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Documentation and Description of Tense, Aspect and Mood in Gwama

Amare Tsehay Taye

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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF
TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN GWAMA

BY
AMARE TSEHAY

NOVEMBER 2013

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
DOCUMENTARY LINGUISTICS AND CULTURE

Approved by:

Advisor

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Examiner

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the documentation and description of TAM (tense, aspect and mood) in Gwama, a Koman (Nilo-Saharan) language of southwestern Ethiopia. It has two parts. In the first part, after an introductory section on phonology and transcription, I survey first the pronouns, then the TAM categories, morphemes and constructions of the language. Since Gwama apparently is an aspect language, "tense" will not play any role in the thesis (thus "TAM" should really be "AM"). The different TAM categories are expressed formally by affixes, reduplication, and distinct series of pronouns. Much is still unclear, and the present description sometimes differs significantly from the two earlier sketch grammars. The second part of the thesis presents an analysis of digitally recorded and annotated texts as primary linguistic data, accompanied by the actual CD.

Acknowledgments

First of all I would like to thank my Almighty God for helping me along my way and in the successful completion of this work.

Secondly, I would like to address my deepest gratitude to Professor Orin Gensler, the living Encyclopaedia of linguistics, for his experienced advising and wholehearted support. Dr. Anne-Christie Hellenthal, my former advisor, also deserves my gratitude for her invaluable advice, expertise and support, and for sharing all her work on Gwama with me. I would also like to thank SIL Ethiopia for covering most of my expenses during my field trips and for providing me with materials needed for this work. I would also like to extend my thanks to Andreas Joswig, Andreas Neudorf and Fikadu (SIL, Asosa) for facilitating my field trips.

I am delighted to thank the cooperative and friendly young Gwama man, my primary language informant, Sadik' Habte, along with his people for their intelligent assistance and patience. I also thank my other informants Amin Bishak'a, Dabya Harun, Gewan Sambo, Harun Soso, Kushush Fikadu, Merkene Must'efa, Ramadan Harun, Wardia Unda and Yasin Wakene.

My beloved wife Belaynesh Aboye deserves the premier gratitude for her unreserved assistance in all my life and also in this success. And to all the members of my family, who also played important roles, my thanks to them as well. Finally, I would like to address my warmest love and gratitude to my children, Bethel and Henon.

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List of Abbreviations

1SG	1st person singular
2SG	2nd person singular
3MS	3rd person masculine singular
3FS	3rd person feminine singular
1PL.IN	1st person plural inclusive
1PL.EX	1st person plural exclusive
2PL	2nd person plural
3PL	3rd person plural
CAUS	Causative
COND	Conditional
CVB	Converb
DEF	Definite
DM	Discourse Marker
FT	Free Translation
GEN	Genitive (“of”)
IMP	Imperfective

INCP	Inceptive
NEG	Negative
O(BJ)	Object
OBLIG	Obligation
PASS	Passive
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
RED	Reduplication
REF	Reflexive
SBJ	Subject
SG	Singular
TAM	Unspecified TAM Marker (Tense- Aspect-Mood)

Language Abbreviations:

AMH	Amharic
AR	Arabic
BERT	Berta
OR(O)	Oromo

Phonetic Notation (the sounds of Gwama)

The following presentation is largely due to Anne-Christie Hellenthal (p.c. 2014), whom I would like to thank; I have made a few small modifications. The analysis is still tentative, and I have made no attempt at a rigorous phonemic transcription.

Gwama has 8 vowels and 22 consonants, as shown in the following two charts.

The eight vowels:

i		u
ɪ		ʊ
e	ə	ɔ
	a	

The consonants:

		bilabial	dental/ alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	ejectives	p'	t'		k'	
	voiceless	p	t		k	(?)
	voiced	b	d		g	
Fricatives	ejectives		s'			
	voiceless		s	ʃ		h
	voiced		z			
Sonorants	nasal	m	n		ŋ	
	oral	w	l, r	j		

A few phonological notes:

- The phonemic status of glottal stop is unclear.
- /ŋ/ has an allophone [ɲ] following high front vowels.
- In rapid speech, ejectives change into voiced stops in intervocalic position. Thus /hap'/ is pronounced as [hab], and I have often transcribed <hab>.
- As far as I can tell, vowel length is not phonemic.
- Gwama has three tone levels: H, M, L. Rising tones (LM) and falling tones (HL) also occur. Tone is only noted occasionally in this thesis.

Part 1: TAM IN GWAMA

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Language

The Gwama language is spoken in the south of the Benishangul-Gumuz Region of Ethiopia, along the Sudan border, south of Asosa to Gidami; and in Gambela Region near Bonga in at least nineteen villages, including one (Yabus) in Sudan. Linguistically Gwama is classified under the Koman group of the Nilo-Saharan language phylum (Bender 1975:67, Lewis 2009). Gwama is one of the little-known and poorly studied languages of Ethiopia (Zealelem 2005:3,32).

Gwama has been known by different alternative names such as Afan Mao, Amam, Gogwama, Goma, Gwama, Koma of Asosa, Nokanoka, North Koma, T'wa Kwama, Takwama (Lewis 2009/Grimes 1996: 1:115). The self-name of the Gwama language is T'wa Kwama, which means "mouth of Kwama" (Bender 1975:67). They also accept "Afan Mao", the name given by the neighboring Oromos, as their self-name (Bender 1975:67-68). Burns (cited in Bender 1975:67) calls this language "Gwama". Though most of the people that I met at Tongo, Zebsher and the neighbouring villages (highland area) call themselves either Komo or Kwama, the name Gwama is chiefly used in recent works and also in this thesis. The highland people also told me that the Gwama people who live in the lowland area call the highlanders *Gwama*, while the highlanders call the lowlanders *Kwama*¹. According to Bender (Bender 1975:63), Gwama (Kwama) is genetically related to the languages Uduk, Komo and Opo.

¹ They also explained to me that both the highlanders and the lowlanders are the same people who speak the same language. According to their explanation, the highlanders live by farming and the lowlanders by fishing. Whereas the lowlanders call the highlanders Gwama, the highlanders call the lowlanders Kwama.

According to Zelealem (2005:2), in the 1994 Ethiopian Housing and Population Census the number of Gwama speakers was 2732. The Ethnologue, on the other hand, gives their number as 15000 as of 1982 (Grimes 1996:115). However, in both the 1994 and the 2007 housing and population censuses I couldn't find the exact number of the Gwama people. because they are apparently counted as if they are Komos or Maos.

1.2. The People

The Gwama people dwell in the Benishangul-Gumuz Region of Ethiopia along the Ethio-Sudan border, and in some parts of the Gambela Region of Ethiopia as well as in some areas in Sudan (Bender 1975:67; Lewis 2009). Their livelihood is mainly based on traditional subsistence agriculture, like bee farming, hunting, fishing and raising domestic animals. According to Zelealem (2005:2), the Gwama who live close to the Oromo people use oxen in agriculture. The majority of the Gwama people are Muslims.

Concerning language, most of the Gwama are multilingual. Komo, Berta, Oromo, Arabic and Mao (Nilo-Saharan) are widely spoken among most of the Gwama people. Most Gwamas prefer one or more of these languages for their day-to-day communication over their mother tongue, Gwama. And some of them also speak a little Amharic. This leads them to forget their own language, which thus is becoming endangered. Even to get a good informant for language research among the Gwamas was very difficult. I tried to overcome this problem of finding good informants by getting support from persons who have worked in the same language area: Dr. Anne-Christie Hellenthal, Andreas Neudorf (SIL), Abosh Must'efa (the speaker of the regional Parliament and an informant for Zelealem Leyew in his grammar sketch (native speaker)) as well as the higher officials of the woreda (Mao-Como) and the k'ebele (Zebsher).

1.3. Review of previous works

Very little work has been done on Gwama or on any of its Koman relatives. M. Lionel Bender is a scholar who has made a deep study of many Ethiopian languages. He presented some selected grammatical and lexical items of Gwama along with twenty other Nilo-Saharan languages (Bender 1975:84-93). He also made an overview of the Nilo-Saharan languages (Bender 1976). As he notes, Gwama belongs to the Koman language group, which he describes as the least known among the Nilo-Saharan language families (1976:475).

Zealelem Leyew has done a grammatical sketch and lexicon of Gwama (Zealelem 2005). Hellenthal and Kutsch Lojenga are also currently working on the phonology and orthography of Gwama (Hellenthal & Kutsch Lojenga 2011). Last year Kievit and Robertson published their extensive “Notes on Gwama Grammar” (2012).

These are promising beginnings; however, they are not sufficient for the survival and empowerment of this endangered language. So, description and documentation of the language is a timely project. In this spirit, this research has been conducted to describe and document the tense, aspect and mood system of Gwama which was already briefly sketched by Zealelem (2005) and Kievit & Robertson (2012).

1.4. Objective of the study

The goal of this thesis is documenting, describing and analyzing TAM in the Gwama language. Here documentation as defined by Woodbury in Austin (2010:12) means the creation, annotation, preservation, and dissemination of transparent records of a language. Himmelmann (2005:2) also defines it as the collection, transcription and translation of primary data. Thus this is a thesis in

Documentary Linguistics; therefore a significant part of the study is the three texts that are given at the end, which make up about half of the thesis. Thus the goals of the thesis include:

- Recording several types of speech genres, and analyzing 3 of them: a description of marriage customs, a how-to text and a life history.
- Doing transcription, translation, annotation and analysis of sample linguistic data, with 17.06 minutes of recording.
- Describe the TAM system on the basis of the recordings and elicitation.

1.5. Significance of the study

Gwama is a language which is endangered, hardly studied and only minimally documented. So, this study is extremely important as it creates a rich and comprehensive record of primary linguistic data for the language's preservation, maintenance and documentation. It will hopefully give some insight into the tense, mood and aspect categories of the language. Furthermore, it may help as a springboard for any concerned body which has an interest to conduct further study on the language. Finally, it can be used as a source material for the preparation of teaching materials in the language.

1.6. Methods of the study

The main grammatical objective of this thesis is documenting, describing and analyzing the TAM of the Gwama language. At the same time, the thesis aims to contribute to the language documentation of Gwama; and the core of a language documentation is constituted by a comprehensive and representative sample of communicative events that are as natural as possible (Himmelmann 2005:12). Hence, both elicitation and non-elicitation methods were used to collect linguistic data from native speakers of Gwama. The elicitation was used to gather primary data based on a pre-prepared list of words, phrases and sentences; it was the chief basis of my description of TAM. The non-elicitation

method was used for language documentation, to collect texts like folktales, procedural texts (how to make things), a life history and others.

The collected data was transcribed, annotated and translated using the software packages discussed in 1.8 (Tools used in this study). Finally as this is a documentation project, there should be archiving. Here a language archive as described by Griffiths (2007:41) is a trusted repository created and maintained by an institution with a commitment to permanence and to the long-term preservation of the archived resources. Thus, this thesis will be archived at the AAU and SIL libraries and interested parties can access it based on the rules of these libraries.

1.7. Limitations of the study

The sociolinguistic context of Gwama is very complex. Not only is multilingualism common in (e.g.) Arabic, Oromo, Berta, Mao, Komo and/or Amharic, but speakers may believe they are speaking "Gwama" yet actually be speaking some other closely related Koman language - or a mixture of Koman languages. I say this because I have seen that much of the information which they gave was not consistent from one informant to the next, and even (for the same informant) from one day to the next. Quite likely they are confusing their information with one or more of the neighboring languages. This is probably the reason that part of the information presented in this study is inconsistent with that found in earlier studies (Zealelem (2005) and Kievit & Robertson (2012), which are also inconsistent with each other). And it significantly limits the reliability of my own description. My description was also limited by the difficulty I had in hearing tones and in identifying sounds correctly, especially vowels, and often by the great speed of the informants' speech.

1.8. Tools used in this study

The documentation in this research mainly focused on recording a variety of

texts with their linguistic features using digital recordings in a natural setting (Austin 2010:18). The recording materials included digital audio, video and image (photo) recordings which help to cover the use of language in its social context. (The recording materials that I used were Sony digital video camera, Zoom digital audio recording and Samsung digital (photo) camera.)

This research project includes linguistic analysis such as transcription, translation and annotation of some selected data using the software packages: Audacity, Praat, Elan, and Freekey.

- **Audacity** is a type of software used to convert audio formats and edit audio files.
- **Praat** is used to transcribe the data phonetically using IPA characters.
- **ELAN** is an annotation tool that is used to create, edit, visualize and search annotations for video and audio data.
- **Freekey** is a software package which helps to type linguistic data phonetically or transcribe data in IPA.

1.9 Transcription and Glossing

The data is transcribed phonetically using IPA characters and Charis SIL Unicode font. The transcription could only be phonetic, not phonemic, since no reliable full phonemic analysis of the language exists. The phonetic transcription of the example is given first, followed by glossing based on ‘The Leipzig Glossing Rules’, and finally a somewhat free translation is presented. The translations could only be approximate, given my limited knowledge of the language.

Throughout the thesis, the transcription represents my best attempt to reproduce the sounds, but it undoubtedly contains many errors. Tones are marked only occasionally and unreliably.

CHAPTER 2: PRONOUNS

2.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT PRONOUNS

Gwama independent subject and object (direct or indirect) pronouns are the same. The language distinguishes inclusive and exclusive "we"; gender is distinguished in 3rd-person singular only. The following table and the sentences that follow show Gwama pronouns. (Note that the 3FS pronoun was often heard and transcribed as *hab*.)

1SG	gà
2SG	īk
3MS	ūhaj ²
3FS	hāp'
1PL.IN	mīnì ³
1PL.EX	mā
2PL	ūm
3PL	hōn

The following sentences contain subject pronouns of Gwama.

1. gà a-nī-hǝ
I IMP-1SG-come
I will come.
2. īk á-gí-hǝ
you.SG IMP-2SG-come
You will come.

² Zelealem (2005:7) presents the 3SG pronoun as *hall*.

³ Kievit & Robertson (2012:43) present the 1PL.IN pronoun as *mεεεε*.

3. ūhāj á-ní-hǝ
 he IMP-3MS -come
 He will come.
4. hāp' á-∅- hǝ
 she IMP-3FS-come
 She will come.
5. mīnì á-nì-hǝ
 we.IN IMP-1PL.INCL-come
 We will come.
6. mā ā-mī-hǝ
 we.EX IMP-1PL.EX-come
 We will come.
7. ōm á-mí-hǝ
 you.2PL IMP-2PL-come
 You will come.
8. hōn á-bí-hǝ
 they IMP-3PL-come
 They will come.

The same pronouns are used as object pronouns (direct and indirect). In the following examples, the object pronoun occurs as an indirect object, suffixed to the preposition *gáf* 'to'. (These pronouns are distinct from the *verbal* object affixes seen within the verb.)

9. ūhāj gáʃ-gà ma-ní-gà-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-me PFV-3MS -1SG-give book
 He gave me a book.
10. ōhāj gáʃ-īk ma-n-i-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-you PFV-3MS-2SG-give book
 He gave you a book.
11. ōhāj gáʃ-ōhāj ma-n-é-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-him PFV-3MS-3MS-give book
 He gave him a book.
12. ōhāj gáʃ-hāp' mǎ-n-áp'-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-her PFV-3MS-3FS-give book
 He gave her a book.
13. ōhāj gáʃ-mɪnɪ ma-n-ni-ti mas'afa
 he to-us PFV-3MS-1PL.IN-give book
 He gave us a book.
14. ōhāj gáʃ-mā mā-n-ma-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-us PFV-3MS-1PL.EX-gave book
 He gave us a book.
15. ūhāj gáʃ-ōm mǎ-n-óm-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-you.PL PFV-3MS-2PL-give book
 He gave you a book.
16. ūhāj gáʃ-hūn mǎ-n-ùn-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-them PFV-3MS-3PL-give book,
 He gave them a book.

2.2. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

na 1SG, *ke* 2SG, *de* 3MS, *dap'* 3FS, *mī̀nì* 1PL.IN, *ma* 1PL.EX, *kúm* 2PL and *bun* 3PL are the possessive pronouns in Gwama. They occur suffixed to the head noun. The possessive pronouns are a distinct paradigm, but they show many similarities to other pronoun paradigms. For example, the 2SG independent pronoun *ik* and the 2SG possessive pronoun *ke* both have a *k*, and this *k* occurs again in the 2PL where it is prefixed to *um*; in the 3PL the possessive *bun* looks like a combination of independent *hū̀n* and bound (verbal) subject pronoun *bi*; both of the 1PL pronouns (inclusive and exclusive) are identical as independent pronouns and as possessive pronouns; and in the 3FS, the independent and possessive pronouns both end in *-ap'*. The following table shows the possessive pronouns of Gwama.

1SG	nā
2SG	ké
3MS	dé
3FS	dáp'
1PL.IN	mī̀nì
1PL.EX	mā
2PL	kúm
3PL	bún

The following examples show possessive pronouns. The *-a* that directly precedes the suffix pronouns is a genitive marker 'of', which also occurs when the possessor is a full lexical NP (see below).

17. màs'áfá-nā
book-1SG.POSS
my book
18. màs'áfá-ké
book-2SG.POSS
your book
19. màs'áfá-dé
book-3MS.POSS
his book
20. màs'áfá-dáp'
book-3FS.POSS
her book
21. màs'áfá-mīnì
book-1PL.IN.POSS
our book
22. màs'áfá-mā
book-1PL.EX.POSS
our book
23. màs'áfá-kóm
book-2PL.POSS
your book
24. màs'áfá-bún
book-3PL.POSS
their book

A text example (from sentence B.22): *gendia-na* 'my (bee)hive'.

A text example (from sentence C.9) showing *-a* with a full-NP possessor:

kum-kum-a wale 'the child's father'
 RED-father-GEN child

The following table shows four distinct pronoun paradigms: independent and genitive (see above), and also the bound subject and object markers in the verb:

Table 3: Independent and bound pronouns				
	Independent	Bound subj.	Bound obj	Possessive
1SG	gà	-nī~nī	-gà	-na
2SG	īk	-gí~gí	-ì	-ke
3MS	ūhāj	-ní~ní	-è	-de
3FS	hāp'	∅~á	-àp	-dap'
1PL.IN	mīnì	-nì~ní	-nì	-mīnì
1PL.EX	mā	-mi	-mà	-ma
2PL	ūm	-mí~mí	-òm	-kóm
3PL	hūn	-bí~bí	-ùn	-bun

It is interesting that the independent pronouns are more similar to the bound object pronouns than to the bound subject pronouns. It is perhaps surprising that the 3FS bound subject pronoun is zero; zero is known to be used with the 3MS (not 3FS) in most languages. Let us see the following two sentences:

25. ūhāj á-ní-t'ū-t'ōp
 he IMP-3MS-RED-drink
 He (will) drinks.

26. hāp' á-ø-t'ū-t'ōp'
 she IMP-3FS-RED-drink
 She (will) drinks.

As shown in the first sentence *-ni* is the bound pronoun that marks the 3MS whereas in the second sentence the 3FS is zero.

2.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The reflexive pronoun in Gwama is formed by combining the noun *up* which means 'head'⁴ and possessive pronouns, using the genitive marker *-a-* as a connector; thus 'my head' is used to express 'myself', a common pattern in many languages. The following table shows the reflexive pronouns in Gwama.

Table 4: Reflexive Pronouns	
1SG	úp-á-ná
2SG	up-a-ke
3MS	up-a-te(de)
3FS	up-a-dap'
1PL.IN	up-a-mīnì
1PL.EX	up-a-ma
2PL	up-a-kóm
3PL	up-a-bun

The following sentential examples show Gwama reflexive pronouns.

⁴ Another word for 'head' is *k'up*.

27. gà ʃün-nī úp-á-nā
 I love-1SG head-GEN-1SG.POSS
 I love myself.
28. Īk ʃün-gí úp-á-ké
 you love-2SG head-GEN-2SG.POSS
 You love yourself.
29. ūhāj ʃün-ní úp-á-dé
 he love-3MS head-GEN-3MS.POSS
 He loves himself.
30. hāp' ʃün-á úp-á-dáp'
 she love-3FS head-GEN-3FS.POSS
 She loves herself.
31. mīnì ʃün-nì úp-á-mīnì
 we.IN love-1PL.IN head-GEN-1PL.IN.POSS
 We love ourselves.
32. mā ʃün-mā úp-á-mā
 we-EX love-1PL.EX head-GEN-1PL.POSS
 We love ourselves.
33. ūm ʃün-mí úp-á-kóm
 you.2PL love-2PL head-GEN-2SG.POSS
 You love yourselves.
34. hōn ʃün-bí úp-á-bún
 they love-3PL head-GEN-3PL.POSS
 They love themselves.

CHAPTER 3: ASPECT

Crystal (2008:38) defines aspect as “A category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with tense and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb.” Gwama has the following morphologically distinct aspects: imperfective, negative imperfective, perfective, present perfect, past perfect, progressive, negative progressive, iterative, habitual, punctual and inceptive.

