A grammar of Gaahmg, a Nilo-Saharan language of Sudan
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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. Mīī   mân   nām-án = ɛ̂   ɛ́   ūlg-ì   mâŋ   wá.
    goat   certain   beaten   GP   thirst.GEN-3sO   well   not
                         /nām/-CONT = PAS.A   /ūlg/
    There was once a very thirsty goat.

2. Ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   wā̡-̡   d̪ūmùùn   wāā = lg
    3sN   started   3sN   go   towards   water.source = in
             /d̪ɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /wā̡/-INF
    He set out for the well

3. ā   mā-d̪ = ɛ́   fɛ̄gg.   Ɛ́   gārá   lí̡-̡ = ɪ̀   wāā-lg = ɛ́
    SBJV   drink   water   GP when   went   water-in = SBO
             /mā-d/-SBJV = IPF.3SN   /lɛ̡́/-COMP = SBO1
    to get a drink. When he arrived at the well,

4. ɛ̄   gɔ̄ms-ɔ́ggɔ̄   fɛ̄gg = á   ɛ̄   nāā   ɛ́   fɔ̄l   t̪ɔ́d̪-ì.
    3sN   found   water = DEF   3sN   laying   GP   hole.GEN   down-3sO
             /gắms/-COMP.D   /nāg/INCP   /fɔ́l/   /tád̪/
    he discovered that the water was very far down in the well.

5. Ɛ̄   pɔ̄r-d̪   ɛ̄   wál-l   wāā = lg.
    3sN   jump   3sN   fall   well = in
             /pɔ̄r/-CAUS.INF   /wál/-INF
    He jumped into the well

6. Ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   mā-ḍ   fɛ̃gg = á   lə̂ŋ   ɛ̄   bɛ̄ðɛ́r-r.
    3sN   started   3sN   drink   water = DEF   until   3sN   satisfied
              /ḍɔ̀ɔ̀s/-INF   /mā-d/-INF   /bɛ̄ðɛ́r/-INF
    and drank water until he was satisfied.

7. Ɛ́ gārá   wīr-s = ì̀   ɔ́gg   ḍūmùùn   ṭàw = ɛ̄ɛ̄ = n[40],
    GP when   noticed   place   towards   up = SBO = DEF
                   /wɛ̄r/-COMP = SBO1
    When he looked up,

8. ɛ̄   dūgg   sɔ̄rmáh-gg.   Ālḍ = á   ɛ́   yāāgg
    3sN   lost   wonderment-PL   fox = DEF   GP   awhile
              /dūg/INF
    he was bewildered (at how far down he was). After a while, Fox

9. ɛ̄   bā-ḍ-ággā   ɲám-m   ā   má-ḍá   fɛ̃gg   ḍí.
    3sN   appear   want   SBJV   drink   water   also.
              /bā-ḍ/-COMP.D   /ɲám/-INF   /mā-ḍ/-SBJV.3sN
    appeared and also wanted a drink.

10. Ɛ̄   gɔ̄ms-ɔ́ggɔ̄   mīī = n   ɛ̄   nāā   ɛ́   fɔ́l.
    3sN   found   Goat = DEF   3sN   laying   GP   hole.GEN
              /gám/-COMP.D   /nāg/INCP   /fɔ́l/
    He discovered the goat down in the well.

11. Ɛ̄   ṭɔ̄rb[41] = ì̀   "Mīí [42],   mīí,   ṭā   īsí?"
    3sN   called   goat   goat   COP   how
              /ṭār/INCP = 3sAM   /mīī/
    He called out to him, "Goat, goat, how are you?"

12. Ālḍ = á   ɛ̄   pɔ̂r-ḍ = ì̀   ḍ-ɛ́ɛ́ɲ,   lə̂ŋ   ɛ̄   mā-ḍággā
    Fox = DEF   3sN   jump   PP-behind.3sO   until   3sN   drank
                           /pɔ̄r/-CAUS.INF = 3sAM   /mā-ḍ/-COMP.D
    Fox jumped over him (into the well), and drank until

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

[41] Irregular INCP inflection; */ṭār/* becomes *ṭār-bá* in INCP.3sN

[42] *Mīī* is 'goat' in isolation but the tone changes to *mīí* in the vocative.

13. fɛ̄gg=á   bɛ̄ðέr-r.   Āld̥=á   ɛ̄   bὲὲ
     water=DEF   satisfied   fox=DEF   3sN   said
                   /bɛ̄ðέr/-INF   /bὲ/INF
     he was satisfied. Fox said,

14. "Mῑ̄=n,   bôn ān!   Ā   răg-sã̂   d̥-ɔ̄ɔ̄ŋ
     goat=DEF   wait   1sN   step   PP-back.2sPs
                  /bôn/IMP 1sA   /rāg/-COMP.SBO2
     "Wait for me! If I step on your back

15. ā   lέɟ-ɟā   t̥ú=í ,   ā   mɔ́r-ɔ̄   ū=răhg-g-âh
     SBJV   go   out=SBO   SBJV   return   2sN=step
               /lέɟ/-COMP   /mɔ́r/-SBJV.2sN /rāg/-INF-SBO2
     so that I can get out, (then) I will come back (into the well) so that

16. d̥-āāŋ   d̥í."   Mῑ̄=n   ɛ̄   gùŋ-ɲ   lɔ̂ŋ   āld̥=á   ɛ̄
     PP-back.1sPs   also   goat=DEF   3sN   agree   then   fox=DEF   3sN
                                                   /gùɲ/-INF
     you can also step on my back (and get out)."
     The goat agreed and then the fox

17. wāɟ-ɟ   t̥ú.   Ɛ́ gārá   líɟ-ɟ=ῑ   t̥ú=í,   ɛ̄   rāg-g
     go   out   GP when   arrived   out=SBO   3sN   stop
     /wāɟ/-INF   /lέɟ/-COMP=SBO1   /rāg/-INF
     got out. When he was out, he looked back from

18. fɔ́l   mūū   ɛ̄   gàŋ-ɲ   rɛ̄   rɛ̄ggāād̥
     hole   front   3sN   laughed   very   loudly
                               /gàɲ/-INF
     the top of the hole and laughed hysterically as he left,

19. ɛ̄   wāɟ-ɟ   lɔ̂ŋ   pád̥.
     3sN   went   until[43] forever
             /wāɟ/-INF
     never to return.

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[43] Although *lɔ̂ŋ* primarily functions as a conjunction as in (Goat12), in (Goat19) it functions as
an adverb of *wāɟɟ* 'went'.

17.2 (Nyee)

Folk Narrative: "The Nyeerma and the Fox"
Author: Babakir Suliman; Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Càɔr   néέ = n   έ   sālāḍ = à   ὲ   âlḍ   ὲ   ɟêgg
    tale   this = DEF   GP   hyena.GEN = COP   with   fox.GEN   with   thing.PL.GEN
                               /sàlàd-à/   /ālḍ/   /jὲg/
    This story is about a hyena, fox, and some

2. έ   lēēl-ēēgg = à   bíīgg   nà   àn-n   lέέl-έὲgg = ὲ.
    GP   grass.GEN-PL = COP   some   REL.PL   stay   forest-PL = RDM
         /lέέl-έēg/   /àn/-INF
    wild forest animals (lit. some things of grass
    which were staying in grass)

3. Sàlàḍ   ὲ   ālḍ = ê   dɔɔs-sɔ̀   ē   wāɟ-ɟ   ā
    hyena   with   fox = ACM   starts   3pN   go   SBJV
                              /ḍɔ̀ɔs/-COMP   3sN   /wāɟ/-INF
    Hyena and Fox set out to

4. ɲáɔ̀-ḍà   rís-ɘgg   mân   ɔ̀   kár   ṭāð-án   ὲ   ḍ-êgg = ē.
    look.for   gift-PL (Ar)   certain   and   wild-   was   with   PP-3pO = ACM
    /ɲáɔ́/-SBJV.3pN   cow   COP-CONT.P
    look for food and a wild buffalo was with them.

