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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. Mīi mǎn nām-án = ē é ũlg-ì mǎŋ wá.
goat certain beaten GP thirst.GEN-3sO well not
/nām/-CONT = PAS.A /ũlg/
There was once a very thirsty goat.
2. Ē dǝḍs-s ē wǎj-ɟ dǝmùùn wǎā = lg
3sN started 3sN go towards water.source = in
/dǝḍs/-INF /wǎj/-INF
He set out for the well
3. ā mā-d = é fēgg. É gǎrá líj-ɟ = ì wǎā-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 gǝms-ǝggǝ fēgg = á ē nǎā é fǝl ɬǝd-ì.
3sN found water = DEF 3sN laying GP hole.GEN down-3sO
/gǝms/-COMP.D /nǎg/INCP /fǝl/ /ɬǝd/
he discovered that the water was very far down in the well.
5. Ē pǝr-d ē wál-l wǎā = lg.
3sN jump 3sN fall well = in
/pǝr/-CAUS.INF /wál/-INF
He jumped into the well

6. $\bar{E}$ d̥ɔ̃s-s $\bar{e}$ mā-d f̥egg = á l̥ɲ $\bar{e}$ b̥ēðér-r.
 3sN started 3sN drink water = DEF until 3sN satisfied
 /d̥ɔ̃s/-INF /mā-d/-INF /b̥ēðér/-INF
 and drank water until he was satisfied.
7. É gārā wīr-s = ɪ ɔgg d̥umùùn t̥aw = ēē = n⁴⁰,
 GP when noticed place towards up = SBO = DEF
 /wēr/-COMP = SBO1
 When he looked up,
8. $\bar{e}$ dūgg s̥ormāh-gg. Āld = á é 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. $\bar{e}$ bā-d-ággā nām-m ā má-dá f̥egg dí.
 3sN appear want SBJV drink water also.
 /bā-d/-COMP.D /nām/-INF /mā-d/-SBJV.3sN
 appeared and also wanted a drink.
10. $\bar{E}$ g̥ɔ̃ms-ɔggō mīi = n $\bar{e}$ nāā é f̥ɔ̃l.
 3sN found Goat = DEF 3sN laying GP hole.GEN
 /g̥am/-COMP.D /nāg/-INCP /f̥ɔ̃l/
 He discovered the goat down in the well.
11. $\bar{E}$ t̥ɔ̃rb⁴¹ = ɪ “Mīi⁴², mīi, t̥ā īsɪ?”
 3sN called goat goat COP how
 /t̥ar/-INCP = 3sAM /mīi/
 He called out to him, “Goat, goat, how are you?”
12. Āld = á $\bar{e}$ p̥ər-d = ɪ d-één, l̥ɲ $\bar{e}$ mā-dággā
 Fox = DEF 3sN jump PP-behind.3sO until 3sN drank
 /p̥ər/-CAUS.INF = 3sAM /mā-d/-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 *d̥umùùn* ‘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; /t̥ar/ becomes *t̥ar-bá* in INCP.3sN

⁴² *Mīi* is ‘goat’ in isolation but the tone changes to *mīi* in the vocative.

- ⁴³ Although *lêŋ* primarily functions as a conjunction as in (Goat12), in (Goat19) it functions as an adverb of *wāŋ* ‘went’.

17.2 (Nyee)

Folk Narrative: “The Nyeerma and the Fox”