Before beginning the discussion of aspect, the general structure of verb forms must be mentioned. Kievit & Robertson (2012:64) divide verb structures into 4 inflectional types in terms of the positioning of the person-number marker: (a) no person-number marker; (b) suffixal; (c) infixal between reduplicated copies of the root; (d) prefixal. It is not stated clearly whether one and the same verb can inflect using more than one of these patterns, although their data indicate that this can happen (e.g. their examples (37), (38) on page 65). In my data, it sometimes does happen that a given inflectional category can be expressed either with prefixal and/or suffixal person-number markers. For example, both *ga ni-hɔs' ɔjɔ* and *ga hɔs'-ni ɔjɔ* mean 'I wash clothes' (the person-number marker is *ni* 1SG, and the verb is *hɔs'* 'wash'). Readers should expect such variation in the examples that follow.

3.1 IMPERFECTIVE

The *imperfective* aspect is formed with the imperfective prefix *a-* (glossed IMP) combined with either the bare form of the verb or a form that reduplicates the first syllable of the verb while changing its vowel. The person/number markers are sometimes prefixes and sometimes suffixes.

Now let us see this with the table below and the sentences that follow

Table 5: IMPERFECTIVE								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
eat	a-ni-ʃa/ a-ni-ʃi- ʃa	a-gi-ʃa/ a-gi-ʃi- ʃa	a-ni-ʃi- ʃa/a-na- ʃi-ʃa	a-ʃi-ʃa	a-ni- ʃa/a-ni- ʃi-ʃa	a-mi-ʃa/ mi-ʃi-ʃa	a-mi-ʃa/ a-mi-ʃi- ʃa	a-bi-ʃi-ʃa
see	a-ne-gu- gwe	a-ge-gu- gwe	a-ne-gu- gwe	a-je-gu- gwe	a-ne-gu- gwe	a-me- gu-gwe	a-me- gu-gwe	a-be-gu- gwe
learn	a-ni-gi- gəra	a-gi-gi- gəra	a-ni-gi- gəra	a-ø-gi- gəra	a-ni-gi- gəra	a-mi-gi- gəra	a-mi-gi- gəra	a-bi-gi- gəra
come	a-ni-hə	a-gi-hə	a-ni-hə	a-hə	a-ni-hə	a-mi-hə	a-mi-hə	a-bi-hə
drink	a-ni-t'u- t'ɔp	a-gi-t'u- t'ɔp	a-ni-t'u- t'ɔp	a-t'u-t'ɔp	a-ni-t'u- t'ɔp	a-mi-t'u- t'ɔp	a-mi-t'u- t'ɔp	a-bi-t'u- t'ɔp'

We can see the two forms (bare and reduplicated) used in the sentences below.

35. gà ā-nī-gi-gəra
I IMP-1SG-RED-learn
I (will) learn.

36. gà ā-nī-hə OR: gà ā-nī-hu-hə
I IMP-1SG-come
I (will) come.

37. gà ā-nī-t'ū-t'ɔp
I IMP-1SG-RED-drink
I (will) drink.

38. gà ā-nī-ǰí-ǰā
 I IMP-1SG-eat-RED
 I (will) eat.

Another interesting thing that we observe here is that different morphemes are affixed to different verbs to mark person. The differences are sometimes so great that the table above may well include a variety of different grammatical forms, whose analysis I do not fully understand. For example: The verb 'to eat' *ǰa* takes both *ni-* and *na-* as prefixes in the 3MS. In the verb 'see' *gwe*, the 1SG and 3MS marker is *ne-* and not *ni-* (possibly vowel harmony). The verb 'learn' evidently takes some of its subject markers as suffixes, not prefixes; and so on. The same is true for all the persons, i.e. they sometimes take irregular forms to mark the subject on the verb. And yet there are affixes like *-ni-* which are recurrently used to mark 1SG and 3MS. Let us see these forms using the following table.

Table 6: The affix <i>-ni-</i> (<i>a-ni-</i>) as person marker		
Word	1SG	3MS
eat	a-ni-ǰa/a-ni-ǰi-ǰa	a-ǰa-ni /a-ni-ǰi-ǰa/ a-na-ǰi-ǰa
see	a-ne-gu-gwe	a-ne-gu-gwe
learn	a-ni-gi-gəra	a-ni-gəra
come	a-ni-hə	a-ni-hə
drink	a-ni-t'u-t'ɔp'	a-ni-t'u-t'ɔp'

Furthermore, as we may see, the same verb root can express two different things. For example *ik aǰi hə* can mean either “You go” or “You come”. Here, according to my informants, the difference is identified by tone only. Thus:

39. ĩk á-gí-hḥ
you.2SG IMP-2SG-come
You (will) come.

40. ĩk á-gí-hḥ
you.2SG IMP-2SG-go
You (will) go.

Here are several pages of further examples which I hope will be useful to the reader.

41. ĩk á-gí-ʃí-ʃā
you.2SG IMP-2SG-RED-eat
You (will) eat.

42. ĩk á-gí-t'ū-t'ḥp'
you.2SG IMP-2SG-RED-drink
You (will) drink.

43. ūhāj á-ní-ʃí-ʃā
he IMP-3MS-RED-eat
He (will) eat(s).

44. ūhāj á-ní-t'ú-t'ḥp'
he IMP-3MS-RED-drink
He (will) drink(s).

45. ūhāj á-ní-hḥ
he IMP-3MS-come
He (will) come(s).

46. hāp' á-ø-ǰí-ǰā
 she IMP-3FS-RED-eat
 She (will) eat(s).
47. hāp' á-ø-t'ū-t'ōp'
 she IMP-3FS-RED-drink
 She (will) drink(s).
48. hāp' á-ø-hǝ
 she IMP-3FS-come
 She (will) come(s).
49. mā ā-mī-ǰí-ǰā
 we.EX IMP-1PL-RED-eat
 We (will) eat.
50. mā ā-mī-t'ū-t'ōp'
 we.EX IMP-1PL-RED-drink
 We (will) drink.
51. mā ā-mī-hǝ
 we.EX IMP-1PL-come
 We (will) come.
52. mā ā-mī-hō
 we.EX IMP-1PL-go
 We (will) go.
53. ōm á-mí-ǰí-ǰā
 you.2PL IMP-2PL-RED-eat
 You (will) eat.

54. ūm á-mí-t'ū-t'ōp
 you.2PL IMP-2PL-RED-drink
 You (will) drink.
55. ūm á-mí-hḥ OR: hḥ um
 you.2PL IMP-2PL-come come you.2PL
 You (will) come.
56. ūm á-mí-hō
 you.2PL IMP-2PL-go
 You (will) go.
57. hūn á-bí-ſí-fā
 they IMP-3PL-RED-eat
 They (will) eat.
58. hun á-bí-t'ū-t'ōp'
 they IMP-3PL-RED-drink
 They (will) drink.
59. hun á-bí-hḥ-hḥ
 they IMP-3PL-RED-come
 They (will) come.
60. hun á-bí-hū-hō
 they IMP-3PL-RED-go
 They (will) go.
61. ga a-ni-həs' ɔjɔ
 I IMP-1SG-wash clothes
 I (will) wash clothes.

62. ik a-gi-həs' ɔjɔ
 you.SG IMP-2SG-wash clothes
 You (will) wash clothes.
63. uhaj a-ni-həs' ɔjɔ
 he IMP-3MS-wash clothes
 He (will) wash(es) clothes.
64. hāp' a-ø-həs' ɔjɔ
 she IMP-3FS-wash clothes
 She (will) wash(es) clothes.
65. mīnì a-ni-həs' ɔjɔ
 we.IN IMP-1PL.IN-wash clothes
 We.IN (will) wash clothes.
66. ma a-mi-həs' ɔjɔ
 we.EX IMP-1PL.EX-wash clothes
 We (will) wash clothes.
67. ʊm a-mi-həs' ɔjɔ
 you.PL IMP-2PL-wash clothes
 You (will) wash clothes.
68. hōn a-bi-həs' ɔjɔ
 they IMP-3PL-wash clothes
 They (will) wash clothes.

3.1.1 NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE

Gwama verbs also have a negative imperfective aspect. Negative imperfective verbs inflect for number, gender and person, but the subject morphemes are not very similar to the positive imperfective morphemes and cannot transparently be segmented into NEG + person/number. Prior to analysis, these subject markers are: *dàbgà*, *dèbì*, *dèbè*, *dàb*, *dàni*, *dàmà*, *dàm*, and *dàbùn*. I will tentatively analyze them as consisting of a NEG marker *dab-* followed by a person marker; I assume that the *b* of *dab* deletes before a nasal, and that a process of vowel harmony produces the variant *deb* directly before a front vowel. (This segmentation differs from that of Kievit & Robertson 2012:47.) The negative subject morphemes appear to be the same for other tense/aspects as well.

The following table and the sentences that follow illustrate this distribution.

Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
<i>t'ɔp</i> smoke/ drink	dàb- gà-t'ɔp'	dèb- ì-t'ɔp'	dèb- è- t'ɔp'	dàb-ø-t'ɔp' dap'-ø-t'ɔp' dabap'-ø- t'ɔp'	dàb- nì-t'ɔp'	dà-mà- t'ɔp'	dà-m- t'ɔp' daum- m-t'ɔp	dàb- ùn- t'ɔp'

69. gà dàb-gà-t'ɔp' sìngàrà
 I NEG-1SG-drink cigarette
 I do not smoke cigarettes.

70. ìk dèb-ì-t'ɔp' sìngàrà
 you NEG-2SG-drink cigarette
 You do not smoke cigarettes.

71. ūhāj dèb-è-t'ōp' sìnǵàrà
 he NEG-3MS-drink cigarette
 He does not smoke cigarettes.
72. hàp' dàb-ø-t'ōp' sìnǵàrà
 she NEG-3FS-drink cigarette
 She does not smoke cigarettes.
73. mīnì dà-nì-t'ōp' sìnǵàrà
 we.IN NEG-1PL.IN-drink cigarette
 We do not smoke cigarettes.
74. mā dà-mà-t'ōp' sìnǵàrà
 we.EX NEG-1PL.EX-drink cigarette
 We do not smoke cigarettes.
75. ōm dà-m-t'ōp' sìnǵàrà
 you NEG-2PL-drink cigarette
 You do not smoke cigarettes.
76. hōn dàb-ùn-t'ōp' sìnǵàrà
 they NEG-3PL-drink cigarette
 They do not smoke cigarettes.

3.2 PERFECTIVE

Gwama verbs mark perfective aspect using either the prefix *ma-* or the suffix *-gi* (glossed PFV). The following table shows person/number markers with *ma-*⁵; see below for discussion of *-gi*. Perfective aspect indicates past time with action

⁵ Kievit & Robertson 2012:67 suggest that this *ma-* may be a past marker, referring to Zelealem 2005:11.

verbs, but a present state with stative verbs. Note that the person/number markers in the perfective are systematically different from those of the imperfective: while the imperfective marker generally has the form CV, the corresponding perfective marker omits the final V. Several person/numbers have the same affix, which are apparently only distinguished by context.

TABLE 8: PERFECTIVE								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL.IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
<i>ʃa</i> eat	ma-n- ga	ma-g- ʃa	ma-n- ʃa	ma-∅- ʃa	ma-n- ʃa	ma-m- ʃa	ma-m- ʃa	ma-b- ʃa
<i>k'a</i> eat	ma-n- k'a	ma-g- k'a	ma-n- k'a	ma-∅- k'a	ma-n- k'a	ma-m- k'a	ma-m- k'a	ma-b- k'a
<i>t'ɔp'</i> drink	ma-n- t'ɔp'	ma-g- t'ɔp'	ma-n- t'ɔp'	ma-∅- t'ɔp'	ma-n- t'ɔp'	ma-m- t'ɔp'i	ma-m- t'ɔp'	ma-b- t'ɔp'
<i>kətəb</i> writ	ma-n- kətəb	ma-g- kətəb	ma-n- kətəb	ma-∅- kətəb	ma-n- kətəb	ma-m- kətəb	ma-m- kətəb	ma-b- kətəb
<i>gwe</i> see	ma-n- gwe	ma-g- gwe	ma-n- gwe	ma-∅- gwe	ma-m- gwe	ma-m- gwe	ma-m- gwe	ma-b- gwe

The following are example sentences that show this situation:

77. *gà mǎ-n-kətəb⁶ dəbdábé*
 I PFV-1SG-write letter
 I wrote a letter.

78. *ìk mǎ-g-kətəb dəbdábé*
 you.SG PFV-2SG-write letter
 You wrote a letter.

⁶ NB: *kətəb* which is the commonly used word for 'to write' is an Arabic loan word; *kwans'* is its equivalent native word in Gwama.

79. ūhāj mǎ-n-kátə̀b d̀ə̀bdábé
 he PFV-3MS-write letter
 He wrote a letter.
80. hāp' mǎ-∅-kátə̀b d̀ə̀bdábé
 she PFV-3FS-write letter
 She wrote a letter.
81. mī̀nì mǎ-n-kátə̀b d̀ə̀bdábé
 we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-write letter
 We wrote a letter.
82. mā mǎ-m-kátə̀b d̀ə̀bdábé
 we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-write letter
 We wrote a letter.
83. ūm mǎ-m-kátə̀b d̀ə̀bdábé
 you.PL PFV-2PL-write letter
 You wrote a letter.
84. hūn mǎ-b-kátə̀b d̀ə̀bdábé
 they PFV-3PL-write letter
 They wrote a letter.

Here are further examples. (Note the perfective with present semantics with the stative verb *kégé* 'be shocked'.)

85. gà má-n-kégé
 I PFV-1SG-shock
 I am shocked.

86. ìk má-g-kégé
 you PFV-2SG-shock
 You are shocked.
87. ūhāj má-n-kégé
 he PFV-3MS-shock
 He is shocked.
88. háp' mà-Ø-kégé
 she PFV-3FS-shock
 She is shocked.
89. mìnì má-n-í-kégé
 we PFV-1PL.INCL-shock
 We are shocked.
90. mà má-m-kégé
 we PFV-1PL.EXCL-shock
 We are shocked.
91. ùm má-m-kégé
 you PFV-2PL-shock
 You are shocked.
92. hùN má-b-kégé
 they PFV-3PL-shock
 They are shocked
93. gà mà-n-k'úf bwǎfà
 I PFV-1SG-kill snake
 I killed a snake.

94. ĩk mǎ-g-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
you.SG PFV-2SG-kill snake
You killed a snake

95. ūhāj mǎ-n-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
he PFV-3MS-kill snake
He killed a snake.

96. hāp' mǎp'-ø-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
she PFV-3FS-kill snake
She killed a snake.

97. mīnì mǎ-n-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-kill snake
We killed a snake.

98. mā mǎ-m-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-kill snake
We killed a snake.

99. ōm mǎ-m-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
you-PL PFV-2PL-kill snake
You killed a snake.

100. hōn mǎ-b-k'úʃ bwǎʃà
they PFV-3PL-kill snake
They killed a snake.

101. ga ma-n-up
I PFV-1SG-wash
I washed.

102. ik ma-g-up
you.SG PFV-2SG-wash
You washed.

103. ūhāj ma-n-up
he PFV-3MS-wash
He washed.

104. hāp' ma-∅-up
she PFV-3FS-wash
She washed.

105. mīnì ma-n-up
we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-wash
We washed.

106. ma ma-m-up
we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-wash
We washed.

107. um ma-m-up
you.PL PFV-2PL-wash
You washed.

108. hōn ma-b-up
they PFV-3PL-wash
They washed.

A text example (from sentence A:23) showing PFV:

pit ma-ni-ma-kam
hungry PFV-?-1PL-get
We got hungry.

Perfective aspect can also be expressed with the suffix *-gi*. Here the person-number markers are themselves also suffixes: Root + Pers/Num + *gi*. These suffixal person-number markers have slightly different forms from the person-number prefixes: *nī* marks 1SG, 3MS and 1PL.IN, *gi* marks 2SG, *a* marks 3FS, *mi* marks 1PL.EX and 2PL, and *bi* marks 3PL. It is not clear to me what determines when *ma-* is used and when *-gi* is used. (In the example below the verb 'sick' is a stative verb, but above we saw that *ma-* can also be used with a stative verb.)

109. gà hún-nī-gí húnù
I sick-1SG-PFV sick
I was sick.

110. ĩk hún-gí-gí húnù
you sick-2SG-PFV sick
You were sick.

111. ūhāj hún-ní-gí húnù
he sick-3MS-PFV sick
He was sick.

112. hāp' hún-á-gá húnù
she sick-3FS-PFV sick
She was sick.

113. mīnì hún-nì-gí húnù
we sick-1PL.IN-PFV sick
We were sick.

114. mā hún-mī-gí húnù
 we sick-1PL.EX-PFV sick
 We were sick.

115. ōm hún-mí-gí húnù
 you sick-2PL-PFV sick
 You were sick.

116. hōn hún-bí-gí hún
 they sick-3PL-PFV sick
 They were sick.

Note that with the verb 'sick' the lexical stem is reduplicated.

We have seen several forms of the person-number affixes so far, which can be summarized in the following table. (The Inceptive will be discussed in sec. 3.8 below.) Note the difference between the Impf prefix (CV) and the Perf prefix (just C). (Other variants also occur; the data needs rechecking.)

Table 9 Affixes						
	Prefix (Impf)	Prefix (Neg.Impf)	Suffix (Impf)	Prefix (Perf)	Suffix (Perf)	Prefix (Incept)
1SG	nɪ	gɑ	nɪ	n	nɪ	gɑ
2SG	gɪ	ɪ	gɪ	g	gɪ	gɪ
3MS	nɪ	e	nɪ	n	nɪ	e
3FS	∅	∅	a	∅	a	ap'
1PL.IN	nɪ	nɪ	nɪ	n	nɪ	nɪ
1PL.EX	mɪ	mɑ	mɑ	m	mɪ	mɑ
2PL	mɪ	m	mɪ	m	mɪ	um
3PL	bɪ	un	bɪ	b	bɪ	un

One use of the Perfective is to express the concept of Punctual aspect. Punctual is defined by Crystal as an aspectual term referring to a momentary event, thought of as having no temporal duration; it thus contrasts with durative or continuous events, where a period of time is involved (Crystal 2008:422). In the following example the verb ‘sneeze’ is inherently punctual:

117. *ga ma-n-t'isa*
 I PFV-1SG-sneeze
 I sneezed.

118. *ik ma-g-t'isa*
 you.SG PFV-2SG-sneeze
 You sneezed.

The perfective form can also be used to express the concept of present perfect. See the following examples:

TABLE 10. PERFECTIVE IN PRESENT PERFECT USE								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL-IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
<i>dwi</i> buy	ma-n- dwi	ma-g- dwi	ma-n- dwi	ma-∅- dwi	ma-n- dwi	ma-m- dwi	ma-m- dwi	ma-b- dwi
<i>gwe</i> see	ma- gwe-na	ma- gwe-ga	ma- gwe-na	ma- gwe-ba	ma- gwe-na	ma- gwe-ma	ma- gwe-ma	ma- gwe-ba

119. *gà mà-n-dwì ímí* OR: *ga ma-dwi-ni ímí*
 I PFV-1SG-buy cow I PFV-buy-1SG cow
 I have bought a cow.

120. *īk* *má-g-dwì* *ímí*
 you.SG PFV-2SG-buy cow
 You have bought a cow.
121. *ūhāj* *mà-n-dwì* *ímí*
 he PFV-3MS-buy cow
 He has bought a cow.
122. *hāp'* *má-ø-dwì* *ímí*
 she PFV-3FS-buy cow
 She has bought a cow.
123. *mīnì* *mà-n-dwì* *ímí*
 we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-buy cow
 We have bought a cow.
124. *mā* *mà-m-dwì* *ímí*
 we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-buy cow
 We have bought a cow.
125. *ōm* *mà-m-dwì* *ímí*
 you.PL PFV-2PL-buy cow
 You have bought a cow.
126. *hōn* *mà-b-dwì* *ímí*
 they PFV-3PL-buy cow
 They have bought a cow.
127. *gà* *má-n-ho* *pwanj* *adisaba*
 I PFV-1SG-go to(road) Addis Ababa
 I have gone to Addis Ababa.

128. ik má-g-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
you.SG PFV-2SG-go to(road) Addis Ababa
You have gone to Addis Ababa.

129. ūhāj má-n-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
he PFV-3MS-go to(road) Addis Ababa
He has gone to Addis Ababa.

130. hāp' má-ø-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
she PFV-3FS-go to(road) Addis Ababa
She has gone to Addis Ababa.

131. mīnì má-n-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-go to(road) Addis Ababa
We have gone to Addis Ababa.

132. ma má-m-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-go to(road) Addis Ababa
We have gone to Addis Ababa.

133. um ma-m-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
you.PL PFV-2PL-go to(road) Addis Ababa
You have gone to Addis Ababa.

134. hōn má-b-hɔ pwaŋi adisaba
they PFV-3PL-go to(road) Addis Ababa
They have gone to Addis Ababa.

135. gà mà-gwè-ná zēbfèr
I PFV-see-1SG Zebsher.NAME OF A PLACE
I have seen Zebsher.

136. ìk mà-gwè-gá zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
you.SG PFV-see-2SG Zebsher
You have seen Zebsher.

