

THE WORLD OF THE KHWE BUSHMEN
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
(DIE WELT DER KXOÉ-BUSCHLEUTE IM SÜDLICHEN AFRIKA)

A self-portrait in their own language
(Eine Selbstdarstellung in ihrer eigenen Sprache)

OSWIN KÖHLER

edited by
GERTRUD BODEN
and
ANNE-MARIA FEHN

with assistance from THADDEUS CHEDAU

IX
Illness and Healing
(Krankheit und Heilung)

X
Music and Dance, Games and Arts
(Musik und Tanz, Spiel und Gestaltung)

Volume 5.1
(Band 5.1)

2021

Dietrich Reimer Verlag Berlin

CONTENTS OF THE OEUVRE / INHALT DES GESAMTWERKES

Band 1	I	Die Kxoé-Buschleute und ihre ethnische Umgebung
Band 2	II	Grundlagen des Lebens
Band 3	III	Materielle Ausrüstung: Werden und Wandel
	IV	Wohnplatz und Buschlager
Vol./Band 4.1	V	Family and Society (Familie und Gesellschaft)
	VI	Customary Law: Norms and Practices (Gewohnheitsrecht: Normen und Praktiken)
Vol./Band 4.2	VII	Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic (Vorzeichen und Traum, Zauber und Magie)
	VIII	Religion: Beliefs, Institutions and Rites (Religion: Vorstellungen, Institutionen und Riten)
Vol./Band 5.1	IX	Illness and Healing (Krankheit und Heilung)
	X	Music and Dance, Games and Arts (Musik und Tanz, Spiel und Gestaltung)
Vol./Band 5.2	XI	Myths and Legends, Fairy Tales and Narration (Mythe und Sage, Märchen und Erzählungen)
	XII	Welt und Natur (World and Nature)

Published with the support of the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft)

Download link to previous text versions and Köhler's original translations (see preface for more information):

www.reimer-mann-verlag.de/pdfs/100018_2

www.reimer-mann-verlag.de/pdfs/100018_3

Password for both files:

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Layout: Gertrud Boden · Frankfurt am Main

Cover design: Nicola Willam · Berlin

Cover illustration: Kaiki playing the *kàgómà* musical bow. Mutc'iku 1962.

Oswin Köhler Archive: S0018 K0053 B0007 (cf. Plate 8, p. 696)

Paper: Schleipen Werkdruck bläulich weiß, Magno Satin

Font: Charis SIL

Printing: Hubert & Co. · Göttingen

© 2021 by Dietrich Reimer Verlag GmbH · Berlin
www.reimer-verlag.de

All rights reserved

Printed in Germany

Printed on resistant to ageing paper

ISBN: 978-3-496-000018-1

P R E F A C E

The present book is the first part of the fifth volume with vernacular texts describing the culture of the Khwe (in Köhler's orthography: Kxoé or Kxoe), one of the San populations in southern Africa. The texts were recorded by the late Professor Dr. Oswin Köhler (*14.10.1911-†2.5.1996) between 1959 and 1992 for a comprehensive encyclopedia entitled "The World of the Khwe Bushmen in southern Africa" (*Die Welt der Kxoé-Buschleute im südlichen Afrika*). The present volume covers the domains of Illness and Healing (part IX) as well as Music and Dance, and Games and Arts (part X). Köhler designed the encyclopedia in twelve parts and five volumes. He himself published parts I and II in volumes 1 and 2 respectively (Köhler 1989, 1991), and prepared parts III and IV in volume 3 to an almost ready for print stage, posthumously finalised by Klaus Keuthmann and Rainer Voßen (Köhler 1997), while the texts for parts V-XII remained to be edited. The editorial work on the unpublished parts only started in 2015 within the scope of a DFG-funded project on the Khwe material in Köhler's academic legacy (<https://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/259322312>; see also Boden 2018). Köhler had planned volume 4 to cover parts V-VIII and volume 5 to cover parts IX-XII. The amount of texts for each of the remaining volumes was, however, found to far exceed what would fit between two book covers. To stick to the structure of the encyclopedia as announced in the previously published volumes, therefore meant splitting the last two volumes into volume 4.1 containing parts V and VI (Köhler 2018), volume 4.2 containing parts VII and VIII (Köhler 2021a), the present volume 5.1 containing parts IX and X (Köhler 2021b), and volume 5.2 containing parts XI and XII (Köhler 2021c).

In order to maintain the integrity of the series and to acknowledge Köhler's work we not only stick to the overall structure of the encyclopedia as designed by him but also tried to match the outward appearance of the volumes that he himself published. At the same time, the presentation of the texts in the edited volumes is fundamentally different from those published by Köhler: Instead of German we provide English translations. Instead of only indicating the underlying grammatical structure of the Khwe language by punctuation marks between morphemes, we provide grammatical glosses and interlinear translations. Instead of Köhler's idiosyncratic presentation of diacritics, we use the modern Khwe orthography as in the linguistic descriptions by Kilian-Hatz (2003, 2008). Instead of bypassing the changes made to the texts over the course of time and several phases of revision, we provide detailed text-historical analyses of each text in the footnotes as well as scans of all versions of a text that we could identify, available online through an access code accompanying this print publication (see copyright page). A table at the beginning of each text lists all extant versions of it. We decided against the presentation of Köhler's German translations in addition to the English translations due to lack of space. Scans of existing German translations are, like the scans of earlier Khwe versions of the texts, provided through the concomitant access code. Finally, instead of listing every single text in the table of contents and filling lots of pages, we provide a concise subject structure on just two pages.

The English and interlinear translations make the structure of the language and the contents of the texts more widely accessible, not only for academics but also for Khwe, since only very few Khwe can read their mother tongue and increasing numbers are literate in English. We use the modern Khwe orthography because those Khwe who are literate in their own language are only familiar with the modern Khwe orthography, and also for typographical reasons. The text-historical analyses allow the

reconstruction of and occasional insights into the provenance of changes and manipulations to the texts. Modifications comprise changes in wording and syntax as well as operations such as splitting or merging of texts. Additions and occasional omissions range from individual morphemes to whole text passages. Only for very few texts in parts IX and X in the present volume was Köhler's text processing sufficiently advanced as to include typed annotations to his latest German translations as in volumes 1-3. Where extant, such annotations are also provided in the footnotes and specifically marked with '[OK]'. In this volume this refers to only a couple of texts on medical equipment which originally seem to have been prepared for part III, volume 3 (Köhler 1997) on material culture. The content structure of the first three volumes (Köhler 1989, 1991, 1997) relies on a hierarchical decimal numeration system with up to seven levels for topics and subtopics on dozens of pages. Such tables of contents from Köhler's hand do not exist for parts IX and X. Instead of a sophisticated hierarchical system, we simply allocated sequential numbers to the texts. In doing so, we stick to the overall order of subject matters as in the respective latest versions of tables of contents for parts IX and X as designed by Köhler. Scans of Köhler's drafts of tables of contents are also accessible through the concomitant access code.

