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<th>class I</th>
<th>x</th>
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<td>kristie</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<td>Robin</td>
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<td>I (class)</td>
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<td>h</td>
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(1) **1/11_cl_I**

**tálèpò ènçítèñ nìjáû kòlé̀ à̀dʒí**

ta - lep - o en - kitèn n - i - jao kòlè adʒí

2sg.imp milk imp D.sg.f cow and 2sg bring milk home

Milk the cow and bring the milk inside!

(2) **1/11_cl_I**

**ijào àdzī**

i- jao adʒí

2sg bring home/inside

Bring inside
They milked the cow yesterday and brought the milk home.

(And) bring!
cf tone

(And) they brought.

No past tense morphology on the verb of the second conjunct ('nelep' vs. 'etalepo' above)

'They milk the cows' does not seem to be an available reading.

They carried the calabash and milked the cows

The negative form of the imperative does not have the same morphology as the positive form.
(10) mináp némilép
m - i - nap n - e - m - i - lep
neg 2 carry and epenth. V neg 2 milk
Don't carry and don't milk!

(11) milép neminap
m - i - lep n - e - m - i - nap
neg 2 milk and epenth. V neg 2 carry
Don't milk and don't carry!
I do not have the tones of the second imperative

(12) tánàpàkáki
ta - nap - aka ki
2sg.imp carry appl you-me
Carry it for me!

(13) wòù nikinapa ki
wou n - i - ki - nap - aki
come and epenth. V you-me carry aki?
Come and carry it for me!

(14) aidédidétà
a- i- ded - i- det- sta
1sg i dream i red progr
I am dreaming

(15) idéidétà
1- det- i- det- a
3pl dream i Red past
They dreamt

(16) aidèt
a- i - det
1sg i dream
I will dream

(17) aidétidèt
a- i - det - i - det
1 i dream /i red
I usually dream
(18) èŋkìdètìdèt
ènk- t- det- t- det
f.sg i dream i red
The act of dreaming

(19) èŋkìdètìdèt tàrònò
ènk- t- det- t- det
f.sg i dream i red bad
Bad dream

(20) sidài ènà méè tàrònò
sidai ena me- e- tàrònò
good this not 3sg bad
This is good, not bad
*check tone of predicate (nom? or acc?)

(21) etáa sidái
ε- taa sidai
3sg be.past nice
It has become nice
taa=be+past (?ta+ra); not clear how the interpretation arises (form asked for: it was nice)

(22) aikìrikìrà
a- i- kir- t- kir- a
1sg i tremble i red a
I tremble

(23) kìnkìrikìrà
kr- n- kir- t- kir- a
1pl n tremble i red a
We tremble

(24) èŋgìrikìràtà
èn- kir- t- kir- -ata
s.fm tremble i red ata
The act of trembling
NB: Prefixation of D en leads to disappearance of i prefix. *Eningirokata
(25) tūdūngūdūngò
tu- dung- u - dung- -o
tu chop u red o
cut-up/chop! (imp.)

(26) tūdūngūdūngú
tu- dung- u- dung- -u
tu chop u red u
Chop (from something big).
It seems that the word final –u is a directional suffix. Compare the last tone with 12 above.

(27) (i)nðūnðonót
(i)n- dunj- -onot
fm.pl chop onot
choppings

(28) tēgēlēgēla
te- gel- i- gel- -a
te select i red a
Keep on separating (imp.)

(29) īdūnūdūnū
i- dunj- u- dunj- -u
2pl chop u red u
You (pl) will cut

(30) īdūnūdūn
i- dunj- u- -dunj
2sg cut U red
You will chop (sg)
In some cases ε + i => i in i-initial verbs.

- “infinitive”, no overt subject plural marking on aa (tone; not clear if there is a distinction in length of?)
- hl on aa and l on V

They have started singing

They will start singing

Start singing! (pl)

(H) This looks like a syntactically sg imperative, controlling a plural PRO Also, immediate reaction:

(several different instances): ŋdērá tárān ; (imp imp) These latter forms are given in the grammar, but

as S. says: “you cannot have two imperatives one after the other”. Cf: our database (add: crossref).

NB: hl on aa, but h on ran “sing”

S/he started singing

S/he will start singing

Start singing! (sg) . Compare with (20)
(37)) áránità
a- raŋ - ñta
1sg sing progr
I am singing

c1-13 cl

(38)) kíránità
ta- ran- ñta
1pl sing progr
We are singing

c1-13 cl

(39) átáráña
a- ta- raŋ- À
1sg ta sing past
I sang

c1-13 cl

(40) táráŋaka' kì
ta- ran- ak- a kì
ta sing ak(appl) imp you-
Sing for me!
• unable to get a form for: start singing for me

c1-13 cl

(41) ítérá èŋgërai áàràn
ta- iter- a- ën- kerai aa- ran
3sg start past fm.sg child.sg pl sing
The child started to sing

c1-13 cl

(42) nêtér èŋgërai àràn
and 3sg i start fm.sg child.sg sg sing
And the child started to sing

c1-13 cl
Comments:

- Both VSO and VOS word orders are possible.
- Case is marked by tone.

Saningo translated the VOS word order as a passive in English. There is no overt passive morpheme in these cases. VOS = passive. (see also M10/28.)

You call any woman “mother” that is in the same age group as your own mother. Once Maasai children reach 4 or 5 years old, they eat and sleep with the other children of their same age. They don’t just eat and sleep in the house of their own mother. Everyone in the village takes care of the children and can punish children, not just the parents.

(44) yéyò

“mother”: this is a way of addressing any lady that is in your mothers age group.

(45) yèyô

“mother”: you would use this form when addressing your own mother

The two forms of “yeyo” differ in tonal pattern in isolation (or maybe this is a vocative). It seems that this difference is neutralized in different phrasal contexts.

(46) àndását

ēn- tasat
s.f.D lady
lady
I heard the initial vowel as a low front vowel. This may be assimilation to the height of the /a/ of the stem. (like the “ol-al”alternation)

(47) ñdasáfũ

in- tasat -i
p.f.D lady pl.
ladies
48. áátańapá yeyó -opacity
áá-ta - nap- a yeyo -opacity
she-me ta -past carry past my yesterday
mother
My mother carried me yesterday.
- The HLLH tonal pattern is crucial in distinguishing /aatanap/ from “I am carrying you” which has a
HLHL tonal pattern.
- Here “yeyo” is “my mother”, not any mother.

49. etáńapá -opacity ęŋgerái
ɛ- ta - nap- a ęŋstonen ęen- kerai
3 ta-past carry past mother s.f.D child
The mother carried the child.
- This could be any mother. Not necessarily the mother of the child.
- VSO
- LLH tonal pattern on /ęŋstonen/: subject
- LHH tonal pattern on /ęŋgerái/: object

50. etáńapá ęŋgerái ęŋstonen
ɛ- ta - nap- a ęen- kerai ęŋstonen
3 ta-past carry past s.f.D child mother
The child was carried by the mother.
- This could be any mother. Not necessarily by the mother of the child.
- VOS: Case marked by tonal pattern. “child” is focus.
- LHH tonal pattern on /ęŋgerái/: object
- LLH tonal pattern on /ęŋstonen/: subject

51. etáńapá ęŋgerái ęŋstonen
ɛ- ta - nap - a ęen - kerai ęŋstonen
3 ta-past carry past f.s.D child mother
The child carried the mother.
- VSO
- LLH tonal pattern on /ęŋgerái/: subject
- LLL tonal pattern on /ęŋstonen/: object

52. etáńapá álányení ęŋstonen
ɛ - ta - nap - a al- ayeni ęŋstonen
3 ta-past carry past m.s.D boy mother
The boy carried the mother.
- VSO
- LHLL tonal pattern on /álányení/: subject
- LLL tonal pattern on /ęŋstonen/: object
(53) ètánápá àlayéni ḡwọtòné
è- ta- nap- a al - ayeni ḡwọtòné
3 ta-past carry past m.s.D boy mother
The boy was carried by his mother.
- VOS
- LLHL tonal pattern on /àlayéni/: object
- LLH tonal pattern on /ḡwọtòné/: subject

(54) ètù ëmésá nábò
e - tii en- mesa na - bo - - - - -
3 are sg.f table sg.f one
There is one table.

(55) ètù ìrìmèsà óbò
è - tii ør - mesa o - bo - - - - -
3 are sg.m table sg.m one
There is one large table.
Note that numbers are marked for gender. See (54).

(56) ètù ëmésá nábó sidáì
è - tii en - mesa na - bo sìdáì - i - - -
3 are sg.f table sg.f one nice sg.
There is one nice table.
Note that “nice” and “one” cannot be reversed.

(57) ètù ëmésá nábó nádò
è - tii en - mesa na - bo na - do - - -
3 are sg.f table sg.f one sg.f red
There is one red table.
Note that “red” and “one” cannot be reversed.

(58) ètù mìmésái árè
è- tii in - mesa i are - - - - -
3 are pl.f table pl. two
There are two tables.
We don’t have the information on the fem/masc for “two”.
(59) ètíí nábò
 e- tii na - bo - - - - - - -
 3 is sg.f one
There is one.
Note the different tones on /etii/. Also note that it is not /enabo/ or some equivalent.

(60) ètíí árè
 e- tii are - - - - - - - -
 3 is two
There are two.
Note the tones on /etii/.

(61) ètíí mǐmèsáí árè sidán
 e- tii in - mesa i are sida - n - - - -
 3 is pl.f table pl two nice pl.
There are two nice tables.

(62) ètíí mǐmèsáí árè nāādɔ
 e- tii in - mesa i are naa- dɔ - - - -
 3 is pl.f table pl two pl.f. red
There are two red tables.

(63) ètíí mǐmèsáí kɔ̀mmɔ̀kʰ
 e- tii in - mesa i kumɔ - - - - - -
 3 is pl.f. table pl. a lot
There are a lot of tables.

(64) ètíí mǐmèsáí kɔ̀mɔ̀kʰ nàlɛŋ
 e- tii in - mesa i kumɔ nalaŋ - - - - - -
 3 is pl.f table pl a lot very
There are really a lot of tables.
See (65) for proof of “naleng” not being feminine.
There are really a lot of dogs.

There are really red tables.

There are really a lot of red tables.

There are a lot of red tables. (more than you thought.)

There are tables.

Drink (it)!
tōkākō

tō-  āk -  āk -  ā

tō  drink  ā  red  ā

Keep on drinking (it)!

(72) tēyārā

tē-  ār-  ā

tē  cook  ā

Cook (it)!

(73) tēyārīyārā

tē-  ār-  ā-  yār-  ā

tē  cook  ā  red  ā

Keep on cooking (it)!

(74) tōɓā

tō-  āɓ-  ā

tō  beat  ā

Beat (it)!

(75) tōɓiɓā

tō-  āɓ-  ā-  āɓ-  ā

tō  beat  ā  red  ā

Keep on beating (it)!

(76) táasā

tā-  ās-  ā

tā  do  ā

Do (it)!
(77) táasiásà
  ta- as- i- as- a
ta do i red a
Keep on doing (it)!

(78) túrífà
  ti- rif- a
ti divide a
Keep on dividing (it)!

(79) túrífirífà
  ti- rif- i- rif- a
ti divide i red a
Keep on dividing (it)!

(11) tútùrò
  tu- tur- o
tu dig o
Dig!

(12) tútùrùtùrò
  tu- tur- u- tur- o
tu dig u red o
Keep on digging

(13) túpùrò
  tu- pur- o
tu steal o
Steal!
(14) tůpůrůpůrů
tu- pur- u- pur- o
tu steal u red o
Keep on stealing!

(15) tāŋgāmā
ta- ŋam- a
ta whisper a
Whisper!

(16) tāŋgāmĩŋgāmā
ta- ŋam- i- ŋam- a
ta whisper i red a
Keep on whispering!

(17) tābwāa
ta- bwa- a
ta shout a
Shout!

(18) tābwābwa- a
ta- bwa- a- bwa- a
ta shout a red a
Keep on shouting!

(19) ŋibimā
n- pim- a
n weigh a
Weigh (it)!
Borrowed from Swahili “pim-a” which means to measure/weigh
(20) (mbim)pimà
n- pim - i - pim - a
n weigh i red a
Keep on measuring!

(21) tánàà
ta- na- a
ta suck a
suck

(22) tánàànàà
ta- na- a- na- a
ta suck a red a
Keep on sucking!

(23) mbotò
n- pot- o
n call o
Call!

(24) mbòtipotò
n- pot- i- pot- o
n call i red o
Keep on calling!

(25) jómà
jom - ò
go - ò
Go!
(26) jōmùjōmò  
Go red  
Keep on going

(80) ádèdè  
a- dedè - - - - - - - - 
1sg crush  
I will crush it

(81) idèdè  
t- dedè - - - - - - - - 
2nd crush  
You-sg will crush it

(82) ándèdet  
an- dedè - t- - - - - - - - - 
pl. imp. crush pl. imp. crush it! (pl)

(83) idèdèdè  
t- dEdE - dE - - - - - - - - - - 
2nd crush reduplicant  
you-pl will crush it

(84) áitu  
a- itu  
a- return  
to return, to come back
(85) ɨ́tu
i-
2nd
you-sg will return

(86) ɨ́tútu
i-
2nd
return reduplicant
you-pl will return

(87) ɨidí óò
a-
a  swallow
to swallow

(88) ɨidíóò
i-
2nd
you-sg will swallow ()

(89) ɨidí ó(o)idí ó
i-
2nd
you-pl will swallow reduplicant

(90) əramát
a-
1sg
I will tend (e.g., cattle)
all the tones are the same--whether they are high or low wasn’t clear
(91) írámát
   1- ramat- - - - - - - - - - - - 2nd tend
   you-sg will tend
   again, all the same tone but level of tone not clear; also, initial vowel seemed somewhat [+ATR], but as
   will be illustrated in (15) below, this appears to be a [-ATR] root

(92) èramát
   e- ramat
   3rd tend
   he/she/they will tend

(93) írámátátà
   1- ramat - ata
   2nd tend reduplicant(?)
   you-pl will tend
   The morphological/phonological division of the segments in the part labelled reduplicant is not clear. The
   first vowel of the reduplicant may be epenthetic.

(94) írámáítátà
   1- ramat - ita- ta
   2nd tend progressive reduplicant
   you-pl are tending
   this form indicated that the root appears to trigger -ATR harmony in the progressive suffix

(95) áláramátáñi
   al- a - ramat - ani
   masc.sg. a tend -er.sg.
   the tender (one who tends)
   this is apparently the result of some process that turns verbs into nouns; I am not familiar with this
   particular morphological process, so I am not able to label the 2nd and 4th morphemes correctly
   looks like a is infinitive morphology? or determiner? ; ani is suffix “er” (a+ni?)
Emily leads first half of class, Mary the second

We are checking + and - ATR pairs to show that these vowels are distinct phonemes.
We agreed that it is very difficult to hear the difference between 5 and 6. The e/E distinction is hard, plus the nasal may obscure it even further.

I'm shutting

I'm counting

I'm milking

I'm climbing

I'm flourishing

I’m prodding
(109)  aŋor
    a  ṅor
  1sg shoot
I’ll shoot
This was also translated as an imperative ??

(110)  aŋor
    a -  ṅor -

Be unfilled!
Imperative, so not sure about morphemes

VOICELESS STOPS

(111)  aabakʰ
    aa-  bakʰ
  I-you care
I will care for you.

