

Master file 2. .

last updated 3-14/2000

1/11	class I	x	x
1/13	class Mt	x	x
1/13	K (M)	x	x
1/13	M(K)	x	x
1/18	Matondo/Janine	x	x
1/18	era	x	x
1/20	m(k)	x	x
1/20	class R	x	x
1/20	h	x	x
1/25	class(K)	x	x
1/25	mary	x	x
2/3	km	x	x
2/3	class(E)	x	x
2/3	class(M)	x	
2/3	h	x	x
2/5			
2/8	robin	x	x
2/10	kristie	x	x
2/10	h		x
2/15	Robin	x	x
2/17	I (class)	x	x
2/17	k	x	x
2/17	k(class)	x	x
2/17	h	x	x
2/24	mh	x	x
2/29	r	x	x
3/2	l(class)	x	
3/7	mb	x	
3/14	h	x	x

(1) tálepò èngítéj níjáù kùle' àdʒí 1/11_cl_I
 ta - lep - o en - kiten n - i - jau kule adʒi
 2sg.imp milk imp D.sg.f cow and 2sg bring milk home
 Milk the cow and bring the milk inside!

(2) ijau àdʒí 1/11_cl_I
 i- jau adʒi
 2sg bring home/inside
 Bring inside

- (3) étalépô ñòlé ɛŋgiteŋ néjau kùlé' àdží 1/11_cl_I
 ε - ta - lep - o ñole en - kitɛn n - ε - jau kule adzi
 3 past milk pl yester D.sg. cow and 3 bring milk home
 day f
 They milked the cow yesterday and brought the milk home.
- (4) nǎjáú! 1/11_cl_I
 n - i - jau
 and 2sg bring
 (And) bring!
 cf tone
- (5) néjàù 1/11_cl_I
 n - ε - jau
 and 3 bring
 (And) they brought.
- (6) ǎítù ñòlé nélèp ñŋgǎfú 1/11_cl_I
 ε.itu ñole n - e - lep in - kifú
 3.pl.past yesterday and 3 milk D.f.pl cows
 They came yesterday and milked the cows.
 No past tense morphology on the verb of the second conjunct ('nelèp' vs. 'etalepo' above)
- (7) élèp ñŋgǎfú 1/11_cl_I
 e - lep in - kifú
 3 milk D.f.pl cows
 They milk cows
 'They milk the cows' does not seem to be an available reading.
- (8) etánápá èŋgótí nélèp ñŋgǎfú 1/11_cl_I
 ε - ta - nap - a ɛŋ- kɔti n - e - lep in - kifú
 3 past carry past D.f.sg calabash and 3 milk D.f.pl cows
 They carried the calabash and milked the cows
- (9) mílèp 1/11_cl_I
 m - i - lep
 neg 2 milk
 Don't milk!
 The negative form of the imperative does not have the same morphology as the positive form.

- (10) mínáp némìlèp 1/11_cl_I
 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) mílèp neminap 1/11_cl_I
 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) tánàpàkákì 1/11_cl_I
 ta - nap - aka ki
 2sg.imp carry appl you-me
 Carry it for me!
- (13) wòu nìkinapa ki 1/11_cl_I
 wou n - i - ki - nap - aki
 come and epenth. V you-me carry aki?
 Come and carry it for me!
- (14) áìdédìdètítà cl 1-13
 a- ɪ- dɛd - ɪ- dɛt- ɪta
 1sg i dream i red progr
 I am dreaming
- (15) ídétídétâ cl 1-13
 ɪ- dɛt- ɪ- dɛt- a
 3pl dream i Red past
 They dreamt
- (16) áìdèt cl 1-13
 a- ɪ - dɛt
 1sg i dream
 I will dream
- (17) áìdétídèt cl 1-13
 a- ɪ- dɛt - ɪ- dɛt
 1 i dream /i red
 I usually dream

- (18) $\epsilon\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau$ cl 1-13
 $\epsilon\eta\kappa-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau$
 f.sg i dream i red
 The act of dreaming
- (19) $\epsilon\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau \tau\grave{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\grave{\omicron}$ cl 1-13
 $\epsilon\eta\kappa-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $-\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau$
 f.sg i dream i red bad
 Bad dream
- (20) $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\alpha} \mu\acute{\epsilon}\grave{\epsilon} \tau\grave{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\grave{\omicron}$ cl 1-13
 $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}-$ $\acute{\epsilon}-$ $\tau\grave{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\grave{\omicron}$
 good this not 3sg bad
 This is good, not bad
 *check tone of predicate (nom? or acc?)
- (21) $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha} \acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}$ cl 1-13
 $\acute{\epsilon}-$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}$
 3sg be.past nice
 It has become nice
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}=\text{be}+\text{past}$ (?ta+ra); not clear how the interpretation arises (form asked for: it was nice)
- (22) $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ cl 1-13
 $\acute{\alpha}-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho-$ $\acute{\alpha}$
 1sg i tremble i red a
 I tremble
- (23) $\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ cl 1-13
 $\kappa\acute{\iota}-$ $\acute{\eta}-$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho-$ $-\acute{\alpha}$
 1pl n tremble i red a
 We tremble
- (24) $\epsilon\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}$ cl 1-13
 $\epsilon\eta-$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho-$ $\acute{\iota}-$ $\kappa\acute{\iota}\rho-$ $-\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}$
 s.fm tremble i red ata
 The act of trembling
 NB: Prefixation of D en leads to disappearance of i prefix. *Eningirokata

- (25) túdùngùdùngò cl 1-13
 tu- dung- u - dung- -o
 tu chop u red o
 cut-up/chop! (imp.)
- (26) túdùngùdùngú cl 1-13
 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)ndùṅònot cl 1-13
 (i)n- duṅ- -onot
 fm.pl chop onot
 choppings
- (28) tégèfigèlà cl 1-13
 tɛ- gɛl- i- gɛl- -a
 tɛ select i red a
 Keep on separating (imp.)
- (29) ídúṅúdúṅù cl 1-13
 i- duṅ- u- duṅ- -u
 2pl chop u red u
 You (pl) will cut
- (30) ídúṅúdùṅ cl 1-13
 i- duṅ- u- -duṅ
 2sg cut U red
 You will chop (sg)

- (31) íterâ áàrà̀n cl 1-13
 (ε)- iter- a aa- raṅ
 3pl i.start past.pl pl sing
 they have started singing
 In some cases ε + ɪ =>ɪ in i-initial verbs.
 • “infinitive”, no overt subject plural marking on aa (tone; not cler if there is a distinction in length of?)
 • hl on aa and l on V
- (32) ẏ̀tè̀r áàrà̀n cl 1-13
 ε- ɪ- ter aa- ran
 3pl i start pl sing
 They will start singing
- (33) ń̀dè̀rá áàrá̀n cl 1-13
 n- ter- a aa- raṅ
 n start imp? pl sing
 Start singing! (pl)
 (H) This looks like a syntactically sg imperative, controlling a plural PRO Also, immediate reaction:
 (several different instances) : ń̀dè̀rá tàrá̀na ; (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”
- (34) íterá àrán cl 1-13
 ɪ- iter- a- a^{long?} raṅ
 3sg i.start past sg sing
 S/he started singing
 • a written as short, but is quite long; different tonal pattern from pl, also h on V.
- (35) ítè̀r àrá̀n cl 1-13
 ɪ i-ter a- raṅ
 3sg start sg sing
 S/he will start singing
- (36) ń̀dè̀rá àrán cl 1-13
 n- ter- -a a- raṅ-
 in start imp? sg sing
 Start singing! (sg).. Compare with (20)

- (37) áráńítà cl 1-13
a- rań - íta
1sg sing progr
I am singing
- (38) kíráńítà cl 1-13
kí- ran- íta
1pl sing progr
We are singing
- (39) átárańa cl 1-13
a- ta- rań- a
1sg ta sing past
I sang
- (40) tárańaka' kí cl 1-13
ta- ran- ak- a kí
ta sing ak(appl) imp you-
me
Sing for me!
• unable to get a form for: start singing for me
- (41) ítéra' èńgèraí áàrán cl 1-13
ɪ- iter- a- ɛn- kerai aa- -ran
3sg start past fm.sg child.sg pl sing
The child started to sing
- (42) nêítér èńgèraí àrán cl 1-13
n- ɛ- ɪ - tɛr ɛn- kerai a- -ran
and 3sg i start fm.sg child.sg sg sing
And the child started to sing

- (43) $\epsilon\acute{r}\acute{a}n \ \acute{e}n\acute{a} \ k\grave{e}r\acute{a}i$ cl 1-13
 ϵ - -ran ena kerai
 3rd sing this.f.sg child
 This child can sing; This child sings

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) $y\acute{e}y\grave{o}$ KM 1/13

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

- (45) $y\grave{e}y\hat{o}$ KM 1/13

“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) $\grave{a}n\grave{d}\acute{a}s\grave{a}t$ KM 1/13

ϵn - $tasat$
 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) $\grave{h}\grave{d}\acute{a}s\acute{a}i$ KM 1/13

$i n$ - $tasat$ -i
 p.f.D lady pl.
 ladies

- (48) áátànàpá yéyô η^wòlé KM 1/13
 áá- ta - nap- a yeyo η^wole
 she-me ta -past carry past my yesterday
 mother

My mother carried me yesterday.

- The HLLH tonal pattern is crucial in distinguishing /aatanapa/ from “I am carrying you” which has a HLHL tonal pattern.
- Here “yeyo” is “my mother”, not any mother.

- (49) ètánápá η^wòtòñé èηγέρáí KM 1/13
 ε- ta - nap- a η^wòtòñε εν- 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 /η^wòtòñέ/: subject
- LHH tonal pattern on /èηγέρáí/: object

- (50) ètánápá èηγέρáí η^wòtòñέ KM 1/13
 ε- ta- nap- a εν- kerai η^wòtòñε
 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 /èηγέρáí/: object
- LLH tonal pattern on /η^wòtòñέ/: subject

- (51) ètánápá èηγέρáí η^wòtòñè KM 1/13
 ε- ta - nap - a εν - kerai η^wòtòñε
 3 ta-past carry past f.s.D child mother

The child carried the mother.

- **VSO**
- LLH tonal pattern on /èηγέρáí/: subject
- LLL tonal pattern on /η^wòtòñè/: object

- (52) ètánápá àláyèñì η^wòtòñè KM 1/13
 ε - ta - nap - a al- ayeni η^wòtòñε
 3 ta-past carry past m.s.D boy mother

The boy carried the mother.

- **VSO**
- LHLL tonal pattern on /àláyèñì/: subject
- LLL tonal pattern on /η^wòtòñè/: object

- (53) $\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\grave{\iota}\ \eta^{\omega}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\epsilon}$ KM 1/13
 ε- ta- nap- a al - ayeni $\eta^{\omega}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\epsilon}$
 3 ta-past carry past m.s.D boy mother
 The boy was carried by his mother.
 • VOS
 • LLHL tonal pattern on / $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\grave{\iota}$ /: object
 • LLH tonal pattern on / $\eta^{\omega}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\epsilon}$ /: subject
- (54) $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\grave{\iota}\ \grave{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\grave{\omicron}$ MK 1/13
 e - tii en - mesa na - bo - - - -
 3 are sg.f table sg.f one
 There is one table.
- (55) $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\grave{\iota}\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\omicron}\beta\grave{\omicron}$ MK 1/13
 e- tii or - 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) $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\grave{\iota}\ \grave{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\omicron}\ \sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}$ MK 1/13
 e - tii en - mesa na - bo sida - 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) $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\grave{\iota}\ \grave{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\omicron}\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\omicron}$ MK 1/13
 e - 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) $\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\grave{\iota}\ \grave{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ MK 1/13
 e- 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 MK 1/13
 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 MK 1/13
 e- tii are - - - - -
 3 is two
 There are two.
 Note the tones on /etii/.
- (61) ètíí ñmésáí árè sídán MK 1/13
 e- tii in - mesa i are sida - n - - -
 -
 3 is pl.f table pl two nice pl.
 There are two nice tables.
- (62) ètíí ñmésáí árè náàdò MK 1/13
 e- tii in - mesa i are naa- dò - - -
 -
 3 is pl.f table pl two pl.f red
 There are two red tables.
- (63) ètíí ñmésàí kùmmók^h MK 1/13
 e- tii in - mesa i kumò - - - - -
 - k
 3 is pl.f table pl a lot
 There are a lot of tables.
- (64) ètíí ñmésàí kùmók^h nàléŋ MK 1/13
 e- tii in - mesa i kumò nalen - - - - -
 - k
 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.

- (71) tóòkìòkò MTJ
1-18
- tò- òk - ɪ- òk - ɔ
 tò drink ɪ red ɔ
 Keep on drinking (it)!
- (72) téyàrà MTJ
1-18
- tɛ- yar- a
 tɛ cook a
 Cook (it)!
- (73) téyàrìyàrà MTJ
1-18
- tɛ- yar- ɪ- yar- a
 tɛ cook ɪ red a
 Keep on cooking (it)!
- (74) tóòfò MTJ
1-18
- tò- ɔf- ɔ
 tò beat ɔ
 Beat (it)!
- (75) tóòfìòfò MTJ
1-18
- tò - ɔf - ɪ- ɔf- ɔ
 tò beat ɪ red ɔ
 Keep on beating (it)!
- (76) táàsà MTJ
1-18
- ta- as- a
 ta do a
 Do (it)!

- (77) táàsìàsà MTJ
1-18
- ta- as- i- as- a
 ta do i red a
 Keep on doing (it)!
- (78) tírìfà MTJ
1-18
- tì- rìf- a
 tì divide a
 Keep on dividing (it)!
- (79) tírìfìrìfà MTJ
1-18
- tì- rìf- ì- rìf- a
 tì divide ì red a
 Keep on dividing (it)!
- (11) tútùrò MTJ
1-18
- tu- tur- o
 tu dig o
 Dig!
- (12) tútùrùtùrò MTJ
1-18
- tu- tur- u- tur- o
 tu dig u red o
 Keep on digging
- (13) túpùrò MTJ
1-18
- tu- pur- o
 tu steal o
 Steal!

