      cl2-monkey cl2-GP-know-REC-FV cl2-GP-give-REC-FV
      vi-zimbili
      cl8-wild.fruit
   b. Monkeys that know each other share vizimbili wild fruits
   c. People that know each other are normally kind to each other and share things in common.
   d. If monkeys (people) know each other, then they share things in common, they know each other, therefore they share things.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Monkeys are familiar to local rural people most of whom are peasant farmers. From the bushes that are near their fields, people are able to observe the behavior of monkeys. Thus, they are able to observe that only monkeys of the same company have a habit of looking for food together.

9. Akombwe akapaka, kukuca lini mwamsanga.
   a. a-kombwe a-ka-pak-a ku-ku-ci-a lini
      cl2-rooster cl2-CND-many-FV cl17-GP-dawn-FV NEG
      mu-a msanga
      cl18-GEN quick

b. When there are many roosters, it takes long to dawn.
c. When there are a lot of advisers it becomes confusing.
d. When there are many roosters (advisors) it takes long to dawn (solve a problem), there are many advisers, so it will take long to solve a problem.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. A rooster occupies a very important part of the lives of Nsenga traditional or rural societies. There used to be no clocks in the past however, people used the crying of roosters to identify time. One particular rooster at a family unit would be used for time identification. It would however be confusing if there were several roosters crawling at different unmarked times.

10. Akulu akale akaona alwendo enzekuti fukame owapa moni nowaona pamala.

a. a-kulu a-a kale a-ka-on-a a-lwendo
cl2-old cl2-GEN old cl2-CND-see-FV cl2-visitor
a-enze-ku-ti fukam-e a-ku-wa-p-a
cl2-bePAST INFM-say kneel.down-FV cl2-GP-cl2-give-FV
mu-oni na ku-wa-on-a pa-ma-la
cl3-greeting CNJ INFM-cl2-see-FV cl16-cl6-stomach

b. People in the olden days once they saw visitors they used to kneel down, greet them and look at their stomach.
c. Food and general hospitality is the best way to reaching ones soul.
d. If you are hospitable to someone then you reach ones soul, if you reach ones soul then you make one happy, therefore if I am hospitable then s/he will be happy.
e. Hypothetical/Major/VUS
f. This proverb is a summary of the Nsenga people's custom in receiving visitors especially those from distant places. Once a guest comes into your home, you must greet and offer food. You only discuss the visitor's purpose of the visit after s/he has eaten, washed and rested. It is regarded as unwelcoming to find out the visitor's purpose of visit before they eat and rest. In this manner, the guest gets liberated to share his/her issues in his/her mind.

11. Akulu-akulu ni mucilambo motewa nkhuni.
    a. a-kulu-a-kulu ni mu-ci-lambo mu-a ku-tew-a
       cl2-big-cl2-big COP cl18-cl7-bush cl18-GEN INFM-cut-FV
       n-khuni
       cl9-firewood
    b. Old people are the bush where you cut firewood.
    c. Old people are society's solutions.
    d. If you need firewood (wisdom) then you should go to the bush (old people) where it is found, I need firewood, therefore I should go to the bush.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Nsenga human settlements have communal bush areas where people go to collect various things such as firewood. This is an area where anybody in need goes. Thus, it is a common meeting point and it is common for people to go into the bush in groups for safety reasons. Old people are likened in the proverb to such an area where people get relief.

12. Akulu-akulu ni koutukila.
    a. a-kulu-a-kulu ni ku-a-utuk-il-a
       cl2-big-cl2-big COP ENC-run-APP-FV
    b. Old people are somewhere to run to.
    c. Old people are wiser than young ones where young ones must seek direction.
    d. When I am in need I need to run somewhere, I am in need, so I should run to somewhere.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Old people are regarded as custodians of wisdom among Nsenga people. Thus, in many instances including disputes and conflict the younger generation is always advised to seek knowledge, wisdom and advice from the old people.

13. Akuti nkhoyani mukavyalane, akuti lini nkhoyani mukapalane.
    a. a-ku-ti nkhoya-ni mu-ka-vyal-an-e a-ku-ti
       cl2-GP-say go-PTC 2p-FUT-reproduce-REC-FV cl2-GP-say
       lini nkhoya-ni mu-ka-pal-an-e
       NEG go-PTC 2p-FUT-resemble-REC-FV
    b. They say go and reproduce, they don't say go and resemble.

c. It is better to marry within the family or clan in order to make the clan grow numerically and economically.
d. If you marry within the family then you increase the family size, If you increase the family size then you get more reaches, So If I marry within the family I will get more riches.
e. Hypothetical/Major/VUS
f. Traditionally and in the recent past, it was customary to let people marry within the family or clans to allow wealth remain within the family or clan. It was very common with cousins (children of brother and sister) marrying each other. Thus, people were encouraged to marry within the family and bear children to increase the family and not necessarily to look alike or to have the same behavior. By practice, people did not look alike because they married within the family. It was also particularly not allowed to copy bad behavior from family members.

14. Alesi aliye matu onkhala anjala oyenda nosenga.

a. a-lesi	a-li-ye	ma-tu	a-ku-nkhl-a	a-a	
cl2-lazy.person	cl2-be-NEG	cl6-ear	cl2-be-FV	cl2-GEN	
n-jala	a-a	ku-yend-a	na	ku-seng-a	
cl9-hunger	cl2-GEN	INFM-walk-FV	CNJ	INFM-beg-FV	

b. Lazy people who don't listen to advice are always hungry and on the moving around to beg.
c. La If you are lazy then you have to move around and beg to avoid destituteness, I am lazy so I should beg to avoid destituteness.
d. MPP/Major/VUS
e. ziness and stubbornness causes one destituteness.
f. The Nsenga economy's main stay is farming. Thus, all people are expected to be hard workers to make ends meet. This is also true as the farming systems among Nsengas are less mechanized and highly labor intensive. As a result, a lazy person ends up a beggar moving in different places looking for daily supplies. As laziness is an attitude, one is expected to change after receiving good advice. Stubborn and laziness is however, a terrible combination for one person, as society never sympathizes with such a person.

15. Ali kaduku ndee munthu wonkhazikiika.
    a. a-li ka-Ø-duku ndee mu-nthu u-a
       cl1-be cl12-cl5a-veil IDEO cl1-person cl1-GEN
       ku-nkhazik-ik-a
       INFM-settle-POT-FV
    b. A settled person has an intact veil.
    c. A settled person has a stable character.
    d. A settled person has a stable character, S/he is settled, so s/he has a stable character.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Veils are part of the Nsenga people's traditional dress for women. Every woman wears a veil as a hair wrap and as a symbol of personal respect. An image of a woman with a veil, which is in not intact or creasy, is an image of a woman who has been doing many things or has been moving up and down, which causes the veil to lose shape. The veils are usually triangular pieces of cloth that are tied according to a woman's taste. A woman with an intact veil is a symbol of a respectable and well-settled woman.

16. Ali na alongosi onkhala na mashinga pa bedi.
    a. a-li na a-longosi a-ku-nkhal-a na ma-shinga
       cl1-COP CNJ cl2-sister cl1-GP-sit CNJ cl6-faeces
       pa-Ø-bedi
       cl16-cl5a-bed
    b. Those that have sisters stay with feaces on the bed.
    c. Those who live with breadwinners can live irresponsibly because they know they have someone to look after them.
    d. Those that have sisters stay with feaces (irresponsible behavior) on the bed, he as sisters, so he is irresponsible.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Traditionally, sisters do almost all the house chores including washing clothes for brothers and even bathing siblings. Thus, brothers that have sisters do not mind about themselves because they know that their sisters would take care of them. To be seen with feaces is the worst expression of dirt and carelessness or negligence of oneself.

17. Ali na ng'anda yunana ofuna lini kumvwa m'lilimo waleza.
    a. a-li na n-ng'anda i-ku-nan-a a-ku-fun-a lini
       cl1-be CNJ cl9-house cl9-GP-soak-FV cl1-GP-want-FV NEG
       ku-mvw-a mu-lilimo u-a Ø-leza
       INFM-hear-FV cl3-roaring cl3-GEN cl1a-thunder
    b. S/he who has a leaking roof does not want to hear a roaring thunder.
    c. People don't want to be reminded of their huge responsibilities.
    d. When people are in problems they do not want to be reminded about their problems, s/he has problems, so s/he does not want to be reminded.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Most of the homes in Nsenga land are thatched with grass. In fact, in traditional Nsenga land all houses were made of grass roofs. To keep the houses from leaking, one needed to repair or change the roof before the rainy season every year. Lazy people would always have problems once their roofs were not repaired. This remains true until now in many households. Thus, any sign of rain such as roaring thunder always brings fears of the leaking house in the minds of those whose houses have not been repaired.

18. Aliye kwao ni muzya.
    a. a-li-ye ku-ao ni mu-zya
       cl1-be-NEG cl17-3pPOS COP cl1-slave
    b. A slave has no home.
    c. Be proud of your home no matter how it is.
    d. A slave does not own a home, S/he is a slave, so s/he has no home.
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. The saying just emphasizes the fact that everyone who has a home should be proud of it regardless of its state. As it is common knowledge, a slave has no home except its master's.

19. Aliye matu otamana.
    a. a-liy-e ma-tu a-ku-taman-a
       cl1-be-NEG cl6-ear cl1-GP-suffer-FV
    b. A person without ears suffers.
    c. If you don't adhere to advice you run into trouble.
    d. If you do net heed advice you run into problems, s/he does not heed advice. So s/he will run into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Ears are a symbol of obedience and the ability to heed advice. If one is said to have no ears it means that s/he is stubborn and incapable of heeding advice. Society does not treat with kindness a stubborn person. Thus, such a person is likely to suffer, as s/he does not get any help.

20. Alwendo ni mame osansulika.

a. a-lwendo ni ma-me a-ku-sans-ulul-ik-a
cl2-visitor COP cl6-due cl2-GP-drop-REV-POT-FV

b. Visitors are like dew that dries up.

c. Treat visitors well because they only stay for a short time.

d. Visitors do not stay for a long time, s/he's a visitor so s/he will not stay for a long time.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In especially rural areas, human settlements are adjacent to bushes or jungles. A little distance away from the housing, units are bushes, shrubs or grass portions. Farmers who usually get up early to cultivate in the fields always encounter with dew along small paths. However, it takes only few moments before the dew disappears. In this manner, dew is understood to be impermanent. It also common in the Nsenga community for strangers walking long distances to ask for shelter in order to spend a night or two before continuing with the journey. It is advisable among Nsengas to look after strangers. After all, they never stay for good. It is also advisable to be hospitable to all visitors whether strangers or not.

21. Amaluku ometana lini mapala.

a. a-maluku a-ku-met-an-a lini ma-pala
cl2-crook cl2-GP-shave-REC-FV NEG cl6-bald.head

b. Crooks do not shave each other.

c. A crook cannot swindle another crook.

d. If you are cleverer than someone then you cannot swindle that person, I am not clever than somebody, So I cannot swindle that person.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. To "completely cut off someone's hair" is an expression or euphemism used for cheating someone among Nsengas. It comes from a situation where one is promised a good haircut but is made bald without consent. Someone who knows himself as being a clever or crook when s/he meets a

person who tries to swindle him uses this proverb. S/he reminds this person that a crook cannot swindle a fellow crook. People can also use the proverb when they see people who are believed to be thieves staying together. They use this proverb to remind themselves that such people are friends because they are the same.

22. Amfumu akuti fumapo kumunthu muweme owauzya nkhani.
    a. a-mfumu a-ku-ti fum-a-po ku-mu-nthu
       cl2-chef cl2-GP-say go.away-FV-ENC cl17-cl1-person
       mu-weme a-ku-wa-uzy-a n-khani
       cl1-good cl1-GP-cl2-tell-FV cl9-story
    b. A chief chases people who are giving good advice.
    c. A good leader must listen to both favorable and unfavorable intelligence.
    d. A good adviser should be good to me, S/he has brought me bad news, so s/he's not good to me.
    e. F/Minor/UCW
    f. It is common for many leaders to want to hear what they prefer to hear from advisers. Many good advisers lose their jobs by openly warning the leader of the dangers s/he faces in his/her regime. Many leaders do not take such advice and in many cases relieve such advisers of their duties. Such leaders usually end up failures. A folktale is told of a chief who was killed by an angry mob after failing to heed advice and expelling his adviser.

23. Amukamfumu ezingwa nozyamika ciceleko.
    a. a-mukamfumu a-i-zingw-a na ku-zyamik-a
       cl2-chief's.spouse cl2-PAST-suffer-FV CNJ INFM-borrow-FV
       ci-celeko
       cl7-decanting.basket
    b. The Chief's spouse suffered so much that s/he went to borrow a decanting basket.
    c. Anybody can be hit by poverty.
    d. A chief should own everything, S/he is a chief, so s/he cannot lack.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Leafy okra is one of the most common and easily accessible vegetables among Nsenga people. It is found in many forms and it easily grows as weed. Thus, it is usually dried and stored in bulk as backup in times of scarcity. The okra is always cooked with sodium carbonate made by

decanting ashes of some plants especially maize cobs. In this manner, every home has a traditional and domestic decanting basket. Someone who does not have it is therefore an archetypal of a very poor person. In the proverb, it is expected that a chief should not lack anything but the spouse goes to look for the common decanting basket.

24. Amulamo katani tete.
    a. a-mulamo kat-a-ni Ø-tete
       cl2-sister/brother-in-law hold-FV-PTC cl5a-reed
    b. My sister/brother-in-law hold the reeds.
    c. Use advice to get yourself out of trouble.
    d. Advice can get you out of trouble; you are in trouble, so you need advice.
    e. PF/Major/UCS
    f. In many seasonal streams that usually run with fast water currents crossing can be very dangerous. For people that are not sure of effective swimming, it is advised to cross a river at a point where there are many reeds for support. Reeds are usually anchored firmly in the ground and are helpful in saving lives in times of accidents.

25. Amwizyo amwizyo m'pini uli m'mutu.
    a. a-mwizyo a-mwizyo mu-pini u-li mu-mu-tu
       cl2-brother cl2-brother cl3-wooden.handle cl3-be cl18-cl3-head
    b. One who was being called never listened until the wooden handle hit his head.
    c. Failure to listen to advice can lead you into problems
    d. Failure to listen to advice can lead you into problems; S/he has failed to listen to advice, so s/he will get into problems.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. People normally counsel somebody who is considered to have bad behavior. As long as the person does not change, various people take turns to advise the person in trying to correct the behavior. However, if the person does not change s/he may end up getting into trouble as the consequence of the behavior.

26. Anakazi ni matuvi a mbuzi.
    a. a-nakazi ni ma-tuvi a-a n-buzi
       cl2-female COP cl6-feces cl1-GEN cl9-goat

b. Women are like feaces of goats.
c. Do not cry over lost opportunities because there are several opportunities in life.
d. Women are as plenty as goats' feaces, I have lost one woman, so I can easily get another one.
e. F/Major/UCS
f. Goats are one of the common tamed animals in the Nsenga society. They are usually large in number and are let out every morning to graze by themselves in the nearby bushes. They usually excrete anywhere and their excreta is found usually in large amounts in the kraals. In comparing women to goats one wants to note that there are so many women that one does not need to worry if one of them does not assent to a marriage proposal.

27. Anione anione enkhala pamulilo.
a. a-ni-on-e a-ni-on-e a-i-nkhal-a pa-mu-lilo
cl1-1s-see-FV cl1-1s-see-FV cl1-PAST-sit-FV cl16-cl3-fire
b. In trying to show off someone sat on fire.
c. It is better to be humble in public to avoid embarrassment.
d. Boastful behavior can lead you into trouble; s/he is boastful so s/he will get into trouble.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Humbleness is one of the virtues highly valued by the Nsenga society. Someone who with a jumpy and showy character is regarded as a proud person. A person who does not seek advice is also regarded as a proud person. In the proverb, a situation is given where a person gives himself/herself contrary to tradition and ends up sitting on a hot place.

28. Anione anione enkhala pansimbi yakupya.
a. a-ni-on-e a-ni-on-e a-i-nkhal-a pa-n-simbi
cl1-1s-see-FV cl1-1s-see-FV cl1-PAST-sit-FV cl16-cl9-iron
i-a ku-py-a
cl9-GEN INFM-heat-FV
b. A boastful person sat on a hot iron.
c. You must not be too proud to ask.
d. Boastful behavior can lead you into trouble; s/he is boastful so s/he will get into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Someone who is boastful and does not want to heed advice is by human experience expected to run into trouble. A picture in the proverb is given of a person who thinks it is not necessary to get local advice and gives himself a seat but only to no find out it is a hot iron after it burns him/her up.

29. Anione anione, nyandule epona m'thobwa.

a. a-ni-on-e a-ni-on-e n-yandule a-i-pon-a
cl1-1s-see-FV cl1-1s-see-FV cl9-cockroach cl1-PAST-fall-FV
mu-Ø-*thobwa*
cl18-cl5a-traditional.drink (non-alcoholic sweet beer called *thobwa*).

b. A boastful coach roach fell into a *thobwa* traditional drink.

c. A proud person always gets into problems.

d. Boastful behavior can lead you into trouble; s/he is boastful so s/he will get into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. *Thobwa* (sweet non-alcoholic traditional bear) is a local traditional drink that is very popular and taken as a beverage. Many times, it is taken as breakfast for many families. Almost anybody can take the drink and it is usually given to visitors as a sign of welcome. A very irritating scene is a cockroach that runs or jumps into a cup or pot of *thobwa*. A scene immediately catches ones attention. The character of a proud and boastful person is regarded to be as irritating as that of a cockroach that falls into sweet beer, the beer that people cherish very much. Usually boastful people want to attract unnecessary attention.

30. Anyoko nanyoko mphela.

a. A-nyoko ni a-nyoko mphela
cl2-mother COP cl2-mother CNJ

b. Your mother remains your mother in all circumstances.

c. Respect parents regardless of their physical status.

d. A biological mother remains one regardless of physical status; s/he is disabled, so s/he is still my mother.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. This a saying that reiterates the need to respect and treat parents accordingly regardless of their physical status. One cannot do anything to change the mother's biological status.

31. Apika oingolaŵa mucinkhombe.
    a. a-a-pik-a a-ku-ingo-laŵ-a mu-ci-nkhombe
       cl2-PERF-cook-FV cl2-GP-REP-taste-FV cl18-cl7-pot
    b. S/he has cooked but s/he keeps on tasting from the pot.
    c. Habits develop with small repeated acts.
    d. Small repeated acts become habits; s/he is repeating certain acts, so they will become a habit.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. In training people, especially women, good kitchen manners, Nsengas advise people never to repeatedly taste the dish. The consequences are either finishing the food before it is served or compromising the taste of the food.

32. Asaenda mumalilo ŵayake.
    a. a-sa-yend-a mu-ma-lilo ŵa-a a-yake
       cl1-NEG-walk-FV cl18-cl6-funeral cl6-GEN cl2-friend
    b. A person who does not visit other people's funeral houses.
    c. Do to others, as you would have them do to you.
    d. A person who does not visit other people's funerals is not visited on his/hers; S/he does not visit other people's funerals, so s/he will not be visited on hers.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. A funeral is always a communal matter that brings everybody together regardless of personal relationships. Every member of society is required to participate in all funeral activities until the body is buried. Anybody who does not participate in funerals is regarded as an outcast who does not deserve similar help.

33. Asakonsha ecilya pula.
    a. a-sa-konsh-a a-ici-ly-a Ø-pula
       cl1-NEG-ask-FV cl1-PAST-eat-FV cl5a-bee.wax
    b. The one who does not ask ate bee wax.
    c. Seek advice before you take action.
    d. If you do not seek advice you get into trouble, S/he has not sought advice, so s/he will get into trouble.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Honey collection is one of the enjoyable bush activities among Nsenga people. Bees produce both wax and honey and sometimes you need an experienced collector to differentiate between the two. In the proverb, a situation is portrayed where somebody wants to eat honey without asking and erroneously goes for wax instead of honey.

34. Asakonsha ecilya yawisi.

a. a-sa-konsh-a	a-ici-ly-a	i-a	a-wisi
cl1-NEG-ask-FV	cl1-PAST-eat-FV	cl9-GEN	cl2-father

b. Someone who doesn't ask ate the father's.
c. You must have a good background of the person you are getting into a relationship with.
d. If you do not seek advice you get into trouble, S/he has not sought advice, so s/he will get into trouble.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Some men keep knowledge of children outside marriage a secret. The danger is always with the children that might end up in a sexual relationship or indeed marriage because of lack of knowledge. Some tragic situations are a man denying responsibility of a pregnancy. A child is born and she grows up into a woman. The man unknowingly gets into a sexual relationship with the daughter. Thus a man who does not find out about the girl's background ends up eating (having sexual intercourses with) his own daughter (penis).

35. Atalimphe afupike nanyoko.

a. a-talimph-e	a-fup-ik-e	ni	a-nyoko
cl2-be tall-FV	cl2-be.short-POT-FV	COP	cl2-mother

b. Whether tall or short she is still your mother.
c. Do not discriminate based on physical status.
d. A biological mother remains one regardless of physical status; s/he is disabled, so s/he is still my mother.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Parents are supposed to be given their due respect regardless of their physical status. This is because there is nothing one can do to remove the biological function of a mother. No matter what one might think of his/her mother s/he remains the biological mother. This proverb arises from stigma that is made towards people especially women with physical disabilities.

36. Atambwali sometana.
    a. a-tambwli si-a-ku-met-an-a
       cl2-theif NEG-cl2-GP-cut.hair-REC-FV
    b. Thieves do not cut each other's hair.
    c. Bad people do not trust each other.
    d. A thief (bad person) cannot trust another thief (bad person), s/he is a thief, so s/he cannot trust another thief.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. In the traditional Nsenga society, people shave each other for free using razor blades and recently scissors. It is common to have accidents where someone's skin is cut in the process. In this manner, you always ask someone you trust to cut you in order to avoid malicious behavior. Your enemy would use the opportunity to injure deliberately you to either repay you or punish you for something bad you did. Thus, two people that know each other as bad people cannot shave or cut each other's hair because of lack of trust. It is also important if you believe that hair can be used for witchcraft to ask someone you trust to cut your hair.

37. Atata ni kutatishana.
    a. a-tata ni ku-tat-ish-an-a
       cl2-father COP INFM-father-CAUS-REC-FV
    b. To call your father "father" is as good as addressing yourself as "father".
    c. When you help others, you might also get help when you are in need.
    d. Someone who helps others gets help too, s/he is helping others. So s/he will get help too.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. The title of father is reserved for the married elderly men and especially those that have given birth before. It is usually associated with the biological function. A father-son relationship is one that is regarded as (biologically) irreversible. However, in reality children who call their fathers by the father title, do become father figures when they begin to take care of their parents when parents become of age and sometimes in need. A father is also a symbol of respect, a person whom children should not only respect but also emulate. A father who does not command respect from his family though, risks losing the respect that is due to him. Respect is in any context regarded as a two-way thing.

38. Ati aifye aifye yeka.
    a. a-ti a-ify-e a-ify-e i-eka
       cl2-say cl1-spoil-FV cl1-spoil-FV 3s-alone
    b. Let the spoiler spoil things alone.
    c. Help others without expecting anything good in return.
    d. When you help someone you get good favors in return, I am helping her, so I will get good favors from her.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. The proverb emphasizes strong social ties between Nsenga people that must be anchored on unconditional love. It is used to encourage people to do well to others even when they know that the person they are helping might not appreciate it. It is the belief that when you have done well then you have done your part and it remains with the other party to respond in whichever way s/he likes that should be the motivation for doing well.

39. Atyala aliye wawamya.
    a. a-tyala a-li-ye u-a-wamy-a
       cl2-non-relative cl2-be-NEG 2s-PERF-do.good-FV
    b. Outsiders do not appreciate.
    c. It is difficult to please a human being.
    d. A relative cannot easily be pleased; he is not my relative, so I cannot please her.
    e. TF/Major/UCS
    f. By nature, a human being is regarded as an ungrateful person. It is therefore advisable not to expect praise for doing good as some people may not appreciate. In this regard, people prefer to do good things for relatives and get the comfort of having helped a relative even if s/he does not appreciate.

40. Atyala naweme pakulya nao.
    a. a-tyala ni a-wem-e pa-ku-ly-a na-a-o
       cl2-outsider COP cl2-good-FV cl16-eat-FV CNJ-cl2-3PRN
    b. Outsiders do not appreciate although they seemingly do so when they want a share from you.
    c. Outsiders do not appreciate or genuinely help you.
    d. Outsiders do not appreciate when you help them; I am helping an outsider, so I will not please him/her.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Humans are said to be by nature selfish and incapable of making genuine relationships. This view is captured in this proverb by presenting an analogy of a person who only befriends you in order to share your meal.

41. Atyala owama pakulya.

a. a-tyala a-ku-wam-a pa-ku-ly-a
cl2-stranger cl2-GP-be.good-FV cl16-GP-eat-FV

b. Non-relatives are good when you are sharing food.

c. Outsiders do not appreciate or genuinely help you.

d. Outsiders do not appreciate when you help them; I am helping an outsider, so I will not please him/her.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Giving good help to others is usually a sacrificial act that not many people are usually willing to offer. People would rather be invited to a banquet than to participate in work. It is believed among Nsenga people that it is easy to call upon a family member for help than asking an outsider. This is why part of the reason of having large families is to get help easily in times of need. Thus, it is said that outsiders only pretend to be good to you when they want something good from you rather than to simply help you.

42. Atyalani owamyika lini.

a. a-tyalani a-ku-wamy-ik-a lini
cl2-non-family.member cl2-GP-make.good-POT-FV NEG

b. People who are not your relatives are difficult to please.

c. Do well to others without expecting a reward.

d. Outsiders do not appreciate when you help them; I am helping an outsider, so I will not please him/her.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Whereas people naturally expect some form of reward or praise once, they do well to others such is not expected from family members. Anybody in an affluent position within a family is expected to help the less privileged without expecting reward. The comforting thing is that one has helped a family member. As it is said that humans are generally ungrateful one is advised never to get surprised for doing good to others without getting their praise.

43. Avyazi kati nacikumbe naŵana akuŵa acikumbe.
    a. A-vyazi kati ni a-cikumbe na ŵa-ana
       cl2-parent CND-say COP cl2-good.farmer CNJ cl2-child
       a-ku-ŵ-a a-cikumbe
       cl2-GP-be-FV cl2-good.farmer
    b. When parents are good farmers children become good farmers too.
    c. Parents are children's role models.
    d. If parents are farmers then children are also likely to become farmers too, he is a farmer, so his children are going to be farmers too.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Children always regard parents as role models. Among Nsengas, farming is always regarded as the noblest career. Thus, children usually emulate parents who are successful at farming.

44. Aweme onkhalisha lini.
    a. a-weme a-ku-nkhal-ish-a lini
       cl2-good cl2-stay-INT-FV NEG
    b. Good people do not live long.
    c. Be careful with your kindness as not all appreciate it.
    d. If you are good then people might become jealousy of you, If people become jealousy of you then they might kill you, so if you are good then you might be killed.
    e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
    f. It is common for some people to be jealousy of others. Nsenga people believe that jealousy can cause one to do worse things like murder even by witchcraft.

45. Cakanga baka kutola.
    a. ci-a-kang-a Ø-baka ku-tol-a
       cl7-PERF-fail-FV cl1a-duck INFM-pick-FV
    b. What a duck fails to pick.
    c. You can only perform according to your ability.
    d. If a big duck fails to swallow something then a small chicken cannot, it is not a duck, so it will not swallow.
    e. TF/Major/UCS

f. This is a proverb usually left hanging but can be completed by adding the phrase "a chicken cannot" at the end. Ducks are bigger than chickens and are able to eat bigger grains than chickens.

46. Cakanga kolwe kutola ceta sangakwanishe.

a. ci-a-kang-a Ø-kolwe ku-tol-a Ø-ceta
cl7-PERF-fail-FV cl1a-big.monkey INFM-pick-FV cl1a-small.monkey
si-a-nga-kwanish-e
NEG-cl1-MOD-manage-FV

b. What a big monkey has failed to pick a small monkey cannot.

c. You can only manage tasks according to your ability.

d. If a big monkey fails to pick something then a small monkey cannot, it is not a big monkey so it will not pick.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. Monkeys are familiar to local rural people most of whom are peasant farmers. From the bushes that are near their fields, they are able to observe the behavior of monkeys. Monkeys are in different sizes and behave differently.

47. Cako cumvwisha tantha culusha lini.

a. ci-ako ci-ku-mvw-ish-a Ø-tantha ci-ku-luk-ish-a
cl7-2sPOS cl7-GP-feel-CAUS-FV cl5a-nausia cl7-GP-vomit-CAUS-FV
lini
NEG

b. What belongs to you can make you feel nausea bit it cannot make you vomit.

c. No matter how bad your children make you feel, you can never disown them.

d. You can feel nausea (disgust) about your own thing (child) but you cannot vomit (disown) your own thing (child), it is your thing (child), so you cannot vomit (disown).

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Cleanliness is usually the responsibility of an individual or a family unit. No matter how dirty a home can be owners accept and live with the conditions. Likewise, whilst it is possible to have family members that make one feel disgusted in behavior in a home, such family members cannot be thrown out of the family unit. The principle behind the proverb is

also used to advise parents to clean their children when they become dirty or soil their clothes. For instance, a Nsenga mother can suck mucus from a child's nose when it gets blocked.

48. Cako ni cako ca mwine cupuŵisha.
    a. ci-ako ni ci-ako ci-a mu-ine
       cl7-2sPOS COP cl7-2sPOS cl7-GEN cl1-owner
       ci-ku-puŵ-ish-a
       cl7-GP-fool-CAUS-FV
    b. What belongs to you is yours indeed but someone else's can cause you embarrassment.
    c. It better to be self-sufficient than to boast about borrowed things
    d. If something is yours then you can do as you wish with it, It is mine, so I can do as I wish with it.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. It is better to have your own than be embarrassed with someone else's thing by boasting around with it. The owner can claim a borrowed thing at any moment. It becomes embarrassing therefore to be noticed that you were boasting about with someone's property.

49. Cako ni cako siculingana na camwine.
    a. ci-ako ni ci-ako si-ci-ku-ling-an-a
       cl7-2sPOS COP cl7-2sPOS NEG-cl7-GP-compare-REC-FV
       na ci-a mu-ine
       CNJ cl7-GEN cl1-owner
    b. What you own cannot be compared to someone else's.
    c. It's better to be self-sufficient than to live on borrowed things.
    d. If something is yours then you can do as you wish with it, It is mine, so I can do as I wish with it.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Something, which is yours, is better than someone's item. You use your own thing any time. It is possible that something borrowed can be requested while you are using it.

50. Calo cuwama na wako.
    a. ci-alo ci-ku-wam-a na u-ako
       cl7-earth cl7-GP-be.good-FV CNJ cl1-2sPOS

b. The world is good when you have people that matter to you.
c. The world is good when you make friends.
d. If you have people that matter to you then you enjoy the world, I have people that matter to me, so I will enjoy the world.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. The proverb encourages people to be good to those people that matter to them especially their relatives because without them they would not enjoy life in this world. The proverb provides a setting of a stranger in foreign land who struggles with life because of lack of friendships.

51. Calo ni kakungulu cusankha lini.
a. ci-alo ni Ø-kakungulu ci-ku-sankh-a lini
cl7-world COP cl1a-whirlwind cl7-GP-choose-FV NEG
b. The world is like a whirlwind because it does not choose whom to attack.
c. Problems can befall anybody.
d. All humans can get into trouble, I am human, so I can get into trouble.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. In especially rural areas, homes are surrounded by cultivation fields that do not have tall trees or a lot of vegetation. This makes it easy for many whirlwinds to form especially during dry and windy seasons. Whirlwinds are usually destructive to houses that are usually thatched with grass. When it passes through a village, it destroys any person's property regardless of status. This relates to calamity or luck that can befall anybody regardless of status.

52. Calo ni ŵanthu.
a. ci-alo ni ŵa-nthu
cl7-world COP cl2-person
b. The world is people.
c. It is people that matter in society.
d. If there is society then there are people, there are no people, so there is no society.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. In Nsenga society, humans are above all other creatures except the supernatural being or God. Thus, the world that people cannot do without gets its meaning from the people that live in it. In order to have a working world therefore one needs to look after the people's wellbeing.

53. Calowa pasanga ocikonkha lini.
    a. ci-a-low-a pa-Ø-sanga a-ku-ci-konkh-a lini
       cl7-PERF-enter-FV cl16-cl5a-bush cl1-GP-OM-follow-FV NEG
    b. What has entered the bush should not be followed.
    c. Do not pursue the unknown.
    d. People follow what they are familiar with, it is not familiar, so it will not be followed.
    e. MTT/Major/VUS
    f. As safety measure, it is never advisable for hunters not to pursue anything unknown in the bush. This protects people from following vicious wildlife. It is common once in the bush for wildlife to be disturbed by humans. Usually animals and reptiles hide for safety and only attack humans when they feel threatened. Hence if you are not sure of what has escaped into hiding you do not follow. A bush signifies uncertainties of life. The proverb discourages people from pursuing issues that they do not fully understand.

54. Canga zilume pula nutola.
    a. canga zi-lum-e Ø-pula ni-ku-tol-a
       CNJ cl8-bite-FV cl5a-wax 1s-GP-pick-FV
    b. Even if the bees sting I will get the wax.
    c. Sometimes you must go against all odds to achieve your most wanted goal.
    d. In order to succeed you must not fear challenges, I want to succeed, so I should not be afraid of challenges.
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. Traditional methods of honey collection require use of bare hands to collect honey and wax. The honey collector simply uses smoke to suffocate the bees and reduce their stinging ability. However, the person still gets stings until they collect the wax and honey.

55. Caona menso mtima uluwa lini.
    a. ci-a-on-a ma-inso mu-tima u-luw-a lini
       cl7-PERF-see-FV cl6-eye cl3-heart cl3-forget-FV NEG
    b. What the eye has seen the heart cannot forget.
    c. Humans do not forget bad things.
    d. When you do bad things people do not forget, I have done something bad, so people will not forget.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The Nsenga people regard the heart as the source of feelings and emotions. Whilst the eyes see, it is believed that it is the heart that reacts to the images. The heart is believed to be the source of human personality.

56. Caona muyako casila mailo cili pako.

a. ci-a-on-a mu-yako ci-a-sil-a mailo
cl7-PERF-see-FV cl1-friend cl7-PERF-finish-FV tomorrow
ci-li pa-ako
cl7-be cl16-2sPOS

b. Your friend's experience today can be your tomorrow's experience.

c. Do not rejoice in other people's problems as the same could happen to you too.

d. All humans can get into trouble, I am human, so I can get into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Human experiences are common to humans. Thus once others are going through bad moments, you should never rejoice as your bad moments are coming too. This proverb is used to warn those who refuse to give any hand of help to people who are in problems. It warns by emphasizing that your friends' problem might be your own tomorrow's problem. "Tomorrow" can be very soon or twenty years or later. People always remember those who help them when they were in trouble no matter how long it takes. Hence, it is good to help others because in future, they might reciprocate the gesture.

57. Capita capita pala liliye mankhwala.

a. ci-a-pit-a ci-a-pit-a Ø-pala li-li-ye
cl7-PERF-pass-FV cl7-PERF-pass-FV cl5a-baldness cl5-be-NEG
ma-nkhwala
cl6-medicine

b. You cannot correct the past just as there is no medicine for baldness.

c. Accept what you have no control over.

d. Baldness has no cure, I am bald, so I will not be cured.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Baldness puzzles Nsengas just as it does many people of the world. It is a known fact that there is no medicine for baldness. Whoever develops a baldhead is advised to accept the state of affairs and move on. In fact, people are encouraged to regard baldness as a symbol of wisdom. The

permanence of baldness is used in advising people to accept certain things that happen in life, which they have no control over.

58. Caukonda cukukosesha mawambo.
    a. ci-a ku-kond-a ci-ku-ku-kos-ish-a ma-ŵambo
       cl7-GEN INFM-like-FV cl7-GP-OM-strong-CAUS-FV cl6-rib
    b. What you like is what causes your ribs to become strong.
    c. Hard work makes one better in life.
    d. Hard work can lead to success, I am a hard worker, so I will succeed.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. People make every effort to do what they like. Sometimes peoples' likes involve doing hard work that is strenuous. The proverb is used to encourage people that want to achieve good results in life to work hard. In rural areas, many people desire to have bumper harvests and good homes that require a lot of physical work to achieve. People in this proverb are made to believe that hard work is good for health.

59. Cawakandilila ndiye citi cikuceke.
    a. ci-a u-a-kand-ilil-a ndi-ye ci-ti ci-ku-cek-e
       cl7-GEN 2s-PERF-step.on-PER-FV COP-EMPH cl7-say cl7-2s-cut-FV
    b. What you have stepped on is what will cut you.
    c. The people you suppress will someday rise up against you.
    d. What you step on (suppress) can injure (rise against) you, I am stepping (suppressing) on something (people), so I can get injured (an uprise).
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. Many traditional societies used not to wear shoes mainly for economic reasons. Shoes have only been recently introduced by industrialization and only those that afford can have them. It is normal to have an entire childhood without shoes. Most of adventures and farming activities are done in places that have thorns and sharp materials that usually cut people's feet. From this experience, the proverb is related to the situation where people that are under you (your feet) in status or employment can cause harm to you. It also refers to a situation where one suppresses a person that can at one time rise up and revolt as a thorn or sharp material does harm to someone who has stepped on it.

60. Cawama cisenga munyu.
    a. ci-a wama ci-i-seng-a mu-nyu
       cl7-GEN good cl7-PAST-beg-FV cl3-salt
    b. One who says "it's good" begged for salt.
    c. No person can live independently because people get help from each other.
    d. Humans are dependent on each other, I am human, so I am dependent on other humans.
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. Traditional communities especially those living within the same village setting live as one family. They share most of the daily essentials. It is also common to eat in groups of different families, that is, women and children by themselves and men by themselves at the place where men gather. One of the essential commodities that is shared is salt. Without salt, there is no dish that can be said to be good. One can never pretend that a dish is a good without the taste of salt. This situation is used in the proverb to encourage openness, frankness in appreciating what is good, and saying what is bad. It is also encouraged to acknowledge that you need help or that you sought help. It is acceptable to beg when you do not have.

61. Cawamila ayako kuŵanena.
    a. ci-a-wam-il-a a-yako ku-ŵa-nen-a
       cl7-PERF-good-APP-FV cl2-friend INFM-cl2-scold-FV
    b. It is good when you scold others.
    c. Do to others, as you would have them do to you.
    d. If I am not the one being scolded then I do not mind, I am not being scolded, so I do not mind.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Whilst one might feel better in scolding someone, being scolded is never pleasant. Nsenga people like to use this proverb to people who enjoy talking about other people's business but never like to be talked about.

62. Cawaona mumenso watola.
    a. ci-a u-a-on-a mu-ma-inso u-a-tol-a
       cl7-GEN 2s-PERF-see-FV cl18-cl6-eye 2s-PERF-pick-FV
    b. Picking anything that you see.
    c. Be self-controlled to avoid problems.

d. Self-control can avoid many problems, I am self-controlled, so I will avoid many problems.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Eyes are considered as one of the most undisciplined organs of the body. They give view to everything including what a person does not want to see. It is therefore up to the person to accommodate selectively what they see.

63. Caŵilikila casila.
a. ci-a-ŵilik-il-a ci-a-sil-a
cl7-PERF-become.famous-FV cl7-PERF-finish-FV
b. What has become famous has finished.
c. Act on important information with the urgency it disserves.
d. Important information should be treated with urgency; it is important information, so it should be treated with urgency.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. In the proverb, a situation is portrayed where news goes round about the availability of some commodity. However, once the news goes round it also means more people are fighting for access and therefore demand is likely to surpass supply.

64. Cenjela nao malumbo apamenso.
a. cenjel-a na-a-o ma-lumbo a-a pa-ma-inso
be.careful-FV CNJ-cl6-3PRN cl6-praise cl6-GEN cl16-cl6-eye
b. Be careful of praises you receive.
c. Somebody praising you could be the one plotting evil against you.
d. Someone praising you could be the one plotting evil against you, she is praising me, so she could be plotting evil against me.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. While praising people for their good service and character is common among Nsengas, it is also common for people to hide their motives in their praises. Thus, one who praises you could actually be wishing you bad things.

65. Cibwenzi ca nsomba na manzi.
a. ci-bwenzi ci-a n-somba na ma-nzi
cl7-friendship cl7-GEN cl9-fish CNJ cl6-water
b. The friendship of fish and water.

c. A close friendship is inseparable.
d. Fish (lovers) cannot stay alive out of water (separated), I am a fish (in love), so I cannot live on land (without my partner).
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. By natural phenomena, fish cannot survive out of water. Nsenga like fish to be served as part their favorite meals.

66. Cifu ca nguluŵe culyewa na ula ofuna.

a. ci-fu	ci-a	n-guluŵe	ci-ku-ly-iw-a	na
cl7-stomach	cl7-GEN	cl9-warthog	cl7-GP-eat-PASS-FV	CNJ
u-la	a-ku-funa			
cl1-DEM	cl1-GP-want			

b. The stomach of a warthog is eaten by the one who wants it.
c. It is not good to be judgmental about other people's behavior.
d. If you want to judge someone then you should get know someone very well, If you know someone very well then you can understand his/her intentions, so If you want to judge someone then you should understand his/her intentions.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
f. A warthog is a common wild animal because it usually attacks cultivation fields of farmers. It is also a delicacy when it is hunted down. However, everybody does not eat offals as some people do not like them. Thus only a person that likes them can eat. Hunters therefore, some of whom might not eat the stomach (offals) of the warthog, are advised not to throw away the offals once they kill an animal or a warthog. Like a domestic pig, a warthog is considered as ugly and dirty and thus people do not like to eat the offals that are considered dirty too. The situation is meant to teach people not make overgeneralizations about matters.

67. Cifundo cepaya cikwale.

a. ci-fundo	ci-i-pay-a	Ø-quail
cl7-kindness	cl7-PAST-kill-FV	cl1a-quail

b. Kindness killed the quail.
c. Sometimes goodness is paid with evil.
d. Kindness can cost you a life, I am kind, so I am going to be killed.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A quail is one of the Nsenga people's favorite birds. It is usually caught by setting up traps. The proverb is a family and asked for accommodation and food. In the night, the stranger killed the child he was sharing the room with and run away. The situation is related to the quail that unsuspectingly tries to eat bait or move around and ends up in a trap.

68. Cifupa coyumilizya cuphwanya cinkhombe.

a. ci-Ø-fupa ci-a ku-yumilizy-a ci-ku-phwany-a
cl7-cl5a-bone cl7-GEN INFM-force-FV cl7-GP-break-FV
ci-nkhombe
cl7-clay.pot

b. A forced bone breaks the clay pot.

c. Forced things do not work.

d. Forcing a bone (things) into a clay pot (in life situations) can cause the pot to break (problems), I am forcing the bone (things), so I can cause a problem.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsenga people enjoy eating bones. They find bone meat tastier than steak alone. Thus, it is common for people to cook bones. However, bones are also much cheaper than steak too. When you force a bone into a clay pot, you are likely going to break the clay pot.

69. Cigololo ni munanakazi.

a. ci-gololo ni mu-nakazi
cl7-adultery COP cl1-female

b. A woman makes adultery possible.

c. A woman is responsible for adultery.

d. If there is adultery it means a woman has accepted it, if the woman has accepted then she is responsible, so if there is adultery then the woman is responsible.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. The proverb expresses one of the typical mindsets of the Nsenga people. Society does not approve of adultery. However, females are punished much more than males when they commit the offense. A marriage is more likely to break if a woman commits adultery than if a man does so. People believe that without the consent of a woman there cannot be adultery. This arises from the fact that society only allows men to propose love to women and

not vice versa. Any woman who proposes love to a man is considered as a prostitute. In other words, a female prostitute is of a much lower status, if any, than a male prostitute is. Society seems to give a man some license to commit some level of adultery as long as it is not published.

70. Ciipa cuwelela mwine.
    a. ci-ipa ci-ku-wel-il-a mu-ine
       cl7-bad cl7-GP-come-APP-FV cl1-owner
    b. A bad thing follows the owner.
    c. You reap what you sow.
    d. If I sow seed (bad thing) then I will reap what I have sown, I have sown bad seed, so I will reap bad seed.
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. There is a general belief among Nsengas that once you intentionally do something bad to someone you also experience the same in the future.

71. Cikondi ca nkhunda.
    a. ci-kondi ci-a n-khunda
       cl7-love cl7-GEN cl9-pigeon
    b. The love of pigeons.
    c. Love makes people inseparable.
    d. People who love each other are usually found together, they are together, so they love each other.
    e. PF/Major/UCS
    f. Pigeons are one of the types of birds kept as livestock by many Nsengas. They are a symbol of prestige. Their characteristic of being usually found in pairs of male and female makes people believe that pigeons love each other very much and are capable of loving each other better than humans are. For this reason, pigeons are used in many love charms.

72. Cikumbe solala njala.
    a. Ø-cikumbe si-a-ku-lal-a n-jala
       cl1a-good.farmer NEG-cl1-GP-sleep-FV cl9-hunger
    b. A good farmer does not sleep on an empty stomach.
    c. Hard work brings great rewards.
    d. A good farmer cannot starve; I am good farmer, so I will not starve.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. This proverb is used in talking about ways of avoiding hunger. It is always advisable to work hard in growing food in order to have abundant harvest for all year round until the next farming season.

73. Cikumbusha katemo pacimuti.

a. ci-i-kumbu-ish-a ka-temo pa-ci-mu-ti
cl7-PAST-remember-CAUS-FV cl12-axe cl16-cl7-cl3-tree

b. The that made one remember an axe that was forgotten on a tree.

c. Usually something leads to revelation of others.

d. Usually something leads one to the revelation of others, something has been revealed, so there is a cause.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. It is usually common for people working or moving in the bush to find a place to rest usually under a tree. People especially men normally move with an axe for spontaneous use such as to scrape caterpillars from logs or to collect honey. As axes are heavy, it is common while resting to hang an axe on a tree trunk or simply put it down in order to rest. Sometimes people forget the axe but are reminded when they see something requiring the use of an axe.

74. Cikumo cimo cingafwaye lini inda.

a. ci-kumo ci-mo ci-nga-fway-e lini in-da
cl7-finger cl7-one cl7-MOD-smash-FV NEG cl9-louse

b. One finger cannot smash lice.

c. You cannot bring about development in a community alone.

d. One person cannot develop an entire community, I am alone, so I cannot develop the entire community.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Any person who has lived in the impoverished rural Nsenga communities is familiar with lice. Lice are usually associated with dirt. They are said to form from dirt, which results from unwashed clothes or lack of bathing. Some impoverished communities cannot afford either bathing soap or washing detergent let alone detergent for washing beddings. Lice are a big source of social embarrassment in Nsenga culture. As a result, immediately one sees a louse, s/he uses fingernails from the two father fingers to smash it before the public sees it. Elders in order to encourage community work use this proverb. People in the community and even in families need to

work together in order to achieve meaningful development. Just as one finger cannot smash lice, people need to realize that one person cannot bring about development. Hence everyone is important in the community and family because everyone has a role to play.

75. Cikumo cimo cufwaya lini inda.
   a. ci-kumo ci-mo ci-ku-fway-a lini in-da
      cl7-finger cl7-one cl7-GP-smash-FV NEG cl9-louse
   b. One finger cannot smash lice.
   c. Two are better than one.
   d. One finger (person) cannot smash (perform) a louse (team's task), I am alone, so I cannot perform the team's task.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Any person who has lived in the impoverished rural Nsenga communities is familiar with lice. Lice are usually associated with dirt. They are said to form from dirt, which results from unwashed clothes or lack of bathing. Some impoverished communities cannot afford either bathing soap or washing detergent let alone detergent for washing beddings. Lice are a big source of social embarrassment in Nsenga culture. As a result, immediately one sees a louse, s/he uses fingernails from the two father fingers to smash it before the public sees it. The proverb encourages team spirit. With teamwork, it is possible to achieve a lot.

76. Cikumo cimo cuyavya lini.
   a. ci-kumo ci-mo ci-ku-yavy-a lini
      cl7-finger cl7-one cl7-GP-help-FV NEG
   b. One finger does not help.
   c. You cannot help yourself.
   d. One person cannot develop an entire community, I am alone, so I cannot develop the entire community.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Human body parts usually work in pairs or in unison to accomplish many tasks. For instances, one usually uses more than one finger to pick or hold things.

77. Cikuti wayuwayu ocilolela lini.
    a. ci-ku-ti wayuwayu a-ku-ci-lol-il-a lini
       cl7-GP-say IDEO cl1-GP-cl7-wait-APP-FV NEG
    b. Do not wait for what makes the rattle sound (in the bush).
    c. You do not wait for danger.
    d. You do not wait for danger; there is danger, so I should run away.
    e. PF/Major/UCS
    f. Nsenga people most of whom are familiar with the bush or jungle know the behavior of predator animals like the leopard and lion and reptiles like the python. These animals can hardly be heard when they are closing in on their prey. Once you are in the bush/jungle, therefore, you must react to any suspicious sound and take refuge or run before you are possibly attacked.

78. Cikuza ceka cili na maloza.
    a. ci-ku-z-a ci-eka ci-li na ma-loza
       cl7-GP-come-FV cl7-alone cl7-be CNJ cl6-bad.luck
    b. What comes by itself has bad luck.
    c. You cannot depend on handouts.
    d. Things that appear from nowhere have bad luck, it has appeared from nowhere, so it has bad luck.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. The proverb is a myth used to discourage people from depending on free things. It is believed that if you come across something without an owner and you pick it up you invite bad luck to yourself. Thus, people usually avoid picking up anything that has no owner unless someone has handed it over as a gift. It is also used discourage people from admiring other people's wealth and thinking that it is easily acquired.

79. Cikuza sucuimba ng'oma.
    a. ci-ku-iz-a si-ci-ku-imb-a n-ng'oma
       cl7-GP-come-FV NEG-cl7-GP-sing-FV cl9-drum
    b. What is approaching does not beat drums.
    c. Calamity does not warn.
    d. People act when there is danger approaching, there is no danger, so I should not act.
    e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. One of the functions of drums is to communicate important details such as an emergency meeting. However, calamity does not warn that it is approaching as the beating of drums informs. It is therefore advisable for people to be ready of disasters.

80. Cikwati ni mululunda ca kumutu ni cawene.

a. ci-kwati ni mu-Ø-lulunda ci-a ku-mu-tu ni
cl7-marriage COP cl18-cl5a-waist cl7-GEN cl17-cl3-head COP
ci-a wa-ine
cl7-GEN cl2-3pPOS

b. Marriage is in the waist, the head belongs to others.

c. Once you marry you can enjoy sex with your spouse but you can never own your spouse's life.

d. If I marry a woman then she belongs to me, If she belongs to me then her body belongs to me too, So if I marry a woman then her body belongs to me too.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. Parts of the body represent various aspects of human life and activities. Two of such parts are the head and the waist. The head like the heart usually represents the entire human being or life. The waist represents human sexual life. Likewise, dancing by use of the waist dominantly is regarded as depictive of sex. In marriage lessons, the waist is heavily used as a symbol of sex and sex is a major topic. The couple intending to marry, especially the woman, receives detailed teaching about sex, which is also regarded as one of the major pillars of marriage. In teaching against sexual abuse and domestic violence, the couple is advised to enjoy sex as much as they want to because they own it but they are warned never to endanger or temper with each other's life because they do not own life.

81. Cili kululu ciliye mwine.

a. ci-li ku-lulu ci-li-ye mu-ine
cl7-be cl17-up cl7-be-NEG cl1-owner

b. What is up has no owner.

c. You claim ownership of what you physically (legally) have.

d. You own what you physically have, I do not physically have it, so I do not own it.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Ownership is only defined by what can be physically touched and located in space on the ground. Thus, even though traditional leaders are custodians of land in general they cannot claim ownership of anything that is in the air such as air space itself and birds of the air. The proverb is used to people that claim ownership of things that are not yet theirs preventing others from laying claim on them. For example, an unmarried woman can only be somebody's wife when she is actually married.

82. Cili kumuyako ulaŵila kuti cikate mapondo.

a. ci-li ku-mu-i-ako u-ku-laŵil-a ku-ti ci-kat-e
cl7-be cl17-cl1-cl1-friend 2s-GP-speak-FV INFM-say cl7-hold-FV
ma-pondo
cl6-horn

b. You encourage your friend to hold what s/he faces by its horns.

c. Someone's problems are always seen as lighter.

d. A problem is something that I am experiencing, I am not experiencing it, so it is not a problem.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Holding animals by its horns is a picture of bravery among Nsenga people. Animals with horns are usually considered dangerous as they can attack by horns. However, it is easier to advise your friend to hold an animal by its horns than to do it yourself.

83. Cili tyala bwino ndiye civimbisha nkhokola.

a. ci-li tyala bwino ndi-ye ci-i-vimb-ish-a n-khokola
cl7-be only good COP-EMPH cl7-PAST-swell-CAUS-FV cl9-knee

b. Saying "it's okay" is what caused the knee to swell.

c. Procrastination breeds problems.

d. Procrastination causes problems; she is procrastinating, so she will have problems.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A knee like any other part of the body is very important. However, in rural areas the surest way of transportation is by foot. Many people cannot afford even a bicycle and there is usually no other reliable mode of transportation. A person in many cases looking for daily (food) supplies has to move daily even when they are ill or sick. Unfortunately, a knee problem usually grounds people to their homes making their lives more miserable than

when affected by other illnesses, which can allow them to move. There is also a tendency for many people to ignore signs or symptoms of diseases. They wait until a situation worsens in order to seek medical support. The knee in this case can turn into a bad situation. In this manner, it is advised to immediately seek help once there is a sign of pain. The proverb refers to real life situations where people are advised never to wait until situations turn worse in order to put up corrective measures.

84. Cilungamo cumvwika lini ngako koma wenye umvwika patali.
    a. ci-lungamo ci-ku-mvw-ik-a lini ngako koma u-enye
       cl7-truth cl7-GP-hear-POT-FV NEG much CNJ cl14-lies
       u-ku-mvw-ik-a pa-tali
       cl14-GP-hear-POT-FV cl16-far
    b. Lies spread further than the truth.
    c. Lies are more appealing than the truth.
    d. The truth should sound as good as good news to spread, it does not sound good, so it is not good news to spread.
    e. MTT/Major/VUS
    f. As it is common to humans, people prefer to listen to lies than the truth. While the truth lays facts as they are, lies tend to manipulate facts in order to suit the listeners' feelings and emotions. Consequently, lies are more appealing than the truth. In this manner, lies spread further than the truth.

85. Cilungamo sicumvwika pacalo.
    a. ci-lungamo si-ci-ku-mvw-ik-a pa-ci-alo
       cl7-truth NEG-cl7-GP-hear-POT-FV cl16-cl7-earth
    b. Nobody listens to the truth.
    c. Lies are more appealing than truth.
    d. The truth should sound as good as good news to spread, it does not sound good, so it is not good news to spread.
    e. MTT/Major/VUS
    f. As a fact, the truth is usually less appealing than lies. In many situations, people prefer to hear something else other than the reality of the truth.

86. Cimbwi akapona mumbwina solaŵila kanthu.
    a. Ø-cimbwi a-ka-pon-a mu-n-bwina si-a-ku-laŵil-a
       cl1a-hyena cl1-CND-fall-FV cl18-cl9-pit.trap NEG-cl1-GP-talk-FV

ka-nthu
cl12-thing

b. A hyena does not say anything when it is trapped.
c. A guilty person understands misfortune as punishment for wrongdoing.
d. If he is guilty then he should show remorse, he does not show remorse, so he is not guilty.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. One of the methods of hunting animals is digging a deep pit and disguising its surface. Thus unsuspecting animals fall into the pit while trying to get the bait. The same method is also used to trap hyenas when they steal live livestock. It is believed that once a hyena falls into the pit it keeps quiet as a sign of remorse and a way of taking responsibility for its actions.

87. Cimbwi aliye citinthi pamwana wamuyake.

a. Ø-cimbwi a-li-ye ci-tinthi pa-mu-ana u-a mu-yake
cl1a-hyena cl1-be-NEG cl7-mercy cl16-cl1-child cl1-GEN cl1-friend
b. A hyena has no mercy on another's child.
c. Witches have no mercy for people who are not relatives.
d. A witch has no mercy on a non-relative; I am not a relative of the witch, so the witch will bewitch me.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Hyenas are considered as merciless animals. They are therefore associated with witchcraft. It is believed that witches use hyenas for transportation at night.

88. Cimbwi ecifwa na kutangaza.

a. Ø-cimbwi a-ici-fu-a na ku-tangaz-a
cl1a-hyena cl1-PAST-die-FV CNJ INFM-legs.apart-FV
b. A hyena died by getting its legs apart.
c. You cannot serve two masters at a time. Greed and selfishness has bad consequences.
d. If you are alone you can only attend to one thing at once, it is not one thing, so I cannot attend to them at once.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. A hyena is a very popular animal in folktales. It Is usually a villain associated with failure, cowardice and bad luck. It has a non-exemplary character. In real life hyenas leave near human communities to take

advantage of smaller size or weak livestock as easy prey. Hyenas are well known to take advantage of already hunted preys. They usually end up crushing bones because they do not usually hunt their own prey. The hyena is thought to be greedy because it does not want to share carcasses of prey even when it is not the one that killed. A hyena is believed to have characteristics that humans must never copy. Greed is one such characteristic. In this proverb, a situation is portrayed where a hyena is trying to eat two separate carcasses nearby at once. In trying to reach both carcasses, it injures itself or the other hyenas needing the same injure it.

89. Cimeta Nkhanga mpala cuziŵika lini.

a. ci-met-a n-khanga n-pala ci-ku-ziŵ-ik-a
cl7-cut.hair-FV cl9-guineafowl cl9-baldhead cl7-GP-know-POT-FV
lini
NEG

b. What made the guineafowl bald headed is not known.

c. Do not ridicule people in problems, as you may not know what was the cause.

d. If you do not know the cause of the problem then you should not judge, I do not know what caused the problem, so I should not judge.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A guineafowl has a big bald area on the head. Nsengas believe that a guineafowl was originally covered with fur or feathers all around its head but it lost it later.

90. Cimuti cikapona musili ukumvwa kuŵaŵa.

a. ci-mu-ti ci-ka-pon-a mu-sili u-ku-mvw-a ku-ŵaŵ-a
cl7-cl3-tree cl7-CND-fall-FV cl3-earth cl3-GP-feel-FV INFM-pain-FV

b. When a tree falls it is the earth on the ground that feels the pain.

c. The parent feels the death of a child.

d. Something dead cannot feel anything, it is dead, so it cannot feel anything.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Trees fall for various reasons. When big trees fall the big noise on impact is always fascinating. Trees fall because they are cut for shifting cultivation or because of strong winds and whirlwinds. The impact on the ground also leaves marks on the earth. Sometimes the vegetation on the ground is damaged.

91. Cimuti cikulu cikapona cumvwika.
    a. ci-muti ci-kulu ci-ka-pon-a ci-ku-mvw-ik-a
       cl7-tree cl7-big cl7-CND-fall-FV cl7-GP-hear-POT-FV
    b. You can easily hear the sound of a falling big tree.
    c. Anything concerning a public figure is public matter.
    d. What a public figure says should be treated as public matter; a public figure has said something, so it is public matter.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Naturally, when a big tree falls it makes a lot of noise that usually attracts people. The big tree stands for a public figure in the proverb.

92. Cimuti cisawêlama cuthyoka na mphepo.
    a. ci-muti ci-sa-wêlam-a ci-kuthyok-a na n-phepo
       cl7-tree cl7-NEG-bend.down-FV cl7-GP-break-FV CNJ cl9-air
    b. Wind breaks a tree that does not bend.
    c. Be flexible in some situations.
    d. If something is stiff then it can break when you apply force, It is stiff, so it will break if apply force.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. By general phenomena, trees shake when it is windy. They stand undamaged as long as they are flexible bending towards the direction of wind. However, trees that cannot bend as much as the wind blows break. A tree that does not bend represents a rigid person.

93. Cimuti ciweme sucucelwa kutendewa.
    a. ci-muti ci-weme si-ci-ku-celw-a ku-tend-iw-a
       cl7-tree cl7-good NEG-cl7-GP-be.late-FV INFM-cut-PASS-FV
    b. A good tree easily gets cut.
    c. Jealousy people can bring down good people.
    d. If a tree (person) is good then it (s/he) can be cut (killed) for specific purposes (jealousy), It (s/he) is a good tree (good person), so it (s/he) will be cut (killed).
    e. MPP/Conclusion/VUS
    f. Nsenga people look for trees in the bush for various uses. Some of the uses are building houses, barns, toilets, bathrooms, fences and bridges among other things. Thus, people look for trees with appropriate shapes. The proverb is also used in reference to a good-looking woman who gets

several love or marriage proposals. The proverb meaning is also extended in reference to beautiful women who end up having several relationships with men and thereby contract fata sexually transmitted diseases.

94. Cimuti cowêlama cukanga kuwînula.

a. ci-mu-ti ci-a ku-wêlam-a ci-ku-kang-a
cl7-cl3-tree cl7-GEN INFM-bend.down-FV cl7-GP-fail-FV
ku-wînul-a
INFM-straighten-FV

b. You cannot straighten up a bend tree.

c. It is difficult to correct old people's behavior.

d. If something is stiff then it can break when you apply force, It is stiff, so it will break if apply force.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. As observed from nature, you cannot straighten up a fully-grown bend tree because it breaks. This is likened to trying to correct the behavior of a grown person. It is advisable to correct a person's behavior while s/he is still young.

95. Cimuti cuwila kwa cawêlamila.

a. ci-muti ci-ku-w-il-a ku-a ci-a-wêlam-il-a
cl7-tree cl7-GP-fall-APP-FV cl17-GEN cl7-PERF-bend-APP-FV

b. A tree falls on the side where it inclines.

c. Reasons for a person's fall are not strange to the victim.

d. If a tree (person) is tilted (has issues) then it falls in the direction it tilts, there is a tilted tree (person with issues), so it will fall in the direction it tilts when it is cut (be brought down by ones issues).

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. By common knowledge, a tree falls on the side where it inclines. Like a tree. People fall from places of prominence because of certain common practices most of which are bad habits. Thus, there is always a reason for a person fall.

96. Cinthu cingakucinjilizye cuoneka na maonekedwe wake.

a. ci-nthu ci-nga-ku-cinjilizy-e ci-ku-on-ik-a na
cl7-thing cl7-MOD-2s-protect-FV cl7-GP-see-POT-FV CNJ

ma-on-ik-idwe ŵa-ake
cl6-see-POT-MDS cl6-3sPOS

b. Something that can protect you can be deduced from its appearance.
c. You can tell a good person by his/her character.
d. A good person behaves in a particular way, s/he is not behaving in a particular way, so s/he is not a good person.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. People often make a correlation between physical appearance and one's behavior or capabilities. For instance, a huge person is usually thought to be strong although that might not always be the case. Some people are just full of fat rather than muscle. The type of clothing one wears is also indicative of the person's social, political, and economic class. In this manner, people tend to use appearance as the first criterion in judging ones behavior. This criterion also plays an important role when somebody is looking for a marriage partner. Social and economic security is an important matter, especially for women, in deciding a marriage partner. Thus, both appearance and behavior are key in choosing a partner.

97. Cinthu cozyamika ciliye mtendele.
a. ci-nthu ci-a ku-zyamik-a ci-li-ye mu-tendele
cl7-thing cl7-GEN INFM-FV cl7-be-NEG cl3-peace
b. You have no peace over a borrowed item.
c. You cannot be content with borrowed things.
d. You cannot be content with a borrowed item, I have a borrowed item, so I cannot be content with it.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsengas prefer to be self-reliant in many areas. However, since nobody owns everything there are always situations when one has to borrow. However, once you borrow the owner can request it at any moment.

98. Cinthu utola kumuyako.
a. ci-nthu u-ku-tol-a ku-mu-i-ako
cl7-thing 2s-GP-get-FV cl17-cl1-cl1-friend
b. You can only get something from a friend.
c. You can only borrow when you get consent from the owner.
d. A thief gets something without consent from somebody, s/he has gotten something without consent from somebody, so s/he is a thief.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Friendship is regarded as blood relationship among Nsengas. All people live in various networks of personal friendships. Friends also share many things. It is also normal to pick up something for use at a friend's place even in his/her absence. However, doing so at a stranger's house is regarded as theft.

99. Cinyama cukuziŵa cingakulye lini kukusilizyilatu.

a. ci-n-yama ci-ku-ku-ziŵ-a ci-nga-ku-ly-e lini
cl7-cl9-animal cl7-GP-1s-know-FV cl7-MOD-2s-eat-FV NEG
ku-kusilizy-ilil-a-tu
INFM-1s-finish-CMP-PTC

b. An animal that knows you cannot eat you up completely.

c. It is better to have friends than strangers that might never come to your aid.

d. A friend cannot cause your complete downfall, she is a friend, so she cannot cause my complete downfall.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. There has always been conflict between animals and human beings. The Nsenga area is very close to the game parks. Some areas are within game reserve areas. Instances of human beings being attacked by wild animals are numerous. Usually an attack by wild animals ends fatal. There are also attacks by domestic animals such as cattle and pigs but the instances are very rare and very rarely fatal. Thus, a domestic animal, which knows the owner, is very unlikely to cause fatal damage on the owner as compared to a wild animal that has little contact with human beings. Likewise, human beings that know each other or are related to each other, treat each other with fondness, leniency and tolerance. On the other hand, you do not expect the same from strangers.

100. Cipanda ca walwa ciulula vinthu.

a. ci-panda ci-a Ø-walwa ci-i-ulul-a vi-nthu
cl7-calabash cl7-GEN cl5a-beer cl7-PAST-reveal-FV cl8-thing

b. A calabash of beer revealed things.

c. Do not share secretes with a drunkard because they speak anyhow once they are drunk and they cannot therefore keep secretes.

d. A drunkard can reveal secrets under the influence of alcohol, he is drunk, so he can reveal secrets.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A calabash is a traditional beer cup. It is well known, as there are many beer drinkers in Nsenga society. The calabash, made from plant products, is said to add a flavor to traditional beer. As a result, people prefer to use the traditional calabash instead of the modern metal or plastic cup. One characteristic of a person who is drunk is to speak about things anyhow and openly some of which could be sensitive and private matters. Thus people are warned to be careful when they set themselves to drink as they risk revealing secrets when they get drunk. Over all, a drunken person is careless with speech.

101. Cipili mukamuyamba oluma.

a. Ø-cipili mu-ka-mu-yamb-a a-ku-lum-a
cl1a-puff.adder 2p-CND-cl1-provoke-FV cl1-GP-bite-FV

b. A puff adder bites once you provoke it.

c. A reserved person can react once provoked.

d. A reserved person does not get provoked, she is reserved, so she cannot get provoked.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A puff adder is a common snake in Nsenga land. It usually does not attack human beings unless one provokes it in most cases by unknowingly stepping on it. It has very poisonous venom that is usually produced in large amounts and which usually causes fatalities. The snake also likes basking in footpaths and sitting quietly when approached resulting in many accidents with humans.

102. Cipili waluma ng'anga.

a. Ø-cipili u-a-lum-a n-ng'anga
cl1a-puff.adder cl1-PERF-bite-FV cl 9-witch.doctor

b. A puff adder has beaten a witch doctor.

c. When a benefactor gets incapacitated it is ordinary people that suffer.

d. When a benefactor is incapacitated ordinary people suffer, a benefactor has died, so the dependents are going to suffer.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Witch doctors who provide medical care to many people who cannot afford access to modern medicine claim that they can heal or treat any disease or medical condition. However, even witch doctors do not normally survive a

puff adder's bite. The expression is also used to refer to situations where a witch doctor or traditional healer falls sick and fails to go into the bush to look for traditional medicine. On the other hand, the same proverb can be used to refer ease people anxieties because the person who suffers the bite is a doctor who can heal him/herself.

103. Civungula caniponela.
   a. ci-vungula ci-a-ni-pon-il-a
      cl7-sausage.tree cl7-PERF-1s-fall-APP-FV
   b. The sausage tree fruit has fallen on me.
   c. When an attempt at success turns disastrous fate can be the cause.
   d. If an attempt at success turns disastrous then there must be a cause, if the cause is not known, then fate can be the cause, there is a disaster whose cause is not known, so it is bad fate that could have caused it.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. The sausage tree fruit is used as penis enlargement charms among Nsenga people. Part of the procedure is that a piece of a new sausage tree fruit is cut and the rest is observed for some time as it grows. When the cut piece grows to a desirable size of a penis, it is cut down completely. The belief is that one's penis will grow as big as the size of the fruit before it is cut. However, if the fruit falls to the ground by itself, it is believed that the person is going to be impotent. The falling is regarded as one's loss of potency.

104. Ciwamewame ca ciku mukati muli nyelele.
   a. ci-wam-e-wam-e ci-a Ø-ciku mu-kati
      cl7-be.good-FV-be.good-FV cl7-GEN cl1a-fig.tree cl18-insde
      mu-li n-nyelele
      cl18-be cl9-ant
   b. Though beautiful, the fig tree has ants inside.
   c. Do not judge something by its appearance.
   d. A good thing usually appears good, it is appearing good, so it is a good thing.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. A fig tree is a very important tree among Nsengas. It is used for medicine purposes as well providing good shade. The fruit is also edible. A fig tree is also used as a locator of a low water table for digging wells. It is believed

that the tree only grows in areas where there is a low water table or dambo areas. Because of its crisscrossing network of surface roots and appearance, it is always adorable to Nsengas. The tree, which usually has a big tree trunk usually, has a big hole inside where you can easily find ants and sometimes ants are found in the fruit.

105. Ciŵelele eceuka m'pini uli m'mutu.

a. Ø-ŵelele a-i-ceuk-a mu-pini
cl1a-velvet.monkey cl1-PAST-turn.head-FV cl3-wooden.handle
u-li mu-mu-tu
cl3-be cl18-cl3-head

b. A velvet monkey turned its head with a wooden handle in its head.

c. A person who does not take the advice or counsel of others will only realize it when it is too late to get out of trouble.

d. A person who does not take the advice or counsel of others will only realize it when it is too late to get out of trouble, he does not take counsel, so he will realize it when it's too late.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A velvet monkey's distinguishing characteristic is that it walks alone and you do not find it in any groups. In this proverb, a velvet monkey represents a person who is self-centered and does not take advice from others. This person believes s/he can do everything on his/her own. A velvet monkey has the behavior of eating maize from people's farms. The assumption is that since it moves alone, it has no friend to warn it in times of danger.

106. Ciŵinda efwila kumfuti.

a. ci-ŵinda a-i-fu-il-a ku-n-futi
cl1a-hunter cl1-PAST-die-APP-FV cl17-cl9-gun

b. A hunter died by his/her gun.

c. Your habits normally lead to your fall.

d. Your habits normally lead to your fall, you have bad habits, so they will lead to your fall.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Traditional hunting in Nsenga land was usually by use dogs and traps. However, in the early 19th century many hunters acquired the technology of making guns known as muzzleloaders. Many hunters have died from

accidents resulting from either malfunctions of the guns or human error by unknowingly shooting other human beings whilst aiming at wildlife. Sometimes hunters would also kill each other once conflict arose. Recently, there has been a big conflict between hunters (poachers) and game guards protecting wildlife from extinction.

107. Ciyankheyankhe kapontha emela mbezo.
   a. ci-yankh-e-yankh-e mu-lamba a-i-mel-a
      cl7-catch-FV-cl7-catch-FV cl3-barbel.fish cl1-PAST-swallow-FV
      n-bezo
      cl9-hook
   b. Having anything that comes your way is dangerous just as the barbel fish swallowed a hook hidden in bait.
   c. One must be selective in life.
   d. If you are not selective you get irrelevant things, she is not selective, so she gets irrelevant things.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. A barbel fish is considered as an always-hungry fish that eats anything that comes its way. Thus, humans use any type of bait to catch the fish which is a popular delicacy among Nsengas. It is therefore an easy fish to catch by even armature anglers.

108. Ciyofya nkhwiŵa.
   a. ci-i-yop-ish-a n-khwiŵa
      cl7-PAST-fear-CAUS-FV 9-gazelle
   b. It frightened a gazelle.
   c. Not anything that frightens a fearful person can be taken seriously.
   d. A harmless thing can frighten a person who gets frightened by anything, the person has been frightened, so he has been frightened by a harmless thing.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Gazelles are one of the commonly hunted animals among Nsenga people. A gazelle is believed to be a fearful animal. Therefore, not anything that can frighten it must be taken seriously. The proverb is used for situations that appear scary but are not.

109. Congololo opwasika lini mafuta paŵanthu.
   a. Ø-congololo a-ku-pwasik-a lini ma-futa
      cl1a-*Chongololo* cl1-GP-apply.on.body-FV NEG cl6-oil
      pa-ŵa-nthu
      cl16-cl2-peron
   b. A *Chongololo* does not apply oil in the presence of people.
   c. Do not boast about yourself in people's presence.
   d. You should show off when you are in private, I am not in private, so I should not show off.
   e. MTT/Conclusion/VS
   f. A *Chongololo* is a giant African millipede (Scaphiostreptus parilis acuticonus) that emerges after the first rains have moistened the soil and curls into a tight protective ball when disturbed. They are in many types and most of them have a very shiny shell. It usually gives an impression of a person who has just applied lotion or body oil.

110. Cosimikila kuti kuli teti osayako.
   a. ci-a ku-simik-il-a ku-ti ku-li teti
      cl7-GEN INFM-narrate-APP-FV INFM-say cl17-be PRN
      a-ku-sa-yak-o
      cl1-GP-NEG-go-FV
   b. Do not believe a narrated experience.
   c. A narrated story is not better than personal experience.
   d. A narrated story is not better than personal experience, it is a narrated story, so it is not better than personal experience.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Since many Nsenga people have a tendency to exaggerate facts, it is always advisable to get the facts in person. Thus, it is believed that a narrated story is never better than personal experience.

111. Coziponela ni kupunsha lini.
   a. ci-a ku-zi-pon-il-a ni ku-punsh-a lini
      cl7-GEN INFM-REF-fall-APP-FV COP INFM-steel-FV NEG
   b. Picking something dropped by an unknown person is not stealing.
   c. You cannot accuse a person who has picked up a dropped or lost parcel of theft.

d. A person steals if s/he gets something without permission, he has not gotten something without permission, so he has not stolen.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Dropping things especially from pockets is something very common. Likewise, it is also common to pick up things that an unknown person has dropped. One thing that usually drops from pockets is money. Usually people do not feel guilty of picking up something fallen (lost) by itself, as it is regarded to have no owner. Thus, it advised one not to accuse another person of theft for picking up a lost item (that fell by itself from a pocket).

112. Cozyamika ciliye ulamulilo.
a. ci-a ku-zyamik-a ci-li-ye u-lamulilo
cl7-GEN INFM-borrow-FV cl7-be-NEG cl14-authority
b. You have no authority over a borrowed item.
c. You have no authority over a borrowed item.
d. You have no authority over a borrowed item, I have a borrowed item, so I have no authority over it.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Nsengas prefer to be self-reliant in many areas. However, since nobody owns everything there are always situations when one has to borrow. However, once you borrow only the owner can make any decisions about the borrowed item. In other words, one has no authority over a borrowed item.

113. Cukonda anyina na ŵana.
a. ci-a ku-kond-a a-nyina na ŵa-ana
cl7-GEN INFM-like-FV cl2-mother CNJ cl2-child
b. What likes the mother likes the children too.
c. You cannot love the mother and hate her children even if you are not their biological father.
d. If you love a woman and If she has a child from someone else, then you should love them both. If you love a woman, then If she has a child from someone else then you should love them both.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. One is usually said to like a particular animal if they are able to or they eat that animal as food. If one eats older (big) animals it is most likely that one will also eat the young (small) ones. Likewise, if one is able to eat a parent

animal, they can also eat the offspring. It is very unlikely that one would like (eat) the parent and fail to eat the offspring. This proverb refers to instances where a man wants to marry a woman who already has children. It is advisable for a man to treat those children in a similar way that he treats the mother.

114. Cukukonkha naluŵilo nawe cikonkhe naluŵiro.

a. ci-a ku-ku-konkh-a na Ø-luŵilo na-iwe
cl7-GEN INFM-2s-follow-FV CNJ cl5a-speed CNJ-2s
ci-konkh-e na Ø-luŵilo
cl7-follow-FV CNJ cl5a-speed

b. What follows you by speed should also be followed by speed.

c. Treat other people with equality. "Do to others as you would have them do to you."

d. If you want good treatment then you should also treat others well, I am treating others well, so I will get good treatment.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. This is an equivalent of the biblical proverb "Do to others as you would have them do to you" (Bible: Luke 6:31). This proverb encourages people to treat each other with equality.

115. Cukulisha mkoka ni kulya.

a. ci-a ku-kul-ish-a mu-koka ni ku-ly-a
cl7-GEN INFM-big-CAUS-FV cl3-clan COP INFM-eat-FV

b. What makes the clan grow big is eating.

c. Food security is the engine of development.

d. Food security is the engine of development, there is food security, so there will be development.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A clan is a fundamentally important aspect of the Nsenga tribe. All Nsenga communities are traditionally organized into clans. Every member is encouraged and taught to live by the tenets and principles of the clan. One is expected to know a long line of ancestral lineage and take care of the members of the clan without segregation and unfairness. One aspect that is expected of every person is to share any amount of food with clan members that are in need. In rural societies, generosity is usually measured by how generous one is with food. Food is a symbol of prosperity in the rural areas

where food is also about the only symbol of economic status. It is believed that a clan can grow well if it has a good supply of food. It is also very encouraged to be generous with food to visitors who may intern become friends and live like members of the clan.

116. Cukulya fupa cukatilila.

a.	ci-a	ku-ku-ly-a	Ø-fupa	ci-ku-kat-ilil-a
	cl7-GEN	INFM-FPR-eat-FV	cl5a-bone	cl7-GP-hold-PER-FV

b. What eats a bone holds it firmly.
c. Hard work yields success.
d. Hard work can lead to success, I am a hard worker, so I will succeed.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Meat has always been people's favorite for many centuries. Many Nsenga communities live in areas close to game areas and in the near past anybody could hunt animals for food. In fact, game parks are a recent development. In recent days, only domestic animals are major supplies of meat due to conservation strategies and laws. One thing that a Nsenga person enjoys is to leak and sometimes crush bones with teeth. In order to eat a bone one has to use a lot of effort and hold the bone firmly to avoid it slipping off the hands and most likely heating another person at the eating-place. The proverb is used to teach success. In teaching success, people are encouraged to work hard and concentrate just as a bone-eating person does.

117. Cukumyangula cufuna kukumela.

a.	ci-a	ku-ku-myang-ul-a	ci-ku-fun-a	ku-ku-mel-a
	cl7-GEN	INFM-2s-lick-REV-FV	cl7-GP-want-FV	INFM-2s-swallow-FV

b. What leaks you wants to swallow you.
c. People that seem good friends to you can injure you.
d. People that seem good friends to you can injure you, they seem good to me, so they will injure me.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. This proverb is most likely taken from the behavior of a python that leaks off its prey before it literally swallows it. In leaking as dogs do to humans (like humans kiss each other) is considered to be an affectionate gesture. Thus, it startles humans to notice a python leak its prey before eating. A python leaks its prey to make it easier for it to swallow, as it does not chew. Another possible situation behind the proverb is the behavior between big

pets and human beings. For instance, a dog leaks its owner as a sign of fondness but sometimes the same dog can bite. A result, there is always need to treat an animal as one all the time to avoid injury.

118. Cuma ca m'munzi ocisunga na oziŵika.
    a. ci-uma ci-a mu-mu-nzi a-ku-ci-sung-a na
    7-wealth cl7-GEN cl16-3-village/community cl1-GP-keep-FV CNJ
    a-ku-ziŵ-ik-a
    cl1-GP-know-POT-FV
    b. Wealth in the village/community is banked with those that are known.
    c. Do not trust strangers.
    d. You trust someone you know, I do not know her, so I cannot trust her.
    e. MTT/Major/VS
    f. In the rural villages/communities there are usually no banks. People usually keep their money hidden somewhere in the house. For those people that cannot trust themselves to keep their own money, they usually look for a known and trustworthy person to bank/save their money with him/her. No one can risk one's money by keeping it with an unknown person or a person whose trustworthiness is not known.

119. Cuma ni m'cila wa mbeŵa.
    a. ci-uma ni mu-cila u-a n-beŵa
    cl7-wealth COP cl3-tail cl3-GEN cl9-mouse
    b. Wealth is like a mouse's tail.
    c. Wealth should be taken care of as it can easily be lost.
    d. If something is fragile then it must be well taken care of, wealth is fragile, so I must well take care of it.
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. When catching mice one needs to avoid holding them by the tail. The tail easily peels its skin thereby letting the mouse or rat run without being caught. As a result, a person only remains with the skin in the hands.

120. Cunikanga kutula.
    a. ci-ku-ni-kang-a ku-tul-a
    cl7-GP-1s-fail-FV INFM-unload.from.head-FV
    b. I cannot unload it from my heard.
    c. A problem shared is a problem solved.

d. If I share my problems then someone can get to help me, I have not shared my problem, so no one might help me.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Nsenga people carry heavy loads on their heads. Sometimes the loads are too heavy that one needs help to load and unload. The picture of a person asking another person to help unload luggage from the head is taken as good example of what a person with a difficult problem must do. Nsengas encourage people never to keep problems to themselves in order to solve them.

121. Cutalimfya njila ni mayendedwe.
a. ci-ku-talimph-ish-a n-jila ni ma-yend-idwe
cl7-GP-tall-CAUS-FV cl9-road COP cl6-walk-MDS
b. What makes the road long is the mode of transport.
c. Your choices can delay your success.
d. If I make a bad choice then my success can be affected, I have made a bad choice, so my success might be affected.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. As indicated for the proverb "Cili tyala bwino ndiye cevimbisha nkhokola", in rural areas the most sure way of transportation is by foot. Many people cannot afford even a bicycle and there is usually no other reliable mode of transport. Vehicles are usually found in townships. In order to be faster and sometimes to avoid getting very tired, one needs to (1) know and use shortcuts that exist in the location; (2) walk quickly; and (3) use a faster mode of transport such as a bicycle, ox-drawn wagons and/or vehicles where and rarely available.

122. Cuwamila mbuzi kukonya imbwa.
a. ci-ku-wan-il-a n-buzi ku-kony-a in-bwa
cl7-GP-good-APP-FV cl9-goat INFM-hit.by.horn-FV cl9-dog
b. It is good for the goat to hit a dog but not the other way round.
c. Rules and laws must be equitably applied to all people.
d. A law applies to every human being, I am a human being, so the law must apply to me too.
e. PF/Major/C
f. Goats and dogs are both popular animals kept by Nsenga people. Goats are used for meat and as sources of income and sometimes milk. Dogs are

generally used for security and hunting and rarely as mere pets. Sometimes dogs get wild and hunt goats for food. Such dogs are labeled as mad and usually killed. No one would however punish a goat for attacking a dog because such is thought to be unlikely fatal.

123. Cuwamila ŵeve kulya paweme.
   a. ci-ku-wam-il-a ŵa-eve ku-ly-a pa-weme
      cl7-GP-good-APP-FV cl2-3PRN INFM-eat-FV cl16-good
   b. It's always good for them and not others to eat good food.
   c. Selfish people do not like to see others prosper.
   d. It is a good life if I am the one experiencing it, I am not experiencing it, so it is not a good life.
   e. TF/Major/UCW
   f. Eating well is usually associated with a good life. Since Nsengas rely on agriculture for their economy, food security is regarded as an economic status symbol. As a social society however, people are encouraged to share especially food. Thus, it is regarded as highest form of selfishness to deny someone food.

124. Cuŵaŵa ni mwine okumvwa.
   a. ci-a ku-ŵaŵ-a ni mu-ine a-ku-mvw-a
      cl7-GEN INFM-pain-FV COP cl1-POS cl1-GP-hear-FV
   b. The victim feels the pain.
   c. You cannot fully understand someone else's experience.
   d. You can only understand something you have experienced, I have not experienced it, so I cannot understand it.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. Usually when a person is sick or ill, it shows physically by some symptom or appearance. However, there are many instances where someone feels pain, which cannot be visibly noticed by others. It is therefore encouraged to believe a person who claims to be sick or ill by face value or by their word.

125. Dyela yupaisha.
   a. Ø-dyela i-ku-pay-ish-a
      cl5a-overindulgence cl5-GP-kill-CAUS-FV
   b. Over indulgence into pleasures of life can cause death.

c. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause death.
d. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause death, you over indulge, so you might die.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause death. Many stories are told of people who went out to party and get involved in illicit behavior but never returned home until it was late in the night. On their way, back they were attacked by criminals and killed.

126. Ecilya imbwa munthu woyendayenda.
a. a-ici-ly-a in-bwa mu-nthu u-a
cl1-PAST-eat-FV cl9-dog cl1-person cl1-GEN
ku-yend-a-yend-a
INFM-walk-FV-walk-FV
b. An aimless traveler ate a dog.
c. It is dangerous to live aimlessly.
d. Living an aimless life can cause you problems, she is living an aimless life, so she might get into problems.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Eating dog meat is almost considered a taboo among Nsengas. A dog is only considered as a human's close animal companion and never thought of as a source of meat. It is therefore only possible for someone to unknowingly eat dog meat in foreign land.

127. Eciyolaŵila etila na munyu.
a. a-ici-y-a ku-laŵil-a a-i-til-a na mu-nyu
cl1-PAST-go-FV INFM-talk-FV cl1-pore-FV CNJ cl3-salt
b. He went to speak and added salt.
c. To exaggerate facts.
d. If you tell a story in order to make it very interesting then you are not telling facts, he is telling an interesting story, so he is not telling facts.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Many people have a tendency to exaggerate facts of a story in order to make it more interesting when narrating. Nsenga people are said to be good at exaggerating stories. The habit is referred to as adding salt to relish in order making it tasty.

128. Efumila pawindo.
   a. a-i-fum-il-a pa-Ø-windo
      cl1-PAST-go.out-APP-FV cl16-cl5a-window
   b. S/he went out through the window.
   c. S/he dropped out of school.
   d. The owner of the house uses the door to exit the house, he has not exited from the door, so he is not the owner.
   e. MTT/Minor/VUS
   f. An image of a person going out through the window from the classroom is an image of a school dropout. It represents getting out of the school system prematurely because of other reasons other than normal graduation.

129. Etamana citute polyesha ŵana.
   a. a-i-taman-a Ø-citute pa-ku-ly-ish-a
      cl1-PAST-suffer-FV cl1a-steatomys.pratensis cl16-GP-eat-CAUS-FV
      ŵa-ana
      cl2-child
   b. A steatomys pratensis mouse suffered when feeding its children.
   c. While people may talk about a rich person, s/he suffered working hard alone in order to succeed.
   d. You can only understand something you have experienced, I have not experienced it, so I cannot understand it.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. A Steatomys pratensis mouse is one of the kinds of mice eaten by Nsenga people. It is on average bigger in size than most mice and it is usually found with food in the mouth once killed. It also has big chicks, which give people the impression that it eats a lot. Thus, it is expected the parent mouse must have a lot of work feeding its offspring.

130. Etolela mukuzyamika.
   a. a-tol-il-a mu-ku-zyamik-a
      cl1-PAST-get-APP-FV cl18-GP-borrow-FV
   b. S/he got by borrowing.
   c. You must return what you have borrowed.
   d. A borrowed item must be returned, I have borrowed, so I must return.
   e. MPP/Major/VS

f. While begging by the underprivileged is allowed among Nsengas, people who beg must explicitly say so. If one borrows, it is expected that s/he must return. There are however people who feel shy to beg and get things in the name of begging.

131. Fulu akalya oziŵa eka kuti nakuta.

a. Ø-fulu a-ka-ly-a a-ku-ziŵa a-eka ku-ti
cl1a-tortoise cl1-CND-eat-FV cl1-GP-know-FV cl1-alone INFM-say
ni-a-kut-a
1s-PERF-satisfied-FV

b. A tortoise knows by itself that it is satisfied.

c. Only an individual knows her/his innocence.

d. Only an individual knows her innocence, I am not her, so I do not know she's innocent.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. When a person or animal is satisfied after a meal sometimes the belly shows in size. However, a tortoise cannot be known whether it is full by its belly because of its hard shell that does not inflect. The proverb is said when nobody knows who the culprit is. However, the personal guilt can lead one to behavior that can be self-revealing.

132. Fupa yopatikizya mucinkhombe cifwaika cinkhombe.

a. Ø-fupa i-a ku-patikizy-a mu-ci-nkhombe
cl5a-bone cl5-GEN INFM-false-FV cl18-cl7-clay.pot
ci-i-fway-ik-a ci-nkhombe
cl7-PAST-break-POT-FV cl7-clay.pot

b. Forcing a bone into the clay pot broke the pot.

c. Forcing things can cause damage.

d. Forcing a bone (things) into a clay pot (in life situations) can cause the pot to break (problems), I am forcing the bone (things), so I can cause damage.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Many Nsenga people enjoy bone meat. However, sometimes people resort to bone meat as affordable meat. Bones need to be carefully put into clay pots as the pots can easily break.

133. Fupa yuukonda ndiye isiya nchena.

a. Ø-fupa i-a ku-kond-a ndi-ye i-i-siy-a
5a-bone cl5-GEN INFM-like-FV COP-EMPH cl5-PAST-leave-FV
n-chena
cl9-dental.gap

b. The bone that you like is what left a dental-gap.

c. Some habits can lead to problems.

d. Habits can lead to problems, I have a habit, so I may have a problem.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Crushing bones at meals is a common practice. Meat is actually a scarcity. As a result, not even a bone can be thrown out. In addition, many people find bones very testy when cooked together with steak. In order to crush bones, however, one needs to have very strong teeth. There are instances where people have lost teeth due to crushing bones. Such a situation is always regarded embarrassing and is not announced to save embarrassment. In fact, it is an embarrassment to have dental-gaps especially when one is young. The proverb is used to teach that what one likes doing is what can lead to one's fall. In other words, habits can determine one's fate.

134. Fwaka owama kupepeshana.

a. Ø-fwaka a-ku-wam-a ku-pep-ish-an-a
cl1a-tobbaco cl1-GP-good-FV INFM-smoke-CAUS-REC-FV

b. You enjoy tobacco when you share with friends.

c. Generosity must be reciprocated.

d. If you are generous then you must share, I do not share, so I am not generous.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Many people enjoy smoking tobacco. Sometimes tobacco can be scarce especially in the rainy season after stocks have run out. Thus, it is always advisable to share tobacco with others, as you would also be in need some other time.

135. Fwaka wako ni uli pamphuno wapamanja ni wamphepo.

a. Ø-fwaka u-ako ni u-li pa-n-phuno u-a
cl1-tobacco cl1-2sPOS COP cl1-be cl16-cl9-nose cl1-GEN
pa-ma-nja ni u-a n-phepo
cl16-cl6-hand COP cl1-GEN cl9-wind

b. Your tobacco is the one, which is on the nose; the one on the hand is for the wind.
c. Do not boast about opportunities you have not yet ceased.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Powdered tobacco sniffed through the nose is a common and popular type of tobacco for both men and women among the Nsengas. To sniff the tobacco, one simply puts it on the palm and uses the nose to sniff it in. In windy conditions, the powder can easily be blown off. This proverb is used to advise people who like boasting about things they have not yet accomplished. You cannot boast about having something before you actually have it. Just as the powdered tobacco on a palm can easily be blown off by the wind anytime, opportunities that you have not yet ceased can disappear.

136. Fwendela uko ni mung'anda.
a. fwendel-a u-ku-o ni mu-n-ng'anda
move-FV PRPR-cl17-DEM COP cl18-cl9-house
b. "Please move that side," is said in the house.
c. If you do not find peace in one area you are free to go elsewhere to start a new life.
d. If you are not at peace in one area then you can move to find peace elsewhere, I am not at peace, so I should move.
e. TF/Major/C
f. In a shared house with limited space, people share the same mat and bed or bed space. Sometimes space is so limited that people literally push each other in order to get more room to themselves. Politely, however, one simply asks the partner to move a little bit in order to leave some more space for the other.

137. Fweza imo oipikilapo lini.
a. Ø-fweza i-mo a-ku-i-pik-il-a-po lini
cl5a-fire.place.pillar cl5-one cl1-GP-cl5-cook-APP-FV-ENC NEG
b. You cannot cook on a fireplace made of one pillar.
c. There is strength in unity.

d. If there is unity then there is more than one, I am alone, so there can be no unity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. A traditional fireplace used for cooking is made of three blocks or supports. The blocks of similar height and size are arranged triangular with almost equal distance between them. The gaps between the blocks are filled with firewood up to three quarters the height of the blocks. The one-quarter space is left for ventilation once a pot is put on the fire in order for the fire to burn effectively. The blocks besides making an enclosure for the fire to burn are principally used to support the cooking pot. Whilst two blocks could be used, the pot is only stable and safe to use once it's supported by three blocks. One block is practically impossible to use.

138. Gaga mpaka na nsembe zake.

a. Ø-gaga	mpaka	na	n-sembe	zi-ake
cl1a-bran	until	CNJ	cl10-crushed.grain	cl10-3sPOS

b. Bran includes small grains.
c. All people count in a society.
d. All people count in a society, he is a person, so he counts.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Bran a product of either pounded maize or millet is an essential product to humans among Nsenga people. In times of abundance, it is used to feed livestock. However, in times of famine bran is also used as food for human beings. Bran is composed of both husks and partly ground grains. It is always difficult to completely separate husks from the small grains especially manually. This proverb is used to remind people that in a community everybody counts. Both the elders and the young are important and have a role to play. Just like as the one who has a bunch of money counts all denominations and coins all people must be considered important regardless of status.

139. Ici cawama ici cawama pusi epona cogadama.

a. i-ci	ci-a-wam-a	i-ci	ci-a-wam-a	
cl7-DEM	cl7-PERF-good-FV	cl7-DEM	cl7-PERF-good-FV	
Ø-pusi	a-i-pon-a	ci-a	ku-gadam-a	
cl1a-cat	cl1-PAST-fall-FV	cl7-GEN	INFM-lying.on.the.back-FV	

b. Thinking all things were good, the cat fell on its back.

c. You cannot own everything.
d. A person cannot own everything, I am a person, so I cannot own everything.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. A cat, one of the Nsenga people's favorite pets especially in keeping mice away, is known to never fall by its back. However, a cat that tries to catch several insects in the air can flip and fall by its back.

140. Ici ni cinji pakuti muli awîli.

a. i-ci	ni	ci-nji	pa-ku-ti	mu-li	a-wîli
cl7-DEM	COP	cl7-what	cl16-GP-say	2p-be	cl2-two

b. To ask "What's this" is only possible when there are two of you.
c. When you need information, you need others to ask.
d. If you are in need of information then you should ask somebody, I am in need of information, so I should ask somebody else.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Some tasks simply require communal help. It is therefore a normal practice for Nsenga people to ask for help within their communities without feeling shy.

141. Ika tonje mumatu.

a. ik-a	Ø-tonje	mu-ma-tu
put-FV	cl5a-cotton	cl18-cl6-ear

b. Put cotton into ears.
c. Censor some of the information that reaches you.
d. If not all information is necessary, then you needed to censor it, if it is censored then it should not be heard, so if the information is not necessary then it should not be heard.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
f. A human being is always advised to be selective with what s/he hears to avoid listening to unnecessary things. Thus putting cotton into the ears is a picture of censoring information.

142. Ikulilenji nzovu yunkhala pawîana.

a. i-kul-il-e-nji	n-zovu	i-ku-nkhal-a	pa-wîa-ana	
cl9-grow-APP-FV-PTC	cl9-elephant	cl9-GP-sit-FV	cl16-cl2-child	

b. How big an elephant that sits among children.
c. A big person should not behave like children.

d. A big person should not behave like children, he is not not behaving like children, so he is not a big person.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Elephants are part of the wildlife that in the olden days used to live very close to humans. Thus, anybody could easily meet the animals and enjoy their view. However, with the growing of human settlements and poaching problems animals have now been left to protect areas a bit far from humans. However, sometimes animals still come to places near humans. An elephant is always too big an animal to be seen with its offspring. It always amazes people to see an elephant with its offspring.

143. Ili luweme yewelela.
a. i-li luweme i-e-wel-il-a
cl5-be good cl5-PAST-come-APP-FV
b. The one that says "it's good" went back.
c. A good person who goes away always remembers the people s/he leaves behind.
d. A good person who goes away always remembers the people he/she leaves behind, he has not remembered the people he left, so he is not a good person.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Saying goodbye to especially friends and family members is always an emotional moment. It is always the wish of those remaining that the one leaving will always come back. If one does not come, it is interpreted negatively either to mean that the person does not like the place or people he or she is leaving behind or that the person leaving does not care about the people he or she leaves behind. In the interest of patriotism too, it is hoped that whoever goes away should come back to the place of birth. With industrialization, many people leave their birthplaces to look for work in town areas. Those that love their birthplaces always go back to settle there after retirement.

144. Imbwa ikulu suyupala patyala.
a. in-bwa i-kulu si-i-ku-pal-a pa-tyala
cl9-dog cl9-big NEG-cl9-GP-scrape-FV cl16-nothinng
b. An old dog does not scrape where there is nothing.
c. Old people's actions are not without purpose.

d. When an old person does something then it is important, the old man has done something, so it is important.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsenga people usually use trained dogs for hunting. Whilst all dogs have a habit of scraping on the ground, trained dogs usually scrape on a place where there is likely an animal hiding. This therefore gives a clue to the hunter.

145. Imbwa ilwendo yupeteka m'cila.
a. in-bwa i-lwendo i-ku-pet-ik-a mu-cila
cl9-dog cl9-stranger cl9-GP-fold-POT-FV cl3-tale
b. A strange dog folds its tail.
c. A stranger must be a reserved person.
d. If one is a stranger then he is reserved in foreign land, he is not reserved, so he is not a stranger.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. A dog that is a stranger does not wag its tail in the presence of local or home dogs. This is always observed when a visitor makes a visit with a dog. The dog folds its tail as though in respect of the visited dog. A dog that wags its tail when it is visiting is considered abnormal or not well trained. The proverb and situation is used to refer to one's behavior in foreign land or when visiting. A visitor or guest is expected to be humble and reserved in character.

146. Imbwa suyukanda patyala.
a. in-bwa si-i-ku-kand-a pa-tyala
cl9-dog NEG-cl9-GP-step-FV cl16-nothing
b. A dog does not step on nothing.
c. An old person does not talk about irrelevant things.
d. If one is an old person then what she says is important, the old woman has said something, so it is important.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsengas like using dogs for hunting. Trained hunting dogs usually give a signal to the hunter by scraping a place where an animal is likely to be hiding.

147. Imbwa yufyatila kwawene.

a. in-bwa i-ku-fyat-il-a ku-a wa-ine
cl9-dog cl9-GP-put.tail.between.legs-APP-FV cl17-GEN cl2-stranger

b. A dog puts its tail between its hind legs when it is in a new place.

c. Be unobtrusive in strange land.

d. If one is a stranger then he is reserved in foreign land, he is not reserved, so he is not a stranger.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga society, it is always advisable to be inconspicuous, reserved and humble in a strange place. One is also expected not to speak anyhow even if they are knowledgeable about anything. This characteristic is compared to a dog's behavior of putting its tail between hind legs when it is in unfamiliar environments. The proverb is meant for people that behave as if they are owners of a place when they are actually strangers. Such people are reminded to have a humble attitude.

148. Imfwa ya muyako ni cisilili.

a. in-fwa i-a mu-i-ako ni ci-silili
cl9-death cl9-GEN cl1-cl9-2sPOS COP cl7-folktale

b. The death of a friend is like a folktale.

c. You cannot fully understand someone else's experience.

d. A problem is something that I am experiencing, I am not experiencing it, so it is not a problem.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga traditional society like many African societies, folktales are always told as part of entertainment. It is always pleasurable to tell or listen to a folktale. However, an experience of loss of a family member is very painful and cannot be told like a folktale. It is also easy to talk about deaths in other families than it is to talk about death in your own family. In other words, family members feel more pain than outsiders do. This situation is used to talk about how some people feel about other people's problems. Problems appear to be lighter if they are on someone else. For this reason, it is advisable to respect other people in problems or to appreciate other people's problems.

149. Imfwa yupaya munthu yuyamba nanga ni njota.

a. in-fwa i-ku-pay-a mu-nthu i-ku-yamb-a nanga
cl9-death cl9-GP-kill-FV cl1-person cl9-GP-start-FV CNJ
ni n-jota
COP cl9-thirst

b. The death that kills a person begins as an appetite.

c. Some habits can lead to problems.

d. If there is a problem and a problem can grow then the problem can become big. If there is a problem, then if a problem can grow then the problem can become big.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Thirst is something that no one can stand. When one is thirsty, s/he will quickly want to drink water to quench the thirst. However, in the Nsenga society the word njota 'thirst' is used to refer to a wide range of cravings. Thirsty may mean "sexual appetite" or any desire such as to fight or drink beer. Hence, in trying to respond to these cravings, one may injure or hurt the body and eventuality die.

150. Inda yuyenda muno, ikakumane na vikumo.

a. in-da i-ku-yend-a mu-no i-ka-kum-an-e na
cl9-lice cl9-move-FV cl18-DEM cl9-FUT-meet-REC-FV CNJ
vi-kumo
cl8-finger

b. The lice that moves in here is going to meet with fingers.

c. Bad habits have bad consequences.

d. Bad habits lead to bad consequences, I have a bad habit, so it will lead me to a bad consequence.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Lice are considered a big embarrassment among Nsengas. In many societies where poverty is a problem, lice abound because of personal hygiene problems. Some households can hardly afford both washing and bathing soap thereby risking development of lice. However, there are traditional products that could be used for washing and bathing in the absence of modern soap. Thus, anybody who developed lice was simply considered a dirty person and therefore an embarrassment. In this manner, anybody who notices a louse immediately picks it up by fingers and

smashes it. The louse's habit of moving into noticeable areas is likened to careless behavior.

151. Inda yuyendaenda ikumana na nzyala.

a. in-da	i-ku-yend-a-yend-a	i-i-kum-an-a	na
cl9-louse	cl9-PAST-move.aimlessly-FV	cl9-meet-REC-FV	CNJ
n-zyal-a			
cl9-fingernail			

b. A louse that moves aimlessly met the fingernail.
c. Aimless behavior leads to problems.
d. Bad habits lead to bad consequences, I have a bad habit, so it will lead me to a bad consequence.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Many Nsenga people use fingernails to smash lice that are known to be notorious parasites living on human blood. Lice usually hide in the clothes and hair and are only noticed once they move.

152. Luŵezi kumphasa.

a. Ø-luŵezi	ku-n-phasa
cl5a-knife	cl17-cl9-reed.mat

b. A knife beneath a mat.
c. To pretend you are a friend when you are an enemy.
d. A person who pretends to good to you is your enemy, he is pretending to do good to me, so he is my enemy.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. A mat is used for sleeping on among other uses. A story is told of a man who hid a knife under his mat. His wife innocently went to bed with him on the same mat without suspecting anything. The man drew the knife in the night and used it to murder his wife in sleep.

153. Kacetecete kumatenda kumalilo kuli nkhani.

a. ka-cet-e-cet-e	ku-ma-lilo	ku-ma-tenda	ku-li
cl12-quiet-FV-quiet-FV	cl17-cl6-illness	cl17-cl6-funeral	cl17-be
n-khani			
cl9-story			

b. People keep quiet in the presence of an ill person but talk in the presence of a dead one.

c. People keep quiet not because they have nothing to say.
d. If a person is sick then s/he does not want to be disturbed, If s/he does not want to be disturbed then s/he does not want to hear noise, so if a person is sick then s/he does not want to hear noise.
e. Hypothetical/Major/VUS
f. Nsenga people usually keep quiet or speak in very low voices when they visit a very sick person. However, at a funeral after the person has died people can tell stories even in the presence of the dead body.

