Maasai:
UCLA fieldmethods class Fall 99- Spring 2000

Introduction: to be written

Last updated: 12/7/99:

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<td>class (hilda)</td>
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<td>Mary(BL)</td>
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(1)  endasópài  class L  10/12

?en-ta-supai
“greetings” (Greetings to y’all” (informal) (male to male))
Tone of “enda” not transcribed; gender and age of addressee and speaker matter for greetings

(2)  ipà  class L  10/12

[reply to (1)] (male reply)

(3)  endakwéna  class L  10/12

en-ta
“greetings!” (formal)
male to female/ male to older male(formal)

(4)  íkó  class L  10/12

[reply to (3)]

(5)  sòpài érò  class L  10/12

“hallo boy!”
The form érò already appeared during the first elicitation in class, in the Maasai for “hallo boy!”.
Notice that érò is not the root for “boy” (-aye-).

(6)  sòpài náírò  class L  10/12

“hallo girl!”
“náirò” not related to N for “girl”… maybe related to érò (feminine marker + érò)? a frozen form?

(7) ɛndá sópài o(i)ye  

“hallo boys!”
Someone suggested that the sound between brackets in o(i)ye might be there (or maybe the o is long)… The morpheme (? ) ɛndá again seems to mark the plurality of the addressee.

(8) ɛndá sópài o(i)yé(·) ilayákʰ  

“hallo boys!”
The plural noun “boys” can be overtly expressed (the meaning is the same as (7)).

(9) ɛndá sópài nátóye  

“hallo girls!”
“nátóyé” seems to be the plural noun “girls”… interesting asymmetry between the greeting in the singular (6) and the greeting in the plural (9)…?

(10) ɛndá sópài lew páyênːi  

“greetings elders (how are you?)”
sópài can be used by elders greeting other elders. The actual length of the nː was not completely agreed upon.

final V /æ/ or a: probably a with some nasalization? transcriptions below have both E and a.

(11) arːpayéŋ  

“elder”
The quality of the final vowel was under debate. a and æ were proposed as alternatives.

(12) irːpayenːi  

“elders”
A different tonal pattern characterizes the plural form.

(13) èlé payáŋ
“this elder”
Here the quality of the last vowel was clearly lower than e.

(14) èpì kùlòįdiaĩn

“these dogs are mean” -pi : to be brave, copuageous, ferocious)
The predicate “mean” appears in an “inverted” position with respect to its position in the DP “mean dogs”. it is preceded by 3rd person subject agreement

(15) képì kùlòdiaĩn

“are these dogs mean?”
Interrogative made by initial k, and a different tonal pattern (Highs are very high?).

(16) kèsídăn kùláy̓kʰ

“are these boys nice?”
The underlying form of Q: ke (in (15) elision of a vowel applies) or k (in (16) epenthesis takes place).

(17) èe:

“yes”
The vowel which corresponds to “yes” is veeceery long…

(18) èe: èpì kùlódiaĩn

“yes, these dogs are mean”

(19) èe: èpì

“yes, they are mean”

(20) ?áʔà

“no”

(21) ?áʔà mèpì

“no, they are not mean”
“m” = negation prefix… didn’t ask how to say “these dogs are not mean” yet…?

(22) a:d5l  

Come back to this example  
“(to) see”/“I see you”  
Someone heard a dark I here, but it didn’t seem to appear again in the other forms of this verb.

(23) tʰánapa  

ta-nap-a  
“(to) carry”/“carry!”  
When asked for the citation form, we got the imperative.

(24) àdłlítʰa àlāyéni  

a-dol-ita  
“I’m seeing a boy”  
Itʰa which seems to express the progressive. Initial vowel in the verb is shorter than the correspondent vowel in the citation form (to be checked)

(25) kídłlítʰa àlāyéni  

“we are seeing a boy” (HLLL on verb form)  
The 1st plural subject seems to be marked by the prefix kí.

(26) iyē ʰdłlítʰa àlāyéni  

you i-dol-ita al-aye-ni  
“you(sg) are seeing a boy”  
The 2nd singular subject seems to be marked by the strong form iyē. ñ is part of the 2nd singular morphology. You is focused?

(27) dłlítʰátʰa àlāyéni  

dol-i-ta-ta  
“you(pl) are seeing a boy”  
The 2nd plural subject seems to be marked by reduplication and a different tonal pattern in the stem (is this last aspect due to a template? To be investigated…) SA: I optional

(28) èdłlítʰa àlāyéni  


“he/she/they is/are seeing a boy” (boy is accusative)
Singular and plural seem not to be distinguished in the 3rd person, which is (apparently) uniformly marked with è. [See later forms: not distinguished with this verb class and with this aspect, but distinguished in other “tenses”]

(29)  idül³h¹tá³̄  àlàyéni
      class L
      10/12

“are you(pl) seeing a boy?”
The different tonal pattern and a prefix (which is not the same found in the interrogative in (15)) seem to mark the interrogative form (compare (27)).

(30)  ànàp³h³a  àlàyéni
      class L
      10/12

“I’m carrying a boy”
The ³⁰, of imperative (23) disappears… a: is 1st person. Notice the different tonal structure of the verb, too.

(31)  adol  àlàyéni
      class L
      10/12

“I (will) see a boy”
Notice that the verb in this sentence can be either interpreted as a (habitual) present or as a future.

(32)  anáp  àlàyéni
      class L
      10/12

“I (will) carry a boy”
In a parallel way, the initial segment in the citation form (23) disappears. The paradigm should be completed here, too. (Notice a further tonal pattern on the verb, which differs from both the citation form (23) and the progressive form (30).)

(33)  ëngine
      s-f-goat
      a/the she-goat
      /e/ may be more front, perh. an /æ/

(34)  orkíné
      s-m-goat
      a/the neut. he-goat
      /k/ may also be a /g/

(35)  ëlór³/àlór³
      s-m-goat
      a/the he-goat
al/əl alternation

(36) ḏeŋiŋedʒí
pl-f.-goat-ji
she-goats
(may also be male) **YELLOW HIGHLIGHT**: check ATR or e?
/dʒ/ may also be /ʃ/ or /ʃ/;
/g/ may also be /k/
initial vowel is not always pronounced, but the syllable was whistled
tonal change singular and plural. (LLLH)

(37) ableObject
p-m.-goat-?I
he-goats
there was some sort of consonant between the last two vowels; it may be either a tap or a glottal
stop

(38) ḏeŋk’edʒí
m.p.-goat-suffix
neutered-goats
E or e?

(39) ḏeŋk’edʒí
goat-suffix(plural)
neutered-goats

(40) ableObject
f.s.-that goat
that she-goat

(41) ableObject
this(f.s.) goat
this she-goat

(42) ḏeŋk’undʒí
those (f.p.) goat-suffix(p.)
those she-goats
/dʒ/ may also be /ʃ/

(43) ḏeŋk’undʒí
these(f.p.) goat-suffix(p.)
these she-goats
/o/ in kōná may also be /u/

(44) sticky k’iñè
that(m.s.) goat
that neut. he-goat
(45)  èlé k'íne
this (m.s.) goat
this neut. he-goat

(46)  küldó  kíndzi
those (m.p.) goat-suffix(p.)
those neut. he-goats
/e/ may also be /e/

(47)  kòldó  kíndzi
these(m.p.) goat-suffix(p.)
these neut. he-goats

(48)  èlé lórò
m-s this goat
this he-goat

(49)  èldó̀rò
m-s-this goat
this he-goat
(fast)

(50)  èldé lórò
m-s-that goat
that he-goat

(51)  èldérò
m-s-that goat
that he-goat
fast

(52)  küldò lórò́ń
pl-m-those goat-pl
those he-goats

(53)  küldó̀rò́ń
pl-m-those goat-pl
those he-goats
fast; the low tone on the second /ɔ/ seems to stretch until the last syllable

(54)  kòldó lórò́ń
pl-m-these goat-pl
these he-goats
N.B. We also learned that many nouns in Maasai have a default gender, depending on their size. For example, a male bus is a regular bus, but a female bus is a van.

(55) külśrōʔi
m-p-these goat-pl
these he-goats
fast; same very long tone as in (53)

(56) kínór rèsōi

ki nōr rèsōi
1st pl. love R
“Resoi loves you”

In this example [ki], with a high tone, is 2nd person sing. object (and 3rd p subject). The case of “resoi” (nominative) may be indicated by the tonal pattern.

(57) kínór rèsōi

ki nōr resoi
1st pl. love Resoi
“We love Resoi”

Here, /ki/, possibly with no tone, is the 1st person plural morpheme. “resoi” has a different tonal pattern which seems to be the default pattern (=non-nominative).

(58) kē kínór rèsōi

kē ki nōr resoi
Interrogative marker 3rd sg. sub- 2nd sg. obj. love Resoi
“Does Resoi love you”

The question has a rising intonation at the end, and maybe an overall higher pitch. “resoi” has a different tonal pattern than the example in 1, even though in both cases “resoi” is the subject. Check: maybe it is rising in (56) as well.

(59) kē kínór rèsōi

kē ki nōr resoi
Interrogative marker 1st pl. subject love Resoi
“Do we love Resoi”

Here the only indication that this sentence is a question is the presence of [kē]. The statement (2) and the question have the same tonal pattern.
anóir rësoi

a nor resoi
1st sg. love resoi
“I love Resoi”

The object “resoi” has a LH pattern.

épi rësoi

e pi resoi
3rd sg. sub. brave Resoi
“Resoi is brave”

Examples 5 and 6 show that the case distinction between subject and object is expressed with tone. In 5 “resoi” is the subject and it has a LL pattern. (It is possible that the first L is a downstep H).

anáp rësoi

a nap resoi
1st sg. carry resoi
“I carry Resoi”

“resoi” has LH pattern, which is the tonal pattern for an object, and the default/citation form.
/rësoi/ “Resoi” object/default: LH
/rësoi/ “Resoi” subject: LL

anáp

a nap
1st sg. carry
“I carry it/him/her/them”

anór kôle

a nor kule
1st sg. love milk
“I love/like milk”

Nobody would ever use the verb “anor” with food. They would use “want”(see next ex). Notice that /kôle/ does not have a determiner /en/ or /ol/.
(65) a(i)yéow kôlê

a-yeow
“I want milk”

“milk” has the same tonal pattern as “resoi”: LH for object.

(66) iyéow
eiyéów

“So, do you want ____?”

The exact quality of the diphthong is still to be determined. [+ATR]

(67) eiyéów

“He wants ___”

The exact quality of the diphthong is still to be determined.

(68) kôlê

“Milk”

citation form: LH
No determiner prefix. Milk is plural feminine (insert crossref)

(69) 'irôbi kôlê

ε 'irôbi kûlê
3rd sg. cold milk
“the milk is cold”

/εi/ often reduces to /i/

(70) nairôbi

na 'irôbi
fem. cold
“a cold place”
(which is cold)
Most place names are feminine (unless they are big, like mountains, which are masculine).
[na-] seems to be a feminine prefix. (like in [nairo] and [natoye])

(71) ściśbi
ściśbi
masc. cold
“cold” or “flu”
mascine: [ści]

(72) ćusòdà
ćusòdà
to sudj a
ta-2nd sg. imperative follow V(found in 2nd sg. imperative)
“follow!”
This /d/ is d̪ similar to the /d/ in “I speak”

(73) asudźità
a sudź ita
1st sg. follow prog
“I am following it/him/her/them”

Overt object is not necessary, as usual.

(74) áasudźità
aa sudź ita
2sg object + 1st sg. subject follow prog
“I am following you”

(75) asudźità ndái
a sudź ita ndái
1st sg. follow prog 2nd plural full object pronoun
“I am following you(pl)"
[a-] expresses 1st person singular

(76) isud3it’hà

i sud3 ita
2nd sg. follow prog
“You are following it/him/her/them

[i-] expresses 2nd person singular

(77) aasud3it’hà

a a sud3 ita
2nd sg. object 1st sg. subject follow prog
“I am following you”
repeat?

(78) kisud3it’hà

ki sud3 ita
2nd sg. sub.-1st sg. obj. follow prog
“You are following me”

(79) kisod3it’hà

ki sud3 ita
1st pl. subj. follow prog
We are following it/him/her/them

(80) isud5it’hà yook

i sud3 ita yook
2nd sg. follow prog 1st pl
You are following us

[i] – 2nd person singular subject.
[yook] – 1st person plural object.

(81) áasud3it’hà

10/14 class
K
a  e  sudʒ  ita
1st sg. obj. 3rd sg. sub. follow prog
He is following me

Compare tonal pattern with 17. NB: Not clear if aa can be analysed in smaller parts

(82) kisudʒiiŋa
ki  sudʒ  ita
3rd sg. sub. -2nd sg. obj. follow prog
He is following you
same as 21 "you are following me"

(83) esudʒiiŋa
ε  sudʒ  ita
3rd sg. follow prog
He is following it/him/her/them

(84) ĭsudʒà
isudʒ  a
wash
V(follow found in imperative.
"To wash", "wash!"

(85) N.B. - Maasai avoid saying their own name. They don’t use names when greeting each other.

MISSING FILES TO BE INSERTED

(86) ēŋgine
E-n-kine
a/the she-goat
NB: /e/ may be more front, perh. an /æ/

(87) ē“mûŋ

“rhino” ATR of fem /E-N-mun/ Check final n?
This is the word for rhinos in general or a female rhino.

(88) mûmûŋ
-n-mûŋ-yi (?) or I-n-mûŋ
“rhinos”
The plural has the same tonal pattern as the singular. Nasal consonants seem to be tone bearing
units. Saningo indicated that this word may have the UR /mʊŋ/ with an initial vowel

(89) àlàìŋwaìlì lòrìmùŋ

“male rhinos” (a genitive construction? lo?)

(90) àlàìŋwaìlì lémùn

“male rhino”

(91) kùmòk

“many”

(92) kùmòk làyòk

many boys
many followed by D

(93) èná múŋ/èná múŋ

“this rhino”

(94) èsùpèn

“female animal
Only small animals, like sheep or goats. NB: feminine D, E not E-N

(95) èsùpèn endá

female dog

[genitive?]
(96) ɛndiya/ɛndˈa

small dog – puppy
feminine article → little

(97) ɔrgʊsá/-ɔrgʊsá

baby rhino
masculine because “a rhino is not an ordinary baby – it is really big”
Can be said without the word final consonant

(98) ɛsómàʃ

hunger

(99) ɛɛtɛ eñá mʊn ɛsómàʃ

3-has this-F rhino hunger
“this rhino is hungry” Literally “this rhino has hunger”
[emʊn esumaʃ] is ungrammatical

(100) ɛsómàʃ ɛmɔn

rhino’s hunger [genitive]

(101) ðутɛ esumaʃ

“I am hungry”
This is a more urgent way of saying, “I am hungry”. It means that you have to eat right away

(102) ay somaʃ

“I am hungry”
This one is “I am hungry” not “I have hunger”. The hunger is less urgent. You feel like eating but if you don’t eat “it’s no biggie”. This is not possible for a rhino.

(103) ɪsómàʃ

“He is hungry”
not urgent NB: I should be e,?

(104) kíàtà-èsómə̀j

“We are hungry”
urgent/slow version

(105) kíàtà sómə̀j

“We are hungry”
fast version

(106) kísòmà

We are hungry
not urgent

In the following session read i for i

(107) ìsudjà

i-sudj-á
sing.imp – wash – a
Wash!
not sure about the tone on 1st syll

(108) èsudja

é-n- sudj-a
pl.imp – wash - a?
(You all) wash!
where did I-prefix of i-verb go?

(109) màísudja

ma-i-sudj-a
let’s-imp.-wash-a?
let’s wash
I'm washing (it)

the first two vowels sound like a diphthong: (tone?)

you're washing (it)

he's washing [check first vowel [Ei → e or I]]

we're washing

notice the change in tonal pattern /I + I ↠ I/

you're (pl.) washing

notice reduplication of last syllable

I wash
the first two vowels throughout the singular sound like diphthongs with a rising tone (i.e. first vowel has a mid tone and second vowel a high)

(í-sudj) 

í’-sudj
you-it?-wash
you wash

(é-sudj) 

eí’-sudj
he-it-wash
he washes

(kí-sudj) 

kí’-sudj
we-it-wash (length KII?)
we wash

(tsúdjsúdju) 

í-sudj-u-súdju-ú
you(pl.)-wash-red
you (pl.) wash
notice reduplication of root, + rounding of I.

(ásúdjá) 

aí-sudj-a
I-wash-past?
I washed
the first two vowels diphthongized again in the singular. Notice that there is a high tone on final syllable of 3rd sing. in the past tense

(í-súdjá) 


i-سودja
you-wash-past?
you washed

( "
122)

ié-سودjaá
he-it-wash-past?
he washed

( "
123)

di-سودjaâ
we-it-wash-past
we washed

all 3 plural forms seem to have a HL tone on their final syllable. Notice that 3rd singular and 3rd plural differ only in tone. The same pattern occurs for the past tense of "carry".