- (14) túpùrùpùrò MTJ
1-18
 tu- pur- u- pur- o
 tu steal u red o
 Keep on stealing!
- (15) táŋgàmà MTJ
1-18
 ta- ŋgam- a
 ta whisper a
 Whisper!
- (16) táŋgàmĩŋgàmà MTJ
1-18
 ta- ŋgam- i- ŋgam- a
 ta whisper i red a
 Keep on whispering!
- (17) tábwàà MTJ
1-18
 ta- bwa- a
 ta shout a
 Shout!
- (18) tábwààbwàà MTJ
1-18
 ta- bwa- a- bwa - a
 ta shout a red a
 Keep on shouting!
- (19) ñbìmà MTJ
1-18
-
 n- pim- a
 n weigh a
 Weigh (it)!
 Borrowed from Swahili “pim-a” which means to measure/weigh

- (85) *íítú* ERA
1/18
i- itu
2nd return
you-sg will return
- (86) *íítútù* ERA
1/18
i- itu - tu - - - - -
2nd return reduplicant
you-pl will return
- (87) *aid^{ɔ̃} óò* ERA
1/18
a- idjoo-
a swallow
to swallow
- (88) *ííd^{ɔ̃}óò* ERA
1/18
i- idʒoo-
2nd swallow
you-sg will swallow ()
- (89) *ííd^{ɔ̃} ó(o)d^{ɔ̃} ò* ERA
1/18
i - idʒoo- dʒo
2nd swallow reduplicant
you-pl will swallow
- (90) *áramát* ERA
1/18
a- ramat
1sg tend
I will tend (e.g., cattle)
all the tones are the same--whether they are high or low wasn't clear

- (91) **íramát** ERA
1/18
 ɪ- 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** ERA
1/18
 ε- ramat
 3rd tend
 he/she/they will tend
- (93) **íramátatà** ERA
1/18
 ɪ- 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) **íramátítatà** ERA
1/18
 ɪ- 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) **áláramátáni** ERA
1/18
 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?)

- (102) àíkén cl 1-20
a - ɪkɛn
inf count
to count
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.
- (103) àíkénító cl 1-20
a - iken -ito
-
1sg shut prog
I'm shutting
- (104) àíkéníta cl 1-20
a- ɪkɛn- -ita
1sg count prog
I'm counting
- (105) álépító cl 1-20
a- lep - -ito
1sg milk prog
I'm milking
- (106) áílépíta cl 1-20
a- ilep- -ita
1sg climb prog
I'm climbing
another e/E comparison, near minimal pair
- (107) abulító cl 1-20
a - bul - -ito
1sg flouri prog
sh
I'm flourishing
(missing tones, but we were just looking at the vowels anyway)
- (108) abulito cl 1-20
a- bul - -ito
1sg prod prog
I'm prodding

(109) aɲɔr cl 1-20
a ɲɔr
1sg shoot
I'll shoot
This was also translated as an imperative ??

(110) aɲɔr cl 1-20
a - ɲɔr -

Be unfilled!
Imperative, so not sure about morphemes

VOICELESS STOPS

(111) aabak^h cl 1-20
aa- bak^h
I-you care
I will care for you.

(112) aabakɪta cl 1-20
aa- bak - -ɪta
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) kitok^h cl 1-20
kitok^h
-
big
big
Initial k = no asp., final k = yes asp.

(114) endito cl 1-20
en- titō-
sg.f girl
girl
Here, the d is from an underlying t.

- (115) endiya cl 1-20
 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 Samingo said he thought they were the same sounds.
- (116) éndórónó cl 1-20
 en- tóróno
 sg.f bad
 person
 bad person
 there is an underlying t
- (117) endorón cl 1-20
 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 cl 1-20
 a- duŋ
 inf cut
 to cut
- (23) ad^huŋ cl 1-20
 a- d^huŋ
 inf inherit
 to inherit
 Compare 22 and 23. There are 2 separate phonemes, d and something we have variously labeled d^h, d³, or j.

(31) ele sarge cl 1-20
ele sarge

this. blood
m
this blood

(32) asarge cl 1-20

a sarge
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) anáp a.nap cl 1-20

a- nap -
1sg carry
I will carry
.V. is possible

(34) àànàp aa.nap cl 1-20

aa- nap-

I have this as "they will carry" but I don't think that's right
.VV.

(35) sílìg sɪ.lìg cl 1-20

to glance back
.CV.

(36) ɔlɛ̀ɛ ɔ.lɛɛ cl 1-20

ɔl - lɛɛ -
sg.m man
man
.CVV.

- (37) orkidon or.ki.don cl 1-20
 or- kidon
 sg.m snuffbox
 snuffbox
 .VC.
- (38) nígitúak n.gi.tuak cl 1-20
 m - kituak
 pl.f women
 women
- (39) anáp a.nap cl 1-20
 a- nap -
 1sg carry
 I will carry
 .CVC.
- (40) àbárt aɪ.bart cl 1-20
 aɪ - 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) àló àidzo enkémá H 1/20
 a- lo a - idz-o en - kema
 1sg go a.sg warm sg.f fire
 I'll go get warm by the fire
 • idZ class 1 verb starting with i.
- (119) tóidzò enkolóǰ H 1/20
 to- idz-o enk - olon
 t.imp warm. sg.f sun
 Get warm in the sun
 • presence of ta prefix shows it is a class 1 verb
- (120) àló àik H 1/20
 a- lo - a - ik
 1st go a.sg hang
 I'll go hang it
 • ik (Class 1)

- (121) t̩fíkà H 1/20
 ti- ik - a
 t.imp hang a
 hang it.
- (122) ètagórò H 1/20
 ε- ta - gor - o - kewan
 3sg ta stangle o self
 He stangled himself (suicide)
- (123) ápí H 1/20
 a- pí -
 1sg brave
 I'm brave
 • Tones: h h
- (124) ípí H 1/20
 i- pí
 2sg brave
 you are brave (h h)
- (125) èpí H 1/20
 ε- pí
 3
 he/she/they are brave
 • tones: l h
- (126) t̩r̩ónò (àláyèñĩ) H 1/20
 t̩r̩ónò 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) t̀̀rɔ̃ k H 1/20
 -
 bad.pl
 They are bad

(128) ará t̀̀ɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃ H 1/20
 a- ra -
 1sg am
 I'm bad

(129) àldákítárí èlé léè H 1/20
 al- dakitari ε- lε - lεε
 m.sg doctor sg. m.this man
 (acc)
 This man is a doctor
 • doctor occurs in the predicate position; no subject agreement

(130) èndákítárí enâ tásàt H 1/20
 en- dakitari ε- 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) n̄n̄ě' àldàkìtári H 1/20
 - - - - - - - - - -
 -
 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) k̄iyé àldàkītàrí H 1/20
 k- iye - al- dakitari
 Q you msg.m doctor
 Are you the doctor (lit? is it you who is the doctor)
- (133) íra àldàkītàrí H 1/20
 - - - - - - - - - - -
 2sg
 Are you a doctor?
- (134) àisóm H 1/20
 a- i - sòm -
 1sg i- read
 I'll read
 • borrowing from Swahili (kusoma): belongs to class 2 verbs
- (135) tíšìrà H 1/20
 tí- sîr - a -
 t.imp write a
 Write!
 • sîr: to paint (on body), to draw (hence to write)
- (136) étáánà H 1/20
 ε- taa - na
 3sg be? ?
 it is close
- (137) εlakua H 1/20
 ε- lakua
 it far
 it is far

- (138) átááníkì èngàré H 1/20
a- taa - níki en are
I be to/from? sg water
.k
.f
I am close to the water
• not sure what níki 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 èngàré H 1/20
ε- taa - níki il- ayook enk are
3pl be to/from m.pl boy.pl sg.f water
- (140) étááníkì ɲaleɲ èngàré H 1/20
ε- taa - níki ɲaleɲ 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 èngàré H 1/20
ki- taa - níki enk are
1pl be to/from sg.f water
We are close to the water
- (142) ààtàà níkì H 1/20
aa- taa - níkì
I-you be from
I am close to you
• check tones
- (143) kítáá níkì H 1/20
ki - taa - níkì
he-you be from
he is close to you

- (144) $\epsilon\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}$ $k\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}$ $n\acute{\iota}k\grave{\iota}$ $\epsilon\eta k\alpha r\epsilon$ H 1/20
 ϵ - $t\alpha\alpha$ - $k\iota$ - $t\alpha\alpha$ $n\acute{\iota}k\iota$
 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) $\epsilon\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}n\acute{\iota}k\grave{\iota}$ $\rho\acute{o}\omega k\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\gamma\grave{\alpha}r\epsilon'$ H 1/20
 ϵ - $t\alpha\alpha$ - $n\acute{\iota}k\iota$ $\rho\acute{o}\omega k\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\eta k$ 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) $\epsilon\acute{\tau}\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}n\acute{\iota}k\grave{\iota}$ $\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma\grave{\upsilon}$ $\rho\acute{o}\omega k\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\eta\gamma\grave{\alpha}r\epsilon'$ H 1/20
 ϵ - $t\alpha\alpha$ - $n\acute{\iota}k\iota$ $in-$ $k\iota\varsigma\upsilon$ $\rho\acute{o}\omega k\iota\eta$ $\epsilon\eta k$ are - -
 3sg be from pl.f cattle all fsg water
 All the cattle are close to the waterholw
- (147) $\acute{\alpha}l\acute{\alpha}k\acute{o}\alpha$ $n\acute{\iota}k\grave{\iota}$ $\epsilon\eta\gamma\grave{\alpha}r\epsilon$ H 1/20
 $a-$ $l\alpha k\upsilon\alpha$ $n\acute{\iota}k\iota$ $\epsilon\eta\gamma$ are
 1sg far from sg.f water
 I'm far from the water
- (148) $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}k\acute{o}\alpha$ $n\acute{\iota}k\grave{\iota}$ $l\acute{o}\eta\gamma$ $be\acute{\alpha}ch$ te $santa$ $monica$ H 1/20
 $\epsilon-$ $l\alpha k\upsilon\alpha$ $n\acute{\iota}k\iota$ LB te SM
 3sg far from
 Long beach is further than Santa Monica
- (149) $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}k\acute{o}\alpha$ $n\acute{\iota}k\grave{\iota}$ $holland$ $\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\iota k\alpha$ H 1/20
 - - - - - - - - - -
 Holland is far from America

(150) èpí né adó H 1/20
 e- pi- n - ε - adó
 3sg brave n 3sg tall
 he is brave and tall

(151) d̀̀r̀̀p k̀̀k̀̀è èpí H 1/20
 d̀̀r̀̀p but ε - pi
 short 3sg tall
 he is short but he is brave

(152) èpí n̄̀è̀d̀̀d̀̀ s̄̀ĩ̄̂ H 1/20
 e- pi- n - ε - adó sii
 3sg brave n 3sg tall alss
 he is brave and tall as well/too, also
 • nb: tone and syllable structure on sii

(153) èpí é̀l̄̀ā̀ỳé̀n̄̀i n̄̀é̀p̄̀ĩ̀ è̀l̄̀ề alayeni n̄̀é̀p̄̀ĩ̀ è̀l̄̀ề s̄̀ĩ̀n̄̀ĩ̀ H 1/20
 ε- pi - el - ayeni n - ε - pi - ele - si - nine
 3sg brave m.this boy.sg n 3 brave m.thi also he
 s
 this boy is brave, and this one too is brave

Merge last part of my file..

(154) á̀d̀̀ó̀l̄̀ít̄̀à MK 1/20
 a - d̄̀ol - it - a
 1sg see it a
 I am seeing

(155) á̀t̄̀á̀d̀̀ú̀à MK 1/20
 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)

- (156) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}d\acute{u}a\grave{e}m\acute{e}s\grave{a}\grave{a}i$ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ϵn - mesa - ai
 1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ?(f.s.) my
 past
 I saw my table
 “My table” was more or less pronounced / $\grave{e}m\acute{e}s\grave{a}i$ /, 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).
- (157) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}d\acute{u}a\grave{e}n\grave{a}i$ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ϵn - - ai - - -
 1sg ta- see a f.sg. ?(f.s.) my
 past
 I saw mine.
- (158) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}d\acute{u}a\grave{d}l\acute{d}ij\grave{a}l\grave{a}i$ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ol- dij - a l - ai - -
 1sg ta- see a m.sg. dog sg. m.sg. my
 past
 I saw my dog.
- (159) $t\acute{a}d\acute{u}a$ MK 1/20
 ta- du - a - - - - -
 imp see a
 See! Take notice!
- (160) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}d\acute{u}a\grave{d}l\grave{a}l\grave{a}i$ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ol- 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/?
- (161) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}d\acute{u}a\grave{e}m\acute{e}s\grave{a}\acute{a}i\text{ s}\acute{i}d\grave{a}i$. MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ϵn - 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.

- (168) átádúà ildíjàin sìdán náàlìnèi MK 1/20
a - ta - du- a il- dija - in si n na - al- | a - l - ai- | nei
lsg ta- see a m.s dog pl. nic pl and m. | ? | m.s my | pl.
past g. e sg. g.
I saw nice dogs and they are mine.
- (169) átádúà ìsídàh náàlìnèi MK 1/20
a - ta - du- a il- sida - n na - al- a - l - ai- ne
lsg ta-past see a m.sg. nice pl. and m.sg. ? m.s m pl.
g. y
I saw nice ones and they are mine.
- (170) átádúà ìkònáìnèi sìdàn MK 1/20
a - ta - du- a in - kun - ai - nei sida - n -
lsg ta- see a f.pl. this.f. my pl. nice pl
past
I saw my nice ones.
Why isn't it e-sidan?
- (171) átádúà ìrkùláìnèi sìdàn MK 1/20
a - ta - du- a il- kul - ai - nei sida - n -
lsg ta- see a m.pl. this. my pl nice pl
past m.
I saw my nice ones.
Compare this to (166). Note the addition of /ku/; it is probably the same /ku/ as in /kuna/ /kulo/.
- (172) ètíí èmésá ènê MK 1/20
e- tii en - mesa ene - - - - -
3 are f.sg. table here
There is a table here
/ene/ may be morphologically complex, but I'm not sure how to break it up.
- (173) ètíí èmésá èndê MK 1/20
e- tii en - mesa ende - - - - -
3 are f.sg. table there
There is a table there.
/ende/ may be morphologically complex, but I'm not sure how to break it up.

(174) ètíí èmésá ìdiè MK 1/20
 e- tii en - mesa idie - - - - -
 3 are f.sg. table over
 there

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*.

(175) átádúa èmésà ái nàdó nàlèŋ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a en - mesa - ai na - dɔ nàlèŋ
 1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ? my f.sg. red very
 past

I saw my really red table.

(176) átádúa èmésà ái sídái nàlèŋ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a en - mesa - ai sída- i nàlèŋ
 1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ? my nice sg. very
 past

I saw my really nice table.

(177) átádúa èmésà ái sídái nàdó MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a en - mesa - ai sída- i na- dɔ
 1sg ta-past see a f.sg. table ? my nice sg. f.sg. red
 I saw my nice red table.

(178) átádúa èmésà ái nàdó s¹ídái MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a en - mesa - ai na - dɔ sída - i
 1sg ta-past see a f.sg. table ? my f.sg. red nice | sg.
 I saw my nice red table.

