

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF
TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN GWAMA

BY
AMARE TSEHAY

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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
DOCUMENTARY LINGUISTICS AND CULTURE**

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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.

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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 (Himmelman 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*.)

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns (subject = object)	
1SG	gà
2SG	īk
3MS	ōhaj ²
3FS	hāp'
1PL.IN	mīnì ³
1PL.EX	mā
2PL	ōm
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 *mεεnε*.

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. ūm 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. ūhāj gáʃ-īk ma-n-i-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-you PFV-3MS-2SG-give book
 He gave you a book.
11. ūhāj gáʃ-ūhāj ma-n-é-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-him PFV-3MS-3MS-give book
 He gave him a book.
12. ūhāj gáʃ-hāp' mǎ-n-áp'-tí mäs'áfá
 he to-her PFV-3MS-3FS-give book
 He gave her a book.
13. ūhāj gáʃ-mɪnɪ ma-n-ni-ti mas'afa
 he to-us PFV-3MS-1PL.IN-give book
 He gave us a book.
14. ūhāj 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-ūm mǎ-n-úm-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, *mīnì* 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 *hūn* 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.

Table 2: Possessive pronouns	
1SG	nā
2SG	ké
3MS	dé
3FS	dáp'
1PL.IN	mīnì
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-kúm
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	-mì	-mà	-ma
2PL	ūm	-mí~mí	-òm	-kóm
3PL	hūn	-bí~bí	-òn	-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-kúm
3PL	up-a-bun

The following sentential examples show Gwama reflexive pronouns.

⁴ Another word for 'head' is *k'up*.

27. gà ʃũn-nī úp-á-nā
I love-1SG head-GEN-1SG.POSS
I love myself.
28. ĩk ʃũn-gí úp-á-ké
you love-2SG head-GEN-2SG.POSS
You love yourself.
29. ūhāj ʃũn-ní úp-á-dé
he love-3MS head-GEN-3MS.POSS
He loves himself.
30. hāp' ʃũn-á úp-á-dáp'
she love-3FS head-GEN-3FS.POSS
She loves herself.
31. mīnì ʃũn-nì úp-á-mīnì
we.IN love-1PL.IN head-GEN-1PL.IN.POSS
We love ourselves.
32. mā ʃũn-mā úp-á-mā
we-EX love-1PL.EX head-GEN-1PL.POSS
We love ourselves.
33. ūm ʃũn-mí úp-á-kúm
you.2PL love-2PL head-GEN-2SG.POSS
You love yourselves.
34. hōn ʃũn-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-hɔ	a-gi-hɔ	a-ni-hɔ	a-hɔ	a-ni-hɔ	a-mi-hɔ	a-mi-hɔ	a-bi-hɔ
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-hɔ

I IMP-1SG-come

I (will) come.

OR: gà ā-nī-hu-hɔ

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-hɔ	a-ni-hɔ
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 agi hɔ* 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-ſí-ſā
you.2SG IMP-2SG-RED-eat
You (will) eat.

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

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

44. ūhāj á-ní-t'ú-t'ṵp'
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. ūm 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-hō OR: hō 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-ſā
 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-hō-hō
 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-hōs' ɔjɔ
 I IMP-1SG-wash clothes
 I (will) wash clothes.