137. ūhāj mà-gwé-ná zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
he PFV-see-3MS Zebsher
He has seen Zebsher.

138. hāp' mà-gwè-bá zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
she PFV-see-3FS Zebsher
She has seen Zebsher.

139. mīnì mà-gwè-nà zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
we.IN PFV-see-1PL.IN Zebsher
We have seen Zebsher.

140. ma mà-gwè-mà zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
we.EX PFV-see-1PL.EX Zebsher
We have seen Zebsher.

141. um mà-gwè-má zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
you.PL PFV-see-2PL Zebsher
You have seen Zebsher.

142. hōn mà-gwè-bá zə̀bʃ̀ə̀r
they PFV-see-3PL Zebsher
They have seen Zebsher.

As we have seen in the above examples there are two ways of forming the *ma* perfective in Gwama. The first one is **PFV + Person/number.Pfx + verb**, where the Person/number affix is only a consonant as in: *gà má-n-hɔ pwanjɪ adisaba*.

And the second pattern is: **PFV + verb + Person/number.Sfx**, as in:

hūn mǎ-gwè-bà zābfār. Both forms are used to say the same thing as in the following example. I do not know whether there is any semantic difference between prefixal and suffixal expressions or not.

143. *gà mǎ-n-dwì ímí* OR: *ga ma-dwi-ni ímí*
I PFV-1SG-buy cow I PFV-buy-1SG cow
I bought a cow. (I have bought a cow.)

To form the negative perfective, *-gi* is suffixed to the verb after the person/number markers. (According to my data and my informant, sentences with negative perfect meaning cannot be formed with *ma-*.) The negative markers remain the same as with the negative imperfective.

144. *ik deb-i-k'a-gi sum*
you.SG NEG-2SG-eat-PFV meat
You did not eat meat.

145. *hāp' dab-∅-k'a-gi sum*
she NEG-3FS-eat-PFV meat
She did not eat meat.

146. *mīnì da-ni-k'a-gi sum*
we.INC NEG-1PL.INC-eat-PFV meat
We did not eat meat.

147. *ma da-ma-k'a-gi sum*
we.EX NEG-1PL.EX-eat-PFV meat
We did not eat meat.

148. um da-m-k'a-gi sum
 you NEG-2PL-eat-PFV meat
 You did not eat meat.

149. hōn dab-un-k'a-gi sum
 they NEG-3PL-eat-PFV meat
 They did not eat meat.

3.3 PAST PERFECT/ PLUPERFECT

The past perfect in Gwama is formed by reduplicating the verb together with both of the perfective markers simultaneously, one occurring as a prefix (*ma-*) and the other infix between the two reduplicants (*-gi-*).

Table 11. PAST PERFECT								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3MS	1PL-IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
buy	ma-n-	ma-g-	ma-n-	ma-∅-	ma-n-	ma-m-	ma-m-	ma-b-
<i>dwi</i>	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-	dwi-gi-
	dwi	dwi	dwi	dwi	dwi	dwi	dwi	dwi

150. gà mǎ-n-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 I PFV-1SG-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 I had bought shoes.

151. ìk má-g-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 you.SG PFV-2SG-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 You had bought shoes.

152. ūhāj má-n-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 he PFV-3MS-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 He had bought shoes.
153. háp' má-ø-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 she PFV-3FS-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 She had bought shoes.
154. mìnì má-n-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 We had bought shoes
155. mà má-m-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 We had bought shoes.
156. ùm má-m-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 you.PL PFV-2PL-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 You had bought shoes.
157. hùn má-b-dwì-gí-dwì pák
 they PFV-3PL-buy-PFV-buy shoe
 They had bought shoes.

In the Past Perfect, if the verb has no object noun, reduplication is apparently obligatory. When an object is present, reduplication seems to be optional. Thus the above sentence (which has an object)

gà	mǎ-n-dwì-gí-dwì	pák
I	PFV-1SG-buy-PFV-buy	shoe

I had bought shoes.

could also be:

gà	mǎ-n-dwì-gí	pák
I	PFV-1SG-buy-PFV	shoe

I had bought shoes.

But when there is no object, the reduplication must be present, e.g.:

158. ga ma-n-up-gi-up
 I PFV-1SG-wash-PFV-wash
 I had washed.

159. ga ma-hɔ-ni-gi-hɔ
 I PFV-come-1SG-PFV-come
 I had come.

3.4 PROGRESSIVE / CONTINUOUS

The prefix *ze-* is the progressive aspect marker for all persons in Gwama. Its meaning is different from that of the word *ze* “to sit”, but evidently has grammaticalized from this verb (a common pattern worldwide; see Heine & Kuteva 2002:276). 1SG, 3MS and 1PL.IN subjects are marked by *-ni* and *-na*; 3FS is mostly unmarked and sometimes marked by *-ni* or *-ja*; 2SG is marked by *-gi* or *-ga* with some verbs; 2PL and 1PL.EX are marked by *-mi*; and *-bi* is the 3PL marker. Reduplication is also very common in Gwama verb morphology and it is very frequently used in the progressive aspect. The distribution of morphemes with some verbs is presented in the table below.

Table 12. PROGRESSIVE / CONTINUOUS								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL-IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
eat	ze-ʃa- ni	ze-ʃa-gi	ze-ʃa- ni	ze-ʃa	ze-ʃa- ni	ze-ʃa- mi	ze-ʃa- mi	ze-ʃa- bi
write	ze- kətəb- ni	ze- kətəb- gi	ze- kətəb- ni	ze- kətəb- ni	ze- kətəb- ni	ze- kətəb- mi	ze- kətəb- mi	ze- kətəb- bi
speak	ze- t'wa- ni-t'wa	ze- t'wa-gi- t'wa	ze- t'wa- ni-t'wa	ze- t'wa- t'wa	ze- t'wa- ni-t'wa	ze- t'wa- mi-t'wa	ze- t'wa- mi-t'wa	ze- t'wa- bi-t'wa
speak, (on the phone)	ze- t'wa- ni-silki	ze- t'wa-gi- silki	ze- t'wa- ni-silki	ze- t'wa- silki	ze- t'wa- ni-silki	ze- t'wa- mi-silki	ze- t'wa- mi- silki	ze- t'wa- bi-silki
see, watch	ze- gwe- na-gwe	ze- gwe- ga-gwe	ze- gwe- na-gwe	ze- gwe-ja- gwe	ze- gwe- na-gwe	ze- gwe- mi-gwe	ze- gwe- mi-gwe	ze- gwe- bi-gwe

Here are some example sentences that show this aspect.

160. gà zè-t'wá-nī sílkí
 I PROG-speak-1SG telephone
 I am speaking on the telephone.

161. gà zè-t'wá-nī-t'wā
 I PROG-speak-1SG-speak
 I am speaking.

162. ìk zè-t'wá-gí sílkí
you.SG PROG-speak-2SG telephone
You are speaking on the telephone

163. ùháj zè-t'wá-ní-t'wā
he PROG-speak-3MS-speak
He is speaking.

164. háp' zè-t'wá-ø-t'wā
she PROG-speak-3FS-speak
She is speaking.

165. mìnì zè-t'wá-nì-t'wā
we.IN PROG-speak-1PL.IN-speak
We are speaking.

166. mà zè-t'wá-mī-t'wā
we.EX PROG-speak-1PL.EX-speak
We are speaking.

167. ùm zè-t'wá-mí-t'wā
you.PL PROG-speak-2PL-speak
You are speaking.

168. hùn zè-t'wá-bí-t'wā
they PROG-speak-3PL-speak
They are speaking.

169. gà zè-gwè-nà-gwè
I PROG-see-1SG-see
I am watching.

170. ìk zè-gwè-gá-gwè
you.SG PROG-see-2SG-see
You are watching.

171. ūhāj zè-gwè-ná-gwè
he PROG-see-3MS-see
He is watching.

172. háp' zè-gwè-já-gwè
she PROG-see-3FS-see
She is watching.

173. mìnì zè-gwè-nà-gwè
we.IN PROG-see-1PL.IN-see
We are watching.

174. mà zè-gwè-má-gwè
we.EX PROG-see-1PL.EX-see
We are watching.

175. ùm zè-gwè-má-gwè
you PROG-see-2PL-see
You are watching.

176. hùn zè-gwè-bá-gwè
they PROG-see-3PL-see
They are watching.

177. ga ze-ku-ni-ku
I PROG-cry-1SG-cry
I am crying.

178. ik ze-ku-gi-ku
you PROG-cry-1SG-cry
You are crying.
179. ga ze-gus-ni-gus
I PROG-run-1SG-run
I am running.
180. ik ze-gus-gi-gus
you PROG-run-2SG-run
You are running.
181. ūhāj ze-gus-ni-gus
he PROG-run-3MS-run
He is running.
182. háp' ze-gus-a-gus
she PROG-run-3FS-run
She is running.
183. mīnì ze-gus-ni-gus
we.IN PROG-run-1PL-run
We are running.
184. ma ze-gus-mi-gus
we.EX PROG-run-1PL-run
We are running.
185. ʊm ze-gus-mi-gus
you.PL PROG-run-2PL-run
You are running.

186. hūn ze-gus-bi-gus
they PROG-run-3PL-run
They are running.

With the progressive, as with the Past Perfect, when the verb has no object the reduplication is apparently obligatory. When an object is present, reduplication seems to be optional. Thus we can have either

187. gà zè-kátèb-nī dèbdábé OR: gà zè-kátèb-nī-kátèb dèbdábé
I PROG-write-1SG letter
I am writing a letter.

The progressive can also be used with Perfective verbs; here the Perfective is expressed with the suffix *-gi*. Thus:

188. ga ze-gus-ni-gi-gus
1SG PROG-run-1SG-PFV-run
I was running.

The progressive can also express *iterative* semantics. The term iterative in linguistics refers to actions that take place repeatedly. The term has been defined as follows by Crystal (2008:257): “A term used in the grammatical analysis of aspect, to refer to an event which takes place repeatedly, e.g. ‘jump several times’”. Iteratives are of two kinds: lexically inherent iteratives, and grammatical or derived iteratives. The first kind is verbs like “shiver”, which are iterative by their very nature. The second kind involves verbs that are not lexically iterative but which can be repeated multiple times.⁷ Gwama seems to express both kinds of iterative in the same way, i.e. with the progressive. Thus:

⁷ Thanks to Prof. Orin Gensler for clarifying this to me.

189. gà zè-bíj-nī-bīj
 I PROG-shiver-1SG-shiver
 I am shivering. (lexical iterative)

190. ga ze-buk'-ni-buk'
 I PROG-jump-1SG-jump
 I am jumping (several times). (grammatical iterative)

Iterative aspect can also be expressed by simply repeating the entire verb. The following sentence (taken from a text) is an example of this form.

191. atew mina inega gi tat ʃufu bate hɔ kamni wəl ijatɔ t'ɔbni t'ɔbi *twinetwi*
twinetwi twinetwi

atew mina	inega	gi-tát	ʃūfū	batè	hō
this thing	coincidence	PFV-at/in	forest	be.PAST	go
kàm-nī	wāl ìjá-tò	t'ɔp'-nì-t'ɔp'ì		twī-n-è-twī	
get-1SG	little water-DEF	drink-1SG -drink		call-1SG-3MSO-call	
twī-n-è-twī		twī-n-è-twī			
call-1SG-3MSO-call		call-1SG-3MSO-call			

This is what I came across when I was in the forest. When I found water, I drank from it and I called and called and called to him (to my friend).
 (Autobiography)

3.4.1. NEGATIVE PROGRESSIVE /CONTINUOUS

The person-number markers of the negative progressive are almost the same as with the negative imperfective except for the 2PL (NEG IMP *da-m*, NEG PROG

da-(b)um). The negative progressive adds *ze-*, but it is prefixed to the main verb, not the NEG auxiliary: NEG + SBJ + *zè* + Root. Examples:

192. *ik dèb-ì-zè-góra*
you NEG-2SG-PROG-learn
You are not learning.

193. *hāp' dàb-zè-góra*
she NEG.3FS-PROG-learn
She is not learning.

194. *mīnì dàbnì/dànì-zè-góra*
we.IN NEG.1PL-PROG-learn
We are not learning.

195. *ma dāmà-zè-góra*
we.EX NEG.1PL-PROG-learn
We are not learning.

196. *um dàb-ùm/dà-ùm-zè-góra*
you NEG-2PL-PROG-learn
You are not learning.

197. *hūn dàb-ùn/dà-ùn-zè-góra*
they NEG-3PL-PROG-learn
They are not learning.

3.5. HABITUAL

Habitual aspect refers to situations in which the speaker wishes to mark that the action s/he is describing occurs regularly more than once, separated by a

long time interval. In Gwama this is marked by reduplication, with the subject marker positioned between the reduplicants of the verb. However, unlike the reduplication in the Imperfective, there is no vowel change. I am not sure whether this verb form is a special dedicated form just for the habitual, or whether it is the same as some other form. The table below and the sentences that follow have examples of this aspect.

Table 13. HABITUAL								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL-IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
<i>fa</i>	ʃá-nà-	ʃa-ga-	ʃá-nà-	ʃa-Ø-ʃa	ʃá-nà-	ʃa-ma-	ʃa-ma-	ʃa-ba-
eat	ʃá	ʃa	ʃá		ʃá	ʃa	ʃa	ʃa

198. gà ʃá-nà-ʃá pākà OR: pākà gà ʃá-nà-ʃá
 I eat-1SG-eat bread
 I eat bread (habitually).

199. gà kaj-kukum ʃá-nà-ʃá pākà
 I day-all eat-1SG-eat bread
 I always eat bread.

200. ik ʃa-gà-ʃa pākà
 you.SG eat-2SG-eat bread
 You eat bread (habitually).

201. ūhāj ʃá-nà-ʃá pākà
 he eat-3MS-eat bread
 He eats bread (habitually).

202. hāp' ʃa-ø-ʃa- pākà
she eat-3FS-eat bread
She eats bread (habitually).

203. mīnì ʃá-nà-ʃá pākà
we-IN eat-1PL.IN-eat bread
We eat bread (habitually).

204. ma ʃa-ma-ʃa pākà
we.EX eat-1PL.EX-eat bread
We eat bread (habitually).

205. um ʃa-ma-ʃa pākà
you.PL eat-2PL-eat bread
You eat bread (habitually).

206. hūn ʃa-ba-ʃa pākà
they eat-3PL-eat bread
They eat bread (habitually).

Sometimes habitual semantics is expressed by a non-reduplicated form together with an appropriate adverb. In the sentences below, the adverb may be either *gi-anzili* 'in the morning' or *gi-anzili-anzili* 'each morning'; the reduplicated adverb is more clearly habitual, but the same verb form is used for both.

207. gà gi-anzili jan-ni jere
I at-morning beg-1SG god
I pray (to God) in the morning.

208. gà gi-anzili-anzili jan-ni jere
I at-morning-morning beg-1SG god
I pray (to God) each morning.

The habitual can be expressed in the past by adding the particle (or adverb) *ʃingɔ* ‘formerly’; for example:

209. gà ʃingɔ t'ɔp'-ni ʃwi
 I formerly drink-1SG t'ella
 I used to drink tella.

210. ik ʃingɔ t'ɔp'-gi ʃwi
 you.SG formerly drink-2SG t'ella
 You used to drink tella.

3.6. INCEPTIVE

The inceptive aspect indicates the beginning of an action or actions. It is expressed by the special prefix *us-* which precedes the subject marker. As we may see in the following table, *-gà-*, *-gi-*, *-e-*, *-ap'-*, *-ni-*, *-ma-*, *-um-* and *-un-* are the subject markers in the inceptive aspect. The following table shows how this aspect is formed.

Table 14. INCEPTIVE								
Word	1SG	2SG	3MS	3FS	1PL-IN	1PL.EX	2PL	3PL
p'a 'dance'	us-gà- p'a	us-gi-p'a	us-e-p'a	us-ap'- p'a	us-ni-p'a	us-ma- p'a	us-um- p'a	us-un-p'a

211. gà ús-gà-p'á
 I INCP-1SG-dance
 I started dancing.

212. ik ús-gì-p'á
 you.SG INCP-2SG-dance
 You started dancing.

213. ùháj ús-è-p'á
he INCP-3MS-dance
He started dancing.

214. hàp' ús-à-p'á
she INCP-3FS-dance
She started dancing.

215. mìnì ús-nì-p'á
we-INCL INCP-1PL.IN-dance
We started dancing.

216. mà ús-mà-p'á
we.EXCL INCP-1PL.EX-dance
We started dancing.

217. ùm ús-òm-p'á
you INCP-2PL-dance
You started dancing.

218. hùn ús-òn-p'á
they INCP-3PL-dance
They started dancing.

The inceptive can also take the Perfective prefix *ma-* in addition to *-us-*; if so, the Subject marker follows *ma-* and precedes *-us-*, as shown in the following example:

219. gà mā-n-us-p'ā
I PFV-1SG-INCP-dance
I have already started to dance.

CHAPTER 4: MOOD

Mood describes the speaker's attitude towards a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality or likelihood (Payne 1997:244). This chapter deals with mood in Gwama.

4.1 DESIDERATIVE MOOD

Desiderative is a term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to indicative, imperative, etc., moods. Desiderative utterances (or 'desideratives') refer to verb forms or sentence/clause types used for the expression of wants and desires (Crystal 2008:140). This mood in Gwama is formed by using a Person/number suffix along with the verb stem *jam-* "want". The complement of the verb *jam-* "want" apparently can either be person-number marked or can be a bare "infinitive". Sometimes desiderative is marked by reduplication, with the suffix *-na* occurring between the two reduplicants. The pluperfect can also be used to show desiderative.

220. gà ʃám-nī s'īt-gí t'ìmbírì ānónókó
I want-1SG have-PFV car nice
I want to have a nice car.

221. ūhāj ʃám-nī álámi-nì t'wā gwàmá
he want-3MS learn-3MS mouth gwama
He wants to learn Gwama.
(lit. He wants that he learns Gwama.)

222. àndúré-tò ʃám-ø k'ā-ø s'í
cat-DEF want-3FS eat-3FS rat
The cat wants to eat the rat.

223. mīnì fám-nì k'ép' jè/tib
 we like-1PL.IN listen music
 We want to listen to music.

224. gà sus kal-ni lottəri (gà) fam-na-fam
 I get be-1SG lottery (I) want-1SG-want
 I wish I had won the lottery.

225. gà fám-nī sīt-gí swī āhànt'kō
 I want-1SG have-PFV home big
 I wish I had a big house.

4.2 POTENTIAL

There is no grammatical morpheme to express potential/ability. This concept is expressed using verbs like *kwā* ('might') or *aji* ('know'), or is unexpressed and understood from context. The following are examples of potential and/or ability.

226. gà nī-kwā kām lottəri
 I 1SG-might get(find) lottery
 I might win the lottery.

227. gà aji-ni saŋk'-ija dab-gà-fun
 I know-1SG swim-water NEG-1SG-like
 I can swim, (but) I don't like it.

228. ik aji-gi saŋk'-ija deb-i-fun
 you.SG know-2SG swim-water NEG-2SG-like
 You can swim, but you don't like it.

229. gà wet-ni-gi nat-twasene upa-na weni-gi ɔɔ
 I be-1SG-PFV year-three REF-1SG dress-PFV clothes
 I could dress myself when I was 3. (lit.: I dressed myself when I was 3.)

230. ik wet-gi-gi nat-twasene upa-ke weni-gi ɔɔ
 you.SG be-2SG-PFV year-three REF-2SG dress-PFV clothes
 You could dress yourself when you were 3.

231. ūhāj a-ni-kwans' t'wa gwama
 he PFV-3MS-write mouth(language) Gwama
 He can write Gwama. (lit. He writes Gwama.)

4.3 REAL CONDITION

My analysis of the overall system of conditionals in Gwama (real, hypothetical, and counterfactual) is very tentative. As far as I know, no word for "if" appears in conditionals. Real conditionals seem to be the clearest. The Imperfective prefix *a-* is used to form real conditionals; both the protasis and the apodosis take the Imperfective. Examples:

232. gà a-t'ɔp'-ni-t'ɔp' harək'e (gà) a-ni-s'ĩ-s'í
 I IMP-drink-1SG-drink "arrack" (1SG) IMP-1SG-RED-die
 If I drink arrack, I will die.

233. gà a-ʃa-ni-ʃa (gà) a-ni-s'ĩ-s'í
 I IMP-eat-1SG-eat (1SG) IMP-1SG- RED-die
 If I eat, I will die.

234. gà a-ʃa-ni min-ʃa-mine a-ni-s'ĩ-s'í
 I IMP-eat-1SG thing-eat-this IMP-1SG- RED-die
 If I eat this food, I will die.

235. ik a-ʃa-gi min-ʃa-mine a-gi-s'i-s'i
 you.SG IMP-eat-2SG thing-eat-this IMP-2SG-RED-die
 If you eat this food, you will die.

236. uhaj a-ʃa-ni min-ʃa-mine a-ni-s'i-s'i
 he IMP-eat-3MS thing-eat -this IMP-3MS-RED-die
 If he eats this food, he will die.

