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Documentation and Description of Tense, Aspect and Mood in Gwama

Amare Tsehay Taye

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DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF
tense, aspect and mood in gwama

by

amare tsehay

November 2013

Addis ababa
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF TENSE, ASPECT
AND MOOD IN GWAMA

BY

AMARE TSEHAY

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

Approved by:

_____________________________________________  _________________________
Advisor                                              Signature

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Examiner                                             Signature

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Examiner                                             Signature
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Examiner  signature
Abstract

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

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

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

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

My beloved wife Belaynesh Aboye deserves the premier gratitude for her unreserved assistance in all my life and also in this success. And to all the members of my family, who also played important roles, my thanks to them as well. Finally, I would like to address my warmest love and gratitude to my children, Bethel and Henon.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>3rd person masculine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>3rd person feminine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
<td>1st person plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
<td>1st person plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVB</td>
<td>Converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Discourse Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT</td>
<td>Free Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive (“of”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCP</td>
<td>Inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O(BJ)</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLIG</td>
<td>Obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>Passive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
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<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>Unspecified TAM Marker (Tense-Aspect-Mood)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language Abbreviations:
- AMH: Amharic
- AR: Arabic
- BERT: Berta
- OR(O): Oromo
Phonetic Notation (the sounds of Gwama)

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

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

The eight vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>í</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>œ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental/alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>ejectives</td>
<td>p’</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>ejectives</td>
<td>s’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonorants</td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oral</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l, r</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few phonological notes:

- The phonemic status of glottal stop is unclear.

- /ŋ/ has an allophone [ɲ] following high front vowels.

- In rapid speech, ejectives change into voiced stops in intervocalic position. Thus /hap’/ is pronounced as [hab], and I have often transcribed <hab>.

- As far as I can tell, vowel length is not phonemic.

- Gwama has three tone levels: H, M, L. Rising tones (LM) and falling tones (HL) also occur. Tone is only noted occasionally in this thesis.
1.1. The Language

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

Gwama has been known by different alternative names such as Afan Mao, Amam, Gogwama, Goma, Gwama, Koma of Asosa, Nokanoka, North Koma, T’wa Kwama, Takwama (Lewis 2009/Grimes 1996: 1:115). The self-name of the Gwama language is T’wa Kwama, which means "mouth of Kwama" (Bender 1975:67). They also accept "Afan Mao", the name given by the neighboring Oromos, as their self-name (Bender 1975:67-68). Burns (cited in Bender 1975:67) calls this language "Gwama". Though most of the people that I met at Tongo, Zebsher and the neighbouring villages (highland area) call themselves either Komo or Kwama, the name Gwama is chiefly used in recent works and also in this thesis. The highland people also told me that the Gwama people who live in the lowland area call the highlanders Gwama, while the highlanders call the lowlanders Kwama1. According to Bender (Bender 1975:63), Gwama (Kwama) is genetically related to the languages Uduk, Komo and Opo.

---

1 They also explained to me that both the highlanders and the lowlanders are the same people who speak the same language. According to their explanation, the highlanders live by farming and the lowlanders by fishing. Whereas the lowlanders call the highlanders Gwama, the highlanders call the lowlanders Kwama.
According to Zelealem (2005:2), in the 1994 Ethiopian Housing and Population Census the number of Gwama speakers was 2732. The Ethnologue, on the other hand, gives their number as 15000 as of 1982 (Grimes 1996:115). However, in both the 1994 and the 2007 housing and population censuses I couldn’t find the exact number of the Gwama people. because they are apparently counted as if they are Komos or Maos.

1.2. The People

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

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

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

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

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

1.4. Objective of the study

The goal of this thesis is documenting, describing and analyzing TAM in the Gwama language. Here documentation as defined by Woodbury in Austin (2010:12) means the creation, annotation, preservation, and dissemination of transparent records of a language. Himmelmann (2005:2) also defines it as the collection, transcription and translation of primary data. Thus this is a thesis in
Documentary Linguistics; therefore a significant part of the study is the three
texts that are given at the end, which make up about half of the thesis. Thus
the goals of the thesis include:

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

1.5. Significance of the study

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

1.6. Methods of the study

The main grammatical objective of this thesis is documenting, describing and
analyzing the TAM of the Gwama language. At the same time, the thesis aims
to contribute to the language documentation of Gwama; and the core of a
language documentation is constituted by a comprehensive and representative
sample of communicative events that are as natural as possible (Himmelmann
2005:12). Hence, both elicitation and non-elicitation methods were used to
collect linguistic data from native speakers of Gwama. The elicitation was used
to gather primary data based on a pre-prepared list of words, phrases and
sentences; it was the chief basis of my description of TAM. The non-elicitation
method was used for language documentation, to collect texts like folktales, procedural texts (how to make things), a life history and others. The collected data was transcribed, annotated and translated using the software packages discussed in 1.8 (Tools used in this study). Finally as this is a documentation project, there should be archiving. Here a language archive as described by Griffiths (2007:41) is a trusted repository created and maintained by an institution with a commitment to permanence and to the long-term preservation of the archived resources. Thus, this thesis will be archived at the AAU and SIL libraries and interested parties can access it based on the rules of these libraries.

1.7. Limitations of the study

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

1.8. Tools used in this study

The documentation in this research mainly focused on recording a variety of
texts with their linguistic features using digital recordings in a natural setting (Austin 2010:18). The recording materials included digital audio, video and image (photo) recordings which help to cover the use of language in its social context. (The recording materials that I used were Sony digital video camera, Zoom digital audio recording and Samsung digital (photo) camera.) This research project includes linguistic analysis such as transcription, translation and annotation of some selected data using the software packages: Audacity, Praat, Elan, and Freekey.

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

### 1.9 Transcription and Glossing

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Independent personal pronouns (subject = object)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentences contain subject pronouns of Gwama.

1. gà  a-nī-hɔ̀
   I IMP-1SG-come
   I will come.

2. ĭk  á-gī-hɔ̀
   you.SG IMP-2SG-come
   You will come.

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

$^3$ Kievit & Robertson (2012:43) present the 1PL.IN pronoun as meene.
3. ūhāj á-ní-hɔ
   he   IMP-3MS -come
   He will come.

4. hāp' á-ø-hɔ
   she  IMP-3FS-come
   She will come.

5. mînì á-nì-hɔ
   we.IN IMP-1PL.INCL-come
   We will come.

6. mā á-mî-hɔ
   we.EX IMP-1PL.EX-come
   We will come.

7. ōm á-mî-hɔ
   you.2PL IMP-2PL-come
   You will come.

8. hōn á-bî-hɔ
   they IMP-3PL-come
   They will come.

The same pronouns are used as object pronouns (direct and indirect). In the following examples, the object pronoun occurs as an indirect object, suffixed to the preposition gáʃ ‘to’. (These pronouns are distinct from the verbal object affixes seen within the verb.)
9. ūhāj gáʃ-gà ma-ní-gà-tí màs'áfá
   he to-me PFV-3MS -1SG-give book
   He gave me a book.

10. ūhāj gáʃ-ɪk ma-n-i-tí màs'áfá
    he to-you PFV-3MS-2SG-give book
    He gave you a book.

11. ūhāj gáʃ-ʊhāj ma-n-é-tí màs'áfá
    he to-him PFV-3MS-3MS-give book
    He gave him a book.

12. ūhāj gáʃ-hāp' mà-n-áp'-tí màs'áfá
    he to-her PFV-3MS-3FS-give book
    He gave her a book.

13. ūhāj gáʃ-mnì ma-n-ni-tí ma'safa
    he to-us PFV-3MS-1PL.IN-give book
    He gave us a book.

14. ūhāj gáʃ-mà mà-n-ma-tí màs'áfá
    he to-us PFV-3MS-1PL.EX-gave book
    He gave us a book.

15. ūhāj gáʃ-ʊm mà-n-ʊm-tí màs'áfá
    he to-you.PL PFV-3MS-2PL-give book
    He gave you a book.

16. ūhāj gáʃ-hūn mà-n-ùn-tí màs'áfá
    he to-them PFV-3MS-3PL-give book,
    He gave them a book.
2.2. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3MS</th>
<th>3FS</th>
<th>1PL.IN</th>
<th>1PL.EX</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>dáp’</td>
<td>mīnì</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td></td>
<td>kóm</td>
<td>bún</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples show possessive pronouns. The -a that directly precedes the suffix pronouns is a genitive marker 'of', which also occurs when the possessor is a full lexical NP (see below).
17. màs'áfá-nā
   book-1SG.POSS
   my book

18. màs'áfá-ké
   book-2SG.POSS
   your book

19. màs'áfá-dé
   book-3MS.POSS
   his book

20. màs'áfá-dáp’
    book-3FS.POSS
    her book

21. màs'áfá-mǐnì
    book-1PL.IN.POSS
    our book

22. màs'áfá-mā
    book-1PL.EX.POSS
    our book

23. màs'áfá-kúm
    book-2PL.POSS
    your book

24. màs'áfá-bún
    book-3PL.POSS
    their book
A text example (from sentence B.22): *gendia-na* 'my (bee)hive'.

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

kum-kum-*a*  wale  'the child's father'

RED-father-*GEN*  child

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Bound subj.</th>
<th>Bound obj</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>gà</td>
<td>-nĩ~nĩ</td>
<td>-gà</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>Ŭik</td>
<td>-gĩ~gĩ</td>
<td>-ĩ</td>
<td>-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>Ŭhãj</td>
<td>-nĩ~nĩ</td>
<td>-è</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>hãp’</td>
<td>Ű~ã</td>
<td>-àp</td>
<td>-dap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
<td>mĩnĩ</td>
<td>-nĩ~nĩ</td>
<td>-nĩ</td>
<td>-mĩnĩ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
<td>mã</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-mà</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Ŭm</td>
<td>-mĩ~mĩ</td>
<td>-ũm</td>
<td>-kũm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>hũn</td>
<td>-bĩ~bĩ</td>
<td>-ũn</td>
<td>-bũn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

25. Ŭhãj  á-nĩ-tũ-tũp

he  IMP-3MS-RED-drink

He (will) drinks.
As shown in the first sentence -ni is the bound pronoun that marks the 3MS whereas in the second sentence the 3FS is zero.

2.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Reflexive Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentential examples show Gwama reflexive pronouns.

---

4 Another word for 'head' is k'up.
27. gà ḟùn-nì Ṽp-á-nā
   I love-1SG head-GEN-1SG.POSS
   I love myself.

28. Ĭk ḟùn-gí Ṽp-á-ké
    you love-2SG head-GEN-2SG.POSS
    You love yourself.