(179) átádúa èmésà ái sídái nàlèŋ nàdó MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a en mes - ai sída- i nàlèŋ | na - dɔ
 - a
 1sg ta-past see a f.s table ? my nice sg. very | f.sg. | red
 g.
 I saw my really nice red table.

(180) átádúa èmésà ái sídáí nèdó MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a εn- mesa - ai sida- i na - | ε - | dɔ
 1sg ta- see a f.sg. table ? my nice sg. and | 3 | red
 past
 I saw my nice table and it is red.

(181) átádúa èmésà ái nadɔ náàsìdài MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a εn- mesa - ai na- | dɔ 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.

(182) atadua ɔldija lai sidai ɔdɔ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ɔl- dij - a l - ai sida- i | ɔl- | do
 1sg ta- see a m.sg. dog sg. m.sg. my nice sg. | m. | re
 past | sg. | d
 I saw my nice red dog.
 No tones were transcribed.

(183) atadua ɔldija lai sidai nedɔ MK 1/20
 a - ta - du - a ɔl- dij - a l - ai sida- i | na- ε- | dɔ
 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.

(184) è.múrt CLASS
1/25
 en- murt
 s.f.D neck
 neck

- CVRC is a possible syllable
- only RC codas possible

- (185) m̃.mùr.tó CLASS
1/25
- in- murt -o
p.f.D neck pl
necks
- 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/.
- (186) è.ŋá.rná CLASS
1/25
- enk- arn -a
s.f.D name sg.
name
- 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)
- (187) ñ.ŋárn CLASS
1/25
- ink- arn
p.f.D name
names
- (188) à.púrd CLASS
1/25
- a- purd
inf. mash
mash
- Some people heard the /r/ as voiceless even though it precedes a voiced consonant.
- (189) ĩ.púr.dú.púr.dù CLASS
1/25
- i- purd - u - purd u
-
2 mash ? RED stem vowel RED
You pl. will mash
- Here the /r/ is syllabified in the coda
 - Again syllable boundaries don't correspond to morpheme boundaries.

- (190) ípùrdíà CLASS
1/25
- i- purd- ita
2 mash prog.
- (191) èngòmón CLASS
1/25
- enk- omon
s.f.D face
face
- this is the morpheme division given in the grammar
- (192) èngúpès CLASS
1/25
- en- kupes
s.f.D thigh
- this is the morpheme division given in the grammar.
- (193) ài.sà.mbuá CLASS
1/25
- a- i - sambua
inf. i harvest
harvest
- (194) í.sá.mbuá.mbuà CLASS
1/25
- 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) àìsùrùmbú CLASS
1/25
- a- i- surumbu
inf. i strip kernels
off cob
strip kernels off cob
- Not sure about ATR.

- (196) í.sú.rú.mbu.mbú CLASS
1/25
- i- surumbu- 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 CLASS
1/25
- in- ta- a
in make V
You-sg. make it!
- (198) àítàà CLASS
1/25
- 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: aítaa to take away
Class II: aytaa to create.
- (199) ndáátà CLASS
1/25
- 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) áíʃɔ CLASS
1/25
- a- i- ʃɔ
- I will give

- (213) à.báw CLASS 1/25
a- bau
I arrive
- (214) àiyáŋ CLASS 1/25
a- i yaŋ
infini i breath
tive
to breath
• We transcribed this as /aiyaŋ/ in class. The grammar has it as a class 1 verb /ayaŋ/. We can check this and correct this transcription.
- (215) áiyàŋ CLASS 1/25
a- i yaŋ
ls i breath
I breath
• again grammar has this verb as class 1
- (216) íyàŋá CLASS 1/25
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) íyáŋíyàŋà CLASS 1/25
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) íyáŋíyàŋ CLASS 1/25
i yaŋ i yaŋ
to be restless
• +ATR

(219) íyáŋíyáŋáŋà

CLASS 1/25

yaŋ - i - yaŋ -

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

(220) áisúḍʲà

CLASS
1/25

a- i- sudʲ - a
1 in wash V-refl.

I am washing (myself)

(221) ísúḍʲà

CLASS
1/25

i- i sudʲ - a
2 in wash V-refl.

You have been washed. You are washed.

(222) aisúḍʲita

CLASS
1/25

a- i- sudʲ - ita
1s in wash prog.

I am washing (it).

(223) aisud

CLASS
1/25

a- i- sud
1s in wash

I will wash it.

(224) aisúḍʲiʃɔ

CLASS
1/25

a- i- sudʲ - iʃɔ
1s in wash intransitive

I am doing washing

- (225) ísúdjà CLASS 1/25
 i- i- sud^j a
 2 in wash V-refl.
 You wash (yourself)
- (226) áísúdjà kewan CLASS 1/25
 a - i- sud^j -a kewan
 1s in wash V-past yourself
 I washed myself.
 • must have a past interpretation if there is an overt object.
- (227) aisud kewan CLASS 1/25
 a- i sud - kewan
 1s in wash myself
 I wash myself
 • There is no final vowel (reflexive suffix) when there is an overt object (even when object and subject are the same.)
- (228) aisud^jε η^wole CLASS 1/25
 a- i- sud^j -ε η^wole
 1s in wash V-
 past/reflexive
 I washed (myself) yesterday.
- (229) áíjóyo MB 1/25
 á - íjó - yo
 1s ? give ?
 I'll give it away
 Notice the difference in meaning between this form and the one in (3). We couldn't establish a clearer meaning difference than what the translation indicates.
- (230) aijòd n→/é MB 1/25
 a- íjó o n→/é
 I gave past her
 I gave it to her
 In forms (1) – (7) notice the different tonal patterns.

- (231) aiʃó MB 1/25
a- ifó
I give
I'll give (it) (to her)
- (232) áiʃô MB 1/25
á - ifô
I/you give
I'll give it to you
- (233) áiʃòò MB 1/25
á- ifô o- - - - - - - -
I/you gave past
I gave it to you
- (234) aiʃòò ŋgáís MB 1/25
a- ifòò ŋgáís - - - - - - -
I gave. Ngais
past -acc
I gave it to Ngais
- (235) áiʃoó ŋgáís MB 1/25
á- ifoó ŋgáís - - - - - - -
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 eŋgáré tédeké/á MB 1/25
a- ók eŋ- káré t é déké/a- - - -
I drink det- water P agr. morning
fem
I drink water in the morning

- (237) etoókó aláis enáifó MB 1/25
 e - to - ók - ó aláis en - áifó
 3- past drink o Alais det- beer
 sing. -nom fem
 Alais drank beer
- (238) εροάγά aláyeni éni MB 1/25
 ε- ροάγ á al - áyé- ni éni
 -
 3- slept a def- boy- sing here
 sing masc nom (vowel?)
 The boy slept here
 There's a tone change on the last two words (coalescence?)
- (239) εροάγα oldía ení MB 1/25
 ε- ροάγ a ol- díá ení- - - -
 -
 3- slept a def- dog- here
 sing masc nom
- (240) ερύρα oldía eni MB 1/25
 ε- ρύρ- a ol- díá ení- - - -
 3sing sleep refl def- dog- here
 masc nom
- The dog is sleeping here
 The verb "to sleep" is obviously irregular.
- (241) airúra MB 1/25
 a- irúr a
 I sleep refl
 I'm sleeping

- (247) léwa óífoô engaré endító MB 1/25
 l - éwa - ó - ífoô en- káré en - títo -
 det- men C- gave det- water det- girl-
 masc. masc- fem -acc fem acc
 pl pl

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 .

- (248) engaré ífoó résoi endító MB 1/25
 en- káré ífoó résoi en - títo - - -
 det- water gave3 Resoi det- girl-
 fem -acc sing -nom fem acc
 It was water that Resoy gave to the girl.

- (249) ηγάís ífoó endító engaré MB 1/25
 ηγάís ífoó en - títo en- káré
 gave3 det- girl- det- water
 sing fem nom fem -acc
 It was Ngais that the girl gave water to.

- (250) ὲ\`téra ηηgera\` àánáp R 2/1
 rev ε- \`ter - a- aa- -nap
 3sg start past inf carry
 The child started to carry
 p.s. don't trust my tones and _+- ATR judgements

- (251) à\`téra àrán R 2/1
 rev a- \`ter - -a aa- -ran
 1sg start past inf sing
 I started to sing

- (252) k̀\`ntérá áàrán R 2/1
 ki- iter - aa- ran -
 1pl start inf 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`ákí mètárànà R 2/1
 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) t̄iákí iyook mátaran R 2/1
 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) aátiàkà mátànápà R 2/1
 rev aa- t`ak m- a ta nap a - - - -
 a
 he-me told m 1sg ta carry a
 He told me to carry it.

(256) etiáka metánàpà R 2/1
 rev ε - tiaka m - ε - ta - nap- a
 3sg told m 3sg ta carry a
 He told her to carry it

(257) t̄iákí metétema R 2/1
 rev tiaki m - ε tε tem a
 tell m 3sg ta try a
 Tell him to try it!

(258) t̄iákí mítèm R 2/1
 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 □lée m`nap enḡitábu éne R 2/1
 aa- tiaka □l- lée mi nap en kitab ene
 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) káà ító εʃel□ R 2/1
kaa- tito ε ʃel □
which girl 3sg select directional?
Which girl will he choose?
- (261) káà ító mɛʃɛl□ R 2/1
kaa- tito ε m- ε ʃel □-
which girl 3sg m 3sg select dir
Which girl will he not choose?
- (262) kɛŋɛ̀nái endító nánap\ta tórèt R 2/1
rev 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 engèraí ná napita tórèt h 2/17
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) kɛŋɛ̀nai endító néménáp\ta tórèt R 2/1
k- ene nai en- tito nɛ m ε nap ita toret
Q his who sg.f girl f.agr. neg 3sg carry prog toret
sg
Whose girl is Toret not carrying?
- (265) ánáp\ʃo R 2/1
a- nap \ʃo
1sg carry do
I'm doing the carrying.

(266) atanap`je R 2/1
 a ta nap ije
 1sg ta carry do
 I did the carrying.

(267) aánápákíta R 2/1
 aa- nap ak` ita
 I-you carry applied prog
 I am doing the carrying for you.
 I was hunting for something with both the -So- "doing" morpheme and the "ki" applied morpheme.
 Like maybe *"anap`Soki" or *"anap`kiSo." But this doesn't appear to be possible. S says you would just
 use the progressive tense instead.

(268) etápála `apá enjìsùgí kákì (e)itérá àìgìl E
2/3
 e- ta - pal - -a enj- -gìsùgí kaki
 3rd past quit past fem sg snuff but

cont. E- itEr - -a a - -ìgìl
 3rd begin past inf sg do again
 he quit snuffing snuff but he started again
 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

(269) kítàpàlà `apá enjìsùgí kákì kínderita àìgìl E
2/3
 kɪ- ta - pal - -a enj - -gìsùgí kaki
 1pl past quit past fem sg snuff but

cont. kɪ- iter- -ita a- -ìgìl
 1pl begin progressive inf pl do again
 we quit snuffing but we are beginning again

(270) kítapala ápa en̄ḡisuḡi káki kíndér àìḡìl E
2/3
kɪ- ta - pal - -a en̄ - ḡisuḡi kaki
1pl past quit past fem sg snuff but

cont. kɪ- ɪter a- ɪḡìl
1pl begin (non-past) inf pl do again
we quit snuffing but we will begin again

(271) kíndér àànáp E
2/3
kɪ- -ɪt̄Er aa- -nap
1pl begin inf pl carry
we'll begin to carry (it)

(272) áit̄er (a)ànáp E
2/3
a- -ɪt̄Er (a)a- -nap - - - - -
1sp begin inf sg carry
I'll begin to carry it
There was some dispute in class over whether the first vowel of the infinitive “to carry” was long.

(273) áait̄er àànáp E
2/3
aa- -ɪt̄Er aa- -nap - - - - -
I-you begin inf sg carry
I'll begin to carry you
There was a noticeable difference between the prosodic characteristics of the first word in (5) and the first word in (6). 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].

(274) áisúḡaa àìḡìl E
2/3
a- -isuḡaa a- -ɪḡìl - - - - -
1sg snuff inf sg do again
I'll snuff again

(275) áìgìl aìsugáa E
2/3

a- -ìgìl a- -ìsugaa - - - - -
1sg do again inf sg snuff

I'll snuff again

The initial low tone on the first vowel of the first word was questionable.

(276) kíìsugáa áìgìl E
2/3

kì- -ìsugaa a- -ìgìl - - - - -
1pl snuff inf pl do again

We'll snuff again

(277) kíìnap áìgìl E
2/3

kì- -nap a- -ìgìl - - - - -
1pl carry inf pl do again

We'll carry again

(278) kíìḡìl àànàp E
2/3

kì- -ìgìl aa- -nap - - - - -
1pl 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 interchangeable. The data in (12) and (13) will show that this generalization, although it holds for [ìgìl] (“to do again”) does not necessarily apply with [ìter] (“to begin, to start”).

(279) kíìnap áìter E
2/3

kì- -nap a- ìter - - - - -
1pl 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) kíìndér àànap E
2/3

kì- -ìter aa- nap - - - - -
1pl 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 pattern on the first word was slightly different.

- (281) aréu ŋgíʃú E
2/3
a- -rɛʊ ŋ- kɪʃu - - - - -
1sg drive fem pl cow
I'll drive the cattle
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.
- (282) tɛrɛwa E
2/3
tV- -rɛʊ- -a - - - - -
sg imp drive a
drive! (singular imperative)
- (283) tɛrɛwakaki E
2/3
tV- -rɛʊ- -a- -ka- -ki
sg imp drive a applied suffix you-me
drive for me! (singular imperative)
Saningo also mentioned the possibility of translating this as “drive towards me!”
- (284) tɛrɛú ɛnɛ̂ E
2/3
tV- -rɛʊ ɛnɛ̂ - - - - -
sg imp drive here
drive (them) here! (singular imperative)
- (285) tɛrɛ̀wà E
2/3
tV- -rɛʊ- -a - - - - -
sg imp drive a
drive (them) away! (singular imperative)
This is exactly like (15), although we were attempting to elicit a different form.
- (286) áréwtà E
2/3
a- -rɛʊ- -(ɪ)ta
1sg drive progressive
I am driving
This was also transcribed as arɛʊɪta

- (287) túrumui E
2/3
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 E
2/3
tV- -rumu - - - - -
sg imp push
push it toward (me)!
- (289) arumuító E
2/3
a- -rumu- -ito - - - -
1sg push progressive
I am pushing it
No tones were provided in class for the first two syllables.
- (290) téyètu E
2/3
tV- yEt- u - - - - -
sg imp pull u
pull! (singular imperative)
Note that the ATR of the [u] suffix does not appear to harmonize
- (291) ayeṭita E
2/3
a- yeṭ- -ita
1sg pull progressive
I am pulling it
No tones were gathered for this word.
- (292) aísúgáà Class
2/3
a- i - sug - aa - - - - -
1sg i sniff aa
I sniff.
The final “aa” (long instead of short vowel) is probably a directional suffix.