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

1. Càðr néé = n é sālāḍ = à è âlḍ è jēgg
 tale this = DEF GP hyena.GEN = COP with fox.GEN with thing.PL.GEN
 /sālād-à/ /ālḍ/ /jēg/
 This story is about a hyena, fox, and some
2. é lēēl-ēēgg = à bīgg nà àn-n léél-ēēgg = è.
 GP grass.GEN-PL = COP some REL.PL stay forest-PL = RDM
 /léél-ēēg/ /àn/-INF
 wild forest animals (lit. some things of grass
 which were staying in grass)
3. Sàlàḍ è ālḍ = ē dōḍs-sò ē wāṭ-ṭ ā
 hyena with fox = ACM starts 3pN go SBJV
 /ḍōḍs/-COMP 3sN /wāṭ/-INF
 Hyena and Fox set out to
4. ṇāḍ-ḍā rīs-ēgg mān ò kār ṭāḍ-án è ḍ-ēgg = ē.
 look.for gift-PL (Ar) certain and wild- was with PP-3pO = ACM
 /ṇāḍ/-SBJV.3pN cow COP-CONT.P
 look for food and a wild buffalo was with them.
5. Ē dōḍs-s ē gōms-óggō ṇéérēmà = n
 3sN⁴⁴ get.up 3sN found devil.name = DEF
 /ḍōḍs/-INF /gōms/-D.COMP
 On their way they found (offspring of) a nyeerma devil
6. ē kós-só ē àn-n ūfú = úl.
 3sN crying 3sN stayed Tabaldi.tree = up
 /kón/-COMP /àn/-INF
 crying and resting in the Tabaldi (Ar. Hijliij) tree.
7. Ē bèè “Léē ā nám-ḍā ṇéérēmà = n!”
 3pN said come SBJV eat devil.name = DEF
 /bèè/-INF /léṭ/-IMP /nám/-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 áṅé = n
 then 3pN start 3pN grab elephant = DEF
 /ḡḡs/-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
 /ḡḡs/-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 = 1 ūfú = n = í, ē dḡḡs-s
 GP when struck hijliij.tree = DEF = SBO 3sN start
 /kās/COMP = SBO1 /ḡḡs/-INF
 When she struck the tree,
15. lôṅ ē wāṅ-ṭ sím ūfú ḡḡṅ.
 until 3sN went down tree body
 /wāṅ/-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. Sàlāḍ = ā è āld = ē ē bēè
hyena = DEF with fox = ACM 3pN said
/bēè/INF
Hyena and Fox said,
17. “lēē, ā ḍḍ-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 bēè
Fox = DEF 3sN went door belonging.to hyena. 3sN said
GEN
/cúg/-INF /ḍḍl/ /bēè/INF
Fox went to hyena’s (larger type of hyena than *salāḍ*) house who said,
19. “Ágg cúr = ǝ ṭóó mán ṭáḍ
1pN tie cow certain down
/cúr/INCP = IPF.1pN
“We tied down a buffalo over there;
20. ágg nām ū = gǝù-ḍḍ bāè mán ā ḍḍ-ḍ = ì.”
1pN want 2sN = give jug certain SBJV milk
/nām/INCP /gǝf/-SBJV.2pN /ḍḍn/SBJV.3pN = 3sAM
Please, will you give us a container for milking.”
21. Āld = á ē dǝḍs-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. Ē gārā āld = á ḍḍn = ǐ 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. kúǝ = 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 $f\bar{a}n$ $\acute{t}\bar{a}\bar{d}$.
 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. $\acute{E}$ $g\bar{a}r\acute{a}$ $\acute{d}\acute{o}\bar{o}-s = \bar{i}$ $\bar{i}gg = \acute{o} = r$ $k\bar{a}y = \acute{e}$, $\bar{e}$ $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$
 GP when milked milk = DEF = PF all = SBO 3sN said
 / $\acute{d}\bar{o}n$ /-COMP = SBO1 / $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$ /INF
 When all the milk was completely milked, he (hyena) said,
26. “ $\bar{A}h$, $w\acute{e}\acute{e}$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}r$ $\bar{j}\bar{o}$ $\bar{a}$ $g\bar{a}\bar{o}-\bar{d}\bar{a}$ $\bar{i}gg = \acute{o}$ $n\bar{a}lg = \hat{a}n$.”
 oh go hide only SBJV give.to milk = DEF children = DAT
 / $w\bar{a}j$ /IMP / $\bar{d}\bar{a}r$ /IMP / $g\bar{a}f$ /-SBJV.1pN
 “Let’s go hide in order to give this milk to the children (his own).”
27. $\bar{O}$ $k\bar{u}\bar{o}$ $\bar{a}n\bar{e}\acute{e}n$ $\acute{e}$ $f\bar{o}\bar{i}$ $m\bar{a}n$ $w\acute{a}$ $\bar{a}n\bar{e}\acute{e}n$,
 and froth like.this GP strength certain not like.this
 Since froth does not have any substance,
28. $g\bar{o}l$ $\bar{e}$ $w\bar{a}r-r = \bar{e}$ $\acute{e}$ $\bar{u}\bar{u} = n\bar{i}$ $w\bar{a}r-r$,
 in.that.way 3sN carried GP air.GEN = DEF carry
 / $w\bar{a}r$ /-INF = PAS.A / $\bar{u}\bar{u}n\bar{i}$ / / $w\bar{a}r$ /-INF
 therefore it was blown away,
29. $n\bar{a}lg$ $\acute{e}$ $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}\bar{d} = \bar{a}$ $\bar{a}$ $m\bar{o}\bar{d}-\bar{d} = \hat{n}gg\bar{o}$ $w\acute{a}$.
 children GP hyena.GEN = DEF SBJV drink = they not
 / $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}\bar{d}-\bar{a}$ / / $m\bar{a}\bar{d}$ /-SBJV = IPF.3pN
 and Hyena’s children never drank it.
30. $\acute{E}$ $n\bar{a}\bar{a}n\bar{d} = \acute{a}$ $y\bar{a}\bar{a}n$, $\bar{a}l\bar{d} = \acute{a}$ $\bar{e}$ $\acute{a}\bar{d}-\acute{a}gg\bar{a}$ $\bar{e}$ $f\bar{a}\bar{a}m$
 GP day = DEF other Fox = DEF 3sN came 3sN thought
 / $\acute{a}\bar{d}$ /-D.COMP
 Another day, Fox brought another idea to
31. $m\bar{a}n$ $\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{a}n$ $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}\bar{d} = \bar{a}n$. $\bar{E}$ $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $\acute{i}n\bar{o}$
 certain different hyena = DAT 3sN said 3sD
 / $b\bar{e}\bar{e}$ /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 ūūŋ 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 = bàg = gón⁴⁷ mṣṣ mán ā nám-ḍā kár níí.
2sN = grab.for.us fire certain SBJV eat cow this
/bàg/IMP = 1pD /nám/-SBJV 1pN
bring us some fire (so that) we may eat this buffalo.
34. jéérèṁà = n é gāránḍá ē áḍ-ḍá gāṇà
devil = DEF GP that.time 3sN became laughing
/ád/-SBJV.3sN /gāṇ/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 mōrāā-gg = ē = né, bēl-án
Fandi = DEF GP when fought government- having
PL = ACM = SBO
/ḍāf/-COMP = IPF.3sN /bēl/-CONT.P
When Fandi fought the government, he had
2. gír|ḥēn 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 $\bar{u} = b\bar{a}g = g\bar{o}n$ is shortened from $\bar{u} = b\bar{a}\bar{z}$. = $\bar{z}gg\bar{o}n$ ‘/bàg/IMP=1pD’.