5. Ē̄   dɔ̀ɔs-s   ē̄   gɔ̄ms-ɔ́ggɔ̄   ɲέέrèmà = n
    3sN[44]   get.up   3sN   found   devil.name = DEF
              /ḍɔ̀ɔs/-INF   /gɔ̄ms/-D.COMP
    On their way they found (offspring of) a nyeerma devil

6. ē̄   kɔ́s-sɔ́   ē̄   àn-n   ūfú = úl.
    3sN   crying   3sN   stayed   Tabaldi.tree = up
          /kɔ́n/-COMP   /àn/-INF
    crying and resting in the Tabaldi (Ar. Hijliij) tree.

7. Ē̄   bὲὲ   "Lέē   ā   nám-ḍā   ɲέέrèmà = n!"
    3pN   said   come   SBJV   eat   devil.name = DEF
          /bὲὲ/INF   /léɟ/IMP   /nám/-SBJV.1pN
    They said, "Let's eat the nyeerma!"

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

8. Ānēnḏá   ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   bàg-g   áŋé = n
    then   3pN   start   3pN   grab   elephant = DEF
                     /ḏɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /bàg/-INF
    Then they elicited the help of an elephant

9. ā   gə̀l-ḏ = îggə̀n   ɛ́   ūfú = n   ṭáḏ
    SBJV   ram-for.them   GP   Tabaldi.tree = DEF down
            /gàl/-SBJV.3sN = 3pD
    to break down the Tabaldi tree for them

10. ā   gâr-rā   ā   nám-ḏá   ɲālg   ɛ́   ɲēērēmā = n.
    SBJV   be.able   SBJV   eat   children GP   devil.GEN = DEF
            /gâr/-SBJV.3sN   /nám/-SBJV.3sN   /ɲéérèmàn/
    so as to eat the nyeerma offspring.

11. Ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   bàg-g   kár = á   ḏí
    3pN   starts   3pN   grab   wild.cow = DEF also
            /ḏɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /bàg/-INF
    They also elicited the help of the buffalo

12. ɛ̄   gə̀l-ḏ = în   ḏ-ɛ́ɛ̄n   ná   ṭáḏ   ḏí,
    3sN   ram-for.them   PP-3sO   REL.SG   down   also
            /gàl/-SBJV.3sN = 3sD[45]
    in order to break it down for them,

13. wàr   ā   gâr-rā   ɛ̄   gə̀l-ḏ = ī   ḏ-ɛ́ɛ̄n   ná   ṭáḏ   wá.
    but   SBJV   able   3sN   ram   PP-3sO   REL.SG   down   not
                   /gâr/-SBJV.3sN   /gàl/-SBJV.3pN = SBO3
    but she was not able to break it down.

14. Ɛ́ gārá   kăhs-s = ĭ   ūfú = n = í,   ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s
    GP when   struck   hijliij.tree = DEF = SBO   3sN   start
                /kɔ̆n/COMP = SBO1   /ḏɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF
    When she struck the tree,

15. lô̰ŋ   ɛ̄   wā̰ɟ-ɟ   sím   ūfú   ɔ̄ɔ̰ŋ.
    until   3sN   went   down   tree   body
                   /wā̰ɟ/-INF
    (her horns) went deep into the tree.

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

16. Sàlàḏ = ā   ὲ   āld = ê̄   ɛ̄   bὲὲ
     hyena = DEF   with   fox = ACM   3pN   said
                                                    /bὲὲ/INF

     Hyena and Fox said,

17. "léɛ̄,   ā   ḏ̂ḏ-ḏə̀   kár = á!"
     come   SBJV   milk   wild.cow = DEF
     /léɟ/IMP   /ḏ̂n/-SBJV.1pN
     "Let's milk this buffalo!"

18. Āld = á   ɛ̄   cúg-g   ṭ̀ààgg   mâ   ɔ́ə̀l   ɛ̄   bὲὲ
     Fox = DEF   3sN   went   door   belonging.to   hyena.   3sN   said
                                                                      GEN
                   /cúg/-INF   /ə̀ə̀l/   /bὲὲ/INF
     Fox went to hyena's (larger type of hyena than *salad*) house who said,

19. "Ágg   cúr = ə̄   ṭɔ́ɔ́   mân   ṭáḏ
     1pN   tie   cow   certain   down
              /cúr/INCP = IPF.1PN
     "We tied down a buffalo over there;

20. ágg   ɲám   ū = gə̀ù-ḏə̀   bāὲ   mân   ā   ḏ̂-ḏ = ì."
     1pN   want   2sN = give   jug   certain   SBJV   milk
               /ɲám/INCP   /gàf/-SBJV.2pN   /ḏ̂n/SBJV.3pN = 3sAM
     Please, will you give us a container for milking."

21. Āld = á   ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   bāḏ-ḏ   bāὲ = n   έ   sālāḏ = à
     fox = DEF   3sN   start   3sN   break   jug = DEF   GP   hyena.GEN = DEF
                   /ḏɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /bāḏ/-INF
     Fox punctured a hole in the bottom

22. ɛ̄   bə̄l   έ   fɔ́l.   É gārá   āld = á   ḏ̂n = ì   ìigg = í = n,
     3sP   bottom   GP   hole   GP when   Fox = DEF   milking   milk = SBO
                                                                                 = DEF
                                                                    /ḏ̂n/INCP = SBO1
     of the hyena's container. While Fox was milking,

23. kúɔ̄ = n   ɛ̄   māl-l   fān   tàɔ̀,
     froth = DEF   3sN   accumulate   on   top
                             /māl/-INF
     froth formed in the pan and

24. īigg = ɔ́   ɛ̄   mɔ̄l-l = ínɔ̄[46]   fān   ṭáḍ.
     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. Ɛ́ gārá   ḍɔ́ɔ̀-s = ì̀ īigg = ɔ́ = r   kāy = ɛ́,   ɛ̄   bɛ̀ɛ̀
     GP when   milked   milk = DEF = PF   all = SBO   3sN   said
                 /ḍɔ́n/-COMP = SBO1   /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF
     When all the milk was completely milked, he (hyena) said,

26. "Ấh,   wɛ́ɛ́   dàr   ɟɔ̄   ā   gàɔ̀-dā   īigg = ɔ́   ɲālg = ấn."
     oh   go   hide   only   SBJV   give.to   milk = DEF   children = DAT
              /wāɟ/IMP   /ḍàr/IMP   /gàf/-SBJV.1pN
     "Let's go hide in order to give this milk to the children (his own)."

27. Ɔ̀   kúɔ̄   ánɛ̄ɛ́n   ɛ́   fɔ́ī   mān   wá   ánɛ̄ɛ́n,
     and   froth   like.this   GP   strength   certain not   like.this
     Since froth does not have any substance,

28. gɔ̂l   ɛ̄   wár-r = ê   ɛ́   ūù = nì   wár-r,
     in.that.way   3sN   carried   GP   air.GEN = DEF carry
                            /wár/-INF = PAS.A   /ùùnī/   /wár/-INF
     therefore it was blown away,

29. ɲālg   ɛ́   sālāḍ = à   ā   mɔ́ḍ-ḍ = îggɔ̀   wá.
     children   GP   hyena.GEN = DEF   SBJV   drink = they   not
                          /sàlàḍ-ā/   /māḍ/-SBJV = IPF.3pN
     and Hyena's children never drank it.

30. Ɛ́   nāānḍ = á   yāàn,   ālḍ = á   ɛ̄   áḍ-ággā   ɛ̄   fáàm
     GP   day = DEF   other   Fox = DEF   3sN   came   3sN   thought
                                                             /áḍ/-D.COMP
     Another day, Fox brought another idea to

31. mấn   dáān   sàlàḍ = ān.   Ɛ̄   bɛ̀ɛ̀   ínɔ̄
     certain   different   hyena = DAT   3sN   said   3sD
                                                     /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF
     Hyena. He said to him,

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[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", ɛ́ bèè, "Ū=wɔ́r ūūŋ cābb ánɛ̄ɛ́n
    Hyena=DEF 3sN say 2sN=carry 2sR up like.this
           /bèè/INF /wár/IMP
    "Hyena", he said, "Make yourself upright and go

33. ū=bɔ̀g=gɔ́n⁴⁷ mɔ̄ɔ̄ mân ā nám-ḍā kár níí.
    2sN=grab.for.us fire certain SBJV eat cow this
    /bàg/IMP=1pD /nám/-SBJV1pN
    bring us some fire (so that) we may eat this buffalo.