(112)  aabakita
    aa-  bak - -̬ta
  I-you care prog
I am caring for you
Compare 15 and 16. In word final position, k has strong aspiration. In medial position, it is not aspirated.

(113)  kitokʰ
    kitokʰ
   -
  big
big
Initial k = no asp., final k= yes asp.

(114)  endito
    en-  tito-
  sg.f girl
girl
Here, the d is from an underlying t.
(115) en-diya
   en- diya
   sg.f bitch
female dog
Here, the d is from an underlying d. The grammar makes a point of saying that these two sounds (ie d from
d and d from t) are actually different. We decided we couldn’t hear any difference, and Saningo said he
thought they were the same sounds.

(116) endɔ́rɔ̀nɔ̀
   en- torɔṇɔ
sg.f bad
person
bad person
there is an underlying t

(117) endorón
   en- doron
sg.f redness
redness
underlying d. Again, we can’t hear a difference between the ds in 20 and 21. Also, 20 and 21 seem to
show that r and r with a dot underneath are different phonemes.

It looks like voiceless stops have 3 allophones:
voiced: after nasals
aspirated: word final
unaspirated: other

(22) aduŋ
   a- duŋ
inf cut
to cut

(23) aduŋ
   a- d¹uŋ
inf inherit
to inherit
Compare 22 and 23. There are 2 separate phonemes, d and something we have variously labeled d¹, d₃,
or j.
(24) ado
a do-
1sg red
I’m red

(25) ad'o
a - d'o
1sg speak
I speak
24 and 25 are another minimal pair

(26) endzan
en - dza-
sg.f rain
rain

(27) ena f'an
ena - f'an-
this.f rain
this rain
26 and 27 show alternation between dʒ and š

(28) ele šata
ele- šata
this. log
m
this log

(29) altšata
al - šata
sg.m log
the log

(30) endʒata
en - dʒata
sg.f log
the twig (diminutive of log)

Compare 28, 29, 30. Alternations between š tʃ dʒ. Belong to one phoneme.
(31) ele sarge
   ele    sarge

this.  blood
m
this blood

(32) a salvage
    a     salvage
    sg.m  blood

the blood
underlyingly, this would be alsarge. Here, the l is deleted, since it seems the s does not have an affricate allomorph. Perhaps there is a rule like *CC when the second C is a fricative.

Mary’s part. Looking at syllable structure - testing to see what possible syllables are

(33) anár a.nap
    a-  nap -
lsg  carry
I will carry
.V. is possible

(34) áanāp aa.nap
    aa-  nap-

I have this as “they will carry” but I don’t think that’s right .VV.

(35) săńg  sî.lîg

to glance back .CV.

(36) ọlè ọ.łeè
    ọl - łeè -
    sg.m  man
    man .CVV.
(37)  orkiđonj  or.ki.donj  cl 1-20
       or-  kidoň  sg.m snuffbox
       snuffbox  .VC.

(38)  ngitúak  n.gi.tuak  cl 1-20
       in-  kituak  pl.f women
       women

(39)  anáp  a.nap  cl 1-20
       a-  nap -  lsg carry
       I will carry  .CVC.

(40)  aibárt  a.i.bart  cl 1-20
       aî-  bart -  inf pet
       to pet, cuddle  .CVCC.  we couldn’t find any final clusters where the first consonant of the cluster wasn’t l or r.

(118)  âlô  àidʒo  ēŋkémá  H 1/20
       a-  lo  a-  idʒ-o  ēŋ  -  kema
       lsg go a.sg warm sg.f fire
       I’ll go get warm by the fire  
       •  idZ  class 1 verb starting with i.

(119)  tôidʒo  ēŋkolôj  H 1/20
       to-  idʒ-o  ēŋk  -  oloŋ
       t.imp warm. sg.f sun
       Get warm in the sun  
       •  presence of ta prefix shows it is a class 1 verb

(120)  âlô  âîk  H 1/20
       a-  lo  -  a-  ik
       1st go a.sg hang
       I’ll go hang it  
       •  ik ( Class 1 )
(121) ñikà
   ti-   ik - a
t.imp hang a
   hang it.

(122) ëtaqó́rò
   ɩ-  ta - ɡor - o - kẹwan
3sg ta stangle o self
   He stangled himself (suicide)

(123) ápi
   a-  pi -
1sg brave
   I'm brave
   • Tones: h h

(124) ípi
   i-  pi
2sg brave
   you are brave (h h)

(125) ɛpi
   ɛ-  pi
3
he/she/they are brave
   • tones: 1 h

(126) tɔrɔnd (àlàyènì)
tɔrɔnd al- ayeni
bad.sg sg.m boy
the boy/he is bad
   • NB: no 3rd person agreement (as with sidai). Looks like all (non verbal?) predicates can do this
(127) tɔrɔŋ k
- bad.pl
They are bad

(128) ara tɔrɔŋɔ
a- ra - lsg am
I’m bad

(129) àldákitári ̀lè ̀lè
al- dakitari ̀le - ̀leè
m.sg doctor sg. m.this man
(acc)
This man is a doctor
• doctor occurs in the predicate position; no subject agreement

(130) èndákitári ̀nà ̀tásàt
en- dakitari ̀na - ̀tásàt
sg.f doctor sg. m.this lady
(acc?)
This lady is a doctor
• doctor occurs in the predicate position; no subject agreement: tones are acc?
• check tones on tasat
• tasat is ‘polite’ form for woman; kitok is familiar (husband to wife)

(131) ninè ̀àldákitári
- - - - - - - - -
he doctor(nom)
he is the doctor
• these examples suggest nine is the predicate; doctor gets nominative
• nominal predicates get accusative; (and incorporate into I)
• alternatively: this is a cleft: it is he who is the doctor. Check with plural antecedent
(132) kiyé àldàkitàrí
k- iye - al- dakitari
Q you msg.m doctor
Are you the doctor (lit? is it you who is the doctor)

(133) íra àldàkitàrí
2sg
Are you a doctor?

(134) aíisóm
a- i- som -
1sg i- read
I’ll read
• borrowing from Swahili (kusoma): belongs to class 2 verbs

(135) tîširà
ti- sir - a -
t.imp write a
Write!
• slr: to paint (on body), to draw (hence to write)

(136) étáánà
e- taa - na
3sg be? ?
it is close

(137) elakua
e- lakua
it far
it is far
(138) átááníkì èŋgàré
a- taa - niki en are
I be to/from? sg water

I am close to the water
- not sure what nIkI does. must be present if location is introduced: seems to introduce endpoint;
  precedes overt subject, (which precedes the location); but does not change tones, i.e. does not
  participate in tonal alternations

(139) étááníkì ilayook èŋgàré
ε- taa - niki il- ayook enk are
3pl be to/from m.pl boy.pl sg.f water

(140) étááníkì ŋaleŋ èŋgàré
ε- taa - niki ŋaleŋ enk are
3rd be to/from much sg.f water
they are very close to the water
- check where overt subject would go

(141) kítàà níkì èŋgàre
ki- taa - niki enk are
1pl be to/from sg.f water
We are close to the water

(142) àtàà níkì
aa- taa - níkì
I-you be from
I am close to you
- check tones

(143) kítáá níkì
ki - taa - níkì
he-you be from
he is close to you
(144)  ètáá  kitàà  níki  èŋkare
        è - taa - ki - taa  níki
        3sg  be  1pl  be  from
it is about to happen that we are close to the waterhole
We will soon get to the waterhole

(145)  ètááníki  póokiín  èŋgàré’
        è - taa - níki  póokin  enk  are
        3sg  be  from  all  fsg  water
‘they are all close to the water’
all can also follow water; feels like dislocation, as the translation suggests: they were close to the water.,
all of them

(146)  ètááníki   hàíjù  póokiín  èŋgàré’
        è - taa - níki  in-  kíjù  póokin  enk  are  -  -
        3sg  be  from  pl.f  cattle  all  fsg  water
All the cattle are close to the waterhole

(147)  álákúá  níki  èŋgàre
        a- lakua  níki  èŋ  are
        1sg  far  from  sg.f  water
I’m far from the water

(148)  èlákúá  níki  l hàńg  bèach  te  santa  monica
        è- lakua  níki  LB  te  SM
        3sg  far  from
Long beach is further than Santa Monica

(149)  èlákúá  níki  holland  amerika
        -  -  -  -  -  -  -  -  -  -  -
Holland is far from America
(150) èpi né adọ
  e- pi- n - ē - adọ
3sg brave n 3sg tall
he is brave and tall

(151) dɔrɔp kákè èpi
dɔrɔp but ē - pi
short 3sg tall
he is short but he is brave

(152) èpi néɛdɔ sii
  e- pi- n - ē - adọ sii
3sg brave n 3sg tall alss
he is brave and tall as well/too, also
  nb: tone and syllable structure on sii

(153) èpi ɛləyənɨ népi ɛlɛ alayənɨ népi ɛlɛ ʃɨnɨnɨ
  ē- pi - el - ayeni n - ē - pi - ele - si - nine
3sg brave m.this boy.sg n 3 brave m.thi also he
this boy is brave, and this one too is brave

Merge last part of my file..

(154) ádólità
  a - dɔl - it - a
1sg see it a
I am seeing

(155) átádùà
  a- ta - du - a - - - - - - -
1sg ta- see a
past
I saw
Note that the verb “to see” is irregular in Maa. It has a different form in the present (154) than in the past (155). Expected form is a-tO- dOl-a. Interestingly is is ta-not tu or tO (the latter form is given in T&MP)
átdúà ēmèsà àí
a - ta - du - a ēn - mesa - ai
1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ?(f.s.) my
past
I saw my table
“My table” was more or less pronounced /ēmêsáí/, but these are clearly separate morphemes. It is not clear what is marking the feminine on “my”, but it is different from the masculine in (157).

átdúà ēnàí
a - ta - du - a ēn - - ai - - - -
1sg ta- see a f.sg. ?(f.s.) my
past
I saw mine.

átdúà òldijà laì
a - ta - du - a òl- dij - a l - ai - -
1sg ta- see a m.sg. dog sg. m.sg. my
past
I saw my dog.

táduà
ta- du - a - - - - - - -
imp see a
See! Take notice!

átdúà òlàlaì
a - ta - du - a òl - a - l - ai - - - -
1sg ta- see a m.sg. ? m.sg. my
past
I saw mine.
Is this /a/ an epenthetic vowel? If so, wouldn’t we expect it to be /i/?

átdúà ēmèsà ái sìdaì.
a - ta - du - a ēn - mesa - ai sida- i -
1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ?(f.s.) my nice sg.
past
I saw my nice table.
I am a little surprised that the order is my, adjective. I expected it to be the other way.
I saw a nice table and it is mine.
This is the result of trying to switch around “nice” and “my” from (161).

I saw my nice dog.
This is the result of trying to switch around “nice” and “my” from (163).

I saw a nice table.
This is the result of trying to switch around “nice” and “my” from (165).

I saw my nice ones.
Compare this to (171).

I saw my nice dogs.
I saw nice dogs and they are mine.

I saw nice ones and they are mine.

I saw my nice ones.

Why isn’t it e-sidan?

Compare this to (166). Note the addition of /ku/; it is probably the same /ku/ as in /kuna/ /kulo/.

There is a table here. /ene/ may be morphologically complex, but I’m not sure how to break it up.

There is a table there. /ende/ may be morphologically complex, but I’m not sure how to break it up.
There is a table over there.

/idie/ may be morphologically complex, but I'm not sure how to break it up. Note that Maa has three type of distance markers, here, there and over there.

I saw my really red table.

I saw my really nice table.

I saw my nice red table.

I saw my really nice red table.
átádúa èmèsà ái sidáí nèdô
a - ta - du - a ẹn- mesa - ai sida- i na - ẹ - dọ
1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ? my nice sg. and 3 red
past
I saw my nice table and it is red.

átádúa èmèsà ái nado nàsídài
a - ta - du - a ẹn- mesa - ai na- dọ na- sida i
1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ? my f.sg. red and nice sg.
past
I saw my red table and it is nice.

atadua ọldija lai sidai ọdọ
a - ta - du - a ọl- dij - a l - ai sida- i ọl- do
1sg ta- see a m.sg. dog sg. m.sg. my nice sg. m. re
g. sg. d
past
I saw my nice red dog.
No tones were transcribed.

atadua ọldija lai sidai nedọ
a - ta - du - a ọl- dij - a l - ai sida- i na- e- dọ
1sg ta- see a m.s dog sg. m.s my nice sg and 3 red
past
g. g.
I saw m nice dog and it is red.
No tones were transcribed.

• There are no syllable initial consonant clusters: (*branching onsets)
• All syllable final clusters have /r/ as the first consonant.

è.múrt
en- murt
s.f.D neck
neck
• CVRC is a possible syllable
• only RC codas possible
The initial syllabic nasal seems to count as a syllable.
Syllable nuclei are tone bearing units.
Saningo was not really sure about the syllable boundary in /-murto/.

Saningo feels like the nasal belongs to the second syllable (prenasalized consonant)
Saningo also felt that the /r/ belonged in the onset of the last syllable.
The grammar shows this as V initial root with the determiner /enk/
The syllable boundaries do not correspond to the morpheme boundaries.
I heard the initial vowel as [æ] (maybe because of the /a/ in the stem)

Some people heard the /r/ as voiceless even though it precedes a voiced consonant.
Here the /r/ is syllabified in the coda
Again syllable boundaries don’t correspond to morpheme boundaries.
(190)  ipùrdità
  i-  purd-  ita
2  mash  prog.

(191)  èngòmón
  enk-  omon
  s.f.D  face
  face
  •  this is the morpheme division given in the grammar

(192)  èngúpès
  en-  kupes
  s.f.D  thigh
  •  this is the morpheme division given in the grammar.

(193)  ài.sà.mbúà
  a-  i -  sambua
  inf.  i  harvest
  harvest

(194)  i.sá.mbuá.mbuà
  i-  sambua  -mbau
2  harvest  RED
  You-pl will harvest
  •  This form is evidence that the nasal is syllabified in the onset, if the final syllable of the root is the base of reduplication.

(195)  ãisùrùmbó
  a-  i-  sorumbo
  inf.  i  strip kernels
  strip kernels off cob
  •  Not sure about ATR.
(196) i.su.ru.mbu.mbú

i- surfmbu- mbu
2 strip kernels off RED
cob
You-pl strip kernels off cob

• Here again the nasal is syllabified in the onset, and reduplicated.

(197) í.daà.à

in- ta- a
in make V
You-sg. make it!

(198) àítáà

a- i- taa

I will make it.

• There is an interesting note on page 169 of the grammar regarding this verb. Tucker says that the
infinitive prefix a- forms a diphthong with the i- of Class II verbs, but not with the vowels of Class I
verbs.
Class I: aitaa to take away
Class II: aytta to create.

(199) ñdáátà

in- taa - ta
in make RED
You-pl will make it.

• RED maintains voiceless /t/ of the UR, not the voiced C of the base.
• We should check if the final vowel is long, like the final vowel of the stem. If it is not long it could
mean that the reduplicated syllable is CV and never CVV (“emergence of the unmarked”).
• /n/ is not reduplicated, either because it is syllabic, therefore part of a different syllable, or because of
the morpheme boundary.

(200) áifjú

a- i- f

I will give
(201) nd'5.dɔb

in- ʃɔ ʃɔ-
in give RED
You-pl will give
• This is unusual because the RED syllable is voiced. In other forms the RED syllable maintained the voicing quality of the UR, not the SR of the base.