( "
124)

i-سودjaâ
you-it-wash-past?
you (p) washed

( "
125)

ie-سودjaâ
they-it-wash-past?
they washed

( atanápa
126)

a-ta-náp-a
I-past-carry-past?
I carried
(127)  itanápa

1-ta-náp-a
you(sing.)-past-carry-past?
you carried

( 22)  étánápá

é-tá-náp-á
he-past-carry-past?
he carried
H tone on final syllable of 3rd singul.

( 23)  kítanapá

kí-ta-nap-á
we-past-carry-past?
we carried

( 24)  rtanapá

1-ta-náp-á
you(pl.)-past-carry-past?
you (pl.) carried
notice the difference between singular and plural second and third persons in the past is marked only in the tones.

( 25)  étanapá

é-ta-nap-á
they-past-carry-past?
they carried

(128)  ørkídøŋ or ørkídøŋ

snuff/tobacco box check ATR; is ATR harmony optional
(129)  írkídôñì  

snuff/tobacco boxes

(130)  ëndôlél^h  or  ëndôlél^h  

small snuff box  
(expected form is E, with ATR harmony e. Hard to hear in environment of nasal)

(131)  ëndôlél^hâ  

small snuff boxes

(132)  orkimôsôrôt  

oryx (a kind of antelope)  
check ATR

(133)  orkimôsôrôt  

oryxes  
check ATR

(134)  îsôsî  

neck ornament  
vowels +ATR, or –ATR?

(135)  îsôśi  or  îsôśi  

neck ornaments

Conjugation: present of intransitive (stative) verb
(136)  âpî  

1-brave  
‘I am brave’  
individual level predicate/stative. We are not sure about tone on first V Whistle same as following syllables (âpî ? yet I more prominent?)
(137) ipí
2sg brave
We are not sure about tone on first V; **same tonal pattern as 1st person?**

(138) ēpí
he/she/they are brave
We are not sure about tone on first V (**different tonal pattern as 1/2nd? ēpí**)

(139) kipí
we-brave
We are brave
L-#.. HL# **Number agreement marked by tone at right edge**

(140) ipipí
you-PL brave-brave
reduplication

(141) kidól
we see
we will see him/her/them
L HL- no object pronoun, or visible object agreement

(142) idólidolô
you-see-see
you will see him
no object pronouns- no object-verb agreement; subject **agreement i present: when present when absent? cf. (27)**

(143) adólità kewân or kewán
I am seeing myself
We are not sure if the final vowel of “kewan” has falling or high tone

(144) kídólità
you are seeing me (LLHL)
- this form has the same phones as (145) but different tonal pattern- this form has the same phones and
tonal pattern as (148)
(145)  Kidólíta

we are seeing him/her/them
this form has the same phones as (144) and (148), but different tonal pattern (H LL H?)

(146)  Áadólíta

he/she/they is/are seeing me

(147)  Kidólítátà

you-PL are seeing me

(148)  Kidólítà

he/she/they is/are seeing you
this form has the same phones as (145) but different tonal pattern
- this form has the same phones and tonal pattern as (144)

(149)  Kidólítà iyé

we are seeing you-SG
We are not sure about the tone of the first vowel of “ïye” CHECK TONES

(150)  Kidólítà nìñé

we are seeing HIM

(151)  Kidólítà ndáy

we are seeing you-PL

Strong pronouns
(152)  Nìndzé
them CHECK WITH LATER FORMS (genitives)

(153) yook

us

(154) nàanò

me

INSERT FILES

(155) ísòd’ai

i+wash+a
Wash (it)! –singular
Contrast this form with [tanapa] “carry it!” which has [ta+root+a] imperative marking. Does imperative marking change with verb class?

(156) ísòd’ai

i+wash+a+i
Wash yourself
Reflexive incorporated with the verb

(157) tégela

te+choose+a
Choose (it)!
The vowel of the prefix [tV] which seems to mark (some) imperatives changes with the (first?) root vowel (?)

(158) tálepo

ta+milk+o
milk (it)!
The vowel of the suffix which seems to mark imperatives is [a] with -ATR roots and [o] with +ATR roots

(159) tétema

te+try+a
try (it)!

(160) tákedo
    ta+ked+o
    climb (it)!

(161) típika
    ti+put+a
    put (it)!

(162) írají
    i+lay+i
    lay (it down)!
    The morpheme boundaries marked for this verb are unclear. Notice the quality of the [r] which sounded voiceless at elicitation.

(163) alepíto
    I+milk+ito
    I’m milking
    tones: alepíto or álépíto see next examples as well.

(164) apikíta
    I+put+ita
    I’m putting
    tones?: (HH H* L)?

(165) akepíto
    I+climb+ito
    I’m climbing
    tones: HHH* L

(166) atakédo
    I+past?+climb+o
    I climbed
    The morpheme [ta] which comes between the 1st person pronoun and the verb stem might mark past tense. What does the morpheme [o] after the verb stem mark? If you compare this form and
the next one in (13), you can see that this word-final morpheme follows ATR harmony, too.

(167) atpiŋka
I+past?+put+a
I put-past it

(168) airáŋt
I+?+lay+?
I laid it down
It is unclear how the past of this verb is formed.

(169) atemíta
I+try+ing
I’m trying it

(170) atetéma
I+past+try+a
I tried it

(171) aqelíta
I+choose+ing
I’m choosing it

(172) ategéla
I+past+choose+a
I chose it

(173) ʔmboŋa
(ʔ)+hold+a
hold (it)!
We’re not sure whether the syllabic [m] is preceded by a vowel. m appears after ʔ and before b?

(174) táboło
ta+open+o
open (it)!
Notice that the imperative prefix here is [ta] and not [to] as we would expect if this prefix really copies the stem vowel. Does this mean this verb is vowel initial with [abol] for a stem? Wait and see…

(175)  túsud'a
        tu+follow+a
        follow (it)!

(176)  tuturo
        tu+dig+o
        dig!

(177)  tôcôcô
        to+sit+o
        sit!
We are unsure about the vowel quality. Looks line –ATR, + a/'

(178)  èêtà esomaʃ
        he-has hunger
        he/she/it/they is/are hungry

(179)  èêtà sômaʃ/èêtə sômaʃ
        he-has hunger
        he/she/it/they is/are hungry
        fast version of (178)
        the high tone on the first two vowels is actually a very long high tone, and not two tones

(180)  àätʰ esomaʃ
        I-have hunger
        I am hungry

(181)  àätʰa
        I-have
        I am
not really a “grammatical” statement, but would be the response to the question “Are you hungry?”
VP ellipsis or pro-drop?

(182) īét esōmáʃ
you(s.)-have hunger
Are you hungry?
there is some sort of question intonation which makes it different from (183); the vowels are not necessarily different

(183) īét asōmáʃ
you(s.)-have hunger
you are hungry
very similar to (182) except for intonation

(184) kïata esōmáʃ
we-have hunger
we are hungry

(185) iátatâ sūmáʃ
iátat èsũmáʃ
you(p.)-have hunger
you-all are hungry
not sure of the tones (also may have mistranscribed the “u”)

(186) áy súmáʃ
I hungry
I am hungry
we are not entirely sure why this is a diphthong, in other words, how it differs from “api” “I am brave” (maybe ìsũmáʃ a vowel intial predicate?)

(187) ìsũmáʃ
you(s.) hungry
you are hungry

(188) èysomàʃ
he hungry
he/she/it/they is/are hungry
the first vowel may not be a diphthong, but Saningo thought it was similar in length to the vowel in (186), which we are fairly sure is a diphthong. Quite general: e + i = /e/ or /i/
(189) kísômâj
we-hungry
we are hungry

(190) *ismaʃimaʃi
you(p.) hungry

We failed to find the hungry equivalent to “ipipi” “you all are brave”

(191) * sumaʃita
hungry-ita

no progressive or continuous form

(192) èwŋüré
f.s.-thirst
thirst
the “r” is not as long as the “r” in “anor”

(193) aykúrè
I-thirsty
I am thirsty
NB: no determiner

(194) ñkúrè
(you)-thirsty
you are thirsty
NB: nasal appears, see also (196) and (197)

(195) ेkúrè
he-hungry
he/she/it/they is/are hungry

(196) kíŋɡúrè
kíwŋɡúrè
we-thirsty
we are thirsty
the second one may be a slower pronunciation

(197) (u)ŋgúrère
you(p.)-thirsty
you-all are thirsty

(198) ááthá eŋgúrè
I-have (e)-n-thirst
I am thirsty
Saningo felt that the engma was not syllabic but preceded by a vowel; it will be transcribed with the vowel but note that it is possibly syllabic. (idem for you/he/we have forms below)
The high tone in “I have” is very long and not two high tones. (One whistle?)

(199) íata eŋgúrè
you(s.)-have (e)-n-thirst
you are thirsty

(200) éatá eŋgúre
æatá eŋgúre
he-has (e)-n-thirst
he/she/it/they is/are thirsty

(201) kíatá eŋgúre
we-have (e)-n-thirst
we are thirsty
Saningo felt that the engma was not syllabic but preceded by a vowel; it will be transcribed with the vowel but note that it is possibly syllabic.

(202) éatàtæ eŋgúre
éyatáta eŋgúre
you(p.)-have thirst
you-all are thirsty
Saningo felt that the engma was not syllabic but preceded by a vowel; it will be transcribed with the vowel but note that it is possibly syllabic.
It was not clear whether the first vowel in “you have” was a monophthong or a diphthong

(203) ánaórà
I-tired
I am tired
Background for ATR (204) ënàúrí
f.s.-tiredness
tiredness
The e is probably the -ATR e. Is final syllable i or i.

(205) átánáùrè
I-“ta”-tired
I have become tired
NB: no final a…

(206) áátà (ë)nàúrí
I-have tiredness
I am tired
This is very awkward, although grammatical. Approximately the equivalent of “I have tiredness” in English.

(207) (i)ñáórà
you(s.)-tired
you are tired
Saningo, again, did not like the syllabic nasal.

(208) ënáórà
he-tired
he/she/it/they is/are tired

(209) kínàórà
we-tired
we are tired

(210) ñ:áórárá
you(p.)-tired
you-all are tired
reduplication.

Files to be inserted

(211) irådjidjì
M 10/28
class
2p-lay (it) down
you-all (will) lay it down

(212) írådʒì
lay (it) down
lay it down! (command singular)
this shows that i is the vowel of the root

(213) érådʒì
2p-lay (it) down
lay it down! (command plural)
the e is not part of the root should be e + i

(214) èrådʒéki
īrådʒéki
lay down – eki
it was laid down
passive (in past tense!)

(215) enąpa (e)ŋgérái
3s-carry-a f.s.-child
the child was carried
passive? But: no passive M. Stative?: child has nominative tones

(216) etanapa
3s-ta-carry-a
he/she/it/they carried it

(217) ŋgérái
f.s.-child
child
(L) HH (acc)/ (L) LH (nom)

(218) èirórá ègérái
èrórá
3s-sleep-a f.s.-child
the child is sleeping
LLH (nom)

(219) àtanápa ñgéráí
I-ta-carry-a f.s.-child
I carried the child

(220) étánápá ñgéráí
3s-ta-carry-a f.s.-child
the child carried him
minimal pair with (221)

(221) étánápá ñ'g'eráí
3s-ta-carry-a f.s.-child
he carried the child
minimal pair with (220)
child is similar to isolation form

(222) etanapa lâyenî
3s-ta-carry-a m.s.-boy
the boy carried
the tones on the verb were not marked in class; **boy carries nominative (HLL## or HH ..)**

(223) étánápá lâyenî ñgéráí
3s-ta-carry-a m.s.-boy f.s.-child(acc)
the boy carried the child

(224) étánápá ñgéraí alayéni
3s-ta-carry-a f.s.-child(nom) m.s.-boy (acc)
the child carried the boy
there was no whistle on the engma for “child”

(225) ñ'w ole
yesterday
yesterday
check tones
(226) táàtá
today
today

(227) táisérè
tomorrow
tomorrow
check ATR

Conjugation of the verb “to be DP"
(228) árá armáasinda
I-ra m.s.-Maasai-suffix(?)
I am Maasai (masculine)

(229) armáasinda
m.s.-Maasai-suffix(?)
Maasai man

(230) ēmáasinda
f.s.-Maasai-suffix
Maasai woman

(231) árá ēmáasinda
I-ra f.s.-Maasai-suffix
I am Maasai (feminine)

(232) írá armáasinda
2s-ra m.s.-Maasai-suffix
you are Maasai

(233) írá armáasindá
2s-ra m.s.-Maasai-suffix
Are you Maasai?

(234) éé, ará
yes, I-ra
yes, I am

(235) érá armaásinda
he-ra m.s.-Maasai-suffix
he is Maasai

(236) irará irmaásài
2p-ra m.p.-Maasai-suffix
you-all are Maasai

(237) kirà irmaásài
we-ra m.p.-Maasai-suffix
we are Maasai

(238) éé, kirà
yes, we-ra
yes, we are

(239) míkirà
neg-we-ra
we are not
i-vowels are –ATR

(240) míkilépitò
neg-we-milk
we are not milking it
i-vowels are +ATR/minimal pair with (241)
(241) míkílépiʃó
    neg-we-milk
    we don’t do milking
    minimal pair with (240); NB: tonal pattern (checked)

(242) koli näırɔbi
    milk cold
    milk which is cold
    milk=feminine and plural… (stay tuned for the next two examples)

(243) èŋgéráí näırɔbi
    f.s.-child na-cold
    child which is cold

(244) èŋjère näırɔbi
    naiiɾɔbi
    children na-a-cold
    children which are cold

(245) (è)ŋgàrá
    e-n-g/-are (sg, fem)
    “the/some water”

(246) (è)ŋgàrá näırɔbi
    e-n-g/kare na-irobi
    the/some-water cold “the/some cold water”
    singular agreement within relative clause

(247) (è)ŋgàrìák naaiɾɔbi
    e-n-g/k-ar-iak naa-irobi
    bodies of water cold “the/some bodies of cold water”
    “engare” (“water”) does not have a morphological plural form; “-iak” in “engar-iak” seems to be a sort f classifier

(248) èná ářè
e-n-a ∅/g/kare
this water
root is “are”, “not g/kare”.

(249) ëŋëmá
ë-n-kema
the fire (sg, fem)

(250) ëŋëmá sápòk
ë-n-kema sapuk
the-fire big “the big fire”

(251) ëŋëmá nãiróbi
ë-n-kema na-irobi
the-fire cold “the cold fire”

(252) ëná kêmà
ë-n-a kêma
this fire

(253) ëndá kêmà
ë-n-da kêma
that fire

(254) kûldá kêmà
k-u-ld-a kêma-iti
those fires

(255) ësùnnáj
o-sunnaj (sg, masc)
a/the sand
èlè sunnaj
è-l-e sunnaj
this sand
transcribed as double ll, changed by HJK.

èldè sunnaj
e-ld-e sunnaj
that sand

(s)íná
i-sina (pl, masc)
the/some (?) sands

kulló sina
k-u-ll-o sina
these sands

kuldó sina
k-u-ld-o sina
those sands

iröbë èldé sùnnaj
i-robi e-ld-e sunnaj
is-cold that sand “that sand is cold”

enapita torët èldé sùnnaj
e-n-ap-ita toret e-ld-e sunnaj
is-carrying Toret that sand “Toret is carrying that sand”

enapita èldé sùnnaj
e-n-ap-eta e-ld-e sunnaj
is-carrying that sand “He is carrying that sand”

(264) èngbọ́n

e-n-Ø/g/kolon (sg, fem)
the Sun

(265) àlàpà

al-(l)apa (sg, masc)
the-Moon

(266) resoj Ṣṣ tòrét

Resoy and Toret
coordination

(267) èngbọ́n ìlàpà

e-n-golon oo al-(l)apa
the-Sun and-the-Moon

(268) àlàpà (wè) èngbọ́n

al-(l)apa oo e-n-golon
the-Moon and-the-Sun

*on checking/no round glide: not clear E or O recheck*

(269) irobi alapa èngare

i-robi al-(l)apa oo e-n-gare
is-cold of-the-Moon and-the-water “The water of the Moon is cold”

If “oo” occurs between two semantically similar DPs, it works like a coordination particle and the
two DPs are coinjoined. Instead, if it occurs between two DPs that are semantically different but
related, “oo” works like a possessive marker.

(270) irobi alapa (oo), niróbi èngare

E? i-robi al-(l)apa (oo) n-E+i-irobi e-n-gare
is-cold the-water (and) also-is-cold the-Moon “The water is cold and also the Moon is cold” = “The water and the Moon are cold”
The coordination of two DPs that are semantically different but related requires clausal coordination and the element “n-” at the beginning of the second clause. “oo” between the first and the second clause is optional. There is a big pause between the first and the second clause. *Obviously to be further explored…*

(271) áiróbi
    a - iróbi
    “I am cold”
    /ai/ is a diphthong

(272) ɨróbi
    i - iróbi
    “You are cold”

(273) èiróbi
    e - iróbi
    “He is cold”
    /ei/ is a diphthong. In fast speech this comes out as /ɨróbi/. Saningo says that both pronunciations are correct.