34. ɲéɛ́rèmà=n ɛ́ gārándá ɛ̄ áḍ-ḍá gāɲà
    devil=DEF GP that.time 3sN became laughing
                  /áḍ/-SBJV.3sN /gàɲ/NOM.SG
    The nyeerma went on laughing

35. ɛ̄ àn-n ūfú=úl ḍɛ̄ɛ̄nɛ̄.
    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. Fɔ́nḍì=n ɛ́ gārá ḍàɔ̀-s=ɔ̃ mɔ̀rāā-gg=ɛ̄=nɛ́, bɛ̄l-án
   Fandi=DEF GP when fought government- having
                    PL=ACM=SBO
             /ḍàf/-COMP=IPF.3SN /bɛ̄l/-CONT.P
   When Fandi fought the government, he had

2. gìrʃéɛ̄n ɟɔ̄. Más-sá ɟɔ̄gg=ɔ́ gɔ̂l bèè
   two.piasters(Ar) only refused people=DEF just said
             /máð/-COMP /bèè/INF
   only two piasters. He denied the people (local officials), saying

3. ɛ̄ lā gɔ̀f=ì wá, ɛ̄ gɔ̀ù-s=î=r.
   3sN UNC give=it not 3sN gave
      /gàf/INCP=3sAM /gàf/-COMP=IPF.3SN=PF
   he would not give it (money), since he had already given.

⁴⁷ The verb ū=bɔ̀g=gɔ́n is shortened from ū=bɔ̀ɔ̀.=ɔ̃ggɔ́n '/bàg/IMP=1pD'.

4. Ɛ̄ máð-ð έ ɟɔ̄gg ììŋ έ ḍāfà,
   3sN refused 3sN people 3pR GP fighting
         /máð/-INF   /ḍàf/.NOM.SG
   He refused (to give money to) the officials by fighting,

5. ɛ̄ wár-r kɔ̀lèèð ā kɔ́m-ḍá ɟɔ̄g = ɔ́ = r. Ɛ́nná
   3sN took (sword) SBJV cut people = DEF = EV that.is.why
         /wár/-INF   /kɔ́m/-SBJV.3sN
   taking a koleez sword to kill (hack up completely) the people. So,

6. gâl Fɔ́nḍì bàg-s = **ān** = ɛ̂n[48] líɟ-ɟ = ǐ έ kɛ̄rṭūūm ṭὲ.
   just Fandi caught-him   arrived to Khartoum here
                /bàg/-COMP = PAS = 3sA /léɟ/-COMP = IPF.3sN
   Fandi was captured and brought here to Khartoum.

7. Gɔ̀f-ɔ̄n = ììggɔ̀n wárā mān έ gārá ḍàf-ân = á ṭálɔ̀ = nɛ̄.
   given = them paper(Ar) certain GP when collect tax = SBO
   /gàf/-PAS = 3pD   /ḍàf/-CONT.N = PAS
   They (citizens) were given a receipt when the tax money was collected.

8. Bɛ̄ɛ̀l mān ṭā-án ṭù ɔ̀ gàɔ̀-sā gùrūs = í,
   metal certain was there and give money = SBO (Ar)
                  COP-CONT.P   /gàf/-COMP.3sN
   There was a certain metal token, and when (a person) gave money,

9. ɛ̄ gɔ̀f-f-ûn = ì ḍ-ɔ́ɔ̀s.
   3sN give-to.you = it in-hand.2sPs
         /gàf/-INF-2sD-3sAM
   he gave it to you (as certificate of payment).

10. Mɔ̀rāā ɔ́ð-ð = í ṭáān bèèn fɔ́ndì = n ɛ̄ gàɔ̀-ḍā
    govern- came again saying Fandi = DAT 3sN give
    ment
              /áð/-INF = IPF.3pN /bὲ/INCP   /gàf/-SBJV.3sN
    The government came again, again requesting Fandi to pay

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

11. gùrūs   ṭáān.   Fóṇḍì   máá-sá   ɛ̄   bèɛ̀   ɛ̄   lā
     money(Ar)   again   Fandi   refused   3sN   said   3sN   UN
                                    /máð/-COMP   /bèɛ̀/INF
     the money. Fandi refused, saying he would

12. gɔ̀f = ì   wá.   ɲíínɔ́   wɔ́r-r = í̄   mā̄an-g = á   nàà n = ɛ̄?
     give = it   not   what   brought   refusing.GEN   those = SBO
     /gàf/INCP-3sAM   /wár/-INF = SBO   /máð/-NOM.PL = DEF
     not pay it. What brought on this refusal?

13. Mɔ̀rāā   ɔ́ð-ð = í̄   dúūr-g = ɔ́   fɔ̄rɔ́ɟɟ   wá,   ɔ̀   Fóṇḍì
     government   came   time-PL = DEF   few   not   and   Fandi
                    /áð/-INF = IPF.3sN
     The government came many times, and Fandi

14. más-sá = r = ɛ́,   énná   mās = á   lɔ̄ = ì   ṭú = í   gɔ̂l.
     refused-it   that.is.why refusal   came   out = SBO   just
     /máð/-COMP = PF = 3sA   /máð/NOM = DEF   /lā-d/INCP = 3sAM
     refused it, and that is why the refusal (from the government)
     came out to him (with brutality).

15. Ɛ́   gārá   mɔ̄ɔ̀gg = ɛ̄,   mɔ̀rāā   ɔ́ð-ð = í̄   bèɛ̀
     GP   when   first = SBO   government   came   said
                                                 /áð/-INF = IPF.3sN   /bèɛ̀/INF
     At first, the government came and said there is

16. gùrūūs-úgg = ú   ṭā   ṭù   wá.   Tāɛ́n   mɔ̀rā = 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   fááð = ā̄ŋ.   ɟɛ̄n   kùðùùl   bél-ă̆n = ɛ́   ɟādèèr   ɛ̄ɛ̄n
     sat   Faath =   person   Kulug   is.named   Jader   3sN
                  body
     /àb/-COMP = PF   /bɛ́l/-CONT.N = IPF.3sN
     established in Faath area. A Kulug (clan name) person called Jader was
     going

18. ɛ́   Ṭāw.   Wɔ́r = í̄   gàà m = ā̄   ṭú,   ɟɔ̄gg = ɔ́   ɛ̄   ḍūr-ḍù
     GP   Taw   bring-   hill.name =   out   people =   3pN   bury
                 he   DEF   DEF
                 /wár/INCP = IPF.3sN   /ḍùr/-SBJV.3pN
     to Taw. He (Jader) brought the people of the Gaam hill in order to hide

19.   kɔ́lɔ́ḏ = ɔ́   ṭáḏ.   Ɛ̄   bɛ̀ɛ̀   "kɔ́lɔ́ḏ = ɔ́   néɛ́ = n   ɛ̄   bèl-ḏā

      egg = DEF   down   3sN   said   egg = DEF   this = DEF   3sN   burst

                            /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF   /bèl/-COMP

      an egg in the ground. He said, "If this egg doesn't burst,

20.   wá = í   bà,   ḏè   mɔ̀rāā   lā   ɟǐs   ɟèèm   wá."

      not = SBO   oh   then   government   will   do   something   not

                                              /ɟìs/INCP

      then (it is a sign that) the government will not do anything."

21.   Ò   kɔ́lɔ́ḏ = ɔ́   ḏùr-s = ɔ̄nɔ́   ɛ̄ɛ̄l   ṭáḏ-ɛ̄   bà   bèl-ḏā   wá.

      and   egg = DEF   bury   head.3sPs   down-3sO   oh   burst   not

                          /ḏùr/-COMP = PAS   /bèl/-COMP

      And the egg put in the ground with its top side down did not burst.