(202) áifɔritɔ

a- ʃɔr -ita
l in give prog.
I am giving it.
• the root my be /ʃɔr/

(203) áy

ai
my
my
• VG sequence

(204) èŋgąi

ènk- ai
s.f.D god/rain
god/rain
• Saningo gave two whistles. We were not sure if it was a VV sequence or a VG sequence.
• This is the morpheme division given in the grammar.

(205) sapuk èŋgąi

sapuk ènk- ai
good s.f.D god/
rain
God is good
• Nominative tonal pattern
• This time there were three whistles. Maybe evidence that the final two vowels are in separate syllables.

(206)  öldiá
 öldjà
 öldjà
 ol- dia
s.p.D dog
dog
• We were not sure how to transcribe /i/. It sounds like a glide but it may be a TBU.
(207) ïldiáin
ïldiájin
ïldjáin
il- dia -in
s.m.D dog pl.
dogs
• Same transcription problem as “dog”

(208) àdiá
àdjá
a- dia
I moan
• We were again undecided on what we heard and how to transcribe.

(209) àdià
a- dia
I cursed
I am cursed
• I am not sure about morpheme boundaries. The final /a/ could be some kink of passive morpheme

(210) ïdiádiá
ïdjádjá
i- dia dia
2 moan RED
You-pl are will moan.
• We were again undecided on how to transcribe this.

(211) àdiàdià
a - dia- dia
1s moan RED
I am moaning.

(212) à.là.ú.
a- lau
I can’t find something.
(213) à.báw
   a- bao
I arrive

(214) àiyáŋ
   a- i yaŋ
   infinitive
tive
to breath
   • We transcribed this as /aiyang/ in class. The grammar has it as a class 1 verb /ayan/. We can check this and correct this transcription.

(215) áiyàŋ
   a- i yaŋ
   1s i breath
I breath
   • again grammar has this verb as class 1

(216) iyàŋá
   i- yaŋ - a
   i breath V
breath
   • It his is an imperative, it looks like class 2. However, this is not the tonal pattern of the imperative (which would be HLL) so it may be something else.

(217) iyáŋiyáŋá
   i- yaŋ - i - yaŋ a
   breath RED RED V

You-pl will breath
   • We were not sure if the /y/ was stronger or weaker than the /y/ in “to be restless”.
   • -ATR

(218) iyáŋiyàŋ
   i yaŋ i yaŋ
to be restless
   • +ATR
(219) iyániyáńájà

yaŋ - i - yaŋ -

- +ATR
- This is another pattern of reduplication (I don’t understand)

(220) áisóđà

a- i- sudl - a
1 in wash V-refl.
I am washing (myself)

(221) ísóđà

i- i sudl - a
2 in wash V-refl.
You have been washed. You are washed.

(222) aisud'îta

a- i- sudl - ita
1s in wash prog.
I am washing (it).

(223) aisud

a- i- sud
1s in wash
I will wash it.

(224) aisud'îfɔ

a- i- sudl - îfɔ
1s in wash intransitive
I am doing washing
You wash (yourself)

I washed myself.

I washed (myself) yesterday.

I'll give it away

I gave it to her

In forms (1) – (7) notice the different tonal patterns.
(231) aijō
  a-  ijō
I give
I'll give (it) (to her)

(232) aijō
  á-  ijō
I/you give
I'll give it to you

(233) aijōō
  á-  ijō  o-  -  -  -  -  -  -  -  -
I/you gave past
I gave it to you

(234) aijōō ngaïs
  a-  ijōō  ngaïs  -  -  -  -  -  -  -
I gave, Ngais
past -acc
I gave it to Ngais

(235) aïjoó ngaïs
  á-  ijoó  ngaïs  -  -  -  -  -  -  -
She/ gave Ngais
me -nom
Ngais gave it to me
Tone change not only in the pronoun clitic but also on the V root.

(236) aók əngáré tédéké/á
  a-  òk  en-  káré  t  é  déké/a-  -  -  -
I drink det- water P agr. morning
I drink water in the morning
(237)  
etoól il álís eñíjó  
e -  
to -  
ót -  
ó  
alís  
en -  
áíjó  
3-  
past  
drink  
o  
Alais  
det-  
beer  
sing.  
-nom  
fem  
Alais drank beer  

(238)  
erágá aláýéni éñi  
e-  
rag á  
al -  
áýé -  
ni  
én  
3-  
slept  
a  
def-  
boy-  
sing  
masc  
nom  
here  
(vowel?)  
The boy slept here  
There's a tone change on the last two words (coalescence?)  

(239)  
erágiga oldía ení  
e-  
rag a  
ol -  
día  
ení -  
-  
-  
-  
3-  
slept  
a  
def-  
dog-  
sing  
masc  
nom  
here  
The dog slept here  

(240)  
erúra oldía ení  
e-  
rúr -  
a  
ol -  
día  
ení -  
-  
-  
-  
3sing  
sleep  
refl  
def-  
dog-  
masc  
nom  
here  
The dog is sleeping here  
The verb "to sleep" is obviously irregular.  

(241)  
airúra  
a-  
irúr a  
I  
sleep  
refl  
I'm sleeping
(242) iruráte
? irur áte - - - - - - - -
pl.r
ref
You're sleeping

(243) iʃóo résoi engáré endíto
iʃóo- résoi enk- árë - en - títø - - -
gave3 Resoi det- water det- girl-
sing -nom fem -acc fem acc
Resoy gave water to the girl

(244) ngais naiʃoó engáré endíto
ngais - na - iʃoó- en- kárë - en - títø - -
Ngais C- gave det- water det- girl-
-acc fem.s fem -acc fem acc
It was Ngais that gave water to the girl
Notice feminine singular agreement of the C morpheme of the verb with the fronted/focussed subject

(245) torét oʃoó engáré endíto
torét o- iʃoó en- kárë en - títø - -
Toret C- gave det- water det- girl-
-acc masc. fem -acc fem acc
It was Toret that gave water to the girl
Notice masculine singular agreement of the C morpheme of the verb with the fronted/focussed subject

(246) ngitiak naiʃoó engáré endíto
ŋ- kitúa nái - iʃoó en- kárë en - títø -
k
det- wom C- gave det- water det- girl-
fem.p en fem- fem -acc fem acc
pl
It was the women that gave water to the girl
Notice feminine plural agreement of the C morpheme of the verb with the fronted/focussed subject and also plural tonal marking (HL) on final vowel or verb root.
Notice masculine plural agreement of the C morpheme of the verb with the fronted/focussed subject and also plural tonal marking (HL) on final vowel or verb root.

It was water that Resoy gave to the girl.

It was Ngais that the girl gave water to.

The child started to carry

I started to sing

We started to sing

Compare 1,2,3. It looks like for both singular and plural, the infinitive for C-initial verbs is long aa-.
(253) t'áki mètårånà
Rev tiaki m E ta ran a-
tell m- 3sg ta sing a
Tell him to sing!
We’ve seen tiaki before but I don’t know how to break it up.

(254) tšáki iyook mätaran
Rev tiaki iyook m- a ta ran
tell us m 1 ta sing
Tell/allow us to sing
Note that sing here is different from the singular. Why? I asked S if you can say *mikitarana, but you can’t. I need to check if the other plurals are the same way. So this can be translated as “tell us: Let’s sing!” mataran is the 1st plural imperative.

(255) aa´tiañáká mätànápà
Rev aak m- a ta nap a - - - -
he-me told m 1sg ta carry a
He told me to carry it.

(256) etíaña metánápà
Rev e - tiaka m - e - ta - nap - a
3sg told m 3sg ta carry a
He told her to carry it.

(257) tíañí metétema
Rev tiaki m - e te tem a
tell m 3sg ta try a
Tell him to try it!

(258) tíañí mítèm
Rev tiaki m - i- tem
tell neg 2sg try
Tell him not to try it! (Tell him: don’t try)
In the positive, (8) the ta-morphology is used. But neg can’t occur with ta, so here the bare stem is used.

(259) aátiaká dleē m’nap èngítåbu éne
Rev aa- tiaka d- leē mi nap en kitab éne
he-me told sg.m man neg carry sg.f book his
The man told me not to touch his book.
check highlighted form m a nap?
(260) kàà ító eʃel
    kaa- tito e ʃel □
which girl 3sg select directional?  
Which girl will he choose?

(261) kàà ító mʃel
    kaa- tito e m- e ʃel □
which girl 3sg m 3sg select dir  
Which girl will he not choose?

(262) kéñenái endító nánap\ta tórèt
    k- ene nai en- tito na nap \ta toret  
Q his who sg.f girl f.agr. carry prog toret sg  
lit: Q his is who the girl that Toret is carrying  
Who is the girl that Toret is carrying?  
interesting syntax.

(263) éne híldà engèrai ná napita tórèt
    ene hilda en- kerai na nap \ta toret  
her hilda sg.f child. f.agr. carry prog toret sgl sg  
It is Hilda’s child that Toret is carrying

(264) kéñenái endító néménáp\ta tórèt
    k- ene nai en- tito ne m e nap ita toret  
Q his who sg.f girl f.agr. neg 3sg carry prog toret sg  
Whose girl is Toret not carrying?

(265) ánápʃo
    a- nap \ʃo  
1sg carry do  
I'm doing the carrying.
I did the carrying.

I was hunting for something with both the **"doing"** morpheme and the **"ki"** applied morpheme. Like maybe **"anap Sokî"** or **"anap kiSo."** But this doesn't appear to be possible. S says you would just use the progressive tense instead.

In fast speech, the final [a] of the first word and the initial [a] of the second word are merged but retain only the high tone of the final [a] of the first word.
There was some dispute in class over whether the first vowel of the infinitive “to carry” was long. Some people thought it was a length difference in the [a]; others thought it was a length difference in the [i]; others believed it was not a matter of vowel length but rather a difference in stress or prominence of the [i].
(275) ágil asugáa
a- -igil a- -isugaa - - - - - -
Isg do again inf sg snuff
I’ll snuff again
The initial low tone on the first vowel of the first word was questionable.

(276) kisugáa ágil
ki- -isugaa a- -igil - - - - - -
Ipl snuff inf pl do again
We’ll snuff again

(277) kínap áigil
ki- -náp a- -igil - - - - - -
Ipl carry inf pl do again
We’ll carry again

(278) kíŋgil âanáp
ki- -igil aa- -nap - - - - - -
Ipl do again inf pl carry
We’ll carry again
Saningo says that (10) and (11) are “two different ways of saying the same thing.” It seems that they are interchangable. The data in (12) and (13) will shoe that this generalization, although it holds for [igil] (“to do again”) does not necessarily apply with [iter] (“to begin, to start”).

(279) kínap áter
ki- -náp a- -iter - - - - - -
Ipl carry inf pl begin
We’ll begin to carry
This is an acceptable way to express this thought, but Saningo described it as “a playful way to say it.” He preferred the sentence in (13).

(280) kínder âânap
ki- -iter aa- nap - - - - - -
Ipl begin inf pl carry
We’ll begin to carry
Saningo preferred this arrangement to that in (12). Note that when this form was first elicited in (4) the tonal patter on the first word was slightly different.
We weren’t sure whether to transcribe the last segment of the first word as -ATR [u] or simply as the glide [w]. The transcription of this segment may vary throughout the rest of this write-up.

Saningo also mentioned the possibility of translating this as “drive towards me!”

This is exactly like (15), although we were attempting to elicit a different form.

This was also transcribed as arEu{ta}
(287) túrumui
  tV- -rumu- -i
  sg imp  push i
  push it away from (me)!
  Compare (20) to (21) below. Note the meaning difference that could be conveyed by the final [i] suffix.

(288) túrumu
  tV- -rumu
  sg imp  push
  push it toward (me)!

(289) arumuíto
  a- -rumu- -ito
  1sg  push  progressive
  I am pushing it
  No tones were provided in class for the first two syllables.

(290) téyètu
  tV- yEt- u
  sg imp  pull u
  pull! (singular imperative)
  Note that the ATR of the [u] suffix does not appear to harmonize

(291) ayetita
  a- yet- -ita
  1sg  pull  progressive
  I am pulling it
  No tones were gathered for this word.

(292) aísógáà
  a- i - suq - aa
  1sg  i  sniff  aa
  I sniff.
  The final “aa” (long instead of short vowel) is probably a directional suffix.
(293)  eító àìkátá aìsógáà

_eìtò_ aìkata  a- i - sug - aa - - - - -
neg never 1sg i sniff a
past
I have never sniffed.
The final “aa” (long instead of short vowel) is probably a directional suffix.
Note that “aikata” “never” does not vary with person.

(294)  eító àìkátá eìsógáà

_eìtò_ aìkata  e- i - sug - aa - - - - -
neg never 3 i sniff a
past
He/She/They have never sniffed.
Note that “aikata” “never” does not vary with person.
The final “aa” (long instead of short vowel) is probably a directional suffix.

(295)  aìsógáyè nàbòkátà

a - i - sug - a - ye nabo - kata - - - - -
1sg i sniff a past one time
(refl)
I sniffed once.
Note e past shows that _sniff_ is a reflexive verb.

(296)  aìsógáyè kátàrì

a - i - sug - a - ye kata - ari - - - - -
1sg i sniff a past time two
(refl)
I sniffed twice.
Note e past shows that _sniff_ is a reflexive verb.
Note that the order of number and time is switched between _once_ (in (295)) and twice in this example.

(297)  isögáye àìkátá ènêìsùgí

_i- i - sug - a - ye aikata èn - èísùgí - - - -
2sg i sniff a past never sg.fem. snuff
(refl)
Did you ever sniff snuff?
Note e past shows that _sniff_ is a reflexive verb.
There is no “k”-particle for the y/n question.
(298) ętə ęŋatait ináisùgáá
   ę-  ata ęŋ- kata - in na - a - i - suŋ - aa -
3 is pl. time pl. and 1sg i sniff a or fem.
I smoke sometimes
No tones were recorded for sometimes.

(299) arán nálẹ́ŋ
   a- ran nálẹ́ŋ - - - - - - -
1sg. dance a lot
I dance a lot

(300) àráŋ ŋgólọ́nì pò́kín
   a- raŋ in - kolní pò́kín - - - - - - -
1sg dance fem. day every/a pl.
I dance all day.

(301) àtém àráŋ ŋgólọ́nì pò́kín
   a - tem a - ran in - olní pò́kín - - - - -
1 sg. try inf. sg. dance fem. pl. days all
I try to dance every day.

(302) ètõ̀n èitú aísùgáà enáisùgí
   ę- tón èitú a - i - suŋ - aa ěn - aísùgí - -
3 sit past 1 sg i sniff aa sg. snuff fem.
rev I still have not sniffed snuff.
Note that a subject, such as Toret, would appear after the main verb “aisugaa”.
Do you still sniff snuff?

?? I no longer sniff snuff./ I don’t sniff snuff anymore.

Do you sniff or not?
Note that a subject, such as Toret, would appear after the verb “isugaa”.

Why does this one have a final /i/ and not /a/? It may be due to suppletion.

Why does this one have a final /u/ and not /a/? It may be due to suppletion.

Milk early (soon/quickly)!
(309)  

elépori  

en- lep- ori  

sg. milk ori  
fem. milking  

Class 2/3

(310)  

isàrisàra eléporè  

i- sar - isar - a en - lep - ore  

2pl. do quickly RED a sg. fem. milking ore  

imperative

milk quickly!

Class 2/3

(311)  

isàrisàra èrâñärè  

i- sar - isar - a en- ran - are  

2pl. do quickly RED a sg. fem. dance are  

imperative

dance quickly!