(274) kíróbi
    ki - iróbi
    “We are cold”

(275) íróbíbí
    i-iróbi-RED
    “You-pl are cold”

(276) ñ“ demolished
    “yesterday”

(277) kèwàřie kàwàřie
“night”
Saningo whistled three tones, which may indicate that there are three syllables. The /-ie/ ending sounded like one syllable with one high tone.

(278) \( \eta^{w} \delta \ell \ k\varepsilon \vartheta r\varepsilon \)  
“last night”

(279) \( \eta^{w} \delta \ell \ k\varepsilon \vartheta r\varepsilon \)  
\( \varepsilon - i \varrho \varepsilon \ \eta^{w} \delta \ell \ k\varepsilon \vartheta r\varepsilon \)  
it – cold yesterday night  
Again /ir\varepsilon\varepsilon/ is and acceptable pronunciation of /i\varepsilon\varepsilon/ in fast speech.

(280) \( \acute{a} \acute{\alpha} \acute{\tau} \acute{\alpha} \acute{l} \varrho \varepsilon \)  
a-\varepsilon\varepsilon \ \\varrho - a - i \varrho \varepsilon \ 
“I have a cold/flu”
I am not sure where to put the /a/ in the morpheme by morpheme analysis of /olairobi/; some sort of nominalization? infinitival marker?

(281) \( \kappa \acute{i} \acute{\alpha} \acute{\tau} \acute{\alpha} \acute{l} \varrho \varepsilon \)  
\( k - \varrho - \varepsilon\varepsilon \ \\varrho - a - i \varrho \varepsilon \)  
“We have a cold”

(282) \( \acute{a} \varrho \varepsilon \varrho \varepsilon \ \eta^{w} \delta \ell \ k\varepsilon \vartheta r\varepsilon \)  
a - i \varrho \varepsilon \ \eta^{w} \delta \ell \ k\varepsilon \vartheta r\varepsilon \  
“I was cold yesterday night”
“I had a cold last night”
Saningo says that the phrase has two interpretations.

(283) \( \acute{e} \acute{\i} \acute{\varepsilon} \wua \)  
\( \acute{e} - \acute{\i} \acute{\varepsilon} \wua \)  
It is hot  
What I have transcribed as /\wua/ actually sound like a very lenited /\varepsilon\varepsilon/ /wa/. It is definitely not just /\varepsilon\varepsilon/.  

(284)  ṇngirëwua
  enk - irwua
  “heat”
  I don’t have the tones transcribed.

(285)  irwua engema
  ɛ - irwua en - kema
  it hot fire
  “The fire is hot”
  Saningo confirmed that /eirwua/ can be pronounced /irwua/. /ei/ can reduce to /i/ in fast speech. I don’t have the tones.

(286)  걄kwuà tâtà
  ɛ - irwua taata
  “It is hot today”
  Saningo confirmed that /eirwua/ can be pronounced /irwua/. /ei/ can reduce to /i/ in fast speech.

(287)  걄eròbi tâtà
  me - iròbi taata
  not cold today
  Today it is not cold.

(288)  걄ëròbi tâtà
  ke - iròbi taata
  “Is it cold today?”

(289)  méë tâtà
  méë taata
  not today
  “Not today” Length?

(290)  걄röbi ěndá wìkì námà kàkë méë tâtà
It was cold last week but not today.

“You are hot”

“You-pl are hot”

“We are hot”

“happiness” “He is happy”

“I am happy”

“He is happy”

This is the same as (294)

“We are hot”

(291) iròwuà
i - iròwua
“You are hot”

(292) iròwuáwuà
i - iròwua - RED
“You-pl are hot”

(293) kíròwuà
ki - iròwua
“We are hot”

(294) èn'ìdà
èn'ìdà
è - nìda
“happiness” “He is happy”

(295) àn'ìdà
à - nìda
“I am happy”

(296) èn'ìdà
èn'ìdà
è - nìda
“He is happy”

(297) kínlìdà
ki ɲiɭa
“We are happy”
Here, between two palatal vowels, the velar nasal is lost. In this case it sounds like a palatal nasal.

(298) ɲiɭa
\[
i \ - \ ɲiɭa \ - \ RED
\]
you happy – pl.
“You-pl are happy”
Between two palatal vowels the velar quality of the nasal is lost.

(299) ɲiɭa
\[
i \ ɲiɭa
\]
“You are happy”
The velar quality of the nasal is very weak. It may just be palatal.

(300) enɭay

“Acting like a spoiled brat” “Thinking that you are better than others”

(301) āirówuadcì
\[
a \ irówua \ d'í
\]
“I made it hot”
causative of 1 initial verb

(302) irówuadzé ŋaré
irówuɔ ɛŋaré
irówua - d'e  enk- are
“Make the water hot!”
Water has also been transcribed /are/. causative

(303) irówuadlà ɛŋaré
\[
e \ irówua \ d'a \  enk \ are
\]
“The water has become hot
Here, I am really not sure about the tones. I think it should be a different tonal pattern.
Checktones  . Become

(304) irópidlà ɛŋaré
\[
ɛi rópidìa ɛŋaré
\]

"The water became cold", "The water has become cold"

There is a b/p alternation in the root for "cold": /irɔbi/ ~ /irɔpi/. Notice the change in the tonal pattern.

(305) áirɔpîdà
a irɔpi d'á
"I have become cold"

(306) írɔpîhê
irôpi d'e
"Make it cold"
Same tonal pattern as 31 (needs cross reference).

(307) èfô
ε - ô
"red" citation form/also "it’s red"

(308) ânôñi
ânôñi
"green" citation form/also "it’s green"

(309) tûlêlêy
"yellow"
this is also the name of a bitter wild fruit that is yellow. There is no “yellow” vs “orange” distinction. This is both yellow and orange. There is no “yellowness” form (forms that exist for other colors)

(310) èibôr
ε - ibôr
"white" citation form/"it is white"
Same tones as “green”

(311) èrók'h
ε - rôk'h
“black” citation form
“It is black”

(312) èrọn èròkán
en - ròk - an
“blackness”
This form is grammatically possible but it is not really used. Saningo couldn’t think of an example of a sentence where “blackness” would be used.

(313) èndòrán
en - òf - ran
“redness”

(314) ënòrid'ì
aënorì d'ì
“green-ness”

(315) ëngibòr
ën - ibòr
“whiteness”

(316) ãitòròk èngáRé
a - òò - ròk ënk - are
I make black water
“I make the water black”
causative of CVC Verb

(317) ãitòròkò èngáRé
ãitòròk èngáRé fast version
a - òò - ròk - o ënk - are
I make black ? water
I made the water black
The fast version is the same as “I make the water black” (315). The tonal pattern is crucial.

(318) ãitòròkità èngáRé
a òò ròk ìta ënk are
I make black ita water
“I am making the water black”

(319) áitónóridìà
a - itò - nòri d - ita
I make green ? ita
“I am making it green”
I am not sure where /d/ belongs, however there was also a /d/ in “green-ness”

(320) ètòròkò èngárè
è - to - ròk ènk are
It ? black water
“The water became black”
Different tonal pattern on “water”

(321) ìtòròkò èngárè
è - itò - ròk ènk are
he make black water
“He made the water black”
As seen in previous forms /èt/ can reduce to /i/.

(322) èròkò èngárè
è - ròk - ò ènk - are
It black ò water
“The water will become black”

(323) èròk ̀ápà èngárè
è - ròk ̀ápà ènk - are
it black long ago water
“The water used to be black”
“The water was black a long time ago”
NB: position of long ago.

(324) èndá ̀årè
dend are
enda are
That water
“That water”
(325)  ènà ìrè       

“This water”

(326)  kòndá  àrìák

“Those bodies of water”  àrÈ-àriák

Insert files

Proper names

(327)  i tìòbìkò          BIL  

male name

(328)  nàtòbìkò          BIL  

female name

(329)  àlāïs       

male name

3 syllables

(330)  ìgáïs          BIL  

female name

(331)  oloìtù          BIL  

male name

(332)  èsídái          BIL  

female name

Alienable possession

(333)  èngíïné  i tìòbìkò       BIL  

èn-kíïné  i tìòbìkò kíïné or kíïné or kíïné

D.fem.sg-goat  POSS-Tobiko
'Tobiko’s goat'

“I-” a possessive marker (preposition? morpheme?) E or I, feminine D?

(334) ęngînê i-nâtôbîkô
ěn-ôkînê  i-nâtôbîkô
D.fem.sg-goat  POSS-Natobiko
‘Natobiko’s goat’

• possessive marker “I-”
• the possessive marker does not seem to vary according to the gender of the possessor (cf. (333))

(335) ęngînê i-ŋgâis
ěn-ôkînê  i-ŋgâis
D.fem.sg-goat  POSS-Ngais
‘Ngais’s goat’

possessive marker “I-”

Inalienable Possession

(336) ęngôdô
ěn-kêdô
D.fem.sg-leg
‘a/the leg’ (also ‘small river’)

(337) ęngôdô itôbîkô
ěn-kêdô  i-tôbîkô
D.fem.sg-leg  POSS-Tobiko
‘Tobiko’s leg’

the inalienable possession marker ‘I-’ is the same as the alienable possesson marker (cf. (333)- Error! Reference source not found.)

(338) (é)nêgôdô’ôk
(é)n-kêdô’ôk+k
D.fem.pl-leg  +PL
‘legs’
plural of (336)

(339) (é/i)nêgôdô’ôk eneê
(é)n-kêdô’ôk+k  enêê
D.fem.pl-legPL  POSS.3pl
‘their legs’
(340) *(é/i)*ŋgëdë́k ẹnẹ́
   (ē)n-këd ́+k ẹnẹ́
   D.fem.pl-legPL POSS.3sg
   ‘his/her legs’

(341) ẹngitʰók  itʰóbioko
   en-kitʰók  i-tʰóbioko
   D.fem.sg-woman POSS-Tobiko
   ‘Tobiko’s wife’

(342) ẹmbitʃa
   en-bitʃa
   D.fem.sg-picture
   ‘a/the picture’
   borrow from Swahili>English. Borrowed with b or p? Check demonstrative!

(343) *(ε/ι)*mbitʃai
   (ε)n-bitʃa + i
   D.fem.pl-picturePL (ATR harmony?)
   ‘pictures’

(344) ęmbitʃai itʰóbioko
   en-bitʃa  i-tʰóbioko
   D.fem.sg-picture POSS-Tobiko
   ‘Tobiko’s picture’
   ‘I-’ looks more like a genitive marker than a possessive marker, since the phrases above is ambiguous in the same way as the English translation. It can mean both (1) ‘pictures showing Tobiko’ and (2) ‘pictures taken or owned by Tobiko’.

WH- elements

(345) kàpɔdɔ
   BIL
   11/4

   Why/what
   This word can mean “why” when used as a one word question, but inside a full wh-question, it must be followed by peè (look at next item).

(346) kàpɔdɔ peè enapîta tʰórétʰ rèsoi [I’m not sure about the tones on resoi]
   kàpɔdɔ peè e-nap-íta tʰórétʰ rèsoi
Why is Toret carrying Resoy?
All the wh-questions we elicited have a L tone at the end, in contrast to yes/no questions which have a H tone at the end.

(347) ke ᵃnapíta ᵃtʰóretʰ résɔi
ke e-nap-íta ᵃtʰóretʰ résɔi
Q-part. 3sg-carry-prog Toret Resoy
Is Toret carrying Resoy?
There is a H tone at the end of this question. Perhaps there is also a H tone after the verb.

(348) kái
where

(349) kái ᵃnapíta ᵃtʰóretʰ résɔi
kái e-nap-íta ᵃtʰóretʰ résɔi
where 3sg-carry-prog Toret Resoy
Where is Toret carrying Resoy?

(350) nóó
what
This word is related to the word for what/why kánɔɔ, but we were unable to establish in what contexts each one would be used.

(351) kánɔɔ ᵃnapíta ᵃtʰóretʰ
kánɔɔ e-nap-íta ᵃtʰóretʰ
what 3sg-carry-prog Toret
What is Toret carrying?
Notice that the subject here does not have the tonal marking we have been assuming.

“To give”

(352) ɬɔ́rɪtʰa ᵃtʰóretʰ résɔi ɛ̃ɡɪnɛ (or ɛ̃ɡɪnɛ?)
ɬ-ɬɔ́r-ɪtʰa ᵃtʰóretʰ résɔi ɛ́n-kinɛ
3rd.sg-give-progr Toret Resoi D.fem-goat
“To Toret is giving Resoi a goat”

Does “give” belongs to l- initial Vs? [check with imperatives] (yes, see class 11/11)
notice that the sentence does not seem to have the usual low tone at the end (pattern which characterised all transitive affirmative sentences we had…) [What are case forms of enkine]
to check in class: é̂giné or é̂gine’?

iʃ'ørítʰa  tʰøréřtʰ  é̂giné  résói
Ø- iʃ'ør-itʰa  tʰøréřtʰ  é̂n-kiné  résói
3rd.sg-give-progr Toret  D.fem-goat Resoi
“Toret is giving Resoi a goat”

meaning = (352); this reminds of the English double-object construction, which alternates between a V-DP1-DP2 form and a V-DP2-toDP1 form; however there seems not to be any morphological difference in the two DPs é̂n-kiné and résói between the two constructions

iʃ'ørítʰa  é̂giné,  tʰøréřtʰ  résói
Ø- iʃ'ør-itʰa  é̂n-kiné,  tʰøréřtʰ  résói
3rd.sg-give-progr D.fem-goat [pause] Toret  Resoi
“Toret is giving Resoi a goat”

the meaning = (352); a pause between é̂n-kiné and tʰøréřt required: Dislocation?
Maa does not seem to allow the order V-DP2-SUBJ-DP1 with “give” Did you ask for a judgment? Is the order in which the subject is separated from the verb is always a marked one?

aiʃ'ørítʰa

a- iʃ'ør-itʰa
1st.sg-give-progr
“I’m giving […]”

aiʃ'ørítʰa

a-aʃ'ør-itʰa
1st.sg-massage-progr
“I’m massaging […]”

we found this minimal pair (compare (355)). Check for imperative

Coordination

ibuŋítʰa  néŋrārítʰa
Ø- ibuŋ-itʰa  né- Ø- ŋrā: (r) -ítʰa
3rd.sg-hold-progr and(?)-3rd.sg-look-r-ita
“he is holding it and looking at it”

Morpheme analysis? n+E+ingor+ita?
again the two verbs pattern differently from most verbs we have encountered in the past
Is the last r is epenthetic? Or is it a suffix? (directional?)
the particle seems to be a coordinating particle (n also used with ‘want’ complementation) insert crossref

th'ørítʰa  thábolo
tʰá-bolo
sg.imp-open
“sit and open it!”

here no coordinating particle seems to appear (compare (357))...two possible analyses: either
imperatives do not need an overt coordination, or (possibly) the sentence is just the juxtaposition
(but not the coordination) of two imperatives

(359)
yáwà
∅-yáwà
sg.imp-take
“take it!”

this verb seems to belong to the class of I-initial verbs which do not use a t-prefix in forming the
imperative. is root tawa?

(360)
ɛáwà
ɛ-yáwà
3rd.sg-take
“he took it”

the glide in the root of the verb seems to disappear, and the first two sounds of this form
constitute a (very short) diphong

the verb does not seem to differ morphologically between imperative and past indicative
(however we should check the present form... I’m not sure whether we have it yet!) (?It does if
you compare the two transcriptions...)

if we compare this form to (362) below, we can actually hypothesize that the prefix ɛ marks only
3rd person, whereas the singular/plural distinction is marked by a suffix

(361)
ayáwà
a-yáwà
1st.sg-take
“I took it”

(362)
ɛawáitʰa
ɛ-yáwà-itʰa
3rd-take-pl
“they took it”

this seems to be another of those (non-stative?) verbs which in the past mark the difference
between singular and plural subject in all forms (we should check the whole paradigm, though…)

(363)
kiwaítʰa
ki-yáwà-itʰa
3rd-take-pl
“We took it”
(364) yáwà niló aból
Ø-yáwà ne-Ø-ló aból (?n+i-lo)
sg.imp-take and(?)-sg.imp-go open
“take it and then open it”
the temporal-succession relation between the act of taking and the act of opening seems to be encoded by using a go+infinitive (?) form for the second verb...to check: is the second verb really a go+infinitive? (notice the absence of a complementizer between “go” and “open”) NB this seems to be the first time we find the citation form that the dictionary uses.

