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17 Texts

Ten texts of various genres are presented to show Gaahmg morphology and syntax in the context of natural language. There are two folk narratives, two historical narratives, two personal narratives, a conversation, an expository text, and two persuasive texts. The texts were originally recorded on cassette, transcribed, and glossed by speakers of the language, the recordings made from a variety of individuals in the home area. Later, the texts were extensively checked by the present author with speakers of the language and revised accordingly.

17.1 (Goat)

Folk Narrative: “The Goat and the Fox”

Author unknown; 2003; Transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Mīi mān nām-án = ē é ūlg-ì māj wá.
goat certain beaten GP thirst.GEN-3sO well not
/nām/-CONT = PAS.A /ūlg/
There was once a very thirsty goat.
2. Ē dōs-s ē wāj-ɟ dūmùùn wāā = lg
3sN started 3sN go towards water.source = in
/dōs/-INF /wāj/-INF
He set out for the well
3. ā mā-d = é fēgg. É gārā líj-ɟ = ì wāā-lg = é
SBJV drink water GP when went water-in = SBO
/mā-d/-SBJV = IPF.3SN /léj/-COMP = SBO1
to get a drink. When he arrived at the well,
4. ē gōms-óggō fēgg = á ē nāā é fōl tōd-ì.
3sN found water = DEF 3sN laying GP hole.GEN down-3sO
/gōms/-COMP.D /nāg/INCP /fōl/ /tōd/
he discovered that the water was very far down in the well.
5. Ē pōr-d ē wál-l wāā = lg.
3sN jump 3sN fall well = in
/pōr/-CAUS.INF /wál/-INF
He jumped into the well

6. \bar{E} d̥d̥s-s ē mā-d̥ f̥egg=á l̥ŋ ē b̥ēd̥ér-r.
 3sN started 3sN drink water=DEF until 3sN satisfied
 /d̥d̥s/-INF /mā-d/-INF /b̥ēd̥ér/-INF
 and drank water until he was satisfied.
7. \acute{E} g̥ará w̥ir-s=ɿ ógg d̥ūmùùn t̥aw=ēē=n⁴⁰,
 GP when noticed place towards up=SBO=DEF
 /w̥ir/-COMP=SBO1
 When he looked up,
8. \bar{E} d̥ūgg s̥ōrmāh-gg. \bar{A} l̥d=á é yāāgg
 3sN lost wonderment-PL fox=DEF GP awhile
 /d̥ūg/-INF
 he was bewildered (at how far down he was). After a while, Fox
9. \bar{E} b̥ā-d̥-ággā n̥ám-m ā má-d̥á f̥egg d̥í.
 3sN appear want SBJV drink water also.
 /b̥ā-d̥/-COMP.D /n̥ám/-INF /mā-d̥/-SBJV.3sN
 appeared and also wanted a drink.
10. \bar{E} g̥ōms-óggō m̥ī=n ē n̥āā é f̥ōl.
 3sN found Goat=DEF 3sN laying GP hole.GEN
 /g̥ām/-COMP.D /n̥āg/-INCP /f̥ōl/
 He discovered the goat down in the well.
11. \bar{E} t̥ōrb⁴¹=ɿ “M̥īí⁴², m̥íí, t̥ā ísí?”
 3sN called goat goat COP how
 /t̥ār/-INCP=3sAM /m̥īí/
 He called out to him, “Goat, goat, how are you?”
12. \bar{A} l̥d=á ē p̥ōr-d̥=ɿ d̥-ééŋ, l̥ŋ ē mā-d̥ággā
 Fox=DEF 3sN jump PP-behind.3sO until 3sN drank
 /p̥ōr/-CAUS.INF=3sAM /mā-d̥/-COMP.D
 Fox jumped over him (into the well), and drank until

⁴⁰ The definite clitic attaches to adverbs such as *t̥aw* ‘up’ when they function as the object of a preposition as in (Goat7), where *d̥ūmùùn* ‘towards’ is an adverb functioning as a preposition. The definite clitic =n on vowel-final stems is attached after the subordinate clitic =ē. If the definite marker is taken off, the subordinate clitic is short.

⁴¹ Irregular INCP inflection; /t̥ār/ becomes *t̥ār-bá* in INCP.3sN

⁴² *M̥īí* is ‘goat’ in isolation but the tone changes to *m̥íí* in the vocative.

13. $f\bar{e}gg = \acute{a}$ $b\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{e}r-r.$ $\bar{A}l\bar{d} = \acute{a}$ \bar{e} $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$
water = DEF satisfied fox = DEF 3sN said
/bēḏēr/-INF **/bē/INF**
he was satisfied. Fox said,
14. “Mīi = n, $b\bar{o}n \bar{a}n!$ \bar{A} $r\bar{a}g-s\bar{a}$ $\bar{d}-\bar{o}\bar{o}n$
goat = DEF wait 1sN step PP-back.2sPs
/bôn/IMP 1sA **/rāg/-COMP.SBO2**
“Wait for me! If I step on your back
15. \bar{a} $l\acute{e}j-j\bar{a}$ $\bar{t}\acute{u} = \acute{I}$, \bar{a} $m\acute{o}r-\bar{o}$ $\bar{u} = r\bar{a}hg-g-\bar{a}h$
SBJV go out = SBO SBJV return 2sN = step
/lēj/-COMP **/mór/-SBJV.2sN** **/rāg/-INF-SBO2**
so that I can get out, (then) I will come back (into the well) so that
16. $\bar{d}-\bar{a}\bar{a}n$ $\bar{d}\acute{i}.”$ $M\bar{i}i = n$ \bar{e} $g\bar{u}n-n$ $l\bar{o}n$ $\bar{a}l\bar{d} = \acute{a}$ \bar{e}
PP-back.1sPs also goat = DEF 3sN agree then fox = DEF 3sN
/gùn/-INF
you can also step on my back (and get out).”
The goat agreed and then the fox
17. $w\bar{a}j-j$ $\bar{t}\acute{u}.$ \acute{E} $g\bar{a}r\acute{a}$ $l\acute{i}j-j = \grave{i}$ $\bar{t}\acute{u} = \acute{I}$, \bar{e} $r\bar{a}g-g$
go out GP when arrived out = SBO 3sN stop
/wāj/-INF **/lēj/-COMP = SBO1** **/rāg/-INF**
got out. When he was out, he looked back from
18. $f\bar{o}l$ $m\bar{u}u$ \bar{e} $g\bar{a}n-n$ $r\bar{e}$ $r\bar{e}gg\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{d}$
hole front 3sN laughed very loudly
/gān/-INF
the top of the hole and laughed hysterically as he left,
19. \bar{e} $w\bar{a}j-j$ $l\bar{o}n$ $p\bar{a}d.$
3sN went until⁴³ forever
/wāj/-INF
never to return.

⁴³ Although $l\bar{o}n$ primarily functions as a conjunction as in (Goat12), in (Goat19) it functions as an adverb of $w\bar{a}j-j$ ‘went’.