For a detailed description of the overall history of the text collection, its context, biases and problems, we refer the reader to the introduction in Köhler (2018: 9-24, see also Boden 2014b, 2018; Widlok 1998). We do likewise for our general editorial procedure and the orthographic and linguistic conventions (Köhler 2018: 24-33). Only particulars of parts IX and X are described in the editors' introduction to the respective chapters.

Most texts were unproblematic to translate with the aid of Köhler's German translations, the Khwe dictionary (Kilian-Hatz 2003) and grammar (Kilian-Hatz 2008) to hand. In some cases, it was nevertheless necessary to consult Khwe native speakers in order to understand text passages or grammatical constructions and find out the meaning of words not included in the dictionary. Due to the Coronavirus pandemic, travelling to Namibia for the clarification of such final questions was impossible at the end of the work phase for this publication and had to be done via telephone, a process which left some questions unanswered, indicated by '?' in the texts and footnotes.

We would like to thank Thaddeus Chedau from the Khwe community for his commitment, patience and humour in discussing difficult linguistic issues in person or via telephone. When not certain of an issue himself, he would ask elders or other experts on a specific topic. For the present volume these were Njumbo Boma, Sonner Geria, Djinya Katemo, Gyamaxu Mu|uma, and Josia Maghundu. Our sincere thanks further go to Rainer Voßen and Lisa McKee for their meticulous proof-reading of the English texts and the often quite unwieldy annotations. Our biggest thanks are due to the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) for funding the preparatory and editorial work, and the clarification of text passages with Khwe, as well as for meeting the printing costs for the present volume of *Die Welt der Kxoe-Buschleute* as an important step towards finalising a unique project: an encyclopedia with vernacular texts on ideally all aspects of the culture of a San community in southern Africa and a project of unrivalled scope and of great value for interested Khwe and Khoisanists.

Frankfurt am Main, March 2021

Gertrud Boden

P R E F A C E	5
IX ILLNESS AND HEALING	11
Introduction to Part IX	11
Editors' introduction to Part IX	11
Text numbers and structure	11
Text histories	13
Köhler's essays on illness and healing	14
Fragments of Köhler's introductory résumé texts to Part IX	16
Fragment of first typed manuscript (page 8)	16
Fragment of second typed manuscript (page 6)	18
Information on haemophilia (10-6-1981)	19
Fragment of handwritten manuscript (pages 8-10: Healing)	20
Texts in Part IX: Illness and healing (Texts 9001-9241)	22
Causes of illness (Texts 9001-9008)	22
The ancestors (Texts 9001-9002)	22
Damage spells (Texts 9003-9008)	27
Healers and medical experts (Texts 9009-9030)	36
<i>Yèú-kx'àò</i> (Texts 9009-9017)	36
<i>Tcóo-kx'àò</i> (Texts 9018-9028)	64
Laymen (9029-9030)	90
Treatment and cure (9031-9243)	95
Bad acts (Texts 9031-9033)	95
Animal spells (Texts 9034-9095)	102
Animal spells by predators (Text 9034)	102
Medicine against animal spells (Texts 9035-9095)	103
Plant spells (Texts 9096-9162)	204
Medicinal plants (Texts 9163-9208)	286
Miscellaneous medicine (Texts 9209-9210)	333
Snake bites (Texts 9211-9214)	334
Problems at birth (Texts 9215-9216)	339
Other spells (Texts 9217-9219)	343
Bedwetting (Text 9220)	347
Choking (Text 9221)	348
Bandages and compresses (Texts 9222-9224)	350
Cupping (Texts 9225-9226)	354
Resetting joints (Text 9227)	357
Heart condition (Text 9228)	358
Liver problems (Text 9229)	360
Medical substances and tools (Texts 9230-9241)	362

X MUSIC AND DANCE, GAMES AND ARTS	379
Introduction to Part X	379
Editors' introduction to Part X	379
Text numbers and structure	379
Text histories	381
Köhler's introductory résumé text	384
Texts in Part X: Music and Dance, Games and Arts (Texts 10001-10142)	392
Musical instruments (Texts 10001-10050)	392
Dancing (Texts 10051-10059)	474
Dances (Texts 10051-10055)	474
Dancing songs (Texts 10056-10059)	486
Leisure (Texts 10060-10061)	489
Songs (Texts 10062-10104)	493
Games (Texts 10105-10120)	573
Toys (Texts 10121-10142)	600
A P P E N D I X	627
Abbreviations and Symbols	627
Words not listed in the dictionary of Kilian-Hatz (2003)	628
Indices	635
Focal terms in Parts IX and X: Khwe	635
Focal terms in Parts IX and X: English	648
Kin terms: Khwe	659
Kin terms: English	660
Plant names: Khwe	661
Plant names: Scientific	666
Animal names: Khwe	669
Animal names: Scientific	674
Praise names, nicknames and joking names for animals: Khwe	677
Praise names, nicknames and joking names for animals: English	678
Deity names	679
Ethnonyms	679
Personal names	680
Place names	681
Numerals	682
References	683
Books and articles	683
Archival files	685
Tables	687
Colour plates	687

Table 1: Structure of current volumes of Köhler's Khwe encyclopedia

Volume	Part	Subject area	Publication
1	I	The Khwe Bushmen and Their Ethnic Environment (Die Kxoé-Buschleute und ihre ethnische Umgebung)	1989
2	II	Livelihood (Grundlagen des Lebens)	1991
3	III	Equipment: Development and Change (Materielle Ausrüstung: Werden und Wandel)	1997
	IV	Homestead and Bush Camp (Wohnplatz und Buschlager)	
4.1	V	Family and Society (Familie und Gesellschaft)	2018
	VI	Customary Law: Norms and Practices (Gewohnheitsrecht: Normen und Praktiken)	
4.2	VII	Omens and Dreams, Spells and Magic (Vorzeichen und Traum, Zauber und Magie)	2021
	VIII	Religion: Beliefs, Institutions and Rites (Religion: Vorstellungen, Institutionen und Riten)	
5.1	IX	Illness and Healing (Krankheit und Heilung)	2021
	X	Music and Dance, Games and Arts (Musik und Tanz, Spiel und Gestaltung)	

Table 2: Texts in volume 5.1

Part	Subject area	Text IDs
IX	Illness and Healing	9001-9241
X	Music and Dance, Games and Arts	10001-10142

IX ILLNESS AND HEALING

Introduction to Part IX

Editors' introduction to Part IX

Text numbers and structure

Part IX contains 242 texts on illness and healing, numbered from 9001 in ascending order with the initial '9' standing for the ninth part of the encyclopedia. The highest text number (9241) is slightly lower. On first inspection, 241 texts were identified. Later, three text numbers had to be removed and four added. Removed text numbers are 9005, 9237 and 9042. Text 9005 turned out to be an earlier version of text 9004 and text 9237 of text 9238, while text 9042 turned out not to deal with either illness or healing. Conversely, we discovered four additional texts at a later stage. We have given them a-numbers, namely 9069a, 9102a, 9225a and 9230a, and inserted them where they seemed to fit.