Class 2/3

(312)  

ètâsióyè  

e - ta - sio - e  

3 past leave e early  

She left early.  
The final “e” indicates that this is a reflexive verb.

(313)  

asieki oji àlepîjo  

a- sieki oji a - lep- iʧ- o  

1 sg. do early usually sg. milk is o  

I usually milk early.

Class 2/3

(314)  

kisièki oji à[ə]lepîjo  

ki - sieki oji a[a] - lepiʃo  

1 pl. do early usually pl. do milk  

We usually milk early?  

Note the tonal differences between (313) and (314).  
Is the “a” in “àalepîso” long or not?
(315) àálépókì àśiekì  

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| a | oki 

1 sg – milk appl. sg. do
2 sg early
I will milk for you early.
The *you* shows up on the highest clause. Compare with (316).

(316) àáśíèkì àlépòkì  

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1 sg – do sg. milk appl.
2 sg early
I will milk for you early.
The *you* shows up on the highest clause. Compare with (315).

(317) kílépòkyè ááśièkì  

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1 pl. milk appl. you pl. do inf. early
We will milk for you early.

(318) àáttálépòkò  

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1 sg – past milk appl.
2sg past
I milked it for you.

(319) étálepókì  

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3 past milk pass
It was milked.

(320) àáttálèpòkôí  

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| a | ok | oki 

3 – 1 past milk appl. pass. sg.
It was milked for me.
The one that was milked for me was nice.

Thursday 1:30 Elicitation
02/03/00
Kristie, Melissa

- Passive verbal morphology only seems to be used when there is not an overt agent.
- Saningo clarified the tonal distinction between verbs with nominative relative morphemes and verbs with accusative relative morphemes.
- The subject clitics don’t seem to co-occur with the relative morphemes.
- The contained subject-object pronouns do co-occur with the relative morphemes.

The boys were carried.

It was the boys who were carried.

The boy was carried.

It was the boy who was carried.
The girl was carried.

It was the girl who was carried.

It was the girl who was carried by the boy.
- There is no passive morpheme when there is an overt agent.
- In the OVS construction the verb is marked with the relative object morpheme which carries a low tone.
- The H tone on the final V of the verb shows agreement with a singular subject.
- /alayeni/ has an accusative tonal pattern: LHLL (phrase final), LHHH (non-phrase final)

It was the girl that was carried by the boys.
- The HL tone on the final V shows verbal agreement with a plural subject.
- /ilayok/ has a nominative tonal pattern: LHL (phrase final), LHH (non-phrase final)
- There is no passive morpheme because there is an overt agent.

It was the girl who carried the boy.
- /alayeni/ has an accusative tonal pattern: LLHL
- The relative subject morpheme has a high tone.
- /endito/ has the default (accusative) tonal pattern because it precedes the verb.
- There is no passive morpheme because there is an overt agent.
I saw the girl that was carried.

- /endito/ has the accusative tonal pattern: LHH (non-phrase final) (it is LHL phrase-finally).

I saw the girl that carried it.

- The relative subject morpheme has a H tone.
- The H tone on the final V of the verb is lost in phrase final position.

The cow that was driven

- /engiten/ is the subject. This is marked by the H tone on the relative subject morpheme/na/.
- /engiten/ has the default tonal marking, not the nominative, because it precedes the verb.

The boy milked the cow.

- passive morphology when there is not an overt agent.
(337) étálépō ĭlāyık êŋıtēŋ
   e-ta-lep-ō il-ayök ĭn-kitēŋ
3 ta milk V past p.m.D boys s.f.D cow
pl.
The boys milked the cow.

(338) átáduā ŝngıtēŋ nātāpēlō ĭlāyök
   a-ta-du-a ĭn-kitēŋ nā-ta-lep-ō il-ayök
1 ta see V s.f.D cow relative, ta milk V p.m. boys
   past accusative past D
I saw the cow that the boys milked /I saw the cow that was milked by the boys.

(339) étálépō ŝngıtēŋ
   a-ta-lep-ō ĭn-kitēŋ
1 ta milk V past s.f.D cow
I milked the cow.

(340) nānō nātālēpō ŝngıtēŋ
   nanō nā-ta-lep-ō ĭn-kitēŋ
I relative, ta milk V past, 3 s.f.D cow
   nominative sing.
I (feminine) was the one that milked the cow.
• The tonal pattern of the verb with the relative morpheme seems to be the 3rd sing. subject tonal
   pattern: HLLH. Compare with the tonal pattern of 1st sing. HHHL tonal pattern.
• It seems that subject clitics do not appear on the verb when there is a relative morpheme(either
   subject or object).
• Here the subject must be feminine: /nā/

(341) nānō átálepō ŝngıtēŋ
   nanō ŕ-ta-lep-ō ĭn-kitēŋ
I relative, ta milk V past, 3 s.f.D cow
   nominative sing.
I (masculine) was the one that milked the cow.
• / ŕ/ is realized as /a/ because of [-round] harmony.
• In this case the subject must be masculine.
I was the one that milked the cow, it was not Toret that milked it.

The cow kicked me.

- I must have the tones wrong here because the nominative should be LLH. I have the check with Saningo.
- The grammar says that the verb to kick is /aɾa/. The past is irregular, in the same way that /adəl/ is irregular.

It was the cow that kicked me, not the goat.
It was the goat that kicked me, not the cow.

• LLH nominative tonal pattern is LLL in phrase final position.

• more on nine: “even”:
  o it is indeed homophonous with the strong form of third pronoun;
  o it does not vary for person, nor number.
  o it must be post I;
  o so far restricted to finite clauses
  o precedes its associate, (DP, Adv, InfP, PP) unless the associate is the V;
  o when nine precedes, not clear yet if associate must immediately follow nine, or if material can intervene. (not clear to me how to analyze even also he: even also he, or even[also he], to be checked further with past tense adverbs, and objects (with both object and subject present)

• passive form with –ai:
  o gets interpretation: can be V-ed;
  o it is not an A (like sidai), since it is preceded by SA.
  o the DP in the by/with phrase seems to have nominative.

Usually even a child can do/does this

• Even and usually can be in either order;
• not immediately clear if there are differences in interpretation with differences in order;
• usually in this example seems to carry focus: aki so far was strictly pre I.; explore further

Even I can do this

• even (e.g. ‘him’) does not vary with person

Even you can do this too

• even can never precede finite I.
(352) นี่ดิม นิง เช่ยัตตาสม
  i- in.dim นิง เย่ a ร a a
 2sg can ‘him’ you to.sg ร ร do a
  ‘even you are able to do it’
  o aidim takes infinitive a followed by ร

(353) ถ้า ล่อล่่ก้ากับ เศ้นปีกเวลา น-needed
  ε- ร ล่่ก้ากับ เศ้ L ศิล เหน่้ก้ากับ ก้ากับ ม- ε- ε น-needed
  3sg is 3sg walk sg.f child but neg it is A lot
  ‘The child is now walking, but not a lot/but not quite’
  • no adverb/verb for ‘almost’ (the child can almost walk)
  • ก้ากับ (but) has akl in it..

(354) นี่ดิม นิง ภักธิดา
  ε- in.dim นิง ร a- ริ-ก้า
  3sg can even to.sg count do
  ‘he can even count’ (talking about a little child)

(355) ย่ายารี นี่นี่
  ε- รย-ก้า-ก้า ร-ก้า ก้า
  3sg boil ก้า ร ก้า ก้า ก้า‘it can also even be boiled’

(356) เส้นนี่นี่ นี่นี่
  ε- ร ก้า ก้า ร ก้า ก้า ก้า ร ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ‘it can also even be boiled’

(357) ริสูดา
  ε- รย-ก้า-ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ก้า ‘It can be washed/it is washable’
(358) ȩísúdài èlé kàrāʃá
ε-  i-  sudj - a - i  èlé  kàrāʃá
3sg  in  wash  refl?  pass  this  cloth(no m?)
‘This cloth t can be washed/it is washable ’
•  arkarɑʃ(a)  arkarahà (acc)
•  recheck tones
•  do not understand the syntax (passive >refl??)what is going on here?

(359) ȩísúdai  tàsábùnì
ε -  i -  sudj - a - i  t a-  sabuni
3sg  in  wash  a  pass  t  sg.m  soap(nom)
it can be washed with soap (with a big basin of soap)
•  no additional instrumental morphology (check to see if this is excluded)
•  form after P carries nominative; check to see if this is always the case or if this is related to passive.

(360) ęsàbùnì
en-  sabúni
sg.f  soap-sg
‘soap’
•  the tones of soap (loan from Romance via Swahili?) are like those of alayeni

(361) şidai ęsábùnì
şidai  en-  sabuni
is-  sg.f  soap
nice

(362) àúríʃó  tátà
a-  ur - iso  taata
1sg  be-  do  now  afraid
‘I am afraid now’
(363) ùuríjó nĩné táată
   a-    ur - iso nine taata
1sg  be-    do  
afraid
‘even now I’m afraid’

(364) ùuríjó sìi táată
   a-    ur - iso sii taata
1sg  be-    do also now  
afraid
‘even now/also now I am afraid
   • not clear what meaning difference with previous form is

(365) è tìi èsùlè
   e-    tii  e-  jule
3sg  be-at sg.f school
‘he is ta school

2/8/00
Robin’s elicitation

- m-subjunctive always with tV morphology except if verb is irregular, like mekweta, mejììmo (1,3)
- Checking auxiliary verbs and the forms of the verbs that follow.
   Depending on aux, we get:
   m-subjunctive  m-e -ta-ran-a (6)
   inf-stem      aa-tur (9)
   inf-tV-stem-V aa-ta-ran-a (11)

- Need to confirm, but looks like in the infinitive with tV morphology, we get the ki form of the applied.
   Usually ki is used in the non-past, and ko/ka is used with tV morph. in the past and imperative. (18)

(366) edòkì résói alayéni mekwè tà
   e -  d’oki - resoi al- ayeni m  e  kwet a
3sg  say  resoi sg.m boy m- 3sg  run V
Resoi tells the boy to run

Last time I was looking at m- subjunctives, trying to see how they are formed. I found that (for Class I verbs of course) they almost always take the ta past/imp past, except in cases like this one, from 11/16 KM #15. It turns out that kwÈt run is an irregular verb. Page 86 of the grammar says that in a few Class I verbs the t-prefix is lacking.
(367) ákwéta ákwétá
a- kwet a - a kwet a
1sg run run V 1sg run V
I will run Run! I ran

Summary of irregular Class I verb run

(368) ed'óki résoi alayéní melmono
e- d'óki- resoi- al - alayeni m - é jémono
3sg say r sg.m boy m - 3sg go
Resoi tells the boy to go.
One of the few other cases where m- occurs without the ta. Go is irregular, with lo as the non-past stem and Somo as the past stem.

(369) tiákí yóok mátaran
tiakí- yook m- a ta ran
- tell us m- 1 ? ta sing
Tell us to sing!

(370) etiáki éndaran
é- tiákí én ta ran
3sg tell 2.pl ta sing
He told you pl. to sing

(371) ..... metárana
m - é ta ran a
m- 3 ta sing V
(He told )..them to sing

(372) etiáki olée peé ménap éngitabu ene
é- tiákí ol leé pee m e nap éngitabu ene -
3sg tell sg.m man pee neg 3sg carry book his
The man told him not to carry his book.
This is one form of the subjunctive, pee + non past. It is ok to follow pee with a negative. Compare with following.

(373) etiáki olée peé [m ínap ] éngitabu ene
mi- nap
neg carry
The man told him not to carry his book.
Same meaning as previous. Neg can’t occur with m- subjunctive, just as in imperatives. At least in some contexts, the 2 forms of the subjective are interchangeable.
(374) əfmə̀ əʊtʊ r əŋɜrmə̀  R 2/8
ɛ-ʃomo əʊtʊr əŋ ɜrmə̀ - - - - -
3sg go inf.sg dig sg.f field
He has gone to hoe the field.
Checking verb sequencing. Here, using the infinitive
Not totally sure if inf is əə or ə. Sounds long.

(375) əfomə̀ɪto əʊtʊ r əŋɜrmə̀  R 2/8
ɛ-ʃomo ɪto əʊtʊr əŋ ɜrmə̀ - - - - -
3sg go prog inf.pl dig sg.f field
They have gone to hoe the field
I think we’ve seen this before: plural with Somo have prog ending

(376) əyɪoʊlo əʊtərənə  R 2/8
a--yiolo əʊtʊr əŋ ɜrmə̀ a - - - - - - -
1sg know inf tV sing V
I know how to sing
Here, we have infinitive a or əə with the tV past/imp stem.

(377) əyɪoʊlo əʊtərənə  R 2/8
ɛ yɪolo əʊtʊr əŋ ɜrmə̀ a - - - - - - -
3sg know inf.pl tV sing
They know how to sing.

(378) əyɪoʊlo əsʊdja  R 2/8
a- yɪolo a ɪsʊdja - - - - - - -
1sg know inf wash
I know how to wash
Checking same as above with Class II verb

(379) əyɪoʊlo əsʊdja  R 2/8
ɛ yɪolo a ɪsʊdja - - - - - - -
3 know inf.pl wash
They know how to wash

(380) ətɪpə əʊtənə  R 2/8
a- ətɪp aa- tʊr əŋ ɜrmə̀ a - - - - - - -
1sg finish inf.sg tV sing V
I have finished singing
They have finished singing

Can you sing?

I can milk it for you

I will continuously milk for you

I refuse to milk (I refuse milking)

I refuse to run (running)
VSO has active translation and VOS has a passive translation in present tense sentences also.

OVS constructions in the present with the relative object morpheme exist (see 6), but Saningo says they are difficult to process (They sound too similar to SVO?).

The tonal patterns of the OVS constructions are much less ambiguous than the tonal patterns of SVO construction. In the OVS constructions the object still has the accusative pattern and the agent has the nominative tonal pattern. In the SVO constructions (see 3) all of the arguments have the default/accusative tonal pattern. Maybe this is part of the reason why OVS constructions (see 4) are able to occur without the (extra) object relative morpheme (since the tone of this morpheme agrees in case with the extracted argument). In OVS constructions the case of the arguments is still clear from the tonal patterns. In the SVO construction the case of the arguments is ambiguous (no tonal distinction) and the relative morpheme has a nominative tonal marking (H).

(387) ęnáp `iláyɔk èndítò
  ě- nap il - ayɔk en - tìto
3 carry p.m.D boys s.f.D girl
The boys will carry the girl.

VSO: active
/ílayok/ LHH nominative tonal pattern (non-phrase final)
/endito/ LHL accusative tonal pattern (phrase final)

(388) ęnáp èndítò `iláyɔk
  ě- nap en - tìto il - ayɔk
3 carry s.f.D girl p.m.D boys
The girl will be carried by the boys.

VOS: passive
/endito/ LHH accusative tonal pattern (non-phrase final)
/ílayok/ LHL nominative tonal pattern (phrase final)

(389) `iláyɔk áánáp èndítò
  il - ayɔk 5ɔ- nap en - tìto
p.m. boys relative, s.f.D girl
D nominative
It is the boys who will carry the girl.

SVO
The subject relative morpheme /5ɔ/ undergoes [-round] harmony.
/ílayok/ has default (accusative) pattern when it precedes the verb.
/endito/ LHL accusative tonal pattern (phrase final)
It is the girl that will be carried by the boys.