4. Ē máð-ð é jɔgg ìngg 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 wār-r kòlèèð ā kóm-ḡá jɔg=ó=r. Énná
 3sN took (sword) SBJV cut people=DEF=EV that.is.why
 /wār/-INF /kóm/-SBJV.3sN
 taking a koleez sword to kill (hack up completely) the people. So,
6. gəl Fónḡi bàg-s=ān=ēn⁴⁸ líj-j=ì é kōrtūūm tē.
 just Fandi caught-him arrived to Khartoum here
 /bàg/-COMP=PAS=3sA /lēj/-COMP=IPF.3sN
 Fandi was captured and brought here to Khartoum.
7. Gəf-ōn=īggòn wārā mān é gārā dāf-ān=á tálò=nē.
 given=them paper(Ar) certain GP when collect tax=SBO
 /gəf/-PAS=3pD /dāf/-CONT.N=PAS
 They (citizens) were given a receipt when the tax money was collected.
8. Bēl mān t̃ā-ān t̃u ò gād-sā gūrūs=í,
 metal certain was there and give money=SBO (Ar)
 COP-CONT.P /gād/-COMP.3sN
 There was a certain metal token, and when (a person) gave money,
9. ē gəf-f-ūn=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 t̃āān bēèn fōndi=n ē gād-dā
 govern- came again saying Fandi=DAT 3sN give
 ment
 /áð/-INF=IPF.3pN /bē/INCP /gād/-SBJV.3sN
 The government came again, again requesting Fandi to pay