154. Kacetecete poyenda sousha nyama.
a. ka-cet-e-cet-e pa-ku-yend-a si-a-ku-u-ish-a
cl12-quiet-FV-quiet-FV cl16-GP-walk-FV NEG-cl1-GP-wake.up-CAUS-FV
n-yama
cl9-animal
b. You do not provoke animals by walking quietly.
c. To start a discussion you need an ice breaker.
d. To start a discussion you need an icebreaker, I need to start a discussion, so I need an icebreaker.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. One of the methods of hunting animals that Nsenga people use is by making a lot of noise in the bush to provoke sleeping or hiding animals and thereafter chase them with hunting dogs.

155. Kacona ka moyo osungilana lini.
a. ka-Ø-cona ka-a mu-oyo a-ku-sung-il-an-a lini
cl12-cl1a-cut cl12-GEN cl3-life cl1-GP-keep-APP-REC-FV NEG
b. You do not keep someone's live cat.
c. Do not bank good things with others as you might lose them.
d. If something is precious, you do not give it out, I have something precious, so I should not give it away.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsengas like keeping cats as pets especially for using them to hunt rats in the house. A cat usually regards whoever looks after it as its owner. Thus if you ask your friend to look after your cat, the cat might recognize your friend as the owner. The scenario is used to refer to someone who keeps an item with a friend and the friend keeps it for good.

156. Kafundo efwila pa tetu lake.

a. ka-fundo	a-i-fw-il-a	pa-Ø-tetu	li-ake
cl12-antelope	cl1-PAST-die-APP-FV	cl16-5a-resting.place	cl5-3sPOS

b. An antelope died from its resting place.
c. One's precious things can lead to one's fall or death.
d. One's precious things can lead to one's death, I have precious things, so they can lead me to death.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. There are many antelopes in Nsenga land. Thus, they are one of most hunted animals. They travel long distances looking for food in the day but usually gather in a particular place to rest. Hunters usually trace such resting places to trap them easily. The story is likened to people who are killed because of the things they enjoy doing.

157. Kafupa kuutemwa ni kosiya mangwenu.

a. ka-Ø-fupa	ka-u-ku-temw-a	ni	ka-ku-siy-a
cl12-cl5a-bone	cl12-2s-GP-like-FV	COP	cl12-GP-leave-FV
ma-ngwenu			
cl6-dental.gap			

b. A small bone that you like is the one that causes you dental gaps.
c. Your desires can lead to your downfall.
d. One's precious things can lead to one's death, I have precious things, so they can lead me to death.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Nsenga people naturally love bone meat. They find meat with bone tastier than steak alone. Thus, it is common for people to lose teeth because of trying to crush bones most of which are hard.

158. Kakata katumbama.

a. ka-a-kat-a	ka-a-tumbam-a
cl12-PERF-catch-FV	cl12-PERF-boast-FV

b. S/he boasts because s/he holds the item.
c. Some people become boastful once they acquire property.
d. If you find something that you really need then you are better, I have found what I need, so I am better than others.
e. F/Major/UCW

f. The proverb is used to describe people who boast once they have acquired or achieved what they wanted. It is meant to discourage such behavior. The behavior is likened to many animals that behave differently once they catch their prey. For example, a dog or cat does not want any other living thing nearby once either it has caught its prey or it has been given meat.

159. Kako ni kali m'mala.

a. ka-ako ni ka-li mu-ma-la
cl12-2sPOS COP cl12-be cl18-cl6-stomach

b. Your small thing is the one that in the stomach.

c. You cannot boast of what you do not have.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Once food has been eaten, nobody can reach it in the stomach. The proverb is used to advise people to boast of what they already have in possession.

160. Kakulya kocepa lini.

a. ka-a ku-ly-a ka-ku-cep-a lini
cl12-GEN INFM-eat-FV cl12-GP-be.reduced-FV NEG

b. Food is always sufficient.

c. Share everything in common regardless of quantity.

d. If something can be shared then it is enough, I have something that can be shared, so it is enough.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga society, families and sometimes groups of families eat meals together as a group. Whatever food is available, even in seasons of lack, must be shared almost equally among all people present. It is advisable to share any amount of food with anybody who is in need of it. The proverb is usually said to encourage a mean person to be generous with food or to encourage somebody who is too proud in to share or little food to do so without feeling shy.

161. Kakuuzyako ni kakwanu.

a. ka-a ku-u-zy-a-ko ni ka-kwanu
cl12-GEN INFM-2s-tell-FV-PTC COP 12-relative

b. Someone who advises you is your blood relative.

c. Someone who advises you cares like your own blood relative.
d. If someone is your friend then he can take care of you, he is taking care of me, so he is my friend.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Nsenga communities are traditionally organized in clans. It is common to find a village that is made of one extended family. It is therefore believed that all Nsengas descended from the same parent. Thus all Nsengas treat each other as relatives. It is from this background that one should receive advice from a fellow Nsenga as advice from a blood relative.

162. Kakuza kosensema ne kukapanamika.
a. ka-ku-z-a ka-ku-sensem-a ne ku-ka-panam-ik-a
cl12-GP-come-FV cl12-GP-trot-FV NEG INFM-OM-stop-APP-FV
b. What comes trotting should not be stopped.
c. Do not hinder zealous people.
d. If someone is in a hurry then there is something crucial, if there is something crucial then he should not be delayed, if someone is in a hurry then he should not be delayed.
e. Hypothetical/ConclusionVUS
f. Sometimes livestock can alarm when there is danger such as vicious wild animals. Thus when livestock are approaching in haste one should watch out or danger. Nsengas also use human messengers for delivery of messages. It is advisable therefore that when you notice someone is in hurry you do not stop him/her in case s/he is carrying an important message. The proverb stops people from discouraging zealous people and encourages them instead.

163. Kaleza kolumata ni kotenda ndembo.
a. ka-leza ka-a ku-lumat-a ni ka-a
cl12-razor.blade cl12-GEN INFM-sharp-FV COP cl12-GEN
ku-tend-a n-dembo
INFM-cut-FV cl9-tattoo
b. A sharp razor is the one that cuts tattoos.
c. A smart child heeds advice at once.
d. A smart child heeds advice at once, he heeds advice at once, so he is smart.
e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Nsengas use tattoos for injecting medicine into the body. Various traditional medicines use tattoos. Some of the medicines are used for love portions and protection from magic. One needs to use a very sharp razor blade in order to cut once apply the medicine. A blunt blade needs to be used several times to make a good cut making it a very painful process.

164. Kali keka n'kanyama, tuli tuŵili n'tuŵanthu.

a. ka-li ka-eka ni ka-n-yama tu-li tu-ŵili
cl12-be cl12-alone COP cl12-cl9-animal cl13-be cl13-two
ni tu-ŵa-nthu
COP cl13-cl2-person

b. What lives alone is animals but those who live in pairs are people.
c. It is human to live as a community and inhuman to live alone.
d. People live in a community, he is not part of the community, so he is not a person.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Animals are thought of void of the characteristic of making meaningful friendships like human beings do. The saying underscores the importance of living as a community rather individuals in Nsenga society. All human beings are regarded as social animals that are dependent on each other.

165. Kalizya kolizya mukulu na mwana.

a. ka-lizya ka-ku-lil-ish-a mu-kulu na mu-ana
cl12-scorpion cl12-GP-cru-CAUS-FV cl1-big CNJ cl1-child

b. A scorpion makes both a child and a big person cry.
c. A funeral affects everybody.
d. A funeral affects human beings, she is human, so she is affected.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Scorpions are common in Nsenga land. It is common to find scorpions in the bush and get stung from them. They are usually found inside barks of trees and wood. As a result, when people carry firewood they sometimes carry with them the scorpions to the homes and get stung. The scorpions have a very painful poison that usually makes anybody beaten to cry aloud. The cry of a scorpion sting is likened to bereavement after the death of a family member where according to Nsenga culture both men and women cry aloud.

166. Kalowa m'matu koyanzika.
   a. ka-a-low-a mu-ma-tu ka-ku-yanz-ik-a
      cl12-PERF-enter-FV cl18-cl6-ear cl12-GP-spread-POT-FV
   b. What has entered the ear stays for good.
   c. Be careful of what you hear, as it can be difficult to get rid of.
   d. Humans remember what they hear, I have said something to him, so he will remember.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. Naturally, it is always difficult to remove anything that enters the ears. Sometimes insects or ants accidentally enter human ears thereby causing a lot of discomfort. There is also a type of small flying insect called *kaunye*, which has a habit of entering ears. Water too is difficult to remove once it enters the ears. This characteristic is compared to the nature of the mind that tends to retain information one hears.

167. Kalulu etuma njovu.
   a. Ø-kalulu a-i-tum-a n-jovu
      cl1a-hare cl1-PAST-send-FV cl9-elephant
   b. A hare sent an elephant.
   c. A young person can get elderly people to do things when s/he knows how to do so.
   d. A subordinate cannot send a superior, I am not a subordinate, so I cannot send a superior.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. *Kalulu* the hare is a very popular folktale star who usually appears as a clever and outwitting person that uses his tricks to get even the most powerful and fearful men and women of society to do things for him. In many instances, he is seen to outwit the elephant whose enormous size apparently makes him fit to be the jungle's leader. *Kalulu*'s actions in outwitting the elephant makes the elephant look like a big-for-nothing person who lacks wisdom for society. Thus it is unexpected that the elephant that is supposed to be the king of the jungle can be sent by *Kalulu* one of the smallest members of the jungle.

168. Kalulu opulumuka lini malupya awili.
   a. Ø-kalulu a-ku-pulumu-ik-a lini ma-lupya a-wili
      cla1-hare cl1-GP-survive-POT-FV NEG cl6-bushfire cl2-two

b. A hare does not survive two bush fires.
c. Once you escape danger in one situation, make sure to avoid the similar situation next time.
d. If a solution works for one problem then it can work for a similar problem, I have the same solution, so it will work for the similar problem.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. *Kalulu* the hare, a very popular folktale star, is also a delicacy in Nsenga society. Just as its characteristics presuppose in the folktales, it is a very difficult animal to catch because of its speed, sharp turns and hiding tactics. One of the effective methods of catching it, usually by use of specially trained dogs, is by isolating using bushfires. Some sections of the bush are deliberately lit to allow the *Kalulu* escape from one direction thereby making it easy to make a chase and catch. The *Kalulu* could choose to hide within some surviving bush but will certainly be caught once the remaining bush is lit again.

169. Kambewa ka nsoni kefwila ku mulindi.
a. ka-n-bewa ka n-soni ka-a-i-fw-il-a
cl12-cl9-mouse cl12-GEN cl9-shyness cl12-PAST-die-APP-FV
ku-mu-lindi
cl17-cl3-hole
b. A shy mouse died from the hole.
c. You must never be shy to express your feelings once you are unfairly treated by anybody.
d. If you are unfairly treated then you must show your feelings, I have been unfairly treated, so I should show my feelings.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Mice are usually dug up in the ground. Clever mice always build emergency exits for escape. A type of mice does not build an emergency exit but goes deep down into the ground. The mouse is considered shy because it is believed to avoid being seen in public. The proverb is normally used when two people are sharing something or when someone wants to ask for help. They will begin their request by citing this proverb meaning that one should not be shy to beg if in need because you may die of hunger while there is a way out of the hunger situation. Similarly, if you have been unfairly treated, you may just need to complain lest you get subjected to unfairness. For example this proverb is commonly used when

sharing maize meal, the most important ingredient of *Nshima*[1], the Nsenga staple food.

170. Kambwili kowezya vinyinji.
   a. ka-mbwili ka-ku-wezy-a vi-nyinji
      cl12-hoe cl12-GP-harvest-FV cl8-plenty
   b. A hand hoe is used to bring about a big harvest.
   c. An insignificant person in society can become a great person.
   d. If there is a person and if a person can grow then the person can become big. If there is a person, then if a person can grow then the person can become big.
   e. Exportation/ConclusionVS
   f. A hand hoe is the most common and most important too of agriculture. Nsenga people chiefly do their farming by hand methods. Although, the hoe is small, for easy use and carrying, it is used to cultivate various crops and bring about big harvest enough to last a household an entire year until the following farming season.

171. Kamwa ka ndevu kotala lini wenye.
   a. ka-mwa ka-a n-devu ka-ku-tal-a lini u-enye
      cl12-mouth cl12-GEN cl9-beard cl12-GP-tell-FV NEG cl14-lies
   b. A bearded mouth cannot tell lies.
   c. Children and young people must respect the views of parents and elders who have experience in life.
   d. If a person is big then s/he knows good and bad, If she knows good and bad then s/he knows that lies are bad, so if s/he is big then s/he cannot tell a lie because lies are bad.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. A bearded mouth is a symbol of mature or old age. Thus anybody with beards is considered mature and of exemplary character. In this manner, children are expected to believe the words of their parents and other elders because the parents and elders speak from experience acquired over the

[1] Nshima, locally referred to as *nsima*, is the staple food for the Nsenga people. It is made from maize (corn) flour known as mealie meal. *Nshima* has been adopted as an English word.

years. This proverb also teaches parents and elders not to tell lies when speaking to children because children expect elders to tell the truth all time.

172. Kanda apa nane nikandepo.

a. kand-a a-pa-a na-ine ni-kand-e-po
step-FV PR-cl16-DEM CNJ-1sPRN 1s-step-FV-ENC

b. Step here so that I can step there too.

c. Close friends stay together all the time.

d. People who love each other are usually found together, they are together, so they love each other.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. The proverb gives an image of two very close friends who are always found in each other's company. Such friends are described with an image where one follows the actual footsteps of another in going round places.

173. Kangacepe kolila mtembo.

a. ka-nga-cep-e ka-ku-lil-a mu-tembo
cl12-MOD-be.small-FV cl12-GP-cry-FV cl3-coffin.and.stretcher

b. Even if it is small, it requires a coffin and a stretcher.

c. Even small tasks are better done as a team.

d. Big tasks require team work, it is not a big task, so it does not require team work

e. TF/Conclusion/UCW

f. A funeral whether for a small or big person is always paid with the full respect it deserves. Thus for both a small child and big person the body is curried in the same manner; on the stretcher, in a coffin, and by at least two people on the head and leg side.

174. Kangaude okulya lini inswatende, zuzileta zeka.

a. Ø-kangaude a-ku-ku-li-a lini in-swatende
cl1a-spider cl1-GP-FPR-eat-FV NEG cl10-small.flying.ant
zi-ku-zi-let-a zi-eka
cl9-REF-bring-FV cl10-alone

b. The spider does not attack small flying ants; they bring themselves (to the spider web).

c. It is important to prepare for the future.

d. If you want a good future then you must prepare for it, I want a good future, so I should prepare for it.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Spiders are very common insects among Nsenga people. They literally live with people everywhere. The small flying ants are also common insects during rainy season. They usually come out of anthills just before big edible flying ants come out. Flying ants are one of the seasonal insects Nsenga people always look forward to. To catch flying ants you have to lay various types of traps known among Nsenga people. The traps are prepared in advance before the ants begin coming out. However, some of the ants are trapped in spider webs as they fly around.

175. Kang'oma kolila ngako komuka lini kutulika.
a. ka-n-ng'om-a ka-ku-lil-a ngako ka-ku-muk-a lini
cl12-cl9-drum cl12-GP-cry-FV a.lot cl12-GP-delay-FV NEG
ku-tul-ik-a
INFM-develop.a.hole-POT-FV
b. A popular small drum is easily torn.
c. It is better to listen more than you talk as careless talk can get you into problems.
d. People make mistakes when they talk a lot, he is talking a lot, so he will make a mistake.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Traditional drums are made of wood and animal skin. Drums are very important as source of music but also means of communication. For instance, a special drum is played when an ordinary person dies and a different one when a chief dies. Drums wear out as they are being used by tearing away or making holes.

176. Kang'oma kowîlikila kocelwa lini kutulika.
a. ka-n-ng'oma ka-ku-wîl-ik-il-a ka-ku-celw-a
cl12-cl9-drum cl12-GP-popular-POT-APP-FV cl12-GP-be.late-FV
lini ku-tul-ik-a
NEG INFM-be.torn-POT-FV
b. A popular small drum is easily damaged.
c. When you become popular for whatever reason, you need be very careful of the possible dangers.

d. If you become popular then you become visible, if you become visible then criminals can spot and attack you, so if you become popular then criminals can spot and attack you.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
f. Traditional drums are made out of wood and animal skin. Drums are used for various purposes but the main function is for entertainment. Because of the beating in order to play sound from a drum, the skin wears out and eventually tears apart. As a result, a drum that is frequently played easily gets worn-out. The proverb means that if someone is very famous, people may become jealous and kill him/her. This proverb also warns people who become famous because of bad deeds that firm, which comes with bad conduct, does not last as people may kill you. For instance, it is used to warn people of that danger of being infected with STDs because of promiscuity.

177. Kanimvwileko ecimvwa va mumaluŵa.
a. ka-ni-mvw-il-e-ko a-ici-mvwa-a vi-a mu-ma-luŵa
FUT-1s-hear-APP-FV-PTC cl1-PAST-hear-FV cl8-GEN cl18-cl6-flower
b. Asking someone to hear on your behalf one heard about things from flowers.
c. Understand the story before you spread the news.
d. You need to understand the story before you spread the news, I have not understood the story, so I should not spread it.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. Nsenga honey collectors usually use bees to determine where the honey might be. However, bees also like to be found in flowers in order to collect nectar for making honey. Some people may erroneously see a number of bees in flowers at one point and assume that there are bees. Sometimes bees can also be found in the ground in large holes. Thus, a mistaken person could spread wrong news about the honey. This situation is used in the proverb to refer to people who make conclusions about other people without establishing the background and context of the facts in a discussion. It is also compared to someone who fabricates news without having proper details.

178. Kanthu ni weka.
   a. ka-nthu ni u-eka
      cl12-thing COP 2s-alone
   b. It is up to an individual to achieve whatever s/he wants.
   c. Individual effort is necessary in personal development.
   d. If a person wants to develop the s/he should make an effort, I want to develop, so I should make an effort.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. This typical proverb expresses the Nsenga population's disappointment in the efforts of governing bodies in developing people's lives. In addition, a statement describes society's double standard. On one hand, society wants to develop as a whole but on the other, it leaves personal development to an individual's efforts. Thus, it is advisable that nobody expects anybody else to make his/her life better.

179. Kanyama ka nthanthi kaliyopaiwe.
   a. ka-n-yama ka-a n-thanthi ka-li-ye ku-pay-iw-e
      cl12-cl9-animal cl12-GEN cl9-humour cl12-be-NEG INFM-kill-PASS-FV
   b. A humorous small animal was not killed.
   c. A person with good behavior lives long.
   d. If people like good behavior then they positively reward good behavior, I have good behavior, so I will be positively rewarded.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. The proverb is used to mean that if someone has good character, people in the community like him/her. Thus if there is anyone who intends to harm him, other people will protect him/her.

180. Kanyoni konkhala pa msambo wakakonda.
   a. ka-n-yoni ka-ku-nkhal-a pa-a mu-sambo u-a
      cl12-cl9-bird cl12-GP-sit-FV cl16-GEN cl3-branch cl3-GEN
      ka-a-kond-a
      cl12-PERF-like-FV
   b. A bird sits on the branch that it likes.
   c. "Beauty is in the beholder's eye." Individual choices depend on what individuals like.
   d. If a person has chosen something then s/he likes it, s/he has chosen something, so s/he likes the thing.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Birds are very common among Nsenga people. As many settlements are adjacent to the bush, it is very common to observe bird behavior as sometimes pastime activities. Usually birds fly around before they settle on a particular branch of a tree as though they are looking for the best spot. The proverb is used to mean that everyone chooses what he or she prefers and everyone's choice should be respected. It is normally used to encourage a person who is in love to believe that everyone is entitled to his or her choice. Someone may say; "my friend, don't worry about what people say about your wife's appearance as it is said that a bird sits on the branch that it has liked."

181. Kanyoni opusulila lini paukato.

a. ka-n-yoni a-ku-pusul-il-a lini pa-u-kato
cl12-cl9-bird cl1-GP-dress-APP-FV NEG cl16-cl14-glue

b. You do not remove the feathers of a bird from the glue trap.

c. Do mind where you disclose your confidential information.

d. If you have a secret then you cannot speak it in public, I am in public, so I cannot speak the secret.

e. PF/Major/C

f. Wild birds are an alternative source of meat for Nsenga people. One of the methods used for catching birds is putting glue made from specific trees on tree branches where birds are likely to sit in numbers. Once you remove the trapped bird from the glue trap, you take away to dress it up. If you dress the bird near the glue, the feathers will stick to the glue and therefore make the trap unusable.

182. Kaona menso watola nsilolela.

a. ka-on-a ma-inso u-a-tol-a Ø-nsilolela
cl12-see-FV cl6-eye cl1-PERF-pick-FV cl1a-impatient.person

b. An impatient person goes for anything that comes by.

c. You cannot own everything.

d. A person cannot own everything, I am a person, so I cannot own everything.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsilolela is a noun coined to refer to a very extravagant person. Such a person is regarded as somebody who accepts anything that comes his/her

way without proper thought. The noun "nsilolela" literally means a person who cannot wait.

183. Kapena usunga kapapasha osadabwa ikakuluma ikakula.
   a. kapena u-ku-sung-a Ø-kapapasha a-ku-sa-dabw-a
      CNJ 2s-GP-keep-FV cl1a-spitting.cobra cl1-GP-NEG-surprise-FV
      i-ka-ku-lum-a i-ka-kul-a
      cl9-CND-2s-bite-FV cl9-CND-big-FV
   b. If you rear a spitting cobra you must not be surprised when you get bitten.
   c. Sometimes the people you do good things to may be the ones who may destroy you.
   d. If I do something good to someone then s/he will reward me positively, I do something good to her, so s/he will reward me positively.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. This means that sometimes, the people you help are the ones that will reject you when you are in trouble. The people you save from death are the ones that may plot your downfall/death. Therefore, you should not think that all those you help will also help you in turn.

184. Kapona m'menso watola.
   a. ka-a-pon-a mu-ma-inso u-a-tol-a
      cl12-PERF-fall-FV cl18-cl6-eye 2s-PERF-pick-FV
   b. Picking anything that you come across.
   c. Be self-controlled to avoid problems.
   d. Self-control can avoid a lot of problems, I am self-controlled, so I will avoid a lot of problems.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. It is always advisable to be cautious of what you see. Eyes see anything but it is up to an individual to train oneself in how to react to vision. Somebody who goes for anything that comes around is said to easily run into problems. This expression is used to refer to, for example, a man or woman who goes after anybody who comes into the community. Such a person can easily contract sexually transmitted diseases.

185. Kapondo kakakangiwa kutola vikofuna, kotumako m'kazi wake.
   a. ka-pondo ka-ka-kang-iw-a ku-tol-a vi-ka-ku-fun-a
      cl12-thug cl12-CND-fail-PASS-FV INFM-get-FV cl8-cl12-GP-want-FV

ka-ku-tam-ko	mu-kazi	u-ake
cl12-GP-send-ENC	cl1-wife	cl1-3sPOS

b. When a criminal fails to get what it wants, it sends its wife.
c. The cause of a problem can be the solution to the problem.
d. If someone has caused a problem then the person can solve the problem, he is the cause of the problem, so he can solve the problem
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Society is less suspecting of woman and hence it is easy for a woman to get what she wants (crookedly) more than a man because culturally a woman is not thought of as a thief. The Nsenga Society is also more tolerant to women than to men hence enabling a woman to steal or get to what she wants without much trouble. This proverb is used to mean that women are the root cause of some problems. Therefore, since women are the cause of problems, they can also find solutions to the same. Hence, the criminal uses its woman as a bait in the proverb.

186. Kapontha opeteka akali m'nana.

Ø-kapontha	a-ku-pet-ik-a	a-ka-li	mu-nana
cl1a-barbel.fish	cl1-GP-fold-POT-FV	cl2-CND-be	cl1-wet

b. A barbel fish is folded while it is fresh.
c. Instruct children in the way you want them to grow while they are still young.
d. If one has an ability to learn then s/he can be taught, if children have the ability to learn, then children can be taught.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Barbel fish is one of the popular types of fish in Nsenga land. This is partly because it is found almost everywhere including shallow ponds. It is also easy to catch as it can easily be attracted to many types of bait. It is also usually found in abundance. Because of the slippery skin, many people prefer to enjoy the fish when it is smoked. Usually, the fish is folded with its caudal peduncle (tail) or the caudal (tail) hooked to its pectoral (breast) fin. The folding is only done when it is fresh, as it would break if it were dry. This proverb is directed to parents so that they should begin early to teach their children good manners and other desirable qualities because it is difficult to teach them when they are grown up. A child in this case is likened to Barbel which breaks when it is dry.

187. Kaselo nkhoya kaselo wela.
   a. ka-selo nkhoy-a ka-selo wel-a
      cl12-plate go-FV cl12-plate come-FV
   b. A small plate given out (with food) should come back (with food).
   c. Generosity should be reciprocated.
   d. If you are generous then you must share, I do not share, so I am not generous.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. Traditionally, once you have been given something in a container you must not return the container empty. This is not only a gesture of gratefulness but also reciprocating the principle of generosity. A small plate is also used to put dowry money during marriage negotiations. This plate can only be returned to the owners with a gift inside.

188. Katale wenye kwa atumbuka kwasakuziŵa.
   a. ka-tal-e u-enye ku-a-tumbuka ku-a
      FUT-tell-FV cl14-lies cl17-cl2-Tumbuka.person cl17-GEN
      si-a-ku-ziŵ-a
      NEG-cl2-2s-know-FV
   b. Go and tell lies among the Tumbuka people where they do not know you.
   c. You cannot fool people that know you as crooks.
   d. If people do not know your character then you can fool them, they do not know me, so I can fool them.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Like many societies, the Nsenga society deals with the problem of lies daily. It is advisable not to listen to people that are known to frequently tell lies. Nsenga land lies far from Tumbuka land. The languages of the two areas, Nsenga and Tumbuka, are not mutually intelligible even though both areas are in the eastern the part of Zambia. Thus, Tumbukas and Nsengas are strangers to each other. Thus a Nsenga person can only a Tumbuka person who is a stranger rather that fellow Nsenga people who know him/her.

189. Katemo kanyata pamwala kuti ngee.
   a. ka-temo ka-a-nyat-a pa-mu-ala ku-ti ngee
      cl12-axe cl12-PERF-hit-FV cl16-cl3-stone INFM-say IDEO
   b. An axe has hit hard on a stone.

c. To deny vehemently especially what you have done.
d. If a person is guilty then he cannot put up a strong defense, he has not not put up a strong defense, so he is not guilty.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. By common experience once you hit an axe on a stone it bounces back and makes a noisy bouncing sound. The harder you hit the stronger it bounces back.

190. Katemo katema mwine.
a. ka-temo ka-tem-a mu-ine
cl12-axe cl12-cut-FV cl1-owner
b. An axe has cut the owner.
c. You can be pardoned if you offend your family.
d. If you offend someone then you should be punished, I have offended my family member, so I should not be punished.
e. F/Minor/UCW
f. Every Nsenga home is expected to have an axe as one of the most important tools besides the hoe. The axe is useful especially for chopping and cutting firewood. There are however several accidents with an axe as well. In the proverb, an axe that injures the owner is said to have no case. The proverb is said when a child beats a parent, the child is pardoned because s/he has not beaten an outsider.

191. Kati Suunkhazikika pansi uwele nako.
a. ka-ti si-u-nkhazik-ik-a pa-nsi u-wel-e na-ka-o
CND-say NEG-2s-sit-POT-FV cl16-doen 2s-come-FV CNJ-cl12-3PRN
b. If you do not settle down you will come with something.
c. Aimless behavior leads to problems.
d. Living an aimless life can cause you problems, she is living an aimless life, so she might get into problems.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. The saying includes an image of a person who is always moving from one place to another. Such a person is said to be bound for trouble. It is also said to a girl who does not want to stay at home. She is warned of a possibility of getting pregnant from unknown men.

192. Kauli nako koposa kaulolela.

a. ka-a u-li na-ka-o ka-a ku-pos-a
cl12-GEN 2s-be CNJ-cl12-3PRN cl12-GEN INFM-more-FV
ka-a u-ku-lol-il-a
cl12-GEN INFM-wait-APP-FV

b. What you have is better than what you are waiting for.

c. What you have is better than what you have been promised.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. The proverb encourages people to be satisfied with what they have instead of waiting for what has been promised which might not be delivered. Sometimes people make empty promises.

193. Kauli nako ndiye kaupailako njoka.

a. ka-u-li na-ka-o ndi-ye ka-u-pay-il-a-ko
cl12-2s-have CNJ-cl12-3sPOS COP-EMPH cl12-2s-kill-APP-FV-PTC
n-joka
cl9-snake

b. What you have is what you use to kill a snake.

c. Be content and make use of what you have.

d. If you want to solve a problem then you have to use available means, there are no available means, so you cannot solve the problem.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Snakes are common among Nsenga people especially that many of their homes are close to wild bushes and cultivation fields. To avoid snakebites, people usually kill snakes as soon as they see them. In order for the snake not to run away, one uses any object available to kill the snake. The proverb is used to mean that you always need to depend on what you have and not on what you do not have. On the other hand, it means that you need to be content with whatever you have because it is what you have no matter how little it may be that you will use to achieve other things.

194. Kausula ndiye kokulungulila anyoko.

a. ka-a ku-sul-a ndi-ye ka-a
cl12-GEN INFM-despise-FV COP-EMPH cl12-GEN

ku-kulungul-il-a a-n-nyoko
INFM-marry-APP-FV cl2-mother

b. The one you despise is the person who will marry your mother.
c. You can never tell by appearance the person who comes to your aid hence do not despise anyone.
d. Important people marry important women, he is not important, so he cannot marry an important person.
e. TF/Major/UCW
f. Once a woman or man who is widowed, s/he is usually given a year among Nsenga people before s/he is released to marry a wo/man of her choice. The decision to remarry is usually the widows or widowers although the family and grown-up children can have a say. Children despising some women have gotten shocks when the despised woman becomes their stepmother in many instances. To avoid such shocks, children are advised to respect every woman.

195. Kawalala akapunsha mukuwa.
a. Ø-kawalala a-ka-punsh-a mu-kuw-a
cl1a-theif cl1-CND-steal-FV 2p-shout-FV
b. When a thief has stolen, you shout.
c. You must have evidence in order to convict one as guilty.
d. You must have evidence in order to convict one as guilty, I have evidence, so I will find him guilty.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Like many other societies, thieves are many among Nsengas too. However, it is usually advisable to treat a thief as a dangerous person who should never be challenged alone. Thus, once you notice a thief you shout for help. It also helps to get many witnesses to the theft for legal purposes as it carries a heavy social punishment to call one wrongfully a thief.

196. Kaŵeleŵesha esala, katumphula eciya.
a. ka-ŵeleŵ-ish-a a-i-sal-a ka-tumphul-a a-ici-ya
cl12-whisper-APP-FV cl1-PAST-remain-FV cl12-raise-FV cl1-PAST-go
b. The one who whispered remained; the one who raised the voice went.
c. Keep secrets a secret.
d. If a story is a secret then one must not talk about it, she is asking about a secret, so I will not talk about it.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. In both colonial and pre-colonial times, traditional and colonial authorities respectively picked up suspects for offenses such as murder, poaching, and theft. Such "criminals" were tried before community courts were witnesses sat around the accused. A situation is portrayed in a proverb where suspects accused as a group are trying to reason together. The person who speaks with an audible voice is immediately isolated to inform the court what is being discussed. Sometimes, fellow accused people can refuse the friend's testimony when they feel they can be implicated thereby complicating the friend's case and eventually causing his/her arrest. The proverb means that if someone has told you a secret, it is better to keep it that way. Usually the one who reveals the secret is implicated.

197. Kaze na kaze cimbwi eniela ingo.

a. ka-iz-e na ka-iz-e Ø-cimbwi
cl12-come-FV CNJ cl12-come-FV cl1a-hyena
a-i-ny-il-a in-go
cl2-PAST-defeacate-APP-FV cl9-leopard

b. Come what may, even death, I will do as a hyena that defecated on the leopard.

c. In desperate circumstances one resorts to any means.

d. In desperate circumstances one resorts to any means available, he was desperate, so he chose available means.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A hyena and a leopard are two animals that represent two opposing characteristics in Nsenga society. A hyena is an animal that is known to steal prey from other hunting animals. For this reason, a hyena is considered an animal with very low virtues that no man should follow. A hyena can wait for a very long time just to find an opportunity to steal from fellow animals or livestock from human beings in the night when humans are asleep. It represents a coward and an opportunist. A leopard on the other hand hunts its own prey and is dangerous to both human beings and other animals. It is rarely seen in the open and is usually away from human beings. There is very little or no conflict between itself and humans. In this proverb, however a hyena is said to defecate on the leopard. This imaginary situation would be very dangerous and with grave consequences on the hyena if this were in reality.

198. Kazipu ka cikwale oteyela lini nkhanga.
   a. ka-zipu ka-a ci-kwale a-ku-tey-il-a lini
      12-trap cl12-GEN cl7-quail cl1-GP-trap-APP-FV NEG
      n-khanga
      cl9-guineafowl
   b. You cannot use a trap for a quail to trap a guineafowl.
   c. Use appropriate methods to solve particular problems.
   d. A trap used to catch a small animal cannot be used to catch a big animal, It is a big animal, so I cannot use a trap for a small animal.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. Both quail and guineafowl are commonly hunted birds and enjoyed as one of the most delicious wild game by Nsenga people. Both birds are killed by traps but of different sizes.

199. Kazitape wankhani etolapo wenye.
   a. Ø-kazitape u-a n-khani a-i-tol-a-po u-enye
      cl1a-story.messenger cl1-GEN cl9-story cl1-PAST-pick-FV-ENC cl14-lie
   b. A story messenger (journalist) gathered lies.
   c. In the abundance of many words lies is found.
   d. In the abundance of many words lies is found, he has said a lot, so he must be telling lies too.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Human experience has revealed that somebody who is fond of collecting and transmitting stories also transmits lies in the process in order to make the stories attractive.

200. Keŵelenga nthandala ni kosakwanisika.
   a. ka-i-ŵeleng-a n-thandala ni ka-a
      cl12-PAST-read-FV cl9-star COP cl12-GEN
      ku-sa-kwan-ish-ik-a
      INFM-NEG-manage-CAUS-POT-FV
   b. Nobody has ever counted stars.
   c. It is impossible to count stars just as it is impossible to do some tasks.
   d. A human being cannot count stars, I am human, so I cannot count stars.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Nsenga land is mainly divided into two seasons - dry and wet seasons. The wet season is characterized by rain and cloudy skies. The dry season is dry

with clear skies especially at night. As a result, it is very easy to see numerous stars that are visible from Nsenga land. No one has ever imagined numerous stars can be counted by anybody. The proverb is also used to tell someone not to embark on impossible tasks because it may be a waste of time and resources. Nsengas believe that certain undertakings may not bear fruits hence it is important to avoid wasting time on such.

201. Khoza yulowa kumwine kwanja.
    a. Ø-khoza i-ku-low-a ku-mu-ine ku-anja
       cl5a-bungle cl5-GP-enter-FV cl17-cl1-owner cl15-hand
    b. A bungle can only fit its owner's hand.
    c. Not everything forced on someone works well.
    d. If one wears a bracelet then it fits her, it is not my bracelet, so it does not fit me.
    e. TF/Major/C
    f. Nsengas usually decorate themselves with beads and bungles. Bungles are usually carved out of wood. They both are important elements of the Nsenga culture.

202. Kokuzya mpombo koziwika lini.
    a. ka-a ku-kuzy-a n-pombo
       cl12-GEN INFM-grow-FV cl9-peace.of.fecal.matter
       ka-ku-ziw-ik-a lini
       cl12-GP-know-POT-FV NEG
    b. The thing that enlarges ones fecal matter is not known.
    c. Make use of whatever you have no matter how little because it can make a difference.
    d. If there is a something and the thing can add up to others then the thing can become big. If there is something, then if the thing can add up to others then the thing can become big.
    e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
    f. Nsenga people believe that the size fecal matter is proportional to amount of food eaten. In other words, the size of fecal matter is also indicative of good or poor nutrition. Size is a significant aspect in the notion of nutrition among Nsenga people.

203. Kolwe camukanga kutauka.
   a. Ø-kolwe ci-a-mu-kang-a ku-tauk-a
      cl1a-monkey cl7-PERF-cl1-fail-FV INFM-cross-FV
   b. A monkey has failed to cross.
   c. A person cannot evade many cases.
   d. A human being cannot solve all problems, I am human, so I cannot solve all problems.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Monkeys are familiar to local rural people most of whom are peasant farmers. From the bushes that are near their fields, they are able to observe the behavior of monkeys. Monkeys swiftly jump from one tree to another in escaping humans thereby outrunning humans. They are so swift that people think a monkey can jump over any tree and branch. However, there are instances when human beings catch monkeys.

204. Kombe wangu pumula, tione malyolo a awa akwasu.
   a. Ø-kombe u-angu pumul-a ti-on-e ma-lool-ilo
      cl1a-fishing.net cl1-1POS rest-FV 1p-see-FV cl6-fish-MDS
      a-a a-wa a-kwasu
      cl1-GEN cl1-DEM cl2-relative
   b. Let my net rest so that we can see how our relatives are fishing.
   c. When you are in Rome, do as the Romans do.
   d. If you are a visitor then you must behave like the local people, I am a visitor, so I must behave like the local people.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Fishing is an important part of Nsenga life. There are different types of fishing known in various areas of Nsenga land. It advisable therefore that once you travel you try to understand how people do fishing in a particular area. This means that if you are a stranger, you should start by observing the way of life of the owners of the land and later start behaving in the same way in order to conform to their way of life. Humble yourself when you go to foreign areas. Do not impose yourself on the people whose culture you do not know because you may fail to fit in. Learn people's culture first before you practice whatever you know. Secondly, people whose efforts are not recognized also use The proverb. Thus, they will stop what they are doing so that the critics may see/realize the significance of the person's activities.

205. Kombwe akanaka aliye malonda.

a. Ø-kombwe a-ka-nan-a a-li-ye ma-londa
cl1a-rooster cl1-CND-become.wet-FV cl-be-NEG cl6-business

b. A wet rooster cannot be transacted for business.

c. If you have a bad record, it becomes difficult to find a good spouse.

d. If you have a bad record it becomes difficult to find a good spouse, I have a bad record, so I will not find a good spouse.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A rooster is one of the most expensive chickens to buy. It is expensive because it is used for reproduction and it is also bigger than hens in size. When you poor water on a rooster, its feather shrink in size and get stack to the body. Thus the rooster seemingly looks reduced in size. This can also affect the price of the rooster. Such a thing can happen when it rains on the chickens while selling them.

206. Koni kakamvwa kuyakasa koleka kulya.

a. ka-uni ka-ka-mvw-a ku-yakas-a ka-ku-lek-a
cl12-bird cl12-CND-feel-FV INFM-sour-FV cl12-GP-stop-FV
ku-ly-a
INFM-eat-FV

b. A bird stops eating when it tastes sour food.

c. All humans have an inherent capacity to avoid evil.

d. All normal humans have an inherent capacity to avoid evil, She is a normal human, so she has ability to avoid evil.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Among Nsengas, Birds usually in big numbers feed on various wild fruits and other foods and sometimes on crops. Birds that are thought to have no human capacity to tell what is bad know what food is edible to them.

207. Koni kakankhala pa uta kolasika lini.

a. ka-oni ka-ka-nkhal-a pa-u-ta
cl12-bird cl12-CND-sit-FV cl16-cl14-bow.and.arrow
ka-ku-las-ik-a lini
cl12-GP-shoot-POT-FV NEG

b. When a bird sits on the arrow you can't shoot it.

c. When you have interest in the case it is difficult to be just.

d. A person is either a judge or a defendant, he is not a judge, so he is a defendant.
e. Disjunctive/Major/VS
f. A bow and arrow is a traditionally important weapon for hunting. In the proverb, an image of a bird that sits on the arrow presents an impossible situation. Thus if you shoot, the bird would fly away with the arrow.

208. Koswe akankhala pacinkhombe sopaiwa.
a. Ø-koswe a-ka-nkhal-a pa-ci-nkhombe si-a-ku-pay-iw-a
cl1a-rat cl1-CND-sit-FV cl16-cl7-clay.port NEG-cl1-GP-kill-PASS-FV
b. You cannot kill a rat that sits on a clay pot.
c. When the judge is a defendant, the case cannot be fairly solved.
d. A person is either a judge or a defendant, he is not a judge, so he a defendant.
e. Disjunctive/Major/VS
f. Rats are one of the Nsenga people's big problems to storage. They usually attack food in both the house and the barns. Sometimes they even eat human flesh especially feet while humans are asleep. In this manner, rats are enemies with Nsenga people. Once one sees the rat, it is hunted until it is killed. In a situation where a rat sits on a clay pot, hitting the rat would result in breaking the precious clay pot. The proverb is used in situations where a traditional leader commits an offense and yet s/he is the one that presides over cases. The proverb is used to reiterate principles of fairness and justice.

209. Koswe wa pamutenje esokolola wa pasanga.
a. Ø-koswe u-a pa-mu-tenje a-i-sokolol-a u-a
cl1a-rat cl1-GEN cl16-cl3-roof cl1-PAST-reveal-FV cl1-GEN
pa-Ø-sanga
cl16-cl5a-bush
b. A roof mouse revealed the bush one.
c. One offense can help solve an unsolved case.
d. If a person says something and if it can be related to the past then it can help reveal the past. If a person says something, then if it can be related to the past then it can help reveal the past.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. In many Nsenga thatched houses, rats hide in the roof's grass. Once a rat is provoked it runs into the bush where it is likely to join other hiding rats. A rat's behavior is compared to a thief's one. A thief that steals from one place is most likely able to repeat the act at the same place. Thieves too seem to understand each other in behavior. Thus once a thief is caught where there have been cases of theft; it is likely the thief could help in finding other thieves. Some thieves also have patterns in the way they do things making it easier for investigators to trace certain activities.

210. Kuca kukangiwa lini kuziŵa kanyoni.

a. ku-c-a ku-kang-iw-a lini ku-ziŵ-a
INFM-to.dawn-FV INFM-fail-PASS-FV NEG INFM-know-FV
ka-n-yoni
cl12-cl9-bird

b. Dawn does not fail to identify a bird.

c. Test a person's motive when you have a clear conscience.

d. If you need a good mind to make a good decision then you must decide when you have a good mind, I do not have a good mind, so I should not make a decision.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. The Nsenga area has different species of birds. Some sing differently but most of them sing the same way. Therefore, it is a difficulty to know the specie of a bird just from the sound/voice. The distinguishing features of a bird are to do with appearance size, color etc. Therefore, you can only tell what type of a bird it is if you see it during daytime. This proverb is used to advise women to be meeting their suitors during the day. This is when they can know the true behavior of a man. Nsengas discourage women to meet their suitors at night because they will only end up having sex thereby ignoring discovering the most important essential aspect of humanity which may be important in marriage. Put differently, the proverb means that you can only know the good intentions of a man when he is proposing marriage if he comes during the day and not at night.

211. Kucela ndiyo ni kuŵelama.

a. ku-cel-a n-diyo ni ku-ŵelam-a
INFM-cut-FV cl9-relish COP INFM-bend.down-FV

b. You cut vegetables from the source by bending down.

c. There are no shortcuts to having a successful life.
d. There are no shortcuts to having a successful life, I am taking a short cut, so I will not succeed.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Vegetables dominate Nsenga people's traditional menus. Most of the vegetables are grown on the ground in the cultivation fields together with crops and others are cut from the wild. Usually, vegetables grow low very close to the ground making it inevitable for someone to bend down in order to reach the vegetables.

212. Kucelwela okuta.
a. ku-ku-celw-il-a a-a ku-kuta-a
cl17-GP-be.late-APP-FV cl2-GEN INFM-be.satisfied-FV
b. It is always late for those who are satisfied.
c. Never give up if you are looking for something and you have not yet found it. The people who should give up are those who already have it.
d. You stop a mission when you have achieved the goal, I have not achieved the goal, so I should not stop the mission.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Usually after people have eaten, they rest or take a nap. It is assumed that when someone is resting, he or she tries to avoid anything disturbing his or her mind or rest. On the other hand, somebody who is hungry is anxious about what time food will be ready to be eaten. The situation is used in the proverb to give advice to people that are in need never to rest until they get what they want. It does not matter how much time it takes for them to accomplish the task.

213. Kucenjelesha imbwa inkhala.
a. ku-cenjel-ish-a in-bwa i-i-nkhal-a
INFM-too.clever-INT-FV cl9-dog cl9-PAST-sit-FV
b. A dog that was too clever for an average dog sat down.
c. Too much excitement can cause problems.
d. Too much excitement can cause problems, I am too excited, so I am cause a problem.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. During heat season, dogs do mate and sometimes dogs can get their private parts injured. In the heat season, dogs travel long distances to look for

mates. Wants a female dog gets pregnant it goes back to its owner to nurse the pregnancy. The situation refers to either a promiscuous or dishonest person who gets pregnant or a sexually transmitted disease.

214. Kucipali kuliwenye kuliye mutendele.
    a. ku-ci-pali ku-li u-enye ku-li-ye mu-tendele
       cl17-cl7-polygamy cl17-be cl14-lie cl17-be-NEG cl3-peace
    b. A polygamous marriage that is characterized by lies has no peace.
    c. Lies cause strife.
    d. Lies cause people groups to disintegrate, he has told a lie, so his group will disintegrate.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS
    f. Nsenga people allow polygamy even though it is not received favorably by society. In order for any polygamous marriage to succeed, it is advisable for the husband to treat all women truthfully.

215. Kucitacita kulingana lini nokuponelatu.
    a. ku-cit-a-cit-a ku-ling-an-a lini na
       INFM-do-FV-do-FV INFM-same-REC-FV NEG CNJ
       ku-pon-il-a-tu
       INFM-fall-APP-PTC
    b. Making several attempts is not the same as total failure.
    c. It is better to try than give up without making several attempts.
    d. Failure at one attempt does not mean failure of a mission, I failed, so I can try again.
    e. MPP/Major/VS
    f. As is observed from many experiences in life, it is better to try than to declare failure. One is likely to succeed after several attempts.

216. Kucoka pa unyinji ni kufwamphuka.
    a. ku-cok-a pa-u-nyinji ni ku-fwamph-uk-a
       INFM-get.away-FV cl16-cl14-plenty COP INFM-spring.off-REV-FV
    b. To move away from a group is to spring off.
    c. Have the courage to sacrifice pleasure for important tasks.
    d. If a person comfortable then s/he wishes to stay the same, s/he is comfortable, so s/he wishes to stay the same.
    e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Usually at the end of the day's hard work and after dinner, people gather in friendship groups or families to tell stories until bedtime. In order to avoid disturbing the group when you have another important program elsewhere, you do not need to bid farewell. Additionally, people might delay you, as they will want you to listen to more of their stories. Therefore, one only leaves silently.

217. Kucosa kwanja ku lupako ni kunakilila.

a. ku-cos-a ku-anja ku-Ø-lupako ni
INFM-remove-FV cl15-hand cl17-cl5-hole COP
ku-nak-ilil-a
INFM-be.gentle-PER-FV

b. To remove a hand from a tight hole is to be gentle.

c. You must always be gentle in asking for a favor.

d. If a person is pleased with you the s/he can do anything for you, If s/he can do anything for you, then I can get her/him to give me what I want, So if a she is pleased with me, then I can get her to give me what I want.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. After harvest, Nsenga people embark on hunting expeditions. Some of the targeted wilds are mice and small animals that live in small holes. These animals are dug up. During the process sometimes, one needs push the hand through a small hole but a hand can get stack. Once a hand is stack in a hole, you have to be very gentle to negotiate your way out to avoid injury. The proverb here means that if you are guilty of having committed an offence, you need to be humble and gentle because if you argue, you may worsen the severity of the punishment or you may not be pardoned.

218. Kufwa kwa fulu kumwazya muliro.

a. ku-fu-a ku-a Ø-fulu ku-ku-mwazi-a mu-liro
INFM-die-FV cl15-GEN cl1a-tortoise INFM-GP-spread-FV cl3-fire

b. The dying of a tortoise scatters fire.

c. Do not implicate others when you are going down.

d. If we committed an offense as a group then all of us should be charged, if all of us should be charged then no one should be left out, so if we committed an offense as a group then no one should be left out.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS

f. In Nsenga land, a tortoise is edible by some communities. Traditionally, the tortoise is put on fire by its back as a way of slaughtering it. This helps to get the meat off the hard shell easily. In the process of dying and in pain, the tortoise scatters the fire. The situation is used in the proverb to refer to a situation where people who after differing with a friend, reveal all secretes that existed between them so that their friend may get into problems. This behavior is what is referred to as the "scattering of fire".

219. Kuika moyo pamuswe.
   a. ku-ik-a mu-oyo pa-mu-swe
      INFM-put-FV cl3-life cl16-cl3-termite
   b. Putting one's life on termites.
   c. To put one's life to waste.
   d. If a person has a contagious disease then you must have no contact with him/her, She has a contagious disease, so I should have no contact with her.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Termites are one of the Nsengas' worst enemies. They are known to attack household strictures such houses and various barns including harvested crops. Termites also attack crops whilst they are growing. Thus, termites are known to have no value except as destructors. Thus to put one's life on termites, by figurative use, is to put one's life to waste. The saying is also used to refer to a person who marries a sick person with a sexually transmitted disease such HIV/AIDS.

220. Kuitiwa kuŵili kulalika njala.
   a. ku-it-iw-a ku-ŵili ku-ku-lal-ik-a n-jala
      INFM-call-PASS-FV cl15-two INFM-GP-sleep-POT-FV cl9-hunger
   b. Two invitations can cause one to sleep on an empty stomach.
   c. You cannot serve two masters at a time. Greed and selfishness has bad consequences.
   d. If you can only be loyal to one master then you cannot be loyal to more than one master, if you cannot be loyal to more than one then you cannot be loyal to two, so If you cannot be loyal to more than one master then you cannot be loyal to two masters.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
   f. It is common in Nsenga society to feed from friend's homes. Sometimes one can receive several invitations at once. It is up to the person to be

honest in declining some invitations. Greed is bad and discouraged. The proverb also teaches people to stay focused rather than serve too many masters at once.

221. Kukana nyula yakulu ni kuzuŵika.

a. ku-kan-a n-yula i-a a-kulu ni ku-zuŵik-a
INFM-refuse-FV cl9-cloth cl9-GEN cl2-big COP INFM-soak-FV

b. You refuse washing old people's clothes by soaking them.

c. You cannot verbally refuse an old person's task.

d. If when you verbally refuse to do a task for an elderly person you are disrespectful then you can refuse using other means, if you can refuse using other means then you can use action to refuse, so If when you verbally refuse to do a task for an elderly person you are disrespectful then you can use action to refuse.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS

f. Any adult person can send Nsenga children. It is regarded as one of the highest form of disrespect for a child to refuse to be sent by an adult. In a situation where a young person has been asked to wash clothes by an old one, the young one diplomatically refuses to the job by doing a bad job rather than saying no.

222. Kukana ziŵa ya kapolo, kapena ulina anyoko.

a. ku-kan-a Ø-ziŵa i-a Ø-kapolo kapena u-li
INFM-refuse-FV cl5-breast cl5-GEN cl1a-slave CNJ 2s-be
na a-nyoko
CNJ cl2-mother

b. You can only refuse a slave's breast if you have your mother.

c. Be content and make use of what you have.

d. If you deny help then you have enough, he has denied help, so he has enough.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. In situations where a mother cannot breastfeed her child for some reasons or where a child has lost its mother anybody available within the community who is able to breastfeed can be asked to take care of the affected child. In worse situations, house servants can be asked to breastfeed a baby in a situation such as described above. This scenario is used to teach people to value what they have as well as accept any available

aid in time of need. It is impolite to refuse any offer of aid. Refusing is regarded as being proud of what you have or your guardians.

223. Kukata kombwe kukamwa.
   a. ku-kat-a Ø-kombwe ku-ka-mwa
      INFM-hold-FV cl1-rooster cl17-cl12-mouth
   b. Holding a rooster by the mouth.
   c. To do things in time.
   d. If you need to achieve great then you must start early, I want to achieve great so I must start early.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. A rooster occupies a very important part of the lives of traditional societies. Clocks are a recent innovation. In the past people used the crying of roosters to identify time. Roosters usually crow at specific times in the early hours of a morning. At a household, there is usually one particular rooster's crow that is used for time identification. In the proverb, a situation is portrayed where a person literally holds the cock by its mouth because he wakes up before it crows.

224. Kukatana m'menso.
   a. ku-kat-an-a mu-ma-inso
      INFM-touch-REC-FV cl18-cl6-eye
   b. To touch inside each other's eye.
   c. To deal deceptively with others.
   d. If you want to see then you should keep your eyes open, he has shut my eyes, so he does not want me to see.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. Eyes are very sensitive human organs that are usually allergic to any foreign substance. Accidents where people touch another person's eye or their own are very common. People fingers are usually either dirty or salty to touch the eye. Once the eye is disturbed, it immediately closes by use of eyelashes to minimize the impact. This phenomenon is likened to someone deliberately blinding or blindfolding another person in order to get away with something.

225. Kukazinga vitonga na mbuliuli.
   a. ku-kazing-a vi-tonga na n-buliuli
      INFM-fry-FV cl8-maize.grain CNJ cl9-popped.fried.maize
   b. Frying maize grain until it pops.
   c. An accommodating person brings joy to others.
   d. An accommodating person brings joy to others, s/he is accommodating, so other will like her/him.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Fried maize grain is a common snack among Nsenga people. Usually the maize grain does not pop like popcorn but experienced cooks can make it pop almost like popcorn. Many people enjoy popped grain because it softer to chew. In the proverb, an open person in character is likened to a popped maize grain that brings joy to the eater.

226. Kukomela mbuto iipa.
   a. ku-komel-a n-buto i-ipa
      INFM-plant-FV cl9-seed cl9-bad
   b. To plant a bad seed.
   c. When you saw bad things, you get bad results.
   d. When you invest bad things you get bad results, she has invested bad things, so she will get bad results.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Storage of seed among Nsenga people is usually a challenge as many people only use ineffective traditional means of storing seed. Thus some seeds easily get damaged which results in poor germination and consequently poor plant population.

227. Kukumana mumanzi posamba.
   a. ku-kum-an-a mu-manzi pa-ku-samb-a
      INFM-meet-REC-FV cl18-cl6-water cl16-GP-wash
   b. Meeting under water when swimming.
   c. When people differ, communication is affected.
   d. If people have a good relationship communication is easy, communication is not easy, so they have a bad relationship.
   e. MTT/Major/UCS
   f. Nsengas enjoy swimming in the seasonal streams and some lagoons for entertainment. Whilst under the water no matter how much you shout it is

difficult to communicate. This characteristic is likened to two people who have differed and are having difficult to communicate with each other.

228. Kukumbwa nkhanzingo ni kunkhala na menu.
   a. ku-kumbw-a n-khanzingo ni ku-nkhal-a na
      INFM-admire-FV cl9-fried.maize.grain COP INFM-be-FV CNJ
      ma-inu
      cl6-tooth
   b. To admire fried maize grain one should have teeth.
   c. When you set out to do something be ready for eventualities.
   d. If you embark on a project it means you understand the implications, he has embarked on a project, so he understands the implications.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Fried maize grain is an important snack and sometimes food for breakfast among Nsenga people. The fried grain is however hard and is only eaten by people with strong teeth.

229. Kukwekwesha mulomo pansi.
   a. ku-kwekwesh-a mu-lomo pa-nsi
      INFM-drag-FV cl3-lip cl16-down
   b. To drag ones mouth on the ground.
   c. To hide that you have received help is not only to be deceitful but also ungrateful.
   d. If someone is grateful then s/he shows it, s/he has not shown it, so s/he is not grateful.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. The lip mentioned in the proverb is the beak of a chicken. When a chicken has grabbed or "stolen" meat or food, it eats and rubs its beak on the ground. After this, the beak becomes dirty or disguised thereby deleting evidence. Nsengas believe the chickens' behavior is on purpose. The chicken is fully aware that it has stolen. The proverb is used to refer the behavior of some people who do not want to recognize or to show that they have been helped.

230. Kula uzione.
   a. kul-a u-zi-on-e
      grow-FV 2s-cl8-see-FV

b. Grow up and you will see them.
c. Growth comes with responsibility.
d. If you are mature then you are responsible, you are not responsible, so you are not mature.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Parents look after children until they grow up. Usually, children live within their parents' home until they are married off. The children only become independent once they are married off. Every grown person is naturally expected to be independent and responsible.

231. Kulala pakati ni kutangula.

a. ku-lal-a	pa-kati	ni	ku-tangul-a
INFM-sleep-FV	cl16-middle	COP	INFM-lead-FV

b. To sleep in between people one has to be early.
c. Be proactive in implementing your goals.
d. If you are competing for one goal then you must outdo others, I am in a competition for a goal, so I shout outdo others.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Nsenga people usually live as extended families causing households to consist of large numbers. It is common for especially children to sleep in groups in usually one-room houses. With the scarcity of good blankets and source of heating for traditional homes, people usually sleep close together to generate heat. This is common in cold seasons when temperatures drop at night. In this manner, somebody who sleeps in between gets the best warmth from the rest. To avoid unfairness, the middle position is usually left to anybody who goes to bed earlier than others do.

232. Kulala pamunzi pawene ni anikazi.

a. ku-lal-a	pa-mu-nzi	pa-a	wa-ine	ni
INFM-sleep-FV	cl16-cl3-village	cl16-GEN	cl2-stranger	COP
a-nikazi				
cl2-owner				

b. You cannot spend a night at a foreign place without the owners' permission.
c. You can use someone's property without permission.
d. If you want to use someone's property then you must have permission, I have not permission, so I cannot use someone's property.
e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. It is common for Nsenga people to spend nights in unknown places when they take long journeys. Sometimes people walk for days and spend a night wherever it gets dark. It is unsafe to move in the dark usually because of animals and sometimes criminals. However, it is also a good opportunity to rest. One can sleep anywhere s/he feels like doing so as long as one gets permission from both the owner and the traditional leaders.

233. Kulamba na lukolo.

a. ku-lamb-a na Ø-lukolo
INFM-go.alongside-FV CNJ cl5a-corridor

b. To go alongside the corridor.

c. To do dubious things.

d. An honest person does things openly, s/he is not doing things openly, so s//he is not an open person.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Many Nsenga homes are round huts with a corridor around the house. Anybody who approaches a home for dubious activities usually uses the corridor as a hiding place especially at night. Since most houses are made of earth, it is difficult to see a person in dark clothes standing or squatting against the wall in the dark. Either thieves or men visiting women's houses illegally do such activities.

234. Kulandila a matako akulu, akupoke m'pando.

a. ku-landil-a a-a ma-tako a-kulu a-ku-pok-e mu-pando
INFM-receive-FV cl2-GEN cl6-buttock cl6-big cl2-2s-grab-FV cl3-chair

b. If you welcome a person with big buttocks (to sit with you), that person will grab the chair from you.

c. Be careful with receiving strangers.

d. If you do not have sitting space you cannot offer someone a seat, I do not have enough sitting space, so I cannot offer someone a seat.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The etiquette of receiving a guest whether at home, meeting or any place requires that the welcoming person surrender his or her seat or an empty seat to the guest. Sometimes a guest is welcomed to share a seat with the receiving person. In an instance where the guest is fatter than the receiving

person, the receiving person must totally surrender the seat to the guest even if the receiving person ends up without a seat. The situation is used to caution people to be careful about receiving people, in one's life or home, as some people may have bad character that can influence either the receiving person or a member of his or her family or grouping.

235. Kulata lupili na cikumo.
   a. ku-lat-a Ø-lupili na ci-kumo
      INFM-point-FV cl5a-mountain CNJ cl7-finger
   b. To point at a mountain using a finger.
   c. To behave inappropriately before elders.
   d. If you are in the midst of elder then you must behave appropriately, I am in the midst of elders, so I should behave appropriately.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Nsenga people use a lot of finger pointing in giving directions. However, it is usually unnecessary to point when showing someone a mountain as it is usually visible to both the speaker and listener. It is also viewed in the minds of Nsengas that a finger is too small to be used to point at a big mountain. Thus, a mountain is not pointed at using a finger. The expression is used to refer to one cultural prohibition where a young person is not allowed to point at a big person with a finger. It is regarded as an insulting gesture. Even subjects cannot point at their leaders using fingers.

236. Kulaŵa poto kusila kulya.
   a. ku-laŵ-a Ø-poto ku-sil-a kuly-a
      INFM-taste-FV cl5a-pot INFM-finish-FV INFM-eat-FV
   b. Tasting relish in a pot until it finishes.
   c. Bad habits start as insignificant isolated activities.
   d. If you keep subtracting from a limited source then you can reduce the quantity of the source, so If you can reduce the quantity of the source then you can deplete the source, so if you keep subtracting from the limited source then you can deplete the source.
   e. Hypothetical/Major/VS
   f. Nsenga people regard testing relish repeatedly while cooking as bad kitchen manners. In the saying, a person is actually said to finish the pot to refer to finishing the contents of the pot while cooking.

237. Kulelela mwana pacinena.
   a. ku-lel-il-a mu-ana pa-ci-nena
      INFM-raise-APP-FV cl1-child cl16-cl7-pubic.area
   b. Raising a child at the pubic area.
   c. Unpunished children are undisciplined children.
   d. Discipline helps to raise a good child, he is not disciplined, so he will grow up an undisciplined child.
   e. TF/Major/C
   f. Discipline for children even if it takes administering corporal punishment is always advisable in Nsenga society. However, there are some parents, especially mothers, who do not want to administer any form of punishment to children. Such mothers always place their children on the laps each time they cry. Thus, they are called as people who raise their children at the pubic area. The use of the word for pubic area, which is actually a taboo word, is an expression of disgust and anger by society at a parent who raises undisciplined children. On the other hand, the use of the word also implies dealing with a child with much sensitivity because the pubic area is a sensitive area.

238. Kulesha inzi pa matuvi nikufwikilapo.
   a. ku-lesh-a Ø-inzi pa-ma-tuvi ni ku-fwikil-a-po
      INFM-prohibit-FV cl1a-fly cl16-cl6-feces COP INFM-cover-FV-ENC
   b. To stop flies from getting on feces is to cover the feces.
   c. Deal with the root cause of the problem.
   d. If there is a problem and if there is its source then I can stop it by dealing with the source. If there is a problem, then if there is a source then I can stop it by dealing with its source.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. Whilst some people do not mind looking at animal excreta, they do mind looking at human ones. Thus, even in situations where toilets are lacking, people are advised to always cover human excreta as a matter of hygiene. Of course, a sure sign of uncovered excreta is the presence of flies. In situations where people gossip, the cause of the gossip is advised to be dealt with rather than dealing with the gossipers. Sometimes the cause of gossip can be one's unacceptable behavior. Gossipers are flies in the proverb.

239. Kulewa katemo nikuŵelama.
   a. ku-lew-a ka-temo ni ku-ŵelam-a
      INFM-dodge-FV cl12-axe COP INFM-stoop-FV
   b. To dodge an axe is to stoop.
   c. Prevention is better than cure.
   d. It is better to prevent a problem than to let it occur, there is a problem, so I should prevent it from happening.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. An axe is one of the most important household tools. It is essential for daily activities such as cutting fire wood as well as for farming. Accidents caused by an axe are numerous. Because an axe is usually sharp heavy metal, any impact with the body causes bad injuries. As a result, especially, children are always advised to be careful with both the handling and use of the axe to avoid injury.

240. Kuli kunza kuli tulo.
   a. ku-li kunz-a ku-li tu-lo
      cl17-be eat.*nshima*.without.relish-FV cl17-be cl13-sleep
   b. You can sleep on *nshima* without any relish.
   c. Having little is better than having nothing at all.
   d. If there is a problem and if it can be prevented then I will be better if I prevent it. If there is a problem, then if it can be prevented then I will be better when it is prevented.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. *Nshima* the Nsengas' staple food is only eaten together with side dishes because it has a flat taste. However, in real hard times one can opt to eating *nshima* without the scarce relish.

241. Kuli mwine, imbwa yukufwa lini.
   a. ku-li mu-ine in-bwa i-ku-ku-fu-a lini
      cl17-be cl1-owner cl9-dog cl9-GP-FPR-die-FV NEG
   b. A dog does not die when it is with the owner.
   c. Look after borrowed property as good as the owner does.
   d. If you have borrowed something then it must kept in the condition as at the time you borrowed it, if you must keep it in the condition as at the time you borrowed it then you must carefully look after it, so if you have borrowed something then you must carefully look after it.

e. Hypothetical/Major/VS

f. Dogs are essential animals to Nsenga people. They are treated more than pets because they are used for both security and hunting. Every dog should is supposed to be identified with the owner and strange dogs are usually killed for fear of possible attacks on human beings. Owners of dogs have the responsibility to feed their dogs and no strange dog is fed by anybody. Strange dogs can even die of hunger. The situation relates to situations about how people treat their property versus borrowed property.

242. Kuli wako ungaguleko lini ng'ombe ya linso imo.

a. ku-li u-ako u-nga-gul-e-ko lini n-n'gombe
cl17-be cl1-2sPOS 2s-MOD-buy-FV-ENC NEG cl9-cattle
i-a li-nso i-mo
cl9-GEN cl5-eye cl5-one

b. You cannot buy a one-eye cow/ox from your relative.

c. No man is island because people get help from each other.

d. Friends help each other, we are friends, so we will help each other.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Farming is the most important economic activity for Nsengas. Cattle are traditionally most important animals for use in farming. In the absence of medical personnel, it is always difficult to tell what a healthy animal is especially when one wants to purchase one. To avoid being cheated, people prefer to buy animals from someone they know. People are therefore advised to make friends in order to receive help or favors in time of need.

243. kulima na mucingulo.

a. ku-lim-a na mu-ci-ngulo
INFM-cultivate-FV CNJ cl18-7-late.afternoon

b. Cultivating even in the late afternoon.

c. To try to do your best when it is too late.

d. A competition is lost when you fail to complete it within the time limit, there is still time, so the competition is not lost.

e. MTT/Conclusion/ VS

f. Nsenga people prefer to begin work on the cultivation fields very early while they are fresh, energetic and before the heat of the sun overcome them. Mornings also have longer working hours than evenings when there

is no day light. Thus people usually do farm work in the morning and get back home in the afternoon to do house chores or rest.

244. Kulimbikila m'senga uliye manzi.

a. ku-limbik-il-a mu-senga u-li-ye ma-nzi
INFM-insist-APP-FV cl3-route cl3-be-NEG cl6-water

b. To insist on taking a route where you cannot find water.

c. Venturing into unprofitable things knowingly.

d. If a person is working hard on something then the thing is profitable, the thing is not profitable, so s/he should not work hard on it.

e. TF/Conclusion/UCS

f. Nsenga people whose rural areas are hard to reach because of lack of good transportation usually take their journeys on foot. On foot, one can only carry a limited supply of food and water to allow for easy walking. In order to avoid starvation, people usually take routes where they can easily find necessary supplies especially water.

245. Kuliye matongwe a mbeta.

a. ku-li-ye ma-tongwe a-a n-beta
cl17-be-NEG cl6-ruins cl6-GEN cl9-person.of.marriage.age

b. You cannot find people to marry in the ruins.

c. Good things are found in good places.

d. Good things are found in good places, it is not a good place, so there is no good thing.

e. TF/Conclusion/UCS

f. There is a tendency for village settlements to move places due to various reasons such as land infertility and change of environment due to human actions. In this manner, whenever, a land is found to be unsuitable for habitation, residents leave their houses, usually not demolished, and go to new places with newly built houses. Some destitute people and old lonely people can take advantage of the disserted areas or ruins for occupation. It is highly unlikely however that you can find any youthful person residing in the ruins. Let alone, people intending to find life partners cannot stay in the ruins for fear of being unnoticed. You therefore need to look for marriage in the right places.

246. Kulwala nyamakazi polima.
   a. ku-lwal-a n-yamakazi pa-ku-wezy-a
      INFM-sick-FV cl9-cronic.pain cl16-GP-farming.season-FV
   b. Suffering from a type of chronic pain during harvest time.
   c. Giving lame excuses.
   d. If when it's time to work s/he is sick and if when it's free time s/he is fine then s/he is telling a lie about her/his health. If when it's time to work s/he is sick, then if when it's free time s/he is fine then s/he is telling a lie about his/her health.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
   f. The saying talks about a person who always gets ill when it is farming season but is always healthy at harvest time and other seasons. This typical lazy person does not want to work hard.

247. Kulya na akulu ni kutumikila.
   a. ku-ly-a na a-kulu ni ku-tum-ik-il-a
      INFM-eat-FV CNJ cl2-big COP INFM-send-POT-APP-FV
   b. To feed with elders one needs to be a helpful (to be able to be sent by elders).
   c. Submit to elders in order to win their favors.
   d. If I submit to elders then they will be pleased with me, If they will be pleased with me then they will treat me with favor, so if I submit to elders then they will treat me with favor.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. All elders are supposed to be treated with respect and submission by all young ones. Thus, an elderly person can ask any young person to do some tasks even if there is no blood relationship. In many cases, elderly people reward young ones that are very helpful and can be easily sent with various gifts. Such young people are allowed to be in the presence of elderly people and even allowed to eat with the elders. Otherwise elderly men, women and children usually eat separately.

248. Kulya vaŵene ni mateta.
   a. ku-ly-a vi-a ŵa-ine ni
      INFM-eat-FV cl8-GEN cl2-stranger COP
      ma-teta
      6-acts.of.affection.(between.spouses)

b. To eat or receive things from other people is to be good and to do good things to others.
c. Be good to others in order to receive favor.
d. If I am good to others then they will be pleased with me, If they will be pleased with me then they will treat me with favor, so if I am good to others then they will treat me with favor.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
f. Mateta is Nsenga word used to refer to good things and gestures that someone does in order to please another person. The term is commonly used to refer to practices of spouses done in order to please their spouses and thereby receive good love in return. By common sense, once you do good things to others you get good favors in return such as in form of food.

249. Kumangusulila cilonda painzi.
a. ku-mangusul-il-a ci-londa pa-Ø-inzi
INFM-untie-APP-FV cl7-sore cl16-1a-housefly
b. To uncover a sore where there are flies.
c. Do not disclose your secrets before your enemies.
d. If someone is my enemy and if I reveal my secrets to him then he can use the secrets to harm me. If someone is my enemy, then if I reveal my secrets to him then he can use them to harm me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Houseflies are irritating creatures among the Nsengas. By common knowledge, flies follow bad odor and rotting matter. Thus, sores with a bad odor attract flies. It is common knowledge therefore that if you dress a wound in the open can attract flies. In the proverb flies represent enemies and the covered wound represents secrets.

250. Kumbani mkolo manzi akaliye wela.
a. kumb-a-ni mu-kolo ma-nzi a-ka-li-ye wel-a
dig-FV-PTC cl3-trench cl6-water cl6-CND-be-NEG come-FV
b. Dig a trench before running water comes.
c. Prevention is better than cure.
d. It is better to prevent a problem than to let it occur, there is a problem, so I should prevent it from happening.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Digging trenches to control flooding, as a community, is a common practice before the rainy season begins. Every community is expected to protect itself from flooding by putting up preventive measures.

251. Kumela nsele ya nthengele nkuilinga panyo.

a. ku-mel-a n-sele i-a n-thengele ni
INFM-swallow cl9-seed cl9-GEN cl9-*nthengele*.fruit COP
ku-i-ling-a pa-nyo
INFM-REF-measure-FV cl16-anus

b. One who swallows the *nthengele* fruit seed should measure his/her anus.

c. Think before you act.

d. If you do something then you must accept responsibilities, he has made a woman pregnant, so he should accept responsibilities.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The *nthengele* fruit is one of the most important seasonal and wild food supplements for the Nsengas. Once wild fruits are in season, they help many families as both food and rare nutritional supplements. The seeds of the fruit are not swallowed because they are big, harder, and therefore impossible to digest in the stomach. The proverb is normally used in a judicial case. If for example a man pleads guilty of a crime such as committing adultery, he will in a traditional settling, be asked to pay a fine in form of animals like cattle or goats. If he feels that the number of animals he has been asked to pay is too big and would find it very difficult to raise them, he can ask or plead for the number to be reduced. However, if the man presiding over the case, after considering all factors, still feels that the culprit deserves the judgment and that the sentence should not be reduced, s/he will use this proverb to ward off any mitigation or appeals for leniency. By use of this proverb, the culprit is told that before doing what he did he should have first considered the consequences and weighed himself just as one knows that if s/he swallows the seed of a "*Nthengele* fruit" s/he will have problems when defecating.

252. Kumelesha njoka maziŵa.

a. ku-mel-ish-a n-joka ma-ziŵa
INFM-swallow-CAUS-FV cl9-snake cl6-breast

b. Causing a snake to develop breasts.

c. To help someone who does not help others.

d. If there is something and if he does not do it then he does not like it. If there is something, then if he does not do it, then he does not like.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. A snake is a well-known reptile in Nsenga areas where most human settlements are adjacent to wild bushes or forests. It is thus very common for human beings to be visited by snakes. In this manner, an average person knows the general characteristics of a snake. It is therefore common knowledge that snakes do not have breasts like mammals do.

253. Kumeta m'pala nkhanga.
a. ku-met-a mu-pala n-khanga
INFM-cut.hair-FV cl3-bald.head cl9-gunefowl
b. To make the guineafowl baldheaded.
c. To do something bad to someone.
d. If there is something and if he does not like it then he does not need it. If there is something, then if he does not like it, then he does not need it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. Guineafowls have a natural baldhead. Nsenga people believe somebody must have cut the guineafowl's hair and therefore that the baldhead is an acquired feature. It is also believed that the guineafowl musty have done something terribly wrong in order to get a permanent baldhead. However, the punishment is considered inhuman.

254. Kumulindi kulowa kapapasha kuziwika na m'kule.
a. ku-mu-lindi ku-ku-low-a Ø-kapapasha
cl17-cl3-hole cl17-GP-enter-FV cl1a-spitting.cobra
ku-ziw-ik-a na mu-kule
cl17-know-POT-FV CNJ cl3-snake.belly.marks.on.dirt
b. The hole the spitting cobra enters is identified by the snake marks leading to it.
c. Habits reveal one's character.
d. If character is a sum on ones habits and If someone has habits then I can tell his/her character. If character is a sum of ones habits, then if someone has habits, then I can tell his character.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Usually big snakes leave marks on dirt as they move. It so common in rural surroundings that are close to the wild to be visited by snakes. Usually

people see the marks on the dirt of their house yards as evidence of the snakes' visit. A spitting cobra is one of the most feared snakes because of its dangerous venom that is harmful to the eyes. The proverb refers to bad habits. You can tell someone's character from their habits.

255. Kumvumvunya milomo pansi.
   a. ku-mvumvuny-a mi-lomo pa-nsi
      INFM-drag-FV cl4-lip cl16-down
   b. To drag the beak on the ground.
   c. Humans' inability to appreciate what is given.
   d. If someone is grateful then s/he shows it, s/he has not shown it, so s/he is not grateful.
   e. TF/Major/UCS
   f. Chickens have a habit of getting food from people plates especially meat. This happens because chickens freely live around homes and they sometimes wait to eat the leftovers. Rather than wait for the leftovers they can pick from the plate once they have a chance. In order to properly hold and break the piece of meat, the chicken uses the ground as support. It is believed however by Nsengas that the chicken deliberately drags its beak against the ground as a way of cleaning its beak in order to remove evidence.

256. Kuniata m'kulu nikunakilila.
   a. ku-niat-a mu-kulu ni ku-nak-ilil-a
      INFM-beat-FV cl3-big COP INFM-gentle-PERS-FV
   b. Beating an elderly person is being gentle.
   c. An angry adult appreciates a gentle and humble young person.
   d. If someone is angry then he needs something to calm him /her down, If s/he needs something to calm him/her down then I should do something to please him/her, So if someone is angry then I should do something to please him/her.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. In Nsenga society, all elders have authority over all children regardless of family relations. In the event of conflict between the young and the elders, the young are expected to be polite in addressing their concerns to the elderly. It is unacceptable for a young person to argue with an elderly one. Thus in being polite, a young person finds a way of effectively

communicating his or her concerns to the elderly person allowing the elderly person to value and appreciate the young person's concerns. If an argument occurs, the young person is out rightly considered to be in the wrong.

257. Kunkhala na pala ni kumvwa.

a. ku-nkhal-a na Ø-pala ni ku-mvw-a
INFM-be-FV CNJ cl5-bald.head COP INFM-hear-FV

b. To develop a bald head is to be obedient.

c. You need good character to grow old.

d. If I am good to others and if society is pleased with me, then society will reward me a long life. If I am good to others, then if society is pleased with me then society will reward me with a long life.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. A baldhead is regarded as a symbol of wisdom and good ageing. It is believed that only well behaved young people have a chance of growing into respectful and responsible adults. To have good behavior, young ones are expected to emulate and obey elders.

258. Kunkhala pa nsaka ni kugaŵana malo.

a. ku-nkhal-a pa-n-saka ni
INFM-be-FV cl16-cl9-*Insaka*.(meeting.place/forum) COP
ku-gaŵ-an-a ma-lo
INFM-share-REC-FV cl6-area

b. To be at the *Insaka* you need to share space.

c. In public, all must share all things.

d. If something belongs to the public then it is for common purpose, it is public property, so it is for common purpose.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The etiquette of receiving a guest whether at home, meeting or any place requires that the welcoming person surrender his or her seat or an empty seat to the guest. Sometimes a guest is welcomed to share a seat with the receiving person. At a public meeting or *Insaka*, all seats are public and therefore all people are encouraged to share seats. This situation encourages sharing things.

259. Kunkhalisha kweletelela ngomwa.

a. ku-nkhal-ish-a ku-i-let-ilil-a n-gomwa
INFM-stay-CMP-FV INFM-PAST-bring-PER-FV cl9-sterile.person

b. Staying for good brought problems for a sterile person.

c. People of similar characteristics stay together.

d. People of similar characteristics stay together, they are together, so they have the same behavior.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. In Nsenga culture, only married couples are expected to stay together as opposite sexes. People in courtship are allowed to stay together too because it is understood that such people are working towards marriage. In an event where a man is always found with a particular woman, that man can be held accountable in an event where the woman gets pregnant out of wedlock. Even if the man could be sterile, he could still be charged on assumption of spending time with either the unmarried woman or even someone's wife. It is assumed men and women who are always together are in intimate relationships. The situation also applies to groups of people one is found with. If you are found in a group of thieves you risk being charged as one even if you may be not.

260. Kunyamula mbezo kusiya nyambo.

a. ku-nyamul-a n-bezo ku-siy-a n-nyambo
INFM-carry-FV cl9-hook.and.line INFM-leave-FV cl9-bait

b. To carry a fishing line but leaving bait.

c. Good preparation is necessary in order to succeed.

d. Good preparation is necessary in order to succeed, so if I do good preparation then I might succeed.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Angling is one of the most common methods of fishing among Nsengas. Almost anybody knows how to use a hook and line for fishing. However, a hook and line is always used with bait to disguise it from fish. Without bait, it is almost impossible to catch fish.

261. Kunyatana kwaŵene osavulila jekete.

a. ku-nyat-an-a ku-a ŵa-ine a-ku-sa-vul-il-a
INFM-fight-REC-FV cl15-GEN cl2-stranger cl1-GP-undress-APP-FV

Ø-jakete
cl5a-jacket

b. Do not take off a jacket to take part in a fight you do not know.
c. Do not deeply take part in other people's conflict.
d. If the conflict involves me then I should do my best, it does not involve me, so I should not do my best.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. Taking off upper garments especially by men is a typical symbol of a man extremely annoyed and resorting to fighting as a solution. The offended person takes off the garment to fight. In some fights where friends help a friend to fight, the helping friends do not need to take off the garments because they are not primary fighters.

262. Kuona cimbwi sikuvyalika kale koma kuyenda usiku.

a. ku-on-a Ø-cimbwi si-ku-vyal-ik-a kale koma
INFM-see-FV cl1a-hyena NEG-GP-bear-POT-FV old CNJ
ku-yend-a u-siku
INFM-walk-FV cl14-night

b. You do not need to be an old (experienced) person to see a hyena but to move at night.
c. An old person does not know everything.
d. Human beings do not know everything, he is human, so he does not know everything.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Hyenas usually attack Nsenga people's livestock when they cannot find animals to eat. It is very difficult to see hyenas in daylight but at night. Thus, it is said that one does not need any experience but to simply walk at night to meet a hyena.

263. Kuona menso a nkhono ni kusisikanya.

a. ku-on-a ma-inso a-a n-khono ni ku-sisikany-a
INFM-see-FV cl6-eye cl6-GEN cl9-snail COP INFM-be.patient-FV

b. You need to be patient to see a snail's eye.
c. Be patient in the way you do things.
d. You need to be patient to complete difficult tasks, I have a difficult task so I need to be patient.
e. PF/Major/UCS

f. A snail always hides into its shell or folds itself once it is provoked or it senses danger. Thus, it is very difficult to observe minute details of a snail because of its behavior.

264. Kuona vifipa biii.

a. ku-on-a vi-fipa bii
INFM-see-FV cl8-dark IDEO

b. To see very dark things.

c. To discipline a person until s/he realizes his/her wrong.

d. If I discipline someone then s/he must realize his/her wrongdoing, s/he has not yet realized his/her wrongdoing, so I have not disciplined her.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. This is an expression used when a person has been made to go through a tough time. The expression comes from a blackout a person experiences when s/he goes through a lot of pain, torture or suffers from hunger for a long time. The expression is used when people plan to punish someone or to discipline someone.

265. Kuonesha meno na viponzi.

a. ku-on-ish-a ma-ino na vi-ponzi
INFM-see-CAUS-FV cl6-tooth CNJ cl8-wisdom.tooth

b. To laugh aloud by showing all the teeth including wisdom teeth.

c. Laughter does not always mean good.

d. If someone laughs then s/he is happy, he is laughing, so he is happy.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. While Nsenga people enjoy laughter, people are always cautious of the fact that laughter is not always representative of someone's good intentions or goodness. Thus someone who laughs with you could be your vey enemy. A person is said to enjoy laughter when s/he opens her mouth wide when laughing showing almost her/his dental formula.

266. Kuonesha meno.

a. ku-on-ish-a ma-ino
INFM-see-CAUS-FV cl6-tooth

b. Showing teeth.

c. Someone's smile does not always mean s/he is pleased with you.

d. If someone smiles then s/he is happy, she is smiling so she is happy.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Since teeth show each time one laughs. It is assumed that when teeth show then one is happy because laughter is a sign of happiness. However, sometimes laughing does not always entail happiness just as a show of teeth does not always mean laughter. Sometimes teeth need to be regarded as mere lifeless bones.

267. Kupala mamba.

a. ku-pal-a ma-mba
INFM-scrap-FV cl6-dundruf

b. To remove dandruff.

c. An undisciplined person must be disciplined to end the behavior problem.

d. If someone has bad behavior then s/he should be disciplined, s/he has bad behavior so s/he should be disciplined.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Dandruff is one of the problematic body hygiene issues. As chemicals are modern and expensive, the traditional way of dealing with dandruff has been by simply scraping it off the hard with a comb. Dandruff is associated with bad behavior that must be removed.

268. Kupala usi kusiya mulilo.

a. ku-pal-a u-si ku-siy-a mu-lilo
INFM-scrap-FV cl14-smoke INFM-leave-FV cl3-fire

b. To get smoke instead of scrapping glowing pieces from a fire source.

c. Ignoring facts and discussing peripheral issues.

d. Facts make up a true story, he has no facts, so he is not telling a true story.

e. TF/Major/C

f. For many households that are not able to afford matches, they early in every morning look for sources of fire. Many Nsenga people keep fire by keeping large logs burn continuously especially all night when nobody is using the fire. To get the fire, one gets glowing pieces of wood that are used in starting up another fireplace. Sometimes the pieces of wood extinguish during the process of making a fire producing only temporary smoke. The proverb is used to solve various misunderstands.

269. Kupalapata kusilizya lini ukali.
   a. ku-palapat-a ku-sil-izy-a lini u-kali
      INFM-fidget-FV INFM-finish-APP-FV NEG cl14-pain
   b. Fidgeting does not end pain.
   c. You must always be gentle in trying to attract favor.
   d. If I am gentle with her then she will be pleased, if she will be pleased then she can treat me with favor, so If I am gentle with her then she will treat me with favor.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. It is assumed that people fidget with pain because they think pain can be defeated that way. Thus, it is advisable to keep calm when you have a lot of pain. The same principle is applied to emotional pain. This means that if you want to get something from someone, you need to be soft and humble to that person because if you approach him/her with pomp and self-exhortation, you may not be given.

270. Kupambana njila nikutangaza.
   a. ku-pamban-a n-jira ni ku-tangaz-a
      INFM-overcome-FV cl9-road COP INFM-keep.legs.apart-FV
   b. To overcome a road is to keep legs apart.
   c. Difficulty moments call for difficulty solutions and desperate moments call for desperate measures.
   d. If I really need to achieve something then I must do everything possible to get it, If I have to do everything possible to get it then I must adopt unusual measures to get it, so If I really need something than I must adopt unusual measures to get it.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. Everywhere human beings are not omnipresent. A person cannot step on every piece of land, as it is practically impossible. It is thus not possible for a person to walk on two roads at once. The only way to cover two lanes is to split the legs so that one leg steps on one lane and the other on the other lane. This is a strenuous activity as it is not normal or practical to walk with split. This proverb is therefore used among the Nsenga people to mean that certain difficult situations require that one gets strong and uses unconventional means.

271. Kupasa matu nsima.

a. ku-pas-a ma-tu n-sima
INFM-give-FV cl6-ear cl9-*nshima*

b. Paying attention to *nshima*.

c. You need your undivided attention to succeed.

d. If you want to succeed then you should have undivided attention, I need to succeed so, I should have undivided attention.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. *Nshima* is the staple food for the Nsenga people. In this manner, it is attached to many cultural practices and mannerisms. For example, while eating *nshima* you do not talk too much, you do not do any other activity, and you do not move about. In short, you need to give *nshima* your full and undivided attention.

272. Kupasha onga.

a. ku-pak-ish-a u-onga
INFM-increase-CAUS-FV cl14-gun.powder

b. To put too much gunpowder.

c. Overdoing something can be dangerous.

d. Overdoing something can be dangerous, I am overdoing something, so I might get into danger.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Muzzleloaders are an acquired technology among the Nsengas. They are chiefly used for hunting wildlife. The guns are made usually without proper specifications resulting in numerous malfunctions and accidents. The common mistake is the over application of gunpowder which results in explosions that are sometimes fatal.

273. Kupaya njoka ni kuitenda mutu.

a. ku-pay-a n-joka ni ku-i-tend-a mu-tu
INFM-kill-FV cl9-skane COP INFM-cl9-cut-FV cl3-head

b. You kill a snake by cutting the head.

c. Deal with a problem from its source.

d. If there is a problem and if there is its source then I can stop it by dealing with the source. If there is a problem, then if there is a source then I can stop it by dealing with its source.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Snakes always visit Nsenga people as most of their settlements are surrounded by bushes. Snakes sometimes run away from the bush to follow warmth in residential areas. It is customary to kill a snake that comes near residential areas in order to avoid snakebites some of which are fatal. A snake can be immobilized by breaking its spine but it can still bite in an immobilized state. To avoid risks of being beaten by an apparent dead snake it is encouraged to kill be cutting its head.

274. Kupaya nzovu na maligeni.

a. ku-pay-a	n-zovu	na	ma-legeni
INFM-kill-FV	cl9-elephant	CNJ	cl6-catapult

b. To kill an elephant using catapults.
c. When you complete an impossible task, it means you are lucky.
d. If there is an impossible task and if you complete it then you are lucky. If there is an impossible task, then if you complete it then you are lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. Elephants are part of the Nsenga wildlife. Sometimes an elephant is killed for meat and use of trophies. However, because of its size it is one of the difficult animals to kill. To use catapults therefore is to portray a picture of impossibility.

275. Kupaya tondo ni kunkhala pam'lila wake.

a. ku-pay-a	Ø-tondo	ni	ku-nkhal-a
INFM-kill-FV	cl1a-big.bush.mouse	COP	INFM-sit-FV
pa-mu-lila	u-ake		
cl16-cl3-route	cl1-3sPOS		

b. To kill *tondo* (a big bush mouse with long legs) one has to be in its established route.
c. You need to be strategic to be a high achiever.
d. If you want to achieve high results then you must strategize, I want to achieve high results, so I must strategize.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. The majority of Nsenga people enjoy mice meat. One of the most difficult types of mice to catch is called *Tondo*. Once it leaves its hole, it runs at a very high speed making it very difficult to catch. The easier way is to trap it in its established route before provoking it from its hole. Once it escapes, it

is most likely to use its usual escape routes thereby increasing the likelihood of being trapped.

276. Kupaya tuni tuŵili na mwala umo.

a. ku-pay-a tu-uni tu-ŵili na mu-ala u-mo
INFM-kill-FV cl13-bird cl13-two CNJ cl3-stone cl3-one

b. Killing two birds with one stone.

c. Luck is getting unexpected provision.

d. If you need to sow to get results and if you get results without sowing then you are lucky. If you need to sow to get results, then if you get results without sowing then you are lucky.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Hunting birds for both food and fun is one of the pastime activities especially among Nsenga boys. To accomplish several things with one action is regarded as luck rather than the result of deliberate action.

277. Kupikila nsima anyinji ni kuononga unga.

a. ku-pik-il-a n-sima a-nyinji ni ku-onong-a u-nga
INFM-cook-APP-FV cl9-*nshima* cl2-many COP INFM-waste-FV cl14-mealie.meal

b. Cooking *nshima* for many people is wasting mealie meal.

c. You cannot please everybody without wasting yourself.

d. An individual cannot please every human, I am an individual so I cannot please every human.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. *Nshima* is the staple food for Nsenga people. Once you receive a visitor or guest, the best treat is to prepare *nshima*. *Nshima* cooks well in smaller amounts and gets more complicated in larger amounts. In an event where large numbers of people have to be fed, you need a lot of mealie meal to prepare the meal. It is also difficult to estimate the amount of *nshima* a large group of people requires, as there are no specific measurements in traditional knowledge. In order to be safe, people resort to preparing more than is necessary thereby wasting the mealie meal. Sometimes it is ideal to simply offer a snack or drink to large numbers. In this proverb, the situation refers to people that want to please everybody. In trying to please everyone,

they waste time and resources and in the end they might just please very few people.

278. Kupoka cisenda ku nkhuku ni kunakilila.

a. ku-pok-a ci-senda ku-n-khuku ni
INFM-get-FV cl7-white.caterpillar cl17-cl9-chicken COP
ku-nak-ilil-a
INFM-gentle-PERS-FV

b. In order to get a white caterpillar from a chicken you need to be humble.

c. You have to be gentle in order to win favors.

d. If I am gentle to others then they will be pleased with me, If they will be pleased with me then they will treat me with favor, so if I am gentle to others then they will treat me with favor.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. Nsenga people enjoy eating caterpillars, which are bountiful in specific seasons and become very good alternatives to side dishes for *Nshima*. One such type of caterpillar is the white one found in wood. The caterpillar can also be found in logs lying around homes. Sometimes chickens peck the caterpillars out of the logs. The caterpillars from the wood are considered the most delicious and therefore most expensive. They are also difficult to get because one has to cut wood open, which is strenuous exercise. The other caterpillars are simply picked from appropriate trees usually in bulk. Once a chicken has picked the caterpillar, one needs to be very gentle to get it from the chicken. Many people usually grab the caterpillar from chickens and sometimes eat it fresh.

279. Kuponelewa na cimvungula.

a. ku-pon-il-iw-a na ci-mvungula
INFM-fall-APP-PASS-FV CNJ cl7-sausage.tree.fruit

b. To be hit by a falling sausage tree fruit.

c. To be faced with a misfortune.

d. If you have done nothing wrong and if you have a problem then you have misfortune. If you have done nothing wrong, then if you have a problem then you have misfortune.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. The Cimvungula fruit is used for various medicinal purposes among them enhancement of sexual capabilities. Nsengas treat the fruit with some

superstition and therefore regard it as a taboo to be hit by the fruit that usually falls to the ground by itself. The fruit is very heavy and cause damage if hit. The superstition is also used as deterrent for children who always get mesmerized by the fruit to play under the tree.

280. Kupuzumuka m'kamwa mwa nkhalamo.

a.	ku-puzumuk-a	mu-ka-mwa	mu-a	n-khalamo
	INFM-fall.off-FV	cl18-cl12-mouth	cl18-GEN	cl9-lion

b. To fall off alive from the lion's mouth.
c. You need luck to escape some problems.
d. If there is inescapable danger and if you escape it then you are lucky. If there is inescapable danger, then if you escape it then you are lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. A lion is known as a merciless ferocious powerful beast. It is believed that there are always limited chances of survival once the beast attacks you. To survive a lion's attack is therefore regarded as mere good luck and not an act of bravery.

281. Kusenga kwa akulu ni menso.

a.	ku-seng-a	ku-a	a-kulu	ni	ma-inso
	INFM-beg-FV	cl15-GEN	cl2-big	COP	cl6-eye

b. The elderly beg by looking.
c. It is impolite to wait for elderly people to speak out before their needs are addressed.
d. An elderly person simply looks at me when s/he needs something, s/he is looking at me, so s/he needs something.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Begging is always regarded as demeaning, especially begging for essential commodities. It is much more demeaning for an elderly person to beg for something from a young one. In situations where an elderly person wants something from a younger one, a persistent look implies "I want some". Young ones are expected to be sensitive to the needs of the elderly and address those needs before the elderly people speak out.

282. Kusenga kwa mwana nikulila.

a.	ku-sang-a	ku-a	mu-ana	ni	ku-lil-a
	INFM-beg-FV	cl15-GEN	cl1-child	COP	INFM-cry-FV

b. A child begs by crying.
c. People complain if there is a problem.
d. A child cries when it needs something, it is crying, so it needs something.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. It is well known that in many instances children cry when they need something.

283. Kusenga unga ni kuŵa na nthalo.

a. ku-seng-a u-nga ni kuŵ-a na
INFM-beg-FV cl14-mealie.meal COP INFM-be CNJ
n-thalo
cl9-cooking.pot

b. You beg for mealie meal if you have a cooking pot.
c. Do not ask for what you cannot use or manage.
d. Mealie meal is used for cooking *nshima*, he has mealie meal, so he wants to cook *nshima*.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Mealie meal is the Nsenga people's staple food. It is a symbol of wealth, food security and a stable home. In the principle of sharing everything, as all Nsengas believe and ascribe to, mealie meal is one of the commonly shared items. However, it is assumed that whosoever begs for mealie meal has the ability and utensils needed to prepare *nshima* or a meal. Otherwise, one would not be expected to ask for things s/he is not able to use. The proverb is used to discourage wastefulness.

284. Kusila kwa cishamwali ni kuleka kuuzyana vawenye.

a. ku-sil-a ku-a ci-shamwali ni
INFM-finish-FV cl17-GEN cl7-close.relationship COP
ku-lek-a ku-uzy-an-a vi-a u-enye
INFM-stop-FV INFM-tell-REC-FV cl8-GEN cl14-lie

b. The end of a close relationship is when you stop telling each other lies.
c. Lies are sometimes necessary to keep relationships working.
d. If I have done something wrong and if my partner might may be anger if I tell her the truth then I should not tell her the truth. If I have done something wrong, then if my partner might be anger if I tell her the truth then I should not tell her the truth.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. The proverb is used to justify lies especially in marriages. People who are unfaithful to their spouses use it. They fear telling the truth about extra marital relationships for fear of losing their spouses once they know the truth. Thus, one prefers to live a deceitful life than to face the consequences of the truth of his/her actions.

285. Kusila kwa cishamwali ni kulongolola.

a. ku-sil-a ku-a ci-shamwali ni
INFM-finish-FV cl17-GEN cl7-close.relationship COP
ku-longolola-a
INFM-quarrel-FV

b. You end a good relationship by quarreling.

c. Quarreling ends relationships.

d. Friends live in harmony, we are not in harmony, so we are not friends.

e. TF/Conclusion/UCS

f. Nsenga people value friendships It is advisable that people should never live alone and isolated. Anybody who lives alone is regarded as abnormal. Thus, people always make efforts to avoid damaging talk that can destroy relationships.

286. Kusindila mafulufute kumulindi.

a. ku-sindil-a ma-fulufute
INFM-press-FV cl6-African.thief.ant.(Carebara.vidua).insects
ku-mu-lindi
cl17-cl3-hole

b. To press African Thief Ants against the hole.

c. To exhibit behavior that annoys the benefactor.

d. If he is my benefactor and If I wrong him then he will stop supporting me. If he is my benefactor, then if I wrong him then he will stop supporting me.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Mafulufute the African Thief Ants (Carebara vidua) are a type of insects that usually appear after flying ants. Nsenga people eat both the insects and flying ants as delicacies. They are very sensitive insects to noise. Thus, you need to be very quiet when catching them do avoid them hiding in their holes.

287. Kusoŵela kupambana banja.

a. ku-soŵel-a ku-pamban-a Ø-banja
INFM-play-FV INFM-more.than-FV cl5-family

b. Playing is more than being family.

c. Sometimes friendships are more valuable than blood relationships.

d. If there is painful blood relationship and if there is a good friendship with a non-relative then friendship with a non-relative is better than blood relationship. If there is painful blood relationship, then if there is a good friendship with a non-relative then friendship with a non-relative is better than blood relationship.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. There are many instances where non-family members have been helpful to individuals in need more than family members. People are thus encouraged to value and develop relationships that will be helpful to them sometime in life. It is considered mean to only relate with your family members.

288. Kususha ngomwa ni kuivulila.

a. ku-sush-a n-gomwa ni ku-i-vul-il-a
INFM-prove.wrong-FV cl9-sterile.person COP INFM-cl9-take.off-APP-FV

b. To prove a sterile person wrong is to undress for him/her.

c. You need evidence to prove someone wrong.

d. If he is potent and if there is a naked woman then he must be sexually aroused. If he is potent, then if there is a naked woman then he must be sexually aroused.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. This is usually used in two different situations. Firstly it is used to admonish a person who undermines or underrates others, even those s/he does not know very well. S/he is warned or cautioned not to belittle or speak ill of others or hold others in low esteem before seeing what they are capable of or incapable of doing. Secondly, the person who is being underrated by another to challenge his /her adversary so that s/he can prove his /her abilities or inabilities can also use the proverb. It also teaches that just like a woman cannot tell the sterility of a man she has never gone to bed with, one should not belittle or undermine others before seeing their worth.

289. Kutangazila uku na uku cimbwi epona cogadama.

a. ku-tangaz-il-a u-ku-u na u-ku-u
INFM-keep.legs.apart-APP-FV PR-cl17-DEM CNJ PR-cl17-DEM
Ø-cimbwi a-i-pon-a ci-a ku-gadam-a
cl1a-hyena cl1-PAST-fall-FV cl7-GEN INFM-facing.up-FV

b. Keeping legs apart, a hyena fell on its back.

c. In wanting to own all, you lose all.

d. If you are alone you can only attend to one thing at once, it is not one thing, so I cannot attend to them at once.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Hyenas are one of the most disliked animals among Nsenga people because it is believed that witches use them because of their selfish and greedy nature. It is believed also that a witch uses a hyena for transportation. Therefore, the cause of the hyena's and witch's death is attributed to selfishness and greed.

290. Kutangula ni kufwika lini.

a. ku-tangul-a ni ku-fwik-a lini
INFM-be.in.front-FV COP INFM-arrive-FV NEG

b. Going ahead does not mean arrival.

c. Being ahead does not guarantee arrival.

d. If you need to win a race you should be ahead of others, I am ahead of others so I will win the race.

e. PF/Conclusion/C

f. According to observation of daily life, the one who goes ahead is not always the first to arrive. The statement encourages people who think that they are behind in some way to focus on their own race and pace.

291. Kutaukila pakangaude.

a. ku-tauk-il-a pa-Ø-kangaude
INFM-cross-APP-FV cl16-cl1a-spiderweb

b. To crossover using a spider web.

c. To avoid a guilty verdict by clever talk.

d. If you have done wrong and if you are found not guilty then you are lucky. If you have done wrong, then if you are found not guilty then you are lucky.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. A spider web commonly found in many places including people's homes is always a fascinating feature among Nsengas. In many cases the web joins two points making it look like a bridge. However, no matter how elaborate a spider web can be, it can never be used to crossover from one point to the other especially by any heavy living thing like a human being. The expression is used to refer to someone who barely survives a guilty verdict.

292. Kutausha azungu.
   a. ku-tauk-ish-a a-zungu
      INFM-cross-CAUS-FV cl2-white.person
   b. To help white people crossover.
   c. Doing someone a favor that s/he does not deserve.
   d. If someone does not disserve to be helped then s/he should not be helped, he does not disserve to be helped, so he should not be helped.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. White people are generally regarded as hypocrites who came to embezzle local people of good things in the name of Christianity. The Anglican church was the first group of missionaries to evangelize the Nsenga people. In this manner, people who stayed with white people were sometimes regarded as traitors. Usually local people would help Europeans in many things including physically carrying them on long distances and helping them cross the rivers.

293. Kutaya mwai wokatakata.
   a. ku-tay-a mu-ai u-a ku-kat-a-kat-a
      INFM-lose-FV cl3-good.luck cl3-GEN INFM-hold-FV-hold-FV
   b. Losing an opportunity that is almost reachable.
   c. Work hard until success is achieved and do not relax when it is merely in sight.
   d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. It is common for many people to lose opportunities because of lack of focus and hard work. Whenever this happens, it is said that a person has lost a lucky opportunity that was already reachable.

294. Kutaya mwai woonaona.

a. ku-tay-a	mu-ai	u-a	ku-on-a-on-a
INFM-lose-FV	cl3-good.luck	cl3-GEN	INFM-see-FV-see-FV

b. Losing an opportunity that is almost reachable.
c. Work hard until success is achieved and do not relax when it is merely in sight.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. It is common for many people to lose opportunities because of lack of focus and hard work. Whenever this happens, it is said that a person has lost a lucky opportunity that was already reachable.

295. Kutaya nkhalo yoonana.

a. ku-tay-a	n-khalo	i-a	ku-on-a-on-a
INFM-throw-FV	cl9-life.style	cl9-GEN	INFM-see-FV-see-FV

b. Losing a good lifestyle, you have already achieved.
c. Losing a good opportunity because of listening to hearsay.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. It is generally believed that married people live a better life than single people among Nsengas do. Thus if, especially a woman, loses an opportunity to get married to a seemingly good man, this expression is used. However, there are also many times when jealousy people deliberately feed a woman with wrong information in order to plant doubts in her about the spouse.

296. Kutaya uzu wosewa-sewa.

a. ku-tay-a	u-zu	u-a	ku-sew-a-sew-a
INFM-throw-FV	cl14-grass	cl3-GEN	INFM-cut-FV-cut-FV

b. To lose grass that you have already cut.
c. Losing an opportunity that you already have.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Grass is used for many purposes among Nsengas. It is chiefly used for thatching buildings as well as fencing buildings. Annually, many buildings and fences made of grass require change of grass in order to keep the structures in good working condition. Thus, every year people cut and gather grass to replace the old one.