- **OVS**: no relative object morpheme.
- `/endito/ still has accusative tonal pattern and /ilayök/ has nominative tonal pattern. The tonal patterns of the OVS constructions are much less ambiguous than the SVO tonal patterns (in the SVO constructions all of the arguments have the accusative tonal pattern).

It is the girl that will carry the boys.

- **VSO**
- `/endito/ has default/accusative tonal pattern LHH (the nominative is LLH)

It is the girl that will carry the boys.

- **OVS**
- Saningo says this form is grammatically correct but it is not preferred because it is hard to understand. He said that you could say this, but someone might ask for clarification (it seems to be hard to convey the tonal distinction of the verb for some reason. Maybe a low tone is less audible[see notes])
- This construction does not present a problem when it is in the past tense (see KM 2/03 /enditó nàtànápà ilayök/ "It was the girl that was carried by the boys"

I saw the girls’ goats.

- The genitive morpheme has an accusative tonal pattern because it agrees with /inkineji/.
- the genitive morpheme agrees in number with the possessor /intoye/ and in gender with /inkineji/

The girls’ goat is nice.

- /enkine/ LHL nominative tonal pattern.
- The genitive morpheme has a nominative tonal pattern because it agrees with /enkine/
I saw the girl’s nice goat.
- /enkine/ LHH accusative tonal pattern.
- genitive morpheme has an accusative tonal pattern because it agrees with /enkine/

The boys gave the girl a goat.
- HL tonal pattern of the final vowel of the verb marks agreement with 3 plur. subject.
- In all of theses examples /ei/ was more /i/; I'm not sure if it is long.

The boy gave the goat to the girl.
- /alayeni/ LHHH nominative tonal pattern (non-phrase final)
- H tone on the final vowel of the verb marks agreement with a 3 sing. subject.

The girl was given a goat.
- /ki/ passive morpheme: no overt agent.

It was the boys that gave the goat to the girl.
- /ilayok/ has the default/accusative pattern because it precedes the verb.
- HL tonal pattern on final vowel of the verb marks agreement 3 plur. subject.
- The relative morpheme has a HL tonal pattern because it was the subject that was extracted.
It was the girl that was given a goat by the boys.
- Here the passive morpheme is present even though there is an overt agent (the goat was given).
- The agent is phrase-final (not post-verbal as in 10)
- There is no relative morpheme.

It was the girl that gave me the goat.
- Subject relative with contained subject-object clitic.

The boys gave me the girl’s goat.
- The singular (possessor) genitive morpheme /e/ is homophonous with the s.f.D (they are probably both there. I should check if the tone varies when /engine/ is nominative. There should be a high tone on /e/ in /endito/.)

It was the goat that was given to me by the boy, not the cow.
- note that there is no passive morpheme (if there were it would be homophonous with “I was given”/ââifôoki/, where “I” is the direct object. I don’t know if that would make a difference)
(404) 'ilàyòk láàĩòò ëŋgììnë mèè ñòòyè
il- ayòk l- áà- i ñò- ñ en- kìne mèè in- toye
p.m. boys relat it- i give V s.f.D goat not p.f. girls
D ive me past, 3 D.
pl.
It was the boys that gave me the cow, not the girls
• The masculine relative morpheme is /l/ when it precedes the contained subject-object clitic.
• I don’t have tones for /endoye/

(405) 'ilàyòk dëìfò ëŋgììnë írpàyàni mèè ñòòyè nààiíòò
il- ayòk ñò- i ñò- ñ en kìne il- payàni mèè
p.m. boys relative, i give V s.f. goat p.m. elders not
D nominati ve past, 3 D. pl.
in- toye nàà- i - ñò- ñ
p.f.D. girls relative, nominative i give V past, 3 pl.
It was the boys who gave the goat to the elders, not the girls who gave it (to them)
• /irpayani/ LLLH accusative tonal pattern.

(406) 'ilàyòk eìfò ërpàyàni ëŋgììnë mèè ñòòyè eìfò
il- ayòk è- i ñò- ñ il- payàni en- kìne mèè
p.m.D boys 3 i give V past, 3 pl. p.m.D elders s.f.D goat not
cont- in- toye è- i ñò- ñ
p.f.D. girls 3 i give V past
It was the boys to whom the elders gave the goat, no the girls (to whom ) they gave it.
• /irpayani/ LHLH nominative tonal pattern.

(407) 'ilàyòk eìfòòkì írpàyàni ëŋgììnë
il- ayòk è- i ñò- ñ - kì il- payàni en- kìne
p.m.D boys 3 i give V past passive p.m.D. elders s.f.D goat
It was the boys that were given a goat by the elders.
• passive morpheme /ki/ present even though there is an overt agent.

Hilda. Thursday Feb 10.
• I am trying to figure out how it is possible that the past tense morphology and imperative morphology (e.g. the ta-V-a morphology) are identical. What do the configurations that use this morphology have in common? I am exploring the following idea: the morphological forms are complements to a silent predicate, which roughly has the semantics of "get". (imperative: imp. get going, past I get going (I got going).) I want to try extend this to all cases where the ta-V-a morphology is used.

• I checked the interpretation of the ta-V-a morphology on stative verbs: not the state which is put in the past but the change of state. (I past get know/tall etc)

• I got some data on Ita- causatives (only combine with class 1 verbs). (Again, these forms contain the ta-part also found in imperatives and past tensed forms). These forms interact with the distinction between class 1 and class 2 verbs…

• More on the preposition tv:
  
  • Agreement pattern on the all purpose P t(e); so far looks like there is agreement in number and to a certain extent, gender? (very similar (identical?) to genitives with t = l/n.
  • singular (low) tone (e: fem) a (masc),
  • plural (low H) tone: oo: fem aa (ms)
  • Case of DP following tv = nominative

First a leftover from last week:

(408) óré níñe tèʃùle ńiró sìi
rev

when him at schoo 3sg speak also
l

even at school he talks

(409) óré níñe tèʃùle ańiró sìi

ore ninę t - eʃule e- iru sii

when him at schoo 1sg speak
l

even at school I talks

The tonal pattern of aidim + infinitive:

(410) áidim ańíròrò

a- idim a - iruru

lsg can to(sg) speak.red(?)

I can speak it
  • not sure about the form of to speak (is it redu? or something else, i.e. no epenthetical vowel

(411) iðim ańíròrò

e- idim a - iruru

3sg can to(sg) speak.red

He/she can speak it
past tense morphology on statives.

(414) 

eʃipà

e- ʃip - a
3pl happy a (refl?)
He/they are happy
no number agreement on reflexive V in non-past.

(415) 
etiʃipàfi

ε- ti - ʃip - ati
3pl ta happy refl.pl.past
They got happy
- past tense not on happy but on silent “get”
- reflexive verbs are like statives
- suffix= plural of past reflexive

(416) 
etiʃipè

ε- ti - ʃip - ε
3 ta happy refl.sg.past
He got happy
- past tense not on happy but on silent “get”
- reflexive verbs are like statives
- suffix= plural of past reflexive
(417)  ísúdà́fì
ε- isud - ati
3pl wash refl.p
1.past
“they washed” they got themselves washed” they are washed

(418)  étó́nó́rá
ε- ta - nọ́r - a
3sg ta love a
he fell in love “he got to love/loving”

(419)  étì́pì́dá
ε- ta - pi d- a
3rd ta brave a
‘he got brave’
• not clear where the d comes from: two allomorphs pi and pid; quite general with CV verbal
  (adjectival) predicates  (see below (d, r,

(420)  étá́yéwù
ε- ta - yew - o
3rd ta want a
He has come to want (“he got wanting”)
• we might expect: yewo but sounds more like yewu

(421)  étá́yéwtò
ε- ta - yew - to
3rd ta want pl-a
They have come to want (“They got wanting”)

(422)  kí́tá́yéwtò
ki- ta - yew - to
1pl ta want pl-a
We has come to want (“We got wanting”)
(423) ḳyēw
  i- yew ?
you want ?
Do you want (it?)

(424) ḳyēw
  i- yew u
you.pl want red
Do you guys want (it?)
• interesting plural reduplication..

(425) étōdōrō
  e- tō - dōr - o
3sg ta dō a
• not clear where –r comes from (two allomorphs: dō and dōr)
It got red

(426) étōdōrō
  e- ta- adōr o
3sg ta tall a
he got tall
• interesting tonal pattern.. (two allomorphs?: adō and adōr)

(427) ędō
  e- ćdō
3rd tall
he is tall

(428) ḳiṭiṣipà
  e- i- ta - ḳip - a
3d in ta happy pst?
*it made them (get) happy”
• causative on ta-form
• ta (causa) behaves like “past tense/imperative ta (as far as vowel copying is concerned)
• Final a seems to be “past tense morphology related”
(429) ɨ́tiʃip
   ɛ- i - ti - ʃip
3rd in ta happy
she will make-her/him happy
• check
• ita causative on -class1
• no final vowel

(430) ɨ́diʃipa
   in- ta - ʃip- a
in ta happy a
“make her/him happy”
• final part of imperative morphology

(431) ɨ́ʃipà
   ta- ʃip - a
ta happy a
“be happy” (get happy)

(432) ɨ́dɔɔdɔrɔ
   in- ta - ɔdɔr ɔ
in cause tall imp
‘Make it tall’

(433) ɨ́dɔdɔrɔ
   in- ta - ɔr - ɔ
in make red imp
‘Make it red’

(434) tʊrià
   t- ure - a -
ta be- imp
afraid
‘be afraid of him’
• raising of e to i; no vowel harmony on a!
(435)  ndùrià
   in-  t -  ure -  a
   in  caus  be-  imp
       afraid
   make him afraid! frighten /scare him

(436)  itùrè  irpàyànì  engéra
   e-  in -  t -  ure
3rd in  cause  be
       afraid
   “elders scare children/ make children be afraid”

•  non-past form

(437)  ãìtèjànà  èrewàtà  èŋgàrìm
   aa-  in -  te -  ṣeŋ -  a  e -  rew -  ata  eŋ -  garìm
he- in  cause  knowledge  past  sg.f  drive  nom  H.sg.f  car
me /smart  +hl
   ‘he taught me the driving of the car/how to drive a car’

(438)  tèŋeñù
   ta -  ṣeŋ -  a
   ta  smart  imp

(439)  ãìtèjànà
   a-  in -  te -  ṣeŋ -  a
   in  cause  knowledge  past
       /smart
   ‘I taught him’

(440)  màtèjànà
   ma-  te -  ṣeŋ -  a
let’s  ta  smart  a
   ‘Let’s be smart’
māittuā

ma- in - ū re a
lets in cause be afr a
aid

‘Let’s frighten them

mikintuē

mi- ki - in - ū re
neg 1pl in caus be
afraid

‘Let’s not frighten them’
• not absence of final a; entire verbal complex acts as i verb. (mi ki nap)

átiakā pī mēurijōi

a- t i ak-a pi m - ē - ū re - ijo - i
1sg ta i? appl so neg 3rd be do pass?

I told him he should not be afraid
• ure+i =i (again e+ I → i no length)
• do not understand the embedded form (they should not fear him?)

átiakā yōk mēurijōi

a- t i ak-a yok m - i - ū re - ijo - i
1sg ta i? appl us neg you be do pass.

I told us not to be afraid
• ure+i =i (again e+ I → i no length)
• still do not understand the embedded form (he told us: don’t you guys be afraid)

iyoł āisomā

i- yiolo a - isom a
2 know to sg read a

you know (how to) read
• this infinitive requires a ta-V-a form? check with carry a-ta-nap-a
(446)  itáyiélò àisómà
   i- ta - yielo a - isom a
2nd ta know to.sg read a
you got to know how to read → you know/learned how to read
  • don’t know what is going with vowels of know

(447)  ègól eŋgútök ármàsài
   e- gol - enŋ gotok ar - maasai
3 hard sg.f lang h.(no M
   age m)D
   (nom) m.sh
the Maasai language is difficult
  • hard (like wood), difficult

(448)  ìró eŋgútök àármasai
   i- iro
you speak
  • note of genitive varies with case of DP containing it.(accusative here, nominative in previous .
  • check case

(449)  ègól ènà kiàsàtà
   e- gol èna ki - as - at - a
3 hard this k? do at a
This is a difficult thing to do (of doing)
  • Don’t understand the nominalization. is ki (for us doing?) to check: o vary the controller.. (.

(450)  ègól ènà tè tòrèt
   e- gol ena te - toret
This is difficult for Toret

Agreement patterns on P (tv):
(451)  ègól èlepòrè ōníŋjífù té tòrèt
   e- gol - en - lep - ore o - inkjífù te- toret
   sg.f. milk nom h cows P+e Toret
The milking of cows is difficult for Toret
  • case on Toret is nom?
(452) toóndóyē

t oo n doye
for o.pl f. pl girl.pl
lh
for the girls
• agreement for gender and number (fem plural oo?)
• tone: lh (pl)
• Case on girls is nominative!

(453) tèndító

t en dito
for f.sg girl
for the girl
• tone: low for sg.

(454) tàáláyòk

for aa il ayok
pl. lh D.pl boys( nom)
for the boys
• aa (ms.pl, lh )

(455) tàláyènī

t al ayenī
boy.n
om
for the boy
• ms.sg a, 1

(456) tàldàkìtārī

t sg.m doctor(nom)
for the doctor

(457) tàáldàkìtārìnī

for the doctors
• interesting tones; h spreads onto first syllable of dakatarl
because

\( \text{àjipà ámò èfòmò} \)  
\( \text{a \ jip a amò è fom o} \)  
\( \text{I happy refl because 3s left past} \)  

I am happy because he left

PASSIVES

(459) \( \text{áatànàpàki} \)  
\( \text{aa- t- anap- a- ki} \)  
\( \text{it-me past carry past pass} \)  
\( \text{I was carried. “They” carried me} \)

(460) \( \text{ètànàpákì tòrèt} \)  
\( \text{e- t- anap- a- ki tòret} \)  
\( \text{3rd past carry past pass toret-acc} \)  
\( \text{Toret was carried.} \)

(461) \( \text{mìkitú sód’ì (yè)} \)  
\( \text{mi- ki- tu- sód’- i ye} \)  
\( \text{subj it-you tU follow pass you} \)  
\( \text{May you be followed!} \)  
\( \text{Imperative passive is subjunctive/optative. It is used for blessing.} \)

(462) \( \text{ńcò cò sód’ì} \)  
\( \text{ncò ki - sód’- i} \)  
\( \text{give- it-you follow pass} \)  
\( \text{imp} \)  
\( \text{lit: give so you may be followed. May you be followed!} \)

(463) \( \text{kìntèrà àasúd’l} \)  
\( \text{ki - nter - a àa - sud’-} \)  
\( \text{3rd- start past sg follo} \)  
\( \text{you} \)  
\( \text{He started to follow me.} \)  
\( \text{The tone on the agreement prefix ‘aa-’ of the infinitival form marks singular number.} \)
We will start to follow you.
The tone on the agreement prefix 'aa-' of the infinitival form marks the plural number.

You will be followed first.
- passive –i on start, not on infinitive
- infinitive is plural:
  structure is really: “they “ start to follow you”

He/she/it/they were carried.
- trying to figure out of subject triggers plural agreement

I was carried.

I will be carried.

We will be carried.

We are brave today
(471) kitánápākì
ki - ta - nap- a - ki
2sg ta carry past pass
You (sg) were carried.

(472) ènàpì ndaì
ɛ - nap- i ndai
3rd carry pass 2pl
You (pl) will be carried.