17.2 (Nyee)

Folk Narrative: “The Nyeerma and the Fox”

Author: Babakir Suliman; Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Cà̀r n̄éé = n é sālā̀d = à è à̀l̄d è j̄ègg
 tale this = DEF GP hyena.GEN = COP with fox.GEN with thing.PL.GEN
 /sālād-à/ /à̀l̄d/ /jèg/
- This story is about a hyena, fox, and some
2. é l̄ēl-ēēgg = à bīgg nà àn-n léél-éēgg = è.
 GP grass.GEN-PL = COP some REL.PL stay forest-PL = RDM
 /léél-éēg/ /àn/-INF
- wild forest animals (lit. some things of grass
 which were staying in grass)
3. Sà̀lā̀d è ā̀l̄d = ē d̄ṑs-sò ē wā̀j-ɟ ā
 hyena with fox = ACM starts 3pN go SBJV
 /d̄ṑs/-COMP 3sN /wā̀j/-INF
- Hyena and Fox set out to
4. ɲā̀d-ɖā r̄is-əgg m̄ān ð kár ɬā̀d-án è ɖ-ēgg = ē.
 look.for gift-PL (Ar) certain and wild- was with PP-3pO = ACM
 /ɲā̀d/-SBJV.3pN cow COP-CONT.P
- look for food and a wild buffalo was with them.
5. Ē d̄ṑs-s ē ḡōms-əggō ɲéérè̀mà = n
 3sN⁴⁴ get.up 3sN found devil.name = DEF
 /d̄ṑs/-INF /ḡōms/-D.COMP
- On their way they found (offspring of) a nyeerma devil
6. ē k̄ós-só ē àn-n ūfú = úl.
 3sN crying 3sN stayed Tabaldi.tree = up
 /k̄ón/-COMP /àn/-INF
- crying and resting in the Tabaldi (Ar. Hijliij) tree.
7. Ē b̄èè “Léē ā nām-ɖā ɲéérè̀mà = n!”
 3pN said come SBJV eat devil.name = DEF
 /b̄èè/INF /léj/IMP /nām/-SBJV.1pN
- They said, “Let’s eat the nyeerma!”

⁴⁴ The third singular subject pronoun is used twice in (Nyee5) as a third plural pronoun.

8. Ānēndá ē dḡḡs-s ē bāg-g áḡé = n
 then 3pN start 3pN grab elephant = DEF
 /ḡḡḡs/-INF /bāg/-INF
 Then they elicited the help of an elephant
9. ā gəl-ḡ = ḡḡḡn é ūfú = n táḡ
 SBJV ram-for.them GP Tabaldi.tree = DEF down
 /gəl/-SBJV.3sN = 3pD
 to break down the Tabaldi tree for them
10. ā gār-rā ā nám-ḡá nālg é nēērēmā = n.
 SBJV be.able SBJV eat children GP devil.GEN = DEF
 /gār/-SBJV.3sN /nám/-SBJV.3sN /nēērēmā/
 so as to eat the nyeerma offspring.
11. Ē dḡḡs-s ē bāg-g kár = á ḡí
 3pN starts 3pN grab wild.cow = DEF also
 /ḡḡḡs/-INF /bāg/-INF
 They also elicited the help of the buffalo
12. ē gəl-ḡ = ḡn ḡ-éēn ná táḡ ḡí,
 3sN ram-for.them PP-3sO REL.SG down also
 /gəl/-SBJV.3sN = 3sD⁴⁵
 in order to break it down for them,
13. wār ā gār-rā ē gəl-ḡ = ī ḡ-éēn ná táḡ wá.
 but SBJV able 3sN ram PP-3sO REL.SG down not
 /gār/-SBJV.3sN /gəl/-SBJV.3pN = SBO3
 but she was not able to break it down.
14. É gārā kās-s = ḡ ūfú = n = í, ē dḡḡs-s
 GP when struck hijlij.tree = DEF = SBO 3sN start
 /kās/COMP = SBO1 /ḡḡḡs/-INF
 When she struck the tree,
15. lōḡ ē wāḡ-ḡ sím ūfú ǎḡḡ.
 until 3sN went down tree body
 /wāḡ/-INF
 (her horns) went deep into the tree.

⁴⁵ As with subject pronouns, third singular dative pronouns are sometimes used for third plural referents.

16. Sàlàḍ = ā è āld = ē ē bèè
 hyena = DEF with fox = ACM 3pN said
 /bèè/INF
 Hyena and Fox said,
17. “1éē, ā ḍḍḍ-ḍḍ kár = á!”
 come SBJV milk wild.cow = DEF
 /léj/IMP /ḍḍn/-SBJV.1pN
 “Let’s milk this buffalo!”
18. Āld = á ē cúg-g ṭàagg mâ óḍl ē bèè
 Fox = DEF 3sN went door belonging.to hyena. 3sN said
 GEN
 /cúg/-INF /ḍḍl/ /bèè/INF
 Fox went to hyena’s (larger type of hyena than *salaḍ*) house who said,
19. “Ágg cúr = ḍ ṭṣṣ mán ṭáḍ
 1pN tie cow certain down
 /cúr/INCP = IPF.1pN
 “We tied down a buffalo over there;
20. ágg ṅám ū = gḍḍ-ḍḍ bāè mán ā ḍḍ-ḍ = ì.”
 1pN want 2sN = give jug certain SBJV milk
 /ṅám/INCP /gḍf/-SBJV.2pN /ḍḍn/SBJV.3pN = 3sAM
 Please, will you give us a container for milking.”
21. Āld = á ē ḍḍḍs-s ē bāḍ-ḍ bāè = n é sālāḍ = à
 fox = DEF 3sN start 3sN break jug = DEF GP hyena.GEN = DEF
 /ḍḍḍs/-INF /bāḍ/-INF
 Fox punctured a hole in the bottom
22. ē bāl é fól. É gārā āld = á ḍḍn = ṭ īgg = í = n,
 3sP bottom GP hole GP when Fox = DEF milking milk = SBO
 = DEF
 /ḍḍn/INCP = SBO1
 of the hyena’s container. While Fox was milking,
23. kúḍ = n ē māl-l fān tàḍ,
 froth = DEF 3sN accumulate on top
 /māl/-INF
 froth formed in the pan and

24. $\bar{i}gg = \acute{o}$ \bar{e} $m\bar{o}l-l = \acute{i}n\bar{o}$ ⁴⁶ $\bar{f}an$ $\acute{t}ad$.
milk = DEF 3sN gathered = to.him on down
/māl/-INF = 3sD
milk accumulated for him underneath (he drank it as it ran out the bottom).
25. \acute{E} $\bar{g}ar\acute{a}$ $\acute{d}\acute{o}\acute{o}-s = \bar{i}$ $\bar{i}gg = \acute{o} = r$ $k\bar{a}y = \acute{e}$, \bar{e} $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$
GP when milked milk = DEF = PF all = SBO 3sN said
/d̥ṣn/-COMP = SBO1 /bèè/INF
When all the milk was completely milked, he (hyena) said,
26. “ $\acute{A}h$, $w\acute{e}\acute{e}$ $\acute{d}\bar{a}r$ $\bar{j}\bar{o}$ \bar{a} $\bar{g}\bar{a}\bar{d}-\bar{d}\bar{a}$ $\bar{i}gg = \acute{o}$ $\bar{n}\bar{a}lg = \hat{a}n$.”
oh go hide only SBJV give.to milk = DEF children = DAT
/wāj/IMP /d̥ar/IMP /g̥af/-SBJV.1pN
“Let’s go hide in order to give this milk to the children (his own).”
27. \acute{O} $k\bar{u}\bar{o}$ $\acute{a}n\bar{e}\acute{e}n$ \acute{e} $\bar{f}\bar{o}\bar{i}$ $m\bar{a}n$ $w\acute{a}$ $\acute{a}n\bar{e}\acute{e}n$,
and froth like.this GP strength certain not like.this
Since froth does not have any substance,
28. $\bar{g}\bar{o}l$ \bar{e} $w\bar{a}r-r = \bar{e}$ \acute{e} $\bar{u}\bar{u} = n\bar{i}$ $w\bar{a}r-r$,
in.that.way 3sN carried GP air.GEN = DEF carry
/wār/-INF = PAS.A /ùunī/ /wār/-INF
therefore it was blown away,
29. $\bar{n}\bar{a}lg$ \acute{e} $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}d = \acute{a}$ \bar{a} $m\acute{o}d-\acute{d} = \hat{i}gg\bar{o}$ $w\acute{a}$.
children GP hyena.GEN = DEF SBJV drink = they not
/sālād-ā/ /mād/-SBJV = IPF.3pN
and Hyena’s children never drank it.
30. \acute{E} $n\bar{a}\bar{a}nd = \acute{a}$ $y\bar{a}\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}ld = \acute{a}$ \bar{e} $\acute{a}d-\acute{a}gg\bar{a}$ \bar{e} $\bar{f}\bar{a}\bar{a}m$
GP day = DEF other Fox = DEF 3sN came 3sN thought
/ád/-D.COMP
Another day, Fox brought another idea to
31. $m\bar{a}n$ $\acute{d}\bar{a}\bar{a}n$ $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}d = \hat{a}n$. \bar{E} $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $\acute{i}n\bar{o}$
certain different hyena = DAT 3sN said 3sD
/bèè/INF
Hyena. He said to him,