29. ūhāj ḟùn-ní Ṽp-á-dé
    he love-3MS head-GEN-3MS.POSS
    He loves himself.

30. hāp’ ḟùn-á Ṽp-á-dáp'
    she love-3FS head-GEN-3FS.POSS
    She loves herself.

31. mīnì ḟùn-nì Ṽp-a’-mīnì
    we.IN love-1PL.IN head-GEN-1PL.IN.POSS
    We love ourselves.

32. mā ḟùn-mā Ṽp-á-mā
    we-EX love-1PL.EX head-GEN-1PL.POSS
    We love ourselves.

33. ūm ḟùn-mí Ṽp-á-kóm
    you.2PL love-2PL head-GEN-2SG.POSS
    You love yourselves.

34. hōn ḟùn-bí Ṽp-á-bún
    they love-3PL head-GEN-3PL.POSS
    They love themselves.
CHAPTER 3: ASPECT

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

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

3.1 IMPERFECTIVE

The imperfective aspect is formed with the imperfective prefix a- (glossed IMP) combined with either the bare form of the verb or a form that reduplicates the first syllable of the verb while changing its vowel. The person/number markers are sometimes prefixes and sometimes suffixes.
Now let us see this with the table below and the sentences that follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5: IMPERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

35. gà a-ni-gigara  
    I IMP-1SG-RED-learn  
    I (will) learn.

36. gà a-ni-hɔ  
    I IMP-1SG-come  
    I (will) come.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>3MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>a-ni-ʃa/a-ni-ʃi-ʃa</td>
<td>a-ʃa-ni /a-ni-ʃi-ʃa/ a-na-ʃi-ʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>a-ne-gu-gwe</td>
<td>a-ne-gu-gwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learn</td>
<td>a-ni-gi-gəra</td>
<td>a-ni-gəra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>a-ni-hɔ</td>
<td>a-ni-hɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>a-ni-t'u-t'ɔp'</td>
<td>a-ni-t'u-t'ɔp'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, as we may see, the same verb root can express two different things. For example ik agi hɔ can mean either “You go” or “You come”. Here, according to my informants, the difference is identified by tone only. Thus:
39. āk á-gí-ḥā
   you.2SG IMP-2SG-come
   You (will) come.

40. āk á-gí-ḥā
   you.2SG IMP-2SG-go
   You (will) go.

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

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

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

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

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

45. ūhāj á-ní-ḥā
   he IMP-3MS-come
   He (will) come(s).
46. hap' á-ø-ʃí-ʃā
   she IMP-3FS-RED-eat
   She (will) eat(s).

47. hap' á-ø-tū-t'āp'
   she IMP-3FS-RED-drink
   She (will) drink(s).

48. hap' á-ø-hɔ
   she IMP-3FS-come
   She (will) come(s).

49. mā a-mī-ʃí-ʃā
   we.EX IMP-1PL-RED-eat
   We (will) eat.

50. mā a-mī-tū-t'āp'
   we.EX IMP-1PL-RED-drink
   We (will) drink.

51. mā a-mī-hɔ
   we.EX IMP-1PL-come
   We (will) come.

52. mā a-mī-hɔ
   we.EX IMP-1PL-go
   We (will) go.

53. ōm a-mī-ʃí-ʃā
   you.2PL IMP-2PL-RED-eat
   You (will) eat.
54. ōm á-mí-t'ō-t'ɔp
   you.2PL IMP-2PL-RED-drink
   You (will) drink.

55. ōm á-mí-hɔ OR: hɔ ōm
   you.2PL IMP-2PL-come come you.2PL
   You (will) come.

56. ōm á-mí-hɔ
   you.2PL IMP-2PL-go
   You (will) go.

57. hɔn á-bí-ʃi-ʃã
   they IMP-3PL-RED-eat
   They (will) eat.

58. hɔn á-bí-t'ū-t'ɔp'
   they IMP-3PL-RED-drink
   They (will) drink.

59. hɔn á-bí-hɔ-hɔ
   they IMP-3PL-RED-come
   They (will) come.

60. hɔn á-bí-hū-hɔ
   they IMP-3PL-RED-go
   They (will) go.

61. ga a-ni-hɔs' ɔjɔ
   I IMP-1SG-wash clothes
   I (will) wash clothes.
62. ik a-gi-hɔs' ɔjɔ you.SG IMP-2SG-wash clothes
   You (will) wash clothes.

63. uhaj a-ni-hɔs' ɔjɔ he IMP-3MS-wash clothes
   He (will) wash(es) clothes.

64. hāp' a-ø-hɔs' ɔjɔ she IMP-3FS-wash clothes
   She (will) wash(es) clothes.

65. mɛnɪ a-ni-hɔs' ɔjɔ we.IN IMP-1PL.IN-wash clothes
   We.IN (will) wash clothes.

66. ma a-mi-hɔs' ɔjɔ we.EX IMP-1PL.EX-wash clothes
   We (will) wash clothes.

67. um a-mi-hɔs' ɔjɔ you.PL IMP-2PL-wash clothes
   You (will) wash clothes.

68. hʊn a-bi-hɔs' ɔjɔ they IMP-3PL-wash clothes
   They (will) wash clothes.
3.1.1 NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69. gà dàb-gà-t’5p’ siñgàrà
    I NEG-1SG-drink cigarette
    I do not smoke cigarettes.

70. ik dèb-i-t’5p’ siñgàrà
    you NEG-2SG-drink cigarette
    You do not smoke cigarettes.
71. ūhāj dèb-è-t'ōp' sīŋgārā
de-NEG-3MS-drink cigarette
He does not smoke cigarettes.

72. hàp' dàb-ø-t'ōp' sīŋgārā
dà-NEG-3FS-drink cigarette
She does not smoke cigarettes.

73. mīnī dà-ni-t'ōp' sīŋgārā
we.IN-NEG-1PL.IN-drink cigarette
We do not smoke cigarettes.

74. mā dà-mà-t'ōp' sīŋgārā
we.EX-NEG-1PL.EX-drink cigarette
We do not smoke cigarettes.

75. ōm dà-m-t'ōp' sīŋgārā
you NEG-2PL-drink cigarette
You do not smoke cigarettes.

76. hōn dàb-ùn-t'ōp' sīŋgārā
they NEG-3PL-drink cigarette
They do not smoke cigarettes.

3.2 PERFECTIVE

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

---

5 Kievit & Robertson 2012:67 suggest that this ma- may be a past marker, referring to Zelealem 2005:11.
verbs, but a present state with stative verbs. Note that the person/number markers in the perfective are systematically different from those of the imperfective: while the imperfective marker generally has the form CV, the corresponding perfective marker omits the final V. Several person/numbers have the same affix, which are apparently only distinguished by context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8: PERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’òp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàtòb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are example sentences that show this situation:

77. gà mà-n-kàtòb6 dòbdábé
    I PFV-1SG-write letter
    I wrote a letter.

78. ik mà-g-kàtòb dòbdábé
    you.SG PFV-2SG-write letter
    You wrote a letter.

---

6 NB: kàtòb which is the commonly used word for 'to write' is an Arabic loan word; kwans’ is its equivalent native word in Gwama.
79. ūhāj mā-n-kátəb dəbdábé  
   he PFV-3MS-write letter  
   He wrote a letter.

80. hāp' mā-Ø-kátəb dəbdábé  
   she PFV-3FS-write letter  
   She wrote a letter.

81. mīnī mā-n-kátəb dəbdábé  
   we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-write letter  
   We wrote a letter.

82. mā mā-m-kátəb dəbdábé  
   we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-write letter  
   We wrote a letter.

83. ūm mā-m-kátəb dəbdábé  
   you.PL PFV-2PL-write letter  
   You wrote a letter.

84. hūn mā-b-kátəb dəbdábé  
   they PFV-3PL-write letter  
   They wrote a letter.

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

85. gā má-n-kégé  
   I PFV-1SG-shock  
   I am shocked.
86. ik má-g-kégé
   you PFV-2SG-shock
   You are shocked.

87. ühāj má-n-kégé
   he PFV-3MS-shock
   He is shocked.

88. háp' má-Ø-kégé
   she PFV-3FS-shock
   She is shocked.

89. mìni má-n-ḱegé
   we PFV-1PL.INCL-shock
   We are shocked.

90. mà má-m-kégé
   we PFV-1PL.EXCL-shock
   We are shocked.

91. ùm má-m-kégé
   you PFV-2PL-shock
   You are shocked.

92. hùN má-b-kégé
   they PFV-3PL-shock
   They are shocked

93. gà má-n-k'ój bwaʃà
   I PFV-1SG-kill snake
   I killed a snake.
94. īk m̀-g-k'òj bwàfà  
   you.SG PFV-2SG-kill snake  
   You killed a snake

95. ūhāj m̀-n-k'òj bwàfà  
   he PFV-3MS-kill snake  
   He killed a snake.

96. hāp' m̀p'-ò-k'òj bwàfà  
   she PFV-3FS-kill snake  
   She killed a snake.

97. mìni m̀-n-k'òj bwàfà  
   we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-kill snake  
   We killed a snake.

98. m̀ m̀-m-k'òj bwàfà  
   we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-kill snake  
   We killed a snake.

99. ōm m̀-m-k'òj bwàfà  
   you-PL PFV-2PL-kill snake  
   You killed a snake.

100. hòn m̀-b-k'òj bwàfà  
    they PFV-3PL-kill snake  
    They killed a snake.

101. ga ma-n-up  
   I PFV-1SG-wash  
   I washed.
102. ik ma-g-up
   you.SG PFV-2SG-wash
   You washed.

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

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

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

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

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

108. hōn ma-b-up
   they PFV-3PL-wash
   They washed.
A text example (from sentence A:23) showing PFV:

\[
\text{pit ma-ni-ma-kam}
\]

\[
\text{hungry PFV?-1PL-get}
\]

We got hungry.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prefix (Impf)</th>
<th>Prefix (Neg. Impf)</th>
<th>Suffix (Impf)</th>
<th>Prefix (Perf)</th>
<th>Suffix (Perf)</th>
<th>Prefix (Incept)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ñi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ñi</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ñí</td>
<td>gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ñí</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñí</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ní</td>
<td>ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mì</td>
<td>um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>bì</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>bì</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>bì</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One use of the Perfective is to express the concept of Punctual aspect. Punctual is defined by Crystal as an aspectual term referring to a momentary event, thought of as having no temporal duration; it thus contrasts with durative or continuous events, where a period of time is involved (Crystal 2008:422). In the following example the verb ‘sneeze’ is inherently punctual:

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10. PERFECTIVE IN PRESENT PERFECT USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

119. gà mà-n-dwì ímí OR: ga ma-dwi-ni ímí
    I PFV-1SG-buy cow I PFV-buy-1SG cow
    I have bought a cow.
120. Ŭk má-g-dwì ímì
    you.SG PFV-2SG-buy cow
You have bought a cow.