22.   ɟɔ̄gg   ɛ̄   bɛ̀ɛ̀   "Wɔ́í-ḏɔ̄   ḏè   kɔ̄r

      people   3pN   said   go   then   word

                      /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF   /wāɟ/-IMP.PL

      The people said, "Let us go since

23.   mân   ná   ɔ́n = í   ɛ̄ɛ̄n   ṭù   wá."   ɟāḏèèr = 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   kāŋ   îinī = n   ɛ̄   māḏā.   Ɛ̄gg   lɛ̄ɛ̄n-g

      carried   group   3sPs = DEF   with   big.size   3pN   going

      /wár/-COMP   /léɟ/-NOM.PL

      led his very big group. They traveled and sang

25.   ɛ̄gg   bɔ̄fɔ̄   ɛ̄gg   lɛ́ɛ̄   ṭàɔ̀.   Líɟ-ɟ = ì   wāā   dàl = ɔ̄ = mɔ̄ɔ̄ = n

      3pN   sing   3pN   going   up   went   pond   Dal = DEF =

                                                             fire = DEF

               /bɔf/NOM.SG   /léɟ/INCP   /léɟ/-COMP = IPF.3pN

      as they went along. They had arrived at the entrance of the Dal water valley

26.   mū-ín   ɛ̄   rāg-g   ṭù.   Ɛ̄gg   lɛ̄ɛ̄n = g   ɛ̄gg   lɛ̄ɛ̄n = g,

      front-3sO   3sN   stopped   there   3pN   going   3pN   going

                      /rāg/-INF   /léɟ/ =   /léɟ/ =

                                         NOM.PL   NOM.PL

      and stopped there. They were going to . . . well,

27. ú=ɲíl   gàr=ā   súùgg   îlg   έ   gārá   féð-ắn=á   ɟègg=ā
    2pN=   place=   market in   where placed things=
    know   DEF   DEF
    /ɲél/INCP   /féð/-CONT.P=PAS
    do you know the place in the market in Faaz area where things

28. t̪áḏ   fáað=āŋ   t̪aén   à?   Mɔ̄fátīshā   ε̄   bὲε̄
    down   Faaz=body then QM   policeman(Ar)   3sN   said
                                                      /bὲ/INCP
    are sold (lit being placed down)? The soldier said,

29. "ɲéés-ắn-á   ɟēn   ná   lε̄ε̄n=g   έ   gɔ̄lg=ɔ́   t̪ì.
    focus   person   which going   GP   others=DEF there
    /ɲéés/-CONT.N-IMP   /léɟ/=NOM.PL
    "Aim at the man who is leading the others;

29. Ār   ú=bìl-ī   ɟɔ̄gg   kāε̄   wá,   bὲl   ɟēn   t̪āmán."
    Hey   2pN=hit   people all   not   hit   person one
          /bὲl/IMP=IPF.2pN   /bὲl/IMP
    Don't kill all the people; just kill the one man."

30. ɟēn   ε̄   bìl-l=ì   ḏ-ε̄   kúnḏ,
    person   3sN   shot=him   PP-3sP   chest
                  /bὲl/-INF=3sAM
    A person shot him in his chest

31. mɔ̄ɔ̄=n   ε̄   bāḏ-ḏ   gὲɔ̀l=ɔ̄   lɔ̂ŋ   t̪ú   ε̄   t̪īr-r.
    fire=DEF   3sN   penetrated   shield=DEF until out 3sN   die
                    /bāḏ/-INF   /t̪īr/-INF
    through the shield (armor) so that he died.

17.4 (Jafr)

Third-person True Narrative: Jafariin Waɟa i Wiləŋ "Jafari Went on a Hunt"
Author: Safadin Hamid; Oct 2004; Recorded and transcribed by Safadin Hamid

1. Jāfàrì=n   ὲ   mɔ̄īḏ   kūūḏ=î̄   wā̄ɟ-ɟà   έ   wīlə̀ns.
    Jafari=DEF with old.man clan.name=ACM went   GP   hunting.GEN
                                            /wā̄ɟ/-COMP
    Jafari and an older man of the Kuud clan went on a hunt.

2. ɟāfàrì = n   kũn-sú   cîl   ɛ́   wīlə̀n-g = ə̀.
    Jafari = DEF   blew   horn   GP   hunting.GEN-PL = DEF
                      /kɔ́n/CAUS-COMP   /wīlə̀ŋ/
    Jafari blew the hunting horn.

3. Ɛ́   gārá   ɟɔ̄gg = ɔ́   fīŋɔ́-s = ĩggə̀   ɛ́   cîl = ī,
    GP when   people = DEF heard = them   GP   horn = SBO
                              /fīŋɔ́n/-COMP = 3pA
    When the people heard them (blow) the horn,

4. ēgg   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ēgg   lā̤ḍ-ággā   ṭú.
    3pN   started 3pN   went   out
            /dɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /lā-ḍ/-D.COMP
    they ran out (to participate in the hunt).

5. Būŋūr-g = ú   lɔ̄-ì   ṭú   ḍí.   Ɛ́   gārá   fīŋɔ́-s = ĩggì
    youth-PL = DEF   run   out   also   GP   when   heard
                     /lā-ḍ/INCP-3sAM   /fīŋɔ́n/-COMP = SBO1
    The young people ran out. When they heard,

6. ɟɔ̄gg   fàŋ   bíīgg   nà   būr   sèggēerg = è   lɔ̄ = ì   ṭú   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. ɟāfàrì = n   ɛ́   mánē̄   ɟɔ̄   ḍàɔ̀-sā   càɔ̀r-ēēgg = á   yɔ̄ɔ̀sɔ́.
    Jafari = DEF   alone just   just killed   rabbits-PL = DEF four
                                          /ḍàf/-COMP
    Jafari, by himself, killed four rabbits.

8. Mɔ̄ɪ̤ḍ   kūūḍ = ū   ḍàɔ̀-sā   ɟèèm   ḍɛ́ɛ́   wá.   Būŋúr
    old.man person.name = DEF kill   thing   any   not   youth
                               /ḍàf/-COMP
    The old man Kuud didn't kill anything.

9. mân   bēl   Fɛ́ɛ̄ṭfā,   ḍàɔ̄-sā   ṭày-èègg   dáāgg.   Fɛ́ɛ̄ṭfā = n
    certain call   Feetfa(Ar)   killed   giraffe-PL two   Feetfa = DEF
             /bɛ̄l/INCP   /ḍàf/-COMP
    One youth called Feetfa killed two giraffes. Feetfa

10. ɛ̄   bèè   "Lí-ḍū   ā   gàɔ̀-ḍà   ɟèèm   mɔ̄ɪ̤ḍ = ɔ́n."
    3sN said   let   SBJV   give   something   old.man = DAT
         /bèè/INF   /líð/-IMP.PL   /gàf/-SBJV.1pN
    said, "Let's give something to the older man."

11. ɟāfàrì=n   ɛ̀   Fɛ́ɛ̄ʈfā=nē   ēgg   ɟɔ̄gg   ɛ̀   dáāgg=ê
     Jafari=DEF   with   Feetfa=ACM   3sN   people with   two=ACM
     Jafari and Feetfa, they and everyone,

12. ēgg   bɛ̀ɛ̀   "Àɔ̀,   àɔ̀!"
     3sN   said   yes   yes
           /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF
     said, "Yes, indeed!"

17.5 (Jooj)

Personal Narrative: Jen Faa na bel Cooɟooeen "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   wāɟ-ɟā ɛ́   nāānḍá   mân   ḍūmùùn   ɛ́   Ḍààl.
     1sN went   GP   day   certain towards GP (valley name)
          /wāɟ/-COMP
     One day I went to Dal Valley.

2.   Ɛ́ gārá   á   lêɟ-ɟ=ɛ̄ ɛ́   Ḍààl=ɛ̄,   á   gɔ̄ms-ɔ́ggɔ̄   ɟēn
     GP when   1sN arrived GP   Daal=SBO 1sN found   man
                    /lɛ̂ɟ/-COMP=SBO1   /gɔ̃ms/-D.COMP
     When I arrived to Dal Valley, I found an old

3.   fāā ná   bêl-l   Cɔ̀ɔ̀ɟɟɔ̀ɔ̀.-ɛ̀ɛ̀n,   ɛ̄   àn-n   gɔ̄ì   bɔ̀l.
     old REL called Joojo-3sO   3sN stay   tree.type   beneath
               /bɛ̂l/-INF   /àn/-INF
     man named Joojo, sitting under a Gai tree.

4.   á   ʈís-s=ĩn   á   bì=ĩn,   "ɟēn fāā=n,   ʈā   īsí, bɔ̀=ì?"
     1sN asked=   1sN said   man   old=   COP   how   oh=
          him   DEF   3sP
          /ʈís/-INF=3sD   /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF=3sD
     I asked him, "How are you old man (respectful greeting)?"