(beware: Melissa’s first try at morpheme analysis; (see fifth entry (5) below for Hilda’s suggestions; yellow highlights” ATR inconsistencies)

vowel initial Ns.
(365) èŋgàdzí
eŋgàdzí
f.s.-house
(small) house

(366) endá àdži
endá àdži
that(f.s.) house
that (small) house

(367) ěldé kúmùr
ěldé kúmùr
that(m.s.) log
that log
The /u/ in log may be /o/

(368) ělé bìkùmá
oikuma
ělé bìkùmá
this(m.s.) tortoise
this tortoise

(369) ølèŋgáëna
ølø- øŋ-ëna
s.m.-s.f. .-arm
“he who has an arm”
elephant
the /g/ may also be a /k/; the second /ɛ/ may also be an /ɨ/:
for future: compare with al diphtong:
(I’ll wash)

(370) èŋkaénà
èŋk-ænà
f.s.-arm
arm
the /ɛ/ sounded +ATR

MKN 11/9

(371) èndá l’á’éná
èndá l’á’éná
that(f.s.) arm
that arm

MKN 11/9

(372) èlokùnà
e- lokùnà
f.s.-head
head

MKN 11/9

(373) èndá lökùnà
èndá lökùnà
that(f.s.) head
that head
S. said that the /o/ in lökùnà was u-like
the tone on the /u/ also sounded higher than in the rest of the lökùnà, but that may be stress.

MKN 11/9

(374) èrpápít
ir- pápít
m.p.-hair
hair

MKN 11/9

(375) èrpápítá
är- pápít-á
m.s.-hair- suffix(?)
one hair

MKN 11/9

(376) èldé pàpítà
èldé pàpítà
that (m.s.) hair-suffix(?)
that hair

(377) nàárpàpit
n-àář-pàpit
na-be?/D+ms-hair
she who has long hair; a nickname for a woman with long hair
morphological analysis unclear she-of-hair?

(378) làárpàpit
l-àář-pàpit
l-m.s.-hair
he who has long hair; a nickname for a man with long hair

(379) lèélškunà
l-ée-lškunà
l-fs-head
he who has a big head; a nickname for a man with a big head

(380) lórónò
l-or-ono
l-ms-bald
“baldy”

(381) òlórónò
òl- òr- ónò
m.s.-m.s.-bald
he who is bald
this is the same construction as “he who has an arm” for elephant in (369).

(382) ìlálá
èl- álá
m.p.-tooth
teeth
E not P?

(383) àláláí
àl- álá-1
m.s.-tooth-suffix(?)
tooth

(384) ēldé àlāî
ēldé àlā-î
that tooth-suffix(?)
that tooth

(385) koldó ālà
koldó ālà
those teeth
those teeth
this has different tones from (384), it should be done again

(386) èŋgóŋó
èŋ-ŋó
f.s.- eye
eye

(387) ñgònék
ñg-ñé-k
f.p.-eye-suffix
eyes
The palatalized nasal corresponds to the “ny” in the informal orthography.

(388) èndá ñgò
èndá ñgô
that(f.s.) eye
that eye
there are two low tones on “eye” when this is said quickly

(389) kōndá ñnékʰ
kōndá ñné-kʰ
those(f.p.) eye-suffix
those eyes

(390) ñŋûmé
èŋ-kùme
f.s.-nose
nose

(391) ɛjumêjí
ɛj- kumê-ʃí
f.p.-nose- suffix
eyes
ŋ or ŋŋ?

(392) èndá kùmè
èndá kùmè
that(f.s.) nose
that nose

(393) kɔndá kùmêjí
kɔndá kùmê-ʃí
those(f.p.) noses- suffix
those noses

(394) lewŋùmè
lew-ŋ- kùmè
l-éw-f.s.-nose
“big nose”; nickname for a man with a large nose
tones?

(395) nɛwŋùmè
nɛw-ŋ- kùmè
nɛw-f.s.-nose
“big nose”; nickname for a woman with a large nose – not really used

(396) lɔŋŋəŋɛk
lɔŋ-ŋ-ŋɛ-ʃí
lɔŋ-f.p.-eye-suffix rather ŋŋ-ŋŋ-
“big eye”; a nickname for a man with big eyes
(397) nà̀ŋgàṅèk
nà̀-ŋə̀-ŋè-k
nà̀-f.p.-eye-suffix "na--l-ng-
“big eye”; a nickname for a woman with big eyes

(398) làá̇lālā
làá-l- àlā
làā-m.p.-tooth l-V+-î-]-ālā
“big tooth”; a nickname for a man with big teeth

(399) nàá̇lēlā
gà-l- èlā
gàa-m.p.-tooth
“big tooth”; a nickname for a woman with big teeth

(400) làá̇lālā
làā-l- èlā
lāā-m.p.-tooth
“big tooth”; another name for elephant (refers to the tusks)

(401) ènŋòtok
cèŋ-ŋòtok
f.s.-mouth
mouth
no tones were recorded; transcribed as -qotuk (Emily) (insert crossref)

(402) leʷŋòtok
leʷ-ŋ-òtok
leʷ- f.s.-mouth
“big mouth”; a nickname for a man with a big mouth

(403) neʷŋòtok
neʷ-ŋ-òtok
neʷ- f.s.-mouth
“big mouth”; a nickname for a woman with a big mouth
POSSESSIVES (H. changed some glosses below, but not all)

(404) átáđoi  ēngēdû  ēŋē
11.09 class I
a-tá-doi  ēn-kēdû  ē-ŋê
1sg-past-see  D.fem.sg-leg  his/her.fem.sg
“I saw her/his leg”  check verb form for see/ send in i? but in a in (407)?

(405) átáđoi  āngēdûkû  ēnánà
11.09 class I
a-tá-doi  in-kēdûkû  ē-ŋa-NA
1sg-past-see  sf.-leg-pl  sg-his/her-fem.pl (?morphological analysis)
“I saw her/his legs”
• The final stop of the plural suffix is always aspirated.
• 3sg possessive pronoun agrees in number and gender with the possessee.

(406) átáđoi  ēmbirà  ēŋē
11.09 class I
a-tá-doi  ēn-birà  ē-ŋê
1sg-past-see  D.fem.sg-ball  his/her.fem.sg
“I saw her/his ball”
No difference between alienable and inalienable possession (cf. (333), (334)).

(407) ēta-đoû  ol diá lāi
11.09 class I
ē-ta-dou  ol-dià  lāi
3sg- past-see.  D.masc.sg-dogms-my
“He/she saw my dog”

(408) ētađoû  ildiân  láînî  or  láînî
11.09 class I
ē-ta-đou  il-diâin  l-ái-nî
3sg- past-see.  pl.ms-dog-pl  ms-my.pl
“He/she saw my dogs”
1sg possessive pronoun too agrees in number and gender with the possessee

(409) ētađoû  ol diá lino
11.09 class I
ē-ta-đou  ol-dià  lino
3sg- past-see.  D.masc.sg-dogms-you(sg)
“He/she saw your dog”
(410) ẽ-tā-doā ildiaīn linono
ẽ-tā-doā  il-diāīn lī-no-no
3sg- past-see. D.masc.pl-dog ms-you-pl
“He/she saw your dogs”
2 sg possessive pronoun too agrees in number and gender with the possessee.

(411) ẽ-tā-doā ildiai lēŋe
ẽ-tā-doā  ȫl-diā  l-ēŋe
3sg- past-see. sg.ms-dog ms-his/her.sg
“He/she saw his/her dog”

(412) ẽ-tā-doā ildiaīn lēnā-na
ẽ-tā-doā  il- diāīn l-ēnā-na
3sg- past-see. pl.masc.- dog+pl his/her.masc.pl
“He/she saw his/her dogs”

(413) ẽ-tā-doā ildiai lāŋ
ẽ-tā-doā  ȫl-diā  l-āŋ
3sg- past-see. sg.ms-dog ms-our
“He/she saw our dog”

(414) ẽ-tā-doā ildiaīn lāŋ
ẽ-tā-doā  il-diāīn l-āŋ
3sg- past-see. D.masc.pl-dogs ms-our.
“He/she saw our dogs”
1pl possessive pronoun agrees with the possessee only in gender, not in number.

(415) ẽ-tā-doā ildiai līŋi
ẽ-tā-doā  ȫl-diā  l-īŋi
3sg- past-see. D.masc.sg-dog your.PL.masc.sg
“He/she saw your dog”

(416) ẽ-tā-doā ildiaīn līŋi
ẽ-tā-doā  il-diāīn l-īŋi
3sg-past-see D.masc.pl-dogs your.PL.masc.pl
“He/she saw our dogs”
2pl possessive pronoun agrees with the possessee only in gender, not in number.
(417) ētādu ēlēni lēnē
dē-tā-duē ēl-diāa lēnē 3sg-past-see D.masc.sg-dog 1-their.PL.masc.sg
“He/she saw their dog”

(418) ētādu il-diāin lēnē
dē-tā-duē il-diāin lēnē 3sg-past-see D.masc.pl-dogs ms-their
“He/she saw their dogs”
No number, but only gender agreement between the possessee and 1pl possessor

(419) kōlino èlé?
k-o-è lino èlé Q-msD-ms-yours this (Q = interrogative marker)
“Is this yours?”

(420) kālālái èlé?
ka-lālái èlé Q-is-mine this
“Is this mine?”

(421) kōlēnē èlé?
kōlēnē èlé Q-is-his/hers this
“Is this his/hers?”

(422) mēnē (l)alayeni
mēnē (l)-al-ayeni father of-the-boy
“the boy’s father”
• No determiner prefix in “mēnē”
• The genitive marker (gender agreement marker with the possessee?) on the possessor “l-” is optional, even if Saningo seems to prefer the form without it.
• “mēnē lāi” (father my, ‘my father’) is not possible.

(423) ēlēni lalayeni
e-š-dia l-al-aye-ni the-dog of-the-boy
“the boy’s dog”
- The possesses (“-dia”) must have a determiner prefix and the possessor must have the
genitive marker (gender agreement marker with the possessee?).

(424) **papa lai**

papa l-ai
dad ms-my
“my dad”

(425) **káŋái**

káŋái
Q+who
Who is it? *(could it be k+ a+ ngai?)*

(426) **nánú**

personal pronoun-1st sing
It's me. (As an answer to 'Who is it')

(427) **kálo**

ká+lo
Q+determiner-masc.sing.
which one (masc)?
The wh-word for a which+noun question agrees in gender and number with the noun. We need to
check the tones for this word.

(428) **káa**

ká+a
Q+(?)-fem.sing
which one (fem)?
The wh-word for a which+noun question agrees in gender and number with the noun. We need to
determine which morphemes make up this word.

(429) **káló ayéni**

ká+lo ayé+ni
Q+determiner-masc.sing. boy-sg
Which boy?
The wh-word for a which+noun question agrees in gender and number with the noun. Notice that the word for boy here doesn't have a definite article prefix (maybe because there's already a prefix in the question word).

(430) káa (t)íto
ká+a (t)íto
Q+(?)-fem.sing girl
Which girl?

The wh-word for a which+noun question agrees in gender and number with the noun. The word for boy here doesn't have a definite article prefix either (maybe this indicates that the morpheme that combines with ka to make the wh-word is (related to) the definite article.

(431) kákua ayóok
ká+kua ay+óok
Q+(?)-pl boy-pl
Which boys?

In the plural, there is no gender distinction for the wh-word. We need to determine which morphemes make up this wh-word. Cf demonstratives ku+na)

(432) kákua tóye
ká+kua tóye
Q+(?)-pl girl-pl
Which girls?

In the plural, there is no gender distinction for the wh-word. We need to determine which morphemes make up this wh-word.

(433) kánái énápíta tóret
ká+nái é-náp-íta tóret
Q+who 3rd-carry-progr. Toret-subj.
Who is Toret carrying?

Notice that the word Toret as a subject here doesn't have the usual HH tones, maybe because it's phrase final.

(434) káló ayéni énápíta tóret
ká+lo ayé+ni é-náp-íta tóret

Which boy is Toret carrying?
Check tones on "kalo"

(435) kánái nánapíta tóret
ká+nái ná-nap-íta tóret
Q+who fem(3rd?)-carry-progr. Toret-obj.

Who(fem) is carrying Toret?

Check tones on the verb. Notice here that the gender of the subject (feminine) is not marked on the wh-word, but on the verb. Also note that Toret's tonal pattern in this example (as an object) is indistinguishable from the previous example in which it was a subject.

Subject is questioned

(436) kānái anapíta tōret
     kā+ŋāi  a-nap-íta          tōret
Q+who masc(3rd?)-carry-progr. Toret-obj.

Who(masc) is carrying Toret?

NB: a not E

Check tones on the verb. Also check whether the first vowel on the verb is correct. The difference between this example and the previous one is the gender of the subject (here it's masculine).

(437) anú

when

We don't know yet in which context this word is used.

(438) kānu énap tōret resōi
     k+ánu  é+nap tōret resōi
Q+when 3rd+carry Toret-subj Resoi-obj

When will Toret carry Resoi?

Note that we don't really know the form of the question particle: is it ka, ke, or k?

(439) táatá énap tōret resōi
     táatá  é+nap tōret resōi
tomorrow 3rd+carry Toret-subj Resoi-obj

Tomorrow Toret will carry Resoi.

Notice that the word tomorrow can occur anywhere in this sentence: at the beginning, or after the first, second, third words.

Is this the answer to (438)?

(440) énap resōi en-ēbau
     é+nap resōi en-ēbau
3rd-carry Resoi "when"-3rd-get here

He'll carry Resoi when he gets here.

We don't know the nature of the word for "when" in this sentence. Check the tones on the last word.
Is this a real future?
We need to establish why there is a change in tonal pattern between this verb and the form "when he gets here" in the previous example (if there is no transcription error, that is).

Resoi will carry him when he gets here.
Notice that the two personal pronouns are correferential here (i.e., "he" and "him" refer to the same person. Is this the only possibility? We need to establish the make-up of the last word.

Toret is carrying Resoi's goat

Toret's carrying Resoi's dog

I sat
we elicited these forms to make sure the past tense is the same as the imperative with respect to ATR harmony. (NB: but in imperative final V is not a but 3)
(447) átábólò
1s-ta-open-o
I opened

(448) átútúrò
1s-ta-dig-o
I dug

(449) átókítò
1s-ta-scrape-o
I scraped

(450) éndótònì
2p-ta-sit-i
you (pl) sit!
the t in “ta” is voiced to d after the nasal; the vowel harmonizes. note the final vowel, which is not present for all plural imperatives. Perhaps we heard the vowels incorrectly as +ATR (compare with the past tense, above (1)) Let’s check!

(451) éndòsùdù
2p-ta-follow
you (pl) follow!
no final vowel

(452) éndòsùdùákì
2p-ta-follow-a-ki
- ?- you-me
you (pl) follow me!
NB: note position of you-me morpheme

(453) éndàbòl
2p-ta-open
you (pl) open!
How far to the left does ATR harmony go?

(454) éndùtùr
2p-ta-dig
you (pl) dig!

(455) éndòkît
2p-ta-scrape
you (pl) scrape!

(456) ěrăđë
2p-lay down-e
you (pl) lay [it] down!
apparently vowel initial roots do not have the “n-ta” for the plural imperative
what exactly is difference with 2nd person singular imperatives 1 vs e? [insert crossref]

(457) ěsùdà
2p-wash-a
you (pl) wash [it]!

(458) ěŋɔrà
2p-look at-a
you (pl) look at [it]!

(459) aiyá
1s-take
I will take [it]

(460) ĭyá
2s-take
you (sg) will take [it]

(461) ĭyá
3s-take
he will take [it]

(462) kiyá
lp-take
we will take [it]

(463) iyáya
2p-redup.-take
you (pl) will take [it]

(464) aiyáwà
1s-take-w-past
I took it
the glide /w/ appears after the root when a vowel suffix is added

(465) kíwaístà
1p-wa-ita
we took it
kiyáwà is an alternate form, but saningo gave kíwaità first. this alternation is only possible with the plural forms. apparently wa is a different stem[?]

(466) íwaístà

2p-wa-ita
you (pl) took [it]
iyáwà is an alternate form

Files to be inserted….

(467) jómò

jóm o
go V (vowel in singular imperative)
You-sg. go! Imperative
Neither imperative or past of /jóm/ show up with /ta/. Bisyllabic imperatives have HL tonal pattern

(468) álóító

a lo ito
1st sg. subject go present continuous
I am going
(469) àfómô

a ʃom ɔ
1st sg. go V(vowel in past)
I went

Both the 2nd singular imperative and forms of the past tense end in a vowel. Sometimes the vowel is a copy of the vowel in the root.

(470) éntfôm / ántfôm

en ʃom
2nd pl. imperative. go
You-pl go! imperative.
/a/ or /e/ in initial syllable are both correct. /tʃ/ after nasal, /ʃ/ intervocalic. Same alternation of /ʃ/ that was found after /l/. There is not a final vowel in the 2nd plural imperative, as there was in the second singular.

(471) máfôm

ma ʃom
1st pl. imperative go
Let’s go!