⁴⁸ The third singular object pronoun =ēn 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 bɛ̀ɛ ē lā
 money(Ar) again Fandi refused 3sN said 3sN UN
 /máð/-COMP /bɛ̀ɛ/INF
 the money. Fandi refused, saying he would
12. gǝf=ì wá. níínó wór-r=î mǎān-g=á nàān=ē?
 give=it not what brought refusing.GEN those=SBO
 /gǝf/INCP-3sAM /wár/-INF=SBO /máð/-NOM.PL=DEF
 not pay it. What brought on this refusal?
13. Mòrāā áð-ð=í dúūr-g=ó fɔ́róḥ wá, ò Fónḍì
 government came time-PL=DEF few not and Fandi
 /áð/-INF=IPF.3sN
 The government came many times, and Fandi
14. mās-sá=r=é, énná mās=á lǝ=ì tú=í gǝl.
 refused-it that.is.why refusal came out=SBO just
 /máð/-COMP=PF=3sA /máð/-NOM=DEF /lǝ-d/INCP=3sAM
 refused it, and that is why the refusal (from the government)
 came out to him (with brutality).
15. É gārā mǝðgg=ē, mǝrāā áð-ð=í bɛ̀ɛ
 GP when first=SBO government came said
 /áð/-INF=IPF.3sN /bɛ̀ɛ/INF
 At first, the government came and said there is
16. gùrūs-úgg=ú tǎ tǔ wá. Tǎén mǝrā=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=āḥ. jēn kùḍùùl bél-ǎn=é jǎḍḍèr ēēn
 sat Faath= person Kulug is.named Jader 3sN
 body
 /àb/-COMP=PF /bél/-CONT.N=IPF.3sN
 established in Faath area. A Kulug (clan name) person called Jader was
 going
18. é Tǎw. Wór=í gǎām=ā tú, jǝgg=ó ē ḍūr-ḍù
 GP Taw bring- hill.name= out people= 3pN bury
 he DEF 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. kólólǝ = ǝ ɿáǝ. Ē bèè “kólólǝ = ǝ néé = n ē bèl-ǝǎ
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, ǝè mǝràā lā ɿs ɿèèm wá.”
not = SBO oh then government will do something not
/ɿs/INCP
then (it is a sign that) the government will not do anything.”
21. ǝ kólólǝ = ǝ ǝùr-s = ǝnǝ ēēl ɿáǝ-ē bà bèl-ǝǎ wá.
and egg = DEF bury head.3sPs down-3sO oh burst not
/ǝùr/-COMP = PAS /bèl/-COMP
And the egg put in the ground with its top side down did not burst.
22. ɿǝgg ē bèè “Wǝí-ǝǎ ǝè kǝr
people 3pN said go then word
/bèè/INF /wǝǎ/-IMP.PL
The people said, “Let us go since
23. mǎn ná ǝn = í ēēn ɿù wá.” ɿǎǝèèr = 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 kǎɿ ĩnī = n ē māǝǎ. Ēgg lēēn-g
carried group 3sPs = DEF with big.size 3pN going
/wár/-COMP /léɿ/-NOM.PL
led his very big group. They traveled and sang
25. ēgg bǝfǝ ēgg léē ɿàǝ. Lǝ-ɿ = ì wāā ǝǎl = ǝ = mǝǝ = n
3pN sing 3pN going up went pond Dal = DEF =
fire = DEF
/bǝf/NOM.SG /léɿ/INCP /léɿ/-COMP = IPF.3pN
as they went along. They had arrived at the entrance of the Dal water valley
26. mū-ín ē rǎg-g ɿù. Ēgg lēēn = g ēgg lēēn = g,
front-3sO 3sN stopped there 3pN going 3pN going
/rǎg/-INF /léɿ/ = /léɿ/ =
NOM.PL NOM.PL
and stopped there. They were going to . . . well,