5.   Ɛ̄   bɛ̀ɛ̀   "ɲíīn   ùùŋg   ŋǎl=ɛ́   ūŋúūr-g,   ūŋúūr-g?"
     3sN   said   what   bodies.2pPp smell   Arab-PL   Arab-PL
           /bɛ̀/INF   /ŋāl/INCP=PAS.A
     He asked, "Why does your body smell like that of Arabs?"

6. Á   bèè   "Wá,   āān   ūŋúūr = ú   wá.
    1sN   said   no   1sN   Arab = DEF   not
            /bèè/INF
    I replied, "No, I am not an Arab.

7. Ɔ̀   ú = ɲɔ́m   ɲíí   bārè   ā?"
    and   2sN = want   what   now   QM
            /ɲám/INCP
    What can I do for you?"

8. Āān   á   bì = īn   d̪í,   "Ɔ̀   ɔ̄ɔn   ú = ɟìs-sə̀   ɲíí   d̪í   t̪è   ā?"
    1sN   1sN   said   also   and   2sN   2sN = did   what   also   here   QM
            /bèè/INF = 3sD   /ɟìs/-COMP
    I myself also asked him, "And you, what are you doing here?"

9. Ɛ̄   bèè,   "Á   wīr-ɔ́n   áfád̪   mân   t̪ád̪   t̪è,   έ   kɔ̄rá   έ
    3sN   said   1sN   slaughter   blood   certain   down   here   GP   GP
            /bèè/INF   /wīr/-CONT.P   because
            1sN
    He said, "I was making a sacrifice here because

10. mɔ́sí   néé   nɔ́r-r-ɔ̄n   t̪è.
    insect   this   drools   here
                     /nár/-CAUS-CONT.N
    this insect drools here.

11. Mīí = n   á   gàn   t̪ú,
    chicken = DEF   1sN   throw   out
                             /gàn/.INCP
    The chicken I am throwing away,

12. mīī = n   á   gàf-àn   ɟɔ̄gg   fāŋ = ân   ā   nɔ́m-d̪ = îggə̀."
    goat = DEF   1sN   give   people   old = DAT   SBJV   eat-it
                            /gàf/-CONT.N   /nām/-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   ṭàà-gg   ḏ-āggá   máà-gg=έ,   ɔ̄ð-ɔ̄ɔ̄gg=ɔ́
   when   1pN   live   door-PL   PP-1pO   house-PL=SBO   woman-PL=DEF
                /àn/INCP
   While we were living in our houses, women

2. ṭār-s àn[49].   Āgg   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   āgg   wāɟ-ɟ   wāā=lg   fέέḏɔ́ɔ́l.
   called me   1pN   start   1pN   go   water=in   early.morning
   /ṭār/-COMP 1sA   /dɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /wāɟ/-INF
   called me. In the early morning we set out for the water valley.

3. Έ   gārá   āgg   léɟ-ɟ=ā=έ,   ɟèèm   ɛ̄   âr-s āāggá.
   GP   when   1pN   arrived   something   3sN   frightened-us
                /léɟ/-COMP=SBO1=SBO   /âr/-COMP 1pA
   When we arrived, something frightened us.

4. ɛ̄   cúḏ-ḏ   ṭàɔ̀   gùlḏū=ūl.   Mìnṭààðéέ
   3sN   climbed   up   tree=up   thereafter
        /cúḏ/-INF
   and climbed up a tree. After that,

5. āgg   kɔ̄éɟ-ɟ   āgg   ṭál-l   dáāg   āgg   bìɟ-ɟ   āgg   gɔ̀l-g=ɔ̄
   1pN   enter   1pN   make   two   1pN   left   1pP   friend-PL=DEF
        /kɔ̄éɟ/-INF   /ṭál/-INF   /bìɟ/-INF
   two of us passed (it) and left our other

6. nà   dáāgg   èèn   έ   ɲɔ̄ɔ̄gg.
   REL   two   3sN   GP   behind
   two companions behind.

7. Nà   āgg   bìɟ-ɟə̀   dáāgg   έ   ɲɔ̄ɔ̄gg=í,   ɟɛ̄n
   REL.PL   1pN   left   two   GP   behind=SBO   person
              /bìɟ/-COMP
   Those we left behind, the bad thing

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

8. ná   ɔ́n = í   ɛ̄   pèl-l-ì   táḍ   ḍ-îi-mùù-gg.
    REL.SG   bad = RDM   3sN   fall   down   PP-3pO-front-PL
                                     /pàl/-INF-3sAM
    fell down in front of them.

9. Āgg   ṭāð-án   āgg   Māgsààḍ   āgg   ṭāð-án   yɔ̄ɔ̄sá.
    1pN   were   1pN   Magsad   1pN   were   four
              COP-CONT.P   COP-CONT.P
    We were four in all, including Magsad.

10. Lə̂ŋ   mà   ɛ́   gārá   ɟēn   ôr-s = ììgg = ǐ,
    Then   even   GP when   person   frightened = them
                                             /âr/-COMP = 3pA = SBO1
    Then, even though the thing frightened us,

11. āgg   kɔ́éɟ-ɟ   màrɛ̀ɛ̀.   Āgg   bìɟ-ɟ = ì   fàgg   màrɛ̀ɛ̀.
    1pN   enter   somehow   1pN   left = it   then   somehow
              /kɔ́éɟ/-INF   /bìɟ/-INF = 3sAM
    we were able to go past somehow. We left it somehow,

12. ɟāām   kɔ́ə̀m = ī [50]   wá.
    someone   dealt.with = it   not
              /káàm/CAUS = PAS.A.3SP
    and no one was bothered.

13. Kɔ̄ɟɟ = ɔ́   bàg-s ān[51]   mâŋ   ḍ-áán   wá.
    fear = DEF   grabbed me   well   PP-1sO   not
                     /bàg/-COMP 1sA
    I have never been as scared as on this occasion!

14. ɟèèm   âr-s ān   ánɛ̄ɛ́n   ɛ́   nāānḍ = á   mân   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.

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[50] ɟāām kɔ́ə̀m-ì is a shortened version of ɟāām kɔ́ə̀m-ì ḍ-ɛ́ɛ̄n 'someone is bothered by it
(CAUS=PAS.A PP-3sP) (Thng25)';   For comparison, ɟēn káàm ɟāām 'person bothers someone';
ɟēn kɔ́ə̀m ɟāām 'person bothers.CAUS someone'; ɟāām kɔ́ə̀m = ī ɟēn 'someone is bothered by
the person (CAUS=PAS.A)'; ɟāām kɔ́ə̀m-ɔ̄ 'someone is bothered (CAUS-PAS)'.
[51] Final –n is used here to make the pronoun obvious.

15. Nāānḍ = á   náán   ɟɔ̄   á   ṭúr-s = ì ,   ɟègg = ā
     day = DEF   that   only   1sN   saw = it   things = DEF
                                      /ṭúr/-COMP = 3sAM
     It was only that day in which I saw it that they were
     so frightened of the thing

16. ə̂r-s = ììggì   ɔ́gg = ɛ́.   É   nāānḍ = á   yāàn,
     fightened = them   place = SBO   GP   day = DEF   other
     /âr/-COMP = 3pAM
     in that place. On another day,

17. āgg   wāɟ-ɟā   wāā = lg   fɛ́ɛ́ḍɔ́ɔ́l   ɟɔ̄,   āggá   kāf-ân.
     1pN   went   water-in   early.morning   only   1pN   draw.water
            /wāɟ/-COMP   /kāf/-CONT.P
     we also went to the water valley early in the morning and drew water.

18. É   gārá   āgg   léɟ-ɟ = ā = ɛ́ ,   ɟēn   mân
     GP when   1pN   arrived   person   certain
                       /léɟ/-COMP = SBO1 = SBO
     When we arrived, something

19. ná   ɔ́n = í   ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   ḍɔ̀ɟ-ɟ āāggá   ɛ́   mīíḍɔ́gg.
     REL.SG   bad = RDM   3sN   started   3sN   stone us   GP   stones
                                   /ḍɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /ḍɔ̀ɟ/-INF 1pA
     bad began pelting us with stones.