(293) èitú àikátá àisugáà Class
2/3

èitu	aikata	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) èitú àikátá èisugáà Class
2/3

èitu	aikata	ε-	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) àisugáyè nàbókàtà Class
2/3

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) àisugáyè kátàrí Class
2/3

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) ìsùgáyè àikátá èŋèisùgí Class
2/3

ì-	i -	sug -	a -	ye	aikata	èŋ -	èisugi	-	-	-
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) $\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\eta\gamma\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\tau\iota\eta\grave{\nu}$ $\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\grave{\alpha}$ Class
2/3
- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|-----|-------------|--------|-----|---------------------------|-----|-----|-------|----|---|
| | ε- | ata | εη- | kata - | in | na - | a - | i - | sug - | aa | - |
| | 3 | is | pl.
fem. | time | pl. | and
or
fem.
rel. | 1sg | i | sniff | a | - |
- I smoke sometimes
No tones were recorded for *sometimes*.
- (299) $\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$ $\eta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta$ Class
2/3
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-------|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a- | ran | nalen | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 1sg. | dance | a lot | | | | | | | |
- I dance a lot
- (300) $\grave{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$ $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\eta\eta\grave{\iota}$ $\rho\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta$ Class
2/3
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a- | $\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$ | $\eta\eta$ - | $\kappa\omicron\lambda\eta$ | $\rho\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta$ | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 1sg | dance | fem.
pl. | day | every/a
ll | | | | | |
- I dance all day.
- (301) $\grave{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu$ $\grave{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$ $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\eta\eta\grave{\iota}$ $\rho\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta$ Class
2/3
- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----|----------|-------|----------|------|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| | a - | tem | a - | ran | in - | oln | $\rho\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta$ | - | - | - | - |
| | 1 sg. | try | inf. sg. | dance | fem. pl. | days | all | | | | |
- I try to dance every day.
- (302) $\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ $\alpha\iota\varsigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\grave{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}$ Class
2/3
- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-------------|------|-----|-------|----|-------------|--------|---|---|
| | ε - | ton | eitu | a - | i - | sug - | aa | en - | aisugi | - | - |
| | 3 | sit | past
Neg | 1 sg | i | sniff | aa | sg.
fem. | snuff | | |
- rev I still have not sniffed snuff.
Note that a subject, such as Toret, would appear after the main verb “aisugaa”.

(303) kètón àkí ìsùgáà ènàìsùgí Class
2/3

k-	ε -	tɔn	aki	i -	i -	sug -	aa	en -	aisugi	-
Q	3	sit	FOC	2s	i	sniff	aa	sg	snuff	
								fem.		

Do you still sniff snuff?

(304) meikure àìsugáà ènàìsùgí Class
2/3

m -	eikure	a -	i -	sug	aa	en -	aisugi
Neg/Subj	longer	1 sg.	i	sniff	aa	fem. sg.	snuff

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

(305) isúgáá ànaki mìsugáà Class
2/3

i-	i -	sug	aa	anaki	m -	i -	i -	sug -	aa	-	-
2sg	i	sniff	aa	or	Neg	2sg.	i	sniff	aa		

Do you sniff or not?

Note that a subject, such as Toret, would appear after the verb “isugaa”.

(306) tásiòì Class
2/3

ta-	sioi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 sg.	go									
imp	early									

Go early!

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

(307) tásièkù Class
2/3

ta-	sieku	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 sg.	come									
imp.	early									

Come early!

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

(308) tásièkì tálèpìfo Class
2/3

ta-	sieki	ta -	lepìf -	ìf -	o	-	-	-	-
2 sg.	come early	2 sg.	milk	is	o				
imp		imp.							

Milk early (soon/quickly)!

(309) ελέπόρι Class
2/3

en- lep - ori - - - - -
 sg. milk ori
 fem.
 milking

(310) ísàrìsàrà èlépòrè Class
2/3

ì- sar - ísar - a en - lep - ore - - - -
 2pl. do quickly RED a sg. fem. milking ore
 imp
 milk quickly!

(311) ísàrìsàrà èràṅàrè Class
2/3

ì- sar - ísar - a en- ran - are - - - -
 2pl. do quickly RED a sg. fem. dance are
 imp
 dance quickly!

(312) ètásíoyè

ε - ta - sio - e - - - - -
 3 past leave e
 early

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

(313) àsíekì ófì àlèpìfó Class
2/3
 rev.tns

a- sieki ofi a - lep- if- o - - - -
 1 sg. do early usually sg. milk is o
 I usually milk early.

(314) kísièkì ófì á[à]lèpìfò Class
2/3

ki - sieki ofi a[a] - lepifo - - - - -
 1 pl. do early usually pl. do milk

We usually milk early?
 Note the tonal differences between (313) and (314).
 Is the “a” in “aalepiso” long or not?

- (315) àálépókì àsièkí Class
2/3
- aa - lep - oki a - sieki - - - - -
 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) àásiékì àlèpòkí Class
2/3
- aa - sieki a- lep - oki - - - - -
 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) kílèpòkíyè áasièki Class
2/3
 rev tns
- ki - lep - oki - iye aa- sieki - - - - -
 1 pl. milk appl. you pl. do
 inf. early
 We will milk for you early.
- (318) àátálépókò Class
2/3
- aa- ta - lep - oko - - - - -
 1 sg – past milk appl.
 2sg past
 I milked it for you.
- (319) étálepókì Class
2/3
- ε- ta - lep - oki - - - - -
 3 past milk pass
 It was milked.
- (320) ààtàlèpòkòî Class
2/3
- aa- ta - lep - ok - oki - - - - -
 3 – 1 past milk appl. pass.
 sg.
 It was milked for me.

(321) sídài ènáàtàlèpòkoki Class
2/3

sida-	i	en -	aa -	lep -	ok -	oki	-	-	-	-
nice	sg.	fem.	3 – 1	milk	appl.	pass.				
		sg.	sg.							

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.

(322) étánápákĩ ìlàyók KM 2/03

ε-	ta -	nap	-a	-ki	il -	ayók
3	ta	carry	V past	passive	p.m.D	boys

The boys were carried.

(323) ìlàyók étánápákĩ KM 2/03

il-	ayók	ε -	ta -	nap-	a-	ki
p.m.D	boys	3	ta	carry	V past	passive

It was the boys who were carried.

- This phrase differs from the OVS constructions where the agent is present and there is no passive suffix. In the OVS constructions the verb has a relative object marker /nà/ with a low tone..

(324) étánápákĩ àlàyéni KM 2/03

ε -	ta -	nap-	a-	ki	al-	ayeni
3	ta	carry	V past	passive	s.m.D	boy

The boy was carried.

(325) àlàyéni étánápákĩ KM 2/03

al-	ayeni	ε -	ta -	nap-	a-	ki
s.m.D	boy	3	ta	carry	V past	passive

It was the boy who was carried.

- Here again there is no relative object morpheme, like there is in the OVS construction where the agent is present and there is no passive morpheme.

(326) étánápákĩ èndító KM 2/03

ε - ta - nap- a- ki en- dito
 3 ta carry V past passive s.f.D girl
 The girl was carried.

(327) èndító étánápákĩ KM 2/03

en- dito ε - ta - nap- a- ki
 s.f.D girl 3 ta carry V past passive
 It was the girl who was carried.

(328) èndító nàtànàpá àláyèñĩ KM 2/03

en- dito nà- ta- nap- á al- ayeni-
 s.f.D girl relative, ta carry V past s.m.D boy
 accusative sing.

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.
- /alayani/ has an accusative tonal pattern: LLLL (phrase final), LHHH(non-phrase final)

(329) èndító nàtànàpâ ìláyòk KM 2/03

en- dito nà- ta- nap- â il- ayok
 s.f.D girl relative, ta carry V past p.m.D boys
 accusative plur.

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.

(330) èndító nátànàpá àláyéñĩ KM 2/03

en- dito ná- ta- nap- á al- ayeni-
 s.f.D girl relative, ta carry V past s.m.D boy
 nominative sing.

It was the girl who carried the boy.

- /alayani/ 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.

- (331) átádúà èndító nàtànàpákĩ KM 2/03
 a- ta- du- a en- dito nà- ta- nap- á- ki
 1 ta see V s.f.D girl relativ ta carry V ki
 past accusative past passive
- I saw the girl that was carried.
 • /endito/ has the accusative tonal pattern: LHH (non-phrase final)(it is LHL phrase-finally).
- (332) átádúà èndító nátànàpà KM 2/03
 a- ta- du -a en - tito ná- ta- nap -a
 1 ta see V s.f.D girl relative, ta carrt V past
 past nominative
- 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.
- (333) ..èηγίτέη nàtèrèwá KM 2/03
 εν- kiteη nà - τε- rευ - a
 s.f.D cow relative, ta drive V past
 accusative
- The cow that was driven
- (334) ..èηγίτέη nátèrèwá KM 2/03
 εν- kiteη ná - τε- rευ - a
 s.f.D cow relative, nominative ta drive V past
- The cow that drove
 • /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.
- (335) étálépó àláyení èηγίτέη KM 2/03
 e- ta- lep -o al - ayeni εν- kiteη
 3 ta milk V past s.m.D boy s.f.D cow
- The boy milked the cow.
- (336) étálépókĩ èηγίτέη KM 2/03
 e - ta- lep- -o -ki εν- kiteη
 3 ta milk V past passive s.f.D cow
- The cow was milked.
 • passive morphology when there is not an overt agent.

(337) étalépô ðíáyók èngítéη KM 2/03
 e- ta - lep -ô il- ayók en- kiteη
 3 ta milk V past p.m.D boys s.f.D cow
 pl.

The boys milked the cow.

(338) átádúà èngítéη nàtàpèló ðíáyók KM 2/03
 a- ta - du- a en- kiteη nà - ta - lep -o il- ayók
 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) átalépò èngítéη KM 2/03
 a- ta- lep -o en- kiteη
 1 ta milk V s.f.D cow
 past

I milked the cow.

(340) nànú nátalèpó èngítéη KM 2/03
 nanu ná - ta- lep - ó en- kiteη
 I relative, ta milk V past, 3 s.f.D cow
 nominati sing.
 ve

I (feminine) was the one that milked the cow.

- The tonal pattern of the verb with the relative morpheme seems to be tge 3rd sing. subject tonal pattern: HLLH. Compare with the tonal pattern of 1st sing. HHHH 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: /na/

(341) nànú átalèpó èngítéη KM 2/03
 nanu ó - ta- lep - ó en- kiteη
 I relative, ta milk V past, 3 s.f.D cow
 nominati sing.
 ve

I (masculine) was the one that milked the cow.

- /ɔ/ is realized as /a/ because of [-round] harmony.
- In this case the subject must be masculine.

- (342) nànú nàtàlèpó èṅgítéṅ méè tórét átàlèpó KM 2/03
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-----|------|--------------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-------------------------------------|-----|------|----------------------------------|
| nanu | ná - | ta- | lep | -ó | εṅ- | kitéṅ | mεε | tórét | ó - | ta- | lep | -ó |
| I | relative,
nominat
ive | ta | milk | V past,
3 sing. | s.f.D | cow | not | Toret | relati
ve,
nomi
nativ
e | ta | milk | V
pa
st,
3
sin
g. |

I was the one that milked the cow, it was not Toret that milked it.

- (343) ààtàrùwá èṅgítèṅ KM 2/03
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|------|---|--|-------|-------|
| aa- | ta - | ru - | a | | εṅ- | kitéṅ |
| it-me | ta | kick | a | | s.f.D | cow |
- 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 /arɔ/. The past is irregular, in the same way that /adɔl/ is irregular.

- (344) átárúwà èṅgítéṅ sǐdài KM 2/03
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| a- | ta- | ru | -a | εṅ- | kitéṅ | sidai |
| 1 | ta | kick | V past | s.f.D | cow | nice |
- I kicked the nice cow.
- /arɔ/ present; /ataruwa/ past

- (345) átádúà èṅgítéṅ sǐdài KM 2/03
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| a- | ta- | du | -a | εṅ- | kitéṅ | sidai |
| 1 | ta | kick | V past | s.f.D | cow | nice |
- I saw the nice cow.
- /adɔl/ present; /atadua/ past

- (346) sǐdái èṅgítéṅ KM 2/03
- | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| sidai | εṅ- | kitéṅ |
| nice | s.f.D | cow |
- Nominative is LLH. This noun must belongs to the same tonal class as /endito/: LLH – nominative; LHH- accusative (non-phrase final); LHL – accusative (phrase-final)

- (347) èṅgítéṅ nààtàrùwá méè èṅgìṅè KM 2/03
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|-------|------|------|------------------|-----|-------|------|
| εṅ- | kitéṅ | n - | áà- | ta - | ru- | á | mεε | εṅ - | kine |
| s.f.D | cow | relati
ve | it-me | ta | kick | V past,
sing. | not | s.f.D | goat |
- It was the cow that kicked me, not the goat.

(348) èngíné náàtàrùwá mée èṅgìtèṅ KM 2/03

en -	kine	n -	àà-	ta -	ru-	á	mɛɛ	ɛn-	kiteṅ
s.f.D	goat	relati	it-me	ta	kick	V past,	not	s.f.D	cow
		ve				sing.			

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

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

- more on nine: “ even” :
 - it is indeed homophonous with the strong form of third pronoun;
 - it does not vary for person, nor number.
 - it must be post I;
 - so far restricted to finite clauses
 - precedes its associate, (DP, Adv, InfP, PP) unless the associate is the V;
 - 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:
 - gets interpretation: can be V-ed;
 - it is not an A (like sidai), since it is preceded by SA.
 - the DP in the by/with phrase seems to have nominative.

(349) èés <nǐṅé> ðʒiàkí <nǐṅé> èṅgèraí H 2/3

ɛ -	as	ɔʒi	aki	nǐṅé	en -	kerai
3sg	do	usually	foc	‘him’	f.sg	child.sg

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

(350) àás nǐṅé nànú H 2/3

a -	as	nine	nanu
1sg	do	‘him’	I

Even I can do this

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

(351) ǎés nǐṅé sǐ yè H 2/3

i-	ɛs	nine	si	iye
2sg	do	‘him’	also	you

Even you can do this too

- even can never precede finite I.