297. Kutaya voyambayamba.

a. ku-tay-a vi-a ku-yamb-a-yamb-a
INFM-throw-FV cl8-GEN INFM-begin-FV-begin-FV

b. To lose what you have already started.

c. To lose focus because the end is unknown.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. This is a saying attributed to people who are not focused and are fond of leaving things unfinished. Such people keep on starting new projects but never accomplish any. Many people think that starting is a difficult part and once one has started, s/he is expected to complete the project if s/he works hard.

298. Kutema katemo pamwala.

a. ku-tem-a ka-temo pa-mu-ala
INFM-cut-FV cl12-axe cl16-cl3-stone

b. To try to convict someone who vehemently refuses an offense.

c. If a person is guilty then he cannot put up a strong defense, he has not not put up a strong defense, so he is not guilty.

d. MTT/Major/VUS

e. Hitting a stone with an axe.

f. Attempting to cut a stone with an axe is something almost every Nsenga child has done out of curiosity. Sometimes it results in injuries. It is obvious that an axe bounces from the stone once you try to cut the stone.

299. Kutenda inzi pamatubvi ni kunyela m'manzi.

a. ku-tend-a in-zi pa-ma-tuvi ni
INFM-deny-FV cl9-fly cl16-cl6-feces COP
ku-ny-il-a mu-ma-nzi
INFM-defecateAPP-FV cl18-cl6-water

b. To deny a fly access to feaces is to defecate in water.
c. If you do not want trouble you must avoid it.
d. If do not want trouble you should avoid it, I don't want trouble so I should avoid it.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Defecating in the bush was common in the traditional Nsenga societies that lived close to the wild bushes. Flies would not wait for one to finish defecating before they gathered on the fecal matter, which made it very uncomforting for the defecating person. To avoid flies gathering on the fecal matter, one would have to defecate in water, which would make it difficult for the flies to land on the fecal matter. This proverb is used to advise people to find means of avoiding trouble. It is used for example to stop people from arguing which has potential for causing physical conflict.

300. Kutengewa kuvuli.
a. ku-teng-iw-a ku-vuli
INFM-marry-PASS-FV cl17-behind
b. To be married for sex.
c. To marry a woman as a sexual object.
d. If he does not do anything for me and if he only sleeps with me then he married me for sex. If he does not do anything for me, then if he only sleeps with me then he married me for sex.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. In Nsenga society a man after marrying is expected to stay with the woman's family for at least one farming season (equivalent of one calendar year) to prove his manhood by cultivating and building structures for the in-laws. Proving manhood also includes ability to produce children. After he proves his manhood, he is allowed to pick the woman to stay with him wherever he comes from. In this way, the family of the woman remains assured that their daughter would not suffer or lack things. However, if a man is not able to perform other activities except sex, the woman is said to have been married from behind (for sexual reasons only).

301. Kuthyola ndiyo za m'nthopo ni kuthyola tutete.
a. ku-thyol-a n-diyo zi-a mu-nthopo ni
INFM-cut-FV cl10-relish cl10-GEN cl3-pumkin.leaf COP

ku-thyol-a tu-tete
INFM-cut-FV cl13-tender.one

b. When you are picking pumpkin leaves as vegetables, you cut the tender ones at the end.
c. Young women are more sexually enjoyable than older ones.
d. Young things are more enjoyable than old things, She is a young woman, so she is more enjoyable than the old women.
e. F/Major/UCW
f. Pumpkin leaves are enjoyed as one of the favorite relishes for making side dishes in Nsenga meals. The leaves that taste good are the fresh and tender ones that have just shot and are found at the end of a stem. Adulterous elderly men in order to justify their sexual conduct with young women use the situation. The reasoning is that since young and tender sources of food are usually better than older ones the same can be true for women.

302. Kuti cikondo cenze ceka sembe kuliye kuzikumbulwa.

a. ku-ti ci-kondo ci-enze-ci-eka sembe ku-li-ye
INFM-say cl7-big.toe cl7-bePAST-cl7-alone CNJ INFM-li-ye
ku-zi-kumbulw-a
INFM-REF-stamble-FV
b. If a toe could be alone, there would be no stumbling.
c. Those who live with breadwinners can live irresponsibly because they know they have someone to look after them.
d. A dependent is someone who depends on others, there are no others, so he is not a dependent.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. All toes like all parts of the bodywork together to provide balance for a human being. In especially rural areas where paths and streets are never smooth, stumbling is very common. People also often stumble in the bush as they move around looking for wild or firewood. It is common however, that once one stumbles, it is only the big toe that is injured while the rest of the toes get little or no injury at all.

303. Kuti zilile nsense ni kudyakadyaka.

a. ku-ti zi-lil-e n-sense ni ku-dyak-a-dyak-a
INFM-say cl8-cry-FV cl9-tinkles COP INFM-stomp-FV-stomp-FV
b. For the tinkles to be produced there is need to stomp the feet repeatedly.

c. You must make yourself known in order to be noticed.
d. If you are quiet no one notices you, I want to be noticed, so I should make noise.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Some traditional dances are accompanied by playing tickles. A dancer usually wears some objects around the uncle of the leg and stomps the feet in order to make tinkles. The more the dancer stomps the feet the more audible the tinkles are. The activity is used in the proverb to explain that for anyone to know about yourself or your ideas you need to be in the forefront in making yourself or your ideas known otherwise nobody will know.

304. Kutola fulu ni ku celela.

a. ku-tol-a	Ø-fulu	ni	ku-celel-a
INFM-collect-FV	cl1a-tortoise	COP	INFM-punctual-FV

b. You need to be early to pick up a tortoise.
c. You need to be punctual at work in order to make good progress.
d. If you are punctual you achieve much, I need to achieve much, so I should be punctual.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Some Nsenga people eat tortoises and enjoy their eggs. Thus once they stray into areas where humans live they are picked either for food or mere fascination. Tortoises usually get out of their hiding to enjoy the warmth of sunlight in the morning and get back into hiding when it gets hot. In order to catch them, therefore, one would have to fetch them in the morning. It also means that the person who gets up earliest has the highest chance of catching the tortoise. The proverb encourages people to be punctual in order to benefit from what they are doing.

305. Kutola fulu ni m'mawa.

a. ku-tol-a	Ø-fulu	ni	mu-mawa
INFM-collect-FV	cl1a-tortoise	COP	cl18-morning

b. You collect a tortoise in the morning.
c. The early bird catches the worm.
d. If you are punctual you achieve much, I need to achieve much, so I should be punctual.
e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Some Nsenga people eat tortoises and enjoy their eggs. Thus once they stray into areas where humans live they are picked either for food or mere fascination. Tortoises usually get out of their hiding to enjoy the warmth of sunlight in the morning and get back into hiding when it gets hot. In order to catch them, therefore, one would have to fetch them in the morning. It also means that the person who gets up earliest has the highest chance of catching the tortoise. This proverb is used to remind people that the best time to work is in the morning. Hardworking people go in the farm before sunrise and leave when the sun is too hot. Lazy people wait until the sun is up and leave early because it is hot. The morning too has longer hours than afternoon. Hence, the best time to work is in the morning and the afternoon is for resting.

306. Kutola fulu nikuyambilila.

a. ku-tol-a	Ø-fulu	ni	ku-yamb-ilil-a
INFM-pick-FV	cl1a-tortoise	COP	INFM-begin-APP-PERS-FV

b. To pick up a tortoise is to be early.
c. You need to be proactive to succeed.
d. If you are punctual you achieve much, I need to achieve much, so I should be punctual.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Some Nsenga people eat a tortoise. Tortoises are usually picked up early in the morning in specific seasons when they come into the open. The people that come out of their homes early are usually the first to see some of the tortoises that even go near residential areas.

307. Kutola katemo na mpini wake.

a. ku-tol-a	ka-temo	na	mu-pini	u-ake
INFM-get-FV	cl12-axe	CNJ	cl3-wooden.handle	cl3-3sPOS

b. Carrying an axe together with its handle.
c. When you marry a woman with a child from another man the child becomes yours too.
d. If you love a woman and If she has a child from someone else, then you should love them both. If you love a woman, then If she has a child from someone else then you should love them both.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Whereas an axe is made from either a stone or iron, it can only be used once you make a wooden handle for it. Thus a complete axe is always found with a wooden handle.

308. Kutolela kukamuti nga ni malilo a njoka.

a. ku-tol-il-a ku-ka-mu-ti nga ni ma-lilo
INFM-pick-APP-FV cl17-cl12-cl3-tree CNJ COP cl6-funeral
a-a n-joka
cl6-GEN cl9-snake

b. Picking something with a stick as though it is a snake's funeral.

c. To ridicule important things.

d. An important thing should be treated with due respect, it is important, so it should be treated with due respect.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. With the puzzle that death brings to humans, Nsenga people regard a funeral as the most serious moment on one's life. Thus, the whole funeral process is regarded as a serious and tense event that requires treatment with utmost dignity. In the proverb a comparison is made between the treatment of human death and the snake's. People usually kill snakes using sticks and pick them up by the stick to bury them. Nsenga people do not touch snakes even if they are dead.

309. Kutolela vinthu palulu.

a. ku-tol-il-a vi-nthu pa-lulu
INFM-get-APP-FV cl8-thing cl16-up

b. Getting things from a higher level.

c. Lack of patience causes problems.

d. Lack of patience causes problems, he is not patient, so he will have problems.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Patience is an important virtue that everybody needs to have. An impatient person is referred to as a person who is always high up.

310. Kuulisha nyama pasanga ni kucita congo.

a. ku-ul-ish-a n-yama pa-Ø-sanga ni
INFM-provoke-CAUS-FV cl9-animal cl16-cl5a-bush COP

ku-cit-a ci-ongo
INFM-do-FV cl7-noise

b. To provoke an animal out of a bush you need to make noise.
c. Be persistent in getting what you want.
d. If you really need something you should keeping trying, if you keep trying you might get it, so if you really need something then you should keep trying.
e. Hypothetical/Minor/VS
f. One of the methods of hunting In Nsenga land is to provoke animals from the bush in day light and chase after them with hunting dogs. To provoke the animals one makes a lot of noise that makes the animals scamper in fear. The situation is used in the proverb as an advice for young people who want things done by elders to keep reminding them of what they want.

311. Kuusaliko imbwa yako kuutuka lini.

a. ku-u-sa-li-ko in-bwa i-ako ku-utuk-a lini
cl17-2s-NEG-be-ENC cl9-dog cl9-2sPOS INFM-run-FV NEG

b. Where you are not, your dog does not run.
c. People need physical supervision in order to work.
d. If there is a supervisor then people work, there is no supervisor, so people will not work.
e. TF/Conclusion/UCW
f. Dogs are essential animals to Nsenga people. They are treated more than pets because they are used for both security and hunting. Owners do not only train dogs but they also take instructions from owners only. Thus for the dog to perform particular tasks, the owner must be present to give instructions.

312. Kuusha kalilele.

a. ku-ush-a ka-li-lel-e
INFM-awaken-FV cl12-be-sleep-FV

b. To wake up what is asleep.
c. Do not provoke latent problems.
d. If something is dangerous then it should not be disturbed, there is a latent problem, so it should not be provoked.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The proverb is an expression used in order to avoid latent problems. For any animal or human being who is troublesome nobody wants to provoke them when they are resting or sleeping in order to avoid trouble. It is therefore believed that latent problems should be left undisturbed.

313. Kuutuka muswaswa wako.
   a. ku-utuk-a mu-swaswa u-ako
      INFM-run-FV cl3-noise cl3-2sPOS
   b. Running away from your own noise, which you make as you move.
   c. To deny responsibility of your own actions.
   d. If you are responsible you accept your wrongs, he has not accepted his wrongs, so he is not responsible.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. An image of a person running away from his/her own shadow is likened to a person who denies his/her own actions. It is common for fearful people to run away from anything including their own shadows in the bush and especially at night. Such a person is likened to a person who denies responsibility of his/her own actions. To do so is regarded as cowardice.

314. Kuutuka ni kufwika lini.
   a. ku-utuk-a ni ku-fwik-a lini
      INFM-run-FV COP INFM-arrive-FV NEG
   b. Rushing does not guarantee arrival.
   c. Speed does not guarantee arrival.
   d. If you move fast you arrive early, I am moving fast, so I will arrive early.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Nsengas who many times take very long distances on foot for various reasons understand that you need to move at a reasonable pace in order to complete your journey. Starting a journey in a hurry usually tires the body before reaching the destination. The same principal is used in marathons where runners do not run as fast as they do in short races.

315. Kuvalizya viweme kuvufuma.
   a. ku-val-ish-a vi-weme ku-vi-ku-fum-a
      INFM-bcock-CAUS-FV cl8-good cl17-cl8-GP-come-FV
   b. Blocking things from the source.
   c. Do not offend your benefactor.

d. If he is my benefactor and If I wrong him then he will stop supporting me. If he is my benefactor, then if I wrong him then he will stop supporting me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. In any situation where a something comes from a source you can simply stop the thing by closing the source from where it comes. For instance, when ants become problematic in a house one needs to close the place where they come from to stop the problem completely.

316. Kuvwinikila kumutu na kumendo.
a. ku-vwinik-il-a ku-mu-tu na ku-ma-endo
INFM-cover-FV cl17-cl3-head CNJ cl17-cl6-leg
b. Covering both the head and legs.
c. To enjoy what you really wanted.
d. If he gets what he really wants then he will be happy, He has gotten what he really wanted, so he is happy.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. A picture of someone sleeping and covering from legs to the head enclosing the whole body is an image of someone who is really enjoying sleep. Because the weather is warm among Nsengas people, normally, do not cover completely.

317. Kuvyalila nkhanza.
a. ku-vyal-il-a n-khanza
INFM-bear-APP-FV cl9-cruelty
b. To give birth anyhow is cruelty.
c. To give birth anyhow is cruelty.
d. If you give birth to many children then you must look after them, he has not looked after them, so he is cruel.
e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS
f. As much as numbers in Nsenga families that are usually big matter, it is advised that one should bear children that s/he is able to look after. Big families are preferred to smaller ones because of the big labor advantage. However, one should not just give birth for the sake of it.

318. Kuwelezya manzi kumunkholi.
a. ku-welezy-a ma-nzi ku-mu-nkholi
INFM-return-FV cl6-water cl17-cl3-(pot's).handle

b. To return water to the handle of a pot.
c. When you offend somebody who helps, s/he might rescind his/her decision to help you.
d. If he is my benefactor and If I wrong him then he will stop supporting me. If he is my benefactor, then if I wrong him then he will stop supporting me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. A traditional cup is made from plants that look like pumpkins. It is called a calabash. Thus, there is a hole that connects the main cup to the handle. When you are drinking water in the traditional cup, you have to be careful to avoid water going into the handle rather than your mouth. This activity is likened to a situation where a person reverses his/her decision for some reason.

319. Kuweluza silu ni kuona cifunilo cake.
a. ku-weluz-a Ø-silu ni ku-on-a ci-funilo
INFM-judge-FV vl5-mad.person COP INFM-see-FV cl7-desire
ci-ake
cl7-3sPOS
b. To judge a mad person is to discover his/her desire.
c. You need to find the root cause of a problem to avoid conflict.
d. If there is a problem and if there is it's source then I can stop it by dealing with the source. If there is a problem, then if there is a source then I can stop it by dealing with its source.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Mad people are regarded as people that do not know what they do. Regardless of what they do, one cannot judge and punish a mad person. In order to judge a mad person one would have to understand his or her motives and desires that are difficult to know. Since mad people are considered not to know what they do, it is also regarded as madness itself for anybody to argue with a mad person. In times of conflict, it is advised to find the root cause rather than to engage in arguments.

320. Kuwezyela mangala mucinkha.
a. ku-wezy-il-a ma-ngala mu-ci-nkha
INFM-return-APP-FV cl6-feather cl18-cl7-chicken.pen
b. Taking feathers back to the chicken pen.

c. It is better to marry within the family or clan in order to make the clan grow numerically and economically.
d. If I marry within the family then the family will grow, if the family will grow then the family will have more riches within, so if I marry within the family then the family will have more riches within.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
f. Among the Nsenga society, cousins are very close people. They joke and they can even jokingly call each other spouses. It is because of this kind of relationship that most cousins end up in sexual relationships. Sometimes they even marry. When the matter of marriage is brought up to the family members, they will say "*Paliye bvuto apa, longulanani, uku nikuwezyela mangala mucinkha*" which literally means, "There is no problem here, marry each other, because this is bringing back the feathers into the pen". This proverb is used to justify marrying within the family saying that, that is an act of not splitting the family but having children who will be part of the same and one family and that the practice makes the family strong. In some cases if a man/woman marries elsewhere outside the family, when they divorce the man/woman may lose the children. According to the Nsengas, this is making the family of other people big and strong at the expense of your own; they therefore find it justifiable to allow marriages within the family.

321. Kuya panja ni kuti m'mala mwapya.
a. ku-ya pa-nja ni ku-ti mu-ma-la
INFM-go cl16-outside COP INFM-say cl18-cl6-stomack
mu-a-py-a
cl18-PERF-heat-FV
b. You go outside the house when your stomach is hot.
c. There is always a reason for some actions such as divorce.
d. A person acts in a particular way for some reasons, he has acted in a particular way, so there is a reason.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. In rural areas, toilets are separate buildings made outside the house. This can be inconveniencing at night and in the rainy season and in dangerous areas. Especially at night, when someone goes out of the house to visit the toilet, it means that s/he are really pressed to relieve her/himself. This

situation is usually related to divorce cases. There is always a reason why someone wants to leave a marriage relationship.

322. Kuyambana na asali anyoko ni kuvutisha milomo.

a. ku-yamb-an-a na a-sa-a-li a-nyoko ni
INFM-differ-REC-FV CNJ cl2-NEG-cl2-be cl2-mother COP
ku-vut-ish-a mi-lomo
INFM-trouble-CAUS-FV cl3-lip

b. Picking a difference with someone who is not your mother is troubling your lips.

c. Be frank with people who are outsiders.

d. If they are my parents then I have to be diplomatic, they are not my parents, so I don't have to be diplomatic.

e. TF/Conclusion/UCS

f. One is encouraged to be diplomatic in dealing with family members to avoid destroying family relationships. Sometimes one can pretend about some issues in order to maintain good family relationships. However, it is advisable not to pretend with people outside your family unit. You can frankly explain your feelings because you have very little to lose. Thus do not quarrel with outsiders but simply tell the truth as plain as it should be.

323. Kuyenda kwa lumvwi ni koyalukayaluka.

a. ku-yend-a ku-a Ø-lumvwi ni ku-a
INFM-move-FV cl15-GEN cl1a-cameleon COP cl15-GEN
ku-yaluk-a-yaluk-a
INFM-change-FV-change-FV

b. A chameleon repeatedly changes its colors to camouflage with the environment.

c. Humans cannot be trusted as they can easily change their mind.

d. You trust someone who is consistent, she is not consistent, so I cannot trust her.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VS

f. The camouflage character of a chameleon is likened to a characteristic of humans who can easily change their position. Thus, humans are not supposed to be fully trusted as they can easily change.

324. Kuyenda ni kutelela.
   a. ku-yend-a ni ku-telel-a
      INFM-walk-FV COP INFM-slide-FV
   b. Moving is like slipping.
   c. Anybody can easily slip from a comfortable life position.
   d. Anybody can lose wealth, I am somebody, so I can lose wealth.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Walking in the proverb is likened to accidentally sliding into an awkward position. It is meant for people who think that they will always be in comfortable positions and therefore disregard others. This acts as a reminder that sometimes unusual circumstances can force someone to fall from a lofty position.

325. Kuyenda ni kuvina.
   a. ku-yend-a ni ku-vin-a
      INFM-walk-FV COP INFM-dancing-FV
   b. Walking is like dancing.
   c. Make peace with all people as you can easily meet them anywhere else.
   d. If you are mobile then you can meet anybody, I am mobile, so I can meet anybody.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Nsenga people, who enjoy various entertainment activities that require dancing, equate dancing on the floor to taking a journey. On a dance floor where there are many people it is possible to not only meet people you least expect to at an event but also physically bump into them whilst dancing. Thus, as one is expected to meet any people including enemies on a journey so it is when you are at an entertainment function. In the proverb, a picture is portrayed of a person dancing and bumping into a rival or an enemy.

326. Kuyendayenda cimbwi etola fupa.
   a. ku-yend-a-yend-a Ø-cimbwi a-i-tol-a Ø-fupa
      INFM-walk-FV-walk-FV cl1a-hyena cl1-PAST-pick-FV cl5a-bone
   b. A hyena that moved aimlessly picked a bone.
   c. A child who does not want to stay at home may come back home once s/he has a problem such as pregnancy.
   d. Living an aimless life can cause you problems, she is living an aimless life, so she might get into problems.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A hyena is one of the animals considered as very stupid in Nsenga folklore. In the proverb, it is portrayed as an aimless walker who picks up anything that comes his/her way. Thus, a hyena picks up an old born which is without any nutritional value. In actual practice, a hyena feeds on bones too.

327. Kuyendesha njinga yamwana.

a. ku-yend-ish-a n-jinga i-a mu-ana
INFM-move-CAUS-FV cl9-bicycle cl9-GEN cl1-child

b. Riding a child's bicycle.

c. To have carnal knowledge with a child.

d. Children should relate intimately with fellow children, I am not a child, so I should not relate with children intimately.

e. TF/Conclusion/UCS

f. An image of an elderly person riding a child's bicycle is not only seen as humorous but in appropriate. The expression is used to refer to somebody who has inappropriate behavior with children such as having canal knowledge with children.

328. Kuyesa kutema lupili.

a. ku-yes-a ku-tem-a Ø-lupili
INFM-try-FV INFM-cut.(with.an.axe)-FV cl5-mountain

b. Trying to clear the mountain with hand tools.

c. To embark on an impossible mission.

d. If you have limited ability then you cannot embark on a huge mission, I have limited ability, so I cannot embark on a huge mission.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsenga people traditionally practice shifting cultivation. Annually people cut trees to clear bushes for farming. People also cut trees for firewood, carpentry and other household needs. However, you can only cut a limited amount of trees, as it is a strenuous activity. Mountainous areas are particularly difficult to clear because of rocks and uneven terrain.

329. Kuyondolala cimuti ni poyamba cikali citontho.

a. ku-yondolol-a ci-mu-ti ni pa-ku-yamb-a
INFM-straighten-FV cl7-cl3-tree COP cl16-GP-start-FV

ci-ka-li ci-tontho
cl7-CND-be cl7-small

b. You straighten a tree while it's small.
c. You cannot control a grown child's behavior.
d. If someone is a child then s/he can be easily controlled, s/he is not a child, so s/he cannot be easily controlled.
e. TF/Conclusion/UCS
f. While trees are tender in age and stems are soft it is possible to support them with other trees in order to control their growth upwards. However, it is impossible to do so with fully-grown trees. The proverb is usually said to a parent raising a child to teach the child good manners whist it is young.

330. Kuyopa cimvwilimvwili cako.

a. ku-yop-a ci-mvwilimvwili ci-ako
INFM-be.afraid-FV cl7-shadow cl7-2sPOS
b. To be afraid of your own shadow.
c. Do not fear the unknown.
d. You fear something you know, I do not know it, so I cannot fear it.
e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS
f. Fear causes people to do various unnecessary things. In Nsenga society where there is generally no electricity, streets are usually very dark at night. However, moonlight provides enough light for people to move around and play outside. Sometimes people on the street run away from unknown things including own shadows out of fear. This is a proverb that is said to people that are fearful and cannot risk to do anything. Such ones are considered low achievers.

331. Kuza kwa mafina na munga wake.

a. ku-z-a ku-a ma-fina na mu-nga u-ake
INFM-come-FV cl15-GEN cl6-pus CNJ cl3-thorn cl3-3sPOS
b. A thorn usually comes out together with pus.
c. Sometimes you do not need to force things but let them happen spontaneously.
d. If there is a problem and if it can resolve itself then I should not do anything. If there is a problem, then if it can resolve itself then I should not do anything.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Many Nsenga people who live in remote areas under very difficult economic circumstances can hardly afford shoes. Many people therefore move on bear feet even in the bush and cultivation fields. Although shoes are becoming more accessible, it is common for people to wear worn out pairs that have week soles. In this manner, it is common to be pricked with thorns. Some thorns are difficult to remove thereby developing pus. However, once a pricked place develops pus it is easier to remove the thorn as you squeeze and push out the pus.

332. Kuzengela nzovu ni kunkhala na mkondo.

a. ku-zengel-a	n-zovu	ni	ku-nkhal-a	na	mu-kondo
INFM-hunt-FV	cl9-elephant	COP	INFM-be-FV	CNJ	cl3-spear

b. To hunt an elephant is to have a spear.
c. To accomplish certain tasks you need special tools.
d. If there is a task and if it needs special tools then you should use special tools. If there is a task, then if it needs special tools then you should use special tools.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. An elephant is a very important animal for various reasons including tourism, meet, and source of income. Until government imposed restrictions, elephants would be hunted like other animals. Methods of hunting animals were being different depending on the size of an animal. Mere traps made of ropes could even kill some animals. An elephant, in the absence of guns, could only be hunted with special poisoned spears.

333. Kuzinazina kulindila viipa.

a. ku-zin-a-zin-a	ku-lind-il-a	vi-ipa
INFM-not.certain-FV-not.certain-FV	INFM-wait-APP-FV	cl8-bad

b. Procrastination awaits bad things.
c. Procrastination is a bad thing.
d. Unnecessary delays can lead to unnecessary problems, I am delaying unnecessarily, so I may have unnecessary problems.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. This is a saying that is a result of observation of human character. Each time someone procrastinates in taking important actions there are likely bad results.

334. Kuziŵana nzelu ni kunkhala pamozi.

a. ku-ziŵ-an-a n-zelu ni ku-nkhal-a pa-mozi
INFM-know-REC-FV cl9-intelligence COP INFM-stal-FV cl16-one

b. You can only know each other by staying together.

c. You need time spent together in order to know each other's character.

d. To know someone you need to spend time with someone, I need to know her, so I should spend time with her.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. It is common knowledge that you need to live with somebody to understand them better. Time helps two people who are trying to know each by spending it together.

335. Kuziŵika kusiyana nowama cinso.

a. ku-ziŵ-ik-a ku-siy-an-a na ku-wam-a
INFM-know-POT-FV INFM-differ-REC-FV CNJ INFM-be.good-FV
ci-nso
l7-face

b. Being popular is better than having a good face.

c. You don't suffer when you have a good reputation.

d. If I am ugly and if am popular then I am better than being beautiful. If I am ugly, then if am popular then I am better than being beautiful.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. This proverb reveals a classic relationship between one's beauty and popularity. One's popularity has much more to do with ones character than ones physical looks. Thus, you could be ugly and very popular. It is believed however that popularity has n\more advantages than good looks.

336. Kwaŵene kuliye ziweme.

a. ku-a ŵa-ine ku-li-ye zi-weme
cl17-GEN cl2-stranger cl17-be-NEG cl8-good

b. There are no good things in foreign land.

c. A stranger is always in the wrong.

d. If there is a stranger in the wrong and if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger. If there is a stranger in the wrong, then if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. It is common knowledge that society tends to protect their own. Thus in any situation where people have to take sides, people normally side with their own as a show of solidarity. The expression is used to advise people living in foreign land not to expect too much from the locals.

337. Kwaŵene siungakuwe kuti, "kuno eee!"

a.

ku-a	ŵa-ine	si-u-nga-kuw-e	ku-ti
cl17-GEN	cl2-stranger	NEG-2s-MOD-shout-FV	INFM-say
ku-no	eee		
cl17-DEM	IDEO		

b. You cannot shout for help in foreign land.
c. You cannot get a fair trial in foreign land.
d. If there is a stranger in the wrong and if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger. If there is a stranger in the wrong, then if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. It is common knowledge that society tends to protect their own. Thus in any situation where people have to take sides, people normally side with their own as a show of solidarity. The expression is used to advise people living in foreign not to expect too much from the locals. The proverb gives a situation where a stranger shouts for help but the local people are reluctant in helping to avoid being witness to the crime for fear of implicating their own.

338. Kwanja nkhoya kwanja wela.

a.

ku-anja	n-khoy-a	ku-anja	wel-a
cl15-hand	go-FV	cl15-hand	come-FV

b. Let the hand go and come back.
c. Generosity is reciprocated by generosity.
d. If you are generous then you must share, I do not share, so I am not generous.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Nsenga people value generosity as a very important human virtue. It is believed that people who are generous attract good things to themselves. The expression in the proverb therefore means that when a hand gives out it also receives back.

339. Kwanja yukonkha iyake.
   a. ku-anja i-ku-konkh-a i-ake
      cl15-hand cl15-GP-follow-FV cl15-3sPOS
   b. A hand follows another hand.
   c. Help those who help you.
   d. If I help others then they will help me, I am not helping others, so they will not help me.
   e. TF/Major/UCS
   f. Like other parts of the body, hands complementary work together. The Nsenga society thrives on the necessity of communal work. Anybody who does not reciprocate help is regarded as a misfit in society.

340. Kwanu ni kwanu musanga mwekanga njoka.
   a. ku-anu ni ku-anu mu-Ø-sanga mu-i-kang-a
      cl17-2pPOS COP cl17-2sPOS cl18-cl5a-bush cl18-PAST-fail-FV
      n-joka
      cl9-snake
   b. Home is home just as the snake failed to live in the bush.
   c. There is no place like home.
   d. If there is only one home then there is no place like home, I have a home, so there is no place like my home.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Many of Nsenga people's residences that are near the bush easily get visits from snakes. Sometimes snakes follow the warmth of the homes. There are instances in which snakes have been found on people's beds to follow human warmth.

341. Kwaukuya na mphamvu, uwelako mozicepesa.
   a. ku-a u-ku-i-a na n-phamvu u-wel-a-ko
      cl17-GEN 2s-GP-go-FV CNJ cl9-power 2s-come-ENC
      mo-zi-cep-is-a
      cl18-GEN-REF-small-CAUS-FV
   b. Where you go by power you come back humbled.
   c. Pride precedes a fall.
   d. If I am proud before people then they will not be happy with me, If they will not be happy with me then they will let me fall, so if I am proud before people then they will let me fall.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. Pride is considered as a very bad virtue. All people are advised to be humble in public. Even if you consider yourself knowledgeable, you are advised to approach people in a humble manner. In practice, a proud approach to people always results in resistance from people, a situation that can be humiliating.

342. Kwaŵene kuliye lukhwela.

a.

ku-a	ŵa-ine	ku-li-ye	Ø-lukhwela
cl17-GEN	cl2-stranger	cl17-be-NEG	cl5a-whistle

b. There is no whistling in strange land.

c. You cannot freely behave as the owners do in foreign land.

d. If there is a stranger in the wrong and if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger. If there is a stranger in the wrong, then if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Nsenga people use whistling for various reasons. It is used for among other reasons, communicating with humans, music, and communicating with animals. However, whistling in foreign land is always regarded as impolite. This is because it is a very informal way of communicating.

343. Kwaŵene omelelako lini mizyu.

a.

ku-a	ŵa-ine	a-ku-mel-il-a-ko	lini	mi-zyu
cl17-GEN	cl2-stranger	cl1-GP-sprout-APP-FV-ENC	NEG	cl4-root

b. Do not grow roots at a stranger's home.

c. Remember to get back home once you travel.

d. If you are in foreign land then you must not stay forever, I am in foreign land, so I must go back home.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga land where rain is seasonal, only plants that grow deep roots survive all year round. The growing of roots is metaphorically used in the proverb to paint a picture of somebody who goes to visit and decides to stay at the visited home forever.

344. Kwaŵene usiye kwendo osati m'lomo.

a. ku-a ŵa-ine u-siy-e ku-endo a-ku-sa-ti
cl17-GEN cl2-stranger 2s-leave-FV cl15-leg cl1-GP-NEG-say
mu-lomo
cl3-lip

b. At a stranger's place, leave a leg and not the lip.

c. You do not leave a bad reputation in foreign land.

d. If you are in foreign land then you must have a good reputation, I am a foreigner, so I should behave well.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In the proverb, the leg represents a good visit whilst the lip represents a fight and bad visit. It is advisable that once you travel into foreign land you desist from gossip and any kind of talk that could lead into conflict and a bad reputation. It is always advisable to leave a good reputation in foreign land. This is necessary because one might want return to the place in the future.

345. Kwendo yaupolesha ndiye yukukanda.

a. ku-endo i-a u-ku-pol-ish-a ndi-ye
cl15-leg cl15-GEN 2s-GP-CAUS-FV COP-EMPH
i-ku-ku-kand-a
cl15-2s-GP-step.on-FV

b. The leg that you heal is the one that steps on you.

c. Sometimes the people you do good things to may be the ones who may destroy you.

d. If there is somebody and if anybody can be your enemy then the person I am helping could be my enemy. If there is somebody, then if anybody can be your enemy then the person I am helping could be my enemy.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. This means that sometimes, the people you help are the ones that will reject you when you are in trouble. The people you save from death are the ones that may plot your downfall/death. Therefore, you should not think that all those you help will also help you in turn.

346. Leka kutauka manzi pakaliyofwika mumukosi.

a. lek-a ku-tauk-a ma-nzi pa-ka-li-ye
stop-FV INFM-cross-FV cl6-water cl16-CND-be-NEG

ku-fwik-a mu-mu-kosi
INFM-arrive-FV cl18-cl3-neck

b. Cross the river before the water level reaches the neck.
c. Avoid danger before it turns into a disaster.
d. If there is a problem and if it can be prevented then I will be better if I prevent it. If there is a problem, then if it can be prevented then I will be better when it is prevented.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Many Nsenga people have experience in crossing usually fast running rivers and streams. While crossing a river one has more balance when the hands are free. It is also easier to cross when you are able to see where you are going with your head on the surface. As a result, many people avoid making attempts to cross the river, unless they are talented swimmers, when the water lever is above the neck.

347. Lelo yefipisha koni ka m'tyengu.

a. Ø-lelo i-e-fip-ish-a ka-uni ka-a
cl5a-today cl5-PAST-black-CAUS-FV cl12-bird cl12-GEN
Ø-m'tyengu
cl1a-drongo.(black.bird)

b. "It must be done today" made the drongo bird gets a black color.
c. Doing things hastily can cause damage.
d. Doing things hastily can cause damage, I am in a hurry, so I can cause damage.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. In the Nsenga folktales, the drongo bird called *m'tyengu* is said to have asked its creator to finish the job in one day. As a result, in a hurry the bird unintentionally got the black color. The color black is associated with evil among Nsengas.

348. Lindila manzi apite mukamana niponena kuti nili na shuko.

a. lindil-a ma-nzi a-pit-e mu-ka-mana ni
wait-FV cl6-water cl6-pass-FV cl18-cl12-river COP
pa-ku-nen-a ku-ti ni-li na Ø-shuko
cl16-GP-say-FV INFM-say 1s-be CNJ cl5a-good.luck

b. Wait until the water in the river is gone to declare that you are lucky.
c. Do not judge the end from the beginning.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Nsenga land has many seasonal rivers that run with fast currents once it rains but dry up quickly. It is usually advisable to wait until the river dries up or significantly reduces for water in order to attempt to cross the river even in emergency cases. Sometimes the river can take longer than usual to reduce the amount of water depending on rain activities.

349. Lindilila manzi apite niye paukuti nilibwino.

a. lindil-a ma-nzi a-pit-e ni-ye pa-u-ku-ti
wait-FV cl6-water cl6-pass-FV COP-EMPH cl16-2s-GP-say
ni-li bwino
1s-be good

b. You wait until the water is gone to say that you are safe to cross the river.
c. You only declare victory when you have it.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Many Nsenga people living in rural areas have experiences of crossing rivers for various purposes. Besides the water, current living creatures such as crocodiles and hippos are dangerous in the water. Thus, before one attempts to cross the river needs to be sure the current is weak and the water level has gone down. Until this happens, no one can declare safety. Sometimes rivers can easily fill up because of abrupt rain activity in higher land. This proverb is used to teach people about patience. One has to be patient and not announce all his plans before they come to be fulfilled. Things can change at the last minute.

350. Liŵa ifyantha akulu apundu.

a. Ø-liŵa i-i-fyanth-a a-kulu a-pundu
cl5a-stone.trap cl5-PAST-clamp-FV cl2-big cl2-*pundu*.(big.mice)

b. A stone trap caught a big mouse called *pundu*.
c. You cannot always be too clever to escape danger.
d. Anybody can get into danger, I am somebody, so I can get into danger.
e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The majority of Nsenga people enjoy mice meat. One of the most difficult types of mice to catch is called *pundu*. Once it leaves its hole, it runs at a very high speed making it very difficult to catch. The easier way is to trap it using various methods one of which is a stone trap.

351. Lizu liweme lifumya mbulu kulupako.

a. Ø-lizu li-weme li-i-funy-a n-bulu
cl5a-voice cl5-good cl5-PAST-remove-FV cl9-water.monitor
ku-Ø-lupako
cl17-cl5a-hole

b. A nice voice made the water monitor come out of its hole.

c. You need to be gentle in order to get consent.

d. If I am good to others then they will be pleased with me, If they will be pleased with me then they will treat me with favor, so if I am good to others then they will treat me with favor.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. A water monitor is very stubborn reptile to take out of a hole. Many humans fail to pull it out of the hole by hand. One needs tactical methods to get it out of the hole. The water monitor is usually associated with a difficult woman who does not want to accept easily a man's love proposal. It is advisable to be gentle and a sweet talker in order to convince a woman.

352. Lubilo la mumchenga ni loyambila pamo.

a. Ø-luŵilo li-a mu-n-chenga ni li-a
cl5a-race cl5-GEN cl18-cl9-sand COP cl5-GEN
ku-yamb-il-a pa-mo
INFM-start-APP-FV cl16-together

b. You start a race in the sand at the same time.

c. Fairness requires leveling the playing field.

d. If there is fairness then all things remain equal, things are not equal, so there is no fairness.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Running in sand is a very difficult task. Sometimes youth in Nsenga areas, where there are rivers, enjoy playing in sand when the rivers are dry. Because it is very difficult to pick up speed when you are running in sand, it is advisable that you begin the race exactly at the same time with others even if you are good runner. This proverb is used to advise people to wait

for each other before they start work that focuses on a common goal. For example when a family goes to the field (farm) they have to wait until everyone else arrives before they start ploughing the land. The same way, when food is ready the family members have to wait until everyone else is there before they start eating so that sharing can be fair.

353. Luvumo yalya nkhanga yuziŵika lini.
   a. Ø-luvumo i-a-ly-a n-khanga i-ku-ziŵ-ik-a lini
      cl5a-stomach cl5-PERF-eat-FV cl9-guineafowl cl5-GP-know-POT-FV NEG
   b. It is difficult to tell a stomach that has eaten a guineafowl.
   c. You can never know one's thoughts.
   d. If there are thoughts and if thoughts are in someone's mind then I cannot know her thoughts. If there are thoughts, then if thoughts are in someone's mind then I cannot know her thoughts.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. A guineafowl is one of the most hunted wild birds in Nsenga land since local people enjoy eating it. A guineafowl has beautiful dark and white spots. However, people that eat Guineafowls never develop these spots. The situation is used in the proverb to warn people that you can never know what a person is planning to do.

354. Luwelela yupaisha.
   a. Ø-luwelela i-ku-pay-ish-a
      cl5a-backsliding cl5-GP-kill-CAUS-FV
   b. Backsliding can cause death.
   c. Stick to your choices once you make them.
   d. If there is danger and if I escape it then I should not go back. If there is danger, then if I escape it then I should not go back.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
   f. The proverb is said to discourage people from changing their mind over issues that have already been decided upon. It is likened to situations where a person escapes a trap or overcomes a huddle but thinks s/he can do it again the second time.

355. Luŵilo la kafundo.
   a. Ø-luŵilo li-a Ø-kafundo
      cl5a-race cl5-GEN cl1a-duiker

b. The duiker's race.
c. Make enough preparation for an important mission to avoid failure.
d. If you do things hastily then you may fail, I am doing things hastily, so I may fail.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. A duiker is a common and easy to catch game in Nsenga land. By its name, (duiker is Afrikaans word for diver) it dives and springs away when threatened but tires very easily making it easy to be caught by hunting dogs.

356. Mafuta opasiwa, okata lini m'thupi.

a. ma-futa	a-ku-pas-iw-a	a-ku-kat-a	lini	mu-thupi
cl6-oil	cl6-GP-give-PASS-FV	cl6-GP-hold-FV	NEG	cl3-body

b. Given oil does not hold on to your body.
c. Handouts are not sustainable.
d. If something is sustainable then you must have worked for it, I have not worked for it, so it is not sustainable.
e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS
f. People are reminded that if you are given something, the person who gives can change his/her mind and come to claim for his/her item. Therefore, it is believed that whatever one is given is not permanent because the owner may grab it from at any time.

357. Maimvwaimvwa epasula nanda na banja.

a. ma-i-mvw-a-i-mvw-a	a-i-pasul-a	n-ng'anda	na	Ø-banja
cl12-2s-hear-FV-2s-hear-FV	cl6-PAST-destroy-FV	cl9-house	CNJ	cl5a-family

b. Paying attention to everything destroyed a house and family.
c. Do not act on hearsay.
d. If it is hearsay and if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it. If it is hearsay, then if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. A house is a symbol of marriage among Nsenga people. A marriage is regarded as a fragile physical unit that requires special care to keep it intact. In marriage counseling, couples are advised to ignore what people outside the marriage say as others simply have malicious talk. The same practice is

advised for keeping family unity. Families are advised to ignore any talk that comes from outside the family.

358. Mala a lawêlawê esila poto.

a. ma-la a-a Ø-lawêlawê a-i-sil-a Ø-poto
cl6-intestine cl6-GEN cl1a-frequent.taster cl6-PAST-finish-FV cl5a-pot

b. A person who tests his/her relish frequently finished the relish while it was still cooking.

c. Bad habits start as insignificant isolated activities.

d. If you keep subtracting from a limited source then you can reduce the quantity of the source, so If you can reduce the quantity of the source then you can deplete the source, so if you keep subtracting from the limited source then you can deplete the source.

e. Hypothetical/Major/VS

f. Whereas it is allowed for the cook to taste relish while cooking, it is considered a bad habit to repeatedly taste the relish. In especially large families, sharing relish is a big challenge. As a result, ill-mannered people take advantage of the cooking time to eat as much relish as they can. This proverb is used to advise people on the dangers of doing wrong even if it's just for once. A person should not be overtaken by committing a crime no matter how attracting the crime might seem to be. This proverb is used mostly by parents in advising their children either male or female on the dangers of playing carelessly with the opposite sex. This is used in situations where girls allow boys to touch their breasts. The proverb warns that such acts would only lead the two to indulge further into sexual acts.

359. Malaya athina.

a. ma-laya a-a-thin-a
cl6-cloth cl6-PERF-tight-FV

b. Clothes have become tight.

c. When things become bad, you have little choice.

d. If I am in dire need and there is little then I can do with the little. If I am in dire need, then there is little then I can do with the little.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. A person wearing very tight clothes is regarded as someone who has no alternative in his/her wardrobe. Thus, s/he may be wearing something because that is all s/he has in the wardrobe.

360. Malilo ni kulilana.

a. ma-lilo ni ku-lil-an-a
cl6-funeral COP INFM-cry-REC-FV

b. A funeral is about mourning each other.

c. Help in times of trouble should be a two-way process.

d. If I help others then they will help me, I am not helping others, so they will not help me.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. A funeral is regarded as a communal burden that cannot be dealt with by any single person. Once a person dies, everybody in the community becomes involved in mourning and helping bury the dead. Usually people camp at the funeral house for usually three days during which meals are ate together with the bereaved family. People contribute daily supplies to feed the people that stay at the funeral house.

361. Malizu a akulu owama akalaluka.

a. ma-lizu a-a a-kulu a-ku-wam-a a-ka-laluk-a
cl6-word cl6-GEN cl2-big cl6-GP-be.good-FV cl6-CND-take.time-FV

b. Old people's words become sweet after a long time.

c. It is disrespectful to argue with old people.

d. If there is an old person and if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it. If there is an old person, then if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. In Nsenga society arguing with old people is considered a taboo and therefore a punishable offense not only by traditional leaders but by supernatural powers. An old person's talk is always regarded as serious and gospel truth. This is because in many cases old people's advice becomes useful when specific events where the old people's advice is applicable take place after some time. Old people give advices from their pool of immerse knowledge resulting from their lifelong experiences.

362. Mamvelamvela efumya kalulu pavikwati.

a. ma-mvel-a-mvel-a a-i-fumy-a Ø-kalulu pa-vi-kwati
cl6-hear-FV-hear-FV cl1-PAST-remove-FV cl1a-hare cl16-cl8-marriage

b. Listening to what people say anyhow ended the hare's marriages.

c. Not everything said is worth listening to.

d. If it is hearsay and if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it. If it is hearsay, then if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. *Kalulu* "the hare" is a popular character in Nsenga folktales. The hare is associated with many human characteristics. One of these characteristics is friendliness and being social to anybody. *Kalulu* is said to be somebody who wants to listen to everything and be part of every discussion. This is considered as dangerous because ill motivated people can tell lies that can cost one important human relationships such as marriage itself. This proverb is used by elders to advise and warn couples or married people on the danger of listening to anything that people say. Marriage is considered a sacred bond between husband and wife hence the two should be very careful with getting advice. Advice is good but one should be careful not to receive every advice that comes without caution. Not everyone means well.

363. Manchici akalila m'zuŵa ni maloza.

a.	Ø-manchici	a-ka-lil-a	mu-Ø-zuŵ-a	ni	ma-loza
	cl1a-owl	cl1-CND-cry-FV	cl18-cl5a-sun	COP	cl6-taboo

b. When an owl hoots during the day, it is a taboo.
c. Unusual happenings are indicators of bad omens.
d. Things that appear from nowhere have bad luck, it has appeared from nowhere, so it has bad luck.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. An owl is a symbol of fear and bad luck in Nsenga culture. Owls are believed to be kept by witches that use them in the night. This is because, by their nature, owls only move at night due to their poor vision in daylight. The types of owls found in Nsenga land also hunt their prey at night. Thus because of the myth around owls, it is believed that once you see an owl something bad will happen in your life.

364. Manja akata viyipa osamba.

a.	ma-nja	a-a-kat-a	vi-ipa	a-ku-samb-a
	cl6-hand	cl6-PERF-touch-FV	cl8-bad	cl6-GP-wash-FV

b. Hands that have touched dirt have to be cleaned.
c. Hard work is rewarded.
d. Hard work is rewarded, I am working hard, so I will be rewarded.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Washing of hands is a common practice for many occasions. Since people use hands when eating, it is always advisable to wash hands before eating anything. People also wash hands after doing some hard labor. However, people do not just wash hands for the sake of it. Working people, on the farming fields or various construction projects, get to wash hands in order to break for food. Food in this case is viewed like a reward for a day's hard work.

365. Manja aulesi eleta njala pang'anda.

a. ma-nja a-a u-lesi a-i-let-a n-jala
cl6-hand cl6-GEN 14-laziness cl6-PAST-bring-FV cl9-hunger
pa-n-ng'anda
cl16-cl9-house

b. Lazy hands brought hunger at a household.

c. Laziness causes hunger.

d. Laziness causes hunger, I am lazy, so I will suffer from hunger.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Laziness for Nsenga people who are dependent on non-mechanized agriculture, is a source of many problems including hunger itself. Thus laziness is out rightly discouraged for fear of hunger.

366. Manyezyanyezya etaya muto.

a. ma-nyezy-a-nyazy-a a-i-tay-a mu-to
cl6-move-FV-move-FV cl6-PAST-spill-FV cl3-gravy

b. Frequent movement of the plate made the gravy spill.

c. Shifting your opinion frequently can cost you problems.

d. If you need to succeed then you should stay focused, I am not focused, so I will not succeed.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS

f. *Nshima*, which is usually hard and with an almost flat taste, is usually dipped in gravy whilst eating to allow for easy swallowing and improved taste. Traditional plates where made from clay and had an unstable base that could easily tip off. The plates were carefully placed usually to avoid spilling and would stay in the same position until people finished eating.

367. Manzi okonkha m'kolo wake.

a. ma-nzi a-ku-konkh-a mu-kolo u-ake
cl6-water cl6-GP-follow-FV cl3-furrow cl3-3sPOS

b. Water follows its furrow.

c. Children usually take after parent's behavior.

d. If humans give birth to humans and if a father gives birth to a son then the son should take after his father.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. By natural phenomenon, water runs along a furrow. In Nsenga land, running water in furrows after rains becomes a source of pleasure to watch especially for children. Some furrows develop into gullies and streams as rainwater repeatedly runs through the same furrows during rainy seasons. Elders in order to rebuke parents who complain about the behavior of their children and forget about their own history use this proverb. For example, in a situation where a father who was a thief complains about the son's stealing behavior, elders who were there when the father used to steal will use this proverb to rebuke him. It is said that a good tree cannot produce bad fruits neither can a bad tree produce good fruits. Hence, anybody who wants to have well-behaved children must be well-behaved himself or herself.

368. Manzi otapa citapetape mulilo opala kapena aliye.

a. ma-nzi a-ku-tap-a ci-tap-e-tap-e mu-lilo
cl6-water cl2-GP-draw-FV cl7-drwa-FV-draw-FV cl6-fire
a-ku-pal-a kapena a-li-ye
cl2-get.some.fire.from.a.neighbour's.fire place-FV CNJ cl2-be-NEG

b. You can draw water anytime even for storage but you only ask for fire from a neighbor's fire place if you do not have any.

c. People can share wisdom with you whether you ask for it or not but people will only punish you when you do something wrong and not anyhow.

d. People accuse someone who is wrong, he is accused, so he is wrong.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The proverb portrays a picture of a woman's daily chores among the Nsengas. Usually, women wake up at similar hours to go to water wells usually located some distance away from residential areas. Streams or rivers are the main source of water. After water drawing, women prepare fireplaces in order to provide breakfast for the family. In many cases, it is

rare to find matches in homes. Thus, women get fire from those neighbors that already have it lit by some means. Whilst water wells are common places, fireplaces are a specific to individual homes. They are both symbols of life in a home. This proverb is normally used when judging someone who is claiming to be innocent. S/he is advised that society does not accuse innocent people.

369. Manzi soluŵa mwakupita.

a. ma-nzi si-a-ku-luŵ-a mu-a ku-pit-a
cl6-water NEG-cl6-GP-forget-FV cl18-GEN INFM-move-FV

b. Water does not forget its course.

c. Old habits are difficult to overcome.

d. If there is something and if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future. If there is something, then if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. The behavior of water as amusing as it is to scientists is also amusing to Nsenga people. Nsengas always marvel at the ability of water to follow its path. It is more amusing in the sense that running streams and furrows are seasonal as there is it rains only in the rainy season. However, water seems to run through similar paths every year.

370. Mapikiti opitilila lini mutu.

a. ma-pikiti a-ku-pit-ilil-a lini mu-tu
cl6-shoulder cl6-GP-go-PER-FV NEG cl3-head

b. Shoulders do not go beyond the head.

c. One can either be a parent or a child and not both at the same time.

d. If there is a father and son then one is either a parent or a child, he is not the parent, so he is the child.

e. Disjunctive/Major/VS

f. In the proverb, shoulders represent children while the head represents a parent. The analogy is used to remind children that they cannot upset the natural and biological relationship that exists between them and their parents. In this manner, children ought to give their parents God-given respect that they disserve.

371. Masiku elinganizya mwana na anyina.
   a. ma-siku a-i-ling-an-ish-a mu-ana na a-nyina
      cl6-day cl6-PAST-equate-REC-CAUS-FV cl1-child CNJ cl2-mother
   b. Days equated a child to the mother.
   c. Do not despise old age as every human being becomes old.
   d. All human beings get old, I am human, so I will get old.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Aged people are like children in many respects. This situation is used to teach young ones to respect aged people since they too would be also age someday. All elderly people are expected to be respected by all younger generations without exception.

372. Masiku owama lini onse.
   a. ma-siku a-ku-wam-a lini a-onse
      cl6-day cl2-GP-be.good-FV NEG cl6-all
   b. Not all days are good.
   c. There are difficulties in life.
   d. If there are days and if some days are good then some days are bad. If there are days, then if some days are good then some days are bad.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. This proverb is used to give strength and comfort to someone who is going through problems. For instance, at a funeral the elders use this proverb to comfort the bereaved family and to remind them that life also has bad moments. There are both good and bad seasons in the lives of all people.

373. Matepo akapona nsoni zukata cimuti.
   a. ma-tepo a-ka-pon-a n-soni zu-ku-kat-a ci-mu-ti
      cl6-leaf cl6-CND-fall-FV cl10-shyness cl10-GP-hold-FV cl7-cl3-tree
   b. When leaves fall off, the free feels shy.
   c. Parents feel the shame when children act irresponsibly.
   d. If people expect a parent to discipline her child and if a child misbehaves then people think the child is undisciplined. If people expect a parent to discipline her child, then if a child misbehaves then people think the child is undisciplined.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
   f. Whereas there are practically two seasons, dry and wet, in Nsenga land there is a short period of time that can be likened to autumn when trees

shade leaves. It is believed that trees that have shade leaves feel shy because of the nakedness.

374. Matu akumvwa koma mtima upwazya.

a. ma-tu a-ku-mvw-a koma mu-tima u-ku-pwazy-a
cl6-ear cl6-GP-hear-FV CNJ cl3-heart cl3-GP-ingnore-FV

b. Ears hear but the heart ignores.

c. Give due attention to all things you hear to avoid missing important life's details.

d. People say important things, he has said something, so it is important.

e. PF/Conclusion/UCS

f. While Nsengas believe, according to natural science, that the function of the ear is merely to receive sound, they believe that the processing of the sound, contrary to natural science, is done in the heart.

375. Matusi opanga lini cilonda.

a. ma-tusi a-ku-pang-a lini ci-londa
cl6-insult cl6-GP-make-FV NEG cl7-sore

b. Insults do not make sores.

c. Since insults cannot cause physical harm, they should be ignored.

d. If one has been insulted and if there is no physical damage then the insults should be ignored. If one has been insulted, then if there is no physical damage then the insults should be ignored.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Insults are considered the worst verbal form of abuse. An insulting person is considered a deviant in society. Many people take serious offense at insults. In order to save ones face that is threatened by insults, elders' advice shows that even if one can insult, the insults cannot cause physical harm on a person. People are therefore advised to ignore insults and move on.

376. Mau a akulu owama akalalila.

a. ma-u a-a a-kulu a-ku-wam-a a-ka-lal-il-a
cl6-word cl6-GEN cl2-big cl6-GP-be.good-FV cl-CND-sleep-APP-FV

b. The words of an elderly person only make sense after some time.

c. Old people's advice apparently looks useless on face value.

d. If there is an old person and if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it. If there is an old person, then if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. This proverb is used by elders to warm young people who neglect advice they are given. They are told that that the words of an elderly person might seem useless when they are being spoken, but by experience become useful with the passage of time. It is therefore important to take seriously everything that elders say as it could be of importance in the future. In Nsenga culture, every young person is expected to give audience to all elderly people. All elderly people must be treated with similar respect and attention that one gives to his/her own parents.

377. Mau a munthu mukulu solaŵila patyala.

a. ma-u a-a mu-nthu mu-kulu si-a-ku-laŵil-a
cl6-word cl6-GEN cl1-person cl1-big NEG-PERF-GP-talk-FV
pa-tyala
cl16-nothing
b. An old person does not say things without a purpose.
c. Old people do not talk anyhow.
d. If there is an old person and if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it. If there is an old person, then if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. As custodians of wisdom old people are always taken seriously once they something. It is said that old people do not joke but always mean what they say. Thus whilst old people can joke among themselves a young person should always treat any talk with an old person as a serious one to avoid missing important life's advice.

378. Mau abwino elalika cimbwi pa cungu.

a. ma-u a-a bwino a-i-lal-ik-a Ø-cimbwi
cl6-word cl6-GEN good cl6-PAST-sleep-POT-FV cl1a-hyena
pa-ci-ungu
cl16-cl7-dumpsite
b. Good news made the hyena sleep at the dumpsite.
c. Do not act on hearsay.

d. If it is hearsay and if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it. If it is hearsay, then if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. A hyena is an animal that is known to steal prey from other hunting animals. For this reason, a hyena is considered an animal with very low virtues that no man should follow. A hyena can wait for a very long time just to find an opportunity to steal from other animals' prey. In the proverb, the situation is used to mean that you do not need to depend on information that has not been proved (hearsay). It is advised to make ones findings before acting on any received information.

379. Maŵala a ingo oŵelengela lini pafupi.

a.	ma-ŵala	a-a	in-go	a-ku-ŵeleng-il-a	lini
	cl6-spot	cl6-GEN	cl9-leopard	cl1-GP-count-APP-FV	NEG
	pa-fupi				
	cl16-near				

b. You do not count a leopard's spots at close range.
c. You do not court danger.
d. If something is dangerous and if it can affect you then it should be avoided. If something is dangerous, then if it can affect you then it should be avoided.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. A leopard is known to be a very fierce and vicious big cat. It usually lives in hiding away from human beings. Its spots are always an amusement to Nsenga people some of whom use the skin as decorative mats in the palaces and houses.

380. Mayankheyankhe mulamba eyankha mbezo.

a.	ma-yankhe-yankh-e	mu-lamba	a-i-yankh-a	n-bezo
	cl6-catch-FV-catch-FV	cl3-barbel.fish	cl1-PAST-catch-FV	cl9-hook

b. A barbel fish that caught or picked anything that came its way ended up catching a hook.
c. Do not get yourself involved without thorough consideration.
d. If you participate in things without consideration then you might get into trouble, he is participating in things without consideration, so he might get into trouble.
e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Barbel fish is one of the Nsenga people's delicacies. It is also easy to catch because it can eat almost any type of bait. It also found in shallow lagoons making it easy for people to catch them even with bare hands. The proverb is used to warn or advice people to refrain from the habit of getting involved in anything that comes their way especially what does not directly concern them. For example, it advises against one who joins a fight to rescue his/her friend without knowing or asking about the source of the fight. Such a person may only end up paying for a crime s/he has not committed. Hence, people should avoid such traps and not behave like the greedy or shortsighted barbel fish, which ends up catching a hook. This proverb is also used to teach people about the possible consequences of greed and selfishness. It is not good to want things all to oneself.

381. Mayendayenda ewela nako.

a. ma-yend-a-yend-a ai-wel-a na-ka-o
cl6-walk-FV-walk-FV cl1-PAST-come-FV CNJ-cl12-3PRN

b. A wonderer came with it.

c. An aimless wonderer runs into trouble.

d. Living an aimless life can cause you problems, she is living an aimless life, so she might get into problems.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. From human experience, aimless wonderers usually run into unnecessary problems. This reality is usually used as advice to children who want to go to various places without any purpose to avoid problems. It also used to advise girls to avoid getting pregnant by living without purpose and going to unnecessary places.

382. Maziŵa asasa.

a. ma-ziŵ-a a-a-sas-a
cl6-breast cl6-PERF-go.bad-FV

b. Breast milk has gone bad.

c. Without love families stay apart.

d. If there is love people live in harmony, they are not living in harmony, so there is no love.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS

f. Nsenga mothers many of whom cannot afford any supplements for their babies depend on breast milk to feed their babies. There are occasions

when breast milk is said to have gone bad and the child cannot suck. In such instances, there are fears of the baby starving. Breasts are a symbol of love and bond between the mother and child. The situation refers to instances when there are differences in the family and therefore people cannot live together. The breast represents love between a mother and child.

383. Mazya ni weka.
   a. ma-zya ni u-eka
      cl6-dance COP 2s-alone
   b. Good dancing depends on yourself.
   c. Hard work is necessary in order to succeed.
   d. Individual hard work is necessary in order to succeed, I need to succeed, so I should work hard.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. There are two words for dancing in Nsenga namely, *kuvina* and *mazya*. *Kuvina* is a general word for dancing whereas *mazya* refers to either the special skill of dancing or entertainment. *Mazya* is actually personal talent and that is why it is dependent on an individual.

384. Mazya owama na ng'oma.
   a. ma-zya a-ku-wam-a na n-ng'oma
      cl6-dance cl6-GP-be.good-FV CNJ cl9-drum
   b. Dancing is pleasurable when drums are beaten.
   c. Some activities require communal assistance in order to succeed.
   d. If you want to succeed then you get help, I want to succeed, so I should get help.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Nsenga people use drums for various entertainment purposes as well as conveying important information such as someone's funeral. It is always expected that one should dance to music made by an instrument such as drums otherwise one would be considered insane. Thus, there must be somebody playing drums and others dancing but not doing both at the same time.

385. Mbeŵa ni mangwa.
   a. n-beŵa ni ma-ngwa
      cl9-mouse COP cl6-mouse.nest

b. The mouse's bed indicates the presence of mice.
c. In order to be successful one should look for pointers to success.
d. If a method has success indicators then it should lead to success, it has no success indicators, so it does not lead to success.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. During the process of digging mice, one of the Nsenga people's delicacies, one needs a clue to be sure that mice are in the hole being dug up. Usually Nsengas have traditional skills acquired over lifetime that help them to determine holes where mice are. Sometimes mistakes are made and holes where snakes are dug up which is usually very dangerous. Mice usually have a location underground where they put their nest. Once you find the nest it becomes most assuring that mice are in the hole.

386. Mbeŵa yufisa mbulishilo.
a. n-beŵa i-ku-fis-a n-bulishilo
cl9-mouse cl9-GP-hide-FV cl9-emergency.exit
b. Mice hide the emergency exit.
c. Keep your security plans in secret.
d. If something is a secret then it should not be revealed, I have a secret, so it should not be revealed.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Mice usually have an emergency exit disguised in order to use once they are in danger. Before digging up mice, people usually clear the area in order to expose the hidden emergency exits.

387. Mbulamatu emvwisha nsoni makolo.
a. Ø-mbulamatu a-i-mvw-ish-a n-soni ma-kolo
cl1a-no.ears cl1-PAST-feel-CAUS-FV cl9-shame cl6-parent
b. A stubborn person caused his/her parents shame.
c. Actions of children discredit parents.
d. If people expect a parent to discipline her child and if a child misbehaves then people think the child is undisciplined. If people expect a parent to discipline her child, then if a child misbehaves then people think the child is undisciplined.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. A picture of a human being without ears is a classical representation of a stubborn person among Nsengas. All people, especially young ones, are

expected to heed elder's advice on numerous lives' issues. A parent whose child becomes stubborn in society is regarded as a failure in parenting, something that is regarded as utmost shame.

388. Mbuta ya kalulu yukula na kuti izani muone.

a. n-buta i-a Ø-kalulu i-ku-kul-a na
cl9-residence cl9-GEN cl1a-hare cl9-GP-grow-FV CNJ
ku-ti iz-a-ni mu-on-e
INFM-say come-FV-PTC 2p-see-FV

b. A hare's residence grows by inviting many people to come and watch.

c. A small problem can grow big if you involve many people.

d. If there is a small problem and if many people are involved in the small problem then the problem might appear big. If there is a small problem, then if many people are involved in the small problem then the problem might appear big.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. A hare is a very common animal among Nsengas. It is a popular folktales star but also a commonly hunted animal. Chasing a hare is always thrilling because of its speed and escape tactics. A hare usually has a small resting place in the bush known as mbuta in Nsenga. Once it is discovered people inform others, which attracts many people to the place. Thus, it is said that the small place becomes big because of the number of people that come to watch.

389. Mbuzi ikulya pamene paimangilila.

a. n-buzi i-ku-ly-a pa-a-mene pa-a-i-mang-ilil-a
cl9-goat cl9-GP-eat-FV cl16-GEN-REL cl16-PERF-cl9-tie-PERS-FV

b. A goat eats from where it has been confined.

c. You benefit from where you work.

d. Where you work is where your benefits are, I work here, so my benefits are here.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Goats are one of the common tamed animals in the Nsenga society. They are used as a source of meat, milk and income. A goat that is about to undergo a transaction is usually caught and tied to a tree well in advance. It is fed from where it is confined until the transaction takes place.

390. M'cila wa mbuzi upyela paunkhala.

a. mu-cila u-a n-buzi u-ku-pyel-a pa-u-nkhal-a
cl3-tail cl3-GEN cl9-goat cl3-GP-sweep-FV cl16-cl3-sit-FV

b. The goat's tail sweeps where it sits.

c. It is important to take care of your own needs before you think of doing something for others.

d. If have a need and if somebody else has a need then I should take care of my need first. I have a need, then if somebody else has a need then I should take care of my need first.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Goats are one of the common tamed animals in the Nsenga society. They are used as a source of meat, milk and income. Before a goat sits usually at an area littered by its own excreta, it wags its tail as though it is clearing its own place to sit.

391. Menso ali na nsanje.

a. ma-inso a-li na n-sanje
cl6-eye cl6-be CNJ cl9-jealousy

b. Eyes are jealousy.

c. Do not judge by external appearance only.

d. A good thing usually appears good, it is appearing good, so it is a good thing.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. As observed from human experience, something may appear bad in the eyes until details are known about the thing in question. Thus, it is said that eyes are jealousy because they do not want to see good in others. Eyes are used in the saying as a synecdoche for people who see others with prejudice.

392. Menso oipisha kamwa kolungamika.

a. ma-inso a-ku-ip-ish-a ka-mwa ka-ku-lungam-ik-a
cl6-eye cl6-GP-bad-CAUS-FV cl12-mouth cl12-GP-correct-POT-FV

b. Eyes make something bad but the mouth corrects.

c. Do not judge something by the way it looks.

d. A good thing usually appears good, it is appearing good, so it is a good thing.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. As observed from human experience, something may appear bad in the eyes until one hears about it or until it is talked about.

393. Menu ni mafupa.

a. ma-ino ni ma-fupa
cl6-tooth COP cl6-bone

b. Teeth are bones.

c. Someone's smile does not always mean s/he is pleased with you.

d. If someone smiles then s/he is happy, she is smiling so she is happy.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Since teeth show each time one laughs. It is assumed that when teeth show then one is happy because laughter is a sign of happiness. However, sometimes laughing does not always entail happiness just as a show of teeth does not always mean laughter. Sometimes teeth need to be regarded as mere lifeless bones.

394. Mfinzi iliye cimbwi.

a. n-finzi i-li-ye Ø-cimbwi
cl9-darkness cl9-be-NEG cl1a-hyena

b. You cannot find a hyena in darkness.

c. A coward cannot be found in fearful places.

d. A coward cannot be found in fearful places, it is a fearful place, so there is no coward.

e. PF/Major/UCW

f. A hyena is believed to be a very fearful animal. There are many stories told by hunters among Nsengas that describe it as an animal that runs away from anything including its own shadow.

395. Mfulumila yipaisha inzi na cinshupu.

a. n-fulumila i-i-pay-ish-a in-zi na ci-nshupu
cl9-impatience cl9-PAST-kill-CAUS-FV cl9-house.fly CNJ cl7-fart

b. Lack of patience made a house fly to be killed by fart.

c. Patience pays well.

d. Doing things hastily can cause damage, I am in a hurry, so I can cause damage.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A housefly is a symbol of an impatient and irritating person in Nsenga society. Houseflies are unavoidable human companions. They are known to be the transmitters of diarrheal diseases. Traditionally too, people used to use the bush for defecating and they would therefore closely watch the behavior of flies. Flies are very sensitive to bad odors and respond immediately the odor is released. Thus whilst defecating in the bush, flies usually arrive at the smell of fart even before the fecal matter is released. In the proverb, a rushing fly is hit by a strong wind from the fart and dies on impact on the ground.

396. Mfumu ikacita cinthu cumvwika.

a. n-fumu i-ka-cit-a ci-nthu ci-ku-mvw-ik-a
cl9-chief cl9-CND-do-FV cl7-thing cl7-GP-hear-POT-FV

b. A chief's actions are public.

c. Public figures have no private life.

d. What a public figure says should be treated as public matter, a public figure has said something, so it is public matter.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. All traditional leaders and prominent people in Nsenga society are regarded as public figures that have no right to privacy. Thus, all citizens freely discuss everything that their leaders do. Such an expression is used against a prominent figure who complains about leakage of private information.

397. Mfumu ni kucungu.

a. n-fumu ni ku-ci-ungu
cl9-king COP cl17-cl7-dumpsite

b. A king (traditional leader) is like a dumpsite.

c. A leader must be accommodating.

d. If I am a leader then I should serve all people, he is a person, so I should serve him.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Nearly every home has a dumpsite either in form of a designated area or a pit for dumping. Community elders in order to give advice to a chief (traditional leader) who is high tempered, intolerant and banishes people from his /her community normally use this proverb. It reminds the chief that there is no community, which has only perfect people hence s/he as a leader must tolerate everybody just as a dumpsite does not choose what is

dumped. The proverb is also used to remind the Chief that s/he would not be a leader without people and banishing people is chasing away the very people that make him/her the leader. This proverb can also be used to warn the chief about the challenges of his/her position. It is also important to note that apart from the traditional setting this proverb also applies to anybody in a responsible position.

398. Mibulishilo ya pundu nthika zingaiziŵe lini.

a. mi-bulishilo i-a Ø-pundu n-thika
cl4-emergency.exit cl4-GEN cl5a-*pundu*.mouse cl10-*nthika*.mouse
zi-nga-i-ziŵ-e lini
cl10-MOD-cl4-know-FV NEG

b. *Nthika* (a type of mice) cannot know the emergency exists of *pundu* (a type of mice).

c. Security issues must be kept secret.

d. If something is a secret then it should not be revealed, I have a secret, so it should not be revealed.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. *Nthika* and *pundu* are a type of mice both enjoyed as delicacies by the Nsenga people. *Nthika* are small and usually found in big numbers and are easy to catch. *Pundu* are found in smaller numbers but are big and very difficult to catch because they build several disguised emergency exits. Once you begin digging, they can exit from very unsuspecting places sometimes escaping unnoticed and making it very difficult to catch even when they are noticed. This is because they sprint off at very high speed. However, every type of mice and every mouse family has its own escape route.

399. Mitolo ni kutwikana.

a. mi-tolo ni ku-twik-an-a
cl4-bundle COP INFM-put.on.the.head-REC-FV

b. You need others to help you put a (heavy) load on your head.

c. Do to others, as you would have them do to you.

d. Someone who helps others gets help too, s/he is helping others. So s/he will get help too.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsenga people traditionally carry very heavy luggage on the head. Humans by use of the head are the most reliable means of transportation. Usually, it is difficult for an individual to put a heavy luggage on his/her own head. This is usually done with the help of anybody else present.

400. Mizyu yacimuti ikakumana yupanga cimuti.

a. mi-zyu i-a ci-mu-ti i-ka-kum-an-a
cl4-root cl4-GEN cl7-cl3-tree cl4-CND-meet-REC-FV
i-ku-pang-a ci-mu-ti
cl4-GP-make-FV cl7-cl3-tree

b. When roots of a tree meet they make a tree.

c. It is people that matter in society.

d. If there is society then there are people, there are no people, so there is no society.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Many roots make up a one tree. Thus, any tree is made up of a network of roots. This is also likened to a family tree that is made up of many members. Without roots (members) a tree (society) cannot form.

401. Mkondo oyesela lini pamunthu.

a. mu-kondo a-ku-yes-il-a lini pa-mu-nthu
cl3-spear cl1-GP-try-APP-FV NEG cl16-cl1-person

b. You don't test a spear on a person.

c. Do not use humans as guinea pigs.

d. If something is dangerous then it should not be used, if it should not be used then I cannot use on humans, so if something is dangerous then I cannot use it on humans.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. A spear is one of the common hunting weapons among Nsengas. It is also used for self-defense. A spear, which is traditionally made from wood but recently from iron, is tested before use on non-living things to avoid fatal accidents. It is advisable to test the weapon away from humans to also avoid accidents.

402. M'lando wozikumbulwilapo m'kamwa.

a. mu-lando u-a ku-zi-kumbulw-il-a-po mu-kamwa
cl3-log cl3-GEN INFM-REF-stumble-APP-FV-ENC cl3-mouth

ni Ø-lulimi
COP Cl5a-tongue

b. The log on which you stumble in the mouth.
c. Do not speak carelessly.
d. If you speak a lot then you increase the chance of making a mistake, if you increase the chance of making a mistake then you should very careful not to make a mistake, so if you speak a lot then you be very careful not to make a mistake.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
f. It is quite often to bite your own tongue whilst eating or talking. In order to avoid this, one only needs to be very careful especially when eating. The tongue is associated with speech. It is advised to be very careful of speech to avoid causing problems for others and for self. This proverb is usually sited up to the word 'mouth' and the audience finishes (in the mind) by adding the tongue.

403. M'mela m'poyamba.
a. mu-mela ni pa-ku-yamb-a
cl3-seedling COP cl16-GP-start-FV
b. Seedlings are better when they are young.
c. It is easier to teach a young person than an old one.
d. If someone is a child then s/he can be easily controlled, s/he is not a child, so s/he cannot be easily controlled.
e. TF/Conclusion/UCS
f. The Nsenga people's economy depends on agriculture. Thus, almost everybody has knowledge of farming. One of the difficult things to deal with is weeds. However, it is easier to deal with weeds while the seedlings are young. Otherwise, if they grow with weeds you lose a good yield as your crops compete for food with weeds.

404. M'njala omulovya lini m'cimphaka.
a. mu-njala a-ku-mu-lowˆ-ish-a lini mu-ci-mphaka
cl1-hunger cl1-GP-cl1-enter-CAUS-FV NEG cl18-cl7-barn
b. You do not ask a beggar to enter your barn.
c. Do not tempt the vulnerable.
d. If there is a person and if the person is dire need of food then I should not leave the person near the food as s/he might get it. If there is a person, then

if the person is dire need of food then I should not leave the person near the food as s/he might get it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. In times of famine especially when there are droughts, some households and individuals become destitute and beggars. It is allowed for whosoever does not have food to beg from others who have it in the community. However, when a person asks you for something you do not allow him/her to get it from the storeroom alone because s/he might get more than s/he is allowed to.

405. Mphofu ikati nikuteme.

a. n-phofu i-ka-ti ni-ku-tem-e
cl9-blind.person cl9-CND-say 1s-2s-stone-FV

b. When a blind person says, "I will stone you."

c. Do not despise people because of their physical appearance or condition.

d. If a person threatens to do something then s/he has means of doing it, s/he has threatened to something, so she has means of doing it.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. This proverb usually left hanging is left to the audience or respondent to complete by adding the phrase "*niye kuti yakanda pamwala*" (It means s/he is stepping on a stone). There are people who want to take advantage of blind people. However, blind people have several defensive mechanisms such as the senses of smell and touch that help to defend themselves. Able-bodied people are usually unaware of these defensive mechanisms.

406. Mphofu zeka zikakulikana ziponele pamo mucisengu.

a. n-phofu zi-eka zi-eka-kulik-an-a zi-pon-il-e
cl10-blide.person cl10-alone cl10-CND-tow-REC-FV cl10-fall-APP-FV
pa-mo mu-ci-sengu
cl16-one cl18-cl7-pit

b. When blind people are guiding each other they both fall into the pit.

c. Ignorant people cannot lead each other.

d. A leader must be knowledgeable, he is not knowledgeable, so he cannot be a leader.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. There are, for some reason, always several blind people among Nsenga people. Blindness in old age is also common. Blind people usually get

younger children especially grand children to guide them around places. A picture of two blind people guiding each other however is an image of being ruled by an ignorant leader. Blindness is therefore associated with ignorance.

407. Mphumphu m'kamwa paa.

a. n-phumphu mu-ka-mwa paa
cl9-partially.ground.miaze.grain cl18-cl12-mouth IDEO

b. A mouth completely full of partially ground maize grain.

c. To be faced with a situation that is too embarrassing to talk about.

d. If there are people and if the people can look down on me if I do something embarrassing then I should not do something embarrassing. If there are people, then if the people can look down on me if I do something embarrassing then I should not do something embarrassing.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Maize samp is one of the products of maize used for breakfast and sometimes as substitute to *nshima*. The samp can be deliberately prepared but sometimes is a result of failure by the grinding machine to produce fine maize flower or mealie meal. When you put a lot of samp into your mouth, it is very difficult to talk as the samp would fall off the mouth.

408. M'pimo wa unga osiyanisha lini.

a. mu-pimo u-a u-nga a-ku-siyan-ish-a lini
cl3-measure cl3-GEN cl14-mealie.meal cl1-GP-different-CAUS-FV NEG

b. The measure for mealie-meal is not supposed to be changed.

c. Equity and equality should precede treatment of others.

d. If there is fairness then all things remain equal, things are not equal, so there is no fairness.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Mealie meal is the Nsenga people's staple food. It is a symbol of wealth, food security and a stable home. In the principle of sharing everything, as all Nsengas believe and ascribe to, mealie meal is one of the commonly shared items. Thus, society attaches a lot of importance to it in such a way that anybody denying others is regarded as the worst human being. No one is therefore expected to be selfish with mealie meal as it can cost one's reputation. Wherever mealie meal is being shared, it must always be done under the principle of equity and equality. The proverb encourages people

to learn that standards or criteria should not be changed regardless of who is involved in a case in order to suite individuals.

409. M'tembo wolemelela konse konse.

a. mu-tembo u-a ku-lem-il-a ku-onse ku-onse
cl3-coffin cl3-GEN INFM-heavy-APP-FV cl17-all cl17-all

b. The coffin of a dead person should have balanced weight.

c. Equity and equality should precede treatment of others.

d. If there is fairness then all things remain equal, things are not equal, so there is no fairness.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. A funeral is always a communal matter that brings everybody together regardless of personal relationships. Once a person has died, the body becomes the responsibility of the whole community and not the bereaved family only until it is buried. Thus, the community shares all costs for the funeral whether in monitory form or in kind. Finally, during the actual burial all people are supposed to be seen to be doing something otherwise they would be branded as unhelpful. Not anybody known to be unhelpful on others' funerals gets good help once s/he gets bereavement in his /her family or indeed at his/her own funeral. On the final day, burial day, different people, other than family members, show up to share the burden of carrying the coffin. The proverb simply calls for fairness in dealing with other people it discourages double standards.

410. M'tendere wa ng'ombe ni kuyendesha m'cila.

a. mu-tendele u-a n-ng'ombe ni ku-yend-ish-a
cl3-peace cl3-GEN cl9-cattle COP INFM-move-CAUS-FV
mu-cila
cl3-tail

b. The cattle's freedom is in wagging the tail.

c. People who look happy are not necessarily free of problems.

d. If someone laughs then s/he is happy, he is laughing, so he is happy.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Cattle are used mainly for dairy and mechanizing agriculture. Thus cattle farming is usually the most mechanized form of farming among Nsengas who rare cattle. Cattle usually wag their tails to chase flies and sometimes it seems they do it for the no proper reason. To use cattle (oxen) for farming

you need to yoke them. Thus once the oxen are yoked, the only freedom they seem to have is to wag their tails. However, wagging the tails does not necessarily mean the cattle are happy.

411. M'tima wa muyako ni silya ya kamana.

a. mu-tima u-a mu-yako ni Ø-silya i-a
cl3-heart cl3-GEN cl1-friend COP cl5a-across.the.river cl5-GEN
ka-mana
cl12-river

b. A friend's heart is like the other side of the river.

c. You cannot know someone's thoughts.

d. A problem is something that I am experiencing, I am not experiencing it, so it is not a problem.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Streams and rivers are part of Nsenga people's daily lives. Many Nsenga people cross the rivers daily to go to cultivation fields and places beyond. One usually does not know the condition of the other side of the river until s/he crosses.

412. M'tolo wa nkhuni akumvwa kulema ni wanyamula.

a. mu-tolo u-a n-khuni a-ku-mvw-a ku-lem-a
cl3-bundle cl3-GEN cl9-firewood cl1-GP-hear-FV INFM-be.heavy-FV
ni u-a-nyamul-a
COP cl2-PERF-carry-FV

b. The one who has carried a bundle of firewood feels how heavy it is.

c. Do not trivialize a person's complaints.

d. A problem is something that I am experiencing, I am not experiencing it, so it is not a problem.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Due to human settlements and some farming practices most of the forestation around residential areas has disappeared. With firewood as the main source of energy, people have no choice but walk long distances fetching and carrying heavy loads of firewood usually on the head. Suffice to mention that only the person carrying the load feels the weight of the firewood load that usually overstretches the human body capabilities and endangers people's health.

413. Mucalo muli ŵanthu nyama ni m'sanga.
   a. mu-ci-alo mu-li ŵa-nthu n-yama ni mu-Ø-sanga
      cl18-cl7-earth cl18-be cl2-person cl9-animal COP cl18-cl5a-bush
   b. Humans habit the earth but animals live in the bush.
   c. All humans must behave in a similar and acceptable way.
   d. All humans behave in a similar way, he is not behaving in a similar way, so he is not human.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. Nsenga people make a clear distinction between animal and human worlds. The animal's world is considered as being outside the earth. All human behavior that is said not to be in line with earthly principles is said to emanate from the animal planet. Thus, human beings with deviant behavior are said to come from the bush or different planet.

414. Muipa outuka eka.
   a. mu-ipa a-ku-utuk-a a-eka
      cl1-bad cl1-GP-run-FV cl1-alone
   b. A bad person runs away willingly.
   c. A bad person avoids company.
   d. A bad person avoids company, he is avoiding company, so he is a bad person.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. Nsenga society, as community based on communal activities, regards people who live by themselves as bad people. It is always assumed that somebody who cannot mingle with others in any situation is a bad person incapable of making friendship.

415. Muipa owezya lini.
   a. mu-ipa a-ku-wezy-z lini
      cl1-bad cl1-GP-return-FV NEG
   b. A bad person does not return (things).
   c. You don't get by borrowing.
   d. A good person returns borrowed property, he has not returned, so he is not good.
   e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS

f. Borrowing among Nsengas is considered a normal practice as all people are expected to share everything. However, some bad people get things from others in the pretext of borrowing.

416. Mukulu oluvya lini koma kuluŵa.

a. mu-kul-u	a-ku-luvy-a	lini	koma	ku-luŵ-a
cl1-big	cl1-GP-make.mistake-FV	NEG	CNJ	INFM-forget-FV

b. An old person does not make a mistake but forget.
c. It is disrespectful to directly show a superior his/her weakness.
d. If an old person knows both good and bad then s/he knows when s/he does something wrong, If s/he knows when s/he does something wrong then I do not need to remind him/her that s/he has done something wrong, so if an old person knows both good and bad then I do not /need to remind him/her that she has done something wrong.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
f. Among Nsengas, it is a taboo for a young person to tell an old person that s/he is either a liar or wrong. Such a young person is regarded as disrespectful. S/he is a child with bad omen who cannot live long. Such a belief is necessary in keeping young people pay utmost respect to elderly people. Thus, you can only tell an elderly person that s/he has forgotten to do something and not to have either lied or made a mistake. The same relationship is adopted between subjects and their traditional leaders.

417. Mukulukazi ukamuona mupe ulemu.

a. mu-kulukazi	u-ka-mu-on-a	mu-p-e	u-lemu
cl1-old.person	2s-CND-cl1-see-FV	cl1-give-FV	cl14-respect

b. Give respect to an old person once you see him/her.
c. Respect old people in order to be lucky.
d. We need to respect old people, he is an old person, so he should be respected.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. There is a belief among Nsengas that once you please an old person s/he pronounces blessings upon your life that produce a spell of good luck. Thus all old people command respect in the young people for this reason. The reverse is also true. Thus if you do not respect old people you attract a curse.

418. M'kwanu ni pamatamano.
   a. mu-kwanu ni pa-ma-tamano
      cl1-relative COP cl16-cl6-suffering
   b. You know who your relative is when you are in problems.
   c. Somebody who comes to your aid is your true relative.
   d. Somebody who comes to your aid is your true relative, She has come to my aid, so she is my true relative.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. It is a common fact that once you get into serious problems relatives are expected to be more helpful than friends because of the biological bond rather than an act of mercy. However, there are also many instances when family members fail to look after their own members. In some cases, family individuals receive help from mere friends even when their own family members are capable of helping. Thus, it is said that people that come to your aid in time of need are your true relatives.

419. M'lasa akuti nilase nane nikulase.
   a. mu-lasa a-ku-ti ni-las-e na-ine ni-ku-las-e
      cl1-shooter cl1-GP-say 1s-2s-shoot-FV CNJ-1s 1s-shoot-FV
   b. Shoot me and I will shoot you too.
   c. Justice must provide for equal treatment of people.
   d. If there is justice then there is equal treatment, there is no equal treatment, so there is no justice.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. As a matter of natural justice, everybody must be given equivalent treatment. Thus, it is common for Nsenga people once they are threatened to use the same threat against the opponent.

420. Mulesi akulya volesi.
   a. mu-lesi a-ku-ly-a vi-a u-lesi
      cl1-lazy.person cl1-GP-eat-FV cl8-GEN cl14-laziness
   b. A lazy person feeds on laziness.
   c. You reap what you sow.
   d. Laziness causes hunger, I am lazy, so I will suffer from hunger.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Laziness is regarded as shameful behavior that should not be tolerated. It is believed that laziness is not a permanent physical condition but a deliberate

choice by the affected person. A lazy person is not expected to be handed with gifts in order to discourage the habit. Thus once you are lazy you are likely to suffer.

421. Mulesi akulya vosenga.

a. mu-lesi a-ku-ly-a vi-a ku-seng-a
cl1-lazy.person cl1-GP-eat-FV cl8-GEN INFM-beg-FV

b. A lazy person feeds by begging.

c. Laziness causes one to be a beggar.

d. Laziness causes hunger, I am lazy, so I will suffer from hunger.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Laziness is regarded as shameful behavior that should not be tolerated. It is believed that laziness is not a permanent physical condition but a deliberate choice by the affected person. Laziness is inevitably coupled with another shameful characteristic, which is begging.

422. Mulozi waimbwa ni umo.

a. mu-lozi u-a in-bwa ni u-mo
cl3-whistle cl3-GEN cl9-dog COP cl3-one

b. A dog has one type of a whistle.

c. Not all humans face similar problems, so do not rejoice in other people's problems.

d. If all humans are similar and if all humans go through similar experiences then I may also experience what other humans experience too. If all humans are similar, then if all humans go through similar experiences then I may also experience what other humans experience too.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Generally, animals are understood to have some form of communication. However, humans view the communication means as single form without any variation. Thus, dogs are simply known to bark whenever they want to communicate.

423. Mulungu oleka lini wanjumulila.

a. Ø-mulungu a-ku-lek-a lini u-a-njumul-il-a
cl1a-God cl1-GP-leave-FV NEG cl1-PERF-persevere

b. God does not leave somebody who perseveres.

c. God rewards perseverance.

d. God rewards perseverance, I am persevering, so God will reward me.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. It is believed that God rewards those that persevere in life. Any benefits that one accrues after a period of perseverance are attributed to God.

424. Mulwendo ewela na kalumo kakupya.
a. mu-lwendo u-i-wel-a na ka-lumo ka-a
cl1-visitor cl1-PAST-come-FV CNJ cl12-tool cl12-GEN
ku-py-a
INFM-sharp-FV
b. A visitor has come with a sharp tool.
c. A visitor can be of great help.
d. If someone is a visitor then s/he does not have solutions for local problems, s/he is a visitor so s/he has no solutions to the local problems.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. One day, people in a community were skinning an animal. It was common in this community to hunt animals as a group, skin and share the meat. However, all their knives were blunt and they had a lot of difficult in skinning the animal. When a visitor noticed the problem, he reached for his pocket and produced a very sharp knife. Everybody was happy to skin and share the meat with everybody including the visitor. Thus it was said that a visitor came with a sharp tool.

425. M'mainza kombwe akalila kumatemwakuca alesi ovwinikila nyula kumutu.
a. mu-ma-inza Ø-kombwe a-ka-lil-a ku-ma-temwakuca
cl18-cl6-rainy.season cl1a-rooster cl1-CND-cry-FV cl17-cl6-early.hours
a-lesi a-ku-vwinik-il-a n-yula ku-mu-tu
cl2-lazy.person cl1-GP-cover-APP-FV cl9-cloth cl17-cl3-head
b. In the early hours of the rainy season lazy people cover their heads with blankets when the rooster crows.
c. Unsuccessful people sleep while others work.
d. If you wake up early to start work then you will succeed, he is not waking up early to start work, so he will not succeed.
e. TF/Conclusion/UCS
f. The rainy season is the busiest season when Nsenga people cultivate their crops. This is because the agricultural system is a rain-fed one. Many Nsengas who do not have clocks use roosters for time. Those who want to

make good progress at their farms, where most of the work is manually done, wake up in the early hours of the day after the first rooster's crow.

426. Mumvwi ukalasa kumulu uwela soti pansi.

a. mu-mvwi u-ka-las-a ku-mulu u-ku-wel-a soti
cl3-spear cl3-CND-shoot-FV cl17-up cl3-GP-come-FV again
soti pa-nsi
again cl16-down

b. Once you shoot up a spear, it comes down.

c. Remember to be good to those that are in need because you might be in need someday too.

d. If you are good to others then they will also be good to you, I am not good to others, so they will not be good to me.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. By observation and laws of nature, when you shoot something up it must come down by the force of gravity. The scenario is used in the proverb to advise people to watch their behavior once they are in lofty positions as calamity can easily bring them down.

427. Munakazi akati nupika nsima ali na unga na ndiyo.

a. mu-nakazi a-ka-ti ni-ku-pik-a n-sima a-li
cl1-female cl1-CND-say 1s-GP-cook-FV cl9-*nshima* cl1-be
na u-nga na nodiyo
CNJ cl14-mealie.meal CNJ cl9-relish

b. When a woman says she is going to cook *nshima*, it means she has mealie meal and relish.

c. When you promise something, it means you have the means of fulfilling your promise.

d. Mealie meal is used to cook *nshima*, she wants to cook *nshima*, so she has mealie meal.

e. PF/Conclusion/UCS

f. *Nshima* is the staple food among Nsenga people. As a woman is usually expected to do kitchen chores most of the time, every woman is expected to know how to cook *nshima*. *Nshima* is only the main dish prepared using water and maize powder called mealie meal. Nobody ever eats *nshima* by itself as it has a flat taste. Thus it is always eaten with side dishes or relish.

If one is preparing *nshima* therefore it means that s/he has both the mealie meal and relish.

428. Munakazi wamwine onzuna kupambana wako.

a. mu-nakazi u-a mu-ine a-ku-nzun-a
cl1-female cl1-GEN cl1-stranger cl1-GP-be.sweet-FV
ku-pamban-a u-ako
INFM-more.than-FV cl1-2sPOS

b. Another man's wife is sweeter than yours is.

c. Humans tend to admire what they do not have in preference to what they own.

d. Something good appears good, she looks good, so she is good.

e. PF/Conclusion/UCW

f. Among Nsengas, all women are considered the same in many respects. In marriage counseling, men are told that all women give similar sexual pleasure. As a result, men should be content with their wives and never use sexual pleasure as an excuse for divorce. However, the human tendency to admire what s/he does not own usually tempts men to think that other women or people's wives offer better sexual pleasures than their own.

429. Munalume muyako ni paculu malinga wakwelapo.

a. mu-nalume mu-yako ni pa-ci-ulu malinga
cl1-male cl1-mate COP cl16-cl7-anthill CNJ
u-a-kwel-a-po
2s-PERF-climb-FV-ENC

b. You can only compare with your fellow man on the anthill (termite mound).

c. Do not underestimate your opponent until you engage him/her.

d. Do not underestimate your opponent until you engage him, I have not engaged him, so I should not underestimate him.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VS

f. An anthill is a very important place among Nsengas. Nsengas enjoy flying ants from the anthill as a delicacy. The soil from the anthill is used for decorating houses because it has a good texture and is sticky making it easier to smear on the wall. The soil is also used by children for making toy cars. An anthill hill is also a place where various sports are staged such as mock fights for both humans and livestock. There are also certain crops that are usually grown on anthills.

430. Munalume ni pamala.
   a. mu-nalume ni pa-ma-la
      cl1-male COP cl16-cl6-stomach
   b. A man is the stomach.
   c. Food makes a man strong in spirit and body.
   d. Food makes a man strong in spirit and body, he has no food, so he is not strong in spirit.
   e. TF/Major/UCW
   f. This is a synecdoche used to refer to a man by his stomach. It is believed among Nsengas that once you feed a man you make them both physically and emotionally satisfied. Women that get counseled in marriage are actually advised never to keep their men hunger in order to maintain a strong marriage.

431. Munekwanu ni mizyu ya kacele.
   a. mu-nekwanu ni mi-zyu i-a Ø-kacele
      cl1-relative COP cl4-root cl4-GEN cl1a-fig.tree
   b. Blood relationship is like roots of a fig tree.
   c. Blood relationship is un unbreakable bond.
   d. If someone is your biological relative then s/he remains your relative forever, s/he is my biological relative, so s/he will my relative forever.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. A fig tree is a very important tree in Nsenga land. It is used for various purposes including medicine and shelter to both humans and livestock. A fig tree is also a symbol of plenty underground water and an indicator of easily accessible water table. The roots of the tree form a complex crisscrossing network that always amuses Nsenga people.

432. Mung'anda mwausalala ukumbwila m'tenje.
   a. mu- n-ng'anda mu-a ku-sa-lal-a u-kumbwil-a
      cl18-cl9-house cl18-GEN INFM-NEG-sleep-FV 2s-admire-FV
      mu-tenje
      cl3-roof
   b. You admire the roof of a house in which you do not sleep.
   c. Outward appearance is not always the same as inward appearance.
   d. Something good appears good, she looks good, so she is good.
   e. PF/Conclusion/UCW

f. Marriage is the most important institution in Nsenga society. It is regarded and referred to as a house. It is considered private to the people that live in that house and no one is allowed to intrude. It is also strongly advisable that the couple of the marriage must never ever reveal what happens in their marriage to anybody. As a result, even couples that have marriage problems portray themselves as happy couples to the public. This can be deceiving to the outside world that assumes that a couple that appears happy has a good marriage. In this sense, it is advisable never to judge a couple by its appearance. Rather than admire someone's marriage or achievements, you need to develop your own marriage and achievements because you never know what goes on in other people's lives.

433. Munthu akankhala na cuma akuti ali pam'tendele.

a. mu-nthu a-ka-nkhl-a na ci-uma a-ku-ti a-li
cl1-person cl1-CND-be-FV CNJ cl7-wealth cl1-GP-say cl1-be
pa-mu-tendele
cl16-cl3-peace

b. When a person has wealth, people think s/he is at peace.

c. One can be wealthy but without peace.

d. If one has many then s/he can solve problems with it, if s/he can solve problem with it then s/he is at peace, so if one has money then s/he is at peace.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. There is always a misconception in society to think that wealth is the absence of strife, war and all forms of discomfort. In fact, there are people who are never at peace because of the wealth they have.

434. Munthu kuti akulileko ni kuzisunga noyopa malamulo.

a. mu-nthu ku-ti a-kul-il-e-ko ni ku-zi-sung-a
cl1-person INFM-say cl1-grow-APP-FV-PTC COP INFM-REF-keep-FV
na ku-yop-a ma-lamulo
CNJ INFM-fear-FV cl6-law

b. In order to grow old one should look after him/herself and obey laws.

c. Obedience and self-control produces long life.

d. If I am obedient and self-controlled and if society is pleased with me, then society will reward me a long life. If I am I am obedient and self-controlled,

then if society is pleased with me then society will reward me with a long life.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. The proverb simply states good practices that result in long life. To keep oneself, is a general statement that includes practicing everything that one thinks is good for life and health. Obeying laws on the other hand ensures that a person does not get any form of punishment either by the law enforcement organs or social justice that can sometimes cause bodily and spiritual harm.

435. Munthu m'kulu solewa nkhonyo.

a. mu-nthu mu-kulu si-a-ku-lew-a n-khonyo
cl1-person cl2-big NEG-cl1-GP-dodge-FV cl9-punch

b. A big person cannot dodge a punch.

c. An old person cannot avoid problems.

d. If one is old then he has responsibilities, if he has responsibilities then he cannot avoid problems, so if one is old then he cannot avoid problems.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. It is theoretically a fact that surface area is important in dodging an attack. The bigger the surface area the more difficult it is to dodge an attack. The big person in the proverb is both literally used to mean a person big in size as well as an elderly person without the required flexibility to dodge a punch.

436. Munthu olwala ni oyaŵa cinkhombe.

a. mu-nthu u-a ku-lwal-a ni a-ku-yaŵ-a ci-nkhombe
cl1-person cl1-GEN INFM-sick-FV COP cl1-GP-share-FV cl7-pot

b. A sick person is the one who shares the (meat in the) pot.

c. Someone who only shows interest in good things is a selfish person.

d. If when they are good things he shows interest and if when there are bad things he does not show interest then he is a selfish person. If when they are good things he shows interest, then if when there are bad things he does not show interest then he is a selfish person.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. The proverb says "sharing the pot", however since a pot cannot be shared, it is entailed that the contents of the pot are shared. If the pot had vegetables, the word used would have been (*kupakula* ku-pakul-a INFM-

serve-FV) "to serve". Since the word used is *kuyaŵa* "share" it means meat as only meat is shared in this sense of the word. Whereas vegetables are usually served on a communal plate, meat is usually shared to individuals to avoid unfairness. It is also expected that when someone is sick s/he should be given leave from house chores to fully recover. The house chores include cooking and serving food. It surprises people therefore that someone sick decides to share the relish because it is meat. It is assumed therefore that the person is only interested in getting a good share of the meat and of course in the meat itself as opposed to vegetables.

437. Munthu opasa nyama ya nkhuku oyambila kukupasa vimbombo.
   a. mu-nthu a-ku-ku-pas-a n-nyama i-a n-khuku
      cl1-person cl1-GP-2s-give-FV cl9-meat cl9-GEN cl9-chicken
      a-ku-yamb-il-a ku-ku-pas-a vi-mbombo
      cl1-GP-start-APP-FV INFM-2s-give-FV cl6-chicken.trotters
   b. A person that gives you chicken meat begins by giving you chicken trotters.
   c. Be grateful for whatever you receive.
   d. If you have something then you should be grateful, I have a small thing, so I should be grateful.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. A chicken is a traditionally very important bird. It carries a lot of traditional symbolism especially about marriage and family relationships. The highest honor you can give to your in-laws or guest is by serving a meal with a cooked whole chicken. If you receive only parts of the chicken, it means you have not received full honor but the gesture is important in building hope for receiving a full chicken in the future.

438. Munthu soluŵa pakhumudwa.
   a. mu-nthu si-a-ku-luŵ-a pa-a-kumudw-il-a
      cl1-person NEG-cl1-GP-forget-FV cl16-PERF-stumble-APP-FV
   b. A person does not fort where s/he has stumbled.
   c. People easily forget good things but not bad ones.
   d. People have a tendency to remember bad things, I have done something bad, so people will remember.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. It is common for humans to stumble against many things. Nsengas usually stumble against small stamps that are hard to see, as many paths are not

smooth or completely cleared. Once you stumble, the mind almost permanently registers in your head the place of danger.

439. Munthu wamatu akumvwa limo.
   a. mu-nthu u-a ma-tu a-ku-mvw-a li-mo
      cl1-person cl1-GEN cl6-ear cl1-GP-hear-FV cl5-one
   b. An obedient person heeds advice at once.
   c. An obedient person heeds advice at once.
   d. If she heeds advice at once then she is obedient, she has not heeded advice at once, so she is not obedient.
   e. TF/Major/UCW
   f. In Nsenga society, an image of a person without ears is an image of a stubborn human being who does not heed advice.

440. Munzi omanga na ŵanthu.
   a. mu-nzi a-ku-mang-a na ŵa-nthu
      cl3-village cl1-GP-build-FV CNJ cl2-person
   b. People constitute a village.
   c. A village is nothing but its people.
   d. If there is society then there are people, there are no people, so there is no society.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. The proverb is said to the rulers to encourage them to rule with respect for people because without people there cannot be a village.

441. Munzi uwama na ŵanthu.
   a. mu-nzi u-ku-wam-a na ŵa-nthu
      cl3-village cl3-GP-good-FV CNJ cl2-person
   b. A village is worth living in because of people.
   c. A village is nothing but its people.
   d. If there is society then there are people, there are no people, so there is no society.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. The proverb is said to the rulers to encourage them to rule with respect for people because without people there cannot be a village.

442. M'sanga mwelaka njoka.
   a. mu-Ø-sanga mu-i-lak-a n-joka
      cl18-cl5-bush cl18-PAST-hate-FV cl9-snake
   b. The snake hated the bush.
   c. Things that you think you cannot do without can disappoint you.
   d. If something is reliable then I can use it for a long time, it is reliable, so I will use it for a long time.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Snakes live in the bus and the bush is therefore their home. It is expected that a snake cannot abandon the bush just as a human is expected not abandon his/her home. Thus if a snake leaves the bush it is assumed something very bad must have happened for it to leave the home.

443. Musipu wamela m'khola.
   a. mu-sipu u-a-mel-a mu-Ø-khola
      cl3-green.vegetation cl3-PERF-sprout-FV cl18-cl5a-pen
   b. Green vegetation has sprouted in the pen.
   c. To find all you need in one place is luck.
   d. If good things are found in different places and if you find good things in one place then you are lucky. If good things are found in different places, then if you find good things in one place then you are lucky.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
   f. Some livestock feed on green leafy vegetables or grass. Owners usually herd the flock in usually distant places in order to find green vegetation for animals. Rarely, vegetation sprouts in big pens and animals easily feast on it. Such a picture is likened to the rare opportunity of getting everything in one place.

444. Mutu ukulu siulewa nkhonyo.
   a. mu-tu u-kulu si-u-ku-lew-a n-khonyo
      cl3-head cl3-big NEG-cl3-GP-dodge-FV cl9-fist
   b. A big head does not dodge a fist.
   c. A big person is responsible for all problems around him/her.
   d. If one is old then he has responsibilities, if he has responsibilities then he cannot avoid problems, so if one is old then he cannot avoid problems.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. Sometimes Nsenga people play games where one who fails a task is hit with a feast in the head. It is usually up to one to dodge the feast. It is believed that the bigger the head the more difficult it is to dodge the fist even in a real fight.

445. Mutu ukulu ulewa lini makofi.

a.	mu-tu	u-kulu	u-ku-lew-a	lini	ma-kofi
	cl3-head	cl3-big	cl3-GP-dodge-FV	NEG	cl6-fist

b. A big head does not dodge a fist.

c. An elderly person cannot avoid responsibilities.

d. If one is old then he has responsibilities, if he has responsibilities then he cannot avoid problems, so if one is old then he cannot avoid problems.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. There are a number of games that require one to be punished by a punch in the head for failing to accomplish a particular task. The severity of the punch varies according to type of game and age group or pay group. It is believed however that one does not take any special aim at a big head in order to hit it because of the large surface area, which increases the chance of hitting. The size of the head can also make difficult for one to dodge the punch. This proverb is used to remind the heads of the family or breadwinners of the responsibilities they have at hand. This is used mostly in a situation where a parent complains of the pressure s/he has in sending raising school, medical and other living fees. The proverb is used to remind the parent that as the head of the family s/he cannot avoid responsibility just as a big head has difficulty in avoiding punches.

446. Mutu umo suungatwale manongo folo.

a.	mu-tu	u-mo	si-u-nga-twal-e	ma-nongo	Ø-folo
	cl3-head	cl3-one	NEG-cl3-MOD-carry-FV	cl6-big.clay.pot	cl5a-four

b. One head cannot carry four big clay pots.

c. One person cannot carry the entire community's burdens.

d. One person cannot carry the entire community's burdens, I am alone, so I cannot carry all society's problems.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Clay pots are made oval. As a result, they do not sit on a flat surface. It is also difficult for anybody to carry more than one clay pot on the head at a time. It is however, possible for experienced carriers to carry one pot on the

head with the help of a cushion, and one each on both hands. Thus, it is impossible to carry more than three.