20. É   ḍɔ̀ɟ-ɟ āāggá   ɛ́   mīíḍ-ɔ́g   fɔ̄rɔ́ɟɟ   wá   bə̀ = ī,
     3sN   stoned us   GP   stone-PL   few   not   oh = SBO
           /ḍɔ̀ɟ/-INF 1pA
     When it pelted us with a lot of stones,

21. á   gɔ̀l-g = ɔ̄   ɲâm-m   ā   gāl-ḍà,   á   bì = īggə̀n[52]
     1sP   friend-   want   SBJV   run   1sN   told = them
           PL = DEF
                      /ɲám/-INF   /gàl/-SBJV.3pN   /bɛ̀ɛ̀/INF = 3pD
     my companions wanted to run, (but) I told them

22. "Wá!   Ūgg = gɔ̀l   wá,   ār   ɟègg = ā   nà
     no   2pN = run   not   if   things = DEF   REL.PL
              /gàl/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 = ɔ́ɔ́gg = ɛ̄   kár-á   wá,   ɲâm   ūgg   ŋə̀lg.”
     frightened = you   run   not   break   2pPp   necks
     /âr/-COMP = 2pA = SBO2   /kár/-INCP   /ɲām/INCP.3p
     they will break your necks (If you do run, it will harm you).”

24. Āgg   gàl-ḍà   wá   āgg   sábbàr-sà   ɟɔ̄   màrɛ̀ɛ̀.   Āgg   wā̰ɟ-ɟ
     1pN   ran   not   1pN   patient(Ar)   only   somehow   1pN   go
     /gàl/-COMP   /sábàr/-COMP   /wā̰ɟ/-INF
     We did not run; somehow we were patient. We went and

25. āgg   bḭ̀ɟ-ɟ-ì,   ɟāām   kɔ́ɔ̀m-s = ī   ḍ-ɛ́ɛ̄n[53]   wá.
     1pN   left-it   someone   bothered   PP-3sO   not
     /bḭ̀ɟ/-INF-3sAM   /káàm/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: Ṭā   īsí?   Ú = bə̄ = ì   ḍə̀ì   ɔ̀   ɔ́   lə̄   wə̄ī   ḍə̀ì ?
              is   how   2sN = appear   when   and   2sN   UN   go   when
              COP   /bā-ḍ/INCP = 3sAM   /wā̰ɟ/INCP
              How are you? When did you arrive, and when will you go?

2. Assamma   Mássēɛ̄   ɟìs-ɔ̀n-ɔ́   mâŋ   wá,
   (and following): sickness   treating = me   carefully   not
                            ɟìs/-CONT.N = 1sD
                 The Massee sickness is not treating me well,

3. nām-án á   sù,   sù,   sù.   Ò   ɔ́   yáā   ɲāā   néɛ́
   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. lɛ̀ɛ̀n-án   ḍūmùùn   ḍ-ūūŋ   ṭà   bɛ̀ɛ̄n   ɲām   gɔ̄ɔ̀.
   was.coming   towards   PP-2sO   there   said   want   clothing
   /léɟ/-CONT.P   /bɛ̀/INCP   /ɲám/INCP
   was coming to you there, saying she wanted clothing.

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[53] The prepositional pronoun *ḍ-ɛ́ɛ̄n* 'by-it' expresses the agent of the agented passive clause.

5. Kɔ́r-ăn   kɔ̄r   ná   lūsú   έ kɔ̄rá   kɔ̄r   ná
   was.saying   speech   REL.SG   hot   GP because speech   REL.SG
   /kɔ́r/-CONT.P
   (She) was saying harsh words instead of kind

6. cúú=í   wá.   Kɔ́r á   kɔ̄r   ná   ɔ́n=í.
   sweet=RDM   not   speaks word   REL.SG   bad=RDM
                       /kɔ́r/INCP 1sA
   words. She speaks to me rudely.

7. Bĕl   gɔ̄ɔ̀-gg   wá,   ɟègg   bíígg
   has   cothing-PL   not   thing   some
   /bēl/INCP
   (This is because) she doesn't have clothing—just some

8. nà   ɔ́ŋ   t̪ā   ɟùùn   á   mə̀ə̀r-ɔ́n=în=ìn   ɟɔ̄.
   REL   bad   COP   long.ago 1sN   was.buy.for.her   just
                                        /māār/-CONT.P=3sD=3sAM
   old clothes from long ago (that) I was buying for her.

9. Ò   ɟēn=á   á   kúr=ì   ín=í,
   and   person=DEF   1sN   tell=it   3sD=SBO
                                               /kɔ́r/INCP=3sAM
   (Furthermore), the person (who travels with a message) to tell it (her needs) to

10. bɔ̄=ì   d̪ùùl.   Cāè=n   ɛ̄   kɔ́r
    send=him   difficult Jae=DEF   3sN   say
    /bà-d̪/INCP=3sAM   /kɔ́r/INCP
    is difficult to find. Jae (son of Assamma) said,

11. 'Á   bàà   ā   wáɟ-ɟā.   Á   ɲām   Háshīm=á
    1sN   grab   SBJV   go   1sN   want   Hashim=DEF
           /bàg/INCP   /wāɟ/-SBJV.1sN   /ɲám/INCP
    'I want to go. I want Hashim

12. ā   ɟìd̪-d̪ɔ̄   ɔ̀   ā   wár-d̪=έ   ɔ̄nɔ̄   rád̪è.'
    SBJV   make   and   SBJV   bring   1sD   radio
           /ɟìs/-SBJV.3sN   /wár/-SBJV-IPF.3sN
    to get me a radio.'

13. Á   bì=îggən   'Jə̀-d̪ə̀   ùùŋg=ū   ɔ̄gg   kāē   ɟɔ̄.'
    1sN   tell=them   finish   2pR=DEF   2pN   all   only
           /bèè/INF=3pD   /ɟə̀d̪/-IMP.PL
    I told them, '(Alright, all of you), you all just (go without me).'

14. Mássē̄ɛ̄ = n   ɛ̄   d̪ùs-ɔ́n = í   ɛ̄   nām á
    sickness = DEF   3sN   comes.out   3sN   eats me
                              /d̪ùs/-CONT.P = IPF.3SN   /nām/-INCP 1sA
    The Masseen sickness came, bringing me

15. sù,   sù,   ɟɔ́.
    deep   deep   only
    a great deal of pain (lit. eats me).

17.8 (Minj)

Historical Expository: Jen Faa Miɲɹib o Baarg "Old Man Miɲjib and the Baggara"
Author: Tuguul Maktab; Oct 2003; Recorded and transcribed by Hashim Orta

1. Jɛ̄n   fāā   mân   bél-ă̆n   Mĩɲɹìbb.   Ɔ̀   ɛ̄   mūn   náá = n
   man   old   certain named   Minjib   and   with   time   that
                           /bɛ̂l/-CONT.P
   There was an old man named Minyjib. At that time

2. Bāárg = á   ŋáɔ́-ȁn   ɲā-lg   nà   ɔ̄n-g = ì,
   Baggara = DEF   search.for   girl-PL⁵⁴   REL   young-PL = RDM
                    /ŋáw/-CONT.P
   the Baggara (people group) were kidnapping young girls

3. ɛ̄   mɔ́r-ɔ́n = îggɔ̀   d̪ūmùùn   ɛ́   Gɔ̄ɔ̄r.
   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   áð-ȁn   àn-ân   ɛ̀   ɟɔ̄gg   Gɔ̄ɔ̄r = ɛ̂.
   Baggara = DEF   coming   staying   with   people   Goor = ACM
                    /áð/-CONT.P /àn/-CONT.P
   The Baggara were coming with the people of Goor.

5. Bāárg = á   áð-ȁn   fān   ɛ́   Ṭāw = ā   wá.
   Baggara = DEF   coming   towards   GP   village.name = DEF   not
                    /áð/-CONT.P
   The Baggara were not coming to the people of Taw (Gaahmg village).

⁵⁴ The plural suffix –lg is irregular.

6. Jɔ̄gg   Gɔ̄ɔ̄r = ɔ́   bà   ɔ́s-s = ɔ̀ggɔ̄n   ɉègg   ɔ́n-g = ì.
    people   Goor = DEF   oh   became = for.us   things   bad-PL = RDM[55]
                                  /áð/-COMP = 1pD
    The Goor tribe became our enemies (lit. to us bad things).