⁴⁶ This is the long form of DAT which is usually separate, but here analyzed as attached because of [+ATR] quality spread to the verb root.

32. “Sàlàḍ = ā”, ē bēè, “Ū = wór ūṽ cābb ánēén
Hyena = DEF 3sN say 2sN = carry 2sR up like.this
/bēè/INF /wár/IMP
“Hyena”, he said, “Make yourself upright and go
33. ū = bəg = gón⁴⁷ mṣṣ mán ā nám-ḍā kár ní.
2sN = grab.for.us fire certain SBJV eat cow this
/bəg/IMP = 1pD /nám/-SBJV 1pN
bring us some fire (so that) we may eat this buffalo.
34. jéérèmə = n é gāránḍá ē áḍ-ḍá gāṽà
devil = DEF GP that.time 3sN became laughing
/ád/-SBJV.3sN /gāṽà/NOM.SG
The nyeerma went on laughing
35. ē àn-n ūfú = úl ḍēēnē.
3sN stay tree = up only
/àn/-INF
as he remained in the tree.

17.3 (Fand)

Historical Narrative: “Fandi”

Author: Tugul Maktab; Oct 2003 in Khartoum;

Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Fónḍi = n é gārā ḍàḍ-s = ḍ mḍrāā-gg = ē = né, bēl-án
Fandi = DEF GP when fought government-
PL = ACM = SBO
/ḍàḍ/-COMP = IPF.3SN /bēl/-CONT.P
When Fandi fought the government, he had
2. gír|séēn jṣ. Más-sá jṣgg = ṣ gāl bēè
two.piasters(Ar) only refused people = DEF just said
/máḍ/-COMP /bēè/INF
only two piasters. He denied the people (local officials), saying
3. ē lā gḍf = ì wá, ē gḍù-s = ū = r.
3sN UNC give = it not 3sN gave
/gāf/INCP = 3sAM /gāf/-COMP = IPF.3SN = PF
he would not give it (money), since he had already given.

⁴⁷ The verb $\bar{u} = bəg = gón$ is shortened from $\bar{u} = bəḍ. = ḍggón$ ‘/bəg/IMP=1pD’.

4. Ē máð-ð é jṵgg ìng é dāfā,
 3sN refused 3sN people 3pR GP fighting
 /máð/-INF /dāf/-NOM.SG
 He refused (to give money to) the officials by fighting,
5. ē wár-r kòlèèð ā kóm-ḡá jṵg=ó=r. Énná
 3sN took (sword) SBJV cut people = DEF = EV that.is.why
 /wár/-INF /kóm/-SBJV.3sN
 taking a koleez sword to kill (hack up completely) the people. So,
6. gəl Fónḡi bàg-s = ān = ěn⁴⁸ líj-j = ì é kōrtūum ṭè.
 just Fandi caught-him arrived to Khartoum here
 /bàg/-COMP = PAS = 3sA /léj/-COMP = IPF.3sN
 Fandi was captured and brought here to Khartoum.
7. Gəf-ḡn = îggən wārā mān é gārā ḡaf-ān = á tálò = nē.
 given = them paper(Ar) certain GP when collect tax = SBO
 /gəf/-PAS = 3pD /ḡaf/-CONT.N = PAS
 They (citizens) were given a receipt when the tax money was collected.
8. Bēèl mān ṭā-ān ṭù ò gəð-sā gūrūs = í,
 metal certain was there and give money = SBO (Ar)
 COP-CONT.P /gəf/-COMP.3sN
 There was a certain metal token, and when (a person) gave money,
9. ē gəf-f-ún = ì ḡ-ḡs.
 3sN give-to.you = it in-hand.2sPs
 /gəf/-INF-2sD-3sAM
 he gave it to you (as certificate of payment).
10. Mōrāā óð-ð = í ṭāān bēèn fōndì = n ē gəð-ḡā
 govern- came again saying Fandi = DAT 3sN give
 ment
 /áð/-INF = IPF.3pN /bē/INCP /gəf/-SBJV.3sN
 The government came again, again requesting Fandi to pay

⁴⁸ The third singular object pronoun = ěn differs from the expected pronoun by an added *n*, which may be present here to help distinguish the pronoun from the passive clitic alone = ānā which also has a final vowel.

11. gùrūs táān. Fónḍì máá-sá ē bèè ē lā
 money(Ar) again Fandi refused 3sN said 3sN UN
 /máǎ/-COMP /bèè/INF
 the money. Fandi refused, saying he would
12. gǎf=ì wá. níínó wór-r=ī mǎān-g=á nàān=ē?
 give=it not what brought refusing.GEN those=SBO
 /gǎf/INCP-3sAM /wár/-INF=SBO /máǎ/-NOM.PL=DEF
 not pay it. What brought on this refusal?
13. Mòrāā óǎ-ǎ=í dúūr-g=ó fǒrǒǒ wá, ò Fónḍì
 government came time-PL=DEF few not and Fandi
 /ǎǎ/-INF=IPF.3sN
 The government came many times, and Fandi
14. mās-sá=r=é, énná mās=á lǒ=ì tú=í gǎl.
 refused-it that.is.wh why refusal came out=SBO just
 /máǎ/-COMP=PF=3sA /máǎ/NOM=DEF /lǎ-d/INCP=3sAM
 refused it, and that is why the refusal (from the government)
 came out to him (with brutality).
15. É gārā mǒǒgg=ē, mòrāā óǎ-ǎ=í bèè
 GP when first=SBO government came said
 /ǎǎ/-INF=IPF.3sN /bèè/INF
 At first, the government came and said there is
16. gùrūs-úgg=ú fā tū wá. Tǎén mòrā=n líín
 money-PL=DEF is there not then government=DEF arriving
 (Ar) COP /lé/INCP
 no money. Then the government (forces) arrived and became
17. àw-sā=r fááǎ=āñ. jēn kùǎǎùl bél-ǎn=é jǎǎǎèr ēēn
 sat Faath= person Kulug is.named Jader 3sN
 body
 /ǎb/-COMP=PF /bél/-CONT.N=IPF.3sN
 established in Faath area. A Kulug (clan name) person called Jader was
 going
18. é Tāw. Wór=í gǎām=ā tú, jǒgg=ó ē ḍūr-ḍù
 GP Taw bring-hill.name= out people= 3pN bury
 he DEF DEF
 /wár/INCP=IPF.3sN /ḍūr/-SBJV.3pN
 to Taw. He (Jader) brought the people of the Gaam hill in order to hide