447. Mutu wamuyako ni calo ciyambine.

a. mu-tu u-a mu-yako ni ci-alo ci-yambine
cl1-head cl1-GEN cl1-friend COP cl7-world cl7-different

b. Your friend's head is a different world.

c. You cannot know someone's thoughts.

d. If there are thoughts and if thoughts are in someone's mind then I cannot know her thoughts. If there are thoughts, then if thoughts are in someone's mind then I cannot know her thoughts.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. The proverb reminds people that even if one is your friend it is impossible to know his/her mind. Your two minds are like two different worlds that may know something about each other but not entirely understand each other.

448. Muweme ni ula oziŵa kuti kunkhala teti ni kuweme.

a. mu-weme ni u-la a-ku-ziŵ-a ku-ti
cl1-good COP cl1-DEM cl1-GP-know-FV INFM-say
ku-nkhal-a teti ni ku-wem-e
INFM-be-FV PRN COP cl17-good-FV

b. A good person is the one who knows a good way of living.

c. A good person is the one who knows how to relate with people.

d. A good person is the one who knows how to relate with people, he does not know how to relate with people, so he is not good.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. The proverb is used both to praise and reprimand bad and good behavior respectively. A good person is expected to know how to relate with others and a bad person is ignorant of good relations. Thus living in harmony with others is considered as an acquired skill that people must strive to have and perfect.

449. Muweme ni ula oziŵa vinthu.

a. mu-weme ni u-la a-ku-ziŵ-a vi-nthu
cl1-good COP cl1-DEM cl1-GP-know-FV cl8-thing

b. A good person is the one who knows things.

c. A knowledgeable person is a better human being.
d. A knowledgeable person is a better human being, he is not knowledgeable, so he is not better.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. It pays to be knowledge about many things in society. People tend to surround themselves around a person with a lot of knowledge.

450. Muyako akakupa nawe mupeko.
a. mu-yako a-ka-ku-p-a na-iwe mu-p-e-ko
cl1-firend cl1-CND-GP-give-FV CNJ-2s cl1-give-FV-PTC
b. When your friend gives you something, you must give back as well.
c. Generosity is a two way process.
d. Help those who help you, she has helped me, so I should help her.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Generosity, one of the important virtues of Nsenga society, is a two-way system. Thus, it is not encouraged to receive only but to give back too. Usually when you receive a gift in a container that has to be returned, you cannot return the container back without anything in it.

451. Muyako akakuyavya nawe umuyavya.
a. mu-yako a-ka-ku-yavy-a na-iwe u-ku-mu-yavy-a
cl1-friend cl1-CND-2s-help-FV CNJ-2s 2s-GP-cl1-hekp-FV
b. When a friend helps, you reciprocate the gesture.
c. Do to others, as you would have them do to you.
d. Help those who help you, she has helped me, so I should help her.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Help is considered as a two-way process among Nsengas. It is always expected that once you receive help you must be ready to do the same to not only the benefactor but also anybody else in need.

452. Muyako akapya ndevu muzimizye.
a. mu-yako a-ka-py-a n-devu mu-zim-ish-e
cl1-friend cl1-CND-burn-FV cl9-beard cl1-put.off-CAUS-FV
b. When your friend's beards are burning put them off.
c. Help your friends that you notice are in need.
d. If someone is in need then they need help, she is in need, so she needs help.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The image of burning bears is an image of a helpless person. Long beards located in a place difficult to see cannot be easily noticed once they catch fire. The fire can only be noticed by feeling the heat. Thus someone who notices the fire should come to the person's aid quickly.

453. Muyako usamucenda kuti sanganinyate.

a. mu-yako u-sa-mu-cend-a ku-ti
cl1-friend 2s-NEG-cl1-underrate-FV INFM-say
si-a-nga-ni-nyat-e
NEG-cl1-MOD-1s-beat-FV

b. Don't underrate your friend in a fight.

c. You cannot tell a person's capabilities by his/her appearance.

d. Do not underestimate your opponent until you engage him, I have not engaged him, so I should not underestimate him.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VS

f. By human experience, someone who is better at fighting cannot be judged by his/her appearance. A seemingly weak person can be very effective in fighting and win many fights even against the seemingly strong people.

454. Muyenga mafuta sofipa kumanja.

a. mu-yeng-a ma-futa si-a-ku-fip-a ku-ma-nja
cl1-brew-FV cl6-oil NEG-cl1-GP-darken-FV cl17-cl6-hand

b. The hands of the maker of oil do not get dirty.

c. You benefit from what you do.

d. Where you work is where your benefits are, I work here, so my benefits are here.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsengas most of whom grow groundnuts in large numbers, use groundnuts to make oil for both cooking and cosmetics. Since the traditional methods depend heavily on use of hands, the manufacturer's hands are always wet with oil. The manufacturer also uses his/her products for daily use.

455. Mvula ikakuona lunsa yuleka lini.

a. n-vula i-ka-ku-on-a Ø-lunsa i-ku-lek-a lini
cl9-rain cl9-CND-2s-see-FV cl5a-dirt cl5-GP-stop-FV NEG

b. When rains come, you are never clean.

c. One misfortune can lead to others.

d. If something bad can happen and something bad can affect other things then something else can become bad. If something bad can happen, then if something bad can affect other things then something else can become bad.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. A folktale is told of a man who receives one bad message after another. He is initially told that a house has collapsed and killed his mother. On the way to see his mother, he is told that his livestock has been stolen. He actually finds out in the end that he is being followed by thieves. The folktale is used to explain multiple misfortunes. Once rain finds you on the way, you not only get soaked but also pass through mud. This situation is used to explain a succession of misfortunes.

456. Mvula yapona mulesi aliye nayo nchito.

a.

n-vula	i-a-pon-a	mu-lesi	a-li-ye
cl9-rain	cl9-PERF-fall-FV	cl1-lazy.person	cl1-be-NEG
na-i-o	n-chito		
CNJ-cl9-3PRN	cl9-work		

b. The rain has fallen fall a lazy person who has nothing to do with it.
c. Luck befalls anybody.
d. If there is luck and if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky. If there is luck, then if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Nsenga people whose economy is dependent on rain-fed agriculture value rain very much. It usually puzzles people however, that it rains even in places where rain is not really needed. Thus, people do not expect a lazy person's field to have rain.

457. Mvula yulokwa na m'munda mwa mfwiti.

a.

n-vula	i-ku-lokw-a	na	mu-mu-nda	mu-a
cl9-rain	cl9-GP-rain-FV	CNJ	cl18-cl3-caltivation.field	cl18-GEN
n-fwiti				
cl9-witch				

b. It even rains in the witch's cultivation field.
c. God makes good opportunities available to everybody.

d. If there is luck and if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky. If there is luck, then if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Witchcraft is the most detested activity. A witch is said to be the most evil person that deserves severe punishment. It is not expected that anything good can happen to a witch. People wonder why God makes natural resources like rain available to witches. As the all-knowing, God is supposed to deny witches any good life. However, God does not favor anybody but provides for all. Thus, good chances are available to all people.

458. Mvula yulokwa pali ponse.
a. n-vula i-ku-lokw-a pa-li pa-onse
cl9-rain cl9-GP-rain-FV cl16-be cl16-all
b. It rains everywhere.
c. Some things happen to everyone.
d. If there is luck and if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky. If there is luck, then if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Rains are very important for seasonal and rain-fed farming among Nsenga people. This is also important because the Nsenga society's economic main stay is agriculture. However, there are many instances where it does not rain in areas where people really need the rain but elsewhere. The proverb is used to refer to certain laws of nature. For instance, regardless of status any human being can be a parent provided fertilization has taken place and a child is born.

459. Mwabisa luŵezi panyama.
a. mu-a-bis-a Ø-luŵezi pa-n-yama
cl1-hide-FV cl5a-knife cl16-cl9-meat
b. You have hidden a knife when where there is meat.
c. In a conflict, you must speak your mind rather than beat about the bush.
d. If there is a conflict you need to make yourself clear, I am in a conflict, so I should make myself clear.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Iron or steel Knives that are traditionally a borrowed technology are sometimes not available in some homes. Thus, it is common to borrow a knife especially when slaughtering animals. Usually many people join and help to slaughter an animal in order to receive pieces of meat as tokens of appreciation. In the proverb,, a situation is given where a person with a good knife hides it rather than use it to help others slaughter the meat.

460. Mwabisa matenda mung'anda malilo amvwike polila.

a. mu-a-bis-a ma-tenda mu-n-ng'anda ma-lilo
2p-PERF-hide-FV cl6-disease cl18-cl9-house cl6-funeral
a-mvw-ik-e pa-ku-lil-a
cl6-hear-POT-FV cl16-GP-cry-FV

b. You have hidden the illness but the funeral will be revealed when mourning.

c. Secrets have a way of coming out into the open.

d. If there is a secret and if there is a hint to the secret then the secret can be revealed. If there is a secret, then if there is a hint to the secret then the secret can be revealed.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Whereas people tend to keep their illnesses private, one can never keep a funeral private, as it is a public matter. Once a funeral arises, people openly cry making it easily known by others that someone has died. The proverb is said to avoid people hiding dangerous illnesses such as sexually transmitted diseases that could be fatal.

461. Mwakana citute mwaona mangala a nkhanga kuwama.

a. mu-a-kan-a Ø-citute mu-a-on-a
2p-PERF-refuse-FV cl1a-Steatomys.pratensis 2p-PERF-see-FV
ma-ngala a-a n-khanga ku-wam-a
cl6-feather cl6-GEN cl9-gueneafowl INFM-be.good-FV

b. Because of the beauty of the guineafowl, you have neglected the Steatomys pratensis mouse.

c. Losing things because of lack of contentment.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Nsenga people enjoy both mice and Guineafowls. A guineafowl is always preferred to mice because of both quantity and taste. A situation is

portrayed in the proverb where a person who has found a steatomys pratensis mouse abandons it after seeing Guineafowls. However, the guineafowl escapes and the person loses both the mouse and the guineafowl. The *Citute* mouse is one of the least favorite types of mice.

462. Mwana akayenda oleka kunyonkha.

a. mu-ana a-ka-yend-a a-ku-lek-a ku-nyonkh-a
cl1-child cl1-CND-walk-FV cl1-GP-stop-FV INFM-breastfeed-FV

b. A grown child that is able to walk by itself does not breastfeed.

c. Growing in age is proportional to growth in character.

d. Growing in age is proportional to growth in character. S/he is growing in age, so she is also growing in character.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. By common sense a parent weans any child from breasts when it begins to walk by itself. It is always found unusual for a child to go out to put play and come back to suck from its mother. Such a child is said to grow up with stupid manners.

463. Mwana akalila fupa mupaseni.

a. mu-ana a-ka-lil-a Ø-fupa mu-pas-e-ni
cl1-child cl1-CND-cry-FV cl5a-bone 2p-give-FV-PTC

b. When a child cries for a bone give it.

c. Experience is the best teacher.

d. Experience is the best teacher, he has no experience, so he is not well-taught.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. It is believed that children learn best by experience. Many children fail to understand why older people say no to some things until they find out the danger by themselves. In the proverb, a child cries for a bone and an elderly person is advised to give it to the child who must realize how difficult it is to eat a bone.

464. Mwana akalila maluŵa aweme ocela m'sanga mupaseni.

a. mu-ana a-ka-lil-a ma-luŵa a-weme a-a
cl1-child cl1-CND-cry-FV cl6-flower cl6-good cl1-GEN
ku-cel-a mu-Ø-sanga mu-pas-e-ni
INFM-cut-FV cl18-cl5a-bush cl1-give-FV-PTC

b. When a child cries for cut flowers from the bush give him/her.
c. If someone really wants something, let him/her have it and bear the consequences by him/herselves.
d. Experience is the best teacher, he has no experience, so he is not well-taught.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. Nsenga people appreciate many wild flowers that are in blossom in various seasons of the year. Many people cut the flowers and use them for decoration in the homes. However, since they are cut flowers they can only be kept out of a water vase for a limited time without withering away and thereby losing their beauty.

465. Mwana akalila mupeni ziŵa anyonkhe.
a. mu-ana a-ka-lil-a mu-pen-i Ø-ziŵa a-nyonkh-e
cl1-child cl1-CND-cry-FV 2p-give-PTC 5a-breast cl1-suck-FV
b. When a child cries give it the breast to suck.
c. In order to make peace with people give them what they want.
d. Experience is the best teacher, he has no experience, so he is not well-taught.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. It is common belief and common sense that a child usually cries because of hunger. Thus, the breast is not only the provision of food to the baby but the baby hushing equipment.

466. Mwana akankhala na mamina tikuti camina.
a. mu-ana a-ka-nkhal-a na ma-mina ti-ku-ti
cl1-child cl1-CND-FV CNJ cl6-mucus 1p-GP-say
ci-a-min-a
cl7-PERF-sneaze-FV
b. When a child has a running nose we call it names.
c. Children who are dependent on their parents become future benefactors.
d. If a child grows then it can become a big person, if it can become a big person then it can become a responsible person, so if a child grows then it can become a responsible person.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
f. Children normally have running noses for various reasons. Parents are usually disturbed by a child with a running nose and scold bigger children

for keeping their siblings with a running nose. However, all children grow and become responsible humans under normal circumstances.

467. Mwana aliye matu ecimvwa pecileta mulandu.

a. mu-ana a-li-ye ma-tu a-ici-mvw-a
cl1-child cl1-be-NEG cl6-ear cl1-PAST-hear-FV
pa-ici-let-a mu-landu
cl16-PAST-bring-FV cl3-offense

b. A stubborn child listened when s/he was charged with an offense.

c. When you are stubborn you get humbled by life's experiences.

d. When you are stubborn you get humbled by life's experiences, he is stubborn, so will get humbled by life's experiences.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Child discipline is regarded as an important part of developing a society. As a result, all elders have a responsibility of disciplining any child who goes wrong. However, there are always stubborn children who only understand older people's advice when they run into trouble.

468. Mwana asayopa evunukula ngumbi yanyina.

a. mu-ana a-sa-yop-a a-i-vunukul-a n-gumbi
cl1-child cl1-NEG-fear-FV cl1-PAST-uncover-FV cl9-hidden.treasure
i-a a-nyina
cl9-GEN cl2-mother

b. A disrespectful child opened the mother's hidden treasure.

c. Failure to respect elders can cost you many problems.

d. Failure to respect elders can cost you a lot of problems, she does not respect elders, so she can have a lot of problems.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. When a girl becomes of age, she is secluded to a house where community women teach her about life, family and marriage. Women gather especially in the evenings beating drums and dancing in the secluded house. Sometimes they do their activities naked especially in demonstrating sex related activities. A story is told of a boy who had the habit of peeping to see the women through a small hole. One day he went to peep as usual unfortunately he saw his mother naked. It is a big taboo among Nsengas to see your parents especially of the opposite sex naked. The boy went back home very sad thinking that he had brought a big curse upon his life.

469. Mwana munalume ocepa lini.
   a. mu-ana mu-nalume a-ku-cep-a lini
      cl1-child cl1-male cl1-GP-be.small NEG
   b. A male child is never small.
   c. Respect a man regardless of his age or status.
   d. Respect a man regardless of his age or status, he is a man, so I should respect him.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Men are treated with a lot of respect in the Nsenga society. In the proverb, the concept of man represents the penis which is considered as manhood. Indirectly the proverb suggests that the size of a penis is not important because no matter how little it can be a man can still impregnate a woman and have a child. This proverb is used to counsel women who are obsessed with the size of a penis. The size of a penis is inconsequential in causing pregnancy. However, the size of the penis is extended to the age of a man.

470. Mwana ni wako.
   a. mu-ana ni u-ako
      cl1-child COP cl1-2sPOS
   b. A child is truly yours if it is your biological child.
   c. Blood relationship is what matters in tough situations.
   d. If someone is your biological relative then s/he remains your relative forever, s/he is my biological relative, so s/he will my relative forever.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. Nsengas as a matrilineal society believe that children belong collectively to a particular clan as a whole. Thus, no one person can culturally claim absolute ownership on his/her own children. However, the relationship between children and the community and/or foster parents can never be equated to a parent-child relationship. Thus in times of problems only biological relationships matter.

471. Mwana nyawanzi solala njala.
   a. mu-ana n-yawanzi si-a-ku-lal-a n-jala
      cl1-child cl9-generous.person NEG-cl1-GP-sleep-FV cl9-hungry
   b. A child of a generous person cannot stay hungry overnight.
   c. A family of a generous person cannot lack.

d. Someone who helps others gets help too, s/he is helping others. So s/he will get help too.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsenga people who understand hunger very well, know the agony of sleeping on an empty stomach. It is believed however, that if a person is generous members of society cannot let his/her family suffer when s/he gets into problems.

472. Mwana omvwila akulu okula.
a. mu-ana a-ku-mvw-il-a a-kulu a-ku-kul-a
cl1-child cl1-GP-obey-APP-FV cl2-big cl1-GP-grow-FV
b. An obedient child grows up.
c. Obedience produces long life.
d. If I am obedient and if society is pleased with me, then society will reward me a long life. If I am obedient , then if society is pleased with me then society will reward me with a long life.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. It is believed that obedience produces good fortune among Nsengas. Thus, obedient children are said to be awarded a good, long and healthy life and disobedient ones are punished with a short miserable life.

473. Mwana umo kutangazila na yesu.
a. mu-ana u-mo ku-tangaz-il-a na Ø-Yesu
cl1-child cl1-one INFM-protect-APP-FV CNJ cl1a-Jesus
b. An only child should be protected by Jesus Christ.
c. You cannot depend on one thing otherwise you have to seek God's intervention.
d. If I have one child and if the child can die then I should ask for divine help for my child to live. If I have one child, then if the child can die then I should ask for divine help for my child to live.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. Because of high child mortality rates in especially rural areas, couples feel safer to give birth to more than one child. In the unfortunate event that one child dies, the family remains with other children. This is very important because children are regarded as the riches and honor of a family. If by uncontrolled circumstances a couple can only have one child, that couple must pray to God to protect the only child.

474. Mwana wa insha oluŵa lini cimuti cecilyako anyina.

a. mu-ana u-a in-sha a-ku-luŵ-a lini
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-impala cl1-GP-forget-FV NEG
ci-mu-ti ci-a-ici-ly-a-ko a-nyina
cl7-cl3-tree cl7-cl2-PAST-eat-FV-ENC cl2-mother

b. An impala's offspring does not forget the tree its mother ate.

c. Habits are difficult to overcome.

d. If there is something and if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future. If there is something, then if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Impalas are very common animals especially in rural areas. They are one of the animals easily hunted by Nsenga people. An impala usually feed on greens and sometimes leaves of trees when grass is scarce. Since young impalas follow the order ones, it is believed that the young ones only eat from the same sources the older ones eat from. The proverb means that if someone is used to bad habits, even if a lot of time passes, s/he will still go back to the same behavior and remember the old way of living.

475. Mwana wa kalulu okula lini.

a. mu-ana u-a Ø-kalulu a-ku-kul-a lini
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl1a-hare cl1-GP-grow-FV NEG

b. The hare's child does not grow.

c. Bad behavior produces a curse.

d. Bad behavior produces a curse, he has bad behavior, so he is cursed.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A *Kalulu* is a very small animal in size. However, its speed and cleverness usually amazes Nsenga people. Because of the size, it is always assumed as another animal's infant but its character is always regarded as that of a grown animal. There is therefore a myth to explain the seeming contradiction. It is believed in folktale that the hare's children misbehaved and were consequently cursed not to grow.

476. Mwana wa ng'wena ni uyo ali pamusana.

a. mu-ana u-a n-ng'wena ni u-i-o a-li
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-crocodile COP cl1-PR-DEM cl1-be

pa-mu-sana
cl16-cl3-back

b. A crocodile's child is the one on the back.
c. You can only claim ownership of what you physically have.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Crocodiles are known to free their offspring soon after birth. It is therefore rare to find a crocodile with its offspring. Crocodiles move in different places making it difficult to trace them. As all crocodiles look alike too, it is therefore difficult to tell biological relationships of crocodiles. Thus you can only tell its offspring when you see one on its back. This situation is used to talk about the principle of communal ownership among Nsengas. Anything that is not found with someone or at one's home is regarded as public property. Thus, you do not claim ownership of what you do not possess such as land in the jungle and that is contained within it.

477. Mwana wamuyako akayenda usamutilile mankhwala.

a. mu-ana u-a mu-yako a-ka-yend-a
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl1-friend 2s-CND-walk-FV
u-sa-mu-til-il-e ma-nkhwala
2s-NEG-cl1-pour-APP-FV cl6-medicine

b. Do not poison your friend's child when s/he visits you.
c. What you do to others will also happen to you.
d. What you do to others will also happen to you, he has been bad to her child, so she will be bad to his children too.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. It is believed that ill-behaved people practice witchcraft to do harm to others. In this proverb, a picture of a person poisoning a visiting friend's child is portrayed. Such a person is warned that his/her children could also face the same fate once they move.

478. Mwana wamwano sakulya ciweme.

a. mu-ana u-a mu-ano si-a-ku-ly-a c i-weme
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl3-refusing.to.be.sent NEG-cl1-GP-eat-FV cl7-good

b. A child who does not want to be sent does not eat good things.
c. An obedient child receives good rewards.

d. An obedient child receives good rewards, he is obedient, so he will be rewarded well.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Among Nsengas, any child can be sent to do something or run an errand on behalf of any older person. Usually obedient children are awarded by gifts especially food such as snacks. However, disobedient children are regarded as deviants who are punished by not giving them anything.

479. Mwana wanchete emvwela kumphelo.
a. mu-ana u-a n-chete a-i-mvw-il-a
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-orphan cl1-PAST-hear-APP-FV
ku-n-phelo
cl17-cl9-gringing.stone
b. An orphan learnt from a grinding stone.
c. Knowledge can be acquired from anybody including people outside your family unit.
d. If knowledge can be obtained from anybody and if she is somebody the she can be the source of knowledge. If knowledge can be obtained from anybody, then if she is somebody the she can be the source of knowledge.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Grinding machines are a recent addition to the Nsenga society. Traditionally people used flat shaped stones to grind various food items into powder. Finding a stone with an appropriate shape was not easy. As a result, there was usually a communal stone for members of the community to use together or share. The proverb, gives a scenario where an orphan being kept by foster parents is either obedient to be sent or is in fact sent by force to go and grind something at the communal grinding stone. The mingling of the orphan with other people allows him/her to gain knowledge from others and thereby become a wise and responsible member of society. The proverb is used to rebuke or advice children who despise others and who also despise advice from people other than their own parents. It is said that an orphan, despite having no parents, might be more knowledgeable than those children with parents because of the contributions from different people. The proverb can also be used as some kind of opening remark by someone who wants to take advantage and benefit from the presence of people s/he regards to be wise but is not willing to acquainted with. It also used as a departure point in humbling or belittling oneself or to emphasis

one's inadequacy or deficiency. The proverb also teaches that one can learn from lots of things by mixing or associating with other people and not by staying alone.

480. Mwana wanchete nkhoya ukasambe kumanja.

a. mu-ana u-a n-chete n-khoy-a u-ka-samb-e
cl1a-child cl1-GEN cl9-orphan go-FV 2s-FUT-wash-FV
ku-ma-nja
cl17-cl6-hand

b. A person tells an orphan to go and wash his/her hands before eating.

c. Treat all people with equity and fairness.

d. If there is fairness then all things remain equal, things are not equal, so there is no fairness.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Normally, once *nshima* the main dish has been served, water is also served at the same time for people to quickly wash and eat. A folktale is told of a man who deliberately asked his wife not serve *nshima* together with water. He privately asked his children to wash in advance once they were invited to eat food. The orphan who was ignorant of the ploy was always asked to go and wash hands while other children remained eating. By the time the orphan was coming back, the food was almost finished.

481. Mwana wangwena sonkhala malo ŵamo.

a. mu-ana u-a n-ng'wena si-a-ku-nkhal-a ma-lo
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-crocodile NEG-cl1-GP-be-FV cl6-place
ŵa-mo
cl6-one

b. A crocodile's child does not stay in one place.

c. A lazy person is always on the move looking for easy living.

d. Laziness causes suffering I am lazy, so I will suffer.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Crocodiles are known too free their offspring soon after birth. It is therefore rare to find a crocodile with its offspring. Crocodiles move in different places making it difficult to trace them. The mobile characteristic is likened to a lazy person that does not want to manage his/her own life and work for him/herself but moves around looking for handouts.

482. Mwana wansiwa emvwila pamphelo.

a. mu-ana u-a n-siwa a-i-mvw-il-a
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-orphan cl1-PAST-hear-APP-FV
pa-n-phelo
cl16-cl9-ladies'.grinding.area

b. An orphan was educated from the women's grinding area.

c. You need mingle with people in order to learn society's morals and values.

d. If knowledge can be obtained from anybody and if she is somebody the she can be the source of knowledge. If knowledge can be obtained from anybody, then if she is somebody the she can be the source of knowledge.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. A story is told of a child who lost her parents and had no one to raise her up in the morals and wisdom of society. The girl used to visit the women's working area to join in pounding and grinding grains. She would normally ask many questions that various women answered. Through the interaction, she learned a lot about how to live in society.

483. Mwana wanzelu otemwesha avyazi ŵake.

a. mu-ana u-a n-zelu a-ku-temw-ish-a
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-intelligence cl1-GP-happy-CAUS-FV
a-vyazi ŵa-ake
cl2-parent cl2-3sPOS

b. A wise child makes his/her parents happy.

c. A wise child causes his/her parents joy.

d. A wise child causes his/her parents joy, he is not wise, so his parents are not happy.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. It is said that a wise child makes his/her parents happy but the foolish child causes his/her parents shame. Children are a source of pride and respect among Nsenga people.

484. Mwana wanzelu.

a. mu-ana u-a n-zelu
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl9-intelligence

b. An intelligent child.

c. You become wise by respecting and listening to elders.

d. If elders are wise and if I listen to them then I will become wise. If elders are wise, then if I listen to them then I will become wise.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. This is a proverb usually left hanging but can be completed by adding the phrase "*omvwila akulu*" (listens to elders). Since elders have lived long lives and have gone through similar experiences a child must go through, it is advisable for a child to listen to elders' advice. It is therefore believed that a child who listens to elders lives long and becomes wise.

485. Mwana waulemu opeleka eka.
a. mu-ana u-a u-lemu a-ku-pel-ik-a a-eka
cl1-child cl1-GEN cl14-respect cl1-GP-give-POT-FV cl1-alone
b. A respectful child willingly shares.
c. A polite child gives without coercion.
d. A polite child gives without coercion, he does not give without coercion, so he is not polite.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. As all children are taught to be generous as a good way of life, it is expected that a respectful and obedient child will willingly share something without force. Thus, it is discouraged to force a child to share.

486. Mwando ni kuguzilana.
a. mu-ando ni ku-guz-il-an-a
cl3-rope COP INFM-pull-APP-REC-FV
b. A rope is about pulling with each other.
c. Some tasks require communal help.
d. Communal work requires more than one person, I am alone, so I cannot do communal work alone.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. A rope is one of the games played by Nsenga people. A rope is usually made of fiber from tree barks. As usual, you need at least two people on different ends to pull the rope.

487. Mwando wa insha oteyelako lini njobvu.
a. mu-ando u-a in-sha a-ku-tey-il-a-ko lini
cl3-rope cl3-GEN cl9-antelope cl1-GP-trap-APP-FV-PTC NEG

n-jobvu
cl9-elephant

b. A rope meant to trap an antelope cannot be used to trap an elephant.
c. One solution cannot work for all problems.
d. A trap used to catch a small animal cannot be used to catch a big animal, It is a big animal, so I cannot use a trap for a small animal.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. One of the common methods of hunting is using traditionally made ropes to trap animals especially smaller ones that cannot break away from the rope. Antelopes are one type of wild animals commonly killed using this method. However, a rope can never be used for an elephant, as it is too big to be trapped.

488. Mwaninenela kumwana.
a. mu-a-ni-nen-il-a ku-mu-ana
2p-PERF-1s-scold-APP-FV cl17-cl1-child
b. You have scolded me using a child.
c. Using children as scapegoats.
d. If you are offended with me and if you scold my innocent child then you are scolding me. If you are offended with me, then if you scold my innocent child then you are scolding me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. It is common for people to use children to settle their issues. For instance, one would pretend to be scolding a child and yet s/he is directing the action on the child's parents. Once a parent notices, the scolding seems to go beyond the child's actions s/he protests by use of this saying. This happens because among Nsengas any elderly person can scold any child.

489. Mwatumphula nkhondo pamulu.
a. mu-a-tumphul-a n-khondo pa-mulu
2p-PERF-lift.up-FV cl9-war cl16-up
b. You have promoted war.
c. Making a bad person become a leader.
d. If there is a bad person and if he is made a leader then you have promoted bad things. If there is a bad person, then if he is made a leader then you have promoted bad things.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Some people who are labeled as people with bad character and influence in society. Such people are not expected to become leaders. Even when such people are heirs to the throne, it is advisable not to enthrone them. Thus once a person who is thought to be bad is enthroned people fear that his/her bad characteristic will become worse. It is thought to be as good as making a person who likes war to become a nation's leader. Such a person might be willing to take his/her nation to war.

490. Mwezi outolela lini wowa.

a.	mu-ezi	a-ku-u-tol-il-a	lini Ø-wowa
	cl3-moon	cl1-GP-cl3-pick-APP-FV	NEG cl14-mushroom

b. You do not pick mushroom using the moon's shine.
c. Execute your duties when the necessary conditions are available.
d. Execute your duties when the necessary conditions are available, conditions are not favorable, so I should not execute my duties.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Mushrooms are never cultivated but picked from the wild when they are in season. Many people enjoy mushrooms that usually break the monotony of having the same type of vegetables. Mushrooms of course are picked in the daytime in order to discriminate edible for non-edible mushrooms that can be fatally poisonous. The proverb gives a situation of a person in desperate need of relish and goes to look for mushroom in the night using moonlight as the last resort.

491. Mwezi ouyanikila lini unga.

a.	mu-ezi	a-ku-u-yanik-il-a	lini u-nga
	cl3-moon	cl1-GP-cl3-dry-APP-FV	NEG cl14-mealie. meal

b. You do not dry mealie meal in moonlight.
c. Achieve your best results when conditions are favorable.
d. Execute your duties when the necessary conditions are available, conditions are not favorable, so I should not execute my duties.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. One of the methods of making mealie meal from maize grain requires soaking the grain after removing husks for a period of between three days to two weeks. After removing the grain from the water, it is dried in the sun, ground and dried again before it is used as mealie meal.

492. Mwezi sotungila ulungu.
   a. mu-ezi si-a-ku-tung-il-a u-lungu
      cl3-moon NEG-cl1-GP-sew-APP-FV cl14-beed
   b. You do not sew beads under the moonlight.
   c. Things done in the dark are not good.
   d. Execute your duties when the necessary conditions are available, conditions are not favorable, so I should not execute my duties.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Where as many people enjoy full moonlight especially in the dry season when people can go outdoors at night, there are limited things that one can do under moonlight. The light is not enough and therefore poses danger to night wonderers. For instance, it is practically difficult to sew with a needle under moonlight.

493. Nchito ni m'mawa.
   a. n-chito ni mu-mawa
      cl9-work COP cl18-morning
   b. Work is effectively done in the morning.
   c. Work whilst you are fresh and energetic in the morning.
   d. If you need to achieve great then you must start early, I want to achieve great so I must start early.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. The proverb encourages people not to waste the morning, as it is the best time to work and achieve a lot. Usually, people work with day light. However, day light is longer in the morning than evening. Sometimes the sun is also weaker in the evening allowing people to work with much easy than in the afternoon when it is hottest.

494. Ndeo ni kulimbikila.
   a. n-deo ni ku-linmkik-il-a
      cl9-fight COP INFM-persevere-APP-FV
   b. You need to persevere to win a fight.
   c. Perseverance rewards.
   d. Hard work can lead to success, I am a hard worker, so I will succeed.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In order to win a fight you need to endure and persevere. Physical fights are common among Nsenga people and are sometimes allowed as long as there is no bodily harm.

495. Ndeo yaŵana akulu asaloŵepo.

a. n-deo i-a ŵa-ana a-kulu a-sa-loŵ-e-po
cl9-fight cl9-GEN cl2-child cl2-big cl2-NEG-enter-FV-ENC

b. Parents should not get involved in children's fights.

c. Do not get involved in children's conflict.

d. If children have a conflict and if parents get involved in the conflict then the conflict becomes complicated. If children have a conflict, then if parents get involved in the conflict then the conflict becomes complicated.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Fighting is prohibited in Nsenga culture and is punishable by traditional rulers. However, some form of fighting is allowable for children as a way of resolving conflict. Unless the children's fight causes bodily harm, elderly people and parents generally refrain from getting involved allowing the children to resolve the conflict by themselves as a way of developing conflict resolution skills. In many cases, this type of fighting is rarely physical but verbal. Once a parent notices children are fighting, the parent's role can only be in avoiding dangerous physical confrontation or simply stopping the fight rather than taking any sides. Even when your own child is involved in fighting, it is better to regard your child as being in the wrong rather than trying to find out who went wrong. This measure or practice helps to avoid escalating conflicts by transferring children's differences to elderly people. Whilst children's differences are easy to solve old people's differences can be very complicated to stop.

496. Neo neo yupaisha.

a. n-eo n-eo i-ku-pa-ish-a
1s-PRN 1s-PRN cl9-GP-kill-CAUS-FV

b. Self-praise can cause you death.

c. Self-exaltation annoys others.

d. Self-praise can cause you death, he has self-praise, so he can be killed.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The proverb is said to a boastful person who considers him/herself better than others. The person always wants to be in the forefront in everything

because s/he thinks s/he's the best. The proverb is used to warn the person of the consequences of such an attitude. It is believed that such a person can be easily bewitched because of the hate s/he creates in people.

497. Neo nine mafuta ningapwasikiwe na ayambine.

a.

n-eo	ni-ne	ma-futa	ni-nga-pwasik-iw-e	na
1s-PRN	1s-EMPH	cl6-oil	1s-MOD-apply-PASS-FV	CNJ

a-yambine
cl2-other

b. "I am oil," others can apply me.
c. Other men can always appreciate unappreciated women.
d. If different men love different women and if I am a different woman then a different man can love me. If different men love different women, then if I am a different woman then a different man can love me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. There is always a type of oil used as cosmetic by women. Oil can be used by anyone to beautify him/herself. A woman who wants to divorce her husband, compares herself to oil that can always be used by others even if it has been neglected by the owner.

498. Neo vinthu vunisoŵa lini ni wa kaso.

a.

n-eo	vi-nthu	vi-ku-ni-soŵ-a	lini	ni	u-a
1s-PRN	cl8-thing	cl8-GP-1s-lose-FV	NEG	COP	cl1-GEN

ka-so
cl12-selfishness

b. "I do not run out of things," is a selfish person.
c. Somebody who does not beg does not want to be begged.
d. If he does not like it then he does not do it, he does not do it, so he does not like it.
e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS
f. Nsenga society promotes sharing all things in common as a socialist society. Thus, in Nsenga society, no one owns anything and everybody owns everything. Anybody who thinks that s/he owns all is therefore regarded as a selfish person who does not want to share.

499. Ng'anda yacilema yuvalika lini.

a. n-ng'anda	i-a	ci-lema	i-ku-val-ik-a	lini
cl9-house	cl9-GEN	cl7-disabled.person	cl9-GP-close-POT-FV	NEG

b. The house of a disabled person is never closed.
c. Communal bonds must supersede physical disability.
d. All human beings are part of society, he is a lame human being, so he is part of society.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Among Nsenga people, a disabled person's house is open to anyone to visit. Whenever there is a lame or needy person in a village, it is the responsibility of residents to assist the person anytime. Stigmatization or discrimination is prohibited. The disadvantaged people disserve the love and treatment that everybody else gets. The right to be humanly treated belongs to all regardless of status or physical capabilities.

500. Ng'anda yamwine oshokelamo lini mbeŵa.

a. n-ng'anda	i-a	mu-ine	a-ku-shol-il-a-mo	lini
cl9-house	cl9-GEN	cl1-friend	cl1-GP-roast-APP-FV-ENC	NEG
n-beŵa				
cl9-mouse				

b. You do not roast a mouse from in a friend's house.
c. You have no authority over someone's place.
d. You have no authority over someone's place, it's someone place, so I have no authority over it.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Roasting mice, one of the methods of preparing mice, involves a lot of smell and the risk of causing a fire especially in thatched houses. The smell comes from the burning of fur from the skin. Mice usually have a lot of fat that causes flames of fire as they drop on fire during roasting time. Because if these risks it is therefore advised you only do so in your own house to avoid damaging another person's house.

501. Ng'anda yazungo yutang'a lini.

a. n-ng'anda	i-a	zi-ongo	i-ku-tang'-a	lini
cl9-house	cl9-GEN	cl8-noise	cl9-GP-stand.firm-FV	NEG

b. A noisy house does not stand firm.
c. Fighting breaks a marriage.

d. Fighting breaks a marriage, they are fighting, so there marriage will break.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Noise in the house refers to any forms of fighting that occur in marriage. Thus, a house represents a marriage. Fighting in a marriage is known for being a recipe for separation and divorce. Thus, a newlywed couple is always advised to avoid fighting by all means.

502. Ng'ombe akapunsha m'khola mukonkha malwayo.
a. n-ng'ombe a-ka-punsh-a mu- Ø-khola mu-konkh-a
cl9-cattle cl1-CND-steal-FV cl18-cl5a-pen 2p-follow-FV
ma-lwayo
cl6-foot.print
b. If cattle have been stolen from the pen, follow the footprints.
c. Use evidence as lead in solving a case.
d. If there is evidence then s/he is guilty, there is no evidence, so s/he is not guilty.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Cattle usually leave clear marks or prints when they move. Thus once they are stolen it is usually easier to follow them up. People also use the prints to find lost animals.

503. Ng'ombe ni matole.
a. n-ng'ombe ni ma-tole
cl9-cattle COP cl6-calf
b. Calves are future cattle.
c. Children are the future.
d. If there is a person and if a person can grow then the person can become big. If there is a person, then if a person can grow then the person can become big.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Many Nsenga communities use cattle for cultivation in their fields. Cattle are also important for milk and meat supply. It is common knowledge that calves grow into adult cattle. It is believed that the future of any community or nation lies in the youths since they still have a long way to go. The proverb is said either to assure the youth that their time will come for them to lead or indeed to encourage elderly people to take good care of the youth since the future lies in them.

504. Ng'ombe okama ila yavyala.
   a. n-ng'ombe a-ku-kam-a i-la i-a-vyal-a
      cl9-cattle cl1-GP-milk-FV cl9-DEM cl9-PERF-bear-FV
   b. You milk a cow that has given birth.
   c. Ask for help from those who have.
   d. You give what you have, I do not have it, so I cannot give it.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. Cow milk is a very important nutritional dairy product for the Nsenga people. People that rare cattle are regarded as the wealthy. They can use cattle for various economic activities such providing dairy products, meat, transport and farming. By common sense, you can only milk a cow that has a sucking calf otherwise the breasts are dry.

505. Ng'ombe zulungulilana m'ciŵaya.
   a. n-ng'ombe zi-ku-lungul-il-an-a mu-ci-ŵaya
      cl10-cattle cl10-GP-marry-APP-REC-FV cl18-cl7-kraal
   b. Cattle marry each other within the kraal.
   c. You marry someone you know very well.
   d. You marry someone you know very well. I don't know him very well, so I cannot marry him.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. Cattle like many other animals and unlike human beings, do not consider family relations in order to mate. Thus within a kraal, any ox can mate with any cow regardless of blood relationship. However, it is rare for cattle to breed across different kraals for various reasons including living in different places. This situation is used to advise human beings to marry within close relationships and sometimes within the family.

506. Nguluŵe iliye makolo yecita alongosi na alisa.
   a. n-guluŵe i-li-ye ma-kolo i-i-cit-a
      cl9-warthog cl9-be-NEG cl6-parent cl9-PAST-do-FV
      a-longosi na a-lisa
      cl2-sistes.and.brothers CNJ cl2-nephews.and.nieces
   b. A warthog without parents did its brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces.
   c. Incest is a taboo only acceptable to wildlife.
   d. If you are a person who does not know your relatives and if you engage in sexual relationships with someone you do not know then you can have a

sexual relationship with your relative. If you are a person who does not know your relatives, then if you engage in sexual relationships with someone you do not know then you can have a sexual relationship with your relative.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. A warthog is a common wild animal because it usually attacks cultivation. It is also a delicacy when it is hunted down. The warthog is very destructive to crops when it attacks a field. It has very sharp teeth. If they attack a field as a group, a farmer can remain with very little to harvest. In this regard, it is considered an animal that has no regard for anybody including its fellow animals. The situation is used to refer to somebody who has sexual intercourse with close family members. Such a person is considered to have had no parents to teach him or her good values. By linguistic analysis, we can tell that "to do" here refer to sexual intercourse. The verb kucita "to do" is a euphemism for having sexual intercourse when used without the object of the verb. It is always expected that once you use or mention the verb kucita "to do" the verb compliment or object must be followed and mentioned. Its absence creates vagueness and is open to all possible interpretation. As a result, whenever, the compliment or object is missing, human beings assume that somebody is avoiding the taboo word.

507. Nguluŵe yulila mwando ulipafupi kutendeka.

a. n-guluŵe i-ku-lil-a mu-ando u-li pa-fupi
cl9-warthog cl9-GP-cry-FV cl3-rope cl3-be cl16-near
ku-tend-ik-a
INFM-cut-POT-FV

b. A warthog cries when the rope is about to cut.

c. Do not give up in order to be successful.

d. A competition is lost when you fail to complete it within the time limit, there is still time, so the competition is not lost.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VS

f. A rope is one of the traditional means of trapping wild animals. A trapped warthog struggles violently once trapped in order to free it. Once it notices that it is unable to free itself, it cries out very loudly. Many people believe it actually cries out just before the rope cuts. This behavior is also likened to humans who feel tired when they are about to complete a task such as a journey on foot.

508. Nguwo yozyamika yunkhala lini.

a.	n-guwo	i-a	ku-zyam-ik-a	i- ku-nkhal-a	lini
	cl9-cloth	cl9-GEN	INFM-borrow-POT-FV	cl9-GP-stay-FV	NEG

b. A borrowed cloth does not stay long.
c. Do not pride in borrowed items.
d. If you pride over what is permanently yours and if you have a borrowed item then you cannot pride in the borrowed item. If you pride over what is permanently yours, then if you have a borrowed item then you cannot pride in the borrowed item
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. A story is told of a person who borrowed clothes and went round the whole village boasting about. However, when he least expected it, the owner came and asked for his clothes. The person was left ashamed in front of spectators.

509. Nicovuta esiya ng'anda.

a.	ni	ci-a	ku-vut-a	a-i-siy-a	n-n'ganda
	COP	cl7-GEN	INFM-trouble-FV	cl1-PAST-leave-FV	cl9-house

b. A person called "it is difficult" left the house.
c. Success goes with perseverance.
d. You need to persevere in order to succeed, he is not persevering, so he will not succeed.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. On the surface, the phrase "left house" in the proverb is associated with an image of a man failing to build a house either because of laziness or lack of skill or simply lack of a strong will to endure the difficulty. It is always embarrassing to fail to build your own house as a man, which is supposed to be a common skill passed over through generations. It is even more embarrassing for a man to fail to build a house for his in-laws, as it is customary for a man to live with his in-laws for one farming season, in which season he is expected to not only cultivate for the in-laws but also construct a house and other structures such as a barn. This is an important test in order to prove to the in-laws that he is able to look after their daughter. Failure to do so can even result in the in-laws withdrawing their daughter from the man. Euphemistically the "house" also refers to marriage itself. The situation is used to teach people with such a mindset that marriage is difficulty, each time a marital problem arises. Such a person

easily resorts to divorce simply because s/he has a strong belief that marriage is difficulty. People are advised to realize that everything people do is difficulty. Thus, when you concentrate on the difficult you may end up giving up on everything thereby not achieving anything.

510. Nikumbileko eciya navo.

a. ni-kumb-il-e-ko a-ici-y-a na-vi-o
1s-dig-APP-FV-PTC cl1-PAST-go-FV CNJ-cl8-3PRN

b. The one whom you asked to dig on your behalf went with everything.

c. Do not have a dependent syndrome.

d. If you are dependent on a benefactor and if the benefactor dies then you have no one to depend on. If you are dependent on a benefactor, then if the benefactor dies then you have no one to depend on.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Nsenga people go into the bush to dig up many things. They dig mice and other small animals for meat. They also go dig up medicinal plants in the bush. Usually, when you find something good to dig you do it by yourself. Otherwise, if you ask somebody else the person who digs becomes the owner. S/he may also require a good share. The proverb is used to discourage people from being fully dependent to avoid suffering once the benefactor leaves.

511. Niliye kaone elala na wavumo.

a. ni-li-ye ka-on-e a-i-lal-a na u-a
1s-be-NEG cl12-see-FV cl1-PAST-sleep-FV CNJ cl1-GEN
Ø-vumo
cl5-stomach

b. A person called "I haven't seen it" slept with a pregnant person.

c. Ignorance is not defense.

d. If you are a person who does not know your relatives and if you engage in sexual relationships with someone you do not know then you can have a sexual relationship with your relative. If you are a person who does not know your relatives, then if you engage in sexual relationships with someone you do not know then you can have a sexual relationship with your relative.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Pregnancy out of wedlock is regarded as a taboo and a very shameful thing. Worse still are cases of sexual relationships with married people. It is also considered a taboo for a man to sleep with a pregnant woman who is his wife. Usually people that have been accused of such cases often give excuses such as "I didn't know what I was doing" or "I only did it once" or "I never thought this would happen".

512. Nione seshe kekatiwisha mbelele kukaingo.

a. ni-on-e sesh-e ka-i-kat-iw-ish-a n-belele
1s-see-FV move-FV cl12-PAST-catch-PASS-CAUS-FV cl9-sheep
ku-Ø-kaingo
LOC17-1a-leopard

b. In trying to get a better view, the sheep got caught by the leopard.

c. Do not get interested in bad behavior no matter how attractive it can be to avoid problems.

d. If something is dangerous and if it can affect you then it should be avoided. If something is dangerous, then if it can affect you then it should be avoided.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. A leopard has very attractive sports but it is considered too dangerous an animal to get familiar with. It is said to be deceitfully meek in trying to lure its prey. One day a sheep got attracted to the leopard's spots and got up away from others to get a good look. The leopard took advantage of its isolation and killed it.

513. Nipape kuvuli nane n'kakupape.

a. ni-pap-e ku-vuli na-ine ni-ka-ku-pap-e
1s-carry.on.back-FV cl17-back CNJ-1s 1s-FUT-2s-carry.on.back-FV

b. Carry me on your back now and I will do the same in the future.

c. If you are good to others they will be god to you too when you become needy.

d. If I am good to others and if they are pleased with me then they might be good to me too. If I am good to others, then if they are pleased with me then they might be good to me too.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Nsengas usually carry their children by their back using the chitenge material. This proverb refers to the natural characteristic of humans who

are dependent when they are young and when they become very old. Thus, parents look after the young ones but the roles change when the parents become old. Among Nsengas, all old people are supposed to be looked after by the younger generations within the extended family system.

514. Nipeko nipeko ni kupoka mwana.

a. ni-pe-ko ni-pe-ko ni ku-pok-a mu-ana
1s-give-PTC 1s-give-PTC COP INFM-grab-FV cl1-child

b. Repeatedly asking a share from a child is grabbing something from a child.

c. Do not take advantage of children's innocence.

d. If you keep subtracting from a limited source then you can reduce the quantity of the source, so If you can reduce the quantity of the source then you can deplete the source, so if you keep subtracting from the limited source then you can deplete the source.

e. Hypothetical/Major/VS

f. In order to teach children the principle of generosity, Nsenga parents and elders deliberately ask children for a share of something especially food. However, if an older person persistently requests a share from a child, who may be aware s/he must share, it is unfairly grabbing something from the child.

515. Nisiye lini mfumu eniela mukanieletu.

a. ni-siy-e lini n-fumu a-i-nia-il-a
1s-leave-FV NEG cl9-traditional.leader cl1-PAST-defivate-APP-FV
mu-Ø-kanieletu
cl18-cl5a-overalls

b. Saying "I will not leave it" the King defecated in the overall called "go and defecate first (before wearing me)".

c. Habits can cause problems.

d. It is easy to deal with a small problem, it is not a small problem, so it is not easy to deal with.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. The overall called *Kanyeletu* is very common among the Nsenga people. It is a very different type of garment because it is difficult to undress or even to put it on. It takes time and difficult to put on. Therefore, most people avoid it because if you insist on it you may end up urinating or defecating in it while struggling to remove it. As a result, most Nsengas avoid this

garment because it can cause embarrassment. In the proverb, the king is advised to stop or avoid using the overall but s/he insists on wearing it. The proverb is used to teach that It is better to give up on a habit before it grows because when it grows it may be difficult to do away with.

516. Niwamye niwamye emyula malilo awene.

a. ni-wamy-e ni-wamy-e a-i-myul-a ma-lilo
1s-make.good-FV 1s-make.good-FV cl1-PAST-bruize-FV cl6-funeral
a-a wa-ine
cl6-GEN cl2-stranger

b. Over decorating the dead body, made one to bruise other people's dead body.

c. Do not be over zealous in dealing with other people's matters.

d. If it is mine then I can do what I want with it, It is not mine, so I cannot do what I want with it.

e. TF/Conclusion/UCS

f. In Nsenga culture once a person dies a specific group of people who are known to be tribal cousins other than the family members, wash the body on burial day. The body is also prepared to look presentable for body viewing. In the communities where there are no fridges to take care of bodies, the bodies are almost bad by the time they are disposed. Thus, the people that wash the body have to be careful to avoid damaging the frail skin.

517. Njala ni kalombo.

a. n-jala ni ka-lombo
cl9-hunger COP cl12-beast

b. Hunger is a small beast.

c. Hunger has bad effects to all human beings.

d. All humans are affected by hunger, I am human so I am affected by hunger.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The ward kalombo refers to both a small beast and parasites that attack human beings such as bacteria, virus, and insects with poisonous venom. *Cilombo* with the pejorative prefix ci- is used generally for any beast. Hunger is likened to kalombo that works like a bad bacteria or virus in the body. It wears somebody away to death. Hunger is common in Nsenga land

where it strikes once there are poor annual harvests. However, hunger must be fought like an infection or enemy.

518. Njala olimbilana lini nayo matako.

a. n-jala a-ku-limbil-an-a lini na-i-o ma-tako
cl9-hunger cl1-GP-fight-REC-FV NEG CNJ-cl9-3PRN cl6-buttock

b. You cannot compare hunger to staying without clothes.

c. A hungry person can do anything to ease hunger.

d. All humans are affected by hunger, I am human so I am affected by hunger.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Hunger and poverty are two things that are real to many Nsenga societies. Sometimes people have hardly anything to wear due to poverty. Thus, every little income that comes by is used to acquire food rather than clothing. There is a hypothesis among Nsenga people that given a choice one would prefer to appear naked in public than to have hunger. The reason is that hunger does not respect people. If someone is hungry, s/he can sell clothes to buy food. Someone can be naked but cannot die whereas hunger kills. Therefore, this proverb emphasizes the impact hunger has on people. People can get ready to be naked just because of hunger.

519. Njala yamuyako yusilizya lini tulo.

a. n-jala i-a mu-yako i-ku-silizy-a lini
cl9-hunger cl9-GEN cl1-2sPOS cl9-GP-finish-FV NEG
tu-lo
cl12-sleep

b. Your friend's hunger does not end your sleep.

c. People only care about things that concern them.

d. People only care about things that concern them, It does not concern her, so she does not care.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Hunger is very well known in Nsenga land. Many people depend on seasonal peasant farming. With poor resources, very few people manage to grow sufficient food. There are days when families sleep on an empty stomach because of lack of food. Sleeping on an empty is actually having a sleepless night because of the pain of hunger. However, only the person with an empty stomach understands the pain of hunger.

520. Njala yupaya lini wayasama.

a. n-jala i-ku-pay-a lini u-a-yasam-a
cl9-hunger cl9-GP-kill-FV NEG cl1-PERF-open.mouth-FV

b. Hunger does not kill somebody who has opened the mouth.

c. Someone who is in need is not selective.

d. If you are in dire need any help can do, there is some help, so it can do.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Hunger is something that causes one to be desperate and do anything in order to survive. Some people depend on wild fruits and herbs in order to overcome hunger. In other words, a hungry person does not choose what to eat as long as something is edible.

521. Njoka zikasila oluma ni mbololiko.

a. n-joka zi-ka-sil-a a-ku-lum-a ni Ø-mbololiko
cl10-snake cl10-CND-finish-FV cl1-GP-bite-FV COP cl1a-lizard

b. When snakes runout, lizards bite.

c. Do not take anything for granted in safety.

d. If anything has potential danger and if there is something then it has potential danger. If anything has potential danger, then if there is something then it has potential danger.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Geckos and lizards have been known to live with humans but there are no reports of any serious conflict between them. Nsenga people however, treat geckos and lizards as having potential for danger. People believe they can attack once provoked.

522. Nkhalamo ikavutika ikulya uzu.

a. n-khalamo i-ka-vut-ik-a u-ku-ly-a u-zu
cl9-lion cl9-CND-trouble-POT-FV cl9-eat-FV cl14-grass

b. A lion feeds on grass when it suffers.

c. When you suffer, you can do with anything.

d. If you are in dire need any help can do, there is some help, so it can do.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. A lion is regarded as a very proud animal because of the way it carries itself. It is among the few animals that do not fear humans. It sometimes hunts humans. It is believed that an old lion is not capable of hunting and can therefore feed on grass even though it is a carnival.

523. Nkhalo yukolwesha.
   a. n-khala i-ku-kolw-ish-a
      cl9-lifestyle cl9-GP-intoxicate-CAUS-FV
   b. Good life intoxicates.
   c. Wealth makes people lose good morals.
   d. Wealth makes people become arrogant, he is wealth, so he is arrogant.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. It is generally understood among Nsengas that a person who is drunk gets mentally disturbed and starts misbehaving. Such people can insult, boast, fight and do things without regard for other people. However, the Nsengas believe that it is not only beer, which makes people drunk, but comfort and wealth too. People who are comfortable normally look down on the poor and can treat anyone with no regard. The state of pomposity emanating from wealth is equal to drunkenness.

524. Nkhanga yetenga njiŵa.
   a. n-khanga i-i-teng-a n-jiŵa
      cl9-guineafowl cl9-PAST-marry-FV cl9-wild.pegion
   b. A guineafowl married a wild pigeon.
   c. Endurance with small insignificant things can lead to achievement of great things.
   d. If you achieve small things then you can achieve great things, he has achieved small things, so he can achieve great things.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Both the guineafowl and the wild pigeon are commonly hunted birds considered very delicious by Nsenga people. There is a big difference in size between the two. They have very different characteristics and are not usually found in the same area but can be both found by a hunter. When the two birds are personified, they represent two different individuals who end up in marriage. Thus, the two consider their differences as not significant in keeping them apart.

525. Nkhanga zepangana lupya ikaliyowela.
   a. n-khanga zi-i-pang-an-a Ø-lupya
      cl10-guineafowl cl10-PAST-liaise-REC-FV cl5a-bush.fire
      i-ka-li-ye ku-wel-a
      cl5-CND-be-NEG INFM-come-FV

b. Guineafowls liaised before the bush fire arrived.
c. Be proactive to disasters.
d. If there is a problem and if it can be prevented then I will be better if I prevent it. If there is a problem, then if it can be prevented then I will be better when it is prevented.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Deliberate bushfires are common among Nsengas for various reasons. Sometimes bushfires are made for clearing land in order to make hunting animals easy. Guineafowls are among many birds that sometimes are trapped in bushfires. Nsengas seem to have observed that guineafowl's tend to leave grasslands before the season of bushfires starts. This makes people think that Guineafowls have a way of communicating danger between themselves.

526. Nkhani itontho ikundulula nkhani yakale.
a. n-khani i-tontho i-kundulul-a n-khani i-a kale
cl9-story cl9-small cl9-reveal-FV cl9-story cl9-GEN old
b. A small story can lead to an old story.
c. One statement can be a lead to solving an outstanding case.
d. If a person says something and if it can be related to the past then it can help reveal the past. If a person says something, then it can be related to the past then it can help reveal the past.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Rats are one of the Nsenga people's big problems to storage. They usually attack food in both the house and the barns. Sometimes they even eat human flesh especially feet while humans are asleep. In this manner, rats are enemies with Nsenga people. A story is told of a man who was chasing a rat. The rat ran and hid into a hole. When the man so the rat entering the hole, he concluded that many other rats must have been hiding there. Therefore, he dug up the hole and found that many rats had camped there. He therefore killed all of them. Thus, one rat led to a catch of many others.

527. Nkhasi ukaziyamba zuŵawa.
a. n-nkhasi u-ka-zi-yamb-a
cl10-cow.itch.(Mucuna.pruriens.fruit) 2s-CND-cl10-provoke-FV
zi-ku-ŵaŵ-a
cl10-GP-itch-FV

b. You suffer from itching when you provoke cow itch.
c. You cannot tell a person's capabilities by his/her appearance.
d. If s/he appears in a certain way then s/he behaves in a certain way, s/he appears in a certain way, so s/he behaves in a certain way.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Cow itch is an itchy product of a bean like vine that bothers many people once you get into contact with it. Once wind disturbs it or any movement the fur like substance becomes very itchy when it gets into contact with the skin. The product has also been used in various ways such as to punish people. The seed is also used in times of famine as food.

528. Nkhondo nanansi.
a. n-khondo ni a-nansi
cl9-war COP cl2-relative
b. War is relatives.
c. People that are close to you can be your worst enemies.
d. If there is somebody and if anybody can be your enemy then my friend could be my enemy. If there is somebody, then if anybody can be your enemy then my friend could be my enemy.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Unity in the family is something that every member of the family is encouraged to cultivate. Thus conflict among family members is least expected. It therefore always alarms people once conflict arises among blood relatives. In many cases, however, people that you consider as close as relatives or friends are the ones that injure you.

529. Nkhoya ukanimvwileko etola wenye esiya vyendi.
a. nkhoy-a u-ka-ni-mvw-il-e-ko a-i-tol-a
go-FV 2s-FUT-1s-hear-APP-FV-PTC cl1-PAST-get-FV
u-enye a-i-siy-a vi-endi
cl14-lie cl1-PAST-leave-FV cl8-truth
b. A person whom you asked to get information on your behalf brought lies instead of the truth.
c. Important information should be individually obtained.
d. People usually exaggerate facts when they report a story, he is reporting a story, so he is exaggerating facts.
e. PF/Major/UCW

f. Oral transmission of information is usually unreliable as some facts can easily be misrepresented. Thus, it is advisable to get important information by yourself to avoid creating lies or false rumors.

530. Nkhuku popala ipala na vonunkha.

a. n-khuku pa-ku-pal-a i-i-pal-a na
cl9-chicken cl16-GP-scrape-FV cl9M-PAST-scrape-FV CNJ
vi-a ku-nunkh-a
cl8-GEN INFM-smell.bad-FV

b. A chicken scraped smelly things while scraping.

c. Being talkative can lead to offensive talk.

d. If you speak a lot then you increase the chance of making a mistake, if you increase the chance of making a mistake then you should very careful not to make a mistake, so if you speak a lot then you be very careful not to make a mistake.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS

f. A chicken is a traditionally very important bird. It carries a lot of traditional symbolism especially about marriage and family relationships. The highest honor you can give to your in-laws or guest is by serving a meal with whole cooked chicken. Almost every Nsenga family therefore keeps chickens. Traditional chickens are usually left outside the pens to fend for food. They look for food by scraping the ground especially around homes. For owners who have supplement food they feed their chickens especially in the morning when letting them out to look for extra food.

531. Nkhuku ya ŵana yuundatila ŵana.

a. n-khuku i-a ŵa-ana i-ku-undat-il-a
cl9-chicken cl9-GEN cl2-chick cl9-GP-brood-APP-FV
ŵa-ana
cl2-chick

b. A hen with chicks broods over them.

c. You need to take care of your children as a parent.

d. Parents look after their children, s/he is a parent, so s/he should look after his/her children.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A chicken is a traditionally very important bird. It carries a lot of traditional symbolism especially about marriage and family relationships. The highest

honor you can give to your in-laws or guest is by serving a meal with cooked whole chicken. Thus, almost every home rears chickens.

532. Nkhuku yupalasulila kuli ŵana ŵake.

a. n-khuku i-ku-palasul-il-a ku-li ŵa-ana ŵa-ake
cl9-chicken cl9-GP-scatter.dirt-APP-FV cl17-be cl2-child cl2-3sPOS

b. A hen scatters dirt in the direction of its chicks.

c. Mothers should fend for their children first before fending for other mothers' children.

d. If have children in need and if there are other children in need then I should take care of my children's needs first. If have children in need, then if there are other children in need then I should take care of my children's needs first

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. A chicken is a traditionally very important bird. It carries a lot of traditional symbolism especially about marriage and family relationships. The highest honor you can give to your in-laws or guest is by serving a meal with cooked whole chicken. It is also used as a fine for many offenses. A hen that has chicks looks for food for its chicks by scattering dirt in the ground. The dirt is pushed in the direction of its chicks so that they can find some food and to ensure chicks from other hens do not partake of the food.

533. Nkhumba yunukula lini paliye.

a. n-khumba i-ku-nukul-a lini pa-li-ye
cl9-pig cl9-GP-dig.up-FV NEG cl16-be-NEG

b. A pig does not dig up where there is nothing.

c. There is no smoke without fire.

d. Every story has an origin, it is a story, so it has its origin.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Pigs are one of the common types of livestock kept by the Nsenga people. The pigs are used both as meat for food and source of income. The traditional pigs are usually let free from the pens in the day to look for extra food around the village. Pigs use their nose to dig up their food from the ground.

534. Nshaŵa ikaola imo zonse zuipa.

a. n-shaŵa i-ka-ol-a i-mo zi-onse zi-ku-ip-a
cl9-groundnut cl9-CND-rot-FV cl9-one cl10-all cl10-GP-go.bad-FV

b. When one groundnut is rotten, it makes the other good ones go bad as well.

c. Bad company corrupts good character.

d. Bad company corrupts good character, he has bad company, so his character is corrupted.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Groundnuts one of the commonly grown crops are a good source of nutrition for Nsenga people. They are used in many ways in powdered form as ingredients and seasoning to various cuisines. Many people prefer to eat the role grains and especially fried ones. Once you put a number of groundnut grains into the mouth and one happens to be bad the taste of the others feels bad too and someone ends up spitting all of them.

535. Nsilaŵila olaŵila mukamuyamba.

a. Ø-nsilaŵila a-ku-laŵil-a mu-ka-mu-yamb-a
cl1a-someone.who.does.not.talk cl1-GP-talk-FV 2p-CND-cl1-start-FV

b. A reserved person reacts once provoked.

c. A reserved person reacts once provoked beyond his/her limits.

d. A reserved person does not get provoked, she is reserved, so she cannot get provoked.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. It is common to find many people that look reserved and restrained but surprisingly react strongly after being provoked.

536. Nsomba yukulya nsomba iyake ndiye kunona.

a. n-somba i-ku-ku-ly-a n-somba i-yake ndi-ye
cl9-fish cl9-GP-FPR-eat-FV cl9-fish cl9-3sPOS COP-EMPH
ku-non-a
INFM-delicious-FV

b. Delicious is the fish that eats other fish.

c. Marrying someone you know very well is good for family unity and growth.

d. You marry someone you know very well. I don't know him very well, so I cannot marry him.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Marrying within the family unit is encouraged in traditional Nsenga society especially between cousins. Marrying from the same family is seen as the best way of expanding the family and preventing family wealth from going out of the family. Marrying within the family is considered as health as a fish that feeds on their fish. Usually such fish are if in size. Being fat is synonymous with living a good and healthy life among Nsenga people.

537. Nthambo yatendeka kuti dee pakati.

a.	n-thambo	i-a-tend-ik-a	ku-ti	dee	pa-kati
	cl9-rope	cl9-PERF-cut-POT-FV	INFM-say	IDEO	cl16-middle

b. A rope has cut in the middle.
c. Without contact, there is no Cooperation.
d. If there is cooperation then there is contact, there is no contact, so there is no cooperation.
e. MTT/Conclusion/VS
f. A rope is one of the games played by Nsenga people. A rope is usually made of fiber from tree barks. As usual, you need at least two people on different ends to pull the rope. Once the rope cuts, the two sides separate and the game is interrupted.

538. Nthanga zuwila aliye menu.

a.	n-thanga	zi-ku-w-il-a	a-li-ye	ma-inu
	cl10-pumpkin	cl10-GP-fall-APP-FV	cl1-be-NEG	cl6-tooth

b. A bumper harvest of pumpkins comes to those who do not have teeth.
c. Sometimes opportunities or good things happen to those who do not them.
d. If there are good opportunities and if anybody can have good opportunities then even the person you do not expect can have good opportunities. If there are good opportunities, then if anybody can have good opportunities then even the person you do not expect can have good opportunities.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. In the Nsenga society, pumpkins are a very special type of food. They are usually grown together with maize, the staple food, in the same field. Since Nsenga people are dependent on rain-fed agriculture, they grow food only in the rainy season. The rainy season lasts for about four months. Consequently, by the time another agricultural season starts, many homes will have run out of their food supplies. The pumpkins and other related species however are early maturing and are therefore very important food

substitute to maize in times of scarcity. In the proverb, a situation is given where a person without teeth manages to grow many pumpkins while others do not. Due to various reasons, not all pumpkin plants manage to bear good fruits. Sometimes one can have a whole field of pumpkin plants without pumpkins developing. In this manner, Nsengas believe that pumpkins are either a result of good luck, supernatural intervention or a result of gifted hands. In the proverb, a person without teeth gets lucky with a pumper harvest of pumpkins to everyone's amusement.

539. Numucetekela elalika panja.

a.	ni-ku-mu-cetek-il-a	a-i-lal-ik-a	pa-nja
	1s-GP-cl1-trust-APP-FV	cl1-PAST-sleep-POT-FV	cl16-outside

b. "I trust him/he" made one sleep outside.
c. Do not over trust people.
d. Any human being can tell a lie, she is a human being, so she can tell a lie.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. It is common to have sex outside marriage among Nsenga people. However, all sex outside marriage is regarded as illegal and therefore people always do it in secrecy usually at night when people are asleep. Some girls practice sex before marriage. A story is told of a man who was invited by a lady to her house at night. The man went and nocked at the woman's house door. However, s/he had another man in the house. She therefore lied to the man that she was chatting with relatives in the house and asked him to wait. The man waited until dawn because he trusted her but she never opened the door. Thus, it is said that trust can cause you to sleep outside.

540. Nyakalipashe unga wa maŵele.

a.	Ø-nyakalipashe	u-nga	u-a	ma-ŵele
	cl1a-self.incresing	cl14-mealie.meal	cl14-GEN	cl6-millet

b. Millet the self-increasing mealie meal.
c. To be a talkative person among friends.
d. If you speak more than you have to then you are talkative, s/he is speaking more than s/he has to, so s/he is talkative.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsenga people usually use millet for brewing beer and a traditional drink called *thobwa*. However, in times of famine millet is also used as mealie meal for cooking *nshima* the staple food. It is believed that millet works

like self-rising dough and therefore one uses little powder compared to mealie meal made from maize grain.

541. Nyakulila somukata pakamwa.

a. Ø-nyakulila si-a-ku-mu-kat-a ku-ka-mwa
cl1a-mouner NEG-cl1-GP-cl1-touch-FV cl17-cl12-mouth

b. The mourner should not be stopped from mourning.

c. Do not stop people from expressing their grievances.

d. If a person is aggrieved then s/he should be allowed to express his/her grievance, s/he is aggrieved, so s/he should be allowed to speak her grievance.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga culture, a mourner is allowed to mourn in whichever way s/he likes. Some people chose to cry and wail loudly. Others throw themselves on the ground and roll over and others say many things in connection with their relationship with the deceased whilst s/he was alive. As long as the mourner does not do anything that endangers his/her life or offend others s/he is allowed in to mourn in the way s/he likes. Some people however take advantage of the occasion to make some kind of social protest of something they may not be happy with, such as greed in the family or society. The proverb is said to those that would like to stop someone from complaining or explaining his problem, he should be listened to instead of being stopped.

542. Nyangolwa ivyala pundu.

a. n-nyangolwa i-i-vyal-a Ø-pundu
cl9-*nyangolwa*.mouse cl9-PAST-bear-FV 1a-*pundu*.mouse

b. *Nyangolwa* (a small mouse) gave birth to *pundu* (a big mouse).

c. Do not belittle others because of such factors as age.

d. If you achieve small things then you can achieve great things, he has achieved small things, so he can achieve great things.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. It is believed that *pundu* mice come from very small mice called *Nyangolwa* because they look very alike except for the huge difference in size. The belief is used to refer to encourage people not to discourage themselves in setting up high goals because of their status. For instance, a

poor woman can give birth to a person who can become a very important member of society.

543. Nyemba zakulya mwana zupota makolo.

a. n-nyemba zi-a ku-ly-a mu-ana
cl10-cowpeas cl10-GEN INFM-eat-FV cl1-child
zi-ku-pot-a ma-kolo
cl10-GP-ache-FV cl6-parent

b. Cowpeas eaten by a child cause the parents stomachache.

c. The problems caused by children affect the parents.

d. If people expect a parent to be responsible for her child and if a child has a problem then people expect the parent to be responsible for the child's problem. If people expect a parent to be responsible for her child and if a child has a problem then people expect the parent to be responsible for the child's problem.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Among Nsengas, a parent can be held accountable for the children's misconduct. Thus, all parents are supposed to keep all their children in check. It is common to fine a parent over a child's misconduct. This phenomenon is also compared to the agony that a parent goes through once a child falls sick. For instance, a parent agonizes over a child who eats many cowpeas and suffers stomach pain. Cowpeas are one of the favorite types of grain that form side dishes for the main dish called *nshima*. However, they commonly cause many gas and stomach problems when eaten in excess.

544. Nyina umozi angavyale lini masauzande.

a. Ø-nyina u-mozi a-nga-vyal-e lini ma-sauzande
cl1a-mother cl1-one cl1-MOD-bear-FV NEG cl6-thousand

b. One mother cannot give birth to thousands.

c. There should be a limit on family size.

d. One woman cannot bear every child, she is alone, so she cannot bear all children.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The word *masauzande* is recent borrowing from English for the concept of numerous. The proverb is a comment on one of the essential features of the Nsenga society, which is the extended family. Recently, there has been a

growing challenge in trying to maintain the norm amid increasing economic difficulties. Whilst the Nsenga society is trying hard to keep the norm, rebels have emerged that want to do away with the norm citing economic reasons. This proverb means that you should not think that the only relatives one has are only the biological sisters or brothers. Even distant relatives are still relatives and they should be valued the same way one values biological brothers and sisters. In its literally form, the proverb is used by those people who want to reject a relative. However, it is also used to help people have a sense of family planning.

545. Nyoko ni nyoko olo acepe kwendo.

a. Ø-nyoko ni Ø-nyoko olo a-cep-e Ø-kwendo
cl1a-mother COP cl1a-mother CNJ cl1-reduce-FV cl5a-leg

b. Your mother remains your mother even if she has a small leg.

c. Mothers must command the respect they disserve regardless of their status.

d. A biological mother remains one regardless of physical status, s/he is disabled, so s/he is still my mother.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. This is a general principle about treating all people equitably and equally regardless of their physical status. In this particular case, a mother remains one regardless of her short leg. Mothers are very important among Nsengas who are a matrilineal society.

546. Nyula ni kukosi.

a. n-yula ni ku-Ø-kosi
cl9-cloth COP cl17-cl5a-throat

b. Clothing is in the neck.

c. Every person has a right to wear what s/he wants.

d. Different people have different ways of looking at beauty, she is different, so she has a different way of looking at beauty.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsenga people think that taste organs are in the neck. Thus is usually said that something feels good in the neck but referring to the food pipe. It is therefore also said that one's taste of clothing is felt in the neck or esophagus. The proverb means that a taste of clothing depends on individuals. Thus, no one can dictate what clothes another person should like.

547. Nzelu za eka ezuŵika nsima m'manzi.

a. n-zelu za-a a-eka a-i-zuŵ-ik-a
cl10-inteligence cl10-GEN cl1-alone cl1-PAST-soak-POT-FV
n-sima mu-ma-nzi
cl9-*nshima* cl18-cl6-water

b. I know it all soaked *nshima* in water.

c. Since nobody knows everything, you must consult.

d. Human beings do not know everything, he is human, so he does not know everything.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. *Nshima* the staple food of Nsenga people is traditionally made using one simple recipe. It is made from a solution of water and maize flour called mealie meal. The only difference in the recipe is the type of mealie meal used and the hardness or softness of the pulp depending on the amounts of ingredients used. It also depends on whether it is served cold or hot. Generally, all types of *nshima* become very hard once they are called. Some people prefer to eat hard pulp but others do not. Once *nshima* has been made hard the process cannot be reversed without destroying its quality. Some people without proper knowledge of cooking good soft *nshima* add water after the *nshima* has been cooked which compromises the quality. Once the *nshima* is hard, the only solution is to cook another one. To become a good cook of *nshima* one should learn for a long time from experienced cooks especially mothers.

548. Nzelu za eka.

a. n-zelu za-a a-eka
cl10-inteligence cl10-GEN cl1-alone

b. S/he knows it all.

c. Failure to seek counsel results in trouble.

d. Human beings do not know everything, he is human, so he does not know everything.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The proverb is usually left hanging for people to fill in the gaps with many possible phrases that are a result of a person who thinks s/he knows it all. For instance, one could say, "S/he knows it all got caught by a lion."

549. Nzelu zaeka emangila ng'anda pamwala.

a. n-zelu zi-a a-eka a-i-mang-il-a
cl10-intelligence cl10-GEN cl1-alone cl1-PAST-build-APP-FV
n-ng'anda pa-mu-ala
cl9-house cl16-cl3-stone

b. "I know it all" built the house on a rock.

c. To behave as though you know everything only causes trouble.

d. Human beings do not know everything, he is human, so he does not know everything.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Traditional methods of constructing houses among Nsenga people require making a house on flat land without rocks. Because of lack of equipment to break huge rocks, a house build on rocks does not have well anchored foundation. It is therefore likely to collapse. Thus, before you build a house especially in a new area you need to consult with people who know the area's landscape very well.

550. Nzelu ziweme akazinena ŵantu.

a. n-zelu zi-weme a-ka-zi-nen-a ŵa-nthu
cl10-intelligence cl10-good cl2-CND-talk.about-FV cl2-person

b. Good ideas ore those that are praised by people.

c. People praise good ideas.

d. Good ideas are praised by people, they are not praised, so they are not good ideas.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. Like any other society, Nsengas award good ideas by praising them. They therefore criticize bad ideas.

551. Nzimu iyipa ni ila yusala kumaluŵa.

a. n-zimu i-ipa ni i-la i-ku-sal-a
cl9-bee cl9-bad COP cl9-DEM cl9-GP-remain-FV
ku-maluŵ-a
cl17-cl9-flower

b. A bad bee is the one that remains on the flowers.

c. One must balance between pleasure and work.

d. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause problems, she is overindulging, so she might have problems.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The major source of income and livelihood among Nsengas is farming. This requires one leaving his or her home usually early in the morning to go and work in the cultivation fields some of which are very far away from homes. Lazy people chose to stay home while others leave to go and work. Such a person is compared to a bee that goes to look for nectar but choses to eat the nectar alone from the flower instead of carrying it to be used with other bees. This bee prefers the comfort of the flower to the hive.

552. Nzimu ni zinyinji yuluma ni imo.

a.

n-zimu	ni	zi-nyinji	i-ku-lum-a	ni	i-mo
cl10-bee	COP	cl8-many	cl9-GP-sting-FV	COP	cl9-one

b. Even though bees are many only one stings.

c. In a group of offenders, there is usually one ringleader.

d. In a group of offenders there is usually one ring leader, there is a group of offenders, so there should be a ring leader.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Although people usually get bee stings when harvesting honey, there are several occasions where people have been stung by bees. Since bees are usually found in big numbers, it is always difficult to know the stinging bee.

553. Nzimu yuluma ni imo.

a.

n-zimu	i-ku-lum-a	ni	i-mo
cl9-bee	cl9-GP-sting-FV	COP	cl9-one

b. Only one bee stings out of many.

c. Judges can be many but only one can be the spokesperson.

d. Judges can be many but only one can be the spokesperson, there are many judges, so only one should be the spokesperson.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Bees usually move in big numbers. Once you have been stung, it is always difficult to find the bee that has stung you. After, one has been stung Nsengas quickly remove the venom left by the bee to avoid inflammation but it is always difficult to trace the stinging bee.

554. Nzimu zikapaka sizuika uci.

a.

n-zimu	zi-kz-pak-a	si-zi-ku-ik-a	u-ci
cl10-bee	cl10-CND-multiply-FV	NEG-cl10-GP-put-FV	cl14-honey

b. When bees are many they don't make honey.
c. When you have too many people doing one thing, it is difficult to focus and timely complete the task.
d. When you have too many people doing one thing it is difficult to focus and timely complete the task, there are too many people doing one thing, so it will be difficult to focus and timely complete the task.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Bees are usually found in numbers. It is common to find a very big group of bees but without honey. Sometimes bees eat their own honey when they are too many. In reality, you do not find many bees sitting on honeycombs. However, people expect to find honey where there are many bees. The situation is used to refer to failure that arises because of too many people working on the same task. This is likened to the English proverb "too many cooks spoil the broth".

555. Ocenjela akaziŵana sangacenjelelane.
a. a-a ku-cenjel-a a-ka-ziŵ-an-a
cl2-GEN INFM-clever-FV cl2-CND-know-REC-FV
si-a-nga-cenjel-il-an-e
NEG-cl2-MOD-take.advantage-APP-REC-FV
b. When clever people know each other, they cannot outwit each other.
c. Crooks cannot swindle each other.
d. A crook (bad person) cannot trust another crook (bad person), s/he is a crook, so s/he cannot trust another crook.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Crooks are believed to know each other's tactics. It is actually said that you need a thief to catch another thief. Thus it assumed it is impossible for a crook to swindle another crook because they both understand what happens when somebody is about to be swindled.

556. Ocenjela ekanana ŵeka.
a. a-a ku-cenjel-a a-i-kan-an-a ŵa-eka
cl2-GEN INFM-clever-FV cl2-PAST-deny-REC-FV cl2-alone
b. Clever people denied each other.
c. People with competing interests do not cooperate.
d. A crook (bad person) cannot trust another crook (bad person), s/he is a crook, so s/he cannot trust another crook.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The phrase *wocenjela* "clever people" refers to witches and thieves among Nsenga people. Because witches and thieves are not trust worthy they neither trust each other nor are trusted by the community. Thus, thieves or witches are believed not to normally do things together.

557. Ocenjela sobisana mathumba.

a. a-a ku-cenjel-a si-a-ku-bis-an-a ma-thumb-a
cl2-GEN INFM-clever-FV NEG-cl2-GP-hide-REC-FV cl6-pocket/bag

b. Clever people do not hide pockets/bags from each other.

c. Crooks cannot outwit each other.

d. A crook (bad person) cannot trust another crook (bad person), s/he is a crook, so s/he cannot trust another crook.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. It is always a strong belief that crooks cannot outwit each other. Thus while people look after their luggage when they notice a suspected thief, it is assumed thieves do not steal from each other as they know each very well and therefore they do not hide things from each other. It is also believed that thieves cannot hide from each other, as they both know where to find hidden things.

558. Ocenjela sometana oyopa kunyemana.

a. a-a ku-cenjel-a si-a-ku-met-an-a a-ku-yop-a
cl2-GEN INFM-clever-FV NEG-cl2-GP-shave-REC-FV cl2-GP-fear-FV
ku-nyem-an-a
INFM-cut-REC-FV

b. Clever people do not shave each other because they fear cutting each other.

c. Bad people do not trust each other.

d. A crook (bad person) cannot trust another crook (bad person), s/he is a crook, so s/he cannot trust another crook.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. In the traditional Nsenga society, people shave each other for free using razor blades and recently scissors. It is common to have accidents where someone's skin is cut in the process. In this manner, you always ask someone you trust to cut you in order to avoid malicious behavior. Your enemy would use the opportunity deliberately to injure you either to repay you or punish you for something bad you did. Thus, two people that know

each other as bad people cannot shave or cut each other's hair because of lack of trust. It is also important if you believe that hair can be used for witchcraft to ask someone you trust to cut your hair.

559. Ocita katontho etolela munakazi wa osacita kalikonse.

a. a-ku-cit-a ka-tontho a-i-tol-il-a mu-nakazi
cl1-GP-do-FV cl12-small cl1-PAST-get-APP-FV cl1-woman
u-a a-ku-sa-cit-a ka-li-konse
cl1-GEN cl1-GP-NEG-do-FV cl12-be-cl12-all

b. S/he who does a small thing gets a woman from the one who does not do anything at all.

c. Something is better than nothing is.

d. There is either nothing or something, it is not nothing, so it is something.

e. Disjunctive/Major/VS

f. This proverb indicates that people should always strive to do something in life no matter how small it may be. The object *katontho* "small thing" is open to all possible interpretations. This allows the proverb to be euphemistically interrelated as having sex. In this case, reference is made to a married couple's sexual life. It is better to have some sex than not to have any at all. Each time a woman becomes unfaithful, it is interpreted because of lack of satisfaction from sex with her husband. The husband is assumed to either not perform enough sexual functions or any sexual functions at all. In the Nsenga culture, the most embarrassing thing is for someone to be sleeping with your wife. This is interpreted as a sign of weakness to the husband. However, katontho "small" can also refer to doing too little to look after ones family. A woman's unfaithfulness in marriage can also be attributed to lack a man's capacity to look after his wife and family. This can even lead to divorce. Hence, this proverb is used to emphasize the disadvantage of laziness.

560. Ofuntha kwake ni kusengasenga noyendayenda.

a. u-a ku-funth-a ku-ake ni
cl1-GEN INFM-become.mad-FV cl17-3sPOS COP
ku-seng-a-seng-a na ku-yend-a-yend-a
INFM-be-FV-beg-FV CNJ INFM-walk-FV-walk-FV

b. A mad person survives by begging and moving around.

c. Do not stigmatize people that are in desperate situations.

d. If one is desperate then s/he can do anything, s/he is desperate, so s/he can do anything.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Like many other societies, Nsengas live with mad people. Mad people are allowed to visit homes and ask for daily supplies especially food. However, any normal person who lives by begging is also regarded as a one suffering from madness. Thus begging for the sake of it is likened to madness and is totally discouraged.

561. Okakasha vayao vao vukanga.

a. a-ku-kakash-a	vi-a	a-yao	vi-ao
cl1-GP-talk.persistently-FV	cl8-GEN	cl2-friend	cl8-2pPOS
vi-ku-kang-a			
cl8-GP-fail-FV			

b. S/he talks persistently about other people's issues but s/he is a failure in her own.
c. Mind your own business.
d. If you have a problem and if someone else has a problem then you should focus on your problem first. If you have a problem, then if someone else has a problem then you should focus on your problem first.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. The saying talks about people with a habit of commenting on other people's issues especially failures and yet they fail to succeed in their own issues. It is always advisable to take care of your own issues first before you can lecture others about similar issues.

562. Okonkha njila ziŵili ofwika lini.

a. a-ku-konkh-a	n-jila	zi-ŵili	a-ku-fwik-a	lini
cl1-GP-follow-FV	cl10-road	cl10-two	cl1-GP-arrive-FV	NEG

b. S/he who follows two roads or ways does not arrive.
c. It is difficult to complete two tasks at once.
d. If you can only be loyal to one master then you cannot be loyal to more than one master, if you cannot be loyal to more than one then you cannot be loyal to two, so If you cannot be loyal to more than one master then you cannot be loyal to two masters.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS

f. It is common sense and logical that you cannot take two roads or ways at once. The proverb encourages people not to do so many things at one time as it is difficult to complete them. It is better to do one task at a time.

563. Olaŵila oleta nzeru.

a. a-ku-la-ŵil-a a-ku-let-a n-zeru
cl1-GP-speak-FV cl1-GP-bring-FV cl9-wisdom

b. Wisdom is appreciated when it is spoken.

c. You appreciate wisdom when it is shared.

d. You appreciate wisdom when it is shared, it is not shared, so you cannot appreciate it.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Nsenga people are usually known to be talkative because they never encourage anybody to keep anything to him/herself. This characteristic has often portrayed Nsengas as good gossipers too. However, it is assumed that when someone is quiet, other people will never get to know what goes on in that person's mind. Therefore, it is after one has spoken that people will know whether the person is wise or not.

564. Olenji yoiŵa yuwama kupambana yako.

a. Ø-olenji i-a ku-iŵ-a i-ku-wam-a
cl5a-orange cl5a-GEN INFM-steal-FV cl5-GP-good-FV
ku-pamb-an-a i-ako
cl5-GP-surpass-REC-FV cl5a-2sPOS

b. A stolen orange is better than your own.

c. Humans tend to admire what they do not have in preference to what they own.

d. A good thing usually appears good, it is appearing good, so it is a good thing.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. The orange by its color, is always attractive to the human eye. One likely gets a feeling of having one once it comes into sight. It is believed that things that you own become less exciting than those that you do not. In other words, people are not satisfied with what they have. This proverb is often used when a man wants to divorce his wife saying that he wants to find a better wife. The elderly people may say; "do not divorce my son, it is

said that a stolen orange is sweeter than what is yours. Even when you marry another wife, you will later find other women better than her."

565. Oluka mphasa olala pavisamphi.
   a. a-ku-luk-a n-phasa a-ku-lal-a pa-vi-samphi
      cl1-GP-sew-FV cl9-reed.mat cl1-GP-sleep-FV cl16-cl8-makeshift.mat
   b. Reed mat weavers sleep on makeshift mats.
   c. When you do business, you should not neglect your personal life at the expense of making profits.
   d. If he is a manufacturer and if he is in need of what he manufactures then he can manufacture for himself. If he is a manufacturer, then if he is in need of what he manufactures then he can manufacture for himself.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. A reed mat is a common household property. It is used for many important ceremonies such as marriages, funerals, initiation and ordination ceremonies. It is used to both sit on and sleep on. It is also used for decorations. This proverb captures a common behavior of many people with craft skills that manufacture or repair for entirely business purposes but never make or repair anything for themselves. For instance, tailors are usually found with torn clothes and black smiths with unrepaired household items.

566. Olyela masuku pamitu yayake.
   a. a-ku-ly-il-a ma-suku pa-mi-tu
      cl1-GP-eat-APP-FV cl6-Uapaca.kirkiana.fruit cl16-cl4-head
      i-a a-yake
      cl4-GEN cl2-friend
   b. S/he is eating Uapaca kirkiana fruits from a (basket on a) friend's head.
   c. To be unfair in access to goods is a form of exploitation.
   d. If there is fairness then all things remain equal, things are not equal, so there is no fairness.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. Many Nsenga people enjoy various wild fruits when they are in season. One of the favorite sweet fruit is called *Masuku* (Uapaca kirkiana). They are collected in big volumes and carried in big baskets on the head from the bush to the homes. A picture of a person carrying this heavy load and

another eating from the friend's load on the head is an image of the worst form of exploitation and unfairness.

567. Omela nsele za nthengele otamya kukula.

a. a-ku-mel-a n-sele zi-a n-thengele
cl1-GP-swallow-FV cl10-seed cl8-GEN cl9-*nthengle*.fruit
a-ku-tamy-a ku-kul-a
cl1-GP-boast-FV INFM-big-FV

b. A person who swallows a *nthengele* fruit seed boasts of being an adult.

c. A child who starts a fight knows its defense.

d. A person that starts a fight knows his/her defense, s/he has started a fight, so s/he knows his/her defense.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The *nthengele* fruit is one of the most important seasonal and wild food supplements for the Nsengas. Once wild fruits are in season, they help many families as both food and rare nutritional supplements. The seeds of the fruit are not swallowed because they are big, harder, and therefore impossible to digest in the stomach. However, an adult person can accidentally swallow the seed whilst sucking it. The seed in such cases is excreted together with other fecal matter. It also natural to note that the bigger a person is the bigger the bowels and anus should be. Thus, a bigger person can excrete an undigested seed with much ease more than a younger person. The proverb should therefore be completed by adding *panyo* 'anus' at the end. It is deliberately left out because it is a taboo word.

568. Opangwa kutemwesha onse oliyepeka.

a. a-ku-pangw-a ku-temw-ish-a a-onse
cl1-GP-want-FV INFM-please-CAUS-FV cl2-all
a-ku-li-ep-ik-a
cl1-GP-REF-lie-POT-FV

b. Someone who wants to please everyone cheats oneself.

c. You cannot please everybody.

d. One person cannot please everybody, I am one person, so I cannot please everybody.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. It is a universal fact that no one can please every person in a community. Always, somebody complains about something.

569. Osacita mulandu kapena mungaulele lini.

a. a-ku-sa-cit-a mu-landu kapena mu-ngu-u-lel-e
cl1-GP-NEG-do-FV cl3-offense CNJ 2p-MOD-cl3-look.after-FV
lini
NEG

b. Do not commit an offense if you cannot take care of it.

c. Do not do something whose consequences you cannot handle.

d. If you do something then you should handle the consequences, she has done something, so she should handle the consequences.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Whilst crime is detested, society expects criminals to take responsibility of their actions. The verb -lel- used in the proverb literally means to look after with the same sense as looking after a child. It implies that society does mind certain offenses as long as they do not get into public. To look after here therefore also means to conceal. In this manner, a person who is not capable of keeping secrets should not commit crime.

570. Osafulumizya kumela mukaliye sheta.

a. a-ku-sa-fulumizy-a ku-mel-a mu-ka-li-ye shet-a
cl2-GP-NEG-hurry-FV INFM-swallow-FV 2p-POT-be-NEG chew-FV

b. Do not rush to swallow before you chew.

c. Hasty decisions are dangerous.

d. Doing things hastily can cause damage, I am in a hurry, so I can cause damage.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Eating very quickly among Nsengas is not a good eating habit. It is interpreted as either having bad manners or simply being too hungry to observe good manners. Speed in swallowing meals can be dangerous. It can for instance cause one to chock. Digestion also begins in the mouth and therefore not thoroughly chewing one's food can cause indigestion too. This proverb is used to teach people to be patient in making decisions of life. Making hasty decisions usually causes problems.

571. Osametela pamusasa.

a. a-ku-sa-met-il-a pa-mu-sasa
cl1-GP-NEG-cut.hair-APP-FV cl16-cl3-camp

b. Do not shave from the camp.

c. Do not leave behind a bad a reputation.
d. If there is a place and if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it. If there is a place, then if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Staying with unshaved hair on any part of the body is regarded as uncleanliness among Nsenga people. Thus, all people are required to shave except a woman's head hair. It is considered unclean to leave shaved hair in the open. Thus, people sit at a secluded place to shave and dispose the hair. Some people also believe that hair can be used for witchcraft by bad people and should therefore not be exposed.

572. Osasindizya munga kukatende.

a.	a-ku-sa-sind-ish-a	mu-nga	ku-ka-tende
	cl2-GP-NEG-press-CAUS-FV	cl3-thorn	cl17-cl12-heel

b. Do not press a thorn deeper into the heel.
c. Do not offend your benefactor.
d. If he is my benefactor and If I wrong him then he will stop supporting me. If he is my benefactor, then if I wrong him then he will stop supporting me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. In the past, people usually moved around different places without shoes, which were neither affordable nor on sale. Sometimes people even moved in the bush and cultivation fields without any protection on their feet. It was therefore common to be pricked by thorns. However, once you are pricked in the heel you cannot use your feet because each time you do so you are pressing the thorn deeper into the heel. This proverb is usually used in a situation where one has greatly disappointed, in behavior or conduct, his/her benefactor. For example, a person can steal things from the very person who helps him/her. The elders use the proverb to express their disappointment or the person offended will also use this proverb to declare that s/he will no longer help the offender. S/he uses this proverb to show that just as it is not easy to bring out a thorn, which has gone deeper into the heel, it is very difficult to help the person who offends you.

573. Osasula musenga poyenda.

a.	a-ku-sa-sul-a	mu-senga	pa-ku-yend-a
	cl1-GP-NEG-despise-FV	cl3-distance	cl16-GP-walk-FV

b. Do not underestimate distance on a journey.
c. Do not judge the end from the beginning.
d. If I am at the beginning and if I do not know what the ending will be then I cannot tell what the ending will be. If I am at the beginning, then if I do not know what the ending will be then I cannot tell what the ending will be.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Journeys on foot are a very strenuous exercise. There are some routes where one can see where they are going from a distance. Such places seen from afar are difficult to estimate the distance. In many cases, eyes underestimate the distance. In order to avoid getting discouraged, people are advised to always over estimate distance.

574. Osasula upuŵa.
a. a-ku-sa-sul-a u-puŵa
cl1-GP-NEG-ignore-FV cl14-foolishness
b. Do not ignore foolishness.
c. Do not treat people with prejudice.
d. All human beings are useful, he is a foolish human being, so he is useful.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. In society, there are always people that are considered foolish and therefore incapable of making any meaningful contributions to society. However, society is also advised not to have such a general overview as even foolish people can be of some use.

575. Osatemwa kuonela kwayanu.
a. a-ku-sa-temw-a ku-on-il-a ku-a a-yanu vi-nthu
cl2-GP-NEG-like-FV INFM-see-APP-FV cl17-GEN cl2-friend cl8-thing
b. Do not have a habit of copying from friends.
c. Be content with what you have.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Members of Nsenga society are expected to be humble and content to avoid envy and strife in society. It is always advisable to be content with what you have to avoid envy.

576. Osazengela ni tyala, cuziwelela lini.

a. a-a ku-sa-zengel-a ni tyala
cl2-GEN INFM-NEG-hunt-FV COP nothing
ci-ku-zi-wel-il-a lini
cl7-GP-REF-come-APP-FV NEG

b. You don't eat meat unless you go hunting.

c. One must be responsible for his/her actions such as a man should also be responsible for his wife's pregnancy.

d. If your woman is pregnant then you slept with her, she is pregnant, so you slept with her.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. In traditional Nsenga land, people mainly lived on wild fruits and vegetables for food. Apart from livestock, which was always for the wealthy, one would always eat meet once he or she went hunting in the bush. Thus, one would eat vegetables only for as long s/he never went into the bush to hunt. The situation is used in the proverb to refer to pregnancy in a home. If one's wife is pregnant, a man is advised to take responsibility as the one responsible instead of looking for other women to easy his sexual pressures.

577. Osekelela akalandila solaŵila ali duu.

a. a-ku-sek-ilil-a a-ka-landil-a si-a-ku-laŵil-a
cl1-GP-laugh-PERS-FV cl1-CND-receiveFV NEG-cl1-GP-speak-FV
a-li duu
cl1-be IDEO

b. A happy person suddenly keeps quiet when s/he receives something.

c. You must audibly thank someone who gives you something.

d. If someone is grateful then s/he shows it, s/he has not shown it, so s/he is not grateful.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. It is always expected that when someone receives something s/he should be happy. Thus, a person who is considered to be a happy person should even rejoice more when s/he receives something. It always surprises people therefore to see someone who has received something keep quiet and not say something. Even if you are not happy about the gift, you must always say "thank you" once you receive something. The silence is usually understood to be ungratefulness.

578. Otanguzya lini muyako.
   a. a-ku-tanguzy-a lini mu-yako
      cl1-GP-put.forward-FV NEG cl1-friend
   b. You don't let your friend go ahead of you.
   c. Don't let your friend decide your future.
   d. Humans decide their own future, I am human, so I should decide my own future.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Most of the paths or streets in the rural Nsenga land are narrow requiring two people moving at the same time to walk one behind the other. Usually a person who knows the way or an elderly person leads the way. Elderly people lead the way to avoid children meeting unexpected things such as snakes lying on the path or some obstructions that could cause accidents.

579. Otengewa ku wa nkhanza soyopa kunyatiwa.
   a. a-ku-teng-iw-a ku-u-a n-khanza si-a-ku-yop-a
      cl1-GP-marry-PASS-FV cl17-cl1-GEN cl9-cruelty NEG-cl1-GP-fear-FV
      ku-nyat-iw-a
      INFM-beat-PASS-FV
   b. The one who gets married to a cruel person should not be afraid of being beaten.
   c. Marriage comes with responsibilities.
   d. If I have married someone and if I know he is a savage then I should not be afraid of his savagery. If I have married someone, then if I know he is a savage then I should not be afraid of his savagery.
   e. Exportation/ConclusionVUS
   f. Among Nsengas, divorce is regarded as a taboo. No circumstances justify divorce. Especially women who intend to get married are advised to be thorough in their assessment of life partners to avoid getting married to a bad person. This is required because divorce is not supported. Although traditional leaders can grab divorce, the woman's status is affected negatively after divorce. Thus, advice is given to married women to endure any form of suffering they might go through in marriage. In Nsenga culture, men marry the women and women get married to their men.

580. Otinkha imbwa pang'anda.

a. a-ku-tinkh-a in-bwa pa-n-ng'anda
cl1-GP-hate-FV cl9-dog cl16-cl9-house

b. You hate a dog at a home.

c. You only like dependents because they do something good for you.

d. If a dependent does good then he is good, he has not done good, so he is not good.

e. PF/Conclusion/UCW

f. Nsenga people treat dogs as animals for specific purposes and rarely as mere pets. Dogs are usually kept for hunting or protection. Thus, dogs usually stay outside in the open guarding humans. Hunting dogs are appreciated by giving a piece of meat from the hunted animal and get not more than that. Thus, humans forget about the dog once they eat the meat. Unlike a dog, human dependents should not be hated or despised because they become helpful when they become independent as expected later in life.

581. Ousha alilele kunkhala cinthaku.

a. a-ku-sh-a a-li-lel-e ku-nkhal-a ci-nthaku
cl2-GP-wake.up-FV cl1-be-sleep INFM-be-FV cl7-naked

b. S/he wakes up people that are asleep to undress.

c. Do not remind people of their obvious troubles.

d. When people are in problems they do not want to be reminded about their problems, s/he has problems, so s/he does not want to be reminded.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsengas enjoy an almost all-year-round warm weather that does not require people to wear warm clothing or let alone sleep with clothing apart from any material used for covering as a blanket at night. On the other hand, most of the Nsenga people are not that wealthy to afford buying extra night clothing. It is therefore traditionally normal to find many people sleeping naked at night. It would therefore be absurd to wake up anybody to undress at night because s/he would already be naked anyway. The situation is used to refer to someone who reminds people of bad things which they so much want to forget just to scare them or keep them terrified.

582. Oyenda ndiye eleta mendo a nkhalamu.

a. a-ku-yend-a ndi-ye a-i-leta-a ma-indo
cl1-GP-walk-FV COP-EMPH cl1-PAST-bring-FV cl6-leg
a-a n-khalamu
cl6-GEN cl9-lion

b. The one who walks is the one who brought the feet of the lion.

c. You need to take important steps in order to succeed.

d. You need to take important steps in order to succeed, you have not taken important steps, so you will not succeed.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Lions usually stay away from human settlements to avoid conflict with humans who kill them in self-defense. Once a lion scares a community, brave men usually gather themselves and go to hunt down the lion. The situation is used in the proverb to mean that if you want to achieve something big, you need to do something and not just sit at home. It also means that those who have succeeded undertook the necessary steps.

583. Oyewa nyula ya lekaleka.

a. a-ku-yew-a n-yula i-a lek-a-lek-a
cl1-GP-wish-FV cl9-cloth cl9-GEN stop-FV-stop-FV

b. S/he wishes she had the famous cloth.

c. Impotence is a cause of conflict.

d. Married people bear children, they are married, so they should have children.

e. MPP/Conclusion/VUS

f. Nsenga people use a special cloth called *nguwo* as a baby carrier. Thus the cloth is a symbol of child bearing. If a person is said to wish for the cloth it means s/he wants a child. However, it is called the famous cloth because of the challenges of not only bearing but also raising a child.

584. Pafupi ni apo puwafwika.

a. pa-fupi ni a-pa-o pa-u-a-fwik-a
cl16-near COP PRPR-cl16-DEM cl16-2s-PERF-arrive-FV

b. A near place is where you have arrived.

c. You only declare victory once you have it.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. There is a general tendency among Nsengas to deliberate underestimate distance in order not to discourage a person finding out about distance especially someone who is already tired on a journey. Thus, once you are told the place is near you have to treat the estimation with caution.

585. Pafwa ŵanthu posala ŵanthu.

a. pa-fu-a ŵa-nthu pa-ku-sal-a ŵa-nthu
cl16-die-FV cl2-person cl16-GP-remain-FV cl2-person

b. Where people die, other people remain.

c. The bereaved will find help in other people around.

d. If my benefactor dies and if anybody can be a benefactor then somebody can be my benefactor. If my benefactor dies, then if anybody can be a benefactor then somebody can be my benefactor.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Funerals in Nsenga land are always regarded as a communal responsibility. The community's responsibility is not only in helping bury the dead but also help look after the surviving member or members of the family especially when the deceased was a breadwinner. This proverb represents the Nsenga belief that God, who is responsible for death, does not take the whole family. Thus if a family leader dies, there will always be people who will take over the leadership of the family or village. The proverb is mainly used to encourage the remaining people after the death of a chief or breadwinner that even if the king has died, they should not lose hope because there are still people who will take over from the deceased.

586. Pakali pofunda pekatiwisha imbwa.

a. pa-ka-li pa-a ku-fund-a pa-i-kat-iw-ish-a
cl16-CND-be cl16-GEN INFM-warm-FV cl16-PAST-catch-PASS-CAUS-FV
in-bwa
cl9-dog

b. Thinking "the place is still warm" made the dog to be caught.

c. Overdoing something can be dangerous.

d. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause problems, she is overindulging, so she might have problems.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Dogs usually warm themselves by sitting folded in one place for a long time. It is assumed that the dog hesitates leaving the place for fear of losing the warmth. However, when it sits in the way of humans the dog is usually chased away. Dogs are usually kept as outside pets and are thrown out of the house when they attempt to stay inside for warmth. The situation is likened to somebody who overindulges in pleasures that are sometimes prohibited and thereby gets caught.

587. Pakata akulu pali mania.

a. pa-a-kat-a a-kulu pa-li ma-nia
cl16-PERF-FV cl2-big cl16-be cl6-wrinkle

b. Where an elderly person touches wrinkles form.

c. Elderly people's wisdom appears useless on face value.

d. If there is an old person and if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it. If there is an old person, then if what he says is out of experience then I should consider it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Usually elderly people administer discipline for children. An elderly person can administer some form of punishment to anybody's child in Nsenga society. Beating as a form of punishment is also allowable to be conducted by any elderly person but with a lot of caution. This kind of punishment is usually avoided to avoiding causing conflicts with the parents of the affected child (children). As a result, elderly people sometimes disguise themselves in some gesture of caressing a child when they are actually pinching the child to avoid being noticed. To find out from a child who might be seen to be suddenly crying people examine the child's body to find evidence of any physical infliction. In the proverb, the touching of an elderly person is equated to elderly people's wisdom that apparently looks like mere talk and yet gives important life's advice.

588. Pakati bii pali munga.

a. pa-ka-ti bii pa-li mu-nga
cl16-CND-say IDEO cl16-be cl3-thorn

b. When a place is dark, it means there is a thorn.

c. The absence of joy means a problem.

d. When someone has a problem then s/he is not happy, s/he is not happy, so s/he has a problem.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Ordinary Nsenga people most of whom come from very poor homes consider shoes as a luxury. Thus, many people grow up without shoes or rarely wear shoes. As a result, their feet usually have dark spots resulting from thorn pricks and other skin damages. Sometimes one might feel but fail to locate the thorn. However, experienced people know that a place where a thorn has pricked usually turns dark due to blood clot after some time.