237. hap a-ʃa-∅ min-ʃa-mine a-∅-s'i-s'i
 she IMP-eat-3FS thing-eat -this IMP-3FS-RED-die
 If she eats this food, she will die.

238. mīnì a-ʃa-ni min-ʃa-mine a-ni-s'i-s'i
 we.IN IMP-eat-1PL.IN thing-eat -this IMP-1SG-RED-die
 If we eat this food, we will die.

239. ma a-ʃa-mi min-ʃa-mine a-mi-s'i-s'i
 we.EX IMP-eat-1PL.EX thing-eat -this IMP-1PL.EX-RED-die
 If we eat this food, we will die.

240. um a-ʃa-mi min-ʃa-mine a-ni-s'i-s'i
 you.PL IMP-eat-2PL thing-eat-this IMP-2PL-RED-die
 If you eat this food, you will die.

241. hōn a-ʃa-bi min-ʃa-mine a-bi-s'i-s'i
 they IMP-eat-3PL thing-eat -this IMP-3PL-RED-die
 If they eat this food, they will die.

242. hāp' a-hɔ-ba-hɔ gà a-ap'-ti taʃa
 she IMP-come-3FS-come I IMP-3FSO-give greeting
 If she comes, I will greet her.

243. mīnì a-kama hɔ-na tap-kɔ a-na-gi k'u-k'undu
 we.IN IMP-? come-1PL.IN on-time IMP-1PL-do RED-finish
 If we come on time, we will finish it.

4.4 HYPOTHETICAL (UNREAL) CONDITION

Hypothetical conditionals (which are used to express a distant and unlikely connection between one imaginary event and another imaginary event, Yule 2006:186) They are formed in almost the same way as real conditionals, that is, with the Imperfective in both clauses. The significant difference is that with hypothetical conditionals the protasis also takes the Perfective suffix *-gi*. Such a combination of an Imperfective and a Perfective marker in the same verb-form is not something I have seen elsewhere.⁸

244. gǎ á-wèt-nī-gí hāŋāā-nī-pāj pwǎŋī àdisábà
 I IMP-be-1SG-PFV bird IMP-1SG-fly to(road) Addis.Ababa
 If I were a bird, I would fly to Addis Ababa.

245. gǎ a-wèt-nī-gí ĩk à-nī-t'u-t'wá gwàmá hàn'tkō
 I IMP-be-1SG-PFV you IMP-1SG-RED-speak Gwama more
 If I were you, I would speak more Gwama.

246. gǎ á-wèt-nī-gí s'iti a-ni-p'at^h sit ragàt
 I IMP-be-1SG-PFV rich IMP-1SG-help person poor
 If I were rich, I would help the poor.

247. gǎ a-wet-ni-gi itɔp'ja a-ni-ze asosa
 I IMP-be-1SG-PFV Ethiopia IMP-1SG-live Asosa
 If I were an Ethiopian, I would live in Asosa.

⁸ Zelealem (2005:25) also presents conditional forms that combine Imperfective and Perfective markers; in his examples, however, the Perfective marker is *ma-*, not *-gi*.

250. ĩk áp'í we-gi-gà-gwe wàràk a-gi-ma-bêfè
 you hard see-2SG-?-see paper IMP-2SG-PFV-pass
 If you had studied hard, you would have passed.

251. ũhāj áp'í gwè-ní-gá-gwe wàràk á-ní-mà-bêfè
 he hard see-3MS-?-see paper IMP -3MS -PFV-pass
 If he had studied hard, he would have passed.

252. hāp' áp'í gwè-ja-gá-gwè wàràk á-bí-mà-bêfè
 she hard see-3FS-?-see paper IMP-3FS -PFV-pass
 If she had studied hard, she would have passed.

253. um áp'í gwè-mí-gá-gwe wàràk á-mí-mà-bêfè
 you.PL hard see-2PL-?-see paper IMP-2PL-PFV-pass
 If you had studied hard, you would have passed.

254. hūn áp'í gwè-bí-gá-gwe wàràk á-bí-mà-bêfè
 they hard see-3PL-?-see paper IMP-3PL-PFV-pass
 If they had studied hard, they would have passed.

Clearly much more work on conditionals is needed. It is not clear how many different types of conditionals exist, e.g. whether the Real and Hypothetical conditional are truly distinct, or whether my analysis of the Counterfactual conditional is correct.

4.6 OBLIGATION

There seems to be no grammatical morpheme for obligation in Gwama. In the examples below, obligation is only inferred from the context.

255. gà a-ni-pɔŋ i-wus səati
 I IMP-1SG-arrive ?-on time
 I must arrive on time.

256. ik a-gi-pɔŋ i-wus səati
 you IMP-2SG-arrive ?-on time
 You must arrive on time.

257. gà jɪlgaŋ himbi-t'ɔŋkaja gà ni-hu-hɔ t'umu/swi
 I before ?-lunch 1SG 1SG-RED-go home
 I must go home before lunch.

4.7 INTERROGATIVE

Questions in Gwama are apparently formed only by intonation. I was unable to study this systematically, given the difficulty of correctly hearing, transcribing, and identifying intonation contours.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This attempt to describe the TAM system of Gwama and to present three texts in the language must be considered as a kind of “work in progress”. The language is difficult and would be difficult even for an experienced linguist. No careful phonological analysis of Gwama exists; currently Anne-Christie Hellenthal is working on the language’s tonal and segmental phonology. Tone certainly plays a role in the grammar of Gwama, but this could barely be considered in the present work. The existing two previous sketch grammars of the language was not always an advantage, since the sketches partly contradict each other and contradict the present description as well. And this brought some confusion to the researcher. Given the confusing sociolinguistic situation of the language (see sec. 1.7), it remains unclear what the “real” Gwama language is (perhaps it could be because of varieties of dialects in the language). This unclarity is probably typical of many highly endangered languages: it would seem that there is no well-defined norm that can serve as a target for the linguist.

The presentation of the three texts was a crucial but especially difficult and challenging part of the thesis, since a proper analysis and translation depends on a good description of Gwama syntax, which does not yet exist. Among many problematic aspects, we could mention:

- Subordination, especially relative clauses
- Verb serialization
- The functions of the tense-aspects
- The frequent omission of person-number marking
- The unclear function of numerous grammatical markers, e.g. *if*, *gi*, *i*

- The existence of a great deal of homonymy (possibly with unidentified tone differences)

All of this, combined with the extremely free translations offered by the informant (typically more of a commentary than a translation), often made it very hard to make sense of the texts in grammatical terms.

PART 2: DOCUMENTATION OF GWAMA: TRANSCRIBED, GLOSSED AND TRANSLATED PRIMARY LINGUISTIC DATA

Preliminary note: The glossing of morphemes in the texts below is extremely tentative and undoubtedly has a great many mistakes. This reflects both the difficulty of correctly hearing the very fast speech of the informant, and my own inadequate understanding of the grammar. Many morphemes are glossed only with "?". Tones are written only occasionally.

Text A: Autobiography

1. Sentence gà jaʃa piʃi gaj beʃaʃuba

gà	jaʃa	pi-bi-gà-í	p'enʃuba
I	place	give.birth-3PL-1SG-?	p'enshuba

FT My birth place (lit. the place where they bore me) (is) P'eneshuba.

2. Sentence giʃeʃi gà beʃaʃuba ʃingɔ gebal nigəraj kizi swigəra aŋduwi
nəŋat niman t'aʃ duwi nəŋat niman buna

gi-peʃi	gà	p'enaʃuba	ʃingɔ	gebal.AR
?-birth	my	p'eneshuba	formerly	before
ni-gəra-j	kizi	swi-gəra	ana-dwi	
1SG-learn-?	enter	house-learn	1SG.ORO-buy	

nəŋat-ni	man	t'aʃ	duwi	nəŋat-ni	man	buna
trade-1SG	some	salt	buy	trade-1SG	some	coffee

FT Before I went to school and got married, in my birth place
P'eneshuba, I used to buy and trade salt and coffee.

3. Sentence mudwi nəŋatnigi bunate giʃinkə giwal briito gimənk'ut
gimanhindi gidu kuwambi miki mugi gwadəŋana guwərkwamana
həmi puwaŋ tat ʃuʃu

mu-dwi	nəŋat-ni-gi	buna-te	gi-ʃinkə
1PL-buy	trade-1SG-PFV	coffee-DEF	?-formerly

gi-wal	brii-tə	gi-man-k'ut
?-small	money/birr-DEF	?-some-cut

gi-man-hind-i	gidu	kuwam-bi
?-small-lost-?	in the middle.ORO	what-do

miki-mu-gi	gwadəŋa-na	gu-wərkwama-na
agree-PL-work	friend-my	with-brother-1SG.POSS

hə-mi	puwaŋ	tat	ʃuʃu
go-1PL	to(road)	in	forest

FT At that time, when I was trading coffee, I used up the little
money that I had and agreed to go to the forest with my friend who
is my brother.

4. Sentence həmi tat ʃuʃu ami ʃam təp tam

hə-mi	tat	ʃuʃu	ami-ʃam	təp	tam
go-1PL	in	forest	1PL-want	collect	honey

FT We used to go to the forest to collect honey.

5. Sentence atamte awa ajlmakamikam kun am tɔp guziʃɔgo ijasene

a-tam-te	awa	ajlma-kamikam-kun
?-honey-DEF	maybe	NEG-get-?

am-tɔp	guziʃɔgo	ijasene
1PL-collect	mix	place-one

FT If we did not get much honey we mixed the honey that we (both) got together.

6. Sentence uawa ama tɔtduwi duwi gəsəma brite masit ʃujja

uawa	ama-tɔt	du-duwi	gəsəma	bri-te
maybe	1PL-take	RED-sell	share	money-DEF

ma-sit	ʃujja
1PL-person	two

FT If we sold it we shared the money between the two of us.

7. Sentence gəbal jlgaʃ gə gəra giku kiz gə swigəra silakɔn gə mantut gu babana

gəbal	jlgaʃ	gə	gəra	gi-ku	kiz
before.AR	before	I	learn (go to school)	PFV-start	in

gə	swi-gəra	silakɔn	gə	man-tut	gu	baba-na
I	house-learn	in.fact	I	?-ask	?	father-1SG

FT Before I started learning (going to school) I asked my father.

8. Sentence ʃi baba aga nihɔgi gara ʃigalʃa ga swigəra ga kɔnekɔ baba kisni
ga kis

ʃi-baba	a-ga	ni-hɔ-gi	gara
?-father	?-me	go-1SG-do	learn(to school)

ʃigalʃa	gà	swi-gəra	gà	kɔ-n-e-kɔ
send	I	house-learn	I	say-1SG-3MS-say

baba	kis-ni	gà	kis
father	forbid-3MS	I	forbid

FT "Please, my father! Send me to school!" I asked my father. But he forbade me.

9. Sentence gikisni gà swigəra gafi kwanibi guskizni gizina

gi-kis-ni	gà	swi-gəra	gà-ʃi	kwa-ni-bi
?-forbid-3MS	I	house-learn	I-also	what-1SG-do

gus-kiz-ni	gizi-na
run-in-1SG	alone-1SG

FT When he (my father) refused to send me to school, I went to school on my own.

10. Sentence silakɔn guskizni gizina gəra iʃinikɔle kifili bis'ini kifili
kumut'i kimakunt'ɪʃ kifili kumut'i gà kis' duʃnikɔtəwədədərə guʃunu
idili udazene gà beʃ duʃni beʃə

silakən	gus-kis'-ni	gizi-na	gəra	iʃinikəle	kifili
in fact	run-in-1SG	alone-1SG	learn	up.to	grade

bis'ini	kifili	kumut'i	kima-kunt'iʃ	kifili '
four	grade	five	when-complete	grade

kumut'i	gà	kis'	duʃ-ni-kə-təwədadəra	guʃunu
five	I	in	then-1SG-?-compete.AMH	chance

idili	udazene	gà	beʃ	duʃ-ni-beʃə
chance.AMH	of.this.time	I	pass	then-1SG-pass

FT So, I went to school on my own and learned up to grade four and grade five. When I completed grade five I competed for the chance (to continue my education) and I passed.

11.Sentence gà gibeʃnibeʃə itat daga mana kwama hənikə zehəgəraṇa adisaba

gà	gi-beʃ-ni-beʃə	i-tat	daga	man-a
I	?-pass-1SG-pass	?-in	among	children-GEN

kwama	hə-ni-kə	ze-hə	gəra-na	adisaba
Gwama	go-1SG-?	sit-go	learn-1SG	Addis Ababa

FT Among the Gwama children I passed and went to Addis Ababa to learn.

12.Sentence gizegəraṇi waj muzik'a alas ama dazini jasa zezega zena pəlis kəmiʃini

gi-ze-gəra-ni	waj.ORO	muzik'a	alas	a-ma
?-PROG-learn-1SG	about	music	AR.DM	?-we

dazini	jasa	ze-ze-ga	ze-na	pəlis
now	place?	RED-live-1SG	live-1SG	police

kəmiʃini
commission

FT I studied music. Now I work at the police commission
(as a singer).

13. Sentence gi pəlis kəmiʃini eʃi silakən gə manbək kikijata

gi	pəlis	kəmiʃini	eʃi	silakən	gə
from	police	commission	this	in.fact	I

ma-n-bək	kikijata
PFV-1SG-marry	woman

FT I am married to a woman from this police commission.⁹

14. Sentence gə gi kikijata

gə	gi	kikijata
I	with	wife

FT I have a wife. (lit. I am with wife.)

⁹ It sounds as if the speaker married a police girl; but what happened was that while the speaker was living in the police commission (in Asosa), he went to marry in the countryside.

15.Sentence kikijatana silakɔŋsi bilahala bɔknigabɔki gà dena sa iʃmigi ma sitsuja

kikijata-na	silakɔn-ʃi	bilahala	bɔk-ni-gà-bɔki
wife-my	in.fact-also	condition	marry-1SG-PFV-marry

gà	dena	sa	iʃmigi	ma	sit-suja
I	met	love	agree	we	Person-two

FT When we met we fell in love, agreed and got married.

16.Sentence damadene sagije dɔnabt'ajgi sitɔ adena sagema dena sagima dena sami sitsuja zuba

da-ma-dene	sa-gi-je	dɔnab-t'aj-gi
NEG-1PL-meet	love-PFV-each.other	no one-send-PFV

sit-tɔ	adena	sa-gi-ma	dena sa-gi-ma
person-DEF	mediate	love-PFV-we	meet love-PFV-1PL

dena	sa-mi	sit-suja	zuba
meet	love-1PL	person-two	only

FT We sent no one to mediate our love. We just met and fell in love.

17.Sentence dena same sitsuja halas hāp' gifuni gà ʃuni gà bɔknaboki tinabgi bɔki nana gəʃmababana gəʃmankwamana gaʃsitama kukumi halas t'wate k'undik'undi hɔʃebi man waŋa ʃebi man bidɔ bɔk'a timi bri kuwamibibi amma das'ini zemigihabi ga jere mani gati war sene

dena	sa-me	sit-suja	halas	hāp'	gi-ʃun-i
meet	love-1PL	person-two	AR.DM	she	PFV-love-?

gà	ʃun-i	gà	bok-na-boki	tinab-gi-bōki
I	love-?	I	marry-1SG-marry	after-PFV-marry

nana	gaʃ-ma-baba-na	gaʃ-man-kwama-na
told	to-PL-father-1SG.POSS	to-PL-brother-1SG.POSS

gaʃ-sit-a-ma	kukumi	halas	t'wa-te
to-man-PL-1PL.POSS	all	AR.DM	mouth-DEF

k'undi-k'undi	hɔ-ʃe-bi	man	waɲa
RED-complete	go-slaughter-what	some	chicken

ʃe-bi	man	bidɔ	bək'a	ti-mi
slaughter-PFV	some	sheep	AMH.DM	give-1PL

bri	kuwa-mi-bi-bi	amma	das'ini
money(birr)	do-1PL-what-RED	now.OR	now

ze-mi	gi-habi	gà	jere	ma-ni-gà-ti	war	sene
sit-1PL	with-her	I	God	PFV-3MS-1SG-give	child	one

FT We both fell in love; she loved me and I got married to her. After I got married, I told my fathers (including grandfathers and uncles), my brothers and all my relatives. We completed the requirements and paid chicken, sheep and money. Now I am with her. God then gave me a child.

18.Sentence ʃigaʃte kulu turuna amma dazini ijasa ze ga asɔsa gaʃturuna
 bilalama min ze gi ga gaʃamiʃini basa wər p'a sene

ʃigaʃte kulu turu-na amma dazini
 so all.AR country-1SG.POSS now.ORO now

ijasa ze gà i-asɔsa gaʃ-turu-na bila-alama
 place live I ?-asosa to-country-1SG.POSS as-plan

min ze gi-gà gà ʃami-ʃi-ni
 thing (matter) live work-I I want-?-1SG

basa wər p'a sene
 publish.ORO little (small) music one

FT So now that I was living in Asosa I planned to publish some
 music for my country (people).

19.Sentence ik'idi-na ʃamiʃni basa wər p'a sene liʃabila zeʃna

ik'idi-na ʃami-ʃi-ni basa wər
 plan.AMH-1SG want-?-1SG publish.ORO some

p'a sene liʃabila-ze-ʃ-na
 music one as-live-?-1SG

FT All my life my plan has been that I want to publish music.

20.Sentence amma dazine zek'unak'undu ainide jʃga basa wər p'a sane
 gizeʃnaj wusgja ukwa twiʃkin kwama t'wa kwama t'wa maɔ-kɔmɔ
 minakɔʃkɔ iʃi ze kuwa tuwiʃ iniʃ haj məle gadagəta

amma	dazine	ze-k'u-na-k'undu	ainide
now-ORO	now	PROG-finish-1SG-finish	process
ɟɟ-ga	basa	wər p'a	sane gi-ze-ɟ-na-j
if.not-1SG	publish	some music	one work-sit(live)-?-1SG-?
wus-gija	ukwa	twi-ɟkin	kwama t'wa-kwama
on-?	to.be.called	call-?	Gwama mouth-Gwama
t'wa	maɔ-kɔmɔ	mina-kɔ-ɟɟ-kɔ	iɟi-ze
mouth	Mao-Komo	thing-say-?-say	?-sit(live)
kuwa	twi-iɟ	iniɟ haj məle	ga-da-gəta
perform	call-?	? he if not.ORO	1SG-NEG-give

FT Now I am on the way to finish the process of publishing music in the Gwama language, Mao Komo. I will never give up.

21. Sentence ɟigaɟte ik'idina amma kuwa zeɟnaje iɟ wəja ɟa.t'wamina həɟfi ga həɟfi gi zeɟna waj muzik'a

ɟigaɟte	ik'idi- nā	amma	kuwa-ze-ɟ-na-je
so	plan.AMH-1SG.POSS	now.ORO	stage-sit(live)-?-1SG-?
iɟ	wəja	t'wa-mi-na	hə-ɟfi ga hə-ɟfi
this	about	mouth-TAM-1SG	come-? I come-?
gi	ze-ɟ-na	waj	muzik'a(je)
work	live-?-1SG	about	music

FT So now I am on stage for my objective (work) that I came here for, (namely) music.

22. Sentence gaʃt'waʃi nəŋɡum manmina ini ga tət-ʃuʃi silakɔni kaj sene hɔmi gi wɔrkwamana hɔma gaʃtɔp tam

gaʃ-t'wa-ʃi nən-g-um man-mina ini ga tət-ʃuʃi
for-talk-? tell-1SG-2PL small-things here I in-forest

silakɔni kaj sene hɔ-mi gi wɔrkwama-na
in.fact day one go-1PL with brother-1SG.POSS

hɔ-ma gaʃ-tɔp tam
go-1PL for-collect honey

FT For your information, let me tell you my experience when I went to the forest with my brother to look for honey (wild forest honey).

23. Sentence gidehɔma gaʃtɔp tami sus man tam

gide-hɔ-ma gaʃ-tɔp tami sus man tam
TAM-go-1PL for-collect honey get small honey

FT When we arrived there we got a little honey.

24. Sentence atam kamakami uba senze

a-tam kam-a-kami uba senze
?-honey get-?-get only (full of) larva

FT But the honey we got was full of larva.

25. Sentence tɔba ʃa dakmi tam hɔmikɔ ʃami kwarəm

tɔb-a	ʃa	dak-mi	tam	hɔ-mi-kɔ	ʃa-mi
collect-?	eat	finish-1PL	honey	go-1PL-TAM	dig-1PL

kwarəm

ensete

FT We finished eating the honey that we collected, and then we went and dug ensete.

26. Sentence pit manimakam

pit	ma-ni-ma-kam
hungry	PFV-?-1PL-get

FT We got hungry.

27. Sentence ʃami kwarami t'ɔʃmi kwarami ʃami kwarəm

ʃa-mi	kwarami	t'ɔʃ-mi	kwarami	ʃa-mi	kwarəm
dig-1PL	ensete	roast-1PL	ensete	eat-1PL	ensete

FT We dug, roasted and ate ensete.