(473) étánápākì ñdaì
ɛ - ta - nap- a - ki ndai
3rd ta carry past pass 2pl
You (pl) were carried.

(474) ènàpì
ɛ - nap - i
3rd carry pass
He/she/it/they will be carried.

(475) kìnápì
ki - nap - i
2sg carry pass
You will be carried.

(476) inápápà
i - nap - a - pa
2pl carry refl red
You (pl) were carried.
• reduplicated form of reflexive

(477) èrik ñgiʃu ãinẹi ɪlmúràn
ɛ - rik ngiʃu ainei ilmuran
3rd lead cows pl. my warriors
ACC (pl) NOM
My cows will be led by the warriors.
In Hollis, this is given with passive morpheme;
no passive morpheme when subject is present; This is Kristie’s OS structure..
(478) èpì ilmùràn  cl_2/15
è - pi - ilmuran
3rd brave warriors
NOM
Warriors are brave.

(479) àtádúà ilmùràn  cl_2/15
a - ta - du - a ilmuran
1sg past see past warriors
ACC
I saw the warriors.
HL is the tonal pattern for accusative forms in sentence final position. (otherwise hh, see next example)

(480) àtádúà ilmùràn n̥̄o le  cl_2/15
a - ta - du - a ilmuran n̥̄o le
1sg past see past warriors yesterday
ACC
I saw the warriors yesterday.
HH is the tonal pattern for accusative forms that are not in sentence final position.

(481) ètoriko ngijù áinêi  ilmùràn  cl_2/15
è - to - rik - o ngijù ainei ilmuran
3rd past lead past cows my (pl) warriors
ACC NOM
My cows were led by the warriors.
The verbal form is active even if the interpretation seems to be close to the interpretation of passive forms in English.

(482) èrikí ngijù áinêi  cl_2/15
è - rik - i ngijù ainei
3rd lead pass cows my (pl)
ACC
My cows will be led.
The agent is not realized and the passive morphology shows up on the verb.

2/15/00 Elicitation Session
Robin

- Auxiliary verbs: nar (beseems), òn (still), aku (it chanced that), and where negation can go with these
- For “must,” have to use meáta “there is no way that” followed by a verb in the negative (see 16, 18) or use a borrowing from Swahili, “lasima” (see 17)
- tɛ for “if” Looks like at least in some cases, it is optional. If present, it can take the form tɛ or ɛ.

(483)  
kináře  örgiʃoi  
kí - nare  ol  gib ọlọ - - - - - -  
it-you beseem sg.m ring  
The ring looks nice on you (beseems you)

(484)  
enáře  tɛ  náran  
ɛ- nare  tɛ  n  a  ran  - - - - - -  
3sg beseem if n 1sg sing  
It is appropriate if I sing  
tɛ: this means “if.” I’m not sure if it should be considered a separate word or part of the verb. It is optional, at least in this context. This sentence could also be: enáře  náran. Also, there are two forms, tɛ and ɛ. Saningo says there is no difference. I notice that in 2-11 here he used tɛ with present tense and ɛ with past, although I would have to check to see if that is significant.

(485)  
enáře  tɛ  níran  
ɛ- nare  tɛ  n  t  ran  - - - - - -  
3sg beseem n 2sg sing  
It is appropriate if you sing.  
Also not sure how to translate nare in impersonal form. Grammar says “ought” or “beseems”, maybe “is appropriate”

(486)  
enáře  tɛ  nükiran  
ɛ- nare - tɛ-  n  ki  ran  - - - - - -  
3sg beseem n 1pl sing  
It is appropriate if we sing.

(487)  
enáře  apa  ɛ  nitarana  
ɛ- nare  apa  ɛ  n  t  ta  ran  a  - -  
3sg beseems past if n 2sg tV sing V  
it was appropriate that you sang

(488)  
enáře  apa  ɛ  natarana  
ɛ- nare  apa  ɛ  n  a  ta  ran  a  - -  
3sg beseems past if n 1sg tV sing V  
It was appropriate that I sang.
(489) enáré te némaran
ε - nare te ne- m a ran - - - -
3sg beseems if n neg 1sg sing
It is appropriate if I don’t sing

(490) menáre te náran
m- ε nare te n a ran - - - -
neg 3sg beseems if n 1sg sing
It’s not appropriate if I sing

(491) menáre te níran
m- ε nare te n i ran - - - -
neg 3sg beseems if n 2sg sing
It’s not appropriate if you sing

(492) menáré apá nítarana
m- ε nare ap- n i ta ran a - -
neg 3sg besseem past n 2g tV sing V
It wasn’t appropriate that you sang.

(493) enáré (te) nítu íràn
ε - nare (tE) n i tu ran - - - -
3sg beseems if n 2sg neg sing
It was appropriate that you didn’t sing
The te is optional

(494) etón étüríto energies
ε - ton e tur ito energies - - - -
3sg sit 3sg dig prog sg.f field
He is still digging (hoeing) the field

(495) meákure eturito energies
m- e aku re e tur ito energies -
neg 3sg become ? 3sg dig prog sg.f field
He is no longer digging the field (It doesn’t happen/chance that he is digging)
see aku in following sentences
(496) nèákù áinòtò
n-ε an ok o inot o- - - - -
n 3sg become 1sg get V
It happened that I got it.
“become” takes the meaning of happened or chanced in an impersonal construction like this.

(497) nèákù áinótóko
n-ε an ok o ko - - - -
n 3sg become I-you get V appl
It happened that I got it for you.

(498) meàta péè mámér ëŋjitéŋ àì
m ε ata pe m a mér eŋ giteŋ ai- -
m 3sg have pee m 1sg sell sg.f cow my
I must sell my cow. It has nothing (there is no way) that I won’t sell my cow.
I asked S. how to say “I must sell my cow” and he gave me this. He says it is totally natural and there is no other way to say “must” except in a Swahili borrowing (next)

(499) lásimá paa mámér ëŋjitéŋ àì
lasima - paa - mer eŋ giteŋ ai- - - - - -
I must pee sell sg.f cow my
I must sell my cow.
“lasima” a borrowing from Swahili, actually not sure if it means “I must” or just general necessity.
Alternative to previous sentence.

(500) meàta péè míkíránáki
m ε ata pe m kí - ran - akí - - -
m 3sg have pee m he-you sing appl
He must sing to you.

(501) (t)ε nàran na小朋友
će- n a ran n a ˌ小朋友 - - - -
if n 1sg sing n 1sg be happy
If I sing, I will be happy.
tE or t is ok, same meaning.

(502) kinárë ærkàraʃá ɔdɔ te níranë
ki- nare al karaʃa ɔdɔ- te n i ran - - -
it-you beseems sg.m cloth red if n 2sg dance
You look good dancing in the red dress. Lit: It beseems you if you dance with the red cloth.
Compare with earlier sentences (2-11). Here impersonal aux with contained object prefix, overt object, and main verb.
(503) ànáp èŋgeráì

<a><n>nap - èn - kerai</n></a>

I carry s.f.D child
I will carry the child.

(504) nànó ánàp

nanô o - <n>nap</n>
I relative, nom. sg. masc. carry
It is me/I who will carry it. (masculine subject)
• Verb seems to be in the 3rd person singular.
• /a/ is realized as /a/ because of [-round] harmony. H tone marks nominative case.

(505) nànó nánàp

nanô ná - <n>nap</n>
I relative, nom. sg. fem. carry
It is me/I who will carry it (feminine subject)

(506) ènáp tórët èŋgeráì

<e>nap tórët èn - kerai</e>
3 carry tórët s.f.D child
Toret will carry the child.
• /tórët/ nominative tonal pattern HH
• /èŋgeráì/ accusative phrase final LLL

(507) ènáp èŋgeráì tórët

<e>nap èn - kerai tórët</e>
3 carry s.f.D child tórët
Toret will carry the child (or the child will be carried by tórët)
• /tórët/ nominative phrase final tonal pattern HL
• /èŋgeráì/ non-phrase final accusative tonal pattern LHH

(508) ànánàp nànô ìyé

ànánàp nànô yé

aa- <n>nap- nanô iye</n>
I-you carry I you
I will carry you.
• /nanô iye/ is completely optional.
• The /i/ of /ìyé/ was elided.
(509)  nànó lánàp
nanu ló- nap
I relative, nominative, carry
sg. masc.
It is me who will carry it (him/her/they)
• This is the same as 2; the /l/ seems to be optional.

(510)  nànó láanàp
nanu l- áa- nap
I relative, masc. I-you carry
It is me who will carry you.
• It is possible that the contained subject-object pronoun has a nominative, HL tonal pattern.

(511)  nànó lêmàànàp
nanu lé- m - aa- nap
I relative, masc., neg. I-you carry
nominative
It is not me who will carry you.
• /le/ again has H tonal pattern (nominative); the contained object pronoun does not have the usual HL tonal pattern.

(512)  nànó lêmènàp
nanu lé- m - ε- nap
I relative, masc., nominative neg. 3 carry
I will not carry him (it is not me who will carry him)

(513)  nànó nêmènàp
nanu né- m - ε- nap
I relative, fem., nominative neg. 3 carry
I will not carry him (female subject)

(514)  ndái lîtù énàp
ndái l- εitu- ε- nap
you-pl relative, masc. not 3 carry
You-pl did not carry it. (it was not you-pl who carried it)
• This shows clearly that the verb is 3rd person.
• H nominative tone seems to fall on the negative /eitu/
(515)  ndáí lémènàp

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ndai} & \text{lé-} & \text{m} & \text{ɛ-} \\
  \text{you-pl} & \text{relative, masc., nominative} & \text{neg.} & \text{3 carry}
\end{array}
\]

It will not be you-pl who will carry it.

(516)  ndáí lémèlep

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ndai} & \text{lé-} & \text{m} & \text{ɛ-} \\
  \text{you-pl} & \text{relative, masc., nominative} & \text{neg.} & \text{3 milk}
\end{array}
\]

It will not be you-pl who will milk it.

- should confirm vowel of relative morpheme. The grammar shows a /i/ /e/ alternation in this morpheme.

(517)  nànó lémààrìk

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{nano} & \text{lé} & \text{m} & \text{aa} & \text{rik} \\
  \text{I relative, masc. nominative} & \text{neg.} & \text{I-you lead}
\end{array}
\]

It is not me/I who will lead you.

(518)  èná kérãí nànàp

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ëna-} & \text{kérãi} & \text{nà} & \text{nap} \\
  \text{s.f Demonstrative child relative, fem. sg. carry}
\end{array}
\]

It is that child that I will carry.

- L tone on relative marks accusative.

(519)  èná kérãí nèmàànàp

1. \[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ëna-} & \text{kérãi} & \text{nè} & \text{m} & \text{a} & \text{nap} \\
  \text{s.f Demonstrative child relative, accusative, fem. neg. 1 carry}
\end{array}
\]

2. \[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ëna-} & \text{kérãi} & \text{nè} & \text{m} & \text{aa} & \text{nap} \\
  \text{s.f Demonstrative child relative, accusative, fem. neg. I-you carry}
\end{array}
\]

1. It is this child that I will not carry.
2. “that child, I won’t carry you”

- /à/ could seem long because of the low tone.: “it is that child that I will not carry”.
2. /aa/ “I-you”: “that child, I won’t carry you”

- There may be a tonal or length difference that would distinguish the two interpretations.
aànàp’iyé nànó
aa- nap- iye nanô
I-you carry you I
I will carry you
I am the one who will carry you.
• “There are too many I’s”: could be OK in the right context.

ènápáì èŋgérâí te nànó
ε- nap- a- i- ën - kerai te nanô
3 carry V refl.? passive s.f.D child prep. I
According to me, the baby will be carried(is carry-able).
• There cannot be an interpretation where ‘nanô’ is the person doing the carrying.
• There has to be a “can be carried” interpretation, not passive interpretation.

ènàpí èŋgérâí
ε- nap i ën - kerai
3 carry passive s.f.D child
The child will be carried.

èŋgérâí ènàpí
ën - kerai ε- nap i
s.f.D child 3 carry passive
It is the child that will be carried.
• object extraction without a relative morpheme

èŋgérâí nànàpí
ën - kerai nà - nap- i
s.f.D child relative, sg. carry passive
fem. accusative
It is the child that will be carried.
• Saningo gave a slightly different interpretation for this construction with the relative morpheme;
  possibly seems more like and embedded clause.(however, we have many examples of embedded clauses where the object is extracted and there is no relative morpheme.)

èŋgérâí ètânápâ
ën - kerai ε- ta nap â
s.f.D child 3 ta carry V past 3 plur.
It is the child that they carried.
It is the child to be carried.
• I must have the tones wrong. This is nominative case. (should be accusative; LHH)

• “middle voice” constructions have a nominative argument (see 7)
• “passive” constructions have an accusative argument (see 8)
• When /iʃo/ is present there is only 1 nominative argument (intransitive). I tried to elicit a form which would have both /ki/ and /iʃo/ (see 23), “The boys that do the milking for me are nice”, but there was no possible form. It seems that /ki/ and /iʃo/ cannot co-occur (probably because there is a strict 1 argument limit when /iʃo/ is present). See also earlier session by Robin on the same fact.
• The matrix verb assigns case to both the head noun of the relative, and the relative morpheme clitic (see 13). In Maasai, the case of the relative morpheme is determined by the matrix clause, not the embedded clause. (D agrees with the head noun in Case.)
• (36) to (39) are very interesting because the case of the genitive morpheme is determined by the matrix clause and the case of the relative morpheme is determined by the embedded clause. (40) shows that in the absence of the genitive construction, the case of the relative is determined by the matrix clause.
• All verbs with the relative morpheme clitics can be nominalized (the one who “verb”, the one who is “verbed”) by prefixing the verbal form with the determiner clitic (or something that is very similar to the determiner).
• Genitive constructions can be nominalized by adding the determiner clitic
• 23 may be an example of external possession. This construction also contains a morpheme(s) that I have never seen; /tio/, /tia/. These express plural agreement.
• It is possible that the contained subject-object morpheme /aa/ also has a tonal pattern that marks case. (see 30)

(526)  etælepò ’ilayɔk  ینیسیفو
   e-      ta-    lep-  õ   il-     ayɔk   in-    kiʃu
   e      ta      milk     V past, 3 p.   p.m.D       boys   p.f.D    cows
The boys milked the cows.
• VSO
• It is strange that the singular of cows is –ATR and the plural is +ATR (this needs to be confirmed; we have transcribed it this way and the dictionary says the same).

(527)  یلایɔk  åtælepò  ینیسیفو
   il-     ayɔk   ɔɔ-     ta-    lep-  õ    in-    kiʃu
   p.m.D    boys    relative,   nominative   ta     milk     V past, 3 p.   p.f.D    cows
It was the boys who milked the cows.
• SVO
• /ilayɔk/ has accusative/default tonal marking because it precedes the verb.
• The plural relative morpheme has a nominative tonal pattern: HL (extracted argument is subject of the embedded clause)

(528)  ɛlepò  ینیسیفو
   e-      lep-  o-   in-    kiʃu
   3       milk      V      p.f.D     cows
The cows are milked.
• This seems to be a “middle voice” type construction.
• I would like to hear the final vowel of the verb again, because I would expect a HL tonal contour since the subject is plural.
• I think that “cows” is nominative, but there doesn’t seem to be an accusative nominative tonal distinction for this word in the plural. (they sounded the same to me, maybe because it is phrase final.)
(529) étálépkì íŋgiʃù
    e- ta - lep - o - ki in - kifù
e ta milk V past passive p.f.D cows
The cows were milked.
• /ki/ passive morpheme when there is no overt agent.