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

Table 7: NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE								
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' dəni- 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' s̀ngàrà
 he NEG-3MS-drink cigarette
 He does not smoke cigarettes.
72. hàp' dàb-ø-t'ōp' s̀ngàrà
 she NEG-3FS-drink cigarette
 She does not smoke cigarettes.
73. mīnì dà-nì-t'ōp' s̀ngàrà
 we.IN NEG-1PL.IN-drink cigarette
 We do not smoke cigarettes.
74. mā dà-mà-t'ōp' s̀ngàrà
 we.EX NEG-1PL.EX-drink cigarette
 We do not smoke cigarettes.
75. ūm dà-m-t'ōp' s̀ngàrà
 you NEG-2PL-drink cigarette
 You do not smoke cigarettes.
76. hūn dàb-ùn-t'ōp' s̀ngàrà
 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-ø- 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-ø- 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-ø- 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-ø- 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-ø- 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. *ik 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-kátəb dǝbdábé
 he PFV-3MS-write letter
 He wrote a letter.
80. hāp' mǎ-Ø-kátəb dǝbdábé
 she PFV-3FS-write letter
 She wrote a letter.
81. mīnì mǎ-n-kátəb dǝbdábé
 we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-write letter
 We wrote a letter.
82. mā mǎ-m-kátəb dǝbdábé
 we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-write letter
 We wrote a letter.
83. ūm mǎ-m-kátəb dǝbdábé
 you.PL PFV-2PL-write letter
 You wrote a letter.
84. hūn mǎ-b-kátəb dǝbdábé
 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. hùnN má-b-kégé
they PFV-3PL-shock
They are shocked
93. gà mǎ-n-k'úǝ bwǎǝà
I PFV-1SG-kill snake
I killed a snake.

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

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

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

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

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

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

100. hōn mã-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. gā 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	ga	nɪ	n	nɪ	ga
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	ma	ma	m	mɪ	ma
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-ø- 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. ĩk má-g-dwì ímí
 you.SG PFV-2SG-buy cow
 You have bought a cow.

121. ūhāj mǎ-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 mǎ-n-dwì ímí
 we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-buy cow
 We have bought a cow.

124. mā mǎ-m-dwì ímí
 we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-buy cow
 We have bought a cow.

125. ūm mǎ-m-dwì ímí
 you.PL PFV-2PL-buy cow
 You have bought a cow.

126. hōn mǎ-b-dwì ímí
 they PFV-3PL-buy cow
 They have bought a cow.

127. gà má-n-ho pwaŋi adisaba
 I PFV-1SG-go to(road) Addis Ababa
 I have gone to Addis Ababa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

142. hūn mà-gwè-bá zəbʃər
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 pwanɪ adisaba*.

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

hŭn mà-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 | mă-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-ø-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 infixed 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-ø-	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. ūm 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-bíʃ-nī-bíʃ
 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	ʃūʃū	batè	hō
this thing	coincidence	PFV-at/in	forest	be.PAST	go
kàm-nī	wāl òjá-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-górà*
you NEG-2SG-PROG-learn
You are not learning.

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

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

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

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

197. *hūn dàb-ùn/dà-ùn-zè-górà*
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>ʃa</i> eat	ʃá-nà- ʃá	ʃa-ga- ʃa	ʃá-nà- ʃá	ʃa-Ø-ʃa	ʃá-nà- ʃá	ʃa-ma- ʃa	ʃa-ma- ʃa	ʃa-ba- 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-gi-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 jám-nī s'it-gí t'imbíri ānónókó
I want-1SG have-PFV car nice
I want to have a nice car.

221. ūhāj jám-nī álámì-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 jám-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) fám-na-fám
 I get be-1SG lottery (I) want-1SG-want
 I wish I had won the lottery.

225. gà fám-nī s'it-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-ø min-ʃa-mine a-ø-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. ʊm 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. gà á-wèt-nī-gí hāṅāā-nī-pāj pwǎṅī 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. gà a-wèt-nī-gí īk à-nī-t'u-t'wá gwàmá hàn't'kō
 I IMP-be-1SG-PFV you IMP-1SG-RED-speak Gwama more
 If I were you, I would speak more Gwama.

246. gà 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. gà 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*.

248. ik	a-wet-gi-gi	itɔp'ja	a-gi-ze	asosa
you.SG	IMP-be-2SG-PFV	Ethiopia	IMP-2SG-live	Asosa

If you were an Ethiopian, you would live in Asosa.