27. ú=jíl gār=ā súugg ilg é gārā féð-ān=á jègg=ā
 2pN= place= market in where placed things=
 know DEF DEF
 /jél/INCP /féð/-CONT.P=PAS
 do you know the place in the market in Faaz area where things
28. táḍ fáaḍ=āŋ tǎén 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 tì.
 focus person which going GP others=DEF there
 /jéés/-CONT.N-IMP /lēj/=NOM.PL
 “Aim at the man who is leading the others;
29. Ār ú=bìl-i jōgg kāē wá, bēl jēn tāmán.”
 Hey 2pN=hit people all not hit person one
 /bēl/IMP=IPF.2pN /bēl/IMP
 Don’t kill all the people; just kill the one man.”
30. jēn ē bìl-l=i ḍ-ē kúnd,
 person 3sN shot=him PP-3sP chest
 /bēl/-INF=3sAM
 A person shot him in his chest
31. mōō=n ē bāḍ-ḍ gāḍl=ō lōŋ tú ē tīr-r.
 fire=DEF 3sN penetrated shield=DEF until out 3sN die
 /bāḍ/-INF /tīr/-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 mōīḍ kūūḍ=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. jāfārì = n kûn-sú cîl é wîlèn-g = à.
 Jafari = DEF blew horn GP hunting.GEN-PL = DEF
 /kón/CAUS-COMP /wîlèn/
 Jafari blew the hunting horn.
3. É gārā jōgg = ó fîḡs-s = ŋggò é cîl = ī,
 GP when people = DEF heard = them GP horn = SBO
 /fîḡs/-COMP = 3pA
 When the people heard them (blow) the horn,
4. ēgg dōs-s ēgg lāḡ-āggā tú.
 3pN started 3pN went out
 /dōs/-INF /lā-ḡ/-D.COMP
 they ran out (to participate in the hunt).
5. Būḡūr-g = ú lā-ì tú ḡí. É gārā fîḡs-s = ŋggī
 youth-PL = DEF run out also GP when heard
 /lā-ḡ/-INCP-3sAM /fîḡs/-COMP = SBO1
 The young people ran out. When they heard,
6. jōgg fāḡ bīgg nà būr sēggērg = è lā = ì tú ḡí.
 people old some REL remain young = RDM ran out also
 /būr/-INCP /lā-ḡ/-INCP = 3sAM
 some older people who were still agile also ran out.
7. jāfārì = n é mánē jō ḡàḡ-sā càḡr-ēēgg = á yōsō.
 Jafari = DEF alone just killed rabbits-PL = DEF four
 /ḡàḡ/-COMP
 Jafari, by himself, killed four rabbits.
8. Mōīḡ kūūḡ = ū ḡàḡ-sā jēēm ḡéé wá. Būḡūr
 old.man person.name = DEF kill thing any not youth
 /ḡàḡ/-COMP
 The old man Kuud didn't kill anything.
9. mān bēl Féētḡā, ḡàḡ-sā ḡāy-ēēgg dáāgg. Féētḡā = n
 certain call Feetfa(Ar) killed giraffe-PL two Feetfa = DEF
 /bēl/-INCP /ḡàḡ/-COMP
 One youth called Feetfa killed two giraffes. Feetfa
10. ē bēē “Lí-ḡū ā ḡàḡ-ḡā jēēm mōīḡ = ōn.”
 3sN said let SBJV give something old.man = DAT
 /bēē/-INF /líḡ/-IMP.PL /ḡāḡ/-SBJV.1pN
 said, “Let's give something to the older man.”

11. jāfārì = n è Fēēṭfā = 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 mǎn dūmùùn é Dàal.
 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 Dàal = ē, á gōms-óggō jēn
 GP when 1sN arrived GP Daal = SBO 1sN found man
 /lēj/-COMP = SBO 1 /gōms/-D.COMP
 When I arrived to Dal Valley, I found an old
3. fāā ná bēl-l Cḏḏḡḏḏ.-ēēn, ē àn-n gḏi 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 tīs-s = īn á bī = īn, “jēn fāā = n, tǎ īsí, bḏ = ī?”
 1sN asked = 1sN said man old = COP how oh =
 him DEF 3sP
 /tīs/-INF = 3sD /bēè/INF = 3sD
 I asked him, “How are you old man (respectful greeting)?”
5. Ē bèè “jīn ùṭṭḡ ḡāl = ē ūḡúūr-g, ūḡúūr-g?”
 3sN said what bodies.2pPp smell Arab-PL Arab-PL
 /bē/INF /ḡāl/INCP = PAS.A
 He asked, “Why does your body smell like that of Arabs?”