121. Ŭhāj má-n-dwì ímì
    he PFV-3MS-buy cow
He has bought a cow.

122. Hāp' má-ø-dwì ímì
    she PFV-3FS-buy cow
She has bought a cow.

123. Mīnì má-n-dwì ímì
    we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-buy cow
We have bought a cow.

124. Mā má-m-dwì ímì
    we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-buy cow
We have bought a cow.

125. Ŭm má-m-dwì ímì
    you.PL PFV-2PL-buy cow
You have bought a cow.

126. Hōn má-b-dwì ímì
    they PFV-3PL-buy cow
They have bought a cow.

127. Gā má-n-ho pwaŋi adisaba
    I PFV-1SG-go to(road) Addis Ababa
    I have gone to Addis Ababa.
128. ik má-g-ho pwañi adisaba
   you.SG PFV-2SG-go to(road) Addis Ababa
   You have gone to Addis Ababa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

135. gā mà-gwē-ná zēbšər
   I PFV-see-1SG Zebsher.NAME OF A PLACE
   I have seen Zebsher.
136. ik mā-gwē-gá zābʃər
     you.SG PFV-see-2SG Zebsher
     You have seen Zebsher.

137. ūhāj mā-gwē-ná zābʃər
     he PFV-see-3MS Zebsher
     He has seen Zebsher.

138. hāp’ mā-gwē-bá zābʃər
     she PFV-see-3FS Zebsher
     She has seen Zebsher.

139. mīnī mā-gwē-nà zābʃər
     we.IN PFV-see-1PL.IN Zebsher
     We have seen Zebsher.

140. ma mā-gwē-mà zābʃər
     we.EX PFV-see-1PL.EX Zebsher
     We have seen Zebsher.

141. um mā-gwē-má zābʃər
     you.PL PFV-see-2PL Zebsher
     You have seen Zebsher.

142. hön mā-gwē-bá zābʃər
     they PFV-see-3PL Zebsher
     They have seen Zebsher.

As we have seen in the above examples there are two ways of forming the ma
perfective in Gwama. The first one is PFV + Person/number.Pfx + verb, where
the Person/number affix is only a consonant as in: gà mā-n-họ pwanjị adisaba.
And the second pattern is: **PFV + verb + Person/number.Sfx**, as in: *hūn mâ-gwē-bà zãbjə*. Both forms are used to say the same thing as in the following example. I do not know whether there is any semantic difference between prefixal and suffixal expressions or not.

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

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

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

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

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

147. ma da-ma-k'a-gi sum  
we.EX NEG-1PL.EX-eat-PFV meat  
We did not eat meat.
148. um da-m-k’a-gi sum you NEG-2PL-eat-PFV meat
You did not eat meat.

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

3.3 PAST PERFECT/ PLUPERFECT

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

Table 11. PAST PERFECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3MS</th>
<th>3MS</th>
<th>1PL-IN</th>
<th>1PL.EX</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>ma-n-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-g-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-n-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-o-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-n-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-m-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-m-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
<td>ma-b-dwi-gi-dwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

151. ik má-g-dwi-gí-dwi pák you.SG PFV-2SG-buy-PFV-buy shoe
You had bought shoes.
152. ūhāj má-n-dwis-gi-dwì pák
   he PFV-3MS-buy-PFV-buy shoe
He had bought shoes.

153. háp' má-Ø-dwis-gi-dwì pák
   she PFV-3FS-buy-PFV-buy shoe
She had bought shoes.

154. mìni má-n-dwis-gi-dwì pák
   we.IN PFV-1PL.IN-buy-PFV-buy shoe
We had bought shoes.

155. mà má-m-dwis-gi-dwì pák
   we.EX PFV-1PL.EX-buy-PFV-buy shoe
We had bought shoes.

156. ùm má-m-dwis-gi-dwì pák
   you.PL PFV-2PL-buy-PFV-buy shoe
You had bought shoes.

157. hùn má-b-dwis-gi-dwì pák
   they PFV-3PL-buy-PFV-buy shoe
They had bought shoes.

In the Past Perfect, if the verb has no object noun, reduplication is apparently obligatory. When an object is present, reduplication seems to be optional. Thus the above sentence (which has an object)
gà mà-n-dwì-gí-dwì pák
I PFV-1SG-buy-PFV-buy shoe
I had bought shoes.

could also be:

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

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

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

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

3.4 PROGRESSIVE / CONTINUOUS

The prefix ze- is the progressive aspect marker for all persons in Gwama. Its
meaning is different from that of the word ze “to sit”, but evidently has
grammaticalized from this verb (a common pattern worldwide; see Heine &
Kuteva 2002:276). 1SG, 3MS and 1PL.IN subjects are marked by -ni and -na;
3FS is mostly unmarked and sometimes marked by -ni or -ja; 2SG is marked by
-gi or -ga with some verbs; 2PL and 1PL.EX are marked by -mi; and -bi is the
3PL marker. Reduplication is also very common in Gwama verb morphology
and it is very frequently used in the progressive aspect. The distribution of
morphemes with some verbs is presented in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12. PROGRESSIVE / CONTINUOUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak, (on the phone)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some example sentences that show this aspect.

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

161. gà zè-t'wá-ní-t'wá
    I PROG-speak-1SG-speak
    I am speaking.
162. ik zè-t'wá-gí sílkí
you.SG PROG-speak-2SG telephone
You are speaking on the telephone

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

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

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

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

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

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

169. gà zè-gwè-nà-gwè
I PROG-see-1SG-see
I am watching.
170. ik zè-gwè-gá-gwè
you.SG PROG-see-2SG-see
You are watching.

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

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

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

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

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

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

177. ga ze-ku-ni-ku
I PROG-cry-1SG-cry
I am crying.
178. ik  ze-ku-gi-ku
    you  PROG-cry-1SG-cry
    You are crying.

179. ga  ze-gus-ni-gus
    I    PROG-run-1SG-run
    I am running.

180. ik  ze-gus-gi-gus
    you  PROG-run-2SG-run
    You are running.

181. ūhāj ze-gus-ni-gus
    he    PROG-run-3MS-run
    He is running.

182. háp' ze-gus-a-gus
    she   PROG-run-3FS-run
    She is running.

183. mīnī ze-gus-ni-gus
    we.IN  PROG-run-1PL-run
    We are running.

184. ma  ze-gus-mi-gus
    we.EX  PROG-run-1PL-run
    We are running.

185. om  ze-gus-mi-gus
    you.PL PROG-run-2PL-run
    You are running.
186. hōn  ze-gus-bi-gus
they  PROG-run-3PL-run
They are running.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^7\) Thanks to Prof. Orin Gensler for clarifying this to me.
189. gà zè-bíʃ-ní-bíʃ
    I PROG-shiver-1SG-shiver
    I am shivering. (lexical iterative)

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

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

191. atew mina inega gi tat ŋuʃu bate hɔ kamni wəl ijatɔ tɔbni tɔbi twinetwi twinetwi

atew mina inega gi-tát ŋuʃu batè hɔ
this thing coincidence PFV-at/in forest be.PAST go

kàm-ni wāl ɪjá-tɔ tɔp'-ni-tɔp'ɪ twi-n-è-twì
get-1SG little water-DEF drink-1SG -drink call-1SG-3MSO-call
twi-n-è-twì twi-n-è-twì
call-1SG-3MSO-call call-1SG-3MSO-call

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

3.4.1. NEGATIVE PROGRESSIVE /CONTINUOUS

The person-number markers of the negative progressive are almost the same as with the negative imperfective except for the 2PL (NEG IMP da-m, NEG PROG...
da-(b)um). The negative progressive adds ze-, but it is prefixed to the main verb, not the NEG auxiliary: NEG + SBJ + zè + Root. Examples:

192. ik  dèb-i-zè-gárà
    you  NEG-2SG-PROG-learn
    You are not learning.

193. hāp’  dāb-zè-gárà
    she  NEG.3FS-PROG-learn
    She is not learning.

194. mînì  dàbnì/dàni-zè-gárà
    we.IN  NEG.1PL-PROG-learn
    We are not learning.

195. ma     dàmâ-zè-gárà
    we.EX  NEG.1PL-PROG-learn
    We are not learning.

196. um     dāb-ùm/dā-ùm-zè-gárà
    you  NEG-2PL-PROG-learn
    You are not learning.

197. hûn   dâb-ûn/dâ-ûn-zè-gárà
    they  NEG-3PL-PROG-learn
    They are not learning.

3.5. HABITUAL

Habitual aspect refers to situations in which the speaker wishes to mark that the action s/he is describing occurs regularly more than once, separated by a
long time interval. In Gwama this is marked by reduplication, with the subject marker positioned between the reduplicants of the verb. However, unlike the reduplication in the Imperfective, there is no vowel change. I am not sure whether this verb form is a special dedicated form just for the habitual, or whether it is the same as some other form. The table below and the sentences that follow have examples of this aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13. HABITUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūhaaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

198. gà  tá-nà-ju pàkà OR: pàkà gà  tá-nà-ju
I eat-1SG-eat bread
I eat bread (habitually).

199. gà  kaj-kukum jà-nà-ju pàkà
I day-all eat-1SG-eat bread
I always eat bread.

200. ik  jà-gà-ju pàkà
you.SG eat-2SG-eat bread
You eat bread (habitually).

201. ùhàj jà-nà-ju pàkà
he eat-3MS-eat bread
He eats bread (habitually).
202. hāp’ ḛa-ọ-ạ- pàkà
    she eat-3FS-eat bread
She eats bread (habitually).

203. mînì ḛá-nà-ụ́ pàkà
    we-IN eat-1PL.IN-eat bread
We eat bread (habitually).

204. ma ḛa-ma-ạ pàkà
    we.EX eat-1PL.EX-eat bread
We eat bread (habitually).

205. um ḛa-ma-ạ pàkà
    you.PL eat-2PL-eat bread
You eat bread (habitually).