- (352) $\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{i}m$ $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ ye $\grave{a}t\grave{a}as\grave{a}$ H 2/3
 i- in.dim $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ iye a ta as a
 2sg can 'him' you to.sg ta do a
 'even you are able to do it'
 ○ aidim takes infinitive a followed by ta
- (353) $\grave{e}t\acute{a}a$ $\grave{e}l\acute{o}l\acute{o}$ $\grave{e}ng\grave{e}r\acute{a}i$ $kaki$ $m\acute{e}\acute{e}$ $n\grave{a}l\acute{e}ŋ$ H 2/3
 ϵ - taa ϵ - lolo $\grave{e}ŋ$ $g\grave{e}r\acute{a}i$ $kaki$ m - ϵ - ϵ $naleŋ$
 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)
 • $kaki$ (but) has akI in it..
- (354) $\acute{y}\acute{d}\acute{i}m$ $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ $\grave{a}\acute{i}k\acute{e}n\acute{i}\text{f}\text{ɔ}$ H 2/3
 ϵ - in.dim $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ a - $i\acute{k}en$ - $i\text{f}\text{ɔ}$
 3sg can even to.sg count do
 'he can even count' (talking about a little child)
- (355) $\acute{y}\acute{a}r\acute{a}i$ $s\acute{i}i$ $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ H 2/3
 ϵ - yar - a - i sii nine
 3sg boil ? pass also even
 'it can also even be boiled'
- (356) $\grave{e}\acute{e}s$ $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ $s\acute{i}i$ $n\grave{n}\acute{e}$ H 2/3
 ϵ - as nine sii nine
 3sg do even also him
 Even he can also do it
- (357) $\acute{e}i\acute{s}\acute{u}d\acute{a}i$ H 2/3
 ϵ - i - sudj - a - i
 3sg in wash a pass
 'It can be washed/it is washable'

(358) ěisúdaĭ èlé kàràfá H 2/17

ε- i - sudi - a - i èlé kàràfá
3sg in wash refl? pass this cloth(nom?)

‘This cloth t can be washed/it is washable ’

- arkaráfà arkàráhà (acc)
- recheck tones
- do not understand the syntax (passive >refl??) what is going on here?

(359) ěisúdaĭ tàsábùñĭ H 2/3

ε - i - sudi - 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) èsàbùñĭ H 2/3

en- sabúni
sg.f soap-sg
‘soap’

- the tones of soap (loan from Romance via Swahili?) are like those of alayeni

(361) šĭdaĭ èsábùñĭ H 2/3

šĭdai en- sabuni
is- sg.f soap
nice

(362) àúrífó táàtà H 2/3

a- ur - iso taata
1sg be- do now
afraid

‘I am afraid now’

(363) àúrífó nǎḡé táàtà H 2/3
 a- ur - iso nine taata
 1sg be- do
 afraid
 ‘even now I’am afraid’

(364) àúrífó sǎi táàtà H 2/3
 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 tǎi èʃùlé H 2/3
 ε- tii e- ʃule
 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, meʃomo (1,3)
- Checking auxiliary verbs and the forms of the verbs that follow.

Depending on aux, we get: m-subjunctive m-ε -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) ed’ókǐ résói alayéni mekwétà R 2/8
 e - d’oki - resoi al- ayeni m ε 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 kwEt *run* is an irregular verb. Page 86 of the grammar says that in a few Class I verbs the t-prefix is lacking.

- (367) ákwét kwéta ákwétà R 2/8
a- kwet - 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) eḏ'óki résoí alayéni meḑómo R 2/8
e- ḏ'oki- resoi- al - alyeni m - ε ḑomo
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) tíàkí yóok mátaran R 2/8
tiaki- yook m- a ta ran
-
tell us m- 1 ? ta sing
Tell us to sing!
- (370) etiáki éndaran R 2/8
ε- tiaki en ta ran
3sg tell 2.pl ta sing
He told you pl. to sing
- (371) metárana R 2/8
m - ε ta ran a
m- 3 ta sing V
(He told)..them to sing
- (372) etiaki olée peê ménap engitabu ene R 2/8
ε- tiaki ol lée pee m e nap engitabu 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) etiaki olée peê [m ínap] engitabu ene R 2/8
m- 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 subjunctive are interchangeable.

- (374) εῖομό ἀὰτὺρ ἐγὺρμά R 2/8
ε- ῖομο ἀα - τὺρ ἐν κὺρμα - - - -
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 aa or a. Sounds long.
- (375) εῖομοῖτο ἀὰτὺρ ἐγὺρμά R 2/8
ε- ῖομο ἰτο ἀα τὺρ ἐν κὺρμα - - - -
3sg go prog inf.pl dig sg.f field
They have gone to he the field
I think we've seen this before: plural with Somo have prog ending
- (376) ἀγῖόλο ἀατάρἀνα R 2/8
ἀ- γῖολο ἀα τἀ ρἀν ἀ - - - -
1sg know inf tV sing V
I know how to sing
Here, we have infinitive a or aa with the tV past/imp stem.
- (377) ἐγῖόλο ἀὰτἀρἀν R 2/8
ε γῖολο ἀα τἀ ρἀν - - - -
3sg know inf.pl tV sing
They know how to sing.
- (378) ἀγῖόλο ἀῖσὺδῖα R 2/8
ἀ- γῖολο ἀ ἰσὺδῖα - - - -
1sg know inf wash
I know how to wash
Checking same as above with Class II verb
- (379) ἐγῖόλο ἀῖσὺδῖἀ R 2/8
ε γῖολο ἀ ἰσὺδῖα - - - -
3 know inf.pl wash
They know how to wash
- (380) ἀῖδῖπα ἀατάρἀνα R 2/8
ἀ- ἰδῖπ ἀα - τἀ ρἀν ἀ - - - -
1sg finish inf.sg tV sing V
I have finished singing

- (381) εἰπά ἀὰτὰρὰν R 2/8
ε - ἰδῖρ aa ta ran - - - - -
3 finish inf.pl tV sing
They have finished singing
- (382) ἰἠδῖμ ἀὰτὰράνα R 2/8
ἱ- ἰδῖμ aa ta ran a - - - - -
2sg be inf.sg tV sing V
able
Can you sing?
interesting: no initial k.
- (383) ἠἰδῖμ ἀατὰλέποκι R 2/8
aa- ἰδῖμ aa ta lep o ki - - - - -
I-you can inf.sg tV milk V appl.
I can milk it for you
Object raising, aa- on auxiliary verb.
Note that the applied morpheme is *ki*. This is usually the form found in the non-past. The past and imperative have *ko/ka*. This is the only place where I can remember seeing the tV morphology with the *ki* allomorph. Compare possibly 12/15 class #3
μῖκῖτὸςὐδῖι γε ἠγὰν ὑμῖν ἀκολουθεῖν *may you be followed* which has ἱ for the passive. Again, there is the tV morphology with the form usually used in the non-past. In the past we see *ki*.
- (384) ἀὰτὸν ἀλέποκι R 2/8
aa - τὸν- a lep oki - - - - -
I-you inf milk appl.
I will continuously milk for you
- (385) ἀὰν ἐλέπορέ R 2/8
a- ἀν - ἐλ- lep ore - - - - -
1sg refuse
I refuse to milk (I refuse milking)
elepore is a nominalization. Don't know how to break it up. Also slight possibility that the 2nd word is elepone. I can't read my writing.
- (386) ἀὰν ἐνκωέτᾶτά R 2/8
a - ἀν ἐν κωέτᾶτά - - - - -
1sg refus
e
I refuse to run (running)
Same note as above

1:30 Elicitation
 Kristie and Melissa

- **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) KM 2/10

ε- nap il - ayək en - tito
 3 carry p.m.D boys s.f.D girl

The boys will carry the girl.

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

(388) KM 2/10

ε- nap en - tito il - ayək
 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)
- /ilayok/ LHL nominative tonal pattern (phrase final)

(389) KM 2/10

il - ayək óð- nap en - tito
 p.m. boys relative, s.f.D girl
 D nominative

It is the boys who will carry the girl.

- **SVO**
- The subject relative morpheme /óð/ undergoes [-round] harmony.
- /ilayok/ has default (accusative) pattern when it precedes the verb.
- /endito/ LHL accusative tonal pattern (phrase final)

- (390) èndító énap ìláyòk KM 2/10
 en - tito ε- nap il - ayòk
 s.f.D girl 3 carry p.m. boys
 D

It is the girl that will be carried carry the by the boys

- **OVS**: no relative object morpheme.
- /endito/ still has accusative tonal pattern and /ilayok/ 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).

- (391) èndító nánàp ìlàyók KM 2/10
 en - dito ná- nap il - ayòk
 s.f.D girl relative, carry p.m.D boys
 nominative

It is the girl that will carry the boys.

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

- (392) èndító nànap ìláyòk KM 2/10
 en - dito nà- nap il - ayòk
 s.f.D girl relative, carry p.m.D boys
 accusative

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 /èndító nàtànpâ ìláyòk/ "It was the girl that was carried by the boys")

- (393) átádúà ñgìnèdží ò̀̀ndòyè KM 2/10
 a- ta - du - a - in- kinedzi ò̀̀ - in - toye
 1 ta see V p.f.D goats genitive, p.f.D girls
 past accusative

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 /intoeye/ and in gender with /inkineji/

- (394) sídái èngínè ò̀̀ndòyè KM 2/10
 sidai en- kine ó̀̀ - in - toye
 nice s.f.D goat genitive, p.f.D girls
 nominative

The girls' goat is nice.

- /enkinè/ LHL nominative tonal pattern.
- The genitive morpheme has a nominative tonal pattern because it agrees with /enkinè/

(395) átádúà èṅgíné òòndóyè KM 2/10

a-	ta -	du -	a -	en-	kine	òò -	in -	toye
1	ta	see	V	s.f.D	goat	genitive, accusative	p.f.D	girls

I saw the girl's nice goat.

- /enkiné/ LHH accusative tonal pattern.
- genitive morpheme has an accusative tonal pattern because it agrees with /enkiné/

(396) ɛ̀iʃòò ìláyòk èndító èṅgíné KM 2/10

ε-	i-	ʃɔ-	ô -	il -	ayòk	en -	tito	en -	kine
3	i	give	V past, pl.	p.m.D	boys	s.f.D	girl	s.f.D	goat

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 these examples /ɛ̀i/ was more /i/; I'm not sure if it is long.

(397) ɛ̀iʃóò àláyéní èndító èṅgíné KM 2/10

ε-	i-	ʃɔ-	ó	al -	ayeni	en -	tito	en -	kine
3	i	give	V	s.m.D	boy	s.f.D	girl	s.f.D	goat

past,
sg.

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.

(398) ɛ̀iʃóòkì èndító ènkiné KM 2/10

ε-	i-	ʃɔ-	ó -	ki	en -	tito	en -	kine
3	i	give	V past, sg.	passive	s.f.D	girl	s.f.D	goat

The girl was given a goat.

- /ki/ passive morpheme: no overt agent.

(399) ìláyòk óòiʃòò èndító èṅgíné KM 2/10

il-	ayòk	óò -	i -	ʃɔ -	ô	en -	tito	en -	kine
p.m. D	boys	relative, nominative	i	give	V past, 3 plur.	s.f.D	girl	s.f.D	goat.

It was the boys that gave the goat to the girl.

- /ìláyòk/ 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.

(400) èndító èiʃðókì èngíné ìláyðk KM 2/10
 en - tito ε - i - ʃɔ - ó- ki en - kine il- ayɔk

s.f.D girl 3 i give V past, 3 passive s.f.D goat. p.m. boys
 sg. D

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.

(401) èndító náàìʃðó èngíné KM 2/10
 en - tito n- áà- i - ʃɔ - ó en - kine

s.f.D girl relative it-me i give V past, 3 sg. s.f.D goat.

It was the girl that gave me the goat.

- Subject relative with contained subject-object clitic.

(402) áàìʃðò ìláyðk èngíné èndító KM 2/10
 áà- i - ʃɔ - ô il- ayɔk e- en - kine en - tito

it-me i give V past, p.m.D boys sg. s.f.D goat. s.f.D girl
 3 pl. genitive

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/.)

(403) èngíné áàìʃðò ìláyðk mée èngítéŋ KM 2/10
 en - kine áà- i - ʃɔ - ô il- ayɔk mɛɛ ɛn kitéŋ

s.f.D goat. it-me i give V past, p.m. boys not s.f.D cow
 3 pl. D

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" /áàìʃðókì/, where "I" is the direct object. I don't know if that would make a difference)

(412) *îdim âirurò* H 2/10

e- idim a - iruru
3pl can to(pl) speak
 .red

They can speak it

(413) *kîndim âirurò* H 2/10

ki- idim a - iruru
1pl can to(pl) speak
 .red

We can speak it

past tense morphology on statives.

(414) *εʃipà* H 2/10

ε- ʃip - a
3pl happy a (refl?)

He/they are happy

no number agreement on reflexive V in non-past.

(415) *εtiʃipàti* H 2/10

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) *εtiʃipè* H 2/10

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) ἰσὺδάτι H 2/10
 ε- isud - ati
 3pl wash refl.p
 l.past
 “they washed” they got themselves washed” they are washed
- (418) ἐτόνώρα H 2/10
 ε- ta - nōr - a
 3sg ta love a
 he fell in love “he got to love/loving”
- (419) ἐτίπιδά H 2/10
 ε- ta - πι d- a
 3rd ta brave a
 ‘he got brave’
 • not clear where the d comes from: two allomorphs πι and πιδ; quite general with CV verbal (adjectival) predicates (see below (d, r,
- (420) ἐτάγιέωϋ H 2/10
 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) ἐτάγιέωτὸ H 2/10
 ε- ta - yew - to
 3rd ta want pl-a
 They have come to want (“They got wanting”)
- (422) κῆταιέωτὸ H 2/10
 ki- ta - yew - to
 1pl ta want pl-a
 We has come to want (“We got wanting”)

- (423) ìyéw H 2/17
 i- yew ?
 you want ?
 Do you want (it?)
- (424) ìyéúw̃ H 2/17
 i- yew u
 you.pl want red
 Do you guys want (it?)
 • interesting plural reduplication..
- (425) étódóró H 2/10
 ε- tɔ - dɔr - ɔ
 3sg ta dɔ a
 • not clear where –r comes from (two allomorphs: dɔ and dɔr)
 It got red
- (426) étódòdòrò H 2/10
 ε- ta- adɔr ɔ
 3sg ta tall a
 he got tall
 • interesting tonal pattern.. (two allomorphs?: adɔ and adɔr)
- (427) èódó H 2/10
 ε- ɔdɔ
 3rd tall
 he is tall
- (428) ìtíʃipà H 2/10
 ε- i - ta - ʃip - 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) ɨ́tʃɨp H 2/10
 ε- i - ti - ʃɨp
 3rd in ta happy
 she will make-her/him happy
 • check
 • ita causative on -class I
 • no final vowel
- (430) ńdʃɨpa H 2/10
 in- ta - ʃɨp- a
 in ta happy a
 “make her/him happy”
 • final part of imperative morphology
- (431) tʃɨpà H 2/10
 ta- ʃɨp - a
 ta happy a
 “be happy” (get happy)
- (432) ńdóǒdòró H 2/10
 in- ta - ɔdɔr ɔ
 in cause tall imp
 ‘Make it tall’
- (433) ńdǒdòró H 2/10
 in- ta - dɔr - ɔ
 in make red imp
 ‘Make it red’
- (434) túrià H 2/10
 t- ure - a -
 ta be- imp
 afraid
 ‘be afraid of him’
 • raising of e to i; no vowel harmony on a!