6. Á bēē “Wá, āān ūḡūr=ú wá.
 1sN said no 1sN Arab=DEF not
 /bēē/INF
 I replied, “No, I am not an Arab.
7. Ò ú=ḡōm ḡíí bārē ā?”
 and 2sN=want what now QM
 /ḡām/INCP
 What can I do for you?”
8. Āān á bì=īn ḡí, “Ò 35n ú=ḡis-sà ḡíí ḡí tē ā?”
 1sN 1sN said also and 2sN 2sN=did what also here QM
 /bēē/INF=3sD /ḡis/-COMP
 I myself also asked him, “And you, what are you doing here?”
9. Ē bēē, “Á wīr-ōn áfāḡ mán táḡ tē, é kōrá é
 3sN said 1sN slaughter blood certain down here GP GP
 /bēē/INF /wīr/-CONT.P because
 1sN
 He said, “I was making a sacrifice here because
10. māsí néé nór-r-ōn tē.
 insect this drools here
 /nár/-CAUS-CONT.N
 this insect drools here.
11. Mīí=n á ḡān tū,
 chicken=DEF 1sN throw out
 /ḡān/INCP
 The chicken I am throwing away,
12. mīí=n á ḡāf-ān ḡōgg fāḡ=ān ā nóm-ḡ=īggē.”
 goat=DEF 1sN give people old=DAT SBJV eat-it
 /ḡāf/-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 t̃àà-gg ɖ-āggá máà-gg=é, ɔ̃ð-ɔ̃ðgg=ɔ̃
 when 1pN live door-PL PP-1pO house-PL=SBO woman-PL=DEF
 /àn/INCP
 While we were living in our houses, women
2. t̃ār-s àn⁴⁹. Āgg d̃ɔ̃ðs-s āgg wāɣ-j wāā=lg f̃ééɖɔ̃ɔ̃l.
 called me 1pN start 1pN go water=in early.morning
 /t̃ār/-COMP 1sA /d̃ɔ̃ðs/-INF /wāɣ/-INF
 called me. In the early morning we set out for the water valley.
3. É gārá āgg léɣ-j=ā=é, j̃èèm ē âr-s āāggá.
 GP when 1pN arrived something 3sN frightened-us
 /léɣ/-COMP=SBO1=SBO /âr/-COMP 1pA
 When we arrived, something frightened us.
4. ē cúɖ-ɖ t̃àð gùlɖū=ūl. M̃ɪnt̃ààðéé
 3sN climbed up tree=up thereafter
 /cúɖ/-INF
 and climbed up a tree. After that,
5. āgg k̃ɔ̃éɣ-j āgg t̃ál-l dáāg āgg b̃ɪɣ-j āgg g̃ɔ̃l-g=ɔ̃
 1pN enter 1pN make two 1pN left 1pP friend-PL=DEF
 /k̃ɔ̃éɣ/-INF /t̃ál/-INF /b̃ɪɣ/-INF
 two of us passed (it) and left our other
6. nà dáāgg èèn é ñɔ̃ðgg.
 REL two 3sN GP behind
 two companions behind.
7. Nà āgg b̃ɪɣ-jə dáāgg é ñɔ̃ðgg=í, j̃ēn
 REL.PL 1pN left two GP behind=SBO person
 /b̃ɪɣ/-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 *tār-sə* which has no object pronoun.