For part IX, there is no detailed table of contents from Köhler's hand. Therefore, we follow the order of subject matters as listed in the latest table of contents from 1983 (for the development of the structure of part IX, see table 3). Some texts have additional annotations to the German translations by Köhler which we have identified by '[OK]'. They seem to have originally been prepared for part III on material culture in volume 3 (Köhler 1997). These are texts on medical tools, namely texts 9223, 9233, 9235 and 9238-9241. Text 9230a has footnote marks in the German translations but no footnote texts. Some of Köhler's footnotes to texts 9235 and 9240 refer to volume 5, showing that these texts were originally planned to appear in an earlier volume. This is also confirmed by the low three-digit text numbers allocated by Köhler to earlier text versions.

As has been discussed in the other edited volumes (2018, 2021a), the assignment of individual texts or even whole subjects to the different parts of the encyclopedia was not always straightforward. Apart from the aforementioned texts on medical equipment, intersections of texts in part IX exist in particular with parts VII on omens, dreams, spells and magic and part VIII on religion. Texts on magical impurity and shadow spells were once planned to be part of part IX (see table 3), but were finally moved to part VII. The information on animal dreams as omens in part VII (texts 9046-9111) partly overlaps with the information on animal spells in part IX (texts 9034-9095); labels on text versions of the latter show that Köhler planned to include them in part VII at some stage. Although compiled within a list of medicinal plants and thus partly of medicinal use and therefore included here, texts 9182 and 9186 deal with plants that were mainly used to ensure hunting success. Spells, ancestral spirits and the Goddess Khyani herself can cause illness, and divination, which is dealt with in part VIII, is a cultural practice used to find out the causes of illness among other things. Both healing and divination power are given by God. In the case of wrongdoings as causes of illness, there is also an intersection with part VI on norms and practices of customary law (cf. texts 9031-9033). An annotation on a version of text 9172 reading "Natur und Umwelt" [Nature and Environment] suggests that Köhler considered including it in part XII "Welt und Natur" [World and Nature].

Table 3: The development of the matrix for part IX

no date (probably 1965) ¹ Part of Section G: “Omens, dreams, illness, death”	1976 Volume K: “Illness and healing”	no date (probably 1978) Folder 13	1980 Volume III, Part III: “Illness and healing”	1983 Part IX: “Illness and healing”
III Illness 1. Causes of illness. The ancestral spirits 2. Illness and fortune tellers 3. Snake bite 4. Faith cure 5. The healer 6. The ceremony 7. God Khyani and illness 8. Illness and death	I Illness and its cause 1. God Khyani 2. The ancestral spirits 3. Damage spell II Oracle and healing 1. The fortune teller 2. The false fortune teller 3. The medicinal experts III Treatment of magic and spells 1. Wrongdoings 2. Magical impurity 3. Shadow spells 4. Animal spells 5. Plant spells IV Diverse medical practices 1. Medicinal plants 2. External treatment 3. Immunisation against snake bites	1. Illness and its cause: God Khyani 2. Ancestral spirits 3. Damage spell 4. Fortune tellers 5. Medicine man and medical expert 6. Laymen 7. Treatment and cure 7.1 Wrongdoing 7.2 Magical impurity 7.3 Shadow spells 7.4 Animal spells 7.5 Plant spells 7. (sic!) Medicinal plants 7.1 with special usage 2. Snakes 8. Prophylaxis 8.1 Medicine against snakebite 9. Symptoms 9.1 Bedwetting 9.2 Bleeding and coughing 10. Treatment 10.1 Dressing a wound 10.2 Warm compresses 10.3 Cupping 11. Medicines of the Mbukushu	A Illness and its cause 1. The High God Khyani 2. The ancestral spirits 3. Spells and poison B Fortune tellers and healers 1. The oracle and the cause of illness 2. The profane medicine man 3. The sacral medicine man C Illness and medicine 1. Medicines and their application (alphabetical catalogue) 2. Illness caused by plant spells and its healing (alphabetical catalogue) 3. Illness caused by animal spells and its healing (alphabetical catalogue) 4. Illness caused otherwise and its healing	The motivation for illness - God Khyani and the ancestral spirits - The sorcerer - Causes and healing - Questioning the fortune teller - The healing ceremony of the sacral medicine man (yèi-kx'àò) - Through animal and plant spells - Medicinal plants and their application (alphabetical catalogue) - Treatments by medical experts - Immunisation against snakebite

¹ Note that an earlier table of contents does not contain any of the respective categories.

Also within part IX, there are some intersections between different subjects. Information on plants used to cure animal and other spells came to be placed under spells rather than medicinal plants. In some of these cases (e.g. second part of text 9063, 9064), an earlier text version had the plant name as a heading which was later exchanged for the respective animal name and the text was moved to the animal spells category. Likewise, the same plant may appear under both 'plant spells' and 'medicinal plants', or texts on those plants were moved from one section to the other (e.g. text 9168).

While medicinal plants used by the Mbukushu were put in their own category at one stage (cf. table 3), they were later integrated into the alphabetical catalogue of medicinal plants, possibly because other texts also contain the information that certain plants were used by Mbukushu or that the knowledge about the use of such plants was derived from the Mbukushu. Note that in an annotation to text 9235, Köhler states that knowledge about medicinal plants is kept secret and not shared between different ethnic groups in the region or even between different homesteads. This contradicts information in other texts, according to which the Khwe learned a number of medicinal practices from the Mbukushu, namely the use of certain medicinal plants (texts 9180, 9194), of the *ndjúngo* as a special container for medicine (texts 9235, 9236), and the practice of blessing sick people with the blood of sacrificial animals.