206. hüb ḛa-ba-ạ pàkà
    they eat-3PL-eat bread
They eat bread (habitually).

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

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

208. gà gi-anzili-anzili jan-ni jere
    I at-morning-morning beg-1SG god
    I pray (to God) each morning.
The habitual can be expressed in the past by adding the particle (or adverb) šingɔ ‘formerly’; for example:

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

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

3.6. INCEPTIVE

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

Table 14. INCEPTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3MS</th>
<th>3FS</th>
<th>1PL-IN</th>
<th>1PL.EX</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'a</td>
<td>us-gà-</td>
<td>us-gi-p'a</td>
<td>us-e-p'a</td>
<td>us-ap'-</td>
<td>us-ni-p'a</td>
<td>us-ma-p'a</td>
<td>us-um-p'a</td>
<td>us-un-p'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td>p’a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

211. gà ús-gà-pá
    I INCP-1SG-dance
    I started dancing.

212. ik ús-gi-pá
    you.SG INCP-2SG-dance
    You started dancing.
213. ùháj ús-è-pá
    he    INCP-3MS-dance
    He started dancing.

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

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

216. mà ús-mà-pá
    we.EXCL INCP-1PL.EX-dance
    We started dancing.

217. ùm ús-Òm-pá
    you   INCP-2PL-dance
    You started dancing.

218. hùn ús-òn-pá
    they  INCP-3PL-dance
    They started dancing.

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

219. gà mā-n-us-pá
    I    PFV-1SG-INCP-dance
    I have already started to dance.
CHAPTER 4: MOOD

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

4.1 DESIDERATIVE MOOD

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

220. gà ʃám-nī s'īt-gǐ tǐmb ūrì ̀ānónśkó
   I want-1SG have-PFV car nice
   I want to have a nice car.

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

222. ̀āndúrè-tò ʃám-ò k'ā-ò s'í
   cat-DEF want-3FS eat-3FS rat
   The cat wants to eat the rat.
223. mīnî jâm-nî k’ép’ jë/tib
we like-1PL.IN listen music
We want to listen to music.

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

225. gà jâm-nî s’ît-gî swî āhânt’kõ
I want-1SG have-PFV home big
I wish I had a big house.

4.2 POTENTIAL

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

226. gà nî-kwå kàm lôtârî
I 1SG-might get(find) lottery
I might win the lottery.

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

228. ik aji-gî saŋk'-ija deb-i-ʃun
you.SG know-2SG swim-water NEG-2SG-like
You can swim, but you don't like it.
229. gà wet-ni-gì nat-twasene upa-na weni-gi ojo  
I be-1SG-PFV year-three REF-1SG dress-PFV clothes  
I could dress myself when I was 3. (lit.: I dressed myself when I was 3.)

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

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

4.3 REAL CONDITION

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

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

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

234. gà a-ʃa-ni min-ʃa-mine a-ni-s'ĩ-s'ĩ  
I IMP-eat-1SG thing-eat-this IMP-1SG-RED-die  
If I eat this food, I will die.
235. ik  a-ʃa-gi  min-ʃa-mine  a-gi-s'i-s'i
you.SG  IMP-eat-2SG  thing-eat-this  IMP-2SG-RED-die
If you eat this food, you will die.

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

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

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

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

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

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

242. hāp'  a-hɔ-ba-hɔ  gà  a-ap'-ti  tạfa
she  IMP-come-3FS-come  I  IMP-3FSO-give  greeting
If she comes, I will greet her.
243. mīnī a-kama hō-na tap-kɔ a-na-gi k’u-k’undu
we.IN IMP-? come-1PL.IN on-time IMP-1PL-do RED-finish
If we come on time, we will finish it.

4.4 HYPOTHETICAL (UNREAL) CONDITION

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

244. gà á-wët-nī-gì hāŋāa-nī-pāj pwāŋī àdīsābà
I IMP-be-1SG-PFV bird IMP-1SG-fly to(road) Addis.Ababa
If I were a bird, I would fly to Addis Ababa.

245. gà a-wët-nī-gì ɪk à-nī-t’u-t’wá gwàmá hànt’kɔ
I IMP-be-1SG-PFV you IMP-1SG-RED-speak Gwama more
If I were you, I would speak more Gwama.

246. gà á-wët-nī-gì s’iti a-ni-p’atʰ sit ragât
I IMP-be-1SG-PFV rich IMP-1SG-help person poor
If I were rich, I would help the poor.

247. gà a-wët-nī-gi itɔp’ja a-ni-ze asosa
I IMP-be-1SG-PFV Ethiopia IMP-1SG-live Asosa
If I were an Ethiopian, I would live in Asosa.

8 Zelealem (2005:25) also presents conditional forms that combine Imperfective and Perfective markers; in his examples, however, the Perfective marker is ma-, not -gi.
Counterfactual condition is a type of condition to express an imaginary connection between one event that never happened and another event that also never happened (Yule 2006: 186). I do not clearly understand the morphology here. In my examples the protasis and apodosis have very different forms, as follows:

Protasis: Root + Subj + gà + Root (reduplication)
Apodosis: a(Impf) + Subj + ma(Perf) + Root

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

Pluperfect: ma + Subj + Root + gi + Root
Counterfactual protasis: Root + Subj + gà + Root

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

248. ik a-wet-gi-gi itɔp’ja a-gi-ze asosa
you.SG IMP-be-2SG-PFV Ethiopia IMP-2SG-live Asosa
If you were an Ethiopian, you would live in Asosa.

4.5. COUNTERFACTUAL CONDITION

249. gâ áp’í gwɛ-nî-gá-gwe wàràk á-nî-mà-bɛʃè
I hard see-1SG-?-see paper IMP-1SG-PFV-pass
If I had studied hard, I would have passed.
Clearly much more work on conditionals is needed. It is not clear how many different types of conditionals exist, e.g. whether the Real and Hypothetical conditional are truly distinct, or whether my analysis of the Counterfactual conditional is correct.

4.6 OBLIGATION

There seems to be no grammatical morpheme for obligation in Gwama. In the examples below, obligation is only inferred from the context.
255. gà a-ni-pɔʃ i-wus səati
I IMP-1SG-arrive ?-on time
I must arrive on time.

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

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

4.7 INTERROGATIVE

Questions in Gwama are apparently formed only by intonation. I was unable to study this systematically, given the difficulty of correctly hearing, transcribing, and identifying intonation contours.
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

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

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

- Subordination, especially relative clauses
- Verb serialization
- The functions of the tense-aspects
- The frequent omission of person-number marking
- The unclear function of numerous grammatical markers, e.g. if, gi, i
• The existence of a great deal of homonymy (possibly with unidentified tone differences)

All of this, combined with the extremely free translations offered by the informant (typically more of a commentary than a translation), often made it very hard to make sense of the texts in grammatical terms.
PART 2: DOCUMENTATION OF GWAMA: TRANSCRIBED, GLOSSED AND TRANSLATED PRIMARY LINGUISTIC DATA

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

Text A: Autobiography

1. Sentence  gà jaʃa pibi gaj benaʃuba

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

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

2. Sentence  gipebi gà benaʃuba jingo gebal nigəraj kizi swigəra aŋduwi nəŋat niman t’aʃ duwi nəŋat niman buna

   gi-pebi  gà    p'enʃuba  jingo  gebal.AR
   ?-birth  my    p'eneshuba  formerly  before

   ni-gəra-j  kizi  swi-gəra  ana-dwi
   1SG-learn-?  enter  house-learn  1SG.ORO-buy

   nəŋat-ni  man  t’aʃ  duwi  nəŋat-ni  man  buna
   trade-1SG  some salt  buy  trade-1SG  some  coffee
Before I went to school and got married, in my birth place P'eneshuba, I used to buy and trade salt and coffee.

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

We used to go to the forest to collect honey.
5. Sentence  atamte awa ajlmakamikam kun am tɔp guziʃɔgo ijasene

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

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

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

6. Sentence  uawa ama tɔtduwi duwi gɔsəma brite masit ʃujja

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

ma-sit  sujja
1PL-person  two

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

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

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

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

FT  Before I started learning (going to school) I asked my father.
8. Sentence ʃi baba aga nihɔgi gara ʃigalʃa ga swigəra ga kɔneko baba kisni ga kis

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

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

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

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

9. Sentence gikisni gà swigəra ɡaʃi kwanibi guskizni gizina

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

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

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

10. Sentence silakɔn guskizni gizina gəra iʃiniƙɔle kifili bis’ini kifili kumut’i kimakunt’iʃ kifili kumut’i gà kis’ duʃnikɔtəwədəda rə guʃunu idili udazene gà beʃ duʃni beʃə
So, I went to school on my own and learned up to grade four and grade five. When I completed grade five I competed for the chance (to continue my education) and I passed.

11. Sentence  

gà gibeʃnibeʃə itat daga mana kwama hɔnikɔ zehɔgərəna adisaba

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

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

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

12. Sentence  
gizegərani waj muzik'a alas ama dazini jasa zezega zena pɔlis kɔmiʃini

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

13. Sentence gi polis kəmiʃini eʃi silakan ɡà manbɔk kikijata

gi polis kəmiʃini eʃi silakan ɡà
from police commission this in.fact I

ma-n-bɔk kikijata
PFV-1SG-marry woman

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

14. Sentence ɡà gi kikijata

ɡà gi kikijata
I with wife

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

9 It sounds as if the speaker married a police girl; but what happened was that while the speaker was living in the police commission (in Asosa), he went to marry in the countryside.
15. Sentence  kikijatana silakɔnʃi bilahala bɔknigabɔki  gà  dena  sa  iʃmigi  ma sit-suja

kikijata-na  silakon-ʃi  bilahala  bɔ-k-ni-ga-bɔki
wife-my  in.fact-also  condition  marry-1SG-PFV-marry

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

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

16. Sentence  damadene sagije dɔnab'tajgi sitɔ adena sagema dena sagima
dena sami sit-suja zuba

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

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

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

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

17. Sentence  dena  same  sit-suja  halas  hāp'  giʃuni  gà  ʃuni  gà  bɔknabɔki
tinabgi bɔki  nana  gāʃmababana  gāʃmankwamana  gafsitama  kukumi
halas  t'wate  k'undik'undi  hɔʃezi  man  waŋa  ʃezi  man  bido  bək'a  timi
bri  kuwanibibi  amma  das'ini  zemigihabi  ga  jere  mani  gati  war  sene
We both fell in love; she loved me and I got married to her. After I got married, I told my fathers (including grandfathers and uncles), my brothers and all my relatives. We completed the requirements and paid chicken, sheep and money. Now I am with her. God then gave me a child.
18. Sentence ṣigaṣte kulu turuna amma dazini ijasa ze ga asosa gaṣturuna bilalama min ze gi ga gaṣamiṣini basa wǝr p'a sene

So all.AN country-1SG.POSS now.ROO now

Ijasa ze gà i-asosa gaṣ-turu-na bila-alama
gate live I ?-asosa to-country-1SG.POSS as-plan

Min ze gi-gà gà ṣami-ṣi-ni	hing (matter) live work-I I want?-1SG

Basa wǝr p'a sene
publish.ROO little (small) music one

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

19. Sentence ik'idi-na ṣami-ṣi-ni basa wǝr p'a sene liṣabila zeṣna

Ik'idi-na ṣami-ṣi-ni basa wǝr
plan.AM-1SG want?-1SG publish.ROO some

P'a sene liṣabila-zeṣ-na
music one as-live?-1SG

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

20. Sentence amma dazine zek'unak'undu ainide jįga basa wǝr p'a sane gizeṣnaj wusgja ukwa twiṣkin kwama t'wa kwama t'wa mac-kowc minakọj{ka iji ze kuwa twiṣ iniṣ haj mǝłe gadagǝta
Now I am on the way to finish the process of publishing music in the Gwama language, Mao Komo. I will never give up.