19. kólóḍ = ṣ tād. Ē bèè “kólóḍ = ṣ néé = n ē bèl-ḍā
egg = DEF down 3sN said egg = DEF this = DEF 3sN burst
/bèè/INF /bèl/-COMP
an egg in the ground. He said, “If this egg doesn’t burst,
20. wá = í bà, ḍè m̀̀ràā lā ḵs ḵèèm wá.”
not = SBO oh then government will do something not
/ḵs/INCP
then (it is a sign that) the government will not do anything.”
21. ̀̀ kólóḍ = ṣ ḍ̀̀r-s = ̀̀nó ēēl tād-ē bà bèl-ḍā wá.
and egg = DEF bury head.3sPs down-3sO oh burst not
/ḍ̀̀r/-COMP = PAS /bèl/-COMP
And the egg put in the ground with its top side down did not burst.
22. ḵōgg ē bèè “Wáí-ḍō ḍè kōr
people 3pN said go then word
/bèè/INF /wāḵ/-IMP.PL
The people said, “Let us go since
23. mán ná ̀̀n = í ēēn t̀̀ wá.” ḵāḍèèr = ā
certain which bad = RDM it.is there not Jader = DEF
nothing bad will happen (lit. the one thing which is bad is not there).” Jader
24. wár-sá kāḵ ̀̀nī = n ē māḍā. Ēgg lēēn-g
carried group 3sPs = DEF with big.size 3pN going
/wár/-COMP /léḵ/-NOM.PL
led his very big group. They traveled and sang
25. ēgg bōf ēgg léē t̀̀ḍ. Líḵ-j = ì wāā ḍ̀̀l = ̀̀ = mōō = n
3pN sing 3pN going up went pond Dal = DEF =
fire = DEF
/bōf/NOM.SG /léḵ/INCP /léḵ/-COMP = IPF.3pN
as they went along. They had arrived at the entrance of the Dal water valley
26. mū-ín ē rāg-g t̀̀. Ēgg lēēn = g ēgg lēēn = g,
front-3sO 3sN stopped there 3pN going 3pN going
/rāg/-INF /léḵ/ = /léḵ/ =
NOM.PL NOM.PL
and stopped there. They were going to . . . well,

27. ú = níl gār = ā súugg ílg é gārā féð-ān = á jègg = ā
 2pN = place = market in where placed things =
 know DEF DEF DEF
 /jél/INCP /féð/-CONT.P = PAS
 do you know the place in the market in Faaz area where things
28. táđ fáað = āŋ t̄āén à? Mōfátishā ē bēē
 down Faaz = body then QM policeman(Ar) 3sN said
 /bē/INCP
 are sold (lit being placed down)? The soldier said,
29. “jéés-ān-á jēn ná lēēn = g é gōlg = ó t̄i.
 focus person which going GP others = DEF there
 /jéés/-CONT.N-IMP /léj/ = NOM.PL
 “Aim at the man who is leading the others;
29. Ār ú = b̄il-i jōgg k̄āē wá, b̄el jēn t̄āmán.”
 Hey 2pN = hit people all not hit person one
 /b̄el/IMP = IPF.2pN /b̄el/IMP
 Don’t kill all the people; just kill the one man.”
30. jēn ē b̄il-l = ì d-ē kúnd̄,
 person 3sN shot = him PP-3sP chest
 /b̄el/-INF = 3sAM
 A person shot him in his chest
31. mōō = n ē b̄āđ-đ ḡàðl = ð l̄ŋ t̄ú ē t̄ir-r.
 fire = DEF 3sN penetrated shield = DEF until out 3sN die
 /b̄āđ/-INF /t̄ir/-INF
 through the shield (armor) so that he died.

17.4 (Jafr)

Third-person True Narrative: Jafariin Waja i Wiləŋ “Jafari Went on a Hunt”

Author: Safadin Hamid; Oct 2004; Recorded and transcribed by Safadin Hamid

1. Jāfari = n è mōīđ kūūd = ī wāj-jà é wīləns.
 Jafari = DEF with old.man clan.name = ACM went GP hunting.GEN
 /wāj/-COMP
 Jafari and an older man of the Kuud clan went on a hunt.

2. $\text{jāfārì} = n$ kūn-sú cīl \acute{e} $\text{wīlən-g} = \grave{a}$.
 Jafari = DEF blew horn GP hunting.GEN-PL = DEF
 /kón/CAUS-COMP /wīlən/
 Jafari blew the hunting horn.
3. \acute{E} gārā $\text{jōgg} = \acute{o}$ $\text{fīṅó-s} = \hat{n}gg\grave{o}$ \acute{e} $\text{cīl} = \bar{i}$,
 GP when people = DEF heard = them GP horn = SBO
 /fīṅón/-COMP = 3pA
 When the people heard them (blow) the horn,
4. $\bar{e}gg$ dṣṣ-s $\bar{e}gg$ lāḍ-ággā tú .
 3pN started 3pN went out
 /ḍṣṣ/-INF /lā-ḍ/-D.COMP
 they ran out (to participate in the hunt).
5. $\text{Būṅūr-g} = \acute{u}$ lā-ì tú ḍí . \acute{E} gārā $\text{fīṅó-s} = \hat{n}gg\grave{i}$
 youth-PL = DEF run out also GP when heard
 /lā-ḍ/INCP-3sAM /fīṅón/-COMP = SBO1
 The young people ran out. When they heard,
6. jōgg fāṅ bígg nà būr $\text{sèggērg} = \grave{e}$ $\text{lā} = \grave{i}$ tú ḍí .
 people old some REL remain young = RDM ran out also
 /būr/INCP /lā-ḍ/INCP = 3sAM
 some older people who were still agile also ran out.
7. $\text{jāfārì} = n$ \acute{e} mánē jō ḍàḍ-sā $\text{càḍr-ēēgg} = \acute{a}$ yṓṓsṓ .
 Jafari = DEF alone just killed rabbits-PL = DEF four
 /ḍāf/-COMP
 Jafari, by himself, killed four rabbits.
8. Mōīḍ $\text{kūūḍ} = \bar{u}$ ḍàḍ-sā jèēm ḍéé wá . Būṅúr
 old.man person.name = DEF kill thing any not youth
 /ḍāf/-COMP
 The old man Kuud didn't kill anything.
9. mán bēl Féētḥā , ḍàḍ-sā ṭay-èègg dáāgg . $\text{Féētḥā} = n$
 certain call Feetfa(Ar) killed giraffe-PL two Feetfa = DEF
 /bēl/INCP /ḍāf/-COMP
 One youth called Feetfa killed two giraffes. Feetfa
10. \bar{e} bèè “ Lí-ḍū \bar{a} gàḍ-ḍà jèēm $\text{mōīḍ} = \acute{o}n$.”
 3sN said let SBJV give something old.man = DAT
 /bèè/INF /líḍ/-IMP.PL /gāf/-SBJV.1pN
 said, “Let’s give something to the older man.”

11. jāfārì = n è Féēṭfā = nē ēgg jōgg è dáāgg = ē
 Jafari = DEF with Feetfa = ACM 3sN people with two = ACM
 Jafari and Feetfa, they and everyone,
12. ēgg bèè “Àḏ, àḏ!”
 3sN said yes yes
 /bèè/INF
 said, “Yes, indeed!”