28. Sentence blaʃami kwarami adami t'ɔp bibilaija ija paŋ

bla-ʃa-mi	kwarami	a-dami-t'ɔp	bi-bila-ija
when-eat-1PL	ensete	?-NEG.1PL-drink	?-as-water

ija paŋ
water there.is.no

FT When we had eaten the ensete, we couldn't drink anything, as there was no water.

29. Sentence bila turmi ijate ʃami gukɔrəmte bus'ni siti k'uʃ

bila tur-mi ija-te ʃa-mi gu-kwarəm-te
as country-1PL water-DEF eat-1PL with-ensete-DEF

bus'-ni siti k'uʃ
choked-3SG people throat

FT For in our country, we (always) drink (lit. eat) water with ensete; (otherwise) people's throat gets choked.

30. Sentence jilgiaʃi kwarəmi debipak ʃa debi gadəra ʃa

jilgi-ija-ʃi kwarəmi deb-i-pak ʃa
without-water-? ensete NEG-2SG-able eat

deb-i-gadera ʃa
NEG-2SG-possible.AR eat

FT Eating ensete without water is impossible.

31. Sentence ʃigaʃte halas denehint' wegmiwege masitsuja zɔp

ʃigaʃte halas dene-hint' weg-mi-wege
so AR.DM meet-lost fall apart-1PL-fall apart

ma-sit suja zɔp
 PL-person two alone

FT So, we got separated from each other (as we went around searching for water), each person alone.

32.Sentence hɔmuhɔ tətətə ūhāj hɔbiʃnate ga hɔbiʃnana dɔmadena hɔ
 mamdena s'aja hɔbiʃgis'ini

hɔ-mu-hɔ tətətə ūhāj hɔ-biʃ-nate ga hɔ-biʃ-nana
 go-1PL-go quickly he go-?-on.his.own I go-?-my.own

da-ma-dena hɔ ma-m-dena s'aja hɔ-biʃ-ni gis'ini
 NEG-1PL-meet go PFV-1PL-meet sad go-?-PL alone

FT We went off quickly, he on his own and I on my own, but we didn't meet up. Each of us went off sadly, alone.

33.Sentence atew mina inega gi tat ʃusu bate hɔ kamni wəl ijatɔ t'ɔbni t'ɔbi
 twinetwi twinetwi twinetwi ʃwigni ʃwigma dɔbnejkam

atew mina ine-ga gi tat ʃusu bate
 this thing coincident-1SG from in forest be.?

hɔ kam-ni wəl ija-tɔ t'ɔp'-ni-t'ɔp'-i
 go get-1SG small water-DEF drink-1SG-drink-?

twi-n-e-twi twi-n-e-twi twi-n-e-twi
 call-1SG-3MS-call call-1SG-3MS-call call-1SG-3MS-call

ʃwik-ni	ʃwik-ma	dəb-n-e-kam
whistle-1SG	whistle-1PL	NEG-1SG-3MS-get

FT This is what I faced when I was in the forest. When I found a little water to drink, I called and called and whistled and whistled but I didn't get him.

34. Sentence ʃigaʃte ūhāj halas ga t'ɔbiʃni ijate kimahɔnahɔ ūhāj hindi iʃiʃ biʃnigis'in ga hɔ hindiʃ biʃni gis'na

ʃigaʃte	ūhāj	halas	ga	t'ɔp'-iʃ-ni	ija-te
so	he	AR.DM	I	drink-?-1SG	water-DEF

kima-hɔ-na-hɔ	ūhāj	hindi	iʃ-iʃ	biʃ-ni-gis'in
as-come-1SG-come	he	lost	RED-sleep	?-3MS-alone

ga	hɔ	hind	iʃ	biʃ-ni	gis'ina
I	go	lost	sleep	TAM-1SG	alone

FT So I drank the water. He was lost and spent the night alone, and I was lost and spent the night alone.

35. Sentence hindiʃni gis'ina igəʃte t'ani ant' abat'ani ant'

bila	hind	iʃ-ni	gis'i-na	igəʃte	t'a-ni	ant'
after	lost	sleep-1SG	alone-1SG	so	light-1SG	fire

aba-t'a-ni	ant'
well-light-1SG	fire

FT Since I was spending the night alone, I made a big fire.

36. Sentence k'iŋni ant' sa ant' kejam ant' ukun abat'ant'nat'at' jas mansugun
 kɔnikɔ gaʃjas minaniga hɔ hɔk'afa ansugun awagani bunu awagəni
 kwak'ja sela iwus suaja

k'iŋ-ni	ant'	sa	ant'	kejam	ant'
break-1SG.TAM	fire	willingly.AR	fire	tree.species	fire

ukun	aba-t'ani-ni	ant'	jas	man-sugun
tree species	well-light-1SG	fire	place	?-night

kɔ-ni-kɔ	gaʃ-jas	min-ani-ga
say-1SG-say	for-place	something-CAUS-1SG

hɔ	hɔ k'afa	ansugun	awa	ga	(a)-ni-bunu
come	come-frighten	at.night	maybe	1SG	IMP-1SG-cry

awa	ga	(a)-ni-kwa-k'ja	sel-a	iwus	swaja
maybe	1SG	IMP-1SG-be-how	climb-?	on	tree

FT I collected firewood and made a big fire. Then, fearing that some
 furious thing might come and frighten me, (I asked myself:) Should
 Should I cry? or climb a tree? I climbed a tree to spend the night.

37. Sentence selena wus swaja dɔnɔ utuma zeifniif iwar suwajato halas zif
 mani ga kab

sel-e-na	wus	swaja	dɔnɔ	utuma
climb-TAM-1SG	on	tree	there	while

ze-if-ni-if	i-war	swaja-to	halas
PROG-sleep-1SG-sleep	TAM-small	tree-DEF	AR.DM

ze-iʃ-ma-ni ga-kab
 sleep-PFV-PFV-1SG 1SG-take

FT When I had climbed the tree I fell asleep.

38. Sentence wələs' wuruʃna insugun daksugun kɔna wuruʃa pina jas pup

wələs' wuruʃ-na in-sugun dak-sugun
 turn (upside down) fall down-1SG ?-night middle-night

kɔna wuruʃ-a pi-na jas pup
 then turn-TAM fall-1SG place hurl

FT While turning over, I fell down (from the tree) to the ground in the middle of the night.

39. Sentence ʃi gi brus pina pina ijasi jas kuwani bun k'ələb abuni bunu udi ukwak'eb ga ugaja udi ukwatib ga uba jas suwaj ba wbitik kəkum tat bikum

ʃi gi-brus-pi-na pi-na i-jas-i jas
 then TAM-turn-fall-1SG fall-1SG on-place-on place

kwa-ni bun k'ələb a-bun-i-bunu udi ukwa-k'eb ga
 want-1SG cry surprise if-cry-IMP-cry who will-listen I

ugaja udi ukwa-tib ga uba jas-suwaj ba-uba
 wherever who will-hear I only place-tree be.IMP-only

tət kəkum tat bikum
 at all at area

FT After I fell down on the ground, I realized that no one could hear me. I wanted to cry out. But if I cried out, who would hear me? There are only trees in all that area.

40. Sentence ʃigaʃte halas uma hə pwaŋ tat ʃuʃ um mane bəde bəde ahəʃama kwəs kwəs pwaŋ tət ʃuʃ mibilgisel iʃ iuws suwaja bilgisel iʃiʃ us us pidini mit'ant' iʃ ant' miʃiʃ ijas mamin sene ukwaj inumini apani igaʃte hasabakum akabatiuwnte hasaba gaʃte gaʃzeni gis'ini

ʃigaʃte	halas	um-a	hə	pwaŋ	tat	ʃuʃ	
so	AR.DM	2PL-?	go	to(road)	at	forest	
um	mane	bəde	bəde	a-hə-ʃ-ma		k'wəs	
you.PL	children	later.ORO	later.ORO	if-go-IMP-1PL		back	
k'wəs	pwaŋ	tət	ʃuʃ	mi-bilgi-sel	iʃ	iws	
back	to(road)	at	forest	2PL-NEG-climb	sleep on		
swaja	bilgi-sel	iʃ-iʃ	us	us	pidini	mi-t'ant'	
tree	NEG-climb	RED-sleep	on	on	stone	2PL-fire	
iʃ	ant'	mi-iʃ-iʃ	ijas	mamin	sene		
?	fire	2PL-RED-sleep	place	nothing	one		
ukwaj-inumini	apani	igaʃte	hasaba-kóm	akabati			
do-harm	there.is.no	so	thought-2PL	bother			
um-te	hasaba	gaʃte	gaʃ-ze-ni	gis'ini			
2PL-?	thought	so	for-sit(live)-1SG	alone			

FT So, you children, if you go to the forest later, don't climb trees or rocks to sleep on. Make a fire and sleep on the ground. Nothing will harm you or trouble your thoughts even though you are alone.

41. Sentence hasa minjs bilte ingiga sinko

hasa	mina-js	bilte	ingi-ga	ƒinko
now.BERT	thing-kind	like	came across-1SG	formerly

FT This is the kind of thing I experienced before.

42. Sentence iws inƒi silakoni kwama abun iƒt'op' iƒp'a iƒp'akiansa giƒinko
bate umina ajga asit ƒinko ubaba kisinigakis gafho p'a kiansa

iws	inƒi	silakoni	kwama	abun	iƒ-t'op'
on	matter	in fact	kwama	3PL.POSS	?-drink

iƒ-p'a	iƒ-p'a	kiansa
?-dance	?-play	musical.instrument(zumbara)

gi-ƒinko	bate	umina	aj-ga	asit	ƒinko
by-formerly	be.?	thing	know-1SG	persons	formerly

u-baba	kis-ni-ga-kis	gaf-ho
1SG-father	forbid-3MS-1SG-forbid	to-go

p'a	kiansa
play(music)	musical.instrument

FT By the way, I knew (when I was a child) that the Gwama people drink, dance and play musical instruments. But my father didn't allow me to go to the places where they played music.

43. Sentence pwaŋi jas ʃwi demaj hɔ

pwaŋi	jas	ʃwi	de-maj-hɔ
road	place	t'ella	NEG-1PL-go

FT We (my father and I) did not go to the places of t'ella (local beer).

44. Sentence maʃi pɔba gʊs ʃɔmikɔ pɔba gʊsmiguste amihɔ hɔp'up'ate mi hɔ
 tɔp' ʃuwi ijasa t'ɔp'mi ʃuwi kúm pɔp gʊs ʃɔgɔ gaʃt'ɔp' ʃuwi gaʃ p'a
 kianste kúm gitap'a tutimatut gita matutimatut kidenimade

mā	ʃí	pɔp'-a	gùs	ʃɔ-mī-kɔ	pɔp'-a	gùs-mī-gùs
1PL	also	hide-?	run	conceal-1PL-?	hide-?	run-1PL-run

ā-mī-hɔ	hɔ	p'ɔp'á-tè	ā-mī-hɔ	tɔp'
IMP-1PL-go	go	dance-DEF	IMP-1PL-go	drink

ʃwī	í-jās-a	t'ɔp'-mī	ʃwí	kúm	pɔp'	gùs	ʃɔgɔ
t'ella	?-place-?	drink-1PL	t'ella	place	hide	run	?

gáʃ-t'ɔp'	ʃwí	gáʃ-p'á	kians-te	kúm
to-drink	t'ella	to-play	musical.instrument-DEF	place

gità-p'á	tút-mā-tút	gità	mà-tút-mā-tút
after-dance	return-1PL-return	after	PFV-return-1PL-return

kī dè-ni-ma-dè
wait chase-3MS-1PL-chase

FT But we (my friends and I) used to hide and run off to the dance and music places in secret. We drank t'ella and played instruments, hiding ourselves. When we got back home (our father) was waiting (for us) and chased us (away).

45. Sentence ate mina aṅa-ingima ṣinkɔbate uminaṅa beṣmigi giṣinkɔ gizemi gimankin

ate mina aṅa-ingi-ma ṣinkɔ bate umin-aṅa
this thing before-do-1PL formerly be thing-before

beṣ-mi-gí gí ṣinkɔ gi-ze-mi-gi man-kin
pass-1PL-PFV by formerly by-sit-1PL-PFV PL-child

FT This is what we used to do when we were children.

46. Sentence umina ingima ini ṣigaṣte ini kukum um mənə kwama iṣa warmini t'wa ṣṣnaje bɔde bɔde bɔde mi aba s'iti iṣaubi mis'iteṣa tət k'up mis'iteṣa iṅi iṣa minṣbilte iṣa mamarub anum gigət'əma miaba inaini nɔkin

umi-na ingi-ma ini ṣigaṣte ini ku-kum um
thing-1SG experience-1PL here so here RED-all you

mənə kwama iṣa war-mini t'wa
children Gwama ? small-thing mouth

jʃ-na-je	bɔde	bɔde	bɔde	mi-aba	s'iti
?-1SG-TAM	later.OR	later	later	1PL-in a good way	hold

iʃa-ubi	mi-s'ite-ʃa	tət-k'up	mi-s'ite-ʃa	iŋi
?-head	1PL-hold(bear)-eat	in-head	1PL-hold-eat	heart

min	js-bilte	min	js-bilte	mamarub
thing	kind-like	thing	kind-like	maybe.AR(rubbama?)

an-um	gi-gət'əma	mi-aba	inaini	nəkin
?-2PL	IMP-encounter	1PL-well	help each other	good

FT [The narrator now returns to his experience in the forest.] All you children of Gwama, this is the small experience that I tell you. So, think of it and take care of yourselves. If you encounter such a situation in the future help each other.

47. Sentence ga mən t'wa dak

ga	ma-n-t'wa	dak
1SG	PFV-1SG-mouth(talk)	finished

FT I have finished my speech.

Text B: MAKING BEEHIVES AND GATHERING HONEY

1. Sentence iniga gitaʃamni hɔ pwaŋ tawawani animiki gi mankwamana amimiki sit twasene sit bis'ini kini amit'uʃ ap wama ate amitigi hɔ pwaŋ tat wawan

ini-ga	gita	ʃam-ni-hɔ	pwaŋ	tat-wawani
?-1SG	when	want-1SG-go	to (road)	in-forest

a-ni-miki	gi	man-kwama-na	a-mi-miki
IMP-1SG-discuss with	PL-brothers-1SG.POSS	IMP-1PL.EX-discuss	

sit	twasene	sit	bis'ini	kini	a-mi-t'uʃ
person	three	person	four	be?	IMP-1PL-tie

ap	wama	ate	a-mi-ti-gi	hɔ
arrange	things/possessions	then	IMP-1PL-give-?	go

pwaŋ	tat-wawan
to(road)	at-forest

FT When I want to go to the forest, I discuss together (lit. with my brothers) with three or four men. We tie up and arrange our possessions. Then we go to the forest.

2. Sentence atefi gita mamiki dakidak tegele amidena t'ut'wa gigijas anihɔ gigijas anihɔ giʃsuja kaja kɔnikɔ ate amikutal kikijatma amaugi ini ʃɔ amaugi p'umut' madas' giis amaugi zet git'aʃa dekum manpaka

ate ʃi gita ma-miki dak-i-dak tegele
 then also after 1PL-agree finish-?-finish this

a-mi-dena t'u-t'wa gigijas a-ni-hɔ
 IMP-1PL-meet RED-mouth when IMP-1PL-go

gigijas a-ni-hɔ gi-iʃ suja kaja kɔ-ni-kɔ
 when IMP-1PL-go PFV-sleep two day say-1PL-say

ate a-mi-ku-tal kikijata-ma a-ma-ugi-ini
 this IMP-1PL-say-? wife-our IMP-1PL-grind-sth

ʃɔ a-ma-ugi p'umut'
 food.for.journey IMP-1PL-grind powder

a-ma-das' gi-is a-ma-ugi
 IMP-1PL-grind (for spice.) with-nug.seed IMP-1PL-grind

zet gi-t'aʃa dekuḿ man-pākà
 pepper with-salt all some-bread

FT After we agree on the day of our trip, after two days (or: two days before the trip), we tell our wives to prepare us some food like powder (of maize, sorghum...), nug seed, pepper, salt and bread.

3. Sentence ate mikuze jas atemi tigiʃekwi amipul geŋi ma gi pans'ama meʃ pans'ama giʃinama amitigihɔ ijasasene gi mankwamamate

ate mi-ku-ze jas ate mi-ti-gi-ʃekwi
 then 1PL-stand-sit place then 1PL-give-?-get ready

a-mi-pul	geŋi-ma	gi-pans'a-ma	meʃ	pans'a-ma
IMP-1PL-take	vine-PL	with-ax-PL	sharpen	ax-PL

giʃia-ma	a-mi-ti-gi-hɔ	ijas-sene
spear-PL	IMP-1PL-give?-go	place-one

gi-man-kwama-ma-te
with-PL-brother-1PL.POSS-DEF

FT Then we get ready and take vines (for making the beehive) and sharp axes and spears. We travel together to a certain place.

4. Sentence amihɔkɔ amiap jas tat pɔgɔ ap-mi jas ʃiʃaja sene itat pɔgi amitɔtize itat pɔgɔ

a-mi-hɔ-kɔ	a-mi-ap	jas	tat	pɔgɔ
IMP-1PL-go-?	IMP-1PL-arrange	place	at	river

ap-mi	jas ʃiʃaja	sene itat	pɔgi	a-mi-tɔti-ze
arrange-1PL	place good	one at	river	IMP-1PL-take-sit

itat pɔgɔ
at river

FT Then we look for a good place by the river and camp there.

5. Sentence ate mik'ɔp zijata amik'ɔp geŋi amak'ik'i amiu gendi

ate	mi-k'ɔp	zijata	a-mi-k'ɔp	geŋi
then	1PL-cut	bamboo	IMP-1PL-cut	vine

a-ma-k'ik'i a-mi-u gendi
 IMP-1PL-tie circle IMP-1PL-make hive

FT We cut bamboo and vines and tie (them) in a circle to make the hive.

6. Sentence gita umi gendi tat pək dɔni gita uifmi kaji bis'ini kaj kumut'
 kini ate amikwi gendite amapul kwi iws swaji kwi bəke ʃaŋa
 ifnikukus'i amituhɔ pwaŋ t'umu

gita u-mi genditat pək dɔni gita u-if-mi kaj
 after make-1PL hive at river there after do-sleep-1PL day

bis'ini kaj kumut' kini ate a-mi-kwi gendi-te
 four day five like this IMP-1PL-put hive-DEF

a-ma-pul kwi iws swaji kwi bəke ʃaŋa ifni-kukus'i
 IMP-1PL-take put on tree put place.ORO heat ?-dry

a-mi-tu-hɔ pwaŋ t'umu
 IMP-1PL-go.back-go to(road) home

FT After making the beehive by the river, we stay for four or five days, and we take the hive and put it in a tree in a warm place to dry. Then we go back home.

7. Sentence amihɔkɔ amipɔʃi t'umu

a-mi-hɔ-kɔ a-mi-pɔʃi t'umu
 IMP-1PL-go-? IMP-1PL-arrive home

FT Then we arrive home.

8. Sentence gipɔʃ mat'umi amidima kaji suya t'umima iʃmi kaj suji t'umi
amiut'tuʃ imi wəl tuʃ ɲa gi kikijatama tuni gi manama amuhuhɔ

gi-pɔʃ-ma t'umi a-mi-dima kaji suja
TAM-arrive-1PL home IMP-we-last takes) day two

t'umi-ma iʃ-mi kaji suji t'umi a-mi-ut'
home-1PL.EX sleep-1PL day two home IMP-1PL-collect

tuʃ-imi wəl tuʃ-ɲa gi kikijata-ma tuni gi
dung-cow a.little dung-goat with wive-1PL.POSS these with

mana-ma a-mu-hu-hɔ
children-1PL.POSS IMP-1PL-RED-go

FT After we get home, we spend two days at home; we collect some cow and goat dung with our wives and children and we go (to our beehive carrying the dung).

9. Sentence amitumumutu amaku pa'tgip'ada manamate kikijatamate tuʃ
ɲa tegele tuʃi imte amihɔ gi hɔn

a-mi-tumumutu a-ma-ku p'at'-gi-p'ada
IMP-1PL-go.back IMP-1PL-carry help-TAM-help

mana-ma-te kikijata-ma-te tuʃ-aɲ
children-1PL.POSS-DEF wife-1PL.POSS-DEF dung-goat

tegele tuʃ-i im-te a-mi-hɔ gi-hɔn
this dung-? cow-DEF IMP-1PL-go with-them

FT We go back (to the place where we make the beehive). Our wives and children help us in carrying the goat and cow dung.

10.Sentence amihəkə le tət gəɖəmate jas gəɖəmate t'eli dən pəgə mupəʃə

a-mi-hə-kə	le	tət	gəɖə-ma-te	jas	gəɖə-ma-te
IMP-1PL-go-?	up.to	at	camp-1PL-DEF	place	camp-1PL-DEF

t'ili	dən	pəgə	mu-pəʃə
just	there	river	1PL-arrive

FT We travel until we reach our camp, just there by the river.