Text histories

Many texts in part IX state as their date of recording Köhler's longest fieldtrip of 22 months in 1977/78¹, without being revised afterwards. In particular, this is the case for the majority of texts on animal and plant spells as well as medicinal plants. Dates referring to this field trip are given as '1977', '1978' or '1977-78'. For the latter indication, it is not clear whether it refers to different working rounds on a text or the whole stay without specification of the individual year. 119 texts have dates earlier than 1977/78: 1962 (3), 1965 (17), 1968 (2), 1971 (4), 1974 (41) and 1976 (42). This would mean that more than half of the texts in part IX were recorded in 1977/78 for the first time. However, there are doubts about the accuracy of these dates. They arise from the following circumstances and examples: Firstly, several texts on animal and plant spells as well as on medicinal plants, carrying the date 1977 or 1978, end with the sentence "Nowadays one also treats like that". This suggests that the original information dates from earlier years. Secondly, text 9148, for which the author reference is "Mbambo 1965", has a handwritten version which is no. 36 on a list of plant spells while other texts with earlier versions from that list carry the date "1977". Text 9160, with a handwritten version from the same list, has the author reference "Tomtom 1976", which confirms that the list must have existed before 1977 as does the annotation "1977" on the copy of the handwritten version with corrections to text 9156. When and with whom Köhler originally recorded the list remains unclear. Köhler seems to have forgotten, or forgotten to mention, some earlier working rounds. This is also apparent from the fact that the first version of text 9001 mentions "Mutc'iku 1962" as the date of recording while the last version only mentions "Mbambo 1965" as the earliest contribution, one of the few examples where inconsistencies are traceable as the handwritten version is dated, which is very rarely the case.

¹ For a detailed description of the history of the encyclopedia, see Köhler (2018: 9-23); for an overview of his field trips, see table 1 on page 11 in Köhler (2018).

As has been explained in the editors' introduction to volume 4.1 (Köhler 2018: 23), the working procedure from one text version to the next as described in Köhler (1989: 13-20) does not fit smoothly with the extant text versions found in the archive. Furthermore, one text version may reflect several working rounds, for example the second version of text 9056, which has corrections made by three different pens on the same page. Sometimes, additional corrections were made after a text version had been copied, with the copy also having its own corrections, as is the case for text 9054, which further complicates the chronology.

Contributions of individual authors are rarely discernible. As was the case in part VII (Köhler 2021a), many texts, about 80 in number, have headings phrased by Ndo. These are texts about human and animal agents causing illness, including two texts about two types of fungi (9141, 9169), later placed under 'medicinal plants', and one about the effect of faeces during the rainy season (9217). An annotation to text 9160 ascribes a spelling variation of the verb *n+áxo*, 'to put down', as *n+óxo* to the author Tomtom, who was speaking the ||Xoo-Khwe dialect (Thaddeus Chedau, March 2019). Another example is text 9226 which contains a high number of infinite verbs changed to finite verbs. Köhler first recorded the text with Mbongi in 1962 and revised it with Ndo in 1977. This gives an impression of the different speech styles of the two speakers. On the copy of the handwritten version with corrections to text 9198, the name Kayawe is written at the edge of the page together with a different tone pattern for a certain expression, but Kayawe is not mentioned as an author of the text.

At the edge of the first version of text 9071 on the treatment of the illness induced by a lion, there is a German translation in handwriting that is not Köhler's. The author information provided is "Kafuro, Ndo 1965". This reference is untenable since Köhler only started to work with Ndo in 1976 (Köhler 1989: 22). The possibility that it was the handwriting of Köhler's daughter Sabine, who accompanied her parents on the field trip in 1965, or his wife Ruth, who accompanied him on all but one of his trips, was excluded by Sabine (personal communication 7.4.2021). In her diary of the trip, she mentions that Köhler filmed the casting out of the lion illness on 5 August 1965 (Trester 1986). While the film footage is not in the archive, there are several photos illustrating the treatment (see colour plates 1-2).

Köhler's essays on illness and healing

There is no comprehensive résumé text by Köhler on illness and healing but he seems to have planned one suggested by two fragments of typed manuscripts: page 8 of an earlier version and page 6 of a later version. In addition, there is one page dated 10-6-1981 and titled 'information: haemophilia' (*Information: Bluterkrankheit*) and a handwritten manuscript comprised of three pages (pages 8-10 of a more comprehensive manuscript) on 'healing' (*Die Heilung*). English translations of all these fragments are provided below as well as scans of the German originals with the concomitant code.

Köhler also published two articles on the subject, one on 'illness' as conceptualised by the Khwe (*Die 'Krankheit' im Denken der Kxoe-Buschmänner*) in 1971, and the other one on animal spells and illness (*Tierzauber und Krankheit bei den Kxoe-Buschmännern*) in 1978. In both articles (1971: 317; 1978: 36), Köhler assigns to it a central position in the life of the Khwe, and writes that a Khwe will easily lose his joy for life and spirits in the case of illness, allegedly because of the uncertainty and the inability to appraise its danger and duration (1971: 317). Every illness or pathological change is caused by an agent, be it a deity, an ancestral spirit, a sorcerer, an animal or plant (1978: 37). In addition, illness

can be caused by a person's own wrongdoings (1971: 321). Deities, ancestral spirits and people cause illness by a deliberate or intentional action by shooting some kind of foreign object (*//xàó*, lit. 'spear') at a person to make him sick; ancestors might also steal a person's shadow or beat him or her. For Köhler, the pathological effectiveness of animals and plants springs from analogical thinking (ibid: 38), and the pathological effect has a similarity with the animal whereby a particular body part, appearance, colour, characteristic or behaviour transmits to a person or his relatives either simply by contact or as a reaction to the act of killing and consuming, interpreted by Köhler as a revenge spell (ibid: 44). Association or analogy are also relevant in the process of healing which is likewise based on a commonality in the outer appearance (e.g. colour) between a medicinal plant and the illness inducing animal or another kind of relationship between the medicinal plant and the animal, such as the former being a preferred food plant of the latter. For Köhler, such ideas reveal "so far unknown cyclical relationships of nature in the magical world view of the Khwe" (1978: 54). Today, one would rather speak of relational ontologies (cf. Guenther 2015, 2020). Indeed, the complex and plural relationality of an animal being killed by a hunter, having a pathological effect (in Köhler's translation: 'bewitching') on a member of the hunter's family, often his own child, causing a similarity between the sick person and the animal (e.g. warts/warthog), and being healed by incorporating (drinking decoctions, inhaling smoke, rubbing medicinal charcoal into scarifications) a substance from a medicinal plant which is preferably consumed by the animal needs further exploration in the future.

Often the animal name is part of the name of the very plant that is used as medicine (*yì-ηóμά*) to treat the animal-induced illness, e.g. *doá-yì-ηóμά* (kudu-medicine; text 9040), *kx'áò-djaára-yì-ηóμά* (eagle-medicine; text 9051), *mbátci-yì-ηóμά* (turtle.sp-medicine; text 9057), etc., but *yì-ηóμά* can also be combined with a symptom in the name of a medicinal plant, as in *píní-yì-ηóμά* (headache-medicine; text 9066), the headache being caused by a butterfly. *Tcòò* signifies an effective force that can be both sickening and healing (Köhler 1971: 322). In combination with an animal name, as in *khóvo-tcò* (red-eyed dove-*tco*), it does not signify the disease itself but rather the 'magical power' that causes it (ibid: 318). *Djóánga* is the generic term for disease or illness, while *//óá-tcò*, lit. descending disease, signifies an epidemic or pestilence (ibid: 318, 321).