17.5 (Jooj)

Personal Narrative: Jen Faa na bel Coojooen “An old man called Joojo”
 Author: Hashim Orta; Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta
 (Hashim tells the beginning of a conversation he had with a man named Joojo that he met in the home area. Although not a complete narrative, this portion is presented for its syntax constructions, some of which are not found in other texts.)

1. Á wāj-jā é nāāndá mān dūmùùn é Dààl.
 1sN went GP day certain towards GP (valley name)
 /wāj/-COMP
 One day I went to Dal Valley.
2. É gārā á lēj-j = ē é Dààl = ē, á gōms-óggō jēn
 GP when 1sN arrived GP Daal = SBO 1sN found man
 /lēj/-COMP = SBO1 /gōms/-D.COMP
 When I arrived to Dal Valley, I found an old
3. fāā ná bēl-l Cḏḏjḏḏ. -èèn, ē àn-n gōi bəl.
 old REL called Joojo-3sO 3sN stay tree.type beneath
 /bēl/-INF /àn/-INF
 man named Joojo, sitting under a Gai tree.
4. á ṭís-s = īn á bì = īn, “jēn fāā = n, ṭā īsí, bə = i?”
 1sN asked = 1sN said man old = COP how oh =
 him DEF 3sP
 /ṭís/-INF = 3sD /bèè/INF = 3sD
 I asked him, “How are you old man (respectful greeting)?”
5. Ē bèè “jīn uùṅ ḡāl = ē ūḡūr-g, ūḡūr-g?”
 3sN said what bodies.2pPp smell Arab-PL Arab-PL
 /bè/INF /ḡāl/INCP = PAS.A
 He asked, “Why does your body smell like that of Arabs?”

6. \dot{A} b \ddot{e} “W \acute{a} , $\bar{a}\bar{n}$ $\bar{u}\eta\acute{u}\bar{u}r = \acute{u}$ w \acute{a} .
 1sN said no 1sN Arab=DEF not
 /b \ddot{e} /INF
 I replied, “No, I am not an Arab.”
7. \dot{O} $\acute{u} = \eta\acute{o}m$ $\eta\acute{i}$ b $\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ \bar{a} ?”
 and 2sN = want what now QM
 / $\eta\acute{a}m$ /INCP
 What can I do for you?”
8. $\bar{A}\bar{n}$ \acute{a} b $\bar{i} = \bar{i}n$ $\acute{d}\bar{i}$, “ \dot{O} $\bar{o}\bar{n}$ $\acute{u} = \eta\bar{i}s - s\bar{o}$ $\eta\acute{i}$ $\acute{d}\bar{i}$ $\eta\bar{e}$ \bar{a} ?”
 1sN 1sN said also and 2sN 2sN = did what also here QM
 /b \ddot{e} /INF = 3sD / $\eta\bar{i}s$ /-COMP
 I myself also asked him, “And you, what are you doing here?”
9. \bar{E} b \ddot{e} , “ \dot{A} w $\bar{i}r - \bar{o}n$ $\acute{a}f\acute{a}d$ $m\bar{a}n$ $\eta\acute{a}d$ $\eta\bar{e}$, \acute{e} k $\bar{o}r\acute{a}$ \acute{e}
 3sN said 1sN slaughter blood certain down here GP GP
 /b \ddot{e} /INF /w $\bar{i}r$ /-CONT.P because
 1sN
 He said, “I was making a sacrifice here because
10. m $\acute{o}s\acute{i}$ n \acute{e} n $\acute{o}r - r - \bar{o}n$ $\eta\bar{e}$.
 insect this drools here
 /n $\acute{a}r$ /-CAUS-CONT.N
 this insect drools here.
11. M \bar{i} = n \acute{a} g $\bar{a}n$ $\eta\acute{u}$,
 chicken = DEF 1sN throw out
 /g $\bar{a}n$ /INCP
 The chicken I am throwing away,
12. m \bar{i} = n \acute{a} g $\bar{a}f - \bar{a}n$ $\eta\bar{o}gg$ f $\bar{a}\eta = \bar{a}n$ \bar{a} n $\acute{o}m - d = \eta\bar{i}gg\bar{o}$.”
 goat = DEF 1sN give people old = DAT SBJV eat-it
 /g $\bar{a}f$ /-CONT.N /n $\bar{a}m$ /-SBJV =
 IPF.3pN
 (but) the goat I am giving to the old men to eat.”

17.6 (Thng)

Personal Narrative: Jen e Arsagga “Something that frightened us”

Author: Hashim Orta; Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Gārá āgg àn ʔàà-gg ɖ-āggá máà-gg = é, ɔ̃ð-ɔ̃ðgg = ɔ
 when 1pN live door-PL PP-1pO house-PL = SBO woman-PL = DEF
 /àn/INCP
 While we were living in our houses, women
2. ʔār-s àn⁴⁹. Āgg dɔ̃ðs-s āgg wāy-ʔ wāā = lg féédɔ̃ɔ̃l.
 called me 1pN start 1pN go water = in early.morning
 /ʔār/-COMP 1sA /dɔ̃ðs/-INF /wāy/-INF
 called me. In the early morning we set out for the water valley.
3. É gārá āgg léy-ʔ = ā = é, ʔèèm ē âr-s āāggá.
 GP when 1pN arrived something 3sN frightened-us
 /léy/-COMP = SBO1 = SBO /âr/-COMP 1pA
 When we arrived, something frightened us.
4. ē cúɖ-ɖ ʔàð gùlɖū = ūl. Mìnʔààðéé
 3sN climbed up tree = up thereafter
 /cúɖ/-INF
 and climbed up a tree. After that,
5. āgg kɔ̃éy-ʔ āgg ʔál-l dáāg āgg bìy-ʔ āgg gɔ̃l-g = ɔ̃
 1pN enter 1pN make two 1pN left 1pP friend-PL = DEF
 /kɔ̃éy/-INF /ʔál/-INF /bìy/-INF
 two of us passed (it) and left our other
6. nà dáāgg èèn é ɲɔ̃ɔ̃gg.
 REL two 3sN GP behind
 two companions behind.
7. Nà āgg bìy-ʔð dáāgg é ɲɔ̃ɔ̃gg = í, ʔēn
 REL.PL 1pN left two GP behind = SBO person
 /bìy/-COMP
 Those we left behind, the bad thing

⁴⁹The segment *n* in the first singular object pronoun *an* makes a distinction with *a* in the completive suffix of *ʔār-sà* which has no object pronoun.

8. ná ón=í ē pəl-l-ì táđ đ-n-mù-đ-gg.
REL.SG bad=RDM 3sN fall down PP-3pO-front-PL
/pəl/-INF-3sAM
fell down in front of them.
9. Āgg t̄āđ-án āgg Māgsààđ āgg t̄āđ-án yāōsós.
1pN were 1pN Magsad 1pN were four
COP-CONT.P COP-CONT.P
We were four in all, including Magsad.
10. L̄h̄j m̄ é gārā j̄ēn âr-s=ìgg=ì,
Then even GP when person frightened=them
/âr/-COMP=3pA=SBO1
Then, even though the thing frightened us,
11. āgg k̄ōéj-j mārèè. Āgg b̄ij-j=ì f̄agg mārèè.
1pN enter somehow 1pN left=it then somehow
/k̄ōéj/-INF /b̄ij/-INF=3sAM
we were able to go past somehow. We left it somehow,
12. j̄āām k̄óđm=ī⁵⁰ wá.
someone dealt.with=it not
/káām/CAUS=PAS.A.3SP
and no one was bothered.
13. K̄ōj̄=ó bàg-s ān⁵¹ m̄h̄j đ-áán wá.
fear=DEF grabbed me well PP-1sO not
/bàg/-COMP 1sA
I have never been as scared as on this occasion!
14. j̄èēm âr-s ān ánēén é n̄āānđ=á m̄ān wá.
something frightened me like.this GP day=DEF certain not
/âr/-COMP-1sA
There has never been a day I was as frightened as this.