(530) sidán íŋínèdʒì
    sidan in - kinedʒì
nice p.f.D goats
The goats are nice.
• /inkineji/ LLLL nominative tonal pattern

(531) átādùa íŋínèdʒì
da - ta - du - a in - kinedʒì
1 ta see V past p.f.D goats
I saw the goats.
• /inkineji/ LLLL accusative tonal pattern.

(532) ëlèpò íŋínèdʒì
e- lep- o in - kinedʒì
3 milk V p.f.D goats
The goats are milked
• The is the nominative tonal pattern for /inkineji/: LHLL.
• The “middle voice” construction has a nominative argument.

(533) étálépòkì íŋínèdʒì
e- ta - lep - o - ki in - kinedʒì
e ta milk V past passive p.f.D goats
The goats were milked.
• passive constructions have an accusative argument.
• /ki/ present when there is no overt agent.

(534) étálépò ìláyòk
    e- ta - lep - ô il - ayòk
e ta milk V past, 3 p. p.m.D boys
The boys milked it.
The boys did the milking.

- I think that /iʃote/ is one morpheme. It is the past allomorph of /iʃo/.
- When /iʃote/ or /iʃo/ are present there can be no object. (only 1 nominative argument is possible).

It was the boys who did the milking.

- HL tonal pattern on plural relative morpheme because the extracted argument is nominative.
- /ilayok/ has default tonal pattern because it precedes the verb.

I saw the boys that milked the goat.

- /atadua/ (matrix verb) assigns accusative case to both /ilayok/ and the relative morpheme /oo/ which has a LH, accusative, tonal pattern, even though the extracted argument is the subject of embedded clause.

I saw the ones(masc.) who milked the goat.

- It seems that all of the verbs with the relative morpheme can be nominalized by adding the determiner.
- The relative morpheme still has the accusative, LH, tonal pattern.
The boys who milked the goat are nice.
- Compare with 13 (form with /atadua/): The relative morpheme has the nominative, HL, tonal pattern, and /ilayok/ has nominative pattern. Again the case of the relative morpheme is determined by the matrix clause.

The ones (masc.) that milked the goat are nice.
- /naa/ has the accusative tonal pattern, even though the extracted argument is the subject of the embedded clause. /atadua/ (matrix verb) assigns accusative case.

The ones (fem.) that milked the cow are nice.
- /naa/ has the nominative tonal pattern. /sidan/ (matrix clause) assigns nominative case.

I saw the boys that did the milking.
- Here again the relative morpheme has the accusative, LH, tonal marking even though the extracted argument is the subject of the lower clause. /atadua/ (matrix verb) assigns accusative case.

I saw the ones (fem.) that milked the goat.
- Here again the relative morpheme has the accusative, LH, tonal marking even though the extracted argument is the subject of the lower clause. /atadua/ (matrix verb) assigns accusative case.

Compare with 11 where the relative morpheme has the nominative, HL, tonal marking.
The boys that did the milking are nice.

- both /ilayok/ and the relative morpheme has nominative case tonal patterns.(compare with 19)

I saw the ones (fem.) that were milked.

- The relative morpheme has the accusative tonal marking.
- There is object extraction and then nominalization of the relative construction.

The ones (fem.) that were milked are nice.

- The relative morpheme has a nominative tonal pattern because of /sidan(the matrix clause)/(even though there was object extraction and then nominalization.)

The boys who milked the(my) goats for me are nice.

- I asked for “The boys who did the milking for me are nice”. Saningo couldn’t think of a construction like this with /iʃo/. Maybe you cannot have /ki/ “for me”and /iʃo/ together (since this morpheme seems to limit the arguments to 1 nominative argument).
- In this construction a direct object is obligatory (according to Saningo).
- I have no idea what the “tio” part is.
- I am not sure if the /aa/ “it-me” contained morpheme has an underlying HL tonal pattern, or if this is the nominative tonal pattern.
- this “it-me” contained morpheme could be an example of external possession (they milked me the goats” = “They milked my goats”
- The masculine relative morpheme is /l/ before the contained subject-object morpheme.

The ones (masc.) that milked it for me are nice.
The boys who carried my child for me are nice.

- /tia/ is the –ATR variant of /tio/
- I think that this example supports the hypothesis that /aa/ “it-me” is external possession. (I think that /ai/ may be redundant. I need to ask Saningo if the sentence means the same thing without /ai/. I think he initially gave me the sentence without /ai/ and then added it for clarification).

The boys that led my child back to me are nice.

- This form confirms that /aa/ is the contained subject-object morpheme, not the masculine plural relative morpheme (because the relative would be /oo/ since this is not the context for [-round] harmony.)

The ones (masc.) who led my child back to me are nice.

- Usually imperatives have HLLL tonal pattern. The tonal pattern seems to change when /ki/ is added.

I led
(555) átadúà ɪləátɔ̀rîkòkìtìó
   a- tta - du - a il- l- aa to- rik- o- ki- ti
   l ta see V past p.m.D Relative it- ta lead V past applied ?
   masc. me
I saw the ones (m) who led it back to me.

• Here it seems that the contained morpheme /aa/ has an accusative tonal pattern (LH) because of the matrix verb /atadua/; If this is correct that means that the tonal pattern of the contained morpheme is determined by the matrix clause and that the contained object-subject morpheme can be marked for case.
• /aa/ cannot be the plural masculine relative morpheme because this is not the environment for [-round] harmony.

(556) sìdàn ìgìnedʒí nàátàlèpò ɪláyòk
   sidan in- kinedʒi naa- ta- lep - ì - il - ayòk
   nice p.f.D goats relative, nominative, plural, feminine
   ta milk V past, p.m.D boys 3 pl.
The goats that were milked by the boys are nice.

• /inkineji/ and the relative morpheme have nominative case, even though /inkineji/ is the object in the embedded clause.

(557) sìdàn ɪnààtàlèpò ɪláyòk
   sidan in- nàà - ta- lep - ì - il - ayòk
   nice p.f.D. relative, nominative, plural, feminine
   ta milk V past, 3 pl. p.m.D boys
The ones (fem.) that were milked by the boys are nice.

• relative morpheme has nominative, HL, tonal pattern.

(558) átadúà ɪnààtàlèpò ɪláyòk
   a- tta - du - a in- nàà - ta- lep - ì - il - ayòk
   l ta see V p.f.D. past relative, accusative, ta milk V p.m. boys past, D 3 pl.
I saw the ones (fem) that were milked by the boys.

• The relative morpheme has the accusative, LH, tonal pattern(matrix verb /atadua/)

(559) sìdàn ɪnààtàlèpòkì
   sidan in- nàà - ta- lep- o- ki
   nice p.f.D relative, nominative, plural, fem.
   ta milk V past passive
The ones (fem) that were milked are nice.
(560) átadúa ńnàátálèpòkí
   a- ta - du - a in- nàá - ta - lep- o - ki
l ta see V past p.f.D relative, accusative, ta milk V past passive
plural, fem.
I saw the ones (fem) that were milked.

(561) átadúa èŋítẹ́n è̀ndóóyè ńtálèpò ńlā́yòk
   a- ta - du - a èn- kité - òó - in - toye
l ta see V s.f.D. cow genitive, plural, p.f.D women
past accusative
nà - ta- lep - ò- il- ayòk
relative, fem. accusative ta milk V past, p.m.D boys
3 pl
I saw the girls’ cow that was milked by the boys.
• Both /enkiten/ and the genitive morpheme /oo/ have accusative tonal patterns (matrix verb /atadua/
assigns accusative case.
• The relative object morpheme also has a L, accusative, tonal pattern.

(562) átadúa èǹdóóyè ńtálèpò ńlā́yòk
   a- ta - du - a en- òó - in - toye
l ta see V s.f.D. genitive, plural, p.f.D women
past accusative
nà - ta- lep - ò- il- ayòk
relative, fem. ta milk V past, 3 pl p.m.D boys
accusative
I saw the one (fem.) of the girls that was milked by the boys.
• The genitive construction can be nominalized by adding the determiner clitic.

(563) sídài èŋítẹ́n è̀ndóóyè ńtálèpò ńlā́yòk
   sidai en- kité òó - in - toye
nice s.f.D. cow genitive, plural, p.f.D women
nominitive
nà - ta- lep - ò- il- ayòk
relative, fem. ta milk V past, 3 pl p.m.D boys
accusative
The girls’ cow that was milked by the boys is nice.
• /enkiten/ and the genitive morpheme /oo/ are assigned nominative case in the matrix clause.
• The relative morpheme has the accusative tonal pattern, L, because the extracted argument is the
object in the embedded clause.
(564) sídai ènòndòye nàtalèpò ílàyòk

sidai en- òò - in - toye

nice s.f.D. genitive, plural, nominative p.f.D women

nà - ta- lep - ò- il- ayòk

relative, fem. ta milk V past, p.m.D boys

accusative 3 pl

The one (fem.) of the girls’ that was milked by the boys is nice.

(565) sídai èŋtíti nàtalèpò ílàyòk

sidai en- kiteŋ na - ta- lep - ò - il - ayòk

nice s.f.D cow relative, ta milk V p.m.D boys

nominative, fem. past, 3 sg.

pl.

The cow that was milked by the boys is nice.

• /enkiten/ has nominative case, even though it is the object in the embedded clause. /na/ has nominative case (matrix clause assigns nominative case)

• compare case of relative morpheme with (38).

(566) kéfómókì ánj

k- e - fom - o ki aŋ

Q 3rd go(past) a passive. hom past e

“Did they go home (Did anyone go home?)”

• translations by S.

• passive on unaccusative V
I will be followed (movement implied). (H’s translation: “They” will go follow me)

- what is really interesting here is the plural stem for go is used. (go has suppletive stems, see EAR 11/16 for details, see also Tucker and Mpaayei p.87).; This is very nice confirmation for the fact that the underlying subject of “passive” i is indeed plural… (“they, anyone”). hence the plural infinitive…

- the relation between go and come has to be further explored…

- the expected form would be: puoi ; recheck the diphthong here.

‘he’ll go to be washed” (H’s translation: they’ll (go) wash him)

He’ll come so that he be washed

- passive in finite subjunctive clause

Bunche is goable to “Bunche can be walked to”

- NB: singular stem used here! Interpretation is “can be gone to…”

- The difference between –i passives and the “can be” passive forms needs further exploring…

note that both dog and boy are in the accusative
The big dog is brave.

Note that the adjective agrees with the noun in case. They are both nominative. The second tone on sapok should be higher than the first (as in the following example).

I saw the big dog.

Note that the adjective agrees with the noun in case. They are both accusative.

I saw a/the big one.

I saw the big dog.

I saw another dog.

- morpheme analysis of other not clear;
- vowel lekai or likai?
(578) átáduá ɔ̀lkáidià
atatua ɔ- le - kai - dia - - - - - -
1sg. past m. sg. m. other sg. dog
see
I saw the other dog.
This shows how the O determiner can mark definiteness – compare with (577).

(579) átáduá kulyédiaïn
atatua ku- lye - dia - in - - - - - -
1sg. past pl. other pl. dog pl.
see
I saw other dogs.
Note how this is not marked for gender.

(580) átáduá irkulyédiaïn
atatua ir - ku - lye - dia - in - - - - - -
1sg. past m.pl. pl. other pl. dog pl.
see
I saw the other dogs.
This shows how determiner can mark definiteness – compare with (579).

(581) átáduá èŋgáimsà
atatua n - kai - mesa - - - - - - - -
1sg. past fem. other sg. table
see
I saw another table.
• recheck this example and the next; this is what we got, though we might expect the readings to go the
other way around…

(582) átáduá ñgáimsà
atatua e- n - kai - mesa - - - - - - - -
1sg. fem. sg. fem. other table
past see sg.
I saw the other table.
• not clear if k is part of the D or of “other”

(583) átáduá kòlyémsàï
atatua ku- lye - mesa - i - - - - - - - -
1sg. past pl. other pl. table pl.
see
I saw other tables.
kulie?
(584) átádua ŋůlyěměsăi
atadua in- ko- lye - mesa - i - - - - -
1sg. past fem. pl. pl. other pl. table pl.
see
no way to form DP: many other tables

(585) kěkůmòkʰ kúlyë měsăi
ke- kumokʰ ku - lye - mesa - i - - - - -
Q. many pl. other pl. table pl.
Are other tables many? (Implies that there are other tables.)

(586) měkůmòkʰ ŋůlyë měsăi
mee- kumokʰ in - ko - lye- mesa - i - - - - -
neg. many fem.pl. pl. other pl. table pl.
The other tables are not many. (The tables are part of the same set.)

(587) měkůmòkʰ kúlyë měsăi
mee- kumokʰ ku - lye- mesa - i - - - - -
neg. many pl. other pl. table pl.
The other tables are not many. (The tables are not part of the same set.)

(588) ēndá gaì měsa
check
enda kai mesa - - - - - - - -
that fem. other sg. table
that other table
H wrote down: where are the others?

(589) kúdï ŋůlyëc'
check
kudi- in - ku - lye - - - - - - - -
few fem. pl. pl. other pl.
a few others
Hilda wrote down: Where are the others

2/29/00
Elicitation Session
Robin

VP ellipsis. if 2nd clause has only one main verb, it can’t be omitted
- object and time adverb can be omitted (2,4,10)
- or just object, leaving a time adverb present (6, 8)
- if there is an aux verb like etu, the main verb can also be omitted (4, 17)
- a passive verb can also be omitted if past neg. (17)
Focusing indirect/applied objects
Direct, indirect, and applied objects can all be moved in front of the verb with a focus reading. (22-25)

(590) ̀tɔ̀ ǹŋàŋò  tòrèt  ëŋgîtèŋ  ŋ’wòlé,... 2/29 r
  ɛ- ̀tɔ̀  ɛ  ǹŋàŋ  ʊ  tòrèt  èn  kìtèŋ  ŋ’wòle  -  -
  3  not  3  buy  “from”  tòrèt  sg.f  cow  yest  
dir
Toret didn’t buy a cow yesterday,...
con’t in next box

(591) ̀kàkì ǹŋàŋò  kwìà  ǹ  2/29 r
kàkì ɛ- ǹŋàŋ  ʊ  kwìà  -  -  -  -  -  -  -
but  3  buy  from  name
...but Kwia did. (buy a cow yesterday)
Checking VP ellipsis. Verb cannot be omitted, but the object and time word can.  S. said this sentence
was ok, but it would be more natural to put the positive part first.  See next.

(592) ǹŋàŋò  kwìà  ëŋgîtèŋ  ŋ’wòlé,... 2/29 r
  ɛ  -  ǹŋàŋ  ʊ  èn  kìtèŋ  ŋ’wòle  -  -  -  -  -  -
  3  buy  from  sg.f  cow  yest.
Kwia bought a cow yesterday,
con’t next

(593) ̀kàkì ̀tɔ̀ tòrèt 2/29 r
kàkì ɛ ̀tɔ̀  tòrèt  -  -  -  -  -  -  -
but  3  not  tòrèt
, but Toret didn’t. (buy a cow yesterday)
both clauses past tense.  omit main verb “buy”, object, and “yesterday”

(594) ̀mèŋàŋà  kwìà  ëŋgîtèn  ð’umàmòsì,... 2/29 r
  mè-  ɛ  ǹŋàŋ  ʊ  kwìà  èn  kìtèŋ  ð’umàmòsì-  -  -  -
neg  3  buy  from  kwìà  sg.f  cow  saturday
Kwia didn’t buy a cow on Saturday,...
names for days of the week are borrowed from Swahili.  Maasai have a name for each day of the month
based on the cycles of the moon.
forgot tones
(595) ...kakì ᵐ� ᵁ toret ᵂʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ
kakì ᵐᵃ ᵁ ᵁ toret ᵂʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ - - - - -
but 3 buy U toret sunday
...but Toret will on Sunday. (buy a cow)
1st clause in past, 2nd in future. cannot omit verb, can omit object
suffix on buy: ᵃ. probably the -u motion towards suffix

(596) ᵐⁿᵃ ᵁ kwì ᵔaña ᵇʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ,...
ᵉ- ᵐᵃ ᵁ kwì ᵇʰ ᵁ kîtn ᵂʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ - - - -
3 buy U kwì sg.f cow saturday
Kwìa will buy a cow on Saturday,...