21. Sentence Šigajste ik’idina amma kuwa zeʃnaje iʃ wəja ʃa.t’wamina hɔjji ga hɔjji gi zeʃna waj muzik’a

Šigajste ik’idi- nà amma kuwa-ʃ-na-je
so plan.AMH-1SG.POSS now.ORO stage-sit(live)-? 1SG-?

iʃ wəja t’wa-mi-na hɔ-jjì ga hɔ-ʃì this about mouth-TAM-1SG come-? I come-?

gi ze-ʃ-na waj muzik’a(ʃe)
work live?-1SG about music
FT    So now I am on stage for my objective (work) that I came here for, (namely) music.

22. Sentence  gaʃ't'waʃi nəŋgum manmina ini ga tət-ʃuʃi silakɔni kaj sene hɔmi gi wərkwamana hɔma gaʃтоп tam

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

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

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

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

23. Sentence  gidehɔma gaʃtop tami sus man tam

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

FT    When we arrived there we got a little honey.

24. Sentence  atam kamakami uba senze

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

FT    But the honey we got was full of larva.
25. Sentence  tɔba ṣa dakmi tam hörìkɔ ʃami kwarǝm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tɔb-a</th>
<th>ʃa</th>
<th>dak-mi</th>
<th>tam</th>
<th>hör-mi-kɔ</th>
<th>ʃa-mi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>collect-?</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>finish-1PL</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>go-1PL-TAM</td>
<td>dig-1PL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kwarǝm
ensete

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

26. Sentence  pit manimakam

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pit</th>
<th>ma-ni-ma-kam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>PFV?-1PL-get</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FT  We got hungry.

27. Sentence  ʃami kwarami t'ɔʃmi kwarami ʃami kwarǝm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ʃa-mi</th>
<th>kwarami</th>
<th>t'ɔʃ-mi</th>
<th>kwarami</th>
<th>ʃa-mi</th>
<th>kwarǝm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dig-1PL</td>
<td>ensete</td>
<td>roast-1PL</td>
<td>ensete</td>
<td>eat-1PL</td>
<td>ensete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FT  We dug, roasted and ate ensete.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bla-ʃa-mi</th>
<th>kwarami</th>
<th>a-dami-t'ɔp</th>
<th>bi-bila-ija</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>when-eat-1PL</td>
<td>ensete</td>
<td>?-NEG.1PL-drink</td>
<td>?-as-water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When we had eaten the ensete, we couldn't drink anything, as there was no water.

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

Eating ensete without water is impossible.
So, we got separated from each other (as we went around searching for water), each person alone.

32. Sentence  hmuhɔ tɔtɔtə ʊhāj hɔbĩnate ga hɔbĩnana ḏəmadena hɔ mamdena s'aja hɔbĩgis'ini

hm-µ-hɔ tɔtɔtə ʊhāj hɔ-bĩ-nate ga hɔ-bĩ-nana
go-1PL-go quickly he go-?-on.his.own I go-?-my.own

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

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

33. Sentence  atew mina inega gi tat Ḗusu bate hɔ kamni ʍəl ija-tɔ tɔbni tɔbilibin twinetwi twinetwi twinetwi jwigni jwigna ḏənejkam

atew mina inega gi tat Ḗusu bate
this thing coincident-1SG from in forest be.?

hɔ kam-ni ʍəl ija-tɔ tɔp'-ni-tɔp'-i
go get-1SG small water-DEF drink-1SG-drink-

twi-n-e-twi twi-n-e-twi twi-n-e-twi
call-1SG-3MS-call call-1SG-3MS-call call-1SG-3MS-call
This is what I faced when I was in the forest. When I found a little water to drink, I called and called and whistled and whistled but I didn't get him.

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

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

38. Sentence  

When I had climbed the tree I fell asleep.

39. Sentence  

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

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

40. Sentence ɸigaʃte halas uma ɦɔ pwanj tat ʃuʃ um mane bɔde bɔde əhɔʃama kwɔs kwɔs pwanj tat ʃuʃ mibilgisel ɪʃ iuws suwaja bilgisel ɪʃɪʃ us us pidini mit'ant' ɪʃ ant' miɪʃiʃ ijas mamin sene ukwaj inumini apani ɪgaʃte hasabakum akabatiumwnte hasaba ɡaʃte ɡaʃzeni ɡiʃ'ini

ɿigaʃte halas um-a ɦɔ pwanj tat ʃuʃ
so AR.DM 2PL-? go to(road) at forest

um mane bɔde bɔde a-ɦɔ-ʃ-ma k'wɔs
you.PL children later.ORY later.ORY if-go-IMP-1PL back

k'wɔs pwanj tat ʃuʃ mi-bilgi-sel ɪʃ iws
back to(road) at forest 2PL-NEG-climb sleep on

swaja bilgi-sel ɪʃ-ɪʃ us us pidini mi-t'ant'
tree NEG-climb RED-sleep on on stone 2PL-fire

? fire 2PL-RED-sleep place nothing one

ukwaj-inumini apani ɪgaʃte hasaba-kóm akabati
do-harm there.is.no so thought-2PL bother

um-te hasaba ɡaʃte ɡaʃ-ze-ni ɡiʃ'ini
2PL-? thought so for-sit(live)-1SG alone
So, you children, if you go to the forest later, don't climb trees or rocks to sleep on. Make a fire and sleep on the ground. Nothing will harm you or trouble your thoughts even though you are alone.

41. Sentence hasa minjs bilte ingiga sinkɔ

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

42. Sentence iws inʃi silakɔni kwama abun ʃt'ɔp' ʃp'a ʃp'akiansa giʃinkɔ
    bate umina ajga asit ʃinkɔ ubaba kisinigakis ɡaʃhɔ p'a kiansa

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

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

    u-baba    kis-ni-ga-kis    ɡaʃ-hɔ
    1SG-father    forbid-3MS-1SG-forbid    to-go

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

43. Sentence  pwaŋi jas ʃwi de-maj hɔ

44. Sentence  màjì pɔba gus ʃɔmikɔ pɔba gusmiguste amihɔ ᵁɔp'up'ate miho  
tɔp' ʃuwi ijasa /tcp'imi ʃuwi kóm pɔp gus ʃɔgɔ gaf'tɔp' ʃuwi gaf p'a  
kianste kóm gitap'a tutimatut gita matutimatut kidenimade

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

This is what we used to do when we were children.
The narrator now returns to his experience in the forest. All you children of Gwama, this is the small experience that I tell you. So, think of it and take care of yourselves. If you encounter such a situation in the future help each other.

47. Sentence  ga mən t'wa dak

 FT   | I have finished my speech.

gamənt'wa   dak
1SG   PFV-1SG-mouth(talk) finished
Text B:  

1. Sentence  

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

2. Sentence  

When I want to go to the forest, I discuss together (lit. with my brothers) with three or four men. We tie up and arrange our possessions. Then we go to the forest.
After we agree on the day of our trip, after two days (or two days before the trip), we tell our wives to prepare us some food like powder (of maize, sorghum...), nug seed, pepper, salt and bread.

3. Sentence: ate mikuze jas atemi tigijekwi amipul geni ma gi pans'ama mej pans'ama gijinama amitigihɔ ijasasene gi mankwamamate

\[ \text{ate mi-ku-ze} \quad \text{jas} \quad \text{ate mi-ti-gi-ʃekwi} \]

\(1\text{PL-stand-sit} \quad \text{place then} \quad 1\text{PL-give-?}-\text{get ready} \)
Then we get ready and take vines (for making the beehive) and sharp axes and spears. We travel together to a certain place.

4. Sentence  
amihokɔ amiap jas tat pɔgo ap-mi jas jiʃaja sene itat pɔgi amitɔtize itat pɔgo

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

ap-mi  jas jiʃaja  sene itat pɔgi a-mi-tɔtizi  
arrange-1PL  place good  one at  river  IMP-1PL-take-sit

itat pɔgo
at  river

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

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

ate mi-k'ɔp zijata  a-mi-k'ɔp  geni  
then 1PL-cut  bamboo  IMP-1PL-cut  vine
a-ma-k'ik'i a-mi-u gendi
IMP-1PL-tie circle IMP-1PL-make hive

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

6. Sentence gita umi gendi tat pok dɔni gita uǐ̥mi kaji bis'ini kaj kumut' kini ate amikwi gendite amapul kwi iws swaji kwi bǝke ʃaŋa iʃnikukus'i amituhɔ pwaŋ t'umu

 kita u-mi gendi tat pok dɔni gita u-iʃ-mi kaj after make-1PL hive at river there after do-sleep-1PL day

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

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

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

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

7. Sentence amihɔkɔ amipɔʃi t'umu
a-mi-hɔ-kɔ a-mi-pɔʃi t'umu
IMP-1PL-go.? IMP-1PL-arrive home

FT Then we arrive home.
8. Sentence  gipɔʃ ma'tumi amidima kaji suya t'umima iʃmi kaj suji t'umi
amiut'tuʃ imi wəl tuʃ ŋa gi kikijatama tuni gi manama amuhuhɔ

gi-pɔʃ-ma  t'umi  a-mi-dima  kaji  suja
TAM-arrive-1PL  home  IMP-we-last  takes)  day  two
t'uʃ-ma  iʃ-mi  kaji  suji  t'umi  a-mi-ut'
home-1PL.EX  sleep-1PL  day  two  home  IMP-1PL-collect
tuʃ-imi  wəl  tuʃ-ŋa  gi  kikijata-ma  tuni  gi
dung-cow  a.little  dung-goat  with  wife-1PL.POSS  these  with
mana-ma  a-mu-hu-ɔ
children-1PL.POSS  IMP-1PL-RED-go

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

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

a-mi-tumumutu  a-ma-ku  p'at'-gi-p'ada
IMP-1PL-go.back  IMP-1PL-carry  help-TAM-help
mana-ma-te  kikijata-ma-te  tuʃ-ŋə
children-1PL.POSS-DEF  wife-1PL.POSS-DEF  dung-goat
tegele  tuʃ-i  im-te  a-mi-hɔ  gi-hön
this  dung-?  cow-DEF  IMP-1PL-go  with-them
FT  We go back (to the place where we make the beehive). Our wives and children help us in carrying the goat and cow dung.