11.Sentence gita pəʃmipəʃi amize dəni kajkaʃunu amihə pwaŋ ʃa ʃagi kwalam

gita	pəʃ-mi-pəʃi	a-mi-ze	dəni
after	arrive-1PL-arrive	IMP-1PL-sit	there

kaj-ka-ʃunu	a-mi-hə	pwaŋ	ʃa	ʃa-gi
day-toward-night	IMP-1PL-go	to (road)	dig	eat-?

kwalam

ensete

FT After we arrive, we take some rest (lit. sit there) and in the evening we go to dig ensete to eat.

12. Sentence ʃa ku kwalami amaku kukwi itət pək tegele

ʃa ku kwalami a-ma-ku kukwi itət pək
dig carry ensete IMP-1PL-carry keep at river

tegele

this

FT We bring the ensete to the river and keep it (for some other time).

13. Sentence gidiku kukwimi kwalam itat pəgi dɔni anzilde giɪʃ jajmijaj
anzilde amis'a gendi jasen niʃajʃ biʃ bude

gi-di-ku ku-kwi-mi kwalam itat pəgi dɔni
TAM-?-carry carry-put-1PL ensete at river there

anzil-de gi-iʃ jaj-mi-jaj anzil-de
morning-DEF ?-sleep wake.up-1PL-wake.up morning-DEF

a-mi-s'a gendi ja-sen ni-ʃa-jiʃ biʃ bu-de
IMP-1PL-daub hive each-one 1PL-dig-? own hole-DEF

FT After we put the ensete (in sand) by the river, the next day we daub the hive; each of us digs his own hole.

14. Sentence jasene niʃajʃ biʃ bude amis'a gendi ama s'is'a

ja-sen ni-ʃa-jiʃ biʃ bu-de a-mi-s'a gendi
each-one 1PL-dig-? own hole-DEF IMP-1PL-daub hive

a-ma-s'i-s'a
 IMP-1PL-RED-daub

FT Each of us digs his own hole and we daub the hive.

15.Sentence kikijatama tefi abakitotiki empe at'wa gendi

kikijata-ma	tefi	a-ba-ki-toti-ki	emp
wife-1PL.POS	these	IMP-3PL-look.after-take-look.after	cover

a-t'wa(-a)	gendi
?-mouth(-GEN)	hive

FT Our wives (on their part) look after covering the mouth of the hive.

16.Sentence abaempe abaempe abas'is'a amas'is'a s'is'a halas s'a dak gendi
 tegele amifam zejas amififinfi amifa kwalam

a-ba-empe	a-ba-empe	a-ba-s'i-s'a
IMP-3PL-cover	IMP-3PL-cover	IMP-3PL-RED-daub

a-ma-s'i-s'a	s'i-s'a	halas	s'a	dak
IMP-1PL-RED-daub	RED-daub	AR.DM	daub	finish

gendi	tegele	a-mi-fam	ze-jas
hive	this	IMP-1PL-want	sit-place

a-mi-fi-fi	a-mi-fa	kwalam
IMP-1PL -RED-break	IMP-1PL-eat	ensete

FT They cover and cover, they daub and we daub. When the daubing of the hive is finished, we break and eat ensete.

17.Sentence ʃa ʃa dakmi kwalam tegele bilni pi makwapa gi ʃa dakmi kwalam tegele halas amipit ʃwidin

ʃa ʃa dak-mi kwalam tegele bilni p'i
dig eat finish-1Pl ensete this ? strong

ma-kwapa gi ʃa dak-mi kwalam tegele
1PL.POSS-muscle do eat finish-1PL ensete this

halas a-mi-pi ʃwidin
AR.DM IMP-1PL-split rope

FT We dig and eat this ensete to make our muscles strong. We eat up this ensete. Then we prepare (lit. split) rope.

18.Sentence amipit ʃwidini amatodi kins' ku pwanji us swaja

a-mi-pit ʃwidini a-ma-todi-kins' ku pwanji
IMP-1PL-split rope IMP-1PL-take-tie carry to(road)

us swaja
under tree

FT We prepare rope, tie and put it under a tree.

19.Sentence ujasene anaku pwanj us swajde pwanj us swajde pwanj us swajde

uja-sene	a-na-ku	pwaŋ	us	swaj-te
each-one	IMP-3MS-carry	to(road)	under	tree-DEF

pwaŋ	us	swaj-te	pwaŋ	us	swajde
to(road)	under	tree-DEF	to(road)	under	tree

FT Each person (in turn) takes (his hive) and puts it under a tree.

20.Sentence ku pwaŋ us swajte mukina k'uk'undu gendi tegele ga nisel ws
ga kikizi abakikijat fi aze jas

ku	pwaŋ	us	swaj-te	mukina	k'undu	gendi
carry	to(road)	under	tree-DEF	all	finish	hive

tegele	ga	ni-sel	wus	ga	kikizi	hāp' kikijat
this	I	1SG-climb	on	I	male	she female

fi	a-ze	jas
also	IMP-sit	place

FT After we take all the hives to a tree, I, the male, climb (the tree) while the woman remains down on the ground.

21.Sentence giselna wus tegele ga kikiz ga ganisel zewsi halas ganiti
uŋwiden pwaŋi jas uzu pwaŋi jas

gi-sel-na	wus	tegele	ga	kikiz	ga	ga-ni-sel
TAM-climb-1SG	on	this	I	male	I	1SG-TAM-climb

ze-wsi	halas	ga-ni-ti
sit-on	AR.DM	1SG-TAM-give (from the tree to the ground)

uʃwiden	pwaŋi	jas	uzu
rope	to(road)	place	rope (only.for.hive)

pwaŋi	jas
to(road)	place

FT When I have climbed up, I (the male) let the rope down to the ground.

22.Sentence pɔʃna jas uzi agat'uʃ ti gendi kikijatɔ agat'uʃ ti gendi anakikap anakikap

pɔʃ-na	jas	uzi	a-ga-t'uʃ	ti	gendi	kikija-tɔ
arrive-3MS	place	rope	IMP-?-tie	give	hive	wife-DEF

a-ga-t'uʃ	ti	gendi	a-na	ki-kap	a-na-ki-kap
IMP-?-tie	give	hive-1SG.POSS	RED-hang	IMP-1SG-RED-hang	

FT After the rope reaches the ground, (my) wife ties my hive with it. I hang it (in the tree, after pulling it up).

23.Sentence jalla gendigendi ʃi bilti mankwamana tegele gante ʃi bilte mankwamanate

jalla	gendi-gendi	ʃi	bilti	man-kwama-na	tegele	gante
then	RED-hive	also	as	PL-brother-1SGP	this	those

ʃi	bilte	man-kwama-na-te
also	as	PL-brother-1SGP-DEF

FT The (other) hives, (my brothers) also do the same thing (with them).

24.Sentence jella hōngente dōni ku kaba dakmi gendi gendi gendi kab
dakmi gendi tegele

jella hōn-gente dōni ku kaba dak-mi gendi gendigendi
then 3PL-those there carry hang finish-1PL hive hive hive

kab dak-mi gendi tegele
hang finish-1PL hive this

FT Those (others) also carry and hang, hive after hive after hive. Then
we finish hanging the hives.

25.Sentence jella gamankab dakni gendina ga kaṅis' ga ganihō pwaṅ tat
gōdi aniap ant' anifij pwaṅ anakikin kikijatō akikin wala ga
anakikin ga kkizi itat wawan dabatal kikijata debetal kikizkō

jalla ga-man-kab dak-ni gendi-na ga kaṅis'
then 1SG-TAM-hang finish-1SG hive-1SGP 1SG early

ga-ni-hō pwaṅ tat gōdi a-ni-ap ant'
1SG-TAM-go to(road) at camp IMP-1SG-light fire

a-ni-ḡ pwaṅ a-na-kikin kikija-tō
IMP-1SG-boil porridge IMP-1SG-stir wife-DEF

a-∅-kikin wala ga a-na-kikin ga kkizi
IMP-3FS-stir or.AR I IMP-1SG-stir 1SG male

itat	wawan	da(b)-ba ¹⁰ -tal	kikijata	da(b)-ba-tal
at	forest	NEG-PASS-say	female	NEG-PASS-say

kikizko
male

FT Then if I finish hanging my hive early, I go to the camp, light a fire, boil porridge, and stir it; my wife stirs it or I stir it, in the forest one doesn't say "female" or "male" (i.e. there is no gender difference).

26. Sentence gia gendi jigaji ik mukina akabade gendite

gia	gendi	ʃi-ga-ʃi	ik	mukina
making	hive	know-TAM-know	2SG	all

a-kaba-de	gendi-te
IMP-hang-?	hive-DEF

FT You know (the work of) hive making; everybody hangs hives.

27. Sentence alas ga uba kam kin pwaʃte

alas	ga	uba	kam	kin	pwaʃ-te
AR.DM	1SG	only	quickly	stir	porridge-DEF

FT Then, I make (lit. stir) the porridge quickly.

¹⁰ According to Zelealem 2005:17, *ba* is a passive morpheme.

28. Sentence kin ma kini amikin kə pwaʃte ijas gente gi həbahə pwaʃte
amaʃiʃa gi hōn ijassene

kin ma kini a-mi-kin kə pwaʃ-te ijas
stir 1PLS stir TAM-1PL-stir put porridge-DEF place

gente gi hə-ba-hə pwaʃ-te a-ma-ʃi-ʃa
those after come-3PL-come porridge-DEF IMP-1PL-eat-RED

gi hōn ijas-sene
with 3PL place-one

FT After we make (lit. stir) it, we put the porridge on the ground until
the others come. We eat the porridge all together.

29. Sentence gi ʃami pwaʃte hōn ijas s'esgini amilima wamama amat'ut'uʃ
ama t'uʃ amukə tumut'pwaŋ t'umu

gi ʃa-mi pwaʃ-te hōn ijas s'esgini
after eat-1PL porridge-DEF 3PLS being together

a-mi-lima wama-ma a-ma-t'u-t'uʃ
TAM-1PL-gather.AR possessions-1PL.POSS IMP-1PL-RED-tie

a-ma-t'u-t'uʃ a-mu-kə tumut' pwaŋ t'umu
IMP-1PL-RED-tie IMP-1PL-put back to(road) home

FT After we finish eating the porridge, we gather our things together,
tie them up, and go back home.

30. Sentence kwalam tegele kwalam ʃa kammaga kamte apaʃnipaʃi
 amakumi jas amakum p'ep'eamakum p'e p'e p'e kina amakum p'e gi
 mankwamanate mukin amakum p'ep'e halas amagasəm səwa səwa
 kə amakwi wam wamama amaku pwaŋ t'umu kwalam tegele

kwalam	tegele	kwalam	ʃa	kam-ma	gakamte
ensete	that	ensete	dig	get-PL	yesterday

a-paʃ-ni-paʃi	a-ma-kumi	jas	a-ma-kumi
if-left-3MS-left	IMP-1PL-share	place (ground)	IMP-1PL-share

p'e-p'e	a-ma-kumi	p'e-p'e-p'e	kina	a-ma-kumi
RED-each	IMP-1PL-share	RED-RED-each	as	IMP-1PL-share

p'e	gi	man-kwama-na-te	mukin	a-ma-kumi
each	with	PL-brother-1SG.POSS-DEF	all	IMP-1PL-share

p'e-p'e	halas	a-ma-gəsəm	səwa	səwa
RED-each	AR.DM	IMP-1PL-share.AR	equally.AR	equally.AR

wama-ma	a-ma-ku	pwaŋ	t'umu	kwalam	kə
possession	IMP-1PL-put	to(road)	home	ensete	just

a-ma-kwi	wam	tegele
IMP-1PL-carry	possession-1PL	this

FT The ensete that we dug yesterday, if there is any left, we all share it
 equally and take it home with our things.

31. Sentence amiku hɔ kɔ amipɔʃi t'umi pɔʃma t'umi amiiʃ kaji k'uzi kini
 t'umi amantu miki gi mankwamanate amimiki amimiki kɔ antu
 huhɔ pwan tat wawan ma e anitu miki huhɔ halas tani dɔni amitu
 kwi t'ali kikijatama tegele abumauʃ giʃɔ bumadas' giis abumadas'
 giisi gizeʃ git'aʃi gipākà amtu hɔʃʃhɔ

a-mi-ku hɔ kɔ a-mi-pɔʃi t'umi
 IMP-1PL.IN-carry go put IMP-1PL-arrive home

pɔʃ-mi t'umi a-mi-iʃ kaji k'uzi kini t'umi
 arrive-1PL home IMP-1PL-sleep day ten just home

a-an-tu miki gi man-kwama-na-te
 IMP-1SG-go.back agree with PL-brother-1SG.POSS-DEF

a-mi-miki a-mi-miki kɔ a-an-tu
 IMP-1PL-agree IMP-1PL-agree then IMP-1SG-go.back

hu-hɔ pwan tat wawan ma e
 go.RED to(road) in forest we yes

a-ni-tu miki hu-hɔ halas tani dɔni
 IMP-1SG-go.back agree go.RED AR.DM then there

a-mi-tu kwi t'ali kikijata-ma tegele
 IMP-1PL.EX-go.back stand tell wife-1PL.POSS these

a-bu-ma-uʃ gi-ʃɔ a-bu-ma-das'
 IMP-3PL-1PL-grind with-food for journey IMP-3PL-1PL-grind

gi-is	a-bu-ma-das'	gi-zet	gi-t'afi
with-nug.seed	IMP-3PL-1PL-grind	with-pepper	with-salt
gi-pākà	a-am-tu	hɔ-jʃ-hɔ	
with-bread	IMP-1PL-go.back	go-?-go	

FT When we get home, after we stay home for ten days, I go back. I come to an agreement with my brothers to go back to the forest. When we have come to an agreement, we tell our wives to grind for us food for the trip: nug seed, pepper, salt and bread.

32. Sentence gide hɔmi hɔ amu halas ate mi hɔ duʃ tegele hɔ duʃ p'adaʃ pwaŋ tat wawan t'awali amiu gendi ukəb gendite kab duʃ ma dɔni kab beʃduʃ pwaŋ jas s'wi amihɔ pwaŋi ʃutu kɔbikɔ ami pɔʃi ʃutu ami tɔp tam t'awali dɔn

gide	hɔ-mi-hɔ	a-mi-u	halas	ate	mi-hɔ	duʃ
after	go-1PL-go	IMP-1PL-do	AR.DM	then	1PL-go	after

tegele	hɔ	duʃ	p'adaʃ	pwaŋtat	wawan	t'awali
this	go	after	straight	road in	forest	straight.AR

a-mi-u	gendi	u-kab	gendi-te	kab	duʃ	ma
IMP-1PL-do	hive	do-hang	hive-DEF	hang	after	1PL

dɔni	kab	beʃ	duʃ	pwaŋ	jas	swi	a-mi-hɔ
there	hang	pass	after	to(road)	place	home	IMP-1PL-go

pwaŋi	ʃutu	kɔ-bi-kɔ	a-mi-pɔʃi	ʃutu
to(road)	Shutu	call-PASS-call	IMP-1PL-arrive	Shutu

a-mi-təp	tam	t'awali	dən
IMP-1PL-collect	honey	straightaway.AR	there

FT When we go, we go straight into the forest and hang up hives there.
 [After we go home??] We go on to the place called Shutu and directly collect honey (i.e. wild forest honey) there.

33.Sentence gitəpmi tam təba ʃami tam gipetinipeti azini upa senze amiis'
 pwaŋi jasa twibi taʃa amihə gədi dən tani

gi-təp-mi	tam	təba	ʃa-mi	tam
TAM-collect-1PL	honey	collect	eat-1PL	honey

gi-peti-ni-peti	a-ze-ni	upa	senze
TAM-bad-3MS-bad	IMP-sit-3MS	only	larva

a-mi-is'	pwaŋi	jasa	twi-bi	taʃa
IMP-1PL-go down	to(road)	place	call-PASS	Tasha

a-mi-hə	gədi dən tani
IMP-1PL-go	camp there then.AR

FT We collect honey and eat it. If it is bad and has larva in it, we go down to the place called Tasha and we make (our) camp there.

34.Sentence gita gətma dən tani amitəp tam idən atamte akwani dungu
 amutu beʃ pwaŋi jasa twibi bukebi

gita	gət-ma	dən tani	a-mi-təp	tam	idən
after	camp-1PL.POSS	there then	TAM-1PL-collect	honey	there

a-tam-te	a-kwani	duŋgu	a-mu-tu	beɟ
?-honey-DEF	if-is	red honey	IMP-1PL-back	pass

pwaŋi	ɟasa	twi-bi	bukebi
to(road)	place	call-PASS	Bukebi

FT After we camp there, we collect honey. If it is red honey (i.e. not good honey), we pass on to the place called Bukebi.

35. Sentence amipɔɟi bukebi ɔɟma bukebi tɔp tɔpmi tam atamte
anokninɔkɔ danida dɔnɔ atami dɔmahɔ amikwi up ɟɔdɔ tɔdize

a-mi-ɔɟi	bukebi	ɔɟ-ma	bukebi	tɔp
IMP-1PL-arrive	Bukebi	arrive-1PL	Bukebi	collect

tɔp-mi	tam	a-tam-te	a-nɔk-ni-nɔkɔ
collect-1PL	honey	?-honey-DEF	IMP-good-3MS-good

a-da-ni-da	dɔnɔ	a-tam	dɔm-ma-hɔ
IMP-pure-3MS-pure	there	?-honey	NEG-1PL-go

a-i-kw	up	ɟɔdɔ	tɔdi-ze
IMP-1PL-stand	arrange	camp	be-sit

FT When we arrive at Bukebi, we collect honey. If the honey there is good and pure, then we don't go on. We make (our) camp there.

36. Sentence mize dɔni amitɔp tam tegele amatɔbitɔp amatɔti taɟ amas'iŋi
ug amatɔtit'ɔp' itat swajte.dɔnɔ t'ɔp't'ɔp' p'a ansugun t'ɔp' p'a maɟi
dɔnɔ tɔp tam uni ugu amigɔdi tat pɔkte dɔnɔ

mi-ze dɔni a-mi-tɔp tam tegele
 1PL-sit there PFV-1PL-collect honey this

a-ma-tɔbi-tɔp a-ma-tɔti-taʃ a-ma-s'iŋi
 IMP-1PL-RED-collect IMP-1PL-take-dilute IMP-1PL-pour

ugu a-ma-tɔti-t'ɔp' itat swaj-te dɔnɔ
 gourd IMP-1PL-take-drink at tree-DEF there

t'ɔp'-t'ɔp' p'a an-sugun t'ɔp' p'a maʃi dɔnɔ
 RED-drink dance ?-night drink dance drunk there

tɔp-tam uni ugu a-mi-gɔdi tat pɔk-te
 collect-honey pour gourd IMP-1PL-camp at river-DEF

dɔnɔ
 there

FT We collect this honey and dilute it and pour it into a gourd (to make tej). We drink it there beside the tree, we drink and dance at night and get drunk. We collect the honey and pour it into a gourd when we are camping there by the river.

37.Sentence halas ugumate i k'unt' muknikin mukina gi man bagade gi
 mani mukin ate miup mintwibi mak'aʃɔ amitɔtit'uʃ

halas ugu-ma-te ?i k'unt' mukin-kin
 AR.DM gourd-1PL.POSS-DEF full complete-PFV all-?

mukina gi man baga-de gi mani
 all by small plastic.container-DEF by small

mukin	ate	mi-up	min	twi-bi
all	this	1PL-arrange	thing	call-PASS

mak'aʃɔ	a-mi-təti-t'uʃ
container (made of vines)	IMP-1PL-take-tie

FT When all of our gourds and plastic containers become full, we tie a mak'asho (i.e. we make a mak'asho container out of vines to carry honey).

38.Sentence gita mamat'uʃ dima mak'aʃɔ tegele anziri kuwaŋa səati k'uzətsuja kɔnikɔ amijek'uruŋ kwi pwaŋ t'umu amhɔ pwaŋ t'umu tegele amumam tam mukinama ami hɔ ijasses'gini damadena hɔ ta deni ki hɔjʃmihɔ

gita	ma-ma-t'uʃ	dima	mak'aʃɔ	tegele
after	1PL-RED-tie	finish	mak'asho	this

an-ziri	kuwaŋa	səati	k'uzətsuja	kɔ-ni-kɔ
?-morning	dawn	o'clock	twelve	be-TAM-be

a-mi-jk'uruŋ	kwi	pwaŋ	t'umu	a-am-hɔ
IMP-1PL-go	stand	to(road)	home	IMP-1PL-go

pwaŋ	t'umu	tegele	a-mu-mam
to(road)	home	this	IMP-1PL-carry on one's back

tam	mukina-ma	a-mi-hɔ	ijas	ses'gini
honey	all-1PL	IMP-1PL-go	place	together

da-ma-dena	hɔ	ta	deni	ki	hɔ-jif-mi-hɔ
NEG-1PL-meet	go	leave	meet	wait	go-?-1PL-go

FT After we finish tying the mak'asho (and filling it with honey), we start our trip home about six o'clock in the morning being together, carrying the honey on our backs. We don't leave until we have all waited and met up with each other.