4.5. COUNTERFACTUAL CONDITION

Counterfactual condition is a type of condition to express an imaginary connection between one event that never happened and another event that also never happened (Yule 2006: 186). I do not clearly understand the morphology here. In my examples the protasis and apodosis have very different forms, as follows:

Protasis:	Root + Subj + <i>gà</i> + Root	(reduplication)
Apodosis:	<i>a</i> (Impf) + Subj + <i>ma</i> (Perf) + Root	

The protasis has an affix *-gá-* which appears between the two reduplicants. Its identity is not clear to me; perhaps it may be a variant form of *-gi-*, in which case its infixed position resembles that of the pluperfect (see section 3.4), but unlike the pluperfect there is no Perfective affix *ma-* and the subject marker is infixed between the two reduplicants. Compare:

Pluperfect:	<i>ma</i> + Subj + Root + <i>gi</i> + Root
Counterfactual protasis:	Root + Subj + <i>gà</i> + Root

In the apodosis we see a cooccurrence of the Imperfective prefix *a-* and the Perfective affix *ma*, thus: *a*(Impf) + Subj + *ma*(Perf) + Root. However, unlike other verb forms, *ma* does not precede but follows the subject marker. Here are examples of the counterfactual conditional:

249. <i>gâ</i>	<i>áp'í</i>	<i>gwè-nī-gá-gwe</i>	<i>wàràk</i>	<i>á-nī-mà-bêfè</i>
I	hard	see-1SG-?-see	paper	IMP-1SG-PFV-pass

If I had studied hard, I would have passed.

250. ĩk áp'í we-gi-gà-gwe wàrèk 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 wàrèk 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 wàrèk 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 wàrèk 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 wàrèk 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 pibi gaj benaʃuba

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 gipebi gà benaʃuba ʃingɔ gebal nigəraj kizi swigəra aɲduwi
nəŋat niman t'aʃ duwi nəŋat niman buna

gi-pebi	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 giʃinkɔ giwal briito gimənk'ut
gimanhindi gidu kuwambi miki mugi gwadəŋana guwərkwamana
homi puwaŋ tat ʃuʃu

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

gi-wal	brii-to	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

hɔ-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 homi tat ʃuʃu ami ʃam tɔp tam

hɔ-mi	tat	ʃuʃu	ami-ʃam	tɔp	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 guziɟo ijasene

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

am-tɔp	guziɟo	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 ɟuja

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

ma-sit	ɟuja
1PL-person	two

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

7. Sentence gəbal jlgeɟ gà gəra giku kiz gà swigəra silakɔn gà mantut gu babana

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

gà	swi-gəra	silakɔn	gà	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 gaʃi 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' duʃnikɔtəwədadəra 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'ij	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	silakɔŋ-si	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 dɛnabt'ajgi sitɔ adena sagemadena dena sagima dena sami sitsuja zuba

da-ma-dene	sa-gi-je	dɛnab-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 juni 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	biɔ	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 ɪk'ɪdi-na ʃamiʃʃni basa wər p'a sene liʃabila zeʃna

ɪk'ɪdi-na	ʃami-ɪʃ-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
minakɔʃʃkɔ ɪʃi ze kuwa tuwiʃ iniʃ haj məle gadagəta

amma	dazine	ze-k'u-na-k'undu	ainide
now-ORO	now	PROG-finish-1SG-finish	process
jɟ-ga	basa	wər p'a	sane gi-ze-ʃ-na-j
if.not-1SG	publish	some music	one work-sit(live)-?-1SG-?
wus-gija	ukwa	twi-ʃkin	kwama t'wa-kwama
on-?	to.be.called	call-?	Gwama mouth-Gwama
t'wa	maɔ-kɔmɔ	mina-kɔ-jɟ-kɔ	iʃi-ze
mouth	Mao-Komo	thing-say-?-say	?-sit(live)
kuwa	twi-iʃ	iniʃ 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 ʃigaʃte ɪk'ɪdina amma kuwa zeʃnaje iʃ wəja ʃa.t'wamina həjʃi ga həjʃi gi zeʃna waj muzik'a