Saningo says that people use this form but it is not correct. According to Saningo, the correct form is /maape/. Hilda has suggested that /ma/ could be a subjunctive marker.

(472) máapè

ma ape
1st pl. imperative go
Let’s go
The paradigm for “go” has three different verbal roots: /ʃom/, /lo/, /ape/.

Trisyllabic imperatives have a HLL tonal pattern.

(473) áló

a lo
1st sg. go
I will go

(474) èd'óki résói àlàyéni mèfómô

e d'o ki resoi al ayeni m e ʃom ɔ
3rd sg. say - ki Resoi masc.sing. boy ma? 3rd sg. go V
Resoi tells the boy to go
/ki/ applied suffix. Could it just be subject-object clitic “3rd subject/ 3rd object”? Could /me/ be /ma+e/: subjunctive marker + 3rd singular subject clitic. “go” again shows up with the final vowel that is found in the 2nd sg. imperative and the past tense.

(475) kwátà

kwet a

You-sg run! imperative

I think that this /a/ is underlying /e/ but is lower due to the final /a/. This verb begins in a consonant but does not show /ta/ in the imperative or the past tense. Past and imperative both have final /a/. In this case the final vowel is not a copy of the root, which is /kwet/.

(476) ákwétʰ

a kwet

I will run

(477) ákwéštìà

a kwet ita

I am running

(478) éŋkwet / āŋkwet

éŋ kwet

You-pl run! imperative

Here again /a/ and /e/ are both correct. No final vowel as in the 2nd sg. imperative.

(479) mákwèt

ma kwet

Let’s go!

No final vowel as in the 2nd sg. imperative

(480) ákwé:tà

a kwet a

I ran.
We heard a different vowel in the stem /kwet/ than we heard in “I will run” /akwet/. Possibly longer. Consonant initial stem but no /ta/. Final vowel is not a copy of the stem.

(481)  èdókì résói àlàyénì mèkwé:tà

e    d'o resoi al ayeni m e kwet a
3rd st. say Resoi the boy ma 3rd sg. kwet V
Resoi tells the boy to run

(482)  endalep / andalep

en    ta      lep
2nd pl in imperative imperative milk
You-pl milk it!
This is another case where both /a/ and /e/ are correct. However the feminine singular /ëndito/
cannot be /andito/, therefore, the /a/ , /e/ variation may be limited to these allomorphs.
No final vowel

(483)  ágóř

a    gor
1st sg. strangle
I strangle it
Maasai strangle animals, such as goats, in order to kill them.

(484)  tágorò

ta    gor    o
ta-2nd imperative strangle V(2nd imperative)
You-sg. strangle it!
Final vowel is a copy of the root. [+ATR]

(485)  èndagoř / andagoř

en    ta gor
2nd pl. in imperatives ta strangle
You-pl strangle it! imperative
2nd pl. imperative does not end in vowel.

(486)  màtâgor

ma ta gor
Let’s strangle it!
1st pl. imperative does not end in vowel.
(487) átágórò

a ta gor o
1st sg. past strangle V (typical of past)
I strangled it. Final vowel is a copy of the root.

(488) àgòritò

a gor ito
1st sg. strangle present continuous.
I am strangling it

(489) èd’ókì résói àlàyènì mètágórò

e d’o ki resoi al ayeni m e ta gor o
3rd sg. say ki Resoi masc. sing. boy ma 3rd sg. ta strangle V
resoi told the boy to strangle it.

(490) álíki

a liki
1st sg. tell
I will tell (him)
applied suffix? –k?

(491) átólìkiò

a to liki o
1st sg. ta tell V (same type vowel as all past tense verbs)
I told (him)
/a liki/ “to tell”, /a miki/ “to deny”. These verbs conjugate in the same way. Final vowel /o/ is not a copy of the stem.

(492) álikítò

a liki ito
1st sg. tell present continuous
I am telling him.

(493) tòlikì

to liki
2nd imperative tell
You-sg. tell him!
éndoñikí / ándoñikí
en to liki
2nd pl imperative ta tell
You-pl tell him!
/a/ and /e/ are both correct. 4 syllable imperatives: **HLLH tonal pattern** (bisyllabic HL, trisyllabic HLL).

mátoñikí
ma to liki
Let’s tell him!

d’ókí résói àlàyéní mètòñikí
e d’o ki resoi al ayeni m e to liki
3rd sg. say ki Resoi the boy ma 3rd sg. ta liki
Resoi tells the boy to tell (him).

áníŋ
a niŋ
1st g. hear
I will hear
/níŋ/ is the root of “Saningo” which means “the one who is heard”. Saningo told us that babies are not named when they are born. For the first 3-6 months they don’t have a name. Then, when they are 3-6 months, they have a party and name the baby. The names are not related to the religion. Babies are named after elders, or grandparents. However, people don’t really use their official name. They use nicknames, which tell more about the person.

átóñíŋò
a to niŋ o
1st sg. ta hear V
I heard it
Final vowel is not a copy of the root.

áníŋítò
a niŋ ito
1st sg. hear ito
I am hearing it
/ŋ/ becomes palatal /ɲ/ between two high front vowels.
(500) tonîño

to niŋ o

ta hear  (vowel in imperatives and past)

You hear?

I don’t have tones. Final vowel not a copy of the root.

(501) entonîŋ / antonîŋ

en to niŋ

2nd pl. imperative ta hear

You-pl hear!

/e/, /a/ alternation. I don’t have tones.

(502) matonîŋ

ma to niŋ

ta hear

Let’s hear!

I don’t have tones.

(503) ed’oki metonîjo

e d’o ki m e to niŋ o

3rd sg. say ki ma 3rd sg. ta hear o(vowel in imperatives and past)

She tells him to hear.

I don’t have tones.

(504) áŋ:á

a ḥa

1st sg. eat

I will eat.

(505) áŋáità

a ḥa ita

1st sg. eat ita

I am eating

(506) átãámà èndàá

a ta am a ḥi dàa

1st sg. ta eat a(vowel of past) the food
I ate the food.
Final vowel of the imperative is the same as the vowel in the root. /d/ is voiced in the UR of food.

(507) tāa'mā
   ta    a
   ta imperative  eat  V
You-sg. eat it! imperative

(508) éndà'am / ándà'am
   en    ta    am
   2nd pl. imperative  ta imperative  eat
You-pl eat it! imperative

(509) ñasə
   i    ñasə
   2nd sg. eat
You eat.
/inasa/, /ina/ and /am/ are all roots for “eat”

(510) mátà'am
   ma ta    am
   1st pl. imperative  ta-imperative  eat
Let’s eat!

(511) ed'oki mètà'amà
   e    d'o ki  m    e    ta    am    a
   3rd sg. say  ki  ma  3rd sg. ta-imperative  eat  a(vowel in imperative and past)
She tells him to eat it.

(512) ñña
   i    ña    ña
   2nd person  eat  RED for 2nd plural
You all eat.

(513) áikó
   11/16 K
class
a ikɔn(?)
1st sg. do
I will do it.
Should this word end with an /n/?

(514) áikóntà

a ikɔn ita
1st sg. do present continuous
I am doing it.

(515) áikònà

a ikɔn a
1st sg. do V
I did it.

(516) ókònà

i kɔn a
2nd sg. do V
You-sg. do it! imperative

/ɛ/, syllabic /n/ alternation that occurs in 2nd sg. and 1st plural. Final vowel is not a copy of the root.

(517) énkonà

en kɔn a
2nd pl-imperative do V
You-pl. do it! imperative
Most 2nd plural imperatives did not end in a vowel. Is this vowel some how part of the root?

(518) máikonà

ma ikɔn a
ma do V
Let’s do it!
Here again there is a final vowel, which is not usually present in the 1st pl. imperative.

(519) ɛdɔki meikònà

e do ki m e kɔn a
She tells him to do it.

(520) áipôt

a ipot
1st sg. call
I will call him

(521) áipófitò

a ipot ito
1st sg. call present continuous
I will call him

(522) áipótò

a ipot o
1st sg. call V
I called him.
Here the final vowel is a copy of the vowel in the root.

(523) mibôtò

ipot o
call V
You-sg. call (him)! imperative
/i/ and syllabic nasal alternation. In the case the root initial vowel alternates with the syllabic nasal.(subject clitic is not present in the 2nd sg. imperative). The final vowel is a copy of the vowel in the root.
We were not sure about tones in class. However, imperatives have HLL tonal pattern in general.

(524) émbôtò / ámbôtò

en ipot o
en mpot o
2nd pl. imperative call V
You-pl call him! imperative
Here the 2nd plural imperative ends in a vowel, like in /ŋkɔna/. In many other 2nd pl. imperative and 1st plural imperatives there was no final vowel.

(525) máipôtò

ma ipot o
1st pl-imperative call V
Let’s call him!
Again, this form ends in a vowel, which is not usually the case with 1st pl. imperatives.

(526) áót
a ọt
1st sg. point
I will point.

(527) áofità
a ọt ọta
1st sg. point present continuous
I am pointing

(528) áúr
a ụr
1st sg. redirect
I will redirect.

(529) áúrítò
a ụr ụtò
1st sg. redirect present continuous
I am redirecting.

(530) átúúrò
a ụt ụr ọ
1st sg. ta ụr V
I redirected/ I sent back.
The final vowel is not a copy of the vowel in the root, as was the case in many past tense forms.

(531) túùrò
tu ụr ọ
ta-2nd sg. imperative redirect V
You-sg. redirect! imperative
(532) entùr / ántùr

en       tu ur
2nd pl. imperative  ta ur
You-pl. redirect! imperative
No final vowel in this form.

(533) éndööt / ándout

en       tu ut
2nd pl. imperatives  ta point
You-pl point! imperative
We were not sure about the tone in class. However, trisyllabic imperatives have HLL tonal pattern in general.

(534) mi uùr

mi               ur
neg. redirect
You-sg. don’t redirect! imperative
I am not sure that I transcribed this right. All other 2nd sg. imperatives end in a vowel, and the reduplicative form ends in a vowel. /tu/ not present in the negative imperative.

(535) mi úrú úrú

mi           ur             uru
neg. redirect  V    RED
You-pl don’t redirect! imperative
It is interesting that in the negative the prefix /en/ is not present.

(536) iurúrù

i           ur             ur u
2nd pl. redirect  RED V
You-pl redirect.
I would like to hear this form again and get the form for the 2nd singular. Based on the 1st person sg. they should be /iur/ and /iurur/.

(537) atédjö  aîsudj

1sg-past-say  1sg-wash
I said that I will wash it.
Checking how subordinate clauses work.
“atedjö” can also be translated as “believe” or “think”
I said that I will try it.

I said that you will wash it.

I said that you will try it.

I said that s/he/they will wash it.

I said that s/he/they will try it.

I came to know

I know he’s coming.
1 sg-past-say-applied suff-past resoi
I told Resoi
-\text{li} is stem, -\text{ki} is suffix which adds indirect object.

\text{imp do - k- you-me}
Do it for me!
The \text{–ki} part is probably the you-me pronoun. Is the \text{ka}- the same as the “ki” applied morpheme? Q: is ka: ki –imperative a?

\text{you-me - do-applied}
You will do it for me.

\text{imp wash- a you-me}
Wash me!

\text{I want to wash it.}
“\text{n}” marks subordination. “\text{ayew}” can be translated as “wanted” (Q: \text{suj ore sud}?).

\text{I want to try it.}

\text{I want you to wash it.}
you-me - want  
You want me to ... (didn’t write 2\textsuperscript{nd} verb)  
object raising.  “I” is subject of sub. clause, raises to object to get you-me marking on matrix verb.

(553) eyéw nēisū
3 want n-3sg-wash  
He wants to wash it.  or  
He wants him to wash it. 

(554) eyéw naléŋ nélo
3 want really n-3sg-go  
He really wants to go.

(555) álō aisōdl
1sg-go inf-wash  
I’ll go wash it  
we were unsure about tones – downstepped high on U?  
the a- prefix may be the infinitive or citation form - compare this with (556), (557), (558)

(556) élō aisōdl
3sg-go inf-wash  
He’ll go wash it.

(557) kipō áisōdl
1pl-go inf-wash  
We’ll go wash it.  
note that in the plural forms, the a- prefix in “wash” has a high tone.  
Apparently a suppletive verb – singular uses “lo”, plural “po”

(558) epwō áisudj
3pl-go inf-wash  
They’ll go wash it.  
not sure about “go” – maybe po, pwo, or puo
(559) álo
1sg-go
I will go.
[±ATR]

(560) iló
2sg-go
You will go.

(561) éló
3sg-go
S/he will go
* “they will go” – plural uses a different stem, see (564)

(562) kíp'ô
1pl-go
We will go.

(563) ıp’ôp’ô or ıp’ôp’ô
2pl-go
You pl. will go
It sounded like –ATR vowels all of a sudden.

(564) ép’ô
3pl- go
They will go
Q: no fall in tone?

(565) áf’osa
1sg-past go
I went
different stem from present; Q: aʃ not a ʃ
(566) ʧɔmɔ
2sg-past  go
You went

(567) ɛʃɔmɔ
3sg-past  go
S/he went
NB: different tonal pattern 3rd vs 1st and 2nd

(568) kiʃɔmɔ or kiʃɔmitâ
1pl-past  go (progr)
We went
These two forms are completely interchangeable. Only the plural forms can take the –ita suffix.

(569) ʧɔmɔīta or ʧɔmɔ
2pl- past  go
You pl. went

(570) ɛʃɔmɔīta or ɛʃɔmɔ
3pl- past  go
They went.

(571) ʃɔmɔ
go imperative
Go!
The imperative uses the stem used in the past tense. Q: (is behaving like i-verbs, but i nowhere present...)

(572) ɛntʃɔm
pl- go imp
You pl go!
t/ tS variation
(573) áloíto  
1sg-go-prog  
I am going  

(574) kíp’o’ítò  
1pl-go-prog  
We are going.  
The progressive forms use the same stems as the simple: lo for singular, pwo for plural. The last low tone is lower than the first low tone.  

(575) íp’o’ítóto  
2pl-go-prog  
You pl are going  

(576) áábólókíto  
aa bol o k ito  
I-you - open-o-applied-progr  
I am opening it for you.  
The applied –ki- morpheme occurs inside the progressive morpheme  
Not sure about -o- between stem and applied morpheme  

(577) áábólóki  
I-you -open-o-applied  
I will open it for you.  

(578) aátábólóko  
I-you - past-open-o-ko  
I opened it for you  
What is “ko”? Is it underlyingly ki-o: applied + past  

(579) átábólóko  
1sg-open-o-ko  
I opened it for him
| (580) | átábólóko ndai | 1sg-open-o-ko you.pl | I opened it for you pl. |
| (581) | kibólókítóto | 2pl-open-o-applied-prog-redup | You pl are opening it for me. Compare 18 |
| (582) | kibólókiki | 2sg-open-o-applied-redup | You pl will open it for me. compare 19 |
| (583) | kibólóki | you-me-open-o-applied | You sg will open it for me |
| (584) | tábolokóki | imp-open-o-ko you-me | You sg open this for me! -ko- again, like in 20, 21, 22. ki (you-me) appears after the imperative, not before. |
| (585) | éndabolokóki | 2pl-imp-open-o-ko-ki | You pl open this for me! | Revise + check: don’t know what’s going on here. Identical to sg imp. except en-prefix. But in 26 I glossed the final morpheme –ki as “you-me” which it shouldn’t be here, since only 2sg triggers this, not 2pl. What is important is 1st sg object. We have forms with 2nd plural subject + first object which are realized as ki [insert crossref] |
| (586) | kítabolokítô | 1pl-past-open-o-applied-tjo | We opened it for him Not sure about the glosses. Compare 20-22, not sure why ending is different maybe causative? |
They opened it for me.
same note as 28

It had been opened for me

Cook!

I cook

I am cooking for you.

Forms that share /a/ in root:

/ara/  “to be”
/aku/  “to become”
/ata/  “to have”
The initial /a/ is long with a long high tone. There were two whistles for the whole word. What is the syntactic context? Is become: will be? tall/ a doctor?

Here there were 3 whistles. Saningo had the impression that there is a “y” between the first two vowels: [i'aku]

Here again Saningo has the impression that there is a “y” between the first two vowels: [i'akuku]

We become

He becomes

You-sg. become! Imperative
You-sg. be! imperative
The dictionary lists this form as both “be!” and “become!”

(601) átàà

1st sg. ta become
I have become

(602) étáa

3rd sg. ta become
He has become

(603) ágírà aku

1st sg. gira stay put/be quiet 1st sg. become
I am becoming

/aku/ doesn’t have a form with the present continuous suffix /ita/. /agíra/ literally means “to stay put” or “to be quiet”. It can be used to mean “in the process of verb-ing”. You have to be doing the action in that moment in order to use /agíra/.

(604) ágírà áló

1st sg. gira stay put 1st sg. go
I am going.
This is “in the process of going”. You must be involved in the action when you say it.