⁵⁰ *j̄āām k̄óđm-ì* is a shortened version of *j̄āām k̄óđm-ì đ-éēn* ‘someone is bothered by it (CAUS=PAS.A PP-3SP) (Thng25)’; For comparison, *j̄ēn k̄áām j̄āām* ‘person bothers someone’; *j̄ēn k̄óđm j̄āām* ‘person bothers.CAUS someone’; *j̄āām k̄óđm=ì j̄ēn* ‘someone is bothered by the person (CAUS=PAS.A)’; *j̄āām k̄óđm-đ* ‘someone is bothered (CAUS-PAS)’.

⁵¹ Final *-n* is used here to make the pronoun obvious.

15. Nāānd=á náán jō á túr-s=i, jègg=ā
 day=DEF that only 1sN saw=it things=DEF
 /túr/-COMP=3sAM
 It was only that day in which I saw it that they were
 so frightened of the thing
16. âr-s=iġgġi ógg=é. É nāānd=á yāàn,
 frightened=them place=SBO GP day=DEF other
 /âr/-COMP=3pAM
 in that place. On another day,
17. āgg wāj-jā wāā=lg fēédóól jō, āggá kāf-ān.
 1pN went water-in early.morning only 1pN draw.water
 /wāj/-COMP /kāf/-CONT.P
 we also went to the water valley early in the morning and drew water.
18. É gārá āgg léj-j=ā=é, jēn mān
 GP when 1pN arrived person certain
 /léj/-COMP=SBO1=SBO
 When we arrived, something
19. ná ón=i ē dōōs-s ē dōj-j āāggá é mīīdógg.
 REL.SG bad=RDM 3sN started 3sN stone us GP stones
 /dōōs/-INF /dōj/-INF 1pA
 bad began pelting us with stones.
20. É dōj-j āāggá é mīīd-óg fōrōj wá bō=i,
 3sN stoned us GP stone-PL few not oh=SBO
 /dōj/-INF 1pA
 When it pelted us with a lot of stones,
21. á gōl-g=ō jām-m ā gāl-dà, á bī=iġgān⁵²
 1sP friend- want SBJV run 1sN told=them
 PL=DEF
 /jām/-INF /gāl/-SBJV.3pN /bēè/INF=3pD
 my companions wanted to run, (but) I told them
22. “Wá! Ūgg=gōl wá, ār jègg=ā nà
 no 2pN=run not if things=DEF REL.PL
 /gāl/IMP
 “No, don’t run if the things which frighten you don’t run, (otherwise)

⁵² The long third plural dative pronoun is used.

23. *âr-s = ððgg = ē kár-á wá, nâm ūgg ηðlg.*
 frightened=you run not break 2pPp necks
 /âr/-COMP = 2pA = SBO2 /kár/-INCP /nâm/INCP.3p
 they will break your necks (If you do run, it will harm you).”
24. *Āgg gâl-dà wá āgg sábbàr-sà jō màrèè. Āgg wāj-j*
 1pN ran not 1pN patient(Ar) only somehow 1pN go
 /gâl/-COMP /sábbàr/-COMP /wāj/-INF
 We did not run; somehow we were patient. We went and
25. *āgg bij-j-ì, jāām kóðm-s = ī d-éēn⁵³ wá.*
 1pN left-it someone bothered PP-3sO not
 /bij/-INF-3sAM /káām/CAUS-COMP = PAS.A
 left it there (and) no one was bothered by it.

17.7 (Assa)

Conversation: Koraag e yo Assamma “Discussion with Grandmother Assamma”
 Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Hashim: *Tā isí? Ú = bā = ī ðàì ò ó lā wāi ðàì ?*
 is how 2sN = appear when and 2sN UN go when
 COP /bā-d/INCP = 3sAM /wāj/INCP
 How are you? When did you arrive, and when will you go?
2. Assamma *Mássēē jìs-ðn-ō māj wá,*
 (and following): sickness treating = me carefully not
 jìs/-CONT.N = 1sD
 The Masee sickness is not treating me well,
3. *nām-án á sù, sù, sù. ò ó yāā nāā néé*
 eating-me deep deep deep and 2sPs mother girl this
 /nām/CONT.N 1sA
 giving me a great amount of pain. Your mother’s sister (lit. your girl mother)
4. *lèèn-án ðūmùùn d-ūūj tà bēēn nām gōð.*
 was.coming towards PP-2sO there said want clothing
 /léj/-CONT.P /bè/INCP /nām/INCP
 was coming to you there, saying she wanted clothing.

⁵³ The prepositional pronoun *d-éēn* ‘by-it’ expresses the agent of the agentive passive clause.

5. Kór-ǎn kōr ná lūsú é kōrá kōr ná
 was.saying speech REL.SG hot GP because speech REL.SG
 /kór/-CONT.P
 (She) was saying harsh words instead of kind
6. cúú=í wá. Kór á kōr ná ón=í.
 sweet=RDM not speaks word REL.SG bad=RDM
 /kór/INCP 1sA
 words. She speaks to me rudely.
7. Bēl gōð-gg wá, jègg bīgg
 has cothing-PL not thing some
 /bēl/INCP
 (This is because) she doesn't have clothing—just some
8. nà óŋ t̄ā jùùn á m̄ð̄r-ōn = ín = ín jō.
 REL bad COP long.ago 1sN was.buy.for.her just
 /m̄āār/-CONT.P = 3sD = 3sAM
 old clothes from long ago (that) I was buying for her.
9. ò jēn=á á kúr=ì ín=í,
 and person=DEF 1sN tell=it 3sD=SBO
 /kór/INCP = 3sAM
 (Furthermore), the person (who travels with a message) to tell it (her needs) to
10. bō=ì d̄ùùl. Cāè=n ē kór
 send=him difficult Jae=DEF 3sN say
 /bā-d̄/INCP = 3sAM /kór/INCP
 is difficult to find. Jae (son of Assamma) said,
11. 'Á bàà ā wáj-jā. Á nām Hášīm=á
 1sN grab SBJV go 1sN want Hashim=DEF
 /bāg/INCP /wāj/-SBJV.1sN /nām/INCP
 'I want to go. I want Hashim
12. ā jìd-d̄ ò ā wár-d̄=é ōnō ráq̄è.'
 SBJV make and SBJV bring 1sD radio
 /jìs/-SBJV.3sN /wár/-SBJV-IPF.3sN
 to get me a radio.'
13. Á bì=íggòn 'Jò-d̄ ùùŋ=ū ōgg kāē jō.'
 1sN tell=them finish 2pR=DEF 2pN all only
 /bēè/INF = 3pD /jòd̄/-IMP.PL
 I told them, '(Alright, all of you), you all just (go without me).'

14. Mássēē = n ē ðùs-ǝn = í ē nām á
 sickness = DEF 3sN comes.out 3sN eats me
 /ðùs/-CONT.P = IPF.3sN /nām/-INCP 1sA
 The Masseen sickness came, bringing me
15. sù, sù, jǝ.
 deep deep only
 a great deal of pain (lit. eats me).