(597) ᵐⁿᵃ ᵁ toret ᵂʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ
ⁿ - ᵐᵃ ᵁ toret ᵂʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ- ᵁ- - - - -
ⁿ 3 buy toret Sunday
...and Toret will on Sunday (buy a cow)
both clauses in future tense, can’t leave out 2nd verb, can leave out object

(598) ᵐⁿᵃ ᵁ kwì ᵔaña ᵇʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ,...
ᵉ- ᵐᵃ ᵁ kwì ᵇʰ ᵁ kîtn ᵂʰᵃᵐᵃᵃ- - -
3 buy U kwì sg.f cow sunday
Kwìa will buy a cow on sunday,...

(599) ...ⁿᵃⁿᵃ ᵁ⁻ si nanu ( or nanu si )
ⁿ - a ᵁ ᵁ si nanu - - - - -
ⁿ 1sg buy U too I
...and so will I (buy a cow on Sunday)
2 future tense clauses, can’t omit verb, can omit object and time phrase.
si “too” can precede or follow nanu

(600) aaᵗᵉᶠᵃᵗᵃᵏᵃ ᵔaña ᵇʰⁱ⁻,...
aa - te ᵇᵃ ᵇᵃ ᵇᵃ en ᵆʰⁱ - - - -
I-you tV build V applied sg.f house
I built the house for you,...
??vowel te .. not ta
“to paint something” is lit. “to hit it with paint” orangi is a borrowing from Arabic via Swahili
I asked if this second clause could be interpreted as “and Toret painted it for you.” S. said he couldn’t
get that reading. He would have to say it like in (13) next one:

(602)  

(603)  

(604)  

(605)  

(606)  

2 clauses with passive verbs, second main verb can be left out
(607) "...kákì mèè tórét 2/29 r
kákì mee toret - - - - - - - - - -
but not toret
...but Toret wasn’t. (robbed) (same meaning as previous)
?? not sure about mee. It sounded long, but don’t know. Is this just negative m-? Didn’t know it could stand alone.

(608) áyìólò aàdọ mèáta kwíá íŋíjú,... 2/29 r
a- yiolo aadọ m e ata kwia in kíjú - -
1sg know “say” neg 3 have kwia pl.f cows
I know that Kwia doesn’t have any cows,...

(609) "...nèyìóló sìi tórèt 2/29 r
n - e yiolo sii toret - - - - - -
n 3 know too toret
,...and so does Toret. (know that Kwia doesn’t have any cows.)
the whole “that” clause can be omitted.

(610) χ etalépo χ resoi χ íŋíjú χ 2/29 r
e- ta lep o resoi in kíjú - - - -
3 tV milk V resoi pl.f cows
Resoi milked the cow
Checking to see where adverbs can go
Everywhere there is an X you can have:
yesterday ți”ole
in the pen tían

(22) ifóó résoi enqáré endíto 2/29 r
ɛ- ifoo en gare en dito - - - - - -
3 give sg.f water-acc sg.f girl-acc
Resoy gave water to the girl.
From Mary, late jan. as reported in the weekly highlights Jan.28. Don’t have numbers or Mary’s original
Looking at double objects and focus: can you focus both objects?
It was water that Resoi gave to the girl.
It was the girl that Resoi gave water to.
So yes, both objects can be focused.

I will milk the cows for Resoi
non-focused sentence. Next test to see if both object and applied object can be focused.

It’s the cows I will milk for Resoi.
It’s Resoi that I will milk the cows for.
Both the direct object and the applied object can be focused.

Field Methods 1999-2001
Ling. 210B
Class Elicitation March 2, 2000 (transcription and mistakes by Luca)

More on Wh-questions

What is your age group? (lit. Are you of which age group?)
• the agreement morpheme ᐃ undergoes raising before á
• the wh-term does not appear in sentence-initial position, and it does not display the ‘k’ morpheme
(612) **àrá ìlòîlèritò**

à- rá ì- ò- il- tèritò

1st.sg be the one Gen.m pl.agr D.pl.m (name)

The “Iteritos” (lit. I am of the “teritos”)

- answer to (611)
- tèritò is (currently) the oldest age group (70-80 year olds)
- the names of the age groups are not traditional, but change
- we were not sure about the [ATR] value of the last two vowels in tèritò (tèritò?)

(613) **írá ènáblàdʒì**

ì- rá è- n- è- álò àdʒì

2nd.sg be the one Gen.f sg.agr which age group

What is your age group? (lit. Are you of which age group?)

- same as (611), but asked to a female addressee

(614) **àrá ènòylvèritò**

à- rá è- n- ò- il- tèritò

1st.sg be the one Gen.f pl.agr D.pl.m (name)

The “Iteritos” (lit. I am of the “teritos”)

- same as (612), by a female speaker
- the age group name is masculine even if it includes women (is this related to size?)

(615) **kòliáblàdʒì**

k(a)- ò- l- è- álò- àdʒì

Q morph. the one Gen.m sg.agr which age group

What is his age group? (lit. which ages group is his one)

- in 3rd singular the copula ‘be’ does not appear
- the ‘k’ morpheme is present
- I have not a clear understanding of this form, yet (no genitive pronoun present)

(616) **ítàmà núš**

ì- tá- mà nùš

2nd.sg past eat what

You ate what? (echo question)

- the wh-word is in situ and does not display the ‘k’ morpheme
(617) ⋨ rè- itámà
nà: Ḗ- tá- mà
what 2nd.sg past Eat
You ate what? (echo question)
• differs from (616) only in that ‘what’ is focalised

(618) ìtèdó ìrá ìdíádañì
dè- té- dò Ḗ- rá Ḗ- l- Ḗ- álò- ìdùì
2nd.sg Past say 2nd.sg be the one Gen.m sg.agr which age group
Which age group did you say is yours? (lit. You said you are of which age group?)
• I would like to test whether this is a question or an echo question (we asked in class, but I was not sure whether Saning’ó got what we were after: H. the answer we got was that this was a real question
• does the sentence embedded under ‘say’ contain any complementizer-like element? (no)

(619) ìtèdó ñái nàìòwù
dè- té- dò ñái ná- ìòwù
2nd.sg past say who rel.subj.f come (past)
Who did you say that came? (lit. You said who came?)
• ìòwù is the suppletive form for the past of ‘come’

(620) ìtèdó ñái ọìwù
dè- té- dò ñái ọ- ìòwù
2nd.sg past say who rel.subj.m come (past)
Who did you say that came? (lit. You said who came?)
• same as (619), when it is presupposed that a male individual came

(621) dʒìtèdó ñái nàìòwù
dʒ- Ḗ- té- dò ñái ná- ìòwù
Surprise(?) 2nd.sg past say who rel.subj.f come (past)
You said who came?
• dʒ marks surprise, or just echo-question-ness?

(622) kañáì ìtèdó ëwù
dè- ñái ò- té- dò ñá- ìòwù
Q morph who 2nd.sg past say 3rd.sg come (past)
Who did you say that came?
• I’m not sure how the form ëwù comes about…
• we were not clear about the tonal pattern of kañáì (see (624))
éwù  
L (class)  
3/2  
3rd.sg come (past)  
She came  
• here, too, I don’t know how to derive the surface form of the verb…

kaŋai ìtèdò ètánpá  
L (class)  
3/2  
ka-  
ŋái  
ʔ-  
té-  
dò  
è-  
tá-  
náp-  
á  
Q morph who  
2nd.sg past say  
3rd.pl past carry past.pl  
Who did you say they carried?  
• kaŋái seems to have the same tonal pattern irrespective of whether it is the subject or the object of the embedded verb (see (625))  
• possibly the Case of kaŋái is determined by the matrix verb (ECM?) (also true for simple wh-questions; initial part does not vary for Case)

kaŋai ìtèdò ètánpá  
L (class)  
3/2  
ŋái  
ʔ-  
té-  
dò  
è-  
tá-  
náp-  
á  
en-  
kèrái  
Q morph who  
2nd.sg past say  
3rd.sg past carry past.sg D.sg.f. boy  
Who did you say that carried the boy?  
• compare with (624)

ŋái nátàñpá  
L (class)  
3/2  
ŋái  
ná-  
tá-  
náp-  
á  
en-  
kèrái  
who rel.subj.f past carry past.sg D.sg.f. boy  
Who carried the boy? (echo question) (H; not sure)  
• this seems to be the correspondent of (617) (i.e. the wh-word is focalised)

ítèdò  
L (class)  
3/2  
ŋái  
ʔ-  
té-  
dò  
ŋái  
ná-  
tá-  
náp-  
á  
en-  
kèrái  
-  
2nd.sg past say who rel.subj.f past carry past.sg D.sg.f. boy  
Who did you say that carried the boy? (lit. You said who carried the boy?)

kaŋai ìtèdò ènápà  
L (class)  
3/2  
ka-  
ŋái  
ʔ-  
náp-  
á  
Q morph who  
3rd.sg carry middle /refl  
Who did you say that is carried?  
• the verb seems to be in the middle voice
Who did you say they carried? (lit. You said who they carried?)

- here, too, middle voice seems to be at stake
- to be investigated further…

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(1) **tű alépiSo**

itu a- lep- iSo - - - -

not-past 1sg. milk progr.

I didn't do milking

(2) **tű alépiSo nỳwolé**

itu a- lep- iSo nỳwolé - - - -

not-past 1sg. milk progr. yesterday

I didn't do milking yesterday

Compare the verb 'alepiSo' here and in (1): there's a high tone on its last syllable here probably because it's in a non-final position.

(3) **étájá**

e- t(a)- aS- a - - - -

3sg past rain past

It rained

(4) **éjá táiséri**

e- Sa taiserí - - - -

3sg rain tomorrow

It will rain tomorrow

(5) **kapóó peé tű ilépijo nỳwolé**

kapóó peé e tű i- lép- iljó - nỳwolé

why not- 2s milk progr yesterday

Why didn't you do milking yesterday?

(6) **tű alépiSo nỳwolé amóó étájá**

itu a- lep- iljó nỳwolé amóó é- t(a)- áf - á

not-past 2sg milk progr yesterday because 3sg past rain past e

I didn't do milking yesterday because it rained
étalépó amúo átiáká metálepo
é- t(a)- lép- ó amúo á- t(a)- iák- á me- tálépo
3sg past milk past because 1sg past tell past comp. milk-subj

He milked because I told him to milk
Notice the 'me-' morpheme prefixing on the imperative form of the verb 'to milk'. It's some sort of subjunctive complementizer meaning 'to milk'.

(8) ttú elép amúó átiáká peé melép
ttú e- lép amúo á- t(a)- iák- á peé me- lép
not past 3sg milk because 1sg past tell past so that? comp milk
He didn't milk because I told him not to milk
Notice that in this sentence both the 'me-' morpheme and the subjunctive(?) 'pee' are used. Also, the verb that comes after 'itu', the past copula, has the non-past form, as usual. I asked Saningko whether this sentence had a second meaning, like it does in English, i.e. "He milked, but not because I told him to, for some other reason", and he said no. This last meaning is expressed differently, as shown in the next sentence.

(9) ttú elép amúó átiáká
ttú e- lép amúo á- t(a)- iák- a - - -
not past 3sg milk because 1sg past tell past
He didn't milk because I told him to (but for another reason)
Look at my notes for (8).

The following sentences are from my elicitation on 3/1

(10) atadóó layók áátanapá résoi
a- ta- dó- a l- ay- ók aá- ta- nap- á- résoi
1sg past see pa masc.pl.det boy pl. 3pl. past carry past.p R-nom. l
I saw the boys that Resoy carried.

(11) layók áátanapá résoi áátauáuá
l- ay- ók aá- ta- nap- á- résoi áa- ta- do- á
masc.p boy pl. 3pl. past carry past.pl R-nom. 1sg past see past l.det
It was the boys that Resoy carried that I saw
Notice that in this sentence the whole phrase [the boys that Resoy carried] is fronted.

more on the copula.
(630) armálnímúi
al- malimu - i- - - - - - - - - -
h h h h
teacher i acc
teacher (acc) h h h

(631) armálímuí
- malimu-
- - - - - - - - -
l l l h -
nom
teacher (nom)

(632) irmálnímùnì
- - - - - - - - - - -
lll h
pl
teachers (acc pl) lll h
• looks like ni (pl) is responsible for high tone

(633) irmálímùnì
- - ni-
- - - - - - - -
ll l h

teachers (nom, pl)
Nominative: add HL prefix

(634) armálnímuí
al- malimu - i- - - - - - - - - -
h h h h
teacher i acc
He is a teacher
• predicate (teacher) is accusative

(635) ñínë armálnímuí
- - - - - - - - - - - -

he is the teacher
• teacher is nominative
• he is accusative
(636) ninjë ìrmálimuñí
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

They are the teachers
- ninjë is accusative
- teachers is nominative
- not a cleft where they correspond to the subject (would be OO)

(637) mé ë niné ìrmálimuñí
mé- e nine armalimuñí - - - - - - - - -

Not he teacher
He is not the teacher
(nom)

(638) mé ë ninjë ìrmálimuñí
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

They are not the teachers

(639) árá ìrmálimuñí
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

check I am the teacher/ I am a teacher

(640) mé ë nanú ìrmálimuñí
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

I(acc) am not the teacher (nom)

(641) mårá armálimúí
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

I am not a teacher
(642) `ré ilalása` láînëi pokírà náà ɜrmáлимùní
- il - alaʃara làînëi- pokir n - aa ɜrmalimuni -
that brothers. my.pl, both be teachers
(?) pl acc (pl) (acc)
both of my brothers are teachers
ore cooccurs with n,
• check be forms under and (n)
• check with the teachers
• check tone on làînëi

(643) ɜrmalimuní ilalása` láînëi pòkírà
- - - - - - - - - - -
teachers brother my.pl both
(acc.pl) s (nom) .nom
Both my brothers are the teachers
• check: both my brothers are teachers

(644) ë tòn àkí àa ɜrmálimúù
- - - - - - - - - - -
he still is a teacher
looks like infinitive, but does not, since it does not vary for singular plural
I don’t understand this form very well..

(645) ë tòn àkí à ɜrmálimùní
- - - - - - - - - - -
They still are teachers

(646) éìdim àà táà` ɜrmálimùù
- - aa - ta - a - - - - - -
ta. be
S/he is able/ capable of being a teacher; S/he can be a teacher
•
They can be teachers (acc)

who is a/the teacher (nom) here
• no contrast between the/ a teacher

What kind of a teacher is he?
• answer; a good teacher/ a bad teacher/ a teacher of kids/ organization x etc.

I saw the person who is the teacher
• no distinction between the and a.