Fragments of Köhler's introductory résumé texts to Part IX

Fragment of first typed manuscript (page 8)

//Gàòǎǎ and the disease

[As herdsman of the God Khyani, //gàòǎǎ (an ancestral spirit) has a strong position in relation to the game. As a being who is in heaven with the God Khyani, he can act on Khyani's behalf and occasionally without Khyani's orders in bringing illness to people.]¹

A disease can develop in the following ways:

1. //Gàòǎǎ-má, [ancestor-3sg.M], i.e. the male //gàòǎǎ takes a person's shadow and hides it in the bush. Then the person becomes ill. [(Shadow soul)]²
2. When a person eats and the //gàòǎǎ comes and begs and is turned away, he strikes the person with the stick or with his hand. Then the person becomes sick. [(socio-religious)]³
3. //Gàòǎǎ hits a person with his spear. Then the person becomes ill. [The God Khyani sends the //gàòǎǎ, he makes the person taste (pá-kà) and he dies. If the //gàòǎǎ deceives Khyani, he can kill a person without Khyani knowing about it.]⁴

If a fortune teller (/x'ú-khò-mà [fortune.teller-3sg.M]) finds that a sick person has been poisoned by someone, he also says: ["//Gàòǎǎ has killed the sick person. May his father bless him." Thereupon the father blesses him and the sick person becomes 'cool' again, i.e. healthy.]⁵

After the sick person has been greased with dolf powder and the yèú-kx'àò-mà [healer-3sg.M] dances, he calls on the //gàòǎǎ(-m) [ancestor-(3sg.M)] and the female Khyani and asks: ["Let Thou (Khyani) keep him alive! Is it a taboo? You Khyani, let him live. Is it a taboo?"]⁶

Song texts

1. The [disease medicine]⁷ leads to death,
we lament crying,
the sky lets sing,
the sky is roaring.
When he killed,
I lament crying,
my mother.

¹ added in handwriting as correction

² added in handwriting as correction

³ added in handwriting as correction

⁴ added in handwriting as correction

⁵ handwritten annotation: 'im Auftrag des Khyani' [on behalf of the God Khyani]

⁶ handwritten annotation: 'Khyani Herr über alles Leben' [Khyani, Lord over all life]

⁷ handwritten annotation: '||óǎ-tcò' [epidemic, lit. descending disease]

[The killing sky
has created us foolingly.
We suffer.]¹

2. Night was in the sky –
without me having slept.

¹ handwritten annotation: 'x'ú-goro té à n||gé-khyèu-á-hĩ, té ||gèu-á-tè' [the killing sky has created us foolingly, we are suffering]

Fragment of second typed manuscript (page 6)

Things can also bewitch with a disease. For example, scattered wood chips from a tree struck by lightning (*/oó-yì*) are considered very dangerous. If they bewitch a Khwe, he becomes skinny and sick. If there is no medical expert, and if the */oó-yì* renders the bewitched person powerless, it kills him. He succumbs to the lightning disease (*/á-cava djoánga*).

5. The harmful medicine of a sorcerer

Among the Khwe, the term *tcóò* ‘medicine’ is of great importance. The medicine (*tcóò*) can have life-sustaining power, but on the other hand it can also be life-threatening and life-destroying. Thus, the word and concept *tcóò* depends on the direction in which it is to work and the intention with which it is used. *Tcóò* means both ‘poison’, for example from fruit, ‘dangerous magical impurity’, which emanates from objects or taboo violations through certain actions, as well as ‘good medicine’ in the field of Khwe knowledge, as well as ‘medicine’ in the field of Khwe knowledge and finally ‘medicine’, whose secret is only known to the White people. Accordingly, the *tcóò-kx’àò-mà* [sorcerer-3sg.M] or medicine man plays a major role in the life of the Khwe. He works secretly, and it is rare for the Khwe to name him or even publicly accuse him and hold court over him.

Some of the medicines used by the *tcóò-kx’àò-mà* are also known to other Khwe, such as the ‘medicine owl’ (*tcóò-cóm*), from which he produces an effective poison in order to poison (*tcóò-xε*) people. Understandably, such medicines are rarely talked about. Undoubtedly, poison obtained from plants is also used. The Khwe believe that the elderly in particular know many trees and shrubs from which certain harmful medicines are made.

During my various stays among the Khwe in the period between 1959-1968, I did not observe any action against a sorcerer who was accused of making a person sick, with the exception of a very dubious case in which the Khwe man Dakopo was accused of hiding a woman’s tobacco pipe in the field and then poisoning it so that the woman became ill after smoking from the recovered pipe. Dakopo had to pay a heavy fine at the time and later left his home on the Okavango in order to settle down south of the river.

Information on haemophilia (10-6-1981)

1. After asking the Bushmen Gombo and †Amku (both Khwe) and Shakambanda (!Xun), the following has come to my attention:
 - 1.1 Among the Khwe, Gombo reports a case that occurred during the time of the Mbukushu chief Disho before his expulsion to Botswana when he still resided on the Okavango. An elder brother of the Khwe man Denge (Mogudi), whose name was Kafulo and who lived close to Moccuso in Angola, fell ill. Blood came out of his mouth and nose for two days. Death occurred on the third day.
 - 1.2 The disease is called /'áð-tcò, meaning 'blood magic'.
 - 1.3 According to the Khwe, the blood spell is caused by Mbukushu sorcerers. The Khwe know no remedy for the disease.

- 2.1 Shakambanda knows of a case where a !Xun man named ‖Xari fell ill in Dikundu. It happened when Shakambanda was still a young man (i.e. about 20 years ago). The sick man felt pain in his back, so that he could not stand up, and in his neck, so that he could not move his head. Blood came out of his nose and he died after one day.
- 2.2 The disease is called !any-!any, i.e. 'tree blood'.
- 2.3 Mbukushu sorcerers bewitch with the disease when a hunter crosses the track of such a 'tree-blood sorcerer'. Then the trail bewitches him. A cure is attempted with the carbonised root of the !any-!any-tree found along the river, and the medicinal charcoal is rubbed into incisions on the back, neck, chest and joints.
3. In his youth, †Amku saw a Nyemba man who bled from his mouth and nose and died the next day. The Nyemba call the disease *Madhambe*, like the Mbukushu.
4. These are the only known earlier cases. Today, the disease is unknown.

Fragment of handwritten manuscript (pages 8-10: Healing)

The cure.

The healing of the sick person is adapted to the different origins of diseases. To find out the origin of the illness is above all the task of the fortune teller and of the *yèú-kx'àð-mà* (healer-3sg.M).