- ⁵⁰ *jāām kšēm-i* is a shortened version of *jāām kšēm-i q-ēēn* ‘someone is bothered by it (CAUS=PAS.A PP-3SP) (Thng25)’; For comparison, *jēn kšām jāām* ‘person bothers someone’; *jēn kšēm jāām* ‘person bothers.CAUS someone’; *jāām kšēm=i jēn* ‘someone is bothered by the person (CAUS=PAS.A)’; *jāām kšēm-ō* ‘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=i ggè é. É nāānd=á yāàn,
 frightened=them place=SBO GP day=DEF other
 /âr/-COMP=3pAM
 in that place. On another day,
17. āgg wā-jā wāā=lg fēédōól jō, āggā 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 gārā 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 āāggā é mīdōgg.
 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 āāggā é mīd-óg fōrój 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 gāl-g=ō nām-m ā gāl-dā, á bī=i ggān⁵²
 1sP friend- want SBJV run 1sN told=them
 PL=DEF
 /nām/-INF /gāl/-SBJV.3pN /bēè/-INF=3pD
 my companions wanted to run, (but) I told them
22. “Wá! Ūgg=gāl 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, nām ūgg ɲəlg. ”
 frightened=you run not break 2pPp necks
 /âr/-COMP = 2pA = SBO2 /kár/-INCP /nām/INCP.3p
 they will break your necks (If you do run, it will harm you).”
24. Āgg gəl-dà wá āgg sábbàr-sà jō màrèè. Āgg wāj-ɲ
 1pN ran not 1pN patient(Ar) only somehow 1pN go
 /gəl/-COMP /sábbàr/-COMP /wāj/-INF
 We did not run; somehow we were patient. We went and
25. āgg biɲ-ɲ-i, jāām kóðm-s = ī d-éēn⁵³ wá.
 1pN left-it someone bothered PP-3sO not
 /biɲ/-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 dāi ò ó lā wāi dāi ?
 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-ð māj wá,
 (and following): sickness treating = me carefully not
 jìs/-CONT.N = 1sD
 The Massee 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 dūmùùn d-ūūɲ tà bèēn 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 ǎn=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 ǎŋ t̃ā jùùn á mǎðr-ǎn=ín=ín jō.
 REL bad COP long.ago 1sN was.buy.for.her just
 /mǎār/-CONT.P=3sD=3sAM
 old clothes from long ago (that) I was buying for her.
9. Ǿ 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 d̃uùl. Cǎè=n ē kór
 send=him difficult Jae=DEF 3sN say
 /bā-d̃/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-dō ò ā wár-d=é ǎnō ráqè.
 SBJV make and SBJV bring 1sD radio
 /jìs/-SBJV.3sN /wár/-SBJV-IPF.3sN
 to get me a radio.'
13. Á bì=íggǎn 'Jò-dō ùùng=ū ǒgg kǎē jō.
 1sN tell=them finish 2pR=DEF 2pN all only
 /bēè/INF=3pD /jòd/-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. Bāārg = á ǎǝ-ǎ n jā-lg nà ǎn-g = ì,
 Baggara = DEF search.for girl-PL⁵⁴ REL young-PL = RDM
 /ǎw/-CONT.P
 the Baggara (people group) were kidnapping young girls
3. ē mór-ǝn = ŋggǝ ðūmùnn 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. Bāārg = á áǝ-ǎ n ǎn-ǎn è jǝgg Gǝǝr = ē.
 Baggara = DEF coming staying with people Goor = ACM
 /áǝ/-CONT.P /ǎn/-CONT.P
 The Baggara were coming with the people of Goor.
5. Bāārg = 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=ó bà ós-s=ōggān jēgg ón-g=ì.
 people Goor=DEF oh became=for.us things bad-PL=RDM⁵⁵
 /áō/-COMP=1pD
 The Goor tribe became our enemies (lit. to us bad things).
7. Jōgg ēgg óō=ì bà, ēgg wár-r jēgg=ā ǫ-āggá kākē.
 people 3pN come oh 3pN take things=DEF PP-1pO all
 /áō/INCP=SBO1 /wár/-INF
 When these people come, they take all (our) things from us.
8. Bāárg=á ǫēēóá bēl-án=ēēggà mōsōr-ēēg=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 Mīnjibb bēl-án mōsōr jō ǫí.
 person old REL named Minjib has horse only also
 /bēl/-INF /bēl/-CONT.P
 the old man called Minyjib also had a horse.
10. Mōsōr īnī bēl-l Òsúūr. Mōsōr īnī=n ē fīr-sá
 horse 3sPs named Asuur horse 3sPs=DEF 3sN smells
 /bēl/-INF /fīr/-COMP
 His horse was called Asuur. When his horse smelled
11. gōlg ìngg=ō ǫí=ní, ē cīl-ǫ ē kón-n wíl,
 others bodies=DEF also=SBO 3sN whistles 3sN cries (sound)
 /cīl/-CAUS.INF /kón/-INF
 the presence of others, he whistled, cried (sound)
12. wíl ē gān-n ógg. 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 Mīnjibb ǫāén ē dōōs-s ē àb-b=ì ǫ-éél
 named Minjib then 3sN starts 3sN rides=it PP-on.3sO
 /bēl/-INF /dōōs/-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 ǝǝl
 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 mǝŋìl = ò ǝ-éès.
 with skin.bag = DEF GP devil.GEN = DEF PP-hand.3sPs
 /mǝŋìl/
 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 ǝiū-s-ǝn = ŋggǝ⁵⁶ wá = één = é,
 boy-PL = DEF 3pN remain 3pN were.tied = they not = RDM = SBO,
 /būr/ /ǝi/ -COMP = PAS = 3pA
 When boys remain not tied up (with Gaahmg rules),
2. ǝr kǝr-ēēgg = á ógg òògg ǝiǝiǝǝ ǝiǝiǝǝ.
 mix.up word-PL = DEF place mouth.1pP quickly quickly
 /ǝr/INCP
 they very quickly get mixed-up
 (lit. they mix up the words in the place of mouths).
3. ǝif-ǝn é Gǝǝm-g = ò ǝiū-ǝ-ǝn būŋūr-g = ó ǝáǝ
 tying GP Gaam.GEN-PL = DEF make.sit youth-PL = DEF down
 /ǝi/ -CONT.N.NOM.SG /gǝǝm-g/ /ǝi/ -CAUS-CONT.N
 The tying of the Gaahmg youth enables them to sit down
4. é mēēǝ é būŋūr-g ānēndá bà!
 GP rope GP youth.GEN-PL like.this oh
 /būŋūr-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 *ǝǝgg ǝiū-s-ǝ kǝssāggá* ‘people tied the boys’; *kǝssāggá ǝiū-s-ǝn* ‘the boys were tied’; *ǝiū-s-ǝn-ŋggǝ* ‘they were tied’.