39.Sentence ami pɔʃi t'umi amiif jijaja atamte naji tegele naji tam amakwi tita iws swaja ifi gɔda mate sit debepat sit k'as debepat sit k'as debepat mini k'as debeʃa amapaʃ ta gi jagas' amtuho amtuho pwan t'umu

a-mi-pɔʃi	t'umi	a-mi-if-jijaja	a-tam-te
IMP-1PL-arrive	home	IMP-1PL-sleep-dawn ? ?-honey-DEF	

naji tegele	naji tam	a-mi-kwi	ti-ta
extra this	extra honey	IMP-1PL-put	RED-leave

iws	swaja	ifi	gɔda-ma-te	sit
under	tree	around	camp-1PL.POS-DEF	person

debe-pat	sit	k'as	debe-pat	sit	k'as	debe-pat
NEG-touch	person	other	NEG-touch	person	other	NEG-touch

mini k'as	debe-ʃa	a-mi-puʃ	ta	gi	jagas'
thing other	NEG-eat	IMP-1PL-cover	leave	with	leaf

a-am-tu-hɔ	a-am-tu-hɔ	pwan	t'umu
IMP-1PL-go.back-go	IMP-1PL-go.back-go	to(road)	home

FT We go home and sleep. The extra honey that we have covered with leaves and put under a tree around our (forest) camp when we go back home, no one else touches or eats it.

40. Sentence gita pɔʃma t'umi amikwi tamte amiiʃ kaj suja iʃmi kaji suja anitutu huhɔma nitu mikijmiki gi man kwamanate anitu huhɔma aniku tamaminge ate amiʔi gi kikijatama gi manamate amihuhɔ

gita pɔʃ-ma t'umi a-mi-kwi tam-te a-mi-iʃ
 after arrive-1PL homeIMP-1PL-put honey-DEF IMP-1PL-sleep

kaj suja iʃ-mi kaj suja a-ni-tu-tu¹¹
 day two sleep-1PL day two IMP-1SG-RED-go.back

hu-hɔ-ma a-ni-tu mik-iʃ-miki gi
 RED-go-1PL IMP-1SG-go.back agree-?-agree with

man-kwama-na-te a-ni-tu hu-hɔ-ma
 PL-brother-1SG.POSS-DEF IMP-1SG-go.back RED-go-1PL

a-ni-ku tama-mi-nge ate a-mi-i gi
 IMP-1SG-carry honey-1PL.POSS-? then IMP-1PL-bring with

kikijata-ma gi mana-ma-te a-mi-hu-hɔ
 wife-1PL.POSS with children-1PL.POSS-DEF IMP-1PL-RED-go

¹¹ Four times in this passage, the person/number marker *-ni-* occurs instead of the expected *-mi-* 1PL. I have glossed these cases as 1SG, but this does not make much sense. I do not understand the reason for the change.

FT After we get home, after two days (two sleeps), we agree with our brothers to go back (to the forest) to carry back home our (extra) honey. We go with our wives and children.

41. Sentence amipɔʃ tat ɡɔte amituʃ tamte kin amapuʃ ga kikijatama
minbərəw ɡis'in amapuʃama ɡis'in ate halas amitu kwikwi t'awali
utamte amaku pɔʃi t'umu

a-mi-pɔʃ tat ɡɔte a-mi-t'uʃ tam-te
IMP-1PL-arrive at camp IMP-1PL-tie honey-DEF

kin a-ma-puʃ ga kikijata-ma min-bərəw
like this IMP-1PL-cover with wife-1PL.POSS thing-other

ɡis'in a-ma-puʃa-ma ɡis'in ate
individually IMP-1PL-cover-1PL individually then

halas a-mi-tu kwi-kwi t'awali
AR.DM IMP-1PL-go.back put-RED directly.AR

u-tam-te a-ma-ku pɔʃi t'umu
?-honey-DEF IMP-1PL-carry arrive home

FT When we reach the camp (in the forest) we tie up the honey and cover it, (each of us) individually for his wife. We come back home carrying the honey.

42. Sentence ɡita ku pɔʃma t'umi tam tegele amaku tɔt pwaŋ ɡabi

ɡita ku pɔʃ-ma t'umi tam tegele
after carry arrive-1PL home honey this

a-ma-ku tɔt pwaŋ gabi
 IMP-1PL-carry take to(road) market

FT After we carry the honey home, we take it to the market.

43. Sentence ku tɔtma pwaŋ gabi kikijatama amatɔti kikijatama kwa tɔta
 awetna albaga awetna ugu kikijat atɔt pwaŋ gabi amahɔ dudwi

ku tɔt-ma pwaŋ gabi kikijata-ma
 carry take-1PL to(road) market wife-1PL.POSS

a-ma-tɔti-ti kikijata-ma kwa tɔta a-wet-na
 IMP-1PL-take-give wife-1PL.POSS do take IMP-be-?

al-baga¹² a-wet-na ugu kikijat
 DEF.AR-plastic.container IMP-be-? gourd wife

a-tɔt pwaŋ gabi a-ma-hɔ du-dwi
 IMP-take to(road) market IMP-1PL-go RED-sell

FT We carry it to the market; that is, we give it to our wives to carry,
 be it a plastic container or a gourd; the wife takes it to the market
 and we (the males) do the selling.

44. Sentence gitɔt dwinadwi birride anabdwigi ɔjɔ anidwi ɔjana anidwi ɔja
 manana

gi-tɔt dwi-na-dwi birri-de a-n-ab-dwi-gi
 TAM-take sell-1SG-sell money-DEF IMP-1SG-3FS-buy-?

¹² Compare *baga-de* (above), the same word with the native Gwama definite article.

ɔɔ	a-ni-dwi	ɔja-na	a-ni-dwi
clothes	IMP-1SG-buy	clothes-1SG	IMP-1SG-buy

ɔja	mana-na
clothes	children-1SG.POSS

FT Selling (the honey), I buy clothes for her (my wife), for myself, and for my children with the money.

45.Sentence haja paʃa bri apaʃni paʃi anadwi kɔ dwi waŋa amadwi ɲa ahant' niko bri amadwi imi

haja paʃa	brri	a-puʃ-ni	a-na-dwi	kɔ
then (sur)pass	money	IMP-pass-1SG	IMP-1SG-buy	put

dwi waŋa	a-ma-dwi	ɲa ahant'	niko bri
buy chicken	IMP-1PL-buy	goat more	if money

IMP-1PL-buy	cow
a-ma-dwi	imi

FT If there is extra money left over (from our purchases), we buy a chicken or a goat. If there is more money, we buy a cow.

46.Sentence awa k'japnik'jap ʃi amadwi waŋa gi ɲa gi bidɔ amat'uʃi swi amadwi kɔ upuma t'umu ijasze kikijatana tɔgɔɔ akɔ t'uʃ iswi upudabi waldab akiki akike agita wal kikijata agita wal kikizi wal kikiz anakike

awa	k'jap-ni-k'jap	ʃi	a-ma-dwi	waŋa	gi
maybe	small-TAM-small is	IMP-1PL-buy	chicken	and	

ɲa gi bidɔ a-ma-t'uf swi a-ma-dwi kɔ
 goat and sheep IMP-1PL-tie homeIMP-1PL-buy put

upu-ma t'umui jas-ze kikijata-na tɔ-gɔlɔ
 self-1PL home place-sit wife-1SG.POSS DEF-this

a-kɔ t'uf iswi upu-dabi wal-dab a-kiki
 IMP-put tie home self-3FS child-3FS if-tend

a-kike agita wal kikijata agita wal kikizi
 if-tend whether child female whether child male

wal kikiz a-na-kike
 child male IMP-3MS-tend

FT If it (the money) is little, we buy chicken, a goat and a sheep. We tie them up at home ourselves, or my wife ties them up herself, and her child tends them, whether a boy or a girl.

47. Sentence ate minminte minama makwam bate mina ʃa zema bate agi zemize

ate min-min-te mina-ma ma-kwam bate mina ʃa
 then thing-RED-DEF thing-1PL.POSS PL-Gwama be thing eat

ze-ma bate a-gi ze-mi-ze
 live-1PL be IMP-work live-1PL-live

FT This is the livelihood of the Gwama. We live by working.

48. Sentence kab dakmi gendi it'waup ʃu amitɔti kwi ate mina gi ze kwam
bate

kab dak-mi gendi it'waup ʃu
hang finish-1PL hive season rain

a-mi-tɔti-kwi ate mina gi
IMP-1PL-take-weed (pulling out weeds) this thing work

ze kwam bate
live Gwama be

FT After we have finished hanging the hives during the rainy season,
we weed our crops. This work is how the Gwama people live.

49. Sentence ik ʃi ʃigaʃi ik uku sadik' kwam bilagi zenize

ik ʃi ʃi-ga-ʃi ik uku Sadik
2SG also know-2SG-know 2SG 2SG Sadik'(name of a person)

kwas bila-gi ze-ni-ze
Gwama as-work live-1PL-live

FT You, Sadik, also know that we Gwama people live by working.

50. Sentence awetna wegaja awega pɔkɔ awegaja kwam kulu ʃigaʃi ik
kuwam bilauni gendi

a-wet-na wegaja a-wega pɔkɔ a-wega-ja kwam
IMP-be-1PL be-? IMP-be river IMP-be-? Gwama

kulu	ʃi-ga-ʃi	ik	kuwam	bila-uni	gendi
all.AR	know-PFV-know	2SG	Gwama	as-make	hive

FT Wherever we are [at the river?], as you know, the Gwama people all make beehives.

51. Sentence gendi minabun ba tegele ateiʃ mina wet mina maʃi aʃa zemize
bate makwam tegele gi gi kwi zup

gendi	mina-bun	ba	tegele	ateiʃ	mina	wet	mina	ma-ʃi
hive	thing-3PL	is	this	also	thing	be	thing	1PL-also

a-ʃa	ze-mi-ze	bate	ma-kwam	tegele	gi
IMP-eat	live-1PL-live	be	PL-Gwama	this	work

gi kwi zup
with weed only

FT Beehives are the basis of the livelihood of the Gwama people [and with weeding only?].

52. Sentence ga man t'wa dak ga

ga	ma-n-t'wa	dak	ga
1SG	PFV-1SG-talk	finished	1SG

FT I have finished my speech.

Text C: MARRIAGE AMONG THE GWAMA

1. Sentence bɔka gwama

bɔka gwama
marriage Gwama

FT Marriage among the Gwama.

2. Sentence bɔka gwama bilabɔkbibɔk gwama bɔka buni dawegiini ila ginama zuba

bɔka gwama bila-bɔk-bi-bɔk gwama
marriage Gwama when-marry-TAM-marry Gwama

bɔk-a-buni dawegiini ila gi-nama zuba
marriage-GEN-3PL NEG-something except.AR by-change only

FT Marriage among the Gwama takes place only through exchange.

3. Sentence bɔkabun bate ginama den namʃɔbikɔ tibigi bɔk wal bwans'te gele anik'ut hɔ wal dwa itat pɔkɔ

bɔk-a-bun bate gi-nama den nam-ʃɔ-bi-kɔ
marriage-GEN-3PL be by-change meet change-?-3PL-?

ti-bi-gi bɔk wal bwans'te gele
give-3PL-do marry child young-DEF this

a-ni-k'ut hɔ wal dwa itat pɔkɔ
IMP-3MS-round go child female at river

FT Their marriage takes place through exchange. The young man goes around to the river to look for the girl.

4. Sentence ijas ant' ijas ija anapk'ut deni dɔn anabti gi t'wa anapti gisasa
gijaji gele anapk'ut s'i anappul ʃwaŋa imit' anappul ɔji kulu gi majiji
gele aje kukɔ iʃgihɔ giiʃsuja giiʃ t'wasene nihuhɔ

ijas	ant'	ijas	ija	a-n-ap-k'ut	deni
place	firewood	place	water	IMP-3MS-3FSO-round	meet

dɔn	a-n-ab-ti	gi-t'wa
there	IMP-3MS-3FSO-give	do-mouth (speak)

a-n-ap-ti	gi-sa-sa	gi-jaji	gele
IMP-3MS-3FSO-give	do-love.RED	do-ok	this

a-n-ap-k'ut	s'i	a-n-ap-pul	ʃwaŋa
IMP-3MS-3FSO-cut	bead	IMP-3MS-3FSO-take	bracelet

i-mit'	a-n-ap-pul	ɔji	kullu	gi
on(from)-hand	IMP-3MS-3FSO-take	clothes	all	do

ma-jaji	gele	aje	ku-kɔ	iʃ-gi-hɔ	gi-iʃ-suj
TAM-ok	this	that	say-RED	to-?-come	do-sleep-two

gi-iʃ-twasene	ni-hu-hɔ
do-sleep-three	3MS-RED-go

FT At the place where there is firewood and water, he goes around to meet her there. He talks to her and tells her he loves her. Then he cuts off her beads, and takes her bracelet and clothes. After this is properly done, they arrange to meet again in two or three days (to get married).

5. Sentence halas kaj minte t'ili anihəhə sugun minte gele anapkəi ʃugus pwaŋ bunt'umu pwaŋi makum

halas	kaj	min-te	t'ili	a-ni-hu-hə	sugun
AR.DM	day	thing-DEF	just	IMP-3MS-RED-go	night

min-te	gele	a-n-ap-kə-i	ʃu-gus
thing-DEF	this	IMP-3MS-3FSO-take-?	pull-run (abduct)

pwaŋ-bun	t'umu	pwaŋi-ma	kum
to(road)-3PL.POSS	home	to(road)-1PL	father

FT On the appointed day and night (?) he takes her off (with him) on their road home, the road to our (the boy's) father.

6. Sentence manabʃugus tegele mazeja ubabun t'umi anihəkə anapinin itat pwaŋa

ma-n-ab-ʃu-gus	tegele	ma-ze-ja
PFV-3MS -3FSO-pull-run (abduct)	this	PFV-sit(live)-?

uba-bun	t'umi	a-ni-hə-kə	a-n-ap-i-nin
self-3PL	home	IMP-3MS-go-?	IMP-3MS-3FSO-take-hide

itat pwaŋa
at road

FT He then takes the girl off (with him); on the way to their home, he hides her by the road.

7. Sentence itat pwaŋi anatwi kwam anahɔ twi kwami kwama hɔhɔ anap tigi depe wi dam walɔ ɔɔɔ

itat pwaŋi a-na-twi kwam a-na-hɔ twi
at road IMP-3MS-call mother IMP-3MS-go call

kwami kwam-a hɔ-hɔ a-n-ap-ti
mother mother-3MS RED-come IMP-3MS-3FSO-give

gi-depe wi dam walɔ ɔɔɔ
do-show see let girl this

FT Then he calls his mother; his mother comes and he shows her this girl.

8. Sentence kwama halas kwama akɔ walɔ s'iti imit'i ap'i pwaŋ swi

kwama halas kwama a-kɔ walɔ s'iti
mother AR.DM mother IMP-take girl catch

i-mit'-ap'-i pwaŋ swi
by-hand-3FS.POSS-? to(road) home

FT Then, the (boy's) mother takes the girl by her hand and goes home (with her).

9. Sentence ap'ikɔ swi ahɔkɔ ahɔ twi kumkuma wale gele anihɔhɔ atigi
depe wale gele makwana t'wa wala mini mabɔkana bɔkana dwa sit

ap'-i-kɔ	swi	a-hɔ-kɔ	a-hɔ	twi	kum-kum-a
3FS-?-?	home	IMP-go-?	IMP-go	call	RED-father-GEN

wale gele	a-ni-hɔ-hɔ	atigi depe wale gele
child this	IMP-3MS-RED-go	them show child this

ma-kwa-na	t'wa	wala	mīnì	ma-bɔka-na
PFV-do-3MS	mouth(say)	child	our	TAM-marry-3MS

bɔka-na	dwa sit
marry-3MS	girl person

FT After she arrives home, the mother calls the boy's father and shows
(him) this girl and tells him "Our son has married (this) girl".

10. Sentence anɔkɔ dabakwa minsene anikwabi gaʃūhājte gele halas aniiʃi
anzilde abahɔ twi sita kukwama sita kukwama suja aba tigi depe
pwa mama aʃi habini habuma inima iʃmihɔkɔ makamekama
manangenan gaʃkwam gaʃkum mananguwnenan

a-nɔkɔ	daba-kwa	min-sene	a-ni-kwa-bi
IMP-good	no-matter	thing-one	IMP-3MS-do-IMP

gaʃ-ūhāj-te	gele halas	a-ni-i-ifi
to(road)-3MS-DEF	this AR.DM	IMP-3MS-TAM-sleep

anzil-te	a-ba-hɔ	twi sita	kukwama
morning-DEF	IMP-3PL-go	call person	wise(old)

mama	sita	kukwama	suja	aba	tigi	depe
somebody	person	wise(old)	two	messenger	then	show

p'wa	aɔʃi	hab-ini	hab-u-ma	ini	ma	iʃ-mi-hɔ-kɔ
daughter	here	3FS-here	3FS-with-1PL	here	1PL	?-1PL-go-?

ma-kam-e-kam-a	ma-nan-gwe-nan	gaʃ-kwam	gaʃ-kum
PFV-get-3MS-get-and	PFV-tell-see-tell	to-mother	to-father

ma-nan-gwe-nan

PFV-tell-see-tell

FT [The father] says "OK, no matter." Next morning they go and call two wise men (shimagelles) (as) messengers and show (them) the girl: "Here she is, with us." They (the shimagelles) go and tell (the girl's) mother and father.

11. Sentence a-nɔkɔ ani kukɔ sit gate anihuhɔ abe t'aj titi anihuhɔ te anipoʃi
 ubun magente anati taʃa digama diga zize abekukɔ anizize

a-nɔkɔ	a-ni-ku-kɔ	sit	gate
TAM-good	IMP-3MS-RED-say	person	old

a-ni-hu-hɔ	abe	t'aj	ti-ti
IMP-3MS-RED-go	messenger	send	give-RED

a-ni-hu-hɔ	te	a-ni-poʃi	u-bun	ma-gente
IMP-3MS-RED-go	and	IMP-3MS-arrive	with-3PL	PL-those

a-na-ti	taʃa	diga	ma-diga	zi-ze
IMP-3MS-give	greeting	peace	PL-peace	RED-sit.down

a-be-ku-kə	a-ni-zi-ze
IMP-3PL-RED-say	IMP-3MS-RED-sit.down

FT "Good. I will tell (them)," says the old man (the messenger), i.e. the wise man.¹³ The messenger goes and arrives at their house. He greets them "Peace"; they say "Sit down" and he sits down.

12. Sentence gita manze anatigi nan anakukə muma wəlahi wəlakum habuma ini gili imamami t'ajʃɔbiga kə gikene t'aj tibi ga gele niɔt'gum ɔt'.gasum

gita ma-n-ze	a-na-ti-gi	nan
after PFV-3MS-sit	IMP-3MS-give-do	say
a-na-ku-kə	muma	wəlahi
IMP-3MS-RED-say	you(with respect)	by Allah

wəla-kóm	hab-u-ma	ini gili
child-2PL.PO	3FS-with-1PL	here just

ma-mami	t'aj-ʃɔbi-ga	kə gikene
with-someone (not named)	send-message-1SG	say today

t'aj ti-bi-ga	gele ni-ɔt'-gum	ɔt' gaʃ-um
send give-3PL-1SG	this 1SG-tell-2PL	tell to-2PL

FT After he sits down, he tells them "By God, your daughter is with us, (i.e.) with a certain person; they sent me today to inform you, so I am telling you this."

¹³ At this point the narrator seems to switch from two wise men to a single wise man.

13. Sentence ʃinɔkɔ dabakwa

ʃi-nɔkɔ daba-kwa
TAM-good no-matter

FT (The girl's father says), "OK (good), no matter".

14. Sentence ʃimina t'ajti ga hunikɔbigakɔ iʃgahɔ nanani gagente gente gele walabun p'wa habuna t'umu habuna ga mama habuna t'umu ga mami kɔnakɔ gani nangumanani hōni mina git hōn up'iṇabuni binan tija gaʃik

ʃi-mina t'aj ti ga hōni kɔ-bi-ga-kɔ
?-thing messenger give 1SGO they say-3PL-1SG-say

iʃ-ga-hɔ nan-nan-i gaʃ-gente gente gele
?-1SG-go RED-tell-IMP to-those those this

wal-a-bun p'wa hab-u-na t'umu
child-GEN-3PL daughter 3FS-with-1SG home

hab-u-na ga mama hab-u-na t'umu ga
3FS-with-1SG 1SG somebody 3FS-with-1SG home 1SG

mami kɔ-na-kɔ ga nan-gu-ma-nani hōni mina
somebody say-1SG-say I tell-3PL-1PL-tell they thing

git hōn up'iṇa-buni bi-nan gaʃ-ik
have 3PL heart-3PL.POSS 3PL-tell to-2SG

FT The messenger says (to her parents): "They told me to go and tell her parents (lit. those that it is their child), 'Your daughter is at my (somebody's) home, she is with me.' " Then they (the girl's parents) should tell you and us what they have in their hearts (i.e. their opinion on the matter).