When the fortune teller (*/xú-khò-mà*) is summoned, he places an axe on the ground, presses on the axe with his left hand and tries to lift the axe handle with his right hand. Depending on how the handle falls, the fortune teller discerns whether the sick person has been poisoned. The one who has been poisoned can be an ?illegible? of an ancestor. If the sick person's father ritually spits on him, he will recover.

If, however, the fortune teller says */éu-tcòð* 'big *tcòð*', one must hurry to the *yèú-kx'àð* [healer] so that he can heal the sick person.

Der *yèú-kx'àð-mà* [healer-3sg.M]

In order to discern the 'big *tcòð*' that has befallen the person, the *yèú-kx'àð* turns to the God Khyani. The *yèú-kx'àð* is able to speak to and understand Khyani. He does not heal with medicine, but he heals according to the instructions he receives from Khyani. The original meaning of *yèú* is ?illegible? not yet clear. *Yèú* is a power that Khyani gives to a person and that enables him to heal the sick.

The treatment of the sick person proceeds, for example, in the following way. If someone is ill, the *yèú-kx'àð-mà* is treated with *dolf* powder (*n/gáo-m // 'áè* [*dolf*-3sg.M powder]) from dried wood of the *Pterocarpus angolensis*. The *yèú-kx'àð-mà* ?illegible? on the powder lying in a bowl. If he sees a 'hole' in the powder, this means the grave. Then he says: "I cannot heal. The man has died. Come to terms with it!" If there is still life in the *dolf* powder (which, because of its red colour, represents the ritual life medicine), he goes to the sick person in order to heal.

Khyani gives him the 'spear'. The *yèú-kx'àð* grabs it and rubs it with grease, then puts it on his own head, lets it slide into his body and ?illegible? the spot where the spear has entered with *dolf* powder. In this way, the spear remains in his body.

Then the *yèú-kx'àð* begins certain, only ?illegible? songs (*yèú-/í*) that the others sing along with. They are different from the other songs; the beat of the drum during the *yèú*-song is also different from the beat of the drums during the profane dance.

During this dance of the *yèú-kx'àð*, which, with interruptions, sometimes lasts from evening to morning and ?illegible? depending on the social prestige of the sick person ?illegible? he strokes (*tcxóm*) the spear out of the sick person and throws it into the bush. They are bones, needles, charcoal, etc., as the Khwe believe.

In another procedure, one calls the *yèú-kx'àð-mà*, while the mother pounds the *dolf* wood. If the mother is no longer alive, a sister of the sick person can also do the pounding. With the *dolf* powder the *yèú-kx'àð* invokes the blessing of the God Khyani (*ngyáé*). The women ?illegible? and chant, grasping beads and placing them on the bowl containing the powder. The person being treated gives beads, the parents and relatives of the sick person give beads.

In the cases of II 8, the healing methods are also adapted to the effects of the magical power. This is how one proceeds in the case of a tree struck by lightning, which bewitches a Khwe: One takes a piece of wood from the trunk, burns it to medicinal charcoal, grinds it, mixes it with fat and rubs the *dùú* [medicinal charcoal] medicine on the backbone of the sick person and over the head up to the forehead and on the arms. Or one hangs a piece of wood from the tree struck by lightning – attached to a string – around the neck of the sick person in such a way that the ‘lightning wood’ (*loó-yi-mà*) hangs on the back.

Texts in Part IX: Illness and healing (Texts 9001-9241)

Causes of illness (Texts 9001-9008)

The ancestors (Texts 9001-9002)

9001

9001_K_1	Handwritten version
9001_K_2	Copy of handwritten version with corrections
9001_K_3	Typed version
9001_K_4	Copy of typed version with corrections
9001_D_1	Typed summary in German
9001_D_2	Typed German translation
9001_D_3	Typeset German translation

[[Gàòà -ná tcà -ká -à -||òè kx'èí à]¹

ancestor -3pl.C be.sick -CAU -I -HAB how

How the ancestors cause disease

[Khóé -mà [kx'úí -xa tí -ò -xá]² cúm-bere-]'è -m à ||gàòà -má gùì -é -||òè.
person -3sg.M be.well -GER be -LOC -GER shadow -3sg.M O ancestor -3sg.M take -I -HAB

While a person is feeling well, the ancestor takes his shadow.

[Khyani -hè múù -ve -re -xa ||gàòà -má khóé -m m ÷áó-ri-ca -m à yà
deity -3sg.F see -NEG -II -GER ancestor -3sg.M person -3sg.M POSS heart.water -3sg.M O MOV

While the female Khyani does not see it, the ancestor comes to take

gùì -à -xu -á -||òè. Cúm-bere-]'è -mà ÷áó-ri-ca -m xà -má.]⁴ [Tàxúnò]⁵ [tc'áó-
take -II -COMP -I -HAB shadow -3sg.M heart.water -3sg.M DEM -3sg.M then bush-

a man's heart water. The shadow itself is the heart water. Then

-m ki [cí]⁶ ngyáo [-o -xu]⁷ -a -||òè]⁸. Tàxúnò khóé -mà tcà -á [-||òè]⁹. [Tàxúnò
-3sg.M in MOV hide -II -COMP -I -HAB then person -3sg.M be.sick -I -HAB then

he hides it in the bush. Then the person becomes sick. Then

yèú-kx'àò -mà kyá -ì -||òè.]¹⁰ [Tàxúnò yèú-kx'àò -mà |í -ò nò ÷áó-ri-ca -m
healer -3sg.M call.for -IMPS -HAB then healer -3sg.M sing -REF when heart.water -3sg.M

the healer is called. Then when the healer sings about it, he sends

||gàòà -m ngyáo -o -hí -m à díxa ||gàòà -m xà -m à yèú-kx'àò -mà
ancestor -3sg.M hide -II -PAST5 -3sg.M O oneself ancestor -3sg.M DEM -3sg.M O healer -3sg.M

the very ancestor who has hidden

¹ added in 9001_K_2; 9001_K_1-2: German heading: 'Die Ahnen und die Krankheit' [the ancestors and illness]

² 9001_K_1: 'kx'úí-a tí-o-xa' [live-II be-LOC-GER]

³ 9001_D_2-3: German translation: 'wenn der Mensch krank ist' [when a person is sick]

⁴ added in 9001_K_3

⁵ 9001_K_1-2: 'táò' [then]

⁶ added in 9001_K_3

⁷ added in 9001_K_3

⁸ 9001_K_1: different word order: verb-adverb

⁹ 9001_K_1: '-tè' [-PRES]

¹⁰ added in 9001_K_2

tcé -è -||òè: “Tcá ngyáo -o -hĩ -kà cí nà n|é -m khóé -m dì †áó-ri-ca
send -I -HAB 2sg.M hide -II -PAST5 -where MOV and DEM -3sg.M person -3sg.M POSS heart.water
the heart water: ‘You, go to where you have hidden it, take this person’s

à gùì ná tí ókà yaá-kà. N|é -m khóé -m ki kyáré-kyàré -ì nà ||’óá -ì.”
O take and 1sg to bring DEM -3sg.M person -3sg.M at return:CAU -IMPS and pour -IMPS
heart water, and bring it to me. It shall be returned to this person, and it shall be poured (into him).’