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

5. Á bèè tíf-ən wēdán, ón wá. Kāssā-g = á
 1sN say tying beautiful bad not boy-PL = DEF
 /bèè/INF /tíf/-CONT.N.NOM.SG
 I say, (youth) tying is beneficial and not detrimental. Let boys
6. bìi tíú-ɖ = ən = ñggò é kōrá lā ɔw = ñggì
 let be.tied = them GP because UNC make.sit = them
 /bìj/IMP /tíf/-SBJV = PAS = 3pA /ɔb/CAUS.INCP = 3pAM
 be tied because it will help them sit down
7. é tēēɖ tāmán ò mēēɖ é bùṇùr-g = ñi = n.
 GP road one and rope GP youth.GEN-PL = SBO = DEF
 /būṇūr/
 in one rope of youthful unity.
8. jōgg = ɔ nà tīū-s = ən = î⁵⁸ tál é fáá-gg é fáá-gg.
 people = DEF REL have.been.tied create GP line-PL GP line-PL
 /tíf/-COMP = /tál/INCP.3pN
 PAS = RDM
 Those who have been tied, sit in rows of lines.
9. Āw-àn é bùggōṇ. jēn ná bēl-l ógg íñ = íñ = í
 sitting GP group.PL person REL.SG has place 3sO = RDM = SBO
 /ɔb/-CONT.N.3p /bēl/-INF
 They usually sit in groups. When a person has a place (in society),
10. níl = ì ò ná bīl-l = ì wá = éé = né níl = ì jō dí.
 knows = it and REL.SG has = it not = RDM = knows = it only also
 SBO
 /pél/INCP = 3sAM /bēl/-INF = 3sAM /pél/INCP = 3sAM
 he knows it, and when he doesn't have a place, he knows that as well.
11. Kósón-gí⁵⁹ ná àò ná é fáá-gg é fáá-gg = é
 friend-N.SG REL sits REL GP line-PL GP line-PL = RDM
 /kásán, kásánáāg/ 'friend' /ɔb/INCP
 The friendship of sitting in lines is full of

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

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

12. tá tĩns, 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 tífú-d = ǎn = ñggò 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 tāl kōr é mūn tē jō.
 and 1sN want SBJV create speech GP time here only
 /jām/INCP /tāl/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. ǪǪ-ǫǫgg = ǫ nà bēl-l jīǪ-ǎgg = ì bà
 woman-PL = DEF REL have husband-PL = DEF oh
 /bēl/-INF
 Those women who have husbands,
2. ò wāē jāām = é mǎā-gg īilg = ì bà!
 and go wrongly = SBO house-PL in = 3sP oh
 /wāj/INCP
 and do bad things in their houses,
3. Bìi fīŋǎd-dō kōr ǎñ nī mā mǎŋ.
 let hear word 1sPs this very carefully
 /bìj/IMP /fīŋǎn/-IMP.PL
 please hear what I have to say!
4. Ār á bēl kōr mǎn é d-ēggè.
 hey 1sN have word certain GP PP-3pO
 /bēl/INCP
 I have something important to say to them.

5. jɔ̌gg nā-lg = é nà ū = bil,
 people young.one-PL = RDM REL 2sN = have
 /bēl/INCP
 The young people you have,
6. T̄él gɔ̌ū-s = ì ūggúūn gāfā ē jɔ̌ 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 jɔ̌gg fūūi-gg = ð wāin = 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. ɔ́gg = é jínì? jinná wāin = 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. ɔ́ɔ́gg = ɔ́ nà ɔ́j tē jīs-ðn = ūggò bèènāḍ = één.
 women = DEF REL bad here making = them wrongdoing = SBO
 /jīs/-CONT.N = 3pA
 bad women (their first wives) make them do wrong.
11. Ānēndá, bìi bìi-ḍò 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-ḍ āāgg = é jóm = ì wá.
 wrongdoing = DEF God REL created us want = it not
 /tál/-COMP 1pA = RDM /jám/INCP = 3sAM
 God who created us doesn't want us to do wrong.

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

21. Ȯðȳgg, ðḑ-ḑà é kōr ḑ-ȳggð jīð-ðgg = 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 T̃èl é m̃ân = é,
 GP word GP God.GEN GP certain = SBO
 /T̃él/
 orders and by God's commands,
23. ū = gâr-ḑà ū ðḑ-ḑà m̃â m̃ân.
 2sN = be.able 2sN live very well
 /gâr/-IMP.PL /ân/-IMP.PL
 you will be able to live very well.
24. Ānēḑá bà bìi ȳð-ȳgg = ȳ áḑ-ḑà wīḑ-ðg,
 then oh let woman-PL = DEF become ear-PL
 /bīȳ/IMP /áð/-SBJV.3pN
 So, let women hear these words (lit. women become ears)
25. bìi fīȳá-ḑā kōr = é m̃ân.
 let hear word = RDM well
 /bīȳ/IMP /fīȳón/-SBJV.3pN
 Let them hear these words well!