- (435) *ndùrià* H 2/10
 in- t - ure - a
 in caus be- imp
 afraid
 make him afraid! frighten /scare him
- (436) *ítùrè irpáyànǐ engéra* H 2/10
 ε- in - t - ure
 3rd in cause be
 afraid
 “elders scare children/ make children be afraid”
 • non-past form
- (437) *âitèŋènâ erɛwátá éŋgàrǐm* H 2/10
 aa- in - tɛ - ŋɛn - a ε - rɛw - ata εŋ - garim
 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) *téŋɛ̀nà* H 2/10
 ta- ŋɛn - a
 ta smart imp
- (439) *áitèŋènà* H 2/10
 a- in - tɛ - ŋɛn - a
 in cause knowledge past
 /smart
 ‘I taught him’
- (440) *mátèŋèná* H 2/10
 ma- tɛ - ŋɛn - a
 let’s ta smart a
 ‘Let’s be smart’

(441) mâtùrĩa H 2/10

ma- in - t ure a
lets in cause be.afr a
aid

‘Let’s frighten them

(442) mĩkĩntùrè H 2/10

mi- ki - in - t - ure
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)

(443) átiáká pĩ mèùrĩŋõĩ H 2/10

a- t i ak-a pi m - ε - ure - ifo - i
1sg ta i? appl so neg 3rd be- do pass?
that afraid

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?)

(444) átiáká yók míùrĩŋõĩ H 2/17

a- t i ak-a yok m - i - ure - ifo - i
1sg ta i? appl us neg you be- do pass.
afraid pl

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)

(445) ÿíòl àisómà H 2/10

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) itáyiéìlò àisómà H 2/10

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 èṅgùtúk ármàsàì H 2/10

ε- gol - eṅ gotok ar - maasai

3 hard sg.f langu h.(no M

age m)D

(nom) m.sh

the Maasai language is difficult

- hard (like wood), difficult

(448) ìrú èṅgùtúk àármasai H 2/10

i- iru

you speak

- note of genitive varies with case of DP containing it.(accusative here, nominative in previous .

- check case

(449) ègól èná kǐàsátà H 2/10

ε - gol ena ki - as - at - a

3 hard this kǐ ? do at a

This is a difficult thing to do (of doing)

- Don't understand the nominalization. is kǐ (for us doing?) to check: o vary the controller.. (.

(450) ègól èná tè tórèt H 2/10

e- gol ena te - toret

This is difficult for Toret

Agreement patterns on P (tv):

(451) ègól èlèpórè òĩngǐfù té tórèt H 2/10

ε- gol - en - lep - ore o - inkǐfu 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) t̀òóndóyě H 2/10

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) t̀èndító H 2/10

t ɛn dito
for f.sg girl
for the girl

- tone: low for sg.

(454) t̀àálayòk H 2/10

for aa il ayok
pl. lh D.pl boys(
nom)

for the boys

- aa (ms.pl, lh)

(455) t̀àálayèni H 2/10

t al ayeni
boy.n
om

for the boy

- ms.sg a, l

(456) t̀aldákítarí H 2/10

t sg.m doctor(nom)
for the doctor

(457) t̀àáldákítàríní H 2/10

for the doctors

- interesting tones; h spreads onto first syllable of dakatarí

because

- (458) àʃipà ámu èʃòmó H 2/10
 a ʃip a amu ε ʃom o
 I happy refl because 3s left past
 g
 I am happy because he left

PASSIVES

- (459) áatànàpàki cl_2/15
 aa- t- anap- a- ki
 it-me past carry past pass
 I was carried. “They” carried me
- (460) ètànàpákì tórét cl_2/15
 ε- t- anap- a- ki tórét
 3rd past carry past pass toret-acc
 Toret was carried.
- (461) mǐkítósúdǐ (yè) cl_2/15
 mi- ki- tu- sud^j- i ye
 subj it-you tU follow pass you
 May you be followed!
 Imperative passive is subjunctive/optative. It is used for blessing.
- (462) ńcòò kǐsúdǐ cl_2/15
 ncòò ki - sud^j- i
 give- it-you follow pass
 imp
 lit: give so you may be followed. May you be followed!
- (463) kǐntérà àasud^j cl_2/15
 ki - nter - a àa - sud^j -
 3rd- start past sg follo
 you w
 He started to follow me.
 The tone on the agreement prefix 'aa-' of the infinitival form marks singular number.

- (464) kîndér áàsud^j cl_2/15
 ki - nter áà - sud^j -
 we start pl follow
 We will start to follow you.
 The tone on the agreement prefix 'aa-' of the infinitival form marks the plural number.
- (465) kínási áàsud^j cl_2/15
 ki - nás - i áà - sud^j
 3rd-you be first pass pl follow
 You will be followed first.
 • passive –i on start, not on infinitive
 • infinitive is plural:
 structure is really: “they “ start to follow you”
- (466) étánápákî cl_2/15
 ε - ta - nap- a - ki
 3rd ta carry past pass
 He/she/it/they were carried.
 • trying to figure out of subject triggers plural agreement
- (467) áàtànàpàkî cl_2/15
 aa - ta - nap- a - ki
 it-me ta carry past pass
 I was carried.
- (468) áànàpî cl_2/15
 aa - nap- i
 it-me carry pass
 I will be carried.
- (469) ènàpî yoòk cl_2/15
 ε - nap- i yook
 3rd carry pass us
 We will be carried.
- (470) kípî táàta cl_2/15
 ki- pi taata
 we brave today
 We are brave today

- (471) kítánápàkĩ cl_2/15
 ki - ta - nap- a - ki
 2sg ta carry past pass
 You (sg) were carried.
- (472) ènàpí ndaĩ cl_2/15
 ε - nap- i ndai
 3rd carry pass 2pl
 You (pl) will be carried.
- (473) étánápákĩ òndaĩ cl_2/15
 ε - ta - nap- a - ki ndai
 3rd ta carry past pass 2pl
 You (pl) were carried.
- (474) ènàpí cl_2/15
 ε - nap - i
 3rd carry pass
 He/she/it/they will be carried.
- (475) kínápí cl_2/15
 ki - nap - i
 2sg carry pass
 You will be carried.
- (476) inápápà cl_2/15
 i - nap - a - pa
 2pl carry refl red
 You (pl) were carried.
 • reduplicated form of reflexive
- (477) èrík òngífú àinēi ìlmúrân cl_2/15
 ε - rik ngifu 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) èpí ìlmúrâñ cl_2/15

ε - pî - ilmuran
3rd brave warriors
NOM

Warriors are brave.

(479) àtádúâ ìlmúràn 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) àtádúâ ìlmúrân ηɔle cl_2/15

a - ta - du - a ilmuran ηɔle
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) étoriko ñgíjù âinëî ìlmúrâñ cl_2/15

ε - to - rik - o ngíju 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) èrîkí ñgíjù âinëî cl_2/15

ε - rik - i ngíju 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: nare (beseems), tɔn (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)

- τε for “if” Looks like at least in some cases, it is optional. If present, it can take the form τε OR ε.

(483) kináρε orgífoi R 2/15

ki - nare ol gífoi - - - - -
 it-you beseem sg.m ring
 The ring looks nice on you (beseems you)

(484) enáré τε náran R 2/15

ε- nare τε n a ran - - - - -
 3sg beseem if n 1sg sing

It is appropriate if I sing

tE: 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: enáré náran. Also, there are two forms, τε and ε. Saningo says there is no difference. I notice that in 2-11 here he used τε with present tense and ε with past, although I would have to check to see if that is significant.

(485) enáρε τε níran R 2/15

ε- nare τε n ι 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) enáré τε níkíran R 2/15

ε - nare - τε- nι κι ran - - - - -
 3sg beseem n 1pl sing

It is appropriate if we sing.

(487) enáρε apa ε nítarana R 2/15

ε- nare apa ε n ι ta ran a - -
 3sg beseems past if n 2sg tV sing V

it was appropriate that you sang

(488) enáré apa ε natarana R 2/15

ε- nare apa ε n a ta ran a - -
 3sg beseems past if n 1sg tV sing V

It was appropriate that I sang.

- (489) ενάρε τε νέμαραν R 2/15
ε - nare τε νε- m a ran - - - -
3sg beseems if n neg 1sg sing
It is appropriate if I don't sing
- (490) menáρε τε náran R 2/15
m- ε nare τε n a ran - - - -
neg 3sg beseems if n 1sg sing
It's not appropriate if I sing
- (491) menáρε τε níran R 2/15
m- ε nare τε n ι ran - - - -
neg 3sg beseems if n 2sg sing
It's not appropriate if you sing
- (492) menáρέ apa nítarana R 2/15
m- ε nare apa- n ι ta ran a - -
neg 3sg beseem past n 2g tV sing V
s
It wasn't appropriate that you sang.
- (493) ενάρέ (τε) nítu íràn R 2/15
ε- nare (tE) n ι ιtu ran - - - -
3sg beseems if n 2sg neg sing
It was appropriate that you didn't sing
The te is optional
- (494) etón étúrito engurmá R 2/15
ε - tón e tur ito en- gurma - - - -
3sg sit 3sg dig prog sg.f field
He is still digging (hoeing) the field
- (495) meákure eturito engurmá R 2/15
m- e aku re e tur ito en- gurma -
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) nèákú áinótò R 2/15
n- ε aku a 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) nèákú áinótóko R 2/15
n- ε aku a inot o ko - - - -
n 3sg become I-you get V appl
It happened that I got it for you.
- (498) meáta péè mámer̄ en̄gítén̄ à R 2/15
m ε ata pee m a mer̄ en̄ gítén̄ at- -
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) lásima paá mé̄ en̄gítén̄ à R 2/15
lasima - paa - mer en̄ gítén̄ at- - - - -
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) meáta péè míkíránák̄i R 2/15
m ε ata pee m̄i k̄i - ran - ak̄i - - -
m 3sg have pee m he-you sing appl
He must sing to you.
- (501) (t)ε náran naf̄epai R 2/15
tε- n a ran n a f̄epai - - - -
if n 1sg sing n 1sg be happy
If I sing, I will be happy.
tE or t is ok, same meaning.
- (502) kináre arkaraḡá ódò te nírane R 2/15
ki- nare al karaḡa ódò- 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.

Class Elicitation
2/17/00

- (503) ànáp èṅgèrái CLASS
K 2-17
- a- nap - en - kerai
1 carry s.f.D child
I will carry the child.
- (504) nànú ánàp CLASS
K 2-17
- nanu o - nap
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.
 - /o/ is realized as /a/ because of [-round] harmony. H tone marks nominative case.
- (505) nànú nánàp CLASS
K 2-17
- nanu ná - nap
I relative, nom. sg. fem.. carry
It is me/I who will carry it (feminine subject)
- (506) ènáp tórèt èṅgèràì CLASS
K 2-17
- ε- nap toret en - kerai
3 carry toret s.f.D child
Toret will carry the child.
- /toret/ nominative tonal pattern HH
 - /engerai/ accusative phrase final LLL
- (507) ènáp èṅgèrái tórèt CLASS
K 2-17
- ε- nap en - kerai toret
3 carry s.f.D child toret
Toret will carry the child(or the child will be carried by toret)
- /toret/ nominative phrase final tonal pattern HL
 - /engerai/ non-phrase final accusative tonal pattern LHH
- (508) àánáp nànú ìyé CLASS
K 2-17
- àánáp nànú yé
- aa- nap- nanu iye
I-you carry I you
I will carry you.
- /nanu iye/ is completely optional.
 - The /i/ of /iye/ was elided.

- (509) nànú lánàp CLASS
K 2-17
- 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) nànú láànàp CLASS
K 2-17
- 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) nànú léməàànàp CLASS
K 2-17
- 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) nànú lémə̀nàp CLASS
K 2-17
- 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) nànú ném̀nàp CLASS
K 2-17
- nanu né- m - ε- nap
I relative, fem., neg. 3 carry
nominative
I will not carry him(female subject)
- (514) òdái lítù é̀nàp CLASS
K 2-17
- ndai 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 /εitu/

- (515) òdái lé-mènàp CLASS
K 2-17
- | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|------|----|-------|
| ndai | lé- | m - | ε- | nap |
| you-pl | relative, masc., nominative | neg. | 3 | carry |
- It will not be you-pl who will carry it.
- (516) òdái lé-mèlèp CLASS
K 2-17
- | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|------|----|------|
| ndai | lé- | m - | e- | lep |
| you-pl | relative, masc., nominative | neg. | 3 | milk |
- 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) nànú lé-mààrik CLASS
K 2-17
- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------|-------|------|
| nanu | lé - | m - | aa - | rik |
| I | relative, masc. nominative | neg. | I-you | lead |
- It is not me/I who will lead you.
- (518) èná kèrái nànap CLASS
K 2-17
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|
| ena- | kerai | nà | nap |
| s.f Demonstrative | child | relative, fem. sg. accusative | carry |
- It is that child that I will carry.
- L tone on relative marks accusative.
- (519) èná kèrái nèmàànáp CLASS
K 2-17
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------|----------------------------|------|-------|-------|
| 1. | ena- | kerai | nè - | m- | a- | nap |
| | s.f Demonstrative | child | relative, accusative, fem. | neg. | 1 | carry |
| 2. | ena- | kerai | nè- | m- | aa- | nap |
| | s.f Demonstrative | child | relative, accusative, fem. | neg. | I-you | carry |
1. It is this child that I will not carry.
 2. “that child, I won’t carry you”
1. /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

- (520) ànàp ìyé nànú CLASS
K 2-17
- aa- nap- iye nanu
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.
- (521) ènápàì èngérai te nànú CLASS
K 2-17
- ε- nap- a- i- εn - kerai te nanu
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 ‘nanu’ is the person doing the carrying.
 - There has to be a “can be carried” interpretation, not passive interpretation.
- (522) ènàpí èngérai CLASS
K 2-17
- ε- nap i εn - kerai
3 carry passive s.f.D child
The child will be carried.
- (523) èngérai ènàpí CLASS
K 2-17
- εn - 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
- (524) èngérai nànàpí CLASS
K 2-17
- εn - 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 an embedded clause.(however, we have many examples of embedded clauses where the object is extracted and there is no relative morpheme.)
- (525) èngèrai ètánápâ CLASS
K 2-17
- εn - 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) ètàlèpò ìláyók ñṅgíṣù KM 2/17

e- ta - lep - ô il - ayok in - kifù
 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) ìláyók áàtàlèpò ñṅgíṣù KM 2/17

il - ayok ôð- ta - lep - ô in - kifù
 p.m.D boys relative, nominative ta milk V past, 3 p. p.f.D cows
 plural, masc.