ʃigaʃte	ɪk'ɪdi- nā	amma	kuwa-ze-ʃ-na-je
so	plan.AMH-1SG.POSS	now.ORO	stage-sit(live)-?-1SG-?
iʃ	wəja	t'wa-mi-na	hə-jʃi ga hə-ʃi
this	about	mouth-TAM-1SG	come-? I come-?
gi	ze-ʃ-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 wərkwamana 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	wərkwama-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 dəmadena 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 ijaɬ t'ɔbni t'ɔbi twinetwi twinetwi twinetwi ʃwigni ʃwigma dəbnejkam

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'in̩ni ant' sa ant' kejam ant' ukun abat'ant'nat'at' jas mansugun
 k̩nik̩ gaʃjas minaniga h̩ h̩k'afa ansugun awagani bunu awag̩ni
 kwak'ja sela iwus suaja

k'in̩-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

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

h̩	h̩ 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 selen̩a wus swaja d̩n̩ utuma zeif̩niif̩ iwar suwajato halas zif̩
 mani ga kab

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

ze-if̩-ni-if̩	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 kɔkum 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	kɔkum	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 bode bode
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
apaŋi igaʃte hasabakum akabatiuwmte hasaba gaʃte gaʃzeni gis'ini

ʃigaʃte	halas	um-a	hə	pwaŋ	tat	ʃuʃ
so	AR.DM	2PL-?	go	to(road)	at	forest

um	mane	bode	bode	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	apaŋi	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 gaƒho 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	gaƒ-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 ʃɔmiko pɔba gʊsmiguste amihɔ hɔp'up'ate mi hɔ
tɔp' ʃuwi ijasa t'ɔp'mi ʃuwi kúm pɔp gʊs ʃɔgɔ gáʃt'ɔp' ʃuwi gáʃ 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	mā-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 ʃinkɔbate uminaṅa beʃmigi giʃinkɔ gizemi gimankin

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

beʃ-mi-gí gí ʃinkɔ 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 ʃigaʃte ini kukum um mənə kwama iʃa warmini t'wa ʃʃnaje bɔde bɔde bɔde mi aba s'iti iʃaubi mis'iteʃa tət k'up mis'iteʃa inɪ iʃa minjsbilte iʃa mamarub anum gigət'əma miaba inaini nɔkin

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

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

jʃ-na-je	bode	bode	bode	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 giɪʃsuja kaja kɔnikɔ ate amikutal kikijatma amaugi
ini ʃɔ amaugi p'umut' madas' giis amaugi zet git'aʃa deku
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 dehum 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 uɪʃmi kaji bis'ini kaj kumut' kini ate amikwi gendite amapul kwi iws swaji kwi bəke ʃaɲa ɪʃnikukus'i amituhɔ pwaŋ t'umu

gita	u-mi	genditat	pək	dɔni	gita	u-ɪʃ-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	ʃaɲa	ɪʃni-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 amiho gi hōn

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-hōn
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 amihəko le tət gədo-mate jas gədo-mate t'eli dən pəgo mupəfo

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

t'ili	dən	pəgo	mu-pəfo
just	there	river	1PL-arrive

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

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

gita	pəf-mi-pəfi	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 giɿʃ jajmijaj
anzilde amis'a gendi jasn 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 amatɔdi kins' ku pwanj us swaja

a-mi-pit	ʃwidini	a-ma-tɔdi-kins'	ku	pwanj
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
ufwiden 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 hūngente dōni ku kaba dakmi gendi gendi gendi kab
dakmi gendi tegele

jella	hūn-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 kaṇis' ga ganiho pwaṇ tat
godi aniap ant' anifiṣ pwaṣ anakikin kikijato akikin wala ga
anakikin ga kkizi itat wawan dabatal kikijata debetal kikizko

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

ga-ni-ho	pwaṇ	tat	godi	a-ni-ap	ant'
1SG-TAM-go	to(road)	at	camp	IMP-1SG-light	fire

a-ni-ṣ	pwaṣ	a-na-kikin	kikija-to
IMP-1SG-boil	porridge	IMP-1SG-stir	wife-DEF

a-ø-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	ji-ga-ji	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 pwafte

alas	ga	uba	kam	kin	pwaf-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 kɔ pwaʃte ijas gente gi hɔbahɔ pwaʃte
amaʃiʃa gi hɔn ijassene