15. Sentence ʔe ga kɔnakɔ ga hɔ nawe ʃi um ʃi kene minze up'iŋakumminan ti keni gati gaʃga keni min gitkinum iʃiŋʃakum

ʔe	ga	kɔ-na-kɔ	ga	hɔ	na-we	ʃi
OK	1SG	say-1SG-say	1SG	come	1SG-?	also
um	ʃi	kene	min-ze	up'iŋa-kúm	mi-nan	ti
2PL	also	today	thing-sit	heart-2PL.POSS	1PL-tell	give
keni	ga	ti	gaʃ-ga	keni	min	git-kin-um
today	I	give	to-1SG	today	thing	have-?-2PL
iʃiŋʃa-kúm						
breath-2PL.POSS						

FT "I have come to bring you this message; and you, you tell me today what you have in your mind (lit. your breath)."

16. Sentence hōn gente bikukɔ magenamuna dwate abikukɔ hōni gikani mina kwa t'wa ma keni apankɔ ma maʃami sit nama ma damaʃam sanza

hōn	gente	bi-ku-kɔ	magena-muna	dwa-te
3PLS	those	3PL-RED-say	those-own	girl-DEF

a-bi-ku-kɔ hōni gi-keni mina kwa t'wa
 IMP-3PL-RED-say they ?-today thing do mouth(speak)

ma keni apaŋ-kɔ ma ma-ʃami sit nama
 1PL today no-? we 1PL-want person change

ma dama-ʃam sanza
 we NEG-want money

FT The parents of the girl reply, "We do not want money but a person (the boy's sister) as an exchange."

17. Sentence ʃami sit nama bidala walamatɔ bila zeni gili ak'uma ija akuma
 ant' agima minʃiʃa bilagiga walama zegiga nigili haj ʃi anikukɔ nɔkɔ

ʃami sit nam bidala wala-ma-tɔ bila
 want person change change.AR child-1PL.POSS-DEF as

ze-ni gili a-k'u-ma ija a-ku-ma
 sit-IMP here IMP-fetch-1PL water IMP-carry-1PL

ant' a-gi-ma min-ʃi-ʃa bila-gi-ga
 firewood IMP-do-1PL thing-RED-eat as-do-PFV

wala-ma ze-gi-ga nigili haj ʃi
 child-1PL.POSS sit-do-PFV here he also

a-ni-ku-kɔ nɔkɔ
 IMP-3MS-RED-say good

FT "We want a person in exchange for our daughter to serve us by fetching water for us, carrying firewood and preparing food as our daughter used to."¹⁴ And he (the messenger) also says OK.

18. Sentence ga ntu huhə giɔtkə gantu hɔhə səatisuja ganipɔʃi nigili ganaku
huhə t'wamine gele nəkə

ga	(a)-n-tu	hu-hə	giɔtkə	ga
I	IMP-1SG-go.back	RED-go	tomorrow	I

(a)-n-tu	hɔ-hɔ	səati-suja	ga	a-ni-pɔʃi
IMP-1SG-go.back	RED-come	hour-two	1SG	IMP-1SG-arrive

nigili	ga	(a)-na-ku	hu-hə	t'wa-mine
here	1SG	IMP-1SG-carry	RED-go	mouth(message)-thing

gele nəkə
this good

FT "Good, I will go and bring you back our response tomorrow at eight o'clock."

19. Sentence site gele anikwi dɔnɔ tɔti h

sit-te	gele	a-ni-kwi	dɔnɔ tɔti	hə
person-DEF	this	IMP-3MS-stand	there take	go

FT Then the (wise) man gets up and leaves.

¹⁴ The informant explained to me that this exchange girl herself get married to the (first) girl's brother. The text itself does not say this explicitly, but only hints at it (see below).

20. Sentence anihuhɔ anapɔʃi magente dɔnɔ t'umu

a-ni-hu-hɔ	a-na-pɔʃi	ma-gente	dɔnɔ t'umu
IMP-3MS-RED-go	IMP-3MS-arrive	PL-those	there home

FT He goes back to those at home (i.e. the boy's parents).

21. Sentence gi pɔʃna magene t'umi anunnanginan ma magen kɔbigakɔ
 ʃambi sit nam kini ʃam kinbi dwa ganama kwa k'ugun ija akwa
 kugun ant kwa gipun minʃa gaʃhun hajte magente
 magenamun genamunaini tefi abikɔbifkɔ anɔkɔ dwa gitmagiti

gi	pɔʃ-na	ma-gene	t'umi
when	arrive-3MS	PL-those	home

a-n-nan-gi-nan	ma	ma-gene	kɔ-bi-ga-kɔ	ʃam-bi
IMP-3MS-tell-do-tell	1PL	PL-those	say-3PL-1SG-say	want-3PL

sit	nam	kini	ʃam kin-bi	dwa ga	nama
person	change	say	want say-3PL	girl 1SG	change

kwa k'u-gun	ija	a-kwa	ku-gun	ant'
do fetch-3PLO	water	IMP-do	carry-3PL	firewood

kwa gi-gun	min-ʃa	gaʃ-hɔn	haj	te
do work-3PLO	thing-eat	to-3PLO	3MS	?

ma-genamun	ma-gente	genamu-na-ini	tefi
PL-those	PL-those	those-?-here	again

a-bi-kə-biʃ-kə a-nəkə dwa git-ma-giti
 IMP-3PL-say-own-say ?-good girl have-1PL-have

FT When he returns back to those at home (the boy's parents), he tells them: "Those (other) people said to me that they want a person in exchange, they want a girl in exchange, to fetch water for them, carry firewood and prepare food for them." Those back at home (the boy's parents) say, "Good. We have a girl."

22. Sentence dwa gitmagiti amumtigiti dwa gitmagiti amumtigit zenze dwa
 dwa ɔʃi azegi swijɔ ɡɔɔ

dwa git-ma-giti a-mum-ti-gi-ti dwa dwa
 girl have-1PL-have IMP-2PL-give-IMP-give girl girl

git-ma-giti a-mum-ti-gi-ti ze-n-ze
 have-1PL-have IMP-2PL-give-IMP-give sit-TAM-sit(presence)

dwa dwa ɔʃi a-ze-gi swi-jɔ ɡɔɔ
 girl girl here.it.is IMP-sit-? home-at this

FT "We have a girl here at home whom we will give to you (in exchange)."

23. Sentence gidɔni ʔe usite gele halas gidɔni abekukə iki giɔtkə tu huhɔ iki
 iʃgihuhɔ iʃginanunnani dwa gitmagiti giɔ kɔnkək ini site gele aniʃ
 jijaja idɔnɔ anzili abeti minʃa abeti pwaʃ abeti harəke anat'ut'ɔp'
 t'ɔp'ni harək'e anzili anitu huhɔ anamut ɡaʃmagenta

gidɔni ʔe usi-te gele halas gidɔni
 there yes person-DEF this AR.DM there

a-be-ku-kə	iki	giɔtkə	tu	hu-hə	iki
IMP-3PL-RED-say	2SG	tomorrow	go.back	RED-go	2SG
if-gi-hu-hə	if-gi-nan-g-un-nani	dwa	git-ma-giti	gi-hə	
?-do-RED-go	?-do-tell-2SG-3PL-tell	girl	have-1PL-have	?-go	
kə-n-kə	kini	sit-e	gele	a-n-if	
say-3MS-say	just	person-DEF	this	TAM-3MS-sleep	
jijaja	idənə	an-zili	a-be-ti		
dawn(early morning)	there	at-morning	IMP-3PL-give		
min-ʃa	a-be-ti	pwaʃ	a-be-ti	harək'e	
thing-eat	IMP-3PL-give	porridge	IMP-3PL-give	arrack	
a-na-t'u-t'əp	t'əp'-ni	harək'e	an-zili		
IMP-3MS-drink-RED	drink-3MS	arrack	in-morning		
a-ni-tu	hu-hə	a-na-mut			
IMP-3MS-go.back	RED-go	IMP-3MS-explain			
gaʃ-ma-gente					
to-PL-those					

FT Then they (the boy's family) say to this man (the messenger), "OK. Tomorrow you go back, and tell them that we have a girl." And this man goes and tells them. (That is,) the next morning they (the boy's family) give him food, porridge and arrack; he drinks the arrack in the morning, and then he goes back to explain to those people (the girl's parents).

24.Sentence matu pɔʃna magente gele digama diga gamantu hɔnahɔ ma
anɔkɔ debekwa zize

ma-tu-pɔʃ-na	ma-gente	gele	diga	ma-diga
PFV-go.back-arrive-3MS	PL-those	this	peace	PL-peace

ga-man-tu	hɔ-na-hɔ	ma	a-nɔkɔ	debe-kwa
1SG-TAM-go.back	come-1SG-come	1PL	IMP-good	no-matter

zi-ze

RED-sit down

FT When he returns back to those people (the girl's parents), he greets them saying "Peace. I went back and I have come (again)." (They say) "As for us, it is good. No matter, sit down."

25.Sentence anizejasi t'wakum eʃaj kinma t'watigium gikami mank'ɔla ʃaji
ʃaji madebigadebe dwa dwa mapɔʃɔ dwa mazedhabi t'umu magente
atekama amajsnibilte ma manumanɔkɔ apaŋkal dwakali wɔlama
tɔkala imamutumutu apaŋ sit nami walamatɔ imamutumutu ma
damaʃam ini brri amagi bi sanza anima k'u ija pɔgɔ anima ʃiʃgi
buna anima k'ɔs'gi pwaʃ maʃami sit nama madepi sit nam tegele
manuma nɔkɔ gamat'wa mank'unt' tegele

a-ni-ze	jasi	t'wa-kóm	e-ʃaj
IMP-1SG-sit	place	mouth (message)-2PL	?-good

kin-ma	t'wa-ti-gi-um	gikami	ma-n-kala
be-1PL	mouth(message)-give-?-2PL	yesterday	PFV-3MS-be

ʃaj-i	ʃaj-i	ma-debi-ga-debe	dwa	dwa
good-?	good-?	1PLO-show-2SG?-show	girl	girl
ma-pɔʃɔ	dwa	ma-ze-habi	t'umu	ma-gente
PFV-arrive	girl	PFV-sit(present)-3FS	home	PL-there
a-te-kama	a-ma-jsni-bilte	ma	ma-numa	nɔkɔ
if-this-be	if?-like-this	1PL	1PL-change	apaŋ-kal
				good no-may
dwa-kali	wəla-ma	tɔ-kala		
girl-be.PFV	child-1PL.POSS	this-be.PFV		
i-ma-mu-tu-mu-tu		a-paŋ	sit	
CAUS-1PL-2PL-go.back-2PL-go.back		if-no	person	
nami	wala-ma-tɔ			
change	child-1PL.POSS-DEF			
i-ma-mu-tu-mu-tu		ma	dama-ʃam	
CAUS-1PL-2PL-go.back-2PL-go.back		1PL	NEG-want	
ini	brri	a-ma-gi	bi	
something(not named)	money	IMP-1PL-work	?	
sanza	a-ni-ma-k'u	ija	pɔgɔ	
money	IMP-3MS-1PL-fetch	water	river	
a-ni-ma-ʃiʃ-gi	buna			
IMP-3MS-1PL-boil-work	coffee			

a-ni-ma-k'ɔs'-gi		pwaɟ	ma-ɟami
IMP-3MS-1PL-stir (porridge)-work		porridge	1PL-want

sit	nama	ma-depi	sit	nam
person	change	1PLO-show	person	change

tegele	ma-nama	nɔkɔ ga	ma-t'wa
this	1PL-change	good 1SG	PFV-tell(message)

ma-n-k'unt'	tegele
PFV-1SG-finish	this

FT (They say) "Your message pleases us, your message of yesterday was very good. Show us the girl who is at the home of those people (the boy's parents). If we (really) make an exchange like this, we will be pleased. If there were no girl (in exchange) for our child, we would send you back (lit. we would make you go back). We don't want money. We want an exchange person who will fetch water from the river for us, boil coffee, and stir porridge. Show us this exchange person and we will exchange. Good. I (the girl's father?) have finished my speech."

26. Sentence kɔbakɔ magentegele kaj ma jima bilte umi amihɔgihɔ giɔtkɔ mitab gwekinagwe waltɔ gɔɔ

kɔ-ba-kɔ	ma-gente	gele	kaj	ma	jima	bilte	umi
say-3PL-say	PL-those	this	day	1PL	accept	as	2PL

a-mi-hɔ-gi-hɔ		giɔtkɔ	mi-tab	gwe-kina-gwe
IMP-1PL-come-2SG-come		tomorrow	1PL-follow	see?-see

hə-gwe-ba wal-tə ɡɔɔ dena kwa-duf bate idɔni
 come-see-3PL girl-DEF this meet do-each.other ? there

ɡaf-dena bək iʃ-k'uzət-kumudi
 to-meet marry sleep-ten-five(in fifteen days)

a-mi-hə bək mi-nama sit nama
 IMP-1PL-come marriage 1PL-change person change

wala-ma-tə
 child-1PL.POSS-DEF

FT Then they come and see this girl and meet each other. (They say)
 "In fifteen days we will come for the marriage. We will exchange
 the exchange-girl for our child."

29. Sentence ikaj minte t'ili gente həbigihə pəʃbipɔʃi bəkba walabuni s'abab
 gida tibab ʔi hə gisɔnk' bəkmintin bəkama makwami gisɔnt' abab ʔi
 gisɔnt' iʃgi tat swi abab ʔi gisɔnt' abab ti ʔi beʃe beʃ ʔi beʃ babgisɔnt'
 dəbab mami k'was dəbab tɔti wus kuru apaŋ abab ʔi gisɔnt' ʔi beʃe
 ʔi beʃbi waltə pwanɓun gimadima kaji twasene gente abitunat
 həhə abahə

i-kaj min-te t'ili gente hə-bi-gi-hə
 ?-day thing-DEF just those come-3PL-PFV-come

pəʃ-bi-pɔʃi bək-ba wala-buni
 arrive-3PL-arrive marry-3PL.POS child-3PL.POS

s'a-b-ab gida ti-b-ab ʔi hə
 anoint-3PL-3FSO ointment give-3PL-3FSO bring go

gi-sɔnt'	bɔk-mintin	bɔka-ma	ma-kwami
by-foot	marriage-type	marriage-1PL.POSS	PL-Gwama

gi-sɔnt'	ʔi	gi-sɔnt'	iʃgi	tat	swi	a-b-ab-ʔi
by-foot	bring	by-foot	from	in	home	IMP-3PL-3MS-bring

gi-sɔnt'	ti	ʔi	befe	bef	ʔi
by-foot	give	bring	pass(travel)	pass (travel)	bring

bef-b-ab	gi-sɔnt	dəb-b-ab-mami
pass (travel)-3PL-3FSO	by-foot	NEG-3PL-3FS-carry

k'was	dəb-b-ab-tɔti	wus	kuru	kuru
on one's back	NEG-3PL-3FS-take	on	donkey	donkey

apaŋ [d] ¹⁵ a-b-ab-ʔi	gi-sɔnt'	ʔi-befe
no NEG-3PL-3FSO-bring	by-foot	bring-pass (travel)

ʔi-bef-bi	wal-tɔ	pwaŋ-bun
bring-pass (travel)-3PL	girl-DEF	to(road)-3PL.POSS

gi-ma-dima	kaji	twasene	gente
?-PFV-takes(finish)	day	three	those

a-bi-tu-nat	hu-hɔ	a-ba-hɔ
IMP-3PL-go.back-?	RED-go	IMP-3PL-go

¹⁵ The [d] seems clear on the recording; normally it would mean "Negative", but that does not make sense here.

FT On the appointed day, they (the girl's parents) come (to the boy's house) for the marriage of their child (their own daughter? or the exchange girl? or both?). They anoint her (the exchange girl) with ointment and they bring her (home) on foot. This is our marriage custom, we Gwama. They bring her home on foot, they travel on foot; they do not carry her on their back or on a donkey; no, they bring her on foot. They bring the girl back with them (on foot), even if it takes (as much as) three days. They go back.

30. Sentence dena ze jassene abidena t'ut'ɔp' harak'e ijassene abidena t'ɔp' ʃwi ijasses'k'in abidena ʃe waɲa mageni biʃ biku waɲa abafe magene magenminun abiku waɲa abafe mageni abidena s'itduʃ mit'i abidena twiduʃ ale ale ale kɔ jəla mabwanz mabwanz abiden twi maʃi maʃi maʃikɔ abiden twi jasses'ini dena wet mankwam

dena ze	jas-sene	a-bi-dena	t'u-t'ɔp'	harak'e
meet sit	place-one	IMP-3PL-meet	RED-drink	arrack

ijas-sene	a-bi-dena	t'ɔp'	ʃwi
place-one	IMP-3PL-meet	drink	t'ella(local beer)

ijas-ses'k'in	a-bi-dena	ʃe	waɲa	mageni
place-one	IMP-3PL-meet	slaughter	chicken	those

biʃ-ʔi	bi-ku	waɲa	a-ba-ʃe	magene
?-bring	3Pl-carry	chicken	IMP-3PL-slaughter	these

magenminun	a-bi-ku	waɲa	a-ba-ʃe
those	IMP-3PL-bring	chicken	IMP-3PL-slaughter

mageni a-bi-dena s'it-duf mit'i a-bi-dena
 those IMP-3PL-meet hold-each other hand IMP-3PL-meet

twi-duf ale ale ale kə jəla
 call- each other in.law in.law in.law say then

ma-bwanz ma-bwanz a-bi-den twi maʃi
 PL-young PL-young IMP-3PL-meet call brother/sister.in.law

maʃi maʃi-kə a-bi-den
 brother/sister.in.law brother/sister.in.law-say IMP-3PL-meet

twi jas-ses'ini dena wet man-kwam
 call place-one meet be PL-brother

FT (But first) they all meet and sit together. They meet and drink arrack together. They meet and drink t'ella together. They meet and bring chickens and slaughter them. They meet and hold each other's hand. They meet and call each other "in-law", and the young people call each other "brother/sister-in-law". They meet together as brothers.

31. Sentence abiden aʃduf s'i ijasses'in abiden tət ijasses'in gijan sugun
 git'əʃkaja abiden təti ijasses'in abiden wetbi mankwam ijasses'in
 gigentegele ate gijama makwami biladena bəkmibək biladena gi
 zemize bəkama biltegele ginam zup leʃgiəgələ bilanama zemize
 giəgələ

a-bi-den aʃ-duf s'i ijas-ses'in
 IMP-3PL-meet bury-each.other death place-one

a-bi-den	tɔt	ijas-ses'in	gijan	sugun
IMP-3PL-meet	take(borrow)	place-one	at.time.of	night
gi-t'ɔʃkaja	a-bi-den	tɔti	ijas-ses'in	
by-day	IMP-3PL-meet	take(borrow)	place-one	
a-bi-den	wet-bi	man-kwam	ijas-ses'in	gi-gente
IMP-3PL-meet	be-3PL	PL-brother	place-one	with-those
gele	ate	gi-ja-ma	ma-kwami	bila-dena
this	this	work-?-1PL	PL-Gwama	as-meet
bɔk-mi-bɔki	bila-dena	gi	ze-mi-ze	
marry-1PL-marry	to-meet	work	sit-1PL-sit	
bɔka-ma	bil	tegele	gi-nam	zup
marriage-1PL.POSS	as	this	by-change	only
leʃ-giɔ-gɔɔ	bila-nama	ze-mi-ze	giɔ-gɔɔ	
up.to-now-this	as-change	sit-1PL-sit	now-this	

FT They meet together at funerals to bury each other. They meet to borrow (things from each other), by night or by day. They meet together with one another as brothers. This is our way, we Gwama, our way of marrying. It has been by exchange only, up to now.

32. Sentence giɔʃi mængsti kɔnakɔ ini mitagidenedena nama maʃi dɔmak'ep dennama gipɔp' zegimagi giɔ ma makwama nama iʃtegele nam ma gipɔp' brrɪ apaŋ gahaj denanam ma gahaj

giɔʃi	məŋsti	kɔ-na-kɔ	ini
nowadays	government	say-3MS-say	here

mitagi-dene-dena	nama	ma-ʃi	dəm-ma-k'ep
?-RED-meet	change	1PL-also	NEG-1PL-hear

den-nama	gi-pɔp'	ze-gi-ma-gi	giɔ	ma-kwama
meet-exchange	by-secret	sit-do-1PL-do	now	PL-Gwama

nama	iʃ-tegele	nam	ma	gi-pɔp'	brri
change	?-this	change	1PL	by-secret	money

a-paŋ	gahaj	dena-nama	ma	gahaj
IMP-no	that's why	meet-change	1PL	that's.why

FT Nowadays the government has forbidden us to make (marital) exchange. However, we pay no attention (lit. we do not hear). We Gwama continue to do the exchange in secret, for we do not have money (for the dowry). That is why we do the exchange.

33. Sentence ga mant'wa dak

ga	ma-n-t'wa	dak
1SGS	PFV-1SG-speak	finished

FT I have finished my speech.

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