589. Pakavimbiwe lini polokwa.

a. pa-ka-vimb-iw-e lini pa-ku-lokw-a
cl16-FUT-roof-PASS-FV NEG cl16-GP-leak-FV

b. Procrastinating thatching a leaking home only gets the home to leak further.

c. Habits are difficult to overcome.

d. If there is something and if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future. If there is something, then if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Most of the homes in Nsenga areas are thatched with grass. In fact in traditional Nsenga land all houses were made of grass roofs. To keep the houses from leaking, one needed to repair or change the roof before the rainy season every year. Lazy people would always procrastinate changing or repairing the roof. As a result, one would have to endure a leaking house until the season expired. The situation is used to mean that bad habits are difficulty to stop.

590. Pakupikila mulungu pofuntha lini cusi.

a. pa-ku-pik-il-a Ø-mulungu pa-ku-funth-a
cl16-GP-cook-APP-FV cl1a-God cl16-GP-smoke-FV
lini Ø-cusi
NEG cl5a-smoke

b. The fireplace that God uses does not smoke when he is cooking.

c. When you give something to somebody, you should not announce to everyone.

d. If you genuinely help someone then you do not boast about it, he has not not boast about it, so he has not genuinely helped someone.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. The traditional method of generating energy for cooking and even lighting is firewood. Firewood produces a lot of smoke especially when one is cooking. Usually, a pot is put directly on the wood that serves as both the source of energy and support for the cooking pot. This arrangement causes a lot of smoke to be produced. It is believed that God cooks too but with firewood that does not smoke. The proverb indicates that one may not know when God gives but should believe in God because God gives and does not forget anyone. Once God gives, he also does not show to everyone that he has given to somebody.

591. Pakutwa nilele mwana polima nilele mwana pakulya mukuti niwe mwana wa ŵene fwendela uko ningakucite.

a. pa-ku-tw-a ni-lel-e mu-ana pa-ku-lim-a
cl16-GP-pound-FV 1s-nurse-FV cl1-child cl16-GP-cultivate-FV
ni-lel-e mu-ana pa-ku-ly-a mu-ku-ti niwe mu-ana
1s-nurse-FV cl1-child cl16-GP-eat-FV 2p-GP-say EMPH cl1-child
u-a ŵa-ine fwendel-a u-ku-o ni-nga-ku-cit-e
cl1-GEN cl2-stranger move-FV PRPR-cl17-DEM 1s-MOD-2s-injure-FV

b. When it's time to pound you want to nurse a child and when it's time to cultivate you still want to nurse a child but when it's time to eat you ask the child to move away for safety.

c. Do not use children to your advantage without investing in them.

d. If when it's time to work s/he is nursing a child and if when it's eating time s/he gives the child away then s/he is taking advantage of the child. If when it's time to work s/he is nursing a child, then if when it's eating time s/he gives the child away then s/he is taking advantage of the child.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. The proverb provides a picture of a cruel adult who only takes advantage of children for selfish gains but is never interested in the children's welfare. This person gives an excuse of looking after children in order to stay at home while others go into the fields to cultivate. S/he repeats the behavior when others are engaged in hard work. However, the person chases away the child (children) when s/he wants to eat. Many people use children to gain various things but deny children any of the gained things.

592. Pakuza cinthu culizya lini lupenga.
   a. pa-kuz-a ci-nthu ci-ku-lizy-a lini Ø-lupenga
      cl16-come-FV cl7-thing cl7-GP-play-FV NEG cl5a-trumptet
   b. Something that is coming does not warn by blowing a trumpet.
   c. Luck does not warn when it is approaching.
   d. People act when there is danger approaching, there is no danger, so I should not act.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. Good luck or bad luck does not usually warn that it is approaching. In this manner, it is important to be always psychologically prepared of unexpected things.

593. Pali sekaseka pali lilalila.
   a. pa-li Ø-sekaseka pa-li Ø-lilalila
      cl16-be cl1a-excited.person cl16-be cl1a-hurting.person
   b. Where there is joy there might also be pain.
   c. Be aware that pain and joy are in co-existence.
   d. One is either happy or sad, he is not happy, so he is sad.
   e. Disjunctive/Major/VS
   f. The proverb comes from the behavior of children who can do anything to make themselves happy but can get hurt by the same things that cause them to be happy. It is also common for playing children to hurt each other easily without intending to do so.

594. Pamalo soifya.
   a. pa-ma-lo si-a-ku-ify-a
      cl16-cl6-place NEG-cl2-GP-mess-FV
   b. You do not mess where you stay.
   c. Don't leave a place with a bad record.
   d. If there is a place and if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it. If there is a place, then if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. Among the Nsenga people, a person can leave the village for another village for marriage purposes or other reasons. When some people know they are leaving they may stop sweeping or cleaning or taking care of the area on the assumption that they will not come back. However, it happens

that in unexpected turn of events the person may come back. When this happens, they will have problems cleaning the area or building houses if they damaged all the previous houses. So this proverb is used to advise people not to leave a bad record when leaving an area because they may need to go back someday.

595. Pamanzi omangusulilapo lini masaŵi.

a. pa-ma-nzi a-ku-mang-usul-il-a-po lini ma-saŵi
cl16-cl6-water cl1-GP-tie-REV-APP-FV-ENC NEG cl6-fish

b. Don't unbundle your fish on water.

c. Do mind where you disclose your confidential information.

d. If you have a secret then you cannot speak it in public, I am in public, so I cannot speak the secret.

e. PF/Major/C

f. Fish lives in water. You can only secure a catch of fish on land so that even when a fish falls it can easily be picked up. However, if a live fish falls back into the water or river it easily swims away and mix with other fish. The proverb encourages people to mind where they talk about their secrets because some people might pick them and share with others. When you know there is an enemy nearby do not disclose your secretes because s/he may use them to destroy you.

596. Pamatongwe povuta lini kuwelelapo.

a. pa-ma-tongwe pa-ku-vut-a lini ku-welel-il-a-po
cl16-cl6-ruin cl16-GP-trouble-FV NEG INFM-go.back-APP-FV-ENC

b. It's not difficult to go back to the ruins.

c. Be good to people even if you are parting company.

d. If there is a place and if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it. If there is a place, then if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Nsengas never stay in one location for a lifetime. They move settlements following better land for better farming and settlements. However, once the new land becomes anything less than what they had expected they easily go back to the ruins. Sometimes people also go back to their former places when the think the land has rejuvenated. The proverb means that once you

have established good relationships with people even if you part, it will be easy for you to get back for help, advice or company.

597. Pam'sasa oifyapo lini.

a. pa-mu-sasa a-ku-ify-a-po lini
cl16-cl3-campsite cl1-GP-make.dirty-FV-ENC NEG

b. Do not leave the campsite dirty.

c. Do not leave a bad reputation behind.

d. If there is a place and if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it. If there is a place, then if I can come back to use it some other time then I should not destroy it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Campsites are used by hunters in the bush and by farmers on new cultivation fields. They are also used for various purposes such as gathering wild fruits and building materials or establishing a new settlement. It is always advisable to leave the campsite habitable, as it cannot only be useful for other people in need but also the owners of the site in the future. To make the campsite unclean is actually a euphemism for defecating on the campsite that could make it difficult for anybody to reuse the site.

598. Pamunzi ni kumvwana monse.

a. pa-mu-nzi ni ku-mvw-an-a mu-onse
cl16-cl3-village COP INFM-hear-REC-FV 2p-all

b. At a village community, all people should cooperate.

c. Harmony is what keeps a society together.

d. Harmony is keeps a society together, there is no harmony, so there is no society.

e. TF/Major/C

f. In living by the Nsenga social ideology, all people are expected to live in harmony and cooperate with each other in order to maintain a strong society.

599. Pamunzi ponkhala vikapondo ŵanthu oyopapo.

a. pa-mu-nzi pa-a ku-nkhal-a vi-ka-pondo
cl16-cl3-village cl16-GEN INFM-stay-FV cl8-cl12-criminal
ŵa-nthu a-ku-yop-a-po
cl2-person cl2-fear-FV-ENC

b. People fear a community where there are criminals.
c. People fear a community where there are criminals.
d. If there are criminals in a community then people are afraid of the community, people are afraid of the community, so there are criminals.
e. PF/Major/C
f. Nsengas believe in witchcraft. A village where people die mysteriously is said to have witches. Once a village is thought to have witches many people leave or dissert it. The same treatment is given to a village where known criminals live.

600. Pano ni pasu, ulale njala.

a.

pa-no	ni	pa-asu	u-lal-e	n-jala
cl16-DEM	COP	cl16-1pPOS	2s-sleep-FV	cl9-hunger

b. The thinking that 'this is my home' can cause you to sleep on an empty stomach.
c. Do not be shy to join others in eating.
d. If you are hungry and if you find people eating then you should not feel shy to join. If you are hungry, then if you find people eating then you should not feel shy to join.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. When you have been invited for food at a friend or neighbor's place, it is advisable to accept and join without feeling shy. A situation is given in the proverb where a visitor feels shy to join others whom s/he finds eating and hopes s/he can participate in a different meal later when she settles down. However, the family may be eating their last meal for the day causing the visitor to sleep on an empty stomach. It is common sense that in your own home you can cook for yourself when you are hungry as long as there is enough food. Thus, Nsengas use the expression "this is my home I can eat anytime" as a way of diplomatically refusing to eat food with others. There are actually friendships, however, where friends can easily cook and eat what they want in a friend's home at any time. Sometimes people refuse to join others eat simply because they are shy and not because of any other reason.

601. Papita imbwa ifipa.

a.

pa-pit-a	in-bwa	i-fipa
cl16-pass-FV	cl9-dog	cl9-black

b. A black dog has passed.
c. Hunger is very bad.
d. All humans are affected by hunger, I am human so I am affected by hunger.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. It is believed that dogs do not stay where there is no food. In reality, hungry dogs wonder around. The color black is a symbol of bad things and sometimes loss of life. It is common to find black materials related to death and funerals. Thus, the expression, a black dog has passed means that there is hunger.

602. Papita luŵezi na nyama.

a.	pa-a-pit-a	Ø-luŵezi	na	n-nyama
	cl16-PERF-pass-FV	cl5a-knife	CNJ	cl9-meat

b. When you use a knife to cut it always does its work.
c. Someone who does not heed ordinary advice needs a stern rebuke.
d. If I have rebuked him and if he does the same thing then I need to rebuke him stronger. If I have rebuked him, then if he does the same thing then I need to rebuke him stronger.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. Many Nsenga people especially men are skilled in skinning animals using hand knives. This is either done in the bush on wild animals or at home on domestic animals like goats. Usually very sharp knives are used to a good job. The sharp knife represents a stern rebuke in the proverb. Where rebuke has been effectively done, someone must be corrected just as a knife always cuts a piece of meat where it passes when slaughtering an animal.

603. Pauli ndiye pali sanga ikulu.

a.	pa-u-li	ndi-ye	pa-li	Ø-sanga	i-kulu
	cl16-2s-be	COP-EMPH	cl16-be	cl5a-land	cl5-big

b. Where you are is where there is big land.
c. You must be content with what you have.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Traditional methods of farming do not require use of modern fertilizers. Thus, after a few years one looks for fertile land in order to cultivate good crops. To get good yields too, one also has cultivate on a large piece of land.

In this manner, people are always in search of good and big land. The situation is used in the proverb to give advice people to be content with what they have, to avoid unnecessary land degradation and strife.

604. Pawakumbulwila ndiye pauyambila kuciliwa.

a. pa-u-a-kumbulw-il-a ndiye pa-u-yamb-il-a
cl16-2s-PERF-stumble-APP-FV COP-EMPH cl16-2s-start-APP-FV
ku-cil-iw-a
INFM-overtake-PASS-FV

b. Where you stumble is where you begin to be overtaken.

c. Every problem has a source.

d. Every problem has a source, it is a problem, so it has a source.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Running or walking races are part of the traditional Nsenga sports culture. In the absence of proper sports facilities, races would take place on uneven ground resulting in many obstacles. Once one stumbles, it would be very difficult to win the race let alone to be at pace with others. The situation is used to advice people that suffering or problems do not just happen. One ought to examine his or her life and find out where problems might have begun. It is important to avoid mistakes in order to prevent future problems.

605. Pawapeza mfumu ndiye pali ng'anda.

a. pa-u-a-pez-a n-fumu ndi-ye pa-li Ø-ng'annda
cl16-u-PERF-find-FV cl9-chief COP-EMPH cl16-be cl9-house

b. Where you find a king that is where his or her palace is.

c. You must be content with what you have.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. It is customary for all Nsenga subjects to receive their chiefs with deserving treatment whenever their chiefs visit them. Thus, wherever a chief goes, s/he establishes his or her palace there. The situation advises people that are in search to end their searches once they find something. For instance, a man looking for a woman to marry must not continue the search once he finds one.

606. Pepe efwila yake.
   a. Ø-pepe a-i-fu-il-a i-ake
      cl1a-male.goat cl1-PAST-die-FV cl9-3sPOS
   b. The male goat died because of its own (organ).
   c. Wealth can attract enemies.
   d. If you are wealthy then people might become jealousy of you, If people become jealousy of you then they might become your enemies, so if you are wealthy then people might become your enemies.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
   f. In the proverb, the possessed item is unnamed. However, tradition has it that the male goat's testicles and penis are used for improvement of sexual performance or some kind of charms. From the linguistic information, we can infer that the possessed item is a penis. The subject marker which is a class nine prefix suggests that the referent is *mbolo* "penis". The proverb refers to people who give up all they have fearing that witches or thieves may kill them because of their own things. It is believed that witches sometimes kill people for possessing wealth. Therefore, the killing of a person for his or her wealth is likened to the killing of a male goat in order to get its testicles, which may be needed, for use in charms.

607. Peza ali naco, apase.
   a. pez-a a-li na-ci-o a-a-pas-e
      find-FV cl1-be CNJ-cl7-3PRN cl1-PERF-give-FV
   b. Find the one who has it and s/he will give.
   c. We can only share what we have.
   d. You give what you have, I do not have it, so I cannot give it.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. The Nsenga society encourages communal living where everything common is shared. Thus, one ought not to hide anything from others but clearly state when s/he does not have if an item is requested. If you do not have something to give, just say so because you can only give what you have. Therefore, if someone has cited this proverb, s/he is saying that, "I do not have, if I had, I could have given you."

608. Pita uko ni muyako lini wapanjila.
   a. pit-a u-ku-o ni mu-yako lini u-a
      go-FV PRPR-cl17-DEM COP cl1-friend NEG cl1-GEN

pa-n-jila
cl16-road

b. A person who says "Go that way" is not your friend on a journey.
c. Friends do things together.
d. Friends do things together, he does not want to do things with me, so he is not my friend.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. Since many village settlements are located far apart within forest and farming areas, finding directions can be very difficult. It is usually advised that when one is travelling, it is better to travel as a pair or in groups to avoid getting lost. A friend on a journey, usually by foot, helps to act as a campus. The proverb means that a true friend will walk with you if you are on the same journey and that if s/he asks you to use a different way and meet where you are going, then that person is not your genuine friend.

609. Pokufwa lini anyoko powela muyambine.

a. pa-ku-ku-fu-a lini a-nyoko pa-ku-wel-a
cl16-GP-FPR-die-FV NEG cl2-mother cl16-GP-come-FV
mu-yambine
cl1-different.person

b. Your mother does not die where another person replaces her.
c. Every woman is a mother as long as she behaves like one.
d. If my benefactor dies and if anybody can be a benefactor then somebody can be my benefactor. If my benefactor dies, then if anybody can be a benefactor then somebody can be my benefactor.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. The Nsenga society, a matrilineal society, believes that all children belong to the community. Thus the responsibility to raise a child is not the biological mother's alone but the entire community's. In the event of death, a child simply loses a biological mother but remains with other women as functional mothers. Motherhood is therefore considered something beyond biology. Any woman who assumes a mother's responsibility becomes a mother in function.

610. Pokwela cimuti ni bwino kuziŵa maselukilo.

a. pa-a ku-kwel-a ci-muti ni bwino
cl16-GEN INFM-climb-FV cl7-cl3-tree COP good

ku-ziŵ-a ma-seluk-il-o
INFM-know-FV cl6-climb.down-APP-MDS

b. You should know how to climb down a tree as you are climbing up.
c. Small isolated details are as important as a whole in building a process.
d. If there is a step and if it contributes to the whole process then it is necessary. If there is a step, then if it contributes to the whole process then it is necessary.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Tree climbing is a common source of recreation for many young people among Nsengas. Besides recreation, people climb trees for various reasons such as gathering wild fruits and caterpillars and cutting wood for construction. Tree climbing can be very dangerous hence; it is a skill that is learned to avoid accidents. Usually a similar route taken in climbing a tree is taken in climbing down the tree.

611. Pokwela mucimuti mukwela awîli posika mucito poza.

a. pa-ku-kwel-a mu-ci-mu-ti mu-kwel-a a-wîli
cl16-GP-climb-FV cl18-cl7-3-tree 2p-climb-FV cl2-two
pa-ku-sik-a mu-cit-a ku-poz-a
cl16-GP-climb.down-FV 2s-do-FV INFM-throw-FV

b. When climbing, you go the two of you but when climbing down you throw down.
c. Do not despise your poor friend when you change to a better status.
d. If one is your friend then s/he remains your friend even if you become rich, s/he is my friend, so s/he remains my friend even if I become rich.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. People climb trees for various reasons such as cutting straight poles. For safety reasons, and to avoid causing injury to unsuspecting passersby on the ground, tree climbers are advised to hang the axe on clothes or tie it to the body both when climbing up and down a tree. However, many people prefer to simply throw down the axe when climbing down as an easier option. This behavior is likened to people who deliberately lose friends after they become affluent.

612. Polawîla milandu malizu ni oyamba.

a. pa-ku-lawîl-a mi-landu ma-lizu ni a-ku-yamb-a
cl16-GP-talk-FV cl4-offense cl6-word COP cl6-GP-start-FV

b. When you are discussing a (court) case, the first statement is the most important.
c. A person's first statement is most likely the correct one.
d. A person's first statement is most likely the correct one, he has said something first, so it might be the correct statement.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. As a matter of general practice, people in presenting arguments tend to make their thesis in the first sentence or statement. This is also true in writing in which the topic sentence is usually in the first line. This principle is used in administering justice by paying attention to someone's initiation statement and trying to keep him/her true to the statement in the deliberations.

613. Pona ni kuyankhe ni pakwanja.
a. pon-a ni-ku-yankh-e ni pa-ku-anja
fall-FV 1s-GP-catch-FV COP cl16-cl15-hand
b. To tell someone, "Fall! I will save you" means that you have spread your hands for safe landing.
c. You can only promise to do something if you have the ability to do so.
d. You give what you have, I do not have it, so I cannot give it.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. In the absence of modern recreation facilities, children traditionally play by climbing trees and any climbable objects including roofs of houses and other structures. Sometimes children find themselves in situations where they cannot climb done for some reasons. Sometimes children simply climb for curiosity. In such cases, elderly people come to save the children by asking them to let go and freely fall into their hands. The situation is used in the proverb tome that the person who promises to help you should first demonstrate his/her ability to help. People should not promise to help before they have what it takes to help.

614. Potauka kamana osatukana ng'wena.
a. pa-ku-tauk-a ka-mana a-ku-sa-tukan-a n-ng'wena
cl16-GP-cross-FV cl12-river cl1-GP-NEG-insult-FV cl9-crocodile
b. Do not insult a crocodile when crossing a river.
c. Do not insult your would-be benefactor in the process of getting help.

d. If he is my benefactor and If I wrong him then he will stop supporting me. If he is my benefactor, then if I wrong him then he will stop supporting me.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. Among Nsengas there is a myth that once you mention a crocodile while on the river you get caught by the beast. Thus, normally people, including anglers, never mention a crocodile by its name while on the river for fear of the attack. Thus in the proverb, it is only metaphorical that a crocodile can be insulted otherwise only humans can be insulted.

615. Poto yamwine iliye nkhoko.
a. Ø-poto i-a mu-ine i-li-ye
cl5a-pot cl5a-GEN cl1-owner cl5-be-NEG
n-khoko
cl9-bottom.food.remains
b. A borrowed pot is never kept dirty with food remains.
c. You must not keep borrowed items for good.
d. A borrowed item must be returned, I have borrowed, so I must return.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. It is considered as good manners, once you borrow a cooking utensil to clean it and hand it back immediately after use. Otherwise, especially after cooking *nshima*, a good amount of food remains at the bottom of the pot. People usually soak the pot and clean later when the remains can easily be removed. However, a borrowed pot should be cleaned immediately after use.

616. Poyaŵana unga poŵeve nsoni.
a. pa-a ku-yaŵ-an-a u-nga pa-ku-ŵa-ve
cl16-GEN INFM-share-REC-FV cl14-mealie.meal cl16-GP-be-NEG
n-soni
cl9-shyness
b. There is no shyness when sharing mealie meal.
c. Do not spare when you are representing or defending yourself in order to represent your own interests.
d. If you are representing yourself then you must effectively make your interests known, I am representing myself, so I must effectively make my interests known.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Mealie meal is the stable food for the Nsenga people. When someone has no mealie meal, s/he is said not to have food. Hence, it is encouraged not to be shy when you are faced with a mealie meal sharing exercise because it is very important to everyone and therefore people tend to serve their own interest best.

617. Poyenda moceuka kuvuli.

a. pa-ku-yend-a mu-ko-ku-ceuk-a ku-vuli
cl16-GP-walk-FV 2p-PROG-GP-turn-FV cl17-behind

b. Have a habit of looking back as you move.

c. Be careful when you are gossiping someone as the target may be listening nearby.

d. If I am talking ill about someone and if someone else could be listening then I must be careful. If I am talking ill about someone, then if someone else could be listening then I must be careful.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Nsenga people usually take various trips into the bush such as to collect wild fruits or fetch firewood. In order to avoid getting lost or being followed by a dangerous thing or animal, it is advisable to always look behind after a few steps. This also helps one identify reference points for finding ones route to go back.

618. Poyenda ŵanthu awîli aziŵane mwalili.

a. pa-ku-yend-a ŵa-nthu a-wîli a-ziŵ-an-e
cl16-GP-walk-FV cl2-person cl2-two cl2-know-REC-FV
mu-a-lili
cl18-cl2-be

b. People who move as a pair on a journey should know each other.

c. Do not be in the company of people you do not know.

d. Do not be in the company of people you don't know, I do not know them, so I should not accompany them.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. Journeys taken as pairs or groups are common among Nsengas. This is done for security and to avoid loneliness as there can be long distances between human settlements. Thus, people look after each other and keep each other good company. You cannot therefore take a long trip with someone you do not know or trust.

619. Samala pofwinda fulu kuti ukate mendo.

a. samal-a pa-ku-fwind-a Ø-fulu kuti u-kat-e
be.careful-FV cl16-GP-approach-FV cl1a-tortiese CNJ 2s-catch-e
ma-indo
cl6-leg

b. Approach the tortoise cautiously so that you catch it by its legs.

c. Be gentle when you are in need of something.

d. If I am gentle with her then she will be pleased, if she will be pleased then she can treat me with favor, so If I am gentle with her then she will treat me with favor.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. The tortoise is not only an important animal in the Nsenga folktales as a symbol of meekness, hard work, and diligence but also a delicacy. Thus, people catch tortoises for purposes of food as well as admiring as an important animal. A tortoise always hides its legs once approached. It can also use the leg openings to cramp its predators' limbs and fingers in case of a human being. In this manner, the best way to catch it is to hold its sensitive legs. The situation teaches that if you want to succeed in what you do, you need to be gentle and patient.

620. Samba waiona.

a. samb-a u-a-i-on-a
wash-FV 2s-PERF-cl9-see-FV

b. Wash after you seen it.

c. Crosschecking is important before embarking on an important mission or getting into an agreement.

d. You must act on something you are very sure about, I am not sure about it, so I must not act.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. By linguistic analysis, the object marker /i/ is used for either class 5 or 9 nouns. By ethnographic analysis, the item that causes people to wash hands among Nsenga people is *Nshima*. *Nshima* is the staple food for Nsenga people. Once you receive a visitor or guest, the best treat is to *nshima*. It is eaten with bare hands. As a result, before eating, one has to wash hands first for hygiene purpose and second to avoid the *nshima* from sticking into your palms, which can be very messy. In other words, your palms need to be wet before you begin to eat. In this manner, you can only wash your

hands when the *nshima* is laid before you and ready to be eaten. If you wash too early, you may have to wash again once the *nshima* arrives.

621. Sawi oyikonsha lini vakunja kwa manzi.

a. Ø-sawi a-ku-i-konsh-a lini vi-a ku-nja
cl5a-fish cl1-GP-cl5-ask-FV NEG cl8-GEN cl17-out
ku-a ma-nzi
cl17-GEN cl6-water

b. Do not ask fish about what is outside the water.

c. Seek information from appropriate people.

d. You obtain knowledge from a someone who has it, he does not have it, so I cannot obtain knowledge from him.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Fish loved by many Nsengas is known to survive only within water. The situation is used in the proverb to indicate that if you want to know the truth or the right thing ask the right people who can give you correct information.

622. Sekeseke ni wa nzimu sata yakuluma.

a. sekeseke ni u-a n-zimu sat-a i-a-ku-lum-a
pain COP cl1a-GEN cl9-bee follow-FV cl9-PERF-2s-sting-FV

b. The pain can come from various bee stings but choose the real bee that has stung you.

c. Solve problems by dealing with their source.

d. Every problem has a source, it is a problem, so it has a source.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Bee stings are very painful. Bees usually live or move in big groups making it difficult to identify a bee that has stung you. The situation is used in the proverb to advise people who like to vent their anger on innocent people to stop the practice and settle their grievances with the concerned parties.

623. Sewenza mwausewenzela, menso a wanthu okulya lini.

a. sewenz-a mu-a ku-sewenz-il-a ma-inso a-a
work-FV cl18-GEN INFM-work-APP-FV cl6-eye cl2-GEN
wa-nthu a-ku-ku-ly-a lini
cl2-person cl6-GP-FPR-eat NEG

b. Work the way you always work because there is nothing that on-lookers will do to you.
c. Close your ears to the public in order to stay focused on your job.
d. If you want to focus then you should not pay attention elsewhere, I want to focus, so I should not pay attention elsewhere.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsenga society is as many other societies socially divided into social classes. Some types of jobs or chores are regarded as low class and vice versa. There are also jobs and chores that are regarded as gender based roles such as washing dishes and sweeping around the home surroundings. Such jobs are regarded as specific to women whilst strenuous jobs and chores like cutting trees are regarded as male jobs. In situations where the roles seem to have been swapped for instance a grown man sweeping around the house, people can literally laugh at you. Depending on what one is doing, it can attract public attention to an extent of disturbing the person doing the job or chore. There are situations where one has to do the job or chores for unavoidable reasons. In such circumstances, the proverb is used to encourage the affected person.

624. Shamo yununkha lini.
a. Ø-shamo i-ku-nunkh-a lini
cl5a-bad.luck cl5-GP-smell-FV NEG
b. Bad luck does not smell.
c. Calamity does not warn.
d. People act when there is danger approaching, there is no danger, so I should not act.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. This is a proverb that warns people to be always prepared of disasters, as bad luck does not warn anybody. Thus, it is said to have no smell that can alert anybody of its approach.

625. Shaŵinda obisa lini luŵeza panyama.
a. Ø-shaŵinda a-ku-bis-a lini Ø-luŵeza pa-n-yama
cl1a-hunter cl1-GP-hide-FV NEG cl5a-knife cl16-cl9-animal
b. A hunter does not hide his/her knife at the place where an animal has been slaughtered.
c. Do not reap where you did not sow.

d. If I sow seed (bad thing) then I will reap what I have sown, I have sown bad seed, so I will reap bad seed.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. In Nsenga land, it used to be common practice for people to go hunting as a group. Once an animal was caught, the slaughtering and skinning would also be done as a group. It is also common practice that when one finds people slaughtering an animal, wild or domesticated, s/he joins to help in exchange for a piece of meat that the owner shares as a token of appreciation. Until now, there has also been a practice to kill big wild animals and let the community share. People share by freely cutting the pieces they can manage from the animal while everybody else is doing the same. Thus, everybody comes with his or her own knife. This proverb is used by elders to advise and warn people who enjoy reaping where they do not sow. Just like one who finds people skinning an animal should be able to remove his/her knife and give a hand if s/he wants a piece of meat, the same way, people who need a favor should be able to help those they need favor from. No one denies to help someone who has been of help.

626. Siku imo yuolesha lini mbeŵa.

a.	Ø-siku	i-mo	i-ku-ol-ish-a	lini	n-beŵa
	cl5a-day	cl5-one	cl5-GP-rot-CAUS-FV	NEG	cl9-mouse

b. One day does not cause a mouse to rot.
c. Rest is important in everyday life.
d. All humans need rest, I am human so I need rest.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Mice are one of the most important delicacies of Nsenga land. They are dug from their usually deep and very narrow holes in the farm fields after harvest. Most of the hard work is in digging out the mice and sometimes chasing after them. The activity in itself is a recreation. People usually leave their homes very early to go and catch the mice. They come back to their homes in the evenings when it is dark very tired. To prepare mice for food, by either boiling or roasting, one has to cut their bellies open and remove their offals. Removing offals also helps to preserve the mice from rotting. Sometimes people return to their homes so tired that they fail to remove the offals. In such cases, the offals are removed early in the following morning. One night does not usually cause the mice to go bad. This proverb is used to justify rest. It means that people need to rest from

their daily duties in order to regain strength without affecting their overall plans.

627. Siku yasoka cimbala cushoka.

a. Ø-siku i-a soka ci-mbala
cl5a-day cl5-DEM cl5a-misfortune cl7-*cimbala*.(cold.*nshima*)
ci-ku-shok-a
cl7-GP-burn-FV

b. On an unfortunate day, cold *nshima* can burn you.

c. You cannot avoid your fate.

d. People act when there is danger approaching, there is no danger, so I should not act.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. *Nshima* is usually served hot immediately after cooking. It is called *cimbala* when it gets cold. Sometimes for usually economic reasons leftover *nshima* from dinner is served as breakfast in the morning. Some people simply enjoy *cimbala* with some types of side dishes. Whereas hot *nshima* can burn your throat or tongue, *cimbala* can be eaten with little concern for injury. The situation is used in the proverb to mean that when you are unfortunate, even things that are so easy, safe and you are familiar with can harm you. It also means that you cannot avoid your fate. Fate is believed to be predetermined by supernatural powers.

628. Silu ilengela nkhondo.

a. Ø-silu i-i-lengel-a n-khondo
cl5a-mad.person cl5-PAST-discover-FV cl9-war

b. A thief discovered a war.

c. Do not despise people by their appearance or status.

d. A fool appears in a particular way, he is appearing in the particular way, so he is a fool.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. There once lived a mad man in a certain community. Everybody looked at him as nothing less than a mad person. Thus, not everything he said was taken seriously at all. One day the mad person noticed that war was approaching. He went round the community announcing to people that there was war approaching. Everybody treated his message without due consideration because he was mad. Others even laughed at what he was

saying. However, the war eventually arrived and the community was defeated because they did not prepare. Thus, it is said that a mad person identified war.

629. Simvwa va akulu emela ndevu pa m'kosi.

a. si-mvw-a vi-a a-kulu a-i-mel-a n-devu
NEG-hear-FV cl8-GEN cl2-big cl1-PAST-grow-FV cl9-beard
pa-mu-kosi
cl16-cl3-neck

b. A person who does not listen to elders grew beards in the neck.

c. If you do not heed old people's advice you can get into even fatal problems.

d. If you do net heed advice you run into problems, s/he does not heed advice. So s/he will run into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. This means that if a child does not take head of parents' advice or teachings, s/he will not grow old (will die early). Having beards is a sign of maturity and they must grow from the chin and not the neck. Hence, this proverb says that if someone is rude, instead of developing beards here on earth, s/he will develop them in the neck, which figuratively means death. To have a growth in the neck is an image of a chocking person.

630. Simvwa va akulu, emelela ndevu mu culu.

a. si-mvw-a vi-a a-kulu a-i-mel-a n-devu
NEG-hear-FV cl8-GEN cl2-big cl1-PAST-grow-FV cl9-beard
mu-ci-ulu
cl18-cl7-anthill

b. A person who does not listen to elders grew beards from the mound.

c. If you do not heed old people's advice, you can get into even fatal problems.

d. If you do net heed advice you run into problems, s/he does not heed advice. So s/he will run into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. This proverb has the same meaning "*Simvwa va akulu, emelela ndevu mu culu.*" It means that people who do not take the teachings of elderly people will die early. The word "mound" in the proverb represents the grave. A grave is too heavy a word to be used in the proverb.

631. Simvwa za anzake ecimwva katemo kali m'mutu.

a. si-mvw-a zi-a a-nzake a-ici-mvw-a ka-temo
NEG-hear-FV cl8-GEN cl2-firend cl1-PAST-hear-FV cl12-axe
ka-li mu-mu-tu
cl12-be cl18-cl3-head

b. S/he, who does not listen to others, only listened with an axe in his/her head.

c. Heed advice before getting into trouble.

d. If you do net heed advice you run into problems, s/he does not heed advice. So s/he will run into trouble.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. This is usually used to advise someone who is rebellions or ignores advice from others in a family or community. People warn that such a person ends up in trouble. It is also often used to rebuke a person who ends up in trouble despite having been forewarned by others about his/her current predicament. This happens when the person in trouble seeks sympathy and help from the people who were warning him/her and advising him/her before s/he got into trouble. The advisers rebuke such a person using this proverb to emphasize that had s/he heeded their advice, s/he would not have found himself/herself in the situation. This is likened to one who listens to a warning of danger only after s/he has been hit with an axe in his/her head.

632. Sinzimila nitole.

a. sinzimil-a ni-tol-e
shut.your.eyes-FV 1s-pick-FV

b. Shut your eyes so that I get it.

c. Stealing by false pretense.

d. A thief gets something without consent from somebody, s/he has gotten something without consent from somebody, so s/he is a thief.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A picture of a person getting something from someone whose eyes are closed is an image of theft. In the proverb, a person asks someone to close his/her eyes so that s/he steals from him/her. This is regarded as shameful cheating.

633. Siyenda evyala mwana eyenda.
   a. si-yend-a a-i-vyal-a mu-ana a-i-yend-a
      NEG-walk-FV cl1-PAST-bear-FV cl1-child cl1-PAST-walk-FV
   b. A person who doesn't move gave birth to a child who moved.
   c. Present actions affect future generations.
   d. Present actions can affect future generations, I have done something, so my children could be affected in the future.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. A person who is poor at hospitality is regarded as a person who does not move to appreciate hospitality from others. Nsenga people are encouraged to entertain and be hospitable to strangers who might be helpful as well in the future. It is common for people on long foot journeys to seek refuge at a stranger's home for a couple of days before they proceed with their journey. It is therefore common for Nsenga people to stay with strangers as long as local authorities have been notified. Thus if one is not hospitable his/her reputation could damage the reputation of his/her children who might need similar help in the future.

634. Soka suyuziŵika pakuza.
   a. Ø-soka si-i-ku-ziŵ-ik-a pa-kuz-a
      cl5a-bad.luck NEG-cl5-GP-know-POT-FV cl16-come-FV
   b. You don't know when bad luck comes your way.
   c. You need to be always prepared for setbacks.
   d. People act when there is danger approaching, there is no danger, so I should not act.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. As observed from human experience, bad luck can hit anybody at any time.

635. Sokonombwe esila munda kubantha.
   a. Ø-sokonombwe a-i-sil-a mu-nda
      cl1a-grasshopper cl1-PAST-finish-FV cl3-cultivation.field
      ku-banth-a
      INFM-hop-FV
   b. A *sokonombwe* grasshopper went round the whole cultivation field by hopping.
   c. You achieve something big by taking small steps.

d. If there is a something and if the thing can grow then the thing can become big. If there is a something, then if the thing can grow then the thing can become big.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Nsenga people eat various insects as part of their many side dishes. Grasshoppers are one type of the insects. A grasshopper called *sokonombwe* does not have wings to fly and only moves by hopping. It can cover a long distance by simple hoping once it I chased for a catch.

636. Sokonombwe osila calo kuyenda patontho patontho.
a. Ø-sokonombwe a-ku-sil-a ci-alo ku-yend-a
cl1a-grasshopper cl1-GP-finish-FV cl7-world INFM-walk-FV
pa-tontho-pa-tontho
cl16-small-cl16-small
b. A *Sokonombwe* grasshopper goes round the world by hopping slowly.
c. You achieve something big by taking small steps.
d. If there is a something and if the thing can grow then the thing can become big. If there is a something, then if the thing can grow then the thing can become big.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Nsenga people eat various types of insects as part of their many side dishes. Grasshoppers are one type of the insects. A grasshopper called *sokonombwe* does not have wings to fly and only moves by hopping. Sometimes it hops so fast that it is difficult to catch it. Thus one could cover some distance chasing after the grasshopper.

637. Sunga masiku masiku akusunge.
a. sung-a ma-siku ma-siku a-ku-sung-e
keep-FV cl6-day cl6-day cl6-2s-keep-FV
b. Look after days and days will intern look after you.
c. You reap what you sow.
d. If I sow seed (bad thing) then I will reap what I have sown, I have sown bad seed, so I will reap bad seed.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Nsenga people believe that good behavior is rewarded by long life. Thus looking after days in the proverb is making sure that you behave well and treat others well in your time and while you are young. When you get old

because of your good things, you intern get good support from the society and therefore you could say the time has treated you well.

638. Sunga m'kosi cifukwa ulungu uvuta lini kupeza.

a. sung-a mu-kosi cifukwa u-lungu u-ku-vut-a
keep-FV cl3-neck CNJ cl14-beed cl14-GP-trouble-FV
lini ku-pez-a
NEG INFM-find-FV

b. Look after the neck because beads are not difficult to find.

c. It is better to value life more than wealth because while wealth can be replaced life cannot be.

d. If something is replaceable and if another thing is not replaceable then I should carefully look after what is not replaceable. If something is replaceable, then if another thing is not replaceable then I should carefully look after what is not replaceable.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Beads play a very important role in the lives of Nsenga people. They are mainly used for interior and body decoration. They also play important functions at various traditional ceremonies and activities. They are a woman's most treasures jewelry, especially when they are won in her neck. However, it is the woman that is actually valuable and not the beads. The beads' value is only appreciated when are woman wears them.

639. Sunga m'kosi ulungu utuŵa uzeuvwale.

a. sung-a mu-kosi u-lungu u-tuŵa u-z-e u-u-vwal-e
keep-FV cl3-neck cl14-beed cl14-white 2s-comeFV s-cl14-wear-FV

b. Keep your neck now so that you will be able to wear white beads in the future.

c. Do not be blinded by temporary riches or pleasure that can hinder your future.

d. If something is replaceable and if another thing is not replaceable then I should carefully look after what is not replaceable. If something is replaceable, then if another thing is not replaceable then I should carefully look after what is not replaceable.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. Beads play a very important role in the lives of Nsenga people. They are mainly used for interior and body decoration. They also play important

functions at various traditional ceremonies and activities. They are a woman's most treasured jewelry, especially when they are worn in her neck. However, it is the woman that is actually valuable and not the beads. The beads' value is only appreciated when are woman wears them.

640. Tateya cilimba kuti nyama ifwe.
   a. ti-a-tey-a ci-limba ku-ti n-yama i-fu-e
      1p-PERF-trap-FV cl7-group.work INFM-say cl9-animal cl9-die-FV
   b. To team up in order to kill an animal.
   c. To trap a human being sometimes to death by seemingly good things.
   d. If you create a plan behind someone's knowledge in order to work against his/her favor then you are cheating, we have created a plan behind her knowledge in order to work against her, so we are cheating.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. When a lion terrorizes a community by killing livestock and threatening human life, people gather and create a plot to hunt and kill it down. The common way of hunting it is to put an animal as bait and hide to shoot it on sight when it tries to eat the bait. It requires teamwork to avoid the risk of getting caught by the beast.

641. Tauka manzi akaliye kufwika m'nkhokola.
   a. tauk-a ma-nzi a-ka-li-ye ku-fwik-a
      cross-FV cl6-water cl6-POT-be-NEG INFM-arrive-FV
      mu-n-khokola
      cl18-cl9-knee
   b. Cross the river before the water reaches knee-high.
   c. It is important to be proactive and prepare for the future.
   d. It is important to be proactive and prepare for the future.
   e. It is better to prevent a problem than to let it occur, there is a problem, so I should prevent it from happening.
   f. MPP/Major/VUS
   g. Nsenga land has a lot of seasonal streams that become barriers to travelling in the rainy season. Some of the cultivation fields are allocated across streams or small rivers that require crossing almost daily for those people that do not live on their fields. The streams usually run at high currents. It is therefore always safer to cross them before the water depth riches the knee. The proverb is used to mean that it is necessary to do all that is

necessary before it is too late. For example, someone may be advised to attain higher education before getting married. Therefore, one may say: "go to school (cross) before you marry (the water reaches the knee) also meaning that you do not need to wait for problems to do something but always take proactive measures.

642. Tenda nsuka kwaŵene oyenda lini na nsuka.

a. tend-a n-suka ku-a ŵa-ine a-ku-yend-a
cut-FV cl9-tail cl17-GEN cl2-other.person cl1-GP-walk-FV
lini na n-suka
NEG CNJ cl9-tail

b. You do not go to foreign land with uncut nails.

c. You can only be a leader in a some area of respect.

d. You can only be an expert in what you know, you do not know, so you cannot be an expert.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. The tail represents authority in the proverb. Traditionally, a chief moves with and wags a tail of an important animal as a symbol of authority. It is advisable to humble oneself in a foreign land. This is what is implied by cutting the tail. If you are a boss (nsuka), where you come from, you should not be a boss everywhere because you may end up becoming a rejected person.

643. Tikaikapo mphale tikonzekele osheta amenu.

a. ti-ka-ik-a-po n-phale ti-konzek-il-e
1p-CND-put-FV-ENC cl9-maize.grain 1p-prepare-APP-FV
a-ku-shet-a a-a ma-inu
cl2-GP-chew-FV cl2-GEN cl6-tooth

b. When you prepare a maize grain snack, you must look for people with teeth to chew.

c. When you do wrong, you must be take responsibility.

d. If you do something then you should handle the consequences, she has done something, so she should handle the consequences.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Maize besides being used chiefly to make mealie meal for *nshima* is also used to make various snacks. One such snack is either boiling dry maize or

boiling maize grains whose husks have been removed. In both cases, the grain is a bit hard requiring somebody with relatively strong teeth to chew.

644. Tikumane uko ni kuyenda lini.

a. ti-kum-an-e u-ku-o ni ku-yend-a lini
1p-meet-FV PRPR-cl17-DEM COP INFM-walk-FV NEG

b. A journey where you decide to meet somewhere instead of starting at the same time is not a good one.

c. A group journey should be taken together all the way.

d. Friends do things together, he does not want to do things with me, so he is not my friend.

e. TF/Major/UCS

f. Nsenga people take many long journeys on foot for various reasons such as looking for food and areas for cultivation and resettlement. Because human settlements are usually located far apart within the bush or jungle, it is always safe and advisable to move in pairs or groups. In this regard, you cannot ask your friend accompanying you on a journey to go ahead of you, as it would be difficult to account for each other in case of attacks from either animals or criminals.

645. Tilale kwafipa lomba.

a. ti-lal-e ku-a-fip-a lomba
1p-sleep-FV cl17-PERF-dark-FV now

b. It's dark now let's go to bed.

c. A woman is married to an impotent man.

d. If people look forward to resting at night and if she is afraid of going to rest at night then she has a problem in her house or marriage. If people look forward to resting at night, then if she is afraid of going to rest at night then she has a problem in her house or marriage.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. In most cases once it becomes dark people simply retire and sleep without making a formal announcement. Humans tend to have tendency to think much about their problems in the night when time and space allows them to focus on themselves. This expression is however thought to be said by a person with problems in marriage especially a woman with an impotent man.

646. Timba mulamo umvwe kulaŵila kwa anyina.

a. timb-a mu-lamo u-mvwe-e ku-laŵil-a
beat-FV cl1-sister/brother-in-law 2s-hear-FV INFM-speak-FV
ku-a a-nyina
cl15-GEN cl2-mother

b. Beat the sister/brother in-law and you will hear his/her mother speak.

c. A quiet person speaks when s/he is provoked.

d. A reserved person does not get provoked, she is reserved, so she cannot get provoked.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The relationship between a son/daughter and mother in-law is always serious among Nsengas. Especially the relationship between son and mother-in-law is much more serious and usually marked by silence. This is regarded as the highest form of respect between in-laws. However, this quietness is broken once it is assumed by either party that the code of conduct that assures respect has been breached. In the proverb, a situation is given in which an in-law beats one of the mother-in-law's children and the mother speaks out in defense of the child.

647. Tinkhale tonse epoka malo.

a. ti-nkhal-e ti-onse a-i-pok-a ma-lo
1p-sit-FV 1p-all cl1-PAST-grab-FV cl6-place

b. A person who requested to live together with someone grabbed the person's entire place.

c. A stranger requesting space can eventually occupy the whole space.

d. If you give a stranger a piece of land then s/he might ask for some more land, if s/he asks for some more land then s/he might eventually get the whole land, so if you give a stranger a piece of land then s/he might eventually get the whole land.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. The proverb arises from numerous cases where a stranger who is allowed to live with a household eventually occupies more land than the real owners do. In this manner, one needs to be cautious in allowing others space on a piece of land, as it is difficult to evict settled people.

648. Tionenji epaya nzomvu na cibuma.

a. ti-on-e-nji a-i-pay-a n-zovu na ci-buma
1p-see-FV-PTC cl1-PAST-kill-FV cl9-elephant CNJ cl7-earth.stone

b. "What am I?" killed an elephant with a stone made of earth.

c. A person with a very low social status can become a great person.

d. Anybody can become a great person, he is somebody, so he can become a great person

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. *Tionenji* is a popular Nsenga name. It is usually given to a child born into a family with a very low social status. An elephant is a very important animal for various reasons including tourism, meet, and source of income. Until government imposed restrictions, elephants would be hunted like other animals. Methods of hunting animals were different depending on the size. Since an elephant is very big, it is one of the challenging animals to kill. It is therefore, ridiculous as presented by the proverb to think that you can kill an elephant with a stone and let alone one made of earth.

649. Tiwamye kapansi kuti kapalulu kaseluke.

a. ti-wamy-e ka-a pa-nsi ku-ti ka-a
1p-prepare-FV cl12-GEN cl16-down INFM-say cl12-GEN
pa-lulu ka-seluk-e
cl16-up cl12-come.down-FV

b. Prepare something down so that the top thing can properly come down.

c. Help the poor who will come to your aid when you lose your wealth.

d. Someone who helps others gets help too, s/he is helping others. So s/he will get help too.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. It is common knowledge that one does not succeed in a vacuum. Thus, you need people in order to succeed. It is therefore strongly advisable that you should remember the people that help you succeed once you reach your goals. This becomes necessary when you lose your wealth. The people that you remembered when you were in lofty places become your cushion when you fall down or lose your wealth.

650. Tiŵazeŵaze aliye ŵaze bwino.

a. ti-ŵaz-e-ŵaz-e a-li-ye ŵaz-e bwino
1p-carve-FV-carve-FV cl1-be-NEG carve-FV good

b. A person who carved repeatedly did not do a good job.
c. Over decoration actually makes it ugly.
d. Over decoration actually makes it ugly, s/he is over decorating. So s/he will make it ugly.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Carving especially woodcarving is a very important activity in Nsenga land for making many necessary traditional tools such as stools, mortars, pestles, hoes and axes. A good carver produces a single item within a specified period. In this manner, s/he can only decorate the carving to a limited extent. It is also true that trying repeatedly to carve the object in order to get a good result actually damages the shape and the object itself. This is because each time one carves; pieces of the object's material have to be taken off. In order to a good job, however, one needs to be meticulous to avoid the repeated carving.

651. Tiyende tawîli ni wowa lini.
a. ti-yend-e ta-wîli ni u-owa lini
1p-walk-FV cl2-two COP cl14-fear NEG
b. To walk as a pair is not fear.
c. It is better to ask for help than to do it alone.
d. If there is a task and if it can be better performed with help of someone then I am better getting someone's help. If there is a task, then if it can be better performed with someone's help then I am better getting the help of someone.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. As old and rural Nsenga settlements were located near or within thickets, one always required accompaniment to go either to the fields or visit neighboring villages. This was usually the practice because of wild animals and sometimes criminals. It was always, therefore, safer to move as a group than as an individual. Recently most of these thickets have been cleared due to expanding farmland and growing populations. As a result, the eminent threat is now from fellow human beings (criminals) rather than wildlife. The situation is used in the proverb to advise people to find strength in seeking help rather than being individualistic.

652. Tolapo ni kupasa lini.

a. tolap-o ni ku-pas-a lini
get-FV COP INFM-give-FV NEG

b. To tell someone "get some" is not giving.

c. A cheerful giver is the one that freely hands over.

d. A cheerful giver is the one that freely hands over, s/he has not freely handed over, so s/he's not a cheerful giver.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga tradition, a giver must practically handover something whether or not accompanied by verbal confirmation for a giving act to be appropriately conducted. Whether one is giving out of kindness or because of a request, one must practically hand over the item. He or she therefore interprets it as meanness, unwillingness, or unhappiness in giving if the giver requests the receiver to pick an item or a share from an amount of items. In such circumstances, the receiver might refuse to either get the item in question or simply get a very small amount of it in both protecting his or her face and demonstrating displeasure against the giver's attitude.

653. Towela towela efundisha ng'anda.

a. towel-a towel-a a-i-fund-ish-a
eat.with.relish-FV eat.with.relish-FV cl1-PAST-warm-CAUS-FV
n-ng'anda
cl9-house

b. Eating food (*nshima*) with relish repeatedly caused the house to get warm.

c. A person who is good to people has many friends.

d. A person who is good to people has many friends, he is good to people, so he has a lot of friends.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. The most important source of heat energy in Nsenga land is firewood. The kitchen is usually a separately built thatched hut but sometimes kitchens are part of the main house. Thus, each time one cooks on the fire, the hut or house subsequently gets warm. It is customary and sign of respect and good manners to serve every visitor with warm food. In an event that you receive many visitors, your fireplace definitely gets busy and warms the house. In the proverb, this means that if you like cooking food for people who visit you, they like you and visit you frequently thereby making your home entertaining (warm).

654. Tuni tumwela pamozi.

a. tu-uni ti-ku-mw-il-a pa-mozi
cl13-bird cl13-GP-drink-APP-FV cl16-one

b. Birds drink together.

c. People of similar characteristics are found together.

d. People of similar characteristics stay together, they are together, so they have the same behavior.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Nsenga land is decorated with birds of different kinds in different seasons. Many birds move in groups according to their kind.

655. Tuni tuziŵana mangala.

a. tu-uni tu-ku-ziŵ-an-a ma-ngala
cl13-bird cl13-GP-know-REC-FV cl6-feather

b. Birds know each other's feathers.

c. People of similar characteristics are found together.

d. People of similar characteristics stay together, they are together, so they have the same behavior.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Nsenga land is decorated with birds of different kinds in different seasons. Many birds move in groups according to their kind. It is believed therefore that birds know their kind.

656. Tupilikisha lini akulu ozipilikisha ŵeka.

a. ti-ku-piliki-ish-a lini a-kulu a-ku-zi-pilik-ish-a
1p-GP-chase-CAUS-FV NEG cl2-big cl2-GP-REF-chase-CAUS-FV
ŵa-eka
cl2-alone

b. We don't chase elders, they chase themselves.

c. You sometimes solve conflicts by being passive.

d. If an old person knows both good and bad then s/he knows when s/he does something wrong, If s/he knows when s/he does something wrong then I do not need to remind him/her that s/he has done something wrong, so if an old person knows both good and bad then I do not /need to remind him/her that she has done something wrong.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS

f. It is a very important cultural norm for young people to give unconditional respect to elders. In this manner, even when elderly people are in the wrong, younger ones must never explicitly show their displeasure. In the event of a difference between a younger and elderly person, the younger one must either keep quiet or apologize whether wrong or right, or leave the place respectfully. Even if an elderly person visits a younger one and anything offends him/her, s/he has no moral right as a young person to chase the elder. The elderly person must leave by herself either after getting satisfied with her mission or getting embarrassed with her actions. The situation is used in the proverb to young people so that they unconditionally respect elders.

657. Ucembele ni kulyelana.

a. u-cembele ni ku-ly-il-an-a
cl14-womanhood COP INFM-eat-APP-REC-FV

b. Womanhood is sharing food.

c. You must be ready to help others if you need help from others.

d. If you are generous then you must share, I do not share, so I am not generous.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Girls who become women when they become of age assume the responsibility of feeding the family. They look for food and prepare it for the family. Many times, women in a particular community share the food in order to compensate for what is lacking. Thus, in order to be part of the women's food sharing network one must be willing to share and eat with others.

658. Ucende ni matuvi opoza kutali.

a. u-cende ni ma-tuvi a-ku-poz-a ku-tali
cl14-promiscuity COP cl6-feces cl1-GP-throw.away-FV cl17-far.away

b. Adultery is like feaces that you excrete or throw far away.

c. Adultery is very bad but permissible with distantly located individuals.

d. If I have done something bad and if my partner does not know about it then I am okay. If I have done something bad, then if my partner does not know about it then I am okay.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. By common sense feaces, especially human ones are health hazards that must be always correctly disposed. In the villages, sources of feaces in the home yard can either from livestock or human infants. They must always be thrown away after they are released. Adults always regard defecating as a very private matter. It is therefore very embarrassing to be found in the action of defecating by anybody. For this reason, toilets also save as means of privacy apart from hygiene. The treatment of feaces in the proverbs is likened to the way adultery must be treated. Like defecating, adultery is permissible but can only be done away from one's home and neighborhood. For as long as one's spouse is not aware of the distant private relationship, all should be well. Sometimes, the spouse might even be aware but the unfaithful spouse must never have the adulterous relationship anywhere nearby in respect of the spouse.

659. Ukafwana ayako okanzinga vitonga nawe kanzingako.

a. u-ka-fwan-a a-yako a-ku-kanzing-a vi-tonga
2s-CND-find-FV cl2-friend cl2-GP-fry-FV cl8-maize.grain
na-iwe kanzing-a-ko
CNJ-2s fry-FV-PTC

b. When you find friends frying maize grain you also must help in frying.

c. When you travel, do as the owners of the local place do.

d. If you are in foreign land then behave like the local people, I am in foreign land, so I should behave like the local people.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Fried maize grain is a common snack among Nsenga people. It is usually served as a snack because when there is scarcity of maize grain frying is prohibited to reserve the grain for manufacturing mealie meal. The fried maize grain is so common that once you find friends frying you do not expect an invitation but simply join as per the custom. However, whilst you can freely take part in eating without an invitation you have to help in frying otherwise you will be regarded as an ungrateful person.

660. Ukakwela kum'tenje osatukwana ali na manela.

a. u-ka-kwel-a ku-mu-tenje a-ku-sa-tukwan-a a-li
2s-CND-climb-FV cl17-cl3-roof cl1-GP-NEG-insult-FV cl1-be
na ma-nela
CNJ cl6-ladder

b. When you are on the roof do not insult the one holding the ladder.
c. Be good to those who help you to get to a place of prominence.
d. Be good to those who help you to get to a place of prominence, I am at a place of prominence, so I should be good to those who helped me.
e. PF/Major/C
f. Construction projects especially building houses are done as a community. This is because they are usually too big a task to be done by an individual. Usually anybody who wants a new house informs the neighborhood that helps him/her to plan and eventually build the house. Unless one has enough money to hire workers, this is still a practice until now. Sometimes women in the family in need of a house brew bear to give to the people helping in the construction as a token of appreciation after the work is done. When you are in a situation that requires assistance, do not insult the one who may assist you, as s/he might be the only one with a possible solution to your problem. In the proverb, a picture of a person on the roof insults the one holding the ladder and therefore s/he removes making it difficult for the one on the roof to come down.

661. Ukalelemvya manja ziŵa kuti umphawi ni wako.

a.	u-ka-lelemvy-a	ma-nja	ziw-a	ku-ti
	2s-CND-hang.loose-FV	cl6-hand	know-FV	INFM-say
	u-mphawi	ni	u-ako	
	cl14-poverty	COP	cl4-2sPOS	

b. When you hang your hands down loosely, you should know that you might be poor.
c. Laziness is a source of poverty.
d. Laziness is a source of poverty, I am lazy, so I will be poor.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Agriculture is the Nsenga people's economic main stay. They depend on agriculture for their livelihood and income. However, a few talented people depend on other local industries such as pottery, carving, and construction. In all these cases, hard manual work is expected. Thus, a physically weak person has a lot of difficult in surviving in such an environment. An image of a man with long slender hands that hardly swing when walking is an image of a very lazy person.

662. Ukalemela osauzya munthu.

a. u-ka-lemel-a a-ku-sa-uzy-a mu-nthu
2s-CND-become.rich-FV cl1-GP-NEG-tell-FV cl1-person

b. Do not tell anybody when you become rich.

c. You do not brag about riches in public.

d. If I am rich then people can see that I am rich, if people can see that I am rich then I do not need to inform them that I am rich, so if I am rich then I do not need to inform people that I am rich.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS

f. The Nsenga society Is largely a socialist society. However, few rich people are usually regarded as exploiters. In many cases, therefore, people do not disclose how much wealth they have for fear of a reprisal from society. It is also believed that once you are known to have a lot of money you risk getting both a physical and magical attack from people.

663. Ukali wa cinyense.

a. u-kali u-a ci-nyense
cl14-anger cl14-GEN cl7-cricket

b. The cricket's anger.

c. Excessive anger injures oneself.

d. Excessive anger injures oneself, he is very angry, so he might injure him/herself.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsenga people enjoy eating crickets as one of the most delicious insects among others such as grasshoppers. The cricket's chirping especially when it is provoked is believed to be its anger's expression. When catching the cricket people hold it by its legs to avoid being bitten. It trying to free itself the cricket in many cases loses its legs. It is therefore believed that it bites off its legs when it is annoyed.

664. Ukalila nthengo walila zungo.

a. u-ka-lil-a n-thengo u-a-lil-a zi-ongo
2s-CND-cry-FV cl9-marriage cl1-PERF-cry-FV cl6-noise

b. If you long for marriage, it means you also long for fighting.

c. Marriage is not always as rosy as it is imagined.

d. In marriage there are problems, I am married, so there may be problems.

e. MPP/Conclusion/VS

f. Marriage counselors always prepare couples intending to marry for possible and inevitable conflicts in marriage. Since people marrying always come from different backgrounds and are with different personalities, conflicts are common. The couples are advised that conflicts are not always a sign of a failed marriage but part of a process of adjustment. Thus it is advisable that a marriage does not always mean a rosy life. Because of the aspect of enjoying the freedom of sexual activities in marriage, people think that a marriage is always in bliss.

665. Ukalowa mung'nda ya musimbi osalalilila.

a.

u-ka-low-a	mu-n-ng'anda	i-a	mu-simbi
2s-CND-enter-FV	cl18-cl9-house	cl9-GEN	cl1-lady
a-ku-sa-lal-ilil-a			
cl1-GP-NEG-sleep-PER-FV			

b. When you go into a woman's house do not oversleep.

c. Be cautious of your weaknesses.

d. If you have a weakness then you must be careful, I have a weakness, so I should be careful.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Even though fornication is illegal and punishable among Nsengas many people fail to resist the temptation. It is common for men to be found sleeping in the homes of unmarried girls. Usually, a girl never lives her parents until she is married. Parents ensure the girl never falls into the temptation of sex before marriage in order to attract good suitors. Thus, some parents are usually on the lookout for men who go after unmarried girls. Such men who do their business at night are always careful when they visit girls most of whom live with their parents. A girl who has become of age is usually left to live in her own bedroom (usually a separate hut). Men have overslept in the girls' rooms and have been charged for fornication in many instances.

666. Ukaluvya ziwa kuimba.

a.

u-ka-luvy-a	ziw-a	ku-imb-a	vi-nthu
2s-CND-do.wrong-FV	know-FV	INFM-sing-FV	cl8-thing
vi-sil-e			
cl8-finish-FV			

b. When you go wrong, you should sing a song.

c. Simply apologize when you make a mistake.
d. When you make a mistake you need to apologize, I have made a mistake, so I should apologize.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. The proverb is used to advise someone who is in the wrong but tries to argue his/her way out. The argument is compared to irritating noise. Thus, one is advised to sing instead. The song represents an apology that is acceptable by all aggrieved parties.

667. Ukalya vamwana wako viliye topo.
a. u-ka-ly-a vi-a mu-ana u-ako vi-li-ye
2s-CND-eat-FV cl8-GEN cl1-child cl1-2sPOS cl8-be-NEG
Ø-topo
cl5a-ill.talk
b. When you eat your child's things, no one makes bad talk.
c. Your children treat you better than other people.
d. If you offend someone then you should be punished, I have offended my family member, so I should not be punished.
e. F/Minor/UCW
f. There are people who have a tendency to make ill-talk especially about food. This is regarded as a terrible behavior among Nsengas. Thus, many people for fear of such ill-talk avoid eating in other people's places. It is said therefore that when you eat at your child's home you do not expect any ill talk from anybody.

668. Ukamela fupa ciliye wowa iluke ciliye wowa.
a. u-ka-mel-a Ø-fupa ci-li-ye u-owa
1s-CND-swallow-FV cl5a-bone cl7-be-NEG cl14-fear
i-luk-e ci-li-ye u-owa
cl5a-vomit-FV cl7-be-NEG cl14-fear
b. If you swallow a bone bravely, vomit it bravely.
c. People should be ready to face consequences of their actions.
d. If you do something then you should handle the consequences, she has done something, so she should handle the consequences.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Usually if one swallows a bone it comes out undigested. Excreting anything that is not properly digested is always problematic as it puts unusual

pressure on the anus. Thus, anybody who willingly swallows food items that cannot be digested is believed to be ready for facing problems when the bowels move.

669. Ukankhala mwana mphanje uyambila pam'chenga.

a. u-ka-nkhal-a mu-ana n-phanje u-ku-yamb-il-a
2s-CND-be-FV cl1-child cl9-virgin.field 2s-GP-start-APP-FV
pa-mu-cenga
cl16-cl3-sand

b. When you are a child, you begin developing your cultivation field from sandy soils.

c. You need to be realistic in making personal goals.

d. You need to be realistic in making personal goals, I am making personal goals, so I should be realistic.

e. PF/Major/C

f. Nsengas practice shifting cultivation as a result of soil erosion and infertility. Thus, once a field seems to have lost fertility a new one is found and developed. There are both seasoned and armature farmers. Usually, a new field has very hard and compact soil, which is hard to plough especially using hand hoes. However, a field with sand soil is easier to cultivate even if it is virgin but has little fertility as most of it is washed away since sandy soils easily allow water through it or have a higher percentage of soil percolation. The armatures are advised to begin with small projects in manageable areas before going to bigger ones as they gain experience.

670. Ukankhala pamsana panzovu pansi pali mame.

a. u-ka-nkhal-a pa-mu-sana u-a n-zovu
2s-CND-sit-FV cl16-cl3-back cl16-GEN cl9-elephant
pa-nsi pa-li ma-me
cl16-down cl16-be cl6-due

b. When you ride an elephant, you do not feel the due.

c. You can only understand something you have experienced, I have not experienced it, so I cannot understand it.

d. MTT/Major/VUS

e. When you are affluent you do not understand poverty.

f. Elephants are feared animals because of their size. Elephants too seem not to fear any other animal, as any animal does normally not hunt them. Because of its size, it is believed that one would be safest to stay on its back where no threat can reach. In other words, if you were on the elephants back you would be so remote to the ground that you would not know what dangers lie there.

671. Ukaona ng'ombe kugwendeza mucila pakulya musipu sikumeka yai yuinga ainzi.

a. u-ka-on-a n-ng'ombe ku-gwendeza mu-cila
2s-CND-see-FV cl9-cattle INFM-shake-FV cl3-tail
pa-ku-ly-a mu-sipu si-ku-mek-a yai
pa-GP-eat-FV cl3-grass cl16-NEG-GP-boast-FV NEG
i-ku-ing-a a-in-zi
cl9-GP-chase cl2-cl9-fly

b. When you see cattle wagging its tail do not think it is boasting but it is actually chasing flies away.
c. It easy to admire others without realizing the problems they are going through.
d. If someone laughs then s/he is happy, he is laughing, so he is happy.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Nsenga people who keep cattle marvel at the behavior when they wag tails and flap their ears. They look as though they are expressing their pride about their being. However, the wagging and flapping is usually to chase flies that disturb their sores. Many animals get injuries in the bush where they go grazing.

672. Ukaona nyama waleka ndiyo.

a. u-ka-on-a n-nyama u-a-lek-a n-diyo
2s-CND-see-FV cl9-meat 2s-PERF-stop-FV cl9-relish

b. When you see meat, you stop eating vegetables.
c. Be content with what you have.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. Meat is not only expensive but scarce among especially rural Nsengas. Whereas in the past bush meat supplemented livestock for meat supply,

recently wild animals have not only reduced in number but tough laws have also been instituted to reduce poaching. On the other hand, vegetables have traditionally dominated the Nsenga people's menu. Thus, it is common once meat is found after a long while, for people to abandon vegetables and eat meat alone. However, once the meat is finished people go back to the vegetables.

673. Ukapeza ayako okanzinga menso nawe fyokola ŵako.

a. u-ka-pez-a a-yako a-ku-kanzing-a ma-inso
2s-CND-find-FV cl2-friend cl2-GP-fry-FV cl6-eye
na-iwe fyokol-a ŵa-ako
CNJ-2s open.eyes.wide-FV cl6-2sPOS

b. When you find your friends opening, their eyes widely in search of something do the same as well.

c. In foreign land, behave like the owners do.

d. If you are in foreign land then behave like the local people, I am in foreign land, so I should behave like the local people.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A posture of a human being standing still with widely opened eyes is a typical position of a perplexed human being. The posture is also common when people see a surprising thing such as a very big snake or a rare object. It is usually natural for human beings to join without invitation people that are gazing at something curious.

674. Ukasita saka la munyu weka yusila lini m'sanga.

a. u-ka-sit-a Ø-saka li-a mu-nyu u-eka
2s-CND-buy-FV cl5q-sack cl5-GEN cl3-salt cl1-alone
i-ku-sil-a lini msanga
cl5-GP-finish-FV NEG fast

b. When you buy a sack of salt for yourself, it takes long to finish.

c. You can only know each other by doing things together.

d. To know someone you need to spend time with someone, I need to know her, so I should spend time with her.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Salt is one of the most important daily commodities among Nsengas. Salt is both produced locally and sourced externally by buying. Among the things that are commonly shared among Nsengas is salt. It is regarded as the

highest form of selfishness to deny your neighbor salt. Thus, you can also know if one is generous with the way they behave with salt.

675. Ukasowa menu osafwaya nyakaye.

a. u-ka-sow-a ma-inu a-ku-sa-fway-a Ø-nyakaye
2s-CND-lose-FV cl6-tooth cl1-GP-NEG-break-FV cl9-clay.frying.pan

b. When you lose your teeth do not break the clay pan.

c. Do not be jealous of what other people do simply because you are unable to do it

d. If you do not need something then you should not keep it, I do not need it, so I should destroy it.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A clay pan, replaced by the modern kitchen pan, was a very important cooking utensil in traditional Nsenga society. Among other things, it was used for frying grains. The commonly fried grain until now is the maize grain eaten as a snack or taken at breakfast in times of lack. Fried maize is however hard to chew especially when it gets cold. Thus, many old people with weak teeth are unable to eat fried maize. The proverb encourages people not to be jealousy of things that others use which they are unable to use.

676. Ukasukwata na manja mum'kosi.

a. u-ka-sukwat-a na ma-nja mu-mu-kosi
2s-CND-sit.in.worrisome.fashion-FV CNJ cl6-hand cl18-cl3-neck

b. When you look lonely with your hands clasped in the neck.

c. If you pose in the Ur posture, it means you have problems.

d. When you have problems you look low, s/he looks low, so s/he has problems.

e. PF/Conclusion/UCS

f. The human posture in which the head held by the neck and chin rests on the hands supported by elbows on either thighs or some platform is a symbol of a soul in anguish. It is known in literary analysis as the Ur posture. Usually whenever a person is found in this posture among Nsengas, people try to find out what has gone wrong with the person.

677. Ukatala wenye kuca kucelwa lini.
   a. u-ka-tal-a u-enye ku-c-a ku-celw-a lini
      2s-CND-tell-FV cl14-lie INFM-dawn-FV INFM-late-FV NEG
   b. When you tell a lie dawn comes fast.
   c. The truth is difficult to suppress.
   d. The truth is difficult to suppress, it's the truth, so it will be difficult to suppress it.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. A lie is considered as temporary deviation from the real problem. Once a person tells a lie therefore, s/he may be worried about the truth being known. The proverb provides a situation where someone tells a lie in the night and is afraid that the coming of day might bring with it the truth. Thus, a person may not have good sleep at all and view the night as short.

678. Ukatambatamba ulola kukamana.
   a. u-ka-tamb-a-tamb-a u-ku-lol-a ku-ka-mana
      2s-CND-watch-FV-watch-FV 2s-GP-see-FV cl17-cl12-river
   b. Keep an eye on the river whilst you are watching other things.
   c. Be cautious of unexpected happenings or accidents.
   d. People act when there is danger approaching, there is no danger, so I should not act.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. In especially rainy season many seasonal streams can flood almost unexpectedly. Sometimes rain occurring upstream can unknowingly cause problems for people downstream. Thus when people cross onto the other side of the stream they are advised to be cautious of the sudden flooding of streams, which could hamper their movement.

679. Ukaukate m'pini.
   a. u-ka-u-kat-e mu-pini
      2s-FUT-cl3-hold-FV cl3-wooden.handle
   b. You shall hold the wooden handle.
   c. You must work hard to earn a living.
   d. Individual hard work is necessary in order to succeed, I need to succeed, so I should work hard.
   e. PF/Major/UCS

f. A wooden handle is a synecdoche for a hoe. It is a symbol of farming and food security. A hoe is one piece of equipment that any living household must have in order to survive.

680. Ukaŵa mfumu usinkha matu.

a. u-ka-ŵa-a n-fumu u-ku-sinkh-a ma-tu
2s-CND-be cl9-chief 2s-GP-block-FV cl6-ear

b. When you become a chief, you close your ears.

c. Leaders should not listen to everything.

d. If people say things and if some of what they say is not important then I should not listen to everything. If people say things, then if some of what they say is not important then I should not listen to everything.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. While a chief or traditional leader commands the most respect among leaders, subjects freely discuss the leaders' character. On assuming leadership into a public office, leaders are advised to be discrete with the information they receive. Thus, a strong message is given by advising leaders to simply close their ears to irrelevant talk and concentrate on important leadership and society matters. To close ears appears a contradiction; as the leaders need their ears to listen to people but the expression is deliberately used in order heighten the significance of censoring information.

681. Ukaŵa na nkhuku nipaulolesha kululu.

a. u-ka-ŵa na n-khuku ni pa-u-ku-lol-ish-a
2s-CND-be CNJ cl9-chicken COP cl16-2s-GP-see-CAUS-FV
ku-lulu
cl16-up

b. You only look up to the sky when you have chickens.

c. You only look for friends when you are in need of help.

d. When I am in need I need friends to help, I am not in need, so I do not need friends.

e. TF/Major/UCW

f. There are vultures that hunt chickens particularly small ones. Therefore, when a person has chickens, s/he always is on guard for the vultures up in the sky. The situation is likened to a person who only looks up to friends when s/he is in trouble.

682. Ukaŵeve menso matu ololesha.

a. u-ka-ŵa-ve ma-inso ma-tu a-ku-lol-ish-a
2s-CND-be-NEG cl6-eye cl6-ear cl6-GP-see-APP-FV

b. When you have no eyes ears become your eyes.

c. People are differently abled.

d. If people are different then they are differently abled, she is different, so she is differently abled.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Blind people, whether by birth or loss of sight, are good at using ears to determine their environments in many instances. It is actually said the blind people's hearing sense is more sensitive. The situation is used to refer to a person who is not good at one thing but compensates the inability by other abilities.

683. Ukayotandala kumuyako ushamwali uwama nolaŵila malizu ŵendi.

a. u-ka-y-a ku-tandla-a ku-mu-i-ako u-shamwali
2s-CND-go-FV INFM-visit-FV cl17-cl1-cl1-friend cl14-friendship
u-ku-wam-a na ku-laŵil-a ma-lizu ŵa-endi
cl14-GP-be.good-FV CNJ INFM-speak-FV cl6-word cl6-true

b. When you visit a friend, you improve your relationship by engaging in valuable talk.

c. Valuable talk improves relationships.

d. Valuable talk improves relationships, I need to improve my relationship, so I should engage in valuable talk.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. Nsenga people enjoy making friendships. Sometimes people make friendships with people in far places and they sometimes make special journeys to visit. Nsenga people value friendships and they believe kind talk is a prerequisite to a successful relationship.

684. Ukayotandala kumushamwali wako mulaŵile vacendi.

a. u-ka-y-a ku-tandal-a ku-mu-shamwali
2s-CND-go-FV INFM-visit-FV cl17-cl1-close.relationship
u-ako mu-laŵil-e vi-a ci-endi
cl1-2sPOS 2p-speak-FV cl8-GEN cl7-truth

b. When you visit your friend, you should talk about the truth.

c. If you gossip about others, others will also gossip about you.

d. Valuable talk improves relationships, I need to improve my relationship, so I should engage in valuable talk.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. It is common knowledge that the person you gossip with can easily gossip about you with somebody else. To avoid being talked about therefore, you should also avoid talking about others.

685. Ukazingwa suuyanga nkhata.
a. u-ka-zingw-a si-u-ku-yang-a n-khata
2s-CND-suffer-FV NEG-2s-GP-make-FV cl9-cushion
b. When you suffer, you do not make a cushion.
c. When you are poor, you have limited choice.
d. When you are poor you have limited choice, she is poor, so she has limited choice.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Nkhata is a popular cushion usually made to ease carrying of heavy loads on the head, as is usually the case that people carry things on the head among Nsenga people. The cushion helps reduce the pain the load inflicts on the head. It can be made from grass, leaves, or cloth. Nkhata is therefore a symbol of comfort.

686. Ukulu upezana.
a. u-kulu u-ku-pez-an-a
cl14-big cl14-GP-find-REC-FV
b. Age catches up so that those that are young also become grown-ups.
c. Age catches up.
d. Every human grows old, I am human, so I will grow old.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Adults usually say this proverb when they meet young ones who have grown up to encourage them. It is said to let people know that those that are young will one day be as old as the old people.

687. Ukulu wa nkhuku ni mangala.
a. u-kulu u-a n-khuku ni ma-ngala
cl14-big cl14-GEN cl9-chicken COP cl6-feather
b. The chicken's greatness is in the feathers.
c. There is no success without a successor.

d. I am successful if I create a successor, I have no successor, so I am not successful.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. A chicken is a very important bird in Nsenga culture. It is not only used to honor guests in a home but also an important source of meat in the home. It is also used to pay respect to traditional rulers as well as paying fines in times of trouble. Thus, a chicken is found in almost every home. Once a chicken is dressed, it significantly reduces in size. Hence, the proverb therefore that it is the feathers that make a chicken look big. Feathers represent children while the actual chicken's body represents a parent. A chicken's parts are also used in marriage initiation symbolism to represent different parts of a human body. Nsenga people regard children as wealth and therefore they are used to command respect in society. Someone's maturity can also be measured by how many children s/he has. It is therefore tragic not to have children as society treats such a one as good as a child who does not grow. Thus, anyone who does not have a child, regardless of age is considered young. In addition, a person who does not have a child is considered a failure.

688. Ukupaya nzovu na cibuma ni shuko.

a. u-ka-pay-a	n-zovu	na	ci-buma	ni
2s-CND-kill-FV	cl9-elephant	CNJ	cl7-earth.stone	COP
Ø-shuko				
cl5a-good.luck				

b. If you kill an elephant using a stone made of earth, it means you have good luck.
c. When you complete an impossible task, it means you are lucky.
d. If there is an impossible task and if you complete it then you are lucky. If there is an impossible task, then if you complete it then you are lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. Elephants are part of the Nsenga wildlife. Sometimes an elephant is killed for meat and use of trophies. However, because of its size it is one of the difficult animals to kill. To use a stone made of earth therefore portrays a picture of impossibility.

689. Ukuti natauka ukafwika kusilya.

a. u-ku-ti ni-a-tauk-a u-ka-fwik-a ku-Ø-silya
2s-GP-say 1s-PERF-cross-FV 2s-CND-arrive-FV cl17-cl5a-other.side

b. You can only say you have crossed a river once you reach the other side.

c. You cannot boast of what you have not yet achieved or you are merely planning to do.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. Nsenga land has many seasonal streams that become barriers to travelling in the rainy season because they usually have no bridges. Some of the cultivation fields are located across streams or small rivers that require crossing almost daily. In some instances, people require crossing streams in order to fetch food or find medical assistance in emergencies. Many accidents occur in which people are swept away by fast currents in the streams.

690. Ukwao ni mbumbuzi upelela mkuning'a.

a. u-kwao ni n-bumbuzi
cl14-relative COP cl9-black.wasp.with.a.thin.waist
u-ku-pel-il-a mu-ku-ning'-a
cl14-GP-end-APP-FV cl18-INFM-very.thin-FV

b. Blood relationship is like a wasp that does not cut even though its waist is very thin.

c. Nothing can separate blood relatives.

d. If someone is your biological relative then s/he remains your relative forever, s/he is my biological relative, so s/he will my relative forever.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The proverb relates relationship to a big insect in the class of wasps whose upper part and the abdomen will never separate completely despite being connected by a very thin lining. If say, two blood relations differ over a certain issue and a very bitter quarrel ensues, which in the end leads them to the extent of vowing never to visit or see each other again, elders use this proverb to try to bring them together again. Through the proverb, the warring parties are reminded that although they can differ or quarrel, they should never go to the extent of vowing never to see each other or to declare that they are no more relatives. They should never become

oblivious to the fact that they are blood relations and that the blood is like a wasp's thin waistline that keeps the wasps' two parts together. They are advised to quickly resolve their differences or reconcile and live in harmony. In fact, in the Nsenga culture, if relatives have a bitter quarrel and vow never to step at each other's home or to see each other again, elders make the two to drink some medicine from the same gourd in order to ensure that their bond of relationship is restored and severed from the acquired curse.

691. Ukwao ni mizyu ya kacele yukumana pansi.

a. u-kwao ni mi-zyu i-a Ø-kacele
cl14-relationship COP cl4-root cl4-GEN cl1a-fig.tree
i-ku-kum-an-a pa-nsi
cl4-GP-meet-REC-FV cl16-underground

b. A relationship is like the roots of a fig tree whose roots meet underground.

c. Blood is thicker than water.

d. If someone is your biological relative then s/he remains your relative forever, s/he is my biological relative, so s/he will my relative forever.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A fig tree is a very important tree in Nsenga land. It is used for various purposes including medicine and shelter to both humans and livestock. A fig tree is also a symbol of plenty underground water and an indicator of easily accessible water table for people who want to dig a well. A fig tree also serves as a meeting place and has a lot to do with people's relationships. The tree also has crisscrossing network of deep roots that makes it very difficult to uproot or to fall in windy situations. As a result, although it usually grows very big and wide, it hardly breaks and falls. It also has a network of surface roots that gives an impression that its root network does not go deep enough. This proverb is used to remind and strengthen people in a relationship especially husband and wife that their relationship is deeper than can been seen by an ordinary eye. It is advised that love must go deeper than even the couples can see. Thus in times of trouble, the couple's deeper love should help them to survive and emerge victorious.

692. Ulemu ni pakamwa.
   a. u-lemu ni pa-ka-mwa
      cl14-respect COP cl16-cl12-mouth
   b. Respect is about the mouth.
   c. Language bears witness of your character.
   d. If s/he is polite then her language is polite, her language is not polite, so s/he's not polite.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. One's language is taken as a good judgment of one's character. It is expected that a person's language is a representation of what s/he really is. Thus, anybody whose language is not respectful is regarded as a disrespectful person.

693. Ulemu usheta manzi.
   a. u-lemu u-ku-shet-a ma-nzi
      cl14-respect cl14-GP-chew-FV cl6-water
   b. Respect chews water.
   c. Power and authority can cause people to behave weirdly.
   d. Power corrupts the mind, he has power, so he is corrupted.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. The proverb is used for people who become arrogant after becoming leaders. It is common knowledge that due to the nature of water no one can chew it. However, experience has it that many people who become leaders are corrupted by power and do strange things. Such people are said to have the ability to chew water. *Ulemu* "respect" in the proverb is personified to represent people in authority. This is because only humans and animals have teeth to chew.

694. Ulemu wanu kapena mwaikako nzeru.
   a. u-lemu u-anu kapena mu-a-ika-ko n-zeru
      cl14-respect cl14-3POS CNJ 2p-PERF-put-ENC cl9-mind
   b. You acquire respect if you commit yourself to it.
   c. Respect commands respect.
   d. If you are respectful then other people respect you, you are not respectful, so other people, do not respect you.
   e. TF/Major/UCS

f. In almost every society it is common knowledge that one ought to respect others in order to command respect. The opposite is also true. This means that respect comes through the works of an individual. It also means that if you want people to respect you, you need to be respectful.

695. Ulimi wakale upuzyika lini mwana.

a.	u-limi	u-a	kale	u-puzy-ik-a	lini
	cl14-farming	cl14-GEN	long.ago	cl14-hush-POT-FV	NEG
	mu-ana				
	cl1-child				

b. Old farming (stock) does not hush or stop a child from crying.
c. Do not depend on the past glory.
d. If you keep subtracting from a limited source then you can reduce the quantity of the source, so If you can reduce the quantity of the source then you can deplete the source, so if you keep subtracting from the limited source then you can deplete the source.
e. Hypothetical/Major/VS
f. In Nsenga land, farming is seasonal because it is traditionally dependent on the seasonal rains. Usually people grow enough to feed between the seasons. This means that one ought to grow crops every year in order to have food otherwise hunger haunts the home. One of the common causes of crying in babies is hunger. Sometimes, all you need is to feed the child to let it stop crying. The proverb means that you do not need to depend on the past glory because past glory never solves current problems.

696. Ululu wa cilonda umvwika muŵili onse.

a.	u-lulu	u-a	ci-londa	u-ku-mvw-ik-a	mu-ŵili	u-onse
	cl14-pain	cl14-GEN	cl7-sore	cl14-hear-POT-FV	cl3-body	cl3-all

b. The pain of a sore is felt throughout the whole body.
c. One's problems are everyone's problems in a community.
d. When an individual has problems then community gets affected, s/he has problems, so the community is affected.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. It is usually expected that pain as a result of a sore on a particular limb should be localized to that area and yet the whole body feels the pain. The phenomenon is likened to a misfortune in the family or in a team where every member is affected.

697. Ulumvwi.
   a. u-lumvwi
      cl14-chameleon.characteristic
   b. Behaving like a chameleon.
   c. One must be stable and consistent in character.
   d. Humans behave like humans, he does not behave like humans, so he is not human.
   e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS
   f. A chameleon is one of the animals found in the Nsenga society. Its most striking characteristic is that it changes its color depending on the color or appearance of the environment in which it is. Its specific color is not known as it changes immediately it gets into a different environment. This proverb is used to describe people who are unstable.

698. Ulwendo ni ulwendo ukauyambako.
   a. u-lwendo ni u-lwendo u-ka-u-yamb-a-ko
      cl14-journey COP cl14-journey cl14-CND-cl14-start-FV-PTC
   b. It can only be called a journey when you started off.
   c. Do not count on what you have not yet achieved.
   d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
   e. MTT/Major/VS
   f. The proverb urges people not to talk so much about things that they have not yet done because there is a possibility that they may not do them or they may fail. It is one thing to plan a journey and another to actually start a journey.

699. Umfumu upasa ulemu.
   a. u-mfumu u-ku-pas-a u-lemu
      cl14-kingship cl14-GP-give-FV cl14-respect
   b. Leadership commands respect.
   c. You need to respect yourself or make yourself an important person before you can command respect.
   d. If you are respectful then other people respect you, you are not respectful, so other people, do not respect you.
   e. TF/Major/UCS

f. A king, chief or any traditional ruler commands the unconditional respect of all Nsenga citizens. Such traditional leadership is believed to have been predetermined by God and therefore cannot be questioned. Hence, when one ascends to the position of traditional leadership in accordance with genealogy, every citizen must accept, obey and respect that leader. There is therefore very little that an individual person that becomes a leader does to command respect. Whether or not the person assuming leadership is regarded as a fool or unwise citizens still respect the person by virtue of the acquired position. Respect is commanded almost effortlessly because the chieftaincy or kingship is the source of respect. On the other hand, somebody who gains an important social status through hard work and self-discipline commands the respect of a traditional leader. The proverb is therefore used to advise people to respect themselves before commanding respect.

700. Umwewa lini na afupi.

a.	u-mw-iw-a	lini	na	a-fupi
	cl14-drink-PASS-FV	NEG	CNJ	cl2-short

b. Short ones do not drink it.
c. Alcohol makes people boastful.
d. Alcohol makes people boastful, she has taken alcohol, so she will be boastful.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. By linguistic analysis, the unstated subject is beer and the unstated noun in the predicate is a short human being. This is because the subject maker u- is a class 14 prefix which helps to point to the noun walwa "beer" which is in class 14. The subject maker a- in afupi is a class 2 prefix which helps to pint the pronominal to humans only. Nsengas like many other societies enjoy their traditionally brewed beer. One characteristic of drunken people is to seemingly acquire unusual bravery in order to do, and especially, say things they would not do or say in a normal state. Usually people that want to make some kind of social protest to the society do so freely after taking the alcohol. This is done to reduce the possibility of being punished by society by hiding in the notion that one acted under the influence of alcohol. Short people sometimes suffer from some stigma from society. Sometimes society views short people as either lacking in some human qualities or acting unusually in order to compensate for their shortness. It is therefore

expected that once a short person is drunk, they would acquire special courage to rebuke society over their treatment. Sometimes drunk people simply use alcohol as an excuse to boast and make fake claims. This can sometimes confuse people in understanding whether or not the person means what s/he says.

701. Unakazi ucoka kuvuli.
   a. u-nakazi u-cok-a ku-vuli
      cl14-womanhood cl14-come-FV cl17-behind
   b. Womanhood comes from behind.
   c. Success stories have a long background. Therefore, do not underestimate someone based on the status.
   d. A person with a humble background can become great, she has a humble background, so she can become great.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. By euphemistic analysis, *kuvuli* "behind" here refers to the vagina. Human beings' private parts are regarded as the most important part of a person especially that they are essential means in reproduction. Although, ones behind might not seem as important as the front where the face is, a woman's behind has one other most important organs of reproduction. At another level, even though some people may look at women as second-class citizens, no one would be on the earth's planet without them. The proverb means that you do not need to underrate the young ones or underprivileged because in the future, they would also be elderly, influential and helpful people. It further means that greatness comes from very far behind in one's life. The proverb presents a woman as a human being that can be easily looked down on and yet humanity heavily depends on her. Thus *kuvuli* "behind" is used both as a euphemism for vagina as well as an adverb of time to mean long ago.

702. Undelela nsima ukaisilizya.
   a. u-ku-ndelel-a n-sima u-ka-i-silizy-a
      2s-GP-express.dissatisifaction-FV cl9-*nshima* 2s-CND-cl9-finish-FV
   b. You can only say the *Nshima* was not enough after you finish it all.
   c. You can only say you are in need if you do not have anything.
   d. You are either in need or not in need of something, you are not in need, so you are not not in need of something.

e. Disjunctive/Major/VS

f. Nsengas believe that when a person finishes eating the food served on a plate it means that s/he is not satisfied. Thus if you do not want to be interpreted as being served insufficient food you must always leave something on the plate.

703. Unga wakupasa anyoko uli nanga ni lito.

a.

u-nga	u-a-kupas-a	a-nyoko	u-li
14-mealie.meal	cl14-PERF-GP-give-FV	cl2-mother	cl14-be
nanga ni	li-to		
CNJ COP	cl5-soil		

b. The mealie that has been given to you by your mother is like soil.

c. Free things are used irresponsibly.

d. People value what they have worked for, s/he has not worked for it, so s/he does not value it.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. People do not care about things, which they have just been given. In the proverb, is a situation a son or daughter who should be independent is freely given handouts by the parents. The handouts cause the child to be irresponsible and use them wastefully because s/he does not work or pay for it. The soil "*lito*" represents something useless because it is always naturally there.

704. Ungafumbate lini mamfumu awîri.

a.

u-nga-fumbat-e	lini	ma-fumu	a-wîli
2s-MOD-hold.in.palm-FV	NEG	cl6-king	cl2-two

b. You cannot hold two kings into your palm.

c. Divided loyalty is not possible.

d. If you can only be loyal to one master then you cannot be loyal to more than one master, if you cannot be loyal to more than one then you cannot be loyal to two, so If you cannot be loyal to more than one master then you cannot be loyal to two masters.

e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS

f. The Nsenga traditional leadership is organized into one Senior Chief regarded as a king and other sub chiefs. Subjects can however only be loyal to one traditional leader. Any attempt by any subject at being loyal to more than one traditional leader is regarded as treason or betrayal. The situation

is used in the proverb to mean that a person cannot be good to everyone without being a liar or traitor. Normally, a person can be liked by some people and hated by some others.

705. Unkhumbakulya.
   a. u-nkhumbakulya
      cl14-one.who.eats.like.a.pig
   b. Eating like a pig.
   c. Overeating is bad.
   d. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause problems, she is overindulging, so she might have problems.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. A pig is animal that eats anything that comes its way. It can eat anything including human feaces and human flesh.

706. Unyinji ni wabwino napeza m'kazi wangu ali na kaluvumo.
   a. u-nyinji ni u-a bwino ni-a-pez-a
      cl14-abundance COP cl14-GEN good 1s-PERF-find-FV
      mu-kazi u-angu a-li na ka-Ø-luvumo
      cl1-female cl1-1sPOS cl1-be CNJ cl12-cl5a-belly
   b. It is good to be many: I have found my wife with a potbelly.
   c. Live in harmony with everyone because they may be your next helpers.
   d. If I am good to others then they will be pleased with me, If they will be pleased with me then they will treat me with favor, so if I am good to others then they will treat me with favor.
   e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VUS
   f. Because of the communal sense of living as well as living within extended families, anybody who becomes incapable of looking after him/herself becomes the responsibility of society. In many instances where a parent or breadwinner travels and the remaining family becomes vulnerable, the community assumes responsibility of the vulnerable members of the family. In the proverb, therefore a man who has been away for a while finds the wife with a potbelly because of the help she receives from the community. However, the community only helps if you too have had a record of helping others and of good behavior.

707. Unyinji ni wabwino uifya kupezya muto m'mbale.

a. u-nyinji ni u-a bwino u-ku-ip-ish-a
cl14-abundance COP cl14-GEN good cl14-GP-bad-CAUS-FV
ku-pezy-a mu-to mu-n-bale
INFM-dry.up-FV cl3-gravy cl18-cl9-plate

b. It is good to be many but food easily finishes.

c. Group work has both advantages and disadvantages.

d. Everything has both pros and cons, group work is something, so it has both pros and cons.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. It is common for Nsenga people to work in groups. The larger the group is the easier it is to finish tasks. Thus, groups of people rotate cultivating their fields one after another. The challenge only comes in feeding large groups of people, as women usually prepare food to feed the working people. The owner of the field provides the food.

708. Unyinji ni wabwino uipila kukolola ndiyo.

a. u-nyinji ni u-a bwino u-ku-ip-il-a
cl14-abundance COP cl14-GEN good cl14-GP-bad-APP-FV
ku-kokolol-a n-diyo
INFM-eat.more.than.enough relish-FV

b. It is good to be many except people eat more than necessary relish.

c. Everything has its own pros and cons such s living in big numbers.

d. Everything has both pros and cons, group work is something, so it has both pros and cons.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsenga people traditionally live as large families. Firstly, it is regarded as wealth to have many children. As a result, one can have as many children as s/he can afford to bear. Children are regarded as wealth because in their numbers they later become sources of family expansion and resources from such activities as farming and dowry in case of women. The large family can also do large tasks much easily and quickly. Secondly, many people live as extended families. It is common to find two to three generations living either in one household or village setup. The extended family is helpful in looking after the disadvantaged within the families such as the elderly and physically challenged people. However, advantages are there too. The biggest problem is how to feed the big numbers. Whilst it is

relatively easier and cheaper to provide *nshima* the staple food, relish is not only expensive but sometimes difficult to find. It is therefore encouraged for people living and eating in numbers to be always economic with relish.

709. Unyinji ukwana koma ukuta lini.

a. u-nyinji u-ku-kwana koma u-kut-a
cl14-abundance cl14-GP-be.enough-FV CNJ 2s-be.satisfied-FV
lini
NEG

b. Abundance is enough but you do not get satisfied.
c. Share everything in common regardless of quantity.
d. If I have enough then I can share, I do not have enough, so I cannot share.
e. TF/Conclusion/UCW
f. Like it has been said earlier, Nsenga families usually live in large numbers which sometimes include the extended family. Meals are usually served at the same time and eaten at once as a group for both economic and good family values. It is also common for families that live in the same vicinity to eat together as a group. Although, food may never be enough, it is always encouraged to share everything. The goal is usually to eat something rather than to get full or satisfied.

710. Unyinji wa nzimu wezimya mulilo.

a. u-njyinji u-a n-zimu u-i-zim-i-a
cl14-abundance cl14-GEN cl9-bee cl14-PAST-exstinguish-CAUS-FV
mu-lilo
cl3-fire

b. The abundance of bees extinguished fire.
c. Big numbers help to solve big problems.
d. Big numbers help to solve big problems, I have a big problem, so I need big numbers.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. The Nsenga people are good at bee keeping. They can also fetch wild honey when it is in season. When someone wants to fetch honey, s/he gets fire with a bit of smoke so s/he can confuse and suffocate the bees and eventually collect the honey. However, if the bees are too many they can put out the fire and thereby making it difficult to collect the honey. In the

process, some may die but because the bees are many, the fire is put out thereby safeguarding the honey.

711. Upotola kwanja yokosa.
   a. u-potol-a ku-anja i-ku-kos-a
      2s-twist-FV cl15-hand cl15-GP-hard-FV
   b. You twist a strong hand.
   c. People should be treated according to their behavior.
   d. People should be treated according to their character, he is bad, so he should be treated badly.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Arm-twisting is one of the pastime activities especially among youth. Due to the nature of exercise, only people with strong muscle can participate to avoid injury. The strength of the arm represents a stubborn person whilst the weak (soft) arm represents a humble person. The twisting represents the act of trying to control or correct the stubborn person.

712. Usatamye kuti nine muweme m'tima.
   a. u-sa-tamy-e ku-ti nine mu-weme mu-tima
      2s-NEG-boast-FV INFM-say 1s-EMPH cl1-good cl3-heart
   b. You do not boast that you are a good person.
   c. Good people are known by their actions.
   d. If you are good then people might become jealousy of you, If people become jealousy of you then they might kill you, so if you are good then you might be killed.
   e. Hypothetical/Major/VUS
   f. Nsengas as part of a socialist principle believe that nobody should be seen to be superior to others. Thus it is prohibited to boast about your actions. It is up to society to brand who is good or bad. People who boast about being good are therefore regarded as pompous and deviants.

713. Usatukwane ng'wena matako akali m'manzi.
   a. u-sa-tukwan-e n-ng'wena ma-tako a-ka-li
      2s-NEG-insult-FV cl9-crocodile cl6-buttock cl6-CND-be
      mu-ma-nzi
      cl18-cl6-water
   b. Don't insult a crocodile while your buttocks are still in water.

c. When you talk behind someone you must be responsible for your words.
d. If am good then people can see that I am good if people can see that I am good then I do not need to inform them that I am good, so if I am good then I do not need to inform people that I am good.
e. Hypothetical/Conclusion/VS
f. Nsengas believe in a myth that when you mention a crocodile while you are in water you are likely to get attacked by the beast. In the proverb, a worse scenario is portrayed where a person does not just mention but insults the crocodile. It creates an image of a crocodile getting angry and coming to attack the human being who is crossing a river but his/her buttocks are still under the water.

714. Usatula nkhalamo pamene ukali m'sanga.
a. u-sa-tul-a n-khalamo pa-mene u-ka-li
2s-NEG-mention-FV cl9-lion cl16-REL 2s-CND-be
mu-Ø-sanga
cl18-cl5a-bush
b. Do not mention a lion while you are in the bush.
c. When you talk behind someone, you must be responsible for your wards.
d. If I am talking ill about someone and if someone else could be listening then I must be careful. If I am talking ill about someone, then if someone else could be listening then I must be careful.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. Nsenga people believe in a myth that if you mention a lion while in the bush it shows up and attacks you. Generally, they believe that a beast must not be mentioned by name.

715. Ushamwali wa imbwa na munthu.
a. u-shamwali u-a in-bwa na mu-nthu
cl14-frienship cl14-GEN cl9-dog CNJ cl1-person
b. The human-dog friendship.
c. A relationship that only survives in good times.
d. Good friends share good things, s/he does not share good things, so s/he is not a good friend.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Dogs are one of the favorite pets among Nsengas. However, dogs are always kept as outdoor pets for two specific reasons; namely guarding and

hunting. As long as a dog is able to guard and hunt it remains a person's friend otherwise it is always chased away. Dogs are never allowed to sit close to humans and only treated with kindness when they do something good such as catching an animal.

716. Usiku uyendewa lini na anzeru.

a. u-siku u-ku-yend-iw-a lini na a-a
cl14-night cl14-GP-walk-PASS-FV NEG CNJ cl2-GEN
n-zeru
cl9-intelligence

b. Wise people do not walk in the night.

c. Wise people heed advice.

d. Wise people adhere to advice, he is heeds advice, so he is wise.

e. PF/Major/C

f. Most of Nsenga households are located in or near thickets. For this reason, it is always dangerous to walk in the night for fear of attacks from wild animals and sometimes criminals. Anybody on a journey usually by foot is advised to take refuge at the nearest village once it gets dark. Local traditional leaders and subjects have a moral responsibility to accept any visitor who wants to take refuge on their journey.

717. Ususha Cawamvwa.

a. u-ku-sush-a ci-a u-a-mvw-a
2s-GP-disagree.with-FV cl7-GEN 2s-PERF-hear-FV

b. You disagree with what you have heard.

c. Argue based on facts.

d. If you want to argue then you must have facts, you have no facts, so you cannot argue.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. The proverb encourages people to argue with facts and not from without. When you do not have facts, it is better not to argue.

718. Uswiswi ukonkha unthongo m'menso.

a. u-swiswi u-ku-konkh-a u-nthongo
cl14-very.small.flying.insect cl14-GP-follow-FV cl14-eye.discharge
mu-ma-inso
cl18-cl6-eye

b. The Uswiswi insect follows the eye discharge.
c. Some problems are a result of one's actions.
d. One's actions can cause a problem, I have a problem, so my actions can be the cause.
e. PF/Major/C
f. Uswiswi is a small mosquito like fly that can be a nuisance to humans especially in woodlands in the bush. They like to get into the eyes and ears of people. They also usually bother children with eye discharge in communities that are usually near the bushes. However, they are rarely found bothering a person especially a child without eye discharge.

719. Uta uyumila kuti uthyolewe.

a. u-ta	u-ku-yum-il-a	kuti	u-thyol-iw-e
cl14-bow.and.arrow	cl14-GP-dry-APP-FV	CNJ	cl14-break-PAS

b. The bow and arrow becomes dry so that it gets broken.
c. Someone who does not heed advice gets into trouble.
d. If you do net heed advice you run into problems, s/he does not heed advice. So s/he will run into trouble.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. A bow and arrow is a traditionally important weapon for hunting. Hunting is essential in not only being a source of food and livelihood but also a means of recreation. A bow and arrow is traditionally made from wood. The bow becomes hard to bend when it becomes dry. It can actually break when it becomes dry. Special care is always required to keep the bow usable. The situation is likened to a person who does not want to heed advice and ends up in problems.

720. Uta wa nkhalamba ulasa olo ulilele.

a. u-ta	u-a	n-khalamba	u-ku-las-a	
cl14-bow.and.arrow	cl14-GEN	cl9-old.person	cl14-GP-strike-FV	
olo	u-li-lel-e			
CNJ	cl14-be-sleep-FV			

b. An old person's bow and arrow can still cause harm even when it's lying idle.
c. An old person's advice is valuable even when s/he's not present.
d. An old person's advice is valuable even when s/he's not present, the old person is not present, so his/her advice is still valuable.

e. PF/Major/C

f. Because of the cultural norm of respecting elderly people, sometimes young people are simply afraid of anything that old people own and they sometimes treat old people's assets with superstition. In the proverb, a situation is given where an old person dies but people are afraid of touching his/her bow and arrow for fear of being stricken. In the Nsenga tradition, sleeping is also used to refer to death as euphemism. The bow and arrow is a personification of an old person. This proverb therefore means that words or the counsel of an old person will still be applicable or important even when the old person has died.

721. Uvyazi wamuyako ungauleshe lini kupepa.

a. u-vyazi u-a mu-yayako u-nga-u-lesh-e
cl14-reproduction cl14-GEN cl1-friend cl14-MOD-2s-stop-FV
lini ku-pep-a
NEG INFM-smoke-FV

b. You cannot stop your friend's child from smoking.

c. There is a limit to which you can advise or discipline another person's child or indeed another person.

d. I can give any discipline to my child, she is not my child, so I cannot give any discipline.

e. MTT/Major/VUS

f. In Nsenga society all elderly people are responsible for the teaching, correction, rebuke, and overall wellbeing of younger ones. Any elderly person can therefore administer some form of punishment to correct the behavior of younger ones even if they are not his or her own biological children. However, there is limit on the extent to which an outsider can administer disciplinary action in another person's family to avoid potential conflicts. In cases where an elderly person finds a younger one resistant to advise or punishment, the responsibility to help such a person is solely left with the parents of the person. Smoking by teenagers is one such behavior that calls on all elder sin society to correct the behavior. In the proverb, some one's child is figuratively referred to as reproduction to emphasize the importance of respecting other people's children's rights. Reproduction is considered as sacred and something of very high social order that should be treated respectfully. It is for this reason that those that are reproductive are treated with more respect than those that are not.

722. Uŵazila lini m'tiko ulimi wam'kwanu.

a. u-ku-ŵaz-il-a lini m-tiko u-limi
2s-GP-curve-APP-FV NEG cl3-cooking.stick cl3-farming
u-a mu-kwanu
cl14-GEN cl1-relative

b. You do not curve a cooking stick so that you use it to cook your relative's harvest.

c. It is important to be self-reliant in especially essential commodities.

d. If something is sustainable then you must have worked for it, I have not worked for it, so it is not sustainable.

e. MTT/Conclusion/VUS

f. A cooking stick is one of the kitchen utensils that you must find in any Nsenga home. It is used to prepare the staple food, *nshima*, as well as other home brewed beverages including beer. It is generally used for stirring in a pot. It is therefore a symbol of a functioning kitchen. It is very unlikely that anybody can go to a neighbor's home to borrow a cooking stick, as there are usually more than one in any home. In this manner, it is expected that the owner of the cooking stick use it to cook his or her own food. The expression "own food" here refers to the food that one has acquired either though farming or purchasing. You do not therefore buy kitchen utensils in order to prepare food of your relatives let alone other people. Hence, farming in the proverb refers to the food that is acquired from ones toil or effort. It is therefore regarded as highly irresponsible for anybody to be insufficient of food or at least mealie meal used to prepare *nshima*. It is irresponsible to perpetually be begging for mealie meal.