7. Jɔ̄gg   ɛ̄gg   ɔ́ð = ̆ɪ   bà,   ɛ̄gg   wár-r   ɉègg = ā   ḍ-āggá   kāɛ̄.
    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   ṭèèðá   bēl-án = ɛ̀ɛ̀ggà   mɔ̀sɔ̀r-ɛ̀ɛ̀g = ɛ̄   bà,
    Baggara = DEF   here   having   horse-PL = IPF.3pN   oh
                               /bēl-CONT.P = IPF.3pN
    The Baggara had horses;

9. ɉēn   fāā   ná   bēl-l   Mī̠ɲɉìbb   bēl-án   mɔ̄sɔ̀r   ɉɔ̄   ḍí.
    person old   REL   named   Minjib   has   horse   only   also
                          /bēl/-INF   /bēl/-CONT.P
    the old man called Minyjib also had a horse.

10. Mɔ̄sɔ̀r   îinī   bɛ́l-l   Ə̀súùr.   Mɔ̄sɔ̀r   îinī = n   ɛ̄   fír-sɔ́
    horse   3sPs   named   Asuur.   horse   3sPs = DEF   3sN   smells
                      /bɛ̄l/-INF   /fír/-COMP
    His horse was called Asuur. When his horse smelled

11. gɔ̄lg   ììng = ɔ̄   ḍí = ní,   ɛ̄   cîl-ḍ   ɛ̄   kɔ́n-n   wíl,
    others   bodies = DEF   also = SBO 3sN   whistles   3sN   cries   (sound)
                                               /cîl/-CAUS.INF   /kɔ́n/-INF
    the presence of others, he whistled, cried (sound)

12. wíl   ɛ̄   gɔ̀ɲ-ɲ   ɔ́gg.   Ānēnḍá   ɉēn   fāā   ná
    (sound)   3sN   digs   place   therefore   person   old   REL
                       /gàɲ/-INF
    (sound), and pawed the ground (to alert others). So, that old man

13. bɛ́l-l   Mī̠ɲɉìbb   ṭāɛ́n   ɛ̄   dɔ̄ɔ̀s-s   ɛ̄   ə̀b-b = ì   ḍ-ɛ́ɛ́l
    named   Minjib   then   3sN   starts   3sN   rides = it   PP-on.3sO
    /bɛ̄l/-INF   /dɔ̄ɔ̀s/-INF   /àb/-INF = 3sAM
    called Minyjib rode his horse proudly,

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

14. ɛ̄   máà   īīŋ   ɛ̄   àn-n   mɔ̄sɔ̀r   ɔ̄ɔl
     3sN   prides 3sR   3sN   stay   horse   up
            /mân/INCP   /àn/-INF
     taking pride in himself as he sits up on the horse

15. ɛ̄   páré=n   ɛ́   mə̄ɲìl=ə̀   ḍ-ɛ́ɛ̀s.
     with   skin.bag=DEF   GP   devil.GEN=DEF   PP-hand.3sPs
                                   /mə̀ɲìl/
     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   ɛ̄   būr   ɛ̄   ṭīū-s-ɔ̄n=ñ̂ggə̀[56]   wá=ɛ́ɛ́n=ɛ́,
    boy-PL=DEF   3pN   remain   3pN   were.tied=they   not=RDM=SBO,
                        /búr/   /ṭîf/-COMP=PAS=3pA
    When boys remain not tied up (with Gaahmg rules),

2. ɔ̄r   kɔ̄r-ɛ̄ɛ̄gg=á   ɔ́gg   ə̀ə̀gg   ṭìfīīɟɟ.   ṭìfīīɟɟ.
    mix.up   word-PL=DEF   place   mouth.1pP   quickly   quickly
    /ɔ̄r/INCP
    they very quickly get mixed-up
    (lit. they mix up the words in the place of mouths).

3. Ṭīf-ɔ́n   ɛ́   Gɔ̄ɔ̄m-g=ə̀   ɔ̀ù-ḍ-ɔ̄n   būŋūr-g=ɔ́   ṭáḍ
    tying   GP   Gaam.GEN-PL=DEF   make.sit   youth-PL=DEF   down
    /ṭīf/-CONT.N.NOM.SG /gɔ̀ɔ̀m-g/   /àb/-CAUS-CONT.N
    The tying of the Gaahmg youth enables them to sit down

4. ɛ́   mɛ̄ɛ̄ḍ   ɛ́   būŋùr-g   ānēnḍá   bà!
    GP   rope   GP   youth.GEN-PL   like.this   oh
                         /būŋūr-g/
    in the rope of youth[57] like this!

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[56]A third plural object pronoun is used here for the semantic role of patient in the passive contruction. Compare ɟɔ̄gg ṭīū-sə̀ kāssāggá 'people tied the boys'; kāssāggá ṭīū-s-ɔ̄nɔ́ 'the boys were tied'; ṭīū-s-ɔ̄n-ñ̂ggə̀ 'they were tied'.

[57] The figurative meaning is 'The youth become respected members of the community by obeying the Gaahmg rules.'

5. Á   bèè   t̪ĭf-ɔ̂n   wɛ̆d̪án,   ɔ́n   wá.   Kāssā-g=á
    1sN   say   tying   beautiful bad   not   boy-PL=DEF
           /bèè/INF /t̪ĭf/-CONT.N.NOM.SG
    I say, (youth) tying is beneficial and not detrimental. Let boys

6. bìì   t̪íú-d̪=ɔ̄n=ĩ̀ggɔ̀   ɛ́ kɔ̄rá   lā   ɔ̀w=ĩ̀ggì
    let   be.tied=them   GP because   UNC   make.sit=them
    /bì̵/IMP   /t̪ĭf/-SBJV=PAS=3pA   /àb/CAUS.INCP=3pAM
    be tied because it will help them sit down

7. ɛ́   t̪ēēd̪   t̪āmán   ɔ̀   mēēd̪   ɛ́   bùŋùr-g=ĭ̀ĭ=n.
    GP   road   one   and   rope   GP   youth.GEN-PL=SBO=DEF
                                              /būŋûr/
    in one rope of youthful unity.

8. ɟɔ̄gg=ɔ́   nà   t̪ĭū-s=ɔ̄n=î[58]   t̪âl   ɛ́   fáá-gg   ɛ́   fáá-gg.
    people=DEF   REL   have.been.tied   create GP   line-PL   GP   line-PL
                          /t̪ĭf/-COMP=   /t̪ál/INCP.3pN
                          PAS=RDM
    Those who have been tied, sit in rows of lines.

9. Āw-àn   ɛ́   bùggɔ̄ŋ.   ɟēn   ná   bēl-l   ɔ́gg   íin=íín=í
    sitting GP   group.PL   person   REL.SG   has   place   3sO=RDM=SBO
    /àb/-CONT.N.3p   /bēl/-INF
    They usually sit in groups. When a person has a place (in society),

10. ɲíl=ì   ɔ̀   ná   bīl-l=ì   wá=ɛ́ɛ́=nɛ́   ɲíl=ì   ɟɔ̄   d̪í.
    knows=it   and   REL.SG   has=it   not=RDM=   knows=it   only   also
                                            SBO
    /ɲél/INCP=3sAM   /bēl/-INF=3sAM   /ɲél/INCP=3sAM
    he knows it, and when he doesn't have a place, he knows that as well.

11. Kɔ́sɔ́n-gí [59]   ná   àɔ̀   ná   ɛ́   fáá-gg   ɛ́   fáá-gg=ɛ́
    friend-N.SG   REL   sits   REL   GP   line-PL   GP   line-PL=RDM
    /kásán, kásánáāg/ 'friend' /àb/INCP
    The friendship of sitting in lines is full of

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[58] Word-final HL tone on *t̪ĭū-s=ɔ̄n=î* is from the passive clitic = *ɔ̄nɔ́* final vowel elision and High tone reassignment to the relative clause definite clitic (*ɔ̄nɔ́=ì* 'PAS=RDM' becomes *ɔ̄n=î*).

[59] *Kɔ́sɔ́n-g-í* 'friendship' is a derived singular noun.