10. Sentence  

amihɔko  le tɔt gɔdɔmame  jas gɔdɔmame  t'eli dɔn pɔgɔ  mu-pɔʃɔ

a-mi-hɔ-kɔ  le  tɔt  gɔdɔ-ma-te  jas  gɔdɔ-ma-te  
IMP-1PL-go-?  up.to  at  camp-1PL-DEF  place  camp-1PL-DEF

t'ili  dɔn  pɔgɔ  mu-pɔʃɔ
just  there  river  1PL-arrive

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

11. Sentence  

gita pɔʃmipɔʃi  amize  dɔni  kajkajunu  amihɔ  pwaŋ  ja  ʃagi  kwalam

giatan  pɔʃ-mi-pɔʃi  a-mi-ze  dɔni  
after  arrive-1PL-arrive  IMP-1PL-sit  there

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

kwalam
ensete

FT  After we arrive, we take some rest (lit. sit there) and in the evening we go to dig ensete to eat.
12. Sentence  ṣa ku kwalami amaku kukwi itọt pọk tegele

ṣa ku kwalami  a-ma-ku  kukwi  itọt  pọk
dig  carry ensete  IMP-1PL-carry  keep  at  river
tegele
this

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

13. Sentence  gidiku kukwimi kwalam itat pọgi dọni anzilde gij jajmijaj
      anzilde  amis'a gendi jasen niṣajj bijj bude

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

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

      a-mi-s'a  gendi  ja-sen  ni-ṣa-jij  bijj  bu-de
      IMP-1PL-daub  hive  each-one  1PL-dig-?  own  hole-DEF

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

14. Sentence  jasene niṣajj bijj bude amis'a gendi ama s'is'a

      ja-sen  ni-ṣa-jij  bijj  bu-de  a-mi-s'a  gendi
      each-one  1PL-dig-?  own  hole-DEF  IMP-1PL-daub  hive
Each of us digs his own hole and we daub the hive.

15. Sentence kikijatama teʃi abakitɔtiki empe at'wa gendi

kikijata-ма teʃi a-ba-ki-tɔti-kι empe-1PL.POS these IMP-3PL-look.after-take-look.after cover

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

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

16. Sentence abaempe abaempe abas'i'sa amas'i'sa s'i'sa halas s'a dak gendi
tegele amɨʃam zejas amɨʃiʃiʃi amɨʃa kwalam

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

a-ma-s'i-s'a s'i-s'a halas s'a dak
IMP-1PL-RED-daub RED-daub AR_DM daub finish

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

a-mi-ʃi-ʃi a-mi-ʃa kwalam
IMP-1PL-RED-break IMP-1PL-eat ensete
They cover and cover, they daub and we daub. When the daubing of the hive is finished, we break and eat ensete.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

us swaja
under tree

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

19. Sentence ujasene anaku pwanj us swajde pwanj us swajde pwanj us swajde
Each person (in turn) takes (his hive) and puts it under a tree.

After we take all the hives to a tree, I, the male, climb (the tree) while the woman remains down on the ground.
When I have climbed up, I (the male) let the rope down to the ground.

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

The (other) hives, (my brothers) also do the same thing (with them).
24. Sentence jella hōngente dōni ku kaba dakmi gendi gendi gendi kab dakmi gendi tegele

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

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

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

25. Sentence jella gamankab dakni gendina ga kanjiš' ga ganihɔ pwan tát gɔdi aniap ant' ani∫ʃ pwaʃ anakikin kikijato akikin wala ga anakikin ga kkizi itat wawan dabatal kikijata debetal kikizkɔ

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

ga-ni-hɔ pwan tát gɔdi a-ni-ap ant' 1SG-TAM-go to(road) at camp IMP-1SG-light fire

a-niʃ pwaʃ a-na-kikin kikija-tɔ IMP-1SG-boil porridge IMP-1SG-stir wife-DEF

a-ø-kikin wala ga a-na-kikin ga kkizi IMP-3FS-stir or.AR I IMP-1SG-stir 1SG male
itat wawan da(b)-ba$^{10}$-tal kikijata da(b)-ba-tal
at forest NEG-PASS-say female NEG-PASS-say

kikizkɔ
male

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

26. Sentence gia gendi ſigaʃi ik mukina akabade gendite

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

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

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

27. Sentence alas ga uba kam kin pwastype

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

FT Then, I make (lit. stir) the porridge quickly.
28. Sentence kin ma kini amikin kɔ pwaʃte ijas gente gi hɔbahɔ pwaʃte amajʃa gi hön ijassene

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

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

gi hön ijas-sene
with 3PL place-one

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

29. Sentence gi ʃami pwaʃte hön ijas s'esgini amilima wamama amat'ut'ʃ ama t'ʃ amukɔ tumut'pwan t'umu

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

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

a-ma-t'ʃ-ut'ʃ a-mu-kɔ tumut' pwan t'umu
IMP-1PL-RED-tie IMP-1PL-put back to(road) home

FT After we finish eating the porridge, we gather our things together, tie them up, and go back home.
The ensete that we dug yesterday, if there is any left, we all share it equally and take it home with our things.
31. Sentence amiku hɔ kɔ amipɔʃi t'umi pɔʃma t'umi amiʃ kaji k'uzi kini t'umi amamtu miki gi mankwamanate amimiki amimiki kɔ antu huhɔ pwaŋ tat wawan ma e anitu miki huhɔ halas tani dɔni amitu kwi t'ali kikijatama tegele abumauʃ giʃɔ bumadas' giis abumadas' giisi gizet git'afi gipākà amtu hɔjʃhɔ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a-bu-ma-uʃ giʃɔ a-bu-ma-das'
IMP-3PL-1PL-grind with-food for journey IMP-3PL-1PL-grind
When we get home, after we stay home for ten days, I go back. I come to an agreement with my brothers to go back to the forest. When we have come to an agreement, we tell our wives to grind for us food for the trip: nug seed, pepper, salt and bread.

32. Sentence  gide hɔmihɔ amu halas ate mihɔ duʃ tegele hɔ duʃ p'adaʃ pwaŋ tat wawan t'awali amiu gendi ukəb gendite kab duʃ ma dɔni kab beʃduʃ pwan jas s'wi amihɔ pwanʃi jutu kəbikɔ amį poʃi jutu amį tɔp tam t'awali dɔn

gide hɔ-mi-hɔ a-mi-u halas ate mi-hɔ duʃ after go-1PL-go IMP-1PL-do AR.DM then 1PL-go after tegele hɔ duʃ p'adaʃ pwaŋ tat wawan t'awali this go after straight road in forest straight.AR a-mi-u gendi u-kab gendi-te kab duʃ ma IMP-1PL-do hive do-hang hive-DEF hang after 1PL dɔni kab beʃ duʃ pwan jas swi a-mi-hɔ there hang pass after to(road) place homeIMP-1PL-go pwanʃi jutu kə-bi-kə a-mi-poʃi jutu to(road) Shutu call-PASS-call IMP-1PL-arrive Shutu
When we go, we go straight into the forest and hang up hives there. [After we go home??] We go on to the place called Shutu and directly collect honey (i.e. wild forest honey) there.

33. Sentence  

gî-tɔp-mi tam tɔba ʃa-mi tam gipetinipeti azini upa senze amiis' pwaŋi jasa twibi tɔa amihɔ gɔdi dɔn tani

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

34. Sentence  
gita gɔt-ma dɔn tani a-mi-tɔp tam idɔn atamte akwani dùŋgu amutu beʃ pwaŋi jasa twibi bukebi

gita gɔt-ma dɔn tani a-mi-tɔp tam idɔn after camp-1PL.POSS there then TAM-1PL-collect honey there
After we camp there, we collect honey. If it is red honey (i.e. not good honey), we pass on to the place called Bukebi.

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

When we arrive at Bukebi, we collect honey. If the honey there is good and pure, then we don't go on. We make (our) camp there.
We collect this honey and dilute it and pour it into a gourd (to make tej). We drink it there beside the tree, we drink and dance at night and get drunk. We collect the honey and pour it into a gourd when we are camping there by the river.

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

halas ugu-ma-te ?i k'unt' mukin-kin AR.DM gourd-1PL.POSS-DEF full complete-PFV all-?
mukina gi man baga-de gi mani all by small plastic.container-DEF by small
When all of our gourds and plastic containers become full, we tie a mak'asho (i.e. we make a mak'asho container out of vines to carry honey).

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

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

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

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

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

tam mukina-ma a-mi-hɔ ijas ses'gini honey all-1PL IMP-1PL-go place together
After we finish tying the mak'asho (and filling it with honey), we start our trip home about six o'clock in the morning being together, carrying the honey on our backs. We don't leave until we have all waited and met up with each other.
FT  We go home and sleep. The extra honey that we have covered with leaves and put under a tree around our (forest) camp when we go back home, no one else touches or eats it.

40. Sentence  

 GIT a poʃma t'umi amikwi tamte amiiʃ kaj suja iʃmi kaji suja anitutu hu ho ma nitu mikiʃmiki gi man kwamanate anitu hu ho ma aniku tamaminge ate amiʔi gi kikijatama gi manamate amihuho

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 Four times in this passage, the person/number marker -ni- occurs instead of the expected -mi- 1PL. I have glossed these cases as 1SG, but this does not make much sense. I do not understand the reason for the change.
After we get home, after two days (two sleeps), we agree with our brothers to go back (to the forest) to carry back home our (extra) honey. We go with our wives and children.