Tàxúnò béré ||gàòà -má kúú nò xà -m ngyáo -o -hĩ -kà cí gùì nó
then ancestor -3sg.M go when DEM -3sg.M hide -II -PAST5 -where MOV take when
Then when the ancestor has gone and has taken it from the hiding place,

yèú-kx’ào -m ókà yaá nò †xàá -á -||òè. Tàxúnò [yèú-kx’ào -mà]¹ khóé -m m
healer -3sg.M to come and give -I -HAB then healer -3sg.M person -3sg.M POSS
he comes to the healer and gives it to him. Then the healer returns the person’s

†áó-ri-ca -m à díxa -m tcà -á -tè -m ki kyáré-kyàré nò ||’óá -à -||òè. Tá
heart.water -3sg.M O owner -3sg.M be.sick -I -PRES -3sg.M to return:CAU and pour -I -HAB thus
heart water to its sick owner and pours it (into him). When

yèú-kx’ào -má hí nò kx’úú -è -||òè. Khyani -cì |xòà -xa yèú-kx’ào -m à ||xáo -a
healer -3sg.M do when live -I -HAB deity -3sg.F with -GER healer -3sg.M O help -I-
the healer does thus, he lives. The female Khyani helps the healer

-||òè.]² ||Gàòà -má [|xàò -m à Khyani -cì ókà tc’áá -ã -xu nò khóé -m à
-HAB ancestor -3sg.M spear -3sg.M O deity -3sg.F from steal -II -COMP and person -3sg.M O
(with it). When the ancestor has stolen a spear from the female Khyani and shoots

||áó nò [kúú -è -||òè. Tàxúnò]³ khóé -má tcà -á -||òè]⁴. [Tàxúnò yèú-kx’ào -mà
shoot when hit -I -HAB then person -3sg.M be.sick -I -HAB then healer -3sg.M
a person (with it), he hits (the target). Then the person becomes sick. Then the healer

kyá -ì -||òè.]⁵ [Yèú-kx’ào -má yaá |í -ò -ro -kò tcóo nò Khyani -hè á-kà
call.for -IMPS -HAB healer -3sg.M come sing -REF -II -CONV treat and deity -3sg.F there
is called. When the healer comes and sings about it and treats, and when the female Khyani

kóm -á -xu nò yèú-kx’ào -m à yaá nò †’óá -a -||òè: “Hè-é yèú-kx’ào -tcè, tcá
hear -II -COMP when healer -3sg.M O come and ask -I -HAB there healer -2sg.M.voc 2sg.M
hears it there, she comes to the healer and asks: ‘You healer,

nàú xú -m à á-ki djàò -á -tè mà?” Tàxúnò yèú-kx’ào -má Khyani -hè è kx’úú-tcao-
what thing -3sg.M O here work -I -PRES Q then healer -3sg.M deity -3sg.F O answer-
what kind of work are you doing here?’ Then the healer answers the female

-a -||òè: “N|é à Khwe à ||gàòà |x’ú -á -xu -a -||’òm tcà -á -tè à tí ||gèù -á-
-I -HAB DEM FOC Khwe FOC ancestor kill -II -COMP -II -PAST3 be.sick -I -PRES O 1sg suffer -I-
Khyani: ‘I am suffering for this Khwe who is sick because an ancestor killed

¹ 9001_K_3: annotation: ‘Subj.’ [grammatical subject]

² added in 9001_K_3

³ added in 9001_K_3

⁴ 9001_K_1: ‘kúú-e-||òè khó-m à ||xàó-m kà nò tcà-á-||òè’ [(the ancestor) hits the person with a spear and (the person) becomes sick]

⁵ added in 9001_K_2

-nɛ̀ùè.” Tàxúnò ‖gàòà -m̄ à Khyani -hè ɛ̀óá -a -||òè: “Tcá ‖gàòà -tcí à màã tcé-
-PROG then ancestor -3sg.M O deity -3sg.F ask -I -HAB 2sg.M ancestor -2sg.M O who send-
him.’ Then the female Khyani asks the ancestor: ‘Who has sent you, ancestor,

-é -||’òm̄ tcá yà n|é -m̄ khóé -m̄ à |x’ú tà?” Tàxúnò ‖gàòà -má pó-
-II -PAST3 2sg.M MOV DEM -3sg.M person -3sg.M O kill COMPL then ancestor -3sg.M be.silent-
so you come and kill this person?’ Then the ancestor listens

-t -a -xa té kóm̄ -à -||òè. Tàxúnò Khyani -hè yèú-kx’ào -m̄ à n|áà -à -||òè: “N|é-
-HAB -II -GER CONT hear -I -HAB then deity -3sg.F healer -3sg.M O tell -I -HAB DEM-
to it silently. Then the female Khyani tells the healer: ‘Take

-m̄ ‖gàòà -m̄ |x’ú -ka -ra -||’òm̄ -mà tcóo-nɛ̀óm̄ -mà á nɛ̀ùè á ɛ̀x’óá-
-3sg.M ancestor -3sg.M kill -with -II -PAST3 -3sg.M medicinal.carbon -3sg.M DEM sit O come.out-
out the medicinal carbon this ancestor has killed

-xo -ro -xu -tcè.” N|àtá -xa yèú-kx’ào -mà kóm̄ -á -xu nò ɛ̀x’óá -xo-
-CAU -II -COMP -2sg.M.voc like.that -GER healer -3sg.M hear -II -COMP when come.out -CAU-
him with!’ When the healer has heard it like that, he takes

-ro -xu -a -||òè. N|àtá n|áà kóá -m̄ ɛ̀x’óá -xo -ro -xu nò Khyani -hè
-II -COMP -I -HAB like.that tell servant -3sg.M come.out -CAU -II -COMP when deity -3sg.F
it out. When the female Khyani has told like that, and when her servant has taken it out,

xà -cí m̄ |’áé -m̄ ókà kyaré -na -xu -a -||òè. Tá-híí-nò khóé -mà
DEM -3sg.F POSS homestead -3sg.M to return -II -COMP -I -HAB after.that person -3sg.M
the female Khyani returns to her homestead. Then the person

kx’úí -a -xu -a -||òè. Tá-híí-nò yèú-kx’ào -||ù céètà Khyani -cì ɛ̀áã-ta ‖xáo -ku
live -II -COMP -I -HAB after.that healer -3pl.M with deity -3sg.F with help -REC
lives. Then when the healer and the female Khyani help

‖xáo -ku nò kx’úí-kx’úí -kà -ku -a -||òè. |Únò Khyani -hè díxa -hè
help -REC when keep.alive -CAU -REC -I -HAB sometimes deity -3sg.F oneself -3sg.F
each other, they keep people alive. Sometimes, when the female Khyani has herself

||è -rè -xú nò ‖gàòà -m̄ à tcé -è -||òè khóé -m̄ à cíí |x’ú -ca:
decide.on -II -COMP when ancestor -3sg.M O send -I -HAB person -3sg.M O MOV kill -PURP
decided on it, she sends an ancestor to kill a person.