723. Uyendeka lini na amphawi.

a. u-ku-yend-ik-a lini na a-mphawi
cl14-GP-walk-POT-FV NEG CNJ cl2-poor.person

b. The poor do not take a journey.

c. You need to take important steps to overcome poverty.

d. You need to take important steps to overcome poverty, I want to overcome poverty, so I should take important steps.

e. PF/Major/C

f. Any person who wants to become successful is likened to a person who willingly gets on a journey in order to arrive at a desired destination.

Successful people are therefore considered mobile and a person who does not sit idle in one place.

724. Uzungu ni weka.

a. u-zungu ni u-eka
cl14-European.life COP 2s-alone

b. To live like a king is entirely up to oneself.

c. Individual effort is necessary in personal development.

d. Individual hard work is necessary in order to succeed, I need to succeed, so I should work hard.

e. PF/Major/UCS

f. The proverb is a typical example of the relationship between the White person and Zambians from pre-colonial eras until now. A white person, especially as a result of colonialism and Christianity, is always regarded as powerful, successful and with strong character. S/he is regarded as the symbol of success, an affluent lifestyle and the antonym of poverty. Thus one assumes s/he is living a good life if s/he lives like a White person. People are aware that the Zambian government has not been successful in improving all people's lives to such an extent that the citizens would say of themselves as living "uzungu" - the European style of life or an affluent lifestyle. In this manner, it is up to an individual to pursue individual efforts in attaining an affluent lifestyle.

725. Va mucalo ni kosilizyila kwa masiku.

a. vi-a mu-ci-alo ni ko-silizy-il-a ku-a
cl8-GEN cl18-cl7-world COP ENC-finish-APP-FV cl17-GEN
ma-siku
cl6-day

b. Worldly things are the horizon of days.

c. Pleasure is vanity therefore it should be pursued with moderation.

d. No human being can enjoy all pleasures of life, I am a human being, so I cannot enjoy all the pleasures of life.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Whilst all Nsenga citizens are free to enjoy and indulge into the pleasures of its society, any pleasure seeking activity is expected to be done with moderation. The horizon is traditionally known as the end of the world.

Here the world is likened to days that have an end, either from sunrise to sunset or from birth to death.

726. Vakulaŵila anakazi ni vatyala tyala, koma wamene asavimvwa ni cipuŵa.

a. vi-a ku-laŵil-a a-nakazi ni vi-a tyala
cl8-GEN INFM-speak-FV cl2-female COP cl8-GEN nothing
koma u-a-mene a-sa-vi-mvw-a ni ci-puŵa
CNJ 2s-GEN-REL cl1-NEG-cl8-hear-FV COP cl7-fool

b. What women say is nonsense but the one who does not listen to them is a fool.

c. Treat all members of society without prejudice.

d. Treat all members of society without prejudice, she is a member of society, so I should treat her without prejudice.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. This proverb reveals two seemingly conflicting views about women in Nsenga land. Generally, Nsenga women are viewed as very talkative and therefore full of irrelevant talk and gossip. However, the society is fully awake to this view and advises its own people to desist from having such a generalized and prejudiced view about women. It is therefore regarded that any wise person, and especially leader, must always pay special attention to what everybody in his or her society says without prejudice in order to get the message behind people's talk. Thus women, regardless of what people may think about them, are very important members of society that should be listened to. It is conversely people that view women lowly and refuse to listen to them that are fools or unwise.

727. Vakulya usiku vuonekela kumalusi.

a. vi-a ku-ly-a u-siku vi-ku-on-ik-il-a
cl8-GEN INFM-eat-FV cl14-night cl8-GP-see-POT-APP-FV
ku-ma-lusi
cl17-cl6-vomit

b. What you eat at night will be noticed from the vomit.

c. There is no secret under the sun.

d. If there is a secret and if there is a hint to the secret then the secret can be revealed. If there is a secret, then if there is a hint to the secret then the secret can be revealed.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. It is common to vomit undigested food that can be easily identified in the vomit itself. There are some rare instances where a household member eats some food without the permission of the head of the family. In cases where such a person vomits due to some stomach problems, the stolen food might be revealed. This situation is also similar to people who do not want to reveal that they drink beer. Such people might choose to drink at night away from society's view. As there are many cases, one may vomit in sleep and are noticed by others in the morning. The situation also applies to doing sexual activities in secret and being revealed by pregnancy, which is inevitably visible to society. Thus, whatever you do in the dark does not remain in the dark/in secret.

728. Vakumvwakumvwa vupasula nthengo.

a. vi-a ku-mvw-a-ku-mvw-a vi-ku-pasul-a
cl8-GEN INFM-hear-FV-hear-FV cl8-GP-destroy-FV
n-thengo
cl9-marriage

b. Listening to all what people say destroys a marriage.

c. Some information is dangerous for a marriage relationship.

d. If it is hearsay and if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it. If it is hearsay, then if it has no facts then I should not pay attention to it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. This proverb provides an important statement in marriage counseling. It is said in a situation where a partner wants to react to all the information s/he comes across about her/his partner. Some pieces of information can be unreliable and can destroy marriages. Marriage counseling is regarded as a very important part of marriage to avoid divorce because it is regarded as a taboo among Nsenga people to divorce.

729. Vazula mumanja.

a. vi-a-zul-a mu-ma-nja
cl8-PERF-be.full-FV cl18-cl6-hand

b. Hands are full.

c. To be overwhelmed with problems.

d. If you cannot handle a problem then you need help, I cannot handle a problem, so I need help.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. This is an expression used to indicate that somebody has been overwhelmed by problems. A picture of a person with full hands implies one who is preoccupied and therefore cannot do anything else.

730. Viipa ulawîla vako.
   a. vi-ipa a-ku-lawîl-a vi-ako
      cl8-bad 2s-GP-talk-FV cl8-2sPOS
   b. You talk about your own wrongs.
   c. You should only talk about your weaknesses or bad side.
   d. If it is my weakness then I can talk about it, it is not my weakness, so I cannot talk about it.
   e. TF/Major/UCS
   f. Gossip, which is one of the Nsenga society's big problems, is regarded as a very bad element in society. Thus, it is always advisable for people to mind their own business and avoid discussing other people's issues.

731. Vikonde ni nkhomo.
   a. vi-konde ni n-khomo
      cl8-banana COP cl9-sucker
   b. Suckers become future bananas.
   c. Children are the future of a society.
   d. If there is a person and if a person can grow then the person can become big. If there is a person, then if a person can grow then the person can become big.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. Gardening in dambo areas is a supplement to rain-fed agriculture among the Nsengas. People that live near riversides and areas with shallow water tables do all-yeah round gardening for vegetables, bananas, citrus fruits and other crops. A banana is one of the easiest and most common fruit to grow. Farmers use suckers that shoot around big bananas to make new plantations.

732. Vimiti vili pamo vuleka lini kukwesana.
   a. vi-miti vi-li pa-mo vi-ku-lek-a lini
      cl8-tree cl8-be cl16-together cl8-GP-stop-FV NEG
      ku-kwes-an-a
      INFM-rub-REC-FV
   b. Close trees cannot avoid friction with each other.

c. Differences in relationships are normal.
d. If you are in a relationship then differences are inevitable, I am in a relationship, so differences are inevitable.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. This is another reconciliatory proverb. It tends to emphasize the fact that small differences between people of one family or community should be regarded as normal. It is used to reconcile people of the same family after differing on something. In trying to do so, elders of the family or village tell them that differences between members of families for example husband and wife or brothers and sisters cannot be avoided. However, the differences should be resolved quickly and forgotten about so that the two parties can continue living in harmony. It is unavoidable to argue if you live together just like trees that are close to each other cannot avoid friction, but the friction only occurs when the wind blows causing the trees to sway against each other.

733. Vimiti vukula ndiye sanga.

a. vi-miti	vi-ku-kul-a	ndi-ye	Ø-sanga
cl8-tree	cl8-GP-grow-FV	COP-EMPH	cl5a-bush

b. Growing trees are the forest itself.
c. Children are future leaders.
d. If there is a person and if a person can grow then the person can become big. If there is a person, then if a person can grow then the person can become big.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
f. In Nsenga land, people use extensive farming methods and firewood as a major source of energy. This results in extensive cutting of trees. The society therefore is always faced with challenges of preserving the forest for not only sustainable use but good environmental protection for future generations. The proverb is evident of the fact that there has always been a sense, or indeed practices, of conservation in society. The situation is also used in not only advising elderly people to look after younger ones as future leaders but also treat the younger ones as though they were already leaders.

734. Vinthu vukambika kanyinji vucitika lini.

a. vi-nthu vi-ku-kamb-ik-a ka-nyinji vi-ku-cit-ik-a lini
cl8-thing cl8-GP-make-POT-FV cl12-plenty cl8-GP-do-POT-FV
NEG

b. What is talked about does not usually happen.

c. Action is better than words.

d. If you make a promise and if you actually do it then it better when you actually do it because a promise may not be fulfilled. If you make a promise, then if you actually do it then it better when you actually do it because a promise may not be fulfilled.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. The proverb is used to get people to transform their plans into actions. It is advisable that if you want to do something it is better to just do it without talking much about it. It further means that most people who like talking about their plans do not actually fulfill them.

735. Visakumana ni viŵanda.

a. vi-sa-kum-an-a ni vi-ŵanda
cl8-NEG-meet-REC-FV COP cl8-ghost

b. Ghosts are the ones that do not meet.

c. You can run but you cannot hide.

d. If I run away then I will not meet him, I have run away, so I will not meet him.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsengas like many other societies believe in life after death in form of either helpful ancestral spirits or wondering evil spirits that want to harm people. The wondering spirits that want to harm society are regarded as ghosts. There is therefore nothing good expected from ghosts. If anyone meets a ghost, it is believed that s/he has to die. Normally, this proverb is used as a warning to someone who has done something wrong and is running away from the one s/he has wronged. If this happens, the one who has been wronged may say "you may run away now but what you should know is that only ghosts do not meet". This means that even if s/he runs away, they will still meet.

736. Visinga niye vusunga mulilo.

a. vi-singa ni-ye vi-ku-sung-a mu-lilo
cl8-log COP-EMPH cl8-GP-keep-FV cl3-fire

b. Logs are the ones that store the fire.

c. Elderly people are the pillars of society.

d. Elderly people are the pillars of society, he is an elderly person, so he is a pillar of society.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Traditionally, firewood is the sole source of lighting and fire. Big logs are deliberately left to glow, many times, all night in order to use them as sources of fire whenever one wants to light a fire. This is done because logs, usually large and hard to burn, burn slowly. Even nowadays in households that cannot manage to purchase matches logs are still used as storage of fire. In addition, it is easier to start a fire from a glowing log. In the proverb, logs stand for elders. Elderly people are the ones who ensure that there is unity and continuity in a community.

737. Vitonga valima aliye menu.

a. vi-tonga vi-a-lim-a a-li-ye ma-inu
cl8-maize cl8-PERF-grow-FV cl1-be-NEG cl6-tooth

b. A person without teeth has grown maize.

c. Anybody can be lucky.

d. If there is luck and if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky. If there is luck, then if anybody can become lucky then even the person you do not expect can become lucky.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Maize besides being used chiefly to make mealie meal for *nshima* is also used to make various snacks. One such snack is either boiling dry maize and eat the grains or boil maize grains whose husks have been removed. In both cases, the grain is a bit hard requiring somebody with strong teeth to eat them. Since agriculture in Nsenga land is rain-fed, there are seasons when things go wrong because of drought. Sometimes people have poor yields for various reasons besides making a huge input. There are also instances when some people are simply said to be lucky for having high yields.

738. Viwele pano ni vatonse.

a. vi-wel-e pa-no ni vi-a ti-onse
cl8-come-FV cl16-DEM COP cl8-GEN 1p-all

b. Let them come here because they are for everyone.

c. Public tasks are for public participation.

d. If something belongs to the public then it is for common purpose, it is public property, so it is for common purpose.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Viwele "let them come" refers to anything such as food, discussion topic, or a task. It means that anything public is for public consumption or participation.

739. Voonaona vupaya menso.

a. vi-a ku-on-a-on-a vi-ku-pay-a ma-inso
cl8-GEN INFM-see-FV-see-FV cl8-GP-kill-FV cl6-eye

b. Looking at things anyhow destroys eyes.

c. You cannot have everything you want.

d. A person cannot own everything, I am a person, so I cannot own everything.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. There is a myth among Nsengas that somebody who does not restrict what their eyes see easily loses her/his eye sight. It is part of the myth that any young person who sees an order person's nakedness for whatever reason and whether with or without the order person's consent loses eyesight. This is used as deterrent from letting young people practice sex with order people.

740. Vufisiwa usiku vuonekela m'zuŵa.

a. vi-ku-fis-iw-a u-siku vi-ku-on-ik-il-a mu-zuŵ-a
cl8-GP-hide-PASS-FV cl14-night cl8-GP-see-POT-APP-FV cl3-day

b. What is hidden at night is seen during day time.

c. There is no secret under the sun.

d. If there is a secret and if there is a hint to the secret then the secret can be revealed. If there is a secret, then if there is a hint to the secret then the secret can be revealed.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. The proverb is directed at those that involve themselves in clandestine activities so that they know that even if they hide their activities, one day

they will be brought in the open. This is mostly related to couples who hide their sexual activities but are exposed when a pregnancy appears.

741. Vukula mwamsanga vufota mwamsanga.

a. vi-ku-kul-a mu-a-msanga vi-ku-fot-a mu-a-msanga
cl8-GP-grow-FV cl18-GEN-fast cl8-GP-wither-FV cl18-GEN-fast

b. What grows fast also withers fast.

c. Nothing done in hasty is good.

d. Something made in hasty is not sustainable, it is made in hasty, so it is not sustainable.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. This statement comes from the people's observation of the behavior of plants in the farms and the bush. Rain in Nsenga land is seasonal, with most of it falling for only four months from December to February. Either most of the plants that require a lot of water are grown in the rainy season or they naturally grow within the season. As soon as the rainy and farming season finishes, most of these crops and wild plants wither away too. Even within the rainy season, crops and wild plants that grow fast wither early too. There are usually very beautiful wild flowers that bloom within the rainy season but wither away very quickly. Crops that provide food for the rest of the year therefore take long to grow and require the entire normal rainy season to expire before they become ready for harvest. Quickly grown crops are usually harvested and consumed within the rainy season. They are therefore not very sustainable in food safety.

742. Vulwiliwa lini na mwine.

a. vi-ku-lwil-iw-a lini na mu-ine
cl8-GP-fight-PASS-FV NEG CNJ cl1-owner

b. The owner cannot fight for his or her own possession.

c. The owner cannot fight for ownership of what s/he already owns.

d. The owner cannot fight for ownership of what s/he already owns, she is the owner, so she cannot fight for ownership of what she already owns.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. By common sense, no one fights for ownership of things s/he already owns. Thus in many cases, someone who puts up a fight of ownership is not the real owner. It is therefore common sense to treat people falsely claiming ownership with a lot of caution.

743. Vulyewa lini na oyenda.
   a. vi-ku-ly-iw-a lini na a-ku-yend-a
      cl8-GP-eat-PASS-FV NEG CNJ cl1-GP-walk-FV
   b. Somebody on a journey does not eat them.
   c. Be focused and do what it takes to achieve your goals.
   d. Individual hard work is necessary in order to succeed, I need to succeed, so I should work hard.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. From long ago until now many people go on long trips by foot that can last as long as a week or more. Although people on a journey carry food, they can only carry limited food to avoid too much weight on the journey. In this manner, people on a journey can also ask for food from the people they seek shelter especially at night. All Nsengas understand that it is their responsibility to help anyone seeking shelter on a journey with both accommodation and food as long as the village's leadership is aware of the visitor for safety reasons. The host of the guests can serve any type of food s/he has or wants to serve. The visitors are respected not to be choosy but to accept anything addible. It is also common to want to eat some wild fruits on a journey to relieve hunger. However, one can only eat the fruits/he is sure are not poisonous to avoid accidents.

744. Vundula-manzi.
   a. vundul-a-ma-nzi
      stir-FV-cl6-water
   b. A person who stirs water.
   c. Deliberately causing conflict.
   d. If something is dangerous then it should not be provoked, it is dangerous, so it should not be provoked.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. Most of the sources of water for Nsenga people are either running rivers or wells dug on the rivers or near the rivers. Sometimes pools of water require careful use to avoid stirring up dirt. There are people who do not care about others and use water in such a way that it becomes unusable for others. Such people are compared to those who deliberate bring up unnecessary issues to create conflict among people.

745. Vusila lini kuwama eluta, nivisilizyiletu ewâkata.

a. vi-ku-sil-a lini ku-wam-a a-i-lut-a
cl8-GP-finish-FV NEG INFM-good-FV cl2-PAST-go-FV
ni-vi-silizy-il-a-tu a-i-ŵa-kat-a
1s-cl8-finish-APP-FV-PTC cl1-PAST-cl2-catch-FV

b. The ones who said that there would always be something good went free but the ones who wanted to finish it all were caught.

c. Over indulgence is bad.

d. Overindulgence into pleasures of life can cause death, you over indulge, so you might die.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. The proverb relates to a situation where one does or uses something without permission or indeed steeling. In such circumstances, one must always be moderate to avoid being caught by doing too much of anything that can cause suspicion or increase the chances of being caught. The proverb also relates to situations where one has to over indulge into pleasurable activities. For instance, beer must always be taken in moderation to avoid misbehaving due to loss of mental abilities.

746. Wa matu akumvwa kamo.

a. u-a mu-tu a-ku-mvw-a ka-mo
cl1-GEN cl3-ear cl1-GP-hear-FV cl12-once

b. A person with good ears listens once.

c. An obedient person heeds advice at once.

d. If she heeds advice at once then she is obedient, she has not heeded advice at once, so she is not obedient.

e. TF/Major/UCW

f. The expression "A person with ears" is used to refer to a person who is obedient and thus one without ears is a disobedient person. Literally, ears pick up audible sound once it is produced. In the same way, a person is expected to heed advice at once.

747. Wafipishiwa oyota uta wake.

a. u-a fip-ish-iw-a a-ku-yot-a u-ta
cl1-GEN dark-CAUS-PASS-FV cl1-GP-bask-FV cl14-bow.and.arrow
u-ake
cl1-3sPOS

b. The one who is caught up in darkness warms himself by his or her bow and arrow.
c. In desperate circumstances one resorts to any means.
d. In desperate circumstances one resorts to any means available, he was desperate, so he chose available means.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Usually traditional hunting is done during the day when animals can easily be seen. Once it gets dark, one must return either home or the hunting camp to take shelter from the cold of the night and dangerous wild animals. In some cases, one may miscalculate either the distance from home or the camp and is caught up with the night or simply get lost into the bush and night of the day. In such circumstances, one remains with almost nothing except his or her bow and arrow in the cold and the dangers of the night. In order to survive, one must do everything there is possible to be done. It also means that s/he uses the bow and arrow defend him/herself rather than to hunt.

748. Wafuna kufula asayope kulumiwa na nzimu.
a. u-a-fun-a ku-ful-a a-sa-yop-a
cl1-PERF-want-FV INFM-collect.(honey)-FV cl1-NEG-fear-FV
ku-lum-iw-a na n-zimu
INFM-sting-PASS-FV CNJ cl9-bee
b. S/he that wants to collect honey should not fear to be stung by bees.
c. There is no sweet without sweat.
d. If you want something then you should handle the consequences, she wants something, so she should handle the consequences.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Honey is traditionally a good source of sugar for Nsenga people. It is used as a spread and eaten as dessert or snack. Traditional methods of collecting honey from wild bees are by simply using bear hands and smoke from burning grass. The bees are suffocated with smoke before one pushes his/her hand into the hive to collect the honey. Even though the bees are made ineffective because of smoke, they still sting. The proverb means that when you want to achieve something that is good, you should be ready for the consequences. One should know that there is always a price to pay for good things.

749. Wafwa wafwa cimbwi enyela Ingo.

a. u-a-fw-a u-a-fw-a Ø-cimbwi a-i-ny-il-a
2s-PERF-die-FV 2s-PERF-die-FV cl1a-hyena cl1-PAST-defecate-FV
in-go
cl9-leopard

b. Come what may, even death, I will do as a hyena that defecated on the leopard.

c. In desperate circumstances one resorts to any means.

d. In desperate circumstances one resorts to any means available, he was desperate, so he chose available means.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. A hyena and a leopard are two animals that represent two opposing characteristics in Nsenga society. A hyena is an animal that is known to steal prey from other hunting animals. For this reason, a hyena is considered an animal with very low virtues that no man should follow. A hyena can wait for a very long time just to find an opportunity to steal from fellow animals or livestock from human beings in the night when humans are asleep. It represents a coward and an opportunist. A leopard on the other hand hunts its own prey and is dangerous to both human beings and other animals. It is rarely seen in the open and is usually away from human beings. There is very little or no conflict between itself and humans. In this proverb, however a hyena is said to defecate on the leopard. This imaginary situation would be very dangerous and with grave consequences on the hyena if this were in reality.

750. Wafwaya nongo yamanzi.

a. u-a-fway-a Ø-nongo i-a ma-nzi
cl1-PERF-break-FV cl5a-big.clay.pot cl5a-GEN cl6-water

b. She has broken the water clay pot.

c. She has become of age.

d. If one has become of age then s/he can marry, s/he has become of age, so s/he can marry.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A clay pot is a significant thing among Nsenga people. It is traditionally used in marriage symbolism. Every new couple is advised to keep a clay pot called *kankhombe ka maloza* 'a pot of taboos'. It is used for the couple to keep shaving tools as every couple is advised to shave pubic hair as part

of hygiene. Shaving is one of the things the couple is advised to do before doing anything else in marriage. The couple is advised to only have sex after shaving, which also becomes the sequence of events once shaving is required in their entire marriage life. Shaving also represents a strong bond between two couples. The pot therefore represents the secrecy and sacredness of marriage. The breaking of the pot in the proverb hence symbolizes the act of breaking into the secret world of marriage. The water pot is a secret code used to refer to the taboo pot. Thus only people that have gone through traditional marriage lessons can understand the proverb.

751. Wakake okaleka lini.
   a. u-a ka-ake a-ku-ka-lek-a lini
      cl1-GEN cl12-3sPOS cl1-GP-cl12-quit-FV NEG
   b. A person with a little thing (bad habit) does not let go of it.
   c. Habits are difficult to overcome.
   d. If there is something and if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future. If there is something, then if you like to do it frequently then you are likely to do it in the future.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS
   f. This proverb is used for someone whose bad behavior is expected because of his/her usual bad conduct. By linguist analysis, the prefix ka- is for diminutive items. This implies somebody is carrying something that is hidden and does not want to let go of it. The fact that it is small and portable makes it easy for him/her to carry it around. For instance, this could be a small handy tool in various situations.

752. Wakanda matika wamwa.
   a. u-a-kand-a ma-tik-a u-a-mw-a
      cl1-PERF-step.on-FV cl6-mud cl1-PERF-drink-FV
   b. If you have stepped on the mud, it means you have drunk.
   c. If you are linked to evidence then you are guilty as charged.
   d. If there is evidence then s/he is guilty, there is no evidence, so s/he is not guilty.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. There are some natural water reservoirs that become useful to many households in dry and drought seasons. You can easily tell who has used the lagoon by looking at mud on their feet and footprints on the mud.

753. Wakata mulilo m'tima waŵawa.
   a. u-a-kat-a mu-lilo mu-tima u-a-ŵaŵ-a
      2s-PERF-touch-FV cl3-fire cl3-heart cl3-PERF-pain-FV
   b. You touch fire and the heart feels the pain.
   c. Once you tell somebody a lie or lie about somebody, you injure his/her entire personality.
   d. Once you tell somebody a lie you injure his/her entire personality, I have told him a lie, so I have injured his entire personality.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. This is a saying developed by observing natural phenomena. When one touches fire, the pain is also felt elsewhere besides the affected hand. For the Nsenga person, this pain is believed to be felt from the heart. The heart here stands for a person's whole life.

754. Wako ni wako.
   a. u-ako ni u-ako
      cl1-2sPOS COP cl1-2sPOS
   b. S/he who belongs to you is your own.
   c. You must not feel guilty of defending your own.
   d. You must not feel guilty of defending your own, s/he is my own, so I must not feel guilty of defending him/her.
   e. PF/Major/UCS
   f. Blood relatives are always blood relatives regardless of the circumstances. The proverb encourages people to stand by their relatives in all situations. On the other hand, the proverb justifies nepotism.

755. Wakumbuka kumunzi ukumbukile kumunzi.
   a. u-a-kumbuk-a ku-mu-nzi u-kumbuk-il-e
      2s-PERF-remember-FV cl17-cl3-village 2s-remember-APP-FV
      ku-mu-nzi
      cl17-cl3-village
   b. You have thought of your village therefore do something about your village.
   c. Act on your instinct.
   d. If you have an instinct then act on it, I have an instinct, so I should act on it.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. It is common belief that sometimes humans can sense when something goes wrong somewhere through telepathy. One is example is if you

remember your hometown when you are far away it means you need to communicate with home and find out whether everyone is fine.

756. Walila mvula walila matika.

a. u-a-lil-a n-vula u-a-lil-a ma-tika
2s-PERF-cry-FV cl9-rain 1s-PERF-cry-FV cl6-mud

b. One who cries for rain also cries for mud.

c. Explore both pros and cons of every opportunity.

d. Everything has both pros and cons, rain is something, so it has both pros and cons.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsenga people depend on the natural and seasonal rainfall for almost all agricultural activities. Rain-fed agriculture is responsible for food security in Nsenga land. Thus, communities always look forward to the rainy season in order to plant their food crops. However, many people do not also like the mud and dirt that comes with the rain. This proverb is used to remind people that there are good and bad sides to everything. Just like people who cry for rains when they are late tend to forget that rains come with mud and dirt. It is common for people to focus simply on advantages of opportunities they want to explore without considering disadvantages.

757. Walowa m'sanga akuza na vinyinji.

a. u-a-low-a mu-Ø-sanga a-ku-z-a na vi-nyinji
cl1-PERF-enter-FV cl18-cl5a-bush cl1-GP-come-FV CNJ cl8-plenty

b. S/he who goes into the bush comes with many things.

c. Do not be single track minded.

d. If you want something and if you find something similar to what you want then you can also have it. If you want something, then if you find something similar to what you want then you can also have it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Gathering and collecting things from the bush is a long tradition of the Nsenga people. They go into the bush to collect among other things wild fruits, caterpillars, medicinal plants, wild vegetables, grasshoppers and wild ornaments. For every trip to the bush however, there is usually a specific goal but people collect anything they come across with including what was not intended for.

758. Waluta kuyozengela okonkhela lini nyama imo.

a. u-a-lut-a ku-y-a ku-zengel-a a-ku-konkh-il-a
cl1-PERF-go-FV INFM-go-FV INFM-hunt-FV cl1-GP-follow-APP-FV
lini n-nyama i-mo
NEG cl9-animal cl9-one

b. S/he who has gone for hunting does not go to hunt one type of an animal.

c. Do not be single-track minded.

d. If you want something and if you find something similar to what you want then you can also have it. If you want something, then if you find something similar to what you want then you can also have it.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. Hunting is a very important activity among Nsenga people. It is usually done in order to find animals for wild meat, which is the Nsenga people's favorite meat. It is also done as a sport as well as a source of livelihood for many hunters. Usually hunters simply go to look for animals without having specific animals in mind. However, there are instances where hunters go for specific animals but still kill other animals they come across.

759. Walwa ni masese.

a. u-alwa ni masese
cl14-beer COP cl6-beer.ingredient

b. Beer is as good as its ingredients.

c. A child's behavior indicates what kind of an adult s/he is going to be.

d. If character is a sum on ones actions over time and If someone performs actions over time then I can tell his/her character in the future. If character is a sum on ones actions over time, then If someone performs actions over time then I can tell his/her character in the future.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. This proverb is said to indicate that the final product is only as good as all its stages. Although the beer ingredients are not the final product, they are useful in arriving at the final product.

760. Walwa wataika koma mbete yasala.

a. u-alwa u-a-tay-ik-a koma n-bete
cl14-beer cl14-PERF-throw.away-POT-FV CNJ cl9-calabash
i-a-sal-a
cl9-PERF-remain-FV

b. Beer has spilt but the calabash has remained.
c. Death of a minor is better than the death of a parent or caregiver.
d. If there is a benefactor and if there is a beneficiary then the benefactor is more important than the beneficiary. If there is a benefactor, then if there is a beneficiary then the benefactor is more important than the beneficiary.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. It is usually said that the traditional Nsenga brews always test better in the traditional calabash. Usually people sit and drink in groups using the same calabash. However, the calabash must always be handled with care as it can easily break once it drops. No one ever hopes to get the calabash broken. People are always happy to take all their beer and leave the calabashes for the next drinking spree. Sometimes beer can spill due to minor accidents but the group quickly refills the calabash. The situation is likened to the death of a breadwinner in a home. It is always wished that people other than breadwinners should die in case death strikes and leave the breadwinner to look after the rest of the family.

761. Walya kake aliye mulandu.
a. u-a-ly-a ka-ake a-li-ye mu-landu
cl1-PERF-eat-FV cl12-3pPOS cl1-be-NEG cl3-offense
b. One who eats his/her own has no offense.
c. People who commit incest must not be punished.
d. If you offend someone then you should be punished, I have offended my family member, so I should not be punished.
e. F/Minor/UCW
f. Stealing is a punishable offense among Nsenga people. By common sense, anybody who consumes his/her own has no offense. The proverb is used to justify incest. Since one sleeps with his/her own relative s/he must not be charged.

762. Walya kake opasiwa lini mulandu.
a. u-a-ly-a ka-ake a-ku-pas-iw-a lini
cl1-PERF-eat-FV cl12-3sPOS cl1-GP-give-PASS-FV NEG
mu-landu
cl3-offense
b. The person who has eaten his/her own thing cannot be given an offense.

c. Freedom and privacy mean that one is free to decide what to do with what s/he has.
d. If you offend someone then you should be punished, I have offended my family member, so I should not be punished.
e. F/Minor/UCW
f. This means that every person has dominion over his/her own things and s/he cannot be questioned for using or selling his/her own things. In other words, every person in his/her own right to privacy should be independent in making decisions.

763. Walya kambala solingana na aliyolaŵako.
a. u-a-ly-a ka-mbala si-a-ku-ling-an-a
cl1-PERF-eat-FV cl12-leftover.cold.*nshima* NEG-cl1-GP-equal-PASS-FV
na a-li-ye ku-laŵa-a-ko
CNJ cl1-be-NEG INFM-taste-FV-ENC
b. A person who has eaten a small leftover piece of *nshima* does not feel the same as one who has not tasted anything.
c. Having little is better than having nothing at all.
d. Having little is better than having nothing at all, I have little, so I am better than having nothing.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. Some people like to eat cold *nshima*. Thus, they may not mind to eat leftover *nshima*. In times of abundance however many people throw away cold leftover *nshima* in preference to hot freshly cooked *nshima*. In hard times, even pieces of leftover *nshima* are difficult to find. Thus, when hunger strikes a small piece of cold leftover *nshima* is better than nothing.

764. Walya ni koswe mbili ni ya cule.
u-aly-a ni Ø-koswe n-bili ni i-a
cl1-PERF-eat-FV COP cl1a-rat cl9-rumour COP cl9-GEN
Ø-cule
cl1a-frog
a. Although it is the rat that has eaten the frog takes the blame.
b. To take advantage of strangers by transferring your blame to them.
c. If there is a stranger in the wrong and if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger. If there is a

stranger in the wrong, then if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger.

d. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

e. Both the rat and frog are common animals in Nsenga homes. Rats illegally occupy Nsenga and are usually destructive in nature by attacking food stocks. Frogs on the hand are not harmful but they always disturb people once they get into or very close to the house. Many people naturally fear frogs. They are therefore chased once they get nearby. In the proverb, the rat is the owner of the house and the frog is the guest. The frog as the guest gets the blame on behalf of the rat who easily evades the blame as the owner of the home.

765. Walya ni muyake mbili ni ya koswe.

a. u-a-ly-a ni mu-yake n-bili ni
cl1-PERF-eat-FV COP cl1-different.person cl9-rumour COP
i-a Ø-koswe
cl9-GEN cl1a-rat

b. Someone else has eaten but the rat gets the blame.

c. When you have a bad reputation, you get all accusations.

d. If there is a stranger in the wrong and if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger. If there is a stranger in the wrong, then if there is a fellow citizen in the wrong then the fellow citizen is better than the stranger.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. In many Nsenga homes food especially relish is usually cooked in advance. Once it is eating time, people simply cook the main dish *nshima* and warm the relish to eat. Besides relish, there are other snacks that are usually kept ready to eat. Rats that are problematic to stored food are always kept in check mostly by keeping cats and laying traps. Sometimes however some individuals especially children take advantage of the rats' reputation and steal the food in disguise. Thus, it is in some cases difficult to tell whether a human being or a rat has tempered with the food.

766. Wamangila kumusitu ng'anda sakumvwa katyola.

a. u-a-mang-il-a ku-mu-situ n-ng'anda
cl1-PERF-build-APP-FV cl17-cl3-cemetery cl9-house

si-a-ku-mvw-a ka-a-tyl-a
NEG-cl1-GP-hear-FV cl12-PERF-break-FV

b. The one who builds near a cemetery should not listen to any breaking sounds.
c. You must be ready to bear the consequences of your actions.
d. If you do something then you should handle the consequences, she has done something, so she should handle the consequences.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. A cemetery is the most respected place as Nsengas pay a lot of respect to dead people. However, a cemetery is also known as the residence of ghosts, demons and angry souls. It is also believed to be the center of witchcraft activities. As a result, many people fear the cemetery and avoid staying nearby, going there alone and going there at night. However, it is known to be a quiet place where the dead do not speak. Thus if you happen to stay near a graveyard you must overcome fear in order to live peacefully.

767. Wamwva m'mala niye ozulako.
a. u-a-mvw-a mu-ma-la ni-ye a-ku-zul-a-ko
cl2-PERF-feel-FV cl18-cl6-stomach COP-EMPH cl1-GP-open-FV-ENC
b. The one who wants to defecate is the one who opens the door.
c. If you are in problems take the lead or the first initiative in finding solutions.
d. If you are in problems you should take the lead in solving it, I am in problems, so I should take the lead in solving it.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. In the traditional set up several people sleep together in round huts. In the past habited areas were usually adjacent to wild bushes that could sometimes have dangerous wild animals. The toilets for these hearts are always located a distance away. In the middle of the night, anybody in deed of use of the toilet has to wake up others for escort. Additionally, a person only gets out when they are really pressed to do so. However, s/he has to be the one to open the door and get out first. This proverb therefore teaches that one who is greatly affected by a problem should take the initiative to have it resolved. S/he should not wait for others or sympathizers to do it because the others do not really know the extent of the problem. Other people might not see the need to have it resolved as quickly as possible. If one delays to quickly resolve his/her problem, s/he would be the one to

suffer more just like the pressed person in the proverb might even end up soiling his/her pants if s/he waited for others to open the door. The proverb also entails that one should seek help in time of trouble just as one asks to be escorted in the night, except s/he must show leadership in resolving his/her problems with the help of others.

768. Ŵana ansato ozifundula.

a. ŵa-ana	a-a	n-sato	a-ku-zi-fundul-a
cl2-child	cl2-GEN	cl9-python	cl2-GP-REF-peel.off-FV

b. The offspring of a python peel off their skin by themselves.
c. Current conditions should not dictate one's future.
d. A person with a humble background can become great, she has a humble background, so she can become great.
e. MPP/Major/VS
f. A python, rarely seen, is always a fascinating and mysteriously perceived reptile among Nsengas. The fascination comes from its unusual size and capabilities. For instance, it can swallow a whole animal. One of the unique characteristics is that it peels off its skin after it has eaten something. It is also believed that the younger ones peel the skin themselves before getting into adulthood. The characteristic is used to compare with the ability of human beings to reed themselves of any problems that might be perceived as birthmarks.

769. Wanjala sokonsha ndiyo.

a. u-a	n-jala	si-a-ku-konsh-a	n-diyo
cl1-GEN	cl9-hunger	NEG-cl1-GP-ask-FV	cl9-relish

b. A hungry person does not mind what relish is served.
c. A person in need is not selective.
d. If you are in dire need any help can do, there is some help, so it can do.
e. PF/Major/UCS
f. Hunger, which is very well known among Nsengas, is known for humiliating human beings. It also true that once one becomes very hungry s/he does not mind the kind of food s/he eats. Even people who do not like eating vegetables but meat do not mind being served with vegetables when they become very hungry. Thus, one simply eats whatever s/he has been served with to ease the hunger.

770. Wankhala kulwando Mwana salyako nsima yanyama.

a. u-a-nkhal-a ku-Ø-lwando mu-ana
cl1-PERF-remain-FV cl17-cl5a-hunting.spree cl1-child
si-a-ly-a-ko n-sima i-a n-nyama
NEG-PERF-wat-FV-PTC cl9-*nshima* cl9-GEN cl9-meat

b. A child who does not participate in a hunting spree should not be allowed to eat *nshima* with meat.

c. You reap what you sow.

d. If I sow seed (bad thing) then I will reap what I have sown, I have sown bad seed, so I will reap bad seed.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsenga people usually organize hunting sprees for both entertainment and to look for meat as a replacement to a usually menu of *nshima* and vegetables. In this manner, meat, which is rare, is something everyone looks forward to eating. A child who does not want to go hunting is punished by not giving him/her the meat.

771. Wanthina epula wanzelu.

a. u-a n-thina a-i-pul-a u-a
cl1-GEN cl9-perseverance cl1-PAST-overtake-FV cl1-GEN
n-zelu
cl9-intelligence

b. A persevering person did better than an intelligent person did.

c. Hard work is better than an intelligent mind.

d. If hard work can outdo intelligence and if intelligence cannot outdo hard work then hard work is better than intelligence.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. The proverb is usually used for a person who struggles to do well in school. An analogy is made between an intelligent person who does not study and fails and an average student who works hard and passes examinations.

772. Ŵanthu a misulo soikako nzelu.

a. ŵa-nthu a-a mi-sulo si-a-ku-ik-a-ko
cl2-person cl2-GEN cl4-ignoring NEG-cl1-GP-put-ENC
n-zelu
cl9-intelligence

b. An unconcerned person does not mind.

c. A careless person does not mind about other people's issues.
d. A careless person doesn't mind about other people's issues, she is careless, so she does not mind about other people's issues.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Unconcerned human beings do not care about what others are doing. Such people can therefore not be entrusted with other people's things. The statement is said to a person who borrows things but never remembers to return them back and once s/he is reminded to return, the items are usually in bad condition.

773. Ŵanthu akapaka nchito yuoneka lini.
a. ŵa-nthu a-ka-pak-a n-chito i-ku-on-ik-a lini
cl2-person cl2-CND-multiply-FV cl9-work cl9-GP-see-POT-FV NEG
b. When there are too many people for a single job little progress is made.
c. When you have too many people doing one thing it is difficult to focus and timely complete the task.
d. When you have too many people doing one thing it is difficult to focus and timely complete the task, there are too many people doing one thing, so it will be difficult to focus and timely complete the task.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. While communal work is encouraged in the Nsenga community, this proverb provides a limit for how many people can participate in a single job. Thus as human experience provides, too many people can cause little progress. A situation arises where everybody expects the other person to do the job thereby delaying progress.

774. Ŵanthu awiri na nzeru ziŵiri, munthu umozi na nzeru imozi.
a. ŵa-nthu a-ŵili na n-zelu zi-ŵili mu-nthu
cl2-person cl2-two CNJ cl9-intelligence cll9-one cl1-person
u-mozi na n-zelu i-mozi
cl1-one CNJ cl9-intelligence cl9-one
b. Two people with two brains and one person with one brain.
c. Two are better than one.
d. Two are better than one, I am alone, so I am not better.
e. TF/Major/UCS
f. In this rare grammatical construction and in a fashion that portrays simple arithmetic in Nsenga, the proverb is used to discourage self-centeredness.

The Nsenga society is mainly founded on some kind of social communism where people do everything together and share everything. The statement is a summary of the society's social construction.

775. Ŵanthu ni myala ounjikiwa lini.

a.	ŵa-nthu	ni	mi-ala	a-ku-unjik-iw-a	lini
	cl2-person	COP	cl4-stone	cl2-GP-pile-PASS-FV	NEG

b. Humans are like stones that you cannot pile together.
c. Getting humans to cooperate is not an easy task.
d. If two humans are different and if you want to put them together then the task will be difficult. If two humans are different, then if you want to put them together then the task will be difficult.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
f. As observed from nature, stones or rocks are usually found in different shapes that make it difficult to pile them together. Once you try to pile, the stones scatter by themselves. The characteristic is likened to humans who are difficult to gather in groups and cooperate without friction. Thus, many human groups easily disintegrate.

776. Ŵanthu ni nsomba okonkha manzi.

a.	ŵa-nthu	ni	n-somba	a-ku-konkh-a	ma-nzi
	cl2-person	COP	cl9-fish	cl2-GP-follow-FV	cl6-water

b. People are like fish that follows water.
c. Children follow after their parent's behavior.
d. Children follow their parents' behavior, she is a child, so she will follow after the parents' behavior.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Fishing is one of the important activities among the Nsenga people. It is both a source of income or livelihood and a means of recreation. However fishing it is seasonal because most rivers and streams dry up in the dry season. For this reason, fishing is only done in the rainy season when the rivers and streams are filled with water. Thus the "follow" in the proverb refers to the disappearance of fish as a result of drying up of water rather than following the water current. Some fish actually swim against the water current. The proverb makes comments on the characteristic of human children following their parents' behavior. It is also used to remind people

with deviant behavior to emulate their parents' good behavior, as it is always the norm.

777. Ŵanthu otemwana ni oyavyana.
   a. ŵa-nthu a-ku-temw-an-a ni a-ku-yavy-an-a
      cl2-person cl2-GP-love-REC-FV COP cl2-GP-help-REC-FV
   b. People who love/like each other are the ones that help each other.
   c. Real friends help each other.
   d. Real friends help each other, they do not help each other, so they are not real friends.
   e. MTT/Major/VUS
   f. Friendship is regarded as a channel through which members of society interact and assist each other. It is therefore a fact that once a person avoids friendships such a person suffers in society.

778. Ŵanthu ozitukumula akuti neo nikulya lini vaŵanthu.
   a. ŵa-nthu a-ku-zi-tukumul-a a-ku-ti ni-eo ni-ku-ly-a
      cl2-person cl2-GP-REF-boast-FV cl2-GP-say 1s-PRN 1s-GP-eat-FV
      lini vi-a ŵa-nthu
      NEG cl8-GEN cl2-person
   b. Boastful people claim that they do not eat other people's things.
   c. Selfish people don't accept gifts from others.
   d. If a person does not want to receive gifts then s/he is selfish, S/he does not want to receive gifts, so s/he is selfish.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS
   f. In keeping with social norms, Nsenga people easily mingle and share food together. It is common for families especially in the same village to eat as group. Somebody who does not want to eat with others is regarded as selfish and proud.

779. Ŵanthu ozitukumula ofukamila lini munthu.
   a. ŵa-nthu a-ku-zi-tukumul-a a-ku-fukam-il-a lini
      cl2-person cl2-GP-REF-boast-FV cl2-GP-kneel-APP-FV NEG
      ŵa-nthu
      cl2-person
   b. Boastful people do not kneel before anyone.
   c. A boastful person is not submissive to anybody.

d. A boastful person is not submissive to anybody, he is not submissive to anybody, so he is boastful.
e. PF/Major/C
f. Kneeling is considered one of the highest forms of giving respect. Thus, all children are expected to kneel before elderly people just as subjects kneel before their leaders. It is also considered as an act of submission to superiors.

780. Waona mangala a nkhanga kuwama wataya a cikwale.
a. u-a-on-a ma-ngala a-a n-khanga ku-wam-a
2s-PERF-see-FV cl6-feather cl6-GEN cl9-gueneafowl INFM-good-FV
u-a-tay-a a-a ci-kwale
2s-PERF-throw.away-FV cl6-GEN cl7-quail
b. Because you been attracted to the guineafowl's feathers you have thrown away the quail.
c. Be content with what you have.
d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.
e. MTT/Major/VS
f. The guineafowl and quail are two delicious birds commonly hunted by Nsenga people. They are not difficult to catch or trap but Guineafowls are rare to find compared to quails. It is always tempting for a hunter to stop concentrating on hunting the small bird like a quail once the guineafowl shows up. Sometimes this behavior leads the hunter to losing both birds. This proverb is usually said to a man looking for a woman to marry. It is advisable for a man to go after the woman he finds first otherwise other people might go for her.

781. Wapeza nsenzi m'liŵa.
a. 2s-a-pez-a n-senzi mu-Ø-liŵa
cl1-PERF-find-FV cl9-*nsenzi*.animal cl18-cl5a-stone.trap
b. To find a *Nsenzi* animal in a stone trap meant for mice.
c. Getting huge rewards when you expect little.
d. If you need to sow to get results and if you get results without sowing then you are lucky. If you need to sow to get results, then if you get results without sowing then you are lucky.
e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS

f. *Nsenzi* are a type of animals that are easy to catch and live in dambo areas that are sometimes close to human beings. A *liŵa* is a trap made from a flat stone and a rope. It is usually used to trap mice and rarely anything bigger than mice.

782. Wapika cikwale opambana ali na nkhanga m'manja.

a. u-a-pik-a ci-kwale a-ku-pamban-a a-li na
2s-PERF-cook-FV cl7-quail cl1-surpass-FV cl1-be CNJ
n-khanga
cl9-guinefowl

b. S/he who has cooked a quail is better than one who has a guineafowl.

c. What you have is better than what you expect to have.

d. If you own an opportunity then you have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. A guineafowl and a quail are considered the most delicious wild birds enjoyed by Nsenga people. The guineafowl is preferred because of its big size. In the proverb, however, a person who already has the quail a smaller bird already prepared as relish is better than someone who has a guineafowl that cannot be immediately used as relish. The proverb teaches people to appreciate the little that they might have. It also teaches not to depend on things that have not been fully acquired.

783. Wapona cogadama.

a. u-a-pon-a ci-a ku-gadam-a
2s-PERF-fall-FV cl7-GEN INFM-facing.up-FV

b. S/he has fallen with her/his face up.

c. To do something wrong.

d. If s/he falls on her back then it's an accident, s/he has fallen on her back, so it's an accident.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Humans try not to fall on their back to avoid injury especially to the back of the head. Falling forward helps one to land by the hands and thereby cushioning impact on the body. There are moments however, when someone absolutely loses control and falls on his/her back with his/her face up.

784. Wasiya njila waya m'sanga.

a. u-a-siy-a n-jila u-a-y-a mu-Ø-sanga
2s-PERF-leave-FV cl9-way 2s-PERF-go-FV cl18-cl5a-bush

b. You have gone out of the way into the bush.

c. To make a mistake in life.

d. If s/he takes a route that she does not know then s/he has made a mistake, s/he has taken a route that s/he does not know. So s/he has made a mistake.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Anybody can go astray in life. To go astray is usually expressed as unknowingly losing track in the bush. Many Nsenga people are familiar with getting lost as they live in environments that are surrounded by bushes and unclear paths. Sometimes animal paths look like human paths in the bush and sometimes both humans and animals use the same paths making it difficult to distinguish some paths.

785. Watomola nkhalamu kwela.

a. u-a-tomol-a n-khalamu kwel-a
2s-PERF-mention-FV cl9-lion climb-FV

b. S/he who mentions the lion must climb up.

c. Be responsible for what you say especially when you talk about someone else.

d. If I am talking ill about someone and if someone else could be listening then I must be careful. If I am talking ill about someone, then if someone else could be listening then I must be careful.

e. Exportation/Conclusion/VS

f. A lion is a very important animal for the Nsenga people for various reasons. Whilst it is a very scary animal with a history of fatal attacks on humans, its aggressive, ferocious and courageous characteristic is a source of inspiration to humans. Some Nsengas actually believe that you can get very important charms that possess a lion's characteristics from parts of a lion. Whilst in the bush, it is believed that one should never mention a lion. Its mention is enough to summon the animal from wherever it hides. This belief is likened to common instances where someone who is or has just been the subject of a discussion shows up.

786. Weka siungaziyavye.
   a. u-eka si-u-nga-zi-yavy-e
      2s-alone NEG-2s-MOD-REF-help-FV
   b. You cannot help yourself.
   c. You cannot help yourself.
   d. If you are alone then you cannot help yourself, you are alone, so you cannot help yourself.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. The Nsenga society encourages people to work in teams as communities. Thus, it is common for a group of people to do tasks such as building a house, planting, harvesting, and clearing new land together.

787. Ŵende paliye munsi ungatwe lini.
   a. Ø-ŵende pa-li-ye mu-nsi u-nga-tw-e lini
      cl5a-mortar cl16-be-NEG cl3-pestle 2s-MOD-pound-FV NEG
   b. Without a pestle one cannot pound in a mortar.
   c. You cannot reproduce a child alone.
   d. If you are alone then you cannot reproduce a child, I am alone, so I cannot reproduce a child.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. A mortar and pestle are a symbol of food security and a stable home. Literally every home has mortar and pestle whether bought or given. In the pre-industrialization errors, the equipment was used for making mealie meal the staple food. Even recently, unfortunately, people in the poverty stricken rural areas still use the equipment to make mealie meal. It is a very strenuous and time consuming exercise. Nowadays however, the mortar and pestle are used even in modern homes for grinding various forms of grain. The equipment is always used as a pair as it is practically impossible to use one part only. Success calls for a unity of purpose as one person cannot do everything. Symbolically, a mortar represents a vagina and a pestle represents a penis. Therefore if a couple wants to have a child they should work together because a vagina without a penis or vice versa cannot make it. The proverb is mostly used to reprimand a person who blames the partner for not having a child.

788. Ŵene amunzi ni mizyu ya kacele okumana pansi.

a. ŵa-ine a-a mu-nzi ni mi-zyu i-a
cl2-owner cl2-GEN cl3-village COP cl4-root cl4-GEN
Ø-kacele a-ku-kuman-a pa-nsi
cl1a-fig.tree cl2-GP-meet-FV cl16-down

b. Owners of a village are like roots of a fig tree that meet underground.

c. Be cautious of your behavior in strange land.

d. If someone is your biological relative then s/he remains your relative forever, s/he is my biological relative, so s/he will my relative forever.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Nsenga societies that usually live in clans share a lot in common including information. The social network is likened to roots of a fig tree that seem to spread everywhere outwards but somehow crisscross underground. It is always advisable therefore as a stranger to be careful in how you relate. In cases of marriages, the couple joining the family is usually given this proverb to advise such a one to cautiously relate with the rest of the spouse's family members.

789. Wenye opikila lini nkhoto.

a. u-enye a-ku-pik-il-a lini n-khoto
cl14-lie cl1-GP-cook-APP-FV NEG cl9-porridge

b. Lies cannot be used to cook porridge.

c. Truth is most important ingredient in marriage.

d. You cannot use lies to succeed, he tells lies, so he will not succeed.

e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nkhoto is a type of porridge made from mealie meal. It is one of the common types of breakfast among Nsengas. Thus to make porridge one usually has to have mealie meal. Using any other ingredient apart from mealie meal which people are naturally aware of is easily noticeable by both appearance and taste. Sometimes the strange taste might not be received well by the people that have been served. Porridge usually provides one with the necessary strength to do the day's work most of which is done in the morning. It is therefore a very important meal. The proverb likens lies to an ingredient that does not provide you enough food to do a day's work. In this situation, a day's work is one's life in marriage. Thus marriage founded on lies is doomed to end the moment those lies are brought to light.

790. Wenye ulaŵila wako.
   a. u-enye u-ku-laŵil-a u-ako
      cl14-lie 2s-GP-talk-FV cl14-2sPOS
   b. You tell your own lies.
   c. It's better to tell your own lies than someone else's.
   d. If when you tell a lie about someone you can be punished and if when you tell a lie about yourself you will not be punished then it is better to tell a lie about yourself. If when you tell a lie about someone you can be punished, then if when you tell a lie about yourself you will not be punished then it is better to tell a lie about yourself.
   e. Exportation/Conclusion/VUS
   f. Lies is regarded as a very bad virus that society must always protect itself from. Telling lies, especially about other people, usually causes strife among the implicated people. Once a person is found to have told a lie about somebody, society heavily punishes the offender by ostracization, stigma or actual punishment by traditional leaders. Thus, it is advisable to lie about yourself rather than someone else.

791. Wenye uli na mendo afupi.
   a. u-enye u-li na ma-endo a-fupi
      cl14-lie cl14-be CNJ cl6-leg cl6-short
   b. Lies have short legs.
   c. Do not tell a lie because it backfires.
   d. A lie can be revealed, it is a lie, so it can be revealed.
   e. MPP/Major/VS
   f. In this proverb, lies are personified as a being with short legs. As a result, when it sets off to go away it does not go very far. Lies therefore can be an excuse to dodge a problem but they do not actually solve the problem.

792. Wenye upasula munzi.
   a. u-enye u-ku-pasul-a mu-nzi
      cl14-lie cl14-GP-destroy-FV cl3-village
   b. Lies destroy a community.
   c. Lies weaken a society.
   d. Lies weakens a society, there is lies, so society is weakened.
   e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsenga people who struggle with lying individuals like all societies also believe that lies weaken and disintegrate society. The truth is known to create a society's strong foundation bond.

793. Wenye uwelela.

a. u-enye u-ku-wel-il-a
cl14-lies cl14-GP-come-APP-FV

b. Lies backfires.

c. Do not tell a lie because it backfires.

d. A lie can be revealed, it is a lie, so it can be revealed.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. Lies are likened to an object that can be thrown away but returns back to its original position. It is believed and common knowledge that the truth always comes up after you tell a lie.

794. Wolima cikumbe eciya navyo.

a. u-a ku-lima ø-cikumbe a-ici-y-a
cl1-GEN INFM-cultivate-FV cl1a-farmer cl1-PAST-go-FV
na-vi-o
CNJ-cl8-3PRN

b. The farmer went with his/her products.

c. You cannot be looked after for a lifetime.

d. If you are dependent on a benefactor and if the benefactor dies then you have no one to depend on. If you are dependent on a benefactor, then if the benefactor dies then you have no one to depend on.

e. Exportation/onclusion/VUS

f. Most Nsengas who are subsistence or peasant farmers only grow enough to feed the family until the next farming season. Thus, they only grow enough for consumption with hardly any surplus for storage or sell. In this manner, for people that depend on others to cultivate, they suffer once such a person leaves or dies. Thus, it is always expected that dependents must become independent at some point in life.

795. Wozingwa kwake ni kusengasenga.

a. u-a ku-zingw-a ku-ake ni ku-seng-a-seng-a
cl1-GEN INFM-suffer-FV cl17-3sPOS COP INFM-beg-FV-beg-FV

b. A poor person begs anyhow.

c. A poor person commands no respect.
d. A poor person commands no respect, s/he is poor, so s/he commands no respect.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. Whereas laziness is not accepted among Nsengas, all underprivileged people are allowed to beg from the affluent. It is always encouraged for the affluent to share with the poor. However, begging is shameful behavior among Nsengas.

796. Yuvyala lini kapena nkhumalume otamba.

a.	i-ku-vyl-a	lini	kapena	n-khumalume	a-ku-tamb-a
	cl9-GP-bear-FV	NEG	CNJ	cl9-hunter	cl1-GP-watch-FV

b. An animal does not give birth when the hunter is watching.
c. Best decisions are made in privacy.
d. Best decisions are made in privacy, it is not made in privacy, so it is not the best decision.
e. MTT/Major/VUS
f. Unlike it is the case with domestic animals, it is almost impossible for hunters to view wild animals giving birth. Wild animals usually prefer to be out of human view. Women to say no politely to a man who persistently proposes love to her, use the proverb. A woman gives the man an impression that she might make a better and positive decision in his absence and of course without his persistence. Ironically, the better decision is indirectly asking the man to go for good. Usually women have a tendency not to agree to a marriage or love proposal until the man makes several attempts. This always gives men the hope of trying harder than is necessary.

797. Zakumuzinda oulula lini.

a.	zi-a	ku-mu-zind-a	a-ku-ulul-a	lini
	cl10-GEN	cl17-cl3-secluded.discussion.place	cl1-GP-reveal-FV	NEG

b. You don't reveal what has been discussed at the communities secluded discussion place.
c. Keep secrets a secret.
d. If something is a secret then it should not be revealed, I have a secret, so it should not be revealed.
e. MPP/Major/VUS

f. Nsenga communities usually have places where the community elders and leaders discuss important matters. As a code of conduct, no one present at such discussions is allowed to divulge information.

798. Zezelezezele olingana lini noponelatu.

a. zezelezezele a-ku-linga-an-a lini na
IDEO cl1-GP-compare-REC-FV NEG CNJ
ku-pon-il-a-tu
INFM-fall-APP-FV-PTC

b. Staggering is not like falling completely.

c. It is better to try than give up without any attempt.

d. Failure at one attempt does not mean failure of a mission, I failed, so I can try again.

e. MPP/Major/VS

f. A staggering person because of drunkenness is a very common picture in Nsenga society especially after the harvest seasons when there a lot of drinking sprees. It is better for a person to stagger his/her way to his/her home than to fail to walk and sleep on the way where there is no safety and the comfort of the home.

799. Ziko ni mafweza.

a. Ø-ziko ni ma-fweza
cl5a-fire.place COP cl6-fire.place.pillars

b. You cannot make a fireplace without supporters.

c. People make up a community.

d. If there is society then there are people, there are no people, so there is no society.

e. MTT/Major/VS

f. A traditional fire place used for cooking is made of three block stands or supports. The blocks of similar height and size are arranged in a circular shape with almost equal distance between them. The gaps between the blocks are filled with firewood.

800. Ziliko ukalinga kunyonkholako.

a. zi-li-ko u-ka-ling-a ku-nyonkhol-a-ko
cl10-be-ENC 2s-CND-think-FV INFM-prick-FV-ENC

b. You can only say they are their when you prick them in the hole with a stick.
c. You need a witness in order to convict someone of a crime.
d. You must have evidence in order to convict one as guilty, I have evidence, so I will find him guilty.
e. MPP/Major/VUS
f. When Nsengas go to hunt mice, they look for holes that they suspect mice live. To prove that mice live their one has to study the environment to identify any possible mice routes. Once the evidence is overwhelming, one gets a stick and pushes through the hole to try to prick mice. When mice are pricked, its fur can be observed on the stick end. This exercise is essential in avoiding accidents as some dangerous snakes live in holes similar to those of mice.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GRAMMAR OF NSENGA PROVERBS

1. The Nsenga Language

Nsenga is a Bantu language classified in Guthrie's (1967) classification as N41. It is mainly spoken in Eastern Zambia and also spoken in the neighboring countries of Malawi and Mozambique. The language is referred to as *Cinsenga* by the Nsenga people of Eastern Zambia.

1.1. Nsenga Phonology

This section makes a brief description of the sound system, syllable structure and morphophonological processes of the Nsenga language. It is therefore not an exhaustive analysis of Nsenga phonology but an outline of the sound system in Nsenga.

1.1.1. Vowel System

Nsenga has a five-vowel system phonologically represented as in Figure 2.

Front		Back	
i		u	High
e		o	Mid
	a		Low

Figure 2: Nsenga Vowel System

Figure 2 simply shows that there are two front vowels /i/ and /e/ and two back vowels /o/ and /u/. /a/ is treated as a central vowel in this study but other scholars treat it as a back vowel.

1.1.2. Consonant System

There are 26 phonemes including 4 aspirated phonemes because they too are meaning-distinguishing elements. Figure 3 phonetically presents the Nsenga consonant chart.

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar	
Voice	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
Plosive	p	b			t	d			k	g

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar	
Aspirated plosive	p^h				t^h				k^h	
Nasal		m				n		ɲ		ŋ
Fricative		β	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ		
Affricate							tʃ	dʒ		
Aspirated fricative							$tʃ^h$			
Lateral						l				
Semi-Vowel	w						y			

Figure 3: Nsenga Consonant System

1.1.3. Syllable Structure

Nsenga has an open syllable structure except for syllabic nasals that are monosegmental syllables.

1.	CV
2.	V
3.	CCV
4.	CCCV
5.	C

unmarked

↓

marked

Figure 4: Nsenga Syllable Structure

Figure 4 shows the Nsenga syllable structure presenting five different structures in order of markedness. Thus, CV is the unmarked and most common structure and C is the marked and least common structure. Where two consonants follow each other, there are constraints in Nsenga. The constraints therefore apply to the third and fourth structures. For the third structure, the second consonant must be a semi vowel. In the fourth structure, the first consonant must be a nasal and the third one a semivowel. The two structures should therefore read as CSV and NCSV respectively, where S represents a semi vowel. The fifth structure always consists of a nasal. Figure 5 is an illustration of syllable structure in Nsenga.

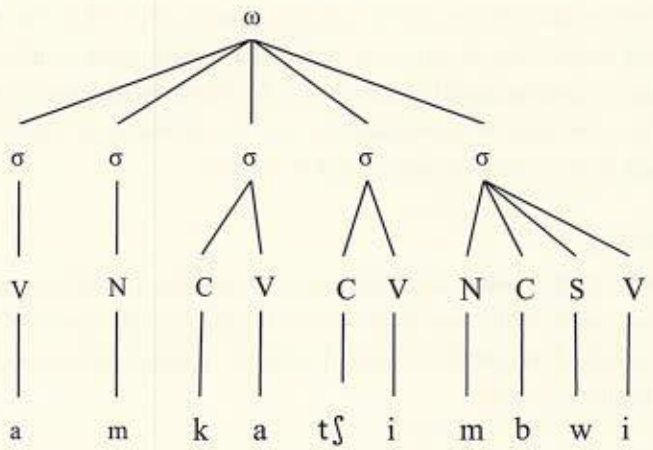


Figure 5: Nsenga Syllable Structure Tree Diagram

Am'kacimbwi is a rare nominal used in folktales. It means 'hyena's spouse'. It is helpful in exemplifying all the syllable types in one word in Nsenga. In the case of /mb/ as part of the last syllable, it is possible to treat a sequence of a homorganic nasal and a consonant as one sound thereby reducing the two nodes to one (i.e. C) as Miti (2001) suggests.

1.1.4. Some Phonetic and Phonoligical Processes in Nsenga

As an inflecting and agglutinating language, Nsenga phonemes undergo sound changes in certain environments. As suprasegments are not analyzed in this study, only segmental phonemes are discussed except in reference to vowel length and vowel harmony below.

1.1.4.1. Penultimate Vowel Lengthening

Before a pause, in an utterance, the penultimate or second last syllable is lengthened.

(1) Egula munda teti aluta kumunda.

a-i-gul-a	mu-nda	teti	a-a-lut-a	ku-mu:-nda
cl1-PAST-buy-FV	cl3-field	CNJ	cl1-PERF-go-FV	cl17-cl3-field

S/he bought a field so s/he has gone to the field.

In (1) *munda* 'field' has been used twice. The syllable *mu* in the first *munda* is relatively shorter than the one in the second *munda*, which is at the end of the utterance, but in penultimate position. Since this length is predictable and does not constitute a suprasegmental phoneme in other Zambian languages too, general orthographic guidelines recommended by the Government of Zambia do not require length to be marked in writing (GRZ., 1977).

1.1.4.2. Deletion

In various environments, some segments are simply deleted. For instance in (1) the initial vowel /a/ in *aluta* is deleted. In (2) and (3), the vowel /i/ is deleted. Thus, the vowel of the prefix is deleted when it is followed by another vowel from a different morpheme.

(2) Cinthu cangu
tʃi-nthu tʃi-aŋgu
cl7-thing cl7-1s;POS
My thing

(3) Vinthu vangu
vi-nthu vi-aŋgu
CL8-thing CL8-1s;POSS
My things

In some Nsenga dialects, /i/ in (3) is not deleted but becomes a semi vowel. This means *vangu* is *vyangu* in some dialects.

(4) Akolwe oziŵana opasana vizimbili.
a-kolwe a-ku-ziβ-an-a a-ku-pas-an-a vi-zimbili
cl2-monkey cl2-GP-know-REC-FV cl2-GP-give-REC-FV cl8-wild.fruit
Monkeys that know each other share wild fruits

The phoneme /k/ in *a-ku-ziβ-an-a* is deleted to become *oziβana* in actual pronunciation.

1.1.4.3. Coalescence

After deleting /k/ in *a-ku-ziβ-an-a* the vowels /a/ and /u/ of the first two syllables coalesce or fuse to become /o/ in order to have *oziβana*. The same happens to *a-ku-pas-an-a* to become *opasana*.

1.1.4.4. Fricativization

In some environments, plosives become fricatives.

(5) Cutalimfya njila ni mayendedwe.

tʃi-ku-talimp^{h}-iʃ-a	n-dʒila	ni	ma-yend-idwe
cl7-GP-tall-CAUS-FV	cl9-road	COP	cl6-walk-MDS

What makes the road long is the manner of walking.

In *tʃi-ku-talimp^{h}-iʃ-a*, the phoneme /p^{h}/ becomes /f/ because it precedes the vowel /i/ to become [*tʃutalimfya*] in actual pronunciation. The phoneme /i/ becomes a semi vowel after /ʃ/ is deleted.

1.1.4.5. Semivocalization

As seen in (3) and (5) the high vowel /i/ becomes a semi vowel when it is followed by a different vowel, which is at least one degree lower than it is in height. The same is true for the high vowel /u/ as shown in (6). In (5) it is worth noting that deletion precedes semivocalization. In other words, the deletion rule must apply first before semivocalization can take place.

(6) mwana

mu-ana

cl1-child

child

In the noun *mwana* 'child', the high vowel /u/ of the prefix becomes a glide because it is followed by a different vowel, which is lower in height.

1.1.4.6. Vowel Harmony (Lowering)

In *ma-yend-idwe* in (5), the vowel /i/ of the manner of doing suffix *idwe* is lowered by one degree in order to be in harmony with the preceding vowel /e/ of the radical *yend*. As a result, /i/ becomes /e/ in *mayendedwe* in actual pronunciation.

1.2. Nsenga Morphology and Syntax

This section makes brief reference to some important aspects of the morphology and syntax of the Nsenga language.

1.2.1. Nsenga Noun Class System

As a Bantu language, Nsenga nouns are grouped into respective noun classes. Figure 6 shows the noun class system in Nsenga.

Noun Class		Nominal Prefix		Pronominal prefix		Subject prefix		Object prefix	
Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1st per.				ni-	si-	ni-	ti-	-ni-	-ti-
2nd per.				u-	m(u)-	u-	m(u)-	-ku-	-mu-
3rd per./ 1	2	mu-	βa- (ŵa-)[2]	u-	β(a)-	a-	β(a)- /a-[3]	-mu-	-βa-
3	4	mu-	mi-	u-	i-	u-	i-	-u-	-i-
5	6	tʃi- (ci-)	ma-	l(i)-	β(a)-	l(i)-	β(a)-	-l(i)-	-βa-
7	8	li-	vi-	tʃ(i)-	v(i)-	tʃ(i)-	v(i)-	-tʃi-	-vi-
9	10	N-	N-	i-	z(i)-	i-	z(i)-	-i-	-zi-
12	13	ka-	tu-	ka-	t(u)-	ka-	t(u)-	-ka-	-tu-
14	6	u-	ma	u-	β(a)-	u-	β(a)-	-u-	-βa-
15		ku-		k(u)-		k(u)-		-ku-	
16		pa-		pa-		pa-		-pa-	
17		ku-		k(u)-		k(u)-		-ku-	
18		mu-		m(u)-		m(u)-		-mu-	

Figure 6: Some Attested Series of Prefixes in Nsenga

The classes in Figure 6 are presented in the dichotomy singular and plural as most nouns are paired to show this dichotomy in Nsenga. The language has 17 classes with the absence of class 11. Classes 1 and 5 also have sub classes, namely 1a and 5a respectively. The classe markers are zero prefixes represented by the theta (ø).

The vowels in brackets change shape in some environments. They are either deleted or semivocalized in many cases. The prefixes in parentheses are in Zambian orthography while the rest are in IPA symbols. Some prefixes also change shape or are replaced when they are used as subjects or object markers. Thus class one prefix *mu-* is realized as *a-* in subject position and as *βa-* (*ŵa-*) in

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[2] Written as *ŵa-* in Nyanja orthograpghy which Nsenga authors significantly borrow from.

[3] Some Nsenga dialects use prefix *a-* as the plural subject marker as well.

object plural position. All object markers are used word internally between the prefix and the root position and can therefore be regarded as infixes.

1.2.2. Nsenga Personal Pronouns

Some personal pronouns are in form of affixes in Nsenga. They are used either in subject or object positions just as nouns are. In Figure 6 it assumed that there are only three basic personal pronouns for each of the grammatical persons but they appear differently in some environments.

The phonemes in parentheses in Figure 6 change their shapes in some environments by either getting deleted or changing to semivowels. The bracketed pronouns are in orthographic spelling while the rest are in IPA spelling. It is worth noting that the third person singular and plural object markers are the same as the class 1 and 2 noun classes respectively. The third person singular and plural subject markers are the same as the class 1 and 2 singular and plural noun class object markers respectively. Thus, personal pronouns also behave as noun prefixes except that the basic personal pronouns referring to human beings are different according to grammatical person as shown in Fig 6. For the rest of the noun classes other than one and two, the noun prefix is the same as the personal pronoun. The variations in subject and object position are therefore the same as those of noun classes in Figure 6.

The second person plural object marker *mu* is always used with the plural particle *ni* at the end of a word or an utterance as exemplified in (7).

(7) Nimunyateni.
ni-mu-ɲat-e-ni
1s(SM)-2pOM;HON-beat-FV-PTC;PL
I will beat you (plural).

The second person plural object marker is also used honorifically in Nsenga for the second person singular. It is used with the plural particle *ni* which also has politeness connotations.

1.3. Other Nsenga Parts of Speech

Nsenga language has the same universal parts of speech as any language has. However, like other Bantu languages, it has no articles known as definite and indefinite articles in English. Demonstrative pronouns are usually used to express definiteness in language. All nouns are therefore indefinite by default. We need to mention here too that noun classes, like in other Bantu languages, appear as

dependent prefixes in other parts of speech through a system of grammatical concord. The dependent prefixes function as nominal prefixes in other parts of speech as shown in (8).

(8) Mwana muweme

mu-ana **mu**-wem-e

cl1-child cl1-good-FV

A good child

The class 1 prefix *mu* is realized in the adjectival *good* as the pronominal prefix *mu*. In this manner, other parts of speech are also classified according to noun classes. Hence, in this particular part of speech, the adjective takes after all noun prefixes by grammatical concord. The situation therefore depends on the noun used and thereby the noun prefix used in utterance subject position.

1.4. On Word Order

The word order of a simple sentence is SVO as shown in (9).

(9) Munthu wagula nkhuku.

Mu-nthu u-a-gul-a n-k^{h}uku

cl1-person 2s(**S**)-PERF-buy(**V**)-FV cl9-chicken(**O**)

A person has bought a chicken.

Since Nsenga is an agglutinating language, a single word can constitute an equivalent of a sentence in English language. Example (10) gives one such a sentence in Nsenga.

(10) Amunyata.

a-mu-ɲat-a

cl1(**S**)-cl1(**O**)-beat(**V**)-FV

S/he has beaten him/her.

In Nsenga orthography *amunyata* is treated as a word but at syntactic level it translates in English as a full simple sentence. Although within this verbal the object seems to appear in between, it moves to the final position in the deep structure. When the verbal is used with other words, it clearly comes into the middle as in: Mangani wanyata milika (ø-Mangani u-a-nyat-a ø-Milika cl1a-Mangani (S) cl1-PERF-beat-FV (V) cl1a-Milika) (O) "Mangani has beaten Milika". The word order of other parts of speech is usually flexible with most of them coming after nouns.

2. The Language of Nsenga Proverbs

Treating proverbs and ordinary language as two distinct languages, we are able to see differences in grammar between the two. There are therefore differences in the way grammar (including structure and rules) is used between ordinary language and proverbs. Since we have made an outline of the Nsenga grammar in the preceding sections, this section describes the grammar of Nsenga proverbs.

2.1. The Phonology of Nsenga Proverbs

As a poetic language, rhythm is significant in Nsenga proverbs. The rhythm is chiefly made possible in two ways. One way is by organized patterns of syllables, the other way is by alliteration of both consonant and vowel sounds.

2.1.1. Patterns of Syllables in Nsenga Proverbs

The study identified eight syllable patterns namely, uniform, binary, tide, increasing, decreasing, rising, falling and free variation. The categorization is mainly based on the number and arrangement of syllables within a word firstly and secondly within a proverb.

2.1.1.1. The Uniform Pattern

In this pattern, words in the proverb are organized in syllable patterns of similar numbers commonly in threes and twos per word.

(11) Cukonda anyina na ŵana.
Cu-ko-nda a-nyi-na na-ŵ-ana
3-3-3
ci-ku-kond-a a-ɲina na βa-ana
cl7-GP-love-FV cl2-mother CNJ cl2-child
What loves the mother also loves the child.

(12) Mulesi akulya volesi.
mu-le-si a-ku-lya vo-le-si
3-3-3
mu-lesi a-ku-ly-a vi-a u-lesi
cl1-lazy.person cl1-GP-eat-FV cl8-GEN cl14-laziness
A lazy person eats products of laziness.

(13) Wafwa wafwa cimbwi enyela ingo.
wa-fwa wa-fwa ci-mbwi e-nye-la i-ngo
2-2-2-3(2)-2
u-a-fw-a u-a-fw-a Ø-tʃimbwi a-i-ny-il-a
2s-PERF-die-FV 2s-PERF-die-FV cl1a-hyena cl1-PAST-defecate-FV
in-go
cl9-leopard
Come what may, even death, I will do as a hyena that defecated on the leopard.

Proverbs (11) and (12) are identical in number of syllables per word. Whereas *na* in (11) is treated as a separate word in Zambian orthographies, it is pronounced to sound as part of *ŵana* (i.e. *naŵana*). In this manner, na-ŵa-na is treated as one unit of pronunciation at phrase level. There is hardly any audible pause between *na* and *ŵana* which is characteristic of boundaries between words. At morphemic level, (12) can be counted as having 11 syllables because *volesi* is made up of four morphemes *vi-a u-lesi* namely, class 8, genitive, class 14, and the stem for laziness respectively. Each of the morphemes corresponds to one syllable except for -lesi which has two syllables. Because of the deletion of the high vowel /i/ in *vi-a* and the subsequent coalescence of the phoneme /a/ in *vi-a* and the class 14 prefix vowel /u/, /o/ is formed to make the word *volesi*. As a result, the last word is reduced from five to three syllables in order to conform to the overall syllable pattern of the entire proverb, which is three syllables per word (3-3-3). In ordinary language, *volesi* "products of laziness" can be preceded by *vinthu* "things" to form *vinthu volesi* "things that are products of laziness". However, it is required to omit *vinthu* in the proverb in order to maintain the pattern and provide the necessary rhythm.

Proverb (13) has five words four of which are made up of two syllables each. The fourth word is made up of three syllables but in actual pronunciation the first /e/ in *enyela* is a result of the fusion of the class 2 morpheme *a* and the past tense marker *i*. In actual pronunciation the final /i/ in cimbwi and the initial /e/ in *enyela* harmonize in height by reducing down to the height of /e/. *Chimbwi* and *enyela* since they are next to each are pronounced as *tʃimbweeɲela*. As a result, the first syllable e- in e-nye-la does not count as independent syllable in pronunciation. In this manner, the word can be viewed as a two-syllable word in order to achieve rhythm.

Figure 7 and Figure 8 represent the uniform pattern. Figure 7 represents proverbs (11) and (12) and Figure 8 represents proverb (13) respectively.

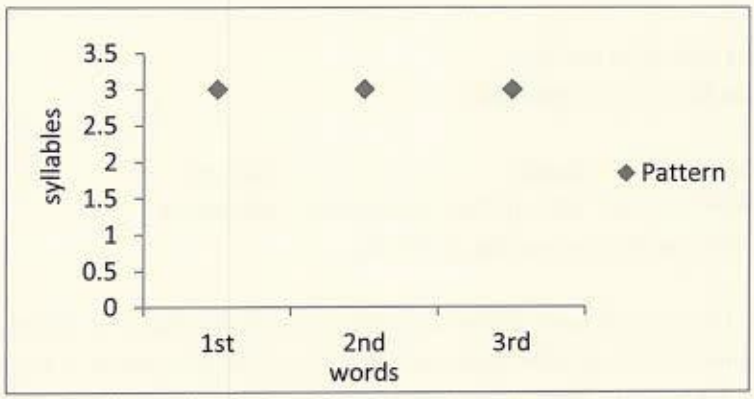

Figure 7: 3-Syllable Uniform Pattern

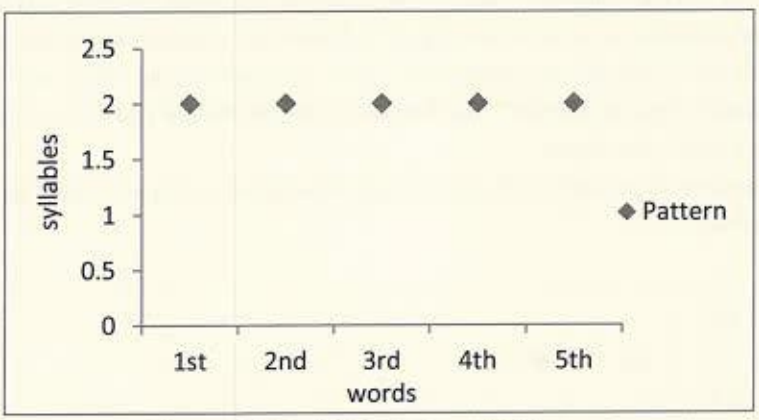

Figure 8: 2-Syllable Uniform Pattern

2.1.1.2. The Binary Pattern

The binary pattern is simply two uniform patterns on either side of a proverb with two syntactic parts. The two parts can have identical or different number of syllables per word.

(14) Pakata akulu pali mania
Pa-ka-ta a-ku-lu/ pa-li ma-nia
3-3/2-2

pa-a-kat-a	a-kulu	pa-li	ma-nia
cl16-PERF-FV	cl2-big	cl16-be	cl6-wrinkle

Where an elderly person touches wrinkles form.

(15) Walya kake aliye mulandu

wa-lya ka-ke/ a-li-ye mu-landu

2-2/3-3

u-a-ly-a	ka-ake	a-li-ye	mu-landu
cl1-PERF-eat-FV	cl12-3pPOS	cl1-be-NEG	cl3-offense

One who eats his/her own has no offense.

Both (14) and (15) have similar structures. Proverb (14) has two clauses (a) *pakata akulu* "Where an elderly person touches" and (b) *pali mania* "There are wrinkles". Each clause forms a part of the two syntactic structures of the proverb. The dependent (first) clause is made up of three syllables per word and the independent (second) clause is made of two syllables per word. Proverb (15) has the reverse situation in terms of numbers of syllables per word in each of the two clauses. Proverb (15) has (a) *walya kake* "One who eats his/her own" and (b) *aliye mulandu* "Has no offense". The first one is the dependent while the second one is the independent clause.

The patterns of proverbs (14) and (15) are represented in Figure 9 and Figure 10 respectively.

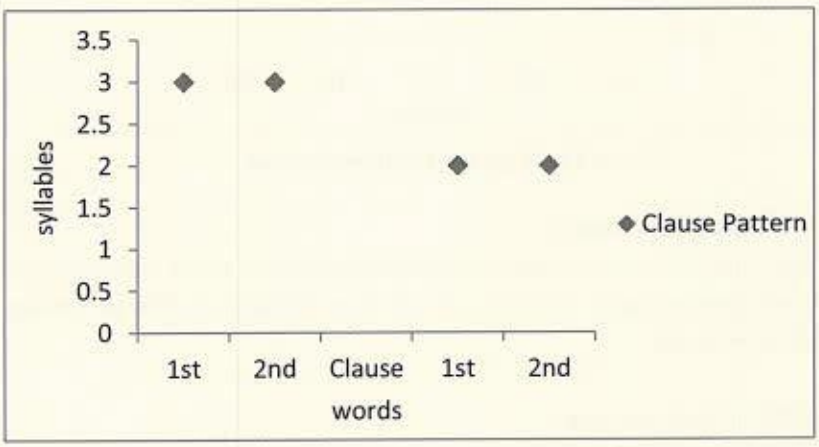

Figure 9: Binary Pattern A

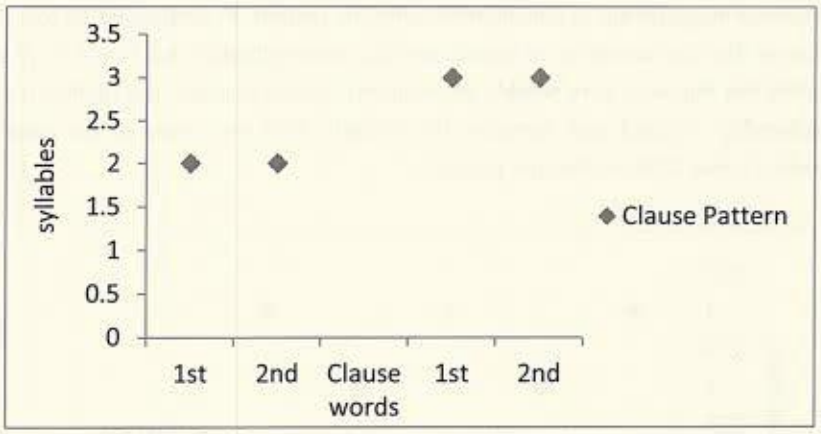

Figure 10: Binary Pattern B

2.1.1.3. The Tide Pattern

In some cases, the number of syllables per word is alternated to form a tide wave. Thus, it is possible to have a 2-3-2-3 pattern or a 3-2-3-2 pattern as shown in (16). The pattern is made of falls and rises of equal height.

(16) Oyenda ndiye eleta mendo a nkhalamu.

o-ye-nda ndi-ye e-let-a me-ndo a ŋkha-la-mu

3-2-3-2(1)-3

a-ku-yend-a	ndi-ye	a-i-leta-a	ma-indo	a-a
cl1-GP-walk-FV	COP-EMPH	cl1-PAST-bring-FV	cl6-leg	cl6-GEN

n-k^{h}alamu

cl9-lion

The one who walks is the one who brought the feet of the lion.

(17) Mwana akalila fupa mupaseni.

mwa-na a-ka-li-la fu-pa mu-pa-se-ni

2-4-2-4

mu-ana	a-ka-lil-a	Ø-fupa	mu-pas-e-ni
cl1-child	cl1-CND-cry-FV	cl5a-bone	2p-give-FV-PTC

When a child cries for a bone give it.

In both (16) and (17), the words appear in an alternating arrangement in terms of number of syllables per word. In (16) the only monosyllabic word is

considered insignificant to considerably alter the pattern. In pronunciation too, the fusion of the final vowel /o/ in *mendo* and the monosyllabic word vowel /a/ is not possible but the /a/ is very weakly pronounced. In this manner, the rhythm is not considerably affected and therefore the syllable does not count in the pattern. Figures 11 and 12 show the tide pattern.

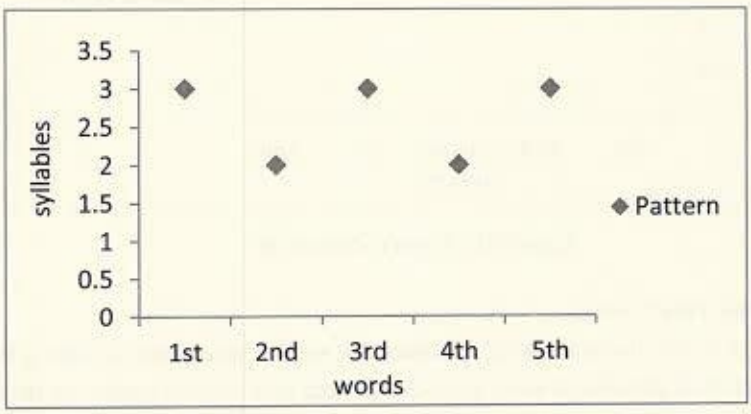

Figure 11: Tide Pattern A

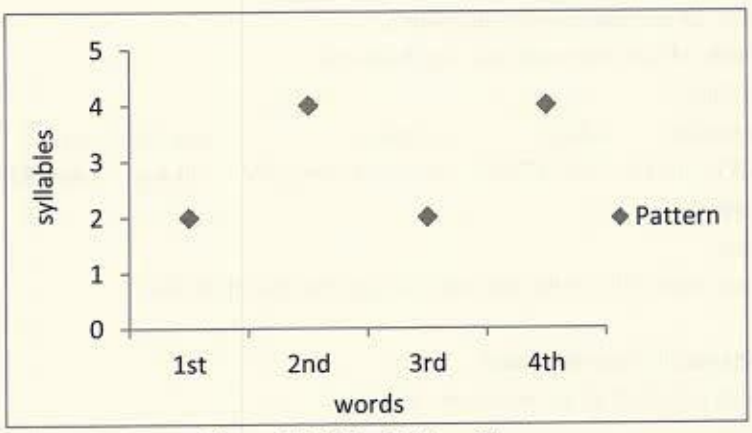

Figure 12: Tide Pattern B

2.1.1.4. The Increasing Pattern

An increasing pattern is identified in some proverbs that start with a small number of syllables per word or set of words and increase with the increasing number of words or sets of words in a proverb or start with a higher number, reduce and then increase consistently.

(18) Kucoka pa unyinji ni kufwamphuka.

Ku-co-ka pa-u-nyi-nji ni-ku-fwa-mphu-ka

3-4-5

ku-tʃok-a	pa-u-ɲindʒi	ni	ku-fwamp^{h}-uk-a
INFM-go.away-FV	cl16-cl14-plenty	COP	INFM-spring.off-REV-FV

To move away from a group is to spring off.

(19) Katale wenye kwa atumbuka kwasakuziŵa.

Ka-ta-le we-nye kwa-tu-mbu-ka kwa-sa-ku-zi-ŵa

3-2-4-5

ka-tal-e	u-eɲe	ku-a-tumbuka	ku-a
FUT-tell-FV	cl14-lies	cl17-cl2-Tumbuka.person	cl17-GEN

si-a-ku-ziβ-a

NEG-cl2-2s-know-FV

Go and tell lies among the Tumbuka people where they do not know you.

In both (18) ad (19) the number of syllables increases steadily although in (19) there is an initial decrease before the increase. In (18) *ni* is pronounced together with *kufwamp^{h}uka.* In (19) *kwa* is pronounced together with *atumbuka.* In this manner, the syllables pronounced together with other words are counted together with those words. The two proverbs are represented in Figure 13 and 14. In (19) /u/ has been semivocalized to form *kwa* from *ku-a.*

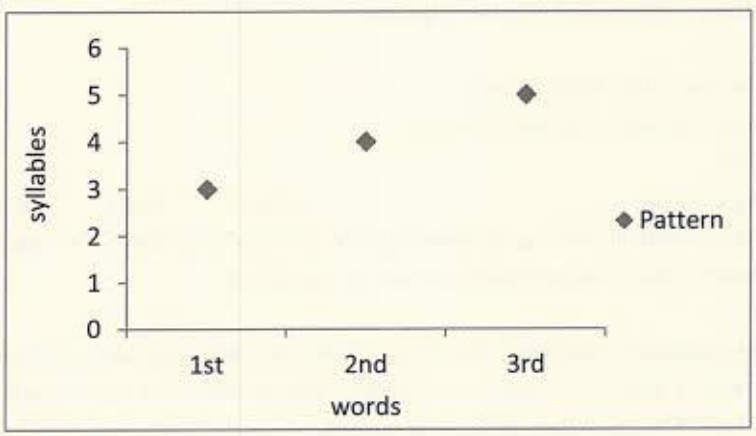

Figure 13: Increasing Pattern A

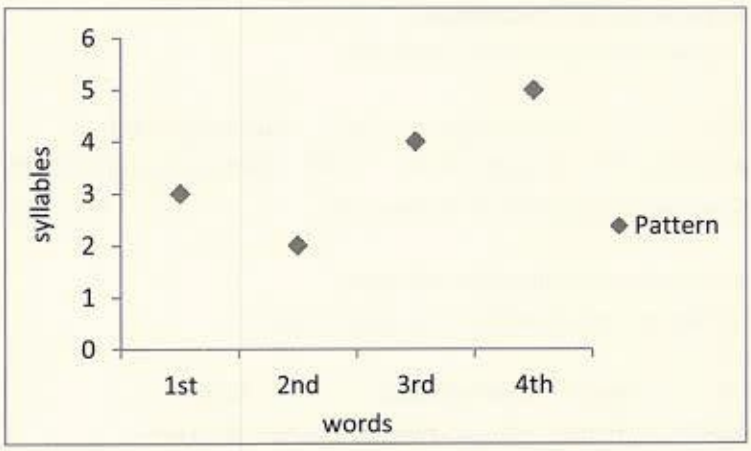

Figure 14: Increasing Pattern B

2.1.1.5. The Decreasing Pattern

The decreasing pattern is simply the opposite of the increasing pattern as we can see in proverbs (20) and (21).

(20) Olawîla oleta nzeru.
o-la-wî-la o-le-ta nze-ru
4-3-2
a-ku-la-βil-a a-ku-let-a n-zeru
cl1-GP-speak-FV cl1-GP-bring-FV cl9-wisdom
Wisdom is appreciated when it is spoken.

(21) Tiwazewaze aliye waze bwino.
ti-wa-ze-wa-ze a-li-ye wa-ze bwi-no
5-3-2-2
ti-waz-e-waz-e a-li-ye waz-e bwino
1p-carve.repeatedly-FV-carve.repeatedly-FV cl1-be-NEG carve-FV good
A person who carved repeatedly did not do a good job.

The proverbs start with words that have a higher number of syllables followed by words with a reducing number of syllables. The proverbs are represented in Figure 15 and 16 to show their decreasing pattern.

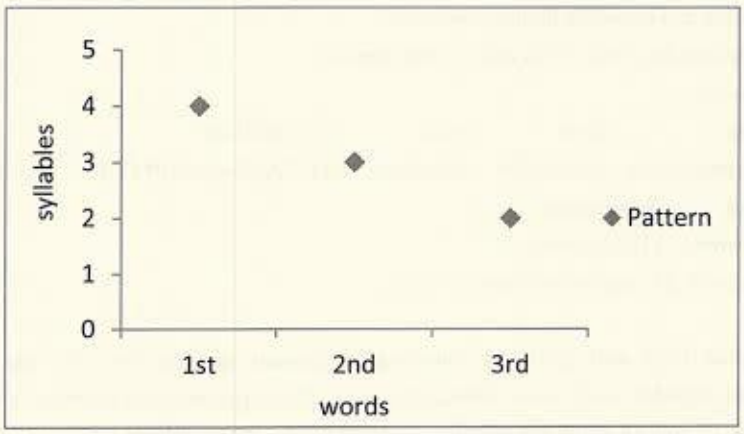

Figure 15: Decreasing Pattern A

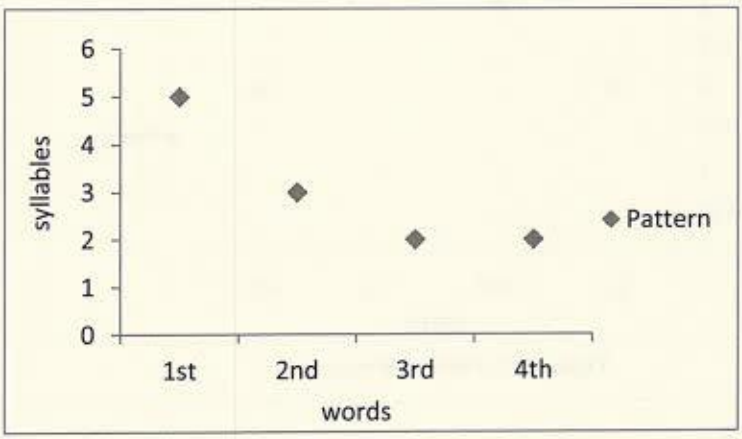

Figure 16: Decreasing Pattern B

2.1.1.6. The Plateau Pattern

The plateau pattern is a combination of an increase and a decrease.

(22) Munthu wa matu akumvwa limo.

mu-nthu wa-ma-tu a-ku-mvwa li-mo

2-3-3-2

mu-nthu	u-a	ma-tu	a-ku-mvw-a	li-mo
cl1-person	cl1-GEN	cl6-ear	cl1-GP-hear-FV	cl5-one

An obedient person heeds advice at once.

(23) Nzeru za eka ezuŵika nsima mumanzi.
nze-ru za-e-ka e-zu-ŵi-ka nsi-ma mu-ma-nzi
2-3-4-2-3
n-zelu za-a a-eka a-i-zuŵ-ik-a
cl10-inteligence cl10-GEN cl1-alone cl1-PAST-soak-POT-FV
n-sima mu-ma-nzi
cl9-*nshima* cl18-cl6-water
"I know it all" soaked *nshima* in water.

Examples (22) and (23) are showing a plateau pattern. In (22) *wa* is pronounced together with *matu*. Similarly, *za* in (23) is pronounced together with *eka*. Figure 17 and 18 show the graphic representation of the pattern.

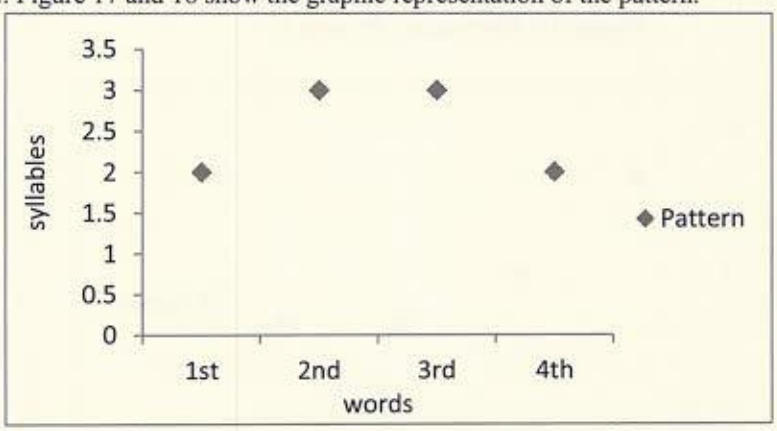

Figure 17: Plateau Pattern A

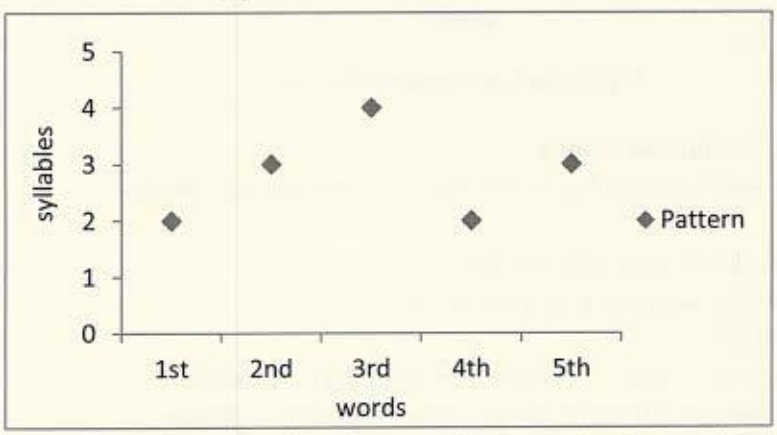

Figure 18: Plateau Pattern B

Although in Figure 18 the line begins to rise again, the main line represents a plateau pattern. The rise also concerns of only one word out of five words and therefore does not significantly alter the pattern.

2.1.1.7. The Valley Pattern

The valley pattern is a combination of a decrease and increase, which is the opposite of the plateau pattern.

(24) Kuvalizya viweme kuvufuma.
ku-va-li-zya vi-we-me ku-vu-fu-ma
4-3-4
ku-val-ish-a vi-weme ku-vi-ku-fum-a
INFM-bcock-CAUS-FV cl8-good cl17-cl8-GP-come-FV
Blocking things from the source.

(25) Wapeza nsenzi m'liŵa.
wa-pe-za nse-nzi m-li-ŵa
3-2-3
u-a-pez-a n-senzi mu-Ø-liŵa
cl1-PERF-find-FV cl9-*nsenzi*.animal cl18-cl5a-stone.trap
To find a *Nsenzi* animal in a stone trap meant for mice.

In both (24) and (25) the line on a graph shows a depression caused by two high points and a low in between. The phenomenon is shown in Figure 19 for proverb (24).

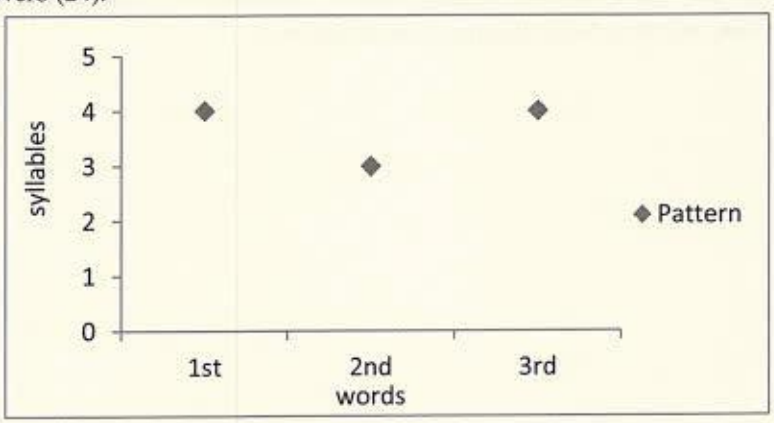

Figure 19: Valley Pattern

2.1.1.8. The Free Variation Pattern

The final pattern represents the rest of other patterns other than the seven above. In this pattern, syllables are not arranged in any consistent pattern. The pattern is common in long proverbs.

(26) Ali kaduku ndee munthu wonkhazikikika.
a-li ka-du-ku ndee mu-nthu wo-nkha-zi-ki-ka
2-3-1-2-5
a-li ka-Ø-duku ndee mu-nthu u-a ku-ŋkhazik-ik-a
cl1-be cl12-cl5a-veil IDEO cl1-person cl1-GEN INFM-settle-POT-FV
A settled person has an intact veil.

(27) Ali na alongosi onkhala na mashinga pa bedi.
a-li na a-lo-ngo-si o-ŋkha-la na ma-shi-ŋga pa-be-di
2-1-4-3-1-3-3
a-li na a-longosi a-ku-nkhal-a na ma-shinga pa-Ø-bedi
cl1-COP CNJ cl2-sister cl1-GP-sit-FV CNJ cl6-faeces cl16-cl5a-bed
Those that have sisters stay with feaces on the bed.

In both proverbs with a relatively higher number of words than we have discussed so far, there is no consistency in the number of syllables per word. The two proverbs are represented in Figure 20 and 21 to show the variation. This pattern is similar to the tide pattern except that in the tide pattern the line has equal heights of rises and falls. Although the line is uneven, the highs and lows help to provide some rhythm to the proverbs. This pattern is also similar to ordinary language as ordinary language has rhythm too.

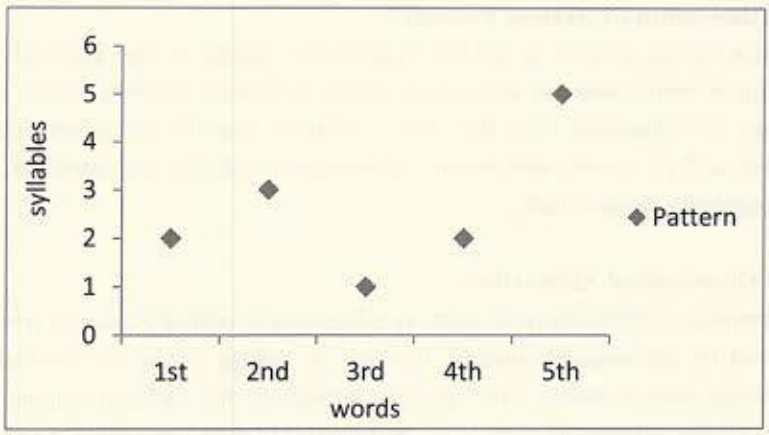

Figure 20: Free Variation Pattern A

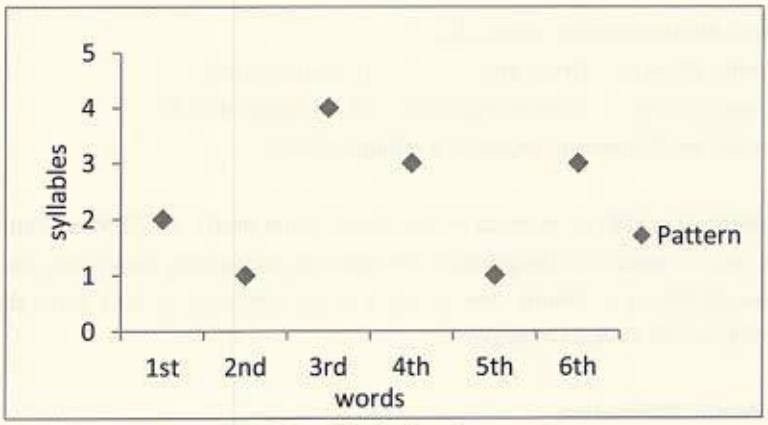

Figure 21: Free Variation Pattern B

The eight patterns mean that rhythm is of paramount importance in proverbs. The characteristic helps to differentiate the phonology of ordinary language and proverbial language. Typically, many proverbs that are equivalents of sentences in ordinary language do not sound the same as sentences in ordinary language.

The rhythm helps to add to the rhetorical force of proverbs by capturing the listener's attention. The switch in rhythm from ordinary language to proverbial rhythm helps the listener to mentally prepare for the coming proverb and thereby give it the attention it requires. Whereas sometimes the speaker might signal to show that s/he is going to site a proverb, sometimes there is no warning. The warning is only in the change of the rhythm in this case.

2.1.2. Alliteration in Nsenga Proverbs

Besides various patterns in syllable organization, rhythm is also achieved by alliteration of both consonant and vowel sounds in Nsenga proverbs. There are two types of alliteration that the study identifies namely (a) grammatical alliteration and (b) poetic alliteration. Alliteration is simply the repetition of sounds especially word-initially.

2.1.2.1. Grammatical Alliteration

Grammatical alliteration is the same as alliteration in ordinary Nsenga, which is achieved by grammatical concord. Concord in Nsenga allows for especially lexical words such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and various pronouns to begin by similar consonants such as /k/ in proverb (19). We can clearly see this alliteration in proverb (28).

(28) **C**imuti **c**ikulu **c**ikapona **c**umvwika.

tʃi-muti	tʃi-kulu	tʃi-ka-pon-a	tʃi-ku-mvw-ik-a
cl7-tree	cl7-big	cl7-CND-fall-FV	cl7-GP-hear-POT-FV

You can easily hear the sound of a falling big tree.

The concord in (28) is operated by the class 7 noun prefix /ci/. In this manner, the other parts of speech in the proverb also carry the mandatory dependent prefix /ci/. Although this is a default characteristic of the language, it aids alliteration and thereby overall rhythm of proverbs.

2.1.2.2. Poetic Alliteration

This type of alliteration is named poetic because it is typical of the types of figures of speech used in poetry. This alliteration is not the result of grammatical agreement. It is the most common type.

(29) Mtembo **w**olemelela **k**onse **k**onse.

mu-tembo	u-a	ku-lem-il-a	ku-onse	ku-onse
cl3-coffin	cl3-GEN	INFM-heavy-APP-FV	cl17-all	cl17-all

The coffin of a dead person should have balanced weight.

(30) **M**ulasa akuti **n**ilase **n**ane **n**ikulase.

mu-lasa	a-ku-ti	ni-las-e	na-ine	ni-ku-las-e
cl1-shooter	cl1-GP-say	1s-2s-shoot-FV	CNJ-1s	1s-shoot-FV

Shoot me and I will shoot you too.