(605) álóítò

1st sg. lo go present cont.
I am going.
Compare with 11. In this case you don’t have to be involved in the action. The form with /ito/ can also mean you intend to go.

(606) àátà inkedzi

1st sg. ata have fem. pl. goats
I have goats
( 607) àátà ápá inkinedʒi
    a ata apa in kinedʒi
1st sg. have long ago
I had goats.
There is no synthetic past for “ata”. The present tense for plus /apa/ “long ago” is used.

( 608) árá ápà
I was
Again no synthetic past. /apa/ is used.

( 609) ìngéræi ìʃúlè
    e school
poss(fem) school
“child of school”, “student” NB: absence of determiner

( 610) ìʃúlè
entʃúlè
school
from German, Swahili

( 611) sukûl
school
from English

( 612) árápà ìngéræi ìʃúlè
    ara apa ìngerai ìʃúlè
1st sg. be long ago child of school
I was a student /I was a school child
NB: position of past tense adverb

( 613) írárá àpà
You-pl were
I am not sure about the tones on /apa/.

(614) átáà
    a ta a
    1st sg. ta become
    I have become
Notice there is no /ku/ in the past, like there was in the present and the imperative.

(615) étáá
    e ta a
    3rd sg. ta become
    He-sg. has become
I am not sure about tones. We taped this paradigm in order to get a better idea of the tonal pattern. 2nd sg. vs. pl. and 3rd sg. vs. pl. are distinguished by tonal pattern.

(616) ìtáà
    i ta a
    2nd sg. ta become
    You-sg. have become
Not sure about tones

(617) kitéa
    ki ta a
    1st pl. ta become
    We have become

(618) ìtáá
    You-pl. have become
    Final vowel seems longer. Not sure about tonal pattern

(619) étáà
    e ta a
    3rd ta become
    They have become.
    Not sure about tones.

(620) métáà
    That he become (subjunctive)
Let’s become! Imperative

You-pl become! Imperative

Class 11/30
(623) itélékínò
itele-ki-no (??)

* it’s on it (it’s been put down?)
i for SA? why not ei? is this normal behavior for +ATR i-stems?

(624) itélékínó ḳiṭābu  èmésa
itele-ki-no

* the book is on the table
tonal pattern on kitabu very interesting (Swahili has penultimate stress)(what would acc look like)?

(625) èfii ḳiṭābu  abóri  èmésa
E-tii  en-  kÌtabu  abori  e-E-mesa
3rd be located sg-F-book  above F-sgF-table
‘The book is on the table”

ATR inconsistent in book?
above table=possessive construction; (e.g. e and tonal pattern cf (624)
tii sometimes transcribed as LH, later in session as HH.
abori: up, sky
ATR value for E? Is ATR harmony optional here? Sometimes clearly e, sometimes E. To be determined
(626) 羰 岸書 - どまり どまり どまり どまり
 sitios en-kitabu-ni abori ど -mesei
3rd be-located sgF-book-pl above F-pl? table-pl
the books are on the table
Note form of feminine plural possessive OO; where did the D of table go? Is there an additional
nasal segment before the root mesa?
final H on books?

(627) ねじりき どまり
n-tele-ki
imp-put-down
put it down on the table!

(628) かじ どち 岸書
káí
where is the book?

(629) どち 岸書 どまり どまり
como sai
above table
“it is on/above the table”
Does not matter if there is contact or not (on or above)
どまり or emesa (see (625))?

(630) どち どん 岸書 どまり
tókí
Q-3rd be-located anything above table thing
Is there anything on the table?
OnO looks like a negative polarity item/related to kanyO (what)?

(631) どち どち どん
there is something
Subject extraction and “relative” agreement

( 633) kana i (n) anapita torét

(n) a

who-it-it (fem-rel)/ms-rel carry-progr Toret

NB: different subject agreement in case of subject extraction

( 634) engerai nanapita torét

(n)

it is the child who is carrying Toret

feminine agreement (na) is obligatory

( 635) kalb ayen i anapita

which boy is carrying him

check tones on boy (H on a is surprizing)

( 636) kàtò títo nanapita torét

Which girl is carrying Toret

( 637) ngaerà na anaapita torét

children Fem-Pl-rel-nap-ita

it the children that are carrying Toret
(638) kákòa àyóokʰ ànapíta
which boy-pl ms-pl-rel carry-progr
Which boys are carrying him?

(639) kóló àyóokʰ ànapíta
these boys ms-pl-rel carry-progr
it is these boys that are carrying him/her?
Tones on aa (HL) here vs H in (638)??

(640) kákòa toye nànapíta
which girls fem/pl/rel-carry-progr
which girls are carrying him?

(641) kàŋáí énàpìtà tórette
who 3rd carry-progr Toret(acc)
‘Who is carrying Toret’
typical object extraction

(642) mètìi ònòò
Neg-3rd-be anything
There is nothing
Clear e. harmony all the way up to m?

(643) mètìi tokì
neg-3rd–be (some)thing
There is nothing
There are three things
toki in (643) is a bare N without determiner. Any other Ns that can be used without Ds in this context?
3 agrees with N in gender
--nabo-obô agrees with N in gender


[A REDUPLICATION EXTRAVAGANZA [*NEW!* annotated for your convenience (and perusal)!]]

( aødó)  
645)  
a-oødó  
1st.sg-be_tall  
I am/will be tall  
• I assume that the initial vowel in the stem of the verb is round (see below)

( iødó)  
646)  
i-oødó  
2nd.sg-be_tall  
you are/will be tall  
• here we can see that the initial vowel in the stem of the verb is round (assimilation to the person prefix thus applies in (645))

( iødódo)  
647)  
i-oødó-(?)dó  
2nd.sg-be_tall-RED  
you all are/will be tall  
• reduplication of (part of?) the stem applies to derive the 2nd-plural form of the verb: the issue is whether reduplication involves the whole stem or leaves out the first vowel  
• the H vowel didn’t seem to be particularly long, which seems to point out that the initial vowel is not reduplicated or that it is subsequently deleted…  
• finally, notice that either the H tone on the reduplicated segment is not reduplicated, or it is subsequently erased (this phenomenon will obtain almost always with suffix reduplication, I will not point it our all the time…)

( a*odorú)  
648)  
a-oødó-rú
I will become tall

- the suffix at the end of the verb (see the grammar) originally marked future tense (or some related aspectual feature), now it is used in the morphology to derive verbs with the meaning of ‘become’
- I assume that the [+ATR] character of the vowels in the verb is the result of backward harmony from the suffix
- the initial vowel (the person prefix) seemed pretty labialized (it is interesting that the same effect did not arise for the initial vowel in (645): is this due to the difference in [ATR] value between the two forms or is it due to the different position of the H tone?)
- finally, notice the disappearance of the H tone on the root
( i"odorúru

649)

i-ódó-rú-rú
2nd.sg-be_tall-fut-RED
you all will become tall

- here what undergoes reduplication is the (future) suffix
- the tonal pattern in this form will become very familiar: a H tone on the initial syllable and a H tone on the penultimate (this seems to be one of the two tonal patterns attested in the data, which seem to correlate nicely with the full-stem- vs. suffix-only- reduplication strategies… see the discussion at the end for this and an alternative analysis)

( iáñi

650)

i-áñi
2nd.sg-refuse
you (will) refuse it

- little to say about this form: our friend dental n shows up here (I have no idea on its distribution, though…)
- in addition, I’m not sure whether the final V is there at all or my ear was just tricked by the release of the last C…

( iáñiáña

651)

i-áñ-áña
2nd.sg-refuse-RED
you all (will) refuse it

- again, here the whole stem is reduplicated, with the addition (?) of a final [a] sound
- this form displays the second tonal patter I referred to above: H tone on the first vowel of the stem both in the root and in the reduplicant; this pattern seems to correlate to the full-stem reduplication strategy (which seems to include the person prefix, too, in the reduplicant)…
- notice that the verb in (647) seems to be an exception to this correlation, though

( iár

652)

i-ár
2nd.sg-beat
you (will) beat him

- nothing special here, either… except for another friend whose distribution is not known to me: the voiceless r

( iáriára

653)

i-ár-iára
2nd.sg-beat-RED
you all (will) beat him

- this reduplication follows the full-stem pattern
i-ár  m-e-twá
2nd.sg-beat  subj-3rd.sg-die
you (will) kill him  (lit. you will beat him to death)
- I’m not sure about the status of the ‘m’: it seems to be a complementizer-like particle or a subjunctive marker
- the verb ‘die’ seems to be inflected for its subject (i.e. the object of ‘beat’); we should try to elicit “you will kill us”

(a)ár

a-ár
1st.sg-beat
I (will) beat him
- I put this here just as term of comparison for the following form
- interestingly, Saning’o produced quite a short V at the beginning of this form: does the 1st-singular prefix surface at all?

(a)aár

áâ-ár
pass(?)-beat
I will be beaten
- this form shows how passive is marked by a prefix, which is homophonous to the it-me prefix; however I seem to remember that in class Hilda asked for a 1st-plural form, and still the prefix was [aa] (but I might be wrong in recalling this), so I assume that it is a different morpheme
- I’m not sure whether the initial vowel was just long or very long, either…
- finally, we will see in the next form that reciprocals forms are derived in the same way as passives (actually, the two forms are identical)
- I don’t know whether this form can have a reciprocal meaning at all (I speculate it cannot)

iarára

i-áâ-ár-ára
2nd.sg-pass-beat-RED
1. you all will be beaten
2. you all will fight  (lit. you will beat each other)
- this form is ambiguous between a passive and a reciprocal reading
- the pattern of reduplication is not clear to me: it seems like the sole stem (without the person prefix) is reduplicated; at the same time, however, the passive morpheme seems to disappear (unfortunately we did not check the singular form, in which the passive morpheme may or may not surface)
- possibly the person prefix does not participate in reduplication because the passive morpheme intervenes between the this prefix and the stem: it could be a case of opacity
finally, this form might provide an argument for claiming that the two tonal patterns which surface in reduplication are the result of some constraint which bans two H tones on consecutive syllables

\[\text{iar\ddot{a}ri}\]

I'm not sure whether I have the right morpheme analysis for this verb: from other verbs (see below) it can be seen that the suffix [\ddot{r}i] is instrumental 'with', so one would expect this form to mean 'beat with (some object)'. However, it might be that the underlying verb root is not [\ddot{a}r], but the (reciprocal) form [\ddot{a}\ddot{a}-\ddot{a}r]. If this is the case, one morpheme should be added in the morpheme analysis of this form. (Maybe we could try to check some other forms to see whether the reciprocal morpheme shows up…). Notice, furthermore, than in other verbs the instrumental 'with' morpeme is not [\ddot{r}i] but [ne]

\[\text{iar\ddot{a}ri}\]

where does the second [a] come from?

\[\text{iar\ddot{i}\ddot{a}ri}\]

here I have the same qualms re: the nature of the morphology of the verb as in (658): it might be the case that the verb actually contains the reciprocal suffix at th underlying level

\[\text{i\ddot{a}\ddot{r}-i\ddot{j}\ddot{o}-r\ddot{i}-r\ddot{i}}\]

even in this case, only the suffix reduplicates

\[\text{i\ddot{a}s}\]

this verb is here as comparison term for the following form
i-ás-ifó
2nd.sg-do-do
you will do it  (lit. you will do do it)
• this form is another example of verb complex
i-ás-iʃɔ-ʃɔ
2nd.sg-do-do-RED
you all will do it (lit. you all will do do it)
- this form could be interpreted in two ways: either one tries to argue that the second ‘do’ is a suffix-like element, and thus suffix reduplication applies, or one tries to argue that the second ‘do’ is actually the main verb in the verbal complex, and that – actually – full reduplication applies… I’ll leave the choice to you guys, for the moment…

i-ás-iʃɔ-ʃɔ-ri
2nd.sg-do-do-with
you will do it with [this object] (lit. you will do do it with [this object])
- here we see the instrumental meaning of the suffix [ri]

i-ás-iʃɔ-ʃɔ-ri-ri
2nd.sg-do-do-with-RED
you all will do it with [this object] (lit. you all will do do it with [this object])
- as expected, we find the suffix reduplication pattern

i-lép-iʃɔ-ri
2nd.sg-milk-do-with
you will milk it with [this object] (lit. you will do milk it with [this object])
- another verbal complex…
- notice that the ATR harmony process does not seem to affect the vowel in the suffix

i-lép-iʃɔ-ri-ri
2nd.sg-milk-do-with-RED
you all will milk it with [this object] (lit. you all will do milk it with [this object])
- again, only the suffix reduplicates
i-bárn
2nd.sg-shave
you will shave (it?)
- I don’t remember (I haven’t transcribed this on my notes) whether this verb is transitive, (inherently) reflexive or can be both (like English ‘shave’)… we should check whether morphological changes correlate to these different interpretations

i-bárnibárna
2nd.sg-shave-RED
you all will shave (it?)
- full reduplication, here (as it seems to be the pattern for morphologically-simple verbs)
- implicitly, I’m assuming that full reduplication is the source of the final vowel [a]

i-bárné or i-bárn-yé
2nd.sg-shave-with
you will shave (it?) with [this object]
- I’m not sure which of the two morphological analyses above to assume here, the facts from reduplication (see the following form) seems to argue for the first analysis, however… (I will adopt it in the following)

i-bárnéne
2nd.sg-shave-do-with
you all will shave (it?) with [this object]
- only the suffix reduplicates

i-bárnìʃ-rí
2nd.sg-shave-do-with
you will shave (it?) with [this object] (lit. …you know it!)
- even for ‘shave with’ we can form the ‘do’-verb complex…
i-bárn-iʃó-rí-rí
2nd.sg-shave-do-with-RED
you all will shave (it?) with [this object] (lit. …you know it!)
• …and it reduplicates as expected
• the question, however, is whether these forms constituted by a verb complex and a suffix are
derived by the combination of the suffixed verb and the ‘do’ verb or by first creating the ‘do’-verb complex and then adding the suffix… the reduplication data seem to argue that this second is the case, but we should check what happens with suffixes than have a meaning which is – possibly – incompatible with a ‘do’ verb but still compatible with the meaning of the verb which combines with ‘do’ in the verbal complex

á-dó-mó
1st.sg-pick-up
I will pick it up
• I assume that [mu] is a suffix here because of the reduplication pattern displayed by this form (see below)

á-dó-mó-ítʰa
2nd.sg-pick-up-prog
you will be picking it up
• for my assumption above to be tenable, I have to allow for the possibility of combining the progressive morpheme with a morphologically-complex verb (I’m not sure now whether anyone already underlined this – possibly obvious – fact: I don’t feel like going through the datafile right now… hehehe!)
• in one of the two forms Saning’o produced there is – at surface – further rounding assimilation of the progressive suffix, but this could actually be the result of the possibility of applying epenthesis to any of the two segments which create a “bad” diphtong (if my morphological analysis is correct, obviously :-)

í-dó-mó-mó
2nd.sg-pick-up-RED
you all will pick it up
• this form is the justification for my assumption that [mu] is a suffix
(áidom)
á-ídû̂m
1st.sg-jump
I will jump
• this form is just a “sparring” partner for the previous verb: notice that here I assume that this is a morphologically-simple verb (see the reduplication facts)
• by the way: we did not check whether this verb is intransitive, transitive or can be both (as its English gloss)

(indomû̂th’a)
i-idû̂m-it’h’a
2nd.sg-jump-prog
you will jump
• one interesting thing: in this case the form with “rounding assimilation” of the progressive suffix is not possible; this seems to support the idea that the alternation in (675) is due to two possible way of resolving a “bad” diphong by epenthesis
• notice the nasal resulting from the combination of the 2nd-person prefix with the root of “i-verbs”

(i)ndómû̂dû̂mû̂mo)
i-idû̂m-idû̂mu
2nd.sg-jump-RED
you all will jump
• here full reduplication applies, thus the verb should be morphologically simple
• I’m not sure whether the initial vowel is there or only a syllabic nasal surfaces

(idû̂mû̂pê)
i-dû̂-mû̂-pê
2nd.sg-pick-up-with
you will use it to pick up [something]
• the verb does not mean ‘you will pick it up with somewhing’, as one would (possibly) expect
• it might be the case that the (underlying) morphological analysis is different than I assume here, or that the suffix [pê] creates a verb which – in a sense – “displaces” the direct object of the verb it combines with (but the same does not seem to happen in (670))… or simply Saning’o’s gloss was less-than-literal…:-)
i-dó-mú-ñe-ñe  
2nd.sg-pick-up-with  
you all will use it to pick up [something]  
- the reduplication pattern is the expected one with morphologically-complex verbs  
- however, notice that this form provides some arguments in favor of the hypothesis the only the last suffix gets reduplicated  
- finally, notice the shift in the high tone from the first suffix to (the non-reduplicated instance of) the second

i-dó-mú-ñe  
2nd.sg-pick-up-self(?)  
you will get up (lit. you will pick yourself up)  
- I’m not sure on how to gloss the suffix: the interpretation is a reflexive one

i-dó-mú-ñe-ñe  
2nd.sg-pick-up-self(?)-RED  
you all will get up (lit. you all will pick yourselves up)  
- here, too, the high tone shifts to the right

i-ból  
2nd.sg-open  
you will open it  
- base form to compare to the following ones…

i-ból-ibóló  
2nd.sg-open-RED  
you all will open it  
- usual full-reduplication pattern…
( ibolú  
686)

i-ból-ú
2nd.sg-open-towards
you will open towards it

• ...add a suffix...
• notice the disappearance of the H tone on the root

( ibolúlu  
687)

i-ból-ú-lú
2nd.sg-open-towards-RED
you all will open towards it

• ...and the suffix-reduplication pattern results!
• however, notice that here either one has to assume that actually the suffix is [lu] or that – in case of reduplication of a single vowel – the preceding consonant gets copied too (material for you OT-ists! :-)