When we reach the camp (in the forest) we tie up the honey and cover it, (each of us) individually for his wife. We come back home carrying the honey.
a-ma-ku       tɔt        pwaŋ        gabì
IMP-1PL-carry  take  to(road)  market

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

44. *Sentence*  gi-tɔt dwinadwi birride anabdwigi ɔjɔ anidwi ɔjana anidwi ɔja
manana

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

₁² Compare *baga-de* (above), the same word with the native Gwama definite article.
Selling (the honey), I buy clothes for her (my wife), for myself, and for my children with the money.

45. Sentence  

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

46. Sentence  

maybe small-TAM-small is IMP-1PL-buy chicken and
If it (the money) is little, we buy chicken, a goat and a sheep. We tie them up at home ourselves, or my wife ties them up herself, and her child tends them, whether a boy or a girl.

This is the livelihood of the Gwama. We live by working.
48. Sentence kab dakmi gendi it'waup ṣu amitći kwi ate mina gi ze kwam bate

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

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

ze kwam bate
live Gwama be

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

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

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

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

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

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

a-wet-na weg-a-jë a-wega pɔkɔ a-wega-jë kwam
IMP-be-1PL be-? IMP-be river IMP-be-? Gwama
Wherever we are [at the river?], as you know, the Gwama people all make beehives.

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

I have finished my speech.
Text C: MARRIAGE AMONG THE GWAMA

1. Sentence bɔka gwama

bɔka gwama
marriage Gwama

FT Marriage among the Gwama.

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

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

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

FT Marriage among the Gwama takes place only through exchange.

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

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

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

a-ni-k'ut hɔ wal dwa itat pɔkɔ
IMP-3MS-round go child female at river
FT  Their marriage takes place through exchange. The young man goes around to the river to look for the girl.

4. Sentence  

ijás ant’ ijas ija anap’k’ut dení dɔn anabti gi t’wa anapti gisasa 
gijaji gele anap’k’ut s’i anappul ʃwaŋa imit’ anappul ɔji kulu gi majiji 
gele  aje kukɔ ʃgihɔ ɡiʃsuja ɡiʃ t’wasene nihuhɔ

ijás ant’ ijas ija a-n-ap-k’ut dení
place firewood place water IMP-3MS-3FSO-round meet

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

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

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

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

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

gi-iʃ-twasene ni-hu-hɔ
do-sleep-three 3MS-RED-go
At the place where there is firewood and water, he goes around to meet her there. He talks to her and tells her he loves her. Then he cuts off her beads, and takes her bracelet and clothes. After this is properly done, they arrange to meet again in two or three days (to get married).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

uba-bun t'umi a-ni-hɔ-kɔ a-n-ap-i-nin
self-3PL home IMP-3MS-go-? IMP-3MS-3FSO-take-hide
He then takes the girl off (with him); on the way to their home, he hides her by the road.

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

Then, the (boy's) mother takes the girl by her hand and goes home (with her).
9. Sentence ap'ikɔ swi a-hɔkɔ ahɔ twi kumkuma wale gele ani-hɔɔ atigi
depe wale gele makwana t'wa wala mini mabɔkana bɔkana dwa sit

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

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

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

bɔka-na dwa sit
marry-3MS girl person

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

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

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

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

anzil-te a-ba-hɔ twi sita kkwama
morning-DEF IMP-3PL-go call person wise(old)
mama sita kukwama suja aba tigi depe
somebody person wise(old) two messenger then show

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

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

ma-nan-gwe-nan
PFV-tell-see-tell

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

11. Sentence  aŋkɔ ani kukɔ sit gate anihuhɔ abe t'aj titi anihuhɔ te aniŋŋi ubun magente anati tajà digama diga zize abekukɔ anizize

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

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

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

a-na-ti tajà diga ma-diga zi-ze
IMP-3MS-give greeting peace PL-peace RED-sit.down
"Good. I will tell (them)," says the old man (the messenger), i.e. the wise man. The messenger goes and arrives at their house. He greets them "Peace"; they say "Sit down" and he sits down.

12. Sentence gita manze anatigi nan anakukɔ muma wəlahi wəlakum habuma ini gili imamami t'ajʃɔbiga kɔ gikene t'aj tibi ga gele niɔt'gum ɔt'.gasmum

13 At this point the narrator seems to switch from two wise men to a single wise man.
13. Sentence ċiṅkɔ dabakwa

čiṅkɔ  daba-kwa
TAM-good  no-matter

FT  (The girl's father says), "OK (good), no matter".

14. Sentence ċimina t'ajti ga hunikɔbigakɔ ịgahɔ nanani gagente gente gele walabun p'wa habuna t'umu habuna ga mama habuna t'umu ga mami kɔnakɔ gani nangumanani hōni mina git hōn up'iñabuni binan tija gajik

čimina  t'aj  ti  ga  hōni  kɔ-bi-ga-kɔ
?·thing  messenger  give  1SGO  they  say-3PL-1SG-say

ịg-ga-hɔ  nan-nan-i  gaj-gente  gente  gele
?·1SG-go  RED-tell-IMP  to-those  those  this

wal-a-bun  p'wa  hab-u-na  t'umu
child-GEN-3PL  daughter  3FS-with-1SG  home

hab-u-na  ga  mama  hab-u-na  t'umu  ga
3FS-with-1SG  1SG  somebody  3FS-with-1SG  home  1SG

mami  kɔ-na-kɔ  ga  nan-gu-ma-nani  hōni  mina
somebody  say-1SG-say  I  tell-3PL-1PL-tell  they  thing

git  hōn  up'iñ-a-buni  bi-nan  gaj-ik
have 3PL  heart-3PL.POSS  3PL-tell  to-2SG
The messenger says (to her parents): "They told me to go and tell her parents (lit. those that it is their child), 'Your daughter is at my (somebody's) home, she is with me.' " Then they (the girl's parents) should tell you and us what they have in their hearts (i.e. their opinion on the matter).

15. Sentence ʔe ga kɔnako ga hɔ nanwi jì um jì kene minze up'inaŋakumminan ti keni gati gaʃga keni min gitkinum iʃiŋakum

ʔe ga kɔ-na-kɔ ga hɔ na-we jì
OK 1SG say-1SG-say 1SG come 1SG-? also

um jì kene min-ze up'ina-köm mi-nan ti
2PL also today thing-sit heart-2PL.POSS 1PL-tell give

keni ga ti gaʃ-ga keni min git-kin-um
today I give to-1SG today thing have-?-2PL

iʃiŋa-köm
breath-2PL.POSS

"I have come to bring you this message; and you, you tell me today what you have in your mind (lit. your breath)."

16. Sentence hön gente bikukɔ magenamuna dwate abikukɔ hōni gikani mina kwa t'wa ma keni apankɔ ma maʃami sit nama ma damaʃam sanza

hön gente bi-ku-kɔ magena-muna dwa-te
3PLS those 3PL-RED-say those-own girl-DEF
The parents of the girl reply, "We do not want money but a person (the boy's sister) as an exchange."

17. Sentence ʃami sit nama bidala walamatɔ bila zeni gili ak'uma ija akuma ant' agima minʃiʃa bilagiga walama zegiga nigili haj ji anikukɔ nɔkɔ

ʃami sit nam bidala wala-ma-tɔ bila want person change change.AR child-1PL.POSS-DEF as ze-ni gili a-k'u-ma ija a-ku-ma sit-IMP here IMP-fetch-1PL water IMP-carry-1PL ant' a-gi-ma min-ʃi-ʃa bila-gi-ga firewood IMP-do-1PL thing-RED-eat as-do-PFV wala-ma ze-gi-ga nigili haj ji child-1PL.POSS sit-do-PFV here he also a-ni-ku-kɔ nɔkɔ IMP-3MS-RED-say good
"We want a person in exchange for our daughter to serve us by fetching water for us, carrying firewood and preparing food as our daughter used to." And he (the messenger) also says OK.

Then the (wise) man gets up and leaves.

The informant explained to me that this exchange girl herself get married to the (first) girl's brother. The text itself does not say this explicitly, but only hints at it (see below).
20. Sentence anihuhɔ anapɔʃi magente dɔnɔ t’umu

a-ni-hu-hɔ a-na-pɔʃi ma-gente dɔnɔ t’umu
IMP-3MS-RED-go IMP-3MS-arrive PL-those there home

FT He goes back to those at home (i.e. the boy's parents).

21. Sentence gi pɔʃ-na magene t’umi anunnanginan ma magen kɔbi-gakɔ jambi sit nam kini ʃam kinbi dwa ganama kwa k’ugun ija akwa kugun ant kwa gigun ʃi gaʃhun hajte magente magenamun genamunaini ʃeʃi biʃkiʃ ʃaʃokɔ dwa gitmagiti

gi pɔʃ-na ma-gene t’umi
when arrive-3MS PL-those home

a-n-nan-gi-nan ma ma-gene kɔ-bi-ga-kɔ ʃam-bi
IMP-3MS-tell-do-tell 1PL PL-those say-3PL-1SG-say want-3PL

sit nam kini ʃam kin-bi dwa ga nama
person change say want say-3PL girl 1SG change

kwa k’u-gun ija a-kwa ku-gun ant’
do fetch-3PLO water IMP-do carry-3PL firewood

kwa gi-gun min-ʃa gaʃ-hɔn haj te
do work-3PLO thing-eat to-3PLO 3MS ?

ma-genamun ma-gente genamu-na-ini ʃeʃi
PL-those PL-those those-?-here again
When he returns back to those at home (the boy's parents), he tells them: "Those (other) people said to me that they want a person in exchange, they want a girl in exchange, to fetch water for them, carry firewood and prepare food for them." Those back at home (the boy's parents) say, "Good. We have a girl."

22. Sentence: dwa gitmagiti amumtigiti dwa gitmagiti amumtigit zenze dwa dwa ɔʃi azegi swiɔ golɔ
dwa git-ma-giti a-mum-ti-gi-ti dwa dwa
girl have-1PL-have IMP-2PL-give-IMP-give girl girl
git-ma-giti a-mum-ti-gi-ti ze-n-ze
have-1PL-have IMP-2PL-give-IMP-give sit-TAM-sit(presence)
dwa dwa ɔʃi a-ze-gi swi-ɔ golɔ
girl girl here.it.is IMP-sit? home-at this

FT: "We have a girl here at home whom we will give to you (in exchange)."