In proverb (29), the vowel /o/ is repeated in all the words and in proverb (30); the consonant /n/ is repeated in most of the words. The /m/ although different from /n/ contributes to the rhythm because it also a nasal. In this manner, nasalization provides the rhythm in the proverb.

2.1.3. The Morphology and Syntax of Nsenga Proverbs

Only a thin line exits between the levels of morphology and syntax. While all proverbs have been analyzed according to morphemes, various morphemes also have various syntactic functions and characteristics. These functions and characteristics are the same as those of ordinary Nsenga. However, we are able to observe several characteristics unique to proverbs.

2.1.4. Pronominalization

A general tendency in which many proverbs use pronouns rather than nouns at the beginning of sentences or expressions was observed. In ordinary language discourse, pronouns are usually introduced after a specific noun has been used. As pronouns have no specific reference, their use is usually made in reference to an earlier mentioned noun. Many proverbs however, start with pronouns in order to keep the reference general, which allows them to be applied to various situations in various contexts.

For example, proverbs (26) and (27) start with pronominal *ali* "one who is". In both cases the class 1 subject marker *a-* refers to any person to whom the proverbs could apply. In ordinary language, the pronominal would have to be preceded by the noun *munthu* "person" to form *Munthu ali* "a person who is".

(31) Cili kumuyako ulaŵila kuti cikate mapondo.

tʃi-li	ku-mu-yako	u-ku-laβil-a	ku-ti	tʃi-kat-e
cl7-be	cl17-cl1-friend	2s-GP-speak-FV	INFM-say	cl7-hold-FV
ma-pondo				
cl6-horn				

You encourage your friend to hold what s/he faces by its horns.

(32) Cimeta Nkhanga mpala cuziŵika lini.

tʃi-met-a	ŋ-kʰaŋga	n-pala	tʃi-ku-ziβ-ik-a	lini
cl7-cut.hair-FV	cl9-guineafowl	cl9-bald.head	cl7-GP-know-POT-FV	NEG

What made the guineafowl bald headed is not known.

In (31) the class 7 subject marker ci- (tʃi) refers to any situation that could befall a friend. In (32), the class 7 subject marker ci- refers to anything that could be the cause of the guineafowl's baldhead. In both cases, the subject markers are referring to general things that could apply to various situations. Like in the cases of (26) and (27), the subject ci- would have to be preceded by the noun *cinthu* "thing" in ordinary language to form *cinthu ci-* "The thing that".

2.1.5. Bipartite Structure

As we observed for many languages in the literature review, in Nsenga too many proverbs are in bipartite structure. The structure is usually similar to that of a simple sentence with a subject and predicate.

(33) Akolwe osekana vinkhang'a.
a-kolwe a-ku-sek-an-a vi-n-k^{h}aŋa
cl2-monkey cl2-GP-laugh-REC-FV cl8-cl9-scar
Monkeys laugh at each other's shiny red marks on their buttocks.

(34) Cimuti ciweme sucucelwa kutendewa.
tʃi-muti tʃi-weme si-tʃi-ku-tʃelw-a ku-tend-iw-a
cl7-tree cl7-good NEG-cl7-GP-be.late-FV INFM-cut-PASS-FV
A good tree is easily cut.

(35) Malilo ni kulilana.
ma-lilo ni ku-lil-an-a
cl6-funeral COP INFM-cry-REC-FV
A funeral is about mourning each other.

In (33) *Akokolwe* "monkeys" is the subject and *osekana vinkhang'a* "laugh at each ether's marks" is the subject compliment. The subject like *monkeys* in this case is in many proverbs an important object with cultural significance. Hence, the subject of the proverb is in itself a rhetorical force not only capturing the attention of the listener but also invoking various cultural associations related to the noun of the subject.

In (34) *cimuti ciweme* "a good tree" is the subject and *sucucelwa kutendewa* "is easily cut" is the predicate. Although *ciweme* by itself is an adjectival

qualifying the noun *cimuti*, *cimuti* and *ciweme* both function as the subject of the sentence. Proverb (35) is a very common bipartite structure where the subject and the complement are separated by the copular *ni*. Likewise, *Malilo* "funeral" is the subject and *ni kulilana* "is mourning each other" is the complement.

The other form of a bipartite structure is by organizing the proverb sentence into a dependent and an independent clause. Thus the proverb is made of two clauses as is the case with proverbs (14) and (15) which we have already discussed. The dependent clause functions as the topic of the proverb and the independent clause as the comment which is basically the same way the subject and predicate behave. Thus in (15) *Walya kake* "one who has eaten his own" is the topic or subject and *aliye mulandu* "has no case to answer" the comment or predicate.

2.1.6. Nominalization

The bipartite structure and the fulfilling of the requirement of a simple sentence to have at least a subject and a verb, requires proverbs to use a nominal in proverb initial positions. Sentences in ordinary language also require a nominal or pronominal to be usually used in sentence initial positions. However, the proverb uniquely uses nominalization including the pronominalization that we have already discussed to fill the subject position besides using nouns themselves.

(36) Cawakandilila ndiye citi cikuceke.

tʃi-a	u-a-kand-ilil-a	ndi-ye	tʃi-ti	ci-ku-tʃek-e
cl7-GEN	2s-PERF-step.on-PER-FV	COP-EMPH	cl7-say	cl7-2s-cut-FV

What you have stepped on is what will cut you.

(37) Cawama cisenga munyu.

tʃi-a-wam-a	tʃi-i-seŋg-a	mu-ɲu
cl7-PERF-good-FV	cl7-PAST-beg-FV	cl3-salt

One who says "it's good" begged for salt.

(38) Cifu ca nguluŵe culyewa na ula ofuna.

tʃi-fu	tʃi-a	n-guluβe	tʃi-ku-ly-iw-a	na
cl7-stomach	cl7-GEN	cl9-warthog	cl7-GP-eat-PASS-FV	CNJ
u-la	a-ku-funa			
cl1-DEM	cl1-GP-want			

The stomach of a warthog is eaten by the one who wants it.

In (36) *cawakandilila* "what you have stepped on" is a verbal that syntactically functions as a nominal. In English, the word translates as a relative clause. In this manner, an entire clause is nominalized to fulfill grammar requirements but uniquely and literally refers to the aspect of suppressing something in real life situations. Nominalizing the whole sentence gives special focus to the sentence allowing the listener to raise expectations of the coming commentary on the subject while thinking about the subject itself.

Cawama "it is good" in (37) cannot in ordinary language function as a subject in the manner it is used in the proverb. The verbal *cawama* is nominalized by giving it nominal qualities of a living thing capable of begging. It can only be a living thing (other than human) because the class 7 subject marker ci- in *cawama* is only used for things other than humans. However, begging is regarded as inhuman among Nsenga people as a result; a beggar becomes inhuman when s/he begs and therefore the prefix ci- can be used on such a one. *Cawama* thus becomes the subject and *cisenga munyu* "begged for salt" is the predicate.

Cifu ca ngulube "a stomach of the warthog" in (38) is the same as the use of a noun in subject position in ordinary language. However, the noun is a special one as it refers to an animal that has a lot of significance among Nsenga people. First, the monkey is a troublesome animal as it attacks people's crops and secondly it is a delicacy once it is killed. However, Nsenga people normally do not eat its offals because it looks like a pig whose offals are not eaten either. While a warthog feeds on grass in the wild, the pig feeds on various things that are considered dirt or garbage to humans in their surroundings thereby making it difficult for humans to eat the offals.

2.1.7. Tense

Two tenses are commonly used in Nsenga proverbs. The General Present (GP) marked by the morpheme /ku/ and the past usually marked by the morpheme /i/.

(39) Kokuzya mpombo koziŵika lini.

ka-a	ku-kuʒ-a	n-pombo	ka-ku-ziβ-ik-a
cl12-GEN	INFM-grow-FV	cl9-peace.of.fecal.matter	cl12-GP-know-POT-FV
lini			
NEG			

The thing that enlarges one's fecal matter is not known.

(40) Mvula yulokwa pali ponse.

n-vula	i-ku-lokw-a	pa-li	pa-onse
cl9-rain	cl9-GP-rain-FV	cl16-be	cl16-all

It rains everywhere.

(41) Mamvelamvela efumya kalulu pavikwati.

ma-mvel-a-mvel-a	a-i-fumy-a	Ø-kalulu	pa-vi-kwati
cl6-hear-FV-hear-FV	cl1-PAST-remove-FV	cl1a-*kalulu*	cl16-cl8-marriage

Listening to what people say anyhow ended the rabbit's marriages.

(42) Mau abwino elalika cimbwi pa cungu.

ma-u	a-a	bwino	a-i-lal-ik-a	Ø- tʃimbwi
cl6-word	cl6-GEN	good	cl6-PAST-sleep-POT-FV	cl1a-hyena

pa-tʃi-uŋgu
cl16-cl7-dumpsite
Good news made the hyena sleep at the dumpsite.

Both (39) and (40) are proverbs using the GP tense. In both cases, the tense is being used to show the currency of the proverbs. Thus, the tense allows the proverbs to be used to prevailing situations at the time of use. The tense also magnifies the force or power of the proverb by making it eminently applicable to current situations generally.

Proverbs (41) and (42) are in past tense. The tense allows the proverbs to be used as cases on record that apply to similar current situations. The tense helps the proverbs to be sited as cases of reference, which makes the proverb to be used in reinforcing a particular speaker's argument or reasoning.

The two tenses also help the proverbs not to be attached to a speaker as such but add value to the speaker's line of thought by either using the GP tense in order to show the immediate relevance of the proverb to a particular case or the past tense to refer to a previous case in a particular case. Both tenses therefore help the proverbs to remain general allowing anybody to use them. Hence, when the listener interprets the proverbs, s/he cannot attribute the function of the proverb at a particular time, such as to rebuke or correct, to the speaker. The tenses therefore provide immunity for the speaker from being accused of threatening the face of the listener. In other words, although the speaker sites the

proverb, the tenses separate the speaker from the proverb allowing the proverbs to relate with the listener independently.

2.1.8. Manipulation of Grammar Rules

As we have already seen in proverb (37), as poetic and rhetorical devices proverbs are licensed to alter rules of grammar where necessary. There are several instances where in pursuing particular ends the tempering of grammar rules becomes the means at reaching those ends.

(43) Atata ni kutatishana.

a-tata	ni	ku-tat-iʃ-an-a
cl2-father	COP	INFM-father-CAUS-REC-FV

To call your father "father" is as good as addressing yourself as "father".

(44) **K**uusali**k**o imbwa ya**k**o ***kuutuka*** lini.

ku-u-sa-li-ko	in-bwa	i-ako	*ku-utuk-a*	lini
cl17-2s-NEG-be-ENC	cl9-dog	cl9-2sPOS	INFM-run-FV	NEG

Where you are not, your dog does not run.

In (43) the word *kutatishana* cannot be used in ordinary language. The causative extension -iʃ- can only be applied to the verbs whose meaning is, "to cause somebody to do something". However, -tat- is not a verbal radical but a root of the noun for father '*tata*' in Nsenga. There is no way in Nsenga grammar that one would form a verb from the noun *tata* "father". As a result, the word is only used in the proverb. However, a listener has no problem in understanding the meaning of the word because the listener is fully aware of the productive rule of using the infinitive marker ku- and the causative -iʃ- to form infinitive nouns from verbs such as *kuimbisha* (ku-imb-ish-a cl15-sing-CAUS-FV) "causing one to sing".

In proverb (44), the problem is with the infinitive use in *kuutuka* "running" as highlighted in italics. In ordinary language, the sentence would have been as it is in (45).

(45) Kuusaliko imbwa yako *yuutuka* lini.

ku-u-sa-li-ko	in-bwa	i-ako	*i-ku-utuk-a*	lini
cl17-2s-NEG-be-ENC	cl9-dog	cl9-2sPOS	cl9-GP-run-FV	NEG

Where you are not, your dog does not run.

Since the verbal *-utuka* "run" refers to the dog, it is necessary that it should carry the class 9 class (dependent) prefix i-. Additionally, -ku- the GP tense marker is also necessary to complete the grammar. However, in the proverb, the prefix is deleted and the infinitive marker ku-, which has the same phonological shape as the GP marker, is used. The main purpose for doing this is to achieve rhythm through a combination of alliteration and consonance. Whereas alliteration is the repetition of sounds in word initial positions, consonance is simply the repetition of consonant sounds in a succession of words.

Sometimes grammar is not necessarily altered but manipulated to achieve particular ends as it is in (46).

(46) **U**ta **u**yumila **ku**ti **u**thyolewe.

u-ta	u-ku-yum-il-a	kuti	u-t^{h}yol-iw-e
cl14-bow.and.arrow	cl14-GP-dry-APP-FV	CNJ	cl14-break-PASS-FV

The bow and arrow becomes dry so that it gets broken.

The use of the passive form in the verbal *uthyolewe* "be broken" is partly for purposes of alliteration as highlighted.

2.2. The Use of Linguistic Strategies as Rhetorical Devices

We have already seen how alliteration is achieved by use of the passive in (46). In this section, we will be able to see how other linguistic strategies are used as rhetorical devices by discussing some figures of speech. Many figures of speech are used as means for addressing the poetic or rhetoric nature of proverbs. As rhetorical devices, proverbs require a form that not only effectively conveys a message but also captures the attention of the listener. These linguistic strategies therefore provide the materials needed to create the rhetorical power of proverbs.

2.2.1. Metaphor

There are many proverbs that are in form of metaphors. A metaphor is a figure of speech where one item is called by, or compared to another, usually unrelated item. These proverbs usually have the structure "X is Y" in order to compare qualities of the two items that are otherwise unrelated.

(47) Alwendo ni mame osansulika.

a-lwendo	ni	ma-me	a-ku-sans-ulul-ik-a
cl2-visitor	COP	cl6-due	cl2-GP-drop-REV-POT-FV

Visitors are like dew that dries up.

(48) Munekwanu ni mizyu ya kacele.

mu-nekwanu	ni	mi-zyu	i-a	Ø-katʃele
cl1-relative	COP	cl4-root	cl4-GEN	cl1a-fig.tree

Blood relationship is like roots of a fig tree.

(49) Ng'ombe ni matole.

n-ŋombe	ni	ma-tole
cl9-cattle	COP	cl6-calf

Cattle are calves.

(50) Kukana nyula yakulu ni kuzuŵika.

ku-kan-a	n-ɲula	i-a	a-kulu	ni	ku-zuβik-a
INFM-refuse-FV	cl9-cloth	cl9-GEN	cl2-big	COP	INFM-soak-FV

You refuse washing old people's clothes by soaking them.

Proverb (47) compares *alwendo* "visitors" to *mame* "due". Although *alwendo* is the subject and *ni mame* the predicate, there is on the surface very little that the predicate says. In especially rural areas, human settlements are adjacent to bushes or jungles. A little distance away from the houses are bushes, shrubs or grass portions especially savanna grasslands. Farmers who usually get up early to cultivate in the fields always encounter dew along small paths. However, it takes only few moments before the dew disappears. In this manner, dew is understood to be impermanent. On the other hand, it is also common in the Nsenga traditional community for strangers walking long distances to ask for shelter in order to spend a night or two before



Figure 22: Fig Tree
Source: istockphoto.com

continuing the journey. It is advisable among Nsengas to look after strangers. After all, they never stay for good. It is also advisable to be hospitable to all visitors whether strangers or not. The proverb therefore likens the impermanence of visitors to that of due, which dries as the day (time) passes.

Proverb (48) likens *munekwanu* "a relative" to *mizyu ya kacelele* "roots of a fig tree" (Figure 22). The proverb also behaves in a similar way as proverb (47). A fig tree is a very important tree in Nsenga land. It is used for various purposes including medicine and shelter to both humans and livestock. A fig tree is also a symbol of plenty underground water and an indicator of an easily accessible water table. The roots of the tree form a complex crisscrossing network that always amuses Nsenga people. It is the root networking that is likened to the powerful network of relationships that family members develop over a lifetime.

Proverb (49) also behaves in similar ways. Here *ng'ombe* "cattle" is being compared to *matole* "calves". Although cattle and calves are the same species, the difference in age is too big to refer to one as the other. Many Nsenga communities use cattle for cultivation in their fields. Cattle are also important for milk and meat supply. It is common knowledge that calves grow into adult cattle. Likewise, it is believed that the future of any community or nation lies in the youths since they still have a long way to go. The proverb is said either to assure the youth that their time will come for them to lead or indeed to encourage elderly people to take good care of the youth since the future lies in them.

Proverb (50) is uniquely classified as a metaphor. The proverb does not compare any two nouns. However, syntactically there are two parts in the proverb: *Kukana nyula yakulu* "to refuse washing old people's clothes" and *ni kuzuŵika* "is to soak". The first part functions as a subject and therefore the other one as the predicate. The infinitive marker ku- in *kukana* and *kuzuŵika* changes the two verbals into gerands. Therefore, refusal to wash clothes is likened to simply soaking the clothes. Any adult person can send Nsenga children. It is thus regarded as one of the highest form of disrespect for a child to refuse to be sent by an adult. In a situation where a young person has been asked to wash clothes by an adult, the younger one diplomatically refuses to do the job by doing a bad job rather than saying no.

2.2.2. Personification

Personification is the attribution of personal characteristics to inanimate things. The figure of speech is significantly used in many proverbs to change ordinary words into rhetorical devices.

(51) Cimuti cikapona musili ukumvwa kuŵaŵa.

tʃi-mu-ti	tʃi-ka-pon-a	mu-sili	u-ku-mvw-a	ku-βaβ-a
cl7-cl3-tree	cl7-CND-fall-FV	cl3-earth	cl3-GP-feel-FV	INFM-pain-FV

When a tree falls, it is the earth or the ground that feels the pain.

(52) Kambeŵa ka nsoni kefwila ku mulindi.

ka-n-beβa	ka	n-soni	ka-a-i-fw-il-a	ku-mu-lindi
cl12-cl9-mouse	cl12-GEN	cl9-shyness	cl12-PAST-die-APP-FV	cl17-cl3-hole

A shy mouse died in the hole.

(53) Ulemu usheta manzi.

u-lemu	u-ku-ʃet-a	ma-nzi
cl14-respect	cl14-GP-chew-FV	cl6-water

Respect chews water.

The ability to feel pain is a characteristic unique to animals and other living things. In proverb (51) however, the inanimate ground is given the capacity to feel pain because of impact from the falling tree. Trees fall for various reasons. When big trees fall the big noise on impact is always fascinating. Trees fall in Nsenga land because they are cut for shifting cultivation or because of strong winds and whirlwinds. The impact on the ground also leaves marks on the earth. Sometimes the vegetation on the ground is damaged. The meaning of the proverb is that the surviving parent feels the death of a child. This dramatic comparison between the ground that feels pain and the surviving parent on the loss of a child helps to paint a picture of the intensity of pain a parent suffers.

Shyness is a characteristic almost entirely reserved to humans. In proverb (52), a mouse is able to feel shy. Mice are usually dug up in the ground. 'Clever' mice always build emergency exits for escape. A type of mice does not build an emergency exit but goes deep down into the ground. The mouse is considered 'shy' because it is believed to avoid being seen in public. The proverb is normally used when two people are sharing something or when someone wants to ask for help. They begin their request by citing this proverb meaning that one should not be shy to beg if in need because you may die of hunger while there is a way out of the hunger situation. Similarly, if you have been unfairly treated, you may just need to complain lest you are subjected to unfairness. For example, this proverb is commonly used when sharing mealie meal, the most important ingredient of *nshima*, which is the Nsenga people's staple food.

In proverb (53), respect as an abstraction is given the capacity to chew. Not only does respect have the capacity to chew but also the capacity to chew a non-chewable substance of water. These impossibilities made possible in the proverb heighten the capacity of a proverb to communicate unique information in a very powerful way. The proverb is used for people who become arrogant after becoming leaders. It is common knowledge that due to the nature of water no one can chew it. However, experience has it that many people who become leaders are corrupted by power and do strange things. Such people are said to have the ability to chew water. *Ulemu* "respect" is personified to represent people in authority. Besides, only humans and animals have teeth to chew.

2.2.3. Synecdoche

A synecdoche uses a part to refer to a whole or vice versa.

(54) Menso ali na nsanje.
ma-inso a-li na n-sandʒe
cl6-eye cl6-be CNJ cl9-jealousy
Eyes are jealousy.

(55) Cikumo cimo cuyavya lini.
tʃi-kumo tʃi-mo tʃi-ku-yavy-a lini
cl7-finger cl7-one cl7-GP-help-FV NEG
One finger does not help.

Eyes are used to represent a human being in proverb (54). In this manner, ayes are given the capacity to feel jealousy. As observed from human experience, something may appear bad in the eyes until details are known about the thing in question. Hence, it is said that eyes are jealousy because they are not able to see good in others beyond appearance. Eyes are used in the saying as a synecdoche for people who see others with jealousy. The proverb means that one should not judge by external appearance only.

A finger too is used to refer to a human being in proverb (55). Whereas humans have the capacity to help, a finger in itself cannot do anything. Human body parts usually work in pairs or in unison to accomplish many tasks. For instances, one usually uses more than one finger to pick or hold things. In this manner, the proverb means that one cannot help oneself.

2.2.4. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is one of the commonest ways in which linguistic strategies have been rhetorically used in Nsenga proverbs. The term is used here to refer to deliberate omission of important linguistic items in order to render the remnant structure a proverbial structure.

(56) Amukamfumu ezingwa nozyamika ciceleko.

a-mukamfumu	a-i-ziŋgw-a	na	ku-ʒamik-a
cl2-chief's.spouse	cl2-PAST-suffer-FV	CNJ	INFM-borrow-FV
tʃi-tʃeleko			
cl7-decanting.basket			

The Chief's spouse suffered so much that s/he went to borrow a decanting basket.

Proverb (56) is almost in colloquial style where non-lexical and some redundant lexical items are deliberately omitted. In ordinary language style the proverb could be rewritten as (57)

(57) Amukamfumu azingwa ngako teti ecita nozyamika ciceleko.

a-mukamfumu	a-i-ziŋgw-a	ŋgako	teti	a-i-cit-a	na
cl2-chief's.spouse	cl2-PAST-suffer-FV	ADV	CNJ	cl1-GP-do-FV	CNJ
ku-ʒamik-a	tʃi-tʃeleko				
INFM-borrow-FV	cl7-decanting.basket				

The Chief's spouse suffered so much that s/he went to borrow a decanting basket.

The adverb *ngako* "a lot", the conjunction *teti* "so that", and the verbal *ecita* "s/he did" observable in (57) have all been omitted in (56). Both (56) and (57) translate almost the same way into English. The adverbial *ngako* "a lot" is omitted because the fact that a chief's wife who is supposed to have everything goes to borrow clearly shows how much she has suffered. The conjunction *teti* "so that" can simply be omitted without altering the meaning and the verbal *ecita* "s/he did" is redundant because the concept of doing is taken care of by the verbal *nozyamika* "even borrowing", which is literally to do the borrowing. By omitting the items, the expression remains with not only just enough items to convey

meaning but also an unusual structure thereby making the expression gather some rhetorical force.

(58) Apika oingolaŵa mucinkhombe.

a-a-pik-a	a-ku-iŋgo-laβ-a	mu-tʃi-ŋk^{h}ombe
cl2-PERF-cook-FV	cl1-GP-REP-taste-FV	cl18-cl7-pot

S/he has cooked but s/he keeps on tasting from the pot.

Proverb (58) behaves in a similar way to proverb (57). Here too some items that would be present in ordinary language have been omitted as shown and rewritten in (59).

(59) Asilizya kupika koma oingolaŵa ndiyo mucinkhombe.

a-siliʒ-a	ku-pik-a	koma	a-ku-iŋgo-laβ-a	n-diyo
cl1-finish-FV	INFM-cook-FV	CNJ	cl1-GP-REP-taste-FV	cl9-relish

mu-tʃi-ŋk^{h}ombe
cl18-cl7-pot
S/he has cooked but s/he keeps on tasting from the pot

The verbal a*silizya* "s/he has finished", the conjunction *koma* "but" and *the* noun *ndiyo* "relish" have all been omitted in (58). The sense of the verbal *asilizya* is taken care of by the verbal *apika* "s/he has cooked". The fact that one has cooked means that one has finished. The conjunction can simply be omitted without altering meaning and the noun *ndiyo* "relish" is taken care of by the verbal *-laŵa* "taste" and the locative noun *mucinkhombe* "in the pot". The only thing that can be tasted from the pot after cooking is relish. It is therefore not necessary to include relish in the proverb.

Proverbs as an oral language use an abbreviated form of language whose omissions can easily be filled in by the listener. The characteristic helps to get the listener involved by not only getting one's attention but also getting one to fill in the missing information or linguistic items.

(60) kangacepe kolila m'tembo.

ka-ŋga-tʃep-e	ka-ku-lil-a	mu-tembo
cl12-MOD-be.snall-FV	cl12-GP-cry-FV	cl3-coffin.and.stretcher

Even if it is small it requires a coffin and a stretcher.

The kind of ellipsis in (60) is the one that we have discussed under pronominalization. Accordingly, the noun is omitted and replaced by a pronoun represented by the subject marker ka- in *kangacepe*. We know from ethnographic information that something that requires (*kolila* "what cries for") a stretcher is a very sick person or a dead body. A funeral whether for a small or big person is always taken seriously and paid with the full respect it deserves. Thus for both a small child and big person the body is curried in the same manner; on a stretcher, in a coffin, and by at least two people one on the head and the other on the leg side. In this way, we can tell the subject marker ka- refers to a sick or dead body of a young or small person. The proverb means that even small tasks are better done as a team.

(61) Asakonsha ecilya yawisi.

a-sa-konʃ-a	a-itʃi-ly-a	i-a	a-wisi
cl1-NEG-ask-FV	cl1-PAST-eat-FV	cl9-GEN	cl2-father

Someone who does not ask ate the father's (something).

(62) Pepe efwila yake.

Ø-pepe	a-i-fu-il-a	i-ake
cl1a-male.goat	cl1-PAST-die-FV	cl9-3sPOS

The male goat died because of its own (something).

(63) Samba waiona.

samb-a	u-a-i-on-a
wash-FV	2s-PERF-cl9-see-FV

Wash after you have seen it.

Proverbs (61), (62) and (63) operate in a related way. In proverb (61), all we know is that somebody who does not ask ate the father's (something). We do not know on face value what it is that was the father's that s/he ate. By linguistic analysis we at least know that class 9 pronominal marker i- in the genitive ya (i-a) "of" has to do with a noun that starts with N in class 9. However, ethnographic information is necessary to find the noun. Some men keep knowledge of children outside marriage or out of wedlock a secret. The danger is always with the children of similar parents that might end up in a sexual relationship or indeed marriage because of lack of knowledge. Some tragic situations occur when a man denies responsibility of a pregnancy. A child is born and she grows up into a

woman. The man unknowingly gets into a sexual relationship with the daughter. Thus a man who does not find out about the girl's background ends up eating (having sexual intercourses with) his own daughter which is thought to be as good as eating your own *mbolo* (penis). The proverb therefore means that you must have a good background of the person you are getting into a relationship with. In proverb (61), therefore, the ellipsis not only provides for rhetorical force but also works as euphemism for the taboo word *penis* as we have found out ethnographically that the pronominal marker i- refers to the penis.

In proverb (62), the possessed item is unnamed but simply represented by the pronominal marker -i-. At least by the linguistic information alone we also know that the noun is in class 9. Tradition has it that the male goat's testicles and penis are used for improvement of sexual performance or for some kind of charms. The pronominal marker therefore must represent *mbolo* "penis". The proverb refers to people who give up all they have fearing that witches or thieves may kill them because of their own things. It is believed that witches sometimes kill people for possessing wealth. Therefore, the killing of a person for his or her own wealth is likened to the killing of a male goat in order to get its testicles that may be needed for use in charms. The meaning of the proverb therefore is that wealth can attract enemies.

Finally, by linguistic analysis again, the object marker /i/ in proverb (63) is used for either class 5 or nine nouns. By ethnographic analysis, the item that causes people to wash hands before eating among Nsenga people is usually *nshima* a class 9 noun. *Nshima* is the staple food for Nsenga people. Once you receive a visitor or guest, the best treat is to *nshima*. It is eaten with bare hands. As a result, before eating, one has to wash hands first for hygiene purposes and second to avoid the *nshima* sticking into the palms, which can be very messy. In other words, your palms need to be wet before you begin to eat. In this manner, you can only wash your hands when *nshima* is served and ready to be eaten. If you wash too early, you may have to wash again once *nshima* arrives. Accordingly, the proverb means that cross-checking is important before embarking on an important mission or getting into an agreement.

2.2.5. Incomplete Structures

Incomplete proverbs are another form of ellipsis except that the omitted information is one whole part, usually the final part of the proverb. Thus, proverbs are commonly presented in a hanging style leaving the listener to complete the remaining part.

(64) Cakanga baka kutola.

ci-a-kaŋg-a	Ø-baka	ku-tol-a
cl7-PERF-fail-FV	cl1a-duck	INFM-pick-FV

What a duck fails to pick up.

As the translations suggests, proverb (64) is structurally incomplete as the senence is a relative clause. This is a proverb usually left hanging but can be completed by adding the independent clause *nkhuku siingatole* (ŋ-kʰuku si-i-ŋga-tol-e cl9-chicken NEG-cl9-CND-pick-FV) "a chicken cannot pick up" at the end. Ducks are bigger than chickens and are able to eat bigger grains than chickens. Therefore, the proverb means that you can only perform according to your capability.

(65) Kuika moyo pamuswe.

ku-ik-a	mu-oyo	pa-mu-swe
INFM-put-FV	cl3-life	cl16-cl3-termite

Putting one's life on termites.

Kuika moyo pamuswe "Putting one's life on termites" behaves like a nominal and can therefore be treated as a subject that requires a subject compliment to complete the sentence. Termites are one of the Nsengas' worst enemies. They are known to attack household structures such houses and various barns including harvested crops. Termites also attack crops whilst they are growing. As a result, termites are known to have no value except as destroyers. Hence, to put one's life on termites, by figurative use, is to put one's life to waste. The saying is also used to refer to a person who marries a sick person with a sexually transmitted disease such HIV/AIDS. In this manner, the missing part is *ni kuononga moyo* "is to put one's life to waste". However, such use has received great criticism from anti-AIDS activists who say it fuels the stigma towards AIDS patients.

(66) Kukomela mbuto iipa.

ku-komel-a	n-buto	i-ipa
INFM-plant-FV	cl9-seed	cl9-bad

To plant a bad seed.

Proverb (66) is also a nominal in class 15 of infinitives. *Kuwezya viipa* "brings about a bad harvest" is required to complete the proverb. Accordingly, it

also functions as the subject that requires a subject compliment to complete the sentence. Storage of seed among Nsenga people is usually a challenge as many people only use ineffective traditional means of storing seed. Consequently, some seeds are easily damaged which results in poor germination and subsequent poor plant population. The proverb means that when you sow bad things you reap bad results.

(67) Kukumana mumanzi posamba.

ku-kum-an-a	mu-manzi	pa-ku-samb-a
INFM-meet-REC-FV	cl18-cl6-water	cl16-GP-wash

Meeting under water when swimming.

Similarly, proverb (67) requires *kulawîla kuvuta* "communication is difficult" as it is a hanging nominal as well. Nsengas enjoy swimming in the seasonal streams and some lagoons for entertainment. While under the water, no matter how much you shout it is difficult to communicate. This characteristic is likened to two people who have differed and are having difficult to communicate with each other. The proverb therefore means that when people differ communication is affected.

(68) Kumangusulila cilonda painzi.

ku-mangusul-il-a	tʃi-londa	pa-Ø-inzi
INFM-untie-APP-FV	cl7-sore	cl16-1a-housefly

To uncover a sore where there are flies.

Finally, Proverb (68) also requires a complement to complete the structure. *Kuleta ainzi* "attracts flies" is a necessary part. Houseflies are irritating creatures among the Nsengas. By common knowledge, flies follow bad odor and rotting matter. Thus, sores with a bad odor attract flies. It is common knowledge therefore that if you undress a wound in the open you attract flies. In the proverb, flies represent enemies and the covered wound represents secrets. Therefore, it means that you do not disclose your secrets in the presence of your enemies.

As the data shows, many of the incomplete structures begin with the class 15 infinitive ku-, which helps to render the structures as nominals in order to stand on their own in the proverbs. However, even though the missing parts are required in grammar, the omission requires the listener to complete the other part from his or her knowledge obtained from society. Observably, the missing parts

are usually the negative consequence of a particular action, which is the mentioned part. Hence, in leaving out the negative part, the speaker protects both his or her face and that of the listener. It also distances the speaker from directly presenting the negative message to the listener. Hence, the speaker can politely accomplish a huge task such as rebuking in a softer manner by leaving the listener to complete the proverbs by him/herself.

2.2.6. Parallelism

Parallelism is the duplication of similar grammatical structures in two parts of a proverb making the proverb have some kind of a bipartite structure.

(69) Kaselo nkhoya kaselo wela.
Ka-se-lo nkho-ya/ ka-se-lo we-la
3-2/3-2
ka-selo ŋkʰoy-a ka-selo wel-a
cl12-plate;SBJ go-FV;IMP cl12-plate;SBJ come-FV;IMP
A small plate given out (with food) should come back (with food).

(70) Kawêlewêsha esala, katumphula eciya.
Ka-wê-le-wê-a e-sa-la/ ka-tu-mphu-la e-ci-ya
5-2/4-2
ka-βeleβ-iʃ-a a-i-sal-a ka-tumpʰul-a
cl12-whisper-APP-FV;SBJ cl1-PAST-remain-FV cl12-raise-FV;SBJ
a-itʃi-ya
cl1-PAST-go
The one who whispered remained; the one who raised the voice went.

(71) Walya ni muyake mbili ni ya koswe.
wa-lya ni mu-ya-ke mbi-li ni ya-ko-swe
2-1-3/2-1-3
u-a-ly-a ni mu-yake n-bili
cl1-PERF-eat-FV;NOM COP cl1-different.person;NOM cl9-rumour;NOM
ni i-a Ø-koswe
COP cl9-GEN cl1a-rat;NOM
Someone else has eaten but the rat gets the blame.

Proverb (69) has a duplicate structure with an identical shape of a simple sentence that is simply subject and verb. The verbs on both sides of the structure are in imperative moods. Proverb (70) also has the structure of a simple sentence duplicated. However, both verbs are in simple past. Proverb (71) has an "X is Y" structure duplicated. The first part is made of a relative clause *walya* "who has eaten" that functions as a nominal followed by a copular and a nominal. The other part starts with a noun followed by a copular, a genitive and a noun.

Parallelism in proverbs helps to provide a unique style for proverbs that makes sentences sound proverbial. It also helps with achieving rhythm. As noticed in all the three proverbs, the first part and the second part have identical numbers of syllables except proverb (70) whose second part has one syllable less, which is not a significant reduction. Rhythm here is therefore similar to the binary pattern we discussed under phonology. However, in the binary pattern the two syntactic structures are not necessarily identical whereas in this case the structures are identical.

2.2.7. Imperatives

The final identified category of linguistic strategies used as rhetorical devices is imperatives. This does not mean that we have exhausted the list of figures of speech used in Nsenga proverbs. It should be possible to find other strategies that this study has not dealt with.

(72) Sunga m'kosi cifukwa ulungu uvuta lini kupeza.

suŋg-a	mu-kosi	tʃifukwa	u-luŋgu	u-ku-vut-a	lini
keep-FV	cl3-neck	CNJ	cl14-lungu	cl3-GP-trouble-FV	NEG
ku-pez-a					
INFM-find-FV					

Look after the neck because beads are not difficult to find.

(73) Tauka manzi akaliye kufwika m'nkhokola.

tauk-a	ma-nzi	a-ka-li-ye	ku-fwik-a	mu-n-ŋk^{h}okola
cross-FV	cl6-water	cl6-POT-be-NEG	INFM-arrive-FV	cl18-cl9-knee

Cross the river before the water reaches knee-high.

(74) Tenda nsuka kwaŵene oyenda lini na nsuka.

tend-a	n-suka	ku-a	βa-ine	a-ku-yend-a	lini
cut-FV	cl9-tail	cl17-GEN	cl2-other.person	cl1-GP-walk-FV	NEG
na	n-suka				
CNJ	cl9-tail				

You do not go to foreign land with uncut tails.

All the three proverbs from (72) through (74), begin with imperatives namely, keep, cross and cut respectively. These are all proverbs that are used to give strong advice. Proverb (72) uses beads and the neck to give advice about life. Beads play a very important role in the lives of Nsenga people. They are mainly used for interior and body decoration. They also play important functions at various traditional ceremonies and activities. They are a woman's most treasured jewelry, especially when they are won in her neck and waist. However, it is the woman that is actually valuable and not the beads. The beads' value is only appreciated when a woman wears them. The proverb therefore advises that it is better to value life more than wealth because while wealth can be replaced while life cannot.

Proverb (73) advises about how to deal with life's problems. Nsenga land has many seasonal streams that become barriers to travelling in the rainy season. Some of the cultivation fields are allocated across streams or small rivers that require crossing almost daily for those people that do not live on their fields. The streams usually run at high currents. It is therefore always safer to cross them before the water depth reaches the knee. The proverb is used to mean that it is necessary to do all preliminaries before it is too late. For example, someone may be advised to attain higher education before getting married. Therefore, one may say, "Go to school before you marry" also meaning that you do not need to wait for problems to do something. As it is necessary to take proactive measures, it is important to prepare for the future.

The last proverb (74) advises about how to behave in foreign land. The tail represents authority in the proverb. Traditionally, a chief moves with and wags a tail of an important animal as a symbol of authority. The tail there is a symbol of both authority and pride. It is advisable to humble oneself in a foreign land. This is what is implied by cutting the tail. If you are a boss (*nsuka*), where you come from, you should not be a boss everywhere because you may end up becoming a rejected person. The proverb therefore means that you can only be a leader in a certain area of respect.

In starting with imperatives, the proverbs provide the listener with no room for negotiation but either to take or leave the advice as it stands. Imperatives are therefore a very effective way of forcibly communicating important messages. They are actually commands in themselves.

2.3. The Semantics and Pragmatics of Nsenga Proverbs

In dealing with the morphology and syntax of Nsenga proverbs, there was no way we could have avoided discussing meaning in proverbs, as they are building blocks in the process of achieving meaning. These various levels of linguistic analysis are therefore best regarded as merely academic partitions that help us to understand language, as there are only thin and vague lines between them.

2.3.1. Semantics

Meaning in proverbs is dealt with at two levels namely, the surface and the deeper levels. The surface level meaning in this study is almost equivalent to the literal meaning arrived at after conducting a linguistic analysis. In other words, we can call this the dictionary meaning of proverbs, as this meaning is the result of the semantic value of linguistic items used in the proverb. However, deeper meaning is only arrived at after conducting ethnographic analysis. Therefore, the deeper meaning is referred to as actual meaning in the study.

In proverb (63) *Samba waiona* "Wash after you see it" we saw that the linguistic analysis could not take us beyond the surface meaning. We were only able to identify that the object marker -i- in *waiona* "after you see it" represents a noun in class 5 or 9. We had to dig out ethnographic information in order to know that the object marker referred to *nshima*. Only after the ethnographic analysis, could we know that you need to crosscheck before you embark on an important mission, which is the deeper meaning of the proverb.

Meaning in proverbs is cultural specific. Many linguistic items that are used carry many cultural connotations, which give extra meaning to words. In Proverb (38), *Cifu ca ngulunŵe culyewa na ula ofuna* "The stomach of a warthog is eaten by the one who wants it", we saw what a warthog means to a Nsenga person. While a warthog can be an important item of tourism to a non-Nsenga person, it is a crop destroyer and good meat to a Nsenga person. We could have not appreciated the deeper meaning without having to understand cultural implications of the noun.

2.3.2. Pragmatics

Whereas a proverb has a particular deeper meaning, this meaning also depends on context of use. In other words, one proverb can mean differently at different occasions.

(75) Lizu liweme lifumya mbulu kulupako.

Ø-lizu	li-weme	li-i-funy-a	n-bulu	ku-Ø-lupako
cl5a-voice	cl5-good	cl5-PAST-remove-FV	cl9-water.monitor	cl17-cl5a-hole

A good voice made the water monitor come out of its hole.

Some Nsenga people eat a water monitor as meat. When it is found, it is a very stubborn reptile to take out of a hole. Many humans fail to pull it out of the hole by hand. Hence, one needs tactical methods to get it out of a hole. Among Nsenga people, the water monitor is usually associated with a difficult woman who does not easily want to accept a man's love proposal. It is therefore advisable to be a gentle and a sweet talker in order to convince such a woman. The proverb therefore means that you need to be gentle in order to get consent.

This proverb does not only apply to a man in search of a lover. To a child who wants money from the parent it means that one must be good to the parent. To a person seeking forgiveness, it means that one must apologize for doing wrong. To a person looking for a job it means that one must be polite. Thus, the meaning of proverbs has a lot to do with the context of use, as we will observe in the next chapter. Pragmatic meaning is therefore just as important as lexical or dictionary meaning of proverbs.

The ability of proverbs to be applied in several situations makes them a concise though limited set of useful tools in language. This characteristic also makes the traditional practice of grouping proverbs under functions irrelevant, as an individual proverb can fall under different functions. In this study therefore, every proverb has been treated as an individual entry.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have briefly described the grammar of the Nsenga language. The grammar of ordinary language has been compared to the grammar of proverbs as an independent language. The chapter has therefore shown how various linguistic aspects contribute in changing ordinary language into proverbial language. We have also seen which linguistic structures are necessary in forming proverbs at the sound level, the word level and at various units of

discourse. It has been demonstrated how specific linguistic structures contribute to proverbiality.

While it is necessary to understand the grammar of proverbs as a linguist, it has been shown that linguistic analysis falls short in comprehensively dealing with meaning in proverbs. In the next chapters therefore, we will see how other analyses help to analyze meaning of proverbs in Nsenga and thereby complement the linguistic analysis.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF NSENGA PROVERBS

Ethnographic analysis significantly contributes to understanding the deeper and culture-specific meanings of proverbs. Accordingly, although the primary objective of the study is to undertake a linguistic analysis of proverbs, dealing with the semantics and pragmatics of proverbs requires studying proverbs within context of use. In this chapter therefore, we will be able to highlight characteristics of proverb performances among the Nsenga people and how proverbs capsulate societal information. Hence, the chapter shows how the proverb itself also provides significant data in understanding the Nsenga society without which proverbs are empty and meaningless statements.

1. Proverb Performances among the Nsenga

Whereas proverbs are part of the general competence levels of Nsenga speakers, there are rules governing who can use proverbs or particular proverbs. The rules are a significant part of the competence for use of proverbs. To begin with, the use of a proverb puts a speaker in some kind of instructive or superior position because of the elevated nature of the language of proverbs. As proverbs are commonly referred to as 'wise sayings', the user assumes a knowledgeable position once s/he chooses to use the proverb. However, among the Nsenga, seniority transcends intelligence or cleverness. As a basic rule, no matter how clever or intelligent you may be you must always be at the receiving end in the presence of elders. As a result, it is unnatural for a young person to speak in proverbs to an elderly person. Where necessary, however, it is allowable for a young person to use the proverb on the condition that it must be preceded by a greeting formula that serves as either an apology or a cushioning mechanism that helps the younger person not to be viewed as arrogant.

Let us first examine the following situation. A young man meets his superior at a maize selling market.

"How are you sir?" he greets the superior.

"I am fine and how are you?" the superior replies. "You have a lot of maize today you must have had a bumper harvest," says the superior.

"Well, just enough to feed my family, Sir," replies the young man.

When the young man gets the turn to weigh his bags of maize, he says to the superior:

(1) "Pepani pala akuti, 'Kalulu etuma njovu.' Nithandizekoni kunyamula iyi nsaka yakulisha."

Pep-a-ni	pala	a-ku-ti	Ø-kalulu	a-i-tum-a
Excuse.me.Sir-FV-PTC	CNJ	cl2-GP-say	cla-hare	cl1-PAST-send-FV
n-njovu	ni-tʰandiz-a-ko-ni		ku-ɲamul-a	i-yi n-saka
cl9-elephant	1s-help-FV-PTC-PTC		INFM-lift-FV	cl9-DEM
i-a-kul-iʃ-a				
cl9-sack-cl9-INT-big-PER-FV				

Excuse me Sir, as they say, "A hare sent an elephant" help me lift this bag it's too heavy.

Let us first deal with the language the young man uses in (1) before and after he quotes the proverb. We will deal with the proverb quotation thereafter. *Pepani* "excuse me Sir" and *akuti* "they say" used before the proverb quotation are two magical words that relieve the young man of the weight of using a proverb to a superior. He begins by excusing himself by use of *pepani* "excuse me Sir", a common greeting formula, which in this case is actually an apology. There after he says *akuti* "as they say" to mean that he is too insignificant to cite such a proverb to a superior. This makes the superior realize that the young man has no choice but to proceed with making the "big" request as well as realize that the young man has observed rules of social engagement with seniors.

After the proverb quotation, he uses two linguistic items as strategies of politeness to lessen further the burden of getting the superior to do something for him. He uses the particle -ko- in *nithandizekoni* "help me". The particle has no direct translation into English but it is always used as a way of showing consideration, in this case, for requesting a superior to do something. The particle is also used in Nsenga in other cases such as to show consideration in greeting a patient or finding out about the condition of a patient.

The proverb quotation shown in (2) is itself a double-edged sword. First, its use shows that the young man is trained in the way he must relate with superiors. Second, it gives the young man permission to send an elderly person. As it is the case in Nsenga culture, elderly people who have absolute rights of sending any young person in their society even if the young person is not a member of the family.

(2) Kalulu etuma njovu.

Ø-kalulu	a-i-tum-a	n-jovu
cl1a-hare	cl1-PAST-send-FV	cl9-elephant

A hare sent an elephant.

In proverb (2), *kalulu* "hare" is a very popular folktale star who usually appears as a clever and outwitting person that uses his tricks to get even the most powerful and fearful of members of society to do things for him. In many instances, he is seen to outwit the elephant whose enormous size apparently makes him fit to be the jungle's leader. The hare's actions in outwitting the elephant makes the elephant look like a big-for-nothing person who lacks wisdom for society. Hence, it is unexpected that the elephant that is supposed to be the king of the jungle can be sent by the hare one of the smallest members of the jungle. In this situation, however, the young man in use of the proverb assumes the character of the hare, which is being wise and skillful in getting things done. The superior assumes the positive attributes of an elephant, which is that of the King of the jungle who cannot be made to do anything but is considerate. The proverb therefore means that a young person can get elderly people to do things when s/he knows how to.

Proverb (3) highlights many restrictions that accompany proverb performances among the Nsenga people. Some proverbs cannot be used to superiors at all.

(3) Ciyankheyankhe kapontha emela mbezo.

ci-yaŋk^{h}-e-yaŋk^{h}-e	mu-lamba	a-i-mel-a		n-bezo
cl7-catch-FV-cl7-catch-FV	cl3-barbel.fish	cl1-PAST-swallow-FV		cl9-hook

Having anything that comes your way caused the barbel fish to swallow a hook hidden in bait.

A barbel fish is one of the popular types of fish in Nsenga land. This is partly because it is found almost everywhere including shallow ponds. It is also easy to catch as it can easily be attracted to many types of bait. It is also usually found in abundance. A barbel fish is considered as an always-hungry fish that eats anything that comes its way. Consequently, humans use any type of bait to catch the fish, which is a popular delicacy among Nsengas. It is therefore an easy fish to catch by even armature anglers. The proverb is used to advise humans that are not selective to warn them of the danger of getting into trouble like the barbel fish

that eats anything in its way. Proverb (3) therefore talks about a very negative behavior of overindulgence in humans.

One of the informants, in exemplifying a situation where a proverb could not be used told me a fictitious story. He said two children were playing jokes. However, when their uncle walked into the room he thought they were quarreling. Therefore, he joined in to rebuke them. One of the kids looked at him and said, *Ciyankheyanke kapontha emela mbezo* "Having anything that comes your way caused the barbell fish to swallow a hook". The uncle immediately got angry and hit the boy. The respondent went on to say that, the uncle did beat the boy not because the boy did not use the right proverb but because it was the right proverb used at a wrong time to a wrong person. It was the right proverb because the uncle should have waited to find out what the boys were doing before he could decide to rebuke the boys. The story shows that personal relationships such as seniority have a lot to do with restrictions regarding the use of proverbs.

Proverb (4) is another type that young people can never use not only to superiors but also in the presence of superiors because of the use of a taboo word.

(4) Mfulumila yipaisha inzi na cinshupu.

n-fulumila	i-i-pay-iʃ-a	Ø-inzi	na	tʃi-nʃupu
cl9-impatience	cl9-PAST-kill-CAUS-FV	cl1a-housefly	CNJ	cl7-fart

Lack of patience made a housefly to be killed by fart.

A housefly is a symbol of an impatient and irritating person in Nsenga society. Houseflies are unavoidable human companions. They are known to be the transmitters of diarrheal diseases. Traditionally too, people used to use the bush for defecating and they would therefore closely watch the behavior of flies. Flies are very sensitive to bad odors and respond immediately the odor is released. Thus whilst defecating in the bush, flies usually arrive at the smell of fart even before the fecal matter is released. In the proverb, a rushing fly is hit by a strong wind from the fart and dies on impact on the ground. The proverb therefore means that one should be patient in order to find good things.

Proverb (4) can be used to advise any impatient person. However, the adviser must be either a peer or a superior. Otherwise, the person being advised can take offense. The sensitivity in using the proverb arises from the use of the word *cinshupu* "fart" in the proverb. Nsenga people regard farting in public as a disgraceful thing. It is considered as sacred as using the toilet which requires one

to be in privacy. In this manner, using the word to seniors, or in the presence of seniors, counts as an insult. Insults are not allowed to be used in public.

Sometimes restrictions arise because of the nature of a topic or the context of a discussion. Let us take proverb (5) as an example.

(5) Pali sekaseka pali lilalila.

pa-li	Ø-sekaseka	pa-li	Ø-lilalila
cl16-be	cl1a-excited.person	cl16-be	cl1a-hurting.person.

Where there is joy, there might also be pain.

Proverb (5) comes from the behavior of children who can do anything to entertain each other but can get hurt by the same things that cause them to be happy. It is also common for playing children to hurt each other easily without intending to do so. The proverb therefore means that one should be aware that pain and joy are in co-existence.

One informant exemplified the different ways in which the proverb (5) could be used. She said that the proverb is sometimes used to talk about AIDS-related deaths especially when the society suspects that somebody has contracted the diseases because of promiscuous activities. She said that people could whisper in each other's ears this proverb as a way of communicating the cause of the death.

In this story, the question is, why should they whisper? First, it is not allowed to talk about anything negative about a dead person among Nsenga people. Since contracting AIDS because of promiscuity is regarded as an embarrassing thing, it cannot be publicly said as the cause of someone's death. Secondly, the people would whisper because it is even a more serious offense to say anything ill about the dead person at his or her funeral procession. However, peers can talk about the issues away from the funeral house and away from seniors and strangers. Use of proverb (5) is particularly problematic also because it is relating laughter as unserious as it is to mourning as serious as it should be. A funeral provides such a serious mood that this comparison would be considered unreasonable at a funeral house. Elsewhere, however people are liberated to talk in the manner they wish as peers to such an extent that people can jokingly say things about the deceased.

One other informant reported the proverb as being commonly used to refer to a tendency that is developing among unemployed youths in urban areas. There were several reports of youths having died in beer drinking competitions. Young men would usually compete in taking sachets of very high alcohol content. Unfortunately, many met their fates in such contests. As a way of protesting this

kind of death, the society allows people to use proverb (5) in referring to the cause of death. However, the proverb can still not be used in the presence of the dead person.

Generally, the complex principles of social engagement such as politeness and courtesy that apply in the use of ordinary Nsenga also apply in the use of proverbs as part of the Nsenga language. As commonly as people use proverbs in their daily lives, they are aware of the restrictions and conditions under which all proverbs generally and some proverbs particularly ought to be used. Even though, it is complicated to describe these phenomena, people almost unconsciously use proverbs, as they become part of their language competence with the growth in age. Thus, switching between ordinary language and proverbs is as natural as code-switching in a multilingual society.

Apart from daily and spontaneous use in everyday life, some environments require much more use of proverbs than others do. Proverbs are very commonly used in traditional courts where traditional court justices use the proverbs in passing judgments and advising citizens about general conduct. Traditional leaders also commonly use them when they formally address citizens. The use of proverbs by traditional leaders helps to elevate their image in the eyes of citizens who view them as wise leaders who are culturally informed because of appropriate use of proverbs.

Proverbs too, more in the past than now, are told and used by grandparents as a way of instructing young children in the ways of their culture, teaching the morals and values of the society, and teaching the history of society. In this case, proverbs are usually told as part of folktales. These activities usually take place in the evenings after dinner as a way of relaxing after the day's activities.

2. The Nsenga Society through the Eyes of the Proverb

Since proverbs are generally a reflection of a people's way of life, they provide a window through which we can view a particular society. Beginning with the proverb, we are therefore able to reconstruct the spiritual, social and economic characteristics of a society. Thus as proverbs are codes and capsules of societal information, the linguistic items used in proverbs usually represent particular traits of a society.

In this section, we use proverbs to explore the Nsenga society. Traditionally, proverbs are commonly grouped into themes and functions. Thus, it is common to find lists of proverbs under themes and functions such as *educate children*, *argue legal matters*, and *give ordinary advice*. This study was, however, interested in

allowing proverbs to walk the researcher through the various aspects of Nsenga life. Resultantly, the section uses proverbs to discuss some of the various characteristics of the Nsenga society.

2.1. Agriculture

Many proverbs use linguistic items to reveal agricultural activities of the Nsenga people.

(6) Avyazi kati nacikumbe nawŵana akuŵa acikumbe.

A-vyazi	kati	ni	a-tʃikumbe	na	βa-ana
cl2-parent	CND-say	COP	cl2-good.farmer	CNJ	cl2-child
a-ku-β-a	a-tʃikumbe				
cl2-GP-be-FV	cl2-good.farmer				

When parents are good farmers, children become good farmers too.

The general word for famer is *mulimi* (mu-limi cl1-farmer) which comes from the verb *-lima* (-lim-a cultivate-FV). However, *cikumbe* as used in proverb (6) specifically refers to committed and regular famers. Among Nsengas, farming is the noblest career as it is the mainstay of the economy. Children who always regard parents as role models therefore admire their parents when they are successful farmers.

(7) M'mainza kombwe akalila kumatemwakuca alesi ovwinikila nyula kumutu.

mu-ma-inza	Ø-kombwe	a-ka-lil-a	ku-ma-temwakutʃa
cl18-cl6-rainy.season	cl1a-rooster	cl1-CND-cry-FV	cl17-cl6-early.hours
a-lesi	a-ku-vwinik-il-a	n-ɲula	ku-mu-tu
cl2-lazy.person	cl1-GP-cover-APP-FV	cl9-cloth	cl17-cl3-head

In the early hours of the rainy season, lazy people cover their heads with blankets when the rooster crows.

Proverb (7) talks about hard work in the farming season. The rainy season is the busiest season when Nsenga people cultivate their crops. This is because the agricultural system is a rain-fed one. Many Nsengas who do not have clocks use roosters for time reference. Those who want to make good progress at their farms, where most of the work is manually done, wake up in the early hours of the day

after the first rooster's crow. The proverb means that unsuccessful people sleep while others work.

(8) Pauli ndiye pali sanga ikulu.

pa-u-li	ndi-ye	pa-li	Ø-sanga	i-kulu
cl16-2s-be	COP-EMPH	cl16-be	cl5a-land	cl5-big

Where you are is where there is big land.

Proverb (8) talks about conservation farming. Traditional methods of farming do not require use of modern fertilizers. Hence, after a few years people look for fresh and fertile land to cultivate good crops. To get good yields too, one also cultivates on a large piece of land, as most farming is extensive. In this manner, people are always in search of good and big land. The situation is used in the proverb to give advice to people to be content with the land they have, to avoid unnecessary land degradation and strife. Thus, the proverb means that you must be content with what you have.

(9) Ukankhala mwana mphanje uyambila pam'chenga.

u-ka-ŋkʰal-a	mu-ana	n-pʰaŋdʒe	u-ku-yamb-il-a
2s-CND-be-FV	cl1-child	cl9-virgin.field	2s-GP-start-APP-FV

pa-mu-tʃeŋga
cl16-cl3-sand

When you are a child, you begin developing your cultivation field from sand soils.

Proverb (9) gives evidence of extensive and shifting cultivation type of farming. *Mphanje* "virgin land" specifically refers to Chitemene system[4] where new fields are cleared in search of fertile soils. Nsengas practice shifting cultivation because of soil erosion and infertility. Thus, once a field seems to have lost fertility a new one is found and developed. Usually, a new field has very hard and compact soil, which is hard to plough especially using hand hoes. However, a field with sandy soil is easier to cultivate even if it is virgin land. Unfortunately, sandy soils usually have little fertility as they have a higher percentage of soil percolation.

[4] Slash and burn type of agriculture widely used in Zambia.

There are both seasoned and armateur farmers. The armatures are advised to begin with small projects in manageable areas before going to bigger ones as they gain experience. Accordingly, they are advised to begin in sandy soils before they go to break hard land usually made of loamy to compact clay soils. The proverb simply means that you need to be realistic in making personal goals.

(10) Ukaukate mpini.

u-ka-u-kat-e	mu-pini
2s-FUT-cl3-hold-FV	cl3-wooden.handle

You are going to hold the wooden handle.

Proverb (10) talks about farming tools, in this case a hoe made with a wooden handle. *Mpini* "a wooden handle" is a synecdoche for *kambwili* "a hoe". A hoe is a principle tool for farming and therefore a symbol of farming and food security. For many subsistence farmers, a hoe is the only available tool. It is therefore one piece of equipment that any living household must have in order to survive. The proverb means that you must work hard to earn a living.

(11) Ulimi wakale upuzyika lini mwana.

u-limi	u-a	kale	u-puʒ-ik-a
cl14-farming	cl14-GEN	long.ago	cl14-stop.child.from.crying-POT-FV
lini	mu-ana		
NEG	cl1-child		

Old farming (stock) does not hush or stop a child from crying.

Proverb (11) refers to seasonal (not-all-year) farming. In Nsenga land, farming is seasonal because it is traditionally dependent on the seasonal rains. Usually people grow enough crops to feed between the seasons. This means that one ought to grow crops every year in order to have food otherwise hunger haunts the home. One of the common causes of crying in babies is hunger. Sometimes, all you need is to feed the child to let it stop crying. The proverb means that you do not need to depend on the past glory because the past glory never solves current problems.

(12) Vikonde ni nkhomo.

vi-konde	ni	n-kʰomo
cl8-banana	COP	cl9-sucker

Suckers are future bananas.

Proverb (13) focuses on labor needs and diversification for economic growth. Gardening in *dambo* areas is a supplement to rain-fed agriculture among the Nsengas. People who live near riversides and areas with shallow water tables do all year round gardening for vegetables, bananas, citrus fruits and other crops. A banana is one of the easiest and most common fruit to grow. Farmers use suckers that shoot around big bananas to make new plantations. As banana suckers are future bananas, so are children the future of a society.

(13) Vimiti vukula ndiye sanga.

vi-miti	vi-ku-kul-a	ndi-ye	Ø-sanga
cl8-tree	cl8-GP-grow-FV	COP-EMPH	cl5a-bush

Growing trees are the forest itself.

Proverb (13) talks about both labor needs and conservation farming. In Nsenga land, people use extensive farming methods and firewood as a major source of energy. This results in extensive cutting of trees. The society therefore is always faced with challenges of preserving the forest for not only sustainable use but good environmental protection for future generations. The proverb is evident that there has always been a sense, or indeed practices, of conservation in the society. The situation is also used in not only advising elderly people to look after younger ones as future leaders but also treating the younger ones as though they were already leaders.

(14) Wolima cikumbe eciya navyo.

u-a	ku-lima	tʃi-kumbe	a-itʃi-y-a	na-vi-o
cl1-GEN	INFM-cultivate-FV	cl7-farmer	cl1-PAST-go-FV	CNJ-cl8-3PRN

The farmer went with his/her products.

Proverb (14) refers to self-sufficiency while depending on agriculture as the economic mainstay. *Cikumbe* is a special word that means an experienced farmer. Otherwise, a farmer is simply *mulimi*. Most Nsengas who are subsistence or peasant farmers only grow enough to feed the family until the next farming season. Thus, they only grow enough for consumption with hardly any surplus for storage or sale because of capacity issues. In this manner, people who depend on others to cultivate, suffer once such a person leaves or dies. Thus, it is always

expected that dependents must become independent at some point in life. You cannot be looked after for a lifetime.

(15) M'pimo wa unga osiyanisha lini.

mu-pimo	u-a	u-ŋga	a-ku-siyan-iʃ-a	lini
cl3-measure	cl3-GEN	cl14-mealie.meal	cl1-GP-different-CAUS-FV	NEG

The measure for mealie meal is not supposed to be different.

The final proverb (15) refers to maize as the commonly grown crop, as it is the staple food. Mealie meal is made from maize by grinding the grain to powder form. Mealie meal is used to make *nshima* the Nsenga people's staple food. It is also a symbol of wealth, food security and a stable home. In the principle of sharing everything, as all Nsengas believe and ascribe to, mealie meal is one of the commonly shared items. Thus, the society attaches a lot of importance to it in such a way that anybody refusing others *nshima* is regarded as the worst human being. No one is therefore expected to be selfish with mealie meal as it can cost one's reputation. Wherever mealie meal is being shared, it must always be done under the principle of equity and equality. The proverb encourages people to learn that standards or criteria should not be different regardless of who is involved in a case so that the criterion does not only suite some individuals. The proverb uses the important food for Nsenga people to say that equity and equality should precede treatment of others.

We have seen from proverb (6) up to proverb (15) how proverbs have revealed the economic activities of the Nsenga people by referring to agriculture as the economic mainstay. The proverbs have revealed the following.

(a) Agriculture, and its practices, has been passed on across generations.
(b) Nsengas use the Chitemene system of agriculture but are aware of its adverse effects.
(c) Agriculture is dependent on seasonal rain.
(d) Nsenga people engage in diversification to survive times of food shortages.
(e) Maize is the commonly grown crop.

Through these proverbs, we have therefore seen important characteristics of the Nsenga people. Several proverbs have been used as examples to show the importance of agriculture in the lives of the Nsenga people as many proverbs refer to agriculture and related themes.

2.2. Resilience

As it is in many societies, natural disasters sometimes strike the Nsenga land. The common type of natural disasters in Nsenga land is drought, which causes serious hunger problems since people are dependent on rain-fed agriculture. Several proverbs therefore show resilience characteristics of the Nsenga people.

(16) Capita capita pala liliye mankhwala

tʃi-a-pit-a	tʃi-a-pit-a	Ø-pala	li-li-ye
cl7-PERF-pass-FV	cl7-PERF-pass-FV	cl5a-baldness	cl5-be-NEG
ma-ŋk^{h}wala			
cl6-medicine			

You cannot correct the past just as there is no medicine for baldness.

Proverb (16) provides acceptance as the first response towards disaster. Baldness puzzles Nsengas just as it does many people of the world. It is a known fact that there is no medicine for baldness. Baldness can be so troubling to some people that it is regarded as disaster once it develops. Whoever develops a baldhead is advised to accept the state of affairs and move on. In fact, people are encouraged to regard baldness as a symbol of wisdom. The permanence of baldness is used in advising people to accept some things that happen in life, which they have no control over. The proverb therefore means that you must accept what you have no control over.

(17) Cikuza sucuimba ng'oma.

tʃi-ku-iz-a	si-tʃi-ku-imb-a	n-ŋoma
cl7-GP-come-FV	NEG-cl7-GP-sing-FV	cl9-drum

What is approaching does not beat drums.

Proverb (17) warns people to be always prepared for disasters. One of the functions of drums among the Nsenga people is to communicate important messages such as an emergency meeting or the death of a very important person such as a traditional leader. However, calamity does not warn that it is approaching as the beating of drums informs. It is therefore advisable for people to be always ready for disasters, as calamity does not warn.

(18) Kakulya kocepa lini.

ka-a	ku-ly-a	ka-ku-tʃep-a	lini
cl12-GEN	INFM-eat-FV	cl12-GP-be.reduced-FV	NEG

Food is always sufficient.

Proverb (18) advises people to share whatever little is available in times of famine. In Nsenga society, families and sometimes groups of families eat meals together as a group. Whatever food is available, even in seasons of lack, must be shared almost equally among all people present. It is advisable to share any amount of food with anybody who is in need of it. The proverb is usually cited to encourage a mean person to be generous with food or to encourage somebody who is too proud to share little food to be free to do so without feeling shy. Thus, it is necessary to share everything in common regardless of quantity.

(19) Kuli kunza kuli tulo.

ku-li	kunz-a	ku-li	tu-lo
cl17-be	eat.*nshima*.without.relish-FV	cl17-be	cl13-sleep

You can sleep on *nshima* without any relish.

Whereas proverb (18) advises people to share whatever little is available, proverb (19) advises people to accept any little that is shared with them. *Nshima* is only eaten together with side dishes because it has a flat taste. However, in real hard times one can opt to eating *nshima* without the scarce relish. It is better to sleep on *nshima* alone than on an empty stomach. The proverb therefore means that having little is better than having nothing at all.

(20) Manja aulesi eleta njala pang'anda.

ma-ndʒa	a-a	u-lesi	a-i-let-a	n-dʒala
cl6-hand	cl6-GEN	14-laziness	cl6-PAST-bring-FV	cl9-hunger

pa-n-ŋanda
cl16-cl9-house

Lazy hands brought hunger at a household.

Proverb (20) advises people to work hard when conditions are favorable. Laziness for Nsenga people, who are dependent on non-mechanized agriculture, is a source of many problems including hunger itself. Therefore, laziness is out

rightly discouraged for fear of causing hunger. Laziness is therefore treated as cause of hunger as a man-made disaster.

(21) Mwana nyawanzi solala njala.

mu-ana	n-ɲawanzi	si-a-ku-lal-a	n-dʒala
cl1-child	cl9-generous.person	NEG-cl1-GP-sleep-FV	cl9-hungry

A child of a generous person cannot stay hungry overnight.

Although proverb (18) requires that people must share, proverb (21) shows that generosity is something that must be cultivated. Nsenga people who understand hunger very well, know the agony of sleeping on an empty stomach. It is believed however that if a person is generous, members of the society cannot let his/her family to suffer when s/he gets into problems. Thus, it means that a family of a generous person cannot lack food.

(22) Nikumbileko eciya navo.

ni-kumb-il-e-ko	a-itʃi-y-a	na-vi-o
1s-dig-APP-FV-PTC	cl1-PAST-go-FV	CNJ-cl8-3PRN

The one whom you asked to dig on your behalf went with everything.

Proverb (22) encourages people to be self-sufficient. Nsenga people go into the bush to dig up many things. They dig mice and other small animals for meat. They also go to dig up medicinal plants in the bush. Usually, when you find something good to dig you do it by yourself. Otherwise, if you ask somebody else the digger becomes the owner or also requires a good share. The proverb is used to discourage people from being fully dependent to avoid suffering once the benefactor leaves or dies.

(23) Njala ni kalombo.

n-dʒala	ni	ka-lombo
cl9-hunger	COP	cl12-beast

Hunger is a small beast.

The ward *kalombo* "small beast" in proverb (23) refers to both a small beast and parasites that attack human beings such as bacteria, virus, and insects with poisonous venom. *Cilombo* "big beast" with the pejorative prefix ci- is used generally for any beast. Hunger is likened to *kalombo* that works like a dangerous

bacteria or virus in the body. It wears somebody down to death. Hunger is common in Nsenga land where it strikes once there are poor annual harvests. However, hunger must be fought like an infection or enemy. Because hunger has bad effects to all human beings, this view helps all people to find all means of avoiding or fighting hunger.

(24) Wanjala sokonsha ndiyo.

u-a	n-dʒala	si-a-ku-konʃ-a	n-diyo
cl1-GEN	cl9-hunger	NEG-cl1-GP-ask-FV	cl9-relish

A hungry person does not mind what relish is served.

Proverb (24) advises people to do with whatever is available. While proverb (18) refers to quantity, proverb (24) refers to quality of food. During hunger, it is not the time to consider quality but availability of food. Hunger, which is very well known among Nsengas, is known for humiliating human beings. It is also true that once one becomes very hungry s/he does not mind the kind of food s/he eats. Even people who do not like eating vegetables but meat do not mind being served with vegetables when they become very hungry. Thus, one simply eats whatever s/he has been served in order to ease the hunger. The proverb generally means that a person in need is not selective.

We have seen from proverbs (16) up to (24) that the Nsenga society employs various strategies to handle disasters and calamities whether natural or man-made. These strategies include acceptance of a disaster, preparedness in handling a disaster, sharing during disasters, accepting any available help, and working hard to avoid disasters.

2.3. Social Order

Most proverbs provide guidelines about social order in order to maintain a strong society. Proverbs provide the benchmarks for social behavior and various interpersonal relations. In this section, we deal with several proverbs that paint a picture of how the Nsenga people socially govern themselves.

(25) Anyoko nanyoko mphela.

a-ɲoko	ni	a-ɲoko	mp^{h}ela
cl2-mother	COP	cl2-mother	CNJ

Your mother remains your mother in all circumstances.

Proverb (22) establishes the highest form of respect that any Nsenga person must give to a parent. This is a saying that reiterates the need to respect and treat parents accordingly regardless of their physical status as there is nothing one can do to remove their biological status. The proverb means that one must respect parents regardless of their physical status. The proverb is used as a deterrent to children from revolting against parents of various social statuses.

(26) Uvyazi wamuyako ungauleshe lini kupepa.

u-vyazi	u-a	mu-yayako	u-ŋga-u-leʃ-e	lini
cl14-reproduction	cl14-GEN	cl1-friend	cl14-MOD-2s-stop-FV	NEG
ku-pep-a				
INFM-smoke-FV				

You cannot stop your friend's child from smoking.

Proverb (26) bestows the responsibility of disciplining any child on any Nsenga adult. Thus, for Nsengas discipline is not just the prerogative of parents alone but also all elders of the community. Accordingly, in Nsenga society all elderly people are responsible for the teaching, correction, rebuke, and overall wellbeing of younger ones. Any elderly person can administer some form of punishment to correct the behavior of younger ones even if they are not his or her own biological children. However, there is limit on the extent to which an outsider can administer disciplinary action on another person's family to avoid potential conflicts. In cases where an elderly person finds a younger one resistant to advice or punishment, the responsibility to help such a person is solely left with the parents of the person. Smoking by teenagers is one such behavior that calls on all elders in the society to correct. In the proverb, someone's child is figuratively referred to as reproduction to emphasize the importance of respecting other people's children's rights. Reproduction is considered as a sacred thing of very high social order that should be treated respectfully. It is for this reason that those who are reproductive are treated with more respect than those who are not among Nsenga people. The proverb means there is a limit on the advice and discipline you can administer to another person's child or anybody.

(27) Pafwa ŵanthu posala ŵanthu.

pa-fu-a	βa-nt^{h}u	pa-ku-sal-a	βa-nt^{h}u
cl16-die-FV	cl2-person	cl16-GP-remain-FV	cl2-person

Where people die, other people remain.

Funerals in Nsenga land are always regarded as a communal responsibility. In proverb (27), we can see how society assumes the position of benefactor once one benefactor dies in a particular household. The community's responsibility is in not only helping to bury the dead but also helping to look after the surviving member or members of the family especially when the deceased is a breadwinner. This proverb represents the Nsenga belief that God, who has control over death, does not allow the whole family to die at once. Accordingly, if a family leader dies, there are always people who take over the leadership of the family or village. The proverb is mainly used to encourage the remaining people after the death of a chief or breadwinner that even if the king is dead, they should not lose hope because there are still people who are going to take over from the deceased. Therefore, it means the bereaved will always find help in other people around.

(28) Nyina umozi angavyale lini masauzande.

Ø-nyina	u-mozi	a-ŋga-vyal-e	lini	ma-sauzande
cl1a-mother	cl1-one	cl1-MOD-bear-FV	NEG	cl6-thousand

One mother cannot give birth to thousands.

Proverb (28) addresses the family planning needs of the Nsenga people. Whereas a big family is prestigious and regarded as wealth, people are advised to be cognizant of the need for family planning. The word *masauzande* "thousands" is recent borrowing from English for the concept of numerousness. The proverb is a comment on one of the essential features of the Nsenga society, which is the extended family. Recently, there has been a growing challenge in trying to maintain the norm amid increasing economic difficulties. While the Nsenga society is trying hard to keep the norm, 'rebels' have emerged that want to do away with the norm citing economic reasons. This proverb also means that you should not think that the only relatives one has are only the biological sisters or brothers. Even distant relatives are still relatives and they should be valued the same way one values biological brothers and sisters. Literally, those people who want to reject a relative by telling him or her that s/he has too many responsibilities to take up some more use the proverb. However, it is also used to help people have a sense of family planning by emphasizing that there should be a limit on family size.

(29) Nyakulila somukata pakamwa.

Ø-ɲakulila	si-a-ku-mu-kat-a	ku-ka-mwa
cl1a-mouner	NEG-cl1-GP-cl1-touch-FV	cl17-cl12-mouth

The mourner should not be stopped from mourning.

Proverb (29) is a strong statement about freedom of expression. In Nsenga culture, a mourner is allowed to mourn in whichever way s/he likes. Some people choose to cry and wail very loudly. Others throw themselves on the ground and roll over and others say many things about their relationship with the deceased while s/he was alive. As long as the mourner does not do anything that endangers his/her life or significantly offends others, s/he is allowed to mourn in the way s/he feels. Some mourners however take advantage of the occasion to make some kind of social protest against something they may not be happy with, such as greed in the family or society. The proverb is said to those who would like to stop someone from complaining or explaining his/her problem that such a person should be listened to instead of stopping him or her. Therefore, it is advisable not to stop people from expressing their grievances.

(30) Mizyu yacimuti ikakumana yupanga cimuti.

mi-zyu	i-a	tʃi-mu-ti	i-ka-kum-an-a	i-ku-paŋg-a
cl4-root	cl4-GEN	cl7-cl3-tree	cl4-CND-meet-REC-FV	cl4-GP-make-FV
tʃi-mu-ti				
cl7-cl3-tree				

When roots of a tree meet, they form a tree.

Proverb (30) explains complex but strong bonds that develop among people in a particular community. The strength of the community is said to not only be in maintaining discipline but also in developing strong interpersonal bonds. It is common knowledge that many roots make up a tree. Consequently, any tree is made up of a network of roots. This is likened to a family tree that is made up of many members. Without roots (members), a tree (society) cannot form or function normally. Hence it is people that matter in society.

(31) Ŵene amunzi ni mizyu ya kacele okumana pansi.

βa-ine	a-a	mu-nzi	ni	mi-ʒu	i-a
cl2-owner	cl2-GEN	cl3-village	COP	cl4-roo	cl4-GEN

Ø-katʃele a-ku-kuman-a pa-nsi
cl1a-fig.tree cl4-GP-meet-FV cl16-down
Owners of a village are like roots of a fig tree that meet underground.

Proverb (31) is very similar to proverb (30) except that rather than refer to a tree in general it refers specifically to the fig tree. Proverb (31) therefore also makes a strong case for powerful relationships that exist among members of a community. Nsenga societies that usually live in clans share a lot in common including information. The social network is likened to roots of the fig tree that seem to spread everywhere outwards but somehow crisscross on the surface and underground. It is always advisable, therefore, for a stranger to be careful about how you relate with a local community. In cases of marriages, as it is usually the case, the spouse joining the family is given this proverb. It advises the joining spouse to relate cautiously with the rest of the spouse's family members. It is customary for a man to live with the family of the wife for an equivalent of one farming season within which he must prove his character and ability to take care of the woman otherwise the woman is withdrawn. After the probation period, the man is free to take his wife with him although in rare cases he can choose to live with the wife's family. The proverb simply advises one to be cautious of behavior in foreign land.

(32) Munthu wamatu akumvwa limo.
mu-nt^{h}u u-a ma-tu a-ku-mvw-a li-mo
cl1-person cl1-GEN cl6-ear cl1-GP-hear-FV cl5-one
An obedient person heeds advice at once.

Proverb (32) makes a case for not only seeking advice before making important decisions but also, more importantly, being able to accept or heed advice when you get one. In Nsenga society, an image of a person without ears is an image of a stubborn person who does not heed any advice. Thus is expected that an obedient person must heed advice at once.

(33) Akombwe akapaka, kukuca lini mwamsanga.
a-kombwe a-ka-pak-a ku-ku-tʃi-a lini mu-a-msaŋga
cl2-rooster cl2-CND-many-FV cl17-GP-dawn-FV NEG cl18-GEN-quick
When there are many roosters, it takes long to dawn.

Proverb (33) carries over where proverb (32) leaves off. It complements proverb (32) by limiting how much advice one should seek. A rooster occupies a very important part of the lives of Nsenga traditional or rural societies. There used to be no clocks in the past however, people used the crying of roosters to identify time. One particular rooster at a family unit would be used for time identification. It would however be confusing if there were several roosters crawling at different unmarked times. The proverb therefore means that when there are too many advisers it becomes confusing to decide who is giving useful advice.

(34) Akuti nkhoyani mukavyalane, akuti lini nkhoyani mukapalane.

a-ku-ti	ŋkʰoya-ni	mu-ka-vyal-an-e	a-ku-ti	lini
cl2-GP-say	go-PTC	2p-FUT-reproduce-REC-FV	cl2-GP-say	NEG
ŋkʰoya-ni	mu-ka-pal-an-e			
go-PTC	2p-FUT-resemble-REC-FV			

They say, "go and reproduce;" they do not say, "go and resemble."

Proverb (34) talks about a unique feature of the traditional Nsenga society, which is used to maintain communities that are largely made of close family relations for the sake of maintaining family unity. Traditionally and in the recent past, it was customary to let people marry within the family in order to allow wealth remain within the family or clan. It was very common with cousins (children of a brother and sister) marrying each other. Thus, people were encouraged to marry within the family and bear children to increase the family and not necessarily to look alike or to have similar behavior. The proverb therefore means that it is better to marry within the family or clan in order to make the clan grow numerically and economically than to marry outside and share wealth with outsiders. For the Nsenga person the concept of wealth also includes the number of children.

(35) Kuwezyela mangala mucinkha.

ku-weʒ-il-a	ma-ŋgala	mu-tʃi-ŋkʰa
INFM-return-APP-FV	cl6-feather	cl18-cl7-chicken.pen

Taking feathers back into the chicken pen.

Proverb (35) is a different way of putting across the ideas in proverb (34). Among the Nsenga society, cousins are very close. They joke and they can even

jokingly call each other spouses. It is because of this kind of relationship allowable by the society that causes most cousins to end up in sexual relationships. Sometimes they even marry. When the matter of marriage is brought up to the family members, they say *Paliye bvuto apa, longulanani, uku nikuwezyela mangala mucinkha* "There is no problem here, marry each other, because this is taking back the feathers into the pen". This proverb is used to justify marrying within the family. It is an act of keeping the family intact and a prospect for increasing the family size. In this way, the family is made to grow strong. In some cases if a man marries elsewhere outside the family, after divorce he may lose the children as the Nsenga society is maternal.

(36) Nguluŵe iliye makolo icita alongosi na alisa.

n-guluβe	i-li-ye	ma-kolo	i-a-i-tʃit-a
cl9-warthog	cl9-be-NEG	cl6-parent	cl9-PAST-do-FV
a-loŋgosi	na	a-lisa	
cl2-sisters.and.brothers	CNJ	cl2-nephews.and.nieces	

A warthog without parents had sexual knowledge with its brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces.

Proverb (36) provides checks and balances to the implementation of proverbs (34) and (35). It therefore limits people from committing incest as defined by the Nsenga people. Incest is being able to sleep with your own children or children of your brother or sister or between children. A warthog is a common wild animal because it usually attacks cultivation. It is also a delicacy when it is hunted down. The warthog is very destructive to crops when it attacks a field as it has very sharp teeth. If they attack a field as a group, a farmer can remain with very little to harvest. In this regard, it is considered an animal that has no regard for anybody including its fellow animals. The situation is used to refer to somebody who has sexual intercourse with close family members. Such a person is considered to have had no parents to teach him or her good values. By linguistic analysis, we can tell that *icita* "it did" here refers to sexual intercourse. The transitive verb *kucita* "to do" is a euphemism for having sexual intercourse when used without the object of the verb. It is always expected that once you use or mention the verb *kucita* "to do", the object must be followed and mentioned. Its absence creates vagueness and is open to all possible interpretation. As a result, whenever, the compliment or object is missing, Nsengas assume that somebody is

avoiding the taboo word. Accordingly, the proverb means that incest is a taboo only acceptable to wildlife.

(37) Cako cumvwisha tantha culusha lini.

tʃi-ako	tʃi-ku-mvw-iʃ-a	Ø-tantha	tʃi-ku-luk-iʃ-a
cl7-2sPOS	cl7-GP-feel-CAUS-FV	cl5a-nausia	cl7-GP-vomit-CAUS-FV
lini			
NEG			

What belongs to you can make you feel nauseus but it cannot make you vomit.

Proverb (37) refers to how to handle difficult cases of indiscipline in a home. Cleanliness is usually the responsibility of an individual or a family unit. No matter how dirty a home can be, owners accept and live with the conditions. Likewise, whilst it is possible to have family members that make one feel disgusted in behavior in a home, such family members cannot be thrown out of the family unit. The principle behind the proverb is also used to advise parents to clean their children when they become dirty or soil their clothes. For instance, a Nsenga mother can suck mucus from a child's nose when the nose gets blocked. Generally, the proverb means that no matter how bad your children make you feel, you can never disown them.

(38) Atyalani owamyika lini.

a-tyalani	a-ku-wamy-ik-a	lini
cl2-non-family.member	cl2-GP-make.good-POT-FV	NEG

People who are not your relatives are difficult to please.

Proverb (38) helps society not to get tired of shouldering the burdens of the less privileged. Although people naturally expect some form of reward or praise once they do good things to others, reward is not expected from family members. Anybody in an affluent position within a family is expected to help the less privileged without expecting reward. The comforting thing is that one has helped a family member. As it is said that humans are generally ungrateful, one is advised never to get surprised for doing good to others without getting their praise. The proverb means that you should do good things to others without expecting a reward.

(39) Cawama cisenga munyu.

tʃi-a	wama	tʃi-i-seng-a	mu-ɲu
cl7-GEN	good	cl7-PAST-beg-FV	cl3-salt

One who says "it's good" begged for salt.

Sharing everything is one of the most treasured features of the Nsenga society as expressed in proverb (39) (see Chapter Five 2.1.6 (37)). Traditional communities especially those living within the same village setting live as one family. They share most of the daily essentials. It is also common to eat in groups of different families, that is, women and children by themselves and men by themselves at their respective places of gathering. One of the essential commodities that are shared is salt. Without salt, there is no dish that can be said to be good. One can never pretend that a dish is good without the taste of salt. This situation is used in the proverb to encourage openness, frankness in appreciating what is good, and identifying what is bad. It is also encouraged to acknowledge that you need help or that you sought help. It is thus acceptable to beg when you do not have. The proverb means that no person can live independently because people get help from each other.

(40) Cikumo cimo cingafwaye lini inda.

tʃi-kumo	tʃi-mo	tʃi-ŋga-fway-e	lini	in-da
cl7-finger	cl7-one	cl7-MOD-smash-FV	NEG	cl9-louse

One finger cannot smash lice.

Proverb (40) (see Chpater Five 2.2.3 (55)) is similar to (39) in creating a society where members depend on each other. Any person who has lived in the impoverished rural Nsenga communities is familiar with lice. Lice are usually associated with dirt. They are said to form from dirt, which results from unwashed clothes or lack of bathing. Some impoverished communities cannot afford either bathing soap or washing detergent let alone detergent for washing beddings. Lice are a big source of social embarrassment in Nsenga culture. As a result, immediately one sees a louse, s/he uses fingernails from the two father fingers to smash it before the public sees it. Elders in order to encourage community work use this proverb. People in the community and even in families need to work together in order to achieve meaningful development. Just as one finger cannot smash lice, people need to realize that one person cannot bring

about development. Hence, everyone is important in the family and community because everyone has a role to play. The proverb means that you cannot bring about development in a community alone.

(41) Imfwa ya muyako ni cisilili.

in-fwa	i-a	mu-i-ako	ni	tʃi-silili
cl9-death	cl9-GEN	cl1-cl9-2sPOS	COP	cl7-folktale

The death of a friend is like a folktale.

Proverb (41) addresses death as one of the great puzzles of life that no individual can handle alone. In Nsenga traditional society like many African societies, folktales are always told as part of entertainment. It is always pleasurable to tell or listen to a folktale. However, an experience of loss of a family member is very painful such that it cannot be told like a folktale. It is also easy to talk about deaths in other families than it is to experience one in your own family. In other words, family members feel more pain than outsiders do. This situation is used to talk about how some people feel about other people's problems. Problems appear to be lighter if they are on someone else. For this reason, it is advisable to respect other people in problems or to appreciate other people's problems. The proverb means that since you cannot fully understand someone else's experience you must not belittle other people's problems.

(42) Malilo ni kulilana.

ma-lilo	ni	ku-lil-an-a
cl6-funeral	COP	INFM-cry-REC-FV

A funeral is about mourning each other.

Proverb (42) complements proverb (41) in advising the society to not only be considerate in thinking about others going through problems but also physically being there to offer practical assistance. A funeral is regarded as a communal burden that cannot be dealt with by any single person. Once a person dies, everybody in the community becomes involved in mourning and helping to bury the dead. Usually people camp at the funeral house for three days during which meals are shared together with the bereaved family. People contribute daily supplies to feed the people who stay at the funeral house. The Proverb means that help in times of trouble should be a two-way process. It means that one should not always expect to be helped but also to help others as much as s/he needs help.

(43) Kausula ndiye kokulungulila anyoko.

ka-a	ku-sul-a	ndi-ye	ka-a
cl12-GEN	INFM-despise-FV	COP-EMPH	cl12-GEN
ku-kuluŋŋul-il-a	a-n-ɲoko		
INFM-marry-APP-FV	cl2-mother		

The one you despise is the person who marries your mother.

Proverb (43) warns against having prejudiced perceptions of others. Once a woman or man is widowed, s/he is usually given a year among the Nsenga people before s/he is released to marry a woman/man of his/her choice. The decision to remarry is usually the widow or the widower's although the family and grown-up children can have a say. Children despising some women have gotten shocks when the despised woman becomes their stepmother in many instances. To avoid such shocks, children are advised to respect every woman. The proverb means that you can never tell by appearance the person who comes to your aid. Hence, you should not despise anyone.

(44) Tionenji epaya nzomvu na cibuma.

ti-on-e-ndʒi	a-i-pay-a	n-zovu	na	tʃi-buma
1p-see-FV-PTC	cl1-PAST-kill-FV	cl9-elephant	CNJ	cl7-earth.stone

"What am I", killed an elephant with a stone made of earth.

Proverb (44) complements proverb (43) in discouraging prejudice. *Tionenji* "what can we see" which means "What am I" is a popular Nsenga name. It is usually given to a child born into a family with a very low social status. The family uses the name to register their displeasure in the manner the society views them. An elephant is a very important animal for various reasons including tourism, meat, and source of income. Until the government imposed restrictions, elephants were hunted like other animals. Methods of hunting animals were different depending on the size. Since an elephant is very big, it is one of the challenging animals to kill. It is therefore, ridiculous as presented by the proverb to think that you can kill an elephant with a stone and let alone the one made of earth. The proverb however emphasizes that a person with a very low social status can accomplish anything.

(45) Kuniata m'kulu nikunakilila.
ku-ɲat-a mu-kulu ni ku-nak-ilil-a
INFM-beat-FV cl3-big COP INFM-gentle-PER-FV
Beating an elderly person is being gentle.

Proverb (45) advises people about how to deal with anger especially between people of different status. In Nsenga society, all elders have authority over all children regardless of family relations. In the event of conflict between the young and the elders, the young are expected to be polite in addressing their concerns to the elderly. It is unacceptable for a young person to argue with an elderly one. Thus in being polite, a young person finds a way of effectively communicating his or her concerns to the elderly person allowing the elderly person to value and appreciate the young person's concerns. If an argument occurs, the young person is out rightly considered to be in the wrong. The proverb does not only mean that an angry adult appreciates a gentle and humble young person but also that a gentle and humble approach to conflict resolution is effective. Conflict as unavoidable as it is, should never be used as excuse to lose respect for each other and the elderly.

(46) Kuyambana na asali anyoko ni kuvutisha milomo.
ku-yamb-an-a na a-sa-a-li a-ɲoko ni
INFM-differ-REC-FV CNJ cl2-NEG-cl2-be cl2-mother COP
ku-vut-ish-a mi-lomo
INFM-trouble-CAUS-FV cl3-lip
Picking a difference with someone who is not your mother is bothering your lips.

Proverb (46) complements proverb (45) in rendering anger as an unnecessary emotion. One is encouraged to be diplomatic in dealing with family members to avoid destroying family relationships. Sometimes one can pretend about some issues in order to maintain good family relationships. However, it is advisable not to pretend with people outside your family unit. You can frankly explain your feelings because you have very little to lose. Thus, do not quarrel with outsiders but simply tell the truth as plain as it should be. It advises one to be frank with people who are outsiders without necessarily getting angry.

(47) Kusoŵela kupambana banja.
ku-soβel-a ku-pamban-a Ø-bandʒa
INFM-play-FV INFM-more.than-FV cl5-family
Playing is more than family relationships.

Proverb (47) provokes people to value friendship ties as much as they value family ties. There are many instances where non-family members are helpful to individuals in need more than family members are. People are thus encouraged to value and develop relationships that will be helpful to them sometime in life. It is usually considered too mean to only relate with your family members. Thus, sometimes friendships can be more valuable than blood relationships.

(48) Mukwanu ni pamatamano.
mu-kwanu ni pa-ma-tamano
cl1-relative COP cl16-cl6-suffering
You know who your relative is when you are in problems.

Proverb (48) complements proverb (47) in reiterating the need to live beyond and outside family relationships. It is a common fact that once you get into serious problems relatives are expected to be more helpful than friends because of the biological bond rather than an act of mercy. However, there are also many times when family members fail to look after their own members. In some cases, family individuals receive help from mere friends even when their own family members are capable of helping. Therefore, it is said that people who come to your aid in time of need are your true relatives.

(49) Nkhondo nanansi.
n-k^{h}ondo ni a-nansi
cl9-war COP cl2-relative
War is relatives.

Proverb (49) actually cautions that people you really trust such as family members can be the source of your problems. Unity in the family is something that every member of the family is encouraged to cultivate. Therefore, conflict among family members is least expected. Hence, it always alarms people once conflict arises among blood relatives. In many cases, however, people that you

consider as close as relatives are the ones that injure you. It means that people who are close to you can be your worst enemies.

(50) Maimvwaimvwa epasula nanda na banja.

ma-i-mvw-a-i-mvw-a	a-i-pasul-a	n-ŋanda	na
cl12-2s-hear-FV-2s-hear-FV	cl6-PAST-destroy-FV	cl9-house	CNJ
Ø-bandʒa			
cl5a-family			

Paying attention to everything destroyed a house and family.

Marriage is considered one of the highest social orders whose strength is necessary for a strong society. Thus, in proverb (50) a house is a symbol of marriage among the Nsenga people. A marriage is regarded as a fragile physical unit that requires special care to keep it intact. In marriage counseling, couples are advised to ignore what people outside the marriage say as others simply have malicious talk. The same practice is advised for keeping family unity. Families are advised to ignore any talk or hearsay that comes from outside the family.

(51) Manzi otapa citapetape mulilo opala kapena aliye.

ma-nzi	a-ku-tap-a	tʃi-tape-tape	mu-lilo	
cl6-water	cl2-GP-draw-FV	cl7-drwa-FV-draw-FV	cl3-fire	
a-ku-pal-a			kapena	a-li-ye
cl2-get.some.fire.from.a.neighbour's.fireplace-FV			CNJ	cl2-be-NEG

You can draw water anytime but you only ask for fire from a neighbor's fire place if you do not have any.

Proverb (51) offers guidelines in passing a verdict about ones conduct. The proverb portrays a picture of a woman's daily chores among the Nsengas. Usually, women wake up at similar hours to go to water wells usually located at some distance away from residential areas. Rivers or streams are the main source of water. After water drawing, women prepare fireplaces in order to provide breakfast for the family. In many cases, it is rare to find matches in homes. Thus, women get fire from the neighbors that already have it lit by some means. While water wells are common places, fireplaces are specific to individual homes. They are both symbols of life in a home. This proverb is normally used when judging someone who is claiming to be innocent. S/he is advised that the society does not

accuse innocent people. People can share wisdom with you whether you ask for it or not but people will only punish you when you do something wrong.

We have seen in the numerous proverbs that we have cited under this subsection of social order how the Nsenga society governs itself with a view of creating a governable, equitable and strong society. When society tries to comment on contradictory aspects or views in society, a proverb is used to highlight a particular view. Thus, it would be wrong interpretation of the features of the Nsenga society to use proverbs in isolation. As we have observed, many proverbs complement each other. Hence, proverbs have to be interpreted by referring to others just as the law is interpreted with reference to other laws.

2.4. Leadership

Besides various efforts in maintaining social order, leadership in society is always regarded as crucial in making sure the rules that the society agrees upon are fairly and firmly implemented. Thus, many proverbs provide general guidelines for good leadership according to the Nsenga people. Let us examine a number of proverbs that comment on leadership issues and qualities.

(52) Mukulu oluvya lini koma kuluŵa.

mu-kul-u	a-ku-luvy-a	lini	koma	ku-luβ-a
cl1-big	cl1-GP-make.mistake-FV	NEG	CNJ	INFM-forget-FV

An old person does not make a mistake but forgets.

Proverb (52) does not necessarily refer to leadership but prepares citizens to become governable. It offers an amicable way of settling differences between people of different statuses. Among Nsengas, it is a taboo for a young person to tell an old person that s/he is either a liar or wrong. Such a young person is regarded as disrespectful. S/he is a child with bad omen who cannot live long. Such a belief is necessary in keeping young people pay utmost respect to elderly people. Thus, you can only tell an elderly person that s/he has forgotten to do something and not to have either lied or made a mistake. The same relationship is adopted between subjects and their traditional leaders. It is disrespectful to show directly a superior his/her weakness. This characteristic can be referred to in modern language as diplomacy.

(53) Malizu a akulu owama akalaluka.

ma-lizu	a-a	a-kulu	a-ku-wam-a	a-ka-laluk-a
cl6-ward	cl6-GEN	cl2-big	cl6-GP-be.good-FV	cl6-CND-take.time-FV

Old people's words become sweet after a long time.

Similarly, proverb (53) also prepares citizens to be governable. In Nsenga society, arguing with old people is considered a taboo and therefore a punishable offense not only by traditional leaders but also by supernatural powers. An old person's talk is always regarded as serious and gospel truth. This is because in many cases old people's advice becomes useful when specific events where the old people's advice is applicable take place after some time. Old people give advices from their pool of immerse knowledge resulting from their lifelong experiences. It is therefore disrespectful to argue with old people.

(54) Akazi ŵamfumu kumeka nga amfumu niŵeve.

a-kazi	βa-a	a-mfumu	ku-mek-a	ŋga	a-nfumu
cl2-wife	cl2-GEN	cl2-chief	INFM-boast-FV	CNJ	cl2-chief
ni	βa-eve				
COP	cl2-3PRN				

The chief's wife boasts as though she is the chief herself.

Proverb (54) recognizes leadership as a privileged position and therefore advises people who assume leadership to lead modestly. Traditional leaders who command the most respect from their citizens by virtue of their position are not expected to take advantage of their subjects' loyalty. The first lady also commands as much respect as the chief but she is never expected to show that she enjoys the privilege. She is regarded as the mother of all citizens who should keep an open-arm policy to all citizens. Thus, when citizens notice she is unapproachable and boastful, citizens complain through their many social gatherings and channels. The proverb is a typical complaint aimed at such a first lady.

(55) Umfumu upasa ulemu.

u-mfumu	u-ku-pas-a	u-lemu
cl14-kingship	cl14-GP-give-FV	cl14-respect

Leadership commands respect

Proverb (55) complements proverb (54) by advising leaders that they do not have to force their subjects to respect them, as their good conduct and position are good enough to command respect. A king, chief or any traditional ruler commands the unconditional respect of all Nsenga citizens. Such traditional leadership is believed to have been predetermined by God and therefore cannot be questioned. Hence, when one ascends to the position of traditional leadership in accordance with genealogy, every citizen must accept, obey and respect that leader. There is therefore very little that an individual person who becomes a leader does to command respect. Whether or not the person assuming leadership is regarded as a fool or unwise, citizens still respect the person by virtue of the acquired position. Respect is commanded almost effortlessly because the chieftainship or kingship is the source of respect. On the other hand, somebody who gains an important social status through hard work and self-discipline commands the respect of a traditional leader. The proverb is therefore used to advise people to respect themselves as a prerequisite to commanding respect. You need to respect yourself or make yourself an important person before you can command respect.

(56) Ŵanthu ozitukumula ofukamila lini ŵanthu.

βa-nt^{h}u	a-ku-zi-tukumul-a	a-ku-fukam-il-a	lini	βa-nt^{h}u
cl2-person	cl2-GP-REF-boast-FV	cl2-GP-kneel-APP-FV	NEG	cl2-person

Boastful people do not kneel before anyone.

Proverb (56) provides respect as one of the essential characteristics of a person that should ascend to leadership. Kneeling is considered one of the highest forms of giving respect. Thus, all children are expected to kneel before elderly people just as subjects kneel before their leaders. It is also considered as an act of submission to superiors. A boastful person is not submissive to anybody and such a person is considered potential for trouble if given a leadership position. In order to be served as a leader one must demonstrate ability to serve others first.

(57) Amfumu akuti fumapo kumunthu muweme oŵauzya nkhani.

a-mfumu	a-ku-ti	fum-a-po	ku-mu-nt^{h}u	mu-weme
cl2-chef	cl2-GP-say	go.away-FV-ENC	cl17-cl1-person	cl1-good
a-ku-βa-uʒ-a	n-k^{h}ani			
cl1-GP-cl2-tell-FV	cl9-story			

A chief chases people who are giving good advice.

Once one ascends to a leadership position, tolerance is considered key as proverb (57) suggests. It is common for many leaders to want to hear what they prefer to hear from advisers. Many good advisers lose their jobs by openly warning the leader of the dangers s/he faces in his/her regime. Many leaders do not take such advice and in many cases relieve such advisers of their duties. Such leaders usually end up failures. A folktale is told of a chief who was killed by an angry mob after failing to heed advice and expelling his adviser. A good leader must hence listen to both favorable and unfavorable intelligence.

(58) Mfumu ikacita cinthu cumvwika.

n-fumu	i-ka-tʃit-a	tʃi-nt^{h}u	tʃi-ku-mvw-ik-a
cl9-chief	cl9-CND-do-FV	cl7-thing	cl7-GP-hear-POT-FV

A chief's actions are public.

Proverb (58) warns leaders to realize early enough that a leadership office is a public office that withdraws ones privacy. All traditional leaders and prominent people in Nsenga society are regarded as public figures that have no right to privacy. Thus, all citizens freely discuss everything that their leaders do. Such an expression is used against a prominent figure who complains about leakage of private information. Public figures have no private life.

(59) Mphofu zeka zikakulikana ziponele pamo mucisengu.

n-p^{h}ofu	zi-eka	zi-eka-kulik-an-a	zi-pon-il-e
cl10-blide.person	cl10-alone	cl10-CND-tow-REC-FV	cl10-fall-APP-FV
pa-mo	mu-tʃi-seŋgu		
cl16-one	cl18-cl7-pit		

When blind people are guiding each other, they both fall into the pit.

A requirement is made by proverb (59) for both citizens and leaders to be alert to issues of good governance and to exercise wisdom in judgment of issues. There are, for some reason, always several blind people among Nsenga people. Blindness in old age is particularly common. Blind people usually get younger children especially grandchildren to guide them around places. A picture of two blind people guiding each other however is an image of being ruled by an ignorant leader. Blindness is therefore associated with ignorance. The proverb warns that ignorant people cannot lead each other. Even when citizens are not

sure about their sense of leadership, they should at least insist on being ruled by a wise leader.

(60) Mwatumphula nkhondo pamulu.
mu-a-tump^{h}ul-a n-k^{h}ondo pa-mulu
2p-PERF-lift.up-FV cl9-war cl16-up
You have promoted war.

Proverb (60) highlights unfortunate mistakes citizens can make in allowing an arrogant person to lead them. Although traditional leadership is determined by lineage, citizens have the right to reject a leader they think is not fit to lead them. There are people who are labeled as having bad character and influence in society. Such people are not expected to become leaders. Even when such people are heirs to the throne, it is advisable not to enthrone them. Thus once a person who is thought to be bad is enthroned, people fear that his/her bad character will become worse. It is thought to be as good as making a person who likes war to become a nation's leader. Such a person might be willing to take his/her nation to war.

(61) Ukaŵa mfumu usinkha matu.
u-ka-βa-a n-fumu u-ku-siŋk^{h}-a ma-tu
2s-CND-be cl9-chief 2s-GP-block-FV cl6-ear
When you become a chief, you close your ears.

Although citizens are allowed to comment on their leaders as public figures, leaders are advised to be selective in what they pay attention to in proverb (61). While a chief or traditional leader commands the most respect among leaders, subjects freely discuss the leaders' character. On assuming leadership into a public office, leaders are advised to be discrete with the information they receive. Thus, a strong message is given by advising leaders to simply close their ears to irrelevant talk and concentrate on important leadership and society matters. To close ears appears a contradiction because in order to lead, leaders need their ears to listen to people. The expression is deliberately used in order to heighten the significance of censoring information. Leaders should not listen to everything.

(62) Mfumu ni kucungu.
n-fumu ni ku-tʃi-ungu
cl9-king COP cll17-cl7-dumpsite
A chief is like a dumpsite.

On the other hand, proverb (61) emphasizes the need for the leader to respect freedom of speech and exercise restraint in dealing with bad talk by subjects. Nearly every home has a dumpsite either in form of a designated area or a pit. Community elders in order to give advice to a chief (traditional leader) who is high tempered, intolerant and banishes people from his /her community normally use this proverb. It reminds the chief that there is no community, which has only perfect people hence s/he, as a leader, must tolerate everybody just as a dumpsite does not choose what is dumped. The proverb is also used to remind the chief that s/he would not be a leader without people and that banishing people is chasing away the very people that make him/her the leader. This proverb can also be used to warn the chief about the challenges of his/her position. It is also important to note that apart from the traditional setting this proverb also applies to anybody in a responsible position. A leader must be accommodating.

(63) Koswe akankhala pacinkhombe sopaiwa.
Ø-koswe a-ka-nk^{h}al-a pa-tʃi-ŋk^{h}ombe si-a-ku-pay-iw-a
cl1a-rat cl1-CND-sit-FV cl16-cl7-clay.port NEG-cl1-GP-kill-PASS-FV
You cannot kill a rat that sits on a clay pot.

Further, in advising the leader to exercise restraint in dealing with erring subjects, the leader in proverb (63) is used to practice principles of justice. Rats are one of the Nsenga people's big problems to storage. They usually attack food in both the house and the barns. Sometimes they even eat human flesh especially feet while humans are asleep. In this manner, rats are enemies of Nsenga people. Once one sees the rat, it is hunted until it is killed. In a situation where a rat sits on a clay pot, hitting the rat would result in breaking the precious clay pot. The



Figure 23: Rats in Clay Pot
Source: flickr.com

proverb is used in situations where a traditional leader commits an offense and yet s/he is the one that presides over cases. The proverb is used to reiterate principles of fairness and justice. When the judge is a defendant, the case cannot be fairly solved.