( ibolokí  
688)

i-ból-okí
2nd.sg-open-for
you will open it for [someone]

• I don’t know whether the second [o] belongs to the suffix or is epenthetic…

( ibolokíki  
689)

i-ból-okí-kí
2nd.sg-open-for-RED
you all will open it for [someone]

• …indeed it does not surface when the suffix undergoes reduplication

( idúŋ  
690)

i-dúŋ
2nd.sg-cut
you will cut it

• as usual, for comparison with the rest…

( idúŋ(idúŋ  
691)
i-dúŋ-idúŋu
2nd.sg-cut-RED
you all will cut it
• here we have full reduplication (as expected)

\([\textit{idupé}]\)

i-dúŋ-né
2nd.sg-cut-with
you will cut it with [this object]
• this is again the morpheme which was discussed in (680): here it seems to behave as expected, however (see (670), too)

\([\textit{idupéne}]\)

i-dúŋ-né-né
2nd.sg-cut-with-RED
you all will cut it with [this object]
• again the H tone “shifts” to the right

\([\textit{idúŋifórí}]\)

i-dúŋ-iʃ-ri
2nd.sg-cut-do-with
you will cut it with [this object]    (lit. you will do cut it with [this object])
• another verb complex…

\([\textit{idúŋifóríri}]\)

i-dúŋ-iʃ-ri-ri
2nd.sg-cut-do-with-RED
you all will cut it with [this object]    (lit. you will do cut it with [this object])
• …which reduplicates as expected
• this and the preceding form seem to support the hypothesis that the verb complex is formed first and that the suffix is added later: the suffix is indeed that which appears in other ‘do’-verb complexes and not the one which appears on the “bare” verb

\([\textit{iduŋú}]\)

i-dúŋ-ú
2nd.sg-cut-out
you will cut (a portion of) it out
• suffixed form…
• of two consecutive H tones only the one on the suffix seems to survive
( $\text{iduŋūŋu}$

$697$)

i-dúŋ-ú-ŋú
$2^{nd}$.sg-cut-out-RED
you all will cut (a portion of) it out
• ...(expected) reduplication
• reduplication in this form similar to (687): part of the root is copied along to support the copied vowel (?)

( $\text{iduŋō}$

$698$)

i-dúŋ-ô:
$2^{nd}$.sg-cut-away
you will cut it away
• another suffixed form…
• the H tone on the root seems (again) to disappear

( $\text{iduŋōŋo}$

$699$)

i-dúŋ-ô-ŋô:
$2^{nd}$.sg-cut-away-RED
you all will cut it away
• …and the usual reduplication pattern
• the last [o], however, was shorter than one would possibly expect
• even for this form the issue discussed for the reduplication taking place in (687) should be raised

( $\text{idáŋ}$

$700$)

i-dáŋ
$2^{nd}$.sg-break
you will break it
• comparison term for the following forms…

( $\text{idáŋidáŋa}$

$701$)

i-dáŋ-ídáŋa
$2^{nd}$.sg-break-RED
you all will break it
• (expected) full reduplication
( idañá  
702)

i-dañ-á
2nd.sg-break-intr
you all will break (intransitive)

- the morpheme [á] derives the intransitive form of a transitive verb
- again the H tone on the stem disappears

( idañána  
703)

i-dañ-á-ŋá
2nd.sg-break-intr-RED
you all will break (intransitive)

- the reduplication pattern is the suffix-only one
- and again see the discussion of (687)

( irij  
704)

i-rij
2nd.sg-split
you will split it

- another example to show the productivity of the “intransitivizing” morpheme

( irijiriği  
705)

i-rij-ı-rijği
2nd.sg-split-RED
you all will split it

- full reduplication with morphologically-simple verbs

( irisá  
706)

i-riş-á
2nd.sg-split-intr
you will split (in two parts) (intransitive)

- compare with the transitive form in (704)
- again the H tone on the root disappears

( irisása  
707)

i-riş-á-ʃa
2nd.sg-split-intr-RED

you all will split (in two groups) (intransitive)

• the reduplication pattern is the expected one for morphologically-complex verbs

**Borrowings in Maasai**

Borrowed words enter into Maasai through Swahili; the examples below are all Ns. We need to get nominative forms for these nouns.

Swahili always has penultimate stress: watch what happens with tones in Maasai! Swahili has noun class prefixes.

(708) \(\text{èrédyò} \quad \text{radio} \quad 12/2\)

en-rettyo

sg.fem-radio

(check nominative)

SW \(\text{rediò} \quad \text{(both singular and plural). It goes in the n/n class (9/10). Many borrowed words go into this class.}\)

(709) \(\text{ìrédyòï} \quad \text{radios (check ATR)} \quad 12/2\)

in-rettyo-

pl.fem-radio-pl

remark the tonal pattern: high spreads to the right?

(3) \(\text{èrédyò} \quad \text{tòrò̄nò} \quad 12/2\)

The radio bad

check The radio is bad

oups: translation: shouldn’t this be a bad radio?

(4) \(\text{ìrédyòî} \quad \text{tòrò-kò} \quad 12/2\)

Radios bad-pl

check The radios are bad
(5) ètánápà tɔrɛt ẹrɛdyọ̀
èt-anap-a tɔrɛt ẹrɛdyo
3rd-pst-carry-a tɔrɛt ẹrɛdyo
Toret carried a radio *(check tones on Toret)*

(6) ètánápà tɔrɛt ɛrɛdyọ̀i
èt-anap-a tɔrɛt in-redyo-i
3rd-pst-carry-a tɔrɛt pl.fem-radio-pl
Toret carried radios

(7) ètánápà tɔrɛt ɛrɛdyọ̀i tɔròkʰ
èt-anap-a tɔrɛt in-radio-i toro-kʰ
3rd-pst-carry-a tɔrɛt pl.fem-redyo-pl tɔrò-pl
Toret carried bad radios

(8) èŋgàrìmì car tones: l h hl
eŋ-gari-m
sg. fem-car-sg.suffix?
SW gari
This noun goes in the ø/ji (sg) and ma-(pl) class i.e ø/ji/ma class (5/6)

(9) èŋgàrìmì cars tones: l l h hl
èn-gari-m-i
Pl.fem-car-?-pl
SW magari

(10) è-bàúsìkèlh “bicycle”
èn-bàúsìkèlì
gs.fem-bicycle
SW bàúsìkèlì (both in singular and plural). (n/n class -9/10)
(11) ɓànsıkèlìnì  bicycles **watch the tones**! 12/2
in-bànsıkèlì-nt
Pl.fem-bicycle-pl.

(12) óló́rí  “lorry” tones: 1 h l 12/2
ól-ló́rí
sg.msc-lorry
SW ló́rí (ø, ji/ma class)

(13) ̀ló́rí́  lorries tones: 1 h hl 12/2
̀l-ló́rí-ì
pl.msc-lorry-pl
SW maló́rí

(14) èmèsà  “table” 12/2
èn-mesa
Sg.fem-table
SW meza (n/n class) (*Masai has no z*)

(15) ̀mèsà́ì  tables.. 1 h hl 12/2
̀m-mèsà-ì
pl.fem-table-pl

(16) àr-kàlà́mù  “pen” 12/2
ar-kalamù
sg.msc-pen
SW kalamu (n/n class)
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td><code>ırkålámənì</code></td>
<td>pens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ir-kalamu-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl.msc-pen-pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18)</td>
<td><code>phaltə</code>/əntsphaltə</td>
<td>“school”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ən-fułe</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sg.fem-school</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fułe (ji/ma class or n/n class). Thus the plural can be fułe or maʃule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td><code>ınjólogo</code></td>
<td>schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in-fołe-ı</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl.fem-school-pl</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fułe or maʃule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>sukul</td>
<td>“school”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Skuli (from English while fułe is from German). It goes in the n/n class in Swahili. Skuli is predominantly used in coastal areas and islands while shule is used on the mainland. No plural in Maasai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21)</td>
<td><code>àldärásà</code></td>
<td>“class”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>al-darasa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sg.msc-class</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>darasa (ji/ma class)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(22)</td>
<td><code>ırdärásànì</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ir-darasa-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl.msc-class-pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madarasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(23) èŋnómà “iron”
èn-chuma
sg.fem-iron
SW chuma¹ (ki/vi class (7/8) like èŋgitabu)

(24) `ìnjónaì iron (pl)
`ìn-chuma-i
Pl.fem-iron-pl
SW vyuma

(25) èŋjkómbè “cup”
èn-kikambah
sg.fem-cup
SW kikambah (ki/vi class)

(26) `ìnjkómbénì cups
ìn-kikambah-nì
pl.fem-cup-pl
SW vikambah

(27) èŋjájikò “iron spoon”
èn-kijiko
sg.fem-iron spoon
SW kijiko (ki/vi class)

(28) `ìnjíjkòmì iron spoons
ìn-kijikò-mì
pl.fem-iron spoon-pl
SW Vijiko

¹ ch=tʃ
(29) ëŋgàrdášì  “paper”  12/2  
ën-kardasi
sg.fem-paper
SW karatasi (n/n or ji/ma class)

(30) ̀ngàrdásìni papers  12/2  
ìn-kardásì-nì
Pl.fem-paper-pl
SW karatasi

(31) èmbíchà picture  12/2  
ën-picha
sg.fem-picture
SW picha (n/n class)

(32) ̀mbíchài  
ìn-picha-ì
pl.fem-picture-pl
SW picha

(33) ̀lcháți “shirt”  12/2  
al-chati
sg.msc-shirt
SW ʃaṭi (ji/ma class)

(34) ̀lchàṭfì shirts  12/2  
l-chati-i
pl.masc-shirt-pl  (check tonal pattern expected l hhl, not l lhl)
SW mashati
(35) ñrsórpalè  “pant”  12/2
   or-sorpale
   sg.msc-pant

SW suruali (n/n class)

(36) ñrsôpâlènî  pants  12/2
   ir-sopale-nî
   pl.msc-pant-pl

SW suruali

(37) ësîmû  “telephone”  12/2
   en-simu
   sg.fem-telephone

SW simu (n/n class)

(38) ësîmûî  telephones  12/2
   in-simu-i
   pl.fem-telephone-pl

SW simu

(39) ëmbíkîpîkî  “motorcycle
Another word for motorcycle is èndôkötûkîhû. Both words are onomatopeic.

   en-pîkipîkî
   sg.fem-motorcycle

SW pikipiki (n/n class)

(40) ñmbìkîpînî  12/2
   in-pîkipî-î
   pl.fem-motorcycle-pl

SW pikipiki
(41) ḍr-mükáte “bread” 12/2
    ḍr-mukate

sg.msc-bread

SW mkatè (m/mi class i.e m- (sg) and mi- (pl))

(42) ḍr mùkatènì 12/2
    ḍr-mukatè-nì

Pl.msc-bread-pl

SW mkatè

(43) ḍr mùʃèlè “uncooked rice” 12/2
    ḍr-muʃèle

sg.msc-uncooked rice

SW mchèlè (the nasal is syllabic)

(Its plural is used very occasionally and it is considered colloquial. The noun falls into m/mi class). All nouns starting with a bilabial nasal m-take mi- in plural *if they are not +animate* (hence the m/mi class). If they are +animate, they take wa- in their plural forms (m/wa- class). Saningo says in Maasai the plural is used frequently.

(44) ḍr mùʃèlnì uncooked rice (pl) 12/2
    ḍr-muʃèle-nì

pl.msc-uncooked rice-pl

SW mchèle

(45) àr-machùŋwàí “orange” 12/2
    ar-machuŋwa-i

sg.msc-orange-sg.suffix?

SW Chunṣwa (ji/ma class). Many fruit names go into this class.

*Maasai borrowing based on plural Swahili form*
(46) ərməchʉŋgwà  “oranges”  12/2

ir-machungwa
pl.msc-oranges

SW machungwa

(47) àrməémbèi  “mango”  12/2

ar-maembe-i
sg.msc-mango-sg.suffix?

SW embe (ji/ma- class).

(48) ərməémbè  “mangoes”  12/2

ir-maembe
pl.msc-mangoes

SW maembe

(49) ərjɛfi  “soldier”  12/2

ər-jefi
sg.msc-army

SW mwanajefi

The Swahili word “mwanajefi” is actually a compound noun: mwana  “son” and jefi  “army”. Literally “mwanajefi” is the son of the army. Since it starts with m-and it is [+animate], its plural is wa- (m/wa class)

(50) ərjɛfi  soldiers  12/2

ir-jefi-i
pl.msc-army-pl

SW wanajeji

(51) ər-sikeri  “police” NB: tonal pattern  12/2

ər-sikeri
sg.msc-police

SW askari (from Arabic) n/n class or ji/ma class
(52) ıṣıkérini  police (pl)  12/2
 ır-sikeri-ni
pl.msc-police-pl
SW askari/maaskari

(53) ər-pəlisí  “police”  12/2
ər-pəlisí
sg.msc-police
SW polisi (from English)- n/n class

(54) ırpəlisìfí  police (pl)  12/2
ırpəlisì-/1
pl.msc-police-pl
SW polisi

(55) ár-kárání  “attendant/secretary”  12/2
ar-karani
sg.msc-attendant/secretary
SW karani (ji/ma class)

(56) ırkărànînî  12/2
ırkărani-ni
pl.msc-secretary/attendant-pl
SW makarani

(57) ərmálimuui  “teacher”  12/2
ar-malimui
sg.msc-teacher
SW mwalimu (m/wa class)
(58)  `irmàlimùnì  12/2  \\
ir-malimu-ni  \\
Pl.msc-teacher-pl  \\
SW  waalimu  \\

(59)  ôrbóksì  “box”  12/2  \\
ôr-bóksi  \\
sg.msc-box  \\
SW  boksi (ji/ma class)  \\
I didn’t get the plural.  \\

(710)  èŋgitábu  M 12/2  \\
èn-kitábu  \\
f.s.-book  \\
a book  \\
This is the citation accusative case. Note that the nominative has a H on the first stem syllable.  \\

(711)  ètìí émèsà  M 12/2  \\
è-tíí  èn-mèsà  \\
3-be located f.s.-table  \\
There is a table.  \\
Note that the /è/ in ètìí may be +ATR. This was confusing throughout. Note that the singular and plural of table differ in tones.  \\

(712)  ètìí mìmèsàì  M 12/2  \\
e-tíí  èn-mèsàì  \\
3-be located f.p.-table  \\
There are tables.  \\
Note that the singular and plural of table differ in tones.  \\

(713)  ètìí èmèsà sìdáì  M 12/2  \\
e-tíí  èn-mèsà  sìdá-i  \\
3-be located f.s.-table  nice-s.  \\
There is a nice table.  \\

(714)  tânàpà èmèsà s’ì̀dáì  M 12/2  \\
tá-  nàp- à èn-mèsà s’ì̀dá-i  \\
imp.s.-carry-a f.s.-table nice-s
Carry the nice table!

There is a change in tone for the adjective between the nominative in (713) and the accusative here. Thus, the adjective is agreeing with the case of the noun. We think the tones on \( s^{'ld} \) are the same on both syllables, but downstepped.

(715) \[ \text{ëtíí êmésá n{\acute{a}}d\}} \]
\[ \text{è-tíí én-mésá n{\acute{a}}- d\}} \]
3-be located f.s.-table rel(f.s.)-red
There is a red table.

Note that red, which is a “verbal” adjective, has the shape of a subject relative clause (\( na \) agree with the head of the relative). The downstep on n{\acute{a}}d\} may be the result of the falling tone on êmésá which can be seen in (713).

(716) \[ \text{ëtíí ŋmésaï sidán} \]
\[ \text{è-tíí in-mésa-i sìdá-n} \]
3-be located f.p.-table-i nice-p
These are nice tables.

Are the tones mis-transcribed for ëtíí ? Note that nice is in the plural and agrees with tables in number and case, but not in gender.

(717) \[ \text{tánàpà ŋmésaï sìdá} \]
\[ \text{tá- nàp- à im-mésa-i sìdá-n} \]
imp.s.-carry-a f.p.-table-i nice-p
Carry the nice tables!