It was the boys who milked the cows.

- SVO
- /ilayok/ 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) èlèpò ñṅgíṣù KM 2/17

e- lep- o- in - kifù
 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) étálépókì ñgíḡù KM 2/17
 e- ta - lep - o - ki in - kifú
 e ta milk V past passive p.f.D cows
 The cows were milked.
 • /ki/ passive morpheme when there is no overt agent.
- (530) sídán ñgínèdžì KM 2/17
 sidan in - kinedzi
 nice p.f.D goats
 The goats are nice.
 • /inkineji/ LHLL nominative tonal pattern
- (531) átádúà ñgìnèdžì KM 2/17
 a- ta - du - a in - kinedzi
 1 ta see V past p.f.D goats
 I saw the goats.
 • /inkineji/ LLLH accusative tonal pattern.
- (532) èlépò ñgínèdžì KM 2/17
 e- lep- o in - kinedzi
 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) ètálépókì ñgìnèdžì KM 2/17
 e- ta - lep - o - ki in - kinedzi
 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) étálépô ñláyòk KM 2/17
 e- ta - lep - ô il - ayòk
 e ta milk V past, 3 p. p.m.D boys
 The boys milked it.

(535) ètálépíʃòtè ìláyòk KM 2/17

e-	ta -	lep -	íʃote	il -	ayòk
e	ta	milk	intransitive, past	p.m.D	boys

The boys did the milking.

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

(536) ìláyók àátàlèpíʃòtè KM 2/17

il -	ayòk	óò-	ta -	lep -	íʃote
p.m.D	boys	relative, nominative plural, masc.	ta	milk	intransitive, past

It was the boys who did the milking

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

(537) ìláyók óòlèpíʃó KM 2/17

il -	ayòk	óò-	lep-	íʃo
p.m.D	boys	relative, nominative plural, masc.	milk	

It is the boys who do the milking.

(538) átádúà ìláyók àátàlèpô èḡkíné KM 2/17

a-	ta -	du -	a	il -	ayòk	òó-	ta -	lep -	ô	en-	kine
1	ta	see	V	p.m.D	boys	relative, accusative , plural, masc.	ta	milk	V	s.f.D	goat
			past						past, 3 p.		

I saw the boys that milked the goat.

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

(539) átádúà ìlàátàlèpô èḡgíné KM 2/17

a-	ta -	du -	a	il-	òó-	ta -	lep -	ô	en-	kine
1	ta	see	V	p.m.D	relative, accusative, plural, masc.	ta	milk	V	s.f.D	goat
			past					past, 3 p.		

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.

- (540) sídán ìláyòk ààtàlèpô èṅgíné KM 2/17
 sidan il - ayòk óð- ta - lep - ô en- kine
 nice p.m.D boys relative, nominative, plural, masc. ta milk V past, 3 p. s.f.D goat

The boys who milked the goat are nice.

- Compare with 13(form with /atadua/): The relative morpheme has the nominative, HL, tonal pattern, and /ìlayok/ has nominative pattern. Again the case of the relative morpheme is determined by the matrix clause.

- (541) sídán ìl ààtàlèpô èṅgíné KM 2/17
 sidan il- óð- ta - lep - ô en- kine
 nice p.m.D relative, nominative, plural, masc. ta milk V past, 3 p. s.f.D goat

The ones(masc.) that milked the goat are nice.

- (542) átádúà ñnàátàlèpô èṅgíné KM 2/17
 a- ta - du - a in- nàá- ta - lep - ô en- kine
 1 ta see V past p.f.D relative, accusative, plural, masc. ta milk V past, 3 p. s.f.D goat

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

- /nàá/ has the accusative tonal pattern, even though the extracted argument is the subject of the embedded clause. /atadua/ (matrix verb) assigns accusative case.

- (543) sídán ñnààtàlèpô èṅgíné KM 2/17
 sidan in- nàá- ta - lep - ô en- kine
 nice p.f.D relative, nominative, plural, masc. ta milk V past, 3 p. s.f.D goat

The ones(fem.) that milked the cow are nice.

- /nàá/ has the nominative tonal pattern. /sidan/ (matrix clause) assigns nominative case.

- (544) átádúà ìláyòk ààtàlèpíḟòtè KM 2/17
 a- ta - du - a il - ayòk òó- ta - lep - íḟote
 1 ta see V p.m. boys relative, accusative plural, masc. ta milk intransitive, past

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
- compare with 11 where the relative morpheme has the nominative, HL, tonal marking.

(545) *sídán ìláyòk ààtàlèpífòtè* KM 2/17

sidan	il -	ayok	óò-		ta -	lep -	ifote	
nice	p.m.D	boys	relative, nominative, plural, masc.		ta	milk	intransitive, past	

The boys that did the milking are nice.

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

(546) *átádúà ñnàátàlèpòkí* KM 2/17

a-	ta -	du -	a	in-	nàá -	ta -	lep-	o -	ki
1	ta	see	V	p.f.D	relative, accusative, plural, fem.	ta	milk	V past	passive
			past						

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.

(547) *sídán ñnàátàlèpòkí* KM 2/17

sidan	in-	nàá -		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.

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

(548) *sídán ìláyòk láàtàlèpòkítíó ñgìnèdží* KM 2/17

sidan	il -	ayok	l-	aa-	ta-	lep -	o -	ki -	tio	in-	kine
nice	p.m. D	boys	relative, masculine	it-me	ta	milk	V past	applied	?	p.f. D	goats
			e								dzi

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.

(549) *sídán ìláàtàlèpòkítíó* KM 2/17

sidan	il-	l-	aa-	ta-	lep -	o -	ki -	tio
nice	p.m. D	relative, masculine	it-me	ta	milk	V past	applied	?

The ones (masc.) that milked it for me are nice.

(550) sídán ìláyòk láàtànàpàkìtiá èngérai ai KM 2/17

sidan il - ayok l- aa- ta- nap a - ki - tia

nice p.m. boys relative, it-me ta milk V past applied ?
D masculine

en- kerai ai
s.f.D child my

The boys who carried my child for me are nice.

- /tia/ is the –ATR variant of /tío/
- 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).

(551) sídán ìláyòk láàtòrikòkìtió èngérai ai KM 2/17

sidan il - ayok l- aa- ta- rik o - ki - tio

nice p.m. boys relative, it-me ta mil V past applied ?
D masculine k

en- kerai ai
s.f.D child my

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.)

(552) sídán ìláàtòrikòkìtió èngérai ai KM 2/17

sidan il- l- aa- ta- rik - o - ki - tio

nice p.m.D relative, it-me ta milk V past applied ?
masculine

en- kerai ai
s.f.D child my

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

(553) tórikókì KM 2/17

to- rik - o - ki -
ta lead V imperative you-me

Lead me!

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

(554) atoriko KM 2/17

a- to- rik- o -
I ta lead V past

I led

- (555) átádúà ìlàátòrikòkìtió KM 2/17
 a- ta - du - a il- l- aa to- rik- o- ki- ti
 - - - - - - - - - -
 1 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) sídán ñgínèdʒí náàtàlèpô ìláyòk KM 2/17
 sidan in - kinedzi naa - ta - lep - ô - il - ayok
 - - - - - - - - - -
 nice p.f.D goats relative, nominative, ta milk V past, p.m.D boys
 plural, feminine 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) sídán ñnáàtàlèpô ìláyòk KM 2/17
 sidan in- náà - ta - lep - ô - il - ayok
 nice p.f.D. relative, nominative, ta milk V past, 3 pl. p.m.D boys
 plural, feminine

The ones (fem.) that were milked by the boys are nice.

- relative morpheme has nominative, HL, tonal pattern.

- (558) átádúà ñnààtàlèpô ìláyòk KM 2/17
 a- ta - du - a in- nàá - ta - lep - ô - il - ayok
 1 ta see V p.f.D. relative, accusative, ta milk V p.m. boys
 past plural, feminine 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) sídán ñnáàtàlèpòkí KM 2/17
 sidan in- náà - 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) átádúà ñnàátàlèpòkí KM 2/17

a-	ta -	du -	a	in-	nàá -	ta -	lep-	o -	ki
1	ta	see	V past	p.f.D	relative, accusative, plural, fem.	ta	milk	V past	passive

I saw the ones (fem) that were milked.

(561) átádúà èηγίτεη ðóndóyè nàtələpô ñláyðk KM 2/17

a-	ta -	du -	a	en-	kíteη	òó -	in -	toye
1	ta	see	V	s.f.D.	cow	genitive, plural, accusative	p.f.D	women
			past					
nà -		ta-	lep -	ô-	il-	ayøk		
relative, fem. accusative		ta	milk	V past, 3 pl	p.m.D	boys		

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) átádúà ènðóndóyè nàtələpô ñláyðk KM 2/17

a-	ta -	du -	a	en-	òó -	in -	toye
1	ta	see	V	s.f.D.	genitive, plural, accusative	p.f.D	womem
			past				
nà -		ta-	lep -	ô-	il-	ayøk	
relative, fem. accusative		ta	milk	V past, 3 pl	p.m.D	boys	

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) sídai èηγίτεη óòndóyè nàtələpô ñláyðk KM 2/17

sidai	en-	kíteη	óò -	in -	toye	
nice	s.f.D.	cow	genitive, plural, nominative	p.f.D	women	
nà -		ta-	lep -	ô-	il-	ayøk
relative, fem. accusative		ta	milk	V past, 3 pl	p.m.D	boys

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) sídái ènóòndóyè nàtàlèpô ìláyòk KM 2/17

sidai	en-	óò -		in -	toye		
nice	s.f.D.	genitive, plural, nominative		p.f.D	women		
nà -		ta-	lep -	ô-	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) sídái èngítèṅ nàtàlèpô ìláyòk KM 2/17

sidai	en-	kiteṅ	na -	ta-	lep -	ô -	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) késómókĩ áṅ H 2-17
after T&Mp p.81

k-	ε -	ʃom -	o	ki	aṅ
			-		
Q	3rd	go(past)	a	passive.	hom
				past	e

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

- translations by S.
- passive on unaccusative V

(567)

àapwéi ààsud^j

H 2-17
after Hollis.p.68

aa pwo i - aa sud^j
-

3.me go.pl pas inf.pl follow

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.

(568)

è pweí aísùd^j

H 2-17

ε- pwo- i a- isud^j - - - - -
3rd go.pl pass inf.pl wash

'he'll go to be washed" (H's translation: they'll (go) wash him)

(569)

èlòtú misudì

H 2-17

ε- lotu m - ε - i - sud^j - i
3 come subj 3rd in. wash pass
.fut

He'll come so that he be washed

- passive in finite subjunctive clause

(570)

èlotói buntj

H 2-17

ε- lotu - a i Bunche
3rd go ? pass Bunche
(o?)

Bunche is goable to "Bunche can be walked to"

- lot+a+ i
- 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...

(571)

ɔldía làálàyôk

MH 2/24

ɔl - dia l - ɔɔ - il - ayo - k - - - -
D.m.sg. dog m.sg. gen.pl. D.m.sg. boy pl.

the boys' dog

note that both dog and boy are in the accusative

- (572) $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $s\grave{a}p\grave{o}k$ MH 2/24
 $\epsilon-$ $\pi\acute{\iota}$ $\omicron\lambda -$ dia $sapok$ - - - - -
 3 brave D.m.sg. dog big sg.
 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)
- (573) $\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ $\grave{a}s\grave{a}p\acute{o}k$ MH 2/24
 $\epsilon-$ $\pi\epsilon$ al $sapok$ - - - - -
 3rd mean sg.m big (nom)
- (574) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\grave{a}$ $\omicron\lambda\delta\acute{\iota}\grave{a}$ $s\acute{a}p\grave{o}k$ MH 2/24
 $a-$ $ta -$ dua $\omicron\lambda -$ dia $sapok$ - - - - -
 1sg. past see D.m.sg. dog big sg. acc
 I saw the big dog.
 Note that the adjective agrees with the noun in case. They are both accusative.
- (575) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\grave{a}$ $\grave{a}s\acute{a}p\grave{o}k$ MH 2/24
 $a-$ $ta -$ dua $al -$ $sapok$ - - - - -
 1sg. past see D.m.sg. big sg. acc
 I saw a/the big one.
- (576) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\grave{a}$ $i\lambda\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}i\grave{n}$ $s\acute{a}p\acute{o}k\grave{i}\grave{n}$ MH 2/24
 $a-$ $ta -$ dua $i\lambda-$ $dia -$ in $sapok -$ in - - -
 1sg. past see D.m.pl. dog pl. big. pl.
 I saw the big dog.
- (577) $\acute{a}t\acute{a}\delta\acute{\upsilon}\grave{a}$ $lik\acute{a}i\delta\acute{\iota}\grave{a}$ MH 2/24
 $atadua$ li $kai -$ dia - - - - -
 1sg. past m. other sg. dog
 see
 I saw another dog.
 • morpheme analysis of other not clear;
 • vowel *lekai* or *likai*?