23. Sentence: gidɔni ?e usite gele halas gidɔni abekuko iki giɔtako tu huho iki iʃgihuhɔ iʃginanunnani dwa gitmagiti giho konkɔk ini site gele aniʃ jijaja idɔnɔ anzili abeti minʃa abeti pwɔʃ abeti harɔke anat'ut'ɔp' t'ɔp'ni harɔk'e anzili anitu huho anamut gaʃmagente
gidɔni ?e usi-te gele halas gidɔni
there yes person-DEF this AR.DM there
Then they (the boy's family) say to this man (the messenger), "OK. Tomorrow you go back, and tell them that we have a girl." And this man goes and tells them. (That is,) the next morning they (the boy's family) give him food, porridge and arrack; he drinks the arrack in the morning, and then he goes back to explain to those people (the girl's parents).
24. Sentence matu pɔʃna magente gele digama diga gamantu hɔnahɔ ma anɔkɔ debekwa zize

ma-tu-pɔʃ-na ma-gente gele diga ma-diga
PFV-go.back-arrive-3MS PL-those this peace PL-peace
ga-man-tu hɔ-na-hɔ ma a-nɔkɔ debe-kwa
1SG-TAM-go.back come-1SG-come 1PL IMP-good no-matter

zi-ze
RED-sit down

FT When he returns back to those people (the girl's parents), he greets them saying "Peace. I went back and I have come (again)." (They say) "As for us, it is good. No matter, sit down."

25. Sentence anizejasi t'wakum eʃaj kinma t'watigium gikami mank'əla jaji jaji madebigadebe dwa dwa mapɔʃɔ dwa mazehabi t'umu magente atekama amajsnibilte ma manumanɔkɔ apaŋkal dwakali wəlama tɔkala imamutumutu apaŋ sit nami walamatɔ imamutumutu ma damaʃam ini brri amagi bi sanza anima k'u ija pɔgɔ anima jiʃgi buna anima k'ɔs'gi pwaʃ maʃami sit nama madepi sit nam tegele manuma nɔkɔ gamat'wa mank'unt' tegele

a-ni-ze jasi t'wa-kóm e-ʃaj
IMP-1SG-sit place mouth (message)-2PL ?-good

kin-ma t'wa-ti-gi-um gikami ma-n-kala
be-1PL mouth(message)-give?-2PL yesterday PFV-3MS-be
ʃaj-i ʃaj-i ma-debi-ga-debe dwa dwa
good-? good-? 1PLO-show-2SG?-show girl girl

ma-pɔʃɔ dwa ma-ze-habi t'umu ma-gente
PFV-arrive girl PFV-sit(present)-3FS home PL-there

a-te-kama a-ma-jsni-bilte ma ma-numa nɔkɔ apan-ŋ-kal
if-this-be if?-like-this 1PL 1PL-change good no-may

dwa-kali wəla-ma tɔ-kala
girl-be.PFV child-1PL.POSS this-be.PFV

i-ma-mu-tu-mu-tu a-paŋ sit
CAUS-1PL-2PL-go.back-2PL-go.back if-no person

nami wala-ma-tɔ
cchange child-1PL.POSS-DEF

i-ma-mu-tu-mu-tu ma dama-ʃam
CAUS-1PL-2PL-go.back-2PL-go.back 1PL NEG-want

ini brri a-ma-gi bi
something(not named) money IMP-1PL-work ?

sanza a-ni-ma-k'u ija pɔɡɔ
money IMP-3MS-1PL-fetch water river

a-ni-ma-ʃiʃ-gi buna
IMP-3MS-1PL-boil-work coffee
They say) "Your message pleases us, your message of yesterday was very good. Show us the girl who is at the home of those people (the boy's parents). If we (really) make an exchange like this, we will be pleased. If there were no girl (in exchange) for our child, we would send you back (lit. we would make you go back). We don't want money. We want an exchange person who will fetch water from the river for us, boil coffee, and stir porridge. Show us this exchange person and we will exchange. Good. I (the girl's father?) have finished my speech."

26. Sentence  kɔbakɔ magentegele kaj ma jima bilte umi amihɔgihta ɡiɔtkɔ 
mitab gwekinagwe Walt ɡełɔ

kɔ-ba-kɔ ma-gente gele kaj ma jima bilte umi
say-3PL-say PL-those this day 1PL accept as 2PL

a-mi-hɔ-ɡi-hɔ ɡiɔtkɔ mi-tab gwe-kina-gwe
IMP-1PL-come-2SG-come tomorrow 1PL-follow see?-?-see
Those people (the girl's parents) say, "We accept as you (have said). We will come following you tomorrow in order to see this girl."

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

"To see this girl, we will go back to your home. That is good. The day after tomorrow we will follow and come."
FT Then they come and see this girl and meet each other. (They say) "In fifteen days we will come for the marriage. We will exchange the exchange-girl for our child."

29. Sentence ikaj minte t'ili gente həbigiho pəʃbipəʃi bəkba walabuni s'abab gida tibab ?i ho gisənt' bəkmintin bəkama makwami gisənt' abab ?i gisənt' iʃgi tat swi abab ?i gisənt' abab ti ?i beʃe beʃ ?i beʃ babgisənt' dəbab mami k'was dəbab təti wus kuru apaŋ abab ?i gisənt' ?i beʃe ?i beʃbi waltə pwaŋbun gimadima kaji twasene gente abitunat həhə abahə

i-kaj min-te t'ili gente hə-bi-gi-hə
?-day thing-DEF just those come-3PL-PFV-come

pəʃ-bi-pəʃi bək-ba wala-buni
arrive-3PL-arrive marry-3PL-POS child-3PL-POS

s'a-b-ab gida ti-b-ab ?i ho
anoint-3PL-3FSO ointment give-3PL-3FSO bring go
gi-sɔnt' bɔk-mintin bɔka-ma ma-kwami
by-foot marriage-type marriage-1PL.POSS PL-Gwama

gi-sɔnt' ṭi gi-sɔnt' iʃgi tat swi a-b-ab-ʔi
by-foot bring by-foot from in home IMP-3PL-3MS-bring

gi-sɔnt' ti ṭi beʃe beʃ ṭi
by-foot give bring pass(travel) pass (travel) bring

beʃ-b-ab gi-sɔnt dəb-b-ab-mami
pass (travel)-3PL-3FSO by-foot NEG-3PL-3FS-carry

k'was dəb-b-ab-ʔɔti wus kuru kuru
on one's back NEG-3PL-3FS-take on donkey donkey

apaŋ [d]15-a-b-ab-ʔi gi-sɔnt' ṭi-beʃe
no NEG-3PL-3FSO-bring by-foot bring-pass (travel)

ʔi-beʃ-bi wal-tɔ pwaŋ-bun
bring-pass (travel)-3PL girl-DEF to(road)-3PL.POSS

gi-ma-dima kaji twasene gente
ʔ-PFV-takes(finish) day three those

a-bi-tu-nat hu-hɔ a-ba-hɔ
IMP-3PL-go.back-? RED-go IMP-3PL-go

15 The [d] seems clear on the recording; normally it would mean "Negative", but that does not make sense here.
On the appointed day, they (the girl's parents) come (to the boy's house) for the marriage of their child (their own daughter? or the exchange girl? or both?). They anoint her (the exchange girl) with ointment and they bring her (home) on foot. This is our marriage custom, we Gwama. They bring her home on foot, they travel on foot; they do not carry her on their back or on a donkey; no, they bring her on foot. They bring the girl back with them (on foot), even if it takes (as much as) three days. They go back.

30. Sentence  

dena ze jassene abidena t‘ut’ɔp’ harak’e ijassene abidena t‘ɔp’ ɔwi ijasses’k’in abidena ʃe waŋa mageni biʃ buŋa abaje magene magenminun abiku waŋa abaje mageni abidena s’itduʃ mit’i abidena twiduʃ ale ale ale ko jala mabwanz mabwanz abiden twi ʃai ʃai ʃai mafikɔ abiden twi jasses’ini dena wet mankwam

dena ze jas-sene a-bi-dena t’u-t’ɔp’ harak’e
meet sit place-one IMP-3PL-meet RED-drink arrack

ijas-sene a-bi-dena t’ɔp’ ɔwi
place-one IMP-3PL-meet drink t’ella(local beer)

ijas-ses’k’in a-bi-dena ʃe waŋa mageni
place-one IMP-3PL-meet slaughter chicken those

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

magenminun a-bi-ku waŋa a-ba-ʃe
those IMP-3PL-bring chicken IMP-3PL-slaughter
mageni a-bi-dena s’it-duʃ mit’i a-bi-dena
those IMP-3PL-meet hold-each other hand IMP-3PL-meet

twi-duʃ ale ale ale kɔ jəla
call-each other in.law in.law in.law say then

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

maʃi maʃi-kɔ a-bi-den
brother/sister.in.law brother/sister.in.law-say IMP-3PL-meet

twi jas-ses’i dena wet man-kwam
call place-one meet be PL-brother

FT (But first) they all meet and sit together. They meet and drink
arrack together. They meet and drink t’ella together. They meet and
bring chickens and slaughter them. They meet and hold each other’s
hand. They meet and call each other "in-law", and the young people
call each other "brother/sister-in-law". They meet together as
brothers.

31. Sentence abiden aʃ-duʃ s’i ijasses’in abiden tɔt ijasses’in gijan sugun
git’ɔʃkaja abiden tɔt ijjasses’in abiden wetbi mankwami ijasses’in
gigentegele ate gijama makwami biladena bɔkmibɔk biladena gi
zemize bɔkama biltegele ginam zup leʃgiɔgɔlɔ bilanama zemize
giɔgɔlɔ

a-bi-den aʃ-duʃ s’i ijasses’in
IMP-3PL-meet bury-each.other death place-one
They meet together at funerals to bury each other. They meet to borrow (things from each other), by night or by day. They meet together with one another as brothers. This is our way, we Gwama, our way of marrying. It has been by exchange only, up to now.

32. Sentence giɔji məŋst kiɔnakɔ ini mitagidenedena nama maʃi dəmak'ep dennama gipɔp' zegimagi giɔ ma makwama nama iʃtegele nam ma gipɔp' brri apaŋ gahaj denanam ma gahaj
Nowadays the government has forbidden us to make (marital) exchange. However, we pay no attention (lit. we do not hear). We Gwama continue to do the exchange in secret, for we do not have money (for the dowry). That is why we do the exchange.

I have finished my speech.
REFERENCES