“Hè-é ‖xào à céè nà cíí nà ngándji khóé -m̄ à |x’ú -kà è.” Tá tcé -é -xu
DEM spear O take and go.up and someone person -3sg.M O kill -with IMP thus order -II -COMP
‘Take this spear, go and kill so-and-so with it.’ When she has ordered thus

nò ‖gàòà -má ‖óá -|xà nò khóé -m̄ à ‖áó -ró |x’ú -kà -à -||òè.
and ancestor -3sg.M climb.down -with when person -3sg.M O shoot -II kill -with -I -HAB
and the ancestor has climbed down with it, he shoots the person dead.

N|àtá híí -ì -dì -m̄ à khóé -mà tcà -á -||òè vé. Khóé -m̄ à
like.that do -IMPS -POSS -3sg.M O person -3sg.M be.sick -I -HAB NEG person -3sg.M O
A person to whom it has been done thus, does not become sick. The person

|’ée-|xani -e -||òè. Tàxúnò yèú-kx’ào -mà kyá -ì -||òè. Yèú-kx’ào -mà yà
hit.and.kill -I -HAB then healer -3sg.M call.for -IMPS -HAB healer -3sg.M MOV
is hit and killed. Then the healer is called. Then when the healer comes,

|í -é -kò tcóo nò Khyani -hè yèú-kx'àò -m à n||áà -à -||òè: “Tcá tcóo -o -xu sing -II -CONV treat when deity -3sg.F healer -3sg.M O tell -I -HAB 2sg.M treat -II -COMP *sings and treats, the female Khyani tells the healer: ‘Do not treat him,*

vé tí [díxa]¹ -rà guì -à -xu -á -||'òòm. Tí-mà tó |í yà xùú nà txáa nà NEG 1sg oneself -1sg take -II -COMP -II -PAST3 thus 2pl.C sing when let.be and disperse and *I myself have taken him. When you sing thus, let it be, disperse and*

cií nà ||óé -tò è. Á tó ||gèù -á -kó |í -à -gòè nò tcá yèú-kx'àò -tci arrive and lie.down -2pl.C IMP DEM 2pl.C suffer -II -CONV sing -I -FUT if 2sg.M healer -2sg.M *go to lie down. If you suffer and sing, I will beat you,*

à tí cǐi -a -gòè.” Tá yèú-kx'àò -mà kóm -á -xu nò khóé -n à n||áà -à -||òè: O 1sg beat -I -FUT thus healer -3sg.M hear -II -COMP when person -3pl.C O tell -I -HAB *healer.’ When the healer has heard thus, he tells the people:*

“Té txáa nà ||óé tà ||'áxa -hè mí -é -tè. Á-ndja té |í nò xà -hé 1pl.C disperse and lie.down COMPL master -3sg.F say -I -PRES there 1pl.C sing if DEM -3sg.F *‘We should disperse and lie down says the mistress. If we keep on singing there,*

tí à cǐi -e -gòè. Tá mí -é -tè.” Tá khóé -nà kóm -á -xu nò |í -m à 1sg O beat -I -FUT thus say -I -PRES thus person -3pl.C hear -II -COMP when song -3sg.M O *she will beat me. Thus (she) says.’ When the people have heard thus, he stops the song,*

|x'úú nò txáa nò cií ||óé -é -xu -à -||òè.]² Khóé -mà †'ú -à -tè nò ||gàòà -má kill and disperse and arrive lie -II -COMP -I -HAB person -3sg.M eat -I -PRES and ancestor -3sg.M *they disperse and go to lie down. When a person eats and an ancestor*

†gaará -à -tè ò -xa yeé -ì nò [|xáa -m kà]³ †àm -á -||òè. [Yi -m beg.for -I -PRES when -GER refuse.to.give -IMPS when rod -3sg.M with whip -I -HAB stick -3sg.M *is begging for food, and when it is refused to him, he whips (the person) with a rod. He also*

kà]⁴ tamaxa ||x'ám -à -||òè. Tá té à híí nò té tcà -á [-||òè]⁵. [Tàxúnò yèú-kx'àò- with also beat -I -HAB thus 1pl.C O do when 1pl.C be.sick -I -HAB then healer- *beats him with a stick. When he treats us like that, we become sick. Then when a healer*

-mà kyá -ì nò n||à -m khóé -m à yà tcxóm -a kx'úú-kx'úú -a -||òè.]⁶ []⁷ -3sg.M call.for -IMPS when DEM -3sg.M person -3sg.M O MOV wipe.off -II keep.alive -I -HAB *is called, he comes to wipe off (the disease from) the man, keeping him alive.*

[Mbambo 1965, Mbongi 1974; Kafuro, Gombo, Ndo 1977]⁸

¹ 9001_K_3: 'tixá' [spelling error]; 9001_K_4: annotation: 'dí 1992'

² added in 9001_K_3

³ added in 9001_K_2; 9001_K_2: annotation: '(mit Peitsche)' [with a whip]

⁴ added in 9001_K_2; 9001_K_2: annotation: '(mit Hand oder Stock)' [by hand or stick]

⁵ 9001_K_1: '-tè' [-PRES]

⁶ added in 9001_K_2; 9001_K_2: annotation: 'á-ndja so weit; tǐnò = tǐmà' [á-ndja thus far; then = then]

⁷ addition in 9001_K_2: 'khyani-hè ||gàòà-m à tcé nò ||gàòà-má ya khóé-m à kúí-a |x'úú-à-||òè; tàxúnò ya yèú-kx'àò-mà |í-o-ro-kò tcóo nò n||à-m |x'úú-ka-hí-m xù-m à †x'oa-xò-ro-xu-a-||òè; tàxúnò khóé-mà kx'úú-e-||òè' [when the Goddess Khyani sends an ancestor, the ancestor comes to hit and kill the person; then the healer will sing for and treat him and make that thing which made him die come out; then the person lives]

⁸ 9001_K_1-2: 'Mutc'iku 1962'