Like (714), the tones on sìdá show case agreement with the noun.

(718) \[ \text{ëtíí ŋmésai nàad\}} \]
\[ \text{è-tíí im-mésa-ì nàa-d\}} \]
3-be located f.p.-table- i rel(f.p.)-red
There are red tables.

The final low tone in ŋmésaï may not be a true L, but it is lower than the high tone. Note the length difference for the plural relative, and the tone difference for the plural of red, compared to (715).

(719) \[ \text{ëtíí ìsìdán} \]
\[ \text{è-tíí in- sìdá-n} \]
3-be located f.p.-nice-p
There are nice ones. (f)

Note the addition of the feminine plural prefix onto sìdàn due to the silent head noun. This form would be the same in both masculine and feminine because the \(/l/\) from the masculine plural prefix would not be pronounced before an /s/. 
(720)  ettí èsidáí
        è-tíí èn-sídá-i
    3-be located f.s.-nice-s.
There is a nice one. (f)

(721)  ettí ̣èsidáí
        è-tíí ̣ål-sídá-i
    3-be located f.s.-nice-s.
There is a nice one. (m)

(722)  ettí nháádo
        è-tíí ̣i-n- náá- dɔ
    3-be located f.p.-rel(f.p.)-red
There are red ones. (f)
The “verbal” adjectives occurs in a relative clause structure.

(723)  ettí ̣llödɔb
        è-tíí ̣i-l- lɔɔ- dɔ
    3-be located m.p.-rel(m.p.)-red
There are red ones. (m)
Note that the masculine plural relative marker also is lengthened (see (718)). Saningo did actually whistle a low tone on the l (i.e. syllabic l).

(724)  ettí ènádɔ
        è-tíí èn-ná- dɔ
    3-be located f.s.-rel(f.s.)-red
There is a red one. (f)

(725)  ettí ̣lɔdɔb
        e-tíí ̣l- lɔ- dɔ
    3-be located m.s.-rel(m.s.)-red
There is a red one (m)
Also elicited the following forms: ɔlbɔk, “black one” and ɔlɔibɔ, “white one”.

(726)  ettí mmesàí sidán nàadɔ
        e-tíí ̣i-n-mèsà-i ̣sidá-n nàa- dɔ
    3-be located f.p.-table-i nice-p. rel(f.p.)-red
There are nice red tables.
Not sure of the tones for näadô, but the tones on the adjectives seem to be more or less the same as they (716) and (718), but the tones for table are different than what we have seen before. Note that the adjective order reads the same as the English.

(727) ettí m̥mésấi näadô sidán
   e-tí in- m̥sà́-i näà- dô sidá-n
3-be located f.p.-table- i rel(f.p.)-red nice-p
There are red nice tables.
The tones on the adjectives are basically the same as those in (726).

(728) ettí isidán näadô
   e-tí in- sidá-n näà- dô
3-be located f.p.-nice-p rel(f.p.)-red
There are nice red ones.
Note that the gender pre-fix (D) indicating the deleted head noun only appears on the first adjective (as expected). The adjectives do not have the same tones as in (726).

(729) ettí ηnàdô sidán
   e-tí in- nàà- dô sidá-n
3-be located f.p.-rel(f.p.)-red nice-p.
There are red nice ones.
Note that the gender pre-fix indicating the deleted head noun only appears on the first adjective. The adjectives do not have the same tones as in (727). But the tones are the same as in (728).

( 730) kènèjáí ēngîne nánnapita résoi
   k ène ηnài ēngîne nà nnap ita résoi
Q his who goat fem.agr.sing. carry progr Resoy-subject
Whose goat is Resoy carrying?
The possessed noun has to be carried to sentence initial position together with the wh-possessive. Saningo doesn't like the order where "engine" appears at the end of the sentence. Note that the verb agrees in number and gender with the possessed noun (object agreement).
NB: order his who-i goat versus DP order goat D-his (Q-his is who the goat…?)

( 731) kènèjáí ēngîne nánnapita tôret
   k ène ηnài ēngîne nà nnap ita tôret
Q his who goat fem.agr.sing. carry progr Toret-subject
Whose goat is Toret carrying?
Changing the subject's gender does not affect the marking on the verb.

( 732) kòlejáí oldiá ánapita tôret
Whose dog is Toret carrying?
The possessive pronoun agrees in gender with the possessed noun. The agreement on the verb is different here because the gender of the possessed noun is masculine. (Check the quality of the first vowel of the verb.)

Whose goats is Toret carrying?
The possessive pronoun agrees in number and gender with the possessed noun. Note that the object agreement marker on the verb has changed here to [naa] for the feminine plural.

Whose dogs is Toret carrying?
Note that the object agreement marker on the verb has changed here to [aa] for the masculine plural.

I saw the woman who carried Toret
Check the tones on "carried". Relative clauses seem to work like possessive questions regarding the verb marking: the verb shows agreement with the head noun in number and gender.

I saw the man who carried Toret
Check whether the first vowel of the embedded verb is [a].
á ta dóa olég a ta nap á tóret
I past saw man masc.sing past carry past Toret-subj.
I saw the man who Toret carried

( 739) átadúa ńdóye naátanapá torét
á ta dóa ńdóye naá ta nap á torét
I past saw girls fem.pl past carry past Toret-obj.
I saw the girls who carried Toret
The embedded verb has feminine plural marking to agree with the head noun "girls".

( 740) átadúa ńdóye naátanapá tóret
á ta dóa ńdóye naá ta nap á tóret
I past saw girls fem.pl past carry past Toret-subj.
I saw the girls who Toret carried
The only difference between this sentence and the previous one is the tone on Toret.

( 741) átadúa layók aátnapá resóí
á ta dóa layók aá ta nap á resóí
I past saw boys masc.pl past carry past Resoy-obj.
I saw the boys who carried Resoy
Note the difference in the embedded verb marking: it's masculine plural to agree with the head noun.

( 742) átadúa ęŋgitók nátuá oldia
á ta dóa ęŋgitók na tuá oldia
I past saw woman fem.sing died dog
I saw the woman whose dog died
Check tone on "dog".

( 743) etuá oldía
ɛ tuá oldía
3rd died dog
The dog died
The verb "die" probably comes from the noun death [tua]

( 744) átadúa olée ɔtwá oldía
á ta dóa olée ɔ twá oldia
I past saw man masc.sing died dog
I saw the man whose dog died

Check the quality of the penultimate sound on "died": is it a vowel or a glide?.

**NB: extraction out of subject DP**

(745) átadúá (i)layók ɔ́twatá oldía
á ta dóa (i)layók ɔ́ twá tâ oldía
I past saw boys masc.pl died ta? dog
I saw the boys whose dog died.

Note the reduplication on the embedded verb even though it's not 2nd plural.
*Not clear it is repulication; ta suffix that occurs in the plural with stative verbs? But then plural agreement triggered by possessor? cf contrast with (744) is number of possessor??*

(746) átadúá (i)layók ɔ́twatá ildiaín lépe
á ta dóa (i)layók ɔ́ twá tâ ildiaín lépe
I past saw boys masc.pl died ta? dogs their
I saw the boys whose dogs died

NB: a resumptive personal pronoun [lene] (i.e. their dogs) to make the meaning clearer. We couldn't establish whether the sentence becomes ambiguous without the pronoun (in this example or the previous ones).

(747) átadúá Ṽdóye naátwatá oldtía lépe
á ta dóa Ṽdóye naá twá tâ oldía lépe
I past saw girls fem.pl died ta? dog their
I saw the girls whose dog died

(748) embúṛṛa
em búṛṛa
fem.sing cat
Cat
Maasai girls/women usually have cats, not dogs, for pets

(749) mbaruái
m burṛá í
fem.pl. cat pl.
Cats
(750) tănàpà
ta nap a
imp. carry V suffix
You-sg. carry him! imperative

(751) tănàpà yōok^h
ta nap a yook
imp. carry V suffix us
You-sg. carry us! imperative
What I transcribed as a mid tone may be a lowered high because of the phrase final position. The tone was higher than the previous low.

(752) mìnàp
mi nap / m i nap
neg. carry neg. 2nd sg. carry
You-sg. don’t carry him! imperative
It is unclear to me if the /mi/ is just the negative morpheme or if it is a combination of the negative morpheme + the 2nd sg. subject clitic: /mi + i/. If the subject clitic is present this form differs from the present only in the tonal pattern.

(753) mënàp
m e nap
neg. 3rd sg. carry
He will not carry it.

(754) mınàp yōok^h
You-sg. don’t carry us! imperative

(755) ándànàp nîné
an ta nap nine
2nd pl. imperative carry him
You-pl carry him! imperative
( 756) ándànàp nìndé
an ta nap nìnde
2nd pl. imp. carry them
You-pl carry him!
The /d/ in /nìnde/ sounded like a dental fricative.

( 757) ándànàp yōok
an ta nap yook
you-pl imp. carry us
You-pl carry us! imperative

( 758) mìnàpìnàpà nìnè
m inap inap a
neg. carry RED stem vowel
You-pl don’t carry him! imperative
Notice that the reduplicated form always ends with the stem vowel of the verb.

( 759) màtànàp
ma ta nap
1st sg. imp. carry
Let’s carry it! imperative

( 760) mìkìnàp
mi ki nap
neg. 1st pl. carry
Let’s not carry him! imperative.
• Negative imperative is again made up of the negative morpheme and the present form of the verb.
• HLL tonal pattern differs from the LLH pattern of the negative of the 1st pl. present (compare with 13).

( 761) mìkìnàp
mi ki nap
neg. 2nd sg. subject – 1st sg. object carry
You-sg. don’t carry me! imperative
This form is identical to 11. The HLL pattern of the imperative is maintained even though there is ambiguity between the forms in 11 and 12.
(762) mîkînâp

mi kî nap
neg. 1st pl. carry
We will not carry.

LLH tonal pattern in the present. Compare with 11 which differs only in tone.

(763) ètîákâ àlâyènî p̣ḥèë mènàp

ε tiaka alayeni pee m ε nap
3rd sg. told the boy subjunctive marker neg. 3rd sg. carry
She told the boy not to carry it.

• One form of the subjunctive is pee + finite verb (in this case the present – which actually may be a tenseless form of the verb).
• The negative marker is still a phonological clitic on the verb.
• We should check what forms are possible after /pee/: i.e. Is the past or present continuous possible?

(764) ètîákâ àlâyènî mètànàpà

ε tiaka alayeni me ta nap a
3rd sg. told the boy 3rd sg subjunctive/imperative ta carry V suffix
She told the boy to carry it.

• This is the second type of subjunctive and it resembles the imperative.
• 3rd sg. subjunctive: me + ta + root + V suffix.
• This 3rd sg. subjunctive always has a LHLL tonal pattern (see 11/16 km elicitation).

(765) ètîákâ àlâyènî p̣ḥèë ènàp

ε tiaka alayeni pee ε nap
3rd sg. told the boy subjunctive marker 3rd sg. carry
She told the boy to carry it.

This form confirms that the two types of subjunctive are interchangeable in this case. (Compare with 15)

(766) "mîmetanapa

• You cannot combine the /mi/ negative morpheme with this form of the subjunctive/imperative. This suggests a co-occurrence restriction on the combination of the negative morpheme /mi/ and the morpheme /ta/(See notes).
• Only the /pee/ type subjunctive can co-occur with /mi/
(767) njibòtò

i ipot o
2nd sg. call V suffix
You-sg. call!

- The 2nd sg. subject clitic may be present because the /i/ vs. syllabic nasal alternation occurs in the 2nd sg.

(768) njibòtò yōok

You-sg. call us! imperative

(769) mimbòt

mi ipot
neg. 2nd sg. call
You-sg. don’t call him! imperative

- Again, neg. + finite verb in present.
- The verb is not an imperative form because it doesn’t end in the V suffix which occurs in the imperative. (see 19)
- /mi/ participates in ATR harmony.

(770) mìkìmbòt

mi ki ipot
neg. 2nd sg. subj. – 1st sg. obj. call
You-sg. don’t call me! imperative

- Notice the position of the subject – object clitic with respect to the negative morpheme and the verb.
- HHL tonal pattern (all other imperatives had a HLL pattern).

(771) nìbòtkì

i ipot o ki
2nd sg. call V suffix 2nd sg. subj. – 1st sg. obj.
You-sg. call me! imperative

- I heard HMML tonal pattern.
- Compare the position of the subject object clitic in 21 and 22.

(772) tānāpākì

ta nap a ki
imp. carry V suffix 2nd sg. subject – 1st sg. object
You-sg. carry me! imperative

HMML tonal pattern
émbōtōki

en ipot o ki
2nd pl. imp. call V suffix you-me
You-pl. call me!

- I am not sure about ATR for the initial vowel. Could be –ATR.
- HMML tonal pattern. Compare with 27.

nįbōtōki

i ipot o ki
2nd sg. call V suffix you-me
You-sg. call me! imperative.
HMML tonal pattern. Compare with 27.

nįbōtipōtō

i ipot ipot o
2nd pers call RED stem vowel
You-pl will call him.

It is interesting that the nasal variant for the 2nd person sg. is not reduplicated: * mbotimboto. The reduplicant also differs in voicing: /b/ vs. /p/.

nįbōtōkī

i ipot o ki
2nd sg. call V suffix applied morpheme
You-sg. call him to it.
HLLH tonal pattern: Compare with 24 and 25.

mikîmbōtipōtō

mi ki ipot ipot o
neg. you-me call RED stem vowel
You-pl don’t call me! imperative.

- HHHHHHL tonal pattern. Compare with 21 which has a HL pattern (instead of typical HLLL) and 26 which has the same pattern.

ńdǎkī màtanápà

ndaki ma ta nap a
let me 1st pers subj. ta carry V suffix
Let me carry it!

1st sg. subjunctive is very similar to 1st pl. imperative. They differ in tonal pattern. 1st sg. LLHL – 1st pl. HLLL. The 1st sg. has a V suffix and the 1st pl. does not.
12/7 km

(779) ńdákí máípótò

ndaki ma ipot o
let me 1st pers subj. call V suffix
Let me call!

(780) máípótò

ma ipot o
1st pers imperative call V suffix
Let’s call him! imperative
- I think that a comparison of 29, 30 and 31 show that the forms for the subjunctive and imperative are the same.
- The 1st sg. and 1st pl. subjunctive/imperative differ only in tonal pattern: HHHL vs. HLL
- Note that the 1st pers. plural imperative does not show the /i/ syllabic nasal alternation that is present in the 2nd imperative and the 2nd sg. and 1st pl. of the present.

(781) mıkimbót

mi ki ipot
neg. 1st sg. call
Let’s not call him! imperative
The verb is now in the present and there is a stem initial nasal in the 1st pers. pl..

(782) tāà sīdái

ta a sidai
imperative be nice/prosperous
Be prosperous! imperative
I heard the H tones on /sidai/ as downstepped.

(783) tíṉ’l dáí

ta ɲ’lda i
imperative happy reflexive?
You-sg be happy! imperative
- The vowel of /ta/ completely assimilates to the vowels in –ATR stems.
- I am not sure about the final vowel. I think that it may be a reflexive morpheme.

(784) ándàà sīdán

an ta a
2nd pl. imperative ta be
You-pl be nice! imperative
Here again the H tones on /sidan/ seemed downstepped.
miákù tòrrònd

m i akù torrōno
neg. 2nd sg. be/become bad
You-sg. don’t be bad! imperative

I didn’t actually transcribe the ATR value for /torrōno/. The dictionary says –ATR. This needs to be confirmed.

miákūkù tòrròkh

m iako ku tòrrōk
neg. 2nd pers. be RED bad
You-pl don’t be bad! imperative

tipi đà

ta pid a

ta brave V suffix
You-sg. be brave! imperative

the /d/ is present in the nominal form “braveness” (40) but non in the stative verb (39)

ipi

i pi
2nd sg. brave
You are brave.

Compare with 38

ipidán

Braveness

Noun related to the verb /api/

Compare with 38 and 39.

éddō

e do
3rd sg. red
It is red.

I transcribed different tones for the same form in the 11/02 KN elicitation (37)
( 791)  tóddóro

ta dor o

ta red V suffix
You-sg. be red! imperative
Doesn’t make much sense but grammatically possible.

( 792)  èndóro

Redness
Here is another noun related to a stative verb. The /r/ present in the imperative is also present in the noun “redness”.
In the 11/02 KN elicitation session I transcribed this word as /èndoran/(43). There must be rounding harmony in the last syllable.

( 793)  ńdóدورo

You make it red!
I am not sure about the meaning of 44 and 45.

( 794)  èndôdóro

You all make it red.
Not sure about the meaning.

( 795)  étiaka resoi alayeni mètín'idái

Resoi told the boy to be happy.
LHLL tonal pattern for the 3rd sg. subjunctive.

( 796)  étiaka resoi alayeni mètípîdà

Resoi told the boy to be brave.