- (584) átádúà ñgùlyémésàì MH 2/24
 atadua in- ku- lyε - mesa - i - - - -
 1sg. past fem. pl. pl. other pl. table pl.
 see
 no way to form DP: : many other tables
- (585) kèkúmòk^h kúlyé mèsàì MH 2/24
 ke- kumok^h ku - lyε mesa - i - - - -
 Q. many pl. other pl. table pl.
 Are other tables many? (Implies that there are other tables.)
- (586) mèékúmòk^h ñgúlyé mèsàì MH 2/24
 mεε- kumok^h in - ku - lyε- 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) mèékúmòk^h kúlyé mèsàì MH 2/24
 mεε- kumok^h ku - lyε- 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) èndá gaï mèsà MH 2/24
 check enda kai mesa - - - - -
 that fem. other sg. table
 that other table
 H wrote down: where are the others?
- (589) kúdi ñgùlyé MH 2/24
 check kudi- in - ku - lyε - - - - -
 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) $\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon \acute{\iota}\eta\alpha\eta\upsilon \acute{\tau}\acute{o}\rho\grave{\epsilon}\tau \epsilon\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\eta \eta^{\omega}\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon, \dots$ 2/29 r

$\epsilon-$	$\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon$	ϵ	$\eta\alpha\eta$	υ	toret	$\epsilon\eta$	$\kappa\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\eta$	$\eta^{\omega}\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon$	-	-
3	not	3	buy	“from”	toret	sg.f	cow	yest		

dir

Toret didn't buy a cow yesterday,....
con't in next box

(591) $\dots\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota} \acute{\iota}\eta\alpha\eta\upsilon \kappa\omega\acute{\iota}\grave{\alpha} \eta$ 2/29 r

$\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}$	$\epsilon-$	$\eta\alpha\eta$	υ	$\kappa\omega\acute{\iota}\grave{\alpha}$	-	-	-	-	-	-
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) $\acute{\iota}\eta\alpha\eta\upsilon \kappa\omega\acute{\iota}\grave{\alpha} \epsilon\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\eta \eta^{\omega}\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon, \dots$ 2/29 r

$\epsilon-$	$\eta\alpha\eta$	υ	$\epsilon\eta$	$\kappa\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\eta$	$\eta^{\omega}\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon$	-	-	-	-	-
3	buy	from	sg.f	cow	yest.					

Kwia bought a cow yesterday,
con't next

(593) $\dots\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota} \acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon \acute{\tau}\acute{o}\rho\grave{\epsilon}\tau$ 2/29 r

$\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}$	ϵ	$\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon$	$\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\rho\grave{\epsilon}\tau$	-	-	-	-	-	-
but	3	not	toret						

, but Toret didn't. (buy a cow yesterday)

both clauses past tense. omit main verb “buy”, object, and “yesterday”

(594) $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\eta\alpha\eta\alpha \kappa\omega\acute{\iota}\grave{\alpha} \epsilon\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\eta \delta^{\iota}\upsilon\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}, \dots$ 2/29 r

$\mu\epsilon-$	ϵ	$\eta\alpha\eta$	υ	$\kappa\omega\acute{\iota}\grave{\alpha}$	$\epsilon\eta$	$\kappa\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\eta$	$\delta^{\iota}\upsilon\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}$	-	-	-
neg	3	buy	from	kwia	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) ,...kakı enaŋu toret dʱumapıı 2/29 r
 kakı ε enaŋ u toret dʱumapıı - - - -
 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: U. probably the -u motion towards suffix
- (596) enaŋu kwıa enŋıtın dʱumaməsı,... 2/29 r
 ε- enaŋ u kwıa en kıten dʱumaməsı - - - -
 3 buy U kwıa sg.f cow saturday
 Kwıa will buy a cow on Saturday,...
- (597) neŋaŋu tóret dʱumapıı 2/29 r
 n - ε enaŋ toret dʱumapıı- 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) enaŋu kwıa enŋıtın dʱumapıı ,... 2/29 r
 ε- enaŋ u kwıa en kıten dʱumapıı- - - -
 3 buy U kwıa sg.f cow sunday
 Kwıa will buy a cow on sunday,...
- (599) ,...nananaŋu si nanu (or nanu si) 2/29 r
 n - a enaŋ 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) aátéfátákà enŋadʱı ,... 2/29 r
 aa - te fat a ka en adʱı - - - -
 I-you tV build V applied sg.f house
 I built the house for you, ...
 ??vowel te .. not ta

- (601) ,...néwəʃ tórèt oráŋgi 2/29 r
n - ε ɔʃ toret orangi - - - - -
n 3 hit toret paint
,...and Toret painted it. (the house)
“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) ,...níkɪwɔʃɔkɪ tórèt oráŋgi 2/29 r
nɪ- kɪ ɔʃ ɔkɪ toret orangi - - - -
n he-you hit applied toret paint
(alternative ending to (11)) ...and Toret painted it for you. (the house)
orangi is borrowed from Swahili rangi
hilda: postverbal elements can be ordered in any way
- (603) aátùpùròkí, ... 2/29 r
aa- tu pur o ki - - - - -
3-me tV rob V passive
I was robbed,...
r is voiceless r.
- (604) ,...né-tùpùròkĩ tòrét sii 2/29 r
n- e tu pur o ki toret sii- - - -
n 3 tV rob V pass toret too
,...and so was Toret (robbed)
can’t leave out verb
- (605) étúpúrókĩ ràb ín, ... 2/29 r
e - tu pur o ki rabin - - - -
3 tV rob V pass robin
Robin was robbed,...
2 possible endings: (17) and (18)
- (606) ,...kákĩ ètú tòrét 2/29 r
kaki ε ɪtʊ toret - - - - -
-
but 3 neg toret
,...but Toret wasn’t. (robbed)
2 clauses with passive verbs, second main verb can be left out

- (607) ,...kákà mée tòrèt 2/29 r
 kakà 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) áyíólò ààḋ'ó mèátà kwiá ñḡgíḡú,... 2/29 r
 a- yiolo aad'ɔ m ε ata kwia in kifɔ - -
 1sg know "say" neg 3 have kwia pl.f cows
 I know that Kwia doesn't have any cows,...
- (609) ,...nèyíóló sīi t órèt 2/29 r
 n - ε 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 ñḡgíḡú χ 2/29 r
 e- ta lep o resoi in kifɔ - - - - -
 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:
 ḡ^wole *yesterday*
 tian *in the pen*
- (22) íḡoo résoi enḡaré endító 2/29 r
 ε- íḡoo 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?

(612) **àrá ðlǎ̀l̀tèrìtò** L (class)
3/2

à- rá ð- l- ðó- il- tèrìtò
1st.sg be the one Gen.m pl.agr D.pl.m (name)

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

- answer to (611)
- tèrìtò 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 tèrìtò (tèrìtò?)

(613) **ĩrá èñǎ̀l̀àdží** L (class)
3/2

ĩ- rá è- n- è- álò àdží
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 ènò̀l̀tèrìtò** L (class)
3/2

à- rá è- n- ðó- il- tèrìtò
1st.sg be the one Gen.f pl.agr D.pl.m (name)

The “lteritos” (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) **kòlǎ̀l̀àdží** L (class)
3/2

k(a)- ð- l- è- álò- àdží
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) **ĩtámà nǎ̀** L (class)
3/2

ĩ- tá- mà nǎ̀
2nd.sg past eat what

You ate what? (echo question)

- the wh-word is in situ and does not display the ‘k’ morpheme

- (617) **ḡó: ʔtámà** L (class)
3/2
- ḡó: ʔ- tá- mà
 what 2nd.sg past Eat
 You ate what? (echo question)
- differs from (616) only in that ‘what’ is focalised
- (618) **ʔtéḡḡò ʔrá ðḡááḡḡàḡḡí** L (class)
3/2
- ʔ- té- ḡḡò ʔ- rá ð- l- è- áḡ- àḡḡí
 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’o 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) **ʔtéḡḡò ḡái náíòwú** L (class)
3/2
- ʔ- té- ḡḡò ḡái ná- iòwú
 2nd.sg past say who rel.subj.f come (past)
 Who did you say that came? (lit. You said who came?)
- iòwú is the suppletive form for the past of ‘come’
- (620) **ʔtéḡḡò ḡái óíòwú** L (class)
3/2
- ʔ- té- ḡḡò ḡái ó- iòwú
 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) **ḡḡḡtéḡḡò ḡái náíòwú** L (class)
3/2
- ḡḡ- ʔ- té- ḡḡò ḡái ná- iòwú
 Surprise(?) 2nd.sg past say who rel.subj.f come (past)
 You said who came?
- ḡḡ marks surprise, or just echo-question-ness?
- (622) **kaḡái ʔtéḡḡò è:ḡwù** L (class)
3/2
- ka- ḡái ʔ- té- ḡḡò ε- iòwú
 Q morph who 2nd.sg past say 3rd.sg come (past)
 Who did you say that came?
- I’m not sure how the form è:ḡwù comes about...
 - we were not clear about the tonal pattern of kaḡái (see (624))

- (623) **éwù** L (class)
3/2
 é- iòwú
 3rd.sg come (past)
 She came
 • here, too, I don't know how to derive the surface form of the verb...
- (624) **kaḡái ṽtédʒò ètánápâ** L (class)
3/2
 ka- ḡái ṽ- té- dʒò è- tá- nàp- â
 Q morph who 2nd.sg past say 3rd.pl past carry past.pl
 Who did you say they carried?
 • kaḡái 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 kaḡái is determined by the matrix verb (ECM?) (also true for simple wh-questions; initial part does not vary for Case)
- (625) **kaḡái ṽtédʒò ètánápá eḡḡèrái** L (class)
3/2
 ka- ḡái ṽ- té- dʒò è- tá- nàp- 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)
- (626) **ḡái nátànápá eḡḡèrái** L (class)
3/2
 ḡái ná- tá- nàp- 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)
- (627) **ṽtédʒò ḡái nátànápá eḡḡèrái** L (class)
3/2
 ṽ- té- dʒò ḡái ná- tá- nàp- 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?)
- (628) **kaḡái ṽtédʒò ènápà** L (class)
3/2
 ka- ḡái è- nàp- à
 Q morph who 3rd.sg carry middle /refl
 Who did you say that is carried?
 • the verb seems to be in the middle voice

(629) ἴτέδ'ὸ ηἰάι ἐτάνάπᾶ

L (class)
3/2

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...

(1) ἴτῦ ἀλέπιφο MB 2/1
itu a- lep- iSo - - - -
not-past 1sg. milk progr.
I didn't do milking

(2) ἴτῦ ἀλέπιφό ηἰωλό MB 2/1
itu a- lep- iSo ηἰωλό - - -
not-past 1sg. milk progr. yesterda
y

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) ἐτάφα MB 2/1
e- t(a)- aS- a - - - -
3sg past rain past
It rained

(4) ἐῖῖά τᾱίσερι MB 2/1
e- Sa taiserī - - - -
3sg rain tomorrow
It will rain tomorrow

(5) καηόό πεέ ἴτῦ ἰλέπιφό ηἰωλό MB 2/1
καηόό πεέ ε ἴτῦ ἰ- λέπ- ἰφό - ηἰωλό
why ? not- 2s milk progr - yesterday
past
Why didn't you do milking yesterday?

(6) ἴτῦ ἀλέπιφό ηἰωλό αμóου ἐτάφα MB 2/1
ἴτῦ a- λέπ- ἰφό ηἰωλό αμóου é- t(a)- ἄῖ - á
not-past 2sg milk progr yesterday becaus 3sg past rain past
e

I didn't do milking yesterday because it rained

- (7) étálépó amóu átiáká metálepo MB 2/1
 é- t(a)- lép- ó amóu á- t(a)- iák- á me- tálepo
 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) itú elép amóu átiáká peé melép MB 2/1
 itú e- lép amóu 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 Saningo 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) itú elép amóu átiáka MB 2/1
 itú e- lép amóu 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) atadúa layók aátanapá résoi MB 3/7
 a- ta- dú- 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.
 st l

I saw the boys that Resoy carried.

- (11) layók aátanapá résoi áataduá MB 3/7
 l- ay- ók aá- ta - nap - á - résoi áa - ta - dú- 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.

check meaning ? the boys that carried Resoi

more on the copula.

(630) armálimúí h 3-14
 al- malimu - i- - - - - - - - - -
 h h h h
 teacher i acc
 teacher (acc) h h h

(631) armàlimuí h 3-14
 - malimu - - - - - - - - - -
 l l h -
 nom
 teacher (nom)

(632) ìrmàlimùní h 3-14
 - - - - - - - - - -
 l l l h
 pl
 teachers (acc pl) l l l h
 • looks like ni (pl) is responsible for high tone)

(633) ìrmálimùní h 3-14
 - - ni- - - - - - - - - -
 h l l h
 teachers (nom, pl)
 Nominative: add HL prefix

(634) armálimúí h 3-14
 al- malimu - i- - - - - - - - - -
 h h h h
 teacher i acc
 He is a teacher
 • predicate (teacher) is accusative

(635) ñǎné armàlimuí h 3-14
 - - - - - - - - - -
 he is the teacher
 • teacher is nominative
 • he is accusative

(636) nínjé ìrmálimuní h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

They are the teachers

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

(637) mé è niné àrmalimuí h 3-14

mε- ε - nine armalimui - - - - -

Not he teacher
(nom)

He is not the teacher

(638) mé è ninjé ìrmálimuní h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

They are not the teachers

(639) árá àmálimuí h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

check I am the teacher/ I am a teacher

(640) mé è nanú àrmàlimuí h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

I(acc) am not the teacher (nom)

(641) màrá armálimúi h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

I am not a teacher

(642) òré ilaláfàrà lāīnēī pokírà náà irmàlimùnì h 3-14

- il - alafara lainei- pokir n - aa irmalimuni -
a - - -

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 lainei

(643) irmalimunì ilalàfàrà lāīnēī pòkírà h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - -

teachers brother my.pl both
(acc.pl) s (nom) .nom

Both my brothers are the teachers

- check: both my brothers are teachers

(644) ε τόν àkí àà armálimúí h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - -

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) ε τόν àkí à irmàlimùnì h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - -

They still are teachers

(646) éidim àà táa` armálimúí h 3-14

- - aa - ta - a - - - - -
ta. be

S/he is able/ capable of being a teacher; S/he can be a teacher

-

(647) $\acute{e}i\acute{d}\acute{i}m \acute{a}\acute{a} \acute{t}a\acute{a} \acute{r}m\grave{a}l\acute{i}m\grave{u}n\acute{i}$ h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

They can be teachers (acc)

(648) $k\acute{a}\eta\acute{a}i \acute{a}r\acute{m}\grave{a}l\acute{i}m\acute{u}i \acute{t}\acute{e}n\acute{e} / l\acute{e}n\acute{e}$ h 3-14

- - - - - - - - - - -

who is a/the teacher (nom) here

- no contrast between the/ a teacher

(649) $k \acute{a}\acute{a} \acute{t}\acute{i}p\grave{a}t \acute{a}r\acute{m}\acute{a}l\acute{i}m\acute{u}i \grave{e}r\grave{a}$ h 3-14

k - aa - tipat ϵ ra - - - - -
tribe/ teacher 3r is
kind (acc) d

What kind of a teacher is he?

- answer; a good teacher/ a bad teacher/ a teacher of kids/organization x etc.

(650) $a \acute{t}\acute{a}d\acute{u}\acute{a} \acute{o}l\grave{d}\acute{u}n\acute{y}\acute{a}n\acute{i} \grave{a}r\grave{a} \acute{a}r\acute{l}\acute{a}m\acute{a}m\acute{u}i$ h 3-14

a- ta - dua - ol - tunya ni a - ra - - - - -

I ta dua person rel be teacher (acc)

I saw the person who is the teacher

- no distinction between the and a.