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

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

gi hɔn 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 hɔn ijas s'esgini amilima wamama amat'ut'uʃ
ama t'uʃ amukɔ tumut'pwaŋ t'umu

gi ʃa-mi pwaʃ-te hɔn 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-kɔ 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 mukiŋ amakum p'ep'e halas amagasəm səwa səwa
 kɔ 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	mukiŋ	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	kɔ
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'uʒi kini
 t'umi amamtu miki gi mankwamanate amimiki amimiki kɔ antu
 huhɔ pwaŋ tat wawan ma e anitu miki huhɔ halas tani dɔni amitu
 kwi t'ali kikijatama tegele abumauʃ giʃɔ bumadas' giis abumadas'
 giisi gizeʔ git'aʃi gipākà amtu hojʃhɔ

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'uʒi	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	pwaŋ	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-tɔp	tam	t'awali	dɔn
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 gitɔpmi tam tɔba ʃami tam gipetinipeti azini upa senze amiis'
 pwaŋi jasa twibi taʃa amihɔ ɡɔdi dɔn tani

gi-tɔp-mi	tam	tɔba	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-hɔ	ɡɔdi dɔn 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 ɡɔtma dɔni tani amitɔp tam idɔn atamte akwani dungu
 amutu beʃ pwaŋi jasa twibi bukebi

gita	ɡɔt-ma	dɔni tani	a-mi-tɔp	tam	idɔn
after	camp-1PL.POSS	there then	TAM-1PL-collect	honey	there

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

pwaŋi	jaɬa	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 amipɔʃi bukebi pɔʃma bukebi tɔp tɔpmi tam atamte
anokninɔkɔ danida dɔnɔ atami dɔmahɔ amikwi up gɔdɔ tɔdize

a-mi-pɔʃi	bukebi	pɔʃ-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	gɔdɔ	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	ʔi	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-tɔti-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 hojʃmi hɔ

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-jiʃ-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 amiiʃ 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-iʃ-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 mikiʃmiki 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	home	IMP-1PL-put	honey-DEF	IMP-1PL-sleep

kaj	suja	iʃ-mi	kaj	suja	a-ni-tu-tu ¹¹
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 gɔte amituʃ tamte kin amapuʃ ga kikijatama
minbəraw gis'in amapuʃama gis'in ate halas amitu kwikwi t'awali
utamte amaku pɔʃi t'umu

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

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

gis'in	a-ma-puʃa-ma	gis'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 gita ku pɔʃma t'umi tam tegele amaku tɔt pwan ɡabi

gita	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-baga ¹²	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.

ɔjɔ	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 ŋa ahanɔ' 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	ŋa	ahanɔ'	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 ŋa 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	

ṇa	gi	bidɔ	a-ma-t'uɟ	swi	a-ma-dwi	kɔ
goat	and	sheep	IMP-1PL-tie	home	IMP-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'uɟ	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 ʃi-ga-ʃi 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 ʃigafi 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	dawe-giini	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
marrage-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 iʃgiho 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 anihohə 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 anihəko 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 aɔʃi 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	aɔfi	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 anipɔʃi
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-kúm	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'ɪŋakumminan
ti keni gati gaʃga keni min gitkinum iʃɪŋʃakum

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'ɪŋa-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
iʃɪŋʃa-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 apaŋkɔ ma maʃami sit nama ma damaʃam
sanza

hōn	gente	bi-ku-kɔ	magenamuna	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 zenɪ 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 ɡiɔtkə ɡantu hɔhə səatisuja ɡanipɔʃi nigili ɡanaku
huhə t'wamine gele nɔkə

ga	(a)-n-tu	hu-hə	ɡiɔtkə	ga
I	IMP-1SG-go.back	RED-go	tomorrow	I

(a)-n-tu	hɔ-hə	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 nɔkə
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 gigan minʃa gaʃhun hajte magente
 magenamun genamunaini tefi abikɔbiʃkɔ 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-hūn	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-kɔ-biʃ-kɔ	a-nɔkɔ	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 ɔɔɔ