17.8 (Minj)

Historical Expository: Jen Faa Mijjib o Baarg “Old Man Mijjib and the Baggara”
 Author: Tuguul Maktab; Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Jēn fāā mān bēl-ǎn Mijjibb. ǝ ē mūn náá = n
 man old certain named Minjib and with time that
 /bēl/-CONT.P
 There was an old man named Minyijib. At that time
2. Bāárg = á ηáǝ-ǎ n jā-lg nà ǎn-g = ì,
 Baggara = DEF search.for girl-PL⁵⁴ REL young-PL = RDM
 /ηáw/-CONT.P
 the Baggara (people group) were kidnapping young girls
3. ē mār-ǝn = ηggǝ ðūmùùn é Gǝǝr.
 3pN sold = them towards GP clan.name
 /mār/CAUS-CONT.P = 3pA
 to sell to them (non-Gaahmg people) far away past the Goor clan.
4. Bāárg = á áǝ-ǎ n àn-ǎn è jǝgg Gǝǝr = é.
 Baggara = DEF coming staying with people Goor = ACM
 /áǝ/-CONT.P /ǎn/-CONT.P
 The Baggara were coming with the people of Goor.
5. Bāárg = á áǝ-ǎ n fān é Tāw = ā wá.
 Baggara = DEF coming towards GP village.name = DEF not
 /áǝ/-CONT.P
 The Baggara were not coming to the people of Taw (Gaahmg village).

⁵⁴ The plural suffix *-lg* is irregular.

6. Jōgg Gōōr = ɔ̀ bà ʔs-s = ʔggān jègg ʔn-g = ì.
 people Goor = DEF oh became = for.us things bad-PL = RDM⁵⁵
 /áð/-COMP = 1pD
 The Goor tribe became our enemies (lit. to us bad things).
7. Jōgg ēgg ʔð = ì bà, ēgg wár-r jègg = ā ɖ-āggá kāē.
 people 3pN come oh 3pN take things = DEF PP-1pO all
 /áð/INCP = SBO1 /wár/-INF
 When these people come, they take all (our) things from us.
8. Bāárg = á ɽèèdá bēl-án = èèggà mōsòr-èèg = ē bà,
 Baggara = DEF here having horse-PL = IPF.3pN oh
 /bēl/-CONT.P = IPF.3pN
 The Baggara had horses;
9. jēn fāā ná bēl-l Mīnjìbb bēl-án mōsòr jō ɖí.
 person old REL named Minjib has horse only also
 /bēl/-INF /bēl/-CONT.P
 the old man called Minyjib also had a horse.
10. Mōsòr ìnī bēl-l ʔsúùr. Mōsòr ìnī = n ē fír-sá
 horse 3sPs named Asuur horse 3sPs = DEF 3sN smells
 /bēl/-INF /fír/-COMP
 His horse was called Asuur. When his horse smelled
11. gōlg ìng = ɔ̀ ɖí = ní, ē cíl-ɖ ē kón-n wíl,
 others bodies = DEF also = SBO 3sN whistles 3sN cries (sound)
 /cíl/-CAUS.INF /kón/-INF
 the presence of others, he whistled, cried (sound)
12. wíl ē gān-n ʔgg. Ānēndá jēn fāā ná
 (sound) 3sN digs place therefore person old REL
 /gān/-INF
 (sound), and pawed the ground (to alert others). So, that old man
13. bēl-l Mīnjìbb ɽāén ē dōs-s ē àb-b = ì ɖ-éél
 named Minjib then 3sN starts 3sN rides = it PP-on.3sO
 /bēl/-INF /dōs/-INF /àb/-INF = 3sAM
 called Minyjib rode his horse proudly,

⁵⁵ The relative clause definite clitic attaches even without the relativizer *na* in some contexts.

14. ē máà īīŋ ē àn-n mōsòr ɔɔl
 3sN prides 3sR 3sN stay horse up
 /mân/INCP /ân/-INF
 taking pride in himself as he sits up on the horse
15. ē páré = n é mǎŋìl = ò ɖ-éès.
 with skin.bag = DEF GP devil.GEN = DEF PP-hand.3sPs
 /mǎŋìl/
 with an animal-skin bag having demonic power in his hand.

17.9 (Tifa)

Persuasive Text: Tifa E Kassag (Tying of the youth)

Author unknown; 2004; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Kāssā-gg = á ē būr ē ʔiū-s-ən = ŋggò⁵⁶ wá = één = é,
 boy-PL = DEF 3pN remain 3pN were.tied = they not = RDM = SBO,
 /būr/ /ʔif/-COMP = PAS = 3pA
 When boys remain not tied up (with Gaahmg rules),
2. òr kōr-ēēgg = á ógg òògg ʔifīŋ ʔifīŋ.
 mix.up word-PL = DEF place mouth.1pP quickly quickly
 /òr/INCP
 they very quickly get mixed-up
 (lit. they mix up the words in the place of mouths).
3. ʔif-ən é Gǎəm-g = ò ɔ̀-ɖ-ən būr-g = á ʔáɖ
 tying GP Gaam.GEN-PL = DEF make.sit youth-PL = DEF down
 /ʔif/-CONT.N.NOM.SG /gǎəm-g/ /àb/-CAUS-CONT.N
 The tying of the Gaahmg youth enables them to sit down
4. é mēēɖ é būr-g ānēndá bà!
 GP rope GP youth.GEN-PL like.this oh
 /būr-g/
 in the rope of youth⁵⁷ like this!

⁵⁶A third plural object pronoun is used here for the semantic role of patient in the passive construction. Compare *jǎgg ʔiū-s-ò kāsāggá* ‘people tied the boys’; *kāsāggá ʔiū-s-ənó* ‘the boys were tied’; *ʔiū-s-ən-ŋggò* ‘they were tied’.

⁵⁷The figurative meaning is ‘The youth become respected members of the community by obeying the Gaahmg rules.’

5. Á bɛ̀ɛ̀ tɪ́f-ɔ́n wɛ̀dán, ɔ́n wá. Ká̄sá-g = á
 1sN say tying beautiful bad not boy-PL = DEF
 /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF /tɪ́f/-CONT.N.NOM.SG
 I say, (youth) tying is beneficial and not detrimental. Let boys
6. bɪ̀ tɪ́ú-ɔ́ = ɔ́n = ɪ̀ggò é kɔ́rá lā ɔ́w = ɪ̀ggì
 let be.tied = them GP because UNC make.sit = them
 /bɪ̀j/IMP /tɪ́f/-SBJV = PAS = 3pA /ɔ́b/CAUS.INCP = 3pAM
 be tied because it will help them sit down
7. é tɛ̀ɛ̀ḍ tāmán ò mɛ̀ɛ̀ḍ é bù̀nùr-g = ɪ̀ = n.
 GP road one and rope GP youth.GEN-PL = SBO = DEF
 /bũ̀nũ̀r/
 in one rope of youthful unity.
8. jɔ́gg = ɔ́ nà tɪ́ú-s = ɔ́n = ɪ̂⁵⁸ tál é fáá-gg é fáá-gg.
 people = DEF REL have.been.tied create GP line-PL GP line-PL
 /tɪ́f/-COMP = /tál/INCP.3pN
 PAS = RDM
 Those who have been tied, sit in rows of lines.
9. Āw-àn é bù̀ggɔ́ŋ. jɛ́n ná bɛ̀l-l ɔ́gg í̄n = í̄n = í̄
 sitting GP group.PL person REL.SG has place 3sO = RDM = SBO
 /ɔ́b/-CONT.N.3p /bɛ̀l/-INF
 They usually sit in groups. When a person has a place (in society),
10. níl = ì ò ná bɪ́l-l = ì wá = éé = né níl = ì jɔ́ ḍí.
 knows = it and REL.SG has = it not = RDM = knows = it only also
 SBO
 /nɛ̀l/INCP = 3sAM /bɛ̀l/-INF = 3sAM /nɛ̀l/INCP = 3sAM
 he knows it, and when he doesn't have a place, he knows that as well.
11. Kásón-gí⁵⁹ ná àḍ ná é fáá-gg é fáá-gg = é
 friend-N.SG REL sits REL GP line-PL GP line-PL = RDM
 /kásán, kásánáāg/ 'friend' /ɔ́b/INCP
 The friendship of sitting in lines is full of

⁵⁸ Word-final HL tone on *tɪ́ú-s = ɔ́n = ɪ̂* is from the passive clitic = *ɔ́n* final vowel elision and High tone reassignment to the relative clause definite clitic (*ɔ́n* = *ɪ̂* 'PAS=RDM' becomes *ɔ́n = ɪ̂*).