12. ṭá   ṭīns,   ɔ̀   ɲél   àṇḍās = á   ná   wáēḍ = ɛ́.
    is   teaching   and   knows   living = DEF   REL   beauty = RDM
    COP   /ɲél/INCP.3s
    good teaching and results in a wonderful life.

13. Bìì   kāsā-gg   ṭíú-ḍ = ɔ̄n = n̄ggɔ̀   lɔ̂ŋ   páḍ,
    let   boy-PL   to.be.tied = they   until   always
    /bìɟ/IMP   /ṭīf/-SBJV = PAS = 3pA
    (So), let boys forever and always be tied

14. ɔ̀   á   ɲâm   ā   ṭâl   kɔ̄r   ɛ́   mūn   ṭɛ̀   ɟɔ̄.
    and   1sN   want   SBJV create   speech   GP   time   here   only
              /ɲám/INCP   /ṭál/SBJV.1sN /kɔ̄r/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. Ɔ̄ð-ɔ̄ɔ̄gg = ɔ́   nà   bēl-l   ɟīð-ɔ̀gg = ì   bà
   woman-PL = DEF   REL   have   husband-PL = DEF   oh
                           /bēl/-INF
   Those women who have husbands,

2. ɔ̀   wāē   ɟāām = ɛ́   máà-gg   īïlg = ì   bà!
   and   go   wrongly = SBO   house-PL   in = 3sP   oh
         /wāɟ/INCP
   and do bad things in their houses,

3. Bìì   fīŋɔ́ḍ-ḍɔ̄   kɔ̄r   ɔ́ɔ̀n   níí   mã̀   mâŋ.
   let   hear   word   1sPs   this   very   carefully
   /bìɟ/IMP   /fīŋɔ́n/-IMP.PL
   please hear what I have to say!

4. Ār   á   bēl   kɔ̄r   mân   ɛ́   ḍ-êggɛ̀.
   hey   1sN   have   word   certain   GP   PP-3pO
                /bēl/INCP
   I have something important to say to them.

5.   ɟɔ̄gg   ɲā-lg = ɛ́   nà   ū = bīl,
     people   young.one-PL = RDM   REL   2sN = have
                                               /bēl/INCP

    The young people you have,

6.   Ṯél   gɔ̄ū-s = ì   ūggúūn   gāfà   ɛ̄   ɟɔ̄   màrɛ̀ɛ̀.
     God   gave = them   2pD   given   with   only   somehow
              /gàf/-COMP = 3sAM   /gàf/NOM.SG
    God has given them to you for good reason.

7.   Tā̀   ā   ɟìḍ-ḍ = ɔ̄nɔ́   ɟāām   ɟāām   wá.
     be   SBJV   be.done   wrong   wrong   not
     COP.3pN   /ɟìs/-SBJV.3pN = PAS
    They are not to be abused.

8.   ɟìnná   ɟɔ̄gg   fūūì-gg = ə̀   wɔ̄īn = îîggə̀   tú   wɔ̂r = îîggə̀
     that   people   male-PL = DEF   go   out   marry
                           /wāɟ/-INCP = IPF.3pN   /wár/INCP = IPF.3pN

    Why do men go out to marry

9.   ɔ́ɔgg = ɛ́   ɲíīnɔ̄?   ɟìnná   wɔ̄īn = îîggə̀   tú = í   ɛ́   kɔ̄rá
     women = SBO   what   that   going   out = SBO   GP because
                          /wāɟ/-INCP = IPF.3pN
    a second wife? They remarry because

10.   ɔ̄ðɔ̄ɔgg = ɔ́   nà   ɔ́ŋ   tɛ̀   ɟìs-ə̀n = îîggə̀   bɛ̀ɛnāḍ = ɛ́ɛn.
     women = DEF   REL   bad   here   making = them   wrongdoing = SBO
                          /ɟìs/-CONT.N = 3pA
    bad women (their first wives) make them do wrong.

11.   Ānēnḍá,   bìì   bìì-ḍə̀   bɛ̀ɛnāḍ = á   àwḍàmàlɔ̄   ḍè
     In.this.way   let   say   wrongdoing = DEF   please   since
              /bìɟ/IMP   /bɛ̀/-IMP.PL
    So let us please stop the wrongdoing since

12.   bɛ̀ɛnāḍ = á   Ṯél   ná   ṯál-ḍ áāgg = ɛ́   ɲɔ́m = ì   wá.
     wrongdoing = DEF   God   REL   created us   want = it   not
                      /ṯál/-COMP 1pA = RDM   /ɲám/INCP = 3sAM
    God who created us doesn't want us to do wrong.

13. Nà   ān   tɔ̄-yə̀gg = ì   Tél   gə̀f = n̄ggə̀n   ɟègg
     those.which stay   doors-theirs God   gives = them   things
                 /àn/INCP   /ṭ̄àà ð-g/   /īyə̀gīīn = ì/ /gàf/INCP = 3pD
                            door-PL   3pPp = RDM
     To those who stay in their homes, God gives them things and situations

14. ɔ̀   kɔ̄r-ɛ̄ɛ̄gg = á   nà   wîə̀gg.   ɟēn   fūū̀ìn   ɛ̄
     and   word-PL = DEF   REL   good   person   male.SG   3sN
     which are good. When a husband

15. wāɟ-ɟá   ṭú   gàr   ɛ́   kāð āàm = ɛ̄,   ɲ ̃ãm[60]   ā
     went   out   place GP   work.GEN = SBO   wants   SBJV
     /wāɟ/-COMP   /kàðáàm/   /ɲám/INCP
     goes out to work, he tries hard to

16. gɔ̄m-ḍ = í   ɟèèm   ɛ́   nâms   ɛ̄   nə̂m-ḍ = ì   ɲalg   íǹ ìggīīn.
     find   some-   GP   food.   3sN   eat = it   children   3sPp
                thing   GEN
     /gáms/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. Ān ēṇḍá   Ṭél   ɛ̄   kúnḍ = ú   ɛ̄   áḍ   ɛ̄   wáēḍá,
     then   God   3sPs   heart = DEF 3sN   becomes   with joy
                                                 /áð/SBJV
     Therefore (if wives are faithful) God will be pleased (lit. God's heart
     becomes with joy),

18. ɔ̀   ɛ̄   ṭɔ́bb = u   ɟèg   ɛ́   ṭâlg.
     and   3sN   adds = you   things GP   many.GEN
                 /ṭab/SBJV = 2sD   /ṭālg/
     and he will give to you (wives) many blessings.

19. ɟɔ̄gg   nà   àn-n   ɛ́   kɔ̄r   în ī   wɔ́ = ììn,
     people   REL   live   GP   word   3sPs   not = RDM
                   /àn/-INF
     Those people who do not obey his word,

20. àṇḍās   īyə̀nī   ɔ́n   ɟɔ̄   ḍí.
     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. Ɔ̄ðɔ̄ɔ̄gg,   ə̀ḍ-ḍə̀   ɛ́   kɔ̄r   ḍ-ɔ̄ggɔ̀   ɟīð-ə̀gg = ɔ̄
     women   live   GP   word   PP-2pPp   husband-PL = DEF
                 /àn/-IMP.PL
     Women, if you live only by your husbands'

22. ɛ́   kɔ̄r   ɛ́   Ṭ̄èl   ɛ́   mâ̄n = ɛ́,
     GP   word   GP   God.GEN   GP   certain = SBO
                      /Tél/
     orders and by God's commands,

23. ū = gɔ̂r-ḍə̀   ū   ə̀ḍ-ḍə̀   mã̀   mâ̄ŋ.
     2sN = be.able   2sN   live   very   well
     /gâr/-IMP.PL   /àn/-IMP.PL
     you will be able to live very well.

24. Ā̄nēnḍá   bà   bìì   ɔ̄ð-ɔ̄ɔ̄gg = ɔ́   áḍ-ḍà   wìnḍ-ə̀g,
     then   oh   let   woman-PL = DEF   become   ear-PL
                    /bìɟ/IMP   /áð/-SBJV.3pN
     So, let women hear these words (lit. women become ears)

25. bìì   fīŋɔ́-ḍɔ̄   kɔ̄r = ɛ́   mâ̄ŋ.
     let   hear   word = RDM   well
     /bìɟ/IMP   /fīŋɔ́n/-SBJV.3pN
     Let them hear these words well!