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	ɔɔɔ
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 abekukɔ iki giɔtkɔ tu huhɔ iki
iʃgiuhɔ iʃginanunnani dwa gitmagiti giɔ kɔnkɔk 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 gaʃmagenta

gidɔni	ʔe	usi-te	gele	halas	gidɔni
there	yes	person-DEF	this	AR.DM	there

a-be-ku-kɔ	iki	giɔtkɔ	tu	hu-hɔ	iki
IMP-3PL-RED-say	2SG	tomorrow	go.back	RED-go	2SG
iʃ-gi-hu-hɔ	iʃ-gi-nan-g-un-nani	dwa	git-ma-giti	gi-hɔ	
?-do-RED-go	?-do-tell-2SG-3PL-tell	girl	have-1PL-have	?-go	
kɔ-n-kɔ	kini	sit-e	gele	a-n-iʃ	
say-3MS-say	just	person-DEF	this	TAM-3MS-sleep	
jijaja	idɔnɔ	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'ɔp	t'ɔp'-ni	harək'e	an-zili		
IMP-3MS-drink-RED	drink-3MS	arrack	in-morning		
a-ni-tu	hu-hɔ	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 mazehabi 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-kúm	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	apaŋ-kal
if-this-be	if?-like-this	1PL	1PL-change	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	pɔɡɔ
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 ɔɔɔ

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

FT Those people (the girl's parents) say, "We accept as you (have said). We will come following you tomorrow in order to see this girl."

tegele	a-mi-tap'	hɔ-gi-hɔ
this	IMP-1PL-follow	come-IMP-come

FT "To see this girl, we will go back to your home. That is good. The day after tomorrow we will follow and come."

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hə-gwe-ba	wal-tə	gɔlɔ	dena kwa-duf	bate idɔni
come-see-3PL	girl-DEF	this	meet do-each.other	? there

gaʃ-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 pwaŋbun 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 homeIMP-3PL-3MS-bring
gi-sɔnt'	ti	ʔi beʃe	beʃ ʔi
by-foot	give	bring pass(travel)	pass (travel) bring
beʃ-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-beʃe	
no NEG-3PL-3FSO-bring	by-foot	bring-pass (travel)	
ʔi-beʃ-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 waŋa mageni biʃ biku waŋa abaʃe magene magenminun abiku waŋa abaʃe 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	waŋa	mageni
place-one	IMP-3PL-meet	slaughter	chicken	those

biʃ-ʔi	bi-ku	waŋa	a-ba-ʃe	magene
?-bring	3Pl-carry	chicken	IMP-3PL-slaughter	these

magenminun	a-bi-ku	waŋa	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	kɔ	jəla
call-	each other	in.law	in.law	in.law	say then

ma-bwanz	ma-bwanz	a-bi-den	twi	mafi
PL-young	PL-young	IMP-3PL-meet	call	brother/sister.in.law

mafi	mafi-kɔ	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 aɖduf s'i ijasses'in abiden tɔt ijasses'in gijan sugun git'ɔɟkaja abiden tɔti ijasses'in abiden wetbi mankwam ijasses'in gigentegele ate gijama makwami biladena bɔkmibɔk biladena gi zemize bɔkama biltegele ginam zup leɟgiɔgɔlɔ bilanama zemize giɔgɔlɔ

a-bi-den	aɖ-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-gio-gɔɔ	bila-nama	ze-mi-ze	gio-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 gioʃi mængsti kɔnakɔ ini mitagidenedena nama maʃi dɔmak'ep
dennama gipɔp' zegimagi gio ma makwama nama iʃtegele nam
ma gipɔp' brri apaŋ gahaj denanam ma gahaj

giɔʃi	məŋgsti	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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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Candidate

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Signature_____

Supervisor

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Date of submission: November 2013