(64) Ungafumbate lini mafumu awiri.

u-ŋga-fumbat-e	lini	ma-fumu	a-βili
2s-MOD-hold.in.the.palm-FV	NEG	cl6-king	cl2-two

You cannot hold two kings by your palm.

Proverb (64) discusses loyalty as key in allowing a society to be governed. The Nsenga traditional leadership is organized into one senior chief regarded as a king and other subchiefs. Subjects can however only be loyal to one subchief. Any attempt by any subject at being loyal to more than one chief is regarded as treason or betrayal. The situation is used in the proverb to mean that a person cannot be good to everyone without being a liar or traitor. Normally, a person can be liked by some people and hated by some others. Divided loyalty is therefore not possible.

(65) Wamwva m'mala niye ozulako.

u-a-mvw-a	mu-ma-la	ni-ye	a-ku-zul-a-ko
cl2-PERF-feel-FV	cl18-cl6-stomach	COP-EMPH	cl1-GP-open-FV-ENC

The one who wants to defecate is the one who opens the door.

Proverb (65) elevates leadership so high that it is too important to be left to leaders alone. Thus, leadership needs to start with individuals. In the traditional setup, several people sleep together in round huts. In the past, habited areas were usually adjacent to wild bushes that could sometimes have dangerous wild animals. The toilets are always located a distance away. In the middle of the night, anybody in need of use of the toilet has to wake up others for escort. Additionally, a person only gets out when s/he is really pressed to do so. However, s/he has to be the one to open the door and get out first. This proverb therefore teaches that one who is greatly affected by a problem should take the initiative to have it resolved. S/he should not wait for others or sympathizers to do it because the others do not really know the extent of the problem. Other people might not see the need to have it resolved as quickly as possible. If one delays to quickly resolve his/her problem, s/he would be the one to suffer more just like the pressed

person in the proverb might even end up soiling his/her pants if s/he waited for others to open the door. The proverb also entails that one should seek help in time of trouble just as one asks to be escorted in the night, except that s/he must show leadership in resolving his/her problems with the help of others. If you are in problems take the lead and the first initiative in finding solutions. Leadership therefore is not the preserve of the selected few.

We have seen in this subsection that leadership is as important to leaders as it is important to citizens. Several characteristics of good and bad leadership have been highlighted that allow citizens to evaluate their leaders. The proverbs also serve as good guidelines for people who assume positions of leadership. Although leaders are said to be appointed by God through lineage, they are still subject to scrutiny and possible denial by subjects.

2.5. Images of Nsenga Women

As a matrilineal society, the image of women is very important in Nsenga society. Traditionally, a man does not own children as they belong to the family of the woman. In many instances, an uncle traditionally has more authority than a father does over children. Women are therefore very important but the question is whether society really sees them as important. Let us look at a few proverbs to see what the Nsenga people say about their women.

(66) Unakazi ucoka kuvuli.

u-nakazi	u-tʃok-a	ku-vuli
cl14-womanhood	cl14-come-FV	cl17-behind

Womanhood comes from behind.

Proverb (66) provides a contradictory view of women in Nsenga society. Women in a matrilineal society are very powerful but they are also viewed as nonentities in the same society. Euphemistically, *kuvuli* "behind" in proverb (66) refers to vagina. Human beings' private parts are regarded as one of the most important part of a person because they are essential means in reproduction. Although one's behind might not seem as important as the front where the face is, a woman's behind has one most important organ of reproduction located here. At another level, even though some people may look at women as second-class citizens, nobody would be on the earth's planet without them. The proverb also means that you do not need to underrate the underprivileged because they can as well be influential and helpful people. It further means that greatness comes from

very far behind in one's life. The proverb presents a woman as a human being that can be easily looked down on and yet humanity heavily depends on her. Thus *kuvuli* "behind" is used as a euphemism for vagina, a position of one's status in life, as well as an adverb of time to mean long ago. Since success stories have long backgrounds, you should not underestimate someone based on the status.

(67) Kutengewa kuvuli.
ku-teŋg-iw-a ku-vuli
INFM-marry-PASS-FV cl17-behind
To be married from behind.

Proverb (67) shows an awkward situation a woman is found in whether or not failure to reproduce is her problem. Much of the respect for a woman is tied to her ability to reproduce. Thus, even when the husband is impotent, she too loses her biological privilege of reproduction and thereby losing her respect in the society. In Nsenga society a man after marrying is expected to stay with the woman's family for at least one farming season (equivalent of one calendar year) to prove his manhood by cultivating and building structures for the in-laws. Proving manhood also includes ability to produce children. After he proves his manhood, he is allowed to pick the woman to stay with him wherever he comes from. In this way, the family of the woman remains assured that their daughter would not suffer or lack things. However, if a man is not able to perform other activities except sex, the woman is said to have been married from behind (for sexual reasons only). In the absence of children, a woman is largely viewed as a sexual object. As we have established in proverb (66) *kuvuli* refers to the vagina.

(68) Otengewa ku wa nkhanza soyopa kunyatiwa.
a-ku-teŋg-iw-a ku-u-a n-k^{h}anza si-a-ku-yop-a
cl1-GP-marry-PASS-FV cl17-cl1-GEN cl9-cruelty NEG-cl1-GP-fear-FV
ku-ɲat-iw-a
INFM-beat-PASS-FV
The one who gets married to a cruel person cannot be afraid of being beaten.

Proverb (68) makes a strong statement on domestic violence while recognizing the difficult a woman faces in fighting the vice in a male dominated society. Among Nsengas, divorce is regarded as a taboo. No circumstance can justify divorce. Especially women who intend to get married are advised to be

thorough in their assessment of life partners to avoid getting married to a bad person. Although traditional leaders can grant divorce, the woman's status gets affected negatively after divorce. Thus, advice is given to married women to endure any form of suffering they might go through in marriage. In Nsenga culture, men marry the women and women get married to their men. This makes it difficult for a woman to make a bold decision such as divorce. However, the proverb is also interpreted as blaming the woman for not disowning an abusive husband. Thus, she must brave the possible stigma she could get because of divorce and overcome the suffering by a man's physical abuse. Hence, it is said in the proverb that a woman who is married to a cruel man should not complain if abused because that is her choice. Generally, the proverb is used to warn people that marriage comes with responsibilities.

(69) Cukonda anyina na ŵana.

tʃi-a	ku-kond-a	a-ɲina	na	βa-ana
cl7-GEN	INFM-like-FV	cl2-mother	CNJ	cl2-child

What likes the mother likes the children too.

Proverb (69) refers to situations where one marries either a widow or a divorced woman. One is usually said to like a particular animal if they are able to eat that animal as food. If one eats big animals it is most likely that one will also eat the small ones. Likewise, if one is able to eat a parent animal, they can also eat the offspring. It is very unlikely that one would like the parent and fail to like the offspring. This proverb refers to instances where a man wants to marry a woman who already has children. It is advisable for a man to treat the children in a similar way that he treats the mother. You cannot love the mother and hate her children even if you are not their biological father. This proverb provides relief to a woman who may have been traumatized by abuse and consequential divorce according to proverb (68). It allows a woman to continue in the new marriage without treating her children as baggage. Because of the matrilineal nature of the society, children usually remain with the woman.

(70) Neo nine mafuta ningapwasikiwe na ayambine.

ni-eo	ni-ne	ma-futa	ni-ŋga-pwasik-iw-e	na	a-yambine
1s-PRN	1s-EMPH	cl6-oil	1s-MOD-apply-PASS-FV	CNJ	cl2-other

'I am oil' so others can apply me.

Proverb (70) gives ammunition to women to avoid abusive men or indeed to divorce an abusive husband. There is always a type of oil used as lotion by women. A woman who wants to divorce her husband, compares herself to oil that can always be used by others even if it has been neglected by the owner. Society reminds women that other men can always appreciate unappreciated women.

(71) Cigololo ni munanakazi.
tʃi-gololo ni mu-nakazi
cl7-adultery COP cl1-female
A woman makes adultery possible.

Proverb (71) is another one that puts women in an awkward position. The proverb expresses one of the typical mindsets of the Nsenga men that do not sit well with modern society. The Nsenga society does not approve of adultery. However, females are punished much more than males when they commit the offense. A marriage is more likely to break if a woman commits adultery than if a man does so. People believe that without the consent of a woman there cannot be adultery. This arises from the fact that the society only allows men to propose love to women and not vice versa. Any woman who proposes love to a man is considered a prostitute. In other words, a female prostitute is of a much lower status, if any, than a male prostitute is. Since it is up to the woman to accept or reject a proposal she is made responsible for adultery or letting adultery take place.

(72) Ucende ni matuvi opoza kutali.
u-tʃende ni ma-tuvi a-ku-poz-a ku-tali
cl14-promiscuity COP cl6-feaces cl1-GP-throw.away-FV cl17-far.away
Adultery is like feces that you excrete or throw far away.

Proverb (72) seems to give men a license to commit adultery even though it is not approved by society. By common sense, feces especially human ones are health hazards that must always be correctly disposed. In the villages, sources of feces in the home yard can be from either livestock or human infants. They must always be thrown away after they are released.

Adults always regard defecating as a very private matter. It is therefore very embarrassing to be found in the action of defecating by anybody. For this reason,

toilets also save as means of privacy apart from hygiene. The treatment of feces in the proverb is likened to the way adultery must be treated. Like defecating, adultery is permissible but can only be done away from one's home and neighborhood. For as long as one's spouse is not aware of the distant private relationship, all should be well. Sometimes, the spouse might even be aware but the unfaithful spouse must never have the adulterous relationship anywhere nearby in respect of the spouse. It means therefore that in Nsenga society, adultery is very bad but permissible with distantly located individuals.

(73) Vakulaŵila anakazi ni vatyala, koma wamene asavimvwa ni cipuŵa.

vi-a	ku-laβil-a	a-nakazi	ni	vi-a	tyala	koma
cl8-GEN	INFM-speak-FV	cl2-female	COP	cl8-GEN	nothing	CNJ
u-a-mene	a-sa-vi-mvw-a		ni	tʃi-puβa		
2s-GEN-REL	cl1-NEG-cl8-hear-FV		COP	cl7-fool		

What women say is nonsense but the one who does not listen to them is a fool.

Proverb (73) typically presents a contradiction. It provides both negative and positive views of women and leaves one to decide how to deal with them. This proverb reveals two seemingly conflicting views about women in Nsenga land. Generally, Nsenga women are viewed as very talkative and therefore full of irrelevant talk and gossip. However, the society is fully awake to this view and advises its own people to desist from having such a generalized and prejudiced view of women. It is therefore regarded that any wise person, and especially leader, must always pay special attention to what everybody in his or her society says without prejudice in order to get the message behind people's talk. Thus women, regardless of what people may think about them, are very important members of society that should be listened to. It is conversely people that view women lowly and refuse to listen to them that are fools or unwise.

We have seen how ambiguity in proverbs works as a double-edged sword. Ambiguity not only reveals the weakness of the society but also allows society to address the weakness at the same time. We have therefore seen how proverbs not only paint women negatively but also show clues of how to erase the negative images. As we have already established, proverbs must always be used in co-reference otherwise, the messages are taken out of context. Whereas feminists could easily dismiss the proverbs as derogatory of women, these proverbs are a mere reflection of the real society. Proverbs in themselves are not problematic but

powerful tools in ridding a society of its ills that are clearly documented by the proverbs themselves.

3. The Currency of Nsenga Proverbs

The biggest challenge in collecting data for the study was in finding speakers who were competent in use of proverbs. As already said, the problem arises largely from the nonuse of Nsenga as an official language. Preference is locally given to Nyanja the regional Official language and nationally to English as the sole official language. The scenario has resulted in the negative development of the Nsenga language as it is mainly informally used in homes. The situation is worse in urban areas where Nsenga is in constant contact with other languages especially English. Consequently, town varieties of Nsenga have developed. In this manner, younger generations seem to be out of touch with old proverbs and have no competence in their usage.

There is a feared loss of proverbs and other forms of cultural heritage because of non-significant use of the Nsenga language. In fact, its threat of extinction threatens the loss of such vital societal information as proverbs. However, as proverbs mirror the society, we can talk of the possibility of losing versions of the proverbs in Nsenga and not the loss of proverbs until such a time that an entire language is lost. Once a language is lost the proverbs are presented in a different language with different associations in the language the proverbs are spoken.

Of interest however is some recent use of proverbs, which shows how the language of proverbs changes with the change of society. In proverb (28) *Nyina umozi angavyale lini masauzande* "One mother cannot give birth to thousands" we saw how *masauzande* "numerous" is a borrowing from the English *thousands*. As this is not only a borrowed word but also a very recent borrowing, the proverb is likely recently developed to address a seemingly recent need to deal with family planning matters. Whereas family planning issues seem recent, there has always been traditional means to space children. In Nsenga *njise* "malnourished child" is a word typically used to refer to a child born soon after another one. Society traditionally recognizes that having *njise* is not a good way of growing a family.

(74) Efumila pawindo.

a-i-fum-il-a	pa-Ø-windo
cl1-PAST-go.out-APP-FV	cl16-cl5a-window

S/he went out through the window.

Similarly, proverb (71) uses *windo* "window" as a loanword from English. An image of a person going out through the window from the classroom is an image of a school dropout. It represents getting out of the school system prematurely because of other reasons other than normal graduation. As modern schooling is indeed a modern development, this proverb may not only be using a recent word but may also be a recent proverb. The proverb means that one did drop out of school and therefore s/he is not well educated.

(75) Ali na alongosi onkhala na mashinga pa bedi.

a-li	na	a-loŋgosi	a-ku-ŋkʰal-a	na	ma-ʃiŋga	pa-Ø-bedi
cl1-COP	CNJ	cl2-sister	cl1-GP-sit	CNJ	cl6-feces	cl16-cl5a-bed

Those that have sisters stay with feces on the bed.

While *bedi* "bed" is a recent loanword from English, the concept of the proverb is probably as old as the society itself. However, use of *bedi* modernizes the proverb. Traditionally, sisters do almost all the house chores including washing clothes for brothers and even bathing siblings. Thus, brothers who have sisters do not mind about themselves because they know that their sisters are going to take care of them.

To be seen with feaces is the worst expression of dirt and carelessness or negligence of oneself. The proverb means that those who live with breadwinners can live irresponsibly because they know they have someone to look after them.

(76) Olenji yoiŵa yuwama kupambana yako.

Ø-olendʒi	i-a	ku-iβ-a	i-ku-wam-a
cl5a-orange	cl5a-GEN	INFM-steal-FV	cl5-GP-good-FV
ku-pamb-an-a		i-ako	
cl5-GP-surpass-REC-FV		cl5a-2sPOS	

A stolen orange is better than your own.

Olenji "orange" in proverb (76) is a recent use of another loanword from English. As in proverb (75), only *olenji* is recent in the proverb. The orange by its color, is always attractive to the human eye. One likely gets a feeling of having one once it comes into sight. It is believed that things that you own become less exciting than those that you do not. In other words, people are not satisfied with what they have. This proverb is often used when a man wants to divorce his wife

in preference to 'a better wife'. Generally, humans tend to admire what they do not have in preference to what they own.

(77) Kuyendesha njinga yamwana.

ku-yend-iʃ-a	n-dʒiŋga	i-a	mu-ana
INFM-move-CAUS-FV	cl9-bicycle	cl9-GEN	cl1-child

Riding a child's bicycle.

Proverb (77) uses *njinga* "bicycle" a loanword, as a bicycle is a relatively modern introduction into the Nsenga society. Here in addition, *njinga* may be recent but the spirit of the proverb is old. An image of an elderly person riding a child's bicycle is not only seen as humorous but in appropriate. The expression is used to refer to somebody who has inappropriate behavior with children such as having canal knowledge with children.

(78) Mutu umo suungatwale manongo folo.

mu-tu	u-mo	si-u-nga-twal-e	ma-noŋgo	Ø-folo
cl3-head	cl3-one	NEG-cl3-MOD-carry-FV	cl6-big.clay.pot	cl5a-four

One head cannot carry four big clay pots.

Proverb (78) also uses a loanword but its spirit is as old as the society begun to develop itself. *Folo* "four" is a borrowing from English. In Nsenga, four is -*sano* with the dash representing the noun being counted. Clay pots are made oval. As a result, they do not sit on a flat surface. It is also difficult for anybody to carry more than one clay pot on the head at a time. It is however, possible for experienced carriers to carry one pot on the head with the help of a cushion, and one each on both hands. Thus, it is impossible to carry more than three. The proverb thus means that one person cannot carry the entire community's burdens.

The currency of proverbs as we have seen in this section depends on the society's current experiences. The loanwords simply mirror the real life situation in which the Nsenga language is constantly borrowing from the languages it is in contact with especially English. We can therefore say that while new proverbs seem to be developing, old ones are being modernized to address the current needs of society. However, the threat of both losing proverbs because of the dying of language and the dwindling number of competent speakers because of the dwindling number of Nsenga speakers remains eminent. While linguists are alive to this problem, lack of political will particularly in Zambia robs society of

the urgency of engaging in research that salvages a language's and society's valuable information such as proverbs.

4. Conclusion

In this Chapter, we have been able to see how a complex system that includes rules of engagement and contexts of proverb use determine how proverbs are performed in the Nsenga society. Although the system is complex, members almost unconsciously use proverbs as part of their language competence.

By using proverbs as a departure, we have been able to walk through the Nsenga society, identifying its characteristics, strengths and weaknesses. We have been able to see how society governs itself and how it views issues of leadership and women in the society. Proverbs are therefore benchmarks guiding in general conduct.

Overall, this Chapter has demonstrated how significant it is to study proverbs within context of use. Thus, the ethnographic approach has been necessary in revealing deeper meanings of proverbs that could easily escape through our fingers with simply the knowledge of how a language works. In the following Chapter therefore, we will be able to analyze meaning further by examining how the Nsenga people think.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE LOGIC OF NSENGA PROVERBS

This Chapter applies principles of formal logic to the Nsenga proverbs. Such an exercise is called informal logic. Logic is simply the examination of the process of reasoning (Thomson, 2010). This Chapter therefore examines the nature and functions of arguments in Nsenga proverbs with a view to investigating meaning in Nsenga proverbs by observing reasoning patterns among the Nsenga people as observed in the proverbs.

An argument in logic is defined as a "complex consisting of a set of propositions (called its premises) and a proposition (called its conclusion)," (Honderich, 1995). This section presents the types of arguments that were identified and analyzed in Nsenga proverbs, the manner in which the arguments were executed and the nature of the arguments themselves.

As already mentioned, meaning in proverbs was dealt with at two levels namely, surface and deeper meaning. The surface meaning was a result of linguistic analysis while the deeper meaning was a result of both linguistic and ethnographic analysis. Under the logical analysis, 800 arguments were constructed from the deeper meanings of the 800 proverbs of the study.

1. Argument Patterns

Six major types of arguments were identified in Nsenga proverbs namely, disjunctive, exportation, hypothetical, Modus Ponendo Ponens (MPP), MPP fallacy, Modus Tollendo Tollens (MTT), MTT fallacy, and general fallacy (F).

1.1. Disjunctive

A disjunctive syllogism is an argument with one of its premises made of the proposition (**P** v **Q**) read as (either P or Q) and known as a disjunction. Argument (1) shows the formalization of the disjunctive argument.

(1) A disjunction

$$\frac{P \vee Q, \neg P}{\therefore Q}$$

Argument (1) reads as either P or Q, not P, so Q.

(2) Koni kakankhala pa uta kolasika lini.

ka-oni	ka-ka-ŋk^{h}al-a	pa-u-ta	
cl12-bird	cl12-CND-sit-FV	cl16-cl14-bow.and.arrow	
ka-ku-las-ik-a		lini	
cl12-GP-shoot-POT-FV		NEG	

Surface meaning: When a bird sits on the arrow, you cannot shoot it.
Deeper meaning: When you have interest in the case, it is difficult to be just.
Argumentation: A person is either a judge or a defendant; he is not a judge, so he is a defendant.

A bow and arrow is a traditionally important weapon for hunting. In the proverb, an image of a bird that sits on the arrow presents an impossible situation. Thus if you shoot, the bird would fly away with the arrow. The situation is used to refer to instances where a traditional leader who is a judge is found wanting. In this case, the traditional leader cannot preside over the case. By logical analysis, one cannot be both a defendant and a judge at the same time.

(3) Mapikiti opitilila lini mutu.

ma-pikiti	a-ku-pit-ilil-a	lini	mu-tu
cl6-shoulder	cl6-GP-go-PER-FV	NEG	cl3-head

Surface meaning: Shoulders do not go beyond the head.
Deeper meaning: One can either be a parent or a child and not both at once.
Argumentation: If there is a father and son then one is either a parent or a child, he is not the parent, so he is the child.

In the proverb, shoulders represent children while the head represents a parent. The analogy is used to remind children that they cannot upset the natural and biological relationship that exists between them and their parents. In this manner, children ought to give their parents the God-given respect that they deserve. Hence, logically, one cannot assume responsibilities of both father and child at once.

The disjunctive argument stems from the fact that humans have no capacity to alter the laws of nature. Proverbs (2) and (3) talk about two mutually exclusive characteristics. Thus, if one is not P then s/he must be Q. This argumentation is used in (3) to show people that once one assumes the title of *parent* there is nothing that others can do except to accept that s/he is and to give him/her the respect s/he deserves. The relationship works powerfully in rendering proverbs as

rhetorical forces thereby using the proverbs to communicate forcibly important instructions to listeners.

1.2. Exportation

Exportation is a type of rule that operates on conditional propositions. It is a type of inference formalized in (4) according to the *Penguin Dictionary of Philosophy*.

(4) Exportation

$$\frac{\text{If (P and Q) then R}}{\text{If P, then (if Q then R)}}$$

The inference is also formalized as follows $((p \,\&\, q) \supset r) \supset (p \supset (q \supset r))$ and read as If P and Q then R; then if P, then if Q then R. In other words, *If P and Q then R* derives *If P then if Q then R.*

Let us look at some proverbs in this pattern in order to see how the argument works.

(5) Imfwa yupaya munthu yuyamba nanga ni njota.

in-fwa	i-ku-pay-a	mu-nt^{h}u	i-ku-yamb-a	naŋga
cl9-death	cl9-GP-kill-FV	cl1-person	cl9-GP-start-FV	CNJ
ni	n-dʒota			
COP	cl9-thirst			

Surface meaning: The death that kills a person begins as an appetite.

Deeper meaning: Some habits can lead to problems.

Argumentation: If there is a problem and a problem can grow then the problem can become big. If there is a problem, then if a problem can grow then the problem can become big.

Thirst is something that no one can withstand. When one is thirsty, s/he quickly wants to drink water to quench it. However, in the Nsenga society the word *njota* 'thirst' is generally used to refer to a wide range of cravings. Thirsty may mean "sexual appetite" or any desire such as to fight or drink beer. Hence, in trying to respond to these cravings, one may injure or hurt the body and eventuality die.

The reasoning as used in the proverb provides a causal relationship between two items. Thus in proverb (5), the potential of a habit to be repeated can cause a habit to grow into a problem.

(6) Kokuzya mpombo koziŵika lini.

ka-a	ku-kuʒ-a	n-pombo
cl12-GEN	INFM-grow-FV	cl9-peace.of.fecal.matter
ka-ku-ziβ-ik-a	lini	
cl12-GP-know-POT-FV	NEG	

Surface meaning: The thing that enlarges ones fecal matter is not known.

Deeper meaning: Make use of whatever you have no matter how little because it can make a difference.

Argumentation: If there is something and the thing can add up to others then the thing can become big. If there is something, then if the thing can add up to others then the thing can become big.

Nsenga people by common sense believe that the size of fecal matter is proportional to the amount of food eaten. In other words, probably erroneously, the size of fecal matter is also indicative of good or poor nutrition. The size is a significant aspect in the notion of nutrition among Nsenga people.

The argumentation of proverb (6) is similar to that of proverb (5) as both provide a similar causal relationship. Thus if anything has an ability to add up then it can grow. In this manner, one must not worry about the small quantity of certain things that have ability to increase such as financial capital.

(7) Koswe wa pamutenje esokolola wa pasanga.

Ø-koswe	u-a	pa-mu-tendʒe	a-i-sokolol-a	u-a
cl1a-rat	cl1-GEN	cl16-cl3-roof	cl1-PAST-reveal-FV	cl1-GEN
pa-Ø-saŋga				
cl16-cl5a-bush				

Surface meaning: A roof mouse revealed the bush one.

Deeper meaning: One offense can help solve an unsolved case.

Argumentation: If a person says something and if it can be related to the past then it can help reveal the past. If a person says something, then if it can be related to the past then it can help reveal the past.

In many Nsenga thatched houses, rats hide in the roof's grass. Once a rat is provoked it runs into the bush where it is likely to join other hiding rats. A rat's behavior is compared to a thief's one. A thief that steals from one place is most likely able to repeat the act at the same place. Thieves too seem to understand each other in behavior. Thus once a thief is caught where there have been cases of theft; it is likely the thief could help in finding other thieves. Some thieves also have patterns in the way they do things making it easier for investigators to trace certain activities.

Logically, if one is a thief then there are higher chances that s/he could know other thieves and help to reveal those thieves. Thus, once there is a case of theft it can cause one another related theft case to be solved.

(8) Kulesha inzi pa matuvi nikufwikilapo.

ku-leʃ-a	Ø-inzi	pa-ma-tuvi	ni	ku-fwikil-a-po
INFM-prohibit-FV	cl1a-fly	cl16-cl6-feaces	COP	INFM-cover-FV-ENC

Surface meaning: To stop flies from getting on feaces is to cover the feaces.

Deeper meaning: Deal with the root cause of the problem.

Argumentation: If there is a problem and if there is its source then I can stop it by dealing with the source. If there is a problem, then if there is a source then I can stop it by dealing with its source.

While some people do not mind looking at animal excreta, they do mind looking at human ones. Therefore, even in situations where toilets are lacking, people are advised to always cover human excreta as a matter of hygiene. Of course, a sure sign of uncovered excreta is the presence of flies. To stop the flies, you need either to cover or dispose them. In situations where people gossip, the cause of the gossip is advised to be dealt with rather than dealing with the gossipers. Sometimes the cause of gossip can be one's unacceptable behavior. Gossipers are therefore flies in the proverb.

The argumentation of proverb (8) identifies the existence of causal relationships in many situations and therefore gets people to deal with the cause rather than the effect. Thus, it is wiser to bury the fecal matter than to keep on chasing the flies that will keep on coming as long as there is fecal matter.

Exportation therefore is a kind of reasoning that identifies causal relationships in many phenomena in order to not only help solve various problems but also take advantage of the relationships to get desired effects. It also helps to uncover the

nature of some phenomena in order to address appropriately the phenomena such as in the case of proverb (5) where habits are characteristic of causing problems.

1.3. Hypothetical

A hypothetical argument is made of at least one conditional statement. The formal syntax of the argument is formalized as in (9).

(9) Hypothetical

$$\frac{P \rightarrow Q, Q \rightarrow R}{\therefore P \rightarrow R}$$

Argument (9) reads as, if p, then q; if q, then r; therefore, if p, then r. The reasoning in this argument is based on conditions that must obtain for a particular item to be true.

(10) Kang'oma kowilikila kocelwa lini kutulika.

ka-n-ŋoma	ka-ku-βil-ik-il-a	ka-ku-tʃelw-a
cl12-cl9-drum	cl12-GP-popular-POT-APP-FV	cl12-GP-be.late-FV
lini	ku-tul-ik-a	
NEG	INFM-be torn-POT-FV	

Surface meaning: A popular drum is damaged easily.

Deeper meaning: When you become popular for whatever reason, you need be very careful of the possible dangers.

Argumentation: If you become popular then you become visible. If you become visible then criminals can spot and attack you. So, if you become popular then criminals can spot and attack you.

Traditional drums are made of wood and animal skin. Drums are used for various purposes but the main function is for entertainment. Because of the beating in order to play sound from a drum, the skin wears out and eventually tears apart. As a result, a drum that is frequently played easily gets worn-out. The proverb means that if someone is very famous, people may become jealous and kill him/her. This proverb also serves as a warning to people who become famous because of bad deeds that the fame, which comes with bad conduct, does not last as people may kill you. For instance, it is also used to warn people of the danger of being infected with STDs because of promiscuity.

The argumentation of proverb (10) provides conditions under which bad things can happen to somebody. Upon the condition that you become famous, you can attract enemies and get hurt. Thus, fame whether positively or negatively acquired needs to be treated with caution.

(11) Okonkha njila ziŵili ofwika lini.

a-ku-koŋk^{h}-a	n-jila	zi-βili	a-ku-fwik-a	lini
cl1-GP-follow-FV	cl10-road	cl10-two	cl1-GP-arrive-FV	NEG

Surface meaning: One who follows two ways does not arrive.

Deeper meaning: It is difficult to complete two tasks at one time.

Argumentation: If you can only be loyal to one master then you cannot be loyal to more than one master. If you cannot be loyal to more than one then you cannot be loyal to two. So, if you cannot be loyal to more than one master then you cannot be loyal to two masters.

It is common sense and logical that you cannot take two ways at one time. The proverb encourages people not to do so many things at one time as it is difficult to complete them. It is better to do one task at a time. Tasks are treated as one's master. Just as it is difficult to obey two masters at one time, so it is to do two tasks at one time. This relationship is used to provide reasoning that allows people to be realistic with pursuing goals otherwise, they risk failure.

(12) Ukalemela osauzya munthu.

u-ka-lemel-a	a-ku-sa-uʒ-a	mu-nt^{h}u
2s-CND-become.rich-FV	cl1-GP-NEG-tell-FV	cl1-person

Surface meaning: Do not tell anybody when you become rich.

Deeper meaning: You do not brag about riches in public.

Argumentation: If I am rich then people can see that I am rich, if people can see that I am rich then I do not need to inform them that I am rich, so if I am rich then I do not need to inform people that I am rich.

The traditional Nsenga society is largely a socialist society. However, few rich people are usually regarded as exploiters. In many cases, therefore, people do not disclose how much wealth they have for fear of a reprisal from society. It is also believed that once you are known to have a lot of money, you risk getting both a physical and magical attack from people.

The argumentation of proverb (12) is such that it provides reasoning for being modest in society. It is considered redundant to inform people of things they are already aware of. If you know that people know who you really are it does not only become redundant but also against principles of modesty to insist on talking about what people already know about you.

(13) Civungula caniponela.

tʃi-vuŋgula tʃi-a-ni-pon-il-a

cl7-sausage.tree cl7-PERF-1s-fall-APP-FV

Surface meaning: The fruit of the sausage tree has fallen on me.

Deeper meaning: When an attempt at success turns disastrous fate can be the cause.

Argumentation: If an attempt at success turns disastrous then there must be a cause. If the cause is not known, then fate can be the cause. There is a disaster whose cause is not known, so, it is bad fate that could have caused it.

The sausage tree fruit is used as penis enlargement charms among Nsenga people. Part of the procedure is that a piece of a new sausage tree fruit is cut and the rest is observed for some time as it grows. When the partially cut piece grows to a desirable size of a penis, it is cut down completely. The belief is that one's penis will grow as big as the size of the fruit before it is cut. However, if the fruit falls to the ground by itself, it is believed that the person is going to be impotent. The falling is regarded as one's loss of potency.

The logical reasoning in proverb (13) is that just as it does not make sense for the fruit of the sausage tree to cause impotence by falling on someone, so it is with failure sometimes. One does not always need to have an explanation for failure but simply accept and try again if necessary.

The hypothetical arguments provide conditions under which certain things must take place. It is helpful in advising people why some phenomena are as they are. The argument also helps to provide life's experiences that are the result of the existence of certain other conditions. In showing how two items relate to each other, it helps to make a good analogy in a proverb as we have seen with the proverbs in this section. The argument also shows that sometimes it is difficult to understand conditions under which some phenomena take place.

1.4. Modus Ponendo Ponens

Modus Ponendo Ponens (MPP) literally means 'the way that affirms by affirming' in Latin. It is also referred to as Modus Ponens. The argument also deals with conditional propositions like the hypothetical and is formalized in (14).

(14) MPP

$$\frac{P \rightarrow Q, P}{\therefore Q}$$

Modus Ponens' formalization in (14) reads as if P then Q, we assume P is true, therefore Q is true.

(15) Ukalila nthengo walila zungo.

u-ka-lil-a	n-tʰeŋgo	u-a-lil-a	zi-oŋgo
2s-CND-cry-FV	cl9-marriage	cl1-PERF-cry-FV	cl6-noise

Surface meaning: If you long for marriage, it means you also long for fighting.

Deeper meaning: Marriage is not always as rosy as it is imagined.

Argumentation: If in marriage there are problems, if I am married, then there may be problems.

Marriage counselors always prepare couples intending to marry for possible and inevitable conflicts in marriage. Since people marrying always come from different backgrounds, and are with different personalities, conflicts are common. Couples are advised that conflicts are not always a sign of a failed marriage but part of a process of adjustment. Thus, it is advisable that a marriage does not always mean a rosy life. Because of the aspect of enjoying the freedom of sexual activities in marriage, people think that a marriage is always bliss.

Logically, the fact that experience shows every marriage goes through some kind of problems; it is valid to assume that once you marry you might have to go through some problems.

(16) Cawakandilila ndiye citi cikuceke.

tʃi-a	u-a-kand-ilil-a	ndi-ye	tʃi-ti	tʃi-ku-tʃek-e
cl7-GEN	2s-PERF-step.on-PER-FV	COP-EMPH	cl7-say	cl7-2s-cut-FV

Surface meaning: What you have stepped on is what will cut you.

Deeper meaning: The people you suppress will one day rise up against you.
Argumentation: What you step on (suppress) can injure (rise against) you. If I am stepping (suppressing) on something (people), then I can be injured (uprising).

Many traditional societies used not to wear shoes mainly for economic reasons. Shoes have only been recently introduced by industrialization and only those who afford can have them. It is normal to have an entire childhood without shoes. Most of adventures and farming activities are done in places that have thorns and sharp materials that usually cut people's feet. From this experience, the proverb is related to the situation where people who are under you (your feet) in status or employment can harm you. It also refers to a situation where one suppresses people who can at one time rise up and revolt against him/her as a thorn or sharp material does harm to someone who has stepped on it.

The argument in (16) therefore provides conditions under which revolts are possible in society. Thus, anybody who wants to avoid these revolts must avoid the conditions that cause the revolts.

(17) Cibwenzi ca nsomba na manzi.

tʃi-bwenzi	tʃi-a	n-somba	na	ma-nzi
cl7-friendship	cl7-GEN	cl9-fish	CNJ	cl6-water

Surface meaning: The friendship of fish and water.
Deeper meaning: A close friendship is inseparable.
Argumentation: Fish (lovers) cannot stay alive out of water (separated), I am a fish (in love), so I cannot live on land (without my partner).

As natural phenomena, fish cannot survive out of water. The Nsenga people like fish to be served as part of their favorite meals. The relationship of fish and water is compared to people that love each other. Thus argument (17) shows conditions under which a love affair is not possible just as it would not be possible to let fish live out of water. It is therefore basic logic that anybody who wants to maintain a close relationship with somebody must maintain close contact with the person.

(18) Cipanda ca walwa ciulula vinthu.

tʃi-panda	tʃi-a	Ø-walwa	tʃi-i-ulul-a	vi-nt^{h}u
cl7-calabash	cl7-GEN	cl5a-beer	cl7-PAST-reveal-FV	cl8-thing

Surface meaning: A calabash of beer revealed things.

Deeper meaning: Do not share secretes with a drunkard because they speak anyhow once they are drunk and they cannot therefore keep secretes.

Argumentation: A drunkard can reveal secrets under the influence of alcohol; he is drunk; therefore, he can reveal secrets.

A calabash is a traditional beer cup. It is well known as there are many beer drinkers in Nsenga society. The calabash, made from plant products, is said to add a flavor to traditional beer. As a result, people prefer to use the traditional calabash instead of the modern metal or plastic cup.

One characteristic of a person who is drunk is to speak about things anyhow and openly some of which could be sensitive and private matters. Thus, people are warned to be careful when they prepare themselves to drink as they risk revealing secrets when they get drunk. Over all, a drunken person can be careless with speech.



Figure 24: Calabash
Source: misiontobelize.org

Argument (18) simply warns someone of the possibility of information leakage if entrusted with someone who usually gets drunk and has a habit of talking anyhow. Thus if a person talks anyhow then s/he can reveal any secret unexpectedly.

Modus Ponens as defined provides conditions that people can use to predict certain occurrences. It is also a typical reasoning pattern known as deductive reasoning. Thus, a conclusion is made from provided premises (conditions).

1.5. MPP Fallacy

A fallacy is an error in reasoning. The MPP fallacy draws its name from the fact that it is a misapplication of Modus Ponendo. The argument is as good as an MPP but lacks logical validity.

(19) Kanyoni opusulila lini paukato.

ka-n-ɲoni	a-ku-pusul-il-a	lini	pa-u-kato
cl12-cl9-bird	cl1-GP-dress-APP-FV	NEG	cl16-cl14-glue

Surface meaning: You don't remove the feathers of a bird from the glue trap.

Deeper meaning: Do mind where you disclose your confidential information.

Argumentation: If you have a secret then you cannot speak it in public, I am in public, so I cannot speak the secret.

Wild birds are an alternative source of meat for Nsenga people. One of the methods used for catching birds is putting glue made from specific trees on tree branches where birds are likely to sit in numbers. Once you remove the trapped bird from the glue trap, you take it away to dress it up. If you dress the bird near the glue, the feathers might stick to the glue and make the trap unusable or visible thereby warning other birds of the danger.



Figure 25: Bird Trap with Glue
Source: conservation.org.cy

While the argument looks like an MPP, it has a faulty conclusion by assuming that there are no conditions for one to speak a secret in public. However, it works in the same manner as MPP in that people do not normally speak secrets in public.

(20) Ukakwela kumtenje osatukwana ali na manela.

u-ka-kwel-a	ku-mu-tendʒe	a-ku-sa-tukwan-a	a-li	na
2s-CND-climb-FV	cl17-cl3-roof	cl1-GP-NEG-insult-FV	cl1-be	CNJ
ma-nela				
cl6-ladder				

Surface meaning: When you are on the roof do not insult the one holding the ladder.

Deeper meaning: Be good to those who help you to get to a place of prominence.

Argumentation: Be good to those who help you to get to a place of prominence, I am at a place of prominence, so I should be good to those who helped me.

Construction projects especially building houses are done as a community. This is because they are usually too big a task to be done by an individual. Usually anybody who wants a new house informs the neighborhood that helps him/her to plan and eventually build the house. Unless one has enough money to hire workers, this is still a practice until now. Sometimes women in the family in need of a house brew bear to give to the people helping in the construction as appreciation after the work is done.

When you are in a situation that requires assistance, do not insult the one who may assist you as s/he might be the only one with a possible solution to your problem. In the proverb, a picture is painted where a person on the roof insults the one holding the ladder. Consequently, s/he removes the ladder making it difficult for the one on the roof to come down.

Argument (20) talks about conditions that one needs to take in order to stay at a place of prominence. However, it concludes wrongly that one always has to help the people that help him or her as this is not always possible. Helpers may sometimes want nothing in return and some helpers may not need any help at all.

(21) Usiku uyendewa lini na anzeru.

u-siku	u-ku-yend-iw-a	lini	na	a-a	n-zeru
cl14-night	cl14-GP-walk-PASS-FV	NEG	CNJ	cl2-GEN	cl9-intelligence

Surface meaning: Wise people do not walk in the night.

Deeper meaning: Wise people heed advice.

Argumentation: Wise people heed advice; he is heeds advice, so he is wise.

Most of Nsenga households are located in or near thickets. For this reason, it is always dangerous to walk in the night for fear of attacks from wild animals and sometimes criminals. Anybody on a journey usually on foot is advised to take refuge at the nearest village once it gets dark. Local traditional leaders and subjects have a moral responsibility to accept any visitor who wants to take refuge on his/her journey.

The argumentation in proverb (21) provides seeking advice as an essential step in becoming wise. Logically, however, the act of seeking or heeding advice in itself is not enough to declare one as wise.

(22) Uta wa nkhalamba ulasa olo ulilele.

u-ta	u-a	n-k^{h}alamba	u-ku-las-a	olo
cl14-bow.and.arrow	cl14-GEN	cl9-old.person	cl14-GP-strike-FV	CNJ

u-li-lel-e
cl14-be-sleep-FV
Surface meaning: An old person's bow and arrow can still cause harm even when it's lying idle.
Deeper meaning: An old person's advice is valuable even when s/he's not present.
Argumentation: An old person's advice is valuable even when s/he's not present, the old person is not present, so his/her advice is still valuable.

Because of the cultural norm of respecting elderly people, young people sometimes are simply afraid of anything that old people own and they sometimes treat old people's assets with superstition. In the proverb, a situation is given where an old person dies but people are afraid of touching his/her bow and arrow for fear of being stricken. In the Nsenga tradition, sleeping is also used to refer to death as euphemism. The bow and arrow is a personification of an old person. This proverb therefore means that words or the counsel of an old person will still be applicable or important even when the old person has died or is long gone.

Logically, the argument in (22) provides experiential data in which old people's advice has remained useful even when the advisers are not present. However, it is not always the case that the advice remains useful, which renders the argument invalid and therefore a logical error.

The MPP fallacy functions in a similar way to the MPP itself except that the conclusions are logically wrong. However, the higher possibility of the conclusions being true in some environments makes the arguments still useful even though they are errors. Thus, the reasoning still makes the proverbs forceful.

1.6. Modus Tollendo Tollens

Modus Tollendo Tollens (MTT) also known as Modus Tollens literally means 'the way that denies by denying' in Latin. The rule governs the way in which conditionals operate in an argument. It is formally stated as in (23). The rule reads as if P implies Q, then if Q is false, therefore, P is also false.

(23) MTT

$$\frac{P \rightarrow Q, \neg Q}{\therefore \neg P}$$

(24) Calo ni ŵanthu.

tʃi-alo ni βa-nt^{h}u

cl7-world COP cl2-person

Surface meaning: The world is people.

Deeper meaning: It is people that matter in society.

Argumentation: If society is made of people, if there are no people, then there is no society.

In Nsenga society, humans are above all other creatures except the supernatural being (God) who is regarded as the creator. The world gets its meaning from the people that live in it. In order to have a working society therefore one needs to look after the people's wellbeing.

The argument in (24) helps to make an inference in reasoning. It is inferred that if there are no people then there is no society given the condition in the first (main) statement.

(25) Fwaka owama kupepeshana.

Ø-fwaka a-ku-wam-a ku-pep-iʃ-an-a

cl1a-tobbaco cl1-GP-good-FV INFM-smoke-CAUS-REC-FV

Surface meaning: You enjoy tobacco when you share with friends.

Deeper meaning: Generosity must be reciprocated.

Argumentation: If you are generous then you must share, I do not share, so I am not generous.

Many people enjoy smoking tobacco. Sometimes tobacco can be scarce especially in the rainy season after stocks have run out. Thus, it is always advisable to share tobacco with others, as you would also be in need some other time. Logically, unless you share you cannot call yourself a generous person.

(26) Fweza imo oipikilapo lini.

Ø-fweza i-mo a-ku-i-pik-il-a-po lini

cl5a-stone.cooking.stand cl5-one cl1-GP-cl5-cook-APP-FV-ENC NEG

Surface meaning: You cannot cook on a fireplace made of one stone-cooking stand.

Deeper meaning: There is strength in unity.

Argumentation: If there is unity then there is more than one, I am alone, so there can be no unity.



Figure 26: Fireplace
Source:wonganishope.blogspot.com

A traditional fireplace used for cooking is made of three block-stands or supports. The blocks of similar height and size are arranged triangular with almost equal distance between them. The gaps between the blocks are filled with firewood up to three quarters the height of the blocks. The one-quarter space is left for ventilation once a pot is put on the fireplace in order for the fire to burn effectively. The blocks besides making an enclosure for the fire to burn are principally used to support the cooking pot. While two blocks could be used, the pot is only stable and safe to use once it is supported by three blocks. One block is practically impossible to use. In proverb (26), the blocks refer to people who can only form unity once they come together and do things as a team. The argumentation of the proverb shows that it is impossible singularly to form unity.

(27) Mwana wa ng'wena ni uyo ali pamusana.

mu-ana	u-a	n-ŋwena	ni	u-i-o	a-li
cl1-child	cl1-GEN	cl9-crocodile	COP	cl1-PR-DEM	cl1-be

pa-mu-sana
cl16-cl3-back

Surface meaning: A crocodile's child is the one on the back.
Deeper meaning: You can only claim ownership of what you physically have.
Argumentation: If you own an opportunity then you must have seized it, you have not seized it, so you do not own the opportunity.

Crocodiles free their offspring soon after birth. It is therefore rare to find a crocodile with its offspring. Crocodiles move in different places making it difficult to trace them. As all crocodiles look alike too, it makes it more difficult to tell biological relationships of crocodiles. Thus you can only tell its offspring when you see one on its back. This situation is used to talk about the principle of communal ownership among Nsengas. Anything that is not found with someone

or at one's home is regarded as public property. You do not claim ownership of what you do not possess such as land in the jungle and that is contained within it. Logically, you cannot claim ownership of an opportunity you have not seized.

As observed in Ngalande (2011), whereas the MPP proceeds from general premises to a conclusion, the MTT requires negation, which works against the principle of economy in language. However, the argument allows for observing conditions under which some phenomena cannot take place such as unity and generosity that we have already seen in the proverbs in this section.

1.7. MTT Fallacy

An MTT fallacy is an error in reasoning that is the result of the misapplication of Modus Tollens. The argument functions similar to MTT except that it has an invalid argument structure.

(28) Kulelela mwana pacinena.

ku-lel-il-a	mu-ana	pa-tʃi-nena
INFM-raise-APP-FV	cl1-child	cl16-cl7-pubic.area

Surface meaning: Raising a child from the pubic area.

Deeper meaning: Unpunished children are undisciplined children.

Argumentation: Discipline helps to raise a good child; he is not disciplined, so he will grow up an undisciplined child.

Discipline for children even if it takes administering corporal punishment is always advisable in Nsenga society. However, there are some parents, especially mothers, who do not want to administer any form of punishment to children. Such mothers always place their children on the laps each time they cry. Thus, they are called as people who raise their children from the pubic area. The use of the word for pubic area *cinena*, which is actually a taboo word, is an expression of disgust and anger by society at a parent who raises undisciplined children. On the other hand, the use of the word also implies dealing with a child with much sensitivity because the pubic area is a sensitive area.

Logically, argument (28) works as Modus Tollens but falls short because of a false conclusion. The cause of indiscipline in a child is not only because one was not disciplined. In fact, several cases exist in society where a strict parent produces an undisciplined child.

(29) Kulimbikila m'senga uliye manzi.

ku-limbik-il-a	museŋga	u-li-ye	ma-nzi
INFM-insist-APP-FV	cl3-route	cl3-be-NEG	cl6-water

Surface meaning: To insist on taking a route where you cannot find water

Deeper meaning: Venturing into unprofitable things knowingly.

Argumentation: If a person is working hard on something then the thing is profitable, the thing is not profitable, so s/he should not work hard on it.

Nsenga people whose rural areas are hard to reach because of lack of good transportation usually take their journeys on foot. On foot, one can only carry a limited supply of food and water to allow for easy walking. In order to avoid starvation, people usually take routes where they can easily find necessary supplies especially water. The proverb analogically refers to somebody in pursuit of a fruitless trip.

Logically, people do not always work hard because something is profitable. Somebody could simply work hard on something as a matter of habit or tradition. However, generally people tend to pursue profitable things. The logically wrong conclusion makes it a fallacy of the nature of MTT.

(30) M'mela mpoyamba.

mu-mela	ni	pa-ku-yamb-a
cl3-seedling	COP	cl16-GP-start-FV

Surface meaning: Seedlings are better when they are young.

Deeper meaning: It is easier to teach a young person than an old one.

Argumentation: If someone is a child then s/he can be easily controlled, s/he is not a child, so s/he cannot be easily controlled.

The Nsenga people's economy depends on agriculture. Therefore, almost everybody has knowledge of farming. One of the difficult things to deal with is weeds. It is easier to deal with weeds while the seedlings are young. Otherwise, if crops grow with weeds you lose a good yield as your crops compete for food with the weeds. The proverb means that you can easily alter a child's behavior better than that of an elderly one.

By logical analysis, while it is common that younger people are easier to work with in terms of behavioral change than elderly ones, it is erroneous to assume that this is the case in all situations. Some elders have a teachable and flexible character that can be easily altered.

(31) Fulu akalya oziŵa eka kuti nakuta.

Ø-fulu a-ka-ly-a a-ku-ziβa a-eka
cl1a-tortoise cl1-CND-eat-FV cl1-GP-know-FV cl1-alone
ku-ti ni-a-kut-a
INFM-say 1s-PERF-satisfied-FV

Surface meaning: A tortoise knows by itself that it is satisfied.

Deeper meaning: Only an individual knows her/his innocence.

Argumentation: Only an individual knows her innocence, I am not her, so I don't know she's innocent.

When a person or animal is satisfied after a meal, sometimes the belly shows in size. However, a tortoise cannot be known whether it is full by its belly because of its hard shell that does not inflect. The proverb is said when nobody knows who the culprit is. Personal guilt can cause one to behave in a self-revealing way.

The argument in (31) functions like Modus Tollens but it has a false conclusion because there are several other ways that you can use to find someone guilty apart from behavior that is a result of personal guilty. With advanced technology, many forensic experts are able to trace many activities to particular individuals.

Similar to MPP fallacy, the MTT fallacy equally functions as the Modus Tollens but uses possibility to compensate for the error caused by making wrong conclusions. The argument allows for observing conditions under which some phenomena cannot take place.

1.8. General Fallacy

A general fallacy is used in this study to refer to arguments that are faulty and do not function as any of the other identified argument patterns.

(32) Anakazi ni matuvi a mbuzi.

a-nakazi ni ma-tuvi a-a n-buzi
cl2-female COP cl6-faeces cl1-GEN cl9-goat

Surface meaning: Women are like feaces of goats.

Deeper meaning: Do not cry over lost opportunities because there are several opportunities in life.

Argumentation: Women are as plenty as goats' feaces, I have lost one woman, so I can easily get another one.

Goats are one of the commonly tamed animals in the Nsenga society. They are usually large in number and are let out every morning to graze by themselves in the nearby bushes. They usually excrete anywhere and their excreta are found usually in large amounts in the kraals. In comparing women to goats one believes that there are so many women that one does not need to worry if one of them does not assent to a marriage proposal.

The argument in (32) is a total fallacy as there is no logical connection between the statements. The fact that there are many women does not mean that any of them can easily agree to a marriage proposal. However, the strength of the argument is in the increasing probability in finding a woman who can give consent with the bigger number of women.

(33) Kuthyola ndiyo za m'nthopo ni kuthyola tutete.

ku-t^{h}yol-a	n-diyo	zi-a	mu-nt^{h}opo	ni
INFM-cut-FV	cl10-relish	cl10-GEN	cl3-pumkin.leaf	COP
ku-t^{h}yol-a	tu-tete			
INFM-cut-FV	cl13-tender.one			

Surface meaning: When you are picking pumpkin leaves as vegetables, you cut the tender ones at the end.

Deeper meaning: Young women are more sexually enjoyable than older ones.

Argumentation: Young things are more enjoyable than old things; she is a young woman, so she is more enjoyable than the old women are.

Pumpkin leaves are enjoyed as one of the favorite relishes for making side dishes in Nsenga meals. The leaves that taste good are the fresh and tender ones that have just shot and are found at the end of a stem. Adulterous elderly men in order to justify their sexual conduct with young women use the situation. The reasoning is that since young and tender sources of food are usually better than older ones the same can be true for women.

There is no logical sense in proverb (33) in proposing that there is a correlation between age and sexual pleasure. Thus, the conclusion does not follow from its premises. It is therefore a fallacy.

1.9. General Observations

We have so far discussed various major argument types that were identified in Nsenga proverbs. Figure 27 shows the quantity and percentage distribution of the argument patterns in the studied proverbs.

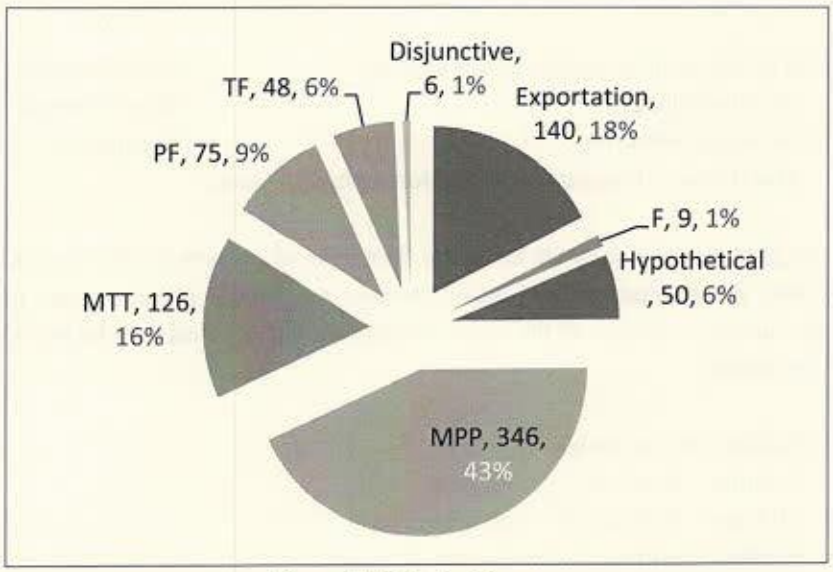

Figure 27: Major Type

The higher percentage of MPPs, which is almost half of the arguments at 43%, shows the dominant reasoning pattern of the Nsenga people. Generally, people use conditions usually observed in life as the base for making conclusions about various phenomena in life. Even the corresponding percentage of MPP fallacies at 9% is higher compared to that of MTT fallacies at 6%. Two other major reasoning patterns are exportation at 18% and MTT at 16%. While the MTT arguments allow for observing conditions under which some phenomena cannot take place, the exportation ones allow for identifying causal relationships in many phenomena. Therefore most of Nsenga reasoning in proverbs has to do with either establishing causal relationships or drawing conclusions from observable facts.

2. Argument Execution

Argument execution examines the manner in which arguments are actually executed in real life. As earlier defined, an argument is a "complex consisting of a

set of propositions (called its premises) and a proposition (called its conclusion)," (Honderich, 1995). However, no argument is executed as a whole in actual human interaction. Let us look at some arguments, one of which we have already discussed, to examine how they are executed.

The Argument in proverb (2) is represented in (34).

(34) A person is either a judge or a defendant. Major Premise
He is not a judge. Minor Premise
So he is a defendant. Conclusion
Major type – Disjunctive; **Execution** – Major Premise

Argument (34) represents the entire formalism of proverb (2) but is actually executed in performance as a major premise *a person is either a judge or a defendant* and leaving both the minor premise and the conclusion to be provided by the listener.

(35) Katemo katema mwine.
ka-temo ka-tem-a mu-ine
cl12-axe cl12-cut-FV cl1-owner
Surface meaning: An axe has cut the owner.
Deeper meaning: You can be pardoned if you offend your family.
Argumentation: If you offend someone then you should be punished (**Major Premise**), I have offended my family member (**Minor Premise**), so I should not be punished (**Conclusion**).
Major type – Fallacy; **Execution** – Minor Premise

Every Nsenga home is expected to have an axe as one of the most important tools besides the hoe. The axe is useful especially for chopping and cutting firewood and cutting trees. There are however several accidents with an axe as well. In the proverb, a parent (an axe) that injures the owner is said to have no case. The proverb is said when a child (an exe) beats (injures) a parent, the child is pardoned because s/he has not beaten an outsider.

Katemo katema mwine in (35) is a minor premise whose major premise and conclusion a competent Nsenga speaker always knows. Thus, it is unnecessary to start with a major premise since as an obvious premise it is redundant. However, the argument is a fallacy because the conclusion does not follow from the premises. The fact that one has offended a family member does not make the

offense any less and therefore remains punishable under similar laws applicable to similar offenses.

(36) Maŵala a ingo oŵelengela lini pafupi.

ma-βala	a-a	in-go	a-ku-βeleŋg-il-a	lini
cl6-spot	cl6-GEN	cl9-leopard	cl1-GP-count-APP-FV	NEG
pa-fupi				
cl16-near				

Surface meaning: You do not count a leopard's spots at close range.

Deeper meaning: You do not court danger.

Argumentation: If something is dangerous and if it can affect you then it should be avoided (**Major Premise**). If something is dangerous (**Minor Premise**), then if it can affect you then it should be avoided (**Conclusion**).

Major type – Exportation; **Execution** – conclusion

A leopard is a very fierce and vicious big cat. It usually lives in hiding away from human beings. Its spots are always an amusement to Nsenga people some of whom use the skin as decorative mats in the houses and especially palaces. *Maŵala a ingo oŵelengela lini pafupi* "you do not count a leopard's spots at close range" is performed as a conclusion in actual performance. Since it is obvious that something that affects (negatively) somebody needs to be avoided, it is redundant to present the premises under which the avoidance should be made. Thus, the major and minor premises are obvious for the listener to assume from the conclusion.

Figure 28 shows the distribution of the 800 arguments according to argument execution. Of the 800 proverbs, 575 representing 72% were executed as major premises and 218 representing 27% were executed as conclusions. Only seven proverbs representing 1% were executed as minor premises. Since the general reasoning pattern of the Nsenga people is MPP according to Figure 28, it tarries to have most proverbs start with a major premise. In a reasoning system where you begin from general to specific, a major premise that carries sufficient information is necessary. Since proverbs are a condensation of information, most of them are major premises. It is up to the listener to proceed in identifying the minor premise and subsequently the conclusion. This characteristic is one of the major ways of using logic to transform proverbs into powerful rhetorical devices. The engagement of the listener to provide the missing information makes the proverbs powerful. Where a minor premise and conclusion is used to execute, it

means that listeners are assumed to have enough background information in order to identify the missing statements or premises.

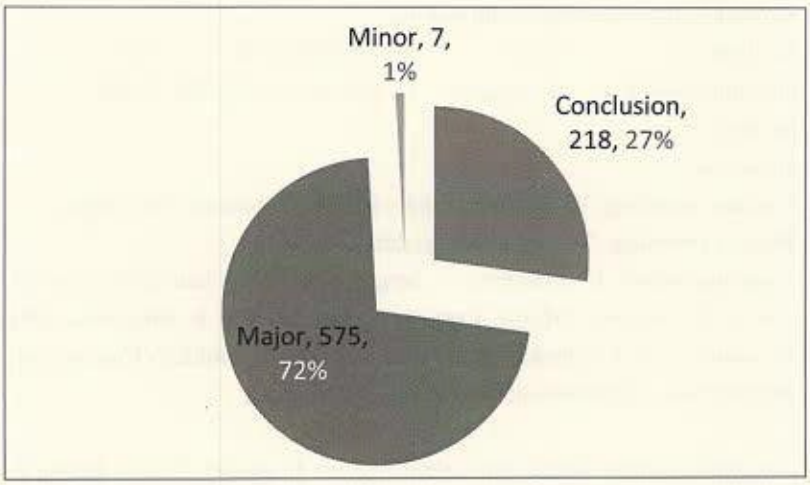

Figure 28: Argument Execution

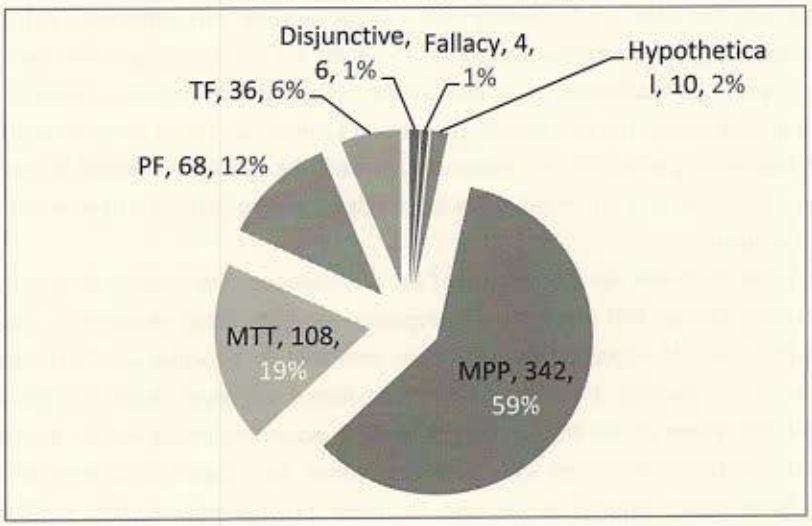

Figure 29: Major Premise

Of particular interest is that of the seven proverbs that were executed as minor premises five were fallacies, one was hypothetical and the other was MTT. The fact that almost all arguments executed by the minor premise are errors shows the risk of presenting an argument using a minor premise. Moreover, only seven

proverbs out of 800 were executed as minor premises. Since minor premises offer the least amount of information in proverb execution, the probability of being misinterpreted by the listener is high. To minimize the risk, many proverbs are executed as major premises that usually have sufficient and necessary information.

Figure 29 shows that 59% of the arguments executed as the major premise were MPPs followed by MTTs at 19% and MPP at 12%. As already observed, the nature of deductive reasoning of MPPs that requires movement from the general to the specific necessitates that they are executed as major premises that carry more information to allow for both an appropriate formalization and interpretation of the argument. Of particular interest however is that although MPPs are generally deductive in nature, they are a product of inductive reasoning. Before people can reach conclusions about several experiences, individual experiences are observed before reaching a conclusion, which is typical of inductive reasoning. This may appear contradictory but decisions in daily life are informed by general observations (a product of inductive reasoning) rather than individual observations (the input of inductive reasoning). Thus, an argument in an MPP proverb starts at general observation rather than observation of individual experiences. This therefore makes proverbs deductive in nature by starting with major premises or general observations.

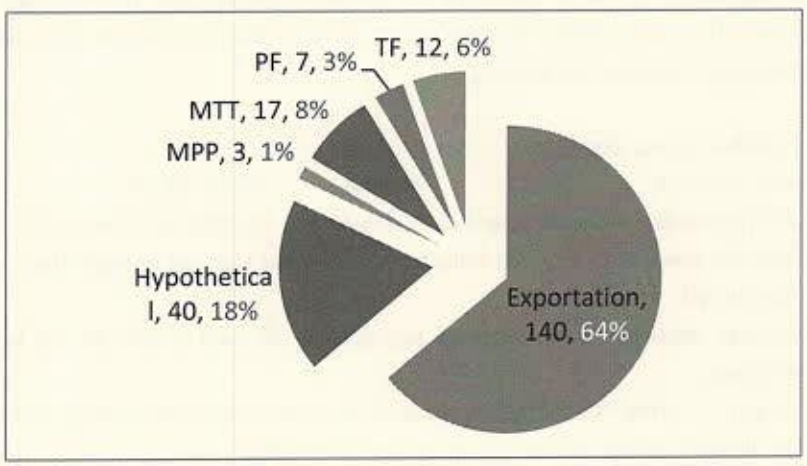

Figure 30: Conclusion Statement

Figure 30 shows that of all arguments that are executed as conclusions, 64% were exportation and 18% were hypothetical. Exportation and hypothetical arguments are similar in nature. As we have observed, whereas hypothetical

arguments explain the conditions under which some phenomena happens, exportation arguments explain the causal relationship between phenomena. Since both present concluding statements that are because of some condition that has taken place, they are executed as conclusions that can easily be traced back to the input premises. Thus the input premises, major and minor premises, are redundant especially for exportation arguments as they provide obvious information that the listener can easily infer as observed in proverb (argument) (36).

3. Argument Assessment

Argument assessment was the examination of the nature of syllogisms. Arguments can be valid and sound (VS), valid but unsound (VUS), cogent (C), uncogent but strong (UCS), or uncogent and weak (UCW). Ngalande (2011) makes a similar analysis of proverbs as part of a wider survey. He includes MPP fallacies and MTT fallacies as part of the argument assessment. In this study however, the two have been examined under the major argument types because they too are analyzable into the various categories revealing the nature of proverbs in this section.

3.1. Valid and Sound

An argument is valid when all of its premises support the conclusion completely (Layman, 2002). In other words, if all of the premises are true, then the conclusion must be true as well.

(37) Undelela nsima ukaisilizya.

u-ku-ndelel-a	n-sima	u-ka-i-siliʒ-a
2s-GP-express.dissatisfaction-FV	cl9-*nshima*	2s-CND-cl9-finish-FV

Surface meaning: You can only say the *Nshima* was not enough after you finish it all.

Deeper meaning: You can only say you are in need if you do not have anything.

Argumentation: You are either in need or not in need of something, you are not in need, so you are not not in need of something.

Major type – Disjunctive; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – VS

Nsengas believe that when a person finishes eating the food served on a plate it means that s/he is not satisfied. Thus, if you do not want to be interpreted as being served insufficient food you must always leave something on the plate.

(38) Kambwili kowezya vinyinji.

ka-mbwili ka-ku-we3-a vi-ɲind3i

cl12-hoe cl12-GP-harvest-FV cl8-plenty

Surface meaning: A hand hoe is used to bring about a big harvest.

Deeper meaning: An insignificant person in society can become a great person.

Argumentation: If there is a person and if a person can grow then the person can become big. If there is a person, then if a person can grow then the person can become big.

Major type – Exportation; **Execution** – Conclusion; **Assessment** – VS

A hand hoe is the most common and most important too of agriculture among Nsenga people that chiefly do their farming by hand methods. Although, the hoe is small, for easy use and carrying, it is used to cultivate various crops and bring about big harvests enough to last a household an entire year up to the following farming season.



Figure 31: Hand Hoe
Source: Source: news.bbc.co.uk

(39) Kufwa kwa fulu kumwazya muliro.

ku-fu-a ku-a Ø-fulu ku-ku-mwa3-a mu-liro

INFM-die-FV cl15-GEN cl1a-tortoise INFM-GP-spread-FV cl3-fire

Surface meaning: The dying of a tortoise scatters fire.

Deeper meaning: Do not implicate others when you are going down.

Argumentation: If we committed an offense as a group then all of us should be charged, if all of us should be charged then no one should be left out, so if we committed an offense as a group then no one should be left out.

Major type – Hypothetical; **Execution** – Conclusion; **Assessment** – VS

In Nsenga land, a tortoise is edible by some communities. Traditionally, the tortoise is put on fire by its back as a way of slaughtering it. This helps to get the meat off the hard shell easily. In the process of dying and in pain, the tortoise scatters the fire. The situation is used in the proverb to refer to a situation where

people who after differing with a friend reveal all secrets that existed between them so that their friend may get into problems. This behavior is what is referred to as the "scattering of fire".

(40) Cifupa coyumilizya cuphwanya cinkhombe.

tʃi-Ø-fupa	tʃi-a	ku-yumiliʒ-a	tʃi-ku-pʰwaɲ-a
cl7-cl5a-bone	cl7-GEN	INFM-force-FV	cl7-GP-break-FV
tʃi-ŋkʰombe			
cl7-clay pot			

Surface meaning: A forced bone breaks the clay pot.

Deeper meaning: Forced things do not work.

Argumentation: Forcing a bone (things) into a clay pot (in life situations) can cause the pot to break (problems), I am forcing the bone (things), so I can cause a problem.

Major type – MPP; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – VS

Nsenga people enjoy eating bones. They find bone meat tastier than steak alone. Thus, it is common for people to cook bones. However, bones are also much cheaper than steak. When you force a bone into a clay pot, you are likely going to break the clay pot.

Proverbs (37) up to (40) are all valid and sound arguments. The rest of the argument categories except the valid but unsound ones are therefore invalid.

3.2. Valid but Unsound

This category examines arguments with a valid argument but with an unsound reasoning. An unsound argument can be realized in any of the following three situations: (a) when an argument is valid but has at least one false premise, (the case of this category), (b) when an argument is invalid but all premises are true, or (c) when an argument is invalid and has at least one false premise.

(41) Kulwala nyamakazi polima.

ku-lwal-a	n-ɲamakazi	pa-ku-lim-a
INFM-sick-FV	cl9-chronic.pain	cl16-GP-farming.season-FV

Surface meaning: Suffering from a type of chronic pain during the farming season.

Deeper meaning: Giving lame excuses.

Argumentation: If when it's time to work s/he is sick and if when it's free time s/he is fine then s/he is telling a lie about her/his health. If when it's time to work s/he is sick, then if when it's free time s/he is fine then s/he is telling a lie about his/her health.
Major type – Exportation; **Execution** – Conclusion; **Assessment** – VUS

Nyamakazi is a generic word that refers to chronic pain in the body. The proverb talks about a person who always gets ill when it is farming season but is always healthy at harvest time and other seasons. This is typical of a lazy person who does not want to work hard.

Logically, however, it is not always true that a person who gets sick during farming seasons just gives excuses. It could be a rare coincidence where a person for some other reasons gets sick during the farming season. Consequently, the major premise is false and therefore renders the valid exportation argument an unsound one in logical reasoning.

(42) Cikwati ni mululunda ca kumutu ni caŵene.
tʃi-kwati ni mu-Ø-lulunda tʃi-a ku-mu-tu
cl7-marriage COP cl16-cl5a-waist cl7-GEN cl17-cl3-head
ni tʃi-a βa-ine
COP cl7-GEN cl2-3pPOS
Surface meaning: Marriage is in the waist, the head belongs to others.
Deeper meaning: Once you marry, you can enjoy sex with your spouse but you can never own your spouse's life.
Argumentation: If I marry a woman then she belongs to me, if she belongs to me then her body belongs to me too, so if I marry a woman then her body belongs to me too.
Major type – Hypothetical; **Execution** – Conclusion; **Assessment** – VUS

Parts of the body represent various aspects of human life and activities. Two of such parts are the head and waist. The head like the heart usually represents the entire human being or life. The waist represents human sexual life. Likewise, dancing by use of the waist dominantly is regarded as depictive of sex. In marriage lessons, the waist is heavily used as a symbol of sex and sex is a major topic. The couple intending to marry, especially the woman, receives detailed teaching about sex, which is also regarded as one of the major pillars of marriage.

In teaching against sexual abuse and domestic violence, the couple is advised to enjoy sex as much as they want to because they own it but they are warned never to endanger or temper with each other's life because they do not own life. The logic supports the proverb in the sense that it is also false to assume in the major premise that you own a woman because you have married her. Thus, the argument is unsound but a valid hypothetical argument.

(43) Akulu-akulu ni mucilambo motewa nkhuni.

a-kulu-a-kulu	ni	mu-tʃi-lambo	mu-a	ku-teβ-a
cl2-big-cl2-big	COP	cl18-cl7-bush	cl18-GEN	INFM-cut-FV
ŋ-k^{h}uni				
cl9-firewood				

Surface meaning: Old people are the bush where you cut firewood.

Deeper meaning: Old people are society's solutions.

Argumentation: If you need firewood (wisdom) then you should go to the bush (old people) where it is found, I need firewood, therefore I should go to the bush.

Major type – MPP; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – VUS

Nsenga human settlements have communal bush areas where people go to collect various things such as firewood. This is an area where anybody in need goes. It is a common meeting point and it is common for people to go into the bush in groups for safety reasons. Old people are likened in the proverb to such an area where people get relief. Logically, it is wrong to assume that you always need to go to the bush (old people) when you are in need of firewood (wisdom). One can simply pay for the firewood in this case for a particular consultancy service to solve the problem at hand. In fact, one can also get wisdom from friends or even a younger person. Hence, the MPP is valid but unsound.

(44) Cimbwi akapona mumbwina solawila kanthu.

Ø-tʃimbwi	a-ka-pon-a	mu-n-bwina	si-a-ku-laβil-a
cl1a-hyena	cl1-CND-fall-FV	cl18-cl9-pit.trap	NEG-cl1-GP-talk-FV
ka-nt^{h}u			
cl12-thing			

Surface meaning: A hyena does not say anything when it is trapped.

Deeper meaning: A guilty person understands misfortune as punishment for wrong doing.

Argumentation: If he is guilty then he should show remorse, he does not show remorse, so he is not guilty.

Major type – MTT; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – VUS

One of the methods of hunting animals is digging a deep pit and disguising its surface. Unsuspecting animals fall into the pit while trying to get the bait. The same method is also used to trap hyenas when they steal livestock. It is believed that once a hyena falls into the pit it keeps quiet as a sign of remorse and a way of taking responsibility for its actions. It is also logically wrong to assume that every wrong doer feels remorse for the wrongs. Thus, the MTT is valid but also unsound in reasoning.

3.3. Cogent

Invalid arguments that contain premises, which provide partial evidence in support of the conclusion, are called strong arguments. The essential feature of a strong argument is that it is probable, but not necessary, that if its premises are true, then the conclusion is also true. In this manner, a cogent argument is strong and has only true premises.

(45) Cuwamila mbuzi kukonya imbwa.

tʃi-ku-wan-il-a	n-buzi	ku-koɲ-a	in-bwa
cl7-GP-good-APP-FV	cl9-goat	INFM-hit.by.horn-FV	cl9-dog

Surface meaning: It is good for the goat to hit a dog but not the other way round.

Deeper meaning: Rules and laws must be equitably applied to all people.

Argumentation: A law applies to every human being; I am a human being, so the law must apply to me too.

Major type – PF; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – C

Goats and dogs are both popular animals kept by Nsenga people. Goats are used for meat and as sources of income and sometimes milk. Dogs are generally used for security and hunting and rarely as mere pets. Sometimes dogs get wild and hunt goats for food. Such dogs are labeled as mad and usually killed. No one would however punish a goat for attacking a dog because such is thought to be unlikely fatal.

In logic, however, while the major and minor premises are true in that laws are applicable to human beings, the conclusion is not correct because particular laws may not be applicable to particular humans. However, the two true premises render the argument logically strong because of the higher possibility of laws generally being applicable to humans thereby making the conclusion true in some cases.

(46) Fwendela uko ni munganda.

fwendel-a	u-ku-o	ni	mu-n-ŋanda
move-FV	PRPR-cl17-DEM	COP	cl18-cl9-house

Surface meaning: "Please move that side" is said in the house.

Deeper meaning: If you do not find peace in one area, you are free to go elsewhere to start a new life.

Argumentation: If you are not at peace in one area then you can move to find peace elsewhere, I am not at peace, so I should move.

Major type – TF; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – C

In a shared house with limited space, people share the same mat and bed or bed space. Sometimes space is so limited that people literally push each other in order to get more room to themselves. Politely, however, one simply asks the partner to move a little bit in order to leave some more space for the other. The proverb refers to movement because of the search for peace. Logically, the premises are true but the conclusion is wrong in that one may not always have to move because s/he is not at peace. One may simply opt to other means of finding peace that do not require one to leave the place. However, people are most likely going to move once they realize a particular place is not safe.

3.4. Uncogent but Strong

An uncogent argument is either weak or strong but contains at least one false premise

(47) Ukasukwata na manja mumukosi.

u-ka-sukwat-a	na	ma-ndʒa	mu-mu-kosi
2s-CND-be.worrisome-FV	CNJ	cl6-hand	cl18-cl3-neck

Surface meaning: When you look lonely with your hands in the neck.

Deeper meaning: If you pose in the Ur posture it means you have problems.

Argumentation: When you have problems you look low, s/he looks low, so s/he has problems.
Major type – PF; **Execution** – Conclusion; **Assessment** – UCS

The human posture in which the head held by the neck and chin rests on the hands supported by elbows on thighs or some platform is a symbol of a soul in anguish. It is known in literary analysis as the Ur posture (Figure 32). Usually whenever a person is found in this posture among Nsengas, people try to find out what has gone wrong with the person.

To begin with, it is not true that you always look low when you have problems and it is consequently not true to conclude that the one who looks low has problems. However, even if the argument is uncogent because it has a false premise, it is highly probable that one who has problems looks low. Thus, the argument is strong in this sense.

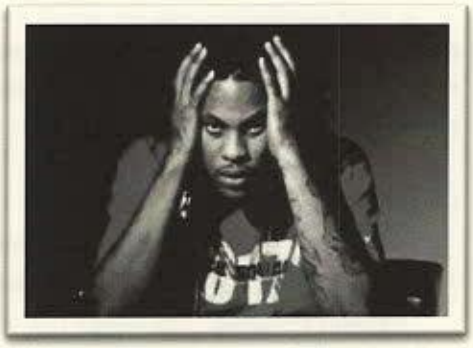

Figure 32: The Ur Posture
Source: universitytimes.ie

(48) Kuliye matongwe a mbeta.

ku-li-ye	ma-toŋgwe	a-a	n-beta
cl17-be-NEG	cl6-ruins	cl6-GEN	cl9-person.of.marriage.age

Surface meaning: You cannot find people to marry in the ruins.
Deeper meaning: Good things are found in good places.
Argumentation: Good things are found in good places, it is not a good place, so there is no good thing.
Major type – TF; **Execution** – Conclusion; **Assessment** – UCS

There is a tendency for village settlements to move places due to various reasons such as land infertility and change of environment due to human actions. In this manner, whenever land is found to be unsuitable for habitation, residents leave their houses usually not demolished and go to new places with newly built houses. Some people who are destitute and old lonely people can take advantage of the disserted areas or ruins for occupation. It is highly unlikely however that you can find any youthful person residing in the ruins. Let alone, people

intending to find life partners cannot stay in the ruins for fear of being unnoticed. You therefore need to look for marriage in the right places.

It is logically wrong to assume that good people are only found in good places. This false premise makes the argument to have a wrong conclusion. However, it is also highly probable that a bad place may not have good things. Hence, the argument is uncogent but strong.

3.5. Uncogent and Weak

A weak argument is one for which it is "not probable that if its premises are true, then its conclusion is true" (Layman, 2002: 37). This category however includes arguments have at least one false premise and a conclusion that is less probable.

(49) Mfinzi iliye cimbwi.

n-finzi	i-li-ye	Ø-tʃimbwi
cl9-darkness	cl9-be-NEG	cl1a-hyena

Surface meaning: You cannot find a hyena in darkness.

Deeper meaning: A fearful person cannot be found in fearful places.

Argumentation: A fearful person cannot be found in fearful places, it is a fearful place, so there is no fearful person.

Major type – PF; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – UCW

A hyena is believed to be a very fearful animal. There are many stories told by hunters and folktales among Nsengas that describe a hyena as an animal that runs away from anything including its own shadow. In this regard, a hyena is a symbol of cowardice among the Nsenga people.

The major premise of the argument is false in that you can find a person afraid but in a scary place may be because s/he has nowhere else to go. It is therefore wrong to conclude that you cannot find a fearful person in a fearful place. The conclusion is therefore less probable as some fearful people can still be found in fearful places such as in war torn countries.

(50) Ukaβa na nkhuku nipaulolesha kululu.

u-ka-βa	na	n-khuku	ni	pa-u-ku-lol-iʃ-a	ku-lulu
2s-CND-be	CNJ	9-chicken	COP	cl16-2s-GP-see-CAUS-FV	cl16-up

Surface meaning: You only look up to the sky when you have chickens.

Deeper meaning: You only look for friends when you are in need of help.

Argumentation: When I am in need I need friends to help, I am not in need, so I do not need friends.
Major type – TF; **Execution** – Major; **Assessment** – UCW

Nsenga people who value a chicken as a traditionally very valuable bird commonly keep chickens. It is used economically for income, for food, and for cultural symbolism. A chicken is highly used in marriage symbolism as it generally represents a person's body. It is also used to pay the highest form of respect to guests especially in-laws. Vultures hunt chickens particularly small ones. Therefore, when a person has chickens, s/he always is on guard for the vultures up in the sky. The situation is likened to a person who only looks up to friends when s/he is in trouble.

The false major premise *you only look for friends when you are in need of help* makes the argument an uncogent one. It is also less probable therefore to conclude that one does not need friends because s/he is not in need.

3.6. General Observations

The section has looked at the nature of various major argument types. Only 17 of the 800 proverbs were cogent. Twelve of the 17 were MPP fallacies and five were MTT fallacies. Figure 33 shows arguments that were valid and sound. Forty six percent of the arguments were MPPs followed by Exportation at 24% and MTT at 21%. As earlier said, the movement from general to specific in MPP arguments is the popular reasoning pattern and as Figure 33 suggests they are also a more valid and sound type of reasoning than others.

Figure 33 shows the arguments that were valid but unsound. About half of the arguments at 57% were MPPs followed by Exportation at 18% and MTT at 16%. The distribution in Figure 33 and 34 shows an almost one to one correspondence between sound and unsound arguments. Thus, as much as there were sound arguments there were also unsound arguments. However, almost all the valid and unsound arguments were strong. Even where the arguments were unsound, the validity of the arguments rendered the emotive force of the proverbs powerful in formulation.

Figure 36 shows arguments that were uncogent but strong. In this case, as well, MPP fallacies were the most at 64%. While 35% were MTT fallacies. The same argument for MPPs having more valid and sound arguments than MTTs also applies to their corresponding fallacies. Thus, MPP fallacies that are

constructed by moving from general to specific have a higher chance of being strong than MTT arguments that try to falsify some phenomena.

It is therefore not surprising that Figure 36 shows that the majority of uncogent and weak arguments are MTT fallacies at 46% rather than MPP fallacies at 21%, which is double the amount. Of all the nine general fallacies, only one is uncogent but strong while the rest are uncogent and weak as shown in Figure 36. In most cases as we have observed, errors in reasoning are mainly to do with either the falsity of premises or the misapplication of the argument rules.

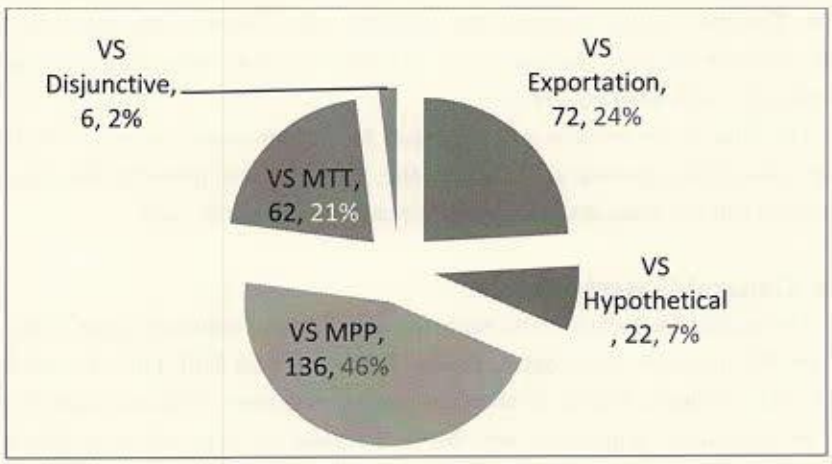

Figure 33: Valid and Sound

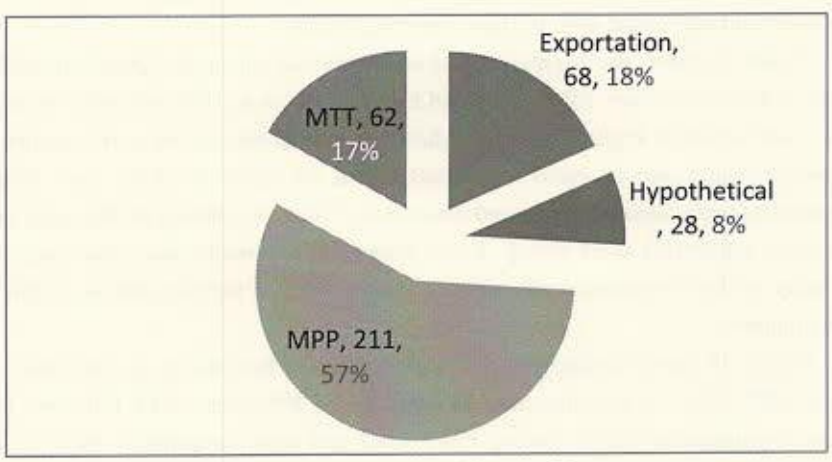

Figure 34: Valid but Unsound

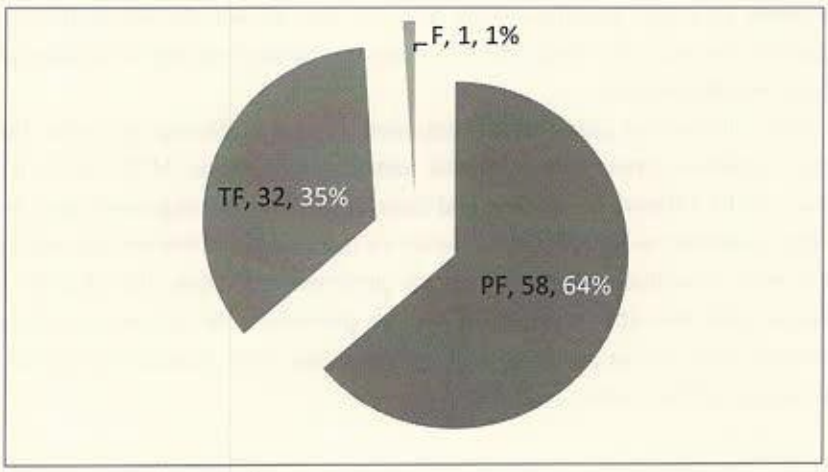

Figure 35: Uncogent but Strong

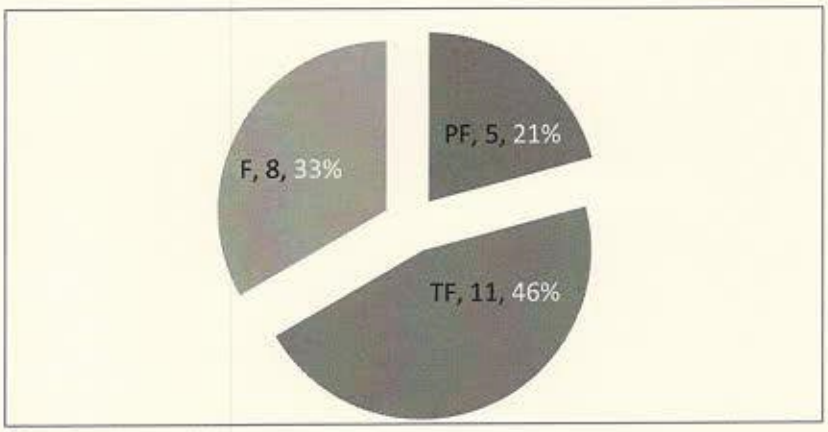

Figure 36: Uncogent and Weak

4. Conclusion

As most proverbs had either valid and sound arguments or uncogent and strong arguments, it validates society's belief that proverbs are the people's wise sayings. We have also seen that even in instances where there were logical errors, the logic of many proverbs is still dependable because of the higher probability of arguments being true. Since proverbs as an oral genre have to comply with the rule of economy in language, they are all executed as one proposition, that is, the major premise, minor premise, or the conclusion. The majority of proverbs were

presented as major premises. This allowed for appropriate interpretation by especially listeners who have only the flash of a moment during social discourse to interpret the proverbs.

This Chapter has examined the argument system of Nsenga proverbs. Eight major argument types were identified namely, Exportation, MPP, MTT, MPP fallacy, MTT Fallacy, Disjunctive and General Fallacy. The argument types were further examined to determine the nature of the arguments themselves and how they were executed in actual proverb performance. Thus, the chapter has demonstrated how the argument system in proverbs helps to understand how meaning is realized in proverbs. The following and final chapter summarizes all the findings of the study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The study was cognizant of the fact that while research on proverb collections, conversational meanings, functions and use of proverbs abound, there was a dearth of information on the grammar of proverbs in Zambia in particular. Hardly any studies dealt with proverbs as a specialized form of language and as a means of communication by looking at how they are structured to depict and convey meaning in society. Meaning of proverbs had usually been presented as translation equivalents between English as the official language and local Zambian languages. The problem of the study was therefore stated as a question: "What is the grammar of proverbs in Nsenga language?"

The aim of the study was to examine the grammar of proverbs in Nsenga language. In order to achieve this, three objectives were pursued namely, (a) to examine some aspects of grammar such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of Nsenga proverbs; (b) to delve into ethnographic information related to Nsenga proverbs such as cultural background and context of use; and (c) to analyze how meaning was depicted and conveyed in proverbs. This chapter therefore presents a summary of the results of the study and makes recommendations for further research.

While the study was qualitative in nature, it used a triangulation of methods in order to address effectively the three objectives. These were the linguistic approach, ethnographic approach and the logical approach for each of the three objectives respectively. Triangulation was the result of the need for the study to maintain a holistic approach that dealt with every proverb in a detailed way and from different angles.

Eight hundred proverbs and accompanying ethnographic data were collected from the Nsenga people of eastern Zambia. The following sections therefore present the results of the study accordingly.

1. The Grammar of Nsenga Proverbs

An overview of the Nsenga grammar was made in order to aid the analysis of the language of proverbs. Thus while describing the grammar of proverbs, comparisons were made between ordinary Nsenga and proverbs as a special form of language. It was the view of the study that proverbs constituted a specialized form of language.

The phonology of Nsenga proverbs was chiefly important in transforming proverbs from ordinary Nsenga into a poetic language. In this manner, rhythm was significant and was principally made possible in two ways. One way was by organized patterns of syllables, the other way was by alliteration of both consonant and vowel sounds. The study identified eight syllable patterns namely, uniform, binary, tide, increasing, decreasing, rising, falling and free variation. The categorization was mainly based on the number and arrangement of syllables within a word firstly and secondly within a proverb as a whole. The eight patterns showed that rhythm was of paramount importance in creating proverbs as a poetic language. The major characteristic helped to differentiate the phonology of ordinary Nsenga and the proverbial language. Besides various patterns in syllable organization, rhythm was also achieved by alliteration of both consonant and vowel sounds in Nsenga proverbs. There were two types of alliteration that the study identified namely (a) grammatical alliteration and (b) poetic alliteration.

It was observed how various morphophonological processes helped to achieve rhythm in Nsenga proverbs. Rhythm helped to add to the rhetorical force of proverbs by capturing the listener's attention. The switch in rhythm from ordinary language to proverbial rhythm during proverb performances helped the listener to mentally prepare for the coming proverb and thereby give it the attention it required. It was observed that whereas sometimes the speaker might signal that s/he was going to site a proverb, sometimes there was no warning. The warning was only in the change of the rhythm.

The morphology and syntax of Nsenga proverbs revealed a number of linguistic elements that were unique to proverbs, these included pronominalization, bipartite structure, nominalization, tense, and the incompliance to grammar rules in some cases. Pronominalization was a general tendency in which many proverbs used relative pronouns rather than nouns at the beginning of sentences or expressions. Many proverbs started with relative pronouns in order to keep the reference general, which allowed the flexible application of proverbs to various situations in various contexts.

It was found that many proverbs had a bipartite structure either in the form *A is B* or a complex sentence made of a dependent and an independent clause. The *A is B* structure was usually similar to that of a simple sentence with a subject and predicate. The bipartite structure was essential in both assisting with rhythm as well as presenting a unique proverbial form of expressions. The bipartite structure and the fulfilling of the requirement of a simple sentence to have at least a subject and a verb, required proverbs to use a nominal in proverb initial positions.

Proverbs uniquely used nominalization to fill the subject position besides using nouns themselves. Thus in many cases, an entire sentence that would normally not be nominalized functioned as a nominal in proverbs.

Two tenses were commonly used in Nsenga proverbs. The general present (GP) marked by the morpheme /ku/ and the past usually marked by the morpheme /i/. The two tenses helped the proverbs not to be attached to a speaker and to add value to the speaker's line of thought by either using the GP tense in order to show the immediate relevance of the proverb to a particular case or the past tense to refer to a previous case. Both tenses helped the proverbs to remain general allowing anybody to use them. The tenses also provided immunity for the speaker from being accused of threatening the face of the listener. In other words, although the speakers cited the proverbs, the tenses separated the speaker from the proverb allowing the proverbs to relate to the listener independently.

Uniquely, as poetic and rhetorical devices proverbs are licensed to alter rules of grammar where necessary. There were several instances where in pursuing particular ends the tempering of grammar rules became the necessary means at reaching those ends. In this manner, proverbs were above the rules of grammar.

The linguistic analysis also showed how various linguistic strategies were used as rhetorical devices. Many figures of speech were used as means at addressing the poetic or rhetoric nature of proverbs. Since as rhetorical devices proverbs require a form that not only effectively conveys a message but also captures the attention of the listener, linguistic strategies provided the materials needed to create the rhetorical power of proverbs. The figures of speech analyzed included metaphor, personification, synecdoche, and ellipsis. The linguistic strategies among others that were analyzed were the use of incomplete syntactic structures, parallelism or the use of duplicate syntactic structures and the use of imperative forms.

Meaning in proverbs was dealt with at two levels namely, the surface and the deeper levels. The surface level meaning was almost equivalent to the literal meaning arrived at after conducting a linguistic analysis. This was as good as dictionary meaning of proverbs as it was the result of the semantic value of linguistic items used in the proverb. However, deeper meaning was only arrived at after conducting ethnographic analysis. Pragmatically, it was found that even though a proverb has a particular deeper meaning the meaning also depends on context of use. In other words, one proverb can mean differently at different occasions.

2. The Ethnography of Nsenga Proverbs

Ethnographic analysis significantly contributed to understanding the deeper and culture-specific meanings of proverbs. Accordingly, although the primary objective of the study was to undertake a linguistic analysis of proverbs, dealing with the semantics and pragmatics of proverbs required studying proverbs within context of use. Generally, the complex principles of social engagement such as politeness and courtesy that apply in the use of ordinary Nsenga also applied in the use of proverbs as part of the Nsenga language. It was found that as commonly as people used proverbs in their daily lives, they were aware of the restrictions and conditions under which all proverbs generally and some proverbs particularly ought to be used. Even though it was complicated to describe the principles, people almost unconsciously used proverbs, as they become part of their language competence with the growth in age. Thus, Switching between ordinary language and proverbs was as natural as code switching in a multilingual society.

Since proverbs are generally a reflection of a people's way of life, they provided a window through which we could view the Nsenga society. Proverbs made it possible to reconstruct the spiritual, social and economic characteristics of the Nsenga society. Thus as proverbs are codes and capsules of information, the linguistic items used in proverbs represented particular traits of the Nsenga society. These characteristics or traits were discussed under the themes of agriculture, resilience, social order, leadership and images of women.

Proverbs revealed the economic activities of the Nsenga people by referring to agriculture as the economic main stay. The proverbs showed a number of characteristics namely; (a) agriculture, and its practices, had been passed on across generations; (b) the Chitemene system was one of the systems of agriculture; (c) agriculture was dependent on seasonal rain; (d) Nsenga people engaged in diversification to survive in times of food shortages; and (e) maize was the commonly grown crop.

Proverbs also showed how the Nsenga society employed various strategies to handle disasters and calamities whether natural or man-made. These strategies included acceptance of a disasters, preparedness in handling disasters, sharing during disasters, accepting any available help and working hard to avoid disasters.

Numerous proverbs showed how the Nsenga society governed itself with a view to creating a governable, equitable and strong society. When society tried to comment on contradictory aspects or views, a proverb was used to highlight a particular view. Thus, it would be wrong interpretation of the features of the

Nsenga society to use proverbs in isolation. Many proverbs therefore complemented each other in commenting on societal views. Hence, it was found that proverbs had to be used in co-reference just as the law is read and interpreted by referring to other laws.

A survey of several proverbs showed that leadership was as important to leaders as it was important to citizens. Several characteristics of good and bad leadership were highlighted that allowed citizens to evaluate their leaders. The proverbs also served as good guidelines for people who assumed positions of leadership. Although leaders were said to be appointed by God through lineage, they were still subject to scrutiny and possible denial by subjects. Thus, proverbs were one of the many avenues that a society used to address its concerns to leaders.

Generally, ambiguities in proverbs did not only reveal the weakness of society but also allowed society to address the weakness at the same time. Thus, ambiguity in proverbs worked as a double-edged sword. Proverbs talking about women therefore both painted women negatively but also showed how to erase the negative images. As already established, proverbs had to be used in co-reference otherwise the messages would be taken out of context. Whereas feminists could easily dismiss some proverbs as derogatory of women, the proverbs were a mere reflection of the real society. Therefore, proverbs in themselves were not problematic but powerful tools in ridding a society of its ills that were clearly documented by the proverbs.

Finally, the loanwords found in some proverbs mirrored the real life situation in which the Nsenga language was constantly borrowing from the languages it was in contact with especially English and Nyanja, the regional official language. While new proverbs seemed to be developing, old ones were being modernized to address the current needs of society. However, the threat of both losing proverbs because of the dying of the language and the dwindling number of competent speakers remained eminent. While linguists were alive to this problem, lack of political will robbed the society of the urgency of engaging in research that could salvage a language and society's valuable information such as proverbs.

3. The Logic of Nsenga Proverbs

Principles of formal logic were applied to the Nsenga proverbs. The nature and functions of arguments in Nsenga proverbs were examined with a view to investigating meaning in Nsenga proverbs by observing reasoning patterns among the Nsenga people as observed in the proverbs. Eight hundred arguments were

crafted from the deeper meanings of the 800 proverbs of the study. Six major types of arguments were identified namely, disjunctive, exportation, hypothetical, Modus Ponendo Ponens (MPP), MPP Fallacy, Modus Tollendo Tollens (MTT), MTT Fallacy, and General Fallacy (F).

The disjunctive argument stemmed from the fact that humans had no capacity to alter the laws of nature. Thus in such proverbs, something was either A or B and not both. Exportation was a kind of reasoning that identified causal relationships in many phenomena in order to not only help solve various problems but also take advantage of the relationships to get desired rhetorical effects. The hypothetical arguments provided conditions under which certain things could take place. They were helpful in advising people why some phenomena were as they were.

The Modus Ponens and the corresponding MPP fallacies provided conditions that people could use to predict certain occurrences. They were also a typical reasoning pattern known as deductive reasoning. Thus, a conclusion was made from provided premises or conditions. Whereas the MPP proceeded from general premises to a conclusion, the MTT and the corresponding MTT fallacies required negation, which worked against the principle of economy in language. However, the argument allowed for observing conditions under which some phenomena could not take place or helped to falsify some conditions. A general fallacy was used to refer to arguments that were faulty and could not function as any of the other identified argument patterns.

MPPs were almost half of the arguments at 43% showing that it was the dominant reasoning pattern of the Nsenga people. Generally, people used conditions usually observed in life as the base for making conclusions about various phenomena in life. Even the corresponding percentage of MPP fallacies at 9% was higher compared to that of MTT fallacies at 6%. Two other major reasoning patterns were exportation at 18% and MTT at 16%. While the MTT arguments allowed for observing conditions under which some phenomena could not take place, the exportation ones allowed for identifying causal relationships in many phenomena. Therefore, most of Nsenga reasoning in proverbs had to do with either establishing causal relationships or drawing conclusions from observable facts. Whereas this was inductive reasoning, the proverbs themselves were constructed as deductive reasoning. Only 17 of the 800 proverbs were cogent. Twelve of the 17 were MPP fallacies and five were MTT fallacies.

Argument execution examined the manner in which arguments were actually executed in real life. Fifty nine percent of the arguments that were executed by

the major premise were MPPs followed by MTTs at 19% and MPP fallacies at 12%. The nature of deductive reasoning of MPPs that requires movement from the general to the specific necessitated that they be executed by major premises. Major premises carry more information to allow for both an appropriate formalization and interpretation of the argument. Of all arguments that were executed as conclusions, 64% were exportation and 18% were hypothetical. Exportation and hypothetical arguments were similar in nature. Since both argument types presented conditions that were a result of some condition having taken place, they were presented as conclusions that could easily be traced back to the input premises. Thus, the input premises, major and minor premises, were redundant especially for exportation arguments as they provided obvious information that the listener could easily infer.

Argument assessment was the examination of the nature of syllogisms. Arguments were analyzed according to categories namely, valid and sound (VS), valid but unsound (VUS), cogent (C), uncogent but strong (UCS), and uncogent and weak (UCW).

Of all valid but unsound arguments, about half of them at 57% were MPPs followed by Exportation at 18% and MTT at 16%. The distribution was an almost one to one correspondence between sound and unsound arguments. Thus, as much as there were sound arguments there are also unsound arguments. However, almost all the valid and unsound arguments were strong. Even where the arguments were unsound, the validity of the arguments rendered the emotive force of the proverbs powerful in formulation.

MPP fallacies were the majority of uncogent but strong arguments at 64% while 35% were MTT fallacies. MPP fallacies that were constructed by moving from general to specific had a higher chance of being strong than MTT arguments that tried to falsify some phenomena. As a result, there were more MPP fallacies than MTT fallacies. It was therefore not surprising that the majority of uncogent and weak arguments were MTT fallacies at 46% rather than MPP fallacies at 21%.

As most proverbs were either valid and sound or uncogent and strong in reasoning, it validates society's belief that proverbs are the people's wise sayings. It was observed that even in instances where there were logical errors; the logic of many proverbs was still dependable because of the aspect of the higher probability of arguments being true. Since proverbs as an oral genre had to comply with the rule of economy in language, they were all executed as one proposition.

Generally, the study demonstrated the effectiveness in using a triangulation of methods in dealing with the complex nature of proverbs. While documentation of proverbs is necessary, it must be followed by contextual studies that analyze proverbs within the context of use. It has been demonstrated in the study that without the accompanying ethnographic and logical analyses, the study would have only superficially dealt with meaning in proverbs. Therefore, the holistic approach of the study essentially helped to deal with individual proverbs in more detail.

4. Recommendations

In many multilingual societies where some languages are thriving and others are feared with extinction, a preservation of the culturally rich information preserved in proverbs can be enhanced by replicating this study. It is therefore also necessary for future researchers to improve on the approach of this study by devising effective methods of documenting proverbs together with their related ethnographic data. As proverbs are an oral genre, documentation is one of the big challenges.

The analysis of rhythm under the phonology of Nsenga proverbs would have made much sense with the inclusion of tonal analysis. Thus, future research needs to specify the tonology of both Nsenga language and Nsenga proverbs. Tone may have had substantial influence on the rhythm of proverbs, as Nsenga is a tonal language.

Since the Nsenga language is in constant contact with other languages, it would be of great interest to observe how much influence there is in formulation of proverbs from other languages. Accordingly, a more detailed analysis of loanwords in Nsenga proverbs is necessary.

Finally, proverbs can be studied in helping to find solutions to issues such as the image of women in society. The study briefly discussed images of women in Nsenga proverbs. Because of this attempt at analyzing the proverbs that commented on women, it is evident that proverbs have the potential for not only revealing society's weaknesses but also ridding society of its weaknesses. Such studies can be done in relation to other themes like conflict management, cultural identity and cultural history. A multidisciplinary approach therefore remains necessary.

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Ngalande Sande

Sande Ngalande is a lecturer of Linguistic Science and African Languages in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, at the University of Zambia, Lusaka. His research interests are in Lexicography, Paremiology, and Language Documentation. He obtained his Master of Arts in Linguistic Science at the University of Zambia in 2007. He further studied for his PhD at Kyoto University, Japan and obtained a Doctor of Area Studies with a major in Linguistic Science in 2013. He is the Assistant Dean for Postgraduate Affairs in the School.

京都大学アフリカ研究シリーズ 014

Nsenga Proverbs in Zambia:
Linguistic, Ethnographic and Logical Analyses

2015年3月20日 初版発行
著者 Ngalande Sande
発行者 松香堂書店
発行所 京都大学アフリカ地域研究資料センター
〒606-8501 京都市左京区吉田下阿達町46
TEL : 075-753-7800
Email : caas@jambo.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp

©2015 Ngaralande Sande
Printed in Japan
ISBN 978-4-87974-683-2 C3090