⁵⁹ *Kásón-g-í* 'friendship' is a derived singular noun.

12. tá fīns, ò jél àndās = á ná wáēd = é.
 is teaching and knows living = DEF REL beauty = RDM
 COP /jél/INCP.3s
 good teaching and results in a wonderful life.
13. Bìi kāsā-gg tíf-d = ān = ŋggò lôŋ pád,
 let boy-PL to.be.tied = they until always
 /bìj/IMP /tíf/-SBJV = PAS = 3pA
 (So), let boys forever and always be tied
14. ò á jām ā tál kōr é mūn tē jō.
 and 1sN want SBJV create speech GP time here only
 /jām/INCP /tál/SBJV.1sN /kōr/NOM.SG
 and I will stop talking here.

17.10 (Womn)

Persuasive Text: “Women”

Author unknown; 2003; Transcribed from cassette recording by Annaim Karaka

1. Ōð-ōōgg = ó nà bēl-l jīð-àgg = ì bà
 woman-PL = DEF REL have husband-PL = DEF oh
 /bēl/-INF
 Those women who have husbands,
2. ò wāē jāām = é máà-gg īlg = ì bà!
 and go wrongly = SBO house-PL in = 3sP oh
 /wāj/INCP
 and do bad things in their houses,
3. Bìi fīŋóð-dō kōr óñ nī mā māt.
 let hear word 1sPs this very carefully
 /bìj/IMP /fīŋón/-IMP.PL
 please hear what I have to say!
4. Ār á bēl kōr mán é d-ēggè.
 hey 1sN have word certain GP PP-3pO
 /bēl/INCP
 I have something important to say to them.

5. jɔ̃gg jnā-lg = é nà ū = bil,
 people young.one-PL = RDM REL 2sN = have
 /bēl/INCP
 The young people you have,
6. T̄él gɔ̃ū-s = ì ūggúūn gāfā ē jɔ̃ màrèè.
 God gave = them 2pD given with only somehow
 /gāf/-COMP = 3sAM /gāf/NOM.SG
 God has given them to you for good reason.
7. Tā ā jìd-d = ðnó jāām jāām wá.
 be SBJV be.done wrong wrong not
 COP.3pN /jìs/-SBJV.3pN = PAS
 They are not to be abused.
8. jinná jɔ̃gg fūūi-gg = ð wōin = ūggò tú wār = ūggò
 that people male-PL = DEF go out marry
 /wāj/-INCP = IPF.3pN /wār/INCP = IPF.3pN
 Why do men go out to marry
9. sɔ̃gg = é jínì? jinná wōin = ūggò tú = í é kōrá
 women = SBO what that going out = SBO GP because
 /wāj/-INCP = IPF.3pN
 a second wife? They remarry because
10. ɔ̃dɔ̃gg = ó nà óŋ tē jīs-ðn = ūggò bèènāḍ = één.
 women = DEF REL bad here making = them wrongdoing = SBO
 /jìs/-CONT.N = 3pA
 bad women (their first wives) make them do wrong.
11. Ānēndá, bìi bìi-dò bèènāḍ = á àwḍàmàlō ḍè
 In.this.way let say wrongdoing = DEF please since
 /bìj/IMP /bè/-IMP.PL
 So let us please stop the wrongdoing since
12. bèènāḍ = á T̄él ná tál-d āāgg = é jóm = ì wá.
 wrongdoing = DEF God REL created us want = it not
 /tál/-COMP 1pA = RDM /jóm/INCP = 3sAM
 God who created us doesn't want us to do wrong.

13. Nà àn tã-yə̀gg = ì Tél gə̀f = ìggə̀n jègg
 those.which stay doors-theirs God gives = them things
 /àn/INCP /tãə̀d-g/ /iyə̀gĩn = ì/ /gə̀f/INCP = 3pD
 door-PL 3pPp = RDM
 To those who stay in their homes, God gives them things and situations
14. ò kər-ēēgg = á nà wíə̀gg. jēn fū̀ūin ē
 and word-PL = DEF REL good person male.SG 3sN
 which are good. When a husband
15. wāj-já t́ú gār é kãðã̀am = ē, nām⁶⁰ ā
 went out place GP work.GEN = SBO wants SBJV
 /wāj/-COMP /kãðã̀am/ /nām/INCP
 goes out to work, he tries hard to
16. gə̀m-ḡ = í jè̀em é nāms ē nēm-ḡ = ì nālg ínìggĩn.
 find some- GP food. 3SN eat = it children 3sPp
 thing GEN
 /gãms/SBJV = IPF.3sN /nāms/ /nām/-SBJV = 3sAM
 provide an income for his family (lit. in want to find some
 food in order for his children to eat.).
17. Ānēndá T́él ē kúnḡ = ú ē áḡ ē wáēḡá,
 then God 3sPs heart = DEF 3sN becomes with joy
 /áḡ/SBJV
 Therefore (if wives are faithful) God will be pleased (lit. God's heart
 becomes with joy),
18. ò ē t́ə̀bb = u jè̀g é t́ə̀lg.
 and 3sN adds = you things GP many.GEN
 /t́ab/SBJV = 2sD /t́ə̀lg/
 and he will give to you (wives) many blessings.
19. jə̀gg nà àn-n é kər ĩnī wó = ìin,
 people REL live GP word 3sPs not = RDM
 /àn/-INF
 Those people who do not obey his word,
20. ànḡās ĩyənī ón jə̀ d́í.
 cohabitation 3pPs bad only also
 live unhappy lives.

⁶⁰ Irregular 3sN tone; INCP 3sN verbs with underlying High tone would normally have High tone.

21. Ȯðȳȳgg, àḍ-ḍà é kōr ḍ-ȳggḍ jīð-àgg = ȳ
 women live GP word PP-2pPp husband-PL = DEF
 /ân/-IMP.PL
 Women, if you live only by your husbands'
22. é kōr é T̄èl é mán = é,
 GP word GP God.GEN GP certain = SBO
 /T̄él/
 orders and by God's commands,
23. ū = gâr-ḍà ū àḍ-ḍà mâ mân.
 2sN = be.able 2sN live very well
 /gâr/-IMP.PL /ân/-IMP.PL
 you will be able to live very well.
24. Ānēndá bà bì ȳð-ȳȳgg = ȳ áḍ-ḍà wìḍ-àg,
 then oh let woman-PL = DEF become ear-PL
 /bìȳ/IMP /ãð/-SBJV.3pN
 So, let women hear these words (lit. women become ears)
25. bì fīȳá-ḍȳ kōr = é mân.
 let hear word = RDM well
 /bìȳ/IMP /fīȳón/-SBJV.3pN
 Let them hear these words well!